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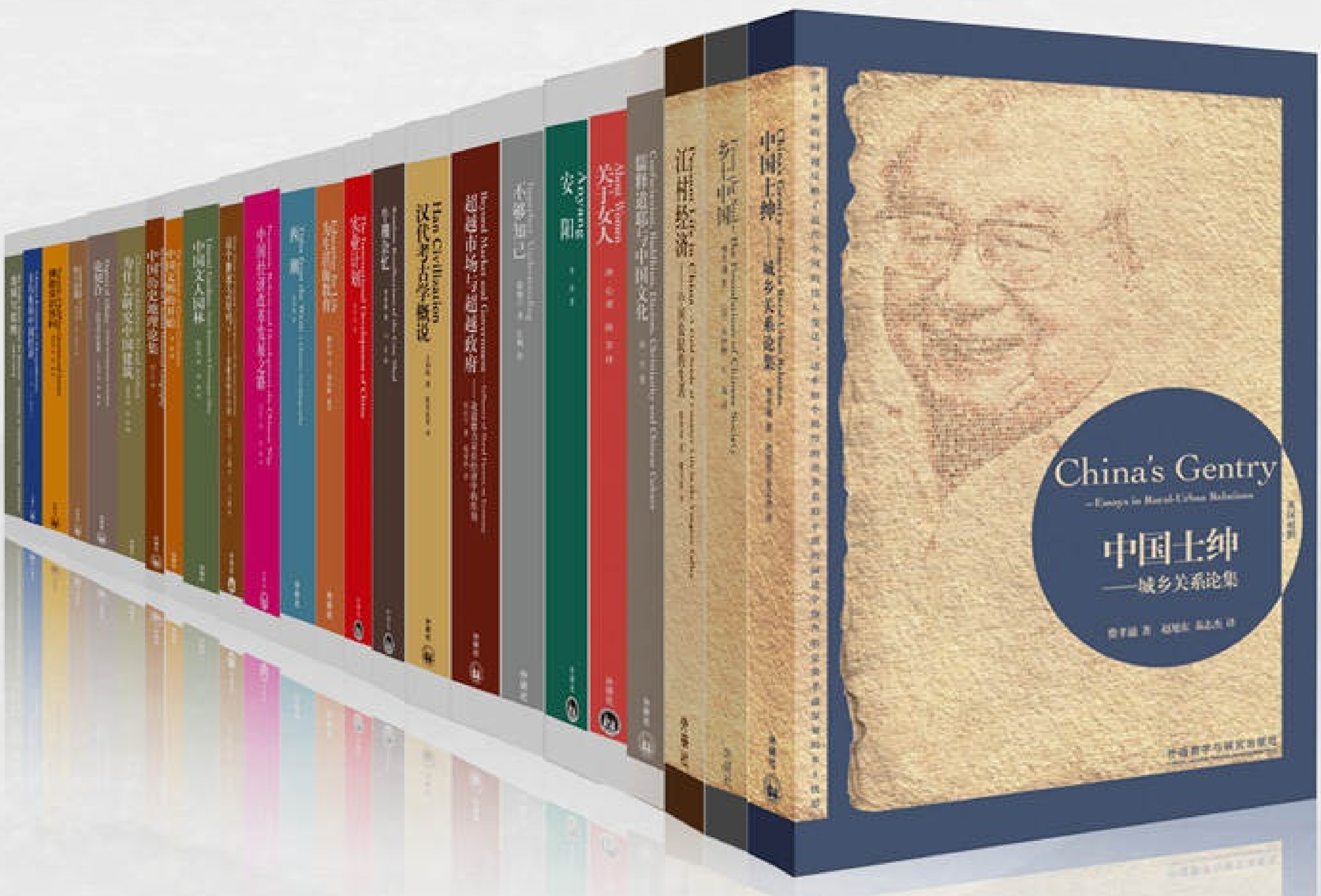

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中国士绅的嬗递反映了近代中国的伟大变迁，这本短小精悍的论著看似平淡的叙述中饱含的是费孝通深刻的乡土忧思

China's Gentry

—Essays in Rural-Urban Relations

英汉对照

中国士绅

——城乡关系论集

费孝通 著　赵旭东 秦志杰 译

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“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外研社人文社科出版分社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在

古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社

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编者说明

费孝通的英文著作*China's Gentry* 1953年由美国芝加哥大学出版社出版。该书由芝加哥大学教授罗伯特·雷德菲尔德（Robert Redfield）撰写导论，其夫人玛格丽特·帕克·雷德菲尔德（Margaret Park Redfield）对费先生的英文口述内容作了整理、修改和编辑。2009年12月，北京三联书店出版了由赵旭东、秦志杰翻译的中文版《中国士绅》。

费孝通以中国士绅为主题，恢宏广阔地勾画了农民、士绅、国家之间的结构型态，深入浅出地展现了中国传统乡村社会的权力结构和秩序维持的实践图景，现在看来仍具有重要的借鉴意义。更重要的是，费先生是希望通过这些英文文章，向西方读者表达一个中国人对中国的看法。这也是英汉对照双语版首次在国内推出的重要价值所在。

本版以英文原本与三联译本为基础——原英文版附录的六篇生活史（Life-Histories）并非费先生所作，为初版编者所加，故本书未收录；文中附图系郭光远（James K. Y. Kuo）为英文初版绘制；经译者惠允，本版对译文作了进一步修订，以期在呈现作品英文原貌的同时，便于读者对照阅读，更好地理解这一经典著作个中要义。

外语教学与研究出版社

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2011年2月

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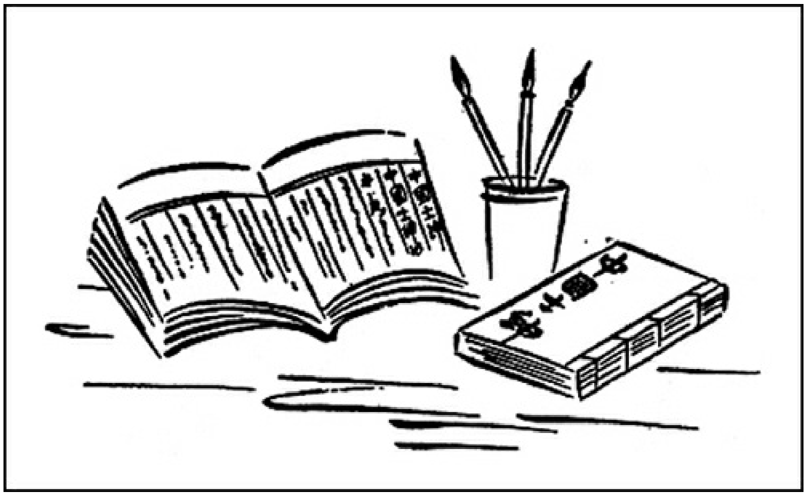
INTRODUCTION

导 论



• I

To Western readers Hsiao-tung Fei is known as the author of a short, illuminating book on life in a Chinese village,[1] of another and more mature work on agriculture and industry in southwestern China,[2] and of a stimulating article[3] on one of the principal themes of the present book: the gentry in Chinese society. In China he is known also as a brilliant teacher, a leader and pioneer in sociological field research, and a man who has written widely, talked much, and acted fearlessly toward the solution of the immense social problems of China. After his return from London, where he took his doctorate under Bronislaw Malinowski, and during the war with Japan he joined those Chinese students and scholars who assembled to continue Chinese scientific and intellectual life in Yunnan Province. It was there that he carried on the studies that resulted in his second book. After the defeat of Japan he went back to teach in his old university, Tsinghua, in Peiping; and there (where I had come in the autumn of 1948 as a visiting professor to the same university) my wife and I resumed an old association with him.

This book is made from articles contributed by Fei to Chinese newspapers in 1947 and 1948. During that autumn of 1948 he dictated to my wife a rough translation of these articles, stopping as he did so to talk over with her the substance of the dictation and in part rewriting and enlarging the text in the course of these discussions. The work was done hastily, with enthusiasm, and in the tense anticipations of the coming of Communist control. For, while the dictation and the rewriting went on, Peiping was ringed by Communist forces, and the fall of the universities and of the city itself was expected within a very short time. In December, 1948, most of the students and many of the faculty of the university looked forward to the coming of the Communists as a relief from hardship and oppression and as new opportunity to apply intelligence to the improvement of social and political conditions in China. There was apprehension too; but, with the abundant knowledge of corruption and tyranny under the Nationalist government, the hope outweighed the apprehension. Fei, always sanguine and courageous, was then of the opinion that he could work effectively with the Communists, even though he would continue to criticize when he thought criticism was due. Like others in his university, he did not conceive the incoming government of Chinese Communists in the image of Stalinist Russia; he thought of them as Chinese like himself, as his old friends and students, whose voices he heard over the Communist radio promising all good things to the people of Peiping. So Fei spoke to us of his hope of becoming, for the Communist government, a part of "the loyal opposition." He had already fallen into the disfavor of both parties. While in Yunnan he had been threatened with arrest by the Nationalist government and was fired upon in a public meeting where he had spoken unfavorably of Chiang's regime; on the other hand, Communist voices in the North had attacked him bitterly for certain articles he had published. On the whole, however, Fei felt that his views as to developing Chinese industry and agriculture would be congenial to the interests of the new regime and that after the transition he would be able to continue to work and to speak for China. In this hope, almost a confidence, the articles here assembled were dictated.

- 一

许多西方读者都知道，费孝通写过一本关于一个中国乡村生活的书[4]，这本书篇幅虽短，但具有启蒙意义；还有一本有关中国西南部工

农业方面的更为成熟的著作[5];再有就是涉及本书主题——中国士绅的那篇引人注目的文章[6]。在中国人看来，费先生还是一位睿智的师者、社会学实地研究领域的先驱和带头人，是著述广泛、善于言辞并为解决中国诸多社会问题而勇敢行动的人。他在伦敦获得博士学位，师从马林诺夫斯基。在抗日战争期间，一些中国学生和学者聚集云南，继续从事科学和学术活动，费先生回国后也加入了他们的队伍，他的第二部著作就完成于此地。日本战败后，他回到母校（即位于北平的清华大学）执教，我曾于1948年秋做过清华大学的访问学者，在那里我和夫人与他恢复了旧日的联系。

本书取材于费先生1947年至1948年间发表在中国报纸上的文章。1948年秋，费先生向我夫人翻译并口述了这些文章的大致内容，他不时停下来与我的夫人讨论口述内容的要点，并在讨论中作了某些修改和扩展。在他口述和修改这些文章的时候，共产党军队已经包围了北平。费先生怀着对共产党即将当政的强烈憧憬和满腔热情，仓促完成了这项工作。人们料想共产党将很快占领各所大学和整座城市。1948年12月，清华大学的大部分学生和许多老师都期待着共产党的到来，以求从压抑和痛苦中解脱出来，并认为这是运用聪明才智去改善中国社会和政治条件的新的机会。虽然他们也怀有恐惧，但由于已充分了解国民党政府的腐败和暴虐统治，希望还是战胜了恐惧。一向乐观而勇敢的费先生当时所持的观点是：他可以和共产党人一起有效地工作，不过，当他认为需要进行批评的时候，他会继续批评。但是，像清华大学的其他人一样，他并没有把即将到来的中国共产党的政府想象成斯大林主义俄国式的统治。在他心里，共产党人和自己一样是中国人，是他的老朋友或学生那样的人。他在收音机里听到了共产党向北平市民所作的美好承诺。所以，他告诉我们，他希望成为与共产党政府“忠诚对立”的一部分。他早已不被两党中的任一方所宠爱。在云南的时候，他曾被国民党政府以逮捕相威胁，并在一次公众集会上，因斥责蒋介石的统治而受到攻击。另一方面，北方的共产党也因他出版的某些文章而对他进行猛烈抨击。然而，总的来说，费先生认为他关于发展中国工农业的观点是符合新政权的利益的，在政权更替后，他仍能继续为中国而工作、为中国说话。这里汇集的几篇文章就是他满怀着这一近乎信心的希望口述的。

My wife and I left Peiping in December, 1948, and for more than three years now we have had no word from Fei. From others we have learned of some bare events. At about the time when Peiping fell to the Communists, Mao Tse-tung asked Fei to take charge of a research program with regard to problems of urban reconstruction, and he accepted and began the work. Fei

published articles praising the "New Democracy" of China. He accepted membership on governmental boards or committees. Later he went on an expedition to study some of the remote communities of southwestern China—where he had worked during the Japanese war. Later word tells us that he has returned to Tsinghua University.

This book is published without any participation from him in its production since the days when he dictated its substance to my wife. It is evident that he prefers it so. Communication with Westerners would embarrass or endanger him; he does not write to us, and we have ceased to write to him. My wife edited the text she had transcribed, assuming considerable responsibility in changing the order of the parts, in adding references, and even in inserting phrases or whole sentences when she was sure that Fei's meaning would be served by such additions. It is to be emphasized that the book therefore is an expression of Fei's views and judgments as he was about to step over the threshold between revolutionary China and Communist China. It was written when his students (many of whom I knew) moved in an excitement of fresh opportunity to remake their country—and moved without dogma.

我和夫人1948年12月离开北平，至今三年多来我们一直没有费先生的音信。从其他人那里我们仅得到了很有限的消息。听说共产党占领北平后，毛泽东请费先生负责一个有关城市重建问题的研究项目，费先生应允并开始了工作。他发表文章赞扬中国的“新民主”，还加入了政府性质的委员会，成为其中的一员。后来，他奔赴中国西南部——那是他曾在抗日战争期间工作过的地方，在那里从事对某些偏远社区的研究。后来又有消息说，他已重返清华大学了。

自从他向我夫人口述这些文章的主旨后，这本书的形成和出版再也未经他的任何介入。很明显，他是乐于保持这样的状况的。由于与西方人接触会给他带来尴尬和危险，因而我们不再通信。我的夫人对她自己的记录进行了编辑，并且还怀着强烈的责任感对某些部分作了顺序调整，添加了注释，甚至添加了一些短语和句子——因为她相信，这样会使费先生所要表达的意思更明确。需要强调的是，本书表达了费先生将要从革命中国跨进共产主义中国时所持有的观点和看法。当他写这些文章时，他的许多学生（其中很多我都认识）已开始激动不已地并且毫无束缚地投入到重建自己国家的

Few of them had read a line of Marx. Most of them saw the Nationalist government as their oppressor, the Communists as their liberaters.

• II

At the time he dictated a translation, Fei wanted the essays to be read by English-speaking people. Like other intelligent people of good will, he wanted China to be understood by Westerners, and he believed that he had something to say about China that was not said in other books. But, when Fei wrote the articles in the first place, he was talking to the Chinese; the present English version does not change that fact. Fei had developed a large audience for his newspaper articles; all sorts of people, mostly people neither peasants nor intellectuals, read and admired what he had to say about the problems of China. These essays, as newspaper articles, had contributed to the extension of a sense of responsibility in the Chinese people themselves to take charge of their own affairs, and to deal with them, for their own good. Thus the book provides for Westerners an unusual and valuable light on China: a Western-educated Chinese, devoted to working to solve problems of China, analyzes some aspects of these problems so as to make them clearer to his countrymen. The essays give a Chinese point of view on China. They are not written to put a good face on things, or a dark face. They are written to help the Chinese to reach understanding of their troubles. Fei is saying to his countrymen: "Look, this is what has happened to us in recent years. This is the real revolution. This is the place where our shoe pinches. Understand; then act." To Americans, accustomed to thinking of China simply as an object of our foreign policy under the assumption that what will happen in China depends on what we do rather than on what the Chinese do, this book gives fresh insight. Problems of China are here looked at by a Chinese as problems for Chinese to solve, and to solve not by taking political sides, not by joining Russia or joining America, but by reform, by Chinese, of Chinese institutions.

Of course only some of the problems of China are considered in this book. Fei examines certain aspects of the traditional social structure and certain changes that have occurred in that structure that make difficulties for China. The changes have taken place chiefly as a result of the influence of the West. The book therefore bears on that social revolution in China which underlies the overthrow of the empire, the revolutionary republican movement led by Sun Yat-sen, and the winning of political control of China by Chinese Communists. The book does help us to understand how Chinese communism won China.

新契机中去了。他们中很少人读过马克思的著作，大多数人把国民党政府看作是压迫者，而把共产党人看作是解放者。

- 二

当费先生口述这些文章的英文译文时，他是希望英语读者去阅读它。像其他具有良好愿望的知识分子一样，他希望中国能被西方读者所理解，并且相信他要讲的是一些其他书中不曾讲到的关于中国的问题。但是，当费先生最初写这些文章时，他是在与中国人对话。这一事实在此英文版本中并没有改变。费先生在报纸上发表的文章有很大的读者群，包括各种各样的人，大多数既非农民也非知识分子。他们都读过费先生讲到的中国社会问题，而且都很欣赏。这些发表在报纸上的文章唤起了中国人的责任感，使他们意识到自己的事情要由自己来解决，从而维护自己的利益。因此，对于西方读者来讲，本书包含有一种关乎中国问题的不同寻常而又价值无比的见解，这是一位受过西方教育的中国人献身于解决中国问题的事业当中，对这些问题的某些方面进行分析，以使他的同胞能够得到更清楚的认识。这些文章表达了一个中国人对中国的看法。这样做并非是在给事物贴上好坏的标签，而是帮助中国人理解他们当下所面临的困境。费先生是在对他的同胞讲：“看，这是近几年来发生在我们身上的事。这是真正的革命。这就是令我们裹足不前的所在，认识它，了解它，然后就可以有所作为。”长期以来，美国人一直认为中国只不过是美国外交政策的一个对象，中国的发展取决于美国人而非中国人怎么做。对于他们来说，这本书无疑体现了一种全新的观点。在本书中，中国人把中国的问题看作是他们自己要解决的问题，而解决这些问题并不能依靠政治上的一边倒——倒向俄罗斯或倒向美国，而要靠改革，要由中国人来改革自己的制度。

当然，本书只涉及了中国的某些问题。费先生研究了传统社会结构的某些方面以及发生在这一结构中的给中国造成困难的某些变化。这些变化的发生主要是西方影响的结果。因此，本书与中国的社会革命有关，它是以君主专制的灭亡、孙中山所领导的民主共和革命运动以及中国共产党夺取政权等历史事件为基础。本书确实可以帮助我们理解中国共产主义运动是如何赢得中国的。

- III

As the essays were written as separate articles, the threads of common

idea which hold them together are not so apparent as they might be. There are two interrelated themes: the functions of the scholar and the gentry in the traditional Chinese society and the relations of the country and the city. The first theme is uppermost in the first four essays. The gentry and the scholars must be discussed together, for the scholars were chiefly (but not entirely) derived from the gentry, and the gentry carried on their functions and enjoyed their social position by virtue of the fact that some of them were scholars. The scholars were an elite; the gentry, a social and economic class. The first essay shows how the scholars, by becoming administrative servants of the imperial power, obtained security for themselves and kinsmen. In the second essay we find an account of the history of the development of this adjustment and of how the scholars reflected upon the relationship they had come to have with the centralized authority and how they explained and justified it in their philosophies. The third essay turns on the question why China experienced no important technical development. The scholars, or intellectuals, are now examined from the point of view of the exclusive concern they had with ethical knowledge: the intellectuals had no technical knowledge; they were supported by the labor of others and were unconcerned with productive work. So the governing class lacked the kind of knowledge which would have improved the material condition of the people. In the fourth essay, as in the first two, the point of attention is the function of the scholar-official in mediating the imperial power. But now the attention is directed to that educated member of the gentry who, remaining in the local community, negotiated, in a personal and extralegal way, with the formally recognized functionary who occupied the lowest position in the official bureaucracy. This critical function, exercised by the scholar-gentry, made the imperial power workable, while yet maintaining the traditional social organization of the village. This essay develops into a discussion of the *pao-chia* system (at that time recently reintroduced by the Kuomintang and later abolished by the Communists) by which it was sought to make the central authority directly influential upon the local community and shows why it was doomed to failure.

• 三

由于这些文章独立成篇，其共同主题并非显而易见。文中有两条相互交错的线索：其一是传统社会中文人和士绅的作用，其二是乡村和城

市之间的关系。前四篇文章主要讲第一个主题。文人和士绅要相提并论，因为文人大部分（并非全部）来自士绅，而士绅也靠他们中的某些人是文人而发挥作用和享受社会地位。文人是精英，而士绅属于社会经济阶层。第一篇文章讲述文人如何通过做官来为他们自己以及亲属赢得安全。第二篇文章描述了从文人到官员的这种调整的发展历史和文人如何看待他们与集权统治的关系以及如何以他们自己的哲学来对此加以解释和论证。第三篇文章转向了为什么中国没有经历重要的技术发展这一问题。在这里是从他们对于规范知识的独特关注的视角上而对文人或者说是知识分子作了考察。知识分子毫无技术知识，他们依靠别人的劳动，对生产活动毫不关心。所以统治阶级缺乏那种能够增进人民的物质条件的知识。与第一、第二篇文章一样，第四篇文章的关注点是士大夫在帝国的权力中作为中介的功能。但是现在的注意力指向了士绅中受过教育的人，他们仍住在地方社区当中，以私人的以及法律以外的方式，同那些正式承认的、在官府中担任最低职位的官吏打交道。文人士绅发挥的这种关键作用，使得皇权统治得以施行，并且维护了村庄的传统社会组织。这篇文章继而进一步讨论了保甲制度（该制度当时刚被国民党重新提出，后来又被共产党所废除），以此探求中央权威如何对地方社区施加直接影响，并要表明这样的做法为什么注定要失败。

In the fifth essay there is apparently a new beginning; Fei here takes up not the administrative relations but the economic relations between country and city. The scholar-gentry are not so apparent; but they are here just the same. For, while Fei is telling us that the economic relationship between city and country works to the disadvantage of the country, because the city lives off the country by taking rent and interest from the countryman without sending to the country the products it needs and could consume, we must remember that it is these same gentry who are pocketing the rent and interest and increasingly using the money to buy Western-made products instead of Chinese-made goods. Fei distinguishes several types of towns and cities and shows how each type served the interests of the gentry (and also those of the imperial power) and did not bring advantage to the peasants. Garrison town, market town, and treaty port—all provided opportunities for the economic exploitation of the country. Thus the peasant came to pay a large part of the products of this labor to maintain the gentry class, while the gentry, coming to prefer Western goods, no longer bought the products of rural handicraft and so ruined the small manufacturing which provided the peasant with a little margin over the barest subsistence.

The sixth essay develops this theme of the unsatisfactory character of the exchange between city and country and the worsening of the situation since the introduction of products manufactured in the West. And the seventh essay continues the consideration of the dislocations of the old social and economic system brought about by the influence of the West, while it returns to the theme of the scholar and his functions in Chinese society. In these last pages we see that the modern intellectual, the man educated in Western learning, does not take the place of the old intelligentsia. He does not go back to the country where he has no social position and no career. He stays in the city; so from the country is eroded away some of its best human resources. And some of the rural people, becoming poorer than ever, are also detached from the rural community and become predatory rovers or—as ever in China—rebels against the government. So only a few years before the Communists began to purge by shooting, and before the fighting in Korea, this series of essays ends, a diagnosis of immense problems, a declaration of hope that the Communists would provide leadership toward solving them.

第五篇文章显然是一个新的起点。费先生在这里不再继续探讨城乡之间的行政关系，而是论述了城乡之间的经济关系。这里没有明确提及文人士绅关系，但实际上都是存在的。费先生告诉我们说，城乡之间的经济关系给乡村带来不利影响，因为城市靠从乡村收取地租和利息而生存，但却不把乡民们所需要的以及所能够消费得起的产品提供给他们。此时我们必须记住，正是这些士绅把地租和利息装进自己的口袋，并且不断地去购买由西方而不是中国制造出来的商品。费先生把城镇分成几类，指出每一类是如何仅仅满足士绅（和皇权势力）的利益而不给乡村带来任何好处的。衙门围墙式的城、集镇以及通商口岸，都为从经济上剥削乡村提供了机会。因此，乡民们的劳动产品中很大一部分是用来供养士绅阶层，但士绅们不再购买农村的手工业产品，却转而青睐洋货，这样便毁灭了能给乡民勉强糊口的生活带来些许改善的小手工业。

第六篇文章进一步论述了城乡交换的不尽如人意以及引进洋货后这一情形的进一步恶化。第七篇文章继续论及西方影响给中国陈旧的社会经济制度造成的混乱，最后又回到文人及其在中国社会中的作用这一问题上来。在最后的这些篇幅里我们注意到，受过西方教育的现代知识分子并没有取代旧知识分子。他们没有回到既无社会地位又无事业可谈的乡村中去，而是留在城市里，因此乡村流失了一些最优秀的人力资源。一些乡民变得越来越贫困，他们脱离了乡村群体而成为流浪的强盗，或者是像中国过去一再出现过的那样，成为叛乱分子。这一系列文章收笔

于共产党准备开始镇压反革命以及朝鲜战争爆发的前几年。这是一份对中国众多问题的诊断书，是希望共产党能带领人们解决这些问题的一份宣言书。

- IV

To the Westerner the book sheds light on the recent political behavior of China and suggests that the failure of the West to prevent the party and power of Mao Tse-tung from taking control arose out of a worsening situation among the Chinese people which the party of Chiang Kai-shek did not remedy and which many Americans did not understand. Furthermore, it offers a different construction from that which is often put forward as to the benefit so far received by China from the importation of Western technology and capital.

First is borne in upon the reader the unwisdom, in the light of this analysis, of assuming that to the Chinese the central government has traditionally the meaning to Chinese which government has had to Americans and western Europeans. We have dealt with Chinese governments as though the Chinese thought they represented the Chinese people. It might have been nearer the truth if we had begun by assuming that centralized government is, traditionally, a potentially dangerous predator upon the people—"the tiger." With the revolution of Sun Yat-sen appeared governments that promised to act on behalf of the people, limiting their own power constitutionally. However, the credit of this promise, to Chinese, passed in the last decade from the Kuomintang to the Communist party. And the "people's assemblies," the innumerable committees and discussions, stimulated and guided by the Communists, gave Chinese, when the Communists took over, a sense of direct participation in government which they never experienced, and rarely thought was theirs to claim, during the long imperial period.

Second, we understand from what is brought forth in these pages how little prepared have been the Chinese people to assume leadership and carry on constructive and efficient national government. When many of us joined General Marshall in bidding the educated liberals of China to take the lead in constituting a government neither Communist nor corrupt, we did not understand the tradition of which those liberals are the heir. Since the time of Confucius at least, the educated man in China has been concerned with

ethical advice (or "normative knowledge," as Fei calls it), not with political action. Indeed, as Fei makes quite plain, especially in the first and fourth essays, sound political policy in China has been to neutralize the political power of the emperor, not to control it. Do-nothingism, he says, has been the equivalent of a constitutional check on government. So the scholar, while being an administrator, had nothing to do with shaping national policy; and administrative effectiveness consisted not in technical efficiency, as in the West, but in skill in such personal negotiations as kept local affairs running not too much disturbed by demands of centralized power. An educated elite with this tradition, without any political power or experience in the formation of policy, separated from the peasantry by mode of life and class position, could hardly be expected to rescue China from the torments of civil war. For the Chinese who has a modern Western education is only the heir of the scholar-official of the long imperial period.

- 四

本书给西方读者阐明了中国近期的政治行为，并指出，西方企图阻止共产党和毛泽东政权上台的失败，是由于蒋介石的国民党没能挽救中国人民于每况愈下的处境，而对于许多美国人来说也未能理解这一危急形势。同时，对于通常认为中国受益于引进西方技术和资本的观点，本书也作出了相反的回答。

依照这一分析，读者首先认识到，如果假设对于中国人来说，传统上中央政府对中国人的意义与政府对美国人和西欧人的意义一样，这是很不智的。我们在与中国政府打交道时，总是假定中国人认为这些政府是代表中国人民的。如果我们一开始就假定，即从传统的意义上说，中央政府对人民而言，通常是潜在的危险的捕食者，是“老虎”，这也许会更接近于真实。随着孙中山的革命运动，出现了代表民众、用宪法限制自身权力的政府。不过，在中国人看来，代表民众的美名在过去的十年中由国民党转移到了共产党身上。由共产党所发动和领导的人民代表大会、不计其数的委员会和讨论，使中国人感受到，自己在共产党掌权后直接参与了政府，这是他们在漫长的帝国时代里从未经历也几乎没敢要求过的。

其次，从这些文章中我们了解到，中国人对于掌握政权、施行建设性和有效的国家统治是何等地准备不足！我们许多人加入马歇尔将军的队伍，呼吁中国受过教育的自由派领导中国，建立起一个既非共产主义

的、也非腐化堕落的政府。但是我们并不了解，这些自由派实质是这些传统东西的继承人。至少是从孔子时代开始，中国受过教育的人已经和伦理教条（或者如费先生所称谓的“规范知识”）而非政治行为联系在一起。实际上，正如费先生特别在第一篇与第四篇文章中明确阐述的那样，在中国，良好的政治策略是使皇帝的政治权力自然化，而不是要去控制它。他说，“无为”成为政府体制约束的同义词。因此，作为官员的文人，在制定国家政策上无所事事；行政的效率并非像西方那样体现在技术的效率上，而是体现在为保持地方不过多地受到中央政权的干扰而进行的个人游说的技能上。一个具有这种传统的受过教育的精英，没有任何政治权力或制定政策的经验，从生活方式和阶级地位上脱离了农民身份，我们很难想象这样的人能把中国从内战的混乱中解救出来，因为受过现代西方教育的中国人也只不过是中国漫长的帝国时代的文官的传续。

The ancient system was not based on economic justice, but it worked. It worked to the degree that, except for natural catastrophes and wars, it gave the peasant a certain amount of security. His village handicrafts provided an income supplementary to that provided by his agriculture and used the labor that was not needed in slack seasons of the farmer's year. He had to support the gentry, but the scholar-official of the class he supported was useful to him in negotiating with the representatives of the imperial power to prevent the infliction of extreme hardship; and, if the peasant was both industrious and fortunate, he might live to see his son or grandson become a scholar and an official and so experience elevation in his own status. The teachings of the ancient sages reached the peasants through these scholars and redefined again and again the sense of moral purpose which peasant and gentry had in common. The Confucian non-acquisitive ideal both harmonized the peasant's ethics with his lot in life and acted as a restraint upon an imperial power otherwise without check.

If we call this regime, from a view of its politics, democratic or authoritarian, we are likely in either case to misrepresent the facts. The participation of a good many villagers in decisions as to local matters was hardly an equal participation, and the influence of the gentry on the local life was, through their economic power alone, very great. The authoritarianism of the central government was in cases and at times truly autocratic, yet that regime was in theory based on moral authority rather than force; the teachings of the Confucians made the point again and again; the fact that an

ideal other than absolutism existed influenced the facts, just as the ideal of social equality between all men influences the facts in the United States.

Thus the opposition between gentry and peasantry in traditional China was held within bounds by the real economic interdependence of the two classes, by the degree of mobility between them, by the co-operation between the two in dealing with the imperial power, and by common ethical principles. What happened to this system that made in China a genuine social revolution? Fei's book is no systematic study of this question—or of any other—but it does suggest some part of the answer. The changes that occurred in China through contact with the West disrupted this system, made it unworkable, and increased the real or apparent harshness of the inequality of life-changes between gentry and peasantry. Fei assumes but does not discuss the general effects in China of that great awakening of the ill-fed, overworked two-thirds of the human race, who live chiefly in Asia, which is such an immense event of our times: the new and growing discontent of the underdog everywhere. The special effects which he puts to the fore are the importation of goods (rather than of capital) and the new learning. Fei is plainly convinced that the benefits of Western capitalistic development in China did the common people harm rather than good. As the gentry developed tastes for Western goods, while some of them found new sources for wealth in trading with the West, they came to spend their profits realized in rent or interest on Western products. The peasant lost his market for his handicrafts and often found it difficult to move to market any agricultural produce that he might be lucky enough to have left over from his domestic wants. Whether Fei's account can stand without some qualifications or not, the visitor to China in recent years cannot fail to catch some of the bitterness with which many Chinese look upon Shanghai and the other treaty ports, where live the privileged, Chinese or Western, "sucking out the wealth of the Chinese people for their own luxuries." So the war between Nationalists and Communists is seen, against this background, not as a conquest of China by a foreign power or a foreign ideology but as a civil conflict between the traditionally privileged rentier class and the rural population.

古代的体系并非基于经济的公平，但却可行，可行到如果没有自然灾害和战争，农民就可以有一定程度安全感的地步。在农闲季节，多余的劳动力从事手工业可以带来额外收入。他们必须供养士绅，但是在与帝国权力的代表人物交涉以避免厄运时，他们所供养的这一阶层中的文

官对他们又是有用的。并且，如果一个农民既勤劳又幸运，他也许能在有生之年看到自己的儿子或孙子成为文人和官吏，那么，他自己的地位也会因此而提高。古代圣人的教导便是通过这些文人来传递给农民的，并且一次又一次重新界定农民和士绅都共同认可的道德目的的意义。孔子“无欲”的理想既调和了农民对于命运的伦理思想，又限制了皇权，否则皇权将毫无节制。

从政治的角度看，如果我们把这种统治叫做民主或独裁，那就可能歪曲了事实。在决定本村的事务时，众多村民的参加几乎并非平等的参与。士绅单单凭借他们在经济上的实力而对当地生活造成的影响就是相当巨大的。中央政府的威权主义有时存在，而且的确十分专制，但这种统治理论上是根基于道德权威而非武力，儒家学说曾多次指出过这一点。正是一种理想而非专制主义的存在这一事实影响到了这些现实，这与在美国人人平等的理想影响到了美国的那些现实是一样的。

因此在传统的中国，士绅和农民的对立局限在一定的范围之内：他们经济上互相依赖；在某种程度上，他们之间可以流动；在同皇权打交道时互相合作；享有共同的伦理概念。那么，这一体制发生了什么而导致了中国一场真正的社会革命？费先生并没有在书中对这一问题或任何其他问题作系统研究，但却的确暗示了部分的答案。中国在与西方接触的过程中发生的变化破坏了这种体制，使其丧失效力，并使士绅和农民之间不平等的生活差异变得更为严重。费先生没有讨论占世界人口三分之二、主要居住在亚洲、食不果腹、过度劳累的人民的伟大觉醒所带来的影响，但对此作了假设。这一觉醒是当今时代的一件大事：无处不在的被压迫者对现实新生的不满与日俱增。费先生将物品（而不是资本）的进口和新学的出现这样的特殊影响看作是首当其冲的。费先生确信，西方资本主义在中国的发展对老百姓有害无利。随着士绅们逐渐培养起对洋货的品味，当他们中的某些人在与西方贸易的过程中发现新的发财之路时，他们便会开始用收取地租和利息得来的钱去购买洋货。农民的手工业品失去了市场，并且通常很难将除自用之外有幸剩下的农产品拿到集市上去出售。无论费先生的描述是否能站得住脚，近几年到过中国的人都不难感受到某些凄凉之处，许多中国人正是带着这种凄凉来看待上海以及其他通商口岸的：在那里居住着享有特权的中国人或洋人，他们“为享受荣华富贵而榨取中国人民的财富”。因此，在这种背景下，国民党和共产党的斗争就不是被看作中国被国外的势力或意识形态所征服，而是来自传统的靠收取地租和利息生存的特权阶层和农民的内部冲突。

And more and more did the sympathies of the Chinese with modern

education turn to the rural population and against the *rentier* class. They came to take hope that the reforms promised by Mao Tse-tung would remove some of the worst of the economic injustices of China. They saw a chance that they could use the special scientific knowledge many of them had acquired in solving the problem of how the city and country might be made mutually beneficial. They attacked the question of how industrialization of China might be wisely carried on, so that the common people might benefit. They began to see how great was their own personal and professional problem: to learn to act politically, to help make public policy in rural communities, and to work with a peasant from whom tradition had separated them.

接受现代教育的中国人，越来越同情农民而反对收取地租的阶层。他们开始寄希望于毛泽东，希望他的改革能祛除某些严重经济不平等现象。他们看到了可以用自己掌握的专门的科学知识去解决城乡互惠互利问题的那种机会。他们着力解决如何巧妙地在中国实施工业化，从而使得普通民众可以受益这一问题。他们开始发现自己个人的和职业上所面对的问题是何等地重要，那就是要学会政治上的行为方式，要帮助制定乡村社区的公共政策，还要与在传统上跟他们分离开来的农民并肩工作。

Hsiao-tung Fei, himself a member of the gentry class, at the time these essays were written was probably the leading voice among those striving to solve the problem of China with the aid of science and toward the common welfare. Through his studies and periods of residence in the West he had come to assume a position, unfamiliar to the traditional intellectual of China, that "something must be done to help." For this he and some few others in China like him were criticized by other intellectuals. Interested in American democracy and in English socialism, convinced that the people of China must assume responsibility for economic and social reform, he turned to the writing of the papers that now appear in this book partly because the suspicious Nationalist Chinese government would not allow him to carry on field research. The essays are in part an indirect criticism of the failures of the Nationalist government. Whether today Fei has the freedom he needs to speak and act in accordance with his convictions is not known to the writer of these lines. But those who know him are sure that he will continue as long as he is able to devote his energies, and to risk his life, to help the Chinese people.

• V

The correctness of Fei's interpretations of the origins of economic and political problems in China may be open to criticism. There are other minds and other books to do this. Another aspect of the book is also open to criticism: the use and interpretation of references to classical Chinese literature. Such references occur especially in the first two essays. To me the correctness of Fei's philological and philosophical understandings is, in the general context of this work, less important than the fact that he used the Chinese classics at all. The old literati had ceased to perpetuate themselves; they are gone forever; Fei's face was turned hopefully to the Communists, whose doctrines he knew to be anti-Confucian and Marxist. Yet Fei, talking to his own people, "the plain people," elaborates and demonstrates his views with etymologies and quotations from the traditional poets and philosophers. Also he quotes Lilienthal, R. H. Tawney, and Sorokin! There is something in these pages that tells us about the forms of thought appropriate to the persuasion of literate Chinese at the turn of the revolutionary tide.

费孝通本人出身于士绅阶层，他所写的这些文章可能是那些想着民众的福利、主张依靠科学解决中国问题的人们的先声。他在西方学习和逗留期间逐渐认识到：“该做点帮忙的事情了。”这一立场对传统中国知识分子来说有些生疏，他同国内另外几个人因此遭到其他知识分子的批判。由于他对美国的民主和英国的社会主义感兴趣，认定中国人要负起经济与社会改革的责任，所以才会写下本书中所收录的文章，这里有一部分原因就是考虑到持怀疑态度的国民党政府可能不允许他去进行实地的田野研究。这些文章实际上委婉地批判了国民党政府的失败。费先生今天是否有依其信念的言行自由，本文作者不得而知，但认识费先生的人都确信，他会尽其可能继续不畏艰险、鞠躬尽瘁地帮助中国人民。

• 五

费先生对中国经济和社会问题的解释的正确性可能会引起批评意见。这是其他人和其他书要做的事了。本书的另外一个方面也许同样会遭到批评，那就是对本书所参考的中国古典文献的运用和解释方面。这些文献尤其在前两篇文章中居多。在我看来，费先生在文献学和哲学方面理解的正确性，从本书的一般脉络上来看，并不及他运用了中国经典这一事实来得重要。古代的文人学士已离我们而去，无法再永垂不朽。

费先生转而憧憬共产主义，他深知共产党人的主张与儒家思想相左，他们是坚持马克思主义的。然而他引用古代诗人和哲人的语句来向他的“纯朴的人民”阐明自己的观点。他竟然还引用到了李林塞尔、理查德·亨利·托尼和索罗金！本书的字里行间向我们讲述了在革命浪潮转折时期，合乎中国文人信念的思维方式。

- VI

Fei's seven essays are followed in this volume by six life-histories of Chinese gentry collected by Mr. Yung-teh Chow in Yunnan between 1943 and 1946. Mr. Chow has translated these into English and kindly allowed their inclusion in this book. The accounts seem to us to exhibit, in terms of the life-careers of particular individuals, some of the principal generalizations Fei offers as to the role, partly beneficial, partly predatory, of the traditional Chinese gentry. Further comment on these life-histories appears on pages 145–148.

A Chinese sociologist in this country said to my wife and me: "When a Chinese sociologist writes for Chinese, he writes very differently from the way he writes for Americans." The remark suggests something of the incompleteness with which Western social science and traditional Chinese forms of thought have become fused. It helps to explain, also, why my wife left in the text the many references to Chinese classics which Fei put there and introduced in the footnotes some explanations of some of these references. These references are entirely superfluous to the Sinologist; they are inserted to help readers who are not Sinologists to recognize the sources of some of Fei's allusions.

In the cases of Chinese who have written in English and have recorded their names with the surname in last position, we have followed this practice; in other cases we have written the names as the Chinese do: with the surname first.

My wife and I are indebted to Mr. William L. Holland and the Institute of Pacific Relations (which had previously given aid to Fei for his researches on the Chinese gentry) for guidance and encouragement in the course of the preparation of the manuscript; to Professor John K. Fairbank, Dr. Marion J. Levy, Jr., Dr. Derk Bodde, W. Lloyd Warner, and Dr. Sol Tax for their kindness in reading the work and making helpful suggestions; and to Dr. Shu-

ching Lee for advice on points of Chinese language or history and in connection with the editing of the life-histories. None of the above, however, has any responsibility for the content or form of the book.

ROBERT REDFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

May 1952

• 六

本书除了费先生的七篇短论外，接下来是六篇中国士绅的生活史，由周荣德先生于1943年至1946年间在云南搜集整理。周先生已将其译成英文并惠允我加进本书中来。从这些个人生活经历的角度来说，这些描述似乎向我们展示了费先生所概括的传统士绅阶层作用的一些主要性质，其作用大可说是利弊参半。在本书的145页至148页有对这些生活史的进一步评论。［该附录部分非费孝通所作，故未收入本书——编者注］

一位中国社会学家对我和夫人说："当一位中国社会学家为中国人写作时，他的写作风格与为美国人写作时截然不同。"这一见解暗示了西方的社会科学和中国人的传统思维方式相融合时某种程度的不完全。这也有助于解释为什么我夫人在正文中保留了费先生引用的众多中国古典文献，并在脚注中对其中一部分加以解释说明。这些引用对汉学家来讲完全多余，它们是为了帮助非汉学家的读者去认识费先生某些引述典故的出处。

对于那些曾用英文写作并以英文形式（姓氏在后）注名的中国人的姓名，我们姑且沿用这种形式。其余的名字我们仍按中国人的习惯，即姓氏在前。

在准备本书原稿的过程中，威廉·霍兰德先生和太平洋国际学会（该学会曾为费先生研究中国士绅阶层问题提供帮助）给予了我们指导和鼓励，我和夫人在此深表感激。费正清教授、小马利恩·利维博士、德克·卜德博士、劳埃德·沃纳和索尔·塔克斯博士都阅读了本书，并提出了宝贵建议；李树清博士在汉语语言和中国历史以及生活史编辑工作方面多有建议——我们在此都一并表示感谢。以上诸位对本书的内容和形式不负任何责任。

罗伯特·雷德菲尔德

1952年5月于芝加哥大学

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[1] Peasant Life in China (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1939).
[2] Earthbound China (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1948).
[3] "Peasantry and Gentry: An Interpretation of Chinese Social Structure and Its Changes," American Journal of Sociology, LII, No. 1 (July, 1946), 1–17.
[4] 《江村经济——中国农民的生活》，伦敦：劳特里奇与基根·保罗出版有限公司；纽约：杜冬出版公司，1939年。
[5] 《被土地束缚的中国》，芝加哥：芝加哥大学出版社，1945年；伦敦：劳特里奇与基根·保罗出版有限公司，1948年。
[6] 《农民和士绅——中国社会结构及其变迁的一种解释》，载于《美国社会学学刊》第52卷第1期，1946年7月，1—17页。

Chapter One The Gentry and the Imperial Power

第壹章 士绅与皇权

The term "gentry," *shen-shih*, refers to a class of persons with a definite position and definite functions in the traditional society of China. Here, by "traditional society," is meant the period after the breakdown of feudalism and the unification of the empire under a centralized monarchical power not long before 200 B.C. The development of the gentry class has a history; only through this history can we understand its characteristics.

The class that is here called gentry is also sometimes referred to as *shih ta fu*, "scholar-official." Actually the gentry class, although closely linked with the group of scholar-officials, should be distinguished from it. To be born into a gentry family did not necessarily insure that one became a scholar or an official in traditional China. Under feudalism the situation was different. At that time the gap between the nobles and the commoners was great. *Shih*[1] and *ta fu*[2], although they were the bottom of the hierarchy of the ruling class, were still a part of that class and as such possessed real political power. But after the breakdown of feudalism political power was no longer portioned out but became concentrated in the person of one man, the

monarch. In order to carry out his administrative functions, the monarch required assistance. This was given him by the officials. The officials then were no longer relatives or members of the ruler's own family but rather employees—the servants, or tools, of the monarch.

After the breakdown of feudalism there was another important change. The throne became the object of capture by the strong, by the hunters after power. Under feudalism, in which political power was distributed to relatives and kin, anyone not born into a noble family was a common man who had no chance of reaching the throne, of touching or even of seeing the divine paraphernalia of monarchy. No more than a woman can change into a man could a common man become royal. But, when feudalism went, anyone could become emperor. Thus political power became an object of struggle. This is illustrated by the story told by the historian Ch'ien Ssu-ma of Xiang Yu, who during the Ch'in dynasty (221–206 B.C.), in watching an imperial procession, said to his friend, "This I can seize." Since that time the struggle for political power has never ceased. Political power in the eyes of the people has become something precious to be sought after, an enterprise for large-scale entrepreneurs.

“士绅”这个词，指的是在中国传统社会中占有一定地位、发挥一定功能的一个阶层。这里所谓的“传统社会”是指临近公元前3世纪时封建制度解体之后，由中央集权一统天下的帝国时期。士绅阶层有其自身的发展历史，只有通过这一历史，我们才能了解其特征。

本书所讲的士绅阶层有时也被称为“士大夫”。实际上，虽然士绅阶层与士大夫群体紧密相连，但仍应把他们区分开来。出身于士绅家庭，并不能确保此人将来一定会成为中国传统社会中的文人或官员。在封建时代，情形便不大一样。封建时代的贵族和平民之间存在有不可逾越的鸿沟。“士”[3]和“大夫”[4]虽然处于统治阶级等级体系的最底层，但他们仍属于统治阶级的一部分，并拥有真正的政治权力。但封建制度解体后，政权不再分散，而是集中在最高统治者一人手里。为了实施管理，最高统治者需要辅佐。这种辅佐是由官吏来提供的。因此，这里的官吏不再是统治者的家族成员或亲戚，而是他的雇佣，即仆人或者统治工具。

封建制度解体后发生了另一重要的变化，皇权成为强者、权力追逐者竞相争夺的目标。在封建制度下，政权分配给统治者的亲戚和家属，出生在贵族家庭之外的人是平民，他们永远没有机会登上王位，没有机会触摸君王的神圣用具，甚至连看的机会也没有。平民要想成为皇室的成员就像女人要变成男人一样不大可能。但是，封建制度解体后，任何

人都有可能成为皇帝。这样，政治权力就成为大家争夺的目标。历史学家司马迁描述过这样一个故事：秦朝（公元前221年—公元前206年）时的项羽在观看皇家列队时对他的朋友说："彼可取而代之。"从那以后，争夺政治权力的斗争从来就没有停止过。政治权力在人们的眼里已成为竞相猎取的宝贝，要做大买卖的就干这个。

Unfortunately, since the breakdown of the feudal structure in China, political power has no longer been transmitted permanently in certain families, and up to the present no peaceful means of attaining it has ever been found. We continue to be convinced that the way to gain political power is through "taking up the stick" and fighting civil wars. Those few who emerge victorious in this struggle become emperors; the defeated become bandits. So we have had a succession of tyrants. A few people rule the mass. The nature of this despotic monarchy is not changed by the handing-on or relaying of power. In England, when a monarch was killed, monarchical power itself received a blow. Changes of monarchy led in time to a growth in the power of the people and to a government monarchic in name only. But, in China, blood flows from the people's veins, while those who attain the throne are but a few fortunate adventurers, like Liu Pang, the first emperor of the Han, who was born a lowly peasant, or Chu Yuan-chang, the founder of the Ming dynasty. When we study official versions of Chinese history, we find presented to us a continuous line of dynastic descent; but we should not forget that the authority of these rulers was continuously challenged by civil wars and unscrupulous adventurers.

To struggle for political power by violence is dangerous. If a man succeeds, he may become emperor; but, if he loses, he will be killed, and not only he himself but his whole family and clan. When he is challenging the established emperor, he is called a bandit and rebel, and the might of the army is directed against him. Moreover, the empire gained by violence may be lost by violence also. Twice in history, according to tradition, emperors tried to give up their power to other men who they thought would make better rulers. But those to whom the power was offered did not want it. They preferred to run away rather than to take on the responsibility. We do not know how far these two emperors were sincere in their desire to give up their power and to what extent this action was no more than a gesture or a piece of complicated political intrigue. There is no question of the fact, however, that in all of Chinese recorded history there is not a single case of voluntary

abdication from the throne. Those abdications which did take place were forced. "The empire that was won on horseback will be lost only on horseback," as the popular saying goes.[5]

To seek to become a monarch is to risk one's life. The heir to the throne must uphold his succession. The emperor, who should be merciful, may pardon all other crimes but not the crime of attempted usurpation. That is the most terrible thing that can be attempted under heaven. To anyone who reads the records of the beginnings of the Ming dynasty, the account of tortures applied to those who menaced the throne sounds like an account of progress through hell. I was told that the models of the "eighteen hells" found in district Buddhist temples are reminiscent of what was really done in the Ming dynasty. The threat of torture was the emperor's protection. I remember once as a boy calling out in play, "I am the emperor." My grandmother stopped me at once, saying, "You must never say that." This was not superstition or overcaution on her part but a recognition of a real danger in rash speaking. According to tradition at least, emperors used to have those children killed whom fortune-tellers foretold would one day become monarchs.

不幸的是，中国封建制度里解放出来的政权，固然不再专属一姓、万世一系了，但是到现在还没有找出一个夺取政权的和平方式。我们一说起夺取政权，就忘不了“揭竿而起”的内战手段。武力争夺的方式下，政权变成了“成则为王、败则为寇”的夺宝对象。夺来夺去，以暴易暴，总是极少数人统治着其他的人民，专制的皇权并没有在政权的传承和接替中发生任何性质上的改变。我们不像英国——杀了一个皇帝，皇权减少了一些，民权抬了一些头；赶走一个皇帝，皇权又减少了一些，民权再抬一些头；最后竟成了个挂名皇帝，取消了皇权——但是，在传统中国只有“取而代之”的故事，流的是人民的血，得到宝座的却是少数幸运的“流氓”，像下层农民出身的汉朝开国皇帝刘邦、明朝开国皇帝朱元璋等一派人物就是。在官方修撰的史籍上，固然有着一脉相承的正统；可事实上，大小规模的内战和肆无忌惮的冒险者恐怕是经常的现象，史不绝书，不断挑战着统治者的权威。

以武力争夺政权是危险的事。成固然可以称王，败则只有一死；非但一死，而且还会灭族。当他向当政的皇帝提出挑战时，他就成为寇匪或反贼，军队会冲他而来。况且，通过暴力得来的政权可能也会因暴力而丧失。历史上曾有过两次，依照传统，皇帝试图把政权让给他认为是更好的统治者的人。但是那些人并不想得到政权，他们宁可远离而不愿肩负责任。我们无从得知这两位皇帝让出政权的诚心有多大，也不清楚

在何种程度上，这不过是一种姿态或是复杂的政治阴谋。但是有一个事实无法否认：中国有记载的历史中，没有一个皇帝主动退位让出皇权；曾经有过让位的例子，但那是出于被迫。常言道：马背上得天下，亦只于马背上失天下。[6]

想当君王实际上是拿生命去冒险。王位继承人肯定要保住其继承权。作为皇帝应该仁慈，他可以赦免其他所有罪行，而唯独不能对谋反篡权罪手软。谋反是天底下最可怕的事。任何读过明朝初期历史的人都知道，书中描写的对谋反分子施加的酷刑仿佛是在地狱中发生的一样。我们在城隍庙里所见到的“十八层地狱”的形象，据说是写实的，是明史的标本。酷刑的威胁便是皇帝的保护伞。记得小时候，有一次我在玩耍中大喊了一句：“我是皇帝！”祖母急忙阻止我说：“这是不能说的！”她并不是迷信，也非过于小心，而是意识到信口一句话会带来的实际的危险。至少依照传统来看，皇帝常会把那些据算命先生讲长大会做皇帝的孩子杀死。

But this threat of violence has never really given effective protection to monarchical power. As Lao-tzu says, "When one does not fear death, how is it possible to threaten a man with death?" When it is possible to gain political power through violence, the throne is tempting. Though the brutality of those in authority may silence the majority, repression will never be entirely successful. The magnitude of the stakes, an imperial power which could be used to realize any whim, could not but make the effort attractive in spite of dangers. On the one hand, there were those who were willing to gamble with their lives; on the other, there were those who submitted quietly. One may ask, then, what it was that decided on which side a man should be.

Under monarchical rule the people had only duties without rights; the emperor's word was law. If he wanted to build a great palace, an imposing tomb, or a grand canal, he ordered it done without regard for the people. If he wanted to expand the boundaries of his kingdom, he commanded his army to mobilize regardless of whether the people liked it or not. The paying of taxes, the conscription of soldiers—these were burdens for the people to accept without compensation. Those who have lived under despotic monarchical power will understand Confucius' saying, "A brutal monarch is even worse than a tiger."[7] This policy of despotism more fearful than a tiger has had a long history in China. So we say, when the tiger comes out from his cage, the frightened people escape to the Liang hills.[8]

Upon all who are unarmed, we may say, the threat of political tyranny

falls with equal weight. Yet in this, too, there have always existed differences. The richer folk could afford to pay for security. In the Chinese traditional pattern conscription, for example, could be bought off. The breaking-up of a family such as is described in "Old Poem" could never have happened in a rich family.[9] Thus it was that people from this class became political adventurers.

但是，武力的威胁并没有真正有效地保护皇权。正如老子所言："民不畏死，奈何以死惧之？"当通过暴力夺取政权成为可能时，王权就变得异常诱人。虽然统治者的暴行可以使多数人保持沉默，但压迫永远也不会完全奏效。在予取予夺的专制皇权下，政权可以用来谋取私人的幸福，社会也可以从顺逆的界限上分出敢于冒大不韪的人和不敢冒大不韪的人。那么，有人就会问了，敢与不敢这样的事情是怎样决定的呢？

在专制政权之下，人民只有义务而没有权利，皇帝的话就是法律。皇帝如果想要建造一座宏大的宫殿、巨大的陵墓，或是挖一条大运河，他不会顾及百姓，只是下令让手下人去做。如果他想开疆拓土，就会命令军队去动员，不管人民愿不愿意。赋税和兵役都是百姓难以接受的负担，并且没有任何的补偿。生活在暴虐的专制统治下的人们很容易理解孔子的"苛政猛于虎也"这句话。[10]这种比老虎更可怕的暴政在中国有很长的历史。所以我们说，这政治老虎出了栏，就会吓得人逼上梁山了。[11]

专政统治的威胁对所有手无寸铁的人来讲，其威力都是一样的，但常常也有不同。富人可以用银子来买安全。比如，古代中国的征兵制度中有用银子来代替服兵役的做法。古诗中描写的支离破碎的家庭绝不会是富人家。[12]因此恰恰是出自贫民阶层的人变成了政治上的冒险者。

The possession of riches or the lack of them was what was important for making some acquiesce and others rebel. "Man fears to be distinguished as a pig fears to be fat." When the political tiger attacks, the man who is rich will have a greater difficulty in escaping than the man without property. In such a case property becomes a burden. Propertied families developed great alertness in watching the behavior of the tiger. The poor man who has become desperate may rebel, become a bandit in the mountains, and even, in time, challenge the royal authority itself. But a man of property and family cannot easily do this. He must find some way to avoid the attack of the tiger. Unfortunately, as the old saying goes, "From the water's edge, all land is the emperor's; under the heavens all are the emperor's men." At that time travel

was not easy; one could not run away to Washington or Brazil, nor was there any International Settlement in a treaty port, nor even any Hong Kong. Physically there was no escape. Perhaps this is not quite true, after all, because we know that from early times certain individuals were able to escape to Korea or Japan. But the ordinary man had to find some means of protection within the structure of society itself.

There was a weak point, however, in this centralized monarchical system. He who held power, the emperor, as I have said, could not administer the country by himself. Even though he might not wish to share his authority, he still required help in ruling and must therefore employ officials. These officials, with whom the ruling house had no ties of kinship, functioned merely as servants with administrative power but no power of policy-making. It was within the inefficiencies of this system that the ordinary man found his opportunity to carry on his private concerns.

It is true that previous to the unification of Ch'in (221 B.C.) there were attempts to establish an efficient administrative system. This was done under the influence of the *Fa Chia*, or Legalist, school of thought. Theoretically, the system proposed by this school of thought was a good one.[13] In order to have an efficient administration of the country, a legal basis must be established, with everyone controlled by the same law. Shang Yang, as prime minister of Ch'in, attempted to put this theory into practice. But the theory unfortunately neglected one small point. One man, the emperor, was left outside the law. And this omission destroyed the whole system of the *Fa Chia*.[14]

财富的占有和匮乏是导致沉默和反抗的重要原因。“人怕出名猪怕壮。”当政治猛虎出击的时候，富有者比穷人更难以逃脱灾难，这时候财富变成了负担。富贵人家善于对“老虎”察言观色，而绝望的穷人也许会揭竿而起，或是落草为寇，甚至迟早直接向皇权发起挑战。一个有家室、有财产的人不会轻易这么做，他必须设法摆脱“老虎”的攻击。不幸的是，正如古人所言：“普天之下，莫非王土；率土之滨，莫非王臣。”那时出门可不容易，不能跑到华盛顿或巴西，也不可能在任何一个通商口岸寻求国际避难，甚至也没有香港这类地方。在地理空间上是无处可逃的。但也许并不完全如此，毕竟我们知道有些人在早年就逃到了朝鲜或日本。但是，一般人只能在现有的社会体制下寻找自我保护的途径。

不过，这种集权的专制统治有一个弱点，正如我说的那样，掌握政权的皇帝，不能独自管理国家。即使他不愿意让别人分享权力，他仍需

要任命官吏做助手和代理，协助其实施统治。这些官吏与皇室没有亲戚关系，如同皇帝的雇佣，他们没有立法权，只有行政管理权。在这种效率低下的制度下，普通百姓才有机会产生私欲。

在秦朝统一国家（公元前221年）以前，确实曾有些人想要建立一个富有效率的行政机构。这是受到了法家学派的思想的影响。从理论上来讲，这一学派提出的体系是好的。[15]有效率的行政机构必须是一个法制的机构，所有人都要受到同样的法律的控制。作为秦国宰相的商鞅试图要将这一理论付诸实践。可不幸的是，这一理论有一点小小的疏忽——有一个人没有被纳入法律之内，那就是天子。这留在法律之外的一个人却把法家的整个体系废黜了。[16]

Shang Yang himself lost his life on this account, for, though under the law he was able to punish the prince when he was only the heir to the throne,[17] as soon as the prince became emperor, he ordered Shang Yang killed. And the efficient system which Shang Yang himself had established prevented him from escaping.

If the highest authority were bound by law, then administrative authority would be able to cage the tiger. But in Chinese history this has never happened. As a result, the ruled, including the officials themselves, have never sought for efficiency in administration. Rather the opposite has been true. Inefficiency and parasitism, on the one hand, remoteness of imperial control and a do-nothing policy by the emperor, on the other—this has always been the ideal. Yet this ideal of government, of a "good emperor" as one who presided but did not rule, has rarely been attained. As far as the officials were concerned, the next best thing, then, could only be to protect themselves, to keep a back door open for their relatives, and to be able to use their position as a shield against the emperor's whims. To protect not only themselves but their relatives and their whole clan from the unchecked power of the monarch, and to do this not by constitutional or by legal means but by personal influence—this is what they sought. Not by challenging the emperor's authority but by coming close to him, by serving him and from this service gaining an advantage in being enabled to shift the burden of the emperor's demands onto the backs of those lower down, did the propertied class attempt to neutralize the emperor's power over them and to avoid the attack of the tiger. Groups of officials, with their relatives, formed, thus, in Chinese society a special class not affected by the laws, exempt from taxation and conscription. Nevertheless, they had no real political power.

To escape domination while approaching the source of power takes a highly developed skill. The position of the officials was not easy. As the old sayings go, "When the emperor orders your death, you must die" and "All the blame is mine; the emperor can do no wrong." If the official relaxed his efforts on behalf of the emperor, he might lose his life. When the emperor required money or labor, he must be active in meeting these demands—a task he accomplished by shifting the burden onto the backs of the people. Yet, if the burdens became too heavy for the people to bear, they might rebel, and it was then the officials who would be attacked first and who would serve as the scapegoats of the monarch.[18] The officials must be two-faced: severe toward the people and compliant toward the emperor. They must know the art of going just so far and no further in order that they might not be caught either by the fury of the emperor or by the wrath of the people. Chinese officials' life has been described as the art of maneuvering on a stormy sea. Experience through the ages was the teacher. It may be noted that in Chinese the expression, "Do not speak to me officially," does not mean the same thing as in English but rather, "Speak to me sincerely."

商鞅因此自己把命丢了，尽管在法律之下，他能够对还只是王位继承人的太子加以惩罚[19]，但是太子一当上皇帝就下令将商鞅杀掉，由商鞅自己所建立起来的高效率的体系也使他自己在劫难逃。

如果最高的权威受到了法律的约束，那么行政的权威就能够将这只老虎囚住。但是在中国的历史上，这样的事情从来没有发生过。结果，被统治者——包括官吏自己在内——从来就不追求行政上的效率。实际的情况正是与之相对立。一方面是无效率和寄生，另一方面是天高皇帝远以及皇帝的无为政策——这一直是一种理想的状态。然而这种政府的理想，即是说一位“好皇帝”应当统而不治，这样的皇帝很少有人能够做到。就官吏而言，退而求其次的办法就只能是保护他们自己，为他们的亲戚开后门，并且还能够利用他们的位置作为一种挡箭牌来抵御皇帝的变化无常。要保护的不仅是他们自己，还有他们的亲戚以及整个宗族免遭不受限制的君主权力的侵扰，而且这样做所依靠的并非是宪法或者法律的手段，而是依靠个人的影响力——这就是他们所追求的。有产阶级想要消磨掉皇帝加诸他们身上的权力，并以此来避开这只老虎的攻击，并非是靠对皇帝的权威加以挑战，而是靠亲近皇帝、为皇帝服务，从中获得的一种好处便是能够将皇帝各种要求的负担转移给比自己阶层更低者。官僚及其庇护下的亲友集团由此构成了中国社会所特有的一个不受法律影响的阶层，他们有免役免税的特权。虽然如此，但他们并没有真

正的政治权力。

逃避自己想要接近的权力之源的支配，需要有高超的技能。官僚的位置并不轻松。正如古语所言："君要臣死，臣不得不死"，还有"臣罪当诛，天王圣明"。他不能怠工而有损皇帝的利益，否则可能性命不保。当皇帝需要钱或劳力的时候，他必须特别卖力来满足这些需要，即通过把整个的政治负担转嫁到平民身上来完成这项差事。但是，一旦这种负担过重，人民无法承受之时，他们便可能起来造反，到时就是这些官僚们首当其冲地受到攻击，由此而成了国君的替罪羊。[20]官僚们必须有两套面目：对人民严酷而对皇帝顺从。他们必须要知道进退有节，适可而止，以免走了极端而惹恼了皇帝，或者是引起人民的激愤。中国官僚们的生活曾被描述为是在风云变幻的海上运筹帷幄的艺术。代代相传的经验即为人师。应该注意的是，在汉语中所说的"不要打官腔"，并非与英语字面的意思一样，而实际是在说："跟我说实话。"

In normal times to be an official was no direct economic advantage. From the monarch's point of view, for an official to use his position to enrich himself meant corruption of the system and a diminution of his own treasure. Thus, unless a monarch were very weak, he would not tolerate such officials. An official in ordinary times would not improperly profit from the office but would leave it with "two sleeves full of wind."[21]

Why, then, should people want to be officials? The poem of T'ao Yuan-ming expresses the feelings of one such man:

Why should I be an official?

I bend my back

For only three piculs of rice

Why should I not go back to till the land?[22]

T'ao Yuan-ming was a typical unworldly poet. Yet, in spite of his talent and his interest in the things of the mind, even he had to "bend his back" and occupy an official position and withal receive only a small financial reward. Why did such a one accept this position instead of staying home where he was happy? The fact is that, if he had shown his scorn of officialdom by leaving office, he would probably by now be "a man without an arm."[23] The choice lay between "bending the back" or being disabled. The necessity for becoming an official was a little like the need for being inoculated. Just as one runs the risk of having a bad reaction to an inoculation, so in becoming

an official one may risk having one's property confiscated or even one's head cut off. But, once the inoculation is over, one has gained protection. This analogy is not too apt, since from an inoculation one person becomes immune, whereas if one has been an official one can protect a whole group of people. As a result, it happened that sometimes a group would join to aid in the education of one man so as to enable him to reach officialdom. "One man rises to officialdom, then all his dogs and chickens will be promoted," is the saying.

在平常的日子里，做官并没有什么直接的经济上的好处。在皇帝看来，官员利用自己的职位来致富，不仅意味着腐化皇权所依赖的制度，而且是皇家财富的减缩。因此，除非某位皇帝软弱无能，否则，他是不会容许有这种官员存在的。处在太平盛世的官员不会不合法地从官位上捞到好处，而只会在离任时留下“两袖清风”。[24]

那么，为什么人们还想要做官呢？陶渊明的诗表达了这种感慨：

我为什么要去做官呢？

只为五斗米折腰。

我为什么不归耕田园？[25]

陶渊明是一位典型的出世诗人。尽管他富有才气，也很有风雅，但他还是“折了腰”，身居一个官位，仅仅是为了得到那么一点俸禄。为什么这样的一个人要去接受这样的一个位置，而不是呆在他所喜欢的家里呢？事实恰恰是，如果他真的表现出自己看不上官职，弃官而去，他就可能成为一位“折臂翁”了。[26]这就是说必须在“折腰”和“折臂”之间作出选择。做官的必要性有点像打防疫针。正像打防疫针要冒打了过后有不良反应的风险一样，做官就可能要冒抄家和掉脑袋的危险。但是，一旦打了针后，人就可以有免疫力了。这样的比喻略有点不贴切，因为打了防疫针，只能够使一个人自己得到免疫，而做官所能庇护的是一整群的人。结果有时就出现了一大群人资助一个人去读书，以便使他能够获得个一官半职；一人升官，鸡犬安宁。

In Chinese traditional society the clan or big family naturally constituted a group which could take action of this sort, supporting one of their members until the time when he should become a scholar and be eligible for the official examinations. Once this individual attained official honors, the whole clan could rely upon him. Without any strong person at court, it was difficult to protect one's property. Ku T'ing-lin was an official during the Ming dynasty, but, when the rule passed to the Manchus, he refused to continue in an

official position, gave up traveling abroad, and shut himself up at home with his books. Yet for his own protection he was obliged to send his two nephews to the Ch'ing court to serve his enemies. This was made possible by the fact that, as we have said, Chinese officials did not share in the political power of the emperor but served their monarch by neutralizing and softening down his power rather than by supporting it. With his nephews in court, the uncle was protected even in secret rebellious activities. According to Chinese tradition, officials did not work seriously for the government, nor did they like to continue as officials for a long period. Their purpose in entering the government was to gain both immunity and wealth in this order. The Chinese officials when in office protected their relatives, but, when this duty to the family had been performed, they retired. Retirement and even a hermit's life were the ideal. In retirement there was no longer any authority to be served with watchful care, while the relatives who had gained protection from their kinsman official owed him a debt of gratitude. Now he need only enjoy his social prestige and grow fat and happy. As we say in China, "To come back to one's native soil, beautifully robed and loaded with honors, is the best thing in life."[27] Such a man will not attempt to seize power; his children will not play at being emperor. Nor will he have any idea of reforming the social system, for that system will do him no harm. Once out of the way of imperial influences, he may enjoy the economic power of a landowner.

This is the sort of man I mean by gentry. The gentry may be returned officials or the relatives of officials or simply educated landowners. In any case, they have no real political power in shaping policies and may have no direct connection with politics whatsoever, yet they do tend to have influence at court and to be immune from political exploitation. And the more fearful the ruler and the more tiger-like, the more valuable is the gentry's protective covering. In such circumstances it is difficult to survive except by attaching one's self to some big family.

在中国传统社会中，宗族和大家庭自然就构成了这样的一个团体，这个团体所做的一件事情就是供其中一员去上学，一直到他考上了功名，得了一官半职，一族人就有靠山了。若在朝廷里没有靠山，在乡间想保持财产是困难的。顾亭林是明朝的一位官员，当改朝换代成了清朝，他拒绝再任官员，深居简出，闭门读书。但是为了安全和保障，他还是不得不派两名外甥到朝廷里去侍奉他的敌人。正如我们已经说过的，这之所以可能做到，是因为中国官员不是与皇帝分享政治权力，是

通过淡化和弱化而非支持其权力来服务于君主。外甥做官，保障了舅舅的安全，甚至使舅舅能安心地去下革命的种子。中国传统的官吏并不认真做官，更不想终身做官：打防疫针的人绝不以打针为乐，目的在免疫和免了疫的健康。中国的官吏在做官时庇护其亲友，做了一阵，他任务完成，就要告老还乡了，即所谓“归去来兮”那一套。退隐山林是中国人的理想。这时，上边不必再小心伺候随时可以杀他的主子，周围是感激他的亲戚街坊。此时他只需要享受他的社会声望，生活富足，心宽体胖。正如中国人所说的，“衣锦还乡是人生活中最美好的事情”。[28]他绝不冒险去觊觎政权，他的孩子都不准玩“做皇帝”的游戏。他更不想改革社会制度，因为这种社会制度对他并没有害处。一旦他脱离开皇权的限制，他就可以享受地主的经济权利。

这种人就是我所谓的“士绅”。士绅可以是退任的官僚，或是官僚的亲属，甚至可以是受过教育的地主。在任何情况下，他们都没有左右政策的实际的政治权力，可能与政治也没有任何直接的联系，可是他们常常有势力，势力就是政治免疫性。统治者越可怕，越像猛虎一样，士绅的保护性的庇护作用就越大。在此情况下，托庇于豪门才有命。

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[1] Shih: "This word is often translated 'scholar,' but this is only a derived, metaphorical sense and the whole force of many passages in the Analects is lost if we do not understand that the term is a military one and means "knight.' A shih was a person entitled to go to battle in a war-chariot, in contrast with the common soldiers who followed on foot. Confucius, by a metaphor similar to those embodied in the phraseology of the Salvation Army, calls the stout-hearted defenders of his Way 'Knights'; and hence in later Chinese the term came to be applied to upholders of Confucianism and finally to scholars and literary people in general. The burden of most of the references to shih in the Analects is that the Knight of the Way needs just the same qualities of endurance and resolution as the Soldier Knight" (Arthur Waley, The Analects of Confucius [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1938], pp. 33–34).

[2] Ta fu: lower-ranking official under feudalism.

[3] “士”这个字“英文经常译成‘scholar（学者）’，这只是一个引申出的比喻义，实际上此词与军事有关，是‘骑士’的意思，如果我们不这样理解，《论语》中很多篇幅就会完全丧失意义。‘士’是可以乘战车奔赴战场的，而普通士兵只能徒步其后。孔子打了一个比方，这个比方所指的人与有着‘救世军’称号的人是相似的，孔子把英勇护卫其道的人称作‘骑士’。因此，在后来的汉语中，这个词用来指拥护孔子思想的人，最后统指文人。《论语》中大多数关乎‘士’这个字的重点都是指需要像战士中的骑士一样具有那种忍耐力和不屈不挠禀性的卫道士”。引自《论语》英文版，阿瑟·韦利译，伦敦：乔治·艾伦与昂温出版公司，1938年，第33—34页。

[4] “大夫”：封建制度下地位较低的官吏。

[5] This phrase seems to refer back to the story told of Kao-tsu, the first emperor of Han, and the Confucian scholar Lu Chia. "After his [Lu Chia's] return in 196 or 195 B.C., he is said to have quoted the Book of Odes and the Book of History to Kao-tsu, whereat the latter scolded him and said, 'I got the empire on horseback; why should I bother with the Book of Odes or the Book of History?' Lu Chia replied, 'You got it on horseback, but can you rule it from horseback?' Then he proceeded to quote cases, from ancient history, of kings who had lost their thrones through their wickedness, concluding with the Ch'in dynasty, which Kao-tsu had himself overthrown" (Pan Ku, The History of the Former Han Dynasty, trans. Homer H. Dubs [Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1938], I, 21).

[6] 此句源于汉代开国皇帝高祖与儒生陆贾的故事。“公元前196年或前195年，陆贾出使回来

后，据说他对高祖引述了《诗经》和《书经》的话。高祖责备他说：我从马上得到天下，何必计较《诗经》和《书经》呢？！（乃公居马上而得之，安事《诗》、《书》！）陆贾则回答道：您可以在马上得天下，但是您能在马上治理天下吗？（马上得之，宁可以马上治之乎？）然后，他引经据典，历数古代帝王由于暴虐丢掉王位的史实，直到高祖推翻的秦朝。”引自班固《汉书》英文版，德效骞译，1938年，巴尔的摩：韦弗利出版社，第1卷，第21页。

[7] "As they [Confucius and his disciples] passed by the T'ai mountain, the attention of the travellers was arrested by a woman weeping and wailing at a grave. The sage stopped, and sent one of his followers to ask the reason of her grief. 'My husband's father,' said she, 'was killed here by a tiger, and my husband also, and now my son has met the same fate.' Being asked why she did not leave so fatal a spot, she replied that there was there no oppressive Government. 'Remember this,' said Confucius to his disciples, 'remember this, my children, oppressive government is fiercer and more feared than a tiger' " (James Legge, Life of Confucius, in Vol. I of The Chinese Classics [2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895], quoted from Li Chi, pp. 67–68).

[8] The Liang hills are here a reference to the Chinese novel, Ju Hu (All Men Are Brothers), in which it is told how men of many sorts, fleeing from harsh punishments of the authorities, came to band themselves together and lived by defying the government and preying upon the rich and powerful. Stories of this sort had a very real basis in fact. In Pan Ku's History of the Former Han Dynasty we read, for example: "Ch'ên Shê was an ambitious farm boy who became one of the chiefs of a levy of men made in the present southern Honan.... In the later-summer of 209 B.C., a bad rain prevented this levy from reaching its destination on time. According to Ch'in laws, the officers and men of the levy would have been condemned to death; they accordingly conspired to rebel. As a slogan they falsely called themselves partisans of Fu-su, the displaced heir of the First Emperor, and fabricated miracles to legitimize themselves. The rebellion was not thus at first openly directed against the dynasty, but was merely the act of men driven to desperation by over-harsh laws" (I, 4).

[9] "Old Poem," translated by Arthur Waley from The Book of Songs, reads:

"At fifteen I went with the army, At fourscore I came home. On the way I met a man from the village, I asked him who there was at home. 'That over there is your house, All covered with trees and bushes.' Rabbits had run in at the dog-hole, Pheasants flew down from the beams of the roof. In the courtyard was growing some wild grain; And by the well, some wild mallows. I'll boil the grain and make porridge, I'll pluck the mallows and make soup. Soup and porridge are both cooked, But there is no one to eat them with. I went out and looked towards the cast, While tears fell and wetted my clothes." (Arthur Waley, Chinese Poems [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1946], p. 51.)

[10] “当他们（孔子和他的学生）路过泰山时，发现一个妇人在坟前哭。孔子停下脚步，让学生前去打探原因。妇人说：‘我的公公和丈夫都在这里被老虎吃掉了，如今我的儿子也没能逃脱这个厄运。’当问她为什么不离开这个不幸的地方时，妇人说这里没有官府的压迫。孔子对学生说：‘记住啊，学生们，残暴的统治比老虎更可怕。’”（孔子过泰山侧，有妇人哭于墓者而哀。夫子式而听之，使子路问之，曰：“子之哭也，壹似重有忧者。”而曰：“然。昔者吾舅死于虎，吾夫又死焉，吾子又死焉。”夫子问：“何为不去也？”曰：“无苛政。”夫子曰：“小子识之，苛政猛于虎也。）出自《礼记》，引自《中国典籍》第1卷之“孔子生平”，理雅各编译，伦敦：克拉伦登出版社，1895年，第2版，第67—68页。

[11] 梁山典故出自中国古典小说《水浒》，该书讲述了各色人等为逃避官府压迫而聚集在一起，杀富济贫，公然反对官府的故事。事实上，这类故事有深厚的现实基础。例如，班固在《汉书》中写道，陈胜（字涉）是一名有鸿鹄之志的农民，后来成为今属河南南部征募上来的兵卒的屯长……公元前209年夏末，一场大雨使得他们无法及时到达目的地。根据秦朝的法律，他们都将被处死。于是他们共谋起义大计。他们谎冒被废的皇太子扶苏的拥护者，通过编造鬼神启示来使他们的行为具有正当性。因此这一起义最初并非直接要反抗朝廷，而仅仅是一帮被严刑峻法逼上绝路的人的负隅之举。

[12] 这首古诗名为《十五从军征》，全诗如下：“十五从军征，八十始得归。道逢乡里人：‘家中有阿谁？’‘遥看是君家，松柏冢累累。’兔从狗窦入，雉从梁上飞；中庭生旅谷，井上生旅葵。舂谷持作饭，采葵持作羹；羹饭一时熟，不知贻阿谁。出门东向看，泪落沾我衣。”引自

《中国诗歌》，阿瑟·韦利译，伦敦：乔治·艾伦与昂温出版公司，1946年，第51页。（参考林庚和冯沅君主编《中国历代诗歌选》［上编］，第1册，人民文学出版社，1983年，第128页。——译者注）

[13] Waley discusses the social situation in which the Legalist school rose to power under the title "The Realists," in The Way and Its Power (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1934), pp. 68–86. The Fa Chia system, in spite of its recognition of the importance of a "rule of law," and its effort toward greater efficiency in government, does not appeal to the Western liberal mind. The Book of Lord Shang, trans. J. J. Duyvendak (London: A. Probsthain, 1928), supposedly the writing of Shang Yang, otherwise known as Wei Yang or Lord Shang, expresses the extreme position of the Legalists. Duyvendak comments: "Law, having been applied theoretically only in order to enforce the observance of the standards set by natural moral law, now became the instrument for enforcing the standard set up by the state. Here came a clash between the law and moral traditions. Never had this idea of law anything to do with the codification of the conceptions of justice living in the hearts of the people; it was merely penal laws and institutions, deemed expedient for the government's centralising and imperialistic purposes; it was the expression of the state's own growing self-consciousness. It is very remarkable that, when we find the necessity for publishing the laws urged, it is not, as elsewhere, an expression of the popular wish to safeguard the people's rights and privileges for the future; on the contrary, it is government itself that desires their publication as a safeguard of its own power, as it expects that the laws will be better observed if people know exactly what punishments and non-observances will entail. Consequently, to have a deterrent effect, the laws have to be severe" (p. 81).

[14] But, according to Fung Yu-lan, the highest ideal of the Legalist school actually was that "ruler and minister, superior and inferior, noble and humble, all obey the law." Fung quotes from Han Fei-tzu, a leading Legalist: "Therefore, the intelligent ruler carries out his regulations as would Heaven and employs men as if he were a spirit. Being like Heaven, he commits no wrong, and being like a spirit, he falls into no difficulties. His shih (power) enforces his strict teachings, and nothing that he encounters resists him." Fung interprets this passage as follows: "By comparing the ruler with Heaven, Han Fei-tzu means that he acts only according to the law, fairly and impartially. That he employs men 'as if he were a spirit' means that he makes use of them according to this "method' or shu, secretly and unfathomably." The gulf between this conception of law and the conception held in the West may be one reason why the ideal of "Great Good Government" has, as Fung says, "never yet actually been attained in China" (Fang Yu-lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy, trans. Derk Bodde [Peiping: H. Vetch, 1937], I, 320–322).

[15] 韦利在《道及其力量》一书中以“实在论者”为题讨论了法家学派执掌权力的社会背景（伦敦：乔治·艾伦与昂温出版公司，1934年，第68—86页）。尽管法家的制度认识到了“法治”的重要性，并且努力使政府的运作更具效率，但这对西方倡导自由主义者来说并不具吸引力。戴闻达翻译的《商君书》英文版（伦敦：阿瑟·普罗赛因出版公司，1928年）一书，据说是由商鞅（又称卫鞅、商君）所写，它表达了法家的极端的观点。戴闻达评论道：“仅仅是为了强制人们遵守由自然道德律所建立的标准，并要在理论上贯彻的那种法律，现在则成了实施由国家所建立的标准的工具。这里就出现了法律与道德传统之间的撞击。这种法律观念与人们心中正义观念的法典化从来毫无关系，它仅仅是一种刑法和制度，并被看作是政府的中央集权和帝国统治的权宜之计而已。这是国家自己日益成长的自我意识的表达。显而易见的是，当我们发现有要颁布法律的愿望的时候，与别处不同的是，这并非是一种未来要保护人民权利和利益的民间愿望的表达；正相反，这恰恰是政府自己想要保护它自己的权力而想着要颁布法律，因为政府期望如果人民对违反法律所必须承担的惩罚有准确的了解，就会更好地遵守法律；因此，为了达到其威慑性，法律必须极为严苛。”（第81页）

[16] 照冯友兰的看法，法家的最高理想实际上是“君臣上下贵贱皆从法”。冯友兰引述著名的法家人物韩非子的话说：“故明主之行制也天，其用人也鬼。天则不非，鬼则不困，势行教严，逆而不违。”冯友兰对这一段文字有如下的解释：“‘明主之行制也天’，言其依法而行，公而无私也。‘其用人也鬼’，言其御人有术，密而不可测也。”这种法律观念与西方法律观念之间的沟壑可能就是为什么像冯友兰所说的“大治”“在中国历史中盖未尝实现”的一个原因。引自《中国哲

学史》英文版，冯友兰著，德克·卜德译，北平：亨利·维奇出版公司，1937年，第1卷，第320—322页。［中文版参见冯友兰《中国哲学史》（上册），中华书局，1961年，第391—392页。——译者注］

[17] Even in this case the punishment was only indirect. "Then, the Crown Prince infringed the law. Wei Yang said: 'It is owing to the infringements by the highly-placed, that the law is not carried out. We shall apply the law to the Crown Prince; as, however, he is Your Highness's Heir, we cannot subject him to capital punishment. Let his tutor, Prince Ch'ien, be punished and his teacher, Kung-sun Chia, be branded' " (Introduction to The Book of Lord Shang, p. 16).

[18] "We have an ancient saying that if the dragon left its water and the tiger left the mountains, even they would be insulted. Take those officers in the imperial court, they take in all sorts of humiliations and never dare protest; but when they reach their homes, they scold and beat their children and wife to give vent to their angers. Yet the officers dare not resign, just like the tigers dare not leave the mountains and the dragons the waters" (Liu Ê, A Tramp Doctor's Travelogue: A Story Laid in the Manchu Regime, trans. Lin Yi-chin and Ko Te-chun [Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1939], p. 114).

[19] 即使在这种情况下，惩罚也仅仅是间接的。“于是太子犯法。卫鞅曰：‘法之不行，自上犯之。’将法太子。太子，君嗣也，不可施刑，刑其傅公子虔，黥其师公孙贾。”引自《商君书》英文版“导论”，第16页。

[20] “所以古人说：龙若离水，虎若离山，便要受人狎侮的。即如朝廷里做官的人，无论为了甚么难，受了甚么气，只是回家来对着老婆孩子发发标，在外边决不敢发半句硬话，也是不敢离了那个官。同那虎不敢去山，龙不敢失水的道理，是一样的。”引自《老残游记》英文版，刘鹗著，林疑今、葛德顺译，上海：商务印书馆，1939年，第114页。

[21] "A poetic expression dating back to the Ming dynasty when Yu Ch'ien as a provincial official refused to follow the custom of handing out gifts exacted without payment from the populace to the dignitaries of the imperial court but instead presented himself empty-handed. The term has come to refer to officials who hold office and retire without having enriched themselves. In spite of pressures and practices to the contrary, this type of official has always been an ideal of Confucian teaching…. The China of the nineteenth century still kept green the memory of past officials who had been incorruptible. Their names were household words; stories about them had been treasured for centuries. Thus, the Ancestral Hall of the Yang family was still called the Hall of the Four Knows because of what had happened there seven centuries earlier. In A.D. 112, when a friend remonstrated with Yang Chen for leaving nothing to his sons, he replied: 'If posterity speaks of me as an incorruptible official, will that be nothing?' And when a man offered him a bribe and said: 'It is after dark and no one will know,' Yang Chen was recorded as saying: 'Not know? Why, Heaven will know, Earth will know, you will know, I will know.' There was a later Yang, Yang Ch'eng, who lived a thousand years before the time of Tao Kuang. Ordered to collect taxes during the famine, he refused, and threw himself into prison where he slept on a plank. Many other old stories of official rectitude were current" (Maurice Collis, Foreign Mud [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947], p. 95).

[22] "T'ao, who lived in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., was our poet of nature par excellence. Once he served as a district magistrate. When he could not longer stand the ordeal of formality he burst out upon the occasion of the arrival of the provincial inspector, his superior, 'I cannot bow to a mean fellow from the street just for five pecks of rice.' So saying, he left his official hat hanging on the wall and went right home" (C. W. Luh, On Chinese Poetry [Peiping, 1935], p. 16).

"What folly to spend one's life like a dropped leaf
Snared under the dust of streets,
But for thirty years it was so I lived.
…
There is no dust or clatter
In the courtyard before my house.
My private rooms are quiet,
And calm with the leisure of moonlight through an open door.

For a long time I lived in a cage;
Now I have returned.
For one must return
To fulfill one's nature."
("Once More Fields and Gardens," by T'ao Yuan-ming, in Fir-Flower Tablets, translated from the Chinese by Florence Ayscough, English versions by Amy Lowell [Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930], p. 133.)

[23] In "The Old Man with the Broken Arm (A Satire on Militarism)," ca. A.D. 809, by Po Chü-i, we read:

"Everyone says that in expeditions against the Man tribes
Of a million men who are sent out, not one returns.
I, that am old, was then twenty-four;
My name and fore-name were written down in the rolls of the Board of War.
In the depth of the night not daring to let anyone know,
I secretly took a huge stone and dashed it against my arm.
For drawing the bow and waving the banner now wholly unfit,
I knew henceforward I should not be sent to fight in Yun-nan.
Bones broken and sinews wounded could not fail to hurt;
My plan was to be rejected and sent back to my home.
My arm—broken ever since; it was sixty years ago.
One limb, although destroyed—whole body safe!
But even now on winter nights when the wind and rains blow
From evening on till day's dawn I cannot sleep for pain.
Not sleeping for pain
Is a small thing to bear,
Compared with the joy of being alive when all the rest are dead.
For otherwise, years ago, at the ford of Lu River
My body would have died and my soul hovered by the bones that no one gathered.
A ghost, I'd have wandered in Yun-nan, always looking for home.
Over the graves of ten thousand soldiers, mournfully hovering."
(From Chinese Poems, trans. Arthur Waley, pp. 129–131.)

[24] “这一诗意的表达要回溯到明朝的时候，作为省级官员的于谦拒绝同流合污，搜刮老百姓来给朝廷中的达官显贵送礼，而是两手空空前去。这一成语指的是官僚们身居官位及至退休的时候并没有使自己发财致富。尽管有来自反面的压力和做法，这种类型的官员一直是儒家教育推崇的理想典范……19世纪的中国还牢牢记着过去的一身廉洁的官员们。他们的名字家喻户晓，有关他们的故事被世代铭记珍视。因此，杨姓堂号仍旧被称作‘四知堂’，源于七个世纪以前发生的一桩逸事。在公元112年，当一位朋友指责杨震没有给他的儿子们留下任何东西时，他就回答说：‘如果子孙后代把我说成是一位清官的话，那不应该说是什么都没留下吧？’有人向他行贿时说：‘现在天色已晚，不会有人知道。’据记载杨震当时说：‘为什么没有人知道？天知、地知、你知、我知。’后来还出了个阳城，他的生活年代要早于道光朝一千多年［实际为唐代，不到一千年；见《新唐书·列传第一百一十九》——编者注］。皇帝命令他在饥荒的年代去收税，他拒绝了，并自囚于狱中，睡在狱中的一块木板上面。其他许多正直官员仗义执言的古老故事都流传至今。”引自《外来的泥土》，莫里斯·科利斯著，纽约：艾尔弗雷德·克诺夫出版公司，1947年，第95页。

[25] “陶渊明生活在公元4世纪—5世纪，他是一位优秀的崇尚自然的诗人。他曾经做过县令，但无法忍受繁文缛节的束缚。当他的上级郡监察官来巡察的时候，他的情绪一下子爆发出来，他说：‘吾不能为五斗米折腰，拳拳事乡里小人邪！’说完这样的话之后，他便挂冠归隐。”引自陆志韦著，《中国诗五讲》英文版（英文书名应为Five Lectures on Chinese Poetry——编者注），1935年，第16页。

“误落尘网中，一去三十年。……户庭无尘杂，虚室有余闲。久在樊笼里，复得返自然。”引自

陶渊明诗《归园田居》，载于埃米·洛厄尔、弗洛伦丝·艾斯库合译诗集《松花笺》，波士顿：霍顿·米夫林出版集团，1930年，第133页。（可参见林庚和冯沅君主编《中国历代诗歌选》［上编］，人民文学出版社，1983年，第128页。——译者注）

[26]　　白居易于公元809年在《新丰折臂翁》这首诗中写道："皆云前后征蛮者，千万人行无一回。是时翁年二十四，兵部牒中有名字。夜深不敢使人知，偷将大石槌折臂。张弓簸旗俱不堪，从兹始免征云南。骨碎筋伤非不苦，且图拣退归乡土。此臂折来六十年，一肢虽废一身全。至今风雨阴寒夜，直到天明痛不眠。痛不眠，终不悔，且喜老身今独在。不然当时泸水头，身死魂孤骨不收。应作云南望乡鬼，万人冢上哭呦呦。"引自《中国诗歌》，韦利译，第129—131页。（中文参见《白居易诗译析》，霍松林著，黑龙江人民出版社，1981年，第152—153页。——译者注）

[27] Po Chü-i thus congratulates himself on the comforts of his life after his retirement from office:

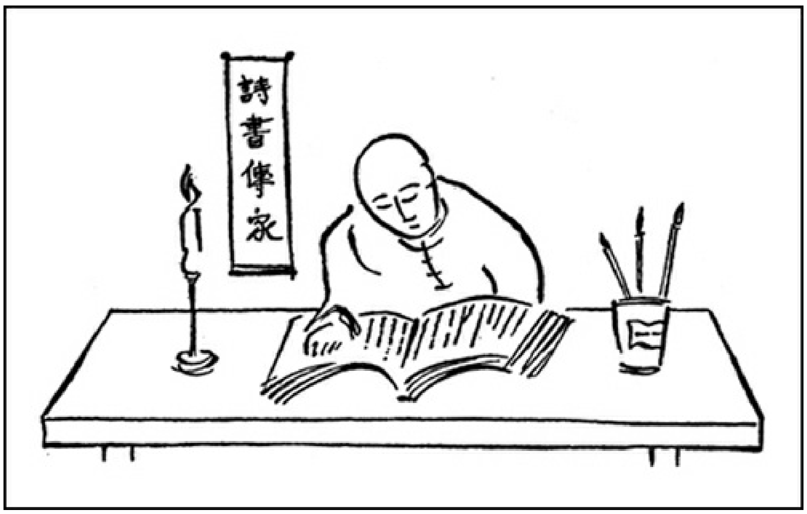
"Lined coat, warm cap and easy felt slippers,
In the little tower, at the low window, sitting over the sunken brazier.
Body at rest, heart at peace; no need to rise early.
I wonder if the courtiers at the Western Capital know of these things or not?"

(From A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems, trans. Arthur Waley [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1919], p. 239.)

[28] 白居易曾作诗来形容他辞官还乡后的舒适生活，诗中写道："重裘暖帽宽毡履，小阁低窗深地炉。身稳心安眠未起，西京朝士得知无。"引自《中国诗歌170首》，韦利译，纽约：艾尔弗雷德·克诺夫出版公司，1919年，第239页。

Chapter Two The Scholar Becomes the Official

第贰章 文人当官



In my first chapter I tried to analyze the position of the gentry in the political structure. My view is that, since the establishment of a central unified political power in the third century B.C., the gentry as a class have never attempted to control political power. That is, although occupying official positions, they have not exercised any decisive powers as to policy. Under the feudal system sovereignty belonged to the aristocracy; under the monarchy, to the king-emperor. The question which arises, then, is this: Why in Chinese history has there been no period in which the power of the aristocracy revived or in which a bourgeois middle class took over political power? The answer to this question leads us to a study of the political consciousness of the gentry and their attitude toward their own position. Why did they not struggle with the monarch to gain control? Why was there no movement similar to Magna Carta in England? The class who were landowners in the economic structure were gentry in the social structure. Why did they become so neutral, so negative in politics? In this chapter I

shall be especially attentive to one question: What was the attitude of the gentry class toward their political position? It is true that their attitude was not cause but rather effect of the political system upon them. Nevertheless, it may be said that the attitudes of acquiescence which developed within the political system tended to reinforce the system.

Every social structure has a system of attitudes which define proper behavior and support the structure. What I am going to discuss in this chapter is the attitude of the gentry toward the monarchical power after they had come to be controlled by that power.

In the political philosophy of the traditional gentry class there was an important idea called *tao-t'ung*.[1] This idea took shape before the firm establishment of monarchical power and was probably necessary for its development. In my analysis I am concerned particularly with the period before the firm establishment of monarchical power when feudalism was in process of breaking down.

I am not inclined to think that this social philosophy originated in the minds of a few scholars. On the contrary, I believe that the scholars' elaboration of the system was accepted by society because it reflected a point of view which was generally shared. The function of the scholar was to formulate, to clarify, and to crystallize this point of view into a doctrine. In the period of transition between feudalism and imperialism the school of thought which reflected the philosophic trend of the times best was that of Confucius and his followers. But the Confucian school was only one of many in this period of the "hundred schools." It was only later, after the stabilization of the imperial power, that Confucianism came to be so popular and dominating. This shows, I think, that the ideology of the Confucian school represented the point of view best adapted to the Chinese imperial system.

我在第一章里试图分析士大夫在政治结构中的地位。我的观点是，自从大一统的集权政治在公元前3世纪确立之后，士大夫阶层从未试图掌握政治权力，即使做了官，也从未行使过政策决定权。在封建时代，主权属于贵族；在皇权时代，主权属于皇帝。这样就产生了一个问题，即为什么中国历史中不曾有过贵族权力复兴或中层阶级执政的政治结构？要回答这个问题，我们必须研究士大夫这个阶层的政治意识以及他们对于自己的政治地位的看法。为什么他们不去和皇帝争夺政权？为什么中国没有发生像英国宪章运动那样的政治事件？这个阶层在经济上是

地主，在社会上是士绅，他们为什么对政治如此中立和消极？在本章里我想特别关注一个问题，即他们如何看待自己的政治地位。的确，他们的观点不是这种政治制度的原因，而是其结果。但是，可以说，在这种政治结构中形成的默许态度本身是一种支持这种结构的力量。

任何一种社会结构都有一套意识形态来界定正当的行为，以维持这个结构。我在本章所要讨论的是被皇权所控制的士大夫对于皇权的态度。

传统士大夫阶层的政治意识中有一个特别重要的观念是“道统”。[2]这个观念在皇权牢固确立之前已经产生，并且可能对于皇权结构的发展是必要的。在我的分析中，我特别要追溯到皇权牢固确立之前，即封建制度行将崩溃、封建和皇权交替的过渡时期。

我不愿意把这一社会意识的形成归结为出自几个思想家。相反，我认为思想家的言行能被社会所接受是因为他们反映了社会上一般的观点，他们的作用是将这一观点明白清晰地表达出来。在由封建过渡到皇权时，最能反映出这一时期趋势的是儒家。但是儒家只是当时“百家”中的一家，直到后来皇权稳固之后，儒学才开始广为传播并起主导作用。我认为这表明了儒家最能代表适合中国皇权制度的意识形态。

The conception of *tao-t'ung* developed from a set of social facts, of which one important element was that a class of socially important people had lost their political power. Confucian ideas, as formulated and organized into the Confucian system, following the concentration of monarchical power and the disintegration of the feudal system, underwent, it is true, an understandable process of change. And the writings we now have about Confucian ideas have been much modified by later scholars. I should like, however, to start here with the basic Confucian ideas and to try to trace their development to a later period. But, in discussing the influence of Confucius on the social history of China, we are not concerned with the question of whether the idea of *tao-t'ung* was that of Confucius himself but rather with the fact that this concept was selected and elaborated in his name by later scholars.

It appears to me that the development of the idea of *tao-t'ung* took place in Chinese traditional society because there had appeared a new type of person, the scholar-intellectual, one excluded from political authority but still possessing social prestige. Since he did not have political power, such a man could not decide political issues. Yet he might, through making known his

opinions and formulating his principles, exercise a real influence. Such men did not try to control political power in their own interest but endeavored rather to put forward a set of ethical principles which should restrict the force of political power. The system of *tao-t'ung* which they developed came to be accepted by the gentry as the norm for their activity in politics. Eventually it came to serve the gentry not only as an ethical system but also as a protection for economic interests.

As the gentry attempted to restrict political power by ethical means, they put forward the teachings of Confucius, calling the latter the creator of *tao*, and a "king without a throne." And his spiritual descendants are those whom we now call master-scholars.

Legends which grew up concerning Confucius and his origins symbolize the separation of the ethical from the political line. In the early period of mythical history going back to such culture heroes as Sui Jen, the inventor of fire, and Shen Nung, who started agriculture, through the reigns of all *San Huang* and *Wu Ti* (the Three August Ones and the Five Sovereigns) through the recorded history of the feudal kings of Chou, Wen Wang, and Wu Wang, [3] one finds the tradition of ethics and politics united. The Confucian school upheld these ancient rulers as ideals. Here were men who both knew and followed the principles of right rulership. Following the rulers of Chou mentioned above, came Chou Kung, or the Duke of Chou, who, as uncle of the heir to the throne, ruled as regent. Much importance was attached to this individual by Confucius' school, because even under the feudal system he was able to attain high authority, being actually a sovereign. The regency itself was meaningful in that it symbolized the idea that, when the sovereign is unable to rule, the one who knows should take his place. Here was the beginning of the separation of the political and ethical lines. Confucius himself identified himself closely with Chou Kung. He said: "How utterly have things gone to the bad with me! It is long now indeed since I dreamed that I saw the Duke of Chou."[4] In the legend of Chou Kung there is, to be sure, not a very marked separation between the political and ethical lines, since, as uncle of the king, Chou Kung was entitled to rule as regent. But the later followers of Confucius put him next to Chou Kung in a line of descent of noted and wise leaders. Thus Chou Kung is the starting point of the political line deviating from the ethical.

“道统”这个观念有它所根据的社会事实，其中一个重要事实是一个

社会重要阶层失去了政治权力。归纳和组织成为儒家体系的儒家思想，伴随着中央集权的形成和封建体制的解体，的确经历了一个可理解的变迁过程。我们现在看到的儒家思想的记录已经由后来的学者修改了许多。然而，我愿意在此从儒家的基本观点开始，试图来追溯它的发展。在讨论儒家思想对中国社会历史的影响时，我们关注的不是“道统”的观念是否出自孔子本人，而是后代的学者以他的名义选用并深化了这一概念。

在我看来，中国传统社会中“道统”观念的发展，是由于社会上产生了一类新的人物，即文人知识分子，他们被排斥于政治权力的圈子之外，但仍享有社会威望。由于没有政治权力，他们不能决定政治事务，但他们可以通过表达意见、归纳原则来产生实际的影响。他们不从占有政治权力来保障自己的利益，而是尽力提出一套伦理规范来限制政治权力的威力。“道统”的思想被士大夫接受为他们政治活动的标准。最终，它不仅仅是作为一种伦理道德体系服务于士大夫，还可以维护他们的经济利益。

当士大夫阶层要用“道统”来限制政治权力时，他们推出了孔子的学说，把他作为“道”的创始者，称他为“素王”。我们现在把那些“道统”的精神传承者叫做“师儒”。

关于孔子身世的传说象征着政统和道统的分离。从早期神话历史中的文化英雄，如火的发明者燧人氏、农业的鼻祖神农氏，传到“三皇”、“五帝”，再到有文字记载历史的封建君王周文王和周武王[5]，我们可以发现政道合一的传统。儒家把这些古老的君王奉为圭臬。这些人了解并且遵守了正确的统治原则。在上面所提到的周文王、周武王之后有一个周公，他作为王位继承人的叔叔，摄政主持国家大权。周公受到儒家推崇，因为即使在封建体制下他仍能得到最高权力，实际上是最高统治者。这种摄政统治本身意义深远，象征着这样一个观念，即在位的人如果没有能力治理天下，可以由有能力的人去代替，这是政道分离的开始。孔子把自己和周公紧紧联系在一起，他说：“甚矣吾衰也！久矣吾不复梦见周公。”[6]在关于周公的传说里，政统和道统确实没有明显的分离，因为作为王叔，周公在宗法上是有地位的。但是儒家后来的追随者在著名的英明统治者系列中把孔子列在周公之后，这样周公便成了政道分离的起点。

The separation of ethical and political lines was, according to the stories of the Confucian school, more clearly established by saying that this "king without a throne" was the descendant of an aristocratic family. Actually, his connection was rather remote. He was not at all comparable in this way to a

Chou Kung. Confucius had no qualifications for attaining power through his kinship status. But myths which tried to find a source of authority for him in the feudal system persisted. According to the *Shih-chi*,[7] Confucius' origins were quite doubtful. He was said to be the child of an illegitimate union. His mother would not tell him where his father's tomb was, and only when his mother died did he learn from someone else where his father was buried so that he could bury his mother also in that spot. Here also is recorded the incident of a man called Chih, Baron of Lu, giving a feast to the shih, to which Confucius went also. But he met with a rebuff when a man called Yang Huo, a corrupt official, said, "The Baron invited shih (knights), not you." From this we may infer that his status as a shih was doubtful, although the shih were in the lowest rank in the feudal system. Yet such accounts are told not to demean Confucius but to raise him still higher, as when an account later on in the same book adds that Confucius was born after his mother had prayed on a hill—the implication being that Confucius was of divine, not merely mortal, origin.

根据儒家的传说，孔子这位"素王"乃贵族之后，由此道统和政统的分离才较为明确地建立起来。实际上，孔子与贵族的联系很远，在这一点上他完全无法与周公相比，他没有资格从血统的身份上得到任何权力。但是，试图为他找到在封建体制下的权威根源的传说经久不绝。《史记》[8]对孔子的出身非常怀疑，据说他是"野合"的产物。他的母亲不把父亲的墓地所在告诉他，直到母亲死后，他才从别人那里得知，使父母得以合葬。这里还记载了鲁国贵族季氏招待士的一件事："季氏飨士，孔子与往。阳虎绌曰：'季氏飨士，非敢飨子也。'"这表明当时人们对孔子"士"的身份也很怀疑，尽管"士"只位列封建制度的底层。但这些描写不是贬低而是提高了孔子。《史记》又有"祷于尼丘得孔子"，暗示孔子由神所授，不是凡人出身。

The importance of all these myths was not so much to establish the origins of Confucius as to set up divine authority for the ethical line which he represented. Thus, if Confucius derived his power not through his kinship with a feudal lord but from divine sources, his spiritual throne must be as high as the actual kingly throne. So from Confucius there derived a line of important and authoritative figures of those who followed the *tao-t'ung*. These people might lack political power, but in the society about them they were as important as the actual monarchs in that they ruled the people by ethical and social influence.

The separation of political power from ethical power is one of the fundamental ideas in Confucian philosophy and is also an important factor in the Chinese power structure. It may be compared to the separation of church and state in the West but is not exactly the same. Theoretically, when Jesus said, "Render unto Caesar those things which are Caesar's," he recognized a duality of power. When the priests asked Jesus what authority he had in doing the things he did, he countered with, "The baptism of John, whence was it? From heaven or of men?" And the priests were in doubt what to reply and at last answered Jesus, "We cannot tell." And he said to them, "Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things."[9]

We see clearly that to Christ there were two possible sources of power, worldly and divine. But these two powers were not on the same level. Rather, one was subordinate to the other. So in European medieval history worldly power submitted to divine power, monarchical power submitted to religious power. When, in a later period, these two powers became separate as the powers of church and state, the civil rights of the people came to be recognized. In Western political thinking it came to be accepted that the power which does not come from heaven could come only from the people, the common man. So long as the monarch derived his authority from his divine origin, he might slight the popular will. But once the throne was separated from the church, and it was recognized that the king's power was secular, it was quite natural that the people should be allowed to have their say and to share in government. It seems to me that in the Western political system power was never entirely independent and self-justified but was always based on an authority derived from either divine or popular sources. The situation in China was somewhat different.

In China, Confucius also recognized a duality of power, but for him the two systems were not in the same order. One was not necessarily subordinate to the other; rather they were seen to be parallel. In China political power was like Caesar's, but the other type of power, in contrast to the West, was not viewed as having a divine origin. Some people think that Confucianism is a system of religion, yet it recognizes no supernatural force. This is not the only way, however, in which it may be distinguished from Western religions. Another aspect of Confucianism in which it differs from the West is its relation to action. Jesus Christ was using his power in the same domain to control human affairs. As a result of this conflict, one power became

subordinate to the other. But the Confucian *tao-t'ung* stands not for action but for the upholding of a standard or norm which defines the Way of a good emperor (and a good citizen). It is one thing whether the monarch acts according to the Way or not. It is another whether we have made clear the Way to be a good ruler. Christ made clear the good and wanted action toward that good. But Confucianism is divided into two parts: (1) the knowing what is good and (2) the doing what is good. Thus the man who knows what is good does not necessarily have an obligation to carry it out. In fact, he may not be able to do so, since what he is able to do depends upon his social position. So we have the differentiation into separate categories of the scholar who knows and the monarch who does. The following quotation explains the psychology of Confucius. Confucius said to his student: "Hui, the poem says that tigers and wild beasts are running wild in the fields. Is my Way wrong? Why should I become so poor?"

这些神话的作用不单是确立孔子的身世，更多的是为他代表的道统建立神话权威。这样，既然孔子不是从贵族血统中而是从神那里获得权力，那么他的地位就会和实际的王位一样高。因此，从孔子后出现了一系列重要和权威的人物追随道统，他们可能缺乏政治权力，但在他们所处的社会中，他们和实际的君王一样重要，因为他们用道德和社会的影响来统治人民。

政统和道统的分离是儒家理论的基础理念之一，也是中国权力结构中的一个重要事实，这和西方的政治和宗教的分离相似但又不完全相同。在理论上，当耶稣说“恺撒的归恺撒”时，他也是认识到了权力的双重系统。当牧师责问耶稣他仗着什么权柄做这些事时，耶稣反问他们：“约翰的洗礼是从天上来的，是从人间来的？”牧师很疑惑，不知如何回答，最后他们说：“我们不能告诉你。”耶稣对他们说：“我也不告诉你们我仗着什么权柄做这些事。”[10]

我们可以清楚地看到，在耶稣眼里有两个可能的权力来源：一个来自人间，一个来自上天。这两种权力并不在同一层次上，前者从属于后者。在欧洲中世纪的历史中，来自人间的权力降服在天上的权力之下，皇权降服在宗教权力之下。后来政教分离时，人民的权力开始抬头。西方政治思想中公认的是，权力不从天上来就得从人间来，人间即是民间。只要君王的权力来自上天，他就可能忽视民间的意愿。但是一旦政教分离，君王的权力被认定为世俗的，人们自然应该享有发言权和政治权利。在我看来，西方的政治体制权力从未完全独立和自我证成，而总是以来自上天或民间的权威为基础。这与中国的情况有所不同。

在中国，孔子也认识到了权力的双重系统，但是在他看来这两个系统并不在一个层次上，一个不必从属于另一个，而是互相平行。在中国，政治权力如同恺撒的权力，但另一种权力与西方不同，不被视为来自上天。有些人认为儒家思想是宗教体系，只是它没有认可超自然的力量，然而这不是与西方宗教区分的唯一途径。儒家思想与西方不同的另一方面是与人类行为的关系。耶稣用他在同一领域（即人间）的权力来控制人间的事。这种冲突的结果是一种权力降服另一种。但是儒家的道统不代表行为，而是提出一个好的君王（和好的平民）应当怎样做的规范。君王按不按“理”做是一回事，有没有弄清一个好的统治者的“理”是另一回事。耶稣明确了好的规范，希望人的行为朝着好的规范去做。但是儒家思想分成了两部分：（1）知道什么是善的以及（2）履行这种善。因此，一个知道如何是好的规范的人，并没有义务一定要遵照去做，实际上他也许不能去做，因为他的行为由他的社会地位来决定。所以我们要在概念范畴上作出区分：文人学者在知，而君主则是在行。下面的引述解释了儒家的心理学。孔子对他的学生说：“回，诗云‘匪兕匪虎，率彼旷野’。吾道非邪，吾何为于此？”

Then the student Yen Hui answered: "The Way of my master is very great—the world cannot accept it. But, my master, try to carry out your Way. If others don't accept you, it shows that you are a gentleman. If we don't work out the Way for doing things, that is our shame. If those who have the power don't follow the right Way, that is their shame."

Then Confucius smiled and said: "You are right. If you were rich, I should become your secretary."[11]

This quotation explains how even in a world in which brute beasts are running wild it is still possible for scholars to work out the Way. For the *tao*, or Way, is detached from worldly events. The Way can be perfected irrespective of actual happenings in the world. To make this Way effective, to practice it, is not the duty of a man who is not in a position to do so; in other words, of the man without political power. The man who has control of political power may administer his affairs according to the Way or may utterly disregard it. Those who are not in his position of authority may themselves maintain the Way, and they may "push it and try to make it work," so that the Way will be followed by the man who controls the country. But they must not try to usurp the position of the man in power. What Confucius means when he speaks of "push it and make it work" is simply the use of persuasion. Confucius never assumes the authority assumed by Christ.

As a result, in the Chinese scheme, the political line is active, the ethical line passive. Those who follow the ethical line will behave according to the popular saying:

颜回回答说："夫子之道至大，故天下莫能容。虽然，夫子推而行之，不容何病，不容然后见君子！夫道之不修也，是吾丑也。夫道既已大修而不用，是有国者之丑也。不容何病，不容然后见君子！"

孔子欣然而笑曰："有是哉颜氏之子！使尔多财，吾为尔宰。"[12]

这一段引文说明，即使在"匪兕匪虎，率彼旷野"的乱世，道还是可以"既已大修"的，因为道与事是分开的，道是可以离事而修的。用道于事，并不是"不在其位"的人的责任，换言之，并不是没有政治权力的人的责任。有国者可以用道来管理事务，也可以彻底无视道。"不在其位"的人可能自行维持道，"推而行之"，以使有国者来遵守道。但是他们不能有篡夺有国者地位的企图。孔子所讲的"推而行之"只不过是游说。孔子从来也没有取得过基督耶稣所取得的权柄。结果，在中国的制度中，政统是积极主动的，而道统是消极被动的。那些追随道统的人则将：

When wanted, then go; When set aside; then hide.[13]

To employ and to discharge belongs to the man who has power; to work or to hide is the role of the man who has the Way. According to this system, there will be no conflict. From the point of view of the person who upholds the norms, practical politics may sometimes coincide with the norm and sometimes not. One may distinguish those nations which have *tao* and those which have not. Yao and Shun are examples of those who ruled the nation according to the *tao*.[14] Yü and T'ang are other examples. So also monarchical power may lose its Way, and, when this occurs, the man who knows it, and through this knowledge possesses it, should guard it and keep it safe from harm. Such a man must work hard to cultivate himself so that the norms will not disappear entirely. But he will have no idea of trying to correct the conduct of the monarch. This, then, is the Confucian view: the one who knows should be ready to present his views when asked but when not asked should keep them hidden. These scholar-masters do not desert the Way in time of difficulty, but only when the monarch in his behavior approaches the Way will they come forth and act as officials.

The Master said, "Be of unwavering good faith, love learning, if attacked be ready to die for the good Way. Do not enter a State that pursues

dangerous courses, nor stay in one where the people have rebelled. When the Way prevails under Heaven, then show yourself; when it does not prevail, then hide. When the Way prevails in your own land, count it a disgrace to be needy and obscure; when the Way does not prevail in your land, then count it a disgrace to be rich and honoured."

"A gentleman indeed is Ch'u Po Yü. When the Way prevailed in his land, he served the State; but when the Way ceased to prevail, he knew how to 'wrap it up and hide it in the folds of his dress.'"[15]

The real problem, then, is the link between the political and the ethical lines. The ideal of the Confucian school was that of the kingly Way—*wang-tao*—in which both political and ethical lines coincided. But how could that ideal be realized? Here we find the conflict in Confucius' ideas. Since he had been brought up under a feudal system, he valued a social order of this sort, one in which a stable society was ruled according to well-established traditions. The feudal tradition prevented him from breaking the connection between the political line and kinship; the static ideal made him abhor social changes. This is the first point to be noted with regard to Confucius' attitude. He took for granted the political system and did not wish it to be changed. At the same time, he was living when the system was actually disintegrating; men in a certain position no longer behaved according to the norm set up for them. To meet this difficulty, Confucius detached the norms from actual practice and set them up as an ideal type of behavior which was not to be deviated from. In this he was very stubborn and persistent. The student Tzu-kung said to him: "The Master's teachings are too great for the people, and that is why the world cannot accept them. Why don't you come down a little from your heights?"

用之则行，

舍之则藏。[16]

用舍是有权者决定的，行藏是有道者采取的。依照这种体系，就不会有矛盾。在持执规范的人看来，实际的政治有时合于规范，有时则不合，于是可以分出“邦有道”和“邦无道”。尧舜是有道的例子[17]，禹汤亦同。皇权可以失道，此时明道、有道者可以维护道，使之不受侵害。这样的人必须勤于修身，以使道不会完全消失，但他们并不会有修正皇权的想法。因此，根据孔子的看法，明白规范的人可以在被用的时候把道摆出来，不被用的时候把道藏好。当皇权和道分离时，这些师儒退而

守；皇权和道接近时，师儒出而仕。

孔子说："笃信好学，守死善道。危邦不入，乱邦不居。天下有道则见，无道则隐。邦有道，贫且贱焉，耻也；邦无道，富且贵，耻也。"

"君子哉蘧伯玉！邦有道，则仕，邦无道，则可卷而怀之。"[18]

因此，真正的问题是政统和道统的连接。师儒的理想是"王道"，王道是政统加道统。怎样实现这种理想呢？这里我们看到了孔子思想的矛盾。他在封建制度下长大，关注这种社会秩序，这是一个按照建立完好的传统来统治的静态社会。封建传统阻止他打破政统和血统的联系，静态的理想使他厌恶社会结构的改变。这是在考虑孔子的态度时首先要注意到的。他把政统看成是既成的，不希望有所改变。同时，他生活在道统正在分解的时代，人们不再遵循既成的规范来做事。为解决这一困难，孔子将规范和实际行为划分开来，把规范立为不可背离的理想的行为方式。在这一点上，孔子很固执并锲而不舍。他的学生子贡对他说："夫子之道至大也，故天下莫能容夫子。夫子盖少贬焉？"

Confucius replied: "Ah Ssu, a good farmer plants the field but cannot guarantee the harvest, and a good artisan can do a skillful job, but he cannot guarantee to please his customers. Now you are not interested in cultivating yourselves, but are only interested in being accepted by the people. I am afraid you are not setting the highest standard for yourself."[19]

We may wonder how, in such a case, the norms are ever to be brought into close contact with reality. It seems that this must depend largely on chance, since, on the one hand, one is bound to wait with patience and, on the other, to retire and let others seek one out. But Confucius did express himself on this matter of chance. The student Tzu-kung said: "Suppose one has a lovely jewel, should one wrap it up, put it in a box and keep it, or try to get the best price one can for it?"

The Master said: "Sell it! Most certainly sell it! I myself am one who is waiting for an offer."[20]

Confucius actually did go about and offer his services to more than seventy lords. The following quotation makes this point even more clear. When Confucius was fifty years old, Kung-San Po-niu started a rebellion against Baron Huan in the city of Pi. Baron Huan sent for Confucius, and Confucius was eager to go. He said: "The kings Wen and Wu rose to power from the small cities of Feng and K'ao and finally established the empire of

Chou. Pi, I know, is a small place, but perhaps I may try." But Confucius' student, Tzu-lu, was displeased and tried to dissuade him from going. Confucius said, "Since the Baron asks to see me, he must have a plan in his mind, and if he would put me in power, we might achieve something resembling the work of Emperor P'ing."[21] But after all he did not go. Confucius felt the urge to be employed, and, when he was, he endeavored to carry out good projects. At the age of fifty-six he was pleased when in a certain principality he was made chief minister. His disciples said to him, "I hear that a gentleman is not afraid at the sight of disaster and not delighted at success."

孔子曰："赐，良农能稼而不能为穑；良工能巧而不能为顺；君子能修其道，纲而纪之，统而理之，而不能为容。今尔不修尔道而求为容。赐，而志不远矣！"[22]

在这种情况下，我们也许会问，规范如何与现实紧密连接呢？似乎很大程度上是要靠机会，一方面是耐心等待，另一方面是退出，让别人来寻求。不过，孔子在等待机会这一点上表达得很清楚——子贡曰："有美玉于斯，韫椟而藏诸？求善贾而沽诸？"

子曰："沽之哉，沽之哉，我待贾者也。"[23]

实际上，孔子的确周游列国，曾"干七十余君"，下面的引述表达得更清楚："……孔子年五十。公山不狃以费畔季氏，使人召孔子。孔子循道弥久，温温无所试，莫能己用，曰：'盖周文武起丰镐而王，今费虽小，傥庶几乎！'欲往。子路不说，止孔子。孔子曰：'夫召我者岂徒哉？如用我，其为东周乎！'"[24]但最终他还是没有成行。孔子是很想做事的，而且当有人用他时，他努力施行善举："孔子年五十六，由大司寇行摄相事，有喜色。门人曰：'闻君子祸至不惧，福至不喜。'

"Is that so?" remarked Confucius. "Is it not said that one is happy because he rises to a position above the common people?" But he stayed in office only about three months, during which time he had executed a minister who opposed him. But it was said that during the time of his office there was no cheating in the markets, men and women did not walk together, people did not take things which belonged to others, and there was no litigation.

But, although Confucius waited patiently, he had little real chance to enter politics. Even when he did get his chance, there was no assurance that his way of merging ethics with politics would be continued. So at last Confucius left Lu and said, "How free I am. I can now spend my life in a

leisurely way." Yet he still felt disheartened at times, saying, "The Way makes no progress. I shall get upon a raft and float out to sea."[25] Actually, as far as a practical career was concerned, he had accomplished nothing. But we may imagine that if he had had a chance to remain in office for three years, as he wished, he might have accomplished some of the great results he had hoped for. Yet, in such a case, Confucius' death might have been like those of Tu Ming-tu and Shun Hua, two officials who attained high office but were later killed by their lords. When this news came to Confucius, he sighed. He was standing at the time near a stream and said: "How beautiful is the water! Eternally it flows! Fate has decreed that I should not cross this river."

"What do you mean?" asked Tzu-kung, coming forward.

And Confucius replied, "Tu Ming-tu and Shun Hua were good ministers of Chin. Before Baron Chien Chao got into power, he said that he would insist on taking these two men, should he get into power, and now that he is in power, he has killed them. I have heard that when people disembowel embryos or kill the young, the unicorn refuses to appear in the countryside, and that when people dry up a pond in order to catch fish, the dragon refuses to bring the *yin* and *yang* principles into harmony (resulting in famine and flood),[26] and that when people snatch birds' nests and break birds' eggs, the phoenix refuses to come. Why? Because a gentleman avoids those who kill their own kind. If even the birds and beasts avoid the unrighteous, how much more should I do the same?"[27]

These remarks show Confucius' recognition of the difficulty of applying his Way in practical politics. Let me quote another passage from the *Shih-chi*. The lords of Lu had a hunting party and caught a strange animal which Confucius declared was a unicorn. Then Confucius said: "This is the end of it all. There is no one in this world who understands me."

“孔子曰：‘有是言也。不曰“乐其以贵下人乎”？’于是诛鲁大夫乱政者少正卯。与闻国政三月，粥羔豚者弗饰贾；男女行者别于涂；涂不拾遗；四方之客至乎邑者不求有司……”

但是尽管孔子耐心等待，他真正与闻政事的机会并不多，即使有机会，也不能确保他的政道结合能继续下去。最后他还是离开了鲁国，感慨“优哉游哉，维以卒岁”，然而他仍时感沮丧，说“道不行，乘桴浮于海”。[28]实际上，从现实业绩来讲，他什么也没有达成。但是我们设想，如果他真的像他希望的那样“三年有成”，他也许会如愿取得一些不

错的成就。不过，如果这样，他的结局就如同窦鸣犊和舜华了——他们两人做到很高的官位，但最终还是被统治者所杀。孔子得知后怅然叹息："美哉水，洋洋乎？丘之不济此，命也夫？"

"子贡趋而进曰：'敢问何谓也!'

"孔子曰：'窦鸣犊，舜华，晋国之贤大夫也。赵简子未得志之时，须此两人而后从政；及其已得志，杀之乃从政。丘闻之也，刳胎杀夭则麒麟不至郊，竭泽涸渔则蛟龙不合阴阳[29]，覆巢毁卵则凤凰不翔。何则？君子讳伤其类也。夫鸟兽之于不义也尚知辟之，而况乎丘哉！'"[30]

这番话表明孔子认识到将他的"理"用于实际政治的困难。我再引用《史记》中的一段："及西狩见麟，曰：'吾道穷矣。'喟然叹曰：'莫知我夫?'

His disciple Tzu-kung said, "Why do you say that there is no one who understands you?"

And Confucius said, "I don't blame Heaven, and I don't blame mankind. All I try to do is my best to acquire knowledge and to aim for a higher ideal. Perhaps Heaven is the only one who understands me! Po-yi and Shu-ch'i were two sages who loved their ideals and their self-respect! (These persons and the following were famous scholars living as recluses.) Liu-hsia Hui and Shao-lien lowered their ideals and lost their self-respect. Yu-chung and Yi-yi remained active and outspoken, but their conduct was clean and they had good judgment. But I am different from all of them. I will insist on nothing." Then he added: "A gentleman will suffer pain to die without having lived up to his name. My Way will not be carried out. What can I do to explain myself to those who come after?"[31] He chose to compile the book of *Spring and Autumn Annals* from historical sources.

The *Spring and Autumn Annals* is a Chinese grammar of politics. It reveals the norms of good government but does not necessarily give any practical advice for realizing them. From this work one may learn the *tao*, or Way, which runs side by side but does not merge with practical politics. The title given to Confucius of a "king without a throne," that is, a king without any political position, makes clear this peculiarly Chinese concept.

If the ethical line cannot control the political line, though scholars may repeatedly criticize the government as not acting according to the *tao*, in actual everyday politics the emperor, or the man who possesses political power, will not feel shame and will disregard them. In a state which is

misgoverned, in which the scholar folds up his norm and hides it in his bosom, what happens to the people? Scholars may say, as Confucius once did, "If Heaven will not destroy this work what harm can my enemy do to me?" But Confucius also said, "Heaven may destroy this work, and those who come later will never again have a chance to learn the Way." Scholars may die, for they are men of this world, not of another. How can they hide when the imperial power rules the entire land? The imperial power may burn the books and bury the scholars alive.[32] It may kill students because of some writing which injures the emperor. It may block the ethical line entirely for a time. Confucius was not able to solve this difficulty, namely, that, living together in the same world, the two lines, ethical and political, cannot let each other alone. Although the ethical line of the scholars may be willing not to struggle against the political line, the political line can, and often does, suppress the ethical.

“子贡曰：‘何为莫知子?'

“子曰：‘不怨天，不尤人，下学而上达，知我者其天乎！’‘不降其志，不辱其身，伯夷、叔齐乎！’谓‘柳下惠、少连降志辱身矣’。谓‘虞仲、夷逸隐居放言，行中清，废中权’。‘我则异于是，无可不无可。’子曰：‘弗乎，弗乎！君子病没世而名不称焉。吾道不行矣，吾何以自见于后世哉?'[33]，乃因史记作春秋……”

《春秋》是一部中国政治的典范。它揭示了好的统治的规范，但没有对其实施提出实际的建议。我们可从中学到“道”或“理”，与政平行，二者没有统一。孔子的尊号是“素王”，就是没有政治地位的王，这是中国政治概念中的特色。

如果道统不能控制政统，尽管推崇道统的人不停地斥责有国者失道，但在日常政治活动中，帝王或是掌握政治权力的人并不觉得可耻且置之不理。邦无道时，师儒们固然不妨把道卷而怀之，可是那些百姓怎么样呢？正像孔子曾经说过的那样，师儒们可以说：“天之未丧斯文也，匡人其如予何？”但是孔子还说：“天之将丧斯文也，后死者不得与于斯文也。”师儒们终将死去，因为他们是地球上的生命，不是其他星球上的。当皇权控制整个国土的时候，他们怎么能隐藏起来呢？皇权可以“焚书坑儒”[34]，可以兴文字狱，可以在一个时期内完全阻碍道统。孔子无法解决这一矛盾，即只要在同一个世界上，道统和政统实际上是无法各行其是的。尽管道统不与政统相争，但实际上，政统可以而且的确常常压迫道统。

When this happens, what can scholars do? The positive way to meet this dilemma is, as was done in the West, to conquer the imperial power and subordinate practical politics to the socially accepted norms. But positive measures of this sort are not in accordance with the feudal tradition, and we find very little in Chinese history of this sort of positive resistance. Another line was taken.

When Confucius appealed to Heaven, that Heaven was an indifferent abstraction which would not interfere with worldly events.[35] But when the ethical line of the scholars was suppressed by the emperors to such a degree that there was no possibility of their gaining any power in politics, they tried to convert Heaven into a really active force. Confucian *tao* has no inherent power. It cannot *do* things, for doing things is the emperor's task. In the Han dynasty, however, the conception of a realistic God who would interfere in human affairs gradually took shape. Tung Chung-shu (179?–104? B.C.), a scholar of the Han dynasty, interpreted the *Spring and Autumn Annals* in such a way as to threaten the royal power with heavenly anger. In a statement addressed to the emperor Wu he said: "Your servant, in reading the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, has come to see that, in this work done by previous generations, there is presented a relation between Heaven and Man. I realize the awfulness of this relation. When a nation loses its *tao*, Heaven will first warn the people by famines and disasters. If the emperor does not look back upon himself to criticize himself, then Heaven will warn him by portents. If he still does not change his way, then he will court real disaster. This shows the benevolence of Heaven, which wishes to stop disturbances in the world."

In Tung's formula Heaven comes first, the emperor second, the scholars third, and, at the bottom, the people. Following this formula, the emperor should no longer be repressive but should be awed and restrained by the behavior of Heaven. But the question is: Since Heaven expresses approval or disapproval through natural phenomena, who knows the meaning of the heavenly signs? Who is able to interpret these signs but the scholar? Thus Tung really emphasizes the importance of the scholar, in that he alone could interpret Heaven. The first part of this conception was different from the usual Confucian point of view and especially that developed by Mencius, according to which the will of Heaven is to be expressed in the will of the people. According to this new idea, scholars should interpret the will of Heaven as expressed in natural phenomena. It was not an attempt to control

political power democratically but rather, indirectly, through religion. The role of the scholar was simply to help the monarch to meet Heaven's demands; and the punishment of the emperor, if it came, would be through natural disasters and not by the people. Theoretically, monarchical power was thus subordinated to religious power, and the scholar given a position of some independence. In other words, the scholar's ethical line was no longer to be held down by the political line of the emperor.

那么这时师儒们该怎么办呢？积极的出路是依照西方的做法，制约皇权，把政统压迫在社会公认的道统之下，但这与封建传统不合，在中国历史中很少有这种积极的反抗，他们采取的是另一种方式。

孔子呼天，这个天是空洞的，即使有知也不干涉人事。[36]可是当道统被帝王压迫得无法翻身、完全丧失政治权力的时候，他们试图请天来干涉人事，以发挥其实际的积极作用。孔子的道统没有权柄，不能做事，因为做事是帝王的任务。但在汉代，一个可以干涉人事的现实的“天”逐渐成型。汉代的师儒董仲舒（约公元前179—公元前104年）在对《春秋》的解释中用上天的愤怒来吓唬皇权。他对汉武帝说：“臣谨案春秋之中，视前世已行之事，以观天人相与之际，甚可畏也。国家将有失道之败，而天乃先出灾害以谴告之，不知自省，又出怪异以警惧之，尚不知变，而伤败乃至。以此见天心之仁爱人君而欲止其乱也。”

在董仲舒的公式里，上是天，中是皇，次是儒，末是民。根据他的公式，皇权不再处于压迫别人的地位而应敬畏上天，受上天的限制。但问题是，既然上天通过自然现象来表达赞赏或责备，那谁能明白这些天相符兆的意义呢？除了师儒，还有谁能解读这些符兆呢？董仲舒就这样实际强调了师儒的重要性，即只有师儒能解释天意。这个概念的前一部分与儒家通常的观点有所不同，特别是与孟子所发展的“天意表达于民意”的观点不同。根据这种新观点，师儒应该通过自然现象来解释天意，这不是试图通过民主的方式来限制政权，而是间接通过宗教。师儒不过是帮着皇权去应天。天要降刑罚于君主时，不经由民众而是通过自然灾害。理论上，皇权就这样屈服于宗教的力量，师儒被赋予了一定独立的地位。换句话说，师儒的道统不再为皇帝的政统所压制。

If Tung Chung-shu had advanced a step further, perhaps he might have gone so far as eventually to transform the scholar from an interpreter of Heaven into a priest. Then the scholar-priests might have formed an organized church, which, with divine sanction, might have been strong enough to check the unlimited monarchical power. If this had taken place, we might have had in China something similar to the relations between church

and state in the West. But when this theory came to challenge the supremacy of the monarchical power, it was suppressed at once. Tung Chung-shu developed a theory of omens and could even predict natural disasters from the *yin* and the *yang*. "When you want rain," he said, "stop the *yang* and open the *yin*. If you want the rain to stop, reverse the process. Practice this throughout the nation, and it will not fail." Once in Liao-tung, a hall in the tomb of the emperor caught fire. Tung interpreted this to mean that the emperor had done something wrong. A friend of his called Yen Chu-fu, who knew of this and who was jealous of Tung, stole the writings which made clear this interpretation and showed them to the emperor. The emperor called together all the scholars and showed the writings to them. A student of Tung's called Lu, who did not know the writings were his master's, said it was all "nonsense." Then the emperor was relieved. He put Tung into prison and condemned him to death. Later Tung was pardoned but never again dared to interpret in this way.

The theory of heavenly anger expressed through portents did not succeed in controlling monarchical power. But it encouraged the people in that it destroyed the theory of imperial absolutism. If Heaven dislikes the ruler, then the ruler must be changed. During the Han dynasty, and afterward, whenever there were social disturbances, this theory was used to justify the rebellion of the people. But, although as a popularly accepted theory it might be a justification for revolt, it did not change the nature of the imperial power.

At the same period as Tung, under the Han emperor Wu, there was another scholar who had also studied the *Spring and Autumn Annals,* namely, Hung Kung-sun. This man, who took part in the persecution and exile of Tung, presents another form of adjustment to the imperial power. That is, to become an official and serve the emperor. Orthodox Confucianism scorned Hung Kung-sun because he sold out the spirit of Confucianism, the keeping of the *tao*. An old scholar, ninety years of age, Yuan Ku-sun, who had retired because he would not modify his opinions to please the emperor, looked askance at Kung-sun, and said: "You, Kung-sun, should say what you have learned. You should not bend your teaching to please the world." This meant that it was the duty of the scholar to hold to the ethical line and not to be an opportunist. Kung-sun had come of humble origins; he had been a jailer and at one time had even herded pigs. Yet he came to be prime minister, the first who had reached this position without being related to the emperor. He thus,

very well, saw the advantage of selling out the ethical line to the emperor and of subordinating the Confucian norms to the monarchical power. Actually, unless one retired from the world entirely, there were, practically speaking, only two alternatives: either to subordinate ethical power to political power or to become unpopular. Yuan Ku-sun, the old scholar, and Tung Chung-shu did not submit and were exiled. But Hung Kung-sun submitted and became prime minister.

如果董仲舒再进一步，也许会最终把解释天意的师儒发展成宗教的牧师。然后这些牧师型的师儒可以组织成教会，获得上帝的认可，也许会发展到可以控制无限制的皇权。如果这样，中国就会有像西方那样的政教关系。但是当这种理论开始向皇权的至高无上发出挑战时，就立刻被镇压下去了。董仲舒发展了灾异论，甚至能通过阴阳来预言自然灾害。他说："求雨，闭诸阳，纵诸阴，其止雨反是；行之一国，未尝不得所欲。""先是辽东高庙、长陵高园殿灾，仲舒居家推说其意，草稿未上，主父偃候仲舒，私见，嫉之，窃其书而奏焉。上召视诸儒，仲舒弟子吕步舒不知其师书，以为大愚。于是下仲舒吏，当死，诏赦之。仲舒遂不敢复言灾异。"

通过自然征兆来表达上天之怒的灾异论，虽没有获得控制皇权的成功，但它鼓励了民间百姓，因为它打破了皇权的绝对性——如果上天厌恶皇帝，皇权就要改统。于是在汉代期间以及之后，每一次社会暴动，都用这种理论来正名。虽然这种被民间广泛接受的理论成了造反改统的根据，但它没有改变皇权的性质。

在汉武帝时代，与董仲舒同一时期的还有一个研究《春秋》的儒家公孙弘，他是参与迫害和流放董仲舒的阴谋家，提出了另一种适应皇权的方式，那就是做官侍奉皇帝。正统的儒林谴责公孙弘出卖了孔子卫道的传统。不肯修改自己的想法以迁就皇权的九旬老人辕固生，罢归的时候，公孙弘侧目而视固。固曰："公孙子务正学以言，无曲学以阿世！"这表明师儒有着维持道统的责任，不能投机。公孙弘出身卑微，做过狱吏，甚至牧过猪，但却被封为宰相，成为第一个与皇帝没有关系而达到此地位的人。因此他非常清楚地看到出卖道统、牺牲儒家规范而屈服于皇权的好处。其实除非一个人完全脱离尘世，否则实际地说，只有两个选择：一是政统征服道统，一是失宠于上。老儒生辕固生、董仲舒不肯屈服，被放逐了；公孙弘屈服了，做到宰相。

As prime minister, Kung-sun advocated the principle that monarchy should rule the people through the scholars of his ilk. He said: "The leopard, the wild horse, the untamed ox, all wild beasts and birds are difficult to

control. But, when they are domesticated, they may be used for human purposes. To bend wood takes less than a day. Gold and other metals can be melted in less than a month. A man who has a mind of his own and can judge the good from the bad, advantage from disadvantage, must be more difficult to handle than animals, birds, wood, or metal. But in a year's time he too may be molded." Kung-sun developed the technique of how to serve the emperor as a good official as follows: Each morning, when there is a conference, he will present the choices of action to the emperor and let him make his selection. He will not argue or insist upon anything. Then the emperor will see that he is discreet and understanding and that he knows administrative work and is an expert scholar. The emperor will be glad to have him near him. When the emperor grants him an audience, and he finds that they are not in agreement, he will not argue but will go back and find someone else to mediate. This man will present the case first to the emperor, Kung-sun following him. For this tactful approach the emperor will be very pleased with him. Moreover, even when a conference of ministers has decided a matter, the man who is wise will not speak according to the agreement but will fit in with the emperor's mood.

For following the latter precept, Kung-sun was attacked by other officials. They said: "This man is most treacherous and unfeeling. He turns his face against his friends. He suggests the idea himself first and then abandons it; he isn't loyal." The emperor asked Kung-sun if this were true. He replied: "Those who understand me will think that I am loyal. Those who do not understand me will think that I am not."

作为宰相，公孙弘主张由皇权利用他这类的师儒来统治人民。他说："夫虎豹马牛，禽兽之不可制者也，及其教驯服习之，至可牵持驾服，唯人之从。臣闻揉曲木者不累日，销金石者不累月，夫人之于利害好恶，岂比禽兽木石之类哉？期年而变……"公孙弘总结了一套"做官""事上"的技巧："每朝会议，开陈其端，使人主自择，不肯面折庭争。于是上察其行慎厚，辩论有余，习文法吏事，缘饰以儒术，上说之……弘奏事有所不可，不肯庭辩。常与主爵都尉汲黯请间，黯先发之，弘推其后，上常说，所言皆听，以此日益亲贵。尝与公卿约议，至上前，皆背其约以顺上指。

"汲黯庭诘弘曰：'齐人多诈而无情，始为与臣等建此议，今皆背之，不忠。'上问弘，弘谢曰：'夫知臣者以臣为忠，不知臣者以臣为不忠。'……

Another critic of Kung-sun said: "Hung Kung-sun has a high position among the top men. His salary is very high, but still he affects cotton gowns. That is not honest. He gives the impression of being modest and frugal when he really is not. Kung-sun started from a lowly position but in only a few years has climbed so far that he has become a minister and a lord. Outwardly his personality seems that of a temperate and hospitable man. He has built a guest house and filled it with guests whom he invites to participate in his work. While he himself takes only one piece of meat, they are entertained lavishly, and even his family neglected on their account. But, in spite of all this outward good will, inwardly he is jealous of everyone. He makes up to those officials who are not on good terms with him and then finds some way to hurt them. He killed Yen Chu-fu and exiled Tung Chung-shu. These are his plots."

From these old quotations we can see that here was a man without principles, one who merely tried to follow the emperor's whims, did not keep his word, sold out his friends, and formed his own party to help maintain his high position in the government.[37] This is a type of official which has often been seen in China.

Following the example of Hung Kung-sun, the ethical line which had been maintained by Confucius and his followers no longer was the norm. Scholars took to supporting monarchical power. This transformation was completed in the person of one Han Yü who, though considering himself directly descended from the ethical line, converted his position not into that of a critic but into a way of showing the emperor's tolerance. Han Yü was a man without academic honors, a hermit, but the emperor liked his conduct so well that he took him out of obscurity and created for him the office of imperial censor, an official who should tell the emperor what was wrong throughout his domain. His role was to convince the world at large that in the court people were allowed to speak freely and honestly, to make it evident that the emperor did not confer rewards unjustly, and to show that the emperor had the great virtue of being willing to follow suggestions disagreeable to him.[38] This, it was thought, would make the "people in the caves," the common people, "put on their finery and come to court to tell their wants." And this would make the emperor approach in virtue Yao and Shun, and his name would go down in history for ever and aye.

Han Yü no longer asked whether the imperial power followed the *tao* or

not. To him this was no longer a problem, for he believed that the political line must be the same as the ethical. The emperor could do no wrong. Moreover, the emperor had the obligation to use the scholars, and the scholars, in turn, had the obligation to present themselves in court. His reasoning went thus: "In ancient times scholars were sorry for one another if one or another of them went as long as three months without being in office. Such a one, leaving his own country, would go to bear gifts to the court of another lord. He would feel so anxious to find an opportunity to serve in government that, if he could not find a job in Lu, he would go to Ch'i, if not in Ch'i, he would go to Sung and Chien [Cheng?].... But now we have a centralized government. Within the four seas there is but one rule. If a man is to leave, he must go live with savage tribes, leaving behind the country of his father and mother. The scholar who wishes to practice his *tao* must do so at court or else go off to the wilds. In the mountains and forests he can do nothing but cultivate himself; this is a way out only for those who care very little for the world, not for those who care for people."

“汲黯曰：‘弘位在三公，奉禄甚多，然为布被，此诈也。’……弘自见为举首，起徒步，数年至宰相封侯，于是起客馆，开东阁以延贤人，与参谋议。弘身食一肉，脱粟饭，故人宾客仰衣食，奉禄皆以给之，家无所余。然其性意忌，外宽内深。诸常与弘有隙，无近远，虽阳与善，后竟报其过。杀主父偃，徙董仲舒胶西，皆弘力也。”

从以上引述中我们可以看出，这是一个没有原则、揣摩上意、不守信用、出卖朋友、沽名钓誉、阴结私党以维持高位的人。[39]这是中国常见的官僚类型。

从公孙弘所开创的官僚路线上，孔子及其追随者所维持的道统已不再是规范，而是支持皇权的工具。这个转变由韩愈最终完成。他虽自认是直承道统的人物，但他把诤谏的意义解释成为皇帝获取美誉的手段。他说：“夫阳子本以布衣隐于蓬蒿之下。主上嘉其行谊，擢在此位。官以谏为名，诚宜有以奉其职。使四方后世知朝廷有直言骨鲠之臣，天子有不僭赏从谏如流之美。[40]庶岩穴之士闻而慕之。束带结发，愿进于阙下而伸其辞说，致吾君于尧舜，熙鸿号于无穷也。”

韩愈不再问皇权是否合于道。对他来讲这已不再是问题，因为他相信政统即是道统，皇帝不会做错事。而且，皇帝有责任起用士人，士人也有责任自荐于朝廷。他的理由是这样的：“古之士，三月不仕则相吊。故出疆必载贽，然所以重于自进者，以其于周不可，则去之鲁。于鲁不可，则去之齐。于齐不可，则去之宋，之郑，之秦，之楚也。今天

下一君，四海一国，舍乎此则彝狄矣。去父母之邦矣。故士之行道者，不得于朝，则山林而已矣。山林者，士之所独善自养，而不忧天下者之所能安也。如有忧天下之心，则不能矣。”

From Han Yü on, Chinese scholars ceased to bother themselves about whether the emperor was good or not. Their function as scholars they now saw was to uphold the emperor. As people who simply read the orders of the emperor, they became caricatures of the real scholar.

Thus the relation between the scholar and political power changed in the course of history. In the beginning they were separated from practical politics; they were regarded as maintainers of the ethical way but not as positively effective in government. In the process of concentration of monarchical power this same class was unable to protect its own interest; its members turned to religious sanctions in the hope that divine authority, in controlling the monarch, would at the same time offer them protection. But the divine sanctions were not effective, and thus the only alternatives came to be either to rebel or to surrender. Since the scholar class were never in any sense revolutionary, they chose the latter course, becoming officials. And they even degraded themselves by becoming utterly subservient to the emperor. This is the historical process which determined the later position of the gentry in the social structure. They did not themselves attempt to take over political power but found security by subordinating themselves to the mercy of the imperial court. In the power structure of traditional China the gentry were a distinctly noncombative element.

自韩愈起，中国之士不再议论皇帝的是非。在他们眼中，作为士，他们的作用是侍奉皇帝，他们成了只不过是诵读圣谕的所谓的师儒。

于是，师儒和政权的关系在历史过程中有所演变。最初他们从政统里分离出来，被看作是不能主动影响政事的卫道者。在皇权不断集中的过程中，这个阶层不能维护自己的利益，他们转向依靠宗教的约束力，希望神的力量可以制约皇权，并同时保护他们。但这并没有奏效，于是除了反抗只有屈服。士大夫阶层从来都不是一个革命的阶层，他们选择了后者，即成为官僚，他们甚至降为彻底臣服于皇帝之流。这段历史过程决定了士绅在政治结构中的地位。他们本身并不想夺取政权，只是屈服于政权来谋得安全。在传统中国的权力结构中，士绅显然是没有斗志的那部分。

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[1] Tao-t'ung, literally "tao-series," "tao-succession," "tao-transmission," in usage something like "the

orthodox transmission of the tao or Way." The Chung Yung, or Doctrine of the Mean, defines the Confucian tao as follows: " “ 'The Universal Way for all under Heaven is five-fold, and the (virtues) by means of which it is practiced, are three. There are the relations of ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, and of friend and friend: these five constitute the universal Way for all. Wisdom (chih), human-heartedness (jen) and fortitude (yung): these three are universal virtues for all. That whereby they are practiced is one. Some are born and know it; some study and so know it; some through painful difficulties come to know it. But the result of their knowing is one' " (quoted by Fung Yu-lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy, trans. Derk Bodde [Peiping: H. Vetch, 1937], I, 373).
Han Yu of the T'ang dynasty (768–824), in his essay On the Nature of the Tao, wrote: "What I will call the Tao is not what has hitherto been called the tao by the Taoists and the Buddhists. Yao transmitted the tao to Shun. Shun transmitted it to Yü. Yü transmitted it to Wen, Wu, and the Duke of Chou. Wen, Wu, and the Duke of Chou transmitted it to Confucius, and Confucius transmitted it to Mencius. After Mencius, it was no longer transmitted."

[2] “道统”这个词的字面意思是指“道的系列”、“道的接续”、“道的传递”，在用法上类似于“道的正统传递”。《中庸》把儒道界定如下：“天下之达道五，所以行之者三，曰，君臣也，父子也，夫妇也，昆弟也，朋友之交也。五者，天下之达道也。知仁勇三者，天下之达德也，所以行之者一也。或生而知之，或学而知之，或困而知之，及其知之一也。或安而行之，或利而行之，或勉强而行之，及其成功一也。子曰：‘好学近乎知，力行近乎仁，知耻近乎勇。’知斯三者，则知所以修身。知所以修身，则知所以治人。知所以治人，则知所以治天下国家矣。”引自《中国哲学史》英文版，冯友兰著，德克·卜德译，北平：亨利·维奇出版公司，1937年，第1卷，第373页。（中文版参见冯友兰《中国哲学史》，北京：　中华书局，1961年，第450—451页。——译者注）
唐朝的韩愈（768—824）在《原道》中这样写道：“尧以是传之舜，舜以是传之禹，禹以是传之汤，汤以是传之文、武、周公，文、武、周公传之孔子，孔子传之孟轲。轲之死，不得其传焉。”

[3] The three rulers, Yao, Shun, and Yü, the great models of virtue in Confucian tradition, are the first to be mentioned by the Shu Ching, or Book of History, most ancient of Chinese documents. There is some difference of opinion as to whether Yao and Shun, among these at least semi-historical figures, are to be included with the "Five Sovereigns," or whether they ruled later as Sheng or Divine Sages. Granet says: "The three first of the Five Sovereigns, Huang-ti, Chuan-hsü, and Kao-hsin, figure in the works connected with the Confucian traditions, but have a philosophic rather than an historical character. The Book of History, attributed to Confucius, only mentioned the two last, Yao and Shun…. In making the history of the Sovereigns and of the Three August Ones precede that of the royal dynasties, the learned men of China set out to paint a picture of an halcyon age when, with human characteristics, perfect virtue rules. The heroic figures of the early age in China preserve, however, a number of mythical features. In Yao and Shun... the effacement of these features is nearly completed" (Marcel Granet, Chinese Civilization [New York: Barnes & Noble, 1951], p. 9).

[4] Arthur Waley, The Analects of Confucius (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1938), Book VII, No. 5, p. 123.

[5] 尧、舜、禹这三位统治者是儒家传统伟大的道德典范，最初是在中国最古老的文献典籍《书经》中提到的。像尧和舜这样半虚构的历史人物是否包括在五帝之内，还有他们后来是否算圣人治世——这些问题都存在着观点上的分歧。葛兰言说：“五帝的前三位——黄帝、颛顼和高辛——都是出现在与儒家传统相关的著作中的人物，但是他们都有着一种哲学的而非历史的特征。据说为孔子所著的《书经》中只提到后面两个，即尧和舜……通过将“三皇五帝”的历史置于皇家王朝之前，中国的文人学者着手绘制出一幅太平年代的图景，其时富有人性特征的完美品德居统治地位。然而，中国早期的英雄人物都保留有许多神话的特征。在尧和舜身上……这些特征近乎完全地消失了。”引自《中华文明》，葛兰言著，纽约：巴恩斯与诺布尔公司，1951年，第9页。

[6] 引自《论语》英文版，阿瑟·韦利译，伦敦：乔治·艾伦与昂温出版公司，1938年，第7篇，第

5章，第123页。（原文参见《论语正义》，刘宝楠著，中华书局，1990年，第256页。——译者注）
[7] Shih-chi, written by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, father of Chinese historians (145–85? B.C.). Book XLVII contains a life of Confucius. See The Wisdom of Confucius, edited and translated with notes by Lin Yutang (New York: Modern Library, 1943), pp. 48–91.
[8] 《史记》一书为中国的历史学家之父司马迁（约公元前145—前85?）所著。《史记》第47卷中包含有一篇孔子的生平。参见林语堂的编译注释本《孔子的智慧》英文版，纽约："现代图书馆丛书"版，1943年，第48—91页。
[9] Matt. 21: 23–27.
[10] 《马太福音》21章23—27节。
[11] "Tzu-kung came out and Yen Hui went in, and Confucius said, 'Ah, Hui, it is said in the Book of Songs, "Neither buffaloes, nor tigers, they wander in the desert." Are my teachings wrong? How is it that I find myself now in this situation?' And Yen Hui replied, 'The Master's teachings are so great. That is why the world cannot accept them. However, you should just do your best to spread the ideas. What do you care if they are not accepted? The fact that your teachings are not accepted shows that you are a true gentleman. If the truth is not cultivated, the shame is ours; but if we have already strenuously cultivated the teachings of a moral order, and they are not accepted by the people, it is the shame of those in power. What do you care if you are not accepted? The very fact that you are not accepted shows that you are a true gentleman.' And Confucius was pleased and said smilingly, 'Is that so? Oh, son of Yen, if you were a rich man, I would be your butler!' " (Lin Yutang, op. cit., pp. 74–75). (This episode is apocryphal.)
[12] "子贡出去而颜回进来，孔子说：'颜回，据《诗经》上说，不是犀牛也不是老虎，却疲于奔命在空旷的原野。这是我的教学有了什么错误之处吗？我为什么沦落到这个地步？'颜回接着回答说：'老师的教育如此地伟大，这正是为什么这个世界不能接受这些的原因。然而，您应该继续尽全力来传播自己的观念。如果这些观念不被接受，您又何必管它呢？您的教育不被接受这样的事实不正表明您是一位真正的君子吗？如果真理没有得到培育，那么这就是我们的羞愧了。但是如果我们已经含辛茹苦地培育了一种道德秩序的教化，而它们并不为人民所接受，这便是那些掌握权力的人的羞辱了。假使人们不接受您，您又何必在乎呢？人们不接受您这一事实本身就表明了您是一位真正的君子。'孔夫子心里非常高兴，面带笑容地说：'是这样的吗？颜家的孩子，如果你是一位富人，我愿是你的一位管家。'"参见《孔子的智慧》英文版，林语堂著，第74—75页。这一情节广为流传，但其真实性存疑。
[13] Waley, Analects, Book VII, No. 10, p. 124.
[14] See n. 1, p. 34.
[15] Waley, Analects, Book VIII, No. 13, p. 135, and Book XV, No. 6, p. 194.
[16] 《论语》英文版，韦利译，第7篇，第10章，第124页。
[17] 见注释1，第34页（本书注释18，第183页）。
[18] 《论语》英文版，韦利译，第8篇，第13章，第135页以及第15篇，第6章，第 194页。
[19] Lin Yutang, op. cit., p. 74.
[20] Waley, Analects, Book IX, No. 12, p. 141.
[21] Life of Confucius, from the Shih-chi (Lin Yutang, op. cit., p. 56).
[22] 林语堂，《孔子的智慧》，第74页。
[23] 《论语》英文版，韦利译，第9篇，第12章，第141页。
[24] "孔子世家"，载《史记》（见林语堂《孔子的智慧》，第56页）。
[25] Waley, Analects, Book V, No. 6, p. 108.
[26] "Yang, the positive principle, is associated with all that is bright, beneficent, active, masculine: symbolized by Heaven and the Sun. Yin, the negative principle, with darkness, passivity, the feminine in nature: symbolized by the Earth and Water.
"The Yang is said to transform, the Yin to unite. By these processes they brought into being the five essences, water, fire, wood, metal, and earth….
"In no sphere of Chinese life and thought can the Yang and Yin be lost sight of. Their nearest Western

parallel is what we call 'the mysterious causes underlying the operations of Providence' " (G. Willoughby-Meade, Chinese Ghouls and Goblins [New York: Frederick A. Stokes, n.d.], p. 4).
"In Zoroastrianism, Darkness is essentially evil; the principle of Light, essentially good. The fundamental conception of yin and yang is quite different. They are two interdependent and complementary facets of existence and the aim of yin-yang philosophers was not the triumph of light, but the attainment in human life of perfect balance between the two principles" (Arthur Waley, The Way and Its Power [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1934], p. 112).
[27] Lin Yutang, op. cit., p. 68. (This is another apocryphal incident.)
[28] 《论语》英文版，韦利译，第5篇，第6章，第108页。
[29] “阳，指正向的特性，它是与所有明亮、仁慈、积极、阳性的东西相联系，并以天和太阳作为象征。阴，指负向的特性，具有黑暗、被动和阴性的本质，以土地和水作为象征。
“阴阳转换而成一体。通过这样的过程而产生出水、火、木、金和土这五行来……
“在中国人的生活和思想中，阴阳无处不在。与西方最为接近的看法是我们所谓的‘天道运行背后的神秘原因’（《中国的食尸鬼和小鬼》，杰拉德·威洛比–米德著，纽约：弗雷德里克·斯托克斯公司，无出版年月，第4页）。
“在拜火教中，黑暗实质上就是恶，对光明的信念实质上就是善。在阴和阳的基本概念上存在有相当的差异。它们是指存在的两个相互独立和互补的方面，而且阴阳哲学家的目标并非是获取光明，而是要在人的生活中达到这两种特性的完美平衡（《道及其力量》，阿瑟·韦利著，伦敦：乔治·艾伦与昂温出版公司，1934年，第112页）。
[30] 林语堂，《孔子的智慧》，第68页。（这是另一个广为流传但真实性存疑的情节。）
[31] Fei's translation. See Lin Yutang, op. cit., pp. 86–87. The significance of catching the unicorn was that, although this creature in itself symbolized the coming-to-power of a sage and of general peace and prosperity, the fact that in this case the unicorn had been hunted down was rather the sign of something unusually disastrous, in this case of the death of the great scholar Confucius. Fei's repetition of the tradition that Confucius composed the Spring and Autumn Annals would be repudiated by most scholars.
[32] These events took place under the harsh Ch'in empire, in 213–212 B.C., as a means of enforcing intellectual conformity. All books throughout the empire, with certain important exceptions, were collected by the government and burned, and over 460 scholars were allegedly buried alive.
[33] 费孝通的翻译。见林语堂《孔子的智慧》，第86—87页。捕获麒麟的意义在于，尽管这一动物本身象征了一位圣人即将拥有权力以及普遍的安定和繁荣，但在这个例子中这只麒麟被捕获的事实，更可能是某种极为不幸的象征，暗指大学问家孔子的逝世。费孝通这里所重复的孔子编《春秋》的传统，可能是为大多数学者所拒斥的。
[34] 这些事件发生在严酷的秦朝，公元前213年—公元前212年之间，作为一种强行统一思想的手段。除了特定重要的著作之外，整个国家的所有书籍都被政府收缴上来烧毁，据说有460多位儒生被活埋。
[35] The substance of this and the following paragraphs as set out here by Fei would be disputed by many scholars in certain respects. That Heaven to Confucius was an indifferent abstraction is not the view of others (cf. Fung Yu-lan, op. cit., I, 58: "For Confucius, Heaven was a purposeful supreme being"). Second, it is more widely thought that the theory of the Will of Heaven here attributed to Tung Chang-shu antedates him by almost a thousand years (see the chapter on this subject in Herrlee G. Creel, The Birth of China [New York: Reynall & Hitchcock, 1937]).
[36] 费孝通在这里和下面几段中陈述的要义，在某些方面而言，许多学者会有异议。有的学者并不认为对孔子来说，天是漠不关心的抽象概念（参见冯友兰《中国哲学史》英文版，第1卷，58页：“孔子之所谓天，乃一有意志之上帝”）。再者，更为广泛的看法是认为这里说成是董仲舒的有关天的意志的理论早于他的时代近千年（参见顾立雅《中国的诞生》一书中相关章节，纽约：雷纳尔与希契科克公司，1937年）。
[37] But Dubs says: "Kung-sun Hung proved to be admirable in personal conduct, able in disputation, capable in legal matters, and an ornament to scholarship" (Introduction to Pan Ku's The History of the Former Han Dynasty, trans. Homer H. Dubs [Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1938], II, 23). For discussion

of the reign of the emperor Wu and his attitude toward Confucianists see also Herrlee G. Creel, Confucius, the Man and the Myth (New York: John Day Co., 1949), pp. 233–243.

[38] "Since the fourteenth century, there has existed a definite organization known as the Censorate, the members of which, who are called the 'ears' and 'eyes' of the sovereign, make it their business to report adversely upon any course adopted by the Government in the name of the Emperor, or by any individual statesman, which seems to call for disapproval. The reproving Censor is nominally entitled to complete immunity from punishment; but in practice, he knows that he cannot count too much upon either justice or mercy. If he concludes that his words will be unforgivable, he hands in his memorial, and draws public attention forthwith by committing suicide on the spot" (H. A. Giles, The Civilization of China [New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1911], pp. 158–159).

[39] 但是，德效骞说："公孙弘在个人行为上是令人敬佩的，他善于辩论，长于法律事务，学问笃实"（引自班固《汉书》英文版"导论"，德效骞译，巴尔的摩：韦弗利出版社，1938年，第2卷，第23页）。关于汉武帝统治及其对儒家的态度的讨论亦可参见《孔子其人及其神话》，顾立雅著，纽约：约翰·戴出版公司，1949年，第233—243页。

[40] "自14世纪以来就存在有一个所谓监督审查的固定机构，这一机构的成员被称为是统治者的'耳''目'。这些人的工作就是挑刺，不论是对本着皇帝之名的政府行为，还是对似乎会招致异议的个人政客之举。挑刺的巡查官名义上享有完全的豁免权；但实际上，他知道他不能够对公正和宽恕有太多的期望。如果他断定自己的言辞是不可宽恕的话，他会递上自己的请愿书，并立刻在众目睽睽之下当场自杀。"引自《中国的文明》，翟理思著，纽约：亨利·霍尔特公司，1911年，第158—159页。

Chapter Three The Gentry and Technical Knowledge

第叁章 士绅与技术知识

The Chinese term for "intelligentsia," *chih-shih fen-tzu*, "they who know," indicates that in Chinese society there was a differentiation based on wisdom. The questions arise: What kind of wisdom was it upon which this social differentiation was based? What was the mechanism by means of which it was monopolized by one class in society? We should like to ask further: How did this class maintain its position in the traditional scheme, and what changes are taking place in it through contact with the West?

The characteristic of the members of this class has always been not only that they knew something but that they had a special kind of knowledge. What this special knowledge or wisdom was is made clear in Confucius' work. The word *chih* has a restricted meaning. For example, the student Fan Ch'ih asked Confucius about the meaning of the word *chih*. Confucius said, "He who devotes himself to securing for his subjects what it is right they should have, who, by respect for the Spirits, keeps them at a distance, may be

termed wise."[1] Confucius also said: "There may well be those who can do without knowledge; but I for my part, am certainly not one of them. To hear much, to pick out what is good and follow it, to see much, and take due note of it, is the lower of the two kinds of knowledge."[2]

From these quotations it is clear that Confucius did not use the word "knowledge" to mean merely cognition but implied knowledge of the right thing. Again, when Fan Ch'ih asked what it meant to be wise, the Master said, "Know men." Fan Ch'ih did not quite understand. The Master said, "By raising the straight and putting them on top of the crooked, one can make the crooked straight."[3] Confucius described the process of knowledge as, first, perception—the gathering of information—but, following upon this, the drawing of distinctions and the making of a choice. Knowledge is more than mere gathering of information, since it involves choice, and this choice is based on the ability to distinguish the good from the bad. Knowledge in this restricted sense, and based on a standard or norm, is designated by the word "straight." When you know what is straight, you must act upon it. And by so doing you will make the crooked straight. Thus Confucius explains the word *chih* as wisdom or knowledge of right behavior. Those who work for the people and those who respect the spirits are the people who know what they ought to do, and they are therefore "those who know." To know in this sense is not only to be intelligent but also to be virtuous. Knowledge of this sort goes with *jên*[4] and courage. The wise man not only is an intellectual but also knows the Way, the norm, the things he ought to do.

汉语里的"知识分子"一词暗示，中国社会在"知识"上发生了分化。问题是，什么样的知识能成为社会分化的基础呢？社会中的某一阶级是利用何种机制来独占知识的呢？我们还能进一步问，这一阶级怎样在传统社会结构中维持他们的地位，在与西方的接触中发生了怎样的变化？

这个阶级成员的特点是他们不仅"知"，而且有一定的专门知识。这种专门知识在孔子的著作中讲述得很清楚。"知"字有严格的意义。例如孔子的学生樊迟"问知"，"子曰：'务民之义，敬鬼神而远之，可谓知矣。'"[5]孔子还说："盖有不知而作之者，我无是也。多闻，择其善者而从之；多见而识之；知之次也。"[6]

这里我们看到，孔子所谓的"知"，显然不单是"知道了"，而是指"懂得正确的道理"。樊迟再次"问知"，"子曰：'知人。'樊迟未达。子曰：'举直错诸枉，能使枉者直。'"[7]孔子说明了知识的过程：首先是闻、见，即搜集信息，接下来是择、识。由于"知"不仅仅是信息的搜

集，而且包括选择，这就要以分辨是非的能力为基础。这一狭义的知基于一定的行为标准，而这标准即为“直”。知了之后，还要遵循去做，对人还要“使直”。孔子把标准行为的规范解释为知，那些对民能“务本”、对神能“敬之”的人就可以算是知了。知在这里不仅指聪明智慧，还指高尚道德，可以和“仁”[8]、“勇”并称。知者不仅是聪明人，还是明道理的人，道理就是规范。

We can differentiate knowledge into two categories: first, understanding of the nature of the physical world and, second, understanding of what constitutes right conduct. In the Confucian classics *chih* refers to the second type of knowledge. Confucius even believed that the man who knew the moral norms did not necessarily need to know about nature. In fact, he was himself represented as that sort of man whose "four limbs are unaccustomed to toil" who "cannot distinguish the five kinds of grains."[9] Fan Ch'ih asked the Master to teach him about farming. The Master said, "You had much better consult some old farmer." He asked to be taught about gardening. The Master said, "You had much better go to some old vegetable gardener." When Fan Ch'ih had gone out, the Master said: "Fan is no gentleman! If those above them love ritual, then among the common people none will care to be disrespectful. If those above them love right, then among the common people none will dare to be disobedient. If those above them love good faith, then among the common people none will dare to depart from the facts. If a gentleman is like that, the common people will flock to him from all sides with their babies strapped to their backs. What need has he to practice farming?"[10] This quotation explains that, to Confucius, a knowledge of nature was not so important and also shows his conception of his own social position. Men such as he are at the top; the ordinary people are at the bottom. The people must work on the land, but those at the top need only acquire and keep the respect of the people through upholding the *li*[11]—justice and faith. The man who knows about the norms of conduct need not work for his living.

In Mencius this social structure becomes still clearer. A man called Ch'en Hsiang spoke to Mencius about Hsü Hsing's idea that a worthy prince would till the land with the people. But Mencius did not agree with him and put forward arguments to show that a division of labor was both natural and right.

When Ch'en Hsiang saw Hsü Hsing, he was greatly pleased with him, and, abandoning entirely whatever he had learned, became his disciple.

Having an interview with Mencius, he related to him with approbation the words of Hsü Hsing to the following effect: "The prince of T'ung is indeed a worthy prince. He has not yet heard, however, the real doctrines of antiquity. Now, wise and able princes should cultivate the ground equally and along with their people, and eat the fruit of their labour. They should prepare their own meals, morning and evening, while at the same time they carry on their government. But now, the prince of T'ung has his granaries, treasuries, and arsenals, which is an oppressing of the people to nourish himself. How can he be deemed a real worthy prince?"

我们可以把"知"分成两类：一是知道物质世界的特征，即自然知识；二是知道正确的行为如何构成，即规范知识。儒家作品中的"知"指的是第二类，孔子甚至认为懂得规范知识的人不必有自然知识，实际上他自己就代表了那种"四体不勤，五谷不分"[12]的人。"樊迟请学稼。子曰：'吾不如老农。'请学为圃，曰：'吾不如老圃。'樊迟出。子曰：'小人哉，樊须也！上好礼，则民莫敢不敬；上好义，则民莫敢不服；上好信，则民莫敢不用情。夫如是，则四方之民襁负其子而至矣，焉用稼？'"[13]这段话说明，自然知识对于孔子是不太重要的，还表明了他对于自己社会地位的概念。像他这样的人是在上的，"民"在最下层。民必须种田，而在上的人只需高举"礼"[14]——即义、信——来获得和维持民的敬服。懂得行为规范的人不必亲自劳作。

孟子把这种社会结构说得更清楚。有一个叫陈相的人在孟子面前宣传许行的"贤者与民并耕而食"的主张，但孟子不同意，认为劳动分工既是自然的又是正确的。

"陈相见许行而大悦，尽弃其学而学焉。陈相见孟子，道许行之言曰：'滕君则诚贤君也；虽然，未闻道也。贤者与民并耕而食，饔飧而治。今也滕有仓廪府库，则是厉民而以自养也，恶得贤?'

Mencius said, "I suppose that Hsü Hsing sows grain and eats the produce. Is it not so?" "It is so," was the answer. "I suppose also, he weaves cloth, and wears his own manufacture. Is it not so?" "No. Hsü wears clothes of haircloth." "Does he wear a cap?" "He wears a cap." "What kind of a cap?" "A plain cap." "Is it woven by himself?" "No. He gets it in exchange for grain!" "Why does Hsü cook his food in boilers and earthenware pans, and does he plough with an iron share?" "Yes." "Does he make those articles himself?" "No. He gets them in exchange for grain."

Mencius then said, "The getting of those various articles in exchange for

grain is not oppressive to the potter and the founder, and the potter and the founder in their turn, in exchanging their various articles for grain, are not oppressive to the husbandman. How should such a thing be supposed? And moreover, why does not Hsü act the potter and founder, supplying himself with the articles which he uses solely from his own establishment? Why does he go confusedly dealing and exchanging with the handicraftsmen? Why does he not spare himself so much trouble?" Ch'en Hsiang replied, "The business of the handicraftsman can by no means be carried along with the business of husbandry."

Mencius resumed, "Then, is it the government of the kingdom which alone can be carried on along with the practice of husbandry? Great men have their proper business, and little men have their proper business…. Hence, there is the saying, 'Some labour with their minds, and some labour with their strength. Those who labour with their minds govern others; those who labour with their strength are governed by others. Those who are governed by others support them; those who govern others are supported by them.' This is a principle universally recognized."[15]

We may see here how a recognition of the obvious need for an economic division of labor was used to support class distinctions and to justify the privileges of the ruling class. But I quote the two passages given above in this context to show the difference in attitude under the traditional system toward knowledge of the natural world and ethical knowledge. Knowledge of the natural world was knowledge for production and belonged to farmers, craftsmen, and others who depended upon it for earning their living. Ethical knowledge, on the other hand, was an instrument in the possession of those who used their minds to rule the people. To rule others means that one is superior and should be able to be maintained by others, if not exploit them. Because such men do not deal with the material world, they form the habit of "not using their four limbs" and "not distinguishing the five grains." It is this which Confucius suggests by his question as to why he should till the land.

“孟子曰：‘许子必种粟而后食乎？’曰：‘然。’‘许子必织布而后衣乎？’曰：‘否；许子衣褐。’‘许子冠乎？’曰：‘冠。’曰：‘奚冠？’曰：‘冠素。’曰：‘自织之与？’曰：‘否；以粟易之。’曰：‘许子奚为不自织？’曰：‘害于耕。’曰：‘许子以釜甑爨，以铁耕乎？’曰：‘然。’‘自为之与？’曰：‘否；以粟易之。’

“‘以粟易械器者，不为厉陶冶；陶冶亦以其械器易粟者，岂为厉农

夫哉？且许子何不为陶冶，舍皆取诸其宫中而用之？　何为纷纷然与百工交易？何许子之不惮烦？’曰：‘百工之事固不可耕且为也。’

“然则治天下独可耕且为与？有大人之事，有小人之事。……故曰，或劳心，或劳力；劳心者治人，劳力者治于人；治于人者食人，治人者食于人，天下之通义也。”[16]

这里我们可以看到，对劳动的经济划分的必要性的认识是如何被用来支持阶级划分和为统治阶级的特权辩解的。但我引用以上两段话是要表明传统制度下对自然知识和规范知识的不同态度。自然知识是生产知识，属于农民、手工业者和其他以生产为生的人；而规范知识是劳心者统治人民的工具。统治别人意味着高于别人，可以“食于人”，如果不是剥削人的话。他们自己不参与生产，养成了“四体不勤，五谷不分”的习惯，孔子“焉用稼”的问题正式表达了这层意思。

Although Mencius laid down the distinction discussed above as a universal principle, he did not explain why those who work with the mind, those who possess ethical knowledge, should stand above the people and rule them and be entitled to be supported by them.[17]

This leads us to the question: How did the intelligentsia acquire their social position? Much of their authority was derived from the nature of the knowledge they possessed, a knowledge not, as we have seen, of practical affairs but of something other, of recognized social value.

In order to satisfy the basic needs of existence, such as food, clothing, and shelter, we must use material goods and have some real acquaintance with the world about us. We must know how to deal with material objects in the right way. For instance, the knowledge that friction will produce fire was an early-discovered principle and an important addition to civilized knowledge. But one cannot make fire simply by rubbing something together. The knowledge of how to make fire must include a knowledge of what materials to use and of how long friction of these materials must be maintained. Only under certain conditions is the principle of making fire through friction realized. A technique prescribes a definite procedure by which one reaches certain desired consequences, and a knowledge and proper use of it determine whether one achieves the desired result or not. But in human life we do not use techniques for their own sake but rather as a means toward an end. We make a fire in order to cook, to warm a house, or to worship the gods. Thus making a fire brings not only the problem of *how* but

also of *when*, *where*, and *by whom* to make *what kind* of fire. Making a fire is not an isolated activity but part of a social institution. And social institutions always involve not only efficiency but also values. The problem is whether we ought or ought not to make the fire. This is part of what Confucius called the *li*. Thus the same action may be right in certain contexts and not right in others. When someone asked Confucius if Kuan Chung knew about the *li*, he said: "Only the ruler of a State may build a screen to mask his gate; but Kuan had such a screen. Only the ruler of a State, when meeting another ruler, may use cupmounds; but Kuan used one. If even Kuan is to be cited as a expert in ritual, who is not an expert in ritual?"[18] That which decides what we ought to do is not the technique but a norm of conduct.

In dealing with nature, it is a question of doing what is practically right. If we work according to principles inherent in nature itself, we will reach our desired end. If we do not do so, we will not succeed in making the fire burn. Thus no extra authority is needed to reinforce knowledge of the natural world. If one does not act according to social norms, the consequences may be bad for society as a whole, if not for the individual himself. To protect the common good, we need sanctions which will make the nonconformist respect the norms. In this way, we turn *ought to be* into *dare not do so*. Social sanctions require authority from society at large. But this authority cannot be given to everyone; society must delegate someone to be its agent. In China such persons have been those whom we referred to above as "the men who know."

虽然孟子把以上的社会分化说成是“天下之通义”，但他没有解释为什么那些“劳心者”、那些掌握规范知识的人可以在上、可以治人、可以食于人。[19]

这使我们不禁要问：知识分子是怎样获得他们的社会地位的？他们的地位大部分是从他们所拥有的知识的性质引出的。正如我们所看到的，这种知识不是指实际事务的知识，而是另外一种对社会价值的认识。

为满足衣食住行基本生活的需要，我们必须利用自然的物资，与所处的自然世界发生真正的联系。我们必须懂得如何用正确的方式来与物资打交道。例如，摩擦生火是人类很早懂得的原理，也是对文明知识很重要的补充，但不是随意把东西摩擦一下就可以生火的。生火知识的内容包括用什么东西、怎样摩擦、摩擦多久等，只有在一定的条件下才能实现摩擦生火的原则。技术规定了在一定程序下会得到一定的效果，而

知识及其正确运用可以决定是否能达到预期的结果。但在人类生活中，我们不是为用技术而用技术，而通常是为达到某个目的。生火是为了煮饭、取暖、敬神，因此生火不仅仅是如何生火的问题，还包括生火的时间、地点、由谁来生火和生何种火。生火不是孤立的行为，而是社会制度中的一部分，而社会制度经常不仅涉及有效性，而且涉及价值观念。问题是我们是否应该生火。这是孔子所谓的“礼”的一部分。因此，同一个活动在某些情况下就可能是应当的，而在另外的情况下就可能是不应当的。有人问孔子，管仲是否懂得礼呢？他说：“邦君树塞门，管氏亦树塞门。邦君为两君之好，有反坫，管氏亦有反坫。管氏而知礼，孰不知礼？”[20]决定我们应该做什么的不是技术而是行为规范。

与自然打交道时，问题在于区分正确与否。如果我们遵循自然规则，就能达到目的；如果不遵循，就不能达到目的，就生不出火。我们不需要另外的力量来使人们遵循自然知识。一个人不遵守社会规范，即使不会危害他自己，却可能会给整个社会带来危害。为了保护大家的利益，我们必须对不守规范的人加以制裁，这样就把“应该做”转变为“不敢做”。制裁需要来自社会共同意志的权威的支持，但是权威不能给大家，只能授予若干人来做大家的代理。在中国，这种人就是前面我们提到的“知者”。

In a static society those norms of conduct which are developed through and accumulated by practical experience are usually effective directives for a successful life. Their effectiveness is their *raison d’être* and their justification for their support by social authority. In such a society the other side of the coin is the fact of willing conformity by the majority, because conformity to these norms of conduct gives satisfaction in daily life. Norms of conduct in a stable society are traditions handed down over the years, crystallized experience in dealing with the world. Confucius achieved his social authority not so much from his own wisdom or learning as from his profound knowledge of the traditional way. In a stable, traditionally organized society a man does not need to question, to rationalize, or to justify. What he needs to do is to find out what the custom is. When Confucius speaks of "finding out," he is not seeking to explore something new but to rediscover the past.[21] In a society in which historic traditions have the only real validity influence lies not with the innovators but with those who can guide along established paths. As apprentices learn their techniques from their masters, so the common people depend upon the students of traditional values to teach them the way in which they must go. And these teachers are those who possess social

authority and prestige.

Social authority is, however, different from political power. I emphasized the fact that the Chinese gentry did not possess real political power. In fact, in China, political power has always been quite different from social authority. Political power is attained by violence and imposes the relationship of conqueror to conquered, while social authority is a rule of society over the individual which is based on consent and common understanding, Confucius' school hoped that political power and social authority might be made to coincide. When a ruler rules his country by political power alone, he will be called a despot, or *pa*. When political power and social authority coincide, he will be called a king, or *wang*. In actual fact, in the history of China, the combination has never been achieved. Confucius was revered as a "king without a throne," *su wang*, a man with social authority but without political power. The result of having two parallel sources of authority meant that, in Chinese society, order was established on two different levels. The daily life of the masses was regulated by social authority, while political authority was usually confined to the activity of the yamen.[22] The court, except in the case of a few tyrants, did not interfere in the going concern of society. In general, a good monarch collected a definite amount of taxes and left the people alone.

在一个静态的社会中，从实际经验里发展、积累得来的规范通常是社会共同生活有效的指导。规范对于社会生活的功效是它存在的理由，也是受到社会权威支持的理由。这种社会的另一面是大多数人民的悦服，因为服从于这些行为规范可以带来日常生活的满足。行为规范在稳定的社会中成了多年的传统和处世的经验。孔子获得其社会权威更多是因为他对传统的深刻理解而不是他自己的聪明或学识。在稳定的传统社会里，人们不必去推究“为什么”的问题，他只需找出传统的做法就可以了。孔子谈“发现”时，他不是指去探索新的东西，而是去重新发现过去。[23]在一个只有历史传统才具有真正有效性的社会中，影响不在于改革者，而在于那些沿着已有的道路指引人们的人。正像学徒向师傅学手艺一样，人们依靠知道传统价值的人来教授他们必须要走的路。这些知道传统的人具有社会的威望。

然而，社会权威和政权是不同的。我曾强调过中国的士大夫并不真正掌握政权这一事实。实际上，在中国，政权和社会权威经常是迥异的。政权通过武力获得，是征服者与被征服者的关系；社会权威则是社会对个人的控制力，基于认可和共同的理解。儒家希望政权和社会权威

相合，当统治者只用政权来统治国家时，被称为霸道，二者相合时称为王道。事实上，在中国的历史中，二者从没有相合过。孔子被尊称为“素王”，一个有社会权威而没有政治权力的人。两种权力并行于天下的结果意味着，在中国历史中，秩序建立在两个不同的层次上：民众的日常生活由社会权威来规定，衙门[24]里则是政权的统治。除了少数的暴君，皇权是不干涉民众生活的。一般说来，一个好的帝王在额定的赋役之外不去干预民众。

In a simple society the norms of conduct are known to most of the people and are not specialized knowledge. Anyone may follow the norms and receive recognition. A student of Confucius', Tzu-hsia, once said: "A man who treats his betters as betters wears an air of respect, who in serving father and mother knows how to put his whole strength, who in the service of his prince will lay down his life, who in intercourse with friends is true to his word—others may say of him that he still lacks education, but I for my part should certainly call him an educated man."[25] The reason for the lack of special qualifications for the person who knows the norms is that for most of the people ethical or normative knowledge is accessible. In a simple society this kind of knowledge is handed down orally and learned by repetition. Confucius used the word "exercise" in writing of acting upon knowledge gained by hearing rather than by the study of books. Literacy had not yet become so all-important. It is said of Confucius that, "when the Master entered the Grand Temple, he asked questions about everything there. Someone said, 'Do not tell me that this son of a villager from Tsou is expert in matters of ritual. When he went to the Grand Temple, he had asked about everything.' The Master, hearing of this said, 'Just so! Such is the ritual.' "[26] And when the disciple Tzu-kung asked, "Why was K'ung Wên-tzu called Wên ('The Cultured')?" the Master said, "Because he was diligent and so fond of learning that he was not ashamed to pick up knowledge even from his inferiors."[27]

But, when life becomes more complicated, the transmission of norms of conduct can no longer depend entirely on oral transmission. There come to be different versions, and the decision which is right requires verification through the study of documents. Confucius said, "How can we talk about the ritual of the Hsia? The State of Ch'i supplies no adequate evidence. How can we talk about the ritual of Yin? The State of Sung supplies no adequate evidence. For there is a lack both of documents and of learned men."[28] When

ethical values are no longer transmitted by word of mouth but mainly through written documents, they no longer are accessible to everyone, and literacy becomes very important. Then there develops a special group of people who know how to read books—the *chih-shih fen-tzu*, or intelligentsia.[29]

在简单的社会里，行为规范被大多数人所认识，它并不是特殊的知识，任何人都可以遵循它和享受传统的权威。孔子的弟子子夏曰："贤贤易色；事父母，能竭其力；事君，能致其身；与朋友交，言而有信。虽曰未学，吾必谓之学矣。"[30]懂得规范的人没有特殊资格是因为大多数人都有和这种知识接触的机会。在简单的社会里，这种知识是在世代间口口相传、人人相习的。孔子用"习"字来说明通过"闻"而不是通过书本知识来行事。那时文字并不很重要。据说孔子"入太庙，每事问"。有人就说："孰谓鄹人之子知礼乎？入太庙，每事问。"孔子听说后就说："是礼也。"[31]而当弟子子贡问"孔文子何以谓之'文'也"，孔子回答说："敏而好学，不耻下问，是以谓之'文'也。"[32]

但是，当生活变得更复杂时，行为规范就不能再完全依靠口口相传了，规范发生了派别的出入，正确的决定要通过对文献的研究而得到证实。子曰："夏礼，吾能言之，杞不足征也；殷礼，吾能言之，宋不足征也。文献不足故也。足，则吾能征之矣。"[33]当社会价值不再以口口相传而是通过文献时，就不是每个人都可以得到的，文字也就变得很重要，这样就有了能够识字读书的特殊人物，称之为"知识分子"。[34]

At the folk level in traditional China there has always been an oral literature.[35] Classical literature, the only literature officially recognized, which developed from the writing-down of sacred rituals and songs, systems of divination, dynastic histories and genealogies, remained always something apart from the common man. Official historical records of the teachings of the sages may serve to instruct but are of little practical value to the struggling farmer. Not only is the content of what was written difficult to grasp, but the (classical) written language itself is quite distinct from common speech. And since the very structure of the written language differs from spoken, even a literate man who can speak well will not necessarily be a good writer. Literary composition cannot be picked up but requires great application. The pictorial characters are hard to learn, and, if one does not use them constantly, one forgets them. In an economy of scarcity very few can enjoy sufficient leisure to learn.[36] Agriculture is the main occupation of China. Farmers engaged in the work of the fields expend their energies in long hours of grinding labor and enjoy small incomes. Such men cannot hope

for long periods of leisure. As I described the situation in *Earthbound China*, production and leisure are mutually exclusive; unless one can be supported by others who produce, one cannot leave manual labor. Thus those who have leisure must be big landholders, so big that they can live entirely on their rents. In this way the class of people who are trained in an understanding of values is limited to an economic group who do not represent the interests of the common people.

Mencius said that those who use their minds should be supported by those who use their labor. It appears to me true that only those who are supported by someone else can enjoy literary work. But this does not mean that all those who are supported by others and do not work with their hands necessarily are capable or willing to work with their minds. Those who are privileged to be supported by others have no need to learn technical knowledge, but they also need not learn norms of conduct; they may merely live parasitically. However, in this case, their privileged position may not be secure. Privilege must be supported by some force, either by political power maintained by physical force or by social authority. The class of people who enter officialdom not only can afford to become educated but must do so in order to acquire prestige.

传统中国的乡土社会常常是有语无文的。[37]从神礼、神歌、占卜、朝代史和家谱等的记载发展起来的经典文学是唯一得到官方认可的文献，常常远离普通人民。官家史书记载的圣人之言也许可以引导人们怎样做人，但通常对于贫苦的农民没有实际意义。不仅是所写的内容难以理解，典籍所用文字也与普通口语的说法明显不同。由于文言文的句法与白话不同，即使一个口才很好的文人也不一定会作好文。写文章不是能轻易学会的，需要格外努力。象形字很难学会，如果不经常用，又会忘掉。在匮乏经济时期，很少人有足够的闲暇来学习。[38]中国以农业为主，农民在田地里长时间劳作，只能获得很少的收入，这些人不可能有长期的闲暇时间。正如我在《被土地束缚的中国》中描写的：生产和闲暇互相排斥；除非一个人能得到生产者的供养，否则他不能脱离劳作。因此，那些有闲暇的人一定是大地主，大到能靠收租为生。因此受教育的人局限在一个经济群体中，他们不代表普通人民的利益。

孟子说“劳心者食于人”，只有靠别人来供养的人才能读书写文。但这并不是说不劳力者一定能够或愿意劳心，那些靠着特权享受别人供养的人不但不必去学习技术知识，也不必学习社会规范，他们可以只过着寄生的生活。然而，在这种情况下，他们的特权也许不安全，特权必须

要靠力量——暴力政权或社会权威——来支持。官僚阶层不仅有条件读书，而且为获得特权也有读书的需要。

The prestige of literacy combined with the power of political authority to support a privileged class distinguished from the laboring class by their higher economic position, their greater opportunity for education, and resultant greater social authority, and, last but not least, their separation from all practical technical knowledge.

As I have shown above, technical knowledge should be related to ethical values. But, once the knowledge of values became so closely linked with literacy that it became the monopoly of one class, it became separated from technology. And, once this link was broken, technological development was arrested. I have said that knowledge of the natural world must be incorporated into a social institution to become "useful," that is, a technique which improves the life of the people. If, however, the governing class, who are responsible for the life of the people, completely lack technical knowledge, they will not be able to order human affairs by technical means. For example, if those who "do not move their four limbs and who cannot distinguish the five grains" have the power of deciding techniques of land cultivation, they will not be willing or able to improve production by introducing improved techniques which may disturb existing traditional ways. Progress in modern techniques comes only when the producers themselves have the power to decide. Once this power is separated from the real producer, technical improvements will cease.

In Chinese traditional society the intelligentsia have been a class without technical knowledge. They monopolized authority based on the wisdom of the past, spent time on literature, and tried to express themselves through art. Chinese literary language is very inapt to express scientific or technical knowledge. This indicates that, in the traditional scheme, the vested interests had no wish to improve production but thought only of consolidating privilege. Their main task was the perpetuating of established norms in order to set up a guide for conventional behavior. A man who sees the world only through human relations is inclined to be conservative, because in human relations the end is always mutual adjustment. And an adjusted equilibrium can only be founded on a stable and unchanging relation between man and nature. On the other hand, from the purely technical point of view, there are hardly any limits to man's control of nature. In emphasizing technical

progress, one plunges into a struggle in which man's control over nature becomes ever changing, ever more efficient. Yet these technical changes may lead to conflict between man and man. The Chinese intelligentsia viewed the world humanistically. Lacking technical knowledge, they could not appreciate technical progress. And they saw no reason to wish to change man's relations to man.

靠知识的特权和政治权力共同支持的特权阶层，以他们较高的经济地位、更多的教育机会和由此而得到的更大的社会权威以及与一切实用技术知识的分离而区别于劳动阶层。

如我在上面所说的，技术知识应该和规范知识相关联。但是当规范知识和文字一旦结合而成了某一阶层的独占品时，它就和技术知识分离了，这样一分离，技术也就停顿了。我已说过自然知识一定要通过社会才能被应用而成为有用的技术，改善人民的生活。如果对人民生活负责的统治阶级完全缺乏技术知识，他们就不能通过技术手段来管理人民。比如说，那些“四体不勤、五谷不分”的人如果有着决定怎样应用耕种技术的权力的话，他们将不愿或不能通过引进更好的技术以改善生产，因为这可能扰乱既有的传统方法。现代技术的进步是生产者取得了决定社会规范的权力之后的事。一旦这权力脱离了真正的生产者，技术的进步也立刻停顿。

在中国传统社会，知识阶级是一个没有技术知识的阶级，他们独占以历史的智慧为基础的权威，在文字上下工夫，在艺技上求表现。中国文字非常不适合表达科学或技术知识。这表明在传统社会结构中，既得利益的阶级的兴趣不在提高生产，而在于巩固既得的特权。他们主要的任务是为建立传统行为的指导而维持已有的规范。一个眼里只有人与人关系的人不免是保守的，因为人与人的关系的最终结果常常是互相协调。调整的均衡只能建立在人与自然稳定不变的关系基础上。另一方面，单从技术的角度出发，人类对自然的控制几乎没有限制。在强调技术进步的同时，人对自然的控制也随之不断改变，变得更为有效。然而技术的变化也许会导致人与人之间的冲突。中国的知识分子从人和人的关系看待世界，由于缺乏技术知识，他们就不会赞赏技术进步，看不出任何意图改变人与人关系的理由来。

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[1] Arthur Waley, The Analects of Confucius (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1938), Book VI, No. 20, p. 120.
[2] Ibid., Book VII, No. 27, pp. 128–129.
[3] Ibid., Book XII, No. 22, p. 169.
[4] Referring to jên, "man," and continuing to show its relation to jên, "goodness," Waley says: "This word, in the earliest Chinese, means freemen, men of the tribe, as opposed to min, 'subjects,' 'the

common people.' The same word, written with a slight modification, means 'good' in the most general sense of the word, that is to say, 'possessing the qualities of one's tribe.'... Finally, when the old distinction between jên and min, freemen and subjects, was forgotten, the jên became a word for human beings, the adjective jên came to be understood in the sense 'human' as opposed to 'animal,' and to be applied to conduct worthy of a man, as distinct from the behaviour of mere beasts.

"Of this last sense (human, not brutal) there is not a trace in the Analects. ... Jên, in the Analects, means 'good' in an extremely wide and general sense.... It is a sublime moral attitude, a transcendental perfection attained to by legendary heroes such as Po I, but not by any living or historic person. It appears indeed that jên is a mystic entity not merely analogous to but in certain sayings practically identical with the Tao of the Quietists. Like Tao, it is contrasted with 'knowledge.' Knowledge is active and frets itself away. Goodness is passive and therefore eternal as the hills. Confucius can point the Way to Goodness, can tell 'the workman how to sharpen his tools,' can speak of things 'that are near to Goodness.' But it is only once, in a chapter showing every sign of lateness, that anything approaching a definition of Goodness is given" (ibid., Introduction, pp. 27–29).

[5] 《论语》英文版，阿瑟·韦利译，伦敦：乔治·艾伦与昂温出版公司，1938年，第6篇，第20章，第120页。

[6] 同上书，第7篇，第27章，第128—129页。

[7] 同上书，第12篇，第22章，第169页。

[8] 指“人”，韦利继续说明其与“仁”的关系：“这个字在中国古文字中意思是指自由人、部落里的人，与‘民’、‘平民’相对。在写法上略有些改变的同样一个字（仁），意思是最广义的‘善’，即是说‘具有其所属部落的属性特征’……当‘人’与‘民’之间这种古老的区分最终被遗忘之后，‘人’这个字就用来指人类，形容词意义上的‘人’这个字是从与动物相对立的‘人类’这个意义上来理解的，并被用以指涉符合人的德性的行为，与单纯的兽类行为区分开来。

“对于后面的这个含义（即人性而非兽性），在《论语》中无法找到任何出处。……在《论语》一书中，‘仁’意味着极为广义上的和普遍意义上的‘善’。……这是一种崇高的道德态度，这是由像伯夷这样的传奇式英雄而不是由活着的或历史上的人物所达到的一种超越的完美。‘仁’似乎确实是一种神秘的存在，它不仅类似于，而且在某些表述中几乎等同于寂静主义者所持守的‘道’。与‘道’一样，它是与‘知识’相对立的。知识是积极的，因而逐渐消磨。善则是被动的，有如高山一样恒久。孔子能够指出达到善的道路，能够告诉‘工’如何‘利其器’，能够告诫弟子‘亲仁’。但是《论语》中仅有一次在明显比较后期的一章中近乎给出了‘善’的定义。”同上书，导论部分，第27—29页。

[9] Analects of Confucius, free translation by Fei. "The five grains are paddy, millet, panicled millet, wheat, and pulse" (James Legge, The Works of Mencius in The Chinese Classics [2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895], II, 251 n.).

[10] Waley, Analects, Book XIII, No. 4, p. 172. See Legge's version of the Confucian analects for a somewhat different translation. Although somewhat less literal than Legge, Waley's text of the Analects has been employed as being closer to Fei's usage. For example, Fei uses the term "gentleman," as does Waley, rather than "superior man," "man of the higher type," "wise man," as do Legge and Soothill.

[11] Li: "Ceremonials, customary morality, mores, rites, rules of good manners, proper conduct, propriety" (Fung Yu-lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy, trans. Derk Bodde [Peiping: H. Vetch, 1937], I, 439).

[12] 见《论语》，费孝通自译。“五谷是指稻、黍、稷、麦、菽也。”引自《中国典籍》第2卷《孟子选集》，理雅各编译，第2版，牛津：克拉伦登出版社，1895年，第251页注释。

[13] 引自《论语》英文版，韦利译，第13篇，第4章，第172页。另可参见理雅各对儒家语录的翻译，译法稍有不同。尽管不如理雅各在字面上忠于原文，但是韦利的《论语》译本更近于费孝通所使用的含义。比如，对“君子”的译法，费孝通和韦利一样译为gentleman，而不是像理雅各和苏慧廉那样译成superior man、man of the higher type和wise man。

[14] “礼”是指“庆典、习俗道德、风气、仪式、良好的行为举止和礼仪”。引自《中国哲学史》英文版，冯友兰著，德克·卜德译，北平：亨利·维奇出版公司，1937年，第1卷，第439页。

[15] Legge, op. cit., Vol. II, Book III, Part I, chap. iv, pp. 247–250.

[16] 引自《中国典籍》第2卷《孟子选集》，理雅各编译，第3篇上，第4章，第247—250页。（中文可参考《孟子译注》，杨伯峻译注，中华书局，1962年，第123—124页。——译者注）

[17] Mencius did say: "The Minister of Agriculture taught the people to sow and reap, cultivating the five kinds of grain. When the five kinds of grain were brought to maturity, the people all obtained a subsistence. But men possess a moral nature; and if they were well-fed, warmly clad, and comfortably lodged, without being at the same time taught, they become almost like the beasts. This was a subject of anxious solicitude to the sage Shun, and he appointed Hsieh to be the Minister of Instruction, to teach the relations of humanity:—how, between father and son, there should be affection; between sovereign and minister, righteousness; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between old and young, a proper order; and between friends, fidelity. The highly meritorious sovereign said to him, 'Encourage them; lead them on; rectify them; straighten them; help them; give them wings:—thus causing them to become possessors of themselves. Then follow this up by stimulating them, and conferring benefits on them.' When the sages were exercising their solicitude for the people in this way, had they leisure to cultivate the ground?" (ibid., Book III, Part I, chap. iv, pp. 251–252).

[18] Waley, Analects, Book III, No. 22, pp. 99–100.

[19] 孟子的确说："后稷教民稼穑，树艺五谷；五谷熟而民人育。人之有道也，饱食、暖衣、逸居而无教，则近于禽兽。圣人有忧之，使契为司徒，教以人伦，——父子有亲，君臣有义，夫妇有别，长幼有序，朋友有信。放动曰：'劳之来之，匡之直之，辅之翼之，使自得之，又从而振德之。'圣人之忧民如此，而暇耕乎？"引自理雅各编译《孟子选集》，第3篇上，第4章，第251—252页。（中文可参考《孟子译注》，杨伯峻译注，中华书局，1962年，第125页。——译者注）

[20] 引自《论语》英文版，韦利译，第3篇，第22章，第99—100页。

[21] "The Master said, 'I for my part am not one of those who have innate knowledge. I am simply one who loves the past and who is diligent in investigating it' " (ibid., Book VII, No. 19, p. 127).

[22] Yamen: The habitat of or the official and private residence of a mandarin, i.e., the bureaucracy itself.

[23] 子曰："我非生而知之者，好古，敏以求之者也。"同上书，第7篇，第19章，第127页。（参见《孟子正义》，刘宝楠著，中华书局，第271页。——译者注）

[24] "衙门"：官员办公和居住的处所，即指官府。

[25] Wiley, Analects, Book I, No. 7, pp. 84–85.

[26] Ibid., Book III, No. 15, pp. 97–98.

[27] Ibid., Book V, No. 14, p. 110.

[28] Ibid., Book III, No. 9, p. 96.

[29] Giles wrote of the China of 1911: "The Chinese, recognizing the extraordinary results which have been brought about, silently and invisibly, by the operation of written symbols, have gradually come to invest these symbols with a spirituality arousing a feeling somewhat akin to worship. A piece of paper on which a single word has once been written or printed, becomes something other than paper with a black mark on it. It may not be lightly tossed about, still less trampled under foot; it should be reverently destroyed by fire, here again used as a medium of transmission to the great Beyond; and thus its spiritual essence will return to those from whom it originally came. In the streets of a Chinese city, and occasionally along a frequented highway, may be seen small ornamental structures into which odd bits of paper may be thrown and burnt, thus preventing a desecration so painful to the Chinese mind; and it has often been urged against foreigners that because they are so careless as to what becomes of their written and printed paper, the matter contained in foreign documents and books must obviously be of no great value" (H. A. Giles, The Civilization of China [New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1911], pp. 231–232).

[30] 引自《论语》英文版，韦利译，第1篇，第7章，第84—85页。

[31] 同上书，第3篇，第15章，第97—98页。（参见《孟子正义》，刘宝楠著，中华书局，第104页。——译者注）

[32] 同上书，第5篇，第14章，第110页。（参见《孟子正义》，中华书局，第188页。——译者

注）
[33] 同上书，第3篇，第9章，第96页。（参见《孟子正义》，中华书局，第91—92页。——译者注）
[34] 翟理斯在谈到1911年的中国时写道：“中国人认识到了由书写符号的运用而无声无形引起的超乎寻常的后果，并逐渐赋予这些象征符号以某种灵性，由此而激发出一种近乎崇拜的情感来。在一张纸上面一旦写上或者是印上一个单字的话，那这张纸就不再是写有黑字的纸了。不能随便摇晃它，更不能踩在脚下；应该满怀敬意地焚毁，这样做还是将其当作向苍天传递消息的媒介——如此则其灵性的本质还会返回其最初由来之处。在中国城市的街道上，以及偶尔在人来人往的道路旁，会看到小小的略加装饰的建筑物，人们会将各样的小纸片投进去烧掉，以免亵渎神灵——这对于中国人来说是十分令人痛苦的事。并且这一点也常被用来反对外国人，因为他们对写下的和印刷的字纸毫不在意，记载在外国人的档案和书籍中的内容显而易见就没有什么太大价值了。”引自《中国的文明》，翟理斯著，纽约：亨利·霍尔特公司，1911年，第231—232页。
[35] "So long as men seek illusion, the story-teller will remain a feature of Chinese life, invited to wealthy homes to amuse those of the 'inner chamber,' welcome in the village tea-shops on the summer evenings where he is the peasants' living book of history, drawing his audience at fairs and wringing hard-earned coppers from the pockets of the crowds by the same device our up-to-date magazines use for serial stories, demanding a new outlay for a new installment. The story-tellers belong to an organization. Novices sometimes start their careers under an experienced teller of tales, but, usually, in the old days, they were unsuccessful students" (Juliet Bredon and Igor Mitrophanow, The Moon Year [Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1927], pp. 152–153). Even fairly recently, during the war with Japan, the management of a factory in Free China hired an old-fashioned story-teller to tell stories of "The Chinese Robin Hood." This was entertaining for the less sophisticated local workers, but the nonlocal workers did not care for it (Kuo-heng Shih, China Enters the Machine Age, ed. and trans. Hsiao-tung Fei and Francis L. K. Hsu [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944], p. 110).
[36] "The 'bridge of learning' is a long one. From the primary school to the upper grades of the middle school takes nine years. And during these nine years parents must pay not only for the food but also for the other expenses of their children…. Moreover, while the children are in school, they cannot help on the family farm. This means that only the rich can afford to send their children to school. The young men of the poorer houses can have no chance to pass over this bridge; so they must find another way out. None of those from the middle, poor, and landless classes, who left the village, had had a middle-school education. Among the ten persons who went out from the rich houses of the village, seven of them had received a middle-school education" (Hsiao-tung Fei and Chih-i Chang, Earthbound China [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945], p. 274).
[37] “只要人们还追求幻想，说书人就仍是中国人生活的一个侧面，他们会被富人家请去娱乐那些所谓的‘内眷’，他们会在夏季夜晚乡间的茶馆里受到人们的欢迎，在那里他们成了农民生活的历史书。说书人在集市上吸引观众的方法与今天时兴的杂志所使用的连载故事的方法一样——人们花钱来听讲一回新故事，以此来挣观众口袋里的几个辛苦钱。说书的人都属于某个组织。有时初学者会在一位有经验的说书人的带领下学艺，但在过去，这类学生大多不会成功”（引自《中国风俗节日记》，裴丽珠、伊戈尔·米特罗法诺著，上海：别发印书局，1927年，第152—153页）。甚至到了最近的抗日战争期间，在自由中国管理工厂还会雇老式说书人来讲‘中国罗宾汉’（指《水浒》中的梁山好汉——译者注）的故事。这些故事是用来娱乐较为单纯的当地工人的，而外地工人对此并不大感兴趣（引自《中国进入机器时代》，史国衡著，费孝通和许烺光编译，剑桥：哈佛大学出版社，1944年，第110页）。
[38] “‘学习之桥’历时漫长。从小学到中学的高年级要九年的时间。在这九年当中，家长必须负担的不仅仅是他们孩子的伙食费用，还要负担其他方面的费用……更进一步说，当孩子在学校里的时候，他们不能在自家农田里帮忙。这便意味着只有富人能够负担得起送孩子上学。贫困户的男孩子就没有机会跨越这座桥梁了；因此他们要寻求其他的道路出来。出村的人中，来自中农、贫农和雇农家庭的没有一个人受过中学教育，而十位富家子弟中就有七个人受过中学的教育。”引自《被土地束缚的中国》，费孝通、张之毅著，芝加哥：芝加哥大学出版社，1945

年，第274页。

Chapter Four Basic Power Structure in Rural China

第肆章 中国乡村的基本权力结构

• THE DO-NOTHING POLICY OF THE IMPERIAL POWER

A centralized political system has had a long history in China. Since the time (221 B.C.) when the First Emperor abolished feudalism and created the provinces and districts, local officials theoretically have always been appointed by the central government, the custom being that local men should not be named as local officials. It would appear from this that the Chinese political system was one controlled completely from the top, one in which the people were entirely passive and in which local interests had no voice. If this had been really true, the Chinese political system would have been the most authoritarian known to man. Yet it is obvious that, unless the people were completely enslaved, a centralized control of this sort would be very difficult to maintain, particularly in a huge country in which the system of communications was not comparable to that of the Roman Empire, for

example, and which was without many strong garrisons. Any political regime which wishes to maintain itself for long, if it cannot win the active support of the people, must at least gain their tolerance. In other words, the political system cannot be developed on a single track from the top downward. Under any kind of political rule the people's opinion cannot entirely be ignored. This means that there must be, in some way, a parallel track from the bottom up. A sound system which will endure must thus be "double track." This is clearly seen in modern democratic institutions, but in fact it may also be traced in the so-called absolutistic governments. When under this sort of rule the track from the bottom up is broken, we have a tyrant, and the result is disaster. The fact that in China, even under the absolutistic system, despotic tyrants have not always ruled indicates that there has been some informal type of track by means of which the people's opinion has penetrated to the top levels.

In the Chinese traditional political system there have been two lines of defense which prevented an absolute monarchy from becoming intolerably tyrannical. The first defense was Chinese political philosophy, the theory of do-nothingness. Years of experience shaped this. In Chinese history there has been little theory or practice to encourage political power to interfere with the social life of the people. It is true that the realistic and materialistic Legalistic Han Fei-tzu (*ca*. 280–233 B.C.) did advocate reforms in the government to strengthen it and to make the nation rich. He and his followers worked out the Legalist theory of rule by law. But in the eyes of traditional scholars throughout Chinese history, Han Fei-tzu has been poorly regarded, and his tragic end[1] has been pointed out as a warning to those who would have liked to follow the same path. Two other well-known reformers, Wang Mang in the Han dynasty (who usurped the throne A.D. 9–23), and Wang An-shih (1021–1086) in the Sung dynasty, wished the government to carry out social reforms and were against the do-nothing policy. But both failed. It may be said by those who sympathized with them that they were prevented by reactionaries from attaining their goals. And yet none of these reformers went so far as to attempt to restrict the monarchical power by law. Nor did any of them make any effort to learn whether their reforms would be acceptable to the people either in whole or in part. In fact, there was no evidence that the policy they urged upon the government, coincided in any way with the people's desires.[2] The policy of maintaining the monarchical power unrestricted and enforcing the government's will upon the people naturally resulted in conflict with the latter. In the political history of the West the tendency has been increasingly

to give up the responsibility for, and control of, political power to the people. In China political policy throughout the ages has been rather to neutralize political power in such a way that the people did not become restless (while the few would-be reformers of this system have tended toward more authoritarianism than those whom they opposed). Do-nothingism is a way of dealing with political problems which is different from the positive check of a constitutional government but which serves as the "first defense" against political absolutism.[3]

- 皇权的无为政策

中央集权制度在中国有着漫长的历史。自公元前221年秦始皇废封建、置郡县以来，原则上地方官吏都由中央政府来任命，当地人通常不能在当地为官。以此看来，似乎中国的政治体制是完全受上面控制的，人民是完全被动的，地方利益无法保障。如果确是这样，那中国的政治体制也成了最专制的方式。但显而易见的是，如果人民不被完全奴役，这种集权统治就很难维持，尤其在这样一个交通系统无法与比如罗马帝国相比且缺乏足够牢固要塞的大国。任何想长久维持的政权，如果不能赢得人民积极的支持，至少也要得到他们的容忍。换句话说，政治体制不能简单地沿着自上而下的轨道运行，在任何政治统治下，人民的意见都不能完全被忽视。这就意味着，在某种方式上，必须要有自下而上的一个平行轨道。因此，一个可以长时间维持的良好的体制将是“双重轨道”，这在现代民主制度下显而易见，在专制政治的实际运行中也是如此。在这种统治下，当自下而上的轨道被破坏时，就有了暴君，于是悲剧就发生了。事实是，在中国，即使在专制统治下，也并不完全是暴君统治，这一事实表明人民的意见通过某种非正式的轨道向上传达。

在中国传统政治体制下，有两道防线使专制的皇帝不致过于暴虐。第一道防线是中国政治哲学——无为主义，这是从长年的经验里累积而成。在中国历史上，很少有理论或实践鼓励政权去干扰人民的社会生活。主张现实主义和唯物主义的法家代表人物韩非子（约公元前280年—公元前233年）确实曾倡议改革来加强政府统治、富裕国家。他和他的追随者提出了法治的法家学说。但是在中国历史上传统学者的眼里，韩非子并未受到尊重，他悲惨的结局[4]被认为是给想要重蹈其覆辙者敲响了警钟。另外两位知名的改革者是汉代的王莽（他在公元9年—23年篡夺了皇位）和宋代的王安石（1021—1086），他们希望政府实行社会改革，反对无为政策。但两人都失败了。那些同情他们的人可以说，是反动分子的阻挠使他们未能如愿。但是，没有一位改革者胆敢以法来限

制皇权，也没有改革者花费精力来研究，他们的改革是否完全或部分地被人民所接受。其实，没有证据显示，他们推行的政策是否符合人们的意愿。[5]维护皇权的无限制性和加强政府对人民的控制就自然导致了与后者的冲突。西洋的政治史是加强对权力的控制，使它逐渐向民意负责。而在中国长时间以来的政治政策是软禁权力，以使人民不会感到不安（那些在此种体制下的少数未来改革者们比他们与之对着干的那些人更倾向于威权主义）。无为主义是一种解决政治问题的方法。这一方法与宪法政府的积极制约不同，但却是针对政治专制主义的“第一道防线”。[6]

We recognize now that such a system is not effective in modern life, since we depend upon central governmental power to take action with regard to those things which concern the people as a whole. But in economically self-sufficient communities it is not necessary to employ authority beyond that found in the local community. Constitutional government is a modern achievement. Before it developed in the West, political power was there as elsewhere restricted by traditional morality, in this case reinforced by the supernatural authority of the church.[7] And we may note that the American constitution, which was drafted before industrial development had taken place, had the point of view that the best government is the one which governs least. In China, men had recourse not to legal but to ideological restrictions upon the absolute power of the monarch. It was probably due to the influence of Confucian ideology that the abuse of political power was to some extent lessened.

现在，我们意识到这种制度在现代生活中不起什么作用，因为在面临与全体人民密切相关的事务时，我们依靠中央政府采取措施。但是在经济自给自足的社会中，没有必要再动用除地方权力机构之外的其他权力。宪法政府是现代的成就。它在西方发展之前，那里的政治权力如同其他任何地方一样，受到传统道德的约束，在西方即得到教会超自然权威的强化。[8]而且我们会注意到，在工业发展之前起草的美国宪法认为，“最少管事的政府是最好的政府”。在中国，人们不求助于法律，而是寄望于对绝对皇权的意识形态上的制约。可能正是受儒家意识形态的影响，在某种程度上政府权力的滥用才有所减轻。

• THE POLITICAL TRACK FROM THE BOTTOM UP

In this section I do not wish to emphasize the first line of defense,

however, but rather the second. In our traditional politics, on the one hand, we restricted political power by ideology and, on the other, restricted the sphere of the administrative system. We somehow managed to "hang up" the centralized power so that it did not reach to the ground, since the officials sent by the central government stopped at the district *yamen*. Ordinarily, students of Chinese administration have paid little attention to the connection between the *hsien* (district) government and the gate of each house. But, in fact, this connection was both extremely interesting and important in that it was the meeting point of the powerful central authorities and the local self-governing community. Only by understanding this meeting point can we know how the Chinese traditional system actually worked.

Let us start with the district *yamen*. I have said that the officials sent by the central government stopped at the district because, formerly, we did not recognize any political unit below the *hsien*. The head of the *hsien*, who represented the emperor, was called the "parent-official," or *fu-mu kuan*. He was supposed to maintain an intimate relationship with the people, but, in fact, the office of this *lao-yeh* was as high as the sky—so high, indeed, that no ordinary person could reach up to it. Nor was the *yamen* a place in which any common person could enter freely. But between the parent-officials and the children-common people existed intermediaries. Those who made the actual contact between the *yamen* and the people, the ruler and the ruled, were the servants of the officials. These official servants (*ya-i*) occupied one of the lowest positions in the Chinese social scale; they were deprived of most of their civil rights, and their sons were not allowed to take the examinations. It is a significant point in the Chinese power structure that these men who were in the position of most easily abused power should have been held so low. If society had not suppressed them by despising them and depriving them of a decent social position, they might have become as fearful as wolves. But with no hope of ascending in the social scale, even if they abused their power, they still would not be too formidable.[9]

Under a political system that upholds the do-nothing policy, the local officials will have very little work. So history shows us many officials spending much of their time in leisurely expeditions or in developing their literary talents. Their job was merely to collect taxes and to act as judges.

- 由下而上的政治轨道

不过，这一节将强调第二道防线上的权力制约，而不是第一道防线。在我们传统的政治生活中，一方面我们用思想约束政治权力，另一方面又去限制行政体系的范围。这是把集权的中央悬空起来，不使它进入与人民日常生活相关的地方公益范围之中。中央派遣的官员到县级为止，不再下去了。一般研究传统中国行政机构的人很少注意到从县衙门到每家大门之间的一段情形，其实这一段是最有趣的，同时也是最重要的，因为这是强大的中央政权与自治的社区之间的结合点。只有对这个结合点有很好的了解，我们才能理解中国的传统体制实际是如何运作的。

我们先从衙门说起。我谈到由中央派遣的官员只存在于县级以上，因为以前在县级以下我们不认可政府部门的存在。知县代表着皇帝，被称为“父母官”，他应与群众保持亲密关系，但这位老爷的衙门像天一样高得让普通老百姓难以接近。衙门也不是一般人都能随便进入的。但是，在父母官和其子民之间有着一些往来接头的人。那些保持衙门与民众之间、治人者与治于人者之间联系的人是官僚的奴仆们。这些衙役在中国的社会中居于最低的阶层之中，他们被剥夺了大多数的公权，他们的儿子不得参加科举考试。最容易滥用权力的人被置于如此低的地位，这也是中国权力体系中十分重要的一点。如果社会没有通过轻视他们、剥夺他们优越的社会地位的方式压制他们的话，他们可能就会像犬狼一样可怕。在没有提高社会地位可能的情况下，即使他们滥用权力，他们仍然不至过于令人惧怕。[10]

在倡导无为政策的政治体制中，地方官没有什么工作可做。所以，从历史上我们可以了解到许多在这种职务任内花大把时间游山玩水或培育自身文学才能的例子。他们的工作只是收税和断案。

So far as the latter occupation went, there was not much to do, because the ideal was to have no litigation. The duty of governmental servants was to keep order among the people, to collect money, and to conscript labor when needed. If the district ordinances had applied to each and every household, it would have meant that the *hsien* was actually a basic unit of administration. But in fact this was not true. District orders did not come to the various households but to the local self-governing unit (called, in Yunnan, the "public family," or *kung-chia*). I speak of this type of organization as a "self-governing unit" because it was organized by local people to look out for the public affairs of the community. Public affairs included problems of irrigation, self-defense, mediation in personal disputes, mutual aid, recreation, and religious activities. In China such things are local community

affairs, and, according to the tradition still preserved, they are not an affair of government but are managed by the local community under the leadership of the better-educated and wealthier family heads. Practical affairs such as might come up in dealing with irrigation, for example, might be dealt with by nonscholarly responsible individuals; but the more scholarly would generally have greater prestige in the making of decisions.[11]

But besides deciding local public affairs, another important function of the *kung-chia* was to represent the people in their dealings with the government. With good reason I have separated these two functions—the self-governing and the dealing with the central government. The responsible leaders of the *kung-chia* organization kept clear of any official dealings with the *yamen*. Instead, there were special individuals who represented the community in their dealings with the government. These people were called *shang-yao* (the term used locally in Yunnan). As I said before, in the *de jure* political system, there was no recognized track from the bottom up, the emperor being absolute. To reject an order of the emperor thus was a crime. Nevertheless, the fact that the emperor had ordered it was not in real life a guaranty that the people would accept it. Therefore, in actual practice, there had to be a means for communicating with the people and discovering their sentiments. The servant of the government brought the orders not to the *kung-chia* but to the *shang-yao*. The *shang-yao*, whose office was filled in turn by members of the community, was in a particularly awkward spot because he had no real power or influence in the community but merely served as the terminus of the track from the top down. After he had received an order from the government, he in turn reported to the head of the *kung-chia*. The latter then talked the matter over with other leaders of the gentry in the teashop, and if he, along with the others, decided that the order was unacceptable, he rejected it and turned it back to the *shang-yao*. This unfortunate in turn must again communicate with the *yamen* and receive the brunt of official annoyance due to his lack of success. But in this way the "face" of the emperor would have been saved, since the refusal to comply was not direct but merely indicated in a roundabout fashion. Meanwhile, informal negotiations would be carried on. The leaders of the local community, whose status as gentry placed them on a footing of equality with officialdom, would make a friendly call upon the district official in the course of which they discussed the governmental order. If no agreement resulted from these negotiations of local gentry and local government officials, the local gentry

would be inclined to get their friends and relatives in town to take the matter up with the higher levels of the bureaucracy, in time, perhaps, working up to the very top. Eventually, an agreement of some sort would be reached, the central government would change its order, and things would settle down again.

就是第二项工作也没有多少事，他们的准则是最好没有诉讼。政府工作人员的任务是维持人们的正常秩序、收钱以及在需要时征集劳力。如果县政府的命令下达到每个家庭，那才真正意味着县是一个基本的行政单位。但事实并非如此。县的命令并不直接到达各家各户，而是发到地方的自治团体（在云南被称为是“公家”的那一类组织）。我称这一组织为“自治团体”，因为它是由当地人民组织以管理社区公共事务，如水利、自卫、调解、互助、娱乐、宗教等。在中国，这些是地方的公务，在依旧活着的传统里，它们并非政府的事务，而是以受到过良好教育、较为富裕家庭的家长为首，由地方社区来管理的。像灌溉这样的实务，可能由没有学问的人来负责，但有学问的人通常在作决定方面有更高的声望。[12]

但是，除处理地方上的公共事务之外，公家另外一个重要的作用就是在与政府打交道时代表人民。我有足够的理由将此二种功能——自治与代表政府——分离开来。公家负责人不沾手与衙门发生的官方关系，而是有特定人物代表社区与政府打交道，这些人被称为“乡约”（此为云南土语）。如我所言，在法定的政治体系中，并不承认自下而上的轨道，皇帝是绝对的，因此违背皇帝的旨意就是犯罪。但是在实际生活中，谁也不敢保证自上而下的命令一定是人民乐于接受的。因此，在实际的运作中，必须有与人们交流以及了解他们的意愿的途径。官府的衙役并不是把命令传达到公家，而是传达到乡约那里。乡约由社区成员轮流担任，其身份尤其尴尬，因为他在社区没有实权或影响，只不过是权力从上至下轨道的终点。他在接到政府命令后，相应地向公家的管事汇报，后者在茶馆里与士绅中的其他头面人物商讨，如果他与其他管事觉得命令难以接受，他可以拒绝并退回给乡约。这倒霉的乡约必须再次通报衙门，并且由于办事不力，还会成为官家的“出气筒”。不过，这样皇帝的“脸面”就保住了，因为这种违抗并非是直接的，而仅仅是以一种迂回的方式来表明。另一方面，非正式的协商也开始了。地方的管事以其与官位相当的士绅地位去拜会地方官，就政府指令一事进行协商。如果达不成协议，地方的管事就会委托镇上的亲戚朋友，再往上层活动，到地方官上司那里去交涉，有时可能会上至最高当局。最后某种协议达成了，中央政府就会自行修改命令，事情再次得到解决。

According to this system, the local leader did not come into contact with the despised governmental petty servants. If the self-governing unit had been an actual part of the *de jure* administration, however, the track from the bottom up would have been blocked. The official in charge of the *yamen* could not have a free discussion with subordinates in office but only with those outside the bureaucracy and his social equals. In the Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911) a man who had passed the district examination could call on the local official, using his own card. Besides this privilege of a scholar, he was also protected from corporal punishment, unless his degree were first taken away. And this latter act was in the power not of the district official but only of the local education official. Such people who were able to deal with the governmental officials are those who were called gentry.

I hope I have made certain points clear in this somewhat simplified account. (1) In the traditional Chinese power structure there were two different layers: on the top, the central government; at the bottom, the local governing unit whose leaders were the gentry class. (2) There was a *de facto* limit to the authority of the central government. Local affairs, managed in the community by the gentry, were hardly interfered with by the central authorities. (3) Legally there was only one track—from the top down—along which passed imperial orders. But in actual practice, by the use of intermediaries such as the government servants and a locally chosen *shang-yao* or functionary of the same type, unreasonable orders might be turned back. This influence from the bottom up is not usually recognized in discussions of the formal governmental institutions of China, but it was effective nevertheless. (4) The mechanism of bringing influences to bear from the bottom upward was worked through the informal pressure of the gentry upon their relatives in office and out or upon friends who had taken the same examinations. By this means influence could be brought to bear sometimes even upon the emperor himself. (5) The self-governing organization so called arose from the practical needs of the community. The power of this group was not derived from the central imperial power but came from the local people themselves. When the central authority collected only a limited amount of taxes and of conscripts, the people would be likely to feel that "Heaven is high, the emperor is far away." But the necessity for maintaining some contact between centralized and local authorities meant that the local gentry always tended to have strategic and leading positions in the local organization."[13]

依照这种体制，地方管事不与被鄙视、不起眼的政府差人接头，因为如果自治团体成了法定行政机构里的一级，从下到上的轨道就被阻塞了。负责衙门的官员不能与属下胥吏自由交谈，只可与官僚体制之外的人或与他社会地位相仿的人讨论。在清代（1644—1911），中举的人可以用自己的帖子拜会地方官员。除了这种文人的特权外，除非他的头衔被取消，他还可以免受皮肉之刑。举人的功名县官无权取消，而只有地方教育官员才有此权力。那些可以与政府官员打交道的人被称作士绅。

我希望我已经在上述有些简短的叙述中阐明了几点：（1）在中国传统的权力体系中存在两个层次——上层有中央政府，下层有以士绅阶层作为管事的自治团体。（2）中央政府的权威事实上是受限的。由士绅管理的地方事务一般不受中央权威的干扰。（3）从法律上来讲，只有一条自上而下的传达皇帝命令的途径。但是在实际运作中，不合理的命令可以通过官府衙役、地方选择的乡约或其他此类的媒介人物而被打回。在讨论中国正式的政府制度时，通常没有认识到这种自下而上的影响，但无论如何它是有效力的。（4）自下而上传递影响的机制是由士绅的从政或不从政的亲属或参加同批考试的朋友的非正式压力来实现的。通过这种方式，影响甚至可以直达皇帝本人那里。（5）所谓的自治团体是由当地人民实际需要中产生的，而且享受着地方人民所授予的权力，不受中央干涉。当中央政权只征收一部分有限的赋税和劳役时，当地百姓可能会有“天高皇帝远”的感觉。但是保持中央和地方政府之间联系的重要性意味着，士绅通常会在当地组织中拥有决策和管事的地位。[14]

• THE BREAKDOWN OF THE LOCAL SELF-GOVERNING GROUP

In describing the power structure above, the term "inefficiency" was not derogatory. Actually the need for efficiency did not arise, in that the affairs which directly concerned the people were carried on outside the formal government. The work of local self-governing groups followed local needs and conformed to local attitudes. Occasionally, the local organization attempted to regulate life in minute detail. For example, in a certain village in Yunnan, if a married couple did not produce children, they would be symbolically beaten and even fined a small amount. Traditional and religious actions were maintained by the local organization. Thus, a do-nothing emperor might enjoy high peace and order under the heavens during his reign

because the local organizations throughout the country kept things going. Since the imperial power demanded only two things—taxes and conscripts from the people—the existence of inefficient, poetry-writing officials was, in a sense, a blessing. But such a system could work only in an economy which was to a high degree self-sufficient. When intervillage affairs developed, such as *large-scale* irrigation or other public works projects, or warfare was initiated, an inefficient centralized government was a bad thing. This point is easy to see. The development of Chinese economy increased the work of the central government. Theoretically, no changes were needed in the government itself, since we already had a highly developed centralized political system; we required only more efficiency in its working. It is true that since, legally, the power of the central government was unlimited, increasing its efficiency might break down the first line of defense against a tyrannical authority. But since the do-nothing policy was, after all, a very negative means of restricting power, a means indeed which could hardly be maintained in a modern society, its decline could hardly be regretted. The damage which occurred to the second line of defense, the highly developed local self-government system, when the supposedly more efficient *pao-chia* system was introduced (or, rather reintroduced) was another matter, however.

• 地方自治团体的崩溃

在上文对权力结构的描述中，“无能”不是个恶名。实际上，并没有出现对“效率”的要求，因为与人民利益直接相关的事务在正式的政府之外得到执行。地方自治团体迎合当地需要，满足地方上的要求。偶尔，地方政府也试图管理琐碎小事。比如，在云南有一个村庄，如果已婚夫妇没有生育，他们会受到象征性的责打，甚至还要被少量罚款。地方自治组织还管理传统的宗教性活动。因此，皇帝无为而能天下治的原因是有着无数这类地方团体到处在勤修民政。既然皇权只向人民索要赋税和劳力这两样东西，效率低下、舞文弄墨的官员的存在从一定意义上说也是人民的一种福气。但这种机制只有在一个高度自给自足的经济中才行得通。当有村际事务，像大型灌溉或其他公共项目或公益事务启动以及出现战事时，无能的中央政府就成了一件坏事。这一点容易看出来。中国经济的发展使中央政府的工作增加。理论上讲，政府本身没有改变的必要，因为我们已经有一个高度发展的中央集权的政治体制。我们只需要有更高的工作效率。从法律上来讲，中央政府的权力可以大到无限，因此提高政府效率确实可能破坏防止权力被滥用的第一道防线。不过，

对于无为主义的防线的溃决，我们不必加以惋惜，毕竟，这本是十分消极的限制权力的办法，几乎不适用于现代社会。但当效率更高的保甲制度引入进来（或者说重新引入）之后，对第二条防线的破坏，即对高度发展的地方自治机制的破坏，就是另一回事了。

The *pao-chia* system[15] has brought the political track from the top down to the gate of every household and, in fact, as a state of policing, has even entered every house door. The introduction of the *pao-chia* system was for reason. In the old traditional system governmental administration was handicapped by its lack of thoroughness, the fact that it only went halfway in carrying out orders. It seemed it would be much more efficient for the government to deal directly with the people instead of having to have everything pass through the local organization. Moreover, when the *pao-chia* system came into force in the 1930's, it was intended that it should, in time, take up the function of self-government, so that, as the recognized track from the bottom up, there might be built up a system of really democratic representation. But the latter result has never been realized. The *pao-chia* system has certain defects which make it unsuited to a democratic system of representation. According to *pao-chia*, the people were to be organized, with slight variations, in uniform numerical groups. But such units did not necessarily coincide with actual social groups. The size of a community is determined by historical and social forces; we cannot add members to a family or to a local community and have them fit in. By instituting the principle of uniformity in the *pao-chia* system—this was actually worked out only for convenience in administration and especially for dealing with conscription—the principle of local self-government has been weakened. Often a community will be divided into several *chia*, while several unrelated units may be combined in one *pao*, the result being much confusion. In fact, there now came into existence two overlapping systems: one, the *pao-chia*, imposed from the top; the other, the natural local organization, which had now become illegal, and these two systems tended to come into conflict.

保甲制度[16]是把自上而下的政治轨道筑到每家的门前，实际上是把国家的警察制度这条轨道延长到了各家门内。保甲制度有它推行的原因。在旧的传统制度中，政府管理缺乏彻底性，政令执行半途而废，自上而下的轨道因而受阻。似乎政府直接与人民打交道比事事经当地组织效率要高得多。另外，当保甲制度在20世纪30年代得到实行的时候，人们期望它迟早能够起到自治政府的作用，以便在这一公认的基层上行轨

道上可以建立真正的民主代表体制。然而，后一结果从未得以实现。保甲制度有一些缺点使其不适于一种代表制的民主制度。在保甲制度下，人们被组织成略有差别的按数目统一排列的群体单位。但是，这些单位并不与实际存在的社会群体等同。社区的规模是由历史和社会力量决定的；我们不能人为地向一个家庭或社区增加成员并使其成为其中的一员。通过推行保甲制度的统一性——这只是为了管理上的方便，特别是管理征募事务——地方自治的原则被弱化。通常一个社区被分成许多“甲”，几个互不联系的单位又被合并为一个“保”，其结果是一片混乱。实际上是存在着两个重叠的体制：一是上面强制实行的保甲制度，另一个是现属非法的自然形成的地方组织；这两者之间很容易发生冲突。

• TEARING UP THE DOUBLE TRACK

The first serious problem over which conflict developed was the selecting of the head of the *pao-chia*, the *pao-tsun*. The *pao-chia* was an administrative system which executed orders from above, but at the same time it was the legally recognized organization for directing local public affairs. Under the traditional system the carrying-out of this double function was shared by three different groups: the servants of the government; the *shang-yao*, or local representative and intermediary; and the leaders among the local gentry. Now that these three were all combined in one man, the *pao-tsun*, it was assumed that the orders of the central government would be accepted by the people, as always, and carried out by them. But practical difficulties arose at once as the result of the new system. First of all, those people of the community who possessed prestige have usually been unwilling to accept the job of *pao-tsun*. As local gentry, if they wished to preserve their equal status with officialdom, they could not accept a place in the system which would make them lower in status and unable to negotiate but only to accept orders from those above. As a mediator, in fact, the function of the *pao-tsun* was only equivalent to that of a *shang-yao*. Yet the *pao-tsun* and the *shang-yao* are actually not at all the same. The *shang-yao* has no power, while the *pao-tsun* is legally upon the same level as the local leaders, with the right to keep the public funds and to manage local affairs. The difficulty is that the functions of mediator and of administrator have become confused. An energetic *pao-tsun* is likely to come into conflict with the local gentry, and in this conflict there will be no longer any bridge between governmental

and local interests. A local leader of the gentry who accepts the post of *pao-tsun* as being in his own interest and a position of authority will find that actually his situation has changed for the worse, in that he can no longer reject any order from above. Thus the local community has become a dead end in the political system. The people now have no way to express themselves against the central authority, and, when the situation becomes intolerable, the only way out is to rebel.

The *pao-chia* system, thus, not only has disrupted the traditional community organization but has also hampered the developing life of the people. It has destroyed the safety valve of the traditional political system. Nor has the new structure of the *pao-chia* effectively taken over the work of the traditional self-governing organization. The net result has simply been to outlaw the old system so that it can no longer work openly. Deadlock, inefficiency, and even the disruption of the basic administrative machinery have been the results.

- 双轨的拆除

导致冲突的第一个严重问题发生在保甲头领即保长的人选上。保甲是一个执行上级命令的行政机构，同时它也是法律认可的指导地方公共事务的组织。在传统体制下，这两种职能由三种人物分担，他们是衙门里的差人、地方上充当代表和媒介人物的乡约以及地方士绅的领袖管事。当三者集中于保长一人之身时，人们以为中央政府的命令会像以往一样被人们接受并得到执行，但随之新制度即刻出现了实际的问题。首先，社区中有声望的人通常不愿接受保长之职。作为当地乡绅，他们更愿保留与官僚同等的地位，而不愿接受社会地位降低，使其不得与官僚平等磋商而只能接受上级命令的结局。其实，保长作为媒介人物的地位相当于乡约。不过保长和乡约又不完全相同。乡约没有权力，保长与地方官员有同等的权力并可以保留公产及管理当地的事务。问题在于，接头人物和管理人物的职能被人们混淆。工作积极的保长易与当地士绅发生矛盾冲突，而在冲突中政府利益和地方利益之间的桥梁也不复存在。为了自己利益接受保长之职而处于管事地位的乡绅会发现，自己实际上处在一种更不利的境地——他们再难抗拒来自上面的政令。这样，地方社区成为了政治体制的一个死角。人们没有其他途径表示他们对中央政府的不同意见，当情况变得难以忍受时，他们只有起来造反。

因此，保甲制度不仅扰乱了传统的社区组织，而且还阻碍了人们生

活的发展。它还破坏了传统政治制度的安全阀。保甲制度这种新的体制也没有有效地替代传统的自治组织。最终的结果是将旧的制度置于法律的保护范围之外，使其不能公开活动。僵持、低效甚至对基本管理机制的破坏就是由此而带来的后果。

The extension of the track from the top down was intended to facilitate the execution of governmental orders. Though it is true that through the *pao-chia* system a more centralized administration has been realized, greater efficiency has resulted in form only, since, when there is a deadlock at the bottom, orders tend not to be carried out actually. In the more efficient collection of taxes and of conscripts, the new system has achieved something, it is true. But in all projects of local reconstruction or increase of production, all that is accomplished is the placing of the orders in the files of the *pao-chia*. In fact, it has become generally accepted that this storing of documents is one of the main functions of the *pao-chia*. Under such conditions even a good man in the office of the *pao-tsun* has little chance of bringing about any practical measures of social reform.

下行轨道的延伸是为了协助政府命令的实施。虽然通过保甲体制达到了一个更集权化管理的目的，但是由此产生的只有低效，因为在下层存在着僵持的状态，政令很难得到真正的执行。在征税和征募劳役的过程中，这种体制确实取得了更高效的结果。但在所有的地方重建项目或增产活动中，保甲制度做到的只是把有关政令收在保公所文件里。其实，现在大家都认为保存档案成了保甲的一项主要功能。在这种条件下，即使是个能人，身居保正之位也没有什么机会实现任何社会变革的实际举措。

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[1] Han Fei-tzu, slandered and unable to plead his case, ended his life by taking the poison sent him by his slanderers, according to Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Historical Records (see The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu, trans. W. K. Liao [London: A. Probsthain, 1939], I, xxii-xxix).
[2] See chap. i, n. 6.
[3] " 'But it is a pity that a talented person like yon is unwilling to serve the government. Those who are not talented wish to become officials but those who are, only wish to escape it. This is indeed a most regretful matter.'
" 'You are not right,' argued Lao-ts'an. 'It is a matter of no importance whether the common clay wish to become officials or not. The regretful thing lies in the fact that the talented wish to get such posts. As you can see, Mr. Yu is a talented person, but he is too hasty—hasty for promotion, for becoming a big shot. Therefore, he has not hesitated to do many harmful and unreasonable things in order that he may get results. It is unfortunate that his so-called good administration is known far and wide. Don't you think that in a few years he will be promoted, and be still more harmful to society? If he presides over a prefecture, the prefecture would be injured. If he governs a province, the province would suffer, and if he rule the country, the country would be ruined. Therefore, I put to you this question, whether it would

be better for the talented to become government officials, or the non-talented?' " (Liu Ê, A Tramp Doctor's Travelogue, trans. Lin Yi-chin and Ko Te-shun [Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1939], p. 78).
[4] 据司马迁的《史记》记载，韩非子受到诽谤，无以辩驳，因服诽谤他的人送来的毒药而死。见《韩非子全集》英文版，廖文魁翻译，伦敦：阿瑟·普罗赛因公司，1939年，第一卷，xxii—xxix页。
[5] 见第一章注释6（本书注释9，第178页）。
[6] “阁下如此宏材大略，不出来做点事情，实在可惜。无才者抵死要做宫，有才者抵死不做官，此正是天地间第一憾事！
老残道：‘不然。我说无才的要做官很不要紧，正坏在有才的要做官。你想，这个玉大尊不是个有才的吗？只为过于要做官，且急于做大官，所以伤天害理的做到这样。而且政声又如此其好，怕不数年之间就要方面兼圻的吗。官愈大，害愈甚：守一府则一府伤，抚一省则一省残，宰天下则天下死！由此看来，请教还是有才的做官害大，还是无才的做官害大呢？”引自《老残游记》英文版，刘鹗著，林疑今、葛德顺译，上海：商务印书馆，1939年，第78页。
[7] The author seems to be referring to the situation in medieval Europe, neglecting the fact that the bases for the concept of law and of constitutional government in the West are to be found in the formularization of laws, which approached a written constitution in fifth-century Greece and which was later expanded and developed by the Romans. In traditional China the limitations on the power of the monarch, or of his representative, seem never to have been derived from a concept of justice defined by law, written or unwritten.
[8] 作者似指中世纪欧洲的情况，不过忽视了西方法律和宪法政府的概念发源于法律的形成时期，即公元前5世纪希腊成文宪法的制定以及后来罗马人对此的发展。在中国古代，对皇权或其代表的权力的限制的做法，似乎从来都不是衍生自成文或不成文的法律所界定的正义概念。
[9] The typical ya-i would be a man with a little education but not enough to enable him to get ahead. Being literate, he would not want to sink to manual labor.
[10] 一般的衙役通常是受过一点点教育但算不上出类拔萃的人。因为受过教育，他不会情愿沦于从事普通劳动之列。
[11] Lu Hsien, in a short story entitled "Divorce," satirized the role of the gentry in deciding village disputes. A girl wishes to leave her husband and refuses to accept the advice of her relatives. So a member of the local gentry, Squire Seventh, is brought in. The girl thinks, "Those who know the classics and are men of justice must always defend the oppressed." Squire Seventh's authority is urged upon her with the words, "Squire Seventh is a man of wisdom and learning, very different from us villagers, with a knowledge of what is right…. Here is a fact which will not escape Squire Seventh's notice, for those who know the classics and wisdom know everything...." In the end the girl is forced to accept Squire Seventh's obviously biased decision.
[12] 鲁迅在一篇名为《离婚》的短篇小说中，讽刺了士绅在处理乡村纠纷中的角色。一位女子想离开她的丈夫，又不愿听亲戚们的劝导。于是当地的一位乡绅七大人出来劝解。这位女子想：“读经书的一定是有正义感的人，他会帮受害者讲公道话。”七大人的权威促使她说出这样的话：“七大人是知书识理，顶明白的。不像我们乡下人。……这也逃不出七大人的明鉴，知书识理的人什么都知道……”最后那个女子不得不屈从于七大人带有明显偏袒的裁决。
[13] Fei wrote of the village of Kai-hsien-kung, south of Lake Tai, in 1939: "The basis of the headmanship lies in public recognition and support in the leadership in community affairs, and in being the representative of the community against the outside world. Chen started his career as a school-master and Chou as an assistant in the silk factory. Their service and ability have given them authority and prestige. In the village there are few who are literate and still less who are at the same time willing to take up the responsibility without economic reward. Young men of ambition are not satisfied with the position: it is considered by the two middle-school graduates I met in the village as sterile and hopeless. Thus the range for the selection of village heads is not very large.
"Although they have no direct economic reward, they enjoy prestige and presents from the persons who have received services from them. For example, they are respected by the people, and can call the generation senior to them, except their own near kin, by their personal names without adding any

relationship term. This cannot be done by an ordinary person.
"Village heads are always accessible, because they are known to every villager, and a stranger will be received by them immediately. The visitor will be impressed by their heavy burden of work. They help the people to read and to write letters and other documents, to make the calculations required in the local credit system, to manage marriage ceremonies, to arbitrate in social disputes, and to look after public property. They are responsible for the system of self-defence, for the management of public funds, and for the transmission and execution of administrative orders from the higher government. They take an active part in introducing beneficial measures such as industrial reform into the village" (Peasant Life in China [New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1939], pp. 108–109 and 106).
[14] 费孝通在1939年记述了太湖南岸一个叫开弦弓的村子："当村头领的基础在于，不论他们代表社区面向外界时，或是他们在领导社区的事务中，都能得到公众的承认和支持。。陈先生从做学校校长起家，周先生则是做一个丝绸厂的助手。他们的服务和才干使得他们获得了权威和声望。在村子里没几个有文化的人，能不计经济报酬而自愿承担责任的人更少。有报负的年轻人对此职位又看不上——我在村里遇到的两个中学毕业生认为，这是一个枯燥无味且无发展前途的位置。故而，村正人选的选择余地并不大。
"虽然他们没有直接经济收入，但是他们享有很高的声望，接受曾得到他们帮助者的馈赠。比如，他们会受到人们的尊敬，对比他们年长辈分高的一代，除其近亲属外，可以直呼其名而不加表明关系的称谓。这也是一般人所不能做的。
"村正是易于接近的，因为村民都认识他们，外来的生人能很快地得到村正的接待。来访者会对他们庞大的工作量感到吃惊。他们帮助人们读写信件和其他文书，按照当地借贷规则算账，主持结婚典礼，仲裁社会纠纷，管理公共财产。他们要负责地方保安，管理公共基金，传达和执行上级政府的行政命令。他们积极地采取各种有利于本村的措施，村里的蚕丝工业改革就是一例。"引自《江村经济——中国农民的生活》，纽约：杜冬出版公司，1939年，第108—109页和第106页。
[15] The pao-chia, under which ten households, the members of which were held to be mutually responsible for one another's behavior, were grouped in a chia, ten chia forming a pao, was more or less in force in China from 1932 until recently, when the Communists, on taking over the government, abolished it. It had been first instituted in 1069 or 1070 by the famous statesman Wang An-Shih. According to Fei's Peasant Life in China, the pao-chia system was introduced for military purposes, in order to register and organize the people more effectively against the Communists. Yang says: "Since the revival (a supposed revival of an older system of social control) of the pao-chia system, each family must post on the top of the front door, a card bearing the name, age, sex, kinship status, and occupation of the family members…. The government has recently initiated the pao-chia system but the villagers do not, except very rarely, comply with it. They would not report that a son of their neighbour was involved in anything wrong. This reluctance is largely due to the traditional relations between neighbours, which make it very hard for one villager to report another's bad behaviour to a government authority or an outsider. It is also due to the fact that the system was primarily adopted for eliminating politically undesirable persons, especially those who have been accused of being communists, and often a person in disfavour with the political authorities may be on good terms with his fellow villagers" (Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, Taitov, Shangtung Province [New York: Columbia University Press, 1945], pp. 9 and 150).
[16] 保甲制度是指由十户组成一"甲"，一甲的成员对相互的行为负责；十甲组成一"保"。这种保甲制度在中国或多或少地起作用是从1932年开始。当共产党推翻了原政府之后，就将此制度废除了。这一制度最初是在1069年或1070年由著名的政治家王安石建立起来的。照费孝通所著《江村经济——中国农民的生活》一书来看，引入这一保甲制度是基于军事的考虑，为的是对人民进行登记和组织，以此来更有效地阻止当时共产党的发展。杨懋春说："保甲制度恢复（据称为一种社会控制的旧制度的恢复）之后，每一户家庭都要在自家的大门的门楣上贴上一张卡片，上面写着家庭成员的姓名、年龄、性别、亲属状况和职业……政府最近开始实行保甲制度，但是除了极少数的人，村民并不照此遵守。他们不会举报某个邻居家的儿子犯了什么过错这样的事情。这种不情愿主要是源于传统上的邻里关系，这种关系的存在使得一个村民很难做

到向某个政府或是一个外人报告村里另外一个人所做的坏事情；另外还源于这样的事实，那就是之所以采纳这一制度，主要是由于政府要消灭政治上的异己分子，特别是那些被指控为‘赤化分子’的人，而通常对政治当局不满的人可能与其村民同乡关系很好。”引自《一个中国村庄——山东台头》英文版，杨懋春著，纽约：哥伦比亚大学出版社，1945年，第9页和第150页。

Chapter Five Village, Town, and City

第伍章 村、镇与城市

Having discussed the place of the gentry in the political structure of China, I now turn to their place in the economic order. But, in order to understand this, we must first make clear the difference in form between rural and urban communities and the nature of the economic and other relationships which hold them together. Five types of concentration of population may be recognized: the village, the walled or garrison town, the temporary market, the market town, and the treaty port.

• POPULATION AND URBAN COMMUNITIES

What do we mean by "urban" as applied to a community? This question is difficult to answer. In the United States the Bureau of the Census calls a community of 2,500 people or more a city; and a community in which the incorporated area has a population of 50,000 and the outlying suburbs a population density of 150 per square mile is termed a metropolitan area. But not all sociologists agree to this standard. In fact, there exists no absolute generally accepted standard. Mark Jefferson, for example, calls a city an area with a population of 10,000 per square mile, while, for Walter F. Willcox,

1,000 individuals per square mile is enough to enable him to designate the area as a city.[1] Although these men disagree as to the numbers to be used, both use population density as the criterion for differentiating rural and urban areas. This is possible because in the United States a dense population is always organized into a city. But in China the situation is different. For instance, in my native province of Kiangsu the average population density is over 500 per square mile; in Shantung it is 615; in Chekiang, 657; and in some parts of these provinces it is more, even, than 6,000 persons per square mile.[2] If we applied Willcox's criterion, this whole area should be called a city. But to do so would be simply to abandon common sense. If we accept the notion that different standards must be adopted for the situation in China, which is so different from that in the United States, the question arises: What sort of standard, then, shall we use? It is clear that the density of population alone is insufficient for differentiating rural from urban communities.

In studying urban and rural communities from the point of view of population, the emphasis should be laid not upon quantity or density but rather upon distribution. We see that, as economic life develops among human beings, the population begins to concentrate at certain points which seem like nuclei of cells. The nuclear concentration in an area may be called urban; the area surrounding it, rural. Inevitably, there will be a difference in population density related to the process of concentration in the nucleus and in the area surrounding it. But we cannot pick this or that number of persons per square mile as a basis for distinguishing communities at different stages of economic development. Assuming a high density of population, our main problem is to analyze why the population concentrates in a few spots.

在讨论了士绅在中国政治结构中的地位之后，下面我们来看一下他们在经济秩序中的地位。但是，要理解这一点，我们先要认清城乡社区形式的差别以及把城乡结合在一起的经济和其他关系的本质。我们可以看到人口聚集的五种类型：村、衙门围墙式的城、临时集市、镇和通商口岸。

- 人口与城市社区

怎样的社区才能算是一个“城”呢？这个问题很难回答。美国人口局规定2500人以上聚居的地方称作“城”；市区人口超过5万，近郊区域的人口密度为每平方英里150人以上的社区，称作“都会”。但是，并不是

所有社会学者都同意这个标准。实际上，没有绝对的被广泛认可的标准。例如，马克·杰斐逊就认为，人口密度在每平方英里1万人以上才能称作城市，而沃尔特·弗朗西斯·威尔科克斯则认为每平方英里有1000人已足以称为一个城市。[3]虽然他们在数量问题上意见不一，但都把人口密度作为划分城乡的标准，这种做法是可行的，因为在美国人口密集的地方往往就会建成一个城市。中国的情况则有所不同，例如在我的家乡江苏省，平均人口密度为每平方英里超过500人，山东为615人，浙江为657人，在这些省的某些地方，人口密度甚至超过每平方英里6000人。[4]如果采用威尔科克斯的标准，这些都可以叫做城市社区了，这显然与常识不符。如果我们认同说情况与美国截然不同的中国要有一套不同的标准的话，那么问题是：我们应该用哪一种标准呢？很明显，仅人口密度不足以区分城市和乡村社区。

从人口角度来研究城乡社区时，重点应放在人口的分布上而不是数量或密度上。我们认识到，随着人类经济生活的发展，一个区域里会产生若干人口密集的中心地点，像是细胞中产生了核心。一个区域的核心就是“城”，核心的外围人口密度较低的地方是“乡”。在人口聚集过程中，核心和外围区域在人口密度上不可避免地会产生差别，但是我们不能以每平方英里的这个或那个人数作为区分不同经济发展阶段的社区的基础。假设一个地区人口密度高，我们的主要问题是分析为什么人口会聚集在少数几个地点上。

In self-sufficient economies, whether nomadic or agricultural, each unit may live by itself, and its population may be dispersed over an area. There is no economic necessity for a nucleus, and, even if individuals come together, there is no economic differentiation. In cultivating the land, for practical reasons, if for no other, we should expect to find farmers settled on their own land so as to be near their work and to have their produce close at hand. This is what we call the dispersed type of agriculture, which is the usual thing in America.[5] But in China, except for a few places, such as the hilly areas of Szechwan, the situation is quite different. Chinese farmers live not in isolation but close together in villages. Two factors, the kinship organization and the need for mutual protection, are important in particular in bringing this about. Where, as in China, brothers inherit their father's land equally, all tend to remain together upon the land. If there is any free land near by, the family may spread out, and in the course of several generations a clan village may be developed. The fact of kinship keeps people living together in the same locality. Moreover, it is true that, although the lengthening of the distance

between farms and living quarters is disadvantageous from an economic standpoint, living together in one place has great advantages from the point of view of security. Farming communities are easily invaded, and the best way to be safe is for the farmers to concentrate their families and produce in one place which is easier to protect and which may be inclosed with some sort of wall. A concentration of farm families of this sort we call a village.

The emphasis on defense appears from the very construction of the farmhouses themselves. In the mountains and hilly areas villages are smaller, and there may appear scattered homesteads with their own walled inclosures like primitive fortresses. Or, if structures of this sort are lacking, we will see that in the outer walls there are no windows, so that the house looks entirely inward. In larger villages we often find a central walled-in place to which the people can retire when necessary and where they can store their produce in case of an attack from outside. Even in more peaceful and orderly spots like Kiangsu, which we call Paradise, where river transport is more important than roads, the river will be blocked with a wooden gate every evening or in case of emergency. But here the form of the houses is modified, and windows are open to the street.

在自给自足的经济中，无论是游牧还是农业，每个生活单位都可以独立生存，人口可能在一个区域上散布开来。没有什么经济需求促使人口聚集，即使个体聚集在一起，也不会存在经济上的差等。以耕种土地而言，如果不考虑其他而只考虑实际的原因，农民最好是住在他所经营的土地上，便于耕种和收获。这就是所谓的散居式的农业，在美国极常见。[6]但在中国，除了几个地方，如四川的山区，其他地方就很少有了。中国的农民不是各自独居的，而是聚居在村落里。这种模式的形成有两个特别重要的原因，就是亲属的联系和互相保护的需要。在中国，兄弟平均继承父亲的土地，他们都希望共同生活在这片土地上。如果周围还有闲散的土地，家庭就会开垦扩展土地，几代之后就可以发展成一个小的同姓村落。亲属的联系也使他们住在同一个地方。另外，土地和居住地点间距离上的增大在经济上的确是不利的，但是这种聚居在安全上却是大为有利的。农业社区很容易遭到侵略，农民获得安全的最佳方式是将他们的家庭集中起来，在一个地方从事生产工作，这样更容易保护，周围可以围上墙。这种农户的聚居点我们称作“村”。

从农舍的建筑本身就可以看出对防卫的重视。山区的村落较小，分散的农家建筑带有围墙，像是原始的堡垒。或者，如果建筑不是这种结构，我们会看到外墙上是没有窗户的，整座房子完全是向内的。大一些

的村落里有的在中心区域还筑造了围墙，必要时居民可以撤退到围墙之内去，每家的农产品也可以储存在这里以备受外来侵略时用。即使在较为安定、秩序较好、水运比陆运更为重要的地区，比如被称作天堂的江苏，每晚或在紧急情况时，河道都要以木门隔断。但是这里的建筑样式有所改变，窗户朝向街道。

Whatever the variation in form and whatever the size, as an assemblage of self-sufficient units, without a differentiation of function or division of labor among its members, we may recognize it as a village or rural community rather than as a town or urban center. The village, then, may be seen as one type of organization. The towns of China, on the other hand, are not all of one type but vary according to their function.

• THE WALLED OR GARRISON TOWN: A POLITICAL CENTER

An important type of urban center is the walled town or *ch'eng*. The original meaning of this word is "wall," "inclosure," or "defense work." Constructions for defense may vary in size and quality. Sometimes they are built for a single family; sometimes for a village. But, when the word *ch'eng* is used, it designates a wall or defensive construction on a larger scale, one built to protect a political center. To make a wall of this sort is a big enterprise which cannot be accomplished by private means alone; it must be a public work shared in by the people over a large area. Both political power and political purpose are needed to construct this kind of large wall.

A *ch'eng*, then, is an instrument of the ruling classes in a political system where power resides in force. The *ch'eng* is the symbol of power and also a necessary tool for the maintenance of power. As a result, the location of a *ch'eng* is usually chosen with its political and military uses in mind. In the places where the representative of the monarch was used to stay there had to be a wall to protect him. Every *hsien* had to have a *ch'eng* where the representative of the emperor resided. Sometimes, however, when a *hsien* could not afford to build a *ch'eng*, the representatives of several *hsien* would concentrate in one *ch'eng*. In other words, the *ch'eng* existed in order to protect the *yamen* (the bureaucracy). And the existence of the *ch'eng* clearly illustrates the theory expounded in previous chapters that, in China, monarchical power needed always to be vigilant and on the defensive.

作为一种自给自足的生活单位的聚居，无论其在形式和大小上如何变化，只要成员之间没有功能上的区位分化和劳动分工，我们就把它认作是村或乡村社区，而不是镇或城的中心。村落可以看作是一种组织。另一方面，中国的镇不止有一种，而是根据功能的不同而在类型上也有所不同。

• 衙门围墙式的城：一个政治中心

一种重要的城市中心类型就是有围墙的城镇或者说“城”，这个字最初的含义是指“城墙”、“包围”或“防御工事”。防御工事可以在大小或质量上有所不同，有时一家，有时一村。但是称作“城”时，则指较大规模的城墙或防御工事，它所保卫的是一个政治中心。建造这样一个大的城墙工事不是私家所能单独完成的。这必是一个公共的工事，由较大区域的人民共同负担。这种大的城墙工事是要凭借政治权力和政治目的才能修建的。

因此，在一个依靠武力来统治的政治体系中，城墙是统治阶级的保护工具。城是权力的象征，是维护权力的必要工具。所以，城的地点经常是依照政治和军事的需要而定的。在皇权代表的驻扎地点必然要有一个保卫设施的城。每一个县在皇帝的代表知县住的地方要有一个城。如果有的县不能单独建造城的话，几个县的政府有时合住在一个城里。换句话说，城是为了保护“衙门”（官署）的。城的存在清楚地表明了前面讲过的理论，即在中国，皇权常常需要保持警惕和自我保护。

In Yunnan we see that, in building a walled city, the custom is ordinarily to build the wall partly on a hilltop and partly on the plain because this type of construction is easier to defend. If built on flat ground, a moat, called a *ch'ih* ("pond") or *huang ("ditch") was dug about it. (By extension, the guard who rules the district in the spirit world, who is a counterpart of the magistrate who rules this world, was called a ch'eng huang.) It is clear that the wall and the moat have symbolized a seat of authority far back in Chinese history. Within the walled inclosure, even in cities such as Peking and Nanking, there was usually a large amount of cultivable land which in case of siege even in these days has often been useful for providing perishable foodstuffs. The ideal city, from the traditional point of view, was a self-sufficient castle. And even now the government may, in emergencies, order the gates of a city to be closed. Recently, even before martial law was established in Peking, the city gates were closed every evening at seven*

o'clock.

Although the *ch'eng* symbolized security, the population within the walls might not necessarily be greater than in communities outside. In fact, in Yunnan it is common to find the walled towns smaller in size than the adjacent villages. Yet the well-protected area of the town had its attractions for certain people. To be a rich man, or even one just a little well-to-do, has never been safe in China, as we said before. Owing to the low cost of labor, landowners need not be very wealthy in order to be freed from the necessity for working their own lands, and in such a case they might feel moved to rent out their land and move to the walled town. Riches obtained from exploitation need to be protected by political power, and governmental authority might be used, when necessary, to collect rent for absentee owners. In Yunnan a troop of soldiers was, at one time, sent to collect rents.[7] As previously described, the landowners tend to maintain a close personal relationship with the bureaucracy. And it was this combination of officialdom and landed gentry which gave the walled or garrison town its special character.

For the use of the dwellers in the walled town there developed handicraft industries. The greater the concentration of landowners as well as of wealth, the greater the development of craftsmen and the more skilled and varied the types of things produced. The silver of Chengtu, the embroidery of Soochow, the silk of Hangchow, and the cloisonné of Peking are all examples of art handicrafts which attained a high degree of development. In centers of this sort a more far-reaching trade in the local specialty as well as in local country products, such as fur or herbs, might grow up. But the walled town was not typically a trading center, nor did it serve to supply the needs of the peasant population. Luxury goods of the sort mentioned above were not within the reach of the country people living on an economy of bare subsistence. The craftsmen who lived in the walled towns, such as the tailor (who occupied a place at the front gate of a big house and served as gateman as well), the carpenters, the dispensers of drugs and tonics, the silversmiths, and all the others did not serve the villagers but rather the landlords, somewhat as the artists and craftsmen in the Middle Ages served their lords. Economic activity in these fortified centers of administration, then, was based not on an exchange of goods between producers but on the purchasing power of consumers who gained their wealth largely from exploitative relationships

with the country.[8]

在云南，我们看到，建造县城的通常做法是一半在山丘上，一半在平地里，以易于防守。如果建在平地里，沿城要掘一道环城的水道，叫“池”（有水的城池）或“隍”（无水的城池）。（由此延伸，在神灵世界中控制这一地区的守卫者，就是与现实世界中的县令平起平坐者，叫“城隍”。）很明显，城和池是久远的中国历史上的权力之位的象征。在城墙内，即使是在北京和南京这样的大城市内，也通常有一些可以耕种的土地，万一城市被围困，这些田地可以供给居民不易储藏的食品，即使到今天也是如此。依照传统的观点，理想的“城”是一个能自给自足的堡垒。即使在今天，遇有危急情况，官府也要下令关上城门。最近，即使在北京的军事管制实行以前，城门每晚都是七点钟关闭的。

虽然城象征着安全，但城区的人口并不一定要比外面社区的人口多。实际上，云南有许多县城比邻近的村子要小，但是，有着良好防御工事的城区有它吸引人口的力量。像我们前面讲过的那样，在中国，一个富有的人或稍有些财富的人从来都是不安全的。由于劳动成本很低，地主不必非常富有就可摆脱耕种土地之累，在这种情况下，他可能更愿意把土地租出去，然后搬到城里去住。剥削而来的财富需要得到政权的保护，必要时用政治权威来为不在当地的地主收租。在云南，一队士兵曾被派去收租。[9]像前面所描述的那样，地主希望与官僚保持密切的私人关系，正是官僚与地主阶级的这种联合使得围墙式的城镇有其特色。

为了城里居民的需要，手工业发展起来。地主集中的数量越多，积累的财富越多，手工艺从业者也就越多，这类手工业品的种类也越多，手艺也越精细。成都的银器、苏州的刺绣、杭州的丝绸和北京的景泰蓝都是手工业高度发展的例子。在这类中心地区，各地的土特产如毛皮或药草等影响更加深远的贸易也可能发展起来。但是城并不是一个典型的贸易中心，也不为农民提供生活用品。上面所列的那些奢侈的消费品不是生活在拮据经济状况下的农民所能购买的。生活在城里的手工业者，如裁缝（在大户人家的前门占一块地，也同时充当门房）、木匠、卖药的、银匠以及其他人，他们并不为农民服务，而是为地主服务，有点儿像中世纪时为他们的主人服务的艺匠。这些行政防御中心地区的经济活动，并不以生产者之间的商品交换为基础，而是以主要通过剥削农民而获得财富的消费者的购买力为基础。[10]

Besides their money from rents, landowners derived income from investing their capital in pawnshops, in the loaning-out of money at high rates, and in rice shops. Once I asked a resident of a walled town about how much moneylending went on there and was told by him that *everyone* in town

engaged in this activity. He probably merely meant that most of the townsfolk did so. And the poor country people who come to borrow money will usually be forced to sell their land eventually in order to pay their debts. [11]

The investment of the rice-shop owner may be increased through speculation as well as through merely buying and selling rice. He will then buy rice when the price is low and keep it to sell when the price is higher. In a number of places the rice shop had still another function—that of husking the rice, either, as in former times, by means of machinery run by water power or, as at present, by crude-oil or electric power. (But in the villages of the interior, in particular, we may still see the villagers husking their rice by pounding it.)

In general, this type of town was not conducive to the development of either industry or commerce, and that which did exist, for the most part, served the wealthy classes who had taken up their residence there for political or security reasons.

• MARKETS AND TOWNS DEVELOPED FROM TRADE

Self-sufficiency was highly developed in the rural economy of China, but it was not complete. Some of the necessities of life of the villagers came from exchange with other villagers and some from the outside. So we do find trading activities in the rural areas, and this is another factor in the concentration of population. We may distinguish, as centers of trade, temporary markets from market towns.

地主除了从地租获得收入之外，还利用他的资本从事典当、高利贷、米行等经济活动，以此来增加收入。我在一个县城里调查放高利贷的情况时，一位朋友就告诉我：“城里这些人全是放债的。”这句话并非完全是事实，他可能只是说放债的人很多罢了。那些贫穷的乡下人来此借债最终不得不把地卖掉来还债。[12]

而米行老板的投资可以通过投机和单纯的米的买卖来获得丰厚回报。他在米价低时买进，等到米价高时再卖出。在许多地方，米行还有另外一个功能，就是碾米，以前是利用水力，现在则用柴油机或电机。（但特别是在内地的乡村，我们仍可见到人们是用舂米的方式。）

总的说来，这种城对于工业和商业的发展都无益，即使是实际存在的工商业，很大程度上也是为那些由于政治和安全的考虑而居住于此的富有阶层服务的。

- 由贸易发展而来的集市和镇

在中国，乡村经济自给程度很高但不完全，有些农民所需的必需品是从别村或外界交换而来。所以我们在乡村也能见到贸易活动，这是人口集中的另一个因素。作为贸易中心，我们可以把临时性的“集市”与“镇”区分开来。

In interior China temporary markets are still common. These have names which vary with the locality and which indicate that they are a local development rather than something imposed from the top and alike throughout the country as the *ch'eng*. The terms for temporary market refer to places where producers exchange goods among themselves.[13] Since the producers cannot engage in trade every day, this kind of market usually takes place only every few days (in Yunnan the common practice is to hold a market every six days). On market day the villagers bring to the market the things they wish to sell and bring back, at the end of the day, what they have bought in exchange. The size of the market varies according to the area which it covers, large markets having sometimes more than ten thousand people. On the Dragon Day, Sheep Day, or Dog Day markets in Yunnan, when one stands on the top of a hill and looks down, there appears to be a sea of human beings moving back and forth like waves. People are so crowded together that their shoulders touch, and it is hard to move. But the crowd does not last long. At sunset they will be leaving, and by evening the place will be empty.

Markets of this temporary nature do not represent a community. The term "market" refers merely to a location which has been selected for its convenience in communication. Usually it must be a large open space, often the open area near a temple, where people are apt to gather. Where trading is more developed, markets of this sort become more frequent. Gradually around the big open space will spring up small storehouses for the merchants who buy up local products and transport them to other places as well as teahouses for those who wish to sit and rest. As the demand grows for more supplies from outside, what is brought in by the peddlers will not be enough. In time a store may be established close to the market center, and eventually

there will develop a permanent community which we call a market town, or *shih*.

In the Lake Tai area, where communication by water is much quicker than by land, this type of town has had more chance to develop. As described in *Peasant Life in China*, a so-called "agent boat" buys things for the villagers, each boat roughly serving about a hundred households. By using the morning to go to town and the afternoon to come back, a boat of this sort can cover quite an area. In town there are usually hundreds of these agent boats, supplying tens of thousands of rural families. The stores in town have special arrangements with one or more boats for their supplies, and thus, by having access to such a large number of consumers, a large commercial center may be maintained. But in the interior of China, where communication is difficult, towns of this sort are very few.

在中国内地，临时性的集市仍旧非常普遍。各地方的名称不同，意味着它们是在地方上发展起来的，而不是像“城”一样由上面推行、遍及全国。临时集市是指生产者之间相互交换的场合[14]，由于生产者不能每天都从事贸易活动，因此这样的集市每隔几天才有一次（云南通常是六天一次）。赶市的那一天，各村的乡民提着他们要卖的东西上街，赶集日结束时再带回交换所得的东西。各地集市大小各不相同，大的集市有时会有上万人。在云南的龙街、羊街和狗街，站在山坡上往下看，人山人海，来来往往的人群就像起伏的波浪。人群太过拥挤，接踵摩肩，连前行都很困难。但拥挤的人群并不会持续很长时间，太阳落山时，他们先后离去，到了晚上就没有人了。

临时的集市不代表社区，它不过是一个交通方便的地点。一般来说，它必须是一片开阔的空地，附近有庙，易于人们聚集。随着贸易的发展，这种集市变得越来越频繁。渐渐地，在空地周围出现了贩运商品的小型栈房和供人休息的茶舍。随着对外界商品需求的增长，贩运商人运来的商品已不够用。一段时间后可能就会在靠近集市中心的地方出现囤积商品的仓库，最后发展成为永久的社区，我们不妨将此叫做“镇”，或者“市”。

在水运比陆运快捷的太湖流域，镇尤其易于发展。像我在《江村经济——中国农民的生活》一书中所描述的那样，有一种为村民买东西的“代理航船”，每只航船代理一百多户农家。它们每天一早从村子驶出，下午回来，能为很大一片区域提供服务。在镇上，常常有几百只船为几万农家办货。镇里的商店和个别的船只维持着专门的供应关系，有了这样大的消费区域，大的商业中心可能得以维持下去。但是在交通不

便的内地，这种镇是很少的。

Market and garrison towns can be differentiated not only theoretically but also by mere inspection. In Yunnan their aspects are very different. Around Kunming, which is a big walled city, there are six or seven temporary markets. It is true that Kunming has recently also become a commercial center, but it has not developed through rural consumption. On the main street of Kunming there are department stores selling foreign goods and merchants selling gold. Those who buy here are mostly city dwellers or traders from various other towns. Very few villagers come to buy things directly from these shops. They buy the things they need from the markets which surround the city walls.

We may take another example of a small garrison town of Yunnan in which there is only one main street inside the town walls. On this street are several teashops, a barbershop, and a shop with miscellaneous drygoods and sweets. Outside the walls, a fifteen-minute walk away, is the Dragon Day market. Though within easy reach of the town, it is quite distinct from it. The town represents a political center in which, the chief interest being security, the location chosen was a hillside, which is easier to defend. The latter, developing through trade, selected a position at a crossroads, which makes it easily accessible to the villagers round about. In the Lake Tai area in my own native district, Wukiang, the garrison town is much smaller and less prosperous than the nearby market towns, such as Chen-tse. In the Ch'ing dynasty this garrison town contained two district governments, but, besides the governmental *yamen*s, it had mainly private residences and only one main street. Here one sees clearly the difference in function between garrison and market town.

It is true that these two types of town do have certain similarities, since the market town is also the place where landowners gather. When they live in an economic center, they have more opportunity to make commercial use of the capital which they have accumulated from the land. But, according to traditional standards, the landlord who engaged in trade occupied a lower position than did the landlord who was an official in the *ch'eng*. However, as this tradition has been gradually breaking down, a high position in the market town is often a step toward a high position in a garrison town. In the market town, where the shops are the center of the community, there are also small industries and handicrafts developed to serve the community itself and for

export to rural areas. In this way the two types of town also resemble each other.

市镇和城不但在概念上可以区分，事实上也是常常分开的。在云南这种情形可以看得很清楚。昆明这个大城的附近就围绕着六七个临时集市。当然昆明最近已发展成一个商业中心，但它不是通过乡村的消费而发展起来的。昆明的主要街道上有卖洋货的百货公司和金店，从这里买东西的人多数是城里的居民和从别的镇来的商人，只有很少的村民直接从这些店铺里买东西。他们是从环绕着城墙的集市上买自己所需要的东西。

我们可以举云南的另一个衙门围墙式的小城为例，其城墙内只有一条主要街道。这条街上有几家茶舍、一家理发店和一家干货糖果店。在城外，步行十五分钟就是龙街，虽然与城相隔不远，但却截然不同。城代表了政治中心，以安全为主要目的，地点选在山坡上，易于防守；而集市由贸易发展而来，地点选在十字路口，便于附近的村民往来。以太湖流域的情形说，我的故乡吴江县的县城远不及附近的震泽等市镇大和发达。在清朝，两个县政府同在这个县城里，但是除了政府衙门之外，主要是私人住户，只有一条主要的街。由此我们可以清楚地看出城和市镇的不同功能来。

城和市镇确实有着一些相似之处，因为市镇也是地主们蚁集之所。当他们居住在经济中心时，就有更多的机会把从地里得来的钱财用作商业目的。但是，根据传统的标准，做生意的地主比在城里的官僚地主地位要低。然而，随着这个传统渐渐被打破，镇上的高位往往意味着离城里的高位更迈近了一步［参照费孝通著《乡土中国与乡土重建》，原意为“镇的地位事实已有超过了县城的”（台北：风云时代出版公司，1993年，第136页）——编者注］。在镇上，店铺成为社区的中心，随之发展了一些小型的工业和手工业来为社区服务，并向乡村地区出售产品，在这方面很类似于城。

But even though these two types of towns do tend to overlap and are sometimes even combined into one community, it seems worth while to try to differentiate them conceptually, the garrison town as the seat of traditional bureaucratic authority and the wealthy gentry, the market town as a link between the peasants' local industry and more highly developed commerce and manufacturing.

• THE TREATY PORT

We come, then, to the last type of concentration of population—the treaty port. I should like to make clear here that the Chinese modern city which developed from the treaty port not only differs from the traditional town, either of the market-town or of the garrison-town type, but also differs notably from the modern metropolitan city in the West. Those who advocate urbanization in China usually take the position that a city such as Shanghai is similar to New York and London. Such a conclusion is most misleading, because there is a real and very essential difference between Chinese cities and Western metropolises. Metropolitan cities like New York and London may be viewed as nerve centers for a wide economic area. The development of the center indicates the development of the hinterland, since they are bound up together. Through this relationship the economic division of labor of the different areas is facilitated. But Shanghai is different. It is not the center of an economically independent area but rather is a treaty port which was forced open by political agreement. It is a gateway to an economically underdeveloped continent, opened toward the Occident, rather than a city which, like New York or London, grew up through the economic development of its own hinterland. Shanghai and other treaty ports are the result of the impact of economies at different levels. Thus Shanghai originally was only a small fishing village occupying an insignificant position in the traditional economy. Since it has become a gate to the interior, it has entirely changed and has prospered mightily.

But its prosperity does not mean the prosperity of the hinterland, because it represents not a mutual development but rather the establishment of a superior economic force working its way toward a dominance of a less-well-developed area. The fact that treaty ports like Shanghai had for a long period a special political position as foreign settlements where Chinese power could not reach was no accident, since economically they were also separate from Chinese economy. On the one hand, they were a gate by means of which foreign goods could come in; on the other, they served as ratholes for dribbling away Chinese wealth. When I call the treaty ports "economic ratholes," I mean that they were fundamentally similar to the garrison towns, a community of consumers and not of producers. I may be challenged on this point by those who point out that commerce is mutual benefit and that the importation of foreign goods must be balanced by the export of other goods or that otherwise trade will stop. This may apply to New York, but it does not apply to Shanghai. To be sure, there are exports from Shanghai, not only

Chinese raw materials but also silver and gold, when other goods are not enough to make a balance of trade. But these goods are not produced in Shanghai or in the industrial areas near by. They are raw materials from the countryside. If Shanghai played the role of connecting foreign consumers with their own producers, it might claim a status similar to that of New York or London. But the fact is that the producers of goods for export do not get back an equal value in imports. The Shanghai people collect the raw materials and sell them to foreign countries and then themselves consume the foreign goods which come in as imports. This relationship is quite similar to the traditional system in the garrison town, which I described above.

即使城和镇互相交错，甚至有时会联合成一个社区，但是把它们从概念上区分开来似乎仍很必要：城是传统官僚地主和富有士绅的基座，镇是联系乡村工业和更为发达的商业与制造业的纽带。

• 通商口岸

现在我们讨论最后一种人口聚居的形式——通商口岸。应该认清的是，从通商口岸发展而来的中国现代城市不仅与传统的镇或县城有所不同，也与现代西方大都市有着明显的区别。那些提倡在中国实行都市化的人常常认为上海与纽约、伦敦相似，这是一个很大的误导，因为中国的城市与西方的都市有着真正的和本质的区别。纽约和伦敦这样的大都市可以看作是一个大的经济区域的神经中枢。中心地区的发展预示了内地的发展，因为它们连成一体，通过这种联系促进了不同地区劳动的经济分工。但上海不同，它不是一个经济自立区域的中心，而是由于政治协议而被迫开放的口岸。它是通向经济不发达的内陆地区的大门，向着西方开放，而不是像纽约和伦敦那样通过自身内地的发展而发达起来的。上海和其他通商口岸是不同层次的经济影响的结果。上海起初只是一个小渔村，在传统经济中的地位无足轻重，但自从成了内地对外开放的大门之后，它发生了巨变并极度繁荣起来。

但是上海的繁荣并不意味着内地的繁荣，因为它并不代表共同发展，而是一种高级经济力量的确立，以逐步支配欠发达的地区。像上海这样的通商口岸，很长时间以来都占据着特殊的政治地位，它们是外国人的居住地，不受中国的控制，这一事实并非偶然，因为从经济上来讲，它们也是与中国的经济相脱离的。一方面，它们是外国商品得以进入中国的大门；另一方面，它们也是中国财富外流的老鼠洞。我把通商口岸称作“经济鼠洞”，是指它们根本上是与县城相似的，是消费者的社

区，而不是生产者的社区。那些认为商业是互利行为，进口与出口要达到平衡，否则贸易就会停止的人也许会对这一点提出疑问，对于纽约也许是这样，而上海则不同。可以确定，上海有出口商品，包括国产的原材料、金和银等，而其他商品不足以达到贸易上的平衡。但是这些商品都不是在上海或附近的工业区生产的，它们是来自农村的原材料。如果上海可以使外国人来消费中国产品，那么它或许可以与纽约或伦敦获得相似的地位。但事实却是，出口商品的生产者不能从进口商品中获得同等的价值。上海人收集原材料出口到国外，而自己消费进口商品，这种关系与我上面所提到的县城里的传统体制非常相似。

But there is a difference between the treaty port and the traditional garrison town. In the latter, goods are consumed which are produced in the local area or at least near by, while, in the treaty port, the goods consumed are largely those imported from foreign countries. The treaty port itself, as a great center of foreign influence, is very effective in bringing about the substitution of foreign goods for those produced at home. So we find a new class of wealth and influence in China—the comprador.[15] Part of the foreign goods pass into the towns of the interior, but the main market remains the treaty port or the international settlements. Because of the relative political freedom in these places, they collect all those people who feel they cannot stay in the interior, and, in fact, they become "Grand Hotels" for refugees of all sorts. In calling them "Grand Hotels," I am referring to the fact that most of those who enter the settlements bring with them money to spend. The source of this money is not the treaty port itself but is in the rural areas round about. Straws of various sizes thrust into the rural areas suck out the wealth of China into these ports. It is quite obvious that such an industrially undeveloped metropolis as Shanghai, with a huge population next in size to New York and London, cannot have a self-sufficient economy but depends for its income upon the countryside.[16] As such, it is a garrison town and a community of dependent consumers and parasites rather than a highly developed city of the modern type.

但通商口岸与传统的县城有一点不同，后者的商品在其生产地或至少是附近地区消费，而在通商口岸，消费品大多是来自国外的进口商品。通商口岸本身作为受外国影响的一个巨大中心，在买进本国产品的国外替代品时是非常有效的。所以我们在中国又发现了一个有财富、有影响的阶层，即买办阶层。[17]一部分外国商品进入到内陆城镇，但主要市场仍是在通商口岸或外国人的居住地。由于这些地区的政治相对自

由，这里聚集了所有自认为不能呆在内地的人，实际上成了各种难民的“大旅馆”，这样称呼是因为大部分人都带着钱来到这里消费，这些钱并不来自通商口岸，而是来自附近的乡村。乡村的财富如同被粗细不一的吸管不断吸出，涌入这些通商口岸。显而易见，上海这样一个工业不发达的都市，拥有仅次于纽约和伦敦的人口，不能自给自足，而要靠来自乡村的收入。[18]这样看来，它只是一个县城，一个依靠别人的消费者和寄生虫聚集的社区，而不是一个现代的高度发展的都市。

Modern metropolises are the products of industrialization. A country which has not been industrialized cannot have urban centers like New York or London. The treaty port brought about the invasion of an industrialized economy into an economically inferior area, where a simple economy still prevailed. This created a peculiar community which should not be classed with modern urban centers. In order to understand the nature of such a community, we need more research than has so far been done.

现代都市是工业化的结果。一个非工业化国家不会有纽约或伦敦这样的城市中心。通商口岸带来了工业化经济对简单经济仍占主导地位的不发达地区的入侵，这就产生了一种不应该归入现代城市中心的特殊社区。为了理解这一社区的特征，我们现在所作的研究还远远不够。

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[1] Walter F. Willcox, Studies in American Demography (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1940), chap. vi, "Density of Population: Urban and Rural," p. 117. The Mark Jefferson reference has not been found.

[2] China has never had a real census. Rather, population has been computed for purposes of taxation and compulsory labor on the basis of not very accurate estimates. However, from 1932 to 1937, seven experimental censuses, confined to one hsien (district) each, in the case of six, and part of a hsien for the seventh, were taken. These hsien were scattered through five provinces, three in Kiangsu, and one each in Hopeh, Shantung, Chekiang, and Fukien (Tâ Chen, Population in Modern China [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946]).

[3] 参见《美国人口研究》，沃尔特·弗朗西斯·威尔科克斯著，纽约伊萨卡：康奈尔大学出版社，1940年，第6章“人口密度：城市和乡村”，第117页。马克·杰斐逊的参考文献出处未知。

[4] 中国从未有过真正的人口统计。为了赋税和徭役的目的，才在非常不精确的估计的基础上计算人口数量。但是，1932年至1937年期间，做了7次实验性的人口统计，其中6次是限于一个县内，第7次是一个县的局部地区。这些县分散在5个省，3个在江苏省，其余分别在湖北、山东、浙江和福建。参见《现代中国人口》，陈达著， 芝加哥：芝加哥大学出版社，1946年。

[5] The dispersed farms of America are the exception, of course. Throughout the world old farming populations tend to cluster their houses into villages and go out to their fields.

[6] 美国分散的农场当然是例外。全世界传统的农业人口都往往是聚居在村子里而到村外面去耕作。

[7] "Landlords of big estates establish their own rent-collecting bureaus, and petty landlords pool their claims with them…. At the end of October, the bureau will inform each tenant of the amount of rent that should be paid that year. The information is forwarded by special agents. These agents are employed by the bureau, and have been entrusted with police power by the district government" (Hsiao-tung Fei, Peasant Life in China [New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1939], p. 188).

[8] Compare with Pirenne's description of medieval towns of Europe during the period of closed domestic economy: "As can be easily seen, the burgs were, above all, military establishments.... In case of war, its inhabitants found there a refuge; in time of peace, there they repaired to take part in the assemblies of justice, or to pay off the prestations to which they were subject. Nevertheless, the burg did not show the slightest urban character.... Neither commerce nor industry was possible or even conceivable in such an environment. It produced nothing of itself, lived by revenues from the surrounding country, and had no other economic role than that of a simple consumer" (Henri Pirenne, Mediaeval Cities [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1925], pp. 75 and 76).

[9] “大地主建立了自己的收租机构，小地主与他们合伙……到10月底，收租机构会来通知每个佃户当年应该交纳的地租数目。这件事会由专门的代理人来传达。这些代理人由机构雇佣，并由当地政府授予他们以警察一般的权力。”引自《江村经济——中国农民的生活》，费孝通著，纽约：杜冬出版公司，1939年，第188页。

[10] 与皮朗所描述的封闭经济时期欧洲中世纪的城镇相比：“显而易见，城镇首先是军事设施……战争爆发时，居民把它当作一个避难所，和平时期在此参加公众正义集会，或还清他们在这里所借的贷款。但是，城镇没有显示出丝毫的城市特征……在这种环境下，任何商业或工业都是不可能的，甚至是不可想象的。它不生产任何东西，依靠从周围的农村获得的税收来维持，除了作为一个单纯的消费者之外，没有任何经济上的作用。”引自《中世纪的城市》，亨利·皮朗著，普林斯顿：普林斯顿大学出版社，1925年，第75、76页。

[11] D. K. Lieu, in his recent China's Economic Stabilisation and Reconstruction [New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1948], does not quite agree with Fei's picture of the typical landlord. "While there are landlords who exploit tenants, the worst kind of exploiters, both of tenants and small farmers, are the professional money lenders…. In some sample studies made before the war, the rate of interest charged by these rural Shylocks was from 50 to 100 per cent per annum, or many times the rate on bank loans in the cities, which was from 10 to 15 per cent before the war.... While miserly landlords often lend money to their tenants on the same terms as the money lenders, they are comparatively few. It is to their interest to keep the tenants from being unduly burdened with debt, which would affect the latter's work on the farm, and thus also affect the rent to be collected, especially if it is on a share-cropping basis. Besides, the landlords, particularly the larger ones, have their social standing, and would not like to be regarded as belonging to the same class as the money lender…. In some cases, however, landlords may lend to independent farmers, with the object of obtaining possession of their land, since these farmers, when they are heavily burdened with debt, are usually compelled to sell their land for debt settlement; but such scheming landlords are not very common" (pp. 42–43).

[12] 刘大钧在他最近出版的《中国的经济稳定与重建》（新泽西新布朗斯维克：鲁特格斯大学出版社，1948年）一书中，不太赞同费先生对典型地主的描述：“虽然地主剥削佃户，但是剥削佃户和小农户最厉害的是那些职业的放贷者……在战前做的一些案例分析中，这些农村的‘夏洛克’们收取的年利息一般是50%—100%，比城里银行10%—15%的战前利息高出很多倍……虽然吝啬的地主经常以与放高利贷者相同的条件借钱给佃户，这样的人相对很少。避免让佃户背上过重的债务也符合地主的利益，因为那样会影响佃户种地，因而影响收租，特别是在共同耕种的情形下更是如此。而且，地主——尤其是较大的地主——有一定的社会地位，不愿意与放高利贷的人混为一谈……在有些情况下，地主可能把钱借给自耕农，目的是想占有他们的土地。因为当这些农民债务累累时，他们经常被迫卖地来偿还债务。但是这种狡诈的地主并不多见”（第42—43页）。

[13] "The intimate relation between the periodic market and local production, which is overwhelmingly agricultural, is shown in the monthly sales record for livestock for the year 1932 in central market Sun-chia-chen. Sales fluctuations correspond entirely to the local agricultural calendar.... During the sowing season, fertiliser, hoes, plows, and other market implements connected with the work of the season are sold widely on markets. In harvest seasons, the markets are abundantly supplied with sickles, ropes for bundling stalks, screens and mats for threshing grains. Immediately after harvest, when farm work is in a temporary lag, markets are alive with cardboards for making shoes, cotton yarns and shuttles and other weaving supplies, silk threads and other sewing articles....

"Among the total traders of eleven markets, in one market day, 69.8 per cent of them came to sell their own service and products, both agricultural and handicraft....

"Inquiry into thirty-seven farm families shows that thirty-three rely entirely upon the periodic markets for disposing of their agricultural products; and only four, whose farms are larger than the rest, sell about 25 per cent of their grains directly to merchants…. Products of home industry such as hand loomed cloth, home-made shoes and sewing materials, depend on the market as the sole outlet" (Ching-kun Yang, A North China Local Market Economy: A Summary of a Study of Periodic Markets in Chowping Hsien, Shantung [New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1945], pp. 10–11).

[14] "中心集市孙家镇1932年每月牲畜买卖的记录表明了定期集市与当地产品（主要是农产品）的密切关系。买卖的波动与当地的农业节气完全吻合。……在播种季节，肥料、锄头、犁以及其他与播种有关的用具在集市上广泛出售。在收获季节，集市上则大量供应镰刀、捆庄稼的绳子、筛子和打谷用的席子。收获季节刚过，到了农闲季节，集市上又出现了做鞋用的纸板、棉纱、梭子和其他纺织用品、丝线和其他缝纫物品……

"在11个集市的所有商人中，一天内有 69.8%的人出售自己的劳动或产品，包括农产品和手工业品……

"对37户农家的调查表明，有33户完全依靠定期集市来处置他们的农产品；只有4户拥有较多农田的人把25%的粮食直接卖给商人。……家庭工业产品例如手织布、自制的鞋和手工缝制的物件只能依靠集市出售。"引自《华北的地方集市经济：山东邹平县定期集市研究》，杨庆堃著，纽约：太平洋国际学会，1945年，第10—11页。

[15] "I possess no sufficient data on the family background of those who form the first line of contact with Western traders, but I strongly suspect that those 'secondhand foreigners,' were, at least for the early period, recruited from the outcasts of the traditional structure, who had lost their positions and sought their fortune by illegal means. Treaty ports are open to them. If they find regular employment in the community, such as servants or interpreters in a foreign concern, they gradually become compradors, or first-boys; if they fail, they form gangs. They live in, and take advantage of, the margin of cultural contact. They are half-caste in culture, bilingual in speech, and morally unstable. They are unscrupulous, pecuniary, individualistic, and agnostic, not only in religion, but in cultural values" (Hsiao-tung Fei, "Peasantry and Gentry," American Journal of Sociology, LII [July, 1946], 14).

[16] Compare this with the imperialism of ancient Rome. "All this brilliant expansion of urban civilisation had in it the seeds of its own decline. It was an external and superficial development, like that of Modern European civilisation in the East, or in the eighteenth century Russia. It was imposed from above, and was never completely assimilated by the subject populations. It was essentially the civilisation of a leisured class, the urban bourgeoisie and their dependents, and though the process of urbanisation promoted the advance of civilisation, it also involved a vast increase of unproductive expenditure and a growing strain on the resources of the empire. As Professor Rostovtzeff has said, every new city meant the creation of a new hive of drones" (Christopher Dawson, The Making of Europe [London: Sheed & Ward, 1932], p. 12).

[17] "对于那些与西方商人直接接触的人，我没有关于他们家庭背景的足够材料，但我可以充分地料想，那些'二手洋人'，至少在初期，主要是来自被传统社会排斥的人群，他们在社会中已经丧失了地位，试图通过非法手段捞取利益。通商口岸对他们开放。如果他们在社区里找到正常的工作，例如给洋人当差或当翻译，他们就逐渐变成了买办；如果找不到工作，他们就组成帮会。他们生活在文化接触的边缘，同时也在利用这个边缘。他们在文化上处于中间地带，操两种语言，道德上处于不稳定状态。不仅在宗教上，而且在文化价值上，他们都肆无忌惮，推崇金钱、个人主义和不可知论。"引自费孝通，《农民与士绅》，载于《美国社会学学刊》第52卷，1946年7月，第14页。

[18] 以此与古代罗马的帝国主义相比较。"所有这些明智的城市文明的扩张都埋有自取毁灭的种子。这是一种外部和表面的发展，像东方或18世纪俄罗斯的现代欧洲文明。这是由上层强压下来的，从未被下级百姓完全吸收。它本质上是有闲阶级、城市资产阶级及其仆从的文明，虽然都市化进程促进了文明的进步，但是它也导致了非生产性花费的大量提高以及帝国资源吃紧的不断升级。正如罗斯托夫教授所说，每一个新的城市都意味着创造出一个新的蜂巢。"引自《欧

洲的诞生》，克里斯托弗·唐森著，伦敦：席德与沃德出版社，1932年，第12页。

Chapter Six Rural Livelihood: Agriculture and Handicraft

第陆章 乡村生计：农业与手工业

With regard to the relationship in China between rural and urban areas, there are two distinct points of view, the first holding that rural and urban areas complement each other and are mutually beneficial, the second maintaining quite the reverse—that they are antagonistic.

Theoretically, of course, rural and urban communities are necessarily related integral parts of the whole country. Villages are the places where the agricultural products necessary for the subsistence of the country are produced, while those who stay in the city are not engaged in agriculture and depend upon a food supply from the country. Thus the urban communities are markets for the village produce, and the more developed the market, the higher will be the value of the food consumed and the more profit will result for the villages. Urban centers are also industrial centers for which raw materials such as soybeans, tung oil, cotton, and tobacco may be produced in the rural areas. These raw materials for industry sometimes have an even higher value than the foodstuffs produced and are then a cash crop. When

modern industry develops in the city, its hinterland has the opportunity to develop crops of this sort according to the nature of the soil and other conditions. On the other hand, industrial products, manufactured goods over and above those needed for supplying the urban dwellers, will for the most part go to the countryside. Thus, there will be a constant exchange of raw materials and food for manufactured goods, a type of rural-urban trade which raises the standard of living for both sides.

The theory of the complementary nature of countryside and city is one generally accepted. Thus, if the Chinese standard of living is to be raised, the strengthening of urban-rural economic relations is of paramount importance. Most Chinese are still living in rural areas and are engaged in agriculture. To increase the income of these people, it is important to expand their exports to the cities and also to develop Chinese industry in the cities so as to enlarge the market for rural products.

But, judging from recent Chinese history, the development of the Chinese city seems not to have promoted rural prosperity. On the contrary, the rise of modern Chinese cities has been paralleled by the decline in Chinese rural economy. In the first few years of the last war with the Japanese, when most of the modern coastal cities were occupied and economic relations between rural and urban areas were cut off by blockade, a period of recovery, if not of prosperity, appeared in the Chinese villages. This seems to prove that the relation between urban and rural areas in China is to the disadvantage of the latter. If this view is correct, then, for the sake of the Chinese rural population, the lighter the connection between country and city, the better for the country.

关于中国乡村和都市的关系，有两种明显的观点：一种认为乡村和都市互补互利；另一种则恰恰相反，认为二者相敌对。

当然，在理论上，一个国家的乡村和都市本是相关的一体。乡村是国家生存所需的农产品的生产基地，生活在都市的人不从事农业，依靠来自乡下的食物供给。这样城市社区就成了农产品的市场，市场越发达，粮食的价值就越高，乡村也就获利越多。都市还是工业中心，工业原材料如大豆、桐油、棉花和烟草等在乡村产出。这些工业原料有时比乡村产的食物价值更高，于是被称为经济作物。随着城市现代工业的发展，其内陆地区可以根据土壤性质和其他条件等因地制宜发展这类作物。另一方面，都市里的工业制造品除了供给市民外，剩余的大部分都流入了乡村，这样便有了工业制造品和乡村的粮食及原材料的持续交

换，这是一种使双方生活水平都能得到提高的城乡间的贸易。

城乡互补的理论基本能被接受。因此，如果要提高中国人民的生活水平，那么加强城乡经济联系是首要的。大多数中国人仍生活在乡村，以农业为生，要增加他们的收入，就要增大对都市的农产品输出，并发展都市工业以扩大农产品市场。

但是从最近的中国历史来看，中国都市的发展似乎并没有促进乡村的繁荣。相反，都市兴起和乡村经济衰落并行。在抗日战争最初几年，大多数现代沿海都市被占领，城乡经济联系被封锁、中断，而中国乡村有一度的喘息（如果不说是繁荣）。这像是证明了在中国城乡之间的联系对乡村是不利的。如果这种观点正确，那么对乡村人口来说，城乡联系越少，对乡村越有利。

To me there is truth in both these points of view. The first theory applies to economic relationships in a normal situation; the latter, to the present situation in China. Let us analyze the rural economy on the basis of which the relationship which should have provided prosperity for both sides has failed and has even caused disaster in the villages.

• DISTRIBUTION OF LAND AND THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE

When one comes to examine the economic decline of the country, what strikes one most forcefully is the system by which tenant farming is carried on. When a man has no land of his own and rents land from others, he generally has to give at least one-half of his main crop to the landlord as rent. Is such a rent high? Let us see what this amounts to in relation to total income. I shall take one village as an example. In Kiang-ts'un, a village near Lake Tai midway between Nanking and Shanghai, the average area cultivated by each peasant family is 8.5 *mow*, which is equivalent to 1.29 English acres. The average production of rice is forty bushels per acre, each bushel weighing 67 pounds, a rich harvest in China. Thus every peasant family in good times will produce on the average about 51.6 bushels of rice. The average size of a farm family is 4.1, which, referring to the consumption of food, is equivalent to 2.9 adult males (according to the Atwater scale, which has been adjusted by us). On the average, every male adult eats 7 bushels of rice, or 470 pounds, while an average family will consume 20.3 bushels of rice. Subtracting the quantity consumed from the total amount produced gives

us 31.3 bushels. Now in case the land is rented rather than owned, the normal rent will amount to one-half the total, or 25.8 bushels. After paying the rent and reserving the amount needed to feed the family, there will be no more than 5.5 bushels of rice left. We may presume the value of supplementary products, including handicrafts, to be equivalent to about 10 bushels of rice. Thus, after the rice is eaten and the rent paid, what the family can spend amounts to about the value of 15.5 bushels of rice. Is this enough to live on, assuming that the items of general expenditure for a Chinese farmer are proportionately as follows: 42.5 per cent for rice, 42.5 per cent for other expenses, and 15 per cent for agricultural reinvestment? According to this, a family probably needs the amount of money equivalent to the value of 20.5 bushels of rice for other expenditures besides that employed for basic subsistence. If a family has no other income besides that from the farm, it will probably lack the value of 12.9 bushels of rice.[1] In order for such a family to survive, it must either find other sources of income or go into debt.

对于我来讲，上述两种观点都有其正确性。第一种理论适用于正常情况下的经济关系；第二种适用于中国目前的情形。本应为双方都带来繁荣的城乡关系失败了，甚至在乡村引起了灾难。让我们以此为基础来研究一下这种乡村经济。

• 分田与人民的福利

研究乡村经济的衰退时，最能引人注意的一点是租种土地的制度。当一个人自己没有土地而是从别人那里租地时，他一般要拿出收成的一半来交租。这样的租金高吗？我们来看一下它与全部收入的关系。我以一个村子为例。在江苏南京和上海之间太湖流域的一个村子里，每个农户耕种的土地平均为8.5亩，相当于1.29英亩。平均每英亩可产大米40蒲式耳，1蒲式耳相当于67磅，这在中国算是收成很好了。所以，年景好的时候，平均每个农户的大米产量是51.6蒲式耳。每户平均人口为4.1人，平均消耗粮食相当于2.9个成年男子的消耗量（依阿特沃特能量价值体系标准修正后折合）。每个成年男子平均消费7蒲式耳或470磅米，每户平均消费20.3蒲式耳米。从全部收成中减去消费的数量之后，还剩31.3蒲式耳米。现在假设土地是租来的而非自有的，地租一般是收成的一半，即25.8蒲式耳米。除去地租和一家口的粮食之外，至多仅剩5.5蒲式耳米。我们可以假定一下其他作物产量的价值，包括手工艺品，大致相当于10蒲式耳米。这样，除去地租和消费的粮食以外，每个家庭可以花费的大约相当于15.5蒲式耳米的价值。假定一个中国农民的各项花费

比例是42.5%用于吃饭，42.5%用于其他消费，15%用于农业投资，那么这个数目够用吗？这样看来，除了基本生存费用外，一个农户还需要相当于20.5蒲式耳米的钱用作其他消费［参照费孝通著《乡土中国与乡土重建》，此数据应为28.4蒲式耳（1993年，第187页）——编者注］。如果一户人家除了从地里获得的收入以外再无其他收入，那么他们大约缺少价值相当于12.9蒲式耳米的家用。[2]这样一个家庭如果要生存下去，只能是要么寻找其他收入来源，要么负债。

It is true that, if the farm is somewhat larger, the surplus after the farmer has paid his rent will be somewhat increased. But not only is the amount of land available for cultivation restricted but under present farming techniques the area of the farms is limited to that amount of land which the farm families themselves can cultivate. In an analysis made by us in some villages in Yunnan of the problem of farm labor in the busy seasons of the year, it was found that husband and wife by themselves could cultivate only 3 *mow* of land. In other words, if they wished to run a larger farm, they must either hire help or exchange their labor for extra help in the busy season. The amount of land cultivated thus depends not only on availability but also on the labor force. Generally speaking, the area which a family can cultivate by themselves cannot exceed by very much the amount cultivated by the average farmer of Kiang-ts'un.[3] Landlords who own comparatively large areas of land are not able to cultivate the land by themselves but usually split the land up into small pieces which they rent out to tenants. Thus, from the point of view of management, the problem is not so much one of redistribution of land as of improved techniques of cultivation and of organization.

Actually, even an equable distribution of land among all the inhabitants of a village would not in most cases increase the area of the average farm by very much. Compared to areas farmed in the West, even the amounts of land held by so-called "wealthy landlords" tend to be insignificant.[4] A redistribution of land would not relieve the pressure of population upon the resources provided by agriculture. The need to decrease the population of the rural areas would remain in force.[5] Yet it would be a mistake to think that, because the redistribution of lands would not increase the area of the farms by very much, owning their own land would contribute nothing to the welfare of the people. According to my statement above, if the farmers of Kiang-ts'un did not need to pay rent, they probably could live fairly well on what they themselves produced. The value of the harvest and of handicrafts together

being equivalent to 61.6 bushels of rice, this would allow 20.3 bushels of rice for food, 20.3 bushels for consumer's goods, and 8.4 bushels for agricultural reinvestment. And this would allow them the minimum standard of well-being described by the phrase, "not hungry, nor freezing."

如果农田面积大一些，那么交租后剩余的粮食的确就会多一些。但是不仅可耕种土地的面积有限，而且在目前的农业技术下，农村家庭自身耕种土地的能力也有限。我们在对云南乡村在农忙季节的劳动力问题的分析中发现，夫妇两人只能耕种三亩地。换句话说，如果他们想种更多的地，在农忙季节，他们只能或雇佣别人，或交换劳动来获得帮手。因此耕种土地的数量不仅取决于可耕地数量，还取决于劳动力的组织。一般来讲，一个农户自己所能耕种的土地面积，不会大大超过江苏农民的平均水平。[6]具有相对而言大面积耕地的地主自己不能耕种，经常把地分成小块租给别人种。这样从管理的角度讲，就不仅仅有土地再分配的问题，更有提高耕种和组织技术的问题。

实际上，即使在村民之间平均分配土地，通常农户平均耕种的土地面积也不会增加太多。比起西方国家的耕地，即使是所谓的“大地主”所拥有的土地面积也是微不足道的。[7]土地的重新分配不会减轻农业资源的人口压力。减少农村人口的需求依然有效。[8]但是认为由于土地再分配不能使农户耕种面积增加多少，所以拥有自己的土地对于农民的生活质量并没有益处的观点是错误的。根据我前面讲到的，如果江苏农民不必交地租，那么地里的收成也许就可以让他们生活得很好。收获的粮食和手工艺品的价值加起来相当于61.6蒲式耳米，其中20.3蒲式耳米用于食物，20.3蒲式耳米用于消费品，8.4蒲式耳米用于农业投资，这样农民的生活就能达到小康的最低水准，即“不饥不寒”。

• RURAL LIVELIHOOD—HANDICRAFTS AND AGRICULTURE

If the foregoing analysis is correct, tenant farmers cannot rely upon the products of their land alone for maintaining even a minimum standard of living. But tenant farming has existed in China for a long time. Why did not the problems connected with it become really serious until about twenty or thirty years ago? I believe that difficulties in rural economy did exist from very early times but that, in the traditional rural livelihood, there was a factor which prevented serious conflict between landlord and tenant. This factor was the rural industry or handicrafts, mentioned before as a supplement to

farm incomes. China has never been a purely agricultural nation. As far back as the time of Mencius, the peasants were being urged to plant mulberry bushes at their homesteads for the production of silk.[9] China's early lack of interest in commercial relations with the West rested partly upon her self-sufficiency in producing both raw materials and finished products for the necessities of life. These necessities were not produced in large-scale manufactories, to be sure, but were scattered throughout numerous villages. Besides the specialized products of certain regions, such as the raw silk known to the English as *tsatlee*, which came from a small district near Lake Tai, the tea of Lung Ching, and the china of Ching-te-chen, widespread rural industries,[10] such as cotton-spinning, were carried on by many farm families very largely within the home. In my youth I helped my grandmother spin cloth, and among my mother's marriage gifts there was a spinning wheel. The fact that these manufactures were scattered among the various families was probably an obstacle in the way of improving them but an important fact in the traditional livelihood of China. The additional income from such family industries gave the farmers who had insufficient land to support them enough to live on.

Let us return to the problem of the small size of the average Chinese farm. We may say that the direct cause of this is that the rural population is too large. Why is this so? Some people may regard this as a foolish question in that they think that the growth of population is a biological rather than a social phenomenon. Or, again, they may see the basic cause of overpopulation in the value placed by traditional Confucianism on a large family. But from the point of view of labor requirements there is, as I indicated above, still another answer to this question. Rural activities are quite seasonal. The farmer's busy time, when more labor is needed to get the work done, alternates with the farmer's slack time. The difference between the amount of labor needed for the busy time and the slack time is great. Actually, the number of people in the village is just enough, with present techniques of cultivation, to enable the people to cultivate their farms at the periods of special activity. Thus, from the point of view of agricultural production, the population of the Chinese rural districts is not too large. In fact, during the latter part of the Sino-Japanese War there was a shortage of labor in a number of villages. Not only were many men conscripted but some fled their homes to avoid conscription. Unless there is an improvement in agricultural techniques, the population of the rural districts is not likely to

increase. And yet there are certainly too many people to permit all to enjoy a good standard of living. Even though agriculture demands a large labor force for short periods, there remains about two-thirds of the year when there is no work for the extra laborers. As a result, there is periodic unemployment. We are "spreading out over a year all the labor which is needed for just the busy time."

- 乡村生计——手工业和农业

如果前面的分析是正确的，那么佃户就不能仅仅依靠地里的收成来维持哪怕最低的生活水平。但是，佃户在中国有着漫长的历史，为什么有关佃户的问题直到二三十年前才变得特别严重起来呢？我认为乡村经济的艰难的确在早期就已存在，但是在传统的乡村生活中，有一种因素防止了地主和佃农之间矛盾的恶化，这个因素就是乡土工业——乡村的工业和手工业，就是前面讲到的农业的附加收入。中国从来都不是一个纯粹的农业国。早在孟子时代，农民被要求在他们的宅地附近种上桑树以养蚕织丝。[11]中国早期对发展与西方的商业联系缺乏兴趣，部分原因是在原材料和生活必需的制成品方面实现了自给自足。可以肯定的是，这些必需品不是产自大型的制造厂，而是分散于无以计数的村子里。除了某些地区的特产外，如太湖附近某一小地方的生丝（英语中称为tsatlee“辑里丝”）、龙井茶、景德镇的瓷器，广泛分布的乡村工业[12]——如纺纱业——大部分是由很多农户在家里完成的。我年轻的时候曾帮祖母纺过纱，而我母亲的嫁妆中就有个织布机。制造工业分散在家庭里可能阻碍了生产技术的提高，但这却是中国传统生计中的一个重要事实。从家庭工业中得到的额外收入使得土地不足的农家足以生存下来。

让我们回到农民的平均耕地面积小这一问题上来。我们可能会说直接原因是乡村人口太多。为什么会这样呢？有些人会认为这是个愚蠢的问题，因为他们觉得这是一个生物学的而非社会的现象。或者他们又会认为，人口过多的基本原因是受了传统儒家大家庭观念的影响。但是从劳动力需求的角度来讲，正像我前面提到的，这个问题还有另一个答案。农作活动很具有季节性，农忙农闲互相交替，忙时需要更多的劳动力来完成工作。两个时期需要的劳动力差别很大。实际上，根据目前的耕作技术，乡村的人数刚刚够应付特定时期的耕种活动。这样，从农业生产来讲，中国乡村地区的人口数量并不太大。实际上，在抗战后期，有些村子还缺乏劳动力。很多男人参加了军队，还有人为逃避参军而离开了家。除非有农业技术上的改进，农村人口不易增多［参照费孝通著《乡土中国与乡土重建》，应为“否则农村人口不易减少”（1993年，第

190页）——编者注］。不过，要使每个人都能过上好生活，目前的人口当然就太多了。虽然农业在短期内需要大量的劳动力，多余劳动力一年中仍有三分之二的时间无事可做。于是就有了阶段性的失业。这就是“养工一年，用在农忙”。

In the past this extra labor occupied itself with handicrafts. Rural industry, co-operating with agriculture and sharing with agriculture its source of labor, was able to maintain the local economy in a healthy state. In this case, even though the landlord took his half of the produce of the land, there would still be no unrest among the people. Those who are critical of the part played by the landlord may regard the existence of the rural handicrafts as affording simply an opportunity for the landlord to squeeze more from his tenants. But, from the point of view of economics, there was a genuinely organic adjustment of agricultural techniques, the demand for labor, the size of the population, the area of the farms, the rural handicrafts, the amount of rent, and the rights of the landlords. So long as such an adjustment gave the people a standard of living which was "not starving, nor freezing," traditional Chinese society could be maintained. Any economic system which did not maintain such a minimum standard could not have endured.

• THE TRADITIONAL MECHANISM OUT OF GEAR

During the last one hundred years the traditional mechanism or organic adjustment mentioned above has begun to break down. How did the breakup begin? I should say that the one important gear broken was that of the rural handicrafts. Other parts, such as agricultural technique, size of population, farm area, amount of rent collected, and the rights of the landlord, have remained relatively unchanged. Following the decline in rural industry, the traditional adjustment which had maintained a minimum standard of decent living for the peasants no longer functioned.

过去，剩余劳动力从事乡土工业。与农业配合并与其分享劳动力资源的乡土工业，能够保持地方经济的健康状态。在这种情况下，即使地主拿走一半收成，农民并不感到不安。那些对地主的作用持批判态度的人也许会认为，乡土工业的存在只是给地主提供了进一步榨取佃户的机会。但是从经济的角度来看，农业技术、劳动力需求、人口数量、耕地面积、乡土工业、地租多少和地主权利等因素是一个真正有机的配合。只要这种配合能使人们过上“不饥不寒”的生活，传统的中国社会就能维

持。任何一种无法维持这种最低限度民生的经济制度都不能长久。

• 传统机制的脱栓

在过去的上百年中，传统机制或前面提到的有机配合开始破坏。这种破坏是如何开始的呢？应该说，一个重要的脱栓齿轮就是乡土工业。其他的部分，如农业技术、人口数量、耕地面积、地租多少以及地主的权利，相对都没有什么变化。随着乡土工业的衰退，曾经维持农民最低生活水平的传统的有机配合已不再起作用。

It is easy to see that the decline in rural industries was the result of competition with Western, highly mechanized industries, since with their large-scale production they were able to decrease costs and improve the quality of their products. "Local products" became the synonym for inferior. How could the homemade goods compete with the handsome, cheap, and often even more durable foreign goods? The fact that the market for handicrafts was taken over by foreign goods gave to those who could afford to buy them a higher standard of living while at the same time it created unemployment in numerous villages. The ruin and poverty which followed the decline in rural industries resulted from a purely impersonal force against which there was no way to rebel or to defend one's self. If a countrywoman who has spun some cloth cannot find anyone to buy from her, whom can she blame? She will simply sigh and cease to spin. She will have to put all her hopes on the harvest from the land. But when the earth must bear the expense for the whole family, the difficulties which result from the traditional system of landholding and rental come sharply to the fore. The landlord has not lost the right of collecting rents, and, moreover, the rents have not even been reduced. In the traditional society landlords are not producers; they are "fed by others." In a changed situation they do not lower their demands. On the contrary, stimulated by the influx of imported goods, they have raised their standard of living and consume more than ever before. They will not easily give up the income they derive from rents. But when they go to the country to collect these rents, they find that their tenants are no longer so docile. How can they be? If they pay their rent, they will be faced by famine. If they are to maintain their very lives, there must be conflict between them and the landlords. The landlords, on the other hand, do not understand why the attitude of their tenants has changed. The unwillingness of the tenants to pay the established rental seems to them quite unreasonable. But in the eyes of

the tenants the landlord who comes to collect their last grain of rice becomes a sort of devil who bears folk away to death. The fact is that noiselessly and invisibly the invading foreign industries have dislocated the traditional mechanism by doing away with the rural handicrafts, which, unbeknown to the landlords, all this time enabled them to enjoy their special privilege.

The force dislodging the rural industries is both powerful and deeply penetrating. Behind it are big battleships and guns, the "imperialism" of well-organized industrialized countries. The traditional handicraft worker who is also a farmer lives in scattered villages, belongs to no organization, and has no power of modern science to help him. It is an ironic fact that the power and the influence of the landlords are very weak compared to those of foreign industrialism. But the landlord is near at hand, and, in order to live, the peasant must resist him. Thus the land problem of China becomes more difficult day by day.

显而易见，乡土工业的衰退是与西方高度机械化工业竞争的结果，因为机械化大生产可以降低成本和提高产品质量。“地方货”成了次等品的代名词。家庭制品怎么能与漂亮、便宜而通常又更耐用的洋货相比呢？手工业品的市场被洋货市场代替，这提高了那些买得起洋货的人的生活水平，同时也产生了大量的失业农民。乡土工业衰落后的没落和贫困，纯粹是由非个人的力量所造成的，农民无法与之对抗或者是自我保护。如果一个织土布的农妇找不到买布的人，那么她能怪谁呢？她只能叹息，停止织布，完全指望田地的收成。但是，当田地要负担整个家庭的花销时，那些在占有土地和收取地租的传统体制中出现的问题就会变得非常尖锐。地主没有丧失收取地租的权利，而且地租甚至也没有降低。在传统社会中，地主不是生产者，他们“食于人”，在变化了的形势下，他们没有降低要求。相反，在大量涌入的进口货的刺激下，他们的生活水平有所提高，消费也随之前所未有地提高了。他们不会轻易放弃从出租的田地中获得的收益。但是，当他们到乡村去收租的时候，发现佃户不像以前那么温顺了。他们又怎么能温顺呢？如果交出地租，就面临着饥荒；要维持自身的生计，就肯定会与地主发生矛盾。另一方面，地主并不明白为什么佃户的态度改变了，佃户不愿交早已定好的租金对他们来讲毫无道理。但是，在佃户的眼里，来收他们最后一粒米的地主，就像是置人于死地的魔鬼。事实是，外国工业的入侵，通过抑制乡土工业，在无形之中毫无声息地扰乱了传统的运作机制。地主自己并不知道，一直以来是乡土工业使他们得以享受特权。

驱逐乡村工业的力量既有力又深入，它的背后是战舰和枪炮，是组

织良好的工业国家的“帝国主义”。传统的手工业者是居住在分散的村子里的农民，不属于任何组织，也得不到现代科学的帮助。比起外国产业制度的威力，地主的力量和影响是太微弱了，这是一个具有讽刺意味的事实。但是，地主近在咫尺，为了生存，农民只能起来反抗他。这样中国的土地问题就变得一天比一天严重。

- THE REASONABLE WAY OUT FOR THE LANDLORD CLASS

"Not starving, nor freezing" is, we must confess, a minimum standard of living for the people. Since the right of man to live is recognized, the right to struggle for such a living standard ought to be recognized as just and reasonable. This is the fundamental basis of the doctrine of "people's livelihood." But China is being constantly drained of her wealth. Her original industrial productivity, far from making the country people well-to-do, has made them "rather poor," and from rather poor the descent has been to "very poor," and from very poor to the lowest depths of poverty. Since the prosperity of the country has been eroded away in this way, it is not strange that the peasants are demanding their right to have back as high a standard of living as that which they had formerly.

Under such conditions, if we cannot revive our declining industries, those of the landlord class who have been depending upon income from rents must sooner or later be attacked and then eliminated. Landlords who cannot themselves cultivate the land can only rent their land out to others. Yet this piece of land will not feed both the landlord and his tenant at one and the same time. The landlord cannot find a way to eliminate the tenant and get income directly from the land, but the tenant can cultivate the land without the assistance of the landlord. Therefore, in a struggle between landlord and tenant, the tenant will probably win. Since the tenant system in China is not built up on the basis of a surplus of produce from the land but rather is supported by the surplus income derived from rural industries, rural industries really determine the basic rents for land and, in fact, the future of the landlord class. It is true that the use of oppressive measures may for a short time bring about "forced agreements." But to employ force means additional expense at the moment and, moreover, leads to bitter and unlimited resistance in the future. Rent seizures do not offer a permanent solution.

- 地主阶级的合理出路

我们必须承认，“不饥不寒”是人民最低的生活标准。由于人拥有生存权，那么于情于理同样应该有争取这种最低生活标准的权利，这是“民生”主义的根本所在。但是中国一直消耗着财富，最初的工业生产力远不能使乡村的人民过上小康生活，反而使得人民“比较贫困”，后来就变成了“非常贫困”，最后降至最低点。由于乡村的繁荣就此受到侵蚀，所以农民要求过上以前那样的生活是不足为怪的。

在这种条件下，如果我们不使正在衰退的工业得到复苏，那么以收取地租为生的地主阶级最终要受到打击甚至毁灭。那些自己不能耕种土地的地主只能把地租给别人去种，然而一块地不能同时养活地主和佃户。没有佃户，地主就没有办法直接从地里获得收益，而佃户则可以不靠地主的帮助来耕种土地。因此，在佃户与地主的斗争中，佃户可能获胜。由于中国的租地体制不是建立在农业收入过剩的基础上，而是建立在来自乡土工业的额外收入的基础上，乡土工业实际决定了基本地租，事实上也决定了地主阶级的未来。利用强迫措施确实可以在短期内达到“被迫的同意”的结果，但是利用武力意味着当时将产生额外的费用，而且会引起将来强烈和无限的反抗。夺取地租不是永久的解决方法。

From the landlords' point of view the reasonable way out should not be to take action which will only hasten their own ruin but to try to adjust themselves to the changed circumstances and find some means of livelihood other than merely living on rents. If they had wished to continue in the old way, it would have been well to have struggled against the invasion of foreign industries in the very beginning. For their own protection, the landlord class, who are in such a critical situation, should give up the right of collecting rents from the peasants. Only in this way can the country as a whole gain the support of the peasants and their co-operation in overcoming the present economic crisis. The farsighted policy of Sun Yat-sen that "every cultivator should have his own piece of land" is the reasonable solution.

But the goal of Chinese rehabilitation should also be the reconstruction of her industries. And, in order to build up national industries, we must rebuild rural industries, so that our peasants, who make up 80 per cent of the population, can have a share in an improved standard of living. It is true that the destruction which is the result of civil war has made more difficult an increase in productivity. Yet the effort to rebuild industry must be made. The Chinese have endured and can continue to endure suffering, but simple

endurance seems hardly to be a reasonable ideal.

We see now how the development of modern cities with their flow of imported foreign goods, on the one hand, and large-scale manufacture of articles of daily necessity, on the other, has deprived the countryside of an important source of income. It is true that, if the growth of these modern cities had stimulated prosperity for agriculture by creating a greater demand for rural products and thus raising their price, it might have compensated rural industries for the injuries done to them. But unfortunately things have not worked out this way. It is true that the increase in population in the large cities has increased the demand for foodstuffs, but the farmer does not get more for his produce, since, owing to the very poor system of communications, it has been found cheaper to import food from foreign countries than to buy it locally.[13] Modern transportation in China seems mainly to connect consuming centers. Railroads connecting large cities parallel ancient lines of communication along the rivers rather than supplementing them, while rather primitive means of transport for the most part tend to connect rural and urban areas. Moreover, there is no direct connection between the modern city and the village, since the traditional town serves as a middleman.

对地主阶级来讲，理想的出路并不是要采取武力——那只会加速他们的灭亡，而是试着调整自己适应变化的环境，寻求收取地租以外的谋生手段。如果他们曾经希望依照旧方式继续下去，那么也许从一开始就应该抵制外国工业的入侵。为了保护自己，处于这种关键形势下的地主阶级，应该放弃向农民收取地租的权利。只有这样，整个乡土才能得到农民的支持以及通过互相合作来克服目前的经济困难。“耕者有其田”，孙中山这一富有远见的主张是合理的解决方法。

但是，中国复兴的目标还应该包括工业的复兴。为了建立民族工业，我们必须重建乡土工业，让占总人口80%的农民也能够分享生活水平的提高。虽然内战的破坏的确使得生产力难以提高，但仍要努力重建工业。中国人民一直在忍耐并能继续忍耐，但是仅仅耐苦似乎远不是合理的理想。

我们现在可以看出，随着外国商品的涌入以及日常用品的大规模生产而发展起来的现代都市是如何剥夺了乡村的一项重要收入来源。的确，如果这些现代都市的发展，通过促进农产品需求的增长并进而提高产品价格，而刺激了农业的繁荣，也许会对乡土工业所受损害有所补偿，但不幸的是，事实并非如此。大城市人口的增加扩大了对食品的需

求，但是农民并没有从农产品中得到更多利益，因为由于交通不便，人们发现从国外进口商品比从当地买更为便宜。[14]中国的现代交通似乎主要是把消费中心连接起来，连接大城市的铁路与古代沿河的交通路线平行，而不是对其进行补充，而城乡之间大多还是靠相当原始的交通工具相联系。而且，现代都市和乡村之间并不直接相连，因为传统的镇充当了它们之间的中介。

Here live in idleness the unproductive landowners who formerly bought manufactured goods from the countryside but now prefer Western-made goods. Garnering in the rural products as payment for rent or interest on loans, they send them to the city in exchange for foreign goods of which the country people catch never a glimpse or, if they do see them, are unable to purchase. Instead of having an expanding economy, life for the countryside is deteriorating, and the common folk are forced to cut down on the bare necessities of life. Under the present system any profits to be made from farm products will accrue to the middleman or speculator rather than to the producer, and the countryside continues to support those who consume modern manufactured goods, the *rentier* class, without gaining any benefit from modern industrialism for itself. It is true that the villagers have little use for such things as toothbrushes and tooth paste, foreign coffee or preserves, or ready-made foreign-style clothing, but they could make use, for example, of better tools of all sorts, seeds, fertilizers, blankets, warm knitted underwear, and leather shoes.

From this analysis we can see that, to some extent always, but even more at present, urban centers and rural areas are antagonistic to each other. And, if there is no great change in the future, this antagonism will continue; that is, the rural areas will continue to be at an economic disadvantage. Under these circumstances the severing of rural and urban relations is good for the villages but very bad for the cities. Knowing this, we can understand why during the recent war with the Japanese the villages in the interior of China had a period of prosperity and why Chinese rural co-operatives developed so quickly. This also explains why the Communist-controlled areas have not worried about the severing of rural-urban relations and the dislocation of Chinese town economy during the civil war. Taking the last one hundred years, Chinese cities and large towns have not achieved a sound productive base. They have been largely distributing centers for foreign goods. Although foreign goods have not reached rural areas in any large quantity, this has

drained the wealth of the country, since the foreign goods gained by exchange are consumed in the towns in place of local handicrafts. But when the relations between the townsfolk and villagers are cut off so that the townsfolk's sources of income are stopped, the importation of foreign goods must stop unless funds are obtained through relief or loans of various sorts. This cannot continue indefinitely.

镇上居住着闲散而不事生产的地主，他们先前从农村购得手工商品，现在则转向西方的商品。他们把当地租或高利贷利息收来的农产品储存起来，拿到城市交换外国商品，这些洋货农民见都没见过一眼，即使见了也根本买不起。因此，经济没有扩展，农民的生活正在恶化，他们不得不降低最低生活消费。在目前的体制下，从农产品中获得的任何利益，都会进入中间人或投机者的腰包，农民无从获利，乡村仍支撑着消费现代工业品的食利阶层，但自身却不能从现代工业中得到任何益处。牙刷、牙膏、咖啡、加工食品和做好的洋式服装确实对农民没有多大用处，但是他们可以使用各类更好的工具、种子、肥料、毯子、保暖内衣和皮鞋。

从以上的分析我们可以看出，在某种程度上，城市和乡村常常互相敌对，目前尤甚。如果将来没有巨大变化，这种敌对将会持续下去，也就是说，乡村仍旧会处在经济上的不利地位。在这种情况下，切断城乡联系对乡村有利而对城市有害。这样我们就能理解，为什么在最近的抗日战争时期，中国内地的一些乡村有过繁荣阶段，以及为什么乡村合作社会飞速发展。这也说明了为什么共产党占领的地区不担忧城乡联系的割断及内战时城镇经济的混乱。最近一百年来，中国的城市和大镇没有建立一个坚实的生产基础，只是外国商品的分发地。虽然洋货没有大量到达乡村，但已经攫取了乡村的财富，因为交换而来的洋货在城镇的消费代替了对当地手工业品的消费。当城镇居民和农民的联系被割断以至于城镇居民的收入来源停止时，如果没有各种救济或贷款资金，就要停止外国商品进口。这不会无限地持续下去。

• THE GROWING GAP BETWEEN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

Ever since the building of railways connecting the northern and southern parts of China, the separation of the three river basins as natural areas has gradually lessened. It is hard to believe that China will ever again be divided into north and south. But the separation between urban and rural areas which

has developed during the last one hundred years has become a new source of cleavage. During the war with Japan, Chinese troops practiced guerrilla warfare, occupying the interior and leaving rail lines and key points in the enemy's hands. Guerrilla tactics of this sort have an economic basis, as we have shown above. But, as a result of these wartime tactics, economic relations between town and country have become more and more disrupted. From a short-term view of the situation, the countryside is not suffering, since once the rural people are cut off from the towns much of their produce will be kept from moving out, and, as a result, they will have enough food to live on. This does not seem a very good way out, however. Once the rural areas are detached from the urban centers, they must rely entirely upon themselves. Self-sufficiency leads to security of a sort, but the price paid is the lowering of the standard of living and a return to a more primitive way of life. This does not seem to be the right solution for Chinese economic problems. Although the decision of the villages to rely wholly upon themselves will not actually decrease very much their already extremely low standard of living, it creates for the towns and cities which have lost their hinterland a very critical situation indeed. We must recognize that Chinese villagers tend to prefer the alternative of lowering their standard of living by self-sufficiency to that of keeping up relations with the town in that this latter means that they will be exploited by the townspeople and still have little chance to raise their standard of living.

The industry and the commerce of the modern cities are not supported by the consuming power of the rural producers. The markets for modern manufactured goods are among city and town dwellers, and the purchasing power of these people depends largely on income derived from the countryside in the form of rent and interest. The separation of the country from the town directly threatens those city dwellers who live on their income from the country and affects the traditional organization of town economy. In order to continue to maintain the traditional relations of town and country, it becomes necessary, then, for the *rentier* class to break the blockade, even if by force. And this, I understand, is one of the real causes for the present civil war, a war in which the traditional privileged class is fighting against the people who refuse to carry on their traditional obligations. As the conflict goes on, the antagonism which has accumulated for centuries becomes fiercer, and it seems that, unless there is a real change in Chinese economic structure, the proper relation between town and city cannot be established.

• 城乡差别的不断扩大

自从连接中国南北的铁路建成后，作为自然区域的三大河流流域的划分逐渐削弱，很难相信中国还会分成南北两方。但是近百年来城乡的分离，已经成为一种新的分裂。抗战时期，中国军队打游击战占领内陆地区，把铁路线和主要地点留给敌人。这种游击战术有一个经济的基础，正如我们前面讲到的。但是，这种战术的结果是导致城乡关系变得越来越混乱。短期来看，乡村并没有受苦，因为一旦乡村与城镇中断关系，很多农产品就不再运走，农民也就有了足够的食物来生存下去。但是，这看起来并不是一个好的解决办法。一旦城乡分离，他们必须要完全依靠自己。自给自足可以达到一种安全，但代价却是生活水平的降低和回到更为原始的生活中去，这似乎不是解决中国经济问题的正确方法。虽然乡村完全依赖自给的决定不会骤然降低他们业已很低的生活水平，却使已经失去腹地的市镇及城市的处境很危急。我们必须认识到，中国乡村侧重于自给自足，即使乡村居民降低生活水平也不愿意与城镇保持联系，因为这样就意味着他们要受城镇居民的剥削，同样没有提高生活水平的机会。

现代城市的工商业不是依赖农业生产者的消费能力。现代商品的消费市场是城镇居民，而这些居民的消费能力很大程度上要依靠以地租或利息形式从乡村所获得的收入。城乡分离直接威胁着这些从乡村获得收入并赖以为生的人，也影响了城镇经济的传统结构。为了继续保持城乡的传统关系，食利阶层有必要甚至利用武力来打通障碍。我认为这是目前内战的真正原因之一，这场内战是传统的特权阶层与拒绝执行传统义务的人们之间的斗争。随着矛盾的继续，积聚了几个世纪的敌对形势变得越来越激烈，好像中国经济结构不发生真正的变化，城乡的正常关系就不能建立起来。

Chinese economy cannot afford to stay in a situation which means bankruptcy of the town, the reduction of the village to more primitive conditions, and, taken as a whole, the decline of Chinese economy. The question is: How can urban-rural relations be restored? The direction which this restoration should take is quite clear: an effort should be made to realize the principle mentioned earlier—that rural and urban areas should mutually supplement each other in production and consumption. But to achieve this end is more difficult than to conceive it. Essentially the problem is how to change towns and cities into productive centers which can maintain themselves without continually exploiting the villages. From the point of

view of the rural areas, the problem is how to increase their incomes either by developing rural industry or by developing specialized agricultural cash crops. City and village are equally important; they should work together. But the initiative in making changes must come from the city. It is most essential that the character of the traditional town be changed from a group of parasitic consumers into a productive community in which the people can find some other source of income than that derived from the high rents for land and exorbitant interest on loans. In other words, the main issue is land reform.

中国经济不能处于城镇破产、乡村生活倒退、总之是经济衰退的状态中。问题是：怎样恢复城乡关系呢？复原的方向很明确，即努力实现前面讲过的原则——城乡在生产和消费上的互补，但是达到这一目的比构思这一目的要难得多。根本问题是如何将市镇和城市转变成可以维持自己的生产中心而不用去剥削乡村。对于乡村来讲，问题是如何通过发展乡土工业或专门的经济作物来增加收入。乡村和城市同等重要，应该携手合作，但是变革的动力必须来自城市。最为根本的是，传统城镇的特点应从一群寄生的消费者转变为一个生产社区，人们从中可以找到除了收取高地租和高利息以外的其他收入来源。换句话说，主要的问题还是在于土地改革。

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[1] See the comparative material on family budgets in three villages of Yunnan and the village of Kiang-ts'un in Hsiao-tung Fei and Chih-i Chang, Earthbound China (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), pp. 84–108 and 297–302. The explanation of the apparent discrepancy appearing in the figure “12.9” may lie in an assumption that part of the supplementary products are consumed by the family.

[2] 参阅前引费孝通、张之毅所著《被土地束缚的中国》（芝加哥：芝加哥大学出版社，1945年）一书中关于云南三村和江苏开弦弓村的家庭费用的相关资料，第84—108页和第297—302页。12.9这个数字存在明显出入，原因可能是假设一部分副产品由农家自己消费了。

[3] Ibid., chap. xiii, "Farm Labor," pp. 141–149.

[4] Li Tso-chow, in a paper on "The Big Landlords of Wei-Hsien, Shantung," republished in Institute of Pacific Relations, Agrarian China [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938], reports one family as owning 8,000 mow of land (or about 4,000 acres) by local standards of measurement; 24,000 by the official standard mow of China (pp. 15–17). In this same volume, Wu Sho-peng, in "Land Concentration in Northern Kiansu," reports landowners holding 10,000–20,000 mow (pp. 11–14). Yet the "lord" or rich man of the Yunnan village described by Fei in Earthbound China (pp. 278 and 296) became a rich enough man to build a large temple and large house by having acquired 300 mow of land. Merchants who are reported to have acquired "huge amounts of land" have bought up 300–500 mow.

[5] "The fundamental fact, it is urged, is of a terrible simplicity. It is that the population of China is too large to be supported by existing resources" (R. H. Tawney, Land and Labour in China [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1932], p. 103).

[6] 同上书，第8章“农业劳动”，第141—149页。

[7] 李索州在一篇关于《山东潍县的大地主》的论文中讲到，根据当地的测算标准，一户农家拥有8000亩地（或4000英亩），而根据官方的测算，每户拥有2.4万亩（载于《农业中国》，太平

洋国际学会再版，芝加哥：芝加哥大学出版社，1938年，第15—17页）。在这本文集中，吴少朋在《苏北的土地集中》一文中讲到，地主拥有1万—2万亩的土地（第11—14页）。但是费孝通在《被土地束缚的中国》中描写道，云南乡村的地主或富豪拥有300亩地就足以建造一座大的寺庙和房子（第278和296页）。据说获得了“大量土地”的富商是指买了300—500亩地的人。

[8] “要强调的这一基本事实极为简单，即中国的人口太多，而现有资源又无法支撑他们。”引自《中国的土地和劳工》，理查德·亨利·托尼著，伦敦：乔治·艾伦与昂温出版公司，1932年，第103页。

[9] "Let mulberry trees be planted about the homesteads with their five mau, and persons of fifty years may be clothed with silk" (James Legge, The Works of Mencius in The Chinese Classics [2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895], Vol. II, Part I, chap. iii, p. 13).

[10] Peasant Life in China discusses the importance of the silk industry in Kaihsienkung; Earthbound China gives an analysis of the economic role of the cottage industries of basketmaking and weaving and the larger-scale papermaking manufacture in villages of Yunnan.

[11] “五亩之宅，树之以桑，五十者可以衣帛矣。”引自《中国典籍》第2卷《孟子选集》，理雅各编译，牛津：克拉伦登出版社，1895年，第2版，［第1卷］上，第3章，第13页。

[12] 在《江村经济——中国农民的生活》一书中论及了开弦弓村的丝绸业的重要性；而《被土地束缚的中国》一书分析了云南乡村棉纺织业和大规模造纸业的经济作用。

[13] In 1928 an American commercial attaché wrote: "China grows enough wheat to keep all the flour mills in the country running at full capacity throughout the year, but only a fraction of this wheat can be gotten to the flour mills sufficiently cheaply to make it profitable for the mills to buy it....

"Even were the Shensi farmer to present his wheat to any of these Chinese flour mills, they could not afford to take it, so long as they would be obliged to pay the transportation costs in getting the wheat to their mills. They could, in all cases, better afford to go to the Dakota farmer and buy his wheat at the prevailing American market price and transport it a thousand miles across the Pacific, and several hundred miles up an interior waterway in China than to take the Shensi farmer's wheat as a gift" (Julean Arnold, Some Bigger Issues in China's Problems [Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1928], p. 1). This situation has hardly been improved in recent times, especially with the damage done to rolling stock by wartime destruction.

[14] 1928年一名美国使馆商务专员写道：“中国产出的小麦足以让全国的磨面机全年满负荷运转，但是只有一部分价格便宜、磨面厂买进后有利可图的小麦进入到面粉加工厂里来……

“即使陕西农民打算把小麦送到磨面厂，只要运输费用由厂主来出，磨面厂也收不起。无论如何，他们宁愿以美国的市场价去买达科他州农民种的小麦，然后跨过数千英里的太平洋，再沿几百英里国内水路运回来，也不愿接受白白赠送的陕西农民种的小麦”（《中国问题的几大方面》，安立德著，上海：商务印书馆，1928年，第1页）。这种情况近些年来并未得到很大改观，尤其是战争对交通运输损害很大。

Chapter Seven Social Erosion in the Rural Communities

第柒章 乡土社区的社会侵蚀

• EROSION: OF LAND AND OF MAN

Lilienthal, in his book on the TVA in America (*Democracy on the March*), uses the term "mining" to describe the methods of growing cotton on the played-out farmlands of the South, methods by which for the sake of a single crop the wealth of the soil was taken out and its riches exhausted. Even the addition of chemical fertilizers could not combat the evil effects of soil erosion accelerated by floods—floods at least in part directly due to the decrease in cover crops, deforestation, and the resulting lack of organic matter in the soil to make it hold water. It was through this sort of erosion that the soil of the Tennessee Valley, originally quite fertile, became barren and unproductive. Lilienthal's project for the TVA was to restore the organic equilibrium of nature, so that man should no longer attempt to defy nature but to understand and co-operate with her, and should bring it about that the river, whose floods had been a yearly threat, should now be harnessed for the service of man.

If I mention the TVA here, it is not so much in order to make clear Lilienthal's ideas as to draw an analogy between physical erosion of land as described by Lilienthal and the social process which is going on in China today. In China today we are interested in promoting the principles of soil conservation. But we shall also do well to extend this concept to rural life in general, that is, to the conservation and encouragement of talents and human resources. In considering the TVA experiment, it has become clearer to me that Chinese agriculture is not only a matter of techniques but also a system of customs, institutions, morality, and leadership which, in the past at least, worked together to maintain the life of China. But in the last one hundred years it seems to me there has been at work a process of social erosion suggesting that which went on in the Tennessee Valley. As a result have come poverty, illness, oppression, and suffering. In the traditional organization of society it appears we had a system under which most of the people could manage to live. It is true that standards of living were very low and that life was not without its hazards and disturbances. Yet there was achieved a stable organization of society in which most people did not starve and did not suffer excessively. This traditional way of life was built upon an economy which carefully served the land and preserved the fertility of mother-earth so that people could continue to live upon the land without destroying its richness. The Chinese attitude was not one of the exploitation of resources but rather of companionship with and adaptation to nature. From what I understand of Lilienthal's work, he seems to have been working toward a goal very close to the Chinese conception.

• 对土地和人的侵蚀

李林塞尔在他有关美国TVA计划（田纳西河流域管理局——译者注）的著作（《行进中的民主》）中，用“采矿”一词来描述业已贫瘠的南方农场的种棉方法：为使棉花生长良好，耗尽了土地的养料。即使增施化学肥料，也敌不过洪水加速侵蚀土地的恶劣后果。造成洪水的直接原因至少部分是由于地表植物减少，森林砍伐，导致土壤中有机成分缺乏，使得水土无法保持。正是由于这种侵蚀，田纳西河流域曾经肥沃的土地变得贫瘠，少有产出。李林塞尔的TVA计划意在恢复自然生态平衡，于是人们不应再试图违抗自然，而应理解和与自然合作，并且应该治理好每年洪灾泛滥的河流，造福人民。

我在此谈TVA计划，并不是为了把李林塞尔的观点弄清楚，而是为

了在他所描述的土地的物理侵蚀和中国今天正在经历的社会进程之间找到可类比之处。今天的中国对于改善土壤保持倍感兴趣，但我们还应该把这一概念推广到整个农村生活中去，即要对才智和人力资源给予维护和鼓励。在研究TVA计划时，我更清楚地认识到，中国的农业不仅是技术问题，还是传统、社会结构、道德及统治的问题，这些因素至少在过去共同维持了中国的生活。我认为近百年来，似乎存在与田纳西河流域类似的社会侵蚀，其后果是贫穷、疾病、压迫和苦难。在传统社会结构中，好像存在着一个大多数人都可以生存的体制。虽然生活水平很低，人们仍有可能遭受危险和骚乱，但却有一个稳定的社会结构，多数人不受饥饿和其他方面的过分煎熬。这种传统生活方式建立在人民悉心保护土地，保持养分，以便可以继续以土地为生且不破坏其肥力的经济之上。中国人的观念不是剥夺资源，而是追随和顺从自然。以我对李林塞尔的工作的理解，他所为之努力的目标与中国人的观念似是很接近的。

Any visitor who has had an opportunity to observe the life of a Chinese countryman cannot but perceive his close bonds with the soil. He carefully uses those things which grow from the land and then as carefully turns them back to the land. In this way human life is not a process of exploiting the earth but only a link in the organic circulation. And the fact that, when life has left a body, the corpse goes into the soil is a source of comfort. It seems there is a close bond between man and the land. This is doubtless one reason why it is so important for a man, when he comes to die, to go back to his own native spot, the place from whence he came. The stream of life of which everyone is a part flows parallel with the life of the earth, which has its own life.

In the folk society man and the land are linked by strong bonds of sentiment—an attachment called, in Chinese, the *sang* ("mulberry") and the *tzu* ("catalpa"), a name derived from the two varieties of trees (*sang* and *tzu*) traditionally in ancient China planted near the house.[1] Men, it is suggested, are like plants that take their nourishment from the land. But when the springtime of their growth is past and they come to the fall of life, they must return to the land, just as leaves of a plant fall and come in time to nourish its roots. Such a conception, in recognizing genuine ties between man and nature, emphasizes the fundamental unity of life. But when carried to extremes an attachment of this sort may appear unreasonable and even absurd, as, for example, when overseas Chinese laborers work day and night to send back money, penny by penny, and leave as their dying command that

their coffins be transported from afar back to their native spot. This kind of yearning to return even after death can hardly be appreciated by the West. But in Chinese traditional culture such a feeling is of supreme importance. Among my own forefathers there was one man who passed a high examination and was sent by the government to Yunnan to supervise the salt-mining industry. At that time Yunnan was a far frontier and, moreover, dangerous on account of the prevalence of malaria. In fact, my ancestor contracted malaria and died soon after his arrival. He had a younger brother who, when he heard the news, made up his mind to go to Yunnan and bring back the coffin of his brother. After working for several years to save up enough money for the trip, he set out, struggled through all kinds of difficulties in wild mountain country, and at last succeeded in having the coffin carried home. To accomplish this task, which to modern minds would appear quite unnecessary, he not only sacrificed his career, since he gave up his chance to take the government examinations, but even risked his life. In our family chronicle this exploit is written up as though it were the one really big thing which had been done in the family.

任何一个有机会观察乡村生活的人都不会不发觉，农民与土地有着紧密的关系。他们小心利用土地上长出的东西，又很仔细地将其返回土地。如此看来，人类生活并不是一个掠夺地力的过程，而是这有机循环中的一环。当生命离开身躯，尸体还要入土为安。人与土地之间似存在着一种紧密联系。这无疑解释了为什么人们快死时对回归故里一事这么看重，在什么地方出生，就要回到什么地方去。每个人都是生命长河的一部分，与土地自己的生命之流平行。

人和土地在乡土社会中有着强烈的情感联系，即一种桑梓情谊，“桑”和“梓”是古代人们种在家门口的两种树。[2]这使人想到，人同植物一样从地里吸取养料。当生命的春季过去、秋季到来时，他们必然要回归大地，正如落叶归根，滋养土地。这样的观念承认人与自然的真正纽带，强调了生命的根本统一。但是如果走向极端，这种情感可能变得无理甚至荒谬，比如，海外的华侨终日劳作，把钱一分一分攒起来寄回家里，死了也要大老远地把棺材运回家乡安葬，这种甚至连死后也要万本归原的愿望是西方人难以理解的，而在我们传统文化中却看得比什么都重要。我自己就有一个老祖，中了举，派到云南去监管采盐业。那时，云南是远疆，又有瘴气弥漫，相当危险。我那位老祖就受了瘴气的感染，到那里没多久就去世了。他的弟弟听到他的死讯后，决定去云南将哥哥的灵柩运回来。在辛苦数年攒足了路费后，弟弟出发了，穿过荒

山老林，历尽艰辛，终于成功把棺材运回家乡。为了完成这项在现代人看来多此一举的使命，他不仅放弃了参加科举考试的机会，牺牲了自己的前途，还冒了生命危险。在我们的家谱上，此举被大书特书，仿佛是历代事业中最伟大的一项。

It seems to me that one does not understand what the underlying feeling here is if one does not see that this strong sense of the importance of kinship ties is extended to a symbolic kinship between man and the earth. Better not to leave one's own place, but, if one goes, one must come back. Coming back from Europe in the steerage during the war, I met Chinese peddlers who had been living for years in France selling a certain type of jade. They could speak nothing but Chinese and had taken no part in the life of this foreign land. Instead they had struggled to save every penny they could in order to send it home where their relatives put it into the building of fine houses. When the Nazis dosed the borders, they risked their very lives to see that the money got out, and now, old and worn out, they were going home, not to enjoy life but merely to die.

From the peasant's first act of the morning in collecting manure from the streets to the putting of a coffin in the ground, all is part of the same big cycle of nature and of man's attachment to the soil. And it is the strength of this relationship which to my mind has maintained Chinese culture throughout the years. I hope, however, the reader will not misunderstand me as advocating this type of attitude. I wish merely to emphasize the existence of this spirit in Chinese life and particularly in relation to the changes now taking place—changes which I call the process of "social erosion."

Among country children in my native area one of the most common names is Ah-kên ("The Root"). Man has roots. Individuals are like the branches of a tree which has grown up from its roots and which depends for its well-being on the strength of these same roots. For man the roots are the society from which he gets his material well-being and his education; they are the family, the village, the region, and the nation. These roots are something like what Lilienthal refers to in American life as "grass roots." From the point of view of society, whether human or plant, that which is taken away must eventually be returned. If basic elements are taken away by a "mining" process, then after a certain length of time the community will become bankrupt. The cycle of giving and taking away may become very complicated. The TVA represents the more complicated, the Chinese farm

the simpler, form of the process.

在我看来，如果人们看不到对这种血统重要性的强烈感情已延伸到了人与土地的象征性亲缘关系，就不能理解其潜在的感受。人最好不要离开自己的乡土，如果要离开，就必须要回来。战时我乘坐最差舱位从欧洲回来时，遇到了一些曾在法国居住多年、以贩卖某种玉石为生的中国小贩。他们只会讲汉语，从未融入异乡的生活；相反，他们拼命攒下每一分钱，为的是寄回家里让亲属盖好房子。纳粹党封锁边境之后，他们冒着生命危险以保证钱安全寄出。现在，他们老了，精力耗尽了，踏上了归途，不是去享受生活，只是等待死亡的降临。

从农民清早上街拾粪，到送棺材入土，都是自然界同一个大循环中的一部分，也是人与土地的关系的一部分。在我看来，正是这种人地关系的力量支撑着这历久未衰的中国文化。不过，我希望读者不会误以为我在提倡这种拾粪运柩的人生态度，我只是想强调这种精神在国人生命中的存在，尤其是有关现在正在发生的变革，我把这种变革叫做“社会损蚀”。

在我的老家，农村孩子最常见的名字是“阿根”。人也有根，个人不过是根上长出的枝叶，生命之树的茂盛有赖于根。对于人来讲，根是他从中获得生长资料和教育文化的社会：小之一家一村，大之一乡一国。这些根类似于李林塞尔所指的美国生活中的“草根”。从社会的角度来看，无论是人还是植物，取之于一地的必须回之于一地。如果基本要素被“采矿般”地挖掘走了，那么一段时间之后，这个地方必会荒芜。供给和消耗的循环可能变得非常复杂。TVA计划代表这一过程较为复杂的形式，而中国农田是较为简单的。

The greater and more highly developed the cycle, the higher the standards of living; but, simple or complex, it must still remain a cycle of reciprocal action. The mining process is suicidal, for, though it may give returns for a while, eventually it exhausts all available resources, and the mining town becomes a ghost town. Thus it is clear a healthy community can survive only when it can draw adequate nourishment from its environment.

• THE DESERTERS—RURAL BOYS WHO DO NOT COME BACK HOME

In our traditional culture the men of talent were spread throughout the local communities. Recently I analyzed with Professor Quentin Pan the

source of origin of nine hundred and fifteen scholars who passed the high-ranking imperial examinations (those above provincial rank). The distribution was as follows: 52.5 per cent came from the Chinese traditional town, 41.16 from rural areas, and 6.34 from intermediate small towns. If we divide the series according to provinces, the percentage from rural areas surpasses that from urban areas for four provinces in North China: Shantung, Anhwei, Shansi, and Honan. These statistics show that even in this field of activity, which requires long literary training, half of the students were at this time from rural areas. Still more significant is the question whether their fathers had literary degrees or not. This turns out to be about the same for rural as for urban areas, the ratio in the city being 68 to 33 and in the country 64 to 36 (the larger number applies to those whose fathers did have degrees).

This shows that, in China, men of ability and learning were not concentrated to a very large extent in the city as they are in the countries of the West. According to Sorokin's theory, in the West, unless a man becomes a city dweller, he will have no chance to rise.[3] But, in China, the tradition of "the leaves going back to the roots" seems to have helped to maintain the high quality of the rural population. People who attained high social honors still did not forget their place of origin and, when they were old at least, would come back and would do their best to make use of the prestige and advantages gained outside for the benefit of their home community. Thus, having one distinguished man in an area might lead to there being more, since this man would help others to get a start. Able men formerly did not leave their grass roots permanently. As a result not only did intellectual men share in the life of the countryside but they also helped to encourage others in the same region.

循环越大，程度越高，人民的生活水平就越高。但是，无论复杂与否，必须保持一种互惠行为的循环。采矿式的消耗是自杀性的，虽然一时会带来回报，但最终会耗尽所有可利用的资源，一个有着丰富矿藏的镇会变成死镇。因此，很明显，一个健康的社区只有从环境中获得适当的养料，才能生存下去。

• 逃亡者——不回家的乡村子弟

在我们的传统文化中，人才是分散在地方上的。最近潘光旦先生和我一同分析了915个通过了（乡试以上）科举考试的读书人（清朝贡

生、举人和进士）的出身。他们的地域分布如下：52.5%出自城市，41.16%出自乡村，另有 6.34%出自介于城乡之间的市镇。如果再按省份来分，乡村百分比超过城市百分比的有山东、安徽、山西、河南四个北方省份。这些数字表明，即使需要很长时间文字训练才能考中的人才，竟有一半是从乡村出来的。更值得注意的是，我们所分析的人物中父亲已有功名和父亲没有功名的比例，城乡之间几乎相等，城市的比率是68∶33，乡村是64∶36（大数代表父亲已考取功名的人）。

以上事实表明，中国有才能和学问的人不像西方国家那样主要集中在城市。根据索罗金的理论，在西方，除非一个人变成城里人，否则不会有出人头地的机会。[4]但在中国，落叶归根的传统似乎为乡土社会保持着人才。即使飞黄腾达的人也不会忘记故土，至少是年老的时候，他们就会回来，利用自己在外面获得的声望和有利条件为家乡谋福利。这样，一地有了一个成名的人物，接下来就会人才辈出，因为这个人会帮助其他人成才，所谓“开了风气”。在以前，有能力的人不会永远脱离他们的“草根”。结果不仅是知识分子参与乡村的生活，而且还会鼓励当地的其他人参与。

Now the situation is quite changed. At the present time those whom the community supported in their youth no longer return in order to become useful to it. Recently we said goodbye to a number of college graduates who were threatened with unemployment. One of their teachers was urging them to go back to their own birthplace. All agreed that in principle this would be a good thing to do but said that, speaking realistically, they could not go back. And actually I do not know of one case where a graduate has returned to his own community. Instead they either managed finally to squeeze into positions in the city or remained unemployed, living with the help of friends. They were unable to go back to their homes not only because they felt unwilling to do so but because it would have been impractical for them to try to live there. At the time that they had left their homes there seems to have been some force from outside which pushed them out. Their parents, brothers, and other relatives had done their best to help them realize their dream of going to the city. In order that they might do so, some families even sold land or borrowed money. Yet, when the young people came to graduate from college, they were apt to find that these several years of absence had severed their links with the home community. In the country there are no jobs for college graduates. It is not so much that in the modern college the student may have learned Western science or technology as that he has become

accustomed to a new way of life and to a system of ideas quite different from that found in the country. The change is enough to make him conscious of the fact that he is different. So the college graduate of today feels that in the country there is no one to talk with, no one who understands him, and he often even feels alienated from his own kin. If he does go back, he will not find a suitable job where he can apply the knowledge he gained in college, since Chinese colleges are not preparing men to work in rural areas. What he will have learned in the university is usually knowledge imported from the West. It is true that knowledge should have no national boundaries and that the need in present-day China to modernize quickly must be met by the introduction of Western knowledge. Modern knowledge must provide the plan for the reform of the traditional system in the rural areas. But the point is that the students who have been trained in the universities have usually failed to find a bridge by means of which they might bring over and apply their knowledge to their own communities. Without such a bridge, modern knowledge is ineffectually hanging in the air. And as a result the countryside, which is constantly sending forth its children, is losing both money and men.

现在情况则有所不同。目前，那些在青年时期曾受到过乡土社区培育的人已不再回去为其所用。最近有很多大学毕业生找不到工作，有一位老师劝他们回家乡去，他们原则上都能接受，但又非常现实地说他们回不去了。事实上我也没听说有一个人回去的。他们宁可待在城市里，费劲心思谋个职位，或无处供职，靠朋友资助为生。他们回不了家，这不仅是因为他们不愿，也是因为回家生活已经很不现实。在没有离乡之前，好像有一种外在的力量在推他们出来，他们的父母、兄弟和其他亲人也为他们想尽办法实现离乡的梦，有的甚至变卖田地或背负债务。当他们大学毕业时，他们发现几年的离乡生活已把他们同乡土的关系割断了。乡村没有大学毕业生的工作。这不仅仅是因为他们在学校学到了西方现代科技知识，更因为他们已经适应了那种与乡村生活截然不同的新的生活方式和观念，这一变化已足以使他觉得自己已有异于乡村人了。所以，今天的大学生毕业回到乡村后无人交流，没有人理解他，他自己竟然经常觉得被家人疏远了。即使他回到家乡，也找不到合适的工作，学校里学来的知识没有用武之地，因为中国的大学并不培养去乡村工作的人才。从大学里学到的东西常常是来自西方的知识。知识不应分国籍，我们也应该快速现代化，要现代化就要引入西方知识。现代知识必须提供乡村传统制度改良的方案。但问题是大学生无法找到一座桥梁能把他学到的东西介绍和运用到自己的家乡农村中去。没有这样的桥梁，现代知识只能徒劳地悬在空中。结果是不断输出子弟的乡村同时丧失了

金钱和人才。

This holds true not only for most Chinese university students but also for the middle-school students. In Yunnan I studied a village near a walled town. A short distance from the village was an agricultural school. This village depended for its livelihood upon market gardening. The village gardeners used to point to the school farm and laugh, saying, "The teachers and students in that school plant their cabbages like flowers. That doesn't pay." On the other hand, the teachers, who had been trained in modern methods of agriculture, told us that the cabbages grown by the villagers could be improved, and they even demonstrated to us improved varieties. There was truth on both sides. Unfortunately the students when they left school would not be able to continue using modern techniques or experimental methods, since their families neither could afford nor did they wish to do so. There seems to be an unbridged gap between the school and the farmer. The farmer is not prepared to learn from the school. As a result the graduates of this agricultural school either became teachers in the primary grades or entered the military academy to become officers, or some of them did nothing at all and simply spent their time loafing around the district town. Parents who send their children to school believe, according to the traditional idea, that education will give promotion to a higher social level. But they are not rich enough to enable their children to complete the education which is necessary to permit a young man to take a job in the big cities. On the other hand, for young men who have passed a number of years in being educated, to go back to working in the fields would be a disgrace in which the family would share. So they are caught and are unable to go forward or back. It seems that during the last few decades the army and party (Kuomintang) organizations have attracted people of this sort; this explains to a certain extent, I believe, modern Chinese Fascistic tendencies. It reminds one of the situation in Japan before the war, where young men from rural areas frustrated in other careers became part of the political and military machine and developed extremist ideas which sometimes even led to irresponsible attempts to seize power. Formerly, the traditional educational system took care of such people by enabling them to come up for examinations, the passing of which gave some official status and enabled them to achieve satisfactory social positions in the community as petty gentry. Moreover, they might keep on working and hope to pass a higher examination. But changes in the present educational system and the gap between the modernized city

and education in the interior now all combine to frustrate their ambitions.

不仅大学生，中学生也是如此。我曾对云南一个县城附近的村子作过研究。村子不远有个农业学校。这个村子依靠市场园艺业营生。村里的菜农常指着学校的农场笑着说："学校的老师和学生种菜像是种花，那可挣不到钱。"另一方面，受过现代农业种植技术培训的老师则告诉我们，乡下人种的菜大可以改进，甚至向我们展示改良的品种。实际上他们各有道理。不幸的是，学生离开校园后无法再运用现代技术和实验方法，因为家里没有本钱也不愿意让他们这么做。学校和农场之间好像有一条无法逾越的鸿沟。乡下人不想向学校学习，结果，这个学校的毕业生有的当了小学教员，有些转入军校当军官，有些就什么都不干，只是在县城附近闲逛鬼混。送孩子上学的父母依照传统观念认为，上了学就能提高社会地位，但是他们的经济条件又不允许让孩子完成能在大都市工作的必要学业。另一方面，这些年轻人认为，受过多年教育之后又回到家乡种地，对自己、对家庭都不体面，所以他们进退两难。似乎最近几十年来，参军和加入国民党吸引着这些年轻人，我认为这在某种程度上为现代中国的法西斯倾向提供了注解。这使人联想起战前日本的情形：一些在其他职业中遭到失败的乡村年轻人变成政治和军事机器的一部分，产生了极端主义观念，甚至导致不负责任地攫取权力。在过去，传统的教育制度给这些人提供关照，让他们通过考试来做官、成为小士绅，从而在社区里获得更高的社会地位。他们也许还会继续努力来通过更高级的考试。但是目前教育制度的变化和现代都市与内地教育之间的鸿沟共同破灭了他们的理想。

College graduates have more chance for employment in the city than do the graduates of the middle schools, to be sure, but even for them the problem is essentially similar. In the first place, there is little opportunity for them to reform the traditional ways of doing things by using the modern methods in which they have been trained, and, second, since there is no way for them to earn a living through productive activities, they must do so by striving for power and influence in the political field. Thus in a poor community there is always the burden of maintaining a huge number of political appointees in administrative offices. This explains some of the inefficiency of our administration. Thus I am afraid that the present educational system has not successfully carried out its function of modernizing China but on the contrary has drained off the sons of the well-to-do farming class from the country and brought them to town without providing them with useful employment there. This I call the "process of social erosion."

• THE PARASITIC LAYER

Some may think that modernization always implies urbanization. Modern civilization is the product of the city, and the city population must of necessity come from the country, since the city cannot replace itself. In the country the able man does not have a chance to develop his abilities, but, once he comes to the city, he finds opportunities for developing them. In this sense the city is the place where human capabilities may be realized. Potential talents of the countryside, we may say, can be developed only through the process of urbanization. But this principle does not hold entirely for China. I mentioned above Lilienthal's work. From what he says I suspect that this principle is not always true for America either. Especially in the south of the United States there seems to have been going on a somewhat similar process of social erosion. As in China, the process of organic circulation has been disrupted, and men and wealth have been constantly drained away. The TVA, as I understand it, aims, by introducing modern knowledge, to restore this circulation and, by creating the bridge I spoke of above, to restore prosperity. To create a bridge, there is needed not only knowledge of modern techniques but a utilization of the human element in such a way that those who have received a modern education will be able to go back and serve their own communities. Without such a bridge, the development of the city will cause a dislocation of the social mechanism.

在城市里，大学生当然比中学生有更多的就业机会，但即使对大学生来讲，问题基本上仍是相似的。首先，他们几乎没有机会利用学过的现代方法改革传统的行为方式。其次，他们不能通过生产活动来谋生，只能通过在政治领域获得权力和影响。因此贫穷的社区常常要背上养活大批政客的负担，这也部分解释了为什么我们的管理低效。所以，现在的教育制度恐怕没有发挥使中国实现现代化的作用，反而使小康农家的子弟流入城市，但城市又不能为他们提供有价值的就业。我称此为“社会损蚀过程”。

• 寄生阶层

也许有人认为现代化总是意味着都市化。现代文明是都市的产物，都市人口必然来自乡村，因为都市人口无法自我补充。人才在乡村没有发展的机会，但是到了城市后，他就有机会自我发展。从这个意义上

讲，城市是发挥才能的地方。可以说，乡村潜在的人才只有在都市化进程中才能得到发展，但是中国又不完全如此。我在前面提到过李林塞尔的计划。从他的话中，我猜想这一原则在美国也不是永远正确，特别是在美国南方，发生着与中国相似的社会损蚀。在中国，有机循环受到破坏，人力和财富被不断地掠夺。我理解，TVA计划的目标是通过引进现代知识来恢复这一循环，通过搭一座我前面讲到的桥来恢复繁荣。建一座桥，不仅需要现代技术，还需要人力因素，即那些接受现代教育的人回归本土为社区服务。没有这样的桥，城市的发展将引起社会机制的混乱。

At present the growth of great urban centers is like a tumor from which China is suffering. The economic aspects of the unfavorable relations between city and country I explained in the foregoing chapter. Here I merely wish to add a cultural perspective to the picture. It is not correct to my mind to take the modern city as representing Western civilization and the rural areas as representing the traditional Chinese civilization. In my opinion the modern Chinese city is the product of the contact between East and West. Those individuals who, through contact with Western culture, have changed their way of life and their way of thinking will not find themselves able any longer to live in the country. Some portion of them will be taken in by newly developing urban enterprises. But, since such enterprises are limited in number, there will be sure to be some who are left out to roam about without being attached to anything. Thus there develops a new type of person, one who avoids productive work in either city or country but rather goes in for seizing political power. This new type of person is both directly and indirectly recruited from the country. Before the contact with the West, the examination system would have taken care of these people, and they would have continued to live in the country or small towns as gentry. Being versed in the classical Confucian philosophy, they performed the function of the "man who knows." It is true indeed that such men were parasitic in so far as they derived their support from the working people, living mainly as they did on their rent from land. But, since they continued to live in the country, there was at least no large outgo of wealth from the countryside.

If in Chinese modern cities industrial enterprises might be quickly developed, the elements that have been taken in from the countryside might find their proper place. Although the countryside would then still suffer from a certain measure of "erosion," this would be compensated for by the

prosperity of the city. And, like TVA in America, China might be enabled to turn back benefits from the city to the country. If this were so, the situation in China would be very different. Unfortunately China is still in the status of a semicolony. Large-scale industrial development is not feasible. The essence of Western civilization, industrialism, has not been really introduced as yet. What has been brought in is the superstructure of the more superficial elements of this civilization, including the desire for material comforts and satisfactions. But there has not been constructed as yet the material foundation on the basis of which these things would make sense. This lack of foundation creates a special class of people who live superficially in Western culture but without a traditional base from either the West or the East. These are both the victims and the directors of China's tragedy.

目前大都市化正成为中国的疾患。我在前一章节从经济角度讲过不尽如人意的城乡关系，现在只想加上文化角度。如果说现代都市代表着西方文明，乡村社区代表着传统中国文明，我认为这一观点是不正确的。我认为，中国的现代都市是东西方接触的结果。那些通过接触西方文化改变了生活和思维方式的人发现，他们自己再也不能生活在乡村了。他们中的一部分被新发展的都市企业吸收。但是由于这样的企业数量有限，必然有一部分人游离于任何组织之外。这样就产生了一类新人，他们既不在城市也不在乡村从事生产活动，而是追求政治权力。这类新人直接或间接来自乡村。在与西方接触之前，科举制度吸住了这些人，使得他们可以作为士绅在乡村或县城生存下去。他们精通传统儒家哲学的教育，执行身为“知者”的社会任务。这类人确实是一种寄生的人，因为他们是从劳动人民那里得到给养，靠收取地租来生活。但是，由于他们继续生活在乡村，所以至少财富没有大规模外流。

如果中国都市里的生产事业发展得快，从乡村吸收来的人可能会找到合适的位置。虽然乡村仍在某种程度上遭受着“损蚀”，但会被城市的繁荣所补偿。像美国的TVA计划那样，中国也许能够把利益从城市返回到乡村。果真如此，中国的情况就大不一样了。不幸的是，中国仍处在半殖民地的地位，大规模的产业发展不大可行。西方文明的本质——工业主义还没有被真正地引进，引进的是其表面或上层的因素，包括对物质享受和满足的渴望，但是还没有建立起能使这些变得有意义的物质基础。这种基础的缺乏制造了一个表面上生活在西方文化中，但又没有东西方传统基础的特殊阶层。他们是中国悲剧中的主角和导演。

• BENEATH THE FLOOD

Erosion of land takes place when the land is bare of grass and tree cover and thus not able to hold water. Then floods follow and bring disaster to the people. Social erosion has a similar effect, causing an exodus of the population. In the process of social erosion, at first only the top layers are carried away, those economically well-to-do and better educated who no longer choose to remain. But, as both wealthy and able men are washed away in this fashion, the pressure of city industry continues with this fact to press the country people still further down into poverty. Well-to-do people who remain become poorer. And the really poor can no longer remain but must desert the land. Movement away thus comes from both upper and lower levels, leaving behind only the middle class of peasants.

As for the elements mentioned above who are left outside of productive work, they tend to form a new class of organized parasites. Since villagers are both naive and not very well organized, they may easily become the prey of such people. When I was in a village one time a roving individual came and tried to blackmail my landlord, because, he said, my landlord's son, who had left military school, was a deserter. Actually the boy had done nothing wrong, and the man was simply trying to work a racket. I said to this man, "You come from the country yourself. How would you like it if someone like you came to your village and tried to bully and blackmail the people there?" He could not find an answer. I felt that the man himself was rather pathetic, a dislocated drifting individual. But it is people such as this who have aroused the hatred of the peasants. The lot of the conscript is a hard one also. The government takes all the able-bodied men from the country and enlists them. But, when these men are discharged, no one pays any attention to them. Country people say that those who have gone as soldiers will never return to farming. Once enlisted, they become disorganized and are no longer accustomed to obedience but rather to looting and other wild behavior. Thus conscription accelerates the processes of social erosion. The banks are broken and a flood results: in this case, peasant revolt. The disorganization of life, economic, political, and moral, has confronted China with needs for new leadership and reform.

- 在洪流的冲洗下

当土地缺乏植被不能保持水分时，就会发生土地的损蚀，接着就会有洪水的到来，给人们带来灾难。社会损蚀具有相似的后果，造成人口

大量流亡。在社会损蚀的过程中，起初只有最顶层的人离开，他们在经济上比较富裕，受过较好的教育，不愿意继续留在乡村。但是由于富有和有能力的人都离开乡村，加上都市工业势力的压迫，使得乡村开始变得贫困。小康之家降为穷户，而穷户再也支撑不住，开始离乡。这样的转变发生在贫富两极，中间阶层则足以维持。

我们在前面曾经讲到不从事生产活动的人，他们试图组成一个新的有组织的寄生阶层。由于村民单纯幼稚，又缺乏良好的组织，他们轻易就会成为这一阶层的牺牲品。有一次我在一个村子时，一个游手好闲的人想敲诈我的房东，他说房东离开军校的儿子是个逃兵。实际上房东的儿子并没做什么坏事，那个人只不过想找碴捣乱。我对他说："你不也是来自乡村吗？如果有人像你这样到你的乡村去敲诈，你觉得怎样？"他无言以对。我觉得他自己很可怜，是一个被命运抛弃的人。但是正是这样的人引起了农民的仇恨。参军入伍也是一个艰难的问题。政府把所有身强力壮的人都征去当兵，退伍时却没有一个人来关心他们。乡下人说那些去当兵的人永远也不会再回来种地。入伍之后，他们变得涣散不羁，不再循规蹈矩，而沉沦于抢劫掠夺等野蛮行径。征兵因而加速了社会损蚀的进程。农民如决堤的洪流般起来反抗。中国面临着生活、经济、政治、道德的混乱，她需要新的领导和改革。

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[1] According to the Book of Poetry one should revere the sang and the tzu because they symbolized parental and even ancestral ties. Since then the phrase has come to stand for a man's attachment to his own region and particularly to his own homestead.

[2] 据《诗经》记载，人们应该尊敬桑和梓，因为它们象征着与父辈甚至是祖辈的联系。从那时起，"桑梓"开始指代一个人对他的家乡——尤其是他的家园的眷恋之情。

[3] Pitirim A. Sorokin, Social Mobility (Microfilm Collection, University of Chicago Library, 1927).

[4] 《社会流动》，彼蒂里姆·索罗金著，微缩版，芝加哥大学图书馆，1927年。

EDITOR'S NOTE

To most thoughtful and dispassionate Chinese it seemed, especially in the postwar years 1946–1949, that the new leadership and reform for which they had been looking for so many years could not come from the repressive and discredited right but (because there was no effective "vital center") from the left. Yet, though it is obvious that Fei was looking forward to Communist "liberation," the leadership and the doctrine were to be Chinese in origin rather than either Russian or Western. The following sentences from a lecture delivered by Fei in 1947 at the London School of Economics present the point of view of the Chinese patriot who hoped for co-operation rather than domination by any outsiders in the solving of China's problems.

"If, in advancing to the present stage of technological development, the West had achieved a new order—that is, an integrated social system—the problem in the East would be simpler. All we would need to do is to learn to transplant the new form across the ocean. There would be difficulties, but if the new order offered greater material advancement as well as social satisfaction and happiness, reluctance would be only a matter of unfamiliarity, which could be overcome by better instruction.... The defect of Confucianism in denying the importance of man and nature relationship is apparent in our inability to cope with modern Western civilization. But the one-sided emphasis [of the West] on material advancement without due consideration of a corresponding development in social relations is equally dangerous. It is therefore clear that the process of social change in China should not be a mere transplantation of Western culture but should imply a reorganization of social structure in conformity with the inherited spirit of harmony and integration. The question of how these two developments can be made to keep pace with one another is essential for the solution of the present chaotic state of affairs in China, which is manifested in grave economic and political disturbances. These disturbances are primarily symptoms of a process of change without a definite aim. Unless China is to perish, we have to find our own solution from our inheritance of experience over thousands of years...."

编后记

对于多数有思想、没有偏见的中国人来说，尤其是在战后的1946年—1949年，他们多年来一直寻求的新的领导体制和改革不可能是来自因采取镇压手段而丧失信誉的右派，而是来自“左派”（因为不存在一个实际的“生命中枢”）。然而，虽然费先生明显地是在盼望着共产主义的“解放”，但是这种领导的体制和主张从根源上是中国式的，而不是俄国或西方式的。以下一段话引自费先生1947年在伦敦经济学院的演讲，这代表了这位爱国者希望通过合作而不是由外人主宰来解决中国问题的观点：

“如果在技术发展到当今阶段之时，西方就已经达到一种新秩序，即实现了一种统一的社会体系，那么东方的问题就会简单一些——我们只需把新的方式跨大洋移植过来。当然困难也会存在，但是如果这种新秩序提供了更大的物质进步以及社会满足和幸福的话，那么不情愿也只是由于不熟悉罢了，这可以通过进一步引导来解决……儒家否认人与自然关系的重要性，这一缺陷在我们与西方现代文明交锋时的无力中明显地表现出来。但是单方面强调（西方的）物质发达，而对社会关系的相应发展缺乏应有的考虑同样是危险的。因此，中国社会变迁的进程不该是西方文化的简单移植，而应该隐含着对一种与和谐统一的内在精神相适应的社会结构的重组。这两种发展如何才能达到步调一致，对于解决目前中国的混乱状态——表现为严重的经济和政治混乱——是最为基本的。这些混乱主要是没有明确目标的社会变迁过程的征兆。要使中国不灭亡，我们必须要从几千年历史传承的经验中寻找我们自己的出路……”

译后记：逝者如斯的结构秩序

赵旭东

一

在65年以前，也就是1946年，美国极有影响的《美国社会学学刊》（*American Journal of Sociology*）登载了当时在云南大学任社会学教授的费孝通先生题为“农民与士绅：中国社会结构及其变迁的一种解释”的长达17页的论文。[1]这应该算是晚出的英文版《中国士绅》（*China's Gentry*）的节缩本，而后者又可以说是费先生基于长期田野工作凝缩而成的对于中国社会整体结构与功能运作机制的总结性论断。尽管此文通篇没有一个注释和文献征引，但读过之后，你不会觉得这是在云里雾里地调侃，而是实实在在地思考，思考那时中国社会所面临的危机以及转型时期可能的道路选择。

确实，这篇用英文写作并且主要是写给西方人阅读的文字，其核心内容在中文世界里并不陌生，其中许多论点和语汇，在他后来出版的《乡土重建》、《乡土中国》中，还有他与历史学家吴晗合编的《皇权与绅权》中，一样都能够读到。[2]到了1953年，由美国著名人类学家雷德菲尔德（Robert Redfield）作序[3],由其夫人玛格丽特编辑的《中国士绅》在英语世界出版。[4]这本书在出版之后，便一直是英语世界中国乡村社会结构及其变迁这一领域中必定要被引用的参考文献。

有关社会精英人物的研究，向来是诸多学科的研究焦点，包括社会学、人类学、政治学以及历史学等。费孝通先生的《中国士绅》一书是从社会人类学的研究视角，以他在江苏和云南几个村落的田野调查为基础而写成的。关于这几个村子的情况，费先生之前曾有《江村经济——中国农民的生活》（*Peasant Life in China*）和《被土地束缚的中国》（*Earthbound China*）这两本田野报告先后在1939年和1945年以英文出版，并且后来都有了中文版。[5]唯独由美国著名社会学家、芝加哥学派的奠基人罗伯特·帕克（Robert Park）的女儿玛格丽特依据费孝通英文口述修订和编辑的这本《中国士绅》尚未见汉语版的发行。几年前三联书店的编辑舒伟先生、后来是薛松奎先生同我商量翻译此书的事宜，我犹豫了一下，最终还是接受下来了，并邀秦志杰女士与我一同翻译。

之所以接受这一任务，是因为当年三联书店欲以这本书来为费先生祝贺九十华诞，而我作为费先生的学生义不容辞应该担当这一翻译工作。之所以犹豫了一下，是因为以前读书的时候曾经读到过这本书的英文版，并做了些笔记，但一直不曾动过翻译的念头。而这样做完全是由于自己深知这本书虽然短小，但要真正翻译成汉语却并非易事。

后来真的翻译起来情况也确实如此。这本书是玛格丽特女士20世纪40年代末来中国，在费先生当时所在的清华大学听了先生的英文口述之后，回美国重新编辑整理完成的，其中还加入了几十条注释。费先生的那几篇文章大略可以在中文版《皇权与绅权》和《乡土重建》这两本书中读到，但费先生当时并非是完全照着他最初写的汉语原文来逐字逐句口述翻译的。正像她的丈夫也就是著名人类学家雷德菲尔德所说，玛格丽特进行了仔细的编辑，又添加了一些内容，从而使文意前后更加连贯，成为一个整体，并希望借此能够使费先生的意思更清楚地传达给英语世界的人们。

这些本来是一个编辑应该做的事情，不需要太多的说明。奈何我们又要将此英文的翻译和编辑后的文字回译成中文，这里就出现了以哪个版本为依据翻译的问题了。最初是想将费先生原来的文字原封不动地拿来用，但发现和英文版的文字虽然意思上接近，细节上还是有些出入的。比如英文版第80页在谈地方官的工作时写道："Their job was merely to collect taxes and to act as judges."[6]费先生在《乡土重建》一书中对此则写道："他们的任务不过于收税和收粮，处理民间诉讼。"[7]还有英文版是说："On the Dragon Day, Sheep Day, or Dog Day markets in Yunnan..."[8]，而费先生的原文则是："昆明附近的龙街、狗街、羊街等都是这种大街子……"[9]前一个例子中，英文少了"收粮"这一信息；而在后一个例子中，云南地方性的集市名称"街"这个字在英文版里就见不到了。这种中英文的不对应一直是困扰我们翻译的一个难题。后来我自己给自己找到了一条理由，以为应该忠实于英文的翻译，把一个美国人对一位中国学者的文字的理解再重新翻回到中文中来，由此可以看出文化翻译的可能与困难所在。

有了这样的思路之后，译稿很快就完成了，这里的原则就是基本上以英文为基础重新将其翻译成中文，有些带有本土意味的词汇还是要参阅费先生的中文原文。另外，对费先生忠实翻译自己原话的部分，则尽量用费先生自己的语式和词汇，因而在译文中会见到有些文字是引自费先生上面两本书中的原话，只是作了一些文字上的改动，以便使前后文字顺畅自然。

二

首先需要指出的是，这些文字虽然都是费先生六十多年前写下的，但现在读来依旧耐人寻味。费先生在六十多年前对西方现代化带给中国乡村生活的“损蚀”（可参阅《乡土重建》中“损蚀冲洗下的乡土”一文），在今天变得越来越明显了。一位朋友近日从文学家沈从文先生的老家凤凰城回来说，那里的唐朝古镇已经在被现代化的高楼大厦所侵蚀，时时都有被吞噬的危险，正如去那里写生的一些画家对他所说的，真是“来一次少一次了”。这种悲哀在费先生的文字中似乎到处都可以捕捉到。

在上个世纪之初，中国人选择了现代化的道路，并以一种乌托邦式的想象，希望现代化能够给贫困的中国带来生机。但是我们为这种现代化付出的代价应该说也是极为惨重的，至少对乡村生活是这样的，并且还在一直地为此付出代价。偏执于现代化道路的人或许会讥笑说，这样的伤感太有些怀旧主义的味道。但我要真正辩解的是，一个文化有权利保留它自己存在的样态，虽然这种保留因为文化霸权的逻辑而最终是不可能的，但是“乡愁”之类的宣泄途径依旧是不可少的，否则真不知有多少人会因为此种郁闷而遁入歧途。

谈到有关中国士绅的问题，费先生的观察应该是极为敏锐的，他看到了中国士绅阶层对所谓绅权的滥用以及作为乡土社会精英的士绅与皇权之间的微妙关系。但是，这个社会离开下层士绅的“绅权”又是难以进行上下顺畅沟通的。传统时代的士绅阶层在城乡之间、皇帝与民间社会之间起着不可多得的纽带作用。正是士绅这种角色的不可替代性，使得他们变得更为危险。

近日读早期中国社会学家陶孟和在上世纪20年代写下的文字，看到他对上述类似观点的提醒也是颇为值得注意的。虽然他是在谈论中国的“士”这个阶层的问题，但“士绅”也不过是“士”的转化形式而已。恰如其所说：

士向来是中国最高的阶级，因为他是帮着帝王从事政治活动的。士是中国的贵族，但是因为他是无产的贵族，所以是极危险的阶级。但是一方面因为他们所住的地方是物质文明极不发达的中国，所有的人大概都是一般的困穷，用不着物质的奢侈的炫耀，又一方面我们古代的圣贤所垂示的告诫，所奖励的美德又都是节俭廉洁一类的行为，所以以先无产阶级的士还是政治组织上的中坚，他们在政治上的功劳也不为小的。他们虽然赶不上柏拉图的理想的“哲学家的治者”那样的舍己奉公，他们

在中国社会总算是一种高尚的阶级。一旦物质文明侵入中国，古圣先贤的经典逐渐失了束缚人心的势力，这个士的阶级就变成最危险的分子。世上有许多人谈起共产主义与无政府主义就色变的，但是他们不知道如果将政权交给这士的阶级或者让他参与，那个危险要比共产主义与无政府主义还要厉害的多。因为无论是共产主义还是无政府主义到底还是有组织的，还是一律施行的。至于士的阶级当权的时候，他们劫夺人民的产业，——但是专肥了他们自己，他们自己实在是无政府，——但是强迫人民承认他们是有政府。士的阶级不能独立生活，是要靠着人吃饭的。他们不能像农人那样耐劳的工作，他们只靠着他们的文笔，口舌与诡诈的手段为寄生的生活。他们现在既然肯做“猪仔”肯做军阀的奴隶，将来也就肯去做外国的奴隶。因为这样做奴隶是他们唯一的生存——并且有时是致富——的方法。但是我们学校里还不断的造士的阶级呢！[10]

我想即使在今天，也许重复费先生的那句话还是有必要的，那就是：“传统的中国并未消逝。”在这里，也许我更想强调的是，传统并非单单是浮现在表面上的东西，因而就不单单是衣着饮食之类，而是潜在于日常生活中的社会结构，这种结构并非一朝一夕就能够养成，因而要瓦解它，也并非像画画写字那样一蹴而就。

三

大凡谈论中国社会，大概不能不述及中国的农民；而谈论农民，当然也就离不开谈论把这些农民组织起来的乡村精英。过去称这些精英人物为“缙绅”、“老爷”、“东家”之类。中国曾经有一个时期，国家试图构建起一种追求人人平等的理想国，但终究因为没有实际的效率而宣告失败。随之而来的就是鼓励精英分子发挥作用的社会发展政策，着实使得生产力发生了巨变，精英与平民开始分出高低上下，既有的农民—士绅—国家的结构模型再一次得到凸显。农民在分配到自己名下的土地上耕作，通过村干部向国家交纳税款。这些村干部一方面不属于是国家的正式干部，另一方面也很少有被转变成为国家正式干部的机会。这些人应该是扮演着传统中国社会中士绅的角色，一方面以自己积累的财富以及一部分从农民的劳作中获取的租金来供养自己相对悠闲的生活，另一方面因为土生土长的缘故，又由于亲属关系的纽带，而使得他们有意对农民自身的利益给予地方性的保护。在这个意义上，国家的政策在任何时候都不会原封不动地被接受，甚至有时政策到了下面只能变成是一纸空文。[11]村干部作为乡土精英的这种过滤屏障作用是不能够不去考虑的。

农业社会不同于部落社会的一个最大特点就是，前者是一家一户依

附于一块有限面积的土地上进行精耕细作，而后者则是分散于大片土地上依靠相互合作的狩猎和采集来维持生活。依附于土地以及散布于山林，这显然构成了两种不同的生活方式。大略说来，前者是个体主义的，而后者则是团体主义的。对于前者，大概不需要太大范围的合作，单单依靠自己的劳作便能够实现衣食无忧。孟子描述过的那种“老死不相往来”的农民社会大概都应该属于这个范围。因而从本性上讲，这是一个不需要组织的自由散漫的社会。古代文字中，常常将这些人说成是“野人”，这个词并不带有后来附加上去的含有种族主义的那种负面含义，而是在真实地描述这个社会里一般性的特征，这种特征是相对于城市以及皇族的“文”而界定的。所谓的文野之别，很大的一部分含义说的是不大劳作的统治者与天天在泥土里刨食的农民之间的区分。这种区分或者说结构关系在中国社会也许是最为基本的，也就是费先生在那篇文字中所说的农民与士绅的关系。

但是要维系这样一种文和野的区分，一种意识形态的建构显然是不可或缺的，这就是借用一种家族主义的意识形态来压制个体主义的天性。不过这种建构显然获得了相当大的成功，从汉代独尊儒术以后，这种意识形态便牢固地建立起来并能够持久地存在。在这种意识形态之下，儒家文化的再生产变成士绅阶层过着悠闲生活的合法性基础。他们一般通过有一段时间充任国家的官僚所获得的俸禄来购置田地，等到退职还乡，便依靠地租来维持一种不劳而获的悠闲生活。明清史料中，许多官宦多以在任置办田地、终老衣锦还乡为荣。他们在日常杂务之外，最乐于做的事情就是吟诗、作赋、写文章，这些活动都是农民自己做不来的，不过他们会鼓励自己的子女用心于此，如有一天，他们中的某位子弟登科高就，自然也就成为那个悠闲阶层中的一员，不用再去土里刨食地劳作了。因而传统农家的读书子弟，多不用下地种田，并被认为这是理所当然，甚至一丁点的力气活也不用自己劳神，由旁人代为料理，唯恐笨重的体力会玷污了圣洁的脑力。在这种文化中，劳动被看成是等而下之人才干的事情。我的祖母就曾经对我回忆说，她自己是浙江乡下的童养媳，而我的六祖父是一位读书人，每次从乡下进城读书，书和必要的用具多由我祖母用担子挑着送去城里。当然这种情况已经有了改变，不过显然不是结构上的改变，而是形式的改变。农民有了一些钱总会希望把子女送出去学习，进入好的学校，受到良好的教育，最终还是希望以此换得一个悠闲阶层一员的身份。最近听朋友们讲，北京、上海这样的大都市都有许许多多陪孩子读书的母亲，她们要么是单身一人，要么是下岗失业，她们全部的希望都寄托在城市里读大学的孩子身上，母以子荣，希望一旦孩子毕业找到一份理想的工作脱离开农村或小城市，自己的人生价值也就能因此得到体现。

在这种社会结构中，人员显然是保持流动的。不论哪个时代，都有一些农民改头换面，成为不用自己下地劳动、专营儒家正统或者今天的现代科技的士绅或社会精英。[12]这种结构显然又是极为稳定的，因为它为所有个体主义的不满提供了一个社会宣泄的孔道，借助这一孔道，作为个体的农民将不满转化成为一种渴望，并将这种渴望在他们子女一辈的身上传递式地得到实现。以前有一个误解，认为“不孝有三，无后为大”，因而没有生育子嗣，或许就是一个有家庭的人最大的不幸了，但实际的情况恰恰可能是有许多人并无子嗣，但这些人一样可以在村子里有威信，遗憾虽有，但并没有觉得对不起祖先。他们应付这种教化的办法显然有许多，比如收养、过继之类。[13]对他们而言，最为沉重的心理负担莫过于子女读书不成，不仅白花了银子，而且更重要的是，他们自己希望后代能够离开土地的渴望也因此而破灭了。在这个意义上，所有的社会组织都会被调动起来以服务于这样一种被广泛接受的意识形态。

另一方面，悠闲的士绅阶层如果想维护其依靠地租不劳而获的悠闲生活，必须要依靠一种联合，没有这种联合，他的生活便没有了保障。以前学术界总以为，中国农民是家族主义的，每个人生来就融入到一个家族组织中。现在看来，这种家族主义，显然是一种由社会精英来操纵的意识形态建构，它不是建立在生物血缘的基础上，而是建立在文化意识形态基础上。最近有些学者开始反省中国的亲属制度，认为这是一种费孝通先生所说的社会组织，而不单单是一种血亲和姻亲的联系，因而，许多宗族中姓氏根本不同也就容易被人理解了。[14]它被发明出来并得到日积月累的实践，所要达到的目的仅仅在于维持这个中间层次人员的生存。

而且“族”、“家族”以及“宗族”之类的社会组织，其根本的功能不是单一地把同姓或者把同一地区的人口组织起来，而是仅仅在于维持一个族自身的优越地位。而维持这种优越地位的根本在于有历史学家何炳棣所说的“杰出的新血”，也就是族中要有新的杰出人物成为新的士大夫，而整个家族的意识形态也会积极地鼓励这方面杰出人物的涌现，即何氏家族中的前辈所用心总结出来的法则：

越是自己本房或本支经济或文化条件较好，越是本人读书上进，越易受到族内的重视与资助。族的目的在制造“成功者”，在这点上传统与现代家族政策上并无二致。[15]

或许我们今天觉得，这个中间阶层实在可恶，因为他们不劳而获或者一劳永逸，希望铲除掉这些人——结果会是怎么样呢？费先生写文章的年代恰好给他思考这种状况提供了一个绝好的机会。当时，也就是上世纪40年代，中西方的接触不仅仅是差异性文化之间的碰撞，而且还是

现代性的工业化与传统社会生产方式之间的碰撞，碰撞的结果是，中国的乡村社会受到了损蚀，洋货取代土货，曾经存在的乡绅与农民之间的结构性平衡关系一夜之间被打破，许多士绅的后代进城以后也大多不愿再返回到自己的乡村中去，乡村与国家之间成为面对面的交往而没有原来的以乡绅阶层为主体的缓冲地带。费先生曾经用水土流失来作类似的比喻，因为大洪水或者人为的原因，土壤中的营养成分被冲刷到河流里，顺水漂流融入大海里，结果造成陆地上水土流失，土壤贫瘠。在费先生看来，乡村社会在面对现代文明时，情况也是一样的。当一些悠闲的文化精英渐渐离开一个养育他的社会环境时，一方面他自己失去了自我发育的土壤，另一方面，原来的社会也因此失去了既有的平衡，一种和谐的文化生态也就被打破了。

四

中国自古相沿的政治结构从来都是皇权与绅权共存，同时又相互抑制，此消彼涨。占据皇权的人为数极少，说得狭义一点，为皇帝一个人所独占，说得广义一点，是为皇族所共享。他们大多是因为把自己神圣化为“真龙天子”而获得理所当然的合法性，并支配着皇族血统以外的其他人。他们很大程度上是一种象征意义的存在，他们不是依靠辛勤的工作来获得其他人的认可，而是依靠经营象征性的符号来实现，比如古代帝王的封禅以及祭祀祖庙的活动。单单一个封号、一处题诗甚至一次求雨仪式，就可以让一方的百姓得到安抚，这就是位居皇位的人每天最需要做的事情。

皇帝以下的臣民就不同了。整日在旷野里劳作的是那些拿不到功名的普通百姓，他们依赖土地并从土地里收获粮食，并拿出一部分的收入作为税赋上缴国家，用以养活皇帝和他的大臣们。他们的名称曾经被称作“野”、“氓”和“庶”，现在则被称为“农民”。在只具有象征意义的皇帝和作为实际生产者的农民之间就是为皇帝办事情的各类各级的官员们，这是一个很特殊的阶层，在位的时候是国家的官员，不在位的时候就衣锦还乡，成为地方上的乡绅。[16]这些在位与不在位的官员构成了一个特殊的利益集团，他们因为是国家的实际办事人员，办事的效率全由他们自己来操纵，甚至皇权也约束不了他们，反过来他们可以通过对天命的不断强调而限制皇权的蔓延。在这个君臣共治的结构中，表面上做大臣的官员要绝对服从于皇帝的命令，但实际上这些官员不仅仅是行政体系中的一员，而且还是正统意识形态的界说者、教化者。他们常常会以不合正统的礼法和道德为由对皇帝的发号施令置之不理，并以此来约束皇权的过度膨胀。对此政治结构，历史学家许倬云有清晰的概括：

中国的政治权力，因其注重德行而导致中国官僚组织发展为具有独特势力的政治因子，足可与君权相抗衡。政治权力遂常在强制型与名分型二端之间动荡。君权每欲逞威肆志，儒家化的臣僚则每以德行约束，以名分之故自制不过分压倒君权。表演于实际政治斗争上，则为君主挟其恩倖、外戚与宦寺构成轩轾的一端，内外臣工则依仗行政权力构成轩轾的另一端。[17]

中国的政治多与这两个集团的相互制衡有关联。皇帝马上得天下，真正的治理还要依靠那些饱读儒家经典的士大夫。因此之故，皇帝往往被架空，仅仅成为一个国家一体的象征，皇帝再有能力，再有抱负，离开这些掌管着实际权力的士大夫，或者得不到他们的承认，最终也只能落个一事无成的下场。聪明的皇帝多会采取无为而治的省事做法，任由士大夫去玩弄权力。权力玩弄久了，派系的关系网因资源争夺而出现混乱的秩序，没有办法摆平的时候，皇帝会借助天子这一所有派系都认可的唯一权威，找出几个士大夫，拉出去斩首，以儆效尤。结果，乱子大多会得到摆平，皇帝还可以因此不费吹灰之力就得到一大笔的没收资产充入国库。难怪清代嘉庆年间民间有“和绅一倒，嘉庆吃饱”的谚语，擅权营私、富可敌国的官员，在一定意义上可以说是皇帝私存的银行，需要的时候把这座银行的锁头砸碎了，财富也就流进了皇帝的腰包。

在此意义上，中国的政治又是一种治乱的模式，一乱一治恰恰是这个社会得以稳固存在并有一定发展的根基。皇帝和士大夫之间是这样一种共同治理的关系，作为统治者，他们和在野的非正式的民间社会亦有此制约关系存在，不会任由民间社会自由发展，干涉是经常性的。这种干涉可以采取多种形式，但不外武力和教化这两端。民间总试图秉持乡野散漫的作风，不肯与这种干涉主义相合作，任其宰割，结果抵制也就随处可见。抵制的方式当然也因应着压制而有多种形式，但亦不外揭竿而起的直接反抗到隐秘的地下活动这两端。

皇权得到认可依靠的是士大夫阶层以道德正统来加以衡量的论证，但是具有合法性基础的皇权往往又可以任由其意愿地对士大夫阶层进行宰割，所谓“伴君如伴虎”，说不定什么时候虎就要吃人，做官员的也就缺少了一份安全感。皇帝和士大夫的生存空间常常被他们自己界定为文化并与城市生活联系在一起，而城市以外的乡村就是蛮野的地方，大部分没有读过书或者没有通过国家科举考试的人都住在这样的没有清晰轮廓、漫无边际的旷野之中。但是，这两个领域又是紧密地联系在一起的，连接的纽带就是通过了国家某一级科举考试但是因为种种原因不能够入朝为官的乡绅，他们是文明与教化的代言人。如果说西方的社区共同体是依靠牧师的布道而统一在一起，那么在中国的乡村，这些乡绅就

承担起教化子民的布道牧师的角色了。

五

中国的士绅阶层看起来是一体的，但实际却分化得很厉害。作为官僚的政治精英是一种人，而作为在乡的地主则是另外一种人，这中间还有等级上的差异，尽管他们中间也有不同形式的联系。官员们退休也会回到地方上去，成为跟在乡地主一样的地方精英。[18]差不多是在19世纪，英国的外交官和传教士们开始用“中国士绅”（the Chinese gentry）来描述这些从衙门退下来到地方上以及通过科举考试留在地方上的有着潜在政治影响力的精英，把他们看作是一个社会群体。[19]

在这些英国人的眼中，那些地方精英跟英国的没有世袭的爵位但又并非平民的在乡地主阶级有着可以类比之处。尽管他们这样来作类比，但是欧洲人实际上“发现”，中国这些所谓士绅常常是顽固不化、极为保守，对于外在的世界更是充耳不闻，并且刚愎自用。这些认识都建立在这些士绅阶层对于所有门户开放政策一味的反对上面。[20]费孝通先生对此一群体也有过这样的概括：

在中国传统社会，知识阶级是一个没有技术知识的阶级，他们独占以历史的智慧为基础的权威，在文字上下工夫，在艺技上求表现。中国文字非常不适合表达科学或技术知识。这表明在传统社会结构中，既得利益的阶级的兴趣不在提高生产，而在于巩固既得的特权。他们主要的任务是为建立传统行为的指导而维持已有的规范。一个眼里只有人与人关系的人不免是保守的，因为人与人的关系的最终结果常常是互相协调。调整的均衡只能建立在人与自然稳定不变的关系基础上。另一方面，单从技术的角度出发，人类对自然的控制几乎没有限制。在强调技术进步的同时，人对自然的控制也随之不断改变，变得更为有效。然而技术的变化也许会导致人与人之间的冲突。中国的知识分子从人和人的关系看待世界，由于缺乏技术知识，他们就不会赞赏技术进步，看不出任何意图改变人与人关系的理由来。[21]

包括文人在内的整个知识分子阶层都可以归纳到这士绅的概念下面，并笼统地把他们归纳为没有等差的一群人。这种印象自19世纪中叶即已经开始形成，并一直在影响着后来的人对于这一阶层的人的认知。过去的秀才、举人和士大夫，现在的大学生、博士和国家干部都应该属于这样的范畴之列了。这样推算上去，可以一直推算到汉代建立之初的公元前206年。这样，中国作为一个士绅的社会，至少也存在有2200多年了。[22]作为一个群体，士绅阶层是脱离手工劳动和技术知识的，对于

专业化的训练嗤之以鼻，顽固地坚持着儒家伦理的价值观念，并以此来稳固地保护着他们在社会中的优越地位，这也使得他们成为技术现代化以及经济发展的最大的阻碍力量。[23]

但是不能不意识到，这士绅阶层既是顽固的儒家伦理的维护者，同时也是鼓动民众、恢复社会正统秩序的发动者。[24]在西方人的眼中，他们顽冥不化，但是换一个角度，他们又是那样地坚不可摧，任何强烈的外来力量都无法使他们退缩下来成为其他意识形态的俘虏。

六

今天这种状况是否得到改善了呢？我想一个不用争辩的事实就是，改革已经让所有的人受益，农民也不例外。他们开始自由自在地在自己承包的土地上从事劳作，随着工业化在乡村的开展，农民的副业收入也大幅度地增加了，新的富裕户逐渐在乡村社区中承担起组织农民的责任，并能够在必要的时候为本乡本土的乡亲谋求公共利益上的保护。但不可否认，这些保护者已经不再是在野的士绅，或者说在野的士绅不再退回到乡村里，不再承担地方组织的领导者的重任。乡村社会的政治牢牢地把持在各种各样的财富精英以及善于权术的政治精英手中，他们不再像既有的以礼治进行教化的士绅那样只要衣食无忧，便不思进取，终日沉浸于琴棋书画之类的传统文化活动。

这些新的精英大多有类似西方工业化资本家的发家史，从一穷二白到腰缠万贯，都是用他们自己夜以继日的辛苦以及瞄准时机的大干而逐渐累积起来的。他们大多会因此而参与村落选举，把村民不喜欢的领导选下去而由他们来继任，结果他们上任后，多半又会重蹈覆辙，玩弄财富和政治于鼓掌之间，老百姓照样得不到实惠，久了一样会遭到乡里乡亲们的反对。我自己曾经在白洋淀附近调查过一个水区村落中精英人物的成长历史。在那个我称之为兆村的水中央的村子中，活跃着一些靠塑料袋加工而发家致富的村落精英。他们有了大笔的金钱之后，最乐于从事的就是乡村的公共事业，比如修路以及捐助贫困户，由此而聚拢人心，并逐渐通过选举的正常途径掌控村庄事务。当他们一旦掌握住这村落的领导权之后，往往都会以此来换取更大的经济利益，比如用极为低廉的价格承包到大片的芦苇田，一定就是30年以上的承包期限，再之后是把自己的厂房从狭小的村中移到自己的承包地上，盖上永久性的厂房。这样的精英人物已经不再是费先生所界定的上通下达的地方士绅，而是转变成为了以国家身份为庇护的专门攫取村民集体利益的地方一霸，而这样的精英即使是在今天也是很难立足脚跟的。最近，我听一起

在那里调查的一位朋友说，由这些新的精英所组成的村落领导集体已经被全部撤消职务，这样的后果显然也是在预料之中的。

如果说过去的士绅的存在有其文化的合法性，今天乡村精英存在的合法性就不是文化的而是经济的。去农村访问，农民会对你说，某某人当上了村长，就是因为他有钱。我想，农民在讲这些话时，更多的意思并非是反对有钱人的存在，有哪一个农民不想自己有一天也能够腰缠万贯呢？他们暗下所要表达的实际是，这些有钱的掌权人并不能够真正地为农民争取利益，而是想着如何将政治权力转化成为商业资本，进而再把商业资本兑换成为更大的政治权力，如我在白洋淀所遇到的那些精英们一样。他们从来也不悠闲，从来也不会以孔孟之道训导乡邻，他们更多的心思都是用在如何让自己的财富越滚越庞大。传统士绅的悠闲生活，对他们而言已经变得毫无吸引力，反倒是终日埋头赚钱的资本家多是他们效仿和学习的榜样。

如果说上世纪40年代或者更早，中国乡村的士绅阶层已经开始受到损蚀而瓦解的话，那么经过这60多年的发展，士绅阶层已经消失殆尽，这不是社会精英的缺失，而是一种士绅文化的衰落，因为生长这种文化的土壤已经干枯而不复存在了。随之，由这种文化孕育出来的一种农民与士绅以及国家之间的稳定而平和的结构秩序也在渐渐地逝去。一方面，农民并不能够安心地在自己的土地上劳作，因为当他们发现，辛苦一年，卖出的粮食或者收获的果实不仅不能够抵消自己全部的投入，甚至于连吃饭都成问题的时候，他们劳动的热情自然就会大为降低；另一方面，当他们发现，自己并没有足够的钱来供养孩子读书，进而使他们离开乡村、摆脱土地的束缚的时候，他们就只能以绝望来面对自己的生活世界了。

一句话，结构可以带来一种秩序，这种秩序依靠一种意识形态而得到稳固，并经过长久时间的运作实施而使其极为稳固。这种稳固也很容易因为抽掉一些最为核心的要素而变得异常不稳定。这种不稳定是秩序的不稳定，也必然是社会的不稳定。

这种警钟是值得敲响的，在今天的社会里，我们应该对作为“士”的知识分子的社会责任有些深刻的思考。如果说以前知识分子的齐家、治国、平天下的使命感转化成了今天的仅仅是用知识去生产金钱的作为，那也许就真的是我们文化的悲哀了！不过，这或许只是我的误读或误解，当然也可以说是我的胡思乱想。

七

本书由于许多原因未能在费先生九十华诞的时候出版，一拖就想着会在先生九十五大寿的时候奉献给他老人家。但是在我即将校对完成的那天早晨，也就是2005年4月25日传来噩耗，说费先生已经于前一天晚上10点38分离开了这个他热爱并且作出杰出贡献的社会，悲痛之余我写下这样一个帖子转发给我的朋友们：

尊敬的费孝通教授于零五年四月二十四日晚不幸病逝，享年九十五岁。作为中国社会学的先驱者以及新时代社会学的开拓者和引路人，我们不仅为其对于中国社会的敏锐的思考所折服，而且也为其宽容博大的胸怀所感染。哀痛之极，泣不成声，回首往事，历历在目。愿天下受其学养恩惠者，目送先生魂归故里。

费先生生前曾经把自己怀念故人的文集起名为《逝者如斯》，人去如流水，能够留下来的仅仅是先生的音容笑貌以及那顺畅并透漏着刚毅的文字。就人而言，逝者如斯，就事而言，如斯逝者。先生过去了，先生笔下的中国社会也在发生着深层次的改变，这改变的结果，很少有人能够知晓，因而探索也仅仅刚刚开始。但是先生分析中国社会的方法依然有效，不会随之而消逝，薪火相传，延续这样的方法，传承并光大先生治学的理路，这也许是学生辈对老师辈最为深切怀念的最为有意义的表达。

最后，应该感谢我的挚友和同乡蔡国先先生在初稿翻译中所做的一些协助性翻译和查找注释的工作。另外就注释的一些问题我曾经求教于刘援朝、麻国庆、孙珉、赵丙祥等诸位先生，在此一并表示感谢。

本书中文版2009年在北京三联书店首次出版后，2010年恰逢费先生百年诞辰，经由费孝通先生的家人推荐，又荣幸地被外研社选为用以纪念费孝通百年诞辰的英汉对照版的中文译本，在此向费宗惠女士和张荣华先生表示由衷的感谢。在对原有版本进行再次审校的过程中，责任编辑易璐女士做了大量细致的工作，我的研究生齐钊同学在中间承担了大量的联络工作，并对出版社提出的各种疑问和我一起逐章作了再一次的校订和查漏补缺的工作，在这里对他们的帮助表示由衷的感激。是为记。

2005年4月26日
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2005年10月13日
修改于中国农大社会学系办公室
2011年1月14日

修订于农大群舍

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[1] 参阅：Hsiao-Tung Fei, 1946, "Peasantry and Gentry: An Interpretation of Chinese Social Structure and Its Changes," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII, No. 1 (July), 1-17.
[2] 参阅：费孝通，《乡土重建》，上海：观察社，1948年；费孝通，《乡土中国》，上海：观察社，1948年；吴晗、费孝通，《皇权与绅权》，天津：天津人民出版社，1988年。
[3] 汉语文献中很少有雷德菲尔德跟费孝通关系的描述，最近读到一位美国人类学家弗雷德·艾甘（Fred Eggan）在总结上世纪战后到70年代以前的国际人类学发展时，对于中国只顺带提到两句话，一句是有关马林诺夫斯基和拉德克里夫—布朗对于中国社会与文化人类学的早期影响，另一句就是有关雷德菲尔德与费孝通之间学术联系的描述。他说战后雷氏与费孝通有学术上的合作，他们试图要从人类学的视角来研究中国文明，研究的经费是由福特基金会提供，但是后来由于众所周知的原因而中断了（参阅：Fred Eggan, 1979, "Developments in Social and Cultural Anthropology: A Western Perspective." In Stein Rokkan, ed., 1979, *A Quarter Century of International Social Science: Papers and Reports on Developments 1952-1977*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 29-47, 34.）。这样看来，雷氏为费先生的这本小册子写序就是顺理成章的了，这本小册子应该是他们合作研究的一部分成果。但是对于艾甘本人，笔者所知无几，属于孤证，有待进一步的研究。
[4] 费孝通先生自己的记述是这样的："……其中一部分文章，曾于1949年在北平口授雷德菲尔德夫人，她回国后编成*China's Gentry*一书，1952年在美国芝加哥大学出版社出版。"（参阅：费孝通，"学术简述"，载于《费孝通选集》，1—8，天津：天津人民出版社，1988年，第5页。）实际出版的时间是1953年，雷德菲尔德的导言写于1952年5月。
[5] 前一本是直接从英文翻译而来：费孝通，《江村经济——中国农民的生活》（戴可景译），南京：江苏人民出版社，1986年。后一本不是直接从英文翻译过来，但是却是英文写作的基础，也就是两本出版的（《禄村农田》、《易村手工业》）和一本没有出版的（《玉村农业和商业》）调查报告在半个世纪以后的合刊：费孝通，《云南三村》，天津：天津人民出版社，1990年。
[6] Fei Hsiao-tung, 1953, *China's Gentry: Essays in Rural-Urban Relations*, rev., ed., Margaret Park Redfield ed., Chicago: Chicago University Press, p. 80.
[7] 费孝通，《乡土重建》，上海：观察社，1948年，第47页。
[8] Fei Hsiao-tung, 1953, *China's Gentry: Essays in Rural-Urban Relations*, p. 101.
[9] 费孝通，《乡土重建》，1948年，第30页。
[10] 陶孟和，《孟和文存》，上海：上海亚东图书馆，1935年，第17—19页。
[11] 拙著《权力与公正》中曾经提供过一个有关计划生育具体实施过程中的例子，说明了国家的计划生育政策在我所调查的河北李村被曲解的过程。村里为每一位育龄妇女准备了一张"育龄妇女明白纸"，实际就是关于育龄妇女的登记表，但是所填的内容并非真实的内容，而是以符合国家计划生育政策为准则，并要每一位妇女牢记在心。参阅：赵旭东，《权力与公正——乡土社会的纠纷解决与权威多元》，天津：天津古籍出版社，2003年，第261页。
[12] 关于这一点最为值得阅读的研究性著作要数何炳棣先生的英文著作《明清社会史》：Ho Ping-ti, 1962, *The Ladders of Success in Imperial China*, New York: Columbia University Press.
[13] 这方面已有专书发表，可进一步参阅：沃特纳（Ann Waltner），《烟火接续——明清的收继与亲族关系》，曹南来译，侯旭东校，杭州：浙江人民出版社。
[14] 这方面以台湾人类学家陈奕麟的工作最为卓著，参阅其新著：Allen Chun, 2000, *Unstructuring Chinese Society: The Fictions of Colonial Practice and the Changing Realities of "Land" in the New Territories of Hong Kong*, Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers.
[15] 何炳棣，《读史阅世六十年》，桂林：广西师范大学出版社，2005年，第25页。
[16] 费孝通，《乡土中国》，北京：三联书店，1985年。
[17] 许倬云，《求古编》，台北：联经出版事业公司，1982年，第14—15页。
[18] Joseph W. Esherick & Mary Backus Rankin, 1990, ed., *Chinese Local Elites Patterns of Dominance*, The University of California Press.
[19] "绅士"、"士绅"、"乡绅"都曾经用来指中国社会结构中皇权以下的统治阶层，但是不同的学

者在使用上的意义有所不同。关于这方面的文献回顾可以参阅：徐茂明，《江南士绅与江南社会（1368—1911年）》，北京：商务印书馆，2004年，第13—23页。

[20] Joseph W. Esherick & Mary Backus Rankin, 1990, ed., *Chinese Local Elites Patterns of Dominance*, The University of California Press, p. 2.

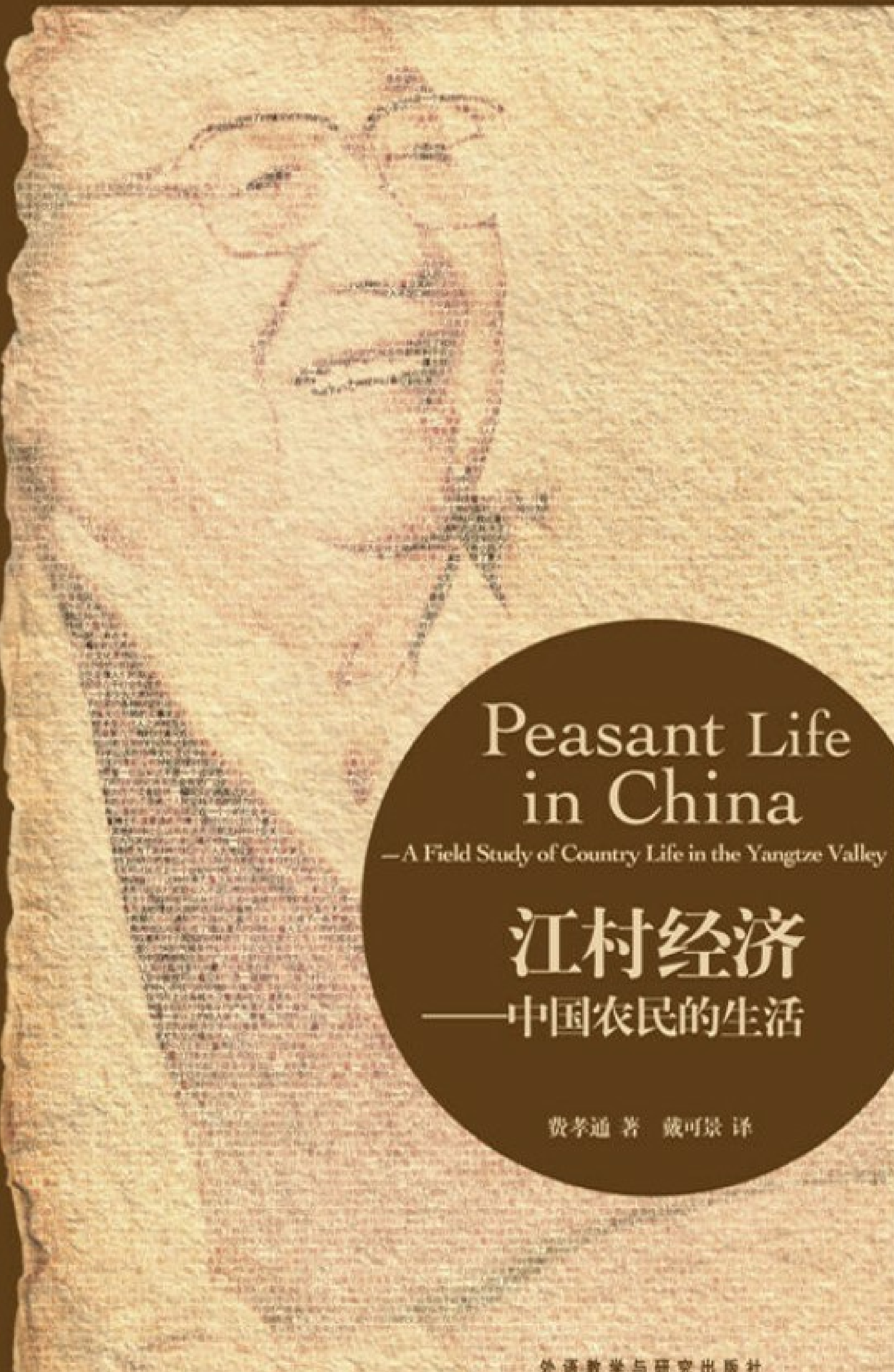
[21] Fei Hsiao-tung, 1953, *China's Gentry: Essays in Rural-Urban Relations*, Margaret Park Redfield ed., Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, p. 74.

[22] Joseph W. Esherick & Mary Backus Rankin, 1990, ed., *Chinese Local Elites Patterns of Dominance*, p. 3.

[23] 同上。

[24] 史景迁最近的研究从另外一个侧面说明了中华帝国时代的文人是如何受到有所作为的皇权的严密的监视的。那些文人在雍正这样的统治者眼中就是大逆不道的反叛者和皇权的觊觎者。参阅：史景迁，《皇帝与秀才——皇权游戏中的文人悲剧》，邱辛晔译，上海：上海远东出版社，2005年。

费孝通用满含悲怆的笔调，在《江村经济》的结尾写道，『我们只有齐心协力，认清目标，展望未来，才不辜负我们所承受的一切牺牲和苦难』



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—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley

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——中国农民的生活

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“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是英文文本的译本，这些著述原初的英文文本在海外学术界和文化界也享有着崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的《吾国与吾民》（*My Country and My People*）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名；再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中以英文写就《图像中国建筑史》文稿，经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人的奔走和努力，英文版《图像中国建筑史》（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*）于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社出版，该出版社也因此获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”；又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》，等等。

有鉴于此，外研社人文社科出版分社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在

古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”聊尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社

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著者前言

本书是1939年英国Routledge书局出版我所写*Peasant Life in China*一书的中译本，原书扉页有《江村经济》中文书名，今译本即沿用此名。这书的翻译工作原应由我自己动笔，但在该书有条件翻译时，我一直忙于其它事务，无暇及此。今由戴可景同志译出，无任感激。应译者要求，我在书前说一说这书写作和翻译的经过。

这本书的写成可说是并非出于著者有意栽培的结果，而是由于一连串的客观的偶然因素促成的。话要从1935年我从清华大学研究院毕业时说起。我毕业后由该校社会学及人类学系推荐，取得该校公费留学资格。按惯例应于该年暑假出国，但出于指导我研究工作的导师史禄国教授的主张，在出国前应到少数民族地区实地调查一年，因偕前妻王同惠赴广西大瑶山。该年冬，在瑶山里迷路失事，妻亡我伤。经医治后，我于翌年暑期返乡休息，准备出国。在此期间，我接受家姊费达生的建议，去吴江县庙港乡开弦弓村参观访问，她在该村帮助农民建立生丝精制运销合作社。我被这个合作社所吸引，在该村进行了一个多月的调查，在出国前夕才离开该村。这次调查并不是有计划的，是出于受到了当时社会新事物的启迪而产生的自发行动。

我去英国，乘坐一艘意大利的邮轮“白公爵”，从上海到威尼斯航程要两个多星期。我在船上无事，趁我记忆犹新，把开弦弓调查的资料整理成篇，并为该村提了个学名叫“江村”。到了英国，进入伦敦经济学院人类学系。最初见到该系Reader[1] 弗思(Raymond Firth)博士，他负责指导我选择论文题目。我原来打算以“花蓝瑶社会组织”作底子编写论文。随后我谈到曾在江村进行过调查，他看了我已经整理出来的材料，主张编写“江村经济”这篇论文。不久该系教授马林诺夫斯基(B.Malinowski)从美国讲学返英，我向他汇报了江村调查经过和内容，他决定直接指导我编写这篇论文的工作。该论文中主要的几章都在他主持的有名的“今天的人类学”讨论班上宣读、讨论、修改、重写过的。1938年春季，我申请论文答辩，通过后，由伦敦大学授予我博士学位。博士证明书上所标明的论文题目是：“开弦弓，一个中国农村的经济生活”。

论文通过的那天晚上，由导师马林诺夫斯基把这篇论文介绍给Routledge书局出版。书局编辑阅后建议书名改为《中国农民的生活》。我看过该书清样后，离英返国，已是1938年的初秋。我记得，由于在轮

船上得到广州沦陷的信息，所以临时决定在西贡登陆，直奔云南昆明。到了云南，不久就开始我的内地农村调查。

该书是1939年出版的，其时欧洲已发生战事。全球战乱连年，我已把这书置之脑后。我仿佛记得直到战后我回到清华园，才接到书店寄给我的这本书。当时届解放前夕，时局紧张，我哪里有闲情来想到翻译此书。解放后，我参加民族调查工作，此书的译事提不到日程上来。1956年英伦老同学格迪斯(W. R. Geddes)博士，澳大利亚悉尼大学教授，参加该国文化代表团访华，得到周恩来总理的同意，访问了江村。他引起了我重访江村的兴趣。翌年成行，在调查工作进行过程中，有事返京，适逢“反右”斗争。在《新观察》发表的《重访江村》连载报告尚未结束，我已遭殃及，被错划右派。在被批判中，即使这本书并未译成中文发行，它还是作为一项“流毒深远”的“罪证”。

“文革”后期，我国对外开放，不断有西方学者来华访问，从他们的口上，我才知道，该书已重印了三次。在许多大学的人类学课程中把它列为必读参考书。还有不少现已成名的人类学者告诉我，这本书启发了他们研究人类学和研究中国社会的兴趣。我当时不免担心，深恐其“流毒”太广，增加我的“罪行”。这种历史条件排除了翻译该书的可能性。

这一页历史终于翻过去了。1981年我得到老师弗思的来信，他告诉我：英国皇家人类学会将在1981年授我赫胥黎奖章。这是这门学科中最高的荣誉。他并说《中国农民的生活》又重印发行，建议我在接受奖章时要宣读的论文，最好是叙述江村在四十多年中的变化。我因此又到江村进行了短期的访问，写了《三访江村》这篇文章。

从伦敦回国，我又回江村继续我的农村调查。1982年就从江村作为起点“更上一层楼”开始研究作为农村政治、经济、文化中心的小城镇。从吴江县各镇入手，逐步扩大研究范围，包括苏州、无锡、常州、南通四个市。1984年又扩大到苏北及南京、镇江两市。小城镇的研究，从我个人来说是江村研究的继续。在这段工作中，我已感到有需要把《江村经济》翻译出来给一起调查的同仁们作参考之用，而且江苏人民出版社已约定出版这个译本。但是我自己这几年恢复了学术活动，任务较重，实在抽不出时间和精力来做这项翻译工作，所以只能委托戴可景同志代劳。她在1984年就已经完成译稿，又请潘乃穆同志校阅过一遍。她把译稿交给了我，搁在我书架上，一搁几乎有一年。我应该对译者表示歉意。

屈指一算，离我最初在江村调查时，明年是整整半个世纪了。我自幸在今生能看到这项偶然形成的研究成果取得了国际上的承认，又在国

内恢复了名誉。另一方面，经过这将近五十年的阅历，自己对这本早年的著作，总觉得有许多不能惬意之处。作为我个人在人生道路上的一个脚印，自当珍惜；作为国家社会历史的一些历史记录，固然也有它存在的价值；但是我既然还活着，而且尚能工作，自觉有责任再把江村在这半个世纪里的变化写下来，作这本书的续编，并当尽力把这段时期自身的长进来补足早年的不足。因而，我决定和上海大学社会学系合作进行为期两年的江村再调查，编写一本《江村五十年》。在准备这项研究计划时，我才挤出时间，把译稿重读了一遍，做了些必要的修正后，交付出版。至于它的续编在两年之后是否能出世，目前还是难于预知之事，但是我自己是有决心去完成这个自己给自己规定的任务。

以上是本书中译本诞生的经过，就以此作为前言，写在译本的前面。

费孝通

1985年4月15日

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[1] Reader是英国大学教职体中独有职位，低于教授，高于副教授。

译者说明

为了满足社会学研究工作者和广大读者的需要，我利用业余时间完成了本书的翻译工作。初稿供当时去吴江县调查的研究人员参考。后来，译稿由北京大学社会学系潘乃穆同志帮助校阅，又承蒙费孝通先生亲自过目修改，谨在此向他们表示衷心的感谢。

有关译文中的一些技术问题，说明如下：

一、对度量衡单位未作换算，如mile直接译作英里（1英里＝1.609公里），bushel译为蒲式耳（1蒲式耳〔英〕＝36.368升）。

二、修正了原文中的一些数字。农业用田改按该村土地总面积的90％计算，户数改按274户农业户计算，每户按平均四口人计算；这样，对第三章第三节、第七章第五节、第十章第四节以及第十二章第二节中的其他有关数字也作了相应的修改。[1]

三、附录中关于中国亲属称谓仍用原音符表示，仅译出其解释部分。

此外，我根据费老的意见又将澳大利亚悉尼大学人类学系主任W. R.格迪斯著的《共产党领导下的中国农民生活》一文附录于后，以供读者参照阅读。[2]

限于译者水平，译文有不妥之处，望读者指正。

1985年4月

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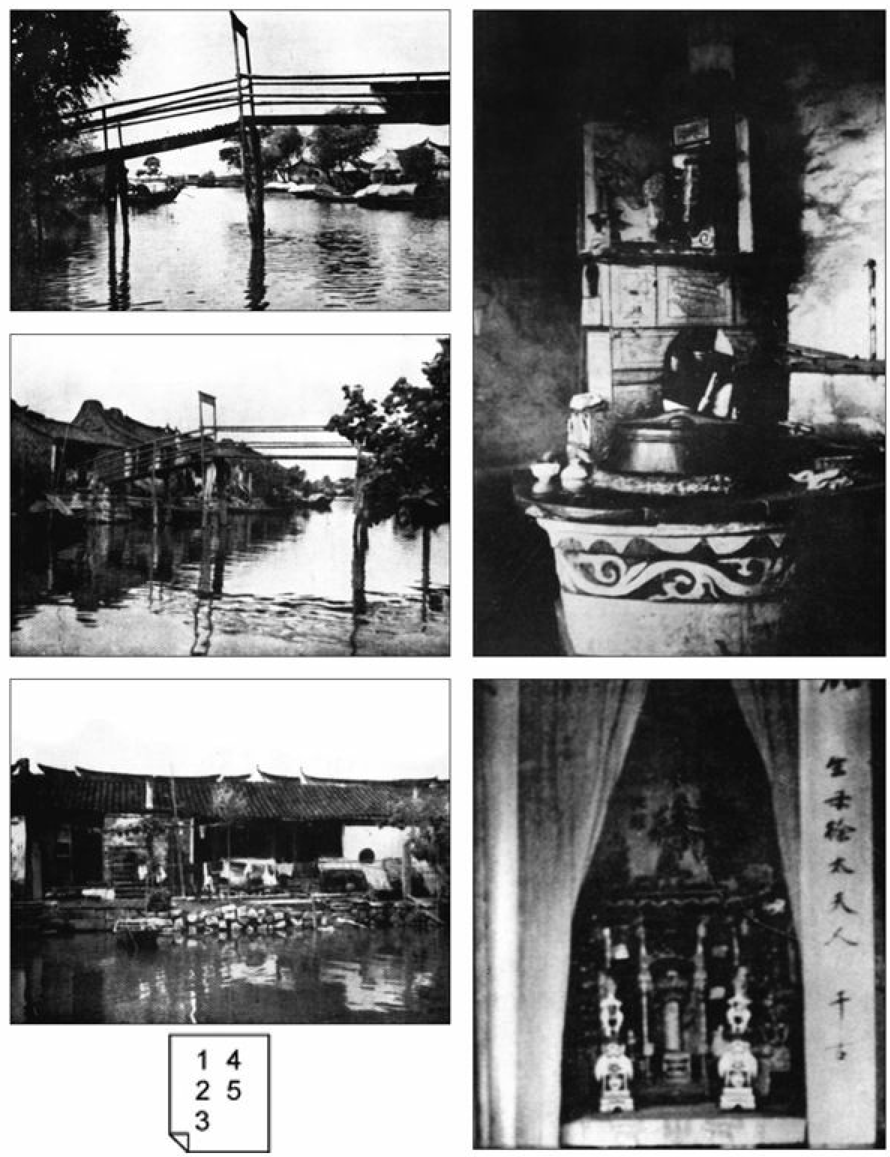
[1] 译者还对第二章第二节、第五章第四节中的数字作了修改。另，编者对译文中太平天国运动（第三章第八节）和宋朝（第六章第五节）的起止年代以及两处关于节气时刻的换算（第九章第二节）作了修改，特此说明。

[2] 因篇幅有限，本书未收入此文。

作者和农村姑娘 The Author and Village Girls



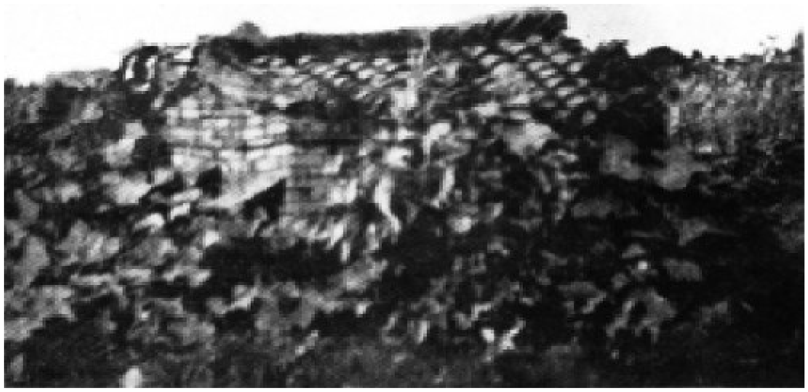
〔1〕A Bridge 木桥

〔2〕Houses along the Stream (1) 沿河的房屋（1）

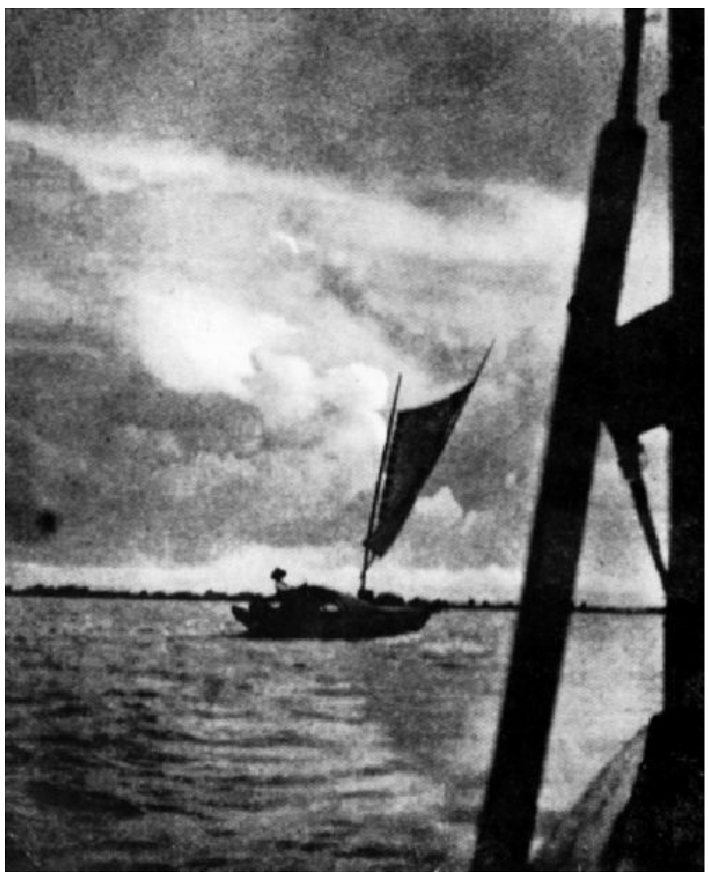
〔3〕Houses along the Stream (2) 沿河的房屋（2）

〔4〕The Stove and the Palace of the Kitchen God 炉灶和灶王爷的神龛

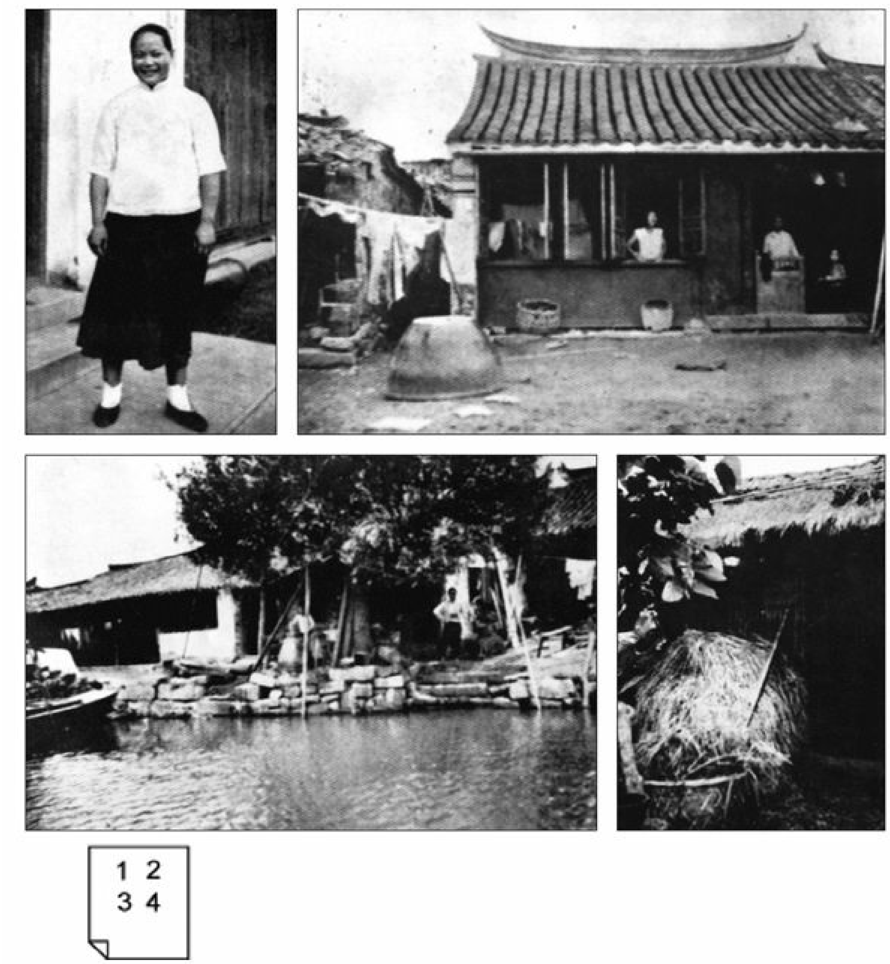
〔5〕Small Wooden Pavilion Keeping the Tablet of the Newly Dead Ancestor 新近过世的祖宗牌位神龛



Above-Ground Burial 地上葬



Sailing 运输航船

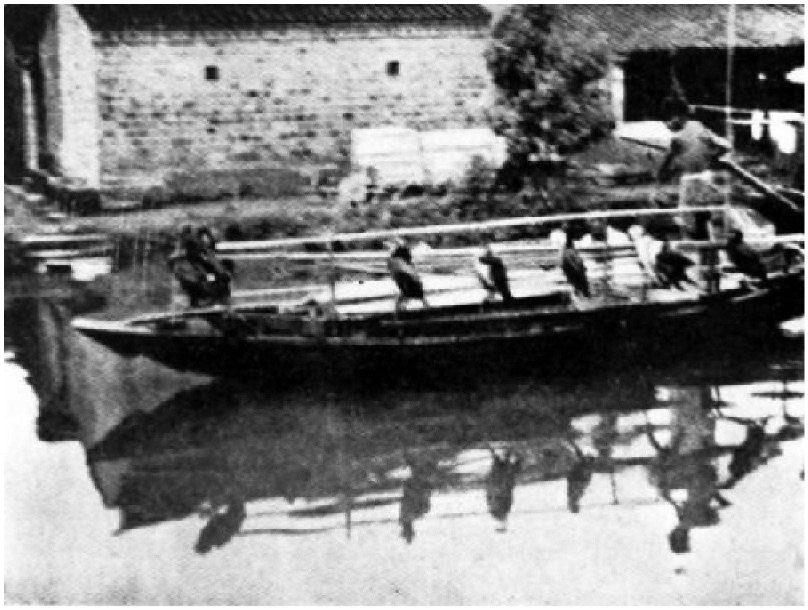


〔1〕A Village Woman in Summer Dress 穿夏装的农村妇女

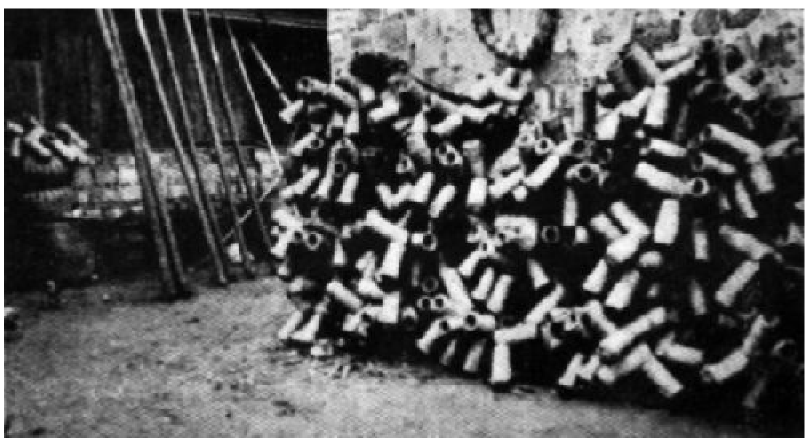
〔2〕A Typical Front View of a House 典型的房屋正面图

〔3〕Carpenter's House 木匠的房屋

〔4〕Sheep Hut 羊圈



Diving Birds for Fishing 鱼鹰



Shrimp Traps 捕虾篓

Rich Rice-Fields 茂盛的稻田

Collective Drainage 集体排水

The Co-operative Silk Factory 合作丝厂

Bargaining with Sellers on the Stream 与河上的售货者在进行交易

A Village Store村庄店铺

An Agent Boat on its Way to the Town

驶往城镇的航船

TO MY WIFE TUNG-WEI WANG
献给我的妻子王同惠

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have to thank all those who have encouraged and helped me in my field investigation and in my preparation of this book. Above all, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the following teachers and friends:

To Professors Wu Wen-tsao and S. M. Shirokogoroff I owe my early training in sociology and ethnology, and encouragement in introducing the intensive field investigation in studying Chinese culture. My sister, whose devotion to the rehabilitation of the livelihood of the villagers has actually inspired me to take up this investigation, had introduced me to the village and financed my work. Later, I was awarded a scholarship by Tsing Hua University, which enabled me to pursue my study in England and, so to speak, "to enter under the door" of Professor B. Malinowski. His intellectual inspiration and paternal affection during the past two years has imposed on me a life-long filial duty—a duty, as I understand, to share his heavy burden in building up a science of man, and in realizing a genuine co-operation among all civilizations.

I must thank Mr. G. F. A. Wint, Dr. and Mrs. Raymond Firth, Dr. M. H. Read, Mr. C. Wrong and Miss M. Wrong for their kindness in reading my manuscript and in correcting my English. I was also assisted in various ways by members of the Seminar in the London School of Economics, especially Mr. P. L. Haksar and L. K. Hsü.

Finally, let me remember my wife, who died for Anthropology in our expedition to the Yao Mountains in 1935. Her solemn sacrifice leaves me no alternative but to follow her always. To her this book is dedicated.

致 谢

我由衷地感谢所有鼓励我并帮助我进行实地调查和撰写此书的人。首先，我必须对以下的老师和朋友表示谢意：

吴文藻教授和史禄国教授是我早年攻读社会学和人类学的老师，他们鼓励我用深入实地调查的方法来研究中国文化。我的姐姐把我介绍给这个村庄并资助我工作；她那为改善农民生计的热忱，确实激励了我从事这项调查研究工作。后来，清华大学授予我一笔奖学金，使我有可能到英国去求学，也就是说，进入了布·马林诺夫斯基教授的“门下”。过去两年来，他对我知识上的启示和亲长般的情谊使我感到对他一生具有承上启下的责任——以我所理解的说，我必须在建立一门研究人的科学以及在使一切文明之间真正合作上分担他那沉重的负担。

我一定要感谢G. F. A. 温特先生、雷蒙德·弗思博士和夫人；感谢M. H.里德博士、C. 朗先生和M. 朗小姐，感谢他们阅读了我的手稿并润色了我的英文。伦敦经济学院讨论班成员，特别是P. N. 哈克塞先生和许烺光先生也为我提供了各方面的帮助。

最后，请允许我以此书来纪念我的妻子。1935年，我们考察瑶山时，她为人类学献出了生命。她的庄严牺牲使我别无选择地永远跟随着她。谨以此书献给我的妻子。

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返回总目录

PREFACE

I venture to foretell that *Peasant Life in China* by Dr. Hsiao-Tung Fei will be counted as a landmark in the development of anthropological field-work and theory. The book has a number of outstanding merits, each of them marking a new departure. Our attention is here directed not to a small, insignificant tribe, but to the greatest nation in the world. The book is not written by an outsider looking out for exotic impressions in a strange land; it contains observations carried on by a citizen upon his own people. It is the result of work done by a native among natives. If it be true that self-knowledge is the most difficult to gain, then undoubtedly an anthropology of one's own people is the most arduous, but also the most valuable achievement of a field-worker.

The book, moreover, though it takes in the traditional background of Chinese life, does not remain satisfied with the mere reconstruction of the static past. It grapples fully and deliberately with that most elusive and difficult phase of modern life: the transformation of traditional culture under Western impact. The writer is courageous enough to cast away all academic pretence at scientific detachment. Dr. Fei fully realizes that knowledge is indispensable to the right solution of practical difficulties. He sees that science, in rendering real service to mankind, is not degraded. It indeed receives the acid test of its validity. Truth will work, because truth is nothing else but man's adaptation to real facts and forces. Science becomes only prostituted when the scholar is forced, as in some countries of Europe, to adapt his facts and his convictions to the demands of a dictated doctrine.

Dr. Fei as a young Chinese patriot is fully alive, not only to the present tragedy of China, but to the much bigger issues involved in the dilemma of his great Mother-country to Westernize or to perish. And since as an anthropologist he knows how difficult a process is that of readaptation; how this process must be built on the old foundations, and built slowly, gradually, and wisely, he is deeply concerned that all change should be planned, and that the planning be based on the solid foundation of fact and knowledge.

序

我敢于预言费孝通博士的《中国农民的生活》（又名《江村经济》——译注）一书将被认为是人类学实地调查和理论工作发展中的一个里程碑。此书有一些杰出的优点，每一点都标志着一个新的发展。本书让我们注意的并不是一个小小的微不足道的部落，而是世界上一个最伟大的国家。作者并不是一个外来人，在异国的土地上猎奇而写作的；本书的内容包含着一个公民对自己的人民进行观察的结果。这是一个土生土长的人在本乡人民中间进行工作的成果。如果说人贵有自知之明的话，那么，一个民族研究自己民族的人类学当然是最艰巨的，同样，这也是一个实地调查工作者的最珍贵的成就。

此外，此书虽以中国人传统的生活为背景，然而它并不满足于复述静止的过去。它有意识地紧紧抓住现代生活最难以理解的一面，即传统文化在西方影响下的变迁。作者在科学研究中勇于抛弃一切学院式的装腔作势。他充分认识到，要正确地解决实际困难，知识是必不可少的。费博士看到了科学的价值在于真正为人类服务。对此，科学确实经受着严峻的考验。真理能够解决问题，因为真理不是别的而是人对真正的事实和力量的实事求是。当学者被迫以事实和信念去迎合一个权威的教义的需要时，科学便被出卖了。在欧洲某些国家里就有这种情况。

费博士是中国的一个年轻爱国者，他不仅充分感觉到中国目前的悲剧，而且还注意到更大的问题：他的伟大祖国，进退维谷，是西方化还是灭亡？既然是一个人类学者，他毕竟懂得，再适应的过程是何等的困难。他懂得，这一过程必须逐步地、缓慢地、机智地建立在旧的基础之上。他深切地关注到，这一切改变应是有计划的，而计划又须是以坚实的事实和知识为基础的。

Some passages of this book can indeed be taken as a charter of practical sociology and anthropology. "The need of such knowledge has become more and more urgent in China because the country cannot afford to waste any more of her wealth and energy in making mistakes." Dr. Fei sees clearly that with the best intentions and the most desirable end clearly in view, planning must remain faulty if the initial situation of change be misconceived. "An inaccurate definition of a situation, either due to deliberate aberration or to ignorance, is dangerous for a group," because it presupposes forces which do

not exist, and ignores obstacles which obstruct the way of progress.

I feel I have to quote one more paragraph from the Introduction. "An adequate definition of the situation, if it is to organize successful actions and attain the desired end, must be reached through a careful analysis of the functions of the social institutions, in relation to the need that they purport to satisfy and in relation to other institutions on which their working depends. This is the work of a social scientist. Social science therefore should play an important rô1e in directing cultural change." This expresses well the greatest need, not only of the Chinese but of our own civilization, the need, that is, to recognize that even as in mechanical engineering only a fool or a madman would plan, design, and calculate without reference to scientific physics and mathematics, so also in political action, reason and experience must be given the fullest play.

Our modern civilization is perhaps now facing its final destruction. We are careful to use only the most qualified specialists in all mechanical engineering. Yet as regards the control of political, social, and moral forces, we Europeans are yielding more and more to madmen, fanatics, and gangsters. A tremendous arraignment of force, controlled by individuals without a sense of responsibility or any moral obligation to keep faith is accumulating on the one side of the dividing line. On the other side, where wealth, power, and effectives could still be made overwhelmingly strong, we have had during the last few years a consistent and progressive display of weakness, lack of unity, and a gradual whittling down of the sense of honour and of the sanctity of obligations undertaken.

I have read Dr. Fei's clear and convincing arguments as well as his vivid and well-documented accounts with genuine admiration, at times not untinged with envy. His book embodies many of the precepts and principles which I have been preaching for some time past, without, alas, having the opportunity of practising them myself. Most of us forward-looking anthropologists have felt impatient with our own work for its remoteness, exoticism, and irrelevancy—though perhaps these may be more apparent than real. But there is no doubt that my own confession that "Anthropology, to me at least, was a romantic escape from our over-standardized culture," was essentially true.

此书的某些段落确实可以被看作是应用社会学和人类学的宪章。“中国越来越迫切地需要这种知识，因为这个国家再也承担不起因

失误而损耗任何财富和能量。”费博士清晰地看到，纵然有最好的意图和理想的目的，如果一开始对变化的环境有错误的理解和看法，那么，计划也必定是错误的。“对形势或情况的不准确的阐述或分析，不论是由于故意的过错或出于无知，对这个群体都是有害的”，因为这会造成这样的错误：预先假设了不存在的力量或是忽视了前进道路上的障碍。

我感到，还必须引述前言中的一段话，“如果要组织有效果的行动并达到预期的目的，必须对社会制度的功能进行细致的分析，而且要同它们意欲满足的需要结合起来分析，也要同它们的运转所依赖的其他制度联系起来分析，以达到对情况的适当的阐述。这就是社会科学学者的工作。所以社会科学应该在指导文化变迁中起重要的作用。”这充分表达了中国文化和我们自己的文化的最大需要，也就是说，我们必须认识到，即使在机械工程中，只有傻子或疯子才会不顾科学的物理和数学而作出规划、设计或计算，故在政治行动中同样需要充分发挥理智和经验的作用。

我们的现代文明目前可能正面临着最终的毁灭。我们只注意在机械工程中使用最合格的专家。但在政治、社会和道德力量控制方面，我们欧洲人越来越依从于疯子、狂人和歹徒。在界线的一边正越来越多地责备着那种个人随心所欲、毫无责任感或毫无恪守信义的道德义务的倾向，而在另一边我们尽管仍然可以在财富、权力和实力上具有压倒的优势，近数年来却始终不断地暴露出软弱、涣散以及对荣誉、对所负的神圣义务的忽视。

我怀着十分钦佩的心情阅读了费博士那明确的令人信服的论点和生动翔实的描写，时感令人嫉妒。他书中所表露的很多箴言和原则，也是我过去在相当一段时间里所主张和宣扬的，但可惜我自己却没有机会去实践它。我们中间绝大多数向前看的人类学者，对我们自己的工作感到不耐烦，我们厌烦它的好古、猎奇和不切实际，虽然这也许是表面上的，实际并不如此。但我的自白无疑是真实的，我说过：“人类学，至少对我来说是对我们过分标准化的文化的一种罗曼蒂克式的逃避。”

The remedy, however, is at hand. If I may be allowed to quote some of my other reflections, "the progress of anthropology towards a really effective analytic science of human society, of human conduct, and of human nature, cannot be staved off." To achieve this, however, the science of man has first and foremost to move from so-called savagery into the study of more advanced cultures of the numerically, economically, and politically important peoples of the world. The present book and the wider work in China and elsewhere, of which it is a part, justifies my forecast: "The anthropology of

the future will be...as interested in the Hindu as in the Tasmanian, in the Chinese peasants as in the Australian aborigines, in the West Indian negro as in the Melanesian Trobriander, in the detribalized African of Haarlem as in the Pygmy of Perak." In this quotation is implied another important postulate of modern field-work and theory: the study of culture change, of the phenomena of contact, and of present-day diffusion.

It was therefore a great pleasure when some two years ago I received the visit of a distinguished Chinese sociologist, Professor Wu Wen-Tsao of Yenching University, and learnt from him that independently and spontaneously there had been organized in China a sociological attack on the real problems of culture change and applied anthropology, an attack which embodies all my dreams and desiderata.

Professor Wu and the young scholars whom he was able to train and inspire had realized first of all that to understand the civilization of their great country and to make it comprehensible to others, it was necessary to read in the open book of Chinese life, and learn how the live Chinese mind works in reality. Just because that country has had the longest unbroken tradition, the understanding of Chinese history must proceed from the appreciation of what China is to-day. Such an anthropological approach is indispensable as a supplement to important historical work carried out by modern Chinese scholars, and by a body of sinologists in Europe, on the basis of written records. History can be read back, taking the present as its living version, quite as much as it can be read forward, starting with the archæological remains of the dimmest past and the earliest written records. The two approaches are complementary and they must be used concurrently.

然而补救办法近在咫尺，如果允许我再引述我的一些其他看法的话，我认为“那面向人类社会、人类行为和人类本性的真正有效的科学分析的人类学，它的进程是不可阻挡的”。为达到这一目的，研究人的科学必须首先离开对所谓未开化状态的研究，而应该进入对世界上为数众多的、在经济和政治上占重要地位的民族的较先进文化的研究。本书以及在中国和其他地方开展的广泛的工作，证实了我的预言：“未来的人类学不仅对塔斯马尼亚人、澳洲土著居民、美拉尼西亚的特罗布里恩德群岛人和霹雳的俾格米人有兴趣，而且对印度人、中国农民、西印度群岛黑人、脱离部落的哈勒姆非洲人同样关注。”这一段引语中还包含着对现代实地调查和理论工作提出的重要的基本要求：研究文化变迁、文化接触的现象、现代文化的传播。

因此，约两年前，当我接待了燕京大学杰出的中国社会学家吴文藻教授来访，感到极大的欣慰，从他那里得知，中国社会学界已独立自发地组织起一场对文化变迁和应用人类学的真正问题进行学术上的攻关。这一学术进攻表达了我梦寐以求的愿望。

吴教授和他所培育的年轻学者首先认识到，为了解他们的伟大祖国的文明并使其他的人理解它，他们需要去阅读中国人生活这本公开的书本，并理解中国人在现实中怎样思考的。正因为那个国家有着最悠久的没有断过的传统，要理解中国历史还必须从认识中国的今天开始。这种人类学的研究方法对于现代中国学者和欧洲的一些汉学家所进行的以文字记载为依据的重要历史工作，是一种不可缺少的补充。研究历史可以把遥远过去的考古遗迹和最早的记载作为起点，推向后世；同样，亦可把现状作为活的历史，来追溯过去。两种方法互为补充，且须同时使用。

The principles and the substance of Dr. Fei's book reveal to us how sound are the methodological foundations of the modern Chinese School of Sociology. Take the main subject-matter of the book. It is a field-study of country life on one of those riverine plains which for thousands of years have nourished the Chinese people both materially and spiritually. It is axiomatic that the foundation of an essentially agrarian culture will be found in village life, in rural economy, and in the needs and interests of a peasant population. By becoming acquainted with the life of a small village, we study, under a microscope as it were, the epitome of China at large.

Two main motives dominate the story of this book: the exploitation of the soil, and the reproductive processes within the household and the family. In this book, Dr. Fei limits himself to the fundamental aspects of peasant life in China. He proposes, I know, in his subsequent studies, to give a fuller account of ancestor-worship; of the more complicated systems of belief and knowledge which flourish in village and township alike. He also hopes sooner or later to make a wider synthesis of his own works and that of his colleagues, giving us a comprehensive picture of the cultural, religious, and political systems of China. For such a synthesis, monographic accounts such as the present one are the first step. Dr. Fei's book and the contributions of his fellow-workers will become valuable pieces for the mosaic which it will be possible to construct from them.[1]

It is not the task of a preface writer to retell a story so admirably told as the one of this book. The reader will find himself introduced into the setting:

the charming riverine village of Kaihsienkung. He will be able to visualize its lay-out with its streams and bridges, its temples, ricefields, and mulberry trees. In this the excellent photographs will prove an additional help. He will appreciate the good balance of concrete, at times numerical data, and the clear descriptions. The account of agricultural life, of the means of livelihood, and the typical occupations of the villagers; the excellent seasonal calendar, and the precise definition of land tenure, give a type of intimate and at the same time tangible information not to be found anywhere else in the literature on China.

费博士著作中的原理和内容向我们揭示了现代中国社会学派的方法论基础是多么结实可靠。本书的主要题材是对湖泽地带的平原乡村生活的一次实地考察。那水道纵横的平原是数千年来在物质上和精神上抚育中国人民的地方。不言而喻，在乡村生活、农村经济、农业人口的利益和需要中找到的主要是农业文化基础。通过熟悉一个小村落的生活，我们犹如在显微镜下看到了整个中国的缩影。

贯穿此书的两个主题是：土地的利用和农户家庭中再生产的过程。在本书中，费博士集中力量描述中国农民生活的基本方面。我知道，他打算在他以后的研究中说明关于崇祀祖先的详细情况以及在村庄和城镇中广为流传的关于信仰和知识等更复杂的体系。他还希望终有一日将自己的和同行的著作综合起来，为我们展示一幅描绘中国文化、宗教和政治体系的丰富多彩的画面。对这样一部综合性著作，像本书这样的专著当是第一步。费博士的书和他同行的贡献将成为他们可能完成的精雕细琢的镶嵌品中的一件件珍品。[2]

序言作者的任务并不是再来复述一番本书已经动人地描述过的内容。随着本书的描述，读者本身将自然地被带入故事发生的地点：那可爱的河流，纵横的开弦弓村。他将看到村庄的河流、桥梁、庙宇、稻田和桑树的分布图，此外，清晰的照片更有助于了解这个村庄。他将欣赏到具体资料、数据和明晰的描述三者之间很协调的关系。对农村生活、农民生活资料、村民的典型职业的描述以及完美的节气农历和土地占有的准确定义等都为读者提供了一种深入的确实的资料，这在任何有关的中国文献中都是十分罕见的。

I am allowed to quote from a statement by Sir E. Denison Ross, who read the book in manuscript, and thus defined its position in scientific literature: "I regard this treatise as quite exceptional. I know of no other work which describes at first hand and with intimate understanding the full story of life in a Chinese village community. We have had works dealing with

statistics, economic studies, and novels full of local colour—but in no book have I found the answer to every kind of inquiry which the curious stranger might make." The "curious stranger," when he appears in the person of Sir Denison Ross, is a man of science, a historian, and one of the world's experts in Oriental Studies.

To me personally, the chapter on the silk industry is perhaps the most significant achievement of the book. It is an account of a planned change from domestic industry into a readaptation to co-operative work compatible with modern conditions. It vindicates some of the claims of sociology to be a practical and relevant study for social engineering. It raises a number of collateral questions, and will become, I think, the starting point of other inquiries both in China and elsewhere.

In the argument of this chapter and in many other passages we can discover a moral quality of the book which I may be allowed to underline. There is no trace of special pleading or self-justification, although the book is written by a Chinese to be placed before Western readers. It is rather a criticism or self-criticism. Thus in the chapter on "Agrarian Problems in China" we read "The national government with all its promises and policies on paper was not able to carry out any practical measures owing to the fact that most of the revenue was spent in its anti-communist campaign, while, as I have pointed out, the real nature of the communist movement was a peasant revolt due to their dissatisfaction with the land system. Despite all kinds of justification on either side, one thing is clear: that the conditions of the peasants are getting worse and worse. So far no permanent land reform has been accomplished in any part of China since the recovery of the Red Area by the government." That a type of sociological work which openly criticizes the inadequacy of govemment action is yet carried on with the encouragement of the government speaks for itself. It proves on the one hand the integrity of the young sociologists in China and on the other the goodwill and wisdom of their official patrons.

我已得到允许，引述E.丹尼森·罗斯爵士在读了该书手稿以后的一段话，他阐明了该书在科学文献中的地位：“我认为这篇论文是相当特殊的。据我所知，没有其他作品能够如此深入地理解并以第一手材料描述了中国乡村社区的全部生活。我们曾经有过统计报告、经济研究和地方色彩浓厚的小说——但我未曾发现有一本书能够回答好奇的陌生人可能提出的各种问题。”这里所说的“好奇的陌生人”就是丹尼森·罗斯爵士，

他恰是一个科学家、历史学家和世界知名的东方学专家。

我个人认为或许有关蚕丝业的这一章是本书最成功的一章。它向我们介绍了家庭企业如何有计划地变革成为合作工厂，以适应现代形势的需要。它证明，社会学需要研究社会工程的有关实际问题。它提出了一些附带的问题，我想这些问题将成为中国和其他地方的另一些研究的起点。

在这一章和其他很多章节的论据中，我们能够发现著书的道德品质，请允许我强调提出这一点。虽然这本书是一个中国人写给西方读者看的，文字中没有特殊的辩护或自宥的流露。相反倒是一种批评和自我批评。在“中国的土地问题”这一章中我们可以读到：“国民党政府在纸上写下了种种诺言和政策。但事实上，它把绝大部分收入都耗费于反共运动，所以它不可能采取任何实际行动和措施来进行改革，而共产主义运动的实质，正如我所指出的，是由于农民对土地制度不满而引起的一种反抗。尽管各方提出各种理由，但有一件事是清楚的，农民的境况是越来越糟糕了。自从政府重占红色区域以来到目前为止，中国没有任何一个地区完成了永久性的土地改革。”这样一种公开批评政府不当行为的社会学工作，现在仍然进行着，想必得到政府的鼓励，这一方面证明了中国青年社会学家的正直和团结，另一方面也说明了官方的善意和明智。

A dispassioned, detached, and dignified attitude characterises all the Author's observations. That a Chinese must to-day have bitter feelings against Western civilization and the political rule of Western nations, is understandable. Yet no trace of this will be found in the present book. In fact, throughout my personal acquaintance with Dr. Fei and some of his colleagues, I had to admire the absence of national prejudice and national hatred—a moral attitude from which we Europeans could learn a great deal. The Chinese seem to be able to distinguish between nationhood and the political system. There is no hatred even of the Japanese as a people. On the first page of this book the Author refers to the invading country only in terms of dispassionate appreciation of its rôle in consolidating the Chinese nation and forcing it to build up a united front, and to readjust some of its fundamental problems, economic and social. The very village which we have learnt to know, to appreciate, to which we have almost become attached, has probably now been destroyed. We can only echo the writer's prophetic desire that in the ruin of that village and many others, "the internal conflicts and follies should find their last resting-place" and that "from the ruin a new

China shall emerge."

B. MALINOWSKI

Department of Anthropology,

University of London,

15th October, 1938

作者的一切观察所具有的特征是，态度有尊严、超脱、没有偏见。当今一个中国人对西方文明和西方国家的政治有反感，这是可以理解的。但本书中未发现这种迹象。事实上，通过我个人同费博士和他的同事的交往，我不得不羡慕他们不持民族偏见和民族仇恨——我们欧洲人能够从这样一种道德态度上学到大量的东西。看来中国人是能够区别民族和政治制度的。日本作为一个民族来说，他们对它甚至不怀仇恨。在本书第一页上，作者提到这个侵略国，冷静地评价它的作用在于迫使中国建立起一条统一战线并调整它的某些基本的经济和社会问题，从而巩固了中国。我们所了解、评价甚至逐渐依恋的那个村庄，现在可能已被破坏。我们只能回想着作者预言式的愿望：在这个村庄和其他许多村庄的废墟中，“内部冲突和耗费巨大的斗争最后必将终止”，“一个崭新的中国将出现在这个废墟之上”。

布·马林诺夫斯基

1938年10月15日于伦敦大学人类学系

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[1] The work already completed, mostly in Chinese, includes such subjects as: *The Marketing System in Shangtung*, by C. K. Yang; *Litigation in a Village Community of Hopei*, by Y. S. Hsu; *Peasant Custom in Hopei*, by S. Huang; *A Clan-Village in Fukien*, by Y. H. Lin; *Chinese Rural Education* (*in Shangtung*) *in Change*, by T. C. Liao; *The Social Organization of Hua Lan Yao* (*in Kwangsi*), by Dr. and Mrs. Fei. Further studies are now being made of Land Tenure in Shansi, by Y. I. Li; and problems of emigrant relations between Fukien and overseas outpost, by A. L. Cheng.

[2] 这些已经完成的作品大多用中文写成，有下列诸题：《山东的集市系统》，杨庆方著；《河北农村社区的诉讼》，徐雍舜著；《河北农民的风俗》，黄石著；《福建的一个氏族村》，林耀华著；《变动中的中国农村教育》，廖泰初著；《花蓝瑶社会组织》，费博士及夫人著。正在进行研究的有李有义的“山西的土地制度”，及郑安仑的“福建和海外地区移民的关系问题”。

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

This is a descriptive account of the system of consumption, production, distribution and exchange of wealth among Chinese peasants as observed in a village, Kaihsienkung, south of Lake Tai, in Eastern China. It aims at showing the relation of this economic system to a specific geographical setting and to the social structure of the community. The village under investigation, like most Chinese villages, is undergoing a tremendous process of change. This account, therefore, will show the forces and problems in a changing village economy.

An intensive investigation of a small field of this kind is a necessary supplement of the broad surveys made of present-day economic problems in China. It will exemplify the importance of regional factors in analysing these problems and will provide empirical illustrations.

This type of study will enable us to realize the importance of the background of the traditional economy, and the effect of the new forces on the everyday life of the people.

To stress the equal importance of the traditional and the new forces is necessary because the real process of change of Chinese economic life is neither a direct transference of social institutions from the West nor a mere disturbance of a traditional equilibrium. The problems arising from the present situation are results of the interaction of these two forces. In the village under our examination, for instance, the financial issues can only be understood by taking into consideration the decline of the price of silk due to the world industrial development on the one hand, and on the other, the importance of domestic industry in the family budget based on the traditional system of land tenure. Underestimation of either aspect will distort the real situation. Moreover, the product of the interaction of these two forces, as we shall see in the later description, cannot be a reproduction of the West or a restoration of the past. The result will depend on how the people solve their own problems. A correct understanding of the existing situation based on empirical facts will assist in directing the change towards a desired end.

Herein lies the function of social science.

Culture is a set of material equipment and a body of knowledge. It is man who uses the equipment and the knowledge in order to live. Culture is changed by men for definite purposes. When a man throws away a tool to acquire a new one, he does so because he believes that the new tool suits his purpose better. Therefore in any process of change, there is an integration of his past experience, his understanding of the present situation and his expectation of the future consequences. Past experiences are not always a real picture of past events because they have been transformed through the selective process of memory. The present situation is not always accurately comprehended because it attracts attention only in so far as interest directs. The future consequences do not always come up to expectations because they are the products of many other forces besides wishes and efforts. So the new tool may at last prove not to be suitable to man's purpose.

壹 前言

这是一本描述中国农民的消费、生产、分配和交易等体系的书，是根据对中国东部太湖东南岸开弦弓村的实地考察写成的。它旨在说明这一经济体系与特定地理环境的关系，以及与这个社区的社会结构的关系。同大多数中国农村一样，这个村庄正经历着一个巨大的变迁过程。因此，本书将说明这个正在变化着的乡村经济的动力和问题。

这种小范围的深入实地的调查，对当前中国经济问题宏观的研究是一种必要的补充。在分析这些问题时，它将说明地区因素的重要性并提供实事的例子。

这种研究也将促使我们进一步了解传统经济背景的重要性及新的动力对人民日常生活的作用。

强调传统力量与新的动力具有同等重要性是必要的，因为中国经济生活变迁的真正过程，既不是从西方社会制度直接转渡的过程，也不仅是传统的平衡受到了干扰而已。目前形势中所发生的问题是这两种力量相互作用的结果。例如对我们观察的这个村庄的经济问题，只有在考虑到两方面的情况时才能有所理解：一方面是由于世界工业的发展，生丝价格下跌，另一方面是以传统土地占有制为基础的家庭副业在家庭经济预算中的重要性。对任何一方面的低估都将曲解真实的情况。此外，正如我们将在以后的描述中所看到的，这两种力量相互作用的产物不会是西方世界的复制品或者传统的复旧，其结果如何，将取决于人民如何去解决他们自己的问题。正确地了解当前存在的以实事为依据的情况，将有助于引导这种变迁趋向于我们所期望的结果。社会科学的功能就在于此。

文化是物质设备和各种知识的结合体。人使用设备和知识以便生存。为了一定的目的人要改变文化。一个人如果扔掉某一件工具，又去获取一件新的，他这样做，是因为他相信新的工具对他更加适用。所以，任何变迁过程必定是一种综合体，那就是：他过去的经验、他对目前形势的了解以及他对未来结果的期望。过去的经验并不总是过去实事的真实写照，因为过去的实事经过记忆的选择已经起了变化。目前的形势也并不总是能得到准确的理解，因为它吸引注意力的程度常受到利害关系的影响。未来的结果不会总是像人们所期望的那样，因为它是希望

和努力以外的其他许多力量的产物。所以，新工具最后也可能被证明是不适合于人们的目的。

It is more difficult to achieve successful changes in social institutions. Even when an institution has failed to meet the need of the people, there may be no substitute. The difficulty lies in the fact that since a social institution consists of human relations, it can be changed only through concerted actions which cannot readily be organized. Moreover, the social situation is usually complicated and expectation varies among the individuals involved. Therefore in the process of social change, it is always necessary in order to organize collective actions to have a more or less accepted definition of the situation and a formulated programme. Such preparatory activities generally take a linguistic form. It can be seen in its simplest form in the command of a captain to his crew when directing the course of a ship. It can also be observed in the well staged debates in parliament or congress. Different definitions of the situation and varying expectations about the results form the centre of the debates. Nevertheless, such preparatory activities are always present in an innovation in socially organized activities.

An inaccurate definition of situation, either due to deliberate aberrations or to ignorance, is dangerous for the group because it may lead to an undesired future. There are many instances in the present account to illustrate the importance of an empirical definition of the situation. In anticipation of the following pages, I shall mention a few of them. In kinship organization, the present practice of inheritance is defined by the legislature as an instance of inequality between sexes. Since the situation is so defined, once the idea of sex equality has been accepted, the resultant actions would involve a revision of the unilateral kinship principle. As I shall show, the transmission of property is a part of the reciprocal relation between generations; the obligation of supporting the old, in a society where that responsibility falls upon the children, cannot be equally shared by sons and daughters under the present system of patrilocal marriage. Therefore the bilateral inheritance combined with unilateral affiliation creates inequality between the sexes. Seen in this light, the consequences of the legislation are obviously contrary to expectation (IV–6).

对社会制度要完成一个成功的变革是更加困难了。当一种制度不能满足人民的需要时，甚至可能还没有替代它的其他制度。困难在于社会制度是由人际关系构成的，只有通过一致行动才能改变它，而一致行动

不是一下子就组织得起来的。另外，社会情况通常是复杂的，参与改革的一个个人，他们的期望也可以各不相同。所以在社会变革的过程中，为组织集体行动，对社会情况需要有一个多少为大家所接受的分析和定义以及一个系统的计划。这种准备活动一般都需要一种语言形式。最简单的形式如一个船长在指挥一条船航行时，对他的船员们发出命令；又如在议会或国会里进行一场有准备的辩论。对形势或情况的不同解释和关于结果的各种期望形成辩论的中心。无论如何，这样的准备活动总是会在有组织的革新活动中出现的。

对形势或情况的不准确的阐述或分析，不论是由于故意的过错或出于无知，对这个群体都是有害的，它可能导致令人失望的后果。本书有许多例子说明了对情况或形势的实事求是的阐述或分析的重要性。下面我想先举几个例子：在亲属组织中，目前法律对财产继承问题的规定似已成为两性不平等的实例。一旦男女平等的思想被接受，这样的规定将产生一种修改单方亲属原则的行动。正如我要说明的，财产的继承是两代人之间相互关系的一部分。供养老人的义务，落在子女身上的社会里，在目前父居家庭的婚姻制度下，女儿和儿子不能分担同等的义务。因此，双系继承与单方立嗣相结合将形成两性的不平等。从这一点来看，立法的后果显然与期望是背道而驰的（第四章第六节）。

A definition of situation sometimes may be accurate but not complete. In the silk industry, for instance, the reformers have defined the situation mainly in technical terms. The omission of the factor of international trade in the decline of the price of silk had resulted in their failure for many years to fulfil their promise to the villagers of big incomes from the industry (XII–8).

An adequate definition of situation, if it is to organize successful actions and attain the desired end, must be reached through a careful analysis of the functions of the social institutions, in relation to the need that they purport to satisfy and in relation to other institutions on which their working depends. This is the work of a social scientist. Social science therefore should play an important rôle in directing cultural change.

The need of such knowledge has become more and more urgent in China because the country cannot afford to waste any more of her wealth and energy in making mistakes. The fundamental end is evident; it is the satisfaction of the basic requirements common to every Chinese. This should be recognized by all. A village which stands on the verge of starvation profits nobody, not even the usurers. In this sense there should be no political differences among the Chinese upon these fundamental measures. Where

differences exist, they are due to misrepresentation of facts. A systematic presentation of the actual conditions of the people will convince the nation of the urgent policies necessary for rehabilitating the lives of the masses. It is not a matter for philosophical speculation, much less should it be a matter for dispute between schools of thought. What is really needed is a common-sense judgment based on reliable information.

The present study is only one of the initial attempts of a group of young Chinese students who have realized the importance of this task. Similar studies have been carried out in Fukien, Shantung, Shansi, Hopei, and Kwangsi and will be pursued in the future by more extensive and better organized efforts. I am reluctant to present this premature account, premature because I have been deprived of chances of further field investigation in the immediate future on account of the Japanese occupation and destruction of the village here described. But I am presenting this study in the hopes that it may give a realistic picture to Western readers of the huge task that has been imposed on my people and the agony of the present struggle. Without being pessimistic, let me assure my readers that the struggle is evidently to be a long and grave one. We are ready for the worst and it may be a thousand times worse than the Japanese bombs and poisonous gas. I am, however, confident that, despite the past errors and present misfortunes, China will emerge once more a great nation, through the unswerving effort of her people. The present account is not a record of a vanished history but a prelude to a new chapter of the world history that will be written not in ink but in the blood of millions.

有时，对情况或形势的阐明或分析可能是正确的，但不完整。例如，在缫丝工业中，改革者主要从技术方面来分析情况，忽略了在丝价下降中国际贸易的因素，这就导致多年来，对村民许下的从工业中增加收入的诺言，未能实现（第十二章第八节）。

如果要组织有效果的行动并达到预期的目的，必须对情况有细致的阐述，而这种阐述需要对社会制度的功能进行细致的分析，而且要同它们意欲满足的需要结合起来分析，也要同它们的运转所依赖的其他制度联系起来分析。这就是社会科学者的工作。所以社会科学应该在指导文化变迁中起重要的作用。

中国越来越迫切地需要这种知识，因为这个国家再也承担不起因失误而损耗任何财富和能量。我们的根本目的是明确的，这就是满足每个中国人共同的基本需要。大家都应该承认这一点。一个站在饥饿边缘上

的村庄对谁都没有好处，即使对放贷者也是如此。从这个意义上说，对这些基本措施，在中国人中间应该没有政治上的分歧。分歧之处是由于对事实的误述或歪曲。对人民实际情况的系统反映将有助于使这个国家相信，为了恢复广大群众的正常生活，现在迫切地需要一些政策。这不是一个哲学思考的问题，更不应该是各学派思想争论的问题。真正需要的是一种以可靠的情况为依据的常识性的判断。

目前的研究，仅仅是一群懂得了这一任务的重要性的中国青年学生们的初步尝试。在福建、山东、山西、河北和广西都开展了同样的研究。将来还会有更广泛的、组织得更好的力量，继续进行研究。我不太愿意把这本不成熟的书拿出来，它之所以不成熟，是因为日本人占领并破坏了我所描述的村庄，我被剥夺了在近期作进一步的实地

调查的机会。但我还是要把本书贡献出来，希望它能为西方读者提供一幅现实的画面，这就是：我的人民肩负重任，正在为当前的斗争付出沉痛的代价。我并不悲观，但肯定地说这是一场长期而严酷的斗争。我们已作了最坏的准备，准备承受比日本的炸弹和毒气还会更坏的情况。然而我确信，就算有过去的错误和当前的不幸，通过人民坚持不懈的努力，中国将再一次以一个伟大的国家屹立在世界上。本书并不是一本消逝了的历史的记录，而是将以百万人民的鲜血写成的世界历史新篇章的序言。

CHAPTER II THE FIELD

〔1〕 Delimitation of Field

To carry out intensive study of the life of the people, it is necessary to confine oneself to the investigation of a small social unit. This is due to practical considerations. The people under investigation must be within easy reach of the investigator in order that the latter can observe personally and intimately. The unit of study, on the other hand, should not be too small. It should provide a fair cross-section of the social life of the people.

This general problem has been discussed by Professor A. Radcliffe-Brown, Dr. Wu Wen-tsao, and Dr. Raymond Firth.[1] It is agreed that in the first stage of such a study, a village would be the most appropriate unit. "To start with a single village as a centre," says Dr. Firth, "investigate the relationships of the persons composing it, in terms of kinship, the distribution of authority, economic organization, religious affiliations, and other social ties, and try to see how these relationships affect one another and determine the co-operative life of the small community. From this centre the investigation will radiate out following the personal relationships into other units in adjacent villages, economic linkage and social co-operation."[2]

A village is a community characterized by its being an aggregate of households on a compact residential area, separated from other similar units by a considerable distance (this may not hold good in some parts of China where households are scattered), organized in various social activities as a group, and possessing a special name of its own. It is a *de facto* social unit recognized by the people themselves.

A village as such does not enter formally into the new administrative system in China—Pao Chea[3] —which is artificially created for certain specific purposes (VI–5). Since this system was introduced to Kaihsienkung only in 1935, it is very difficult to say when these *de jure* units, through increasing administrative function, will cause a shift in the existing *de facto*

groupings. But at present, in actual practice, the Pao Chea system is still largely a formality. Thus the unit of our study, the aim of which is to understand the life of the people, must follow the real existing functioning unit—the village.

贰 调查区域

一、调查区域的界定

为了对人们的生活进行深入细致的研究，研究人员有必要把自己的调查限定在一个小的社会单位内来进行。这是出于实际的考虑。调查者必须容易接近被调查者，以便能够亲自进行密切地观察。另一方面，被研究的社会单位也不宜太小，它应能提供人们社会生活的较完整的切片。

A.拉德克利夫-布朗教授、吴文藻博士和雷蒙德·弗思博士[4] 曾经讨论过这个基本问题。他们一致认为，在这种研究的最初阶段，把一个村子作为单位最为合适。弗思博士说："应当以一个村子作研究中心来考察村民们相互间的关系，就亲属关系而言，考察权力的分配、经济的组织、宗教的皈依以及其他种种社会联系，并进而观察这种种社会关系如何相互影响，如何综合以决定这社区的合作生活。从这研究中心循着亲属系统、经济往来、社会合作等路线，推广我们的研究范围到邻近村落以及市镇。"[5]

村庄是一个社区，其特征是：农户聚集在一个紧凑的居住区内，与其他相似的单位隔开相当一段距离（在中国有些地区，农户散居，情况并非如此），作为一个群体组织各种社会活动，具有其特定的名称，而且是一个为人们所公认的事实上的社会单位。

这样一个村庄并没有正式进入保甲制。保甲制是中国的一种新的行政体制，是为了某种特殊目的而人为地设置的（第六章第五节）。开弦弓村在1935年才有这种制度，因此很难说得清，这种法律上的保甲单位，究竟到什么时候才能以其不断增长的行政职能取代现存的事实上的群体。但目前，在实施过程中，保甲制仍然大多流于形式。因此，我们所研究的单位必须是实际存在的职能单位——村庄。我们研究的目的在于了解人民的生活。

To take the village as the unit of study at the present stage of investigation, does not mean that it is a self-contained unit. The inter-

dependence of territorial groups, especially in economic life, is very close in China. It can even be said that the Chinese people have during the last half century entered into the world community. Western goods as well as ideas have reached very remote villages. The economic and political pressure of the Western powers is the prime factor in the present change of Chinese culture. In this connection, one can ask what understanding of these changes and of the external forces causing them can be gained by a field investigation in a small area, such as a village.

It is obvious that the investigator in the village cannot analyse the outside forces in their wide perspective. For instance, the decline of the price of native silk in the world market as a result of the world economic depression and of the technical improvement of the silk industry in general, has produced such effects in the village as deficiency in the family budget, shortage of food, postponement of marriage and the partial break-down of the domestic industry. The field investigator in this case must record as fully as possible the forces that affect village life but he will of course leave the further analysis of these forces themselves to other sicences. He will take these facts for granted and limit himself to tracing the effects which can be directly observed in the life of the village.

Generalizations made from such an intensive study of a small social unit may not be applicable to other units. But they can be used as hypotheses and as comparative material for further investigation in other fields. This is the soundest way to obtain really scientific generalizations.

〔2〕Geographical Foundation

The village chosen for my investigation is called Kaihsienkung, locally pronounced *kejiug'on*. It is situated on the south-east bank of Lake Tai, in the lower course of the Yangtze River and about eighty miles west of Shanghai. It is in the geographical region of the Yangtze Plain. The geographical foundation of this region has been described by G. B. Cressey: "The Yangtze Plain is a land of rivers and canals. Probably nowhere else in the world is there an area with so many navigable waterways. The Yangtze Kiang, the Hwai Ho, and their tributaries provide a splendid highway through the length of the region. In addition to the many rivers there are a series of great lakes, chief among which are Tungting, Poyang, Tai, and Hungtse Hu. It is the canals, however, which give the most characteristic note to the landscape. These canals are the very arteries of life. In the region of Yangtze Delta they form an intricate network and serve as an artificial drainage system which takes the place of rivers. Their length in the south delta alone is estimated by F. H. King, at twenty-five thousand miles.

在目前阶段的调查中，把村庄作为一个研究单位，这并不是说村庄就是一个自给自足的单位。在中国，地方群体之间的相互依存，是非常密切的，在经济生活中尤为如此。甚至可以说，在上半个世纪中，中国人民已经进入了世界的共同体中。西方的货物和思想已经到达了非常边远的村庄。西方列强的政治、经济压力是目前中国文化变迁的重要因素。在这一点上有人可能会问，既然如此，那么在这样一个小的地区，在一个村庄里搞实地调查，对于这种外来力量及其所引起的变迁会取得什么进一步的了解呢？

显然，身处村庄的调查者不可能用宏观的眼光来观察和分析外来势力的各种影响。例如，由于世界经济萧条及丝绸工业中广泛的技术改革引起了国际市场上土产生丝价格的下跌，进而引起农村家庭收入不足、口粮短缺、婚期推迟以及家庭工业的部分破产。在这种情况下，实地调查者必须尽可能全面地记录外来势力对村庄生活的影响，但他当然应该把对这些势力本身的进一步分析留给其他学科去完成。调查者应承认这些事实，并只专注于跟踪那些可以从村庄生活中直接观察到的影响。

对这样一个小的社会单位进行深入研究而得出的结论并不一定适用

于其他单位。但是，这样的结论却可以用作假设，也可以作为在其他地方进行调查时的比较材料。这就是获得真正科学结论的最可靠方法。

二、地理状况

我所选择的调查地点叫开弦弓村，坐落在太湖东南岸，位于长江下游，在上海以西约80英里的地方，其地理区域属于长江三角洲。G. B.克雷西曾经这样描述该区域的地理概况：“在长江平原的土地上，布满了河流与运河。世界上大概再也没有其他地区会有那么多可通航的水路。长江、淮河及其支流形成了一条贯穿这个区域的通道，颇为壮观。这里不但河流多，而且还有许多大小湖泊，其中主要有洞庭湖、鄱阳湖、太湖、洪泽湖。然而赋予这个地貌以最显著的特征的是人工河渠。这些河渠正是生活的命脉。在长江三角洲地区，河渠形成了错综复杂的网络，起着人工水系的作用，取代了河流。据F. H.金的估计，仅三角洲南部的河渠长度就有25,000英里左右。

"This region is compound alluvial plain, the accumulation of sediment laid down by the rivers during long ages. There are a few isolated hills, but for the most part the land is level. The country is flat, but innumerable grave mounds and the trees about the villages break the view. Both rural and urban settlement is more congested than in the region of the North, but factors of climate and location combine to make this the most prosperous part of China. [6]

"The Yangtze Plain is...distinctly influenced by summer-monsoon conditions... Here, too, are felt the greatest effects of continental cyclonic storms.

"Owing to the southernly latitude, the summers are subtropical with temperatures which frequently rise to 38℃. (100℉.)... The average (rainfall) for the entire region is about 1,200 mm. (45 in.).... Most of the rain falls during the spring and summer, with June the rainiest month. The period from October to February is comparatively dry with clear skies and stimulating temperatures, making this the most pleasant season of the year.

"Winter temperatures seldom remain below freezing for more than a few days at a time. Ice forms only in thin sheets on the colder nights and there is little snow.... The average of summer maximum temperature for Shanghai is 37℃. (91℉.), and the average of winter minimum is –7℃. (19℉.).

"The Yangtze Plain has climate conditions which are favourable for agriculture during most of the year so that the growing season lasts for about 300 days." [7]

The commanding position of this region in Chinese economy is due partly to its superior natural environment and partly to its favourable position in the system of communications. It is located at the crossing point of the two main water routes: namely, the Yangtze River and the Grand Canal. They connect this region with the immense territory of western and northern China. Being a coastal region, it has become more and more important since the development of international trade by ocean transport. Shanghai, the seaport of this region, has developed into the biggest metropolis in the Far East. The railway system in this region is also well developed. From Shanghai, two important lines have been built, one to Nanking, passing Soochow, and one to Hongchow, passing Chianhsing. Recently in 1936 a new line between Soochow and Chianhsing was added to form a circuit between the above-mentioned two main lines. Motor roads have been built for the intra-regional communication; and besides there is an extensive use of the canals and canalized streams.

“这个地区是复合冲积平原，由长期以来河流带来的泥沙淤积而成，只有少数孤立的山丘，大部地区是平川。乡下土地平坦，但是无数的坟墩和村子周围的树林遮住了视线。这里，无论是乡村或城市的居住区都比北方地区人口密集。但由于气候、地理位置等因素的共同作用，这里成为了中国最繁荣的地方。[8]

“长江平原……显然受夏季季节风的影响……也经受大陆性旋风的巨大威力。

“由于纬度偏南，夏季呈亚热带气候，气温经常升至38℃（100℉）。……整个地区平均降雨量约为1,200毫米（45英寸）……春、夏季多雨，6月份的雨量最多。自10月至来年2月，气候较为干燥，天空晴朗，气温宜人，这时候是一年中最爽快的季节。

“冬天的气温，难得一连数日都在零下，在较冷的夜间才结薄冰，很少下雪。……在上海，夏季平均最高气温37℃（91℉），冬季平均最低气温为–7℃（19℉）。

“长江平原一年四季，大部分时间的气候条件都有利于农业，生长季节约持续300天。”[9]

这个地区之所以在中国经济上取得主导地位，一方面是由于其优越

的自然环境，另一方面是由于它在交通上的有利位置。该地区位于长江和大运河这两条水路干线的交叉点上。这两条水路把这个地区与中国西部和北部的广大疆土联结起来。作为沿海地区，自从通过远洋运输发展国际贸易以来，它的重要性与日俱增。该地区的港口上海现已发展成为远东的最大城市。这里的铁路系统也很发达，已经修建了两条重要线路，一条从上海经苏州至南京；另一条由上海经嘉兴至杭州。最近，也就是在1936年，苏州与嘉兴之间又增加了一条新线路，与上述两条干线形成环行铁路。为了便利地区内的交通，还修建了汽车路；除此之外，还广泛利用了运河及改成运河的河道进行交通运输。

This region has supported a very dense population, most of which is resident in villages. A bird's-eye view shows a cluster of villages. Each village is separated from its neighbour by only a walking distance of, on an average, twenty minutes. Kaihsienkung is but one of these thousands of villages crowding on this land.

In the centre of several tens of villages there is a town. The town is the collecting centre of the basic produce from the surrounding villages and the distributing point for manufactured goods brought from the outside cities. The town on which Kaihsienkung depends is called Chên Tsê, about four miles south of the village. It takes about two and a half hours for a single trip by boat. Chên Tsê lies about six miles south-east of Lake Tai and eight miles west of the Grand Canal and the Soochow-Chianhsing line. At present it is connected with the nearest station, Ping Wang, both by motor boat and bus services. By the existing railway lines, one can reach Shanghai from the town within eight hours. The geographical position of Kaihsienkung in relation to the above-mentioned towns and cities is shown in the accompanying maps (Map I and II).

〔3〕Economic Background

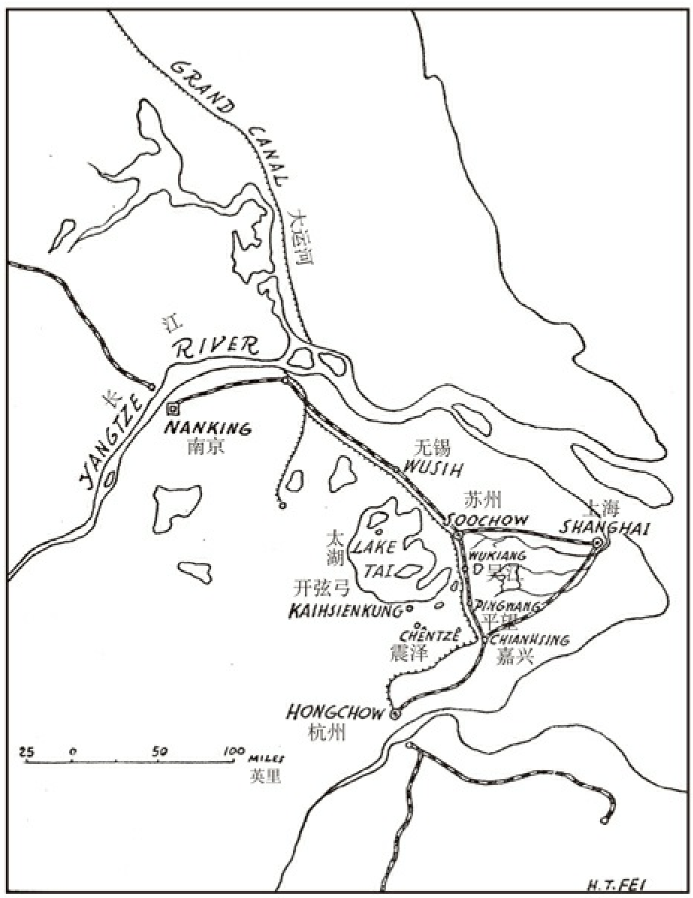
Here the human geographer will be right in inferring the occupation of the people from the natural conditions of the land they occupy. A traveller in a train, passing through that region, would not lose sight of the rice fields for more than intervals of a few minutes. In Kaihsienkung, according to estimates, more than ninety per cent. of the land is used for rice cultivation. This single village produces, on the average, eighteen thousand bushels of rice every year (X–2). Only a little more than half of the produce is consumed by the people themselves (VII–5). Very few households in the village are entirely free from agricultural work. About seventy-six per cent. of the total number of households are engaged in agriculture as their main occupation (VIII–1). The time spent in cultivating rice amounts to six months in the year (IX–3). From this crop the people earn more than half of their income (XII–2). Thus from any angle, rice is of primary importance.

该地区人口密集，大多数人口居住在农村。如从空中俯视，可以看见到处是一簇簇的村庄。每个村子仅与邻村平均相隔走20分钟路的距离。开弦弓只不过是群集在这块土地上成千上万个村庄之一。

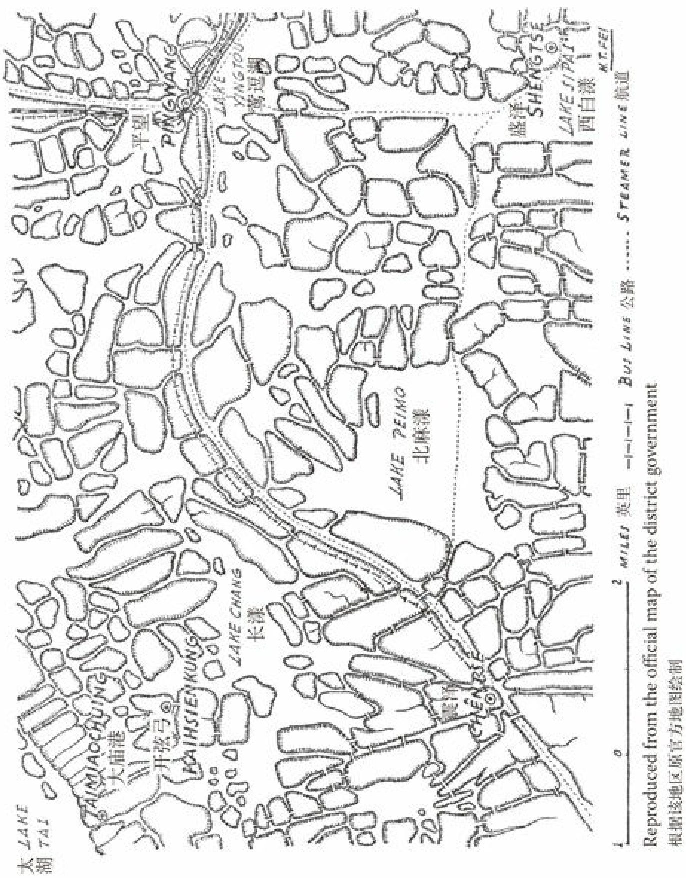
在数十个村庄的中心地带就有一个市镇。市镇是收集周围村子土产品的中心，又是分配外地城市工业品下乡的中心。开弦弓所依傍的市镇叫震泽，在开弦弓以南约四英里，坐手摇船单程约需两个半小时。震泽地处太湖东南约六英里，大运河及苏嘉线以西约八英里。目前，可乘轮船或公共汽车到达苏嘉线的平望站。通过现有的铁路线，可在八小时以内从震泽到达上海。开弦弓与上述各城市及集镇间的位置关系，详见所附地图（见地图I、II）。

三、经济背景

在这里，人文地理学者会正确地从人们所占据的土地的自然条件推论人们的职业。一个旅客，如果乘火车路经这个地区时，将接连不断地看到一片片的稻田。据估计，开弦弓90%以上的土地都用于种植水稻。该村每年平均产米18,000蒲式耳（第十章第二节）。仅一半多一点的粮食为人们自己所消费（第七章第五节）。村里极少有完全不干农活的人家。占总户数约76%的人家以农业为主要职业（第八章第一节）。一年中，用于种稻的时间约占六个月（第九章第三节）。人们靠种稻挣得一半以上的收入（第十二章第二节）。因而，从任何一个角度看，种植水稻的重要性是居于首位的。



Map I The Lower Yangtze Valley
地图I 长江下游流域



Map II Surroundings of Kaihsienkung
地图II 开弦弓周围的环境

But rice is not the only produce of the land. Wheat, rapeseeds and various vegetables are grown too, although they are insignificant as compared with the chief crop. Moreover, the water provides fish, shrimps, crabs, and different kinds of water plants which are all used locally as food.

The mulberry tree plays an important part in the economic life of the villagers. It enables them to develop their silk industry. Wright wrote early in 1908, "Raw white silk, the *tsatlee* silk of European markets, is produced by the hand reeling of the Chinese silkworm farms... The best white silk comes from the district surrounding Shanghai, which contributes by far the greatest proportion of the value exported."[10]

Silk industry is common to the whole region but it is specially well developed in the villages around Lake Tai. This specialization is due, according to the local people, to the good quality of the water. It is said that the so-called *tsatlee* silk is produced only in the area about four miles in

diameter around Kaihsienkung. How far this statement is true is another question, but the importance of the village in rural industry is beyond doubt. During its prosperous period, this area not only contributed a large part of China's silk export but also supplied the demand for raw material for the domestic weaving industry of the neighbouring town Sheng Tsê (Map II). The weaving industry of that town before its decline had been known to be able to produce "ten thousand pieces a day."

The rural silk industry began to decline when the modern factory for silk manufacturing with its improved technique of production was introduced both into Japan and China. This industrial revolution changed the fortunes of the domestic rural industry.

"Previous to 1909... the quantity of Chinese silk exported had been larger than that of Japanese silk. In 1907, for instance, the two were almost the same. It was only in 1909, however, that Japanese silk export began to exceed that of China, and this advantage the former has been able to keep up ever since. In fact, in recent years, the Japanese export was nearly three times that of this country. From the point of view of our foreign trade, silk also decreased in significance since 1909. Before that date it used to constitute from 20 to 30 per cent. of our total exports, but the average for the years 1909—1916 fell to 17 per cent." [11]

此地不仅产米，人们还种麦子、油菜籽及各种蔬菜，尽管它们与主要作物相比是无足轻重的。此外，江河里尚有鱼、虾、蟹及各种水生植物等，这些都是当地的食物。

桑树在农民的经济生活中起着重要的作用。人们靠它发展蚕丝业。赖特早在1908年写道：“白色生丝，即欧洲市场中的‘辑里丝’，是中国养蚕农家用手抽制的。……最佳生丝产自上海附近地区，该地区出口的丝占出口额的绝大部分。”[12]

蚕丝业在整个地区非常普遍，在太湖周围的村庄里尤为发达。据当地人说，它之所以成为该地特产是由于水质好。据说，所谓的“辑里丝”仅产于开弦弓周围方圆四英里的地带。这一说法的真实性暂且不论，但这个村庄在当地乡村工业中的重要地位确是毫无疑问的。在繁荣时期，这个地带的丝不仅在中国蚕丝出口额中占主要比重，而且还为邻近的盛泽镇（见地图II）丝织工业的需要提供原料。在丝织业衰退之前，盛泽的丝织业号称“日产万匹”。

现代制丝业的先进生产技术引进日本、中国之后，乡村丝业开始衰

退。这一工业革命改变了国内乡村手工业的命运。

“1909年以前……中国蚕丝出口量比日本大。例如1907年，两国出口量几乎相同。但到1909年，日本蚕丝出口便超过了中国，而且从此以后，日本一直保持优势。事实上近年来，日本的出口量几近中国的3倍。从我国外贸角度来看，自从1909年以来，蚕丝的重要性也降低了。以前，蚕丝通常占我国出口总额的20%至30%，而从1909年至1916年的平均数下降至17%。”[13]

The amount of produce, however, had been increasing although irregularly up to 1923. But owing to the fall in price, the increasing amount of export did not mean necessarily an increase of return. The amount of export has declined steadily ever since that time. During 1928 to 1930, the percentage of decrease was about twenty.[14] The rate of decrease was more rapid in the period between 1930 to 1934. "As Japanese silk was dumped on the American market in the latter part of the year (1934), China's silk export dropped to the lowest point accordingly. The volume of silk exported amounted to only one-fifth of that in 1930, a fact which is indicative of the depression of the Chinese silk trade.

"The price of raw silk dropped to a new low level in 1934.... The 1934 price level for the same quality of silk was only one-third of the 1930 price level."[15]

The internal market for silk has shrunk at the same time due to the same forces of industrial revolution affecting the weaving industry. The consequence of the shrinkage of the market is the break-down of the traditional domestic silk industry in the rural district. The traditional specialization in the silk industry and its recent decline form the background of the economic life of the village in the present analysis.

〔4〕The Village Site

Let us examine the village itself. The land occupied by the people in this village consists of eleven *yu*. *Yu* is the local term for the unit of land surrounded by water. Each *yu* has its own name. Its size is determined by the distribution of streams and thus varies. The total area of land of this village is 3,065 *mow* or 461 acres. The names and sizes of these eleven *yu* are given in the following table, according to the official survey of 1932. Two of the *yu* belong in part to other villages, and, since there are no clear boundaries, I can only make a rough estimate of the portion belonging to Kaihsienkung.

Hsi Chang *yu* . .	. . . 986.402 *mow*
Ch'eng Kioh Hsi Tou *yu*	. . . 546.141
Kuei Tsŭ *yu* . .	. . . 458.010
Ch'eng Kioh *yu* . .	. . . 275.110
Liang Kioh *yu* . .	. . . 261.320
Hsi Tou *yu* . .	. . . 174.146
P'an Hsiang Pa . .	. . . 173.263
Tou Tsŭ *yu* . .	. . . 70.540
Wu Tsŭ *yu* . .	. . . 56.469
Peh Cheng Kioh .	. . . 55.858
Hsin Tien *yu* . .	. . . 8.545
——	
Total . .	. . . 3,065.804
or	. . . 461.12 acres

尽管如此，一直到1923年，蚕丝的产量一直是在增加的，虽然增长的幅度并不固定。由于蚕丝价格下跌，出口量的增长并不一定意味着收入的增加。从1923年以后，出口量便就此一蹶不振。1928年至1930年间，出口量下降率约为20%。[16] 1930年至1934年间，下降得更为迅速。“1934年下半年，由于日本向美国市场倾销蚕丝，中国蚕丝出口量随之降到最低水平。出口蚕丝量共计仅为1930年的五分之一。这一事实，说明了中国蚕丝贸易的不景气。

“1934年生丝价格跌到前所未有的更低的水平。……同样质量的丝，1934年的价格水平仅为1930年的三分之一。”[17]

工业革命影响丝织业的力量同样使国内蚕丝市场缩小。市场缩小的结果带来了农村地区传统家庭蚕丝手工业的破产。传统的专业化蚕丝业及其近年来的衰落就形成了我们目前所分析的开弦弓村的经济生活背景。

四、村庄

现在让我们来观察一下村庄本身。村里的人占有土地共11圩。圩是土地单位，当地人称一块环绕着水的土地为一“圩”。每个圩有一个名字。圩的大小取决于水流的分布，因此各不相等。该村土地的总面积为3,065亩（或461英亩）。据1932年官方勘测，各圩的名称及面积如下表所示，其中有两圩部分属于其他村子，由于无明显的界限，我只能粗略地估计属于开弦弓那部分土地的面积：

西长圩 ……………………………………986.402亩
城角西多圩 ………………………………546.141亩
龟字圩 ……………………………………458.010亩
城角圩 ……………………………………275.110亩
凉角圩 ……………………………………261.320亩
西多圩 ……………………………………174.146亩
潘乡背 ……………………………173.263亩
多字圩 ……………………………70.540亩
吴字圩 ……………………………56.469亩
北城角 ……………………………55.858亩
新添圩 ……………………………8.545亩
总计 ………………………………3,065.804亩
或461.12英亩

The land can be roughly divided into two parts: namely, that used for cultivation and that used for dwellings. The residential area occupies rather a small portion. It is found at the junction of three streams and the houses are distributed on the margin of four yu. Names of these yu and number of houses on each are given in the following table:

I. Ch'eng Kioh *yu*	133
II. Liang Kioh *yu*	95
III. Hsi Chang *yu*	75
IV. T'an Chia Têng (Wu Tsŭ *yu*) . . .	57
Total	360

The plan of the residential area must be studied in relation to the communication system of the village. In this region, boats are extensively used for heavy and long-distance traffic. The land routes connecting different villages and towns are mainly used for pulling the boats against unfavourable

currents and winds. People usually come to the village by boats, except a few pedlars. Nearly every household possesses at least one boat. The importance of the boat in communication means that the houses must be near the water and consequently determines the plan of the village. Villages grow up along the streams; at the junction of several streams, bigger villages are found. As we can see from the accompanying map, the backbone of Kaihsienkung village is formed by three streams, designated here as A, B, and C. Stream A, the main one, runs like an arc, and from this the village gets its name. Kaihsienkung literally means open-string-bow.

Boats are not convenient for short distances or very light traffic inside the residential area. Roads are built for communication between the houses. In this case, the streams represent obstacles to communication and the separated *yu* must be connected by bridges.

土地可略分为两部分：庄稼用地及居住用地。住宅区仅占相当小的部分，就在三条小河的汇集处，房屋分散在四个圩的边缘。这四个圩的名称及每个圩边的房屋数目如下：

Ⅰ.城角圩……………………………133
Ⅱ.凉角圩……………………………95
Ⅲ.西长圩……………………………75
Ⅳ.谈家墩（吴字圩）………………57
总计……………………………………360

研究住宅区的规划必须同村子的交通系统联系起来。在这个地区，人们广泛使用船只载运重物进行长途运输。连接不同村庄和城镇的陆路，主要是在逆流、逆风时拉纤用的，即所谓塘岸。除了一些担挑的小商人之外，人们通常乘船来往。几乎家家户户都至少有一条船。由于船只在交通运输上的重要位置，为便利起见，房屋必须建筑在河道附近，这就决定了村子的规划。河道沿岸，大小村庄应运而生；大一些的村子都建在几条河的岔口。正如我们可以从附图上看到，开弦弓的“脊梁骨”系由三条河组成，暂且定名为A、B和C。河A是主流，像一张弓一样流过村子，开弦弓便由此而得名。字面上的意思就是：“拉开弦的弓”。

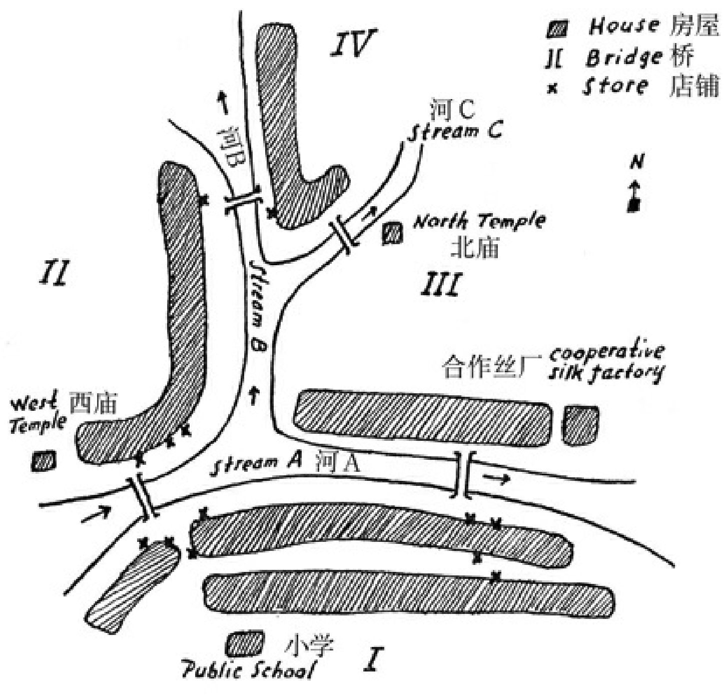
在住宅区内，用船装载轻便的东西，或作短距离运输，不甚方便。因此在住房之间修起了道路以利往来。在这种情况下，河流就成了交通的障碍。各圩被河流所分割，必须用桥来连接。

The road system of this village does not form a complete circle. In the northern part of *yu* III, a large part of the land is used for farming. In that part,

there are only small paths among the farms, and they are not convenient for walking, especially during wet weather. Owing to this fact the bridge at the west end of Stream A is the central point in the system. Small shops are concentrated largely around the bridges, especially the bridge at the west end (XIV–8).

Nevertheless, in the village plan, there is no special place where the public life of the people is concentrated. Except for the informal gatherings in the summer evenings around the bridges, there has been no organized public gathering for more than ten years, since the annual opera performance was suspended.

The headquarters of the village headmen is at the east end in the co-operative silk factory. The position of the factory was selected for technical reasons. The current of Stream A runs from west to east. To avoid adding the dirt of the factory to the stream which provides the daily water supply of the people along the stream, the factory was built at the lower course.



Map III The Village Plan
地图III 村庄详图

Two temples are found on the outskirts of the residential area: one at the west end and the other at the north end. But the position of the temples does

not mean that the religious life of the people is con-centrated on the outskirts. In fact, their religious life is largely carried on in their own houses. It would be more correct to regard the temples as the residences of priests and gods, who are not only segregated some distance apart from the ordinary people but are also separated from everyday community life except on special ceremonial occasions.

The public school is at the south end. The building was originally used as the office of the silk reform bureau. It was given to the school when the factory was established.

The residential area is surrounded by farming land, which is low owing to the irrigation system (X–1). The area suitable for buildings has been covered by houses and for a long time has not expanded.

这个村的陆路系统不能形成完全的环行路。在圩III的北部，大部分土地用来耕种，田间仅有小路，不便于行走，雨天尤其如此，因此，河A西端的桥便成了交通中心。小店铺大多集中在各桥附近。特别是集中在村子西边的桥旁（第十四章第八节）。

虽然如此，村庄的规划中却没有一个人们集中起来进行公共活动的专用场所。自从一年一度的唱戏停止演出后，除了夏天夜晚人们随意地聚集在桥边乘凉以外，十多年来，从未有过组织起来的公众集会。

村长的总部设在村子东端合作丝厂里面。厂址的选择是出于技术上的原因。河A的水自西向东流。由于河A供给沿岸居民的日常用水，所以把厂子建在下游，以免污染河水。

在住宅区外围有两座庙，一个在村西，一个在村北。这并不意味着人们的宗教活动都集中在村外边进行。实际上，他们的宗教活动多数都在自己家里开展。比较确切地说，庙是和尚及菩萨的住所。和尚、菩萨不仅同普通的人隔开一段距离，而且也与社区的日常生活隔开，但进行特殊仪式时除外。

公办小学在村的南端。校舍原先用作蚕丝改进社的办公室。合作丝厂建立以后便把房子给了学校。

住宅区周围都是农田，由于灌溉系统的缘故，农田地势较低（第十章第一节）。适宜于建筑的地区都已盖满了房屋，而且长期没有扩大。

The newly introduced public institutions such as the school and the silk factory could only find their location at the outskirt of the old residential area. Their location is an expression of the process of change in the community

life.

〔5〕The People

A census of the village was taken in 1935. Because no continuous registration of births and deaths has been properly carried out, I can take this census only as the basis for my analysis. In the census, all the residents in this village, including those temporarily absent, are recorded. The figures are summarized in the following table:

Age	Male	Female	Total
71+	4	15	19
66–70	10	19	29
61–65	14	32	46
56–60	30	39	69
51–55	40	38	78
46–50	26	29	55
41–45	45	38	83
36–40	69	55	124
31–35	64	45	109
26–30	75	61	136
21–25	63	52	115
16–20	68	54	122
11–15	72	61	133
6–10	73	59	132
–5	118	87	205
?	——	——	3
Total	771	684	1,458

Those temporarily residing in the village but living in definite households are recorded in the census in a special class called "Persons living together"; these are not included in the above table. The total number in this class is 25.

The density of population (excluding surface of water in computation) is about 1,980 per square mile. This cannot be compared with the average density of the province. The latter is calculated from the general area of the province which includes the surface of water and uncultivated land; it is a gross density. My figure represents the actual ratio between men and land

used. The gross density of the province (Kiangsu), as quoted by Professor Tawney, is 896 per square mile.[18]

新的公共机构，例如学校和合作丝厂，只有在老的住宅区外围找到地盘。它们的位置说明了社区生活的变化过程。

五、村里的人

1935年该村的人口有过一次普查。因为出生、死亡情况一直没有连续的登记，所以我只能把这次普查结果作为分析的基础。这次人口普查对村里的所有居民，包括暂时不在村里的人口，都做了记录。统计数字见下表：

年龄	男	女	总计
71+	4	15	19
66—70	10	19	29
61—65	14	32	46
56—60	30	39	69
51—55	40	38	78
46—50	26	29	55
41—45	45	38	83
36—40	69	55	124
31—35	64	45	109
26—30	75	61	136
21—25	63	52	115
16—20	68	54	122
11—15	72	61	133
6—10	73	59	132
—5	118	87	205
?	—	—	3
总计	774	684	1,458

对那些暂时寄居在村里农户家里的人口，普查记录专设了一栏。这些人口未包括在上表中。这一栏的总人数为25人。

人口密度（计算时不包括水面面积）约为每平方英里1,980人。这个数字不能与本省的平均人口密度相比，因为省人口密度是根据全省总面积（包括水面及非耕地）来计算的，那是一个总密度。我的数字代表着人和被使用的土地之间的比率。托尼教授所引述的江苏省的人口总密度是每平方英里896人。[19]

Not all those who reside in the village are indiscriminately considered as villagers. If the inhabitants are asked which are the people who belong to the village, we shall discover that distinction is made locally between natives and

outsiders. This is not a legal distinction; from the legal point of view those who reside in a district for more than three years become members of the local community.[20] But this does not constitute, in the people's eyes, real membership of the village.

To analyse this distinction, it may be better to take concrete cases of those who are considered as outsiders in the village. There are ten such households, and their professions and birth-places are as follows:

Barber	2	Chenkiang (Kiangsu)
Miller and shoemaker	1	Tanyang (Kiangsu)
Grocer	1	Hengshan (A village in the same district)
Spinner	1	Wuchiashen (A village in the same district)
Priest	1	Chên Tsê
Operator of the pumping machine . .	1	Ningpo (Chekiang)
Silversmith	1	Shaohsing (Chekiang)
Bamboo artisan	1	Chinhua (Chekiang)
Medicine dealer	1	Wuchen (Chekiang)

Their common characters are (1) that they are immigrants and (2) that they are engaged in special professions. But I have no information about the necessary period of residence in order to attain the status of being a native villager. I have, however, known cases of children of the "outsiders" born in the village being treated like their parents. It appears that the distinction is not made solely on the consideration of period of residence.

On the other hand, the fact that none of the outsiders are farmers is significant. Although not all special professions are filled by them, they constitute one-third of the whole group (VIII–2). It prevents them from quick assimilation.

The villagers as a group possess certain cultural peculiarities. One of my informants mentioned three outstanding items to me: (1) that the villagers tend to palatalize the words such as *gon*, *jeu*, *etc.*, in speech, (2) their women do not work on the farm, and (3) their women always wear skirts even in the hot summer. In these respects, they differ even from the people from the nearest town, Chên Tsê.

人们并不认为所有住在村里的人一律都是本村人。如果问本村居民，哪些人是本村的，我们就会发现当地对于本村人和外来人有着明显的区别。但这种区别并不是法律上的；从法律观点看，一个人只要在某地居住三年以上，他就成为当地社区的一名成员。[21] 可是在人们的眼

里，这样的人并不是真正的本村人。

为说明这种区别，不妨举一些具体的例子：那些被当作外来户的村里人。这样的外来户共有l0家，其职业和本籍分述如下：

理发匠……………………………2镇江（江苏）
磨工兼鞋匠………………………1丹阳（江苏）
杂货商……………………………1横扇（同区—村庄）
纺织工……………………………1吴家村（同区—村庄）
和尚………………………………1震泽
水泵操作者………………………1宁波（浙江）
银匠………………………………1绍兴（浙江）
篾匠………………………………1金华（浙江）
药商………………………………1鄔镇（浙江）

他们的共同特点是：（1）都是移民，（2）从事某种特殊职业。我未听说一个外来人究竟需要在本村住多久才能算作本村人，但是我却听说过：外来人的孩子，虽生于本村，仍像其父母一样，被视作外来人。由此看来，并非完全根据居住期的长短来确定这种区别的。

另一方面，值得研究的是这样一个事实：凡是外来户都不是农民。虽然并非所有特殊的职业都是外来人干的，但他们仍构成了这类人的三分之一（第八章第二节），从事特殊职业使他们不会很快被同化。

作为一个群体，本村人具有一定的文化特色。一个提供资料的本地人向我提到过三个显著特点：（1）本村人说话时，吐字趋于腭音化，例如“讲”、“究”等等；（2）妇女不下田干活；（3）妇女总是穿裙子，甚至在炎热的夏天也穿着。在这几方面，本村人甚至与最近的震泽镇人都不相同。

Those who are regarded as outsiders have not been culturally assimilated. I noticed their non-native accent in speech and non-native way of dressing; for instance, the women in the medicine shop did not wear skirts.

As long as the outsiders preserve their own linguistic and cultural difference, and those are noticed by the natives, they will live on more or less symbiotically in the community. The distinction of natives and out-siders is significant because it has been translated into social relations. The fact that outsiders are all engaged in special professions and possess no land is alone sufficient to indicate that the distinction has far-reaching economic consequences.

〔6〕Reasons for Selecting the Field

The village as described is of interest in the following respects.

(1) It has been one of the important centres of domestic silk industry in China. The village can therefore be taken as a representative case of the process of change in Chinese industry; the change has been chiefly concerned with the substitution of the factory for the domestic system and the social problems rising therefrom. This is a general process, still going on in China, and also has parallels in different parts of the world. The problem of industrial development in China has its practical significance, but has never been studied intensively with a full knowledge of the social organization of the village. Moreover, in this village an experiment at industrial reform has been made during the past ten years. The social reform activities are of great relevance to the social changes in China; they should be carefully analysed in an objective way. It is possible that through such an analysis certain important but hitherto unnoticed problems may be revealed.

(2) Kaihsienkung is located in an area where, owing to superb natural resources, agriculture has been developed to a very high degree. The institution of land tenure also has here peculiar elaborations. The village would provide a good field for the study of land problems in China.

那些被视为外来户的人，在生活上一直未被同化。我注意到他们的非本地口音及非本地穿着方式，例如，药店里的妇女不穿裙子。

只要外来户保留着他们自己的语言和文化差别，而且本村人注意到这些差别，那么，在这个社区内，外来户总是过着多少有所见外的生活。对本村人及外来户作出区别是颇有意义的，因为这种区别已经具有广泛的社会意义。外来户全部从事特殊职业，没有土地，仅这一事实就足以说明，区别是有其深远的经济后果的。

六、选择这个调查区域的理由

这个村庄有下列值得注意和研究之处：

（1）开弦弓是中国国内蚕丝业的重要中心之一。因此，可以把这个村子作为在中国工业变迁过程中有代表性的例子；主要变化是工厂代替了家庭手工业系统，并从而产生的社会问题。工业化是一个普遍过程，目前仍在我国进行着，世界各地也有这样的变迁。在中国，工业的发展问题更有其实际意义，但至今没有任何人在全面了解农村社会组织的同时，对这个问题进行过深入的研究。此外，在过去十年中，开弦弓村曾经进行过蚕丝业改革的实验。社会改革活动对于中国的社会变迁是息息相关的；应该以客观的态度仔细分析各种社会变迁。通过这样的分析，有可能揭示或发现某些重要的但迄今未被注意到的问题。

（2）开弦弓一带，由于自然资源极佳，农业发展到很高水平。有关土地占有制度在这里也有特殊的细节。开弦弓将为研究中国土地问题提供一个很好的实地调查的场地。

(3) The extensive use of water communication in that region, with its net-like distribution of water ways, has led to a special relation between town and village, which is different from that found in North China. We are thus able to study a typical case of a marketing system based on water transport.

Besides these considerations, I had special facilities in investigating this village. My investigation had to be limited to a period of two months. It would have been impossible in this short time to carry out any intensive study, if I had worked in an entirely unfamiliar field. Kaihsienkung is a village belonging to the district of Wukiang of which I am a native. I thus started with certain linguistic advantages. Differences in Chinese dialect is one of the practical difficulties in carrying out field investigation. The people in villages usually cannot understand any other dialect besides their own. Being a native of the district, it was not necessary for me to spend time in learning the local dialect. The community feeling of being a native of the same district also enabled me to penetrate into more intimate life without arousing suspicion.

Above all, in this village I could fully utilize the personal connections of

my sister, who, being responsible for the silk reform, had gained the confidence of practically every person in the village. I could without any difficulty secure the best possible co-operation of the villagers in general and the village heads in particular. Having understood my intention, they not only supplied me with all possible material, but made very intelligent and valuable suggestions and explanations to facilitate my investigation. Furthermore, I had visited the village several times before and had been kept continuously informed by my sister about the conditions there. Thus I could go directly into the problem without wasting my time in preliminary work.

My investigation covered the two months of July to August, 1936. Within this time limit, I was naturally not able to follow the complete annual cycle of social activities. However, these two months are significant in their economic life. They cover the last part of the silk industry and the first part of the agricultural work. Supplemented by oral information and my past experiences, the material so far gathered concerning their economic life and the related social institutions is enough for a preliminary analysis.

（3）这个地区广泛使用水上交通，有着网状分布的水路，因而城乡之间有着特殊的关系，这与华北的情况截然不同。这样我们就能够通过典型来研究依靠水上运输的集镇系统。

除去这些考虑之外，我调查开弦弓村还具备特殊便利的条件。由于时间有限，我的调查必须在两个月之内完成。如果我在一个全然不熟悉的地方工作，要在这样短的时间内进行任何细致的研究是不可能的。开弦弓村属于吴江县，而我就是吴江人，我首先在语言上就有一定的有利条件。中国各地方言的差别是进行实地调查的实际困难之一。村里的人们除自己的方言外，一般不懂得任何其他方言。作为一个本地人，就不必再花费时间去学习当地方言。而且同乡的感情使我能够进一步深入到人们的生活中去，不致引起怀疑。

尤其是在这个村里，我可以充分利用我姐姐个人的联系。我姐姐负责蚕丝业的改革，村里的人确实都很信任她。我能够毫无困难地得到全村居民的通力合作，特别是村长们的帮助。他们理解我的意图，不仅尽一切可能提供材料，而且还提出一些可行的办法和有价值的建议，这使我的调查得以顺利进行。此外，我以前曾多次访问过该村，姐姐也继续不断地向我提供该村的情况。因此，我一开始就能直接进入调查本身，无须浪费时间去做那些初步的准备工作。

我的调查历时两个月，是在1936年的7月至8月进行的。在这有限的

时间内，我自然不能对完整的一年为周期的社会活动进行调查。然而，这两个月在他们的经济生活中是有重要意义的，包括了一年中蚕丝业的最后阶段及农活的最初阶段。以我过去的经验及人们口头提供的资料作为补充，到目前为止，我所收集到的关于他们的经济生活及有关社会制度的材料，足以进行初步的分析。

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[1] Professor A. Radcliffe-Brown gave a lecture in Yenching University, Peiping, in 1935 on the problem of intensive study of Chinese villages. Following this lecture, Dr. Wu Wen-tsao has published a series of articles on the problem in Social Research Weekly, Yih Shih Pao, Tientsin. Recently Dr. Raymond Firth has discussed the problem in his article, "Stability in North China Village Life," The Sociological World, Vol. X, in Chinese.
[2] Op. cit., English Abstract, p. 435.
[3] Chinese terms are transcribed in this book following the conventional Wade system. But for special local terms, broad phonetic transcriptions are used, and printed in italics. In phonetic transcription, I adopt j as sign for jetisation.
[4] A．拉德克利夫-布朗教授于1935年在北平燕京大学就深入研究中国农村的问题作了讲演；接着，吴文藻博士在天津《益世报》的《社会研究》周刊上就这个问题发表了一系列文章。近来，雷蒙德·弗思博士在“中国农村社会团结性的研究”一文中讨论了这个问题。此文刊登在《社会学界》第十卷中。
[5] 同前引文，英文摘要，第435页。
[6] China's Geographical Foundation, 1934, p. 283.
[7] Op. cit., p. 295.
[8] 《中国地理概况》，1934年，第283页。
[9] 同前引书，第295页。
[10] Arnold Wright, ed. Twentieth Century Impressions of Hongkong, Shanghai and Other Treaty Ports of China, p. 291.
[11] D. K. Lieu, The Silk Reeling Industry in Shanghai, 1933, p. 9.
[12] 阿诺德·赖特编：《香港、上海及中国其他通商口岸二十世纪印象记》，第291页。
[13] 刘大钧：《上海缫丝工业》，1933年，第9页。
[14] Op. cit., p. 9.
[15] The Chinese Year Book, 1935-36, "Foreign Trade," p. 1094.
[16] 同前引书，第9页。
[17] 《1935—1936年中国年鉴·对外贸易》，第1094页。
[18] Land and Labour in China, p. 24.
[19] 《中国的土地和劳动》，第24页。
[20] Law Governing the Population Registration, December 12, 1931.
[21] 《人口登记法》，1931年12月12日。

CHAPTER III THE CHIA

The basic social group in the village is the Chia, an expanded family. The members of this group possess a common property, keep a common budget and co-operate together to pursue a common living through division of labour. It is also in this group that children are born and brought up and material objects, knowledge, and social positions are inherited.

Larger social groups in the village are formed by combining a number of Chia for various purposes and along kinship or territorial principles. Associations based on individual membership are few and secondary. The following four chapters will provide a social background of the village for our study of its economic life.

〔1〕Chia as an Expanded Family

The term family, as commonly used by anthropologists, refers to the procreative unit consisting of parents and immature children. A Chia is essentially a family but it sometimes includes children even when they have grown and married. Sometimes it also includes some relatively remote patrilineal kinsmen. We can call it an expanded family, because it is an expansion of a family due to the reluctance of the sons to separate from their parents after marriage.

Chia emphasizes the inter-dependence of parents and children. It gives security to the old who are no longer able to work. It tends to ensure social continuity and co-operation among the members.

In a given economy, the indefinite expansion of the group may not be advantageous. In the process of expansion social friction among the members increases. As we shall see presently, the Chia will divide whenever the division proves to be advisable. The size of the group is, therefore, maintained by the balance of the opposing forces working for integration on the one hand and for disintegration on the other. We shall analyse these two forces in the following sections.

Some quantitative data about the size of the Chia in the village may be helpful for our further discussion. In spite of the fact that most studies of China have stressed the importance of the large-family system in China, curiously enough, in this village a large-family is rare. In less than ten per cent. of the total number of Chia do we find more than one married couple.

叁 家

农村中的基本社会群体就是家，一个扩大的家庭。这个群体的成员占有共同的财产，有共同的收支预算，他们通过劳动的分工过着共同的生活。儿童们也是在这个群体中出生、养育并继承了财物、知识及社会地位。

村中更大的社会群体是由若干家根据多种不同目的基于亲属、地域等关系组成的。由个人成员组成的社团很少而且占次要地位。以下四章将提供该村的社会背景以便我们研究其经济生活。

一、家，扩大的家庭

“家庭”这个名词，人类学家普遍使用时，是指一个包括父母及未成年子女的生育单位。中国人所说的“家”，基本上也是一个家庭，但它包括的子女有时甚至已成年或已婚。有时，它还包括一些远房的父系亲属。之所以称它是一个扩大了的家庭，是因为儿子在结婚之后并不和他们的父母分居，因而把家庭扩大了。

家，强调了父母和子女之间的相互依存。它给那些丧失劳动能力的老年人以生活的保障。它也有利于保证社会的延续和家庭成员之间的合作。

在一定的经济条件下，这个群体本身无限的扩展很可能是不利的。在扩展进程中，其成员之间的磨擦增加了。我们即将看到，家是会分的，即所谓“分家”。而且，分家只要较为可取，它就分。因此，家的规模大小是由两股对立的力量的平衡决定的：一股要结合在一起的力量，另一股要分散的力量。在下面几节里，我将分析这两股力量。

关于这村里家的规模，有一些定量的数据可以帮助我们进一步开展讨论。尽管大部分对中国的研究强调中国大家庭制度的重要性，但非常奇怪，在这个村里，大家庭很少。在家的总数中，我们发现有一对以上已婚夫妇的家不到十分之一。

The most common type is that which consists of a nucleus of a married couple and several dependent patrilineal relatives. In fact, more than half, or 58 per cent. of the total, are of this type. But there is not a married couple in every Chia. Sometimes, for instance, after the death of her husband, a woman lives with her children without joining another unit. It may also be the case that a father lives with his son without a woman in the house. These are cases resulting from social disorganization, mainly due to the death of working members of the group; they are consequently unstable. Either the widower will remarry or the child will marry in the earliest possible future so that a normal functioning of the group can be restored. This type of unstable Chia amounts to 27 per cent. of the total.[1]

An average Chia in the village consists of four persons. This is by no means an exception, and indicates the smallness of the group. Evidences from

other rural districts in China give a similar conclusion. The variation lies between six to four persons per family.[2] The so-called large-family is chiefly found in towns and evidently has a different economic basis. For the present material, it can be said that in the village here described, the Chia is a small kinship group consisting of a family as its nucleus and several dependent relatives.

〔2〕Continuity of "Incense and Fire"

The parent-child and the husband-wife relations are two fundamental axes in the family organization. But in the Chia the former seems more important. The essential character of the Chia is that married sons do not always leave their parents, especially when either father or mother is dead. Furthermore, to find a bride for a young man is regarded as part of the parental obligation. Mates are selected and ceremonies arranged by the parents. On the other hand, the legal act of marriage, although preceding the birth of the child, always anticipates the realization of parenthood. The main purpose of marriage, in the village, is to secure the continuity of descent. To ensure posterity is the chief consideration in the selection of a daughter-in-law and this is explicitly expressed in the consultations which are held with the fortune-tellers. The incapacity of a daughter-in-law to fulfil her obligations may be taken as a strong ground for her repudiation without compensation. Again, the full status of a woman is acquired after the birth of her child. Similarly, the affinal relation remains impotent unless a child is born. It is, therefore, justifiable to start our description of the organization of Chia from the parent-child relation.

最常见的类型是：以一对已婚配偶为核心，再包括几个依赖于此家的父系亲属。事实上，超过一半的家，准确地说，占总数58%的家都属于此类。但并不是每一个家都有一对已婚配偶。有时候，在一个妇女丧夫之后，她就和她的子女在一起生活，而不去加入另一个单位。也有这样的情况，一个父亲和他儿子居住在一起，家中没有女人。这些都是社会解组的结果，主要是由于这个群体中从事劳动的成员死亡所致，因而它们是不稳定的。鳏夫会再结婚，孩子也会在不久的将来，一有可能就结婚。任何一种情况都能使一个不正常的家庭得到恢复。这一类不稳定的家占总数的27%。[3]

村中，一个家的成员平均为4人。这说明这种群体是很小的，而且这绝不是一种例外的情况，从中国其他农村地区的材料也可以得出同样的结论。中国农村家庭，平均的人数大约是在4至6人之间。[4] 所谓大家庭，看来主要存在于城镇之中，很明显，它们具有不同的经济基础。就现有材料看，可以说，这个村里的家是一个小的亲属群体，以一个家庭

为核心，并包含有几个依靠他们的亲属。

二、“香火”绵续

父母与子女、夫与妻这两种关系是家庭组织的基本轴心。但在中国所谓的“家”中，前者的关系似乎更为重要。家的基本特征是已婚的儿子中往往有一个不离开他们的父母，父母之中如有一人亡故，更是如此。此外，为儿子找一个媳妇被视为父母的责任。配偶由父母选就，婚礼由父母安排。另一方面，婚姻的法定行为尽管先于生孩子，但结婚总是为了有后代。生孩子的期望先于婚姻。在农村中，结成婚姻的主要目的是为了保证传宗接代。选聘媳妇的主要目的是为了延续后代，保证生育男儿是向算命先生明白提出的要求。如果当媳妇的没有能力来完成她的职责，夫家就有很充足的理由将她遗弃而无需任何赔偿。妇女在生育了孩子之后，她的社会地位才得到完全的确认。同样，姻亲关系只有在她生育孩子以后才开始有效。因此，先从父母与孩子的关系着手来描述和研究家的组织是有根据的。

The importance of the posterity is conceived in religious and ethical terms. The local term for the continuity of descent is "continuity of incense and fire"; this means a continuity of ancestor worship. Beliefs connected with the relation of living descendants to the spirits of their ancestors are not clearly and systematically formulated among the people. The general view is that the spirits live in a world very similar to ours, but that economically they are partially dependent on the contributions of their descendents which are made by periodically burning paper money, paper clothes, and paper articles. Therefore it is essential to have someone to look after one's well-being in the after-world.

Some explain the importance of having children on purely ethical grounds. They conceive it to be their duty because it is through their children that they can pay back their debt to their own parents. Thus the desire to have children is backed up by a two-fold motive: it ensures, in the first place, the continuity of the line of descent; and, in the second place, it is a concrete expression of filial piety by the future father towards his ancestors.

These beliefs, while undoubtedly connected with religious and ethical ideas, have also practical value. In later sections I shall show how the child helps the development of intimate relations between husband and wife, who

are little acquainted with one another before marriage. The child stabilizes the relations in the domestic circle. The economic value of the child is also important. A child starts contributing very early to the family welfare, often before he is ten years of age, in such tasks as collecting grass to feed sheep. A girl is specially useful in the daily house work and in the silk industry. Moreover, when a boy grows up and gets married, his parents are relieved by the young couple of the full burden of work on the land and in the house. When the parents are old and unable to work, they are supported by their sons. This is illustrated by the following fact: there are 145 widows in this village who are unable to live on their own resources, but this does not constitute a serious social problem because most of them are supported by their adult children. Children in this sense are insurance for old age.

Social continuity in kinship is complicated by the unilateral emphasis of affiliation. Membership and property of a person is not trans-mitted equally to the son and daughter. Emphasis is on the male side. During childhood both male and female children are cared for by their parents. Both assume their father's surname, but when they grow up, and get married, the son will continuously live in the parents' house before division while the daughter will leave her parents and live with her husband. She will add her husband's surname to her own. She has no claim on the property of her parents except what she gets as dowry. She also has no obligation to support them except by offering periodical gifts and occasional financial help as their affinal relations (XV–2). Property is inherited by the son whose obligation it is to support the old (IV–3). In the third generation, only the children of the son carry on the continuous line of affiliation. The children of the daughter are regarded as affinal relatives, and assume their father's surname. Therefore, in the village, the principle of descent is patrilineal.

传宗接代的重要性可以从宗教和伦理角度加以理解。传宗接代，用当地的话说就是“香火”绵续，意思是，不断有人继续祀奉祖先。关于活着的子孙和他们祖先鬼魂之间联系的信仰，在人们中间不太明确，也没有系统的说法。大致的观点是：这些祖宗的鬼魂生活在一个和我们非常相像的社会中，但在经济方面他们部分地依靠子孙所作的奉献，这就是定时地烧纸钱、纸衣服和其他纸扎的模拟品。因此，看来死者在阴间的福利还是要有活人来照管的。

有人用纯伦理的观点来解释生育子女的重要性。他们认为这是一种做人的责任，因为只有通过他们的子女才能向自己的父母偿还他们对自

己的抚育之恩。因此，要有子女的愿望是出于双重的动机：首先是传宗接代；第二是向祖宗表示孝敬。

这些信仰，无疑地和宗教及伦理观念联系在一起，同时也有实际的价值。在以后的章节里我将说明子女如何有助于建立夫妇间亲密的关系，因为丈夫和妻子在结婚前是互不相识的。子女还起着稳定家庭群体里各方关系的作用。子女的经济价值也是很重要的。孩子很早就开始给家庭福利作出贡献，常常在十岁之前，就打草喂羊。女孩在日常家务劳动及缫丝工业方面是非常有用的。再者，孩子长大结婚后，年轻的夫妇代替父母担负起在田地上及家庭中的重担。当父母年老而不能劳动时，他们就由儿子们来赡养。这些可以由以下的事实来说明：这个村子中有145名寡妇，她们不能靠自己的经济来源维持生活，但这并没有形成一个严重的社会问题，因为她们之中的绝大多数都由成年子女赡养。从这个意义上来说，孩子是老年的保障，即所谓“养儿防老”。

亲属关系的社会延续问题，由于强调单系的亲属关系而变得复杂起来。一个人的身份和财产并不是平等地传递给子女的。总是把重点放在男性这一边。在幼年时期，男孩和女孩都由父母抚养。他们都用父亲的姓氏。但当他们长大成亲后，儿子在分家前还继续住在父母的房屋里，而女儿则离开父母去和自己的丈夫住在一起。她在自己的姓名前要加上丈夫的姓氏。她除了能得到自己的一份嫁妆外，对自己父母的财产不能提出什么要求。出嫁的女儿，除了定时给父母送礼品及有时给父母一些经济帮助外，她也没有赡养自己父母的责任（第十五章第二节）。财产由儿子继承，他的责任是赡养其父母（第四章第三节）。在第三代，只有儿子的儿子接续他的家系。女儿的孩子则被视为亲戚关系，他们使用自己父亲的姓氏。因此，在村子中，传代的原则是父系的。

This principle, however, can be modified in case of need. By agreement, a daughter's husband may add his wife's surname to his own and their children will carry their mother's line. Sometimes the husband and wife may carry both lines of their parents. These however are minor obliterations of the general principle and appear only in specific circumstances (IV–4). The present legal system has attempted to alter the traditional unilateral emphasis of kinship affiliation owing to the new conception of sex equality (IV–6). We will discuss these obliterations later.

〔3〕Population Control

In spite of the fact that the villagers recognize the importance of posterity, there is a limiting factor for population. It is true that children can contribute labour to the domestic economy, but there must be enough work on which it can be utilized. With land holdings of limited size, and with limits to the extent of silkworm raising, surplus members of a Chia will be merely a burden to the unit. This brings us to an examination of the average size of a land holding in the village.

The total area of cultivated land is 3,065 *mow* or 461 acres. If this area were equally allotted to 360 households, it would mean that each household could only occupy a piece of land about 9.5 *mow* or 1.2 acres in size. Each *mow* of land can produce in a normal year six bushels of rice. About twenty-seven bushels of rice is needed for the consumption of one man, one woman, and one child (VII–5). In other words, to obtain sufficient food, a family group needs a piece of land of about five *mow*. The present size of land holdings is hardly sufficient to provide an average household with a normal livelihood which requires sufficient food and other necessities. The pressure of population on the land is thus a strong limiting factor on the number of children. For example, a family, with a small holding of nine *mow*, will face a serious problem if a second boy is born. According to local custom, the children when grown up will divide the estate. This will mean poverty for both sons. The usual solution is infanticide or abortion. The people do not attempt to justify these practices and admit that they are bad. But there is no alternative except poverty and "crime." The result can be seen in the figures of the total number of children in the village: there are only 470 children under sixteen years of age, 1.3 per Chia.

然而，这个原则有时也可以根据需要加以修改。经过协议，女儿的丈夫也可以在自己的姓名前面加上他妻子的姓，他们的孩子则接续母亲的家系。也有时夫妇双方各自接续双方的家系。总之，这些是总的原则在特定条件下的次要变动（第四章第四节）。由于男女平等的新概念，现行的法律制度企图改变这种传统的偏重单系的亲属制度（第四章第六节）。关于这些变化，留到以后再加以讨论。

三、人口控制

尽管村中的人认识到后代的重要性，但现实中还存在着必须限制人口的因素。儿童的劳动能对家庭经济作出贡献，这是事实，但必须要有足够的劳动对象来利用这些劳动力，由于拥有土地的面积有限，能养多少蚕也有限度，家中多余的成员，成了沉重的负担。有鉴于此，让我们先来观察一下这个村平均的土地拥有量情况。

该村的总面积为3,065亩，农地占90%，如果将2,758.5亩农田平均分配给274家农户，则意味着每户只能有一块约10.06亩大的土地。正常年景，每亩地能生产6蒲式耳稻米。一男、一女和一个儿童一年需消费33蒲式耳稻米（第七章第五节）。换句话说，为了得到足够的食物，每个家庭约需有5.5亩地。目前，即使全部土地都用于粮食生产，一家也只有大约60蒲式耳的稻米。每户以4口人计算，拥有土地的面积在满足一般家庭所需的粮食之后仅能勉强支付大约相当于粮食所值价的其他生活必需品的供应。因此，我们可以看到，这个每家平均有4口人的村子，现有的土地已受到相当重的人口压力。这是限制儿童数量的重要因素。按照当地的习惯，孩子长大后就要分家产。有限的土地如果一分为二，就意味着两个儿子都要贫困。通常的办法是溺婴或流产。人们并不为这种行为辩护，他们承认这是不好的，但是有什么别的办法以免贫穷呢？从这个村子中儿童的总数可以看到这个结果：16岁以下儿童，总共只有470名，平均每家1.3个。

The practice of infanticide is more often for the female children. The patrilineal descent and the patrilocal marriage have effected the social status of women. A girl is of less value in the eyes of the parents because she cannot continue the "incense and fire" and because as soon as she is mature, she will leave her parents. In consequences, the ratio of females in the age group 0–5 is unusually low. There are only 100 girls to 135 boys (II–5). Only in 131 Chia, or 37 per cent. of the total, are there girls (under sixteen) among their children (excluding *siaosiv*), and in only fourteen Chia is there more than one girl.

Since population control is considered as a precaution against poverty, families with comparatively large estates are free to have more children. They are proud of their numerous children, and these are taken as a sign of their

wealth in the eyes of the people. The desire for posterity, the dislike of infanticide and abortion, and economic pressure—these factors work together to equalize land holdings (XI–6).

〔4〕Parents and Children

Before the birth of a child, the mother has already definite obligations toward it. During pregnancy, the mother must abstain from violent emotion, from looking at abhorrent things, and from eating certain types of food. There is an idea that the foetus needs education. Good behaviour by the mother is expected to affect the future personality of the child. No special obligations are, however, incurred by the father, except perhaps abstaining from sex relations with his wife, since this is considered unfavourable to the physiological development of the child and may lead to its early death.

杀害女婴就更为经常。父系传代及从父居婚姻影响了妇女的社会地位。在父母亲的眼中，女孩的价值是较低的，因为她不能承继“香火”，同时，她一旦长成，就要离开父母。结果0～5岁年龄组的性比例是：100个女孩比135个男孩（第二章第五节）。只在131家中，即占总数37%的家中，有16岁以下的女孩（不包括“小媳妇”），只在14家中，有一个以上的女孩。

正因为人口控制是为了预防贫穷，一些有着较大产业的家庭就不受限制地有更多的子女。他们对自己有为数众多的子女感到自豪，而在人们的眼中，又视之为富裕的象征。有后嗣的愿望、厌恶杀婴与流产及经济上的压力等等，这些因素同时发生作用使土地的拥有量趋向平均化（第十一章第六节）。

四、父母和子女

孩子出生之前，当母亲的已经有了明确的责任。在妊娠期间，当母亲的要避免感情冲动，避免观看令人憎恶的事物，禁忌吃某些食物等。人们已经有了胎教的观念。人们认为母亲的良好行为会影响到孩子将来的性格。对父亲则无特殊的要求，只是认为他应避免和妻子同房，因为这被认为对孩子的生理发育不利，甚至可能导致夭亡。

Expectation and fear cause a general tension in the house. The pregnant woman is recognized to be in a special position and is exempted from her various household duties. The exemption is associated with the sense of uncleanliness of sex matters. Her own parents share the tension. Shortly before the child is delivered, they will offer a kind of medical soup to their daughter. Her mother will stay in her room for several days to look after her. It is also the duty of her own mother to clean all the soiled clothes and wait on her daughter after delivery.

It is not customary for the mother to take a long period of rest after the child is born. She resumes her work in the household within a week. This practice was regarded by my informant as the cause of the high death rate of women after childbirth. The actual death rate is not known. But in the population statistics, there is an apparent fall in numbers in the age group of females of 26–30 and 41–45 (II–5); this indicates the fact.

Infantile mortality is also high. If we compare the number of individuals in the age group 0–5 with that in the age group 6–10, a big decrease is observed. The difference between the groups is 73 individuals, or 33 per cent. of the group. This phenomenon is also reflected in the belief in "spirit sadism." In the ceremony of *menyu*, literally "child-reaching-full-month," the child will be shaved and given a personal name by his maternal uncle. This is usually a name of abuse, such as dog, cat, or monk. The people believe that the lives of the children, particularly those who are specially regarded by their parents, are sought by devil spirits. A way of protecting the child is to show the spirits that there is no one interested in it; the theory is that spirits, being sadists, will then dis-continue their intervention. This is sometimes carried so far that children are nominally given for protection to somebody

who is considered to have greater influence, or even to gods. This pseudo-adoption will be described later (V–3). The parents' outward expression of love of their children is thus carefully concealed.

The attitude of the parents and elder relatives towards children must be understood in relation to these factors—the need for population control due to economic pressure, the small number of children, the high infant mortality, the belief in spirit sadism, the desire for posterity and the connected religious and ethical ideas. As a result of these factors, we can see that the children who survive are highly valued, even though there is an outward show of indifference.

对生育的期待与恐惧，使家庭充满了紧张的气氛。怀孕的妇女被认为处于特殊地位并免除了她各项家务劳动。这是因为人们对性有一种不洁净的意识。她自己的父母也分担了这种紧张。小孩快出生之前，娘家的父母给她喝药汤。母亲要在女儿房里陪住几天，以便照顾她。她的母亲也有责任去洗涤污脏的衣服，并在产后，守在她身边。

孩子出生后，按习惯，当母亲的不长期休息。她在一个星期之内便恢复家务劳动。当地向我提供情况的人认为，这种做法是造成妇女产后高死亡率的原因。真实的死亡率还不得而知，但在人口统计中，26～30岁及41～45岁两年龄组妇女人数的明显下降（第二章第五节）说明了这个问题。

婴儿的死亡率也是高的。如果把年龄组0～5岁与6～10岁相比较，会发现人数有很大的下降。两组数字相差为73人，占这个组总数的33%。这种现象也反映在当地人迷信“鬼怪恶煞”。孩子“满月”时要剃头，并由孩子的舅父起一个小名。这通常是一个带贬义的名字，如阿狗、阿猫、和尚等等。人们迷信孩子的生命会被鬼怪追索，受父母宠爱的孩子尤其如此。保护孩子的一种办法，就是向鬼怪表示，没有人对这孩子感兴趣；其理由是鬼怪性喜作恶，看父母溺爱孩子，就要进行打击；孩子既然受到冷淡，鬼怪就不再继续插手了。甚至有时采取这样一些方法，名义上把孩子舍给那些被认为大有影响、甚至在神道面前也是很有影响的人物，以求得保护。这种假的领养孩子的办法以后还会讲到（第五章第三节）。因此，父母原来在表面上表露出来的对孩子的珍爱，被小心地掩藏起来了。

关于父母以及长亲对孩子的态度问题，必须联系下述各种因素来加以理解。这些因素是：由于经济压力需要控制人口；儿童为数很少；婴儿死亡率高；迷信鬼怪恶煞；要子嗣的愿望及有关的宗教伦理观念。从

这众多因素的结合中可以看到，活下来的孩子便受到高度的珍爱，虽然从表面上看，对待孩子的态度是淡漠的。

The children in the village cling to their mothers all the day long. The cradle is little used if there are arms available for nursing the babies. The period of suckling lasts three or more years. The time of feeding is not fixed. Whenever the child cries, the mother will at once put her nipple into the child's mouth to keep the child quiet. Moreover, women in the village do not go to the farm, but work almost all the day in the house. Contact between mother and child is thus in ordinary circumstances almost uninterrupted.

The relation between the father and the child is slightly different. The husband has no special duties during his wife's pregnancy and child delivery. For more than half the year, men are at work outside the house. They go out in the early morning and come back in the evening, the chance of contact between them and the children is relatively less. During the child's infancy, so far as the child is concerned, its father is only an assistant of its mother and sometimes an occasional playmate. The husband will take over a part of his wife's work, even in the kitchen, to relieve his wife when she is nursing the child. I have seen young husbands holding their babies awkwardly in their arms in the evening when enjoying their leisure after hard work in the daytime.

As the child grows, the father's influence over the child increases. In the case of boys, the father is the source of discipline; less so in the case of girls. The mother is more or less indulgent; when a child is mischievous the mother often will not punish him directly but threaten to tell his father. The method adopted by the father is usually beating. Very often in the evening a big storm will burst out in a house and show that a child is being beaten by a bad-tempered father. As a rule this is ended by the mediation of the mother. Sometimes, the result is a dispute between husband and wife.

Children more than six years old are usually engaged in collecting grass to feed the sheep. This job is congenial to them because it permits a free run in the wild with their companions without any interference from the elders. Girls above twelve generally stay at home with their mothers and are engaged in household work and silk reeling, keeping apart from the children's group.

It is only through a gradual process that a dependent child becomes a full member of the community and it is also by a gradual process that the old

retire to a dependent position. These two processes are actually two phases of a general process, that is, the transmission of social functions from one generation to the other—whereby social continuity is secured in spite of biological discontinuity. The social functions of the newcomers, owing to the limited material environment of the community, cannot be acquired without displacing the old. It is specially true in the village where material expansion is very slow. For instance, the total amount of labour required for the land, under the unchanged technique of production, is more or less constant. The introduction of a young man to the land means the displacement of an old man in the working team.

村里的孩子整天依恋着他们的母亲。只要有可能，孩子总是被抱在手里，很少用摇篮。孩子吃奶要吃到3岁或更长的时间。喂奶无定时。每当孩子哭闹，母亲立刻就把奶头塞到孩子的嘴里，使他安静下来。村里的妇女不到田里劳动，整天在家中忙碌。因此在平常的环境里，母子的接触几乎是不间断的。

孩子与父亲的关系稍有不同。在妻子怀孕和生孩子时，丈夫并没有什么特殊的责任。在一年之中，男人有半年以上的时间在户外劳动。他们早出晚归，父子之间的接触相对地比较少。在孩子的幼年，就孩子来说，父亲只是母亲的一个助手，偶尔还是他的玩伴。在妻子养育孩子时，丈夫会接过她的一部分工作，甚至是厨房里的工作。我曾经看到，一些年轻的丈夫，经过一天忙碌的劳动，在傍晚余暇的时候，笨拙地把孩子抱在手里。

孩子大一些以后，父亲对孩子的影响就增加了。对男孩来说，父亲或为执行家法的主要人物，对女孩子，则管得较少些。母亲对孩子总有点溺爱。当孩子淘气时，母亲往往不惩罚他而只吓唬说要告诉他的父亲。而父亲经常用敲打的办法来惩罚他。傍晚时分，常常听到一所房子里突然爆发一阵风暴，原来是一个坏脾气的父亲在打孩子。通常这阵风波往往由母亲调解而告平息。有时，也在夫妻之间引起一场争辩。

孩子过了6岁就参加打草、喂羊的劳动。孩子们对这种劳动很感兴趣，因为可以和同伴们在田野里随便奔跑而不受大人的任何干涉。女孩子过了12岁，一般都耽在家中，和母亲共同操持家务和缫丝，不再和孩子们在一起了。

只有通过这样一个过程，一个依赖别人的孩子才逐渐成为社区的一个正式成员，同样，通过这种逐渐的变化，老年人退到了一个需要依靠别人的地位。这两个过程是总的过程的两个方面，这就是社会职能逐代

的继替。虽然在生物学上一代代的个体是要死亡的，但社会的连续性却由此得到了保证。由于社区的物质条件有限，老的不代谢，新生力量的社会功能就得不到发挥。农村中物质基础的扩大尤其缓慢。例如，在生产技术不改变的情况下，土地所需要的劳力总量一般来说是不变的。一个年轻人的加入便意味着生产队伍里要淘汰一个老人。

This process is gradual but nevertheless the older generation is retreating step by step. In the process, knowledge and material objects are transmitted from the old to the young, and the latter gradually takes over at the same time his obligation towards the community and the older generation. Here we find the problems of education, inheritance and filial obligation.

〔5〕Education

Children receive their education from their families. Boys of fourteen begin to learn the technique of agriculture from their fathers by practical instruction and participation in the farm work. They become full workers before they are twenty. Girls learn the technique of the silk industry, sewing and other household work from their mothers.

A few words may be added on the school education in the village. The public school is conducted according to general prescriptions of the Minister of Education. The total term for attendance is six years. Instruction is exclusively literary. If a child starts his school days at six, he will still have enough time to learn his main occupations, in agriculture and the silk industry, after twelve. But in the past ten years, sheep raising has become an important domestic industry. As I shall describe later, these sheep are kept in huts and their food must be collected for them (XIII). This has become the children's job. Thus the village economy comes into conflict with the school curriculum.

Furthermore, literary training has not been proved to be very useful in community life. Illiterate parents do not take school education very seriously. Without the help of the parents, primary school education is not very successful. The enrollment is more than a hundred but the actual attendance as some students told me, rarely exceeds twenty, except when the inspector visits the school. Vacations are long. My stay in the village covered a period longer than the official vacation, but I had had no opportunity to see the school at work. The literary knowledge of the students, so far as I could test, is surprisingly poor.

虽然这个过程是缓慢的，但老的一代在逐步隐退。在这一过程中知识和物质的东西从老的一代传递给青年一代，同时，后者便逐步承担起对社区和老一代的义务。因此，也就产生了教育、继承和子女义务等问题。

五、教育

孩子们从自己的家庭中受到教育。男孩大约从14岁开始，由父亲实际指导，学习农业技术，并参加农业劳动。到20岁时，他成为全劳力。女孩子从母亲处学习蚕丝技术、缝纫及家务劳动。

另外还要讲几句村里的学校教育。公立学校根据教育部的教学大纲进行教学。学生就学的时间为六年，是单纯的文化教育。如果孩子在六岁开始上学，在12岁以后还有足够的时间来学习他的主要职业技能——蚕丝业或农业劳动。但在最近的十年里，养羊开始成为一种重要的家庭副业。以后我们还要讲到这个问题。羊是饲养在羊圈里的，因此要为羊打饲草（第八章）。打草就成了孩子们的工作。因此，村子里的经济活动与学校的课程发生了矛盾。

再说，文化训练并不能显示对社区生活有所帮助。家长是文盲，不认真看待学校教育；而没有家长的帮助，小学校的教育是不易成功的。学校里注册的学生有100多人，但有些学生告诉我，实际上听课的人数很少，除了督学前来视察的时间外，平时上学的人很少超过20人。学校的假期很长。我这次在村中停留的时间比学校正式的放假时间长，但我仍没有机会看到村中的学校上课。学生的文化知识，就作文的测验看，是惊人的低下。

Chen, a village head, who had himself been a schoolmaster, complained to me that the new school system could not work in the village. His reasons are worth quoting here: Firstly, the school terms are not adjusted to the calendar of work in the village (IX–3). Students in the school are generally about twelve years old, and have reached the age when practical education must be started. The leisure periods in the calendar of work are two: from January to April and from July to September. But during these periods, the school is closed for the vacation. While the people are busy at the silk industry and agriculture, the school is open. Secondly, the system of education in the school is the so-called "collective" method, that is, the giving of lessons one after another without considering individual absence. Since absence is frequent, the student who has been absent cannot follow the class when he comes back. In consequence students cannot keep up their interest and this causes further absence. Thirdly, the present girl teacher does not

command prestige in the village.

I cannot go into the problem in detail here but it is clear that there is a maladjustment of the present educational system to the general social condition in the village. A field study of the educational system in a district in Shantung by Mr. Liao Taichu[5] shows that the maladjustment is not limited to this village but is a general phenomenon in Chinese villages. This deserves further systematic investigation from which practical suggestions may be drawn.

〔6〕Marriage

The problems of inheritance and filial obligation do not arise in normal conditions until the children grow up and get married. Therefore, we can come to the problem of marriage first.

In the village, sons and daughters give their parents a free hand in arranging their marriage affairs and will obey accordingly. It is considered as improper and shameful to talk about one's own marriage. Therefore there is no such thing as courtship. The parties to this transaction are not acquainted with one another; and after the engagement is fixed, must avoid each other.

姓陈的村长，他曾经当过村中的小学校长，向我诉说，认为这种新的学校制度在村中不能起作用。在这里，他的理由值得引述一下：第一，学期没有按照村中农事活动的日历加以调整（第九章第三节）。村中上学的学生大多数是12岁的孩子，他们已到了需要开始实践教育的年龄。在农事活动的日历中有两段空闲的时间，即从1月至4月及7月至9月。但在这段时间里，学校却停学放假。到了人们忙于蚕丝业或从事农作的时候，学校却开学上课了。第二，学校的教育方式是“集体”授课，即一课接着一课讲授，很少考虑个人缺席的情况。由于经常有人缺席，那些缺课的孩子再回来上课时，就跟不上班。结果，学生对学习不感兴趣，并造成了进一步的缺课。第三，现在的女教员在村中没有威信。

在这里，我不能就此问题更深入一步进行讨论，但明显的是，村中现有的教育制度与总的社会情况不相适应。廖泰初先生[6] 在山东地区对教育制度进行了实地调查。从他的材料中可以看到，不适应的情况不限于这个村子，而是中国农村中的普遍现象。应当进一步进行系统的调查以便提出更为实际的建议。

六、婚姻

关于继承问题和子女的义务问题，在通常情况下并不会提出来，要到孩子长大成人并且要结婚的时候才会提出来。因此，我们首先要提到婚姻问题。

在这个村子里，儿女将婚姻大事完全交由父母安排并且服从父母的安排。谈论自己的婚姻，被认为是不适当的和羞耻的。因此，这里不存在求婚这个说法。婚配的双方互不相识；在订婚后，还要互相避免见面。

Arrangements for marriage are made early in the child's life, usually when it is six or seven years of age. This is necessary if there is to be a large range for selection, because children of good families are usually promised very early. My informants repeatedly observed that if a girl is engaged too late, she will not be able to make a good match. But it is improper for a girl's mother to initiate a proposal. Moreover, as mentioned, the relation between mother and daughter is very strong. Marriage means the separation of a girl from her parents, and the mother is therefore usually reluctant to contemplate it. Indeed the girl cannot be retained too long in her parents' house. Under the patrilineal system, a woman has no rights of inheritance to the property of her parents. Her future, even a proper livelihood, can only be received through marriage. A third party is thus needed for making arrangements for the marriage. The villagers state that match-making is a good job, because the service is well paid.

The first step by the match-maker is to ascertain the time of birth of the girl. This is written on a red paper with eight characters defining the year, month, date, and hour of the birth. The parents will not object to anyone to whom these papers are sent by the match-maker—at least so they pretend. The match-maker carries the paper to the family of an eligible boy and lays it before the kitchen god. She then explains her mission. A boy of an ordinary family usually receives more than one such red paper at a time. Thus his parents are able to make a choice.

The next step is for the boy's mother to bring the red papers to a professional fortune-teller, who will answer questions (according to a special

system of calculation based on the eight characters) as to the compatibility of the girls in question and the members of the boy's Chia. He will suggest the relative merits of each girl, tactfully leaving his client to express her real attitude, and give a decision accordingly. Even if the fortune-teller gives a judgment against his client's wishes, which are usually uncertain, the latter is not bound to take this as final. She can seek a further consultation with the same fortune-teller or with another.

A rational selection of a daughter-in-law is a very difficult matter. No girl is perfect, but everyone seeks the best. It is easy to be mistaken. If no other reason for error can be found, the selector will be blamed. The fortune-teller thus serves not only as a means of reaching a decision, but also for shifting responsibility for human error to the supernatural will. If the marriage turns out to be an unhappy one, it is fate. This attitude is a very practical aid in the adjustment of husband and wife. But it must be clearly understood that the real factor in the selection is the personal preference of the boy's parents, as specially seen in cross-cousin marriage (III–8), although this is disguised under the cover of a supernatural judgment.

婚姻大事，在孩子的幼年，经常在6～7岁时就已安排了。如果要在较大的范围内进行选择，这是必要的，因为好人家的孩子往往很早就定了婚。村中向我提供情况的人曾多次说到，如果女孩订婚过晚，她就不能找到好的婚配对象。但由女孩的母亲来提亲也是不合适的。而且前面讲过，母亲和女儿之间的关系是极为紧密的。结婚意味着女儿和她父母的分离，因而当母亲的总是很勉强地来办这件事。女儿留在父母的家中时间过长也是不可能的。在父系社会里，女人没有权利继承她父母的财产。她的前途，即使是一个安定的生活，也只有通过她的婚姻才能得到。因此，需要有第三者来为双方的婚姻作出安排。村里的人说作媒是一件好差使，因为媒人从中说合可以得到很好的报酬。

媒人的第一件事是弄清楚女方的生日。就是在红帖上写明女孩的八字，即诞生的年、月、日及时辰。当父母的对媒人送红帖子到哪一家男方去从来不表示反对，至少是假装不反对。媒人把红帖送到有合适男童的家庭时，把红帖供在灶神前面，然后媒人说明来意。一个普通家庭的男孩，同时会收到几张帖子，因而他的父母可以进行选择。

下一个步骤是男孩的母亲拿着红帖去找算命先生。他将根据生辰八字的一种特殊推算办法，来回答一些问题，即这个女孩的命与男孩家里人是否和谐。他要对每个女孩命中的优点加以介绍，并圆滑地让他的顾客来表示她的真实态度，并依此作出决定。即使算命先生的判断和顾客

的意愿不一致，虽然顾客的愿望通常是犹豫不定的，她不一定要把算命先生的话当作最后决定。她可以找这位算命先生再商量，或者另找一位算命先生。

用理智选择儿媳妇是一件很难的事情。没有一个女孩子是完美无缺的，但每户人家都想找到最好的。因此很容易出错。如果找不到其他出错的原因，那就要归罪于挑选的人了。因此，算命先生不仅是充当作出决定的一种工具，同时，也被用作把错误的责任推卸给上天意志的一个办法。如果婚姻不美满，那是命运。这个态度实际上有助于维持夫妻关系。但必须明白，真正起作用的挑选因素，首先是男孩父母的个人喜好，在表亲婚配时尤其如此（第三章第八节），但这都被假装说成为天意的决定。

The chief considerations in the selection are two: physical health that insures posterity, and skill in the silk industry. These represent the two main functions that are expected from a daughter-in-law: the continuity of the family, and the economic contribution to the household.

When in the manner described a candidate has been selected, the match-maker will go to persuade the girl's parents to accept the match. The custom is first to refuse the proposal. But a diplomatic match-maker will not find very much difficulty in obtaining consent if there is no competition. Lengthy negotiation is needed to determine the marriage settlement. The negotiation between the parties involved is carried out through the third party—the match-maker—and the villagers remarked that at this period the principals behave to each other like enemies. The girl's parents will make exorbitant demands for gifts; the boy's parents will bargain; and the match-maker goes between them. The marriage gift, including money, dress, and ornaments, will be sent on three ceremonial occasions. The total amount of a proper marriage gift varies from two to four hundred dollars.[7]

It is far from correct to regard the bargaining as a kind of economic transaction. It is not a compensation to the girl's parents. All the gifts, except that offered to the girl's relatives, will be returned to the boy's Chia as the dowry, to which the girl's parents will add nearly as much as the marriage gift. How much the girl's parents will add it is difficult to esti-mate, but according to the rule generally accepted, they will be disgraced if they cannot match at least the marriage gift, and the girl's position in her new Chia will be an embarrassing one.

The keen bargaining, hotly carried on, has a twofold meaning. It is a psychological expression of the conflict between mother-love and patrilineal descent. As the people put it, "We cannot let them have our girls without making a fuss." On the sociological side, it is important because the marriage gifts and dowry are, in fact, the contribution of the parents on both sides to provide the material basis for the new family, and a periodic renewing of the material basis of the household for each generation.

挑选时主要考虑到两点：一是身体健康，能生育后代；二是养蚕缫丝的技术。这表明了对一个儿媳妇所要求的两个主要职能，即：能绵续家世，及对家中的经济有所贡献。

当一个对象被选中之后，媒人就去说服女方的父母接受订婚。按照风俗习惯，女方应当首先拒绝提亲。但只要不出现其他竞争者，一个会办事的媒人，不难使对方答应。为了作好以后的婚事安排，要进行长时间的协商，双方的协议要经过第三者即媒人来达成。村里的人说，在协商的阶段双方家长相持如同对手一般。女孩的父母提出极高的聘礼要求，男孩的父母表示要求过高，难于接受，媒人则在中间说合。聘礼包括钱、衣服、首饰等，聘礼分三次送去。聘定所花的钱，总数约在200至400元之间。[8]

如果把双方的争议看成一件经济交易是完全不正确的。财礼并不是给女孩父母的补偿。所有的聘礼，除了送给女方亲属的那部分外，这些聘礼都将作为女儿的嫁妆送还给男家，而其中还由女方父母增添了一份相当于聘礼的财物。究竟女方的父母增添多少嫁妆，是较难估计的，但按照一般能接受的规则来说，增添的财物如果抵不上聘礼，那就是丢脸的事，女儿在新的家中的地位也将是尴尬的。

尖锐而热烈的协商本身具有双重的意义。它是母爱与父系继嗣这两者之间斗争的心理反映。就像人们所说的，“我们可不能随随便便地把女孩子给人家”。从社会学方面看，它的重要性在于，这些聘礼与嫁妆事实上都是双方父母提供新家庭的物质基础，同时也是为每一家物质基础定期的更新。

The point must be made clear that from the economic point of view the marriage is disadvantageous to the girl's parents. The girl, as soon as she is mature and can assume her full share of work, is taken from her own parents, who have had all the expense of her upbringing. The marriage gifts do not belong to them, but are returned to the daughter in the form of a dowry with an addition which nominally is at least equal in amount. Since the bride will

live and work at her husband's house, this means a net loss to her parents. Furthermore, when the girl is married, her parents and brothers assume a new series of obligations towards their relatives, specially to the children of their girls. In actual life, interest is taken in a child by relatives both on the father's and mother's side. But descent is unilateral, and the child has fewer obligations to its relatives on the mother's side (IV–5 and V–2). The immediate reaction on the side of the girl's parents towards their disadvantages in their girl's marriage is reflected in the whole process of arrangement and wedding ceremony and also in the high rate of female infanticide and its resulting unbalanced sexual ratio.

The wedding ceremony takes as a rule the following forms. The bridegroom goes in person to meet his bride, travelling by a special "meeting-boat" used for this purpose. He puts on a humble and self-deprecating air, and he must face a crowd of the bride's relatives whose attitude to him is usually by no means friendly. He must behave strictly according to custom, and there are experts in this who direct him. A mistake will lead to the suspension of the proceedings. Sometimes the ceremony lasts for a whole night. The culminating scene is when the bride makes a final effort at resistance and buries herself in tears before leaving her father's house. This is ended by the ritual of "throwing the bride" by her father, or, if she has no father, by her nearest male relative on her father's side, into the sedan chair. As soon as the bride enters the chair, the bridegroom's party leaves very quickly and quietly, and no music is played until they are clear of the village. The symbolic expression of antagonism on the part of the girl's relatives often causes unpleasant feelings between the newly established affinal relatives, especially if they have not a sense of humour.

The next stages of the procedure are the transporting of the bride by "the meeting-boat," the act of union, the ritual recommendation of the bride to her husband's relatives, and the worshipping of her husband's ancestors; these I cannot describe here. A big feast is prepared by the bridegroom's parents for their relatives and friends. This is one of the occasions for the kinship group to assemble, and the ties of relationship between them are thus reinforced. Each relative or friend offers a gift in cash, the amount of which is determined by the proximity of kinship and friendship. The expenses of the ceremony amount to two to four hundred dollars.

应当明确，从经济观点来看，女儿的婚姻对女方父母是不利的。女

孩一旦长成，能分担一部分劳动之后，却又被人从她的父母手中夺走，而父母为了把她抚育成人，是花了不少钱的。所收下的聘礼并不属于父母，这些聘礼要作为嫁妆陪嫁；此外，还要加上一份至少和聘礼相等的嫁妆在内。新娘婚后将要在她丈夫家里生活和劳动，这对她父母来说，是一种损失。再说女儿结婚后，她的父母和兄弟又对这门亲戚承担了一系列新的义务，特别是对女儿生的孩子将承担更多的义务。在现实生活中，不论父方还是母方的亲戚，都对孩子很上心，但由于是单系继嗣，因而孩子对他母亲方面的亲戚承担的义务较小（第四章第五节及第五章第二节）。在女方父母方面，对女儿出嫁受到的损失所作出的反应，首先表现在整个安排过程及举行婚礼方面；同时，也表现为大量溺死女婴，从而造成人口的男女性别比例失调的现象。

婚礼照例有如下的一些程序。由新郎去迎亲，乘坐一条特备的“接亲船”。他要做到很谦逊而不惹事，他要面对的是新娘家的一群亲戚，他们对他的态度通常都是装得不友好的。他的一举一动必须严格按照习惯行事，一些专门管礼仪的人在旁进行指导。发生的任何一个错误都会使整个进程停下来。有时，这种仪式要延续整整一夜。最后结束的场面是新娘作出表示拒绝的最后努力。她在离开她父母的房子之前痛哭流涕，于是由她父亲进行“抛新娘”的仪式，把新娘送进轿子。如果她没有父亲，则由父方的最近男亲来代替。一旦新娘上了船，男方的迎亲队伍马上安静地离去，乐队默默无声，直到离开村庄。女方亲属的这种象征性的对抗，往往会引起男家亲戚们不愉快的感觉，如果他们缺乏幽默感的话。

下一步的程序是用“接亲船”接新娘、两人拜堂、新娘向丈夫的亲戚见礼以及向男方的祖先祭拜等等。这些，我在这里就不详加描写了。新郎的父母为亲友准备了盛宴，这是亲属会集的一个场合，他们之间的联系因而也得到了加强。每门亲朋都要以现钱作贺礼，至于送多少钱，由他们之间的关系亲疏而定。举行婚礼的开支，在200至400元之间。

〔7〕The Daughter-in-Law in the Chia

The girl has now entered her husband's house. She finds herself among strangers, but in the most intimate relations with them. Her position is dictated by custom. At night, she sleeps with her husband and she must respond submissively to him. With him alone she can have sexual relations. By day, she shares in the housework under the supervision of her mother-in-law, who has authority over her. She must treat her father-in-law with respect but not with intimacy. She must deal tactfully with her husband's sisters and brothers or they will intrigue against her. She will undertake the cooking and at meals will take the lowest place at table—or even not appear at the table at all.

It must be remembered that in her own family, she enjoyed a rather free life, and one can then imagine what a new world she has now entered. This is her time for discipline. Occasionally, she is allowed to go back to her mother and sob for comfort, as every newly married girl will do. But as the traditional verse runs, "Spilled water cannot be gathered up"; so no one can help her. She accepts her position. This is facilitated by religious beliefs. Human marriage is believed to be held together by the old man in the moon, *yulou*, with invisible red and green threads. This knitting together is symbolically performed in the wedding ceremony. The paper inscription of the god is in evidence in every marriage ceremony. Human helplessness breeds such religious beliefs and they help to relieve the situation. At least in this case they mitigate the tendency of the bride to rebel.

The process of adjusting herself in her husband's house does not in ordinary conditions last very long. She is useful in the house especially in the silk industry, which, as will be shown later, is of great importance in domestic economy (XII–2). In the first spring after marriage, a new daughter-in-law must pass a kind of test. Her mother sends her a sheet of specially selected good silkworm eggs. She will raise these worms entirely by herself. If as a result she proves her skill, she will, so to speak, win the favour of her mother-in-law. This is considered an important event in the life of a girl and on it depends her position in her husband's house.

七、家中的儿媳妇

女孩子终于到了她丈夫的家中。她发现自己处在陌生人的中间，但这些人又属于和她有着最亲密的关系的人。她的地位是由习俗来支配的。夜间，她和丈夫睡在一起，她必须对丈夫十分恭顺。她只能和丈夫发生两性关系。白天，她在婆婆的监督下从事家务劳动，受她婆婆的管教。她必须对她的公公很尊敬但又不能亲近。她必须灵活机敏地处理她和小姑子、小叔子的关系，否则他们将同她捣乱。她要负责烧饭，而在吃饭的时候，她只能坐在饭桌的最低下的位置，甚至不上桌吃饭。

必须记住，她在娘家的时候，生活是相当自由的，因此，可以想象她进入了一个什么样的新环境。这是她要严守规矩的时候了。她偶尔也被允许回家去看望她的母亲，并向她的母亲哭诉一番以解心头之闷，差不多所有的新娘都是这样做的。但正如俗话所说："泼水难收"，没有人再能帮助她。她只能接受她的地位和处境。宗教信仰在此也起着促进的作用。人们相信，人间的姻缘是由月下老人用肉眼看不见的红线绿线牵在一起的。在结婚仪式上也象征性地用红绿绸带来表示这种结合。每一个结婚典礼中都可看到刻印在纸上的"月老"神像。人类本身无能为力的感觉，引起了这种宗教信仰，并借此减轻现实的压力。至少在这种情况下，可以缓和新娘的反抗倾向。

一般说来，新娘适应她夫家的状况并不需要很长的时间。她在家中，特别对从事蚕丝生产是很有用的。后面还要讲到，蚕丝业在家庭经济中占有很重要的地位（第七章第二节）。在结婚之后的第一个春天，新的儿媳妇必须经过这样的一种考试。新娘的母亲送给她一张特殊挑选出来的好蚕种。她完全靠自己的能力来养这批蚕。如果她养得好，显示了她的技能，就能赢得她婆婆的好感。这被认为是女孩子一生中的重要时刻，据此可以确定她在丈夫家中的地位。

Similarly her position will be strengthened if she bears a child, especially a boy. Before the birth of the child, her husband, at least overtly, is indifferent to her. He will not mention her in conversation. Even in the house, in anyone's presence, if he shows any intimate feeling for his wife it will be considered improper and consequently will become a topic for gossiping. Husband and wife do not sit near each other and very seldom talk to each other in that situation. Rather they talk through a third party and they have no

special terms for addressing one another. But when a child is born, the husband can refer to his wife as the mother of his child. Thereafter, they can converse freely and behave naturally towards each other. It is the same with other relatives. It is the child that actually admits a woman to her husband's household. The care of the child is an integrative force in the domestic circle.

There are, however, difficulties in the adjustment of relations between a bride and her new relatives. She may not take a quick liking to her husband with whom she has had no previous acquaintance. The people are prejudiced against any intimate relations of a woman with men outside wedlock. To prevent such a possibility prenuptial chastity is strictly maintained by social disapproval of any intimate association between grown-up girls and boys. Any lapse of this code on the girls' side may lead to invalidating their marriage arrangement and difficulties in making other arrangements. Adultery of married women is still more grave. Husbands, in theory, can murder the adulterers with impunity. But in practice it is seldom done. The expense of marriage prevents people even from repudiating a misbehaved daughter-in-law. Sexual intrigues are talked about without seriousness in the evening gatherings. In one case, as my informant told me, the husband indulges his wife in holdinga man for economic purposes. But unfaithfulness of a wife is undoubtedly a factor for domestic conflict.

Domestic conflicts are more frequently found between the daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law. It comes to be taken more or less for granted that the mother-in-law is a potential enemy of the daughter-in-law. Friction between them is taken as usual and harmony as worth special praise. Anyone who has listened to gossips among the elder women, will confirm this statement. They are never tired of cursing their daughters-in-law. The potential conflict between them can be understood considering the daily life of the household. The husband and father-in-law do not spend their whole time in the house, but work outside. But the mother-in-law is always there. The daughter-in-law starts with no affection for her. When she comes into the house, she finds herself being watched by her, criticized and constantly scolded. She must obey her, otherwise she may be beaten by her husband on behalf of her mother-in-law. The mother-in-law represents authority.

同样，她如果能生一个孩子，特别是一个男孩，她的地位也可以得到提高。在生孩子之前，丈夫对她的态度是冷淡的，至少在公开场合是如此。在讲话的时候，丈夫都不会提到她。甚至在家中，只要有别人在

场，她的丈夫如果表示出对她有一些亲密的感情都会被认为是不妥当的，结果会成为人们背后议论的一个话题。在这种情况下，夫妻之间坐也不挨得很近，而且彼此极少交谈。他们宁愿通过第三者来交谈，而且彼此还没有一个专门名词来称呼对方。但一旦生了孩子，当丈夫的就能称他的妻子为孩子的妈。从此之后，他们能比较自由地交谈，彼此之间也能较自然地相处。对于其他亲属来说，情况也是相同的。真正使丈夫的家接受一个妇女的，是那个孩子。对孩子的关怀是家中的一种结合力量。

然而，新娘和她的新的亲属之间的关系，要调整得好，总是有困难的。她对自己的丈夫，由于过去并不熟悉，也许不会很快就喜欢他。人们对一个妇女与婚姻之外的任一个男性比较亲密的关系都存在着偏见。为了防止这种可能性，社会上绝不允许成年的女孩和男孩有亲密的关系，以严格保持女孩婚前的贞洁。女方的任何失检将导致原定婚约无效，并亦为其他的婚事安排带来困难。对已婚妇女的通奸，看得更为严重。从理论上说，当丈夫的可以杀死奸夫而不受惩罚，然而在实际上很少这样做。由于结婚花费很贵，人们甚至不会轻易遗弃有不轨行为的儿媳。晚上人们聚拢在一起时，也会很随便地谈到私通的事。我的情况提供者告诉我，有那么一个例子，有一个丈夫因经济上的原因纵容妻子另有一个男人。但毫无疑问的是，妻子的不忠实始终是家庭中发生争吵的一个因素。

但家庭纠纷更经常地发生在媳妇和婆婆之间。人们理所当然地认为婆婆是媳妇的潜在对手。她们之间发生摩擦是司空见惯的，因而关系和睦就会得到特殊的赞扬。有人如果听到老年妇女的私下议论，就会证实我的说法。那些老年的妇女总是喋喋不休地咒骂她们的儿媳。如果考虑到日常的家庭生活，婆媳之间存在的潜在冲突是可想而知的了。丈夫和公公白天不在家中，终日外出劳动，但婆婆总是在家。儿媳对婆婆本来毫无感情基础，来到这个家之后，感到自己被婆婆看管着，且经常受到批评和责骂。但她必须服从婆婆，否则，丈夫会替婆婆来打她。婆婆就代表着权力。

Similarly from the point of view of the old woman, the daughter-in-law is not always pleasant. I have pointed out in the above section that the tie between parent and child is strong. The relation between husband and wife is in a certain sense a disturbing factor in the parent-child relation. If there is any conflict between the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law, the husband cannot keep entirely aloof. If he takes sides with his mother, as is usually the case at the beginning of married life, the quarrel becomes one between

husband and wife. If he takes side with his wife, the conflict becomes one between mother and son. I witnessed a case where the son became so furious with his mother, owing to a conflict between her and his wife, that he beat his mother. With this triangular relation in the house it is often very difficult to maintain harmony.

If the conflict becomes intolerable, the daughter-in-law may be repudiated. Repudiation is usually on the initiation of the mother-in-law even against the will of her son. If she could find any recognized ground of such action, such as adultery or sterility of the daughter-in-law, no compensation would be asked; otherwise, sixty to seventy dollars must be given to the repudiated party. The daughter-in-law has no right of redress against such action, but she may be able to persuade her husband to stand firm for her. In the latter case, a division of Chia will result.

The daughter-in-law has no right to request a divorce. The positive action open to her is desertion of the home. She may run away to the town, where she can find a job to maintain herself until a compromise becomes possible. If her husband supports his mother too firmly and there is no hope of reconciliation, she may take a more desperate course: committing suicide. According to popular belief she then becomes a spirit and is able to revenge herself; furthermore her own parents and brothers will seek redress, sometimes even destroying part of her husband's house. Therefore the mere threat of suicide is enough for practical purposes to effect a reunion. Moreover, since the mother-in-law has to face this possibility, she will usually not drive the daughter-in-law so far as to pro-voke the result she so much fears.

老年妇女都有类似的观点，认为儿媳妇总是不合意。我在前面已经指出过，父母和孩子之间的联系是紧密的。夫妻之间的关系，在一定的意义上说，是父母与儿女关系中的干扰因素。如果婆媳之间发生纠纷，当丈夫的不能完全置身事外。如果他站在母亲一边，这往往是结婚后不久发生的情况，夫妻之间将发生争吵。如果他站在妻子一边，就成为母子纠纷。我曾亲眼看到过这样一个例子，由于婆媳之间的纠纷，儿子对母亲大发雷霆以致打了母亲。家庭中的这种三角关系使家庭很难保持和睦相处。

如果纠纷闹得忍无可忍，儿媳妇就可能被休弃。休妻通常是由婆婆提出，甚至违背自己儿子的意愿。如果婆婆能为采取这种行动找到一些站得住脚的理由，如儿媳通奸、不育等，则儿媳不能要求赔偿，否则必

须给离弃的女方60至70元。当儿媳的没有权利来改变这种行动，但她可能说服她的丈夫坚定地站在她一边。如果发生后一种情况，就要闹分家。

媳妇无权提出离婚。她唯一可以采取的有效行动是放弃家庭。她可以逃奔到城里去，在那里找些事干来维持生活，直到有可能和家庭慢慢达成和解。如果她丈夫坚决地支持他的母亲，以致夫妻和好无望时，她可能采取更加绝望的行动，即自杀。人们普遍都迷信她将变成鬼为自己报仇。此外，她自己的父母、兄弟将要求赔偿，有时甚至把丈夫的房子部分拆毁。因此，仅仅是自杀的威胁，实际上已足以使人们重新言归于好。另一方面，当婆婆的由于害怕面临这种可能性，因而她通常还不敢把媳妇逼到这种地步，以免激起她自己都十分害怕的后果。

Disharmony in the Chia should not be exaggerated. In the group, co-operation is essential. It is true that the mother-in-law has a privileged position, so long as she is supported by her husband and her son, but the educational value of her discipline should also be taken into consideration. The discipline which a boy receives from his father, a girl gets from her mother-in-law. And, as the people themselves say, in the long run justice is done; for when the girl's own son takes a wife, the mother will enjoy the same privilege as her own mother-in-law. The economic value of a daughter-in-law, and the common interest in the child, make for a harmonious give and take.

〔8〕Cross-Cousin Marriage and Siaosiv

I have now briefly reviewed the parent-child relation and the husband-wife relation. I have brought out the fact that there is an apparent lack of economic reciprocity between the boy's and girl's families, and that owing to the marriages being arranged without regard for the inclinations of husband and wife, there is the possibility of domestic disharmony which may lead to the instability of the Chia. Admittedly in the long run, there is a reciprocity of economic advantage, and this is the fundamental stabilizing force in the kinship institutions; but the temporary grievances of the daughter-in-law are not favourable to the smooth working of the group. Cross-cousin marriage is one of the solutions.

In the village, two kinds of "cross-cousin" marriage can be distinguished. A girl married to the son of her father's sister is called *saonseodiu*, meaning a girl going up the hill. "Up the hill" signifies the prosperity of the family. A girl married to the son of mother's brother is called *wesienodiu*, meaning a girl going back to the native place. This is interpreted as a sign of ruin of the family. As these terms show, the people prefer the up-hill type and dislike the "reverting" type.

Let us see what is the real difference between these two types. If family A in the first generation gives a girl to family B to be the latter's daughter-in-law, and in the next generation the process is repeated, the process is an "up-hill" one. If the process is reversed in the next generation, the girl is the "reverting" type. In the first case the girl will be the daughter-in-law of her father's sister, who is from the father's Chia and still stands in an intimate relation to her father; while in the second case, the girl will be the daughter-in-law of her mother's brother's wife, who has suffered from her own mother-in-law who is the girl's mother's mother. An intimate relation of a mother towards her married daughter is usually jealously resented by her son's wife. When the girl comes under her control, she will take her as a target for revenge.

家中的不和睦也不应当加以夸张。在这群体中，基本的情况是合作的。当婆婆的有特权，这是事实，只要她得到她的丈夫和儿子的支持。

但也应当考虑到她维护家规所具有的教育作用。男孩从父亲那里受到的管教，媳妇从婆婆处得到。而且正像人们所说的那样，日久天长总有公道。因为当这个女孩自己有了一个儿子并娶了妻，她自己也能享受当婆婆的特权。一个媳妇的经济价值和对小孩的共同兴趣，使家庭中得失相抵，大致上得到了和谐。

八、表亲婚姻与“小媳妇”

我已扼要地叙述了父母与子女的关系及夫妻关系，并提出了这样的事实，在男方和女方亲家之间，很明显地缺少经济的互惠关系。而且婚姻的安排很少考虑到丈夫和妻子的爱好，因而存在着家庭不和睦的可能性，它会导致家的不稳定。从长远看来，经济互惠还是存在的，它是亲属制度基本稳定力量；但在短时期内，媳妇的处境不利于这个群体的和睦相处。因此，表亲联婚成了一种解决问题的办法。

在村中可以看到有两种不同的“表亲”婚姻。一个女孩子嫁给她父亲的姊妹的儿子，叫做“上山丫头”，“上山”意味着家庭的兴旺。一个女孩子嫁给她母亲的兄弟的儿子，叫做“回乡丫头”，就是一个女孩又回到她的本地。这被认为对这家不利的。可以从这字面上表达的意思看出，人们都喜欢“上山”的一类，而不喜欢“回乡”的一类。

让我们来看看这两种类型之间有哪些真正的不同。如甲家庭在第一代将一个女孩给乙家庭，成为乙家的儿媳妇；到了第二代，又重复了这个过程，这种婚姻就叫做“上山”型。如果这个过程在第二代向相反方向发展，这女孩子的婚姻就成了“回乡”型。在第一种情况下，这女孩子成为她父亲的姊妹的儿媳，她的婆婆是从她的父亲的家中来的，和儿媳的父亲还有着亲密的关系；而在第二种情况下，一个女孩成为她母亲的兄弟的妻子的儿媳。兄弟的妻子曾在婆婆手里受过苦的。兄弟的妻子的婆婆正是女孩的母亲的母亲。当母亲的总和她出嫁的女儿之间存在着一种亲密的关系，而这种亲密的关系往往被她的儿媳所忌恨。当这个女孩子落到了她母亲的兄弟的妻子手上当儿媳，而她的婆婆正是她母亲的母亲的儿媳，她正好成了她婆婆报复的对象。

In this family situation, we can see that the psychological factor is stronger than the economic factor, because from the economic point of view the second type is much preferable for a balancing of obligations.

I could not ascertain the actual number of cases of each type of cross-cousin marriage. But my informant admitted that if there is an opportunity of a suitable match of the up-hill type, it will usually be made. In a neighbouring village, there is only one case of the "reverting" type, and that was cited as fresh evidence of its unhappy results. Furthermore, comparative materials from South China confirms the conclusion here suggested. The same type of

patrilineal family system and the potential conflict between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is found, together with the same preference for the up-hill type of cross-cousin marriage.[9]

The economic burden of girl children has led to a high rate of female infanticide. This I have already shown in the previous section. The sex ratio which results actually makes it difficult for poorer boys to get a mate. If we take 16 as the lower age limit for marriage, we find that there are 128 marriageable men, or 25 per cent. of the total, who are still single. On the other hand there are only 29 women above 16, or 8 per cent. of the total, who are unmarried. Not a single woman above 25 is a spinster. But there are still 43 bachelors above 25.

The unbalanced sex ratio also affects the age difference between husband and wife. The average difference is as seen in 294 cases 4.9 years while the husbands are older than wives by an average of 3.65 years. We must remember that very young wives are not looked upon with favour, because they are unable to perform their share of the labour of the household. There are many cases where the wife is older than the husband. Indeed in one case the wife was eleven years older than her husband.

在这种家庭情况下，可以看到心理上的因素往往超过了经济上的因素。因为从经济观点来看，第二种情况更利于两家在承担义务问题上取得平衡。

我不能证实每类表亲婚姻的准确数字。但向我提供情况的人认为，如果有合适的上山型婚配机会，往往就办成了。在邻村，只有一对“回乡”型的婚姻，恰好成为被引用来作为结局不愉快的最新证据。此外，从中国南部得到的对比材料也证明了这里所提出的结论。在那里，一样存在父系家庭制度以及婆媳之间潜在冲突，同样，也存在着偏爱上山型表亲婚姻中的情况。[10]

女孩带来的经济负担导致了大量的溺女婴，这在前面的章节里已有所述。现存的两性比例的情况，使一些贫穷的男孩子难以找到对象。如果以16岁为结婚的最低年龄，我们发现有128个婚龄男子（占总数的25%）仍是单身汉；另一方面，超过16岁的妇女只有29名（占总数的8%）没有结婚。25岁以上的妇女没有一个是未婚的，但村里却有43个25岁以上的单身汉。

两性比例的不平衡也影响到夫妻之间的年龄差别。在294例中，夫妻之间的平均年龄差别为4.9岁，其中，丈夫比妻子平均大3.65岁。应当

知道，在农村里娶年龄太小的妻子并没有什么好处，因为她们还不能分担家务劳动。有许多例妻子的年龄大于丈夫，事实上，有一对夫妻，女的比男的大11岁。

I must add that the figures given above were confined to this village; but marriage is, in most cases, inter-village. Thus, I am assuming a similarity of conditions in other villages. Such an assumption is justified by the fact that the marriage area is identical with the industrial area, and that the silk industry in this area makes identical demands upon girls. In the town conditions are different. The sex ratio in the town is unknown. But the villagers, instead of practising infanticide often send their girls to the town as foster maids in big families as well as to special philanthropic institutions. Moreover, in the town, I found that infanticide was less practised. In consequence it is to be expected that the sex ratio will be higher than in the village. The difference in the sex ratio between town and village has led to the practice of women being supplied from the town to the village. For instance, when a maid servant in the town comes of age, her master will arrange a marriage for her with villagers. In the village, I know eleven such cases (representing 2.5 per cent. of the married women).

Late marriage is also due to the high expense of the ceremony. Though I could not discover a definite figure for such expenses, a rough estimate is about five hundred dollars (VII–7). This amount is equiva-lent to the total yearly family expenditure. During the past few years of depression, marriage has been entirely suspended. The depression of rural industry has fundamentally challenged the existing marriage proceedings. But since marriage cannot be postponed indefinitely, another type of marriage is found. This is the so-called *siaosiv* system: *siaosiv* meaning small daughter-in-law or more precisely the foster daughter-in-law.

The parents of the boy will take a girl as foster-child at a very early age, the future mother-in-law even feeding her at her breast, and will take care of her up to marriage. All the elaborate proceedings such as match-making, marriage gifts, the sending of the meeting-boat and sedan chair, will not be needed, if the daughter-in-law has been brought up in her husband's house. Some of the siaosiv even do not know their own parents. Those who have still maintained contact with their own parents, owing to early separation, will not be of special interest to them. The wedding ceremony can be curtailed to cost less than one hundred dollars.

我必须进一步说明，这些数字仅限于这个村子，而大部分婚姻是本村与外村之间的。因此，我假定在别的村子中也存在着相同的情况。这种假设是由以下的事实来证明的，即进行婚配的地区与从事某种家庭工业的地区是相同的，而这地区的蚕丝业对女孩子的需求也是相同的。在城市中，情况可以不同，城市中的两性比例尚不清楚。但农村中的人，常把女孩送到城里去给大家庭作养女，或把她们送到慈善机构里去，以代替溺婴。此外，我发现在城中较少溺婴。因此，可以预期在城市中女性的比例比农村中为高。由于农村和城市中两性比例的不同，导致了从城市中把妇女送到农村的现象。例如，在城里的年轻女佣，到了结婚的年龄，她的主人就为她安排一门农村的亲事。在这个村子中，我知道有11对（占已婚妇女的2.5%）就属于这种情况。

晚婚也是由于婚事费用过高而造成的。虽然我还没有找到这种开支的一个肯定的数字，粗略地估计，大约需500元（第七章第七节）。这个数字相当于一个家庭一年的开支。由于近几年来经济萧条，村里几乎中止办婚事。农村工业的不景气从根本上向现存的婚姻程序进行了挑战。但由于成婚是不可能无限期推迟的，所以出现了另一种结婚的方式，这就是所谓的“小媳妇”制度，“小媳妇”的意思是年幼的儿媳妇，即别的地方所说的“童养媳”。

在女孩很小的时候，男孩的父母领养了她。她未来的婆婆甚至还要给她喂奶，并一直要抚养她到结婚。如果这女孩是在她丈夫家中养大的，那么婚姻的一切复杂程序如做媒、行聘、接亲船、轿子等等都不再需要了。有些“小媳妇”甚至不知道她自己的父母。而那些与自己父母还保持联系的女孩，由于早期即与父母分离，父母对她们也就没有特别的兴趣。婚事的费用，可以缩减到少于100元。

The relations among the members of the Chia and between the affinal relatives are greatly modified by the new institution. The girl brought up from an early age by her future mother-in-law, becomes, as I have observed in many cases, very closely attached to the latter and feels towards her just like a daughter, especially in the frequent cases where there is no real daughter. Even those who are badly treated by the future mother-in-law become used to their position and do not thus experience a crisis after marriage. Thus the conflict between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law is often not so acute, even if not entirely avoided. Affinal relation is very loose, and in many cases is entirely eliminated.

The number of *siaosiv* has increased during the last decade. Among the married women, 74 out of 439, or 17 per cent. had been *siaosiv* before

marriage. But among the unmarried girls, there are 95 *siaosiv* against 149 non-*siaosiv*. This amounts to 39 per cent. On the average there is one *siaosiv* for each 2.7 households. This figure is very instructive. But it is too early to predict the further development of the institution. Traditional marriage is still the predominant institution, both in frequency of occurrence and in the regard of the people. The *siaosiv* system is despised, since it develops at times of economic depression and is usually practised by poorer families. Moreover, its effect in loosening ties of affinal relationship, affects the normal working of kinship organization. It is also unfavourable to the status of women and to the possibility of the young couple forming an independent family, since they lack the contribution of their parents in marriage gifts and dowry. It is significant that, according to my informants, this type of marriage had in rather similar circumstances become very popular after the Taiping Rebellion (1848—1865), which was followed by a general economic depression. But it had given way to the traditional type as soon as normal conditions had been recovered.

由于这种新的制度，家中的成员之关系和姻亲之间的关系起了很大的变化。我曾观察到，有许多从幼年起就被未来的婆婆带领大的女孩子，十分依附于她的婆婆，就像一个女儿对母亲一样。特别是，如果这家真的没有女儿，情况就更是如此。甚至那些受到未来婆婆虐待的人，逐渐习惯于自己的地位，在婚后也不至于经受不起。故婆媳之间的纠纷，即使不能完全避免却常常不是那么尖锐。姻亲关系是松散的，在许多情况下它已经消失了。

在最近的10年里，“小媳妇”的数字增加了。在已婚的439名妇女中，有74人（即17%）在婚前是“小媳妇”。但在未婚的妇女中，“小媳妇”有95人，而非小媳妇有149人，“小媳妇”占39%。平均起来，每2.7户人家就有一个“小媳妇”。这个数字是非常有意义的。但现在就来预测这种制度进一步发展的情况，为时尚早。从成婚率和人们关心的程度来看，传统的婚姻仍然是主要的制度。“小媳妇”制度是受到轻视的，因为它是在经济萧条的时候产生的，而且通常是贫困的人家才这么做。此外，它使姻亲联系松散，影响亲属结构的正常功能。它对妇女的地位、甚至对年轻夫妇建立一个独立的家庭都有不利的影响，因为他们缺少双方的父母供给的聘礼和嫁妆。有意思的是，据提供情况者说，此类型的婚姻，在太平天国运动（1851～1864年）之后，曾在很相似的情况下流行过。太平天国运动以后接着是普遍的经济萧条。但一旦情况恢复正常，传统婚姻就取代了这种类型的婚姻。

[1] The following table gives the number of each type of Chia :
I. Those which do not include a married couple . . . 99
(a) Without extended relatives 62
(b) With extended relatives 37
II. Those containing a single married couple 223
(a) Corresponding exactly to "family" . . . 85
(b) With extended relatives 138
III. Those with more than one married couple . . . 37
(a) Parents with one married son and his wife . . 25
(b) One of the parents with two married sons and their wives . 9
(c) Parents with two married sons and their wives . . 3
Total (excluding the priest) 359
[2] R. H. Tawney, Land and Labour in China, p. 43, note 1.
[3] 下表列出了各类不同的家的数字：
I. 不包括一对已婚夫妇 …………………………99
(a)没有远亲 ……………………………………62
(b)有远亲 ………………………………………37
II. 包括一对已婚夫妇 …………………………223
(a)完全与家庭一致 ……………………………85
(b)有远亲 ………………………………………138
III. 有一对以上的已婚夫妇 ……………………37
(a)父母和一个已婚儿子及其妻子 ……………25
(b)父母之一，和两个已婚儿子及其妻子 ……9
(c)父母及两个已婚儿子及其妻子 ……………3
总计（不包括和尚）……………………………359
[4] R. H. 托尼：《中国的土地和劳动》，第43页，注1。
[5] Chinese Rural Education in Change, Yenching University, 1936 (in Chinese).
[6] 《动变中的中国农村教育》，燕京大学，1936年。
[7] A Chinese dollar equals in English currency about 1s.–1s. 3d. in normal exchange rate.
[8] 按正常兑换率，中国币制一元等于英国货币约一先令至一先令三便士。
[9] Lin Yueh-hwa, Clan Village in Foochow, unpublished monography, Yenching University (in Chinese), also Kulp II, Country Life in South China, p. 167–168.
[10] 林耀华：《福州的族村》，未出版的专著，燕京大学（汉文），及葛学溥：《中国南方的农村生活》，第167–168页。

CHAPTER IV PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

〔1〕 Ownership

Before we proceed to discuss the problems of property and inheri-tance, it is necessary to add a section on ownership in this chapter. I will reserve the problem of land ownership to a later chapter.

Ownership is a certain relation between an object and an individual or a group of individuals. The owner can use, enjoy the benefits of, and dispose of the object under the prescription of custom and law. There are three subjects to be studied, namely: the owner, the object, and the relation between them. From the villagers, we can get a classification of property based on the nature of the owner.

(1) "No man's property." Everyone without discrimination has free access to such property—air, road, water ways, etc. But free access is qualified by the essential fact that one individual should not deprive another of its use. Take the example of water routes: everyone can use the village streams, but they are not allowed to use the route to the detriment of the villagers. The streams are closed during the night. No one can then pass unless he gets permission from the night guards. Again, even in daytime, boats are not allowed to block the passage. When a boat stops, it must be close to the bank and must leave room for others to pass.

(2) Village property. The inhabitants of the village have equal rights to use and to be benefited by such property—the water products in the surrounding lakes and streams, the grass on the public roads and on the "tomb-land." But the right of disposing of such property is in some cases in the hands of the village heads. This kind of property will be described more fully in the chapter on land tenure (XI–1).

Objects belonging to other territory groups are few. Perhaps we may

mention the idol of *luiwan* which is "owned" by the group *de* (VI–3).

(3) Property of extended kinship groups. The clan in the village does not own any common property. But among brothers, after the process of division of Chia, they may still use the same front room of the house (VII–2). The ancestral tombs do not come under property in the real sense because they cannot be used for any benefit of the descendants, but the descendants are on the contrary obliged to keep them in repair. The obligation is shared among the sibling Chia.

肆 财产与继承

一、所有权

在开始讨论财产和继承问题以前，有必要在本章加述一节所有权的问题。关于土地所有权问题，我将在以后章节中论述。

所有权是一物与个人或一组人之间的一定关系。所有者根据惯例和法律规定，可以使用、享有和处理某物。关于这一问题有下列三方面需要研究：所有者、物、所有者与物之间的关系。我们从村里的人了解到他们对财产的一种分类办法。他们是根据所有者的性质来分类的。

（1）“无专属的财产”。每个人可以无例外地自由享用此类财产——如空气、道路、航道等。但自由享用必须是在不侵犯别人享用的条件下进行。以航道或水路为例：每个人均能享用村里的河流，但不允许其在使用时做出对当地居民有害的事。夜间停止使用河流，除得到守夜人许可外，任何人不得通过。又如，即使在白天，船只不得堵塞航道，船只停留时，必须靠岸以使他人通过。

（2）村产。凡该村居民，均有同等权利享用此类财产，如：周围湖泊河流的水产品、公共道路和“坟地”上的草。但在某些情况下，此类财产的处理权在村长手中。这将在土地占有这一章（第十一章第一节）中作更详细的描述。

属于其他地域群体的物很少，也许我们可以提到刘皇的偶像，它属于“段”这个群体所有（第六章第三节）。

（3）扩大的亲属群体的财产。村里的氏族没有任何共同的财产。但兄弟之间分家后，仍然可共用一间堂屋（第七章第二节）。祖坟不列入真正的财产，因为它对子孙后代没有任何用处，相反，后代有修缮祖坟的义务。同一祖宗的各家均有这种义务。

(4) Chia property. This category will be the main subject of the next section.

These four categories have exhausted those about which a villager will

inform you, and with them all the objects in the village can be classified accordingly. It may be surprising to note the essential omission of individual ownership. The fact is that individual ownership is always included under the name of Chia ownership. For instance, when you ask a person whether his pipe belongs to him or to his Chia, he will answer that it belongs to both. When he says the pipe belongs to his Chia he is trying to exclude members of other Chia from using it; and when he says it is his personal belonging, he is trying to indicate that his fellow members in the Chia do not use it. These two types of ownership do not seem to him mutually exclusive. Everything owned by an individual is recognized as a part of the property of his Chia. Members of a Chia are under an obligation to protect any article belonging to any particular member in the group. This does not mean that there is no discrimination in the rights over the object of the different members of the group. What it really indicates is only a title under which there is a wide range of intermediary gradations between property jointly owned by the group and individually owned by each member.

Objects may be classified again by types of use.

(1) Those used as a means of production, such as the land, the house so far as it is used for the silk industry, the hut used for raising sheep, the implement, the kitchen, etc.

(2) Those used for consumption.

(a) Those not destroyed or exhausted after being used, such as rooms, clothes, furniture, ornaments, etc.

(b) Those destroyed and exhausted after being used, such as food, etc.

(3) Those immaterial objects, such as purchasing power (as repre-sented by money), credit, services, and, on the negative side, liabilities, and debts.

〔2〕Property of the Chia

Among the property-owning groups, the Chia is the fundamental one. It is the basic social unit of production and consumption and thus becomes the basis of the collective aspect of ownership. But, as men-tioned, the collective aspect of ownership of the Chia does not entirely rule out the group. It is therefore necessary to analyse how different kinds of objects are owned by different members and how different types of ownerhip are diffused among them.

（4）家产。此类财产是下一节要讨论的主要题目。

村里的人告诉你的都可包括在这四类财产之中。村里全部东西也可依据这四类来分类。可能有人会惊奇地注意到，没有列出个人的所有权。实际上，个人所有权总是包括在家的所有权名义之下。譬如，你问一个人，他的烟斗是属于他的还是属于他家的，他会回答是属于这两者的。说烟斗是他家的，意思是别家的人不能用这烟斗。说烟斗是他个人的东西，指的是他家里的其他成员不用这烟斗。这两种所有形式对他来说似乎并不互相排斥。个人拥有的任何东西都被承认是他家的财产的一部分。家的成员对属于这个群体内任一个成员的任何东西都有保护的义务。但这并不意味着这个群体中的不同成员对一件物的权利没有差别。家产的所有权，实际表示的是这个群体以各种不同等级共有的财产和每个成员个人所有的财产。

物还可以按其不同的用途来分类：

（1）用作生产资料的物，如土地、养蚕缫丝用的房屋、羊栏、农具、厨房等。

（2）消费品。

（a）用后未破坏或消耗尽的，如房间、衣服、家具、装饰物等。

（b）用后被破坏或消耗的，如食物等。

（3）非物质的东西，如购买力（以钱币形式出现）、信贷、服务，以及相反方面的，如债务。

二、家产

拥有财产的群体中，家是一个基本群体。它是生产和消费的基本社会单位，因此它便成为群体所有权的基础。但如前所述，家的集体所有权的部分，对这个群体的各个成员并不完全保持同等权利，所以必须分析不同种类的物如何为不同的成员所拥有。同时也需要分析不同类型的所有权是如何在各成员之间分配的。

Land is cultivated by all or some of the male adult members of the household. Boys assist occasionally and women only in irrigation. The produce is partly stored for the consumption of the household and partly sold to pay taxes, rent, and wages and to buy other goods for consumption. The right of using the land as well as the right to a share of the produce is sometimes extended to the employees by definite contract. The right of the tax and rent collectors is limited to that of deriving benefits from the land. In the village, with exceptions, the right of using and right of disposing are generally reserved by the cultivator. He may be regarded as a full owner if he does not pay rent to anyone, but pays taxes to the government. If he has lost his legal title of his holding, he must pay rent to the title holder who will pay the taxes out of the rent. In any case the cultivators are protected by law and custom from alienation of the land and from interference by the title holders. In other words, the cultivator owns the land with an attached liability to share a part of the produce with the person who holds the title (XI–4).

The right of disposing of the land is in the hands of the head of the Chia. But in daily management—such as the determining of the crop to be sown, date of sowing, etc.—the head, especially if it is a woman, does not exercise the right but leaves the decision to persons competent in the technique. But in selling or leasing the land, no one except the head can make a decision. Indeed, in practice, his action may be compelled by other members or he may act on their advice, but the responsibility is his own. In the ownership of land, we can see how the right of use, the right of enjoying the benefit and the right of disposal have been diffused among the members of the group.

The house is used for the silk industry, for threshing rice, for cooking, and for other productive work. It is also used for shelter, for sleeping and for

comfort. These different functions derive from quite different types of ownership. In case of silk raising, much space is needed specially during the last two weeks of the raising period. In that period, all the rooms except the kitchen may be used for sheltering silkworms. All the members of the household will crowd in one bedroom. The individual allotment of bedrooms disappears temporarily. In threshing rice, the central hall is used in common and even sometimes shared with the newly divided siblings. The kitchen is chiefly used by women. But the food prepared is shared by all members of the household, except occasionally for special members.

土地是由农户全体成年男子或一些成年男子耕种的。男孩有时帮助耕种，女人只帮着灌溉。产品部分被贮存起来供一家人消费之用，部分出售，以纳税、交租和支付工资，并买回其他消费物品。土地使用权和产品享用权有时通过契约扩大到雇工。收税和收租人的权利只限于从土地取得的利益的范围。在村里，除了例外，耕种者一般保留使用和处理土地的权利。如果他不付给任何人地租而向政府纳税，他可被认为是一个完全的所有者。如果他失去了法定的土地所有权，他必须对持所有权者交地租，持所有权者用所收地租的一部分向政府纳税，在任何情况下，耕种者受法律和惯例的保护，使其不离开土地，不受持所有权者的干扰。换句话说，耕种者拥有土地但有一个附带的条件，即与持所有权者分享部分产品（第十一章第四节）。

处理土地的权利掌握在家长手中。但在日常管理中，例如决定播种的作物、播种日期等，家长，特别若是女人的话，不行使权利，而把决定留给一个技术熟练的人来作。但出售或出租土地的事，除家长外，没有别人能作决定。实际上他的行动可能受其他成员所驱使或者是根据其他成员的建议来作出决定，但责任由他自己来负。在土地所有权这一问题上，我们可以看到，土地的使用权、处理权和利益的享用权是如何在这一群体的各个成员中分布的。

房屋用于蚕丝工业、打谷、烹饪及其他生产性工作。房屋也是用作庇护、睡觉和休息的场所。这些不同的功能来自相当不同类型的所有权。养蚕时期，特别是最后两周需要很大的地方。在这一时期，除去厨房外，所有房间都可能用来养蚕。全家人都挤在一间卧室里，个人就暂时没有各自的房间。打谷时，中间的房屋公用，有时还需与新分家的兄弟合用。厨房主要是妇女用的场所，但做得的食品全体成员共同享用，偶尔有为特殊成员供食的情况。

Individual ownership, as meaning the exclusive use of certain objects by certain individuals, is found mostly in goods for consumption. It is clear that

those goods which will be exhausted after use are necessarily owned by individuals. But those articles that can be repeatedly used may be shared by several persons successively. The clothes are shared among brothers or among sisters, and between parents and children in different periods, but during certain periods they are used more or less exclusively by one person. Valuable ornaments are exclusive to individual members. They belong mostly to women and are a part of the dowry. Dowry is considered as the "private" property of the woman and shared with her husband and children. It is the family property within the Chia. But at a financial crisis, the family property may be mortgaged for common relief of the Chia. In this case, the willingness of the woman must be secured. Selling a wife's ornaments without her consent will cause domestic disputes.

The room allotted for individual use is more or less exclusive to the family group. The furniture is partly supplied by the wife's parents. The door can be locked by the daughter-in-law although this is not considered as very polite to the mother-in-law. The keys to the boxes and drawers in the room are kept by the daughter-in-law which marks the exclusiveness of family property in the Chia.

The private use of the bedroom by the family does not undermine the final right of disposal of the house to the head of the Chia. The junior members cannot sell or exchange their rooms with anyone. As in the case of land, the head of the Chia has the final decision in any transaction concerning immovable property. It is also true for the produce of the land and the industry. Raw silk may be sold by the woman. If she is not the head, she must hand the money to the head. In this sense, the head of the Chia possesses a superior right to the property over that of anyone in the group. The rights over immaterial goods, which includes money as purchasing power, are more complicated. The main source of income derived from rice, silk, and sheep, is controlled by the head. Thus money is largely in his hand. It is he who determines the buying of implements and fertilizer, or the acquisition of new land or a new house. Theoretically, according to the ideal system, other members, whenever they get money from other sources, must hand it to the head; and when they need things must ask the head to buy them. It is a very centralized economy. But in practice the earner usually reserves the whole or a part of his or her earnings. For instance, a girl who works in the factory usually gives her wage not to her father but to her mother to save for her own

future use. A daughter-in-law will consider her wage as her own. If a daughter-in-law does not earn money directly, she will ask for more than the real cost of the daily commodities and save the surplus. In this way, she gets a little saving of her own which is called *sivon*, her "private room." It is kept in secret but always watched closely by her mother-in-law and consequently becomes a source of conflict.

个人所有权，意即某些人专用某些物的权利，绝大多数是消费物品。虽然，那些用后耗尽的物品必需归个人所有。但那些能够重复使用的物件，可由几个人先后连续共用。兄弟之间和姊妹之间、双亲和孩子之间在不同时期可共用衣物，但在一定时期内，或多或少是一个人专用的。贵重的首饰等归个别成员所有，多半属于妇女，而且是嫁妆的一部分。嫁妆被认为是妇女的“私房”，但可与丈夫和儿女共享。它也是这个家的家产，遇到必要时，可以抵押出去来接济家里的困难。但在这种情况下，必须征得妇女本人的同意。未经妻子同意便出售她的首饰往往引起家庭纠纷。

分给个人住的房间，或多或少是小家庭专用的。部分家具系由妻子的父母提供。媳妇外出可以把房门锁上，虽然，一般认为这样做对婆婆是不很礼貌的。房内箱子和抽屉的钥匙由媳妇保管，这是家中的成员专有权的象征。

小家庭私用的卧室并不损害家长对房屋的最终处理权。幼辈成员不能出售或与任何人交换住房。和土地的情况一样，家长对不动产的处理有最后决定权。对土地和副业的产品也是如此。妇女可以出售生丝，如果她不是家长，她必须把钱交给家长。在这个意义上，家长对财产具有较大的权利，超过这个群体中的任何一员。对非物质的物品的权利，包括作为购买力的钱，更为复杂。种稻、养蚕、养羊是主要收入来源，由家长控制。钱主要在他手中。只有家长才能决定购买农具、肥料，添置新的土地或房屋。从理论上说，这个制度的理想做法是：每当其他成员从其他来源得到收入时，必须把钱交给家长，他们需要什么时，要求家长去买。这是一种非常集权的经济。但实际上，挣钱的人通常保留他或她的全部或部分收入。例如，在工厂做工的女孩通常不把她的工资交给父亲而是交给她母亲保存，以备她将来之用。儿媳妇认为工资是她自己的钱。如果一个媳妇不直接挣钱，她向家长要的钱往往超过实际的开支，把多余的节省下来。这样，她自己有少量储蓄，称为“私房”，即她“私人的钱包”。这是媳妇秘密保存的，但总是受到婆婆严密的监视，因而往往成为冲突的缘由。

The daily expenditure of the household is paid from the common source.

But individual members may have a sum each month as their pocket money for free disposal. The main items such as taxes, wages, food, clothes, and other services are controlled by the head. Permission is necessary before any individual member can execute any transactions of these kinds. They are not allowed to secure loans. If a son, a bad one indeed in the eyes of the villagers, is in debt to somebody secretly, his father may refuse to repay as long as he is living. The son can only pay back the loan when he gets a share in inheritance. Therefore the interest is usually very high.

From his economic position, the head of the Chia derives the actual authority in the group. The right over objects enjoyed by a person who is not the head of a Chia is limited and incomplete.

〔3〕Transmission of Property

Inheritance in its wide sense is the entire process of transmission of property according to kinship affiliation. But it is limited in legal usage to referring the claim of an heir to the property of his deceased progenitor.[1] As studied by anthropologists, the problem is usually that of the disposal of the property of a deceased person.[2]

But to limit the study in this way is to leave out various facts, such as the transmission of property during the parents' lifetime and the economic obligation of the descendants towards their deceased ancestors. Ownership is a composite concept of various rights over an object. The process of transmission usually takes place bit by bit. It is not completed even when the progenitor is dead. The fear of displeasing the spirits of the ancestors or the ethical consideration of filial piety indicate the lingering influence of the dead on the free disposal of the inheritance by the heir. Therefore for the present analysis, I shall use the term inheritance in its wider sense.

家庭的日常费用由公共财源开支。但每个人每月有一些零用钱可以自由处理。主要的项目如税金、工资、食物、衣服和其他开销由家长控制。个人在办理这类事务之前应先得到家长允许。除家长外，个人不准借贷。如果一个儿子秘密欠了某人的债，在邻居们看来就是个坏人，他父亲只要活着就可以拒付这笔债款，儿子只有在得到一份遗产后才能还债。因此，这样的贷款利息通常是很高的。

从经济地位来说，家长在这个群体中确实是有权威的。不是家长的人对物的享有权既有限也不完整。

三、财产的传递

广义地说，继承是根据亲属关系传递财产的整个过程。但它在法律上的用法限于指取得对已故祖先的财产的权利。[3] 在人类学中，通常是指一个已故者的财产处理问题。[4]

但如果把研究限制在这样一个范围内，势必把其他各种事实遗漏，例如父母活着时的财产传递、后代接受已故祖先的经济义务等。所有权是对物的各种权利的一个混合概念。传递的过程通常是一点一点进行的，甚至在祖先死后，还未必完成。惧怕惹恼祖先鬼魂的心理，或是子孙孝顺的伦理思想，都表明了死者对继承人自由处理遗产的缠绵不息的影响。因此为分析当前的问题，我将从广义方面来使用“继承”这个术语。

A child is born into the world without possessing anything. Owing to his physical incapacity to acquire objects the infant is solely dependent upon others' provision. It is the function of the family to bring up a dependent infant to become a full member of the community. The parental obligation towards the child is the basis for the universal principle of transmission of property according to the kinship affiliation.

The relation between a child and the objects that satisfy his need is through his parents. At the beginning, he cannot use anything without the consent of his parents. For instance, the basic need of nutrition is dependent on the consent of his mother. Indeed, this consent is to a certain extent guaranteed by human sentiment and social rules, but even this is not always secured. In case the child is not welcomed to the house, he may be killed by the refusal of milk. As he grows up, the objects allotted for his use increase. But he has no free access to those things. The clothes he wears are put on him or taken off according to the will of his mother. Food is put before him. He cannot take things without the permission of his mother. The gifts given by his relatives are kept by his mother. The control of the elders over the child in his relation with objects is mainly for the welfare of the child and for preventing damage to the object by the child's unskilful use. Therefore when the child knows how to take care of itself and learns the proper use of objects the control diminishes. As technical knowledge increases and he participates

in productive work, the child gradually acquires the right of use over objects that belong to the Chia. But there are very few objects exclusively and freely used by him. The type and amount of goods he consumes are also always under the control of his elders.

An important step in the process of transmission of property takes place at marriage. In the marriage, the parents of both bride and bridegroom contribute to the new couple, in terms of marriage gifts and dowry, a set of objects, consisting of personal belongings, as a nucleus of family property. The new couple now have a room, more or less, for themselves. But from the point of view of the bride, she has at the same time lost at least a considerable amount of her right over the objects in her own parents' house. When she goes back after marriage, she is a guest, the more so if her parents are dead and the house is owned by her brother. She is admitted into her husband's house. But she cannot behave there freely as in her own parents' house. Her right to use objects is in practice very limited. She has no share in the personal objects of other members in the Chia except those of her husband. It is she who starts the disintegrative tendency in the collective economy of the Chia.

一个婴儿，一无所有、赤身裸体地来到这个世界。由于他的身体还不具备获得物体的能力，因此他全靠他人的供养。家庭的作用就是把一个没有独立生活能力的婴儿抚养成为社会中的一名完全的成员。父母对孩子的义务是根据亲属关系确定财产传递的一般原则的基础。

孩子通过父母同各种东西发生接触，从而满足其需要。最初时，未征得父母的同意，他不能使用任何东西。例如，对营养的基本需要依靠母亲的供应。当然，这种供应在一定程度上是受到人类感情和社会规则的保证的，但即使这一点也不一定总有保障。假如这孩子不受家庭的欢迎，他可能因为不喂奶而饿死。他长大后，归他用的东西增加了，但他不能自由取用那些东西。他的衣服，穿上或脱掉都需随他母亲的意愿。放在他面前的食品，必须经他母亲许可才能吃。亲戚送给他的礼物由母亲保管。成人控制孩子同物之间的关系，主要是为了孩子的福利或为了防止孩子由于技术不熟练而用坏物品。所以当孩子懂得照顾自己并学会正确使用物品时，这种控制便减少了。孩子的技术知识增长并参加了生产劳动，就逐步获得了那些属于家的物品的使用权。但真正专门归他用的或可由他自由使用的物品极少，他所消费的物品类型和数量也总是在他长辈的监视之下。

财产传递过程中的一个重要步骤发生在结婚的时候。男女双方的父

母都要以聘礼和嫁妆的名义供给新婚夫妇一套属于个人的礼物，作为家庭财产的核心。新婚夫妇现在有了一间多少是他们自己的房间。但从新娘的角度来看，她同时失去了使用自己娘家财物的一定权利。她出嫁后回娘家，便成了客人；如果父母去世，更是如此。家屋已归她兄弟所有。她住在丈夫的家中但却不能像在自己娘家那样自由自在。实际上，她对物的使用权非常有限。除去她丈夫的东西外，家中其他成员个人的东西，她无权共有。家的集体经济的分解倾向，往往是从她开始的。

The centralized system in the domestic economy, as described in the above section, reduces the independence of the young couple. The parental control is necessary for the development of a child, but the persistence of such control over him after his marriage is a different matter. A full member of the community needs a certain amount of property under his own disposal and a normal functioning of a family requires a larger material basis; but these are precluded by the centralized system of the Chia economy. The demand for economic independence of the young then becomes one of the disorganizing forces, and finally leads to the division of the group.

The process of division is one of the most important steps in the transmission of property from the parents to the child. Through the process the young acquire a legal title over a part of the property formerly belonging to the father and enjoy a more exclusive right to it.

The division between the parents and the married son usually takes place after some accident of domestic friction. The maternal uncle acts as mediator and proposes the division on behalf of the young man. He will negotiate with the old to decide the share to be allotted to the son. But the division between married brothers is automatic when their parents are dead.

Let us take an example of a Chia, consisting of a father, a mother, two sons, and a daughter. When the first son gets married and demands a division, the land will be divided into four parts. The first part is that reserved for the parents. The second share is the extra share for the first son. The rest is equally divided between the two brothers.

The share reserved for the parents will be sufficient to provide for their daily life as well as the marriage expenses of the second son and the daughter; its size will therefore depend on the number of unmarried children and the living expenses of the parents.

The eldest son receives two shares, the extra share being a small one.

The size of the extra share depends on the economic contribution that he has made to the collective unit. The first son, being older, will undoubtedly have made more contributions than his younger brother. Moreover, in the view of the villagers, he has also a greater ceremonial obligation towards the dead parents.

The share for the unmarried son is nominal. He will live with his parents and has no independent status. But he can demand the share when he is married. If one of the parents dies before his marriage, further division will be ruled out. The younger son who has not yet separated from his parents will support the remaining parent, who will hand over most of his or her economic authority to the married son even without division. When both parents are dead, the reserved share will go to the younger son, in consideration of the support he has given them. Thus he will also in the end inherit two shares. But if the elder brother shares in the support of their parents, he will have a claim on the reserved share. The final division will not necessarily be equal.

上述集权的家庭经济体系削弱了年轻夫妇的独立性。在孩子的成长过程中，父母的控制是必要的，但婚后继续进行这种控制，就是另一回事了。社会的一个完全的成员，需要一定数量属于他自己支配的财物，同时一个家庭的正常功能需要较丰富的物质基础。但这些均受到家的集权经济体系的阻碍。年轻一代对经济独立的要求便成为家这一群体的瓦解力量，最终导致分家。

分家的过程也就是父母将财产传递给下一代的最重要的步骤之一。通过这一过程，年轻一代获得了对原属其父亲的部分财产的法定权利，对这部分财产开始享有了专有权。

父母和已婚儿子分家，通常是在某一次家庭摩擦之后发生的。那时，舅父便出来当调解人，并代表年轻一代提出分家的建议。他将同老一代协商决定分给儿子的那份财产。父母去世后，已婚的兄弟之间则自动分家。

让我们以有一父、一母、两个儿子、一个女儿的一个五口之“家”为例。长子成婚后，如果要求分家，便将土地分成不一定等量的四份。第一份留给父母，第二份是额外给长子的，剩下的一份由两个儿子平分。

父母的一份将足以供给他俩日常生活及女儿出嫁、小儿子成婚所需的费用。这一份土地的大小根据二老的生活费用及未婚子女的多少而定。

长子接受两份，额外归他的那份一般比较小，其大小将根据他对这个集体单位的经济贡献而定。长子年纪大些，肯定较其弟多作些贡献。从村里邻人的眼光看来，长子对已故双亲也具有较大的礼仪上的义务。

未婚儿子的那一份是名义上的。他与父母一起生活，没有独立地位。但成婚后，他可以要求分得这一份。如父母之一在他成婚前去世，就不再分家。尚未与父母分家的儿子供养在世的父亲或母亲。父亲或母亲甚至不通过分家的方式就将大部分经济权交给已婚的儿子。当父母都死去时，由于小儿子曾供养他们，留给父母的那份土地便留给小儿子。这样，最终他也继承两份土地。但如长子也赡养父母，他亦可对留给父母的那份土地提出要求。长子和幼子最后分得的土地数不一定相等。

The house is divided in several ways. If the parents are living, the eldest son will have a house outside. In the case of Chou, the junior village head, he, being the younger son, lives with his parents in the old house. His elder brother moved, after the division of Chia, to a new house not far from the old one. If the division of Chia occurs after the death of the father, the elder son will occupy the old house and the younger son moves out with the mother. To build or to find a new house is difficult. Thus in most cases the old house is simply divided into two parts; the elder takes the east part and the younger the west. (The orientation of the house is always to the south.) The front room is occupied in common.

If there is one son only, he will demand separation from his parents only in case of serious conflict. In this case it means no more than a demand for economic independence. The amount of the son's share is not important because it is only a temporary allotment. In the end all the property will be handed over to him; when the parents are old and unable to work, they will be re-incorporated into their son's Chia. The process of re-incorporation does not undermine the rights acquired by the son, but, on the contrary, conveys to him the rights to the rest of the property.

Both the land and house are unilaterally inherited. The daughter has no share in them. When she is married her parents will give her a dowry, consisting of furniture, ornaments, clothes, and sometimes a sum of money; but never land or house. Even the poorest parents furnish the coverlet of the bed for their daughter.

The son, after the process of division, has a separate house or a part of the house. He has a separate kitchen in which his wife will cook food for the

family. He has a separate piece of land. The produce of the land is at his own disposal. But, in fact, his right over these allotments is still not complete. His father, as long as he is living, can strongly influence his use of the land and house. The son cannot sell them against the will of his father. He will send food to his parents in case of need. When the parents are old or one of them is dead, he is obliged to support them. Therefore the process of division does not completely end the economic relation between the parents and the child.

房屋有几种分法。父母在世时，长子住在外面其他房屋里。例如，该村副村长周某，他是幼子，同父母一起住在老房屋内。其兄在分家后搬到离老房屋不远的新屋内。如父亲去世后才分家，长子便占住老房子，幼子同母亲一起迁往新居。由于修建或租用新房屋有困难，因此，多数情况下将老房屋分成两部分。长子住用东屋，幼子住西屋（房屋的方向总是朝南），堂屋为公用。

如仅有一子，只有在发生严重冲突的情况下他才会要求和父母分家。在此种情况下，分家仅意味着是一种经济独立的要求。儿子分得多少，无关重要，因为这只是一种暂时的分配。最终全部财产仍将传交给儿子。父母年老不能工作时，他们又将再合并到儿子的家中去。这种再合并的过程不损害儿子已获得的权利，反而是将其余的财产权传给儿子。

不论是土地或房屋均为单系继承。女儿无继承权。女儿出嫁时，父母给她一份嫁妆，包括家具、首饰、衣服，有时有一笔现钱；但从不分土地或房屋，甚至最穷的父母也得为女儿备一份被褥。

分家以后，儿子获得单独的住房或分得一部分老房屋，其中单有一间厨房，其妻便在这厨房内为这个家煮饭。他有单独另一块土地，所得产品归他个人支配。但实际上，他对这些分配所得的权利仍是不完全的，只要他父亲在世，便可以对他使用土地和房屋施加影响。儿子不得违背父亲的意愿去出售土地。父母需要食物时，他必须送往。父母双方年老或有一方在世时，他必须负责赡养。所以分家并非就此完全结束了父母与子女之间的经济关系。

Moreover, the property divided in this way is limited to that used for production and a part of that used for consumption. Personal belongings of the parents will be reserved for them. The son usually gets a sum of money to start his new economic unit, but debts and liabilities, except his own secret loans, will be kept back until the death of the father.

The reserved part of the immovable property will be transmitted to the

son when the parents are too old to work. The final transmission occurs at the death of the parents, specially of the father. A part of the personal belongings will be buried with the dead and a part will be burnt—to be used, as it is believed, by the spirits. The remainder will be divided not only between the sons but also between other relations who have served the deceased. The daughter will have a considerable share of her mother's leavings, including clothes and ornaments. This suggests, in some degree, the matrilineal inheritance; but since the daughter-in-law also has her share, the rule is not absolute. The division of these types of property is subject more or less to the personal will of the deceased or her husband (or his wife) who has the right to decide the disposal of what is left.

〔4〕Effects of Inheritance on Marriage and Descent

As far as the land and house are concerned, the line of inheritance goes along the line of descent. But if a man has no son, to whom will the property be transmitted? This problem appears in two circumstances: a man may be childless; or may have a daughter but no son. Let us study the first case of the man who is childless.

Childlessness due to physiological sterility is rare. If a woman is sterile, she may be repudiated and her husband will remarry. In most cases childlessness is due to the death of the child. When a man is old and without a living child, he can adopt a boy. He is free to choose his adopted son. In adopting his son, he must invite his clansmen and before them he will sign a contract with the parents or other responsible person of the child. The contract consists of two parts. On the one hand the adopting father will give a formal promise to guarantee the full status of the adopted son, especially the right of inheritance; and on the other side the person responsible for the adopted child will promise to sever his relation with the child and also guarantee in the child's name to support the adopting parents when they are old.

此时所分的仅限于生产用的和一部分消费用的财产。属于父母个人的财产仍然被保留着。儿子通常分得一笔钱以开始经营他那新的经济单位。至于债务，除去儿子秘密欠的债以外，仍将留到父亲去世时才解决。

父母年老，丧失劳动能力时，保留的不动产部分将传给儿子。最后的传递在父母去世时进行，特别是在父亲去世时。部分个人用品将与死者一起埋葬，另一部分火化，被认为是给死者的灵魂使用的。其余部分不仅为儿子而且将为服侍过死者的其他亲戚所分用。女儿可分得相当一部分母亲的遗物，包括衣物和首饰。在某种程度上，这意味着母系继承，但由于儿媳也往往分得一份，这个惯例便不是绝对的了。对此类财产的分配或多或少是按照死者或其丈夫（或妻子）的意愿，他们有权决定对遗物的处理。

四、继承对婚姻和继嗣的影响

就土地和房屋而言，继承是按继嗣系统进行的。但如果一个人没有儿子，财产传给谁呢？这个问题有两种情况：一个人可能没有孩子或有女儿而没有儿子。让我们先研究一下第一种情况。

因生理原因而无子女的情况极少。如果一个妇女不能生育，就会受到遗弃，丈夫将重新结婚。多数是因为孩子死亡而无子女的。一个男人上了年纪而没有活着的孩子时，可以领养一个男孩。他可以自由选择一个养子。在领养时，他必须邀请他同族的人，在他们面前与孩子的父母或孩子的其他负责人签订契约。契约分两个部分：一方面，养父正式允诺，保证养子具有正式的地位，特别是继承权；另一方面孩子的父母或负责人保证断绝他与孩子之间的关系，同时以孩子的名义担保在养父或养母年老时赡养他们。

The endorsement of the fellow-clansmen of the contract is essential, for this action is counter to their interest. If the person dies without issue, his nearest kin in the next kinship grade will automatically become his descendant and inherit his property according to custom. But in this case, the heir will not sever social relations with his own parents. The child will live with his own parents and has done no work for his benefactors. The heir has, in fact, mainly ceremonial obligations.

From the economic point of view, it is considered preferable to adopt a child who can work for the adopted parents during their lifetime than to appoint an heir among kindred. But adopting an outsider means the loss on the side of the nearest kin of a potential claim on the property. Therefore the parents of the potential heir will do their best to prevent the action. The usual result is a compromise. Either the nearest kin will support the adopting parents or the old will adopt an outsider but promise a share to the potential heir in the inheritance. The share will not be land or house but a sum of money.

If the son dies after his marriage and leaves no grandson, his parents will find a substitute for his son as the second husband of their daughter-in-law. The substitute is called *wanipon*.[5] He will change his surname to that of his wife's former husband and live in the latter's house. His child will be regarded

as a descendant of the deceased. The social status of such a substitute is low because no well-to-do person will accept this position. There are two *wanipon* in this village.

Levirate is practised in the similar condition if the deceased has a brother who has not yet been engaged. There are two cases of this type in the village. Levirate is common in case of *siaosiv* when her would-be husband dies before marriage.

We must now turn to the second case: that of the man who has only a daughter but no son. If the daughter has been married before the death of her brother, she cannot contribute anything to the continuity of her father's line. But if she has not been married, her parents, knowing that there is not hope of another son, can ask the parents of their daughter's fiancé to allow their daughter to carry on their descent. In other words, they will have the right to take one of their daughter's male children as their own grandson. This type of marriage is called lendiugoxofen; meaning to attach two flowery flags on the ancestral shrines of both Chia. The flowery flag is a symbol of descent used in the wedding ceremony. In this village there is one case of this type.

同族人在契约上签字甚为重要，因为这一行动是违背他们的利益的。如果一个人死后无子女，他的近亲层中最近的亲属便自然地成了他的嗣子，并根据惯例继承他的财产。但在此种情况下，继承人不会同他自己的父母断绝社会关系。他将与自己的父母同住，不替被继承人做事。事实上，这种继承人主要只是承担礼仪上的义务。

从经济观点考虑，人们认为领养一个能为养父母干活的孩子，在他们生前侍候他们，比在亲属中指定一个继承人好得多。但领养一个外人意味着在最近的亲属方面失去了对财产的潜在的继承权。因此潜在的继承人的父母往往想尽一切办法来制止这一行动。通常的结果是妥协。或者最近的亲属答应赡养领养父母，或者年老的父母领养一个外人，但是允诺把一份财产传给潜在的继承人。这份财产并非土地或房屋，而是一笔金钱。

假如儿子成婚后死去，未留下孩子，其父母将为死去的儿子找一个替代人作为儿媳妇的后夫。此替代人被称为“黄泥膀”。[6] 他将改姓其妻子前夫的姓并住在前夫的房屋内。他的孩子将被视作死者的嗣子。这个替代人的社会地位很低，富裕的人是不会接受这种位置的。村里有两个“黄泥膀”。

假如死者有一个未订婚的弟弟，叔嫂婚也就在同样的情况下产生。

村里有两起这样的婚姻。当“小媳妇”的未婚夫在结婚前去世，在这种情况下，叔嫂婚比较普遍。

现在，我们必须转入第二种情况：即一个男人仅有女无子。如果女儿在弟弟死前出嫁，她对她父系的继嗣不能作出任何贡献。但如果她尚未出嫁，父母也明白不可能再有儿子，他们便可要求女儿的未婚夫的父母允许他们的女儿为他们传嗣。换句话说，他们有权利将其女儿的一个男孩作为他们自己的孙子。这类婚姻称作“两头挂花幡”，意思是在两个家的祖宗牌位上插两面花旗。在结婚仪式上，花幡是传嗣的象征。这个村子有一起这样的婚姻。

If the daughter has not yet been engaged, her parents can adopt a son-in-law. The girl's parents will send marriage gifts to the boy's parents. The wedding ceremony will take place in the girl's house and the husband will live in his wife's house with the wife's parents. In addition to the general wedding ceremony, the girl's parents will sign a contract with the boy's parents, similar to that of adoption of a son and witnessed by their clansmen. The child of their daughter will take their surname and continue their descent. There are twelve such cases in this village. This number is significant if we take into consideration that there are relatively few cases of sonless parents and that the practice of late engagement is rare. When there is still hope for the parents to get a boy themselves, they will not arrange such a marriage. But if after the marriage, they got a boy, as seen in one case, the accomplished fact will continue to be valid. It is a generally accepted institution and has been legalized in the civil code.[7]

In the above-mentioned cases, the patrilineal principle of descent is obliterated and the marriage institution is modified. It shows that the problem of inheritance and descent should be viewed as a part of the reciprocal relation between the two generations: the transmission of property on the one hand and the obligation of supporting the old on the other. The obligation of the young to support the old is maintained not by legal force alone but by human affection. Owing to the tie of affection and economic security of the old, they prefer an adopted son from outside to an appointed heir among the kindred, and modify the patrilineal principle to adopt a son-in-law. The obligation of the young does not end when the old are dead. The care of the tomb and offering sacrifice to ancestor spirits are a part of this reciprocal relation. Furthermore, the right of free disposal of inherited property is again strongly conditioned by the religous and ethical belief of ancestor worship.

Thus we must study the obligation of the young towards their parents in connection with the problem of inheritance.

〔5〕Obligation of the Young

To begin with, in a childless family, the adults themselves will collect grass for the sheep. But when a child is born and able to work, they are relieved of this work. In rice growing, a boy will assist first in trans-planting young shoots and in irrigation. As the boy grows older, he works side by side with his father and eventually undertakes more work than his father, even before he gets married. A girl will assist her mother in the daily household work and in the silk industry. When their contribution to the family exceeds their own consumption, they begin to support their parents, although their share is not apparent owing to the collective economy.

假如女儿尚未定婚，他的父母可以领养一个女婿。女孩的父母向男孩的父母送一份结婚礼物。婚礼在女孩家中举行，丈夫将住在妻子家里与岳父母一起生活。除举行婚礼外，女孩的父母还将与男孩的父母签订一项契约，与领养一个儿子的契约类似，并有同族人联署。其女儿的孩子姓他们的姓，为他们继嗣。这类婚姻本村有12起。如果我们考虑到无子的父母相对来说比较少，且一般定婚比较早，12起的数目是相当可观的了。在父母还有希望获得亲生儿子时，他们是不会安排此类婚姻的。但如女儿成婚后，父母又得一子，已办成的事仍然有效。我们见到一例。这是普遍都接受的制度，而且在民法中已有法定条文。[8]

在上述情况中，父系继嗣的原则已作修改，婚姻制度有所改变。这说明，继承和继嗣的问题应被视为两代人之间相互关系的一部分，一方面是财产的传递，另一方面是赡养老人的义务。年轻一代供养老人的义务不仅靠法律的力量来维持，而且是靠人的感情来保持的。由于感情上的联系及老人经济保证的缘故，他们宁愿从外面领养一个儿子，而不愿在亲属中指定一个继承人。他们领养女婿，改变了父系原则。老人去世后，下一代的义务并未结束。照看坟墓、祭祀祖宗便是这相互关系的一部分。此外，对继承下来的财产的自由处理权又受到崇敬祖先的宗教和伦理信念的约束。因此，我们研究年轻人赡养父母的义务必须联系继承问题。

五、赡养的义务

一开始，家庭里尚未添丁时，成人自己割羊草。家里有了孩子并能工作时，成人就摆脱了这项工作。在种稻这项工作中，男孩最初可帮着插秧，进行灌溉。男孩长大后便与父亲并肩劳动，终于，甚至在成婚前已比他父亲担任更多的工作。女孩帮助母亲料理日常家务及养蚕缫丝。当他们对家庭的贡献超出他们自己的消费时，便已开始赡养父母。虽则由于经济收入归家庭的缘故，他们供给家庭的份额并不明显。

The problem of equality between parents and children in economic contribution does not arise, but it does arise between siblings. I was acquainted with one case of a man who did not work at all on the land but was supported by his brother. He prevented his younger brother from marrying in order to continue his parasitic way of living. He was severely criticized by the community. Public opinion has forced him to arrange a marriage for his younger brother which would be followed by a division of Chia, but it had not taken place before I left the village. The accepted idea is this, that since one owes a debt to one's parents in childhood and receives property from them, it is one's duty to work for them, but not for one's brother.

However, a sense of equality between parents and children is not altogether ruled out. When a young couple undertakes the greater part of the work in the household but still is without an independent status owing to the economic power being centralized in the hands of the older generation, there will be much dissatisfaction. It will eventually force the parents to relinquish their power along with their withdrawal from work.

The obligation to support becomes apparent when the son has secured his independence. If the parents have in their old age still a share of the land, and are not able to work it themselves, the son will cultivate it for them. This means in fact that the son must set apart a share of his labour for his parents. Another form common when one of the parents is dead, is that the remaining one will re-incorporate into the son's Chia and live there. The amount of support is then not fixed. If there are two sons, they may support their parent alternately. In any case, the authority of the parents is reduced in proportion

to the degree of their dependence. From the point of view of types of ownership the general line of retreat of the parents is from the right to use to the right of disposal of the produce and finally to the right of disposal of the objects itself. From the point of view of types of objects, the retreat takes place from the means of pro-duction to goods for consumption and finally to immaterial privileges and liabilities. These steps of retreat correlated with the increase of obligation of the young from entire dependence to taking a co-operative rôle and finally to bearing responsibility for the whole livelihood of the parents. Even the death of the parents, as mentioned, does not completely eliminate the obligation of the young towards the old. The disposal of the corpse, the mourning and the periodical offering of sacrifices are a prolongation of filial obligations. Since the privileged party cannot exert direct control over these obligations, religious belief and public opinion enter more strongly into the sanctions.

在父母和孩子之间并不计较经济贡献上的平等问题，但在兄弟之间确有这个问题。我知道这样一个事例，有一个人根本不在地里劳动而靠他弟弟过活。为继续他的寄生生活，他甚至阻碍弟弟结婚。他受到了社会舆论的严厉批评。公众舆论迫使他为弟弟安排了婚事，并准备婚后接着分家，但在我离开村子以前，分家尚未举行。普遍接受的观念是：既然一个人在童年时代受了父母的抚育，又接受了父母的财产，为父母劳动就是他的责任，但为兄弟劳动却不是义务。

然而，父母和子女之间平等的意识并非完全被排除了。年轻夫妇如果挑起了家中的大部分劳动重担，而由于经济权力集中在老一代手里，青年仍然没有独立的地位时，他们也会产生不满。这将最终迫使父母在逐渐退出劳动的过程中，同时放弃他们的权力。

儿子有了独立地位时，赡养父母的义务就明显了。假如父母年老时仍然掌握一份土地，但已无力耕种，儿子将代他们耕种。这意味着实际上儿子必须为父母出一份劳力。另一个普遍的形式是：当父母一方去世时，活着的一方将与儿子的家进行合并，并一起居住。供养的金额并不固定。如果有两个儿子，他们可以轮流赡养。总之，随着父母年老依赖儿子的程度的增加，他们的权威便按比例地缩小。从各类型所有权的角度看，父母退却的一般规律是从使用产品的权利退到处理产品的权利，最后到处理用具的权利。从各类物体的角度看，从生产资料退却到消费物品，最后到非物质的权利和债务。这些退却的步骤与下一代义务的增加是相互关联的。下一代从完全依赖于父母到担当合作的角色，最后到挑起赡养父母的全部责任。正如前面已经提到的，甚至到父母死亡，尚

未完全解除下一代对上一代的义务。对遗体的处理、服丧和定期祭祀，都是子女义务的延续。由于受赡养和祭祀的一方对这些义务不能施加直接的影响和控制，宗教信仰和公众舆论便成了强烈的约束力。

A person approaching death will be attended by the members of the Chia. All the juniors will kneel beside him with the son in the closest position. Daughters are not necessarily among the group but will come promptly after their parent's death. A package of clothes will be burnt with a paper chair before the front door. Neighbours will then gather to assist the funeral business because the members of the Chia are under heavy mourning and not able to manage the business. The son, the daughter-in-law and the daughter will put on coarse hempen cloth and their heads will be tied with a long white belt down to the ground. Shorter belts and white clothes are worn by grandchildren.

On the second or third day, the corpse will be put into the coffin. The eldest son will hold the head of the deceased and the younger son the feet. On the next day, the coffin is closed and moved to the graveyard. According to the practice of the village, which is different from the town, the coffin is not buried underground, but above the ground among the mulberry trees and covered with a shelter built in bricks and tiles. If the family cannot afford a brick-and-tile shelter, a simple straw one will do. In this way, no land is made waste for the burial.[9]

It is the duty of the descendants to repair the shelter of their ancestors' coffins up to five generations. Those decaying coffins, about which no one cares any more, will be removed by a special philanthropic institution and buried somewhere else.

The spirit of the dead, it is believed, has left the corpse and has been admitted to the world of spirits. It will come back to the house at the seventeenth or eighteenth day after death. On that day, the house will be prepared to welcome the spirit. The tablet with the name of the dead will then be put into a wooden pavilion presented by the husband of the daughter and set in the front room. Heavy mourning is observed for forty-nine days. Each meal will be prepared before the pavilion and a woman will wail beside it with dirges. This is the obligation of a wife towards her husband and a daughter-in-law towards her parents-in-law. Men never take part in such wailing.

当一个人垂死的时候，家的成员都要聚集在身旁，小辈们跪在床前，当儿子的位置最接近死者。女儿不一定在此之列，但一旦父母死亡，出嫁了的女儿便得迅速赶到。在死者大门前燃烧起一包衣服和一张纸钱。邻居们纷纷到来，协助料理丧事，因为家的成员此刻都服重孝，无心办事。儿子、儿媳和女儿都身穿麻布孝服，头缠白色长带，一直拖到地面。孙儿辈则穿白衣，头系短带。

到第二天或第三天便是遗体入殓。长子捧头，幼子扶足。再下一天，盖棺，把棺材运到坟地。村里同城镇的做法不同，棺材不埋在地下，而是放在地上桑树丛中，用砖和瓦片盖起一个遮蔽棺材的小坟屋。如果这家买不起砖和瓦，则用稻草搭成坟棚。这样，不会因为埋葬而荒废土地。[10]

后代有责任修缮祖先的坟屋，一直继续负责到五代。那些腐烂的棺材没有人再管时，有专门的慈善机关将它们运走，埋葬在别处。

人们相信死者的灵魂离开尸体，进入阴间。死后第17或18天灵魂将回到家里。那天，家中应准备就绪，迎接死者的灵魂到来，女婿将奉献木龛一个，内立有死者名字的牌位，安放在堂屋里，举哀49天。每餐都准备好食品供在灵位前，并且有一妇女在旁边哀号恸哭，如诵悼歌。这是一个妻子对丈夫的义务，也是儿媳对公婆的义务。男人从不参与这种恸哭。

During the funeral ceremony, the priest who keeps the genealogy of the Chia will be invited to recite buddhist classics before the dead. His recitation is believed to have pecuniary value in the spirit world. The name of the dead is thus put into the genealogical record by the priest and will be included on the list for worshipping.

Daily sacrifices will be ended on the forty-ninth day. The tablet pavilion will be burnt at the end of two years and two months. It concludes the mourning period. The tablet is then put in the ancestral shrine.

At ordinary time, special sacrifices are offered on the birth and death days of each particular ancestor, and collective offering for all lineal ancestors five times a year as shown in the time-table of social activities (IX–3). The mode of sacrifice is that a feast is prepared for the spirits, at the conclusion of which paper money made in tin foils is burnt. This indicates directly the prolonged economic obligation of the young towards the old even after death.

The observance of these obligations by the descendants is in one sense

the legal charter of descent and the claim on inheritance. The act of holding the head of the dead when the corpse is being placed into the coffin, for instance, is regarded as justifying the extra share of inheritance of the eldest son and is a determining fact in appointing an heir from the kindred. It is true that there are no two persons who stand in exactly the same kinship order with the deceased, but if the nearest kin failed to perform this act, the second one takes up his rôle and the claim of the nearest kin is forfeited. The one who observes the obligation will be the legal heir and will inherit the property.

Furthermore, at the death of an unmarried person who possesses no property of his own, the question of inheritance does not arise and therefore no descendant is appointed.

But the obligation of mourning is not unilateral. Mourning groupings are shown in the following table.

From the table, we can see that both the period and the act of mourning are not correlated with descent but to a certain extent with the actual social relations and their standardized ties of affection. Mourning is not thought to increase the welfare of the spirit but is regarded as an expression of affection. It is different from ancestor worship, which is thought to be a definite contribution to the welfare of the spirit.

举行丧礼期间，邀请保管家谱的和尚在死者面前念佛经。人们相信诵经对阴间有财富的价值。从此，死者的名字便由和尚记载在家谱中，列入崇祀的名册。

49天后，每天的祭祀告终。两年零两个月后烧掉牌位龛，居丧便告结束。死者的牌位便放入祖祠内。

在平时，每一个祖宗的生日和终日都要祭供。对所有直系祖先，每年要集体祭祀5次，其时间见第九章第三节社会活动时间表所列。祭祀的方式是为祖先的鬼魂准备一次宴席。席后，焚烧一些锡箔做的纸钱。这直接说明了下代对上代的经济义务，甚至延长到老人去世以后。

后裔遵奉这些义务，在某种意义上表明了传嗣的合法权利，以及对继承权的要求。例如，遗体被放进棺材时，捧头的行动被认为是长子继承父母那份额外的土地的合法证明，也是在亲属中指定一名继承人的决定性依据。事实上，不会有两个人与死者的亲属关系是处在完全同等的位置，但如果最近的亲属未能履行这个行动，第二个人便接过这一角色，最近的亲属便丧失了继承权。奉行这个义务的，就是合法继承人，

他将继承死者的遗产。

此外，如果死者是一个既未结婚也没有财产的人，就不发生继承的问题，因此不指定继承人。

但是，服丧的义务不是单系的，参加服丧的成员如下表所列。

从表中，我们可以看出，服丧的时间及戴孝的轻重并不与传嗣相关，而在某种程度上与实际的社会关系及他们与死者之间的标准化的感情关系相关。人们并不认为戴孝会增加鬼魂的福利，而认为是对死者的感情的表露。这同祭祀祖宗不同，人们认为祭祀是对鬼魂福利有一定的贡献，是对阴间祖先的赡养。

Relationship to the Dead	Period	Act of Mourning
Wife	Indefinitely, until the marriage of her son.	Coarse hempen skirt and shoes, white cord on the hair at the beginning then changing to white skirt and shoes; wearing no silk.
Husband Son-in-law	Indefinite, a few months.	Blue button on the hat.
Son	2 years and 60 days.	Coarse hempen shoes, changing to white, if one parent is still living again changing to blue; white button; wearing no silk for one year.
Daughter (married or unmarried)	2 years and 60 days.	Coarse hempen skirt for 49 days; white shoes changing to blue; yellow cord.
Daughter-in-law	2 years and 60 days.	Coarse hempen skirt for 35 days, rest like the daughter.
Grandchild Brother's child Sister's child Daughter's child	1 year.	Blue button for male; blue cord for female.

Elders of the deceased observe no obligatory mourning.

The immediate control over objects and persons ceases at the time of death. But the belief in the existence of spirits even after death prolongs the influence of the deceased over property. Misfortunes and sickness are sometimes, not always, explained as the warning of ancestor spirits for some action that they do not approve, such as non-observance of the periodic sacrifice, damage to the coffin shelter, selling of land or house, etc. Pure ethical consideration is strong enough to prevent the person from selling his inheritance freely. The continuity of land holding is an expression of one's filial piety. Any act against it will be criticized by the community as bad. This is of considerable importance to the problem of land tenure.

与死者的关系	时间	服丧情况
妻 子	无一定限期，直到儿子结婚	粗麻裙和鞋，开始头扎白带，然后改穿白裙和鞋；不穿丝绸

丈 夫 女 婿	无一定限期，数个月	帽子上带蓝顶子
儿 子	两年零六十天	粗麻布鞋，然后改穿白鞋，如果父母一方未去世，又改穿蓝鞋；白顶子，一年不穿丝绸
女儿（已婚或未婚）	两年零六十天	穿粗麻裙四十九天；白鞋，后改穿蓝鞋；黄头带
儿媳妇	两年零六十天	穿粗麻裙三十五天，其余如女儿
孙 子 侄 子 外 甥 外 孙	一年	男用蓝顶子 女用蓝头带

死者的长辈无服丧的义务

人断气时，对物和对人的直接控制便停止。但人们相信鬼魂的存在，这便延长了死者对财产的影响。家中的不幸、病痛有时被解释为是祖宗的鬼魂对他们所不同意的某些行动的警告，例如，不遵奉定期祭祀、遮蔽棺材的小坟屋坏了、有人出售家中的土地或房屋等。纯粹的伦理观念考虑已足以阻止一个人随意出售他所得的遗产。继续保持土地拥有是子女孝心的表现。相反的行动就会遭到社区舆论的批评，认为是不道德的。这对土地占有问题至关重要。

〔6〕New Legislation on Inheritance

Having described the actual process of transmission of property in the village, now we can turn to the legal provisions. In preparation of the new civil code in China which came into force in 1929, the legislators followed the fundamental policy of the Kuomintang, the National Party in China, to promote sex equality by granting an equal right of inheritance to men and women. This has made an important departure both from the old civil code and from the traditional practice as described above.

The principle of the old and the new codes on the problem of inheritance can be summarized as follows:

"Formerly, a woman had, save a simple exception, no right to inheritance according to Chinese law. For instance, suppose a Chinese died fifteen years ago, leaving his widow, a son and a daughter, the whole of the property left by the deceased was by law to be inherited by the son only. Neither the widow nor the daughter was entitled to any share. In case the deceased had no issue except the only daughter, the daughter and the widow were still entitled to nothing if the brother of the deceased had a son. The son of the deceased's brother was the legal heir to the deceased and the whole of the property was to go to him. Again, even if the deceased had no brother, or his brother had no son, yet, so long as the deceased had a male relative descending from their common male ancestor and belonging to a younger generation than that of the deceased, surviving him, that male relative had a legal claim to inherit the whole estate left by the deceased. So the daughter could have the right of inheritance only when her deceased father had neither a son, nor a nephew, nor a male relative existing at the time of his death. The widow was in no case entitled to succession.

"But now the law has been changed very greatly. Women's right of inheritance is expressly recognized in the civil code.[11] Suppose the above-mentioned man dies now, instead of fifteen years ago, his property will be equally divided between the widow, the son and the daughter. If he has no issue other than the daughter, the daughter and the widow will inherit jointly to the estate. The patrilineal nephew and the other male relatives have been

deprived of the right of succession altogether."[12]

The old legal principle prescribed strict unilateral inheritance along the line of patrilineal descent. It followed the custom so long as a person had a son of his own. His daughter after marriage would live with her husband and join the economic unit of the latter. She had no obligation to support her own parents. In the mind of the people it was fair that a woman should be deprived of the right to inherit her own parents' property. But there were cases where a person had no son. According to the old law, he had no choice but to leave his property to his nearest kin. He might adopt a son or a son-in-law but the latter had no legal right of inheritance. Under these circumstances, the custom had provided compromises. It seemed to the people unreasonable to deprive one who had supported the deceased from inheriting what the latter left. But since they also recognized the potential claim of the nearest kin, as mentioned, compensation might be demanded.

六、新的继承法

在描述了村中财产的实际传递过程之后，现在我们可以看一看法律条款。在制定新的民法（于1929年生效）的时候，立法者是按照中国国民党的基本政策给男女以同等的继承权，以便促进男女平等的。这与旧民法和以上描述的传统做法有重要的区别。

在继承问题上，新旧民法的原则可以归纳如下：

“过去，根据中国法律，一个女人，除去个别例外，是没有继承权的。例如，假定一个中国人在15年以前去世，留下一个寡妇、一个儿子和一个女儿，根据法律，全部遗产只能由儿子继承，寡妇和女儿一概没有权利继承。如果死者没有子嗣，只有一个女儿，而他兄弟有一个儿子，在这种情况下，女儿和寡妇仍然没有任何继承权，死者兄弟的儿子是法定继承人，一切财产均归于他。再如，即便死者没有兄弟或他的兄弟没有儿子，但只要死者有一个男性亲属活着，他是与死者同一个男性祖先的后裔，而且是属于小辈，这个男性亲属便有继承死者全部财产的法定继承权。所以，女儿只有在她的先父去世时既没有儿子、侄子也没有活着的男性亲属的情况下，才有继承权。寡妇在任何情况下不得继承。

“但是现在，法律有了很大的改变。在民法中明确地承认女子的继承权。[13] 假定上述男人现在死去，而不是15年以前死去，他的财产便可平均分配给寡妇、儿子和女儿。如果他没有儿子只有女儿，母女可以共同继承遗产。父系侄子和其他男性亲属一概无权继承。”[14]

旧的立法原则规定严格沿着父系传嗣单系继承。只要一个人自己有一个儿子，就沿着这种惯例进行。他的女儿，出嫁后与丈夫住在一起并参加后者的经济单位。她没有赡养娘家父母的义务。在人们的思想里，女人没有继承娘家父母财产的权利是公平的。但在一个人没有儿子的情况下，根据旧法律，他只能把财产留给他最近的亲属，无其他选择。他可以领养一个儿子或一个女婿，但后者没有法定的继承权。在这种情况下，习俗提供了折中的办法。在人们的眼里，剥夺一直赡养父母的人的继承权是不合理的。但正如以上所述，他们既然也承认最近亲属的潜在继承权，因此允许提出补偿的要求。

The new code has altered the unilateral principle of inheritance because

it is conceived as against the principle of sex equality. But how far it has altered the principle of descent is not very clear. It recognizes the daughter, even after marriage, as being as much a descendant of her parents as were her brothers (Article 967). But as a wife, she will "prefix to her surname that of the husband" (Article 1,000), and take "the domicile of her husband as her domicile" (Article 1,002), except her parent adopt a son-in-law for her. Her children will "assume the surname of the father" (Article 1,059), except there is an agreement for another arrangement, and the domicile of her child is that of the father (Article 1,060). As a descendant, she has obligations to maintain her own parents (Article 1,115). Therefore each family has the obligation to maintain relatives of both husband and wife while husband and wife have to live together.

These legal provisions when translated into actual social practice will lead to an organization based on a bilateral principle of kinship. Professor B. Malinowski has pointed out that "unilateral descent is also intimately bound up with the nature of filiation, that is, with the handing over of status, power, office and possessions, from one generation to the other. Order and simplicity in the rule of filiation are of the greatest importance for social cohesion."[15]

It would be interesting, therefore, to investigate the social consequences of this legal system. It provides an experiment for the anthropologists to study the process of change from unilateral kinship affiliation to a bilateral one. But so far as this village is concerned, I have yet found no indication of any actual change pointing in this direction, although the new law has existed for seven years.

新民法改变了单系继承的原则，因为这被认为是违反男女平等原则的。但对传嗣原则，究竟作了多少改变，不很清楚。它承认女儿甚至出嫁后，仍像她兄弟一样是她父母的后嗣（第967条）。但同时，“妻以其本姓冠以夫姓”（第1,000条），“妻以夫之住所为住所”（第1,002条），除非她父母为她招赘。她的子女将“从父姓”（第1,059条），除另有安排协议外，未成年之子女以其父之住所为住所（第1,060条）。作为后嗣，她有义务供养娘家的父母（第1,115条）。因此，每个家庭，夫妻必须住在一起，他们也同时有供养双方亲属的义务。

这些法律条款付诸实际社会实施时，将形成以双系亲属关系原则为基础的组织。布·马林诺夫斯基教授曾经指出：“单系继嗣是与亲子关系的性质密切联系在一起的，就是与地位、权力、官职和财产从一代传给另一代有密切的关系。亲嗣规则中的单系秩序，对社会结合来说是最重

要的。”[16]

所以研究这个法律制度的社会效果是有意义的。它为人类学家研究从单系亲属关系变为双系亲属关系的过程提供了一个实验的机会。但就这个村子而论，虽然新法律已颁布七年，我尚未发现有向这一方向发生任何实际变化的迹象。

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[1] Chinese Civil Code, article 1, 147. The term succession to property is used in English translation of the code (C. L. Hsia, etc., Kelling and Walsh, Ltd., 1930). I follow the definition given by W. H. R. Rivers: inheritance for the transmission of property and succession for transmission of office (Social Organization, p. 87).
[2] R. H. Lowie, Primitive Society, pp. 243–255.
[3] 《中华民国民法》（以下简称《民法》）第1,147条。《民法》译本（C. L. 夏等，凯林及沃尔什有限公司，1930年）用succession to property这一术语。我沿用W. H. R.里弗斯的定义：用inheritance一词表述财产的继承，用succession一词来表述职位的继承(《社会组织》第87页)。
[4] R. H. 洛伊：《原始社会》，第243–255页。
[5] Villagers explained the meaning of this term as yellow (wan) muddy (ni) leg (pon). But they did not know why he should be so called. Afterwards I found that a similar expression "muddy leg" is used in the Northern Chinese dialect, for example, in the classical novel Red Chamber Dream, chapter 45, referring to those wandering vagabonds. But another literary explanation of this term was given to me by the literate people in the town as "to prevent the wildness or lack of the child." The word for prevent, Fang, is pronounced by the local people as ban which has been changed as wan in this term. The word for child, Er, is pronounced as ni in the local dialect. The word for wild or lack, Huang, is pronounced as whan, and is changed here to pon. The phonetic changes such as b to w and wh to p are observed in other instances. The literary explanation gives the function of the substitute while the local explanation gives the nature of the substitute. They are both useful in understanding the practice.
[6] 村里的人解释方言“黄泥膀”这个词的意思为黄泥腿。但他们并不知道为什么要这样称呼他。后来我发现中国北方方言也有同样的叫法——“泥腿光棍”，例如在古典小说《红楼梦》第45回中，指那些无业单身汉。但城镇里识字的人告诉我这个词的另一种书面的解释是“防儿荒”。“防”，当地人念ban，在此词中变音为wan。“儿”，当地方言念作ni。“荒”，读作whan在这里变成pon。语音变化如b变成w,wh变成p，在其他例子中也常见。书面的解释说出了替代人的功能，而当地人的解释说明了替代人的性质。两种解释对了解这种习俗都有用处。
[7] Code Nos. 1,000, 1,002, 1,059, and 1,060.
[8] 《民法》第1,000、1,002、1,059及1,060条。
[9] The average percentage for grave land in the farm is 2.6 in Eastern Central China (Buck, Chinese Farm Economy, p. 33). The absence of special grave land, except the tombs for the rich in the town who bury their dead in the village, indicates the particularly high population pressure on land.
[10] 在华东中部，坟地占农田面积的平均百分比为2.6% (巴克：《中国农村经济》，第33页)。除城镇里的富人把死者埋藏在农村以外，没有其他专门的坟地，这说明了人口对土地的压力极大。
[11] The Chinese Civil Code, Article 1,138: "Heirs to property other than the spouse come in the following order : (1) Lineal descendants by blood; (2) Parents; (3) Brothers and sisters; and (4) Grandparents." Lineal relatives are defined in Article 967 as "His relatives by blood from whom he is descended or those that are descended from him." They include both son and daughter and their lineal descendants.
[12] This summary is supplied by Mr. H. P. Li, Barrister-at-law at Shanghai.
[13] 《民法》第1,138条：“遗产继承人，除配偶外，依下列顺序定之。一、直系血亲卑亲属。二、父母。三、兄弟姊妹。四、祖父母。”直系亲属在第967条中的定义为：“称直系血亲者，谓己身所从出，或从己身所出之血亲。”他们包括儿子、女儿以及他们的直系后裔。

[14] 这一条综述由上海高等法院律师H. P. 李先生提供。
[15] "Kingship," Encyclopædia Britannica, 14th ed.
[16] 《不列颠百科全书·亲属关系》，第14版。

CHAPTER V KINSHIP EXTENSIONS

Kinship is the fundamental bond uniting the members of the Chia, but it does not confine itself within this group. It extends to a much wider circle and forms the principle of association of larger social groups which will be the subject-matter of this chapter.

〔1〕Paternal Extension

The Chia is an undivided expanded patrilineal family, because it excludes the relatives on the mother's side and also married daughters. The larger kinship group on the father's side is the group in which members have still preserved, to a certain degree, the social relations originated in the Chia after it is divided. As we have seen, when the family nucleus in the Chia increases in size, the group becomes unstable. This leads to division. But the divided units do not entirely separate from each other. Economically they become independent, in the sense that they have each a separate property and each has its own fire place. But they are still bound together by various social obligations. At the beginning, they usually live in adjacent houses and sometimes share the big front room in common. They stand very close to each other in matters of mutual help and in daily intercourse. In the second generation, children of both units share the intimacy of the relation between their parents. The intensity of daily intercourse and mutual help varies according to the kinship proximity and also to the territorial proximity of residence. If brothers after division reside in distant houses, the opportunity for mutual help is decreased, and this is still more so among siblings of the next generation.

According to accepted principle, all the patrilineal descendants and their wives that can be traced to a common ancestor within five kinship grades consider themselves as belonging to a kinship group called Tsu, and refer to each other as *tsezomenzon*, meaning "one who comes from the same door of my Tsu." But in practice this strict genealogical accounting is not important. Firstly, there is no written document of genealogy and memory of descent is not very exact. Family trees are kept by the priests, not for the purpose of recognizing living kindred but for keeping alive the memory of lineal ancestors to whom sacrifices should be offered. Siblings do not enter into the list of spirits. Spirits of ancestors farther back than five kinship grades are removed from the list to be worshipped. Secondly, if the principle were strictly observed, theoretically there would be a division of Tsu for each generation. But Tsu are seldom divided for this purpose.

伍 亲属关系的扩展

使得家的各个成员联系起来的基本纽带便是亲属关系。但亲属关系并不把它自己只限制在这个群体之内。它扩展到一个较广的范围，并成为较大社会群体的联系原则。

一、父系亲属关系的扩展

家是一个未分家的、扩大的父系亲属群体，它不包括母亲方面的亲戚和已出嫁的女儿。父系方面的较大的亲属群体是这样一个群体：即其成员在分家后，仍然在一定程度上，保持着家的原来的社会关系。我们已看到，家中的家庭核心增大时，这个群体就变得不稳定起来。这就导致分家。但已经分开的单位，相互间又不完全分离。经济上，他们变成独立了，这就是说他们各有一份财产，各有一个炉灶。但各种社会义务仍然把他们联系在一起。开始时，他们通常住在邻近的房屋里，有时共用一间大的堂屋。他们互相帮助，在日常生活中关系比较密切。在第二代，由于他们双方父母之间的关系密切，儿辈之间也亲密相处。他们之间互相帮助和日常交往的密切程度，视亲属关系的远近和居住地区的远近而异。分家后弟兄们如果住得较远，互相帮助的机会就减少，下一代的兄弟姐妹更是如此。

根据已接受的原则，五代以内同一祖宗的所有父系后代及其妻，属于一个亲属关系集团称为“族”，互相间称“祖宗门中”，意思是“我同族门中的人”。但实际上，这个谱系的严格计算并不重要。第一，没有文字记载的家谱，对家系的记忆并不准确。和尚记家谱是为了记得需要定期祭祀的直系祖先，而不是为了承认活着的亲戚。兄弟并不被列入祖先鬼魂的名单。五代以前的祖先不再列入祭祀的名单。第二，如果严格遵照这一原则，从理论上说，在每一代，族都要淘汰一些远亲，但实际上族很少这样做。

The actual situation is as follows: The population in the village has been stationary for a long time. The Tsu will not be subdivided if there is no increase of members. Furthermore, if there is an increase, there must also, owing to the pressure on the land, be a migration to some other place. When people move away, they will no longer take an active part in the kinship group. After one or more generations, kinship ties cease to function. That is why I have not yet found any Tsu with members permanently in other villages.

The following note given to me by a villager may be quoted here. "The average size of a Tsu is about eight Chia. This is because when my son marries, all the Tsu will come and sit at the same table. (Each table has eight

seats, for one representative from each Chia; men and women gather separately at different times.) When a table is not large enough, we do not invite our distant kindred to the celebration." Of course, this statement is not an actual rule, but indicates that the acknowledgement of membership of the unit allows individual discrimination. One can exclude those distant kin in ceremonial gatherings and they will not insist on their claim to be invited. A rich Chia is able to provide two or more tables for its clansmen, and will do so with pleasure and be praised for it. In this sense, the Tsu can be taken as no more than a ceremonial group which assembles periodically at wedding and funeral occasions, taking a common feast, offering sacrifices to the common ancestors together, and contributing a small sum barely enough to cover the food. Real social obligations of mutual aid exist between smaller groups, such as brothers with newly divided households. The people do not use the term *tzezo-menzon* to describe their relation but the term *disho*, or brotherhood.

Another character of this unit is that its membership is the Chia. Therefore it is not a unilateral kinship as its individual members are concerned. A married woman entering her husband's Chia automatically becomes a member of her husband's Tsu. She takes the surname of her husband although she retains her father's surname in the second place. She kneels beside her husband in the joined offering of sacrifice to the ancestors during the ceremonial occasions of her husband's kin. When she is dead, she will receive sacrifices with her husband.

She loses her membership of her father's Tsu when she is married in the sense that she will not join the offerings of sacrifice to ancestors on the father's side and will not be offered sacrifices by them after her death.

实际情况是这样的：长期以来村的人口一直是变动不大。如族的成员人数不增加，就不分族。如果人数增加，对土地压力增加，就必定移民到其他地方去。人离开了，就不再积极参与这个亲属群体。一代或几代以后亲属联系就停止发生作用。这就是为什么我尚未发现任何族有成员永久居住在其他村里。

下面是一个村里人告诉我的一段话："一个族的大小平均约有八家。因为我儿子结婚的时候，全族都要围着一张桌子团坐（每张桌子有八个座位，一个座位坐一个家的代表，女人和男人在不同时候分别集会）。桌子座位不够时，我们就不请远亲来参加庆祝。"当然，这段说明并不就是实际的规则，但它表明，一个单位在承认其成员的资格时允

许有区别对待。在礼节性聚会时，可以排除那些远的亲戚，他们也不会坚持要求受邀请。一个富裕的家能请两桌或更多桌的族人，他们乐于这样做，也往往受到赞扬。在这个意义上说，族也可以说是一个礼仪的群体，有婚丧大事时，聚集在一起，宴会或祭祀共同的祖先，同时也送少量礼金勉强够食物的开支。互相帮助的真正的社会义务则在更小的群体内进行，例如刚分家的兄弟。此时，人们不用“祖宗门中”这个俗语，他们用“兄弟”或用“兄弟辈”这样的字眼来描写他们之间的关系。

族这个单位的另一个特征是：它的成员是家。因此，从它的个人成员来说，族并不是单系的亲属关系。一个已婚妇女到了丈夫的家，便自动成了丈夫的族的一员。她姓丈夫的姓，把她父亲的姓放在第二位。她丈夫的亲戚遇有重大礼节性场合时，她跪在丈夫旁边，共同拜祭祖先。她死后将与丈夫一起接受祭祀。

妇女出嫁后不再是她父亲那个族的成员，她不再参加对父亲一方祖先的祭祀，死后也不受父方下辈的祭祀。

The most important function of the Tsu is in the regulation of marriage. The Tsu is an exogamous unit except in case of levirate. Persons with the same surname are not barred from marriage, provided they are not of the same Tsu. It is true that the classical rule, as well as the old legal code, prohibited marriage between two persons with the same surname, but this does not apply in the village; and so far as my informants remember, has never applied. The lack of clear distinction of Tsu does not hamper their exogamous function, because most of the marriages are inter-village and the organization of Tsu rarely goes beyond the village.

〔2〕Maternal Extension

In the above sections, we have already seen that the child keeps close contact with his relatives on his mother's side. His maternal grandmother comes to assist his mother in childbirth. The child will visit his maternal relatives many times a year. His maternal uncle has special obligations towards him. He is the guest of honour at the ceremony held when the child reaches one month, and is the one who selects a name for the child; he escorts him when presenting him for the first time to his schoolmaster. He will present a valuable gift, ornament, or cash, when his sister's son gets married. On the child's side his maternal uncle is a protector against harsh treatment by his father. He can run to his maternal uncle in case of need. His maternal uncle will act as mediator in conflict between father and son. When property is divided between father and son or among brothers, the maternal uncle is the formal judge. When the maternal uncle dies, his sister's children will mourn for him.

The mother's sisters, especially those married to fellow villagers of the father, also, owing to local proximity, stand in very intimate relationship.

But the kinship relation does not extend beyond the group of Chia of maternal uncle or maternal aunt. Their extended kindred is excluded from the functional grouping.

Relatives on the wife's side do not come into intimate contact before a child is born. They do not participate in the wedding ceremonial of their daughter, but pay visits in the first month after it. The bridegroom goes with the bride to visit his new parents-in-law on the third day after the wedding. After those ceremonial visitings are over, they do not visit each other except the wife herself who may go back occasionally. When a child is born the wife's mother will spend a few nights with her daughter. From that time on relatives on the wife's side become maternal relatives of the child.

族的最重要的功能在于控制婚姻规则。族是外婚制单位，叔嫂婚例外。同姓、非同族的人可以结婚。古时候的规定及旧的法律规定，禁止同姓的人结婚，但这个村并非如此，至少在向我提供情况的人所能记忆的时期内，这个村子从未这样实行过。族缺少明确的界线，这一点并不

妨碍外婚制的功能，因为大多数婚姻都在各村之间进行，而族的组织很少超越村的范围。

二、母系亲属关系的扩展

从上面几节，我们已看到孩子与母亲方面的亲戚保持密切的联系。母亲生孩子时，他的外婆来帮助料理。孩子一年要看望母方亲戚数次。舅舅对孩子有特殊的义务。他是孩子满月时的贵客。给孩子取名字的是他，陪伴孩子第一次上学校去见老师的也是他。外甥结婚时，舅舅要送贵重礼物，如首饰或现金。对孩子来说，父亲若对孩子管得太严厉，舅舅是孩子的保护人，需要时，孩子也可以跑到舅舅那里去。父子有矛盾时，舅舅就出来作调解人。父子之间或兄弟之间分财产时，舅舅是正式的裁判。舅舅去世时，外甥须为他服丧。

母亲的姊妹，特别是那些嫁给父亲的同村人的，由于住得较近，关系也很亲密。但母系亲戚关系不超过舅家和姨家的群体范围。舅姨家的亲属是不属于这个功能群体之内的。

妻方的亲属，在妻子生孩子之前，并没有密切的联系。他们不参加女儿的婚礼，要到婚礼后的一个月才去探望她。婚后第三天，新郎和新娘要到岳父母家去“回门”。礼节性拜访结束后，彼此不再探望，只是妻子本人偶尔回娘家探视。生孩子时，妻子的母亲便来女儿处陪伴数夜。从这时候起，妻方的亲属便成为孩子的母系亲戚。

〔3〕Pseudo-Adoption

Pseudo-adoption is a system by which a person is partially included in another's kinship group without the connection of procreation or marriage. The local term for this system is *govan*, meaning "passing to another house" or *gochi*, meaning attaching. It is said to be originated from the belief in the malevolent spirits who will make trouble for those children who are specially regarded by their parents (III–4). By similar reasoning, anyone who has numerous children must possess stronger resisting power against the evil spirits. Thus by "attaching" a child to such a strong person, it will be protected. On the other hand, giving the child to others, though nominally, will be enough to show the spirits that the child is disregarded by its parents.

This belief, as shown, is related to the high infantile mortality, but the institution of pseudo-adoption means more than a spiritual protection of the child's welfare. It also provides a wider social connection for the child, if we remember that those who have numerous children, whether they really possess spiritual power or not, certainly possess wealth and social influence (III–3). By creating a pseudo-kinship relation with them, the child will acquire a better economic and social position in the community. On the other hand, the person who accepts pseudo-adopted children is pleased by the belief that this is an indication of his prestige and future prosperity.

The relation will be created by a ritual act, which consists of a sacrifice to a god called "new-official-horse" (the meaning of this term is not clear to me). The adopted child will offer a present of needles, peaches and wine, symbols of long life, to his "adopting" parents, who will in turn offer him a feast and give him a new personal name, and his "adopting" father's surname (which is in fact never used) and some ornaments and cash.

The child also acquires at the same time a new set of duties and privileges. He will address his "adopting" parents by relationship terms. In the new year, he must greet his "adopting" parents, offer regular gifts to them. He will participate in their ceremonial occasions, and mourn for them; and he will not marry their children. He in return receives "rice of new year's eve," shoes, hats, and gowns for three years (symbolizing in-corporation into the

"adopting" parents' household), regular gifts and other regards.

三、名义上的收养

名义上的收养就是一个人不通过生育和婚姻，部分地被接受到另一个亲属关系群体中去的制度，当地称之为“过房”，意思是“过寄到另一家去”，过寄意思是依附。据说这来源于人们相信恶毒的鬼魂对父母娇养的孩子往往要找一些麻烦（第三章第四节）。按同样的推理，多子女的人对鬼魂的抵抗能力较强。因此，把孩子“过寄”这样一个强有力的人，孩子可以得到保护。另一方面，孩子虽然是名义上过寄别人，但也足以向鬼魂表示父母对孩子的淡漠。

这种信仰与婴儿的高死亡率有关，但这种名义上收养的制度不仅仅意味着对孩子的一种精神上的保护，这也为孩子提供了一种较新的社会联系。在前面已谈到过，那些多子女的父母，无论他们是否真正具有精神上的强大力量，他们比较富裕，社会影响大，这是肯定的（第三章第三节）。通过名义上的收养与他们建立关系，孩子将在这个社区内获得较好的经济和社会地位。另一方面，名义上收养孩子的人也感到高兴，因为他相信，这表示他的声誉和未来的兴旺。

这种收养关系将通过一次仪式来建立，那就是向一个被称为“新官马”（意思不明）的神进行祭祀。被收养的孩子向过寄的父母赠送针、桃、酒等象征长寿的礼物。收养孩子的过寄父母要给孩子办筵席，并给孩子取一个新名字，姓他过寄父的姓（实际上从不用此姓），送他一些饰物和现金。

从此，孩子便有了新的责任和权利。他须按照亲属关系来称呼他的寄父母。新年的时候，他必须向寄父母拜年，送礼物。有婚丧大事时他必须参加，为他们戴孝，他不应与他们的子女结婚。寄父母则须请寄养儿子吃年夜饭，供给他三年鞋、帽和长袍（象征孩子已被接纳到寄父母的家中来）以及定期送礼物和给予其他关怀。

This type of "adoption" is metaphorical; the child does not sever its relation with its real parents. It acquires neither the right of inheritance nor the obligation of support. It nominally changes its surname but this is, as the villagers put it, only to fool the spirits. The real meaning therefore is to create a new social relation similar to kinship by metaphorical use of relationship terms and by ritual acts.

The extension of social relations facilitates social activities but is also expensive. During the economic depression, even real kinship relations are a burden, and there is a clear sign of the shrinking of kinship organization. Pseudo-adoption becomes less popular. As my informant told me, to seek protection against the evil spirits, they "attach" their children to the god or to their father's sister's husband. Thus no new relations will be created. Since girls are much less often pseudo-adopted, the special preference for a father's sister's husband to play the part may be linked up with the idea of unlucky marriage of the "reverting" type (III–8). It does not narrow down the marriage choice when girls of father's sisters are included in the exogamous unit.

〔4〕Kinship Basis of the Village

In pseudo-adoption, kinship terms are used in a metaphorical sense in order to establish new social relations which are similar and derived from kinship. This type of extension of the kinship relations to persons bound neither by procreation nor by marriage is very common in the village.

All the terms for relatives on the father's side, with the exceptions of those for father, mother, grandfather, and grandmother, are used for addressing fellow villagers according to their sex and age and the consanguinity and affinity to the village. The terms for mother-side relatives, with the exception of mother's parents are used for addressing the people in the village of mother's parents in similar manner. This type of usage of kinship terms serves the function of classifying local and age groups, and defines the different types of social relation towards each of them by that derived from the existing kinship relation.

There is a definite purpose in this extended use of relationship terms. To each term there has become attached certain psychological attitudes corresponding to the intimate relationships for which they were initially devised. These emotional attitudes may, by the extended use of the term, be taken up to persons not actually standing in such an intimate relationship. For instance, a person addressing his fellow senior villagers as father's brother will tend to show the same obedience and respect to them as to his father's brother. The attitude associated with the term used for the mother's brother, is different from that with the term for the father's brother. The nephew associates the idea of his maternal uncle with indulgence and friendliness. By addressing his mother's fellow villagers as mother's brother he behaves freely among that group of persons, and enjoys their treating him as a guest.

这种“收养”是象征性的；孩子并不离开生父、生母。他不要继承权，也没有赡养寄父母的义务。他名义上改了姓，但正像乡亲们说的，这是骗那些鬼魂的。所以真正的意义在于通过象征性的亲属关系称谓和礼仪形式来建立一种新的与亲属关系相似的社会关系。

社会关系的扩展促使社会活动增加，但也会增加开支。在经济萧条时期，甚至真正的亲属关系也成为一种负担，那时，亲属关系的组织明

显缩小，名义收养也不流行了。向我提供情况的人告诉我说，为了免于受鬼魂的侵害，他们把孩子“寄”给神或“寄”给父亲的姊妹的丈夫。这样并没有建立新的关系。由于女孩很少被“寄养”，特别喜欢让父亲的姊妹的丈夫来担当这个角色很可能与不吉利的“回乡”型婚姻观念有联系（第三章第八节）。当父亲的姊妹的女儿被包括进外婚制单位中时，并没有使婚姻的选择面变窄。

四、村庄的亲属关系基础

在名义收养制度中，人们象征性地使用亲属关系的称谓来建立新的社会关系，这种关系来源于亲属关系并与亲属关系相类似。亲属关系的这种扩大方式在这个村里很普遍，它既与生育无关，也不与婚姻相联系。

除了父亲、母亲、祖父、祖母的称呼外，人们根据不同的性别、年龄、血统关系和姻亲关系，用父方的所有亲属称谓来称呼同村人并用母方所有的亲戚称谓——除外祖父、外祖母以外——来称呼外祖父母村子里的人们。亲属称谓的这种延伸的用法，起到了区分不同的地方和年龄组的作用，并可由现存的亲属关系派生的这种关系来说明不同类型的社会关系。

亲属称谓的延伸使用是有一定目的的。每一个称谓，当它最初被用来称呼时就包含了与亲密的亲属相应的某种心理态度。由于称谓的延伸使用，这种感情上的态度也逐渐被用来对待实际上并不处于这样一种亲属关系的人。譬如，一个人称呼他村里的年长的人时，用父亲兄弟的称谓，这就是说，他将像对待他伯伯或叔叔那样来服从或尊敬他们。与母亲的兄弟的称谓相联系的态度，与伯伯或叔叔的称谓相关的态度不同。外甥把舅舅与友好和宠爱的观念相联系。同舅舅这个称谓来称呼他母亲村里的人便意味着，他可以在这些人之中自由自在地行动，并乐于被他们待为上客。

It should be noted that the extension of such emotional attitudes to persons not actually related as the terms would imply does not necessarily involve an extension of specific privileges and obligations. It does not imply a real extension of kinship relation, but it is useful in defining a person's status in the community where the old are respected and usually possess authority.

Recently the principle of distribution of authority according to age groups has been undergoing change. The old men in the village who are not able to keep up with the rapidly changing situation cannot fulfil the rôle of leaders in the community. Thus the present village head, Chou, is from the second age grade in the community. He addresses the senior grade who either work under him or are less influential in the community, by their personal

names. Formerly this manner of address was possible only between a senior and his juniors. On the other hand a new term has been introduced, *sisan* (used in towns generally as the title of a teacher, or simply as a common title such as that of mister in English), by which he is addressed by the age grade senior to him. This case illustrates very clearly how sentiment is associated with the term. When the situation has changed in such a way that a person from the senior grade has become the subordinate, the original sentiment of respect is incompatible in the context. The changed social situation thus caused a psychological difficulty, and finally a change in language.

It must be pointed out that the extended use of relationship terms should not be taken as evidence of an existence of "clan village," at present or in the past, in this part of China. A study of the distribution of the surnames in the village can demonstrate that, although kinship groups tend to concentrate in compact areas, genealogical relation does not form a basis of local groups.

应当注意的是延伸地用这种感情态度来对待实际上并不是属于这种亲属地位的人，并不意味着他们之间就延伸特定的权利和义务。用这种称呼，并不等于他们之间真的建立了这样的亲属关系，但这种称呼有助于说明这个社区内不同的人的地位。在这个社区内，老年人受到尊敬，而且通常是具有威信的。

近来，按年龄组分配权力的原则有所变化。村里的老年人不能适应迅速改变着的形势的需要，因而不能胜任这个社区的领导人的角色。现任村长周某，属于村里第二个年龄组。他用个人名字来称呼在他下面工作或在社区内不太有影响的老年人。过去只有年长者能用姓名称呼年轻的人。另一方面，现在已引进一个新的名称“先生”（在城镇普遍用作教师的头衔或仅如英文中的Mister这个普通头衔），比周年长的人也这样称呼他。这一例子很清楚地说明了感情与称谓的关系。当情况有了变化，年纪大的人变成在他下面的人，原先的尊敬的感情与整个环境不甚相符。因此，变化了的社会环境便引起心理上的别扭，最后引起语言的改口。

必须指出的是亲属称谓的延伸使用不应被当作过去或现在在中国这部分地区有“族村”存在的证据。对这个村子的姓的分布的调查可以说明，虽然亲属关系群体倾向于集中在某地区，但家族关系并没有形成地方群体的基础。

Surname	Yu I	Yu II	Yu III	Yu IV	Total
Chou	49	23	24	2	98
T'an	7	4	17	28	56

Yao	30	4	10	—	44
Hsü	13	4	9	4	30
Shen	2	4	13	7	26
Wang	1	6	—	8	15
Lü	—	14	—	—	14
Chiu	—	10	—	—	10
Chao	7	—	—	—	7
Ni	4	3	—	—	7
Jao	—	7	—	—	7
Wu	—	4	2	—	6
Chiang	8	—	—	1	5
Lu	—	—	—	5	5
Chen	4	—	—	—	4
Fang	4	—	—	—	4
Chin	—	1	3	—	4
Ch'ien	—	—	—	4	4
Yang	3	—	—	—	3
Ch'in	1	—	—	—	1
Chia	1	—	—	—	1
Liu	1	—	—	—	1
Fêng	1	—	—	—	1
Ling	1	—	—	—	1
Huang	—	1	—	—	1
Yu	—	—	1	—	1
Li	—	—	1	—	1
Ying	—	—	1	—	1
Kuo	—	—	—	1	1
Total	133	94	75	57	359*

*Excluding the priest.

姓	圩I	圩II	圩III	圩IV	总计
周	49	23	24	2	98
谈	7	4	17	28	56
姚	30	4	10	—	44
徐	13	4	9	4	30
沈	2	4	13	7	26
王	1	6	—	8	15
吕	—	14	—	—	14
邱	—	10	—	—	10
赵	7	—	—	—	7
倪	4	3	—	—	7
饶	—	7	—	—	7

吴	—	4	2	—	6
蒋	4	—	—	1	5
陆	—	—	—	5	5
陈	4	—	—	—	4
方	4	—	—	—	4
金	—	1	3	—	4
钱	—	—	—	4	4
杨	3	—	—	—	3
秦	1	—	—	—	1
贾	1	—	—	—	1
刘	1	—	—	—	1
冯	1	—	—	—	1
凌	1	—	—	—	1
黄	—	1	—	—	1
于	—	—	1	—	1
李	—	—	1	—	1
殷	—	—	1	—	1
郭	—	—	—	1	1
总计	133	85	81	60	359*

*不包括和尚。

In the patrilineal society, the surname is handed down from father to son. But it does not imply that those who have the same surname can always trace their origin to a common ancestor. For instance, Chou told me that those who have the surname Chou in this village have two entirely separate origins. Furthermore, those with a common ancestor may not be recognized socially as kindred owing to the clan organization. But one thing is clear, those who have different surnames cannot be of the same patrilineal kinship group. Thus multiplicity of surnames in the village can be taken as an indication of their multiplicity of patrilineal kinship groups.

There are twenty-nine surnames in the village. The table above shows the number of Chia of each surname in each yu (II–3).

From this table, it is possible to see the distribution of the Chia of the same surname. There appears a tendency of concentration of kinship related groups. For instance, Chou and Yao are concentrated in *Yu* I; Lü in *Yu* II; and T'an in *Yu* III and IV. Some of the surnames, such as Lü and Chiu can be found only in one *yu*. These facts indicate a close relation between residence and kinship relations. In other words, there is a tendency for the Chia bearing the same surname, probably bound by kinship ties, to live in an adjacent residential area. But it is also clear that the fact of numerous surnames and their dispersion indicate the multiple kinship groups and the low correlation

of consanguinial and local ties.

Similar are the affinal relations. Strictly the village is neither an exogamous nor an endogamous unit. But, as mentioned, marriage is more frequently arranged among people of different villages. There is a tendency towards local exogamy although it is not formulated. Among the villages, no special preference is made of one as against another. Therefore, affinal relation does not preserve a strong tie among the people of the same village or among the villages.

在父系社会中，姓是由父亲传给儿子的。但这并不是说，同姓的人都可溯源到同一个祖宗。例如，周某告诉我，该村姓周的人属于两个完全不同的血统。此外，有同一个祖宗的那些人，社会上不一定承认他们是宗族关系。但有一件事是明确的，不同姓的人，不可能属于同一父系的亲属群体。所以可以认为，一个村子里的居民有许多不同的姓，说明了这个村里有许多不同的父系亲属群体。

这个村共有29个姓，上表说明了在每个圩里（第二章第三节）每一姓的家数。同姓的家的分布情况如上表所示。

从此表可以看出同姓的家的分布情况。亲属群体有集中的倾向。例如周姓和姚姓集中在圩I；吕姓在圩II；谈姓在圩III和IV；某些姓，如吕和邱，只分布在一个圩里。这些事实表明居住地亲属关系之间的密切联系。换句话说，有这样一种趋势，同姓的家，可能因亲属关系联系在一起并住在一个邻近的居住地区。但这个村子里的姓很多而且同姓住得也分散，这个事实也清楚地说明，村里有许多亲属群体，而亲族联系和地方联系的相互关系不大。

姻亲关系的情况也相同。严格地说，这个村既不是外婚制也不是内婚制的单位。但正如已经提到过的，不同村的人互相通婚更为经常。虽然并没有明确提出，但是有地方性外婚的趋向。各村之间，在婚姻关系上并没有特殊的偏向，因而，姻亲关系并没有在同村人之中或在各个村庄之间保持密切的纽带关系。

CHAPTER VI THE HOUSEHOLD AND VILLAGE

Beside kinship bonds, another fundamental social tie is that of territorial bonds. Those who live near each other find it easy to co-operate in matters of common interest demanding concerted action. In this chapter, we shall review various territorial groups.

〔1〕Household

The Chia, held together by kinship ties, is not necessarily an efficient working unit in economic life. Members of a Chia may be temporarily absent or removed by death. The introduction of new working members, through kinship ties such as birth, marriage and adoption, is not always easy to effect and sometimes is not advisable owing to questions of inheritance. On the other hand, members of a Chia, which has broken up may wish to be temporarily in-corporated into another working unit without assuming new kinship relations. Therefore, those who live in the same house and participate in most of the economic pursuits may not be necessarily considered as members of Chia.[1] Here we may use the term household to refer to this basic territorial group.

In the village I found that in twenty-eight cases individuals have been introduced into the economic unit, living, eating, and working as members of the household but clearly distinguished from the members of the Chia. They were not connected with the Chia by the necessary kinship ties and did not permanently pool their property without discrimination into the Chia but usually joined the unit upon definite terms. The relation of such members to the group varies from that of a long-term guest to having practically no distinction from the members of the Chia except over the legal rights of property.

There are three ways in which non-Chia members may be introduced into a household. The member may be a guest of a certain family and have made a definite annual or monthly payment over a rather long period of residence. For instance, a medical doctor practising in the village had lived in the house of the owner of the medicine store for many years. He had a separate room and shared the daily life with his hosts. Another case was that of a child whose own family lived in another village, but who was brought up and nursed in a house in the village. The parents of the child made contributions each month to the family nursing it. There were five cases of persons related to their hosts by affinity. After the breaking up of their own Chia, they join their relatives on the mother's side. They could not be in-

corporated into the Chia but would remain as guests, although practically they lived in the house just as members of the Chia.

陆 户与村

除了亲属关系的联结，另外一个基本的社会纽带就是地域性的纽带。居住在邻近的人们感到他们有共同利益并需要协同行动，因而组成各种地域性的群体。在这一章里，将加以分析。

一、户

家是由亲属纽带结合在一起的，在经济生活中，它并不必定是一个有效的劳动单位。家中的成员有时会暂时离去，有时死亡。在家中要吸收新的劳动成员，通过亲属关系，如生养、结婚、收养等办法，有时不易做到，有时则因涉及继承等问题而不宜进行。在另一方面，有些人的家破裂了，可能希望暂时参加另一劳动单位，但并不希望承认新的亲属关系。因此，那些住在一起、参加部分共同经济活动的人，不一定被看作是家的成员。[2] 我们在这里采用了“户”这个名词，来指这种基本的地域性群体。

在这个村子里，我发现28起个人被吸收到另外的经济单位中的情况。作为户的一员，一起居住、吃饭和劳动，但他们和家的成员有着明显的区别。他们和这家人并不存在一定的亲属纽带关系，并不把自己的财产永久地投入这一家中。通常情况是，他们在一定条件下参加这个单位。这种成员和这家的关系大有差别，有些是长期的客人，有些是除了没有财产的法定权利外，其他都和家里人是一样的。

非家成员进入一户，通常采取三种办法。其一，这个成员可能是这家庭的客人，他在一个较长时期内住在这里，按月或按年付一笔钱。例如，有一个医生在村中开业，他就在药店老板的家中住了多年。他单独有一间房，并和他的房东共同生活。另一例是一个小孩，他自己的家住在另一个村子里，但他是这个村的一家人抚养大的。这个孩子的父母每个月付给抚养孩子的家庭一笔钱。还有五例，他们都和房东有姻亲关系。他们自己的家破裂之后，跟随着母方的亲戚。虽然他们实际上和家的成员一样地生活在一起，但他们不能加入这个家，而保留着他们的客人身份。

The institution of apprenticeship also provides a way of introducing a working member from outside. There were four cases of this kind. An apprentice is provided with food and shelter by the master without tuition and in return is bound to work for his master for a certain period of years without wages, except in the last year when he can demand a small amount for "renewing his shoes and stockings."

The commonest way, however, is through employment. A person may be introduced into a household as an employee under a definite contract to

work on the farm or at the silk industry. The employee receives accommodation in his employer's house. He participates in the household work, is entitled to use all the implements, and is provided with food and shelter. He has also a fixed amount of wage each year.

These are all the cases in the village in which members who do not belong to the Chia were introduced into the household.

The members of a Chia may not live in the house but pursue their work in distant places. Their temporary absence from the house does not affect their kinship affiliation. But during their absence, they cannot be considered as a member of the household, although they have definite economic relations with it.

In the village the total number of individuals not living in the house of their own family was fifty-four. Of these thirty-two are females and eighteen males; they were at work in the town except four boys who lived in their master's houses in the village bound as apprentices. These numbers indicate the relatively strong movement of the population towards the town, especially among females.

〔2〕Neighbourhood

A number of Chia combined together to form larger territorial groups. The formation of larger groups depends on the common interests of those who live in a wider territory. For instance, there are natural menaces such as flood and drought and also the threat of invasion by an alien people, which do not affect single individuals but all those living in a locality. They must take concerted actions to defend themselves—as by building dikes, relief measures, magical and religious activities. Moreover, the satisfactory exploitation of his land by an individual requires co-operation with others: similarly with the distribution of the produce and with trade and industry. The need of relaxation and amusement is another factor which will bring together individuals in games and other forms of group recreation. Thus the fact of living together and near to each other produces the need of political, economic, religious, and recreative organizations. The following sections will give a general description of territorial groupings found in the village, but those groups formed specially for economic activities will be discussed in later chapters in detail.

学徒制度也是一种从外面吸收工作成员的办法。这种情况有四例。师傅为学徒提供食宿，免收学费；而学徒则必须为他的师傅做一定年限的工，没有工资，只是在最后一年，可以要少量的“鞋袜钱”。

最普遍采用的办法是雇佣。一个人可按一定契约做一名佣工进入一户，他为那家种田或养蚕缫丝，佣工在雇主的家中得到住宿。他参加该户的劳动，有权使用所有的用具，并由该户供给食宿。他每年可得到一笔事先议定的工资。

以上是村中不属于家的成员而进入户的全部情况。

家中的成员也可能不住在家里而在远处工作。他们暂时不在家，并不影响他们的亲属关系。但他们不在的时候，他们不能算作户的成员，虽然他们和这一户有着明确的经济关系。

在这个村子里，那些不住在自己家里的人，总共有54人，其中女32人，男18人。除了其中4个男孩作为学徒住在本村的师傅家里外，其他人都在城里工作，这个数字表明了人口流入城市的强烈倾向，其中尤以

女性人口更为突出。

二、邻里

若干“家”联合在一起形成了较大的地域群体。大群体的形成取决于居住在一个较广区域里的人的共同利益。比如，水、旱等自然灾害以及外敌入侵的威胁，不是影响单个的人，而是影响住在这个地方的所有的人。他们必须采取协同行动来保护自己——如筑堤、救济措施、巫术及宗教等活动。此外，个人要很好地利用他的土地，需要别人的合作；同样，运送产品、进行贸易、工业生产都需要合作。休息和娱乐的需要又是一个因素，把个人集聚在各种形式的游戏和群体娱乐活动中。因此，人们住在一起或相互为邻这个事实，产生了对政治、经济、宗教及娱乐等各种组织的需要。下面几节将对这个村子的各种地域性群体作概括的描述，但有关经济活动的各种群体，将在以后几章里详细讨论。

A neighbourhood is the group of households combined for daily intimate contact and mutual help. Conventionally people take the five households on each side of their residence as being their neighbours. For these they have a special term *shanlin*. They have towards one another special social obligations.

When a new-born baby is one month of age, his mother will carry him to visit the neighbours. They will be courteously received with tea and entertainments. When they leave, a gift, which consists of cakes, will be bestowed on the baby. This is the first visit of the baby to a house other than his own, even before he goes to his mother's father's house.

In the case of marriage, the bridegroom's family will distribute a kind of cake as an anouncement and invitation to the wedding ceremony. Neighbours are included in the list. In return they will offer a present in cash on the wedding day and participate in the feast of celebration. In case of funerals, each house in the neighbourhood will send one person to assist without payment.

In daily life when one needs extra labour in household work, such as removing heavy articles, neighbours will come to help. In case of economic stress, money can be borrowed from them in small sums without interest. Such relations of mutual help are not rigidly confined to ten households, they depend more on personal intimacy than formal prescriptions.

〔3〕Religious and Recreative Groups

In the village, the god, besides the ancestor spirits, who receives sacrifices most frequently is the kitchen god—his wife being sometimes included.

The kitchen god, *zončen*, is the supernatural inspector of the household, sent by the emperor of heaven. His duty is to watch the daily life of the house and to report to his superior at the end of each year.

邻里，就是一组户的联合，他们日常有着很亲密的接触并且互相帮助。这个村里习惯上把他们住宅两边各五户作为邻居。对此，他们有一个特别的名词，叫做“乡邻”。他们互相承担着特别的社会义务。

当新生的孩子满月以后，他的母亲就带他去拜访四邻。他们受到殷勤的接待，用茶点款待。离开的时候，还送点心给孩子。这是孩子第一次到别人家中去，那时他甚至尚未到过外公家。

办婚事前，新郎的家庭要分送喜糕到各家去，作为婚事的通告和参加婚礼的邀请。邻居都包括在邀请的名单里。各家在举行婚礼那天送现金作为回礼，并参加婚宴。在丧葬时，每家邻居都派一人去帮忙，不取报酬。

在日常生活中，当某人家有搬运笨重东西等类似的家务劳动、需要额外的劳力时，邻居们齐来帮忙。如果经济拮据，也可向邻居借到少数贷款，不需利息。此种互相帮助的关系，并不严格地限制在十户人家之中，它更多地取决于个人之间的密切关系，而不是按照正式规定。

三、宗教和娱乐团体

在村里，除了祭祀祖先外，最经常得到祭祀的是灶王爷，有时也包括灶王奶奶。

灶神是上天在这户人家的监察者，是由玉皇大帝派来的。他的职责是视察这一家人的日常生活并在每年年底向上天作出报告。

The god is represented by a paper inscription, bought from the shop in the town and placed in the little palace on the stove. He receives sacrifices twice a month, regularly at the first day and the fifteenth day, and on other occasions as shown in the time-table of social activities (IX–3). The first dish of each seasonal food will also be shared with the god. The sacrifice is made by laying dishes on the platform before his little palace, lighting a pair of candles and burning a bundle of incense as an invocation.

At the end of the year, the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, a farewell sacrifice will be made. This sacrifice consists of a big feast and takes place in the front room. After the feast the paper inscription will be burnt with the pine sticks and a paper chair. Through the fire, as indicated by the flame, the god returns back to heaven. In this annual audience with the emperor, he will make a report about his findings on the particular house in his charge. Based on the report, the fortune of the household will be decided.

The criterion for pleasing and displeasing the god, a very important daily control of human behaviour, is the observance and non-observance of certain taboos. A full list of taboos does not exist in a precise form, but a vague feeling of fear of supernatural interference in daily life due to displeasing actions is definitely found in everyday occurrence. As far as I was able to note, those taboos fall into three categories. The first is based on reverence for rice. Rice should not be trampled underfoot or wasted. Even sour rice should not be thrown away carelessly. The proper manner is to eat all the rice cooked. If this cannot be done, it must be thrown into the river in order to feed the fish. The second category of taboo is connected with the sense of dirt in sex matters. All the things and activities connected with sex must be cleared up outside the kitchen. Women during menstruation should not touch anything on the platform of the kitchen god. The third category is

connected with respect for learning. Any paper with written characters of any kind, even newspapers, should be collected carefully and waste papers should be burnt, never in the kitchen, but on the open ground or in the special furnace in the temple.

The idea of a well organized supernatural kingdom complicates the connection between human actions and supernatural interference. The breaking of any taboo does not automatically provoke certain conse-quences directed by the supernatural powers. They must come through the supernatural administrative machinery. Therefore if anyone can prevent the inspector, the kitchen god, from seeing or reporting, the taboo can be broken with impunity. The supernatural agents or the spirits are not conceived as absolutely omnipotent and omnipresent. They are actually invisible human beings with very similar human sentiments and desires. Since they are very human, they also commit all human weaknesses and follies. Thus, all the human methods, which can be used towards any human policeman such as cheating, lying, bribing, and even physical bullying, can also be used in dealing with the supernatural inspector.

神像是刻印在纸上的，由城里店铺中买来，供在灶头上面小神龛中。灶神每月受两次供奉，通常是在初一和十五。也在其他时候受到供奉，具体时间可见社会活动的日期表（第九章第三节）。各式刚上市的时鲜食品，第一盘要供奉灶神。供奉是把一盘盘菜肴供在灶神座前，并点上一对蜡烛、一束香以示祀奉。

到了年底，农历腊月二十四祭送灶神上天。这次供奉的东西特别丰富，而且在堂屋中举行。这次供奉之后，纸的神像和松枝、纸椅一起焚化。灶王爷就由火焰的指引回到了天庭。他通过每年一次向玉帝的拜奏，对他所负责的这一家人的行为作出报告。这一户下一年的命运就根据他的报告被作出了决定。

使神道高兴或是不去触怒神道的愿望是一种对人们日常行为很重要的控制。标准就看是遵奉还是违犯传统的禁忌。我还不能列出一张表格来说明各种禁忌，但在日常生活中，却肯定地存在着一种模糊的恐惧，人们怕做出了使神道不悦的行为，而引起上天的干预。就我所知，这些禁忌可分为三类：第一类是以敬谷为基础的，有如不能踩踏或糟蹋稻米，甚至馊饭也不得随意抛弃。最规矩的方式，就是把每一粒米饭都吃下去。如果实在做不到，就把这些米饭抛到河塘中去喂鱼。第二类禁忌是和有关性的事物都是脏污的意识联系在一起的。所有与性有关的行为和东西，都必须从厨房中清除出去。妇女在月经期间，不准接触灶王爷

神龛前的任何东西。第三类禁忌和尊敬知识相联系。任何字纸，甚至是新闻报纸，都应仔细地收集起来；废纸应加以焚化，但绝不在厨房里烧毁，而应送到庙宇中专门用来焚化纸帛的炉子中去加以焚化，或在露天烧掉。

有一个组织完善的天庭的观念，使得人类的行动与上天的干预这两者之间的关系复杂化了。任何违犯禁忌的行为，并不因触怒上苍而直接受到惩罚。这件事情要由天庭的管理机构来处理。因此，如果能防止上天派来的监察者——灶神看到或向上天报告人们的行为，则犯了禁忌也不会受罚。人们并不认为上天的使者是无所不在和无所不能的。他们实际上只是一些肉眼所看不到的人，有着和普通人差不多的感情和愿望。既然他们和人们相像，他们也具有人们同样的弱点和愚蠢。因此，凡是人们所能使用来对付人间警察的各种方法，诸如欺骗、谎言、贿赂，甚至人身威胁等等对付天庭派下来的监察使者也都能用上。

In the last farewell feast before the kitchen god returns to his heavenly office, the people prepare a kind of cake made of sticky rice. This cake is a favourite of the god. It is believed that when the god eats the cake, his mouth will be stuck together; and when the heavenly emperor asks for his annual report, which is an oral one, he can only nod his head without saying anything. Therefore no unfavourable report will be possible. But it is not regarded as so certain a remedy as to be an infallible safeguard against any taboo breaking.

The police function of the kitchen god is clear from its mythology. At a certain time, when a foreign power had conquered China, every house was forced to support a foreign soldier as its inspector. This the people found intolerable and at last they made a plot each to murder his soldier at the same time. The sticky cake was prepared and offered to the soldiers, whose mouths were stuck together. They could thus make no noise when being murdered. This plot was successfully carried out at the twenty-fourth of the twelfth month. But the people at once realized the danger of revenge by the spirits of the foreign soldiers. Some sort of compromise was achieved by which from that time on the spirits of the soldiers were to be worshipped in the kitchen as the god of the household and carry on their function of inspectors.

I was told this myth by only a few informants. Most of the people do not know the origin of the god and do not care very much about it. But the myth actually reveals the attitude of the people towards the supernatural inspector. It shows their unwillingness to submit their personal freedom of action to the

social restriction which is imposed on them in society. This is slightly different from ancestor worship, which reflects the sentiments of attachment to dead ancestors.

在送灶王爷上天之前的最后一次的祭灶之时，人们准备了糯米做的团子。这是灶神非常喜欢吃的点心。大家都相信，灶王爷吃了糯米团之后，他的嘴就粘在一起了。当玉皇大帝要他作年度报告时——这是口头的报告，他只能点头而说不出话来，因此，他要说坏话也不可能了。但这也不能认为是犯了禁忌之后的一个万无一失的补救办法。

灶王爷所具有的警察职能，传说中有过清楚的阐述。有一段时间，外国人统治了中国，每家中国人都被迫供养一个外国兵。每个兵监管一家人。老百姓受不了这样的管制，终于商定了一个计谋，各家都在同一个时间把这些士兵杀掉。于是就准备了这种糯米团给士兵们吃，他们的嘴都粘到了一起。因此在他们被杀时不能发出任何声音。这个计谋在腊月二十四执行成功。但这些老百姓又立刻想起这些外国兵的鬼魂会向他们报复，于是作了这样的一种妥协：从那时起，把这些外国兵的鬼魂当作家里的神道，在厨房里受到祭拜，并继续行使监察者的职责。

这个传说只有少数人向我讲过。大部分人并不知道这个神道的根底，也不怎么关心这件事。但这个神话实际上揭示了老百姓对上天派来监管者的态度。这表明他们很不愿意把自己的行动自由驯服于社会性的限制，这种限制是社会强加于他们的。这与对祖先的祭拜是稍有不同的。祭拜祖先反映了对已故祖先的依恋之情。

Another god called *luiwan* is worshipped by a larger territorial group which consists of about thirty houses. This territorial group has a special term, *de*, meaning segment. There are eleven segments in the village:

I. Ch'eng Kioh *yu* 4

II. Liang Kioh *yu* 3

III. Hsi Chang *yu* 2

IV. T'an Chia Têng 2

Each segment has its own idol of the god. Every year households of the same segment, each represented by one member, male or female, will meet twice, in the first and eighth months. At this meeting, the god will be invited to one of the houses, and a big feast is prepared by the host in his honour.

Luiwan, lui being the personal name of the god and *wan* meaning king, is a popular god in that region. In my own childhood I was often told about this rather elaborate myth. But all my informants in this village were ignorant

of this. They told me honestly that they did not know who *luiwan* was although they had worshipped him for years and years. The purpose of the meeting was said to be related to the harvest. But the link is very vague in the minds of the people. Some confessed that their real interest in the meeting was the feast. As I shall later show, the village is not a self-sufficient religious unit. In case of drought, locusts, or flood, all the religious and magical performances will take place in the district town. The town is not only the economic but also the religious centre. The god, *luiwan*, is the supernatural protector against the locust menace. His myth will be described later (X–3). But it may be interesting to point out here that the lack of independent religious activity in the village on the occasion of agricultural crises is correlated with vagueness and ignorance about the myth connected with the god.

About ten years ago, there used to be a kind of annual meeting for religious and partly for recreative functions. This would be held in the autumn after the harvest. It served as a thanksgiving to the gods responsible for the harvest and at the same time as a request for blessing for the coming year. The images of local gods would be seated among the people and an opera company would be invited to play on the stage constructed specially for the purpose. The village was divided into five groups, called degi, meaning "the foundation of the stage." Each group was responsible for the management and expenses of this gathering in turn.

另外有一个崇奉神道"刘皇"的较大的地域性群体，由大约30家住户组成。这个地域性的群体有一个专门的名称"段"，是一个地域组织的单位。在这个村中，共有11段。

I. 城角圩………………………………4
II. 凉角圩………………………………3
III. 西长圩………………………………2
IV. 谈家墩………………………………2

每个段都有自己的刘皇偶像，同段的每一户每年要出一名男的或女的代表，在正月和八月里各聚会一次。聚会时，把神道请到其中的一户人家，这家的主人则准备好盛宴供俸。

"刘皇"——"刘"是神道个人的姓，而"皇"则是大神的意思。这个神道在这个地区很流行。在我幼年的时候，经常听到这个精心编制的神话。但村里经常向我提供情况的人对此却一无所知。他们坦白地告诉我，虽然他们祀奉刘皇已经多少代了，但他们却不知道刘皇是谁。每年

两次聚会的目的据说与收成有关。但这种联系在人们的思想上是很模糊的。有的人承认，他们的真正兴趣是在聚会时的那顿盛餐。我在后面还要讲到，这个村庄不是一个自给自足的宗教活动单位。但凡遇到干旱、蝗灾或水灾，所有宗教和巫术的活动都在该区的镇内举行。镇不仅是经济中心，也是宗教中心。刘皇是上苍派来保护免遭蝗灾的神道。以后要讲到有关他的神话（第十章第三节）。在这里指出这点也许是有意思的，在遇到农业危机的时候，村里缺少独立的宗教活动，这是与人们对有关这神道的神话模糊不清或无知有联系的。

十年以前，这里每年有一次集会，它既是宗教活动，也是当地人的娱乐消遣。一般在秋后举行，一方面对专司收获的神道感恩，同时又是祈求来年的丰收。管这地方的神像被请来入座，还有一个乐队在一个专搭的戏台上演奏。全村分成五组，叫“台基”，即戏台的基础。每个组轮流负责这种集会的管理和开支。

With the deepening of the economic depression in the village, these annual meetings have been suspended and it is difficult for the present to say whether they will be revived when the economic depression is over. The interesting fact that there is no tendency to attribute the economic depression to the suspension of the gathering, but, on the contrary, the economic depression was regarded as the cause of the suspension. This shows that the nature of the gathering was less religious or magical than recreative. The economic depression, which is due solely to the fall of silk and rice prices, is understood in its true nature, and thus the solution resorted to has been the perfectly reasonable one of introducing modern technique and new industries.

The local gods, who were invited to attend the opera in former days, are found in two temples in the village: one at the south end and the other at the west end (II–4). Each Chia sends its representative to visit the temple twice a month and make sacrifices individually. This is not obligatory and is usually neglected. But persons who continue this observance constantly direct their attentions to one of the two temples, which is determined by the location of their houses. The people living on *Yu* I, III and the north part of II, go to the west temple and the rest to the south temple. But individuals in the same area do not associate with each other in definite duties and obligations, as we found in the worship of *luiwan*. Their association is only through the temple. We must, in fact, say that there is not a religious group but a religious area.

The two temples are owned by different priests. The owner of the south temple lives in the temple, while that of the east temple is an absentee. The

daily work in the temple is managed by a non-religious agent called *san-xo*, meaning "incense and fire." The priest, being himself a buddhist, lives on the income of the temple and keeps aloof from secular activities. Nevertheless, he has definite functions in the community. He entertains the visitors and participates in the funeral ceremonies of the people. These services are paid either by an amount of incense, which is kept by the priest for resale, or by cash. But these two temples do not monopolize the religious activities of the people in the village. On important occasions, such as "burning incense" for newly dead relatives and fulfilling certain promises to the god after recovery from illness, people go to the big temples in the town or at the bank of the Lake where the gods are more powerful.

随着村庄经济萧条的加深，这些集会已暂时停止；现在也很难说在经济不景气过去之后，这种集会是否还会恢复。有趣的是人们并没有认为由于是暂停了集会而造成了经济萧条；相反地，却认为是经济萧条造成了每年集会的中止。这表明聚会的真正意义是娱乐多于宗教或迷信。经济萧条唯一的真正原因是稻米和蚕丝价格的下降，人们对此能够正确地理解，因而最合理的解决办法就是引进新的工业和现代技术。

过去常被请来看戏的地方神道，现在村中的两个小庙里。一座庙在村北，另一座在村西（第二章第四节）。每家每月派代表到庙里去单独供奉祭拜两次。这不是强制性的，而且经常被人忽视。但那些继续供奉的人，经常只去其中的一个庙。去哪个庙，要由住家的位置决定。住在第一圩、第三圩及第二圩北边的人家，常去村北的庙；其余人家则去村西的庙。但同一地区的个人，在承担一定的责任和义务时并不互相联合起来，如祭拜刘皇时那样做，他们只通过庙宇而有所联系。因此，应该说这里并没有宗教团体而只有宗教区域的存在。

这两个庙分别为不同的和尚所有。村北的庙里住着庙主；村西的庙主则不住在内，庙内的日常工作由一位非宗教代理人代管，人们叫他“香火”。和尚信佛教，靠庙的收入为生，远离俗务。然而在社区里他有着一定的职能。他负责招待到庙里去的人，并参加村中的丧事。为人举办丧事他可以得到一笔现金或是相当数量的香，香可以留下来以后再出售。但这两个庙并不垄断村中人的所有宗教活动。到了重要时节，如为新近亡故的亲属“烧香”，因病人康复而向菩萨还愿等，人们往往改去城中的大庙宇，或到太湖边去拜佛，因为那里的神道有更大的法力。

Another important function of the priest is to keep the ancestor records for the people, and this also takes him beyond the village temples. Genealogical records of the families are kept in different temples outside.

Since the record keeper is rewarded by the family whose ancestor names are kept, the record book becomes in a way the personal property of the priest. Like other kinds of personal property, it can be bought and sold. Therefore the circulation of wealth among the priests has made the allegiance of the people to the temples more complicated.

The nature of their allegiance, however, has nothing to do with belief or with sects. The priest never preaches any religious doctrine to the people, except possibly to the dead. Even then he preaches in a language alien to the local people. The stranger the accent, the more valuable, in the popular view, is the preaching.

〔4〕The Village Government

For various social functions, households are associated together to form larger local groups. These groups do not form a hierarchical series but superimpose on each other. The village, being an aggregate of households in a compact residential area, separated from other similar units by a considerable distance, sets a limitation on the direct extension of territorial ties for various functions. It marks a common boundary for those intimate territorial groups. It synthesizes various social functions and also takes up special functions that cannot be fulfilled by smaller units—all these are performed through the village government by the village headmen.

Village heads are always accessible, because they are known to every villager, and a stranger will be received by them immediately. The visitor will be impressed by their heavy burden of work. They help the people to read and to write letters and other documents, to make the calculations required in the local credit system, to manage marriage ceremonies, to arbitrate in social disputes and to look after public property. They are responsible for the system of self-defence, for the management of public funds, and for the transmission and execution of administrative orders from the higher government. They take an active part in introducing beneficial measures such as industrial reform into the village.

There are two village heads at the present time. The following note gives a short sketch of them.

和尚还有一种重要的职能，他们把村民祖先的记载保存在手中。这使他们所干的事超出了村中小庙的范围。各家的家谱是由外边的不同庙宇保存的。由于家谱记载了家庭祖先的姓名，这些记录的持有者得到这些家庭的酬报，所以这种记录簿在某种程度上成为和尚的个人财产。这种记录簿可以购买或出售，就像其他私人财产一样。因而，僧侣之间这种财产的流动，使得村民对哪个庙宇更为忠诚这样一个问题，变得较为复杂了。

村民们的这种忠诚与他们的信仰或教派全无关系。僧侣们从来不向百姓宣讲宗教教义，除非是为死亡者念经；甚至那些僧侣用外地口音念经。但当地普遍认为，口音越陌生，念的经就越灵。

四、村政府

为了履行多种社会职能，各户聚合在一起形成较大的地域群体。这些群体并不构成等级从属的系列，而是互相重叠的。由于村庄是各户密集在一起的聚居区，村和村之间都间隔着相当的距离，这就使它在直接扩大地域联系以实现多种功能方面受到了限制。村庄为邻近地域的群体之间标出一条共同边界。村庄综合各种社会职能，有时承担一些小的单位不能胜任的特殊职能。这一切都由村长通过村政府来执行。

一般说来，村长易于接近，村中所有人都认识他，外来的生人总能很快地得到村长的接待。来访者会对他的繁重的工作感到惊讶。他帮村里的居民写信、念信，以及代办其他文书，按照当地借贷规则算账、办婚礼、仲裁社会争议、照看公共财产。他们有责任组织自卫、管理公款，并且要传达、执行上级政府下达的行政命令。他们还积极地采取各种有利于本村的措施，村中的蚕丝改革就是一例。

目前在这个村子里有两位村长。下述的记录可以给人们一个概貌：

Mr. Chen is an old man, nearly sixty. He received his order of scholarship—Hsiu Ts'ai—under the late imperial examination system which was abolished at the end of the last dynasty. He had failed to proceed further in his scholastic career and was invited to become a family tutor in the town. At the beginning of the Republic, he came back to the village to start a private school and remained as the only schoolmaster in the village, for more than ten years. From that time on he has assumed the leadership in the village under various formal titles according to the ever-changing administrative system. In 1926, he initiated the silk reform programme with the support of the Provincial Sericultural School and started the experimental station in the village. In 1932, he was formally responsible for the establishment of the co-operative silk factory. He then gave up his job as a schoolmaster and became manager of the factory. When the new administrative system, Pao Chea, was introduced, he found work with the government was not suited to his taste and thus retired from the office, but nevertheless he has remained the de facto head of the village, and is still responsible for community affairs.

The other head is Mr. Chou. He is younger, being about forty years of age. He was educated by family tutors but was too late to take the imperial

examination. Without scholastic interest he was content to be a simple peasant with his brother. Being literate and honest, he was picked by the reform agent of the silk industry as an assistant. He has from that time on secured the confidence both of the reformers and of the people and gradually shared with Chen leadership in public affairs in the village. When the Pao Chea system was introduced he was, on the recommendation of Chen, formally elected and actually appointed the head of the Hsiang which includes the village.

Headmanship in the village is not hereditary. Chou's father is engaged in the tile trade and his elder brother is still working on the farm. His son is in the town and is not likely to succeed him in the future. There is no kinship relation between Chen and Chou.

Although both Chen and Chou are well-to-do persons, neither is considered the richest person in the village. The richest person is, I believe, a man named Wang, who lives in obscurity and is without any outstanding prestige. It is true that a child of a poor family has less chance of attaining the position since headmanship has no direct economic reward and requires rather long and expensive preparation (to attain the necessary standard of literacy), but wealth alone does not give power or prestige.

陈先生是位老年人，近60岁。他在前清的科举制度下，曾考上了秀才。这种制度在清末已废止了。由于他在科举考试中未能进一步考中，所以被人请到城里去当家庭教师。到民国初年，他回村办私塾，自此时起十年多，他是村中唯一的教书先生。此后，他在村中担任领导工作，根据不断改变的行政系统的任命，他得到了各种正式的头衔。1926年，在省蚕桑学校的支持下，他开始实行蚕丝改良计划，在村中开办了蚕丝改进社。1932年，他正式负责合作丝厂的建厂工作。他放弃了教书的职务，担任丝厂厂长。当新的行政体制保甲推行时，他感到政府工作不合他的口味，于是退休了。然而他还是事实上的村长，并仍旧负责社区的事务。

另一位领导人是周先生。他较年轻，约40岁，他从家庭教师受业，但已不及参加科举考试。由于不再想做学问，他和他的兄弟在一起务农。他为人诚实，又有文化，被蚕丝改进社选用为助手。从这时起，他得到了改良工作者及当地人民两方面的信任，并逐渐地分担了村中公务的领导工作。当推行保甲制时，他经由陈先生推荐，正式当选并被任命为乡长，开弦弓村隶属于这个乡。

村长的职务不是世袭的。周的父亲是瓦商，他的哥哥仍在种田，他的儿子住在城里，将来不大可能接替他的工作。陈与周之间并无亲戚关系。

陈和周生活较富裕，但他们两人并不是村中最富有的人。最富的人姓王，他生活得默默无闻，在村中没有突出的威望。当一个领导人并没有直接的经济报酬，而且为达到此地位，需要经过相当长时间费钱的准备过程，才能使自己达到一定的文化水平。一个穷人家的孩子得到这种职位的机会是比较少的，但单靠财富本身也不能给人带来权力和威信。

Even legal status is not essential for the headmanship. Chen is still the senior head in the village, but he has no position in the formal administrative system. Elder persons tend to avoid the trouble of dealing with the higher government. The basis of the headmanship lies in public recognition and support in the leadership in community affairs, and in being the representative of the community against the outside world. Chen started his career as a schoolmaster and Chou as an assistant in the silk factory. Their service and ability have given them authority and prestige. In the village there are few who are literate and still less who are at the same time willing to take up the responsibility without economic reward. Young men of ambition are not satisfied with the position: it is considered by the two middle school graduates I met in the village, as sterile and hopeless. Thus the range for the selection of village heads is not very large.

Although they have no direct economic reward, they enjoy prestige and presents from the persons who have received services from them. For example, they are respected by the people, and can call the generation senior to them, except their own near kin, by their personal names without adding any relationship terms. This cannot be done by an ordinary person. Their leading position in the village also helps them to hold privileged jobs such as schoolmaster and manager of the silk factory.

Headmenship is not connected with any previleged "class." Even seniority in age is not an essential qualification, as is shown in Chou's case. But the sex disqualification has not yet been entirely overcome; women are excluded from public affairs. Only recently women have acquired the same position as men in the silk co-operative society, and a woman teacher has been appointed at the school; but the latter has very little influence in the community except among boys and girls.

〔5〕The Imposed Administrative System, Pao Chea

As mentioned, the village as such has no legal status because side by side with the functional territorial groups there is an administrative system imposed on the village organization. These two systems, which I have termed *de facto* and *de jure* respectively, do not coincide with each other. In this section, I shall describe the *de jure* system and compare it with the *de facto* system to show the discrepancies.

甚至法定地位对于当村长的人来说，也不是必不可少的。陈先生现在仍然是村中有资望的领导人，但他在正式行政系统中并不担任职务。年长的人都倾向于不和上级政府打交道，以避免麻烦。当村领导人的基础在于，不论他们代表社区面向外界时，或是他们在领导社区的事务中，都能得到公众的承认和支持。陈原职是教师，而周是以蚕丝厂的助理开始他的事业的。他们为公众服务的精神和能力，使他们得到了权力和威望。村中有文化的人很少，愿意在没有经济报酬的情况下承担起责任的人更少。有抱负的年轻人对这种职位并不感到满意，我在村里遇见过两位中学毕业生，他们认为这种工作枯燥无味，而且缺乏前途。因此，选择村长的范围并不很宽。

虽然他们得不到直接的经济报酬，但由于为村里人办了事，他们也乐于享有声誉，接受一些礼物。比如，他们受人尊敬，可以对长辈（除了近亲）直呼其名而不用加上辈分的尊称。普通人是不允许这样做的。他们在村里所处的领导地位也有助于他们保持有特权的工作，如当教师、当丝厂的厂长等。

当领导人并不与享有特权的“阶级”有关。从周的情况可看出，年长也不是必要的条件。但性别上的排斥却未能克服，妇女是不许参加公众事务的。只是在最近，妇女才在蚕丝合作社中获得了和男人相同的职位；学校也任命了一位女教员，但这位妇女，除了在男女学童中之外，在当地社区中的影响很小。

五、保甲——强加的行政体制

前面已经讲到，这样的村子是没有法定地位的。因为与这种功能性的地域性群体并行存在的有一个行政体制，它是强加于村的组织之上的。我把这两种体制分别称之为事实上的体制和法定的体制。它们两者之间不重合。在本节我将描述这个法定的体制，并把与事实上的体制相比较，以观察它们的差异。

The new administrative system is called Pao Chea. The term Pao Chea is an old one. The government recently had the idea of reviving an old administrative system which had been proposed by an administrative reformer in the Sung Dynasty (960—1276). How far this old system had actually existed is another question, but for this village it is entirely new. The head of the village explained that the arrangement for the new system had only recently been completed, and it had never within living memory been in existence. He added that the villagers had been summoned by the town head and told to arrange their houses in a manner prescribed by the district government. This had been done. To study this Pao Chea system, therefore, it is necessary to go back to the statute book to see what is the intention and what principle the government followed in its organization.

On June 5th, 1929, the National Government in Nanking pro-mulgated the Law Governing the Organization of the District, based on the principle of local self-government of the late Dr. Sun Yet-sen. According to the law, each district (Hsien) must be divided into several Chu and each Chu into twenty to fifty Hsiang (in rural areas) and Chên (in urban areas). In the rural areas, villages with more than 100 house-holds would be taken as a Hsiang and those with less than this number would be combined with other villages to form a Hsiang. In urban areas, towns with more than that number would be taken as a Chên, and those with less would combine with other villages to form a Hsiang. The Hsiang is again subdivided into Lu (twenty-five households) and Lin (five house-holds). All these units were to be self-governing through their elected headmen and councils. The functions of these local governments are listed in the law as follows: Census taking, population registration, land survey, public works, education, self-defence, physical

training, public health, water regulation, forest preservation, industrial and commercial improvement, food storage and regulation, protection and prohibition of plantation and fishery, co-operative organization, improvement of customs, public belief, public enterprise, financial control, etc.

These functions are not altogether new to the local community, most of them having been carried out by various traditional *de facto* groups. The law created new territorial groups with the purpose of facilitating the self-governing administrative functions. But, in fact, there is the danger that it will actually hamper the normal functioning of the *de facto* groups. Thus in the Second National Administrative Conference in 1931 the rigidity in the size of the units was severely criticized. Consequently, an amending bill was introduced in the Legislative Yuen.

新的行政体制叫做“保甲”。保甲是个旧词。政府最近有意要恢复一种古老的行政体制。这种体制是宋朝（公元960～1279年）的行政改革者建议的。这个古老的体制究竟实行到什么程度是另一个问题。但对这个村子来说，它完全是新的。村长解释说，新体制的实施准备最近方告完成，它从来没有在人们的记忆中存在过。他说，镇长把村民都传唤去，告诉他们要按照县政府的规定来安排他们各户在行政组织中的地位，这件事已经完成了。为了要研究保甲制，必须从法令全书中找出它的意图，以及政府在保甲组织中所遵循的原则。

1929年6月5日，根据孙中山先生地方自治的原则，南京的国民政府颁布了一个《县组织法》（以下简称《法》——编者注），按此法律每个县必须分为几个区，每区又分为20～50个乡（农村地区）或镇（城市地区）。农村地区，凡有100户以上的村子，划为一个乡；不到100户的村子，则和其他村子联合成为一个乡。城市地区，凡有100户以上的，可划为镇；如不足此数，则与附近村子合并建乡。乡则进一步分为闾（25户）及邻（5户）。这些单位都通过选出的领导人及地方自治会来实行自治。这些地方政府的职能在法律中已有规定，计有：人口普查及人口登记、土地调查、公益工作、教育、自卫、体育训练、公共卫生、水利灌溉、森林培植及保护、工商改良及保护、粮食储备及调节、垦牧渔猎保护及取缔、合作社组织、改革习俗、公众信仰、公共企业及财政控制等等。

这些职能对地方社区来说不完全是新的。其中许多项早已由传统的、事实上的群体所实施。为了促进自治政府的行政职能，法律创造了新的地域性的群体。但实际上，它会妨碍事实上的群体的正常职能。因此，在1931年举行的第二次全国行政会议上，对各种单位的大小所作的

刻板规定受到了严厉的批评。结果是由立法院提出了修正案。

While the bill was still in the stage of discussion, another system was instituted which affected the local government. In August, 1932, the Headquarters of the Punitive Campaign Against the Communists in Central China issued a decree organizing the people in the area of military operation (Hopei, Honan, and Anhwei) into uniform self-defensive units under the system of Pao Chea. According to this sytem, each ten households (Hu) form a Chea and each ten Chea a Pao. The intention of this organization was stated in the decree to be "to organize the people in the devastated area in a more effective way and secure an accurate census in order to increase the power of local self-defence against the communists and to enable the army to discharge its function more efficiently." This system was introduced mainly for military purposes. Unless the population could be accurately registered, it was very difficult to prevent the communists from mixing with non-communists in the disturbed areas. To counter the active propaganda of the communists the army introduced the system of mutual responsibility of the individuals in the same Chea and Pao, so that they could act as a check one upon the other.

In 1933, the spread of communist influence drew Fukien into the military area. In Fukien the provincial government had already started the organization of the local self-governing system according to the Law in 1929. The provincial government was ordered by the Headquarters to suspend the local self-governing system and to substitute for it the Pao Chea system. In their conflict between the Law and the Decree, the provincial government submitted to the central government; and the Central Political Council decided to absorb the Pao Chea system in the self-governing system. The Law of 1929 was superseded by a series of laws of 1935. These two systems were compromised in the following six points: (1) the uniform units of Pao and Chea were substituted for the old units Lu and Lin, and the units Chu, Hsiang, and Chên were to be on the same level; in other words, the original status of Chu as an intermediary unit between district and Hsiang or Chên was abolished; (2) before the completion of the Tutelage period, the method of indirect election was to be substituted for direct election according to the Pao Chea system; (3) a census was to be taken in the process of arranging the households in the Pao Chea system; (4) military training in the Pao Chea system was to be extended into a more general civil training; (5) the system of mutual responsibility was to be applied only in cases of emergency; and

(6) the Pao Chea system was to take up the function of self-government, but local modifications were to be allowed to suit particular conditions.

当此修正案尚在讨论阶段，另外一个影响到地方政府的体制却实施了。1932年8月，华中的“剿共”司令部发布了一项法令，规定在军事行动区（湖北、湖南及安徽）的人民要在保甲制之下，组织起统一的自卫单位。按此制度，每十户为一甲，每十甲为一保。成立此组织的意图，在法令中有所说明，即：“在遭到破坏的地区有效地组织民众，取得精确的人口统计以便增强地方自卫反共的力量，并使军队能更有效地履行其职能。”此制度主要是为军事目的而实行的。除非人口登记做得十分精确，否则，在动荡的地区，很难防止共产党人和非共产党人混合在一起。为了遏制共产党活跃的宣传活动，军队还实施了在同一个保甲之内，人与人互相担保的制度，使人们可以互相检查。

1933年，共产党影响扩展，福建成为军事地区。福建省政府已开始根据1929年的《县组织法》组建地方自治体系。司令部命令省政府停止地方自治体系而代之以保甲制。面对《法》与法令的冲突，省政府选择了服从中央政府，中央政治会议决定把保甲制纳入自治体系中。1929年的《法》被1935年的一系列法律所代替。这两种体系在以下六点中得到了妥协：（1）由统一的保甲单位代替老单位闾和邻，并使区、乡、镇等单位保持同等的级别。换句话说，原来处于县和乡、镇之间的单位——区取消了；（2）在结束训政时期前，按照保甲制度，以间接选举代替直接选举；（3）在按保甲制编户的过程中，进行人口普查；（4）把保甲制的军训扩大为普遍的民众训练；（5）只在紧急情况下，才实行互相担保的制度；（6）保甲制担负自治的职能，但允许进行地方性的修改以适应具体情况。

Obviously, the compromise has not solved the fundamental problem, that is, how far the *ad hoc* self-defensive units with their uniform size could undertake the general administrative functions listed in the Law of 1929. The real issue was not the legal conflict between the law and the decree but whether the traditional functions that have been carried out in the *de facto* territorial groups could be taken over by the arbitrarily created Pao Chea. Since the old units Lin and Lu, of a less rigid kind, had proved to be impracticable it did not seem that a more rigid system was likely to function any better. The effectiveness of the Pao Chea system in self-defence in cases of emergency also did not assure its suitability as a system for administrative self-government. It could indeed be argued that in the process of political integration in China it was desirable to substitute for the heterogenous

traditional structure a rational and uniform structure. But it remains to be considered whether such a substitution was necessary and how much it will cost to enforce. Since this new system was only introduced less than a year before my visit to the village, it is too early to draw any conclusions. But an analysis of the working of the system against the background of the traditional structure will obviously throw light on the general problem, and will at least help to stress the importance of this issue in the future administrative policy.

The Pao Chea, as instituted in this village with allowance for local modifications, does not strictly accord with the numerical prescription of the law. The village with its 360 households is divided geographically into four Pao. As I have shown in the village plan, the houses in the village are built along both sides of the streams and are thus distributed in four *yu*. The houses in the same *yu* are grouped into one Pao. According to their positions, counting from east to west and from south to north, the houses are arranged in order, approximately ten in number, to form the units of Chea. These four Pao are combined with another seven Pao in neighbouring villages into one Hsiang, which is called after the name of the village Kaihsienkung Hsiang. Pao and Chea are known by numbers. The four Pao in the village are numbered from eight to eleven. A further discrepancy between practice and law is that the Chu in the old law is still preserved as an intermediary unit between the district and Hsiang, and roughly corresponds to the functional unit of the marketing area of the town (XIV–8). This village can be defined in terms of the administrative system as:

很明显，妥协并没有解决根本问题，也就是，这些特别的、有统一规模的自卫单位在多大程度上能承担1929年的《法》所规定的一般的行政职能。真正的问题并不在于这个法律与那个法令之间的法律性斗争，而在于事实上的地域群体早已行使的传统的职能，能否被这种专横地创造出来的保甲所接替。老的邻、闾单位并不那么严格，但已被事实证明是行不通的；那么这种更为严格的保甲制度，似乎更不大可能行得通。若发生紧急情况，保甲制的自卫效能也并不能保证它是适合于行政自治的一种制度。的确可以争辩说，在中国政治结合的过程中，用一个合理的和统一的结构来代替参差不齐的传统结构，看起来比较理想。但应当考虑到，这种替代是否必需，以及需要花多大的代价去实施它。由于我访问这个村子时，这个新制度实行了还不到一年。因此，下结论还为时过早。但以传统的结构为背景，对照这个制度的实施状况进行一些分

析，显然有助于了解问题的全貌，至少会有助于在将来的行政政策中强调这个问题的重要性。

这个村所实施的并允许进行一些地方性修改的保甲制，并不严格符合法律规定的数字。村中360户按地理位置被分编为四个保。从前面所示的本村详图中可看出，村中的房屋沿小河的两旁建造，并分为四个圩。在同一个圩里的户被合成一个保。按照它们所处的位置，从东往西，或由南往北数，大约每十户构成一个甲。这四个保和邻村的七个保合成一个乡，这个乡按本村名而被称为“开弦弓乡”。保和甲则分别冠以数字。村中的四个保是第八保至第十一保。另一个在法律与实践之间不相符合的事，是保持了旧法律中的区，它是县和乡之间的一个中间单位，它大致上和镇的腹地相当（第十四章第八节）。按照这个行政体制，这个村可称为：

Kiangsu (province)

Wukiang (district)

Chên tsê (Chu)

Kaihsienkung (Hsiang)

No. 8–11 (Pao)

To examine the nature of the Hsiang, we must inquire into the problem of inter-village relations. Is there any special bond between the villages that are grouped into the same Hsiang? What is the functional group that corresponds to this administrative unit? Economically, villages in this region, as I shall show later (XIV–8), are independent of each other. Every village has its own agent boat which serves as the buying and selling agent of the villagers in the town market. A village, however large it may be, does not form a sub-marketing centre among its neighbouring villages. In other words, the town as the centre of the marketing area is able, owing to the ease of water transport and the institution of the agent boats, to collect from and distribute to its tributary villages without any need for intermediate stoppage of the movement of the goods. Within the area, there are several dozens of villages dependent on the town but independent of each other. These villages, which are occupied in similar work and produce similar goods, find little need for trade with one another. Thus the unit of Hsiang, standing between the marketing area and the village, has no economic basis. The same is true from the point of view of kinship relations. Although inter-village marriage is popular, there is no sign that those villages included in the same Hsiang, are

preferred to those outside.

Linguistically the name Kaihsienkung in daily speech refers strictly to the village alone. It seems ridiculous to the local people to say that the neighbouring village is a part of Kaihsienkung. Their obstinacy in this is not unreasonable. The change means a great deal to the people. Some people told me, "If the neighbouring villages are part of Kaihsienkung, then the lake that belongs to Kaihsienkung people will be shared by the people of the neighbouring villages. But of course this cannot be permitted."

At present the increasing prestige and economic function of the silk reform movement, and the administrative status of the head of the Hsiang, which both have their head offices in this village, have drawn together the villages around it. I noticed that people from other villages, not limited to those of the same Hsiang, visited the village more frequently than formerly to order silkworm eggs, to supply cocoons for the factory, and to settle inter-village disputes. But in the last analysis, the head of the Hsiang, Chou, did not work in his legal capacity, but mostly through his own personal influence as the assistant manager of the silk factory, and he did not make any important steps without getting into touch with the de facto heads of the village concerned.

江苏（省）

吴江（县）

震泽（区）

开弦弓（乡）

第八至十一（保）

要剖析乡的本质，必须深入了解村与村之间的关系问题。在同一个乡的村子之间，是否有特殊的联系？与这个行政单位相当的职能群体是什么？我将在后面讲到（第十四章第八节），这个地区中的村子，在经济方面是相互独立的。每个村子都有自己的航船，充当村民到镇的市场上出售或购买的代理。一个村子，不论它有多大，都不成为它邻村间的一个低级销售中心。换句话说，由于水运方便，并有了航船制度，因此作为销售区域中心的镇完全有能力向所属的村庄进行商品的集散，在商品流通过程中不需任何中间的停留。在这个地区内，有数十个村庄依赖这个镇，但它们彼此之间都是独立的。这些村子做的是相同的工作，生产同样的产品，互相之间很少需要进行贸易往来。因此，乡作为销售区

域与村庄之间的一个层次，是没有经济基础的。从亲属关系的观点看，情况也完全一样。虽然村与村之间的婚姻是很时行的，但并没有迹象说明，在同一个乡内的村庄，宁愿到乡外的村庄去找婚配对象的。

从语言的角度看，人们日常叫的“开弦弓”这个名字，在当地群众用语中是指这一个村庄而言。把邻村都说成是开弦弓的一部分，当地人听来可笑。他们的这种执拗并不是不合理的。这个称呼的改变对当地人来说含义很多。有人跟我说：“如果邻近村庄都算开弦弓的一部分，那么，原来属于开弦弓村人的湖泊，也要被邻近村庄的人分去了。当然，这是不能允许的。”

目前，由于这个村庄的名声日增，蚕丝改良运动的经济功能及乡长的行政地位等因素，把开弦弓村周围的村子都吸引了过去。蚕丝改良运动和乡的首脑机关都在这个村里。我看到，不仅本乡的各村，而且外乡的人，也比过去更经常地来到这个村庄。他们前来订购蚕种，供给丝厂蚕茧，并解决村与村之间的争端。在前面的分析中所提到的姓周的乡长，并不是利用他的法定地位办事，而主要还是通过他个人的影响，即以蚕丝厂助理厂长的身份去办事的。同时，他也从不采取任何重要行动，除非他事先与各有关村庄的事实上的领导有过接触。

Of course, given time and increasing experience of the new administrative functions, there is no reason to say that the new unit will remain on paper for ever.

The unit of Pao, however, is different. To divide the village according to the boundary of streams is not likely to be successful. It is assumed in this case that the stream is a dividing line for social activities. This assumption is not true. As shown, boats are active on the water, and bridges are built to connect those separated pieces of land. They are means, not obstacles, of communication.

Lastly, we come to the Chea. Among the functional groupings, we have seen that there is a type of group called *shanlin*, the neighbourhood, which consists of ten households. But it does not correspond with the Chea. Chea is a fixed local segment while *shanlin* is a chain of overlapping units; each house taking its location as the centre of reference. The segmentation of Chea is very artificial and contradictory to the idea of the people.

Nevertheless, it will be interesting to study the problem in a future investigation to see how far planned social change can be started from the social structure including the form of the group, formal rules of behaviour,

and formal system of thought; such attempts are evidently becoming more and more popular in a situation where state uniformity is desired.

当然，如果给以时间，并取得新的行政职能的内容，没有理由说新的行政单位永远是停留在纸面上的一纸空文。

至于保这个单位，那就不同了。把村庄按小河为界而隔开的做法，不大可能成功。在此情况下，把小河假设为社会活动的一条分界线。但这种假设是不对的。正如已经说明的，船可以在水面上自由划动，造桥是为了把分割的土地联结起来。这些都是交通的工具而不是交通的障碍。

最后，我还要谈一谈甲。在职能性的群体中，我们已知有一种群体叫“乡邻”。它包括十户。但它与甲是不一致的。甲是一个固定的地段，而乡邻是一串相互交搭、重叠的单位。在乡邻这个结构中，每户都是以自己为中心，把左右五家组合起来。甲是一种非常人为的分段，它是同人们实际的概念相矛盾的。

然而，在将来再次调查时，来研究此问题是很有趣的，看一看有计划的社会变迁，从社会结构，包括群体形式、正式的行为准则、正统的思想体系等等开始，能进行到什么程度。在要求全国具有一致性的愿望之下，这种尝试显然会越来越普遍的。

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[1] From the legal point of view, however, an individual not related in kinship but living permanently in the group is recognized as a member of the Chia (Code, No. 1,122–1,123). But this has not been accepted by the villagers. Even those who have lived a long time in the Chia are regarded as distinct from members of the Chia.

[2] 从法律观点来看，一个人虽然无亲属关系，但永久地住在此群体内者，亦应视为“家”的一员（《民法》第1,222—1,123条）。但此规定并未被村民所接受。甚至那些在“家”中居住了很长时间的人还是被认为与“家”的成员有区别的。

CHAPTER VII LIVELIHOOD

Having made a general survey of the geographical and social background of the village, we are now in a position to study the economic life of the people. I shall begin my description with the system of consumption and attempt to assess the general level of livelihood in the village. This level gives us some idea of the necessary requirements for ordinary living. To satisfy these requirements is the ultimate incentive to production and the impetus to industrial change.

From the point of view of consumption, there is no essential difference among the villagers, but in production, occupational differentiation is found. The present study is mainly limited to the farmers who form the majority. They are engaged in tilling land and in raising silkworms. These are two main sources of their income. Selling sheep and making periodic trading ventures are subsidiary sources. Before describing these activities, I will indicate through the calendar of work how these activities are arranged in a time sequence.

The legal aspect of the problem in relation to agriculture will be discussed in the chapter on land tenure. It would be sufficient to mention here that the traditional forces operating in this institution are strong enough to resist any significant changes. Even in technology, new methods and tools have not yet been successfully introduced. But in the silk industry, it is different.

The most urgent economic problem, from the point of view of the villagers, is industrial reform. The decline of the price of silk is the immediate cause of financial insolvency in the village. During the past ten years, a series of reforms have been introduced and as a result of these efforts both the technology and social organization of the silk industry have been radically changed. Therefore, we are able to analyse the pro-cess found in this village as a case study of industrial change in rural economy.

From the analysis of the systems of consumption and production we are led to the system of exchange. Through marketing, the villagers exchange

their own produce for those consumed goods which they them-selves do not produce. In marketing, we can see how far the village is self-sufficient and how far it is dependent on the outside world.

With the general picture of these economic activities before us, we can now examine the financial conditions in the village. As a result of the decline of domestic industry and the burden of high rent, the villagers are facing an unprecedented economic depression. The difficulty in securing credit and the danger of becoming a victim of usury place the villagers in a dilemma. This will be the end of my descriptive account of the village economy shortly before the bursting of the great storm of the Japanese invasion.

柒 生活

对村子的地理情况和社会背景进行了综合调查之后，现在我们可以开始研究人们的经济生活了。我想先描述消费体系并且试行估计这村居民的一般生活水平。分析这一生活水平，我们可以了解普通生活的必要条件。满足生活的这些必要条件是激励人们进行生产和工业改革的根本动力。

从消费的角度看，村里的居民之间没有根本性的差别，但从生产上看，职业分化是存在的。目前的研究主要限于构成居民大多数的农民。他们从事耕种及养蚕。这是他们收入的两个主要来源。饲羊、定期出去做些贩运是次要的收入来源。在叙述这些活动之前，我将通过农历来表明这些活动是怎样按时序安排的。

有关农业法律方面的问题将在土地占有这一章中讨论。在此只略提一下，传统力量在这项制度中起着强大的作用，足以抗拒任何重大的变化发生。甚至在技术上，现在尚未成功地引进什么新方法和新工具。但在蚕丝业中，情况有所不同。

从村民的观点来看，最迫切的经济问题就是蚕丝改革。丝价下跌是农民无力偿还债务的直接原因。在过去十年中，努力进行一系列改革的结果使蚕丝业的技术以及社会组织都发生了根本性的变化。因此，我们才能够把这个村子的变化过程作为乡村经济中工业化的一个实例来分析研究。

我们将从消费系统与生产系统的分析引导到流通系统。通过市场销售，村民用他们自己的产品来换取他们自己不生产的消费品。在市场销售中我们可以看到村子自给自足的程度，以及村子对外界的依赖程度。

有了这些经济活动的概况，我们现在就可以观察一下村里的财务状况。国内工业的衰落、高额地租的负担使村民面临着空前的经济不景气。村民难以取得贷款，或成为高利贷者牺牲品，他们的处境是进退维谷。我对这个村子在日本侵华战争爆发前不久的经济状况的描述将到此为止。

〔1〕Cultural Control on Consumption

Culture provides means to procure materials for satisfying human needs but at the same time defines and delimits human wants. It recognizes a range of wants as proper and necessary and those lying outside the range as extravagant and luxurious. A standard is thus set up to control the amount and type of consumption. This standard is a measurement for plenty and deficiency by the people themselves. It enables saving when there is plenty, and causes dissatisfaction when there is a deficiency.

To be content with simple living is a part of early education. Extravagance is prevented by sanctions. A child making preferences in food or clothes will be scorned and beaten. On the table, he should not refuse what his elders put in his bowl. If a mother lets her child develop special tastes in food, she will be criticized as indulging her child. Even rich parents will not put good and costly clothes on their children, for doing so would induce the evil spirits to make trouble.

Thrift is encouraged. Throwing away anything which has not been properly used will offend heaven, whose representative is the kitchen god. For instance, no rice should be wasted. Even when the rice becomes sour, the family must try to finish it all. Clothes are used by generations, until they are worn out. Those worn-out clothes will not be thrown away but used for making the bottom of the shoes or exchanged for sweets and porcelain (XIV–7).

In a rural community where production may be threatened by natural disasters, content and thrift have practical value. If a man spends all his income, when he fails to have a good harvest, he will be forced to raise loans which may cause him to lose a part of his right over his land (XV–3). To lose one's inherited estate is against filial obligations and thus will be condemned. Moreover, in the village there are few inducements to extravagance. Display of wealth in daily consumption does not lead to prestige. On the contrary, it may attract kidnappers as seen in the case of Wang several years ago.

一、文化对于消费的控制

为满足人们的需要，文化提供了各种手段来获取消费物资，但同时也规定并限制了人们的要求。它承认在一定范围内的要求是适当和必要的，超出这个范围的要求是浪费和奢侈。因此便建立起一个标准，对消费的数量和类型进行控制。人们用这个标准来衡量自己的物质是充足还是欠缺。按照这个标准，人们可以把多余的节约起来。有欠缺时，人们会感到不满。

安于简朴的生活是人们早年教育的一部分。浪费要用惩罚来防止。孩子们饮食穿衣挑肥拣瘦就会挨骂或挨打。在饭桌上孩子不应拒绝长辈夹到他碗里的食物。母亲如果允许孩子任意挑食，人们就会批评她溺爱孩子。即使是富裕的家长也不让孩子穿着好的、价格昂贵的衣服，因为这样做会使孩子娇生惯养，鬼怪就会来找麻烦。

节俭是受到鼓励的。人们认为随意扔掉未用尽的任何东西会触犯天老爷，他的代表是灶神。例如，不许浪费米粒，甚至米饭已变质发酸时，全家人还要尽量把饭吃完。衣物可由数代人穿用，直到穿坏为止。穿坏的衣服不扔掉，用来做鞋底、换糖果或陶瓷器皿（第十四章第七节）。

在农村社区中，由于生产可能受到自然灾害的威胁，因此，知足和节俭具有实际价值。一个把收入全部用完毫无积蓄的人，如果遇到欠收年成就不得不去借债从而可能使他失去对自己土地的部分权利（第十五章第三节）。一个人失去祖传的财产是违背孝道的，他将受到责备。此外，村里也没有什么东西引诱人们去挥霍浪费。在日常生活中炫耀富有并不会给人带来好的名声，相反却可能招致歹徒的绑架，几年前发生的王某案件便是一个例子。

But the idea of thrift is absent on ceremonial occasions. Expenses in funeral and marriage ceremonies are not considered as individual consumption but as fulfilment of social obligations. A good son must provide the best possible coffin and grave for his parent. In the marriage ceremony, as mentioned, the parents on both sides will try to provide the best marriage gift and dowry, and offer the richest feasts, as their ability permits.

Thrift only sets an upper limit for the variation of livelihood. It becomes

meaningless when one is not able to reach the accepted standard of proper living. It is the idea of generosity and kinship obligation in helping relatives (XV–2), that keeps individuals from sinking too much below the standard. Therefore the unequal distribution of wealth in the village is not expressed in a marked variation in the level of daily livelihood. Only a few persons have special and valuable clothes and there are no essential differences in housing and food.

〔2〕Housing

A house, in general, consists of three rooms. The front room is the largest. It is used for working, such as raising silkworms, manufacturing silk, threshing rice, etc.; for sitting, for dining when the weather is cold or wet, for receiving guests and for storing implements and products. It is also the place where the ancestral shrine is kept.

Behind the front room is the kitchen. It is only about one-fourth the size of the front room. One-third of it is occupied by the stove and the chimney. A small pavilion and a platform is constructed leaning upon the chimney for the kitchen god.

Next is the bedroom. It is sometimes divided by wooden partitions into two rooms if there are two family units in the Chia. Each room contains one or two beds. The married couple and their young child up to seven or eight years old share one bed. When the child grows up, he or she will have a separate bed first in the parents' room. An older but unmarried boy will sleep in the front room, as the employees do. A girl may remain until her marriage in her parents' room or may move to her grandmother's room, but never to the front room because women are not permitted to sleep in the room where the ancestral shrine is kept.

但在婚丧礼仪的场合，节俭思想就烟消云散了。人们认为婚丧礼仪中的开支并不是个人的消费，而是履行社会义务。孝子必须为父母提供最好的棺材和坟墓。如前面已经提到，父母应尽力为儿女的婚礼准备最好的彩礼与嫁妆，在可能的条件下，摆设最丰盛的宴席。

节俭仅仅为不同的生活标准提出了一个上限，当一个人未能达到公认的正常生活标准时，这个上限也就失去了意义。人们凭借慷慨相助和尽亲属义务的思想（第十五章第二节）去帮助生活困难的人，使他们的生活标准不致于同公认的标准相差太远。因此，村里财产分布的不均匀，并没有在日常生活水平方面表现出明显的不同。少数人有特殊的值钱的衣服，但住房和食物上并无根本的差别。

二、住房

一所房屋一般有三间房间。堂屋最大，用来作劳作的场所，例如养蚕、缫丝、打谷等等。天冷或下雨时，人们在这里休息、吃饭，也在这里接待客人或存放农具和农产品。它还是供置祖先牌位的地方。

堂屋后面是厨房，大小仅为堂屋的四分之一。灶头和烟囱占厨房面积的三分之一。紧靠烟囱有供灶王爷的神龛和小平台。

再往后是卧室，家中如有两个家庭单位时，就把卧室用木板隔成两间。每间房里放一两张床。已婚夫妇和七八岁以下的孩子合睡一张床。孩子长大以后，他或她先在父母屋里单独睡一张床，再大一些的未婚男孩就搬到堂屋里睡，像那些雇工一样。女孩出嫁前一直睡在父母屋里，也可以搬到祖母屋里去，但决不睡在堂屋里，因为妇女是不允许睡在供祖先牌位的房屋里的。

In its broad sense, a house includes an open field in front or behind the building. This open field is, at the same time, used as a public road as well as private ground for work and storage. All the threshed straw is heaped on this ground; it can also be used as a little garden where gourds or cucumbers are planted. Adjacent to the main building, there are little huts for the sheep and sometimes also for storage.

Human manure, being the most important fertilizer in the farm, is preserved in the pits made of earthenware, half buried in the ground at the back of the building. Along the southern bank of the Stream A, the public road is lined up with these manure pits. The government have ordered the villagers to remove these pits for hygienic reasons but nothing has been done about it.

Houses are built by special craftsmen from the town. During the period of raising silkworms, building is suspended, otherwise, according to the local belief, the industry of the whole village will be ruined. Breaking soil is considered as a dangerous action which might provoke supernatural interference. Thus it is necessary to perform certain magical rites which are done by Taoist priests. An ordinary house costs at least five hundred dollars for the total expenses. The length of life of the house is difficult to estimate. It depends on constant mending and oiling. Every two or three years the wooden parts of the house must be oiled once again and the tiles of the roof partially rearranged; this costs on the average ten dollars a year.

〔3〕Transportation

Boats are extensively used for heavy and long-distance traffic. But the villages do not build their boats. They buy them from outside. Each boat costs, on the average, about eighty to a hundred dollars. Nearly every household possesses one or more boats except those who are not engaged in agricultural or fishing work. Both men and women can handle the boat. The art of rowing is acquired in childhood. Once having acquired this skill, one can row for hours without rest. The energy spent on rowing is not in proportion to the weight of the load but to the conditions of the water current and the direction of the wind. Therefore, the cost of this type of transport is reduced as the weight of the load is increased. If the boatman is able to use the wind, distance is a problem of time, not of energy; cost is thus further reduced. This is an important character of water transport. It makes possible the concentration of houses in one area and determines the position of the house near the stream. It also makes possible the system of scattered farm holding and influences the system of exchange by the part it plays in marketing. All these related aspects will be treated in other appropriate connections.

广义地说，一所房屋包括房前或房后的一块空地。这块空地既作为大家走路的通道，也用作一家人干活、堆放稻草或其他东西的地方。在这块地里种上葫芦或黄瓜就是小菜园。房屋附近还有养羊或堆放东西的小屋。

人的粪尿是农家最重要的肥料，在房后有些存放粪尿的陶缸，半埋在土地里面。沿着A河南岸，路边有一排粪缸，由于有碍卫生，政府命令村民搬走，但没有实行。

房屋是由城镇里的专门工匠来修建的。养蚕期间，停止房屋施工，否则当地人相信全村的蚕丝业会毁掉。他们认为破土是一种危险的行为，会招致上天的干预。于是就要请道士来做法事。修建一所普通的房屋，总开支至少500元。房屋的使用寿命根据修缮情况而异，难以作出肯定的估计。每隔两三年必须把房屋的木结构部分重新油漆一遍，部分瓦片要重新铺盖，诸如此类的修缮费用每年平均为10元。

三、运输

人们广泛使用木船进行长途和载重运输，但村庄自己并不造船,而是从外面购买。每条船平均价格约80～100元。除那些不从事农业、渔业劳动的人家以外，几乎每户都有一条或几条船。男人、妇女都会划船。人们在小时候就学会了划船。只要一学会这门技术，一个人就可以不停地划几个小时。划船所耗的力量并不与船的载重量成正比，而是与水流、风向等情况密切有关。所以，载重增加时，此类运输的费用就降低。如果船夫能够利用风向，距离只是一个时间问题，而不是花力气的问题，这样，费用就可进一步减少。这是水运的一个重要特点。这就有可能使一个地区的住房集中在靠河边的位置。它也使分散的农田占有制成为可能。此外，水运在市场贸易中的作用也影响了流通系统。所有这些有关的方面将适当结合其他有关内容进一步论述。

No animal labour is used in transport. On land, the men have to carry the load themselves.

〔4〕Clothing

The domestic industry of weaving in the village has been practically ruined. Although nearly every house has a wooden weaving machine, at the time when I was there, there were only two of them still working. The material for clothing thus largely comes from the outside, mainly linen and cotton. The silk industry works not for self-consumption but mainly for export. Only a few people wear silk dresses on formal occasions.

Owing to the wide variations of climate during the year, the villagers keep at least three sets of clothes: for the hot summer, for the mild spring and autumn, and for the cold winter. In the summer, men wear only shorts, but they will put on a skirt when meeting visitors or when going to town. Village headmen keep their silk gowns at least on their arms, when they leave the village even under the hot sun. Women wear sleeveless jackets and long skirts. Wearing a skirt is a characteristic of the region where women do not work on the farm. In colder weather, distinguished men wear the long gown when they do not work. The ordinary people only wear short jackets.

Clothing is not only for protecting the body but also for making social distinctions. Sex differentiation is clear. Age difference is also expressed; for instance, girls before maturity will not put on the skirt. Social status is directly indicated in the style. The long gown, for instance, is indispensable for persons of distinction. Two middle school students had changed their style of clothing when they came back from their school. They wore trousers and shirts in the European style but without coats.

畜力不用于运输。在陆地上，人得靠自己的力量来搬运货物。

四、衣着

村里的家庭纺织业实际上已经破产。我在村里的时候，虽然几乎每一家都有一台木制纺织机，但仍在运转的只有两台。因此，衣料大部分来自外面，主要是亚麻布和棉布。村里的缫丝工业主要为商品出口，并非为本村的消费。只有少数人在正式场合穿着丝绸衣服。

由于一年四季气候变化很大，村民至少有夏季、春秋和冬季穿用的三类衣服。夏天，男人只穿一条短裤，会客或进城时便穿上一条作裙。村长要离开村子外出时，即使是炎日当头，至少手臂上要搭上一件绸子长袍。妇女穿不带袖的上衣和长裙。这里的妇女不下农田干活，穿裙子是这个地区妇女的特点。天气较冷时，有身份的男子不干活时就穿长袍，普通人只穿短上衣。

衣服并不仅仅为了保护身体，同时也为了便于进行社会区别。性别区分是明显的。衣着还表现出年龄的区别，譬如，未成年的女孩不穿裙子。社会地位直接在服装的款式上表现出来，例如，长袍是有身份的人不可缺少的衣服。村里两个中学生上学以后服装式样有了变化，他们穿西式长裤和衬衫，但不穿外衣。

Sewing is women's work, except for tailors. Most of the women have skill enough to make ordinary clothes for their husbands and children, because this is a necessary qualification for a bride. At the end of the first month of her wedding, the bride will send an article of her own sewing to each near relative of her husband, whose approval is her pride and a support of her position in the new social group. But for preparing dowries, marriage gifts, and dresses of higher quality for formal use, professional tailors are as a rule called in.

The total expenses for buying clothing materials for an average Chia is estimated as about thirty dollars a year, excluding ceremonial dresses.

〔5〕Nutrition

Food is the main item of household expenditure. It amounts to 40 per cent. of the total annual current expenses. Furthermore, it is different from the above-mentioned items. Housing does not involve expense every day, and clothing usually is not so urgent as food. The amount of food that is necessary in order to maintain a normal living is more or less constant and consequently represents a relatively constant item in the domestic livelihood.

The staple food is rice. According to my informants' estimate the quantities needed for the annual consumption of different individuals are as follows:

Old man above 50	. . . . . 9 bushels.	
Old woman above 40	. . . . . $7^1/_2$	"
Adult man	 12	"
Adult woman	 9	"
Child above ten	. . . . . $4^1/_2$	"

For an average household, including an old woman, two adults, and a child, the total amount will be thirty-two bushels. This estimate is fairly exact because the people must know the amount they need before they store the rice. Rice is produced by the people themselves; the surplus is sold in the market to get money for other expenses. The estimate given above is the amount which the people consider to be necessary to reserve in store.

In vegetables, including cabbages, fruits, mushrooms, nuts, potatoes, turnips, etc., the village is only partially self-supporting. The people have only very small gardens adjacent to the houses and limited space under the mulberry trees for growing vegetables. They are largely dependent on the supply of the neighbouring villages along the Lake Tai where vegetable cultivation has become a specialization; and the produce has become one of the important sources of supply for the people in this region.

除裁缝以外，缝纫是妇女的工作。多数妇女的手艺足以为她们的丈夫和孩子做普通衣服，因为这是做新娘必备的资格。新娘结婚满一个月以后会送给她丈夫的每一位近亲一件她自己缝制的东西，亲属的称赞是

她的荣誉，同时也是对她在这新社会群体中的地位的一种支持。但是在置办嫁妆、彩礼或缝制正式场合穿的高质量服装时，照例是要请专门的裁缝来做的。

一个普通的家，每年买衣料的费用估计为30元，礼服除外。

五、营养

食品是家庭开支的一个主要项目，占每年货币支出总额的40%。而且它与上述几项支出不同。住房费用无需每天支付，衣服也不像饭食那样迫切。为了维持正常生活所必需的一定数量的食物，或多或少是恒定的，因此它在家庭生活中成为一个相对恒定的项目。

主食是稻米，为我提供情况的人估计，不同年龄或性别的人每年消费所需稻米数量如下：

50岁以上的老年男子………………………9 蒲式耳
40岁以上的老年妇女………………………7.5 蒲式耳
成年男子……………………………………12 蒲式耳
成年妇女……………………………………9 蒲式耳
10岁以上的儿童……………………………4.5 蒲式耳

对一个有一名老年妇女、两个成人和一个儿童的普通家庭而言，所需米的总量为33蒲式耳。这一估计是相当准确的，因为农民在储存稻米以前必须知道他们自己的需要量。稻米是农民自己生产的，剩余的米拿到市场上去出售，换得钱来用于其他开支。上面的估计是人们认为必须贮存的数量。

蔬菜方面有各种青菜、水果、蘑菇、干果、薯类以及萝卜等，这个村子只能部分自给。人们只能在房前屋后的小菜园里或桑树下有限的土地上种菜。农民主要依靠太湖沿岸一带的村庄供给蔬菜。种菜已经成为这一带的专业，他们的产品已是这一地区人们蔬菜供应的重要来源之一。

Oil is produced by villagers themselves from the rapeseeds which are planted in spring before the rice. But owing to the low level of the farms in this part, the crop is very limited and the produce is enough only for domestic use. Fish is supplied by the fishing households in the village. The only kind of meat eaten is pork, which is supplied by the town through retailers in the village. Sugar, salt, and other necessities for cooking are bought daily from the town chiefly through the agent boat (XIV–5).

There are three meals a day: morning, noon, and evening. They are cooked separately. But during the period when men are busy on the farm they will prepare their lunch in the morning with the breakfast. The woman is the

first to get up. She cleans the stove and warms the water and then prepares the meals. Breakfast consists of rice porridge and some preserved salty cabbage. Porridge is made by boiling the dried rice crust in the water. Lunch is the big meal of the day, but during the time when men have to work on the farm, they carry with them their prepared lunch. They do not come back until evening. Women and children who are left in the house also take the prepared lunch which is rather light.

In the evening when the men come back, the whole household take dinner together, in the front room. But in the hot weather the table is arranged in the front of the house; it is very impressive to walk in the street on a summer evening. The street is lined by a row of tables. Neighbours talk with each other while they are eating at their own table. All the members of the household sit around the same table, except the woman who is busy in the kitchen and serves the table.

At the table they have definite positions, following the kinship order of the family. The head of the family sits at the "upper side," facing south. The left side, facing west, comes next and then the right side. The women, especially the daughter-in-law, take the lower side, or they do not appear at the table but take their food in the kitchen.

The commensalism of the evening meal is important in domestic life, especially for the father and child to see each other. The father is absent the whole day and the child may not be able to see him until that time. At the table they are together. The disciplinary function of the father operates at this time. Relevant to this context is the manner of eating.

食油是村民自己用油菜籽榨的，春天种稻之前种油菜。但这个地区农田水平面较低，油菜收成有限，产量仅够家用。鱼类由本村的渔业户供给。人们吃的肉类仅有猪肉，由村里卖肉的人从镇里贩来零售。食糖、盐和其他烹调必需品主要通过航船每天上镇购买（第十四章第五节）。

一天三餐：早饭、午饭、晚饭，分别准备。但农忙期间，早上就把午饭和早饭一起煮好。妇女第一个起床，先清除炉灰、烧水，然后煮饭。早饭是米粥和腌菜，粥系用干米饭锅巴放在水中煮开而成。午饭是一天之中主要的一餐。但农忙季节，男人们把午饭带往农田，直到傍晚收工以后才回家。留在家中的妇女和儿童也吃早上煮好的饭，但吃得较少。

晚上男人们回家以后，全家在堂屋里一起吃晚饭。但天气热的时候，就把桌子搬出来摆在房屋前面场地上；夏天傍晚，到街上走一走，印象非常深刻。沿街摆着一排桌子，邻居们各自在桌边吃饭，边吃边谈。全家人都围着桌子坐着，只有主妇在厨房里忙着给大家端饭。

家中每一个人在桌旁都有一定的位置。按家庭的亲缘顺序，家长面南，坐在“上首”，第二位面向西，在家长的左侧，第三位在右侧。主妇，特别是媳妇，坐在下首，或者不上桌，在厨房里吃饭。

同进晚餐，在家庭生活中是很重要的，父亲和孩子这时有机会互相见面。父亲整天外出，孩子直到晚饭时才能见到他。他们一起在桌旁吃饭。父亲常利用这机会对孩子进行管教。吃饭要讲吃饭的规矩。

The child must not complain about the food or show special preference for certain dishes. If he does so, he will be at once scorned and sometimes beaten by his father. At the table the child is usually silent and obedient.

During the period of agricultural work, the dinner is comparatively rich. They have meat and fish. But in ordinary times meat is not very often served. Pure vegetarianism is rare except for a few widows. Ordi-nary women take vegetarian meals twice a month, the first and the fifteenth day; this is because of the religious teaching that heavenly gods do not like killing animate creatures. Thus vegetarian practice will help one to have a better after-life.

Food prepared in the kitchen should not be set aside for individual members. But occasionally the family unit may have some special dish for themselves out of their own expenses and eat in their own room. This is considered to be bad behaviour and offensive to the other members. Cakes and sweets bought with one's own pocket money are private.

〔6〕Recreation

Relaxation from muscular and nervous stress after hard work is a physiological necessity. In so far as recreation needs collective action, social institutions develop for this function. The collective action in recreation reinforces the social ties among the participants. Thus its function goes beyond pure physiological relaxation.

In the household the period for domestic gatherings is in the evening when the daily work is over. In this gathering the family bonds are strengthened and an intimate feeling develops.

Work in agriculture and in the silk industry affords periodical intervals. The people after having been busy for a week or ten days may have a pause. The period of recreation is inserted into the time-table of work. During the intervals, rich dinners are prepared and visits among relatives take place.

Men will use this pause to enjoy themselves in the teashops. Teashops are in the town. They bring together the people from different villages. Business bargainings, marital negotiations and arbitration of disputes take place. But they are, primarily, men's clubs. Only occasionally some women will appear with their men in the shop. Women spend their intervals of work in visiting relatives, especially their own parents and brothers. Most of the children go with their mothers.

孩子不准抱怨食物不可口，也不准挑食。他如这样做，就立刻会受到父亲的责备，有时还要挨打。通常在吃饭时孩子都默不作声地顺从长辈的意见。

在农忙期间，饭食较为丰富。他们吃鱼、吃肉。但平时不经常吃肉食。除去几个寡妇以外，很少有素食主义者。普通妇女每月素斋两次，初一和十五各一次，这是由于宗教告诫人们，天上的神仙不愿意伤害生灵。吃素被视为有利于人死后升天过好日子。

在厨房里做的东西不应该留藏给家里个别人独自吃。但是偶尔，小家庭可以自己花钱买些特别的菜在自己房间里吃。这种做法被认为是不好的，会惹得家里其他成员生气。一个人用自己的零花钱去买点心、糖果吃是私事，不一定告诉别人。

六、娱乐

辛勤劳动之后，放松肌肉和神经的紧张是一种生理需要。娱乐需要集体活动，于是社会制度发展了这种功能。娱乐中的集体活动加强了参加者之间的社会纽带，因此它的作用超出了单纯的生理休息。

在家中全家团聚的时间是在晚上，全天劳动完毕以后。大家聚集起来，家庭间的联系得到了加强，感情也更加融洽。

农业劳动和蚕丝业劳动有周期性的间歇，人们连续忙了一个星期或十天之后，可以停下来稍事休息。娱乐时间就插入工作时间表中。在间歇的时候，大家煮丰盛的饭菜，还要走亲访友。

男人们利用这段时间在茶馆里消遣。茶馆在镇里。它聚集了从各村来的人在茶馆里谈生意，商议婚姻大事，调解纠纷等等。但茶馆基本上是男人的俱乐部。偶尔有少数妇女和她们的男人一起在茶馆露面。妇女们在休息时期一般是走亲戚，特别是要回娘家看望自己的父母和兄弟。孩子们大多数是要跟随母亲一起去的。

The evening gathering of the domestic group, the gatherings in the teashops and frequent visiting among relatives during the rest periods are informal and not obligatory. In this respect, they are different from the festivals and formal communal gatherings. The time-table for social activities, given in Chapter IX, summarizes all the occasions of festivals in relation to other chronological activities.

It is fairly clear that festivals come always in between periods of industrial activity. The "New Year," celebrated in February by fifteen days for rejoicing and obligatory visiting of relatives, comes at a time of few agricultural activities. Wedding ceremonies also come in that period, which is regarded as a proper time for marriage. Shortly before the active period in the silk industry, is the festival of Ch'ing Ming for ancestral worship and visiting tombs. At the third exuviæ of silkworms, a rejoicing feast is prepared at Li Hsia. After the silk reeling work and before the transplantation of young shoots of the rice to the main field, the festival of Tuan Yang comes in. Full moon in the eighth month, Chung Ch'iu, is celebrated at the time when the rice bears fruit and in the middle of the first long interval of agricultural

work. At the end of that interval another festival of Ch'ung Yang is on the schedule. When the agricultural work is completed it is the festival of Tung Chih. All these festivals are obligatory and usually connected with religious worship of ancestors and of the kitchen god. Celebration of such festivals is limited to domestic groups and intimate relatives.

Occasions for periodical obligatory gatherings of larger local groups, such as *luiwanwe* of the *de*, the annual meeting of the village (VI–3), and the inter-village parade every ten years along Lake Tai, *sanyanwe*, are also connected with religious ideas. For more than ten years all these occasions, except *luiwanwe*, have been suspended. The immediate reason for the suspension is the disapproval of the government. According to the government these activities are superstitious and luxurious, and it is one of the duties of the magistrate to prohibit them.[1] But the ultimate and more effective cause is the economic depression of the rural district. When immediate needs such as food and clothes have become a burden to the people, there is no surplus money to finance such less urgent social activities.

How far the suspension of community gatherings has weakened the local ties among the people is difficult to ascertain from my present material. But when I sat among the people and listened to their narrations of the past exciting events of the inter-village parade, their feeling of loss and disappointment at the present situation was very clear to me. I am not going to try to reconstruct the grand occasion and estimate the social value involved in it, but the memory of the past forms an important element in the present attitude towards the existing situation. The suspension of these festivities is a direct indication, in the mind of the people, of deterioration of social life. In so far as they are looking forward for a return of the happy days, they will not reject any possible measure which they are convinced as making for improvement. This psychology has its significance in the lack of strong resistance to social change, as I shall show later (XII–2).

家人在晚间的聚会，朋友们在茶馆相会，以及农闲时看望亲戚，都是非正式的，不是必须履行的。从这一点来讲，这些活动与节日期间的聚会以及正式的社区聚会有所不同。第九章所列的社会活动时间表总结了一年中的所有节日，与其他活动一起按年月顺序排列。

很明显，各个节日总是出现在生产活动间歇之际。阳历二月份，农闲时节，庆祝“新年”十五天，人们欢欢喜喜地过年，并尽亲戚之谊，前去拜年。婚礼也往往在这时候举行，人们认为这是结婚的好时节。在蚕

丝业繁忙阶段之前不久的是清明，进行祭祖和扫墓。蚕第三次蜕皮时，就到了立夏，有一次欢庆的盛宴。在缫丝工作之后，插秧之前，有端阳节。阴历八月满月的日子是中秋。此时正值稻子孕穗，也是在农活第一次较长间歇期的中间。在此间歇的末尾是重阳节。农活完毕之后就是冬至了。每逢这些节日都要有一定的庆祝活动，通常是同祭祖和祭灶联系在一起。庆祝这样一些节日只限于在家人和近亲中进行。

较大的地方群体的定期集会有每年一次的“段”的“刘皇会”（第六章第三节），和每十年一次在太湖边举行的村际的庆祝游行“双阳会”，俗称“出会”，它们也与宗教思想有关。十多年来，除“刘皇会”以外，所有这些集会都已停止。停止的直接原因就是政府不赞同。政府认为，这些活动是迷信而且奢侈。地方行政官的职责之一就是禁止这些集会。[2] 但是更实际的根本的原因是乡村地区的经济萧条。当食品、衣服之类的必需品都成为人们的负担时，他们就不会有多余的钱去进行不太急需的社会活动。

根据我目前的材料，难以确定社区停止聚会在多大程度上削弱了当地人民之间的联系。但当我坐在人们中间，听着他们叙述村际“出会”那些令人兴奋的往事时，我明白地觉察到他们对于目前处境的沮丧和失望之情。我并不想再恢复那些盛大的场面，并对其社会价值进行估计，然而对往事的回忆是形成人们目前对现状的态度的一个重要因素。在人们心目中，停止这些庆祝活动，直接说明了社会生活的下降。由于他们盼望着过去的欢乐日子复而再来，所以他们不会拒绝任何可能采取的确信会改善社会生活的措施。在对社会变革没有强大抵触的情况下，上述这种心理至关重要，我以后还要说明（第十二章第二节）。

〔7〕Ceremonial Expenses

Ceremonial expenses connected with the crises of life—birth, marriage, and death—looked at from the economic point of view are indispensable items of liability to the domestic economy. Marriage gifts and dowries are the necessary provisions of the new family unit. Funeral arrangements are necessary measures of disposing of the dead. The sentiments arising from these crises of the individual life and of the related social groups cause the ceremonies to be more elaborate and to involve considerable cost. When the ceremonial procedure has been generally accepted, one cannot pass these crises except through this costly channel.

The economic depression has, however, affected the ceremonies. For instance, the institution of *siaosiv* has been adopted to modify the expensive marriage procedure (III–8). It is adopted for economic ex-pedience but has far-reaching consequences in kinship organization. The total or partial reduction of affinal relationships has influenced the social position of women and children. The cancelling of marriage gifts and dowry prolongs the economic dependence of the young. All these illustrate the fact that the ceremonial expenses are not altogether waste or luxury. They perform essential functions in social life.

Again, the marriage feast provides an opportunity for the gathering of relatives for recognizing newly established kinship ties and reinforcing the old. The kinship tie is not a matter of sentimental relation only. It regulates various types of social relation. From the economic point of view, it prescribes the mutual obligation to join the financial aid society (XV–2), and the periodical offering of gifts. In the modified marriage ceremony, the list of guests invited is usually shortened. This loosens the wider kinship ties and thus closes, in the long run, a possible channel of financial help. These consequences may not be immediate and apparent but will be felt eventually. This is why the people reject the institution of *siaosiv* and revert to the normal course as soon as economic conditions allow. Many even, in order to maintain the traditional procedure, delay marriage or borrow money to stage the ceremony in an unimpaired form.

七、礼仪开支

礼仪开支与一生中的重大事件——出生、结婚、死亡——有着密切联系。从经济观点来看，这种开支是一家不可缺少的负担。彩礼和嫁妆是新家庭必要的准备。丧葬安排是处理死者所必须的措施。个人生活及其相关的社会群体所发生的这些红白大事里产生出来的感情，使得这些礼仪得到更加精心的安排而且花费相当的钱财。当一种礼仪程序被普遍接受之后，人们就不得不付出这笔开销，否则他就不能通过这些人生的关口。

然而，经济萧条使礼仪受到了影响。例如采取了“小媳妇”的制度来改变昂贵的婚礼（第三章第八节）。它是由于经济便利才被采用的，但对亲属组织却发生了深远的影响。姻亲关系的完全或部分退化已使妇女和儿童的社会地位受到影响。彩礼和嫁妆的取消延长了青年在经济上依赖父母的时间。所有这些说明了这样一个事实，礼仪开支不全然是浪费和奢侈的。这些开支在社会生活中起着重要的作用。

再者，结婚时的宴会为亲戚们提供了一个相聚的机会，对新建立的亲属纽带予以承认，对旧有的关系加以巩固。亲属纽带不仅仅是感情上的关系，它还调节各种类型的社会关系。从经济观点来看，它规定了参加这种互助会的相互义务（第十五章第二节），以及定期互赠礼物。在已经改变了的婚姻礼仪中，所请客人的名单通常已经缩减。这使原来较广的亲属纽带变得松散。从长远看，就可能封闭了一些经济援助的渠道，这种结果可能不会很快或明显地表现出来，但最终会感觉到的。这就是人们拒绝“小媳妇”制度的原因。一俟经济条件许可，就要恢复正常的程序。为了维持传统的礼仪，甚至有许多人宁可推迟婚期或借钱也要把婚礼办得像个样子。

In view of the importance of ceremonial occasions in the life of the people, it is not surprising to find the high percentage of ceremonial expenses in the domestic budget. For an average family of four members, assuming the average length of life to be fifty years, there will be one ceremonial occasion every five years. The minimum expenses for these ceremonies are estimated as follows: birth 30 dollars, marriage 500 dollars, and funeral 250 dollars. The average annual expense will be 50 dollars. It amounts to one-seventh of the whole annual expenditure.

To this sum we must also add the gift presented by the house to their relatives who are passing through these life crises. Their presents vary according to the nearness of kinship and of friendship, from 5 dollars to 20 cents. The average amount per year per Chia is about 10 dollars at least.

These estimates seem to be rather high as compared with other rural communities in China. According to J. L. Buck's study, the average amount for a wedding per family is 114.83 dollars and for a funeral 62.07 dollars, in East Central China.[3] The difference may be due to local characters or to the number of items of expenditure included in this heading. The expenses on the wedding day in Kaihsienkung lie between 250 to 100 dollars. There was a notorious case, quoted by my informants as exceptional, of a ceremonial manager who could conduct a wedding for less than 100 dollars. The estimate here given includes also the marriage gifts. So it is reasonable that it should be higher.

The funeral expenses vary greatly according to the social status of the deceased. As observed in Peiping, for children "the funerals cost a little more than one-eighth of the family's monthly income. The funerals of older people are naturally more expensive. The total varies from 1.25 to 1.3 months' income. None of these included a funeral feast. Funerals for husbands, wives, older brothers, mothers, cost their families from 2.5, 3.5, and 5.5 months' income." [4] Buck's average is derived from 2.8 per cent. of all the families that had funeral expenses to pay during the year. It may be a little lower than the amount regarded as proper expenditure for the funeral of an adult member of the family, as given by my informants.

从礼仪事务在人们生活中的重要性来看，就不难理解礼仪开支在家庭预算中占有很高的百分比。在一个普通的四口之家，假设平均寿命为50岁，那么每隔5年将有一次礼仪事务。对于礼仪事务的最低开支估计如下：出生30元，结婚500元，丧葬250元，平均每年开支50元，这个数字为每年全部开支的七分之一。

亲戚家有这些婚丧娶嫁等大事时，他们还须送礼，所以我们也必须把这笔开支计入总和。根据亲友关系亲疏的不同，礼品的价值从0.2至5元不等。每家每年的平均数量至少约为10元。

同中国的其他乡村相比，这些估值似乎相当高。根据巴克的研究，在华东每家用于一次结婚的平均费用为114.83元，丧葬费平均为62.07元。[5] 差别可能由于地方的特点不同，或者由于列入礼仪开支的项数不

同。在开弦弓，结婚当天的开销在100至250元之间。为我提供资料的人引述一个众所周知的例外情况：一家仅花了不到100元办了一次婚礼。此处所作对婚礼开支的估计还包括了结婚礼物的费用，所以总数理应高一些。

丧葬开支，根据死者社会地位的高低而大不相同。如在北平所观察到的，孩子的“丧葬费用比家庭每月收入的八分之一略多一点。年长者的丧葬费自然要贵一些，总共要花费月收入的1.25至1.3倍不等。但这些数字都不包括丧宴费用。丈夫、妻子、哥哥、母亲的丧葬，其费用为月收入的2.5、3.5、5.5倍。”[6] 巴克的平均数是从有丧事的人家的2.8%中推算出来的。该数字可能略低于本地人提供给我的有关该村一个成年人死后所需的适当的丧葬费用。

These periodical expenses demand saving during the interval. It may take the form of payment of loans, but usually, of subscriptions to a financial aid society, which is a local institution of saving (XV–2). Thus we can check the estimate of ceremonial expenses with the average annual amount of subscription per Chia. In general, as I found, each Chia joins two societies at the same time with a total annual subscription of 40 dollars. It tends to support the reliability of these estimates.

〔8〕Minimum Expenditure

All the quantitative assessments given in the above sections represent only the recognized minimum requirement of a proper living in the village. To secure these estimates, I consulted a number of informants. Differences between individual estimates were very small. It shows a high comformity of such estimates. The average Chia under consideration consists of four individuals: an old woman, an adult man, an adult woman, and a child, who are full owners of a holding of nine *mow* of land.

These estimates are useful for several reasons: (1) A single-handed field investigator finds it practically impossible to adopt the account-book method, especially in a village where keeping accounts is not a habit of the people, unless he devotes his whole time to investigating this problem. (2) These estimates can give a certain general idea of the livelihood of the villagers because they represent the minimum requirement of a normal living which cannot be very far from the actual average. (3) The lack of striking differentiation in the standard of living in the village allows such a simple approach. (4) As mentioned, these estimates form a standard in the minds of the people as a measurement of sufficiency of material well-being in the community, and consequently an actual social force in controlling consumption.

Moreover, in studying the problem of the standard of living in a rural community, the account-book method has its limitations. The rural community is partially self-supporting. The livelihood will not be comprehended in full in the daily accounts which are usually limited to money transactions. The account-book only reveals the extent to which the villagers depend on outside supplies of goods. The degree of dependence does not always indicate the standard of living. For instance, under normal conditions, the villagers will not buy rice because they have their own reserves. Only when the reserves have been sold under financial distress, will they buy rice to feed themselves. In this case the increased amount of money transactions is related to the decline of livelihood and not the reverse, as might appear from the accounts only.

这些定期的开销需要在平时积蓄起来。积蓄可能采取贷款的形式，但通常采取向互助会交纳储金的形式。互助会是本地的一种储蓄制度（第十五章第二节）。这样，我们可以把估计的礼仪开支费用同每家每年交纳储金的平均数作一比较。我发现，一般每家同时加入两个互助会，每年总共交纳储金40元。这一数字有助于证实以上估计的可靠性。

八、正常生活的最低开支

前几节中所作的全部定量估计仅仅代表村里公认的正常生活的最低需要。为了取得这些估计，我曾请教了不少知情人。个人估计之间的差别非常小，这说明了这样的估计具有较高的一致性。我们所考虑的普通的家是由四个人组成：一位老年妇女、一位成年男子、一位成年妇女和一个小孩。这四个人是九亩土地的完全所有者。

这些估计之所以有用，有以下几条理由：（1）单独的实地调查者几乎不可能采用簿记研究法，特别是在村里，人们没有记账的习惯，除非调查者把他的全部时间用于研究记账问题。（2）这些估计可以使人们对本村人的生活得到一个一般的概念，它代表正常生活的最低需要，与实际平均数不会相差太远。（3）村里的生活标准没有显著的差别，因而可以使用这种简便的方法。（4）如上所述，这些估计在人们心目中形成了一个度量社区中物质福利充足的标准，其结果是产生了一种控制消费的实际社会力量。

此外，在研究乡村社区生活水准问题方面，簿记研究法有一定的局限性。乡村社区是部分自给经济，生活上的各项费用并不完全包括在日常账目之中，因为账目通常限于记录货币交易。账簿只能说明村民依赖外界商品供应的程度，而这种依赖程度并不一定能够表明生活水准。例如，在正常情况下，村民不会去买米，因为他们自己有储备。只有在家庭经济困难、储存的大米已被卖光时，村民才去买米来吃。在这种情况下，现金交易量的增加与生活下降有关而不是与生活改善有关。只有这种情况才会在账目中有所反映。

It is clear that in a study of the standard of living of a rural community it will not be enough simply to give a summary of the family budget in terms of money income and expenditure. The investigator must prepare a double entry for the goods consumed to assess those bought from the market and those produced by the consumers themselves. The former should be expressed in terms of money value. The sum of this category represents the amount of money needed to finance the life of the people. It determines the amount of produce sold by them in order to get that amout of money. Those goods produced by the consumers do not enter into the market. Their money value is unknown because the price would be affected if they entered the market.

To express them in terms of market price is theoretically unsound. Indeed, without reducing them to a money value, it would not be possible to give a general index of the standard of living of the people. But such a general index is unreal and has little value in an empirical analysis. To keep these two categories apart will help us to investigate the relation between them, and this relation is very important in the study of rural economy. For instance, one of the important problems in the present Chinese rural economy is the decline of the price of the rural produce. For a given necessary requirement of living, the villagers are forced to sell more of their produce to the market. It thus reduces the degree of self-sufficiency of the villagers. On the other hand, the process of de-industrialization in the rural districts has reduced the amount and type of rural produce and increased the need of money for buying manufactured goods. To approach these problems, it is important to analyse the relation of these two categories of consumers' goods.

This "double-entry" method demands much more work from the field investigator. It may be impractical for him to make statistical observations. Thus I suggest the method of consulting estimates. If possible, it could be supplemented by sampling observation—selecting a few representative cases and systematically assessing the amount of consumption for a period. But the present work is not able to provide this type of data. The following table gives only the money value of those items that the villagers have to buy from the market, and the obligatory payment of tax and rent. It is useful as an estimate of the minimum amount of money needed for the livelihood of the villagers.

很明显，在研究乡村社区生活水准时，简单地以货币的收支来总计家庭预算，是不足以说明问题的。调查者必须从两方面入手来对消费品进行估价：一方面是那些从市场买来的消费品；另一方面是消费者自己生产的物品。前者应以货币值来表示，其总和代表着人们生活所需的货币量。这个数额确定了人们为得到此数额的货币而出售的产品量。消费者自产自用的物品不进入市场。这些物品的货币值无人知晓。因为如果它们进入了市场，价格就会受到影响。如以市场价格表示这些物品，从理论上讲是不正确的。的确，若不把它们折合为货币价值，就不可能得出人们生活水准的总指数。但是，这样的一个总指数是不真实的。把这两类物品分开研究，有助于我们调查其间的关系，而这种关系在农业经济研究中是非常重要的。例如，目前中国农业经济中最重要的问题之一是农产品的价格下跌。为了满足必需的生活条件，村民被迫向市场多出

售他们的产品。这样就降低了村民的自给程度。另一方面，农村地区的辅助工业的萧条，减少了农产品的品种和数量，增加了对货币的需要，以购买所需的工业品。为了探讨这些问题，分析这两类消费品之间的关系是很重要的。

这种“从两方面入手的方法”需要实地调查者付出更多的劳动。收集统计资料可能是不实际的，所以，我建议采用咨询估算的方法。如果可能的话，再用抽样观察来补充。选定几个有代表性的实例，在一个时期中，系统地记录消费项目和数量。但本文尚不能提供这一类的数据。下表仅仅列出了村民必须到市场上购买的物品之货币价值，以及强制支付的租金和税款。该表可以用来估计村民生活所需的最低货币量。

Those goods produced by the consumers themselves include the foodstuffs, such as rice, oil, wheat, and vegetable, and a part of the clothing materials. The most important part of the self-sufficient economy is labour and service. As mentioned, only a few households employ labourers on the farm. Further analysis of this category will be given in connection with the process of production.

I. Things bought from the market:		
Foodstuffs	47	
Vegetables and miscellaneous . .	30	
Sugar	5	
Salt	12	
Clothing materials	30	
Presents	10	
Fuel, light, etc	36	
House and boat oiling	20	
Tools and fertilizer	10	
Expenses in silk industry	50	203
II. Land tax		10
III. Periodic expenses (expressed in saving)		50
Total		$263

消费者自己生产的物品包括食物，例如米、油、麦子、蔬菜及部分衣料。自给经济最重要的部分是劳动和服务。如上所述，只有少数农户雇工种田。关于这方面的分析，将进一步结合生产过程来进行。

1．从市场购买的物品

食品……………………………………47

蔬菜和杂项……………………30

糖…………………………………5
盐…………………………………12
衣料……………………………………30
礼品……………………………………10
燃料、灯火等…………………………36
房屋及船上用油………………………20
农具及肥料……………………………10
蚕丝业开销……………………………50……203
2. 土地税…………………………………………10
3. 定期费用（以积蓄的形式表示）…………50
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总 计…………………………………263元

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[1] Decree Governing District Administration, Article 7, June, 1928.
[2] 《区自治施行法》第七条，1928年6月。
[3] Chinese Farm Economy, pp. 416–417.
[4] S. D. Gamble, How Chinese Families Live in Peiping, 1933, p. 200.
[5] 巴克：《中国农村经济》，第416–417页。
[6] 甘布尔：《北平的中国家庭是怎样生活的》，1933年，第200页。甘布尔：《北平的中国家庭是怎样生活的》，1933年，第200页。

CHAPTER VIII OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENTIATION

〔1〕 Agriculture as the Basic Occupation

In the process of consumption there are no essential classifications into which the villagers must be divided, but in the process of production occupational differentiation is found. According to the census, occupations are classified under four headings: (1) agriculture, (2) special occupations, (3) fishing, and (4) non-occupied.

These classes are not mutually exclusive. Persons not classified as agricultural may nevertheless be partly engaged in agricultural activities. Agriculture is the fundamental occupation common to nearly all the villagers except among the landless outsiders. The difference is only a matter of emphasis. Those who are classified under the heading of agriculture do not depend on land exclusively but are also engaged in raising silkworms and sheep, and in trade ventures. The fourth category includes households whose adult male members have died and where the widows or the children are living on the rent of the leased land but not through their own productive effort.

The occupation of a Chia is recorded in the census according to the occupation of its head. Members of the Chia may be engaged in different occupations—for example, the children of the store-keeper may be engaged in agriculture and the farmer's daughter engaged in industrial work in the town. This, however, is not indicated. The number of Chia in each category is given in the following table:

I. Agricultural	 274
II. Special occupations	 59
III. Fishing	 14
IV. Non-occupied	 13

Total	360

The above table shows clearly that more than two-thirds, or 76 per cent., of the total population are mainly engaged in agriculture. Owing to the limited time of my field work, my investigations were chiefly concerned with this group. A fuller analysis of the productive activities of the group will be given in the following chapters. Other occupational groups I can only describe briefly.

捌 职业分化

一、农业——基本职业

在消费过程中，没有必要把该村的居民进行分类，但在生产过程中，则有职业的区别。根据人口普查，有四种职业：（1）农业；（2）专门职业；（3）渔业；（4）无业。

这些职业类别并不是互相排斥的。没有被划入农业的人也可能参与部分的农业活动。除去无地的外来人以外，对几乎所有居民来说，农业是共同的基本职业，区别仅仅在于侧重面不同而已。被划归农业的人并不是只依赖于土地，他们还从事养蚕、养羊和经商。第四类人包含这样一些农户：成年男子业已死亡，寡妇和儿童靠出租的土地生活，而不是靠他们自己的生产劳动过日子。

在人口普查记录里，家庭的职业是根据一家之长的职业而定的。家庭的成员可以从事不同的职业，例如，店主的孩子可能从事农业，农民的女儿可以到城里的工厂工作。这些情况都没有表示出来。该村各类职业的家庭数字如下：

I. 农业…………………………………274
II. 专门职业……………………………59
III. 渔业…………………………………14
IV. 无业…………………………………13
总数……………………………360

上表清楚地说明，占人口总数三分之二以上即76%的人主要从事农业。由于实地调查的时间有限，我的调查工作主要是有关这个职业组的。下章再详细分析这个职业组的生产活动。其他职业组，我只能简单地描述一下。

（2） Special Occupations

A further analysis of the second category is given in the following table:

I. Engaged in special occupations in town	14
II. Silk spinners	6
III. Retail traders	10
IV. Agent boats	4
V. Crafts and professional services	25
Carpenters	4
Tailors	3
Staff members of the co-operative factory	3
Basket makers	2
Barbers	2
Millers	2
Operators of modern pumping machines	2
Mason	1
Midwife	1
Priest	1
Shoemaker	1
Silversmith	1
Weaver	1
Total	59

The first heading includes only those Chia whose heads are living in the town engaged in trade or in other occupations. The girls working in the silk factories outside are not included.

Silk spinners represent a special occupation. They work for the silk houses in the town, which collect the native raw silk from the villagers. The quality of the silk is irregular, and it must be sorted out by means of spinning before it can be exported or sold to the weaving factories. This sorting work is done by the villagers. The collectors distribute the raw material to the spinner and collect the silk again. Wages are paid according to the amount of work done.

A description of the retail traders and of the agent boats is given in the chapter on marketing (XIV–4–6).

二、专门职业

第二类的进一步分析，见下表：

I. 在城镇从事专门职业的…………………14
II. 纺丝工人…………………………………6
III. 零售商…………………………………10
IV. 航船………………………………………4
V. 手工业与服务行业………………………24
木匠…………………………4
裁缝…………………………3
合作丝厂职工………………3
篾匠…………………………2
理发匠………………………2
磨工…………………………2
抽水机操作者………………2
泥水匠………………………1
接生婆………………………1
和尚…………………………1
鞋匠…………………………1
银匠…………………………1
织工…………………………1
总 计………………………………………58

表中第一项，只包含那些家长在城里经商的家庭或家长从事其他职业，住在城里。不包括那些在村外丝厂工作的女工。

纺丝工人代表一种专门职业。他们为镇上的丝行工作，丝行从村民手里搜集土法缫制的生丝，质量不整齐，在出口或卖给丝织厂以前，必须通过反摇整理。这种整理工作由村民来做。丝行把原料分配给纺丝人，然后再收集起来，按照工作量给予工资。

零售商人和航船，在讨论贸易的一章中另作描述（第十四章第四节至第六节）。

The whole group of craftsmen and professional men includes only 7 per cent. of the total households in the village. This low percentage is striking. It is due firstly to the fact that such work is not exclusively specialized. Tailoring, shoemaking, and milling are common work in all households. Wood, bamboo, and mason's work of a crude type requires very little knowledge and skill and the necessary tools are found in most houses. The modern pumping machines are not in wide use, and are used mainly in time

of emergency. Childbirth does not always need expert help. In the above list, besides the work of the operators of the modern pumping machines, perhaps only the work of the barbers, the temple keeper, the priest, and the staff members of the co-operative factory is so specialized as not to be more usually undertaken by the farmers themselves.

Moreover, when the people need goods or services, they do not necessarily depend on the supply available in the village. Wood, bamboo, and metal articles of better quality can be bought from the town. Even the barber once complained to me that the villagers were gradually tending to have their heads shaved in the town. In the case of funeral ceremonies priests are sent for from distant temples. Serious cases of childbirth cannot be trusted to the village midwife.

All the outsiders living in the village are traders and craftsmen and form, in fact, one-third of the total number of that group (II–5). I have no information showing whether the trades and crafts were originally novel occupations introduced from outside, but there is good reason to suspect that new crafts are often introduced by their agents from outside. Since technical knowledge is usually transmitted through the kinship line, it is often not easily assimilated by the indigenous population. Moreover, even when the crafts are open for apprenticeship, parents who are able to provide their children with the opportunity of tilling land like to keep them on the farm. Land in the village is insufficient to support an increase of population. It is, therefore, difficult for an outsider to acquire land, and land in any case seldom comes into the market. Thus, as mentioned above, at present all the outsiders are landless and the only means for them to find a living is to engage in certain new crafts or in trades.

整个手工业和服务行业人员占这个村庄总户数的7%。这样低的百分比是惊人的。首先，这是由于这些行业还不完全是专业化的。缝纫、做鞋、碾磨等工作，是各户自己劳动的普通工作。比较粗糙的木工、竹工和泥水匠的工作不需非常专门的知识和技巧，所用工具在大多数住家中都自备。现代抽水机尚未被广泛使用，主要在紧急时用。生孩子也不一定需要专家的帮助。在上表中，除了现代抽水机操作者外，也许只有理发匠、和尚、庙宇看守人和合作丝厂的职工的工作比较专业化，农民自己不能兼任。

此外，人们不一定都要村里供应他们所需的物品或依赖这个村里的人来解决他们生活服务的问题。质量较好的木器、竹器或铁器可以在城

镇里买到。甚至于有一次理发匠对我抱怨说，村民逐渐倾向于到镇里去剃头了。有丧事时，人们往往到远处庙宇去请和尚。妇女难产时不能信托村里的接生婆来接生。

所有住在村里的外来人都是商人和手艺人，他们实际上占这个群体（第二章第五节）总人数的三分之一。关于商业和手艺是否原来就是从外面传来的一种新的职业，我手头没有资料可以说明这一点，但我们有理由猜想一些新的手工艺往往是通过某些渠道从外边引进的。由于技术知识通常是通过亲属关系传授，本地人不易很快地吸收这种知识。即使师傅可以公开传授手艺，但那些有条件让孩子们种地的父母仍愿意让他们种地。村子里的土地不足以提供额外人口谋生，因此，外来人很难获得土地，而且土地也很少在市场出售。所以，正如上面已提到的，目前，所有外来人都没有地，其谋生的唯一手段是从事某种新手艺或经商。

〔3〕Fishing

There are two groups of fishing households, differing in methods of fishing and in their residential areas. The first group, living at the west end of the village on *Yu* I and II, only follow fishing as a supplementary occupation. Their method is by nets and hooks. Their heavy work is in the winter. At that time, when agricultural work is at a pause, they start their large scale "circle fishing." Several boats co-operate together to form a team. Small hooks are hung close to each other on a strong and long rope, to which are added several heavy weights. The fishing team distribute themselves in a circle, letting the hooks sink into the bottom of the lake. In cold weather, especially when snow has fallen, the lake does not freeze, but the fish are all half-hibernated in the mud, and, as the hooks drag through the mud, the fish are easily gathered. This "circle fishing" is sometimes continued for several weeks and yields a large return. On ordinary days the fishermen spread their large nets in the water and collect fish from them several times a day. This kind of fishing can be done only by those whose houses are near the lake. That is the reason for the localization of this group in the area at the west end.

Shrimps are collected from the lake by a kind of trap, made of basketry. Shrimp trapping is a common occupation of those households which live near the lake. According to reports I gathered in the summer of 1935, there were forty-three boats engaged in this work. The traps are connected by cords to a long line and put into the water. Every four hours they are cleared, because the shrimps will die if they are allowed to remain too long in the traps, and dead shrimps are of less value on the market. The average income is one dollar per boat per day worked by two persons.

The other group of fishing households are found along the middle course of Stream B, on *Yu* II. These raise fishing birds, which will dive into water to catch fish. Raising and training these birds requires special knowledge which is transmitted in the family, and thus this occupation is hereditary. These families form a special group and co-operate with their fellow professional men even in other villages. Since they may need to go very far from the home village and the birds must be carefully sheltered at night, they form a super-

residential group based on their common professional interest. All the fishermen engaged in the same profession are obliged to extend their hospitality to their fellows.

三、渔业

有两类渔业户，他们的捕鱼方法不同，居住地区也不同。第一类渔户，住在村的西头，圩I、圩II，仅以捕鱼为副业。他们的捕鱼方法是用网和鱼钩。冬季工作较忙。那时，农活告一段落，他们便开始进行大规模的“围鱼”作业。几只船合作组成捕鱼队，在又粗又长的绳子上密挂小鱼钩，然后再加上一些重量，捕鱼队队员围成一个圈，把鱼钩沉入湖底。寒冷天气，特别是下雪以后，湖面不结冰，但鱼都在泥里冬眠，鱼钩在泥里拉过，很容易把鱼钩住。这样的“围鱼”作业有时持续数周，收获量颇大。平时，渔民撒大网捕鱼，一日数次。这种捕鱼方式只有那些住在湖边的居民才能采用。这也就是这群渔户局限在村西地区的原因。

虾是用一种竹编的捕虾篓从湖里捕捉。捕虾也是住在湖边的渔户的普遍职业。根据1935年夏我所收集的情况，共有43条船从事这项工作。捕虾篓用一条长长的绳索连结起来，放入水中。每四小时清一次篓子，因为时间过久，虾在篓里容易死去，死虾在市场上的价格低于活虾。两个渔民一条船，平均收入每天一元。

另一种渔户在B河中游沿岸圩II居住。这种渔民喂养会潜入水中捕鱼的鱼鹰。喂养和训练此种鸟需要专门知识，是由家庭传授的，因此是一种世袭的职业。这些家庭形成一个特殊群体，甚至与其他村里的同行渔民合作。由于他们需要到离本村较远的地方去，夜间鱼鹰需要细心保护，因此，这些渔民在共同的专业利益基础上形成了一个超村庄的群体。从事同一专业的渔民，对他们的同行都有友善招待的义务。

CHAPTER IX CALENDAR OF WORK

〔1〕 Systems of Time-Reckoning

To study the productive system of a community, it is necessary to investigate how their activities are regulated in time sequence. It is especially so in analysing a rural economy because crops are usually directly dependent on climatic conditions.

The knowledge of the seasonal cycle of the organic world is of practical importance to the people. Their activities in production are not individualistic and spontaneous. They need collective actions and preparations. They must know when the seeds can be germinated in order to determine the date of sowing. They must know how long it will take for the bud to develop into the young shoot, so that they can determine when they should prepare the soil and transplant the shoot into the main field. The knowledge of the right time for certain actions cannot be secured without a system of time-reckoning.

Recognition of time is not a result of philosophical contemplation or of astronomical curiosity. As Professor B. Malinowski has clearly pointed out, "a system of reckoning time is a practical, as well as sentimental, necessity in every culture, however simple. Members of every human group have the need of co-ordinating various activities of fixing dates for the future, of placing reminiscences in the past, of gauging the length of bygone periods and of those to come."[1]

The functional approach to the problem of time-reckoning leads us to examine the calendar in detail in order to see how the system regulates and is defined by the social activities.

The traditional calendar used in the village is based on the lunar system. The principle of the lunar system is as follows: the full moon is taken as the night of the fifteenth day of a month. Thus the number of days in each month is either twenty-nine or thirty. (The synodic lunar month consists of 29.53

days.) Twelve months will be counted as a year which contains 354.36 days. The total number of days fails to make the required total of 365.14 days a year for the solar system. An intercalary month is added every two or three years to make good the annual deficiency. But the seasonal cycle of the organic world is due more to the relation between the earth and the sun than to the relation between the earth and the moon. Although the two systems are adjusted in the long run by the intercalary month, the date of one system can never regularly correspond with that of the other.

玖 劳作日程

一、计时系统

为研究一个社区的生产体系必须要调查他们的各种活动在时间上是如何安排的。在分析农村经济时更需如此，因为庄稼通常直接依赖于气候条件。

有机世界的季节循环的知识，对人们有重要的现实意义。农民的生产活动不是个人自发的活动，他们需要集体的配合和准备。他们必须知道种子何时发芽以便确定播种日期，必须知道秧苗需要多长时间才能长成以便把土地准备好进行移植。如果没有农时的计算，就不能保证在正确的时间里采取某种行动。

辨认时间不是出于哲学考虑或对天文学好奇的结果。正如布·马林诺夫斯基教授已明确指出的："计时法不论如何简单，它是每一种文化的实际的需要，也是感情上的需要。人类每一群体的成员都需要对各种活动进行协调，例如为未来的活动选定日期，对过去的事进行追忆，对过去和未来时期的长短进行测量。"[2]

从功能上来研究计时问题，我们就必须仔细地观察一下历法，以便了解计时系统如何安排社会活动，这一系统又是如何由社会活动来表示的。

中国农村中使用的传统历法是以纪月系统为基础的阴历。它的原理如下：望日被视作一个月的第十五天的夜晚。因此，每一个月的天数是29或30天（实际上一个月历时为29.53天）。12个月为一年，共有354.36天，其总数与纪日系统的阳历365.14天为一年的数字不合。每隔两年或三年有一个闰月以补足每年缺少的天数。但是有机世界的季节循环更多地是遵循地球和太阳之间的关系，与地球和月亮之间的关系较小。虽然两种系统最后有闰月来调整，但这两种系统的日期永远不能有规律地一致起来。

The date in the lunar system does not indicate consistently the position of the earth with reference to the sun and consequently the seasonal climatic

changes. For example, supposing the people catch the right time for sowing at the seventeenth day of the fourth month this year, they will, owing to the intercalary month, be too late if they sow at the same date next year. The discrepancy between the lunar system and the seasonal cycle renders the former ineffective as a guide in time-reckoning in agricultural activities. This theoretical consideration leads to a further examination of the traditional calendar.

In the traditional calendar, in fact, there is an underlying solar system. It indicates the exact position of the earth in its solar orbit at various periods. The unit in this system is Chieh, meaning section or joint. The whole solar year is divided into twenty-four Chieh. The total number of days of the twenty-four Chieh in 1936 was 364.75. It shows that there is still a slight difference of 0.59 day with the synodic solar year. The principle in determining the Chieh system is not known to me. But in the old-type calendar book, one can always find that the exact time for the commencement of each Chieh is defined in terms of Shih (two-hour), K'ê (quarter-hour) and Fen (minute). The intercalation takes place in the slight variation between the lengths of different Chieh in different years. It therefore needs no special indication for it. The following table gives the name and the time of commencement of each Chieh in the year 1936.

Name of the Chieh	Traditional Calendar and Time	Western Calendar and Time
Li Ch'un (Beginning of Spring)*	13th of 1st month Ch'en Ch'u 3 K'ê	Feb. 5—7.45 a.m.
Yü Shui (Rain Water)	28th of 1st month Yin Ch'u 2 K'ê 10 Fen	Feb. 20—3.30 a.m.
Ching Che (Waking of Insects)	13th of 2nd month Ch'ou Ch'u 3 K'ê 12 Fen	March 6—1.57 a.m.
Ch'un Fen (Spring Equinox)	28th of 2nd month Yin Ch'u 3 Fen	March 21—3.3 a.m.
Ch'ing Ming (Pure Brightness)	14th of 3rd month Ch'en Ch'u 1 K'ê 2 Fen	April 5—7.17 a.m.
Ku Yü (Corn Rain)	29th of 3rd month Wei Chêng 1 K'ê 14 Fen	April 20—2.44 p.m.
Li Hsia (Beginning of Summer)	16th of 3rd (intercalary) month Ch'ou Ch'u 14 Fen	May 6—1.14 p.m.
Hsiao Man (Grain Full)	1st of 4th month Wei Chêng 1 K'ê 13 Fen	May 21—2.28 p.m.
Mang Chung	17th of 4th month	June 6—5.55 a.m.

(Grain in the Ear)	Mao Ch'u 3 K’ê 10 Fen	
Hsia Chih (Summer Solstice)	3rd of 5th month Hai Chêng 3 K’ê 4 Fen	June 21—10.49 p.m.
Hsiao Shu (Slight Heat)	19th of 5th month Shen Chêng 1 K’ê 11 Fen	July 7—4.26 p.m.
Ta Shu (Great Heat)	6th of 6th month Ssŭ Ch'u 3 K’ê 9 Fen	July 23—9.54 a.m.
Li Ch'iu (Beginning of Autumn)	22nd of 6th month Ch'ou Chêng 1 K’ê 5 Fen	Aug. 8—2.20 a.m.
Ch'u Shu (Stopping of Heat)	7th of 7th month Yu Ch'u	Aug. 23—5.0 p.m.
Pai Lu (White Dew)	23th of 7th month Mao Ch'u 13 Fen	Sept. 8—5.13 a.m.
Ch'iu Fen (Autumn Equinox)	8th of 8th month Wei Chêng 2 K’ê	Sept. 23—2.30 p.m.
Han Lu (Cold Dew)	23rd of 8th month Hsü Chêng 2 K’ê 8 Fen	Oct. 8—8.38 p.m.
Shuang Chiang (Frost's Descent)	9th of 9th month Tzŭ Ch'u 2 K’ê	Oct. 23—11.30 p.m.
Li Tung (Beginning of Winter)	24th of 9th month Tzŭ Ch'u 1 K’ê 4 Fen	Nov. 7—11.19 p.m.
Hsiao Hsüeh (Slight Snow)	9th of 10th month Hsü Chêng 2 K’ê	Nov. 22—8.30 p.m.
Ta Hsüeh (Great Snow)	24th of 10th month Shen Ch'u 2 K’ê 3 Fen	Dec. 7—3.33 p.m.
Tung Chih (Winter Solstice)	9th of 11th month Ssuˇ Ch'u 11 Fen	Dec.22—9.11 a.m.
Hsiao Han (Slight Cold)	24th of 11th month Ch'ou Chêng 10 Fen	Jan. 6—2.10 a.m.
Ta Han (Great Cold)	8th of 12th month Hsü Ch'u 1 K’ê 7 Fen	Jan. 20—7.22 p.m.
Li Ch'un (Beginning of Spring)	23rd of 12th month Wei Ch'u 2 K’ê 4 Fen	Feb. 4—1.34 p.m.

*The translations follow Derk Bodde, Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking, 1935, p. 107.

阴历的日期不能始终如一地说明地球对太阳的相对位置，因而也不能表明季节性气候的变化。譬如说，假定今年人们抓住了正确的播种时间——四月十七，但由于闰月的关系，他们明年如果在同一天播种，就为时太晚了。阴历和季节循环两者之间的不一致性，使得阴历在农事活动中不能作为一种有效的推算农作物生长期的指南。这种理论上的考虑必然引导人们进一步来考察传统的历法。

实际上，在传统历法中，有一种潜在的纪日系统。它表明各个时期地球在其太阳轨道中的确切位置。这一系统中的单位是“节”，意思是“段”或“接头”。整个太阳历年分成24个节。1936年24个节的总天数为364.75天。这说明实际上一个年度的时间仍有微弱的0.59天之差。我不知道定节气的原理，但在旧历本中可以找到每个节气开始的准确时间，它是用时辰（两小时）、刻（四分之一小时）和分（分钟）为单位来表示的。在不同年份里不同节气的长短上，闰期的变化微小，因此不需要特殊的说明。下表为1936年每个节气开始的时间和节气的名称。

节气名称	传统历及时间	西历及时间
立春*	正月十三 辰初三刻	2月5日晨7点45分
雨水	正月二十八 寅初二刻十分	2月20日晨3点40分
惊蛰	二月十三 丑初三刻十二分	3月6日晨1点57分
春分	二月二十八 寅初三分	3月21日晨3点3分
清明	三月十四 辰初一刻二分	4月5日晨7点17分
谷雨	三月二十九 未正一刻十四分	4月20日下午2点29分
立夏	三月（闰月）十六 丑初十四分	5月6日下午1点14分
节气名称	传统历及时间	西历及时间
小满	四月初一 未正一刻十三分	5月21日下午2点28分
芒种	四月十七 卯初三刻十分	6月6日晨5点55分
夏至	五月初三 亥正三刻四分	6月21日晚10点49分
小暑	五月十九 申正一刻十一分	7月7日下午4点26分
大暑	六月初六 巳初三刻九分	7月23日上午9点54分
立秋	六月二十二 丑正一刻五分	8月8日晨2点20分
处暑	七月初七 酉初	8月23日下午5点
白露	七月二十三 卯初十三分	9月8日晨5点15分
秋分	八月初八 未正二刻	9月23日下午2点30分

寒露	八月二十三 戌正二刻八分	10月8日上午8点38分
霜降	九月初九 子初二刻	10月23日晚11点30分
立冬	九月二十四 子初一刻四分	11月7日晚11点19分
小雪	十月初九 戌正二刻	11月22日晚8点30分
大雪	十月二十四 申初二刻三分	12月7日下午3点33分
冬至	十一月初九 巳初十一分	12月22日上午9时11分
小寒	十一月二十四 丑正十分	1月6日晨2点10分
大寒	十二月初八 戌初一刻七分	1月20日下午7点22分
立春	十二月二十三 未初二刻四分	2月4日下午1点34分

*翻译依照卜德所译的《燕京岁时记》，1935年，第107页。

The Western solar calendar has been also introduced into the village since it has been adopted as the legal system. It differs again from the traditional solar system because it takes a round day as a unit and consequently has a regular intercalary system. Thus they cannot have exact corresponding dates in different years.

〔2〕Three Calendars

These three calendars are all used by the villagers. But each has its own function and is used in its own particular context. The Western system is used in connection with those newly introduced institutions such as the school, the co-operative factory, and the administrative office. These institutions have to adjust their work with the outside world where the Western system is employed.

The traditional lunar system has its widest use in such situations as remembering sentimental events and making practical engagements. It serves as a system of names for the dates in the traditional social activities. In the sphere of religious activities, the lunar system is largely used. Regular sacrifices are offered to the kitchen god on the first and fifteenth day of each month. The people visit temples and observe vegetarian ritual also on these dates. Ceremonies of ancestral worship are carried out on the dates of birth and death of the ancestors and on regular festivals; though among the festivals some of them are regulated according to the traditional solar system.

The traditional solar system is used not as a system of dates but of climatic changes. With this general system, each locality can adjust its calendar of work according to its local conditions.

This system is used chiefly in reference to productive work. Beside daily conversations, the following folk song will document this statement:

Balou ba mimi . . . . Pai Lu white indistinctly (referring to the blossoms of the rice).

Tchiu fen da shiou tchi . . . . Ch'iu Fen rice bears fruit completely.

Tson gian gjien tzao da . . . . Shuang Chiang reap early rice.

Li dong i tchi dao . . . . Li Tung all completely fall.

A part of a letter from my informant can also be quoted:

"People in the village have two periods of leisure every year. The first period is in the autumn from Ch'u Shu to Han Lu and lasts about two months. … The second period is in the winter from Ta Hsüeh to the end of the year, also covering two months. During this leisure time, we go out for trade ventures."

既然西方的阳历是法定通行的，自然也传入乡村，它又与传统的纪日系统的节气有区别，因为它以一个整天作为单位，所以有一个规则的闰日方法。这两种历法不同年份相应的日期不同。

二、三种历法

这三种历法均被村里的人们采用。但各有各的作用，西历通常在新建的机构如学校、合作工厂和行政办公室里使用。这些机构必须与使用西历的外界协调工作。

传统的阴历最广泛使用在记忆动感情的事件以及接洽实际事务等场合。它被用作传统社会活动日的一套名称。在宗教活动上，人们也广泛使用阴历。每月初一及十五要定期祭祀灶神。人们还在这两个日子里去庙宇拜佛或吃素斋。在祖先的生日、忌日和固定的节日要祭祖，但有些节日是根据传统的节气来安排的。

传统的节气并不是用作记日子的，而是用来记气候变化的。有了这一总的系统，每个地方可根据当地情况来安排农活日程。

这个系统主要用于生产劳动。除日常谈话外，下列歌谣说明了它的作用：

白露白迷迷（指稻花开）

秋分稻秀齐

霜降剪早稻

立冬一齐倒

向我提供情况的人曾来一信，也可引述其中一段：

“村里的人，每年有两个清闲的时期，第一个阶段是在秋天，从处暑到寒露，为时约两个月。……第二阶段是在冬天，从大雪到年底，也是两个月，在这农闲季节，我们出去经商。”

The villagers remember and predict their sequence of work in terms of the traditional solar system. But this system cannot stand alone because it is very difficult to understand without a system of dating. The system of date in the village is the lunar calendar. The people have to learn what is the corresponding date for each section in different years. For instance in the above table, the first Li Ch'un is on the 13th of the 1st month and the second is on the 23rd of the 12th month. Therefore it is also correct to say that the lunar calendar regulates the sequence of work of the people through the

Chieh system.

The villagers do not arrange their calendar themselves. They simply follow the published calendar in the form of a little red booklet bought from the town. The principle of these systems is not understood by them. They even do not know where the calendar is issued and who is the authority. Since the government prohibited the traditional calendar, publication of these booklets has been illegal. I was not able to find out who was the publisher responsible.

The government's action had not in any sense affected the popularity and prestige of the booklet. It is to be found in any house and in most cases it is the only book in the house. It is usually put on the stove before the kitchen god, and regarded as a kind of amulet. It is consulted not only for arranging work but also for various social activities and personal affairs. In the booklet, each day has a column indicating those things which are lucky or unlucky. For illustration I give a few columns below:

March 1st (1936), Sunday; 8th of 2nd month.

Birthday of Chang Ta Ti (God of flood).

Good for: Offering sacrifice, praying, asking for posterity, making petitions, visiting relatives, trading, accepting office, arranging marriage, offering marriage gifts, weddings, entering new houses, changing lodging, tailoring, mending buildings, laying foundations, fixing beams, mending storerooms, opening market, making contracts, opening storerooms, planting, breaking soil, burying dead.

Bad for: Thatching roof, introducing water to the field, hunting.

March 2nd, Monday; 9th of 2nd month.

Good for: Visiting relatives and friends, catching animals.

Bad for: Making accusations in court, curing diseases, taking medicine.

(Plants begin to bud.)

农民用传统的节气来记忆、预计和安排他们的农活。但节气不能单独使用，因为没有推算日期的办法，在使用上有困难。农村用阴历来算日子。人们必须学习每年各个节气的相应日期。例如上表所示，第一个立春是在正月十三日，而第二个立春则在十二月二十三日。因此，也可以这样说，阴历通过节气系统来安排人们的工作顺序。

历本并非村民自己编排，他们只是从城镇买来一红色小册子，根据出版的历本来进行活动。他们也不懂其历法的原理，他们甚至不知道历本是哪里发行或经谁批准的。因政府禁止传统历，出版这些小册子是非法的。我未能找到谁是负责的出版者。

然而政府的行动丝毫没有影响小册子的普及和声誉。在任何一家人的房屋中都可以找到这本册子，而且在绝大多数情况下，这往往是家中唯一的一本书。人们通常将它放在灶神爷前面，把它当作一种护身符。不仅在安排工作时，而且在进行各种社会活动和私人事务的时候，农民都要查询这本历书。在历书中，每一天有一栏专门说明哪些事在这一天做吉利，哪些事不吉利。我列举数栏说明如下：

三月一日（1936年），星期日；阴历二月初八

张大帝（洪水之神）生日。

宜祭祀，祈福求嗣，还愿，会亲友，经商，上官赴任，结婚姻，行聘，嫁娶，迁入新宅，移徙，裁衣，修造，竖柱上梁，修店铺，开市，立券，开仓库，栽种，破土，安葬。

不宜用茅草铺盖房顶，灌田，行猎。

三月二日，星期一；阴历二月初九

宜会亲友，捕捉畋猎。

不宜诉讼，求医疗病。

（植物发芽）

March 16th, Monday; 23rd of 2nd month.

Good for nothing.

Bad for everything.

March 27th, Friday; 5th of 3rd month.

Good for: Taking a bath, fishing, catching animals, clearing houses.

Bad for: Fixing a bed, buying land and other properties.

(Beginning of thunder.)

It is not true that people always follow the advice of the column. But they actually consult the booklet in such activities as building houses, arranging marriages, starting long trips, etc. They generally distinguish "good day" and "bad day" according to the length of the column of "good for." They

avoid taking any important and adventurous activities on these bad days, especially those which are explicitly stated as "good for nothing." At the end of the column every few days, there is an item, given in parentheses, indicating certain recurrent natural phenomena such as "Plants begin to bud" and "Beginning of thunder," etc. It is an additional system of reckoning time by recurrent natural phenomena.

〔3〕Time-Table of Economic and Other Social Activities

With these systems of time reckoning, we are now able to tabulate the time-table of various economic and social activities in the village. It will serve as a system of reference for the further analysis. Explanations for specific items will be given elsewhere in their appropriate connections.

三月十六日，星期一；阴历二月二十三

诸事不宜。

三月二十七日，星期五；阴历三月初五

宜沐浴，畋猎取鱼，扫舍宇。

不宜安床，买地纳财。

（开始雷鸣）

农民并非完全按照栏内所列的忠告行事。但盖房、安排婚事、开始长途旅行等事，他们确实要查询此种历本。他们根据栏内所列吉利的事情多少，笼统地区别“宜”或“不宜”的日子。他们避免在“不宜”的日子——特别是那些表明“诸事不宜”的日子——进行重要的冒风险的活动。每隔数天，在这一栏的末尾有一项括号内的说明，如“植物发芽”和“开始雷鸣”等。这是用周期性的自然现象来推算时间的一种附加系统。

三、经济活动和其他社会活动时间表

有了以上的这些计时系统，我们便能列出村庄各种经济和社会活动的时间表。它可供进一步分析作参考。对某些具体项目，将在其他恰当的有关之处再作一些解释。

Other Social and Religious Activities According to Section System	Agriculture	Silk Industry	Section System	Climate (in Shanghai) Temp. (F.)	Climate (in Shanghai) Rain (mm.)	Western Solar System	Lunar System	Other Social and Religious Activities According to Lunar System
Sacrifice to kitchen god	Wheat: Rapeseed		Li Ch'un	39°	57	Feb.	I	1st: New Year, Sacrifice to Buddha, Reception of new kitchen god, Visiting temples. 1st–8th: Men visiting relatives. 8th–15th: Women visiting relatives. 5th: Sacrifice to god of wealth 10th–30th: Good for wedding.
			Yü Shui					
			Ching Che	46°	70	March	II	
Sacrifice to kitchen god			Ch'un Fen					
Prohibition of house building: Sacrifice to ancestors and god of silkworms, Visiting tombs, Sacrifice to kitchen god, Rejoicing feast, Visiting relatives' silkworms		Main crop: Hatching eggs	Ch'ing Ming	56°	90	April	III	
		Third exuviæ	Ku Yü					
		Cocoons	Li Hsia	65°	90	May	III (Intercalary)	Funeral preparation for old people in the intercalary month.
	1st busy agricultural period: Sowing seeds, Young shoot in nursery farm, Preparation in main farm		Hsiao Man					
		Domestic reeling	Mang Chung	73°	166	June	IV	
	Transplantation	Second crop	Hsia Chih					5th: Tuan Yang, rejoicing feast, sacrifice to kitchen god.
	Weeding and irrigation		Hsiao Shu	80°	127	July	V	

按节气进行的其他社会活动与宗教活动	农业	丝业	节气	气候（上海）温度（华氏）	气候（上海）雨量（毫米）	西方的阳历	阴历月份	按阴历进行的其他社会活动和宗教活动
祭灶神	麦：油菜籽		立春	39	57	2月	一	初一：新年，祭菩萨，迎灶神上庙拜佛 初一至初八：男人探亲戚 初八至十五：女人探亲戚 初五：祭财神 初十至三十：吉利的婚日
			雨水					
			惊蛰	46	70	3月	二	
祭灶神			春分					
禁止造房屋：祭祖宗和蚕神 扫墓 祭灶神 欢宴 探亲戚的蚕		主要的一批：孵化蚕种 第三次蚕蜕 蚕茧	清明	56	90	4月	三	
			谷雨					
			立夏	65	90	5月	三（闰）	在闰月为老人准备葬礼
			小满					
	第一农忙时节：播种 育秧苗 主要农田准备 插秧 除草和灌溉	家庭抽丝	芒种	73	166	6月	四	
		第二批	夏至					
			小暑	80	127	7月	五	初五：端阳，欢宴，祭灶神

Other Social and Religious Activities According to Section System	Agriculture	Silk Industry	Section System	Climate (in Shanghai) Temp. (F.)	Rain (mm.)	Western Solar System	Lunar System	Other Social and Religious Activities According to Lunar System
First trading venture	Agricultural interval		Ta Shu				VI	3rd, 15th, and 23rd: Sacrifice to kitchen god.
			Li Ch'iu	80°	148	August		
	Rice in blossom		Ch'u Shu				VII	
	Rice bears fruit		Pai Lu	73°	118	Sept.		3rd: Birthday of kitchen god, sacrifice.
			Ch'iu Fen				VIII	15th: Chung Ch'iu, full moon, rejoicing feast. 24th: Birthday of kitchen goddess, sacrifice.
			Han Lu	63°	73	Oct.		9th: Ch'ung Yang, rejoicing feast, sacrifice to kitchen god.
	Second period of busy work in agriculture: Reaping, Husking		Shuang Chiang				IX	
			Li Tung	52°	46	Nov.		1st: Sacrifice to ancestors' new rice.
	Storing, Selling; Wheat		Hsiao Hsüeh				X	
Second trading venture: Sacrifice to ancestors			Ta Hsüeh	42°	29	Dec.		
			Tung Chih				XI	
			Hsiao Han	38°	54	Jan.		24th: Farewell sacrifice to kitchen god.
			Ta Han				XII	30th: Sacrifice to ancestors.

按节气进行的其他社会活动与宗教活动	农业	丝业	节气	气候（上海）温度（华氏）	气候（上海）雨量（毫米）	西方的阳历	阴历月份	按阴历进行的其他社会活动和宗教活动
第一次外出经商	农闲：稻开花、稻秀穗		大暑	80	127	7月	六	初三、十五及二十三：祭灶神
			立秋	80	148	8月		
			处暑				七	
			白露	73	118	9月	八	初三：灶神爷生日，祭祀；十五：中秋，满月，欢宴；二十四：灶神娘生日，祭祀
			秋分					
	第二个农忙时节：收割、碾米、储藏、出售		寒露	63	73	10月		
第二次外出经商；祭祀祖宗			霜降				九	初九：重阳，欢宴，祭灶神
	麦		立冬	52	46	11月	十	初一：新稻登场，先祭祖宗
			小雪					
			大雪	42	29	12月	十一	
			冬至					
			小寒	28	54	1月	十二	二十四：送灶神爷；三十：祭祖宗
			大寒					

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[1] "Lunar and Seasonal Calendar in the Trobriands," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LVII, pp. 203–215.

[2] 《特罗布里恩德群岛的阴历和季节历》，载《皇家人类学会杂志》，第57卷，第203–215页。

CHAPTER X AGRICULTURE

The importance of agriculture in the village economy has been shown in the above pages. More than two-thirds of the households are engaged mainly in this occupation. Nearly eight months are spent in work on the land. And for foodstuffs the people are entirely dependent on the produce of their own farms. Thus in a study of the problem of production, agriculture must come first in view.

The term agriculture is used here only in a narrow sense, and refers to the use of the land for cultivating desirable crops. The study of how the land is used must start with an analysis of the land itself. The chemical composition of the soil, the topography of the land and the climate—all these are conditions governing agriculture. It is also necessary to know the biological nature of the crop. But these analyses, essential as they are, demand special knowledge which an anthropologist does not usually possess. However, the land that enters into agriculture is more than a natural entity. It has been transformed by culture into farms. Moreover, what immediately directs human labour in agriculture is the knowledge about the land and the crop possessed by the people themselves as expressed in their technology and beliefs.

To start our analysis from the material substratum we will first attempt a description of the farm. The lay-out of the farm, based on technical considerations, has far-reaching effects on the organization of labour, on land tenure, and on the kinship organization. The study of it will be the best introduction to these more intricate aspects of the relation between man and land.

〔1〕Lay-out of the Farm

The lay-out of the farm depends on what kind of crop the people select for cultivation. In this village the chief crops cultivated are rice, rapeseeds and wheat. Rice starts in June and ends at the beginning of December. It is the main crop. After this crop a part of the higher land can be used for cultivating wheat and rapeseeds. But these two crops are only supplementary. The produce is only enough for domestic consumption.

More than 90 per cent. of the land is used for these crops. Along the margin of each *yu*, ten to thirty metres of land is left for plantation of mulberry trees and a wider space for house building. This land on the margin is higher. It also serves as a dyke for the farm.

拾 农业

农业在这个村子经济中的重要性，已经在以上章节中显示出来。这村有三分之二以上的农户主要从事农业。一年中有八个月用来种地。农民的食物完全依赖自己田地的产品。因此，要研究生产问题，首先必须研究农业问题。

本章所使用的农业一词，只是从它的狭义说的，指的是使用土地来种植人们想要种的作物。要研究如何使用土地，必须先分析土地本身。土壤的化学成分、地形和气候都是影响农业的条件。我们也需要了解谷物的生物性质。这些分析尽管比较重要，所需要的专门知识却往往是人类学者所不具备的。然而，农业占用的土地不只是自然实体，文化把土地变成了农田。此外，在农业中，直接指导人类劳动的是人们自身掌握的关于土地和谷物的知识，通过技术和信仰表现出来。

从分析物质基础开始，我们首先来描述一下这个村子的农田。根据技术需要出发的农田安排，对劳力组织、土地所有权和亲属组织都有深远的影响。研究这个问题对进一步研究人与土地关系问题的各个复杂的方面将是最好的开始。

一、农田安排

农田的安排取决于农民选择种植哪一种作物。这个村农业的主要作物是水稻、油菜籽和小麦。水稻的种植期从6月开始，12月初结束，这是主要农作物。收稻以后，部分高地可用来种小麦和油菜籽。但后两种仅是补充性的农作物，其产量仅够家庭食用。

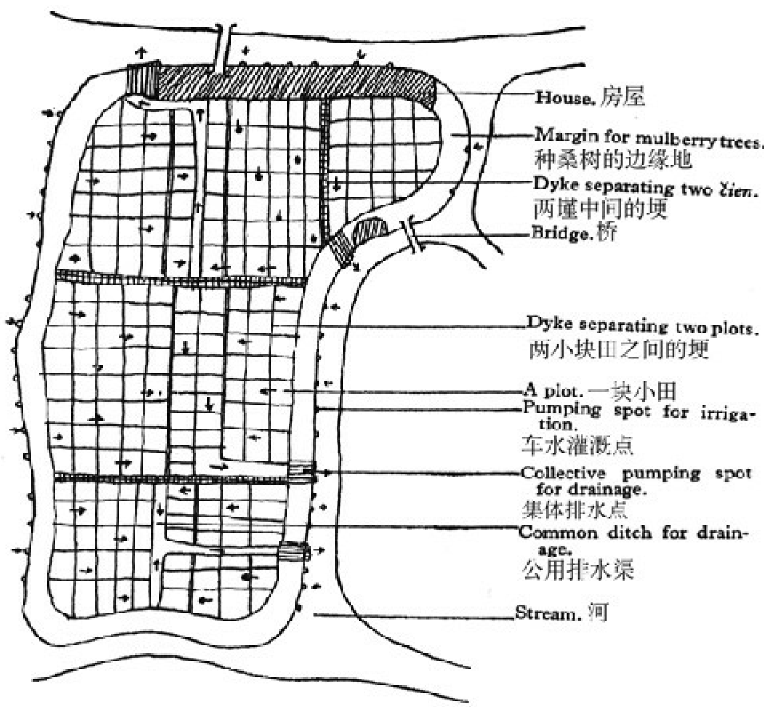
村里90%以上的土地种植上述这些农作物。沿着每一圩的边缘，留有10～30米的土地种桑树，有三个圩再留一块大一些的空地盖房屋。在边缘的土地较高，也用作农田的堤堰。

The land used for the growing of crops is divided into farms. Rice cultivation requires a regular supply of water. Thus the lay-out of the farm depends on the measures for water regulation.

My informant said: "Water is the most important thing in the farm. The rice will die if the soil begins to break due to dryness and it will also die if water covers its 'eye'." The "eye" of the rice is the upper joint of the leaf with the stalk. When this point is covered by water, according to local opinion, the rice will wither within six or seven days. It may not perhaps be strictly true that this point in the rice plant is so vulnerable; nevertheless the "eye" is used as a mark for the proper level of water in the farm. This level must be adjusted to the growth of the rice and effort must be made to irrigate the farm when the level is too low and to drain it when the level is too high. Water regulation is one of the main tasks in agriculture and dictates the topography of the farm.

The land is divided up by streams into tiny pieces which are called *yu*. Each *yu* is surrounded by water. The accessibility to water of each particular farm depends on its location in the *yu*. The farther one goes into the centre of the *yu*, the more difficult is it to get supplies of water from the stream. In order to make it possible for the centre part to obtain water, the levels of the *yu* must be graded like a dish. But this dish-shaped surface creates a difficulty in the storage of water. The water tends to find its level and, instead of there being an equal distribution of water over the farm, there will be a pool in the centre with the marginal land left dry. Dykes, therefore, have to be constructed, parallel to the margin. Another difficulty is that water must be

brought in from the lower level of the stream. Pumps must be used to carry the water up to the higher level. To fix the pump, a spot must be selected along the bank and a ditch is dug out leading to the interior parts. Each strip of land, depending on water supplies from the same pumping spot, is marked out by dykes per-pendicular to the margin. These two kinds of dykes, crossing each other, divide the farm into small pieces which are called *be* or plots.



MAP IV Lay-out of the Farms in Hsi Chang Yu
地图IV 西长圩农田的安排

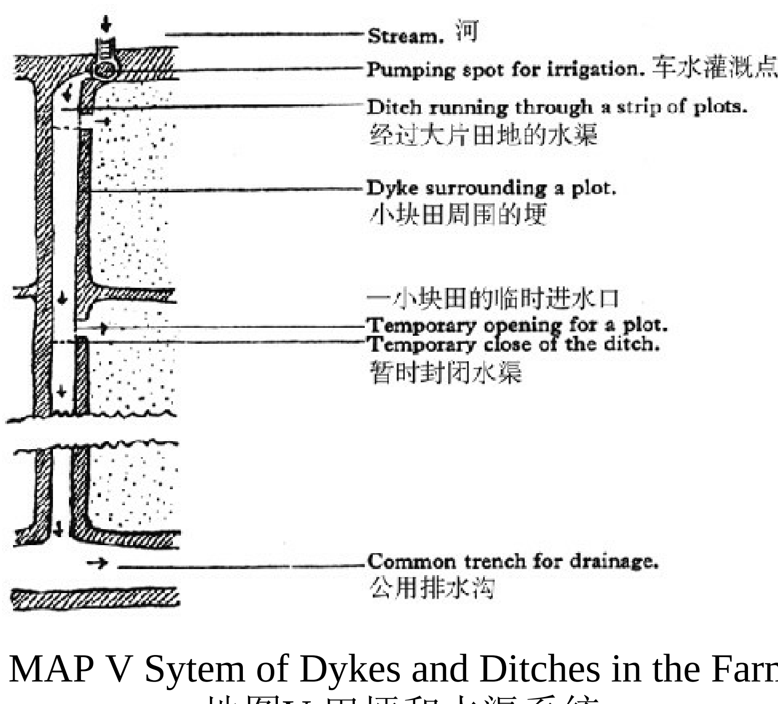
种庄稼的土地被分成若干农田。由于种水稻需要定期供水，因此农田安排还取决于水利管理措施。

向我提供情况的人说："水是农田中最重要的东西。如果土壤干裂，稻就会枯死，如果水太多，淹过稻'眼'时，稻又会淹死。"稻"眼"即上方叶和茎的接节点。当地人认为，这部分被淹了，六七天之内，稻就枯萎。把稻的这一部位说得如此脆弱，未必那么真实。但稻"眼"确实被用作标志稻田中水多水少的一个基准。必须按照稻的长势调节水面，水位太低时进行灌溉，太高时则及时排水。水的管理是农业中的一件主要任务，它决定农田的地形。

土地被河流分割成小块，称作"圩"。每一圩周围是水。每一块农田

得水机会的多少视这块农田在圩中的位置而异。圩正中间的一块田离河最远，被灌溉的机会也最少。为使中间的农田得到足够的水，人们必须把圩的土地平整得犹如一个碟子。但碟状土地表面又为储水带来困难。水总是趋向水平面，因此农田不能得到水的平均分配，反而中间形成水塘，边缘土地干旱。所以必须筑起与土地边缘平行的田埂。另一个困难是必须从较低的河流中将水引到较高的田地中来。这样，便必须用水车。人们在河岸上选择一个地点，安装好水车，同时还要挖一道水渠以便将水引到里面的稻田。靠这一车水点供水的每一大片田地，还要有与边缘相垂直的田埂。两种田埂相互交叉，把农田分成小块，称作小块田或“爿”。

Within each plot, the level must be even in order that there should be an equal distribution of water. This is a frequent cause of dispute among cultivators of the same plot when it is not owned by the same Chia. There is a common ditch running through each strip, and each plot in a strip has an outlet to it. When the farmers introduce water to the plots, they start from the marginal plot. They close the ditch just below the outlet of the particular plot so that the water runs onto it. When it is sufficiently irrigated, they close the outlet and open the ditch to irrigate the next plot in the same way. They go on until the last. Thus the strip is the unit of irrigation (Map V).



MAP V Sytem of Dykes and Ditches in the Farm
地图V 田埂和水渠系统

When there is too much water on the farm, due to over-abundance of rainfall, the system used for irrigation cannot be used for drainage because the water does not flow from the lower centre to the higher margin. A big trench has therefore to be constructed in the lowest part of the whole dish-shaped *yu*. This collects the surplus water from all the strips and pumps are fixed at the end of the trench for draining it away. The different system in irrigation and drainage calls for different organization of work, as we shall show presently.

The difficulty involved in the problem of drainage, purely from the technical point of view, is the size of the *yu*. The size is determined by the natural distribution of streams. It varies enormously. For instance, in the village we are describing there are eleven *yu* which vary from eight *mow* to more than nine hundred *mow* (II–2). The bigger the size, the more difficult it becomes to fit it into the process of collective drainage. To meet the need of urgent and efficient work, the big *yu* must be divided into smaller drainage units, which are called ˇ*cien*. Larger dykes are con-structed to separate ˇ*cien* from one another. These dykes are also used as the main roads in the farm.

The plan of the lay-out of the farm is illustrated in Map IV. It is much simplified but sufficient to show the principles just described.

每小块田的高低必须相同，以便能得到平均的灌溉。小块田的所有权如果不属同一个家，那么耕种者之间常常因灌水发生争执。每一片田地有一条共同的水渠通过，在每片田地的小块田间有一个通水口。农民引水进田时，先从边缘的小块田开始。在一小块田的进水口处下面把水渠堵住，这样水便流入这小块田地。水灌足后便堵住这一进水口，打开水渠再灌溉下一块田地。这样继续下去直到最后一块田浇灌完毕。一片田地为一个灌溉单位（见地图V）。

雨水多的时候，这一灌溉系统不能把田里多余的水排出，因为水不能从较低的田中央往较高的田边缘流出。所以必须在整个碟形圩地的最低部分挖一水沟。它汇集了各大片田里多余的水，水沟终端装部水车把水排出。接着，我们将看到灌溉和排水需要不同的社会组织工作。

单纯从技术观点来看，排水问题的困难主要是各圩面积大小不等的问题。圩的大小取决于河流天然分布的情况，大小相差极大。例如，这个村里有11个圩，大小从8亩至900余亩不等（第二章第二节）。圩的面积越大，将它纳入集体排水系统的困难越多。为适应紧急需要并提高工作效率，大圩必须分成较小的排水单位，称“墐”，各“墐”之间筑了较大

的埂。也是农田里的主要道路。

农田安排平面图，如地图IV所示。图比实际情况简单得多，但足以说明刚才描述的情况。

〔2〕Rice Cultivation

The land is mainly, not exclusively, used for the cultivation of rice. The present study will be restricted to this aspect.

Rice cultivation starts in June. A small piece of ground is prepared as a nursery for the young shoots. Seeds are sown in the nursery. In about one month the rice has grown to about thirty centimetres in length. During this period the young shoots do not need much space but require more care in water regulation. It is thus convenient and economical to keep them in a small space while the main field is under preparation.

Before the young shoots can be transplanted into the main field, the soil must be prepared. Preparation consists of breaking, refining and levelling the soil, and then of irrigation. All the work is done by human labour. One characteristic of the agricultural work in this region is the absence of animal labour. As we shall see later, the size of the farm is small and the holding of each household is scattered in such widely separated places, that animal labour cannot be used. The farmers use only the implement called *tid'a*, which is an iron hoe with four teeth, fixed on a wooden stick about a man's height. These form a slight acute angle. Holding the implement by the end of the stick, the workman swings the hoe behind his back and over his head. The teeth strike with a considerable momentum and penetrate into the soil at a sharp angle. By pulling the hoe backwards, he is able to break the soil pressing on the teeth. Ploughs are not used in the village.

The surface of the soil, after having been broken, is rough and uneven. The second step is to refine the soil and to level the surface. The same implement is used in these processes. It takes about four days for the preliminary preparation of each *mow* of land by one man.

At this stage water is introduced onto the land. Dykes and ditches must be first examined and repaired if necessary. The water is introduced from the stream by a pump. A pump consists of a long, rectangular, box-like three-sided wooden tube in which there is a series of valves, made of small wooden plates connected by a chain of movable sections and forming a circle. The small valves touch the three sides of the tube and thus form a series of small

empty squares in the tube. The chain is connected by a pivot to the wheel. When the farmer tramps on the projections of the wheel, the chain of valves revolve in a circle. The lower end of the tube is fixed in the water and the upper end opens towards a little pool leading to the ditches. The small squares, formed by the valves and the sides of the tube, will be filled with water at the lower end. The revolving of the chain of valves in the tube carries the water contained in the small squares up to the upper end. As soon as a valve reaches the upper end, the direction of its movements turn upwards and the water falls into the pool. The water is brought up to the pool not through the differential air pressure but through the movement of the valves.

二、种稻

田地主要用来种稻，但不完全是种稻。目前只限于研究种稻这一方面。

6月开始种稻。先准备好一小块田地育秧，把种子撒在秧田里。约一个月以后，稻子长出30厘米长的嫩秧。这一时期稻秧不需要大的间隔，只是在浇灌方面需要细心调节。在小块田地上育秧，同时在大块田地上做准备工作，这样比较方便、经济。

移秧之前必须作好以下准备：翻地、耙地、平地，然后是灌溉。一切工作都是人力做的。这个地区农业劳动的一个特点就是不用畜力。下面我们将看到，农田较小，每户的土地又是如此分散，以致不能使用畜力。农民只用一种叫做“铁鎝”的工具，它的木把有一人高，铁耙上有四个齿，形成一个小锐角。农民手握木把的一端，把耙举过头先往后，再往前甩，铁齿由于甩劲插入泥土，呈一锐角，然后向后拉耙，把土翻松。这个村子不用犁。

翻地以后，土块粗，地面不平。第二步就是耙细和平地，使用同一工具。一个人翻耙平整一亩地需要四天。

这一阶段要引水灌溉，必要时需检修田埂和水渠。用水车从河流车水。水车有一个长方盒形的、三面用木板做成的管道，木管内有一系列用小木片做成的阀，由活动的链条连在一起形成一个环。小阀接触三面木头的管道便在管内形成一系列方形空间，链条通过枢轴与一个轮子相连。农民踏动轮旁的踏脚板时阀链便按圆环形转动。木管的下部置入水中，上部打开，对着一个通向水渠的小水塘。由阀和木管三面形成的小方空间在下端充满了水，阀链转动时便将水带上来，流入水塘。水并非通过空气压力的差别带入塘内，而是由于阀的转动把水带到水塘。

The implement is not very efficient in carrying water to the upper level. The squares formed by the valves and the sides of the tube can never be very tight and the friction is high. It takes about one day to fill one *mow* with ten or more centimetres above the land surface. The inefficiency of irrigation creates a difference in the value of the successive plots in each strip. As I have shown above, the water flows from the margin to the centre passing through successive plots. When water is needed, the central plot must wait

until the marginal plot has been irrigated; and when there is too much water, the central plot must remain longer under water while the margin is drained. The length of time spent in waiting for irrigation and for drainage depends on the efficiency of the pump. The unsatisfactory system of irrigation and drainage is certainly a factor in reducing the amount of produce. It is also responsible for a difference in land value. The difference between the marginal plot and the central plot sometimes amounts to ten dollars or one-fifth of the average value of the land.

In the past two years, two air pumps, run by motor engines, have been introduced into the village. One is owned by an individual and the other by the co-operative factory. A fee is charged per *mow* for the regulation of water during the whole year. This collectivizes the irrigation process and specializes the work. However, these machines have not yet been widely used, mainly because the labour saved by the machine has not yet found any productive use. From the point of view of the villagers, they still prefer working on the old pump to paying a fee and being themselves idle for months. Some told me that someone who was lazy and relied on the air pump had ruined himself in the gambling house in the town because he had nothing to do. It is still too early to see the effect of this labour-saving machine, and the process of collectivization in irrigation, on the social organization as well as the lay-out of the farm.

After water has been brought on to the land, it takes another day for each *mow* of land to be levelled. The total amount of time spent on the land for preparation can thus now be estimated. If there are seven mow for one person to work, it will take about thirty-five days, approximately equal to the amount of time needed for the growth of the rice in the nursery.

用这种工具把水车至高处，效率不很高。由木阀形成的方形空间结构不严密，阻力较大。为一亩地车水高出地面十余厘米约需用一天的时间。灌溉上的低效率使每一大片田地中相连的小块田地产生了不同的价值。我在前面已经提到，水从边缘的田地依次流到中间，中间的田地必须等边缘的田地灌溉结束后，才能得到它所需要的水。雨水太多时，中间的田地又必须等待边缘的田地排完水后，多余的水才能排除。而等待排灌时间的长短则有赖于水车效率的高低。排水系统的不能令人满意的效率，当然是产量降低的一个因素。因此也就产生了土地价值的差别。边缘田地与中间田地价值的差别有时可达十元或相当于土地平均价值的五分之一。

前两年，村里有了两台动力抽水泵：一台为私人所有，另一台为合作工厂所有。承包全年的灌溉，按每亩收费。这使整个灌溉过程逐步转入集体化和专业化。然而，这种机器尚未被普遍采用，主要是因为使用机械而节约下来的劳力尚未找到生产性的出路。从村民的观点来看，他们宁愿使用旧水车，不愿缴纳动力泵费用而自己闲搁数月。有些人告诉我，有个人依赖动力泵灌溉，自己没有事，便到城镇的赌场去赌博，害了自己。现在尚未看到节约劳力的机器和水利集体化过程对社会组织和农田安排的影响。

引水到田以后，每亩田还需要用一天的时间加以平整。现在就可以估计在准备土地过程中总共需要多少时间。一个劳力如果种7亩地，大约需要35天，相当于稻秧在秧田里生长所需的时间。

There is no ritual ceremony at the beginning of the agricultural work and every household is free to determine its own time for starting. The difference in time covers a range of two weeks.

Transplantation of the young shoots from the nursery farm to the main field is a major part of rice cultivation. The people describe this period as "busy in farm." The farmers start in the early morning for the nursery, which sometimes is far from the main field; they must transport the young shoots by boat. Children are brought to help in the work, but not women. The young shoots are planted in the main field in bunches of six or seven stalks. Children make themselves useful by handing the young shoots to the leaders while they are planting. One person will plant six or seven bunches in one row within his reach without stepping sideways. Finishing one row he will take one step backwards and start another row. Finishing one strip he will start another from the beginning. If there are several persons at work on the same farm, they will form a row and move backwards at the same time. The rhythmatic movement of the workers is very impressive. To maintain the rhythm, which is helpful in this monotonous work, they often sing rhythmic songs. Special songs have grown up under the name of *yengo*—"Young shoot song." But since in this region women do not participate in the work, the development of such songs is less than in the neighbouring areas.

Each person can plant about half a *mow* a day. To plant seven *mow* well thus takes about two weeks.

In July it is already summer. In hot weather (80ºF.) rice grows very fast. During this period rain is plentiful (5.5 inches); heaven helps people to

supply water to the young rice shoot. But nature cannot always be relied on. If there are two or three days without rain, the delicate young shoots will need to be watered by pumping, which calls for human labour. If it rains for three or four days continuously, the people will, on the other hand, be busy in pumping out the surplus water.

The wild grass mixed in the rice grows sometimes still faster. Only one week after the people have finished their work of transplantation, they must again be busy in weeding. A special instrument is used. This is a plate which has many nails on one side and is fixed to a long bamboo pole. The workman handles the pole by drawing the nails through the mud to uproot the wild grass.

When the field is weeded, the next task is to supply fertilizer for the soil. Fertilizer consists of human and animal manures and bean cakes. Bean cakes are made of the sediment of the soya beans after the oil has been pressed out. The cake is minced into small pieces and is evenly distributed over the farm.

农活开始的时候没有什么仪式，每个农户自己掌握农活开始的时间。时间先后的差别约为两个星期。

把稻秧从育秧田里移植到大田里，是种稻的重要部分。人们把这段时间描述为“农忙”时节。农民一早出发到秧田去，秧田有时离稻田很远。农民必须用船来往运送秧苗，孩子们那时也被动员起来帮忙干活，但不用妇女。插秧时六七棵秧为一撮插在一起，孩子们的工作是把秧递给插秧人，一个人不旁移脚步，在他所能达到的范围内，一行可插六七撮，这一行插完后，向后移动一步，开始插另一行。插完一片地以后，再从头开始插另一片。在同一块田地，如果同时有几个人工作，他们便站成一行同时向后移动。插秧人那有节奏的动作给人留下深刻的印象。对这种单调枯燥的工作加点节奏是有益的，为保持这种节奏，农民常常唱着有节奏的歌曲。这随之发展而成专门的秧歌。但这一地区的女子不参加插秧，秧歌流传不如邻区广泛。

每人一天大约可插半亩，插七亩约共需两周。

7月已经是夏天了，在华氏80度的气温下，稻的长势很快。这时期雨水很多（5.5英寸），老天帮忙，为幼秧提供水源。但自然界不总是那么可靠的。如果两三天没有雨，秧就需要车水灌溉，这就需要人力。如果连续下三四天雨，人们又要忙着车出多余的水。

和稻混杂在一起的野草有时长得更快。插秧工作刚刚结束一个星期，农民便需忙于除草。专用于除草的工具是一片装在竹竿柄上的木

板，上面有很多钉子，农民手握耙柄，把钉耙向后拉过泥土，便把野草拔除。

除草后，下一件工作便是给土地施肥。肥料有人粪肥、畜粪肥和豆饼。黄豆榨油以后剩下的渣压成豆饼。豆饼被碾成碎片，均匀地撒在田地里。

Human manure is preserved in special pits behind the house. Sheep manure is collected from the hut. After long exposure in the air, and after being mixed with grasses, it is distributed over the field. Fresh manure is not used.

When the rice has reached a considerable height, and before it blossoms, the farmer must weed it thoroughly. This time the nailed plate cannot be used, because it might damage the root of the rice. The farmer has therefore to use his hands. To avoid damaging the rice, a saddle-like bamboo basket is attached to the upper leg. This brushes the rice away as the farmer walks in the mud.

Weeding and watering take all the farmer's time from July to September with several short intervals. The amount of work varies according to the amount of rain. In the early part of September the rice blossoms, and at the end of that month it bears fruit. No special work is necessary during that period. This is the long interval in agricultural work. During the latter part of October some of the early rice can be reaped. The instrument for reaping is a long curved sickle. The rice is cut near the root of the stalk, and is carried in bundles to the open space in front of the house. Threshing is done in the open space or in the front room, by striking the ears of the grain against the side of a big box. Grains are thus separated from the stalk and collected at the bottom of the box. Threshed stalks are heaped on the ground beside the public road.

Grains are hulled in a wooden mill. Husks are separated from the seeds by a whirling machine. The hulled seeds of rice can be sold but cannot be cooked without another process of refined husking. The last process has been entirely taken over by the modern machines. The old instruments of mortar and pestle are not used any more.

〔3〕Science and Magic

The knowledge embodied in the lay-out of the farm, in irrigation, in drainage, in breaking the soil, in transplantation, in weeding, etc., is accumulated from the long experience of the population, transmitted from generation to generation and learned by practical demonstration. It is an empirical knowledge that enables the people to control the natural forces in order to attain human ends. A detailed investigation would show how highly developed is the science of agriculture in this region. The above account has already indicated that the people understood definite general principles of biology concerning the process of growth of the rice, the quantity of water needed during different periods, the function of leaves and roots in plant physiology, and of physics concerning the level of surface and the movement of water.

人粪肥保存在房屋后面的专用的粪坑里。羊粪从羊栏里收集，曝露、晾晒并与草混合以后，撒在田里。不用新鲜粪肥。

当稻长到相当高度，开花以前，还需彻底除一遍草。这时便只能用手来拔草，因钉耙容易伤害作物的根部。为避免伤害稻，农民在大腿部系一马鞍形竹筐，他们在泥里行走时，它可先把稻撇开。

从7月到9月农民几乎都在除草和灌溉，中间有数次短的间歇。工作量的大小依据雨量的多少。9月上旬，稻子开花，月底结谷。这一时期没有特殊的工作可做，是最长的农闲时节。到10月下旬，某些早稻可以收割。长长的弯形镰刀便是收割的工具。割稻时把稻秆近根部割断，扎成一捆捆放在屋前空地上。打谷在露天空地或堂屋中进行，用谷穗打击着一个大打谷桶的一边，谷子便从秆上落下，留在桶底，然后收集起来。打过的稻秆便堆放在路边。

稻谷被放在一个木制磨里去壳，碾磨转动，壳便与米分开。粗磨的米可以出售，再经过一次精磨，才能食用。最后一次碾磨过程完全用现代机器进行。旧式工具杵臼已不再使用。

三、科学与巫术

在上述农田安排、灌溉与排水、翻土与平地、插秧与除草等农活中所用的知识，是通过农民的实践经验的长期积累一代一代传授下来的。这是一种经验性的知识，使人们能控制自然力量，以达到人们的目的。详细的调查研究会表明这个地区的农业科学发展到如何高的程度。上述情况已经说明，人们懂得稻的生长过程中的普通生物原理、不同时期所需的水量、植物生理中叶子和根部的作用以及有关水的运动、水平面等物理常识。

Their empirical approach to their enterprise is again seen in the way in which they adopt new technique and implements. The selection of implements is solely based on the principle of efficiency and economy. For instance, the air pump is used when there is urgent need of water regulation, but not when it proves to be expensive.

Science, however, only rules in so far that the natural factors can be successfully controlled by human effort. There are uncontrollable factors in nature. For instance, the primary need of a water supply can only be partially controlled by human means through irrigation, drainage, and the construction of dykes and ditches. It still largely depends on the rainfall. If there is too much or too little rainfall, rice will die regardless of how hard the people work on their pumps. Locusts may come unexpectedly. In this fateful sphere, and in this only, we find magical beliefs and practices.

It does not mean that the people conceive rain and locusts as supernatural manifestations. They have scientific meteorological knowledge. "When it is too hot, the lake will evaporate too much and when the temperature changes there will be rain." But these natural phenomena are beyond human control. They might be a great menace in practical life and turn all effort to nothing. At this vital point, the people say, "We depend on heaven." The recognition of human limitations gives birth to magic. But magic is not a substitute for science. It is only one means for combatting natural disasters. It does not rule out other means. Science and magic go hand-in-hand to attain a practical end.[1]

Magic is not a spontaneous and individual action. It is an organized

institution. There is a definite person who is charged with the function and possesses magical powers. Secondly, there is a traditional ritual to call in the supernatural intervention. Lastly, there are myths to justify the ritual and the ability of the magician.

The occasions for magical performances are threats of flood, drought and locust plagues. Whenever the occasion arises, the people go to the district government and appeal for magical help. By ancient tradition the district magistrate was the magician of the people. In case of flood, he would go to the river or lake to demand the receding of the water by throwing his official belongings into the water. In case of drought he would issue an order to stop killing pigs and would organize a parade with all the paraphernalia suggesting rain, such as umbrellas and long boots. In case of locust plagues he would parade with the idol of *luiwan*.

通过他们采用新技术和工具的方式，也可以看到他们对所经营的事业采取了一种经验式的方法。对工具的选择完全是从经济和效率原则出发的。例如，需要紧急排灌时就用水泵，但作为平时灌溉，花费太大时就不用它。

然而，科学只在人力可有效控制的自然因素方面才具有决定作用。自然界中尚有不能控制的因素方面才具有决定作用。譬如对水的基本需要只能通过排水、灌溉、筑堤、挖沟等人为的手段进行部分的控制，大部分还是要靠雨水。如果雨水太多或太少时，不管人们如何努力使用水泵，稻还是会枯死或淹死。蝗虫可能出乎意料地突然到来。在这种性命攸关的领域，也仅仅在这一范围内，我们发现人们有非科学的信仰和行动。

这并非意味着人们把雨和蝗虫当作是超自然的表现。他们有气象知识：“天气太热时，湖水蒸发太多，气温一有改变，就会下雨。”但这些自然现象，人不能控制。它们对实际生活可能是巨大的威胁，可能顿时把一切努力化为乌有。在这个关键时刻，人们说：“我们靠天吃饭。”承认人的力量有限，转而产生了种种巫术，但巫术并不代替科学，它只是用来对付自然灾害的一种手段。它不排除其他手段。科学和巫术同时被用来达到一个现实的目的。[2]

巫术不是一个自发的个人的行动，而是一种有组织的制度。有一个固定的人，这个人拥有魔力并负责施展巫术。其次，有一套传统的礼仪来唤起超自然的干预。最后还有一些神话来维护这种礼仪和巫术师的能力。

当遭到水灾、旱灾和蝗灾的威胁时，便要施行巫术。过去每逢这种时机出现，人们纷纷到县政府去要求巫术的帮助。按照古老的传统，县行政官就是百姓的巫术师。有水灾时，他就到河边或湖边把供物扔进水里，祈求洪水退去。干旱时，他就发布命令禁止宰猪，并组织游行，游行者带着一切象征雨的用具如伞、长统靴等。有蝗灾时，他就带着刘皇的偶像游行。

The obligation of the magistrate to act as the district magician and his efficiency in this rôle, is explained by the following myth. About a mile outside the north gate of the city of Wukiang, the headquarters of the district, there is a temple worshipping the god called Chang Ta Ti (Chang the Big Emperor), whose birthday is on the 8th of the 2nd month (IX–2). According to the belief of the people he was a magistrate of the district at a remote historical period. During his term of office there was a threat of flood from continuous heavy rain and the overflow of the water in the lake. Going to the lake, he commanded the water to recede at once, and threw his shoes, his clothes, and his official jade girdle one after another into the water. But the water still overflowed, and rain continued to fall. At last, he threw himself into the water. The menace was conquered. At the present time, it is said that whenever there is a threat of flood in the district the gown of the idol will be always very wet because he still performs his function invisibly.

The myth connected with *luiwan* and his function in locust magic is not known in this village, so far as I could find out. But it is very popular in the neighbouring city of Wukiang. *Luiwan* was a historical person. He had been maltreated by his step-mother throughout his life. He was a very mischievous boy and possessed magical power. One night he invited all his friends to a big feast and killed all the cows of his family. In the morning he arranged the heads and tails of the cows in such a way that they looked half buried underground. But before he had finished the arrangement the day began to break. He ordered the sun to wait a minute. The sun went down under the horizon. Even at the present time, it is said, the sun will recede for a minute in the morning. When his step-mother found the cows half buried underground, the cows, owing to the magical power of the boy, lowed towards their master and moved their tails. As the result of his tormenting his step-mother, she treated him outrageously and he at last died. After his death his spirit has been believed to be continuously powerful in magic and able to drive away locusts. This myth testifies to the magical ability of the mischief-

making boy and is the charter for the present belief and practice in locust magic of the people.

The magical function of the magistrate runs counter to the modern concept of civil office. Furthermore, the present government regards superstitious beliefs among the people as a great obstacle to social improvement. Various orders have been issued for the prohibition of magical performances of any sort. The present magistrate, therefore, not only denies his traditional function to be the people's magician, but is supposed to enforce the law against magic. But the natural menaces of flood, drought, and locusts continue to threaten the people. Their scientific knowledge and equipment are still not sufficient to control many of the disasters of nature, and the need for magic remains unchanged.

以下神话解释了地方行政官担任巫术师的义务以及他担任这一角色的效果。在县政府所在地，吴江城北门大约一英里开外的地方，有一个拜祭张大帝的庙宇，他的生日是阴历二月初八（第九章第二节）。按照人们的信仰，他是很久以前历史上的一个县行政官。在他任职期间，有一次大雨连绵不断，湖水泛滥，造成了水灾的威胁。他便到湖边下令退水，把他的鞋、衣服和标志官衔的玉带，一件件扔进水里。但是水仍然上涨，雨继续不停地下着。最后，他自己纵身投入水中。水灾被征服了。直到现在，据说每当县里发生水灾时，张大帝偶像的长袍总是非常潮湿，因为他仍旧在暗暗地履行他的职责。

就我所知，村里不知道有关刘皇和他的灭蝗的神话。但在吴江附近的城镇里，刘皇是人人皆知的。刘皇是一个历史人物。他一生受后母的虐待。小时候是一个淘气的男孩，还能施展巫术。一夜，他邀请了所有的朋友来赴宴，还把他家中的牛全部杀死了。清早，他把牛的头和尾巴安放得犹如把牛半埋在地下一般。但天快破晓，他尚未安放完毕。他命令太阳慢些升起，太阳便又落到地平线下。据说，甚至到如今，早上太阳还推迟片刻升起。当他后母发现牛被半埋在地下时，由于刘皇的巫术，牛都哞哞地向主人呼叫，摇着尾巴。后母十分恼怒，后来便更加残暴地虐待刘皇，直至他死去。他死后，人们仍然相信他的阴魂有能力赶走蝗虫。这一神话证明了这个淘气男孩的魔力，也是目前人们信仰和施行驱蝗巫术的依据。

地方行政官的这种巫术师的职能是与现代行政公务的概念相违背的。而且，现在的政府认为人民中间的迷信是社会进步的障碍。因此政府发布了各种命令禁止任何巫术。所以现今的地方行政官不仅拒绝履行人民的巫术师的传统职能，而且还应该执行反对巫术的法律。但水灾、

旱灾、蝗虫的自然威胁仍然危害着人民。他们的科学知识和装备仍然不足以控制许多自然灾害，对巫术的需要依然保留不变。

An ex-magistrate told me how the problem was solved. "Under the pressure of popular demand to do something against the drought, I had to issue an order to stop killing pigs. I considered it to be very useful since epidemics always go together with drought, and vegetable food helps to check an epidemic. This is the real function of the belief. The parade was organized in my absence. It was no good to force the people to do nothing against the drought."

Magic exists in spite of government orders and various justifications, so long as it plays a useful part in the life of the people. A change in theory from conceiving magic as a kind of pseudo-science, and obstacle to technological development to recognizing its practical function will throw light on practical measures for dealing with this problem. It is not a thing to be prohibited by order, but to be eliminated by providing more effective human control over nature. Since complete control is inconceivable at present, it is difficult to rule out magic in human culture.

〔4〕Organization of Labour

Who are working on the land? On what occasions do the farmers need to co-operate? Who will co-operate? What kind of organization has resulted? Let us examine these questions—still from the technical point of view and leaving the legal problem to the next chapter.

I have said that the household is the basic economic unit. But the members of a household do not all participate in agricultural work; children go to the farm only occasionally and women are entirely free from it. Agriculture is chiefly men's occupation. This division of labour between men and women is a characteristic of the silk-producing area. It suggests that the development of the silk industry is a factor responsible for the practice. During the period when domestic reeling was prosperous, women were busy in reeling while men were busy in preparing the soil. On the other hand, the income secured from the silk industry was comparable to the income secured from agriculture. It enabled the people to live on small farms. The size of farms therefore remains limited and the amount of labour required in agriculture is correspondingly restricted.

一个前地方行政官告诉我这个问题是如何得到解决的：“在人们普遍要求对旱灾有所举动的压力下，我不得不发出命令禁止宰猪。我认为这是很有用的，因为流行病往往与旱灾俱来，素食能防止传染病流行。这是这种信仰的真正的作用。在我缺席的情况下组织了游行。强迫人们对旱灾不作为是不利的。”

只要巫术对人们的生活起着一些有用的作用，不管政府发出多少命令，阐述多少理由，它仍然会存在。在理论上，从把巫术当作一种假科学，并认为它对科学发展是一种障碍，转变到承认它的实际作用，对于处理这个问题采取实际态度方面，能给以一些启示。这种事情不是命令所能禁止的，只有提供更有效的人为控制自然的办法才能消灭巫术。既然目前不可能有完全的科学控制办法，那么在人类文化中也难以完全消除巫术。

四、劳动组织

谁在田里劳动？在什么情况下农民需要合作？谁和谁合作？形成了何种组织？让我们仍然从技术的角度来考察这些问题。把法律上的问题留到下一章去探讨。

我已经讲过，户是基本经济单位。但一户中并不是全体成员都参加农业劳动；孩子只是有时候到田地里去，女人完全不参加农业劳动。农业主要是男人的职业。男人和女人的这种劳动分工是产丝地区的一个特点。它说明了蚕丝工业的发展是产生这种特点的主要因素。在家庭缫丝业兴旺时期，女人忙于缫丝时，男人正忙着准备稻田。另一方面，从丝业得到的收入可与农业收入比拟。这也使人们有可能靠小块农地生活下去。因此农田的大小一直保持在有限的范围内，农业所需的劳动量也相应地有所限制。

To show how well adjusted are labour and land in the village, some statistics may be cited. The total number of adult men, the real or potential workers on the land, between 15 to 55, is 450. The total area of land, including a small percentage of non-cultivated land, is 3,065 *mow*. If the land is equally distributed among the workers, each will get 6.6 *mow*. In the above section, I showed the rate of work and the length of time needed for the growth of the rice, and came to the conclusion that the amount of land that can be cultivated by a single man is about seven *mow*. From the point of view of technology, I have also shown that the use of the hoe in cultivation has made most of the work very individualistic. Group work yields no more than the sum total of individual efforts. It also does not increase the efficiency very much. Present technology has fixed the amount of labour required by the size of the land. Thus we have approximately identical figures for the amount of land which can be cultivated by each worker. This fact has far-reaching influence on land tenure, on the scattered system of farms, on the frequency of family division, and on the small size of the household.

The present decline of the silk industry has dislocated the traditional adjustment of economic activties. The size of farms has remained the same while the silk industry has been taken over by modern factories. The small farm cannot absorb the female labour that has been set free by the industrial

change. The maladjustment is seen in the leisure enjoyed by the women in the village and the higher mobility of female population from the village to the town. In the neighbouring villages where farms are comparatively large, in the process of adaptation to the new situation female labour has been introduced into agriculture. This shows that the traditional division of labour, orginating as a part of economic adjustment, is a practical arrangement and is not due to any non-empirical cause. So far as men work by themselves and so long as the farm cannot be extended, female labour is not needed in agriculture. The only occasion for female labour is during the urgent period of irri-gation and drainage. Water regulation sometimes requires prompt action. Women will not hesitate to work on the pump when they are needed.

The male members of a household work together on the same farm. But they have no special division of work. Everybody does the same work, except that in transplantation the children do not take part in actual planting but supply the young shoots to the adults. Thus the work is largely individualistic.

The need of co-operative work is in water regulation. In the process of irrigation, the members of the household, including women and children, always work on the same pump. In the process of drainage, the water is pumped out from the common trench of a ˇ*cien*. The people who work in the same ˇ*cien* share a common fate. Hence develops a well organized system of collective drainage. To describe this system, I will take a concrete example of the North ˇ*cien* of the Hsi Chang *Yu*.

为说明村里的劳力和土地是如何恰当安排的，可引用几个统计数字。成年男子是实际的或潜在的农业劳动者，年龄在15至55岁之间，总数共450人。如果将2,758.5亩耕地平均分配给劳动者，每人将得6.1亩。上文我已经说明了工作速度、稻的生长所需时间，以及得出一个人可耕种约7亩地的结论。从技术上来说，我已经表明了使用铁耙耕作使得大部分劳动成为非常个体性的。集体工作不比个体劳动增加多少收成，效率也不会提高很多。目前的技术已决定了这样大小的一片土地需要多少劳动量。因此，我们也有了每个农业劳动者能种多少亩地的近似数字。这一事实对土地占有、对农田分散的制度、对分家的频率以及对小型的户都有深远的影响。

目前，丝业的衰落打乱了传统协调的经济活动。缫丝工业被现代工厂接收后，农田的大小仍然同过去一样。由工业变化而剩下的妇女劳动力不能为这种小块农田所吸收。这种失调的情况可以从妇女在村里闲暇

时间较多这一情形中观察到，也可以见于妇女人口从农村到城镇的高度流动性中。在邻近的村庄里农田较大，在适应工业变化的新情况过程中，妇女劳力被农业所吸收。这说明传统的劳动分工是出于实践的安排，而不是由于非经验的原因。它是经济调节的一个部分。在男子只靠自己劳动，而农田不能再扩大的情况下，农业是不需要女劳力的。唯一需要女劳力的场合是紧急灌溉或排水的时期。控制水有时候需要立即行动，女人便毫不犹豫地去车水。

一户里的男子在同一农田里工作。他们之间没有特殊的分工。每个人做同样的工作，除在插秧时，孩子不插秧而是给成人递秧苗。所以大部分劳动是个体性的。

水的调节是需要合作进行的。在灌溉过程中一户的成员，包括女人和孩子都在同一水车上劳动。在排水时必须把一墐地里的水从公共水沟里排出去。在同一墐地里劳动的人是共命运的。因此便出现了一个很好地组织起来的集体排水系统。为描述这种系统，我试举两长圩北墐为具体例子，加以说明。

This *čien* consists of 336 *mow* of land. The common trench opens on to the Stream A at the north margin. At the opening there are fifteen pumping spots. This means that there can be fifteen pumps working at the same time. Each pump requires three workers. The amount of labour contributed by each member of the *čien*, taking the household as a unit, is proportional to the size of his holding. The system of apportionment is calculated in terms of labour units. A unit is 1/3366 of the total amount of labour in four days. Each of the fifteen pumps shares 22.4 units. Each person working for four days counts as 6 units and the contributor of the pump and manager of the team counts as 4.4 units. This system of counting is called "six *mow* starting." It means that each holder of six *mow* in the *čien* should contribute a person to work every day, each holder of three *mow* should contribute a person every alternate day, and so on. Every *čien*, owing to varying size, has its particular system of calculation.

The members of the *čien* are organized into fifteen teams corresponding to fifteen pumps. Each year one of a group will be charged with contributing the pump and managing the team. This position is taken in turn by the members of the group. Among the fifteen groups, there is a chief manager. This position is also taken in turn. At the beginning of the year, the chief manager calls the fourteen other managers to a meeting. A feast is prepared as a formal inauguration. The chief manager has authority to determine when

the drainage should begin and stop.

Whenever drainage is needed, the chief manager will give orders to the managers. Early in the morning these managers will inform the workers on duty by beating a bronze brace. If anyone on duty does not show himself at the pump half an hour after the signal, the other two charged to work on the same pump will stop their work, take the pivot of the pump to the nearest grocery and bring back to the spot fifty-three pounds of wine and some fruit and cakes, the cost of which will be charged to the absentee as a fine. But if the manager has not informed the absentee he himself must bear the responsibility.

The collective responsibility of drainage has made the introduction of the modern pumping machine difficult, because it requires the unanimous consent of the whole *ˇcien*. It still remains to be seen how this type of organization will adjust itself to the technological change.

这一墐地有336亩地。在北面边缘有一条通向河A的共同的水沟。在出口处有15个车水点。这就是说，可以有15架水车同时工作。每一水车需要3名劳动者。墐的每个成员所提供的劳动量，以户为单位，是同他所有的土地大小成比例的。派工是以劳动单位来计算的。一个单位是在4天内总劳动量的1/3366。15架水车，每车分22.4单位。每个人工作4天算作6个单位，提供水车的人和小队管理人算作4.4单位。这种计算方法叫做“6亩算起”。这就是说这墐地里每6亩地的土地所有者应每天派一个人参加劳动，3亩地的拥有者每隔一天派一个人参加工作等等。每墐田，由于大小不同，各有其计算方法。

墐的成员按照15架水车组织成15个小队。每年由队里一个人负责提供水车并管理队的工作。这一职务由队里的成员轮流担任。15个队，有一个总管理人。这个职务也是轮流担任的。年初，总管理人召集其他14个管理人开会，准备筵席，作为正式开始的仪式。总管理人有权决定何时开始或停止排水。

每逢需要排水时，总管理人向其他管理人发布命令。清晨，这些管理人敲着铜锣通知值班人员。半小时以后，如果任一值班人员没有到水车前来，在同一水车前工作的另两个人就停止工作，拿着水车的枢轴到最近的杂货铺去并带回40斤酒和一些水果、点心等，这些东西的费用作为对缺席者的罚款。但如果是管理人没有通知那个缺席者，管理人自己必须承担责任。

排水的集体负责制使得引进现代水泵发生了困难，因为用新式水泵

需要获得全墐的一致赞同。这种组织将如何适应技术改革的需要，还有待于进一步的观察。

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[1] Theory of magic and science: see Professor B. Malinowski, "Culture," Encyclopœdia of Social Sciences.
[2] 巫术与科学的理论，见布·马林诺夫斯基教授的"Culture"条，载《社会科学百科全书》。

Chapter XI LAND TENURE

Land tenure is commonly conceived as the customary or legal system of titles over land. "But," as Professor Malinowski has pointed out, "this system grows out of the uses to which the soil is put, out of the economic values which surround it. Therefore land tenure is an economic fact as well as a legal system.

"We could lay down at once the rule that any attempt to study land tenure merely from the legal point of view must lead to unsatisfactory results. Land tenure cannot be defined or described without an exhaustive knowledge of the economic life of the natives." [1]

"The maxim that you cannot understand the rules of the game without a knowledge of the game itself describes the essence of this method. You must know first how man uses his soil, how he waves round it his traditional legends, his beliefs and mystical values, how he fights for it and defends it; then and then only will you be able to grasp the system of legal and customary rights which define the relationship between man and soil." [2]

We have, in the last chapter, studied how the villagers use their land and water. We are now prepared to go into the problem of land tenure.

〔1〕Lakes, Streams, and Roads

In so far as the water is used for communications, it is not exclusively for anybody. But when one enters the village, one sees rails constructed at the entrance of the stream. These are closed during the night. In this way the use of the stream as a means of communication is restricted. The reason is to prevent the communication route being used in such a way as to threaten the life or property of the villagers.

On the other hand, since the communication route is not the exclusive right of anyone, nobody is allowed to interfere with the general convenience by stopping boats in the middle of the stream. The same restriction is found in the use of water for drinking and cleaning. The silk factory had to be built at the lower course of the stream, otherwise the sewage would have dirtied the water and prevented others from using it for drinking purposes.

拾壹 土地的占有

土地的占有通常被看作习惯上和法律上承认的土地所有权。马林诺夫斯基教授指出："但是，这种体系产生于土壤的用途，产生于与其关联的经济价值。因此，土地的占有不仅是一种法律体系，也是一个经济事实。

"我们能够立刻提出这样一条原则，任何仅从法律的观点来研究土地占有的尝试，必然导致不能令人满意的结果。如果对于当地人的经济生活不具有完备的知识，就不能对土地的占有进行定义和描述。"[3]

"对游戏本身一无所知，就不能理解游戏的规则——这句格言说明了这种方法的本质。你必须首先知道人类怎样使用他的土地；怎样使得民间传说、信仰和神秘的价值围绕着土地问题起伏变化；怎样为土地而斗争，并保卫它。懂得了这一切之后，你才能领悟那规定人与土地关系的法律权利和习惯权利体系。"[4]

在前一章中，我们已经研究过村民是如何利用土地和水的。现在我们准备讨论土地占有问题。

一、湖泊、河流及道路

就水用于交通来说，它并不为任何人所专有。但是当你进村的时候，可以看到在河的入口处装着栅栏，夜间栅栏关闭。作为交通手段，河流的使用在这方面受到了限制。这是为了防止坏人利用此交通路线对村民的生命和财产进行威胁。

另一方面，由于交通航道不是任何人专有的权利，所以，不允许任何人将船只停在河道中央，干涉公众的便利。在饮用水及洗涤用水管理方面也有同样的限制。丝厂不得不建在河的下游，否则脏水就会污染河水，使得他人无法饮用。

Regulation of water for irrigation is much more complicated. People are not allowed to build dykes in the stream in order to monopolize the water supply. This is a common issue of dispute between villagers especially during drought. The water introduced on to the farm by human effort belongs exclusively to the person who has effected this by labour. The dykes are not allowed to be opened in order to "steal" water from the higher plot. But a single plot may be owned by several persons. Each has a part in it. Since there is no dyke to separate the parts owned by different persons, the water is shared by all. In such a case, the labour spent in irrigation is equally distributed between the owners according to the size of the land in the plot. Most important of all, the level of the plot is maintained evenly in order that there should be a fair distribution of water. This is another cause of dispute, because, as I witnessed on several occasions, each farmer tries to lower his own part in order to receive a favourable reserve of water.

The natural products of water—consisting of fish, shrimps, and weeds which are used for fertilizing the farm—are the common property of the village. This means that the inhabitants of the village have equal rights to these products, and that people from other villages are excluded. To illustrate the implication the following case can be cited.

The fishing right in a lake west of the village, was in 1925 leased by the village head, Chou, to people who came from Hunan Province. This was because at that time the village needed money to repair the rails on the stream for self-defence. When the contract was made, Chou announced to the

villagers that henceforth no one would go to fish in the lake. The villagers kept this agreement. When I was in the village, there was a dispute. The Hunanese arrested a boat engaged in shrimp trapping and took the fishermen to the police office in the town, accusing them of theft. Chou protested that it was not the lake that had been leased to the Hunanese but the fishing rights which did not include the right of shrimp trapping. Eventually the arrested persons were released.

The villagers also prevent outsiders from gathering weeds in the streams.

The right of collecting natural products in the water surrounding and inside the village is shared by the villagers, but those fish and weeds that have been collected are the exclusive property of the collectors.

The public road and dykes on the farm, so far as they are used for communications, are not the exclusive property of anyone, like the water route. No one can stop any other person walking on the public roads or dykes.

灌溉用水的管理要复杂得多。人们不允许为垄断水源而在河中筑堤。这是村民之间经常发生争执的问题，在早期尤为如此。人力引入农田的水属于参加这项劳动的人所专有。为了从较高的地块“偷”水而掘开田埂是不允许的。但一块地可能属几个人共有，每人各占其中一部分。由于各人占有的各部分之间没有田埂隔开，所以水是大家分享的。在这种情况下，根据这块田地上各人地片大小不同来公平分配每个人在灌溉中应付出的劳动量。最重要的一点是，这块田的地平面要保持平坦，为的是使水的分配公平。这是产生争论的又一个起因。我目睹了几起这样的争执。因为每个人都想降低他那部分的地面，以有利于水的蓄留。

水中的自然产品包括鱼、虾和水藻。水藻可用来肥田。所有水产是村子的共同财产。这就是说，村里的居民对于这些水产享有平等的权利，其他村庄的人们则排除在外。为了说明其涵义，可以引用以下的例证。

1925年，周村长把村西的湖中捕鱼的权利租给了湖南省来的人。这是由于那时村庄需要钱来修理河上自卫用的栅栏。签订合同以后，周向村民宣布，今后不得有人去该湖捕鱼。村民遵守了这个协定。我在村里的时候，发生了一起争端。那些湖南人抓获了一条捞虾的船，把渔民押送到城里警察署，控告他们偷窃。周抗议说，租给湖南人的不是那个湖，而是在湖中捕鱼的权利，这个权利不包括捞虾的权利。最后，被抓

的人获释。

村民还要阻止外来者在河里采集水藻。

在村内和村周围水中采集自然产品的权利由村民共享。但捞获的鱼和水藻是属于捞获者专有的财产。

田埂和公共道路，就交通用途而言，像水路一样，不是任何人的特有财产。任何人不得拦阻公共道路或田埂上行走的任何其他人。

But the roads and dykes are also used for growing vegetables. The right to use them for this purpose is exclusive to a group which have special claims—the Chia. The problem is complicated because the public road passes across the open space in front of houses, which is used for heaping straws, for fixing silk machines and manure pits, for arranging dining-tables, and for drying laundries. Each house has the exclusive right to the use of the road for these purposes.

〔2〕Ownership of Farm-Land

All the farms are divided between Chia for cultivation. Before we come to the owners, the idea of ownership of the farm-land must be clearly defined.

According to the native theory of land tenure, land is divided into two layers: namely, the surface and the subsoil. The possessor of the subsoil is the title holder of the land. His name will be registered with the government because he pays the taxes on the land. But he may possess only the subsoil without the surface, that is, he has no right to use the land directly for cultivation. Such a person is called an absentee landlord. The person possessing both the surface and the subsoil is termed the full owner. The one possessing only the surface without the subsoil is termed tenant. I shall use these terms only in the meanings defined above.

The owners of the surface, whether full owners or tenants, can cultivate the land themselves; this distinguishes them from absentee landlords. They also can lease the land to others, or employ labourers to work for them. The lessee who possesses the right of using the land temporarily can also employ labourers. In these cases, the person who owns the surface rights, may not be the actual cultivator of the land. Thus we must distinguish between the actual cultivator, the surface owners, and the owner of the subsoil. They may be the same persons and they may be different persons with reference to the same piece of land.

All of them have definite claims on the produce of the land. The owner of the subsoil can demand rent from the tenant. The surface owner can demand rent from the lessee. The employee can, in return for labour, obtain wage from the employer. The absentee landlord, the lessor, the employee receive fixed shares in terms of rent and wage irrespective of the actual return from the land. Therefore the risk involved is born by the full-owner, the tenant, and the lessee. The latter, except sometimes the employees, are also the owners of the implements used in cultivation. The following table summarizes these points.

但是道路和田埂也用来种菜。这种道路和田埂的使用权，是对此有特殊权利的家所专有的。因为公共道路要通过各家门前的空地，这空地

是用来堆放稻草、安放缫丝机和粪缸、安排饭桌、晾衣服的地方，所以这个问题比较复杂。每一家都有把道路作这些用途的专有权。

二、农田的所有权

所有农田都划分归各家耕种。在我们讨论农田所有者之前，必须为农田所有制的概念下一个明确的定义。

根据当地对土地的占有的理论，土地被划分为两层，即田面及田底。田底占有者是持土地所有权的人。因为他支付土地税，所以他的名字将由政府登记。但他可能仅占有田底，不占有田面，也就是说他无权直接使用土地，进行耕种。这种人被称为不在地主。既占有田面又占有田底的人被称为完全所有者。仅占有田面，不占有田底的人被称为佃户。我将只按照以上定义使用这些词语。

无论是完全所有者还是佃户，只要是田面的所有者，就能自行耕种土地；据此可以把这种人与不在地主区别开来。这种人也能够把土地租给他人，或雇工为自己种地。承租人有暂时使用土地的权利，他也能雇工。根据以上情况，拥有田面权利的人可以不是土地的实际耕作者。因此我们必须把实际耕作者、田面所有者以及田底所有者区别开来。对于同一块土地，他们可以是同一个人，也可以是不同的人。

所有这些人都对土地的产品有一定的权利。田底所有者可以要求佃户交地租。田面所有者可以要求承租人交租。雇工可以从雇主那里取得工钱作为劳动的报酬。无论土地的实际收成如何，不在地主、出租者以及雇工分别取得固定的地租和工钱。所以，完全所有者、佃户和承租者都要承担风险。后者（有时雇工除外）也是农具的所有者。下表对以上几点进行了归纳。

Title	Legal Right	Reward	Obligation	Owner of Implements
Employee		Daily wage	Cultivation	No or yes.
(*a*) Short-term.		Yearly wage, food and shelter	Cultivation	No or yes.
(*b*) Long-term.				
Lessee	Temporary use of the land surface	Produce	Cultivation, rent to lessor	Yes.
Tenant	Permanent ownership of the land surface	Produce	Rent to absentee landlord, cultivation	Yes.
Absentee landlord	Ownership of subsoil	Rent From tenant	Taxes to government	No.
Full-owner	Ownership of land surface and	Produce	Taxes to	Yes.

subsoil government

〔3〕Farm Labourers and Land Leasing

Ownership of the land surface is always held by the Chia group, which supplies male members to work on the farm. But sometimes the group may not be able to supply enough labour and the institution of farm labourers comes into being. The persons thus introduced are long-term employees. They live in the house and are provided with food and shelter. They are paid a yearly wage of eighty dollars with two months' holidays at the new year when agricultural activities are suspended. Short-term employees are taken on when there is a short-period need for labour. They live in their own houses and provide their own food. They usually have their own land and are employed only when they have completed their own work.

The long-term employees sell their labour and do not possess means of production except sometimes the hoe. They come from those Chia whose land holding is too small to absorb their labour. Especially those in need of money to enable them to obtain a wife will seek employment for a few years. I did not meet anyone who had been landless all his life. The total number of employees in this village is only seventeen (VI–1). This shows that this institution does not play an important part in the village economy, and if we examine the population statistics this phenomenon can be explained. As mentioned (III–3), any Chia which has a land holding above the average is likely to raise more children. When the children grow up, the estate is divided. In other words, the chance of labour in the Chia proving insufficient is considerably reduced by the population pressure and the ideology of kinship. Moreover, there is no sign of people leaving their land in search of other occupations and meanwhile employing labourers to cultivate the land. This is due, first to the low degree of occupational differentiation (VIII–1), secondly to the special value attached to land (next section), and lastly to the under-development of industry in the town.

名称	合法权利	报酬	责任	农具的所有者
雇工 （a）短工 （b）长工		日工资、 年工资、食宿	耕种 耕种	不是或是 不是或是
承租者	暂时使用田面	产品	耕种、付给	是

			出租者地租	
佃 户	永久地拥有田面	产品	付给不在地主地租、耕种	是
不在地主	拥有田底	向佃户收租	向政府交税	不是
完全所有者	拥有田面及田底	产品	向政府交税	是

三、雇农及小土地出租

田面所有权通常属于家这个群体。家提供男子到田里劳动，但有时它也许不能提供足够的劳力，这就产生了雇农制度。从事这种劳动的人是长工。长工住在雇主家里，得到食宿供应。每年付给长工80元的工钱，在新年农闲期间有两个月的假期。在需要短期劳动力的时候就雇用短工。短工住在自己家中，自供膳食。短工通常有自己的土地，只有当他们完成了自己的工作后才受雇。

长工出卖自己的劳动力，不拥有生产工具，偶有锄头。长工来自那些土地太少，以致劳力有余的家庭。尤其是那些需要钱娶妻的人，他们愿意为别人做几年长工。我没有遇到过一辈子都没有土地的人。这个村庄中的雇工总共只有17人（第六章第一节）。这说明，在这个村子的经济生活中，雇工制度不起重要作用。如果我们考察一下人口统计数字，这个现象就能得到解释。前面已经提到（第三章第三节），任何一家只要其占有的土地在平均数以上，这家就很可能有较多的孩子。孩子长大之后就要分家产。换句话说，家中原来就不多的劳动机会，在人口压力和亲属关系的意识之下，更加减少了。况且也没有迹象表明人们要离开自己的土地去寻求其他职业而同时又雇工来耕种土地。首先，这是由于职业分化的程度很低（第八章第一节）；其次，是由于土地附有特殊价值（下一节）；最后一点是，由于城里的工业不发达。

The institution of land leasing is also very limited. It occurs in most cases when the male members of a Chia are dead and the widows and children are unable to work on the land. Leasing of land is quite different from tenancy. The lessor preserves the right of ownership. There is a definite period for the contract. He is free to choose his lessee and to make changes when the contract expires.

It is interesting to compare this with the situation in South China, where both the hired labourers and landless peasants are numerous and the system of land leasing is far more elaborate.[5] This seems to be chiefly due to the presence of the system of "permanent tenancy" as a character of the absentee landlordship in Eastern China, while it has died out in South China. This leads us to an examination of the system of absentee landlordship.

〔4〕Absentee Landlordship

To study the institution of absentee landlordship, it is necessary to examine first the values attached to land. The primary function of land is to yield a food supply. But land is not only a means for producing food.

The productivity of land fluctuates according to the amount of attention and labour devoted to it. Furthermore, it is only partially controllable. There are unexpected risks. Thus land acquires its individuality through its variability in reacting to human expectation. Fear, anxiety, expectation, comfort, and love complicate the relation between man and land. People can never be certain what will come from the land. Land provides the means for self-assertion, for conquering the unknown and for the pleasures of accomplishment.

小土地出租制度也是非常有限的。出租土地大多是因为家里的男人死亡，孤儿寡母无力耕种土地。小土地出租与佃租是大不相同的。出租者保留土地的所有权。合同有一定的期限。出租者可以自由选择承租人，在合同期满时，可以更换承租人。

将这里的情况与华南的情况相比较是很有意思的。华南的雇工与无地的贫农为数较多，土地出租制要复杂得多。[6] 这似乎主要是由于华东不在地主制的特点——“永久性佃权”制的存在；而在华南，不在地主制已经消失了。接着让我们来考察一下不在地主制。

四、不在地主制

为了研究不在地主制度，必须首先考察土地所附有的价值。土地的基本作用是生产粮食。但土地不仅仅是生产粮食的资料。

土地的生产率随着人们对农田的照料和投入的劳动量而波动。而且人只能部分地控制土地，有时会遭遇出乎意料的灾情。因此，对人们的期望来说，土地具有其捉摸不定的特性。恐惧、忧虑、期待、安慰以及爱护等感情，使人们和土地间的关系复杂起来了。人们总是不能肯定土地将给人带来些什么。人们利用土地来坚持自己的主张，征服未知世界，并表达成功的喜悦。

Although the productivity of the land can be only partially controlled, this partial control supplies an empirical measurement of workmanship. Honour, ambition, devotion, social approval are all thus linked up with the land. The villagers judge a person as good or bad according to his industry in working on the land. A badly weeded farm, for instance, will give a bad reputation to the owner. The incentive to work is thus deeper than the fear of hunger.

The relative inexhaustibility of the land gives the people a relative security. Although there are bad years, the land never disillusions the people completely, since hope for plenty in the future always remains and is not infrequently realized. If we take the other kinds of productive work, we shall see that the risks involved in them are much greater. The sense of security is expressed in the following statement made to me by one of the villagers:

"Land is there. You can see it every day. Robbers cannot take it away. Thieves cannot steal it. Men die but land remains."

The incentive to hold land is directly related to the sense of security. The farmer says, "The best thing to give to one's son is land. It is living property. Money will be used up but land never."

It is true that there are many ways of getting food. But the people will not exchange their land for other means, even if more productive. They do take up other occupations, such as the silk industry and fishing, but agriculture remains the principal occupation in the village.

The deeper we analyse the situation, the more it appears, not only that land in general has a particular value to the people, but that the property inherited by a Chia has for it a particular value. Land is transmitted according to fixed rules (IV–3). People inherit their land from their fathers. The sentiment originating in the kinship relation and reinforced by ancestor worship is manifested also in this personal attachment to the particular plots of land. Religious belief in the importance of the continuity of descendants finds its concrete expression in the continuous holding of land. To sell a piece of land inherited from one's father offends the ethical sense. "No good son will do that. It is against filial piety." This comment sums up the traditional outlook.

Personal familiarity with a particular piece of land as the result of continuous work on it is also a cause of personal attachment to the land. It is very common for people to work on the same piece of land from early adulthood to death. To say that their land is an integral part of their personality is scarcely an exaggeration.

尽管土地的生产率只能部分地受人控制，但是这部分控制作用提供了衡量人们手艺高低的实际标准。名誉、抱负、热忱、社会认可，就这样全都和土地联系了起来。村民根据个人是否在土地上辛勤劳动来判断他的好坏。例如，一块杂草多的田地会给它的主人带来不好的名声。因此，这种激励劳动的因素比害怕挨饿还要深。

土地那相对的用之不尽的性质使人们的生活有相对的保障。虽然有坏年景，但土地从不使人们的幻想彻底破灭，因为将来丰收的希望总是存在，并且这种希望是常常能实现的。如果我们拿其他种类的生产劳动来看，就会发现那些工作的风险要大得多。一个村民用下面的语言向我表述了他的安全感：

“地就在那里摆着。你可以天天见到它。强盗不能把它抢走，窃贼不能把它偷走。人死了地还在。”

占有土地的动机与这种安全感有直接关系。那个农民说：“传给儿子最好的东西就是地，地是活的家产，钱是会用光的，可地是用不完的。”

的确，获取食物的方法很多。可是人们不愿意拿自己的土地去和其他资料交换，即使其他的生产率更高，他们也不愿意。他们确实也从事其他职业，例如丝业和渔业，但农业始终是村里的主要职业。

对于情况的分析越深入，这个问题就越明显，土地不仅在一般意义

上对人们有特殊的价值，并且在一家所继承的财产中有其特殊价值。土地是按照一定的规则传递的（第四章第三节）。人们从父亲那里继承土地。起源于亲属关系又在对祖先的祭祀中加深的那种情感，也表现在对某块土地的个人依恋上。关于绵续后代的重要性的宗教信仰，在土地占有的延续上得到了具体表现。把从父亲那里继承来的土地卖掉，就是触犯道德观念。“好儿子不做这种事。这样做就是不孝。”这种评论总结了这一传统观念。

一直在某一块土地上劳动，一个人就会熟悉这块土地，这也是对土地产生个人感情的原因。人们从刚刚长大成人起，就在那同一块土地上一直干到死，这种现象是很普通的。如果说人们的土地就是他们人格整体的一部分，并不是什么夸张。

The non-economic value of the land complicates the transactions in land. Although land has its non-economic value, it does not in any sense lose its economic value. The sentimental and ethical reactions to the selling of land do not rule out completely the possibility of land transactions. People sometimes need money urgently. Economic strain compels them to treat the land as an economic commodity. But I found no case of alienation except under real pressure. Even then the process usually takes a roundabout form.

A person needing money urgently, either for taxes or rent payment, is forced to borrow from the money-lender. After a definite period, if the borrower cannot pay back the capital as well as the interest, he is forced to transfer his title over the land, limited to the subsoil, to the lender.[7] This transaction in practice means very little to the borrower, since the borrower under the ever-increasing burden of interest can hardly hope to repay his debt. To pay high interest is more unbearable than to pay a definite rent.

In fact the conversion from annual payment of interest to rent does not make a great difference to the debtor. I found one case where the person concerned did not even understand the meaning of the change. "I borrow his money, and he takes my land. I have no hope of redeeming my pledge. What does it matter whether the money I pay is rent or interest?"

The difference is again obscured by the existence of the native theory of land tenure. The tenant preserves his title to the land surface. This right cannot be interfered with by the owner of the subsoil. By this custom the tenant is protected from any direct intervention by the owner of the subsoil.[8] His only obligation is to pay the rent. According to law, if the tenant is unable

to pay his rent for two years, the landlord can give him notice to quit, but the law does not apply to those places where custom is paramount.[9] The practical difficulty of ejecting a tenant is to find a substitute. Absentee landlords do not cultivate the land themselves. Outsiders from the villages will not be welcomed into the community if they come at the expense of old members. Villagers are not willing to cut the throat of their fellow members who for any good reason cannot pay their rent. In these circumstances it is in the interest of the landlord to tolerate the default in the hope of getting rent in the future. This situation does not really challenge the status of the landlord, since there are positive sanctions to enforce payment of rent whenever this is possible.

土地的非经济价值使土地的交易复杂化。虽然土地具有非经济价值，但从任何意义上讲，它都没有失去其经济价值。在感情和道德上对于出卖土地的反应，并不完全排除土地交易的可能性。人们有时急需用钱，经济紧张迫使人们把土地当作商品对待。除了在真正压力很大的情况下，我没有发现其他转让土地的事例。即使在那时，出卖土地也要通过迂回的形式来完成。

一个急需用钱的人，不管是纳税还是交租，都是被迫向放债者借钱。在一定时期之后，如果借款者无力偿还本金及利息，他就被迫把土地所有权（限于田底所有权）转交给放债者。[10] 实际上，这种交易对于借款者没有什么意义，因为在日益加重的利息负担下，借款者很难有希望偿还债务。偿还高利比交付定租还要难以承受。

事实上，从每年偿付利息变为每年交付租金，对负债者而言并无很大差别。我遇到一例情况，有关的人甚至还不理解这种改变的意义。“我借了他的钱，他占了我的地。我没有希望赎回我抵押出去的地。我付给他的钱到底是租还是利，这又有什么关系呢？”

当地的土地占有理论进一步掩盖了这种差别。佃户保留着他的田面所有权。这个权利不受田底占有者的干涉。按这种惯例，佃户的权利得到了保护，不受田底所有者任何直接的干涉。[11] 佃户的唯一责任是交租。根据法律，如果佃户连续两年交不起租，地主即可退佃。但该法律并不适用于惯例至上的地方。[12] 逐出佃户的实际困难在于寻找一个合适的替换者。不在地主自己不耕种土地。如果由外村人来挤掉本村人的位置，那么这些外村人也不会受到本社区的欢迎。只要是有正当的理由交不起租，村民们是不愿意卡同村人的脖子的。在这种情况下，抱着将来收回租子的希望，宽容拖欠是符合地主利益的。这种情况并不会对地主的地位造成真正的威胁，因为，只要有可能交租时，就有规定的制裁

办法迫使佃户还租。

By this analysis several important points in the problem of land tenure are cleared up. The actual cultivators of the land in the village—except labourers—continue unchanged even in the event of a change of ownership of the subsoil. Since the practice of usury is regarded as morally wrong, it is not possible for neighbours to squeeze each other. The institution of absentee landlord arises only in the relation between village and town. The ownership of the land surface remains in the hands of the villagers; even the outsiders who live in the village do not find it easy to become owners of land surface, i.e. cultivators of the soil (II–5).

The institution of absentee landlord, thus described, has acquired a new significance as the result of the close financial relation between the town and the village. Professor R. H. Tawney has rightly put it, "What appears to be occurring, in some regions at least, is the emergence... of a class of absentee owners whose connection with agriculture is purely financial." [13] Again he said, "Nor must it be forgotten that the nominal owner is often little more than the tenant of a money-lender."[14]

The change in ownership of the subsoil actually means the investment of town capital in the village. Thus the value of the land in the town market is quite different from the real value of the land. From the point of view of the landlords the value of the land resides in the ability of the tenant to pay rent. The price of land fluctuates according to the amount of capital available for investment in land and the security of rent collection. Thus the market price of land does not include the price of the land surface. As my informant told me, if his landlord likes to cultivate his land, he must buy the land surface from him. Since such a case has never been known, the price of the land surface cannot be calculated.

The ownership of the subsoil implies only a claim to rent and can be sold on the market in the same way as bonds and stocks. It may belong to any legal person, whether an individual, a clan, or the government. It can be private or public. But we cannot here go into details, since this would require an investigation beyond our present scope.[15]

The security for rent payment, an important condition for the development of the instituion of absentee landlordship, leads to an examination of the method of rent collection and the attitude of tenants

towards this obligation. Owing to the free market for land (*i.e*. the subsoil) in the town, the personal relation between the owners and the land they own has been reduced to the minimum. Most of the absentee landlords know nothing about the location of the land, the crop raised upon it, and even the men who pay the rent. Their sole interest is the rent itself.

按以上分析，在土地占有问题中的几个重点已经明确了。村里土地的实际耕种者（雇工除外）保持不变，甚至在田底所有者变更后仍然如此。因为放高利贷被认为是不道德的，所以邻居不可能互相压榨。不在地主制度仅仅出现在农村和城市的关系之中。田面所有权一直保留在村民的手中；即使是住在村里的外来户也难以成为田面所有者，即土地的耕种者（第二章第五节）。

城镇和村庄之间发生密切的金融关系的结果，使上述不在地主制度获得了新的意义。R. H.托尼教授正确地说道："看来，在某些地区正在出现……不在地主阶级。这个阶级与农业的关系纯属金融关系。"[16] 他又说道："也不应忘记，土地的名义占有者常常和放债人的佃户差不多。"[17]

田底所有权的这一变化实际上意味着城镇资本对乡村进行投资。这样，城镇市场中的土地价值与土地的真实价值相差甚大。从地主的观点来看，土地的价值寓于佃户交租的能力之中。土地的价格随着可供土地投资的资本量以及收租的可靠性而波动。于是，土地的市场价格不包含田面的价格。正如我的情况提供者所说，如果他的地主想要种地，地主就得向他购买田面。因为从来没有听说过这种事，所以无法计算田面的价格。

田底所有权仅仅表明对地租的一种权利，这种所有权可以像买卖债券和股票那样在市场上出售。田底所有权可以属于任何法人，不论是个人、家族或政府。这个所有权可能是私人的，也可能是公共的。但在这里我们不能详加探讨，因为这需要进行超出我们目前范围的调查。[18]

交租的可靠性是不在地主制度发展的一个重要条件。由此引入了对收租方法和佃户对交租责任所抱态度的考察。由于城里土地（即田底）市场的交易自由，地主和他们占有的土地之间的个人关系弱化到最小的程度。大多数不在地主对于土地的位置、土地上种的庄稼、甚至对于交租的人都一无所知。他们的唯一兴趣就是租金本身。

Rent is collected in various ways. The simplest system is the direct one; the landlord comes in person to the village. But this is not a very efficient way. It takes time and pains for the landlord to visit each tenant in different

villages. Most of the landlords are unwilling to burden themselves with this. Moreover, direct and personal contact sometimes handicaps the process of collecting. The tenants may be poor and always ready to ask for exemptions or reductions. The landlord, on the other hand, is not infrequently inspired by humanitarian teachings, especially if he belongs to the old literati. On several occasions I knew that they were reluctant to squeeze their tenants. The conflict between traditional ethics and the practice of living as parasites sometimes leads these gentlemen landlords to derive only moral satisfaction from their trip but not enough money to pay the tax. But this direct system is limited to a small group of petty landlords. The majority collect their rent through agents.

Landlords of big estates establish their own rent-collecting bureaux and petty landlords pool their claims with them. The bureau is called Chü. The tenants do not know and do not care who is their landlord, and know only to which bureau they belong.

Names of the tenants and the amount of land held by each are kept in the bureau records. At the end of October, the bureau will inform each tenant of the amount of rent that should be paid that year. The information is forwarded by special agents. These agents are employed by the bureau and have been entrusted with police power by the district government. The bureau is thus in fact a semi-political organ.

Before deciding the amount of rent to be collected the landlords will hold a meeting in their union to decide what exemptions are to be made on account of flood or drought and also to decide the rate of exchange for converting rice rent to money. (The rent is regulated in terms of quantity of rice but payment is made in money.) The rate of exchange is not the market one, but is arbitrarily determined by the union of landlords. The peasants must sell their rice in order to get money for the payment of rent, and at the time when this is due the market price is usually low. Thus the combination of rent in kind and rent in money considerably increases the burden of the rent payer.

收租可以有各种各样的方式。最简单的一种是直接收租，地主亲自到村子里来收租，但是这种方式的效率不很高。地主跑到各村去找佃户要花时间和力气，大多数地主不愿意自找麻烦，加之，地主与佃农的直接接触有时反而阻碍了收租的进程。佃户可能很穷，一开口就要求免租或减租。另一方面，若是这个地主属于老的文人阶层，他有时会受人道

主义教育的影响。我知道几件地主不愿逼迫佃农的事。传统道德与寄生虫生活之间的冲突，有时使这些地主绅士们的乡下之行只能得到精神上的满足，而得不到足够的钱来纳税。但这种直接收租的方式限于少量的小地主，大多数地主通过他们的代理人收租。

家产大的地主建立自己的收租局，而小地主则与大地主联合经营，租款分成。收租所被称作“局”。佃户不知道，也不关心谁是地主，只知道自己属于哪个局。

佃户的名字和每个佃户耕地的数量，收租局均有记录。在阳历10月底，收租局就会通知每个佃户，当年该交多少租。通知由专门的代理人传达。这些代理人是租局雇用的，并且县政府把警察的权力交给他们使用。这样，收租局事实上是一种半政治机构。

在确定收租数量之前，地主联合会举行一次会议，根据旱、涝情况，商定该作何项减免，并决定米租折合成现金的兑换率（地租是以稻米数量为标准来表示的，但以现金交付）。这个兑换率并不是市场上的兑换率，而是由地主联合会专断制定的。贫农必须卖米换钱交租，并且往往正值通常市场上米价较低的时候。租米和租款的双重作用更加加重了交租者的负担。

Nine grades are made in rent for different qualities of land. The average is about eight pints (2.4 bushels) of rice per *mow*. This amounts to 40 per cent. of the total rice produce of the land.

In the village, rent is paid into the hands of agents of the bureau. This is a peculiar practice different from that of other parts of the same district. The actual amount of payment is not necessarily equal to the amount written on the demand notice. As an old agent told me, "The villagers are illiterate. They don't know how to calculate from rice to money. There is no receipt or anything like that." If the tenant refuses to pay, the agent has power to arrest him and put him into the prison of the district government. But if the tenant is really unable to pay, he will be released at the end of the year. It is no use keeping him in prison and leaving the farms uncultivated.

A more detailed description of the system of rent collecting would be beyond the scope of the present study. But it is interesting to notice the different attitudes of the tenants towards their obligations.

By the old people, rent payment is regarded as a moral duty. As some of them said: "We are good people. We never refuse to pay our rent. We cannot steal even when we are poor. How then can we refuse to pay rent?"—"Why

do you pay your rent?"—"The landlord owns the land. We cultivate his land. We only have the land surface. The surface cannot exist without the subsoil." These positive sanctions are adequate to maintain the institution. It is not only the fear of imprisonment that makes the tenants discharge their obligation. Where the tenant does not pay the rent, it is on account of distress for which he has no responsibility such as famine, illness, etc. A good landlord will then allow exemptions and reductions.

Recently the situation has been changing. The economic depression in the rural district has made rent a heavy burden on the peasant, and the income derived from the rent much more vulnerable for the landlord. The peasants are more susceptible to new ideas offered to the institution. "Those who till the land should have the land" is a principle laid down by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen and accepted, at least theoretically, by the present government.[19] A more extreme view is spreading among the communists and other left groups. All these ideas have affected the sanctions described above. Peasants unable to pay rent now feel justified in neglecting to do so, and those who are able to pay will wait and see if they are compelled to do so. On the side of the landlords, strong measures must be taken to maintain their privileges, and their available capital tends to be no longer in agricultural land. The result is an intensification of conflict between tenants and landlords, and a financial crisis in rural economy. The district jail has been repeatedly crowded with default cases. Organized action of the peasants in refusing rent payment has provoked serious conflict with the landlords who are backed by government force. In this part of China, a peasant revolt took place in 1935 and led to the death of many peasants in villages near Soochow. The value of land has depreciated rapidly, and the whole financial organization of the village is at stake. This situation is general in China. The gravest part is found in central China, where the issue has taken the form of a political struggle between Chinese Soviets and the Central Government. But in the village which we are now describing the problem is less acute. The better natural endowment and the partial success of reforming rural industry have been effective palliatives. The positive sanction in favour of rent payment is still functioning.

对于不同品质的土地，地租被分为九等。平均每亩地约交2.4蒲式耳租米。这等于土地全部产米量的40%。

在村里，租金交付到租局代理人的手中。这是本村独特的做法，与本县中其他地方不同。交租的实际数量并不一定与收租通知上写明的数

量相等。正如一个老代理人告诉我的："村里的人不识字。他们不知道怎样把米折算为钱。没有收据之类的东西。"如果佃户拒不交租，代理人有权力把他抓起来关到县政府的监狱里去。但如果佃户真的没有能力交租的话，就会在年底得到释放，把他关在狱里无济于事，反而荒了田地，无人耕种。

更加详细地叙述收租方法，就会超出目前的研究范围，但注意佃户对于自己责任的不同态度，是非常有趣的。

按老年人的看法，交租被认为是一种道义上的责任。正如有些老人说的："我们是好人，我们从不拒绝交租。我们就是穷，也不会去偷东西，我们怎么会拒绝交租呢？"——"你为什么要交租呢？"——"地是地主的，我们种他的地，我们只有田面。没有田底，就不会有田面。"这些习惯规定的约束力是有利于维护这个制度的，不仅是对于监禁的恐惧心理才使得佃户履行职责。佃户不交租是由于遇到了饥荒、疾病等灾难，佃户对这些是没有责任的。一个好心的地主，这时就会同意减免地租。

最近局势正在发生变化。乡村地区的经济萧条已使得地租成为贫农的沉重负担；对地主来说，地租收入很难得到保障。农民对有关土地制度的一些新思想比较容易接受。"耕者有其田"是已故孙中山先生提出的原则，至少在理论上已被现政府接受。[20] 在共产党人和其他左派团体中，正传播着一种更加激进的观点。所有这些思想都已对上述的制裁措施发生了影响。交不起租的贫农现在感到不交租是正当的，那些交得起租的人则先观望是否要强迫他们交租。在地主方面，他们必须采取强硬措施来维护自己的特权，他们也不再把可用的资本放在农田上了。结果是佃户与地主间的冲突加剧，乡村经济发生金融危机。县监狱中不断挤满了欠租者。贫农组织起来采取行动，拒绝交租，与政府支持的地主发生了严重冲突。在华东，1935年发生了农民起义，导致了苏州附近农村中的许多农民死亡。土地迅速贬值，村子里全部财务组织濒临险境。这个局势在中国具有普遍性。局势最严重的地方是华中，以上问题已表现为中国的苏维埃政权与中央政府间政治斗争的形式。但在我们所述的开弦弓村，问题尚未如此尖锐。较好的天然条件以及乡村工业改造的部分成功，起了缓冲作用。有利于交租的那种约束力仍然在起作用。

〔5〕Full-Ownership

Absentee landlordship is only found when there is close financial relation between village and town. Corresponding to the investment of town capital in the countryside, the ownership of the subsoil of the farm land passes into the hands of the townspeople. At the present time, about two-thirds of the subsoil of the village is owned by absentee landlords. The other third is still in the hands of the villagers. (I am not able to give accurate statistics on this point. The estimate was given to me by my informants.) The villagers themselves may lease their land, may employ labourers, but never acquire the title to the subsoil only.

The full-owners, lessees and tenants do not form clear-cut or water-tight classes. The same Chia may possess all rights to some part of its land, may lease another part from or to others, and a part may belong to absentee landlords. The amount of land actually cultivated by each Chia is determined by the amount of labour available. Since the number of male adult members of each Chia does not vary much, the amount of land cultivated by each is much the same. But if we inquire how far a Chia is cultivating its own land, or how much land is fully owned by each Chia we find a considerable variation. The administration office of the village gave me the following estimate:

五、完全所有制

只有当城乡金融关系密切的时候才出现不在地主制。与城镇资本在乡下的投资相应，农田的田底所有权落到了城里人的手中。目前，该村约有三分之二的田底被不在地主占有，余下的三分之一仍在村民手中（对于这点，我不能提出精确的统计数。此估计数是我的情况提供者提供的）。村民自己也可以出租土地，也可以雇工，但绝对不会只拥有田底所有权。

完全所有者、承租者以及佃户并没有形成界限清楚、区分严格的不同阶级。同一个家可能拥有家里一部分土地的全部权利，可能承租或出租土地的另一部分，也可能还有一部分土地属于不在地主。每家实际耕种的土地量取决于可用的劳动量。因为每家的成年男性人数差别不大，所以每家耕种的土地量也相差无几。但如果我们来了解一下每家耕种自己土地的程度，或者说每家有多少土地是完全属于自己的，我们就会发现这个差别是相当大的。村公所向我提供了下列估计数：

Amount of land (*mow*)	Percentage of Chia
50–70	0.6
30–49	0.7
15–29	0.9
10–14	4.0
5–9	18.0
0–4	75.8

According to this estimate, about 90 per cent. of the population in the village have less than ten *mow* or 1.5 acres of their own land. They have surplus labour but not enough land. Therefore they become lessees and tenants.

Theoretically the tenants are free from the obligation to pay taxes. Land tax falls on the owner of the subsoil. But the practice is somewhat different. The system of tax collecting in the region is a peculiar one, and differs from that of other parts of the same district.

From the ex-magistrate, I received the following explanation. At the end of the last imperial dynasty, the government tried to register the tax payers. But this was never completed. The tax in the region has been divided yearly

between the cultivators of each *yu*; a definite amount is assigned to them. One of the cultivators who owns more than twenty *mow* in the *yu* will be responsible for collecting the sum. This job is taken in turn by all the qualified persons in the *yu*. The government will not interfere with the way in which the collector distributes the tax.

The amount of tax to be paid by each *yu* is determined by its size. But since the land was only recently surveyed, and the land register has not yet been completed, the size is determined according to the estimate of the local collectors. The estimate is thus made not strictly according to the actual size of the land but according to the ability of the people to pay taxes. The collector is obliged to hand over the assessed amount to the government regardless of how much he has actually collected. To avoid the danger of having to pay a deficiency himself, he will submit a low estimate on the pretext that land has been deserted. In case of flood or drought, he will request the government to make reductions. (This request was formerly made in connection with petitions for magical help.)

Thus the actual distribution of the burden of tax is not rigid. The collector is able to use common sense in distributing the burden according to the ability of the people. Honesty and the sense of equality checks the abuses possible under such an informal practice.

土地的数量（亩）	家的百分比
50—70	0.6
30—49	0.7
15—29	0.9
10—14	4.0
5—9	18.0
0—4	75.8

根据这个估计，村中自己有地不到10亩（1.5英亩）的人口约为90%。他们有剩余的劳动力，但没有足够的土地。这样，他们就成了承租者或佃户。

理论上讲，佃户无交税的责任。土地税由田底所有者承担。但实际不然，此地的税收制有些特殊，与本县其他地方不同。

我从前地方行政官那里得到了以下解释。在清朝末年，政府试图对纳税者进行登记，但没有完成。这个地方的税款每年一次分派给每一圩的耕种者，指定他们缴纳一定的数额。每圩中有地20亩以上的一个耕种者负责征收此款额。此工作由每圩中的各位合格者轮流担任。政府对收

税人分派税款的方式不加干涉。

每一圩交税的数额取决于该圩的面积。但由于土地最近才得到测量，土地的登记尚未完成，所以现在还是根据当地收税者的估计来决定其面积。这个估计不是严格地根据土地的实际大小作出的，而是根据交税人的能力作出的。无论收税人实际收到多少税，他必须向政府上交估定的数额。为了避免他自己必须补足缺额的危险，收税人便以土地荒芜为借口，提出较低的估计。遇到水旱灾情，他就会请求政府减税（这种请求以前是与祈祷神明相助联系在一起的）。

于是，税款负担的实际分派并不严格。收税者可根据人们的能力，通情达理地分配负担。诚实与平等的观念可以防止这种非正规工作中可能发生的弊端。

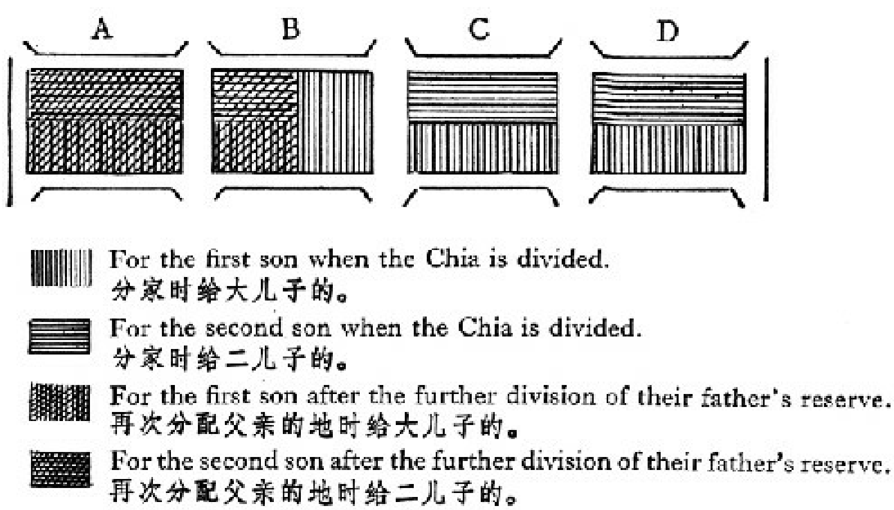
Under the present system, tenants are not actually exempted from the obligation to pay taxes. I have no definite material on this point to show how the actual allocation is made.

The government will try to collect taxes according to the actual size of the land of each individual owner when the land survey and registration are completed. By this action the traditional system is likely to be changed. It may relieve the burden of the tenants but it will certainly increase the total sum of taxes if the rate is not reduced because the reported size is always smaller than the surveyed size. The villagers realize the possibility and frequently try to sabotage the government action. At present, the problem is far from settled.

〔6〕Inheritance and Agriculture

In Chapter III, I postponed the problem of how the land is actually divided in the process of transmission of property, because it required a prior knowledge of the system of land tenure. On the other hand, some points of land tenure and of agricultural technology still remain obscure unless the factor of kinship is taken into account. In this section, I intend to link the land tenure and agriculture with kinship.

Let us take the example, given in the previous chapter, of the division of a Chia among a father and two sons. The land is divided in this case into three unequal parts. Let us suppose that before division the Chia possesses a strip of farms consisting of four successive plots: A, B, C, and D. These four plots are different in value because their distances from the streams are different. In principle the father can choose his own share. Suppose he takes plot A and half plot B, which may be divided parallel to the margin. The rest of plot B is assigned to the first son as his extra portion. The remaining two plots are equally divided among the two brothers. To ensure equality of division, they must be divided perpendicularly to the margin. Each son takes one belt. If, on the death of the father, the share reserved to him is divided again, it would be divided in the same way. This is illustrated in the following diagram.



按目前实行的办法，佃户实际上没有免除交税的责任。关于这一

点，我没有确定的资料来表明实际的分派是怎样进行的。

在土地的测量和登记工作完成之后，政府将根据每一个土地所有者拥有土地的实际面积征收税款。通过这一措施，传统税制很可能发生变化。佃户的纳税负担可能解除，但在税率不降低的情况下，肯定要使总税额增加，这是因为以前上报的土地面积总是小于测量面积的。村民意识到了这个可能性，经常想方设法破坏政府的行动。目前，这个问题还远远得不到解决。

六、继承与农业

在第三章中，我推迟了对这个问题的论述，即在家产的传递过程中，土地实际上是如何划分的。这是由于谈这个问题需要预先了解土地的占有制。另一方面，如不考虑亲属关系这一因素，在土地占有及农业技术方面仍有些问题尚不明了。在这一节，我想把土地占有和农业与亲属关系联系起来。

让我们仍以前面章节中一父两子的分“家”为例。此例中土地被划分为三个不相等的部分。让我们假设：在分家前，这家有一片农田，包括相连的A、B、C、D共四块。因为这四块地距河流的远近不同，所以它们的价值亦各不相同。按照规矩，父亲可以挑选自己那一份。假设他选中了田块A和田块B的一半，这半块可以沿着地头平行划分。田块B的其余一半分配给大儿子，作为额外部分。剩下的两块田两兄弟均分。为了保证分配平均，必须使分界线垂直于地头，每个儿子取一条。如果父亲死了，他那一份地还要再分配，划分方式同上。上图说明了比例土地划分情况。

These lines of division, or the boundaries of holdings, do not necessarily coincide with the dykes constructed for the regulation of water. They are immaterial demarcations, and are marked by planting two trees at each end of the plot on the dykes. The boundaries of individual holdings become very complex as the result of successive divisions upon inheritance. The farms are divided into narrow belts, with a width of a few tens of metres.

Non-contiguity of farms is widely observed in China. It is found in the village. Although the frequency of land division cannot be taken as the origin of this, it definitely intensifies the scattering of holdings. Each Chia possesses several belts of lands widely apart. It sometimes takes twenty minutes for the boat to go from one belt to another. According to the estimate of my informants, few belts are above six *mow* in size. Most of them are not more than one or two *mow*. Each Chia, at the present time, has three to seven belts.

The narrow belt and the scattered holdings hamper the use of animal labour or other collective methods of farming. They are the chief causes of the technical backwardness of farming in China.

Moreover, in a single plot there may be several owners, each of whom is responsible for his own belt. We have seen how this gives rise frequently to disputes on water regulations.

The small size of holding of the Chia limits the number of children who can be raised. On the other hand, the relatively large landholders will raise more children and consequently the size of their holding will be reduced within a few generations. Under these conditions, the ratio between land and population is adjusted.

这些划分线，或土地分界线，并不一定要同调节水的田埂一致。这些分界线是非实体的，在田块两端的田埂上栽两棵树，用来作为分界标志。遗产的各次相继划分，结果使个人占有土地的界线变得非常复杂。农田被分为许多窄长的地带，宽度为几米。

在中国广大地区都可见到农田的分散性。这个村子亦不例外。虽然不能认为频繁的土地划分就是农田不相邻的起源，但这种划分确实加大了土地的分散程度。每“家”占有相隔甚远的几条带状田地。从一条地带到另一条地带，有时要乘船20分钟。根据情况提供者的估计，极少有面积在六亩以上的地带。大多数地带不超过一两亩。目前，每一家有三至七条地带。

狭窄的地带和分散的地块妨碍了畜力的使用，也妨碍了采用其他集体耕作方式。这是中国农业技术落后的首要原因。

再者，一块田地可能有好几个所有者，而每人只对自己那一条地带负责。我们已经看到过这种情况怎样引起了用水方面的频繁争执。

每家土地面积窄小，限制了抚育孩子的数量。另一方面，土地相对较多的农户生养较多的孩子，从而在几代人之后，他们占有土地的面积就将缩小。在这些条件之下，人口与土地之间的比例得到了调整。

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[1] Coral Gardens and their Magic, 1935, p. 318.
[2] Ibid., p. 320.
[3] 《珊瑚园和它们的巫术》，1935年，第318页。
[4] 同前书，第320页。
[5] Chen Han-seng, Agrarian Problem in Southernmost China, Lingnan University, Canton, 1936, p. 4, and Chapter III.
[6] 陈翰笙：《华南土地问题》，岭南大学，广东，1936年，第4页及第三章。
[7] It is also observed in South China that the land right is transferred through the intermediary step of mortgage. Chen Han-seng says, "Sometimes one-half of the peasant families have mortgaged their lands, as in many villages of Wung-yuen and Mei-hsien, where the percentage of land owning peasants is relatively high. The mortgaged piece is from 50 to 60 per cent. of the land price, very rarely 80 or 90 per cent. Of course, only a very few peasants would like to sell their lands, most of them prefer to

mortgage in the hope of recovering them. But once the peasants have stepped into the sepulchre of usury, they are led to descend down the inescapable staircase with only a remote chance of coming out again. At least 70 or 80 per cent. of the landless peasants in Kwangtung have lost some of their land possessions through mortgage.”..."According to the statistics of ten representative villages in the district of Pan-yu, the peasants there have mortgaged and sold 5 per cent. of their land area within five years." Op. cit. p. 96.

[8] Code Nos. 846 and 847.

[9] The system of permanent tenancy seems to be a protection of the peasant against a quick process of losing land rights owing to the financial needs of the rural industry. It should be studied not as a historical survival but as an adjustment of the interests of cultivator and financier, an integral part of the absentee landlord system. This can be illustrated also by observation in South China. "It is a remarkable fact," says Chen Han-seng, "that nothing is ever heard of permanent tenancy in the south-western part of Kwangtung, just the sort of region where one would expect some such reminder of the old economy, because here, so far, the influence of modern commerce has been comparatively little felt. On the other hand, the custom does obtain, where it would least be expected, namely, in the extreme eastern part of the province, up and down the Han River where not only junks and barges but also modern steamers and a local railway ply a lively trade, emerging the modernizing influence of the Swatow business world far into the interior. Indeed, in the region there are not merely remnants of a system of permanent tenancy but a considerable part of the cultivated area is actually under this form of lease," op. cit. p. 52. Chen tends to solve the system by an historical explanation, p. 51, although, as the above quotation shows, the present fact does not fit in with his expectation. To me the historical explanation may be interesting by itself but is not important if we are trying to understand the function of the system in the institution of land tenure. Without his ungrounded expectation, Chen may be able to realize the importance of the financial problem in relation to the land problem which he has very rightly pointed out on several occasions in his analysis but not been able to emphasize.

[10] 在华南还可以看到，土地的移交是通过抵押这个中间步骤来完成的。陈翰笙说：“有时，半数的贫农家庭抵押了他们的土地，如在翁源和梅县的许多村子中那样。在那个地方，拥有土地的农民比例相对地较高。抵押的价格为土地价格的50%至60%，很少有80%到90%的。当然，只有极少数的贫农愿意出售自己的土地，多数人抱着赎回来的希望抵押自己的土地。但是，一旦贫农踏入了高利贷之墓门，他们就会被不容逃脱的阶梯一步步引入墓穴深处，再次离开坟墓的机会渺茫。在广东，至少有70%或80%的无地贫农在抵押中失去了一部分地产。”……“根据统计，在番禺县的10个有代表性的村子中，贫农在5年内抵押和出售的土地占他们土地面积的5%。”同前书，第95–96页。

[11] 《民法》第846及847条。

[12] 永佃制似乎保护了贫农不致因乡村工业需要资金而迅速失去土地权。不应把永佃制当作历史遗存来研究，而应把它作为耕种者与投资者利益的调节来看待，是不在地主制整体的一个部分。这也可以用在华南所作的观察来说明。陈翰笙说道：“一个明显的事实是，在广东的西南部尚未听说过永佃制，这里恰是那种人们预料会有旧经济陈迹的地方，因为至今这里还较少受到现代商业的影响。另一方面，在一些料想不到的地方，却见到了这种惯例。就是在广东省的最东端，韩江上来来往往的不仅有帆船、驳船，而且还有现代的轮船，以及一条地方铁路，经营得生意兴隆，汕头商业界的现代化影响出现在内地。在这个地区，的确不只是有永佃制的遗迹，而是已耕地的相当一部分实际上以这种形式出租。”（同前书，第52页）陈倾向于用历史观点来解释永佃制（第51页）。尽管上面的引语表明，目前的事实与他的期望并不吻合。对我来说，作历史的解释，其本身可能很有意义，但如果我们试图理解永佃制在土地占有中的作用，则这种解释并不重要。若不怀无根据的期望，陈就可能会意识到金融问题与土地问题关系的重要性。他在分析中，曾几度非常正确地指出了这一关系，但未能加以强调。

[13] Land and Labour in China, p. 67–68.

[14] Op. cit. p. 36. The present material seems to confirm the general point suggested by Professor Tawney that the problem of tenancy is a function of the financial relation between village and city. "Occupying ownership," says he, "is least prevalent in the proximity of great cities where urban capital

flows into agriculture—in the Canton delta 85 per cent. of the farmers, and in the neighbourhood of Shanghai 95 per cent., are said to be tenants—and most generally in the regions but little affected by modern economic developments. The provinces of Shensi, Shansi, Hopei, Shang-tung, and Honan, where some two-thirds of the farmers are stated to be owners, are the original home of Chinese agriculture. They have been little touched as yet by commerce and industry. The yield of the soil is too low to make it an attractive investment to the capitalist, while the farmer has not the resource to rent additional land. In the south, where the soil is more productive, agriculture yields a surplus, the commercialization of economic relations has proceeded further and both the inducement and the ability to invest capital in land are accordingly greater. It is reasonable to expect that, with the expansion of modern industry and financial methods into regions as yet unaffected by them, similar conditions will tend to establish themselves in other parts of the country. In that case, the struggle which has so often taken place in Europe between the customary rights of the peasant, farming largely for subsistence, and the interest of the absentee owner in making the most of his speculation is likely, it may be anticipated, to be repeated in China. In parts of the country, it is being repeated already," op. cit. pp. 37–38.
[15] Cf. Chen Han-seng, op. cit. Chapter II, 24–41.
[16] 《中国的土地与劳动》，第67-68页。
[17] 同前引书，第36页。目前的材料似乎肯定了托尼教授提出的观点。租佃制问题是城乡间金融关系的职能。他说："自耕所有制在大城市附近极不流行。在那里，城市资本流入农业，据说，在广东三角洲，85%的农民是佃农，在上海附近，95%是佃农。但在很少受到现代经济发展影响的地区自耕所有制却普遍盛行。陕西、山西、河北、山东、河南等省是中国农业的发源地，那里约有三分之二的农民据称是土地占有者。他们与工商业几乎没有什么接触，土壤的产量太低，不足以吸引资本家在那里投资，而农民也无能力租种更多的土地。在南方，土壤具有较高的生产率，农业产生了盈余，经济关系的商业化得到了发展，对土地进行投资的诱因和能力相应较强。可以合理地设想，随着现代工业和财务方法扩展到那些尚未受其影响的地区，中国的其他部分也会逐步产生类似的情况。在这种情况下欧洲经常发生的那种农民的习惯权利，为生存而耕作，同不在地主唯利是图地做投机生意这两者之间的斗争很可能在中国重新出现。在中国的某些地方，这种斗争已经发生了。"同前书，第37-38页。
[18] 参照陈翰笙，前引书，第二章，第24-41页。
[19] Declaration of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang, 1924, contains the following statements: "The principle of the People's livelihood—This principle of the Kuomintang contains two fundamental aspects. The first is the equalization of land and the second is the control of capital. In as much as the greatest cause of the inequality of economic organization lies in the fact that the right of land is controlled by the few, the Kuomintang proposes that the State shall prescribe the law of land, the law for the utilization of land, the law of the taxation of land, the law for the taxation of the value of land. Private landowners shall declare its value to the government, which shall tax it according to the value so declared with the option of buying it at the price in case of necessity. This is the essence of the equalization of land....
"China is an agricultural country, and the peasants are the class that have suffered most. The Kuomintang stands for the policy that those peasants that have no land and consequently have fallen into the status of mere tenants should be given land by the State for their cultivation. The State shall also undertake the work of irrigation and of opening up the waste land so as to increase the power of production of land. Those of the peasants that have no capital and are compelled to borrow at high rates of interest and are in debt for life should be supplied by the State with credit by the establishment of rural banks. Only then will the peasants be able to enjoy the happiness of life." T. C. Woo, The Kuomintang and the Future of the Chinese Revolution, Appendices C, pp. 255–6.
[20] 在中山县土地局《年鉴》的前言中，孙中山先生的一名拥护者写道："土地问题是关系到我们国计民生的根本问题。如果这个问题能得到正确的解决，我们国计民生的问题也就自然会迎刃而解。只有解决了这个问题，人类才能够逐渐摆脱战争。土地所有制中的平等权利是国民党提倡的原则，我们的首要目的是防止少数人的独占，为所有的人提供利用土地的平等权利和同等机会。"引自陈翰笙前引书，第23页。

在1924年《国民党第一次全国代表大会宣言》中有下列陈述："民生主义——国民党之民生主义，其最要之原则，不外二者：一曰平均地权，二曰节制资本。酝酿成经济组织之不平均者，莫大于土地权之为少数人所操纵，故当由国家规定土地法、土地使用法、土地征收法及地价税法。私人所有土地，由地主估价呈报政府，国家就价征税，并于必要时依报价收买之，此则平均地权之要旨也……"中国以农立国，而全国各阶级所受痛苦，以农民为尤甚。国民党之主张，则以为农民之缺乏田地，沦为佃户者，国家当给以土地，资其耕作，并为之整顿水利，移殖荒徼，以均地力。农民之缺乏资本，至于高利借贷以负债终身者，国家为之筹设调剂机关，如农民银行等，供其匮乏，然后农民得享人生应有之乐。"伍朝枢：《国民党以及中国革命之前途》，附录C，第255–256页。

CHAPTER XII THE SILK INDUSTRY

The silk industry is the second main source of income of the villagers. This is characteristic of the villagers around Lake Tai. The domestic silk industry has been carried on by the people for more than a thousand years. But during the last decade, for the reasons mentioned above (II–3), it has been declining. A new factory system of silk manufacturing has been introduced. The industrial change has deeply affected the life of the people in the villages. It has also called forth various attempts on the part of the government and other institutions to control the change in order to reduce or eliminate its disastrous consequences. The village we are studying, being one of the centres of the industry, provides a typical case for analysing the process; and also, owing to the fact that an experi-ment has been made by the Sericultural School to reform the industry, it is specially interesting to see the possibilities and difficulties involved in such a deliberate effort of economic change.

〔1〕 Scheme of the Process of Change

The present analysis will take into view the different forces effecting the situation. They are classified into outside forces working for the change and traditional forces bearing on the change. The interplay of these forces results in a changing situation. Thus the process can be schematically represented by three columns as follows.[1] The items listed in the scheme will be discussed in the following sections.

〔2〕Conditions Working for Industrial Change

Several facts already mentioned in the above chapters must be noticed once more in order that a proper estimate may be made of the relative importance of agriculture in the domestic economy. The average holding of land is about $8^{1}/_{2}$ *mow* (III–3). Under normal conditions each *mow* can produce six bushels of rice every year. The total produce will then be 51 bushels for that average holding of land. The amount of rice needed for direct consumption by members of the household is 42 bushels (VII–5). Therefore there is a surplus of 9 bushels. At the time when the new rice comes to market the price of rice is about $2^{1}/_{2}$ dollars per bushel. If the surplus is sold the return will be about 22 dollars. But for current expenses alone a Chia needs at least 200 dollars (VII–8). It is thus evident that life cannot be supported by agriculture alone. The deficiency amounts to 175 dollars a year. The situation is much worse with the tenants, and these are the majority of the villagers (XI–4). Tenant farmers with an average holding have to pay 20 bushels of rice as rent to the landlord. This amounts to 40 per cent. of the total produce. The remaining 30 bushels are barely enough for the consumption of the household.

拾贰 蚕丝业

蚕丝业是这个村里的居民的第二主要收入来源，这是太湖一带农民的特点。农民从事家庭蚕丝业已有几千年的历史。但近十年来，由于上面已讲过的原因（第二章第三节），蚕丝业有所衰退，并引进了蚕丝业的新改革。蚕丝业的衰落深深地影响了农村人民的生活。政府和其他机构已经作了各种尝试来控制这个变化，以减轻或消灭其灾难性的后果。我们所研究的村庄是蚕丝业中心之一，它为我们分析这一过程提供了典型的例子；同时，江苏女子蚕业学校已经开展了改革蚕丝业的实验。因此对于这样一个有意识地进行经济改革过程中所遇到的各种可能性和困难进行观察更具有特殊的意义。

一、变迁过程图解

目前所作的分析将把影响情况的各种不同力量考虑进去。力量可分成两类：促使变化的外界力量和承受变化的传统力量，这两种力量的互相作用导致了情况的变化。因此变迁过程，可以三栏图解表示如下，[2]图表中所列的项目将在以下各节讨论。

二、促进工业变迁的条件

为了对农业在家庭经济中的相对重要性作恰当的估价，我们必须再注意一下在上述章节中已经提到过的一些事实。平均一户拥有土地约10亩（第三章第三节）。在正常年景每亩每年可生产6蒲式耳的稻米。对拥有平均土地量的农户来说，总生产量是51蒲式耳。平均一家四口，需直接消费米33蒲式耳（第七章第五节），所以有27.36蒲式耳余粮。新米上市后，每蒲式耳米价约2.5元，如把余粮出卖约可得68.4元。但一个家目前的开支需要至少200元（第七章第八节）。显然，单靠农业，不能维持生活。每年家庭亏空约为131.6元。佃农情况更为悲惨，而村民中大多数是佃农（第十一章第四节）。佃农按平均土地拥有量，必须向地主交付相当于总生产量的40%，即24蒲式耳米作为地租。剩余36蒲式耳仅仅够一户食用。

A. Outside Forces Making for a Change	B. Changing Situation	C. Traditional Forces Bearing on Change
I. World economic depression; and worldwide development of silk industry on scientific lines and by factory methods.	I. Decline of the price of raw silk. Decay of domestic silk industry. Resulting economic poverty in the Chinese village as seen in:	I. Minimum standard of living. Domestic silk industry as an indispensable supplement to farming in a Chinese village. On which rest:
	(A) Deficiency in family budget and shortage of food.	(A) Daily necessities.
	(B) Suspension of recreative meetings and postponement of marriage.	(B) Ceremonial expenses.
	(C) Usury.	(C) Capital for productive work.
II. The Sericulture School as an active agent for industrial changes.	II. Readiness of the people for change. Support of the local leaders:	II. Lack of sufficient knowledge for industrial change on the part of the villagers. Social position and function of local leaders.
	(A) Assuming leadership in the reform. Increase of personal influence through participating in the reform. New leader created by the reform.	(A) Source of influence not hereditary, not by wealth but by strategic position in cultural contacts.
	(B) Economic benefit of the reform to the leaders.	(B) No direct economic reward for the position of the village head as such.

A. 促使变革的外界力量	B. 变化的情况	C. 承受变化的传统力量
I. 世界经济的衰退；及蚕丝业在世界性范围内向科学方法工厂企业的发展。	I. 生丝价格的下跌。家庭蚕丝业的衰退。中国农村经济贫困有以下三点表现： (A) 家庭收入不足，食物短缺。 (B) 文娱性活动停止，婚期推迟。 (C) 高利贷。	I. 最低生活水平。家庭蚕丝业是中国农村中对农业不可缺少的补充。 靠它来支付： (A) 日常所需。 (B) 礼节性费用。 (C) 生产的资本。
II. 江苏省女子蚕业学校是工业变革的积极力量。	II. 居民有变革的准备。当地领导人的支持： (A) 在改革中担任领导。通过参加改革扩大个人影响。在改革中产生新的领导人。 (B) 改革对领导人的经济利益。	II. 农民缺乏工业改革方面的知识。当地领导人的社会地位和作用。 (A) 声望的来源不是世袭，不是通过财富而是通过文化接触中的战略地位。 (B) 对这种村长职位没有直接经济报酬。

A. Outside Forces Making for a Change	B. Changing Situation	C. Traditional Forces Bearing on Change
III. Intentions of the agent of change:	III. Programme of Reform:	III. Traditional method subject to change:
(A) To apply scientific knowledge of the silk industry in order to:	(A) Initiating, organizing, and directing the reform programme by the staff and students of the School in:	(A) Technical defects of the traditional method:
(1) Prevent disease germs carried by the egg of the worm.	(1) Dependence on the specialists for egg supply.	(1) Infected eggs produced by individual families or by local hatcheries caused widespread disease.
(2) Increase the quantity and improve the quality of the cocoons.	(2) Raising worms under the supervision of the teaching centre.	(2) Customary method leaves the process of growth of the worm unregulated, causing high reduction in production and poor quality of the cocoons.
(3) Produce raw silk up to the export standard.	(3) Establishment of factory equipped with modern machines.	(3) Irregular fineness and frequency of break of the silk fibre reeled by the old type of machine.
(B) To organize the industry on the principle of co-operation.	(B) In the reform programme. (1) Co-operative aspects: (*a*) Common house for raising young worms. (*b*) Co-operative factory. (i) Ownership belonging to members. (ii) Raw material supplied by members. (iii) Profit distributed among members.	(B) Individualistic nature of the domestic industry. (1) Confirmation of the new idea from the tradition: In classical teaching, and In practice in collective drainage and credit system.

A. 促使变革的外界力量	B. 变化的情况	C. 承受变化的传统力量
III. 变革力量的意图：	III. 改革的计划：	III. 被改革的传统技术。
(A) 应用蚕丝业的科学知识以便：	(A) 蚕业学校师生发起、组织和指导改革计划：	(A) 传统技术的缺点：
(1) 防止蚕种带有病毒细菌。	(1) 依靠专家供应蚕种。	(1) 个体家庭或当地育种者生产的受过感染的蚕种，使传染病毒广泛传播。
(2) 增加蚕茧产量和改善质量。	(2) 在教学中心的监督下养蚕。	(2) 习惯的方法不能使蚕的生长过程得到控制，因而大大降低蚕茧的产量和质量。
(3) 生产合格的出口生丝。	(3) 开设有现代机器的工厂。	(3) 旧型机器缫丝粗细不一，断率高。
(B) 以合作原则组织企业。	(B) 在改革计划中。	(B) 家庭副业的个体性质。
	(1) 合作方面： (a) 稚蚕公育。 (b) 合作工厂。 (i) 所有权属于社员。 (ii) 社员供应原料。 (iii) 利润分给社员。	(1) 传统观念认可的新思想：在经典思想中，在集体排水实践和信贷系统中。

A. Outside Forces Making for a Change	B. Changing Situation	C. Traditional Forces Bearing on Change
	(2) Non-co-operative aspects: (*a*) Labour is paid by wage system. (*b*) Management is in the hand of reformers and local leaders. (*c*) Members have no practical control over the management. (*d*) Lack of initiation of the members and of auditing.	(2) Lack of education in practising the system of popular control and in exercising the new right.
	(3) Counter-co-operative aspects: (*a*) Members refuse to subscribe their shares in full after the factory has failed to distribute annual profit. (*b*) Members reluctant to fulfil their obligation in supplying raw material.	(3) Interested only in practical benefits.
(C) To improve the economic condition of the village.	(C) Improved economic condition in the village.	(C) Expectation of economic recovery.
	(1) Success: (*a*) Reduction of cost in the process of raising worms. Production of cocoons increased.	(1) (*a*) High cost of production of the traditional method.
	(*b*) Wage as a new source of family income.	(*b*) Labour did not form a commodity.

A. 促使变革的外界力量	B. 变化的情况	C. 承受变化的传统力量
	(2) 非合作方面： (a) 劳动由工资制付酬。 (b) 改革者及当地领导人进行管理。 (c) 社员没有参加实际管理。 (d) 社员缺乏创议力；缺乏账目审查。	(2) 对实施大众管理和行使新权利缺乏教育。
	(3) 反对合作方面： (a) 工厂不分年利后，社员拒绝续交全部股金。 (b) 社员不愿完成供应原料的义务。	(3) 仅对实际利益有兴趣。
(C) 改善村庄的经济情况。	(C) 改善村庄的经济情况。	(C) 希望经济恢复。
	(1) 成功： (a) 养茧成本降低。蚕茧生产增加。 (b) 工资是家庭收入的新来源。	(1) (a) 传统技术生产成本高。 (b) 劳动没有形成商品。

A. Outside Forces Making for a Change	B. Changing Situation	C. Traditional Forces Bearing on Change
	(2) Failure: (*a*)Profits have not reached the expected amount. (*b*) Waste of female labour in the household owing to the labour-saving of machine work. (*c*) Delayed payment of the full value of raw material supplied to the factory.	(2) Survival of traditional reeling. (*a*) Small profit in domestic industry. (*b*) Division of labour between sexes, small size of farm and no other work to absorb female labour. (*c*) Need of raw material for domestic reeling which is still partially preserved in the village.
IV. Government as change agent with the intentions: (A) Balance of international trade. (B) Rural reconstruction policies concerning rural industry. (1) Encouraging technical improvement. (2) Encouraging the co-operative movement.	IV. Government supports the reform programme. (A) Subsidizing silk export and giving high price for the production of the factory in 1935. (B) Governmental participation in the reform. (1) Inspection of egg production and taking over the work in supervising the raising of worms. (2) Dependence on governmental loans of the factory.	IV. Local autonomy and suspicion of the government by the people. (A) Importance of raw silk in Chinese export. (B) Economic obligation towards the government. (1) Inferior production affecting export. (2) Lack of financial ability of the people to maintain the new enterprise.

A. 促使变革的外界力量	B. 变化的情况	C. 承受变化的传统力量
	(2) 失败：	(2) 传统缫丝的残存。
	(a) 盈利没有达到预期的数量。	(a) 家庭企业利益微少。
	(b) 由于使用机器，剩余女劳力在家庭中浪费掉。	(b) 男女劳动分工，农田面积小，没有其他工作吸收女劳力。
	(c) 延迟支付供给工厂的原料的全部价值。	(c) 村里保留的部分家庭缫丝业需要原料。
IV. 政府作为变革力量所持的意图：	IV. 政府支持改革计划。	IV. 地方自治及人民怀疑政府
(A) 平衡国际贸易。	(A) 1935 年对工厂产品付高价补助生丝出口。	(A) 中国生丝出口的重要性。
(B) 有关农村企业的乡村建设政策。	(B) 政府参加改革。	(B) 对政府的经济义务。
(1) 鼓励技术改进。	(1) 检查蚕种生产，接办养蚕监督工作。	(1) 产品质量低劣，影响出口。
(2) 鼓励合作运动。	(2) 工厂依赖政府贷款。	(2) 人民没有财力来维持新企业。

Thus it becomes clear that a supplementary industry is indispensable for maintaining a normal livelihood, which must be sufficient to cover daily necessities, ceremonial expenses, tax and rent and capital for future production. (Col. C. I) When the silk industry was prosperous the production

of raw silk could yield an average household about 300 dollars with a surplus (profit and wages) of 250 dollars. (The highest price of native silk exceeded 1 dollar per Liang, 1/14 lbs. and the total production for an average household is 280 Liang. The cost of production, excluding wages, is about 50 dollars.) Under these conditions the standard of living was much higher than the minimum expected standard given above (VII–8). The villagers had then sufficient money to finance the various recreative and ceremonial activities which have been suspended for more than ten years.

The price of native silk has fallen. In 1935 the price was 1 dollar for 3 Liang. Without any decrease in the amount of production, an average household could then only obtain a profit of 45 dollars. In such conditions and with the traditional system of production, it is difficult to balance the domestic budget. In the next chapter, I shall show how a new industry has been introduced and how the villagers have also attempted to increase their income by expanding their trading activities. But in many cases they have sold their rice reserves in the winter and borrowed rice from the shop in the summer (XV–3). In case of urgent need they have appealed to usurers (XV–4). On the other side they have tried to cut down expenses which are not immediately necessary, such as those for recreative meetings and marriage. (Col. B. I)

The fall of income of the villagers is not due to a deterioration of quality or decrease of quantity of their production. Villagers produce the same type and the same amount of silk but it does not command the same amount of money from the market. The factors affecting price lie, of course, outside the village, and here I will only note two of the most important of them, namely, the post-war depression of world economy and the uneven quality of the domestic silk which renders it unsuitable to the highly mechanized weaving industry. (Col. A. I)

因此，很明显，为维持正常生活所需，包括日常必须品、礼节性费用、税和地租以及再生产所需的资金等，从事辅助产业是必不可少的。（C栏I项）缫丝工业兴旺时，生产生丝可使一般农户收入约300元，除去生产费用可盈余250元（当地生丝最高价格每两超过1元，一般农户总生产量为280两。生产成本约50元。工资在外）。在这种情况下，生活水平要比上述预期最低水平高得多（第七章第八节）。这样，农民便有了一些钱可以开展各种文娱和礼节性活动。这种活动已停止了约十余年。

当地生丝价格下跌。1935年3两丝约值1元。生产量没有任何降低，但一般的户仅能获利45元。在这种情况下，用传统生产技术所获利益便难以平衡家庭预算。下一章我将叙述如何引进新的工业，村民如何尝试扩大商业活动来增加收入。很多人不得不在冬天出售存粮来维持生活，夏天到粮店借粮（第十五章第三节）。遇紧急需要时，他们不得不向高利贷者求援（第十五章第四节）。另一方面，他们试着削减非必需的开支，例如娱乐性聚会、婚事开支等。（B栏I项）

农民收入的减少不是由于他们的产品质量下降或数量减少的缘故。村民生产同样品种、同等数量的生丝，但从市场上不能赚回同等金额的钱。当然，影响生丝价格的因素来自外界，我在此仅举两个最重要的因素，即战后世界经济萧条以及质量不匀的家庭缫丝不适合高度机械化的丝织工业的需要。（A栏I项）

〔3〕Agents of Change and Their Intentions

The relation between the decline of silk prices and the increase of poverty was clear to the people. At first they tried to discover what changes in the industry were necessary in order to restore the former conditions. But with their limited knowledge they were by themselves not able to take any definite action. Initiative and direction in the process of change come from outside.

The initiating party in this case was the Sericulture School for Girls, in Houshukuan, near Soochow. This has had a profound influence on subsequent development but has of course been a factor outside the village.

A technical school in China is one of the centres for spreading modern technique in industry. Modern technique has been chiefly introduced from foreign countries, in the case of the silk industry chiefly from Japan. It is the result of the meeting of Chinese and Western civilizations—a typical contact situation. The difficulty of the technical school in fulfilling its function is that unless the new technique is accepted by the people, it cannot by itself serve progress. A failure in this respect is reflected in unemployment of the trained students. The situation there is most acute in the silk industry. The silk industry, especially the process of raising silkworms, is a kind of domestic work in the villages. In order to make the improved technique acceptable to the people and to find jobs for the students, industrial reform in villages has become an urgent problem for the technical schools. They cannot remain as purely educational institutions. Therefore, the Sericulture School has established a special department responsible for spreading in rural districts a knowledge of the new methods.

The nature of the change agent is important because it determines the change programme. The measure introduced to cope with the situation is formulated and actions are organized by the agent whose understanding of the situation is the premise. But the definition of situation influenced by the social setting of the agents is usually a partial representation of the reality.[3] To come back to our village, the causes of the fall in silk prices are multiple. The capitalistic structure of world economy, the struggle among imperialistic

countries, the control of world finance by a special "racial group," the political status of oppressed nations as well as the modern girls' newly acquired æsthetic valuation of bare feet—all these might directly or indirectly be responsible for the decline of the price of the silk produced in Chinese rural districts, but not all of them came under the consideration of the change agent. Since the change agent in this case is the technical school, the situation is defined in terms of technical factors. The person responsible for initiating the reform programme in the village gave me the following account.

三、变革的力量及其意图

生丝价格低落及贫困加剧两者之间的关系，人们已经清楚。开始为了恢复原有的经济水平，他们试图发现技术上需要什么样的变革。但他们的知识有限，靠他们自己并不能采取任何有效的行动，发起和指导变革过程的力量来自外界。

在这种情况下，发起单位便是苏州附近浒墅关的女子蚕业学校。它对后来的发展起着深远的影响，当然这是来自村外的一种因素。

中国的技术学校是传播现代工业技术的中心。现代技术主要来自国外，至于缫丝工业则主要来自日本。这是中国和西方文明接触的结果，一种典型的接触情境。技术学校在执行任务过程中的困难是：除非新技术为人民所接受，否则单靠它本身，事业并不能开展。从这方面来说，受过训练的学生找不到职业便反映了这种失败。蚕丝业的情况最尖锐。蚕丝业——特别是养蚕的过程——是村里的一种家庭副业。为了使进步的技术为人们所接受，并为学生找到职业，村庄的工业改革便成为技术学校迫切需要解决的问题。技术学校不能停留在纯教育机构的性质。因此，蚕业学校建立了一个推广部门，负责在农村地区传播新的技术知识。

变革力量的性质如何是重要的，因为它决定变革的计划。它制定应付形势的措施并组织行动。它对形势的理解是行动的前提。但变革力量受其社会环境影响，对形势所作的阐述往往不能代表现实的全貌。[4] 再回头来说这个村庄，生丝价格下跌的原因是多方面的。世界经济的资本主义结构、帝国主义国家之间的斗争、被压迫国家的政治地位以及摩登女郎新近接受的赤脚审美观等等，这一切都可能直接或间接成为中国农村生产的生丝价格下跌的原因，但变革力量不会把这些全部都考虑进去。由于当前的变革力量是蚕业学校，对情况的阐述是从技术因素来考虑的。村里负责改革计划的人对我讲了以下情况。

In the worst years, by means of the traditional method only about 30 per cent. of the total silkworms reached the final stage and produced cocoons. The amount of silk given by the worms was small. This unsatisfactory state of affairs was due to the lack of preventive measures against the spread of disease among the worms. The micro-organism responsible for the disease was carried by the mother moth to the eggs through physical contact between

them. Thus disease was handed down from generation to generation, and there was no way of stopping it. The house and the implements were not disinfected before they were used for raising new worms. Once a house was infected by disease, it would suffer for years and years. The diseased or dead worms were cast under the mulberry trees. People thought that these dead worms were fertilizer for the trees. But actually they spread the germs, which were brought back with the mulberry leaves to the house. (Col. C. III. A. 1.)

The temperature and humidity, which are very important conditions in the process of the growth of the worms, were left unregulated. According to custom, after the third exuviæ, fire was put out regardless of the actual fluctuation of the climate. In the village there were not enough mulberry trees. The people had to buy mulberry leaves from neighbouring villages. Owing to the difficulties of transport they usually fed the worm with leaves already withered. The quantity and frequency of feeding were irregular. Even those worms unaffected by disease were unhealthy and not able to produce good cocoons. (Col. C. III. A. 2.)

The fundamental principle in silk reeling is to draw the silk fibre from the cocoon and to combine several fibres into one thread that can be used in weaving. The old type machine used for reeling consisted of three parts, namely, a furnace to boil water, a wheel to collect the thread after the fibre had been combined into one thread, and a rotating axle connected to a plate for treading by foot. Warmed water was used for dissolving the sticky matter of the cocoon. But the temperature was not constant. Thus the degree of dissolution was uneven. This affected not only the lustre of the silk thread but the frequency with which the fibre broke.

Several cocoons are drawn at the same time by the movement of the wheel. The fineness of the thread depends on the number of fibres combined. The fibres from different layers of the cocoon are not of the same fineness. To maintain regular fineness of the thread, it is essential to keep a constant number of fibres and adjust the fibres from different layers of the cocoon. This was not easy to attain by hand reeling, because firstly, the frequency of breakage was high, secondly the movement of the wheel was not even, and thirdly the workers were not specially trained. (Col. C. III. A. 3.)

用传统方法养蚕，在最坏的年景里，只有30%的蚕能成活到最后阶段并结茧。蚕的吐丝量少。这种不能令人满意的情况是由于对蚕的病毒传播没有预防措施。蚕蛾通过接触把致病的微生物带给蚕卵。这样，病

毒便一代代传下去，无法控制。喂养新蚕前，房屋和器具未经消毒。一旦房屋被病菌污染，蚕便连年闹病。病蚕或死蚕被扔在桑树下。人们以为死蚕可用作桑树的肥料，但实际上它们传播细菌，桑叶又把细菌带回到养蚕的房子里。（C栏，III项，A.1）

蚕生长过程中的重要条件——温度和湿度——得不到调节。按照习惯，不管气候有何变化，蚕第三次蜕皮后就停止烧火。村里桑树不足，人们必须从邻村购买桑叶。由于运输困难，他们往往用干萎的桑叶喂蚕。喂食的质量和次数都没有规则。即使那些没有感染病毒的蚕也不健康，不能结出好的茧子。（C栏，III项，A.2）

缫丝的基本原则是把蚕茧的丝纤维抽出来，把数条纤维合成一根丝线供纺织用。旧式缫丝机器分成三部分：煮水的炉子、绕丝线的轮子和连着踏脚板的旋转轴。当纤维合成一股丝线后，用脚踏板使轮子转动，抽缫丝线。用热水可以把蚕茧的粘性物溶解。但水温不稳定，因此溶解的程度不匀。这不仅影响丝的光泽而且影响纤维的折断率。

轮子转动，同时从几个蚕茧抽丝。丝线的粗细取决于合成的纤维数目。从蚕茧的不同层次抽出来的丝，粗细不同。为保持丝线粗细的匀称，必须保持抽取固定数目的纤维，并不断地调整从不同层次里抽出来的纤维。手工缫丝不易达到这一目的，因为首先，纤维折断率高；第二，轮子转动不均匀；第三，工人没有受过专门训练。（C栏，III项，A.3）

Silk is the raw material for the weaving industry. Since the silk produced in the village is mostly exported, it must be adjusted to the technical development in the weaving industry in Western countries. The highly mechanized weaving industry has imposed a new standard on the raw silk. The degree of fineness should be uniform and accurately defined. Breaks should be reduced to a minimum. Such requirements cannot possibly be fulfilled by traditional hand reeling. The result is that the silk produced by the villagers is unsuitable for the improved weaving industry. The decline of demand for such crude silk leads to a decline of price. That is the reason why we must introduce the scientific method to the village. (Col. A. III. A.)

But technical change cannot be produced without corresponding changes in social organization. For instance, the smooth movement of the wheel can be attained only through the regular mechanical move-ment of a central power. Introduction of the steam engine for technical purposes leads to a change from individual domestic work to collective factory work. The

use of electric power, which might again decen-tralize the productive process, requires a much more complicated co-ordination among industries. Under a system of collective enterprise, the relation between the means of production and labour also becomes more complicated. To introduce new social organizations for production, the agent must also teach new social principles. The selection of the social principle in organizing the new industry is also related to the interest of the agent. The technical school is not interested in making a profit for itself because it is not an economic institution. Who would therefore gain from industrial reform? The agent's answer is the people. The organization of the new industry is on the principle of "co-operation." (Col. A. III. B.) The agent justified this change as follows:

Machines should be used to increase human happiness. Unfortunately, they have been used for the contrary purpose. But I still believe that it is the duty of the reformer who is trying to introduce these types of tool into China to find a way of using them properly. To me, the most important thing is that men should not be the slaves of machines. In other words, machines should be owned by those who use them as a means of production. That is why I insist on the principle of co-operation. It would be much easier to organize the new factory on capitalistic lines, but why should I do it? Should I work for the interests of the capitalists and intensify the sufferings of the people? The profit secured from the improved technique should go to the people who share in the production.

生丝是纺织工业的原料。既然农村生产的生丝大部分出口，它就必须与西方国家的纺织工业技术发展相适应。高度机械化了的纺织工业为生丝规定了一个新的标准。粗细程度必须一致，而且有精确的规定。断头现象必须减到最少程度。这样的要求，用传统手工缫丝是不能满足的。结果是，村民生产的生丝不适用于改进了的纺织工业。西方纺织工业对这种生丝需求下降，因而价格下跌。这也就是为什么我们必须把科学方法引进村里的原因。（A栏，III项，A.）

但如果没有社会组织的相应变革，技术变革是不可能的。例如，轮子平稳的转动只有通过中心动力有规则的机械运动才能达到。为了改进技术，引进蒸汽引擎，必然引起一种从家庭个体劳动到工厂集体劳动的变革。电力的使用，又可能使生产过程分散，从而需要各产业之间复杂得多的协作。在一个集体企业系统下，生产资料和劳动之间的关系也变得更加复杂。为了生产，引进新的社会组织，变革力量也必须传授新的社会原则。在组织新工业中选择社会原则也与变革力量的利益相关。蚕

业学校本身对盈利不感兴趣，因为它不是一个企业机构。那么工业改革使谁得益呢？变革者的回答是人民。新工业组织的原则是“合作”。（A栏，IV项，B.）变革者对变革的正确解说如下：

机器用来增添人类的幸福。不幸的是，它被用来为相反的目的服务。但我仍然相信，试图把这些工具引进中国的改革者的责任，是寻找一种正当的办法使用机器。对我来说，最重要的是，人不应该成为机器的奴隶。换句话说，把机器当作一种生产资料的人应该拥有机器。这就是为什么我坚持合作的原则。要按照资本主义的方式来组织新的工厂容易得多，但我为什么要这样做呢？我应该为资本家的利益工作而使人民更加痛苦吗？技术改革所得到的利益应该归于参加生产的人们。

My other conviction is that the silk industry has been, and should remain, a rural industry. My reason is that if we attract the industry away from the village, as has been done by many industrialists and is so easy to accomplish, the villagers will in fact starve. On the other hand, I know very well how the workers are living in the cities. Village girls have been attracted by the opportunity to work in the city factories for a small wage, on which they can hardly support themselves. They have left their own homes. This process has ruined both the city workers and the village families. If Chinese industry can only develop at the expense of the poor villagers, I personally think we have paid too much for it.

The aim of my work is to rehabilitate the rural economy through the introduction of scientific methods of production and the organization of the new industry on the principle of co-operation.

The socialistic ideas of the reformers represent a part of the current ideology of the present literate class in China. In their new version they are introduced from the West, side by side with the modern technology and capitalistic system of industry. The position of the Chinese people in the world economy and the repeated struggle with the Western powers have created a situation favourable for the spreading of socialist ideas. A reaction against capitalism, as understood by the Chinese people, prevails among the general public. Even those who stand for capitalism do not dare openly to justify its principles. This attitude was explicitly stated in the "Three people's principles" of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, which have been accepted, theoretically, by the present government as the guiding principle of its national policies.

On the other hand, socialist ideas are nothing new in China. The basic political idea of Dr. Sun Yat-sen was to realize the traditional teaching such as, "Under the heaven every thing is public," or "Those who till the land should have the land." (Col. C. III. B. 1.)

我的另一个信念是，蚕丝工业曾经是而且应该继续是一种乡村工业。我的理由是：如果我们把工业从农村引向别的地方，像很多工业家所做的那样，也是非常容易做到的，农民实际上就会挨饿。另一方面，我也很了解，工人们在城市里是如何生活的。农村姑娘被吸引到城市工厂去工作，挣微薄的工资，几乎不能养活自己，她们离开了自己的家。这种过程既损害了城市工人，又破坏了农村的家庭。如果中国工业只能以牺牲穷苦农民为代价而发展的话，我个人认为这个代价未免太大了。

我工作的目的是，通过引进科学的生产技术和组织以合作为原则的新工业，来复兴乡村经济。

变革者趋向社会主义的思想代表了当前中国知识阶级的部分思想状况。这是同西方的现代技术和资本主义工业系统一起引进的新看法。中国人民在世界经济中的地位以及同西方列强的不断斗争，为传播社会主义思想创造了有利条件。正如中国人民所了解的，公众普遍反对资本主义，甚至于那些代表资本主义的人也不敢公开为资本主义的原则辩护。这种态度在已故孙中山先生的“三民主义”里阐述得很清楚，从理论上说，它被现今政府所接受并作为国家政策的指导原则。

另一方面，社会主义思想在中国并非新的东西。孙中山先生的基本政治思想是实现传统的教导，诸如“天下为公”和“耕者有其田”。（C栏，III项，B.1）

〔4〕Local Support for Change

As we have seen, the Sericulture School, being outside the village, was only a potential agent. To turn the potential agent into an active one there was needed another factor. There was no direct social relationship between the School and the villagers. The group which possessed the new knowledge had no direct use for it and the group which needed the knowledge had no opportunity of acquiring it. A bridge by which the agent of change could be made to function in the village was essential. It was found in the local leaders.

According to the published report of the co-operative factory the initiative was due to the local leaders. The following passage written by Chen may be quoted.

Kiangsu is known as a silk-producing area. But the industry depended more on natural factors than upon human effort. The result was the failure of the villagers in the industry. This had frequently ruined the people. In view of such conditions I (Chen) and Mr. Sen (a local leader in the town, Chên Tsê), proposed to the town council, in the regular summer meeting in 1923, that a teaching centre should be established to reform the method of raising silkworms. The proposal was passed and 600 dollars were allotted for the purpose.

It happened that the president of the Sericulture School had, also as a result of the fall of silk prices, started a department for extension work for reforming the traditional methods of the silk industry. In the winter of that year, he came to Kaihsienkung, accompanied by Misses Fei and Hu and gave a series of public lectures. The people were greatly interested. Then the chairman of the town council, in accordance with the resolution, authorized the president to organize the proposed teaching centre. The president consented to co-operate with the town council and subsidize the plan, and it was decided to start the work also in Kaihsienkung.

In addition to my own family, I called together twenty other families which had suffered very much in the past from continuous failure in the industry. The reform work was started in the spring of 1924.[5]

I have mentioned that the village headmanship is not a hereditary office. He has no other ground for his authority than the usefulness of his services to the community (VI–4). One of his most important functions is to interpret local needs and to assume leadership in taking necessary measures. The village head receives no economic reward for his position. But through introducing special work in the village, he can derive economic benefit from it. These were the intentions of Chen in supporting the programme of industrial reform. (Col. B. II. A. and B.)

四、当地对变革的支持

我们已经看到，蚕业学校由于在村外，因此仅仅是一种潜在的力量。为把潜在力量转变成现实力量，还需要另一个因素，学校和村民之间没有直接的社会关系。占有新知识的群体没有直接使用知识，而需要这种知识的群体又没有机会获得知识，要使变革力量在村中起作用，中间必须有一座桥梁，这是重要的。当地领导人是充当这个桥梁的角色。

根据合作工厂已公布的报告，主动在于当地领导人一边。可以引陈写的一席话来说明：

江苏以产丝著称，但这一工业更多地依赖自然因素而不是人的力量，结果是农民在丝业中失败了。这经常损害人民。鉴于这种情况，我（陈）和沈先生（震泽镇的一个领导人）在1923年的夏季例会中向镇改进社建议，应设立一个教学中心以便改革养蚕方法。建议获得批准后，拨款600元来筹办此事。

恰巧蚕业学校的校长也因生丝价格下跌正想为改革缫丝工业传统技术开办一个附设的推广部门。当年冬天，他由费女士和胡女士陪同来到开弦弓，并讲了一些课。人们都非常感兴趣。然后，镇改进社的主席根据决议，授权校长组织拟议的教学中心。校长同意与镇改进社合作，资助这一计划并决定就地在开弦弓开始工作。

除了我自己的家庭以外，我还把过去由于丝业的不断失败而受苦的20家召集在一起。改革工作于1924年春开始了。[6]

我已提过，村长的职务不是世袭的。除了他的服务对社区有用以外，他的权威没有其他的凭借（第六章第四节）。他的一项最重要的职能是了解当地的需要，采取必要的措施来实行领导。村长的职务没有经济报酬，但通过为村里做一些特殊的工作，他可以得到经济上的收益。这就是陈支持蚕业改革计划的意愿。（B栏，II项，A.及B.）

The strengthening of the social position of the local leaders by industrial reform appears still clearer in the case of Chou. Chou had had no social influence before the industrial reform was introduced. Owing to his literacy and ability, he became an assistant in the work and gained prestige from it. Finally he was appointed by the higher administration to be the head of the Hsiang (VI–5). His social position has been acquired wholly through his

participating in the reform programme.

This analysis is important in explaining why the village heads did not prove, on the contrary, a force resisting social change. Active resistance against the reform was not experienced at the initial stage. There was promise of improved condition on the side of the Sericulture School, and hope on the side of the people.

The rapid fall in prices had forced the people to accept certain changes in the traditional industry. But they lacked sufficient knowledge to define the situation or to formulate a definite programme of change. (Col. C. II.) They were also not properly equipped to judge the desirability of the proposed programme. The suspicion of novelty went hand-in-hand with the readiness to accept reforms when, by demonstration, the new technique could be proved useful. That is why at the beginning there were only twenty-one households in the programme, and, as the report specifically stated, these had suffered from hopeless failure when working by traditional methods. But it took only two years to draw the whole village under the supervision of the teaching centre.

〔5〕Programme of Change in Raising Silkworms

The primary aim of the reformers, as I have explained, is the technical improvement of rural industry, but change in one aspect of culture automatically calls forth a series of changes in other aspects. Such a process once started tends to go on until a complete re-organization of the whole system has been affected. The sequence of change is of special interest for studying the functional relations between social institutions.

当地领导人的地位通过丝业改革加强了，这从周的情况来看更为明显。在丝业改革以前周没有什么社会影响。由于他识字，有能力，他成为这项工作的助手并提高了声望。最后，他被高一级的行政管理机构任命为乡长（第六章第五节）。他的社会地位是通过参加这项改革计划而获得的。

在解释村长在社会变革中为什么不是一股反对改革的力量时，上述分析有重要参考价值。在最初阶段没有人积极反对改革。蚕业学校作了情况会得到改善的允诺，在人民一方面则抱着希望。

蚕丝价格的急剧下跌迫使人民接受对传统丝业的某些改革。但他们缺乏足够的知识来判明情况或制定变革计划。（C栏，II项）他们对已经提出的计划所要达到的要求也缺乏判断能力。新的技术虽然已被证明有用时，人们一方面准备接受改革，一方面还在怀疑新鲜事物。这就是为什么一开始参加这项计划的仅有21户，正如该报告具体说明的那样，这些户用传统技术操作时遭受了惨痛的失败。但总起来说，只用了两年工夫便把整个村子纳入蚕业教学中心的指导。

五、养蚕的改革计划

如同我已经解释过的，改革者的主要目的是从技术上改进农村企业，但是对文化的某一方面进行变革，自然会引起其他诸方面的变化。这样的过程一旦开始，便会继续下去，直到整个系统完全重新改组为止。在研究社会制度之间的功能关系时，研究变迁的顺序是特别有意义的。

The reform programme has proceeded along the line of the natural process of the silk industry. This starts from the production of eggs through the breeding of moths and continues with the hatching of the eggs and raising of the silkworms, and collection of cocoons; it ends, as far as the village is concerned, with the reeling of the silk thread. The problem of marketing I shall deal with in the chapter after next.

Scientific knowledge in egg production consists of two parts, namely, the breeding of superior species through experimental crossing, and the separation of infected eggs through microscopic examination. Formerly the people produced eggs through pure line breeding of their own worms. They would also allow the germs to be handed down to the second generation. To reform the system of egg production, it was not practical to teach each villager the principles of genetics and the use of the microscope. It is much cheaper to employ a specialist to produce the eggs for the use of the villagers. The School therefore took over this work at first and supplied the villagers. It is interesting to note that in this respect the reformers were inconsistent in their aims. They decided to keep industry in the village, but egg production has been removed from the village into the hands of specialists. But egg production is economically unimportant, because the cost of the eggs is only 3 per cent. of the total cost of the production of raw silk.

The demand for disinfected eggs increased rapidly as the silk reform gradually spread over the whole region of the lower Yangtze valley. The School could not meet the demand and thus many private egg pro-ducers seized the chance to make a profit. The quality of eggs could not be maintained and the bad effects on the reform programme became evident. This situation led to government interference. A bureau for censoring the

eggs was established by the provincial government with authority over the private producers and prices were also controlled. (Col. B. IV. B. 1.)

The people receive their eggs only a short time before the period for hatching. Eggs are treated by the producers with special care. From hatching up to the collection of cocoons, the whole process of work is comprised in the term "raising silkworms." This process is carried out in the village under a special organization. At the beginning of the reform, directors were sent from the teaching centre to teach the villagers how to make use of scientific knowledge, especially in the prevention of disease of the worm and in the regulation of temperature and humidity. To facili-tate management and supervision, the young worms of different owners are concentrated in a common house, on the principle of co-operation.

改革计划是沿着蚕丝业的自然过程向前推进的。这是从蚕蛾产卵生产蚕种开始，接着是孵化、养蚕、收集蚕茧，从农村来说，到缫丝作为结束。关于市场销售问题，将在以后章节中讨论。

生产蚕种的科学知识可分成两个部分，即通过实验杂交培育良种，以及通过显微镜检查分离受感染的蚕种。过去，人们是通过他们自己喂养的蚕的纯系繁育生产蚕种的。这也会使病菌传给第二代。为了改革蚕种生产系统，把遗传学的原理和使用显微镜的方法教给每一个农民是不实际的，聘请一个专家为农民生产蚕种要便宜得多。因此，蚕业学校首先接过了此项工作，供应村民蚕种。有趣的是我们发现在这一点上，改革者的行动与他们的目的不那么一致。他们决定把工业留在农村里，却把蚕种的生产从农村转移到专家手里。但蚕种的生产从经济上来说是不重要的，因为蚕种的价格仅为生丝生产总费用的3%。

当蚕丝改革工作逐步普及到整个长江下游地区时，对于灭菌蚕种的需求量迅速增加。蚕业学校已不能满足需要，很多私人便来生产蚕种，乘此机会牟取利益。蚕种的质量不能保证，对改革计划的坏影响明显起来，这引起了政府的干预。省政府成立了蚕种检查局，对私人生产的蚕种有权检查，并进行价格控制。（B栏，IV项，B.1）

人们只在孵化前不久收到蚕种。蚕种在生产者手里是得到特殊照料的。从孵化到收茧子，这整个工作过程都包括在“养蚕”这个词中。这个过程是在一个特殊组织之下在村里开展起来的。改革开始阶段，学校派出指导人员教村民如何利用科学知识，特别是在防止蚕病、控制温度和湿度方面。为了便于管理和指导，各家的幼蚕，按照合作的原则，集中到公共房屋里，称作“稚蚕公育”。

Expense and labour are shared by the owners in proportion to the amount of worms put in the common house. At present there are eight common houses in the village, containing practically all the young worms raised in the village. A special building with eight big rooms was built for this purpose. The money for the building was collected by adding 20 cents to each sheet of eggs during the years 1923 to 1925. (Col. B. III. B. 1. a.)

The collective process of raising silkworms can be effective only when the worms are young and small. Within six weeks they grow from a tiny size to two and a half inches at the time of maturity. After the third exuviæ the present common houses are not large enough to accommodate the worms. The collective system has then to be discontinued unless big buildings are available. The construction of such buildings is economically not worth while, because the period during which a large space is required is short, and it is much more convenient to use private houses. For the last two weeks all the rooms in the house, except the kitchen and half of the bedrooms, are occupied by the worms. This fact alone means that, unless the material substratum of the village is radically changed, silkworm raising must remam mainly a domestic industry.

After the third exuviæ, the worms are removed to the private houses and each household raises its own worms separately. Before the removal, the private houses are disinfected under instructions given by the teaching centre. Constant supervision is maintained during this process. Diseased worms are removed at once to prevent the disease spreading. Temperature and humidity are regulated according to the need of the worms. (Col. B. III. A. 2.) The result of these measures is that the loss of worms due to disease has been kept under 20 per cent., and the total production of cocoons has increased at least 40 per cent. as compared with that under the traditional method.

When the teaching centre had proved its success in the village, the provincial government extended its work to the whole silk-producing area. We will describe this more fully in another section.

Before we go into the process of reeling, an estimate of the production and cost in this part of the process may be attempted. The total amount of silkworms that can be raised by a Chia depends on the size of the house and the labour available. Silkworms are raised in rectangular and shallow containers about $1^1/_2$ by 1 metre in size. They are put on the shelves of a stand. Each stand has eight containers. Each house has enough room for five

stands. The silkworms hatched from a sheet of eggs (which is of standard size), require in the final stage of development a whole stand for accommodation. One person can manage two or three stands. Each stand will yield 34 pounds of cocoons which can be reeled into 48 Liang (or 3.4 pounds) of raw silk. Under reformed conditions, the total amount of cocoons produced by an average Chia is about 200 pounds, which can be sold at a price of 60 to 70 dollars per 100 pounds (according to the reports mentioned above).

费用和劳动根据蚕主放在公用蚕室内的蚕种按比例分摊。目前村里共有八间公用蚕室，基本上包括了村里养的全部幼蚕。为了这一目的，专门造了这所有八间房屋的建筑物。从1923年至1925年对每张蚕种增收两角作为建筑费。（B栏，III项，B.1.a）

集体养蚕的方法只有在幼蚕时期有效。六个星期之内，它们从极为细小的“蚕蚁”长到两英寸半长蚕身。第三次蜕皮以后，目前公用的房间便不足以容纳这些蚕了。如果没有更大的房屋，集体喂养的方法便只得中断。建造能容纳全部的蚕的一所房屋从经济上来说并不值得，因为需要大地方喂养的这一段时间较短，用私人的房子方便得多。最后两个星期，家里的全部房间，除去厨房和一半卧室以外，都用来养蚕。仅这一事实就意味着除非村里的物质基础有根本的改变，否则养蚕基本上只能依旧是家庭副业。

第三次蜕皮以后，蚕被搬到各户。每户分别喂养自己的蚕。在搬蚕以前，个人养蚕的房子要经过消毒，学校的指导员要告诉他们注意事项。在这一阶段经常要去检查。有病的蚕立即消灭以防传染。根据蚕的需要控制室内温度和湿度。（B栏，III项，A.2）采取这些措施的结果是，因病而损失的蚕，其数量控制在20%以下，蚕茧的总生产量同用传统方法喂养时相比至少增加40%。

当学校指导工作在村里被公认取得成功时，省政府便把它的工作向整个产丝区推广。在以后章节中我们再进一步描述这一情况。

在讨论缫丝程序以前，可尝试估计一下这一部分的生产及其成本。一家养蚕的总数取决于房屋大小和劳力多少。蚕是养在约1.5×1米大小的长方形匾里。匾放在支架的搁杆上。每一个支架可放8个匾。每间房间可放5个支架。一张蚕种（标准大小）孵出来的蚕，到最后阶段需占一个支架的地方。一个人可管理2或3架。每架可收蚕茧34磅，可缫生丝48两（或3.4磅）。在改革条件下，一户一般可生产蚕茧约200磅，每100磅可卖60至70元（根据上述报告）。

Each stand of silkworms needs about 400 pounds of mulberry leaves. The price of mulberry leaves fluctuated very much during the period of silkworm raising. The highest price for a 100 pounds sometimes exceeds $3^{1}/_{2}$ dollars, and at the lowest is under $1^{1}/_{2}$ dollars. The total expense for feeding worms lies between 30 to 40 dollars. In addition to other expenses, the cost of cocoon production, excluding labour, is about 50 dollars per Chia. If the cocoons are sold, this will give an income of 70 to 90 dollars for an average Chia.

The reform programme has also included the introduction of multiple crops. In this region three crops can be grown. But owing to the climate, more equipment and precautions are needed in summer and autumn crops. At present, these two crops are still very limited.

〔6〕The Co-operative Factory

We now come to the process of reeling, that is, the transformation of cocoons into the final stage of raw silk. Reform in this process is directed to producing a better quality of raw silk. Quality is judged by uniformity in fineness and reduction of frequency of breaks in the thread. According to the expert of the Sericulture School, the weakness of the traditional method lies in (1) the irregular temperature of water used in dissolving the sticky matter of the cocoon, (2) the indefinite number of fibres forming a thread, (3) lack of regard for the different fineness of the fibres from different layers of the cocoon, and (4) the irregular movement of the wheel. To improve the quality of the silk, the reformers have tried several methods. The following statement made by the agent will explain the situation.

At the beginning, we had no idea of introducing the factory system. We tried to keep the work in the household. As a substitute for the old type of machine, we introduced a better wooden machine which is only a modification of the old. The wheel was turned by foot and everyone could work separately in her own house. Chemicals were used in dissolving the sticky matter, but the temperature of the solution could not be strictly controlled. Skill in maintaining a constant number of fibres and in adjusting the combination of different layers of the cocoons was taught in training classes lasting three months, organized by the School in the town. In 1924, there were only ten machines of this type in the village. But in 1927, the total number had increased to more than one hundred. More than seventy young women were trained in the special class. But owing to the irregular movement of the wheel, the quality of the produce was still below the requisite standard for export. On the other hand, the depression of the market was more acute. In 1928, the price for this type of "reformed silk" had dropped to sixty dollars per hundred Liang. Although it was better than the native silk, we were not satisfied with its condition. We knew very well from the experiment that unless we could have a central power equipped with a steam engine, the quality could not be raised to the export standard. But the introduction of the steam engine must go hand-in-hand with the collective factory system. In other words the domestic system of production could not

be retained if we were to improve the quality of the produce. We decided therefore to test out what is the smallest size of silk factory in which all the advantages of applying modern technique of production can be realized but which at the same time is not too large to be maintained in the village and to use local labour and local supplies of raw material. This experiment has a wider significance. If we can produce, with lower labour costs, silk equal in quality to that of the larger scale factories, we can extend this system without fearing competition from factories in the cities. Through this small scale factory, rural industry can get a firm basis and the rural economy can be rehabilitated. We started the experiment in 1929. Our experiment proved to be successful only after the re-equipment in 1935, with the new machine which is a modified form of the latest Japanese type. With this we are able to produce the best silk in China. In 1935 the produce of this factory was ranked by the export bureau as of the highest grade.

每养一架蚕约需400磅桑叶。在养蚕期间，桑叶价格升降幅度很大。每100磅的最高价格有时超过3.5元，最低价格不到1.5元。养蚕所需总的开支约30至40元。除其他费用以外，蚕茧生产费用不包括劳动，每户约需50元。如果出售蚕茧，一般的户可收入70至90元。

改革计划还包括引进秋种。这个地区一年可育三次蚕。但因气候关系，夏季和秋季养蚕需要更多的设备和注意的地方。目前，养夏季和秋季蚕的仍然非常有限。

六、合作工厂

现在我们就要说到缫丝过程，这就是把蚕茧缫成生丝的最后阶段。对这一过程的改革主要目的是生产质量较好的生丝。根据丝的粗细划一、断头减少来评定生丝的质量。据蚕业学校的专家说，传统方法的缺点在于：（1）用于溶解蚕茧上胶质的水温不恒定；（2）一股丝线中所含纤维数不固定；（3）从蚕茧不同的层次抽出来的丝粗细不同，未予重视；（4）缫丝机轮子的运动不规则。为了改进生丝质量，改革者试了数种方法。他们的下述谈话将说明这个情况。

一开始，我们并没有想要引进工厂。我们想的是继续在家里进行这种劳动。我们只不过采用一种改良的木制机器来代替旧式机器。用脚踏转动轮子，每个人可分别在自己家中工作。用化学品来溶解胶质，但溶液温度无法达到严格的控制。蚕业学校在镇里组织了训练班，为时3个月，教授调整蚕茧各层的丝以及保持固定数量纤维的技术。1924年的时候，村里只有10台这样的机器。到了1927年，机器总数增加到100多台。在训练班里有70多名年青妇女。但由于轮子的运动不规则，产品质量仍然达不到出口标准的要求。另一方面，市场萧条更加严重。1928年，这种“改良丝”的价格跌到每100两60元。虽然它比土产丝好些，但我们不满意这种情况。我们从实验中了解到，除非能有一个用蒸汽引擎的中心动力，质量就不易达到出口水平。但引进蒸汽引擎必须同时有集体工厂系统。换句话说，如果我们要提高产品质量，就不能保持家庭手工业的生产方式。所以我们决定试验设计一个要能实现应用现代生产技术的一切有利条件的工厂。这个工厂同时又不宜太大，要能办在农村里，用当地的劳力和由当地供应的原料。这个试验具有比较广泛的意义。如果我们能用较便宜的劳动力生产与大工厂同等质量的生丝，我们就能扩大这种缫丝工厂而不必惧怕城里工厂的竞争。通过开办这种小规模的工厂，乡村工业能打下一个坚实的基础，乡村经济从而可以复兴。1929年我们开始试验。我们的试验直到1935年重新装备了新机器之后才证明是成功的。这种机器是由日本最新型机器修改而成。我们用它生产出中国最好的生丝。1935年，这个工厂的产品被出口局列为最佳产品。

From this account it is very clear that the substitution of the collective factory for the domestic system was dictated by technical considerations. The steam engine which makes possible a controlled and smooth movement of the

wheel, and consequently speed and evenness in drawing the fibres from the cocoons, leads inevitably to a centralized system. Whether the introduction of electric power might gain change the centralized system is a matter for future experiment. (Col. B. III. A. 3.)

从上述情况可以明显地看到合作工厂代替家庭手工业是由技术考虑决定的。蒸汽引擎使轮子转动可以控制，并且平稳，从而使抽丝均匀，速度加快，因而不可避免地产生了一种集中的系统。至于引进电力是否会再改变集中的系统，则是将来试验的问题了。（B栏，III项，A.3）

A factory system of production requires a building suitable for equipment with machinery. To construct the factory needs technical knowledge and money. Technical knowledge was supplied by the School, but where did the money come from? This question led to the problem of ownership and the problem of distribution. According to the intentions of the reformers, the basic principles on which these were regulated had been laid down before the factory was established. The principle was that the factory should be owned by the people. But how can the people own it and who are the people?

Ownership is vested in the group of people who are members of the co-operative society. Their liability towards the factory is limited to the share they contribute. Membership is voluntary and is not limited to the people of this village. Anyone who observes the obligations of membership can be admitted as a member of the society. The obligation of a member is to hold a share in the factory and to supply a definite amount of raw material, cocoons, every year. There are 429 members of the society, including practically all the households in the village, and more than fifty members from neighbouring villages.

Final control of the factory is, according to the regulation, vested in the general meeting of the members. At the general meeting an executive council is elected, which is in theory responsible to the general meeting. In practice, it works the other way round. The people work according to the instructions of the local leaders, the executive council, and the local leaders work according to the instruction of the reformers, the School. The members have nothing to say, since the whole work is under the direction of the reformers, and the people have not sufficient knowledge to run the factory by themselves. A high percentage of illiteracy and the lack of educational opportunity on the part of the villagers have made it very difficult for the reformers to carry out

their plan of training the villagers, the real masters of the factory. (Col. C. III. B. 2.) There has been no attempt by the members to exercise their right of vote to control the factory, since the ballot system is entirely new to them. The members do not understand more of the factory than that its practical benefit in terms of profit are distributed among them. (Col. C. III. B. 3.) They do not know on what basis they have a claim to the profit, just as they do not know on what basis they should pay rent to the landlord. Ownership then actually means to them only a grant for the distribution of profit. This will be still clearer when we examine the financial side of the factory.

一个从事生产的工厂需要有适合安装机器的房子。建造工厂又需要技术知识和经费。技术知识由蚕业学校提供，但经费从哪儿来呢？这个问题就关系到所有制和分配问题。根据改革者的意图，在工厂开办以前，制定这些规章所依据的基本原则都已经确定了。原则是工厂应属于农民。但农民如何拥有它，谁是农民？

所有权属于这个合作社的社员。他们对工厂的责任限于他们所贡献的股份。入社以自愿为原则，并不限于本村的人。凡愿遵守社员义务者便可被吸收为社员。社员的义务是在工厂里有一份股金，每年供给工厂一定数量的蚕茧作原料。这一合作社共有429名社员，基本上包括了村里所有的住户及邻村的50多户。

根据规章，工厂的最高权力机构是社员全体大会。大会选出一个执行委员会，理论上它对大会负责。实际上恰恰相反，人们按照当地领导人和执行委员会的意见工作，当地领导人遵照改革者和蚕业学校的意见行事。由于整个工作是在改革者的指导下进行，人们对开办工厂也没有足够的知识，社员没有什么可以说的。由于农民缺乏受教育的机会，文盲率高，这使改革者在实施训练计划中发生很大困难，这些需要受训练的农民才是工厂的真正的主人。（C栏，III项，B.2）社员对投票制度完全不熟悉，他们也未想过行使投票的权利来管理工厂。他们只关心以利润形式分给他们的实际利益，对工厂的其他工作很不了解。（C栏，III项，B.3）他们不知道根据什么他们可以要求利润，正如他们不知道根据什么他们应该给地主交租。对他们来说，所有权只意味着他们可以分得一份利润。当我们讨论工厂的财务问题时，这个问题将表现得更加清楚。

There was of course no surplus capital in the village to finance the factory (Section 2). The total expense of its establishment was 49,848 dollars (about £3,000). This amounted to 114 dollars, or £27, from each member. In fact, of the total amount, the share contributed by the members in the first

year, was only 2,848 dollars, about £180, *i.e.* 5.7 per cent. of the total.

Nominally, the "capital," or the contribution of the owners of the factory or the limits of the liability of the owners, is fixed at 10,000 dollars (£625). This is divided into a thousand shares of 10 dollars each. Each member subscribes at least one share. In the first year, 700 shares were taken up. These shares were payable over five years. At present only half of the amount has been collected. (Col. B. III. B. 3. a.) It is clear, therefore, that the finance of the factory depends on other sources than the owners.

The steam engine and the machines (of older type) were borrowed from the School. Their value was assessed as 4,000 dollars or £250. It was agreed that the factory would pay back that amount, out of profits, to the School within five years. But, owing to financial conditions, the factory has not yet fulfilled the promise. For the building and other expenses the factory had secured a long-term loan from the Provincial Peasant Bank of 15,000 dollars (or £800). This loan was not granted by the bank for strictly commercial reasons. It is clear that the liability is limited by the "capital," 10,000 dollars, and in case of bankruptcy the buildings and other immobile property could not be put up to auction since it is located in the village. But it was the government's policy to finance rural industry and this made it possible to raise the loan. (Col. B. IV. B. 2.) Another short-term loan of 3,000 dollars, or £190 (with land and building as mortgage) was secured from a local bank in Chên Tsê, the nearest town. From this examination of the financial basis of the factory, it is clear that the factory is actually based on government credit, not on the investment of the people.

The raw material is supplied by the members. Fresh cocoons are collected every year. Members receive a payment of 70 per cent. of the value of the cocoon supply at delivery. The money for this is borrowed yearly from the Provincial Bank, cocoons being accepted as mortgage.

As 30 per cent. of the payment is delayed, the members do not take much interest in supplying more than the lowest limit, especially since 1930, which was the last year that profit was distributed among the members. The following statistics supplied by the factory can be quoted.

当然，村里没有多余的资金来资助工厂（本章第二节）。开办工厂所需的经费总共为49,848元。每个社员约需分担114元，第一年，社员入股金额实际上仅2,848元，约为总额的5.7%。

名义上，“资本”，或工厂所有者的贡献，或工厂主的有限责任固定在10,000元。这一数目被分成1,000股，每股10元。社员每人至少购买一股。第一年，认购了700股，可在五年期间交款。目前，只收到一半的股金。（B栏，III项，B.3.a.）显然，工厂的资金还需靠其他来源。

蒸汽机和机器（旧式）是从蚕业学校借来的，估计价值4,000元。有协议规定，五年以后工厂从利润中抽出钱来还给学校。但由于经济困难，工厂尚未履行这一诺言。为建造厂房和其他开支，工厂向省农民银行借了15,000元的一笔长期贷款。农民银行并不是由于商业上的原因才批准这笔贷款的。显然，负债是受“资本”10,000元的限制的，由于工厂在农村，一旦工厂破产，厂房和其他不动产无法拍卖。但政府的政策是要为乡村工业提供资金，这才有可能向银行借贷。（B栏，IV项，B.2）另外，工厂向最近的镇——震泽的一个地方银行借了一笔3,000元的短期贷款（用土地和厂房作抵押）。从上述情况可以看到，工厂资金的基础实际上主要是政府的信贷，并不是靠人民的投资。

原料由社员供应。每年收集新鲜蚕茧。社员交蚕茧时，工厂交付蚕茧价值的70%。这笔钱是每年从省银行借来的，蚕茧作为抵押。

由于30%是延期付款，社员多交蚕茧也得不到多少好处，因此他们只交最低限额的蚕茧，尤其是1930年以后。1930年是把利润分给社员的最后一年。以下是工厂提供的统计数字。

Year	Members' Supply	Bought from Outside	Silk Reeled	Silk Reeled for Others	Days of Working
1929	527.07	—	41.31	—	175
1930	591.55	—	43.18	—	204
1931	415.73	—	32.21	—	145
1932	202.92	92.10	22.21	25.63	107
1933	307.87	45.37	40.46	5.00	186
1934	255.35	330.00	57.84	—	187
1935	375.80	301.08	64.21	—	199
1936	424.80	—	—	—	—
(incompleted)			(units in piculs)		

The above table shows the gradual decline of the supply of cocoons by members from 1930 to 1935. (Col. B. 111. 3. b.) In 1932, the total supply was too small to keep the factory working more than a hundred days. For the machines to stand idle is not economical. Thus cocoons had to be bought from the market. In 1934, the amount bought from outside was more than the amount supplied by members. On the other hand, the factory received orders from other factories to reel for them, using the latter's supply of raw material. This system is called teza, reeling for others. In 1932, the amount of silk

reeled for other factories exceeded twenty-five piculs, which was practically equal to the amount of silk reeled from the raw material supplied by the village. After the factory had been re-equipped in 1935, the total production of silk was increased one-third over the average of preceding years. But the supply of cocoons from members did not keep step although it increased a little in 1935. For raw material the factory was half dependent on outside supply.

Labour is recruited from members. By introducing the factory system, the labour needed in production is much reduced as compared with that needed under the domestic system. In the reeling process thirty labourers are sufficient. These are all young women varying from sixteen to thirty years of age. Ten to fifteen unskilled labourers are enough for the selecting and cleaning of the cocoons. After the silk has been reeled it must be re-wheeled and wrapped in a standard form for export. Six to eight skilled labourers are employed in this. The total number of labourers is about fi fty. In addition there are two managers, one technical director, one treasurer, one engine keeper, and two servants.

年	社员供应	从外面购买	缫丝	为其他单位缫丝	工作日
1929	527.07	—	41.31	—	175
1930	591.55	—	43.18	—	204
1931	415.73	—	32.21	—	145
1932	202.92	92.10	22.2l	25.63	107
1933	307.87	45.37	40.46	5.00	186
1934	255.35	330.00	57.84	—	187
1935	375.80	301.08	64.21	—	199
1936	424.80	—	—	—	—
（不完全）			（以担为单位）		

上表说明从1930年到1935年社员供应蚕茧的数量逐渐下降。（B栏，III项，3.b）1932年总供应量还不足以供工厂开工一百余天之用。机器闲着不转是不经济的，因此，还需从市场购买一些蚕茧。1934年从市场购买的蚕茧量比社员供应的多。在另一方面，工厂还接受其他工厂供给的原料代为缫丝的订货。这种方法被称为“代缫”，即为其他人缫丝。1932年为别厂缫丝超过25担，实际上相当于从村里供应原料的缫丝量。1935年工厂重新装备以后，丝的总产量超过前几年平均量的三分之一。但社员的蚕茧供应没有跟上来，虽然1935年稍有增加。在原料供应方面，工厂是半依赖于外界的。

劳力来自社员。由于引进工厂，生产中所需的劳力比在家庭手工业中所需的劳力少得多。这个工厂的缫丝部分30个工人已足够。她们都是年轻妇女，年龄从16至30岁不等。选茧和清洗蚕茧需要非技术工人10名。丝抽出来以后必须重新整理并按出口标准包扎，这一部分工作需要6至8名技术工人。工人总数约50人。此外，尚有两名经理、一名技师、一名司库、一名机器维修保养工、两名杂工。

In reeling and re-wheeling special training is needed. Thus employment and membership must be differentiated. Those who work in reeling and re-wheeling are paid in terms of a daily wage, forty to sixty cents a day. Those who work in selecting and cleaning cocoons are paid by piece-work. They receive about twenty to thirty cents a day. (Col. B. III. B. 2. *a*.)

The technical director is recommended by the School and the treasurer is recommended by the local bank. General business management is in the hands of local leaders, Chen and Chou. But the final authority is the Extension Department of the School. The staff are all paid fixed salaries. The total amount of wages and salaries, in 1929, was 7,557 dollars, or 57 per cent. of the total current expenses. Each common labourer can get roughly 70 dollars a year from 150 days of work.

From the above analysis, we can see that the factory is (1) owned by the members, (2) financed largely by the Provincial Peasant Bank, (3) managed by the School through the local leaders, and (4) worked by a part of the members. The so-called co-operative principle is significant chiefly in the problem of distribution.

The profit made by the factory in 1929, the first year, was 10,807.934 dollars. It was distributed according to the following principle:

"To encourage the members and to expand the organization, we decided to fix a high percentage for dividends. It should amount to seventy per cent. of our total profit. We will ask the members to lend half of their dividend to the factory to clear the loans. Fifteen per cent. of the profit will be our reserve fund. The rest will be divided into (1) reserve for improvement, (2) allowance for next year's current expenses, and (3) bonus for the staff, in the proportion of 4 : 3 : 3."[7]

In that year the amount of dividend actually received by the members was double the share they had contributed. But since that year, the price of silk had dropped to such a degree that no profit was made. The balance sheets

since 1931 have not been published. I can only give the figures of the first three years.

Year	Net Profit	Net Loss
1929	$10,807.934	—
1930	—	$3,010.330
1931	—	$4,183.655

From 1931, the factory has tried to pay back the loan. For instance, in 1929, as shown in the balance sheet, the loan amounted to 135,663.763 but in 1931 it was reduced to 77,271.544. The interest of the large loan was also a cause for the loss. In 1929 it was 5,060, in 1930, 5,500, and in 1931, 4,121. In 1935, the factory was reequipped with modern machinery. It is expected to gain some profit after 1936. They want to revise the principle of distribution. Both the change agent and the local leaders told me that to give a high dividend in the beginning was a mistake. The members took it as a matter of course. But when the factory failed to distribute profit, they complained and were disillusioned. They realized that it would be better in the future to distribute a constant but small dividend every year instead of high dividends periodically.

在缫丝和整理丝时需要特殊训练。因此，工种不同，待遇也不同。缫丝和整理工按日工资计算，每天4至6角。挑选和清洗蚕茧工按计件工资计算，一天可得约2至3角。（B栏，III项，B.2.a）

技师由蚕业学校推荐，司库由当地银行推荐。总的管理业务由当地领导人陈和周负责。但最高职权在蚕业学校推广部。职员均是固定工资。1929年总工资为7,557元，占当时总开支的57%。每一个普通工人一年工作150天约可得70元。

从以上分析，我们能看到工厂：（1）属于社员所有；（2）主要由农民银行给予资金；（3）由蚕业学校通过当地领导人管理；（4）部分社员参加劳动，担任工作。所谓合作原则其意义主要在于分配上。

1929年即第一年，工厂的利润为10,807.934元，按下列原则进行分配：

“为鼓励社员并扩大组织，我们决定提高红利，约为总利润的70%。我们要求社员借一半红利给工厂以便工厂还债。利润的15%将作为我们的储备基金。其余金额将被分成：（1）改良储备金；（2）明年开支津贴；（3）职员奖金。比例为4 : 3 : 3。”[8]

那一年，社员所分到的红利确实相当于他们所购股份的两倍。但自

从那年以后，丝价跌落到如此程度，以致毫无利润可得。1931年以来一直没有公布资产负债表。我只能提供头三年的数字。

年	纯利润	纯损失
1929	10,807.934元	3,0l0.330元
1930	—	4,183.655元
1931	—	

1931年起，工厂想开始还债。如1929年资产负债表上所示，负债达135,663.763，但1931年减为77,271.544元。大笔借款的利息也是亏损的一个原因。1929年利息为5,060元，1930年为5,500元，1931为4,121元。1935年工厂重新装备现代机器。预期在1936年之后可有一些盈利。他们想要修改分配原则。改革者和当地领导人都认为一开始分配这样高的股息是错误的。一般社员把这看成是理所当然。但当工厂不能分配利润时，他们便抱怨和失望。他们认识到以后如能每年分到少一些但固定的红利比在一个时期分到一大笔红利要好。

〔7〕Government Support

I have indicated above how the government had entered into the change situation. In the very beginning, the local government in the town, the town council, co-operated with the School to start the reform programme. But at that time, 1923, the Provincial government was in the hands of a war lord who had no interest in any measure of that kind. Only after the establishment of the Nationalist Government in Nan-king in 1927 had rural reconstruction gradually become one of the main policies of the government. Special attention has been paid to the rural silk industry as well as to the co-operative movement. The co-operative factory in this village was therefore able to secure its financial support from the government. Moreover, the experiment in the village was the forerunner of the big programme of change in this rural industry in China; it will be interesting to review how the government took up the trend and spread the programme to many silk-producing areas in China.

The following quotations from The Chinese Year Book are selected to represent the governmental programme in this connection.

(1) Sericulture Reform

"One of the most important of China's rural industries is sericulture, but of recent years it has been hard to stand up against Japanese competition, largely because of the superiority of the silkworms bred in that country.

"In all the provinces where the production of silk is extensive, the local authorities are either acting in co-operation with the National Government, or taking special measures to improve the condition of those engaged in sericultures. What is being done in Kiangsu and Chekiang may be cited as typical of the measures being taken all over the country to revive the silk industry. The raising of the silkworms was formerly left in the hands of the farmers, whose conservative attitude and lack of resources precluded the possibility of introducing reforms to improve the industry.... The Kiangsu and Chekiang officials, as a preliminary step towards improvement, organized a Commission for controlling the silk industry. At the outset the Commission contented itself with preventing competition among cocoon merchants by

sug-gesting an official price for fresh cocoons. In the autumn season the Commission's attention was directed to stock improvement, which it tried to accomplish by replacing inferior indigenous varieties of silkworms with improved breeds. The egg-cards used by the Chekiang farmers were issued by the government sericultural experimental stations, the production of egg-cards by private hatcheries being prohibited. In Kiangsu similar control was exercised during 1934, though the measure, being tentative, was not so thorough-going as in Chekiang.... In addition to stock improvement, the Commission also fixed an official price for fresh cocoons and limited the number of collecting agencies in each locality.

七、政府的支持

上面我已说明政府是如何进入改革事业的。一开始，镇地方政府，即镇公所与蚕业学校合作草拟改革计划。但1923年那时候，省政府在一个军阀手里，他对那种措施没有任何兴趣。南京国民党政府在1927年成立以后，农村建设才逐渐成为政府的主要政策，对乡村丝业和合作运动给予特殊关切。所以，这个村子的合作工厂才能得到政府提供的资金。此外，村里的试验是中国农村工业中大的改革方案的先驱。回顾一下政府是如何接受这个趋势并把这种改革计划传到中国产丝的其他许多区域，是颇有意思的。

下面摘引的几段文章是选自《中国年鉴》中有关这个问题的、有代表性的官方计划。

（1）蚕丝业改革

“中国农村工业中最重要的一项是蚕丝业。但近年来甚难与日本竞争，主要是因为在该国培育了最好的蚕。

“在所有大量生产蚕丝的省份中，地方当局或与国民政府合作，或采取特殊措施，都努力改善蚕丝生产的条件。江苏、浙江两省之所为，可作为全国各地为振兴蚕丝业而采取的措施的典型。过去，蚕都由农民饲养，他们的保守态度以及缺少资金的条件，阻碍了引进改良办法来改进工业的可能性。……江苏、浙江的官员组织了一个蚕丝业委员会，作为改良工作的第一步。一开始，委员会为避免与茧商竞争，提出了收购鲜茧的官价。在秋季，委员会倾注全力于改进蚕种，用改良的品种来代替当地的蚕种。浙江农民用的蚕种由政府的蚕丝实验站颁发，私人培育的蚕种禁止使用。1934年江苏实行了同样的控制，措施是试验性的，不像浙江那样彻底。……除改良品种外，委员会还对新鲜蚕茧规定一个官价以及对每一地区的收购代理处限定了数目。

"A three-year plan for the improvement of the silk industry in the provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Shantung, Szechwan, and Kwangtung has also been drawn up by the Sericulture Improvement Commission of the National Economic Council. The scheme calls for the expenditure of $1,500,000 for the realization of the first year's plan in 1935.

"For the financial year, July 1934, to June 1935, the National Economic

Council has allotted $400,000 for the use of the Sericulture Improvement Committee."[9]

(2) Co-operative Movement

"Since the introduction of the Co-operative Movement in China in 1919 it had enjoyed only a slow development; but with the success of the Northern Expedition and the unification of the country, the Co-operative Movement began to occupy an important place in the programme of the Kuomintang, which was dedicated to developing China on a basis of equality with foreign nations. Since then, the Co-operative Movement has enjoyed a very rapid growth. The Kuomintang began to be interested in the Co-operative Movement as early as 1919. In his lecture on local government, Dr. Sun Yat-sen once suggested the promotion of co-operative enterprises among workers and farmers.... At the second National Congress of the Kuomintang, it was resolved to organize farmers' banks and to promote co-operative enterprises among the Chinese peasants. During the Plenary Session of the Central Executive Council of the Kuomintang in August 1936, it was resolved that the government should push the organization of co-operative societies among farmers....

“江苏、浙江、山东、四川、广东等省改进蚕丝工业的三年计划也由国家经济委员会的蚕丝改良委员会制定。为实现1935年的第一年计划，所需经费为1,500,000元。

“1934年7月至1935年6月的财政年度，国家经济委员会为蚕丝改良委员会拨款400,000元。”[10]

（2）合作运动

“自从1919年中国开始了合作运动以来进展很慢；但随着北伐胜利和国家统一，合作运动在国民党计划中开始有了重要的地位，这个计划旨在同外国平等的基础上发展中国。从那时起，合作运动迅速发展。国民党早在1919年便对合作运动有了兴趣。孙中山先生在地方政府的演说中曾建议，在工人、农民中促进合作企业。……国民党第二次全国代表大会决定组织农民银行，在中国农民中间推广合作企业。1936年8月国民党中央执行局全体会议决议中指出政府应在农民中推进合作社的组织。……

"With the establishment of the Nationalist Government in Nanking many provinces began seriously to push the Co-operative Movement. At the fourth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Council of the Kuomintang

in February 1928, General Chiang Kai-shek and Chen Ko-fu jointly proposed the organization of a special Committee on Co-operation. In October of that year, the Central Executive Council of the Kuomintang issued an order to all the branches in the country, asking them to include co-operative work as a part of their political activities.

"In addition, the Kiangsu Provincial Government promulgated a set of Provisional Regulations regarding Co-operative Societies and organized the Kiangsu Agricultural Bank on July 16, 1928, with a view to developing rural economy, and to offering credit facilities to the farmers at low costs."[11]

〔8〕Difficulties in Change

The intention of the people to accept the reform is due to its practical benefit as expressed in increase of family income. Now we can examine how far the reform programme has met this expectation.

The disinfection of silkworm eggs, the organization of a common room for raising young worms and the supervision given by visiting instructors in the later stages have reduced the cost and increased the production of cocoons. This part of the reform has enabled the people to get an income roughly twice as much as they had before. (Col. B. III. C. 1. a.) The result of the reform in reeling is not so promising. In 1929, the members had received as dividend about ten dollars per share. But ever since that year, they have got nothing of that sort from the factory. On the other hand, they were under obligation to supply raw materials with a delayed payment of 30 per cent. Up to the present, those whose income has actually been increased by the introduction of this factory are the labourers and the staff in the form of wages and salaries. They are the minority of the community. (Co1. B. III. C. 1. *b*.)

The inability of the factory to distribute yearly profit among the members is due to two fundamental factors. First of all the reformers are not able to control the price level. They have succeeded in producing silk of high quality, but between the quality and the price the ratio is hardly proportionate. It is true that better silk can be sold at a higher price, but the price of silk in general fluctuates at different times. So long as the reformers cannot control the market, mere improvement in the quality of production cannot necessarily bring back higher returns and is not able to increase the income of the villagers.

“南京国民党政府成立以后，很多省开始认真推动合作运动。1928年2月国民党中央执行理事会第四次全体会议上，蒋介石将军和陈果夫联合提议组织专门的合作委员会。当年10月，国民党中央执行局向所有分支发布命令，要求它们把合作事业作为其政治活动的一个组成部分。

“此外，江苏省政府颁发了一系列有关合作社的暂行规章制度，并于1928年7月16日组织了江苏农民银行以便发展农村经济，并为农民提

供方便的低息贷款。”[12]

八、改革中的困难

人民愿意接受改革，主要在于实际利益，例如增加了家庭收入。现在我们可以看一看改革计划在多大程度上满足这种期望。

蚕种的消毒、稚蚕公育、教员的定期指导使成本有所降低，蚕茧增产。这一部分改革使得农民的收入大约比以前增加了一倍。（B栏，III项，C.1.a）缫丝改革的成果并不理想。1929年每股分得红利约10元。但自从那年起，他们再也没有从工厂拿到什么。相反，他们还有义务供应原料，而且是延期付款30%。至目前为止，由于有了工厂而收入真正有所增加的是工厂的工人和职员，以工资的形式增加了收入。他们是这一社区的少数。（B栏，III项，C. 1. b）

工厂未能分给社员年利是由于两个基本因素。首先，改革者不能控制价格水平。他们成功地生产了高质量的丝，但质量和价格之间比率不相称。确实，好丝应该能卖好价，但丝的总的价格在不同时期波动较大。只要改革者不能控制市场，单是改进产品质量未必能获取高的报酬，因此，村民的收入未见提高。

A more immediate factor responsible for the present state of affairs is the financial problem. It is not true that the factory has not made profit during the years 1930 to 1936, because the total amount of loans has been reduced every year. In other words, the factory saved from its own profit in production so as to buy over the means of production which was so far borrowed. The people do not account for this. They only know the concrete income of the family. As soon as their expectations could not be realized they began to be disillusioned. The direct reaction was discontinuance of further payments of their subscriptions. Up to the present time, only about one-half of the amount subscribed has been paid in.

Of course, according to the regulation, the members have the right to audit the account themselves and demand explanations from the manager. But the people are satisfied on the level of suspicion and occasional gossip without taking any definite steps to investigate. They are mostly illiterate. They do not understand what is written on the balance sheet. Their rôle given in the regulation is new to them. The reformers have only taught the girls how to reel silk but not the members how to be the masters of the factory.

They have no knowledge of their own responsibility. As long as the educational work cannot keep pace with the industrial reform, the co-operative factory can be only run for the people and can partially belong to the people but can never be really controlled by them.

Introduction of modern machinery into the village economy, as we have seen in the case of water pumping in agriculture, has created a new labour problem under the domestic system where every household had its own reeling machine. In other words, there were at least three hundred and fifty women in this village engaged in the work of reeling silk. Now under the factory system, the same amount of work can be done easily by less than seventy persons. The amount of labour needed in production has been reduced. For instance, by the present reeling machines, each worker can look after twenty spindles at the same time while with the older machines one could only handle four or five. From the technical point of view it is a great improvement. But what does this improvement mean to the rural economy? Nearly three hundred women have lost their opportunities to work. (Col. B. III. C. 2. b.) The problem of "unemployment" has its wider repercussions—the traditional division of work according to sex remains unchanged, but the size of the farm is so small that introduction of female labour to the land is impossible; and no new industry has been introduced to absorb the surplus of female labour. (Col.C. III. C. 2. *b*.)

造成目前这种状况的更直接的因素是资金问题。在1930年至1936年间工厂并不是没有盈利，因为贷款的数目每年有所降低。换句话说，工厂节约下自己生产的盈利，买回了借来的生产资料。人们不算这笔账，他们只知道家庭的具体收入。一旦他们的愿望没有实现，他们就会感到希望破灭，其直接反应就是不再继续向工厂交纳股金，至目前为止，只缴纳了认购股金的半数。

当然，根据规章，社员自己有权查账，并可要求经理解释。但人们只停留于怀疑和偶尔的议论上，而不采取切实的措施进行调查。他们大多数是文盲。他们不明白写在资产负债表上的数字。规章赋予他们的角色，对他们来说是新的。改革者只教授女孩子如何缫丝，而没有教社员如何当工厂的主人。他们对自己的责任没有认识。只要教育工作跟不上工业改革的步伐，合作工厂可以只是为人民而开设，部分属于人民，但决不可能真正由人民管理。

现代机械被引进农村经济，正如我们已经看到在农业中引进了水泵，使有缫丝机的家家户户发生了一个新的劳动力的问题。换句话说，

这个村庄过去至少有350名妇女从事缫丝工作。现在开办了工厂，同等量的工作，不到70个人就能轻易地担负起来。生产所需的劳动量减少了。例如，现代的缫丝机，每个工人同时能照看20个锭子，而旧缫丝机一个人只能掌握4至5个。从技术观点来看，这是一个很大的改进。但这一改进对农村经济意味着什么呢？将近300名妇女失去了她们的劳动机会。（B栏，III项，C．2．b）“失业”的问题引起了比较广泛的反响——根据男女性别不同的传统分工仍然不变，但农田面积如此之小，要把妇女劳力引向田地是不可能的。然而也没有引进新的工业来吸收多余的妇女劳力。（C栏，III项，C. 2. b）

The reformers have tried to solve the problem by the system of distribution of profit. But it has not been successful, as we have shown above. The results are (1) for those who cannot go to town for various reasons, survival, or, to a certain extent, revival of the traditional domestic industry which becomes a kind of resistence of the reform programme through competition in securing raw material, (2) movement of the female population to the towns, which is contradictory to the original intention of the reformers, and (3) creation of a special wage-earning class in the village.

The survival of the traditional domestic industry can be quantitatively estimated. The total amount of cocoons produced in this village is about 72,000 lbs. The decrease of members' supply to the factory indicated the increase of domestic reserve, taking the total production as constant and the amount of cocoons directly sold to the town as insignificant. In 1929 the reserve was about one-sixth of the total production but in 1932 it increased to two-thirds. In 1936, before I left the village, the reserve was about one-third. How much more one can get by selling native silk instead of selling cocoons, it is difficult to say, because the prices of cocoon and that of silk fluctuate and villagers do not know how to forecast them. As we can see under the lowest price of native silk, one dollar for three Liang, the producer can get little more than the value of the raw material, if the price of the latter is about fifty dollars per picul. But the price of native silk is not known when the market for cocoon is open. It is not the real calculation of the prices of silk and cocoon that makes the people reserve their raw material for domestic reeling but the belief that they can get more money if they reel silk instead of selling the raw material.

The substitution of the factory for the domestic system in the silk industry is a general process which is not limited to the village. The

development of silk filature in the nearby cities in the last twenty years has been rapid.[13] The urban industry attracts rural labour. This movement of population undoubtedly is a disruptive force in the traditional social structure of the rural community. To counter this process was one of the original intentions of the reformers. But the small-scale factory in the village, as limited by its local supply of raw material, cannot fully utilize the available labour in the village. On the contrary, it has not been able to check the outflow of rural population. I have shown above that in 1935 there were thirty-two girls between the ages of sixteen to twenty-five who lived outside the village (VI–1). They were engaged in silk factories in Wuhsi. At the time when I was in the village another silk factory was established in Chên Tsê. More girls were recruited from the village. The total number of girls between the age of sixteen to twenty-five is one hundred and six in this village. More than 80 per cent. of them are now engaged in factories outside of the village or in the co-operative factory. They are new wage-earners.

改革者曾经想用分红的办法来解决问题。但如我们在上面表明的，这并未获得成功。结果是：（1）为那些由于多种原因不能到城镇去的人保存了或在某种程度上恢复了传统的家庭工业，原料的竞争使其成为改革计划的一种阻力；（2）妇女向城镇移动，这是与改革者原来的意图相矛盾的；（3）农村中产生了一种特殊的挣工资的阶层。

对残存的传统家庭工业，可以作量的估计，这个村庄蚕茧的总生产量约为72,000磅。假定这一生产量是稳定的，直接卖给城镇的茧子为数极少，那么对工厂的供应减少表明了家庭的储存增加。1929年，留给家庭的蚕茧约为总生产量的六分之一，但1932年增加到三分之二。1936年我离开村庄以前，留给家庭的约为三分之一。卖生丝能比卖蚕茧多得多少，很难说，因为蚕茧和生丝价格都有波动，农民不知如何预测。如果我们按生丝最低价格看，一元钱三两，生产者仅能比原料的价值多拿少许，如果后者的价格约为每担50元。但蚕茧市场开放时生丝的价格还是未知数。农民保留原料从事家庭缫丝的原因，并不在于实际考虑丝和茧的价格，而是因为他们相信缫丝能比卖原料多挣钱。

在蚕丝工业中工厂取代家庭工业是一个普遍过程，并不限于这个村庄。近二十年来附近城市缫丝业的发展极快。[14] 城市工业吸引农村劳力，无疑这种人口流动对农村社区的传统社会结构是一种破坏性的力量。改革者的原意之一就是要阻止这一过程。但村庄里的小型工厂为当地原料供应所限，未能充分利用村里现有的劳力。相反，它也不能阻止农村人口的外流，我已经在上面表明，1935年有32名16～25岁的女青年

住在村外（第六章第一节），她们在无锡丝厂工作。我在村里的时候，震泽又开了一家蚕丝工厂。村中更多的女青年被吸收到工厂里。本村16～25岁的女青年共有106名，80%以上现在村外的工厂或在合作工厂工作。她们就是新的挣工资的人。

A wage-earning class is not traditional in the village. The employees in agriculture are few. Labour enters into the realm of commodity in a very limited sense. Only by the decline of domestic industry, female labour has created a labour market in the village. To this problem we shall devote our discussion in the next section.

〔9〕Effects on Kinship Relations

Wage-earning is now regarded as a privilege, because it makes an immediate contribution to the domestic budget. Those who have no adult daughters begin to regret it. The woman's position in society has undergone a gradual change. For instance, a girl who was working in the village factory actually cursed her husband because he forgot to send her an umbrella when it rained. It is interesting because this little incident indicates changes in the relation between husband and wife. According to the traditional conception, the husband is not supposed to serve his wife, at least he cannot do so in public. Moreover, the husband cannot accept his wife's curse without any protest or counter-curse.

The traditional economic status of a girl is subordinate to her father or to her husband. She has no opportunity to possess any large amount of money (IV–2). The financial power of the Chia is in the hands of the head. It is correlated with the traditional system of collective production. The men who work on the farm are dependent upon their women for the supply of their food. The mulberry leaves needed in feeding the silkworms are carried from a distance by the man. The private sense of the production is overshadowed by the collective aspect. But the wage-earning is essentially individualistic. The earner feels that the wage is the result of her own effort. This sense is shared by both parties, the owner herself and the head of the Chia. Furthermore, the wage is paid by the factory to the earner herself. At least during that moment, she is able to spend a part of her earnings in accordance with her own wishes. Therefore, the economic relation in the Chia is gradually modified. For instance, if the girl spends her wage within reasonable limits and for proper purposes such as buying clothes, it will be accepted without interference. But she is not allowed to spend all her wage; a large portion of it must be handed over to the head to go into the common budget. To maintain the collective and centralized system of economy under the new situation, the head of the Chia, even at the expense of his autho-rity, will be forced to be considerate towards fellow members of the Chia. Complications come again in the problem of to whom she will hand over her earnings. When the girl is not married and has a mother, but when the head of the Chia is her grandfather,

her mother may hold up a part of her earning for future use in her marriage. If the economic condition is not favourable for saving, the amount will be absorbed in the general budget. A married woman will keep a part of her earnings as her own savings. These facts show the increasing differentiation of the individual family from the compound group Chia.

挣工资的阶层并不是村里传统的结构。农业雇工非常少。劳动在非常有限的意义上进入商品领域。只有在家庭手工业衰落的情况下，妇女劳动力才在村里形成了一个市场。我们将在下一节再讨论这个问题。

九、对亲属关系的影响

现在挣工资被看作是一种特殊的优惠，因为它对家庭预算有直接的贡献。那些没有成年女儿的人家开始懊悔了。妇女在社会中的地位逐渐起了变化。例如，一个在村中工厂工作的女工因为下雨时丈夫忘记给她送伞，竟会公开责骂她的丈夫。这是很有意思的，因为这件小事反映了夫妻之间关系的变化。根据传统的观念，丈夫是不侍候妻子的，至少在大庭广众之下，他不能这样做。另外，丈夫不能毫无抗议或反击，便接受妻子的责备。

一个女孩的传统经济地位是依附于她的父亲或丈夫的。她没有机会拥有大宗的钱财（第四章第二节）。家的财权在一家之长的手里。这与传统的集体生产相互关联。在地里工作的男人靠他们的女人送饭，饲养蚕所需的桑叶由男人从远处运来。个人不容易意识到在一家的集体生产中的贡献。但挣工资基本上是个人的事。挣钱的人能感觉到她的工资收入是她自己劳动的结果。这是收入者本人和家长都会感觉到的。此外，工资由工厂直接付给她本人。至少在这个时候，她可以将她的一部分工资按她自己的愿望去花费。因此，家中的经济关系就逐步地得到改变。比如，女孩子在合理范围内，为了正当的目的，如买一些衣服，那是可以允许而不受干涉的。但不允许她把所有的工资都花掉，工资的大部分要交给家长，归入一家的共同预算。在这个新的形势下，为了保持集体和集中的经济体系，即使牺牲他的权威，家长也必须对家中的成员作出考虑。女孩子挣的钱交给谁，是一个复杂的问题。女孩子未婚时，如果她有母亲，而家长是她的祖父，她的母亲会将她的钱收下一部分以供她将来结婚时所用。如果经济状况不允许存钱，全部金额归入家的总预算之中。一个已婚的妇女则将她收入的一部分留作她自己的积蓄。这种情况说明了单个家庭不断从家的复合群体中分化出来。

The physical separation of the wage-earner from the members of her family may also produce essential changes in the kinship relations. The separation of a daughter-in-law from her mother-in-law will reduce the possibility of daily conflict. But the separation of wife from husband will loosen the marital tie. One extreme case can be cited for illustration. A girl left her husband about one year after she had married. She stayed in a factory in Wuhsi and fell in love with a workman in the same factory. They were

both discharged by the factory when the illegal union was discovered. Having lived together for two months, but being pressed for money, they separated. The girl returned to the village and was greatly disgraced. Her parents-in-law refused to admit her, but afterwards accepted her because they planned to arrange a remarriage for her in order that they could get a sum of money for compensation. Later, in view of her earning capacity in the silk factory in the village, her parents-in-law cancelled their plan and treated her as usual. Her husband took a passive attitude towards the entire affair.

The separation of the child from its mother rearranges the intimate relation in the Chia. The suckling period is shortened. The grandmother will take up the mother's obligation in further nursing and care of the child. This also establishes new relations between the daughter-in-law and mother-in-law. Similarly, with those women who work in the village factory and cannot bring their children with them, the same situation is found.

All these facts point to the re-organization of the kinship relations in a new pattern which will find adjustment with the industrial changes. My present material is only sufficient to suggest the problem for further investigations.

挣钱的人同其他家人分开，对亲属关系也产生了实质的变化。儿媳从婆母处分离出来可以减少日常的争吵。但妻子同丈夫分开会使婚姻的关系松散。可以举出一个极端的例子来说明。有一个妇女，在结婚一年后离开了他的丈夫。她在无锡的一家工厂里工作，并和这个厂里的一个工人发生了恋爱。他们这种不合法的结合被发现之后，他们被厂方开除。他们同居了两个月，由于经济所迫不得不分离。这妇女回到村中，受到很大的羞辱。她的公婆拒绝再要她，但后来又收留了她，因为她的公婆准备将她另嫁他人，以便可以收到一笔钱作为补偿。最后，考虑到她在本村丝厂里能工作的本领，她的公婆取消了原来的打算，待她一如既往。她的丈夫对这件事则完全采取被动的态度。

孩子从母亲处分开，就会使家中的亲密关系发生新的安排。母亲喂奶的时间缩短了。当祖母的接过母亲的责任，继续照看、抚养孩子。这也使婆媳之间产生了新的关系。那些在本村工厂里工作而不能带孩子的女人，也有类似的状况。

以上事实说明了亲属关系以新的形式进行着重新组合，并将随着工业的变迁得到调整。我现有的材料只能为进一步的调查提出一些问题。

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[1] The method of three-column analysis is devised by Professor B. Malinowski to study cultural

contact. The theorical basis of this method is expounded in his "Introductory Essay on the Anthropology of Changing African Cultures," Memorandum XV of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 1938.
[2] 三栏分析法是布·马林诺夫斯基教授创始，用以研究文化接触。这种方法的理论根据在他的《变化中的非洲文化人类学概论》一文中已有解释，载国际《非洲语言和文化研究所备忘录》XV，1938年。
[3] Cf. Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, and Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge, 1936.
[4] 参阅卡尔·曼海姆《意识形态与乌托邦以及知识社会学概论》，1936年。
[5] Past Three Years of the Co-operative Factory, 1931, in Chinese.
[6] 《过去三年的合作工厂》，1931年。
[7] Past Three Years of the Co-operative Factory.
[8] 《过去三年的合作工厂》。
[9] "Reconstruction in China," Ed. Tang Leang-Li, reprinted in The Chinese Year Book, 1935–6, p. 859.
[10] 汤良礼编：《中国的重建》，转载于《中国年鉴》，1935–1936年，第859页。
[11] "The Co-operative Movement," Wang Chih-hsien, The Chinese Year Book, 1935–1936, p. 881–2.
[12] 王志莘：《合作运动》，载《中国年鉴》，1935–1936年，第881–882页。
[13] D. K. Lieu, The Silk Industry in Shanghai.
[14] 刘大钧：《上海的蚕丝工业》。

CHAPTER XIII SHEEP RAISING AND TRADE VENTURES

The reform of the silk industry is only one of the attempts being made in the village to increase income and thus to counteract the decline in silk prices. But my present material does not allow me to give such a detailed analysis of the other measures which are being taken.

The most important of the new enterprises is sheep raising. This was introduced about ten years ago, but only recently became an important industry. Its development was not due to the initiative of any one agent. People in the village learned from their neighbours that in the town there was a new shop collecting sheep foetus, or newly born sheep. The demand in the market called forth the new industry in the village. Even now the people have no exact knowledge of what is the use of the sheep foetus, and they often asked me about this. Some supposed that the mother sheep was killed in order to get the foetus, the skin of which is valuable. This idea does not accord very well with traditional ethics, although the people themselves practise infanticide.

The main difficulty in sheep raising is the problem of feeding. 90 per cent. of the land is used for farming (X–2). Except for a few plots of ground occupied by tombs belonging to the people of the town, there is practically no pasture land available for sheep. The farms are open; there are no fences to prevent possible damage by wandering animals. In such circumstances it is impossible to raise sheep in the open. Therefore special huts have been built, and the sheep are kept enclosed. As I mentioned above, the sheep hut has become a common appendage of a house.

To feed the sheep, grass must be collected; in winter dried mulberry leaves are used. A new division of labour in the household has been developed in this connection. Collecting grass is left to the children. Walking through the village you will see children even below ten scattered everywhere in small groups, collecting grass under the mulberry trees, along the streams,

and on the open tomb ground. The children's labour is thus incorporated into the domestic economy. This has created a new problem for the public school. Literary education seems to the people less valuable than the immediate contribution which children can make to the family income. The list of absentees in the classes is correlated with the number of sheep raised in the village. Chen remarked with regret that the school curriculum is too rigid to be adjusted to present economic conditions (III–5). This leads to interesting questions on the relation between economics and education, but this I cannot deal with at present.

拾叁 羊与贩卖

进行蚕丝业的改革仅仅是为增加居民的收入、抵制丝价下跌所做的各种努力之一。但根据我现有的资料不可能对目前采取的其他措施进行详尽的分析。

新兴事业中最重要的一项是养羊。大约十年前就有人开始养羊。但到最近才变得重要起来。养羊业的发展并不是由于某个人的倡议。村里的人从邻居那里听说，镇里新开了一家店铺，收购羊胎和新生的羊羔。市场的需要使这个村子里兴起了这项新事业。但甚至到现在，人们还不甚了解羊胎究竟有何用处，他们经常向我提出这个问题。有些人想要杀掉母羊好取羊胎，羊胎皮是值钱的。这个主意与传统的伦理观念很不相符，尽管人们自己还要溺杀婴儿。

养羊所遇到的主要困难是饲养问题。土地的90%是农田（第十章第二节）。除几块属于城里人的坟地外，几乎没有适于放羊的场地。农田是敞开的，没有篱笆，牲畜乱走，可能损害庄稼。在这种情况下无法在田野中放羊。所以，就盖起了专用的羊圈，把羊关在里面。正如我上面提到的，羊圈已变成了住家普遍都有的附属建筑了。

为了喂羊，就必须割草，冬天用干桑叶喂羊。就这一点而言，家庭劳务中就产生了一种新的劳动分工。割草的事由孩子们担任。如果你在村里走一走，就可以看见到处有三五成群割草的孩子，有些还不到十岁，他们有的在桑树下，有的沿着河边，还有些在坟地里。这样，孩子们的劳动与家庭经济结合了起来。对于小学校来说，这就产生了一个新问题，文化教育的价值在人们眼里，还不如孩子们割草为家庭收入作出的直接贡献有价值。缺课人数与村里养羊的头数相关。陈曾遗憾地表示，学校的课程过于死板，难以与目前的经济状况相适应（第三章第五节）。这使人们注意到关于经济与教育的关系的令人感兴趣的问题，但目前我不能讨论这个问题。

Another advantage of keeping the sheep enclosed in the hut, is that the sheep manure can easily be collected. This is a valuable fertilizer. There are more than three hundred small huts in the village. The number of sheep in each hut varies from one to five. A rough estimate of the total number of sheep raised in the village is about five hundred.

For starting sheep raising, a certain amount of capital is necessary, at least enough to buy the ewe. Rams can be borrowed from relatives or hired for breeding. Payment for this service is not fixed and is made mostly by means of gifts. If a farmer cannot himself raise the money to buy an ewe, he can raise sheep belonging to other people. A special system is thus developed, which the villagers call *fenyan*, literally "dividing sheep." The person raising the sheep is responsible for their feeding and gets half the young sheep as well as the manure in the hut. Chou's father is the biggest owner of sheep. He owns forty sheep, of which only four are kept in his own hut.

The ewe can be sold shortly before the foetuses are fully developed. The price for each foetus is three to five dollars. The owner can also sell new-born sheep and keep the mother. In this case the price is lower. But a mother sheep may bear young ones once or twice a year, while to raise a young sheep to maturity takes more than a year. People therefore prefer to sell young sheep instead of the foetus. The tradition against killing pregnant animals reinforces this preference. On the average a mother sheep produce two to four young ones every year, which will yield the owner an income of twenty to thirty dollars.

Another source of income to the people is trade ventures, which are embarked on in the lengthy intervals in the agricultural activities (IX–3). The people go to the neighbouring province, Chekiang, to transport goods—not those produced by themselves—by their own boats, and from there to some towns along the coast. This is a kind of interlocality trade. But from the point of view of the villagers, it is really selling their services as trading agents or as transport hands.

把羊关在羊圈里饲养的另一个好处是便于收集羊粪。羊粪是一种有价值的肥料。村里有300多个小羊栏。每个羊圈养1～5只羊。粗略估计，村里养羊的总数约为500头。

为了开展养羊业，需要一定数额的资金，至少要有足够购买母羊的钱。公羊可以从亲戚那里借来或者租来为繁殖之用。对于这项服务所付的报酬没有固定的数目，多数是采取送礼的形式。如果一个农民自己筹不起款子来买母羊，他可以养别人的羊。这样就产生了一种特有的方式，村民称之为“分羊”，从字面上讲就是“把羊分开”。养羊的人的责任是饲养，到时便能分得半数小羊羔和羊栏里的一半粪肥。周的父亲是最大的羊主，他有40只羊，其中只有4只养在他自己的羊圈里。

当羊胎即将长成前不久，就可以把母羊卖掉。每只羊胎的价格为3～5元。羊主也可以把刚生下的羊羔卖掉，把母羊留下。这时，羊羔的价格略低，但一只母羊一年能生一两次羊羔，而把羊羔饲养成熟却需要一年多的时间。所以人们喜欢卖羊羔，而不卖羊胎。反对屠杀孕期动物的传统也使得人们更加愿意这样做。一只母羊平均每年生产2～4只羊羔，能为羊主增加20～30元的收入。

农民收入的另一个来源是贩卖。在较长的农闲季节里，人们从事这种买卖（第九章第三节）。货物并非自己生产，而是用自己的船从邻省浙江运至沿岸的一些城镇贩卖。这是一种地区之间的流通。但从村民的观点看来，这实际是像贩卖或搬运工一样出卖自己的劳务。

My informants stated that each boat engaged in this venture can yield forty dollars a year. Of course, this depends on the type of goods transported and sold and the fluctuation of their price. I had no chance of following their route because their activity in this line takes place from the end of August to the middle of October, and from the middle of December to the end of January, when I had already left the village. These ventures are regulated by the solar calendar. I cannot go into details here, except to mention that this is an important source of income. According to my informants, the number of boats thus engaged has increased in recent years.

为我提供情况的当地人说，每条贩运船一年可赚40元。当然，收入取决于贩运货物的种类及其价格的波动情况。我没有机会跟着他们一起去，因为他们这行的活动时间是8月底至10月中，然后又从12月中至1月底，那时我已经离开这个村庄。这些商业活动都是按阳历时间安排的。我不能在此作很深入的分析，只是想说明，这是农民收入的一个重要来源。根据提供情况的人说，从事该项行业的船只数目近几年来有所增加。

CHAPTER XIV MARKETING

〔1〕 Types of Exchange

Exchange is a process of reciprocal transfer of goods or services between individuals or groups of individuals on the basis of some sort of equivalence. Exchange is necessary wherever there is specialization of production. Specialization of production takes place even between the members of a family. But the process of exchange within a family takes a form different from that found in the market. For in the first place the processes of distribution and exchange in a collective economy are not easily differentiated. The husband who works on the farm depends on his wife for the cooking of his food. In so far as the wife has contributed to the process of production, her claim on the farm produce comes under the head of distribution of the product. But when she consumes more than her share, exchange actually takes place. Secondly, the element of exchange is obscure where property is held in common by the members of a group. Where there is division of labour, the members contribute by their different occupations to the common source from which each derives his living. What exchange actually takes place between the members is thus not apparent.

This does not mean that the ideas of reciprocity in privilege and obligation, and of equivalence in contribution and share do not exist in the intimate social groups. On the contrary, they are among the most frequent causes of disputes and dissatisfactions in domestic life and are jealously upheld. Quantitative assessment of these economic relations in the domestic group requires a very refined field technique, but is not impossible.

The less apparent and less immediate forms of exchange are made possible by positive sanctions inherent in the institutions of the group. For example, parental obligation towards the child is balanced by the support given later by the young to the old, by the obligation to the next generation, or both. The longer the time involved and the more roundabout the transfer of

goods and services, the stronger are the social ties in the group. The exchange of goods or services is a concrete expression of social ties. Where obligations can be fulfilled only over a long period of time the individuals involved tend to feel more strongly their social relationship. This is in consequence one of the cohesive forces of the group. From this angle generosity can be viewed as the advance from one person to another of services or goods, bringing in consequence the persons closer to one another.

拾肆 贸易

一、交换方式

交换产生于个人之间或一些人之间，是物品或劳务在某种等价的基础上相互转换的过程。哪里有专业化的生产，哪里便需要交换。生产专业化甚至发生在家庭的不同成员间，但在家庭中，交换方式同在市场中所见到的不同。因为首先在集体经济中，分配和交换的过程不易区别。在田里劳动的丈夫靠妻子为他煮饭。从妻子对生产过程的贡献来说，她对农产品的权利，应该列在产品分配的项目下。但如果她消耗的要比她分配所得的那一份多，实际上便产生了交换。其次，当财产为一个群体的成员共同所有时，交换的要素是模糊不清的。有了劳动分工，成员通过不同的职业向共同生活的来源作出自己的贡献，同时从这一来源获取各自生活所需的资料。各成员之间究竟作了些什么交换因而是不明显的。

这并不意味着权利和义务的相互关系的概念、贡献和享受对等的概念不存在于亲近的社会群体中。相反，它们是家庭生活中发生争吵和不满的最常见的原因，并且往往发生一种出于妒忌而坚持不下的局面。对这种家庭群体的经济关系作出定量分析，需要精确的实地调查技术，但并不是不可能的。

比较不明显的、不直接的交换形式通过群体固有的制度的约束，已经成为可能了。例如，父母对孩子的义务可以通过年轻一代以后对父母的赡养，或者年轻一代对下一代的义务来取得平衡。时间越长，物品和劳务的转换范围越大，群体中社会纽带亦越强。物品或劳务的交换是社会纽带的具体表现。只有在一些需要很长时期才能相互完成的义务，有关的个人才会更强烈地感受到他们之间的社会关系，其结果是形成了群体的一种内聚力量。从这一角度考虑，慷慨可以被看作是一个人向另一个人预付的劳务或物品，这种行为使两个人之间的关系更加密切。

A similar type of exchange is found in larger social groups such as extended kinship groups and neighbourhood groups. Neighbours in the village are often allowed to take things from each other for consumption or

other use in case of need. Within certain limits a man is glad to be useful to his neighbour. If the borrower makes repayment immediately and states the equation of exchange explicitly, the lender will be offended. "We are not outsiders to each other," they will say. In case extra labour is needed on the farm, relatives living nearby will come to help without payment; so will neighbours on ceremonial occasions (VI–2). Mutual accommodation and services between relatives and neighbours are balanced out in the long run. Exchange on the basis of definite and calculated equivalence tends to diminish in proportion to the intimacy of social relationships.

The making of gifts may be considered as another type of exchange. This is not a result of specialization of production. Even relatives who are engaged in different occupations do not present their special produce as gifts. The type of objects used for formal gifts is prescribed by customs and consists mostly of food, besides offerings of cash on ceremonial occasions. The food offered as gifts is either bought from the market, such as ham and sweets sent at the end of the year, or produced by the people themselves such as special kinds of triangular-shaped rice pudding sent at the festival of Tuan Yang (IX–3). The receiver makes the same type of pudding and buys similar objects to offer to his relatives in return. This type of transfer of goods is significant not in making up mutual deficiency but in strengthening social ties.

From the foregoing analysis, it will be seen that social obligations, mutual accommodations and gift-making are not sufficient to enable a household in the village to secure all the daily necessities which it does not itself produce. Of goods consumed, those produced by the consumers are less than one-third of the total (VII–8). On the other hand, of the goods produced in the household, many are not consumed by the producers. The actual use of the young sheep and sheep foetus does not even seem to be known to the people who raise the sheep (XIII). In the silk-producing area, silk clothes are rare.

在大一些的社会群体中有同类的交换。例如扩大的亲属关系群体和邻里群体。在村里邻居之间，需要时可以互相挪拿东西用于消费或其他用途。在一定的限度内，一个人对他的邻居有用，他会感到高兴。如果借用者立刻要付酬并说明同等交换，出借者便会很不高兴地说：“我们不是外人。”田里如果需要额外劳力，住在附近的亲戚便来帮忙，不要报酬；有重大婚丧喜事时，邻居也这样来帮忙（第六章第二节）。从长

远看，亲戚和邻居之间的互相接待、留宿和服务都是取得平衡的。社会关系越亲密，经过计算的绝对的对等交换也越少。

送礼亦可被看作是另一种交换。这不是专业化生产的结果。不同职业的亲戚，也不把他们的专业产品作为一种礼物。用来作为正式礼品的一些东西是根据习俗而来的，主要是食品。在重要礼仪场合则送一些现金。人们送礼的食品，或是从市场买来的，如年底送的火腿和糖果；或是自己制作的，如端阳节（第九章第三节）送的三角形的糯米粽子。接受礼物的人，也做同样的粽子，买相同的东西回送亲戚。这种类型的物品转让意义不在于弥补相互间的欠缺，而是加强社会联系。

从上述分析可以看出，社会义务、互相接待、留宿和互赠礼物是不够的，它不足以使村里的一个农户获得他自己不生产的日常必需品。在消费品中，消费者生产的只占总数的三分之一（第七章第八节）。另一方面，农民生产的东西，很多不是生产者消费的。羊羔和羊胎的真正用处，看来养羊人本身也不知道（第十三章）。在产丝区，

Even the rice is only partly consumed by the people themselves. Thus it is clear that there must be an extensive exchange system. The predominant type of exchange in the village is marketing.

〔2〕Internal and External Marketing

By marketing is meant the type of exchange in which equivalence in value is explicitly expressed in the transaction and immediately given or promised. In simple language, it is the process of buying and selling. In the village it is carried out, with a few exceptions, through money.

We can distinguish two types of marketing: internal and external. Internal marketing is the exchange of goods and services within the village community, and external marketing is that between the village and the outside world. They are interdependent.

The internal market of the village is bound up with the occupational differentiation in the community (VIII–1). As we have seen, more than two-thirds of the total population in the village are engaged in producing rice, silk, and sheep. These do not sell their produce in the village but to the town. Those engaged in fishing sell only a small portion of their produce to their fellow villagers. Those who produce special goods and render special services to the villagers are limited to a small group which is only 7 per cent. of the total population (VIII–2). Most of their work is not exclusively specialized but is supplementary to common household work. Carpenters, basket makers, and masons are engaged mostly in repair work. They keep a working place in their own house but they also work in the houses of their clients. Tailors work mostly in clients' houses.

The small degree of occupational differentiation in the community has made the internal market very narrow. People depend on the outside world for the supply of goods and services. This raises a general problem: how do the goods flow into the village? Goods may be bought by the villagers directly in the outside market and brought back to the village. Or they may be carried to the village by different kinds of middlemen. Among these three general types can be distinguished:

(1) Pedlars who visit the village periodically and sell goods at the house of the buyer.

(2) Retail stores which keep a permanent place in the village to store

imported goods and attract buyers to their places.

(3) Agent boats which buy goods from the town on behalf of the consumers and transport the goods to the village.

丝绸衣服很少。甚至于米，也只是部分地供人们自己消费。所以非常明显，必须有广泛的交换系统。村里最主要的交换类型就是购销。

二、内外购销

购销是一种交换方式，在交易中对等的价值被明白地表达出来，立即付给或许诺偿付。简单地说，这就是购买和销售的过程。在农村里，除少数例外，交换一般是通过货币来进行的。

我们可以把购销分成内部和外部两种：内部购销是在村庄社区范围内交换货物和劳务，外部购销是村和外界进行的交换，它们是互相依赖的。

村的内部市场是同这个社区的职业分化有密切联系的（第八章第一节）。我们已经看到，村里三分之二以上的人口从事生产稻米、生丝和养殖羊羔的工作。他们不在村里出售这些产品，而要到城镇里去出卖。从事渔业的也只能出售一小部分产品给同村的人。生产专门货物和给村民提供专门服务的限于少数，只占总人口的7%（第八章第二节）。大部分工作并非完全专业化而是普通农户所需工作的一种补充。木匠、篾匠、泥水匠主要是从事修理工作，他们在自己家里干活，也到顾客家中去做活。

职业分化程度小，这使社区内部市场非常狭窄，人们靠外界供应货物和劳务。因而，产生了一个问题：货物如何运到村里来？农民可以直接在外部市场购买货物并带回村来，或者货物可由不同的中间人带到村里来。中间人主要可分三类：

（1）定期到村里来的小贩，在买主家门口卖东西。

（2）零售店，在村里有固定的地点，店铺里存放着从外界买来的货物，吸引顾客去购买。

（3）航船从城镇代消费者购买货物并运到村里。

〔3〕Pedlars

Pedlars may be regular or irregular. This depends on the type of goods they sell. Goods may be produced by the pedlars themselves or may be retailed from the market. Most of the irregular pedlars sell their own produce and do not come from the town but from other villages. This is a type of decentralized inter-village marketing outside the town. The extent of such markets is limited by the fact that the local differentiation of production within the nearby villages is not very far developed. The only differentiation, as mentioned (VII–5), is in vegetable cultivation. In the village gardens are too small to grow an amount sufficient for the consumption of the villagers. But the villagers near Lake Tai can produce large quantities of vegetables, and find their market among the nearby villages. Similarly seasonal fruits which are not grown in the village are supplied by neighbouring districts. The sellers carry their produce by boat and visit the surrounding villages.

These pedlars start with only a general expectation of a gross return and do not insist on a fixed price for each particular transaction. The seller offers a price, for instance, two coppers for three sweet potatoes. The buyer will not negotiate on the money value, but after the money has been given to the seller she will take several extra pieces. The seller may resist or pretend to resist, but I have never seen the transaction repudiated because the buyer takes too much. Such a kind of bargaining is made possible by various factors: the seller has no rigid conception of price, and the buyer no rigid idea of his demand. Moreover, there is no immediate competition on the side of either the seller or the buyer. The amount of extra goods taken will not exceed what seems reasonable to the buyer, and also varies according to many factors. For instance, men will not ask for extra pieces since, as they put it, this would hurt their self-respect; but their wives are free to do so. Conversation and joking, especially between different sexes, will increase the number of extra pieces. In such cases, the seller will voluntarily offer the extras without persuasion. Of course, the taking of extras cannot go too far, except the extras approximate to presents. In the long run it appears that the prices determined by this kind of bargaining are not higher than the market price in the town; for if it is discovered that this is in fact the case, the seller will not find it easy

to sell his goods next time. Probably the price will also not be lower than the town price, for if the gross return obtained by the seller is less than he could obtain from selling to the stores in the town, eventually he will not come to the village. But this leaves a large margin for fluctuation in particular transactions.

三、小贩

小贩可以是固定的或不固定的，根据他们出售的货物种类而定。小贩卖的货可以是他们自己制作的，也可能是从市场上零买来的。大多数不固定的小贩出售他们自己的产品，他们来自其他村，不是来自城镇。这是一种城镇外的分散性的村际贸易活动。这种市场的范围受到这种情况的限制，即附近村子的地方生产方面分化程度不大。如已经提到过的（第七章第五节），唯一的分化是蔬菜的种植。在村里，菜园太小，不能种足量的蔬菜供村民消费。但太湖附近的农民可以种植大量蔬菜，并把附近的村子作为他们的市场。同样，时令水果，村里没有种植，是邻县供应的。卖者用船载着他们的产品到周围的村子来兜售。

这些小贩只盼望回去时赚到一些钱，对每一笔交易并不坚持一个固定的价格。譬如卖者报一个价，三个甜薯卖两个铜板，买者并不和他讨价还价，而是给了钱以后，再拿几块甜薯。卖者可能拒绝不给或装着拒绝，但我从未见到过因为买者拿得太多而取消交易的。这种讨价还价之所以可能是由各种因素造成的：卖者对价格没有严格的概念，买者对他自己的要价也没有严格的想法。卖者和买者都没有直接竞争者。付钱以后买者拿取额外货物的量不会超出买者看来是合理的范围，同时还有其他不同的情况。譬如说，男人就不拿额外的货物，因为他们认为，这有损于他们的自尊心；但他们的妻子可以随便这样做。对话和开玩笑，特别是异性之间开玩笑，将增加拿取额外货物的数量。在这种情况下，卖者将不经要求自愿多给一些。当然，不能拿得太多，除非把额外货物当作礼物来送。从长远看来，这种买卖的价格不比城镇里的市场价格高，因为如果买家发现小贩的价格确实比城里的市场价格高，卖者下次将不易出售他的货物。可能价格也不低于城镇的商品，因为如果卖家的利润比他把商品卖给城镇的店铺要少，最后他就不到农村来卖货了。但在某些具体交易中价格上下的界限是比较宽的。

There are two regular pedlars from the town: one sells tailoring and toilet articles and the other sells sweets for the children. The women in the village go to the town less frequently than the men, since they have duties in household work and care of the children. Tailoring and toilet articles are solely for women consumers. Moreover, these goods are connected with personal tastes. Women will not trust their agent or their husbands to buy for

them, and it is this which gives the pedlar his market. Bargaining with such a pedlar takes a different form from that described above. The buyer will not accept the price offered and then ask for extra pieces but will try to reduce the price for a fixed amount of goods. Thus the transaction may not take place if a price satisfactory to both parties cannot be arrived at. The lowest price which the pedlar will take is determined by the amount he paid for the goods, and the amount of profit necessary to maintain his living. Since the goods are not perishable, he can wait for better terms.

The pedlar selling sweets follows another method. The demand for such goods must be artificially created by the seller. A loud bugle is used to attract children. Usually not all the children possess petty cash. Many have to ask adults to buy for them. The pedlar thus often causes dramatic domestic scenes. Children's cries and mothers' curses are mixed with the transaction of buying and selling. Bargaining is not keen because the buyer is either the child who does not know how to hide his real interest or the mother whose main purpose is to get rid of the nuisance. Part of the sweets are made in the pedlar's own house. The raw material is cheap. The price is thus determined largely by the living expenses of the pedlar.

Each of these pedlars has a customary area of peddling which includes several villages, and the area of which is determined by the distance the pedlar can walk and the profit he can make. The frequency of his visits is also thus determined. The pedlar selling tailoring and toilet articles comes to the village every two or four days, while the pedlar selling sweets comes nearly every day.

从城镇来的有两名固定的小贩：一个卖缝纫和梳妆用品，另一个卖小孩吃的糖果。女人由于有家务在身，还需照顾孩子，因此到城里去的机会比男人少。缝纫和梳妆等用品是专为妇女的消费品。此外，对这些商品的需求与个人喜好有关。妇女不愿托别人或丈夫替她购买，这才使小贩有他的市场。与这种小贩议价的形式和上述有所不同，买主不是先接受小贩的要价然后拿取额外的商品，而是先还价。因此价格如不能使双方满意时便不能达成交易。小贩要的最低价格取决于他买货时付的价钱和维持他的生活所需的利润。货物是经放的，他可以等待好一些的价钱。

卖糖果的小贩用另一种方式。对这种货物的需求必须通过卖者人为的创造。小贩用一个很响的喇叭来吸引孩子。通常孩子们不是都有零钱用的，很多孩子必须要求大人买给他们。因此，小贩常常会引起戏剧化

的家庭场面。孩子的吵闹和母亲的呵责往往与买卖糖果声混杂在一起。这种买卖，讨价还价并不厉害，因为买主或是不懂得隐瞒自己真正兴趣的那些孩子，或者是一心想摆脱麻烦的孩子母亲。部分糖果是在小贩自己家里做的，原料便宜。因此糖果的价格主要取决于小贩的生活费用。

每一个小贩都有一个习惯卖货的地区，有时是几个村，范围的大小取决于小贩能走多少路，能赚多少钱。售货的次数也取决于上述因素。卖缝纫和梳妆用品的小贩每隔两天或四天到村里一次，而卖糖果的则几乎每天都来。

(4) Retail Stores

Pedlars do not live in the village. They visit the consumers periodically. Retail stores, on the other hand, are located at permanent places and attract buyers to the stores. This gives rise to a group of people who specialize in trading. They do not produce the objects which they sell, but buy them from the town and sell them to the villages. The following table shows the number of stores in their respective trades:

Grocers	. . . . .	3
Meat sellers	. . . . .	3
Bean cake sellers	. . . . .	2
Medicine seller	. . . . .	1
Brick seller	. . . . .	1
		—
Toatal	. . . . .	10

The three groceries are located near the three bridges. They sell mainly cigarettes, matches, sweets, paper, candles, paper-money and other religious articles. I was not able to assess the total amount of their stock. Neither was I able to discover their average sales each day. The main difficulty is that they do not keep accounts. According to their information their daily sale varies from one dollar to twenty cents, and it is obvious that they are not able to supply the whole village with daily necessities of miscellaneous types. As we shall describe presently, the majority of purchases are made from the town by means of the agent boats. Chou described to me the function of these groceries, "We go to the groceries to buy cigarettes when we have guests." In other words, they are only supplements of the agent boats. The agent boats take a whole day to fulfil their customers' orders, and in urgent cases, people cannot wait until their return. They will then go to the stores. Religious articles are never needed at a very short notice, but are used at definite periods which can be foreseen. These appear in the retail stores because of the difficulty of transporting them in the agent boats. The paper-money is made of tin foils in the shape of old silver ingots. It is empty inside and so cannot be compressed. A larger space is therefore required for its transport than is available in the agent boats.

Meat is an important article of diet in the village. This is supplied by the butchers in the town through the meat dealers who go to the town at midnight and bring back to the village the amount needed in the morning. Consumers are thus able to get their meat when they cook their meal at noon. Since there is no means of preserving fresh meat, the dealer will not bring more than he is certain to sell. This is often exhausted before the last buyer comes to the store, and if one wishes to make sure of the supply one must order it the evening before.

四、零售店

小贩不住在村里。他们定期到消费者那里去。而零售店则坐落在一个固定的地方吸引顾客到店里来。这就产生了一群专门从事商业的人。他们出售的东西并不是自己生产的，而是把从城镇里买来的东西再卖给村庄。下表说明了各行业的店铺数目：

杂货店………………………………3
肉 店………………………………3
豆腐店………………………………2
药 店………………………………1
砖瓦店………………………………1
总 共………………………………10

三家杂货店在三座桥附近。它们主要出售香烟、火柴、糖果、纸张、蜡烛、纸钱及其他带宗教色彩的物品。我未能估计他们的存货数量。我也无从计算他们每天的平均销售量。主要困难是他们不记账。按他们所说，每天销售额两角至一元不等，很明显，他们不能供应全村以各种日用必需品。我即将谈到，大多数货物是靠航船从城里购运来的。周向我描述了杂货店的功能："我们有客人时，便到杂货店去买纸烟。"换句话说，这只是航船的一种补充。航船为了满足顾客的订货，需要花一整天的时间在城里购买，紧急需要时，顾客等不及它们回来，便到店铺里去买。带宗教色彩的东西不属于紧急需要，但在预期的某一时间内使用。又由于这些东西用航船运输有一定困难，所以人们常常可在零售店里见到这些东西。纸钱是用锡箔做成旧的银锭形，里面是空的不能受压，航船无法提供如此大的空间来运输它。

在村里，肉类是重要食物之一。肉贩在半夜去到城镇屠夫那里购买第二天早晨需要的猪肉后，将其运回村里。消费者到中午煮饭时就能有肉。由于没有保存鲜肉的手段，所以卖肉的商人根据他能卖出多少来买进。最后一个主顾去买肉时往往就销售一空，如果有人一定要买到肉，必须在前一天傍晚订购。

Bean cake is used as fertilizer on the farm. This is heavy and takes up much space like bricks. The agent boat cannot be cumbered with this type of goods. Thus there are special stores for them in the village. The medicine store sells Chinese herbal medicines. These are usually sold at high retail prices and are often needed at a moment's notice, therefore the store finds a

place in the village.

〔5〕Agent Boats as Consumers' Buying Agent

The village stores cannot meet all the daily needs of the villagers. For instance, there is no place in the village from which such essential goods as salt and sugar can be bought. These must be fetched by agent boats. The agent boats offer a free daily service to purchase necessities from the town and derive their income from acting as selling agents of the villagers. They play an important function in the village economy. This institution is common in the region round the Lake Tai, and it has led to a special development of the neighbouring towns.

Every morning, about seven o'clock, the agent boats begin to be active. There are four boats in the village; two plying on Stream A and two on Streams B and C (II–4). As the boats move along the stream, the villagers give their orders to the agent, "Twenty coppers of oil for this bottle and thirty coppers of wine in that container, please." The agent collects the bottles and money. Without counting he throws the money on the floor of the hinder part of the boat. He will talk freely with his clients on other topics. When the boat reaches the west end of the village, from where it proceeds directly to the town, the agent has collected a few dozens of bottles and a large number of coppers. The people going to the town board the boat as it passes their houses. They do not pay any fare.

Each boat has its own regular clients. The village can be divided into two areas each served by two boats. The two boats plying on the same stream draw their clients from the same area. Thus they are in com-petition with one another. But it is friendly competition. If there are few passengers in one boat, it will wait for the other and all the passengers will be transferred to the one boat. The boat is rowed by the young men passengers. The agent will classify the bottles and containers according to the orders and collect the coppers on the floor, he will join the passengers in talking or will help them to bind the silk in a proper form for selling.

豆饼是农田的肥料，份量重，像砖一样，也占地方。航船不能运这

类货物。所以村里有专门出售砖和豆饼的店铺。药店出售中草药，零售价格较高，又常常是急需的，所以药店在村里有一席之地。

五、航船，消费者的购买代理

村庄店铺不能满足农民全部日常的需求。例如村里没有地方卖盐和糖这样的重要物品。这些东西必须由航船去买。航船提供免费的日常服务，从城里购买日常必需品，同时充当村民的销售代理，从中赚得一些收入。他们在乡村经济中起着重要的作用。这种制度在太湖周围地区非常普遍，它促使附近城镇有了特殊的发展。

每天早晨约7时许，航船开始活跃起来。村里共有4条船，两条往返于河A，两条往返于河B与河C （第二章第四节）。船沿着河划出村时，农民们便向航船主订货。“请在这个瓶里打20个铜板的油，在那个坛里打30个铜板的酒。”航船主收了瓶和钱，数也不数，他把钱扔在船尾的底板上，便和顾客随便交谈起其他的话题来。船到了村的西端，从这里就可以直接到城里，那时他已经收了数十个瓶子和很多铜板。那些要到城里去的人，船经过他们的家门口时便搭上船，他们不用付船费。

每一条船有它自己固定的顾客。村子可分为两个区域，每个区域有两条船为他们服务。在一条河里的两条船，它们的顾客是同一区域的。这两条船互相就有竞争，但是友好的竞争。如果一条船上的乘客很少，它就会等另一条船，把乘客都合到一条船上。摇船的是年轻乘客。航船主按照顾客订货把瓶子和容器分类，把船板上的铜钱收起来，一面与乘客聊天，或帮助他们把蚕丝按照出售的要求捆起来。

From the village to the town takes two and a half hours. The boat arrives there at about ten o'clock. Each boat has connections with several stores in the town, and from these the agent will buy the articles ordered by the villagers. Salesmen in the stores come down to the boat to fetch the bottles and containers and to receive their orders from the agent. Before he returns to the boat in the afternoon, the agent will visit the stores and pay the bills. The boat begins to return at about two in the afternoon, and reaches the village between four and five. Villagers wait at their door to receive their goods as the boat passes.

One of the four boats had begun its service only about two months before I reached the village; the other three have run for many years. One of the agents, now an old man, himself inherited this profession from his father. Thus we can see that it is a very old institution.

Theoretically anyone can start an agent boat. There is no formal qualification for the agent. He has only to announce to the public that he will be an agent and will receive orders. But once started, he must carry on the business regularly every day regardless of how many orders he has received. One agent, Chou Fu-sen, was very sick when I was there, but he could not stop his service because all the clients depended on him for their daily supply. The new agent, Chou Chi-fa, often went to the town without a single order. This means that the agent must devote his whole time to his job, and this is a requirement which most of the villagers who have land to cultivate cannot fulfil. Moreover, the agent must be connected with the stores in the town, especially when he acts as the selling agent. To acquire the knowledge and custom of the trade takes time and practice.

The number of agents in an area depends on the number of orders and personal ability of the agent. An unusually able man like Fu-sen could, in the past, monopolize the whole area around Stream A, more than a hundred and fifty households. Personal ability consists of clear-mindedness and a good memory which enables an agent not to make mistakes in the numerous oral orders. It is unbelievable at first sight that anyone can manage so many orders without the help of written notes. It is in fact possible only through a slow process of becoming familiar with the particular bottle or container of each client, and through training the powers of memory. Mistakes are sometimes made. Once a client claimed that he had given Fu-sen a dollar but Fu-sen could not remember the order. Although Fu-sen bore the responsibility for returning the money, the client complained. As Fu-sen's powers were thus gradually failing, Chi-fa was able to look forward to succeeding him in his area.

从村庄到城里需要两个半小时。船约于10点到达。每条船与城里的一些店铺有联系，航船主就向这些店铺购买农民订购的东西。店里的学徒下船来拿瓶子和容器并接受订货。下午航船主回到船上以前，要到店铺去结账。下午两点，航船开始返回，约四五点钟到达村里。船经过时，村民都在门口等待，接受他们托买的东西。

其中有一条船在我到村子以前约两个月才开始做此项经营，另三条船已做了多年。有一个航船主，现在已年老，这一职业是从他父亲处继承的。因此，我们可以了解到，这是一个存在已久的制度。从理论上讲，任何人可以经营航船，航船主没有正式的资格，他只要向公众宣布，他将做航船这行业，接受别人委托买东西即可。但一旦开始了这个

行业，他必须每天有规律地继续下去，无论他接受多少委托。有一个航船主名叫周福生，我在村里时，他病得很厉害，但他无法停止他的服务工作，因为所有顾客都靠他供应日常必需品。有一个新经营这行业的叫周志法，他有时到城里去，连一家订户都没有。这意味着，航船主必须把全部时间和精力花在经营这个行业中，大多数有地种的农民是不可能达到这种要求的。此外，航船主必须与城里的店铺有关系，特别是作为一个销售代理人。要懂得商业上的知识和习惯，需要时间和实践。

一个地区有多少航船，要看有多少居民及航船主个人有多大能力。一个像福生这样有非凡能力的人，过去垄断沿河A的整个地区，约150多户。个人能力即脑子清楚，记忆力好，不会记错各种口头的委托。一眼看去，不借助任何记录，能处理这么多瓶瓶罐罐，简直是使人无法相信的。实际上，只有经过一个缓慢的过程，才能逐渐熟悉每一个顾客的瓶子或罐头，记得每个顾客经常的需要。有时也会记错，有一次一个顾客说，给了福生一元钱，但福生不记得他这件事了。虽然福生毫不犹豫地负责还了他一元钱，但顾客还是埋怨。当福生的能力逐渐衰退时，志法已能够在他这地区开始接替他了。

The agent does not ask for any commission from his clients for his service, nor make any profit therefrom, except the periodical gifts and entertainments which the stores in the town offer him. Therefore the price of articles does not rise in passing through the hands of the agent. If the villagers go to purchase directly from the town, they may sometimes get worse and less goods than if they buy through the agents. The traders in the town may cheat the individual buyers, but he cannot so treat the agents. This is not due so much to the personal ability of the agent as to the competition among the town traders to secure constant customers. Most of the stores in the town depend on the agent boats for their wide market in the villages. Losing a single boat will mean a lot to the traders. They try to keep old customers and attract new. Thus the agents gain a favourable position in the transaction.

The existence of the agent boats has put the village stores into a supplementary position. Village stores cannot compete with the agent boats. They are too small to order goods directly from big wholesale stores in the cities, as the town stores do. They buy from the town stores like the agent boats. But the agent boats offer free services in buying while the village traders have to make a profit from retailing. As shown above, the village stores can only find a market in articles which are urgently needed and those which are too heavy to be transported by the agent boats.

The agents do not keep written accounts. I therefore found it rather difficult to assess the amount of their transactions. Fu-sen gave me his estimate as about ten to twenty dollars a day. The highest record was forty dollars a day near the end of the year. This seems to be a reasonable estimate, because it can roughly be checked with the general amount of goods that the village obtains from outside. According to the estimate given in the analysis of household expenditure (VII–8), this is about 80,000 dollars every year. If we exclude from this amount the expenses for clothing, vegetables, heavy tools, and mulberry leaves, which are not pur-chased through the agent boats, it amounts to 30,000 dollars, and this gives an approximate average similar to the above estimate.

航船主为顾客服务并不向顾客索取佣金，也不从中赚钱，城里的店铺定时送他一些礼物或招待他。货物通过航船主的手，价格并不提高。如果农民自己直接到城镇商店去买，他们可能得到更少或更坏的东西，城里的商人可能欺侮个别来的买主，而他不敢欺侮航船主。这并不光是因为航船主个人能力比城里的商人强，更是由于城镇商人竞争需要保持经常的主顾。大多数城里的店铺依赖航船来得到农村这个广阔的市场。对商人来说，失去一条船即意味着很大的损失。他们力图保持旧主顾，吸引新主顾。因此行贩在交易中是处于有利地位的。

航船的存在使村庄的店铺处于一种辅助性的地位。村庄店铺无法与航船竞争。它们太小，不能像城镇商店那样直接向城市里的大批发商店订货。它们也像航船一样向城镇店铺购货。但航船代客买东西免收服务费，而村庄的商人零售时要赚钱。如上所述，村庄小店里只有那些急需品以及航船不能运输的货物才有买主。

航船主不记账，所以我无从估计他们的交易额。福生作了一个估计，每天约10～20元。快到年底时，最高记录为每天40元。看来，这一估计是可靠的，可以从农民向外购货的总金额来核对一下。按农户开支的分析（第七章第八节），估计每年约为8万元。如果我们从这一数字减去衣服、蔬菜、重型工具和桑叶的费用，这些东西不是通过航船购买的，约为3万元，这与福生的估计大致相似。

I was not able to make a complete list of articles that the agent boats buy from the town. The list must be a very long one because all goods that can be bought in the town and can be transported by boat are ordered from the agent. Small quantities of those things such as bean cakes, bricks, and paper-money, during the time when the boat is not crowded, are also orderable. The most common goods found in the agent boats are food and ingredients for cooking.

To complete the description of the buying process, it is necessary to mention again the direct purchase by the consumers in the town market or from other villages. For instance, not enough mulberry leaves, the essential raw material for the silk industry, are grown in the village. The villagers must buy them from the other villages near the Lake Tai. The buyer goes personally and transports the goods himself. Every time people come to the town they will do some shopping. The amount of trade through this process is difficult to estimate. But as the villagers do not go to the town very often, it is thus limited.

〔6〕Agent Boats as Producers' Selling Agent

One important feature of the agent boat is that it does not make any profit as a buying agent of the consumers. Similarly passengers do not pay any fare (except that the young men are obliged to row the boat). The gift given by the town stores are far from enough to provide the agent with a living. The agents obtain their reward by acting as the selling agents of the producers.

The process of selling requires much skill and knowledge of the market which the villagers do not necessarily possess. When they sell their produce, they rely on the agents. The agents are constantly in touch with the collectors in the town and know every detail about the different collectors. Because the collectors are connected with different traders or weaving factories they have particular preferences in what they purchase. It is essential for the producers to get in touch with the right collector for his particular produce. Moreover, in collecting silk, there is an accepted practice by which the producer is allowed to add a certain amount of cotton and water to the silk in order to increase its weight. But if the conventional limit is exceeded the collector will deduct from his payment more than the weight of the cotton and the water added. Therefore the expert advice of the agent is needed.

我不能把航船从城镇购买的商品开列一个清单。这个清单一定会很长，因为所有可从城镇购买的、航船可以运输的商品都可以委托航船去购买。船不挤的时候，少量的豆饼、砖、纸钱一类的商品也可代购。委托航船购买最多的东西是食品和烹调用的配料或调料。

为了对购买过程进行全面的描述，必须重提一下消费者从城镇市场或其他村庄直接购买的商品。譬如，村里桑叶不够，这是蚕丝工业的重要原料。村民必须从太湖附近的其他村庄购买。买主自己去购买和运输，每次他们进城，都要买些其他东西。通过这一渠道进行的贸易额就难以估计。但由于村民不常进城，所以买的东西也有限。

六、航船，生产者的销售代理

航船的一个重要特点是作为消费者的代购人，是不赚钱的。同样，乘客也不付船费（年轻人得出劳力划船除外）。城镇店铺给航船主的礼物远远不足以维持他们的生活。他们只有在充当生产者的销售代理人时才得到报酬。

销售货物需要更多的技巧和有关市场的知识，农民不一定具备，因此他们出售产品时需要依靠航船主。后者经常与城镇里的收购商品的行家保持联系。他了解各个行家的情况。行家与不同的商人或纺织厂相联系，他们收购货物是有挑选的。生产者为了出售他们的某种产品应该知道与那些有关的收购人保持联系，这是很重要的。此外，在收购生丝的时候，有一种已经被收购者接受了的习惯做法，即允许生产者在丝里加一定量的棉花和水以加重分量。但如果超过惯常的限量，收购者便要扣钱，扣的数量比外加分量的钱更多。因此，生产者需要就这方面的业务与内行的代理人商量。

The agent will help the producer to bind the silk in a proper way so that the same amount and quality of silk will yield the highest possible return. The producer goes with the agent to the collector. But the collector will recognize only the agent whose name appears on his account. If the producer does not accept the price, he is free to withdraw his produce. But generally he will follow the advice of the agent whom he trusts. When the producer sells 100 Liang (11.3 lbs.) of silk, about 25 dollars at the present price, he will pay the agent 1 dollar commission. In other words, the agent will get 4 per cent. commission from the amount of silk sold. The amount of the reward does not change according to the price. So when the price is high, the rate of commission is much lower. In the case of rice, the commission is 5 cents for 3 bushels, which will yield about 7 dollars for the producer. The percentage of commission is about 0.7. The total production of silk in this village is about 90,000 Liang which will give 900 dollars for the agents' commission. The total exported rice is about 7,000 bushels which will give a total commission for the agents of about 650 dollars. If this amount is equally divided among the four agents, each will get about 400 dollars a year. That amount will provide them with a fairly good living.

Those who have paid commission to the agents on the sale of their produce are entitled to use the boats for communication and to order goods through them. The payment for this service is thus distributed according to the amount of production but not to the amount of consumption of the clients.

The sheep raising recently introduced has added a new source of income to the agent; but I do not know the exact system of commission for selling sheep.

The change in the silk industry had challenged the very existence of the institution. The new silk factory does not make use of the selling agents in the town market. The produce is sold directly to Shanghai. At the start, the agent appealed for compensation. The reformers regarded the agent boats as a useful institution in the village and decided to support it by giving compensation according to the traditional amount of commission. Each member of the co-operative society receives a card on which the amount of his cocoon supply is recorded. The producer can give the card to the agent whom he uses as his buying agent. The agent in return receives compensation according to the total amount of cocoons recorded on the member's card. In this way the institution of the agent boat has been saved.

航船主还帮助生产者按照购买者的要求来包装蚕丝，以便使同样数量、质量的丝能卖到较高的价钱。生产者与航船主一起到收购人那里去，但收购人只认识航船主，他的账上有航船主的户头。如果生产者不接受对方的价格，他可以不出售他的产品。但在一般情况下，他听从他所信任的航船主的忠告。生产者如果出售100两蚕丝，约合当前的市价25元，他便付给航船主1元钱佣金。换句话说，航船主按生产者出售蚕丝的数量拿4%的佣金。佣金数不随蚕丝价格的变化而变化。因此，蚕丝价格高时佣金率反而低。每出售3蒲式耳米要给佣金5分，生产者收益约合7元，佣金百分率约为0.7%。这个村庄的蚕丝总生产量约为9万两，航船主可得900元佣金。大米的总出口量为7,000蒲式耳，航船主可得总数约为650元的佣金。如果四个航船主平分这个数额，每人一年约得400元。有这样一笔数目，生活可以过得不错了。

那些卖出产品后付给航船主佣金的人，有权把船当作交通工具使用，而且可委托航船主购买货物。因此，此项服务的支付额是根据生产量来定，而不是根据顾客的消费量来定的。

新近的养羊工作为航船主增加了一项新的收入来源，但我不知道卖羊收佣金的确切办法。

蚕丝业的改革对航船制度的存在提出了挑战。新的丝厂不利用航船到城镇市场去代销蚕丝，产品直销上海。开始时，航船主要求补偿。改革者考虑到航船是村里一种有用的制度，因此决定根据传统的佣金额给他们补偿。合作社的每一个社员收到一张卡片，上面记录着他供应蚕茧的数量。生产者可以把卡片交给他委托购买东西的航船主。根据合作社社员卡片上记载的蚕茧供应数量，航船主可收到一定数量的补偿费。这样才把航船制度保存了下来。

〔7〕Other Types of Collecting

The staple rural products are collected by the town through the agent boats or by the city through the factory. But for minor objects—and waste goods—such as old clothes, the ashes of paper money and old metal objects, there is yet another manner of collection. Sometimes this takes the form of barter, that is, direct exchange of objects. The collector carries with him porcelain articles or a special type of sweets to exchange for old clothes and metal objects. Ashes of paper-money, which contain tin, are exchanged for sheets of tin foil from which the paper-money is made.

〔8〕Marketing Areas and the Town

The size of a marketing area is determined by the system of transport—the cost and time involved in the movement of persons and goods. The primary market, in which the consumers buy their goods directly, is limited to an area in which the buyer can get his goods without spending so much time as to hamper his other activities. In this village we can distinguish two primary marketing areas. The people living near the bridge on Stream B will not make purchases from the stores near the bridge on Stream A. For instance, barbers, meat sellers, groceries, and temples are all segregated in these two areas, roughly corresponding to the areas divided by the activities of the agent boats. But the silversmith, the shoemaker, and the medicine store are located near the west bridge on Stream A, the centre of the intra-village route system (II–4). These are the only stores of their kind in the village. To this extent, the village is also a primary market.

The secondary market is that from which the retail dealers in the primary market draw their goods at wholesale prices. In this region, the agent boat cannot be considered as a retailer. It makes purchases on behalf of the consumers, but, as we have seen, without making a charge for this service. The agent boat thus restricts the function of the primary market in the village and enables the distant town to be the centre of primary purchase of the consumers.

The agent, specializing in this function, can spend all his time in this activity. Thus the distance between the buyer and the seller is lengthened to that practicable for a daily return trip. The actual distance depends on the rate of movement of the boat, which is estimated at about 1.6 miles per hour. The farthest village that is able to send its agent boat to the town cannot lie farther than 5 miles distant. The diameter of such a marketing area is thus between 8 and 10 miles.

七、其他收集方式

大宗的农村产品由城镇通过航船或由城市通过工厂收购。但对一些零星物品和废品——如旧衣服、纸钱灰、废铜烂铁等还有另一种收购方法。有时候是以货易货的形式出现，即货物直接交换。收购者带着陶瓷器或一种特别的糖果来换取旧衣服和金属器皿。纸钱灰含锡，可换叠纸钱的锡箔。

八、贸易区域和集镇

贸易区域的大小取决于运输系统——人员及货物流动所需的费用和时间。消费者直接购买货物的初级市场局限于这样一个区域，即买者不需要花很多时间以致妨碍他的其他活动便可在其中买到货物。在这个村里我们可以看出来，有两个初级购销区域。住在河B的桥附近的人们不会到河A的桥附近的商店去买东西。例如，理发店、肉店、杂货店和庙宇都分设在两个地区，大致与航船活动分工范围相当。但银匠、鞋匠和药店坐落在河A的西桥附近，这里是村内道路系统的中心（第二章第四节）。这些行业在村里各自只有这一家店。从这个意义上说，这个村子也是一个初级市场。

中级市场就是初级市场的零售商用批发价格购买货物的地方。在这个地区，航船不能被看作是一个零售商。它代替消费者买货，但正如我们知道的，这项服务不收费。这样，航船便限制了村里初级市场的作用，并使远处的城镇成为消费者初级购买的中心。

专门从事这项工作的航船主能把他所有的时间用于这一活动。因此，购买者和出售者之间的距离便延长到适于当日往返的旅程。实际距离取决于船的速度，估计每小时为1.6英里。能够派出航船到镇上代购货物的村子，其最远的距离不能超出5英里以外。因此，这样一个购销区域的直径是8～10英里。

At the centre of each marketing area is a town, the essential difference of which from the village lies in the fact that the population in the town is mainly occupied in non-agricultural work. The town is for villagers the centre of exchange with the outside world. The villagers buy most of their manufactured goods from the middlemen in the town and supply their produce to the collector there. The development of the town depends on the number of customers that can be attracted to it. As we have seen, the institution of the agent boat enables the town in this region to concentrate the primary purchase from its tributary villages and thus reduce the function of the village traders. The size of the marketing area of this type is much larger than that found in North China, where land transport is predominant and the agent system is not developed. A study by C. K. Yang[1] showed that the marketing area, above that of the primary village market, typical in North

China, is about $1^{1}/_{2}$ miles to 3 miles in diameter. The marketing area of a higher order, consisting of six basic marketing areas, is about 8 to 12 miles in diameter. The latter type is comparable in size to the town market in the region we are investigating.

The town on which the village depends—that is, the town to which the agent boats go daily—is called Chên Tsê, about 4 miles south of the village. It is true that the town does not monopolize all the marketing activities of the village. There is another town in the north, called Tai Miao Chiung, about $1^{1}/_{2}$ miles from the village on the bank of Lake Tai (Map II). This is a small town specializing in trade with the islands in the lake. Near the town is a temple of the God of Lake Tai from which the name of the town is derived. When the people visit the temple they usually do some shopping in the town. To walk there takes about $1^{1}/_{2}$hours. But trade between the village and Tai Maio Chiung is insignificant as compared with that with Chên Tsê.

In the process of collecting rural produce, Chên Tsê monopolizes nearly all the rice trade of the village. But it has never completely monopolized the silk produce, and since the establishment of the silk factory in the village, manufactured silk has been directly transported to Shanghai. Even in former times, when the village supplied a large quantity of raw silk for the weaving industry in Sheng Tsê, a town about 12 miles east of the village, there was a boat which plied direct to that town. It was too far for a daily return trip, and the service was irregular, so the boat was only engaged in selling. It ceased to run more than ten years ago owing on the one hand to the decline of the weaving industry of the town, and on the other to the reform of the silk industry in the village.

每个贸易区域的中心是一个镇，它与村庄的主要区别是，城镇人口的主要职业是非农业工作。镇是农民与外界进行交换的中心。农民从城镇的中间商人那里购买工业品并向那里的收购的行家出售他们的产品。城镇的发展取决于它吸引顾客的多少。正如我们已经了解的，航船的制度使这一地区的城镇把附属村庄的初级购买活动集中了起来，从而减弱了农村商人的作用。这一类购销区域的范围比中国北方的购销区域大得多，中国北方主要是陆路运输，代购或代销体系不发达。杨庆方的研究[2] 说明了在村庄初级市场之上的典型的中国北方购销区域的直径约为1.5～3英里。更高一级的购销区域，包含6个基本购销区域，其直径约为8～12英里。后者与我们现在正在研究的城镇市场规模相仿。

这个村庄所依托的城镇，就是航船每天去的镇，叫做震泽，在村庄以南约4英里的地方。其实，这个镇没有垄断这个村庄的全部贸易活动。在北面，还有一个镇，叫大庙港，离村庄约1.5英里，在太湖边上（见地图II）。这是一个专门与太湖里的岛屿进行贸易的小镇。镇附近有一座太湖神庙，镇由此而得名。人们去庙宇的时候，通常在这个镇里购买物品。徒步走去需要约1.5小时。但这个村庄和大庙港之间的贸易同这个村庄和震泽镇的贸易相比是无足轻重的。

在收购农产品的过程中，震泽镇垄断了这个村庄全部大米的贸易。但它从未完全垄断蚕丝产品，而且自从村中丝厂成立以来，加过工的蚕丝被直接运到上海。即使在过去，这个村庄也供应大量生丝给村东约12英里处的盛泽镇丝织工业，那时还有一条航船直接往返此镇。路程太远，不能当天往返，班次也不定期，所以只管售货。十多年前，一方面由于该镇丝织工业衰落，另一方面由于这个村庄的蚕丝业改革，此船就已经停止了。

An interesting study might be made of the competition of the towns to secure tributary territories. But a detailed analysis of this problem requires a wider investigation of the whole region than the present study could afford.

〔9〕Marketing and Production

Silk and sheep are produced entirely for selling. We have already seen how the price has affected the production in these industries. The low price of native silk stimulated the reform programme. As a result of the reform, the amount of the production of native silk was greatly reduced. But in recent years, the amount has not declined in proportion to the decline of price. On the contrary there are signs of an increase. As explained, this is due to the lack of other work to absorb the surplus female labour in the village. Sheep raising was started because of the new demand of the market. But the amount of production cannot be increased while supply of grass is limited as at present. Price is thus not the only factor determining the volume of production.

Rice is produced partly for selling and partly for consumption. The amount of reserve does not necessarily fluctuate according to the price. Each household will try to reserve enough rice for a year's consumption. A high market price of rice will not induce the producer to sell his reserves, because the future price level is uncertain. But a low price will force people to sell more rice to the market; this is because the amount of money income needed by each household is more or less known at the time of harvest when the tenants are required to pay their rent in terms of money. This fact is important for the rice collectors. They usually try to force down the price in order to increase the volume of trade. The villagers' total reserve is frequently so reduced as to be insufficient for their own consumption. In the following summer the villagers will be dependent on outside supply (XV–3). This also is to the benefit of the trader.

The fluctuation of price does not affect the total production of rice. The total amount is determined by the size of the land, the technique of production, and last, but not least, the supply of rainfall. These are matters over which the people have little control. Change of occupation is difficult and even change of crop seldom comes to the minds of the villagers.

关于城镇之间如何竞争以保持它们的附属村庄，将是一个有趣的研究。但是对这一问题的详细分析，需要对整个地区作更广泛的调查，这

不是目前的研究所能达到的。

九、销售与生产

丝和羊完全是为出售而生产的。我们已经看到，在这些行业中，价格是如何影响生产的。土产生丝的价格低廉，催生了改革计划。改革结果是土产生丝产量大大下降。但近年来，其产量并未按其价格下降的比率下降，相反，还有一些增加的迹象。正如已经解释过的，这是由于缺乏其他工作来吸收村里剩余的妇女劳力的缘故。村里开始养羊，这是因为市场有新的需要。但目前缺乏草的供应，产量不可能增加。因此，价格不是决定产量的唯一因素。

生产大米，部分是为出售，部分是为消费。储备粮的数量不一定根据价格的波动而升降。每一户都要准备够一年消费的储备粮。市场大米价格上涨不会诱使生产者出售他的存粮，因为未来的大米价格不确定。但大米价格低会迫使农民出售更多的大米。这是因为收割的时候要求佃农用钱交租，那时每户所需要的货币收入或多或少都已知道。这一事实，对大米收购者来说很重要。他们通常为了增加贸易额而压低大米价格。农民的总储备量往往就这样被减少到不够他们自己消费。来年夏季，他们就只得靠外界供应（第十五章第三节）。这样商人也有利可图。

价格波动不影响大米的总生产量。总生产量取决于土地的大小、生产的技术以及最终取决于降雨量的多少。这些都是人们几乎不能控制的事。改变职业是困难的，甚至改变农作物，村民都很少想到。

Thus the structure of production is a rigid one and does not react elastically to the demand of the market. When changes take place, they are gradual and far-reaching.

Let us take the silk industry as an example. The adjustment between the new demand of the market and the productive system has taken nearly ten years in spite of a well-planned programme and special efforts. From our analysis of the changing process (XII), we have seen that the effectiveness of supply and demand depends on a knowledge of the market which villagers do not always possess. Without some special agents to affect a change, the people would hardly understand the cause of the decline of price and still less define the type of goods that would meet the new demand of the market. To bring about a change in the industry, special knowledge and social

organization are needed. All these factors delay an immediate and automatic adjustment of supply and demand in the rural economy.

Change of occupation in the village is more difficult than reform of an existing industry. No serious attempt has yet been made to find out the possibility of introducing new industries to the village besides sheep raising. Even the latter is only a supplement to the existing productive system and not a change of occupation. Villagers can change their occupation only by leaving the village. In other words, occupational mobility under the present situation means a mobility of population from the village to the town. In the village, those who go out to find new occupation are mostly young girls who have not yet entered into a fixed social place in the community. Even in this group, such mobility has already challenged the traditional kinship relation and the stability of the domestic group (XII–9). The reaction against the disruptive forces in social stability becomes a force to counteract the present mobility. It is difficult to say at the present stage how far the traditional forces will give way in the novel situation. But on the whole the slow mobility of population, especially of the male population, indicates the slow effect of the outside demand for labour and the rigidity of the traditional productive system in the village.

Nevertheless it is clear that the market affects production strongly. It has led to various changes which are not limited to economic life only. The reaction of the productive system to market conditions does not take a simple course but is a long and involved process which requires investigation in a wider perspective than that of a purely economic inquiry.

因此，生产结构是受到严格限制的，它不能随着市场的需求作出灵活的反应，变化是缓慢而长远的。

让我们以丝业作为例子。尽管在蚕丝业方面有很好的改革计划，计划者对改革也作出了特殊的努力，但市场的新需求与生产系统之间的调整过程经历了几乎十年的时间。从我们对变迁过程的分析（第十二章），我们看到供应和需求的有效性取决于对市场的了解，这是农民不具备的。如果没有特殊的力量来影响并促使变革，人们几乎不理解蚕丝价格下跌的原因，更不明白什么样的货物类型才能满足市场的新需求。为了实现蚕丝改革，需要专门的知识和社会组织。所有这些因素都会延误乡村经济在供求方面的及时自动调整。

在农村，改变职业比改革现有作业更加困难。除养羊以外，没有发

现人们想在村里发展新的职业。甚至养羊也仅仅是现有生产系统的一种补充，而不是职业的改变。农村居民只有离开农村才能改变他们的职业。换句话说，在目前情况下，职业流动意味着人口从农村流向城镇。在村里，出去找新职业的大多数是女青年，她们在这个社区里尚未进入一个固定的社会位置。甚至在这个群体里，这种流动已经向传统亲属关系和家庭群体的稳定性提出了挑战（第十二章第九节）。反抗破坏社会稳定的力量变成了一股阻碍当前人口流动的力量。目前很难说，在新的情况下，传统力量会作多少让步。但总的来说，人口流动是缓慢的，特别是男性人口流动得很少，这说明了外界对劳动的需求不大和村里传统生产系统的僵化。

尽管如此，市场强烈地影响着生产，这一点是显而易见的。它导致了各方面的变化，这些变化不仅仅局限于人们的经济生活。生产系统对市场情况的反应不是一个简单的过程，而是一个长期复杂的过程，要了解这一过程需进行范围更广泛的调查研究，单纯从经济方面研究是不够的。

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[1] Marketing System in Chuping, Shantung, Unpublished monograph of the department of Sociology, Yenching University, China.

[2] 杨庆方：《山东邹平的贸易系统》，中国，燕京大学社会学系，未出版的专著。

CHAPTER XV FINANCE

The problem of credit rises when, in the process of exchange, the return either in the form of goods and services or of money is delayed. Credit, in its simple sense, is the trust by one party in another for an eventual return after a certain lapse of time.

In this sense non-immediate forms of exchange such as mutual obligation, mutual accommodations, and gift-making, are forms of credit. The return of these types of credit is secured by the principle of reciprocity inherent in the social institutions and is bound up with the ties of kinship and friendship. For transactions outside the group thus related, the time for repayment has to be explicitly agreed upon and credit can only be received by the economic benefits of the transaction.

The loan may be used for any purpose or may be limited to certain uses prescribed by the agreement. But the term credit cannot be limited to refer only to advances for future production. In the village, credit is in most cases for consumption or for payment of tax and rent which is only indirectly related to the process of production. Similarly it is difficult to regard (except in a very metaphorical sense) the money borrowed to finance a marriage ceremony as a help to the borrower's productive ability.

Professor Tawney, in his discussion on the problem of the credit system in rural China, says, "The characteristic feature of the system... is that neither borrower nor lender appears to make any clear distinc-tion between loans needed to finance the business of farming, and loans sought to eke out the domestic budget. Everything goes down, so to speak, in a common account, with the result that there is no discrimination in the mind of either debtor or creditor between the borrowing and advancing of money for productive purposes, which should yield a return sufficient to meet the interest, and household expenses which ought, in the absence of exceptional misfortune, to be met out of income."[1]

In this chapter, I shall use the term credit in its broad sense.

〔1〕 Saving and Deficiency

Credit is possible only when there is saving on the one hand and deficiency on the other. Saving is the surplus of income over expenditure in an economic unit, in the village the Chia. Income is the total pro-duction of the Chia. It may or may not be converted into money. Expenditure includes all the goods, produced by the unit or purchased on the market, used by the members for consumption, for fulfilment of social obligation and for production.

拾伍 资金

在交换过程中，以货物、劳务或现金不能及时偿还时便发生了信贷。简单地说，信贷就是一方信赖另一方，经过延迟一段时间，最后偿还。

在这一意义上讲，相互之间的义务、互相接待留宿、互赠礼物等非即刻交换的形式也是信贷的形式。这些信贷的偿还是通过社会制度中固有的互惠原则来保证的，并与亲属关系及友谊有密切关系。对于有这种关系的群体之外的交易，偿还的时间必须有明确的协议，并且信贷只有对贷方有利才能被接受。

贷款可以作任何用途，或可能限于协议中规定的某种用途。但信贷一词不能仅限于指对未来产品的预先付款。在这个村里，信贷在多数情况下是用于消费或付租付税，租和税与生产过程仅有间接的关系。同样地，也很难把借来办婚事的钱看作是对借钱人的生产能力有所帮助（除非是隐喻的意义）。

在讨论中国农村的信贷体系时，托尼教授写道："这个体系的特点……是借钱人和出借人对用于农业生产的信贷和补助家庭开支的借款两者之间的区别看来都不清楚。这就是说，把一切都记作一笔笼统的账，结果，在欠债人或债权人的脑海中对借贷来作生产用途或家庭用途的钱无所区别。他们不明白：用于生产的钱最后应该产生利润并足以偿还利息，家庭开支在没有意外的不幸事故的情况下，应能以收入偿付。"[2]

在本章，我将从信贷的广泛意义上来使用这一术语。

一、积蓄与亏空

信贷只有在一方面有积蓄、另一方面亏空时才可能产生。积蓄是指村里的经济单位家庭的收入超过支出时的剩余。收入指家庭的全部产品。它可以转换为钱，也可以不转换为钱。支出则包括家庭的成员用于消费、用于完成社会义务和用于生产而由自家生产或从市场购买的全部物品。

The amount of production of each Chia in the village does not vary much because the groups are very similar in size, and in their technique of production. There is also uniformity in the amount of consumption among them (VII–1). The inequality in the distribution of wealth is, apart from special reasons in individual cases, mainly due to the system of land tenure. A tenant has to bear a heavy burden of rent. Two-thirds of the land in the village is now in the hands of absentee landlords. Each year the villagers pay in total 4,800 bushels of rice for rent. This burden is not shared equally by the villagers, but is spread over about 70 per cent. of the people. Among these again the burden is not equal (XI–5). The system of land tenure has resulted in an annual outflow of a large quantity of wealth from the village to the town and an unequal distribution of wealth in the village.

When the silk industry was prosperous the villagers, in spite of high rents, were able to enjoy a sufficient standard of living and could in consequence save. This saving was usually hoarded. The opportunity for investment in the village is limited and there is no other means, except in rent, for the town to absorb its accumulated wealth. The goods or money hoarded were used firstly for a reserve against recurrent disaster and secondly for financing expensive ceremonies. The elaborate ceremonies in connection with individual life crises or periodical religious meetings of the local groups were in fact an important outlet for the hoarded wealth of the rural district. On ceremonial occasions the idea of thrift gives place to competitive display. Wealth was lavishly expended in burials, on marriage gifts, on dowries and feasts, and especially in inter-village parades (VII–7).

The depression of the silk industry has caused a decline of one-third of the average income of the village (XII–2). On the side of expenditure,

consumption and social obligations have remained largely as they were. The only elastic item that can be reduced or suspended is ceremonial expenditure; and according to my estimate, the minimum amount of such expense at present is only one-fifth of the total money expenditure (VII–8). With the rapid decline of the income level, accompanied by a rigid level of expenditure, deficiency is the result.

村里每家的生产量相差不大，因为这种群体的大小大致相仿，生产技术亦基本相同。它们的消费量也有一致性（第七章第一节）。除个别情况有特殊原因外，其财产分配不平等的原因，主要是土地占有制问题。佃农必须负担很重的地租。村里三分之二的土地为不在地主掌握。村民每年交付租米总额为4,800蒲式耳。这一负担并不是平均分摊在村民身上，而是由约70%的人分担。在这些人中间，负担又不同（第十一章第五节）。土地占有制的这种情况导致了每年大量财富从村里外流到城镇，以及村中财富分配不均的情况。

蚕丝业兴旺时，尽管地租很高，但村民仍可维持足够的生活水平，并且尚可有所积蓄。这种积蓄通常被储藏起来。在村里，很少有投资的机会，除交租以外，城镇没有其他手段吸收积累的财富。农民储藏的货物或金钱首先是用作储备以对付经常发生的灾难，其次是供昂贵的礼节性开支。与人生大事相关的繁重礼节或当地群体定期的宗教集会实际上是农村地区所积蓄的财富的重要出路。在礼节性场合，炫耀财富的思想替代了勤俭节约。在丧葬、结婚聘礼、嫁妆、宴席等方面，特别是举行村际游行时，财富挥霍严重（第七章第七节）。

蚕丝业的萧条使村里的平均收入减少了三分之一（第十二章第二节）。在开支方面，消费和社会义务仍然像过去一样。唯一可以缩减或暂缓的款项是礼仪性开支，据我估计，目前这种开支占总货币开支的五分之一（第七章第八节）。由于收入迅速降低，支出依然不变，结果是亏空。

Deficiency may be urgent or may not be urgent. Urgent deficiency calls for immediate measures. It is found in such situations as food shortage, lack of capital goods, and inability to pay rent and tax. Unless financial aid in these cases is forthcoming there will be disastrous consequences to the individuals concerned. Owing to the unequal distribution of rent obligations, deficiences of this urgent kind are confined to a part of the villagers. There is still a small group which, even in present circumstances, is able to save and another group which is able to meet all the minimum requirements of subsistence. But deficiency of a less urgent nature, such as inability to pay for

ceremonial occasions, is more common even among the better-off group. I have already described how the villagers have suspended their annual meeting, delayed their marriages, and reduced their ceremonial expenses.

The decline of the ability to save has caused an increasing need for outside financial help. The internal credit system functions only as a means to cope with the unequal distribution of wealth within the community. It cannot meet the situation of general insolvency. Thus external aid has become the urgent financial problem in the village.

In the following sections, I shall describe the working of various internal and external credit systems. But the present material is not sufficient to define their relative importance in quantitative terms. Such data, important as they are, require more extensive inquiries than I was able to make.

〔2〕Financial Aid Society

As with goods and services, small sums of money can be borrowed from relatives or friends for a short term without interest. This system of mutual allowance is found chiefly in cases of temporary deficiency, and the creditor is confident in the ability of the debtor to repay within a short time. But the term of such allowance may extend over a period of months. Such relatively long-term credit is frequently found among brothers after division of the Chia. Although they may have separate houses and properties, they are still bound by social ties to look after each other's welfare. To demand interest from a brother for any small loan is considered to be impossible.

But when a large sum is needed, it is difficult to borrow from one individual and to repay in a short time. Here the mutual help among brothers or other relatives becomes inadequate. Hence there is the financial aid society.

亏空可以是紧急的或非紧急的。紧急亏空需要立即采取措施。食物不足、资本货物缺少、无能力付租付税等属于这种情况。除非给以资助，否则对有关个人会产生灾难性结果。由于付租义务并不是人人都有的，这种紧急亏空限于一部分村民。一小部分人，即使在目前情况下，仍能有些积蓄，还有另一些人则可以维持最低限度的生活。非紧急亏空，例如无力支付礼仪所需的费用，即使在比较有钱的人中间也比较平常。我已经描述过村民是怎样推迟婚期、暂停每年的团聚、缩减礼仪性开支等情况。

积蓄减少造成了对外界资金支援的需求增加。内部借贷系统只能对付这个社区内部财富分配上的不平等，不能解决普遍无力偿付债务的问题。因此外界资金援助便成为村里紧急的金融问题。

以下各节，我将描述各种内部和外部的信贷系统。但目前掌握的材料不足以从定量分析方面来阐明它们相对的重要性。这种数据很重要，但需要比我现在所能做到的更广泛的调查研究。

二、互助会

物品、劳务和少量的钱可以不付利息，短期地向亲戚朋友借用。这种补贴的办法主要见于遇有暂时性亏空时，债权人相信借款人有能力在短期内还债。此类借贷可能延续数个月。这种相对较长期的信贷在分家后的兄弟之间常见。他们虽然有各自的房子和财产，但仍然有社会纽带把他们联系起来，照顾彼此的福利。为少量借款向兄弟要利息，被认为是不可能的。

但需要大笔款项时，向个人商借并在短期内归还常有困难。因此，兄弟之间或其他亲戚之间的互相帮助便不能满足需要。这样才产生了互助会。

The financial aid society is a mechanism for collective saving and lending. It consists of a number of members and lasts for a number of years. The members meet several times a year. At each meeting, each subscribes a share. The total subscription of the members is collected by one of the members who can thus use the money to finance his activities. Each member in turn collects the sum. The first collector is the organizer. From the very beginning, he is a debtor to the society. He repays his loan bit by bit during the whole course with a certain amount of interest. The last collector is a depositor. He collects at the end the sum of his deposit and its interest. Other members change from depositor to debtor as they collect the sum. The order of collection is determined either by contract or by lot, or by auction. The system of calculating the amount of subscription of each member in each meeting is sometimes complicated by various factors which will be described later.

Such a society is organized on the initiative of the person who needs financial help. Members who join the society are considered as having rendered help to the organizer. According to the system described above, it would appear that all the members in turn would profit by the society. But we must remember that, with the limited opportunity of investment, to raise a loan and to pay interest on it may be uneconomical. Moreover, owing to the uncertainty of time of the collection, it may be difficult for the collector to find a profitable use for the money collected. Therefore, the organizer cannot

appeal to members on economic grounds only. He must state his need of aid and ask for help. Membership is thus usually limited to certain groups of persons who are obliged to help the organizer and those who are willing to join for other purposes.

The usual purpose of organizing such a society is to finance marriage ceremonies. Repayment of a debt incurred for such proper reasons as the financing of a funeral ceremony may also be regarded as acceptable ground. But productive purposes, such as starting a business or buying a piece of land, are not so regarded.

Given a proper purpose, the organizer will approach his relatives: father's brother, brother, sister's husband, mother's brother, wife's father, etc. These have an obligation to join the society. Even when they are unable to subscribe, they will find some of their relatives to take their place.

The number of members varies from eight to fourteen. In the village the kinship circle, in which intimate relations are maintained, is sometimes smaller. Membership may then be extended to relatives' relative or friends. These are recruited by appealing, not to social obligations but to mutual benefits. If someone needs financial help which does not justify organizing a society by himself he will join a society formed by others. Those who are known in the community to be rich will respond to a justifiable appeal for help in order to show generosity and to avoid public criticism. For example, Chou has gained much prestige by subscribing to more than ten societies.

互助会是集体储蓄和借贷的机构，由若干会员组成，为时若干年。会员每年相聚数次。每次聚会时存一份款。各会员存的总数，由一个会员收集借用。每一个会员轮流收集使用存款。第一个收集人即组织者。一开始，他是该会的借债人。他分期还款，交一定量的利息。最后一个收集人是存款人。他最后收集自己那笔存款和利息。其他成员则依次收集存款，从存款人变为借债人。收款次序按协议、抽签或自报公议的办法决定。每次聚会时，每一会员存款数目的计算往往由于各种因素而变得较为复杂，我将在以后描述。

这种互助会，经常是由于某人需要经济援助而发起组成的。参加互助会的会员被认为是对组织者的帮助。按以上描述的办法，每个人似乎都轮流得到好处。但我们必须记住，投资的机会有限，借一笔款并付利息，可能是不经济的。此外，由于收钱时间不定，收款人可能难以把收来的钱用于最适当的需要。所以组织者对会员不能只强调他们在经济上

会得到什么好处，而必须说他自己需要经济上的帮助。因此，会员通常只限于某些有义务帮助组织者的人或一些为了其他目的自愿参加的人。

通常组织这种互助会的目的是为办婚事筹集资金、为偿还办丧事所欠的债务。这些也是可以被接受的筹集资金的理由。但如为了从事生产，譬如说要办一个企业或买一块土地，人们往往认为这不是借钱的理由。

有了一个正当的目的，组织者便去找一些亲戚，如叔伯、兄弟、姐夫、妹夫、舅父、丈人等。他们有义务参加这个互助会。如果他们自己不能出钱，他们会去找一些亲戚来代替。

会员的人数从8～14人不等。在村庄里，保持密切关系的亲属圈子有时较小。因此，会员可能扩展至亲戚的亲戚或朋友。这些人不是凭社会义务召集来的而必须靠互利互惠。如果一个人需要经济上的帮助，但他没有正当的理由来组织互助会，他将参加别人组织的互助会。社区公认的有钱人为了表示慷慨或免受公众舆论的指责，也会响应有正当理由的求援。例如，周加入了十多个互助会，他的声誉也因此有很大提高。

But the nucleus of such a society is always the kinship group. The person who has a larger sphere of relatives has a better chance of gaining support in a financial crisis. In this connection we can see that institutions such as the *siaosiv* (III–8), which diminish the kinship circle, will in the long run produce unfavourable economic consequences. On the other hand, the widening of kinship relation, even through such means as pseudo-adoption, has an important economic significance (V–3).

In theory the organizer will be responsible for any default by the members, and will pay the share of the defaulters. But since he is usually in need of financial help himself, his responsibility does not give a real guarantee of security. Default is prevented not by legal sanction but by the acknowledged social obligations between relatives. The possibility of default is again diminished by the supplementary system of mutual allowance. It is easy for a person to raise an allowance in such a situation, especially when he has the prospect of collecting a sum from the society. Reciprocity is also an essential consideration. The defaulter will find it difficult to organize his own society in case of need. Nevertheless defaults do occur, and have done so especially during the past few years. As I have mentioned, the efficiency of the local credit system depends on the general saving ability of the villagers. The economic depression has caused defaults to be increasingly frequent, and

these have threatened the local credit system. This has had far-reaching consequences in disrupting the existing kinship ties. But as I did not make a detailed study of this problem, I can only leave it for further investigation.

There are three types of financial aid societies. The most popular one is called Yao Hui. In this the organizer gathers fourteen members, each of whom subscribed 10 dollars. The organizer thus gets 140 in all. The society will then meet twice a year: first in July or August when the silk industry is completed, and again in November or December, when rice is reaped. At each meeting, the organizer will repay to the society 10 dollars of capital and 3 dollars of interest. He will thus clear his debt at the end of the fourteen meetings.

但这种互助会的核心总是亲属关系群体。一个亲戚关系比较广的人，在经济困难时，得到帮助的机会也比较多。从这一点来说，我们可以看到，像“小媳妇”（第三章第八节）这样的制度，使亲属圈子缩小，最终将产生不利于经济的后果；另一方面，扩大亲属关系，即使是采取名义领养的方式，在经济上也有重要的意义（第五章第三节）。

在理论上，组织者将对会员的任何违约或拖欠负责，他将支付拖欠者的一份款项。但由于他自己需要别人的经济援助，因此他的负责是没有实际保证的。拖欠或违约并不是通过法律的制裁来防止，而是通过亲戚之间公认的社会义务来防止。拖欠的可能性又因互相补贴的辅助办法的存在而减少。一个人在这样的环境中，很容易提出要求补贴，特别是他届时有从互助会中收集存款的机会。相对的后果也是一项重要的考虑。拖欠人会发现，他需要帮助时便难于组织起他所需的互助会。然而事实上还是有违约或拖欠的，尤其是以往数年来，有这种情形发生。正如我已提到过，当地信贷系统的有效程度取决于村民普遍的储蓄能力。经济萧条使拖欠人数增加，从而威胁着当地的信贷组织。这对现存的亲属联系起着破坏的作用。但由于我对此问题没有详细的调查，只好将它留待以后作进一步的研究。

有三种互助会，最流行的一种叫“摇会”，在这个会中，组织者召集14个会员，每人交纳10元。组织者总共得140元。摇会每年开两次会：第一次在7月或8月，那时蚕丝生产告一段落，第二次在11月或12月，水稻收割完毕。在每一次会上，组织者偿还摇会10元本钱和3元利息。这样，在第十四次会结束时，他可以把债还清。

At each successive meeting, one of the members will collect a sum of 70 dollars. The one who has collected this sum is a debtor to the society and will

repay at each succeeding meeting 5 dollars of capital and 1.5 dollars of interest. The system of calculation is complicated by the fact that the member's sum is reduced to half of the organizer's own. Thus half of the organizer's annual subscription will be equally divided among the members ($^{13}/_{2}$÷14=0.464), this being called the organizer's surplus. The actual member's sum is 70+0.464, and the actual debtor's annual subscription is 6.036 (6.5–0.464).

The organizer's and the debtors' annual subscriptions and the member's sum of collection are constant. Those who have not collected the member's sum are depositors of the society. Since at every meeting there is a member who collects the sum, the number of debtors increases and the number of depositors decreases accordingly. The depositors' subscription at each particular meeting is determined by the following formula: Member's sum (70.464)–{Organizer's subscription (13)+[Number of debtors×Debtor's subscription (6.036)]}÷Number of depositors.

The total amount of the depositor's subscriptions decreases at every meeting.[3] For each individual member, the total amount of subscription decreases according to the order of collection. Since the amount of collection is constant, the difference between the amount of subscription and the amount of collection is the interest either paid for the loan or received from the deposit. The rate of interest fixed for the debtor is 4.3 per cent. per annum. But owing to the combination of deposit and loan as well as the two kinds of surplus, the actual rate of interest is different among the members and from each year.[4] The collector at each meeting is determined by lot. Each member throws two dice, and the one who scores the highest points is the collector. A feast is prepared at each meeting by the organizer and paid by the collector of that particular meeting. Lot drawing comes after the feast, when all the subscriptions, having been collected, are in the hand of the organizer.

This system is rather complicated. But it has its merits—

(1) The members who join the society have no definite prospective use for the sum collected. By reducing the member's sum, the burden of the members is reduced. Thus it diminishes the risk of default. (2) To determine who is to be the collector by lot gives every depositor an equal hope of collecting. This induces subscription by those who are in need of financial help. (3) The rapid decrease of subscriptions of the depositors compensates

their delayed collection. (4) The rich feasts attract the members. Some people had modified the system by offering the feast once a year in the winter, and the collector for the next period was determined beforehand. It has been found that collection of the shares in the spring was very difficult. Therefore the practice was given up.

在相继的每一次会上，有一个会员收集70元钱。收这笔钱的人就是摇会的借款人，他在以后的每一次会上应还5元本钱及1.5元利息。由于会员只拿相当于组织者一半的钱，所以计算时稍为复杂。组织者每年交款的半数将在会员中平分（$^{13}/_{2}$÷14 = 0.464），这叫组织者的余钱。会员拿的实际数为70＋0.464，借款人每年交款为6.036元（6.5－0.464）。

组织者和借款人每年交的钱和会员收的钱数均为恒定。没有收款的那些人为摇会的存款人。由于每一次会有一个会员收款，所以借款人逐步增加，存款人随之减少。在每一次会上，存款人存款数目根据以下公式计算：会员的款数（70.464）－｛组织者的存款（13）＋[借债人数×借债人存款（6.036）]｝÷存款人数。

在每一次会上存款人存款总数减少。[5] 对每一个会员来说，存款总数，按照收款的次序逐步减少。由于收款数不变，存款和收款数目之间的差即借债人付的利息或存款人收的利息。借债人的利率规定为年利4.3%。但由于存款和借款以及两种余额混在一起，因此，会员之间以及每年的实际利率不同。每次会的收款人根据抽签的办法决定。每个会员掷两颗骰子，点数最高者为收款人。组织者为每次摇会准备了宴席，由各次摇会的收钱人负担宴席费用。席后，组织者收齐了会员交纳的款项，再进行抽签。

摇会的办法比较复杂，但有它的优点：

（1）参加会的会员对收来的钱没有预计肯定的用处。减少会员交纳的钱数，会员的负担减少，从而也减少了拖欠的危险。（2）用抽签办法决定收款人，每个存款人都有收款的均等希望。这促使需要经济援助的人去交款。（3）存款人交款数迅速下降弥补了他们延期收款的不足之处。（4）丰盛的宴席吸引会员。有些人把宴席改在冬天，每年一次，下一阶段的收款人预先决定。人们发现春天收款极为困难，所以放弃了这种办法。

Order of Meeting	Number of Depostiors	Amount of Subscription of Each Depositor
1st	13	4.420
2nd	12	4.286
3rd	11	4.126

4th	10	3.936
5th	9	3.702
6th	8	3.410
7th	7	3.035
8th	6	2.535
9th	5	1.838
10th	4	0.785

The complexity of this system is too difficult for every ordinary villager to understand. In fact, very few persons in the village know the system of calculation. They have therefore to invite the village heads to instruct them. To meet this difficulty, another and simplified system was introduced a relatively short time ago. This is called Hui Hui, because it is supposed to have originated in Anhwei Province. According to this system, the order of collection and the amount to be subscribed by each member is fixed in advance.[6]

The total collected at each meeting is constant. This is 80 dollars, including the collector's own share. This system is convenient for calculation, and each member can foresee his turn of collecting and adjust it to his need.

A third type is called Kwangtung Piao Hui, an auction system supposed to be originated in Kwangtung. All depositors will offer a sum expected to collect from the meeting. The one who offers the lowest bid will be the collector. The surplus of subscription, after the sum for the collector is deduced, will be equally divided among the members, both the debtors and the depositors. This type is not popular in the village because, as my informant put it, there is too much gambling.

摇会次序	存款人数	每个存款人的存款
第一次	13	4.420
第二次	12	4.286
第三次	11	4.126
第四次	10	3.936
第五次	9	3.702
第六次	8	3.410
第七次	7	3.035
第八次	6	2.535
第九次	5	1.838
第十次	4	0.785

这种会的办法比较复杂，普通农民很难理解它。事实上在村子里，懂得这种计算办法的人很少，所以必须请村长来教。为了解决这一困

难，不久以前，有人提出一个比较简单的互助会办法，叫徽会，因为据说这是从安徽传来的。这个会的收款次序及每个会员交纳的款数，均事先规定。

每次会收款总数不变，规定为80元，包括收款人自己交纳的一份。这一借贷办法便于计算，每个会员能预知轮到他收款的时间并纳入他自己的用款计划。

第三种互助会称广东票会，来源于广东，采取自报的方式。所有存款人自报一个希望在会上收款的数目，报数最低的人为收款人。存款余钱减去收款人的款数后，在会员中平分。在村子里，此种会不很普遍，向我提供材料的人告诉我，这种方式的赌博性质太重。

〔3〕Agent Boats as Credit Agent

Kinship ties between the village and the town are very limited. The number of villagers living in the town is small. Those who have been resident in the town for some generations, have allowed kinship ties with their clansmen in the village to become very loose. As I have mentioned, the clan is usually divided when the members disperse (V–1). Marriage between village and town is rare, except in the case of maid servants in the town who may return to the village upon marriage. It appears to me that the relation between the town people and the villagers is mainly of an economic nature. It may, for example, be the relation between landlord and tenant, which under the present system of land tenure, is impersonal. More intimate relations are found between the master and the servant who temporarily works in the town; but on the whole, the social relation between townsmen and villagers is not strong enough to maintain a system of mutual allowance or the financial aid society. When the villagers need external financial help, they usually resort to the system of rice-lending and usury.

Deficiency of food supply is extraordinary in a village where rice is the staple produce. It is a result of the decline of price of rural produce. To receive the same money income as formerly, the amount of output must be increased. As a result, the rice reserve of the villagers is sometimes exhausted before the new rice is ready. In this connection the agent boat plays an important function in the village economy.

The villagers sell their rice to the town collectors through the agent boat. The collector deals with the agent, not with the real producers. To secure a constant supply, especially against the competition of the town market, the collector must maintain good relations with the agent. On the other hand, the agent is indispensable to the producers. They rely upon him for selling and buying. These relations enable the agent to bring the collector and the villagers into financial relationship in case of need.

The agent will ask the collector on behalf of his clients to lend rice and he will guarantee the return when the new rice comes to market. His guarantee is effective because the rice produced by the debtor will pass

through his hand. Moreover, by extending credit, the collector can not only make a profit, but ensures his future supply.

The rice borrowed from the collector is valued at 12 dollars per 3 bushels, which is higher than the market price. The debtor repays an amount of rice equivalent to 12 dollars at the market price (which during the winter is about 7 dollars per 3 bushels). The rate of interest works out at about 15 per cent. per month if the term is two months. This rate is comparatively low. It is made possible because the creditor does not run much risk owing to the institution of the agent boat and the economic value for the collector of insuring his future supply. The existence of a number of collectors on the market makes the supply of credit more elastic and gives the debtor a better position in negotiation.

三、航船，信贷代理

村庄和城镇之间亲属关系非常有限。住在城镇的农民很少。几代在城镇居住的人，他们与村子里同族的关系已经比较疏远。我已提到过，族人分散后，族就分开了（第五章第一节）。城镇与农村通婚也很少，除了在城里的女佣嫁回村里这种情况。在我看来，城里人和村民的关系主要是经济性质的。例如，他们可能是地主和佃农的关系，在目前的土地占有情况下，他们之间的关系不是个人的关系。主人和暂时在城里当女佣的妇女，他们之间的关系较密切。但就整体来看，城里人和农民之间的社会关系不密切，不足以保持一个在经济上互相补贴或互助会的系统。当村民需要外界资助时，他们通常只得求助于借米和高利贷系统。

在稻米是主要产品的农村里，粮食供应不足并非常态。这是农产品价格下降的结果。要使收入与过去一样不变，产量必须增加。结果是村民的稻米储备往往在新米上市以前便消耗尽，以致需要借贷维持。从这方面讲，航船在村庄经济中起着重要的作用。

村民通过航船出售稻米给城镇的米行。米行与航船主联系，而不是与真正的生产者联系。为了能得到经常不断的供应，特别是为对付城镇市场的竞争，米行必须与航船主保持友好的关系。另一方面，航船主对生产者来说也是不可缺少的。生产者依赖航船主进行购销。这些关系使航船主在需要时建立起米行和村民之间的借贷关系。

航船主代表他的顾客向米行借米，并保证新米上市后归还。他的保证是可靠的，因为借米人生产的米将通过他出售。此外，收购人出借大米不但可以获利，而且也有利于保证未来的供应。

向米行借米的价格为每3蒲式耳12元，比市场价高。借债人将以市场价格偿还相当于12元钱的大米（冬天，3蒲式耳米约为7元）。如果借期两个月，每月利率约为15%。这一利率比高利贷还算低些。这是因为一方面有航船主作为中保，另一方面对米行来说，可以保证其未来的大米供应，出借人所担的风险不大。由于镇上存在好几家米行，出借大米的价格并不划一，有利于借米人以较低的利息借进大米。

This credit system is comparatively a recent one. It has not been developed beyond the sphere of rice-lending. But by the same principle it might be gradually extended to money-lending through rice and silk

collectors as a payment in advance for produce which is relatively stable and can be counted on beforehand.

〔4〕Usury

Money-lending from the town to the village is indispensable when the village finance is in distress. Villagers borrow money from wealthy people in the town with whom they have relations. The interest on such a loan varies according to the closeness of the personal relation between the debtor and the creditor. But, as I have mentioned, the personal relation between villagers and townsmen is limited, and the townsmen with whom the villagers have personal relations may be unable to lend money. As a result there emerge professional money-lenders in the town. Professional money-lenders advance money to the villagers on very high rates of interest. This traditional institution we may term usury.

A person who finds himself unable to pay land tax, for instance, and is not prepared to spend the whole winter in prison, has to borrow money. The usurer's door is open to him. The money from the usurer is expressed in terms of an amount of mulberry leaves. At the time of the transactions, there are no mulberry leaves at all and a market price does not exist. The price is arbitrarily set at 70 cents per picul (114 lbs.). For instance, a loan of 7 dollars will be regarded as a loan of 10 piculs of mulberry leaves. The term of the loan expires at Ch'ing Ming (April 5th), and it must be repaid not later than Ku Yü (April 20th). The debtor has to pay an amount of money according to the market price of mulberry leaves, which at that time is about 3 dollars per picul. Thus a loan of 7 dollars or 10 piculs of mulberry leaves, concluded in October, yields a return of 30 dollars to the creditor in April. During these five months, the debtor is paying an interest of 65 per cent. per month. This system of money-lending is called "living money of mulberry leaves."

这是一种比较新的信贷系统。它尚未超出借米的范围。但用同样的原则，这种系统可逐步扩展至通过米行和丝行借钱，作为对收购产品的预先支付。这种产品相对来说比较稳定，而且是可以预计的。

四、高利贷

当农村资金贫乏之时，从城镇借钱给农村是必然会发生的。农民向城镇里有关系的富裕人家借钱。其利息根据借债人与债权人之间关系疏密而异。然而，如我已经提到过的，农民和城里人之间的个人关系有限，而且与农民有个人关系的人也可能没有钱可出借。结果城镇里便出现了一种职业放债者。职业放债者以很高的利息借钱给农民。这种传统制度，我们可称之为高利贷。

例如，无力支付地租并不愿在整个冬天被投入监狱的人，只得向别人借钱。高利贷者的门是向他敞开的，出借的钱按桑叶量计算。农民借钱时并没有桑叶，也没有桑叶的市场价格。价格是人为制定的，每担（114磅）7角。譬如，借7元钱，可折算成10担桑叶。借期在清明（4月5日）结束，必须在谷雨以前还款（4月20日）。借债人必须按照当时桑叶的市场价格归还相当于10担桑叶的钱，那时每担桑叶为3元。因此，如10月份借7元钱，到第二年4月必须还高利贷者30元。在这五个月中，借债人每月付利息65%。这种借贷办法被称为“桑叶的活钱”。

At the time of Ch'ing Ming the people are just starting their silk industry. This is a financially vulnerable period in the village. Persons who were unable to pay their rent in the winter are not likely to be able to pay the amount back to the creditor. In the previous five months, they have been engaged on no major productive enterprise, except trade ventures. In these circumstances, the debtor may ask the creditor to renew the loan in terms of rice. This process is called "changing to rice." The price of rice is counted, irrespective of the market, at 5 dollars per 3 bushels. The term is extended to next October. Repayment will be made according to the highest market price of the rice, which is about 7 dollars per 3 bushels. The person who borrowed 7 dollars in one October will thus repay 48 dollars in the next October. The rate of interest is thus about 53 per cent. per month on the average.

If the debtor is still unable to clear up his debt, no prolongation of the term will be allowed. The debtor must settle by handing the legal title of his land to the creditor. In other words, he will transfer the right of ownership of the subsoil of the land to the creditor. The price of land is counted as 30 dollars per *mow*. From then on, he is no longer a debtor but a permanent

tenant. Instead of paying interest, he will pay an annual rent (XI–4).

The rent is 8 pints (2.4 bushels) of rice or about 4.2 dollars per *mow*. If we take Professor Buck's estimate of the average rate of interest from the investment in rural land as 8.5 per cent.,[7] we find that a *mow* of land has a money value of 56 dollars. Thus a loan of 7 dollars will ultimately in one year yield as return to the creditor a piece of land worth 89 dollars.

Through the usurer, the ownership of the subsoil is transferred from the hand of the cultivators to the absentee landlords who buy the land titles from the usurer. Upon this financial institution, the system of absentee landlordship is based (XI–4).

Usury is an extra-legal system. According to law, if the rate of interest agreed upon exceeds 20 per cent. per annum, the creditor is not entitled to claim any interest over and above 20 per cent.[8] Therefore, the contract must be enforced by other means than legal force. The usurer employs his own collector to force the debtor to pay when the term has expired. If payment is refused, the collector will use violence and take off or destroy anything at his disposal. In one case, I know, on the death of the debtor, the creditor took off a girl of the deceased to town as his slave. The debtor is usually too ignorant to seek the protection of the law and the community gives him no support. He is actually at the mercy of the usurer. If the debtor really has nothing to pay the debt with, and possesses no subsoil of land, the creditor will find it to be wiser to let him continue farming and reserve his claim on the future produce. In the worst situa-tion, the debtor may commit suicide at the house of the usurer. The usurer will then face the revenge of the spirit and also the pressure of public resentment which will force him to forfeit his claim. This drastic means, though rarely used, is, to a certain extent, effective in preventing the usurer from going too far.

清明时节，人们正开始从事养蚕业。在村里，这是经济上最脆弱的时期。冬天付不起地租的人，也不见得有能力还钱给债权人。在前五个月中，人们除了做一些生意外，不从事大的生产活动。在这种情况下，借债人可以向债权人续借贷款，按米计算。这种方式被称作“换米”。不论市场米价如何，借米的价格为每3蒲式耳5元。借期延续至这一年10月。偿还时按市场最高米价计算，每3蒲式耳约7元。一个人在10月借7元，到第二年10月应还48元，利率平均每月53%。

借债人如果仍无力还清债务便不允许再延长借期。借债人必须把手

中合法的土地所有权交给债权人。换句话说，他将把田底所有权移交给债权人。土地价格为每亩30元。从此以后，他再也不是一个借债人而是一个永佃农。他每年须付地租（第十一章第四节）而不是利息。

地租为每亩2.4蒲式耳米或约4.2元。如果我们按巴克对农村土地投资所估计的平均利率8.5%计算，[9] 我们发现每亩地值56元。因此，7元钱的贷款一年之后使债权人最终得利为一块价值89元的土地。

通过高利贷者，田底所有权从耕种者手中转移到不在地主手中，不在地主系从高利贷者手上购得土地所有权。不在地主制便是以这种金融制度为基础的（第十一章第四节）。

高利贷是非法的制度，根据法律，约定年利率超过20%者，债权人对于超过部分之利息无请求权。[10] 所以，契约必须用其他手段来实施而不是法律力量。高利贷者雇用他自己的收款人，在借债满期时迫使借债人还债。如果拒绝归还，收款人将使用暴力并拿走或任意损坏东西。我知道一个实例，借债人死的时候，债权人便抢走死者的女儿，带到城里作他的奴婢。借债人通常无知，不懂得寻求法律保护，社区也不支援他。他完全受高利贷者的支配，如果借债人既没有钱还债，也没有田底所有权，债权人认为比较巧妙的办法还是让借债人继续耕种，这样可以保留他向借债人未来产品提出要求的权利。借债人被逼得毫无办法时，可能在高利贷者家里自尽。高利贷者便面临着鬼魂报复，也会引起公愤而被迫失去债权。这种极端的手段虽然很少使用，但在某种程度上，对防止高利贷者贪得无厌的做法是有效的。

Usurers live in the town. Each has a nickname. The one connected with the village of our study is Sze, the Skin-tearer. This nickname indicates the public hatred. But he is an important source available to the villagers in case of urgent need. The supply of credit is very limited while the demand is urgent. The consequence of being imprisoned or losing the entire silk crop is more immediate and irreversible. To borrow money from the usurer at least leaves open the possibility of repaying when the time comes.

I was not able to calculate the total amount of loans from usurers outstanding in the village. Since there are few, if any, other ways for the ownership of the subsoil to pass out of the village, the extent of tenancy might be an indication of the extent of the usury system (XI–5).

The existence of the system is due to the lack of a better financial organization between the town and village. Under the present system of land tenure, the villagers supply an increasing amount of produce to the town in

terms of rent while there is no means for the villagers to draw back an equivalent amount from the town. Formerly when the chief textile industries in China, such as silk and cotton, were developed in rural districts, the villagers were able to offset the outflow of rural wealth by the profit made from the industrial export. The rapid de-industrialization of the rural district has dislocated the financial balance between town and village. The rural problem, broadly speaking, originated in de-industrialization, finds its concrete expression in financial insolvency and is crystallized in the issue of land tenure. In the village, effort for an immediate solution has been directed to the rehabilitation of the silk industry. The partial success of this industrial reform is significant also as a factor relieving the acute land problem.

高利贷者住在城里，每人有一外号。同我调查的这个村庄有关系的一个高利贷者，姓施，叫剥皮。这一外号说明了公众的愤恨。但他却又是农民急需用款时的一个重要来源。可供借贷的款项极为有限，而需求又很迫切。入狱或者失去全部蚕丝收益的后果更加不可逆转。向高利贷者借款至少到一定的时候，还可能有一线偿还的希望。

我未能计算出村里高利贷者放债的总数。因为田底所有权转移到村外的其他方式即使有的话，也是很少的。租佃的范围可能就说明了高利贷制度的范围（第十一章第五节）。

高利贷的存在是由于城镇和农村之间缺乏一个较好的金融组织。在目前的土地占有制下，农民以付租的形式，为城镇提供了日益增多的产品，而农民却没有办法从城镇收回等量的东西。从前，中国的主要纺织工业，例如蚕丝和棉织工业在农村地区发展起来，农民能够从工业出口中取得利润以补偿农村的财富外流。农村地区工业的迅速衰退打乱了城镇和农村之间的经济平衡。广义地说，农村问题的根源是手工业的衰落，具体地表现在经济破产并最后集中到土地占有问题上来。在这个村子里，为了解决当前的问题，曾致力于恢复蚕丝业。这种努力的部分成功是很重要的，它也是在尖锐的土地问题下减轻农民痛苦的一个因素。

〔5〕Co-operative Credit Society

In this connection I should also mention the well-intentioned measure by the government for stabilizing rural finance through the co-operative credit system. The co-operative credit system, introduced into the village, in fact, is not an organization of the villagers themselves but a means for them to borrow money from the national bank at low interest rates. A sum was allotted by the Provincial Peasant Bank for credit to the villagers. This system promised a fundamental solution of the problem of rural finance. But the success of this system depends on its administration, and the capacity of the government to afford the credit. In our village, I found that a few thousand dollars had been borrowed by the people from the "co-operative society." But owing to the financial insolvency of the debtors, they were not able to repay their debt when the term expired. The creditor does not possess the same extraordinary means as the usurer to compel the debtor to pay, and the small interest on the loan is not enough to finance an elaborate administration. When the small sum allotted was exhausted, the society ceased to function and had a full list of black debts.

The present failure of the experiment, at least in the village, teaches the importance of a full knowledge of the local financial organization. It might be better if the government could use the existing system, such as the agent boat and the financial aid society, to finance the people. To introduce a new credit system requires a new system of sanctions. In the local credit system, sanctions are ready. There seems better chance of success if the traditional channel can be utilized and improved by governmental effort.

五、信贷合作社

关于信贷问题，我也应该提一下政府为稳定农村金融而采取的措施。农村的合作信贷系统实际上不是农民自己的组织，而是农民用低利率从国家银行借钱的一种手段。江苏省农民银行专拨一笔款项供农民借贷。这一措施指望基本解决农村资金问题。但它的成功与否取决于它的管理水平和政府提供贷款的能力。在我们这个村里，我知道这个“合作社”借出了数千元钱。但由于借债人到期后无能力偿还债务，信贷者又不用高利贷者所用的非常手段来迫使借债人还债，借款利息又小，不足以维持行政管理上的开支。当这笔为数不大的拨款用完后，信贷合作社也就停止发生作用，留下的只是一张写得满满的债单。

目前，至少在这个村里，这种实验的失败告诫我们，对当地的信贷组织有充分的了解是很重要的。如果政府能利用现有的航船、互助会等系统来资助人民，效果可能要好一些。建立一个新的信贷系统需要有一个新的约束办法。在当地的信贷系统中，对到期不还者有现成的约束办法。如果能利用传统的渠道，再用政府的力量将其改进，似乎成功的机会会大一些。

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[1] Land and Labour in China, p. 62.
[2] 《中国的土地和劳动》，第62页。
[3]

Order of Meeting 集会次数	Number of Depositors 存款人数	Amount of Subscription of Each Depositor 每个存款人交纳的数额
1st	13	4.420
2nd	12	4.286
3rd	11	4.126

（续表）

Order of Meeting 集会次数	Number of Depositors 存款人数	Amount of Subscription of Each Depositor 每个存款人交纳的数额
4th	10	3.936
5th	9	3.702
6th	8	3.410
7th	7	3.035
8th	6	2.535
9th	5	1.838
10th	4	0.785

At the eleventh meeting, the sum of subscription of the organizer and the debtors has already exceeded member's sum of collection. The depositors need not pay anything but share the new surplus. The principle of distributing the surplus is that, excluding the organizer and the collectors of first four meetings, all the members will have a share in proportion to the order of their collection. For instance, in the eleventh meeting the collector of the fifth meeting will get a share of 0.11 dollars or 5/110 of the total surplus (2.432). But the three depositors in that meeting, whose orders of collection are still not certain, will have an equal amount of 13/110 of the surplus. The total amount of surplus of each meeting from the eleventh is:
[4]

Order of Collection 收款次序	Amount of Subscription 交款数	Amount of Collection 收款数	Average Rate of Interest per Half Year (in Per cent.)[a] 每半年平均利率	
			For Loan 借款	For Deposit 存款
Organizer 组织人	182.00	140.00	2.2	—
1st 第一人	88.47	70.47	2.1	—
2nd 第二人	86.85	70.47	2.3	—
3rd 第三人	85.10	70.47	2.6	—
4th 第四人	78.96	70.47	2.0	—
5th 第五人	74.71	70.47	1.5	—
6th 第六人	71.99	70.47	1.0	—
7th 第七人	69.06	70.47	—	2.0
8th 第八人	65.62	70.47	—	3.4
9th 第九人	62.70	70.47	—	2.8
10th 第十人	57.08	70.47	—	3.1
11th 第十一人	51.41	70.47	—	3.4
12th 第十二人	44.91	70.47	—	3.6
13th 第十三人	38.43	70.47	—	3.8
14th 第十四人	31.06	70.47	—	4.0

(a) 平均利率是这样计算的：把交款数与收款数的差被收款数加存款与还款次数之间的差除。Average rate of interest is calculated by dividing the total difference between subscription and collection by the amount of collection and the difference between the numbers of times of deposit and repayment.

[5] 在第11次会上，组织者和借债人交纳的钱数已经超过会员的集款数。存钱人不需要再交付任何款项而可以分享新的余款。分配余款的原则是：前四次会的组织人和收款人除外，其余会员根据他们集款的次序按比例均可分得一份。例如，在第11次会上，第5次会的集款人将得0.11元或总余款（2.432）的5/110。但这个会上的三个存款人，其集款次序尚未确定，他们将各得余款的13/110。从第11次会后的每次会的总余款为：

11th 第11次 2.432

12th 第12次 8.004
13th 第13次 14.968
14th 第14次 21.004
[6]

Order of Collection 收款次序	Amount of Subscription for Each Meeting 每次会的交款数
Organizer 组织者	13.5
2nd 第二人	12.5
3rd 第三人	11.5
4th 第四人	10.5
5th 第五人	9.5
6th 第六人	8.5
7th 第七人	7.5
8th 第八人	6.5

[7] Chinese Farm Economy, p. 158.
[8] The Civil Code, Article 205.
[9] 《中国农村经济》，第158页。
[10] 《民法》第205条。

CHAPTER XVI AGRARIAN PROBLEMS IN CHINA

The above account of the economic life of a Chinese village is the result of a microscopic examination of a specimen. The phenomena observed in this confined area undoubtedly are of a local character. But they also have wider significance because this village shares a common process with most other Chinese villages. Hence we can learn some of the salient features of the agrarian problems in China.

The essential problem in Chinese villages, putting it in the simplest terms, is that the income of the villagers has been reduced to such an extent that it is not sufficient even to meet the expenditure in securing the minimum requirements of livelihood. It is the hunger of the people that is the real issue in China.

In this village, the immediate cause of the present economic depression is the decline of domestic industry. The present depression is not due to a deterioration of quality nor to a decrease of the quantity of production. Had the villagers produced the same type and the same amount of silk, they could not get the same amount of money from the market as before. The cause of depression lies in the relation between the village industry and the world market. It is the lack of adjustment between production and demand that accounts for the fall in the price of silk.

In view of the decline of domestic industry, the only alternatives open to the peasants are to improve their produce or to give up the industry. To improve the produce, as I have shown, is not only a matter of technical improvement but also a matter of social reorganization. Even this is not enough. A successful reorganization of rural industry depends ultimately on the prospects of industrial development in China. The present analysis is a warning to reformers who tend to underrate the force of international capitalist economy.

If there is no immediate recovery of rural industry, the peasants will be

forced to adopt the second alternative. They will in despair give up their traditional source of income, as has already happened in the weaving industry. If the labour released from the doomed domestic industry could be used in other productive activities, the situation would not be so desperate. It must be recognized that in industrial development there are certain industries which it may not be advisable to retain in the village. But in so far as there is no new occupation to take the place of the old, the waste of labour will mean a further reduction in family income.

拾陆 中国的土地问题

上述一个中国村庄的经济生活状况是对一个样本进行微观分析的结果。在这一有限范围内观察的现象无疑是属于局部性质的。但他们也有比较广泛的意义，因为这个村庄同中国绝大多数的其他村子一样，具有共同的进程。由此我们能够了解到中国土地问题的一些显著特征。

中国农村的基本问题，简单地说，就是农民的收入降低到不足以维持最低生活水平所需的程度。中国农村真正的问题是人民的饥饿问题。

在这个村里，当前经济萧条的直接原因是家庭手工业的衰落。经济萧条并非由于产品的质量低劣或数量下降。如果农民生产同等品质和同样数量的蚕丝，他们却不能从市场得到同过去等量的钱币。萧条的原因在于乡村工业和世界市场之间的关系问题。蚕丝价格的降低是由于生产和需求之间缺乏调节。

由于家庭手工业的衰落，农民只能在改进产品或放弃手工业两者之间选择其一。正如我已说明的，改进产品不仅是一个技术改进的问题，而且也是一个社会再组织的问题。甚至于这些也还是不够的。农村企业组织的成功与否，最终取决于中国工业发展的前景。目前的分析对那些低估国际资本主义经济力量的改革者来说，是一个警告。

如果农村企业不立即恢复，农民只得被迫选择后者。他们将失望地放弃传统的收入来源，正如在纺织工业中已经发生的那样。如果从衰败的家庭手工业解除出来的劳动力能用于其他活动，情况还不至于如此严重。必须认识到工业发展中，某些工业并不一定适合留在农村。但就目前来说，尚无新的职业代替旧职业，劳力的浪费将意味着家庭收入的进一步减少。

As their income is diminishing and as there is no hope of immediate recovery, the peasants can naturally only resort to a corresponding reduction of expenditure. In expenditure, as the Chinese peasants are concerned, there are four categories: necessary daily account, periodical ceremonial expenses, capital for production, and interest, rent, and tax. As we have seen, the villagers have already suspended ceremonies as far as possible, and even sold their rice reserve when necessary. It appears that the most rigid category is

the last one. If the people are not able to pay their ever-increasing interest, rent, and tax, they will be threatened by brutal treatment from the usurers, and rent and tax collectors, and by legal enforcement through imprisonment. But when hunger is stronger than the fear of being shot, peasant revolts take place. Perhaps, this is the situation that has resulted in the disturbance of the Red Spear Club in North China and the Communist movement in Central China. If the author of Red Star Over China is right, the main force that drove millions of peasants in the heroic long march was nothing but hunger and its derived hatred of landowners and tax collectors.

In the present study, I have tried to show that it is incorrect to condemn landowners and even usurers as wicked persons. When the village needs money from outside to finance their production, unless there is a better system to extend credit to the peasants, absentee-landlordism and usury are the natural products. Without them, the situation might be still worse. At present, owing to the insecurity of rent, there is already a tendency for urban capital to move into the treaty-ports instead of into rural districts, as seen in the recurrence of crises in Shanghai speculative enterprises. The scarcity of capital available in rural districts encourages the development of usury in the town. The more depressed is the country, the less capital is available, and the more active is the usury—a vicious circle which saps the life of the peasants.

There was another dilemma in the Chinese land problem. The national government with all its promises and policies on paper was not able to carry out any practical measures owing to the fact that most of the revenue was spent in its anti-communist campaign, while, as I have pointed out, the real nature of the communist movement was a peasant revolt due to their dissatisfaction with the land system. Despite all kinds of justification on either side, one thing is clear: that the conditions of the peasants are getting worse and worse. So far no permanent land reform has been accomplished in any part of China since the recovery of the Red Area by the government.

当他们的收入不断下降，经济没有迅速恢复的希望时，农民当然只得紧缩开支。中国农民的开支有四类：日常需要的支出，定期礼仪费用，生产资金，以及利息、地租、捐税等。正如我们已经看到的，农民已经尽可能地将礼仪上的开支推迟，甚至必要时将储备的粮食出售。看来，农民的开支中最严峻的一种是最后一种。如果人民不能支付不断增加的利息、地租和捐税，他不仅将遭受高利贷者和收租人、税吏的威胁和虐待，而且还会受到监禁和法律制裁。但当饥饿超过枪杀的恐惧时，

农民起义便发生了。也许就是这种情况导致了华北的“红枪会”和华中的共产主义运动。如果《西行漫记》的作者是正确的话，驱使成百万农民进行英勇长征的主要动力不是别的，而是饥饿和对土地所有者及收租人的仇恨。

在现在这个研究中，我试图说明单纯地谴责土地所有者或甚至是高利贷者为邪恶的人是不对的。当农村需要外界的钱来供给他们生产资金时，除非有一个较好的信贷系统可供农民借贷，否则不在地主和高利贷是自然会产生的。如果没有他们，情况可能更坏。目前，由于地租没有保证，已经出现一种倾向，即城市资本流向对外通商口岸，而不流入农村，上海的投机企业危机反复发生就说明了这一点。农村地区资金缺乏，促使城镇高利贷发展。农村经济越萧条，资金便越缺乏，高利贷亦越活跃——这个恶性循环耗尽了农民的血汗。

中国的土地问题面临的另一个困境是：国民党政府在纸上写下了种种诺言和政策，但事实上，它把绝大部分收入都耗费于反共运动，所以它不可能采取任何实际行动和措施来进行改革，而共产主义运动的实质，正如我所指出的，是由于农村对土地制不满而引起的一种反抗，尽管各方提出各种理由，但有一件事是清楚的，农民的境况是越来越糟糕了。自从政府重占红色区域以来到目前为止，中国没有任何一个地区完成了永久性的土地改革。

It must be realized that a mere land reform in the form of reduction of rent and equalization of ownership does not promise a final solution of agrarian problems in China. Such a reform, however, is necessary and urgent because it is an indispensable step in relieving the peasants. It will give a breathing space for the peasants and, by removing the cause leading to "revolt," will unite all forces in finding the way to industrial recovery.

A final solution of agrarian problems in China lies not so much in reduction of expenditure of the peasants but in increasing their income. Therefore, industrial recovery, let me repeat once more, is essential. The traditional industry of China was mainly rural; for example, the entire textile industry was formerly a peasant occupation. At present, China is, in fact, facing a rapid decay of this traditional industry directly due to the industrial expansion of the West. By arresting this process, China comes into conflict with the Western Powers. How this conflict can be solved peacefully is a question I would like to leave to other competent scientists and politicians.

But one point connected with the future industrial development in China

must be stressed here. Being a late comer in the modern industrial world, China is in a position to avoid those errors which have been committed by her predecessors. In the village, we have seen how an experiment has been made in developing a small-scale factory on the principle of co-operation. It is designed to prevent the concentration of ownership of means of production in contrast with the capitalist industrial development in the West. In spite of all difficulties and even failures, such an experiment is of great significance in the problem of the future development of rural industry in China.

Finally, I would like to emphasize that the above-mentioned problems have not disappeared since the present Japanese invasion. The tragedy is unavoidable in building our new China. It is a part of our international adjustment that sooner or later we must face. Only by going through it, can we hope for a real reconstruction of our country. During the struggle, the agrarian problems in fact have become more vital. Our victory against foreign aggression can be insured only by removing internal conflicts through relieving the peasants by a reasonable and effective land reform. Now Japan has offered us an opportunity to break our old vicious circle in the land problem. It is true that thousands of villages have already, like Kaihsienkung, been destroyed by the invaders, but in their ruin our internal conflicts and follies should find their last resting-place. From the ruin, a new China will emerge. The coming generation will, I sincerely hope, credit us with facing the problems of our age in a spirit of understanding and sympathy; our sacrifices and the hardship we are undergoing shall stand vindicated only if we look forward to the future with oneness of purpose and clarity of vision.

我们必须认识到，仅仅实行土地改革、减收地租、平均地权，并不能最终解决中国的土地问题。但这种改革是必要的，也是紧迫的，因为它是解除农民痛苦的不可缺少的步骤。它将给农民以喘息的机会，排除了引起“反叛”的原因，才可以团结一切力量寻求工业发展的道路。

最终解决中国土地问题的办法不在于紧缩农民的开支而应该增加农民的收入。因此，让我再重申一遍，恢复农村工业是根本的措施。中国的传统工业主要是乡村手工业，例如，整个纺织工业本来是农民的职业。目前，中国实际上正面临着这种传统工业的迅速衰亡，这完全是由于西方工业扩张的缘故。在发展工业的问题上，中国就同西方列强处于矛盾之中。如何能和平地解决这个矛盾是一个问题，我将把这个问题留待其他有能力的科学家和政治家去解决了。

但是有一点与中国未来的工业发展有关，必须在此加以强调。在现

代工业世界中，中国是一名后进者，中国有条件避免前人犯过的错误。在这个村庄里，我们已经看到一个以合作为原则来发展小型工厂的实验是如何进行的。与西方资本主义工业发展相对照，这个实验旨在防止生产资料所有权的集中。尽管它遇到了很多困难甚至失败，但在中国乡村工业未来的发展问题上，这样一个实验是具有重要意义的。

最后，我要强调的是，上述问题自从日本入侵以来并未消失。这种悲剧在建设我们的新中国过程中是不可避免的。这是我们迟早必然面临的国际问题的一部分。只有经历这场斗争，我们才有希望真正建设起自己的国家。在斗争过程中，土地问题事实上已经成为一个更加生死攸关的问题。只有通过合理有效的土地改革，解除农民的痛苦，我们与外国侵略者斗争的胜利才能有保证。现在日本入侵，给我们一个机会去打破过去在土地问题上的恶性循环。成千个

村庄，像开弦弓一样，事实上已经被入侵者破坏，然而在它们的废墟中，内部冲突和巨大耗费的斗争最后必将终止。一个崭新的中国将出现在这个废墟之上。我衷心希望，未来的一代会肯定我们以理解和同情的态度正视我们时代的问题。我们只有齐心协力，认清目标，展望未来，才不辜负我们所承受的一切牺牲和苦难。

APPENDIX A NOTE ON CHINESE RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In view of the special interest in anthropology on the problem of relationship terms, I would like to add an appendix to the present book as a supplement to the chapter on kinship extension.

It is essential to make clear that a structural analysis of relationship terms, at best, covers only a part of the whole problem of kinship system and that a mere presentation of a chart of terms is of little use by itself because it fails to show their sociological implications. Such a treatment, which most of the previous studies have followed, from the old work of Morgan and Hart up to the recent publication of H. Y. Feng,[1] is resulted from the unsound conception of language which views words as representations of reality. Therefore it is believed that an analysis of the relationship terms will be enough to understand the organization of kinship.

Relationship terms, like all other linguistic data, should be studied in their contexts. They are used for pragmatic purposes in establishing claims, in expressing affectional attitudes and, in short, as a part of the behaviour of the speaker towards his relatives. An adequate analysis must be carried out by direct observation of how the terms are actually used.[2] But in the present note it is not possible to treat the problem in detail; I only intend to suggest an outline for further investigation.

Chinese relationship terms can be classified into four categories based on the general contexts of speech: (1) the context in which a person addresses his relatives directly, (2) the context in which a person refers his relative indirectly, (3) the context in which a person describes the relationship as such in colloquial language, and (4) that in literary language.

〔1〕Terms of Address

Terms of address are the first set of relationship terms used in individual life. A child is taught to name different persons in contact by relationship terms. The first group of persons whom the child will come into contact and whom he will address are his fellow members in the Chia—his parents, father's parents, sometimes father's brothers and their wives and children, and father's unmarried sisters. Most of the time the child is in the arms of its mother, but when the mother is busy in her household work, she will put it in the arms of other persons.

附录 关于中国亲属称谓的一点说明

由于对人类学中亲属称谓问题具有特殊的兴趣，我想为本书增写一个附录，作为“亲属关系的扩展”这一章的补充。

必须弄清楚亲属称谓的结构分析至多只能作为研究整个亲属系统问题的一部分，如果仅仅提供一个称呼表是没有什么用处的，因为这不能说明它们的社会意义。过去的有关研究都用这种方法处理，从摩尔根和哈特的旧著直至冯汉骥最近的出版物[3] 都是如此。这是由于对语言的概念谬误，把词语看作是表现现实的结果，因此才相信对亲属称谓的分析就足以了解亲属关系的组织情况。

像其他一切语言资料一样，亲属关系的称谓应该结合其整个处境来研究。它们被用来表示某人身份或对某物享有某种权利，表达说话人对亲属的感情和态度，总之是说话人对亲属的部分行为。我们必须直接观察称谓究竟是如何使用的，然后才能充分地分析。[4] 但在本说明中不可能详尽地研究这一问题，我只想为今后的进一步调查研究提供一个提纲。

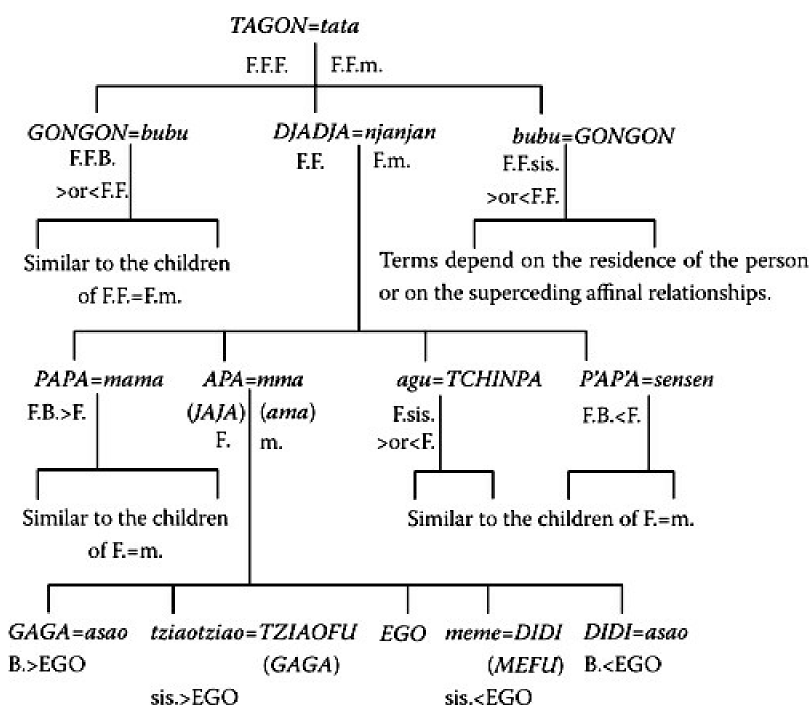
中国亲属称谓从语言处境来说大致可分为四类：（1）某人直接与亲属说话；（2）某人说话时间接提到亲属；（3）某人用通俗口语描述亲属关系；（4）用书面语表达亲属关系。

一、对话时的称呼

对话时的称呼是个人生活中最早使用的一套亲属称呼。人们教孩子用亲属称谓称呼他所接触的不同的人。孩子最先接触要称呼的人便是家里的人——父母、父亲的双亲，有时父亲的兄弟和他们的妻子、孩子以及父亲的未婚的姐妹等等。在多数情况下母亲抱孩子，母亲的家务繁忙时，她便把孩子交给别人抱。

The child's grandmother, father's sister, own elder sister, and wives of father's brothers are candidates to take up the mother's function.

Male members of the Chia have less direct a duty in caring for the child. But when it grows up, the father as a source of discipline becomes more and more important. (The relation of the child with its relatives, cf. III–4 and V–1, 2). Terms used for this group of fatherside relatives are given in the following table.



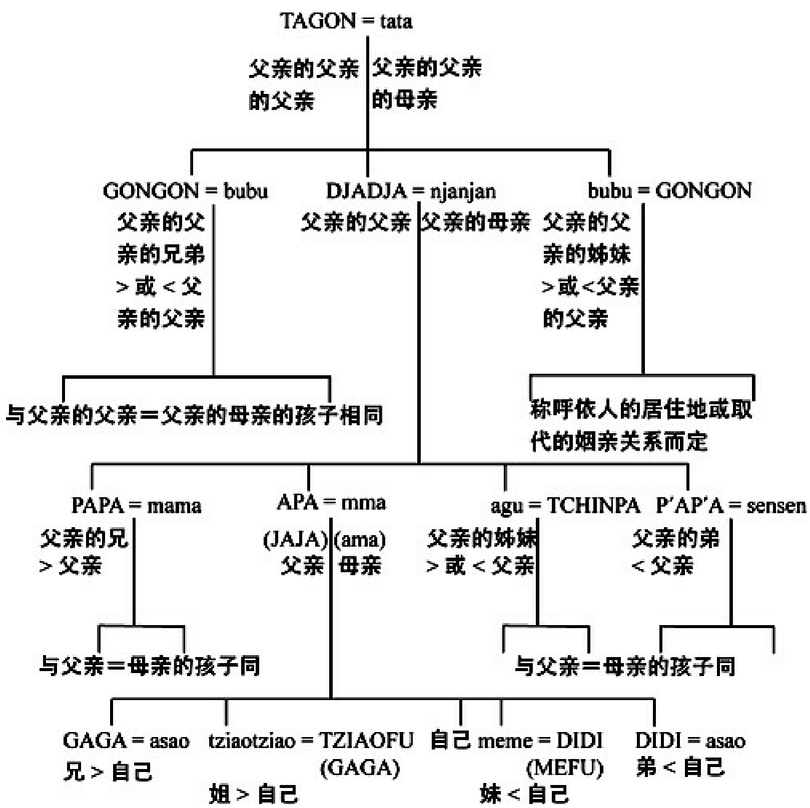
All the relatives of descending grade are called by their personal name or by simple numbers.

Terms for males in capitals, for females in small type, = for marriage

bond, F. for father, m. for mother, B. for brother and sis. for sister, > for elder and < for younger, ( ) for the terms recently introduced.

这时孩子的祖母、父亲的姐妹，孩子的姐姐以及父亲兄弟的妻子将代替母亲担任起照看孩子的功能。

家中的男性成员对照看孩子负较少的直接责任。但当孩子长大时，父亲作为孩子的纪律教育者，他的作用便逐渐显得重要起来（孩子与亲属的关系，参看第三章第四节和第五章第一、二节）。父亲方面的亲属称谓见下表。



所有下代的亲属均用个人名字或以简单数字称呼。

=代表婚姻关系；>代表年长的；<代表年幼的；(　)表示近来用的称谓。下同。

The terms recorded in the table are sometimes only radicals of the terms actually used. For an addresser, each term stands for a definite person. If there are two or more persons bound with him in a similar relationship, such as two elder brothers of his father, modifiers will be added to the radicals for particularization. He will call the eldest as DA PAPA (DA meaning large or elder) and the second as N'I PAPA (N'I meaning the second). Modifiers are

of two types: numbers and personal names. As a rule, in reference to intimate and senior relatives, such as father's brother and sister, elder brother and sister, numbers are used, while for remote relatives and younger brother and sister personal names are used.

Several principles in classifying paternal relatives can be seen in the above list:

(a) Distinction of sex: No exception of this principle is found. The correlation between linguistic distinction and sociological distinction is high in this case. Sex differentiation in the household work and in other social functions, privileges and duties has been shown in above description.

(b) Distinction of kinship grade:[5] The differentiation of social obligations and privileges according to kinship grade is well expressed in kinship sociology. The grandfather, for instance, does not exercise authority very often as the father over the child but very frequently indulges him and acts as mediator between the father and son. The grandson has no specific economic obligation towards his grandfather so long as his father is living. But the terms for male relatives of the second and third ascending grade, except father's father, have the same root, GON; TA being a modifier meaning great. In fact, the term TAGON is very seldom used in direct address because it is rarely seen that four kinship grades exist in the same group.

(c) Distinction between consanquinity and affinity: Relatives resulted from marriage are always distinguished from relatives resulted from procreation. For instance, father's sister is differentiated from father's brother's wife. This distinction is maintained in daily life. Father's brother's wife, does not live very far if not in the same house, while father's sister after marriage usually lives in another village. The former is available to take up the mother's function in case of need while the latter is met mostly in occasional visitings.

表中所记载的有时只是实际生活中所使用的称谓的基本词。对讲话的人来说，每一个称呼代表一个确定的人。如果与讲话人有同样关系的有两个以上的人，例如他父亲的两个哥哥，则须在基本称呼词前面加修饰词，以表示特指的关系。他将称父亲的大哥为DA　PAPA（DA意思是年纪大的或年长的）。称父亲的二哥为N'I　PAPA（N'I意思是第二）。修饰词有两种：数词和个人名字。一般说来，对近亲或亲属中年纪大

的，如父亲的兄弟姊妹及自己的哥哥、姐姐加数字。对远亲和弟弟妹妹则加个人的名字作为称谓前的修饰词。

对父系亲属分类时可从上表看出几个主要规则：

（a）性的区别：这一规则没有发现例外。在这一页中，语言区别与社会关系方面的区别两者之间的相关关系大。在家务劳动、其他社会功能、权利和义务方面的性的区别在上面已有描述。

（b）亲属关系级别的区别[6]　：根据亲属关系级别而分化的社会义务和权利，在亲属关系社会学中已有很好的表述。例如，祖父对孙子往往不像父亲对儿子那样行使他的权威，相反还经常姑息孩子，在父亲和儿子之间充当调停者。只要父亲还活着，孙子对祖父没有特定的经济义务。但上两代、上三代的男性称谓，除父亲的父亲外有同一个基本称谓词GON;TA是修饰词，意思是辈份高的。实际上，TAGON这个称呼在直接对话中很少用，因为罕见有四代同堂的。

（c）血亲关系与姻亲关系之间的区别：由于婚嫁而产生的姻亲与由于生育而产生的血亲总是有区别的。譬如，父亲的姊妹与父亲的兄弟的妻子有区别。在日常生活中就保持这种区别。父亲的兄弟的妻子即使不住在一所房屋内，也住得不远，而父亲的姊妹出嫁后通常便住到另一个村子里。前者在需要的时候便接替母亲的任务，后者则多数在逢年过节、走亲戚时才见面。

(d) Distinction between the elder and younger relatives in reference to ego or ego's direct ascending male relatives: This distinction holds good only in ego's own grade and the first ascending grade. But in the latter, it is not so pronounced because father's elder and younger brothers are distinguished only by a slight change in articulation of the sounding *PA*, shorter for the younger and longer for the elder although such difference is always distinguishable. Father's sisters are called by the same term without distinction of elder and younger and similarly their husbands.

The distinction between elder and younger brothers may be correlated with the special privilege and obligations of the eldest son (IV–3). The less differentiation in social relation with the relatives of higher grade also reflects in the fusion of terminology.

(e) Distinction of family groups. This principle does not effect ego's own grade. In the first ascending grade, the term for father has the same root, *PA*, as found in the terms for father's brothers. Only recently, a new term *JAJA* has come into use. *JA* is the term for father used in the context of describing

the relationship as such. Terms for mother and father's elder brother's wife have also the same root ma. Nevertheless, the maintainence of the distinction shows the same fact as indicated above that the family nucleus is not entirely submerged in the larger kinship unit Chia.

From this examination, we can see there is a rough correlation between kinship language and kinship sociology. This correlation is found only in the general principle of classification but not in specific terms.

The second group of relatives come from the child's mother's kindred who usually live in some neighbouring village. Although his mother's mother assists his mother in child delivery, she does not stay long in the house; this is one of the few occasions when the mother of a daughter-in-law will spend a night in her daughter's husband's house. The child will however very often go to his mother's parents' house with his mother and will stay there several times a year for periods of ten days or more. In his mother's parents' house, he is a guest and enjoys indulgences (V–2). He learns the relationship terms for his mother-side relatives in a context which is different from that in which he learns the terms for his own kindred. The sentiments attached to these terms are thus different.

（d）自己同代中，年长的或年幼的亲属的区别或自己直接的男性上代中，年长的和年幼的亲属的区别：这种区别只存在于自己的一代或自己的上一代。但称呼后者，发音区别不大，因为父亲的哥哥和弟弟都用PA这个音，只是称呼哥哥的音长一些，称弟弟的音短一些，然而区别还是有的。对父亲的姊妹用同样称呼，大小没有区别，称呼她们的丈夫，也是如此。

哥哥和弟弟称呼的区别可与长子的特殊权利和义务联系起来（第四章第三节）。上代亲属的社会关系区别较少，从称谓的融合来看也反映了这一点。

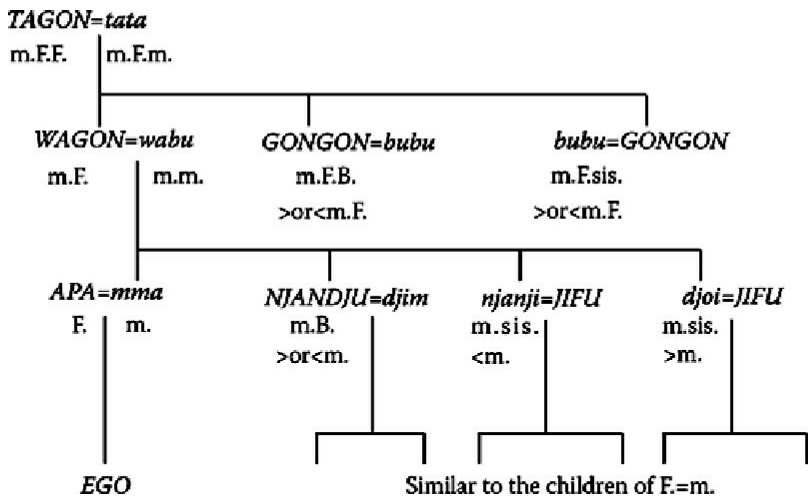
（e）家庭群体的区别。这一规律不影响自己这一代。自己的上一代，父亲这个称谓与称呼父亲的兄弟用同一个主要词素PA。而近来又有一种新的称谓JAJA。用于描述这种关系时，JA是父亲的称谓。母亲和父亲兄长的妻子用同一个主要词素ma。虽然如此，保持的区别说明了同样一个事实，即在较大的亲属关系单位的家中，家庭核心并未完全被淹没。

从上述情况，我们可以看出亲属关系的语言与亲属社会学之间大体上是相关的。这种关系只能在分类的普遍规律中找到，而不能在具体称

呼中找到。

第二类亲属是孩子母亲方面的亲属，他们通常住在邻近的村子里。虽然，孩子的外婆在他母亲生孩子时就来帮忙，但她呆得不长；女儿出嫁以后，母亲只是在这种情况下偶尔在女婿家呆一夜。但是孩子却常常和母亲一起到外婆家去，每年数次，每次住十天或十多天。在外婆家，他是客人而且是受娇宠的（第五章第二节）。他在这个环境中学到了母亲一方的亲属称谓，这个环境不同于父亲一方的环境，他在那里学到自己的亲属称谓。因此，他对这些称谓的感情也不同。

The list of maternal relatives is given in the following table:



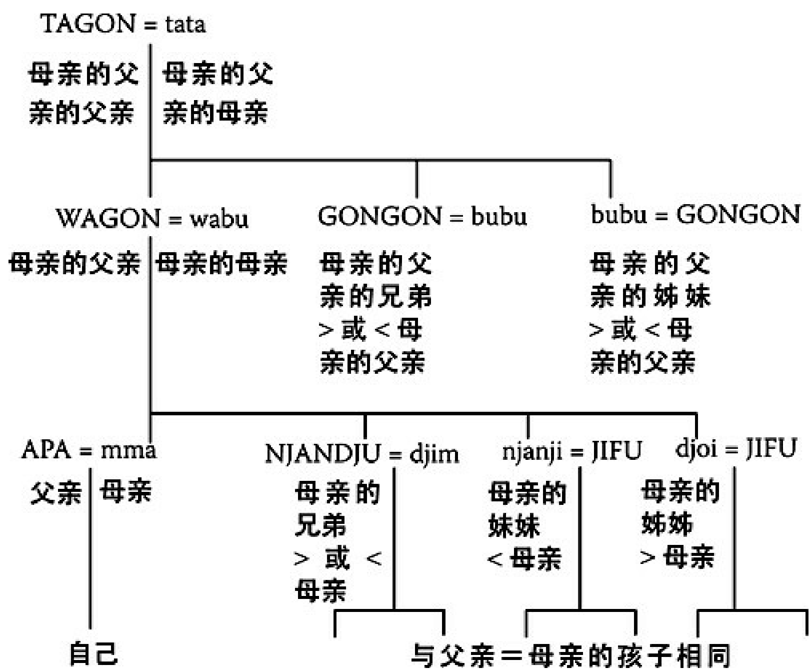
Special terms used for maternal relatives as distinguished from paternal relatives are found mostly in the first ascending grade, except mother's own parents. As I have shown above, those maternal relatives who have intimate association with ego are limited to mother's parents, mother's brothers and sisters and their children. Special terms are limited to them too, except the relatives of ego's own grade. The distinction of elder and younger is found only in the terms for mother's sisters and this distinction is made by different modifiers. No difference in social relation with ego is found between them.

Usually a person will learn the whole set of relationship terms during childhood except sometimes those terms for younger brothers and sisters. Few new terms are added after one gets married.

A married woman is introduced to her husband's relatives soon after the wedding ceremony. In the introduction, she addresses them in the same manner as does her husband, except her father-in-law, who she calls *TCHINPA*, and the wife of her husband's brother, whom she calls by the same

term as her own sister. At the beginning of her married life she is a newcomer and refrains from making intimate and frequent contacts with her husband's relatives. She does not even address her husband.

母系亲属称谓见下表：



母系亲属与父系亲属在称呼上的区别主要存在于上一代，母亲自己的父母例外。正如我已在上面说明的，与自己有亲密关系的母系亲属限于母亲的父母、母亲的兄弟和姐妹以及他们的儿女。特殊的称谓也限于他们，与自己同一代的亲属除外。年长的和年轻的区别仅在对母亲的姊妹的称呼。这种区别是在称呼前加修饰词来表示。他们和自己在社会关系方面没有区别。

通常一个人在童年时便学会了全部亲属称谓，有时弟弟妹妹的称呼除外。成婚后再加上的新称谓很少。

已婚妇女在她的婚礼结束后，人们便把他丈夫一方的亲戚介绍给她。在介绍时，她同她丈夫一样称呼他们，公公除外，她称公公为TCHINPA（亲爸） 。称丈夫的兄弟的妻子，同她称自己的姊妹一样。结婚初期，她是一个新来的人，不便于同她丈夫一方的亲属有过多密切的接触。她甚至不称呼自己的丈夫。

There is in consequence no special term used by them for one another. For instance when she has prepared the dinner, she simply calls the whole house as *tagale*, meaning all come here. This is the accepted manner of

annonymous address. When she wishes to refer to her husband, a simple pronoun is enough. But when she must address the relatives, she uses her husband's system of terms. When a child is born to her, her contacts with her husband's relatives increase on behalf of her child. She also has the obligation to teach her child, who is constantly attached to her. Kinship terminology is a part of this education. On these occasions, when making inquiries for or about her child and teaching her child to recognize relationships, she uses the terms that should be used by her child. For instance, she will call her father-in-law *DJADJA* the term for grandfather, in this context. But this does not mean the abandonment of the special term *TCHINPA*, which is used on other occasions. In fact, she has a choice of her own special term, her husband's term and her child's term, according to the context.

A man will call his wife's father as *TCHINPA* and mother as tchinm. The term *TCHINPA* is also used for father's sister's husband. Since it is also used by a daughter-in-law to call her father-in-law, it indicates both types of cross-cousin marriage—the up-hill type and the reverting type (III–8). In practice the reverting type is not preferable. Therefore, the identification of terms cannot be interpreted only by the married system.

The other relatives of his wife will be addressed by the term used by his wife or his children, according to the appropriate contexts.

The number of terms actually used depends on the size of the kinship groups. In the village, the size of the Chia is small, therefore, the number cannot be large. Moreover, for the child of a mother who had been married through the institution of *siaosiv*, the entire group of mother-side relatives may be eliminated.

〔2〕Terms of Reference

If a person talks about a certain relative to another person, what term will he use for that relative? There are three persons involved: A the speaker, B the person A speaks to, and C the person A and B talk about.

因此，彼此间没有特别的称呼。例如，她烧好了饭，便招呼“大家”，意思是大家来吃饭。这种无名的称呼是大家认可的做法。她要提起丈夫时，用一个简单的代名词就足够了。但如果她必须称呼亲戚时，她用丈夫所用的称谓。生下了孩子后，她代表着孩子，与丈夫一方亲属的接触增多。孩子常常和她在一起，她也有义务教育孩子。亲属关系称谓是这种教育的一个组成部分。代孩子问询或问到孩子并教孩子认识亲属关系时，她用孩子应该用的称谓。例如，在这种情况下她叫孩子的祖父为DJADJA。但这并不意味着，放弃在别的场合用TCHINPA的称谓。事实上她可以根据不同情况选择她自己专用的、她丈夫用的以及孩子用的称谓。

一个男人称他妻子的父亲为TCHINPA，称妻子的母亲为tchinm。TCHINPA的称呼也用于父亲的姊妹的丈夫。它既然也被媳妇用来称呼公公，这表明了两种表亲婚姻——“上山”型和“回乡”型（第三章第八节）。在实际生活中“回乡”型不受欢迎。因此，称谓的识别不能只用婚姻方式来理解。

对于他妻子的其他亲戚，根据不同的场合用他妻子或孩子用的合适的称呼。

实际使用的称谓，其数目取决于亲属关系群体的大小。在农村，家的规模小，所以称谓数目不会大。此外，一个孩子的母亲如果是通过“小媳妇”制度成婚的，则整个母系亲戚群可能就消灭了。

二、间接称谓

如果一个人对另一个人谈起某一个亲戚，对这个亲戚用什么称呼呢？这牵涉到三个人。A，说话人；B，同A谈话的人；C,A和B谈及的人。

A may refer C to B

(I) by the term he uses to address C, or

(II) by the term which B uses to address C, or

(III) by the term used to describe the relationship between A and C or B and C in colloquial or in literary language (see next section), or

(IV) by the terms referring to the non-relatives (see V–4).

Application of these principles depends on the relation existing among A, B, and C—whether they belong to the same kinship group and who is senior in kinship grade and in social status.

The general rules can be formulated as follows but space does not allow me to give examples of each case and to qualify them with exceptions.

(1) A, B, and C are of the same Chia:

(*a*) C<A and B—personal name of C

(*b*) C=A and B—I

(*c*) C>A and B, A<B—I

A=B—I

A>B—II

(2) A, B, and C are of the same extended kinship group:

(A) C is in A's Chia:

(*a*) —III or personal name,

(*b*) —III or personal name,

(*c*) A<B—I or III

A=B—III

A>B—II

(B) C is in B's Chia:

(*a*) —personal name of C

(*b*) —II, III, or IV

(*c*) A<B—I

A=B—I or III

A>B—II, III, or IV

(3) A and B have no kinship relation (seniority is counted according to age and social status):

A对B谈及C时可用：

(I)他招呼C时所用的称谓，或

(II)用B招呼C时所用的称谓，或

(III)用口语或书面语描述A和C之间的关系或B和C之间的关系时所用的称谓（见下节），或

(IV) 用提及非亲属时所用的称谓（第五章第四节）。

应用这些原则还须视A、B和C之间存在的关系而定——他们是否属于同一亲属群体，在亲属级别和社会地位方面哪一个是尊者。

一般的规则可列公式如下，但没有篇幅一一举例说明并描述特殊例外。

(1) A、B和C属于同一家：

(*a*) C<A和B，用C本人的名字

(*b*) C=A和B，用(I)

(*c*) C>A和B,A<B，用(I)

A=B，用(I)

A>B，用(II)

(2) A、B和C 属于同一个扩大了的亲属群体：

(A) C在A的家中：

(*a*)用(III)或个人名字，

(*b*)用(III)或个人名字，

(*c*) A<B，用(I)或(III)

A=B，用(III)

A>B，用(II)

(B) C在B的家中：

(*a*)用C的个人名字

(*b*)用(II)、(III)或(IV)

(*c*) A<B，用(I)

A=B，用(I)或(III)

A>B，用(II)、(III)或(IV)

(3) A和B之间没有系属关系（哪一个是长者系按年龄大小和社会地位高低来计算的）：

(A) C is a relative of A,

(*a*) —III or personal name,

(*b*) —III or personal name,

(*c*) A<B—I or III

A=B—III

A>B—III or IV

(B) C is a relative of B,

(*a*) —III or personal name,

(*b*) —III or personal name,

(*c*) A<B—IV

A=B—III or IV

A>B—II, III or IV

In the contexts listed above, A and B are in direct conversation while C is indirectly referred to. There is another type of context in which A addresses C taking B as the centre of reference. I have already pointed this out in the case of a child for whom somebody else is acting as spokesman. His mother addresses her father-in-law as *DJADJA*, grandfather, for the child. In these

contexts, A is speaking not as himself or herself but for somebody else. But this must not be confused with the terms used in direct address.

#〔3〕Terms to Describe Relationships

Terms of this type differ from those of the above types in that the latter refer to particular persons and the former refer to relationships as such. A child calls his mother *mma* but the relationship between them is described as *NITZE* (son) and *njian* (mother).

These terms are also used, as shown in the above section, in indirect reference. For instance, a child may be asked by a senior, "How is your *njian*?" or "Is *his njian* well?" In such a case, a pronoun is usually added, unless in a context no confusion can be made.

The general term for describing relationship may be "classificatory," because there may be a group of persons related to ego in similar relationships. For example, if there are two father's younger brothers, the relationship existing between them and ego are the same, that is, *SOSO* (father's younger brother) and *ADZE* (brother's son).

(A) C是A的亲属，

(*a*)用(III)或个人名字，

(*b*)用(III)或个人名字，

(*c*) A<B，用(I)或(III)

A=B，用(III)

A>B，用(III)或(IV)

(B) C是B的亲属，

(*a*)用(III)或个人名字，

(*b*)用(III)或个人名字，

(*c*) A<B，用(IV)

A=B，用(III)或(IV)

A>B，用(II)、(III)或(IV)

在上述情况中，A和B是直接对话，C是间接地被谈及。另一种情形是A和C对话，B作为涉及的中心。我已经在孩子由别人作为代言人的例

子中指出过这种情况。孩子的母亲代孩子说话称公公为DJADJA，即祖父。在这种情况下，A并不是作为他或她自己在说话，而是替别人说话。这不能同直接对话时用的称呼混淆。

三、描述亲属关系用的称谓

这类称谓与上述称谓不同，后者指特定的人，前者指这种关系。一个孩子叫母亲ma，但两者之间的关系被描述为NITZE （儿子）和njian（娘）。

如上节所示，这种称谓在间接提到时也使用。例如，一个大人问小孩“你的njian怎么样了？”或“他njian好吗？”在这种情况下，除非完全不可能混淆，一般要加一个代名词。

描述关系用的一般称谓是可以“归类的”，因为可能有一群人与自己有同一类关系。例如，父亲有两个弟弟，他们同自己的关系是一样的，即SOSO （叔叔——父亲的弟弟）和ADZE （阿侄——兄弟的儿子）的关系。

The classification of relatives expressed in using the same radical in the terms of address may be different from the classification given in the terms to describe relationships. For instance, mother's brother's son is called by the same term used for brother. But the former is described as *PIAOGA* and the latter as *AGA*. All the relatives of descending grades are called by personal names or by numbers, but they are classified by the terms to describe relationship, one's own son is *NITZE*, brother's son *ADZE*, sister's son *WASEN*, etc.

In this type of terms, decrepencies may be found between colloquial and literary languages. A general distinction between colloquial and literary language is that the former is spoken by local people and the latter is written by all the literate Chinese. Indeed, both of them can be spoken and written, but in actual usage the distinction is on the whole maintained. Although recently there is an attempt to develop colloquial literature, in other words, to write in spoke form, nothing has been done besides the Pai-hua actually the "Peking dialect." On the other hand the literary language, which has been used through thousands of years and by all the literate Chinese, are expressed in system of written characters which can be read differently according to local phonetic peculiarities. It remains on paper and ready to be read. Since the grammar of the literary language is different from that of the colloquial language, the former cannot be understood by ordinary people in its reading

form. The literary terms enter in the spoken language only in special context. The literary term for a thing or a relation may be different from the colloquial term for the same thing or relation. This difference may be illustrated by the relationship terms. Take the term describing the relationship of father as an example: the literary term is *FU*, but the colloquial term in the village is *JA*. Moreover, the classes of relatives made in literary language may be undifferentiated in colloquial language; for instance, the relationships of father's brother's son and father's father's brother's sons' son are all described in colloquial terms as *Z-ZOSHONDI* (brothers of my clan) but are distinguished in literary terms as *TONSHON* and *ZETONSHON* respectively.

I cannot in my present note discuss in full on the problem of the relation between the literary and colloquial relationship terms. I have given elsewhere a summary of my view. "In the written system the theorists had systematically and throughly carried out those principles of classification, which had been noticed by them empirically in the process of change in the relationship system. Each generation is designated bythe same stem, vertically split into two groups of older and younger, and then the family group is distinguished, by using modifications of the terms, from the other groups which are again differentiated according to their closeness to the family group. Such logical construction has not only over-shadowed the existence of the senior-junior classification, especially the fact of the absence of special terms of address for the junior class, but also misrepresented the relative working influence of these principles. As a result of such a construction, the literary system went too far from the actually practised systems. Of course, the process of change in the above mentioned direction has been greatly helped by the literary system. However, new changes in the Chinese social organization, such as the partial disintegration of the clan organization, the growing importance of the mother clan, and the change of the social status of the females, as shown in the analysis of the Wukiang system, has resulted in a direction of change which was not foreseen by the old theorists and is not to be found in the codified written system. Thus, the new social change will carry the actual practice still further from the written one." [7]

对话时用同一个基本称谓表述的亲属分类与描述亲属关系时用的称谓的分类不同。例如，称母亲的兄弟的儿子与称父亲的兄弟的儿子用同样的称呼。但在描述关系时，前者为PIAOGA （表哥）后者为AGA

（阿哥）。称呼所有下代的亲戚用个人名字或用数字，但描述关系的称谓则分类了，自己的儿子叫NITZE （儿子），兄弟的儿子叫ADZE （阿侄），姊妹的儿子叫WASEN （外甥）等。

在这一类称呼中，口头语言和书面语之间可能不一致。口语和书面语的总的区别在于前者系当地人口说的，后者为所有有文化的中国人写的。当然两者都可以口头说和用文字写，在实际运用中，总起来说，一直保留着这种区别。虽然近来有一种发展口头文学的尝试，换句话说，就是写成口说的形式，即白话，实际上是“北京话”。另一方面，几千年来有文化的中国人用的书面语言是以书写的文字表达的，可以根据地方的特有语音，读法不同，但总是写在纸上，随时可以读它。由于书面语的语法与口语语法不同，将前者读出来，普通人听不懂。书面的词语仅在特殊的情况出现于口语中。书面表示一件东西或一种关系与口头表达所用词语可能不同。这种区别可以用亲属称谓举例说明。例如，描述父亲的关系：书面词用FU（父），但口语，在村庄中用JA（爷）。此外，在书面语中分类别的亲属在口语中可能就没有区别。例如，父亲的兄弟的儿子这一亲属关系和父亲的父亲的兄弟的儿子的儿子，在口语中都叫Z-ZOSHONDI（自族兄弟——我本族的兄弟），但在书面则分别称TONSON（堂兄）和ZETONSHON（族堂兄）。

我不能在此充分阐述书面的和口头的亲属称谓之间的关系问题。我已在别处扼要发表了我的观点：“在称谓的书写系统中，理论家系统地、完全地实现了分类原则，这些分类原则是他们在亲属关系系统变化的实际过程中注意到的。每一代用同一主干定名，垂直分裂成两组，年长的和年轻的，然后在这个‘家庭’（父母子女这个团体）的称谓前加修饰词以此表示它不同于其他‘家庭’；其他‘家庭’又根据其与这个‘家庭’的亲疏加以区别。这种逻辑结构不仅模糊了年长和年轻的类别的存在，特别是年少的一类失去了特殊的称呼，而且还错误地表述了这些原则实际应用时的现实性。这种结构的结果是，书面语的称谓系统与实际上实行的称谓系统相去甚远。当然，上面提到的变化方向曾受到了书面称谓系统的很大影响。然而中国社会组织的新变化，如族的部分瓦解、母系亲属的日益重要、妇女社会地位的变化等，正如对吴江情况分析中所显示的，已经形成了一种变化的趋向，这些是过去的理论家所未预见到的，同时也是在已编纂的书面称谓系统中找不到的。故新的社会变化将促使实践中的称谓系统更加远离书面的称谓系统。”[8]

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[1] My criticism on the historical-literary method in studying Chinese kinship system, cf. "The Problem of Chinese Relationship System," Monumenta Serica, Vol. II, 1936–37, Fac.1; and my review of H. Y. Feng's The Chinese Kinship System, Man, August, 1938, p. 135.

[2] Theory of language, cf. Malinowski, Coral Gardens and Their Magic, Vol. II.
[3] 我对用历史书面语言研究中国亲属制度的批评，参见《中国亲属关系制度问题》，载《华裔学志》，第II卷，1936-1937年；我对冯汉骥的《中国亲属制度》的评论，载《人类》，1938年8月，第135页。
[4] 语言理论，参见马林诺夫斯基：《珊瑚园和它们的巫术》，第II卷。
[5] Kinship grade, following Raymond Firth, differs from generation in the sense that "the former implies a biological classification, based upon birth; the latter is of the sociological order, based upon genealogical ranking." We the Tikopia, p. 248.
[6] 根据雷蒙德·弗思，亲属关系级别在下述意义上与世代不同，即"前者根据出生，含有生物学上分类的意思；后者根据家谱等级，属于社会学上的次序"。参见《我们提科皮亚人》，第248页。
[7] "The Problem of Chinese Relationship System," p. 148. In the above quotation, the actual practised system refers to the colloquial terms while the written system the literary terms. A full list of literary terms can be found either in Chen and Shryock, "Chinese Relationship Terms," American Anthropologists, N.S., Vol. 34, No. 4, 1932; or H. Y. Feng, op. cit. Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1937.
[8] 《中国亲属关系制度问题》，第148页。在上述引语中，实际上实行的称谓系统指口语的称谓，书写的称谓系统指书面称谓。书面称谓的详单可见陈和施赖奥克：《中国亲属称谓》，载《美国人类学家》，1932年，第34卷第4期；或冯汉骥，同前引文，载《哈佛亚洲研究杂志》，1937年，第2卷第2期。

后记 重读《江村经济·序言》

去年在北大社会学人类学研究所召开的高级研讨班上我许下一个愿，要在90年代余下的几年里对自己一生中“已经写下的东西多看看，反思反思，结结账”。而且还说“我想结合《江村经济》写一篇关于马老师论社会和文化变迁的文章”。许下的愿还得及早还清。半年多来心上老是挂念着这篇欠账。人世纷扰，抽空下笔的闲暇不多。说实话，我送出该书中文版的清样以来的10年中，还没对这本书从头到尾重读过一遍。在1986年中文版发布会上，曾说“愧赧对旧作，无心论短长”，这种心理长期来尚未克服。这次为了已经当众许下了愿，不能不硬着头皮，重新读一遍。

一

重读旧作，开卷就是马林诺夫斯基老师为这本书写的序言。这篇短短8 页的文章里触及到社会人类学里许多至今还应当反复琢磨的基本问题。我想就在这些问题中挑选一些出来，谈谈我经过60年的实践后的思考。我原想用《重读〈江村经济〉》作为本文的题目，现在既把范围缩小了，题目也得改为《重读〈江村经济·序言〉》。

关于我写这本《江村经济》和马老师为此书写序言的经过，我在1962年写的《留英记》（收入《芳草天涯》第一篇）中已有交代，在此不必再重复，于是发生了我这篇文章从何下笔的难题。正在踌躇中，我突然想起不久前有一位朋友送我一篇1962年伦院（L. S. E.即伦敦经济政治学院）纪念马老师的演讲会上宣读的一篇讲词的复制件。讲员是英国人类学者弗里德曼（Maurice Freedman）教授，讲词的题目是"A Chinese Phase in Social Anthropology"。这篇讲词正好给了我一个下笔的入口。

先交代一下这位作者和这篇讲词。

我没有见过这位弗里德曼教授，但80年代我又获得出国访问的机会时，在国外一路听到许多同行朋友谈到关于弗里德曼的话。语气中都为我没有见到这位对中国社会文化研究具有突出热情的社会人类学家而惋惜，甚至有人听我说还没有读过弗里德曼的著作感到奇怪。事实是这样：我于1948年暑期离英返国后，由于战争的原因，我和国外的学术界

已无法继续来往。大概在50年代末和60年代初这段时间里，弗里德曼在英国人类学界初露头角，而且名声日著，1962年已在高规格的伦院纪念马老师的会上发表讲话。听说后来1968—1970年曾一度当过伦院人类学系主任，成了马老师的接班人之一。他极力提倡研究中国社会文化，而且身体力行，做出成绩，获得“汉学人类学家”的名声。他培育了一批对中国社会文化有研究兴趣的社会人类学者，甚至有人认为他实现了马老师曾表达的愿望，开创了一代用社会人类学方法研究东方有悠久历史的国家的社会文化的风气。但不幸他在1975年过早逝世了，享年55岁。那时正在“文革”末期，我刚从干校回到北京不久，还戴着“脱帽右派”的帽子，尚未恢复正常的社交生活。如果他能增寿10年，有机会来华，想来我们双方都会感到知己难逢、相见恨晚了。但天不作美，良缘难得，交臂错失，只能说是天意了。

再说他在那篇讲词的题目坦率指出了社会人类学这门学科的"Chinese Phase"。这个提法怎样译作中文？据《英华字典》phase有两解：一是方面，一是时期。用方面来译，意思是在社会人类学中有研究中国的一方面，那是比较普通的译法，因为一门学科可以有多个方面。如果译作时期，意思就有中国研究可以成为这门学科在一定时期里的主流，那就有一点自负的味道，至于译成社会人类学的中国时代，那么这个味道更重了。我倾向于用“方面”，但用“时期”也不能说超越了弗里德曼的本意，因为我读了他的讲词，觉得他是有点想把马老师在序言里所提出的“社会学的中国学派”Chinese School of Sociology提高一下，把研究文明国家的社会文化作为社会人类学的奋斗目标。这是弗里德曼的“预言”。他们两人都寿命不够长，没有看到所预言的“学派”或“时期”实现于世，令人遗憾。

有人称弗里德曼为“汉学人类学家”，我也想加一点注释。这个名字是最近我从北大社会学人类学研究所副教授王铭铭同志的一篇《社会人类学与中国研究》一文（《人类学与民俗通讯》，第20—21期）看到的。原文是：“后来，弗里德曼成为了研究中国的人类学家（或称“汉学人类学家”）共同推认的学术导师。”

汉学人类学的英文对译我没有见到过，这可能是由于我和外文资料接触太少所致，如果在英国此词现已流行，则弗里德曼所说的Chinese Phase确应译作“中国时期”甚至“中国时代”了。

这里插入一段有关掌故可能会有些启发。西欧各国学者研究中国文化已有好几个世纪，一般包括在东方学Oriental Studies之内，研究中国的东方学称Sinology，这类学者称作Sinologist。汉学或东方学来源于此。记得我在《留英记》里说过，我在接受博士考试时，有一位考官是

罗斯（Sir Denison Ross），就是一位当时有名的东方学者。马老师事后曾为我解释说，关于中国社会文化的研究有需要得到东方学者的认可。可见直到30年代中国文化的研究在英国还属于东方学者的“领地”。但是马老师取得罗斯的同意把社会人类学跨进了这种学术王国里的传统界线。弗里德曼接着在60年代就在这块园地上撑起了“研究中国的人类学”甚至有人称之为“汉学人类学”这面旗子了。如果东方学者不出来抗议，就表明英国学术界里发生了变化。

二

弗里德曼是想紧紧抓住了马老师在《江村经济·序言》开始就说的该书“将被认为是人类学实地调查和理论工作发展中的一个里程碑”这句话作为在社会人类学的领域里开创一个新风气的根据。这个新风气就是从过去被囚禁在研究“野蛮人”的牢笼里冲出来，进入开阔庞大的“文明世界”的新天地。

不论在英国还是美国，社会或文化人类学在30年代前一直是以当时被欧洲人称为“野蛮人”作为研究对象的。他们把“人类学”实际上等同于“野蛮学”，但并不觉得这是对人类学的讽刺。马老师是在这陈旧的空气里熏染成长的，当他发表他的成名之作时，竟也把“野蛮人”这个我们现在听来十分刺耳的污辱人的名称用在他所著的书名里，但他醒悟得比别人早些，并公开发出了预言说：“未来的人类学不仅对塔斯马尼亚人、澳洲土著居民、美拉尼西亚的特罗布里恩德群岛人和霹雳的俾格米人有兴趣，而且对印度人、中国农民、西印度群岛黑人、脱离部落的哈勒姆非洲人同样关注。”他在给《江村经济》写序言时，就引用了这句预言，并表示终于看到了这预言开始实现的喜悦。至于这句预言原来的出处，在序言中并未注明。

其实他这句预言是用了极为温和的口气表达的。只希望人类学对当时被划分为文野的两类人等同“关注”。这种口气相当于为人类学开阔一个研究的“方面”。60年代弗里德曼用的phase一字就注入了“新时期”甚至“新时代”的意味了。这30年里怎样会发生这么大的变化呢？我不能不想起就在这30年里发生过震动全人类的第二次世界大战。这次大战使大英帝国瓦解了，世界各地被殖民主义压迫下的民族在不同程度上得到了解放。人类学者还想用过去那种气势凌人地到原来殖民地上的人民中间去进行所谓调查研究的田野作业，免不了要吃闭门羹了。这是大势所趋，人类学这门学科要能继续生存下去，就得另辟路径，开拓新的研究园地。这时自会有人想起马老师的预言。当时在伦院人类学系后来接班当主任的弗里德曼反应得比较迅速，跟着马老师指导的方向，看到了中

国，想一举而抹掉“文野”之别。现在又过了30多年回头看，他未免急躁一点，在当时要树立起“社会人类学中国时代”或“汉学人类学”，条件似乎不够成熟，以致壮心未酬，赍志而殁。文野这条人为的鸿沟仍未填平。

马老师在序言里提到这预言时，心里明白要跨过这文野之别并不是那么轻松容易的。他在序言里接着说“这一段引语中包含着对现代实地调查和理论工作提出的重要基本要求，研究文化变迁、文化接触的现象、现代文化的传播”。他在写序的当时自己就在非洲研究现代各民族的关系、触及现代文明和土著文化中间这条文野鸿沟，也面对着一系列对他原有实地调查方法和理论的挑战。他也明白自己的探索就会在这条路子上爬上一个台阶，他要为人类学更上这层楼，从对野蛮人的研究过渡到对文明人的研究，筑好一顶楼梯。但是由于寿命的限制，只遗下了一大堆残稿，后来，虽经他的门生于1945年整理成了*Dynamics of Culture Change*一书，但他想建立的这顶楼梯还只是一个初步设计的图稿，留下许多空隙没有填实。

马老师看重《江村经济》的原因，到现在我才有了进一步的体会，可能是他在我这本书的骨子里看到了一些所希望培育的苗头。也许他曾考虑过，吴文藻老师所带领的这个小小队伍有可能就是实现他的宏图的一个先遣队，为人类学跨过“野蛮”进入“文明”进行一次实地探索。我当时实在不太能领会他说“社会学中国学派”时的期待心情。我曾多次坦白地说过，这本《江村经济》在我是一棵“无心种下的杨柳”。当时我哪里会有这种本领看出了马老师的用心？经过了30年的坎坷境遇之后，才如梦初醒，在1985年不自觉地吐出“愧赧对旧作”这句话。今天又过了10年才进一步发觉当时感到愧赧的原因是辜负了老师当时的这片心愿。能有此悟，还得感谢弗里德曼这篇演讲的启发。

三

弗里德曼在这篇演讲里，讲到了马老师离英后海外人类学者研究中国的企图和困惑。马老师这一代人在社会人类学里奠定了着重“田野作业”的传统，就是要从人们的实际生活中去观察他们的社会和文化。这个“田野作业”的调查方法虽不能说是从马老师开始，但他以后的社会人类学者都以他在特罗布里恩德岛上土人中的实地研究作为范本。马老师研究过的特罗布里恩德群岛上的土人是世世代代在这小岛上生活的人，为数不过几千人，长期和外界隔绝，往来稀少，有一点像陶渊明所描写的桃花源里的人物。像马老师这样有经验的人类学者在这岛上住上几年，用当地土语和当地土人亲密往来是不难做到的，可以说具备亲自接

触和参与当地土人生活的条件，这就是为社会人类学者采取田野作业布置下的理想环境。马老师充分利用这些客观条件结合了主观的才能和努力，为社会人类学提升了一个阶段，走出书斋进入田野。

现在要从这种对过去曾被称过“野蛮人”的研究所用的田野方法去研究“文明人”行得通么？这是一个想把社会人类学再提高一个阶段必须解决的问题。马老师在《江村经济》的序言里一开始就列举若干他认为本书的优点，其中，第一点就是“一个土生土长的人在本乡人民中间进行工作的成果”。他加上一句提醒西方的读者说，中国是“一个世界上最伟大的国家。……本书的内容包含着一个公民对自己的人民进行观察的结果”。

上面的引语，我是用了中文版的译本。原文中前一句是"It is the result of work done by a native among natives"。他写完这篇序言后，特地打电话要我去他家吃便饭。在饭桌上边吃边谈，谈话中提到序里的这句话时着重说明"native"意思是指“本地人”。我当时觉得这位老人家心眼儿真不少。他怕我见怪，因为在西方native一词通常带着贬意，用来指殖民地上的野蛮人。当时我怪这位老师连这一点也值得要当面向我特地说明一下的么？随后我想起这次谈话时，发觉西方殖民主义确已深入民间的语言感觉之中。我觉得这位老师还不明白我们中国人的心态。我们也有野蛮这个词，不过只指粗鲁无礼，并不是人格的区别，更不触及人的尊严，不等于说“你不是人”。而西方把文野区别提高到了人和不是人的界线。在这一点上我们也许能看到至今还十分严重的西方种族矛盾的心态根源。说不定这个以种族绝灭到种族奴役为手段起家的现代西方文明会被这段历史在人们心态里的沉淀物所颠覆。天道轮回，报应说不定还是历史的规律。

话似乎说远了。但这次饭桌上的谈话，还是可以和社会人类学的发展主题联系起来。我在这次读这篇序言时，又深一层考虑到这位老人家既有用native这个词来指我和我所调查的家乡父老而怕我见怪之意，为什么偏要用这词，说这句话呢？看看前后文就不难明白这是有意说给有种族歧视的西方人听的，尤其是西方人类学者听的。这句话的前文是“作者并不是一个外来人在异国的土地上猎奇而写作的，本书的内容包含着一个公民对自己的人民进行观察的结果”。后文是“如果说人贵有自知之明的话，那么，一个民族研究自己民族的人类学当然是最艰巨的，同样，这也是一个实地调查工作者的最珍贵的成就”。重读生新意，联系着弗里德曼的演说来看，马老师死后，英国的人类学者中间对马老师这预言的反响就真使我另有一番滋味在心头了。

最令人深思的：马老师在上引这些话中明确反对的是“在异国的土

地上猎奇而写作”，提倡的是“一个民族研究自己民族的人类学”。这样明确的态度却没有灌入他的一些学生耳中。由于我长期没有与国外社会人类学者有过深入接触，对国外文坛不应凭传说任意作出议论。事实是我实在还没有听说过国外的人类学家中有对自己民族或国家的人民进行过严肃的研究。我希望我这样说是出于我的孤陋寡闻。但是反对研究自己社会文化的人却是有的，比如利奇（Edmund Leach）教授在1982 年出版的*Social Anthropology*里明白表示，他根本不赞成一个初学人类学的人从研究自己的民族入手，就是说他怀疑本民族的人从研究本民族能进入社会人类学的堂奥。我实在不明白他这种成见是否能说还是欧洲人的种族优越感在作弄他，连人类学者都跳不出这个魔掌？对此我们可以不去深究了。重要的是既然排除了自己的民族作为研究对象，而英美的人类学到他们这一代已面临过去出入无阻的“野蛮人世界”对他们关了门，除了回到书斋里去之外，还有什么地方可去呢？迫于无奈，这一代英美人类学者不能不转向自己国土之外的文明世界了。

四

弗里德曼在那篇讲演中提到了一系列在30和60年代研究中国的英美人类学者，这些都是1938年我离开伦敦之后所发生的事。当时我已是西方社会人类学界的局外人，看了弗里德曼这篇演讲的复制件才得知有些西方人类学者把研究对象指向了中国。

我特别注意到弗里德曼首先提到的是现在还和我通信问好的伦院的老师弗思（R. Firth）教授，现在已是雷蒙德爵士（Sir Raymond）了。他是最早赏识我这本《江村经济》的老师。我在《留英记》里已讲过，我初到伦院时，他是系里为我指定的导师。他和我商量写论文的内容时，我先提出“花蓝瑶的社会组织”，后来补充说我在来英之前又调查了一个家乡的农村。他看了我两篇节略后，建议我写《江村经济》，我一直不明白他作出这个选择时的考虑。现在联系了当时社会人类学的处境来说，可以猜测他已看到这门学科正面临从研究野蛮人转向研究文明人的起点上。他这个选择可以说是扭转方向盘的第一手。

弗里德曼的演讲里提到一段我过去不知道的事。他说1938年，应当是在我离英之后，弗思曾寄了一篇论文给燕京大学出版的《社会学界》，这一期还标明专门献给“L. S. E.的人类学”。在这篇论文里他提出了“微型社会学”的概念，用来专指马老师所说“社会学的中国学派”的特点。马老师的那篇序言里曾说过“通过熟悉一个小村落的生活，我们犹如在显微镜下看到了整个中国的缩影”（中文版第4页）。六年后（1944），弗思又在伦院的讲坛上再一次说微型社会学是人类学在战后

可能的发展方向。微型社会人类学是指以小集体或大集体中的小单位作研究对象去了解其中各种关系怎样亲密地在小范围中活动。他加重了口气说：我想社会人类学者可以做出最有价值的贡献或许依然就是这种微型社会学。他在1952年又强调了局限于小单位的观察有多种好处。关于这个问题我在下面还要提出来讨论。这里要指出的是，弗思把研究中国的社会人类学提高到了社会人类学发展方向上来了。从马老师的“社会学的中国学派”到弗思的“微型社会学”是一个飞跃，并为弗里德曼后来提出的“社会人类学的中国时期”开辟了道路。

弗思教授不但在理论上作出先导，而且就在这时候准备在行动上付诸实践，就是打算到中国来做“微型社会学”的试验。他开始学习汉文汉语，据说后来他发现汉文汉语不容易在短期内掌握，所以不得不改变计划，半途在马来西亚停了下来。1939年他选择了马来半岛东北角沿海的吉兰丹（Kelantan）地方的一个滨海的渔村开始用社会人类学方法进行微型社会学的田野工作。弗思教授这次亚洲之行并没有同我和吴文藻联系，当时我国对外通信渠道已经断绝。他改变计划的原因可能并不完全是弗里德曼所说的在语言上的困难，而是当时的国际形势。他启程时日本侵略军已攻占了半个中国，前锋已到达桂黔边境，而日本还没有发动太平洋战争，马来西亚尚未进入战时状态。弗思教授就利用这短短一年多平静的时期取得研究一个亚洲的渔村的机会。他在日军进入马来西亚的1941年返回伦敦，编写他那本*Malay Fisherman*的初版。大战结束后，他于1946和1963年又两次重访这个渔村，改写了这本微型社会学的代表作，正是在弗里德曼发表那篇演讲的下一年出版。

说来也很有意思的是，一向不主张人类学者从微小社区入手研究一个文明的大民族文化的利奇教授，自己却利用参加英国军队进入缅甸的机会，大概在1940年前后，在中缅边境开始研究缅甸境内的景颇族的山官制度（所著的书是1954年出版的）。他在英军溃退时，靠我们的军队掩护，从滇缅路撤退，到达昆明时，我还在云南大学教书，他的临时住所就在翠湖边，和我只隔了一条街。可是他没有通知我，以致我们两人失之交臂，没有见面。

在弗里德曼的演讲中提到的西方人类学者在1938年之后到中国来研究的还有牛津（Oxford）的纽厄尔（W. H. Newell），科内尔（Cornell）的斯金纳（C. W. Skinner），哥伦比亚（Columbia）的弗里德（M. H. Fried）和L. S. E.的克鲁克（I. Crook）。在北京解放前不久，芝加哥（Chicago）的R. Radfield应邀来清华讲学。他是继R. Park和A. R. Radcliffe-Brown极力主张中国社会学和人类学者研究中国社会文化的有力支持者，不幸都没有看到他们所催生的婴儿的成长而逝世了。中国大

陆解放之后，以上提到的这些西方学者除了克鲁克之外都离开了中国。直到80年代改革开放之后，才又有一些人类学者来华做研究工作。

令人遗憾的是弗里德曼在世时，至少在他发表这篇演讲前，并没有看到我1945年在美国芝加哥大学出版社出版的介绍我们抗战时期在云南内地农村调查的*Earthbound China*一书。在他这篇演讲里只能说到我返国后在左右两堵政治墙壁上撞破了头，似乎从此休矣。这怪不得弗里德曼，当时国际信息远不如当前这么发达，曾有一个时候西方曾盛传我已不在人世。但是马老师赞扬的研究自己民族的人类学在西方固然没有得到响应，我们中国学者却还守着他的遗训，而且有所发展。他如果在世时能看到我们在中国做出的探索，也许对他所主张的“社会人类学的中国时期”可以提供一些有力的支持。

我觉得抱歉的是在这篇文章中对弗里德曼本人用人类学方法研究中国社会文化的成绩不能多说几句。一是因为我们并无一面之缘，第二是因为除了这篇演讲的复制件外，我还没有机会读到过他的著作。我只能借上引王铭铭的文章里的话来说，他是现在英国“研究中国的人类学家（或称‘汉学人类学家’）共同推认的学术导师。其影响至今不衰，他的后代现在已成为西方汉学人类学的中坚力量”。他在社会人类学历史上的地位，这几句话已足够定论了。希望有一天我还能向弗里德曼的原著认真学习，提高我对我自己的国家和民族的科学认识。

下面接着我想就我自己实践中得来的思考，对用人类学方法研究中国社会所需解决的几个理论问题发表一点意见，我倒并不急于和西方人类学者对话，更不想抬杠，还是为了推进我们中国人研究中国社会文化，用此余生作出一分努力。

五

马老师在《江村经济·序言》中重提他的预言，社会人类学的研究对象应当包括文明人，又鼓励本民族人研究本族的社会文化。如我在上节提到的，第一个在他指导下得到博士学位后来又成为他接班人的Firth教授曾依他所指出的方向，在马来西亚用马老师一贯强调的田野作业方法和功能主义理论，研究了一个海滨的渔村。他在实践中提出了“微型社会学”的概念。微型社会学是以一个人数较小的社区或一个较大的社区的一部分为研究对象，研究者亲自参与当地的社会活动，进行亲密的观察。在研究方法上还是等同于马老师在特罗布里恩德群岛土人中和弗思自己在提科皮亚（Tikopia）岛土人中所用过的田野作业方法。弗思的实践认为可以证明这种微型社会学是可行的。实际上他是想在人类学领域里一步直接跨过了我在上边所说的“文野之别”。

他这样一步跨越的试验，基本上消除了西方社会人类学的研究对象被困住在“野蛮人”里的传统桎梏。但是这也引起了许多值得注意的方法上和理论上的问题。这些问题的来源首先是出于“文野之别”的“别”在哪里。我们不应过于简单地以西方的种族成见一语把这区别予以抹掉。特罗布里恩德群岛土人和中国农民以及伦敦的居民存在着相同的一面是基本的，因为他们都是人，所以应当都是人类学的研究对象。这一点我在那篇讲马老师的文化论中已经说清楚了。我认为马老师和功能论就是要想以一切人类文化都是人类依据自己的生物需要和集体生活的需要而产生的这种基本认识，来消除人文世界中本质上文野的差异，比如他批判了把理知思考作为文明人所独具的特性等，就是为“文野一致”论找根据。但如果我们只讲文野一致也会导致文野无别的错觉，也就是忽视了人本身在文化上的演化，忽视了人的历史。所以我们既要根本上肯定人类的一致性，也要注意到人类本身还是处在自然的演化过程之中。这个过程首先表现在：人在发挥它生物遗传的底子上创造的人文世界，因处境不同存在着各种不同的选择。所以不同民族在社会文化上可以有差别，这种差别也是客观存在的，而且这种差别也曾引起了不同民族在过去的历史里产生了不平等的地位。我们不应当因为反对这种不平等而把差别也根本否定掉。我们既要承认文化本质的一致，也要重视文化形式上的差别。

我并不同意文化的发展是有一定不移的阶段，但也不同意完全是偶发的和无序的。从整个人类历史过程中看去，总的来说大体上是：一个社区里共同生活的人是由少而多，人所能支配的环境是由小而大，人和人的关系是由简而繁等等，这些基本上都是日常可见的实际情况。即以Firth自己研究过的Tikopia人和马来西亚渔民相比较，我想也会看到两者在这些方面的差异。

人口既有多少、社区既有大小、社会既有繁简，有人提出对“微型社会学”的责难就值得我们认真对待。责难是：一个包括人数众多、历史悠久、文化复杂的民族或国家，只研究其中的一个由少数人组成的小社区，能不能了解这个民族整体的社会文化？这正是利奇教授在1982年所写的*Social Anthropology*一书中向研究中国农村的社会人类学者提出的责难。

利奇教授责难我们从一个小小农村入手研究中国社会文化时提出了的这样一个问题，就是“中国这样广大的国家，个别社区的微型研究能否概括中国国情？”我在1990年所发表的《人的研究在中国》一文中答复了这个问题。我在当时的答复中首先承认他的“局部不能概括全部”的定式，即方法上不应“以偏概全”，而提出了用“逐渐接近”的手段来达到

从局部到全面的了解。

后来我又提出在云南内地农村调查的实际中采用的“类型”的概念，和在90年代城乡经济发展的研究中提出了“模式”的概念，对局部和全面的关系作了进一步的修正。我认为：“把一个农村看成是一切都与众不同、自成一格的独秀Sui generis也是不对的。一切事物都在一定条件下存在的，如果条件相同就会发生相同的事物。相同条件形成的相同事物就是一个类型。”（《人的研究在中国》，第6页）以江村来说，它虽然不能代表中国所有的农村，但是确有许多中国的农村由于所处条件的相同，在社会结构上和所具文化方式上和江村基本上是相同的，所以江村固然不是中国全部农村的“典型”，但不失为许多中国农村所共同的“类型”或“模式”。我这种思考，使我进一步摆脱了利奇的责难。我认为有可能用微型社会学的方法去搜集中国各地农村的类型或模式，而达到接近对中国农村社会文化的全面认识。

最近我在重温马老师的文化论时，又有所启发。在人文世界中所说的“整体”并不是数学上一个一个加起而成的“总数”。同一整体中的个体有点像从同一个模式里印刷出来的一个个糕饼，就是这个别是整体的复制品。生在社会里又在社会里生活的一个个人，他们的行为以至思想感情的方式是从先于他存在的人文世界里学习来的。学习基本上就是模仿，还加上社会力量对个人发生的规范作用，即所谓教育，社会用压力强制个人的行为和思想纳入规范中，一个社区的文化就是形成个人生活方式的模子。这个模子对于满足个人生活需要上是具有完整性的，每个人生活需要的方方面面都要能从这个人文世界里得到满足，所以人文世界不能是不完整的。关于这层意思我在关于学习马老师的文化论的体会那篇文章里已经说过，这里不再重复了。

这样看来，如果能深入和全面观察一个人从生到死一生生活各方面的具体表现，也就可以看到他所处的整个人文世界了。在实际田野作业里，要观察一个人从生到死一生的行为和思想是做不到的。所以实际研究工作是把不同个人的片断生活集合起来去重构这个完整的“一生”，从零散的情境中见到的具体镜头编辑成整体的人文世界。他所以这样做，是因为每个人在一定社会角色中所有的行为和感情都不应看作是“个人行为”，而都是在表演一套规范的行为和态度。我们都知道每个当父亲的人在他当舅舅时就不是一个面孔。社会人类学者首先要研究的对象就是规范各个个人行为的这个“模子”，也就是人文世界。从这个角度看去，人文世界里的“整体”必须和数学里的“总数”在概念上区别开来。这是“微型社会学”的基本理论根据。

利奇认为我们那种从农村入手个别社区的微型研究是不能概括中国

国情的，在我看来，正是由于混淆了数学上的总数和人文世界的整体，同时忘记了社会人类学者研究的不是数学而是人文世界。其实利奇也明白这个道理。因为他在自己的*Political Systems of Highland Burma*一书里所分析的克钦人的社会结构时也只根据他在缅甸的一部分被称作克钦人的景颇族中所调查到的资料。他根本没有对跨越中缅两国的景颇族全部进行调查，而敢于下笔把在其中一部分克钦人中观察到的政治关系着手分析解放前在景颇族里广泛实行的山官制度。他在社会人类学研究实践中实际也是采用了“微型社会学”的理论根据：只要在一部分克钦人中深入细致观察他们政治生活中所遵守的规范就可以用来概论跨越中缅边境的景颇族的整个山官制度了。如果他有机会在解放后看到在我国境内的景颇族实行了民族区域自治，他就可以说历史的条件变了，所以两地发生了不同的政治结构，而且进而可以用缅甸境内克钦人的山官制度来作了解我国境内景颇族区域自治的参考体系了。这种研究方法，我是可以赞同的。我也同意在人文世界里不必去应用“典型”这个概念，道理是在人文世界有它的特点。但是他在对待我们中国人研究农村时却忘记了这一条研究人文世界的基本原理。

六

既然我对利奇教授翻了一笔旧帐，对他提出的微型研究是否能概括中国国情的问题上发了一通议论，补充我在《人的研究在中国》一文中未尽之意，不妨接下去对他提出的另一个问题“像中国人类学者那样以自己的社会为研究对象是否可取？”也附带说几句。虽然不免是炒冷饭，炒炒热可能也有好处。

利奇公开认为中国人类学者不宜从本国的农村入手进行社会人类学的研究工作。这是他用委婉的语气反对马老师所赞赏的“本地人研究本地文化”的主张。他批评若干本中国学者出版的研究中国农村的著作用为例证之前，有一段他自己的经验之谈。他说：“看来似乎是很可怪的，在亲自具有第一手经验的文化情境里做田野作业，比一个完全陌生的外客用天真朴素的观点去接近要观察的事物困难多得多。当人类学者研究他自己社会的一鳞一爪时，他们的视野似乎已被从公众的甚于私人的经验得来的成见所扭曲了。”（第124页）

他的意见简单地说是自知之难，知己难于知人。这一点可以说和我国常说的“贵有自知之明”颇有相同之处。但这是一般印象的总结，并不是经过了实证性的分析推考得出的定论。

利奇也许心里也明白他这样说不一定站得住脚，所以翻过几页，在他逐一批评过了中国学者的著作之后，又把已说过的调子收了回来。在

第127页最后一段里，语气改了，“尽管我对直接对本人自己的社会作人类学的研究采取消极的态度，我依然主张所有人类学者最重要的见识总是植根于自我的内省。研究‘别人’而不研究‘自己’学术上的辩解是虽则我们起初把别人看成是乖僻，但到头还得承认人们的‘异相怪样’正是我们从镜子里看到自己的模样”。这段话我觉得他说到点子上了。利奇毕竟还是马老师的及门弟子，他尽管可以另有所好，但是功能派的一条基本“律令”他是丢不掉的，那就是“众出于一，异中见同”。

利奇说人类学者的见识根源还是在自我内省。我想就这句话补充一些自己实践的体会。我很赞同利奇从人类学者在田野作业切身的体会说起。我生平说得上人类学的田野作业，只有三次。第一次是在广西金秀瑶山，第二次是在江苏江村，第三次是在云南禄村。这三次都可以说是中国人研究中国社会文化。但是第一次我是汉人去研究瑶人。既不能说我是研究本土文化，又不能说完全是对异文化的研究。实质上我研究的对象是“我中有你，你中有我”，而且如果按我主观的估计，同多于异，那就是说汉人和瑶人固然有民族之别，但他们在社会文化生活上在部分已十分接近相同的了。这是中国少数民族研究的一个特点，各族间存在不同程度的相同和相异之处，似乎不能简单地以“本文化”和“异文化”的区别来定位。

江村离我出生的吴江松陵镇只有十多公里，同属一个县域，两地居民说是同乡，没人会提出异议。但是我和江村的“乡亲”们能不能说在社会文化生活上只有“同”而没有“异”呢？我觉得没有人会看不到“异”的存在，甚至江村的居民也并不真的感觉到我是他们所说的“自家人”。即以语言说，尽管都是吴语，但是他们讲的话我很多听不太懂。我所说的，他们更不容易一下就明白。若说《江村经济》是本土文化研究的代表作，我总觉得还不够格。这里所包括的复杂性，在下文还要细说。

再说禄村。禄村是我一位燕京大学同学的家乡。他和禄村的关系有点近于我和江村的关系，但也不尽然。无论如何我和禄村居民又隔了一层，本村人间用本地话进行的亲谈杂语，我根本听不懂。他们和我说话时也要改口打“官腔”，异于他们日常的用语。《禄村农田》的本土性比了《江村经济》又少了些。所以严格说两者都还不能说是十足的“土生土长的人在本乡人民中间进行工作的结果”。

如果我自己把这三次田野工作互相比较，我对所接触到的人、事、物能心领神会的程度确是不同的。在江村，基本上我不必通过第三者的帮助就能和对方交往，在禄村就不能那么随心所欲了，在瑶山里我离不开能说汉话的人的帮助。如果社会人类学的田野作业离不开语言作为取得认知的工具，我实在不能同意利奇所说的在熟悉的田野里工作比在不

熟悉的田野工作更困难的说法。

更进一步来推考，我们怎样去认识一个和自己文化不同的所谓“异文化”的呢？我在学习马老师文化论的体会中已经讲过我怎样开始我在瑶山里的“田野工作”的情形。我曾说：我记得最初在瑶山里住下已是晚上，我们进入一间为我们准备下的小楼，顿时被黑黝黝的一群人围住了，我们进入了一个“友好但莫名其妙的世界”。这正是我们要认识的对象。怎样办？首先我们只有依靠在自己社区里待人的经验和他们作有礼貌的接触。在和他们接触中逐渐发觉这一群人对我们的态度、行为、感情都有差别。而且这群人之间相互对待也不相同。我们通过这些差别，用自己社会里看到过的关系，分辨出他们之间的社会关系，和他们在这群人中不同的地位。我们首先看出了他们之间也存在母子关系，从母子关系再看出了夫妇关系等等。我把这段回忆在此重述，目的是要说明，我是从比较自己熟悉的文化中得来的经验去认知一个不熟悉的文化的。这是我认为就是利奇所说“反省”的一种具体表现。

当然这个认知过程并不是套取已知的框架，而是依靠已有的经验和新接触的事物相比较，起着参考体系的作用。两者不同之处是作为参考体系的只引导在比较中注意新事物的特点，由相同引路，着重注意其相异，就是作为认知的依傍，而不作为范本。如果遇到轶出于已有经验范围的完全新鲜的事物，作为参考体系的已有经验正可肯定其为新事物，而作为完全新的经验来接受，扩大已有知识的范围。用已有经验作参考体系，在心理过程上我认为就是利奇所说的“反省”。如果把这种参考体系本身有系统地综合起来也可能就是马老师所说的“文化表格”。马老师是根据他本人的和其他人类学者的田野经验归综成一个可用以帮助田野作业的比较完整的参考体系。这个体系的原料是田野作业者的个人经验，个人经验要个人反省才能表达出来。

社会人类学田野作业的对象，以我以上的思路来说，实质上并没有所谓“本文化”和“异文化”的区别。这里只有田野作业者怎样充分利用自己的或别人的经验作为参考体系，在新的田野里去取得新经验的问题。我们提出“社会学中国化”或本土化是因为当时我们中国学者忽视了用田野作业的方法去研究我们自己的中国社会和文化。我们绝没有拒绝出生于异文化的学者来中国进行田野作业。如果要以研究者自己不同的文化出生来比较在工作上哪里方便，根据我的经验，只以传媒手段的语言来说，本土人研究本文化似乎占胜一些，当然还得看研究者掌握当地语言的能力。至于利奇所提出的“私人的”或“公众的”成见问题，我在《人的研究在中国》一文已经发表过我的意见。我认为这是个“进得去”——“出得来”的问题，在这个问题上双方各有长短。我不再重复申

论了。

七

用微型社会学的方法去调查研究像中国这样幅员广阔、历史悠久、民族众多的社会文化，不应当不看到它的限度。拉德克利夫–布朗和弗思两位前辈鼓励我们的农村研究，以我现有的体会来说，其实不过是指出一条入手的门径，并不是说要了解中国国情，农村研究已经足够。这一点无需我多作说明。如果要加一条补充的话，农村研究实在是了解中国国情的基础工作，只从80%以上的中国人住在农村里这一事实就足够作为这句话的根据了，而且还可以说即是那小部分不住在农村里的人，他们的基本社会结构和生活方式大部分还是等同于农民或是从农民的型式中发展起来的。因之至少可以肯定研究中国社会文化应当从农村研究入手。到目前为止，对中国农村社区进行比较全面的研究还不多。这方面工作自应更认真地继续做下去。

如果再读一下马老师在《江村经济·序言》里所表达对“社会学的中国学派”所抱有的期待，就可以看到这种微型研究事实是存在着相当严重的不足之处。他说：“这本书集中力量描写中国农民生活的基本方面。我知道，他打算在他以后的研究中说明关于崇祀祖先的详细情况以及在村庄和城镇中广为流传的关于信仰和知识等更复杂的体系。他还希望终有一日将自己的和同行的著作综合起来，为我们展示一幅描绘中国文化、宗教和政治体系的丰富多彩的画面。对这样一部综合性著作，像这本书这样的专著当是第一步”。

马老师心目中我这本《江村经济》只是一部综合中国国情的巨著的初步起点。他还为这部巨著的内容做出了一个启发性的提纲，就是除了我在《江村经济》所勾画的该村土地的利用和农户家庭中再生产的过程，也就是社会基层结构和经济活动之外，还应当包括文化、宗教、政治等等方面的社会规范和意识形态方面的叙述和分析，并且把这类研究成果综合起来，成为一幅“丰富多彩的画面”，其实他可能已看到要达到他的要求，当时我采用的微型研究的方法和理论是不够的，所以像这本书那样的著作只能是编写这样一部综合的有关中国国情的长卷的起步工作。

如果把马老师提出的要求作为我们的目标，我们不能不承认微型社会学的限度，承认限度并不是否定在限度内的成就和它的价值。以微型研究为“第一步”可以得到比较结实的基础。我们应当从这基础上走出去，更上一层楼。怎样走，怎样上，首先要在实践中去发现“微型”的限制在那里。

我在上面各节里已肯定了一个像农村一样的社区可以作为社会人类学的一个研究的适当对象，因为这个社区的人文世界是“完整”的，从功能上说能满足每一个社区居民生活各方面的需要。从这个意义上Leach说我这本《江村经济》不失为一本功能主义的著作，虽则我并没有把社会各方面的功能全面顾及，但是从整体出发有重点地叙述了这个社区的经济生活，也就是马老师所说的“农户家庭再生产的过程”。我后来用建立类型来补充这种研究方法，用以区别于通过数量上的增加以取得总体的认识。

抗战时期我在云南内地农村的研究工作中充分利用了类型这个概念，进行比较的研究工作。江村、禄村、易村、玉村等名称就表示了我的研究方法。我认为可以从发现各种类型的方法逐步接近认识中国全部国情的目的，也就是通过“微型社会学”累积各种类型，综合出马老师所要求我做的那部有关中国文化和社会的巨著。

直到80年代，我第二次学术生命开始时，才在总结过去的实践中，清醒地看到了我过去那种限于农村的微型研究的限度。我在60年代提出的“类型”概念固然可以帮助我解决怎样去认识中国这样的大国对为数众多、结构不同的农村的问题，但是后来我明白不论我研究了多少类型，甚至把所有多种多样的类型都研究遍了，如果把所有这些类型都加在一起，还不能得出“中国社会和文化”的全貌，因为像我所研究的江村、禄村、易村、玉村等等的成果，始终没有走出“农村社区”这个层次的社区。整个“中国文化和社会”却不等于这许多农村所加在一起的总数。农村不过是中国文化和社会的基础，也可以说是中国基层社区。基层社区固然是中国文化和社会的基本方面，但是除了这基础知识之外还必须进入从这基层社区所发展出来的多层次的社区，进行实证的调查研究，才能把包括基层在内的多层次相互联系的各种社区综合起来，才能概括地认识“中国文化和社会”这个庞大的社会文化实体。用普通所熟悉的现成概念来说就是中国文化和社会这个实体必须包括整个城乡各层次的社区体系。

在《江村经济》中我早已看到江村这个村一级的社区并不是孤立和自给的。在这方面和太平洋岛屿上的社区比较，江村这一类中国农村的社区居民固然在本社区里可以取得满足他们基本的需要，但这些都不是封闭的社区，或封闭性远没有特罗布里恩德群岛土人或提科皮亚岛土人那样强。当然当前世界上绝对封闭孤立的人群已经可以说不再存在了，或是只是极为个别的例外了，但在和社区外的联系程度各地方的情况可以差别很大。自从航海技术有了大发展以来，几个世纪海运畅通。全世界的居民已抛弃了划地聚居、互不往来、遗世孤立的区位格局，不同程

度地进入了稀疏紧密不同的人和人相关的大网络。就在这个历史的变化中，在农村社区基础上发展出了若干农村间在生活资料上互相交换的集散中心的市镇。

传统市镇的出现在中国已有几千年的历史。在本世纪的近一百年里，特别是近几十年里，中国传统市镇发生了巨大的变动。城乡关系已脱颖而出，成了一个特别引人注意的理论和实际问题。

城乡关系不但把分散的自成一个社区的许多农村联系了起来，形成一种有别于农村的市镇社区。它的社会和文化内容可以说是从农村的基础上发展出来的，所以保留着许多基本相同的一面，但是又由于它作为一个社区的功能已不同于农村，因而也自有其不同于农村的一面，它属于与农村不同层次的社区。

在研究方法上说，在研究农村这种基层社区时，只要不忘记它是有许多方面和本社区之外的世界相联系这一点，然后集中注意力在本社区的自身，还是可以在既划定的范围内观察到社区居民社会生活各方面的活动，并把本社区和外界的关系交代清楚，还是可以在这既定的空间范围内把这个社区人文世界完整地加以概括。比如我在《江村经济》中把居民依靠区外供应日常所需的油、盐、酱、醋、糖、酒，在“航船”的一节里讲清楚了，在江村的经济体系中也不留下很大的缺漏。又比如在《禄村农田》里把当地农业里重要的劳力供应，说明是从附近各地集中到禄村来卖工的劳动市场里得到的，而并没有去追踪这些出卖劳力的人的来源是外村的少数民族，也可以交代过去了。这些例子说明，“微型社会学”虽则带来了限制，如果说明把研究的范围限于基层社区，这样做法还是可以说得通的。但也必须承认这些“微型”资料是不可能综合起来说明高一层次的社会情况。

如果我自己不满足于完成一本不失为“功能主义的著作”或是还想沿着马老师在该书序言中希望我能进一步完成一部有关中国社会和文化的综合性的著作，我就不能停留在这本《江村经济》的著作上了，而且也不能只走“云南三村”的老路，尽管这条路还应当走下去。为了更上一层楼，我就势必走出农村社区这个范围而从农村里发展出来、为农村服务的市镇社区拓展我的研究领域了。

至于我怎样从《江村经济》里走出来进入小城镇的研究，这一段叙述，我觉得已超出了对《江村经济 ·序言》的体会的范围，尽管这一步还是从《江村经济》的基础上走出来的。我在去年年初写了一篇《农村、小城镇、区域发展》，可以作为本节的参考，在本文里不再重复了。

八

“微型社会学”有它的优点，它可深入到人际关系的深处，甚至进入语言所难于表达的传神之意，但是同时有它的限制。我在上一节里指出了在空间坐标上它难于全面反映和该社区有密切的联系的外来辐射，如我已提到的一个农村所倚赖的市镇，和没有提到而同样重要的亲属和行政上的种种关系，这是因为社区是通过社会关系结合起来的群体，在这种人文世界里谋取生活的个人已不是空间的一个点，而是不断在扩大中的一堆堆集体的成员，就是在幅员可伸可缩的一堆堆集体中游动着的分子，这是很难用普通几何学图形予以表述的。

如果我们从空间转向时间，社区的人文世界同样是难用几何形象来加以表述的。这正是社会人类学和历史学争论已久的问题的根子。时间本身，以我们常识来看，日换星移总是在一条线上向前推进，以个人生命经历来说，从幼到老，不能倒流。这就是我们熟悉的过去、现在和未来后浪推前浪的程序。在西方拉丁语系的语言中的动词还要用这个三分法来定式。这三分法就成了我们一般认识历史的标尺。这种以时间里运行的一切事物总是按照先后次序一幕幕地层次井然地推演的认识框架在社会人类学里也就出现了所谓社会演化规律。把人类的历史看成和其它事物的历史一般像是一条流水线。这线又可以划成若干段，一段接一段，如野蛮、未开化、文明等等。一个人不论生在什么地方，都可以根据他生活上一部分的表现，划定他在历史框架里的地位，而推论他全部生活的方式和预测他的未来。这种方法的内容可以搞得很复杂，其实把人文世界看得太机械化和简单化了。

马老师对这种机械的社会演进论是深恶痛绝的，但也由于他反对这种错误的历史观，又由于他主要的田野作业是在特罗布里恩德这一个太平洋小岛上居民中进行的，这些小岛上的居民生活比较简单而且看来长期没有发生过重要的变动，以致他的著作给人一种印象就是研究这类居民的人文世界可以不必去追问他们的历史演变，甚至误解功能主义是非历史主义的。功能主义确是主张一件事物的功能是它对人生活发生的作用，这里所说的作用又被认为是这事物当地当时对个人需要的满足。个人的需要持续的时间和包括的范围也就成了人文世界的时间和范围。因而被认为功能主义的社会人类学可以不讲历史。我认为这是一种误解。马老师在他的著作里可以说确是没有历史的分析，但这是出于他所研究的对象首先是在他进行田野作业这段时间里社会变动不大，其次当地居民并没有文字去记下他们的历史和他们的历史还是靠个人的头脑里记下的上辈人口头传下来的传说。这就使过去的历史和现在的传说分不清，以致这两者之间在时间框架里互相融合了。传说有它当前的作用，满足

当前的需要，并不一定符合已过去了的事物发生当时的实际。在了解当前的人文世界自应当把两者分开而着重在当前发生作用的功能。这就出现了他强烈否定所谓“遗俗”这一类“失去了功能的事物”，因而他被认为不注意在客观时间中发生过的一般所谓“历史”了。

以上是我个人的体会，就是说在功能的分析里，一件人文世界中的事物都可以存在时间框架上的多重性，即我们习以为常的过去、现在、未来结合在一起的情况。上面我已说过人们对过去的记忆可以因当前的需要而和实际上过去的情况不相符合，而且在当前决定个人行为的心理因素里还包含着对未来的希望和期待。早在《江村经济》一书的“前言”里我也说过以下一段话：

“任何变迁过程必定是一种综合体，那就是：他过去的经验，他对目前形势的了解以及他对未来结果的期望。过去的经验并不总是过去实事的真实写照，因为过去的实事经过记忆的选择已经起了变化。目前的形势也并不总是能得到准确的理解，因为它吸引注意力的程度常受到利害关系的影响。未来的结果不会总是像人们所期望的那样，因为它是希望和努力以外的其他许多力量的产物。……”

我全部引用60年前的话，因为这段话里我表明了我们习以为常的时间的三分法，不能简单地运用在分析变动中的人文世界。我当时所说的时间上的“综合体”，其实就想指出我们单纯常识性的时间流程中的三分法是不能深入理解人文世界的变动过程，我在《学习文化论的体会》一文中所说“三段直线的时间序列（昔、今、后）融成了多维的一刻”也就是这个意思。在这个问题上我总觉得不容易说清楚，所以反复地用不同说法予以表述。

马老师在《江村经济·序言》中已说明了他对历史的态度。“正因为那个国家有着最悠久的没有断过的传统，要理解中国历史还必须从认识中国的今天开始。这种人类学的研究方法对于现代中国学者和欧洲的一些汉学家所进行的以文字记载为依据的重要历史工作是一种不可缺少的补充。研究历史可以把遥远过去的考古遗迹和最早的记载作为起点，推向后世；同样，亦可把现状作为活的历史，来追溯过去。两种方法互为补充，且须同时使用。”

马老师当时已看到中国社会的特点是在它有考古遗迹和文字记载的悠久文化传统。这是和殖民地上土人的重大的差别。但由于自己没有在像中国这样的地方进行过田野作业，所以他只能做出原则性提示，认为历史学和社会人类学应当是两门可以互为补充的学科。至于在具体研究工作上怎样合作和补充，他并没有详细说明。但这却直接涉及到是否能

应用“微型社会学”的方法来研究中国农村的问题，或“从农村社区能否全面研究中国国情”的问题了。

以《江村经济》来说，我在关于历史材料方面应用得确实很少，而且很简单。像在江村经济中起重要作用的蚕丝副业，我只查了赖特（A. Wright）的一本关于20世纪对香港、上海等商埠的印象记，和用了他1908年在这本书里所写的有关“辑里丝”的一段话。有关江村的人口数字我只用了1935年的普查数字。当然我在许多地方讲到开弦弓的传统时，除了我从现场视察到实事外，也以我自己过去的生活经验来加以说明，而我的生活经验最早只能推到1910年。总括一句，我在这本书里并没有如马老师所说的结合了历史来进行的。我自己也多次说所写的这些记录今后将成为历史，时至今日这本书确可以说是一本记载了这个村子的历史。当时是活历史，现在只能是已过去了的历史，所以决不能说是结合了历史的社会学分析。

在实践中我不能不怀疑像《江村经济》一样的村一级“微型社会学”调查、社会学和历史学结合的田野工作是否切实可行？同时我是赞同马老师所说的话，要读这部历史得有历史学者和考古学者从文字和实物中得来的有关过去情况的知识作为补充。至少我认为今后在微型社区里进行田野工作的社会人类学者应当尽可能地注重历史背景，最好的方法是和历史学者合作，使社区研究，不论是研究哪层次的社区都须具有时间发展的观点，而不只是为将来留下一点历史资料。真正的“活历史”是前因后果串联起来的一个动态的巨流。

九

写完了上一节我总觉得意犹未尽，问题是在对马老师的“活历史”怎样理解。序言里的原文是"History can be read back, taking the present as its living version"。（原书p. xxii）中文版的译文是“可把现状作为活的历史，来追溯过去”。我心里对这句话反复琢磨，想进一步体会马老师的原意。从我所理解的马老师对文化的分析中可以说他是着重从活人的生活中认识文化的。在活人的生活中他不能不看到很多行为和思想是从前人学来的，这里见到了文化有传统的一面。文化是在时间里积累而成的，并不是一切都是现在活着的人自己新创的。如果从上节里所说到的昔、今、后三段的直线延伸观念来说，就得承认今日的传统就是前人的创造和昔日传下的“历史”了。这样的思路就会给马老师一向反对的“遗俗”这个概念一个结实的基础。为了否认从今日文化里的传统拉出这条一线三维的时间序列，他提出了“活历史”的概念。“活历史”是今日还发生着功能的传统，有别于前人在昔日的创造，而现在已失去了功能

的“遗俗”。传统是指从前辈继承下来的遗产，这应当是属于昔日的东西。但是今日既然还为人们所使用，那是因为它还能满足人们今日的需要，发生着作用，所以它曾属于昔，已属于今，成了今中之昔，至今还活着的昔，活着的历史。

历史学者和人类学者在这个今中有昔的问题上出现了分歧的态度。历史学者咬定历史是一线三维的序列，对于文化的传统必须回顾它本身的面目，那就是要追根求底。人类学者着眼于人们当前的生活，所以马老师主张到活生生的生活中去观察才能明白人们为什么这样生活。他不否认活生生的生活中有许多是从过去传下来的，但这些传下来的东西之所以传下来就因为它们能满足当前人们的生活需要。既然能满足当前人的生活需要，它们也就是当前生活的一部分，它们就还是活着。这也等于说一个器物、一种行为方式之所以成为今日文化中的传统是在它还发生“功能”，即能满足当前的人们的需要。凡是昔日曾满足过昔日人们的需要的器物和行为方式，而不能满足当前人们的需要时，也就会被人们所抛弃，成为死历史了。

当然说“死了的历史”并不正确，因为文化中的活和死并不同于生物的生和死。文化中的要素不论是物质的或是精神的，在对人们发生“功能”时是活的，不再发生“功能”时还不能说“死”，因为在生物界死者不能复生，而在文化界或人文世界里，一件文物或一种制度的功能可以变化，从满足这种需要转而去满足另一种需要，而且一时失去功能的文物、制度也可以在另一时又起作用，重又复活。人文世界里自有其“逻辑”，不同于自然世界。关于这一点，我在这里不去发挥和展开讨论了。总之马老师用“活历史”这个概念是值得我们进一步思考的。我在上一次研讨会上讲对马老师文化论的体会时曾提“三维一刻”时间观，可以参阅。

十

我接着想联系到在去年暑期召开的那一次研讨会上李亦园教授发表的关于“大传统”与“小传统”的讲话。我受到的启发是他对文化的层次分析。他指出了大传统和小传统的区别，因为他在田野作业中看到了中国文化的结构里有着具有权威的一套经典性的以儒家为代表的人生观和宇宙观，另外还有一套在民间流行，表现在民俗信仰的人生观和宇宙观。前者称之为大传统，后者称之为小传统，即伯格尔（Berger）教授所说的“李氏假设”。

我很赞赏李教授的分析，认为对中国文化宏观研究或微观研究都应当应用这个文化层次的分析，因为这种文化里存在着经典的和民间的区

别，的确可以说在研究中国文化时表现得特别清楚，也影响得特别深刻。我想在这篇重读《江村经济·序言》文章后面加上我对这个问题的一些个人的体会，或说不成熟的假设，因为这也和上面我提到的马老师的“活历史”有关。

我认为这个特点在中国很可能和历史上很早就发生了文字而且是用图形作为符号，因而发展成一套和语言脱钩的文字体系有关。这个体系是怎样发生和发展的，是个历史问题，留给历史学家去讲更为适合。我着眼的是由于这个体系所发生的社会和文化后果。

这个体系对中国文化和社会的影响很大很深，我只举出其中一些特别引起我注意的方面。首先是由于它和语言脱了钩，冲破了地方性和民族性的限制。这个特点的意义只要和其它以语音为基础的文字体系相比较一下，就很容易看得清楚。我们普通所谓“方块字”在解放前后曾受到过很猛烈的冲击，提出所谓“拉丁化”或“世界语”的文字改革方案。尽管这种改革有权威性的支持，但是群众对此并没有积极的响应，结果只成为一种“注音”性质的符号，作为学习“方块字”发音的辅助工具。热心于文字和语音结合的人们没有注意到“方块字”在中国几千年文化中所起的积极作用，那就是阻挡了以语音差别为基础，由方言发展不同语言而形成分割为不同民族的历史过程。最清楚的例子是多语言和多民族的欧洲，到现在还不容易合成一体，在东亚大陆上我认为正因为产生了这个和语音脱钩的文字体系，汉族才能保存地方方言而逐渐统一成一个民族，而且掌握这“方块字”作为信息媒介的汉族才能起到不断吸收和融合其它民族的作用以成为当今世界上人口最多的民族，同时还起着形成多元一体的中华民族的核心作用。

“方块字”在中国文化上所起的积极作用是不应当忽视的，但也不能不看到它消极的一面，那就是和语音脱钩之后要学习这种文字是比学习文语合一的文字要困难得多。学会全部“方块字”需要相当长的时间，比学会拼音的字要多好几倍。而且如果不常使用这些“方块字”，就会所谓“返盲”。这已成为当前“扫盲”运动中的一个严重问题。识字的困难限制了文字的普及性。在一个以小农为基础的大国里，在这样长的历史过程，能掌握这个信息媒介的人数在开展扫盲运动和义务教育之前总是在全民中占很小的比例，这就引起一个很基本和很严重的社会现象，那就是文字被少数人所独占。直到目前，为了要消灭这种独占性还得付出很大的努力。

这些识字的人在中国历史上常有专称，“士”可能是最早的名称。从有文字以来直到我的幼年，20世纪初年，这种掌握文字的人在社会上还是占有比一般不识字的人民高一等的地位。读书门第是高出普通人一

级，这一级的人在20世纪年代里被称作“知识分子”，在“文革”时期里被称作“臭老九”。这些称号都反映了他们在社会上具有一定的特殊地位。

我在30年代抗战时期在西南后方进行农村调查时曾注意到这种在社会上具有特殊地位的知识分子，曾想作专题研究，但这个愿望并没有完成。以我记忆所及，我曾把这种人看成是城乡之间的桥梁。这种人就是历来被称作士绅的人物，他们一般和基层农民是有区别的，但存在着血缘关系，许多是农民出身或和农民保持着亲属关系，而另一方面又大多走出农村，住入乡镇和城市，成为具有政治权力的统治阶级的一部分或和统治阶级相互沟通，特别是科举时期各级政府的领导人大多出于这种人。这种人长期以来被称为“士大夫”，士是指读书人，大夫是指当一官半职的人。在乡镇和城市里他们是头面人物，尽管没有官职，但是有社会名望，被称为缙绅先生。我曾根据初步的见解写成过一些文章，后来被译为英文，用*China's Gentry*的书名出版，在这本书里我曾表述过中国士绅在城乡间的桥梁作用。

这桥梁作用如果和“李氏假设”联系起来就找到了大传统的载体和大小传统之间的联系人物，或是把他们看作一个社会阶层。这些以掌握“方块字”的技能，把上下双方的文化嫁接调适在一起。我有一个假设，就是在这些士大夫手上，广大民间的基层思想和愿望整理和提高出了一个头绪，使它们能和过去在民间受到尊重的经验和教训，结合历史上各代掌握有权力的统治阶级所需要的维持其地位和扩大权势的需要，编制成一套行为和思想规范。其实就是在民间的实际习俗中通过选择使其能得到历代帝王的支持，用文字表达出来成为影响社会的经典。我这种想法是把小传统作为民间广大群众从生活的实践和愿望中形成的传统文化，它的范围可以很广，其中有一部分可以和统治者的需要相抵触的，在士大夫看来是不雅驯的，就提不到大传统中去，留在民间的乡风民俗之中。在我看来，大传统之所以能表现一部分中国文化的特点，正在于它是以小传统为底子的。它又不同于小传统，因为经过了一道选择和加工的过程。选择和加工过程就是司马迁所说的“其文不雅驯，荐绅先生难言之”。雅驯与否是选择的标准，也就是这些文人们看不入眼的风俗民情。孔子对鬼力乱神一字不提，因为他觉得这些民间信仰不雅驯，看不入眼。这些掌握着文字的人就通过“难言之”把这些不雅驯的东西排除在以文字为符号的信息系统之外，就是拔除在大传统之外；但并没有在民间把这些东西消灭掉，仍在民间用口头语言口口相传，这就成了“小传统”，还可以传给后来人。大传统在民间还是发生作用的，因为它仗着这可以超越时间的文字构成的消息系统，从识字的人传给识字的人。这些人又凭他能接触到历代传下来的经验保存了人们生活中有用的

知识，利用这些传统知识能帮助别人适应生活环境，成为“人师”，取得社会的信誉名望和特殊地位，大传统也依靠他们影响着民间大众。

在小传统里还可以分出“地上”和“地下”两层。在民间的生活中有种种思想信仰和活动，士大夫是看不入眼的，认为不雅驯，而没有被采用，未成为大传统。这部分依旧在民间活动，凡是到民间去观察的人还能看得到，而且在民间是公开的，不受限制的，这些就是我所说地上的小传统。但有一部分是犯了统治阶级的禁例，不能公开活动，但是在民间的思想信仰里还是保留着，只在大人先生们不屑看或视而不见。这些我认为可以包括在地下的小传统里。

另外还有一部分由于受到社会上权势的镇压，不得公开露面，只能改头换面，设法在民间的私生活中存在下去，久而久之甚至已打入了人们的潜意识里，即本人也不自觉这种思想信仰的意义，只作为一种无意义的习惯盘踞在人们的意识里，这种东西不去发掘是不易暴露它的本来面目的，我觉得可以称之为潜文化。在被视为邪教等等名目下就有这种潜文化存在，而且当其发挥作用时，也常常以曲折和隐蔽的方式有力地暴发出来，所以更难捉摸和正视。

我这样的假设又暴露了《江村经济》这一类微型社会调查的又一种限制，可说这是文化的层次上的限制。农民的人文世界一般是属于民间的范围，这个范围里有多种层次的文化。它有已接受了的大传统，而同时保持着原有小传统的本身，有些是暴露在“地上”的，有些是隐蔽在“地下”的，甚至有些已打进了潜意识的潜文化。作为大传统载体的士绅在近代已有很多离乡入镇，而其社会活动和影响还在农村里发生作用。当前的情况又有很大的变动，士绅阶层可说已经解体，在农村里他的作用已由基层干部所取代，而基层干部的性质和过去的士绅阶层又有差别，这个演变现在我还没有追踪调查，说不出来。由于文化差别形成的社会层次的原则我觉得在文盲没有扫尽、现代知识没有普及之前还不会有很大的变化。因之如果以农村社区为范围进行微观研究，这方面的情况就难于作深入具体的观察了。如果要了解农村的社会结构，这个文化层次的问题单靠微型研究方法看来还是不够的，因之我把它列入微型社会学受到限制的一个方面。

十一

以上三节是想指出我认为“微型社会学”在空间、时间和文化层次上所受到的限制。我再回头一看，我发现我所指出的限制实在是出于我对自己所研究的要求超过了微观的范围。我一直想闯出微观的限制走出农村，逐步扩大我的研究范围和层次，因为它已不能满足我的要求。如果

我像利奇教授一样安心于他对社会人类学的要求，自然可以安身立命于微型社区的观察了。

利奇教授代表了30年代英国人类学者的流行观点。他们认为社会人类学的目的是在理解或发现不同人群组合社会以谋取生存及发展的基本原则，组成社会的基本结构和结构中各部分有机配合的规范，即想从各地、各时、各类的个别人群中去找出集体生活的共同原理。如果以此目的来要求自己的研究工作，我想从任何一个正常活动的社区都可以作为取得这些原理的研究对象，因为它既然是个充满生机的社区，必然具备其所以能生存和发展的必需的条件和必需的结构以及各部分必需的配合。我们把任何一个标本仔细地予以观察和分析，都可以得出其所以能生存和发展的原理的。对一个单身进行田野作业的社会人类学者来说，为了观察得更精细和深入，要求他能接触到社区里的一个个人，观察他们的行为、感情、思想和希望，所选择的研究对象就贵在全而不在大了。我想这应当是强调个人进行田野作业的“微观社会学”的理论出发点。正如弗思教授（1951年）所说微观社会学是"the microcosm to illumine the macrocosm, the particular to illustrate the general"，“以微明宏，以个别例证一般”。这句话引起后来社会人类学的疑问的就在“以微能否明宏，以个别能否例证一般？”

如果研究者的目的不是在发现一般的文化和社会结构原理，而是在认识一个具体国家、一个具体地方或一个具体村子，即一个具体社区的情况，那就不同了。这些研究者就需要运用一般原理工具去理解和说明一个或大或小的具体社区里人们的生存情况和发展的前景。前者也许可说是纯科学的研究，后者可说是应用科学的研究，我回头看我自己可能就属于后者。这一点，马老师在《江村经济》的序言里实际上已经点明。介绍我时首先是他说我是“中国的一个年轻的爱国者”，他同情我当时关心自己祖国“进退维谷”的处境，更同意我以我这个受过社会人类学训练的人来进行为解答中国怎样适应新处境的问题。从这一点出发我提出要科学地认识中国社会文化的志向，为此我走上了这一条坎坷的人生道路，一直坚持到暮年。实际上，真正了解我学人类学的目的、进入农村调查工作的，在当时——甚至一直到现在在同行中除了马老师之外，为数不多。我在西方的同行中长期成为一个被遗忘的人。我有一次在国际学术会议上自称是被视为在这个学术领域的一匹乱闯的野马。野马也者是指别人不知道这匹马东奔西驰目的何在。其实这匹四处奔驰的马并不野，目的早已在60年前由马老师代我说明白的了。

作为一个应用社会人类学者并不轻视纯学理的研究。如果不明白社会人类学的原理如何谈得上应用这门知识来为人民谋利益呢？如何谈得

上来促进社会的发展呢？关于这一点我在《江村经济》的前言里已讲得很清楚，马老师在序言里引用了我的一段话来说明应用科学和纯粹科学的关系。

“如果要组织有效果的行动并达到预期的目的，必须对社会制度的功能进行细致的分析，而且要同它意欲满足的需要结合起来分析，也要同它们的运转所依赖的其他制度联系起来分析，以达到对情况恰当的阐述。这就是社会科学学者的工作。所以社会科学应该在指导文化变迁中起重要的作用。”

他接着在下页里说：“他书中所表露的很多箴言和原则，也是我过去在相当一段时间里所主张和宣扬的，但可惜我自己却没有机会去实践它。”在这里他表白了内心的慨叹。我自以为能明白他慨叹的由来。可惜的是他生逢那个时代，他所出生的民族还没有摆脱被统治的地位，他对此连纸上谈兵的时代都没有。他接着说：“我们中间绝大多数向前看的人类学者，对我们自己的工作感到不耐烦，我们厌烦它的好古、猎奇和不切实际，虽则这也许是表面上的，实际上并不如此。”

这是马老师写这篇序言来推荐这本我自认为还远没有成熟的果实的实在原因。他看到这书字后行外的意向，指向人类应当用知识来促进世人的幸福和美好社会的实现。这触及了马老师心中早已认识到的社会人类学的应用价值和它的使命。

我的“愧赧对旧作”也就是因为我并没有完成老师在这篇序言里表达的深厚的期待和明确的指向。我享受到的天年超过了我的老师，但是尽管生逢盛世，但在临近谢幕之前，所能回报于世的还只有这么一点说不上什么成就的一堆不成熟的残意浅见。可以告慰于自己的也许只是我这一生并没有忘记老师的教益和亲友的抚育，能在这条学以致用的道路，一直走到现在这垂暮之年。我更高兴的是60年前所记下的我姐姐费达生所开创的“工业下乡”的实验，现在已经开花结果，并在祖国的工业现代化的事业里作出了重大的贡献。我想还是用我在《江村经济》中文版发布会上即席写下的诗句最后两句作为本文的结语：“阛巷寻旧梦，江村蚕事忙。”愿江村的乡亲们，继续不断从劳动中创造自己的光辉前途。

1996年3月25日

Has Man a Future?

—Dialogues with the Last Confucian

双语精选本

这个世界会好吗?

——梁漱溟晚年口述

梁漱溟 （美）艾恺 著　（美）艾恺 译

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1918年11月7日，梁漱溟的父亲梁济正准备出门，遇到漱溟，二人谈起关于欧战的一则新闻。

“世界会好吗？”梁济问道。

漱溟回答：“我相信世界是一天一天往好里去的。”

“能好就好啊！”梁济说罢就离开了家。

三天之后，梁济投净业湖自尽。

On Nov. 7, 1918, Liang Shuming's father, Liang Ji, encountered his son on his way out. The two spoke of a news report on the war in Europe.

"Has man a future?" asked Liang Ji.

"I believe that the world is going to be better by the day." Shuming responded.

"I hope that will be so," said Liang Ji, and left the house.

Three days later, Liang Ji drowned himself in Jingye Lake.

“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是英文文本的译本，这些著述原初的英文文本在海外学术界和文化界也享有着崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的《吾国与吾民》（*My Country and My People*）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名；再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中以英文写就《图像中国建筑史》文稿，经其挚友费慰梅女士（费正清夫人）等人的奔走和努力，英文版《图像中国建筑史》（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*）于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社出版，该出版社也因此获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”；又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》、狄百瑞英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》，等等。

有鉴于此，外研社人文社科出版分社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高

人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”聊尽绵薄之力。

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Preface

I am honored to be able to write a preface to this volume.

First I want to explain how this dialogue between Mr. Liang Shuming and me came about.

I became interested in Mr. Liang's life and career as a graduate student at Harvard University, and took it as the subject of my Ph.D. dissertation. I gathered materials in Taiwan and Hong Kong, as well as sought out and interviewed many of his old friends and acquaintances. Because of the Sino-American political situation at the time, I never had an opportunity to go to Chinese Mainland and meet personally the subject of my research, Mr. Liang.

In the first part of 1973 I had my first opportunity to go to Chinese Mainland. For an American to be able to go to Chinese Mainland at that time was still extremely unusual. Why was I able to make the trip? After President Nixon visited China, several Chinese delegations visited the United States in succession, and I served as their interpreter, and so became a channel of communication between the two countries. So in 1973, my wife and I had this rare opportunity to visit Chinese Mainland. At the time, the first request I made of the Chinese was that I hoped I could meet with Mr. Liang. But because it was the time of the Cultural Revolution, and a very sensitive time, my wishes to pay my respects to Mr. Liang were not answered, so I could only return regretfully to America.

In 1979, at the same time as my study of Liang Shuming *The Last Confucian* was published, the Chinese political situation underwent a tremendous change. This current of reform and openness also changed Mr. Liang's life. He had originally been living with his wife in a small room, but then he was moved by his unit, the People's Political Consultative Conference, into Building Number 22, called the "Ministers' Mansion," where many celebrities such as the writer Ding Ling also lived. Having more comfortable quarters, Mr. Liang felt that it was more appropriate for receiving visitors, and immediately thought of ways of contacting me.

One day I suddenly received a phone call from a stranger; it was from an

octogenarian named Shi who had been Mr. Liang's student in the 1920s at Peking University. He had just come from Beijing and was delivering a verbal message to me at Mr. Liang's request. It was that Mr. Liang already knew of the publication of *The Last Confucian*, and hoped that he could meet me. A few months passed, and after class one day, a Chinese student suddenly came to see me. She had just come recently from Beijing to join her father in the United States. She gave me Mr. Liang's address, and told me that she had been a neighbor of "Uncle Liang," and that he very much hoped to be able to see me, and to see the work on him that I had published.

序

我非常荣幸能为这本小书作序。

我想先说说我与梁漱溟先生两人对谈的因缘。

我在哈佛读书的时候，对梁先生的生平志业产生兴趣，以他作为博士论文的主题，在台湾与香港收集相关资料，寻访他的故友旧交。碍于当时中美政治局势，我始终无法前往中国大陆，亲见我研究的对象梁先生。

1973年初，我头一次有机会前往中国大陆。在当时，一个美国人能到中国大陆去，仍是极不寻常的异例。为什么我能成行呢？这是因为在尼克松总统访华后，几个中国代表团在1972年陆续来美，而我充当中文翻译，起了沟通两国的桥梁作用，所以在1973年时，我与内人才有这个难得的机会可以造访中国大陆。当时，我向中方提出的第一个请求，便是希望可以同梁先生见面，但由于正值“文革”，时机敏感，我并没有如愿以偿地拜见到梁先生，只能抱憾返美。

1979年，在我的梁漱溟研究《最后的儒家》出版成书的同时，中国的政治局势起了巨大的变化。这波改革开放的潮流也改变了梁先生的生活。原本与夫人蜗居在狭小房间的梁先生，被政协安置到有“部长楼”之称的22号楼，与文化名流如丁玲等对门而居。有了舒适的房舍，梁先生认为比较适宜见客，便即刻想办法与我联系。

某日我突然接到一通陌生的来电，电话那头是一位八旬高龄的石老先生。他是梁先生20世纪20年代在北大的学生，刚从北京来美，受梁先生所托，捎来口讯，说是梁老已经知道《最后的儒家》出版了，希望可以与我见面。又过了几个月，一天课后，有个中国学生突然来见我。她不久前才从北京来美与父亲团聚。她拿着梁先生的联络地址，告诉我她旧日的邻居“梁伯伯”十分希望可以见到我，看到我所出版的关于他的著作。

I immediately sent him a copy of the book. Before long I received an amicable reply from Mr. Liang, agreeing to my definitely going to Beijing to visit him the next year.

In 1980, the first day I arrived in Beijing, I immediately contacted Mr.

Liang. He told me how he had moved to Building Number 22. The next morning, I went to Mr. Liang's residence to visit him formally. All of Mr. Liang's family members, who took my visit very seriously, were also there. Mr. Liang introduced me to his family. I then presented him with some Harvard University souvenirs. I also gave him works of his father's. After all of those years and experiencing diverse setbacks, I had finally got to meet Mr. Liang. Sitting face to face, with only a small table between us, we began our chats. In the two weeks that followed, I went to the Liang's home every morning to ask questions of Mr. Liang. I put in order the recordings of our dialogues, part of which later was included in Mr. Liang's published collected works.

In our talks, through Mr. Liang I came to understand more fully the trait of traditional Chinese intellectuals. This is most worthy of mentioning.

During the two weeks of intensive conversation, in the first few days Mr. Liang spoke to me a great deal about Buddhism, which perplexed me, and so I asked, "Didn't you abandon Buddhist thought a long time ago?" He answered that he didn't really abandon it. We talked about the title of my book *The Last Confucian*, which fixed him as a Confucian. He said that he could accept the title. Yet sometimes he would express to me that Marxist-Leninist science was very good. When we spoke about traditional Chinese culture, he also praised Daoism. Once, because he had organized the Democratic League, he met with George Marshall. He evaluated Marshall very highly, and thought that he was a good person because he was a pious Christian.

At the time, I didn't quite understand. How could a person be both a Buddhist and a Confucian, and also identify with Marxist-Leninist thought and approve of Christianity? Later I finally grasped it. This ability to blend mutually contradictory thought is a special characteristic of typical traditional Chinese intellectuals.

我即刻将拙著寄给他，不久便获得梁先生友善的回应，约定好次年一定到北京去拜访他。

1980年我到北京第一天，马上便去寻找梁先生，他告诉了我他是如何搬到22号楼来的。第二天早上，我到梁家正式拜见，梁先生所有的亲人都出现在那里，对于我的来访相当郑重其事。梁先生将我介绍给他的家人，我则送予他哈佛大学的纪念品以及一幅他父亲的遗作。经过种种

波折，在这多年之后，我终于得以与梁先生仅仅隔着一方小几，相对而坐，开始对谈。之后的两周，我天天一早便到梁家拜访，请教梁先生。我将对话的内容录音整理，后来收进梁先生的全集。回顾两人对谈因缘，真是感慨万千。

在我们的对谈中，我透过梁先生理解到中国传统知识分子的一种特质。这是最值得一提的部分。

在我们密集谈话的两周里，头两三天梁先生多与我说关于佛家的想法，让我很感疑惑，便问："您不是早在多年前便公开放弃佛家思想了吗？"他说他算放弃也算没放弃，谈到拙作的标题《最后的儒家》将他定位为一位儒者，他表示他可以接受。然而有时他也向我表示马列主义的科学很好；当谈到中国传统文化，他亦赞美道教。有次提到他因组织民盟而见到马歇尔，他对马歇尔的评价很高，认为他是个好人，因为他是一个虔诚的基督徒。

那时我相当不解，一个人如何可以既是佛家又是儒家？既认同马列思想又赞许基督教？后来终于想通了，这种可以融合多种相互矛盾的思想，正是典型的中国传统知识分子的特质。

Although, during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods, many schools of thought contended and debated with one another, the scholars of the time did not recognize themselves to be a specific school. For example, when we now discuss Mencius and Xunzi, we recognize them as Confucian, even though one said that human nature was good, and the other that human nature was evil. They were followers of Confucius, but at that time, even Confucius did not necessarily recognize himself to be "Confucian." The academic classifications we are used to today—Sima Qian (in "Preface to the Histories of Sima Qian") and his father Sima Tan (in "A Summary of the Six Schools")—actually first classified the various pre-Qin thinkers and invented the system that we use today.

I think that Chinese culture is actually an eclectic blend of many kinds of thought that seem to be incompatible, yet at the same time is a culture that likes to classify things. It's easily seen that actually most Chinese intellectuals amalgamated various kinds of thought into one eclectic body. For example, although the Cheng brothers (Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi), Zhu Xi, Lu Xiangshan and Wang Yangming are all Neo-Confucians who focus on the nature of the mind, there are differences among them. There are Buddhist elements in their thought. Although the late Qing Dynasty intellectuals such

as Liang Qichao and Zhang Taiyan were at the two opposite extremes politically and on the New Text/Old Text controversy, they both amalgamated Buddhism, Western thought and Confucianism into their individual thought.

So this perhaps explains why I, having been trained in modern academic standards and categories, thought that it was impossible for someone to be simultaneously a believer in Marxism-Leninism and Confucianism. As far as Mr. Liang was concerned, though, this was not in the least a problem. Looked at in this way, Mr. Liang was still quite a traditional Chinese intellectual.

In my opinion, the various pre-Qin philosophers were each on different paths, but they all assumed the same cosmology, that the universe was an organic whole, with each element in that whole interconnected. So, in such a cosmology, there are no absolute dichotomies and contradictions, only relative ones. This worldview was the underlying bedrock of the thought of all Chinese intellectuals, and so various different elements of thought could coexist in an individual's thought without the currents conflicting.

春秋战国百家争鸣时，虽有许多辩论，但百家学者并不认为自己是特定的一家，比方说现在我们讨论孟子与荀子，认为他们虽然一言性善，一言性恶，但都是儒家，是孔子的信徒，然而在当时，即便是孔子也未必认为自己是儒家。我们今日习以为常的学术分类，其实是司马迁在《太史公自序》中论及其父司马谈的《论六家要旨》，为诸子百家分门别派而发明出来的体系。

我认为中国文化本就是个融合许多看似不相容的思想于一体、却同时又喜欢分门别类的文化。只需留心便会发现，其实大部分的中国知识分子都是融合各类思想于一身。比方程朱陆王，同为新儒家，虽然讲义理心性，歧异很大，但他们的思想中都含有许多佛家的成分。晚清的知识分子，如梁启超、章太炎，固然在政治立场与今古文经学上分踞两极，但同样都将佛家、西方思想及儒家融入他们个人的学思中。

这解释了为什么对于受现代学术规范训练的我而言，一个人不可能同时是儒家，又是马列信徒；但对梁先生来说，这完全不是问题。从这点看来，梁先生仍是一个相当传统的中国知识分子。

依我浅见，先秦诸子虽然路线不同，但他们都共享一个宇宙观，认为宇宙是一体而有机的，天地间的每个成分跟其他的成分相互关联，所以在这样的宇宙观里，没有绝对的矛盾，只有相对的矛盾。这种宇宙观，经历数千年，仍深植在中国知识分子思想的底层，是以各种不同的

思想成分，可以共存在一个人的思想里，运行不悖。

The greater part of the content of our talks was Mr. Liang's responding to my questions about historical figures in the early twentieth century. Instead of asking him about his contacts and associations in the past, why didn't I just quietly listen to Mr. Liang expostulate his thinking? I study history, and naturally want to preserve much of the historical materials. As far as I know, Mr. Liang was the last person who had personally participated in those several decades of violent cultural change and who was still healthy and clear-headed, and who, moreover knew and had contact with so many important intellectuals. His memories were of great value, so I went well beyond my role of interviewer in guiding the conversation in hopes that these unique experiences of his could be recorded for posterity.

This special case of the biographer finally meeting the biographee only after publication of the biography is unprecedented in modern Chinese history. After having had these talks with Mr. Liang, I added a final chapter to *The Last Confucian* to supplement and revise the original, especially the section on his suffering during the Cultural Revolution. Because I had not been able to contact him before the book was finished, and because there was no other relevant documentation available, I did not know the details, and so couldn't include them in the book. Only after we talked did I know the real situation and added it in this last chapter. On the whole, I did not revise the structure or content of the book after meeting Mr. Liang. After our talks I discovered Mr. Liang's "unity of inner feelings and outer action." His writings had honestly reflected his impressions. He never disguised his true feelings and thoughts in order to be in tune with the times or the situation, so the Mr. Liang that I had seen through his writings and the real-life Mr. Liang with whom I talked were identical. So although I was fated not to meet him before the book was completed, I was still able, through his writings, to know Mr. Liang's real personality and ways of thinking.

Speaking as an historian, I think that a hundred years from now, Mr. Liang will still occupy an important position in history, not only because of the uniqueness of his thought, but because of his truthful character—his unvaring consistency between thought and deed. Compared to many other 20th century Confucians, he is closest to the traditional in that he put his ideas into actual practice in real life, rather than just talk about Confucianism within the academy. Mr. Liang's life embodied the ideals of Confucianism

and of Chinese culture. In this respect, he will always have a singular position in history.

Guy S. Alitto

梁先生与我谈话的内容，有一大部分是我向他请教20世纪初的人事。为何我不静静听梁先生抒发他的想法，而要询问他许多过去的交往呢？我是历史研究者，自然会希望多多保存历史资料，而梁先生是我所知最后一个健在且头脑清明的人，曾经亲身经历、参与过这几十年中国文化剧变，并且和许多重要知识分子相知相交过。他的回忆是宝贵的，所以我才僭越地主导谈话，希望可以将这些独一无二的经验记录下来。

像我这样，等到传记完成出书之后，作者才终于见到传主，在中国近代史学界可能是前所未有的特例。与梁先生谈话之后，我在《最后的儒家》一书最后加上一章，增补修订了原书的一些未竟之处，特别是他在“文革”期间受苦一节，由于我未能在书成前与他见面，也没有相关记录流通，所以不知悉细节，也无法载入书中，后来与他谈话后才知道实情，补充在这最后一章里。大体来说，我并没有在亲见梁先生之后，修改拙作的结构与内容。与他谈话之后，我发现梁先生表里如一，他的文章诚实地反映出他的观感，未曾因为要顺应时局而掩饰真心，所以我透过文字所见到的梁先生，与我后来实际上对谈的梁先生是一致的。是以我虽无缘在书成前见到他，但透过他的文章，我仍然深刻地认识到梁先生的真实的性格与想法。

从一个历史研究者的角度看来，我认为就算再过100年，梁先生仍会在历史上占有重要的地位，不单单是因为他独特的思想，也因为他表里如一的人格。与许多20世纪的儒家信徒相比较起来，他更逼近传统的儒者——确实地在生活中实践他的思想，而非仅仅在学院中高谈。梁先生以自己的生命去体现对儒家和中国文化的理想，就这点而言，他永远都是独一无二的。

艾 恺

I'm not a scholar; I'm a thinker.

I am completely unqualified to be a man of learning.

I do admit that I'm someone who has his own ideas, who acts according to his own ideas and puts them into practice.

I am someone of independent thought.

I have consistency between my thoughts and my actions.

第一章 我不是学问家，而是一个思想家

我完全不够一个学问家。
我承认自己是一个有思想的人，
并且是本着自己思想而去实行、实践的人，
独立思考，表里如一。

Confucianism and Buddhism are my basis.

Liang: I mean, in talking with you, I hope that you will understand the sources of my thought. The basis of my thought is Confucianism and Buddhism. This is the most important thing. That is more important than understanding my past. I hope you can know more about Confucianism and Buddhism. I want to tell you all about my Confucianism and Buddhism. I mean, I will put the emphasis in our conversations on this, rather than on my personal affairs or my opinions. Because Confucianism and Buddhism are my basis, if you can understand the basis, that would be best of all, the most important thing. Not only do I hope this for you but also I hope that Europeans and Americans can better understand these two schools of thought: Confucianism and Buddhism.

Alitto: Mr. Liang, has your interest in Buddhism and Buddhist studies been rekindled, or increased, as you have grown older? At the time of the May Fourth Movement, you publicly abandoned Buddhism and converted to Confucianism.

Liang: That is not relevant. You may say I abandoned Buddhism, but I really didn't abandon it. Originally I did want to leave the secular world and become a monk. What I abandoned was my plan for leaving the secular world and becoming a monk. But in my thought, on the philosophical level, I did not abandon Buddhism.

Alitto: Oh, I now understand a bit better. Actually, I also wrote about the same thing in the book [*The Last Confucian: Liang Shu-ming and the Chinese Dilemma of Modernity, called The Last Confucian for short* hereafter], that is, you hadn't completely abandoned Buddhism, but you felt that the problems of the time didn't need Buddhism as much as Confucianism. So because of this, you began to study Confucianism.

Liang: Let me explain myself. When I was young, around sixteen or seventeen, I wanted to become a monk. I didn't give up this ambition until I reached the age of twenty-nine. If I wanted to become a monk, I could not get married. But a person is not only composed of a brain. He is more than just thought. He cannot leave his corporal body. If I had really followed my

ambition early on and had gone to a monastery, there probably would have been no problem, and [my life] would probably have been most congenial, and I would have lived out my life quietly.

壹 我的思想的根本就是儒家跟佛家

梁：我的意思啊，我们彼此谈话，我还是希望你了解我的思想的根本，我的思想的根本就是儒家跟佛家。我的意思就是，如果能够对我的根本的思想——就是对佛家跟儒家多了解，比什么都好，比了解我的过去的一些事情都重要。我希望于你的，就是多了解儒家，多了解佛家，我愿意把我所懂得的儒家跟佛家说给你听。我的意思是把我们的谈话重点放在这个地方，而不是重在我个人的事情。因为佛家的跟儒家的是我的根本，所以如果了解这个根本，是最好，最要紧。不但是我期望于你，并且我是期望欧美人能够多了解这两家，一个儒家，一个佛家。

艾：梁先生，您现在年纪很大了，就是说，对佛教、佛学的兴趣有没有好像恢复了或者增加了？就是说，这个五四时代，您就好像是放弃了佛学而转入儒学。

梁：那个都不大相干，说放弃，也没有放弃，不过是，原来想出家做和尚，把这个“出家做和尚”放弃了，在思想上还是那样。

艾：啊，现在明白一点。其实我书里也是这么写的（指《最后的儒家——梁漱溟与中国现代化的两难》，以下简称为《最后的儒家》），就是说您不是完全放弃，不过觉得目前的问题不太需要佛学，比较需要儒学。因为这个关系，您就开始研究儒家。

梁：我说明我自己啊，我是年纪很小，比如说十六七岁就想出家为僧。那么这个志愿到了29岁才放弃这个念头，不出家了。出家当和尚不能娶妻子，可是一个人呢，他不单是一个有头脑、有思想的，他还脱离不开身体。假定啊，如果真是从自己的当初的那个志愿，很早就出家到庙里去了，大概也没有什么问题，也可能很相安，可能没有什么问题。

But before I could leave the secular world and enter a monastery, I was drawn into Peking University to teach philosophy by Mr. Cai Yuanpei. Because of this, my life underwent a change. What change was this? I didn't go off to a monastery, but instead I scurried off into the world of learning and the company of intellectuals. It is difficult to avoid having a spirit of competition. This desire to excel over others arises from the corporeal. If I had been as I first wanted, very early leaving secular life for a monastery, that could have been peaceful and stable, walking a calm path. But when I got to

the university and into the company of a lot of intellectuals, debates developed easily, and created a desire to excel over others. This desire to excel over others arises from the corporeal. The problem of sex easily arises from the corporeal. A monk does not need to get married; he is able to live in a monastery and can completely forget [sex], and can completely want no part of taking a wife. But when I got to the university, and was together with intellectuals, often I had this desire to excel over others. This was a corporeal problem. Once it arose, I also wanted to marry.

不过没有很早地出家，就被蔡元培先生拉去，在北京大学要我讲哲学。走上这样一步，就起了变化。走上这一步就是什么样子呢？就是不是去到庙里当和尚，而跑到知识界，跟知识分子在一起。同知识分子在一起，他难免就有知识分子对知识分子这种好胜，就是彼此较量，这个好胜的心是从身体来的。如果是像当初想的，很早出家到庙里去，那个可以也很相安，很平稳，走一种很冷静的路子吧。可是一到大学里头，同许多知识分子在一起，彼此容易有辩论，就引起了好胜之心。这个好胜之心是身体的，是身体的他就容易有那个两性的问题。和尚是不要娶妻的，他在庙里头能够住下去，可以完全忘掉，可以完全不想娶妻。可（我）到了大学，同知识分子在一起，常常有这种好胜之心，这个是身体问题，身体问题来了，这个时候也就想结婚了。

Buddhism

The Buddhist attitude toward life

Liang: A person is not just of this one life. A person's real substance is transmitted from the distant past down through time. He has a very long and distant past. So his so-called "fate" is none other than his past and his background. A man's life and destiny is decided by his past.

Alitto: Is this related to Buddhism?

Liang: Yes. Buddhism is… "Life, divided into endless instants, is at best similar and continuous; the meaning of life is neither interrupted nor persistent." It is linked, part of a continuous process. The me of today is like the me of the past, but isn't identical. Strictly speaking, the me of a previous period and the me of the present are different entities. So a person, from the time he is a small child growing up to old age—like me, I'm over 80 years old—is changing every instant, different every instant. As for this difference, simply speaking, in one aspect, the body is different; the brain is different; the influence from outside has long been different. So all is different, but within the differences is some similarity. So we call it "similar and continuous." In the phrase "neither interrupted nor persistent," "nor persistent" means "not perpetual as before," or you could say "not permanent." So "neither interrupted nor persistent" does not mean permanent, but it is still uninterrupted. This is to say that the present me is not the me of just now, they are not the same thing, but there is no interruption either—it still continues on. That life is "similar and continuous" not only means that there is similarity and continuity between the me of one year old and the me of two years old, and the me of three years old; it also means that after death this similarity and continuity is not broken. This is the Buddhist attitude toward life.

There are three realms (*trailokya*) talked about in the Buddhist scriptures. This is the Buddhist attitude toward life. The first is called "the realm of sensuous desire" (*kāmadhātu*)—the primal wants for food, drink and sex. This is all desire. The second is called "the realm of form" (*rūpadhātu*).

The third realm is called "the formless realm of pure spirit" (*arūpadhātu*). The Buddhist scriptures have it this way, but it seems that this is not a theory created by the Buddhist scriptures. Rather, it seems that this is a common belief in India; it is commonly held that there are these three realms. The primal desires exist only in the realm of sensuous desire. It does not exist in the realm of form. In the realm of form there is still gender difference, but no food or drink, no intercourse between male and female. In the formless realm of pure spirit, there is nothing at all. The Buddhist scriptures contain such a theory.

贰 佛家

佛家对生命的一个看法

梁：人不是就是这一生，人是从很远的流传下来的，他的过去很长、很远。所谓定力，不是别的，就是他的过去、他的背景，他总是要受过去的背景的决定。

艾：那这是跟佛教有关系的观念啊？

梁：对。佛教它叫做“相似相续，非断非常”。“相似相续”——它是连续的，相似就是了，今天的我和昨天的我很相似，已经不同了，只是相似。严格地讲，前一个时间的我跟现在时间的我已经不同了，一个人从一个小孩长大，像我八十多岁，时时刻刻在变化，时时刻刻在不同。这个不同一方面简单地讲，他自己身体就不同了嘛，头脑不同了，外面给他的影响也早已不同了，所以都是在不同之中，但不同之中也有一定的相似，所以叫“相似相续”。“非断非常”——“非常”，就是不是常恒如故，中国人本来是“常”跟“恒”连着的，也可以说“恒常”，也可以说“常恒”。“非断非常”，不是常恒的，可又不断，“非常”就是现在的我跟刚才的我不是一回事了，可是也没有断，仍然还是相续的。“相似相续”不单是说我一岁的时候跟我两岁的时候还是相似相续、三岁的时候相似相续，不单是如此，是说死后也没有完。这个是佛家的对生命的一个看法。

佛典里头有三界——“界”就是“世界”的“界”——第一个叫欲界，欲就是有欲望，想要饮食男女，这个都是欲望；第二个是色界——“颜色”的“色”；第三个是无色界。佛典里这样说，好像不是佛典创立的说法，而是印度好像普遍有这个信仰，普遍地说有这个三界。饮食男女，在欲界才有，到了色界没有了，色界还有男女，没有饮食，没有男女的相交，到了无色界那就是什么都没有。佛典里头有这个说法。

Hinayana is leaving the secular world.

Liang: We were just talking about my desire, when I was young, to become a monk, so I can be considered a Buddhist in certain respects. But a Buddhist must be viewed from two aspects and, you could say, must be

discussed in two parts. Primitive Buddhism, which we can call Hinayana, emphasized leaving the secular world. What does "leaving the secular world" mean? "To leave the secular world" means to leave "Production and Annihilation" (or Birth and Death; *utpàdanirodha*). What do we mean by the "world" (the finite, impermanent world)? That is, the endless cycle of birth and death. In Buddhist terminology this is called the "Wheel of Transmigration" (*samsara*), meaning that this life is all similar and continuous.

The Hinayana school laid down three conditions. The first condition is all phenomena (*sarva dharma*) are impermanent (*anitya*). That is, there are no permanent, constant things. Everything is in constant flux. The second point is that all dharmas are non-self; they have no ego. All phenomena and all dharmas are different. The first point is—"Whatever is phenomenal is impermanent." All are flowing, in flux. That is, the cycle of life is like flowing water, in continuous flux. So, they say, "Whatever is phenomenal is impermanent." The second is that no dharma has an ego. There are two kinds of dharma. One is effective or phenomenal dharma (*Samskrta Dharma*). The other is dharma not subject to causation, condition or dependence (*Asamskrta Dharma*). The first is the dharma of birth and death (*utpàdanirodha*). The second is the eternal, supramundane dharma, "immortal—neither dying nor being reborn" (*anirodhānupāda*). Some people ask, "Can the finite impermanent world have something permanent and eternal in it?" The Buddhist answer is that if there are the birth/death cycle there would be something that neither is born nor dies. Birth-Death and No-Birth No-Death are a single thing, not two separate entities. That is to say, the dharma of birth and death and the dharma of the eternal are reducible to each other.

小乘佛教主要是出世

梁：……我刚才提到过了，从小的时候就想出家当和尚，所以我可以说是一个佛教徒。佛教徒得从两面看，也可以说从两层上来看。佛教，原始佛教普通管它叫小乘教，小乘教主要是出世。什么叫做出世呢？出世就是要出生灭，（出）世间。怎么样叫世间呢？就是生生灭灭，生灭不已。那么在佛家，它就说是轮回。轮回，它是说生命是“相似相续”。

这个小乘自己规定下来三个条件，一个条件就是“诸行无

常”——“常恒”的“常”——没有常恒的东西，都是在变化流行中，这是头一个。第二点是“诸法无我”。头一句话是“诸行无常”，第二句话是“诸法无我”。“诸法”跟“诸行”不一样了，头一句是“诸行”，第二句换作“诸法”。因为“诸行”是流行，就是说生灭，生灭不已。生灭不已好像是水流一样，流行变化。第一点是讲流行变化，所以叫“诸行无常”。第二句话是“诸法无我”。“诸法无我”说有两种法，所以加一个“诸”，“诸法”不是一种法。“诸法”是哪两种呢？一种叫做“有为法”，一种叫做“无为法”。“有为法”就是生灭法，“无为法”就是不生不灭。那么有人问：这个世间还有不生不灭的吗？佛家回答：有生灭，就有不生不灭。生灭、不生不灭是一回事，不是两回事。这是说“有为法”和“无为法”是一而二、二而一。

The first condition is all phenomena (*sarva dharma*) are impermanent (*anitya*). The second point is that all dharmas are non-self. No matter which of the two is concerned, there is no ego. Man is one of "all living beings" (*sattva*). From the lowest organism—the most primitive amoeba—to man, all develop from having "egos." All must eat. All must take from the environment. All organisms, from the most primitive right up to man (as the highest), all share something. What is it? They all seek satisfaction from the external, from the environment. In the Buddhist view, this is a mistake, a loss of their basic nature. What is the basic nature? That is "satisfied and content with their own nature, with no dissatisfactions." This is Buddha. Don't regard Buddha as a god or a ruler. It's not like that. So what is Buddha? Buddha is the thing-in-itself of the universe. The nomenon of the universe can be said to have all inside. All things are inside. The phenomena are all inclusive. Since everything is inside, it has nothing. Nothingness. According to Buddhist doctrines, there are two aspects. One is embracing all phenomena in the cosmos; but all the same it is ultimate nothingness. These are two aspects of the same thing. The Buddha is to leave the world. The mundane world is an endless cycle of birth and death, and this, together with the eternal, perpetual aspect of the world, although seemingly two entities, in reality is the same thing. Didn't I just mention the Hinayana Primitive Buddhist doctrine, the doctrine that "all phenomena are impermanent" and that "nothing has an ego"? The third doctrine is Nirvana—calm and quiet, free from temptation and distress. This is Hinayana. The three Hinayana principles are the only complete Buddhadharma (the law preached by the Buddha).

Mahayana—why I am both a Buddhist and a Confucian

Liang: The Mahayana school, building on the foundation of the Hinayana, had a great reversal, a major revision. The Hinayana is the Way of the Arhat (the perfect man of Hinayana). The Mahayana is the Way of Bodhisattva. The Mahayana does not escape from the mundane world. The Mahayana doctrine are these two principles: "non-abandonment of sentient beings" and "non-residence in Nirvana." What does this call for? The doctrine is that the Buddha will return to the mundane world. The Hinayana wants to avoid the trouble of endless cycle of birth and death. The Mahayana has already transcended the endless cycle of birth and death, and so could enter the eternal realm. But that seems, to quote a Confucian saying, "to attend to one's own virtue in solitude—to protect oneself, but alone." The Bodhisattva and the Arhat are different. The Arhat solves the problem for himself, and strives for purity and salvation for himself. The Bodhisattva does not abandon the rest of living things. The Bodhisattva wants to return to the mundane world and already has the possibility of not being born nor dying. But the Bodhisattva still wants to return to the world. Why? Because of non-abandonment of living things... That is to say, the Hinayana rule is to go beyond this world; the Mahayana, given a choice, still returns to this world. This is the Mahayana Way.

第一条是“诸行无常”，第二条是“诸法无我”。无论“有为法”或者“无为法”，都没有“我”。众生——人也是众生，从那个最低等的生物——原始生物阿米巴，都是从有“我”来的，它都要吃东西，都要向外取。一切生物，从原始生物起一直到人——人是最高的啦，都有一个相同的一点，哪一点相同呢？就是向外取足——足是满足，向外边来满足自己。向外取足，都是错误，在佛家看都是错误，都是丧失了本性。本性是什么呢？本性是自性圆满，无所不足。这个自性圆满，无所不足，就是“佛”。这个“佛”，不要把它看作是一种什么神啊，或者是什么上帝啊、主宰啊，不是那回事。“佛”是什么呢？“佛”是宇宙本体，这个宇宙本体也可以说是什么都在内了，万事万物都在内了，五颜六色很复杂的都在内，可是都在内了，它也就是什么都没有了。按佛家的道理说，就是这两面，一面是森罗万象，一面是空无所有，这个两面是一回事。“佛”就是出世，世间就是生灭，所以出世间，就是不生不灭，而生灭跟不生不灭好像是两面，好像是两个东西，不是，是一回事。原始佛教第一是“诸行无常”，第二是“诸法无我”，第三呢，它叫“涅槃寂静”。这个是小乘，小乘具备这三点，才是佛法，缺一样不是佛法。

大乘佛教——我为什么既是一个佛教徒，又是一个儒教徒

梁：大乘佛法、大乘佛教是在小乘的基础上，基础就是刚才说的那三句话，在小乘的基础上来一个大翻案。小乘是罗汉道，大乘是菩萨道。大乘道是在小乘道的基础上来个大翻案，就是它不出世，它的话是这么两句话，叫做“不舍众生，不住涅槃”。“不舍众生，不住涅槃”，它要怎样呢？它要回到世间来，它不舍开众生。小乘好像是躲避开生死的麻烦，大乘呢，它也已经超出生死了，可以到了不生不灭。但是呢，引用一句儒家的话——“独善其身”，菩萨跟罗汉不同，罗汉好像自己解决了问题，求得清静，菩萨是不舍众生，他要回到世间来。他已经具备了不生不死的那个可能了，但是，他还要回到世间来，为什么？因为他不舍众生。……这个就是说，小乘以出世为规矩，大乘则出而不出，不出而出，仍回到世间来，大乘是这个样子。

So, in my own case, I admit to being a follower of Buddhism; I would not deny being a follower of Confucius either. Why? Why don't I deny it? Because this Way of the Mahayana Bodhisattva—I want to follow the Way of the Bodhisattva—is "not to abandon sentient beings" and "not to reside in Nirvana." So I want to go into the world. Because of this, all through my life, for example, everyone knows that I worked in rural reconstruction, or rural movement, and that I worked in politics as a mediator between the two parties (that is, national affairs), especially when Japan invaded China, so would this be considered "leaving the mundane world" or not? This [activity] does not in the slightest go against "leaving the mundane world." Because this is what? It is the Way of the Bodhisattva.[1] This is not Hinayana. Hinayana wants to go into the mountains, to some monastery and not emerge. Mahayana is "non-abandonment of sentient beings" and "non-residence in Nirvana." You can say that I am a Confucian, a follower of Confucius, and you can say that I am a follower of Siddhartha, because there is no conflict or contradiction [between the two].

Alitto: No conflict between the two. This is a relatively new way of putting it. For example, during the Tang Dynasty, or before then when Buddhism had just reached China, there was conflict between the two. So you are saying…

Liang: Insufficient understanding. The enlightened person has no

problem. So, it seems that the Song Confucians had rejected Buddhism and Daoism. I think that it was a question of insufficient understanding. For the wise, enlightened person, there is no obstruction to understand; he sees everything clearly. If there is obstruction, it is that you create an obstruction for yourself. But as a matter of fact, it is not necessary. The enlightened person transcends this. Quite a few of the Song Dynasty Confucians like Master Zhu (Zhu Xi) rejected Buddhism and Daoism.

那么就说到我自己，我自己承认我是个佛教徒，如果说我是一个儒教徒我也不否认。为什么呢？为什么也不否认呢？就是因为这个大乘菩萨。我是要行菩萨道，行菩萨道嘛，就“不舍众生，不住涅槃”，所以我就是要到世间来。因此我的一生，譬如大家都知道我搞乡村建设、乡村运动，我在政治上也奔走，奔走于两大党之间，就是为国家的事情，特别是在日本人侵略中国的时候，所以这个算是出世不算是出世呢？这个与出世一点不违背，因为这是什么呢，这是菩萨道，这不是小乘佛法，小乘佛法就要到山里头去了，到庙里头去了，不出来了，大乘佛法就是“不舍众生，不住涅槃”。说我是儒家、是孔子之徒也可以，说我是释迦之徒也可以，因为这个没有冲突，没有相反。

艾：没有冲突，这个说法是比较新的。比如唐朝的时候，唐朝以前佛教刚到中国的时候，是有冲突啊，那您说……

梁：不够通达，高明的人通达无碍。所以像是宋儒吧，就有点排佛，排斥道家，在我看就是不够通达。通达的人呢，无碍，没有滞碍，什么事情都看得很通。有碍，是你自己在那里给自己设了妨碍，原来是可以不必的，高明人他就超出来了。宋儒像朱子他们，朱熹他们，有不少儒者都排佛呀，排道家呀。

Discipline, meditation, wisdom & the stories of "Stick" and "Shout" in Chan School

Alitto: Yesterday you said that you were a Buddhist all along.[2]

Liang: Because very early when I was quite young, a teenager, I wanted to become a monk.

Alitto: Thereupon to the present you have preserved your original…

Liang: It's still that way, but now I don't have to become a monk. In fact, I still want to. If I would be allowed to go live in a mountain monastery, I would be quite happy.

Alitto: Yes. Do you still meditate or do Buddhist cultivation…?

Liang: The basic way involves three words (Liang writes out the words for Alitto to see): discipline (*sila*), meditation (*dhyāna*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). These are disciplines that must be maintained. There are many rules of discipline. For example, one cannot marry. If you have already married, you must leave home and become a monk. Killing is forbidden, eating meat is forbidden, and so on. There are many prohibitions. Only after observing these prohibitions can you achieve meditation (referring to the trance state that we just mentioned). So only after you have observed the prohibitions can you achieve Samadhi. Only through this can you achieve wisdom. Buddhism does not hold what we commonly regard as intelligence and wisdom to be "wisdom." Buddhism regards that kind of intelligence as merely a kind cleverness and perceptiveness, not genuine wisdom, not the Great Wisdom. Great Wisdom comes only through Samadhi, and through it one has a breakthrough in consciousness.

Of course, everyone knows that in the past there were thirteen different schools of Buddhism in China; an important and well-developed one was Chan.[3] In Chan Buddhism there is a saying that expresses its special feature or characteristic. What was the Chan school's special feature? It's "not relying upon language for explanation." So, language and writing are not needed; it is not based upon language and writing. The Chan school was quite well-developed. There was a book called *Jingde Records of the Transmission of the Lamp*. Later there were many more *Sequels to Records of the Transmission of the Lamp*. Altogether there were five books combined to constitute the *Five Lamps Combined*. All tell Chan school stories. Laymen can't understand these stories.

“戒、定、慧”与禅宗故事中的“棒喝”

艾：您昨天说，您一直都是佛教徒。

梁：因为我很早、很年青的时候，十几岁的时候，就想出家。

艾：于是到现在您还是保存原来的……

梁：还是那样，不过现在是不必出家了。其实还是想出家，假如说是让我去住到一个山上庙里头去，那我很高兴。

艾：是。那梁先生还打坐啊，修佛的……

梁：本来按佛家它有三个字，叫做“戒、定、慧”，这三个字——“戒、定、慧”，就是一定要守戒律。戒律有好几条，比如说是不能娶妻，如果娶了妻之后也要离开家，出家为僧嘛。还有不杀生、不吃肉等等。戒有好几条，从“戒”才能生“定”，“定”就是刚才说的入定。一定要守戒才能够入定。由“定”才能够生“慧”，“慧”是智慧。普通我们的这种聪明智慧，在佛家不认为是智慧，这个算是一种智巧，不是真正的智慧，不是大智。大智一定要从“定”才有，从“定”才能够破悟。

当然在佛家，大家都知道，在中国过去曾经有十三宗，宗派有十三宗，很重要的、很发达的是禅宗。禅宗有那个话，讲出禅宗的特色、特点。禅宗的特点是什么呢？叫做“不立语言文字”——立是“建立”的“立”——不立语言文字，言语、文字都不要，不建立在语言文字上。禅宗在中国很发达，有一个书叫做《景德传灯录》，后来比这个《景德传灯录》还多，《续传灯录》，一共陆续出有五本，合起来叫《五灯会元》，都是讲禅宗的故事。在那里头的故事，外行人不懂。

For example, a famous successful Chan master is called "Most Virtuous" (*Bhadanta*). So one Chan Buddhist went to see the "Most Virtuous." As soon as he saw him, the Most Virtuous struck him with a stick, and he understood. The man understood. Other people don't understand this matter. This is a Chan story. This is called the "Stick." There is another called the "Shout." A pilgrim went to the Chan Most Virtuous for instruction. He didn't say a word, but gave a great shout. The pilgrim also understood. These kinds of stories are in the Records of the Transmission of the Lamp…. The Chan school does not rely upon language or writing, and two sides can influence each other. An old successful monk who has achieved enlightenment can have influence on a newly arrived person, and make him able to achieve enlightenment, but he does not use language. An enlightenment of language is still on the conscious level. Only [an enlightenment] that is life-changing in a fundamental way can be considered true enlightenment.

The supreme liberation is becoming Buddha.

Liang: The learning of the ancient India was not really something you could talk about, or something the brain could comprehend, or something that resides in consciousness. The basic nature of their learning was to fundamentally transform one's life. It is not a kind of idle talk for the mouth

and brain. They have something called "yoga," in Chinese called *yujia*. Each school's yoga, although on the surface similar, is different. What is the similarity? It is to achieve liberation or release from the life of this mundane world. It causes one to undergo a basic transformation so that one is no longer an ordinary person. This is called *zhengguo*—the fruits or rewards of each stage of attainment. Each school has its own *zhengguo*. Each is similar in form, but different in actual content.

So, as for my own view, as a Buddhist, I would say that Buddhism, in terms of the fruits or attainments, has never gone astray, and has always reached the supreme liberation. What is the supreme liberation? Becoming Buddha. So, Buddhist books and sutras are different from the writings in which we ordinarily record our thoughts, our consciousness. They have hard content, practical things, i.e., transformation of one's life. A human is no longer human. There are various stages, the highest being transformation into Buddha, Buddhahood. From the bottom to the top there are ten stages. Each of the ten stages is called a *di*.[4] So, of Buddhist scriptures and sutras, there is one very famous and very important: the *Yogācārabhūmi*, a work of more than 100 volumes. The message is, to reach Buddhahood, you must practice yoga. Someone who practices yoga is called a *yujiashi*. Each stage, one after another, advances upward. The eighth stage is a Bodhisattva. The tenth stage is Buddhahood.

比如有名的、禅宗很成功的人，叫禅宗大德——“道德”的“德”，另外一个禅宗的，去见那个禅宗的大德，他一来见这个大德，大德就打他一棒，他就明白了，那个来的人就明白了，旁人看不懂怎么回事，这是禅宗的故事，这个叫“棒”。还有“喝”，就是来一个人见这个大德求法，他什么话也不说，大喝一声，那个人也就明白了，如此之类，都是在那个《传灯录》上传说的故事。……禅宗是不立语言文字，彼此可以互相影响。一个老和尚，已经成功的，已经悟道的，他对一个新来的人，可以对他有一种影响，让他也能够开悟，但是他不用语言开悟。语言的开悟，它还在意识之中，而真的开悟，是让你生命起变化，你的生命根本起变化，这才算。

最高的解放就是成佛

梁：古印度人的学问，不是在口头或是头脑、在人的意识上，不是这样。它的学问的根本，就是要人的生命根本起变化。它不是一种在头

脑、口头的一种空谈。这个他们叫做yoga，中文翻作“瑜伽”。印度各宗派有各宗派的“瑜伽”，相似而不同。不同，可是还是有同的地方，因为相似嘛。就是什么呢？就是他们所说的，要从世俗的生命里头得到解放、解脱，让人根本起变化，不再是一个普通的人，这个他们叫做“证果”——证是证了，果是结果。所以印度各宗都有各宗的证果，很相似而不同。

比如照我说吧，我站在佛家的立场，我认为佛家在证果上，是没有走入偏差，是一直达到最高的解放。最高的解放是什么呢？就是成佛。所以佛家的书、佛典，跟普通我们由自己的思想意识写出来，不一样，它有很实在的东西，实在的东西就是实在的生命变化。那个人不再是人了，那个人已经最高，就是成佛了。这个从低层到最高层，它分为10层，这个一层它叫一地——就是“土地”的“地”，十地就是10个阶层。佛经有“论”——“议论”的“论”，有一部很著名的、很要紧的书，就叫做《瑜伽师地论》，这个书有100卷之多，它就是讲要成佛，要做这个功夫，做瑜伽的功夫。做瑜伽的人，就称瑜伽师，瑜伽师从低到高，一层一层的，地位不同，所以叫《瑜伽师地论》，总共十地。到了八地——一共十地——就算是菩萨，八地菩萨，十地也就是成了佛。

Yesterday we talked about the three things: discipline (*sila*), meditation (*dhyāna*), wisdom (*prajñā*). You must first observe the disciplines, for only then is it possible to enter into meditation. Only by doing this can you achieve wisdom. These are only three things. Usually they say there are six *pāramitās* [almsgiving, patience, zealous progress, discipline, meditation, wisdom]. That is, aside from discipline, meditation and wisdom, there are three others. One is *dāna* (almsgiving), which means you can give everything away, not retaining anything. One is called *vīrya* (zealous progress). The sixth is *prajñā* (wisdom, *banruo*). [Mr. Liang was speaking of the six pāramitās, and left out "patience" (*kṣānti*) in the listing: almsgiving, patience, zealous progress, discipline, meditation and wisdom; he repeated wisdom (*hui*), that is, *banruo*.] One must practice the six pāramitās. Afterwards, your life is transformed. So, the important essential significance of all of this is transformation, or elevation of one's life. Complete transformation is, level by level, attained at the eighth stage,[5] which is the eighth stage of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, and at the eighth stage one can become a Bodhisattva. Attaining the tenth stage, one can become Buddha.[6]

What I've been talking about above can be summarized into this: the important thing in Buddhism is to transform one's own life, or elevate one's

own life. These are not empty theories.[7]

昨天不是说过一下，那个“戒、定、慧”。一定要持戒、守戒，然后才能够入定，由定才能够生慧，这个是三样。通常是说六波罗密，六波罗密就是在这个三样之外，又有三样。这个又有三样里头，有一样叫布施，布施就是什么都可以给人，就是无保留。布施是一样，还有一样叫做精进，第六是般若，这个合起来就是六波罗密　（梁先生在这里讲六波罗密，将布施、忍辱、精进、戒、定、慧中的“忍辱”遗漏，而将慧，即“般若”，讲重复了）　。一定要修六波罗密，然后你的生命才能起变化，以至于达到一种根本变化。根本变化到了第八层——它一层一层，就是《瑜伽师地论》的八地——可以成菩萨了，十地就成佛了。

以上的话，归结起来就是这样一个意思，就是说佛家要紧的是在自己的生命起变化，或者叫生命的提高吧，不是空理论。

Confucian

Confucius' knowledge is a knowledge of life and existence.

Alitto: Will you say a few words about what you have learned and what you have never learned in your life?

Liang: All learning is not simply a copying from others. Learning is a very creative activity, all in one's own subjective area. But, there are others who are different. Some create little, and learn much from others. China has a proverb: "To draw the gourd exactly according to its appearance." Some people just learn by copying, with little creativeness. I am the opposite. I have always studied and learned with creativeness. Although all creation involves learning, it is still different. Some people create a lot while learning. I myself am like that. I take some material from the outside, but when in my hands, I apply it in creating. I am a person of great creative nature.

Take Chinese traditional learning and culture as an example. My foundations are very weak. I already mentioned that I never learned the classics well. But the quintessence of the classics has helped me very much. I can still appreciate and comprehend it. For example, the greatest Chinese scholar, Confucius. I feel that I really understand Confucius, better than Zhu Xi in the Song Dynasty did.

I often say this to people as an example. Confucius says of himself, "At fifteen, I set my heart upon learning; at thirty, I established myself; at forty, I no longer had doubts; at fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven; at sixty, I heard truth with docile ear; at seventy, I could follow the dictates of my own heart, without overstepping the boundaries of right." Zhu Xi explains every stage. One word difficult to explain is the "ershun" (docile ear). Zhu Xi explains this as meaning "As soon as the words of the sage enter the ear, the mind/heart understands." I don't agree with this, I think that the meaning for each one of these stages is difficult to understand, and that the meanings should not be guessed at wildly. "At fifteen, I set my heart upon learning" seems easier to understand. "At thirty, I established myself." What does "establish" mean? "At forty, I no longer had doubts." Doubts? Doubts about

what? "At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven." What are the "decrees of Heaven"? What does "docile ear" mean?

叁 儒家

孔子的学问是生命、生活之学

艾：请您谈一谈，在您的一生之中，您所学到的是什么和从未学到的又是什么？

梁：一切的学习，实际上不单是一种因袭，不单是向人家学。一切的学习都有创造，都有自己的一面，不完全是学人家。不过也不相同，有的人就是自己创造少，学得多。有一句中国俗话叫“依样画葫芦”——按着样子画葫芦，有不少是这样的人。不过就我自己说，我不是这样的人，我是创造性多过学习。虽然一切的创造里头都有学习，不过是一个比较的不同，有的人是学旁人的东西，但是在学的里边创造很多。我自己呢也就是这样的，好像我从外边所得的都是一些个资料，资料到我手里头，我把它运用、创造。我是一个比较创造性大的人。

就中国的学问说吧，中国的学问、中国的文化，论底子我是很差的。我已经说过了，我没念古书，可是中国的古书里头好的、精髓的，帮助我很多，我还是能够领会。比如像中国最大的学问家——孔子，我觉得我对孔子的了解、懂得，比那个宋朝的朱子——朱熹懂的要多一些。

我常常给人家这样讲，我举一个例，孔子不是自己说自己：“吾十有五而志于学，三十而立，四十而不惑，五十而知天命，六十而耳顺，七十而从心所欲，不逾矩。”在朱子就每个阶段他都讲了，比如那个很不好讲的，就是“耳顺”——一个“耳”，一个“顺”——什么叫“耳顺”呢？他就讲了，他用了一句话：“声入心通”——声音进去了，心通了。我不赞成。我认为，不但是“耳顺”我们不好懂，实际上每一个阶段我们都不好懂，不要乱猜，不要猜想。“十有五而志于学”，好像还好懂一点。“三十而立”，那个“立”是立什么呢？“四十不惑”，“不惑”又是对什么不惑？“五十而知天命”，那么什么叫天命呢？“耳顺”，什么叫耳顺？

I think that when Confucius was forty he didn't know what kind of progress—what stage—he would have reached at fifty. He hadn't achieved it yet. So if even he didn't know, how would we be able to know? When you don't know, don't say, don't talk. So I don't agree with people like Zhu Xi. He

had to express an opinion. I don't agree with this explanation. We don't dare explain randomly or guess wildly. If you don't know, then say you don't know. We should admit what we don't know. So, on the one hand, we should admit that we don't know. On the other hand, what we do know is what it isn't. That is, we can eliminate possibilities. We know that Confucius wasn't talking about the natural world, or about social science, or politics or economics. We know that he wasn't talking about all these other matters. He was speaking of his own life, his own existence, not anything external. His kind of knowledge was a knowledge of life and existence, not other kinds of knowledge.

Wasn't his favorite disciple Yan Hui (Yan Yuan)? ... In the *Book of Changes*, there is one section that discusses Yan Hui: "He knows immediately after he made a mistake that he had made one. After he knows, he won't repeat it." So, it is somewhat similar to "not repeating the same mistake." Confucius always spoke from the perspective of the continuous changes and transformation of life. So, when someone asked who loved learning, he praised Yan Hui. Now what was Yan Hui's strong point? Just these two things [not taking anger out on others and not repeating the same mistake], which we cannot truly know. That we can't truly know, however, is only one aspect. Another aspect is that he didn't talk about odd things, didn't speak of natural phenomena or social science.[8] He concentrated on one's own life. So, no matter student or teacher, their efforts were directed toward their own lives. Of those who passed Confucianism along, I recognize the elder Cheng, Cheng Hao, of the Song and Wang Yangming of the Ming Dynasty.

I can be considered as belonging to the Lu-Wang school.

Alitto: In 1922, when your published *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies*, you also said that some of Wang Yangming's followers, Wang Gen (Wang Xinzhai) and the others, also understood the true way of Confucius. So, you still haven't changed your mind? Your statement now and that [in the book of 60 years ago] are about the same.

我以为，孔子四十的时候，他也还不知道他五十岁的进步，他还没有那个进步，他那个时候也还不知道。他不知道，我们旁人怎么知道？旁人不知道，不知道你就不要说，不要讲，所以像朱子那样讲，我不同

意。所以说，这一些话我们是不敢乱讲、乱猜，知道就是知道，不知道就是不知道，我们应当承认自己不知道。承认不知道是一面，还有一面我们知道，知道什么呢？知道他没有说旁的事情，他没有说到对自然界的知识，也没有说到社会科学，也没有说到政治、经济，他都没有说。他所说的就是他自己的生命，就是他自己的生命、生活在说话，没有说到外头去，因为他本人的学问是这个样子的一种学问：是生命、生活之学，不是旁的学问。

所以他最好的徒弟，不是颜渊吗？颜回吗？……古书的《易经》——《周易》，里边就讲到颜子，它说："颜氏之子其殆庶几乎？有不善未尝不知，知之未尝复行（也）。"他一有点不对、错误、不善，他马上就知道，知道后不再行、不再做，所以"不贰过"是这个样子，他始终是从生命的流行变化来说的。所以人家问孔子谁好学，他就称赞颜子——称赞颜渊、颜回，颜回的长处是什么？就是那两点（不迁怒，不贰过）。那两点我们不能深知，不深知是一面，另外一面是什么呢？他又没有说到旁处去，没有讲到自然现象，没有讲到社会问题，他就是讲自己的生命、生活，所以老师也罢，学生也罢，他们的用功、致力，都是在这个地方。能够传中国的孔门之学，我是承认在宋朝，就是那个大程子——程颢，在明朝就是王阳明，他们是传了这个学问。

我算是陆王派

艾：那您民国十一年（1922年）出版了《东西文化及其哲学》的时候，也说王阳明的一些门弟子，王艮——王心斋，也是懂孔子之道的。您还没有改变您的主意啊，当年这个结论跟现在差不多啊。

Liang: In this respect, my opinions are about the same as before. But in the book of 60 years ago, when explaining Confucius' thought, I used the terms "intuition" and "instinct." In both cases, I didn't use them very well.[9]

Alitto: Yes, but you can still be considered a member of the Wang Yangming school?

Liang: Yes, right. Don't they divide all thinkers into the Lu-Wang [Lu Jiuyuan and Wang Yangming] and the Cheng-Zhu schools? So, I can be considered as belonging to the Lu-Wang school. "Lu" is a Song Dynasty thinker; Wang a Ming Dynasty one. In the Song Dynasty, there were Zhu Xi and the Cheng brothers who I just mentioned. Now, the elder and the younger are different. (The younger brother: Cheng Yichuan; the elder brother: Cheng Hao.) I recognize that Cheng Hao was the correct, or enlightened one. But

Zhu Xi didn't understand him. Doesn't Zhu Xi have a book called the *Reflections on Things at Hand*? In that book, he didn't quote Cheng Hao.... It is not that he said Cheng Hao was wrong or no good. Rather, he said that Cheng Hao's thought was too profound, too brilliant! This judgment resulted from Cheng Hao's thought not being suited to his own temperament or disposition. But I think that in the Song, it is Cheng Hao who was the true Confucian, and in the Ming, Wang Yangming. But the thinker I like most of all is the one following Wang Yangming, Wang Xinzhai. Wang was a man from the lower classes, a salt worker. A lot of his followers were workers and peasants, ordinary people. They were not necessarily the highest ranked academic scholars, who were all overly bookish. People from the lower classes were not so learned, and some were illiterate, but they could comprehend and understand their own vital forces, their own lives, and this is what is needed. This sort of approach is in accord with Confucius himself and with the true Confucian school. So, because of this, I have always liked Wang Xinzhai very much, and in my book, Eastern and *Western Cultures and Their Philosophies*, I praised him.[10]

Wang Yangming's "familiarity with one's disposition"

Liang: But compared to Wang Yangming I am far, far inferior. I can use a term sometimes used in Buddhism—"to attain thorough and complete understanding" (Liang writes the two characters "*chewu*"). "*Che*" means thorough and complete. "*Chewu*" is when our life-being undergoes a great transformation. This kind of understanding is not of the usual "Aha, now I understand!" kind. Master Yangming had achieved this kind of enlightenment, and I have not.

梁：在这一点上差不多。不过我现在看当初的书，60年前的书，解释孔子的时候，用那个“直觉”，用那个“本能”，不妥当。

艾：是，不过您还算是属于王阳明的门派。

梁：对。不是他们都分程朱派、陆王派(陆九渊、王阳明)吗？我算是陆王派，陆王呢，陆是宋朝了，王是明朝了。在宋朝，刚才提到程朱，大程子，跟二程——程伊川不一样。大程子就是程颢了，程颢我认为是好的、对的、高明的，可是朱子对他不了解。朱子不是有一部著作叫做《近思录》——“远近”的“近”，在这个《近思录》他不引大程子，他对大程子倒不是……虽然他不是说大程子不对、不好，他是说大程子

太高明了，他那样一个看法。其实就是，朱子对大程子有点好像不合脾胃，不合他的味道。可是我认为，在宋儒还是大程子，明儒是王阳明。我更喜欢王阳明底下的王心斋——王艮。王艮，在社会里头他是一个下层的人，他是一个工人，他是搞盐的盐场的工人，并且他的门下，王心斋这一派，有许多都是农工，很普通的人，不一定是上级讲学问的人。上层的讲学问的人，容易偏于书本，下层的人呢，他读书不多，或者甚至没有什么文化，可是他的生命、生活他能够自己体会，这个就行了，这个就合于儒家了，合于孔子，所以我喜欢王心斋，《东西文化及其哲学》末了讲到称赞王心斋。

王阳明的“明心见性”

梁：不过比起王阳明来啊，（我）还差得远，还差得远。可以用佛家有时候用的名词“彻悟”，彻就是彻底，彻悟是我们人的生命的一个大变化，不是个普通的事情，不是普通的“噢，我明白了”，不是这样。在彻悟上，阳明先生他有他的彻悟，我不够。

There were many important figures among Master Yangming's disciples. He gave them all advice and comments. Of course, because people's natural endowments were unequal—there was a difference in degree of natural intelligence— some were on this end [of the spectrum] and some on that end. Some of his followers achieved more than others. So, a lot of his students were famous and extraordinary. Someone named Qian [Dehong], who was one of his students, later became very famous. He compiled Master Yangming's chronological biography. Originally, he was not a follower of his, and then later studied with him. Mr. Qian would listen to Master Yangming's teachings, and at the same time he would very humbly listen to what his senior fellow students had to say. Mr. Qian was extremely sincere and modest, always looking to progress in his understanding. But he always felt that he was inadequate. He himself said that he had got non-awakening. The so-called non-awakening to the truth meant that he could make neither heads nor tails out of it. He didn't achieve enlightenment. He could not enter the gate. Later, he went into a monastery to study meditation with a monk, "to practice solitude and quieting." Then he cloistered himself, having no contact with the outside world and in the monastery practiced solitude and silence. When he had achieved a profound state of quietude, suddenly [what he experienced] was like seeing the sun from the midst of darkness. This was his "attaining thorough and complete understanding." So he hurriedly ran to ask

his teacher Master Yangming about his experience of thorough and complete understanding. Master Yangming nodded his head. He said to Mr. Qian, "Yes, right, [you have attained enlightenment]. Don't tell anyone else about this. Don't help others [to do this]. In instructing others, don't tell them to practice solitude and quietude in this way. This would not necessarily be a good thing for them. Use my own words, that is, 'extend or apply innate knowledge of the good into practice.' Don't tell other people to go practice meditation. Tell them to extend or apply their innate knowledge of the good into practice. That will cause no harm. If they go meditate, possible this will cause harm, it might not be the right thing for them to do." That is to say, this kind of learning of Master Yangming's had to be able to effect a "complete understanding" toward human life and life being. Finally it must… But it must not be forced. You just do it this way, extending or applying their innate knowledge of the good into practice."

阳明先生的门下有好几个重要的人，都是受到阳明先生的指教了。可由于每一个人的天资不相同，天资有高有低，有偏于这边的，有偏于那边的，所以阳明先生的门下著名的、了不起的有好几个人。有一个姓钱的（疑为钱德洪），他也是阳明先生的门下，后来很出名的，阳明先生的年谱就是他来编订的。他以前没有跟着阳明先生求学，后来跟着阳明先生求学。他就一面呢跟着阳明先生，听阳明先生的教诲，一面嘛他跟许多师兄、前辈请教，很诚心诚意地去求。但是总觉得不行，他自己说啊，没悟道。所谓没悟他就是摸不着头脑，进不去门。后来呢，他就啊，跑到和尚庙里头去静坐。“习静”，关起门来，跟人不接触，在和尚庙里头“习静”。那么，悟于深的静的时候啊，他就恍然，如同从那个黑暗中看见天日一样，这个就是说他彻悟了。他彻悟了就赶快跑来问老师。阳明点头，他说对了，对了，对了，但是告诉他——告诉钱平江（疑为钱德洪），你不要告诉人，你不要帮助旁人，你指点旁人，不要说是这样子去“习静”。虽然你得利于“习静”。但是你这样子指点旁人，不一定好，你还是用我的话——用阳明先生的话了，你还是用这个话，“致良知”，不要告诉人去“习静”。你告诉人家，指点人去“致良知”啊，不出毛病，你告诉人去“习静”啊、去静坐啊，可能出毛病，可能不对。这个就是说啊，阳明先生的这种学问，必须能够有一个——对人生、对生命——有一个彻悟才行，最后一定……，不过不要勉强，你就是这样子好了，“致良知”。

This extension of innate knowledge of the good calls for putting forth effort in society. Even though Qian went into a monastery to isolate himself,

practiced the skill of meditation and in this way achieved complete enlightenment, Yangming still said: When you are helping and instructing another, do not tell him to follow this path of yours. It might easily result in problems. You still have him "extend his innate knowledge of the good into practice" and apply his efforts to society. Do not have him isolate himself from society, avoid complex environments, and go into a monastery. That kind of way of hard work cannot help the average person. Do not advise the average person to go this path. What path should he go? That of applying his efforts to society. So, I very much admire Master Yangming. This way of his is completely right. He was completely right in keeping the interests of the average man in mind. This way, although a profound enlightenment would not be easy, a gradually attained enlightenment was possible. The way of putting it for the average man is to apply efforts to society, and to apply innate knowledge of the good into practice in society. There is a phrase in the *Doctrine of the Mean* which goes "to raise the way to its greatest height and brilliancy, so as to pursue the course of the Mean."

Alitto: You used that phrase in your book *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies*.

Liang: I want to continue this statement. I will tell a story of Master Wang Yangming. This story fully shows Master Yangming's philosophy, not intellectual knowledge, but his skill. What skill? His attaining of thorough and complete understanding. Master Yangming achieved, as the old saying goes, "familiarity with one's disposition." This is an uncommon achievement. To truly understand one's own real nature is quite uncommon. Didn't I say that I saw that as though through a mist at a great distance? This is a long way from "truly understanding one's own real nature." But Master Yangming did achieve this. Master Yangming's life-being was on a far, far higher level than ours.

There are some other matters [that demonstrate this]. The Ming emperor in his time was a disaster, confused and muddle-headed. He was also surrounded by eunuchs. Master Yangming had already captured the rebel [Zhu] Chenhao in Jiangxi. But the emperor told Wang Yangming to release him because he wanted to capture the rebel himself! This emperor was a real joke, very muddle-headed. All of those advising him were eunuchs and slaves. But the emperor believed and trusted the palace eunuchs, he was surrounded by them, and he did laughable things, such as releasing the

already captured Chenhao so that he could come capture him himself. This was just nonsense, a joke. He himself led a great imperial expedition, with a lot of eunuchs and troops.

“致良知”呢是随世用功，尽管这个钱他是到庙里头去避开人，自己去“习静”，这么样得到彻悟的。可阳明先生说，你帮助人、指点旁人的时候，不要用你这个路子告诉他，这个路子容易出毛病，你还是让他“致良知”，让他随世用功，就是不要躲开众人、躲开复杂的环境，跑到庙里去。那种用功的方法，不能够帮助普通人，对普通人你不要让他走这个路。要走什么路子呢？就是随世用功。所以我非常之佩服阳明先生，他这个完全对，为普通人设想，他这个完全对。这个样子也慢慢地能够深入，这个虽然不容易深入，可是也能够慢慢地深入，对为普通人说法，就是随世用功，随世“致良知”，引用《中庸》上的老话，就是“极高明而道中庸”。

艾：是，“极高明而道中庸”，《东西文化及其哲学》里您是用过这个话。

梁：我想接着这个话啊，我讲一个王阳明先生的故事。这个故事里头啊，完全见出来王阳明的学问。这个学问不是知识，是见出来他的功夫。什么功夫呢？他的彻悟啊。用一句老话，有这么一句老话，阳明先生是做到了这个了，“明心见性”。那很不寻常，明心见性很不寻常。我不是说，我是在一种好像天上下雾，在雾中远远看到？那就是离这个还远，离明心见性还远。可是阳明先生他是做到这个了，就是阳明先生他的这个人、他的这个生命已经远远高过我们。

还有一些事情，当时是明朝了，皇帝是很糟糕的皇帝，很糊涂的皇帝，皇帝又被左右的太监所包围。这个阳明先生已经擒了（朱）宸濠，宸濠要反对皇帝，在江西擒了宸濠。皇帝就说把宸濠放了，我自己来擒。这个皇帝是个笑话了，糊涂了。就是因为在皇帝旁边帮助皇帝出主意的都是些个太监，都是些个奴隶了。那么这个皇帝还是相信太监，太监包围他，要做那个很可笑的事情，就是要擒了宸濠再放，他自己来擒。他自己要御驾亲征，带着很多太监、很多军队来了。

Of course, this expedition was a large and stately affair, and so topped Wang Yangming. Wang also led troops and was a very high official. But when the emperor arrived, he outshone Wang. At the time this event took place in the public square, there were many military officers who had followed the emperor there; they staged an archery contest to see who was the best shot. They thought that Wang Yangming was an effete intellectual,

someone with only bookish knowledge, and wouldn't be much of an archer. They regarded him with some contempt. So, the target was set up and the archery contest commenced. Contrary to expectations, Wang's first shot was a dead-center bull's eye! OK, a cheer rang out from the surrounding spectators. Wang took his second shot. Another bull's eye! The crowd acclaimed him. He took a third shot, with the same result. The military men watching the contest all cheered. Wang withered those eunuchs who had held him in contempt. They dared not harm him because he had won the people's hearts. Everyone had eyes and had seen he did have ability, and was not a common scholar-official. This turned the tables. If this hadn't happened, the emperor might have done something else foolish.

Now in this story, why was Master Yangming able to hit three bull's eyes in a row? It was ascribable to this: He was completely enlightened! He had achieved perfect enlightenment about life-existence. He was a sage. He was a sage, completely different from an ordinary mortal; he was not an ordinary human. That is, [he was] an extraordinary person. So his hitting three bull's eyes in a row was not by mere luck; it was a fundamental question that far exceeded mere chance. It was his comprehension of the truth, his attaining perfect self-understanding. He was far, far above ordinary people. He was no longer a common person. He was really something. Master Yangming had attained sagehood, and was no longer an ordinary man, not a so-called mortal man, or a common man. Now if one says that I have some strong points, some area in which I am a cut above other intellectuals, then it is only that I am able to glimpse a little of this, however unclearly. In conclusion, my level of accomplishment is only this. To be immodest, my level is higher than that of an average person, for the average person hasn't even gotten a glimpse. But on the other hand, my level is not high enough, not as high as that of Wang Yangming.

当然来了嘛，皇帝来了嘛，当然很威严、很大啊。这个盖过了王阳明，王阳明带着军队，王阳明也算是很高的大臣，但是皇帝来了，盖住他了。这个时候有这么一件事情，就是在广场里头啊，随着皇帝来的有许多武将了，武将会射箭啊，那么，要比一比谁射得好。他们以为王阳明是一个书生、文人，恐怕射箭不行吧。他轻视王守仁，那么好，就树靶子在那儿，比较射箭。居然比较射箭的时候，阳明一箭射去，正中那个中心点。好！周围观看的军民呢大声喝彩。再射第二遍，又是正中，啊，又喝彩，欢呼。第三箭还是正中。这三箭一射，周围看的军人都欢

呼，把这个来的太监、看不起阳明的都镇住了，不敢动他。因为他得民心，大家有目，看他真有本事，不是普通的文人。这样一下，才把这个局面转回来了，要不然那个皇帝还要乱搞。

我说这个故事啊，阳明为什么能够三箭都射中啊，因为这个啊，他得力于这个地方。他是彻悟，他对生命，他达到了彻悟，他是圣人了，完全不是普通的凡人，那是很了不起的人。所以他把三箭都射中啊，不是机遇，是远高于机遇的一个根本问题。他是悟道，他是明心见性。阳明先生是进入圣人的地位了，不再是个普通人，不再是一个所谓凡人、凡夫。我呢，如果说我有什么长处，有什么比普通的其他读书人好像高一着的地方，如果说有，那就是因为我能够望见到一点，好像是看不太清楚，但是也可以望到一点。结束一句话，我的程度是如此，我的程度，不客气地说，比普通人高，因为普通人连这个也没有，另外一方面呢不够高，没有达到这个地步。

Alitto: Aside from Wang Yangming, who else achieved this "familiarity with one's disposition"?

Liang: Speaking of ancient Chinese learning, in the past, for example during the Qing Dynasty, there were three schools of classical learning. One school was called the school of Han Learning. This school's focus was on texts, on philological evidence. They were interested in verifying the old texts or institutions. This was called textual research.

There was another school called the school of Belles Lettres, e.g., the Tongcheng school, whose focus was also on books, emphasizing reading the old books. But in reality they were most interested in writing style, in writing in the ancient style of the Tang and Song Dynasties' masters Han Tuizhi (Han Yu) and Liu Zongyuan. So this school just wouldn't work either.

I've already mentioned two schools. The third school was that of Song and Ming Learning—Neo-Confucianism. This scholarship proceeded upon this path [that I have been speaking about, pursuit of enlightenment and sagehood]. But in the two or three hundred years of the Qing Dynasty, the school produced no really outstanding men. Before the Qing, during the Yuan Dynasty, there had appeared no really able men in this school either. It was during the Song that the school produced great men, such as Lu Xiangshan[Lu Jiuyuan,with his literary name Xiangshan]. Later people liked to use the term "Lu-Wang" and this too was a school. Wang refers to Wang Yangming. In this school there were two exceptional men whose

accomplishments were, relatively speaking, profound. In the Song, there was Yang Jian (Yang Cihu). The other, in the Ming, was Luo Rufang (Luo Jinxi). These were two Confucians of scholarly accomplishment and virtue. I very much admire these two men. The average Confucians, even though they talked Confucianism and revered Confucius, were all outsiders [to true Confucianism].

艾：那谁达到这个地步，除王阳明以外呢，谁达到“明心见性”？

梁：讲这个中国古学问的有……就过去说，比如就清朝说，清朝的时候，讲学问有三派。一派呢就被称为汉学家，这一派的汉学家他的重点、他的学问是书本考订，考订古时候流传下来的文字或者制度，证明过去是怎么一回事，这个叫做考订考据学，考据学这是一派。

还有一派呢叫辞章之学，像桐城派，桐城派也讲学问，特别讲究读古书，但是实际上呢它是一种辞章派，作古文，作韩柳文——韩退之、柳宗元，这是一派，这一派也不行。

第三派，它是讲宋明学。讲宋明学的呢，就是要往这个路上走，它采取的方向是这个方向，不过在清朝二三百年里头，在这方面没有出什么人才。在过去，在清朝以前，元朝在这方面也没有出什么人才。元朝以前，宋朝在这方面出了人才，那就是陆象山（陆九渊，号象山）。后来呢，喜欢说“陆王”，陆王是一个派吧，王就是王阳明。陆王派里头有两个特殊的人，比较算是成功的人。在宋朝，名字叫杨简——杨慈湖；在明朝，叫罗汝芳，号叫近溪。这是两个深造有得的儒者，就我说，我最佩服这两个人。其他的一般人，尽管他讲儒书、孔子，尊奉孔子，实际上是门外汉。

Confucianism and Buddhism: the enlightened person has no problem.

Difference between Confucianism and Buddhism

Liang: I really want to talk about Confucianism and Buddhism again. Didn't you say that I was the "last Confucian"? I want to say a word more about the similarities and differences between Buddhism and Confucianism. Possibly I have already expressed these opinions before. Confucius and Confucians always speak from the standpoint of humanity, of humans or of humanism. Confucius, no matter what he is talking about, is still in the sphere of the human. But Buddhism transcends humanity. Its central focus is not on the human himself, but rather on an area that transcends the human. So, these two kinds of thought are very different. Yet, there is one area in which they are similar, and that is "egoless self-sacrifice for the salvation of the world." That is, they both seek to forget the self and save the suffering. In Buddhist terms, this object of salvation is "sentient beings." The suffering of sentient beings is the suffering of the Buddhist. In China, let's take Confucians and Mozi as an example. Now, Mozi also sought to do the same. He spent his entire life trying to save people, rushing around for others. So, on the surface, there is no difference between the Mohists, Buddhists and Confucians. The major difference between the Confucian enterprise of salvation and the Buddhist lay in the concept of "self" or "ego." The school that analyzed this problem of self most completely was the Buddhist Consciousness-Only (*Yogācāra*) school.

It talks about the eight consciousnesses. The first six are the senses: seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, tactile feeling, and also mind. These first six are for coping with the external world; they are all tools, or instruments. They are all directed toward the external. Using these six tools is life, is living beings, e.g., a living person, a living human. This is called "*diqiyuandiba*" (the seventh and eighth consciousnesses control the six others). The seventh mind is called the "manas consciousness"; the eighth is called the "storehouse consciousness." These two consciousnesses apply, use

and control the first six. This is called "*diqiyuandiba*." That is, it holds to a self (clinging to the self called "*wozhi*"—*ātma-grāha*—clinging to the idea of a self). There are two kinds of things clinging to the notion of the reality of the ego. One is called "*fenbie wozhi*" (the clinging to this notion of the reality of the ego as a result of intellectual reasoning). The other is called "jusheng wozhi" (the inborn instinctive cleaving to the idea of the self). This refers to the natural, intuitive assumption of the reality of the self, prior to intellectual reasoning. This inborn instinctive cleaving to the idea of the self is extremely deep, very concealed. The clinging to this notion as a result of intellectual reasoning is shallow. The deepest and strongest of the clinging to the reality of the self (wozhi, ātma-grāha) is our very life, the root of life. In ordinary activity, in life, the clinging to this notion as a result of intellectual reasoning is also active. But when we are sleeping—the deepest dreamless sleep with the cerebrum being as though completely inactive, very very deep sleep—at that time, the clinging to the notion of the reality of the self as a result of intellectual reasoning does not appear. But the inborn instinctive cleaving to the idea of the self does not weaken in the slightest; in deep sleep it's still this way. Perhaps I've been injured, fallen from a height and it appears as if I were dead. I'm not dead, but just about. At that time the clinging to this notion as a result of intellectual reasoning disappears. But the inborn instinctive cleaving to the idea of the self is still present. So this instinctual grip on the self is very profound, concealed and not obvious, but it has great strength. Now I would like to talk about the differences between Confucianism and Buddhism.

肆 佛家与儒家：高明的人通达无碍

佛跟孔子的异同

梁：我愿意把佛跟孔子我再说一下，因为你不是说我是"last Confucian"吗？我想把佛跟孔子的异同说一下。也许我们已经都说过一下，孔子、儒家他总是站在人的立场说话，他说来说去还是归结到人身上。可是佛家，他是超过人说话，他说来说去，归结点也不归结到人身上，归结到超过人的那个地方，所以好像他们是很不同。不过还有同的一面，就是“无我”——没有我——“而救世”，佛家话就是众生，众生的痛苦就是他的痛苦。就中国说吧，儒墨——墨子也是这样子，都是在他生存的这个时候，他总是一生都在为大家奔走。所以表面上没有很大分别，但是我底下就要说一下孔子跟佛的分别。这个分别就是在“我”的问题上，关于“我”的问题，把它讲得最清楚的，分析得最清楚的，是唯识家。

佛学的唯识家，是讲八识。八识，前六识——眼、耳、鼻、舌、身，这是五个，加上一个“意”，这个就是前六——前六都是应付外面的，都是工具，都是对外的。运用这个前六识的，是生命，是活的，比如说人吧，活的人啦，这个在唯识家讲，叫做“第七缘第八”。第七就是“末那识”，第八是“阿赖耶识”，运用这前六识的工具而为之主的，就是这个“第七缘第八”。怎么叫做“第七缘第八呢”？就是这个时候执着一个“有我”，它叫做“我执”。两种执，“我执”，一种叫“分别我执”、“分别执”；一种叫“俱生执”、“俱生我执”。“俱生我执”就是与生俱来的，就是不等到分别就有。“俱生我执”很深、很隐——“隐藏”的“隐”，“分别我执”就浅。最深的也就是最有力量的“我执”啊，是我们生命、生活的根本。通常在活动中、生活中，都有一个“分别我执”在那儿活动。可是假定我们睡眠——最好的、最深沉的睡眠，一点梦都没有，大脑完全好像没有活动，睡得很深很深了——那个时候，“分别我执”就不显露了，可是“俱生我执”那还是一点也没有减弱，睡得沉的时候是这样。或者我受伤了，从高处摔下来受伤了，好像死了，虽然没有死，跟死差不多了，那个样子的时候也是“分别我执”没有了，可是“俱生我执”依然还在。所以“俱生我执”是很深的、很隐藏的、不大显露的，可是非常有力量。底下我就要说儒家跟佛家的分别了。

Buddhism wants to refute false tenets, it wants to refute the notion of the reality of the self. I remember once I wrote down on a piece of paper six characters "*qihuo zaoye shouku*." Buddhism looks at all like this. "*Qihuo*"—"the arising of illusions," that is, confusion, bewilderment, insufficient acuity. Where is the illusion? What are you referring to when you say illusion? It refers to this holding on to the notion of the existence of the ego. Buddhism wants to thoroughly destroy illusions. It also says that it wants to "destroy the two illusions." Why "two illusions"? On the one hand there is the "illusions of the reality of the self" (*wozhi*), and on the other, the opposite, "illusions of the reality of things, or phenomena" (*fazhi*). "*Fa*" refers to things. Buddhism wants to destroy these two illusions. Destroying the two illusions is also called "excising the two graspings."

What are those "two graspings (*upādāna*)"? They are "*nengqu*" (ability to grasp) and "*suoqu*" (that which is grasped)—two sides of the same thing. No "ability," no "object." Both are together, meaning that there is no grasping or grasped. What is this? This is Buddha. This is one integrated whole, one integrated whole that contains no binaries. Buddhism holds that differentiation or distinction is a mistake, and wants to restore one integrated whole, to re-establish one integrated whole. The cosmos is a blended, indiscrete single body. This is Buddha. Ordinary people think that Buddha is a deity. That is wrong.

佛家是要破执，破"我执"，我记得我在一张纸上写过一次，写过六个字——"起惑造业受苦"，佛家看都是这样。起惑——惑是迷惑了，糊涂了，不够明白了。惑在哪儿呢？你说的惑是指什么说呢？就是指这个，指"我执"，惑就是指"我执"说。佛家是要彻底地破执，彻底。他又说破"二执"，为什么用"二执"呢？就是一方面有"我执"，还有一面跟"我执"对面的"法执"——"法"就是一切的事物。"我执"是一面，对面还有"法执"，佛家就是要破这二执。破二执有时候又叫"断二取"。

那么"二取"是什么呢？——"能取"跟"所取"。能取、所取就是一个这边，一个那边，佛家的意思，是断二取，没有"能"，没有"所"，能、所是归在一块的，意思是没有取的。这是什么？这个就是佛，这个就是一体了，一体就没有二了。佛家的意思就是说，分别就是错误，就是要恢复到一体，复原到一体，宇宙浑然一体，这个就是佛。普通人以为佛是神啊是什么，那不对。

We'll continue further with the differences and similarities of Buddhism and Confucianism. Confucianism—Confucius did not destroy the inborn

instinctive cleaving to the idea of the self; if that were destroyed, then there would be no activity. Life is situated in the inborn instinctive cleaving to the idea of the self. Only with this illusion of the existence of the self are there all activities coming from the natural instincts of humans. In all of these activities the "inborn illusion of self" prevails.

So since Confucianism does not depart from human life, it is unlike Hinayana Buddhism's desire for the calm and quiet of Nirvana and desire to leave home and be a monk. Confucianism by no means wants that. Confucianism wants activities in the human world. Confucianism wants completely real human beings like us. It does not want to be a deity. It wants the same as we are, wearing clothes, eating food, "drinking, eating and sex." But we are not completely the same. There is one aspect that is completely the same as us—the primal wants, life, rest, sleep. Where is the difference [with what Confucianism wants]? He doesn't want this [clinging to this notion as a result of intellectual reasoning]. Confucianism is with "an all-encompassing, empty and impartial mind" in the process of satisfying primal wants. The eight characters—*kuorandagong, wulaishunying* (with an all-encompassing, empty and impartial mind, taking things as they come)[11] —these eight characters are Confucian. Although the Confucian satisfies the primal instincts and all the activities are just like ours, in life the Confucian has only the inborn instinctive cleaving to the idea of the self, not the notion of the reality of the self as a result of intellectual reasoning.

Why doesn't it have the latter? It's an all-encompassing, empty and impartial mind, and taking things as they come. For example, my loved one dies, and I cry. This is with an all-encompassing, empty and impartial mind, taking things as they come. The weather is good, and I'm delighted and happy. This is taking things as they come. At this time there is no clinging to the notion of the reality of the self as a result of intellectual reasoning, but it never departs from the inborn instinctive cleaving to the idea of the self. Only because there is this latter "me" do I cry or laugh. That there is no obstructing of laughter or tears is also an all-encompassing, empty and impartial mind. This is Confucianism. But Buddhism isn't like this; it transcends this. For example, if my body is hacked with a knife, I will be in pain. Even if it was Confucius, he couldn't but feel pain. But if you plunge a knife into Buddha, it makes no difference, he doesn't suffer. Confucius suffers. The Buddha transcends this. They are not the same.

再说儒佛的异同。照我的说法，儒家啊，孔子不破“俱生执”，破了“俱生执”就没有活动了，生命就坐落在“俱生我执”上，有“俱生我执”才有饮食男女的一切活动，这些活动都有“俱生我执”在那里为主了。

那么儒家既然不离开人生，他不像佛家小乘佛法要涅槃寂静，要出世，儒家并不要那个样子，儒家就是要在人世间活动。儒家就是要像我们这样一个完全真的人，他不要做神，他就是跟我们一样，穿衣吃饭，饮食男女，他就是这样。跟我们还不同了——跟我们有完全相同的一面，饮食男女、生活、休息、睡觉，这是同的一面——不同在哪里呢？他不要这个（“分别我执”）。“廓然大公”，他就是穿衣吃饭的时候他还是“廓然大公”。八个字，“廓然大公，物来顺应”，这八个字是儒家。尽管他穿衣吃饭，一切活动与我们一样，可是他活动中只是“俱生我执”在那里活动，没有“分别我执”。

为什么没有“分别我执”？他“廓然大公，物来顺应”。比如我一个亲爱的人死了，我哭，这个还是廓然大公，还是物来顺应。天气很好，我很高兴、愉快，这就是物来顺应。这个时候都没有我，都没有这个“分别我”，可是离不开“俱生我”。因为有这个我，才哭啊、才笑啊，有哭有笑没有妨碍，还是廓然大公，这个是儒家。可是佛家不如此，他超过这个了。比如说，拿一个刀砍了我的身体，我痛，即使孔子他也不会不痛的。但是你如果拿刀去扎佛，没有关系，他没有什么痛苦。孔子有痛苦，佛超过这个，不一样。

Intellectual inclination toward Buddhism & life along the Confucian path

Alitto: In these [past] sixty-some years of life, you have both followed Confucianism, and had a Buddhist side…

Liang: I only love, like, and admire Buddhism, but that's as far as it goes. I only like, admire, and am inclined toward Buddhism, but I'm an ordinary person.

Alitto: I understand. From *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies*, it seems that like a lot of Chinese historical figures, you went from Buddhism to Confucianism. Like a lot of Neo-Confucians, such as Wang Yangming... In any case there are a lot of people like this. You openly declared "I was a Buddhist previously, and now I am going to

Confucianism," then…

Liang: I'd add a word here. I led a life as an individual, but intellectually I was inclined toward Buddhism. My intellectual inclination was toward Buddhism, but I still led an individual life. An individual life should be following the Confucian path, but I still wanted to lead a good life but didn't succeed entirely. If I would explain further how it was insufficient, it was in the areas of destroying the notion of the reality of the ego and having an all-encompassing, empty and impartial mind. I had hoped that I would be able to be that way, but it was not enough.

Alitto: You just mentioned that you were insufficient in those areas—that is the standard attitude, especially of Neo-Confucians. That is, whatever I do, it will never be good enough, not thorough enough. In the U.S. recently, there has been a discussion of this question: Did the Song and Ming Neo-Confucians have a philosophy of life similar to that of the Western Puritans? The conclusion of many is that there are many similarities—forever progressing toward goodness, forever perfecting, continuously practicing self-cultivation. This is the same as the Puritans. You just said that this is the standard attitude of Neo-Confucians. What I can't make out, however, is in the end how to divide the Buddhist and Confucian intellectual parts. In the past sixty years, intellectually, you have been more inclined toward Buddhism, meaning that you didn't become a monk, and that your life was Confucian. Some scholars say that Neo-Confucianism from the Song and Ming on has some elements of Buddhism.

我在思想上倾向佛家，生活上走儒家的路

艾：您60年来的生活，有佛教的一面跟儒家的一面……

梁：我仅仅是爱这个佛教、喜欢佛教、佩服佛教，可是仅仅如此而已，仅仅喜欢佛教、佩服佛教、倾向于佛教，可我还是一个平常的人。

艾：我明白了。您在《东西文化及其哲学》里，也是好像跟中国历史上好多人物一样，由佛转儒，好多人——像理学家……王阳明啊，反正很多了——好多人都是这样。您公开地宣布，我以前是佛教徒，现在呢我就转入儒家了，那么……

梁：我再补一句。我是在生活上做一个人的生活，我思想上还是倾向佛家。思想上倾向佛家，人还是做一个人的生活。做一个人的生活应

当是走儒家的路，可是我是一个想要做好而不够的一个人。如果再说明怎么样不够，那就是我在“破执”上、在“廓然大公，物来顺应”上不够。我希望我能够这样，但是不够。

艾：您刚才说的自己那方面不够，就是最标准的尤其是理学的儒家的态度了，就是永远自己做得不够好、不够彻底。最近美国有一些人在讨论这个问题：中国的宋明理学家，有没有像西方的清教徒这一类的人生观？很多人的结论就是有很多类似的地方——永远向善，永远要改善、求善，继续不断地修养，这是你们跟清教徒一样的，您刚才说了，也是很标准的理学的儒家的态度。我弄不清楚的是，到底您怎么分佛的意思那层和儒的意思那层。您60年来思想比较倾向于佛，意思就是说没有做和尚啊，生活还是儒家的。有学者说，宋明以来的理学有几分佛教的成分在里面。

Liang: I think that others look at it that way; others, it appears, are criticizing them for being too close to Chan Buddhism, and asceticism. I think these views are not correct.

Alitto: Yes, your own view is that these views are not correct. Your works contain this opinion. A lot of foreign scholars of Chinese thought don't mean this in a critical way, but are analyzing the difference between Han Confucianism and Song Confucianism. From the Song on, [they find that] Neo-Confucians have some Buddhist elements.

Liang: In general, people are likely to say that they seem to have been influenced by Buddhism, even to the extent of saying that certain Confucians... For example, there is a famous Confucian of the Song Dynasty Yang Cihu (Yang Jian). Most people say that he was Chan. Actually this was not so. They also say that Wang Yangming himself appears to be close to Chan; or Wang Yangming's student Wang Longxi. Wang Longxi is also quite famous. They say that they appear to have absorbed some of Chan Buddhism, or are followers of Chan Buddhism. This is not completely accurate. Also, some of the Song and Ming scholars were also anti-Buddhist, and held that to be infected even a little was intolerable. There are also those who pull Chan Buddhism and Confucianism together.

Alitto: In your opinion, your situation of being intellectually inclined toward Buddhism and in life striving toward the Confucian ideal is relatively similar to which thinker in Chinese history?

Liang: I hope to do this better, to strive upward. I want to be like Wang

Yangming.

Alitto: Are you saying you would follow both Wang Yangming and Buddhism? I mean…

Liang: Actually I understand a bit of Buddhist principles. In my thought and consciousness I understand some Buddhism, but in my real life I hope to follow Wang Yangming's example.

I am not qualified as a person of learning; I'm a thinker.

Liang: …I am not qualified as a person of learning. Why? The intellectual foundation of an authentic scholar of China's traditional learning is a mastery of the written language and literature. I haven't paid much attention to the written language which is the foundation of ancient books. I have not read China's ancient books. When I was small, I didn't read the Chinese classics. Therefore, I really lack a background in traditional Chinese scholarship. On the other side, in modern science, I don't qualify either, because my foreign languages skills are lacking. When I say science, I refer to the natural sciences. When I was in middle school, I studied a bit of science, but it was very superficial. So my foreign learning falls short, too. So speaking from these two areas, I am completely unqualified to be a man of learning.

梁：我认为是旁人这样看，旁人认为好像是批评他们近禅、禁欲，我认为这种看法，没有对。

艾：是，您自己的看法是没有对，您著作里有这种意见，很多研究中国思想的外国人也没有什么批评的意思，就是分析汉跟宋儒家的分别，宋以后理学家有几分佛教在里面。

梁：他们一般都是容易说是好像是受佛教影响，乃至于说某一个儒者，比如说宋朝有一个有名的儒者，叫杨慈湖——杨简，一般人都说他是禅，其实不是。把王阳明看作也是好像说他近禅，或是王阳明的门下有个王龙溪——王龙溪很有名的，都说他们好像是吸收了禅家的，或者是跟禅家、跟佛家好像混同起来，被人这样批评，这些个话都是不完全正确。另外，宋明学者又有一种排佛的，排斥佛教，认为沾染一点禅宗就是要不得的，也有这样的。也有把儒、佛家跟禅宗拉得很近的，也有。

艾：依您自己看，您这个情形，就是思想倾向佛家，而生活向儒家

的理想而努力，这种情形比较接近于中国历史上的哪一位思想家？

梁：我希望把它做好一点，勉力向上，那我愿意学的还是王阳明。

艾：您自己觉得王阳明、佛家两个都有？我的意思就是说……

梁：实际上是我懂一点佛家的道理，在我的思想意识上懂一些个佛家，可是我的实际的生活，我是希望跟着王阳明走。

我不够一个学问家，而是一个思想家

梁：……我不够一个学问家，为什么？因为讲中国的老学问啊，得从中国的文字学入手，才能够有中国老学问的根底。可是中国的文字学我完全没有用功，所以对于作为古书根底的文字学，我没有用过心。那么，对于中国古书也没有读过，小时候没有读中国的经书，所以讲到学问的话，我的中国学问很差、很缺少。那么再一方面呢，就是近代的科学——外国学问，我的外文又不行，也不能够，所以科学也就不行了。科学主要的还是自然科学，那么在自然科学上，我在中学的时候学过一点，学得很粗浅。所以外国学问也不行。这两面说下来，就是说我完全不够一个学问家。

My area of strength is that I like to think. Therefore, if someone calls me a thinker, I won't decline [the designation]. A thinker and a scholar are different. The scholar knows a lot of things; he has absorbed a lot; in knowing more and seeing more, naturally there is some element of creativity; without creativity, one can't absorb anything. But a thinker is different from a scholar in that, although he also knows some things, his power of creativeness is greater than his power of absorption. Of course if he doesn't master a great amount of knowledge, he can't be a thinker. I do admit that I'm someone who has his own ideas, who acts according to his own ideas and puts them into practice. I am someone of independent thought. I have consistency between my thoughts and my actions. So, I admit that I am a thinker, not a scholar. My thought also has a source of inspiration, and that is Buddhism. So that is what I want to say about myself. I'm not a scholar, but a thinker, and my greatest intellectual inspiration has come from Buddhism.[12]

那么我所见长的一面，就是好用思想，所以如果说我是一个思想家，我倒不推辞、不谦让。思想家跟学问家不同，学问家他知道的东西多，他吸收的东西多，那么在吸收、多知道、多看里边当然也有创造，没有创造不能去吸收。可是在一个思想家来说，他不同于学问家的，就

是虽然他也要多知道些东西——不知道古今中外的一些个知识，他也没法成为思想家——但是呢，他的创造多于吸收，跟学问家不同。那么，我承认自己是一个有思想的人，并且是本着自己思想而去实行、实践的人，独立思考，表里如一。我就是这么一个人。那么我的这个思想呢，也受到启发，启发我的是佛教、是佛学。我想说的话，就是这么一段，（我是）思想家，不是学问家，在思想上给我很好的启发的是佛学。

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[1] Here Liang says outright what I suggested in my first article on him, that he saw himself as acting in a messianic role of Bodhisattva. Like many of the first generation of radical reformers—Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, Tan Sitong and, to some degree, Zhang Taiyan, all of whom had a deep and abiding interest in Buddhism—he saw his activist role in society and politics as Bodhisattva-like.

[2] Throughout these interviews, Mr. Liang maintained that he is simultaneously a Buddhist, Confucian, Daoist, Marxist, Vitalist (à la Bergson), and who also has a great respect for Christianity. In my view, this is part of a long tradition of eclecticism in Chinese thought, one of the first more important examples being the Han Dynasty "National Doctrine" (国教), which was Dong Zhongshu's eclectic mixture of Confucian teachings, Legalist teachings, Daoism, and cosmologies derived from the Book of Changes and folk religion. At the end of the Han, the earliest folk religious text we have, the Taipingjing (《太平经》) is similarly eclectic in composition, even including Moist (墨子) elements. In my view, this is a traditional attitude of Chinese intellectuals, even into the twentieth century. Liang's friend, Li Dazhao, for instance, was simultaneously a French-style Vitalist and a nationalist while he was embracing Communist internationalism. Often Westerners do not understand this attitude, and take it to be self-contradictory.

[3] In the West, "Chan" (禅) is almost universally known in the Japanese reading of the word "Zen," because the Japanese version made the biggest impact in Western popular culture, especially in the 1950s.

[4] Daśabhūmi —the "ten stages" in the fifty-two sections of the development of a Bodhisattva into a Buddha. The first of these is worldly wisdom, which has not been "fertilized" by Truth, and so is called the "dry" wisdom stage (干慧地). Each of the ten stages is connected with each of the ten "pāramitās," which Mr. Liang proceeds to discuss next.

[5] Pratyeka-Buddhahood (辟支佛), by which only the "dead ashes" of the past is left. At this stage, one understands the twelve nidānas, or chain of causation, and so attains complete wisdom.

[6] 佛地。The point at which the Bodhisattva has arrived at highest enlightenment and is just about to become a Buddha.

[7] Throughout his life and in all that he said and wrote, Mr. Liang stressed practice (praxis) and practicality (effectiveness). This central strand of his thought is obvious even in his discussion of Buddhism, which most people have nothing to do with either. Mr. Liang's personality, as exemplified by his actions throughout his life to the very end, was itself a manifestation of these points of emphasis. He himself used the Chinese phrase “表里如一” (unity of inner feelings and outer action) to describe himself later in this day's interview. That is, he would translate any idea he had into action in the real world. His personal actions were always like this (as shown by the episode of his conduct during the "Criticize Lin Biao and Criticize Confucius" Campaign discussed below), and his public actions, such as the way in which the entire Rural Reconstruction Movement was designed specifically to express his cultural philosophy.

[8] The Analects 7.21: The master did not speak of extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings. (《论语·述而篇第七》，二十一章：子不语怪、力、乱、神。)

[9] I asked Mr. Liang this question several times during these interviews as well as those conducted later in 1984. The only mistake he admitted to, in his vast production of writings over many decades, is this confusion of "intuition" and "instinct."

[10] In many respects, Mr. Liang's Rural Reconstruction Movement was a twentieth century version of the Taizhou school, of which Wang Xinzhai (Wang Gen) was the leader. Liang hoped that through education, the masses would all become enthusiastic in seeking Sagehood. This was precisely what Wang Gen and the Taizhou school was all about. Wang Yangming, after all, was a high-ranking official. His student Wang Gen was a commoner who, like Liang, had a sense of mission to lead a social movement, not a political one. And like Wang Gen, Liang again and again refused to serve as an official.

[11] This is Cheng Hao's (程颢) phrase that appears in his "Letter on Fixing One's Nature" (《定性书》). It appears in the writings of other important Neo-Confucians, such as Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming. The original passage is: A general rule of the cosmos is that its mind permeates all things, even though it itself has no mind. It is a rule of the Sage that his emotions are in accord with all things in the universe, even though he himself has no emotions. Therefore, the Superior Man has an all-encompassing, empty and impartial mind, taking things as they come. (夫天地之常，以其心

普万物而无心；圣人之常，以其情顺万物而无情。故君子之学，莫若廓然而大公，物来而顺应。) I have used the more colloquial English phrase "take things as they come" rather than the more accurate but stilted possibilities of "react appropriately to the various phenomena as they present themselves," or "harmoniously react to things as they come." Mr. Liang thought highly of the phrase, and used it often. He also assessed Cheng Hao as the only Song Dynasty thinker who really understood Confucianism.

[12] Throughout his life, Mr. Liang refused to accept the designation "scholar." Ironically, the word "scholar" (学者) appears in almost everything published about him in Chinese. I think that he did this, not out of modesty. On the other hand, the title "thinker" he always readily accepted (along with "Confucian," "Buddhist," "Marxist," and so on). In English, of course, there is no comparison between the two designations. Only one scholar or academic in perhaps hundreds of thousands would merit the title "thinker." To me, though, even the term "thinker" does not begin to do him justice. Perhaps alone in the twentieth century, he had two exceedingly rare qualities. He was both a genuine thinker and a man of action, and his actions were always determined by what he thought.

Questions of reality and life have occupied my mind.

There are two questions that have occupied my mind.
One question is the practical problem of China.
There is another problem of human life: its afflictions and uncertainties, the misunderstandings of life, and doubts about it.
One makes me involve myself in social and national affairs;
and the other makes me want to leave.

第二章 现实问题和人生问题占据着我的头脑

有两个问题占据了我的头脑。
一个呢，现实问题，现实中国的问题。
还有一个问题是人生问题，
对人生的怀疑、烦闷。
一个就让我为社会、为国事奔走，
一个又让离开。

From Revolutionary Alliance to Peking University

From joining Revolutionary Alliance to teaching at Peking University

Liang: …Wang [Jingwei] was released by Yuan Shikai to be a mediator between the Northern and Southern Revolutionaries. Wang organized a Beijing-Tianjin branch of the Revolutionary Alliance (the Tongmenghui). The Revolutionary Alliance was founded by Sun Yat-sen. Its official name was the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance. This new branch was considered its northern branch.

When I was still in middle school, I had already secretly joined a revolutionary organization, which was part of the Beijing-Tianjin branch of the Revolutionary Alliance that I just mentioned, led by Wang Jingwei. At that time I was also a news reporter. The newspaper office was in Tianjin. Later it was moved to Beijing. For a time I led the life of a news reporter. Moreover, I was a field reporter who went out to cover the news on the spot. There was such a period. After the Republican Revolution, I went to Nanjing once. Later I doubled back. After Nanjing, I went to Wuxi, and from Wuxi doubled back. At that time my plan had been to go to Guangxi to sign up for the examination and go abroad to study, but I didn't succeed in going.

...At that time, we were all together in the Revolutionary Alliance because the revolutionary army had arisen, and the Qing court abdicated governmental power. Some of us originally were fooling around with bombs and pistols, but then we began to run a newspaper. We ran *The Republic*. The head of *The Republic* was Zhen Yuanxi. This man also ran a Chinese language newspaper in the U.S. At the time I was a field reporter, not someone who sat in the newspaper office writing essays, but was outside all the time. At that time, *The Republic*'s office was in Tianjin, and my home was in Beijing, so I commuted back and forth between the two cities, covering stories.

Alitto: Did you get to know Huang Yuansheng at this time?

Liang: I got to know him after this.

Alitto: Later? He was assassinated in the U.S. in 1915.[1] So was the first time you met Cai Yuanpei when you were a reporter…

Liang: I met Cai Yuanpei once during this period, but he didn't remember me. Afterwards, in 1917, when he became president of Peking University, I really got to know him. I had sent him my essay "On Tracing the Origin and Solving Doubts" for comments. He said that when he was passing through Shanghai, he had read it and found it very good. He said that he was now going to Peking University, and asked me to come on board.[2] I said that I really wasn't qualified to teach Indian thought. At the time, scholars of Europe and Japan did not include Buddhism as one of the six schools of Indian philosophy. Strictly speaking, I really didn't know much about Japanese or European scholarship on Indian philosophy. I only liked Buddhism, that's all. When Cai invited me, something else had come up, and being occupied with it, I couldn't accept Mr. Cai's invitation to teach at Peking University.

壹 从同盟会到北大

从参加同盟会到任教北大

梁：……汪精卫出来了，被袁世凯请出来了，让他做调和人，他就组织了一个……“京津同盟会”——同盟会就是孙先生所创建的中国革命同盟会，这个就算是中国革命同盟会的北方支部。

我是在中学读书的时候，已经就秘密地参加了革命组织，这个革命组织就是属于刚才说的汪精卫领导的京津同盟会。这个时候我还做新闻记者，那时候报馆设在天津，后来搬到北京来了。我有一段新闻记者的生活，并且那个记者是外勤记者，外勤记者就是访查新闻的，做过那么一段。我也曾经在辛亥革命后，去南京一次，可是后来又折回来了。去南京之后我就去了无锡，从无锡又折回来，那次本来意思是想到广西去投考、去出洋留学的，没有去成。

……那个时候，京津同盟会跟我、我们都在一道的，因为清廷退位了，革命军起来了，清廷就让出政权来了，退位了。我们一些原来是搞手枪炸弹的吧，改了，就办报，办《民国报》。《民国报》的社长甄元熙，这个人还在美国，在美国办中文报纸。我就算是一个外勤，不是坐在报社内写文章的，而是在外边。当时《民国报》报社在天津，我的家住北京，我就往来于北京、天津之间，做采访工作。

艾：那是这个时候您认识黄远生吗？

梁：黄远生认识在这个之后。

艾：以后啊？他是1915年在美国被刺杀了。那蔡元培先生也是……第一次见面的时候是您在做记者的……

梁：那时我做记者的时候见过他，可是他不记得我，等于没有什么关系。到了后来，到了民国六年（1917年），他来北京就任北大校长的时候，那个时候才认识。因为那个时候我拿《究元决疑论》向他请教，他就说：我路过上海，看到了，很好；我现在到北大，也请你帮忙。当时我说：我还不会讲印度哲学。因为在欧洲或者日本，谈到印度哲学，都是谈到六派哲学，而六派里头不包含佛学。认真讲，欧洲人讲的、日本人讲的印度哲学，我不太清楚，我不过喜欢佛学就是了。同时，我那个时候正好旁的事情很忙，不能够答应蔡先生到北大。

What was I busy with at the time? By that time Yuan Shikai had already died and the North and South were reunited. The major force that overthrew Yuan was in the Southwest. In Guangxi, the important figures were Cai E and Lu Rongting. In Guizhou, it was Liu Xianshi. Among the forces overthrowing Yuan inside the government was Liang Qichao (Rengong). In the North, when Yuan was dying he had asked Duan Qirui to come into politics. Duan was, among the Beiyang militarists, a very honest, decent, fine person. Duan resolutely and firmly opposed Yuan Shikai's becoming emperor from the first. So a group of Yuan's supporters wanted to assassinate him. He was at the time Minister of the Army. He resigned and went to live in the Western Hills of Beijing. They still wanted to assassinate him. The upshot was that he was never killed. Yuan's plan for becoming emperor failed. In order to maintain the power of the Beiyang clique, he had to ask Duan to return to Beijing. Because Yuan was intent upon becoming emperor, he had already abolished the State Council and had set up a Political Bureau within the Presidential Palace. At the time he knew that he was dying, that he was done for, and he asked Duan to abolish this organ, restore the State Council and assume the post of Premier. Because Duan was honest and upright, and because he had opposed Yuan's plans to be emperor, the Southwestern forces still recognized Duan. In any case the Southwestern forces didn't have sufficient military forces to attack Beijing, so they came to terms.

An older relative of mine entered the government as a representative of the Southwest. This was Zhang Yaozeng, who drafted me to be his confidential secretary. There were secret telegrams and letters between him and the anti-Yuan forces of the Southwest—Guangxi, Yunnan and Sichuan; I managed these affairs for him. So when Mr. Cai asked me to come to Peking University to teach, I could not go. I asked a friend of mine to substitute for me. The next year the political situation changed, and Duan left. Zhang also fell from power. Only at this time was I able to go to Peking University.

那个时候什么事情很忙呢？那个时候，袁世凯死了以后，南北统一，推倒袁世凯的势力是在西南——广西，主要是蔡锷、陆荣廷、贵州刘显世。倒袁势力内部有梁启超——梁任公。这个时候北方就是袁世凯死了，袁世凯死的时候，他才把段祺瑞请出来。段这个人在北洋军人里头是一个很正派的、很好的人，自从袁有意要做皇帝，他就反对，坚决反对。另外一些包围、帮助袁世凯做皇帝的人要刺杀他，要刺段祺瑞，段祺瑞自己本来是陆军总长，自己辞职不干，住在北京的西山，他们还

要刺杀他，也没有刺死。袁世凯做皇帝做不成，只好维持北洋军人的势力，请段出来，从西山上把段请回北京。并且这个时候，由于袁世凯想做皇帝，他已经把国务院撤销了，不要国务院，他在总统府内设了一个叫做政事堂（的机构）。这个时候他要死了，他晓得是不行了，要请段出来，撤销政事堂，恢复国务院，段是国务总理。这样子因为段的人很正派，也是反对袁世凯做皇帝的，西南对段还是承认的，并且西南也没有兵力可以打到北京来，所以就妥协，妥协就组织一个南北统一的政府。

我的一个亲戚（张耀曾），也是一个长辈，就代表西南入阁、进政府。张耀曾就拉我做机要秘书，他跟西南方面的广西、云南、四川倒袁的势力往来有秘密的电报、函电，我就替他主管这个事情。所以蔡先生要我到北大，我就不能去，我就请了一个朋友替我。转过年来，第二年，政局变了，段也走了，张耀曾也下台，这个时候才帮助他。

Work with Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao

Alitto: What do you think of Chen Duxiu?

Liang: Chen Duxiu was really a formidable person.

Alitto: You met him only after you went to Peking University, or…

Liang: I ran into him right before I went to Peking University. There was someone who was known by everyone, Li Dazhao. He had some guests over to his house for dinner. He invited Chen and also invited me. That was the first time I met Chen. At that time, Chen had just come from Shanghai to Beijing. He had intended to persuade people to buy shares from him for an "East Asia Library" publishing house he was creating. Each share was 50 silver dollars, and two shares were 100 dollars. He hoped that his old friends would persuade everyone to buy shares in order to finance this publishing house of his. He came to Beijing for this purpose. Right at that time Cai Yuanpei had returned from abroad and assumed the presidency of Peking University. He needed a corps of teachers, obviously. He couldn't teach everything himself. He was an old friend of Chen Duxiu's, so he told Chen, "Alright, since you have come to Beijing, forget about this publishing house project. Don't mess with publishing houses. You come help me out?" So, in this way, the three of us—Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao and myself—entered Peking University at the same time.

Alitto: My impression is that your relationship with Chen Duxiu wasn't as good as yours with Li Dazhao.

Liang: Right. My relationship with Li started slightly earlier than with Chen. When I ran into Chen, it was at a banquet at Li's. But we three entered Peking University at the same time.

Alitto: With Chen Duxiu, you…

Liang: Chen left a very strong impression on me. Chen was someone who could really make breakthroughs, a man of great power.

Alitto: What do you think of the role he played in history?

与陈独秀、李大钊共事

艾：您觉得陈独秀怎么样啊？

梁：了不起啊，这个人了不起。

艾：您是到北大以后才认识他的，还是……

梁：刚好在进北大之前就碰见他。就是有一个人人都知道的人——是李大钊。李大钊有一次请客人吃饭，请的有陈独秀，请的也有我，第一次见面是这样子。那次呢，陈独秀来是从上海到北京，他的意思是到北京来劝人募股，他搞一个叫做“亚东图书馆”这么一个出版社，要大家入股凑钱。50块钱一股，100块钱就是两股，希望找一个熟的朋友劝大家入股，凑成他要办的亚东图书馆，他是这样来的。刚好这个时候蔡元培先生从国外回来，接任北大校长，他得需要一个班子，他一个人不行啊。他跟陈独秀本来是老朋友，他就说：“好啦，你到北京了，不要搞什么图书馆了，不要搞什么出版社了，你就来帮我吧。”这个时候陈独秀、李大钊连我，我们三个人同时进北大。

艾：我的印象是，您跟陈独秀的关系没有和李大钊的关系那么好。

梁：对，跟李的关系比陈稍早一步，跟陈碰见，还是在李的宴会上，可是进北京大学是陈、李、我同时的。

艾：跟陈独秀，您……

梁：我对他很有印象。那个人是一个能够打开局面的人、很有力量的人。

艾：在历史上您觉得他扮演的角色是怎么样呢？

Liang: He started the Communist Party.

Alitto: Right! Very important?

Liang: Very important.

Alitto: He and Li Dazhao, naturally they together founded the Communist Party.

Liang: The friendship between the two was very good, but their personalities were different.

Alitto: So, Li was relatively…

Liang: On the surface Li was a very gentle person. Everyone who had personal contact with him liked him. In fact, though, he was a very radical person in his heart.

Alitto: His personal relations with others were comparatively good.

Liang: Better than Chen Duxiu did in his relationships. Most people's attitude toward Chen Duxiu was to respect him but give him a wide berth. Everyone was afraid because he was often very rude in his speech with others. At meetings of the university, he was the dean of the College of Arts. There was a College of Sciences, which was headed by Mr. Xia Yuanli. These two were of the same rank, one in the Arts and one in the Sciences. During meetings Chen would be very rude toward Mr. Xia and embarrass him. So...

Alitto: Li Dazhao wasn't that kind of person. Which of these two people do you feel yourself…

Liang: Of course my relationship with Li Dazhao was better.

Alitto: Was the most important reason that Li was gentle, or…

Liang: Yes, Li was gentle.

Alitto: In thought, was Li's close to your own? So [your good relationship with him] had to do with thought, or with the way he conducted himself?

Liang: It was very strange. What was strange? Both Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao were members of the Chinese Communist Party, but Li never said anything to me about joining it. I don't know why. We were good friends but he never tried to get me into the Party.

Alitto: What about Chen Duxiu? I remember he had talked about this with you. In *The Chinese People's Final Awakening* [referring to *The Final Awakening of the Chinese People's Self-Salvation Movement]* you mentioned Chen Duxiu's criticism of your conception of the rural reconstruction, calling it some petite bourgeois fantasy. At that time Chen Duxiu wanted you to join the Party. You didn't…he also didn't…

梁：他是共产党的发起人。

艾：是啊，很重要的？

梁：很重要。

艾：他跟李大钊，当然也是一起组织成立共产党。

梁：他们两个人的朋友关系非常好，但两个人的性格不同。

艾：那李呢是比较……

梁：李呢，表面上是非常温和的一个人，表面上很温和，同大家一接触，人人都对他有好感，实际上骨子头里他也是很激烈的。

艾：他个人跟别的人的关系搞得比较好。

梁：比陈独秀搞得好。大家对陈独秀都有点敬而远之，怕他，因为他对人常常当面就不客气。在学校里开会议，他算是文学院长，开头叫文科学长，另外还有一个理科学长，搞物理的夏先生——夏元，两个人地位是相同的，一个是文科，一个是理科，在会议席上他有时候对夏先生就很不客气，让人下不来台，所以……

艾：李大钊不会这样。您觉得这两个人，哪一位和您自己……

梁：我当然还是跟李的关系好。

艾：那主要原因是李温和，还是……

梁：唉，李温和。

艾：那李的思想有没有比较接近您自己的？是不是跟思想有关系，或者说是为人的关系？

梁：很奇怪。很奇怪是什么呢？陈独秀、李大钊都是搞共产党，可是李先生没有说过一句话拉我入党，不知道为什么。朋友关系很好，可是从没有介绍我也参加共产党吧，他没有。

艾：那陈独秀呢？我记得是有，跟您讲过，《中国人民最后觉悟》（应为《中国民族自救运动之最后觉悟》）这本书，提到陈独秀批评您乡村建设的观念，说是小资产阶级的什么幻想，那个时候陈独秀是要您

参加党，您没有……他也没有……

Liang: No, he also didn't ask me to join the Party.

Bring Xiong Shili to Peking University

Alitto: Did Mr. Xiong also teach at Peking University?

Liang: He taught there.

Alitto: You met him at that time or after he had arrived at Peking University? Or before then?

Liang: I knew him before that. In fact, it was I who brought him to Peking University. Mr. Xiong and I were together for forty years.

Alitto: So when you were in Shandong, he went too?

Liang: He was with me in Shandong for a period. He didn't follow me from beginning to the end. In 1924, I went to Shandong to start a school. We went together. When I returned to Beijing from Shandong, we again were living together. In that period when I went to Guangdong, he went to West Lake in Hangzhou. Those two years we were separated. Later, when the War of Resistance started, I withdrew to Sichuan, and we were again together.

Alitto: As far as his publications go, can he be considered close to your own thought philosophically…

Liang: Xiong Shili was worthy of being called Confucian. From start to finish, his thought was Confucian. Other people mistakenly call him Buddhist, mistakenly term his theories Buddhist. Actually, this is not so. In China there was a Buddhist group. It was in Nanjing, and was called the Institute of Buddhist Studies. (Alitto: It was Ouyang Jingwu?) Yes, the institute was run by Ouyang Jingwu. I knew Xiong very well, and I advised him to go to this institute to study.

How we became friends was kind of funny. At that time Mr. Xiong was teaching Chinese language at the Nankai Middle School. He had written articles for Liang Qichao's journal called *The Justice*. These articles were written from a Confucian position vilifying Buddhism, saying that Buddhism was no good, that it made people lose their moorings spiritually and philosophically... In my article I criticized him. I said that in "this place" (referring to China) "a common fellow" (an ordinary Chinese) was "striving

for survival," such and such. I said that his words were nonsense, that he was wrong. The article was published and he read it. In 1920, he wrote me a postcard from Nankai Middle School to Peking University. His postcard said, "You reprimanded me quite deservedly. I'm now on summer vacation and am coming to Beijing. I want to meet you." And so it was in this way we began our relationship. So he arrived in Beijing that summer. His personality had its cheerful side. When he was talking in high spirits, he would laugh heartily, and would gesticulate wildly, waving his hands and stomping his feet very exuberantly. He criticized Buddhism from a Confucian perspective, but I was myself a Buddhist, so I told him that he didn't understand Buddhism, that the Buddhist doctrine was extremely profound. He said he was going to explore Buddihism. I said, "All right, I'll introduce you to Ouyang Jingwu and his Institute of Buddhist Studies." So there he went through my introduction, and for three years, from 1920 through 1922, he studied there.

梁：没有，他也没有让我参加党。

介绍熊十力到北大任教

艾：熊先生也是在北大教过书？

梁：教过书。

艾：您是那个时候认识他的，还是他到了北大以后呢？还是以前认识的？

梁：早认识了，他到北大还是我介绍的。熊先生同我在一起有40年了。

艾：那您在山东的时候，他也去了？

梁：在山东他同我在一起有一段时间，没有始终跟着我，民国十三年（1924年），我到山东去办学，我们同去的。从山东回到北京，又是在一块儿同住。有一段我去广东的时候，他去杭州西湖，有那么两年分开、分手。后来抗战起来，退到四川，又在一起。

艾：以他的著作来说呢，算不算是接近您自己的思想，哲学方面的……

梁：他可以称得起是一个儒家，他始终是一个儒家思想。旁人误会他是个佛家，旁人以为他是一个讲佛学的，其实不是。在国内有一个佛学的团体吧、机关吧，就是在南京，叫支那内学院。（艾：是欧阳竟

无？）是欧阳竟无。我跟熊先生认识在前，我介绍他去内（学）院。

我们发生朋友关系，说起来好像很可笑。那个时候熊先生他是在南开中学教书，教国文，教中文，他曾经在梁任公办的刊物叫《庸言》上写了些稿子，那些稿子站在儒家的立场诋毁佛家，他说佛家不好，佛家让人“流荡失守”。我的这篇文章里头就批评到他，我说“此土”——“此土”就是说中国了，“此土凡夫”，是个凡夫、凡人，“求生存”，怎么怎么样，他这个话是胡说，说的不对。文章发表了，他也看到了。民国九年的时候，1920（年），他在南开中学教书，他写一个明信片给我，寄到北京大学转给我，明信片上说：你骂我骂得很好，我现在放暑假了，我要到北京去，我们要见面。这样子开头相交的。他暑假就来到北京。他这个人有他那个敞亮的一面，他说话说得高兴的时候，他会哈哈大笑，可以手舞足蹈，很畅快的样子。他这个时候站在儒家的立场批评佛家，可是我是个佛家。我说你对佛家不明白，佛家的道理是非常地深的、高深的。他说我要去探求佛家，我说好，我可以介绍你到欧阳那个地方。所以，经我介绍，他就参加了欧阳的支那内学院。民国九年（1920年）、民国十年（1921年）、民国十一年（1922年），有三个年头，他都在那里。

Now, I was at Peking University teaching; at first I was teaching Indian Philosophy and later added Consciousness-Only Buddhism. Consciousness-Only is an extremely specialized type of learning, technically very difficult. It originated with Xuan Zang of the Tang Dynasty. A follower of his, Kui Ji, also contributed to it. This type of doctrine is actually very scientific, with a lot of "names and phenomenal appearances." That is why it is sometimes called the "appearances school" (dharma-character school). It has a lot of technical terms that make extremely fine distinctions. These terms cannot be used arbitrarily, or casually. In using these terms one must be precise. The entire body of doctrine is highly structured and systematic, very scientific-like.

At the beginning, I taught Indian philosophy at Peking University, then I also taught Confucianism, Buddhism and Consciousness-Only Buddhism. When I was teaching Consciousness-Only Buddhism, I quoted a lot of Western scientists in order to explain it. The Consciousness-Only doctrine speaks of eight *parijñana* (kinds of cognition or consciousness). The first five are the senses (seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, tactile feeling). The sixth is *mano-vijñāna*, the intellect. The six ones enable us to cope with our external environment. The seventh is called *klistamanas* [the discriminating sense]

and the eighth, the *ālāyavijñāna* [the "storehouse consciousness" from which come all "seeds" of consciousness]. These last two come from egoism and the ego. Not only do we humans have the ego, but all [other] animals do. All of us satisfy our desires from the external environment. So, with all animals we distinguish between the self and the "other," the internal and the external.

这个时候我在北京大学教书，起初教的是印度哲学，后来增加了讲佛家的唯识哲学。唯识这个东西，在佛家里头是很专门的东西，传统做这种学问的是唐朝的玄奘，玄奘的徒弟叫窥基。这个学问内容讲得很科学，它说名相，被称为相宗。它的名词都不能够随便讲的，都是需要很明确、确实，它全盘的学问很有组织、很像科学，唯识论啊、唯识法相。

我在北京大学起先讲印度哲学，后来也讲儒家，也讲佛家，讲唯识。开始我讲，引用许多西洋科学家的话来讲佛家，讲唯识。唯识是讲八识，头五识是眼耳鼻舌身，第六意识——眼耳鼻舌身意。前六识是意识外面的，应付环境的，根本上有个第七识和第八识。我们人呢，不单是人，一切的动物，一切动物它都有“我”。昨天我说了，一切动物都是向外取，满足自己，所以它都是分成一个外边、一个内边，一个物、一个我。

I was writing and lecturing on the Consciousness-Only school, and published two books on it. When I tried to continue writing, however, I felt that I was not really competent to deal with Consciousness-Only, and was not at all sure if I was correct. So I thought, well, the people at the Nanjing Institute of Buddhist Studies are true experts in this field. They can really penetrate and grasp the doctrines of Xuan Zang, Kui Ji and their school, so why don't I ask one of them to come teach this subject at Peking University? I had a discussion with President Cai Yuanpei about it, explaining that I was not really qualified to teach this subject, had no confidence and so on, and that I wanted to get one of the scholars from the Buddhist Institute at Nanjing to do it. President Cai agreed to provide the position, so I went to Nanjing. Of course, Ouyang Jingwu himself could not be moved from the Nanjing Institute, so I thought that I would invite one of his disciples, a man named Lü [Lü Zheng]. Lü was an excellent scholar who knew Tibetan and Sanskrit, a man of great erudition. But Lü was Ouyang's right-hand man and so he would not let Lü leave.

At that time, Mr. Xiong was already starting his third year at the institute. This was the winter of 1922, and it was I who, after all, was

responsible for his being there in the first place, and he was an old friend. So, when I couldn't get the man I wanted, I invited Mr. Xiong to come instead. I invited him to teach Consciousness-Only Buddhism at Peking University. Ah! How could I have known that he would do the opposite of what I had hoped! I didn't have any confidence in my own understanding, and was afraid that I was teaching a confused jumble, distorting what Xuan Zang introduced from India. My original aim was to get an expert on Consciousness-Only to come teach instead of me, as I thought that this would be a more suitable arrangement. Who would have thought that after Mr. Xiong arrived, in fact he would do precisely the opposite of what I had hoped? He wanted to create an entirely new pattern of things, to start a whole new entity. He entitled his lectures on Consciousness-Only the "New Consciousness-Only." For fear that I might distort or lose the original message of the ancients, I asked Mr. Xiong to come teach Consciousness-Only for me, and he simply took his own interpretations very subjectively to be the substance of Consciousness-Only! But since he had already arrived at Peking University as a professor, there was no way I could then ask him to leave. So I was stuck.

我慢慢地写文章讲唯识学，出了第一册、第二册，继续写的时候自己也很不自信，这个讲法对不对？我就想南京内学院他们是内行，他们是能够本着玄奘啊、窥基啊、法相宗的学问，我就请他们。我跟蔡校长蔡元培先生说，这门功课我讲不了了，我不敢自信了，恐怕讲得不好、不对，我要去内学院请人来讲。蔡校长同意了，我就去请。一请呢，当然欧阳大师是请不动了，我就想请欧阳大师的大弟子，姓吕的（吕）来讲。吕的学问也是好得很，他可以通藏文、通梵文，学问好得很。欧阳大师不放，他的左右手，不放。

这个时候，熊先生在内（学）院已经到了第三个年头了，本来是我介绍去的，我的熟朋友，请不动旁人，我就请熊先生。我说“你来吧”，请他到北京大学讲唯识。哪里晓得跟我的所想的相反。怎样相反呢？我是不敢自信，恐怕我讲的是自己乱讲的，不合当初玄奘从印度学来的那个学问——唯识学。我的意思请个内行人来讲妥当，哪晓得熊先生请来以后大反我所预想，他要开辟新局面，他讲的唯识标明是“新唯识论”。我是唯恐失掉古人的意思，他就是主观地按自己的意思来讲古人的学问。可是这时候已经请他来了，他担任这个课了，尽管不合我的意思，我也没有办法变更了。

Gu Hongming of an analytical mind but quite tendentious

Alitto: Did you know Gu Hongming?

Liang: I ran into him.

Alitto: In Beijing?

Liang: At Peking University. Didn't I tell you that I withdrew from Hunan? When the troops pulled out, I came out with them, and wrote a small pamphlet—"If We do not Take Action, What about the People?" At that time I went to Peking University. I ran into Mr. Gu in the Teachers' Lounge—there was a lounge for the teachers to use before going to the classroom to teach their classes. He was very tall, and wore the old style dress, the dress worn during the Qing Dynasty—a long robe, a riding jacket. The robe was blue and the riding jacket was maroon. He wore a small cap with a red bump on it. He wore a queue. Didn't the Qing people wear queues? He was very tall. Didn't I write the pamphlet, "If We do not Take Action, What about the People?" I had put several copies of it on the table in the Teachers' Lounge for people to see. He picked one up, nodded his head, and said, "A person of high aspirations and determination." He was much older than I, probably by fifty or sixty years. At the time I was only 24.

Alitto: I knew his granddaughter in Taiwan.[3] She's already gone to the U.S. I met her when I was studying Chinese. Too bad that her family's papers are gone. What did you think of him? I feel that he was strange. He advocated bound feet and wearing queues. He really was completely conservative.

Liang: In China a man had a wife and several concubines.

Alitto: Right, he also advocated…

Liang: If people expressed opposition or disagreement, he would tell a joke. He said that a teapot could have four cups, but you could not have a cup with four teapots. This man was quite eccentric. He did his utmost to raise up China, and belittle foreign countries. He said such a remark: You foreigners, Europeans, previously you were unable to separate yourselves from the church. Religion taught you morality and restrained you. Later when religion no longer was such a powerful force, national armies kept you under control and dominated. China was not like this. China's common people themselves like peace and quiet.

辜鸿铭有见识，但思想主张很偏

艾：您跟辜鸿铭认识吗？

梁：碰见过。

艾：是在北京吗？

梁：北大。我不是说我从湖南撤退？他撤兵的时候我也随着出来了，写了本小册子《吾曹不出如苍生何》。那个时候我去北大，在教员休息室——就是说在上课堂教课之前，有个教员休息的地方——在教员休息室碰见辜先生。身体很高，穿旧的服装，清朝人的服装，穿长袍，穿马褂，蓝袍子，枣红的马褂，带小帽，小帽上有一个红疙瘩，有辫子，清朝人不是留辫子嘛，身体很高。我不是写了《吾曹不出如苍生何》那个小册子？我就在教员休息室的台上我也放了几本，随便给大家看。他也捡起来看，点点头，说一句话："有心人。"他岁数比我大很多，恐怕要大五六十岁，那时我只有24（岁）。

艾：对。他的孙女，我认识她，在台湾，她现在已经在美国了，学中文的时候我认识她的。可惜她家的文件啊这类东西已经都没有了。你对他怎么看，感觉他好奇怪啊，他主张小脚、主张什么辫子，他真是保守到家了。

梁：中国人有一个正太太，还有好几个妾。

艾：对，他也主张……

梁：人家表示反对，不同意，他就说一个笑话，他说一个茶壶可以有四个茶杯，你不能一个茶杯有四个茶壶。他这个人呢，是一个很古怪的人。他极力抬高中国、贬低外国。他说这样一句话：你们外国，欧洲人，以前离不开教会，宗教教训你们、管束你们。后来呢，宗教没有那么大势力了，国家的军队镇压、统治。中国不是这样，中国就是他自己喜欢和平、安静的老百姓。

Alitto: Your books,[such as] Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies, also expressed this idea.

Liang: Russell of England very much admired China.

Alitto: Yes. As for the saying of Gu Hongming just mentioned, if the church didn't control Westerners, they were controlled by the state—it was always a force external to person. The case was different in China. After Confucius, it was ethics for ethics' sake, pure ethics—not gods or laws. This is a very big difference between China and the West.

Liang: Aren't China's common people very disorganized? Dis-

organization and peace are linked. The more peaceful the more disorganized, the more disorganized the more peaceful. Each goes through life in a disorganized and peaceful manner, unless in certain periods—China underwent a cycle of order and a cycle of disorder. In a period of order, perhaps after a hundred years or whatever, there must be disorder. The disorder is followed by order. What is order? It is everyone settling down, in disorganization and peace. This is different from foreign countries.

Alitto: Did you have any other opinions on Gu Hongming?

Liang: This man did have an analytical mind, but he was also one biased old-timer. His thought and positions were quite tendentious and one-sided.

My intercourse with the four professors of the Institute of Chinese Studies, Tsinghua University

Liang: I already spoke of my relationship with Mr. Liang Rengong. My relationship with Mr. Liang was not that long. He was in the North. Later I went to Guangdong, to Li Jishen's. When I was in Guangdong, I was 36. Liang Rengong was exactly 20 years older than I. While I was in Guangdong, he died in Beijing in 1929. Most of my contact with him was in Beijing. He was in charge of the Institute of Chinese Studies of Tsinghua University. At the time, the institute had four professors. Liang Rengong was one. Another was Wang Jing'an (Wang Guowei), another was Chen Yinke. The fourth was Zhao Yuanren. Zhao Yuanren is still alive in the United States…. He possessed an extremely rich knowledge. I heard that he had this kind of ability: he usually spoke madarin as we did. But if he went to a new place, for example, Fujian or Guangdong, within a day or two, he was able to speak that place's dialect.... From the rhyme and enunciation, he understood the speech after having been there a day or two, so he could speak local speech. People told me it was that way.

艾：您的几本书，（如）《东西文化及其哲学》，也有这种意思。

梁：英国的罗素他对中国很欣赏。

艾：是。辜鸿铭刚才提到的那句话，西方人不是给教会控制着就是给国家控制着，总是人外的一种力量，跟中国人不同了。中国孔子以后，为了伦理而伦理，纯粹的一种伦理，不是什么神啊，也不是什么法

律，这是中西之间很大的不同的地方。

梁：中国的老百姓不是很散漫的（吗）？散漫跟和平相连，越和平越散漫，越散漫越和平，散散漫漫、和平地各自过日子。除非到某一个时期，中国都说一治一乱，一个治的时代，或者有100年或者多少年就要乱一次，乱了又治。什么叫做治呢？治就是大家都各自安身了，散漫和平。跟外国不同。

艾：对辜鸿铭有没有别的意见……

梁：这个人就是一个有见识、但是又是很偏的一个老前辈吧，思想主张很偏。

我与清华国学院四大导师

梁：再说的就是我也提到过的，跟梁任公的关系。跟梁先生的关系，时间不是太长，他在北方，后来我去了广东，在李济深那个地方。我36岁，梁任公刚好长我20岁，我在广东的时候，他就在北京死了，故去了，民国十八年（1929年）故去的。跟他往来比较多的时候是在北京，他主持清华大学的国学研究院。当时清华大学国学研究院有四个导师，梁任公先生是一个，还一个有名的叫王静安先生——王国维，再一个姓陈的，叫陈寅恪，第四个呢是赵元任，赵元任现在还在，在美国。……他的知识很丰富。听说他有这样一个本事，一般地他跟我们一样讲北京普通话，但是如果他到一个新鲜的地方，比如到了福建、到了广东，就那么一天、两天，他就能讲那个地方的方言。……从音韵上、从运用口齿上，住上一两天，他就晓得怎么样子，所以他能讲当地的话。人家告诉我是这样。

At that time I also lived at Tsinghua, staying at someone else's place. I wasn't working at Tsinghua. But Mr. Liang Rengong was managing the Institute of Chinese Studies, and engaged me to give lectures for a short period, about a month. I lectured on a temporary basis. At that time I had relatively more contact with him. I also met and had contact with Mr. Wang Jing'an at that time. I heard about Mr. Wang Guowei's suicide by drowning at the Summer Palace just a few hours after it happened. I even went off to the Summer Palace to see what the situation was. I also knew Chen Yinke and had some contact with him. He also was someone of rich and broad learning. I did not much seek his instruction. As for Mr. Zhao, I didn't speak with him. Among historical personages, I had a period of closeness with Liang Qichao.

我那个时候也住在清华，算是借住，我没有在清华工作。不过梁任公先生主持那个国学研究院，他也请我在国学研究院作过一个短期的讲演，短期讲学，大概就是讲一个月，临时给他讲。那个时候我同他比较有往来。那个时候我同王静安先生——王国维认识、往来。王国维先生在颐和园投水，我就在几个小时后我就听说了，我还跑去到颐和园去看。我跟陈寅恪也认识，有过接触，他也是学问很丰富、很多，我没有怎么样向他请教。至于赵先生，没有谈过话。过去的人物里头算是我跟梁任公先生——梁启超曾经有一段很亲近。

Rural reconstruction

My running school in Shandong

Liang: There was some one else with whom I was very close. I don't know if you heard of this person—a Shandongese named Wang Hongyi.

Alitto: Yes, that's in the book [*The Last Confucian*]. There are about ten pages about your intellectual relationship with him. I have read his writings. Did you get to know him at that time? At first he was in Shandong running a school. Later, when the May Fourth Movement began, he came to Beijing and sought out Hu Shi. (Liang: Sought out Hu Shi and Mr. Cai [Yuanpei].) You got to know him at this time?

Liang: Yeah. Because he was someone of influence in Shandong. He was from Caozhou in Shandong. There was a middle school in Caozhou called the Sixth Middle School under Provincial Administration, which he had founded. Later he was very close to someone named Jin Yunpeng, who had been Chairman of Shandong Provincial Government and the Premier [of China]. He had great influence in Shandong educational circles, and in 1921, he supported and welcomed me to go to Shandong to lecture during the summer, to give lectures on *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies*. Later he, together with Jin Yunpeng, wanted to organize a Shandong Great Company. The company's funds were from mining and railroads—the Boshan Coal Mines and the Qingdao-Jinan Railroad that the Japanese had returned; they wanted to use a part of these funds to found a university. What university? One called Qufu University, in Confucius' hometown. They were busy with this and wanted me to come run the university. I said that it wouldn't work. I said that I was thirty-some years old. At that time I was just thirty. How could managing a university be that easy? How could so young a person [as I, who had] just [entered] the academic world… This wouldn't work.

Alitto: When you left Peking University, you went to Shandong… (Liang: I did.) I don't quite have this straight. I supposed that you and those who founded the university had different opinions, with the result that you

didn't go.

Liang: They wanted me to manage Qufu University. I said: I can't regard such an enterprise as something that could be done casually. If you want to hand over its management to me, we should have done the work for the preparatory stage. There are two kinds of preparatory tasks. One is the preparation for the future instructors. The other is the preparation for the university students. They said, "Alright, you go manage it." [I then] went to run a senior high school. On the one hand, a senior high school, and on the other...an academy, the Revive China Academy.

贰 我与乡村建设

我在山东办学的经历

梁：有一个人跟我朋友关系很好，不知道你听说过这个人没有？一个山东人，叫王鸿一。

艾：是，这个书里也有（《最后的儒家》），关于他跟您的思想有关系的，差不多10页。他的著作我拜读过，我都看过。您是那个时候认识的？他是先在山东办了个学校，后来五四运动开始，他到北京来，跟胡适请教，（梁：向胡适、蔡先生求教。）您是那个时候认识他吧？

梁：嗯。因为他是在山东地方上很有势力的一个人，他是山东曹州人。曹州有一个中学，叫省立第六中学，第六中学他办起来的，他同那个做过山东省政府主席的、后来做国务总理的叫靳云鹏，跟靳云鹏很熟、很相好。他在山东教育界很有势力，他主张要欢迎我去暑期讲演，讲《东西文化及其哲学》，在民国十年（1921年）。后来他还要同靳云鹏，他们想要组织一个鲁大公司，鲁大公司的款，是日本退回来的博山煤矿、胶济铁路——把铁路矿山的收入取一部分办一个大学。办一个什么大学呢？办一个叫做曲阜大学（的学校），孔子的家乡，办一个曲阜大学。他们搞这个活动，要我来办。我说不行啊，我说我就30多岁，那个时侯刚刚30岁，不行。办一个大学哪里那么容易的事情，哪里这么（个）年轻人，刚刚在学术界……这个不行。

艾：您离开北大的时候，您就是去山东……（梁：去了。）这个我弄不清楚了。我猜的是，结果您还是与创立大学的人意见不同，结果不去。

梁：他们要我办曲阜大学，我说不能就这么样子把它看成可以随便办起来的事情，你们要交给我办，我们应当做一段预备阶段的工作。预备阶段的工作作两种预备，一个是预备将来主持这个大学的教员，一个是这个大学的学生，就这个预备。他们说好，你就去办，去办就是办高级中学，一方面办一个高级中学，一方面办一个……书院，重华书院。

Alitto: The Revive China Academy is also in Caozhou?

Liang: Caozhou. These two institutions were together in the same place, the same city. The students were not only going to be drawn from Shandong.

Although the school was in Caozhou, Shandong, students would be recruited in Beijing. I had previously issued a document called "Brief Review of Our Opinions on Education," which was how we were going to run the school. It mentioned a slogan, "to Be Friends with You [the student]." [This was] not like the situation in which the teachers talked about some stuff in school and the students received some knowledge, which looked like an instructor selling knowledge. We didn't want it like that. We wanted to be friends with the youth and leading the youth together on the road of life. We recruited students in Beijing. Because this document was issued, a lot of people saw it, and because we recruited students in Beijing, not in Shandong, the recruited students, the later ones, carefully counted, included people from thirteen provinces and cities, some as far away as Suiyuan, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Yunnan, Guangdong, Sichuan, Zhejiang, etc.—students from thirteen provinces and cities. Because we recruited them in Beijing, we brought them to Shandong. But, it was a pity that I myself stayed there just for half a year. I brought several friends there to be instructors who worked there a year.

...At the time there were two cliques of warlords, the Zhili clique and the Anhui clique. There were contradictions between them. When there were contradictions, military activities would influence things.[4] My school couldn't continue. So I withdrew. The group of instructors that I brought there had lectured for a full year and they also withdrew. Because, as I just said, we wanted to be friends with the youth, many students had emotional attachments and very close relationships with us. So, some students withdrew with us. Everyone lived together in Beijing. At that time, Mr. Xiong Shili was together with me. When I went to Caozhou, he went with me, and left there together with me. Also, there was a period, about one or two years, not a brief period. So, I wasn't doing anything, and I had some students [with me]. One was Li Jishen, one was Chen Mingshu. Every month they would send several hundred silver dollars to support us. After they supported us for these two years, they sent a letter saying that we should not closet ourselves in Beijing talking scholarship, because at that time the National Revolution was in Guangzhou [and] the revolutionary waves were strong—they told us not to talk scholarship behind closed doors, to go participate in the revolution together. I also felt that this national revolution was a new lease on life for China. [I felt that] they weren't the old style warlords. The era of the old warlords had passed. They seemed to be a newly arisen force. At that time Mr. Sun [Yat-sen] was influenced by Russia, and allied with Russia and the

Communists, with his "Three Great Policies." I also wanted to go take a look around. Before I went myself, I first had three friends go, and then later I would go. When I went I only wanted to observe the situation, and didn't dare involve myself in [the movement]. But because Li Jishen was an old friend...he didn't tell me beforehand and had the Nanjing National Government announce that I was a member of the Guangdong Provincial Government Committee. I wasn't willing [to serve]. This I said before.

艾：重华书院还在曹州吗？

梁：曹州。这两个机关在一起，在同一个地方，同一个城市。学生呢，不是单吸收山东的学生，虽然学校办在山东曹州这个地方，可是招生在北京招生。因为我事先发布一个文件，叫《办学意见述略》，讲我预备怎么办学校。提出一个口号，就是要跟青年做朋友，不是像学校里头老师讲一些东西，学生就是来接受一些知识，好像是一个贩卖知识的教员，不要这样；要跟青年在人生道路上做朋友，领导着青年大家共同在人生道路上走。发表了这样一个《办学意见述略》，在北京招生。因为这个文件发表出去，很多人看到了，招生又不是在山东，在北京招生，所以招的学生、后来的学生，细心地数起来，包含13个省市的人，有绥远的、山西、陕西的、云南的、广东的、四川的、浙江的……13个省市的学生。因为在北京招到的，都带去到山东。不过可惜呢，就我自己说，我就是在那边停留了半年，我带去几个朋友，就是教职员，在那里搞了一年。

……当时的军阀里头算是直隶派——直系，还有皖系——就是安徽的，所以他们都有矛盾啊，有矛盾了，军事活动就影响了，我那个学校办不下去，所以我就退出来了。我带去的一班人满了一学年之后，也退出来了。因为刚才说过，我们是要跟青年做朋友，所以许多学生跟我们感情、关系很密切，所以有些学生都随着我们都撤退出来。就在北京嘛，大家在一起住。这个时候熊十力先生也跟我一块儿住，我去曹州，他也跟着我一块儿去，一同退回来。第二个就是有这么两年，时期并不很短，那么我什么事情不做，还有一些学生（跟着我）。……一个是李济深，一个是陈铭枢，每个月给我们几百块钱维持。维持了这么一两年，他们就来信，说你们不要在北京关着门在那儿谈学问——因为这个时候广州正是国民革命，革命的潮流正在很盛——你们不要关着门谈学问了，你们来，我们一道参加革命。我也感觉到他们广东的这种国民革命好像是中国的一个生机——不是旧军阀，旧军阀那个时代过去了，他们好像是一个新的力量起来了。那个时候正是孙先生受俄国的影响，联俄联共，三大政策。我也想去看一看。去看之前，我先让三个朋友去。

然后自己也去。去的时候我只是想看，不敢自己投入到里边去。可是因为李济深是个老朋友，他没有先跟我说，他就让南京国民政府发表我（为）广东省政府委员，我不肯就，过去说过一下。

When I was Yan Xishan's advisor

Alitto: According to some materials, there was a "Village Government Group." Before you joined, there were already some…which consisted of Wang Hongyi, Wang Yike, and Liang Zhonghua. Were there others?

Liang: There were others who belonged to this group. In Henan they started the Henan Village Government Academy and in Beijing they started the *Village Government Monthly*. Both the magazine and the academy used the name "Village Government." The inside story is that money was still needed for the publication of the *Village Government Monthly*. Where did this money come from? From Yan Xishan.

Alitto: Oh! So Yan Xishan was connected to this Village Government Group?

Liang: It was all [through] Wang Hongyi. Wang Hongyi was like an honored guest of theirs. Feng Yuxiang was a big warlord. And so was Yan Xishan. Wang was an honored guest of these warlords. They both respected him, and would speak with him. He was their advisor. Later I, too, was engaged by Yan Xishan as an advisor. Wang Hongyi was also the person who introduced me to Yan.

我做阎锡山顾问的时候

艾：有些资料说有个“村治派”，您参加以前已经有一些……就是王鸿一、王怡柯、梁仲华，还有一些别人啊？

梁：还有一些别人。因为河南的，在河南就成立了村治学院，北京呢成立了《村治月刊》社，出版刊物，一本杂志，都是用村治的名字。这个背后呢，《村治月刊》社出版东西是需要钱的，这个钱谁出的呢？阎锡山。

艾：噢，那阎锡山和村治派怎么有关系？

梁：都是那个王鸿一。王鸿一好像是一种座上客。冯玉祥是一个大军阀，阎锡山是一个大军阀，他是大军阀的座上客，他们都很尊敬他，

他可以向他们说话，是他们的顾问。后来不是我也被请为阎锡山的顾问？也都是王鸿一介绍的。

Before the enlarged meeting, I received a letter of appointment as a high level advisor from Yan Xishan through Wang Hongyi. Each month he would send me 500 silver dollars as a fee for advising him. At that time, I spoke to Yan: Since he gave me such a lavish fee for being an advisor, I wanted to contribute my opinion. I told him that now China's present problem was none other than you several big leaders. China's problem was whether or not there would be civil war again—previously there had been civil war. Civil war benefited no one. It would benefit none of you powerful figures, or the common people, and it would sap the vitality of the nation. Rather than having another civil war, it would be better to sacrifice oneself, to fall from power. This was the suggestion I gave him. He should respect the older generation in the Guomindang—the four senior statesmen—Wu Zhihui, Cai Yuanpei, Zhang Jingjiang and Li Shizeng. He should respect them, establish a privy council, and allow them to perform a supervisory function. Each of the big warlords should disarm, and absolutely should not have another civil war. This was my contributory opinion. Later Wang Jingwei and Chen Gongbo went to Taiyuan. He never listened to my council again; instead he organized an enlarged meeting to oppose Chiang. I immediately resigned my position as advisor. Later then, the Great Plains War started.

Alitto: How was Yan Xishan as a person?

Liang: He had his strengths. He was extraordinary. From the Revolution of 1911 overthrowing the Qing Dynasty, he arose to seize the govern-mental power in Shanxi, and held on to it for several decades. In no other province can you find a second person that controlled a provincial government continuously for several decades. There was no one else. That he had abilities and strengths is out of question, but he was still selfish. He was always grasping at power. He wanted his subordinates to adopt a kind of religious ceremony, to take a vow to the spirits that they would be loyal to him, and never betray him. People took this oath, which said what punishment Heaven would befall them if they were not loyal to the vow. He went in for this sort of game.

So I say that he was selfish, he had no [greater] ability. It was limited to this. No more. His moral character, personality and ability stopped with this, and didn't go higher. So as soon as Wang Jingwei and Chen Gongbo arrived

there, he cast my advice aside, set up an enlarged meeting to oppose Chiang, and so in this way there was the Great Plains War, with Yan and Feng [Yuxiang] on the one side, and Chiang on the other. They lost the Henan War. How did they lose? Zhang Xueliang of the Northeast was bribed by Chiang, and entered at their rear. Naturally they lost. He was selfish and unclever.

扩大会议之前，通过王鸿一，我接受阎锡山一个高级顾问的聘书，每个月送我500块钱，顾问的工资。当时我就对阎谈了，他这样厚礼顾问，我要贡献我的意见。我说现在中国当前的问题，不在别人，就在你们几个巨头。中国问题就是，是不是还要再打内战，过去打了内战，今后是不是还要打内战。打内战是谁也没有好处，你们巨头之间谁也没有好处，老百姓、国家元气更受伤，再也不要打内战，宁可牺牲自己，我下台，不打内战。那么我给他建议，要尊重国民党内部的老前辈，就是吴稚晖、蔡元培、张静江、李石曾四大元老，尊重他们，成立一个枢密院，让他们来发挥一种监督作用。各军阀巨头要裁军，绝对不要内战。我贡献的意见是如此，可是后来汪精卫、陈公博来了，到了太原，他就没有再听我的话，他就搞起了扩大会议，对蒋，那么我就马上辞了这个顾问。以后就中原大战打起来了。

艾：阎锡山他怎么样，为人怎么样啊？

梁：人有他的长处了，很了不起了。他从辛亥革命推翻清廷的时候，起来掌握了山西的政权，一直掌握了几十年，在全国各省找不到第二个人掌握一省政权始终掌握几十年的，再没有别人。他有他的本事、有他的长处是没有疑问的，但是还是有私心。他就是说老想掌握大权，他要部下啊，好像是采取宗教的仪式，对着神灵发誓，发誓我要忠于阎先生，决不背叛；我发了这个誓，以后我要是不能忠于这个誓，天怎么样地降罚给我——他就搞这一套。

所以要不我说他那个自私啊，也就是他没有本事吧，他的品格、人格、本领也就止于如此，没有更高的。所以汪精卫、陈公博一到他那里，我劝他的话他都扔到一边，搞扩大会议，要对蒋，这样就有中原大战。阎、冯（玉祥）是一边，蒋是一边，在河南大战。河南大战失败了，怎么失败的呢？东北的张学良受蒋的贿赂，张学良从后边来了，当然他们就失败了。他是有私心，不高明。

Han Fuju and Rural Reconstruction Institute

Liang: Chiang Kai-shek wanted to get three [bodies of] people out of

the way—the Guangxi clique, Feng Yuxiang, and Yan Xishan. At that time [when Han Fuju was governor of Henan Province] Feng was under great pressure from Chiang. Feng didn't want to fight Chiang, so he withdrew his troops westward. He gave up Shandong and Henan. Originally he had occupied both Henan and Shandong. He gave them both up. He withdrew northwestward through Tongguan.

After going through Tongguan, he held a military conference. At this meeting Han spoke against the withdrawal westward, because with so many troops—around 200,000—they would not be able to survive in such poor areas as Shaanxi and Gansu. Moreover, because of the poverty of the region, our [the troops'] presence would also be a burden for the people in the region. At this point, Feng became angry and said, "What do you know? Don't say anything more! Get out of here! Leave the conference room! Go outside the door and kneel as punishment!" Feng always handled his subordinates in this high-handed manner, treating them as if they were his children. So Han had to go outside the door—still in the adjoining room—and kneel. After the conference had been adjourned, when Feng was leaving, he passed by the still kneeling Han, gave him a box on the ear, and told him, "Get up!" Then Feng left.

Now at this point Han was the commander of the general head-quarters and also the governor of a province. He had a lot of subordinates of his own. So he just could not take this kind of treatment. So he got up and, with his most trusted officers and their troops, left off the westward march, and instead returned through Tongguan to Henan. As soon as Chiang Kai-shek heard that Han had broken away from Feng, he was overjoyed. He had wanted to separate them. He immediately offered Han the chairmanship of the Shandong Provincial Government. Han was Chairman of the Shandong Government for ten years.

In 1929 I hadn't had any intention to stay in the North, but as it turned out, I did [stay]. It was because the political situation in Guangdong Province changed. Chiang placed Li Jishen under arrest, and so I didn't want to return to Guangdong. Right around that time, a friend of mine established the Henan Village Government Academy. Peng Yuting was the president, with Liang Zhonghua serving as vice president. They welcomed my going to work in the school, and so I became the academic dean. At that time, they had just started the school, and so all the substantive issues—content, curriculum, teaching

methods and so on—had not yet been decided upon. I was able to make these determinations, and also to write many of the rules and regulations, and methods. Then Han, following Chiang's orders, was transferred to Shandong. At that time, Liu Zhi was one of the big generals in Chiang's army, and he arrived in Kaifeng, Henan. The vice president of the Henan Village Academy, Liang Zhonghua, closed the academy. He was no longer able to run it. He set out for Jinan and reported to Han. Han answered that it didn't matter (that the academy shut down). He then invited us to bring the school to Shandong. The original body of people involved in the Henan Academy had not yet dispersed, so we all went to Shandong. We consulted together and decided not to use the name Village Government Academy anymore. So the name of the school was the Rural Reconstruction Institute. And so that is how we ended up in Zouping, Shandong.

韩复榘与乡村建设研究院

梁：蒋要解决三个人，第一是解决桂系，第二解决冯，第三解决阎锡山。这个时候，冯呢受蒋的压迫，冯不想跟蒋打，冯就是把自己军队向西撤，放弃山东、河南，本来山东他也占了，河南他也占了，山东、河南他都放弃，从潼关往西北走。

进了潼关之后，开军事会议，在会议席上，韩（复榘）就说话了，发言就是说，我们不应该向西撤，我们军队这么多人，好像20万人吧，往西撤，陕西、甘肃这个地方是苦地方，不像山东那样。我们到那里，到这个苦地方，这么多军队啊，于军队也不好，于地方也不好，地方也受苦。冯就发怒，说："你懂什么？你不要说话！"跟他说："你出去！"——从这个会议室出去，到外面一个屋子，到门外面，外面还是一个屋子，"罚跪！"——跪下。冯对他自己的部下，他向来就是有这样一个威严，好像是对自己的孩子一样。韩就只好在门口外头——还是个屋子，跪着了。这个会议开完了，冯散会，冯出去的时候，打韩一个耳光，说："起来吧！"就走了。

韩呢，他已经又是总指挥，又是什么主席，他自己有很多部下嘛，他就受不了。他起来之后，他就把他比较能够最亲信的将领、最亲信的部队，就带出来了。他就不往西去，回河南，从潼关又回来了。这个时候呢，蒋介石知道了这个韩从冯脱离，他非常高兴，他是要分化，他马上发表韩的山东主席，韩就到山东了。韩到山东，做山东主席正好10年，韩的势力发展在山东。

我本来在民国十八年（1929年），没有想到留在北方，可是结果留在北方了，因为广东局面变了，李济深被扣了，我不想回广东了。刚好河南朋友，就办起来河南村治学院，院长就是彭禹廷，副院长是梁仲华，他们就欢迎我参加这个工作，我就担任教务长。这个时候他们刚刚开始，一切的内容，怎么一个办法，都还没定，都是我给他出主意，定了许多的章则、办法。刚才不是说韩奉蒋的命令就调到山东了吗？这个时候是蒋的军队有一个大将，叫刘峙，刘峙驻开封，到了河南。刚才说的，原来村治学院的副院长，姓梁——梁仲华，就结束了河南的事情，河南的村治学院不能办了。他就跑到济南去向韩报告，韩说："不要紧，我请你们都在山东好了。"所以，我们就到了山东。本来村治学院的一批人，很多人都还没有散，那么就转移到山东去了。转移到山东去，大家商量不用那个"村治学院"，不用那个名称，用这个名称，是"乡村建设研究院"。这样子，我们就在山东邹平……

Alitto: It would seem that Han Fuju felt that local self-government and rural reconstruction were important.

Liang: He trusted and believed in us.

Alitto: How did your own relationship with Han Fuju develop?

Liang: It was for this reason. At first, in Henan, when the academy was still in the planning stages, Peng Yuting came to bring me from Beijing to Henan. We went first to Zhengzhou, and from there to Kaifeng. The provincial government was in Kaifeng at that time. We had just got off the train in Kaifeng and were in the hotel when Han Fuju arrived to visit me. He was extremely modest and unassuming. He said to me, "I have heard you lecture in Nanyuan in Beijing." So this meeting was in Henan.

Didn't I just say that he had already been transferred to Shandong? So, when we went to Shandong, I had known him, and had become well acquainted with him long before. Well-acquainted, so we chose Zouping County. This county was not far from Jinan, and it wasn't too far from the railroad either. We chose this place as our experimental district. In this district, the institute was divided into three major sections: a research department, a training department, and an experimental department.

艾：就是说这个韩复榘，他是好像觉得乡村建设、这个村治啊工作是要紧的，对不对？

梁：他很信任我们。

艾：那么您个人跟他的关系……

梁：也就是这样一个关系。开头在河南的时候，还是要开办村治学院，村治学院在筹备期间的时候，那个院长是彭禹廷，彭嘛就从北京迎接我到河南，到郑州，从郑州再去开封，当时省政府还在开封。我刚刚下了火车，在开封下火车，住在旅馆里的时候，韩就来看我，很谦虚。他告诉我，他说："我听过你的讲，在北京南苑的时候。"这是在河南。

刚才不是说他已经调山东了吗？所以到山东已经算是早已认识了，早已相熟了。相熟嘛就是我们选择了邹平这个县，这个县刚好离胶济铁路不远，离济南也不算很远，离铁路线不太远，离济南也不算很远，我们就选择这个地方做一个实验区。在这个实验区，研究院就主要是三个部分：一个部分是研究部，一个部分叫训练部，一个部分叫实验区。

Alitto: Yes. There is a lot of material on all of this. What was Han's attitude toward this? What do you think his motive was for supporting you? He was...

Liang: His intentions were the best. He gave us completely free rein. He let us work independently, and completely gave over to us the County of Zouping. The institute was located in the county, and the county was under the control of the institute. We nominated the county magistrate, and then the provincial government would appoint him and announce the fact. Later, we reorganized the county government. All of the measures we adopted were of an experimental nature, just to see what methods and measures would be best. For example, originally there were four bureaus outside the county government. There were an educational bureau, a reconstruction bureau, a finance bureau, and a security bureau. We amalgamated these four bureaus into the county government itself, and these various matters were managed centrally in the county administration. This is an example of the sorts of experiments we carried out.

In the end, Han unintentionally offended Chiang, and so he had Han shot. How did he offend Chiang? When the Xi'an Incident occurred, and Chiang was detained, the CCP sent Zhou Enlai down to Xi'an to consult on what should be done with Chiang. At this time, the various warlords all sent representatives to consult with each other on what action to take. He [Han] sent a cable to Xi'an that proposed that the question of how to punish Chiang should be settled by a conference in which all parties would consult with each other. Now, this proposal was not to Chiang's advantage, but when this cable

was sent Chiang had already been released. When Chiang saw the cable, he said, "I have always been good to you. How could you do something like this?" And so he began to hate Han after this. Han had sent his cable too late; Chiang had already been released. So, later Chiang had Han shot.

Alitto: I had understood that Chiang had Han shot because when the Japanese invaded Shandong, Han did not resist with full force.

艾：是，这些倒是有很多资料啊。就是说韩复榘自己的态度怎么样呢？您看他维持着你们的动机在哪里呀？他是……

梁：他的意思是很好的。他很放手给我们，让我们工作，他就把这个邹平县交给我们。这个研究院设在这个县里头，而县呢属于研究院。县长由我们提名，省政府来任命、发表。后来我们就对县政府改组，一些事情都采取一个试验的性质，看看怎么样好，怎么样办法好。比如说，原来县政府之外是四个局，什么教育局、建设局，什么公安局、财政局，我们就把这些局都不要，统统归并到县政府里头，在县政府里头合署办公，合在一起办公，如此之类。

韩在无意中得罪了蒋，所以蒋把他枪毙了。怎么样得罪蒋呢？就是西安事变，不是蒋被扣吗？蒋被扣的时候，陕北的中共方面，周恩来到了西安了，蒋被扣起来，好像要商量对蒋怎么样。这个时候，各省的军阀互相派代表商量——得到蒋被扣的消息了——商量怎么样子……韩答复一个电报到西安，他就提议说，怎么样处分蒋，我们大家开会商量。这样一个主张并不利于蒋——共同商量对蒋如何嘛。可是这个电报出去之后，蒋已经出来了，蒋看见这个电报："我一向对你很好嘛，你怎么还要这样子？"所以他心里头恨这个韩。韩这个电报去晚了，韩去电报，蒋已经出来了，所以后来是韩被蒋枪毙的。

艾：不过我也听说、了解，韩被蒋枪毙是因为日本人侵略到山东，韩没有抗日。

Liang: Han was a selfish person. He was not able to resist the Japanese completely because he wanted to preserve his own forces, and so he withdrew from Shandong. He was going to move to the west of the railroad.

My views on rural reconstruction

Alitto: When you were working in Henan as well as in Shandong, Sun Zerang was there as well?

Liang: Right. I was working at the Rural Reconstruction Institute in

Shandong. The president was Liang Zhonghua. The vice president was Sun Zerang. I was head of the Research Division, but later Liang Zhonghua resigned, and I took over as institute president. Sun Zerang was vice president. Later because we opened a second experimental district in Heze, there was a branch institute there, and Sun Zerang went there to take charge of things. But later he died; he died in Sichuan.

Alitto: What kind of man was he? What was his background?

Liang: He had entered an agricultural technical school, but he was a courageous and able man. He was Wang Hongyi's student, Shandongese, from Caozhou. He first served as the [Rural Reconstruction] Institute's vice president, and later went to his home area. He went to Heze in Caozhou to set up a branch institute. He was first the county magistrate, and later after an administrative district was established, he became Administrative District Commissioner, administering over ten counties. After the War of Resistance started, he withdrew from Shandong with some armed forces, armed militia, about two thousand men. First they went to Wuhan, then from Wuhan to Hunan, and from Hunan into Sichuan. When in Hunan and Sichuan, the government wanted him to be an Administrative District Commissioner. A commissioner could administer over ten counties. There was an administrative district in Hunan, so he was a commissioner first in Hunan, and later in Sichuan. This man had talent and nerve.

Alitto: Were his views on rural reconstruction different from yours?

Liang: Very different. The kind of rural reconstruction I wanted was for the long term, with far-reaching significance. The devices of the village schools and township schools were designed with quite profound purpose in mind.[5] But he was not this way. He focused on the [short-term] necessities of the time. What was the immediate need of the time? Because of the Japanese aggression against China, he concentrated hard on training militia and preparing to resist Japan.[6] He focused on this.

梁：韩有一种自私的心，他没有能够在山东这个地方尽力地抗日。他自己保存实力，保存他自己的实力，撤出山东，他预备到铁路西边去。

我的乡村建设主张

艾：您在河南、也在山东工作的时候，有一位孙则让。

梁：对。我在山东不是搞乡村建设研究院？乡村建设研究院院长是梁仲华，副院长是孙则让，我是研究部主任，不过后来梁仲华辞职了，我就接任院长。孙则让先是副院长，后来因为在菏泽开辟了第二个实验区，有乡村建设一个分院，孙则让就到那儿主持那个事情。但是他后来死了，死在四川。

艾：他是什么样的人呢？什么来历？

梁：他进过一个农业专门学校，但是很有胆子，很有才干。他是王鸿一的学生，山东人，曹州人。他先做我们的副院长，后来就到他本地，他是菏泽那儿的人，曹州人，到那个地方设分院，先做县长，后来又成立专区，他做专员，管十多个县。抗日战争起来，他带着许多的武装势力、武装壮丁，差不多有2000人，从山东撤退，先到武汉，从武汉到湖南、到四川。到湖南、四川的时候，当时的政府要他做专员——专员是可以管十多个县的，有一个专区——先在湖南做专员，后来在四川做专员。这个人很有才，很有胆子。

艾：他对乡村建设的看法和您的有没有特别？

梁：很有不同。我想要搞的乡村建设，我把它的意义是从一个很深远的方面来看。我所要办的村学、乡学，那里边的一些办法、设计有相当用意很深的地方。可是他不是这样，他就是着眼于当时的需要，当时的需要是什么呢？就是日本人要侵略中国，所以他着意训练壮丁，准备抗日，他着眼这个。

Alitto: The book also has this aspect. Heze and Zouping were two different styles of rural reconstruction. Heze style was Sun's. It was like that.

Liang: It was like that.

Alitto: How would you compare your Rural Reconstrlcction Movement with the present movement? In greater detail.

Liang: As far as I am concerned, what I wanted to do with rural reconstruction was to bring some organization and mobilization to the scattered, disorganized countryside and its traditional "familialism," by which each person cared only for his own family, and completely ignored any wider community. So, as far as the Rural Reconstruction Movement's aim of organizing the peasantry into groups, I think that this has indeed been accomplished. Previously, China lacked two things: first, organizations in suprafamilial organizational forms and second, modern science and

technology. As far as the latter was concerned, the question was how to introduce science and technology into Chinese agriculture effectively and how to industrialize agriculture. So, now this task can be accomplished, too. So, the two original goals I had for the Rural Reconstruction Movement—group organization and science and technology have been or will be accomplished.[7]

My second son is Tao Xingzhi's student.

Alitto: You knew Mr. Tao Xingzhi for a long time. You met him in 1928 or 1929? After you toured the Xiaozhuang Normal School, you wrote many articles that referenced this place, such as "My Northern Journey…."

Liang: "A Record of What I Saw [on My Northern Journey]." My second son can be considered his student.

Alitto: Where?

Liang: In Sichuan. When he was eight or nine years old, he was Mr. Tao's student. Mr. Tao was very good indeed, really terrific. He was a very good person. He had studied in the U.S. Previously these were called students who had studied abroad, and they wore Western clothes and leather shoes. He also had worn them, but discarded them and wore instead peasant clothes and straw shoes. He founded the Xiaozhuang Normal School. He led a class of students to some empty space outside of Nanjing, where they built the buildings themselves. Really something. This man was great, really good. I never saw anyone like him among those who had studied abroad.

艾：书里也有，菏泽式和邹平（式）是两种式样的乡村建设，荷泽式就是孙的。是有这件事。

梁：是那样的事。

艾：那您觉得，比如乡村建设运动，您自己也是发起了这个运动，有没有跟现在的情况类似的地方？具体一些。

梁：就我自己说，我想要做到的——我曾经说过一下了——就是让散漫的农民——各自顾身家、顾我一身一家的农民——能够组织起来，能够组成团体，现在组织起来了。团体组织是一面，是中国所缺乏的，要赶紧往这方面走。还有一方面就是，中国的科学技术上是太缺乏了、太落后了，那么怎么样子把科学技术能够引进到中国来，引进到农业上，引进到农业工业化，这个事情现在也能做了。一个团体组织，一个

科学技术，这个两面，从前我搞乡村运动的、我想要做的事情，现在都往这个方向走了。

我的二儿子是陶行知的弟子

艾：陶行知先生您也认识了很久了，1928、1929年就认识他了吧？参观了晓庄乡村师范，您写了很多关于那个地方的文章，《北游……》……

梁：《所见记略》（《北游所见记略》）。我的第二个儿子算是他的学生。

艾：是在什么地方？

梁：在四川。还在他八九岁的时候，他是陶先生的学生。陶先生这个人好得很啊，了不起，人太好了。他本来是留美的，中国从前的叫做留洋学生，都是穿西装、穿革履。他也穿西装也穿革履，都脱了，穿中国农民的衣裳、穿草鞋，创办晓庄师范。在南京城外空地，他领着一班学生，自己盖房子，了不起。那个人太好了，太好了，在留洋学生中没有看见那样的人。

Alitto: Aside from that tour of Xiaozhuang Normal School, what other contact did you have with him…

Liang: When the Japanese came, we withdrew to Sichuan. What work was he doing? Mr. Tao had taken in a group of homeless refugee orphans of both sexes from Wuhan and from along the railway. After he took them in, he brought them to Sichuan, where he trained and educated them. At that time I also sent my second son to him,[8] so he can be considered Mr. Tao's student. That man was wonderful![9]

Alitto: From the viewpoint of the present, how would you appraise his historical role? How would you describe it?

Liang: He should be considered an educator. I want to say something about his death. How did he die? The Nationalist Party government in Nanjing thought that he was a Communist Party member and treated him as such.

Alitto: When was that?

Liang: The peace talks were held in Nanjing between the two parties before he died. The Nationalist secret agents on Chiang's side put him on the

blacklist of people who must be killed. The secret agents were to assassinate him. After this list came to light, he himself was a bit frightened. He died in Shanghai. He didn't die of illness. It seems that he collapsed while on the toilet. We were all in Nanjing [at the negotiations]. Zhou Enlai took a special trip to Shanghai to see him off after he had died. When he was in Wuhan, he had taken in a great many homeless refugee children. At that time he set up an orphans' school [Yucai School] on the upper reaches of the Jialing River in Chongqing, slightly upriver from Beibei. The name of the place was Caojiezi. I sent my second son there to be his student.

Alitto: He shared a lot of similarities with you. He also liked Wang Yangming and his philosophy. He also admired Dewey. He also laid stress on rural education...

艾：您除了那次参观晓庄师范以外，跟他有什么……

梁：日本人来了，我们都退到四川去了。退到四川去了，他做一个什么工作呢？陶先生他把逃难的——在武汉、在铁道旁边有些个没家可归的孩子，男孩子、女孩子，他都收了。收了之后带到四川去，他培养他们、教他们。我那个时候把我第二个儿子也送去给他，所以他算是陶先生的学生。那人太好了！

艾：您从现在的眼光来看他、评价他历史上的角色，您会怎么说？

梁：应当算是一个教育家。我要说一下他死，他怎么死的呢？就是国民党南京政府，认为他是共产党，把他看作共产党。

艾：这是什么时候？

梁：就是他死之前，就是在南京搞和谈的时候，两党和谈的时候。在国民党蒋方特务黑名单一定要杀的人里头，把他的名字列在内，特务去刺杀他。这个名单透露出来之后，他自己很有点害怕。死在上海，不是病死，好像是在大便的时候，坐在上面就虚脱了。我们都在南京，周恩来还特别到上海去送，看他一下，他故去了。他在武汉收了许多逃难的、无家可归的孩子，那个时候，他办了一个儿童学校（名为“育才学校”），在四川重庆嘉陵江的上游，北碚往上一点儿，地名叫草街子，我就把我第二个儿子送去给他做学生。

艾：他跟您有很多相同的地方。他也是喜欢王阳明、王阳明的哲学，他也很欣赏杜威，他也是比较注重乡村的教学……

Involvement in national affairs

Feng Yuxiang's men both loved and feared him.

Liang: Wang Hongyi introduced me to Feng Yuxiang, in 1924.

Alitto: In 1924, Feng Yuxiang was in Beijing.

Liang: Feng's title was Inspector of the Army. There were about 50,000 men in his troops. He himself held the rank of Divisional Commander. A division was made up of two brigades. There were three more independent brigades, so five brigades altogether. There weren't 50,000 men. Probably around 35,000 men. They were stationed at Nanyuan in Beijing. It was at that time through Wang Hongyi's introduction that I first met Feng Yuxiang.

Alitto: Because Wang Hongyi was in Beijing at that time?

Liang: Yes, in Beijing. He invited me on behalf of Feng to visit Feng at his quarters in Nanyuan, and to give lectures to his troops. That was in the first lunar month of 1924. So I met Feng at Nanyuan. I gave five lectures.

Alitto: To what troops were all the lectures given?

Liang: To his troops.

Alitto: Did you lecture to all of his troops at once?

Liang: No. They were divided into separate groups. He had five brigades, right? I gave one lecture to each of his brigades, only to the officers and noncoms. So, one day I lectured to brigade A and the next to brigade B. The content of each lecture was similar though not necessarily. The content could be different. Feng also attended these lectures. Everyone called Feng the "Christian General." He was a believer in Christianity. The YMCA was part of the Christian church. So he operated a YMCA in his army. The person who ran this YMCA of his was named Yu Xinqing. Didn't Feng later get married? The person he married was Li Dequan. Ms. Li was a member of the church. She was a teacher in a church-run school in Tongzhou.

Alitto: What kind of things did you and Feng Yuxiang talk about when you met?

叁 奔走国事

冯玉祥让士兵又爱又怕

梁：我跟冯玉祥的认识，还是王鸿一介绍的，就是民国十三年（1924年）。

艾：民国十三年，冯玉祥在北京。

梁：冯玉祥官的名叫做陆军检阅使。他的部队大概有5万人，他自己也是兼一个师长，一个师有两个旅，另外还有3个独立旅，一共5个旅。一共5个旅……没有5万人，大概有35,000人的样子，地点驻在北京的南苑。我跟冯玉祥的开头见面，就是王鸿一介绍的。

艾：因为王鸿一在北京吗？

梁：在北京，王鸿一介绍，就是王鸿一代表冯玉祥，说冯玉祥请我去到南苑——他驻军的地方，给他军队讲演，这样子我开头去的。这个时间是民国十三年，旧历正月，这个时候我到南苑跟冯玉祥才见面。讲了5次。

艾：都是给什么军队啊？

梁：就是他的军队。

艾：是所有的军队，还是给一部分？

梁：分开，分开。他不是有5个旅吗？给一个旅的官兵讲一次——没有兵，兵的人太多了，他叫官佐。每一个旅有它的官佐，今天给这个旅的官佐讲，明天给那个官佐讲。讲5次，内容可以相同，也可以不相同，听讲的人是换的，每一次讲的时候冯陪着听讲。冯嘛是人家称他为“基督将军”，他是信教，基督教里头有青年会，他也在他的军队里头办青年会，替他办青年会的叫余心清。后来不是冯玉祥结婚了？结婚的那个叫做李德全，那个就是一个教会里头的人，是在通州教会学校里的一个女教员，叫李德全。

艾：那您跟冯玉祥见面的时候，谈到什么样的事情啊？

Liang: I didn't talk much with him personally, even though Wang Hongyi introduced Feng to me. In Feng's army there was a special custom.

Didn't he run a YMCA organization in the army? He had a custom of inviting people to give lectures. For example, the famous military scholar Jiang Fangzhen. Feng invited Jiang Fangzhen to come give lectures. Feng also issued a small book to his officers. There were sayings in this small book—maxims and quotations from people, usually of two or three sentences, five sentences at most. Not long. He would write that somebody had said such and such. For example, "Zeng Guofan has said such and such" or "Zhuge Liang has said such and such." He even had Jiang Fangzhen quoted in this small booklet. So, this booklet was issued to his officers and noncoms. Feng did an excellent job in supervising and educating his troops. So his men both loved and feared him very much. Even with the number of troops that he had he would often, when in the ranks, address people by name. Of course, he couldn't remember every single soldier's name, but he did remember quite a few. So his men both loved and feared him.

Alitto: Feng Yuxiang also had a great interest in rural work, didn't he?

Liang: Right, right.

Alitto: Wasn't he friends with Tao Xingzhi?

Liang: He toured Tao's project at Xiaozhuang.

Alitto: Whether or not it was Feng Yuxiang and Han Fuju who were the sponsors for the Henan Village Government Academy, or…

Liang: It was founded during the time when Feng controlled Henan, but not on Feng's initiative. It was started by Henanese—such as Wang Yike, Liang Zhonghua, Peng Yuting, and so on. These Henanese presented this proposal [to found such a school] to Feng Yuxiang and Feng accepted it. But Feng did not give them any money for the school.

Alitto: You just said that making an evaluation of him was difficult. Is there any other meaning, about him or his political…

Liang: He was a military man. Politically he didn't have any clever opinions or positions. He wasn't that smart. He and Chiang Kai-shek… Chiang liked to be on good terms with people. To get on good terms, the old Chinese way was to become sworn brothers. He was older than Chiang, so Chiang called him elder brother. Chiang was into this routine. He had no way of handling Chiang. He wasn't that smart, but he was a better man than Chiang.

梁：跟他个人没怎么多谈，就算是王鸿一先生介绍。冯的军队有一个习惯，不是他办青年会吗？他有习惯请人讲演。比如那个中国有名的军事学家蒋方震，他就先请蒋方震讲。冯玉祥给他的军官发个小本子，小本子上有一些好像是语录，就是人家讲的话，两句、三句，或者稍微多一点也就是五句，不多。他就写个某某人曰，比如“曾国藩曰”，从前诸葛亮，（就写）“诸葛亮曰”，他也将蒋方震蒋先生列为“蒋方震曰”。他有这么一本小本子，他给他的官佐看。冯玉祥对所谓带兵、管兵、教育兵他很有办法，他的兵非常地爱戴他，也非常地怕他。他那么多兵啊，他有时候在许多兵里头：“你，出来，你不是谁谁吗？”——他能叫出来那个兵的名字。当然他也是不能全记得了，所以他的兵都又怕他又爱他。

艾：好像他对乡村工作也很感兴趣，对不对？

梁：对，对。

艾：他跟陶行知算是朋友吧？

梁：他到陶先生的那个晓庄师范去参观。

艾：王怡柯的村治学院呢，不是冯玉祥、韩复榘好像做村治学院的靠山哪，或者……

梁：他是那样，他是在冯玉祥统治河南的时候，成立的这个村治学院，但是村治学院的成立，不是冯玉祥主动的。是河南本省人，比如王怡柯是河南人，彭禹廷是河南人，梁仲华也是河南人，本省人建议给冯，冯采纳，才同意，又不需要冯出钱，这么样成立的。

艾：关于他为人，甚至他政治上的……

梁：他就是一个军人。在政治方面他没有什么高明的见解主张，头脑还是不够。所以他跟蒋介石——蒋喜欢跟人所谓要好，要好嘛，中国的老办法结为兄弟——那么他比蒋岁数大，蒋就叫他大哥，蒋就是这一套。他对蒋毫无办法，他的头脑不够，他人比蒋人好。

My student Xu Minghong and the Fujian People's Government

Alitto: You had a student named Xu Minghong? (Liang: Yes.) Can you talk in comparative detail about him, or your evaluation of him? Mr. Wang Shaosheng of Hong Kong had written a draft of his biography, but the draft has not been published yet. Only after he let me read it did I know any details

about him [Xu], but you know much more than Mr. Wang.

Liang: I possibly know more than he. I still have letters from Xu Minghong. I have a student, perhaps my closest one, Huang Genyong. Huang was from Guangdong. Xu was also from Guangdong. It was Huang who introduced Xu and me. [There were three people—] one was Xu Minghong, one was Huang Genyong and another was Wang Pingshu. The three went south to Guangdong through my introduction, and later they participated in the National Revolutionary Army. During the National Revolutionary Army's Northern Expedition, the three went with the Army to Wuhan. In Wuhan the three had differences. Xu Minghong joined the Communist Party, and was in Wuhan. Wang Pingshu liked the Communist Party's thought, philosophy and theories, especially historical materialism. But Huang didn't join the Communist Party, and didn't exactly like its theories. So the three were different. To put it simply, later in Fujian, Li Jishen and Chen Mingshu started a People's Government.[10] At this time, Xu Minghong had a relatively important position in the People's Government. Huang Genyong also went there. Xu Minghong represented the Fujian People's Government in their dealings with the Communist Party in Jiangxi.

Alitto: I mentioned this in the book [*The Last Confucian*]. Later he was killed.

Liang: He was assassinated. In Shantou, Xu's hometown, he was killed by Chen Jitang. After the Fujian affair failed, Xu fled back home from Fujian, and died a martyr's death there.

Alitto: What contribution do you think he has made to the Chinese revolution?

Liang: He died for the revolution, died a martyr's death. But I had expressed my disapproval of the Fujian affair. How did I express disapproval? I had held back Huang Genyong from going [to Fujian]. I had said to him, "Don't go. Originally Li Jishen and Chiang Kai-shek were both veteran Nationalist Party members. They both followed Mr. Sun Yat-sen. You can oppose Chiang, but do not yourself oppose him from a position outside the Nationalist Party. You should tell him, 'You have betrayed the Nationalist Party that Sun Yat-sen originally created. I am a Nationalist Party member. You have betrayed the Nationalist Party.' Now if you leave the Nationalist Party, and position yourself outside the Party, you then cede

legitimacy to Chiang Kai-shek. This would be a mistake." Later, right through to the death of Li Jishen, he [Huang] was still the director of the Beijing Revolutionary Nationalist Party, and avowed himself to be a Nationalist Party member. Why did he go outside of the Nationalist Party?

我的学生徐名鸿与福建人民政府

艾：您有过一个学生，徐名鸿？（梁：对。）可不可以比较详细地讲他的事啊，或者您对他的评价？香港的王韶生先生就是写的他的传，可是稿子没有出版，他给我看了，我才知道他比较详细的情形，不过您知道的比王先生多得多了。

梁：可能多一些。我现在手里还有徐名鸿写来的信，他亲笔的信。我有一个跟随我最亲密的学生叫黄艮庸，黄艮庸是广东人，徐名鸿也是广东人，徐名鸿与我的关系还是黄介绍的。徐这个人，也是经我介绍吧，一个徐名鸿、一个黄艮庸、一个王平叔，三个人去南方广东，后来他们参加国民革命军。国民革命军北伐的时候，这三个人都随北伐军到了武汉，到武汉的时候三个人就不相同，怎么不相同呢？徐名鸿就参加了共产党，到武汉去了。王平叔对共产党的思想、哲学、理论还欣赏，特别是关于唯物史观。可是黄呢，没有参加共产党，也说不上是欣赏共产党的理论，三个人就不相同了。简单地说嘛，后来李济深、陈铭枢在福建搞起了人民政府，这个时候徐名鸿在人民政府里算是个比较重要的人。黄艮庸也去了。徐名鸿还代表福建的人民政府去跟江西的共产党接洽。

艾：这个我也在书里提到了（《最后的儒家》）。以后也是被杀的。

梁：被刺。他是被广东方面的陈济棠杀的，在汕头，就是徐的家乡。福建的事情失败了，他从福建逃回家乡，那个时候牺牲的。

艾：您觉得他有什么贡献，对中国革命？

梁：他为革命而死，为革命而牺牲了。不过我对福建的事情我曾经表示不赞成，怎么表示不赞成？曾经拦阻黄艮庸，我说你不要去。本来李济深跟蒋介石都是老国民党，都是追随孙中山先生的。你可以反对蒋，但是你不要自己站在国民党外头反对他，你应当是说：你违背了孙先生当初创造的国民党，我是国民党，你是背叛了国民党。现在你离开国民党，自己站在国民党外边，反而把正统让给蒋介石，这个是错误的。往后呢，一直到李济深死，他还是作为北京的民革委员会的主任，

还是承认自己是国民党，为什么要跑到国民党外面来？

I had heard that originally Xu Minghong was supposed to represent [the People's Government of Fujian] in contacting the Jiangxi Communist Party, but the Communist Party rejected him. If Chairman Mao had taken a position at the time, he would have approved of the alliance. At the time, Chen Shaoyu and Qin Bangxian were in charge [of the Communist Party]. They had seized Chairman Mao's power. They couldn't hold out in Shanghai, so they ran off to Jinggangshan. They said that the Fujian group were petty bourgeois, and were not sufficiently revolutionary, so they did not help Fujian. In fact, the correct strategy for the Communist Party was to ally itself with Fujian and tackle Chiang together. Well, in allowing Chiang to wipe out the Fujian People's Government, the Communist strategy was wrong.

Li Zongren's War Zone Party Policy Committee

Alitto: How did you get to know Li Zongren? Where was it?

Liang: Both Li and Bai Chongxi were natives of Guilin. I can also be considered a native of Guilin. When they ruled Guangxi Province, they used a policy called the "Three Selves Policy." That is, self-government, self-defense, and self-sufficiency. They followed these three guidelines.

Alitto: Was it their original policy, or through your...

Liang: It was their idea.

Alitto: These ideas are quite similar to those of Peng Yuting's group in Zhenping.

Liang: They were similar, but they didn't interact, or influence each other. In Guangxi, they were not happy with Chiang Kai-shek's rule, so they were semi-independent. They also took on board some intellectuals and thinkers and worked together. When they brought out this "Three Selves Policy," they invited me to return to Guangxi [Liang's formal native place] to lecture. I think that was about 1935. That was the first time I returned to Guangxi. Li and Bai were both Guilin men. Bai was a Moslem. That was the first time I went back to Guilin. I was closer to Li than to Bai. When the war started, Li was the Fifth War Area Commander, stationed in Xuzhou. Later he invited me to visit him in Xuzhou.

那次的失败，我听说，他们本来要徐名鸿去跟江西的共产党联系，

可是被共产党拒绝。当时如果是毛主席作主张的时候，他是会赞成联合的。当时是陈绍禹、秦邦宪他们作主，他们夺了毛主席的权，他们在上海站不住了，跑到井冈山去。他们就说福建这一派是小资产阶级，不够革命，所以没有帮助福建。其实如果共产党跟福建联系，共同对付蒋，策略上才是对的；那么让蒋消灭了福建，共产党策略上不对。

我与李宗仁的“战地党政委员会”

艾：李宗仁，您是怎么认识他的？原来是在什么地方？

梁：李宗仁同白崇禧，这两个人都是广西的桂林人，我也算是桂林人。所以在他们统治广西的时候，他们提倡所谓“三自政策”，“三自”好像是自治，地方自治；自卫，自己保卫；自给，“给”就是经济上自给自足。搞这个“三自政策”。

艾：是原来的政策，还是您……

梁：不，当然是他们的。

艾：就是跟镇平那一带的……彭禹廷也有个“三自政策”。

梁：相似吧，相类似，不过不是互相影响的。他们在广西这个地方，他们不高兴蒋介石的统治，他是一个半独立性，他也收一些个文人或者有思想的人，一同搞，那么就有“三自”的提出来。这个时候呢，他就希望我回广西，去看、去讲演，那么我回去讲演来着，这个时候好像是1935（年）吧，民国二十四（年），好像是那样。那是我第一次回广西。李、白都是桂林人，白呢是回族，回教的。我第一次回去。后来嘛，就是跟李相熟得多一点，抗日战争起来，李就算是第五战区司令长官，驻徐州，最后他请我去徐州。

Alitto: Yes, I have that in my book. He wanted to consult with you on how to mobilize the masses for the war effort.

Liang: Right. I stayed in Xuzhou for more than a month. I lived on a farm in the northern part of Xuzhou. But I went to Li's headquarters every day to have lunch with him, and to talk with him afterwards. I did this every day for about a month.

Alitto: Did you talk about plans, or…

Liang: We didn't talk about anything in particular. At the time there was an organization called the War Zone Party Policy Committee. I was considered a member of that committee. Every war zone had such a

committee. The committee members were appointed by the central government. I was a member of the Party Policy Committee for the Fifth War Zone, and was stationed in Xuzhou, and so stayed there over a month. Afterwards, we withdrew to Wuhan. In Xuzhou, there was one convenient thing—my students, my cadre from Shandong could come see me, and I could then give them instructions on what to do. I wrote about this in that little book I gave you.

Alitto: Yes, there was something about that in it. So your relationship with Li Zongren was very close at that time.

Liang: Yes, quite close.

Alitto: Li Zongren… When the CCP had already got to the Yangtze River, Chiang Kai-shek resigned, and Li Zongren became president. According to some material that I have seen, he wanted to invite you to be…

Liang: He wanted me to become active, to campaign for peace.

Alitto: And you refused?

Liang: Yes.

艾：这个我书里有的，他跟您商量怎么动员群众啊……

梁：对。在徐州我停留了有一个月，我住啊，是住在徐州北郊一个农场里头，可是午饭呢，到李宗仁那个总司令部去吃饭，在他那儿坐，随便谈。天天如此，有一个月的样子。

艾：那您讲计划呢，还是讲什么？

梁：没有讲什么。当时算是有个机关吧，叫做“战地党政委员会”，我算是战地党政委员会的委员。战地党政委员会呢，是每一个战区都有一个战地党政委员会，委员呢是中央任命的。我是作为第五战区战地党政委员会的委员，住在徐州，住了有一个月，后来就从那儿回武汉。在那儿对我有一个方便，就是山东的我的学生、我的干部，可以到徐州来见我，我可以指示他们怎么样办。那个小册子上后边有。

艾：是，关于这一点是有的。就是您和李宗仁从那个时候关系比较密切啊。

梁：很熟啊，很熟。

艾：李宗仁这个……，共产党已经打到长江的时候，蒋介石辞职了，而李宗仁做总统的时候，依我看到一些资料啊，他想要请您做……

梁：要我出来，要我出来奔走和平。

艾：您拒绝了他的请求？

梁：嗯。

My contact with Chiang Kai-shek

Alitto: You also had a lot of contact with him [Chiang Kai-shek], especially during the War of Resistance, and after it. You hadn't met him prior to the war, had you?

Liang: No, because I never participated in government… I always worked in society.

Alitto: I know that in the 1930s, before the war, you didn't seem to have a good impression of Chiang Kai-shek. I seem to recall that in your book *The Last Awakening of the Chinese People's Selfsalvation Movement*, you compare Chiang with Yuan Shikai, saying that they were about the same, simply very successful warlords. I also remember that during the peace negotiations after the war you didn't seem to like him very much, and blamed the continuation of the civil war on him. Did you make any other comments about him?

Liang: If we are going to talk about Chiang Kai-shek and me, we must start from an earlier period. I was in Shandong doing rural reconstruction at the time that Chiang was in Wuhan in what he called his Bandit Extermination General Headquarters. The "bandits" referred to the Communist Party. As he was stationing troops in Wuhan, he reorganized the Wuhan Provincial Government. He wasn't very satisfied with the original administration, [so he] had Zhu Jingnong appointed as the Superintendent of Education for Hubei. Zhu had studied in the U.S., and had specialized in education. But Zhu was the president of Cheeloo (Qilu) University in Jinan, Shandong. A church ran this university. He had to resign his position as president and then take up the position as Superintendent of Education. So, he went from Wuhan back to Jinan. Chiang asked him if he knew Liang Shuming. Zhu answered that he did know me. Chiang said, "When you go back to Jinan, ask him to come to Wuhan to meet me." Zhu returned to Jinan and resigned his university presidency. He saw me in Jinan, and relayed Chiang's invitation to me. I told him, "OK, I have the message." But I didn't

go. I couldn't bring myself to go just because he had sent someone with this one sentence. This was the first contact that I had with Chiang.

I had contact with him next in Nanjing, when the Second Interior Affairs Conference was held to discuss the internal affairs of the whole nation. The Ministry of Interior Affairs convened this conference. The Minister was a Guangxi native, Huang Shaohong. He was eager to adopt innovative and new programs and policies. He wanted to use measures superior to and also inclusive of rural reconstruction, which he called county government reconstruction. This would include the county level and the countryside below the county. At this conference he presented his plans. So he invited me and my colleagues working in Shandong, as well as Yan Yangchu, to attend as specialists this conference in Nanjing to help his program of county government reconstruction. So, because of this matter I traveled to Nanjing.

我与蒋介石的来往

艾：政治家蒋介石，您和他也有很多来往，尤其是在抗战的时候、抗战以后啊。抗战以前，就没有见过面吧？

梁：因为我始终是不参加政治，我始终在社会方面做事情。

艾：我知道在30年代，抗战以前，您对蒋介石也没有什么好的印象了。我记得您那个《中国民族自救运动之最后觉悟》书里面说，蒋介石是跟袁世凯差不多了，是军阀，就是比较成功的军阀了。也知道抗战以后，和谈、谈判的那个时候，也印象很不好，觉得就是因为他内战。另外呢，有没有什么别的……

梁：谈到我跟蒋，我要从头说起了。还比较早的时候，我在山东做我的乡村建设工作。刚好啊，蒋本人住在武汉，他叫做“剿匪总司令部”——“匪”嘛就是共产党。因为他自己驻军在武汉，他就把武汉省政府改组，原来的省政府他认为不大满意，他就改组。改组嘛，他就用一个姓朱的，叫做朱经农，也是留美的，学教育的。他就改组湖北省政府，湖北省政府里头有教育厅了，他就用这个朱经农做湖北教育厅厅长。可是朱呢，原来是在山东济南做齐鲁大学的校长，齐鲁大学是个教会办的学校，所以他需要辞齐鲁大学校长，来接任湖北教育厅长，所以他就从武汉回济南。回济南的时候，蒋就对朱经农说：“你认不认识那个梁某某人呢？”朱说：“认识呀。”他说：“你替我说一句话，希望梁到武汉来跟我见面。”那么这个朱经农他回去，到济南交卸齐鲁大学校长，在济南看到我，他就把蒋的话传达给我。我说：“好，我知道

了。”但是我不去，我不能够因为他派人传这么一句话，我就自己去呀，我不去。这是头一次。

后来，刚好在南京开第二届内政会议，讨论全国的内政，这个是归南京的内政部召集的。这个时候内政会议的部长是广西人，叫黄绍竑。那么他很想办一件新的，采取新的方针、新的政策，他就要搞在乡村建设之上的、而又包含乡村建设的，他叫做县政建设——一个县，县以下是乡村了，所以是县政建设，县政建设是包含乡村建设的。所以他开这个内政会议要提出这个方案来，就把我们搞乡村建设的人——也包含了我，包含了我们山东的朋友，还包含了晏阳初——都找到南京来，作为是一种专家，参加他那个内政会议，来把县政建设的计划搞好。这个时候我到了南京了，为这个事情到了南京了。

At that time, the mayor of Nanjing city was an old friend of mine. This man [Shi Ying], was a veteran, an old friend of Sun Yat-sen's. He was old, quite a bit older than I. When only 19 years old, he won the *Juren* degree, and after that studied chemistry in England. Mr. Cai Yuanpei engaged him as a professor of chemistry at Peking University. He had helped Sun Yat-sen while abroad, an old friend of Sun's. At the time he was mayor of Nanjing city, and also a friend of mine, since we had both been teaching at Peking University. Mr. Shi came to see me at the Central Hotel [where I was staying]. He said, "Chiang Kai-shek had wanted to meet you and you didn't come. Now that you are already here in Nanjing, you must see him." I answered that I would see him. Mr. Shi was mayor, so later he called Chiang's secretary to arrange a time, the evening of a certain day. Mr. Shi came in his car to pick me up for the appointment at Chiang's official residence. This was the first time I met Chiang Kai-shek.

Even from the very outset, at this first meeting, I didn't like him. Why? He was insincere and false. He had heard, he said, that I was very famous and had wanted to meet me. He wanted me to come see him, but I had been unwilling. This time Mr. Shi had made the arrangements and brought me to see him, and so on. How was he insincere and false? He held a pen in his hand—a fountain pen, and also a little notebook. When we were talking—naturally we were just talking at random—I do not remember how I happened to bring it up, that at the time the Jiangbei area—northern part of Jiangsu and part of Anhui—had suffered a great flood, and the damage was quite heavy. A friend of mine was doing relief work in the area. I just don't remember how it came up but I did mention this man's name and his work in

disaster relief. As soon as he heard this, Chiang said, "Very good. What is the name of your friend?" He handed his pen and his notebook to me and said, "Write his name down." Of course I wrote my friend's name. It looked very insincere to me, a show of, as we say, "being modest and respectful before a scholar" [lowering oneself before the scholars]. It had the appearance of modesty and respect, of paying great attention to what I said. Sitting there and acting as though he didn't hear the name clearly—so you "write his name down." Actually, his secretary was sitting there in any case, he also wrote down the name. He didn't have to have it written down for him. So, in general, this first meeting with Chiang left me with a very bad impression, and gave me the feeling that he was insincere and false.

到了南京呢，这个时候的南京市的市长是我一个老朋友。这个人（指石瑛）是老资格，他跟孙中山是朋友，岁数很大，比我们都大，他是一个在清朝已经中了清朝的举人的，念那个老书啊，中了举人的。中了举人呢，年纪还很轻，他只有19岁，他又到英国去留学，到英国去留学，学化学；学化学回来之后，蔡元培蔡先生请他在北京大学做教授，做理科化学教授。他在国外很帮助孙中山，跟孙中山是一辈的老朋友。这个时候做南京市的市长，跟我也是朋友，我们在北京大学在一起。他到中央饭店、旅馆来看我，他说：你既然到了南京了，以前蒋介石想跟你见面你不去，那你到了南京了，你不可以不跟他见面了。我说好，那么这个样子他作为市长跟蒋的秘书、副官通电话，约好了时间，某一天的晚上，事先是坐着汽车接我一同到“委员长官邸”，去跟蒋见面。这个时候是我第一次跟蒋见面。

可一见面我印象就不好。怎么样不好呢？就是他虚假。他不是以前因为我的有名，要和我见面，要我去我又不去？这次嘛，石先生陪着我来看他了，约好了见面了，他怎么样子虚假呢？他就手里拿一个笔，也是自来水笔，手里拿个本子，谈话的时候——当然随便谈了，我不知道我怎么样子提起来，那个时候啊江北——江苏北部，包括安徽——有水灾，灾情很重，我一个朋友就在那儿做救灾工作，不知道怎样提到这个事情。提到这个事情，我就提到负责救灾工作的那个人的名字了，他就说：“哦？很好，你这个朋友叫什么名字啊？”他把那个本子、笔递给我：“你写下来。”我当然给他写下来了。他这个人就看出来有一种虚假，虚假就是“谦恭下士”，很谦恭的样子：你的话我很注意，你说那个人名，你写给我看。自己拿着本子、自己拿着笔，好像听不清楚，你再写一下。其实他另外有个秘书啊，坐得稍微远一点，也记了，不一定他再记。大体上说这次是头一次见面，头一次见面就是我感觉他虚假。

After this, of course, I met him many times. At the time of this first meeting, the Japanese hadn't invaded China yet. Later, the War of Resistance began. In the North it was the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of July 7 and in the South the August 13 Incident, which forced Chiang to resist Japan. He had no choice. It was with the Xi'an Incident that he decided to abandon the civil war and resist the Japanese. The national government felt the need for the support of society as a whole. The government itself could not resist Japan all alone. So it established a Political Consultative Conference within the Supreme National Defense Conference and invited persons from non-official circles who could represent society, people of some prestige, to be members of this body. I was also appointed to this body.

The first time I met Premier Zhou Enlai was at these meetings of this body. At this time, there was in principle a cooperative union between the CCP and the Nationalist Party for resistance against Japan. Actually, it was the CCP that was advocating for resistance against Japan with no more civil war at the beginning. But the Chinese Communists did not by any means participate in the national government, so how did the two parties join hands to resist Japan? It was in this consultative conference and the Supreme National Defense Conference. At this time the name list of the conference had Mao's name on it, but Mao never attended. Zhou attended. So, the first time I met Mr. Zhou was there at those meetings.

Who else participated in the meetings? Huang Yanpei, who was famous in the Shanghai region. Shen Junru, who had just been released from detention, was also there. Shen was a member of the National Salvation Society, which advocated for an end to civil war and resistance to Japan. He had been arrested and kept in prison in Suzhou, for Chiang had felt that "you were all going with the Communists." But at this time, the two parties had started to cooperate, so the "Seven Gentlemen," Shen included, were released, and they participated in the Political Consultative Conference. Hu Shi also participated, and so did Zhang Boling of Nankai University, the great military scholar Jiang Fangzhen and the famous Peking University scholar Fu Sinian, and so on. They also found people familiar with diplomacy, for linking up internationally with allies against Japanese. So, because of this, they asked Yan Huiqing and Shi Zhaoji to participate too. They also asked several Nationalist Party veterans who had long been alienated from the Nanjing government, such as Ma Junwu, a Guangxi

native. All were asked to participate in the Political Consultative Conference under the Supreme National Defense Conference.

以后就见面机会很多，因为这个时候日本人还没有来中国、侵略中国，后来不是抗日了？抗日一起来，北方就是“卢沟桥七七事变”，南方是“八一三”，这个时候蒋被逼迫着不得不抗战了。不是有个“西安事变”？他决定放弃内战，抗日。那么“八一三”打起来了，国民政府感觉到需要广大社会支持政府，不能单单是政府抗日啊，需要广大社会的支持啊，所以就在“国防最高会议”之内成立一个“参议会”，请社会方面的人，能够代表社会的、在社会上有资望的，来做参议会的参议员，那么我就被聘当参议。

这个时候可以说一句话，就是我跟周恩来第一次见面就在这个地方，因为这个时候算是国共合作、一同抗日。本来是中共要求抗日嘛，不要打内战，共同抗日，可是中共方面并没有参加国民政府，怎么样子两党能够携手抗战？就是在这个参议会，在国防最高会议里头参与抗日的事情。这个时候名单上发表的有毛泽东，而毛没有来，周来，所以我跟周公第一次见面是在这个地方见的面。

那么参议会里头找来的还有些个什么人呢？有黄炎培，在上海一带很有名的；有刚刚放出来的沈钧儒，沈钧儒是救国会了，救国会就是主张赶紧抗日、不要打内战的，本来他都是把沈钧儒扣在苏州监狱里边，他认为你们是跟共产党跑的，可是这个时候两党合作都要抗日了，所以把沈钧儒（等）“七君子”都放出来，放出来也参加这个参议会；还有社会有名的人——胡适、天津南开大学的张伯苓，还有一个有名的军事学家叫蒋方震，还有北大学生里头很出名的傅斯年，如此之类。他还找一些通习外交的人，这个时候抗日根据国际（形势）要采取联系，所以他就把颜惠庆、还有一个施肇基都请来。国民党的老辈，久已跟南京政府很疏远了，可是国民党的老辈，像是那个马君武，广西人，都请来，这个就叫做“国防最高会议参议会”。

At this time, my contact with Chiang increased somewhat from this conference on. Chiang was busy with directing military operations, however, and so Wang Jingwei was chairman of the conference. We held all of our meetings at night, because the Japanese planes were bombing. Wang presided over meetings, as Chiang was very busy with military affairs. At the end of a meeting, Chiang dispatched a secretary of his to see me, and said that Chairman Chiang [as Chair of the Military Affairs Committee] invited me to go to his official residence the next morning at a certain time to talk, e.g., 8 o'clock. I agreed to see him, of course. The secretary approached me right as I

was coming out of the meeting hall together with Jiang Fangzhen, so Jiang Fangzhen knew that I would be seeing Chiang the next morning. So he said to me, "When you see Chiang tomorrow, tell him that I want to go to Shandong to inspect matters related to defense." I agreed. So, when I was meeting with Chiang, I told him this on behalf of Mr. Jiang Fangzhen. Chiang agreed, and asked me to go together with Jiang Baili [Jiang Fangzhen's sobriquet] to Shandong.

My impression of Hu Zongnan and Chen Cheng

Liang: It was pretty good that I would go to Shandong with Jiang Baili. [Later] Jiang Baili told me that there was someone who wanted to meet me, and asked me if I was willing to see him. I asked him who it was. He answered that it was one of Chiang's generals, Hu Zongnan. I answered that I was willing to meet with anyone, no matter whom, especially at this critical moment for the War of Resistance. The greater the degree of solidarity, the greater the chance of success in resisting Japan. He said, "Alright, tomorrow we will pass through Xuzhou (Hu Zongnan was stationed in Xuzhou). We'll go together to have a talk with Hu." The next day, we went by railroad through Xuzhou. Hu Zongnan, his chief of staff, and his secretary general were all waiting at the station for us. We went to Hu's headquarters and talked the whole night. The next day the same train, at the same time, passed through Xuzhou and we boarded and went on to Shandong. Later in Xi'an, I had some further contact with Hu. He was a politically ambitious man. He didn't want to be just a military man so he wanted to make friends with us.

这个时候是我跟蒋接触稍微多一点的时候，从这儿来的。我现在就是在这个会议上，蒋嘛因为他要指挥军事了，军事上忙得很，所以这个会是汪做主席。我们开会都是在夜间开会，为什么呢？因为日本的飞机都来轰炸了。因为汪主持这个会，蒋自己忙军事，很忙，就在我们开会的时候，蒋派一个人，派一个他的秘书吧，来在我们散会的时候看我，说蒋委员长请梁先生明天早晨几点钟，比如8点钟，到官邸见面。那么我当然答应了。这个时候我刚好从会里跟蒋方震一起出来，蒋方震当然就知道我明天要见蒋了，蒋方震就对我说，明天你去跟蒋见面的时候，你替我说，我愿意去山东，去山东看一看山东的防务、国防。我说好，所以等到我跟蒋见面的时候，我就替蒋方震说了这个话。他说很好，就请你——就请我啊，你陪着蒋百里先生（蒋方震字百里）去山东视察。

我对胡宗南和陈诚的印象

梁：那么很好了，我就要陪着蒋百里先生去山东了，蒋百里先生就问我，说有一个人呢，想同你见面，你可以不可以见他啊？我说是谁啊？他说是蒋介石的一个大将，叫胡宗南。我说是什么人都可以见，特别这个时候要共同抗日嘛，那么大家越能够联合、越能够团结越好嘛。他说那么样子，我明天从南京坐火车路过徐州——胡宗南正驻在徐州，我们在徐州下车，同他见面谈一谈。后来果然我们一同坐火车路过徐州的时候，胡宗南带着他的参谋长，带着旁的什么秘书长，很多人，在车站等候，接我们。我跟蒋百里就一同到他的司令部，住一夜，谈话。然后第二天，火车在同一个钟点再过来的时候，我们上车去山东。后来我跟胡宗南还有一些接触，后来在陕西西安有些接触。胡宗南他是一个在政治上有野心的人，他并不是想单做一个军人，所以他愿意同我们交朋友。

I also had contact with the subordinate that Chiang Kai-shek trusted most, Chen Cheng. This was at the time of the retreat back to defend Wuhan. Chen Cheng was living at Wuhan University. Wuhan University was located in Luojiashan. Chen lived there. He asked me to his house for dinner and to talk. He was one of the most powerful of Chiang Kai-shek's subordinates. A car was sent to pick us up. So we got in and went to his house at Luojiashan within Wuhan University campus—the university had been closed. He was not in. But after a few minutes of sitting there waiting, he came in. He talked, but talked about his own topic continually—criticizing, maligning and berating the Minister of the Interior, Huang Shaohong. He said that Huang was a big dummy. He kept talking continually and didn't let me get a word in edgewise. He just kept on, in a very disorganized manner, very angrily. Later one of his staff came in to report that it was time for dinner. So he invited us to go in to dinner. Now, during the time he was eating, of course, he couldn't talk much, but he was by no means quiet. After he finished eating, he continued his non-stop diatribe, giving me no chance at all to say anything.

I took the opportunity when he was speaking relatively slowly to say something because I wanted to say something about the condition of my people. We had brought out some men and rifles from Shandong, over 800 men and more than 800 rifles. We also had tens of thousands of silver dollars in cash. As the administrative commissioner and the county magistrate, we brought out the cash and the armed militia. So I told him that we wanted to

go back to Shandong. The militia wanted to fight its way back home. Finally, after much effort, I brought up the matter by cutting off his tirade. So, after this experience with him I felt that he wasn't a man of great ability; he was too shallow and superficial. This is an example of the contact I had with people on Chiang's side. Later on, in Taiwan, Chen Cheng was "vice president" and so on.

跟蒋的部下、蒋的很信任的人，比如陈诚，陈诚也同我有往来，那是退守武汉的时候了。退守武汉的时候，陈诚他住在武汉大学里头，武汉大学那个地名叫珞珈山，他自己住在珞珈山武汉大学里边，他请我到他家里头吃饭、谈话，他算是蒋下面很有力量的一个人。车来接我们，我当然就坐车去了。到他住的地方珞珈山武汉大学里边——学校是停了，他没回来，可是坐了有刚刚几分钟他就回来了。回来了他就谈话了，他老是谈话，老是说他的话，老是骂人、批评人，特别批评那个内政部长黄绍竑，他说那是个草包，这个样子。几乎没有空让我说话，我插不上话去，因为他老说、老说，话说得很乱，气很盛。后来伺候的人来报告，说是要开晚饭了，请进去吃饭，吃饭的时候嘛，不能多说话了，他也还不闲着，吃完饭后还是说话，我想跟他说的话，几乎没有空说。

当然我还是勉强趁着一个机会，他话稍微慢一点了，我马上说一句话跟他，因为我是要介绍我这方面的人的情况，我们从山东带出来一批人，并且都是带着枪的，武装的，八百多人，有八百多条枪，还带着十几万块钱——因为我们在山东做专员、做县长有现款、有壮丁，都带出来了。后来嘛跟他说，说我们要回去，我们从山东出来的人要打回老家去，为了跟他说这个事情。仅仅是末了当他话稍微停下来的时候，我才能把我的话跟他说。这样看起来，这个人不是十分有能力的人，太浅，太粗浅。这也是蒋方的人我接触的一个例子。后来不是到台湾他还是做“副总统”吗？

Chiang Kai-shek's greatest contribution

Liang: When General George Marshall came to China to help make peace between the two parties, I had a lot of contact with him. He came to see me at my house once. That was when I was living at Lanjiazhuang in Nanjing. That was where the headquarters of the Democratic League was located. I couldn't speak English, so a friend of mine, Ye Duyi, interpreted for me. I felt that General Marshall was a truly good person. He was a devoutly

religious man. Chiang Kai-shek was really bothered by him. Didn't Chiang go hide himself off at Lushan? At the time, the weather was not really all that hot. Of course, Lushan was a cool place, but he didn't go off there to escape the heat. He wanted to hide from Marshall. This put General Marshall in a bad position. He repeatedly went to Lushan. He went up to Lushan nine times.

Alitto: Speaking of Chiang Kai-shek hiding out, in your opinion, after the War of Resistance was concluded, it seemed he… In terms of this kind of behavior he exhibited in those days, it would seem that it was very stupid. He brought trouble upon himself and so in the end exited the stage pitifully. In your opinion, why did Chiang act so stupidly? Did he just underestimate the strength of the Communists or was he just stupid?

Liang: Well, he was not stupid, all right. However, if it was stupidity, it was just because he was so selfish.

Alitto: Selfish? The basic problem was that he was selfish?

Liang: He didn't trust people. His word never...

Alitto: Meant anything?

Liang: Right! He acted this way thinking himself to be very clever. But what he did was to make himself utterly isolated.

Alitto: So, in your view, if after the War of Resistance had concluded, he had been earnestly reasonable with the Communist Party and with the Third Parties, then possibly he would have been able to organize a coalition government. Was it just because he wanted to maintain his dictatorial powers that he refused to be reasonable? (Liang: Right.) Because he thought that he had more troops, had good weapons, (Liang: He had U.S. backing.) he had an air force, the CCP didn't have an air force—no matter what, the Nationalist was much stronger than the CCP. (Liang: Many conditions were stronger.) So because of this, he then refused. (Liang: He looked down upon the CCP.) He looked down on the CCP. For example in 1938, the CCP was obviously quite strong, especially in North China and the Northeast. Why didn't he see that the situation was not good, and so make concessions or at least be relatively earnest in the peace talks?

蒋介石最大的贡献

梁：马歇尔元帅不是来中国吗？极力要促成中国国内的和平。我跟马帅有多次见面，他还到我住的地方来过一次，我住南京兰家庄的时候，民盟的总部，来过一次。我不会讲英语了，都由一个朋友——姓叶的叶笃义，替我做翻译。我对于马帅，我觉得他这个人是很好。他是一个信仰宗教信得很真的人。他很为蒋介石所苦——蒋介石他躲到庐山上去，天气并不一定很热，庐山固然凉快，可是他不是为凉快去庐山，他是躲人，他要躲马帅。那么这个样子马帅就辛苦了，他一趟上庐山，再一趟上庐山，他九上庐山。

艾：说到蒋介石躲人啊，依您看呢，他是抗战结束以后啊，他好像……现在看他当年这个行为，好像很笨啊，是自己找自己的麻烦而终于下场也很惨。依您看呢，是因为他估计共产党的力量估计得太低的关系呢，还是因为他人就是很笨呢？

梁：笨是不笨，如果说笨呢，他就是太自私。

艾：自私？基本的问题是他自私？

梁：他不信任人，从来说话……

艾：都不算话。

梁：对啊。他自己以为这样最得计，其实是弄得众叛亲离。

艾：那您看他是，就是说抗战结束以后，假如他比较认真地和共产党、和第三方面的人比较讲理，那说不定会组成一个联合政府。那么会不会就是因为他要保存他这个独裁的权力啊，而结果可以说是拒绝讲理？因为他想：我这个军队多啊，武装也好啊，（梁：有美国做后盾。）空军是有的，他们没有空军，无论怎么样，我们比他们强得多。（梁：很多的条件都强啊。）就是因为这个，他就拒绝，（梁：轻视共产党。）轻视共产党，比如到了民国二十七年（1938年），共产党尤其在华北、在东北很明显地是力量不小。他为什么不看情况不妙而让步，或者起码比较认真地和谈呢？

Liang: His attitude towards the peace talks was to take any small advantage. So, one time Premier Zhou came to him with a proposal that was a concession on the CCP's part, and thought that this would satisfy him. But Chiang came back and said that there was still a problem, and this problem called for a further concession from the CCP. So he kept pressing them continually. The CCP knew quite well that it did not have as much power as Chiang did, and knew that it didn't have international recognition as the government of China as Chiang did, or have American help. So, the situation

was like, as the saying in ancient Chinese goes, "troops full of righteous indignation will certainly prevail; troops full of pride will certainly be defeated." It was the CCP's troops that had been continually pressed and filled with righteous indignation.

Alitto: During the peace negotiations you must have had some opportunities to speak sincerely to Chiang, and try to persuade him to be more serious and conscientious with the peace talks.

Liang: I had great difficulty in getting to see him. Not only did I have difficulty, even the Nationalist Party leaders had difficulty in seeing him. It was a big headache for General Marshall. He hated Chiang. Didn't he serve as Secretary of State after returning to the U.S.? At that time, he wanted no part of helping Chiang Kai-shek.

Alitto: A lot of Americans who had lived in China for a long time felt that way. For example, there was John Stuart Service. He was in Chongqing. He also read my book manuscript and urged me to publish it without revision. He wrote a few words in it, saying that this book wasn't bad, and so on. Another example was John Patton Davies. I don't remember his Chinese name. Still another was my teacher John Fairbank. They all said that Chiang was wrong, and that the Chiang regime was corrupt. A lot of Americans feared a Communist success, especially feared the Soviet Union; they thought that the CCP was nothing but a tool of the Soviet Union.

梁：他在和谈上他采取的方针、策略，就是他多占一分便宜就多占一分便宜。有一次，周恩来代表共产党让步了，让步了以为可以满足他了，他说还有一个问题，在这个问题上又让步了，还有一点，如此，就是这样。他就是老是逼人，共产党也自己知道自己没有他那样大的力量了，没有像他还有国际的……，国际承认他是中国，美国的帮助啊，所以中国这个老话，老话讲军事上啊，"哀兵必胜，骄兵必败"，你骄傲，刚好就是共产党是哀兵，受逼迫的。

艾：那这个谈判过程中，您也许有机会很诚恳地劝蒋介石，要他认真一点吧？

梁：我们很难见到他呀。不但我们很难见到他，就是国民党的政府负责的人，见他都不容易。马帅很头疼，很恨他，回到美国之后不是担任国务卿吗？那个时候，他完全不想帮助蒋介石。

艾：有很多住中国住得久的人，例如谢伟思，他是在重庆，他也看了我这个，就是因为他看了这个稿子，他劝我就不要再改啊，立刻出

版，在这里写了几个字，就说这本书不错什么的。谢伟思是一位，还有戴维斯，中文名字我不记得，姓戴维斯，连费正清啊，他们都说蒋介石是错的，而且政府是腐败的，没有用处。美国很怕共产党，尤其怕的是苏联，以为中国共产党就是苏联的这个走狗啊，或者它的猫手、猫爪。

Do you think that Chiang Kai-shek made any contribution at all to China and the Chinese Revolution? We have regarded his performance, especially after the War of Resistance, as terrible. As for his overall career, is there any contribution to China?

Liang: His greatest contribution was to make the CCP successful. If he had been a bit more trustworthy, if his character were somewhat better, the CCP would have been unable to beat him. His greatest contribution was to have created the CCP success.

Zhou Enlai is a paragon.

Alitto: You were also familiar with Zhou Enlai.

Liang: I knew him very well.

Alitto: What dealings or contact did you have with him?

Liang: It was in politics. First it was in Chongqing. Because North and East China had fallen; we all lived in Chongqing. At that time, I had dealings with him, very close dealings. Later Japan was defeated, and all of us went to Nanjing. The Chinese Communist Party office was at Meiyuanxincun. Our Democratic League office was at Lanjiazhuang. At this time we were coordinating peace talks between the two [major] parties....

Alitto: Do you have other evaluations or views of Premier Zhou?

Liang: When the two major parties were conducting peace talks, General Marshall from the U.S. very much wanted to make the two major parties have peace talks. I was the general secretary of the Democratic League. I was also engaged in this work, and wanted to pursue domestic peace and establish a new China. At the time Mr. Zhou was first in Chongqing and later in Nanjing, so we were very close, and I had the most dealings with him. Finally there was a transitional government organized, with 40 members: 20 Nationalist Party members, and the remaining 20 positions divided up among the parties outside the Nationalist Party. That book I just mentioned discusses this question. What did it discuss? That the

Nationalist Party allowed the Communist Party and the Democratic League 13 positions. Whether it should be 13 or 14 was still debated.

您觉得蒋介石对中国、对中国革命有没有什么贡献呢？我们已经谈到了他，尤其在抗战以后啊，实在不行，不过就是说他的整个的事业了，会不会对中国有什么贡献？

梁：他最大的贡献哪，最大的贡献是给机会让共产党……他造成了共产党的成功。如果他这个人还有一点信用，人格还好一点，共产党打不过他啊。所以他最大的贡献，就是造成共产党的成功。

周恩来是一个完人

艾：周恩来您也……

梁：很熟了。

艾：您和他有过什么来往、接触？

梁：就是在政治上嘛。先是在重庆了，因为中国华北、华东都沦陷了，我们大家都在重庆，那个时候来往了，来往得很密。后来日本失败了，大家都去到南京了，中共的办事处在梅园新村，我们民盟在兰家庄，这个时候两党和谈我们彼此是配合的……

艾：您对周恩来总理有什么别的评价、看法？

梁：在两大党和谈的时候，美国来的是马歇尔元帅，他是很想促成两党的和谈的。我是作为民盟的秘书长，我也是做这个工作，想求得国内的和平、建设新中国，所以那个时候周公先在重庆、后在南京，我们是最密切的，往来最多的。最后要组织一个过渡的政府，国民政府委员40名，国民党占20名，剩下的20名国民党以外的大家分，我刚才提到的那个书里（梁漱溟借给艾恺的某本书）讲到这个问题，讲到什么呢？讲到国民党许给共产党跟民盟13名，是13名嘛还是14名嘛，还在那里争论……

The Chinese Democratic League was not one group, it was an alliance, and so he made this gesture. The Nationalist Party's *Central Daily News* and some Shanghai newspapers ridiculed the Democratic League as the tail of the Communist Party, as going along with the Communist Party. I made a statement to the press that the Communist Party was following the Democratic League's lead, and not the vice versa. What did I mean by that? I meant that the Communist Party was a revolutionary party. It was an armed

party that wanted to seize all of China. We had urged them to renounce armed force and cooperate with the Nationalist Party in creating a new China. We had urged it to renounce armed force. It had agreed to do so, and so it agreed with me to follow the path of the Democratic League, and it was by no means a case of me following the Communist Party. This was discussed in that little book. But one thing was quite clear: at the time the Democratic League was cooperating with the Communist Party. The Nationalist Party totally regarded us as doing so.

Alitto: Leaving aside Premier Zhou's political aspects, what kind of man was he?

Liang: I was very close to Premier Zhou. I am confident that I understood him. In ancient Chinese, the best person was called a "paragon," and I totally regarded Mr. Zhou as a paragon. There was nothing you could find fault with, no matter whether in his public or private morals. For example, he and Deng Yingchao had no children. Madame Deng seemed to have said that he could take another woman, but he didn't want to do so. In this area of marital relations, which was a private matter, he was very clean. In his work, he helped Chairman Mao in dealing with both internal matters of China and with the international area. One could say that before and especially after the founding of the state, if Premier Zhou was not handling things internal and foreign, well, Mao alone could not have handled it and would have failed; he relied on Zhou for both. Zhou worked like blazes. Everyone knows that he sometimes did not eat; he had no time to eat, so he was given something in the car and had a few bites, and immediately took off. He would work into the night. He received many foreigners, straight into the night, and slept very little, and didn't care much about food. One could say that he gave himself completely to his nation.

中国民盟不是个单一的团体，是个联合的，所以它作出这个样的一个表示。这样一个表示呢，国民党的《中央日报》，还有上海的报纸就嘲笑民盟，说民盟是共产党的尾巴，跟着共产党跑的。我就有一个声明，对新闻记者的谈话，我说是共产党随着民盟走的，而不是我们随着共产党走。怎么样子说这个话呢？因为共产党……是革命党，它是有武装的，它要夺取整个的中国的，我们是劝它放弃武力，跟国民党在建设新中国上可以合作。是我们劝它放弃武力的，它同意了，所以是它同意了我的话，走民盟的这个路子，并不是我跟着共产党走，那个本子上都讲了这个话。但是一个很清楚的事情就是，当时民盟跟共产党是合作

的，国民党完全是这样来看待我们的。

艾：周总理政治方面以外，是个什么样的人啊？

梁：我同周总理算是很熟悉了，我自信我很了解他。中国古话说最好的人叫做“完人”，完全，我看周公是一个完人，无论是在公德方面、私德方面，都没有可以挑剔的。比如他同邓颖超没有孩子，邓好像说是你可以结合另外一个女人，他就不要。在这种男女夫妇的关系上——这算是一个私人的事情，他很干净。在工作方面他帮助毛主席，无论是国内应付各方面、国际上应付各方面，全是他啊，没有周那不行的。新中国，可以说从建国前夕，特别是建国后，没有周总理应付内、应付外，那毛一个人办不了，成不了事情，都是靠周啊。周是拼命的，最辛苦了。大家都知道，他常常是没有法子吃饭，没有空吃饭，跑到汽车上人家给他送来饭，吃几口，马上就开走了。夜里头都办公啊。许多外国人，他会客，一直到深夜啊，睡眠很少，吃东西也很不讲究，勉勉强强，可以说是把自己一切全贡献给国家了。

If China hadn't had Zhou these several decades, it would not have succeeded. Zhou best understood Mao's wishes. My critique of him is that he was by nature a second fiddle. He asked Mao for instructions practically constantly and for everything. Mao would hint at something and he would immediately understand. Mao didn't have to say much. But he [Zhou] himself had very few specific opinions. He went along with Mao completely. One could say that he was Mao's best assistant. He was number two, never the first in command. An old Chinese saying is "a sage ruler and a worthy prime minister." He was the virtuous prime minister. When Zhou died, people from all sides, even the common people… There was no one who didn't miss him, admire him and grieve for him. Even when Mao died, it wasn't like this. Of the three [Mao, Zhou and Zhu], Zhou died first. Many people honored his memory in front of Tian'anmen.

My intercourse with Mao Zedong: different ideas of China's future

Liang: You know, I went to Yan'an in 1938, six months after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident and the outbreak of the war. Our dialogue began then. We both had a great desire to talk together, and both of us were very interested in each other's ideas. Why did I go to Yan'an almost immediately after the war broke out? That was because after the Japanese came, the entire

country collapsed. For example, right after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, in the South in Shanghai, on August 13, a battle started. But we didn't have any capacities of resistance. Shanghai fell, and we pulled back to Nanjing. Nanjing fell and we pulled back to Wuhan. In the North, Beijing and Tianjin fell. All of Shandong fell. People were running in all directions to get away from the Japanese. It was a complete collapse, as though no one was in charge. It was obvious that Chiang's government had no way, no capacity to do anything about the situation. I was extremely disappointed in the performance of the Nanjing government.

Alitto: Oh, because in those several months, the Japanese occupied a lot of places, and the Nanjing government had no way of stopping it, you went to Yan'an then….

Liang: When we reached Wuhan, where the national government had retreated to, I got Chiang's approval to go take a look at Yan'an. Before I visited Yan'an, I was extremely downcast and pessimistic. What to do perplexed me. Everyone was fleeing. The Nanjing government was totally incompetent. What to do? So, I thought I'd go see if the Communist Party had any way of dealing with the situation. So, with this mind, I went to see Mao, and found that Mao was not the least bit pessimistic. He told me, "China must undergo this great disaster. But the Japanese should not be joyful too soon. I expect they will be defeated." At the time I went to see him, he was in the midst of writing "On Protracted War," so he told me in effect the contents of his essay. He said that the Japanese had overrated their own strength. They were dreaming vainly of swallowing up China. A vain dream, a joke. China was a big country, too big, and Japan was just too small. Moreover, it wasn't just a Sino-Japanese question. The world powers would not stand idly by and watch Japan annex China. "An unjust cause draws meager support. A just cause draws myriad support." Later the world powers all stood againt Japan.

中国过去的几十年没有周是不行的，国际上、国内都是靠周。周呢，最能懂得毛的意思，我对他的评价：他是天生的第二把手。他是几乎随时、任何一件事情他都请示毛，毛一点，他就明白了，不要多说。可是他自己很少自己的明确的主张，他完全跟着毛走，可说是毛的最好最好的助手了。他是第二把手，不是第一。中国古话有……“圣君贤相”，他是个贤相。他故去了，各方面的人啊，乃至老百姓，没有人不想他的，没有人不佩服他的、追念他的。毛故去都没有这个情况。他们三个人周是最先故去的，在天安门前头多少人纪念他啊。

与毛泽东相交：对中国前途的认识

梁：卢沟桥事变6个月我就去了延安，很早。从那个时候起，从那开头吧，好像彼此都很愿意谈话，彼此交谈都很有兴趣。我记得我第一次到延安，卢沟桥事件刚刚6个月，我为什么那么早去延安呢？就是因为日本人来了之后，全国有一种崩溃之象，北方就是卢沟桥七七事变，南方上海是“八一三”打起来。就是都不行了，上海退南京，南京退武汉，北京、天津都沦陷了，山东也沦陷了。全国人都是在逃难，你逃难，我逃难，大家各自逃难，崩溃，好像无主了。蒋的政府眼看没有什么能力，没有什么办法。我对他很失望，对南京政府很失望。

艾：噢，就因为这几个月，日本人占领那么多地方，南京政府没有办法，您就到延安去……

梁：退到武汉的时候，我取得蒋的同意，我说我要到延安去看看。到延安去看的时候，我心里是很悲观的，不知道怎么好，大家都在逃难，南京政府毫无能力，怎么好啊？怎么办呢？我就想看看共产党是不是有办法，我就这样去。一去，看到他完全不悲观，我是悲观地去的，他告诉我：没有问题，中国非有这样一天不可，非有这样一个大灾难不可，不过日本人他不要高兴太早。……这个时候，他正在写《论持久战》，把《论持久战》的话讲给我听，他说日本人是不自量，他想吞并中国，那是妄想、笑话。中国是大国，太大了，它太小了。也不是中日两国，世界列强不能看着日本人来侵吞中国。“失道寡助，得道多助”，后来列强都反对它。

…We of course had to discuss Old China, our view of it and our theories about it, and it was in this area that our opinions differed. The most important disagreement was on the question of class. He maintained that China had always had class struggle, and I said that in Old China, from the Qin-Han period on—we were unclear of the society before then, so I wouldn't address it especially in the last 600 years since the Ming-Qing period, although there naturally were differences between rich and poor, there was circulation and communication between high and low (there was economic, social and political mobility). These distinctions were not like classes in the West, which were fixed and fully formed. In China, society and social groups were loose, unorganized and fluid. Because of this mobility, society was fluid and unorganized, and so the struggles were not all that intense or sharp. It was not a situation of two opposing classes—aristocrats versus serfs, as in the Western Middle Ages, or capitalists versus workers in capitalist society.

China didn't have any such thing. Chinese like harmony and compromise. Yes, there was struggle, but it was not habitual, nor did it have any great dynamic force.

Mao could not completely deny this. We debated for a long time. Finally he said, "Mr. Liang, you are overly emphasizing the peculiar, distinctive nature of Chinese society, but Chinese society is still a human society, and so still has its qualities which it shares with all human societies." I answered, "I completely agree with you. I completely agree with you that Chinese society has qualities in common with other human societies, but I insist that its peculiar or distinctive features are more important. For example, let's say we are speaking of a person. You say, I 'know' that person. Only if you can say what the special characteristic of that person is, what is distinctive about him, can you then say you 'know' him. If you speak about the person only from the aspect of his characteristics that he has in common with others—that he is a male, middle-aged, and so on, it won't do. You must speak of his special features as an individual, and only then can you really know him." So, I told Chairman Mao, "Your approach is not as good as mine. I grasp the special, distinctive features of Chinese society and so really know her better than you." Well, because of this kind of disagreement, we reached an impasse, and our discussions were concluded.[11]

……他对老中国的看法跟我的看法不一致。主要的一个问题是什么问题呢？就是阶级问题。他是阶级斗争，我就说中国的老社会，秦汉以后的社会，特别是从明代、清代600年以来的社会——早的社会我们不太清楚、不大敢说——明清以来的这个社会，在我看，贫富贵贱当然有，可是贫富贵贱可以上下流转相通，它不是像外国那样的一个阶级——很固定，很成型，没有固定成型，而是上下流转相通。中国社会散漫，流转相通呢，它就散漫。散漫就斗争不激烈，不像两大阶级，一个贵族，一个农民或农奴——中世纪的，或者后来的资本主义社会——资本家跟工人两大阶级，中国缺乏那个东西。中国人喜欢调和，斗争还是有，不过不大习惯斗争，斗争的两面，强大的也没有。

我说这个话，他也不能完全否认。辩论很久了，他最后就说了：梁先生，你过分强调中国社会的特殊性，但是中国社会还是一个人类的社会，还有它的一般性嘛。我说对，你说的话，我完全同意。不过，正因为我完全同意你说中国有它的一般性，也有它的特殊性这样子，可是我要强调特殊性要紧。比如说，一个人，你说你认识这个人，你要说这个人的特色是怎么样一个人，那么算是认识了这个人。不能从“一般的”去

说，说这个人是个人，或者这个人是个男人，这个人是个中年人，这都不行，你得说出这个人的特点，你才算是认识了这个人。因此，我说你这个不如我，我是抓住中国社会的特色的一面。谈话就结束了，说不下去了，一般性跟特殊性的比较是这样。

I am different from the others engaged in political activities.

Alitto: Could you give your views on the relationship between the Democratic League, the smaller political parties, and the process of national construction?

Liang: I think that I am, and was, somewhat different from the others [non-Communist Party and non-Nationalist Party intellectuals who engaged in political activities]. Almost all the others vainly hoped for the establishment of British-style rule by political parties. That is, in the national assembly, there would be two large parties; when one was in power, the other would supervise the governance. If the party in power made any mistakes, or did something that was objectionable to the party out of power, the latter would then take power. So the two parties would take turns being in power. This is the situation in England, and to an extent, in the U.S.A. So the others all dreamed of establishing this kind of government. I said that this kind of government did not meet the needs of China, because economically, industrially in particular, China was so different from the Western countries. China was not an industrialized, developed country, so this kind of government would not work. China's most urgent task was to develop economically as quickly as possible. In order to accomplish this, China needed a truly national, central political authority to adopt a fixed, definite guiding principle, a fixed course of action. This fixing of a definite course of action would be through a national governmental power or regime, and should maintain stability for several decades. Only in this way would China be able to develop economically and catch up with the foreign countries. So, I felt and feel that this alternating of political parties in power simply would not work because the national course of action would change whenever the other political party out of power came into power. So, today one policy, tomorrow another. That just won't work.

我和其他政治活动家的不同

艾：请您就民主同盟或者以前别的小的政党和国家建设之间的关系，或者重要性，作个评论。

梁：我跟其他跟我以外的、搞政治活动的人有一点不同，就是他们几乎都是梦想英国式的政党政治：在议会里头主要是两个大党，这个党上台，那个党在底下，监督着这个政府；或者上台的那个，有什么做错的，或者不得人心的，下台，它就上去了，两党轮流执政，这就是英国的情况。我以外的人他们都是梦想这个东西。英国，美国也是两党。我就是说，这个不合中国的需要，因为中国在物质文明上、在经济建设上，主要说是在工业上，同国外比较，差得太远了，太落后了。这样一个太落后的中国，那非赶紧、赶快、急起直追，把这个缺欠把它补上去不成。要补上这个事情，必须是有一个全国性的政权，采取一定的方针路线，依靠这个全国性的政权，确定一个方针路线，几十年的稳定的局面贯彻去搞、去建设，才能够把那个补回来。不能够你上来，我下去，你上来，我下去，这样子就不行啊！这样今天是这样方针计划，明天又那样子，那不行。

I maintained this view consistently. The others all disagreed with me, as they all had in mind an Anglo-American style of a two-party political system. Later, the situation in China, astonishingly enough, ended up precisely the way that I thought it would.[12] The Nationalist Party was driven out, and the Chinese Mainland was united. The CCP took power and did accomplish some things in these years. It's too bad that during those decades of control, there were several periods of political and social turmoil. But now, it looks as though these periods of turmoil are over and will not recur, so that from now on China can stride forward rapidly. So, as I said, I am very optimistic about the future. This is my view, and this is my hope.

…For example, during the War of Resistance against Japan, I went rushing around between the two major parties to avoid civil war. Well, I did it. My plan was successful. I founded the Democratic League. Other people thought that I wanted to found a party, but that was not my intention. My own feeling was that China didn't need any new political party, like America or England. So, although I founded the Democratic League, my purpose was for this organization to represent society in general, in between the two major parties, and to make the two parties compromise with each other and to further the war against Japan and the building of the nation. Finally, when I

felt that the organization was no longer needed, I withdrew. So, the Democratic League and the China Democratic National Construction Association still exist, and I don't belong to them.

所以我一个人总是梦想这个样子，可是旁人，就是说我以外的其他的党派，他们都不是这个意思，他们都是想学英、美，学两大党。可是后来嘛，局面居然落到我所想的，把国民党赶出去了，大陆上统一了，统一了，共产党掌握政权，一直掌握几十年，刚好做了不少事。可惜这里头还有些动乱，可惜在这个过去的30年里，还有些个动乱，可惜。可是看现在这个样子，动乱过去了，今后可以迈大步前进，所以我很乐观。这是我的一个看法，我的希望。

……比如我本来抗战起来之后，就奔走于两大党之间，事情都做了，也还都算是顺利。发起民主同盟，旁人以为我是想搞一个党派，我的意思不是，我的意思是中国不需要什么党派，不像英国、美国那样。所以我虽然发起同盟，主要是在两大党之间代表广大社会来牵扯着它们，不要它们两个打架、斗争，而推动或者抗战、或者建国。随后我觉得不需要了，我就退出了。现在民盟、民建都还有，我没有参加。

Days after the year 1949

It would be better to preserve my middleman status.

Liang: Many years later, Mao was in Beijing creating the new nation. I arrived in Beijing in early 1950.[13] The first time we saw each other again—in March—we started up right where we left off, arguing the same question. Why did we meet in March? Because in February, he and Premier Zhou were in Moscow, and he returned in March. When we did meet in March, the first thing he said to me was, "Now you will take a position in the government, right?" I wasn't able to make up my mind, and only after I thought deeply for a while did I answer, "Is it so bad to keep me on the outside of the government?" Now, I had my hidden purpose in this reply, but he became angry at it. In offering me a government post, he wanted to get a bit friendlier with me, but I didn't want to get any closer to him. At that time, I really didn't want to attach myself too closely because I misunderstood the whole situation. How did I misunderstand it? It was that I didn't know that the overall situation in China was going to stabilize. I wouldn't permit myself to be that optimistic. In the past, China had been fighting civil wars continuously. How many decades we have had endless civil wars!

…Although the Nationalists were defeated, couldn't they return and fight again? Now, I had always been in the middle between the two major parties, and was like a very fair-minded representative of society as a whole. So, I was able to talk to both sides. That is, I could talk to the Chiang Kai-shek side and could also talk to the Communists, so it seemed that it would be better to preserve my middleman status. It was because of these kinds of situations I answered the way I did when he wanted me to take a government position. It made him quite unhappy. He wanted to get closer to me and I didn't want to get close to him! On the one hand, he was a little bit unhappy; on the other hand, he just wanted me not to keep such a distance from him. So, after that he often sent his car to bring me over for a talk. When he had time from his duties, he sent for me. We never had a real topic, but just chatted at random, and sometimes we dined together.

Just whatever we felt like talking about, we talked about. But there were two things that often came up. The first, I wanted to understand more about the methods of the Chinese Communist Party. Just what did they do in their work, what sort of way did they do it? After they got control of the political power of the entire nation, how would they act, what methods would they employ? The other thing is, in the light of this desire, I wanted to go around the country and view their operations from the grass-roots level, so I could ascertain exactly how we [our rural reconstruction ideas] differed, and see if I could offer advice, or could talk to him on these matters. It was right then that Mao himself suggested such an inspection trip. He said that since I had worked before in rural reconstruction, both in Henan and Shandong, and had known about the situation in the rural areas, I could go to some rural areas to see what kind of changes there had been since Liberation. So, I said, "Okay." It so happened that his own wishes coincided with my own.

肆 1949年以后的岁月

我想保留一个中间人的地位

梁：后来，他（毛泽东）在北京建国。1950年我到北京，一开头还是讲这个话。在北京见面是1950年的3月份，为什么是3月份呢？因为1950年的1、2月他同周总理在莫斯科，3月他才回来，他回来我才同他见面。1950年的时候，先头他问我一句，他说："你现在可以参加政府吧？"我有点沉吟，思索了一下才回答。我说："把我留在政府外边，不好吗？"这话在我有我的用意，可是在他听起来他不高兴，他想拉我拉近一点，可我不想靠近。我当时不想靠近，还是把事情看得错误，怎么错误呢？我不知道中国的大局就能够统一、稳定下来，我不知道，我不敢这样乐观，因为过去中国内战老打不完，多少年老打不完。

……国民党虽然失败了，它会不会回来呀？我一向是在两大党之间，好像是一个很公正的、代表社会的一个人，各方面都可以说话，跟蒋方我也能说话，共产党方我也能说话，我想还是保留一个中间人的地位好一点。所以我这样一个念头，他让我参加政府，我就说留在外边不好吗？这样的话，他听了不很高兴，我不肯跟他靠近嘛。不跟他靠近，但是他倒是有一点——一方面是不很高兴吧，一方面还是有点拉着我，希望不要隔得太远。以后他常常接我到中南海他住的地方去谈话，有空他就……没什么问题，就随便地谈谈，坐下来吃饭。

……几乎可以说是想说什么就说什么吧。不过有两个情形可以说一下，一个就是我很想了解共产党的一些做法，他们掌握了全国政权以后，要怎么样做，怎么样干，我想了解。另外一方面呢，根据这个，我是需要出去看。我想从这个事实上，摸清楚彼此的不同，看我能够进言、能够对他说什么话。刚好这个时候他也提出来，他说从前你是做乡村工作，你在河南也做过，在山东也做过，你看到一些地方的乡村情况，你现在可以出去看看，我们解放之后有什么变化。我说好，我就接受他的，这个意思也是我的意思。

Zhang Dongsun, a professor of philosophy

Alitto: What about Zhang Dongsun? Do you have any... During the War

of Resistance, you worked with him in the Democratic League. Did you know him previously, or…

Liang: I knew him much earlier. He liked to talk philosophy. The man was famous in the academic world. He and Zhang Junmai—the two Zhangs—were close both philosophically and politically. Zhang Junmai was kind and simple-hearted. But Zhang Dongsun was artful, even to the extent of being slippery. In the end, he came very close to bringing on a disaster, just short of bringing on something terrible [upon himself]. Why did we say so? Chairman Mao of the CCP fixed Beijing as the national capital, and at the start the government was called the Central People's Government. The Central People's Government had a sixty-person committee. He and Long Yun from Yunnan were the last two members of the committee. Because Mao's troops were entering Beijing, he [Zhang] was in Beijing, rushing about arranging matters to [have the troops] peacefully enter Beijing. At the time the Nationalist Party force in Beijing was Fu Zuoyi's, which was holding Beijing. The CCP wanted to enter Beijing, and there were negociations between the two armies to avoid damaging Beijing. Several people were mediating in between. Zhang was also one of those. So after the CCP army entered Beijing, the CCP respected him, and he and Long Yun were the last two of the sixty members [to be appointed].

哲学教授张东荪

艾：那么张东荪先生，您对他有……，抗战的时候您跟他一起（在）民主同盟，以前您是认识呢，还是……

梁：很早就认识。他喜欢谈哲学，这个人本来在学术界也很有名誉的，他同张君劢两个人，二张啊，他们在一起，在哲学上、在政治上，他们两个始终在一起。张君劢这个人很忠厚老实，可是张东荪呢，很巧，乃至油滑，最后几乎闯祸，几乎不得了。为什么几乎不得了？就是在共产党毛主席定都北京了，开初的政府叫中央人民政府，中央人民政府有60个委员，他同那个龙云——云南的那个龙云，（是）60名委员里最后两名委员。因为毛主席军队入京，他在北京的时候，为了和平入北京奔走——那时北京的国民党的势力是傅作义，傅作义的军队守北京，共产党要进北京——在两军之间奔走和平，不要破坏北京。好几个人在奔走，他也是奔走的一个人。所以进了北京之后嘛，共产党对他也很尊重，中央人民政府60个委员，他和云南的龙云在60个人里头是居末的两

个。

But he had a weakness, a fault which I just mentioned—slipperiness; he was not kind and simple-hearted. At that time he was at Yenching University, where there were a lot of Americans. He was a professor at Yenching University. He thought that the U.S. was extremely powerful, and didn't dare make a judgment on whether the CCP could unite the entire country, stabilize it and move on steadily down the road. Right then, there was a certain person who could be considered bad, a swindler. This con-man was thirty-something years of age. During the Japanese rule of Beijing, he had been in jail with Zhang Dongsun. The Japanese had arrested him, and so the cheat became friendly with Zhang in prison. Later after the CCP entered Beijing, this cheat had contact with him, and sometimes would go to Yenching University to see him. Zhang Dongsun thought that the U.S. was extremely rich, strong, and powerful. Whether the CCP could rule China with stability was not certain, it seemed [at the time]. The cheat bragged to Zhang Dongsun that he had connections with the U.S. State Council, and Zhang believed him. So Zhang Dongsun gave some documents that he had acquired through participating in the People's Government for him to read. This man sent them off to the U.S. Later Beijing Mayor Peng Zhen caught this man; he asked him if he had any fellow conspirators. He mentioned Zhang Dongsun.

It was at this time that I was having regular contact with Chairman Mao. He often sent a car to bring me to the Zhongnanhai to talk. Chairman Mao spoke to me of the Zhang Dongsun incident. He said, "Peng Zhen said that he was to arrest him. I said to Peng Zhen that this scholar was not capable of rebellion, and so it wasn't worth taking him seriously, but he cannot meet with us again. At present we should only warn him, punish him and have him write a self-criticism." I heard that Chairman Mao didn't pass on his first self-criticism; it wouldn't do, was insufficient; and he had him write another. The second self-criticism still didn't pass. The third one—I seem to remember that I also read that one—Chairman Mao approved.

When Zhang's "problem" was discovered, he was terrified. Zhang's wife knew me, and before I went to meet Chairman Mao, his wife came to ask for my help as a favor, hoping to find out how serious this incident was. I said OK, and also spoke to Mao about it. Mao's answer was like this: Peng Zhen reported to me such and so forth; Peng Zhen had arrested a swindler, and so on. I told Peng Zhen: Don't arrest him; there is no need to arrest Zhang

Dongsun; an effete intellectual doesn't have the capacity to rebel; don't mind him; but we cannot forgive him a second time. Chairman Mao told me this personally. I also told this to Zhang Dongsun's wife. I also saw Zhang Dongsun, who was panic-stricken. His crime was "having illicit relations with a foreign country." At that time, there was hostility between China and the U.S. He was mentally disturbed and panic-stricken. He almost couldn't sleep. It seems that I read his third self-criticism essay. Chairman Mao also read it, and approved it. His self-criticism was profound. It could pass and he was not punished. He was given, moreover, a stipend of one hundred yuan a month, but he was kept under house arrest of a sort. He could not have any contact with anyone outside, so that afterwards I could no longer see him.[14]

不过他这个人呢，就是有缺点吧，有毛病吧，刚才我说了油滑，不是那么很忠诚老实。他那时在燕京大学，燕京大学有很多美国人，他是燕京大学的教授，他是很觉得美国是一个非常有力量（的国家），看共产党是不是能够统一全国，稳定、安定下去，不敢判断。刚好有一个，也算是坏人吧，一个骗子，这个骗子大概是三十多岁，在日本人统治北京的时候，刚好跟张东荪在一个监狱里头，日本人把他扣起来了，骗子在监狱里跟他熟了。以后共产党军队进入北京了，这个骗子还跟他有往来，还是有时候去燕京大学去看他。张东荪呢，觉得美国是最富强的、有力量的，共产党的统治中国是不是能稳定下去呢？好像不一定吧。而那个骗子对东荪说，他同美国国务院都有联系，他自己夸张说。张东荪就信了这个骗子的话，信了这个骗子的话啊，他就把一些个参加人民政府会议的文件，他都给这个人看，这个人都给运走了，给送到美国。这个人后来在北京，被北京市长彭真抓住了，抓住了就问他你还有什么同谋的人，他就把张东荪说出来了。

这个时候刚好还是我跟毛主席有往来的时候，他常常派车子接我到中南海去谈。毛主席就对我讲起来张东荪的事情。他说：彭真说要把他抓起来，我对彭真说，这种文人秀才造不起反来，不值得重视，但是呢，他也再不能够跟我们坐在一起开会了。现在应该警告他，要惩罚他，要他自己检讨，自己写文章检讨。我听说，第一次写了检讨，毛主席看了不通过，不行，不够，再一次。再写还是没有通过。到第三次检讨，一次、二次我没有看，第三次好像我还看过了一下，第三次嘛，毛主席批准了。

当他的问题发觉的时候，他是很恐慌的。他的夫人，张东荪的夫人认识我，在我跟毛主席见面之前呢，他夫人还来托我，说是你看到毛主席的时候替我探探口气，究竟这个问题严重到什么程度。我也就说了，

我也去跟毛说了，毛答复的话就是，就是说那个话：彭真来向我报告，说是如此如此，彭真抓住那个骗子了，如此如此，我告诉彭真，不用抓他，张东荪不需要抓，文人秀才造不起反来，不用管他，但是我们也不能饶恕他——这是毛主席亲口对我说的话。我又把这个话回答张东荪的夫人。我也看到张东荪，张东荪惊恐得很，他的罪名是“里通外国”，那时中美之间是互相仇视的。他恐慌得很，差不多精神发病了，简直不能睡眠了，精神错乱了。到了第三次他自己批评检讨的文章好像我还看到了，毛主席也看到了，通过，他自己批评检讨得还算深刻，还可以通过，不治他的罪，并且还要给他的生活费，每月100元。不过，等于软禁这样子，他不能同外人往来，所以以后我也没看到他。

Alitto: Do you have any impressions of his philosophical writings?

Liang: A thoughtful man of ideas. I think I myself have quoted him.

Alitto: Do you think he could be considered modern China's…

Liang: A thoughtful person, but as a man, he was not kind and simple-hearted; he was a finagler who was looking for personal advantage. This man was not as good as Zhang Junmai. The two Zhangs were extremely close, but Zhang Junmai was loyal, considerate and honest, not like Zhang Dongsun who was a slippery character.

I was too arrogant, too bigheaded in September of 1953.

Alitto: I think that your life hasn't been completely smooth sailing. There have certainly been heart-breaking events. Do you want to talk about them? It might serve to encourage and stimulate later scholars who find themselves in difficult straits. You have encountered a lot of setbacks, right?

Liang: I think that it seems I haven't actually had any heart-breaking events. I only feel that there are things that I haven't done well, things that I've failed or made mistakes about. For example, speaking of mistakes, that event in September of 1953 was my own mistake. I was too arrogant, too bigheaded, and so refused to go along with His Honor Mao. After that event I thought that I shouldn't have acted that way. I should have respected him more, and should not have fallen out with him.

艾：您对他的哲学著作有没有印象呢？

梁：他还算是有思想、有见解。好像我还有引用他的地方，好像有。

艾：您觉得他还算是个中国现代的……

梁：有思想的人。人呢，就是不够忠诚老实，有些取巧，想个人占便宜的这种思想。这个他不如张君劢。

1953年9月，自己心太盛、气太高

艾：我认为您的一生并不是全是一帆风顺的，其中一定有一些令人伤心的事，您愿不愿意谈一谈呢？可以对处身于困难的后学，产生一些鼓舞、激励的作用。您遭遇到不少挫折，对不对？

梁：我觉得，我倒好像没有什么伤心的事情。我只是倒觉得自己有没有做好的事情、失败的事情，或者错误。比如说，说到错误吧，那个就是1953年9月，那个就是自己的一个错误，就是自己气太盛、气太高，所以就跟毛公就抵住了。那个事情后来我自己想，不应当那样的，应当我多尊重他一些，不应当跟他闹翻。

Alitto: So at that time did you feel sad?

Liang: I didn't feel sad. I just felt that I had made a mistake, that I had been in the wrong, but that can't be considered feeling sad. If I have been sad in my life, it was at the death of my first wife. I was a bit grieved. Because I felt that she really was so good, and so her dying was a saddening event. Right when I was 40-some years old. Previously the Chinese ancients had a saying, "It is a great misfortune to lose a spouse in middle age." That is, if it were a bit earlier, not in middle age, for example at thirty... Is it considered a great misfortune to lose a spouse at thirty? Naturally it is considered still a great misfortune, but it is easier to forget when younger. After a while, the sadness passes, and is forgotten. The great misfortune of losing a spouse in middle age is also different from in old age when both spouses are going to die soon and it seems it's not that bad. Right in middle age, right when the feelings of the two spouses are deepest, their emotions are intense. This time is different from youth and old age. So, if I've had a saddening event, it was [the death of] my first wife, who was also the mother of my two sons.

Perseverance in the turbulant days

Alitto: Aside from this incident, were there others, or say, some other incidents of persecution or of damage to you during the Cultural Revolution?

Liang: I remember on August 24, 1966, Red Guard militants came to our house. They said that they had come to rebel, and there was some damage, and they injured my wife.

Alitto: Did they know who you were?

Liang: You could say that they knew, and yet they didn't know that much about me. They were junior high school students, and their school was just north of my house. It was just about half a kilometer or slightly more away. It was quite convenient for them to go from the school to the house. They were junior high students, and so had very little knowledge. You could say they didn't know anything about me. At the time, I wanted to write to Chairman Mao asking for help. I wasn't sure whether the letter might reach him, or whether it could elicit sympathy from him even if he got the letter. I did write letters, one to Mao and one to Zhou [Enlai], but there was no word from either.

艾：那您那个时候是不是感到伤心呢？

梁：没有伤心，我就感觉到自己错了，我不好，不算是伤心。如果有伤心的话，那就是我前头的太太，我的内人，她的死，我有一点伤心，因为我觉得她实在是很好，所以她死呢，是一个很伤心的事情。刚好是一个四十多岁的时候，从前中国古人有这么一句话："中年丧偶大不幸。"就是说假定早一点，不是中年，比如说在三十岁、三十多岁的时候丧偶，算不算大不幸呢？当然也算大不幸，不过比较年轻的时候容易忘，过些日子就把伤心过去了、忘了；中年丧偶大不幸呢，跟老年不同，老年大家彼此都快死了，好像也不大怎么样；中年刚好，刚好彼此两个人关系很深、感情很深，这个时候跟青年不同，跟老年也不同。所以，假定说我有伤心的事情，就是我前头的内人，也就是我现在的两个儿子的母亲。

动乱岁月里的坚守

艾：有没有别的，或者说是"文革"时候的一些迫害，或者一些对您不利的事情？

梁：我记得1966年8月24（日），红卫兵小将来了，他们说他们来造反，就有了一些个破坏，还打伤我的内人。

艾：那他们知不知道您是谁啊？

梁：也可以说知道，也可以说不是很知道。说知道，是因为学生是

初中学生，而这个初中呢，就在我住家的北边，大概也就是一里路或者是一里多路，从他们学校到我这儿来很方便。再一个，他们是初中的学生，知识很少，可以说是对我不甚知道。当时我自己想写信向毛主席求救，信恐怕也许达不到，也许达到了而他没有什么反响，不清楚。我信是写了的，一个信写给毛，一个信写给周，可是结果都没有消息。

Alitto: Another question. When they burst in, what did they say? How were they going to rebel?

Liang: A group of kids—young teenage boys and girls burst through the door. At the time I lived in the northern main room of the house. I said, "You coming to inspect, right?" They said, "No, we have come to rebel." I didn't want to say anything. I just let them do what they wanted. So, they destroyed a lot of things. They dragged a glass case outside and smashed it. They confiscated trunks. They carted away some things. Openly done robbery. They took apart our bedding, as well as our mosquito netting. They were of low morals. They burnt things to a great pile of ashes. It took more than a day to carry the ashes away.

Alitto: Did they beat your wife when they first came, or did they beat her later?

Liang: In the middle of the several days.

Alitto: Did they explain the reason when they were beating her?

Liang: They didn't give any reasons. They also had her kneel in punishment, right when the sun was the hottest; they had her kneel in the sun.

Alitto: Didn't they say why they beat your wife but not you?

Liang: They didn't explain this either.

Alitto: Did they criticize your past actions or your past publications?

Liang: No, neither.

Alitto: They just made trouble, just like that.

Liang: Yeah.

Alitto: Aside from your books and furniture, did they destroy anything like paintings or calligraphy?

Liang: Some of mine; there were some of my father's things, my grandfather's things, and my great-grandfather's things. Because [these

things] provoked them [the Red Guards]. For example, China has always prized painting and calligraphy, the kind of painting and calligraphy that you can hang up. Moreover, they occupied my place for twenty days, perhaps twenty-one days.

艾：还有一个，他们冲进来的时候，他们是怎么说的呢？什么样的造反法呢？

梁：一群年纪轻的、十几岁的男孩子、女孩子，破门而入，我当时住在北上房，他们就进来了。我说：你们来是不是检查吧？他们说不，我们来造反。我就没有话要讲了，听他们要怎么样就怎么样吧，所以就破坏了很多东西，玻璃柜拖到外面都砸烂了，箱子扣出来，有些东西用车子拉走了。……抢东西，公开的。把你睡的床铺、蚊帐都给你拆开，……道德低下。烧，烧的灰一大堆，要把灰拿出去，一天都弄不完。

艾：那个时候他们刚来的时候就打了您的夫人，还是以后打的？

梁：就在中间。

艾：打她的时候说什么原因吗？

梁：不说什么原因。还有罚跪，就是太阳很热的时候，在太阳底下跪。

艾：他们有没有说为什么打您的夫人而不打您？

梁：这个没有说。

艾：他们有没有批评您过去的行动或者过去的著作呢？

梁：都没有。

艾：他们就是闹？

梁：嗯。

艾：那您的损失包括书籍、家具，没有别的什么字画之类的？

梁：我自己的、我父亲的、祖父的、曾祖的，有一些东西。因为都招他了。比如中国历来就讲究书画，可以挂起来的那种书画，那种东西。他们并且盘踞我的地方达20天之久，21天好像。

Alitto: When they left, did they explain the reasons?

Liang: No.

Alitto: Not then either? Then they didn't talk to you during the entire process?

Liang: They were busy. Very busy. They made the northern hall where I lived their base area.

Alitto: A base area?

Liang: That was because at that time we had a telephone installed. They used that telephone; they could have communication with their own school through the phone. They also went to the neighboring families to rebel, manhandling them, and driving those people back to their hometowns. Anyway, whoever wasn't of Beijing was sent away. My niece and her husband were Cantonese, and they were sent back to Guangdong. The trains were packed with people who were being sent back under escort to their hometowns. This was one matter. Another matter was to have young students go run around everywhere—young students didn't need tickets to ride the train. For example, there was a Mr. Chen Weizhi whom I just mentioned. At the time he was a junior high student and took advantage of this opportunity to go at will to Xinjiang—a very far place—and in the south he went to Yunnan, Guangxi and Guangdong.

Alitto: Right. I just remembered. In 1974 and 1975, when I was studying at University [of California, Berkeley], there were two brothers surnamed Pan. Before Liberation, their parents were in the United States. [My friend] and his brother stayed in Beijing. He was a junior high school student at that time, and traveled around everywhere.

Liang: Yes, they were running around everywhere, as they pleased.

Alitto: Did any of your friends come to see you at that time?

Liang: No one visited anyone else, because they were afraid of getting into trouble, so if possible no one left home. People didn't even go to buy food and drink. (Alitto: How could that work?) If possible they ate whatever was left in their own kitchens. People didn't go out to shop for more than ten days, much less to visit friends and relatives.

Alitto: Did any of your relatives and Red Guards have…?

Liang: You have already seen, I have an elder son, and a second son. They didn't live with me. They came to see me, but they could do nothing at all. Moreover, the Red Guards said, "Don't you come around here!" Usually they left. Friends and relatives did not visit each other. They couldn't even fend for themselves. That was a very rare, strange situation.

艾：他们走的时候，有没有说出原因来？

梁：没有。

艾：也没有？那他们岂不是整个过程中都没有跟你们讲话？

梁：他们很忙，很忙。他们拿我住的北房做一个根据地了。

艾：做根据地？

梁：因为那个时候我家里装了电话，他们用那个电话，他跟自己的学校可以用电话联系。他到附近人家，也是去造反、欺负人，把那些人赶回乡。不是北京的都送走，我的侄女、女婿都是广东人，就把他们送广东。火车装满了人，都是全押送回乡，这是一种情况。还有一种情况，就是让青年学生到处去……，青年学生上火车不用买票，各处跑。比如说我刚才提到的那个陈维志，当时是个初中学生，他就借那个机会，就跑到新疆，很远，南边还到了云南，到了广西、广东，随便跑，完全随便跑。

艾：对，我想起来了，在1974、1975年，我在读大学的时候，有一对兄弟，姓潘的，解放前他的父母就在美国了。他和他的哥哥留在北京，他也是初中的学生，他什么地方都跑过了。

梁：是，都到处跑，随便跑。

艾：那个时候有没有老朋友来看您？

梁：彼此不来往，谁跟谁都不来往，怕惹事，尽可能地不出门，像是出门买菜、买饮食啊，都不出去。（艾：那怎么办？）尽可能地在自己厨房里头还剩下什么东西都吃，十几天地都不出门，不出去，更不往来，朋友、亲戚不往来。

艾：那您自己有没有亲戚和红卫兵小将的……

梁：你已经看见过的，我一个大儿子，一个二儿子，他们也都没住在一起。他们来看我，完全没有办法，并且红卫兵说你们不要来，平常也就走了。亲戚、朋友都不相往来了，各自都是自顾不暇。那是很少有的、很奇怪的那么一种。

Alitto: When this situation developed, what were you thinking?

Liang: When I became the object of these assaults, I was a bit unhappy at first. After a while, I took it easy and began to write again. At that time, I had no reference books, as my books had all been destroyed, but I relied on things in my mind to write. That manuscript of mine is still here—I wrote "A Comparative Study of Buddhism and Confucianism," discussing their

commonalities and differences.

Alitto: So you were able to remain cool as a cucumber.

Liang: Actually, it was nothing at all.

The commander of forces can be carried off; the will of a common man cannot be taken.

Liang: Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, everyone must study.In my small study group of about ten-odd or twenty-some people, as in all these small groups, you can talk freely, you can express criticisms randomly. Whatever is on your mind, you can express it to everyone. They have a slogan "an Exchange of Views." That is, you express your views, and we'll express our views. You can criticize me and I will criticize you. So then, you have debates, you "cross swords." Now the other members of the group criticized me, for example, during the "Criticize Lin Biao and Criticize Confucius" Campaign in 1973, everyone in the group was criticizing Confucius. I said, "Probably for the Communist Party leadership it is necessary politically to criticize Confucius. I'm not too clear on this. But Chairman Mao has said that different opinions can be retained. Okay, I have reservations about criticizing Confucius." At first, I expressed that I would retain my opinions on Confucius. However, I also wouldn't say anything negative in the anti-Confucius campaign. I would simply remain silent. But the members of my study group often intentionally taunted or tempted me into expressing some opinion, so as to criticize me. So I expressed my opinion and ended up being attacked on all sides. Once, in the midst of being attacked by everyone in the group, I said, "Okay, I'll quietly listen to everyone's criticisms and won't say anything more." I think that happened in 1974 or 1975.[15]

艾：那当时这样的情况发生的时候，您心里在想什么呢？

梁：我开头就是受到这种冲击心里有点不愉快，可是很少的几天我就过去了，就没有什么不愉快了。过去了我就开始写东西、写文章。这时候没有参考书，书都毁了，但是我就凭我脑子里有的东西写，我现在那个稿子还有，写的是《儒佛异同论》，儒家、佛家异同论。

艾：那您真是沉得住气啊。

梁：其实是很没有什么。

三军可夺帅也，匹夫不可夺志

梁：比如在毛主席的领导，让大家都要学习，学习就有学习小组，大概十几个人啦、二三十个人啦，大家可以随便谈啦，彼此听听，有什么心里话，要大家说出来。他们的一个口号叫做“思想见面”，你把你的思想拿出来，我把我的思想拿出来，彼此见面。那么，各自拿出来了，也就彼此有些批评，见面了，我也可以批评你，你也可以批评我。这个时候也是有争论的、有交锋的，那么我也就是曾受过旁人的批评。毛主席他有一次批林批孔，那是1973年，在小组会上大家都批孔，我就说在领导党、党的方面要批孔，也许在政治上有它的必要，需要批孔，我不大清楚；不过呢，毛主席也说过，有不同意见可以保留，那么好，我保留。我第一次表示我保留，保留不同意见，但是我也绝不说反面的话——不要批孔，我也不说这个话，我就是要沉默，我不说就是。可是尽管如此，一同学习的人，他常常还有意地引逗你，引逗你让你说话，你说出来，就好批评你。……最怕的是引起围攻，很多人围攻，有过这样的事情。围攻，那么我就说：“好，我静听大家的批评吧，我不说话了。”在过去，在1974年、1975年，都有批孔。

After Liberation, Chairman Mao wanted everyone to study and reform themselves in small study groups. Weren't there some democratic political parties, like the Democratic League and the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT? There were also the China Association for Promoting Democracy, the Jiusan Society, the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, the China Democratic National Construction Association, and also some members without party affiliations, who were combined together and called the "group directly under the People's Political Consultative Conference." It was in this study group that I said those words. Although I started the Democratic League, later I left it and was without any party affiliations. So, the story I just told was with the small study group without party affiliation. Now the five groups I just mentioned got together in some joint sessions to criticize me.

Alitto: So were these joint sessions in 1973, 1974 or…

Liang: These sessions were held through 1974 and 1975. Of course the group of all democratic personages was much larger, five small groups involving over one hundred members. So, there was a speaker's platform, and I remember over ten people spoke, one after another, criticizing me. I remained silent, refusing to express an opinion, even when they tried forcing

me to. To remain silence was not good either,…anyway I did not say a word till the meetings were over. After the enlarged meetings at which I was criticized, my own small group of non-party affiliated personages asked me, "What did you think of the criticisms leveled at you at the enlarged sessions?" I answered with a quotation from *The Analects* of Confucius, "The commander of the forces of a large state may be carried off, but the will of even a common man cannot be taken from him."[16] After I said this, I didn't say another word.

Alitto: So this kind of attitude is good for your health.

Liang: Yes. I am always steady and stable, with inner equilibrium. So, at the time when I said this, I used eight Chinese characters: *dulisikao*, *biaoliruyi*—independent thought; unity of inner feelings and outer action. I am not someone who goes along with the crowd. Whatever I think, I say. My interior self and exterior self are identical. I don't hide anything. Generally, everyone is good to me.

自从解放后，毛主席提倡大家要学习。不是有一些个民主党派？像是民盟、民革——民革就是从前的国民党，还有一个民进——“进步”的“进”，还有九三学社，还有工商联、民主建国会——民建，还有不在这些里的无党无派，也把它合起来，叫做“政协直属组”，直属于政协。刚才我说的话就是在直属组，我虽然是发起成立民盟的人，可是后来我离开了，所以我后来都一直算是无党无派，刚才说的就是我在无党无派小组会上的那个事情。他们要围攻我，所以呢，五个组，就是说九三学社是一组，民革是一组，民盟一组……一共五个组，开一个联组会，在联组会上批判我。

艾：联组会它是1973、1974年的时候，还是……

梁：1974那个时候，在1974年、1975年都有。联组会就人多，五个组成百了。有人就上台去发表言论批判我，先后大概有十多个人批判我，我就静听，不发言。不发言也不好，……不发言这个会也就过去了。批判我的会过去了，可是我自己本组那个小组会上，他们还有人问我说：“在联组上大家批判你，你听得怎么样呀？”我就回答，我说古书上——其实就是《论语》上——《论语》上有一句话：“三军可夺帅也，匹夫不可夺志（也）。”我就是引了这个话，答复了大家，我不说别的话了。

艾：原来讲的是跟您身体特别好的关系，就是……

梁：就是从那引起来说的话。自己很稳定。我当时也说了这么一句

话，表明我自己是怎么一回事，八个字，中文是八个字，头四个字是“独立思考”，“表里如一”——表面跟里头一样的。“独立思考”就是不是人云亦云，人家说什么跟着说，不是那么样。“表里如一”，我心里有什么就说什么，表面跟里头是一样的，不隐瞒。一般地说，大家都还对我还好。

Two greatest things in my life

Alitto: By reading about that time of your life in books and essays you wrote, I got the impression that it was only after the Republican Revolution that you wanted to leave home and become a monk.

Liang: I have often said that there are two questions that have occupied my mind. One question is the practical problem of China. China was in a kind of national crisis, and the social problems were very serious. This practical problem stimulated me and occupied my mind. There is another problem. I just mentioned a practical problem. There is another problem that transcends practicality, which is the problem of human life. What should be done with its afflictions and uncertainties, the misunderstandings of life, and doubts about it? Isn't this what I just mentioned about wanting to leave home and become a monk? These two problems are not the same. One makes me involve myself in social and national affairs for society and the country; and the other makes me want to leave society.

Alitto: Early in your life, you worked at a great number of different projects. After you participated in the revolution, you were a journalist, and after that, a Buddhist lay devotee, and you taught at a university. Which of these occupations, as far as your later life is concerned, had the greatest influence?

Liang: Although I had been a journalist, and an instructor, in fact the more important occupation of all was my work in social movements and politics. Didn't I have a relationship with Mao Zedong and Chiang Kai-shek, and the two parties? When George Marshall was in China, I had a lot of contact with him. He very much wanted to have the two parties find a compromise and peace.[17] I also worked on this, so worked quite a bit in political movements and social activities; working in rural reconstruction is a social movement. Political and social activities probably occupied a great part of my life. As for teaching, I had done this at Peking University. Later I also had a lot of students. Well, I was a journalist when I was young, and later I went to Hong Kong to run *Guangmingbao*, and so again was a journalist. The thing I very seldom did was to be an official. I had a very good friend, Li

Jishen. When I was 36 years old, I went to Guangdong Province to see him. I went to live in the countryside about 30 kilometers outside of Guangzhou.[18] He didn't get my agreement, but he issued the news to the National Government in Nanjing that I was a member of the Guangdong Provincial Government Committee. I did not take up the office and indicated that I wouldn't do so. So, you could say that I have never been an official. In my entire life, I've never been an official, but I have done social and political activities.[19]

伍 我一生最重要的大事

艾：看您所写的几本书，或者是文章，关于您那个时候的生活，给我留下的印象是辛亥革命以后您才真正地想出家。

梁：我常说自己，有两个问题占据了我的头脑。两个问题，一个呢，现实问题，现实中国的问题，因为中国赶上一种国家的危难，社会的问题很严重。这个现实的问题刺激我，这个问题占据我的脑筋。可还有另外一个问题，刚才说的是个现实问题，还有一个问题是一个超过现实的、也是人生问题，对人生的怀疑、烦闷——对人生不明白，怀疑它，有烦闷，该当怎么样啊？这不是刚才说想出家吗？这是两个问题，两个问题不一样，一个就让我为社会、为国事奔走，一个又让离开。

艾：您早年曾经从事过好几个不同的工作，您参加了革命以后做记者，以后做居士——佛教的居士啊，在大学教过书。您觉得哪一种工作对您后来的生涯影响最大？

梁：我的生活，固然做过记者了，教过书了，做过教员了，可是实际上比较重要的是做社会运动、参与政治。我不是跟毛主席、跟蒋介石两大党我都有关系吗？马歇尔在中国的时候，我跟他接触很多。他是极力想给两党找出一个妥协和平来。我也是搞这个东西，所以我实在搞了不少政治活动、社会活动，搞乡村建设是社会活动，社会活动、政治活动恐怕是占我一生很大部分。教书嘛，我曾经有过这个事情，北大教过书，后来也带着很多学生。那么，做新闻记者，开头年纪轻的时候做过，后来我到香港办《光明报》，又做新闻记者。那么比较少的，很少很少的，就是做官。我一个很好的朋友，就是李济深，我36岁的时候，我到广东去看他。我去离广州60里的一个乡下去闲住的时候，他没有得我同意，就要南京国民政府发表我为广东省政府委员，我没有就，发表了我不干。所以我可以说没有做官，一生之中啊，没有做过官，可是做过政治运动、社会运动。

Alitto: That is, aside from having been the county magistrate of Zouping.

Liang: Right, you saw that! We were administrating Zouping County, which was under the Rural Reconstruction Institute, and for a period of about two months, we couldn't find someone for the post of county magistrate, so I

myself held this office part-time.

Alitto: Right, so it could be said that you have been an official.

Liang: Yes.

Alitto: Looking back on your life, what do you think was the most important thing in it?

Liang: The biggest was working in society and in social movements. Rural reconstruction was a social movement; this kind of social movement had considerable influence. For three years straight we held an annual nationwide rural work symposium. Rural work was an important task at which I labored in the past. Another was the task of uniting the parties to resist Japan. Because I had gone once to the guerilla area, and had seen there the troops of the two parties fighting with one another, I became fearful that this would lead to civil war, so I first organized the "Comrades' Association for United and National Construction," and later the "Democratic League." Others mistakenly thought that I wanted to organize my own political group. Actually this was wrong. I did not hold that, aside from the two major parties, China needed a third group. I never meant that. The Democratic League was not a third political group, so what was it? It was to promote the two major parties to unite in resisting Japan, and cooperate in constructing the nation. As long as there was unity in resisting Japan, it would be fine; as long as the nation would be cooperatively constructed, it would be fine. I did not want to create some kind of political group, so now the Democratic League still exists, but I am not a member. In the first phase [of my life] I devoted myself to social movements; in the second phase, to national affairs.[20]

艾：除了在邹平的时候，有一阵子您当过县长的。

梁：对，这个你还看到了。因为邹平县归我们管，属于乡村建设研究院，有那么一个时期，大概两个月，那个县长刚好找不到人，那我就自己去兼这个县长，兼任两个月。

艾：是，所以可以说是您做过官。

梁：可以。

艾：回想、回顾您过去的生活，您以为您生活中最重要的大事是什么？

梁：大事一个就是为社会奔走，做社会运动。乡村建设是一种社会运动，这种社会运动起了相当的影响。我们曾经连续三年，每一年都开

一次全国性的乡村工作讨论会。乡村工作是我过去主要的奔走的一样。再一个就是为国内的党派的团结抗日。因为我去了游击区一次，在游击区看见两党的军队自己打，我就很怕引起内战，引起内战就妨碍了抗日，抗日期间不可以有内战啊，所以我就先搞“统一建国同志会”，后来搞“民主同盟”。旁人就误以为我是想搞一个自己的党派，其实不对。我不认为中国需要两大党之外，还要一个第三个党派，我没有这个意思。民主同盟不是第三个党派，是什么呢？是想推动两大党团结抗敌、合作建国。能够团结抗敌就好了，能够合作建国就好了。自己不想成一个什么党派，所以现在还有民主同盟了，可是我不参加。第一段是搞社会运动，第二段是奔走国事。

Alitto: In your private life, what was the important event? You just mentioned the two important things for society, for the nation, for the people. What was important in your personal life?

Liang: My writing of books, especially the largest and the most important one, called *The Human Mind/Heart and Human Life* (*Renxin yu Rensheng*). I asked a friend of mine who has good English, "How should the name of my most recent book *Renxin yu Rensheng* be translated into English?" He said that this term *renxin* is not one word in English, but rather there were two words that had some relationship to it. One was "Mind," and the other "Heart." That would be "Mind and Heart and Life."

Alitto: Yes. I also think it's not suitable, although directly translated into English is like this. The word *xin* has two meanings, but it is still a bit not... (Liang: Strained?) It isn't pleasing to the ear. How about this: if you want, I would be happy to translate the book into English, no problem.

Liang: I think that this is the most important thing in my life; having written this book is the most important thing.

艾：您私人生活的重要的大事？您说的是为社会、为国家、为人民服务的两个大事，那您私人生活没有重要的大事吗？

梁：那就是我的写书了。我写的书，特别是最大的一本书、最重要的一本书叫做《人心与人生》。我曾经请教英文好的朋友，我说我这本重要的书《人心与人生》，要翻成英文说，这个名字怎么翻呢？他说“人心”这个字，英文不是一个字，有两个字跟这个有关系，一个是mind，还一个是heart，所以要是给你翻译一个英文名字，那就是"Mind and Heart and Life"。

艾：是。我也觉得不怎么妥当，虽然是直接翻成英文是这个样子，

不错，“心”有两种意思，不过还是有点不……（梁：勉强？）不顺耳。这样吧，假如您愿意，我也很高兴把您的那本书翻成英文，没问题的，我想。

梁：我想我一生，这个是最重要的事情，写成这本书是我的最重要的事情。

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[1] I think that previously it had been widely speculated that Yuan Shikai's agents had assassinated him. In fact, the affair turns out to be a farcical tragedy. As Huang had indeed written an ambiguous article backing Yuan Shikai's imperial plans, he was somehow considered by Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Party to be on Yuan's side. So, Huang fled to San Francisco to escape from Yuan's wrath, and was shot to death by the Revolutionary Party assassin because he was considered Yuan's backer. The order, carried out on Christmas night, came down from Sun himself.
[2] Astonishing as it seems today, it was solely on the basis of this essay that Cai appointed Liang as professor at Peking University. Liang, of course, had never even attended the university, much less had specialized academic training in Indian thought.
[3] One of Gu Hongming's granddaughters taught at the International Chinese Language Program in Taipei (国际华语研习所, colloquially known as the Stanford Center), and I got to know her very well. Later she went to California to teach Chinese, where she remained. I had asked her if there were any family records, papers or artifacts left from Mr. Gu, but she said that it had all been lost. He was born, raised and educated outside of China. The great irony is that, although he held a position for a time in Zhang Zhidong's (张之洞) staff, he had mastered several European languages before learning Chinese. His important writings were in English. Mr. Gu was unique among Chinese intellectuals in the twentieth century in that he was far more thoroughly and completely culturally conservative than any other. W. Somerset Maugham's sketch of Gu ("The Philosopher") forms the center of his book On a Chinese Screen (1922).
[4] Liang was referring, very vaguely, to the original Anhui clique general Zheng Shiqi (郑士奇) who had been appointed by the Zhili clique in 1923 to rule Shandong. In 1925, as a result of the Second Zhili-Fengtian War in late 1924, the Fengtian clique general Zhang Zongchang (张宗昌) became the ruler of Shandong. Curiously, Liang does not mention the Fengtian clique in this statement, even though it was the victory of Fengtian over Zhili that was responsible for the changed political situation in Shandong and for the end of Liang's school there. The Anhui clique was not involved, as it was the Zhili clique that had appointed Zheng Shiqi.
[5] The goal of these schools cum government agencies was nothing less than the complete transformation of the nature of government, a very profound goal indeed. The institutions of local school and local government were to meld into one, with the local government administrators relating to the populace in a teacher-student relationship. In Chinese society, education always carried with it a certain moral content. So, the local school teachers were to serve as quasi-clergy as well. The ideal was the "schoolification of society" (社会学校化). What could be more profound a goal for local government than that!
[6] The Heze area was "wilder" than Zouping, with more bandits and crimes. Sun's first task (which he made his primary task) was to establish law and order, and so he concentrated his efforts on training militia.
[7] Mr. Liang's major goals in rural reconstruction were indeed to "organize" the countryside and diffuse modern technology there. Practically every political figure during the Republic did indeed complain that China was, as Sun Yat-sen put it, "a sheet of loose sand." Sun, and many others, complained that Chinese society was suffering not from a lack of "liberty," but from a surfeit of it. Everyone, then, hoped to transform the sand into cement, but the question was how. In the late Qing, moreover, a completely new concept appeared—mobilization. It appeared simultaneously with the idea of a modern nation to which its citizens owe loyalty. Therefore, underneath the organization question was the perceived need for mobilization. All figures were also interested in diffusing modern technologies throughout rural society. Liang's Rural Reconstruction Movement, however, had one other goal that these other leaders and movements did not include and, by their nature, could not include. It was a cultural revival that was to preserve Chinese cultural values—epitomized in his term "reason" (理性). Liang emphasized the idea that rural reconstruction must not be a political movement, but rather a grass-roots cultural movement. He had concluded by the late 1920s that governmental power was inherently like "an iron hook," and society was like a bean curd. No matter what good intentions the iron hook might possess, as soon as it goes to "help" the bean curd, it destroys it. "As soon as you take power, you are separated from society… No matter if even a sage took power, it would not work." Theory of Rural Reconstruction (《乡村建设理论》), 1937, p. 319. He never mentioned this special goal of rural reconstruction during these interviews.
[8] Liang Peishu (梁培恕).

[9] Intellectually, Liang seemed to have been on the same wave length as Tao. Tao's famous reversing of the order of the characters of his name (from Zhixing to Xingzhi) is the meaning necessary here. It was quite in line with Liang's own emphasis on practice and "life-changing" knowledge. Aside from Liang's own rural work style having commonalities with Tao's, Liang also admired his self-sacrificing personal character. Of course, they also shared an antipathy to Chiang Kai-shek.
[10] This is in reference to the Fujian Incident (闽变) of November 1933. As they were his close friends, Liang states that Chen Mingshu and Li Jishen founded this government (actually a revolt against the Nanjing National Government). Other leaders in the 19th Route army, such as Cai Tingkai (蔡廷锴) and Jiang Guangnai (蒋光鼐) were also in volved. The major motivation of the revolt was antipathy toward Chiang Kai-shek, especially toward his policy of appeasement toward Japan. The promised aid from the Jiangxi Soviet was not forthcoming and this led to the collapse of the enterprise, which began in January of 1934. Xu Minghong played a crucial role in theis incident.
[11] I was completely amazed at Mr. Liang's capacity to summarize these meetings with Mao with such accuracy. This description and analysis was exactly the same as he had recorded just a few months after the event. I myself had observed that he must have made his point very well, because shortly after this, Mao began stressing "the special, distinctive features of Chinese society," history, and culture.
[12] This is indeed true. Liang had always argued that until the customs, habits and attitudes of the masses changed, constitutional government would be a mere superficial copy of a foreign institution that would definitely fail. "China has not Reached a Stage where It can Have a Successful Constitution." (《中国此刻尚不到有宪法成功的时候》) Jan. 4, 1934, Dagongbao (《大公报》) . He continued this argument after the war as well. It is not a little ironic that Liang, who created and, for a time, led the only truly liberal democratic political force in that period in China, the last incarnation being the Democratic League (民主同盟), had little faith that liberal democracy could work in China.
[13] At Mao's request (order?) Liang returned to Beijing from Beibei, Sichuan, in January, 1950.
[14] These two events were separated by several years. Zhang was Fu Zuoyi's secret representative in the surrender negotiations in 1948. He wasn't accused of "having illicit relations with a foreign country" until 1951. He was arrested in January of 1968 (relatively late), sent to the famed Qincheng (秦城) prison for high level political prisoners, where he died in 1973.
[15] It was almost certainly 1974, as the campaign started in the latter part of 1973. Criticism of Confucius was, of course, meant to be criticism of Premier Zhou Enlai, and so the Confucian hero, the Duke of Zhou, was added to the list, a clear pun on the surname Zhou.
[16] Newspaper reports outside of China included Liang's quotation of this Confucian Analects.
[17] Despite Liang's founding of the non-Nationalist non-Communist democratic political group during the war, and despite his leading it precisely during its most significant period, 1947, he is mentioned less than Zhang Junmai or even Luo Longji in the Western language historical scholarship of the period. Obviously, these latter figures promoted themselves more into the limelight than Liang did. It is also often forgotten how active Liang was as the intermediary not only between the two major Chinese political parties, but also between them and George Marshall. For his part, Marshall greatly admired Liang and the group of liberal democratic intellectuals he led. Indeed, in Marshall's mind, the ideal solution to the conflict between the Nationalists and the Communists was to have Liang's group, which he described as "a fine group of men," emerge as an important political force that might lead China to democracy.
[18] Mr. Liang's point here is that he was out of communication with Li Jishen in Guangzhou. This would explain why Mr. Li didn't contact him before reporting to the Nanjing National Government that Mr. Liang was a part of the Guangdong Provincial Government.
[19] Never having held an official post was something of which Mr. Liang was extremely proud. He mentioned it several times in his writing, and mentioned it to me during these interviews and those a few years later.
[20] Actually, Liang had devoted himself to national affairs, at least part-time, for his entire adult life. His first employment in 1917 was a critically important post in a national ministry. The next year he published a quasi-political pamphlet, "If We do not Take Action, What will Happen to the People?" (吾曹不出，如苍生何？) Even during the 1920s and 1930s, Liang continued to have contact with political power-holders, and sought to influence their conduct and national affairs. During the war and after, of course, he devoted himself to political tasks, stopping only after he retired as leader of the Democratic League in late 1946.

My views of other people, the world and myself

I'm possibly an ordinary person who is a bit different from other ordinary people.

That is, it's as though I have seen something from afar.

What do I get to see? I catch a glimpse from afar of Wang Yangming, and Confucius.

Viewing them at a great distance—

my level [of understanding] is only to such a degree.

第三章 我对他人、世界和自身的看法

我可能比其他的普通人不同的一点的，
就是我好像望见了，远远地看到了，
看到了什么呢？看到了王阳明，
看到了孔子。
我的程度只是这么一个程度。

Historical figures

Yan Yangchu has no head for philosophy concerning rural reconstruction.

Alitto: As for Yan Yangchu… (Liang: I had a lot of contact with him.) Do you have any comments on him?

Liang: He was a very nice person. I heard he's in the Philippines now.

Alitto: What was the greatest difference between Yan's and your views of rural reconstruction and its practice?

Liang: Yan lacked a theoretical grasp. He had no head for philosophy. He was originally working in a mass literacy movement. This literacy movement was related to his religion. Religious people very often engage in some philanthropic work and help poverty-stricken people.[1] During the First World War, French manpower was in short supply because of the war, so they needed laborers. They hired a lot of Chinese peasants as laborers for their factories. Of course, it was a good deal for the peasants, as they could earn more than they could back in China. But they were illiterate, far from home and so could not write letters to the families. So in this way Yan Yangchu started to teach the Chinese laborers to read, so that they could communicate with their families back in China.

Afterwards, the situation changed. The French didn't need foreign labor any more, and the Chinese workers returned to China. So did Yan. But he still wanted to continue to do literacy work. At first he worked in Beijing. Someone told him, "If you want your literacy movement to help poor people, the most important sector of poor people are the peasants. The bulk of the people in China are peasants. Most peasants are illiterate. Rather than do as you are doing you should go to the countryside." Only in this way did he go to Ding County. His original term was "Poor People's Education." Later he called it the "Four Great Educations." He said that Chinese peasants had four urgent faults—poverty, ignorance, physical weakness and selfishness, and his Four Great Educations were targeted at these four shortcomings. His work

was like that.

Alitto: What is your evaluation of his work and his thought?

壹 当年人事

晏阳初对乡村问题缺乏哲学的头脑

艾：晏阳初，我不知道您对他有没有……（梁：很熟悉。）您对他有什么评论、评价？

梁：他人很好，听说现在在菲律宾。

艾：您看，把您自己对乡村问题的看法和晏阳初对乡村的看法比一比，最大的区别在哪里啊？

梁：晏阳初在头脑、思想方面，缺乏哲学的头脑。他原来是一个“识字运动”家，他这个“识字运动”跟他的宗教有关系。宗教家总是要做慈善工作，帮助穷苦人，所以他最初是在第一次欧战，第一次欧战法国人就去打仗了，就到中国来招募华工去工厂做工，那么中国农民当然很高兴去做工，可以有好收入，比在农村生活好。可中国农民不识字，远隔了——跟家庭，家庭里也常常要通信给他，他也想通信给自己家里，可是不会写字。这样子晏阳初就是帮助工人写字、认识字，好可以看信，好可以写信。开头就是对法国华工做识字运动，这样子开头的。

事情后来变了，法国不大需要做工作，他就回中国。回中国他还是想做识字运动，起初到了北京，可是有人告诉他：你要做识字运动，帮助穷苦人，那么主要的还是农民，人数最多的是农民，不识字的也是农民，你与其到北京不如下乡。他这样子才去了定县。在定县他就把他的——他原来号称“平民教育”——他就把“平民教育”说作“四大教育”，他说中国农民有四个毛病——“贫愚弱私”，针对“贫愚弱私”搞“四大教育”。他是这个样子。

艾：您自己来评价他的工作或者他的思想，您觉得怎么样？

Liang: I think he had no head for philosophy. His theory about "poverty, ignorance, physical weakness and selfishness" was not a very brilliant or clever idea. For example, this "poverty"—at the time, the problem of China was not poverty. Why not poverty? Wasn't China very poor? I thought that the problem was not just "poverty" but "increasing poverty." When a child was born, it was not a problem of having nothing. If there was a chance for development and creativeness, he would be able to do well. So,

the problem was not just poverty but a tendency toward greater and greater poverty. In Chinese society of that time the problem was one of sinking ever downward, sliding down a slope. So the important task was to reverse this tendency and get Chinese society going upward again. But Yan did not understand this. It was insights like this that he lacked.

Alitto: So he could be considered as having too superficial a view of the situation?

Liang: Exactly, superficial.

Hu Shi has very shallow views of things.

Alitto: He [Yan] and Hu Shi had quite a few views in common.

Liang: Yes, that's right. Hu Shi also had very shallow views of things.

Alitto: I mention Hu Shi quite a lot in my book for comparison and criticise him on this point. Do you think that the similarities between the views of these two men had anything to do with their education in the U.S.?

Liang: Not necessarily. I just thought of something. During our last interview wasn't I unable to remember someone's name, someone who also had been educated in the United States? I now remember that his name was Jin Yuelin. He had studied political science in the U.S., but what he loved was logic. They ran into each other at a Peking Union board meeting. Hu had just published an article. Hu asked Mr. Jin, "I have an article. Did you see it?" Jin replied, "I saw it. Very good, very good." Hu was very happy. Jin continued, "Too bad that you left out one sentence." "What was that?" [Hu asked.] "When it comes to philosophy, I'm a layman," [was Jin's response.] Because Hu Shi had been unenlightened to say, "What is philosophy? Philosophy is just bad science," meaning immature, indifferent science.

梁：我觉得他缺乏哲学头脑，“贫愚弱私”这个看法不高明。比如说“贫愚弱私”的“贫”，当时的中国的问题，不是“贫”的问题。那么是什么问题？怎么会不是贫的问题，农民很贫了？我认为真实的问题是“贫而越来越贫”的问题。人一生下来——一个小孩子生下来，什么也没有啊，没有不要紧，创造、发展就行了。所以不是“贫”的问题，而是“贫而越来越贫”的问题，就是说中国的社会在那个时候是向下沉沦的问题，向下沉沦，走下坡路，一定要把中国广大社会从走下坡路扭转为走上坡路才行。可是晏先生他缺乏这种看法。

艾：那他算不算是看得太浅？

梁：就是，看得浅。

胡适的头脑是粗浅的

艾：他和胡适关于乡村问题、关于中国的问题，有很多类似的地方。

梁：对，胡适也是浅。

艾：书里面常常提到胡适，比较批评他的就是这一点。是不是就是这样，晏阳初、胡适原来都是留美的，会不会跟他们留美有关系？

梁：那不一定。我刚才想起来，上一次我说的，我忘记了人名了，后来我想起来了，叫做金岳霖。他是留美的，本来是去学政治的，但是他喜欢逻辑。在协和医院开会，胡适刚好发表一篇文章，他们两个碰上了，胡就问金先生说："我有一篇文章，你看见了吗？"金说："看见了，很好很好。"胡很高兴。他（金）说："可惜啊，少说一句话。""什么话啊？""我是哲学的外行。"就是这个故事。因为胡那个话是很不高明的了。他说："什么叫哲学？哲学就是坏的科学。"就是一种不成熟的科学，不高明的科学。

Alitto: I also wanted to ask something. You also think that John Dewey's thought is of some value, and Hu Shi's thought was not his own creation, he just followed Dewey. Now, you and Hu Shi's opinions differed. Both of you, it would seem, have toward Dewey…

Liang: He can be considered Dewey's student. Dewey came to China…

Alitto: That is to say, although you two differ in many areas in thought, you still have toward Dewey…

Liang: Of course, Dewey has great value. He seemed to call it "popularly based education." His mind was by no means shallow; it was quite dynamic and thorough. His books were rather profound. Even simple people can read his books. Brilliant, profound people can perceive Dewey's excellent and valuable qualities. Hu Shi was unable to understand Dewey. Everyone's mind is different, and Hu Shi's mind was shallow.

Kang Youwei's works of the early period have their value.

Liang: …But I disliked Kang Youwei, very much. Wasn't he working on some kind of Confucian Church? But that problem was relatively small. The most important problem was that he was hypocritical and deceitful in many matters. For example, he used to predate his writings. That is, he would put a much earlier date on them before he actually wrote them. Why? This was dishonest.

Alitto: Right. I had thought that possibly you opposed some parts of his *The Great Commonwealth*?

Liang: Didn't he write *The Great Commonwealth*? I still have it on my shelf. I think that his Great Commonwealth ideal is by no means profound or advanced and not worth all the lavish praise. Well, it's fine to think of the very distant future, what society will be like, and fine to write it down, but it should be recognized that the worth of such an enterprise is certainly not great. Science should be emphasized, and not simply spout fantasies and pipe dreams. Of course, fantasies can be articulated, but they have no great value. The only kind of thinking that has real value is seeking the truth from the facts, and come down out of the clouds.

Alitto: You mentioned in your book *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies* that you opposed this ideal thought.

艾：我也想问，您也觉得杜威的思想是很有价值的，胡适的思想好像没有自己创造的，都是跟着杜威，您和胡适意见不同，您两位都是对杜威好像有……

梁：他算是杜威的学生，杜威到中国……

艾：就是说你们两位，虽然思想上有很多不同的地方，但是您还是对杜威这个……

梁：当然，杜威有他的价值，他好像是叫做“民本教育”。他的思想并不浅薄，很活，他的头脑活动得很，活动，能够深入。他的书就是相当深的，粗浅的人也能看，看了也好。高明的人、深刻的人能够看出来杜威的长处、优点，可是胡适没有能够。一个人与一个人的头脑不相同，胡适的头脑是粗浅的。

康有为的价值是在他比较早的时候

梁：……我很不喜欢康。他不是要搞什么孔教会？不过这个问题还小，最大的问题是他这个人虚假，很多事他作假。比如他写文章，有倒

填年月的事情，后来写的东西，他把它作为多少年以前写的东西。这何必来呢？不老实。

艾：对，对。我以为可能您对他的《大同书》会有反对的地方吧，有不同意的地方吧？

梁：他不是有本《大同书》吗？我书架上还有。我觉得这种“大同”的理想，并不高深，不值得去那么样子吹捧。设想远的未来的社会怎么样子怎么样的，可以设想，可以去作一些个想象，也可以把它写出来、说出来，不过应当认为价值不大。应当重视科学，不要作些什么幻想。幻想也可以说嘛，不过不会有很大价值，实事求是的这种研究才是有价值的。

艾：大同这种理想啊，在《东西文化及其哲学》您也还反对，觉得大同是……

Liang: I didn't really oppose it. In some of the classical books, especially the "Liyun" chapter of the *Classic of Rites*, there are some statements like "Thus men did not love their parents only, nor treat as children only their own sons" and "a public and common spirit governed all under the sky." That is the form human society will develop into sometime in the future. I meant that people should not always place all of their hopes on the future and, in the process, minimize and ignore the present. This kind of psychology makes people unable to go all out concentrating on the present.

Alitto: You previously said that you very much dislike Kang Youwei. Can you give your reasons in some detail?

Liang: Kang Youwei always cheated people. When he first started out, he was really extraordinary. He promoted and led the reform movement. That, too, was really something. At the time this must be considered great wisdom and foresight. Of course we respected and revered him for it. But later in his life he always cheated people. He lied continually, but at the same time he was as proud as a peacock, with an overweening opinion of himself. This sort of thing is just intolerable. We should say something here: "Everyone ought to be modest." Seeing someone acting the way that Kang Youwei did, self-important and arrogant, always assuming that he was superior to everybody else, one knows that he was fundamentally no good.

Alitto: So in the realm of thought there was no…

Liang: His thought had its elements of creativeness. One of his books

was *A Study of the False Classics of the Xin Period*. And there was that other book...[2] Both of these works are extremely famous. But experts know that the things in these two books were stolen from another man, a Sichuanese named Liao Ping. Quite a bit of Kang Youwei's thought, his opinions, and especially his analysis of the classics, were plagiarized from Liao Ping. Others have all said this. He stole Liao Ping's stuff and published it under his own name.

Kang Youwei's works also have their value, those of the early period. But the older he got, the worse he got. I heard that in the later period he forged and plagiarized things. There were other affairs that I know about… For example, there were two cases. In the south side of the city of Xi'an in Shaanxi there was a monastery. I seem to remember it being called the Monastery of the Sleeping Dragon. There was an old edition of a Buddhist sutra, extremely valuable. Kang appropriated it for himself. At that time, transportation was very inconvenient. There was no railroad, only mule and horse carts. He loaded the valuable edition of the Buddhist Canon—many volumes, extremely heavy—into a cart, intending to take it away. He had already gone out of the East Gate of Xi'an and was on the highway when Xi'an natives who had discovered the theft overtook him. They took the sutra from him and returned it to its place in the temple. How do I know about this incident? When I was nineteen or so, I went to Xi'an, and as I liked to visit that temple, I got to learn about it.

梁：不算是反对。因为中国的古书里头，特别是《礼记》里头《礼运》那篇，它都讲到了，“人不独亲其亲，不独子其子”，“天下为公”，那个是人类社会发展的前途、未来，会走到那一步的。我的意思就是说，人呢不要老怀抱着一个希望未来，好像把一切希望都寄托在未来，反而把当前的事情啊，看轻了，忽略了，不能够好好地在当下用心。

艾：您以前说很讨厌康有为，那可不可以比较详细地说原因在哪里呢？

梁：康有为他后来总是欺骗人，开头是很了不起嘛，倡导维新，他是维新运动的领袖，那很了不起，很了不起。在当时呢，可以算得先知先行，那我们当然佩服、恭敬他。不过后来他老骗人，他尽说假话啊，一方面尽说假话，一方面自高自大，简直可以说要不得。我们应当说一句话，人人都应当谦虚；自高自大，总把自己摆在众人之上，这个根本上就看出这个人不行啊。

艾：那在思想方面有没有……

梁：思想方面他有创新，他有著作，他有一本书叫做《新学伪经考》，还有一部什么书，两部书都是很出名。可是内行人、懂得的人，知道他这两部书从旁人那儿偷来的。有一个四川人廖平，康有为的许多思想见解和特别是对古书的看法吧，他都是从这儿来的，从廖平来的，旁人都是这么说，他是窃取了廖平的东西发表。

康有为他有他的价值，不过他的价值是在他比较早的时候，比较年轻的时候，他越到后来他越是不行了，后来他有造假的事情，还有我所知道的……比如我知道两件事。一件事，是在陕西西安，城南有一个庙，好像叫卧龙寺，那个庙里头有古代版本的佛经，很有价值，他就把它据为己有。那个时候啊，交通不便，没有铁路，是骡马车。他就把卧龙寺那个好版本的藏经——数量很多，并且很重——装在骡马车上要弄走，已经出了西安的东门，已经走在大路上，西安本地人发觉了，追上去，不答应，把书弄回来，有这么一次事情。这事我为什么能知道呢？因为我19岁、20岁的时候，我到了西安，我喜欢到那个庙里头去，知道这件事情。

There was another incident. In the early years of the Republic, there was a national assemblyman who was a big capitalist. In the late Qing, there was a kind of national bank called the Great Qing Bank. After the Qing court abdication, in the Republic of China, the bank's name was changed to the Bank of China. There was a director and a deputy director. The deputy director's name was Yu Fancheng. I was very friendly with Yu, and it was he who reported to me his encounters. Yu Fancheng was the deputy director of the Bank of China. Later he left the Bank of China, but he became a "private" banker capitalist. When a person wanted to borrow a relatively large amount of money from the bank, he must first put up collateral to guarantee the loan. What was used for collateral? Some valuable object that was universally recognized as having great value, such as a famous great painting. Only after the old painting was deposited in the bank as collateral would the bank lend him the money, for instance 2000 silver dollars.

Kang Youwei knew that there was a certain famous painting securing a loan in the bank, and asked Mr. Yu to take it out so that he could view it. Of course, as Kang was such a celebrity, Yu took the painting out and hung it up for viewing. Kang praised it non-stop, sighing and exclaiming how excellent it was and so on. Then he asked Mr. Yu Fancheng if he could take it home to enjoy it carefully. Because Kang was such a well-known person, Mr. Yu felt

that if he made such a request, he had no choice but to agree to let him take the painting home. He thought that perhaps Kang would enjoy it for two or three days and then bring it back. After three days, he went to Kang and asked for the painting back but Kang didn't give it back. After several more days he again went to Kang and asked for the painting, but he still refused to give it to him, saying that he wanted to appreciate it for some more time. How many days had passed! This wouldn't do. Yu Fancheng thought to himself, "You want to take possession of it yourself?" So he went to Kang Youwei's house with a lot of people, and forcefully took the painting back. Yu himself told me about this incident.

再一件事情。有一个民国初年的国会议员，是一个资本家。在清朝末了有一个国家银行叫“大清银行”，后来清朝退位了，就称为中华民国了，就改为“中国银行”。中国银行的第一个主事人叫做总裁，还有一个副总裁，姓余，叫余凡澄（音同）。余凡澄跟我相熟，余凡澄把他遇见的事情告诉我。余凡澄他是中国银行的副总裁，后来他离开中国银行了，但是他是一个私家银行的资本家。有人来向银行借钱、借款，或者借比较多一点的钱，就要抵押，才能保证银行借钱。拿什么来抵押呢？用一幅很贵重的、有名的画，人人公认这个是价值很大，古代的画，古画就作抵押品在银行里头，银行就贷给他比如说是2000块钱。

康有为就知道了这个有名的画在这个银行里头，他就去找到余凡澄，他说：“听说这个画在你们这个行里头，你拿出来我们看一看，可以不可以？”那么当然他康有为是个大名人啦，这个余先生就从行里头把那个画拿出来，挂在那儿看，这个康有为非常地赞扬：“啊呀，这个画多么好啊”，在那儿叹息，在那儿看。末了，他说：“可不可以我拿回家去，我慢慢再多看看呢？”这个余凡澄因为他是大名人嘛，一定要这样要求嘛，只好答应他，让他拿走了。他拿走的时候，他也不说在家里头仔细看看，多看两天、三天这样子就送回来了。过了两三天去要，他不给，再过几天去要，还不给：“我还要多看一看。”好多天啊！这个不行了，这个余凡澄就想：“怎么你想霸占这个东西啦？”那么就带了很多人强迫地到康有为的家里头把这个东西取回来了。这个余告诉我的。

So I knew about these two incidents, one in Xi'an, and one in Shanghai. In his later life his behavior was bad, especially [in the case of] his disciple, a student named Chen Huanzhang, who established a "Confucian Church." He needed money (donations) to build a church on Xidan Street [in Beijing]. He set certain regulations. If you contributed five thousand silver dollars, you were so forth and so on, and if you contributed ten thousand, you were so

forth and so on, so as to wheedle contributions out of people. That sort of thing was just awful! This was the worst kind of sordid vulgarity and ignoble philistinism that was utterly devoid of noble, lofty thought! So this was what Kang's student Chen Huanzhang was like.

A few words on representatives of Neo-Confucianism

Alitto: Aside from you, who else in the modern period is a representative Confucian personage?

Liang: I can't say, but I will address a few words to the issue. There's someone named Feng Youlan. When I was teaching at Peking University, he was a student in my class. He studied in America. While in America, he often sent letters to me, corresponding with me. After he returned from America he became a university professor, a very famous one. He authored three books, especially [well-known] is the one titled History of Chinese Philosophy. This man—each person has his own disposition and individual personalities are different—he appears to be a Confucian and to have developed and elaborated upon traditional Chinese thought. It appears that way, but in reality, he behaves more like a follower of Laozi and Zhuangzi. The Laozi school is not like the Confucian in that a follower does not have a commitment to one's own integrity and to honesty. He isn't that way. He is more like what, like cynical and frivolous. He is not like [a Confucian] who loyally follows and acts according to the principles he believes in, who does not bend with the prevailing wind. No, he is more cynical and frivolous.

Alitto: Actually we Westerners who study China generally acknowledged this.

Liang: Later, didn't that Jiang Qing think highly of him and go to Peking University to see him? He even gave some poems to Jiang Qing. Later Jiang Qing was defeated, so his reputation withered. He is still alive, still at Peking University, but he doesn't have any work responsibilities. All he has now is a good salary, that is, a professor's salary. His health has not been good either. He has cataracts, and someone supports him when walking.

我知道的这么两件事，一个在西安，一个在上海。他后来他品行很不好。特别是他有一个弟子，一个门人、学生，叫陈焕章，办“孔教会”，在北京西单修房子，需要款，叫“劝募款”，定一个条例，如果捐5万块钱就怎么样，捐10万块钱怎么样，引诱人捐款。这个简直要不得，

完全是一种名利的俗心，俗得不得了，一点高尚的意思都没有。这是他的学生，康有为的学生陈焕章。

点评“新儒家”代表人物

艾：除了您自己以外，在现代最具有代表性的儒家人物是谁？

梁：我说不上来。说不上来我还要说几句话。有一个人叫冯友兰，我在北京大学教书的时候，他是我班上的学生，他是留美，在美国。他留美的时候还常常从美国写信给我。从美国回来就做大学教授，很出名，写了三本书，特别是他有一部《中国哲学史》。这个人呢——一个人有一个人的性情，个性不同了——他好像是儒家，好像是发挥中国传统思想，可其实呢，他的为人是老庄的吧。老子一派，就是不像那个儒家，好像忠于自己，一定要很正直，他不是那样，他是有点……有点玩世不恭，他不是那么本着自己的相信的道理、很忠实、不随风转舵，不，他有点像玩世不恭。

艾：其实这一点我们西方研究中国的人都是公认的。

梁：后来不是那个江青很赏识他，到北京大学去看他？他还把诗词送给江青，后来江青失败了，所以他的名气也就不好了。这个人还在，还在北京大学，不过不担任什么事情，只有一个好的待遇，教授的待遇。人也不行了，眼睛有白内障，走路也旁人扶着。

Alitto: No one is representative [of Confucianism]?

Liang: No. There is another philosopher. He cannot really be considered as representing Confucianism. Someone named He Lin. He is better [than Feng], not so willful and wanton. He teaches mostly German philosophy, Hegel. There is another philosopher named Shen Youding. They all play an important role in the Institute of Philosophy at the Chinese Academy of Sciences. There is another philosopher in Beijing; he studied in the U.S., his name...it's on the tip of my tongue.

Alitto: Do you think that the Hong Kong Confucian thinkers like Mou Zongsan and Tang Junyi have made a contribution to the elucidation and development of modern Confucianism?

Liang: They have made a contribution.

Alitto: Have you read their publications?

Liang: I have here six volumes by Tang Junyi. I haven't read Mou's.

Alitto: What about Tang Junyi?

Liang: He's good. I think that what he has to say about Confucianism is all accurate. Mou is a Shandongese, Tang a Sichuanese. I have been sent Tang's works. I have six big volumes of his. Right now I have only two volumes left of the six. Someone took four away. It's a pity that Tang has already passed away. Mou is still alive.

Alitto: Yes, Mou is still alive. Are they considered Xiong Shili's students?

Liang: Mou is. It seems that Tang has no connection with Xiong. Mou has been on intimate terms with Xiong. He addressed him as teacher. It seems Tang did not.

Contemporaries who influenced me

Alitto: Have any others influenced you?

Liang: If you are referring to my contemporaries, such as my friends and teachers, there are two people. One was a Fujianese. Mr. Lin, someone I very much admired. In thought and in his actions as a man, I revered and admired him, and he was also someone who influenced me greatly.

艾：没有一个具有代表性的？

梁：没有。还有一个哲学家，他也不一定算是代表儒家，有个叫贺麟的，贺麟比较好，比较不是那样随便，不过他是讲德国哲学，讲授黑格尔的。还有一个哲学家，叫沈有鼎，姓沈，沈有鼎。这都是中国科学院哲学研究所的重要角色。还有一个也是在北京的哲学家，留美的，叫什么名字……口里头说不出来，心里头有。

艾：您觉得牟宗三、唐君毅，在香港的儒家思想家对现代的孔孟之道的发展和阐明有没有贡献？

梁：有贡献。

艾：他们的著作，您看过没有？

梁：我这里有的就是还是唐君毅的，有六本，没有看见牟的。

艾：唐君毅的怎么样呢？

梁：他还好，对儒家所见还正确。牟宗三是山东人，唐君毅是四川人。唐君毅的一些著作他们都送给我，有六大本。现在没在这里，可能

还有两本，有四本让旁人拿去了。可惜唐已经故去了，牟还在。

艾：是，牟还在。他们算是熊十力的学生吧？

梁：牟算是，唐好像跟熊没有什么关系。牟是亲近过熊先生，他称熊先生为老师，好像唐没有。

同代中对我有影响的人

艾：也有别人影响过您的生活或者是思想吧？

梁：如果不说古人，说跟我同时代的人，说我的朋友、老师，那是有两个人。一个是福建人林先生，林先生是我很佩服的，在思想上，乃至为人都是我很恭敬、很佩服，也是对我有影响的一个人。

Alitto: Who is this Mr. Lin?

Liang: Perhaps some people don't pay him much attention, but in fact he was someone of much worth. His name was Lin Zhijun, and his sobriquet was Zaiping.[3]

Alitto: I didn't pay attention to him either. How is it that you knew him? Was he your teacher or your friend?

Liang: First I'll say something about Mr. Lin. He was of extraordinarily noble character. It seems that people didn't pay much attention to him, that he was not all that famous. In fact, he was the person who Liang Qichao most admired. When Mr. Liang was about to die, he sent a great box of his writings—manuscripts (some finished, some not), poems, essays (some dealing with politics, some with academic matters)—a great big box, with the injunction to his children—to give the box to Mr. Lin, wanting Mr. Lin to examine them and decide which were wanted and which were not necessary to keep, and to decide on his collected works after his death. So this book of Mr. Liang Rengong (Qichao) published after death—generally these are called "collected works," sometimes titled "complete works"—was titled "collected works" for publication. When he was still alive, many bookstores published many of his works for him, so the *Works of the Ice Drinkers Studio* is extensive. [Before he died] he gave the great box filled with his published works, his unpublished works, and unfinished manuscripts to Mr. Lin, to have Mr. Lin examine and approve them. The final result was the *Collected Works from the Ice Drinkers Studio*. I mention this to prove Mr. Lin's erudition, and even more to prove his moral character. His moral character

was excellent, the highest.

There is another matter I want to mention. Mr. Liang Rengong was very active in politics. He had a political party that he led. The name of this political party changed through time. He wanted to have Mr. Lin join his political party, and for a time Mr. Lin did participate, but after a short time, he withdrew. Even though Mr. Lin was a very good friend of Mr. Liang, he would not engage in this business of his with him. Why? Because in seeing Mr. Liang in politics, he saw that Mr. Liang was politically ambitious and that he wanted to do a lot politically. But Mr. Lin had no such ambition. Mr. Lin found fault with Liang Rengong, disliked Liang's moral disorder. Mr. Lin truly refused to be corrupted by bad influences. You could say that he was as clean as a whistle in all aspects—politically, socially, or whatever—throughout his life. So it was because of his character that Liang Rengong admired and respected him so, and that he left his affairs in Lin's hands after his death—to examine and finalize his writings, to decide which to keep and publish. So, from this incident you can see Mr. Lin's great worth. His merit was truly tremendous. He was 14 years older than I. I'm now 88. If he were still living, he would be over a hundred now. I truly admire him. I can't be considered his student, but I should call myself his later generation. He was very good to me and looked after me. I often introduced my friends to him, for example, Wu Guanqi and Xiong Shili. They both met him through me, because I was so close to him. Mr. Lin used to call Xiong Shili "Old Xiong." They all developed deep friendships. Later, Mr. Xiong would always give his manuscripts to Mr. Lin for inspection.

艾：这位林先生是谁啊？

梁：也许有些人不大注意他，可是实际上这个人是很有价值的。他名字叫林志钧，号叫宰平（应是字宰平），他是福建人。

艾：我也没有注意他了。怎么认识他的？算是您的一位老师啊，或者朋友啊，或者……

梁：我就先说一说这个林先生。林先生这个人，人品最高了。他好像是人不大留意，好像不大出名似的，其实呢，他最为梁启超所佩服。（梁启超）临死，把自己一大箱著作、手稿，有写完的，有没有写完的，有诗，有文，有论政治的，有论学术的，一大箱，嘱咐自己的儿女交给林先生，要林先生审定，哪个要的，哪个不必要的，殁后出我的文集都由林先生决定。所以梁任公先生的……殁后出来的这部书——普通

叫“文集”，有时候说完全的“全集”，梁任公先生的著作用“文集”的名义出版的，在我在的时候，很多书店给他出了，所以《饮冰室文集》是好多好多了。可是他把所有的东西，以及没有出版的东西，乃至未写完的东西，一大箱都交给林先生，由林先生审定，最后出了《饮冰室合集》。我说这个话，证明林先生的学问，更证明林先生的人品，他人品最高了。

还要说一件事，梁任公在政治上很活动的了，他有他领导的政党，政党的名称也前后有些变化，他要拉林先生到他的党里头，林先生也一度参加，但是时间很短，他就脱离了，尽管跟梁任公还是很好的朋友。他说你这个搞法啊，我不行，我不跟你一块搞。为什么这样子呢？为什么他不跟梁任公一块搞？梁任公是在政治上有野心的，他要大有所作为的，可是这一点林先生没有，林先生就嫌梁任公、讨厌梁任公有点乱七八糟。林先生是这样一个人，洁身自好，他一生干净极了，在政治上、在社会上他是这样一个人。所以梁任公佩服他、敬重他，把身后的事情交给林先生：我这个著作都请你来审定，哪个要的、哪个不要的，你定了之后出版。从这个地方可以看出来林先生的价值，这个价值了不起。他大我14岁，我现在88，所以他如果还活着，那就超过100了。我很佩服他，我很佩服林先生。我不能算是他的学生，但是我应当是对他自称后学。他对我也很好、很爱护，我的朋友我常常介绍给他，比如伍先生，他也跟林先生好，刚才我说的熊先生，都是因为我的关系与林先生相好——林先生管熊先生叫“老熊”，他们感情都很好。熊先生后来有什么著作都要请林先生看。这是说林先生。

Alitto: How did you get to know him?

Liang: They were all of the older generation. Mr. Lin was 14 years older than I, Liang Qichao 20 years, and Mr. Cai Yuanpei 30 years. I was really fortunate. The older generation of scholars all thought highly of me very early on. They didn't wait for me to seek them out; they sought me out, protected and took care of me before I had really done anything. Mr. Lin was also like that. So it was with Liang Qichao, and also with Cai Yuanpei. They patronized me and appreciated my abilities, and looked out for me while I was still very young. I wasn't even 30, just 28 years old when Mr. Liang Qichao came to see me at my home. He was such a celebrity, and I wasn't at all famous. At that time, the older generation of scholars were modest and humble, and looked out for young people of promise, and wanted to help them. Their desires were admirable. Mr. Lin, Mr. Liang and Mr. Cai were all like this. If Mr. Cai hadn't thought highly of me, I would never have been

able to teach at Peking University. I was very young.

Alitto: Did Mr. Lin also seek you out?

Liang: Yes, I'll tell you of my experience. When I was 24 years old, I took an unimportant position in the central government of the time. It was as a secretary in the Ministry of Justice. Right before I took the position, my article "On Tracing the Origins and Solving Doubts" came out. In the Ministry there was a man named Yu [Shaosong] whose rank was slightly higher than mine. I can't think of his name right now. He was a friend of Mr. Lin's. Mr. Lin read my article "On Tracing the Origins and Solving Doubts," and so asked Mr. Yu to introduce us. (He had heard that I was working there.) He told me that he wanted to get to know me. So, that person who was my friend, who was working in the Ministry of Justice with me, introduced us and we became friends. Didn't I say just now that when I was 28, Mr. Liang Qichao came to see me and introduced himself? That time, Mr. Lin came with him. Mr. Liang also brought his son, Liang Sicheng, the architect. There was another person of some repute with them, Mr. Jiang Fangzhen. The four of them—Liang Qichao, Jiang Fangzhen, Lin Zaiping and Liang Sicheng—came in the same car to my home to see me; at that time I was 28 years old.

艾：林先生您是怎么认识他的？

梁：这个是好几位前辈，林先生是我的前辈，大我14岁，梁任公先生也是我的前辈，大我20岁，蔡元培先生大我30岁。我很幸运，这些个前辈、老先生他们很早看重我，没有等我去求他们，他们就对我表示一种爱护。都是这样，林先生也是如此，梁任公先生也是如此，蔡元培先生也如此，我都是受他们的知遇、爱护。年纪很小的时候，我还不够30岁，28岁，梁任公先生就到我家里来看我，他是个大有名的人，我还没有出名那个时候。他们老前辈虚心，爱护有前途的青年，帮助青年，他们的意思好得很。林先生如此，梁先生如此，蔡先生更是如此。没有蔡元培先生对我的赏识，我不能进北大，我还年纪轻得很。

艾：那林先生也是去找您了？

梁：对。就我的过去的经过说吧。我是在24岁的时候就参加当时的政府，做一个小事情，做司法部的秘书。后来，就在我在司法部做秘书的时候，《究元决疑论》在那个之前发表了。在司法部跟秘书在官位上差不多、稍高一点的，那个人叫什么名字来的？那个名字叫余什么……，我一时说不上来那个名字了（应为时任司法部参事的余绍宋）。那个人跟林先生相熟，林先生就对那个人说——因为林先生看见

我那个《究元决疑论》了——说请你介绍，请那个朋友，那个朋友在司法部跟我一块，你跟梁表示，我想跟他做朋友。这样经那个人介绍，跟林先生就成了朋友。刚才我不是说我28岁那年，梁任公到我家看我吗？就是林先生同他来的。同他来的时候梁先生还带着他的儿子，他儿子叫梁思成，是建筑学家，还有一位有名的人，叫蒋方震。那一次，他们——梁任公、蒋方震、林宰平跟梁思成，他们四个人坐一辆汽车来我家看我的，那个时候我28岁。

Next is Mr. Wu Guanqi. Mr. Wu was also a person of great merit. If someone were to ask me, which person whom you personally have seen in your entire life you most admire, my answer would be him. He was a good friend of Mr. Lin's, but different from him. Mr. Lin was an erudite, learned man. He very much liked to write poetry. But this Mr. Wu did not. He was a down-to-earth and practical-minded man. Didn't I just say that the most important thing I've done in my scholarly life was my book, *The Human Heart/Mind and Human Life*? I have felt that I have a very heavy, great responsibility, that is, to propagate Mr. Wu's own learning and his character to the world. Mr. Wu was an unadulterated Confucian, a practical-minded, pragmatic Confucian. He manifested this throughout his life...

I'll give you an example. When I was 36 years old, I had two friends, one surnamed Wang and the other Huang. We three friends went to see Mr. Wu. At that time, Mr. Wu had a very heavy responsibility. The Nationalist Party had a Nationalist Revolutionary Army, which had a general headquarters. Its commander-in-chief was Chiang Kai-shek. The Chief of Staff was Li Jishen. Chiang Kai-shek, as commander-in-chief, set out on the Northern Expedition. Li Jishen, as Chief of Staff, remained in Guangdong. Mr. Wu and Mr. Li were very good friends. Mr. Li regarded Mr. Wu as his teacher. So, when Li had the responsibility of administering the rear area, he appointed Mr. Wu to be the Director of the Office of the Chief of Staff. The three of us went to Guangdong. I was 36 years old at the time. We went to see Li Jishen, and also went to see Mr. Wu in Wu's office. Noontime came, and he invited us for lunch. After lunch, he said, "Make yourselves at home. Talk together freely. I have to rest a bit. I'll nap for fifteen minutes." He sat down on a chair, closed his eyes and fell asleep. After he had slept for fifteen minutes, he woke up. I admired this greatly and was greatly astonished. Why? It was right at that time that I was suffering from insomnia. So when I wanted to sleep I could not. When I didn't want to sleep… He said he would

sleep and he fell asleep right away. He said he would wake, and fifteen minutes later he woke up. My Goodness! I was truly astonished, and admired it! This is indicative of how he was serenely inner-directed. He actually was able to keep the body and the spirit united, really able to be inner-directed, quite an achievement.

其次再说一下伍先生（伍观淇，字庸伯。可参阅《伍庸伯先生传略》一文，见《梁漱溟全集》卷四）。伍先生的价值很高。假如有人问我：你一生所亲自见到的、最佩服的人是谁？那我就回答是这个（人）。他跟林先生相好，可是跟林先生不相同。林先生学问很丰富，他很喜欢作诗词，可是这个伍先生不作，他是一个脚踏实地做人的一个人。我不是说，假定说在学术方面我最重要的就是写《人生与人心》（应为《人心与人生》）吗？可是我自己认为我有一个很重大的责任，很重大的责任是什么呢？就是替伍先生，把他的学问、为人，我要介绍给世界、给后人。伍先生这个人，就我来看，我认为是一个纯正的儒家，脚踏实地的儒家。这个纯正的、脚踏实地的儒家表现在什么地方？表现在他的生活，在生活上能够"自主自如"。

比如我，特别是我从前的时候，我很早的时候，举个例吧，我36岁的时候，我同两个朋友，一个姓王，一个姓黄，我们三个人去看伍先生。这时候伍先生正在负一个很重要的责任，负一个什么责任呢？国民党啊，叫做国民革命军，国民革命军有总司令部，总司令是蒋介石，总参谋长是李济深，蒋作为总司令就出师北伐，从广东出来军队要北伐，李济深就作为总参谋长留守广东。伍先生跟李济深他们是很好的朋友，差不多李济深都把他当老师。这个时候，他担任留守后方的职务的时候，他就请伍先生给他做总参议办公厅主任，负一个很重要的责任。我同两个朋友，……我们三个人，那时候我36岁，去广东，主要是看李济深，也是看伍先生。伍先生正在那负责做总参议办公厅主任，我们三个人就到他办公的地方同他谈话。到了中午了，他留我们吃饭，吃完饭，他就对我们三个人说：你们随便坐，随便谈话，我要休息，我睡15分钟。他就坐在一个椅子上，闭起眼睛来就睡着了，睡了15分钟就醒了。我非常地佩服，非常地惊讶，为什么呢？因为这个时候我经常闹失眠，失眠的人想睡睡不着，不想睡的时候又……他说睡就睡了，说醒，15分钟说醒就醒。哎呀，我真是惊讶、佩服！这就是表明他生活自主自如。他是真正能够把他的身体、精神很统一，很能够自主，很能够自如，这个是很了不起。

Alitto: I admire people like that too. Speaking of influence, how did Messrs. Wu and Lin influence your life, or your thought?

Liang: I admired Mr. Lin very much. However, he did not influence me as much as Mr. Wu did. If I was to emulate someone, I would emulate him.[4]

Alitto: That is, the influence is... Mr. Wu was your model. Is that what you mean?

Liang: Right. I should add a word about Mr. Wu. He was an authentic military man. At the end of the Qing, he already had been engaged in training the new style armies that were modeled on foreign armies. He was training the New Armies, and commanded troops. Later he participated in the 1911 Revolution, and even after that, he went to Infantry University and graduated from it. After graduation, he remained at Infantry University as an instructor. He was originally a student there, but because he made excellent grades, he later was an instructor there. He diligently put into practice the two old sayings... (Mr. Liang writes them down for Alitto. According to Liang's "A Brief Biography of Mr. Wu Yongbo,"[5] these two old sayings should be "Be true to your words; in your conduct be sincere and respectful."[6]) This was the kind of man he was. After he graduated, at that time he went to be a section head in the Third Bureau of the Chief of Staff Headquarters. Responding to Yuan Shikai's attempt to become emperor, all of the Beijing officialdom—from high officials down to their underlings—was pandering to Yuan Shikai, sending memorials and petitions urging him to become emperor, expressing their support. Officials high and low in every government office had to sign. Wasn't he the section head in the Third Bureau of the Chief of Staff Headquarters? They wanted him to sign, but he was unwilling to. He said, "When I put my name to something, I must be certain that it is right. I am presently thinking over whether I should sign, and have not made a decision, and have not affirmed that I should sign. So, I cannot sign." Everyone said, "All else signed, but you don't sign; isn't this matter dangerous or bad?" That can't be helped.[7] Later it turned out fine.

艾：我也很佩服这种人。那说到影响，林先生跟伍先生这两位是怎样影响您的生活，或者影响您的思想的？

梁：林先生是我很佩服的了，尽管我很佩服，可是给我的影响不如伍先生。如果说我愿意学，那我愿意学伍先生。

艾：那就是说影响是，伍先生当过您的榜样，是这个意思吧？

梁：对。我补充一句话，这个伍先生是一个地道的军人。清朝末年开始模仿外国练新式军队，他是练新军里头的人。练新军带兵，然后参

加辛亥革命，然后又到陆军大学，在陆军大学毕业，毕业之后留在陆军大学做教官，他原来是学生，因为成绩好做教官。他力行两句中国的古话（梁先生写给艾）（据《伍庸伯先生传略》，这两句古话应是“言忠信，行笃敬”）。他在陆军大学毕业了，他就到那个时候的参谋本部第三局做一个科长。赶上袁世凯要做皇帝，北京各官府，从长官到下属，都迎合袁世凯，上书“劝进”，劝袁世凯做皇帝，表示拥护，各衙门大大小小的官吏都要签名。他这个时候不是做参谋本部第三局的科长吗？要他签名，不肯签名，他说：“我一定要认为我签的是对的，我才能签名。我现在考虑我应不应该签名，我还没有决定，还没有点头认为这是应该签的，所以我不能签名。”大家说人人都签名，你不签名，这个事情怕危险吧？不好吧？那也没有办法，他就是这样。后来也没有事。

The War of Resistance to Japan started up; the Japanese were invading China. Mr. Wu commanded guerillas, about 2000 men, in Guangdong. He was a guerilla commander dealing with the enemy. From the time that the Japanese first occupied Guangdong, to the time when the Japanese withdrew from China, Mr. Wu went through eight solid years as a guerilla commander. But his area of activity was not the entire province, but rather only a four-county area.

There's an incident that happened during this period that I should mention. He was always able to predict the enemy's actions. Once he was leading a part of his troops—the 2000 men were split up, not [all] with him. He had not more than a few hundred, something like 300 men, so there were 300 men with him, and the 2000 were distributed in several places. There was an intelligence officer sent out to spy out a certain area. That intelligence agent returned to report, saying that there was a body of the enemy, possibly 300 men—about the same number of troops that he [Wu] had with him—coming north from the south, coming to their location. Possibly they were coming to attack? Mr. Wu thought for a moment, and said that the enemy was not tracking them to attack and that he reckoned that the enemy's target was such and such a place. Everyone half believed him, thought his reckonings [might be] correct, but weren't completely sure. He then said to everyone, "You keep watch. I want to rest," because he was not too strong [physically]. In the countryside outside the county town there was a high platform which was a stage for opera performances for the lunar New Year. He had a chair, said that he was going to rest, and so he rested. At this time everyone on the one hand was afraid that the enemy was coming, because the

spy had reported that over 200 of them were coming in this direction, and on the other had believed the commander's words—that the enemy was not pursuing them but had another target, but no one dared make predictions about this matter. Probably the commander was just resting, and didn't necessarily fall asleep. Someone went onto the stage to look at him and he had fallen asleep after all, and was sleeping very soundly. That is to say, he was able to "pick it up, and put it down." Ordinary people cannot pick it up or put it down. He was truly serenely self-directed. This kind of learning is not book learning, and isn't the kind of learning that is casually chattered about. This is Confucius' life learning.

抗日战争起来了，日本人侵略中国，伍先生带着游击队，大约两千多人，在广东，做游击司令，跟敌人周旋。从广东被日本人占领，一直到日本人失败、退出中国，他始终担任游击司令，在广东。不过，他这个游击司令是一个范围的，叫第几区的司令，那个区是管四个县，不是全省的，有四个县是他的范围，一直抗战8年，他就担任8年的游击司令。

他在当游击司令的时候，还有这样的故事：他料想敌人呢，“料敌如神”。有一次他带一部分军队——有2000人，2000人是分开的，没有都跟在他身边，他身边不过几百人，比如300人的样子，身边带着300人，2000人分布在几个地方、几个点上，还有谍报的人——出去侦探的。到了某一个地方，那个谍报的人来报告，说是现在有一部分敌人，可能比如说是300人，跟他自己身边的人数差不多，从南往北来了，就要到我们这个地方，可能就是来打我们吧？伍先生想一想，他说不是，他不是来跟踪我们、打我们，我推想他的目的地是在哪个地方。大家也就半信半疑，也以为他料想得对，也不敢完全把握。他就对大家说：你们警戒着，我要休息休息。因为他身体不是太强。乡间啊，在县城外边有一个高的台子，是预备过春节过年演戏的戏台，他就有一个椅子，他说我要休息一下，他就休息了。大家这个时候，一方面是害怕敌人来，因为谍报说两百多人往这个方向来，一方面也相信司令员的话，他不是来追我们，他是另外有目的。不过这个事情，谁也不敢断定，恐怕司令在上面休息，也不过休息休息吧，未必睡着。有人到戏台上去看他，居然睡着了，睡得很熟。就是说，他提得起，放得下，普通人提不起，放不下。他是真正能够在他的生命上自主自如。这个学问不是书本上的学问，不是随便讲一讲、说一说的学问，这就是孔子的生活之学。

Don't I often mention what Confucius had said, "At fifteen, I set my heart upon learning." What kind of learning was that "learning"? After that he

said, "At thirty, I established myself." We don't know either what this "establishment" is, and how he established himself. Age by age he was speaking about life and being, and didn't speak about anything outside it. The disciple he valued and loved the most was Yanzi (Yan Hui). What was Yanzi's strength? One was that he did not take his anger out on others, and that he did not repeat the same mistake. How does one not take anger out on others? How does one not repeat the same mistake? It's not to be guessed at wildly. But we see clearly that he didn't speak about anything else except for his life and being. So Mr. Wu's learning and skill is authentically and thoroughly Confucian. He walked the Confucian road most correctly. I've never seen another person like this. He did not talk philosophy.

The ones I admire most

Alitto: Who is the Chinese you most admire, either in the past or at present?

Liang: Very early, when I was young I admired Zhang Shizhao. His sobriquet was Xingyan. His nom de plume was "Qiutong" ("Autumn Tong tree"). When I was still young, in middle school, between 14 and 19 years old—during this time I read Mr. Zhang Xingyan's articles. I didn't know the [real] name of this person. I just saw his nom de plume Qiutong.

我不是常常讲，孔子所谓“十有五而志于学”，那个学是什么学呢？底下他说“三十而立”，三十而立我们也不知道是什么，怎么一个立法啊？一层一层地都是在说他的生命、生活，没有说到外头去。他所最欣赏、最心爱的徒弟是颜子，颜子的长处是什么呢？一个是“不迁怒”，一个“不贰过”。怎么样“不迁怒”，怎么样“不贰过”，我们也不好乱猜，不过看得很清楚，他没有说旁的，他说的是他自己的生命、生活。所以伍先生的学问功夫是真正的、彻底的儒家，他把儒家的路子走得最正确，我没有看见第二个人这样。他不谈哲学。

我所佩服的人

艾：您最佩服的中国人，无论是过去的或者是现在的中国人是谁啊？

梁：我很早、就是我年轻的时候很佩服的，是章士钊，他号叫章行严先生（应是字行严）。他写文章的笔名有时候写“秋桐”——“秋

天”的“秋”，“梧桐”的“桐”。我年纪小的时候，我在中学读书，14岁到19岁毕业了，十四五六七八，这个时候我就看见章行严先生——章士钊了——他的文章，不知道他这个人的名字，姓名不知道，就是看见他的笔名叫秋桐。

One form that his articles took was as European dispatches. He wrote articles at Europe for newspapers. I read them with great interest. I especially liked his discussions of political systems. Because at that time China had started to copy Western political institutions, there was the issue of a national parliament, so there was much discussion over whether to adopt a bicameral or unicameral assembly. Other matters that he wrote on were the English system of a cabinet responsible to the parliament, a party cabinet. I was extremely interested in these essays. At that time in my life, I was fanatical about government reform in China and most admired the English-style government. So, just then he was writing on those things and discussing them—such as in learning from foreign countries, whether China should adopt a bicameral system or a unicameral system. I liked to read these essays of his very much, although I didn't know who the writer was. I was in my teens, in middle school in Beijing, and after reading his articles in newspapers, I admired this person and his writings very much.

Later, I started reading the *Minlibao* of Shanghai. Most of its articles were also on politics. He wrote for it too—called himself Xingyan. I said to myself, "This Xingyan must be the Qiutong I have read before." I still didn't know his real name, but I judged them to be the same person. Later, Liang Qichao established a publication *Guofengbao* in Japan. It also mostly featured articles on politics and government. Once, there was an article on translation of Western scholarship or academic things into Chinese. Yan Fu [Yan Jidao] had in the past also discussed this problem of translation. He had three criteria: fidelity or faithfulness, ability to convey, and elegance. Yan was very particular about it. So in translating foreign writings, he would adhere to these three criteria and always translated them into literary Chinese, very elegant. He did not use colloquial style. This is the problem of translation. So, in the *Guofengbao,* I read an article on the translation problem. It was signed Mingzhi. The topic was very different from his other writings on politics. It was not signed Qiutong, or Xingyan, but a new pen name, Mingzhi. However, I believed the three must have been one and the same. Later it proved to be accurate.

他写的文章，一种是欧洲通讯，他人在欧洲，写给报纸，把欧洲情况，叫做欧洲通讯、留欧通讯，我看得很有趣味。特别是呢，他有些个论政治制度的文章，因为那个时候中国要学外国，政治上学外国，那么就有开国会的问题，有议院。议院有一个问题，就是还是两院制呢，还是一院制？议院跟政府的关系，像英国，政府是对国会负责，对众议院负责，责任内阁，政党内阁。他写文章讨论这个问题，我非常有兴趣。因为那个时候我们都是热心中国的政治改造，最欣赏的、最觉得好的是英国式的政治，他刚好是介绍这个东西，讨论这个东西，中国要学外国，就是学两院制呢，还是一院制就可以了呢？有没有必要两院呢？他这些个文章我都爱读，可是我不知道他是谁，只留个笔名。这是在我年纪轻的时候，年纪只有十几岁的时候，而且在北京中学读书的时候，看报纸、看文章看到这个，我就欣赏这个人，欣赏这个人的议论、文章。

后来呢，就看见上海有一个叫《民立报》，《民立报》发表的文章也多半是论政的居多，这个文章笔名就写“行严”。我还是不知道他到底姓什么，可是我看见行严的文章，就想这个人的文章恐怕跟秋桐是一个人，真的姓名我还不知道，我判断他恐怕是一个人。后来呢，在日本，梁启超——梁任公出了一个刊物叫《国风报》。《国风报》上偶然登了一篇文章——《国风报》多半都是论政的——偶然登了一篇文章，是讲把西文、西洋学问的名词翻译成中文，翻译、译名的问题，怎么样的译名算是译得好。因为过去严复——严几道先生他就讨论过译名的问题，他有三个标准：一个是要信；还有一个达，表达出来；第三个还要雅，文雅。严先生论翻译讲究这个，他翻译外国东西要遵守这三个标准，所以他翻译出来外国的东西，都是文言的，都是很文雅的，没有白话。这个问题就叫做译名问题、翻译名词的问题。在《国风报》上看见有一篇文章，是讨论译名、讨论翻译问题，署名叫“名质”——“人名”的“名”，“物质”的“质”，讨论的问题不是论政，跟我看到的文章不相合。这个名质用的人名、笔名，既不是秋桐，也不是行严，而是用一个很新鲜的“名质”两个字，但是我一看，这三个名字实在是一个人，我的判断是这样，后来证明果然是一个人。

At that time he was in Japan publishing a journal called *The Tiger* (*Jiayin*). It was at that time that I corresponded with him and only after that did I know his name was Zhang Shizhao. Later he came to Beijing. I liked being with him very much, and admired him. After that, however, I was greatly disappointed. Why? The revered Mr. Zhang, older than I by quite a bit, was a very talented and able person, so his desires were also powerful. So his personal life was corrupt. He smoked opium, gambled, visited prostitutes,

and had concubines, altogether three. I was most disappointed. But although I was disgusted with his personal character, up to the time he was 90, I still associated with him.

Alitto: He passed away in Hong Kong in 1973.

Liang: Right, at age 93.

Alitto: Look, this isn't bad. Although his life was this way, he still lived to 93. It seems it didn't have any influence on his health!

Liang: Yes, it would seem that way.

Alitto: Others whom you admired were…

Liang: This was someone who I admired when I was young. There's another Zhang, that is, Zhang Binglin (Zhang Taiyan). I think his scholarship was good. I think that he was still a layman [in Buddhism], that he knew very little about [true Buddhism]. Wasn't he an important revolutionary figure in his youth? At that time, he was critical of Confucius. Later he changed, and then revered Confucius in his old age.

Alitto: Before the 1911 Revolution he was an advocate of the "National Essence." He didn't want Confucius, but wanted to retain Mozi and Xunzi. What aspect of him did you most admire?

Liang: His erudition was very profound, and his personality was independent, original. He never went along with everybody else in his opinions. He was of strong character.

Alitto: Anyone else? You have spoken of... (Liang: Two Zhangs.) Later in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, was there any change in the people you admired?

Liang: Speaking of famous people of the time, didn't famous figures in China include Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao? I much disliked Kang Youwei, but admired Liang Qichao very much. It also so happened that I was close friends with Liang Qichao, had a lot of contact with him. This was quite extraordinary: as he was of the older generation, he made an overture to me first, when I was still very young, a beginning student. I very much admired this in him. He was twenty years older than I. This was very modest, self-effacing on his part. I was first acquainted with him through his writings in his *New Citizen Journal*, which I liked very much. Later, we got to know each other. In 1920, as I said, he came to see me at my home. He was of the

older generation, and he was famous. I was not yet famous at the time. I admired him in my heart. Why did he come to see me? At that time, he was interested in Buddhism. Someone told him that I was teaching Buddhism, so he came to see me. In the area of Buddhism, he was quite modest; even though I was of the younger generation, he was quite deferential. Alas, I lost all of the many letters he wrote me; they were not preserved [referring to them being destroyed during the Cultural Revolution].

这个时候，他在日本出版一个刊物，叫做《甲寅》，这个时候我给他通信，从书信上有来往，我才清楚他的名字是章士钊。后来到北京，我就很喜欢跟他亲近，很佩服他。可是佩服他之后，我又失望，怎么失望呢？因为这位章老先生，他比我岁数大了很多，他是一个很有才的人，多才，多才嘛他就多欲，欲望多，所以他的生活很腐烂——吃鸦片，赌博，赌钱，嫖妓女，娶姨太，娶妾，一个、两个、三个，我很失望，我很不喜欢。虽然很不喜欢，我还是一直到他90岁的时候我还跟他往来。

艾：在香港1973年逝世的。

梁：对了，93岁。

艾：您看这个也不错，虽然生活上这个样子，一样活到93岁，好像没有影响他的身体。

梁：好像是那样。

艾：别人呢，您佩服的就是……

梁：这是我年轻的时候很佩服的。再一个我佩服的也是姓章，就是章炳麟——章太炎先生。我觉得他的学问好。……我认为他是外行，隔膜的，他比较年轻的时候也算是革命的重要人物，他那个时候是有点批评孔子、反驳孔子，可后来又变了，晚年他又佩服孔子。

艾：辛亥革命以前，国粹的道理，孔子不要，墨子、荀子还是要，那您对章太炎最佩服的是哪一方面的？

梁：学问很深造，人品也个性很强，不是一个很随便的人。

艾：有没有别人了？您讲的……（梁：两个章。）后来您到了30年代、40年代、50年代，您佩服的人有没有变？

梁：如果说那个时候，在中国的名人里头不是有康、梁吗？我是很不喜欢康。我佩服梁任公，喜欢梁任公，刚好跟梁任公也有来往、亲近，并且这个亲近呢是……我嘛比他是后辈啦，小学生啊，他来我家先

看我，很虚心，这点我很佩服他。他大我20岁，他从办《新民丛报》那个时候，我就爱读他的文章，后来就跟他认识了。像刚才所说的，民国九年（1920年），他居然一个老前辈，很有名望的，先到我家里来看我，我那时候还没有名，我心里头很佩服他。那么他为什么来看我呢？原来他这个时候注意佛学，人家告诉他，说我讲佛学，所以他来看我。在佛学方面他很虚心，尽管我们是后辈，他很虚心。可惜他给我很多信，我都损失了，没有保留。（指在“文革”中被毁。）

Alitto: So you had some contact with him until…

Liang: Until the spring of 1929, when he died. In 1929, I returned to Beijing from Guangdong; he had already died by the time I arrived. When I was in Guangdong, we still corresponded.

…I forgot to mention this person I greatly admire. (Liang writes the name.)

Alitto: Yes, Ma Yifu. I know of him.

Liang: Talking about the old Chinese learning, he was extremely well read, especially in the old Chinese books. He had seen much, a person of great understanding. He seemed to have great understanding of all Eastern learning—Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism. Mr. Ma could be regarded as someone I very much admired.[8]

Alitto: What was your relationship with him?

Liang: [Our relationship was] only that I admired him, and asked for his advice. He had always lived in Hangzhou. I also went to Hangzhou to see him and ask for his advice, more than once. When the War of Resistance to Japan began, he also withdrew to the southwest, to Sichuan. His friend asked him to teach, and founded a Revival Academy. At the Revival Academy he accepted students and taught and at the same time carved words on a woodblock for printing. Chinese people liked to use woodblock to carve and print books. He carved several books of Confucian works that he held to be important. These included collected works of Luo Rufang (Luo Jinxi), and of Yang Cihu (Yang Jian). This old gentleman's knowledge was abundant. He knew and understood quite a lot, especially in the old scholarship of China. He has died.

艾：您跟他有往来一直到……

梁：一直到后来，到后来民国十八年春（1929年）他故去了。民国

十八年我从广东往北方回来，到的时候他已经故去了，在广东的时候，他还跟我通信。

……我就想起来一个人，我忘记说了，这个人是一个我很佩服的。（梁先生给艾写姓名。）

艾：是，马一浮，他我是知道的。

梁：讲中国的老学问，读书非常地多，特别是中国的老书，他见得多，并且熟悉，很通达，并且他对东方的学术，儒家啦、道家啦、佛家啦，他好像都很通。马先生可以说是我很佩服的一个人。

艾：您和他有什么关系呢？

梁：我仅仅是佩服他，向他请教。他一直住杭州，我也去到杭州去见他，向他领教，不止一次。抗日战争起来了，他也是撤退到西南，到四川，他的朋友请他讲学，成立一个叫做“复性书院”（的学校）。他在复性书院里头一方面收学生，他讲；一方面就是刻书。中国喜欢用木板刻书，他刻了几种他认为是儒家的要紧的书，其中包括我刚才提到的罗汝芳——罗近溪的书，罗近溪的文集，杨慈湖——杨简的文集。这个老先生学问很丰富，知道的东西太多了，懂的东西太多了，特别中国的老学问。他故去了。

…Didn't you ask me whom I most admired among the ancients? I just thought of Zhuge Liang. Zhuge Liang was of noble moral character! There are sayings about him, "Be direct and open." He really was that way, very good! He told his subordinates, "Constantly criticize my faults" —if you see any faults or mistakes you must regularly point them out. He was modest, circumspect and fair. That kind of character is very good. I should say that of all the ancients, I admire him the most. I made a gift for you, a piece of calligraphy with words of Zhuge Liang's.

Alitto: Did you admire him since you were a child, or…

Liang: I have always admired him. The first time I went into Sichuan, to Chengdu, where there was a shrine to him, I went there and performed the bows. I said, "In my heart I have always wanted to pay obeisance to you. Now having come to your shrine, I must kowtow and pay obeisance to you." The temple had a registry book. I wrote the date that I had come and knelt down to pay respects.

Alitto: His native place was in western Henan.

Liang: Right, he was born there. Didn't he take charge of Sichuan's…

The shrine had a written sign "Temple to Zhuge, Marquis of Wu." The shrine was primarily to him, but Liu Bei's tomb was in the back of it. But everyone calls it the Marquis of Wu Shrine, not including Liu Bei. That is, everyone reveres, loves and respects Zhuge Liang. Sichuanese all commemorate him. They like to wear white turbans. Why white? They say that they are "wearing mourning for Zhuge." When the Chinese have a funeral, they wear mourning. After Zhuge died, many of the people in the area wanted to sacrifice to him. Liu Bei's successor emperor Liu Chan didn't like the idea, but it wouldn't work. If you didn't erect a shrine to Zhuge, the people's shrines to him would be even more numerous, so the government built a proper shrine.

Alitto: Another separate question: Who is the foreigner whom you most admire? That is to say, among those you have heard about, or have read about, who do you most admire?

……你不是问过我：古人佩服谁？我就想起来诸葛亮。诸葛亮品格高啊。（关于）他有两句话："开诚心，布公道"，他真是那样，好得很哪！他对部下说"勤攻吾过"——你看我哪里有不对的、有错处，你要勤着指出来。谦虚、谨慎、公道，那个品格，好得很。应当说，对古人的佩服，我佩服他。我写了一张字，要送给你的，就是写了他的话，写了诸葛亮的话。

艾：您是从小就很佩服他，还是……

梁：一直很佩服他。我第一次入川的时候，到成都的时候，成都有他的庙，到他庙里头我就下拜，我说我心里总想拜你，现在到了你的庙里头，我一定要磕头，拜。庙里头有个本子，我就写上某年某月某日我来了，我拜了，我下拜。

艾：他的故乡还是豫西那个地区……

梁：对，他在那里出生的。他不是主持四川的……？那个庙写着"诸葛武侯祠"，庙是以他为主，可是刘备的坟墓就在庙后边，可是现在庙大家都叫武侯祠，把刘备没有算上。就是大家都恭敬、爱戴诸葛亮。四川人都纪念他，四川人头上喜欢缠一个白布，为什么缠白布？他们说是"戴诸葛孝"，中国人有丧事要戴孝。诸葛死了之后，乡间都要祭祀他。后主刘禅不喜欢，可是不行，你不给诸葛立庙，民间的庙更多，还是由政府来搞一个好的庙。

艾：另外一个问题，您最佩服的外国人是谁？就是说您听说有、或是书本里认识的外国人，您觉得最佩服的外国人是谁啊？

Liang: Well, at least about philosophical thinkers, the person I like the most and revere most is Henri Bergson.

Alitto: So, to the present it's still him. I remember that when you were writing *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies*, you said this. You said that the first time you read Bergson's writings, you felt that it was a matter of great joy in your life. So you still feel that as far as foreign thinkers are concerned…

Liang: Of course I also admire the profundity of Germany's Kant.

Alitto: What about foreigners in the area of politics?

Liang: I'm not really so clear on who the great people are in politics or in military matters. In general, those great people who are often mentioned, like Napoleon.... Well, I just go along with everyone else, and don't have any particular opinion of my own.

I'm afraid the greatest Chinese is Mao Zedong.

Alitto: If I ask who you think the greatest Chinese is, would your answer be different? Is there a difference between who you admire and who you think great?

Liang: There is a difference.

Alitto: So, who do you feel is the greatest Chinese, no matter whether a historical figure or someone still alive?

Liang: I feel that it's not in the too distant past, nor the present. I'm afraid that it is Mao Zedong. He was really formidable. He is a world-class great historical figure. When he became old, however, he was no good. He made a lot of mistakes in his dotage.

Alitto: What was Mao Zedong's greatest achievement?

Liang: It was that he created the Communist Party. If there were no Chinese Communist Party, there would be no New China. This is absolute, 100% fact. But in his later years, he became muddle-headed, and made a lot of mistakes. Now, Zhou Enlai on the other hand did not fail in his later years. Zhou Enlai was what we used to call a paragon. You cannot find any failures, or any mistakes in him; they are practically absent. He was truly a paragon. But, as it happens, he was innately a second fiddle. He was born to be Mao

Zedong's assistant. As a man, however, he was the best, the very best. (Alitto: I actually also think that you are right in this statement.) Everyone honors Zhou Enlai's memory. On the other hand, some people were and are dissatisfied with Mao, or with certain things he did.

梁：我在哲学思想上最喜欢的，也算是崇拜吧，是法国的柏格森。

艾：到现在还是。我记得您当年写《东西文化及其哲学》的时候，您也这么说，您说第一次阅读柏格森的著作，觉得是一生中非常愉快的事。所以您还是觉得外国思想家来说……

梁：当然，德国的康德，我也很佩服他的思想上的深刻。

艾：那么政治界的外国人，您有没有觉得伟大的？

梁：我就不大清楚了，政治家、军事家，我不大清楚。一般地，常常说出来的伟人，像拿破仑啊，一般地大家所说的，那么我也就随着大家吧，自己没有特别的看法。

最伟大的中国人物恐怕还是毛泽东

艾：假如问您觉得最伟大的中国人是谁，回答会不会有不同？佩服与觉得伟大有分别吗？

梁：有分别。

艾：您觉得最伟大的中国人物——无论历史上的人物还是在人世的，是谁？

梁：我觉得也不是太过去，也不是现在的，恐怕还是毛泽东。毛泽东实在了不起，恐怕历史上都少有，在世界上恐怕都是世界性的伟大人物，不过他晚年就不行了，晚年就糊涂了，有很多的错误。

艾：那毛泽东最伟大的成就是什么？

梁：创造了共产党，没有共产党没有新中国，这个是百分之百的事实。不过他这个人到晚年就糊涂了，有很多做错的事情。这个错的事情、失败的事情，在周恩来没有。周恩来是中国从前叫做“完人”——完全的人，你指不出来他的不好的、做错的事情，几乎没有，非常地完全他这个人。不过，很巧地，他是天生的第二把手，天生地给毛泽东做助手的这么一个人。论人可是最好了，周恩来人最好了，最好。（艾：我也倒是觉得您这个说得很对。）人人都纪念周，可是对毛，有人就不满意，某一件事情不满意。

Alitto: Comparing Mao with other figures in Chinese history, which figure in Chinese history does Mao most resemble? In a hundred years from now, when studying China of this age, with what figure in Chinese history will future historians compare his historical role to?

Liang: Most people see him as a Han Gaozu or as a Tang Taizong in the Chinese history of the past several thousand years, but Mao himself thought that these dynastic founding emperors were run of the mill, nothing special.

艾：毛主席同中国历史上的人物来比，您觉得他比较像历史上的什么人物？再过100年，100年以后的历史学家研究这个时代的中国历史，他们会不会把毛的角色和过去的什么人的角色来作一个比较？

梁：中国过去几千年的历史，一般的说法都说汉高、唐太——汉高祖、唐太宗，一般大概都是说这样子。可是毛看这些人，不那样，好像他看得平常。

My views of the world

I approve Colloquial Literature Movement and I'm not conservative.

Alitto: …Colloquial language vs. literary language can be said to have been a debate in bygone days. You never advocated the use of the literary language, right?

Liang: Right. I think that the Colloquial Literature Movement launched by Hu Shi and Chen Duxiu in Beijing greatly liberated intellectual and academic circles. Liberation was good. So if we stuck with convention again using the literary language to communicate thought and knowledge, that would be too passive. So liberation was good. The Colloquial Literature Movement developed. No matter in what field of learning, everyone used the colloquial language. Now it is called "prose written in the vernacular," that is, a colloquial style of the written language used in all fields of academic learning. I very much approve. This is progress. This is a kind of liberation.

There were two figures who opposed the Colloquial Literature Movement. One was Lin Shu (Lin Qinnan). The other was Zhang Shizhao (Zhang Xingyan). They didn't approve of colloquial literature. Their reasons were that there were some profound scholarship and thought that couldn't be communicated in the colloquial language. This is not totally wrong. So how could this problem be solved? The solution is for literary men to write in the colloquial, but to quote the old books in literary Chinese, and then add explanation in the colloquial language. That way, the profound knowledge in the old books could still be communicated in a simple, straightforward way.

Alitto: But the average young person cannot understand literary Chinese now. (Liang: Right.) A large part of China's cultural heritage is literary and historical works. One could say that, aside from the colloquial novels, the modern generation of young people are estranged from all literary works before May Fourth; a language barrier separates them. What should be done about this?

Liang: There is probably no solution to this problem. The only thing to do is to just let literary Chinese become a kind of special knowledge, necessary for some scholarship. It becomes a specialty, with a small number of people specializing in it. Most people don't necessarily need to use it; it can only be this way.

贰 我对世界的看法

我赞成白话文运动·我不保守

艾：……白话、文言文可以说是当年的辩论啊，您一直都没有主张用文言吧？

梁：对。我觉得，胡适、陈独秀在北京发动一种白话文的运动，是给知识界、学术界一个大解放。解放是好的，所以如果还是拘守再用文言文表达思想、表达学问，那个太被动了，所以解放好。开展白话文运动，无论任何的学问都用白话文，现在就叫做语体文——“言语”的“语”，像是跟说话一样，用语体文来发表学问，这个我是非常赞成的，这个是一种进步，是一种解放。

有两个人反对白话文。一个就是林纾——林琴南，一个就是章士钊——章行严，嘿嘿，都不赞成白话文。他们的理由呀，就是说有一些学问深的地方、思想深的地方，白话文表达不出来。这话也有一点道理，那么就怎么解决这个问题呢？就是我们写东西、发表东西还是白话文，要引用古书、文言文也可以引用，再用白话文来解释一下，还是可以介绍这种很简要的古书的文言文，还是应当介绍。

艾：不过，一般的年轻人现在根本看不懂文言了。（梁：对。）那么中国的文化遗产的一大部分，就是以前的文学呀、史学什么的，一些著作啦，可以说是五四以前，除了这些白话小说以外的，所有的文学作品都跟现代的青年人之间有隔阂，有个语言隔阂，那这个怎么办啊？

梁：这个恐怕没有什么好办法。只能够搞某种学问，这种某一种学问是要看古书的，是要借这个文言文的，那就是成为一种专业，少数人专搞那个东西，多数人就不一定这样搞了，只好如此。

…This tidal current, the colloquial language couldn't be stopped. This current met the requirements of the majority of people, especially the requirements of the young.

Alitto: To return to the second question, which is that good scholarship can be considered conservative. (Liang: Right.) The term "conservative" is extremely difficult to define. What, after all, can be considered conservative? In this book [of mine], I also discussed this question. My important question

is: do you willingly accept or oppose the designation "conservative" that some Chinese and foreigners have applied to you?

Liang: Of course I'm not conservative.[9] From what I just said a moment ago, you can see that I'm not conservative.

Comments on the May Fourth Movement

Alitto: What is your view of the May Fourth Movement?

Liang: We have already talked about Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi and the Colloquial Literature Movement. Naturally, the influence of the May Fourth Movement on the following periods was tremendous. It created new historical currents, a whole new way of thought, and new ways of life. No longer were things confined to the old Chinese philosophy of life. Confucius began to be the object of criticism. Wasn't there a slogan "Overthrow Confucius and Sons"? This was unavoidable, because although Confucius wasn't really a religious leader, succeeding generations of emperors had regarded him as a religious leader. So there were Confucian temples, and all the literati worshipped him. And so Confucius, who was not originally a religious figure, became [regarded as] one. They made him up to look like a religious figure. Especially in the later times, there was a term—"rules of propriety and status." It was important to abide by the rules of propriety. It was important to have a hierarchical order according to social position and age. There were a great many rules. These rules and regulations helped the ruling classes maintain themselves. The ruling classes made use of these rules of propriety and status. After much time had passed, at the time of the May Fourth Movement, a general repugnance arose against these old behavioral codes that helped the ruling class, and Confucius was involved. In actuality, the problems and responsibilities of society did not rest with Confucius. Society at large needed a code of behavior, and the ruling classes needed such codes even more. They [ruling classes] relied on these codes to support their rule. After much time had passed, the codes became ossified and rigid. People developed antipathy toward these ossified things. During the May Fourth era, when there was repugnance toward the ossified rules of propriety and status, Confucius was blamed for them.

……他还是挡不住这个潮流，挡不住白话文、语体文。还是这个潮流迎合了多数人的要求，特别是年轻人的要求。

艾：那您刚提到的第二个问题，就是说学问好还可以算是保守，（梁：对。）那“保守”这个词在有些时代很难下个定义，到底什么算是保守啊？那我这书里前面呢，也是讨论过这个问题。我主要的就是说，您对一些中国人、一些外国人，把保守主义者或者保守加在梁老师头上了，那您是甘心地承认呢，还是反对呀？

梁：我当然是……，我不保守，从刚才的话里头可以看出来我不保守。

对五四运动的评价

艾：梁老师对五四运动、五四时代的评价是什么？

梁：我们已经谈到了陈独秀、胡适、白话文运动。五四运动当然是很影响到后来的，它开出来一个新的潮流、新的思想、新的人生，不再拘守老中国对人生的那个看法，对孔子开始怀疑、批判。不是有“打倒孔家店”的口号吗？这是不可免的。因为孔子虽然不是宗教，可是历代的皇帝都把他好像当作宗教一样，所以有孔庙，所谓念书人都要拜孔子，本来不是宗教的孔子，都把他装扮成孔教。特别是后来，有一个名词叫“礼教”，礼教就是很重要守礼啦，很有尊卑长幼啦，有很多规矩啦。这种规矩嘛，很能够帮助统治阶级，统治阶级就很利用礼教。那么日子久了之后嘛，就是到五四运动的时候，当然就对日子太久了的、帮助统治阶级的礼教有反感、反对和破除，那么这样子就把孔子牵涉进去了。其实，问题、责任不在孔子。是为了广大的社会，广大的社会它需要一种礼教，统治阶级更为需要，借着这个它便于统治，日子久了，它就很僵化、僵硬。人们对僵化的东西都有反感，到了五四运动的时候，就是对僵化的这个礼教反感的时候，就归罪于孔子。

Alitto: During the May Fourth era, many people blindly worshipped everything Western and wanted wholesale Westernization. Now to look at the last year or two, there was also a bit… Especially among the younger generation…it smacks of this [wholesale Westernization].[10] What do you think of this?

Liang: This is a kind of natural tendency, right? Things have developed naturally into the situation today. There's nothing to be surprised about. There is no need for rebuke. Actually, you could say that the foundations [of Chinese culture] cannot be shaken.[11]

Why I opposed the Buddhism of the time

Alitto: You yourself opposed the idea of a "Confucian religion"?

Liang: Right! Confucianism is not a religion.

Alitto: Also in your book *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies*, you opposed Buddhism of the time, saying, first, those people who were propagating Buddhism at the time were not good people, and second, what our China needed at present was not Buddhism. In the book you also brought up a point—that since the problems of the first and second paths had not yet been solved, Buddhism was out of the question. Yet you yourself throughout were a Buddhist. Your problems of the first and second paths had not yet been solved either. Isn't this a contradiction?

Liang: It was not only me as an individual. As far as I myself was concerned, I was inclined toward Buddhism, and wanted to study Buddhism. This was OK. If someone else as a private individual was this way, I would also approve. I probably, moreover, could help him. But as far as broader society and China's requirements were concerned, this thing was not needed.

艾：五四时代也有很多人是盲目地崇拜西洋的一切，要全盘西化。那您看现在最近一两年，也有一点，尤其是年轻一代的也有一点这个味道了。您对这种现象有没有意见呢？

梁：这个也是一个自然之势吧。事情发展到今天，自然如此。这个不足怪，也不必责备。实际上，可以说是动摇不了根本。

我为什么反对当年的佛教

艾：您自己很反对“孔教”这个观念的？

梁：对，孔子不是宗教。

艾：在写《东西文化及其哲学》那本书的时候，您很反对当时的佛教。说现在搞佛教的人第一不是好人的，第二我们中国现在所需要的也不是佛教的。书里提到一点，第一条路和第二条路的问题还没有解决的时候，还谈不到什么佛教。不过您自己啊，还一直是佛教徒，您第一条路、第二条路的问题也还没有解决，这有没有矛盾啊？

梁：不但是我一个人，就我自己说，我倾向佛教，想学佛，可以；假如另外一个人，他作为一个人，他这个这样子，我也赞成，我并且也

许还可以帮助他；可是就着广大的社会、就着当时的中国的需要说，不需要这个东西。

Alitto: Oh, this notion is that the individual and the whole of society were not the same.

Liang: They weren't the same. I would add one more point. At the time this kind of view was a bit extreme and one-sided. Why was it one-sided? It emphasized only the escapist religion side of Buddhism. Actually, it's not necessary to emphasize that aspect which negates and denies human life in order to propagate Buddhism. One can emphasize another aspect in developing it, and that is "compassion and mercy." In Buddhism there is a four-character phrase: "compassion, mercy and joyful giving." "Joyful" sometimes refers to "rejoicing in the welfare of others." "Giving" refers to the state of renunciation of everything, the opposite of covetousness. "Joyful giving" is to help people with their good desire, or good behavior. So, Buddhism can be developed from this compassion and joyful giving aspect. You don't have to "leave the world" to be Buddhist. This way is fine too.

At the time, I was looking at Buddhism too inflexibly. That is to say, if China at that time had internal disorders and civil war, and each person closeted themselves in their houses to chant sutras all day, the chaos would become even worse. [My meaning at the time was] don't be negative, don't renounce the world. Rather, bring "compassion, mercy and joyful giving" into play. [I wanted everybody to] go out and do something. To use Chairman Mao Zedong's terminology, I wanted everyone to "struggle." Struggle was necessary in order to turn the situation around and prevent the warlords from acting foolishly. The more everyone let things take their course and did nothing—that is, closing their doors—the worse the chaos would become. So, that was my meaning at the time.

Alitto: You proposed one of the Confucian virtues—resoluteness or firmness. Is this similar to the spirit of struggle?

Liang: Yes, they are similar in one way.

Chinese moral: the standards for right and wrong should not be sought in the external world.

Alitto: …Take China as an example. Before the Opium War, of course,

China had a lot of weaknesses, but at least there was a standard for morality. Later, as you yourself said, regarding the Republican era, you wrote that in the 1920s and 1930s, the intellectuals ("scholars") had no shame. Previously at least in traditional society, they would not dare to struggle openly and brazenly for their own selfish reasons. Now, the surface standards no longer exist. So, I say that the biggest difference from the previous situation is that moral standards are no longer pure and absolute. Rather, they are relative… [China's is not regarded] as the only moral standard in the world. Previously we felt that the difference between foreigners or Westerns and ourselves was that we could be considered comparatively human while they [foreigners] were not sufficiently "mature," and still hadn't become real humans. They had no morals, but we had morals. That is to say, humans had morals. In the Republican era, this already began to change. So, how can it be said that "the proper nature of the mind/heart" is what all human societies have in common?

艾：哦！这种观点是个人和整个社会不一样。

梁：不一样。并且还可以再说一点。当时这种所见不免有点偏，偏什么呢？片面地看佛家是一种出世的宗教。其实呢，也可以不必这样看，就是，把佛教看成不必从出世宗教、否定人生那面去发扬它，而从另一面，就是慈悲。佛经里有这么四个字——“慈悲喜舍”，“喜”有时候叫做随喜，“舍”嘛就是舍弃了，跟贪取是反面的，随喜就是人家有一点好的心愿或者好的行为，就帮助他。所以从这个“慈悲喜舍”这面来发扬佛教，不必拘定要出世，那么样也很好。

我当时的意思就是看得呆板一点，就是说，如果中国那个时候正是内乱、内战，每一个人都要关起门来念佛，那个乱就更乱。不要消极，不要想出世，要发挥慈悲的意思，要出头，按现在的毛主席的话说，要斗争，要斗争才能够转移这个局面，不能够让那个军阀乱来。如果大家越是听天由命，越是关门，那更乱了，当时那个意思是那个意思。

艾：您用的一个字，是孔子的一个美德，就是“刚”。那“刚”跟斗争、斗强，您现在说是一样的意思？

梁：有相同的一面。

中国的道德：是非的标准不要向外找

艾：……拿中国来说吧，就是鸦片战争以前，当然有很多别的缺

点，不过起码道德标准是有的。以后您自己也说，就是这个民国时代啊，您自己在书里也写过啊，20年代的、30年代的知识分子——“士”——是无耻的。他们起码以前在传统的社会里不敢公开地、张胆明目地为了自己的自私的理由而争执，现在呢，表面上的标准已经没有了。所以说跟以前最大的不同，就是说道德的标准已经不是纯粹的、绝对的，而是相对的，……不是全世界唯一的道德标准。以前我们觉得外国人、洋人他们和我们的不同就是，我们是比较算是人，他们还没有“熟”，还没有成为真正的人，他们没有道德，我们是有道德，那就是说人是有道德的。在民国已经就开始了这么一个变化了，所以，“本心”应该怎么说才能说是人类社会的共同之处？

Liang: I feel that the standards for right and wrong should not be sought in the external world. In *The Mencius*, he called it pursuing righteousness and benevolence and "walking the path of righteousness and benevolence."[12] These two are different. The pursuing of righteousness and benevolence refers to what the ordinary social conventions and mores hold as benevolence and righteousness, and what is good. Observing social conventions is pursuing righteousness and benevolence. Mencius held that that was not worth doing. He did not want people to pursue righteousness and benevolence. He wanted people to walk the path of righteousness and benevolence, that is, to go back to one's self, to return to one's own proper nature of the mind/heart. The more you seek it in the external world, the more bewildered and dazzled you become. Don't look to the external world, look to yourself, ask it of yourself. In *The Mencius*, in particular, he said, "the calm air of the morning," and "the restorative influence of the night is not sufficient to preserve the proper nature of the mind/heart."[13] A Chinese proverb says, "Examine one's conscience in the stillness of night." When, in the stillness of night, in the middle of the night you wake up, you examine your conscience in the quiet. That is, you yourself ask questions of yourself. At this time it's clear [what's right and wrong].

Alitto: Ask oneself. The problem is that each person's answer to the questions asked of oneself is the same or different. Or does the proper nature of the mind/heart have a common…

Liang: That is to say, when in the stillness of night you awaken, you are not subject to external influences. So examine one's conscience in the stillness of night, asking yourself: Is this right? At this time, in Chinese it's called the "recovery of conscience." Chinese farmers have a saying…these

two sentences are marvelous: "If you don't owe taxes, you do not fear officials.

梁：我觉得，是非的标准不要向外找。《孟子》上头有个话，他叫做“行仁义”和“由仁义行”，这两样不同。所谓“行仁义”嘛就是一般的社会习俗上认为那样是仁义、是好，按照着那样子去做就是“行仁义”。孟子认为那不足取，不要“行仁义”，要“由仁义行”，就是还是回到自己身上来，返回到自己本心，越向外找越迷乱、越眼花缭乱，不要向外看，要自己问自己。特别是，在《孟子》他也说，“平旦之气”，“夜气不足以存”。中国人的俗话常这么说，叫“清夜扪心”，你清夜、半夜里头醒来的时候，清静，“扪心”就是自己问问自己，这个时候清楚。

艾：问自己啊。问题是每一个人的自己回答的答复一样不一样，或者“本心”有没有共同的……

梁：这个就是说，清夜醒来的时候，比较不受外边的影响，“清夜扪心”，问问自己，这样对不对啊？这个时候啊，按中国话说叫“良心发现”。中国农民有这样的话，这两句话很了不起：“不欠钱粮不怕官，不昧良心不怕天。”这个话我觉得很了不起。

If you have not ignored your conscience, you do not fear Heaven." I think this saying is great. If I haven't ignored my conscience and done anything bad, I do not fear Heaven. The first line, "If you don't owe taxes, you do not fear officials." Everyone must pay taxes. I've already paid my taxes, and so I don't fear officials at all. This kind of society existed only in the old society of China; there is no such society outside of China. So, this thing conscience, the more you look externally, the less it exists.

Chinese society is disorganized and liable to peace.

Alitto: I agree. In all of your works, you emphasize this point. No matter whether you use the term "benevolence" or "conscience," or "rationality," they are all one thing. So in this book [referring to *The Human Mind/Heart and Human Life*] you still have a similar thing. You call it "spirituality" or something like that. Actually the meaning is the same, right? Either the term you just used, conscience, or the term benevolence, or if you call it rationality, it's the same. As you just said that saying among the common folk existed only in Chinese society. It didn't exist in other societies. So, if benevolence, rationality, and conscience are things that humanity shares, why is it that historically they appear comparatively commonly in

Chinese society?

Liang: This is because Chinese society is a loosely organized society.

Alitto: I understand that. You mean that originally Western society, because of religion, was used to group organization.

Liang: Western society organized groups. People in general lived in a group. Previously, during the Middle Ages, the group overly constrained and repressed the individual. In modern society, capitalist society, the individual awakened to resist the group's excessive intervention and repression. This is the kind of change from ancient times to modern times. But this transformation didn't take place in Chinese society. China's old society lacked group organizations. At most it was family and lineage. In the past the emperors and rulers' best method was not to interfere with the affairs of the common people, the so-called "Laissez Faire" and "governance by non-interference." The more the government allowed people, the more it let people live their own lives, the better.

我不昧良心，我没有做一点坏事，“不昧良心不怕天”；前头一句话“不欠钱粮不怕官”，每一个人嘛都要交钱粮，钱粮我已经交了，我官都不怕。这样一个社会啊，只有中国老社会有啊，外国没有这个社会。所以“良心”这个东西啊，你越向外看、向外去找越没有。

中国是散漫而容易和平的社会

艾：我同意。您著作无论是哪一本，都是注重这一点，无论您说“仁”——原来您说的是“仁”，或者“良心”，或者“理性”都是一个东西，那您这本书也是同样地说有这么一个东西，说是灵性或者怎么样，其实基本的意思是一样的，是不是？您刚才用的是“良心”这个词也好，或者用“仁”这个词也好，或者用“理性”这个词也好，您也刚说了，就是民间的那个说法了，只有中国社会有的，别的社会也没有的。那么假如“仁”、“理性”、“良心”，是人类共同具有的一种东西，为什么历史上中国的社会是比较会有的？

梁：这是因为中国的社会是一个松散的社会。

艾：这个我明白。您的意思就是西方社会本来因为宗教的关系有团体的习惯了。

梁：西洋的社会啊，它有集团，人呢一般是生活于集团中，那么过去的、中世纪的社会，是集团拘束了、压迫了个人多一些；那么近代的

社会——到了资本主义的社会，转入近代社会，个人的觉醒反抗这个集团的过分的干涉压迫，有这样一个古今的变化，就是中古跟近代的变化。可是这个变化在中国的社会是没有的。中国的老社会它是缺乏集团的，它尽是家庭、家族，过去的皇帝、统治者他最好的道路是不干涉老百姓的事儿，所谓“端拱无为”、“无为而治”，你越是不干涉老百姓的事，越是随他去、随他自己去生活，越好。

In China for several thousand years, life was lived like this, a passive "live and let live" state, without any active governance. Society followed custom and convention, with the people living unorganized peaceful lives. Disorganization is more liable to lead to peace. Peace is more liable to lead to disorganization. To put it in another way, struggle is liable to lead to organization, and group organization is more likely to lead to struggle. So, old Chinese society lived disorganized and peaceful days, days that were passive and peaceful. So, the Chinese didn't know what a nation was. He only knew "Peace in All under Heaven." The "All under Heaven" had no boundaries. Nation had parameters. Relations between nations are adversarial, but there was no relationship with "All under Heaven." The Chinese always dreamed of "Peace in All under Heaven." They wanted to live a passive, peaceful life, and hoped that the imperial court and the government would not quite interfere with their affairs. These circumstances did not exist in Europe.

Chinese society began to differ from Western society.

Alitto: In modern European society these kinds of circumstances didn't exist, but in the Middle Ages, there was a Church—a Catholic Church. So although society had the habit of organization, the organizations were church organizations. But you can't say that it was struggles between organizations. Only in the 17th and 18th centuries were there nationalities, and only with nationalities came nations.

Liang: In a modern nation… Before, the aristocracy ruled the peasants [serfs]. The peasants were attached to the land. This is different from the Chinese peasantry of the past.

Alitto: Yes, these two societies were different. In general, I agree completely with the historical explanation you just articulated. I agree. My question is, your theory has always had a contradiction. If there is something

that humanity possesses in common, how could it be a special product of China? I know, you just explained this from the background of societal development. I have felt always that this is a contradiction. As mentioned in my book, I think that the contradiction is: In the 1920s and 1930s, you advocated the restoration of China's inherent "rationality" and "benevolence." Only by this restoration could the entire country be revived, be modernized and be able to absorb Western science and technology. Group organization could develop the things that China inherently possessed. Where is the contradiction? If we say the fundamental reason why China originally wasn't modernized, hadn't developed science and technology, and didn't have group organizations was because China had developed "rationality," how suddenly could this rationality, originally an obstacle to modernization, no longer be an obstacle, but become a…?

中国的过去的几千年，过日子就是这么样子过日子，消极地彼此相安，而没有一种积极的统治。它就是本着习俗，过着一种散漫的、和平的生活，散漫嘛就容易和平，和平嘛也就容易散漫，换句话说，斗争嘛就容易造成团体，而有了集团就更容易斗争。所以中国的这个老社会啊，它都是过一种散漫和平的日子，一种消极相安的日子。所以中国人他也不晓得什么叫“国家”，他只晓得“天下太平”。什么叫“天下”啊，天下是没有边的，“国”嘛就是有个范围的，国与国有对抗性，对天下没有啊。中国人啊，他总是梦想天下太平，他就是要过一种消极相安的日子，希望朝廷啊、官府啊不要多干涉我，不要多管我们的事，这个情况在欧洲是没有的。

中西社会分歧的开始

艾：可以说在欧洲的、现代的社会没有这种情况，可是中古时代啊，国外的地方都是一个教会——天主教，所以虽然组织的习惯，组织都是教堂的组织，可是也不能说是组织对组织的战斗。现在到了17、18世纪才开始有民族的情形，才有了国家。

梁：在近代国家，……之前，贵族对农民统治，农民常常是随着土地的，这个跟中国的过去的农民不同。

艾：是，这两个社会是有不同的。一般地来说，我完全同意您刚说的历史方面的解释，我都同意。我问的问题就是，您的说法一直有个矛盾：假如某一个东西是人类的共同有的，这个东西怎么会是中国的特产呢？我知道，您刚才是从社会发展背景来解释，我一直觉得是个矛盾，

我书里提到的、我所觉得的矛盾的地方是，您20年代、30年代提倡把中国固有的“理性”或者“仁”复兴起来，这样中国才能全国复兴，才能现代化，才能吸收西洋的科学技术；团体组织可以发展中国固有的东西。矛盾何在呢？假如原来中国没有现代化，科学技术不发达，没有团体组织，基本的原因是因为中国先发展“理性”，为什么假如原来是现代化的障碍，为什么到了现在这个理性突然不是个障碍反而是个……

Liang: It wasn't an obstacle. In the past, it wasn't an obstacle either.

Alitto: So in the past it wasn't an obstacle?

Liang: It was that the paths of societal development were different.

Alitto: Alright, then why were the paths different?

Liang: What do the different paths refer to? In remote antiquity a person's life could not be separated from the group. People formed groups. The more ancient it went, the smaller the scope of the group was. Each group had two aspects. One was consanguinity, and one was locality. In brief, beginning in remote antiquity, life was lived in a group. One aspect was family, and the other was a group that transcended family. In China's societal development, the particular emphasis was on the aspect of family. In foreign countries the emphasis was on the group. Initially, these were both group and family. One developed to emphasize this aspect, and the other to emphasize that aspect. Each had its own inclination. It's a religious issue when a group of people go astray and need to be pulled back. Religion helps people form group organizations, and Confucianism helps people emphasize lineages and families, and family ethics. The two are separated in this way.

Kin organizations emphasize the degree of consanguinity and the principle of seniority, paying attention to this concept. Moreover, this concept is extended into society at large. So in the emperor-subject relationship, the emperor is called the "Father-Emperor." The emperor refers to his subjects as "newborn babies" (*chizi*)—this term "*chi*" is the color red—because newborn babies have red skin. So, being influenced by Confucianism, these emotions of familial affection are extended into society. The emperor is "father," the teacher is also "father." Students of the same teacher are "brothers of the same master." Good friends are the equivalent of brothers. Affection was thought highly of. Affection transcends vital interests.

梁：它没有障碍，它过去也没有障碍。

艾：过去也没有障碍？

梁：它是社会发展走的路子不同。

艾：好，不过为什么路子不同呢？

梁：所谓路不同是指什么说呢？在远古，人的生活都是离不开人群的，都是成群的。这个群的范围越古的时候越小。每一个群都有两面，一面是血缘的关系、血统的关系，还有一面是地域的关系。总而言之，开始远古的时候生活是集体的，一方面是家庭，一方面也是超乎家庭的集团。中国的社会发展、演进是侧重家庭这一面，外国是偏重在集团一面。最初的这些它又是集团、又是家族，这个偏到这面走了，那个偏到那面走了，那么各有所偏了。让这个各有所偏的帮助那个各走一偏的路子的，就是宗教问题。宗教帮助人走集团的一面，儒家的东西帮助人走家族、家庭、家庭伦理这一面，这样就分开了。

在家庭、家族上它就讲一个"亲疏长幼"，注意"亲疏长幼"这个观念，并且把这个观念从家庭向社会上去推广。所以管君臣的君叫"君父"，为"君"的对于自己的百姓称为"赤子"——"赤"就是红颜色——就是小孩子。所以受了儒家的影响啊，它总是把这个家庭的这种亲爱之情推广到社会上去。君是"父"，老师也是"父"，同一个老师的，我们是"师兄弟"，好朋友也是等于兄弟一样，它特别是重情谊，情谊嘛，它就超过了利害关系。

Alitto: I still want to ask why this division occurred in remote antiquity. In the final analysis, what was the cause?

Liang: I don't know. There were respective inclinations [in the two societies] to develop this or that aspect. Why was it? There were conditions that supported in this or that direction. The conditions [in the two societies] were different.

Alitto: This seems to be different from the way you put it in *The Essence of Chinese Culture*. In that book, you wrote that it was the Confucian viewpoint. That is, China originally did have a religion. China was originally a clan society, in the Shang Dynasty. After the Zhou, Confucianism destroyed it. The scholars awoke. In accordance with Confucian thought, it substituted pure ethics for religion. The old religion could be said to no longer exist. Of course, among the common folk there were still relatively superstitious religions, but [formal] religion no longer existed. From what I understood, it was only at this time in the religious realm that the two societies had their respective inclinations… You now locate this phenomenon

earlier in time, but you still don't know the reason.

Liang: That is to say, each society developed on its own path, and each had its respective inclination.

Alitto: What's the reason? You said that certain conditions were a reason. What were these conditions?

Liang: We can't say at present. But there were in any case reasons that can be looked into and studied. Our knowledge is limited.

Alitto: Did not you discuss this question in your several books? That is, the question of Chinese and Western societies developing in different directions.

Liang: Probably I did.

Intellect, rationality and spirituality

Liang: If we want to describe and explain the mind/heart, first we must explain its subjective initiative or its self-conscious autonomy, its consciousness. They are equally the same. This is a property of humanity, its most important property.

艾：我还要说，为什么在最远的古代，原来的这个分别，归根结底的原因是什么？

梁：不知道。它就是一个偏成这面走了，一个是偏成那面走了，它原来最初是集团，集团包含着两面，一个偏这面走了，一个是偏那面走了，那么，为什么各有所偏呢？应当是，帮助向这方面发展的，有些个条件，帮助向那方面发展的，有些个它的条件，彼此的条件不同。

艾：那好像跟《中国文化要义》里您的说法有点不同了的。《中国文化要义》（中）您说，还是儒家的观点，就是说到宗教的问题，中国原来的这个宗教，中国原来的宗族社会，就是说商朝那个社会，到了周朝后面是给儒家算打破了，"士"醒了。按儒家的意思呢，来把纯粹的伦理代替宗教，那宗教可以说没有了。当然民间有一些比较迷信的宗教，不过，宗教没有了。依我所了解，这时候宗教的问题才各有偏……那您现在说还有一个更在前面、说不出来的原因，还不知道。

梁：就是说啊，各走一路，各有所偏。

艾：原因呢？您说条件，那条件是什么？

梁：我们现在说不上来，但是总还是有，可以研究，可以去探讨。因为我们距离知识还是很有限，知识上有限。

艾：您几本书里有没有讨论这个问题啊？就是中西社会的不同方向的发展的问题。

梁：恐怕有吧。

理性、理智与灵性

梁：我们要描述要说明这个人心，先要说它的主动性。主动性又可以称作自觉，自己觉悟，自觉能动性。主动性就完全等于自觉能动性。这是人类的特征，顶重要的特征。

Alitto: Does this concept of autonomy or self-activeness have something to do with the will?

Liang: Of course the will is included within it. It has subjective initiative, flexibility, and lastly, the ability to plan. So, in order to explain the ability to plan, I had to use all this verbiage.

Alitto: In your book *The Essence of Chinese Culture*, you made a basic distinction between intellect and rationality. Now [in this book] you have expanded into three elements: subjective initiative, flexibility, and the ability to plan. The first two probably are subsumed under rationality. The ability to plan is probably part of intellect. Is there this distinction? Probably the ability to plan is in reference to relatively abstract calculations for the future…

Liang: You just now used two terms, rationality and intellect. How would you distinguish between the two?

Alitto: I would still use the same distinction you made in your book *The Essence of Chinese Culture*. For example, when a man does a mathematical problem, the part of his mind that does the calculating is his intellect. The technique is intellect. And the part of him that wants to get the right answer or not—the moral aspect—is rationality.

Liang: Yes, that's about right.

Alitto: So I thought that you would have developed the concept you used before and asked this question. Now [in this new book] you have divided it into three basic aspects: subjective initiative, flexibility, and the ability to plan, the last of which is the most complex. I also know that in this

book it seems you use quite a bit of material on the most recent scientific research. In this section in which you analyze the mind/heart, you also make use of the most recent science, and psychology too. Which psychological school do you think is the most correct?

Liang: In foreign psychology, for example, I remember one psychologist named McDougall, who liked to talk about instinct.

Alitto: That was someone quite popular when you were writing *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies*. Later, he wasn't as popular.

Liang: He enumerated a great many kinds of instinct. The Englishman Russell wrote a book called, as I recall, *Construction*… [referring to *Russell's Principles of Social Reconstruction*], right? He divided humanity into three kinds, one was called the possessive impulse and another the creative impulse. But there is a third kind, called spirituality. I originally quoted this in *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies*, but disagreed with his three-way division. I said…one was intellectual, one was instinct. Originally I saw it this way. I only understood later after the publication of "Trend toward Diversification"[14] that his third entity called spirituality actually referred to something; it wasn't just empty talk. I accepted his trichotomy, not the dichotomy [of intellect and instinct].

艾：是不是跟意志有关系啊？

梁：当然意志包含在内了。主动性、灵活性，最后是计划性。为了说明计划性，要用这么多话来说明。

艾：按照《中国文化要义》的说法，您分的还是理智跟理性的基本分别了。那么现在您好像进一步又分了三部分——主动、灵活、计划。那头两个也许是属于理性，计划性是属于理智，有没有这个分别啊？那么也许计划是指的比较抽象的，为了未来而计算的……

梁：刚才，你用了一个理性、理智，你这两个怎么分？

艾：那还是您的《中国文化要义》里的分别。就是举一个具体的例子啊，就是一个人在算一个数学的问题，那么算得正确不正确还算是理智啊，就是说计数方面是理智啊，不过道德方面，要不要算、正确不正确那是理性。

梁：对，差不多。

艾：所以我以为您又是按照当年写的这本书的关于基本观念而继续发展而问的这个问题。现在分了三个基本方面——主动、灵活、计划，

而计划是最复杂的。我也知道您的这本书好像有不少的最近科学方面的研究资料。您在分析人心的这部分，也是在利用最近科学，那心理学也是一部分内容，那您觉得心理学哪一种派别是比较对？

梁：外国的心理学，比如有个喜欢谈本能的，叫麦克迪科。

艾：这是您当年写《东西文化及其哲学》的时候最流行的，以后就不流行了。

梁：他列举了好多样的本能。英国的罗素写过一本书，好像叫《创造……》（疑为罗素的《社会改造原理》）是不是？那本书是讲，他把人类分成三样，一样叫做占有冲动，还有一样叫做创造冲动，但是还有一个第三，它叫灵性。我起初在《东西文化及其哲学》里头，引了他的话。我不同意他的三分法，我说是……一个是理智，一个是本能。起初我是这样，后来在《多元化趋势》出版之后，我才明白，明白他的第三个叫灵性的这个，也是有所指，不是一句空话。我承认他的三分法，不是二分法。

I'll explain another point. Originally I also had this dichotomy. I didn't understand the spirituality. I felt that it wasn't necessary; I felt that an intellect and an instinct were sufficient. Why? Because I subsumed morality into instinct. Later I understood that this was not so, not correct. Why? Because instinct is also an instrument for life; it is a backup instrument. Now, intellect is also an instrument, a backup instrument. The entity of spirituality is higher than these two. So at that point I understood Russell's trichotomy and thought it correct. Religion, for instance. You can't explain it as intellect or as instinct. Religion and morality are something higher than either instinct or intellect. That is what Russell called spirituality. Later I accepted Russell's statement.

Customs and truth

Alitto: Could you give a very brief summary of what your ideas are on this relationship between the mind and body?

Liang: The mind/heart transcends the body. From the standpoint of physical existence, your body and my body are separate and not in communication. When I eat, your hunger is not satisfied. But the mind/heart transcends the body. So the relationship between minds/hearts can be described with these eight characters: the fist four are *haowuxiangyu* (mutual communication of likes and dislikes). [The other four characters are

tongyangxiangguan (sufferings are interrelated).] What I like, what you like—likes and dislikes can be communicated. Likes and dislikes include moral judgment. So, I think that this kind of action or this kind of person is good. You also recognize it as good. So likes and dislikes can be communicated, meaning mutual understanding.

Alitto: "Mutual communication of likes and dislikes." Does this mean that there is an absolute, objective standard in people's psychology? Can it be stated that way? Telepathy between human minds/hearts? So, are you saying that no matter in what era and in what culture, humans' reactions to a certain phenomenon are the same? That is to say, this behavior is bad, that behavior is good. Right?

再说明白一点，原来我是二分法，我对他这个灵性不大懂，觉得也不必要，觉得二分法就够了，一个理智，一个本能就够了。为什么？因为我把道德归到本能里头去。后来我明白不是，不对。为什么不对呢？本能还是我们在生活中，为了生活，为了做生活我们的一种工具，是个备用的东西。那么理智也是一个工具，备用的工具，那个主体高于这两个。所以呀，那么我才明白罗素的三分法有道理。比如他说吧，宗教单用理智来说，说不了，用本能也说不了，宗教道德高于这个东西，那个东西是灵性。后来承认罗素的这个话。

习俗与真理：极高明而道中庸

艾：身体与心理之间的关系，可不可以扼要地讲一讲？

梁：心是超过身的。从身来说，你的身体跟我的身体不相通，我吃饭，你不饱。可是从心来说，心高于身，心超过了身。所以心跟心的关系，它可以说八个字，头一个就是“好恶相喻”（另四个字应是“痛痒相关”），我喜欢什么，你喜欢什么，“好恶相喻”。这个“好恶”包含着是非心，我觉得这样的行为、这样的人是好人，你也承认是好人，好恶可以相喻，“相喻”就是彼此了解，“好恶相喻”。

艾：“好恶相喻”，您的意思是有个绝对的、人的心里有的一种客观的标准了，可以这么说吧？就是说“心心相印”，就是无论什么社会、什么文化的人，他们对某一现象会有同样的反应了？就是说这个行为不好，那个行为好，是不是？

Liang: People, as far as the fundamental definition goes…

Alitto: Which is the most fundamental?

Liang: There are differences in the social customs and habits of each society, and differences in time and place. In terms of space, that society and this society are far apart. There's also a difference in time. Societies in different ages are also different. Societies in different places and times differ; they have their own social customs and usages. An individual person is often influenced by the customs, habits and social usages of his society. And so because of this, the situation that "I am right and you are wrong" occurs. But there are certain fundamentals that are the same. Very basic ones. For example, every society dislikes and loathes lying, right? For a lot of things, due to their different social customs and habits, what this particular place or society recognizes as good is not so regarded in that place or society; or, today it is regarded as good, but the ancients held it to be bad.

Alitto: As you just said, there are temporal and spacial differences among all societies' social customs and habits. The goals of purposefulness will also be different. So doesn't that count as moral behavior being different?

Liang: Of course, they are different. There are different moralities in different eras and different societies. Each society has its own morality. Therefore, in reality this isn't true morality; they are just customs and usages.

Alitto: They are just customs and usages? What is the source of true morality?

Liang: True morality is conscious awareness and self-discipline. Usually, the majority of people in society follow others; they just follow the society's social customs and habits. Those whose vital force is great may not follow customs. He is capable of great conscious awareness and self-discipline. So he may choose to act in a certain way following his own self-conscious decision regardless of the opposition, and the ridicule and taunts of others. Revolutionaries are able to do this. The ordinary person does not make revolution. Revolution is always foresighted.

梁：人从一个很基本的定义说……

艾：最基本的是哪一种？

梁：就是有些个它是由于各个地方的风俗习惯不同，也有的是古今不同，有地方的不同——那个社会跟这个社会，属于从空间上说，相离很远，这是一种不同。还有一种古今时代不同，它的社会也不同。不同时代的社会，不同地方的社会，都有它的风俗习惯。一个人常常为他自己所生存的社会习惯所影响，因此就搞得我说的对，你说的不对了。可

是在某些个很基本的上头，还是相同的。很基本的，比方说吧，说假话，每一个社会都不喜欢，都讨厌，是吧？比如这样的。可以有许多事情，它还是由于社会风俗习惯不同，这个地方、这个社会认为好，那个地方就不认为好。或者今天以为好，古人认为不好。

艾：每一个社会的风俗习惯，您刚才说的，时间的分别、地方的分别都是有的。有所为的目的也会不同，那什么算是不道德的行为也不同了？

梁：那当然了，不同的，是古今的不同，地方空间的不同，各有各的道德。因为各有各的道德，实际上不是真道德，实际上是礼俗。

艾：实际上是礼俗啊？那么真道德的来源是什么？

梁：真道德啊，是自觉自律。通常社会上多数人是随着人走，随着社会的风俗习惯走。生命力很强的人，他可以不随俗，他能够自觉自律，不随俗，所以不管旁人的诽笑、反对，本着自己的自觉自律来行动。革命家能够这样，普通人不革命，革命都是先知先觉。

Alitto: This revolution is what Marx discusses as a revolution. The masses take action out of their own self-interest, out of their own material interests.

Liang: But revolutions don't happen often. Of course those revolutionary leaders who take the lead cannot separate from the masses, but they can transcend and lead the masses. They have foresight. Their creative power is great. The average person…

Alitto: There is still a fundamental problem. What in the end is the goal of society's evolution? What path does it follow? According to what principles does it develop? You say that revolutionaries are foresighted. Where does their understanding of their standards and goals come from?

Liang: We can't lay down a general rule because it is different at different time, places and environments.

Alitto: I mean, if there was an eternal unchanging truth…

Liang: No. There is no objectively existing eternal unchanging truth.

Alitto: But you stated that although each individual person's body is independent and unconnected, as [the example you gave previously] "when you eat, my hunger is not satisfied." You say that the mind is still…

Liang: Likes and dislikes mutually communicate.

Alitto: Why do they mutually communicate?

Liang: Mutual communication means that I understand you, and you understand me. This is called mutual communication.

Alitto: But why? Why does mutual communication exist? That is to say, human nature has aspects that are shared. Each individual person has…

Liang: It is what Mencius said: Human minds/hearts are the same.[15]

Alitto: But humans have developed through evolution. Humans of today and humans of ten thousand years ago are different. Humans today will also be different from humans ten thousand years from now. But where is the common property [the basis of humanity]? Where does it come from?

Liang: The common property is that they are living things. All have life; if they have life, they all have likes and dislikes. The closer dislikes and likes are to the corporeal, the easier it is for them to be different. Take smoking as an example. You like to smoke and I do not. That is, those likes and dislikes that are close to the corporal (physiology) are easy to differ. An individual person…

艾：这个革命就是马克思的意思论革命，群众为了他们自己的利益而行动，为了他们物质上的利益才行动。

梁：可是革命不是常常有，先出头领导的革命领导人当然离开群众不行，可是他超出群众、领导群众。他是先知先觉，他的创造力大，一般人……

艾：还有一个更基本的问题啊，您说到底人的社会演变有什么目的啊？按照什么途径、什么原则发展的？您说革命者是先知先觉，他的标准、目的的了解是哪儿来的？

梁：它是看不同的时代、不同的地方、不同的环境，我们不能够笼统地说。

艾：我的意思就是说假如有一个永久不变的真理……

梁：没有，永久不变的真理没有，客观存在的永久不变的真理没有。

艾：您刚才说的人跟人的身体当然有区别、不同，您吃饭，我不饱，心灵您说还是……

梁：好恶相喻。

艾：为什么相喻？

梁：相喻就是我懂得你，你懂得我，这叫相喻。

艾：不过为什么？有什么原因相喻存在？就是说人性有共同的地方，大家每一个人都有的……

梁：就是孟子所说的人心有“同然”。

艾：不过人是演变而发展出来的，现在的人与一万年前的不同，现在的人又跟未来一万年后的人不同，可是共同的地方在哪里？共同地方的来源在哪里啊？

梁：共同的都是活的东西，都是生命，有生命就有所谓好恶。离身体越近的好恶很容易不同，如你喜欢抽烟，我不喜欢抽烟，就是离身体太近，离身体太近的好恶那很难相同。个人……

Alitto: Which likes and dislikes are comparatively similar?

Liang: Those transcending the corporeal.[16]

Alitto: Those in the mind?

Liang: Transcending the corporeal, transcending the corporeal. Just like the example of lying that I just mentioned. Lying is an example.

Alitto: Possibly there are societies in which lying is not considered wrong.

Liang: That is a question of social customs and habits. I admit that there is that kind of society, but that [acceptance of lying] is part of the social customs and habits of society. Social customs and habits are different from conscience. Social customs and habits make the humans of different ages and different places differ from one another. Social customs and habits are this way.

Alitto: For example, in the West, quite a few people feel that fundamentally conscience doesn't exist. Then what are humans? They are created by society. Human nature is society's creation. Especially in the Women's Liberation Movement, they feel that there is no basic difference between men and women. In fact, there is a distinction, but that is because men control society, with the result that females are raised specifically to become what they are. Males are raised differently. But there is no distinction between consciences. This is one way of explaining the difference.

Liang: This is a difference between the innate and the acquired.

Alitto: They mean that there are no innate differences, aside from the differences of corpulence, height—naturally the genitals are different, the reproductive system is different—they say that aside from that there is no great difference. That is to say, there are no inherent qualities. I don't agree. You don't agree. But the reasons are that there is no [common universal] conscience. Sooner or later modern societies…will have no standard. The process of rationalization breaks down the basis upon which standards rest. What you have just articulated and what you held previously are about the same. But in the current situation of the Western society, and especially in the future situation, standards of morality—standards for good and bad—are disappearing. Starting from the 18th century Enlightenment to the present, our standards become fewer and fewer, more and more relativised; relativised moral standards are the equivalent of being absent.

艾：那哪一种好恶比较相同？

梁：超过身体的。

艾：心理的？

梁：超过身体的，超过身体的。说假话是一个例子。

艾：可能有一种社会是说假话不一定是坏事。

梁：那个是习俗不同。我承认有那样的社会，但是那个是归在习俗上，习俗跟本心不同。习俗容易让不同时代、不同地方的人彼此不一样，习俗是这样的。

艾：那比如在西方，不少的人觉得根本没有本心。就是人是什么？就是由社会创造出来的，人性是社会的创造品。尤其是妇女解放运动，她们觉得男女根本没有分别，事实上是有分别的，那是因为社会是由男的控制的，而结果女的从小就养成这个样子，男的养成另外一个样子，不过本心没有分别，有这么一个说法。

梁：就是一个是先天的，一个是后天的。

艾：他们的意思就是说先天的分别是没有的，除了长得胖、长得矮的、长得瘦这些分别以外——当然生殖器也不同，生殖系统不同——他们说这以外没有什么大的分别了。就是说没有本心，我也不同意，您也不同意。不过道理就是说，没有本心……现代社会迟早……就是没有标准了，理智化过程好像把所有的标准的基础啊，打破了、坏了。您说的道理跟您以前的基本的道理是一样的，不过现在西方的社会的情况，尤其是将来的情况，道德的标准、好坏的标准越来越没有了。自从18世纪

启蒙运动开始到现在，我们这个标准越来越少了，越来越相对化了，道德标准一相对化就等于没有了。

Liang: This is all peripheral, not fundamental. It still comes back to that statement by Mencius, that people's minds/hearts are the same. The sage knows beforehand the similitude of our minds/hearts.

Some sixty years ago, when I was only in my twenties, I published *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies*. In that book, I explained Confucius according to my understanding of him at the time. Now, doesn't Confucius often speak about Perfect Virtue (*ren*)? What did I say in that book? I said that Confucian *ren* is a kind of extremely sensitive, acute intuition. Didn't Mencius like to use the terms "intuitive understanding of the good" (conscience), which was what we call "instinct." *Zhijue* in Chinese is called "intuition" in English. *Benneng* is called "instinct" in English. So in this way, I used these modern terms to explain Confucius' and Mencius' thought.

Now, I know I was wrong. These modern terms are close to the meanings I meant to convey; they are close, but they are not very direct equivalents. It was not really correct, nor completely incorrect, because Confucius' Perfect Virtue can be very deep and profound, so much so that it becomes abstruse. As in *The Analects*, the master said, "Is Perfect Virtue a thing remote? I wish for it, and then virtue is at hand." If you explain *ren* in too abstruse a fashion, it is too one-sided, too narrow. *Ren* does not necessarily have to be explained in profound, abstruse ways. *Ren* is both shallow and profound, both simple and complex. If you only understand its superficial, shallow, easy aspects, that is not real understanding. So my mistake in that book was to stress its simple, shallow aspects too much. Mencius is also that way. When you go to understand Mencius' intuitive understanding of the good, it can be understood both on a shallow level and on a profound level. For example, intuitive understanding of the good, that is, conscience—who doesn't have a conscience? Everyone does. Is this saying right or wrong? Can you put it this way? You can certainly put it this [simple] way. But, on the other hand, you can't understand it too simplistically, too shallowly either.

Why can't it be too simplistic, too shallow? Because we humans live within society, and cannot depart from society. It is likely that humans will follow the mores and usages of their society. If the mores of a society take

[this] to be right, the individual considers it right. If the morals and mores of a society take it to be wrong, so does the individual human. It is easy for people to do this. But societies and their mores and morals are different. There are differences in both time and space. East and West are different. The modern and the ancient are different. People tend to follow their social norms. So, what is considered wrong in one society is considered right in another. This is very common, unless it is an inherently extremely gifted person, or an extraordinarily wise person, who possibly won't follow conventions—he often would lead a revolution. Exceptionally gifted people are this way, and so it is hard to say if these words apply to them.

梁：这个都是末梢，不是根本。还是孟子那个话，孟子说，人心有同然，圣人是先得我心的同然。

在60年前，60年前的时候我才二十几岁，那个时候发表《东西文化及其哲学》，那里边我就对孔子有一些解说，按照我当时的理解、我所能懂得的，来说明孔子。为了说明孔子——孔子不是喜欢讲那个“仁”吗？——我当时那个书里头，我说：“孔子说的‘仁’是什么呢？是一种很敏锐的直觉。”孟子不是喜欢说“良知良能”？那个就是现在所说的本能。直觉嘛，英文就是intuition，本能就是instinct。我就是这样子来把孔孟之学，用现在的名词来介绍给人。

现在我知道错了。它只是近似，好像是那样，只是近似，不对，不很对，不真对。这个不真对，可也没有全错啊，也不能算全错。因为孔子所说的“仁”，它可以很深，可以很高深。孔子不是有那个话：“仁远乎哉？我欲仁，斯仁至矣。”所以你把“仁”说得太高深，也就偏了，不必一定说得很高深。一方面是可以这么说，可浅可深。如果你就是从浅的一方面来懂它，那是不够的。所以我在当初的书里头，就是太从浅的方面来说。孟子也是那样，孟子的“良知良能”，你去懂得它，你去了解它，也是可浅可深。比如说“良知良能”，就是良心，谁没有良心呢？都有良心。这样说对不对呢？可以不可以这样说？完全可以这样说。可是又转过来说呢，不能看得太简单，不能理解得太浅。

为什么不能太简单、不能太浅呢？因为我们这个人啊，人总是生活在社会里头，他离不开社会，所以他容易随着社会走，社会习俗上这个算对，他也就对，习俗上以为这个不好，他也就跟着走，人很容易这样。可是所跟着走的这个社会，东西南北，在这个国家，在那个国家，在这个洲，在那个洲，在西洋，在东洋，社会很多不同，古今也是很多不同，在空间上、时间上很多不同。人多半都是随着社会走，所以在这个社会认为是不对的事，在那个社会认为是对的，这是常有的。除非天

资很高的人，智慧很高，他可能不随俗，他常常是领头革命，天资高的人常常是这样，所以有些话就很难说了。

Alitto: Each society has its own customs and mores. Each society has its own value judgments. If we say that each society is different, then does humanity have a universal truth, a universal standard for value judgments?

Liang: The answer is yes and no. Let's first address its non-existence. This life of ours must be lived in a society, so we must go along with the values of our respective societies. If you oppose society, you will not be accepted by society. So the values can be taken as "customs" or "etiquette." Probably on the one side of the issue, we can admit that each age, each place—that is to say, each society—has different customs, mores and morals. Probably it is natural to be in accord with different societies' values. The "rules of propriety" are for that time and place reasonable and true.

On the other hand, however, there is also a kind of truth, which is not the principle of a particular time and place, bound by customs and mores. Rather, it is an absolute truth. This truth does exist, but only very few enlightened brilliant people are conscious of it, or realize it. They can rise above and see further than the average people. On the one hand, there are few of these pelple. On the other hand, there is an old Chinese saying that "Something something...great height and brilliancy, so as to pursue the course of the Mean." This kind of person is himself very brilliant and wise, but he does not want to divorce himself from the society of his time. So the path he takes is still the middle path. I don't know if you are aware that I never studied the Four Books and Five Classics? (Alitto: Yes, I am.) So the quotation I just used is not complete. "Something something...great height and brilliancy, so as to pursue the course of the Mean." This is because I never memorized the Classics, and so I'm not all that familiar with them. [The original phrase is: To raise it to its greatest height and brilliancy, so as to pursue the course of the Mean.]

艾：每一个社会有每一个社会的习俗，有它的风俗习惯，也有每一个社会的价值判断。假如说每一个社会有不同，人类有没有一个普遍的真理，一个普遍的价值判断的标准？

梁：一方面说有，一方面说没有。先说没有吧。没有就是说人生就是得在社会里生活，你就得随俗，你一定反对社会，会不见容于社会，所以我们把这个俗或者叫“风俗”，或者叫“礼俗”。我们可以承认不同的

时代，不同的地方，这就是说不同的社会吧，随着不同的社会走，也是理所当然。不同的时代、不同的地方的所谓“礼”，就是理。一方面可以这样说。

当然，还有一面，可以说是一种真理吧，不是世俗之理，而是真理。真理是有的，不过是只能在很少的高明人才意识得到，很少的高明人才能够超过众人，他看得高，看得远。这种高明人那是很少了，并且一方面是很少，还有一方面好像中国古话有一个叫“什么高明而道中庸”一句话，他自己是很高明，可是他不跟当时的社会……不愿意脱离社会，他走的路还是走中庸的路。这个地方我补一句，我不知道你知道不知道我是没有念过“四书五经”？（艾：知道。）所以刚才引的话，“什么高明而道中庸”，这句话所以我说不完全，因为古书没有背过，不熟。（原句为“极高明而道中庸”。）

Alitto: It's OK. I know. I haven't memorized ancient books but I know this sentence. These enlightened ones understand and are conscious of the truth. It's all one truth, right? It's one standard for all value judgments. That is to say, no matter where the enlightened ones are from, their conscious truth is the same.

Liang: We should say that there is only one absolute truth, but I usually say that there is a "material physical truth" and "a human truth." The reason used in natural sciences and social sciences, especially the former, is this material physical truth. This truth exists objectively, and does not follow man's will. It doesn't make any difference whether you like this truth or not, it still is ever there. The other kind of truth, "human truth," exists subjectively. When encountering this kind of truth, everyone nods his head, and says "Right" or "Yes." This truth (or reason) has some element of subjectivity. When encountering this kind of truth, people have a favorable impression of it, and are well disposed toward it. Let's say it is a matter of justice, for example. A person will say that he has "a sense of what is right." Justice resides in a sense of what is right. So in my final analysis, there are two truths—a physical truth and a human truth.

Master Zhu (Zhu Xi) of the Song Dynasty never made a distinction between these two truths. He had a paragragh, which I cannot recite. Anyway, he never separated these two kinds of truth or reason. I can give you another example, concerning biological evolution. That is, in natural selection, the weak are eaten by the strong. This is a phenomenon that has an objective existence, a truth or a reason of the natural world. But we humans

all dislike and oppose it. We feel that…

Alitto: Do you mean that people, no matter when they live or what place they are from, all dislike it? This "we" is in reference to humankind, no matter where one is from?

Liang: In what stands to reason with humans, the phenomenon of the weak being oppressed, being bullied gives a feeling of unfairness to the onlooker, and the onlooker does not like it. This feeling of dislike is reason, a kind of human truth. The strong eating the weak has an objective existence and that objective existence is material physical truth.[17]

艾：这没有关系，我知道，我也没有背过古书，我知道这句话。这些高明的人，所了解、所意识的真理，都是一个真理，对不对？都是一个价值判断的标准。就是说，无论是什么地方的高明的人、超众的人，所意识的真理是一致的。

梁：应当说真理只有一个，不过普通我总是说，有一种是"物理"，有一种是"情理"。这个科学——自然科学、社会科学，特别是自然科学，自然科学所发明、所讲出来的道理就叫"物理"。物理存在于客观，不随着人的意志，不能够说我喜欢它，我不喜欢它，那不成。无论你喜欢不喜欢它，它一定是那样的。可是另外有一种叫"情理"，情理是存于主观的，合于情理，人人都点头，人人都说对、是这样，情理是在主观这一面。合于情理，就好办，比如说是正义的事情，不是有人就说它是"正义感"吗？正义就存于正义感上。这我归结下来，一种叫"物理"，一种叫"情理"，不要把它混了。

从前宋朝朱子——朱熹，他就是没有分开这两个。他有一段话，我也背不上来了，朱子说的，他就没有把这两种理分开。我可以再举一个例子，讲那个生物进化，有自然淘汰，有一句话叫做"弱肉强食"，弱的肉被强的人吃了，弱肉强食是一个客观存在的现象，一个自然之理，可是我们都不喜欢它，对弱肉强食我们都反对，觉得……

艾：无论是什么时候的、什么地方的人，都不喜欢，是这个意思？"我们"的意思是人类，无论是什么地方的？

梁：按常情来说，对小的、弱的被欺负，站在旁边，都有一种不平，不喜欢那个样子。这个不喜欢是一个理，这个理有，这个理是个"情理"。那个弱肉强食客观存在，那是个"物理"。

Western culture, Chinese culture and Indian culture

Alitto: Does the essence of Chinese culture, its core substance, still exist?

Liang: There are still some remnants of Confucian culture. It is, of course, not possible to sweep away all traditional cultural lock, stock and barrel. Something still remains, in the area of family ethics.

Alitto: In your book *The Essence of Chinese Culture*, you mention a definition of the essence of Chinese culture; you defined it as what makes humans human. The early Chinese sages discovered what made humans human prematurely, before the minimal primal material demands of humans were met. Do you still think that what makes humans human is the most important in Chinese culture?

Liang: What, in my view, to my knowledge, is the difference between Chinese culture and Western culture, and Indian culture? It is that Chinese culture knows of human rationality.[18] Chinese culture believes in the human; it does not believe in God, as with Western culture or in Allah as in Islamic culture. Chinese culture is built upon and trusts the human. The distinguishing characteristic of Confucianism is that it relies on, and is built upon humans, not some other being. This is what Mencius later pointed out—that "human nature is good." Confucius himself said no such thing, but Mencius mentioned it specifically. So the distinguishing characteristic of Confucianism is that it believes in, and is confident in, humans. Humans can make mistakes, or sink into degeneracy. But how can you correct the human who makes mistakes? How can you keep him from moral degeneracy, from doing evil? What do you rely on to do this? Aside from the human himself, there is nothing else that is dependable. So I feel that the distinguishing feature of Confucianism is that it has faith in man.

In foreign countries, in Christianity, it is said that Adam ate some fruit. There is such wording? There is such a theory. This is in the West. In India there is something different still. India is very strange indeed. From ancient times [the tradition of] India was to deny human life, to negate it. It held that human life itself was a mistake. This was the common attitude and convention in ancient India. Were there any exceptions to this attitude? Yes. In Buddhist writing there is the saying "to act in accord with the world, its ways and customs, and with non-Buddhist doctrines." Act in Accord with the World was a non-Buddhist sect, and was held as a heretical, outside path. A lot of other religions, aside from Buddhism, also excluded it and considered it

cult. This was the one and only affirmation of life in ancient Indian thought. Aside from this, all others held that human life was bafflement. The ancient traditions of India were quite different from everywhere else. This is very strange.

西方文化、中国文化与印度文化

艾：中国文化的要义、核心的实质，还存在吗？

梁：残余的还是有，不能说一扫而光啊，还是有些个遗留。所留下的还就是那个家庭伦理那方面。

艾：《中国文化要义》那本书里，您提到了“中国文化要义”的定义，下了个定义就是“人之所以为人”，说中国的圣人很早以前，物质生活还没有达到可以满足一切起码的要求以前，中国的圣人就了解到“人之所以为人”了。那您还是这么想的，就是说中国文化的最重要的是“人之所以为人”？

梁：在我的看法、我的认识，就是这个中国文化不同于西洋，不同于印度，在什么地方呢？就在它认识了人的理性。它相信人，它不相信上帝，也不相信像回教什么真宰、真主。它信赖——依赖、依靠的意思——它信赖人，儒家的特色它是信赖人，不信赖旁的。这个就是后来孟子点出来的“人性善”，“人性善”这个话在孔子倒没有说，可是孟子点明了。这个儒家的一个特色，它是很信赖人。人嘛当然也可能错误，可能也有走入一种下流，可是，你怎么样子能够矫正它，让它不趋于下流、不去为恶呢？你靠什么呢？除了靠人，没有别的可靠。我觉得儒家的特色在这个地方。

好像在外国，在基督教，好像是说亚当怎么吃了什么果子，有那个话？这是在西洋。在印度它也跟中国不相同。印度很奇怪，它是从很古的时候就否定人生，它认为人生就是错误，这个是在古印度普遍的风气。有没有例外呢？有一个例外，就是在佛书里头所称为“顺世外道”的——顺着来，“世界”的“世”，“顺世外道”——佛家认为是个外道，佛家以外很多旁的宗教，也都排斥它，也认为是外道，它是在古印度唯一无二的肯定人生的。除它以外，都认为人生是一种迷惑，这是印度的古风气，跟旁的地方很不同，这很奇怪。

Alitto: What is the greatest threat to Chinese culture, in the present situation?

Liang: I think that there is no threat. Even if some of the old customs,

practices and usages are now destroyed, I think that the future is bright (for Chinese culture). Sixty years ago in the last chapter of my book *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies,* I said that the future culture of the world would be a revived Chinese culture. I am explicitly not pessimistic about the future of Chinese culture.

Alitto: Mr. Liang, you still hold that the future world culture will be…

Liang: A revival of Chinese culture.

Alitto: Why did I ask? Because in *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies*, you made this kind of prediction, but in your books written after that, you seldom mention this. You have just said that those old social customs and habits no longer exist. (Liang: They were undermined.) In that case, what in Chinese traditional culture must be preserved? What things?

Liang: Of course I want to answer this question. I want to explain why I'm so optimistic about the future of Chinese culture. Very early I made an analysis of human life, and concluded that it had three great problems.[19] The first is the problem of humans versus the natural world. This is the first and foremost problem. Before humankind had created cultures and civilizations, humans suffered from floods, wild animals, earthquakes, and so on. So later Western culture developed. The development of Western culture can be encapsulated in two phrases: the conquest of nature and the utilization of nature. It adopts an attitude of conquest toward nature, an attitude of utilization. In this Western culture has always been very successful, right down to the present. Its successes continue to be higher and higher through time. It can now go into space and circle the earth; it can go to the moon. In its conquest and utilization of nature, Western culture has achieved great victories. This is a characteristic of Western culture. It is a problem of man versus matter [nature]. As soon as man opened his eyes and looked around, what he saw was matter. He extended his hand and what he touched was matter, what he was standing on was matter. So, man versus matter was the first problem encountered by man, and Western culture solved this problem. Aren't the solutions to this problem highly developed?

艾：在现在的情况来看，对中国文化最大的威胁，您认为是什么？

梁：我看没有什么威胁。近来尽管有点对旧的风俗习惯有些个破坏，但是前途并不悲观。我不是在60年前有一本书《东西文化及其哲

学》？那个书里头的末一章我就说：在世界未来，将是中国文化的复兴。所以我刚好不悲观。

艾：那，梁先生，您还是认为将来世界文化，还是……

梁：中国文化复兴。

艾：我为什么问呢？因为您《东西文化及其哲学》这本书是有这种预测，可是后来写的书，很少提到未来的事，那未来的事嘛，您刚提到这些旧的风俗习惯已经没有了，（梁：被破坏了。）那么中国传统文化必须保留的，是哪一些？是什么？

梁：这个问题当然要答了。我要说明为什么我对未来那样乐观。就是我在过去，很早有一个分析，这个分析就说是人生有三大问题。第一个大问题就是人对大自然界的这个问题，这个是第一个问题，这个是最先的问题。人类还没有创造出来文化、文明的时候，非常地受大自然的洪水、猛兽、地震种种的压迫，所以后来有西洋文化的发达起来。西洋文化的发达，主要是两句话，就是“征服自然，利用自然”。对大自然界，它取一个征服的态度、利用的态度，并且很成功，一直到现在还是成功的时候，成功越来越高了，它可以跑到天空上去围着地球转，可以到月亮上去。它是在这个问题上，在征服自然、利用自然上取得了伟大的成功、胜利。这是西洋文化的特色。这个呢，我就说是人对物的问题。人一睁开眼睛看见的，那就是物，都是物，人伸手一摸的，都是物，脚踩的也是物，所以人对物的问题是第一个问题，头一个问题，而西洋文化就是在这个问题上的胜利。这个问题，到现在不是已经达到很高的程度了吗？

Following on this path, I think that it is quite natural that human society should advance into socialism; capitalism will evolve into socialism. The so-called capitalism is a society in which the individual is the basic unit. Capitalism can be encapsulated into eight characters: *gerenbenwei*, *ziwozhongxin* (Individual based Egocentrism, and Self Centeredness). These characterize European and American modern societies. It is obvious that these societies (all human societies) will undergo a transformation to socialism in the future. Socialism is unavoidable. Capitalism will become a relic of the past. That is to say, the means of production and the materials of production definitely will be publicly owned. At present property is nominally individually owned. In fact, the economic production of a society is the whole society's production, not just the big capitalists'. Later society will become socialistic. This is inevitable. Society based on the individual as

the unit will become based on society as the unit. When this has taken place, man comes to confront what I call the second problem, the problem of man versus man. That is, how to make it so that men can get along together, live in peace together. To do this, the relationship between man and man must be straightened out. That is, create a situation whereby I show consideration for you, and you show consideration for me. An old Chinese term describing this is "to give precedence to the other out of courtesy" (*lirang*), and "to govern a state with courtesy" (*lirangweiguo*). At that time, the problem of man versus man will become the primary one, while the problem of man versus nature will not have totally disappeared, but it will have receded to second place in importance.

...That is to say, science and industry will continue to advance, but the major problem will be the problem of man versus man. This is the way in the future. In the future, when this problem must be solved, that will be the time of Chinese culture, because Chinese culture is based on the family. The old term for this is "filial piety and fraternal duty": the father is benevolent and the child is filial. I only use four words: *xiao* (filial piety), *ti* (fraternal duty), *ci* (kindness), and *he* (peace-harmony). So, in my view, when human society reaches the stage of socialism, then probably all people will have to strive for filial piety, fraternal duty, kindness and peace-harmony, to strive for respect for age, for treating children and the young with kindness, for harmony and good relations between brothers, and so go create good relations generally throughout society. This is the problem that takes place within a socialist society. Again, I say, at this stage the problem of man versus nature still exists, but is in second place, not the most pressing problem. And so this stage I call the revival of Chinese culture.

再往前走，顺着这个路再往前走，我认为很自然地要走入社会主义，资本主义要转入社会主义。所谓资本主义就是个人本位的主义，可以说八个字："个人本位，自我中心"，我自己，以自我为中心。"个人本位，自我中心"，这八个字就是说的近代的欧美社会。可是它底下走到后来，它要转变，要转变到社会主义，社会主义不可避免，资本主义要成为过去。这个就是说生产工具或者生产资料一定要归公，现在名义上是归个人、大资本家，而事实上社会的生产已经是社会性的生产，底下它要转入社会主义，这个是不可避免的。那么，个人本位变为社会本位，以社会为本位。到了社会本位，人生问题就转入了第二问题。刚才说第一个问题是人对自然的问题、人对物的问题，第二个问题就是人对

人的问题，就是人对人怎么样子能够彼此相安、彼此处得很好。要把人与人的关系搞好，就得你照顾我、我照顾你，中国老话叫做“礼让”，“礼让为国”。总而言之吧，人跟人彼此相安相处，处得很好，在这个时候成为头一个问题；人对自然的问题，退居第二位，不是没有了，不过退居第二位。

也就是说自然科学、工业还是要进步的，不过人对物的问题不是头一个问题了，它是退居到第二个问题。第一个问题是人与人怎么样子彼此相安、共处，这个是未来的，未来的事情要这个样子，这个样子就是到了“中国文化”，这个就是中国文化。中国文化原来是起于家庭，老话嘛就是孝悌，或者说是父慈子孝，或者说四个字，四个字是什么呢？它就是“孝悌慈和”。孝、悌、慈，还有一个字叫“和”——“和”就是和平、和好、很和气。我这么看，我这么推想，到了社会主义，恐怕就要大家都来讲究孝悌慈和，推讲敬老啦、抚幼啦、兄弟和好啦，把人与人之间的关系搞好，这是未来社会主义里头的问题。自然，人对自然的问题还是有，可是退居第二位了。这个我就谓之“中国文化复兴”。

I do want to say more about this now. After the revival of Chinese culture will come the revival of Indian culture. I estimate, just off the cuff, that this revival of Chinese culture will probably last a very long time. Probably humanity will be in this kind of atmosphere and circumstances—this kind of customs, conventions, and social practices—for a long time. But society will still change; it won't be forever this way. It will change and transform, in my view, into a revival of Indian culture.

What was ancient Indian culture like? What would it look like? I just inadvertently mentioned "acting in accord with the world, its ways and customs, and with non-buddhist doctrines." That is, that particular sect affirmed human life. Its influence was quite small. Broader ancient Indian society, however, denied life, saying that human life had no value, even to the extent that life was deluding and confusing. Human life takes place in delusion and confusion. This attitude was common in ancient India, aside from the one small sect that I mentioned before. There were many religions in India aside from Buddhism, which arose later. Buddhism was not the earliest school of thought in India. Yet Buddhism pushed these attitudes of negation to their natural conclusion most completely. So, in my view, in the far distant future of mankind, this attitude and atmosphere of ancient India will arise. People will feel that their own life has no value. In Buddhist terms, the person will want to seek release or deliverance or liberation from worldly

cares (*mukti*). This is the ultimate liberation. So, the above is my own deduction, my own logic.

Alitto: Actually, this reckoning is similar to that expressed in *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies*. I myself am persuaded by your theory. According to logical inference of developments in the future, it should be like this. But I still have a theory. I think that this process of modernization, or you could say the process of rationalization, is in conflict with, in contradiction with "what makes humans human"—be it the "human" in Indian culture or in Chinese culture. Does the present Four Modernizations Movement hold any harm for Chinese culture?

那么还要再多说一点，就是中国文化复兴之后，将是印度文化的复兴。中国文化复兴，我这么遐想吧，随便说吧，会要很长，时间恐怕很长，恐怕有……人类要在这种空气中、在这种习俗中、风俗中，可能时间很长。时间很长之后，它还是会变的，不会永远是一个样子，它会变，会转变，转变出来的，依我看就是印度古文化的复兴。

那么印度古文化是什么文化？什么样子呢？刚才无意中说了一下，就是在古印度除了顺世外道它肯定人生——那一派势力很小，广大的印度古社会都是否定人生，说人生没有价值，它甚至于说人生是迷妄——“迷”就是糊涂，“妄”就是“狂妄”的“妄”，人生是在迷妄中。这些是古印度的普遍的风气，除了顺世外道之外，印度宗派很多，并且佛教还是后起，佛教在印度不是最早的，佛教否定人生算是最到家了吧。所以我的推想，人类很远的未来，古印度的这种风气就来了。人对于自己的生命、生活，感觉到没什么价值……还要按着佛家的意思解脱、解放。人嘛，就是常常地在求解放，这个就是最后的解放。这是我的这么一种推想，我的一种逻辑。

艾：其实您的这个推想，跟当年《东西文化及其哲学》那本书，所表示的差不多了。我自己还是信服您这个说法是对的，按逻辑推出将来的发展，是应该如此。不过我还有一个想法，我觉得现代化这个过程，或者说是理智化这个过程，跟“人之所以为人”，就是无论是印度文化或是中国文化的“人”，是有冲突的、有矛盾的。您觉得四个现代化这个计划对中国文化有无什么害处？

Liang: China exists in this present world, and cannot go against the current. It can only advance forward and develop material culture, which is necessary. But the important thing is that in the past, the development of Western material culture was based upon capitalism. Ever since the

overwhelming power of the West reached China, China has had no opportunity to develop capitalism. So China had to take the socialist road. It could only seek individual welfare within the context of the welfare of the whole society. It could not allow the welfare of the individual to prevail over that of society. So the appearance and success of the Communist Party in China is very reasonable, and not peculiar or strange at all.

Alitto: In the future, Western culture and Western society will evolve into [the way of] China. In the present phase of history, what should Western society learn from the East, from China?

Liang: A human being, immediately upon being born, is related to other humans. At the least, he is related to his parents, and siblings. As he grows up, he has friends, teachers and so on. These relationships are called *renlun* (human ethical relationships) in Chinese. Human beings always live in the interpersonal relationships. One cannot be detached from other people, so how to foster the relationships becomes a major question. And those relationships, as the Chinese old term goes, are called *renlun*.

The distinguishing feature of Chinese culture lies in this. Chinese culture puts importance on human relationships. It expands the familial relationships into broader society beyond the family. For example, a teacher is called "teacher-father" (*shifu*), a schoolmate is called a "school brother" (*shixiongdi*). In ways like this, a person always has the close, family-like, intimate feelings. Applying such relationships to society, it seems to bring distant people closer together, to bring outsiders inside. This is the distinguishing feature of China and Chinese culture. To put this feature into a few words, it is the opposite of the individual-centered, egocentric way. What is that, then? The essence of the matter is mutually to value and respect the other party.

梁：中国生活在现在的世界上，它不能够违反潮流，它只能往前走，把物质文明发达起来，那是需要的。不过要紧的就是，过去的西洋物质文明发达是靠资本主义发达起来的，中国是自从西洋强大的势力过来，中国已经没有走资本主义的路的余地了，不可能走资本主义，所以它不能不走社会主义的道路。只能在谋社会福利的里边，有了个人的福利，不能让个人的福利压倒社会福利，不可能。所以共产党在中国的出现并且成功，那是很合理的，不特别、不奇怪的。

艾：将来西方文化、西方的社会还是演变成中国，以现在历史阶段

来说，西方社会应该向东方、应该向中国学习一些什么？

梁：人啊，一生下来就有与他相关系的人，至少他要有父母，或者还有兄弟，长大了之后到社会上还要有朋友、有老师、有什么，这个就叫做人伦，叫做伦理。人始终要在与人相关系中生活，人不能脱离人而生活，人不能离开人而生活。所以怎么把人与人的关系搞好，是个重要的问题，这个叫做伦理、人伦，中国古话叫人伦。

中国文化的特色在这个地方，中国文化的特色就是重视人与人的关系，它把家庭关系推广用到家庭以外去，比如说它管老师叫师父，管同学叫师兄弟，如此之类。它总是把家庭那种彼此亲密的味道，应用到社会上去，好像把那个离得远的人也要拉近，把外边的人归到里头来，这个就是中国的特色，中国文化的特色。这个特色一句话说，它跟那个“个人本位，自我中心”相反。那么它是怎么样子呢？它是互以对方为重。

For example, since Confucius in *The Analects* liked to talk about filial piety and fraternal duty, we should ask what they are. They are respect for and obedience to the older generation on the part of the young. There is also the virtue of kindness, which means affection and kindness for the younger generation on the part of the older generation. So, to sum up in a word, these virtues are mutual respect. For example, a guest arrives. The host shows respect for the guest. In all things, the host thinks of and is considerate to the guest. The best seat is given to the guest. Tea is made for the guest. Now, a good guest will also turn this around, and respect his host. He will take the host into consideration in everything. And so, in Chinese society there exists the custom of *lirang*. What is this *lirang*? *Rang* is regarding the other person as important. *Li* is to respect the other. China, under Confucian influence, has always told people to respect others. Afterwards, when capitalism has passed away, and socialism has arrived, probably this *lirang* as a social convention will also arrive [on a worldwide scale]. With everyone living together, mutual respect is very important. So, that's why I say that the future of the world will be a revival of Chinese culture. I will say, in conclusion, that I have always felt that Marxism is quite good. It is superior to Utopian (Fantasy) Socialism. Owen of England, and Fourier. There were three men. Utopian Socialists. Their hearts were in the right place, but they didn't understand that the natural development of society and history would produce socialism. So Marxism is called Scientific Socialism, which means that objective development of history will be in that direction.

Development is always good.

Alitto: Can humans have a life without disputes and fighting? How do you think we can decrease disputes and fighting?

Liang: Disputes and fighting are facts of the biological world. Not only is humanity like this. In speaking of the struggle for survival, isn't there the saying that "the bigger fish eat the smaller fish"? Dog eats dog. So, this is an undeniable fact. Everyone in the biological world can be seen engaged in these kinds of mutual struggle, murder, and fights to the death. But humanity should be more elevated than animals, and in fact, it already is. This is one aspect of humanity. There is another aspect that in the situation of competition, struggle and mutual slaughter, there is already looking after one another, and helping the weak and small. The history of societal development marches forward, ever decreasing mutual estrangement and mutual discrimination [between people]; minds broaden and become generous and tolerant; people look after others. I think that this probably develops through time; it becomes more and more developed through time. The overall trajectory of this development is this way.

比如说，中国人从孔子、从古书《论语》上，它老是爱讲"孝悌"，孝悌是什么？是说儿子或者幼辈，对父母、对长辈的尊重、顺从，这就叫孝悌。不是还有个"孝悌慈"吗？什么叫"慈"呢？慈就是父母那边慈爱子女，慈爱幼辈。一句话，归总一句话，就是"互以对方为重"，我以你为重，你以我为重。比如说客人来了，在主人这一面就以客人为重，什么事情都替客人设想，给客人好的位置坐，给客人倒茶喝；一个好的客人又转过来了，又是尊重主人，事事为主人设想。所以中国社会礼俗，刚才提到礼让，什么叫礼让呢？"让"就是看重别人，"礼"就是尊重旁人。中国在儒家一直就是叫人礼让，这个礼让也就是刚才我说的，到了未来，资本主义过去了，社会主义来了，恐怕这个礼让的风气会要来了。大家在一块生活，互相尊重是很必要的，所以我就说，世界的未来是中国文化的复兴。我再说一句话、结束的话，我是乐观的，我觉得那个马克思主义很好，它比那个空想的社会主义高明。欧文啊，英国的欧文、傅立叶，他们有三个人。空想的社会主义，他们的心是很好，不过他们没有想到，没有清楚社会的发展、历史的发展，自然会到那一步，自然会要到社会主义。马克思主义所以叫科学的社会主义，它是认为客观的发展就要走到那里。

发展总是好的

艾：人类是不是可以过没有争执、斗争的生活？您认为怎样才能减少争执、斗争？

梁：争执、斗争是事实，是生物界有的，不单是人类如此。生存竞争，不是有“大鱼吃小鱼”这话吗？弱肉强食，所以这个是一个不可否认的事实，生物界处处可以看出来这种彼此之间的斗争啊、残杀啊、你死我活。不过人类应当高于动物，事实上人类也已经高于这个东西，这是一面。还有一面，就是还是在这个里头，还是在竞争啊、斗争啊、彼此残杀里头，已经能够彼此照顾、帮助弱小，这一面也有，已经有。社会发展史越往前去，这种要减少——彼此的隔阂、歧视要减少，心胸要开阔，照顾旁人。这方面恐怕是要发展，应当是越来越发展，它的趋势是如此。

When humanity had no culture at all, it led a collective life, but the collectives were not large. Gradually the collective bodies increased in size. At first there were struggles between small collective bodies causing great estrangement and misunderstanding. The more things progressed, the more they evolved, the more they became civilized, the easier it became for people to have emotional communication with one another, and the easier it was for mutual understanding to be enhanced. In the future, in socialism after capitalism, it will probably be even more this way. So in looking at mankind's future, we should be optimistic. What question were we discussing just now?

Alitto: I just asked you if there was any [possibility] of a conflict-free, struggle-free life, and what had to happen before it was possible to decrease disputes and struggles.

Liang: I think that this matter is one of natural development. People's demands are like this; the natural course of development is in this direction. The natural future [course] is in this direction. In the immediate present, wars still can't be avoided, but this is only the present. In the distant future, capitalist society will certainly become a thing of the past. After capitalism comes socialism; it should be socialism. The sight of capitalist society is fixed on production and pursuit of production, but after the transformation into socialist society, production will be always advancing, so people's sight will be fixed on life; it will be fixed on how to live life and on how to have peaceful coexistence; the way to do that is through small collectives. The

situation of struggle between small collectives will change. The scope of the collective will be expanded, and simultaneously there won't be that kind of hostility and estrangement between collectives. It seems there was a saying, "one world, one man"—one world, maybe not, but everyone will be in peaceful coexistence. The future definitely will be this way. Because no one would dare use lethal weapons, everyone will coexist peacefully. Gradually, the prejudices, distinctions and hostilities between races and continents will recede. People will not dare to have destructive wars.

当人类还没有什么文化的时候，都是集体生活，可是集体不大，慢慢地集体要扩大。起初小集体与小集体彼此斗争，彼此很大的隔阂，不了解。越进步、越进化，越文明，人彼此情感上容易相通，容易增进彼此的了解。将来在资本主义之后出现了社会主义，恐怕更是这样。所以往人类的前途看，应当是乐观的。刚才是我们想谈一个什么问题来的？

艾：刚才我问的是没有争执、没有斗争的生活，您认为怎么样才能减少争执和斗争？

梁：我认为这个事情是一个自然的发展，人有这方面的要求，自然的发展也是往这个方向去，自然前途就是往这方面走。就眼前说，战争还是不可避免，然而这是眼前。远的未来，资本主义社会一定要成为过去，资本主义之后的社会呢，就是社会主义，应当是社会主义。资本主义社会人的眼光注意在生产上，追求生产，可是转为社会主义社会之后，生产还是要随时进步，可是人的注意，在怎么样生活，注意生活，注意彼此相安共处。也可以说小集团、集团与集团的斗争，那个情况要变，集团的范围也要放大，同时集团与集团之间也不是那样子仇视、隔阂，恐怕也要变了，过去了。好像有那么一句话，叫"one world,one man"，一个世界，或者没有，大家和平共处，未来一定是那样，因为杀人的武器，大家都不敢用了，大家彼此还是相安共处吧。慢慢地，地球上，不同的种族之间、不同的洲土之间，那种成见、分别、仇视，都退后了，不敢有毁灭性的战争了。

…There are many tragic things. We don't want to look at them, but they will still happen. But I myself say, I think that human history is uninterruptedly developing. It naturally will go ahead and develop, and not stop. Since it will develop naturally with nothing that can obstruct it, at the same time development is good. In development unavoidably there will be destruction; unavoidably there is some great destruction. On one hand, it's unavoidable; on the other, we seek to avoid it. We at least try hard to reduce and to narrow the unavoidable. This is still something that we should strive

for. But one need not be pessimistic toward the future. Since things are going to develop in this way anyway, what use is being pessimistic? Things will develop. Development is always good. I think that development is always good.

Alitto: Such statement as "Development is always good" really is the opposite of conservatism. Your "Development is always good" is precisely the diametrical opposite of many conservative points of view.

Liang: Isn't there a term "optimist"?

Alitto: Yes, optimist.

Liang: It seems that I am an optimist.

Crisis of modernization is not very severe.

Alitto: …Another definition is more abstract, that is the process of rationalization.[20] That is, all social organizations and processes take efficiency as their standard of value. As the process of modernization proceeds, morality is less and less capable of functioning and serving as a norm because the only norm is efficiency. [All other values are based upon it.] This is also one of the definitions of modernization. There is another definition of modernization that has to do with economic growth and the GNP. But this is more difficult to discuss, because it is in the realm of economics. As I previously discussed with you, I feel my own viewpoint and standpoint are more pessimistic than yours. I myself think that modernization is a process whereby human nature is gradually lost.

……不少的惨事，我们所不愿意看见的事情，它还是要来，还是要有。不过就我自己说，我是认为人类历史都是在不断发展，它自然地要发展，不会停步的。既然它自然会发展，停不住、拦不住，同时呢，发展就是好，在发展中不可避免地有破坏，不可避免地有些重大的破坏。不可避免是一面，我们求着避免又是一面，总还是要求着避免的，不可避免我们至少力求减少吧、缩小吧，这还是应当努力的。但是不必悲观，对前途不必悲观，既然事实发展要如此，你悲观有什么用呢？事实要发展，发展总是好的，我认为发展总是好的。

艾："发展总是好的"，这样的话，您真是跟保守主义者相反。您（说）"发展总是好的"，跟保守的很多观点正好恰恰相反。

梁：不是有个名词叫"乐天派"？

艾：是啊，乐天派。

梁：我好像是一个乐天派。

现代化的危机不会很大

艾：……另外一个定义是比较抽象的，就是理智化的程度，就是一个社会里一切的组织或各种事物、过程，都是以效率为价值判断的准绳。那么现代化的过程中，道德已经越来越不起作用，越来越不是一个准则，因为唯一的准则就是效率。那也是现代化的一种定义。还有一种，是跟经济成长有关系，就是和国民生产总和有关的，不过，这个是比较难讨论的，因为这是经济学方面的。我以前跟您讨论过的，我自己觉得，我的观点、立场比您的悲观一点，我自己认为现代化就是一个逐渐失去人性的一种过程。

Liang: What is modernization?

Alitto: It is a process that makes humanity lose its human nature.

Liang: Oh my!

Alitto: Yesterday and the day before we did speak about this. First, because morality is relativised, the morality of any society, no matter what society, is different from those of other societies; there is no absolute morality. No absolute morality is the equivalent of no morality, because morality has been relativised. During these past three hundred years in the West, moral norms have been disappearing. The only norm is efficiency. Or, as far as an individual life is concerned, the demands that emanate from corporeal needs: these are the demands that are common to all societies. The only shared universal aspects are those that emanate from their corporeal needs. On the other hand, shared moral standards are disappearing.

Of course, the historical background of Chinese society is different. Throughout history, the Chinese governmental and moral authorities have often been integrated, Buddhism included… The most recent European, American and Japanese societies can also prove this. They will continue to pay a price for modernization. This price is part of a human's nature. No advancement comes without a price. All of the conveniences of material life, the capacities for high efficiency, control, and the conquest of nature also bring with them some disadvantages. In general terms, it is moral loss. Let's take the family as an example. The concept of family in the West has become

weaker and weaker, more and more… If kin relations are one kind of moral relationship, then this kind of relationship has become weaker and weaker through time.

The only relationship left is that of the society's fundamental unit, the individual—the individual and the state, the individual and government. This kind of process is not limited to Europe and America. You can also see it in Japan. Many parts of Japan's original culture have already died out, or soon will… For example, traditional Japanese theatre is called "*Neng*" (Noh). It still exists, but it exists because the state protects it. *Neng* has become "museumified"; it is no longer alive. So, although there are many things that still seem to live, they have already been made into "museum pieces."[21] Now, the Chinese developmental path is different because of its unique position in history as a culture that has continuously existed for over four thousand years. This is something that exists only in China. My pessimistic view is that China will follow other countries. In the course of time, there will come a time when it too will pay the price for modernization. What is your reaction to what I have said?

梁：现代化是什么？

艾：现代化是一种使人类失去他们本性的过程。

梁：哎哟！

艾：我们昨天、前天谈到一些道理，第一，道德因为都是相对化的，所有无论什么社会的道德啊，都与别的社会不同，没有绝对的道德了。那没有绝对的道德嘛，那是等于没有道德了，因为是相对化了。所以这300年来在西洋啊，这个道德的准则，越来越没有的，唯一的准则、唯一的就是效率。或者以个人的生活来说呢，身体所发出来的要求，那是我们人类无论什么社会共有的要求，别的道德方面的，不是共同有的标准，那就越来越没有了。

当然中国的社会历史背景不同，中国政教常常是合一的，佛教包括……。看最近欧美、日本的社会也可以证明这个道理。他们讲现代化的目的还要继续付出代价，这个代价就是人的本性的一部分。没有一个利不带一个弊，所有现代化的物质生活的方便、高效率，控制、征服自然的能力，也带来一些弊，笼统地说是道德上的损失。具体地来说吧，拿家庭来说，西洋的家庭组织啊，好像观念越来越淡啊，越来越……，假如说亲情关系是道德关系的一种，那这种关系就越来越淡了。

而唯一的关系就是社会的基本单位是个人，个人跟国家、个人跟政

府。那这种过程呢，不限于在欧美，连在日本也看得出来。日本的固有文化的许多部分也是已经被淘汰了，甚至于快要……比如，日本传统的戏叫做“能”，有还是有，还存在，不过那是因为国家要保护它，是博物馆里面的一个东西，不是活的。所以虽然许多东西表面上还存在，不过已经是放在博物馆里面看的。那中国发展的路程好像不同，因为它历史上独特的地方，是历史这么悠久，文化一直四千多年，那是只有中国有这种情况啊。我悲观的就是，中国跟着别的国家走，久而久之，总有一个时候要付出现代化的代价。不知道您对我这些话有什么反应？

Liang: As you know, I'm comparatively optimistic. I feel that the changes will not be great. If you say there will be change, or destruction, then the change and destruction started long before. It started since the end of the Qing Dynasty, even more so in Beijing after Chairman Mao's founding of the nation. I'll give an example. Before, it was Old China. It liked and maintained the extended family. If the grandfather was still alive, the grandchildren could not start their own households. If one did, everyone would sneer at them. They would be lacking in decorum if they acted that way. But now everything is fragmented. Now it's changed into the nuclear family. There is no more extended family. Everyone sets up their own households and lives by himself or herself. Before, dividing into separate households included dividing the property. Now the importance of property in New China has reduced greatly. No one has great family property. But everyone can have a salary, especially women who previously willingly stayed at home. Now female comrades are able to participate in society and are able to come out and work, and have their own income. This is a very great change.

Alitto: If one projects this process into the future, then there may be no family, even to the extent that, as I talked about yesterday, the child will not be born of parents, but be born in a factory-like setting using technology. Of course it is not possible now to reach that point, but by logical inference, even if an individual… To put it another way, at present Europe and America —I think, I'm not too clear about the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe—are post-modern societies. The only rules that people respect are the legal ones. We are now in a society that pays attention to law and individual rights. People act solely in their individual self interest, the result of which is that the entire society is fractured. There is no ethical bond between people.

My own opinion—and the one in the book—is that the rural reconstruction plan, which was used even by Mao during the War of

Resistance in Yan'an, was aimed partly at preserving morality, and partly at modernization. The situation could be seen as "having one's cake and eating it too”—one keeps the advantages while discarding the disadvantages. Those bad parts would be avoided. The disastrous results that came about by modernization in other societies were to be avoided. The advantages, the good parts were to be retained. That is to say, I myself feel that there is a contradiction involved. One cannot have one's cake and eat it too [getting the good results while avoiding the bad results]. In my view, your plan in the old days, and Mao's own, could be said to have tried to have the cake and eat it too. It tried to avoid the disastrous results of European and American modernization while retaining its advantages. Do you feel that this is possible at present, to have one's cake and eat it too?

梁：如你所知道的，我是比较乐观。我觉得变化不会很大。如果说是变化，或者说是破坏，早已开始破坏了，早已变化了，从清朝末年已经变化了。在毛主席建国以后的北京，都更加变化。举一个例说，从前都是老中国，喜欢大家庭，保持大家庭，如果祖父在，儿孙都不能分家各自过。如果各自过，那是很遭到大家诽笑的，这样子好像很缺乏礼仪吧。可是现在统统分了，现在都变成小家庭了，没有大家庭了，都是各自过日子，都是分家。从前呢，分家包含分财产，现在新的中国财产的重要性降得很低很低了，谁也没有很大的家财，可是谁也都能够有工资。特别是妇女从前自愿在家庭里头，现在女同志也能够参加社会，能够出来做工，自己有收入，这个变化就很大。

艾：那么这个过程推论到未来，那就不会有家庭了，甚至于昨天讲的这孩子也不是父母生的，是用一种技术在工厂样子的一个地方生的。到那个地步，那当然现在还不可能了，按照逻辑来推论啊，即使个人……换一个说法，现在在欧美，我想苏联、东欧我也还不大清楚，就是现代化以后的社会，人唯一的尊敬的规则，就是法律的规则。现在是讲法律的社会，讲个人权利，那人就是专门为了个人的自私的利益而行动，讲到结果整个一个社会分裂了，没有人跟人之间的一种伦理。

我自己的看法，我这本书里也是这么写，您乡村建设的计划，连毛主席原来抗战的时候、延安的那个时代所用的计划吧，以后还有……就是说也有保存道德的那部分，也有现代化。就是说两者同时，就是“利”要，而“弊”要避免掉，坏的要避免，别的地方的现代化的恶果要避免的，利益还是好处呢，还是要。就是说，我自己觉得这个矛盾啊，不能两者兼得。您的看法，您当年的计划，毛主席自己的，也可以说是两者兼得了，要避免欧美现代化的恶果，而要欧美现代化的好处。现在

呢，您觉得还可能吧，还可以两者兼得，就是避免坏处而得到好处啊？

Liang: I think it is relatively possible. Assuming that China can be said to have national character and national spirit, the Chinese will still be the Chinese. Even though modernization has already produced great change or great destruction, China will still retain the spirit and flavor of the Chinese people.

Alitto: If we suppose that there is only one standard—efficiency, and all societies are organized for efficiency, no matter which society, e.g., American society, each society in different countries will become increasingly similar. This will happen because efficiency is an objective standard while spirit is a subjective standard. The Tokyo of one hundred years ago and the New York of one hundred years ago were very different. Today's Tokyo and today's New York are quite similar. So, your feeling that Chinese can preserve their original spirit is optimistic.

Liang: As I just said, if a great many Chinese customs and usages and etiquette have been destroyed, they were destroyed long before. Comparing the end of the Qing Dynasty with the early years of the Republic, there had already been a great change. Now there is even more change, and even more destruction. But no matter what destruction, the Chinese are still Chinese. China still has Chinese flavors, Chinese customs and Chinese habits.

Alitto: How can these customs, habits and flavors be preserved?

Liang: Let's put it this way. That they can't be preserved is because from very early on they couldn't be preserved; this is not a phenomenon of the present. But if you mention preservation, what has been preserved has been preserved straight through to the present.

Alitto: So, don't you think that modernization causes people's good nature to disappear, that is, it makes relations between people obdurate and cold? Don't you think that people's desires run wild and morality becomes bankrupt because of the processes that modernization brings with it?

梁：我想，相对地说是可能的。中国假定能够说有民族性、民族精神，中国人还是中国人，尽管说，他已经变化很大，或者是破坏很大，但是还是有他中国人的精神、中国人的气味。

艾：假如说，只有一个标准——效率，所有的社会的一切都是为效率而组织的，那么无论什么社会，美国的社会，每一个国家的社会，会

越来越一样。因为这个是客观的标准啊，精神是主观的东西，气概是主观的。100年前的东京，跟100年前的纽约很不同，现在的东京和现在的纽约很相同，那您觉得中国人还是能保存原来有的精神，那是乐观的。

梁：刚才我说过的话，如果说是有许多中国的礼俗、风俗已经破坏，那是早已经破坏了，拿民国初年跟清末比，已经都变化了，现在更变化了，更破坏了。可是尽管破坏，中国人还是中国人，他还有一种中国人的气味吧，中国人的风俗习惯。

艾：这个风俗习惯、气味啊，怎么能保存呢？

梁：这样子说，讲不能保存是早已不保存了，并不是今天。可是讲到保存的时候，一直到今天也还是在保存中。

艾：那您不认为现代化会使人的善良性逐渐地消失了，就是使人与人的关系冷酷无情起来了？也不觉得人的欲望横流，道德破产了，就是现代化也不一定会带来这一过程？

Liang: As I just said, if it brings on [such costs], it's not just today. It's been bringing these for a long time now. But no matter how much inevitable damage, there is still something not damaged. Even if these things will change in the future, these changes cannot necessarily be called destructive.

Alitto: The mechanization of human life, naturally aside from its conveniences, such as the mechanization of agriculture and technology, has caused people to become half machine, to live in an unbalanced manner. Can this be considered a crisis of modernization?

Liang: A crisis.

Alitto: Oh, you admit this?

Liang: Of course I admit this.

Alitto: So what is the best way of avoiding it? What way is there to avoid these disastrous results?

Liang: Perhaps the state will pay attention to it in education. This education does not necessarily mean formal schooling. Of course schools are included in the education I mentioned. For instance, in primary school, teaching students to be polite, how to help people, how to take care of one another…

Alitto: You feel that the power of education is great?

Liang: Of course, especially primary school education. Education is

very useful.

Alitto: Suppose there was a person who, from the time he was small, felt that his life, his everything was for his own sake, not for the group (no matter what kind of group), but for his individual benefit, how would you persuade him to [act] for the benefit of the group…

Liang: Persuasion is not the way.

Alitto: Then what method should we use?

Liang: Persuasion is no good. The way lies in inculcating [good habits and civilized behavior].

My opinion of Women's Liberation Movement

Alitto: What opinion do you have of the Women's Liberation Movement in the West?

梁：刚才我已经说过了，如果是带来，已经不是今天的事情了，带来很久了。可是尽管受到一定破坏，但是还是有没有破坏的地方。就是这些点将来有变动，也不一定就叫做破坏。

艾：那人类的生活的机械化——就是说当然方便的地方以外，农业机械化，技术机械化——我说的是人好像变成半个机械或者活得畸形的样子，这个算不算现代化的一个危险？

梁：危机。

艾：哦，您还承认？

梁：当然我承认。

艾：那么最好的避免办法是什么？避免这个恶果的办法是什么？

梁：或者是国家从教育方面来注意。而所谓教育不一定是学校教育，当然学校也包含在我说的教育里头。比如在小学校里头，对小学生，要他们怎么样子有礼貌啦，怎么样子帮助人啦，怎么样子互相爱护啦……

艾：您觉得教育的力量还是很大的？

梁：那当然。特别在小学里头，教育是很有用。

艾：那假如有一个人，从小就觉得我的生活、我的一切就是为了我自己，不是为了团体，无论什么团体，就是以我个人的利益，您怎么说

服他为了团体而……

梁：办法不在说服……

艾：那用什么办法？

梁：办法不是在说服，办法还是在养成。

对妇女解放运动的见解

艾：您对西方的妇女解放运动有没有高见啊？

Liang: I had a foreign friend. His [Chinese] name was Wei Xiqin (Wei Zhong) [Alfred Westharp]. He spoke insightfully on men and women being different. Naturally, this is to say that Heaven gave women the duty, or you could say, the mission, the important one, to bear children. In a woman's life it is the period in the middle when she can bear children. She can't [bear children] too early or too late, when old. When it is too early, a woman is not yet very womanlike. When too old, she is also not very womanlike. In any case, it is in that period in the middle of her life that she is a real woman. In this phase, Heaven has given her the responsibility, the mission, to bear children. This mission lies in the body, not in the brain. A man's mission lies in the brain. So to perform work according to nature is correct. Going against nature and forcing things is not good. So Westharp's argument was that doing scholarship, or even going so far as to be a politician or a military expert, was not suitable [for women]. But possibly being an artist was still suitable. This was his opinion. I agree with him.

It seems that there had been a famous German philosopher—his name was [in Chinese] Shubenhua [Schopenhauer]. He said: What are females? What are women? Women are big children, that is, they are children but they aren't very small children. Big Children. Women are likely to form a group. For example, at a big meeting, the women would get together to talk with one another. The men naturally also gather together into groups, but many will be by themselves. Go to a large meeting and you would see this situation. Women sit together in a group, and speak with one another very happily. In Beijing speech, unlike the men who are able to "keep cool," [women] are a bit flighty. This is all to say that male and female dispositions are different. The importance of this is as I just said, it seems that naturally Heaven gave males the mission to create—no matter academic or political creation, even

the creation of military command in combat—it's all creation. This kind of creation should fall to men. Do not look to have this kind of creation fall to women. Because a woman has her assignment; she has her Heaven-given mission. I actually agree with these remarks of Westharp's.[22]

Alitto: Have you changed your notions from what you and Westharp said on the question in the 1920s?

梁：我有一个外国朋友，他自己叫做卫中——卫西琴，他很深刻地讲男女的不同。自然，也就说是天吧，天给妇女的一个任务或者说是使命，是生孩子，主要的，在妇女的一生中，就是中间的阶段——能够生育的那个阶段，太早了不算，太晚了、老了也不算。太早的时候还不是一个很像女人的女人，太老了也不像一个很像女人的女人，正是中间那一段她是一个真正的女人，这个阶段天给她的责任、任务，是生孩子。她的任务在身体上，不是在头脑，男子的任务是在头脑，所以按照自然的也就是天然的来办、来做事情，才是对的，不按照天然的，勉强地，不大好。所以他——卫西琴，论调是说关于做学问，乃至于或者做政治家、做军事家，（女人）都不合适，不过也可能做艺术家还可以，这是他的见解。我很同意他的见解。

好像是从前有一个有名的哲学家，德国人，叫叔本华，他说过，女子是什么呢？妇女是什么呢？妇女是一个大孩子，是个小孩，可是不是年纪很小的，是个大孩子。妇女跟妇女容易到一块儿，比如一个大的会场，妇女跟妇女就凑在一堆，大家交谈，男人自然也有成堆的，可是有很多是散开的。你到一个大的会场上一看，有这种情况。妇女坐在一起成一个堆，讲话，讲得很高兴，有一个情况，按北京话吧，不像男人那样能够沉住气，有点浮动。这都是说妇女跟男人性格不一样，重要的是像刚才说的话，好像自然、天给男人的任务是创造，无论是学术上的创造或是政治上的创造，乃至军事上指挥作战的创造，都是创造，这种创造都是应当归于男人的。不要把这种创造指望于妇女，因为妇女她有她的任务，她有她的使命，天给她的使命。卫西琴这个话我倒觉得很同意、很承认。

艾：20年代，您跟卫先生讲过这个问题，到现在您的观念都没有改变吗？

Liang: As far as my views on the differentiation between men and women are concerned, they are still the same.

Alitto: I don't know, but possibly you don't know about Women's Liberation Movement, especially in the U.S. Europe has it too. The

movement demands equal rights for men and women; in the U.S., females even have special treatment. In seeking employment, females should have special treatment. Some have discussed women are already following military careers—but we are presently debating the question whether they should be in combat. Even some of the more radical women's liberationists say that females should not have dealings with males, should not marry them, should not have sexual relations with them; only women together with women are right. It sounds quite strange, especially to a Chinese. First, have you heard about the U.S. Women's Liberation Movement? Second, what is your reaction to or opinion of it?

Liang: I actually agree with the opinions of my foreign friend Westharp that I just mentioned. That friend had also said, "Foreign, especially Western, women are man-like. Chinese men are woman-like."

Alitto: Do you think that this is correct?

Liang: This is a fact. It is this way factually. Is it correct? I think that there is some truth in it. Foreign women are a bit man-like. Moreover, it seems that they are not only already man-like, but in addition, they strive to be men.

My views of U.S. and U.S.S.R.

Alitto: I have two more questions. Are the present socialist countries based on society in actuality? The violence practiced in socialist countries—Eastern Europe, Cuba, the U.S.S.R., or Cambodia. In Cambodia, for example, millions were killed. Is this an example of mutual respect?

Liang: Of course not. In Russia, it did not evolve naturally because Russia did not have that much of a capitalist stage. Under the Czars there was not that much development of capitalism. Then, suddenly, there was socialism. They did not develop as a capitalist society to the natural terminus, and then move to socialism.[23]

梁：对男女分别的看法，还是那样。

艾：我不知道，可能您不清楚美国，尤其是美国，欧洲也有，妇女解放啊，要求男女平权，甚至于现在在美国，女子无论是什么事情都有优待，找事，女子有优待。有人在讨论女子已经从军了，不过我们正在辩论的是，是不是应该做战士？……甚至于一些妇女解放运动比较激烈

的，说我们女子根本不要与男子来往，不要跟他们结婚，不要跟他们有性方面的关系，我们女子跟女子在一起才对。听起来，尤其是中国人，很奇怪啊。第一，您有没有听说美国妇女解放运动情况？第二呢您对此有什么反应、意见？

梁：我倒是同意刚才那个外国朋友卫西琴的见解。那个朋友就说过这样的话，他说：外国人特别是西洋人，外国的女人像男人，中国的男人像女人。

艾：那您以为这个有道理吗？

梁：这是说事实，事实上这样。对不对呢？我觉得说得有几分对。外国的女人呢，有点像男人，并且她好像还要不单已经像男人，而且还要争取做男人。

我对美苏的看法

艾：我还是有两个问题：现在的社会主义国家社会会不会是社会本位的？事实上是如此吗？东欧的社会主义国家、苏联、古巴、越南、柬埔寨这些社会主义的国家，尤其是柬埔寨啊，杀人如麻，那怎么能说是彼此尊敬呢？

梁：当然不是。苏联，在俄国这个地方，出现共产党，出现共产主义，不是按照社会自然发展出来的，因为苏联没有经过多少资本主义那条路，没走多少，它在沙皇底下没有多少资本主义，一下就变了。所以，它不是把资本主义走到头，然后转入社会主义，不是那样的。

Alitto: Yes, I know what you mean. Then this is true also of Eastern Europe, of Vietnam, Cuba and Cambodia?

Liang: So in Russia it went from a Czarist dictatorship to a Communist Party dictatorship. If Russia had been allowed to develop under Lenin's leadership, it would have developed later.[24] Unfortunately, Lenin died too early. So it's the old tradition still in the Czarist rule. That tradition still had great power. So after Lenin died, there was a major turning point. Now, especially with Brezhnev...the situation is abnormal. They are still traveling in the same course as the Czars, despotism. The ordinary Russian does not enjoy the freedom and democracy of the Western Europeans, and Russia does not enjoy a really advanced industry, which would have resulted in an affluent society and a high standard of living. So Russian youth look at Western Europe with envy.

So the U.S.S.R., from Khrushchev to Brezhnev, cannot be considered a socialist country.[25] The U.S.S.R. is, in my view, a kind of abnormality, an anomaly, which conforms to the history of Russia. Later on, as it develops, it will possibly, in my own view, reverse itself. That is to say, I think that the party will not be able to maintain their despotism very long. It will undergo a transformation. This kind of rule cannot last for long. When an opportunity arrives, it will change.[26] It won't be like China now. China later will not undergo great changes.

Alitto: Another question. As far as the history of advanced industrial countries by far is concerned, Marx has made misjudgement. He originally predicted that the proletariat would grow more and more numerous, and the capitalists would be fewer and fewer, with the final result that revolution would break out. But in contemporary Japan, Germany, the U.S., Canada and such places, this phenomenon has not occurred; instead there have appeared certain types of what might be called classes that previously no one had thought about. In industry, white-collar workers are more and more numerous; work in the service industry has increased. A capitalist is not as clear-cut and explicit an entity as Marx had said. So, since he was wrong, it is not certain how history in the 21st century will develop.

艾：是。我明白您的意思。东欧的国家、古巴、柬埔寨、越南这些地方也是一样？

梁：在俄国，它还是从沙皇的那种专制转成共产党的专制。共产党专制如果在列宁底下领导，大概会要很好。可是列宁死得很早，所以它那个旧的传统、旧的习惯，还是从沙皇下来的那个东西，那个东西很有力量。列宁死后的斯大林的，特别是现在的勃列日涅夫的，　这个情况不是一个正常的情况，还是顺着沙皇的那个老路下来的，顺着那个老路下来的一种专制。而一般的俄国人，他们没有像西欧的国家，享受过自由啊、民主啊，也没有享受过工业很发达，社会很富，人民很有享受。所以现在的青年人，他看到西欧人享受，他很羡慕。

现在的苏联，从赫鲁晓夫到勃列日涅夫，它算不上什么社会主义，在我看起来是一种变态，而这种变态是合于它的历史的，合于俄国的历史的。这种变态往下走，不会这样子稳，我看它是一个变态的，不是一个正常的，所以底下它可能要翻案。我认为这么看，可能要翻案。像是勃列日涅夫他们这种党的专制，恐怕底下不是可以维持很长久的，会要起变化，这种的统治，我想也许它要维持不住了，如果有机会到来的时候，它要变化，它不会很好地维持下去，没有力量维持下去，它要变

化。我这么看。不会像中国这样子，中国底下没有大变化。

艾：第二个问题，到现在为止的历史，工业先进国家的历史来说，马克思原来预测无产阶级越来越多，资本家越来越少，结果就爆发了革命。可是现在的日本、德国、美国、加拿大这些地方，也没有这种现象，来了一些以前没想到的好几种可以说是阶级，工业方面的白领工人越来越多，服务事业上的工作越来越多，资本家也没有马克思讲的那么清楚、那么干脆、那么明确。所以呀，他既然错了，21世纪历史的发展将来说不定……

Liang: He did not expect in his reckoning, his viewpoint and the present situation were not in agreement, not of the sort that he predicted. For the present situation, their interpretation is "the economic substructure, the superstructure." I think that the superstructure in the U.S. is very powerful. This is because the superstructure is not just a question of power alone. It includes culture and learning, which are all tied up with wealth and power. So, it would not be easy to overturn such a superstructure.

China's future and the future of the world

Alitto: Do you have any predictions about China's future?

Liang: That depends upon the future of the world in general. It is not just a question of China itself. For example, if there was another world war, China would be affected. And another world war is just a matter of time.[27]

Alitto: If this comes to pass, then we humans are finished. Nuclear weapons—if the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. did go to war—even the very soil of the earth would be affected. Even the survival of the next generations would become problematic. Your words are very pessimistic.

Liang: I have only a very shallow, half-formed opinion on the question, but my view is that an eventual war between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. is practically inevitable. But I have another conjecture—that a world war would not last long, but as soon as it broke out, both the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. would then have internal problems.

Alitto: If nuclear weapons are used, even social organizations will go. I understand what you mean. I'm saying that if the cities are all blasted flat, all the people killed, radiation would also affect people in the countryside. Of course, one could say that problems would arise in society, and probably at

that point, basically there would be no society, while scattered numbers of people would still survive. Probably on this point Chinese and American views differ. Chairman Mao said that the Atomic Bomb was nothing much, a paper tiger or something, but most Americans feel that once you have this kind of thing, everything is finished.

Liang: Well, my opinion is that the internal problems of both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. would explode as soon as war broke out. I could use a quote from Chairman Mao, who also had a view on the possibility of world war. He said, "Probably war would lead to revolution, or probably a revolution would avert a war." He said this. If the U.S.S.R. had an internal revolution, America too had a revolution, and then there would be no great war. Perhaps the rise of revolution can avert a war, without the two major powers fighting. Or, perhaps a war would bring about revolution. The war would not have to last long to lead to an internal revolution. He had such kind of statement and I think possibly so. Precisely at the time that the world is on the point of a great change, China quite possibly will not have to suffer from another war. When the two superpowers are having their internal revolutions, China will be able to keep stable and steady.

梁：他没有料到他的估计、他的看法跟现在不合，不像他所料想的那个样。现在的情况，他们的讲法有所谓"经济基础、上层建筑"，现在我看，像美国的上层建筑，很有力量。现在的上层建筑不单是一个掌权的问题，它也是学术文化，学术文化跟有钱、跟有权都连起来了，好像是不容易推翻的。

中国的前途、世界的前途

艾：根据中国未来前途的展望，您有何见解？

梁：这是关系到整个世界，它不是中国本身的问题了，中国的前途是看整个世界，譬如说，要有世界大战起来，那么中国是一个情况。世界大战，恐怕迟早要……

艾：假如真的是这样，那么我们人类就完蛋了。原子弹啊，如果真是苏联、美国打起来了，连土壤也会受影响，将来好几代都还有生存的问题，您说这个话很悲观的。

梁：我说我粗浅的见解吧。我是这样看，恐怕美苏之间的战争啊、世界性的大战啊很难免。可是我另外一个猜测，这个世界大战不会出

场，我想一爆发战争，苏联那边，美国一边，都会内部爆发问题。

艾：假如是用核子武器，那人类的社会组织也没有了。我了解您的意思，我的意思是说假如城市都已经炸平了，炸得没有人了，乡下的人也受到辐射性污染了，当然也可以说是社会发生问题了，恐怕那个时候根本没有社会了，零散的一些人还是存在的。恐怕这一点我们美国人看法与中国人看法不同，毛主席说过这个原子弹也不怎么样，纸老虎啊什么的，但一般美国人觉得，一有这种东西，什么都完了。

梁：是那样的。我的意思是这么样，如果一爆发战争，还没有等到多久，各自，就是苏联一边，美国一边，各自内部问题就爆发出来。我可以引用毛泽东的话，他对这个问题他也有一个看法，他曾经说过的话，他是这样说的，他说"也许是战争引起来革命，也许革命避免战争"，他说过这个话。如果俄国内部起了革命，美国也起了革命，反而没有大的战争了，他的话是这样说的——或者是革命起来避免了战争，没有两个大强国打了；也许是战争引发革命，一打，还没有打多久，刚一打内部就出问题了——他有这个话，我觉得好像也就是这样，可能是这样。中国刚好在这个世界起变化的时候，中国可能没有吃什么战争的大亏，倒是在世界上两个大强国都出问题之后，中国还能够稳定。

My expectations for the youth: do what each one can do in this time of hope

Alitto: Can you give the next generation of Chinese youth some inspiration on how to have a more hopeful future, or…

Liang: Toward the youth of China, it is not the same as speaking about outside—I do know about the situation in China. I want to say probably two things. One is directed toward the Chinese domestic situation, including the political situation. Right now is a time of stability and progress, an era of many possibilities, opportunities to make progress, more so than in previous times. It's now been thirty, thirty-one years [since the founding of the nation]. The situation is better than before. Some people envy the U.S. or envy Europe, and they appear to be dissatisfied with the situation within China. I feel that this is a bit blind; it is blind envy of the foreign. This is not right and not good. Of course, to go abroad to take a look, or to study, is good, but this must be done with a well worked out plan in mind that China under the leadership of the Communist Party must proceed toward socialism. This direction is correct. The term now—"the Four Modernizations"—is still for

the purpose of having China walk this path and achieve modernization in these four areas, but it cannot ever leave the socialist path of modernization. It is especially important to know that this is a time of better opportunities than before. The political situation is now stable. Hua Guofeng—Chairman Hua is very stable, and Deng Xiaoping is very open-minded—I heard there may be government reorganization this

对青年的希望：在这个有希望的时候要各尽所能

艾：您能不能给下一代中国青年一些启示，启示他们如何才能获得一个更有希望的将来或是……

梁：我对国内的青年，我虽然不像对外边一样，我可以知道一些情况，我可以说我想说的话。大概是两样的话：一样的话是就国内大局情况说，包含了政治上的情况，现在正是在一个很平稳而求进步的时候，很有可能、很有机会求进步的时候，比往常都好。现在算是30年、31年了，比过去都比较好。所以有些人都是羡慕美国，或者是羡慕欧洲，好像是不满足中国国内的情况，这个我觉得是有点盲目性，盲目地羡慕外边、盲目地想学外边。这不对、不好。当然出国去看一看，去学习也好，不过要胸中有主，要知道中国在共产党领导下，要往社会主义里头去，这个大方向是对的。现在的名词，叫“四个现代化”，还是为了中国走社会主义这个大道路而要四个现代化，不能离开走社会主义道路的现代化。特别是要知道，现在是一个比过去更好机会的时候。现在政局稳定，华国锋、华主席他人很平稳，很稳定。一方面呢，像邓小平他又很开明，不久的这个8月份听说要宣布政府

August. So right now is a time of hope. So, in this time of hope, marching down this correct path, working with what each person can do, what is convenient for them to do, by the sweat of their brow—this should be the path of modern Chinese youth.

A piece of advice to scholars

Alitto: This question is similar to the one I just asked. Would you give any advice to those scholars in the Chinese cultural domain?

Liang: As far as the present world of thought, the present academic world goes—I do not refer to the various specialized sciences. I know very little about the various specialized sciences; none are my own field. I don't

have a specialty. But I do have an opinion, that in China at present, the more famous, the more prominent [scholars] are all mathematicians. Several mathematicians have been invited to go abroad. Mathematics is different from the empirical sciences. Empirical science requires experiments, laboratories, observation and empirical practice. Mathematics can be done behind closed doors. Currently there is a kind of fad, that prominent [scholars] are all mathematicians. If they [academics] move too far in this direction, and not in the other direction, it won't be good. This is a shortcoming. How can we have the general atmosphere not tend in this direction, toward this kind of abstract science? This kind of science, I think, is called "abstract." There's another kind of science called "concrete." It seems that attention should be paid to concrete science. (Alitto: That is, utilitarian science.) Applied science. It [academic work] should not be overly devoted to the abstract. Attention should be placed on reality. But I also feel that there has always been a certain inclination in China, i.e., that of talking about the practical often with insufficient attention paid to impractical, basic scholarship. I think that the point of emphasis should be moved from the practical to the basic. What I can say is this.

改组，听说是这样。所以现在正好是一个有希望的时候，那么，在这个有希望的时候，在这个走一个正确的道路上，来各自就自己所能的、所方便的，来尽一份力量，应当是现代的中国青年的道路。

对思想界的劝告

艾：这个问题跟我刚问的有点类似，您愿不愿意给现在中国文化领域中的一些学者一些什么劝告？

梁：现在就思想界来说、就学术界来说，我的意思就是说，不是各自的专门的科学——各自专门的科学我是知道得很少，没有哪一个是我的专门，我没有一种专长。不过我有一点意见，就是中国现在好像比较出名的，很露头角的都是几个数学家，几个数学家都被请到外国去讲学。数学这个东西是一个跟其他的实验的科学不同，实验的科学是一定要实验，一定要实验室，一定要出来考察，要做许多的实践，数学是关起门来也能做。现在有一种风气，就是出头露角的都是数学家，如果太偏于这面了，而那一方面不够，好像是不好、缺欠。怎么样风气不要偏到这面来，不要偏到讲抽象的这种科学，这种科学好像是叫抽象的，abstract，还有一种科学好像叫concrete，好像是应当注意那边，（艾：

就是运用科学。）应用的，应用科学。应当是不要太讲抽象的，应该是注意实际的。可是我又觉得中国从来有一个偏处，偏处就是爱讲实用，对不实用的、根本的学问常常是不够注意，应当是……还是重点要从应用转回到根本上。我可以说的话就是这样。

What kind of person I am

My hobbies

Alitto: Mr. Liang, do you have any hobbies? Your students all said that you had no hobbies, that you did scholarship or other work from morning to night. I don't know if this was true, or whether…

Liang: I'll tell a little story. I have a friend who had studied in the U.S., specializing in mass education, also called adult education. This person's name was Yu Qingtang,[28] a lady. She was together with friends chatting, and she asked me jokingly what my hobby was. I answered, "I don't know what hobby I have. Eating? I am not that fond of eating. Having fun? I'm not too fond of having fun. Opera? I can take it or leave it. If you ask what in the end I am most fond of, naturally I am fond of using my brain, fond of thinking." "Gosh," Madame Yu said, "that is really frightening."

Alitto: You just mentioned opera, referring to Beijing Opera?

Liang: Beijing Opera.

Alitto: Because you grew up in Beijing, you can appreciate Beijing Opera. But these past thirty years, after Liberation, did you go listen to opera?

Liang: Before, when I was small, I had a certain proclivity, one not too good. One could say that it was a mistake, a fault—that is, I labored at being unconventional and novel. As for the opera, my father, mother, and elder brother—I was second in birth order, I had an elder brother—they were all fond of opera. After finishing dinner in the summertime, they would go outside taking the cool breezes, and they would talk about opera—which opera was best, who sang best, just chatting like that. Just because they were quite fond of this thing, I wanted to be the maverick. I did not talk [opera] names. So if, say, an opera was quite good—if they went, I would not go. I was always fond of deviating from the general rule.

Now that I think of it, when I was in middle school, everyone would have to draw a topic for his or her essay composition; the teacher could

[evaluate] your writing style [from it]. Ordinary people, when drawing a paper theme, would develop that theme a bit, and so write a paper on it. I, however, was straining to be original and unconventional. In mentioning some ancient historical figure or some event, most would praise the figure. I intentionally would express my dissatisfaction with him, that is, to be a maverick. One of our teachers, a very old man, saw my essay and called it an essay "reversing a previous judgment." People all said this way, but I insisted that way. He was most unhappy. His comments were extremely critical, saying that "As you are always in opposition to common tastes, you are doomed to fail." Another Chinese language teacher was different. His comment used lines from a poem of Du Fu's, "Fight to the death to find words that startle."[29] This is a line from a poem of Du Fu's, which explains how I was in my youth, consciously trying to be different. I had this fault.[30]

叁 我是一个怎样的人

我的嗜好

艾：梁先生您有没有嗜好啊？您的学生都说：啊，梁先生什么嗜好都没有啊，一天到晚不是搞学问就是搞别的工作。我也不知道是真的吗，还是……

梁：我可以说一个，算是一个小故事吧。有一位朋友，是一个在美国留学的，专学民众教育，也叫成人教育，这位是叫俞庆棠先生，是一位妇女。她是在一些朋友的聚会上提出来，随便谈话、说笑话，问我什么是我的嗜好。我说我不知道我有什么嗜好。我说：爱吃嘛，也没什么爱吃；爱玩嘛，也没有怎么样爱玩；爱看戏嘛，我也可以看也可以……。如果说问我到底爱什么？我说我当然是爱用头脑、爱思想。哎呀，俞先生说这个太可怕了。

艾：您刚才提到戏，说的是京戏？

梁：京戏。

艾：您因为在北京长大的，您还能欣赏京戏。但这30年来，解放以来，也去听戏吗？

梁：我从前小的时候，我有一个偏处，有一个不大好，可以说是一个错误、一个毛病吧，标新立异。就是说听戏啊，我的父亲、母亲、哥哥——我是行二，我有个大哥——他们都爱听京戏，夏天吃完晚饭，在外边乘凉、谈话，都是谈哪个戏唱得好，谁唱得好，随便谈。他们因为都爱好这个东西，我就标新立异，名号我不谈。所以本来京戏也很好的，可是他们去，我不去。总是喜欢偏。

我想起来了，我在中学读书，大家要经常抽题目，让你作文章，看看你文笔好不好。普通人都是抽一个题目，在这个题目上发挥一点，写吧，作一个论文吧。我就喜欢标新立异，提到一个古代的什么人物，或者某一件事情，一般都是称赞这个人，我故意表示我不满意他，就是标新立异。我们的教员老师，有个老的先生，看见我这个文章，叫做“翻案文章”。人家这样说，你偏那样，很不高兴，批语就批得很坏，说你“好恶拂人之性，灾必及于自身”——你将会有灾祸，一位老先生这样批。可另外一位国文教员又不同了，他批语批的说“语不惊人死不

休”，“语不惊人死不休”是杜甫的诗——都说明我年纪轻的时候，故意跟人家不一样，有这个毛病。

I like that kind of opera that they say is "a martial opera sung literarily." It's a martial opera, but the plot and action is still singing, so there is not much fighting. So, a martial opera, but one whose emphasis is on literary singing. I like this kind of opera.

Alitto: Is there any opera that you particularly like?

Liang: Yes. There is an opera with painted-face characters. The major painted-face characters perform warrior roles. One of these characters is called Huang Tianba. I especially like that opera.

Alitto: Before I didn't know that you especially liked the Huang Tianba opera. Aside from opera, of which all Beijing people are fond, are there any other pastimes?

Liang: Of course, there are some novels that I like to read, such as *Dream of Red Chambers*. There's also one called *The Travels of Lao Can*.

Alitto: Do you have a favorite author?

Liang: That should be… There is one novel that is interesting no matter how many times one reads it—*Dream of Red Chambers*, which is profound. You always feel it is of interest. Other novels, well, you read them once, and that's it. So, it's *Dream of Red Chambers*…[31]

Alitto: So, [these are books] "that one never tires of reading." What books have you read after Liberation? I know what you had read before Liberation, but do not know what you have read after it.

Liang: After Liberation, I have read no books especially worth mentioning. Other people ask me that, and I blurt out no answer. After you asked me, I have to slowly think about it. I remember one book I have read that I liked very much. There is a Japanese, whom I very much admire [Heshang Zhao, Kawakami Hajime]. Later he was a Marxist, and wanted to put it [Marxism] into practice. He was a Communist Party member. But doesn't Marxism say "Religion is opium"? He agreed with Marxism but he didn't agree with this. He said, "Science has scientific truth, religion has religious truth." Moreover, he said that he himself had religious experience.

我喜欢的那种戏，就是他们说的“武戏文唱”，是武戏，可是情节、活动乃是唱出来，并不是打的多，是武戏，可是武戏而着重文唱的，我

喜欢这种戏。

艾：那您有没有什么特别心爱的戏啊？

梁：有。有个戏，就是演北京叫花面的，大花脸，演武生，武生就是黄天霸，我喜欢看那个戏。

艾：以前我并不知道您特别喜欢黄天霸的戏。除了听戏以外——北京人都喜欢听戏，小说啊这类的消遣您有没有啊？

梁：当然有，有些个小说书看过，比如像《红楼梦》啊，看过。还有一部叫《老残游记》。

艾：您最喜爱的作家是谁？

梁：那应当是……这一部书意味很深长，什么时候都感觉有意味，那还是《红楼梦》。旁的小说看一遍，知道了就行了。《红楼梦》就是……

艾：百读不厌。解放以来您看过的是什么样的书啊？解放以前您著作里提到的书这些我知道了，解放以后的我还不清楚您读的。

梁：解放以后的书，没有什么特别值得提的书。别人一问，我能够马上就脱口而出的没有，你问了之后我还要慢慢想，想不出来。噢，我记得有一本书我很喜欢。一个日本人（河上肇），这个人我是很佩服他，这个人是个马克思主义者，后来他是马克思主义者，并且他要实践，他共产党。可是马克思主义不是说“宗教是鸦片烟”？对马克思这个话他也点头，但是他又不同意。他是说，科学有科学的真理，宗教有宗教的真理，并且他自己说，他自己有宗教的经验。

People probably say that my type of experience was Chan Buddhist; I don't know if it was Chan or not. He wrote a book *Autobiography of Kawakami Hajime*.[32] In Chinese it made two thick volumes. I very much liked it. Moreover, I copied down his experience—his words—in my notebook. He was special. The religious experience he spoke of was not casual, empty talk. He spoke of a true transformation of his own life. When he spoke about this, there was a sentence of this sort: "When I had this experience, it seemed that I had been cast out, to take a look, and I myself took a look. When I had this experience, my body underwent a transformation; I pinched my own flesh with my hand, and it didn't hurt. Moreover, it was like a layer of my skin peeled off." So, this was not only a conscious transformation, a transformation in thought, but it was also a transformation that happened in the concrete. He himself said, "Science has

scientific truth; religion has religious truth." So, on the one hand I agree with Marx's statement that religion is people's opium, but on the other, I feel that Marx never had a genuine religious experience.

How I keep in good health

Liang: Well, my health and age could have something to do with my vegetarian diet; I eat no flesh or animals.

Alitto: And you don't drink or smoke?

Liang: Right. I can drink a little grape wine, but that hardly counts; it's very mild with low alcoholic content.[33] I've been a vegetarian for 69 years. I also eat small quantities. I also have some exercise [regimens] which I learned from others. I'm talking about myself now, not those methods of others. In days of this weather, I wake up at five a.m., and get up. While still in bed I exercise.

人家也许说我这种经验是禅宗，我不知道是不是禅宗。他有《河上肇自传》，自传中文有两厚本，我很喜欢看，我并且把他的有些经验、他的话，抄下来，抄在我的本子上。他很特别，他说的宗教经验，不是一句随便的空话，他是说自己的生命起一个真的变化。他说到这个地方的时候，有这样的一句话，他说有这个经验的时候，好像我抛出去，看了一下，自己看了一下，有过这个经验。在有这个经验的时候，我的身体起了变化，自己的肉啊，用手掐它，不疼，并且好像肉体上的皮肤，有了这个经验之后脱了一层皮。所以这不单是一种意识上、思想上的变化，而是很实际的起的变化。他自己说，科学有科学的真理，宗教有宗教的真理，所以马克思说宗教是人的鸦片烟，这个话我一方面同意，一方面我觉得马克思缺乏真正的宗教经验。

我如何养生

梁：这个可能跟素食有关系，不吃肉类，什么肉类都不吃，动物都不吃。

艾：也不喝酒，也不抽烟？

梁：对，能喝一点葡萄酒，不算什么酒，酒性很淡薄。素食已经69年了，这是一点。再一点就是食量少。再一点就是有一些锻炼身体的（方法），就我自己说——我也是跟别人学的，我现在不说人家的，说

自己。我每天早晨起床，比如说现在的这种天气，早晨5点钟就醒了，起来了，在床上起来做功夫。

Alitto: What are they like?

Liang: There are many that I do. The most important are like this: the most important is a rubbing of the kidneys with the hands, and then rub the eyes, rub them again, and massage the eyes again. Three times like that, not too much. This kind of exercise is passed on. There are a great variety of exercises. What I just mentioned is just some of many. Rubbing the kidneys is one kind of exercise. Then another important one is rubbing the arch of the foot.

I should explain that there are two major, famous traditions in Chinese learning, two traditions that have been passed down from ancient times. One is the Daoist, the school of Zhuangzi and Laozi. One is the Confucian, the school of Confucius. These two traditions are dissimilar, and are both passed down from antiquity. The Chinese medical tradition is derived from Daoism. It is different from the Western, not only in the medicines it uses. The essential difference is theoretical principle, because the Chinese tradition never developed skills in dissection and anatomy. Well, in far antiquity it did. The *Shiji* talks about Bian Que and Cang Gong. Bian Que sometimes opened up the abdomen, took out the intestines to wash them, and later sewed it up. The ancient books have accounts of this thing. Later, the Chinese didn't dare cut open the body. They relied only on you taking some medicine.

The classical Chinese medical books include *Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine* and the *Difficult Classic*. The author of the latter—whoever it was—likes to discuss the Energy Channels of the body.[34] That is, the blood circulation through the veins and arteries. But this discussion is not like that in dissection and anatomical study of the West. It is from the Daoist tradition. Daoism wants the cerebrum to rest. The function of the cerebrum is primarily to cope with the external, the environment. It wants the cerebrum to rest. When the cerebrum is at rest, humans also have an autonomic nervous system. This system is also under the cerebrum, but when the cerebrum rests, it can operate, and function even better. This is because when the cerebrum rests, it can avoid the interference of the cerebrum.

For example, our digestive systems and circulatory systems all belong to the autonomic nervous system. If, when we eat, we are worried about

something, or anxious, that eating will not be good; it will influence the digestive process. If you force yourself to eat when worried or nervous, it will influence the digestive process. If you force yourself to eat when angry, you get into trouble. If there is no such external stimuli, if you let nature take its course, and the autonomous nervous system very naturally carries out its activities, then digestion is good.

艾：什么样的？

梁：功夫要做很多，有这几样主要的吧：主要的一样就是搓腰肾，搓一搓，揉眼睛；然后再搓一搓，再揉眼睛；再搓一搓，再揉眼睛，这么三次，还不太多。传授这种锻炼身体的，有好多不同的。这不过是好多样中的一样。搓腰肾是一样事情，再一样事情比较重要的是搓脚心、脚掌，要搓一下。

我说一下，中国重要的、著名的学问是两大派，两大派都是从很古的时候传下来的，一个就是道家——老子、庄子这一派，一派是儒家——孔子这派。这两派不大相同，都是传自远古，很古。中国的中医就是从道家来的。中医不单是用药跟西医不同，主要是它的学理就不同，因为它没有多做解剖身体的功夫。在远古的有，在《史记》里讲扁鹊、仓公，他（应指扁鹊）有时侯要开肚子，把肠子拿出来洗，然后缝上，这个事情在古书里头有，后来中医就没有这个了，不敢给开肚子了，就是给你吃点中药。

可是中医的书就是这个《黄帝内经》，还有一种叫《难经》，《内经》之外还有一种《难经》，这种经书内容最喜欢讲人身上的经络，就是讲血脉的流通的。可是它这一方面讲经络、血脉流通，它不是像西方说解剖那样，它是道家，道家要让大脑休息下来——人的大脑主要是应付外面的、应付环境的，它让大脑休息下来。大脑休息下来，人有一种植物性神经系统，这种植物性的神经系统，它也隶属于大脑，可是大脑休息的时候，它就更好活动，因为大脑休息的时候，它就可以避免大脑的干扰。

比如我们吃饭这种消化系统、血液循环系统，都是属于植物性神经系统，如果我们吃饭的时候，心里头还在那儿发愁、忧虑，那个饭吃不好，影响消化，或者你正在发怒，勉强吃饭，都不好。就是没有这种外来的刺激，顺其自然地让植物性神经系统很自然地进行它的活动，那就是好。

In my view, usually "*qigong*" (the technique of using one's inner strength, such as control of muscle and breathing) requires that the cerebrum

rest to allow the autonomic nervous system to function freely, and to utilize the body's own inherent function. Utilizing this inherent function can repair any breakdowns or illness that the body might have. So, in my view, *qigong* operates like this. But I, too, have studied *qigong*. Because I like to think, to ponder, I often have insomnia. Insomnia causes great suffering. So, over twenty years ago, it's now 1980, so it was about 1956, there was a place on the seashore called Beidaihe. It was an excellent spot for relaxation and excursions. Now a *qigong* sanatorium had been established there. I had insomnia, and so went to that *qigong* sanatorium, and stayed there for some time in summer.

There were three kinds of skills used at this sanitarium, each different from the others. Naturally, as soon as you entered you began with meditation. The environment they provided for this was quite good. Each person had a small room. The room was not so big, and was provided for you to rest in and sleep in. The room was designed so as to never have any strong light rays enter. But you were completely free to go out for a walk whenever you felt like it, and to return whenever you wanted. From when you started, for all 24 hours of the day, you were not permitted to see anyone else, to have any contact with others, or to read books or newspapers. You may sit any time you wanted, but only in the prescribed correct posture. You could also lie down—either on your right or left side; that was up to you. The important thing was to allow your cerebrum to rest, to settle down. As soon as you settled down, acting according to instructions, it naturally took effect, and you naturally proceeded down the *qigong* path.

Didn't I just mention that there were three kinds of skills at this sanitarium? For many people who went there, recuperating was quite effective. It was most efficacious and successful for stomach ailments. For example, for ulcers or for gastroptosis. If you practiced *qigong* under their guidance, stomach ulcers would be cured. X-rays showed the ulcer scarred over. Gastroptosis would also be healed. So, this was making use of the vigor of the body itself. No medicines were taken. So those many sick people who went there to recuperate were healed.

通常啊，由我的看法，这个气功，在我看都是要大脑休息，给人的身体的植物性的神经，让它活动，利用人身体本有的一种机能，利用这种本有的机能可以把人身上有些毛病，可以把它修理好。依我看呢，气功就是这样。不过我呢，我也曾经去学过气功。我是因为喜欢用思想，

所以我就有失眠的病，失眠很痛苦。所以离现在有二十多年了，现在是1980年，大概在1956年，有一个地方地名叫北戴河，海边上，是一个很好的休息游览的地方，那个地方曾经成立了一个“气功疗养院”。我有失眠的病，我就到那个气功疗养院，住在那个地方疗养，在夏天的时候。

疗养院好像有三种功夫，三种功夫有点分别，不大一样，当然入手就是要静坐。他们布置的环境也很好，每一个人过去都有一间小屋，这个屋子不是太大，给你在里边休息吧，睡啊。这个屋子避免强的光线，不过你喜欢出来散步，完全可以随你意思出去散步，你想回来就回来。一居（音同），包含一昼夜24小时，不要见人，不要跟旁人接触，也不要看书、看报。你坐着也可以，不过坐着也有正确的姿势，你愿意躺下来也可以，偏着左侧躺也可以，偏着右侧躺也可以，完全随你。要紧的呢，就是让大脑休息，要静下来。你一静下来，按照他的指点，你就会自然起作用，自然就走上气功的道路了。

刚才我不是说了一下，它好像有三种功夫，很多人到那里去疗养都很有效。最有成效的、有成功的是胃病，比如说有一种胃下垂，还有一种叫做胃溃疡，按照它的指导做气功，胃溃疡就好了。可以透视，溃疡结疤了，胃下垂也好了。它就是借助人身体本有的生命的力量，不要吃药，所以有些个病人到那儿去疗养就都好了。

Now, I went because of my insomnia, and for this, it was also effective. This cure of course was also based upon resting the cerebrum, not using the brain. But I didn't get the way as instructed by the *qigong* sanitarium. It seemed that [my] way was not like that; possibly [my way] was Buddhist. Incidentally, I want to say…I am not sure…I suppose that these *qigong* practices came from a school of ancient Daoism, and although I did practice according to their conditions—having the cerebrum rest, settling down, being tranquil, but the state I achieved was the state without thought, that is, the zone in which there was no conscious thought. I think the phenomenon and practice are like the Buddhist meditation skill that I spoke of before. Isn't it what we used to call "an old monk enters a trance" (very calm and without worldly passions)? One can be completely without any ratiocination. It's very good. When one has had this experience, it feels so great, so [when] going to do it again, one has expectations, waiting for it to come, hoping for it. Then it won't work. If you expect and hope for it to come, it won't come. You have to let go. You mustn't think "that was so wonderful yesterday; I still want it to happen again today"; it won't work. You have to set it aside, set it aside, set it aside. Only if you don't look forward to it will it happen. If you want it to

come, it won't. I achieved this, I think it's very good; it seems it's a trance, it's Buddhist, different from their *qigong*. Later I returned to Beijing, and went to live in a temple in the Western Hills for two months.

…I didn't continue the exercise. This is one aspect. Another aspect is that my life has always been quite flat, mild flavored, with no excitement, which seems to have benefited my life. It's as though I don't have any great demands on life. I don't have any great joys or pleasures derived from the satisfaction of some desire. At the same time, I have no unhappiness, no anger or frustration from unsatisfied desires or demands. I simply don't really have any great desire.

Why I have an interest in Traditional Chinese Medicine

Alitto: As for medicine, you mentioned in *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies*, upon an analysis of Chinese and Western medicines, that these two entities symbolize a difference between Eastern and Western cultures. Later you continued to study medicine? Even at present do you still…

Liang: One could say that I am mindful of it, mindful of medicine.

Alitto: Yes, this is because you are really interested in it. Why do you have this interest? I know that long ago you had this interest. Why did you, after all?

可我去呢，我是睡眠的问题，也很见好。这个见好呢，当然也还是靠大脑静下来了，不用大脑了。可是我没有像气功疗养院所指点给我的，好像路子不是那样，可能像是佛家的。我附带说一句话，我不敢……我猜想吧，我的看法，他们这个气功是中国古时道家那一派的，而我呢，虽然按照它的条件去做功夫，要大脑休息下来，要清净，可是我就达到了一种境地，这种境地呢，就是一念不起，一个念头也不起，好像是佛家的定功。这个是不是一种从前说的“老僧入定”，可以一念不起，很好……有过这个经验之后，觉得很好啊，所以再去做的时候，就有点期待心，等着它来，盼着它来，不行了。你期待它、盼着它，它不来了。就是，你还是要放下，你不要说是“昨天的那个过得很美，我今天还愿意再来一回”，不行，你还是得放下，放下，放下，不要有一个期待心，那么才会出现。我所得的这个，我认为很好的这个，好像是“入定”吧，是佛家的，跟他们的气功不很一样。我后来回到北京，到西山上庙里头去住过两个月。

……我没有继续深入、继续去做这个功夫，这是一方面。再一方面，好像在自己生活上有好处的，就是无论什么事情，我总是很平淡。我很平淡呢，就是好像没有多大要求，也不用满足要求而高兴啊、喜欢啊，因为不满足而生气、不高兴啊，两面都没有，两面都是放得很平，平平淡淡，平平淡淡。

我为什么对中医感兴趣

艾：就是医学，您在《东西文化及其哲学》也是提到了，中医、西医啊做了一个分析，可以说是象征着东方文化和西方文化的一个分别了，那您以后也是继续研究医学吗？就是到现在还是在……

梁：可以说是很留心，很留心对医学。

艾：是，那是因为您对这个很感兴趣。为什么感兴趣呢？我知道很早以前，您感兴趣，就是到底为什么？

Liang: Because life is the object of this study. This is especially true of Chinese medicine. Transmitted down from ancient times, the most important method of treatment is not herbal medicine, but acupuncture and moxibustion. Even earlier back, the latter was termed "stone probe" (*zhenbian*). This character *bian* has a stone radical. The ancients used very acuate rock for the purpose of treating sickness. At that time there were no metal needles, so very hard stones were used on your body, somewhere you didn't know…

This represents Chinese culture, Chinese learning, and Daoist thought. The Chinese medical tradition derives from the Daoist tradition. What was the Daoist tradition like? I often say that Westerners are outward looking, looking at the externals, while the Chinese focus on life itself, and turn their vision inward to the life experience itself. Turning inward onto their own bodies, the Chinese knew about energy channels. Chinese doctors call blood vessels energy channels. These are channels for vital forces and blood. In traditional Chinese parlance, these were called the vital forces and blood circulation. They are circulated along the energy channels.

How were the Daoists able to determine the circulatory system? The reason is Daoist thought. I'll explain. This is because the Daoists focus their discipline precisely upon this circulatory system. In a man's life, the blood/vital force is in the midst of circulation, an unceasing continuous

circulation, but we don't know how it circulates and flows. We are not conscious of it. We use our brains and thoughts to deal with the external, to look after the external. Daoism does the opposite; it turns the direction of observation from outward to inward, and makes one a bit self-conscious of the unconscious. There was an element of autonomy in the Daoist effort. They not only wanted to understand the unconscious, but also to influence it, to alter it.

The Daoists wanted to change the circulation of the vital force and blood from something unconscious to something conscious, to change it from something out of one's control to something within one's control. Once one was able to control and influence the unconscious, one could become an immortal. An immortal was different from an ordinary human being like us. He can do things that we cannot do. When the temperature is hot, an ordinary person perspires. When the temperature is too cold, an ordinary person becomes numb. But an immortal would not. In ancient times, very early, this kind of skill or discipline existed. In *The Zhuangzi*, it was already there. He was able to achieve longevity. He had a very powerful control of the life force, of life.

梁：它是以生命为研究对象，特别是中国的医学，从很古的时候传下来的，主要不是用药，是用针灸，更早的时候它叫针砭，更早的时候。那个“砭”呢，它是石字旁，石头啊，石字旁，一个“乏”字。很早的时候中国古人治病啊，他就是用那个尖的石头，那时还没有针，拿很坚硬的石头来，在你的不知道什么地方给你……

这个是代表中国文化，代表中国学问，代表道教。中国的医学是出于道教。那么道家是怎么样呢？就是我常常说：西洋人呢总是向外看，这个中国人呢，是回到自己生命上。回到自己身体上。回到自己身体上他就知道经络，中医叫做经络、经脉，经络、经脉在人身上。中国笼统的话说，气血，气跟血，气血循环流转，经络或者经脉就是气血循环的路了，道路了。

这个怎么能够认出来，特别怎么能够很清楚地懂得这个经络呢？是道教。底下就可以讲明一下，说明一下，就是这个气血在人身上的流通，因为道家做的功夫就是在气血流通上。我们一个人生活，气血本来都是在流通中，是不停止地流通，不停地流通，可是我们不知道它怎么流通，不自觉，因为我们的头脑、心思都用到外边，照顾到外面。道家呢，相反，它把那个向外的、总是在观察外边的，它回来，转回头来，把不自觉的变成自觉，有一分的自觉，它就有一分的自主性，它自己一

方面知道了，一方面就能够左右变动它。

道家就是这个，对自己的身体的气血的流行啊，从不自觉变到自觉、不自主变到自主，……这个能够自主啊，能够自主之后，就是成仙了。仙人嘛，就跟我们普通人不同了，我们做不到的事情，他就能做到。比如我们普通人平时，平时我们要出汗，天太冷了之后，冻了，太冻了，冻僵了，他们都没有，没有这个问题。大概很早，在中国古代就有这种功夫吧。《庄子》这本书里……他可以长寿，在他的生命生活上，有很高的自主的能力。

I am not a sage.

Alitto: The third question is more difficult to answer. I have been reading the written materials. Concerning my views of your beliefs and your personality, it is the same as with a lot of other historical personages. That is, a person who Westerners would say is sacred. In English it is "holy." No matter whether Buddhist or Confucian, in this concept of a sage there are areas of similarity. That is, someone going into a realm that transcends everything, and giving the folks the knowledge of that transcendent realm. (Liang: Right.) I say that in your innermost soul, not necessarily on the conscious level, possibly on the unconscious level, you felt that as a sage you would save humanity. I do not mean by any means that you have consciously anywhere said, "I am a sage." But this interpretation I came to is not made casually, but only after having read your works for a long time. Do you have any reaction to this?

Liang: To which question?

Alitto: The sage question. Can you be considered a sage?

Liang: From what I understand and what I think in my mind, a sage is not an ordinary person. The words and actions of a sage and those of others do not appear to be that different, but in reality the sage, his life-being and personality go far beyond ordinary people. His life-being is different. His life-being completely tops that of an ordinary person. Before, in ancient times, it was Confucius; later I should recognize Wang Yangming. His life-being was thoroughly and completely higher than ours.

Alitto: You share many things with Wang Yangming. Like you, he first delved deeply into Buddhism, and then later left it. He also was, like you, a

man of action who carried his ideas into practice in the real world. He wasn't a closeted scholar who just wrote and taught. So I think that you and he have a lot in common.

Liang: But Wang Yangming's life-being—his life was not that of an ordinary mortal's. He had already reached that stage whereby he was not an ordinary person. But I am still just an ordinary person.

Alitto: So you feel that you are still just an ordinary person?

Liang: An ordinary person. I'm possibly an ordinary person who is a bit different from other ordinary people. That is, it's as though I have seen something from afar. What do I get to see? I catch a glimpse from afar of Wang Yangming, and Confucius. Besides, I cannot see very clearly; its as though I'm looking through a mist, and from a great distance in the mist I see what Confucius is all about, what Wang Yangming is all about. Viewing them at a great distance—my level [of understanding] is only to such a degree as this.

我不是个圣人

艾：那第三个问题是比较难说的，我自己是看书面的资料，我自己关于您的信仰、您的性格的看法就是跟对历史上很多别的人物一样，就是一种好像西方人说是神圣的一个人，英文是说holy。那么，您无论是佛学或是儒学，圣人这个观念呀，有一些类似的地方，就是说要到一个超脱一切的一个领域，到那个领域以后还是会到民间、人间，给他们解释那个超脱一切的领域的知识。（梁：对，对。）我说您灵魂深处——也不一定是有意识的那一层——可能是无意识的那一层，是在觉得您是来救人类，就是圣人了。我的意思也并不是说，您是有意识地处处都说“我是圣人”，我不是这个意思了。不过我的这个说法呢，我想了很久，看了您的著作，看了很久，才想出来的，也不是随便的。您对这个问题有没有反应？

梁：哪个问题？

艾：就是说圣人，您算一个圣人吗？

梁：我所懂得的、我心里所想得的，圣人不是平常人。圣人他说话行事可以说跟其他人不大两样，可是实际上他那个人、他那个生命、他那个人格，已经完全超过普通人了。生命不同了，生命完全高过普通人。在从前，古时候就是孔子，后来我应当承认王阳明，他对生命已经

透彻，完全高过我们。

艾：您自己和王阳明也有很多类似的地方。他也是好像先深入佛学，以后出来。他也是一个活动者，在社会上实行、实践，也不是专门写东西、讲学问的。所以我自己觉得您和他有很多类似的地方。

梁：可是就阳明的生命说，他不是普通人了，已经不是普通人了。可是我现在还是一个普通人。

艾：您觉得您还是一个普通人吗？

梁：普通人。我可能比其他的普通人不同的一点的，就是我好像望见了，远远地看到了，看到了什么呢？看到了王阳明，看到了孔子。我是望到，远远地望到，并且还不能很清楚地看见，好像天有雾，在雾中远远地看见了孔子是怎么回事、王阳明是怎么回事，远远地看见。我的程度只是这么一个程度。

Alitto: But suppose Wang Yangming was right in front of us, and we asked him "Your honor Shouren, are you a sage?" He wouldn't…

Liang: He would not admit to it.

My own understanding of the cosmos

Alitto: This question involves philosophy. In this ever-changing world, what is eternal truth?[35] That is, is a universal, eternal truth possible? Do you think that an intellectual should…

Liang: In general, a particular body of knowledge explores and pursues truth. That body of knowledge seeks to become universal, to be fundamental [to human understanding]. I think that any scientific discipline pursues the profound. The more it pursues the profound, the more it will pass into the realm of philosophy. So, paying attention to philosophy is helpful in doing science. This is an idea of mine.

Alitto: That is to say, each society has its own ideology. Each era has its own ideology. Even science is an ideology produced in a particular era. Some say that it cannot transcend, that even science cannot transcend its temporality or its locality. Is an eternal truth possible?

Liang: I'm afraid that this is a relative term. I can't understand Einstein sufficiently well, because the basis of his scholarship is in the natural sciences, in mathematics and in mechanics. But his worldview, his Theory of

Relativity touches upon philosophy; it slips into the realm of philosophy. I very much like his Theory of Relativity and feel that it corroborates my own understanding of the cosmos. To be more specific, it is commonly thought that space is horizontal, while time is vertical. But I think this is just a vulgar view, and does not get to the cosmological truth.

The horizontal is space, and the vertical is time. It's really not this way. Space and time are joined together. Moreover, there is space within time. The cosmos is in flux, infinitely varying, and is endless. Anyone who has any understanding of human life would feel that the cosmos is infinitely in constant flux, that one is in the mist of this flux, and that one cannot be separated from it. From heaven above to the earth below, all things in nature are one—in the old Chinese phrase, "the myriad things of nature are one body." This one thing is in flux; it varies infinitely. That is to say, time and space cannot be separated. Space is part of time. Space and time are not two entities.

艾：不过假设王阳明就在我们面前，我们问他：“守仁公，您是不是一个圣人？”那他也不会……

梁：他也不会承认。

我的宇宙观

艾：这个问题牵扯到哲学。在这个多变的世界上，什么才是永恒的真理？就是获得一些普遍的、永恒真理是可能的吗？您认为作为一个知识分子应该……

梁：大概一种学问往深里去探讨、去追究，它都要走入普遍性，走入根本。我以为任何一门科学，往深里追求，越追求，越追求，它就会到哲学里头去，所以留心一下哲学，是对搞科学有帮助的。我有这么一个意思。

艾：就是说，每一个社会有每一个社会的意识形态，每一个时代有每一个时代的意识形态，连科学也是在一个时代里发生的一种意识形态。有的人说，不能超越，连科学也不能超脱它的时代性、地方性。永恒的真理到底可能吗？

梁：恐怕是一个相对比较的话吧。我不大能够懂这个爱因斯坦的学问，因为他的学问基础是在自然科学——在数学、在力学。可是他的宇宙观，他讲相对论也就谈到了哲学了，跑到了哲学里头去了。他那个相

对论我倒是很喜欢，觉得我所对宇宙的了解，可以从他那里找到一种印证。更具体地说，说得明白一点，对宇宙的认识或看法，普通总是觉得横的是空间，纵的是上下古今，普通都是这样分开来说。可是我觉得这是一个世俗之见，没有得到宇宙的真理。

横的是空间，纵的一个是时间——不是这样的，时空是合起来的，而且是空在时之内，空间在时间内。宇宙就是一个变化流行，一点也不能停住，凡是对人生、对生命真有体会，他就会感觉到宇宙是一个变化流行，自己也是在变化流行之中，自己跟这个变化流行不可分。天地上下，天地万物——按中国老话说，天地万物一体，是一回事。这个一回事呢，它是一个变化流行的，也就是刚才说的不要把空间跟时间分开，空间是在时间之内，空间、时间不是两回事。

Aren't there a lot of sayings from Confucius in *The Analects*? In one section: "The master was on the river bank"—Confucius was on a riverbank —and he said, "It passes on just like this, never ceasing day or night!"[36] It was referring to the flow of the water. He saw the water flowing and said, "It passes on just like this, never ceasing day or night!" Unceasing flowing like this day and night. This was a sigh. This sigh was not in reference to the water flowing before him, but rather it referred to the entirety of the cosmos, the entirety of human life, the entirety of human history. This statement has profound significance, but people are fully occupied with the affairs of the moment, busy with the affairs of life. They have no time; they are too busy, they are busy the entire day dealing with their environments and thus lack a deep understanding [of this which I have just outlined].

My meaning, my informal interpretation is: I feel that Einstein, through the discipline of physics, gained an insight, an understanding of the broader cosmos. He did not separate time and space; he held that they were the same thing and that there was space in time. The entirety of the cosmos is in flux like this; we ourselves are also in flux.[37] We don't want to take too narrow or too close a view of the world. We should take the broad view of things. Taking the broad view enables us to be broad-minded, and see that anxiety about things is of no use; the broad view tells us not to always get confused amidst the gamut of human emotions. The ancients had this saying, "Head upwards looking beyond the farthest heavens, taking the broad view…" I forget what follows. Yesterday didn't I write the eight characters: *kuorandagong*, *wulaishunying* (with an all-encompassing, empty and impartial mind, taking things as they come)? I feel that we should be that

way, not be tossed and confused by the gamut of emotions, but transcend these; we should also not hold on to the illusions [of existence of self and the world].

My views on death

Alitto: Mr. Liang, you are very old and wise. Do you have any views on death?

《论语》那个书不是记载着孔子的很多话吗？《论语》上有那么一章："子在川上"——孔子在河边上，说"逝者如斯夫，不舍昼夜"——逝就是水流，他看见水流，"逝者如斯夫，不舍昼夜"，昼夜不停地这么样流，这样一个叹息。这个叹息不是就是说他眼前看见的水，而是说整个的宇宙，整个的人生，整个的人类历史。这个话意义很深，可是人都忙于眼前的事情，忙于生活上的事情，没有时间啊，太忙啦，终日忙着应付，应付环境，缺乏深的体会。

我的意思、我的随便的一个看法吧，我觉得爱因斯坦他从物理，他对广大的宇宙还是有所悟、有所了解，他不把时空分开，空、时是一回事，空在时中。整个宇宙的变化是如此，我们自己一个人也是在变化中，不要看得太短，不要看得太近，要放眼来看，放眼来看心胸就可以开大，什么事情不用着急，不要常常颠倒在喜怒哀乐之中。好像古人有那么一句话，叫做"昂首天外，放眼……"，什么东西我忘记了。昨天不是我写了八个字："廓然大公，物来顺应"，我觉得是要那个样子，不要颠倒于喜怒哀乐之中，超过这些，不要执着。

我怎么看待死亡

艾：梁先生是年纪很大了，而且具有智慧的人，您现在对人的死亡有没有见解？

Liang: I have already said, death does not mean complete extinction. It is not what most people think, that death is the end of everything. Didn't I use the eight-character phrase: *xiangsixiangxu, feiduanfeichang*?—Life, divided into endless instants, is at best similar and continuous; the meaning of life is neither interrupted nor persistent. Life is basically like this. The ego or me of today is similar to the ego or me of yesterday. The me of right now and the me of one minute ago are also similar. And that's all there is to it. They are not the same. But there is no break, no discontinuity. It's not permanent. It's

not the same thing. All humans are like this; all sentient beings are like this. So, this is my view of death.

Alitto: People nevertheless always fear death. People always fear…

Liang: They don't want to die. Actually there is no need for fear. There is no need to hope for immortality.

Alitto: No hope for immortality?

Liang: No hope for long life. It is best to follow the natural course. Let nature take its course. That is having "an all-encompassing, empty and impartial mind."

Looking back on my life: the plainer, the better

Alitto: When I came here in 1973, I didn't have the opportunity to see you. I did go look at Jishuitan. The last sentence of my book is, "Under these circumstances, what would be his thoughts?" That is to say, you are of great age, your friends from the old days have passed away, but you still retain your self-respect, and you have grandchildren. If you took a walk by Jishuitan, what would you think of?... What reflections do you have looking back on your whole life?

Liang: I wouldn't have any. Let me tell you this. You understand me. I am a Buddhist. Buddhists view everything very flatly. There are no important problems, nothing is of consequence. In my case, I have always made my mood as flat and plain as possible; the plainer, the better. My life was also like this. For example, I drink plain water, not tea. I feel that tea is a bit of a stimulant and so I feel that it is better not to drink tea. Just plain boiled water is fine. My diet is light. I don't eat meat and things that people regard as delicious; moreover, I eat very little. I pay no attention to taste and flavor. A state in which all aspects of life are dull and flat is best for me. So, if you ask me what reflections I have, I have nothing.

梁：我曾经说过，死亡不会断灭，不像有些个人就以为死了就完了，没有这个事情。我不是说了八个字："相似相续，非断非常"？生命本来就是今天的我跟昨天的我相似就是了，前一分钟的我跟后一分钟的我相似就是了，早已不是一回事，这就叫"相似相续"，连续下来，不会断——非断，非常——常是恒常，不是一回事，早已不是一回事。人都是如此，生命都是如此，那我也还是如此。

艾：人总是怕死嘛，人总是怕……

梁：不愿意死。其实不需要怕，不需要希望长生。

艾：也不需要希望长生？

梁：不需要希望长生，任其自然，因为任其自然才是“廓然大公”。

回顾一生：越平淡越好

艾：1973年我来的时候，没有机会看见您，积水潭我是去看了——在我那本书中最后一句话就是：“在这种情形之下，梁先生会在想什么？”就是说您年纪很大了，当您的朋友都去世了，可是您还有以前的自尊心，有孙子，您假如是在积水潭那边散散步，会想到什么？……回想过去的一切，您会有什么感想啊？

梁：也没有什么。我要说的一句话，你了解我，我是一个佛教徒，佛教徒他把什么事情都看得很轻，没有什么重大的问题，什么都没有什么。再说到我自己，我总是把我的心情放得平平淡淡，越平淡越好。我的生活也就是如此。比如我喝白水，不大喝茶。我觉得茶，它有点兴奋性，我觉得不要喝茶好，给我白开水的好。我吃饮食，我要吃清淡的，一切肉类，人家认为好吃的东西我都不要吃，并且我吃得还很少，不注意滋味、口味。生活里无论哪一个方面，都是平平淡淡最好。所以你问我有什么感想，我没有什么。

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[1] This is one of many remarks that Liang made to me about Christianity. He tended to think highly of it because pious Christians tended to be honest, decent people who were altruistic.

[2] Referring to Confucius as a Reformer (《孔子改制考》), 1898.

[3] Lin Zaiping was a colleague of Liang's at Peking University with whom, along with Xiong Shili, he often engaged in philosophical discussion. Xiong also seems to have been influenced by Lin. Liang's assessment of Lin, as was often the case when he assessed historical figures, focused more on personal character than on intellectual prowess. Foreign historians have ignored Lin, so not much is known about him abroad.

[4] Liang always seemed to be seeking total control over the self, and he admired anyone who seemed to have achieved it. Both of these men, Lin and Wu, were able to fall asleep at will. As sleep was always one aspect of his life over which he never had control, he was exceedingly impressed by those who had this "talent." Probably because Mr. Liang's mind was always hyperactive, he had difficulty with sleep throughout his life, beginning at a young age. As I reminded him a few minutes after this, he had been greatly impressed by a Hypnotism performance he saw in 1912. He took the performance as further evidence of the power of the mind over the body. It obviously made a powerful impression, as he recalled it decades later and mentioned it in his writings.

[5] Alone among the various people Liang admired, Mr. Wu Yongbo (Wu Guanqi) seems to be the only one who apparently left no mark on history and historical scholarship. I suspect that the biography Mr. Liang wrote for him is the only thing published about him.

[6] The Analects 15.6 (《论语·卫灵公篇第十五》，六章) .

[7] Once again, it appears that every one of Liang's early friends, acquaintances, family, family friends—as well as everyone he admired—were anti-Yuan Shikai. He mentions this kind of opposition to Yuan again and again as a manifestation of integrity and nobility. At the time of Yuan's attempt to reestablish the monarchy (with himself as the monarch), Liang was just twenty years old, in Beijing, and had just become an active member of society. After the Republican Revolution itself, the Monarchist Movement was the first major political crisis he encountered. It seemed to

have left a lasting impression.

[8] Ma Yifu (1883-1967) was educated in Europe, America, and Japan, and in fact authored works on the history of European literature. He was known primarily, however, as a master of Chinese, especially Confucian philosophy. Mr. Ma was also a noted seal and woodblock carver. As Mr. Ma was a cloistered academic, one assumes that it was his scholarship, not his social or political activities, that Liang admired so much.

[9] Before I published my biography of Liang, The Last Confucian, most foreign scholars who had even heard of him, considered him to be the very epitome of a "conservative" in all senses of the word.

[10] It was at the time of the interviews that all things Western acquired a certain panache among the young, who highly prizes things like American jeans. (Ironically, almost all "American jeans" are now made in China, along with most other "American" products.) There was, for instance, a fad of wearing Hong Kong-made sunglasses with the brand sticker still on the lenses to prove they were an "authentic" foreign product.

[11] From Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies onward, Liang's attitude toward preservation of Chinese culture was different from most other cultural conservatives in that he did not argue or try to persuade others of Chinese culture's merits. Throughout his life, he seemed to have an unflappable self-confidence that, even though some of the outer accoutrements of traditional culture might be lost, there was no possibility that the core would disappear. He always stressed that the future world culture that would be a form of Chinese culture was going to come about, not because the world's people were going to be "persuaded" of the superiority of Chinese culture, but because the "objective realities" in the evolving world would bring about an emergence of it by a process not dissimilar to biological evolution. Depending upon how one interprets The Analects 9.5 (《论语·子罕篇第九》, 五章), there might or might not be an irony in this. Liang had made allusion to this passage after he had escaped from the Japanese in Hong Kong at the end of 1941. In this passage, there is no question that Confucius expresses a cool self-confidence in the continuity of Chinese culture, and yet he (Confucius) might have a crucial role in this continuity: When Confucius was in jeopardy in Kuang, he said: "Since King Wen of the Zhou is now dead, doesn't the mission of culture fall upon me? If Heaven were going to destroy this culture, a mortal like myself would not have been allowed to know about [this culture]. So, if Heaven is not going to destroy this culture, what can these Kuang men do to it?" (子畏于匡，曰："文王既没，文不在兹乎？天之将丧斯文也，后死者不得与于斯文也；天之未丧斯文也，匡人其如予何？") When the Japanese invaded Hong Kong on December 25, 1941, Liang was there running the public organ of the predecessor to the Democratic League, the newspaper Guangmingbao (《光明报》).

[12] The Mencius, Lilou II, 19. (《孟子·离娄章句下》, 十九章). The original sentence: Mencius said, "That whereby man differs from the lower animals is but small. The mass of people cast it away, while superior men preserve it. Shun clearly understood the multitude of things, and closely observed the relations of humanity. He walked along the path of benevolence and righteousness; he did not need to pursue benevolence and righteousness." 孟子曰："人之所以异于禽兽者几希，庶民去之，君子存之。舜明于庶物，察于人伦，由仁义行，非行仁义也。"

[13] Referring to The Mencius, Gaozi I, 8 (《孟子·告子章句上》， 八章).

[14] From the context, it is clear that "Trend toward Diversification," or "The Pluralism Trend," or "Trend toward Pluralism" (多元化趋势) is the name of a publication by Russell, because "published" follows the reference. I, however, could find no publications by Russell with a title that resembles this. Perhaps Mr. Liang read a Chinese translation with such a title, or misremembered the title, but I do not know to which publication this title refers.

[15] This is a reference to The Mencius: "Men's mouths agree in having the same relishes; their ears agree in enjoying the same sounds; their eyes agree in recognizing the same beauty—shall their minds alone be without that which they similarly approve? What is it then of which they similarly approve? It is, I say, the principles of our nature, and the determinations of righteousness. The sages only apprehended beforehand that of which my mind approves along with other men. Therefore the principles of our nature and the determinations of righteousness are agreeable to my mind, just as the flesh of grass and grain-fed animals is agreeable to my mouth."（口之于味也，有同耆焉；耳之于声也，有同听焉；目之于色也，有同美焉。至于心，独无所同然乎？　心之所同然者何也？谓理也，义也。圣人先得我心之所同然耳。故理义之悦我心，犹刍豢之悦我口。）In the end, Liang's insistence of the existence of a universal morality comes back to this argument by Mencius. As I noted above, it is not dissimilar to his first pronouncement on the subject in Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies, in which he claims a universal moral sense rooted in human biology (à la Kropotkin).

[16] Of course, the opposite argument might be made as well: The closer to the corporeal, the less chance of individuation. Animals' corporeally based likes and dislikes are far more similar to each other than humans' likes and dislikes are to each other. Likes and dislikes more deeply rooted in physiology (simple pleasure and pain) can be argued to be more similar. Liang argues that those common properties that are rooted in the corporeal provide for more individuation. He says that likes and dislikes arising from intellect, ratiocination and calculation are more likely to be similar. Of course, if he is locating the source of universal morality in human biology (as he did much earlier in Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies), this argument makes some sense. It was why the Anarchist Kropotkin appealed to him so much, and why in the same book he equated instinct with intuition.

[17] This is one of the many times I tried to have Mr. Liang speak to the question of universal values and the source of morality. In each case, he proceeds from Mencius' argument that values are inherent in human biology.
[18] In English, of course, "reason" or "rationality" does not connote anything like what Liang is suggesting. As I note later, some culturally conservative Western intellectuals referred to this "moral sense" that Liang speaks of by other terms. For example, Cardinal Henry Newman, a prominent nineteenth century thinker, used the term "illative sense." It means what Liang's "rationality" (理性) means. One such Western intellectual did indeed use the English term "rationality" exactly the way Liang did. That was Samuel Taylor Coleridge.
[19] What follows is a summary of Liang's argument in Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies. He does not alter the original argument at all, but insists still that human societies by their very nature will evolve a kind of Chinese culture. He said the same thing about the inevitability of socialism for all human societies, so in his mind, there is a parallel between the two entities—Chinese culture and socialism.
[20] I refer here, in a very general way, to Max Weber's use of the term "rationalization" or "intellectualization" (exactly as in the Chinese 理智化). In Weber's theory, intellectualization produced modern scientific and technological knowledge; in his book Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies, Liang states precisely this same theory. That is, one of the two strongly developed aspects of Western civilization is "intellect" (理智), while Chinese civilization developed "intuition." Western intellect produces modern science and technology. Along with intellectualization/rationalization, Weber's vision of the process of modernization was centered on "calculation." (Modern capitalism and bureaucracy are based on the assumption that all things can be mastered by calculation, i.e., the intellect.) Weber's implied definition of modernization, at least in my reading, was that it entailed a process whereby all social and economic institutions and processes were made more efficient for the overall end of world mastery. Value-oriented organizations and processes transform into goal-oriented institutions and actions. Thus, the supreme value becomes efficiency, that is, "means." I agree with certain postmodern critics of modernization who see this process as the heart of the modern problem. Lyotard, for example, terms efficiency (maximum output for minimum input) "performativity," and ascribes to it much of the evil in human life. All this efficiency and calculability in political, social, and economic spheres was not possible without a change of values in ethics, religion, psychology, and culture. The ethos of efficiency (rationality) penetrates into every aspect of life. Each area of human activity has different values and ultimate ends, the overall result being that there are a plurality of values and of metanarratives that all seek to answer the same perennial human questions that religion and ethical systems once focused on. The ultimate irony (among many ironies) of the process is that the "means" become universal, while "ends" are fragmented and relativised. This situation itself, then, destroys all ultimate ends and goals. It might be described as the "slow death of God." The only universal values are those biologically based, having to do with survival. Needless to say, I myself do not subscribe to the "Eurocentric" and teleological elements in Weber's theory, which sees Western civilization's unique achievement as modern rationality, a rationality that was destined to spread around the world. Some of his disciples, such as Talcot Parsons, later developed the teleological aspect of his theory to an absurd degree. Weber himself insisted that he was merely describing a situation he observed. He is "guilty," however, of extreme Eurocentrism, in that he saw the process of rationalization/modernization as a unique Western product that would eventually be imported by every society on earth. I myself view the process itself as one that is universally human, not necessarily tied to the geographic area where it first occurred. One hundred years ago, however, it was indeed universally held, most certainly by almost all Chinese intellectuals, to have come about because of certain features of Western civilization, and which endowed Europe with its huge capacity for ruthless world mastery.
[21] That is, for reasons of national pride, certain aspects of the culture are preserved, even though those aspects are no longer part of the mainstream of daily society. Another phenomenon related to this is the commercialization of culture. The Noh drama of Japan is something that almost no one can appreciate, but the Japanese state protected it from the market forces that would have destroyed it. In Europe, a major object of museumification is Christianity, in that the people and governments take great pride in the magnificent churches, and also profit from the tourism these structures attract, but the churches no longer have a central place in the daily life of the people as they once did.
[22] Such a statement does very much separate Liang from mainstream contemporary thought in China and abroad. Foreign academics would take this opinion of women are concerned to be the very epitome of male chauvinism.
[23] By this logic, of course, socialism in China was even more so. In the two decades before World War I, Russia was industrializing very rapidly. Not so in the case of the two decades before 1949 in China. This has now been changed by China's thirty years of rapid economic development and "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics."
[24] This is not the opinion of the majority of historians of modern Russia.
[25] I must say that Liang's picture of the Soviet Union probably came partly from his second son, who was a researcher at the Soviet Union Research Institute attached to the Party Central Committee. The implications of some of these statements, such as this one, are alarming. If, for instance, the U.S.S.R. cannot be considered a socialist country, "from Khrushchev to Brezhnev," then, the Stalinist U.S.S.R. was a socialist country.
[26] Liang was remarkably perceptive, in that this is precisely what happened a few years after he predicted it.

[27] I was struck at how much Liang's views on such matters had been affected by general popular views, and, as such, shockingly naive. He admitted as much. Naturally he knew nothing of international affairs that had not presented by the Chinese media.

[28] Yu Qingtang (1897-1949) was a Columbia University, Teacher's College Ph.D. who had a successful career in academia, and for a time was also involved in the penal system in Jiangsu. She worked in social education, women's education and adult education. Professor Yu also published on rural education, which is probably why she and Mr. Liang were friends. She was the director of the Social Education Bureau in the Department of Education in 1949, but died that year.

[29] This is the second of the first two lines of the poem "A Short Poem Written at the Moment When a Rising River Looked like a Rolling Ocean" (《江上值水如海势聊短述》), which go "I was stubborn by nature and addicted to perfect lines, fought to the death to find words that startle." (为人性僻耽佳句，语不惊人死不休。) Indeed, this would be an accurate assessment of Liang, one which he himself makes. He was "stubborn by nature" by his own admission.

[30] It is this "fault" of Liang's that was partly responsible for his stubborn adherence on his own views, no matter what the cost.

[31] It would appear that Mr. Liang did read some of the various classic colloquial language novels, including those at the end of the Qing Dynasty, but he certainly didn't read much fiction. For the most part, he maintained the orthodox Confucian attitude toward works of fiction—that such things were not quite worthy of the attention of a proper gentleman. Mr. Liang seldom saw films or plays, and seemed to have little patience with them. Mr. Hu Yinghan told me of an incident that took place in the Zouping County town in the 1930s. An acting troupe performed a contemporary drama. Such an event was exceedingly rare in rural Zouping so apparently most of the rural reconstruction institute students attended. Mr. Liang, however, left early in the play.

[32] Kawakami Hajime (1879-1946) was an early member of the Japanese Communist Party, and Marxist scholar. His autobiography (Jijoden《自叙传》) was published after his death in 1946. In it, he refers often to Confucius and Chinese Confucian texts, which is perhaps why Liang sought out the book. Although he was a pioneer Marxist scholar in Japan, he still proclaimed throughout the book that his major life priority was spirituality. He had, moreover, an exceedingly eclectic concept of spirituality. It is easy to see why Liang was attracted to him.

[33] When he invited me out to a vegetarian restaurant the week after this, Mr. Liang did respond to my toasts in beer with taking a few sips himself. As he said, one eats to satisfy oneself, but one drinks to satisfy others. This is perfectly consistent with his interpretation of the spirit of Chinese culture, which stresses respect for the "other" in a relationship.

[34] Mr. Liang had something of a hobby in medicine, as did his father, Liang Ji, who often brewed the medicine for members of the family.

[35] This is, of course, the central epistemological question of modern times. I asked this question in several forms throughout these interviews, trying to get Mr. Liang to articulate his view on the question. He answered in several ways, but none sufficient to satisfy me. By 1980, postmodernism began to make itself felt in American academia, and by 1990 it was dominating it. The answer to this question from postmodern or postmodern-like "theory" is relatively direct: "No." As Jean Baudrillard (1929-2007) put it, "The secret of theory is, indeed, that truth doesn't exist."

[36] The Analects 9.17 (《论语·子罕篇第九》， 十七章).

[37] Liang had very early seen Einstein as reinforcing ancient truths. In Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies, he claimed that the Theory of Relativity confirmed scientifically the Consciousness-Only Buddhist view of a world in which fundamental reality is manifest in the changing phenomena of successive events acting according to the Law of Cause and Effect (因明). Master Taixu (太虚大师) argued the same thing after Liang did. They were not alone among May Fourth era Chinese intellectuals in claiming that Einstein had proved scientifically their own cosmologies.

编后记

《这个世界会好吗？——梁漱溟晚年口述》（双语精选本）以北京“一耽学堂图书室”整理的录音资料和*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*（外语教学与研究出版社，2010年3月）为底本，精选最能体现梁漱溟先生思想与经历的谈话内容，将原来按时间顺序整理的访谈文本按主题与逻辑顺序重新调整结构，划分为梁漱溟的“思想”、“历史经历与社会交往”以及“品评当年人事”三大部分，并选书中精彩语句作为小标题。编者核实并订正了书中绝大部分人名、地名、事件，为表区分，整理者与编者添加的说明文字用楷体标注。

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本书编者

2010年9月

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汉英对照

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“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原始英文文本的译本，而这些英文文本在海外学术界和文化界享有着崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的《吾国与吾民》（*My Country and My People*）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名；再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中以英文写就 *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture* 文稿，经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”；又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以 *Peasant Life in China – A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley* 为名，在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文 *Has Man a Future? – Dialogues with the Last Confucian*，备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince: Huang Tsung-Hsi's Ming-I-Tai-Fang Lu*），等等。

有鉴于此，外研社人文社科出版分社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格。中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此旨归。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体，涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社

人文社科出版分社

中文自序

收集在《中国经济改革发展之路》这本论文选中的文章，是我在1980年到1998年之间发表的论文中的一部分。它们反映了我在这段时间内所思考的有关中国经济发展的问题。

例如，《论教育在经济增长中的作用》一文，发表于1980年。这时正值中国实行改革开放不久，拨乱反正，百废待兴。我感到20世纪60年代后期起，长达10年的“文化大革命”期间中国的教育事业不但没有任何发展，反而遭到十分严重的破坏，教育出现了大倒退，其原因之一在于从领导人到一般群众都轻视教育，轻视人才的培养。因此，必须把发展教育和重视人才视为当时最重要的工作。这篇文章就是在这样的背景下写成的。我指出，不重视教育，中国不仅会失去现在，更会失去未来。

《经济改革的基本思路》一文发表于1986年。中国的经济改革从1979年算起，至此已经进行了大约7年多。农村的家庭承包制已在全国范围内推广，农产品供给大量增加，人民生活已初步改善。这时面临的主要问题是如何在城市经济中推进改革。在这篇文章中，我提出了必须把国有企业改革放在首要地位，即必须把政企不分、产权不清晰的国有企业通过股份制改造为自负盈亏和自主经营的多元投资主体的企业。我认为这是中国经济改革取得成功的保证，也是今后中国经济顺利发展的制度前提。

接着，在1987年我发表了《社会主义所有制体系的探索》一文。这是一篇讨论今后长时期内中国经济发展的多元所有制格局的文章。在这篇文章中，我提出，中国今后的所有制体系将是一种二元经济体系：一方面是少数大型的企业集团，它们是多个投资主体投资形成的；另一方面是大量中小企业、个体工商户和承包制农户，它们中以个人投资或合作社投资为主。这种二元经济体系对中国经济发展中的经济增长、技术进步、缓解就业压力和提高居民收入等问题都会起到良好的作用。

《贫困地区经济与环境的协调发展》一文发表于1991年。这时，我兼任了国务院环境保护委员会的顾问，从事环境经济方面的研究。在调查中，我越来越感觉到发展贫困地区经济和保护环境、治理环境之间有

非常密切的关系；如果单纯扶贫而不致力于贫困地区经济和环境协调发展，将事倍功半，不能使那里的人民真正脱贫致富。一年之后，中国政府成立了中国环境发展国际合作委员会，我被聘为中方委员兼环境经济专家工作组组长，继续这一领域内的研究和政策咨询工作。

1993年，中国出现了投资过热现象，从而引发了严重的通货膨胀，怎样应对这一问题，成为中国经济学界当时普遍关注的问题。我发表了《非均衡条件下经济增长与波动的若干理论问题》一文，阐述了我对政府调控政策的观点。在这篇论文中，我提出了非均衡条件两条警戒线的分析思路。由于中国经济是非均衡的，因此无论是失业率还是通货膨胀率都大于零应该被认为是必然的，不可能把警戒线定在零失业率或零通货膨胀率的水平上。究竟多高的失业率或多高的通货膨胀率可以作为警戒线，可以根据具体情况再定。而且，应当设立两条警戒线，我把它们分别称作第一警戒线和第二警戒线。这样，根据零失业率线或零通货膨胀率线、第一警戒线和第二警戒线，整个经济运行空间被划分为四块：

1. 经济运行于零失业率线或零通货膨胀率线以下，是不正常的，这时或者形成劳动力不足，或者形成通货紧缩，这些都需要政府采取相应的宏观调控措施。

2. 零失业率线或零通货膨胀率线以上而没有突破第一警戒线的经济运行，是正常的。这时不需要进行政府的宏观调控。

3. 第一警戒线以上而没有突破第二警戒线的经济运行，属于轻度的非正常经济运行。这时需要采取适度的宏观调控措施。

4. 经济运行于第二警戒线以上，这属于严重的非正常经济运行，不仅需要政府加强宏观经济调控，甚至在必要时可以采取非常规的调节手段。

1997年，东南亚金融危机已经开始，中国经济也受到一定影响。在这一背景下，我发表了《论财政政策与货币政策的配合使用》一文。这篇论文的基本论点是：无论是应对当时发生的东南亚金融危机，还是作为中国国内的经济政策，都应当学会如何配合使用财政政策与货币政策。“双紧”（指紧的财政政策和紧的货币政策）和“双松”（指松的财政政策和松的货币政策）都只是特殊情况下才能使用的宏观调控。一般情况下，财政政策和货币政策需要“松紧搭配”：即货币政策抽紧时，财政政策不妨宽松些；而财政政策抽紧时，货币政策不妨宽松些。这样才能获得较好的成效。

《论效率的双重基础》一文发表于1998年。写作这篇文章的背景是：随着市场化的进展，中国国内普遍对效率有了足够的重视，然而对于效率的基础却认识得不够清楚。本文指出，效率有两个基础：一是效率的物质技术基础，一是效率的道德基础。设备、厂房、原材料、职工的技术水平，都包括在效率的物质技术基础内。人们的信念、信心、文化和道德水平，则包括在效率的道德基础内。历史表明，仅仅有效率的物质技术基础，只能产生常规效率。那么，超常规的效率来自何处？来自道德基础。由此可以看出人们的信念、信心、文化和道德水平的重要性。针对中国的经济发展而言，当前的一项迫切任务是充实效率的道德基础，让人们的信念、信心、文化和道德水平在经济发展中发挥更大的作用。

以上所提到的，只是这本论文集中所收集的一部分文章的内容摘要。我相信读者在读完这本《中国经济改革发展之路》之后，将会了解我在20世纪80年代至90年代内有关中国经济发展的基本观点。

本书英文版的出版，得到郝平教授、凌原教授、蔡洪滨教授、周黎安教授的大力帮助。没有他们的帮助，本书不可能这么快就同读者见面。外研社社长于春迟、外研社总编辑蔡剑峰以及外研社人文社科分社吴浩、彭琳、任小玫、仲志兰等同志认真负责的精神，令我十分感动。在此双语版出版之际，我一并向他们致以衷心的感谢。

厉以宁

2010年10月16日

于北京大学光华管理学院

Foreword

The success of China's reform and development in the last thirty-two years has attracted global attention. The major steps which have led to China's success exhibit many Chinese characteristics. Of these the most striking is the ownership reform in the state and other nonprivate sectors. The theoretical and policy preparations for ownership reform took more than ten years. From being heterodox in the mid-1980s they had become mainstream thinking by the mid-1990s.

Professor Li Yining was arguably the most eminent figure in this process. His most influential public speech on ownership reform entitled, "Basic thoughts on economic restructuring" (Essay No. 3 in this selection), was delivered on April 25, 1986 in Peking University. His famous remark, "Economic restructuring may break down if price reform fails. The success of economic restructuring, however, hinges not on price reform, but on ownership reform, which entails revamping the corporate system," soon appeared in the headlines of a number of leading reformist newspapers and later on became a new proverb in the discourse of Chinese reforms.

In the mid-1980s, "market socialism," which was initially promoted by Oscar Lange and Abba Lerner, was the guiding principle of economic reform in China and Eastern European socialist countries. This principle advocated that the introduction of autonomy to state-owned enterprises (SOEs) would induce SOEs to behave like profit-maximizing firms. Once SOEs became sufficiently autonomous, comprehensive price reforms (i.e., price liberalization) would lead to the final success of the economic reform.[1] In line with this mainstream paradigm, Chinese leaders also endorsed the "big bang" approach and implemented a "one-shot" comprehensive price reform in the late 1980s, which, unfortunately, led to more problems than it solved.

At the other end of the spectrum of the reform debates, criticisms of the theory of market socialism and its reform practices in Eastern Europe since

1968, led by Professor János Kornai, became increasingly influential in the 1980s. Kornai's book *Economics of Shortage* became a bestseller in economics and Kornai himself an iconic figure among young intellectuals in China. His insightful analysis of state ownership and bureaucratic coordination led many young economists to believe that without ultimate private ownership, the expansion of enterprise autonomy and self-management under impersonalized state ownership would not be a medicine that would be effective in curing the soft budget constraint (SBC) syndrome. The SBC syndrome would continue to dull the price responsiveness of enterprises and thereby constrain the effects of price signals. Kornai himself later also concluded that unless state property was sold to private owners at a real market price, an attempt to reduce the percentage of state ownership gradually, i.e., to 95, 90, 85 percent and so on would not be able to make a difference.[2]

In sharp contrast to the above strands of thought, Professor Li had a keen observation of the *de facto* diverse property rights structure existing in SOEs in China. He argued that it was feasible and desirable to adopt the shareholding system in SOEs by quantifying interests among different public owners and then converting such quantified interests into shareholdings. With such a shareholding system in place, an individual public agency would have a measurable stake in the fortunes of a firm from which the agency would draw cash flow and control rights. As a result public agencies could more easily consolidate their material interests and assemble more consistent business strategies when facing market competition. They would find it in their best material interest to increase the value of the firm rather than to extend bureaucratic control over it. Furthermore, mixed ownership for a company as a result of joint investment by public, collective, and private partners and diverse forms of ownership in the economy would stimulate competition and induce further property rights reform (also see Essay No. 4 in this selection, first published in 1987).[3]

In the context of China in the mid-1980s, when the official ideology still viewed socialist state ownership as 100 percent ownership by the state on behalf of the whole people, it was analytically valuable, practically significant, and politically brave and skillful to highlight the de facto plural property rights structure of existing state ownership and then to link this structure to the feasibility and desirability of ownership reform.

Within academic circles in the West, Granick (1990) appears to have been the first person to analyze this plural structure.[4] Highlighting that Chinese SOEs were in fact agents with multiple principals exercising control over them, he asserted that these multiple principals acquired property rights through past investment in SOEs or traditional associations with individual SOEs. He cited a 1966 slogan "whoever builds and manages the enterprise has the use of its output." This slogan was regarded as epitomizing property rights relationships of the 1970s, i.e., instead of control rights being derived from ownership, *de facto* control rights now define ownership. In other words, this practical property rights arrangement is opposed to the usual textbook teaching in which the right to management is an attribute of ownership.

Rooted in the Chinese reality, the analytical work of Professor Li reveals that the conventional wisdom on state ownership in both the West and East is descriptively narrow. The claim that private investors should own the firm, despite its importance, is not the unique logical prerequisite of free markets and free enterprise. Diverse ownership and governance forms can emerge and evolve that are compatible with the evolutionary development of free market and free enterprise. The Chinese like to create a nickname for someone famous for a particular legacy and, not surprisingly, Professor Li is now known throughout China, as "Li Shareholding."

Another area to which Professor Li has made an important contribution is comparative economic history and the history of economic thought (cf., Essay No. 11 in this selection, published in 1993).[5] Integrating such comparative studies with his deep understanding of economic practices in China, he proposed an innovative augment on disequilibrium theory. As presented in Essays No. 5 (published in 1988) and No. 12 (published in 1993) of this selection,[6] he distinguishes two types of disequilibrium based on whether the majority of firms in the economy are viable profit-makers or not. The first type corresponds to the one dealt with in the existing disequilibrium theory, which features excessive demand or supply due to market friction, stickiness of prices and wages, and demand or supply constraints, rather than nonviability of firms. The second type is characterized not only by an underdeveloped market but also enterprises under various forms of bureaucratic control. He argues that China's economy has belonged to the second category throughout its transition process. To make the transition

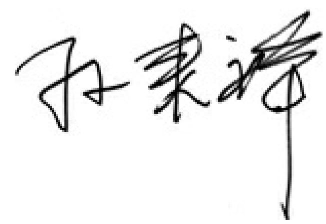
from the second type of disequilibrium to the first, the top priority is the reform of enterprise system with the aim of producing viable and profit-oriented enterprises.[7] This line of thinking provides a further support to his famous remark – "ownership restructuring holds key to the reform."

In addition to constructing this second analytical foundation for his ownership reform theory, Professor Li's work on the Chinese economy in disequilibrium also emphasizes the fundamental importance of achieving and maintaining healthy economic growth and social development in China under the conditions of the second type of disequilibrium. The majority of his essays in this selection discuss various coordination issues across economic reform, growth and development, and the urgency of finding solutions to immediate practical policy dilemmas. The central normative guideline has been that the reform and transition are means to serve economic growth and social development and, furthermore, that economic growth and social development are means to serve the well-being and happiness of ordinary citizens in society.

In dealing with the immediate policy dilemma, Professor Li has incorporated the methodology of "dialectical thought and synthetic analysis" of traditional Chinese medicine, which emphasizes holistic connections among many facets of human anatomy and physiology and examines the effect of the social and natural environment on the interrelations and conditioning of *yin* and *yang*. He pays particular attention to both the "treatment effect" and "side effect" of each policy pill, as well as its short-run and long-run effects. For instance, the first essay of this selection was published in June 1980 when the high urban unemployment rate was at the top of policy agenda. With a thorough and comprehensive analysis of the historical and structural roots of the high unemployment rate, Professor Li suggested that in the short and medium run, the solution would be to actively develop labor-intensive manufacturing industries and labor-intensive export processing to take advantage of China's abundant low-skilled labor force. However, in the long run, China has to develop human capital intensive manufacturing and services industries and actively promote human capital intensive exports so as to convert the persistent population pressure into an emerging comparative advantage. Therefore, it was strategically important to significantly increase investment in education in the 1980s so that China would no longer suffer high unemployment rates in the next two to three

decades and become well prepared for the inevitable era of human capital intensive production and exports. Clearly, this vision is still valid today.

The publication of this *Economic Reform and Development the Chinese Way* enriches the literature in English that examines the past, present and future prospects of China's reforms, transition, and development. Although all the essays in this selection are well-known in China, they provide carefully examined alternative perspectives which scholars and students in the West may not be familiar with. I am honored to write the foreword for this excellent selection and commend it enthusiastically to scholars, policy makers, business professionals, as well as to more general readers, who are interested in the dynamics of China's transition and the growing importance of China in the world.



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School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, August 9, 2010

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[1] For an excellent critical review on market socialism in general and its manifestation in the 1980s in particular, see Kornai, János (1992), *The Socialist System*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. For a leading essay on market socialism for China, see Sun, Yefang (1982), "Some theoretical issues in socialist economies," originally published in Chinese in the period 1958-1961, in Fung, K.K (ed.), *Social Needs versus Economic Efficiency in China*, Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharp. For an influential essay which promotes comprehensive price reform in China, see Wu, Jinglian and Reynolds, Bruce L. (1987), "Choosing a strategy for China's economic reform," *American Economic Review*, Vol. 78, No. 2, pp. 461-466.

[2] See Kornai, János (1990), *The Road to a Free Economy*, New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company.

[3] For more detailed and systematic discussions on multiple property rights and ownership reform by Professor Li, see Li, Yining (1986), *Political Economy of Socialism*, Beijing: Commercial Press; Li, Yining (1987), *An Exploratory Study of Economic System Reform*, Beijing: People's Daily Press; and Li, Yining (1989), *Thoughts on China's Economic Reform*, Beijing: Zhongguo Zhanwang Press. All these three books are in Chinese.

[4] Granick, David (1990), *Chinese State Enterprises: A Regional Property Rights Analysis*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press..

[5] Also see, for example, Li, Yining (2003), *The Rise of Capitalism: A Study of Comparative*

Economic History, Beijing: Commercial Press; Li, Yining (2006), *The Economic History of Rome-Byzantine Empire*, Beijing: Commercial Press. Both books are in Chinese.

[6] More detailed and systematic analysis on this topic is presented in Li, Yining (1990), *Chinese Economy in Disequilibrium*, Beijing: Beijing Daily Press. This book is in Chinese.

[7] An important parallel research on the viability issue of SOEs in China (and other transitional economies) has been conducted by Professor Justin Yifu Lin. Lin employs the analytical perspective of comparative advantage and argues that the firms in heavy industries prioritized by the government in transitional centrally planned economies are not viable in open, competitive markets because their activities are inconsistent with the economy's comparative advantage. This viability problem is another root of the soft budget constraint (SBC) syndrome. If the viability problem is not solved, the SBC syndrome will not be eliminated even though the socialist government is overthrown and all firms are privatized. See, Lin, Justin Y. (2003), "Development strategy, viability and economic convergence," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 53, pp. 277-308; Lin, Justin Y. (2005), "Viability, economic transition and reflection on neoclassical economics," *Kyklos*, Vol. 58, No. 2, pp. 239-264.

论教育在经济增长中的作用 (1980)

两年前，我在《技术教育和资本主义工业化：西欧和美国技术力量形成问题研究》一文（1978年北京大学“五四”科学讨论会上的报告，发表于《社会科学战线》1978年第4期）中，曾从经济史的角度对教育同经济增长的关系作过一些分析。在那篇文章里，我所着重考察的是：教育是培养一国技术力量的主要途径；后进国家提高经济增长率以及在经济上赶上和超过先进国家的原因之一就是重视教育、重视人才的培养。关于教育在经济增长中的作用，在该文中归纳为以下五点：

“第一，它向社会提供一支能在科学上有发现、发明，在生产技术上有创新、变革的科学研究和设计队伍。如果没有这样一支队伍，在科学技术上至多只能步别国的后尘，很难取得重大的突破。

第二，它向社会提供一支能掌握和运用先进生产方法的技术队伍。如果没有这样一支队伍，即使有了先进的生产工具和生产方法，它们也不可能充分发挥作用。

第三，它向社会提供一支适应于工业化水平的生产和技术管理人员的队伍。如果没有这样一支队伍，就会造成生产过程中人力、物力、财力的巨大浪费，就不能发挥先进生产技术的优越性。

第四，它提高全社会的科学文化水平，为新产品的推广使用、为先进科学技术知识的普及和提高准备条件，同时也为今后技术力量的成长提供广阔的基础，为源源不断的高质量的科研人员、工程技术人员、管理人员和熟练工人的供给提供保证。

第五，它使社会积累起来的科学知识和生产经验得以保存和传播，这种传播可以不受国界的限制，也不受时间的限制。累积起来的科学知识和生产经验作为人类共同财富，通过教育从一个民族传播给另一个民族，从这一代传播给下一代。”

本文以两年前发表的那篇文章为基础，继续考察教育同经济增长的

关系。但这两篇文章的着重点有所不同。前一篇文章分析教育在促进一国经济增长和提高经济增长率方面的重要作用，本文分析教育在保证一国经济稳定、持续增长，以及有效地解决经济增长过程中发生的或可能发生的各种问题方面的重要作用。换言之，前一篇文章考察的范围在于经济增长本身，本文考察的范围在于稳定、持续经济增长过程中的社会就业、国际收支、收入分配、财政平衡等问题。此外，前一篇文章是从西欧和美国经济史的角度进行考察的，本文则以当前我国社会主义经济作为考察的对象。

本文分为四部分，分别考察教育与社会就业、国际收支、收入分配、财政平衡之间的关系，说明教育在保证经济稳定、持续增长中的作用。

一、我国当前社会就业问题的“结构性”。这种“结构性”就业问题要依靠发展教育和调整教育结构来解决

从理论上说，任何一个国家的经济增长既可以通过增加劳动力数量来实现，也可以不通过增加劳动力数量，而通过增加对机器设备的投资，并相应地提高劳动者的技术水平和熟练程度来实现。在经济增长过程中，由于物质生产部门采用节约劳动的新技术设备的结果，有可能减少对劳动力数量的需要。因此，在一定的人口增长率条件下，经济增长本身并不能保证充分就业。物质生产部门在增加生产量的过程中究竟能够吸收多少人就业，不仅取决于这些部门的增长速度，而且取决于这些部门采取什么样的经济增长途径。如果一国主要不是依靠增加劳动力数量，而是依靠新技术设备的采用和劳动力文化技术水平的提高来实现经济增长的话，物质生产部门本身能吸收的劳动力将是有限的。

另一方面，一国经济增长过程也是一国经济结构变化的过程。在物质生产领域内，必然有些部门或行业衰落下去，甚至被淘汰，另一些部门或行业则不断兴起、发展。物质生产领域与非物质生产领域在国民经济中的比重也会发生变化，非物质生产领域的一些部门的发展及其在国民经济中所占比重的增大，是经济增长的不可避免的趋势。在衰落和被淘汰的部门就业的劳动者，随着国民经济结构的变化，需要另谋职业，转移工作部门。在新兴的物质生产部门中，尤其是在日益发展的非物质生产部门中，劳动力则往往是不足的。因此，一国经济增长过程之所以能够增加就业，从长期趋势来看，主要依靠新兴物质生产部门的发展和

各种非物质生产部门的发展。

一国经济结构的变化不仅包括部门结构的变化，而且包括地区结构的变化。国内原来经济较不发达的地区在经济增长过程中可能以较快的速度增长，而原来经济比较发达的地区经济增长速度则可能减缓，或者以相对较慢的速度增长。这样，经济增长率较慢的地区，或者经济增长率虽高但主要依靠增加技术设备投资来实现经济增长的地区，劳动力将会过多，这些人也必须另找就业岗位。而经济增长率较高的地区，特别是原来劳动力不足的地区，则有可能吸收就业者。

从上述这些情况来分析，可以清楚地看到，一国经济增长过程中所遇到的社会就业问题，主要是“结构性”就业问题。这就是说，社会就业问题能否顺利地得到解决，要看劳动力的结构（不同技术水平的劳动力、不同工种的劳动力、不同地区的劳动力在劳动力总数中的构成）与经济增长速度是否适应，与经济结构的变化是否适应，要看劳动力本身在技术方面是否符合经济增长的要求。在劳动力结构与经济增长速度、经济结构变化不适应的情况下，在劳动者的技术水平不符合经济增长要求的情况下，经济增长过程中失业与职位空缺的并存将是不可避免的。

失业与职位空缺并存，就是说，一方面是“人找事”，另一方面是“事找人”。经济增长过程中为什么会有失业？这是因为在经济增长主要靠提高劳动生产率来实现，而人口增长率又比较高时，新达到就业年龄的劳动力很可能找不到工作。即使不考虑新达到就业年龄的劳动力，那么增长率相对缓慢或停滞的部门和地区也会游离出一批劳动力。特别是对发展中国家来说，情况更为显著，因为在这样的国家中，农业一直在国民经济中占有重要地位，而农业中原来的劳动生产率一直是较低的。工业化过程中，从农业中游离出来的大量劳动力在社会上找不到可以容纳他们的工作岗位。因此，失业（包括隐蔽失业）是不可能避免的。

为什么同时又出现职位空缺？这主要是因为新兴的物质生产部门以及非物质生产领域内某些需要熟练劳动力的部门在劳动力结构与经济增长速度、经济结构不适应的情况下，找不到所需要的劳动者，例如技术工人、工程技术人员、科学研究人员、管理人员等。即使是原有的物质生产部门，如果它们的经济增长主要依靠采用新技术装备来实现，那么该部门内原来就业的劳动者也很可能不适合要求。因此这些部门也是缺少劳动力的。此外，职位空缺还可能出现于新发展的地区，因为这些地区本身无法提供所需要的劳动力。这种情况在发展中国家也是很突出的，因为这些国家中，由于历史的原因，适应于工业化要求的熟练劳动

力尤其缺乏。

一般说来，国民经济中的失业人数与职位空缺额不可能恰好相符。二者之间的比率随一国经济增长率、经济结构变化情况和劳动力结构调整情况而异。但即使失业人数与职位空缺额基本上相符，它们也不可能彼此抵消，因为在现代生产技术条件下，不同技术水平和工种的劳动力往往不可能替代。所以从长期趋势来看，一国经济增长过程中，失业与职位空缺并存的现象不是暂时性的，而很可能是持久性的，即旧的失业人员就业了，职位空缺现象消失了，但新的失业人员又出现了，新的职位空缺现象又产生了。失业（包括隐蔽失业）是人力资源的浪费，职位空缺是物质资源的浪费，失业与职位空缺的并存不仅不利于经济增长，而且将阻碍新技术的采用和推广，阻碍经济结构的必要调整，使一国经济停留在长期低效率的状态。特别是失业的长期化还会成为社会不稳定的一个重要因素。

总之，经济增长过程中的社会就业问题，很大程度上可以归结为经济增长过程中失业与职位空缺之间的矛盾无法得到解决。这就是社会就业的“结构性”。

我国的社会就业问题是复杂的。当前我们面临的社会就业问题，既有属于上述一般经济增长过程中带有普遍性的问题，又有作为发展中国家在经济发展过程中遇到的共同问题，还有我国所特有的问题。这三种问题是交织在一起的。属于一般经济增长过程中的问题，主要指先进机器使用和技术装备率提高后，物质生产部门中对劳动力的需求相对减少、对非熟练劳动力的需求甚至绝对减少。属于发展中国家经济发展中的共同问题，主要指在从农业社会转向工业社会的过程中，从农业中必然游离出大量非熟练劳动力，需要有就业岗位容纳他们。属于我国特有的问题，除了劳动管理体制不够完善以外，主要指十年动乱给国民经济造成了严重破坏，比例失调，使得劳动就业门路十分狭窄。加上50年代末、60年代初人口增长过速，以致二十岁左右的青年人如今大批走上或即将走上工作岗位，如果就业问题不能妥善解决，对社会和经济增长都是非常不利的。但与此同时，我国当前也存在熟练劳动力供给不足、在职人员劳动生产率低的问题。一方面许多待业青年没有工作岗位，另一方面不少工作岗位找不到适合的工作人员。劳动力总资源等于劳动力数量与劳动者平均技术熟练水平（劳动力质量的主要标志）的乘积。就这个意义上说，目前我国的劳动力总资源并不是十分丰富的，因为劳动力数量虽多，劳动者的平均技术熟练水平却比较低。

要使当前我国的社会就业问题得到妥善解决，归根到底有待于在经

济增长过程中不断地创造出新的工作岗位。如果无法增加新的工作岗位，那么即使人口增长率很低，只要采用了新技术，对劳动力的需要仍会减少。但怎样才能增加新工作岗位呢？这里涉及社会主义制度下多种经济成分并存、社会主义公有制多种形式并存的问题，也涉及经济管理体制、技术创新类型、国民经济各部门比例关系以及经济增长速度等问题。这些方面的问题不是本文所要探讨的内容。本文所要讨论的是：假定通过所有制形式、体制、比例关系等方面的调整和改革，假定国民经济有较大幅度的增长，确实创造出相当多的新工作岗位，我国的社会就业问题能否得到解决呢？如果考虑到我国社会就业问题的“结构性”，那么可以断言，在教育事业没有相应的发展、教育结构未作相应的调整的条件下，劳动力结构与经济结构之间不相适应的情况是不会消除的。“人找事”和“事找人”的矛盾将会长期存在。教育对于解决就业问题的重要作用，正在于它有助于解决这一矛盾。

发展教育事业和增加对教育事业的支出，可以使劳动力的结构适合于经济增长对不同技术水平和不同工种的劳动力的需要。在这里，重要的问题是使教育的结构同经济增长速度、经济结构的变化相适应，根据长期经济增长的需要来调整各种类型学校的设置、各种专业的设置，以及作出各种不同学习期限的安排。从长期考察，不外乎以下两种可能性。一种可能性是：从长期看，待业人数和未来新达到就业年龄的人数之和可能小于预计的职位空缺额，那么调整的重点将放在进一步提高教育水平、提高劳动力质量上，使每一个受过教育或训练的劳动力能发挥更大的作用，从而提高劳动生产率，进一步推动新技术的采用和推广。这样，既可以适应经济增长的需要，又可以减少职位的空缺额。另一种可能性是：从长期看，待业人数和未来新达到就业年龄的人数之和可能大于预计的职位空缺额，那么调整时应当是提高与普及并重，既为国民经济培养有较高水平的专家，又使大量待业者有一技之长，便于找到合适的工作。这时，除了有必要进一步调整经济结构，以便增加职位空缺额以外，特别应注意发展中等技术和职业教育，给待业者以就业训练。还可以适当地延长在校学生的学习期限，一方面减少准备加入就业者行列的人数，另一方面提高他们的文化技术水平，以适应今后经济增长的需要。换句话说，与其让青年人在无技术、少知识的情况下待业，不如让他们多学习些知识与技能。

在上述两种可能性中，从我国具体情况来看，可以认为在相当长的时间内后一种可能性更大，所以我国教育事业的发展和教育结构的调整不能只着眼于提高，而忽略教育在解决“结构性”社会就业问题上的作用。

在这里，还应当注意到，教育结构调整不是一劳永逸的。一方面，经济增长本身要求教育部门输送大批有一定技术文化水平的、适应经济增长需要的劳动者，否则经济增长很难稳定地、持续地进行下去；另一方面，随着经济的增长，部门结构和地区结构总是处在不断变动之中，技术构成状况也会不断发生变化，这就要求教育结构相应地与之配合。一定的国民经济发展水平是与一定的教育结构相适应的，前者变动了，后者必须随之变动。这也是我国在制定长期人力资源规划时应当考虑的一个方面。

以上是就“结构性”社会就业问题进行分析。我国当前的社会就业问题主要是“结构性”的，但并不仅仅是“结构性”的。应当承认，我国目前还存在着“个人职业选择性”的社会就业问题。在这种情况下，某些工作岗位空闲着，需要劳动者，但劳动者不是由于缺乏必要的文化和技术，而是出于个人对职业的选择，宁肯待业，而不愿去工作。这种类型的就业问题产生的原因是多方面的。但教育对于这一类就业问题的解决也能起到一定的作用，因为教育的任务不仅是传授文化技术知识。政治思想教育、革命人生观教育，对于我国的青年学生说来，也始终是不可缺少的。

二、对教育的投资是发展知识密集型经济的前提。逐步增加知识密集型经济的产品出口是我国经济增长过程中改善国际收支状况的战略性措施

关于发展中国家现代化过程中的技术创新类型，我已经在《论资本密集型经济和劳动密集型经济在发展中国家现代化过程中的作用》（载《世界经济》，1979年第6期）一文中发表过我的一些看法。由于那篇文章的中心思想在于说明“发展中国家首先发展资本密集型经济的做法是难以奏效的”，因此可以不涉及熟练劳动与非熟练劳动的区分，不涉及劳动密集型经济的发展趋势。而本文的中心思想在于说明对教育的投资如何有利于经济增长的稳定和持续，因此有必要对技术创新类型问题再作进一步的考察，即考察知识密集型经济在经济增长过程中的作用。

从理论上说，一国为了实现经济增长，必须增加积累，筹集可供投资使用的资金。在国内资金供给不足的条件下，可以根据国际资本市场的情况，按照适当的信贷条件，吸收国外资金。利用国外资金有助于克

服短期内外汇不足和资金不足的困难，有助于引进国外先进技术，但从长期来考察，必然面临着还本付息问题。如果一国不可能扩大自己的出口或其他来源的外汇收入，那么经济增长过程中将会发生国际收支逆差增大的现象，从而经济的持续增长将遇到很大困难。

假定一国在工业化之前或工业化开始阶段是一个劳动力数量较多、工资水平相对较低的国家，它的传统出口品是劳动密集型经济的产品，这些产品在国际市场上有一定的竞争能力。出口这些产品可以使该国取得一定的外汇收入，以弥补进口技术和其他商品的需要，改善国际收支情况。但是，在该国的工业化进行到一定阶段之后，它在劳动密集型经济的产品出口方面的有利条件将会逐渐丧失，不利条件将会逐渐增多。这是因为：

第一，随着经济增长，国民收入将会逐年增长，平均每人的国民收入也会逐年增长，工人的实际工资也会有所提高。这样一来，该国的平均工资水平与其他工业发达国家的平均工资水平之间的差距有可能缩小，从而该国以前所拥有的依靠低工资水平而进入国际市场的有利性将会减少。特别应当注意的是，工业化是世界各国共同的趋势，在该国工业化进行到一定阶段之后，另一些原来未开始工业化的后进国家也会相继开始工业化，后者也力图扩大出口，吸收国外先进技术。这些更晚开始工业化的国家很可能也是劳动力数量很多、工资水平甚至还要低一些的国家。它们的出口品也可能是劳动密集型经济的产品。这些产品在国际市场上也许具有更大的竞争能力，因为它们是由工资水平相对更低的劳动力生产出来的。这样，如果该国在经济增长、国民收入增长、工人的实际工资有所提高之后继续以出口劳动密集型经济的产品为主，它在国际市场上将会遇到新的有力的竞争对手。这种情况对它显然是不利的。

第二，在劳动密集型经济的产品中，有相当大的一部分是初级产品。一国在进行工业化的过程中，随着经济的增长，国内对初级产品的需求可能逐步扩大（例如对矿产品的需求或对农副产品的需求，都将因新工业部门的建立、城市的发展、交通运输的发展、居民物质文化生活水平的提高而扩大）。于是，继续大量出口初级产品的做法要受到国内经济增长和国内对初级产品需求扩大的限制。如果出现了这种情况，这对于该国的国际收支状况的影响将是不利的。

第三，一国劳动密集型经济的生产量虽然可以随着该国国民经济的增长而增长，但其增长率一般是较小的。劳动密集型经济的产品供给的扩大不仅要受到自然资源的限制，而且还要受到生产技术方面的限制。

这是因为：在劳动密集型经济的产品的生产成本中，活劳动部分所占比重较大，物化劳动部门所占比重较小，劳动密集型经济的劳动生产率的提高也就相对地缓慢些。假定一国在经济增长过程中需要不断引进国外先进技术，并且在吸引外资一定时间之后需要还本付息，那么出口额必须相应地扩大。假定该国一直主要依靠出口劳动密集型经济的产品来取得外汇收入，那么由于这些产品生产量的增长率较小，而供给的扩大又受到限制，该国将不可能采取扩大出口劳动密集型经济的产品的方式来保持国际收支的平衡。如果它想使出口额增大，保持国际收支平衡的话，那么只有从以下三种可供选择的增加出口的方式中任择其一：或者增加非劳动密集型经济的产品出口，以弥补劳动密集型经济的产品供给的较缓慢增长；或者压缩国内对劳动密集型经济的产品的需求，抑制这种需求的增长率，以保证继续有足够的劳动密集型经济的产品用于出口；或者对劳动密集型经济进行生产技术改造，提高其劳动生产率，以便增加劳动密集型经济的产品的生产量，使这些产品的供给增大。在这三种增加出口的方式中，如果按第一种方式去做，它本身就意味着依靠劳动密集型经济的产品出口这一传统做法的改变；如果按第二种方式去做，则要求以压缩国内的需求、限制国内的增长率作为前提，即牺牲国内需求和增长，以扩大出口；如果按第三种方式去做，那么劳动密集型经济中的劳动密集程度将会下降，依靠劳动密集型经济的优势将会逐渐消失。这也就说明，一国在工业化进行到一定阶段之后，要想继续保持以出口劳动密集型经济的产品为主，不仅是困难的，而且也是不符合经济增长规律的。

还应当指出的是，即使一国在工业化进行到一定阶段之后仍然享有出口劳动密集型经济的产品的有利性（比如，该国的工资水平仍然较低；在国际市场上暂时还未遇到有力的竞争对手；该国国内对初级产品的需求的增长还没有达到影响初级产品出口的程度；该国劳动密集型经济的产品的生产量增长率较高，从而这些产品的出口额未受影响，等等），但由于在国际市场上，非劳动密集型经济的产品与劳动密集型经济的产品的不等价交换是由国际经济中的历史和制度条件所造成的，并且，这种现象不可能在短期内改变，所以，靠劳动密集型经济的产品出口去换取非劳动密集型经济的产品的进口，在交换方面是不利的。既然如此，那么一国在工业化进行到一定阶段之后，为什么一定要坚持以劳动密集型经济的产品作为自己的主要出口品呢？为什么不设法以贸易条件对自己比较有利的非劳动密集型经济的产品的出口来代替劳动密集型经济的产品的出口呢？

这一点清楚地表明：无论从哪一个角度来看，以劳动密集型经济的

产品出口为主的做法虽然在一国刚开始工业化时期是必要的，但在工业化进行到一定阶段之后，这种情况应当有所改变。以劳动密集型经济的产品作为主要出口品的做法，不宜于作为一国长期不变的方针。

这样就产生了一个问题：既然一国在工业化进行到一定阶段之后很难继续以劳动密集型经济的产品出口为主，而且也不适宜以这些产品出口为主，那么该国应当如何解决经济增长过程中的国际收支逆差问题？假定该国非贸易项目的国际收入为既定的，它应当如何增加自己的出口，以应付进口增加以及清偿外债（还本付息）的需要？

它可以发展本国的资本密集型经济，出口资本密集型经济的产品，或用本国的资本密集型经济的产品替代进口的同类产品。这当然是一种可行的办法，但这也不是容易实现的。在国际经济中，某些先进的工业国家通过长期的经营和历史上已经形成的有利的贸易条件，再加上它们拥有充足的资本，从而在资本密集型经济的产品的出口方面享有一定的优势。要同这些国家的资本密集型经济的产品相竞争，并在竞争中占上风，不是一件容易的事。

因此，对于稍后开始工业化的发展中国家来说，在工业化进行到一定阶段后应当大力发展并扩大出口的，应当是另一种类型的产品——知识密集型经济的产品。

所谓知识密集型经济，是从劳动力质量和技术创新的角度着眼的技术创新类型、产业部门与产品的一种分类方法。如前所述，一国劳动力资源的多少不仅表现为劳动力数量的多少，而且表现为劳动力质量的高低。在把国民经济按资本密集型和劳动密集型分类时，并未把劳动力质量因素包括在内。这里所说的资本密集型和劳动密集型，只是就生产中自然单位的劳动投入量与生产资料投入量之间的比例而言，而在计算自然单位的劳动投入量时，把每一个人（或每一工时）看成是等量的劳动的投入，在计算生产资料投入量时，也只是计算其价值额，而未把生产资料所体现的技术先进性同运用这些生产资料的劳动者的科学技术水平联系起来考察。但是，如果从劳动力质量的角度来分析，生产中所投入的劳动很自然地区分为熟练劳动的投入和非熟练劳动的投入，生产中所投入的生产资料也很自然地区分为体现技术先进性并由熟练劳动者运用的生产资料的投入和未体现技术先进性并由一般劳动者运用的生产资料的投入。于是就出现对于经济的另一种分类，即国民经济可以区分为熟练劳动密集型的与非熟练劳动密集型的两类，在熟练劳动密集型经济中，不仅所投入的劳动是熟练的劳动，而且所投入的生产资料是体现了技术先进性并由熟练劳动者所运用的。产品也可以相应地分为熟练劳动

密集型经济的产品和非熟练劳动密集型经济的产品。所谓知识密集型，就是指熟练劳动密集型而言。

一个劳动力数量较多的国家，如果它不断提高本国劳动者的科学技术水平和熟练程度，使之具有高度的劳动生产率，使之能在生产技术方面不断地有所创新，能以熟练的劳动者和体现了技术先进性的生产资料进行生产，那么它所生产出来的产品就不是一般意义上的劳动密集型经济的产品，而是熟练劳动密集型或知识密集型经济的产品。这种产品中，凝聚了该国的劳动者（包括工人、技术人员、科学研究人员）所拥有的最新科学技术知识和已达到的先进技术水平，反映了该国在生产技术方面的最新成就，反映了该国所达到的高度劳动生产率。如果该国以这些产品出口来换取非熟练劳动密集型经济的产品，而不是用一般意义上的劳动密集型经济的产品来换取资本密集型经济的产品，那么即使国内的实际工资水平随着经济增长而上升，它仍然能够在国际市场的竞争中保持优势，而且还能够不断开辟新的市场，扩大销路。此外，由于它改变了以往那种出口一般意义上的劳动密集型经济的产品的做法，从而也就避免了在现存国际贸易结构中的不利于劳动密集型经济产品的交换条件，避免了不等价交换制度所带来的经济上的损失。

技术创新是无止境的。劳动生产率的提高不会停止在某一个限界之内。一个发展中国家在实现现代化的过程中，只要能使熟练劳动密集型经济不断得到发展，那么它在经济增长和改善国际收支状况这两个方面都将有广阔的前景。

这样就可以清楚地看出对教育的投资在协调经济增长与国际收支方面的重要作用了。没有连续的、追加的对教育的投资，就不可能普遍地、大幅度地提高劳动者的技术水平和熟练程度，就不可能培养出高质量的本国科学研究人员，就不可能使生产技术不断创新。因此，对教育的投资是发展熟练劳动密集型即知识密集型经济的前提，也是在经济增长过程中扩大出口、改善国际收支状况的前提。

总之，增加对教育的投资是经济增长过程中改善国际收支状况的战略性措施。我国是发展中的社会主义国家。什么是当前我国在国际贸易中的优势？这就是在若干劳动密集型经济的产品的出口方面，我们相对地居于有利的地位。我们应当充分利用这一有利条件，发展这一优势。但这不宜于成为长期的对外贸易方针，而且我国目前享有的这一优势很可能随着经济的增长而逐渐减弱。从战略上考虑，我们应当加强每一种出口商品的熟练劳动密集程度，加强出口部门的熟练劳动密集程度。今后，如果我国输出的农产品不再是一般的劳动密集型农产品，而是体现

了先进科学技术水平的农产品，即反映最新科研成果的、改良了品种的、高质量的农产品，如果我国输出的工业品不再是一般的劳动密集型加工制成品，而是体现了我国的技术创新特色、反映最新科研成果的、高质量的加工制成品，如果我们不再是出口矿砂、煤炭、原油等矿产品，而是出口利用这些矿产品作为原料进行加工、并反映我国科学技术新成就的各种优质产品，那么我国在国际市场上将能长期保持优势。我国的工业和农业越是成为具有高度劳动生产率的部门，我国在国际竞争中越能居于有利地位。如果做到了这一点，那么实际上我们拥有的就不只是劳动力数量上的优势，而且是劳动力质量上的优势。我们将以输出体现于产品和劳务上的“知识”而在国际市场上立于不败之地。

三、我国当前经济增长过程中的一个重要任务是提高广大职工的收入水平和提高经济效率。这个任务在一定程度上也可以通过对教育的投资来实现

这里所要讨论的是收入分配和经济效率之间的关系。在资本主义经济中，所谓“平等”和效率的交替有其特定的含义，因为在生产资料资本主义所有制条件下，“平等”是建立在承认资本主义雇佣劳动制度的基础之上的，效率则是资本主义竞争的产物。只要存在资本主义雇佣劳动制度，从根本上说就不可能出现真正的平等。关于这一点，不准备在本文中分析。但在我国社会主义经济中，收入分配与经济效率之间的关系倒是值得研究的重要问题。

对人的关心和培养是社会主义生产的目的。发展生产，是为了提高人民的物质和文化生活水平，使劳动者充分发挥自己的才能。但要发展生产，就必须讲究效率，必须调动职工的积极性。从理论上说，如果认真贯彻按劳分配而又正确实行社会福利的措施，那么对生产的发展和效率的提高是有利的。对于劳动者来说，这也是保证在生产发展前提下提高收入水平的途径。然而在我国，职工平均收入水平偏低和收入分配中的平均主义的影响不可低估。收入分配中的平均主义严重阻碍经济增长，挫伤人们的积极性，从而使本来偏低的职工收入更难以提高。长时期内已经形成的平均主义的、职工平均收入偏低的收入分配格局，不是很容易改变的。要扭转这种格局，需做很大的努力。

为了更好地说明这个问题，并进而说明教育在调整收入分配和经济

效率之间关系方面可能起到的作用，有必要从收入分配的理论谈起。

一般经济增长过程中，可能有两种不同的收入分配方式。一种收入分配方式是，在经济增长过程中，完全根据劳动者的劳动数量和质量给予报酬。另一种收入分配方式是，在经济增长过程中，国家对收入分配采取一定的调节措施，更多地照顾低收入者，并对高收入者的收入加以某种限制或扣除。主张前一种收入分配方式的人认为，经济增长过程中的这种收入分配方式是合理的，因为这是完全按照劳动者提供的劳动数量和质量给予报酬，每个劳动者所得到的收入的多少意味着社会对每个人提供的劳动或作出的贡献的评价。据说惟有这样，才能鼓励勤劳者，惩罚懒惰者，才能促使每个人尽量发挥自己的力量和才智，为经济增长多作贡献。主张后一种收入分配方式的人认为：完全按照劳动者提供的劳动数量和质量给予报酬并不是一种合理的收入分配，因为一个劳动者提供的劳动数量和质量的多少并不仅仅取决于个人工作的勤劳与否。

由于人与人之间有天赋的差别，智力与体力各不相等；各人的家庭条件和受教育的机会不同，从而获得收入的能力也不相等；特别是每个人都在一定的社会环境中工作，工作中所使用的生产资料状况不是自己所能决定的，有人有条件使用有较高生产率的设备，有人则不具备这种客观条件。因此，一个人可能已经竭尽了自己的最大力量，但他所提供的劳动数量和质量却不如一个并未使用最大力量，但天赋、家庭条件和工作环境比较有利的人。这就使得完全按照劳动者提供的劳动数量和质量来给予报酬的做法具有一定的局限性，使得社会上总有一部分人的收入与他们个人工作的努力程度相比是偏低的，并使得社会上还有一部分人的收入与他们个人工作的努力程度相比是偏高的。国家采取适当的收入分配调节措施，给收入低的人某些照顾，对收入高的人的收入进行某种限制，这才是合理的。

经济增长过程中的这两种收入分配方式的主张者还从收入分配对经济增长的效应来说明实行该种收入分配方法的必要性。前一种收入分配方式的主张者认为，如果完全根据劳动者提供的劳动数量和质量给予报酬，这将调动每一个劳动者工作的积极性、主动性，并将促使每一个劳动者不断提高自己的技术水平和熟练程度，其结果将会推动国民经济的增长。反之，如果不按照劳动者提供的劳动数量和质量来给予报酬，或者人为地拉平这种报酬，那就会挫伤劳动者工作的积极性，降低效率。后一种收入分配方式的主张者则认为，如果完全根据劳动者提供的劳动数量和质量给予报酬，社会成员的收入差距有可能扩大，收入差距的扩大将在一部分社会成员的心理上引起反响，某些低收入者会产生沮丧和

失望的情绪，不利于调动他们的积极性，不利于经济增长。

一般经济增长过程中的这两种收入分配方式的争论对于资本主义经济而言，并没有实际的意义，因为资本主义社会中既不可能真正按照劳动者提供的劳动数量和质量给予报酬，而其国家政权的阶级实质又决定了它不可能真正按照合理的方式来调节各阶级的收入。社会主义制度的优越性，照理说应当为合理的收入分配创造出先决条件，并且能够通过合理分配收入来最大限度地促进经济增长。然而在我国，社会主义制度在这方面的优越性并未得到充分发挥。当前我国收入分配中的平均主义和职工平均收入水平偏低的形成原因是多方面的。多年来，由于社会主义生产目的不明确，为生产而生产的情形严重，加之，在越“平均”越好的思想支配下，已经造成了这样的局面：既不能合理分配收入，又不能调动职工积极性，结果是经济增长缓慢，劳动生产率低下，职工实际收入不能提高，同时，收入分配中的问题还影响安定团结。这种情况已到了非改变不可的地步。怎样改变呢？我认为，现在要讨论我国经济增长过程中收入分配与经济效率之间关系的协调，必须从客观上已经形成的收入分配格局出发，从长时期来社会上普遍存在的平均主义和职工现阶段平均收入水平出发。历史不能倒转。我们不可能设想一个“假如现在是1949年，我们应该如何如何”的模式。这种模式的探讨固然重要，但不能解决现实中的迫切问题。这是因为，在工资和福利方面存在着“非灵活性”：既定的工资标准，提高容易下降难；既定的福利标准，增加容易减少难。

因此，在我国目前情况下，如果在收入分配上不贯彻按劳动数量和质量给予报酬，不提高平均收入水平，听任平均主义为害，这是不行的。同时，国家如果操之过急，不从承认收入分配和福利措施的现状出发，过分强调完全以劳动数量和质量为标准给予报酬，也是不行的。平均主义的消除，需要有一个较长的过程，但消除它们是势在必行之事。考虑到我国收入分配格局形成的历史条件以及收入分配现状，在发展生产的过程中逐渐提高职工收入是迫切的任务。在收入分配方面，当前，平均主义和职工平均收入水平偏低是主要矛盾所在，从而低效率问题成为经济增长的主要障碍。所以，我们应当把逐步减少平均主义和贯彻按劳分配放在首位，在提高广大职工的实际收入水平的前提下，尽可能按劳动的数量和质量给予报酬。若干年后，职工的收入水平肯定要比目前有较大的提高，但也有可能在平均收入普遍提高的基础上，某些人的收入上升得更快，从而收入分配的差距有扩大的趋势。假定收入分配差距的扩大引起了社会上一部分人的不安，那么到那时再通过国家的适当调节（如提高累进制的个人所得税税率，征收遗产税）使收入分配差距缩

小，也还为时不晚。我认为，我们需要预见到这一可能出现的趋势，但不必过早地采取收入限制措施。这个问题将来是可以解决的。

经济增长过程中收入分配与经济效率的协调，不仅与长期形成的收入分配格局、过去和目前的工资和福利制度等有关，而且还涉及意识形态领域内的若干问题。比如说，劳动者的政治思想状况、社会的风尚和评价标准、人们对“平等”和“幸福”的理解，都是意识形态领域内的重要问题，它们都能在某种程度上影响收入分配与经济效率之间的协调，影响在一定收入分配格局下人们的工作热情、主动性和效率。因此，要在我国经济增长过程中既提高广大职工的收入水平，而又不至于挫伤人们的工作积极性，不至于降低效率，必须重视意识形态领域内的措施。

第二，劳动力缺乏流动性是不利于提高经济效率和增加收入的一个原因。我国当前劳动力缺乏流动性问题是一个相当复杂的问题。本文不准备讨论劳动力缺乏流动性的原因。这里所要考察的是：假定通过体制等方面的改革和调整，我国的劳动力流动状况有所改进了，那么就劳动力的流动而言，还存在一个重要的问题没有解决，即由于一部分人缺乏专业知识和技能，工作适应能力很差，在经济结构变动和技术不断进步的条件下，不能适应客观的需要而改变工作岗位。特别是，在经济增长过程中，即使农业生产率提高了，并且假定其他部门需要劳动力，但由于农业中大量劳动者工作适应能力差，仍然不能为其他部门所吸收。大批劳动力被继续束缚在农业中而未能得到充分利用，对社会来说是一笔相当大的效率损失。值得注意的是，在这种情况下，低效率、缺乏职业上的适应性同低收入水平三者是联系在一起的。要解决这个问题，同样需要依靠教育事业的发展，即通过教育，使这些低收入者能在需要的时候变更个人的工作岗位，取得较多的收入，同时使他们的力量和才智在新的工作岗位上充分发挥出来，以减少社会的效率损失。

那么，教育事业在协调经济增长过程中收入分配与经济效率之间的关系方面能起到何种作用呢？对教育的投资是否能促进上述任务的解决呢？毫无疑问，教育能使受教育者在意识形态方面受到某种影响，从而有助于使他们形成正确的人生观、产生社会责任感、建立新的评价标准。这种影响显然是不能忽视的。关于这一点，通常并没有什么争议，关键在于政治思想教育的内容和教育的方法。我在这里准备探讨的则是经济学方面的问题。我认为以下这四个问题是值得重视的：

第一，由于教育能使受教育者提高文化技术水平，从而提高未来取得收入的能力，所以要提高低收入职工的收入水平，有效措施之一就是使他们受到一定的专业教育和训练。这是因为，如果认真贯彻按劳分

配，那么有专业知识和技术水平较高的人的工资收入与缺乏专业知识和技术水平较低的人的工资收入的差额，在其他条件相同的情况下，应当被看成是受一定的教育给个人所带来的收益。多受教育能增加个人取得收入的能力这一点，既适用于正规教育，也适用于业余教育。比如说，通过一定的考试制度，只要达到某一级水平的，就应当承认其学历，给予与其学历相称的报酬。另一方面，从全国范围来考察，发展教育将能提高我国的劳动力质量，使受教育者的工作效率有所提高。特别是在现代科学技术条件下，经济增长中迫切需要高质量的劳动力，质量较低的劳动力人数再多也不能替代他们。如果不发展教育，不使低收入职工受到专业训练，低收入职工的收入总是少的，他们的劳动质量也总是低的，对经济增长是不利的。这就清楚地说明发展教育事业既有利于缩小社会收入分配差距，又能普遍提高效率、促进经济增长，从而提高职工平均收入水平。

第三，就一般情况而言，低收入职工的收入水平不仅影响他们之中的这一代人，而且将影响他们的下一代。这种情况在我国社会主义条件下也仍然存在。从理论上说，社会主义社会是一个没有职业世袭制、职业歧视和排他性的社会，但由于低收入职工收入少、家庭缺少学习的条件，他们的子女受教育的机会一般比较少，接受较高等教育的机会可能更少，于是他们的子女改变职业的机会也相对地少一些，并且相对地较少有可能到有较高收入的工作岗位去就业。这主要是经济原因所造成的。我认为应当承认这一点。如果把低收入家庭与有较高收入的家庭拿来比较，假定第一代人的收入已经形成了差距，那么到了第二代，除了少数家庭有可能改变原来的收入状况而外，一般的情况则是收入差距的继续保持，甚至可能扩大。这是因为，就我国的实际状况而言，在四十多岁、五十多岁的一代人中，文化程度较低的职工家庭的子女较多，这些家庭的主妇参加工作的较少，从而家庭按人口平均的收入较低。这样，这些家庭将会遇到一个“受教育少—收入少……”的恶性循环。当然，用行政措施也许可以增加低收入家庭子女的受教育机会，例如规定各种不同文化程度的人的子女升入高等学校的比率。但这种做法只会带来相反的效果，因为在高等教育不发达、而封建主义影响还不可忽视的环境中，这种做法只会成为某些人谋取私利的手段，它对社会造成的恶果将会更大，使国民经济的效率损失、人才损失更加严重。因此，要打破低收入家庭所遇到的低收入和受教育少之间的恶性循环，而又不至于影响经济效率和挫伤一切有才能的人的学习积极性，应当从大力发展教育事业、扩大高等教育和职业教育着手，在整个教育事业发展的基础上提高低收入家庭子女的升学率，增加他们未来取得较多收入的能力，同

时不致排斥一切有才能的人有深造和发挥才能的机会，不使社会的经济效率受到损失。

第四，从整个国民经济的观点来考察，低收入者的收入水平的提高不可能只依赖于低收入者本人或家庭的努力。如果我国经济仍像史无前例的十年那样动荡和遭受破坏，如果整个经济的增长速度十分缓慢，那么无论个人怎样努力增加自己的收入或提高本人和子女未来取得较多收入的能力，仍无助于改变低收入者收入低下这一社会现象。因此，经济增长过程中收入分配问题的有效解决途径，归根结底仍在于国民经济的发展和国民生产总值的增长，在于技术的不断创新、劳动生产率的不断提高。教育在协调经济增长过程中收入分配和经济效率之间关系方面的主要作用正在于此。因为正如前面一再提到的，劳动力质量的提高是我国今后经济增长的重要条件，而任何技术创新和劳动生产率的提高都可以看成是对教育的投资的累积性的成果。

还应当说明的是，虽然我在文中有时也用了“收入较高”的个人或家庭这样的字眼，但这仅仅是就国内收入分配格局而言的，它仅仅是在国内范围内具有相对的意义。如前所述，我国广大职工和干部的收入水平偏低。假定说各国间平均收入绝对数字的比较没有什么实际意义的话，那么无论如何，消费结构的比较（尤其是食物支出在家庭收入中所占比例的比较）、每小时工资购买力比较（尤其是每小时工资收入与耐用消费品的交换比率的比较）还是很可以说明问题的。因此，在我国经济增长过程中，除了要注意提高低收入家庭的收入水平而外，还应当提高全体职工、干部、劳动者的收入水平，使每个家庭的消费结构、每小时收入与耐用消费品的交换比率发生变化。这显然是一个艰巨的任务，必须采取多方面的措施才能逐步实现。在这些措施之中，发展教育事业、增加对教育的投资将是具有重要意义的措施之一，因为只有在劳动力质量较高、劳动生产率增长速度较快的前提下，才能使人们的收入普遍提高、使消费品的生产成本和价格下降，才能改变每个家庭的消费结构，才能使人们每小时的收入交换到更多的消费品。并且，所有这些变化都是联系在一起、互相促进的。家庭消费结构普遍发生变化，职工收入普遍增加，就能使社会增加更多的工作岗位，使就业问题较易于解决。

四、在我国经济发展的现阶段，较大幅度增加教育经费固然与维持财政平衡有矛盾；但从长期看，对教育的投资将有助于在经济增长过程中增加财政收入

要发展教育事业，就需要增加教育经费。增加的教育经费来自何处？很自然地会遇到一个尖锐的问题：这样一来，将会加重国家的财政负担。所以，人们经常说，发展教育事业、增加教育经费与维持财政平衡有矛盾。

在我国经济发展的现阶段，财政拨款对于发展我国的教育事业当然是重要的，但这是不是筹集教育经费的惟一途径呢？当然不是。我认为，正如在解决我国当前就业问题、广开就业门路时，不能只着眼于国家的直接投资，而忽视社会集资一样，在对待我国当前教育事业的发展、广开就学门路时，也不能只着眼于财政拨款，而忽视社会集资。但在这里，我们先把教育经费的筹集问题撇在一边，暂不讨论。我们可以暂时假定财政拨款是当前发展我国教育事业的惟一的经费来源。

如果确是如此，那么对于教育经费增加会造成财政赤字的顾虑，不是没有经济理论根据的。假定财政收入为既定，或财政收入增长率较小，而为了发展教育，用于各种投资支出和教师工资支付的款项增长率较大，那么财政赤字将不可避免。财政赤字引起货币流通量增大，其结果将引起物价上涨。再者，如果财政收入为既定，而国防、行政等开支已经压缩到不能再压缩的地步，那么对教育拨款的增加将会直接减少对物质生产部门的投资，结果可能引起物质生产部门的收益下降（或收益增长率减少）和成本增大（或成本下降率变慢）。这样，物质生产部门企业收益的下降或较慢增长对国家财政收入的影响是不利的，从而也会不利于维持财政平衡，最终将引起物价上涨。

然而从较长期来考虑，我们还可以看到另一种可能性。增加教育投资不仅有利于经济增长，而且有利于在经济增长过程中维持财政的平衡。在其他条件不变的前提下，就一个企业范围而言，劳动生产率的提高超过工资成本的提高，依靠劳动生产率增长而实现的商品生产量的扩大和原材料消耗的降低，是企业收益增加的源泉。就整个国民经济而言，劳动生产率的提高以及由此实现的企业收益的增加，是增加财政收入，从而有利于维持物价稳定的可靠途径。

只要从这个角度来进行分析，增加教育投资的作用就很清楚了，因为如前所述，劳动生产率的提高可以看成是教育事业的发展的结果。

关于这一点，可以从以下三个方面来作进一步的考虑。

第一，对教育的投资就其性质而言，应当被看成是一种生产性投资。对教育的投资同对物质生产部门的投资（如投资兴建一座工厂，添置一套设备）一样，其结果都将使国民收入增加。二者的区别主要在

于，对物质生产部门的投资体现于物质产品数量的增加和质量的提高，对教育的投资体现于现有劳动者文化技术水平的提高，或达到一定规格和标准的劳动者人数的增加。前一种投资易于被察觉，后一种投资则很容易被忽视，以至于长期以来对教育的拨款被当成是非生产性的支出。因此，如果继续按照传统的看法，看不到教育对国民经济发展的促进作用，那么就会认为教育经费的增加是不利于财政平衡的。反之，如果把对教育的支出（人力投资）看成是生产性投资，看成是通过劳动者文化技术水平的提高，从而通过劳动生产率提高而促成经济增长的一种投资，那么，从长期看，教育经费的增加将有利于维持财政平衡。

第二，教育作为一种生产性投资，它的周期较长，甚至比某些基础结构（运输、动力系统等）的建设周期还要长一些。当然，在经济生活中，有时也可以看到对教育的投资能较快地收到经济效果，例如开办某种技术工人短训班等等。但一般说来，培养有一定文化技术水平的劳动者，特别是培养达到一定规格、标准的专业人员，所需要的时间较长。这种情况很容易引起一种误解，即认为发展教育是“远水解不了近渴”。其实，如果具有战略的眼光，把教育作为一种能持久地带来收益的生产性投资，以及连续性地看待教育在经济增长中的作用，即不仅看到年复一年地对教育事业的拨款，而且更要看到过了一段时间之后，具有较高文化技术水平的劳动者人数年复一年地增多，我国的科学技术队伍年复一年地扩大，那么就会从根本上改变上述看法。正如对基础结构的投资一样，对教育投资的收获期较长，未来对国民经济的好处也是较大的。

第三，教育作为一项生产性投资，它的受益者是全社会。对教育投资的社会收益是指它给整个国民经济带来好处。因此，如果不从全社会和整个国民经济的角度来考察，而只着眼于某个局部地区、部门或生产单位，那就很容易忽略对教育投资的经济效果。当然，在某些场合，也可以察觉到对教育的投资给某个局部地区、部门或生产单位带来的好处，例如在本地区开办某种类型的学校，或为本部门或本生产单位培训某种技工，等等。但这是次要的。对教育投资的全社会收益要比它给个别地区、部门或生产单位带来的直接利益大得多。这一方面反映于受过一定训练和教育的劳动者通过工作岗位的变换和工作地区的转移，将分布于国民经济各个部门和各个地区，另一方面，更重要地反映于全民族科学文化水平的提高和新的发明创造的涌现。任何发明创造都是长期对教育的投资的累积的成果，它属于整个社会。社会因这些发明创造而提高了劳动生产率，推进了经济增长，改善了一般劳动者的生活条件和劳动条件，扩大了就业机会，增加了平均每人的国民收入等等。这些都是社会的收益。总之，只要把着眼点从个别地区、部门和生产单位的收益

转到全社会的收益，那就不会仅仅根据本地区、部门、生产部门用于教育方面的支出来判断这种投资的实际经济效果，也就不会用局部的教育投资收益大小来判断对教育投资的有利性了。由此可见，虽然在经济增长过程中因增加教育经费而有可能暂时扩大政府的财政支出或减少个别地区的收入，但从长期看，从整体看，对教育的投资是提高劳动生产率的重要途径，是促进一国国民收入和财政收入有保证地、持久地增长的有效方式。

发展教育从长期来说有利于维持财政平衡这一点，可能不会遭到人们的非议了。那么，我们究竟应当怎样看待短期内增加教育经费与维持财政平衡之间的矛盾呢？现在让我们回到本节开始部分进行分析时所作的两个假定上。

第一个假定是：财政拨款是当前发展我国教育事业的惟一的经费来源。实际上，不必把财政拨款当成教育经费的惟一来源，社会集资的潜力很大，这主要以政策的制定和贯彻为转移。只要我们实行容许社会办学、群众办学，甚至个人办学的政策，就可以在教育方面大大节省国家的开支。社会办学、群众办学、集体所有制单位办学，是行之有效的好办法，这方面不乏典型的经验。至于个人办学，这有什么不好？有专长的医师、艺术家、会计师、翻译家等等，个人或联合带一些徒弟，传授知识和技能，对国家有利，对青年人也有利。个人办职业学校、文化补习学校，甚至专科学校，靠收学费来维持，替社会培养人才，不需要财政拨款，不也是利国利民的好事吗？与其让青年人闲着，上不了学，不如让他们进各类学校去学习。此外，勤工俭学、半工半读的途径也很多。那种强调“正规化”、“一个模式”的做法，结果如何呢？要么阻碍教育的发展，要么只好伸手向财政部门要经费，增加国家财政负担。

另一个假定是：假定财政收入为既定的，假定国防、行政等开支已经压缩到不能再压缩的地步，那么对教育拨款的增加将会减少对物质生产部门的投资，结果可能引起物质生产部门收益下降，不利于国家未来的财政收入。其实问题并不是如此简单。我们知道，对物质生产部门的投资只是总产值增长的一个条件，总产值增长的另一个条件是投资的经济效果的大小。如果能够提高物质生产部门投资的经济效果，让资金能周转得更快，让每一元投资能带来更大的产值，那么投资额不是不可以缩小的。长期以来，我们过分看重总产值增长的前一个条件，忽视后一个条件，似乎投资越多越好，积累率越高越好，投资经济效果却可以不计，结果浪费惊人。这方面的教训是很深刻的。为什么我们不能在既定的财政收入前提下，在加速资金周转、提高对物质生产部门的投资效果

方面多做些文章呢？加速技术人员、管理人员的培养，恰恰是提高物质生产部门投资经济效果的有效途径。因此，只要我们设法提高投资的经济效果，那么在财政收入既定的条件下，为了发展教育而减少一些对物质生产部门的投资，既不至于影响总产值的增长，又不至于影响企业收益和国家未来的财政收入。

结束语

以上分别考察了对教育的投资在解决我国经济增长过程中的社会就业、国际收支、收入分配、长期财政平衡等方面所能够起到的积极作用。如果要使我国的经济稳定地、持续地增长，有计划地解决经济增长过程中出现的“结构性”就业问题和国际贸易中的优势减弱问题，协调收入分配和经济效率之间的关系，那就不能不加速发展教育事业，增加对教育的投资。从世界各国经济增长的历史可以看到，某段时间内的经济增长并不是难以实现的，难以实现的是经济稳定地、持续地增长，以及在经济增长过程中使社会经济各个方面保持协调。

在资本主义制度下，由于资本主义基本矛盾和阶级对抗关系的存在和激化，失业、通货膨胀、国际收支逆差、收入分配失调与经济增长之间的矛盾纠缠在一起。因此，即使加速发展教育事业，增加对教育的投资，至多也只能暂时缓和一下矛盾，而无法使上述这些问题真正得到解决。在那里，教育在经济增长过程中能够起到的协调社会经济各个方面的作用是有限的。但即使如此，60年代以来西方资本主义国家的经济学家仍一再强调教育在经济增长中的作用，建议本国政府把人力投资政策和人力资源计划作为实现长期经济增长的重要措施之一。

社会主义制度是优越的。我国当前在经济方面出现的这些或那些问题，不是来自社会主义制度本身。在消灭生产资料资本主义私有制和贯彻“各尽所能，按劳分配”的基础上，我国经济增长过程中社会经济各方面的协调应当要比资本主义制度下容易得多。教育在这些方面所能起到的作用也肯定会比资本主义制度下大得多。但过去这些年，为什么实际上教育并未发挥这么大的作用呢？这是一个值得深思的问题。我想，除了长时期极“左”路线的干扰、林彪和“四人帮”的破坏以外，对社会主义经济建设缺少战略上的考虑，眼光过于短浅，对教育在长期经济增长中的作用认识不足，也是一个因素。在某些对教育的性质和作用缺乏认识的同志看来，教育是软任务，能挤一点就挤一点，能拖一拖就拖一拖。

这种看法当然是错误的。因此，正如两年前我在写《技术教育和资本主义工业化》一文时的想法一样，我写这篇文章的目的仍是为了向国家的决策部门呼吁：必须重视教育，在动员社会集资广开就学门路的同时，较大幅度地增加国家对教育的投资，加速发展我国的教育事业。

（原载《北京大学学报（哲学社会科学版）》，1980年第6期）

The role of education in economic growth (1980)

In my speech "Technology education and capitalist industrialization: a study of the rise of technological power in Western Europe and America,"[1] I dwelled on the relationship between education and economic growth in light of economic history. What I was driving at was that education is a major recourse for nations to groom technological personnel, and that only by putting a premium on education and the cultivation of talents can less developed nations boost their economic growth rates and catch up with and surpass the developed countries. As I put it in that speech, the role of education in economic growth has five aspects:

"First, education provides society with a supply of researchers and designers who can venture into the unknown, innovating in science, renovating and transforming productive technology. Without such contingents, the best a nation can do is to tag along after other nations, but in that way you cannot score major breakthroughs in science and technology.

"Second, education provides society with engineers and technicians who can master and apply advanced means of production. Without such technocrats, even if a nation has acquired sophisticated tools of production, it cannot put them to best use.

"Third, education brings forth production and technology managers well adapted to society's level of industrialization. Without teams of such managers, the production process can be prone to colossal waste in human, material and financial resources, making it impossible to benefit from the superiority of advanced productive technology.

"Fourth, education enhances society's scientific and cultural attainment, and sets the stage for promoting new products and disseminating and upgrading knowledge in science and technology. At the same time, education also lays the groundwork for the future growth of a nation's technological

prowess, and guarantees the supply of a constant stream of high-caliber researchers, engineers and managers, and skilled workers.

"Fifth, education enables society to preserve and disseminate its accumulation of scientific knowledge and productive experience free from barriers of time and space and national boundaries. It is through education that such accumulated knowledge and experience are spread from one nation to another and from one generation to another as humanity's shared assets."

I would like to go on with my observation of the relationship between education and economic growth on the basis of the speech I made and published two years ago. However, this paper has a different focus. While in my previous speech I looked into the major role education plays in expanding the economy and raising its growth rate, this paper underlines education's important role in ensuring economic stability and sustained growth, and in providing effective solutions to problems that have occurred or may occur in the process of economic growth. In other words, my previous speech was about economic growth *per se*, whereas this paper is a study of employment, balance of international payments, income distribution, financial balance and other issues occurring in the process of stabilizing and sustaining economic growth. Furthermore, while my previous speech proceeded from the perspective of the economic history of Western Europe and America, this paper takes China's socialist economy as its focus and background.

This paper is delivered in four sections dealing respectively with education's relationship with employment, balance of international payments, income distribution, and fiscal balance, so as to illustrate education's role in guaranteeing economic stability and sustained growth.

I. The "structural" nature of the employment problem can be solved by developing and restructuring education

Theoretically speaking, any nation can grow its economy either by expanding its workforce or by investing more in machines and equipment and improving workers' technical knowhow and skills. The adoption of labor-saving technology and equipment may help cut down the material production sector's demand for workers in the course of economic growth. Consequently, given a constant population growth rate, economic growth itself cannot

ensure full employment. The number of jobs to be created through output increase is determined not only by the rate of production expansion, but also by which approaches are adopted for such expansion. If a country develops its economy not by hiring more workers but by adopting new technology and equipment and improving workers' cultural and technical proficiency, then the ability of its material production sector to absorb the workforce will be limited.

On the other hand, economic growth also entails a process of change in a nation's economic structure. The inexorable law of material production is that some old manufacturing industries decline or are phased out while new ones rise and grow. The ratio between material and nonmaterial production in the national economy is changing as well. It is an irrevocable trend in economic growth for some nonmaterial production industries to grow in strength along with their shares in the national economy. With the national economic structure changing constantly, those working in languishing or failed industries need to find new jobs elsewhere. The rising industries in material production, and particularly the burgeoning industries in nonmaterial production, often run short of workforce. Thus in the long term, the emergence and growth of new industries in both material and nonmaterial production are major reasons why a nation can increase employment amidst economic growth.

The changing economic structure of a nation implies changes in both industrial and geo-economic structures. In China, underdeveloped regions may achieve a relatively higher economic growth rate, whereas developed regions may slow down, or grow at a relatively lower pace. Regions that either suffer a low growth rate or maintain a high growth rate mainly by spending more on technology and equipment will produce a glut of factory layoffs that will have to seek employment elsewhere, whereas regions with a high growth rate, those with a labor shortage in particular, are likely to accept the job-hunters.

These situations prove clearly that the employment problem confronting a country in the process of economic growth is mainly "structural." That is to say, the success or failure in tackling this problem hinges on whether the workforce structure – the makeup of workers of different trades, industries and locations in a region's total number of workers – is commensurate with

local economic growth rates and economic structural changes, and whether the workforce itself can meet the technical needs of local economic growth. When the structure of a workforce does not match the local economic growth rate and the changing local economic structure, and when workers' technical proficiency level falls short of the needs of economic growth, unemployment will unavoidably exist alongside a surplus of unfilled job vacancies.

This paradoxical coexistence of unemployment and superfluous vacancies means that while people are looking frantically for jobs, many jobs are left unfilled. How is it that people lose jobs while the economy keeps growing? The answer is that if economic growth is achieved for the most part by raising labor productivity, while the population growth rate remains relatively high, those coming of employment age are likely to fail to land suitable jobs. Even if these people are a nonfactor, industries and regions with slow or stagnant growth lay off workers. This is particularly true of developing countries, where agriculture – known for its low labor productivity – often dominates the national economy. In the industrialization process, large numbers of villagers who have just quit farming may find it hard to land jobs. Unemployment – concealed unemployment[2] included – thus becomes unavoidable.

Why, then, are there vacancies that remain unoccupied? This is because, when the workforce structure does not tally with the prevailing economic growth rate and economic structure, the rising industries in both material and nonmaterial production cannot find what they want badly: skilled workers and competent engineers, technicians, researchers, and managers. The same labor shortage can also occur in established industries in material production that maintain growth by relying heavily on new technology and equipment, so much so that even workers on their payrolls cannot measure up to what such new technology and equipment require of them. Seemingly unwanted jobs may also occur in newly developed places where required workers are in short supply. This is an outstanding problem with developing countries, where, for historical reasons, skilled workers that can keep pace with industrialization are scarce.

Generally speaking, the number of the jobless can never match the number of jobs awaiting them in a national economy. The ratio between the two numbers differs with the changes and readjustments in a nation's

economic growth rate and economic and workforce structure. However, even if the two numbers match each other, they cannot offset each other, because workers of different proficiency levels and fields of work are not interchangeable under modern production and technological conditions. In the long run, the coexistence of unemployment and unfilled job vacancies in a nation's economic growth is not temporary, but, most probably, perpetual. That is to say, job vacancies may disappear when long-time job-seekers have found their jobs, but will occur again when new layoffs arrive on the scene. Unemployment, concealed unemployment included, is a waste of human resources, while job vacancies left unfilled are a waste of material resources – for them to exist at the same time is not only detrimental to economic growth, but also holds back the adoption and popularization of new technology and economic restructuring. The result is that the economy remains mired in low efficiency. Chronic joblessness can also be a major destabilizing factor for society.

In a nutshell, employment problems in a growing economy are attributable to the failure in reconciling the conflict between unem-ployment and unfilled job vacancies. Such is the "structural" nature of employment.

The employment problems confronting China are complicated. Some are universal to all economies, some are common to developing nations in economic development, but others are peculiarly China's own. These three categories of employment problems are intertwined. The universal ones stem from the fact that the increasing use of sophisticated machines and technological equipment has whittled down producers' need for workers, unskilled workers in particular. Those common to developing nations arise from the new job needs of large numbers of unskilled laborers that have just quit farming at the time of an agrarian society's transition to industrialization. The employment problems peculiarly of China's own are partly to be blamed on incompetent labor administration, but most of them are attributed to the lopsided economic development resulting from the ten-year chaos of the Cultural Revolution that considerably narrowed down people's job options. These problems were aggravated by the excessive population growth in the late 1950s and the early 1960s. Today, those born in those years are coming of age or will soon become eligible for jobs. If the employment problems for these people cannot be properly handled, both society and the economy will be in jeopardy. The situation is also complicated by a dire shortage of skilled

workers and the low labor productivity of those in their jobs. The dilemma facing China today is that while many job-seeking youths are having trouble finding jobs, factories, too, find it hard to fill jobs with qualified workers. A nation's aggregate volume of labor resources are derived by multiplying the total number of workers with their average level of technical competency – the chief indicator of labor quality. In that sense, China's aggregate volume of labor resources is by no means abundant because its workers' average skill proficiency is low despite their sheer numbers.

The solution to our nation's employment problems, in the final analysis, is to create a constant supply of new jobs to keep pace with economic growth. If we cannot create new jobs, the need for labor will shrink with the adoption of new technology, even if population growth is kept at a low level. How to create new jobs? This involves the diverse economic sectors and forms of public ownership under the socialist system, as well as such factors as economic administration, various types of technical innovation, and the ratios between sectors and economic growth rate. These issues, however, are beyond the scope of this study. The topic at hand is this: Supposing substantial numbers of new jobs are created by readjusting and revamping the ownership structure, the economic system and the ratios between economic sectors, and by riding the nation's robust economic growth, can the nation come to grips with its employment problems? Given the "structural" nature of employment in our country, we can assert categorically that the disparity between the structure of the workforce and that of the national economy will never be eradicated without corresponding development in education and without restructuring the education system. The dilemma between "people hunting for jobs" and "jobs seeking takers," too, will remain for a long time to come. The important role of education in tackling employment problems rests precisely on its ability to deliver the nation from that dilemma.

Developing education and spending more on it can help dovetail the workforce structure with a growing economy's need for workers at different technical levels and in different fields of work. To achieve that end, we have got to adapt our educational structure to the changing economic growth rate and structure, and act on the long-term need of economic growth to readjust the categories of schools and the setup of academic programs, and to variegate the schooling terms. Long years of observation reveal two options in this regard. In the first option, when existing and prospective job-seekers

are not outnumbered by anticipated unfilled job vacancies, the main thrust of our effort can be directed at further improving education and raising workforce quality, so that every worker that has been educated or trained can qualify for more demanding jobs, thereby enhancing labor productivity and further promoting the adoption of new technology. In this way, not only can the needs of economic growth be met, but the number of unfilled job vacancies can be curtailed as well. In the other option, when the total number of existing and prospective job-hunters outgrows the anticipated number of unfilled job vacancies, we can lay equal stress on improving and universalizing education, so that more high-caliber professionals can be cultivated for the national economy while legions of job-waiters are tooled with one kind of skill or another to qualify for suitable jobs. To achieve this end, apart from further restructuring the economy to increase job vacancies, attention should also be paid to developing secondary technical and vocational education so as to put more job-seekers through training. The school term for students can be lengthened so as to curtail the number of prospective job hunters and better prepare students culturally and technically for future economic growth needs. In other words, we would rather let our youngsters learn more knowledge and skill than keep them waiting for jobs when they are ill prepared in both skill and knowledge.

As things stand today, it is believed the second option is more workable for China for a long time to come. Thus, in education development and reform, we cannot go single-mindedly after improvement to the neglect of the role of education in tackling the "structural" employment problem.

We should also remember that education reform cannot be accomplished overnight. For one thing, economic growth itself demands that our schools supply large numbers of well-educated and skilled workers who measure up to its needs. Failing this, stable and sustainable economic growth will be out of the question. For another, the economy's ever-changing sectoral, regional and technological structures call for the adaptation of the education system. A certain level of national economic development is always consistent with a certain structure of education, with the latter changing in sync with the former. This fact should be considered when mapping out long-term national human resource plans.

So much for my analysis of the "structural" employment issue. The

employment problems facing China today are "structural" in the main, but they do not stop merely at being "structural." "Individual occupation selectivity" is another social employment issue for present-day China. When job openings are available, people can still choose to stay jobless. They do not lack the needed education and skill, but they make this choice out of occupational considerations. The causes of this employment problem are manifold, but education can still play a role in tackling it. This is because the mission of educators is not limited to teaching cultural knowledge and technical expertise. Character building and education in revolutionary values are essential to students in this country.

II. Investment in education as a prerequisite for developing a knowledge-intensive economy; the gradual increase of knowledge-intensive exports as a strategic measure to improve China's balance of international payments amidst economic growth

As to the patterns of technological innovation for developing nations in the modernization process, I have voiced my opinions in my article "On the roles of capital-intensive and labor-intensive economies in the modernization process of developing nations" (*World Economy,* issue No. 6, 1979). Because what I wanted to drive at in that article was that developing countries are not going anywhere if they choose to develop a capital-intensive economy more than anything else, I made no mention of the differences between skilled and unskilled labor and of the developmental trends of a labor-intensive economy. In this study, however, to explain why investment in education is a boon to stable and sustained economic growth, I find it necessary to look further into the patterns of technological innovation, or, to be specific, the role a knowledge-intensive economy can play in economic growth.

Theoretically speaking, a nation out to seek economic growth must boost its financial savings and raise funds for investment purposes. If the supply of funds is in shortage at home, something can be done to procure foreign funds under appropriate credit conditions and in light of the situation of the world capital market. The plus side of the use of foreign capital is that it helps overcome immediate foreign exchange and capital shortfalls and

brings in advanced technology from other lands. However, in the long run, the commitment to repaying both principal and interest will eventually become a problem for the borrower. If the nation cannot increase its foreign exchange revenue from exports or other sources, balance of payments deficit may become a major hindrance to sustaining its economic growth.

Let us imagine a nation that is before or at the beginning of industrialization and has an abundant workforce, whose wages are low, and whose traditional exports of labor-intensive products have a competitive edge on the world market. Such a nation can use its foreign exchange earnings from exports to meet its domestic demand for technology and commodity imports and improve its balance of international payments. However, when industrialization reaches a certain stage, labor-intensive exports will gradually lose their edge and put the nation at a disadvantage for the following reasons:

First, a growing economy inevitably boosts national income gradu-ally. While per capita national income rises on a yearly basis, worker wages go up as well. As a result, the gap in average wage between the nation and the developed industrial nations is likely to narrow down, thus diminishing the benefits of the "entry ticket" the nation can get from its low wages to the world market. What merits particular attention here is that industrialization is a common trend for all nations. When industrialization arrives at a certain stage in the said nation, other less developed nations will follow suit and strive to expand exports and absorb advanced foreign technology. These "latecomers" are most probably in the possession of abundant workforce and even lower wages, and their exports of labor-intensive products are more competitive on the world market because they are made by workers with even lower pay. If the said nation goes on to depend on labor-intensive products for exports after it has increased workers' wages on the basis of economic growth and increased national income, it is bound to come across newer and tougher competitors on the world market, a situation that is obviously not in its favor.

Second, a considerable part of the products of a labor-intensive economy are primary ones. Economic growth is likely to boost the demand for primary products in nations pursuing industrialization. For instance, the demand for mineral products or farm and sideline produce tends to swell with the rise of

new industries, urban development, development in communications and transport, and improvement in people's material and cultural lives. So the effort to sustain massive exports of primary products can be inhibited by economic growth and growing domestic demand for such products. If that happens, the nation's balance of international payments will be adversely affected.

Third, even though the output of labor-intensive products can grow in pace with a nation's economy, such a growth rate is generally low. Moreover, the effort to expand their supply is restrained by natural resources and productive technology. This is because living labor accounts for the lion's share of production costs, whereas materialized labor makes up a smaller portion of it. As a result, the growth of labor productivity is relatively slow. Supposing a nation in economic growth needs to import advanced technology constantly and repay the principal with interest on procured foreign capital, it must expand exports to meet that need. If that nation counts mainly on labor-intensive exports in return for foreign exchange earnings, it may not maintain its balance of international payments by expanding such exports because of their low growth rate and serious supply restraint. If the nation wants to expand its exports and maintain its balance of international payments, it can only have one of the three options. Option One: to export more non-labor-intensive products to pick up the slack in the slow growing supply of labor-intensive products. Option Two: to slash domestic demand for labor-intensive products and curtail its growth rate to guarantee exports. Option Three: to transform production technology for labor-intensive products and increase their labor productivity, so as to increase output and expand supply. Option One calls for changing the nation's traditional dependence on labor-intensive products for export revenue. Option Two is predicated on cutting home demand and restraining domestic growth rate, that is, to expand exports at the expense of domestic demand and economic growth. Option Three will bring down labor intensity in the nation's labor-intensive economy and gradually deprive it of its competitive edge. No matter what option is chosen, it is not only difficult but also against the law of economic growth for a nation to keep counting on labor-intensive products for export revenue when industrialization reaches a certain stage of development.

It should also be noted that even if a nation can still benefit from labor-intensive exports at a certain stage of industrialization (when, for example, its

wages are low enough, there are still no tough competitors on the international market scene, domestic demand for primary products has not grown strong enough to affect exports, or its labor-intensive economy is still robust enough to stabilize such exports), it gets a raw deal if it goes on selling labor-intensive products in return for non-labor-intensive imports. This is because the history and system of the world economy have determined that trade between non-labor-intensive and labor-intensive products on the international market is an unequal exchange of value, a situation that is not going to change anytime soon. This being the case, why should nations stick to labor-intensive products as the major source of export revenue after they have gone through a certain stage of industrialization? Why can't they replace labor-intensive products with non-labor-intensive ones that can definitely stand them in good stead in world trade?

As shown previously, observed from whatever perspectives, heavy dependence on labor-intensive exports should definitely be relinquished when industrialization reaches a certain stage even though it is a necessity at the beginning. On no account should the practice of letting labor-intensive products take up the lion's share of exports become a long-term state policy.

This poses a problem: Since it is both difficult and inappropriate for a nation to allow labor-intensive products to go on dominating its exports at a certain stage of industrialization, what is to be done with its balance of payments deficit in the course of economic growth? Supposing that nation's international revenue from nontrade items is fixed, what should it do to increase exports so that it can boost imports and repay the principal and interest of foreign debts?

The way out rests in developing a capital-intensive economy, exporting capital-intensive products, or replacing home-made capital-intensive products with similar imports. Feasible though these options are, they are by no means simple. Some developed industrial nations in the world economy today have turned international trade to their advantage through long years of painstaking maneuvering. This, plus the abundant capital in their hands, is of good service to them in exporting capital-intensive products. It is no mean task to compete with the capital-intensive products from these countries, let alone gain the upper hand in such a competition.

For this reason, developing nations that are latecomers to industri-

alization should spare no effort to develop and export something else after they arrive at a certain stage of industrialization, and that is the products of a knowledge-intensive economy.

The knowledge-intensive economy, observed from the perspective of labor quality and technological innovation, is actually a way of categorizing innovations, industries and products. As illustrated in the foregoing, the strength of a country's labor resources manifests itself in both the number and quality of laborers. Labor quality is not factored in when categorizing national economies into capital-intensive and labor-intensive types. Rather, economies are differentiated in this regard merely in terms of the ratio between labor and capital goods inputs in production by natural physical units. By contrast, in calculating the labor input by natural physical units, every person (or work hour) represents an equal amount of labor input; in calculating the input of capital goods, only their values are taken into account – the degree of sophistication of technology embodied in the capital goods and the technical proficiency of the workers using such goods are not factored in. However, an analysis in light of labor quality shows, firstly, labor input is naturally divided into skilled and unskilled labor input, and secondly, the input of capital goods is also naturally divided into those that, on one hand, embody technological sophistication and are applied by skilled labor, and on the other hand, do not embody the sophistication of technology used and are operated by unskilled labor. Thus national economies can also be categorized into skilled-labor-intensive ones and unskilled-labor-intensive ones. In a skilled-labor-intensive economy, labor is skilled, and the input of capital goods embodies mature technology in the hands of skilled labor. By the same token, products can also be classified as either skilled-labor-intensive or unskilled-labor-intensive. Knowledge-intensive products are exactly skilled-labor-intensive products.

If a nation rich in workforce can not only keep upgrading workers' scientific and technical proficiency, imbue them with high labor productivity and enable them to innovate production technology, but can also employ skilled workers and use capital goods that embody the sophistication of technology in production, then its products will not customarily be labor-intensive but skilled-labor-intensive or knowledge-intensive. Such products are a crystallization of the latest science-and-technology achievements mastered by that nation's labor – workers, technicians, scientists and

researchers included – and the advanced technical levels they have attained. They also epitomize the latest progress in production technology and the high labor productivity the nation has achieved. If that nation can export this kind of product in return for unskilled-labor-intensive imports, rather than sell labor-intensive products in exchange for capital-intensive products, it can still be competitive on the world market even though its wages are rising with economic growth, and it can also open up one market after another to promote sales. Furthermore, because the nation has stopped exporting labor-intensive products, it can steer clear of the extant terms of exchange in international trade that are detrimental to labor-intensive products, thereby forestalling economic losses that might be incurred by the system of unequal exchange.

Technological innovation knows no bounds; nor will improvement of labor productivity stop at a certain level. A developing nation striving for modernization enjoys broad prospects in both economic growth and balance of international payments so long as it sets its skilled-labor-intensive economy on a track of ceaseless development.

Thus the important role of educational investment becomes apparent in coordinating economic growth and the balance of international payments. Without steady follow-up investment in education, we can never achieve universal and remarkable development in the workforce's technical and work proficiency, bring forth high-caliber scientists and researchers, and revamp productive technology without letup. For this reason, investment in education is the prerequisite for developing a skilled-labor-intensive or knowledge-intensive economy, and for expanding export and balancing international payments amidst economic growth.

To sum up, increasing investment in education is a strategic measure for improving the balance of international payments in the course of economic growth. Ours is a socialist nation. Where is our comparative strength in international trade? It lies in none other than the export of certain labor-intensive products. We have to make the most of this strength, and develop it unremittingly. However, we should never make it a long-term state policy for foreign trade, to say nothing of the inevitability that this strength of ours will most probably dwindle gradually with national economic growth. From a strategic point of view, we must heighten the skilled-labor intensity of every

export commodity and the skilled-labor intensity of every exporting company. Our nation will stay competitive on the world market for a long time to come if our exports of farm products are no longer customarily labor-intensive, but improved strains and quality products that epitomize advanced science and technology and the latest research and development achievements; if our exports of industrial goods are no longer run-of-the-mill products of the labor-intensive processing industry, but quality goods that reflect the distinctively innovated Chinese technology and nascent research results; and if what we sell to the world market are no longer ores, coal, crude oil or other mineral products but a good variety of quality products that are fashioned out of mineral raw materials and that mirror China's new achievements in science and technology. Then the more productive our industrial and agricultural departments are, the more competitive our country will be on the world market. All these things, when done in due course, will put our nation's workforce at an advantage not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. With our "knowledge" crystallized in produce and labor service, we will remain invincible in the world market.

III. To increase wages and improve economic efficiency is the nation's cardinal mission that can be attained – to a certain extent – through investing in education

The topic of this section is the relationship between income distribution and economic efficiency. In a capitalist economy, the trade-off between "equality" and efficiency has special connotations. Under capitalist ownership of capital goods, "equality" is based on recognizing the capitalist hired-labor system, whereas efficiency is an outcome of capitalist competition. Fundamentally speaking, there will never be true equality so long as the capitalist hired-labor system remains, but this is irrelevant to the theme of this study. Nevertheless, the relationship between income distribution and economic efficiency is a major issue that merits attention.

To care for people and cultivate them is the purpose of socialist production. To develop production is to improve people's material and cultural wellbeing, and bring forth workers' talent. However, to develop production, we have got to be particular about efficiency and motivate our workers. Theoretically speaking, the principle of distributing to each

according to one's work, if carried out to the letter along with sound social welfare measures, is conducive to the development of production and enhancement of efficiency, as well as a guarantee for workers' pay raise provided development in production is ensured. However, workers' average income in this nation is low, and the influence of egalitarianism on income distribution very much alive. Both facts hamper economic growth, sap people's enthusiasm, and render workers' pay rise all the more difficult. The egalitarian pattern of income distribution that has kept wages at a low level for a long time cannot be eradicated without painstaking efforts.

To illustrate this issue, and to explain the role education can play in readjusting the relationship between income distribution and economic efficiency, it is necessary to begin this study with the income distribution theory.

Generally speaking, in economic growth there may be two income distribution patterns. One is to pay workers entirely according to the quantity and quality of work done. Under the other pattern, the state takes steps to regulate people's income by making allowances for low-income earners and limiting or deducting from the income of those highly paid. Proponents of the first pattern argue that paying people entirely according to the quantity and quality of work done represents a fair and square evaluation of the labor or service provided by every member of society, and that this is the only way to duly reward those who work hard and sanction those who malinger or dillydally, and to motivate people to work to the best of their ability and talent. Supporters of the second pattern hold that to reward people entirely according to the quantity and quality of work done is unfair because such quantity and quality are not entirely determined by whether people work hard or not.

They argue that people differ in the ability to earn a living because there are broad differences in talent, intellectual attainment, physical strength, family background and education, and especially because people cannot choose the social and work environment and the capital goods they are supposed to use in production. For example, because some happen to be using highly productive machines while the others are not, someone may have worked hard, but the quantity and quality of work he does compare unfavorably with what is done by someone else who does not exert himself

but has better talent and family background and works in a better environment. These factors embody the limits of the practice of rewarding people entirely according to the quantity and quality of work done, and are responsible for the fact that some people work harder than others but make less money while others do not work as hard but earn more. It thus stands to reason for the state to adopt regulating measures to give allowance to low-income people and limit the incomes of highly paid people.

Supporters of either income distribution pattern try to make their cases also by citing income distribution's beneficial effect on economic growth. Supporters of the first pattern believe that paying people entirely according to the quantity and quality of work done can inspire every worker to take the initiative into his hands and improve his expertise and skill, thereby promoting national economic growth. According to them, people's enthusiasm will be dampened, and their work efficiency reduced, if they are not paid according to the quantity and quality of work done, or if their incomes are evened up arbitrarily. Supporters of the second pattern believe that the first pattern tends to widen the income gap between members of society, thereby adversely affecting the mindset of some people, so that low-income people may become so frustrated and disappointed as to stifle their initiative, and hurt the national economy in turn.

The controversy surrounding these two income distribution patterns, however, makes little sense for capitalist economies. A capitalist society cannot possibly pay workers according to the quantity and quality of work done, and its class nature determines that it cannot regulate the income of members of various classes in reasonable ways. The superior socialist system makes fair income distribution possible, as it can maximizes economic growth by dispensing income on a rational footing. The superiority of socialism, however, is yet to be brought to full fruition in China. Egalitarianism in income distribution and low average worker income are established facts in this country for a variety of reasons. Ambiguity in production goals compels people to produce for production's sake year in, year out. The belief that the more egalitarian it is, the better income distribution becomes makes it impossible to distribute income reasonably and motivate workers with it. As a result, the economy grows at a snail's pace, labor productivity remains penuriously low, and workers' disposable incomes cannot be increased, so much so that social stability and unity are affected.

The situation has reached a point where something has to be done about it. But what exactly is to be done? In my opinion, when we discuss how to regulate the relationship between income distribution and economic efficiency, we must proceed from our nation's established income distribution pattern, from the egalitarianism that has been prevalent across the land for years, and from the current average income of workers. History cannot be reversed. It won't do to conjure up an income distribution pattern based on the assumption of "what we would have done if we were living in the pre-liberation year of 1949." Important though it is for us to explore such a pattern, it cannot solve real-world problems because the established wage standards make it easy to raise wages and hard to reduce them, and because the established welfare benchmarks make it easy to raise welfare and hard to reduce it.

Given the status quo in our nation, we are not getting anywhere if we stop paying people according to the quantity and quality of work done and increasing people's average income, and allow egalitarianism to go unchecked. It will not work, either, if our government acts impetuously, turns a blind eye to the real practices of income distribution and the welfare steps that have been taken, and carries to extremes the practice of paying people strictly according to the quantity and quality of work done. Considering the historical circumstances under which the current income distribution practice has come about, I believe the order of the day should be to gradually increase workers' pay in the process of developing production. Egalitarianism and low average worker income are the main causes behind low work efficiency; and low work efficiency is a major hindrance to economic growth. Our mission at hand is to root out egalitarianism and carry out the principle of distributing to each according to his work. That is to say, under the precondition of raising workers' actual income, we must do what we can to pay them in light of the quantity and quality of work done. If we keep doing this, workers' income is bound to grow considerably within a few years. However, a universal rise of average worker's pay may also result in the income of some people rising more quickly than others, thereby widening the income gap. If the growing income gap disgruntles some people, it will not be too late for the government to remedy the situation with regulatory steps, such as increasing the private income tax rate and levying an inheritance tax within the framework of a progressive tax system. In my opinion, we have got to foresee

this potential trend and refrain from taking premature countermeasures. The problem will be taken care of sooner or later.

Coordination between income distribution and economic efficiency amidst economic growth involves not only the long-standing distribution pattern and the past and present wage and welfare systems, but also a number of ideological issues. For instance, such important ideological issues as workers' political awareness, social mores and values, and people's understanding of what "equality" and "happiness" really mean can affect, one way or another, people's enthusiasm, initiative and efficiency at work, and the balance between income distribution and economic efficiency. We must be careful about the countermeasures we are going to take against these ideological issues if we are to increase workers' pay without crippling their enthusiasm for work or hurting economic efficiency.

What, then, is the role of education in coordinating the relationship between income distribution and economic efficiency? Can education investment speed up the accomplishment of the abovementioned tasks? There is no doubt that education has a certain ideological impact on those being educated, thereby helping them foster a sound outlook on life, a sense of social responsibility and other values that should not be overlooked. It is also indisputable that this impact is not an issue. What is at issue is the content of such education and the approaches to it. In this study, however, I want to draw attention to the following four pertinent economic issues:

First, as education can improve people's money-making ability by raising their cultural and technical levels, an effective way to help low-income workers make more money is to put them through certain professional education or training. If the principle of distributing to each according to his work is followed in real earnest, a worker schooled in professional knowledge and technical expertise can earn more than those who lack such knowledge and expertise. Thus he is a beneficiary of the education he has received. Regular and spare-time education can both help individuals increase their private income. Therefore, those who have passed a certain level of academic or technical examinations should be issued a diploma or certificate and paid accordingly in the workplace. Developing education can upgrade the quality of the entire nation's workforce and boost the work efficiency of those who have been educated. This is particularly the case in

this age of modern science and technology, where a growing economy badly needs quality workers who can never be replaced no matter how many low-quality workers there are. Low-income people will be stuck in the low income brackets, and their work quality will remain low if they do not receive professional training. It is thus clear that developing education helps bridge income disparity, increases efficiency, boosts the economy and increases workers' average income.

Second, the lack of labor mobility is detrimental to the effort to enhance economic efficiency and increase income. However, labor mobility is a complex issue that is beyond this study. What I want to say right now is this: Supposing the workforce in our nation has become somewhat more mobile through institutional and other reforms and readjustments, this leaves another important problem to be addressed, that is, there are people who, for lack of professional knowledge and skills, are not able to adapt themselves to the changing economic structure and ever-improving technology by changing their jobs. In the course of economic growth, large numbers of villagers quit farming as a result of raised productivity in agriculture, but their poor adaptability to new careers makes it hard for them to be absorbed by other sectors in need of workforce. Thus large numbers of them have stuck in agriculture, where their labor cannot be fully utilized. Social efficiency suffers as a result. What merits particular attention is that, under these circumstances, low efficiency, lack of vocational adaptability, and low income are interrelated, and can also be addressed by relying on education development. Only through education can low-income people change their jobs when and where necessary, and get higher pay; only when their abilities and talents are brought into play in their new jobs can society reduce its loss in efficiency.

Third, generally speaking, low income not only affects its earners but also carries over to their younger generation. This is true everywhere, and socialist China is no exception. A socialist society is theoretically free from hereditary tenures, workplace discrimination and cliquishness, but owing to low incomes and the lack of adequate education facilities at home, children from low-income families have few schooling opportunities and even fewer opportunities to go to college. When they start work, they have fewer chances to get new jobs, let alone jobs with high pay. I think we should admit that their problem is caused by economic factors. A comparison of low-income

families with high-income families shows that if income disparity has become a reality in the first generation, by the time of the second generation, a few low-income families may quit poverty, but most of them will remain poor or become even poorer. This is because, judging from the Chinese reality, among the generation of people in their forties and fifties, families with poor education generally have more children than others. In these families, few housewives hold jobs, a factor which keeps their per-family income at a low level. Low income leads to low level of education, and low level of education leads to low income, and the vicious cycle goes on and on. It goes without saying that the government may take steps to provide children of low-income families with more educational opportunities. But this way of doing things can backfire, because in an environment where higher education is underdeveloped while the remnant influence of feudalism lingers, government steps can degenerate into some people's tools for selfish gains. When that happens, there will be serious consequences: The efficiency of the national economy will be eroded, and a drain of precious human resources will occur. To break the vicious cycle suffered by low-income families without affecting economic efficiency and dashing talented people's hope for education, we must develop education. We must expand higher education and vocational education dramatically to increase the rate of school enrolment of low-income families' children and prepare them for high-income jobs in the future. At the same time, we should never do anything that might erode society's economic efficiency or deprive gifted people of the opportunity to continue their education and bring their talent into full play.

Fourth, with the whole picture of the national economy in mind, low-income people or families cannot be asked to improve their income level on their own. If our economy were still under the kind of turmoil and sabotage that we saw during the decade-long Cultural Revolution, or if it prows very slowly, little could be done to address the low-income levels as a social problem, no matter how hard these people worked to raise their incomes or improve their and their children's future money-making ability. The effective solution to income distribution problems in the course of economic growth comes down to national economic development, GDP growth, consistent technological innovation, and ever-increasing labor productivity. This is precisely where the role of education comes into play in regulating the relationship between income distribution and economic efficiency amidst

economic growth. As I have stressed earlier, improving labor quality is a major guarantee for economic growth, while any achievements in innovating technology and raising labor productivity can be regarded as the accumulated results of investment in education.

Incidentally, I use the term "high-income" in this study as a refer-ence to a certain group of individuals or families in the context of China's income distribution situation. It is relevant only to what happens in China, where the income levels of both workers and government functionaries are on the low side. This renders any comparison of China with the absolute statistics on average international income meaningless. Instead, it makes a lot more sense to compare the consumer-goods structure (the percentage of food expenses in a family's income in particular) and the hourly wage's purchasing power (the exchange ratio between hourly wage and durable consumption goods in particular). For this reason, while riding economic growth to raise the income level of low-income families, we should also work to improve the income of all workers and government employees, so that every family can see changes in their consumption composition and the exchange ratio between hourly income and durables. Of course this arduous task cannot be accomplished without a whole package of government steps. To develop education and increase funding for it is one such significant step. This is because only with a quality workforce and robustly growing labor productivity is it possible for everyone to make enough money and for production costs to drop enough to bring down the prices of consumer goods, change every family's consumption structure, and raise everyone's hourly income higher enough to afford more consumer goods. These changes are interconnected and mutually promoting. Universal changes in family consumption structure and universal increases in worker wages can yield more jobs and make it easier to solve employment problems.

IV. Despite the conflict of rising educational funding with fiscal balance at the present stage of economic development, investing in education helps boost fiscal revenue amidst economic growth

Developing education calls for more funding. Where shall the money

come from? The mere mention of this question arouses concern about an added burden on state treasury. That is why people are saying the need to develop education and increase the funding for it is in conflict with the effort to maintain fiscal balance.

At the present stage of China's economic development, government funding is crucial to education development. But is government the only source of funding for education? Of course not. To solve employment problems and create more jobs, we cannot count on direct government investment alone and turn a blind eye to nongovernmental fund-raising efforts. By the same token, we cannot set our eyes only on state coffers and relinquish social fund-raising efforts if we are to develop education and put more people through school. In this study, however, let us forget about raising funds for education from nongovernmental channels and suppose that government funding is the only financial resource for education in this country.

In that case, there is no lack of theoretical support for the concern that increasing educational funding will result in fiscal deficits. Supposing the financial revenue is fixed or its growth rate is rather low while the growth rate of educational investment and spending on teachers' salaries are high, then financial deficits become unavoidable. Deficits increase money supply, which in turn causes prices to rise. Furthermore, if fiscal revenue is fixed while expenditure for national defense, administration and other purposes is curtailed to a maximum, increasing educational funding is likely to cut directly into investment in material production. This may reduce the economic returns from material production (or its profit growth rate), and inflate production costs (or bring down the cost reduction rate). In both scenarios, fiscal revenue and balance will be adversely affected, which may eventually trigger price increases.

However, we may see another possibility if we look a bit farther. Increasing educational investment is beneficial to both economic growth and the effort to maintain fiscal balance in the course of economic growth. Other things being equal, the source of increasing net revenues for an enterprise lies in its success in managing labor productivity to outgrow wage costs, expanding commodity production and reducing consumption of raw materials induced by improved labor productivity. As far as the entire national

economy is concerned, increasing labor productivity to boost enterprise revenues is a reliable way to raise fiscal revenues and stabilize prices.

In this light, the role of boosting educational investment speaks for itself. This is because, as I have said previously, increases in labor productivity can be regarded as an outcome of educational development.

This point of view can be further elaborated in three ways.

Firstly, insofar as its nature is concerned, education investment should be seen as a productive investment. Like investment in material production (such as building a factory or adding machinery and equipment), educational investment can also help increase the GDP. The difference between the two kinds of investment is that while investment in material production embodies itself in increasing the quantity and quality of material products, investment in education is reflected in workers' improved cultural and technical proficiency or in increasing the number of laborers who measure up to certain industrial or job requirements. The results of the former investment are plain for all to see, whereas the outcome of the latter can be easily overlooked, so much so that educational expenditure has for a long time been regarded as nonproductive. If the role of education in promoting national economic development is still perceived in that old light, the inevitable conclusion is that adding educational funding can only upset fiscal balance. If, on the contrary, spending on education – an investment in human capital – is deemed conducive to heightening the cultural and technical proficiency of the workforce, thereby raising labor productivity and speeding up economic growth, then it is ultimately beneficial to fiscal balance.

Secondly, spending on education as a productive investment is characterized by a cycle that is longer than the construction cycle of the infrastructure, such as transportation and power supply. Of course there is no lack of cases in which educational spending brings quick economic returns, such as certain short-term training programs for technical workers. Generally speaking, however, it takes time to groom workers to a certain proficiency level in culture and technology, and it takes a much longer time to bring forth professionals of a certain caliber. Such facts give rise to the misunderstanding that education is like "distant water that cannot slake immediate thirst." As a matter of fact, that misunderstanding can be averted if people take a strategic point of view and regard education as a productive investment capable of

yielding lasting economic returns, and if they can see the continuous role education can play in economic growth. To put it another way, if you are frustrated to see money being spent on education year in, year out, then you must be patient enough to wait until the number of laborers of a high cultural and technical caliber starts growing with each passing year. Just as education spending has about the same long harvesting cycle as infrastructure investment, so it can bring the same significant benefits to the national economy.

Thirdly, as a productive investment, education benefits society with its salubrious effect on the national economy as a whole. That effect can be easily neglected if we lose sight of the whole picture of society and the national economy, or if our vision is limited to a certain region, industry or firm. Of course, the direct effect of education investment can be felt in an individual region, industry or firm, especially in the case of certain types of local school or a factory's training school for technicians. This, however, is less important. Social gains from educational investment are a lot greater. Such gains are reflected, for one thing, in the fact that, by changing jobs or locations, educated workers will spread to all economic sectors and regions, and for another, in the improved scientific and cultural attainments of the entire population and the emergence of a rich crop of new inventions and innovations. Every invention or innovation is the fruit of long-accumulated investment in education, and, therefore, belongs to the entire society. With these inventions and creations, society is able to raise labor productivity, promote economic growth, improve workers' living standards and work conditions, create more jobs, and increase per capita national income. All these are the benefits society can reap from education. In all, if we shift our point of departure from a single region, industry or firm to take in the panorama of society, our judgment of the actual economic returns of education will not be limited to what a region, industry or firm has spent on education, nor shall our evaluation of the beneficial effect of education investment be restrained by the size of a partial investment. Clearly, even though increasing education spending in the course of economic growth may temporarily expand fiscal expenditure or curtail the income of some localities, from a long term point of view and by taking the overall situation into account, such spending is paramount to raising labor productivity, and effective in sustaining growth in national income and fiscal revenue.

Now that the benefits of developing education to the maintenance of fiscal balance in the long run are established, how should we look at the conflict between short-run increases in education spending and the need for fiscal balance? Let us return to the two hypotheses I have set at the beginning of this section.

Hypothesis One: Fiscal appropriation is, at present, the only source of funding for education. As a matter of fact, it is unnecessary to regard fiscal appropriation as the only source of funding for education, because nongovernmental fund-raising efforts hold great potential in this regard. How such potential should be tapped depends on the making and enforcement of government policy. We can save a huge amount of government spending on education as long as our policy allows nongovernment entities or individuals to run schools. Schools can be run effectively by involving nongovernment entities or collectives, and there is no lack of success in this field. I see nothing wrong with individuals running schools. Accomplished doctors, artists, accountants, translators and so on, are doing our nation and our youngsters a service by taking apprentices and teaching them knowledge or skills individually or by teamwork. These individuals are doing a lot of good to both the country and people when they run private vocational, technical or continuous education schools by tuition and cultivate talents for society without asking the government for a single penny. We would rather see young people in school than have them stay idle. As well as schools, an abundance of work-study programs are available for these people. To insist on running schools according to certain "rules" or "stereotypes" can do nothing but hold back development in education and put unwarranted burdens on the state treasury.

Hypothesis Two: Supposing fiscal revenue is fixed and defense and administrative expenditures have been pared down to a minimum, more spending on education can mean less investment in material production and result in fewer economic returns, to the jeopardy of fiscal revenue. Reality, however, has never been that simple. As we all know, investment in material production is just one condition for boosting aggregate production. There is at least another condition, and that is the economic returns from investment. If we can increase economic returns from investment in material production, speed up funds' turnover rate, and maximize the economic returns for every dollar spent, then we will see no reason why such investment cannot be

downscaled. The former condition has been overestimated for a long time while the latter condition is overlooked, as if the more the investment is made, the higher the accumulation rate will become, with no consideration given to the economic returns of such investment. Astonishing waste is the inevitable result, and there is no lack of bitter lessons in this regard. Given a fixed fiscal revenue, why can't we do more to raise the turnover rate of funds and improve the efficiency of investment in material production? To speed up the training of technicians and managers is an effective way to enhance the economic returns of investment in material production. As long as we can find ways to raise the economic returns of such investment, it will not hurt the aggregate output, companies' economic returns, or government revenue to develop education with money saved from it under a fixed fiscal revenue.

V. Conclusion

In this study I have looked into the positive role education investment can play in tackling problems in employment, international payments, income distribution, and long-term fiscal balance in the course of China's economic growth. We have no alternative but to speed up educational development by spending more money on it, if we are to ensure stable and sustained economic growth, tackle the nation's "structural" employment issue and weaknesses in international trade, and coordinate the relationship between income distribution and economic efficiency. The economic history of other nations indicates that it is easy to achieve temporary economic growth, but difficult to gain stable and sustained economic growth on the basis of coordinated development in all fields of socioeconomic development.

In the West, class antagonism and other fundamental conflicts inherent in capitalism are worsening; and unemployment, inflation, international payment deficits and unequal income distribution are entangled with the need for economic growth in an insoluble mess. Even if these capitalist nations can increase investment in education, the best they can accomplish is to ease the situation temporarily – there is no way they can find real solutions to their problems. Despite that fact, since the 1960s Western economists have been emphasizing the role of education in economic growth and urging their governments to take human capital investment policy and human resource planning as important measures to ensure long-term economic growth.

Socialism is a superior system. Problems of one kind or another do occur in our economy, but these problems are not inherent in the socialist system. On the basis of eliminating private ownership of capital goods under capitalism and carrying out the distribution policy of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," it should be a great deal easier for our nation to coordinate diverse social and economic interests in the course of economic growth. Education definitely has a bigger role to play in this regard than under the capitalist system. How is it, then, that education has not played such a role in the past? This question merits careful thinking. In my opinion, apart from long years of interference from ultra-leftist ideology and the sabotage of the Lin Biao Clique and the Gang of Four, it also has a lot to do with our short-sightedness, our failure to consider socialist economic development from the viewpoint of national development strategy, and our lack of understanding of the role of education in long-term economic growth. To those who cannot see the nature and role of education in perspective, education is a "soft" task that can be laid aside or delayed at will. Something is amiss, however, with that line of thinking. Therefore, I wrote this article with the same intention as when I wrote my thesis "Technical education and capitalist industrialization: a study of the rise of technological power in Western Europe and America" two years ago. That is, to send this message to our government policymakers: You have got to put a premium on education! When you mobilize society to raise money and open up schooling opportunities for our workforce, please make sure you will increase fiscal spending on education by a wide margin and thereby accelerate the development of education in our nation.

— *Journal of Peking University* (*Philosophy and Social Sciences*), issue No. 6, 1980

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[1] This speech was delivered at Peking University 1978 "May Fourth" Symposium and carried in Social Sciences Front, issue No. 4, 1978.

[2] Referring to individuals who know that no suitable jobs are available but choose not to register as being employed, even though they would prefer to have a job. (*Translator*)

论社会主义有效投资与合理投资 (1982)

什么是有效投资？可以简单地把它归结为能够迅速形成生产能力，增加社会总产品的供给，促进经济增长的投资。什么是合理投资？可以简单地把它归结为既能促进经济增长，又能维持物价基本稳定，提供较多就业机会，提高劳动者实际收入水平的投资。投资是否有效，以它是否增加社会总产品供给为准，其有效程度则以社会总产品增长率来衡量；投资是否合理，以它是否兼顾经济增长、物价基本稳定、提供较多的就业机会、提高劳动者实际收入水平这四项目标来确定。投资的合理程度，则以它在实现这四项目标方面所取得的实际结果作为评价的尺度。有效投资可能是合理投资，但也有可能不是合理投资。社会主义投资仅仅成为有效投资还不够，应当使它们成为合理投资，而且应使其合理程度尽可能增大。

一、投资是经济增长的第一推动力量

经济活动是一个动态的过程。前一期的生产、分配、交换和消费，制约着后一期的生产、分配、交换和消费。要使后一期的生产、分配、交换和消费在更大的规模上进行，前一期的国民收入中必须有一定的数额作为投资。投资的多少，影响着经济规模的变动程度。因此，在投资效果为既定时，一定的经济增长率总是以一定的投资率（即投资在国民收入中的比例）为前提的。

在任何经济增长中，投资都表现为第一推动力量。第一推动力量是指使停滞的经济得以增长的最初的推动力。如果没有这种最初的推动力，经济就不能摆脱停滞的状态。

在经济活动过程中，由于人口的增长、居民需要的变化、外部竞争条件的变化以及其他情况的变化，供给与需求之间，即生产和消费之间

可能出现不协调，各个经济部门和各个经济区域之间也可能出现不协调。这种不协调状态的加剧，将导致经济增长率下降，甚至导致零增长或负增长。为了改变这种不协调状态，保证经济增长的持续性，投资是不可缺少的。在这里，投资仍然表现为第一推动力量，它能促进经济结构的调整，使供给与需求相适应，使经济中各种比例关系相适应。

在经济活动过程中，由于生产技术的停滞、原有的生产设备或工艺的陈旧落后、对生产设备和原材料的利用不当，或由于生产中出现某些薄弱环节而未能及时予以改进，将会引起劳动生产率下降和亏损。这种情况如果迟迟未能改变，不仅经济无法增长，而且还会影响财政收入，因为企业的亏损必定导致财政收入的减少。要扭转劳动生产率下降和企业亏损的局面，除了从经营管理方面采取适当的措施以外，增加投资也是必要的。在这里，投资作为第一推动力量，将导致技术的创新、劳动生产率的提高、企业的赢利和财政收入的增加。

在所有这些场合，投资之所以成为第一推动力量，是因为投资的意义不在于投资本身所造成的需求，而在于投资在经济活动中所引起的一系列连锁反应。投资本身造成的需求毕竟是有限的，投资在经济活动中所引起的一系列连锁反应在国民经济中的作用要大得多。

增加投资能够增加收入，增加了的收入又能使投资增加，如此反复影响，就形成投资带动投资，收入带动收入的累积性过程。经济增长正是这样进行的；技术创新、劳生产率增长正是这样实现的；企业的赢利、财政收入的增加也正是这样得到保证的。反之，没有最初的投资，也就不可能有后续的投资；没有最初的投资所带来的收入，也就不可能有此后的源源而来的收入。

因此，轻视或忽视投资作为第一推动力量的巨大作用，显然是不正确的。

当然，上述这一切是以经营管理状况既定为前提。经济中常常存在这样的情形：经营管理方面的不善使得劳动生产率处于较低的水平，并引起经济增长率低下和企业亏损，因此，可以不必增加投资，只要改善经营管理，就能使状况有所改变。

上述这一切也是以劳动者主动性、积极性既定为前提。经济中也常常存在这样的情形：劳动者缺乏主动性、积极性，或劳动者主动性、积极性未被调动和未能充分发挥，使得劳动生产率处于较低的水平，并引起经济增长率低下和企业亏损。因此，也可以不必增加投资，只要采取适当的措施，调动和充分发挥劳动者的主动性、积极性，就能使状况有

所改变。

二、有效投资和无效投资

投资的有效性在于它能促进经济增长，但并非任何投资都能起到促进经济增长的作用。投资可能是无效的。无效投资是指投资所引起的是零增长或负增长。

投资的有效性和无效性都有双重含义，即微观经济的含义和宏观经济的含义。就微观经济的含义而言，如果某项投资能使该投资单位的生产增长（即该投资单位的净产值增大），它就是有效的，否则就是无效的；就宏观经济的含义而言，如果某项投资能使国民经济增长（即国民收入增多），它就是有效的，否则就是无效的。由于任何投资从开始投资到生产增长和国民收入增加，总有一个过程，所以要考虑时间因素，即从开始投资到生产增长和国民收入增加之间的时间间隔的大小。各部门的具体情况不同，这种时间间隔的大小也不一样。但无论时间间隔大小，投资的有效性和无效性都是同经济增长（正增长、零增长或负增长）联系在一起的。

假定不考虑时间间隔的大小，那么，只有那些根本不能形成生产能力的、不能增加社会总产品的投资，才是无效投资。任何最终能形成生产能力和增加社会总产品的投资，都应被称为有效投资。这样，无效投资可能为数甚少，因为大多数投资，多多少少能在一定的时间间隔之后形成生产能力，使社会总产品有所增加，从而在经济增长中有某种程度的贡献。

如果仅仅从这样的角度来区分投资的有效性和无效性，那是远远不够的。必须考虑时间因素，即从开始投资到生产增长和国民收入增加之间的时间间隔的大小。本文在一开始就已规定了有效投资的定义，有效投资指能够迅速形成生产能力的投资。这就是说，迟迟未能形成生产能力的投资，不能称为有效投资。

这里需要讨论的是：为什么要在有效投资的定义中，加上“迅速”二字？如何理解“迅速”二字？如何根据对“迅速”的理解来区分投资的有效性和无效性？我们知道，任何投资都是在一定时期内对现有资金的占有，而投资所占有的现有资金是国民经济中新创造出来的价值的一部分。这笔现有资金在物质生产领域内可能有不同的用途，如果使用得

当，它们能使社会总产品增加，使经济增长。因此，它们意味着一定数量的“可能的”或“潜在的”社会总产品增量，意味着一定程度的“可能的”或“潜在的”经济增长率。如果把这笔现有资金用来进行某种能够迅速形成生产能力的投资，那么，“可能的”或“潜在的”社会总产品增量可以转化为现实的社会总产品增量。如果这笔现有资金闲置不用，即不用于任何投资，那么就得不到这种现实的社会总产品增量。把迅速形成生产能力的投资同闲置不用的资金相比，后者显然表示一种损失，即社会总产品的损失、经济增长率的损失。

现在，假定利用这笔资金来进行某种迟迟未能形成生产能力的投资，以至于它们要比通常情形下形成生产能力所需要的时间多出一段相当长的时间。在这一段多出的时间内，所占用的资金意味着它们并未发挥作用，也就是未能被用于增加社会总产品和促进经济增长，这就等于社会总产品的损失、经济增长率的损失。如果说这笔投资在经过很长的时间之后才形成生产能力，那么在它形成生产能力之前比通常情形下所多占的时间内，它应当被看成是无效投资。而且，甚至在它已经形成生产能力，并且已经开始提供社会总产品时，它还需要把前一阶段作为无效投资给国民经济造成的损失弥补起来。只有当这些损失被补偿后，这笔投资才能名副其实地被称作有效投资。

这就是在分析投资的有效性时，有必要对形成生产能力所需要的时间长短加以考察的理由。

那么，应当怎样理解“迅速形成生产能力”这一表述中的“迅速”二字呢？由于各个部门、各个具体投资项目的情况不同，所以只能用特定部门、特定投资项目形成生产能力的平均时间作为标准。凡是在平均时间以下的，都可以理解为“迅速”形成生产能力。越低于平均时间，则越“迅速”。凡是超过平均时间的，都可以理解为“迟迟未能形成生产能力”。越高于平均时间，则越是“迟缓”。

按照这一标准来判断，投资的有效性和无效性的定义可以进一步明确地表述如下：

1. 根本不能形成生产能力，不能使社会总产品有所增加的投资，是无效投资。

2. 形成生产能力所需要的时间小于为形成该种生产能力所需要的平均时间的投资，是有效投资。

3. 形成生产能力所需要的时间大于为形成该种生产能力所需要的平

均时间的投资，只有在它形成生产能力、提供社会总产品，并补偿了在超过形成该种生产能力所需要的平均时间的期间造成的损失之后，才成为有效投资。在这以前，它是无效投资。

三、合理投资和不合理投资

仅从促进经济增长这一个目标对投资进行分析，是不够的；投资作为经济增长的第一推动力量，它的积极作用既在于增加社会总产品，提高经济增长率，还在于对经济中的各种比例关系起协调作用，对经济发展的各个目标起协调作用。从这个意义上说，投资实际上是经济中的一种平衡力量，或者称之为平衡的推动力量。如果投资能够起到这种平衡的推动力量的作用，那么投资是合理的。

但投资也可能表现出与此恰恰相反的作用：使得经济中的各种比例关系不相适应，使得经济发展的各个目标失调，顾此失彼，此长彼消，以致投资不仅不成为经济中的一种平衡力量，反而成为破坏平衡或加剧不平衡的力量。这样的投资是不合理的。

如果投资是不合理的，那么就短期而言，只要它是有效的投资，社会总产品的增加仍是可能的。但就较长的时期而言，由于经济中各种比例关系的不相适应和经济发展的各个目标的失调，社会总产品很可能停止增长，甚至还会下降。这样，有效投资就变成无效投资了。

由此可见，从投资的合理性和不合理性的角度来对投资进行分析，比从投资的有效性和无效性的角度来分析更为重要。合理投资和不合理投资概念，是宏观投资理论中的范畴。在谈到投资的合理性和不合理性时，投资只具有宏观经济的含义。

投资的合理与否，要根据投资对于经济增长、物价基本稳定、提供较多就业机会、提高劳动者实际收入水平这四方面的作用来判断。只要其中有一个方面的情况比投资以前恶化了，就不能称为合理投资。假定其中有一个方面的情况比投资以前好转了，而其余三个方面的情况维持与投资以前相同的水平而没有恶化，那么就可以称为合理投资。假定有较多方面的情况比投资以前好转了，较少方面的情况维持与投资以前相同的水平而没有恶化，那么投资的合理程度是增大的。

因此，可以把合理投资的定义进一步明确地表述如下：

就投资对于经济增长、物价基本稳定、提供较多就业机会、提高劳动者实际收入水平这四方面的作用而言，投资以后，至少其中有一个方面的情况比过去好转，而没有一个方面的情况比过去恶化，那么这样的投资就是合理投资。

如果在上述四个方面中，投资以后，经济增长了，但其余三个方面仍维持原状，即既没有比过去好转，也没有比过去恶化，那么在这种情况下，有效投资恰好是合理投资，或者说，有效投资与合理投资是同一回事。如果希望投资既具有有效性，又具有合理性，那么投资以后，经济的增长和其余三个方面的维持原状，就是最低限度的要求。

按照最低限度的要求来使有效投资与合理投资统一起来，只是安排投资的一个出发点。应当使得上述四个方面的情况在投资以后都有所好转。投资的合理性越大，不仅投资的有效性越能得到保证，而且还能使有效投资持续不断地进行下去。道理是很清楚的：社会总产品没有增加，物价不能维持基本稳定，国民经济中不能产生较多的就业机会，劳动者实际收入水平下降，其结果将使整个国民经济状况恶化，持续的经济增长也将成为不可能。

正如在考察投资的有效性和无效性时要把时间因素考虑在内一样，在考察投资的合理性和不合理性时，也应当考虑时间因素。这是因为：只有在投资形成生产能力之后，它们才能起到平衡经济的作用，而从开始投资到形成生产能力，将会有一段时间间隔。这段时间间隔的大小，以各个部门和各项投资的特点而定。

这里需要注意的一个问题是：物价稳定、提供较多就业机会、提高劳动者实际收入这三方面的情况是有所不同的。在开始投资与投资形成生产能力之间，由于只有资金的投入而没有社会总产品的产出，所以货币流通量是增长的，这就会对物价的稳定发生消极的影响。如果在投资形成生产能力之后，由于投资的结果而引起的社会总产品增长率仍然小于货币流通量的增长率，那么它仍然会对物价的稳定发生消极的影响。这一点是不容忽视的。以提供就业机会来说，情况则与此不同。从开始投资之时起，投资就有可能提供一定的就业机会，因为这些投资项目本身是吸收劳动力的。投资形成生产能力后，它可能对就业发生十分不同的影响：或者它有可能扩大就业（包括这些投资项目本身增加的就业，也包括由此引起的其他部门和企业的就业的增加），或者它有可能引起就业的减少（包括由于投资引起的其他部门和企业的就业的减少，以及由于投资结束而引起的投资项目本身的就业的减少）。再以劳动者实际收入水平而言，除了因投资而引起的物价变动和就业变动这两方面可能

引起劳动者实际收入水平变动以外，更重要的是由于投资而引起的劳动生产率的变化，劳动者实际收入水平的变化必然要受到劳动生产率变化的制约。在投资形成生产能力之前，劳动生产率一般并不发生重要的变化，因此从投资开始到投资形成生产能力之间的这段时间内，劳动者实际收入的变动主要同投资引起的物价变动和就业变动有关；而在投资形成生产能力之后，劳动生产率的变化将对劳动者实际收入水平发生越来越有力的影响。

由此可见，投资的合理与否，固然要看投资形成生产能力之后对物价稳定、提供就业机会和提高劳动者实际收入水平等方面的影响如何，也要看开始投资之后到形成生产能力之间这段时间内，投资对物价稳定、提供就业机会和提高劳动者实际收入水平方面的影响。如果只注意到前一种影响而忽视后一种影响，那就有可能造成这种情形，即在投资形成生产能力之前，投资已经给国民经济的平衡带来消极的影响，甚至严重的消极影响，这样，即使投资以后形成了生产能力，但由于在这以前投资给国民经济平衡带来的消极影响过大，以至于妨碍了生产能力的发挥，或抵消了生产能力形成后可以在国民经济平衡方面发生的积极作用。

四、有效投资与合理投资之间的矛盾

前面已经指出，判断有效投资的标准和判断合理投资的标准是不一样的，有效投资在经济中的作用和合理投资在经济中的作用也有所不同。因此，有效投资不一定是合理投资，或者说，有效投资即使是一种合理投资，但也不一定是合理程度最大的即最合理的投资；另一方面，合理投资虽然必须是一种有效投资，但它不一定就是有效程度最大的（即最有效的）投资。有效投资与合理投资之间显然存在着矛盾。

例如，某一项投资或某一方面的投资，单纯从增加社会总产品供给的角度来看，它是有效投资，但它有可能在形成生产能力之前因投资额较大，占用资金的时间较长，从而影响货币流通量，对物价稳定发生不利的影响；或者，它有可能在形成生产能力之后，本身吸收的就业和由此引起的其他部门、企业的就业反而减少了；或者，即使它形成了生产能力，但由于物价变动和就业变动的影响，或由于劳动生产率的下降，从而导致劳动者实际收入水平降低，等等。所以，从兼顾多种目标和平衡国民经济的角度来看，它却是不合理的投资，或合理程度较小的投

资。

又如，某一项投资或某一方面的投资，从兼顾多种目标和平衡国民经济的角度来看，它是合理投资，因为它能使经济增长、物价基本稳定、提供较多就业机会、提高劳动者实际收入水平这四个方面的情况中至少有一方面的情况比过去好转，而没有任何一方面的情况比过去恶化。但是，正由于它要兼顾多种目标，因此它不一定是最能促进社会总产品增加的投资（比如说它不一定建成最新的自动化工厂），而可能是为了兼顾其他目标，并非购置最新设备，但仍能在某种程度上促进社会总产品增加的投资，从而它不是有效程度最大的（或最有效的）投资。

怎样对待有效投资与合理投资之间的这种矛盾呢？这个问题可以用规范方法来分析或用实证方法来分析。

用规范方法来分析，就是把投资所要兼顾的多种目标按照轻重缓急、先后次序进行排队，然后根据客观存在的实际条件，把通过投资所要解决的问题和可能解决的手段加以通盘考虑，再决定有效投资与合理投资究竟能在何种程度上协调一致。按照上面的定义，在投资所要解决的四个方面的问题中，只要其中至少有一个方面比过去好转，其余三个方面不比过去恶化，就是合理投资了。那么，应当首先让哪一个方面比过去好转呢？当然，这里涉及的是实现目标的客观可能性问题，所以要根据条件来分析。但这里也有一个价值判断问题，即认为什么任务更重要，什么任务较次要。用规范方法来分析，就是从价值判断的角度来评定各个目标的先后次序，然后再设法使合理投资得以实现。

用实证方法来分析，是按照既定的规范准则，或假定所有目标都同样重要，再拟定使有效投资和合理投资协调一致的途径。有效投资和合理投资之间矛盾的解决，不仅与投资的前提条件有关，而且与投资资金的筹集和运用方式有关。下面，准备从实证分析的角度，对投资的前提条件和投资资金的筹集、运用方式进行一些探讨。

五、有效投资与合理投资的资源与市场条件

无论是有效投资还是合理投资，它们的共同点在于：二者都必须在有充足的、可利用的经济资源条件下进行，二者都必须使投资形成生产能力之后所生产的产品有市场。这就是说，资源条件和市场条件是投资有效性和投资合理性的共同前提。

经济资源包括物质资源和人力资源两大类。物质资源，也就是指生产资料，包括生产设备、原材料、燃料和动力、运输手段、仓储设备等。人力资源，包括非熟练劳动力和熟练劳动力，而熟练劳动力中，又包括技术、管理等方面的专业人员。这些资源条件是投资所不可缺少的。

以有效投资来说，既然投资的有效与否取决于它能否迅速形成生产能力，增加社会总产品的供给，所以不言而喻，如果缺乏生产资料和人力供给的保证，要迅速形成生产能力将是困难的，甚至是不可能的。否则，即使投资项目已经建成，但由于得不到充足的生产资料（包括原材料、燃料和动力、供修理和更换用的零部件等），或者得不到适当的劳动力，或者运输和仓储等条件跟不上生产的需要，那么仍然无法增加社会总产品的供给。从这一点来看，投资作为经济增长的第一推动力量，以充足的、可以利用的经济资源的存在为前提。假定客观上存在着闲置的生产资料，又有闲置的各种劳动力可以利用，投资之后迅速形成生产能力是没有困难的。假定客观上暂时没有现成的、足够的闲置生产资料和劳动力，但只要稍加调整就可以保证生产资料和劳动力，那么投资之后也能迅速形成生产能力。或者，即使生产资料和劳动力都供应不足，但如果有足够的外汇储备，可以及时地转向国外市场去取得所缺少的经济资源，那么投资之后仍然有可能迅速形成生产能力，只不过在这种场合，情况会变得复杂些，因为这涉及外贸平衡和国际收支平衡的问题了。假定以上所说的这些条件全都不具备，投资就不可能迅速形成生产能力，它就成为无效投资。

以合理投资来说，既然投资的合理与否取决于它能否兼顾经济增长、物价基本稳定、提供较多就业机会、提高劳动者实际收入水平等多种目标，那么，投资合理性的最低限度要求就是它必须具有有效性，即能够迅速形成生产能力。由于充足的经济资源的供给是迅速形成生产能力的必要条件，所以合理投资也必须具备充足的经济资源供给这一前提，否则就无法对多种目标起到兼顾的作用。

再分析投资的市场条件。市场条件是指投资以后所生产出来的产品要适应市场的需要，要有销路。无论这些产品是供生产消费还是供个人消费，都需要有买主愿意在一定价格条件下购买它们。假定找不到买主，生产只是为某种产量指标或产值指标而生产，生产出来的产品只不过在仓库中积压起来，那就无法实现投资对经济的积极作用。这一点对合理投资来说，是完全可以理解的，因为投资之所以被称为合理的，正在于它能在增加社会总产品供给的同时，对维持物价基本稳定、增加就

业机会和提高劳动者实际收入水平起作用，如果投资以后生产出来的产品没有销路，那么投资在所有这些方面本来可以起到的作用也就发挥不出来了。不仅如此，假定产品没有销路，投资对于物价和劳动者实际收入很可能发生消极的影响。这样的投资是不合理的投资。

那么，投资的市场条件这一前提对于有效投资来说，是不是也适用呢？也许会有这样一种看法：由于投资的有效与否取决于它能否迅速形成生产能力，能否增加社会总产品的供给，而迅速形成生产能力与否只是同资源条件有关，与市场条件没有直接的联系，所以，只要投资之后能生产出一定数量的产品，不管这些产品是否有销路，它们都可以被称为有效投资。按照这种看法，似乎只有那些根本不形成生产能力或未能迅速形成生产能力的投资才是无效投资，能迅速形成生产能力但产品与市场需要不相适应的投资则不算是无效投资。这种看法无疑是不正确的。

这种看法的错误在于：它仅仅从字面上理解生产能力的形成，而把生产能力同市场条件割裂开来。实际上，这是对生产能力的一种误解。我们知道，如果投资建成了一座工厂，但这座工厂建成后并不从事生产，不提供产品，那么仍然不等于具有实际生产能力，因为这只是一种名义生产能力；如果这座工厂建成后生产的产品不适合市场需要，只是积压在仓库内，那么这种情形至少同该工厂不从事生产一样，因为它同样没有为社会提供可供利用的产品；不仅如此，它甚至比该工厂不从事生产更坏，因为它消耗了其他工厂所生产出来的、本来可以安排其他用途的燃料、动力、原材料等。因此，投资以后形成的生产能力应当是实际生产能力，而不是名义生产能力，应当是为社会提供适应市场需要的产品，而不是生产出没有销路的产品。如果我们从这个意义上来理解有效投资和生产能力的形成，那么就必然把市场条件看作投资有效性的前提之一。

认为投资的有效与否与市场条件没有直接联系的想法，恰恰是混淆了实际生产能力与名义生产能力的区别，误把后者当作前者，而不了解投资的有效性在于它所形成的生产能力乃是实际生产能力，而并非名义生产能力。

六、有效投资与合理投资的赢利性问题

投资赢利性问题是一个重要的理论问题。即使投资以后生产出来的

产品有销路，但如果它们只能以低于生产成本和利息费用的价格销售出去，那将会造成什么后果呢？

首先，对投资单位而言，这样的投资不仅不能回收上来，而且在投资以后，仍然需要追加一定的支出才能维持生产，否则它就连原来的生产规模也维持不下去了。这样的投资，即使形成了生产能力，并且形成的是产品有销路的实际生产能力，那么它只不过是一种对投资单位得不偿失的投资。一般说来，这样的投资是应当避免的。

然而，假定我们把视角由个别投资单位扩大到整个国民经济，那么我们对投资赢利性的问题可能会产生不同的看法。

国民经济是一个整体。国民经济各个部门有机地联系在一起。某些部门或某些企业，从它们本身的情况来分析，经济资源条件是具备的，产品也适应市场的需要，但由于某种原因，产品的价格只可能等于甚至低于生产成本和利息费用，从而是不赢利的。那么，是否应当在这些部门或企业进行投资呢？投资的赢利性是不是这些部门或企业的必不可少的投资前提呢？看来这个问题不可能简单地予以肯定或否定，因为这涉及投资的宏观经济效果的计量。

前面已经提到，有效投资有宏观经济的和微观经济的双重含义，合理投资则是宏观经济学范畴。从宏观经济的角度来看待投资，可能出现这样一种情况，即某些部门或某些企业的投资尽管其本身不具备赢利条件，但投资的结果却有助于其他部门或企业的生产有更大程度的增长，有助于国民经济的综合平衡，有助于协调各个目标之间的关系，那么这样的投资仍是十分必要的，这样的投资仍然可以称为有效投资和合理投资。

但投资的宏观经济效果也有可能成为替某些实际上无效的或不合理的投资进行辩护的借口，硬说这些投资项目不应当中止，否则就是缺乏宏观经济的考虑等等。甚至可以说，任何投资都能找到“合理的”根据，因为主张进行这种投资的人总可以提出“理由”，认为该项投资对国民经济如何如何重要，即使不赢利，也是不能取消的。的确，这是一个容易引起争论的问题。假定我们只承认投资的宏观经济效果的存在及其意义，而没有判断宏观经济意义上的投资有效性和投资合理性的标准，那么这个问题就无法解决。

在这种情况下，经济计量学方法是可以采用的。经济计量学方法本身固然有局限性，但在一定的场合，在一定的前提与假定之下，对于宏观经济意义上的投资有效性和投资合理性的分析仍有用处。

首先应当重视投资的资源条件和市场条件。任何投资都需要有充足的生产资料和人力供给的保证，因为这是形成生产能力的前提。投资以后生产出来的产品，也需要与市场需求相适应，否则生产出来的产品只能堆积在仓库里，投资所形成的生产能力只不过是名义生产能力而已。在分析投资的资源条件和市场条件时，可以采取各种计量方法。一般说来，可以采取投入产出分析方法来说明资源供给状况和市场需求状况。

再看投资的赢利性条件。微观经济意义上的投资赢利性，可以采取成本—收益分析方法来计算。在这里，关系是比较简单的。在一定产量和价格条件下，考虑到生产成本和利息费用，可以了解到投资单位的赢利与亏损状况，然后根据生产的时间可以了解到投资的回收期限。投资回收期的长短通常是判断投资单位的微观经济效果的重要尺度。

至于从宏观经济角度来考察投资的赢利与否，问题要复杂得多。物质生产领域内投资的合理性以及宏观经济意义上的投资的有效性，不能离开国民经济中各种比例关系的考察，不能回避国民经济各个部门之间投入产出关系的分析。如果甲部门所生产出来的产品除了直接供应消费者以外，还为乙、丙、丁等部门的生产消费所必需，而乙、丙、丁等部门所生产出来的产品除了直接供应消费者而外，还为戊、已、庚、辛等部门的生产消费所必需，如此等等，那么，对甲部门追加一定的投资的效果就不仅仅从甲部门本身所增加的收入中反映出来，而且也从乙、丙、丁、戊、已、庚、辛等部门由此所增加的收入中反映出来。假定一定的收入量与一定的就业量之间存在某种比例关系，那么，对甲部门追加一定的投资的效果既反映于甲部门本身增加的就业量，也反映于其他各部门的就业量的变动。这样，如果采用反事实度量法，至少可以两种方案进行比较。一是不增加甲部门的投资时的各个部门的总收入、净收入、就业等变量的大小，二是增加对甲部门的一定量的投资后各个部门的总收入、净收入、就业等变量的变动率。两种方案进行对比的结果，可以了解到投资的宏观经济意义上的赢利性。假定某项投资本身不赢利，但确实能使各个部门的总收入、净收入、就业等有所增长，而增长的结果能使国民经济的收益大于该项投资本身不赢利给予国民经济造成的损失，那么该项投资仍是有利于国民经济的。该项投资实际上仍有一个投资回收期，只不过这种投资回收期反映于国民经济之中。反之，如果两个方案对比的结果，即使某项投资本身有所赢利，但却使各个部门的总收入、净收入、就业等有所减少，或者，某项投资本身有亏损，但各个部门的总收入、净收入、就业等增加甚微，以致国民经济的收益仍小于该项投资本身亏损给予国民经济造成的损失，那么，该项投资是不利于国民经济的。如果在这种情况下仍坚持以注意宏观经济效果的名义

来从事该项投资，那么这种投资就是不合理的投资和宏观经济意义上的无效投资。

七、投资资金的供给、财政与投资的关系

要使投资成为有效投资和合理投资，必须重视投资资金的供给。如果某项投资具备了资源条件和市场条件，产品又有销路，并且预计销售后还有赢利，但由于资金供给不足，以至于投资无法进行，或者使在建项目中途停顿，那样就不可能迅速形成生产能力，投资也不可能成为有效投资。不仅如此，由于已经投入但迟迟未能形成生产能力的资金是国民经济的一项损失，因此该项投资也只可能是一种不合理的投资。

另一方面，即使投资能迅速形成生产能力，但如果资金供给过度，投资也可能引起财政或货币流通方面的失调，从而对物价稳定发生不利的影响，这样，它同样不可能成为合理投资。

那么，怎样才能避免资金供给的不当，而使投资具有有效性和合理性呢？首先，让我们对投资与财政之间的关系进行一些探讨。

在社会主义条件下，增加投资所需要的资金的一个重要来源是财政拨款。一般情况下，国家的财政拨款直接影响着投资的数额和规模，影响着投资的有效程度。更重要的是，财政拨款影响着多种目标之间的关系，影响着投资的合理程度。

在协调经济增长与物价基本稳定这两个目标时，一个迫切的问题是如何防止对货币资金的需求量过大，也就是如何防止货币流通量的增长过快。通货膨胀之所以发生，其原因归根结底在于社会总产品的增长率小于货币流通量的增长率。而要防止和消除通货膨胀，或者依靠提高社会总产品的增长率，或者依靠降低货币流通量的增长率，或者双管齐下。

货币流通量之所以会有较大幅度的增长，主要是由财政赤字或银行信贷膨胀引起的。因此，在客观上已经出现较多的财政赤字时，特别是连年有财政赤字时，通过财政拨款方式来增加投资资金，是必须慎重的，否则很可能使货币流通量进一步增大。

但是，由于投资是经济增长的第一推动力量，缺乏必要的投资无法使社会总产品增加，甚至也无法扭转社会总产品增长率小于货币流通量

增长率的局面。单纯地紧缩投资，既不能保证消灭财政赤字，也不能保证不发生通货膨胀。这是因为：国民经济中各个部门是有机地联系在一起的，只有不断调整部门结构和产品结构，才能使国民经济的比例关系经常保持协调。但部门结构和产品结构的调整在大多数场合需要追加一定数量的投资。如果为了消灭财政赤字和防止通货膨胀而单纯采取紧缩投资的做法，只会使国民经济的比例不协调和进一步不协调，甚至会使某些本来可以增加产量和赢利的行业或企业因此转为亏损，而无助于财政状况的好转和通货膨胀的消失。

从增加社会总产品的角度来看，技术改造和设备更新是提高劳动生产率的物质条件，而技术改造和设备更新通常需要追加一定数量的投资。如果为了消灭财政赤字和防止通货膨胀而单纯采取紧缩投资的做法，那就很难从物质条件方面着手来提高劳动生产率和增加社会总产品。不仅如此，如果缺乏必要的投资，以致设备无法更新，在其他条件不变的情况下，劳动生产率将会下降，于是某些本来可以照常生产和赢利的行业或企业也会因此转为亏损，这样就会进一步不利于财政，不利于应付通货膨胀。

可见，不能简单地把投资增长看成是财政赤字或通货膨胀的起因。有效投资和合理投资不仅不会加剧财政赤字和通货膨胀，反而是用来消除财政赤字和通货膨胀的手段。只有那种无效的投资、不合理的投资，即迟迟未能形成生产能力的投资、产品无销路的投资，或者虽然产品有销路但却亏损累累的投资以及使国民经济各种比例关系不协调的投资，才应对财政赤字和通货膨胀负责。

因此，对财政部门来说，需要注意的是：必须紧缩或停止一切不具备资源条件和市场条件而又没有宏观经济效果的投资，而对于那些能够迅速形成生产能力、产品有销路、有赢利或有助于国民经济各部门总收入和净收入增长的投资，则不应当紧缩或停止。有效投资和合理投资是活跃、繁荣国民经济的推动力量，活跃、繁荣的国民经济则是财政的坚实的基础，是源源不断的财政收入的保证。其实，只要财政部门对待投资持有这种科学的态度，即不该投资的不予投资，有必要投资的给予投资，就有可能避免投资资金供给的不当。

八、投资资金筹集方式的选择

财政拨款是社会主义投资资金的重要来源，但绝不是惟一来源。在

社会主义条件下，投资所需要的资金至少有四个国内来源，即财政拨款、社会集资、企业保留资金、银行信贷。银行信贷（包括短期、中期和长期信贷）可以作为不同用途的投资所需要的资金。它的优点在于能够督促投资单位加强经济核算，注意投资的微观经济效果。而银行通过对投资方案的审查和监督资金的使用，还能从增加宏观经济效果方面对投资起一定的作用。社会集资，除了指社会通过储蓄和购买债券方式聚集的资金以外，还包括群众为创办合作企业而筹集的资金、社会各界人士为发展国内建设事业而筹集的资金等。企业保留资金则指企业根据自主权原则而保留的一部分利润。企业可以按照生产的需要，利用这些资金来增添设备，进行技术改造，扩大生产规模，降低成本，增加产量。

这四个国内资金来源中，财政拨款也不是在任何情况下都成为主要的资金筹集方式。由于投资项目的不同和客观经济条件的不同，可以在这些筹集资金的方式中作出适当的选择。但无论采取哪一种筹集资金的方式，前面一再提到的投资的条件都是必须考虑的。任何情况下都应避免无效投资和不合理投资。任何时候都应力求增加投资的有效性和合理性。

很容易被人们遗忘的是，社会集资这种筹集资金的方式不仅与国家的投资之间有一种替代作用，而且还可能成为货币回笼的一种方式。社会集资与国家投资的替代作用表现于：本来社会上的某些投资项目是由财政拨款来承办的，现在改由社会集资来进行了。但投资不只是货币资金的供给，物资的供给保证是不可缺少的。社会集资所聚集起来的货币资金，需要购买生产资料。为投资所需要的生产资料，基本上是国家的生产资料供应部门提供的。如果国家的生产资料供应部门所拥有的为该项投资所需要的生产资料不足，那么这表明该项投资的资源条件还不具备。根据前面在分析投资的条件时已经说明的，不具备充足生产资料供给的投资是无效投资和不合理投资，应当中止。于是此项以社会集资方式出现的投资未能实现，它并不会对国民经济造成不利的后果。如果国家的生产资料供应部门拥有为该项投资所需要的足够数量的生产资料，那么这表明该项投资的生产资料供给条件已经具备，投资可以进行。这时，国家的生产资料供应部门供应生产资料，收回社会上的货币资金，这对于国民经济显然是有利的。否则，如果由国家拨款代替社会集资，虽然也能同样实现该项投资，但却起不到促进货币回笼的作用。

从另一个角度看，如果不进行社会集资，那么保留于社会各界手中的这些货币的出路何在呢？它们可能以储蓄方式存入银行，也可能购买消费品。假定它们存入银行，银行也会遇到如何运用它们的问题，在社

会需要进行某项投资时，银行的信贷方式提供资金，其作用与社会集资进行该项投资是一样的。但假定这些货币不存入银行，而转向购买消费品，特别是购买供不应求的消费品，结果将会使市场供应更加紧张。因此，在投资条件已经具备而社会集资又有可能的时候，选择社会集资方式的投资往往是一种更为合理的投资。

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Effective and rational investment under socialism (1982)

What is effective investment? To put it simply, it is the kind of investment that works promptly in putting together production capacity, boosts the supply of aggregate social product, and stimulates economic growth. What is rational investment? In short, it is the kind of investment that maintains basic price stability, creates many job opportunities, and raises labor force income while spurring economic growth. Whether investment is effective or not is determined by whether it has increased aggregate social product; and the effectiveness of investment is measured by the growth rate of aggregate social product. In contrast, whether investment is rational or not is determined by whether it has met the following goals: (1) boosting the economy; (2) maintaining basic price stability; (3) creating more jobs; and (4) raising labor force income. And the rationality of investment is measured by its actual results in meeting these goals. Effective investment may or may not be rational investment. Under socialism, it is not enough for investment to be merely effective. No effort should be spared to turn effective investment into rational investment, and with the largest possible degree of rationality at that.

I. Investment — primary dynamo behind economic growth

Economic activity is a dynamic process in which one period of production, distribution, exchange and consumption circumscribes the next period. To allow production, distribution, exchange and consumption to take place on a larger scale in the next period, a certain amount of national income from the previous period must be spent in investment. The amount of investment determines the degree of changes in economic scale. Therefore, for a given return on investment, economic growth rate is always predicated on a given rate of investment, i.e., the percentage of national income spent on investment.

Investment always manifests itself as the primary driving force behind

economic growth. The term "primary driving force" refers to the initial impetus that can set a stagnant economy on the track of growth. Without this initial impetus, no economy can be delivered from stagnation.

The relationship between supply and demand or between production and consumption may be thrown off balance in economic activity. The same can happen between economic sectors and between economic regions. If this lack of coordination is allowed to deteriorate further, it can bring down the economic growth rate or, worse, lead to zero or negative growth. Investment is indispensable if this situation is to be remedied and sustained economic growth ensured. Here, investment is still the primary driving force in adjusting economic structures, coordinating supply and demand, and maintaining economic relations in equilibrium.

Stagnant development of productive technology, worn-out equipment and outdated technological processes, misuse of equipment and raw materials, or failure to eliminate weak production links in good time in the course of economic activity can erode workforce productivity or inflict financial losses. If these conditions are allowed to continue, they will not only hold back economic growth but also adversely affect government revenue for the obvious reason that financial losses in enterprises invariably diminish government revenue. To reverse shrinking workforce productivity and compensate for enterprise losses, it is necessary to increase investment while adopting necessary management countermeasures. This is precisely where investment can be used as the primary driving force to renovate production technology, raise workforce productivity, and boost corporate profits and government revenue.

The reason why investment becomes the primary driving force on these occasions is that the significance of investment does not lie in the demand for it, but in the chain reactions it causes in economic activity. The demand arising from investment is, after all, limited, but the chain reactions it causes in economic activity can play a much larger role in national economy.

More investment means higher income, and higher income can stimulate investment. If this virtuous cycle can be made to last, a cumulative process will result in which investment brings along more investment, and income brings about still more income. This is how economic growth happens, how technology is upgraded and labor productivity grows, and how growth in

corporate profit and government revenue are realized. By the same token, without the initial investment, there will be no subsequent investment; and without the income yielded by the initial investment, a constant flow of income will be out of the question.

This being the case, it is clearly unwise to underestimate or overlook the tremendous role investment can play as the primary dynamo behind economic growth.

My above analysis is, of course, built upon a given condition of management. It is not uncommon that mismanagement results in low labor productivity, sluggish economic growth, and financial losses. For this reason, this situation can be changed to a certain extent simply by improving management, without increasing investment.

My analysis is also based upon the initiative and motivation of the workforce. It is not uncommon that the lack of initiative or motivation, or the failure to motivate the workers and give full scope to their initiative limits workforce productivity to such a low level as to reduce the economic growth rate and incur corporate losses. In that scenario, we can also change the situation not by investing more but by taking proper steps to motivate workers and put the initiative into their hands.

II. Effective and ineffective investment

The effectiveness of investment rests with its ability to fuel economic growth, but not all kinds of investment have such ability. Investment may also be ineffective. Ineffective investment refers to the kind of investment that yields zero or negative growth.

Investment effectiveness or ineffectiveness has dual implications: microeconomic and macroeconomic. In microeconomic terms, investment becomes effective if it can boost the investor's output (that is, increase the investor's net output value). Otherwise, it is ineffective. In macroeconomic terms, investment becomes effective if it causes the national economy to grow (that is, increases national income); failing this, it is ineffective. Because all investment must go through certain processes from the start of the action to the yield of increases in production and national income, the time factor must be considered, that is, the length of interval from the

beginning of investment to the date when output begins to grow and national income begins to rise. That duration varies in length with the situation in different sectors. However, no matter how long it takes, the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of investment hinges on whether the economic growth it has brought about is positive, zero or negative.

If the time factor is not considered, investment is ruled ineffective only if it cannot enhance production capacity or contribute to aggregate social product. Any investment can be ruled effective if it enhances production capacity or increases aggregate social product. Thus the number of ineffective investment should be kept low, because most investment can yield production capacity and add to aggregate social product after a certain period of time, thereby contributing to economic growth one way or another.

However, it is far from enough to judge the effectiveness of investment or the lack of it this way. The time factor must be taken into account, that is, the length of time it takes from the onset of an investment action to the realization of output and national income increases. I have defined effective investment at the beginning of this article as something that is prompt in bringing about production capacity. In other words, no investment can be effective if it is overly time-consuming.

You may wonder why my definition of effective investment should contain the word "prompt." In what light should we understand that word? How can we tell whether investment is effective or ineffective based on our understanding of that word? As we all know, investment refers to the occupation of a certain amount of available capital for a certain period of time, whereas the available capital occupied by investment is part of the newly created value in the national economy that may be put to other uses in material production. Used properly, it can raise aggregate social product and elevate economic growth. Therefore, investment entails a certain degree of "probable" or "potential" increase in aggregate social product and economic growth rate. If this amount of money used as investment is prompt in bringing about production capacity, this "probable" or "potential" increase can be converted into an actual increase in aggregate social product. If this amount of money is left idle, i.e., it is used in no investment, it will never yield actual increase in aggregate social product. If an amount of money that can be invested to yield production capacity promptly is left idle, it obviously

means losses in aggregate social product and national economic growth rate.

Supposing this amount of money is used as investment but takes a longer time than usual to enhance production capacity, it does absolutely nothing to boost aggregate social product or economic growth during that extra inactive period of time. Because, in this regard, inactivity is synonymous with losses in both aggregate social product and economic growth. During that extra time this amount of money should be regarded as ineffective investment. Moreover, even after it has yielded production capacity and begun to contribute to aggregate social product, it must make up for the losses it has caused previously to the national economy. Only after that can it qualify as effective investment.

This is why, in assessing investment effectiveness, due consideration should be given to the time needed for investment to put together production capacity.

How, then, should the word "prompt" in the wording "being prompt in yielding production capacity" be understood? Because of the differences in industries and investment projects, it is necessary to use the average time it takes for a specific industry or investment project to build production capacity as the benchmark. Investment that takes less than the average time to achieve the anticipated result can be regarded as being "prompt." The less time it takes to be effective, the "prompter" it becomes. Investment projects that take more than the average time to foster production capacity should be deemed "tardy in bringing about production capacity." The more time it takes in this process, the "tardier" it becomes.

With this benchmark, the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of investment can be defined as follows:

(1) Investment that cannot yield production capacity or contribute to aggregate social product is ineffective investment;

(2) Investment that takes less than the average time to yield production capacity is effective investment;

(3) Investment that takes more than the average time to yield production capacity can be deemed effective only after it has reaped production capacity, contributed to aggregate social product, and made up for the losses it incurred

during the extra time it took to yield such a production capacity. Before it has met these goals it should be regarded as ineffective investment.

III. Rational and irrational investment

No study of investment is complete if it focuses only on whether it has furthered economic growth or not. As the primary driving force behind economic growth, the positive role of investment lies not just in boosting aggregate social product and economic growth rate, but also in coordinating economic relations and goals of development. In that sense, investment is actually a balancing force in an economy, or the driving force behind economic balance. Inrestment is deemed rational when it acts as such a balancing force.

Investment, however, may play an opposite role, that is, to disrupt the balances of economic relations and goals of economic development. Instead of keeping the economy on an even keel, it can throw the economy off balance or aggravate economic disequilibrium. Such is one of the attributes of irrational investment.

If investment is irrational, it may still help increase aggregate social product in the short run when it is effective. But in the long run, what appears briefly as effective investment can disturb economic relations and goals of economic development, and result in a stagnation or downturn in aggregate social product. This is where effective investment becomes ineffective investment.

Thus it is more important to see whether investment is rational or not than to judge if it is effective or ineffective. The concept of rational and irrational investment belongs in macroeconomic investment theory. When we talk about rationality or irrationality of investment, we do it in the context of macroeconomics.

Whether investment is rational or not depends on what role it plays in (1) economic growth, (2) price stability, (3) job creation, and (4) increase in labor income. Investment is considered irrational if it performs badly in one of these four fields, but it can be regarded as rational if it contributes to one field while the other three fields remain roughly constant. Investment becomes more rational if more such fields have improved while fewer of

them remain constant.

Thus the definition of rational investment can be put more specifically:

As far as the role of investment in the aforementioned four fields is concerned, investment is rational if it has improved one of these fields while the others show no sign of decline.

If economic growth has picked up after investment is made, and the other three fields remain intact, that is, they have neither improved nor deteriorated, this is a typical case of effective investment also being rational, or to put it differently, effective investment and rational investment becoming the same thing. The minimum requirement for investment to be at once effective and rational is that it can at least promote economic growth while maintaining the status quo of the other three fields.

To combine effective investment with rational investment under that minimum requirement is just the starting point of arranging investment. We should try to improve all the four fields after investment is made. The more rational investment is, the more effective it becomes and the longer it can stay effective. The reason for this is clear: Without increasing aggregate social product, basic prices stability cannot be maintained, new job positions cannot be created in the national economy, and labor income will decline, and as a result, the national economy as a whole will deteriorate, and sustained economic growth becomes out of the question.

As much as the time factor should be taken into account when investment effectiveness or ineffectiveness is studied, the same should be done when investment rationality or irrationality is observed. This is because only by generating production capacity can investment play its role in coordinating economic relations, but it takes a period of time for that to happen. The length of this period is determined by the characteristics of the economic sector and the investment project in question.

What merits attention in this regard is that investment impacts price stability, the creation of jobs, and labor income in different ways. Before production capacity is generated, because there is only financial input and no output in aggregate social product, the amount of currency in circulation grows, which will have a negative impact on price stability. If, after production capacity is yielded, the growth rate of aggregate social product

resulting from the investment is still lower than the growth rate of the amount of currency in circulation, it may still have a negative impact on price stability, a possibility that should not be overlooked. The situation, however, is different with the creation of new jobs. Investment may begin creating jobs immediately after it is made, because the investment action itself can absorb some workers. However, after investment has brought about production capacity, it may either increase employment (including the jobs created by this investment itself and the jobs created by other industries or firms under its impact), or reduce employment (including fewer job opportunities in other industries or firms under the impact of this investment and fewer job opportunities directly caused by the termination of the investment project). With regard to real labor income, apart from the investment-induced changes in price level and employment that are likely to affect labor income, the investment-induced changes in labor productivity are a more important factor that inevitably affects changes in labor income. Before production capacity is realized, few significant changes will happen to labor productivity. Therefore, during the interval from the start of investment to the materialization of production capacity, changes in labor income are mainly related to changes in price level and employment, whereas after production capacity is created, changes in labor productivity will have an increasing impact on labor income.

Thus, to judge if investment is rational or not, not only its impact on price stability, job creation, and real labor income after it has brought about production capacity, but also its impact on these fields during the interval from the outset of the investment to the yield of production capacity should be observed. If the former impact is considered but the latter neglected, it is likely that the investment in question may have already had a negative impact, and a seriously negative impact at that, on the balance of national economy before it reaps production capacity. In that scenario, even if investment has generated new production capacity, its earlier negative impact on national economy may be so grave as to hold back the effectiveness of production capacity or offset its positive impact on balancing the national economy.

IV. Discrepancy between effective and rational investment

As I have pointed out in the foregoing, the criteria for judging effective investment are different from those for rational investment. The roles of

effective investment and rational investment in the economy are different as well. Effective investment is not necessarily rational investment. Even if effective investment is also rational, it is not necessarily the most rational investment. On the other hand, although rational investment must also be effective, it may not be the most effective investment. The discrepancy between effective investment and rational investment is apparent.

For instance, a specific investment project or investment in one certain field may be effective because it can raise aggregate social product, but it may have a negative impact on price stability by taking up so much funding for so long as to affect the amount of currency in circulation before it creates production capacity. After creating production capacity, the investment in question may also diminish the job positions it has created and cause other industries and firms to reduce their job positions. Even if it has created production capacity, the investment can still cause real labor income to dip due to price changes, job market fluctuations and declining labor productivity. Given these possibilities, and by taking its multiple goals and the balance of national economy into consideration, effective investment is likely to be irrational or have just a small degree of rationality at best.

Observed from the perspective of multiple goals and the balance of national economy, a certain investment is rational because it has improved at least one of the four fields – economic growth, basic price stability, job creation, and labor income – while the other fields have shown no sign of deterioration. However, because rational investment has to attain multiple goals, its capacity to boost aggregate social product may be lower than maximal (for instance, if the investment is not put into a highly sophisticated automated factory), although it can still boost aggregate social product to a certain extent. In this case, it cannot be counted as the most effective investment.

How, then, should we deal with the discrepancy between effective and rational investment? We may study the question from a normative or a positive approach.

A normative approach calls for realigning the goals of investment in the order of importance, urgency and priority of the multiple goals that the investment aims to attain. Then overall consideration should be given to the problems to be solved through this investment and the means of solving these

problems, so as to find out to what extent effectiveness and rationality of this investment can be coordinated. According to the aforementioned definition, investment is rational if it has improved at least one of the four fields while the others show no sign of deterioration. The question now is which one of these four fields should be improved first. The answer must be based on a study of the actual situation to see which one of the four goals is most attainable. However, the answer also involves judgment of values, that is, which goal is more important and which goal is less important. To observe investment through normative analysis is to prioritize the four goals from judgment of values in order to make rational investment.

The positive approach follows established norms and rules, or is based on the assumption that all goals are equally important, to find ways to coordinate effective and rational investment. The solution to the discrepancy between effective and rational investment is related not only to the preconditions of a given investment but also to the methods of raising and operating the fund needed for this investment. The next chapter explores, from the viewpoint of positive study, the preconditions of investment and how to raise and operate the fund of investment.

V. Resource and marketability for effective and rational investment

The shared attributes of effective and rational investment are that, firstly, both can only take place where there are sufficient and usable economic resources, and secondly, there must be markets for the products of the production capacity they have created. In other words, economic resources and marketability are prerequisites for investment to be at once effective and rational.

Economic resources fall into two categories: material and human. Material resources, that is, means of production, include production equipment, raw materials, fuels and power, means of transportation, and storage facilities. Human resources encompass unskilled and skilled labor force, the latter including technical and management professionals. These resource conditions are indispensable for every investment project.

Now that effectiveness of investment hinges on its speed in putting

together production capacity and boosting aggregate social product, it is difficult, or even impossible, to turn investment promptly into production capacity in the absence of means of production and human resources. Even if an investment project has been completed, it still cannot increase aggregate social product if it has no sufficient supply of means of production – such as raw materials, fuels, power, and spare parts for maintenance and repair purposes – and adequate labor force, or if transportation, storage and other factors fail to meet production needs. In this regard, investment – the primary driving force behind economic growth – is based upon the adequacy of useful economic resources. Investment can put together production capacity rapidly where idle productive resources and a variety of idle workers are available. It can also quickly bring about production capacity where productive resources and labor force are unavailable but can be obtained through minor readjustments, or where economic resources are in short supply but there is an adequate foreign exchange reserve to be used to buy those deficient resources from foreign markets. However, in the latter scenario, things tend to be complicated because it involves the balance of foreign trade and of international payments. In the absence of all the abovementioned conditions, investment becomes ineffective because it cannot promptly create production capacity.

Given that the rationality of investment is determined by whether it can meet the four goals of economic growth, basic price stability, job creation, and real labor income, effectiveness – that is, promptness in creating production capacity – becomes the minimum requirement for rational investment. Because adequate supply of economic resources is a prerequisite for the speedy creation of production capacity, such supply must also be guaranteed for rational investment. Otherwise it cannot meet all four goals at the same time.

The next consideration is the market conditions for investment, that is, the product salability of an investment project. Whether such a product is made for production or consumption purposes, there must be people willing to buy it at a certain price. If production is carried out only for the purpose of meeting certain quotas for output or output value and the product cannot be sold out and has to be piled up in warehouses, the investment will not be able to contribute to economic growth. This conclusion is understandable, because investment can be rational only if it contributes to aggregate social product,

maintains basic price stability, creates new jobs, and increases real labor income. Those roles can never be realized if nobody wants to buy the product of an investment project. Furthermore, investment may have a negative impact on prices and labor income if its product cannot be sold out. Such investment is irrational.

Is product marketability also a prerequisite for effective investment? Because whether investment is effective or not is determined by whether it can bring about production capacity promptly and boost aggregate social product, people may argue that the effectiveness of investment is irrelevant to product marketability. They believe that investment is effective as long as it can produce a certain amount of products, regardless of product salability. In their eyes, investment becomes ineffective only if it cannot create production capacity or cannot do it fast enough – investment should not be deemed ineffective if it can bring about production capacity speedily even though its products are unwanted on the market. This idea, undoubtedly, is not correct.

This idea is wrong in that it only accepts the literal meaning of production capacity, and severs production capacity from product marketability. It is, therefore, a misunderstanding of production capacity. We know that the production capacity of a factory built with an amount of investment is only nominal if it does not produce and supply products. If the factory's products cannot meet market demand and only belong in warehouses, this factory is a nonfactor at best because of its failure to supply society with usable products. We would rather this kind of factory did not do anything, for the fuel, power, raw materials and so on it consumes could have been used for meaningful purposes. Therefore, production capacity created by investment should be real, rather than nominal. It should supply society with marketable products instead of things that cannot be sold out. If the effectiveness of investment and the creation of production capacity are understood in that light, product marketability must be regarded as a precondition for effective investment.

The argument that the effectiveness of investment is unrelated to the marketability of its product exactly mistakes nominal production capacity for real production capacity. The effectiveness of investment rests in real, rather than nominal, production capacity it creates.

VI. Profitability of effective and rational investment

Investment profitability is an important theoretical issue. Even if the product of an investment project can be sold out, what will be the consequences if it can only be sold out at a lower price than its production and interest costs?

First of all, this kind of investment cannot be recouped in that case. Moreover, even after the investment project is completed, further expenses are needed to keep production going; otherwise even the original scale of production cannot be maintained. This kind of investment, even if it can bring about production capacity and its products are marketable, poses more losses than gains, and should never be allowed to happen.

Nevertheless, if we extend our vision from an individual investor to the entire national economy, different opinions may occur on investment profitability.

The national economy is an integrated entity, in which all sectors are organically connected. Some sectors or firms may have the needed economic resources and their products can meet market demand. But, for one reason or another, their products are priced equal to or lower than their production costs and interest expenses, and therefore, they cannot generate a profit. Should investment be made in such a sector or firm? Is profitability an overriding condition for investment? It seems that neither question can be answered with a simple yes or no, because both involve how the macroeconomic effectiveness of investment should be measured.

As illustrated in the previous chapter, effective investment has both macroeconomic and microeconomic implications, while rational investment belongs in the macroeconomic realm. Observed from a macroeconomic point of view, some kinds of investment in certain sectors or firms are unlikely to make a profit, but can contribute to faster growth in other sectors or firms and to the balance of national economy and coordination among investment goals. This kind of investment is still necessary, and can be regarded as both effective and rational.

Defenders of investment that is at once ineffective and irrational in practice may also cite the macroeconomic effectiveness of investment to back

up their argument that this kind of investment should not be cancelled. They may accuse those who want to do so of lacking macroeconomic farsightedness. They can always find a "reason" to justify any investment project they like, arguing that it is so important to the national economy that it cannot be ditched even if it is not making money. Indeed, this issue can easily become controversial, and can never be settled if we accept the existence and significance of the macroeconomic results of an investment project without setting benchmarks for its effectiveness and rationality in macroeconomic terms.

This is where econometrics comes in handy. Despite its limitations, the methods of econometrics are still useful for analyzing investment effectiveness and rationality in macroeconomic terms on certain occasions and under certain premises and presumptions.

The resource and market conditions for investment should be considered in the first place. Investment, no matter what kind it is, must be guaranteed with an ample supply of means of production and human resources, both of which are prerequisites for production capacity. The products invested in should also meet market demand, otherwise they can only become part of warehouse stockpiles and their production capacity is nominal at best. Various econometric methods can be employed when we analyze the resource and market conditions for an investment scheme. Generally speaking, the input-output analysis can be employed to determine the situation regarding resource supply and market demand.

The conditions for investment profitability come next. Investment profitability in microeconomic terms can be computed with cost-benefit analysis. Relationships in this regard are relatively simple. By factoring in the given output and price conditions, as well as production costs and interest expenses, we can clarify whether an invested project is making or losing money. Then the deadline for recouping the investment – normally a major benchmark for judging the microeconomic effectiveness of an invested project – can be set with reference to the production cycle.

The situation is a lot more complex when it comes to judging if an investment project is making a profit or not from a macroeconomic perspective. Investment rationality in the field of material production and investment effectiveness in macroeconomic terms cannot be studied without

comparing various relations in the national economy and dissecting the input-output relationship between sectors in the national economy. If the product of Sector A is not only supplied directly to consumers but also needed by Sectors B, C and D for their production, while the products of Sectors B, C and D are also both supplied directly to consumers and needed by Sectors E, F, G and H for production purposes, and if that cycle goes on and on, then the results of follow-up investment in Sector A will be reflected not just in that sector's augmented income but also in the augmented incomes of Sectors B, C, D, E, F, G and H. Suppose there is a certain ratio between income and employment, then the results of follow-up investment in Sector A will be reflected not just in its increased number of jobs but also in the changes that have taken place in the number of jobs in the other sectors. Using counterfactual analysis, we can compare the results of the following two approaches: first, to study total income, net income, employment and other variables before Sector A was invested in; second, to study the changes in the variables such as total income, net income, and employment in the other sectors after Sector A was invested in. From this comparison we can get to know the degree of profitability of investment in macroeconomic terms. Suppose that a certain investment project does not make money for itself, but contributes to the growth in total income, net income and employment in other economic sectors, and the benefits to the national economy from the growth in these sectors outweigh the losses caused to the national economy by the investment project's failure in making a profit, then the investment can still be considered as a gain to the national economy. As a matter of fact, there is an investment-recouping period for the project, but such a period is reflected in the national economy. If, on the contrary, a comparison of the two approaches indicates that the investment does make a profit for itself but has inflicted losses in total income, net income and employment on other sectors, or that the investment is losing money while these sectors' increases in gross income, net income and employment are negligible so that the benefits the investment has yielded for the national economy are barely enough to offset the losses it has inflicted on the national economy, such an investment is deemed detrimental to the national economy. If allowed to continue under the excuse of cherishing its macroeconomic results, the said investment becomes irrational, and – in macroeconomic terms – ineffective as well.

VII. Relationship between investment fund supply, public finance and investment

To make investment both effective and rational, due attention must be paid to the supply of funding. Suppose an investment project has favorable resource and market conditions and its product can be sold briskly enough to guarantee an after-sale profit, but it cannot continue or has to stop midway because of fund shortage, then it cannot put together production capacity in good time, and cannot become effective investment. Furthermore, this kind of investment is irrational because it is a loss to the national economy when the money spent fails to yield production capacity.

If, on the contrary, an investment scheme can yield production capacity promptly but spends too much to achieve the purpose, it may also disrupt public finance or money circulation, thereby exerting an adverse impact on price stability. Thus it can never become rational investment.

What can be done to avoid improper supply of funding and ensure effectiveness and rationality of investment? Let us begin answering this question by studying the relationship between investment and public finance.

Under socialism, fiscal appropriations are an important source of reinvestment. They generally have a direct impact on the volume and scale of investment and its effectiveness. More importantly, the impact of such appropriations also extends to the relationship between the multiple goals of investment and to investment rationality.

When we try to coordinate the relationship between economic growth and basic price stability, we face the urgent task of preventing the demand for monetary funds from running out of control, or, to put it another way, we must prevent the amount of currency in circulation from growing too fast. Inflation is eventually attributed to the failure of the growth in aggregate social product to outpace the growth in the amount of currency in circulation. Inflation can be prevented or erased only by boosting the growth rate of aggregate social product, reducing the growth rate of the amount of currency in circulation, or both.

Fast growth in the amount of currency in circulation is mainly an outcome of fiscal deficit or bank credit expansion. Therefore, when there is a

serious fiscal deficit, especially when such a deficit has lingered for several years, fiscal appropriation designed to increase investment funding must be used cautiously. Otherwise the amount of currency in circulation may be further increased.

However, insofar as investment is the primary driving force behind economic growth, the lack of sufficient investment can neither boost aggregate social product nor change the situation where aggregate social product grows slower than the amount of currency in circulation. Tightening up investment alone can neither eliminate fiscal deficit nor effectively keep inflation away from the door. This is because economic sectors are interlinked and only by constantly restructuring these sectors and their products can the proportional relationships in the national economy be coordinated. However, restructuring sectors and products calls for follow-up investment on most occasions. If investment is tightened up merely to eliminate deficits and forestall inflation, the national economy will fall further out of proportion and coordination. Worse, it can also land some industries or firms that may expand production and make a profit in financial loss, thereby doing a disservice to the effort to turn the fiscal situation around and eradicate inflation.

From the perspective of increasing aggregate social product, technical renovation and equipment upgrading are material conditions for labor productivity increases, but both call for follow-up investment. If investment is tightened up merely to wipe out deficits and forestall inflation, it is very difficult to boost labor productivity and aggregate social product by improving their material conditions. Furthermore, if other conditions remain unchanged but equipment cannot be upgraded for lack of necessary investment, workforce productivity will decline. As a result, the industries and firms that could have been producing and making a profit will lose money, and public finance and the effort to control inflation will be jeopardized as well.

To ascribe the rise of financial deficits or inflation merely to investment growth is to oversimplify a complex matter. Effective and rational investment is actually an important means by which to eliminate deficits and inflation, rather than to aggravate them. It is ineffective or irrational investment – investment that drags on and fails to yield production capacity, investment in

unmarketable products, investment that is made in marketable products but incurs heavy losses or distorts economic relations – that should be held responsible for deficits and inflation.

This being the case, what merits the attention of the fiscal department is that they should curtail or cancel all the investment projects that lack resource and market conditions or fail to yield macroeconomic returns. However, investment projects that yield production capacities promptly, produce marketable products, make profit, and are conducive to the growth of total and net income of various sectors in the national economy, should not be curtailed or axed. Effective and rational investment is a dynamo behind a robust and booming national economy, and a robust and booming national economy is the solid foundation of public finance and a guarantee for stable fiscal revenue. The financial department can avoid inappropriate supply of investment funding as long as it takes a scientific attitude toward investment, that is, to invest in what should be invested in and not to invest in what should not be invested in.

VIII. Choice of investment funding raising channels

Fiscal funding is a major financial source for investment, but certainly not the only source for it. Under socialism the money needed for investment purposes comes from at least four avenues: fiscal appropriations, nongovernmental fund-raisers, business reserve funds, and bank credits. Short-, medium- and long-term bank credits can be used as a source of money for all purposes of investment. Their strength lies in that they can urge investors to tighten up financial auditing and pay due attention to the microeconomic results of their investment projects. The bank, by screening investment plans and monitoring the spending, plays a definite role in enhancing the macroeconomic results of investment. Apart from money raised by way of savings and bond purchases, the funds from nongovernmental sources also include the money procured from people of all walks of life to run cooperative firms and boost domestic development. Business reserve funds refer to the portion of profit that firms are allowed to retain on the principle of autonomy to buy equipment, upgrade technology, expand production, reduce costs, and increase output.

Of the four major sources of funding, fiscal funding is not always the

principal one. People can make their choices according to investment needs and financial situation. No matter what source is chosen, however, the aforementioned investment conditions should always be kept in mind. On no account should ineffective and irrational investment be made. Whenever an investment project gets off the ground, no effort should be spared to maximize its effectiveness and rationality.

A point that can be easily forgotten is that nongovernmental fundraisers are not only a substitute for government investment but also a method to withdraw money from circulation. The role of such fundraisers in substituting for government investment comes through when investment projects originally to be funded with fiscal appropriation revert to social fund-raising. However, investment is not just a supply of money. Guaranteed material supply is indispensable, too. The money raised from nongovernmental channels needs to be spent on means of production. However, means of production needed for investment purposes are basically provided by the government department in charge of supplying them. If the government department does not possess sufficient means of production needed for an investment project, it means that the resource conditions for the project are not ripe. Just as I have said in my analysis of investment conditions, investment without adequate supply of means of production is ineffective and irrational and, therefore, should be abrogated. By the same token, if a nongovernment-funded investment project fails to get off the ground, it will not adversely affect the national economy. If the government department has sufficient means of production for an investment project, it means that the material conditions are ripe and that the project in question can be undertaken. In this case, the government department contributes to the national economy by supplying the needed means of production and withdrawing money from circulation. Otherwise, if nongovernmental funding is replaced with fiscal funding, it cannot withdraw money from circulation even though it could also be used for investment purposes.

From another point of view, in the absence of fund-raisers, what is the best use for money held in nongovernmental hands? This kind of money may end up in banks as saving deposits, or be spent on consumer goods. If it ends up as saving deposits, banks will have to think about how to put the money to good use. When there is investment demand, supply of money by bank credit plays the same role as nongovernmental money-raisers. However, if the

money does not become saving deposits but is spent on consumer goods, especially on those in short supply, market supply will be strained. For this reason, if investment conditions are suitable and money can be raised from nongovernmental sources, such investment projects are more rational than others.

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经济改革的基本思路 (1986)

我国经济体制改革已经进行好几年了，下一步经济体制改革应当怎样进行，我想谈一点个人的看法，一共七个问题，二十八点。其中有些看法可能引起争论。这是一件好事，没有争鸣，经济学就不可能繁荣。

一、所有制改革是改革的关键

（1）经济改革的失败可能是由于价格改革的失败，但经济改革的成功并不取决于价格改革，而取决于所有制的改革，也就是企业体制的改革。这是因为：价格改革主要是为经济改革创造一个适宜于商品经济发展的环境，而所有制的改革或企业体制改革才真正涉及到利益、责任、刺激、动力问题。

（2）所有制改革的目的是建立真正自负盈亏的全民所有制企业。“真正自负盈亏”主要是指：第一，企业必须负担亏损带来的一切后果；第二，盈亏必须是对称的。这里的“对称”，既对企业而言，也对企业负责人而言。所有制改革中最要紧的，就是真正使全民所有制企业自负盈亏，特别是要解决企业亏损后怎么办的问题。盈亏的对称性是指：盈利的好处归企业，亏损也应由企业承担，不能像现在这样，亏损归国家，这将成为改善企业经营的动力。有些集资兴办的企业之所以有活力，有动力，有压力，与盈亏的对称性有关。盈了归自己，亏也由自己负责，直到最后倾家荡产。目前在我国的全民所有制经济中，企业亏了以后，负责人只是换个工作或受降级的行政处分，这是不管用的。盈亏必须对称。因此，经营不善的企业，该破产的就破产，破产后就清理。要有破产法，还要有社会保障的规定，对工人的就业等问题要认真处理。

（3）集体所有制企业是可以实行股份制的。全民所有制企业体制

改革的可行措施之一也是实行股份制、控股制，建立社会主义的公司财团（企业财团）。

这里所说的股份制，主要不是指把股票卖给职工或个人所有（当然也可卖点给职工、个人），主要指公有者之间按股取利。公股持有者是多种多样的：国营企业财产评估以后，这一部分股权归国家，等于国家投资在这里。地方增加投资，是地方的股权。企业扩大再生产部分的投资，是企业的股权。其他全民所有制企业进来投资，是其他全民所有制企业的股权。这样，根据股权的多少，在董事会中有适当的安排。建立董事会后，由董事会来决定这个股份制企业的大政方针。这样，才能真正解决政企职责分开的问题。不然，政企分开的问题总是不好解决的。必须建立董事会，由股东大会成立董事会。股东都是公方。假定股票可以卖点给私人，那么比重也不会很大。实行控股权，也是全民所有制可以采取的措施。控股制是可行的：既然实行股份制，公司企业的股票可以让大家认购，就可以实行控股制；西方国家中某个大股东掌握公司不到51%的股票，有可能控制这个企业，使之成为子公司。我们也可以这样做。可以假定：实行控股制后，一个强有力的社会主义大企业，通过层层控股，成为社会主义的公司财团。这个公司财团将能改变企业行为，使企业从只注意短期经营，变为也注意长期经营，因为它具有战略眼光。这时，它能根据今后公司的长期发展，制定决策。作为一个公司财团，要有全盘考虑。比如说，西北的石油开发，可以由公司财团出面搞，它注意到若干年后西北地区石油工业将兴起，就会考虑用一部分利润到西北投资。它可以跨部门、跨地区经营，自己内部可以取得一个平均利润。这样可以大大加速西北的开发。我们将来对西部的开发，不能像现在这样零敲碎打，而可以由社会主义的公司财团来开发、经营。

（4）所有制改革要因行业、地区、企业规模而异。对于企业，我们可以把各个企业按其在国民经济中的重要性，按其所需资源的稀缺程度，分成若干个行业。然后看看哪些行业应该发展？主要发展什么样的企业，是全民的、集体的，还是个体的？因地区而异，是指要按各个地区的特点来发展。因企业规模而异，是指企业要按不同大小来分类。假定这样的话，全民所有制企业将保留在重要的行业内，保留在一些地区。它们是较大规模的企业。其他的企业，该租赁的租赁，该承包的承包，有些还可卖给集体或个体。这样，把大部分小企业摆脱，国家则把一些全民所有制的骨干企业保留下来，让它们发育为社会主义的公司财团，让它们具有竞争能力，让它们成为中国的跨国公司，打入国际市场。它们仍是全民所有制企业。实现这样一种设想将是我们改革成功的关键。它将给企业带来动力、责任、刺激、利益。还有些中小企业要出

卖股权，谁买？卖给谁？要看行业而定。集体、个人都可以买。这就可以形成一种新型的经济联合体：混合企业。这样，我们才能实行真正的多种所有制、多种经营形式。这绝不影响全民所有制的主导地位和公有制的统治地位。

二、我们需要一个比较完善的市场机制

（5）市场本身有一种自行调节的功能，它可以使需求和供给趋向平衡；它又有各种局限性，因此有必要进行政府调节。但绝不能反过来讲：政府能够包办一切，只是由于目前力量不足，才需要由市场来拾遗补阙。我们认为，政府调节与市场调节之间的关系是这样的：首先肯定市场本身有一种机制，能够使经济自动调节，能使供求趋向平衡；但因为它有各种局限性，如资源的有限供给、经济信息系统不健全等等，所以需要政府调节。改革的基本思路是：社会主义经济首先是商品经济，然后才是有计划发展的商品经济。

（6）市场调节与政府调节是并存的、互补的，一方不能替代另一方。这就是二元机制。但二元机制绝不是板块结合。它的含义是：政府调节必须以市场调节作为出发点，它是为弥补市场调节的种种局限性而存在的。市场价格是多种多样的，只有在完全竞争的条件下才有自由价格；在其他条件下，将会形成不完全竞争的价格。而每一种市场都有自由价格与不完全竞争价格之分，计划价格必须以市场上的各种价格为依据。同时，计划价格与市场价格可以有上下出入。上下出入的原因和幅度，在于政府调节，但仍然必须以市场价格作为出发点。

（7）比较完善的市场机制不是靠引进的，而是自然发育的。过去，它之所以没有发育或发育不足，是由于缺乏发育的环境，缺乏社会主义商品经济的环境。只要发展社会主义商品经济，市场机制会自行趋于完善。我在这里使用了“比较完善”这四个字。市场不可能在现有条件下形成完全竞争的市场。应充分认识到我们的经济是资源供给有限的经济，而且还要考虑到政府调节的必要性。但我们可以使之“比较完善”。

（8）社会主义的市场体系应包括四大市场：一是商品市场。包括消费品市场、生产资料市场。房产市场也应包括在内，因为住宅商品化是我们经济发展的必然趋势。二是资金市场。包括证券市场在内。企业实行股份制后，假定允许企业买卖股票，假定允许个人购买股票，就应有一个证券市场来进行这样的交易。不然，这种证券将缺乏灵活性。但

证券市场可以加以调节。或者存在专门的证券市场；在条件不成熟的情况下，也可以由银行代理发行股票、买卖股票，充当股票经纪人和实行股票的抵押、贴现。三是技术市场。是指科技成果有偿转让的市场。四是劳动力非商品化条件下的劳动力市场，简称为劳务市场。考虑到劳动力市场从来不是完全竞争的市场，因而它是分层次的、因地而异的。由于人员的水平流动和垂直流动方面的局限性，它只可能逐渐趋向于完善。我们应该有一个统一的商品市场。这就是说，商品不管是消费品还是生产资料，可以在全国范围内流通。假定它不能流通，那仅仅是因为经济上的原因（如成本太高、收益太低），而绝不是由于经济以外的因素的干扰。资金市场也是指全国范围的资金市场。假定资金不能做到全国范围的融通，这仅仅是由于经济原因，而不是由于人为的、非经济因素的干扰。

三、提高政府部门的效率

（9）一个有高度效率的政府部门，表现为有效的经济决策、有效的政策执行、有效的经济监督。无法可依，有法不依，执法不严，以权代法，是政府无效率或低效率的标志。一个没有效率的政府部门，加上一个不完善的市场机制，那么我们的经济改革，即使方案再好，也不能实行。所以在改革的思路中，一个重要的方面是：必须提高政府部门的效率。

（10）经济调节比采取行政手段要求有更高的管理水平，间接控制比直接控制要求有更高的管理水平，指导性计划比指令性计划要求有更高的管理水平。应该认识到：改革以后，管理经济不是容易了，而是更难了。目前，我们经济管理干部的水平，大大落后于需要。所以要加速培养经济管理干部，提高干部素质。这是提高政府部门效率很重要的一个方面。

（11）与其是主观主义的、不科学的计划管理，不如不要计划管理；与其是无效率、瞎指挥的经济调节，不如不要经济调节。在这种情况下，不如索性让市场调节与商品经济来发挥作用。所以在二元机制中，与市场机制并存的那种政府调节，是指科学的、有高度效率的政府调节。二元机制不是简单地说市场机制与政府调节都要有。政府调节以具有科学性与高效率为前提。假定我们不要瞎指挥的政府调节，只要市场调节，那么至少可以使经济在波动中增长。而瞎指挥的政府调节的加

入，就有可能使经济停滞、倒退，1958年的事例就很典型。应充分认识到这一点：对政府调节要有区别，看它是不是科学的。科学的政府调节是好事，它可以弥补市场的不足；不科学的政府调节，会使市场调节原有的优越性消失掉。因为市场机制大体上可以使供求趋于平衡，虽然时间和过程要长一些，波动要大一点，但经济还可以增长。所以，把二元机制提到这样的一个高度来认识，我们的思想就打开了。

（12）为了提高政府部门的效率，行政改革势在必行。干部选拔、任命制度必须改革。对干部应实行“任期目标责任制”，以便加以考核。干部“只上不下”，当然不对。干部“能上能下”的提法，也不一定妥当。应该是干部“有上有下”，该上就上，该下就下。应该是：干部当得好的就上，当不好就下。在干部任免上，没有照顾的问题。只有这样，我们的政府部门才会有效率，才会加速体制改革的进程。

四、企业家精神与社会主义企业家

（13）中国需要一大批社会主义企业家，需要企业家精神。企业家应该有战略眼光，有创新与实干精神，有组织能力与经营管理能力。在经济改革中，要保护社会主义企业家，让他们充分施展才能。没有企业家，没有企业家精神，即使改革了所有制，建立了股份制的企业，建立了公司财团，建立了新型的公有制企业，经济仍然缺乏生机。如前所述，所有制改革是关键。现在的问题是：谁来主持这个新型的公有制企业？谁来施展才能，发挥企业的活力？那就是企业家。没有企业家，仅仅改革了所有制是不够的。所有制改革的内在的东西，就是企业家精神。我们在改革中要认识到企业家与企业家精神的重要性。

（14）社会主义企业家不是靠自上而下地指定产生的，也不是靠“温室”培养出来的。他们的命运与社会主义商品经济的发展联系在一起，与企业经济活动联系在一起。他们是在竞争的环境中拼搏出来的。我们要特别注意原来条件不好的企业，包括乡镇企业，那里是容易产生社会主义企业家的场所。要找社会主义的企业家，就应该到那些地方（中小企业、乡镇企业）去寻找。因为，那里条件差，能够从中拼杀出来的人，一定具有企业家精神。“社会主义企业家是环境逼出来的”，这句话对我们很有现实意义。这样产生的企业家，才能给企业带来竞争力。

（15）要认识到企业家与企业家精神是商品经济的产物。社会主义

商品经济越发展，企业家将越多，企业家精神也越能发挥影响。因此，社会主义商品经济的发展，能培养出越来越多的企业家。这将胜过创办多少期厂长训练班、经理培训班。没有商品经济的环境，是培养不出社会主义企业家的。同样，大学里的经济系，可以使学生增长一些基本经济知识，不一定能培养出企业家。

（16）企业必须新陈代谢。办得不好的企业，该停产的停产，该关闭的关闭，该淘汰的淘汰，该清理的清理。社会主义经济中每年有百分之几的企业破产，不是坏事，而是好事。社会主义经济活动的大舞台，应该留给那些新兴的、有生命力的、有竞争能力的企业大显身手。市场竞争是一场旋风，它吹垮了那些落后的、没有效益的企业，保住了一批有竞争力的企业，但更重要的是：它清理了场地，让更多的企业能够生长。这就是创新，这样才能有社会主义的财团，才能有打入国际市场的社会主义跨国公司。这样才能使我们的经济既有压力，更有活力。

五、符合社会主义伦理原则的经济行为规范

（17）社会不平等引起社会不安定，但社会不安定不一定来自社会不平等。收入分配的差距会增加效率，但效率不一定来自收入分配的差距。在一个客观上平等的社会中，假定人们的生活水平先上升，后下降，上升大，下降小，由于消费、收入、工资的不可逆性，也可造成社会的不安定。这是由于人们的心理造成的。另一种情况是：在一个客观上平等的社会中，有些人会自认为不平等。比如有人多劳多得，有人少劳少得，少劳少得的人不看自己少劳，只看少得，感觉自己吃亏了，这也会带来社会的不安定。如果收入分配的差距超过了一定限度，有可能影响效率，使一些人自暴自弃、消极怠工。所以在社会主义经济中必须处理好平等与效率的关系。我们所理解的平等，一是生产者成为生产资料的主人，二是机会的均等，三是现有生产力水平上的按劳分配。我们所理解的效率是在生产资料公有制基础上的效率，机会均等下的效率，符合按劳分配原则的效率。只有从这个角度来理解，我们才能妥善处理好平等与效率的关系。

（18）从经济上看，市场调节虽然有局限性，但它毕竟能使经济在波动中增长。从社会协调方面看，市场调节的局限性却要大得多。市场本身不能实现社会发展的协调。我们不是为增长而增长，经济发展与社会协调是统一的。我们之所以需要政府调节，是因为有效率的政府调节

既表现在经济方面，也表现在社会方面。它表现在社会方面，是指在保证经济增长的前提下进行收入分配的调节。这种调节是另外一种意义的调节，与调节供求平衡不同，它是从社会意义上讲的。这种调节是符合社会主义的整个发展目标即社会经济发展目标的。因为，在经济改革中应注意到，累进制的所得税和调节税以及对低收入家庭生活的补助，一方面要有适当的限度，另一方面也是不可缺少的。它们既保证了经济增长，又保证了社会协调。我们整个改革要沿着这样一种方向前进。

（19）社会主义精神文明建设的重要内容之一是建立新的价值观念。比如说，什么是“公平”？什么是“就业”？怎样看待“一部分人先富起来”？这些问题值得我们重新思考。通过思考，我们可以明辨经济改革中的对与错、是与非，了解到什么是我们要争取的，什么是我们应该抛弃的。人们往往把不值得留恋的东西拼命地抱住不放，这就涉及到价值观念的转变。没有价值观念的转变，就不可能对经济改革作出正确的判断。

（20）传统东方文化的价值观念的核心是家族观念和小生产者的平均主义，近代西方文化的价值观念的核心是个人主义，二者是相冲突的。在传统东方文化基础上实行现代化的发展中国家，时时处处都会遇到两种价值观念的冲突。我们正在进行的是社会主义现代化，我们面临的问题不是在传统东方文化的价值观念和近代西方文化的价值观念之间作出选择，而是探索如何在两者之外，建立符合社会主义伦理原则的新价值观念。这是一个难题，但我们必须设法解决。从这种意义上说，价值观念的转变是比经济体制改革更深刻的一场革命。这不是一代人所能完成的，我们必须充分认识这个问题的艰巨性。

六、近期需要认真注意的问题

（21）扩大经济中的横向联系是近期改革的重要措施。只有扩大横向经济联系，才能使我们的商品市场趋于统一，使我们的资金市场逐步形成，才能打破条块分割。这一点非常重要。假定不搞企业的横向经济联系，不让企业之间在资金、人力、技术等方面互相协作交流，不让企业的产品打到对方的市场上去，那么，我们的市场机制是建立不了的，我们的条块分割是打不破的。这正是我们近期改革的重要内容。我们正在巩固已有的改革成果中前进，其中最重要的一条，就是扩大经济中的横向联系，这是改革在继续进行的证明。

（22）我国经济当前的首要问题仍然是基本建设投资过大，消费基金增长过快相形之下是次要的。这不是说消费基金不需要调节，而是说不能把这一点提到最突出的地位。要知道，我国消费者手中之所以有货币，是由于他们提供了物质产品和劳务。收入是与供给相联系的。如果对消费基金有过多的限制，往往在抑制需求的同时也抑制了供给，从而给将来的经济发展造成后遗症。经济调节中，既要调节需求，也要调节供给，绝不能在压低需求的同时把供给也压下去了。我们认为，消费早熟需要避免，但不能认为我国目前已进入早熟型消费阶段。我们应该汲取其他发展中国家的经验，防止早熟型消费的出现。早熟型消费有两个标志：一个是积累率过低，而我们的积累率保持在30%左右，是高水平的；另一个标志是稀缺生产资源中的大部分被新的消费方式所占用，比如石油，生活用油过多就会影响生产。我们没有出现这种情况，所以我们目前没有消费早熟。

（23）平衡是一种分析方法，是分析的出发点，平衡本身不是目的。我们的目的是实现四个现代化。社会主义经济在运动过程中，总是围绕着平衡点摆动，在一定范围的摆动中前进。从这一点来讲，我们不是为平衡而平衡。假定经济上不去，财政平衡是无意义的，信贷平衡也是无意义的。我们要认识到，同样是平衡，有低水平与高水平之分。做到低水平平衡并不难，只需采取紧缩政策。如果我们不单纯抑制需求，而设法刺激供给，那是高水平的平衡。何况，经济总是在围绕着一个平衡点上下波动中不断前进的，“需求略大于供给”和“供给略大于需求”，都是基本平衡。按我国目前的情况看，“需求略大于供给”更具有现实性，而“供给略大于需求”是做不到的。所以我们当前必须学会如何适应这样的形势，学会在这样一种形势下进行经济建设。

（24）政策要保持稳定性和连续性。要让人们感到放心，让从事经济改革的人感到放心。政策的多变只会促使政策效力递减。经济中的重大震荡，往往发生于企业和个人估计到政策将会有显著的变化而纷纷采取预防性措施的时候。因此，使企业和个人对经济环境产生一种稳定感和对政策保持足够的信任，不仅可以在相当大的程度上减轻经济改革中可能发生的震荡，而且有利于保持一个促进经济改革的良好的社会环境。

七、我国经济前景的设想

（25）全民所有制经济在国民经济中的主导地位，不仅不依据全民所有制企业数目在全国企业数目中的比重，甚至也不依据产值所占的比重，而是依据它是否掌握着作为国民经济命脉的部门，是否在若干种关键商品产量中占有较大的比重。从长远来看，全民所有制企业不一定很多，大量的企业可能是混合经济的或者是集体的。而且，即使是全民所有制企业，也不是我们现在所认识的、传统意义上的全民所有制企业，而是一种新型的、股份制的、实行控股制的、属于某一个企业财团的以全民所有制为主的企业。

（26）从较长远的角度来看，指令性计划不是不可以取消的，指导性计划可以成为我国惟一的计划形式。当然，这要看我们的条件是否已经成熟。条件成熟的主要标志是某些资源已不像现在这样稀缺了，供求紧张程度已有所缓和。此外，还要考虑到国家在某些方面是否具有足够的经济管理能力，这是因为：实行指导性计划比指令性计划更难。

（27）在财政、金融、价格、工资四种调节手段中，今后，工资的调节下放到基层、企业；中央对经济的调节主要运用财政、金融两种手段，地方的调节也主要运用这两种手段。除非在十分必要的情况下，应尽量少采取价格调节手段。这就是我们长远的宏观经济调节政策。国家计委主要负责制定中长期计划。

（28）将来中国经济面貌的最明显的变化，可能反映在农村经济面貌的变化上。土地向耕作能手集中，家庭承包的农场规模扩大，劳动生产率提高，多余的劳动力主要进入乡镇企业，小城镇将普遍兴起，大城市、小城镇和农村形成多层次的经济网络。小城镇将成为生活服务、文化教育、文娱和商业中心。中国人民生活水平提高的标志，不是看现期的货币收入，而是看家庭财产存量的不断增加。

（1986年4月25日在北京大学“五四”科学讨论会上的报告）

Basic thoughts on economic restructuring (1986)

Years have passed since economic restructuring came under way in this nation. What is to be done next? Here I would like to share my thoughts, which come in twenty-eight points, and involve seven issues altogether. Some of these ideas may be controversial, but I see controversy as a good thing. Without discussion and debate, there will be no economic prosperity.

I. Ownership reform holds the key to economic restructuring

(1) Economic restructuring may break down if price reform fails. The success of economic restructuring, however, hinges not on price reform, but on ownership reform, which entails revamping the corporate system. This is because price reform serves the main purpose of shaping an environment in favor of the growth of the market economy, but only ownership reform or corporate system reform can address such issues as interests, responsibility, motivation, and incentives.

(2) The purpose of ownership reform is to build state firms truly liable for their own gains and losses. Being "truly liable for their own gains and losses" means that, for one thing, firms should bear all the consequences of financial losses, and for another, gains and losses must be symmetrically treated not only for firms but also for their leaders. The most crucial task of ownership reform is to make state firms really accountable for their successes and failures, and, even more so, to answer the question of what is to be done with firms in the red. Symmetrical treatment of gains and losses means that firms should enjoy their profits while absorbing their losses rather than passing the ball to the state, which is exactly what firms are doing today. Taking responsibility for their own losses will stimulate them to improve management. The reason why some nonstate firms can stay dynamic and motivated under pressure is because they can treat gains and losses

symmetrically – meaning that they have all the economic gains to themselves while being totally liable to economic losses, bankruptcy included. As things stand in this nation, the best that can be done with a failing state firm is to demote its general manager or shift him to another post. This way of doing things cannot be sustained. Gains and losses must be treated on a balanced footing. Mismanaged firms should go bankrupt, and bankrupt firm should be liquidated. There should be both a bankruptcy law and a social security act, and issues such as reemployment for layoffs should be tackled in real earnest.

(3) Collective firms may adopt the shareholding system. State firms may also be transformed into shareholding companies, holding companies, or socialist enterprise consortia.

The shareholding system talked about here is not about selling stock shares to workers or other individuals (although of course, some of the shares can be sold to workers and other individuals), but about distributing interests among public owners according to the number of shares they hold. There can be a variety of public shareholders. After a state firm has its current assets evaluated, its net assets should be counted as state shares because they come from state investment. The investment added by a local government to a state firm becomes locally owned state shares, while the shares in the firm's possession come from its own investment. In addition, investment made by other state enterprises also becomes shares owned by these enterprises. The positions of the stockholders on the board of directors are arranged according to how many shares they hold, but it is the board of directors that decides the policies and principles for a shareholding firm. Only in this way can the difficult problem of detaching government administration from business management be effectively addressed. The board of directors is established through the shareholders' congress. In this case, all shareholders are public owners. In such a structure, even if some shares are sold to individuals, they are unlikely to take up a large portion of the total stock. The holding company system is another option that works under public ownership. Once a state firm becomes a shareholding company, its shares can be put up for sale. In the West, a holder of less than 51% of the shares of a company can control it and turn it into his branch company. We can do the same. If, under the holding-company system, a powerful state company can turn itself into a socialist enterprise consortium by buying shares to control a number of companies, it can change the behavior of these companies, and shift their

focus from short-run business to long-term operations with a broad strategic vision. In that position, the socialist company can adapt its policy decisions to long-term development goals. Whatever it does, an enterprise consortium must take the overall scheme of things into consideration. For instance, it can take the lead in oil development in northwest China. If it has foreseen a boom in the petroleum industry coming to that region in a few years, it may consider investing part of its profits there. To boost development, it may also engage in trans-sectoral or trans-regional business operations in return for an average internal profit. China's western region should not be developed piecemeal by an assortment of small concerns, but should be handled by such giants as socialist consortia.

(4) The tactics for ownership reform should differ depending on industry, locality, and business size. Firms may be categorized into industries according to their importance to the national economy and the scarcity degree of the resources they need, before deciding which industries should be shored up first and what kind of firms – public, collective or private – should be developed in the main. Such industries and enterprises should also be considered in the light of local conditions, and categorized according to their sizes. Large state firms in important industries or regions should be preserved, while other companies can be leased or subcontracted out; some of them can be sold to collectives or individuals. In this way, the state can let go of most small firms in order to keep those essential companies that form the backbone of the economy under socialist ownership. These "backbone" firms may be developed into competitive socialist enterprise consortia, or transformed into multinational corporations that will be a force to be reckoned with on the world market. At the end of the day, however, they will remain state owned. How about medium-sized and small firms? This depends on what industry is in question. Their shares can be sold to collectives and individuals to create companies under mixed ownership. This design of ownership reform holds the key to the success of economic restructuring. Once it is translated into reality, it will impart motivation, a sense of responsibility, incentive, and interest in our enterprises, and diversify ownership and management without sacrificing the leadership role and dominance of public ownership.

II. The need for a relatively complete market

(5) Market can balance supply and demand with its self-regulatory function, but it also has limitations that can only be overcome with government regulation. However, this does not mean government can do it all, or that market is needed only when government is weak. In my opinion, the relationship between government and market should be interpreted in this way: Market enables the economy to regulate itself and coordinate supply and demand, but needs government regulation to make up for its shortcomings, such as its limited resource supply and incomplete economic information system. The bottom line for economic restructuring is that the socialist economy should be a market economy in the first place, and then a market economy supplemented by planning.

(6) Market regulation coexists with government regulation. They supplement each other, but are not mutually interchangeable. They combine to form a dual mechanism, which, nevertheless, is not the combination of two separate elements. Government regulation must take market regulation as its starting point, and works merely to pick up the slack of market regulation. Market prices are greatly variable. Besides free prices resulting from complete competition, there can also be prices from incomplete competition; and state-regulated prices must be based on a wide variety of market prices although there can be discrepancies between planned prices and market prices. The causes and magnitudes of such discrepancies are subject to government regulation, which should still take market prices as its basis.

(7) A relatively well-functioning market mechanism cannot be transplanted; it can only grow to completion by itself in an economy. In the past, it could not grow in this country because it lacked a salubrious environment, i.e., a socialist market economy. Today, it can grow and improve over time, as long as we are resolved to put a socialist market economy in place. Please note that I am using the term "relatively well-functioning" to describe my idea of a market mechanism. The market mechanism cannot become completely competitive the way things are in China under the current circumstances. We should be fully aware that our economy is limited by scarcity in resources, and that government regulation is needed to supplement market regulation.

(8) A socialist market system should encompass four markets. First, a commodity market that entails a consumer goods market and a capital goods

market. A real estate market should also be included, because commercial housing is an inevitable trend in our economic development. Second, a capital market which includes a securities market. Once the shareholding system is introduced, a securities market is needed; otherwise, share flow and trading will be out of the question. The securities market can be regulated, and specialized securities markets set up. Where conditions are immature, banks may act as intermediaries to issue and deal in stock shares, or work as brokers to mortgage stock shares or discount them for cash. Third, a technology market for payable transfers of research and development results. Fourth, a labor market, or service market. Having never been opened to free competition, our labor market is fragmented and differs across localities. Given labor's limited lateral and vertical mobility, the labor market can only grow gradually. We have got to develop a unified commodity market in which nationwide circulation of consumer and capital goods is allowed. If such goods cannot be circulated nationwide, the reasons are more economic (such as high costs and low economic returns) than noneconomic. The capital market referred to here should be unified nationwide as well. If capital cannot circulate across the land, it should likewise be attributed to economic causes, rather than government interference and other noneconomic factors.

III. Raising government efficiency

(9) Effective economic decisions, policy enforcement, and economic supervision are hallmarks of a highly efficient government. A govern-ment with little or no work efficiency is invariably crippled by legislation that is absent, bypassed, laxly enforced, or simply superseded by state power. An inefficient government plus an incomplete market can scuttle economic reform no matter how good the reform plan is. Therefore, to make economic restructuring a success, we must raise government efficiency without fail.

(10) Government efficiency is more needed in economic regulation than in government intervention, more for indirect market control than for direct market control, and more for guidance planning than for central planning. We should be aware that managing the economy has become more challenging after economic restructuring came under way. The efficiency level of our economic administrators leaves a great deal to be desired. We must speed up training to raise their overall quality and proficiency, for only thus can government efficiency be boosted effectively.

(11) We should relinquish planned management if it is arbitrary and unscientific, and dismantle economic regulation if it is ineffective and arbitrary. In either case, we would let the market mechanism run its course. Thus, the kind of government regulation that is paired with market regulation should be scientifically viable and highly efficient. The dual mechanism does not mean market regulation and government regulation are both indispensable. Government regulation should be predicated on scientific feasibility and high efficiency. If we reject willful government intervention and bring the role of the market mechanism into play, at least we can boost the economy during fluctuations. The involvement of a bull-headed government can only inflict stagnation or setback on our economy – what happened in 1958 across this land was a typical case in point. We should learn to differentiate between sound and unsound government regulation. Sound government regulation is good in that it can overcome market failures; unsound government regulation can do nothing but nullify the self-regulatory function of the market mechanism. The market mechanism can strike a general balance between supply and demand and facilitate economic growth, even though it may take more time and is likely to cause major fluctuations in the course of it. If we can see the dual mechanism in such light, we are able to open up new horizons.

(12) Administrative reform is a must if government efficiency is to be raised. The system whereby government officials are selected and appointed must be overhauled. We should evaluate the performance of civil servants within a framework that holds them accountable for the goals set for their tenures. It makes no sense that these people can only be promoted and not demoted. It makes little sense, either, that people can be both promoted and demoted. Of course, there should be both promotions and demotions, but only competent officials should be promoted and incompetent ones demoted – no exception should be made in this regard. Only thus can the government work efficiently, and institutional reform be speeded up.

IV. Entrepreneurship and socialist entrepreneurs

(13) China needs legions of socialist entrepreneurs as much as it needs entrepreneurship. Our entrepreneurs should have strategic vision, dare to innovate and create, be pragmatic and imbued with organizational and business acumen. In economic restructuring, socialist entrepreneurs should be

protected, and their talent given full scope. Without entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship, the economy will be sluggish even if the ownership system is transformed, and even if shareholding firms, enterprise consortia, and new-type state firms are established. As argued above, ownership reform holds the key to economic restructuring. But the next question is: Who are to run the restructured state firms, and to use their talent to inject life into these firms? None other than entrepreneurs. Without entrepreneurs, ownership reform can get nowhere. Entrepreneurship is essential to ownership reform. In the years of reform, we should never lose sight of the importance of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship.

(14) Socialist entrepreneurs do not come forth by doing the government's bidding, nor can they be groomed in a "greenhouse." Their destiny is bound up with the development of the socialist market economy and with the economic activity of their enterprises, where they come to the fore through competition. We should keep an eye on businesses in adversity, rural firms included, for these are where socialist entrepreneurs are likely to emerge. We should go to medium-sized and small firms and those run by farmers if we are to find socialist entrepreneurs. Because those who can emerge unscathed from unfriendly territories at least have the makings of an entrepreneur. "Socialist entrepreneurs are born of pressure." That line sounds realistic to us all. Entrepreneurs born of adversity are the only people who can bring a competitive edge to our firms.

(15) Entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship are fruits of the market economy. The farther the socialist market economy advances, the more entrepreneurs will turn up, and the more impact entrepreneurship will bring. The burgeoning socialist market economy can provide a constant supply of entrepreneurs – this is more effective than putting a lot of factory directors or managers through advanced training courses. Without a market economy we will not be able to produce so many socialist entrepreneurs. By the same token, our university economics departments cannot necessarily cultivate entrepreneurs even though they are doing a fair job of instilling basic economics knowledge in students.

(16) Enterprises must be allowed to go through a "metabolic process" in which the new supersedes the old. Ill-managed enterprises should call it quits or be closed down, phased out, or liquidated. For a certain percentage of

enterprises to go bankrupt on a yearly basis is not the end of the world for the socialist economy. The platform for the socialist market economy should be preserved for emerging, dynamic, and competitive enterprises. Market competition is a whirlwind that can dispose of outdated and inefficient firms and preserve competitive ones. But more importantly, it can level the ground for more enterprises to grow. Such is the process of innovation. Such is the way socialist consortia come to stay, and the way socialist multinational companies carve out a niche in the world market. Only in this way can our economy respond to the pressure of competition and brim over with vitality.

V. Economic norms based on socialist ethics

(17) Social inequity spawns social instability, but social instability does not necessarily stem from social inequality. Income disparity may spur efficiency, but efficiency does not necessarily come from such disparity. In an objectively equal society, if the standard of living first rises and then drops, with increase outstripping decrease, the irreversible nature of consumption, income, and wages can also work psychologically to cause social unrest. In an objectively equal society, there are people who work harder and make more money than others, but there are also those who work less and are paid less. If those who make less money refuse to accept the fact that they do less than others and claim that they have been taken advantage of, they are likely to stir social instability. If the income gap exceeds a certain limit, it can affect efficiency and drive some people to despair and indolence. That is why in the socialist economy, the relationship between equality and efficiency should be handled properly. Equality, as we understand it, entails turning workers into owners of capital goods, equal opportunities for all and distribution according to work done. Efficiency, as we understand it, is also based on public ownership of capital goods, on equal opportunities, and on the principle of distribution according to work done. Only with this understanding in mind can the relationship between equality and efficiency be well handled.

(18) From an economic point of view, despite its limitations, the market mechanism enables the economy to grow amidst fluctuations. From the perspective of social coordination, however, the limitations of the market mechanism are more pronounced, for the market itself cannot coordinate social development. We do not seek economic growth for growth's own sake.

Rather, economic growth should be consistent with coordinated social development. Efficient government regulation is needed because its impact is both economic and social. The social impact of government regulation manifests itself in regulating income distribution while ensuring economic growth, an impact that is mandated by the socialist goals for socioeconomic development. Thus, in the course of economic restructuring, progressive income tax, income-adjustment tax, and allowances for low-income families are needed, but should be kept within reasonable bounds to ensure economic growth and social harmony. At the same time, however, we have got to know that we cannot do without these taxes and allowances in securing economic growth and social harmony. This is exactly what economic reform is all about.

(19) An important task of socialist cultural development is to foster new values. For instance, what is "equity"? What is "employment"? What attitude should we take toward the policy of "allowing some people to get rich first"? These questions should be considered in a new light, so that we can clarify the dos and don'ts in economic restructuring, and know what to strive for and what to give up. People tend to cling to things not worth their devotion. To change that habit calls for a change in values. We cannot make a sound judgment on economic restructuring without changing our values.

(20) The concept of family and the small-time producers' belief in egalitarianism are at the core of the Eastern cultural tradition, whereas individualism is the nucleus of modern Western culture. The two are mutually conflicting. Those of us who live in a developing nation striving for modernization on the basis of traditional Eastern culture invariably find ourselves torn between these conflicting values. What we pursue is socialist modernization, and the problem confronting us is not so much to choose between the values of our traditional culture and the values of the modern Western culture as to go beyond these two cultures and explore new values that suit socialist ethics. This is a hard nut to crack, but we have to do it. In that sense, to change our values calls for an even more profound revolution than economic restructuring, a mission that cannot be fulfilled in just one generation's time. We have to be fully aware of the arduous and protracted nature of this mission.

VI. Immediate issues to be handled in real earnest

(21) Extending lateral ties in the economy is a major immediate-term task for economic restructuring. Only by extending such ties can we unify our commodity market, gradually bring about a capital market, and lift the barriers resulting from the interference of central and local government boundaries. This task is of paramount importance. If we cannot promote lateral economic ties between firms and let them collaborate and exchange with each other in capital, labor, and technology, and if we do not allow one company to sell its products on another company's turf, we can never build a workable market mechanism and break down the barriers between central and local government boundaries. This task is high on the agenda of the immediate round of economic restructuring. As we build on what we have accomplished so far to go on with economic reforms, the main thrust of our endeavor should be to extend lateral economic ties.

(22) As things are today, excessive investment in infrastructure construction remains the number one headache in the Chinese economy. Overheated consumption funds can only take a second seat. This does not mean excessive increase in consumption funds should not be controlled, but that it is not our primary concern. Make no mistake about it, the consumers in our nation have money to spend in return for the material products and labor services they have provided. Income is always relevant to supply. If the control of consumption funds is overly tightened up, it can stifle supply and demand at the same time, and its side effects on economic development will be felt sooner or later. In regulating the economy, aggregate demand and supply should be properly controlled. On no account should we cut supply while curtailing demand. I believe premature consumption should be avoided, but there is no reason to say that China today is already in a period of premature consumption. Of course we should draw a lesson from other developing nations' experience and forestall the emergence of premature consumption. There are two telltale signs for premature consumption. One is an excessively low saving rate. By contrast, the saving rate in our nation is maintained at 30%, which is deemed a high level. The other is that the lion's share of scarce resources is overused by a new mode of consumption. For example, production will be affected if too much petroleum is consumed in everyday life. That scenario is yet to be experienced in this country. Clearly, there is no trace of premature consumption in China today.

(23) Equilibrium is part of an analytical approach, and the starting point

of economic analysis. Equilibrium itself is not the goal. Our goal is to achieve the Four Modernizations. The socialist economy always swings around an equilibrium point as it moves along. In that sense, we are not seeking balance for balance *per se*. Fiscal balance and credit market equilibrium can mean nothing if the economy stagnates. We have got to know that equilibrium can be maintained at a low or high level. Low-level equilibrium can be easily achieved by adopting a retrenchment policy. If, instead of going single-mindedly after curtailing demand, we do everything we can to stimulate supply, we can achieve high-level equilibrium, not to mention the fact that the economy always advances while hovering around an equilibrium point, which is a sign of basic equilibrium whether demand outgrows supply slightly or vice versa. In China today, for demand to outgrow supply slightly is a preferred and realistic option, whereas it is unrealistic to expect that supply can slightly outgrow demand. That is why we should adapt ourselves to the current situation and learn how to run the economy under such circumstances.

(24) Government policy stability and continuity should be maintained to set people at ease, especially those in the thick of economic reform. Policy volatility can mar government policy. Major economic unrest often occurs when firms and individuals hasten to take countermeasures upon sensing an imminent major policy change. For this reason, if we can foster a settled sense of economic stability in firms and individuals and keep them confident in government policy, we can take the edge off the impact of the shock waves that might come from economic restructuring, and carry out reforms in a healthy social environment.

VII. Tentative projections of the Chinese economy

(25) The leading position of the state sector in the national economy is not determined by its proportion of the nation's total number of firms or aggregate output value, still less by its shares in the key branches of the national economy. Rather, it is determined by its control of industries that are the lifeblood of the national economy, and by its shares in the output of crucial commodities. In the long run, there will not be many state firms, as most enterprises in this country will come under mixed or collective ownership. Moreover, the state firms referred to here are not the familiar old-fashioned type. Rather, they will be transformed into shareholding or holding

companies that are publicly owned in the main, and some of them will belong to a certain enterprise consortium.

(26) From a long-term point of view, there is no reason why mandatory plans cannot be abolished to make way for guidance plans as the one and only form of planning. Of course, there must be certain conditions to make it happen. One such condition is that key resources are no longer in short supply and that the disparity between demand and supply has been reduced. Another condition is that the government is efficient enough in running the economy, because it is more difficult to carry out guidance planning than mandatory planning.

(27) Of the four economic policy instruments in use today – fiscal policy, monetary policy, price control, and wages – the decision-making power to determine wages should be delegated to firms at the grass roots level. Central and local governments should use fiscal and monetary policies as chief economic regulatory means. Unless absolutely necessary, the use of price control as an economic lever should be minimized. Such is my idea of how to shape our long-term macroeconomic regulatory system. The State Planning Commission should take charge of drafting relevant long- and medium-term development plans.

(28) The rural economy is probably where the Chinese economic landscape will change most dramatically. Farmland will devolve to the hands of skilled farmers. Farms will grow in size under a household responsibility system. Labor productivity will go up, and surplus labor force will be reallocated to rural firms. The countryside will be clustered with small towns, which will combine with large cities to form multilayered economic networks. Small towns will become cultural, educational, commercial, and recreational centers that also provide a complete array of community services. The improving Chinese standard of living will be benchmarked not by current cash-income growth but by increases in household wealth.

— A report to the Peking University "May Fourth" Symposium on April 25, 1986

社会主义所有制体系的探索 (1987)

一

所有制改革归根结底是由商品经济发展的要求引起的，是由企业作为商品生产者这一不可改变的地位所引起的。至于改革后的所有制究竟具体采取什么样的形式，则应从有利于推动生产发展出发。单一的所有制不利于发展商品经济，不利于发挥企业作为商品生产者的积极性，也不利于使社会主义制度的优越性充分体现出来。于是出现了改革后所有制体系的设计问题。

改革后的所有制中是不是还包括全民所有制？对于这个问题，可以明确地回答：包括全民所有制在内。但改革后的全民所有制，并不等于现阶段的全民所有制。它们是有区别的。

在传统经济模式的影响下，人们曾经认为国家机构直接经营管理全民所有制企业是惟一可行的方式，甚至是惟一正确的方式。但实际上，在社会主义经济建设过程中，这种经营方式的弊端暴露得越来越充分。企业成为行政机构的附属物，企业的人权、财权、物权完全集中在国家手中，国家对企业管得太多太死，企业经营好坏与自身的经济利益没有联系，也不承担经济责任。这正是国家机构直接经营管理企业的必然结果，是把全民所有同国家机构直接经营企业混为一谈的必然结果。在所有制改革中，必须以改革全民所有制为重点。

要知道，既然是全民所有制企业，那么从本质上说，生产资料归全民所有，产品归全民所有。企业的全民性代表全体人民的根本利益、整体利益和长远利益。承认全民性是全民所有制的属性，意味着全民所有制企业是为了全体人民的共同利益而进行生产和经营的。问题在于：怎样才能使全民所有制企业在生产和经营中体现自己的全民性？怎样才能使它们真正为了全体人民的共同利益而进行经济活动？在这里，必须指出，全民所有制企业不是一个空泛的概念，它们是从事经济活动的实

体。全民所有制企业的全民性体现在企业领导层和企业职工一起在经济活动中对全体人民的利益负责。但这种负责并不是指全民所有制企业必须由国家来经营管理。不仅如此，而且可以明确地指出，假定认为只有由国家来经营管理全民所有制企业才能体现这些企业的全民性的话，那么企业经营管理不善，弊端丛生，其结果恰恰不是对全体人民的利益负责，而是对全体人民的利益的损害。这样，在对全民所有制企业进行改革时，应该强调的是：必须对全民所有制企业的全民性有新的理解，即它们的全民性体现于经济活动的成果，而不是体现于国家对这些企业的经营管理。也就是说，改革全民所有制，不是要否定全民所有制，也不是要改变这些企业的全民性。改革全民所有制，正是为了使全民所有制企业的全民性通过它们的有效的经济活动而充分体现出来。

二

在社会主义所有制体系中，还包括一个主要的方面，这就是根据社会主义商品经济发展的要求，建立多种所有制，即实现所有制的多元化。所有制多元化是指：社会主义社会中可以存在多种所有制，包括公有制，也包括非公有制。此外，企业生产资料所有权也可以不是单一的，而是由全民、集体和个体按照多种方式交叉、渗透而形成的混合性质的。在这种混合性质的所有制中，全民所有、集体所有、个体所有相互渗透，你中有我，我中有你。这就是说，一个企业内部，可以有不同的生产资料所有权构成。所有制的多元化，包括混合性质的所有制的形成，首先与我国现阶段劳动的性质有关。企业中的劳动者的劳动存在着质与量的差异，他们仍然要用个人利益的眼光去看待自己的劳动及其劳动成果。而且，企业之间还存在着劳动条件的差异，这又会导致企业的经营成果和经济效益的差别。有些企业能够比一般的企业生产出更多的劳动成果，这部分收入应归企业所有，以利于调动企业经营管理的积极性，促使企业经营活动改善。所有制的多元化和混合性质的所有制的存在，可以使企业和在企业中工作的劳动者更能从利益关系上使自己同生产经营成果统一起来。

再从我国现阶段的生产力水平来看，所有制的多元化和混合性质的所有制的存在也是与此有关的。我们知道，一定的生产资料所有制形式，取决于社会生产力的发展水平。社会主义商品经济中究竟采取什么形式以及在一定范围内存在哪些所有制，要受生产关系一定要适应生产力发展的规律的制约。现阶段我国生产力发展水平较低，发展也很不平

衡，这种状况决定了在长时期内将是多种所有制的并存，决定了在一个企业内，完全可以使不同的所有制相互渗透或相互结合。这是不以任何人的主观意志为转移的。

总之，在设计我国所有制体系时，需要考虑我国究竟需要建立什么样的企业所有制关系。这一切不能离开发展商品经济的要求，不能离开现阶段劳动的性质和生产力水平的制约。为了发展商品经济，每个企业必须以商品生产者资格开展生产经营活动，企业有权自己决定其产供销活动，并且要在竞争中保存自己和发展自己。这不是什么“放权给企业”的问题，而是“还权给企业”的问题。企业作为商品生产者，应当拥有一个商品生产者所具有的自主经营权。即使是全民所有制企业，改革以后，国家必须把生产资料交由企业使用，并且让企业有权支配自己的经济活动的成果。至于每一个企业的所有制形式，则由具体的情况来决定。

三

在社会主义社会中，建立和发展股份企业不仅是必要的，而且也是可行的。社会主义建设需要大量资金。要改变资金分散的现象，必须集中资金，把社会资金潜力动员起来。因此，企业发行股票有助于使资金集中，以满足扩大生产的资金需要。由于社会主义经济制度的基础是生产资料的社会主义公有制，所以股份企业也将建立在这一基础之上。如果是集体经济的企业发行股票，由劳动者购买，那么从性质上说，这种由劳动者集资而组成的企业仍然是集体经济单位。看来，这类企业的股份化完全是可行的，也不会引起疑虑。问题是全民所有制企业能不能发行股票？全民所有制发行了股票后，性质会不会变？对这个问题，应有正确的理解，不能认为只有集体企业才能发行股票，而全民所有制企业不能发行股票。我们不能用关于全民所有制企业的传统的观点来看待全民所有制企业的股份化。

如果全民所有制企业成为股份企业，从现有的生产资料所有权来看，有三方面的入股者：一是中央政府部门；二是地方政府部门；三是全民所有制企业本身。这三类入股者都是全民所有制性质的。股份化不改变企业的全民性。如果全民所有制是向社会集资的，那么新的入股者又可以分为三类：大致有（这里不考虑外资入股）三种：一是其他的地方政府部门和其他的全民所有制企业；二是集体企业；三是劳动者个

人。从新入股的构成看，如果只有第一类新入股者，企业的全民性没有变化。如果还有第二类和第三类新入股者，那么企业的全民性依然保留，但又增加了集体的成分。不管怎样，股份企业的生产资料仍然归劳动者所有的，这样的企业仍然是公有企业。

从生产资料使用权上看，由于股份企业的所有权与使用权是分离的，因此有必要考察谁真正在进行经营管理。经营管理归于企业的管理人员。既然社会主义股份企业的股东是劳动者或是代表劳动者利益的单位，那么通过股东代表选举的企业管理人员也就是劳动者利益的代表。以股份化的全民所有制企业来说，如果第二类和第三类新入股者的资金相对于原来的入股者和第一类新入股者的资金而言是较少的，那么企业仍由全民所有制一方经营管理。即使第二类和第三类新入股者的资金相对说来较多，但只要它们是分散的，那么全民所有制一方也照样掌握了企业的经营管理权。这些都表明企业的全民性基本上没有变化。

退一步而言，即使第二类和第三类新入股者的资金较多，而且第二类新入股者的资金并不分散，从而掌握了企业的经营管理权的话，企业不仍然是社会主义公有制企业吗？企业的经营管理权不仍然掌握在劳动者利益的代表者手中吗？这又有什么值得顾虑的呢？

下面，让我们再分析一下企业股份化的优越性。股份化是现阶段可以采取的最有利于增强企业活力的措施，它的优越性表现于：

第一，建立股份企业将从根本上改变政企不分的状况，从而可以把企业办成一个完全经济性的实体。由于企业的负责人向董事会负责，董事会向股东负责，企业就不再是行政机关的附属物。股份企业在服从国家政策和经济法规的前提下，有独立决策的权利。换而言之，国家不能对股份企业直接进行干预，而只能通过股权，影响企业的经济活动。这样，企业与政府的关系，在经济上主要体现在纳税和收税的关系上，企业的经营决策权问题就会迎刃而解。

第二，股份经济可以比较有效地解决生产要素的合理流动问题。股份企业盈利高低是一个信号，可以引导资金转移到盈利高的部门，使资金和劳动力得到比较合理的配置，可以提高资金使用效率。在市场竞争的条件下，股份企业只有将资金投向最有发展前途的领域，合理使用资金，避免决策失误和资金浪费，才能立足，才能发展。至于政府部门，则可以通过各种调节和补偿措施，有计划地引导股份资金投向国民经济中的薄弱环节和落后部门，从宏观的角度来促进生产力合理布局。

第三，入股集资有利于把社会上的闲散资金集中起来，实现融通资

金的活动。在社会集资和劳动者个人入股的条件下，个人消费基金的结余部分表现为新增加的股金。个人是以投资者的身份出现的，入股后，不能任意抽回股金。因此，企业以集资入股方式吸收个人消费基金的多余部分之后，不存在股金退出企业而冲击消费品市场的可能性。除个人入股以外，股份经济还可以把企业拥有的留成资金作为集资的重要来源。由于各个地方和企业都拥有一定量的暂时闲置的资金，因此通过股份经济的途径，集中地方和企业的资金，承担与地方和企业利害关系密切的项目的建设，有利于加快建设的步伐，并且，这也是为社会提供更多就业机会（特别是对于开拓广大农村的就业门路而言）的有效途径。

四

各个不同的企业相互入股（即相互购买股票）的结果，产生了社会主义条件下的企业控股制。控股制又称参与制，它是股份经济发展的必然产物。控股制本是资本主义发展到垄断阶段时出现的一种经济组织形式，大资本通过控股，渗入其他企业之中，支配着这些企业。层层控股、层层渗透的结果，形成了总公司—子公司—孙公司……这样的公司系统。因此，控股制在资本主义制度下，是大资本控制小资本、支配小资本的手段。

作为一种社会化大生产条件下的经济管理形式，控股制可以适用于社会主义股份经济之中。这是因为，管理具有二重性：一是由社会化大生产决定的自然属性；一是由社会制度决定的社会属性。就社会化大生产而言，社会主义与资本主义是相同的。就社会制度而言，社会主义与资本主义截然不同。因此，社会主义社会中可以采取控股制形式，即保留这一管理方式的自然属性，所改变的则是它的社会属性。

在社会主义经济中，一些有竞争能力的、经济效益高的企业可以利用自己的税后利润购买其他企业的股票。当它们在其他企业的股份中占到一定的比重，从而作为有影响的大股东而控制了那些企业，于是可以按照自己的经营方针来经营管理或进行企业改组。由于股权以及与股权联系在一起的股份利益在这里起着作用，所以一旦企业之间相互控股，企业之间的竞争必然激化。激化的市场竞争对于股份化的企业来说，不是坏事，而是好事，它促使每一个股份化企业必须提高经济效益。特别是在产品代替性强、消费品价格弹性大、产品更新期间利润不稳定的条件下，如果一个企业经营不善，它就面临被其他企业“接管”的威胁。这

种“接管”意味着：其他企业作为新的股东利用这些企业利润率下降、原来的入股者急于想把股票脱手的形势，购买其大量股票，进而控制它们，先从组织上予以“接管”，使之变为自己的子公司，再从生产上、经营上、技术上加以改造。甚至在某些具有独占性的领域内，原来的企业如果经营不善，也是有可能被“接管”的。

至于一些较小的企业，在经营不善的条件下，也可能被本企业的职工“接管”。本企业的职工作为股东，虽然很分散，但他们对企业的要求是盈利、是发展，他们的个人利益同企业盈亏总额挂钩。因此，在必要的场合，他们可能集中股权，以集体代表的身份，对企业进行“接管”，重新经营。这对于企业的发展前景肯定是有利的。

五

实行控股制之后，一个强有力的社会主义大企业，实行跨部门、跨地区的生产经营，并通过层层控股，建立自己的子公司、孙公司。母公司同若干个子公司、孙公司集合在一起，就形成社会主义的公司财团（或称为企业集团）。若干个社会主义大企业通过各种方式的经济联系，也可以形成一些带有地方色彩的社会主义公司财团，简称为地方财团（或地方企业集团）。社会主义公司财团的核心将是一个母公司，或称持股公司。它是本财团的经营管理方针的决策者。在母公司下面，有各个子公司、孙公司，这些公司并不是公司的分支机构或附属机构，它们都有自己的独立经营活动，自主经营，自负盈亏。母公司是通过股权的控制来施加影响的，也就是说，母公司的经营方针要通过股权的控制来贯彻。这就不会重犯行政干预的弊病。这样一种集中与分权相结合的公司管理体制，有利于促使企业经济活动合理化和高效率化。

由于市场竞争的开展，一些社会主义大企业兴起了，一些社会主义大企业衰落了，或者说，一些社会主义公司财团壮大了，一些社会主义公司财团的地位相对下降了，这完全是正常的现象。哪个大企业想保持上升的趋势，哪个公司财团想在排列名次上跃居前位，只能依靠自己的竞争能力，只能取决于自己的发展战略是否正确以及能否实现，只能寄希望于本企业、本财团的领导层和职工的素质。如果缺乏竞争能力，或者制定的发展战略错误，或者制定的正确的发展战略未能得到贯彻，或者领导层和职工的素质不高，那么即使是大企业、大财团，也会衰落下来。但企业的股份化和控股制本身，将给它们以内在调整力量，即自我

更新的力量。衰落的企业如果不调整，不更新，它的股票价格不断下降，就有可能被“接管”。“接管”以后，企业也就可能以新的面貌登上市场竞争的舞台。

与此同时，在控股制的条件下，银行与企业之间的关系有可能发生变化。这种变化表现为两个方面。一是某些专业银行不仅实行了企业化，而且实行了股份企业化，于是企业可能购买银行的股票，成为它们的股东。从我国的所有制改革的前景来说，企业持有专业银行的股份并参与银行的经营管理的可能性不是不存在的。二是企业股份化之后，银行对企业实行参与。在现阶段，银行与企业之间关系的这一变化的可能性要更大一些。我们可以设想，银行不仅是单纯的贷款提供者，而且也是投资者。银行可以直接从事企业投资活动，成为企业的股东之一，甚至银行还可以自己创办企业。在银行掌握企业的股权之后，银行与企业的关系就在股份利益的基础上联结在一起了。银行作为股权持有人，将派出自己的人进驻大企业，参与企业的管理，参加企业的会议。银行不仅仅参与管理企业资金的使用，也过问企业的生产和经营。

银行本身也可以通过对企业的参与而形成社会主义银行财团。社会主义银行财团同社会主义公司财团一起，实行跨部门、跨地区的经营。银行财团的核心仍然是持股公司性质的中心银行，它所控制的子公司、孙公司同样不是中心银行的分支机构或附属机构，而是自主经营和自负盈亏的经济实体。持股性质的中心银行同样需要通过对股权的控制来影响子公司、孙公司的生产经营。除此以外，银行对企业的参与还有利于银行自身的信贷工作的改进。这是因为，如果要求贷款的企业没有投资风险的观念，那将由提供贷款的银行承担一切投资风险。贷款收不回，项目建设失败了，其损失归于作为贷款提供者的银行。建立股份企业，特别是采取银行参与企业的做法，经营失败由股权人，即由参与企业的各方共同负责，这对于银行的经营的改进是可以起到积极作用的。

六

混合经济型企业是指由全民、集体、个体等多种所有制共同投资而组成的企业。即使不实现企业的股份化，只要容许不同所有制的企业联合经营，也可以产生一些混合经济型的企业。但企业的股份化的结果将导致混合经济型企业的大量出现。当然，纯粹的、单一所有制性质的企业也会继续存在，但应当认识到，大量混合经济型企业的出现是社会主

义经济中的不可避免的局面。

社会主义社会中的混合经济型企业的性质应当如何确定呢？如果原来的全民所有制或原来的集体所有制以入股集资形式新增资金，并在混合经济型企业股金中占有一定份额，并且能够掌握企业经营管理权的话，那么这样的混合经济型企业无疑仍是公有制企业。但如果不是这样，那又如何确定其性质呢？对此，让我们作进一步的分析。

比如说，如果一个企业是新创办的，其资金来自股票发行，而购买股票的，既有各种企业，又有个人，那么这样的混合经济型企业，是一种新的经济联合体，是传统的全民、集体所有制之外的一种新的公有制形式。

我们之所以把这种新型的经济联合体称为公有制企业，是因为它们在很大程度上类似于生产资料入股和资金入股的合作组织形式。它是新型的公有经济。这种经济组织形式既体现了劳动者群体作为生产资料主人这一特征，又最便于加强企业的活力，使企业成为独立的自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者。它在今后有可能成为我国新企业的所有制结构中的主体。

在社会主义经济建设中，混合经济型企业的出现正是适应了生产力发展的要求。它符合国情，促进了商品经济的发展。它既适合在乡村中成长，也适合在城市中发展。它方式灵活，可大可小，便于安置社会闲散人员，有利于密切城乡联系。新成立的混合经济型企业是原有的全民所有制企业的有力竞争者，可以迫使后者改善经营管理，或推动它们较快地走上所有制改革的道路。

七

与混合经济型企业一样，小型合作企业也是适合于我国国情、方便灵活的一种新的所有制形式。它和混合经济型企业的区别在于：

第一，混合经济型企业的入股者是各个企业和个人，并且可能有全民所有制单位投资入股，而小型合作企业则完全是由个人集资入股组成的。

第二，混合经济型的规模可大可小，而小型合作企业的规模一般说来是较小的。当然这并不否认小型合作企业以后可能发展、壮大，甚至

也有可能逐渐演变为混合经济型企业，但至少就它们初创时期而论，它们是较小的。

小型合作企业由个人集资入股而组成，它们体现劳动者群体是生产资料主人这一特征，从而是社会主义公有化的一种形式。它的生产资料归参加合作者所有，合作者共同劳动，集体经营，税后利润分给参加合作的成员，这些成员可以把收入用于生活支出，也可以用于再入股。在小型合作企业中，参加合作的成员作为劳动队伍中的一员，取得劳动报酬，作为入股者，又取得一定的税后利润。

小型合作企业特别适合于零售商业、手工业、城镇服务业、农产品加工业。参加合作的成员以自己的劳动进行集体生产，自主经营、自负盈亏。集资时，每人最少要出多少资金，最多只能出多少资金，以及劳力同资金按什么比例分配，要民主商定。这一切完全体现了它作为合作经济组织的质的规定性。

从形式上看，小型合作企业也可能自称为“股份公司”。这是无关紧要的。实际上，小型合作企业是真正的、名副其实的合作经济。它不同于股份公司之处就在于它只由参加合作的成员集资入股，而不向外界集资。如果它以后采取发行股票的方式向外界集资，那么它就变为混合型企业了。

鼓励劳动者个人以集资入股（包括用生产资料折成股金）形式组成小型合作企业，并肯定它们的合作经济性质，即公有制性质，是对理论和实践的尊重。承认这样的企业是公有制企业，无非是承认本来早就应该承认的社会事实而已。

目前，小型合作企业往往被人们称为“小集体”或“民办集体”。当然，人们可以采用这种名称或那种名称。但应当注意的是，当人们称这类企业为“小集体”时，不能认为“小集体不如大集体”，“小集体要向大集体过渡”；当人们称这类企业为“民办集体”时，也不能认为“民办集体是非正式的集体”，“民办集体要过渡到公办集体”。要知道，合作经济就是集体经济，它是灵活的社会主义所有制形式，可以适应不同的生产力状况，可以有不同的企业规模。合作经济不一定要向其他集体所有制形式过渡，而且也不存在这种过渡的必然性。合作经济形式，其他集体经济形式，混合经济形式，等等，各有优势和适用范围，应该长期共存，共同发展。

八

我们可以把农业中的联产承包责任制的实行看作农村所有制改革的第一步，现在，让我们从所有制体系的角度，对农村所有制的进一步改革加以探讨。

应当了解农村所有制进一步改革的背景，即这一改革是在什么条件下展开的。要知道，在实现联产承包责任制的基础上调整产业结构，农村经济将向大规模商品经济转化。农村将根据市场需要生产、加工、提供大量农副产品。商品经济的发展，使每个农民家庭作为商品生产者和经营者进入商品市场。因此，与蓬勃发展的商品经济相适应，农村的所有制将继续进行改革。

按照商品经济发展的要求，在农业、林业、渔业、畜牧业等生产活动中，家庭联产承包责任制的生产经营的形式会长期存在，但必将逐步走向专业化，甚至会把一些生产环节独立出来，形成某些生产环节的专业化。

于是，在分工协作的基础上，农民家庭将采取不同形式的自由联合。这种自愿结合而组成的农民家庭的联合经营组织的财产，属于参加联合经营的农民家庭共同所有，按各自劳动成果的大小比例分配劳动收入。此外，收入的一部分也可以根据投入的资金和生产资料的多少按比例分配。这样就会产生一大批与上一节提到的小型合作企业相似的小型合作农场（林场、渔场、牧场），它们是广大农民在实践中的创举，对未来农村经济的发展将起着十分重要的作用。这种小型合作农场（林场、渔场、牧场），是新型的集体经济，它们是对过去农业中集体经济统一生产资料和统一劳动的旧框框的突破。作为农民的自由联合的经营组织，它们是在家庭经营的基础上，采取集资形式集中各种生产要素的合作经营。它们是能够调动起广大群众的积极性的农村所有制的进一步改革。

在商品经济发展过程中，原来的乡镇企业的所有制改革问题必然被提上议事日程。乡镇企业的经济性质，照理说应当是农民（乡镇居民）的合作经济，它是农民靠自己的资金、劳力、技术建成的。不少企业尽管依靠贷款兴办，但贷款只能是农民用企业获得的利润偿还。然而在实际生活中，这些企业不是如上所述的合作经济性质的企业，而变成了（或在一定程度上变成了）官办企业。有些干部凭着对这些企业领导层的任免权，干涉企业的自主活动。一些企业即使获得较多的利润，但利

润由干部支配，农民仍不能得到好处。因此，要改革乡镇企业的现状，就应当从所有制上解决问题，即打破目前实际存在的企业的官办模式，使农民成为名副其实的企业主人。

当然，这里并不否认现存的许多乡镇企业是办得很有成绩的，并且农民也确实能从乡镇企业得到利益，但我们所说的乡镇企业的所有制改革不是仅仅针对那些办得差的企业而言。办得差的企业无疑需要加以整顿，最有效的整顿方式就是进行所有制改革。即使是办得好的企业，也同样要改革所有制。这是因为，既然乡镇企业是集体所有制，那就不能使之成为基层政权的附属物，不能政企不分。“还这些企业以本来面目”，就是使之真正成为集体所有的企业。如果只对办得差的乡镇企业进行所有制改革，不对办得好的乡镇企业进行所有制改革，那么不禁要问一句：假定将来有一天，基层政权的领导换人了，新上任的基层政权领导不再像过去那样考虑问题了，办得好的企业不就有可能变为办得差的企业吗？究竟有什么方法能避免这种情况的出现呢？可见，不管今天办得好还是办得差的乡镇企业，都应当一律进行所有制改革。从所有制上解决企业经营问题，是根本性的。至于哪些企业先改革所有制，哪些企业后改革所有制，则可以根据各个企业的生产和经营管理现状来安排。

那么，怎样从所有制方面改革乡镇企业呢？乡镇企业所有制改革的设想是：清产核资、折股到户。农民成为企业的股东，他们作为股东，通过选举实现自己的意志，行使管理企业的权利。在收益分配权利上，收益分配重大问题民主确定；股东除参加劳动领取报酬外，依其股金多少，按比例分享红利。今后，乡镇政权只负责指导和帮助农民经营，不要自己办企业。乡镇新办的企业，或者是乡镇劳动者自己集资兴办的合作企业，或者是有不同所有制混合的混合经济型企业。这两类企业都是新型的公有制企业。此外，如果农民家庭要独资办企业，这也是可以容许的，尽管它们属于个体经济性质。

农村中的供销社也有必要进行所有制改革。这一改革可以从两个方面着手：第一，大量分散于农村的基层供销社，应当转化为独立的合作企业，即成为名副其实的供销合作社，自主经营，独立核算，自负盈亏，税后利润除留作公积金、公益金的部分外，按社员的股金分配。第二，县以上的供销社，包括各个专业公司和工商企业，应当转化为混合经济型的企业，即有多种所有制混合的股份企业，也是自主经营、独立核算、自负盈亏的。它的组织管理与一般股份企业的组织管理相同。

通过上述农村所有制的进一步改革措施，继家庭联产承包责任制实

行之后，乡镇的基层政权同经济活动之间的关系将发生更为显著的变化。农业合作化之后，特别是人民公社化之后的那种农村经济活动方式将彻底解体。乡镇的基层政权完全变为纯粹的政权组织，脱离具体的生产经营活动，从而以往那种把广大农民置于统一指挥、统一管理之下，使他们的经济活动被动地听命于少数乡镇干部的意志，限制广大农民积极性和创造性的发挥，阻碍农村商品经济的发展，并使农村产业结构长期单一不变的情况，将不再存在。

乡镇基层政权在经济上的作用主要体现于积极引导乡镇商品经济的发展。为此，它们要负责土地的管理。土地公有的原则不能改变，但土地应当是有偿使用的。要防止侵占耕地，严禁土地买卖。这是乡镇基层政权的职责所在。乡镇基层政权还要设法帮助农民寻找致富门路，组织农民兴办各种企业，并帮助这些企业解决发展中遇到的难题。乡镇基层政权还可以为企业的联营牵线搭桥，组织技术协作和经济协作。乡镇基层政权在引导农村商品经济发展的过程中，应当突出“服务”二字。它们的管理就是为农民的经济活动服务。

九

所有制的核心是生产资料所有权的归属。但把所有制理解为生产资料所有权的归属，仅仅是对所有制的狭义理解。对所有制的广义的理解是：除了生产资料所有权的归属以外，所有制还包括生产组织的形式和生产管理体制等。因此，以上所谈到的所有制改革，不仅涉及生产资料所有权的归属在改革前后的变化，而且也涉及生产组织的形式和生产管理体制在改革前后的变化。改革后所建立的新的社会主义所有制，就是指新的生产资料所有权的归属、新的生产组织形式和新的生产管理体制。

改革后的社会主义所有制不是单一的，而是多元的。多种所有制构成了新的社会主义所有制体系。对这个体系可以这样理解：

从生产资料所有权的归属来看，这是一个以社会主义公有制为主体的、包括为社会主义经济服务的各种非公有制在内的所有制体系。公有制企业包括：全民所有制企业、混合经济型企业、合作企业。非公有制企业包括：个体企业、外资企业、中外合资企业。

从生产组织形式和生产管理体制来看，全民所有制企业、混合经济

型企业可以自己经营，也可租赁、承包给合作经济或个人经营；合作企业同样可以自己经营或采取租赁、承包的方式，让个人来经营。

这样的社会主义所有制体系是根据社会主义商品经济发展的需要而产生的。在公有制企业中，虽然股份化的实行涉及按资金（或股金）分成，但投资入股对于投资者来说是对生产的贡献，其性质与在银行存款相似，应有一定的股息收入作为报酬。投资入股，发展社会主义经济，对社会主义经济的总体利益大于投资入股者的个别利益。而公有制企业的租赁、承包经营，则能够适应生产力发展的需要，使生产要素在现有条件下有效结合，减少人力、物力、财力的浪费，对生产的发展起到促进作用。

至于社会主义所有制体系中属于非公有制范畴的个体经济，它存在的必要性已经无需论述，因为个体经济是作为社会主义经济的必要补充而存在的，它为社会主义社会中的生产和生活服务，而且还可以增加就业，增加税收。个体劳动者主要依靠自己的劳动从事经营。有些人辛勤劳动，经营有方，获得较多的收入，这是正常的。只要有正确的政策，加强管理，同时又善于教育和引导，就能保证个体经济沿着为社会主义服务的轨道发展。

总之，通过所有制改革，今后我国将形成如下的二元经济模式：一方面，是几百家最大的企业，它们通过层层控股，形成母公司、子公司、孙公司系统，形成公司财团（企业集团）。它们将决定我国工业化的方向、技术进步的方向。另一方面，是几十万家甚至上百万家小企业，包括合作经济的、个体的、混合所有制的小企业，它们形成紧密的协作网，同时又处于相互竞争之中。它们将着重解决农村劳动力的转移、农副产品生产和加工、农村居民收入水平的提高、小城镇建设、城乡居民生活服务等问题。二元经济的这两个不同的部分将各自按照自己的运动规律向前发展。二者是长期并存和互补的。

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A tentative study of socialist ownership structure (1987)

I

Ownership reform stems, in the final analysis, from the requirement for developing a commodity economy in this nation. It also arises from the unchangeable position of companies as commodity producers. Whatever its form, ownership structure should contribute to the promotion of production. A monomorphic ownership structure is detrimental to the growth of the commodity economy, to the motivation of firms as commodity producers, and to the effort to make the most of the superiority of socialism. All this gives rise to the mission of hammering out a post-reform ownership structure.

Will the post-reform ownership structure include public ownership? The answer is in the affirmative: Public ownership will be included. However, the reformed public ownership will no longer be the same as it is today. There will be differences between the two.

Under the influence of the traditional economic mode, people believed that the only workable way to run public companies was to put them directly into the hands of government institutions. In the reality of socialist economic development, however, the drawbacks of this practice were becoming pronounced. Companies became appendages of the government, which held all the power over human resources, finance and materials, and kept a tight rein on them. A company's performance thus had no direct bearing on its economic gains, nor was it held accountable for its own economic losses. Such was the inevitable outcome of the direct government intervention of business management, in which public ownership was synonymous with the direct involvement of government institutions in corporate activity. This is why the main thrust of ownership reform should be directed at public ownership.

We should know that in a public company, both capital goods and

products belong to the public. The public attributes of such institutions represent the people's fundamental, overall and long-term interests. Recognition of the public ownership of such companies means that they are engaged in production and management in the common interest of the entire citizenry. The issue here is: How can public companies manifest their public nature in production and management, and go about their economic activity truly in the interests of all the people? It should be noted that public companies are not an empty concept but entities in the thick of economic activity. Their public nature is embodied in the fact that both their managers and workers are responsible for the interest of the whole population in such activity. However, this responsibility does not mean that public companies can only be run by the government. Moreover, it should be noted unequivocally that, supposing the public nature of these companies could be manifested only under government management, those companies that are malfunctioning and riddled with malpractice cannot honor their commitment – rather, they can only betray the basic interest of the entire state and citizenry. Thus, in transforming public firms, we must understand their public nature in a new light. That is to say, their public nature should be reflected in the results of their economic activity rather than in being state-managed. To reform public ownership is neither to negate this form of ownership nor to change the nature of public companies. To reform public ownership is precisely to emphasize these firms' public nature through effective and fruitful economic activity.

II

An essential task of the socialist ownership structure is to meet the requirement of the developing socialist commodity economy that forms of ownership should be diversified. Ownership diversity means that a socialist society may have more than one form of ownership, both public and nonpublic. Moreover, capital goods need not come solely under public ownership but under a mixture of state, collective, and private ownership. In this mixed ownership system, public, collective, and private ownership are intertwined and infiltrate each other in a "you in me, me in you" situation. That is to say, the capital goods in a company may come under a mixture of ownership. The need for ownership diversity, including ownership mixtures, arises from the nature of labor in our nation at the present stage of

development. Workers still care about their labor input – which differs in quality and quantity – and its economic returns out of the concern for their own interests. Furthermore, due to differences in working conditions, companies also vary in managerial performance and economic returns. Some may be more productive than others. The earnings from such extra output should be put at these firms' own disposal so as to spur their managers on to improve management. Diverse, mixed forms of ownership enable firms and workers to align themselves with production and management performance because this is where their own interests are at stake.

The existence of diverse and mixed forms of ownership is also relevant to our nation's present level of labor productivity. We know that a certain form of ownership of capital goods is determined by the development level of society's labor productivity. What forms of ownership should be adopted or allowed in a socialist commodity economy is circumscribed by the law governing labor productivity improvement. As things stand in our nation, productivity is relatively low and its development is uneven. This implies that, independent of man's will, diverse forms of ownership will be around for a long time to come while infiltrating or integrating each other inside a business.

In all, when designing a new national ownership structure, we should decide what kind of corporate ownership system is really needed. Such a decision cannot be detached from the requirements of the commodity economy and the restraints arising from the nature of labor and the level of productivity at the current stage of development. To advance the commodity economy, every company must organize its production and business as a producer, have the final say on production, supply and marketing, and strive to survive and grow through competition. The issue here is not so much "decentralizing power to companies" as "returning power to companies." Companies should have the decision-making autonomy that they deserve as commodity producers. The same is true with public companies. After ownership restructuring is completed, the government should put capital goods at these companies' disposal and allow them to handle the fruits of their economic activity. As to what form of ownership a company should adopt, it should be decided according to the merits of individual cases.

III

It is both necessary and workable to establish and develop shareholding companies in a socialist society. Socialist construction cannot do without colossal sums of money. Dispersed capital should be pooled, and the financial potential of all sectors tapped. To allow companies to issue stock shares helps pool money and meet the funding needs of production expansion. Public ownership of capital goods is the foundation stone of the socialist economy. Shareholding companies should be built on the same foundation. If a collectively owned company sells shares to its workers, its collectiveness will remain intact because it is formed with money raised from and by its workers. The fact that the shareholding system can operate for collective companies should not be a cause of concern. The issue here, rather, is whether public firms should be allowed to issue stock shares, and whether doing so will change their public nature. We must see it in perspective. It is wrong to insist that only collective firms can issue shares and to forbid public companies from doing so. The adoption of the shareholding system by public companies should not be judged from a traditional viewpoint.

If a public firm becomes a shareholding company, its shareholders may fall into three categories judging from the current structure of capital goods ownership: central government agencies, local government agencies and the company itself. If all its shareholders are in the public category, the company's public nature will not be affected. If the public firm raises funds from all walks of life, its new shareholders will roughly fall into three categories, excluding foreign investors: other local government agencies and other public firms, collective firms and workers. If all the new shares are sold to the first category of shareholders, the firm's public nature remains. If the new shares are also sold to the second and third categories of shareholders, the firm's public nature will acquire a collective element. No matter what happens, the enterprise remains publicly owned.

To determine who controls the use of capital goods, it is necessary to find out who are running the shareholding company, because the right to own capital goods and the right to use them are separated. The operation of such a company is controlled by its managers. Given that the shareholders of a socialist shareholding enterprise are workers or organizations that represent the workers' interests, then the managers elected by shareholders' representatives should also be regarded as the workers' representatives. In a shareholding company under public ownership, if the second and third

categories of new shareholders have contributed more money than the old shareholders and the first category of new shareholders, the company is still in the hands of those representing public ownership. If the second and third categories of newcomers have bought more shares than the others but such shares are scattered rather than concentrated, the company is still under public ownership. In all cases, the company's public nature remains basically unchanged.

Even if a shareholding company is controlled by the second and third categories of new shareholders who have contributed more money while the shares held by the second category of new shareholders are not scattered, isn't the enterprise still a public socialist enterprise? Isn't the management of the company still in the hands of those representing workers' interests? Is there anything to be concerned about?

Now, a look at the superiority of the enterprise shareholding system. As the best option available for invigorating our companies, the shareholding system has at least three advantages.

Firstly, the shareholding system can fundamentally change the situation in which government administration is confounded with business management, and thereby turn companies into purely economic entities. Under this system, the general manager is held accountable to the Board of Directors, and the Board of Directors is responsible to shareholders, and thus the company can no longer be an appendage to a government department. The shareholding company makes its own decisions in compliance with government policy and economic legislation. In other words, the government can no longer interfere in the company's business, but can influence its economic activity by holding its stock shares. The economic relationship between enterprises and the government becomes one between paying and levying taxes, and the enterprises will have no problem in making their own business decisions.

Secondly, a shareholding economy works relatively more effectively in meeting the need to allocate production factors efficiently. The profit level of such a company is a signal that guides the shift of capital to high-profit fields, thereby rationally allocating capital and workforce, and raising capital utilization efficiency. The shareholding company can find a foothold in market competition and develop itself only if it can put its capital to best use,

utilize it sensibly, and avoid decision-making errors and waste of money. Government departments may, through legislative and compensatory measures, attract share capital to the national economy's weak links and backward sectors in a well-planned fashion, and promote the rational allocation of productive resources from a macroeconomic perspective.

Thirdly, raising funds by selling shares helps pool idle money from nongovernmental sources to meet financing purposes. Under the prerequisite that funds are raised from nongovernmental sources and workers are allowed to buy shares individually, the surplus of personal consumption fund comes in the form of newly added share capital that cannot be withdrawn arbitrarily. For this reason, after the surplus fund for personal consumption is absorbed to buy company shares, it is unlikely for such money to be withdrawn from a shareholding company and spent in the consumer goods market. Apart from allowing individuals to buy shares, the shareholding economy can also use part of the profit at a company's dispensation as a major fund-raising source. By pooling idle money from localities and companies and spending it on construction projects that have a close bearing on the immediate interest of these localities and companies, the shareholding economy can also speed up development, and effectively create jobs for society, rural areas in particular.

IV

The practice of companies buying each other's stocks gives rise to a corporate stock-holding system under socialism. As an inevitable result of economic development, this system, also known as "participatory system," originated in an economic organizational form that emerged from the monopolist stage of capitalism, when a big corporation infiltrated other companies by buying their majority shares and getting them under control. The control through stock-holding and penetration into multiple companies eventually brought about a corporate system in which the general company branched into one level of subsidiaries after another. Under capitalism, therefore, the corporate stock-holding system is a tool with which large capital controls and manipulates small capital.

As a form of business management in society's large-scale production, the stock-holding system can be made to work for the socialist shareholding economy on account of the dual attributes of business management: its

natural attribute determined by society's large-scale production, and its social attribute determined by the social system. In terms of society's large-scale production, socialism is identical to capitalism; in terms of social system, socialism is categorically different from capitalism. Thus a socialist society can adopt the stock-holding system by retaining its natural attribute and altering its social attribute.

In a socialist economy, a competitive and highly efficient company may use its after-tax profit to buy another company's stock shares. When it has become the other company's majority shareholder and thus taken control of it, it will run or reshuffle that company according to its own will. Because of the role of equity and equity-related interests, the scramble between companies for majority holding rights is bound to intensify. When that happens, it is a boon, instead of a bane, for every shareholding company on the scene, because it gives them a good opportunity to improve their economic efficiency. When products become highly substitutable, when the prices of consumer goods show a large degree of elasticity, and when the profits from those products that are being upgraded become unstable, ill-managed businesses will be in danger of being "taken over" by others if they fail to cope with the situation. When such a business is taken over, the buying company may buy its stock in a large amount by taking advantage of its declining profit rate and its shareholders' hasty disposal of their shares. In this way the new CEO turns it into a subsidiary, and goes further to overhaul its production, management and technology. This happens even in a monopolistic industry, where failing companies are in danger of a "takeover."

A small business that does not perform well may be taken over by its employees. These employees are scattered stockholders with a shared desire for their business to make a profit and grow, and their personal interests are tied to its gains and losses. When and where possible, they may pool their equities and act collectively to take over the business and reshuffle its management. When this happens, it is definitely conducive to the future success of the business.

V

A powerful large socialist enterprise under the shareholding system may organize trans-sectoral and trans-regional business, and, through multilevel

share-controlling actions, establish multiple layers of subsidiaries to form a socialist corporate consortium or enterprise group. Several large socialist enterprises can foster different economic ties and combine themselves into a consortium or enterprise group. At the center of a socialist corporate consortium is the decision-making matrix – or holding – company. Under the parent company there are first- and second-layer subsidiaries which, rather than being mere branches or appendages, do business independently, make their own decisions, and bear the responsibility for their losses and gains. The matrix company exerts its influence through its control of stock shares. That is to say, the parent company carries out its business principle through its equity, thereby fending off the drawbacks of administrative intervention. This corporate management system, in which rights are both centralized and decentralized, helps set a company's business activity on a rational and efficient footing.

Some giant socialist enterprises may rise, and some others may fall in market competition. To put it another way, one giant socialist corporate consortium may grow in strength while another may fall into a decline. There is nothing odd in this phenomenon. A giant enterprise can stay competitive and at the top of the ranking chart only with sensible and effective development strategies, wise leadership and fine workforce quality. Companies or consortia are doomed, no matter how large they are, if they are no longer competitive, if their development stratagems are wrong, or their leaders and workforce are low in quality and proficiency. The shareholding system and the controlling shareholder system compel a company to readjust and save itself. Without such readjustment and self-rejuvenation, a waning company can only watch helplessly as its stock dwindles in value and its property rights become vulnerable to a takeover. Such a takeover, however, may give the company a new lease of life and return it to the ranks of competent competitors.

Under the stock-holding system, the relationship between banks and enterprises may change in one of two ways. First, specialized banks may convert themselves into commercial corporations under shareholding management, and allow businesses to purchase their stock shares to become their shareholders. Judging from the prospects of ownership reform in this country, it is not unlikely that businesses will hold stock shares of specialized banks and join their management. Second, demutualized banks may also

participate in managing other businesses; and, as things stand at the present stage of development, the relationship between banks and businesses is more likely to change this way. We can assume that banks are not just loan providers. They are also stockholders of businesses and can run their own companies. After a bank gains control of a business' stock, the common interest resulting from this will bring the two sides closer. A bank that holds the stock of a large business can send representatives to join the latter in managing its funding, production and business operation.

Banks can also convert themselves into socialist banking consortia through their involvement in business. Such a banking consortium may work alongside a socialist corporate consortium to do business that transcends departmental and regional boundaries. At the core of this banking consortium is a central bank that functions as the holding company. The first and second tiers of subsidiaries to such a central bank are not its branches or affiliates; rather, they are economic entities that make their own business decisions and are liable for their own gains and losses. The holding central bank needs to influence the production and management of these subsidiaries by way of its equity. Moreover, the bank's involvement in business also helps improve its credit management because if a business applying for a loan has no idea about the risks involved, the bank providing the loan is liable for such risks. If the bank cannot recoup the loan it has issued in due time, or if the project invested with the loan falls through, the bank will bear the financial loss thus incurred. In a shareholding company established with a bank's participation, the outcome of business failures is borne by all partners, a fact that can galvanize the bank into improving its management.

VI

Mixed-ownership companies, as the name suggests, are economic entities invested jointly by public, collective, and private partners. Firms of this type allow for joint business activity under different types of ownership even in the absence of the shareholding system. However, demutualization of firms inevitably produces a large number of companies under mixed ownership. Enterprises under a single type of ownership will go on as usual, but the emergence of many mixed-ownership economic entities will be an inevitable trend in a socialist economy.

How to define the nature of such mixed-ownership companies in a socialist society? If a public or collective enterprise has increased its capital by raising funds through stock share sales, and thus obtained a certain portion of share capital from a mixed-ownership firm and controlled its management, this company should be regarded as a public enterprise. If such a mixed-ownership firm is not deemed public, what else should it be? Let us look into this matter more closely.

If, say, an enterprise has been set up with funds raised by selling stock shares to both companies and individuals, such a mixed economic structure should be regarded as an economic conglomerate under a new form of public ownership, which is different from traditional types of public or collective ownership.

We regard this type of economic conglomerates as public enterprises because they are similar to collectives whose partners buy stock shares with capital goods or cash. They represent a brand-new type of public ownership enterprise, which not only identifies workers as masters of capital goods but also energizes itself by becoming an independent commodity producer that makes its own business decisions and bears responsibility for its own gains and losses. Such economic conglomerates are most likely to become the mainstay in China's future corporate ownership structure.

The emergence of mixed-ownership companies meets the demand to boost productivity in socialist economic development, corresponds with the reality of the country, and promotes the commodity economy. Such firms can grow in both rural and urban areas. Flexible in business operation, they can adjust their corporate sizes according to circumstances to accommodate the idle and the jobless and better connect rural and urban areas. The presence of such mixed-ownership firms challenges old public enterprises to improve their management and start ownership reform at an early date.

VII

Like mixed-ownership companies, small cooperatives represent another nascent form of ownership. Convenient and flexible, these small cooperatives differ from mixed-ownership firms in two ways:

First, the shareholders of a mixed-ownership company are enterprises

and individuals, and state-owned companies may buy their way into it. By contrast, small cooperatives are formed entirely by individual shareholders.

Second, mixed-ownership companies vary in size, whereas cooperatives are generally small, even though it is possible for them to grow bigger and evolve into mixed-ownership companies. Nevertheless, cooperatives tend to remain small, at least in the formative stage.

Small cooperatives, being organized by individuals who buy their way into them, identify their workers as masters of capital goods. That is why they are seen as a new form of socialist public ownership. Their members own the capital goods, join in collective labor and management, and distribute their after-tax profit among themselves. Such earnings may be used to cover daily expenses or be converted into new stock shares. Members of such a small collective get paid for their labor as employees while earning a certain percentage of the tax-paid profit as shareholders.

Small cooperatives are especially suitable for businesses in retailing, handicrafts, community services and farm produce processing. Their members are engaged in collective labor, make economic decisions and share gains and losses. Whenever funds need to be raised, they put their heads together to decide the ceiling and floor for the money to be paid by every member according to a ratio between labor and fund. This way of doing things is entirely agreeable to the nature of small cooperatives.

It does not matter whether or not a small collective calls itself a "shareholding company". They represent the collective sector in the true sense of the term. They differ from shareholding companies precisely in that, instead of turning to society for financial help, they raise money exclusively among their members. They can become mixed-ownership firms if, someday, they start to raise money by issuing stock shares to the public.

To encourage individual workers to form their own small cooperatives by buying shares or converting their contribution of capital goods into shares, and to confirm the collective – i.e., public – nature of such cooperatives, is to respect both theory and practice. To accept the small cooperatives as public enterprises is for no other purpose than to recognize an established social fact that has to be accepted as such.

Small cooperative enterprises are often called "small collectives" or

"collectives run by individuals." People may name such firms any way they want. However, when you choose to call them "small collectives,"you are wrong if you think that small collectives are not as good as large collectives or that small collectives should be turned into large ones. When you choose to call them "collectives run by individuals," you are wrong if you believe that they are "informal collectives" or that they should be converted into public collectives. We must see cooperatives exactly as a form of collective economy as well as a form of socialist ownership that is highly flexible and adaptable to different levels of productivity and corporate scales. The cooperative economy does not necessarily need to develop itself into other forms of collective ownership, and there is absolutely no such inevitability either. The cooperative economy, other forms of collective economy, and the mixed-ownership economy each have their own strengths and applicable scopes, and should be allowed to exist side by side and develop together in the long run.

VIII

We may regard the adoption of the household responsibility system that links remuneration with output as the first step toward rural ownership reform. In this chapter, let me make some tentative study of the next stage of ownership reform in rural areas from the perspective of the national ownership structure.

Let us start with some background information about the next stage of rural ownership reform. We have to understand that, on the basis of initiating the household responsibility system, the rural economy is being restructured in transition to a large-scale commodity economy. Rural areas will adapt their production and processing undertakings to market demand, and provide large quantities of farm and sideline products. The advance of the commodity economy enables every farming household to enter the commodity market as both producers and business operators. Rural ownership reform should keep up with the burgeoning commodity economy.

According to the requirements of the commodity economy, the rural household responsibility system will be maintained for a long time in agriculture, forestry, fishery, and animal husbandry. However, rural production and businesses are bound to develop along specialized lines. That

means some fields of production will operate independently and be specialized.

On the basis of a division of labor and collaboration, farming households can freely collaborate with one another in different forms. The assets of such voluntary economic cooperation will be owned by the members, who will distribute the earnings among themselves according to work done. Part of such earnings, however, may also be distributed according to shares of capital or of capital goods. This will give rise to a large number of small cooperative farms (forest, fishing and animal farms included) similar to the small cooperatives described in the previous chapter. A creation of the broad masses of farmers in their production activity, these cooperative farms will play a major role in the future development of the rural economy. They represent a new type of collective economy, and a breakthrough from the old agricultural collective economy in which capital goods and labor are centralized. On the basis of household management, these farms can bring farmers' funds and production factors under cooperative management. The emergence of such farms is nothing short of another round of rural ownership reform that can fire the enthusiasm of the rural population for production and development.

In the course of developing a commodity economy, the issue of revamping the ownership of old rural enterprises will be put on the agenda. These rural enterprises, according to common sense, represent a form of cooperative economy run by farmers (and townspeople) with their own money, labor and technology. Although many of them are dependent on loans, they are supposed to repay such loans with nothing but their profits. However, in actual fact, these enterprises have changed their collective economic nature and evolved, to a certain extent, into local government-run businesses. Some local officials, holding the power to appoint or dismiss the managers of these businesses, are given to interfering in their business activity. Farmers can hardly benefit from such businesses because their profits are often manipulated by these officials. Such problems with the old rural enterprises can only be redressed through ownership restructuring – that is, to put an end to government interference in them and let farmers be their true masters.

I do not here deny the fact that many rural enterprises are doing

perfectly well and that, in many places, local farmers are benefiting from them. Rural enterprise ownership reform is not directed merely at mismanaged enterprises. Of course, enterprises that do not perform well should be straightened out, and the best way to do so is to restructure their ownership. However, well-run rural firms need ownership restructuring as well. Now that rural firms are collective economic entities, they should not become appendages to grass roots governments and muddle along under government administration that is entangled in business management. We have got to restore them to their true beings as collective firms. If we limit ownership reform to poorly run enterprises, we must answer the question: If, someday, a local government comes into the hands of a new leader who has changed the old way of doing things, will well-run enterprises start going downhill? Is there any way to prevent this scenario from materializing? Clearly, all rural firms, large or small, good or bad, should have their ownership restructured. Only by starting from ownership reform can these companies' business problems be fundamentally addressed. As to which enterprises should be the first to engage in such a reform, this should be decided in light of actual production and management situations.

How, then, should rural enterprise ownership be reformed? The guideline is to liquidate the assets and check the accounts, and to distribute the stock to every member household. In this way, farmers can become shareholders who can impose their will on their companies through voting in elections and exercising their management rights. Major issues on income distribution will be settled by consensus. Apart from getting paid for work done, shareholders are also entitled to dividends allotted according to shares. Township governments are not allowed to run enterprises, and their power should be limited to guiding and helping farmers in business activity. New rural firms and cooperatives established by rural workers with their own money, and mixed-ownership firms are, without exception, new types of public enterprises. Farming households should also be allowed to run wholly owned enterprises that belong in the private sector.

Rural supply and marketing cooperatives should have their ownership revamped in two ways. First, large numbers of rural supply and marketing cooperatives at the grass roots level should be converted into independent cooperative firms. Only thus can they truly become supply and marketing cooperatives that make their own business decisions, function as independent

accounting units, and take responsibility for their gains and losses. Their after-tax profit will be dispensed among members according to shares after a certain amount has been set aside as public accumulation fund and welfare fund. Second, supply and marketing cooperatives at and above the county level, including specialized companies and industrial and commercial businesses, should be transformed into mixed-ownership, shareholding companies that make their own business decisions as independent accounting units and are accountable for their own gains and losses. They will have the same organizational setup as other shareholding companies.

By putting the rural ownership system through the abovementioned reform steps, the relationship between township governments and rural businesses will undergo another round of profound changes comparable to those taking place upon the adoption of the household responsibility system linking remuneration to output. The mode of rural economic activity born of the Movement of Agricultural Collectivization (1954-1955) and particularly of the Movement of the People's Communes that began in 1958, should be totally abolished. Grass roots governments will become pure administrative institutions detached from everyday production and business. Institutions that subject the broad masses of farmers to centralized administration, that allow a tiny number of township and town government officials to impose their will on people's economic activity, and that have hindered the growth of rural commodity economy and kept the monolithic rural economic structure unchanged for long years, will eventually be consigned to the dustpan of history.

The economic role of grass roots township governments will be limited to guiding the rural commodity economy. Land management is part of that role. The principle that land is public property shall never be changed, but it should not prevent land from being used with compensation. It is also the mission of grass roots governments to prevent arbitrary requisitioning of farmland and bar the selling and buying of land. These governments should also find ways and means to help local farmers beat poverty, organize them in running businesses, and help these businesses solve problems. They will also have a "matchmaking" role to play, that is, to bring enterprises together for technological and economic collaboration. "Serving the people" should be the motto for local governments in steering the advancement of the rural commodity economy. The purpose of their administration is specifically to

serve farmers' business activities.

IX

Proprietorship over capital goods is at the core of ownership. However, to interpret ownership merely as proprietorship over capital goods is a narrow-minded understanding of the substance of ownership. In a broad sense, ownership also encompasses the organizational form of production and the administration and management of production, apart from proprietorship over capital goods. This being the case, the ownership reform discussed in the foregoing involves not only changes in ownership of capital goods before and after the reform, but also changes in the organizational form of administration over production. The new socialist ownership born of the reform effort refers precisely to proprietorship over capital goods, to new organizational forms of production, and to new administrative and managerial systems over production.

The reformed socialist ownership system will not be singular but plural. It will constitute multiple forms of ownership and can be understood from the following perspectives:

In terms of capital goods proprietorship, it will encompass diverse forms of nonpublic ownership in the service of the socialist economy, with socialist public ownership taking the lead. Under public ownership, there will be enterprises owned by all the people, enterprises under mixed ownership, and cooperatives. Under nonpublic ownership, there will be private firms, foreign-invested companies, and equity joint ventures with Chinese and foreign investment.

Concerning the organizational form of production and the administrative and managerial system over production, enterprises owned by all the people and enterprises under mixed ownership can be run on their own or rented or contracted out to cooperative enterprises or individuals. Likewise, cooperatives can also be run by themselves or rented or contracted out by individuals.

This socialist ownership system is born of the need of the burgeoning socialist commodity economy. In a shareholding company under public ownership, dividends are dispensed among shareholders according to their

shares of capital (or money paid for stock shares), and shareholders are investors who contribute to production through the shares they have bought. The money they have spent on shares is similar in nature to bank savings, and therefore, they also deserve remuneration in the form of stock interest. The stock shares invested in the economy contribute a lot more to the growth and overall interest of the socialist economy than to the shareholder's individual interest. Leased and contracted management serves to adapt public enterprises to the demand for boosting productivity, allocating production factors effectively under the current circumstances, minimizing waste in human, material and financial resources, and promoting production.

I deem it unnecessary to say anything here about the presence of private economy that does not belong in the public sector of the socialist ownership system. This is because the private sector exists to supplement the socialist economy and help create jobs and tax revenues. Self-employed workers rely on themselves in business activity. It is only normal for them to make more money through diligence and shrewd management. Given correct government policy, effective administration, and sensible education and guidance, the private sector can grow in the course of serving socialism.

To sum up, ownership reform will bring about a dual economic system. On the one hand, the national economy will contain hundreds of large enterprises that will grow into corporate consortia (enterprise groups), which, through multilevel investment, will bring about a network of second- and third-tier subsidiaries. These consortia will point out the way for the national drive for industrialization and technological progress. On the other hand, the national economy will have numerous small enterprises under cooperative, private or mixed ownership, which will form a close-knit network of collaboration while competing with one another. Their shared mission will be to address the problems arising from the reallocation of surplus rural workforce, farm and sideline product production and processing, from the efforts to raise rural residents' income and build small towns, and from everyday services for urban and rural residents. These two groups of economic entities will each follow a different course of development and coexist in a mutually complementary relationship.

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论两种类型的非均衡经济和我国当前经济体制改革的主线 (1988)

一、均衡条件下的资源配置与非均衡条件下的资源配置的区别

在经济学中，非均衡是相对于瓦尔拉均衡而言的。瓦尔拉均衡是假设存在着完善的市场和灵敏的价格体系条件下所达到的均衡。非均衡是指不存在完善的市场，不存在灵敏的价格体系条件下所达到的均衡。因此，非均衡又被称为非瓦尔拉均衡。

根据瓦尔拉的学说，既然市场是完善的，价格体系是灵敏的，交易者有充分信息，价格随供求的变化而随时进行调整，那么在任何一种价格条件下，需求总量必定等于供给总量，社会中的超额需求和超额供给都是不存在的，任何交易的实现，都以均衡价格为条件。没有达到均衡价格，不会成交；只有价格均衡了，才可能进行交易。根据这样的学说，生产的过剩、商品的滞销、经常性的失业，以及与超额需求有关的通货膨胀也就不会出现。

对于这种不符合经济实际的瓦尔拉均衡分析，虽然早就引起一些持有异议的西方经济学家的尖锐批评，而且凯恩斯在其1936年出版的《就业、利息和货币通论》一书中专就资本主义社会中经常性失业存在等问题进行了阐述，但直到60年代初，西方经济学界关于非均衡的研究仍是局部性的、非系统的。甚至对凯恩斯本人的经济理论的解释，也存在截然不同的观点。占主流地位的凯恩斯理论解释者认为，凯恩斯经济学仍然是一种均衡经济学，凯恩斯只是对瓦尔拉均衡学说作了一定的修改，基本上没有否定它。另一些凯恩斯理论的解释者则认为，凯恩斯经济学已经突破了均衡理论的界限，进行了非均衡理论的最初的、体系性的阐述。这具体表现于：凯恩斯认为市场机制不一定能充分发挥作用，市场

难以把各种交易活动协调起来，无论是产量、就业量还是投资量都是波动的，而在资本主义条件下，经常出现的是生产过剩、失业、投资需求的不足。

非均衡理论从60年代后期起有较大的进展。非均衡的研究表明：在市场不完善和价格不能起到自行调整供求的作用的条件下，各种经济力量将会根据各自的具体情况而被调整到彼此相适应的位置上，并在这个位置上达到均衡。显然，非均衡所达到的均衡，并非市场完善前提下的均衡，而是市场不完善前提下的均衡，并非与零失业率或零通货膨胀率同时存在的均衡，而是伴随着失业或通货膨胀的均衡。换言之，非均衡实际上也是一种均衡，只不过它不是瓦尔拉学说中所论述的那种均衡，而是存在于现实生活中的均衡。这就是非均衡的含义。

如果经济确实处于瓦尔拉均衡状态，那么市场在资源配置中的自我制约作用将是明显的。市场的这种自我制约作用可以顺利地通过每个微观经济单位的利益和预期利益的变化来实现。当微观经济单位认为某种资源投入对自己不利而决定停止资源投入时，这一决定也符合社会资源配置的效率标准。反之，当它认为资源投入有利而增加投入时，它的效率的提高同样有助于社会资源配置效率的提高。可见，只要微观经济单位对利益敏感，资源配置将受到市场价格的制约，资源必将被投入有效的部门、地区和企业，而从无效的部门、地区和企业流出。资源配置过程中的市场自我制约表现为：市场不可能使任何一种无效的资源投入持久化，市场将使资源配置自行符合效率标准。

二、两类不同的微观经济单位和两类不同的非均衡

从以上关于资源配置过程中市场自我制约的分析可以了解到，市场之所以能够在经济运行中对于过度扩张和过度收缩有自行调整和纠正的作用，是同参加市场活动的微观经济单位的充分活力紧密地联系在一起的。经济的均衡状态固然以市场的完善和价格的灵活为前提，但一个更为重要的或更为基本的前提则是微观经济单位的充分活力的存在。

由此可以把微观经济单位分为两类。一类是具有充分活力的微观经济单位，一类是不具有充分活力（直到完全缺乏活力）的微观经济单位。微观经济单位之所以具有充分活力，是因为它自主经营、自负盈亏，能够按照自己的利益进行各种投资机会的选择和生产经营方式的选择，能够按照自己的利益进行税后利润的分配，并且需要自己承担投资

和经营的风险。这样的企业就是独立的商品生产者和经营者，这样的个人就是经济学意义上的、独立参加市场活动的交易者。如果微观经济单位不符合这些条件，它们必然不具有充分活力，直到完全缺乏活力。

在均衡条件下，微观经济单位无疑具有充分活力，并以此为基础形成完善的市场，这一点不必再重复了。这里需要分析的是，在非均衡条件下，微观经济单位是不是必然不具有充分活力呢？为了说明这个问题，有必要把经济的非均衡区分为两类。

第一类经济的非均衡是指：市场不完善、价格不灵活、超额需求或超额供给都是存在的，需求约束或供给约束也都存在着，但参加市场活动的微观经济单位却是自主经营、自负盈亏的独立商品生产者，它们有投资机会和经营方式的自由选择权，它们自行承担投资风险和经营风险。

第二类经济的非均衡是指：除了市场不完善、价格不灵活以外，更重要的是，参加市场活动的微观经济单位并非自主经营、自负盈亏的独立商品生产者，它们不具有投资机会和经营方式的自由选择权，它们也不自行承担投资风险和经营风险。这样的微观经济单位，或者没有摆脱行政机构附属物的地位，或者受到前资本主义关系的严重束缚。

如果经济的非均衡分为这样两类的话，那么可以认为：资本主义经济中所出现的非均衡属于上述第一类经济的非均衡，前资本主义经济中所出现的非均衡属于上述第二类经济的非均衡。至于社会主义经济中的情况，则需要区别对待：在传统的和双轨的经济体制之下，由于企业并没有摆脱行政机构附属物的地位，所以这种非均衡属于上述第二类经济的非均衡；通过经济体制改革，建立了新的经济体制，在这种新体制之下，企业成为自主经营、自负盈亏、有投资和经营的自主权并相应地承担投资风险和经营风险的独立商品生产者了，这时的经济的非均衡，就可以归人上述第一类经济的非均衡。

在第一类经济的非均衡条件下，从微观经济单位本身来看，它们是具有充分活力的，但由于这些具有充分活力的微观经济单位处于经济非均衡的环境之中，它们在不完善的市场上进行交易活动，而价格又不是灵活的，信息也不完备和通畅，这样，即使它们本身具有充分活力，这种活力的发挥却受到环境的限制。例如，价格有刚性，它们就不一定能完全根据价格信号来调整生产；工资有刚性，它们也就不一定能完全根据资源的最优组合方式来配置和组合资源，等等。当然，微观经济单位有充分活力而这种活力受到环境的限制，同它们不具有充分活力仍是很

不一样的，这也就是第一类经济的非均衡与第二类经济的非均衡的区别。

三、第一类非均衡条件下市场的自我制约

在均衡条件下，资源配置过程中的市场自我制约之所以能够有效，即市场之所以有可能不让任何一种无效的资源投入持久化，归因于两个条件：第一，市场是完善的，价格是灵活的；第二，微观经济单位能够按照自身的利益进行交易活动。在第一类经济的非均衡状态中，第二个条件已经解决了，因为微观经济单位已经具有充分活力。问题只在于市场不完善，价格不灵活，经济中或者存在着资源供给的约束，或者存在着需求的约束，或者二者同时存在。但应当把微观经济单位具有充分活力这个条件看成比市场完善这个条件更加重要。这是因为，市场的完善和价格的灵活，主要是为商品经济的发展创造一个良好的环境，而让微观经济单位具有充分活力，则是解决市场活动参加者的利益、责任、刺激、动力问题。即使市场完善了，价格灵活了，但如果微观经济单位没有充分活力，不能利用完善的市场和灵活的价格来进行交易，它们缺乏合理组合资源和提高资源利用效率的主动性、积极性，又不承担资源配置不当所造成的经济损失，那么市场在资源配置过程中的自我制约作用也就非常有限。

这意味着第一类经济的非均衡具有使市场自我制约的两个条件中的一个较重要的条件，即微观经济单位具有充分活力。这对于市场在资源配置中的自我制约作用的发挥是有利的。

这时，尽管市场还不完善、价格还不灵活、资源供给约束或需求约束还存在，但由于微观经济单位能够根据自己的利益来从事交易，它们从本能上不会把资源投入无效的经济活动中去，也会拒绝无效的、促成效率下降的资源组合和利用方式。因此，市场在资源配置过程中实际上仍然按照效率标准来调整资源的投向和资源的组合，避免出现无效资源投入的持久化。

然而，即使是第一类非均衡，它仍是一种非均衡，这时的资源投入毕竟不同于均衡条件下的情况。第一类非均衡对于微观经济单位的交易活动和资源利用方式的影响，主要表现于以下三个方面：

第一，在市场不完善、信息不完备和不畅通的条件下，微观经济单

位在市场上得不到足够的、及时的信息，甚至它们得到的信息中有不少是不正确的信息。这些微观经济单位不得不在有限的信息、甚至错误的信息的指引下进行资源投入和组合的决策，其结果，很可能给经济带来较低的效率，并且使社会的资源配置不符合效率标准。

第二，在价格不灵活，即存在着价格刚性的条件下，微观经济单位的资源配置的调整要受到限制。这是因为，价格刚性并不能反映资源的稀缺程度和资源投入的效果，微观经济单位在组合资源时，不可能按照最优的方式来选择所需的资源。如果各个微观经济单位在价格刚性条件下不能从优化资源组合的角度来利用资源，那么就全社会的范围而言，资源配置过程中的浪费或闲置是不可避免的。

第三，由于资源供给约束和需求约束的存在，在供求不能平衡的场合要按照短线来配置资源。对微观经济单位来说，实际上是意味着竞争的加剧，即在供给约束的场合，微观经济单位作为需求一方，面临着货源有限的问题，从而不得不为获得供给而投入更多的力量；而在需求约束的场合，微观经济单位作为供给一方，面临着市场有限的问题，从而不得不为实现自己的销售而投入更多的力量。

微观经济单位在供给约束和需求约束的场合，为争取货源和销路而投入的更多的力量，对社会而言，就是资源的超正常的使用，即资源的使用量要大于均衡条件下的情况，对资源的超正常使用，应当被看成是资源配置不当的一种表现。

第一类非均衡对于微观经济单位的交易活动和资源利用方式的上述影响，反映了市场的自我制约作用在第一类非均衡条件下虽然存在，但却受到了限制。

四、第二类非均衡条件下市场的自我制约

资源配置过程中市场自我制约取得效果的两个条件（市场完善和价格灵活，微观经济单位有充分活力），在第二类经济的非均衡状态中都不存在。这样，资源配置过程中的市场自我制约作用就受到了很大的限制。对市场自我制约作用所受到的限制，可以从以下两方面来进行分析：

一方面，微观经济单位之所以缺乏活力，主要是由于它并未成为真

正的利益主体，生产经营的成果同它的利益没有直接的、必然的联系，它也不为生产经营的失误或投资的失误而承担应有的经济损失。这样，微观经济单位既缺少动力和刺激，又缺少压力和责任感。明明是有利于自身经济利益的、从而也是有利于社会资源配置效率提高的，微观经济单位可能无动于衷，不屑去做；明明是不利于自身经济利益的、从而也是造成社会资源配置效率下降的，微观经济单位可能照常去做，甚至乐意去做。市场的自我制约作用在微观经济单位这种对资源配置的效率麻木不仁的态度面前显得无能为力，因此也就谈不到如何以效率标准来制约对资源的投入和利用。

另一方面，微观经济单位之所以缺乏活力，并不仅仅由于它对生产经营中的利益与损失关心不够或不予关心，而是由于它的一切生产经营都要受到行政部门的限制，微观经济单位必须按行政部门的命令行事。因此，即使某些微观经济单位关心生产经营的利益与损失，并且希望按照利益原则来调整自己的资源投向和资源使用方式，但它们作为行政机构附属物的地位决定了它们难以按照自己的意愿和利益原则去做。于是资源配置中市场的自我制约作用就无从发挥；哪怕资源配置再不合理，效率再低，市场也难以纠正。

以上两个方面充分说明，在第二类非均衡条件下，实际上很难使市场在资源配置过程中发挥其应有的自我制约作用。这正是第二类经济的非均衡与第一类经济的非均衡的显著区别。如果说在第一类非均衡条件下，资源配置过程中的市场自我制约作用虽然受到一定的限制，但毕竟存在并起作用的话，那么在第二类非均衡条件下，在资源配置过程中，市场机制几乎发挥不了它应有的制约无效投入的作用。比如说，如果资源投入不多，资源组合形式不合理，资源使用的效率下降等情况发生了，市场不可能纠正它们；或者，即使市场会发出警告的信号（某些资源供求缺口的扩大、社会的经济效益的降低、价格的较大幅度变动等等），但微观经济单位接收不到这些信号，或在收到信号之后不可能调整自己的资源投向和资源组合形式，甚至不愿意调整自己的资源投向和资源组合形式。资源配置失调的状况将延续下去，并且越来越严重。那么，最终的结果又将是什么呢？不外乎以下三种情况中的一种：

第一种情况——由于资源配置失调的日趋严重而导致的经济恶化，迫使政府采取非经济的手段来干预经济，扭转资源配置的失调现象。这是一种非市场的制约方式，在第二类非均衡经济中，这种方式的干预（通常被称为“纠偏”、“政策调整”，等等）屡见不鲜。需要指出的是，这里所提到的政府，是指最高决策当局而言。只有在最高决策当局觉察

到资源配置失调问题的严重性并且下决心“纠偏”、“调整政策”之后，这种非市场的扭转资源配置失调的方式才有可能被运用。

从时间上看，等到最高决策当局觉察到问题的严重性并且下决心“纠偏”、“调整政策”,肯定已有较大的“滞后”，这给经济造成的损失也肯定是相当大的。

问题还在于最高决策当局如何“纠偏”。只有在最高决策当局真正认识到资源配置失调现象的产生及其日益严重的原因在于第二类经济的非均衡（即市场不完善、价格不灵活和微观经济单位缺乏充分活力），并且决心从消除第二类非均衡的措施着手时，这种“纠偏”才能取得真正的效果。否则，如果最高决策当局只是想用某种非经济的干预方式来扭转资源配置失调状况，而又继续保持第二类非均衡经济，那么至多只能暂时缓和一下资源供求的紧张状态，而使得资源配置失调的问题持久化、复杂化，以至于不得不在间隔一段时间之后，再次“纠偏”，再次“调整政策”。不仅如此，最终的结果必定是：问题越积越多，阻力越来越大，“纠偏”越来越困难，“纠偏”所取得的效果也越来越差。

第二种情况——在资源配置失调日趋严重和由此引起的经济恶化的情况下，政府不采取非经济的手段来干预经济，即政府不准备着手扭转资源配置的失调现象。那么这种情况的继续发展，可能带来如下的结果：问题越积越多，当问题积累到一定程度以后，资源供求之间的矛盾充分暴露出来。这时，不仅经济中出现“滞”、“胀”或“滞胀”现象，而且严重的“滞”、“胀”或“滞胀”现象可能使经济处于濒临瘫痪的境地。到了这种场合，也只有到了这种场合，市场在资源配置过程中的自我制约作用才会比较明显地表现出来，这是指：经济的混乱和经济濒临于瘫痪的状况将迫使微观经济单位自谋出路，于是本来缺乏充分活力的微观经济单位在极度困难和几乎绝望的条件下，不得不为了自身的利益（甚至是为了本单位职工的利益），自行通过交易活动而谋求出路。

在第二类非均衡的经济中，这时所出现的微观经济单位之间为自身利益而进行的交易活动，有不少属于地下交易活动。也就是说，地下市场这时将迅速发展起来，地下市场可能使一些微观经济单位为了进行有利于自己的交易而付出昂贵得多的代价，还可能使资源配置的方向进一步扭转。但不管怎样，地下市场毕竟是一种“市场”。在这种“市场”上，供求双方的交易可能摆脱非经济因素的某些干扰，而由商品的稀缺程度以及由此决定的价格（类似于不完全竞争价格）来影响供求双方的交易。市场在资源配置过程中的自我制约作用，在这种“市场”上反而能够表现出来，使供求双方在双方都能接受的条件下成交。地下市场的活动

在这种情况下多多少少起着缓解经济困境的作用，使资源配置的失调不至于严重到使整个经济陷于解体的地步。尽管这一切是带有讽刺意味的，但在第二类非均衡的经济中，这种现象却是有可能发生的。

第三种情况——在资源配置失调日趋严重和由此引起的经济恶化的情况下，政府认识到问题的根源在于经济的非均衡，而且认识到经济的非均衡不仅表现于市场的不完善，更重要的是表现于微观经济单位缺少活力，于是政府着手进行经济体制改革，从增加微观经济单位的活力和逐步使市场完善方面采取相应的措施；同时，在经济体制改革过程中，在宏观经济调节方面也采取一些措施，使政府调节与市场调节较好地结合起来，争取缓和资源配置中的矛盾，使社会的资源投向和资源组合逐渐趋于合理。

毫无疑问，第三种情况的出现并不是很容易的。当经济处于第二类非均衡状态之中时，经济的运动有一种惯性，使最终结果更接近于上述第一种情况。至于第二种情况，通常不是第二类经济的非均衡条件下政府所希望出现的，而很可能是在政府干预无效，对经济的混乱找不到有效的对策时，经济自发地趋向的结果。同时，如果经济趋向第二种情况，那么这也很可能是由于政府既在资源配置严重失调面前无能为力，而又对地下交易活动无能为力的缘故。但第三种情况的出现却需要有一系列前提：

首先，资源配置的严重失调和经济的恶化使政府认识到经济体制改革的必要性，特别是认识到通过经济体制改革，使微观经济单位具有充分活力的必要性。

其次，政府在经济体制改革方面采取了一些有效的措施，使微观经济单位逐渐摆脱原来的作为行政机构附属物的地位，有了内在的动力和外部的压力，关心自己的利益与损失。

再次，与此同时，政府采取适当的宏观经济调节措施，使资源配置的失调状况趋于缓解，使市场的自我制约的作用逐渐发挥出来。

最后，在经济体制改革和政府经济调节都取得成效的基础上，经济中逐渐形成了由市场调节与政府调节共同组成的二元机制，在二元机制起作用的情况下，资源配置状况将会逐渐好转。

可见，这一系列前提中的任何一个前提，都不是轻易能实现的。但在第二类经济的非均衡条件下，如果说资源配置的严重失调最终有三种可能的结果的话，那么惟有第三种结果才值得争取实现。而一旦实现了

第三种情况，第二类经济的非均衡就转变为第一类经济的非均衡。如果说经济的均衡缺乏现实性，那么从第二类经济的非均衡过渡到第一类经济的非均衡，即第一类经济的非均衡的实现，仍不失为一种次优的选择。

五、第一类非均衡条件下二元机制可能引起的摩擦

在经济运行过程中，市场机制和政府调节机制在某些场合可以保持协调，而在另一些场合，两种机制之间的不协调可能是难以避免的。

为什么在经济运行过程中二元机制的并存可能引起摩擦，这是一个与经济的非均衡状态有关的问题。考虑到经济的非均衡可以区分为第一类非均衡和第二类非均衡，因此在分析二元机制可能引起的摩擦问题时，也要从两类经济非均衡的特点着手。现在先考虑第一类非均衡条件下的情况。

第一类非均衡条件下市场机制与政府调节机制的不协调，主要表现于以下两个方面：

第一，在第一类非均衡条件下，如果经济中同时存在着市场调节和政府调节，并且市场调节作为基础性的调节起作用，政府调节作为高层次的调节起作用，那么两种机制之间可能出现如下的摩擦，即在经济中出现供给小于需求或供给大于需求时，由于市场不完善，所以价格上升或下降以后，货源缺口或市场缺口只是略有缓和，价格的变动不能完全符合市场调节的意图；假定这时进行政府调节，政府采取措施以弥补市场调节的不足，但政府的调节措施却可能同市场调节的意图相违背，这样，尽管货源缺口或市场缺口被消除了，但市场机制却遭到破坏。这就是两种机制的摩擦。换言之，在这种情况下，政府调节机制是以市场机制遭到破坏（至少是一定程度的破坏）作为代价而发挥作用的。

怎样看待两种机制之间的这种不协调或摩擦呢？这只有从调节的效果来评价。市场机制遭到破坏，哪怕只是一定程度的破坏，是不是必要？是不是值得？当然，最好是在不破坏市场机制的情况下，通过政府调节而消除经济中所出现的供给小于需求或供给大于需求的现象，如果那样，两种机制就协调了，就没有什么摩擦了，但现实情况不一定如此。所以说，两种机制之间的不协调以及由此而造成的政府调节对市场机制的某种程度的破坏，只有从调节的效果来评价，才能判断这样做是

不是必要，是不是值得。但不管怎样，两种机制的摩擦仍是可能出现的。

第二，与上述情况相反，市场机制的作用的发挥在第一类非均衡条件下也有可能限制政府调节机制发挥其应有的作用。这也是同市场的不完善、信息的不完整和不及时、价格不能起充分调节供求的作用以及资源供给约束或需求约束的存在直接有关的。比如说，在政府采取某些措施对资源的配置进行调节的场合，由于市场不完善、信息不完整和不及时等原因，政府的调节措施不一定能达到预期的效果，在这里，市场调节对政府调节的限制也起着一定的作用。这是因为，政府通过自己的调节措施，把调节后的利益和损失等信息传递给参加市场活动的各个交易者，指望后者根据自己的利益原则来调整自己的资源组合方式和资源投向，而市场本身也从自己的渠道把利益和损失等信息传递给参加市场活动的各个交易者。信息的传递渠道不一致，信息又不是完整的和及时的，这样，市场机制的作用既可能同政府调节的意图相吻合（这当然是理想的），也可能成为对政府调节的一种干扰，从而成为对政府调节作用的一种限制。这同样是资源配置过程中或经济运行过程中两种机制之间的不协调或摩擦的反映。

总之，在第一类非均衡条件下，只要市场机制与政府调节机制并存，那么两种机制就有可能处于不协调状态，它们的摩擦的产生是可能的，有时甚至是难以避免的。

六、第二类非均衡条件下二元机制可能引起的摩擦

第二类非均衡经济的非均衡程度与第一类非均衡条件下的情况相比，是加重了，于是市场机制和政府调节机制共存可能引起的摩擦将大于第一类非均衡条件下可能引起的摩擦。这可以从以下三方面来说明。

第一，由于企业不是独立的商品生产者，企业没有摆脱行政机构附属物的地位，所以要使企业按照市场的利益原则进行生产经营和资源投入，是有阻碍的。企业经营的好坏缺乏市场评价标准的结果，必然导致企业效率低下。这时，无论政府进行什么样的经济调节，都难以达到政府调节预定的效果，主要原因就在于在企业缺乏独立商品生产者地位的前提下，市场机制本身是扭曲的，政府调节与这种扭曲的市场机制之间的矛盾也就不可避免。

第二，不仅如此，假定企业没有摆脱行政机构附属物的地位，政府对企业的利益状况是缺乏了解的，政府所进行的各种经济调节很难建立在合理的基础之上，这样，政府所进行的经济调节也可能是一种扭曲的调节。扭曲了的政府调节与扭曲了的市场机制之间很难协调，这又是造成两种机制的摩擦的原因之一。

第三，假定在第二类非均衡条件下发生了与资源供给约束和需求约束有关的货源缺口和市场缺口，那么这与第一类非均衡条件下所发生的货源缺口和市场缺口有什么区别呢？在第一类非均衡条件下，这些缺口依靠按市场的优先原则、垄断原则等进行的不完全竞争下的交易来实现配额均衡，或者依靠按政府的平均原则、目标原则、历史原则等进行的不完全竞争下的交易来实现配额均衡。不管市场机制与政府调节机制之间存在着什么样的摩擦，只要进行不完全竞争下的交易活动，配额均衡仍是可能实现的。但在第二类非均衡条件下，情况会有所变化。这是因为，企业不是独立的商品生产者，它们不能根据自身的经济利益来组合资源和投入资源。于是市场的优先原则也好，垄断原则也好，或者政府的平均原则、目标原则、历史原则也好，在企业缺乏独立经济利益和不能按自己经济利益进行交易活动的场合，这些原则全都会被扭曲，而与它们本来的含义有较大出入。不完全竞争下的交易未必能实现配额均衡，从而货源缺口或市场缺口可能维持原状，甚至还会有所加剧。于是市场机制与政府调节机制之间的摩擦就会大于第一类非均衡条件下两种机制可能引起的摩擦。

七、第二类非均衡经济运行分析的意义

通过以上的分析可以清楚地了解到，无论是在第一类非均衡条件下还是在第二类非均衡条件下，在某些场合，经济运行过程中市场机制与政府调节机制之间的摩擦是不可避免的。这可以看成是二元机制的局限性。

经济运行过程中两种机制之间存在着不同程度的摩擦这一事实，实际上也只能说明二元机制的局限性，说明在非均衡条件下经济运行过程不可能尽善尽美。但这并不能证明二元机制是不必要的。

要知道，如果经济处于均衡状态之中，过度需求和过度供给都不存在，那就不需要有二元机制。但正如我们都已经了解的，经济的均衡状态只是纯理论的假设，现实经济中存在着的是经济的非均衡状态（第一

类非均衡或第二类非均衡）。二元机制不是我们主观愿望能决定其存在与否的，而是客观上必然存在的经济运行机制。在非均衡条件下，只有通过二元机制的发挥，才能在资源供给约束或需求约束存在（即货源缺口或市场缺口存在的场合，通过不完全竞争下的交易来实现配额均衡。因此，即使市场机制与政府调节机制之间的摩擦不可避免，只要二元机制正常地发挥作用，一般说来，社会主义商品经济的发展是不会受到严重阻碍的。当然，第一类非均衡条件下的经济运行要比第二类非均衡条件下的经济运行顺利得多；在第二类非均衡条件下，如果不善于处理二元机制之间的摩擦，使这种摩擦加剧，那么社会主义商品经济的发展必将受到严重阻碍。这就进一步说明了社会主义经济体制改革对于经济发展的迫切意义，说明了社会主义企业具有充分活力对于经济顺利运行的迫切意义。换言之，经济的非均衡程度越轻，两种机制之间的摩擦就越小，但只要存在经济的非均衡，这种摩擦即使无碍于经济发展和经济运行，也是不可忽略的。认识到它的存在，采取措施去缓和它，就可以减少它的消极作用。

总之，通过对两种类型的非均衡经济以及经济运行中二元机制的摩擦问题的分析，可以得出以下三点有关我国当前经济体制改革的论断。

第一，要认识到当前我国经济并非处于以市场不完善为主要特征的第一类非均衡状态中，而是处于以市场不完善和企业不具有充分活力为主要特征的第二类非均衡状态中。因此，经济体制改革必须以企业体制改革为主线，即以赋予企业充分活力的改革作为首要任务，并通过这一改革，使我国经济由第二类非均衡状态过渡到第一类非均衡状态。在不可能达到均衡状态的前提下，过渡到第一类非均衡状态是可行的、值得的。

第二，假定不以企业体制改革为当前我国经济体制改革的主线，总想在企业尚未具有充分活力的第二类非均衡条件下就进行完善市场和放开价格的改革，不仅不能收到良好的效果，反而会使经济恶化，使资源配置的失调状况加剧。理由是十分清楚的。正如前面所述，在第二类非均衡条件下，政府调节与市场调节之间存在尖锐的摩擦；扭曲了的政府调节和扭曲了的市场调节交织在一起，将使经济的效率进一步降低。

第三，根据经济的非均衡性质，特别是根据第二类经济非均衡的特点，在当前我国经济体制改革中，宏观经济管理体制改革的重点应当放在促进市场对资源配置的自我制约作用方面，以及缓和经济运行过程中市场调节与政府调节的摩擦方面。如果不是循着这些方面进行宏观经济管理体制的改革，结果必然会阻碍我国经济由第二类非均衡向第一类非

均衡的过渡，必然会扩大经济中的货源缺口或市场缺口。这是因为，在企业尚未实现自主经营、自负盈亏的场合，政府调节在消除货源缺口或市场缺口方面发挥作用的机制是受限制的：既然作为交易者的企业不可能按照自己的利益原则来调整自己的供给与需求，政府所希望达到的配额均衡也就难以实现。政府的经济管理措施如果不利于调动企业经营的主动性、积极性，不利于引导企业根据自己的利益来自行调整供给与需求，而只是单纯地用紧缩需求的方式来缩小货源缺口，或者只是单纯地用直接投入和直接分配的方式来实现供求的暂时平衡，那么我国的经济将会持续停留在极不合理的第二类非均衡状态之中。

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Two types of disequilibrium, mainstream of current economic restructuring (1988)

I. Differences of resource allocation in equilibrium and disequilibrium

In economics, disequilibrium is pertinent to Walrasian equilibrium. The latter is achieved under the assumption of a complete market and a flexible price system. Disequilibrium, which is a kind of equilibrium arrived at in the absence of a complete market and a flexible price system, is also dubbed "non-Walrasian equilibrium."

According to the theory of French economist Léon Walras (1834-1910), given that the market is complete and the price system flexible, given also that traders possess full information and prices adjust instantaneously with changes in supply and demand, then under a given price condition aggregate demand must equal aggregate supply, excess demand and excess supply do not exist, and the settlement of every transaction is guaranteed by an equilibrium price. No deals will be reached before equilibrium price is attained; only with equilibrium price can transactions take place. According to this theory, overproduction, unsalable products, chronic unemployment, and inflation associated with excess demand will never happen.

The analysis of Walrasian equilibrium, alien to economic reality, had long drawn acute criticism from dissentient Western economists. In *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* published in 1936, John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) went out of his way to dissect the unemployment and other perennial problems in capitalist society. Nevertheless, up till the early 1960s Western economists' study of disequilibrium was partial and unsystematic at best. Their interpretations of Keynesian economic theory were categorically divided as well. Mainstream Keynes followers believe that Keynesian economics is still a theory based on

equilibrium and that Keynes did not negate the Walrasian equilibrium theory despite the fact that he somewhat amended it. Some other interpreters maintain that Keynesian economics broke through the limits of the equilibrium theory and provided initial but systematic pronouncements on the disequilibrium theory. They back their argument by citing Keynes's belief that market mechanisms are not necessarily effective, and that market alone cannot totally coordinate trading activities, with the result that output, levels of employment and investment are subject to fluctuations, whereas overproduction, unemployment, and insufficient investment demand are commonplace under capitalism.

The disequilibrium theory has made substantial headway since the late 1960s. Studies of disequilibrium have indicated that under the condition of an incomplete market where prices fail to adjust demand and supply, economic forces will proceed from their respective circumstances to adjust themselves to the point where they are well adapted to each other and where equilibrium is achieved. Obviously, the equilibrium achieved by way of disequilibrium is not the equilibrium in a complete market but in an incomplete market; it is not the kind of equilibrium with zero unemployment and zero inflation rates, but with both unemployment and inflation in presence. In other words, disequilibrium is actually a form of equilibrium; but unlike the kind of equilibrium described in the Walrasian theory, it is the kind of equilibrium that exists in reality. Such is the connotation of disequilibrium.

If an economy is exactly in Walrasian equilibrium, the market will be highly self-restraining in resource allocation. The market's self-restraining role can be fulfilled smoothly through the changes in the actual and expected benefits of every microeconomic agent. When a microeconomic agent believes that a certain resource input will bring no benefit and decides to stop it, this microeconomic decision also measures up to the efficiency standard of society's resource allocation. If, on the contrary, the agent believes that a certain resource input is beneficial to itself and decides to increase it, its improved efficiency will also help boost social efficiency in resource allocation. Therefore, so long as the agent is sensitive to its own interests, its resource allocation will be adapted to market prices, and resources are bound to be channeled into efficient sectors, localities and enterprises and withdrawn from inefficient sectors, localities and enterprises. The market's self-restraining function in the process of resource allocation manifests itself

in that it does not allow any ineffective resource input to last and enables resource allocation to automatically measure up to efficiency standards.

II. Two types of microeconomic agents and two types of disequilibrium

As my analysis of the market's self-restraining role in resource allocation indicates, the ability of the market to adjust and rectify excessive expansions and recessions in economic practice is closely tied with the full vitality of microeconomic agents participating in market activity. Economic equilibrium is certainly on the premise of complete market and flexible prices, but the vitality on the part of microeconomic agents is a more important and fundamental prerequisite.

Thus microeconomic agents can be divided into two categories: those with full vitality, and those without full vitality or totally lacking it. A microeconomic agent can be brimming with vitality because it makes its own business decisions and takes full responsibility for its gains and losses. Such a firm can choose the best investment opportunities and patterns of production and management, distribute its after-tax profit according to its own interests, and take investment and management risks on its own. Such a firm is an independent commodity producer and manager. Such an individual, in economic terms, is a trader that takes part in market activity independently. Any microeconomic agent that does not have these attributes invariably lacks full vitality or lacks it totally.

In equilibrium, microeconomic agents are certainly brimming with vitality and, on this basis, form a complete market. This point need not be repeated here. What I want to find out is this: Is it true that microeconomic agents invariably lack full competitive vigor under economic disequilibrium? To find the answer, it is necessary to divide economic disequilibrium into two categories.

Economic disequilibrium in the first category is marked by an incomplete market, inflexible prices, presence of both excess demand and excess supply, and restraints on both demand and supply, while microeconomic agents in the market are independent commodity producers that make their own business decisions and take responsibility for their gains

and losses, and that have the freedom to choose their investment opportunities and modes of management and bear investment and business risks.

Economic disequilibrium in the second category is characterized by an incomplete market and inflexible prices, and more importantly, by a market filled with microeconomic agents that, instead of being independent commodity producers making their own business decisions and bearing their own gains and losses, neither have the freedom to choose investment opportunities and management modes nor bear the responsibility for investment and management risks. Such microeconomic agents have not shaken off their status as government subsidiaries or are bound hand and foot by their pre-capitalist ties.

If my division of economic disequilibrium stands, there is reason to believe that the disequilibrium in a capitalist economy belongs in the first category and that the disequilibrium in a pre-capitalist economy belongs in the second category. What happens in a socialist economy should be treated differently. Disequilibrium under a traditional and dual-track economic system falls into the second category because its enterprises have yet to shake off their status as government subsidiaries. Under the new economic system born of economic reform, enterprises become independent commodity producers that make their own investment and business decisions, and are liable for their gains, losses as well as investment and business risks. Thus the disequilibrium in the new economic system falls into the first category.

In the first category of disequilibrium, microeconomic agents are full of vitality. However, these microeconomic agents are in an economic disequilibrium. They make transactions in incomplete markets where prices are inflexible and information is incomplete and congested. Therefore, such vitality is limited by this environment. For instance, price rigidity makes it hard for these agents to adjust production in response to price signals, and wage rigidity also prevents them from optimizing their resource allocations. However, a microeconomic agent that has full vitality but is circumscribed by its environment is very different from a microeconomic agent that lacks full vitality. This is exactly the difference between the first and second categories of disequilibrium.

III. The market's self-restraint role in the first category of disequilibrium

The self-restraining role of the market in resource allocation can work effectively under economic equilibrium, that is, it may prevent any ineffective resource input from becoming protracted under two conditions. Firstly, the market is perfect and prices are flexible; and secondly, microeconomic agents can transact according to their own interests. The first category of disequilibrium furnishes the second condition because microeconomic units are already brimming with vitality. Its only problems are incomplete markets, inflexible prices, and an economy in which restraints exist on resource supply and demand. However, we ought to regard microeconomic agents having full vitality as a more important condition than having a complete market. This is because a complete market and flexible prices serve mainly to provide a friendly environment for the development of a commodity economy, whereas encouraging microeconomic units to regain their competitive edge helps solve problems in market participants' interests, responsibilities, incentives and motivations. Even when market is complete and prices are flexible, its self-restraining role in resource allocations will be sharply limited if microeconomic agents do not have full vitality, cannot take advantage of complete market and flexible prices to make transactions, lack aggressiveness and enthusiasm to sensibly allocate resources and raise their resource utilization rate, and cannot bear the economic losses incurred from improper resource allocations.

All this indicates that the first category of economic disequilibrium possesses the more important one of the two conditions that enables the market to play its self-restraining role, that is, the existence of microeconomic agents with full vitality. This condition is beneficial for the market to fully play its self-restraining role. Because these

kinds of microeconomic agents can act in their own interests to make deals, their instinct can prevent them from putting their resources into ineffective economic activity and enable them to refuse ineffective, efficiency-reducing approaches of allocating and utilizing resources. Consequently, even though the market is still incomplete and prices are inflexible, and even though there are still restraints on resource supply or

demand, in the process of resource allocations, the market can still follow the efficiency standard to adjust the allocations and combinations of resources, thereby avoiding protracted ineffective resource input.

Nevertheless, the first category of disequilibrium is still a kind of disequilibrium, under which resource input is still different from that under equilibrium. The impact of this category of disequilibrium on microeconomic agents' market transactions and patterns of utilizing resources manifests itself in three ways:

First, with an incomplete market and imperfect and frictional information access, microeconomic agents cannot obtain adequate and timely information, and a lot of information they have obtained is incorrect. However, they have no alternative but to make resource input and combination decisions under the guidance of such limited or even erroneous information. This is likely to bring low economic efficiency and cause resources to be allocated in violation of efficiency standards.

Second, with inflexible or rigid prices, the adjustments of resource allocation by microeconomic agents will be restrained. This is because price rigidity cannot reflect the degree of resource scarcity and the results of resource input and, therefore, they find it hard to optimize their choices of needed resources. If, under rigid prices, the microeconomic agents are unable to follow optimized resource allocation approaches, the waste or idling of resources in allocation processes can hardly be avoided.

Third, because of the restraints on supply and demand, resources are allocated on a short-term basis where demand and supply are unbalanced. This entails tougher competition for microeconomic agents. In the case of supply restraints, the microeconomic agents on the demand side face the problem of limited supply sources and have to input more to secure supply. By the same token, in the case of demand restraints, the agents on the supply side face the problem of a limited market and have to input more to reach their sales goals.

The extra resources spent by these agents for either supply or sales purposes are a manifestation of an abuse of social resources, which means more resources have been consumed than economic equilibrium allows. This is a clear example of improper resource allocation.

The above-mentioned impacts of the first category of disequilibrium on microeconomic agents' transactions and utilization of resources indicate that, even though the market can still play its self-restraining role, its effectiveness is whittled down.

IV. The market's self-restraining role in the second category of disequilibrium

The two conditions – a complete market with flexible prices and full vitality of microeconomic agents – for the market to play its self-restraining role effectively in resource allocation are absent in the second category of disequilibrium. Thus the market's self-restraining role is greatly restricted in the process of resource allocation. This may be analyzed in two ways.

On one hand, the reason why microeconomic agents lack vitality is that they have not truly become masters of their own interests, that the fruits of their production are not directly and inevitably related to their interests, and that they are not held accountable for the economic losses resulting from their production, management or investment mistakes. In this way, they lack not only motivation and stimulus but also pressure and a sense of responsibility. They may become indifferent to opportunities that are obviously in their economic interests and help elevate their resource allocation efficiency. But at the same time they may willingly do things that are apparently detrimental to their own economic interests and that may aggravate their inefficiency in resource allocation. The market's self-restraining role is rendered ineffective when microeconomic agents are callous about boosting resource allocation efficiency, to say nothing of following efficiency standards to control the input and utilization of resources.

On the other hand, the reason why microeconomic agents lack vitality is not only that they do not care enough – or do not care at all – about their gains and losses in production and management, but also that their performance in production and business is subject to restrictions imposed by government departments – they have to do the government's bidding. For this reason, even if microeconomic agents care for their gains and losses in production and management and wish to readjust their input and use of resources, their status as government subsidiaries determines that they can not follow their own will, interests and principles. The market is thus stripped

of its self-restraining role in resource allocation; there is nothing it can do no matter how unreasonably resources are allocated and how gravely efficiency is impaired.

The above analysis testifies that in the second category of economic disequilibrium, it is hard for the market to play a proper self-restraining role in resource allocation. This is exactly where the significant difference between the first and second categories of economic disequilibrium rests. In the first category of disequilibrium, the market's self-restraining role still works despite the constraints on it. By contrast, in the second category of disequilibrium, the market's restraints on ineffective resource input can hardly be made to work. Therefore, if efficiency in resource utilization declines due to insufficient resource input or inappropriate resource combinations, the market is unlikely to rectify it. Even if the market can send a warning signal about the widening gap between the demand for and supply of a certain resource, or about a drop in economic efficiency or a large price fluctuation, microeconomic agents are unable to receive it. Even if they can receive it, they cannot – or do not want – to adjust the destinations or combinations of their resource input. Maladjustment in resource allocation will thus prevail, and grow from bad to worse, with one of the following three possible outcomes.

Possibility One: The economic disarray caused by increasingly disproportionate resource allocation forces the government to intervene with noneconomic means in an attempt to rectify it. Such nonmarket intervention, usually known as "rectification" or "policy readjustment," is not uncommon in the second category of disequilibrium. It should be noted that the government in this context refers to the supreme decision-making echelon. Only when this echelon has sensed the serious nature of such disproportionate resource allocation and resolves to "rectify" it or "readjust" its policy, can such noneconomic means of intervention be applied.

However, by the time the supreme power has discovered the seriousness of the problem and resolves to do something about it, a lot of time has been wasted, and the delay inevitably causes considerable economic losses.

The issue, however, comes down to how the supreme policy-making echelon "rectifies" the situation. Only when the policy-makers have fully realized that the emergence and aggravation of disproportionate resource

allocation are caused by the second category of economic disequilibrium (that is, incomplete market, inflexible prices and microeconomic agents lacking vitality), and only when they are determined to eradicate this category of disequilibrium, can the "rectification" effort reap real results. If the decision-makers' desire is to reverse the disproportionate resource allocation by noneconomic intervention while leaving this kind of disequilibrium intact, the strains on resource demand and supply can only be relaxed temporarily at best, and the disproportionate resource allocation will become so protracted and complicated as to involve another round of "rectification" or "policy readjustment" after a certain interval. The ultimate result is that unsolved problems grow in number, obstruction become more and more stubborn, the "rectification" effort becomes more and more difficult, and the situation goes from bad to worse.

Possibility Two: When disproportionate resource allocation occurs incessantly and hurts the economy badly, while the government decides not to intervene with noneconomic means, which means it will not work to reverse the disproportionate resource allocation, the situation will keep worsening. When the problems have accumulated to a point where the conflict between resource demand and supply comes to a head, the economy will suffer from "stagnation," "inflation," or "stagflation," and, in the worst scenario, be pushed to the brink of collapse. Only then can the market's self-restraining role in resource allocation come into play. That is, when the economy is teetering on the verge of collapse, microeconomic agents will be forced to seek a way out. Confronted with a difficult and almost hopeless situation, they have no alternative but to seek a solution on their own through transactions that serve their own interests (or the interests of their workforce).

In this situation, many trading activities between microeconomic agents for their own interests are underground in the second category of disequilibrium. The rapid rise of such an underground market may force those microeconomic agents to pay more dearly for closing deals to their advantage, thus further changing the direction of resource allocation. Nevertheless, the underground market is still a kind of market, where sellers and buyers may bypass the intervention by noneconomic factors and allow transactions to be impacted by the scarcity of commodities and the prices determined by this scarcity (similar to the prices under incomplete competition). Under these circumstances, the market's self-restraining role in

resource allocation can work so that sellers and buyers can reach deals under mutually acceptable conditions. In this way, the underground market contributes more or less to alleviating the difficult economic conditions and preventing disproportionate resource allocation from causing a total economic collapse. This seems ironical, but is most likely to happen in the second category of disequilibrium.

Possibility Three: When resource allocation grows increasingly more disproportionate and leads to economic deterioration, the government realizes that the problem is caused by economic disequilibrium and that such disequilibrium manifests itself not just in market incompleteness but, more importantly, in a lack of vitality among microeconomic agents. Thus the government sets about overhauling the economy institutions while taking steps to revitalize these microeconomic agents and gradually improve market completeness. Meantime, in this reform process, the government also adopts macroeconomic regulatory steps, coordinates these steps with market regulations, and strives to ease the strains on resource allocation, thereby directing and combining social resources more appropriately.

Possibility Three is undoubtedly the least probable. When the economy is in the second category of disequilibrium, there is inertia in the economy that will push it closer to Possibility One. Possibility Two is usually not what the government hopes for in the second category of disequilibrium, but it is very probably the economy's spontaneous reaction when government intervention fails and there are no effective methods to control economic chaos. Meanwhile, if the economy moves towards Possibility Two, this may also be caused by the government's ineffectiveness in dealing with severe disproportion of resource allocation and underground trading activity. Possibility Three, however, may become reality only when:

– severely disproportionate resource allocation and economic aggravation awaken the government to the necessity of economic restructuring, especially the need to revive microeconomic agents through such restructuring;

– microeconomic agents, while gradually putting an end to their status as government appendages thanks to the government's effective economic restructuring steps, become motivated to care more about their own gains and losses in response to internal incentive and external pressure;

– at the same time, with the adoption of appropriate macroeconomic regulatory measures by the government, disproportionate resource allocation has been alleviated and the market's self-restraining role has been brought into play;

– and finally, on the basis of results achieved by the government in economic restructuring and regulation, the economy has come under the dual regulation of the market and government, causing a gradual improvement in resource allocation.

Obviously, none of these preconditions can materialize easily. However, under the second category of disequilibrium, of the aforementioned three possible outcomes of lopsided resource allocation, only Possibility Three is worth striving for. If Possibility Three becomes the reality, the second category of disequilibrium will be converted into the first category of disequilibrium. If economic equilibrium is an unrealistic proposition, to convert the second category of disequilibrium into the first category is nothing short of a second best choice.

V. Possible friction between dual mechanisms in the first category of disequilibrium

Market and government mechanisms may work in accord on one occasion and fall into disarray on another in the course of economic development. Inconsistency between the two may well be unavoidable.

The friction that may arise between the dual mechanisms is an issue pertinent to economic disequilibrium. Given the fact that disequilibrium falls into two categories, we should bear each category's attributes in mind when looking into such possible friction. Let us first consider what may happen in the first category of disequilibrium.

The inconsistency between market and government regulation in the first category of disequilibrium is apparent in two ways.

Firstly, if there are both market and government mechanisms in the economy in the first category of disequilibrium, with the former playing a basic regulating role and the latter assuming a regulating role at a higher level, friction may arise between them when supply is in disarray with

demand. In this situation, because of market incompleteness, the rise or fall in prices can only slightly ease supply or demand shortfalls, and price changes cannot entirely reach the goals of market regulation. If, at this stage, the government steps in to make up for the deficiencies of market regulation but its regulating steps are at odds with the intention of market regulation, the shortfalls may be eradicated, but market mechanism will be damaged. This is a reflection of the friction between the two mechanisms. In other words, in this situation, government mechanism can work only at the expense of market mechanism – at least to a certain degree.

How should we evaluate the inconsistency or friction between the two mechanisms? We can only evaluate them from their regulatory results. Is it necessary, and worthwhile, for the market mechanism to be damaged, if only to a limited degree? Of course it is always better to rectify the situation in which supply falls short of demand or outstrips demand through government regulation without causing any damage to market mechanism. In that scenario, the two mechanisms are well coordinated and free from friction. But things do not necessarily go that way in reality. Therefore, the inconsistency between the two and the damage caused by government regulation to market mechanism can only be evaluated from the regulation results. Only by such evaluation can we see if such inconsistency is necessary and worthwhile. However, no matter what happens, friction between the two is highly probable.

Secondly, contrary to the above proposition, market mechanism may also hold back government regulation in the first category of disequilibrium, due directly to an incomplete market, incomplete and untimely information, the failure of prices in regulating supply and demand, and constraints on resource supply and demand. For instance, on certain occasions when the government takes steps to regulate the allocation of resources, these steps may not reach the expected goals because of factors such as incomplete market and incomplete and untimely information. In this scenario, the government hopes to inform market traders of what gains or losses are to be expected from its regulatory steps, in the hope that they will follow their own interests to readjust the allocation and input of their resources. In the meantime, however, the market is also conveying, through its own channels, its information on gains and losses to these traders. As a result of different information accesses and incomplete and delayed information, market

mechanism may either accord with the intention of government regulation, which is, of course, the best scenario, or disturb or restrict government regulation. Both possibilities are also reflections on the inconsistency or friction between the dual mechanisms in the course of resource allocation or economic operation.

To sum up, in the first category of disequilibrium, market and government mechanisms may, in their coexistence, be locked in a state of inconsistency, and frictions between them are possible, and, sometimes, even unavoidable.

VI. Possible friction between dual mechanisms in the second category of disequilibrium

The second category of disequilibrium is more serious in degree than the first category. Therefore, the possible friction caused by the coexistence of market and government mechanisms may be more acute than in the first category of disequilibrium. This can be interpreted in three ways.

First, the fact that enterprises are not independent commodity producers or have not put an end to their status as government appendages will hold up their efforts to organize production and input resources in compliance with the principle on market interest. Lack of market standards in evaluating enterprise performance inevitably corrodes the efficiency of these enterprises. In this situation, government regulation is unlikely to achieve its expected goals no matter what specific measures are adopted. The main reason for this is that market mechanism is distorted when enterprises are not functioning as independent commodity producers, and the friction between government regulation and the distorted market regulation thus becomes unavoidable.

Second, when enterprises remain government appendages, government regulation on the economy is distorted because the government, for lack of sufficient information on the economic interests of these enterprises, cannot guarantee that every regulation measure it takes is appropriate. Difficulties in coordinating distorted government regulation and distorted market mechanism is another cause of friction between the two.

Third, if supply and demand shortfalls associated with constraints on

resource supply and demand occur in the second category of disequilibrium, what are such shortfalls' differences from those in the first category of disequilibrium? In the first category of disequilibrium, these shortfalls can be resolved by balancing the quotas through transactions in incomplete competition according to the market's priority or monopoly principle. The balance of quotas can also be realized through transactions in incomplete competition according to government principles of egalitarianism, goals, and history. No matter what friction this may cause between market and government mechanisms, it is still possible to balance the quotas so long as transactions are conducted in incomplete competition. However, the situation may change in the second category of disequilibrium. This is because enterprises are not independent commodity producers and cannot allocate and input their resources in light of their own economic interests. Thus both market principles regarding priority and monopoly and government principles concerning egalitarianism, goals and history will be distorted and lose their original meanings where enterprises are stripped of their independent interests and cannot transact to their own benefit. Transactions carried out in incomplete competition may not help balance the quotas, and supply or demand shortfalls may remain, or even aggravate. As a result, the friction between market and government mechanisms will be more acute in the second category of disequilibrium than in the first category of it.

VII. Implications of economic operation in the second category of disequilibrium

A clear message from the above analysis is that, on certain occasions, friction between market and government regulation mechanisms are unavoidable in the course of economic operation under either category of disequilibrium. Such is the limitation of the dual mechanisms.

In addition, the fact that friction exists to various degrees between the two mechanisms in the course of economic operation can only point to such a limitation, which means that under disequilibrium no economic operation can follow a perfect course. However, this is not to say the dual mechanisms are unnecessary.

It is worth noting that dual mechanisms will be unnecessary if the economy is in equilibrium and excess demand and supply are nonexistent.

However, as we have seen, economic equilibrium is purely a theoretical assumption. In reality, the economy is always in disequilibrium of either the first or second category. The coexistence of dual mechanisms is no wishful thinking, but an objective reality in economic operation. Under economic disequilibrium, and when there are restraints on both resource supply and demand (that is, either supply or demand is in shortage), only by engaging both mechanisms can quotas be balanced through transactions in imperfect competition. Therefore, even though friction is unavoidable between the two mechanisms, the development of the socialist commodity economy will not be seriously held back so long as the dual mechanisms play their normal roles. Needless to say, the economy can run more smoothly in the first category of disequilibrium than in the second. In the second category of disequilibrium, if the friction between the two mechanisms is not handled properly but allowed to aggravate, the socialist commodity economy is bound to be seriously hindered. This further drives home the imminent importance of socialist economic reform to economic development, and the imminent importance of the full vitality of socialist enterprises to smooth economic operation. In other words, the less the economic disequilibrium is, the less serious the friction is between the two mechanisms. However, so long as the economic disequilibrium persists, such friction should never be overlooked even if they do not affect economic development and operation. We can minimize the negative impact of such friction if we see its existence in perspective and take steps to hold it in check.

In all, my analysis of the two categories of disequilibrium and the friction between the two mechanisms in the course of economic operations boils down to three conclusions on the current economic reforms in our country:

Conclusion One: We need to understand that our current economy is not in the first category of disequilibrium, characterized mainly by market incompleteness, but in the second category of disequilibrium, marked in the main by the fact that the market is incomplete and enterprises are yet to become fully vital. Therefore, enterprise reform should be the mainstream of the current economic restructuring, with top priority given to imbuing our enterprises with full vitality. Through this reform, the national economy should accomplish its transition from the second category of disequilibrium to the first category. As much as economic equilibrium is unattainable, it is

feasible and worthwhile to shift the economy to the first category of disequilibrium.

Conclusion Two: If, instead of setting enterprise reform as the mainstream of the ongoing economic restructuring, we are bent on bringing the market to completion and decentralizing prices when the economy is still in the second category of disequilibrium and when our enterprises are yet to be fully energized, we will fail to achieve good results, the economy will be crippled, and the already imbalanced resource allocation will be even more imbalanced. The reasons are clear. Just as mentioned in the foregoing, the second category of disequilibrium tends to lock government and market mechanisms in acute friction. With distorted government regulation tangled with distorted market regulation, economic efficiency will be further eroded.

Conclusion Three: Based on the nature of economic disequilibrium, the second category of disequilibrium in particular, the macroeconomic administrative reform should, as part of the current economic restructuring, emphasize promoting the market's self-restraining role in resource allocation, and stress minimizing the friction between market and government regulation in the course of economic operation. If we fail to do these things in the macroeconomic administrative reform, the transition of the national economy from the second category of disequilibrium to the first category will be held back, and supply or demand shortfalls are bound to be exacerbated. This is because the role of government regulation in eradicating supply or demand shortfalls is limited where enterprises cannot make their own business decisions and bear the responsibility for their gains and losses. When enterprises cannot readjust supply and demand according to their own interests the way they should as traders, the balance of quotas the government hopes for will never be achieved. If the government's administrative measures are detrimental to the effort to motivate enterprises in business activity and guide them in readjusting supply and demand in light of their own interests, and if such measures are designed to make up for supply shortfalls merely by reducing demand or to keep supply and demand in temporary balance merely by direct input or distribution, the Chinese economy will continue to languish in the extremely counterproductive second category of disequilibrium.

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经济改革、经济增长与产业结构调整之间的关系 (1988)

在当前我国的经济生活中，一个有待于解决的研究课题是如何在经济改革、经济增长与产业结构调整三者之间建立一种彼此推进的协调关系，以便既能在经济改革过程中实现有效的经济增长，又能通过经济增长和产业结构调整来建立资源配置的新机制，实现从传统经济体制向新经济体制的转变。

这一任务是艰巨的。当前我国经济处于非均衡状态，市场不完善，资源短缺，而企业还没有成为有真正的利益约束的商品生产者。在这种情况下，假定主要依赖市场机制的作用，让市场定价，那么在企业缺乏利益约束和生产要素的流动仍然受到产权关系不明确的限制的条件下，一方面会造成物价的迅速上涨，市场信号扭曲，从而产业结构不但难以朝着合理化的方向调整，甚至历史上形成的产业结构失调状况会加剧，并会阻碍今后的经济增长；另一方面，假定主要依赖政府调节的作用，即仍由政府实行价格限制和商品配额，那么，在一定程度上有可能促进某些产业部门的较快发展，抑制另一些产业部门产量的增加，并且也有可能维持一定的经济增长率，但由于企业的积极性受到束缚，企业的效率难以提高，因此势必推迟甚至阻碍资源配置新机制的建立，经济增长只可能以牺牲效率作为代价而实现，而产业结构最终不得不因缺少正确的市场信号引导而摆脱不了失调的困境。这就是摆在我国经济学界面前的一个难题。对这个难题，本文准备从投资主体的确定着手进行研究。

一

经济增长的主体是企业，产业结构调整的主体也是企业。这里所说的主体，是指投资主体而言。但要使企业成为有效益的投资主体，必须

先使企业成为真正的利益主体。这就是说，企业必须具有自己独立的利益，企业要关心这种利益，企业进行投资是为了实现这种利益，企业在投资中自我约束也是为了实现这种利益。如果我们在制定经济增长政策和产业结构调整政策时，把具有独立利益和接受利益约束的企业作为投资主体来看待，也许可以在这方面走出一条新路。假定以此为出发点，那么首要问题将是企业制度的改革，即赋予企业以利益主体和投资主体的地位，由企业的投资选择来制约经济增长和产业结构调整，促进经济增长和产业结构调整，从而达到经济改革、经济增长、产业结构调整三者协调并进的目标。

产业结构调整实际上就是压缩一些产业部门的投资和增加一些产业部门的投资，产业结构不仅体现于各个不同部门的产出比例，而且体现于各个不同部门的投入比例。投入制约着产出，投入与产出之比也制约着产出。“让企业成为产业结构调整的投资主体”这句话，具有两个含义：第一，企业根据自己的利益而选择投资方向，决定增加对哪些部门的投入，减少对哪些部门的投入，并由此影响产业部门之间的产出比例；第二，企业根据自己的利益而调整投入与产出之比，也就是通过效率的提高来制约投入，增加产出。这两个含义中，第二个含义可能更加重要。这是因为，只有让企业成为利益主体，企业通过提高效率来增加产出的积极性才能有较大幅度的提高。在资源短缺和投入受到客观限制的条件下，这将是克服某些商品短缺的更为合理的途径。

从另一个角度来看，企业作为投资主体，也就是意味着企业作为生产要素的需求主体或购买主体。当企业根据自己的利益调节投资方向和生产要素组合方式时，通过对生产要素的需求的调整而影响其他企业提供的产品的销售量，这样也就从客观上影响一些产业部门的产量和规模的变化，引导着产业结构的调整方向。因此，在企业成为利益主体时，企业既从自己的投入（包括投入的资源数量以及投入与产出之比）方面，又从自己对其他企业提供的产品的购买方面制约着产业结构调整。经济增长率归根到底是由每一个企业的产出增长率决定的，既然企业的产出增长率总是在产业结构调整过程中实现，所以经济增长与产业结构调整将是同一个过程。具有独立利益的企业在作为经济增长主体的同时，也就成为产业结构调整的主体。

二

当我们把企业看作投资主体并且重视企业的投资选择与购买选择在产业结构调整中的作用时，应当考虑到企业是在非均衡条件下进行经济活动的，市场的不完善和资源供给的短缺不可避免地会对企业的投资选择与购买选择发生有力的影响。这样，我们就不可能忽视政府在产业结构调整中的重要作用。经济的非均衡程度越大，政府在产业结构调整中所起的作用也越重要。

政府要对非盈利性的投资项目承担责任，这是与政府的性质直接有关的。在任何情况下，政府也不应当回避这方面的投资责任。关于这一点，几乎不需要再作论证了。现在需要探讨的是，假定市场不完善和资源供给短缺，政府作为经济调节者，究竟应当如何影响企业的投资选择与购买选择，进而影响产业结构的调整，使之趋向合理化？这主要是通过政府的配额均衡而实现的。

政府的配额均衡可以通过目标原则，或平均原则，或历史比例原则来实现，每一个原则都有一定的适用范围，每一个原则也都可能出现弊端，因此，政府在何种情况下采取何种原则，应当根据具体条件进行研究，然后作出决定。

目标原则是指政府根据产业部门的重要程度而制定轻重缓急的顺序，把有限的资源配售给各个有关的部门。这种分配资源的方式有利于贯彻政府预定的经济增长目标和产业结构调整目标，并且能够较快地促进某些产业部门的增长，限制另一些部门的增长。但问题是：产业部门发展的轻重缓急顺序的排列是否科学？能不能使有限资源配售的比例有助于经济增长目标与产业结构调整目标同时实现？这样的资源配额是否符合资源利用的效率标准？能不能保证配售到某一产业部门的资源不被挪作他用，不被转卖牟利？从某种意义上说，目标原则的副作用在于：它使某些部门和企业处于特殊照顾之下，而这些部门和企业却不一定是高效率的；至于另一些部门和企业，实际上被排除在资源供给以外了，尽管它们是高效率的，但由于资源不足而不得不使效率降低。因此，如果只有配额的目标原则（即使目标原则的确定是科学的），而没有促进部门间资源存量转移的措施和促进企业转产的措施，目标原则下的配额均衡将以社会的资源利用效率下降作为代价。

平均原则是指政府根据需求者所提出的需求数量和可供给的资源数量进行平均分配。从调整产业结构的角度来看，平均原则可能是阻碍政府预定的产业结构调整目标的实现的，因为这样做意味着基本上维持产业结构的现状；但从维持经济增长的角度来看，平均原则下的配额均衡不至于导致经济增长率的较大幅度的波动。加之，就居民生活必需品的

供求而言，按平均原则来分配有限的资源仍然有着维持社会安定的作用。在平均原则之下，社会的资源利用效率也是会降低的，但这种降低应当主要归咎于资源供给的普遍不足，而不一定是改变产业部门结构所引起的（因为产业结构基本维持现状）。

历史比例原则是指政府根据历史上已经形成的或过去一贯沿用的资源分配比例来确定部门间或企业间的资源配额。用这种办法来分配有限的资源，其效应与采用平均原则相似，即基本上维持产业结构的现状，同时又可以避免经济增长率发生较大幅度的波动。但问题是：历史比例原则的确定既然以既成的资源分配比例为依据，那就涉及既成的资源分配比例的合理程度究竟如何。同样地，在这种情况下，能不能保证分配到一定的部门和企业中的资源不再被挪作他用，不再被转卖给其他部门和企业而牟利？还有，历史比例不可能不根据实际情况而有所调整，如果要调整历史比例的话，那么怎样重新制定有限资源的配额？

由此看来，在资源供给不足从而有必要由政府采取配额的情况下，既要兼顾经济增长与产业结构调整目标，又要不挫伤企业经营的积极性，不使企业的资源利用效率下降，这的确是一个相当艰巨的任务。不管政府按照哪一种原则来实行配额，目标配额的制定（即产业部门重要程度顺序的排列）、平均配额的制定、历史比例配额的制定，首先，必须具有科学性，只有科学地制定这些配额，才能尽量减少政府配额过程中的差错和矛盾。其次，无论在哪一种原则之下，都应当防止短缺资源的渗漏现象的发生，也就是要防止被分配到一定部门和企业中的短缺资源转卖给其他的部门和企业。

一种折中的做法是兼取三种原则，实现政府调节下的配额均衡。三种原则之中，比较有利于达到政府预定产业结构调整目标的是目标原则；比较有利于维持经济增长，较少地导致经济增长率发生较大幅度波动的是历史比例原则；较少引起需求各方之间的摩擦，并且较少地挫伤所有企业的积极性的是平均原则。这样，要发挥非均衡条件下政府的配额均衡在产业结构调整中的作用，不妨以目标原则为主，兼顾历史比例原则和平均原则的特点，制定一种综合地确定短缺资源分配比例的办法。

三

资源短缺条件下的经济增长与短缺的资源在部门间的配额有关。假

定在短缺资源的分配中主要依据的是目标原则，那么这时的经济增长必定是在产业结构调整过程中实现的，而产业结构调整过程中所实现的经济增长也必定是倾斜式的经济增长，即经济的不平衡增长。

这里涉及对于经济不平衡增长的价值判断问题。任何经济增长都是在一定的经济现实环境中出发的，我们可以把这种现实环境称作经济增长的初始状态。任何经济增长，在经历一定的时间之后，总会达到某个预期的经济境界，我们可以把这种预期的境界称作经济增长的阶段终点。在评价经济的平衡增长与不平衡增长时，既不能脱离经济增长的初始状态，也不能脱离经济增长的阶段终点。假定初始状态是产业结构协调的，而预期的经济增长阶段终点也是产业结构协调的，那么经济的平衡增长显然是理想的增长途径。在这段时间内，经济的不平衡增长也许是不必要的，甚至还可能不利于预定的产业结构协调目标的实现。然而，在当前我国经济处于非均衡状态初始点上的产业结构已经出现严重失调的情况下，经济的平衡增长既缺乏可行性，又不符合短缺资源配额均衡经济增长的要求。因此，对于经济不平衡增长的是与非，不应当脱离实际而作出判断。

政府配额均衡条件下的经济不平衡增长的结果，究竟能否达到政府预定的经济增长目标与产业结构调整目标，与政府制定的主导产业政策的科学性有关，也与这一主导产业政策被贯彻的程度有关。假定政府不制定任何主导产业政策，一切听任市场调节来自发地形成经济中的主导产业，虽然其结果也有可能既实现经济增长，又调整了产业结构，但这通常以市场比较完善和企业具有利益约束为前提。

即使如此，产业结构调整过程也可能相当缓慢，因为一旦出现了货源有限或市场有限等情况，通过市场自身的配额调节（短缺资源的自发分配或有限市场的自发分割）总是在无数次交易活动和资源转移之后才达到预期效果。就当前我国的实际情况来说，由于市场不完善和企业仍然缺乏利益约束，资源部门间的自发转移有困难，市场配额调节的结果不一定与政府预定的经济增长目标、产业结构调整目标相吻合，从而由政府制定主导产业政策，并根据这一政策来实现政府配额均衡下的经济不平衡增长，就显得十分必要。

主导产业政策是一种倾斜式的产业政策。但应当注意到，任何主导产业都需要有其他若干产业与之配合，而与主导产业直接有关的其他若干产业又分别与更多的产业联系在一起。这样，即使政府实行的是倾斜式的产业政策，这种政策也只能按照与主导产业关系的密切程度来实行短缺资源的配额，而不可能倾斜到只顾某一个或少数几个产业而忽略其

他有关产业的地步。这意味着，在非均衡条件下，如果说政府惟有通过配额均衡来实现经济的不平衡增长，集中较多的资源发展主导产业，以调整产业结构的话，那么产业政策的这种倾斜只能适度，而不应当过分，否则不仅不能加速主导产业的成长，反而有可能导致产业结构失调现象的延续或加剧。

通过以上的分析，可以清楚地了解到，关于经济增长的平衡与不平衡之争实际上并非如通常所说的，究竟是不平衡增长优越还是平衡增长优越。既然增长的初始状态是产业结构失调，那么争论的焦点就不可避免地成为经济增长的不平衡程度之争，也就是产业政策的倾斜度之争。过度倾斜的害处大于完全没有倾斜。经济的过分不平衡增长可能加剧产业结构的失调；而在经济增长的初始状态表现为产业结构已经失调时，经济的平衡增长虽然无助于产业结构失调现象的消除，但较为可能的是基本上维持产业结构现状，而不一定使之加剧、恶化。这正是在政府制定主导产业政策时需要注意的。

于是，问题归结为政府究竟如何运用主导产业政策，如何使产业政策的倾斜适度。为了说明这一点，有必要考察一下企业运行机制和价格信号在主导产业政策实施过程中的作用。

四

主导产业政策是由政府制定并由政府推行的。政府行为的非理想化使得政府所制定和推行的主导产业政策同政府预定要达到的经济增长与产业结构调整目标之间存在一定的差距。政府很难使得产业政策的倾斜恰到好处，这样就需要有一种力量对产业政策倾斜过度进行制约。这种制约的力量不是来自政府本身，主要来自作为投资主体和利益主体的企业。

假定企业没有摆脱行政机构附属物的地位，依然缺乏利益的约束并且不能根据自己的现实利益和预期利益来选择投资机会，毫无疑问，当政府的产业政策严重倾斜（即过度倾斜）时，企业对于由此引起的市场供求比例的变化不可能作出反应。产业政策的过度倾斜所加剧了的产业结构失调，以及具体表现出来的某些商品供给缺口增大和另一些商品需求缺口增大，只有等到问题积累到一定程度，等到政府自己发现它们的严重性了，才有可能纠正过来。但这往往需要较长的滞后期，国民经济因此而受到的损失将是巨大的。不仅如此，由于产业政策的倾斜与政府

对短缺资源的配额联系在一起，在企业缺乏利益约束的情况下，企业甚至有可能利用产业政策的倾斜过度来为自己牟利，如利用短缺资源去发展并非市场所急需的生产，或利用短缺资源进行非生产性的盈利活动。其结果，不但不是对产业政策倾斜过度的制约，反而会加剧不合理的产业政策的倾斜，加剧短缺资源的短缺程度。

如果客观上发生上述这些与政府在制定倾斜的产业政策时所预计的情况相违的现象，而政府又不把企业缺乏利益约束视为问题的症结所在，那么政府很可能作出一种错误的判断，即认为这一切主要是由价格的不合理或双轨价格的存在所引起的。于是政府试图以取消双轨价格制和放开价格来纠正产业结构的严重失调，消除商品供给缺口和需求缺口。从理论上说，这样做似乎是有根据的，因为价格信号的正确将导致资源流向市场所需要的领域，企业对价格信号的灵活反应将导致企业转而生产短缺商品，转而投资于经济中的薄弱环节，促进产业结构的合理化。但这与非均衡条件下的实际情况完全不符。假定政府这样做，所带来的恰恰是产业结构的进一步失调和经济的进一步混乱。关键仍在于：尚未自主经营、自负盈亏的企业不可能成为真正起作用的产业结构调整的利益主体。

如上所述，资源短缺和初始状态中的产业结构失调是既成事实，市场不完善和企业缺乏利益约束也是既成事实。在资源短缺的前提下，配额均衡是不可避免的：不是由政府来实行配额，就是由市场来实行配额。价格双轨制意味着既有政府实行的配额，又有市场实行的配额，而政府实行的配额将根据目标原则（或平均原则，或历史比例原则）付诸实现。如果政府决定在这种形势下把价格双轨制转变为市场单一定价制，那就意味着取消政府的配额，而让短缺资源完全由市场来实行配额：市场或者按照“谁先来，谁先买”的优先原则分配，或者按照垄断原则分配。但无论市场按照什么原则来分配短缺资源，只要市场仍然是不完善的，企业产权关系仍然不明确和企业仍然缺乏利益约束，那么供给价格弹性较小和需求价格弹性较小的事实必然导致新的两种价格并存，即公开的市场价格与地下的市场价格（黑市价格）的并存。公开的市场价格与地下的市场价格你追我赶，始终保持某种差距，结果导致价格的轮番上涨。这正是我国经济处于非均衡状态下的实际情况。它不仅无助于缓和产业结构失调，而且只会使产业结构失调加剧。

政府如果考虑到经济的非均衡状态，考虑到企业尚未成为独立商品生产者这一客观事实，那么从有效地调整产业结构的目标着眼，绝不能在条件不成熟时放开价格和取消价格双轨制；而只能在保持政府配额的

同时，确定企业的产权，改造企业运行机制，并依靠企业的自我约束来制约产业政策倾斜的过度。

五

企业作为投资主体和利益主体，将具有投资与经营的自我约束力；而这种与企业运行机制联系在一起的企业自我约束力，将成为对于政府的产业政策倾斜过度的一种制约。这是因为，企业是按照自己的利益趋向而进行投资方向的变动和投资数量的调整的。如果政府产业政策的倾斜过度，在双轨价格条件下，企业将面临以下两种选择。

第一种选择是，企业宁肯接受市场配额，即利用高于固定价格的市场价格来生产既符合自己的利益，又适应市场需要的短缺产品。这样就可以弥补政府产业政策倾斜过度而导致的该种商品的短缺。当然，当企业作出这种选择时，企业要冒一定的投资风险和经营风险。但企业作为利益主体，它不仅有权这样做，并且也愿意承担这些风险。伴随着企业投资风险和经营风险而来的，将是企业的盈利。有了盈利的动力，企业是有可能作出这种选择的。

第二种选择是，由于政府的产业政策倾斜过度而导致政府配额过于集中，但企业又不愿接受市场配额（这主要是由于企业从自身利益出发，感觉到市场配额的价格过高，从而投资风险和经营风险过大）。这样，政府配额的不足必将导致企业改变生产规模和生产方向，包括企业转产、停产、减产、与其他企业合并或联营等等。由此涉及生产要素的流动和资源在部门间、企业间的重新组合。生产要素的流动和资源重新组合以企业自身的利益为指导，而企业的利益又以市场的实际需要为转移，于是也就有助于弥补政府的产业政策倾斜过度而导致的某些商品的短缺。有了盈利的动力，企业也会作出这种选择。

无论企业作出第一种选择还是第二种选择，其结果首先是有助于弥补政府产业政策倾斜过度而导致的某种短缺。这可以被看成是企业的自我约束对于产业政策倾斜过度的一种制约。除此以外，还存在着企业的自我约束对于产业政策倾斜过度的另一种制约。这就是在企业作出上述任何一种选择之后，市场形势都会发生一定的变化，从而促使政府改变原来的产业政策过度倾斜的做法，修正过于集中的配额方案。

比如说，假定企业作出第一种选择，从市场上用高于固定价格的价

格来购买生产资料，生产市场所需要的短缺商品。这样，市场上该种生产资料的供给量将增加，而企业所生产出来的该种短缺商品的价格将下降。这将给予实行该种生产资料配额和该种短缺商品配额的政府以一定的信号，使政府感到自己原来制定的配额方案（即产业政策倾斜过度，配额过于集中的方案）已与新的市场形势不相适应了，于是政府就有可能调整配额来适应新的市场形势。

假定企业作出第二种选择，即企业通过生产要素的流动和资源的重新组合来应付政府原定的配额过于集中问题，那么生产要素流动和资源重新组合的结果将会导致市场上某些短缺商品供给量的增加，引起市场形势的变化。当政府接收到这种信号以后，也会重新考虑原来的配额方案，从而根据新的市场形势进行配额的调整。

由此可见，只有企业从作为行政附属物的地位转到自主经营、自负盈亏的独立商品生产者的地位，政府的配额均衡才有助于产业结构的合理化，才能避免因政府配额不当而造成产业结构失调迟迟不能解决的情况发生。反之，如果政府在企业体制未变的条件下，指望用取消双轨价格来协调产业结构，那就只能得到与政府的预定目标相反的结果。

这一切充分说明了非均衡状态中的经济改革、经济增长、产业结构调整三者之间的关系的实质。简言之，如果不首先进行有效的企业体制改革，经济增长与产业结构调整这两个目标不仅难以实现，而且会给以后的经济增长与产业结构调整造成困难。

（原载《数量经济技术经济研究》，1988年第12期）

Relationship between economic reform, growth and industrial restructuring (1988)

An unanswered question in our nation's economy is how to foster a congenial relationship in which economic reform, growth and industrial restructuring supplement each other, so that the economy can grow effectively in the course of economic reform, a new mechanism for resource allocation can be found through economic growth and industrial restructuring, and the traditional economic system can be converted into a brand new one.

This is no easy mission. The Chinese economy is in a state of disequilibrium. The market is incomplete. Resources are in shortage. Firms are yet to become commodity producers that are motivated by their own interests. Under these circumstances, if we rely mainly on market regulation to decide prices when our firms cannot pursue their own interests, and if the flow of production factors is still hampered by ambiguous property rights, we are courting two dire results. For one thing, prices will rise, market information will be distorted, and our industrial structure, instead of running on an even keel, will become even more lopsided to inhibit future economic growth. For another, if we count mainly on government regulation and allow the government to impose restrictions on prices and quotas on commodities, some industries may grow fast, but the development of other industries will be hindered. Economic growth may be maintained at a certain rate, but because firms are apathetic about improving their efficiency, the establishment of a new resource allocation mechanism will inevitably be delayed or encumbered. As a result, economic growth may only be achieved at the expense of efficiency, while the industrial structure will stay warped for lack of guidance from accurate market information. Such is the sixty-four dollar question for my fellow economists in this nation. This paper is a study of this question starting from a definition of the term "investment principal."

I

Firms are principals in economic growth and industrial restructuring. As the term "principal" is interpreted in the context of "investor," firms must be true interest principals before they can become efficient investors. To put it another way, they must possess independent interests and be concerned with such interests. They invest, and constrain themselves in so doing to achieve such interests. If, in formulating policies for economic growth and industrial restructuring, we regard firms as investment principals that have independent interests and are willing to be restrained by such interests, we can blaze a new trail in this field. If we take this as the starting point, corporate institutional reform will become the overriding issue, which entails establishing firms as interest and investment principals, and letting economic growth and industrial restructuring be conditioned and promoted by their investment choices, so as to attain the goal of coordinating economic reform, growth and industrial restructuring in simultaneous development.

Industrial restructuring entails reducing investment in some industries and increasing it in others. The industrial structure embodies both the output ratios and the input ratios between industries. Input circumscribes output, and the input-output ratio also conditions output. The proposition, "let firms become investment principals in industrial restructuring," means two things. First, we should permit firms to act in their own interests when choosing their investment destinations, or when deciding which departments need more investment and which departments need less, and thus to impact the output ratio between industries. Second, we should allow firms to act in their own interests when adjusting the input-output ratio, that is, controlling input and increasing output by raising efficiency. The second meaning is probably more important because only by turning firms into interest principals can they be highly motivated to boost output by improving efficiency. That is a more sensible way to overcome shortfalls in certain commodities when resources are in shortage and input is constrained by circumstances.

From another point of view, to convert firms into investment principals is to turn them into demanders for, or purchasers of, production factors. When a firm acts in its own interests to redirect its investment and modify the way it groups production factors, and influences the sales volumes of products supplied by other firms by adjusting its demand for production

factors, it is actually impacting a certain industry's changes in output and scale and leading the way for industrial restructuring. For this reason, when a firm becomes an interest principal, it can in fact moderate industrial restructuring with both its input – resource input and input-output ratio included – and purchases from other firms. The rate of economic growth is ultimately decided by each firm's output growth rate. Economic growth and industrial restructuring are part of the same process once firms can maintain their output growth through industrial reform. When firms with independent interests become principals of economic growth, they also become principals of industrial restructuring.

II

When we regard firms as investment principals and put a premium on the role they can play in industrial restructuring through their investment and purchase choices, we must take into account the fact that they are engaged in economic activity under economic disequilibrium, and that the incomplete market and resource shortfalls invariably affect their investment and purchase decisions. In so doing, we will recognize the paramount role of the government in industrial restructuring. The greater the degree of economic disequilibrium, the more important the role of the government becomes in industrial restructuring.

The government is duty-bound to support nonprofit investment projects, a duty that is directly related to its nature. Under no circumstances should the government shun its responsibility for this field of investment. This point is self-evident, and no more proof is needed. The question to be discussed here is what, supposing the market is incomplete and resources are in short supply, the government should do as the economic regulator to influence firms' investment and purchase choices, and further impact industrial restructuring and put it on a sound footing. A fundamental answer to this question lies in the government's capacity to balance its quotas.

Balanced government quotas are achievable through the goals principle, the principle of averages, or the principle of historical ratios. Because each of these principles is limited in its scope of application and has its drawbacks, the government should choose between them on the basis of study and investigation.

The goals principle guides the government to allot quotas for the limited resources to be sold to industries in order of priority and urgency. This way of distributing resources helps implement government goals for economic growth and economic restructuring, boosts growth in some industries and restrains it in some other industries. But it also poses some questions. Is the alignment of the industries in order of priority and urgency scientifically viable? Can the ratios between the quotas on scarce rescources be set in a way to make possible the simultaneous attainment of economic growth goals and those for industrial restructuring? Do the quotas measure up to benchmarks for resource utilization efficiency? Is there any way to prevent industries from putting the resources allotted to them to other uses or reselling them for a profit? In a sense, the side effect of the goals principle (even if it is scientifically viable) is that it may give preference to industries and firms with low efficiency, to the neglect of truly efficient industries and firms whose efficiency may be curbed by resource shortages. In this regard, the balance of government quotas under the goals principle (even if it is scientifically viable) is maintained at the expense of resource utilization efficiency unless measures are taken so that resources can be reallocated among industries, and firms can change their line of production.

The principle of averages directs the government to distribute resources equally among industries according to the aggregate demand of firms and the availability of such resources. This principle may become an impediment to achieving the government's industrial restructuring goals, as it serves basically to maintain the status quo of the industrial structure. However, from the perspective of sustaining economic growth, quota allocation under the principle of averages will not go so far as to cause dramatic fluctuations in the economic growth rate. Moreover, judging from the supply and demand of daily necessities, the principle of averages helps maintain social stability when limited resources are distributed according to it. Under this principle, resource utilization efficiency tends to drop, but such a drop is ascribed mainly to universal shortages in the supply of resources rather than to changes in the industrial structure (because, as a matter of fact, such a structure basically remains unchanged).

The historical ratios principle guides the government to allot resource quotas to be distributed among industries or firms in line with distribution ratios that have been followed for a long time in the past. This principle

works in a way similar to the principle of averages, that is, by maintaining the status quo of the industrial structure and avoiding major fluctuations in the economic growth rate. However, it also poses some questions: Are the historical ratios – the cornerstone of this principle – reasonable or not? Is there any guarantee that the resources distributed to industries and firms are not put to other uses or resold for a profit? Now that it is impossible not to adapt historical quotas to reality, how can distribution quotas be reset when and where such a need arises?

It is thus clear that when resource shortfalls necessitate distribution quotas, the government is faced with the arduous task of attaining both economic growth and industrial restructuring goals without discouraging firms in business activity and hurting resource utilization efficiency. Such quotas should be scientifically viable whether they are arranged in order of priority and importance, evened out, or according to established ratios. First of all, only with viable quotas can errors and conflicts be minimized while limited resources are dispensed. Then, no matter which principle is followed, everything should be done to forestall scarce resources leakage, i.e., the resale of scarce resources allotted from one industry or firm to another.

A compromise between these three principles may be reached to help balance distribution quotas under government regulation. Of the trio, the goals principle is relatively more conducive to the government's industrial restructuring goals; the historical ratios principle works better to sustain economic growth and minimize fluctuations in the economic growth rate; while the principle of averages helps more in reducing conflicts of interests and keeping firms motivated. To give full scope to the role of coordinated government quotas in industrial restructuring, we may as well take the goals principle as the guideline and draw on the historical ratios principle and the principle of averages when setting ratios for the distribution of scarce resources.

III

Economic growth amidst resource shortage is relevant to government quotas for distributing such resources between industries. If such resources

are allotted according to the goals principle, economic growth is bound to take place in the course of industrial restructuring, whereas the economic growth achieved in the course of industrial restructuring is inevitably of a "tilting type," a byword for uneven economic growth.

The issue here involves judgment of the value of this type of uneven economic growth. Economic growth, whatever type it is, is attained in a real-world economic environment. We may regard this environment as the initial condition for economic growth. The economy invariably reaches a certain anticipated economic level after a certain period of growth, and we may regard this anticipated economic level as the condition for end-of-period growth. Whether the economy is balanced or not, economic growth cannot be evaluated without taking its initial and end-of-period conditions into consideration. If the industrial structure is well coordinated at both stages of economic growth, then balanced economic growth is obviously the ideal. In this case, uneven economic growth is probably unnecessary or even detrimental to the attainment of the anticipated goals for coordinating the industrial structure. However, when the current Chinese economy is at the initial stage of disequilibrium and the industrial structure is already gravely lopsided, to strive for balanced economic growth not only is unrealistic but also contravenes the task of restoring economic equilibrium through optimal distribution of scarce resources. Therefore, our judgment of the merits or demerits of disequilibrium in economic growth should not be estranged from reality.

Whether the government's anticipated goals for economic growth and industrial restructuring can be reached as a result of imbalanced economic growth through quota rationing is determined, first of all, by whether the government industrial policy is scientifically viable or not, and secondly, by the determination with which this policy is carried out. If the government relinquishes its industrial policy and allows the market to run the economy completely, economic growth may be achieved and the industrial system restructured only when the market is relatively complete and firms are operating in accordance with their own interests.

Even so, progress in industrial restructuring may be tardy because it always takes numerous transactions in which resources change hands numerous times before the market clears (that is, through spontaneous

distribution of scarce resources or spontaneous division of the limited market). Given the current situation in our nation, an incomplete market and the failure of firms to assert their own interests make it hard for resources to be spontaneously redirected, and the results of market regulation of quotas are not necessarily in accord with prescribed government goals for economic growth and industrial restructuring. Thus the government needs to formulate its industry-prioritizing policy and proceed from this policy to achieve imbalanced economic growth under balanced government quotas.

This industry-prioritizing policy is, indeed, a tilted one. However, it should be noted that no leading industry can do without the assistance of several other industries that are themselves tied with even more industries. This being the case, if the government chooses to carry out such a tilted industrial policy, this policy can allot quotas for scarce resources among industries only according to how closely they are associated with the leading industry. Such a policy cannot be tipped in favor of only one or several industries to the neglect of the other related industries. That is to say, in economic disequilibrium, the bias of this tilted industrial policy should be kept within reasonable bounds if the government has no alternative but to count on quota rationing to bring about imbalanced economic growth and to concentrate resources on leading industries for industrial restructuring purposes. It should never be overdone. Otherwise, instead of spurring the leading industries, it may only sustain or aggravate the lopsided industrial structure.

As the above analysis indicates, the argument on economic growth is not about which is supposedly better, balanced growth or imbalanced growth. Given that the initial state of economic growth is characterized by a disproportionate industrial structure, the argument is unavoidably focused on the degree of imbalance in economic growth, that is, on the degree of bias of the tilted industrial policy. An over-tilted industrial policy is more harmful than an unbiased one in that it may exaggerate the already warped industrial structure. When the initial state of economic growth is characterized by a lopsided industrial structure, balanced economic growth may help maintain the status quo of the industrial structure and prevent it from further deterioration, even though it cannot completely redress its lopsidedness. This is a point the government should keep in mind when making its industry-prioritizing policy.

Now the issue comes down to how the government applies its industry-prioritizing policy and whether it can keep the prejudice of this policy within bounds. To find the answers, I deem it necessary to look into the roles of the corporate operational mechanism and price signals in the course of executing the policy.

IV

The industry-prioritizing policy is formulated and enacted by the government. Generally speaking, dystopian government behavior generates a disparity between this policy and the government's anticipated goals for economic growth and industrial restructuring. Because it is hard for the government to tilt this policy with absolute precision, something has to be done to restrain such a tilt. Such restraints do not come from the government itself but, in the main, from firms that are investment and interest principals.

If firms cannot put an end to their status as government appendages, and fail to base their investment choices on their immediate and anticipated interests, they can never react properly to changes in supply and demand if the government industrial policy becomes over-tilted. The lopsided industrial structure aggravated by an overly tilted industrial policy, as well as the growing deficiency in the supply of some commodities and the demand for other commodities, can be remedied only when the problems have come to a head and alerted the government. Enormous losses occur simply because the government cannot address the issues timely. And the consequence does not stop just there. Because the bias of the tilted industrial policy is related to the government's rationing of scarce resources, firms lacking constraints on their interests may profiteer by taking advantage of that policy. They may use the resources in short supply to produce commodities not badly needed on the market or engage in nonproductive profiteering activities. In that way, they can only exacerbate lopsided government rationing, instead of curbing it, thereby making scarce resources even scarcer.

If, contrary to the intention of the government industrial policy, the aforementioned phenomena occur, and if the government fails to pinpoint firms' lack of independent interests as the key to the problem, the government

is likely to believe that all this was caused by unreasonable pricing or the double-track price system. That misjudgment may compel the government to abolish the double-track prices and decentralize them in an attempt to rectify the badly warped industrial structure and eradicate shortages in commodity supply and demand. Theoretically speaking, this way of doing things is not groundless, because correct price signals can direct the flow of resources to areas needed by the market, and firms' flexible reaction to such signals can lead them to shift production to commodities in short supply and their investment to weak links of the economy, thereby hastening the effort to balance the industrial structure. However, this behavior is totally disagreeable to an economy under disequilibrium. If the government chooses to do so, it can accomplish nothing but to further damage the industrial structure and drive the economy deeper into chaos. The central problem here is that firms that cannot make their own business decisions and bear the responsibility for their gains and losses cannot become true interest principals to play a part in industrial restructuring.

As the above analysis illustrates, the lopsided industrial structure characterized by resource shortage in the initial stage of economic growth is an established fact, and so are the incomplete market and firms' lack of independent interests. With resources in shortage, rationing is imperative either by the government or the market. The double-track prices mean both government and market are rationing the scare resources. Government quotas are realized according to the goals principle, the principle of averages, or the principle of historical ratios. If the government decides to replace double-track prices with sole market prices, government quotas must be lifted, and scarce resources put at the mercy of the market. Then the market can allocate resources on a "first come, first served" basis or in line with the monopoly principle. No matter which principle the market chooses, the fact that the market is incomplete, that firm property rights remain ambiguous and that firms lack independent interests will curtail price elasticity in both supply and demand. The economy will end up with two new prices, i.e., open market prices and black market prices. The price gap between open and black markets inevitably sends prices on one round of hiking after another. This is exactly what happens in the Chinese economy under disequilibrium, a situation that does nothing but aggravate the lopsided industrial structure.

If the government takes into consideration the fact that the economy is

in disequilibrium and that firms are yet to become independent commodity producers, and if the government is mindful of its goals for effective industrial restructuring, it should never decontrol prices and abolish the double-track prices. On the contrary, the government, while going on with quota rationing, should define firm property rights, transform their operational mechanism, and rely on their self-restraints to prevent the industrial policy from being overly tilted.

V

When firms become investment and interest principals, they will be able to restrain themselves in investment and operation. This self-restraining ability, once linked with firms' operational mechanisms, will help prevent the government industrial policy from becoming overly tilted. This is because firms will be capable of adjusting the direction and amount of their investment under the guidance of their own interests. If the industrial policy is overly tilted towards a certain industry under the double-track price system, firms may react in two ways.

Firstly, they may accept market quotas, that is, to adopt market prices that are higher than government-mandated prices to produce commodities that accord with their interests and are in short market supply, thereby making up for supply shortages resulting from the government's excessively tilted industrial policy. Naturally, firms may run certain investment and business risks if they choose to react this way. As interest principals, however, they are not only entitled to do so but also willing to run such risks because risks accompany profits. Profits are enough of a motivation for them to take this course of action.

Secondly, firms may choose not to accept market quotas mainly because, proceeding from their own interests, they believe the market has so overpriced the resources as to expose them to excessive investment and business risks. Then the lack of government quotas invariably will prompt firms to change their business scale and scope by altering their line of production, stopping production, reducing output, seeking mergers, or setting up joint ventures. This will cause production factors to flow, and the

resources to be regrouped, among industries or firms. As such flow and regrouping are driven by firms' own interests, it will help make up for product shortages resulting from the seriously tilted government industrial policy.

Both possible reactions to the government's tilted industrial policy help make up for product shortages resulting from that policy. Both reactions point to firms' intention to restrain themselves to curb resource misallocation caused by the overly tilted government industrial policy. Their self-restraining action can also restrain the tilted government policy in another fashion. That is, when they react in either way, the market situation will change to a certain extent, thereby forcing the government to stop tipping the industrial policy overly in favor of certain industries and revise its over-concentrated quota plans.

For example, if firms react in the first way, that is, if they purchase capital goods from the market at prices higher than government-mandated prices to produce certain commodities in short market supply, it will increase the supply of the related capital goods, and reduce the prices of the commodities being produced. The government will receive a certain signal from these firms when it allots quotas on the capital goods and commodities in question. Upon discovering that its original quota plans – that is, the over-concentrated plans made under the overly tilted industrial policy – can no longer work, the government is likely to adapt those plans to the new market situation.

If firms react in the second way, that is, if they cope with over-concentrated government quotas through the flow of production factors and the regrouping of resources, the supply of certain commodities in shortage will be increased, and the market situation will be changed. When the government has received such a signal, it is likely to readjust its quotas in response.

It is thus clear that balanced government quotas can help straighten out the industrial structure only when firms have ended their status as government appendages and become independent commodity producers that make their own business decisions and bear the responsibility for their gains and losses. Only thus can time-consuming delays be avoided in addressing an industrial structure warped by inappropriate distribution of government

quotas. On the other hand, if the government counts on abolishing the double-track prices to improve the industrial structure without overhauling the nature and function of firms, the result will be contrary to its intentions.

All this illustrates the essential relationship between economic reform, growth and industrial restructuring under economic disequilibrium. In short, if effective corporate institutional reform cannot happen in the first place, it will be almost impossible for the nation to achieve present and future economic growth and industrial restructuring goals.

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为新文化创造经济基础 (1989)

我今天演讲的主题就是经济改革、新公有制、新文化三者之间的关系。我想，把这三者之间的关系说清楚了，大家对中国经济改革的意义和前景的认识就清楚了，对中国经济改革中所遇到的各种艰难曲折也就较易理解了。

一、人的研究

在研究经济问题时，我们经常遇到一个问题：发展经济究竟是为了什么？我们是向谁提供产品和劳务？我们为什么要生产出越来越多的产品和劳务？这就是说：生产的目的究竟是什么？其实，这个道理应当是大家都懂的：生产本身不是目的，人不是单纯地作为劳动力而生活在世上的，人不是为了生产，生产是为了人。生产的目的是使人们得到更好的关心和培养。假定只顾提供越来越多的产品，而人们的生活水平没有提高，人们的文化教育水平没有提高，人们并没有得到尊重，人们的潜在能力发挥不出来，这些都不符合生产的目的。

根据这个朴素的道理，我们可以给经济学下这样一个定义：经济学不仅限于研究如何增加物质财富，更应当研究如何利用人们创造出来的财富来满足人们的物质和文化生活的需要。“物”并不是经济学研究的中心，经济学研究的最高层次是“人”，经济学研究的中心是“人”。

根据这个朴素的道理，我们可以了解中国目前正在进行的经济改革的意义：经济改革并不仅为了使我们将来能够拥有更多的产品，更重要的是如何使中国人能够过富裕的生活，使他们有更高的文化教育水平，使他们真正成为社会的主人，得到社会的关心、培养、尊重。从这个意义上说，就经济而论经济，就经济改革而谈经济改革，是远远不够的。

我们必须承认，在满足人们的物质文化需要方面，在人的全面发展

方面，现状距离我们的要求或理想有不少差距，为此我们需要进行改革，包括经济体制改革、政治体制改革和新文化的建设。我们相信，只要这几方面的改革与建设取得实质的进展，劳动者的积极性被真正调动起来，人的聪明才智充分施展出来，不但我们的平均国民收入会在劳动生产率提高的基础上不断增长，而我们的国民素质也必定因经济发展和新文化建设的成就而大大提高。改革，正是中国的希望所在。

二、新文化尊重人

1949年以前，忽视人的地位和作用的旧文化在中国占据主导地位，是可以理解的。为什么1949年以后，旧文化还是这样强大呢？这是因为，旧文化在新的形势和新的经济环境中找到了新的表现形式。

当然，1949年前后的旧文化是有一定联系的。旧文化的特色是非科学和非民主，新文化的特色是科学和民主。关于这一点，前人早已作过分析。现在需要在这一分析的基础上再作进一步的概括。旧文化以神为中心，新文化以人为中心；旧文化强调的是权力，新文化强调的是知识。正因为旧文化强调权力，所以旧文化是一种官本位的文化；而由于新文化强调知识，所以新文化必然以人民为出发点，以科学为出发点。这样，无论是1949年前的旧文化还是1949年后以新形式出现的旧文化，其共同点就是迷信，而不以人为中心；就是对权力的崇拜和追求，而不是尊重科学、尊重知识、尊重人民。正由于旧文化在旧日中国经济中的基础非常坚固，旧文化在封建土壤中的根扎得太深了，所以1949年以后，除原来的旧文化照样存在外，又加上新形式下的旧文化。这就是说：在1949年前的旧文化未被清除的同时，又增添了1949年后的旧文化。如果我们把1949年前的旧文化称做“标准的旧文化”，把1949年后出现的新形式下的旧文化称做“改装的旧文化”的话，那么从50年代到80年代这段时间内实际存在于中国的，是两种旧文化，即“标准的旧文化”与“改装的旧文化”的并存，60年代末到70年代中期，是两种旧文化最明显地结合在一起的典型时期。中共十一届三中全会以后（1979年以后），“改装的旧文化”已经有较大的减弱，而“标准的旧文化”的减弱程度则小得多，甚至在某些方面（如农村中的大修祠堂、大造坟墓、大讲婚丧排场等）还有所滋长。这一方面说明了旧文化存在的独立性，即并不随着经济结构的调整和经济改革的进展而立即消逝的独立性，另一方面还表明：只要旧文化已渗透到人们的生活方式之中和习惯之中，那么旧文化的表现就可能与人们的经济能力有关。家庭收入太低，连饭都吃

不饱，即使人们想修祠堂、造坟墓、讲排场也会力不从心。当然，这不是说没有人用举债的方式来操办这些事，而是一般地说，人穷，这些自然会从简；有了钱，“标准的旧文化”很快就渗透到人们的生活之中，并滋长起来。

从这里，我们可以了解到，单纯依靠提高人民的收入水平，并不能消除旧文化，甚至连标准的旧文化也难以消除。由于旧文化处处是否定人作为社会主体的地位的，是以愚昧、盲从为特征的，所以在中国，要真正消除旧文化和促进新文化的发展，必须在发展经济的同时发展教育，提高国民的科学文化素质，而且这种教育，不是仅仅以传授知识和技术为主要内容，更重要的是把“人的现代化”作为主要内容。

要知道，没有“人的现代化”就谈不上社会经济的现代化和科学技术的现代化，没有“人的解放”就谈不到生产力的解放。新文化是同“人的现代化”、“人的解放”联系在一起的。了解了这一点，我们就能懂得新文化建设的深远意义。

三、新文化的基础

就中国的情况而言，为什么旧文化的势力这样强大而新文化始终这样弱小呢？原因在于新文化没有自己的经济基础。1949年以前的旧文化以旧的经济制度为基础。而从50年代末到中共十一届三中全会前，另一种形式的旧文化，即“改了装的旧文化”，也是有经济基础的。这就是僵化的产品经济体制，是政企不分、官商不分、抑制了生产者积极性的传统形式的公有制，所以新文化还是缺乏相应的经济基础。党的十一届三中全会的伟大意义在于冲破长期“左”倾思想的束缚，解放思想，为在中国建设适应生产力发展的社会主义体制指明了道路。党的十一届三中全会以来，我们不仅改革旧经济体制，建设新经济体制，而且也反对旧文化，包括那种“改了装的旧文化”，建设社会主义的新文化。社会主义新文化的经济基础就是社会主义有计划的商品经济，就是政企分开、官商分开、充分调动了生产者积极性的新型公有制。

只有把经济改革的任务同社会主义新文化建设的任务结合起来进行考察，我们才能懂得这10年来我们所做的工作之重大意义，也才能了解我们的改革事业之艰辛、困难。以新经济体制代替旧经济体制固然不易，以社会主义新文化代替旧文化尤其困难。改革中存在着利益调整问题。旧文化、旧习惯支配着人们对利益的看法、对发展生产力的看法、

对教育和文化的看法，而旧经济体制又造成了平均主义和一系列利益刚性（如工资刚性、就业刚性、福利刚性等）。改革必然要触动每个人原有的利益。对一个人来说，如果他有五个方面的利益，哪怕有四个方面的利益增加了，只有一个方面的利益减少了，那么他很可能对改革有所不满，因为利益的增加在他看来是理所当然的，而利益（即使是不合理的利益）的减少，他则认为是不对的。于是社会上存在着种种因利益摩擦而发生的不满。可见，人们不从利益观念上有较大的转变，不破除平均主义和旧经济体制造成的利益刚性，不破除利益本位的各种利益攀比，不建立与社会主义商品经济相适应的新文化观念、新利益观念，改革再往前深入，阻力会越来越大，改革所遇到的困难也就会相应增加。只要我们了解了这一点，我们就可以得出以下三个论点：

第一，“改革”不仅是同有30年历史的旧经济体制发生冲突，而且是同有两三千年历史的旧文化、旧习惯势力发生冲突。改革当然是不容易的。

第二，改革无疑给人们带来了不少新的利益，但由于改革打破了（或准备打破）旧体制下的利益刚性，又使人们失去了某种原有的利益，所以，当人们只注意原有利益的失去而不注意新利益的增加时，改革遇到的阻力就加大了。

第三，利益刚性是不合理的，由利益刚性所带来的原有利益中有些不利于生产力的发展，这些都非改不可。我们的改革绝不能就此止步，不能因为怕触动这些不合理的利益刚性而止步，否则我们的生产力发展不起来，中国经济无法繁荣。

从历史的角度看，从我们同有两三千年历史的旧文化的冲突的角度看，10年只是历史长河中的一瞬间。10年改革所取得的成就是惊人的。历史将会对此作出公正的评价。

一旦新文化有了自己的强大的经济基础（社会主义商品经济体制和新型公有制），新文化必将取得胜利。社会主义经济改革的进展与社会主义新文化的建立将是同步的、不可遏制的。

四、中国的希望

刚才谈到了信心问题。我想，在座的各位一定和我有同样的感觉。

目前，中国的经济建设的确遇到了一些困难，什么通货膨胀啦，“官倒”、“私倒”啦，腐败现象啦，教育危机啦，等等等等。我们应当承认这些事实的存在。但是，埋怨，发牢骚，都无济于事。我们只有承认现实，理解改革过程中的困难和艰辛，找到问题之所在，才能知道为什么改革是不可逆转的，困难总可以在继续改革中得到解决。既然经济改革的对手不仅仅是30年的旧体制，而且也包括三千年的旧文化、旧传统、旧习惯势力，那么我们就可以了解到，如果大家只是埋怨、发牢骚、甚至泄气的话，旧体制不会自动瓦解，旧文化、旧传统、旧习惯势力也不会自行消失。这样一来，中国的前途不是更没有希望吗？

在国内，由于我一直在大学教书，课上课下，我接触到不少年轻人。譬如说，年龄大约三十多岁的这一代青年，他们不像50年代上大学的那一代人在参加工作前后有过一段理想主义的美好日子，也不像那一代人那样对旧文化统治的顽强性较晚才有所认识。这些年轻人在上中学或上大学时就以“破四旧”的名义参加了“文化大革命”。他们的悲剧在于：他们是被愚弄、被欺骗的一代，他们是在“名为破除旧文化，实为维护旧文化”的逆流中，不自觉地成为新文化的破坏者队伍中的一员的。迷信、盲从、无知、偏激，使他们在戴上红袖章、捧着小红书、唱着造反歌和手执棍棒、皮带到处冲杀时，还自认为是“五四”精神的忠实执行者。然而，他们很快就醒悟过来了。上山、下乡、失学、待业，这些使他们懂得了旧文化的危害，特别是对他们这一代人的危害。他们中的相当多的人成为1976年“天安门事件”的参加者和支持者。历史既是这样的无情，又是这样富有戏剧性，旧文化的蒙蔽对象转眼之间变成了最痛恨旧文化的一分子。但怎样建设新文化呢？怎样使新旧文化的长期战斗最终以新文化的胜利来结束呢？他们思考过这些问题，其中有些人现在也成为新文化建设的积极参加者。而从这一年龄的大多数人来看，由于他们在那些动荡的年代里失去了学习的机会，他们对于新文化建设，更多的是感情上的要求和期待，而不是就这个问题的深入的理论分析和探讨。但是有一点，他们同其他年龄档次的人是相同的，这就是：他们从亲身的经历中懂得了旧文化的退出和新文化的建设都是很不容易的。

又譬如说，比他们更年轻的一代人，即大约二十多岁，不到三十岁左右的人，情况又有所不同。一个22岁的大学毕业生，可能出生于“文化大革命”爆发的那一年。

一个30岁的讲师、助理研究员、工程师、博士生，在开始“文化大革命”的那一年，可能连小学还没有上，因为1966年，连小学都停课了，不招生了。“文化大革命”的印象，他们已经记不起了，或者他们根

本没有这种印象。他们是在“文化大革命”结束以后开始自己正规的学习生活的，他们的成长同中共十一届三中全会以来的正确的方针和政策有关。他们学到了新的知识，他们赶上了改革与开放的时代。他们是新文化的天生的追求者和向往者。同外界交往的频繁，对中国经济和技术落后的不安，校园生活中的学术探讨气氛，这一切使这一大批年轻的大学生、研究生、教师、科学研究者、技术人员成为新时代的新文化建设的积极分子。然而，他们自身具有不可忽视的局限性，因为他们太年轻了，他们对中国的现实社会状况了解得很不够，他们不了解旧文化势力的顽固和有力，误以为新文化的建设是那么顺利，那么容易。他们也许会认为，只要新文化一出现，旧文化自然就会退出历史舞台。这种把问题看得过分简单的想法，使他们又成了另一种意义上的理想主义者，只是这种理想主义与50年代的那些年轻人的理想主义有所不同：50年代的理想主义者以为摧毁旧文化的任务已由上一代基本完成，因此留给他们的任务将是新文化的建设；80年代的理想主义者虽然并不认为摧毁旧文化的任务已经基本完成，但他们却认为，在他们的积极参与之下，新文化将很快地战胜旧文化。不切实际的理想主义可能带来的是急躁和激动，以及在遭到挫折以后的悲观、失望。照理说，他们是幸运的一代，埋怨情绪应当比年龄大一些的人少，但实际上并非如此。为什么呢？这一方面是由于他们对改革事业的艰辛了解得太少，另一方面则由于单单靠他们的知识（他们是有知识的一代人）和他们的热情（他们不乏热情）并不足以战胜旧文化。在新文化的经济基础尚未建立之时，新文化是不会胜利的。

于是他们埋怨起来了。但埋怨又有什么用呢？他们失望了，失望能改变现状吗？信心始终重要，信心不能丢掉。改革再困难，我们也要硬着头皮干下去。我们算是豁出去了，我们与改革共命运。因此，在今天的讲演会前，我同单志明、区树鸿两位先生谈过。我说：“中国的希望在于我们大家对改革有信心，对新文化建设有信心。大家都没有信心，那么改革就真的没有希望了。”

我相信，我这么讲是有根据的。在座各位，不少人十多年前到过国内，不久前又故地重游。变化大不大？肯定可以看出巨大的变化。再过10年，变化还会大，这毫无疑问。我们大家，包括信心不足的人在内，要正确地认识世界经济形势和发展趋向，我们要正确地估计国情。10年来的变化是不小的。10年前，我们不可能公开讨论我们的落后和我们同世界其他国家的差距，我们不可能针对中国的经济问题畅所欲言地争辩，更重要的，那些不科学的最高指示成为惟一可以援引的解决中国经济问题的依据。因此，在阻碍中国经济发展的种种阻力之中，旧文化作

为不可忽视的阻力之一，在10年前达到了无以复加的地步。看到了这10年的变化，我想我们对于前景应该是有信心的。

五、科学与民主可以救中国

当我们看到中国经济至今仍然大大落后于世界上许多国家时，我们很自然地会想到这样一个问题：如果听任非科学、非民主的旧文化继续统治着我们，支配着我们的思想，那么我们也许仍然不了解自己的落后。这种觉醒不能不归功于最近10年来思想界、文化界、学术界的呐喊，也不能不归功于最近10年来我们同国外交往的增多和接触的频繁。现在，我们大家，至少国内的多数人，终于醒悟过来了。改革之所以成为不可阻挡的潮流，科学与民主思想的逐渐深入人心是一个重要的因素。我们完全有理由设想，如果说在社会主义商品经济条件下的新型公有制建立以前，缺乏相应经济基础的社会主义新文化由于相当弱小而不得不在同旧文化交锋时处于劣势地位的话，那么一旦建立了新型公有制，社会主义新文化有了自己的经济基础，社会主义新文化就不再是弱小的了，新文化在同旧文化的交锋时也就不再处于劣势了。社会主义商品经济条件下的新型公有制支持着社会主义新文化，而社会主义新文化也必将以全部力量来为新型公有制的巩固与发展服务。这种相互支持和相互促进的关系对今后中国经济的变化将产生重大的影响。在社会主义新文化的支持下，中国经济必定会进入一个新的历史阶段。

为什么社会主义新文化能够起着这样的作用？为什么中国经济的重大进展不可能没有社会主义新文化的支持？为什么新文化本身的发展和充实又不可能没有社会主义商品经济条件下的新型公有制作为自己的经济基础？对这些问题，可以作进一步的分析，这就涉及科学和民主的问题了。我们现在仍然强调科学与民主可以救中国，不仅仅着眼于科学与民主对经济发展的作用，更重要的是着眼于科学与民主在"人的现代化"、"人的解放"中的作用。大家不妨想想，如果我们的工人、农民能真正了解平均主义、"铁饭碗"、"大锅饭"、利益刚性和利益攀比对于经济的危害，以及对于自己长远利益的危害，改革的阻力是不是会大大缩小呢？如果我们的干部能真正了解只有彻底打破这种用行政命令的方式来领导经济的旧体制，中国经济才能起飞，干部及其家庭的收入水平才能在经济增长过程中同人民收入水平一样提高，而经济的管理才能更有效率，商品经济体制的建立和新公有制的建立是不是会大大加快呢？特别是，如果广大人民群众能在科学与民主的思想指导下，把自己真正当

成社会的主体，社会上的腐败现象是不是会大大减少呢？我想，我们是会得出肯定的答案的。

这就是新文化建设与经济改革、政治改革之间的不可分割的关系。在经济体制改革和政治体制改革取得成就的过程中，与新型公有制相适应的新文化建设一定能成为事实。

整个国民素质的提高需要有一个较长的过程。也许，只有等到我们的经济真正发达了，等到我们广大人民的收入水平大大提高了，生活真的富裕了，我们的文化、教育、科学、卫生事业才能获得充足的发展资金，才能真正得到全社会的重视，而我们的国民素质（包括文化素质、道德素质等）才能大为改善。这并不是过分强调经济的作用，而是根据世界各国经济与文化发展的历史经验而得出的结论。也许，只有到那时，中国传统文化的优秀成果才能真正被重视和发扬光大。要知道，一个民族的优秀文化成果是不会被丢掉的。既然它们是优秀的文化成果，那就经得起历史的筛选，经得起时间的考验。当前我们之所以还没有足够的经济力量来维护它，发扬它，不正是因为穷，因为人均国民收入太少，因为生产力落后么？也许，只有到那时，旧文化，尤其是“改装的旧文化”，尽管还有一定的市场，有一定的影响，但经济发展成就这一事实本身就是对“改装的旧文化”及其立足的基础——传统经济体制和传统公有制——的最好的反驳。如果说今天已有不少人对“改装的旧文化”深恶痛绝，对“改装的旧文化”所鼓吹的那一套非科学、非民主的东西从内心感到厌恶，那么这主要是出于理论上、思想上的认识，或者主要是从“改装的旧文化”支配下中国经济的贫穷落后所体验到的。但商品经济发展以后和新型公有制建立以后的中国经济究竟如何，人民收入和生活状况究竟如何，与那种以科学与民主为内容的新文化相适应的经济究竟会使中国社会产生什么样的新格局、新气象，这些仍然是设想中的，它们还不曾成为事实。而一旦这些成了事实，数以亿计的人民真正感受到商品经济发展、生产力发展、新型公有制建立给自己带来利益了，对这一切的认识也就大不一样。认识不再是空泛的、抽象的，而成为具体和实在的。这就会给人们一种信念、一种精神力量。那时，“改装的旧文化”即使再以娓娓动听的辞藻来蒙蔽人们，崇尚科学与民主的人们也不会再相信了。

六、企业家能做些什么

在国内，当我谈到经济改革与新文化建设问题时，有些企业家问我：“新文化建设是教育界、文化界、学术界的事情，一个企业家能为新文化建设做些什么呢？”他们不知道企业界在新文化建设中的作用，是别人不能代替的。我对他们说：要使新文化对旧文化取得胜利，光靠知识界的努力是不够的。只有当企业家和新公有制之下的工人、农民参加到新文化建设中来，为商品经济的发展作出贡献，并在商品经济发展过程中共同摒弃传统文化、旧习惯势力的时候，新文化才能真正在中国的土地上生根。

综合起来说，企业家不仅在经济改革中为新文化建设而尽力，而且他们本身也在建设企业文化，即新文化的一种形态。这里特别需要说的是企业文化的建设问题。

企业文化是企业的一种文化观念和价值准则，是企业职工的信念和凝聚力的体现。如果企业仍然停留于行政机构附属物的地位，企业没有自己的独立利益，职工的利益与企业的经营状况缺乏联系，那就不可能形成企业文化。因此，企业的自主经营和自负盈亏、职工与企业利益的一致，就是企业文化建设的内部经济条件。企业文化的建设也有赖于企业的外部经济条件，即企业应当处于竞争性的商品市场环境中。假定社会主义商品经济没有发展，企业同外界的经济关系不是通过竞争来实现的，企业的交易活动全都由指令性的计划所规定，企业只不过是一个加工车间，那么企业也就无法使职工树立以效益、竞争、风险等观念为中心的价值准则，职工与企业之间也就缺乏一种患难与共、利益均沾的适应关系存在的基础，这样，企业文化的建设必定是一句空话。

因此，企业文化的建设过程中，从经济上说最为重要的，一是企业自身的改革，即企业从传统的政企不分的公有制企业，转变为具有独立商品生产者地位的新型公有制企业，从内部解决企业与职工的适应问题；二是企业环境的改革，即企业所处的经济环境应当是竞争性的、交易活动公开化和合约化的环境，市场既给企业以机会，又给企业以压力，从而企业得以在这样的环境中重新调整自己与全体职工之间的利益关系，建立彼此适应的关系。这两个条件都表明，社会主义的企业文化是社会主义经济改革的产物，是社会主义商品经济发展以及建立了社会主义商品经济条件下的新型公有制的结果。

从文化上看，由于企业文化是新文化的重要组成部分，企业文化不可能脱离新文化而孤立地存在，因此要理解社会主义企业文化的产生条件，必须把新文化作为企业文化的整个文化背景来考察。社会主义新文化以科学与民主为特色。对人的重视、对人的关心和培养是新文化区别

于旧文化的重要特征。就现代企业的经营与管理来说，如果忽视了人在企业中的地位，忽视了人的主动精神、积极进取精神、创造精神，那么企业文化也就无从谈起。然而，企业只是社会的一个微观经济单位，企业与职工的关系、企业中的人际关系是社会中的人与人之间的关系的一个缩影。企业中的人与人的交往是不可能脱离社会这个大环境而实现的。假定整个社会被旧文化所支配，假定作为旧文化的核心的非科学、非民主的思想仍然统治着社会，假定用利益原则来处理企业内部人际关系等做法仍然受到一些人的非议，那么也就谈不上企业文化的建设与发展。

具体说来，企业文化建设将从以下这些方面推动经济发展：

第一，企业文化的建设在某个具体的企业中取得了成绩，必然会对其他企业起着示范作用。其他企业会考虑这样一些问题：为什么在那个企业中出现了新的人际关系，职工与企业之间的关系会变得如此适应，经济效益会有如此显著的提高？在那个企业中能够实现的，为什么在自己这里还不可能实现？企业文化建设方面的差距是否反映了企业本身在体制改革方面的差距？于是这些企业将由此寻找差距存在的原因，并在社会经济等方面探索加速改革的途径。这种示范效应不仅会在企业领导人中间产生，而且也会在企业职工之间产生。而一旦其他企业的领导人和职工们都感到了加速体制改革的必要性和建设企业文化的必要性，企业体制改革的进程和企业文化建设的进程都会加快。

第二，企业文化的建设在某个具体的企业中取得成绩所给予政府部门的影响，同样是不可低估的。政府无非是从企业收入的增加和政府从企业所得到的收入的增加，从企业产品受到社会的欢迎和社会供求矛盾的趋于缓和，以及企业职工情绪的稳定、职工积极性的增加等方面来考察企业文化建设的效果。由此，政府部门将会对这些企业在企业文化建设方面所作出的成绩感兴趣，愿意总结经验，进行推广。只要政府部门认识到有这些需要，它就会进一步考虑这些企业取得成绩的原因，并把这些企业同另一些企业进行比较：为什么这些企业在企业文化建设中能够取得成绩而另一些企业做不到这些？是不是这些企业在体制改革中有某些重大的进展，才使它们具备发展企业文化的条件？政府部门将不再局限于总结这些企业取得成绩的经验，而必然会以此作为例证来推动其他企业的体制改革。

个别企业取得成绩，对政府部门来说固然是重要的，但对政府来说更重要的是推广这种经验，让更多的企业通过体制改革而取得同样的成绩。这样，个别企业的企业文化建设成就必定会推进整个企业体制改革

的进程。政府部门的这种作用是个别企业所无法替代的。

第三，企业文化的建设在某个具体的企业中取得了成绩，从文化的角度来看，其影响绝不会仅限于企业本身或仅限于本企业职工及其家属这一较小的范围。这就是说，以某个有成就、有影响力的企业的“企业精神”体现出来的企业文化，会对社会文化中的旧传统产生冲击。比如说，当社会上还流行着平均主义的分配思想的时候，如果某一个企业大胆地进行了分配制度的改革，破除了平均主义的分配方式，实行按有效劳动分配或按效益分配，那就很可能在社会上引起震动，使社会上那些有平均主义分配思想的人先是惊讶，然后通过企业效益增长和职工收入普遍上升的事实的教育而逐渐明白了道理。又如，假定与旧文化紧密联系的等级观念至今仍有相当大的影响，那么一旦某个企业进行了改革，并在企业文化建设过程中建立了新的人际关系，破坏了传统的等级制度和等级观念，那么这也将引起社会的震动，这种震动最终必将冲击社会上存在的等级观念，从而推动着新文化的传播。尽管企业文化建设的成就对社会文化和价值观念的影响是无形的，但这种无形的影响是绝不能低估的。

（1989年1月12日在香港中华出入口商会的演讲）

Laying a solid foundation for new culture (1989)

The topic of my speech today is the relationship between economic reform, new public ownership and a new culture. In my opinion, when we clarify the relationship between these three things, we will gain a better idea about the significance of and prospects for the economic reform that has been going on in our country for a whole decade, and find it a lot easier to understand the trials and tribulations our nation has gone through in the course of it.

I. The study of people

In studying economic issues we are obliged to face certain questions. What is the purpose of growing the economy? For whom do we provide products, labor, and service? Why should we turn out more and more products and provide more and more labor and service? These questions boil down to one: What is the purpose of production? Common sense tells us that production *per se* is not the purpose. Human beings do not live in the world merely as laborers. People do not come into this world to serve production – it is production that serves people. The purpose of production is for people to be better cared for and better educated. It defeats the purpose of production if we concentrate single-mindedly on offering more products while our standard of living and cultural and educational attainments remain the same, and if our people are not duly respected and cannot live up to their potentials.

Based on this plain and simple line of reasoning, we may define economics this way: Economics should not be limited to learning how to increase material wealth, but more importantly, it should study how to use the wealth created by people to meet their needs in their material and cultural lives. The highest level, or focus, of economic research is not material products, but people.

Based on this plain and simple line of reasoning, we can understand the

meaning of the ongoing economic reform. Economic reform serves not merely to put the Chinese in possession of more products. More importantly, it is designed for them to achieve affluence and better cultural and educational endowment, and to be looked after, educated and respected as society's masters. From this perspective, it is clearly inadequate to argue for economic reform simply for the sake of economic reform.

We must admit that in meeting people's material and cultural needs and in facilitating all-round human development, there is a yawning gap between reality and ideal. Therefore, we have to accelerate reform – economic, political, and institutional reforms included – and cultivate a new culture. I believe that not only will our per capita national income grow nonstop with rising labor productivity, but our civic character will also improve vastly with what has been accomplished in growing the economy and cultivating the new culture, so long as we can ensure essential progress in reform and development, motivate our workforce unswervingly, and give full scope to the wisdom and talent of our people. Reform is exactly where China's hope rests.

II. New culture holds people in due esteem

Prior to the liberation year of 1949, an old culture, in which people's position and role were disdained, dominated this nation for understandable reasons. But how is it that the old culture remains so powerful after 1949? It is because it has carved out a new form of existence under a new situation and in a new economic environment.

It goes without saying there is a certain correlation between the old cultures before and after 1949. The old culture is anti-scientific and antidemocratic, whereas science and democracy are salient features of the new culture. Our predecessors had studied this a long time ago. Today, it should be recapitulated further on the basis of previous studies. The old culture is centered on divinity, whereas the new culture is focused on people. The old culture emphasizes power, whereas the new culture stresses knowledge. Because of its emphasis on power, old culture is based on the official standard; for its stress on knowledge, new culture inevitably takes people and science as its starting point. Superstition is the shared attribute of pre- and post-1949 old cultures, which never hold people in center stage. In

the old culture, power is worshipped religiously and pursued relentlessly, and science, knowledge, and people are never respected. The reason why the old culture of yesterday lingers on and a new form of the old culture came to the scene after 1949 is precisely because of the old culture's intricate foundation in the Chinese economy of yore and its deep roots in feudalism. That is to say, because the pre-1949 old culture escaped elimination, the post-1949 old culture has been allowed to rear its ugly head. If we call the pre-1949 old culture "standard old culture" and the post-1949 old culture "remodeled old culture," what existed from the 1950s through the 1980s were two kinds of old culture, the "standard old culture" and the "remodeled old culture," and the period from the late 1960s through the mid-1970s was one in which the two old cultures apparently got mixed. The "remodeled old culture" has been weakened considerably since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Party Central Committee in 1979, but this has not happened to the "standard old culture." In fact, it has reappeared in such forms as construction sprees of temples and lavish tombs and the spread of wasteful weddings and funerals. This indicates that, on the one hand, the independent old culture won't beat a retreat anytime soon even with progress in economic restructuring and reform, and, on the other, once the old culture infiltrates lifestyles and habits, it becomes pegged to people's economic abilities. When people are having trouble making ends meet, there is little they can do even if they truly desire to build temples and lavish tombs or indulge in pomp and pageantry. Of course I am not saying they won't get these things done by falling into debt. Generally speaking, people become thrifty when they are hard up, but when they are better off, the "standard old culture" will penetrate their daily life and spread among them in no time.

Obviously, we can never eradicate the old culture, not even the "standard old culture," by raising people's income alone. The old culture totally denies people's status as masters of society and is steeped in benightedness and blind obedience. It can be rooted up and give way to new culture only by developing both the economy and education and raising people's scientific and cultural endowment. The kind of education I am talking about here is not simply the imparting of knowledge and expertise but, more importantly, the cardinal mission of "modernizing people."

Make no question about it, without the "modernization of people" there will be no modernization of society, the economy, or science and technology.

Without the "emancipation of people" there will be no emancipation of productivity. New culture is connected with "modernization of people" and "emancipation of people." Only by grasping this point can we capture the profound meaning of the cultivation of a new culture.

III. The foundation of a new culture

Why is the old culture so powerful and the new culture so weak in China? Because the new culture has yet to build up its own economic base. The pre-1949 old culture was based on an old economic system, but, during the period from the late 1950s to the eve of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Party Central Committee, another form of old culture, the "remodeled old culture," found its foundation in the ossified commodity economy and the traditional form of public ownership which confounded government administration with business management, made officials act like businesspeople, dampened producers' enthusiasm for production, and robbed the new culture of its corresponding economic foundation. The landmark significance of the Third Plenary Session lies in the fact that it unshackled people from long years of "Leftist" ideology, emancipated their minds, and pointed out the way for building a socialist system conducive to productivity development. After that meeting, we have not only transformed the old economic system into a new one, but also repudiated old culture, the "remodeled old culture" included, and built a socialist new culture. The socialist new culture has found its foundation in a planned socialist commodity economy that embraces a new type of public ownership whereby government administration is detached from everyday business management, officials no longer act like businesspeople, and producers are highly motivated.

Only by observing the mission for economic reform alongside the building of the socialist new culture can we fully comprehend the greatness of what our nation has been doing over the last decade and understand the adversities and trials involved in the cause of reform. It is hard to replace an old economic system with a new one, but it is even harder to replace an old culture with a new culture. Reform entails readjusting interests. Old culture and old habits hold sway over people's outlook on personal interests, labor productivity, education, and way of life, while the old economic system spawns egalitarianism and rigidity in such assertions of interests as wages,

employment, and welfare. Reform is bound to touch upon everybody's established interests. If four of someone's five established interests have improved, he may still have complaints about the one interest that has suffered and go on to blame it on reform, because he takes the improvement in his established interests for granted and believes that something must have gone wrong if one of his interests has been impaired even if such an interest is unwarranted. The result is that society abounds with complaints that stem from all sorts of conflicts of interests. It is thus apparent that without correcting people's outlooks on their interests, without loosening the rigidity of interests caused by egalitarianism and the old economic system, without breaking the bandwagon mentality concerning interests based on tradition, and without fostering new concepts of culture and interests, the road ahead for reform will bristle with impediments. If we have fully accepted this point, we can arrive at three conclusions:

First, "reform" contravenes not only a 30-year-old economic system but also three millennia of outdated culture and habits. Therefore, reform can never be a simple undertaking.

Second, reform has brought a lot of new interests to people, no question about it, but because it has broken or is ready to break the rigidity of interests under the old system, it has also deprived people of certain established interests. Thus reform is confronted with more impediments as people, oblivious to the new interests they have gained, are having misgivings about their lost established interests.

Third, rigidity in interests is uncalled-for, and some of the es-tablished interests born of such rigidity are detrimental to productivity growth. Both should be rectified, and reform should never be reined in because of it. We cannot afford to give up reform midway for fear of an unjustified rigidity in interests. Otherwise, our effort to develop productivity will be thwarted, and our hope for a prosperous economy dashed.

From a historical point of view, and from the perspective of our confrontation with the two- or three-millennium-old outmoded culture, ten years are just a twinkling of the eye. But what has been achieved in reform over those years has been breathtaking. History will pass a fair and honest judgment on it.

The new culture is bound to prevail once it acquires a sturdy economic foundation, that is, a socialist commodity economy and a new type of public ownership. The inexorable pace of socialist economic reform alongside the socialist new culture is unstoppable.

IV. The hope of China

I have just dwelled on the issue of confidence. I believe every-one present in this auditorium feels the same. True, the national economy has hit some snags – inflation, "official" and "nonofficial" smuggling, corruption, education crisis, and whatnot. We should admit these facts. Whining and griping gets us nowhere. Only by accepting the reality, knowing the challenges and hardships of reform, and getting to the root of the problems, can we understand why reform is irreversible and why problems can be redressed in the course of reform. Given that economic reform is challenged by the 30-year-old system plus three millennia of old culture, traditions and habits, we know that the old system will not crumble on its own and the old culture, traditions, and habits cannot vanish overnight. Nevertheless, we must recognize that our nation will be doomed if we lose heart and allow ourselves to descend into complaint and despair.

My career as a university teacher on the mainland has brought me in contact with members of the younger generations in and out of class. Take, for example, the young people in their thirties today. Unlike the college students of the 1950s, who had wallowed in idealism for a period of time before and after they started work, and who were somewhat belated in their awakening to the stubbornness of the prevailing old culture, these 30-somethings had taken part in the Cultural Revolution in the name of "casting away the Four Olds" – old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits – during their middle-school or college days. Their tragedy is that in the adverse current of "annihilating old culture in name and maintaining old culture in practice," they had inadvertently become new culture's saboteurs. Superstition, blind faith, ignorance, and extremism had driven them to put on red armbands and hold aloft the Little Red Book – Quotations of Mao Zedong. When they sang the Song of Rebels and came to blows, wielding cudgels and belts, they saw themselves as faithful enforcers of the May Fourth Movement spirit[1]. However, it did not take long for them to come to their senses. "Re-education" in the countryside, loss of schooling

opportunities, and joblessness eventually drove home to them the harms done by the old culture, especially to themselves. A considerable number of them were participants in or supporters of the Tian'anmen Incident of 1976[2]. History is at once merciless and dramatic. All of a sudden, those hoodwinked by the old culture became its intransigent foes. Their minds were racing. How should the new culture be fostered? How could the new culture prevail in its long-term combat against the old? Having mulled over these questions, some of them ardently joined the cause of fostering the new culture. However, as the majority of the people in their thirties today lost their schooling opportunities in the decade-long chaos, their attitude toward the new culture being fostered nowadays is based more on personal demands and expectations than on in-depth theoretical analyses and explorations. Nevertheless, there is one thing they share with people of other age groups, that is, they know from personal experience that it is no mean task to phase out the old culture and phase in the new culture.

The situation with the 20-somethings of today is somewhat different in comparison with the 30-somethings. A 22-year-old college graduate may have been born in 1966, the year the Cultural Revolution broke out.

A 30-year-old lecturer, assistant researcher, engineer, or PhD candidate may have missed primary school because all manner of schools were closed and stopped enrolment in 1966. They have just a faint memory of the Cultural Revolution, or no memory of it at all. They started school in the wake of the Cultural Revolution, and their development has been associated with the sensible policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Party Central Committee. They have learned new knowledge, and have been fortunate to live in the reform and opening years. They are the new culture's born pursuers and aspirants. Frequent contacts with the outside world, and concerns about China's economic and technological underdevelopment, have combined with the on-campus academic atmosphere to convert this generation of undergraduates and graduate students, teachers, researchers, technicians and engineers into spirited builders of the new culture. Undeniably, however, they are not without their limits. Because they are too young to adequately understand the reality of Chinese society, they know little about the stubbornness and strength of the old culture, and tend to believe that the building of a new culture will be nothing but smooth sailing. They probably believe the old culture will step down the moment the new

culture goes onstage. This oversimplified way of thinking turns them into a different type of idealists from the youngsters of the 1950s. The idealists of the 1950s believed their task was to build the new culture now that the older generation had basically fulfilled the mission to destroy the old culture. The idealists of the 1980s may not believe this mission has been basically accomplished, but they are convinced that, with their active participation, it will not take long for the new culture to triumph over the old. Unrealistic idealism is likely to fuel impetuosity, agitation, and, in time of setbacks, pessimism, and despair. Logically speaking, as a blessed generation, the 20-somethings of today should be less prone to dark moods than people a little older. In reality, however, that is not true. Why? It is partly because of their scanty knowledge of the trauma involved in the cause of reform and partly because they cannot beat the old culture merely with knowledge (they are a generation of knowledge) and passion (which they certainly do not lack). The new culture cannot succeed before it builds up its own economic base.

Thus they start whining and griping. But what good can complaining do? They are disappointed, but can disappointment change things? Confidence, as always, is of vital importance, and therefore, we should never lose heart. No matter how difficult reform is, we have got to brace ourselves and stick it out. We are ready to take chances no matter what. Our fate is bound up with reform. That is why I told my Hong Kong hosts just before this meeting, "The hope of China lies in our confidence in reform and in building the new culture. If everybody has lost heart, reform will be doomed."

I believe I made that remark for a reason. Many of you sitting in this auditorium have been to the mainland more than a decade ago and have returned there for visits recently. Did you see big changes out there? Of course you saw colossal changes. The changes will become even bigger ten years from now, no question about it. Every one of us, those who are not confident enough included, must see the world economic situation and future trend in perspective, and put our home situation into perspective too. The changes that have taken place over the last decade are by no means small. Ten years ago, it was impossible for us to talk openly about our backwardness and the gap between China and other countries. We would not have been able to speak our minds about our country's economic issues. More importantly, those unscientific "supreme directives" would have remained the

only theoretical support for solutions to those issues. Therefore, of all the impediments to Chinese economic development, the old culture must never be disregarded. Never had its impact been so ferocious as it was a decade ago. Having seen the changes over the last decade, I believe we should remain firmly optimistic about our future.

V. Science and democracy can save China

When we see that the Chinese economy today is still trailing a long way behind many other economies in the world, an idea naturally comes to mind. Had we allowed the anti-scientific, anti-democratic old culture to prevail and manipulate our thoughts, we would have lost sight of how underdeveloped we were. We cannot but owe this awakening to the outcry of the ideological, cultural, and academic circles, and to our growing exchanges and connections with other nations. Today, everybody, or at least most of us, have come to our senses. A major reason why reform is an irresistible trend is because ideas of science and democracy have been gradually engrained in people's hearts. We have every reason to believe that if the socialist new culture, for lack of a corresponding economic foundation, is too weak to compete with the old culture prior to the birth of a new type of public ownership, it will no longer be weak and at a disadvantage in competing with the old culture once the new type of ownership comes to stay and the economic foundation becomes an reality. The new type of public ownership under conditions of a socialist commodity economy will support the socialist new culture, which, for its part, is inevitably conducive to the consolidation of such ownership. This relationship of mutual support and promotion will have a major impact on future changes in the Chinese economy. With the support of the socialist new culture, the Chinese economy will enter a new period of historical development.

How is it that the socialist new culture can play such a role? Why is it that the Chinese economy cannot score major progress without the support of the socialist new culture? Why cannot the new culture grow on its own and be consolidated without its economic foundation in the socialist commodity economy under the new type of public ownership? In-depth analysis of these questions will touch upon the issue of science and democracy. We emphasize that science and democracy can save China not just because of their role in economic development, but more importantly, because of their role in

modernizing and emancipating people. If our workers and farmers can truly understand the damage caused to the economy and our own long-term interests by egalitarianism, life-long tenures, the egalitarian practice of everyone eating from the same big pot regardless of work done, rigidity in interests and the bandwagon mentality concerning interests, will the impediments to reform not be minimized? If our government functionaries can truly see that only by shattering the old system that put the economy at the mercy of administrative directives can the Chinese economy take off and the income of government functionaries and their families grow in pace with the income of the rank-and-file in the course of economic growth, will the commodity economy and the new form of public ownership not be built a lot faster? If, more than anything, the broad masses of people truly regard themselves as the masters of society under the ideological guidance of science and democracy, will corruption not be considerably reduced? As I see it, all these questions can be answered

in the positive. Herein lies the inseparable bond between the building of a new culture and economic and political reform. In the course of fruitful economic and political reform, a new culture commensurate with the new type of public ownership can definitely be translated into reality.

It takes a considerably lengthy process to raise the quality of the entire citizenry. Perhaps only after our economy has become truly well developed, our people's income has risen vastly, and our lives have become really affluent, can our culture, education, science and public health be provided with enough development funds and cherished by the entire public, and our national character – cultural, moral, etc. – be considerably improved. We are not here to overestimate the role of the economy. Rather, this conclusion is based on the historical experience of countries in economic and cultural development. Perhaps a well developed economy is the only way for the fine accomplishments of traditional culture to be truly cherished and carried forward. We have come to realize that on no account should a nation lose its fine cultural achievements. Outstanding cultural attainments should stand the sifting of history and the test of time. Is it not because of poverty, low per capita national income, and underdeveloped productivity that we do not have enough economic resources to maintain and carry forward our finest cultural accomplishments? Perhaps only when achievements in economic development have become an established fact can they become the best

rebuff to the "remodeled old culture" and its foundation, the traditional economic system, and traditional public ownership. If we can say that many people today hate the "remodeled old culture" from the bottom of their hearts and are utterly disgusted by the anti-scientific and anti-democratic arguments advocated by it, such hatred and disgust are based mostly on theoretical and ideological understanding, or are felt mainly from their experience with the poor and backward Chinese economy manipulated by the "remodeled old culture." As to the questions of what will become of the Chinese economy after the commodity economy is developed and the new type of public ownership established, what will become of the people's income and livelihood, and what new social pattern and atmosphere can the economy bring once it becomes commensurate with the scientifically and democratically based new culture, our answers today are more imaginative than factual. However, once all this has become reality, a reality in which the benefits of economic growth, productivity development, and brand-new public ownership can be keenly felt by hundreds of millions of Chinese, our answers will no longer be empty or abstract. Rather, they will become concrete and solid, and bestow faith and spiritual strength on people. By that time, those who cherish science and democracy will no longer believe in the "remodeled old culture" no matter what high-sounding rhetoric it may employ.

VI. What entrepreneurs can do

Once, during a conversation on economic reform and the building of a new culture in the mainland, an entrepreneur asked me: "The building of a new culture is the task of the educational, cultural, and academic circles. What can a businessman do for it?" What the man did not know is that entrepreneurs have an irreplaceable part to play in building the new culture. I told him that new culture can never prevail over old culture by relying on intellectuals alone. The new culture can strike root in the Chinese soil only when entrepreneurs join workers and farmers under the new public ownership in contributing to the growth of the commodity economy and repudiating outdated traditions, culture, and habits in the course of it.

Generally speaking, our entrepreneurs today are not only doing their best to foster the new culture during the years of economic reform, but are also fostering a corporate culture. Given that corporate culture is a branch of

new culture, let me talk at some length about how to foster it.

Corporate culture is the cultural concept and values of a company, and an embodiment of the collective faith and cohesion of its workforce. There will be no corporate culture to speak of if a firm remains a government appendage and has no independent interests, and if its workers' interests are irrelevant to its business performance. For this reason, company autonomy in business activity and company responsibility for gains and losses, combined with the unanimity of interest between the company and its workers are necessary internal economic conditions for corporate culture. Whether such a culture can be fostered also depends on the company's external economic conditions – meaning that at least it should find itself in a competitive commodity market. If no headway has been made in developing the socialist commodity economy, if a company fails to foster economic ties with the outside world through competition, and if its business deals are entirely controlled by a mandatory plan and the firm serves merely as a processing workshop, it will have no way of fostering, among its workers, the norms of conduct and values centered on efficiency, competition, risks and other concepts, and its relationship with its workers will be deprived of a foundation upon which risks and interests are shared. The building of corporate culture becomes empty talk under these circumstances.

Corporate culture cannot be built in the absence of two pivotal economic conditions. The first is corporate transformation, meaning that companies must be converted from the old type of public ownership in which government interferes in business management, and become a new type of public companies that are independent commodity producers, so that they and their workers can be internally adapted to the requirements of corporate culture. The second is transformation of the corporate environment, which means companies must be given a competitive economic environment in which transactions are conducted openly and contractually, and which provides both opportunities and pressure for them to readjust their relations of interest with their workers and foster a new and congenial relationship between themselves. Both conditions indicate that the socialist corporate culture is an outcome of socialist economic reform and a fruit of the endeavor to develop the socialist commodity economy and establish the new type public ownership under such an economy.

Corporate culture, being a major component of the new culture, cannot be detached from it to stand alone. Therefore, to understand the conditions that the socialist corporate culture cannot do without, we must study the new culture as the cultural background of corporate culture. Science and democracy are salient features of the socialist new culture. Holding people in great esteem, being solicitous for and cultivating them are attributes of the new culture that distinguish it from the old. Corporate culture is out of the question if, in its business activity and management, a modern company turns a blind eye to its people's corporate position, initiative, enterprising spirit and creativity. Nevertheless, businesses are, after all, microeconomic agents of society, and the relationship between a business and its workers, and the interpersonal relations of the workforce are microcosms of society's interpersonal relations. Exchanges between people cannot happen in companies without a social atmosphere. Corporate culture can never be fostered or developed either, if society is still manipulated by the old culture, if anti-scientific, anti-democratic ideas that form the core of the old culture still hold sway, and if the practice of handling interpersonal relationships inside a firm in line with the interest principle is still being scorned.

In comparison with economic reform, it is a lot more difficult to transform the cultural sphere and allow the new culture to prevail. I am not saying economic reform can be free from obstacles and setbacks. Progress in establishing the new type of public ownership, for instance, is not smooth precisely because of a variety of impediments and difficulties in its way, not to mention the fact that the birth of this type of ownership calls for the repudiation of outdated values and the fostering of modern values, and involves revamping the relationships between company and government and between company and worker – in the latter relationship, workers are not nominal but actual owners. However, it is relatively easy to convince people of the fruitfulness of economic reform, as long as some progress has been made in developing the socialist commodity economy and fostering the new type of public ownership, and as long as economic efficiency has been improved and people's income raised. When such achievements become established facts, anyone wanting to gainsay the socialist commodity economy and the new public ownership will risk offending the masses of people who are beneficiaries of economic reform. By contrast, it is unrealistic to hope that a new culture – corporate culture included – will draw the same

popular support. To build a new culture means to uproot outdated values, where the foothold of old culture is strong, and impediments come not only from society but also from people themselves. Although the positive results of corporate culture are apparent in a company's improved economic returns, people may still attribute them to economic reform rather than to cultural development. Furthermore, new concepts of employment, new principles for rewarding labor, new welfare standards, new interpersonal relationships, new consumer attitude, and new investment psychology are – because of their striking difference from old conventions – most likely to disconcert those deeply influenced by the old culture. Disharmony of this kind exists within and without any company. A clear message here is that cultural progress tends to encounter more obstacles than economic reform, and thus calls for more strenuous efforts.

Specifically, fostering corporate culture will promote economic growth in at least three ways.

Firstly, any firm that has come a long way in fostering its cor-porate culture invariably becomes a pacesetter for counterparts and gives them food for thought: How is that company able to cultivate an interpersonal relationship based on camaraderie among workers and mutual trust between workers and managers? How is that company capable of raising its economic efficiency so dramatically? Why can't we do what that company is capable of doing? Does the discrepancy between companies in fostering corporate culture reflect their discrepancy in institutional reform? While searching for answers to these questions, companies will set about exploring ways and means to speed up their own transformation. The pacesetter's diffusing impact will be spread to managers and workers. Once these people have seen the need for it, their institutional reform and their effort to build their own corporate culture will naturally pick up speed.

Secondly, the impact on the government of what a company has achieved in fostering corporate culture cannot be underestimated either. The government judges a firm's accomplishments in fostering corporate culture by searching for signs of improvements, such as whether corporate income and government revenue have increased simultaneously, whether its products are popular or not with the public, whether the strain on supply and demand has been eased, and whether the workers are happy with their jobs and motivated.

If the government is impressed by what the firm has accomplished in fostering corporate culture, it will willingly summarize and disseminate the firm's experience. When and where necessary, the government will go on to study the causes behind that firm's accomplishments and, by comparing it with other firms, try to answer the question of why that firm can foster its corporate culture but the others cannot. Isn't it because that firm is successful in corporate institutional reform in the first place? If the government does not want to stop at merely summarizing that firm's success and experience, it will set the firm up as a model

to advance institutional reform in other firms. The importance of the progress made by that firm will not be lost on the government, but it is more important for the government to disseminate its experience and encourage more firms to follow suit in corporate institutional reform. Only thus can a few firms' success in cultural cultivation be used to drive the corporate institutional reform as a whole. This role of government cannot be replaced by individual firms.

Thirdly, from a cultural point of view, the impact of a company's success in fostering corporate culture is by no means limited to the company itself, its workers, and their families. In other words, the "corporate spirit" that embodies the corporate culture of a successful and influential company can shake old cultural traditions to the core. For instance, a company can send shockwaves through a system where egalitarianism still holds sway by boldly replacing absolute equality with a system whereby income is distributed according to effective work done or economic efficiency. Initially, those who believe in egalitarianism will be taken aback, but then they will gradually come to their senses. The established facts – such as the company's improved economic efficiency and workers' pay rises – will eventually change their attitude. By the same token, a company can also shock the public with a new interpersonal relationship that eschews traditional hierarchy and the established pecking order in the course of overhauling business management and fostering corporate culture. Such a shockwave will spill over the remnant influence of the hierarchical concept in society and further disseminate the new culture. The impact of the achievements in fostering corporate culture on social culture and values may be intangible, but should never be underestimated.

— A speech to Hong Kong Chinese Importers' and Exporters' Association on January 1, 1989

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[1] Narrowly speaking, the May Fourth Movement refers to the Chinese student demonstrations in Beijing on May 4, 1919, in protest against the government's yielding to the pressure of Western countries in signing the Treaty of Versailles. These demonstrations sparked national debates on why China was economically and politically weak and the role of traditional Chinese culture. The movement triggered the New Culture Movement of 1915-1921, in which intellectuals criticized Confucianism and advocated Western-style liberty, democracy and science. The May Fourth Movement Spirit is anti-tradition, anti-feudalism, and pro-new culture. (*Translator*)

[2] The Tian'anmen Incident of 1976 took place in Beijing on April 5, 1976, when thousands of citizens gathered at Tian'anmen Square to honor the memory of the late Premier Zhou Enlai, and voice their burning indignation against the Gang of Four. (*Translator*)

文化经济学的探索 (1990)

一、关于文化艺术品的特殊性质

文化经济学所要考察的不是文化艺术品的生产过程本身，而是与文化艺术品的生产和再生产有关的各种经济问题。这样就不可能不涉及文化艺术品的性质。从经济学的角度来考察，文化艺术品大致上可以划分为两类：一类是可以用物化形态表现出来的，如音像制品、美术作品、书刊等；另一类是精神服务产品，也就是文化艺术部门和单位为社会提供的劳务，如表演艺术等。文化艺术品的生产与物质资料的生产相比，其特殊性反映于它们更具有个体性和创造性。当然，这种分类方法和对于文化艺术品的特殊性质的表述并无不妥之处，但如果再深入地推敲一下，也许我们会感觉到文化经济学中关于这一问题的研究的真正困难所在。

比如说，一个小说家或戏剧作家，他为社会创作了一部小说或一部戏剧，但具体地以物化形态表现出来的，首先是一部书稿，而不是一部现成的书。这个书稿首先需要被出版社或杂志社的编辑所承认，被他们接受，然后才由出版社或杂志社付印成书刊，在市场上销售。因此，我们在市场上所看到的以物化形态表现出来的文化艺术品，是指“集体”的产品而言，而这里所说的“集体”不仅包括作家本人，而且包括编辑人员、印刷工人等等。由此可见，如果把文化艺术品视为商品，把文化艺术品的供给与需求关系当做市场关系来看待的话，那么这里实际上存在两个“交易”过程：一是作家同出版社、杂志社之间的“交易”；二是出版社、杂志社同购买书刊的人（包括读者和书刊中间商）之间的“交易”。在前一个“交易”过程中，文化艺术品并不是一般意义上的商品，而是特殊意义的商品。这种“交易”既不同于物质资料生产过程中的原材料交易，也不同于现代加工企业对家庭手工业者或农副产品生产者的产品收购。不能不认为这是文化艺术产品的特殊性之一。

再以劳务的提供来说，文化艺术工作者提供的劳务同样地要比一般的劳务部门或劳务供给者提供的劳务复杂得多。不妨举一个例子：假定文化艺术工作者都像街头艺人那样直接面对观众，以表演艺术取得报酬，那么问题显然比较简单，即一方是劳务供给者，另一方则是劳务需求者，“交易”就在供求双方之间进行。但这不是文化艺术工作者当前提供劳务的主要方式。在目前的条件下，文化艺术工作者提供的劳务有可能采取下述形式，即类似于作家提供书稿给出版社，再由出版社销售书籍；一个演员、歌唱家或舞蹈家先受聘于演出团体或同演出单位订立合同，由演出团体或单位组织歌唱会或舞蹈表演，取得票房收入，然后付出一定的报酬给表演者，但在这里，文化艺术产品的“交易”只有一次，而不是两次。这就是说，只有在表演者面对观众时，他才提供了劳务，而在他受聘于演出团体或同演出单位订立合同时，并未提供具有商品性质的劳务，演出团体或单位是根据表演者以前的表演经历或根据考核而聘任他或同他订立合同的。然而，即使这样的劳务“交易”，也不同于一般劳务的交易，这是因为，文化艺术产品（表演艺术劳务）的购买者是所有的观众，而不是某一个买主，而供给者实际上也是一个“集体”，尽管某个主要的表演者（歌手或舞蹈家）在这个“集体”中可能起着最重要的作用。这也可以被看成是文化艺术产品的又一个特殊性。

以上，无论是从两个“交易”过程的角度还是从一个“交易”过程的角度，都可以了解到文化艺术晶作为一种商品是具有自己的特殊性质的。但问题还不仅限于此。让我们再从文化艺术晶的使用价值的社会评价方面来进行探讨。

二、关于文化艺术品使用价值的社会评价

一谈到商品使用价值的社会评价，问题必然转入了规范经济学的领域。要知道，在物质生产领域内，一件商品的使用价值本身，并不具有伦理的性质。鸦片、吗啡作为商品，由于能够满足人的某种需要，所以它们就具有使用价值：既可以在医药工业中使用它们，也有可能被吸毒者所购买。对鸦片、吗啡之类商品的生产、销售和使用之所以要实行严格的管制措施，正因为它们有可能成为毒害社会、毒害人们的商品。同样的道理也适用于武器和某些化学制品（如氰化物）等等，问题在于使用者如何使用它们，而不在于它们的使用价值本身。对武器和某些化学制品的生产和销售进行严格管制，也是从防止其不正当使用的角度来考虑的。

文化艺术品作为商品，既有与此相类似之处，又有不同之处，例如，宣传政治反动、淫秽色情、凶杀暴力的书籍、电影、录像带等，尽管它们被投入市场后会有购买者，但它们却在明显地毒害社会。

然而与上面举例时所提到的鸦片、吗啡、武器、某些化学制品有所不同，鸦片、吗啡在被医药工业用作麻醉药品的原料时，一般不会造成危害，而只有当它们被滥用时，特别是鸦片、吗啡被贩毒者和吸毒者购买，或武器和某些化学制品流入不法之徒手中时，它们才危害社会。可见，关键不在于这些商品的使用价值本身，而在于谁使用它们，怎样使用它们。文化艺术产品中的那些宣传政治反动、淫秽色情、凶杀暴力的书籍、电影、录像带等，一般说来，问题不仅仅在于谁使用它们和怎样使用它们，甚至可以认为，它们的使用价值本身就是值得怀疑的。它们本来就不该被生产出来，而它们一旦被生产出来，就会产生有害的社会影响。很难认为对它们有所谓“正当使用”的问题，除非公安、司法等部门对它们有特殊的用途，但即使如此，这些部门也完全不需要为此目的而组织生产它们。因此，对这类文化艺术产品也就不存在所谓“严格管制下的生产和销售”问题。

这就是根据文化艺术品使用价值的社会评价而得出的文化艺术晶的特殊性质的另一种表现。换句话说，文化艺术品之所以不同于物质资料生产的产品，是由于文化艺术品作为人们的精神生产的产物，本身有规范的含义。文化艺术品是它们的创作者的劳动的成果。它们要成为商品，除了有创作者本人投入的劳动以外，还包括其他有关的人员（如书刊的编辑人员、印刷工人、音像制品的制作人员等等）所投入的劳动，并且需要通过“交易”这一中间环节，到达消费者手中。这类商品的规范性质反映于它们的使用价值的社会评价方面。宣扬政治反动、淫秽色情、凶杀暴力的书刊和音像制品之所以必须被取缔，之所以在任何条件下都不允许其生产和销售，正是从规范的意义上，也就是从社会评价的意义上来考虑的。也正是从这个意义上，不仅应当追究其出版者、编辑者的责任，而且更应当追究其创作者的责任。

三、关于文化艺术商品生产的经济效益

下面，让我们转而探讨另一个问题，即文化艺术商品生产的经济效益。请注意，我在这里使用的是“文化艺术商品生产的经济效益”概念，而不是泛指一切文化艺术品或文化艺术创作物的“经济效益”。这是有区

别的。假定一个人创作了一首诗、一幅画、一件雕塑，而并未投入市场，那么这种创作物不成为商品。它有没有经济效益呢？可以说，经济效益的概念这里并不存在（至于社会效益，那是会有的。只要它被人们所观赏或传诵，社会效益也就会产生。当然，社会效益有大有小，有正有负，这都要由具体情况来决定。关于这些，后面再进行探讨），所以我在这里指的只是那些成为商品的文化艺术创作物的经济效益。既然是商品，那么必然有商品供给者（卖方）、商品需求者（买方）、价格、市场。对商品供给者来说，还有成本、净收益、再生产的动力与条件等问题。对商品需求者来说，则有购买意愿的满足程度、使用所购买的商品的实际效果之类的问题。而对于经济活动的组织者、管理者而言，需要考虑的是通过这类商品的生产和销售而引起的资源配置格局的调整、国民生产总值和国民收入的增长幅度、财政收支的变动问题等等。所有这些，在研究文化艺术商品生产的经济效益时都是不可回避的。

这样，文化艺术商品生产的经济效益的研究领域就相当广泛，而不仅限于对于商品生产者的成本与效益的考虑，或对于国民生产总值和国民收入增长率的分析。简单地说，对文化艺术商品生产的经济效益，至少可以从六个不同的方面来考察。

1. 文化艺术商品创作者投入的劳动与其所得的收入的比较。这是从文化艺术商品的特殊性出发所考虑的个人经济效益问题，但这又是一个艰巨性较大的研究课题。文化艺术商品创作者（例如作家、画家、演员）所投入的劳动无疑是复杂劳动，但这种劳动的复杂程度却是不易衡量的。由此也难以给这种复杂劳动制定一个客观标准，难以判断投入劳动的数量与质量同所获得的收入的相符程度。

2. 文化艺术商品的供给单位（如出版社、演出团体、音像制作企业）的成本与收益之比。假定这些供给单位把付给文化艺术商品创作者的报酬列入工资成本之内（工资成本中还包括付给其他有关工作人员的报酬），并且再计算折旧费、原材料消耗等，那就构成了供给者的全部成本。供给者的经济效益大小取决于成本与效益（销售收入）之间差距的多少。

3. 文化艺术商品的购买者（使用者）的经济效益。这里排除了中间购买者的情况，而把文化艺术商品的购买者定义为最终消费者。购买者认为所买到的文化艺术商品越能符合自己的购买意愿，他们越会感到满足，他们也应认为这样的购买（交易）是有较大经济效益的。尽管人们通常不把这种满足程度视为经济效益的尺度，而且事实上对这种满足程度也缺乏衡量的标准，但只要我们把经济效益看成是“以一定的支出取

得尽可能多的收获”或“以尽可能少的支出取得一定的收获”的同义语，那么不可否认，标志着经济效益高低的“最小成本原则”或“最大效益原则”无论在文化艺术商品的供给者那里，还是在文化艺术商品需求者那里，都是存在的。文化艺术商品的购买者之所以会在购买前进行支出方向的比较，在购买中会对购买对象进行选择，在购买行为完成后会对这项购买行为作出评价，是因为与他们对经济效益的考虑直接有关。

4. 从国家财政的角度来看，某一商品的生产和销售，以及某一行业的商品生产和销售，都会使财政收支状况发生变动。通过这些生产和销售而使财政收入净增加额越大的，可以被认为是经济效益越好，反之则被认为是经济效益越差。对文化艺术商品的生产和销售，同样可以采用这种方式来衡量其经济效益。

5. 对经济增长率的贡献大小也是衡量某一具体商品的生产和销售以及某一行业的商品生产和销售的经济效益高低的标准。经济增长率通常是以国民生产总值或国民收入的年变动率计算的。对于文化艺术商品生产的经济效益的衡量，这一方法同样适用。比如说，新闻出版的产值是国民生产总值的组成部分，它们同国民经济其他部门之间存在着相互制约的关系。如果新闻出版业产值的增长能导致与之有关的其他行业的产值有较大程度的增长，我们就可以认为新闻出版业对经济增长的贡献较大，从而认为新闻出版业的经济效益是较好的。

以上五个方面中，只有第二和第四这两方面较易于分析，而第一、第三、第五这几个方面都是难度较大的。然而，更难以分析的是下面所要讨论的第六个方面。

6. 从资源配置的角度来考察，某一具体商品的生产以及某一行业的商品生产总是需要资源投入的，而生产的成果则又会使社会的资源总量和结构发生变动。物质资料的生产是这样，文化艺术商品的生产也是这样。假定社会的资源总量是有限的，并且资源配置的格局已经形成，唯有通过资源增量的变动才能予以调整。于是在衡量经济效益时社会面临如下的问题：某一具体商品的生产以及某一行业的商品生产究竟是导致资源配置状况的改善，还是导致资源配置状况的恶化？资源配置状况的改善或恶化，是衡量该项生产的经济效益正负的标准，而改善或恶化的程度则是衡量该项生产的正值经济效益或负值经济效益大小的尺度。理论分析所得出的结论就是如此。

难点显然在于对既定的资源配置格局的评价以及对资源配置状况变动程度的衡量。也许有人会提出，用社会总需求与社会总供给的差距大

小，或者更深入一层，用关键性产品的短缺程度或积压程度，未尝不可以作为对资源配置格局评价和资源配置状况变动程度的判断标准。但要知道，这通常只适用于近期经济效益的分析，而对于长期经济效益的分析则是远远不够的。也就是说，从近期看，某种资源配置状况不一定反映出什么问题，但从长期看，这种资源配置状况所暴露出来的问题则比较多。有些问题至今仍是潜伏的、不明显的，它们对经济似乎不构成危害，而如果持续下去，那么到一定时刻，潜伏的问题会公开化，不明显的问题会变得突出，而对经济的危害也就暴露出来了。只有从这样的高度来认识某一商品生产的经济效益和某一行业的商品生产的经济效益，才能对经济效益概念有较完整的理解。不管是对物质资料的生产还是对文化艺术商品的生产，都不应该忽略从资源配置角度对经济效益的考察，虽然在衡量这种经济效益方面存在着以上所说的困难。

当我们把研究的重点逐渐转移到资源配置方面，特别是关于资源配置的长期经济效益方面时，我们必然会遇到一个最为困难的问题，这就是社会效益的衡量。这个问题对于文化艺术商品来说尤其重要。前面在讨论文化艺术品使用价值的社会评价时，我们实际上已经接触到这个问题了。

四、关于文化艺术商品生产的杜会效益

在一定的意义上，某种商品生产以及某一行业的商品生产的长期经济效益与它们的社会效益是一致的。但社会效益通常要比经济效益具有更广的含义。可以把社会效益直接同社会经济发展目标联结在一起。假定某种商品以及某一行业的商品生产有助于社会经济发展目标的实现，那么可以认为该项商品生产的社会效益较大；反之，假定某种商品以及某一行业的商品生产不利于社会经济发展目标的实现，那么可以认为该项商品生产缺乏社会效益。可见，在对一定的商品生产的社会效益进行分析时，有必要先明确究竟什么是社会经济发展目标，以及用什么来判断一定的商品生产究竟是有利于社会经济发展目标的实现还是不利于社会经济发展目标的实现。

社会经济发展目标不是单一的，而是多元的，比如说，既要提高居民的收入，又要避免收入分配的差距过大；既要满足居民在物质生活方面不断增长的需要，又要满足居民在精神生活方面不断增长的需要；既要改善居民生活的社会环境，又要改善居民生活的自然环境，等等。多

元的社会经济发展目标表明，单一发展物质资料的生产是不够的，文化艺术商品生产的发展起着同样重要的作用。我们在讨论文化艺术商品生产的社会效益时，绝不能忽视文化艺术商品生产的发展在实现社会经济发展的多元目标中应该和可以起到的作用。

社会经济发展目标中的任何一个目标都可以分解为各个不同的阶段性目标。以满足居民在精神生活方面的需要来说，这一目标可以分解为若干个不同的阶段性目标，每个阶段性目标是比较具体的。因此，在衡量一定阶段内的艺术商品生产的社会效益时，可以把文化艺术商品生产的社会效益同相应阶段内要达到的居民精神生活方面的需要的满足情况进行比较，以确定社会效益究竟是正值还是负值，确定正值或负值的社会效益的变动幅度。

就提高居民的生活质量这一社会经济发展目标而言，在把它分解为若干不同的阶段性目标之后，也可以采取同样的方法把文化艺术商品的社会效益同相应阶段内要达到的提高居民生活质量的情况进行比较。这种方法对于衡量文化艺术商品生产的社会效益的适用性，我认为是可以肯定的，当然，许多细节还应作进一步的研究，这将有待于关心文化经济学的同志们的共同努力。

在考察文化艺术商品生产的社会效益时，最为复杂的问题也许是对文化艺术商品在提高人们的思想觉悟或腐蚀人们心灵方面的作用的估计。从理论上说，这与前面讨论过的文化艺术品使用价值的社会评价具有相同的含义，但从社会效益的角度来看，则存在对文化艺术商品的作用的估计问题。我们可以明确地说，这种作用无疑是存在的，也是人们所不能否认的，但作用大小的估计却非常困难。特别是，提高人们的思想觉悟或腐蚀人们的心灵的因素很多，文化艺术商品的生产、销售和使用只不过是众多因素中的一项。迄今为止，在估计文化艺术商品生产的社会效益时还找不到一条可以把文化艺术商品在这方面的作用同其他因素的作用分离出来而单独予以估计的途径。这个难题只有留待今后的研究者来解决。

（原载《经济文化》，1990年第4期）

Cultural economics: a tentative study (1990)

I. Peculiarities of cultural and art products

Cultural economics is not concerned with the process by which cultural and art products are produced but with the economic issues pertinent to the production and reproduction of such products. Thus something has to be said about the attributes of cultural and art products. In terms of economics, they fall into two categories: those in the form of physical commodity, like audiovisual products, fine arts, books and periodicals; and those in the form of service, that is, labor services provided by cultural and art organizations, such as performance art. In comparison with material production, the production of cultural and art products is unique in that it is more individualistic and creative. Looking back, we may find nothing inappropriate with the way we categorize cultural and art products and interpret their peculiar attributes. However, if we probe the issue of cultural economics more deeply, we will know where the problems are.

If, for instance, a novelist or playwright comes up with a novel or a drama script, the first material form of his brainchild is a manuscript instead of a published book. This manuscript must be recognized and accepted by editors of a press or a journal before it turns into the book form and is sold on the market. Thus the material forms of cultural and art products we see on the market are a kind of "collective" product, that is, products brought into being "collectively" not only by authors but also by editors, printers, and the like. If we regard cultural and art products as commodities, and their supply-and-demand relationship as a market relationship, two "trading" processes will take place in reality: (1) trading between authors and publishers; (2) trading between publishers and buyers (readers and distributors included). The former trading process, in which cultural and art products are not ordinary commodities but special ones, is different not only from transactions over raw materials in the course of material production, but also from purchases of

household handicrafts or farm and sideline produce by modern processing companies. This difference is one of the peculiarities of cultural and art products.

As to the labor services provided by cultural workers and artists, they are likewise a lot more complicated than those provided by ordinary workers or organizations in other fields. For example, if a cultural worker or artist renders his labor or service as directly as a street performer does to his audience, the issue becomes as simple as what happens between a labor supplier and a labor demander – a deal between the two parties concerned in any supply-and-demand relationship. Nevertheless, this is not the dominant way for cultural workers or artists to offer labor service today. As things are nowadays, an author sends his manuscript to a publisher first, and then the publisher publishes the book and sells it on the market. An actor, a singer, or a dancer has to be hired by a troupe or sign a performance contract with it, before the latter puts on singing or dancing performances and pays the performer a portion of the box revenue. In that sense, this form of "trading" takes place only once, not twice. This is to say, only when a performer is brought in front of his audience can his service be really delivered. When he is hired by, or signs a contract with, a troupe, he is yet to deliver his "commodity" (i.e., his service), while the troupe hires him or signs a contract with him based merely on his previous experiences or evaluation reports. However, even this manner of transaction in labor and service is different from usual, because the "buyer" of cultural and art products (or the labor and service in performing art) is not an individual but all the audience, and the supplier is in fact also a "collective," even though one main performer (i.e., singer or dancer) plays a pivotal role in it. This is another special attribute of cultural and art products.

Judging from the two "trading" processes or either one of them, cultural and art products are commodities of a special nature. But the issue does not stop then and there. Let us take another look from the social evaluation perspective of the use value of cultural and art products.

II. Social assessment of the use value of cultural and art products

Normative economics comes to mind at the mere mention of the social

evaluation of a commodity's use value. We must accept that in material production, the use value of a commodity *per se* does not have an ethical attribute. Opium and morphine have some use value because, when used as commodities, they serve certain human needs – they may be either used in the pharmaceutical industry or bought by drug addicts. The production, sale, and use of commodities such as opium and morphine are strictly controlled because they are a potential bane to society and humanity. The same can be said of weapons and certain chemicals, such as cyanides: the problem here is not so much related to their use value but rather to the way people use them. To tighten up the control of the production and sales of weapons and certain chemicals is precisely to prevent them from being used for improper purposes.

As commodities, cultural and art products are at once similar to and different from the aforementioned material products. For instance, books, movies and audiovisual products about reactionary politics, pornography, murder or violence may have some buyers in the marketplace, but they are definitely poisonous to society.

Nevertheless, these cultural and art products are different in some ways from opium, morphine, weapons and certain chemicals. Opium and morphine are generally harmless when employed as raw materials for anesthetics – they become a public hazard only when abused by drug dealers and addicts. The same can be said of weapons and certain chemicals falling into the hands of criminals. It is thus apparent that the problem does not arise from these commodities' use value *per se* but from who uses them and what they are used for. As to books, movies and audiovisual products about reactionary politics, pornography, murder, or violence, however, the problem is not as simple as who uses them or what they are used for, because their use value is suspicious in itself – they should not have been produced in the first place. Once they are produced, their pernicious social impact becomes immediately evident. We can hardly believe they can be put to "normal use," unless they are used for special purposes by the public security bureau or the judiciary. But even in that case, there is no need for these departments to organize the production of these products. Therefore, there is no need, either, to subject this kind of cultural and art products to "restricted production and sales."

This is another peculiarity of cultural and art products based on a social

assessment of their use value. Such products are different from material products in that, born of people's spiritual needs, they have normative connotations peculiarly of their own. These products are the brainchildren of those who created them. To become commodities, they also need the labor input of related people – editors and printers in the case of books, and producers in the case of audiovisual products – other than those who created them. They also need an intermediary "trading" process, so that they can be delivered to consumers. Their normative attribute is reflected in society's appraisal of their use value. The reason why the production and sale of books, movies, and audiovisual products about reactionary politics, pornography, murder, or violence should be banned under all circumstances is precisely based on their normative attribute, that is, public assessment of their use value. This is precisely why not only their publishers and editors but also their authors should be held accountable.

III. Economic returns of cultural and art commodity production

Let me devote this section to another issue, the economic returns of the production of cultural and art commodities. Please note the concept I dwell on here is the "economic returns of the production of cultural and art commodities," not the "economic returns" of all cultural and art products and creative works. These are two different concepts. When someone composes a poem or creates a painting or sculpture but does not market it, does it have economic returns? I would say it has no economic returns at all. (It does have its social returns as far as it is appreciated or read widely. Such social returns can be big or small, positive or negative, depending on its merits or demerits, which I will deal with in another section.) That is why this section is focused on the economic returns of cultural and art products that have become commodities. Where there are commodities, there must be suppliers (sellers) and demanders (buyers), prices and markets. On the part of the supplier, it is about costs, net returns, and the motivation and conditions for reproduction. On the part of the buyer, it is about the degree to which such a commodity satisfies his purchase intention and its actual effects. On the part of an organizer or a manager of such economic activity, consideration should be given to a series of issues such as the adjustment of resource allocation caused by the production and sales of these commodities, the margin of

growth in GNP and national income, and fluctuations in fiscal revenues and expenditures. None of these factors can be ignored when the economic returns of cultural and art commodity production is studied.

This field of study thus takes on a vast scope that is not limited to the costs and returns of commodity producers or the growth rate of GNP or national income. Simply put, the economic returns of cultural and art commodity production can be analyzed from at least six different angles:

(1) Comparing the labor and earnings of authors of cultural and art products. Designed to observe an individual's economic returns by taking into account the peculiarities of cultural and art commodities, this is a rather laborious research topic. What an author – writer, painter, or actor – puts into a cultural or art commodity is undoubtedly complex labor, but its degree of complexity cannot be easily measured. Because of this, it is hard to set an objective benchmark for such complex labor, and even harder to quantify and gauge its quality and to pay for it properly.

(2) The cost-benefit ratio of suppliers – publishing houses, per-forming troupes, audiovisual workshops, etc. Supposing the supplier lists his pay to an author in his wage cost, which also includes his pay to the staff members involved, this wage cost plus depreciation expenses and consumption of raw materials makes up the total cost. The supplier's economic returns are determined by the margin between the total cost and the returns, i.e., the sales income.

(3) The economic returns of the buyers (users) of cultural and art commodities. This refers to such a commodity's end-consumers, not including intermediate buyers. The more a cultural or art commodity meets a buyer's need, the more satisfied he becomes, and the more he is convinced that the deal has brought considerable economic returns. It is true that people normally do not regard the degree of their satisfaction as a benchmark for economic returns. In fact, there is no criterion to measure such satisfaction. Nevertheless, so long as we regard economic returns as synonymous to "maximum gain at a certain expense" or "minimum expense in return for a certain amount of gain," we cannot deny that the "minimum cost principle" and the "maximum returns principle" are being followed by both suppliers and buyers in judging their economic returns. The reason why a buyer considers where to spend his money before he buys a commodity, chooses a

seller when he is buying it, and appraises the results of the purchase after he has bought it, is because all these behaviors are directly related to his concern with economic returns.

(4) From the perspective of government finance, the production and sales of a commodity or of a particular industry can change fiscal revenues and expenditures. The larger the growth in net fiscal revenues such production and sales can bring, the better its economic returns is believed to be; the smaller such growth is, the poorer its economic returns is believed to be. The same is true with the economic returns of cultural and art commodities.

(5) Contribution to the economic growth rate is another bench-mark for judging the economic returns of the production and sales of a single commodity or a certain industry. Economic growth rate is usually computed on the basis of the annual rate of changes in GNP or national income, a method that also applies to the economic returns of cultural and art commodity production. For example, the press and publication industry, whose output value is part of GNP, is in a check-and-balance relationship with other sectors of the national economy. We have reason to believe the press and publication industry has contributed a great deal to economic growth if its growing output value has led to considerable growth in the output value of related industries.

Of the above five perspectives, only the second, and the fourth are relatively easy for analysts, and the first, third and fifth are relatively difficult. Nevertheless, none of them is more difficult than the sixth perspective that follows.

(6) From the perspective of resource allocation, the production of a commodity, or the commodity production of a certain industry, calls for an input of resources, while the results of production can change the aggregate quantum and structure of resources. This is true with both material production and the production of cultural and art commodities. Supposing the aggregate quantum of resources is limited and the resource allocation pattern fixed, adjustment can be made only through incremental changes in resources. Thus society must answer the following question when appraising economic return: Is the production of a commodity or the commodity production of an industry improving or deteriorating resource allocation?

Improvement and deterioration are benchmarks by which to judge whether economic returns is positive or negative. The degree of improvement or deterioration is the benchmark for determining the degree of positive or negative returns. Such a conclusion is derived from theoretical analysis.

The snag lies apparently in evaluating the current pattern of resource allocation and in measuring the degree of changes in resource allocation. People may suggest that the disparity between aggregate demand and supply – or, to probe more deeply, the extent of shortage or overstock of some key commodities – could be employed as the criterion for appraising the pattern of resource allocation and the degree of changes in it. However, this criterion can be applied only to short-term economic returns, but far from enough for long-term returns. That is to say, the allocation of a certain resource may not be problematic in the short run, but may cause a lot of problems in the long run. Some of the problems are latent or obscure and seemingly harmless to the economy for the time being. But if the problems remain unsolved, they will emerge and become so acute as to hurt the economy sometime in the future. Only by perceiving the economic returns of the production of a commodity or the commodity production of a certain industry in this light, can we gain a relatively comprehensive understanding of the concept "economic returns." Despite the aforementioned snag, resource allocation can never be factored out when studying the economic returns of the production of either physical materials or cultural and art commodities.

When we gradually shift our study to resource allocation, especially to its long-term economic returns, we are bound to come across the most difficult issue, that is, how to measure social returns. This issue is particularly critical to cultural and art commodities. We have already touched upon this topic in our previous discussion about the social appraisal of the use value of cultural and art products.

IV. Social returns of cultural and art commodity production

In a certain sense, the long-term economic returns of the pro-duction of a commodity or the commodity production of an industry are consistent with its social returns. But social returns usually entail a broader meaning than economic returns, and can be directly linked with socioeconomic development goals. If the production of a commodity or the commodity

production of an industry is conducive to socioeconomic development goals, we can presume that its social returns are high; if it is detrimental to socioeconomic development goals, we can presume that it has no social returns at all. Therefore, when analyzing the social returns of commodity production, we have to clarify what are the socioeconomic development goals and what benchmark should be employed to judge if such production is a boon or a bane to such goals.

Socioeconomic development goals are multiple, rather than single. For instance, we should raise people's income, but at the same time, we must avoid widening the income gap; we should meet people's growing demand for a better material life, but their demand for a better spiritual life should also be taken care of; and we should improve both the social environment and the natural environment at the same time. Multiple socioeconomic development goals indicate that it is not enough to develop material production alone – the production of cultural and art commodities also matters. When we talk about the social returns of cultural and art commodity production, we can never overlook the role such production should and can play in attaining multiple socioeconomic development goals.

Every socioeconomic development goal can be divided into subgoals to be attained in different stages. The goal of meeting people's spiritual need, for example, should comprise a variety of specific goals for different periods. When evaluating the social returns of the production of a certain art product in a certain stage, we may do it in comparison with the degree of people's satisfaction with that product in meeting their demand for spiritual life during that stage. Only thus can we see if its social returns are positive or negative and determine the margin of changes in such positive or negative social returns.

In the case of a socioeconomic development goal for bettering the quality of people's lives, after that goal has been divided into sub goals for different stages, we can also compare the social returns of a given cultural and art commodity with the projected sub goal for a better life quality in a specific stage. I think we can be sure about the applicability of this approach to assessing the social returns of the production of such commodities. Of course many details in this approach need to be hammered out through the concerted efforts of those interested in cultural economics.

In observing the social returns of cultural and art commodity production, the most complex issue is perhaps how to evaluate its role in enhancing people's ideological awareness or in corrupting their minds. Theoretically speaking, it is the same as the aforementioned social appraisal of the use value of cultural and art products. However, insofar as social returns are concerned, such a role needs to be evaluated. Nobody can deny that cultural and art commodities are playing such a role, but it is difficult to measure it. The difficulty lies in particular in the fact that people's minds can be nourished or corrupted by a host of factors – the production, marketing and utilization of these products are just a few of them. In evaluating the social returns of cultural and art products, we have yet to find a way to strip these products from the other factors that are playing the same role for an exclusive study. It is, indeed, another hard nut to crack awaiting future researchers.

.— *Economics & Culture*, issue No. 4, 1990

环境保护与受害者的补偿问题 (1990)

一、环境破坏和环境治理过程中两种不同性质的受害者

对受害者的补偿是环境保护经济学中的一个重要的理论和政策问题。在分析这个问题时，首先有必要对“受害者”概念加以说明。实际上，这里有两种不同性质的受害者：一是环境破坏过程中的受害者，一是环境治理过程中的受害者。并且，每一种受害者又可以分为直接受害者和间接受害者。

环境破坏过程中的直接受害者，主要是指因环境受到破坏而使生命财产受到损失的个人，如身体受损害、财产受损失、失去谋生的手段、减少收入、生活变得不安定或不协调等。因环境受到破坏而使产量下降、产品质量下降、收入减少、财产受损失的企业，也应包括在环境破坏过程中的直接受害者之列。

环境破坏过程中的间接受害者，主要是指同环境破坏过程中的直接受害者（个人或企业）在经济上有较密切的联系，从而因直接受害者收入减少等情况而在经济上受到损失的个人和企业。

环境治理过程中的直接受害者，主要是指因治理环境的需要而停业、减产、迁移的企业，以及在这些企业中工作的个人，这些企业的收入和个人的收入将因此而减少。环境治理过程中的直接受害者还包括因治理环境的需要而迁移的家庭，他们的财产可能受到损失，收入可能下降，生活也可能变得不安定、不协调等。

环境治理过程中的间接受害者，主要是指同环境治理过程中的直接受害者（个人或企业）在经济上有较密切的联系，从而因直接受害者收入减少等情况而在经济上受到损失的个人和企业。

这两类受害者（包括直接受害者和间接受害者）受害的原因是不同

的：环境破坏过程中的受害者是因环境破坏者的行为而受害，而环境治理过程中的受害者则是因治理环境的行为而受害。同时，这两类受害者受害的程度可能有差别：环境破坏过程中的受害者不仅在经济上遭受损失，而且可能在身体上受到损害，甚至生命受到威胁；环境治理过程中的受害者则主要是收入或财产遭受损失，可能也包括因生活环境改变而使生活变得不安定、不协调，但不会有身体上受损害和生命受威胁之类的情况发生。

从受害者（个人或企业）自身对受害的感受来说，情况也有所不同。只要进行环境的治理，那么在经济上受不利影响的受害者就会感觉到或预感到自己的收入的变动，他们将因此提出补偿的要求。至于环境破坏过程中的受害者，他们或者在事后才发现自己在某些方面受到了损害，或者在实际上受损害之后经过他人的告知才了解到自己已经受到损害，甚至有可能在较长时间内察觉不到所受的损害，从而没有补偿的要求。

区别两种不同性质的受害者，对于环境保护中的补偿问题的探讨有以下重要意义。

第一，有助于确定补偿的性质和受补偿的理由。个人或企业无论是在环境破坏过程中受到损害，还是在环境治理过程中受到损害，都有必要给予相应的补偿，但由于受害的性质不同，因此补偿的性质和受补偿的理由也不一样。环境破坏过程中的受害者所遭受的损害，是由环境破坏责任者造成的，从理论上说，应当由环境破坏责任者给予补偿。这既可以由环境破坏责任者直接支付给受害者，也可以由环境破坏责任者付款给政府有关部门，而由政府有关部门给受害者补偿。而环境治理过程中的受害者所遭受的损害，虽然追根溯源仍由环境破坏责任者造成，但从受害者的感受来说，或从事件发生的直接原因来说，则是由于治理环境的主体（政府有关部门、企业、社会团体或个人）治理环境的行为所导致的，从而要由治理环境的主体给受害者补偿。治理环境的主体有可能就是当初破坏该环境的责任者，如果是这样的话，那就不存在再补偿的问题（即治理环境一方向当初破坏环境的一方要求补偿），否则就会产生再补偿的问题。从理论上说，再补偿是有充足理由的，至于在实际经济生活中能否实现，则要取决于各种具体的情况。

第二，有助于确定补偿的方式。在区分了两种不同性质的受害者，以及进一步区分了直接受害者和间接受害者之后，所采取的补偿方式也就易于被确定下来。这主要是指：对环境破坏过程中的受害者应当由环境破坏责任者给予补偿，而且应以直接补偿和充分补偿为主；在不考虑

上述再补偿问题的条件下，对环境治理过程中的受害者应当由治理环境的主体给予补偿，其补偿方式可以是直接补偿，也可以是间接补偿，或二者兼用，并且可以根据具体情况采用充分补偿或部分补偿。

第三，有助于确定政府在补偿方面所发挥的作用。政府在补偿方面所发挥的作用，是与政府负有保护人民利益、保护环境的责任分不开的。因此，无论是因环境破坏而造成的受害，还是因环境治理而造成的受害，政府都有责任为受害者得到相应的补偿而尽力。但这里需要说明的是，在环境破坏方面，虽然政府有可能因决策的失误而导致环境的破坏，但造成某一具体地区的环境破坏的直接责任者，则多半是某些企业或居民个人，后者也就自然地成为向受害者支付补偿的一方。这样，在对环境破坏过程中的受害者进行补偿时，政府的主要作用是如何保证受害者能从环境破坏责任者那里得到相应的补偿。在环境治理方面，情形有所不同。政府既可能是环境治理的决策者，也可能是环境治理的执行者。因此，政府既有可能成为直接向受害者进行补偿的一方，也有可能成为要求当初造成环境破坏的责任者再补偿的一方。假定环境治理的主体不是政府，而是某些企业、社会团体或个人，那么政府在补偿方面可能发挥以下三种作用：（1）政府保证受害者能从环境治理一方得到相应的补偿；（2）在环境治理一方要求当初造成环境破坏的责任者再补偿时，政府可以根据具体情况使环境治理一方的要求得到全部或部分满足；（3）在环境治理一方只可能给予环境治理过程中的受害者部分的补偿，从而受害者的要求还不能满足时，政府将根据具体情况决定是否满足受害者的要求或在多大程度上满足受害者的要求。

第四，有助于对环境保护中补偿问题的进一步探讨。正如本文将会提到的，环境保护中的补偿问题在理论上和政策上还有许多难点问题有待于进一步探讨。然而，要使这些问题得到较好的解决，首先必须把两种不同性质的受害区分开来，这是深入探讨的出发点。

二、对环境破坏过程中的受害者的补偿原则和补偿方式

前面已经指出，环境破坏过程中受害者所受损害，是由环境破坏责任者造成的，应当由后者给予补偿。但要知道，这是单纯从补偿理论的角度说的，现实中的问题显然比这复杂得多。

首先，环境破坏责任者的确定可能存在着争议。这要根据具体情况而定。比如说，一条河流的上游有一家造纸厂，它排放的污水使下游居

民的利益受到损害。这种情况下的环境破坏责任易于被确定。由造纸厂给受损害的居民以补偿，也是没有疑问的。即使一条河流的上游有若干家排放污水的工厂，下游若干城镇的居民的利益受到了损害，那么，不仅环境破坏的总的责任可以被确定下来，而且每家工厂具体的责任也可以通过排污量的计算而大体上被确定下来，从而补偿问题也就有实现的可能。然而我们在现实生活中还会遇到这样的情形，比如说，一个地区受到了酸雨的危害而使企业和个人的利益遭受损失，能确定环境破坏责任者是谁吗？能由此确定环境破坏责任者应付的补偿数额吗？又如，由于多年造成的水土流失和植被破坏而使得某一地区气候异常，旱涝洪灾不断，使居民利益受损，这也无法确定具体的环境破坏责任者，从而无法确定环境破坏责任者应付的补偿数额。由此可见，只有在能够确定环境破坏责任者的具体责任，并且确定环境破坏受害者的损失的情况下，才能按上述的补偿原则进行补偿。如果不是这样，那就需要另外探讨补偿的途径。

其次，在分析对环境破坏过程中的受害者的补偿问题时，还会遇到一个复杂的情况，即如何确定受害者的受害程度和损失的大小。前面在谈到直接受害者与间接受害者的区别时已经涉及这个问题，但应当注意的是，直接受害者固然是直接因环境破坏而受损害的，但从经济方面来看，其损失的大小不一定高于某些间接受害者间接地遭受的损失。因此，即使在确定了环境破坏责任者之后，环境破坏责任者所能给予补偿的也只可能是直接受害者。至于间接受害者所遭受的损失，是不是也应当得到补偿呢？如果应当得到补偿，那么又应当由谁来支付呢？这些问题同样是有争议的。

再次，以上在讨论环境破坏过程中的受害者时，都把企业和个人作为环境破坏的受害对象来看待，补偿的对象也就是受害的对象。但如果对这个问题作深入一步的分析，不难发现，环境破坏的受害对象实际上还包括国家或社会。这是因为，环境破坏的同时也就是国民财富的损失，是社会所拥有的资源存量的损失。这样就产生了一个新的问题：在确定了环境破坏责任者之后，环境破坏责任者应当支付两类补偿费用，一类是给直接受到损害的企业和个人的，一类是给国家或社会的。

根据以上的分析，并把现实生活中的各种复杂的情况考虑在内，我们可以把环境破坏过程中的受害者的补偿原则表述如下：

（1）在确定环境破坏责任者对环境破坏应负的责任的条件下，环境破坏责任者应当对直接受害者给予相应的补偿，补偿应当是直接的和充分的，以弥补后者所遭受的损失。

（2）在确定环境破坏责任者对环境破坏应负的责任的条件下，环境破坏责任者除了应当对直接受害者给予相应的补偿外，还应当给国家或社会相应的补偿，以补偿国民财富的损失、社会所拥有的资源存量的损失。

（3）尽管环境遭到了破坏，但由于各种原因，使得环境破坏的责任无法明确到具体责任者（企业和个人），从而对环境破坏的直接受害者的直接补偿也就难以实现。在这种情况下，对直接受害者的补偿可以通过社会补偿的方式进行。关于社会补偿，将在下面论述。

（4）即使确定了环境破坏责任者并由该责任者向直接受害者支付了补偿，环境破坏过程中的间接受害者的补偿问题仍无法因此得到解决。但间接受害者既然也是环境破坏过程中的受害者，他们的损失就应当得到相应的补偿。这种补偿也可以通过社会补偿的方式进行。

在明确了环境破坏过程中对受害者的补偿原则之后，接着需要探讨的是对受害者的补偿方式。如果企业和个人是直接受害者，那么环境破坏责任者可以按以下两种方式之一支付补偿费用：一是由环境破坏责任者直接支付给直接受害者；二是由环境破坏责任者付款给政府有关部门，而由政府有关部门给直接受害者补偿。此外，环境破坏责任者对国家或社会的补偿方式，是向国家或社会直接支付一定的补偿费用。假定环境破坏责任者采取的是向政府有关部门付款，再由政府有关部门向直接受害者付款的补偿方式；同时，环境破坏责任者还必须向政府支付补偿费用的话，那么政府有关部门在得到环境破坏责任者缴纳的一笔总的补偿费用之后，将会按一定的比例进行分配：一部分留下，一部分支付给环境破坏过程中的直接受害者。

现在我们来分析社会补偿方式。社会补偿是一种间接的补偿，是由社会各方通过多种方式筹集资金而形成的基金组织对环境破坏过程中的受害者进行的补偿。这里所说的间接补偿，是指以下这样一些补偿方式：例如，向受害者或受害地区提供优惠的贷款，以帮助受害者增加产量，从而增加收入，或帮助受害地区恢复和发展经济，提高当地的人均收入水平；指导和协助受害者或受害地区的劳动者就业；向受害者或受害地区提供技术援助，等等。换言之，与直接补偿不同，社会补偿作为一种间接补偿，并不是把补偿费用直接交给受害者本人，而是通过信贷、就业指导和帮助、技术援助等方式使受害者得以增加收入，以弥补在环境破坏过程中所遭受的损失。

社会补偿的基金组织是从事这种补偿的机构，它所需要的资金是多

方面筹集而来的。其中，既有企业的缴纳、企业和个人的捐赠、社会团体的捐赠，也有政府拨款。对受害者补偿数额的多少是不易确定的，这只能根据社会补偿基金组织的财力大小和其制定的社会补偿规划来确定补偿的范围和数额。但不管怎样，既然从理论上已经确认有必要对一切环境破坏过程中的受害者进行补偿，那么选择社会补偿这种方式将是比较恰当的。当然，社会补偿方面的许多细节仍有待于关心这个问题的人们去进一步研究。

三、对环境治理过程中的受害者的补偿原则和补偿方式

环境治理是指对已经遭到不同程度破坏的环境进行治理，以减少破坏程度，或使其尽可能得到恢复。环境治理过程中需要采取一定的经济和技术措施，并且会对所治理的区域内的产业结构、技术结构、就业结构、消费结构等发生某些影响。因环境治理行为而在收入等方面遭受损失的企业和个人之所以会有这样的损失，与环境治理过程中产业结构、技术结构、就业结构、消费结构的调整有关。因此，在讨论环境治理过程中对受害者的补偿问题时，不能不联系到这些结构的调整。

前面已经指出，给予受害者的补偿要由治理环境的主体支付。但这只是关于环境治理过程中对受害者补偿问题的初步的考虑。事实上，这方面的补偿问题同样是相当复杂的。我们有必要在初步考虑的基础上再进行一些探讨。

首先，应当认为，国家或社会是环境治理的受益者。如果说环境破坏过程中因国民财富的损失、社会所拥有的资源存量的损失而使国家或社会有理由从环境破坏责任者那里得到一定的补偿的话，那么在环境治理过程中，国家或社会将因国民财富的增加或损失的减少、社会所拥有的资源存量的增加或损失的减少而受益。因此，不管政府是否作为治理环境的主体出现，政府对于环境治理过程中的受害者都应当承担一定的补偿费用。

其次，在环境治理过程中，一方面，通过产业结构、技术结构、就业结构、消费结构的调整，有些企业和个人的收入会减少，有些企业和个人的收入会增加，前者被称为环境治理过程中的受害者，后者则是环境治理过程中的受益者；另一方面，即使不通过产业结构、技术结构、就业结构、消费结构的调整，由于环境条件的改善，有些企业和个人的收入也会增加，他们同样成为环境治理过程中的受益者。这样，无论从

哪一个方面看，在环境治理过程中收入有所增加的企业和个人，作为受益者，对于环境治理过程中的受害者也应当承担一定的补偿费用。

再次，正如前面已经指出的，环境之所以需要治理，是由于环境遭到了破坏，因此，当初破坏环境的责任者有责任为环境治理过程中的受害者承担一定的补偿费用。这就是治理环境的一方向当初破坏环境的一方所要求的再补偿。显然，这只有在环境破坏的责任者被明确的条件下才能实现。

最后，还应当对治理环境的一方进行分析。政府有关部门、企业或社会团体都有可能从事治理环境的活动，但各自的活动是有特点的。政府有关部门从事治理环境的活动，主要是从国土整治、改善环境质量、保护资源、发展经济、提高当地居民生活水准等方面考虑，即更多地从国家利益或社会利益的角度着眼。因此，政府有关部门通常把给予环境治理过程中的受害者的补偿费用，作为环境治理的整个费用的一个组成部分。一个常见的例子是：政府有关部门为了治理某一流域的环境，需要从该地区迁出若干户居民。为了补偿迁出者的损失，按情况给予安置费，这些安置费包括在整个治理费用之内。社会团体从事治理环境的活动往往与该社会团体的公益目标相联系。这样，给予环境治理过程中的受害者的补偿费用同用于环境治理的其他费用一起，都符合于该社会团体的公益目标，并由该社会团体自己承担或部分承担。比较复杂的和特殊的是企业作为治理环境一方所进行的活动。客观上存在着两种可能性：一是某些企业为了扩大生产规模和技术改造的目的，着手对一定地区的环境进行治理；二是某些企业过去曾经对一定地区的环境有所破坏，它们是该地区的环境破坏责任者，后来根据法律或政府的决定，它们有责任对这一地区的环境进行治理。某些企业也可能既有治理某一地区的环境的责任，又有扩大生产规模和技术改造的任务。但不管怎样，这两种情况仍是有区别的。在后一种情况下，不存在治理环境过程中要求再补偿的问题；而在前一种情况下，企业将会提出再补偿的要求，而只要具体的环境破坏的责任是明确的，这种再补偿的要求并非不可能实现，否则对环境治理过程中受害者的补偿只能由作为环境治理一方的企业来承担。

此外，在对受害者的补偿方面，环境治理过程也反映了不同于环境破坏过程的特点。环境治理一方能够给予补偿的，是直接受害者，即因环境的治理而直接减少收入的企业和个人。至于间接受害者，由于范围广、涉及的人数多、环境治理一方的治理费用（其中包括补偿费用）有限，因此可以不列入补偿之列。这是因为，环境治理与环境破坏不同，

环境治理本身就包含了改善环境质量、恢复受治理地区的经济并使之得到发展的内容。这样，在直接受害者得到一定的补偿的同时，间接受害者即使不能从环境治理一方得到补偿，也能从环境治理的效果，即地区经济的恢复和发展中得到好处，从而增加收入。这就是说，对环境治理过程中的间接受害者实际上也是有所补偿的，只是这种补偿并不以人们易于察觉到的补偿形式出现，而是隐含在环境治理费用的使用及其效果上。

根据以上的分析，可以把环境治理过程中对受害者的补偿原则表述如下：

（1）在环境治理过程中，环境治理的主体应对直接受害者所遭受的损失给予相应的补偿。由于环境的治理可以使国民财富增加或损失减少，使社会所拥有的资源存量增加或损失减少，因此，无论政府是否作为环境治理的主体出现，政府都应当承担一定的补偿费用。

（2）环境治理过程本身就是使所治理的地区经济恢复和发展的过程，环境治理过程中的间接受害者可以从这个过程中得到好处。因此在环境治理费用（其中包括补偿费用）有限而涉及面又较广泛的条件下，可以不对环境治理过程中的间接受害者另给补偿。

（3）环境治理过程中的补偿费用，是整个治理费用的一个组成部分。它是通过多种方式筹集的，其中既有环境治理一方所提供的，也有政府作为受益者以及环境治理的其他受益者所提供的，还有在当初环境破坏的责任者已经明确的前提下由该责任者所提供的。所筹集的补偿费用将用于对环境治理过程中的直接受害者的补偿。

在确定了这些原则之后，接着需要讨论的是补偿方式。给环境治理过程中受害者的补偿可以是直接补偿，也可以是间接补偿，或者二者兼有；并且这种补偿可以是充分的补偿，也可以是部分的补偿。当然，这都是指对直接受害者的补偿。

那么，具体地说，直接补偿和间接补偿如何进行呢？一般说来，直接补偿主要用于在环境治理过程中因居民迁移而发生的财产、收入的减少的补偿。这种补偿可以由政府有关部门或环境治理主体支付给居民个人。对于在环境治理过程中直接受害者的其他方面的损失，则可以通过间接补偿方式进行。如果说在环境治理过程中有些企业停产或关闭，从而职工将失去收入的话，那么对这些职工的损失的补偿，以间接补偿的方式进行（如协助企业转产、协助职工转业）要比以直接补偿的方式进行（由环境治理主体发给生活津贴）更好一些。停产或关闭的企业的职

工，在一定的社会保障制度之下也有可能得到某些收入，这可以使他们的生活水平不致下降得过多；但这属于社会保障的范围，不属于环境治理的补偿，从而不由环境治理费用中的补偿费用来支付。对于这里所提到的可以“部分补偿”的问题，则应作如下的理解，即对环境治理过程中的受害者所遭受的损失，在财力许可的条件下，可以充分补偿，否则也可以实行部分补偿。理由同样在于：环境治理过程本身就是所治理地区的经济恢复和发展过程，环境治理本身包含了对受害者的补偿。

四、对若干问题的进一步探讨

（一）直接补偿费用的最终负担问题

环境破坏的责任者既可能是生产者，也可能是消费者。由消费者支付直接补偿费用，是无法转嫁给其他人的，消费者作为环境破坏的责任者，就是直接补偿费用的最终负担者。至于生产者所支付的直接补偿费用能否转嫁出去，则取决于生产者的产品的性质、市场条件以及生产者的经济体制状况。假定生产者所生产的产品是供大于求或供求平衡的，市场上的竞争是充分的，而生产者又自负盈亏，那么生产者所支付的直接补偿费用不管是否列入生产成本，它们最终仍然由生产者自己负担。生产者以盈利的减少作为支付直接补偿费用的代价，也就是作为破坏环境的苦果而由生产者自己承受。

然而在现实生活中，支付直接补偿费用的生产者主要是公有制大中型企业，它们还没有成为自负盈亏的利益主体。这样，即使它们的产品在市场上遇到充分的竞争，并且产品供大于求或供求平衡，直接补偿费用列入生产成本之后，生产者的盈利将会减少。这种损失也不是由生产者自己负担的，而是落在国家身上。于是出现了一种不合理的现象：环境破坏的责任者是企业，为此而支付的直接补偿费用的最终负担者却是国家。

假定生产者的产品是供不应求的，市场竞争不充分，价格是非刚性的，那么直接补偿费用在进入生产成本之后就会在提高了的产品价格中体现出来，于是这些产品的购买者就负担了这些直接补偿费用。假定购买者是消费者，消费者不可能再把所负担的直接补偿费用转嫁给其他人；假定购买者是生产者，那么问题又回到了前面已经提到的产品是否供大于求、市场竞争是否充分、生产者是否自负盈亏等条件。这样，归根到底，消费者和国家最终承担着直接补偿费用的可能性始终是存在

的。

以上分析表明：为了使作为环境破坏责任者的生产者最终承担这些费用，深化企业改革和建立自负盈亏的企业体制是不可回避的，使市场逐步完善并缩小需求大于供给的缺口也是不可回避的。否则，由消费者和国家最终负担直接补偿费用这种不合理的现象将难以消失。

下面，再考虑环境治理过程中对受害者的直接补偿费用的最终负担情况。这种直接补偿费用由政府和环境治理一方支付。假定不考虑再补偿问题，那么由政府有关部门和社会团体所支付的直接补偿费用，作为环境治理费用的一部分，列入政府有关部门和社会团体的一定项目的支出。它们不列入生产成本，从而不能转嫁给消费者。但企业从事环境治理活动时，情况就比较复杂。如果企业出于扩大生产规模和技术改造的需要而投资改造环境、治理环境，这时的直接补偿费用包括在整个治理费用之内，是作为扩大再生产的投资的一部分而出现的。这些投资将被回收，回收期的长短视企业从事的该项投资的经济效益而定。然而，不管回收期多长，这些投资迟早会摊入企业的生产成本。于是问题同前面讨论的情况相似，即在企业不能自负盈亏、产品供不应求、市场竞争不充分、价格非刚性等条件下，最终仍是国家和消费者承担这笔费用。如果企业本身就是环境破坏的责任者，企业对环境的治理是以恢复已被自己破坏的环境为目的的，直接补偿费用作为环境治理费用的一部分，照理说应当由企业自己承担，但实际上企业在条件许可时仍然把它们转嫁出去而由国家和消费者来承担。这也表明了深化企业改革、促进市场完善、缩小需求大于供给的缺口的必要性。

（二）充分补偿与不充分补偿的判断问题

这里所说的不充分补偿，是指在环境破坏和环境治理过程中给予受害者的补偿不能弥补受害者所受的损失。这种不充分补偿主要是针对直接受害者损失的补偿而言。这是因为，无论是在环境破坏还是在环境治理过程中，间接受害者的范围都是相当广泛的，他们所遭受的损失不易被计算出来；而能够用来补偿这些间接受害者的资金又比较有限，因此很难按“充分补偿”的要求来补偿间接受害者。即使采用前面提到过的社会补偿的方式来进行补偿，“充分补偿”仍然不易实现。可以认为，如果要对间接受害者进行补偿的话，那么这种补偿通常是不充分的。

对直接受害者既可以采用直接补偿方式，也可以采用间接补偿方式。应当注意到，对直接受害者的间接补偿究竟是充分补偿还是不充分补偿的判断，同样是不易做出的。间接补偿的两个显著特点是：第一，

它的效应逐渐发生，从实行补偿到受害者感受到自己得到补偿有一个过程，时间或长或短；第二，它究竟能够产生多大的效应，与运用间接补偿费的机构和工作人员的效率高低有密切联系，与运用的方式恰当与否也有密切联系。从而同样数额的一笔间接补偿费会产生不同的效应，给予受害者的实际好处也不一样。根据间接补偿的这两个显著特点可以了解到，对受害者的间接补偿的充分与否，不单纯取决于间接补偿费数额的多少。

正因为如此，所以我们把有关不充分补偿的考察集中于环境破坏和环境治理过程中对直接受害者的直接补偿上。判断这种补偿是否充分的标准就在于直接受害者在财产、收入方面遭受的损失数额与直接受害者从环境破坏责任者那里或从环境治理的主体那里得到的补偿费数额的比较。二者相符的是充分补偿；损失数额大于所得数额的则是不充分补偿，或称部分补偿。在这里，对财产损失的估算相对来说要比对收入损失的估算容易一些，只要财产的估价恰当就可以比较准确地算出；而收入损失的估算涉及面较广，除固定的工资等收入外，还有生产销售收入、财产租赁收入、其他收入，并且所有这些收入在计算时还有贴现问题。这里包括预期的产量变化、价格变化、贴现率的标准、应计入的收入年限等。收入损失估算得偏高、偏低是常见的。这样，在直接补偿方面，不仅有可能出现不充分补偿（补偿额小于损失额），而且有可能出现过度补偿（补偿额大于损失额）。为了避免这种情况，对于直接受害者财产、收入损失的估算，应有一套较合理的方法。

由于间接补偿是逐渐产生效应的，受害者在间接补偿逐渐产生效应的过程中陆续得到实际的好处，所以间接补偿可以被视为多次补偿、分期补偿。直接补偿与此不同，它是以补偿费的形式支付给受害者的。假定一次性支付的补偿费与受害者的财产、收入损失额相当，那么这种一次性支付的补偿就是充分补偿，支付一次就够了。假定一次补偿是不充分补偿，那么直接补偿也可以采取多次补偿、分期补偿的方式，使累计的补偿额与损失额相当，使不充分补偿成为充分补偿。由环境破坏引起的对直接受害者的补偿既然以充分补偿为原则，所以在一次补偿不足以弥补损失时，多次补偿、分期补偿的做法是可行的。至于在环境治理过程中对直接受害者的补偿，根据前面已经论述过的补偿原则，可以按不同的情况给予直接补偿或间接补偿、充分补偿或部分补偿。如果采用充分补偿的做法，那么也可以实行多次补偿、分期补偿。

（三）对不可挽回的损失的补偿问题

以上在讨论充分补偿与不充分补偿时，所提到的损失都是指财产和

收入的损失。然而受害者的损失不限于财产和收入的损失。例如，在环境破坏过程中，受害者的损失还包括身体受损害、生活变得不安定或不协调等。在环境治理过程中，受害者的损失也包括生活变得不安定或不协调等。因此，即使用充分补偿的方式来弥补受害者的损失，那也只意味着补偿额同受害者的财产和收入损失额相当，其余的损失并未得到补偿。

从另一个角度来看待受害者的损失，这种损失还可以分为可以挽回（或可以弥补）的损失与不可挽回（或不可弥补）的损失。一般而论，受害者在财产、收入方面的损失，通过充分补偿是可以挽回的。受害者的生活不安定、不协调或受害者的身体遭到损害，既可能通过某种补偿而得到弥补，也可能难以弥补。这是因为在生活安定或不安定方面往往具有不可比性，而在身体受损害方面，则要看受损害的程度而定。假定受害者本人对生活方式有自己的评价标准，例如喜欢田园式的乡居生活而不喜欢城市公寓的生活，喜欢家人团聚而不喜欢与子女分居，那么在环境破坏或环境治理的过程中，即使因生活方式的变更而得到了某种补偿，这仍然会被受害者本人看成是一种不可挽回的损失。以身体的受损害而言，在环境破坏后，受害者身体受损，有些是可以复原的，有些则不能复原。如果因环境破坏而使受害者的身体遭到严重损害，甚至丧失生命，那么无论得到多少补偿费，也很难弥补损失。

由此可见，对受害者的补偿问题，一旦涉及财产、收入以外的损失，就会变得复杂起来。首先应当肯定，因环境破坏而导致身体受损害的受害者，有理由得到环境破坏责任者的充分补偿。这种充分补偿与对环境破坏过程中受害者财产、收入损失的补偿一样，应以直接补偿费形式支付给个人。但这里还存在两个问题。第一，对身体受损害的补偿怎样才能被称为充分补偿？这是一个学术界至今未能解决的难题。对此，只能参照工伤事故、交通事故等的处理情况而定。正因为身体所遭受的严重损害是不可挽回的损失，所以我们必须增强环境保护意识。第二，在环境破坏责任者不明确的条件下，如何补偿身体遭受损害的受害者的损失？前面曾经提到，这种补偿可以采用社会补偿的方式。但社会补偿在这方面能否以直接补偿方式出现呢？比如说，假定通过多种渠道筹集了社会补偿基金，那么基金除了采取信贷、就业指导和帮助、技术援助等方式给受害者在财产、收入上的损失予以间接补偿外，还可以用支付直接补偿费的方式给那些身体遭受损害的受害者予以相应的补偿。可以设想，只要社会补偿基金达到一定的规模，并且资金有稳定的来源，这也许是一个可行的办法。

在环境破坏和环境治理过程中，居民个人因生活方式的改变而感到的不安定、不协调等等，是难以折算为经济上的损失的。这种损失既不能像财产、收入方面的损失那样得到充分补偿或部分补偿，也不能像身体受损害那样有充足的要求补偿的理由。因此这是一个不易处理的问题。只能这样认为，在目前关于环境保护中的补偿问题的研究水平的限制下，可以不考虑居民个人因生活方式改变而产生的上述损失，而假定居民个人在财产、收入方面的损失得到充分补偿之后将会逐渐适应新的生活环境。

此外，在讨论对不可挽回的损失的补偿问题时，还需要研究国家或社会因资源破坏、生态环境破坏等等而遭到的同样是不可挽回的损失的补偿方式。这里有三个问题值得注意。

第一，如果环境破坏责任者不明确，国家或社会因资源破坏、生态环境破坏等而遭到的损失将不可能从其他地方得到补偿，而只能由国家或社会承担。这种损失归根到底由全民承担。

第二，如果环境破坏的后果是严重的，即使在环境破坏责任者明确的条件下，由后者向政府有关部门支付了一定的补偿费用，但由于已经造成的资源破坏、生态环境破坏的损失很大，补偿数额与损失数额相比微乎其微。这种损失归根到底也仍然由全民承担。

第三，即使在环境破坏责任者明确的条件下，其向政府有关部门支付的补偿费用与所估算出来的损失数额相当，但由于被破坏的资源中有些是不可再生的资源，被破坏的生态环境中有些是不可能复原的，这样，环境破坏责任者所支付的补偿费用仍然难以弥补国家或社会在这方面的损失。这种损失归根到底也由全民承担。

对这些问题的考察，从另一个角度向人们说明了加强环境保护的必要性。

（四）政府决策失误导致的环境破坏的补偿问题

前面在讨论环境破坏的责任者的确定时，一直把企业和个人作为分析的对象。在那里，把政府决策失误所导致的环境破坏以及对受害者的补偿问题排除在外了。但实际上，政府的决策失误在环境破坏方面是有责任的。

可以按以下两种不同的情况来讨论。第一种情况是：政府的决策单纯从经济增长目标出发，而没有把环境保护作为同样应受重视的目标。

结果在经济增长过程中出现了环境的破坏，使受害者遭受了损失。第二种情况是：在环境已经破坏而政府感到有必要对环境进行治理的前提下，政府在环境治理工作中做了错误的决策，如采用了不科学的治理方案，实行了顾此失彼的环境治理措施。结果在环境治理过程中又出现了新的环境破坏，使受害者遭受了损失。这两种情况都表明了政府决策失误所导致的环境破坏是客观存在的。在讨论补偿问题时，有必要对这两种情况加以区别。

先谈第二种情况。在这种情况下，政府作为环境治理的决策者，通常是以环境治理主体的身份从事环境治理的活动。如果政府在环境治理的决策方面有失误，并且这种失误很快地反映出来，那么因此而造成的受害者的损失可以用环境治理费用（其中包括了补偿费用）来补偿。但如果政府决策失误在一段较长的时间以后才被人们察觉，并且受害者的损失在较长时间才被受害者感受到，那么这样的补偿问题就不可能依靠环境治理费用来解决。

再谈第一种情况。这种情况是在经济增长过程中出现的。政府决策的失误表现为片面地注意经济增长而忽视环境保护。在这种决策失误之下造成的受害者的损失，可能会在经济增长过程中得到某种补偿，但也可能得不到补偿。而且，即使受害者得到某种补偿，那也只是一种滞后的和间接的补偿、一种仅限于财产或收入方面的补偿。至于补偿是否充分，那就要视经济增长的成果、时间的长短等因素而定。加之，经济增长过程中所给予的这种滞后的、间接的财产或收入方面的补偿往往是集体意义上的补偿，而不是个别的、有针对性的补偿。这就是说，在经济增长过程中，许多人都得到好处（如收入增加），但这些人在环境破坏过程中受到的损失程度不一，他们在经济增长过程中所增加的收入也多少不等。收入增加最多的不一定是当初受损失最大的，而受损失较大的可能增加的收入较少。因此，经济增长所导致的集体意义上的补偿固然也是一种补偿，但却是具有较大局限性的补偿。这种集体意义上的补偿，只能被看成是政府决策失误造成的环境破坏的补偿问题的部分解决。不仅如此，由于环境破坏而使受害者的身体遭受损害，这样的损失也无法依靠上述集体意义上的补偿来弥补。

再从资源破坏、生态环境破坏给国家或社会造成的损失来看，补偿问题同样是存在的。无论政府在经济增长过程中有决策的失误还是在环境治理过程中有决策的失误，都会带来国民财富的损失，带来社会所拥有的资源存量的损失。而在这种情况下，损失（其中有些是不可挽回的损失）只可能由国家或社会承担，也就是由全民承担。

政府在环境保护工作中的决策失误及其引起的环境破坏和补偿问题之所以应当引起人们的重视，还同其后果的严重性有关。政府在环境保护工作中的错误决策导致环境破坏的范围广，后果严重，纠正这种错误决策所需要的时间较长，费力较大；而由于政府往往不是具体的环境破坏责任者，不具体承担环境破坏的补偿费用，因此政府在环境工作中的错误决策的严重性不易被人们所认识。这就告诉我们，加强政府在经济增长过程中和环境治理过程中决策的民主化和科学化，努力做到经济增长目标与环境保护目标兼顾，具有特别重要的意义。

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Environmental protection and compensation to victims of environmental damage (1990)

I. Two kinds of victims

Compensating victims is a major theoretical and policy issue in the economics of environmental protection. It is, therefore, necessary to clarify the definition of "victims" before looking into the issue. As a matter of fact, victims fall into two categories: (1) those victimized in the course of environmental damage; and (2) those victimized in the course of environmental treatment. There are both direct and indirect victims in each category.

Direct victims of environmental damage are individuals who lose health, property and the means to earn a living, make less money, whose lives are disturbed, or whose family relationships are upset because of the damage done to their living environment. They also include businesses that suffer losses in output, product quality, revenue and property due to environmental damage.

Indirect victims of environmental damage comprise mainly those individuals and businesses whose economic interests have been impaired by the financial and other losses incurred by the aforementioned direct victims – individuals or businesses – with whom they maintain close economic ties.

Direct victims of environmental treatment include businesses that are forced to close down, reduce output or relocate, and individuals working in such businesses. These businesses and individuals make less money as a result. Such direct victims also include families that are relocated due to the needs of environmental treatment – their property may be impaired, their income may drop, and their daily lives may become disturbed or disorganized.

Indirect victims of environmental treatment comprise mainly those individuals and businesses who suffer economic losses due to their close economic ties with the direct victims (individuals or businesses) of environmental treatment who make less money because of it.

People and businesses become direct or indirect victims for different reasons. They are victimized directly or indirectly because of the behavior of those causing environmental damage or those involved in environmental protection. The damage done to them differs in degree as well. Victims of environmental damage bear both economic and physical losses, and in extreme cases, their lives may be at risk. Victims of environmental treatment suffer mainly from losses in income or assets, and their lives may be disarrayed by a changed living environment, although few of them are physically impaired or have their lives threatened.

Victims (individuals or businesses) feel differently about their miseries, too. Victims of environmental treatment may demand compensation because they have either felt or foreseen its adverse impact on their income. Victims of environmental damage may have found out either after damage was done to them or after they were told about it. Some of them may have been oblivious to such damage for a considerable length of time and thus failed to raise compensation demands.

To distinguish the two categories of victims helps research into the issue of compensating victims of environmental protection in the following ways:

Firstly, it helps clarify the nature of such compensation and the rationale behind it. Individuals and businesses must be compensated properly for the damage done to them either in environmental damage or in environmental treatment. However, the nature of compensation and the rationale behind it may differ with the causes of the damage done. The harm done to victims of environmental damage is caused by is perpetrators, and, theoretical speaking, should be compensated by the same perpetrators – they may pay victims themselves or through the government. Although the damage done to victims of environmental treatment should be blamed ultimately on the party that has caused it in the first place, the victims, out of personal feelings, or by tracing such damage to its immediate cause, tend to blame the party – government agencies, businesses, social organizations or individuals – that undertakes to repair such damage through environmental treatment, and demand

compensation from that party. Double compensation, which occurs when the party treating the damage demands compensation from someone who caused the damage, is out of the question if the environmental damage was done by the same party that treats it; otherwise, double compensation becomes the issue. Theoretically speaking, there are ample reasons to demand twofold compensation. However, whether or not such compensation can occur in reality depends on the circumstances.

Secondly, the distinction helps determine the way compensation is made. Once direct and indirect victims of either environmental damage or treatment are distinguished, it is easy to choose a proper way to compensate them. Those victimized in the course of environmental damage should be compensated by the responsible party, with compensation money dispensed directly and in full. Where double compensation is not considered, victims of environmental treatment should be compensated directly, indirectly or in both ways by the party responsible for the treatment. Such compensation may be paid entirely, partially or in both ways in the light of the actual situation.

Thirdly, it helps bring the role of the government into play in compensation, a role that is associated with the government's commitment to protecting the people's interests and the environment. That is to say, whether the damage is attributed to environmental destruction or environmental treatment, the government is duty-bound to do its level best to compensate victims. However, it should be noted that even though governmental decision-making mistakes may cause environmental damage, the real perpetrators are mostly businesses or residents, who are naturally accountable for compensation. In that case, the government's major task is to see to it that victims are properly compensated by the perpetrators. The situation with environmental treatment is somewhat different. The government may either be the decision-maker for environmental treatment or its executor. Thus it may become the party either to directly compensate victims or to demand recompensation from those who caused the damage in the first place. If the party engaged in environmental treatment is not the government but businesses, social organizations or individuals, the government may handle compensation in one of three ways: (1) The government may guarantee that victims are duly compensated by the party engaged in environmental treatment. (2) When the party engaged in environmental treatment demands recompensation from the perpetrator of the environmental damage being

treated, the government will make sure such a demand is met fully or partially according to the circumstances. (3) When the party responsible for environmental treatment can compensate victims only partially, and thereby fails to meet the victims' demand, the government will decide, according to the circumstances, whether the victims' demand should be met, and to what degree.

Fourthly, the distinction helps probe further into the issue of compensation in environmental protection. As is to be illustrated in a later section in this study, many difficult issues concerning compensation for victims of environmental protection remain unsolved in theory and in government policy. To address these problems, the two categories of victims should be distinguished in the first place.

II. Principles and approaches for compensating victims of environmental damage

As mentioned above, environmental damage is done by those held responsible for it, and should therefore be compensated for by them. But this is true merely in theory. In reality, the situation is a lot more complex.

First of all, who should be held responsible for environmental damage can be a controversial decision. Such a decision can only be made according to the actual situation. Take, for example, the waste water discharged by a paper mill situated in the upper reaches of a river which impairs the interests of dwellers in the lower reaches. In this case, it is easy to pinpoint the paper mill as the culprit and ask it to pay dwellers for the damages done. If in the upper reaches of the river there are several factories whose waste water discharges have hurt the townspeople living in the lower reaches, not only must the total responsibility for environmental damage be clarified, but the responsibility to be shared by all those factories should also be decided according to the amount of waste water each factory hasdischarged, thereby making it possible to address the compensation problem properly. Nevertheless, we may also find ourselves dealing with the following scenario, in which acid rain has impaired the interests of the businesses and individuals of a certain place. Can we ascertain who caused such environmental damage? If the answer is yes, can we settle the amount of compensation money to be paid by the perpetrator? The same dilemma may

occur again in another scenario, in which long years of soil erosion and vegetation destruction have drastically changed a region's climate, and resulted in alternating drought and flood that eventually hurt the interests of local residents. In this case, it is also difficult to identify the perpetrator and quantify the money to be paid as compensation. Clearly, only when both the responsibility of the perpetrator and the losses inflicted on the victims are clarified can the aforementioned compensation principle be followed. Otherwise, another way must be found to compensate the victims.

Then, in our study of compensating victims of environmental damage, we may also be faced with the complicated task of how to clarify the degree of damage and quantify the losses inflicted. In the previous section I dwelt on how to differentiate between direct and indirect victims. It should be noted, however, the economic losses inflicted on direct victims of environmental damage are not necessarily higher than the losses of those victimized indirectly by such damage. If, in that case, the perpetrator of environmental damage can only compensate direct victims, it raises the highly controversial question: Should the indirect victims be compensated for their losses too? If the answer is yes, who is to compensate them?

Next, when it comes to victims of environmental damage, only businesses and individuals are counted as victims that deserve compensation. Looking deeper into the issue, however, it is not hard to see that the state or local community is also a victim of such damage. This is because when an environment is destroyed, it means a loss in national assets and in the local community's stock of resources. This means those responsible for environmental damage, once verified, should compensate two groups of victims: (1) businesses and individuals whose interests are directly impaired; and (2) the government or the local community.

Based on the above analysis, and by taking into account the com-plex situation in reality, we propose four principles for compensating victims of environmental damage:

(1) Those responsible for environmental damage should, once their responsibility is settled, compensate the direct victims appropriately; such compensation should be delivered directly and in full to make up for the victims' losses.

(2) Apart from compensating the direct victims, those responsible for environmental damage should, once their responsibility is fixed, also compensate the state or the local community for the losses they have caused to national assets and to the local community's stock of resources.

(3) If, after damage is done to the environment, for one reason or another the responsibility for it cannot be allotted to the businesses or individuals that have perpetrated it, and, as a result, if direct victims of such damage cannot be compensated directly, the direct victims may be handled with social compensation, an approach that will be dwelt upon a few paragraphs later.

(4) If indirect victims of environmental damage fail to receive the compensation that they deserve after direct victims have been com-pensated by the perpetrator, the social compensation approach should also be employed.

After laying down these principles for compensating victims of environmental damage, we need to define the approaches to such

compensation. If businesses and individuals are direct victims, they may be compensated in one of two ways: (1) they may be directly compensated by those responsible for the environmental damage; or (2) those responsible for the environmental damage may be asked to deliver compensation money to the government and the government then pays the direct victims. Furthermore, compensation for the government or the local community shall be paid in money by those held responsible for the damage done. If perpetrators of environmental damage who choose to compensate victims through the government are also obliged to compensate the government, the government, upon receiving all the compensation money, shall divide the money into two according to a certain ratio, retain one portion, and dispense the other portion among direct victims.

Now let us consider social compensation. As a kind of in-direct compensation, it is administered to victims of environmental damage with funds raised from all walks of life. Social compensation can be dispensed in the following ways: (1) preferential loans that help victims boost production and thereby raise their income, or that help stricken areas restore and develop local economy so as to increase their per capita income; (2) employment

guidance and assistance to victims or residents of stricken areas; and (3) technical assistance to victims or stricken areas. In other words, social compensation as an indirect way of atonement is not given directly to victims, but is delivered in such forms as loans, employment guidance and assistance and technical assistance to enable victims to earn more and thus make up for their losses incurred in the course of environmental damage.

The organization in charge of social compensation raises the money needed from all quarters, including fees paid by firms, donations from businesses, individuals and nongovernmental organizations, as well as government funding. The scope and amount of such compensation are decided in light of the organization's financial ability and compensation plans. Given that it is theoretically viable to compensate all victims of environmental damage, this form of social compensation is a wise choice. It goes without saying that many details for such compensation need to be further discussed and clarified.

III. Principles and approaches for compensating victims of environmental treatment

The term "environmental treatment" in this study refers to the treatment of an environment that has been damaged to various degrees, for the purpose of mitigating the damage done or restoring the environment in the best possible way. This kind of environmental treatment calls for certain economic and technical measures, and will have a certain impact on the industrial, technological, employment and consumption structures in the areas concerned. The losses in income or other fields inflicted by environmental treatment on businesses or individuals are contingent upon adjustments made in the course of environmental treatment to local industrial, technological, employment and consumption structures. Therefore, our study of compensation to victims of environmental treatment cannot but be linked with these readjustments.

As pointed out in the previous section, compensation to victims should be paid by the party responsible for environmental treatment. This, however, is just the starting point of such compensation. There are more complicated issues to be addressed as well. It is, therefore, necessary to proceed from the starting point to look further into the whole picture.

Firstly, the state or local community should be regarded as the beneficiary of environmental treatment. If the losses incurred in the course of environmental damage to national assets and to a local community's stock of resources are the reason why the state or local society should be compensated by those held accountable for such damage, in the course of treating such damage the state may benefit from increases or mitigated losses in national assets, and the local community may benefit from increases or mitigated losses in its resources. Therefore, the government should pay a proper portion of compensation money to victims whether or not it is the party engaged in the environmental treatment.

Secondly, in the course of environmental treatment, on the one hand, some firms and individuals may suffer an income loss while others may enjoy an income rise through industrial, technological, employment and consumption restructuring – the former are victims of environmental treatment, and the latter beneficiaries of it. On the other hand, the income of some businesses and individuals will grow in a repaired or treated environment; thus they become beneficiaries of environmental treatment even without restructuring local industry, technology, employment, and consumption. The businesses and individuals that are beneficiaries of environmental treatment are duty-bound to pay a proper part of the compensation money to victims of environmental treatment.

Thirdly, as illustrated above, the environment needs treatment because it has been damaged. Perpetrators of this damage have the obligation to pay a certain amount of compensation money for a second time, this time to those victimized in the course of repairing the environmental damage. Such is the recompensation demanded of the perpetrators of environmental damage by the party engaged in environment treatment. Obviously, such recompensation can be realized only after the perpetrators of environmental damage are verified.

Lastly, it is necessary to take a close look at institutions that may engage in this kind of remedial environmental treatment, such as government institutions, businesses, and nongovernmental organizations. The environmental treatment conducted by government institutions is generally in the national or public interest through such forms as homeland management and treatment, natural resource preservation, economic development, and

living standard betterment in a certain area. For this reason, these institutions usually regard compensating victims of environmental treatment as part of the cost. For instance, when the government evacuates families from an area for environmental treatment purposes, it routinely pays a relocation grant to compensate these families. Such a grant naturally becomes part of the environmental treatment cost. The environmental treatment conducted by a nongovernmental organization is often relevant to its public welfare goals. Thus the amount of money it pays fully or partially to compensate those victimized in the course of environmental treatment is in keeping with its welfare goals in the same way as its other environmental protection expenses. The environmental treatment carried out by businesses is somewhat complicated by two possibilities. Firstly, a business sets about improving the environment of a certain place in order to expand production or upgrade technology; secondly, some businesses have caused certain damage to the environment of a certain place, and, because they are held responsible for such damage, they must treat it in compliance with law or government ordinance. A business may also have both the responsibility for repairing the environment of a place and the need to expand production and upgrade technology. There is a difference between these two possibilities no matter what the causes. In the latter possibility, no recompensation is needed in the course of environmental treatment; in the former possibility, recompensation is a necessity. It is not impossible for that demand to be met as long as the responsibility for the environmental damage done previously can be clarified; otherwise, the business must take it upon itself to compensate victims of environmental treatment.

Moreover, compensation to be made to victims of environmental treatment is not handled the same way as that to victims of environmental damage. A party responsible for environmental treatment can only compensate direct victims – businesses and individuals that have lost part of their income because of environmental treatment. The funding for environmental treatment – compensation money included – is so limited that indirect victims, who tend to be large in number and wide in scope, must be omitted from the compensation list. This is because, unlike environmental damage, environmental treatment itself entails goals for improving environmental quality, restoring the economy of the area concerned and enabling it to grow. That is to say, while direct victims are compensated to a

certain extent, indirect victims may benefit from local economic rehabilitation and growth resulting from environmental treatment, and increase their income even though they are not compensated directly by the party engaged in environmental treatment. It can be said that the compensation for indirect victims of environmental treatment is subsumed in the use and result of the environmental treatment funding.

Based on these observations, the principles for compensating victims of environmental treatment may be spelled out as follows:

(1) The organization engaged in environmental treatment shall, in the course of it, compensate direct victims appropriately for their losses. Because environmental treatment can increase national assets or mitigate losses, and boost the local community's stock of resources or reduce its losses, the government should bear part of the compensation cost.

(2) As environmental treatment is in itself a process of restoring and developing the economy of a given area, its indirect victims will benefit from it in due course. Therefore, they may not be compensated where the funding for environmental treatment – compensation money included – is limited and the compensation scope is too wide.

(3) Compensation occurring in the course of environmental treatment is part of the cost, and the compensation money is raised in different ways, including the money paid by the government and other beneficiaries, and the money paid by the verified perpetrators of the environmental damage being treated. This kind of compensation money will be paid only to direct victims of environmental treatment.

Now that the principles are laid down, what should be discussed next is the way compensation money is to be paid. Compensation to victims of environmental treatment can be paid directly, indirectly or in both ways. It can also be paid in full or partially. Of course, such compensation is meant for direct victims.

Then, to be specific, how to go about direct and indirect compensation? Generally speaking, direct compensation is designed to make up for residents' property and income losses incurred in the course of resettlement, and may be paid by the government or the party engaged in environmental treatment. The other losses caused to direct victims of environmental treatment may be

indirectly made up for. If workers will lose their income because their factories have to stop production or are shut down in the course of environmental treatment, it is better to compensate them indirectly (such as by shifting the factories to other fields of production or the workers to other jobs) than directly (such as by granting a living allowance to them). The workers of a factory that has stopped production or closed down may also get paid by insurance so that their living standards will not drop too much, but this form of help belongs under social insurance and therefore has nothing to do with compensation from environmental treatment. As to the term "partial compensation," it means that the losses incurred by victims of environmental treatment may be partially compensated for – they can be fully compensated for only when there is enough money to cover it. The reason for it is the same: environmental treatment itself is a course of restoring and developing the economy of the area involved, which is an intangible form of compensation for victims.

IV. A closer observation of certain issues

i. Ultimate bearers of direct compensation costs

Those held accountable for environmental damage may be pro-ducers or consumers. If consumers are liable for such damage, they have no way of shifting their direct compensation responsibility to any other people – in other words, they are the ultimate bearers of direct compensation costs. Whether or not producers can shift such payment to others is determined by the nature of their products, market conditions, and their own financial situation. If the supply of their products outstrips the demand, or supply and demand are balanced while their products are in complete market competition and they must bear the responsibility for their own gains and losses, the producers must eventually pay direct compensation whether such payment is listed as production cost or not – they pay for it at the expense of their profit. That is to say, they cannot but be obliged to swallow the bitter pill of environmental damage.

In reality, however, the producers that are supposed to pay for direct compensation are mainly large and medium-sized state businesses that do not take responsibility for their gains and losses. Their profits inevitably shrink

once direct compensation payments are listed as their production costs, even if their products are in complete market competition, their supply outstrips demand, or their supply and demand are in balance. However, such losses are not borne by these producers, but by the state. The absurdity here is that businesses are the culprits of environmental damage, but it is the government that foots the bill.

If a product is in short supply and the market competition for it is incomplete, and if there is no rigidity in its price, the direct compensation to be delivered by its producer, once listed as a production cost, is incorporated into the product's price. Buyers of such a product end up as the ultimate bearers of the direct compensation cost. If the buyers are consumers, they cannot shift such a burden to others; if the producer is the buyer of his own product, the issue returns to such premises as whether the supply of his product is in excess of demand or in balance with it, whether market competition for it is complete or not, and whether the producer is responsible for his gains and losses. At the end of the day, the likelihood is that consumers and the state will find themselves paying for such direct compensation.

As illustrated above, to deepen corporate reform and establish a corporate system that holds businesses accountable for their gains and losses is a must if producers held liable for environmental damage are to be made to compensate. It is also imperative to improve the market and bridge the gap between supply and demand. If we fail in this, it will be impossible to prevent consumers and the state from unwarrantedly becoming the ultimate payers of direct compensation.

Who, then, are the legitimate ultimate cost bearers of direct compensation to victims of environmental treatment? The answer is the government and those engaged in environmental treatment. Where recompensation is not an issue, the direct compensation paid by the government or nongovernmental organizations is listed as part of the treatment cost in expenditure – it cannot be shifted to consumers because it is not part of production costs. However, the situation is complicated when it comes to businesses engaged in environmental treatment. If a business improves the environment in order to expand production or upgrade technology, it tends to lump direct compensation payment with its

environmental treatment cost as part of its production expansion investment. This investment is to be recouped over a length of time determined by its economic efficiency. But no matter how long the recouping period, the direct compensation payment will be eventually factored into the business's production cost. The situation thus returns to what has been discussed previously, where such cost is eventually borne by the state and the consumer if the business is not liable for its gains and losses, if its product is in short supply and market competition is incomplete, and if there is no price rigidity. If the business is liable for environmental damage and if its environmental treatment is designed to remedy such damage, in the natural course of events its compensation payment becomes part of its total environmental treatment cost. As a matter of fact, however, the business will seek to shift this payment, whenever possible, to the state and the consumer, a possibility that justifies the necessity to deepen corporate reform, straighten out the market and mitigate supply shortfalls.

ii. Judging full and partial compensation

The term "partial compensation" refers to the kind of compensation that falls short of making good the losses inflicted on victims of environmental damage or treatment. It is relevant by and large to the losses suffered by direct victims. Because the indirect victims of either environment damage or treatment are always scattered over a large area, their number and their losses cannot be quantified easily, whereas the amount of money available is too limited to meet their demand for "full compensation," even with the money raised by the local community counted in. Therefore, the compensation to indirect victims, if delivered, is considered partial.

Although direct victims, by contrast, may be compensated directly or indirectly, it should be noted that it is no easier to ascertain if an indirect compensation to direct victims is full or not. Indirect compensation is marked by two characteristics. For one thing, victims have to wait for a certain time to be convinced that they have been compensated; for another, its effect hinges on the work efficiency of those who make such payment and the approach they take – the same amount of indirect compensation payment may have different effects on different beneficiaries. These two distinctive characteristics indicate that whether indirect compensation is paid fully or partially is not determined merely by its amount.

This is exactly why I have focused my study of partial compensation on direct compensation to direct victims of environmental damage or treatment. Whether a direct compensation payment is full or partial can be calculated by comparing the amount of property and income losses inflicted on a direct victim with the amount of compensation money he receives from the perpetrator of environmental damage or the party engaged in environmental treatment. Compensation is deemed full if the two amounts match, and deemed inadequate or partial if the victim is underpaid for his losses. In this regard, it is easier to figure out the property loss than the income loss. Property loss can be pinpointed if its value is properly estimated, whereas income loss is somewhat complicated. Apart from wages and other fixed income, earnings from sales, rents and other activities should also be included; when all these figures are computed, the anticipated changes in output and price, depreciation rate benchmark, and the number of years involved should also be factored into the depreciation category. Because it is not uncommon for income losses to be over- or under-estimated, compensation may be inadequate where payment cannot cover the total losses, or overgenerous where payment outstrips the total value of losses. Only with appropriate methods can such errors be avoided when evaluating a victim's property and income losses.

Because it takes time for indirect compensation to take effect, its benefit seems to be delivered to victims in a constant stream. Thus indirect compensation may also be regarded as something paid in installments. Direct compensation is different in that it is paid in a lump. If that lump sum payment is commensurate with the victim's property and income losses, it is full and the case is closed. If that lump sum is partial, the direct compensation in question can become full with follow-up installments of payment. Given that full compensation is the guideline for dealing with direct victims of environmental damage, payment in installments is feasible where the starting payment is not enough to cover a victim's losses. Following the same guideline above, compensation to direct victims of environmental treatment can be paid directly or indirectly, in full or partially. Full compensation may also be paid in installments.

iii. Compensation for irreparable losses

What is covered by the full and partial compensations that have just

been discussed is victims' property and income losses. However, victims' losses are often not limited to property and income. For instance, environmental damage may also impair its victims' health and blight their lives, and environmental treatment may also destroy its victims' lives and jobs. Full compensation payment can only make up for their property and income losses, leaving their other losses unaddressed.

The losses inflicted on victims can also be classified as reparable or irreparable ones. Generally speaking, property and income losses can be made good through full compensation. The damage done to victims' lives and health may or may not be compensable. This is because of the incomparability of people's grievances in daily life even if the degree of damage done to their health can be defined. Victims vary in lifestyle. Some prefer the idyllic country life of farming to dwelling in an urban apartment building; some like living with family members and dislike separation from their children. Even if they have been compensated in some ways for the changes of lifestyle caused by environmental damage or treatment, they may still see such changes as an irreparable loss. People's impaired health can be cured or incurable, but no amount of compensation is enough to make up for badly impaired health or lost life.

The situation becomes complicated once the compensation issue involves losses other than those in property and income. To start with, victims whose health has been impaired by environmental damage do have every reason to deserve the same – direct as well as full – compensation payment that they receive for their property and income losses. But this poses two questions. First, what kind of compensation for impaired health can qualify as being full? The answer remains elusive to this day. For the time being, we can only make do by referring to the way work-related injuries and deaths and traffic accidents are handled. Precisely because of the irreparable nature of serious damage to people's health, we have to enhance our awareness of environmental protection in the first place. Second, how should victims be compensated for their impaired health when and where the perpetrator of environmental damage is yet to be identified? Impaired health may be compensated for through the social compensation fund. But can such welfare fund be used as direct compensation in such cases? In other words, apart from indirectly compensating victims for their property and income losses in the form of credit and assistance in employment and technology, can

the social compensation fund also incorporate the money raised from various quarters as direct compensation to pay victims for their impaired health? This is probably a feasible solution, provided such social compensation fund can reach a considerable financial scale and have secured steady fund-raising sources.

The mental disorder and discomfort caused to residents by lifestyle changes resulting from environmental damage or treatment can hardly be converted into economic losses. Therefore, this kind of loss cannot be covered with the full or partial compensation payments for property and income losses, nor is there a legitimate reason for these residents to demand the same full compensation as for impaired health. Changed lifestyle, indeed, is a hard nut to crack in this regard. Pending an effective solution, we may just leave the issue aside for the time being under the supposition that after being fully compensated for their property and income losses, residents will be gradually acclimatized to their changed living environment.

Furthermore, while racking our brains over how to compensate for irreparable losses, we should lose no time in finding ways and means to compensate for the irreparable losses inflicted on the state or society by the damage done to natural resources or the ecological environment. Let me call attention to three issues:

Issue One, if liability for environmental damage remains unidentified, there is no way for the state or society to be compensated for this kind of loss. This is a bitter pill, indeed, for the state or society to swallow. The entire population will have to bear such losses ultimately.

Issue Two, even if liability for environmental damage has been defined and the perpetrator has compensated, the amount of money the government receives will most likely be a pittance in comparison with the actual damage done to resources and the environment. Thus the losses, too, will eventually be borne by the entire population.

Issue Three, even if the compensation paid by the perpetrator to the government can offset the estimated amount of losses inflicted by environmental damage, it is still not enough to make up for all the losses incurred by the state or society, because some of the damaged resources are not renewable and part of the damaged eco-environment can never be

restored. Such losses will ultimately be borne by the entire population as well.

My observation of these issues drives home, from another angle, the need to tighten up environmental protection.

iv. Compensation for environmental damage resulting from wrong government policy decisions

Businesses and individuals have been the subjects of my ana-lysis so far in this study when it comes to defining the liability for environmental damage. No mention has been made of the environmental damage resulting from wrong government policy decisions and the resultant issue of compensation to victims. As a matter fact, there is no lack of cases in which faulty government policy decisions are to blame for environmental damage.

That may happen in two scenarios: In the first scenario, economic growth goals are on the top of government agenda while environmental protection fails to get equal attention. The result is that environmental damage occurs and inflicts losses on its victims in the course of economic growth. In the second scenario, the government, having seen the need to restore the destroyed environment of a certain region, makes a wrong policy decision, such as adopting unworkable treatment approaches and attending to one thing to the neglect of another. Thus new damage is done in the course of treating the damage, and local people and businesses are victimized as a result.

Let me dwell on the second scenario first, in which the government makes a decision on environmental treatment and goes on to carry it out. If it takes a policy misstep whose dire consequence becomes swiftly apparent, it may use its fund for environmental treatment – compensation payments included – to pay for the losses inflicted on victims. But if it takes a long time for the consequence to be discovered and for victims to become aware of the damage done, the fund will no longer be available by then to pay for the losses.

Now, about the first scenario, which may occur in the process of economic growth, where a faulty policy decision arises from the government's obsession with economic growth and neglect of environmental

protection. The losses inflicted by this policy misstep may or may not be compensated for in the course of economic growth. Even if victims are compensated to a certain extent, such compensation tends to be belated and indirect, and limited to property or income losses. Whether such compensation is full or not is determined by the margin of economic growth and by how long it takes to pay it. In addition, this kind of belated, indirect compensation for property or income losses is often delivered to collectives rather than individuals. That is to say, the benefits – in the form of, say, income increase – of economic growth are there for all to share, but the fact that people's losses through environmental damage are different in degree can result in a discrepancy in income increase from economic growth. Those getting the highest increase in income are not necessarily the same people whose losses are the heaviest, while those suffered the most may end up getting the lowest pay rise. Therefore, collective compensation in the course of economic growth is limited to a point where it can only address part of the compensation problem arising from environmental damage caused by government errors. Furthermore, if environmental damage has hurt people's health, compensation cannot be delivered collectively.

Likewise, the state and society should be compensated for losses resulting from destruction of resources and the environment. Government decision-making mistakes committed in either economic growth or environmental treatment can inflict losses on national assets and local community's stock of resources. These kinds of losses – some of which are irreparable – can be borne only by the state or society, that is, by the entire population.

Wrong government policy decisions on environmental protection, and the consequent damage and compensation merit public concern not only because such damage often covers a vast area and its consequences tend to be grave and multitudinous, but also because it takes more time and effort to correct such mistakes. However, because the government is often not the actual perpetrator of environmental damage and the actual bearer of the compensation payment for it, the serious nature of the government's decision-making mistakes tends to elude public attention. This is why it is essential to step up the effort to put government decision making on economic growth and environmental protection on a democratic and scientific footing, and to attach equal importance to both economic growth and environmental

protection goals.

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贫困地区经济与环境的协调发展 (1991)

我们经常听到这样一种说法：一个地区越穷，就越不重视生态环境（比如滥开荒，滥砍树，滥挖矿），也越没有财力来治理被破坏的环境，结果越来越穷。我们还经常听到另一种说法：某个地区过去虽然穷，但当地水污染少，土壤污染少，空气污染也少，后来，经济发展了，人民生活水平提高了，反而河流被污染了，土壤被污染了，空气也被污染了。这两种说法之中哪一种说法有道理，还是两种说法都有道理呢？如果说两种说法都有道理的话，那么，对生态环境的保护来说，似乎穷也不好，不穷也不好，难道只有处在“穷与不穷”之间才好吗？

实际上，我们所接触到的是环境经济学与发展经济学二者共同遇到的一个难题：环境保护和贫困区开发的经济运行机制问题。只有从经济运行机制方面着手研究，才能对上述问题有比较正确的回答。

一、与环境保护、贫困区开发有关的经济运行机制

任何一种社会，总是在一定的目标的指引下，依靠某种动力，使用各种资源，使经济运转起来，并在运转中排除各式各样的干扰，达到预定目标或尽可能接近预定的目标。社会的经济运行机制就是社会借以实现上述过程的一系列关系的总称，这些关系产生自这个社会的内部，而不是来自外界。概括地说，在社会经济发展中，经济运行机制包括以下四方面的机制。

（1）目标机制。目标和目标体系是如何形成的？目标顺序是如何排列的？从经济发展来说，需要研究的问题包括：发展的目标是什么？确定这些目标的出发点和依据有哪些？环境与生态平衡是不是被列入发展目标体系以及它们在这一目标体系中的位置如何？

（2）动力机制。动力的源泉是什么？动力是怎样产生的？以什么

方式取得动力？假定生态环境与生态平衡被列入了发展目标体系之中，那么怎样才能在发展过程中形成认真对待环境与生态平衡的动力？怎样得到这种动力？换句话说，怎样激励人们关心环境，关心生态平衡？怎样才能使这种动力长久维持？

（3）资源配置机制。资源按何种原则配置？以何种方式配置？资源配置主体在这一过程中的自我约束和相互约束是如何形成的？这两种约束怎样发挥作用？从经济发展与环境保护二者的相互关系来分析，经济发展过程中的资源是怎样配置的，环境保护过程中的资源又是怎样配置的？经济发展过程中的资源配置方式与环境保护过程中的资源配置方式之间有哪些矛盾？这些矛盾如何得到解决？经济发展与环境保护中的资源配置主体在资源配置方面如何自我约束与相互约束？

（4）排除干扰机制。怎样识别经济运行中的干扰？怎样排除这些干扰？假定经济发展与环境保护过程分别受到了来自各种因素的干扰，那么这些干扰是怎样被认识到的？怎样估计这些干扰的严重程度？经济发展过程中能否自行排除这些干扰？如果不能自行排除这些干扰，那么干扰将如何被排除？

不同的运行机制，在目标、动力、资源配置、排除干扰这四个方面是各有特点的。现在，我们需要研究的是社会主义经济中与环境保护、贫困区开发有关的经济运行机制问题，考察的重点放在社会主义社会的两种不同的经济运行机制（传统的经济运行机制与建立中的新经济运行机制）之下环境保护与贫困区开发过程的比较上，以便说明经济运行机制的不同决定了环境保护状况与贫困区开发过程及其效果的不同。

根据前面提及的经济运行机制所包括的四个方面，即目标、动力、资源配置、干扰的排除，在对以社会主义所有制为基础的两种不同经济运行机制进行分析、比较时，我们可以清楚地看到，它们在第一和第二方面的差别虽然存在，但并不十分显著。这是因为，由于两种不同的经济运行机制都建立在社会主义所有制的基础上，目标机制与动力机制的差别不可能达到目标截然不同与动力截然不同的地步，尽管在目标顺序和目标制定方式上存在着某些差别，以及在对动力源泉的认识和取得动力的方式上也存在着某些差别。但是，资源配置机制与排除干扰机制在社会主义传统经济运行机制与新经济运行机制之下则有很大的差别。正是资源配置机制与排除干扰机制的不同，成为决定两种不同的社会主义经济运行机制之下环境保护状况与贫困区开发过程及其效果不同的主要因素。

二、传统经济运行机制下贫困地区的环境破坏

动态地看，一个贫困地区在发展过程中有可能遭到两类不同的环境破坏。一类破坏是在发展初期就可能存在的，即当地居民为了使自己早日摆脱贫困状态，掠夺性地对待自然资源，致使森林、草原、矿产资源、植被遭到破坏，水土流失。这时由于工业还没有发展，一般只有这一类破坏。另一类破坏是在工业逐渐发展的过程中才出现的，即随着工厂的建立，水源被污染，土壤被污染，空气也被污染。当然，第一类破坏即使在工业发展以后也仍可能继续存在，因此工业发展后两类不同的环境破坏是可能并存的。

这两类环境破坏同传统的社会主义经济运行机制有什么关系呢？让我们先从一个贫困地区的供给与需求两方面分析谈起。

一个贫困地区通常是一个封闭的或基本上封闭的经济体系，它或者同外界没有经济联系，或者联系很少。假定它同外界联系很少，那么这表明该地区与其他地区之间的投入产出联系很少，本地区的需求基本上与当地的供给在很低的水平上是相适应的。

一个贫困地区，即使在基本封闭的状态中，也不是不会发生上述第一类环境破坏的。比如说，由于缺乏燃料，人们可能滥砍树；由于土地贫瘠、亩产量低、粮食供给不足，人们可能滥开荒。但应当注意到，处于基本封闭状态的贫困地区，即使发生第一类环境破坏，其破坏的程度也有可能受到某种限制。这正是封闭型经济的一个特点。当然，封闭条件下，由于该地区处于贫困状态，所以第一类环境破坏不会中止。如果这时客观上存在的是传统的社会主义经济运行机制，并且假定发生了由于基本生活资料供给不足而造成破坏资源、破坏环境的行为，则只能采取行政性措施进行干预，而缺乏内在的协调经济发展与生态平衡的机制。

然而，在经济发展过程中，地区的封闭状态肯定要被逐步打破。这时，就算传统经济运行机制仍在起作用，地区同外界的投入产出联系也会逐渐增加。一个地区经济的发展不仅引起本地区的供给增长和需求增长，而且也会被其他地区的供给和需求增长所带动。各个地区的供给和需求增长幅度的不一致，会使各个地区的经济结构进行某种程度的调整，使原来的人力、物力、财力的空间分布进行某种程度的调整，而不同地区居民收入水平提高的程度也会因此而很不一样。这时，各地区经济发展和居民收入提高的这种不平衡性，主要是由于地理位置、自然条

件、人口密度、资源状况的影响，而并非是经济运行机制的不同起着决定性的作用。制约着地区经济结构变化的基本因素不是在经济运行机制方面，而是在非经济运行机制方面，假定传统经济运行机制继续支配着经济生活的话。

贫困地区的封闭状态被打破以及在同其他地区经济联系增多的情况下，在受到地区之间经济发展与居民收入提高不平衡的影响之下，上述第一类环境破坏的程度就有可能加剧。单靠传统经济运行机制之下的行政干预措施很难予以制止。不可否认，有些贫困地区的干部和群众是关心本地经济发展和收入水平提高的。他们动脑筋，想办法，不辞辛苦，力求改变本地区的落后和贫困状态。那么，怎样才能迅速致富呢？发展要靠工业，工业需要资金，资金来自何处？假定国家进行投资，工业可以发展起来，但绝不是每一个贫困地区都有条件吸引国家在本地区进行工业投资的。如果一开始无法依靠工业来发展本地经济和依靠工业来积累资金，那么依靠发展工业来实现致富的目的将如何实现呢？在传统经济运行机制之下，这是很困难的。于是出现了两种可能性：一是，尽管贫困地区同外界的经济联系增多了，但本地的工业由于缺乏资金难以发展，本地的农业虽然有可能发展，但农业却难以为本地区积累资金，从而难以达到致富的目的，于是本地区同其他地区的人均收入差距将因发展速度的不同而逐渐扩大；另一种可能性是，为了积累资金，居民自发地或有组织地过度开采当地的资源，靠出卖资源来增加收入，在这种情况下，即使人们辛辛苦苦，也不会取得应有的成果，甚至会变得愈加贫困。由此造成的恶果，不但影响本地区，而且也影响其他有关地区，不但影响现在，还会影响到将来。在经济发展过程中，这样的例子是屡见不鲜的。

三、转换贫困地区的经济运行机制　比制定优惠政策更为重要

应当承认，一个贫困地区经济发展的快慢，居民收入提高幅度的大小，以及资源或环境破坏的严重程度，同一定时期的经济政策有密切的关系。但是更为重要的不是经济政策问题，而是经济运行机制问题。

正如前面已指出的，经济运行机制是指经济借以运行的一系列关系的总称。这些关系有些是以法律、法规确定的，有些依赖于经济政策的规定。在经济运行机制既定的条件下，公布一项重要的经济政策并有效

地推行之，会对既定的经济运行条件和运行过程发生这样的或那样的影响，从而产生经济和社会效应。政策的作用就是这样发挥出来的。经济政策通过对既定的经济运行机制的影响，在一定程度上改变了运行条件和运行过程，然后影响需求与供给、投入与产出，使地区经济和收入水平发生某种变化。但是，在贫困地区经济发展中，在深层次起作用的是经济运行机制，而不是政策。经济运行机制决定着经济运行过程，而政策要发挥作用，则必须对经济运行机制产生影响，使经济运行机制发生某种变化。比如说，某一地区是相当贫困的，为了促使该地区摆脱贫困状态，政府制定了优惠政策，包括减免税收、给予财政补贴、发放无息或低息贷款等。可是如果经济运行机制仍然不利于地区经济的发展，这些优惠政策的作用将是有限的。这是因为，尽管通过政府的优惠政策，该地区得到了财政补贴，得到了无息或低息贷款，但这些资金不会成为该地区经济发展的启动资金，政府给予的财政补贴和无息或低息贷款往往被用于缓和眼前的困难，不足以使该地区的经济繁荣兴旺。所以人们常说，对于贫困地区来说，更重要的是使它们有“造血”的机能，光靠“输血”甚至长期“输血”都无法使它们脱贫致富。

既然贫困地区的经济发展主要取决于经济运行机制是否合适，那么与贫困地区经济发展有关的环境与生态平衡问题也同样取决于经济运行机制，而并非取决于经济政策。正如仅仅依靠经济政策不足以使贫困地区摆脱贫困状态一样，仅仅依靠经济政策也不足以使贫困地区在经济发展过程中解决环境与生态平衡问题。这样，我们就必须进一步探讨：究竟什么样的经济运行机制不利于贫困地区的经济发展和生态平衡？什么样的经济运行机制有利于解决这些问题？假定这个问题明确了，那么政策的导向也就可以确定下来，即需要制定的是哪些政策，以便从某些方面限制不利于贫困地区经济发展和生态平衡的经济运行机制的作用，促进有利于这些问题的解决的经济运行机制发挥作用。只要经济运行机制转换了，贫困地区内部积累与再投入将会增加，环境破坏将受到内在的制约。反之，如果传统经济运行机制继续起着支配经济生活的作用，外部投入（也就是所谓“输血”）再多也不能迅速改变贫困地区的面貌。贫困地区既可能是一个漏斗，也可能是一个蓄水塘。外部投入好比向这里注水。如果贫困地区是漏斗，那么注入的水再多，迟早也要流完，结果，贫困地区依然是贫困地区。如果贫困地区是一个蓄水塘，外部注入的水不会流失，而会蓄积在塘里，于是在塘里养鱼，鱼就会繁殖，那里的经济面貌就会发生变化。这时，哪怕外部的投入只是一次性的，但却是启动性的，这个水塘也就活起来了。所以说，要发展贫困地区经济，首要的问题是不让贫困地区成为漏斗，不让外部投入流失。为此就需要

把传统经济运行机制转换为新的经济运行机制，把“漏斗”型的地区经济改变为“蓄水塘”型的地区经济。

四、贫困地区的内部积累机制

贫困地区经济发展中的一个关键性问题是资金投入问题。这个问题包括三个方面：一是资金来源；二是资金投入的方向或资金投入的结构；三是资金使用效率。在社会主义经济中，传统的经济运行机制与新的经济运行机制的区别在资金投入问题的三个方面极为明显。

就资金来源而言，一个地区内部积累的来源是企业的积累和居民的积累。假定这个地区一直处于贫困状态，那么正如前面已经指出的，或者本地没有什么工业，或者，即使有少数工业企业，这些企业也不会有很多积累；同时，本地居民的收入也少，他们或者没有积累，或者只有很少量的积累。这是一个现实问题。然而在这里要探讨的是，不管企业和居民的积累多么少，关键是要吸引他们再投入，于是就需要形成一种能够吸引本地区内部再投入的机制，即内部积累机制。前面在概述经济运行机制时，曾指出需要从目标、动力、资源配置、排除干扰这样四个方面来考察；而且，前面还曾提到，在同一种社会主义所有制基础上的两种不同的经济运行机制之间，目标与动力方面的差别不是主要的，差别主要在资源配置和排除干扰方面。这里所说的在两种不同经济运行机制之下地区内部积累机制的区别，实际上就是资源配置原则、资源配置方式之间的区别。因此可以这样认为：地区内部积累机制是社会的资源配置机制的一个组成部分。

在传统经济运行机制之下，贫困地区内部积累机制之所以难以形成，新的经济运行机制之下这一内部积累机制之所以存在，可从以下三个角度作出解释。

第一，资源配置是通过资金投入和再投入实现的。由于资金投入和再投入的结构不同，从而不断出现资源配置格局的调整。但是，怎样才能保证资金的投入和再投入呢？很明显，必须使得投入的主体认为这种投入和再投入有好处。这就是资金投入和再投入的利益导向，当然这里所说的利益大小是就相对利益而言的。投入和再投入必定趋向于相对利益较高的领域，于是就涉及价格问题。传统经济运行机制之下，价格比例不合理，贫困地区所能够提供的是初级产品，但由于资源价格偏低，初级产品价格也偏低，加之贫困地区产品的生产成本和交易成本（运输

成本包括在交易成本之内）偏高，于是一方面，贫困地区自身不可能有多少剩余，投入与再投入的资金没有来源；另一方面，这种场合也很难对贫困地区内部的投入和再投入有吸引力。如果今后实现了新的社会主义经济运行机制，那么价格比例将趋于合理，资源价格将上升到应有的水平，生产成本和交易成本则会相对下降，这样内部投入和再投入的吸引力就必然会增大。从这里可以得到一个重要的启示：如果宏观经济决策部门决心帮助贫困地区脱贫致富的话，那么与其用“输血”的方式来帮助贫困地区，不如把转换经济运行机制作为重点，逐步解决资源价格偏低以及生产成本和交易成本偏高的问题，这才真正有助于贫困地区形成有效的内部积累机制。

第二，资金投入和再投入来自剩余，剩余又分解为消费与储蓄，或消费与投资（投资来自储蓄的转化）。因此，就资源配置而言，一开始就涉及剩余的分配问题。贫困地区的经济落后，劳动生产率低，它所提供的初级产品价格又不合理，因此剩余本来就很少。如果在这种情况下，剩余中有较多部分被用于消费，那么可供投资的部分就非常微薄了。为了开发贫困地区，一定要防止不合理的消费支出侵蚀本来可以用于投入和再投入的内部积累。这里所说的不合理消费，主要是指与民间的陈规陋习有关的各种非生活必需的消费支出，此外也包括某些与现有生产力水平和居民收入水平不相适应的消费支出。然而在传统经济运行机制之下，这只能依靠行政措施来加以控制。行政措施的控制从表面上看是有效的，但却会带来一个问题，即资金投入的主体（包括企业、城镇居民、农村生产单位、农民家庭）缺乏来自内部的资金投入和再投入的热情，因而不能很好地同行政措施相配合，结果政府不得不一再强化行政干预。况且，在传统经济运行机制下，即使依靠某种行政措施，使资源价格上升了，生产成本和交易成本降低了，价格与成本之间有了一定正值的差额，但如果资金投入的主体依然缺乏资金投入和再投入的热情，这个差额仍会被不合理的消费支出侵蚀，内部再投入依旧落空。新的社会主义经济运行机制建立后，资金投入和再投入主体既有自主性，又有资金投入和再投入的热情，它们就有内在的限制不合理消费支出的倾向，内部积累就会增多。至于政府的调节，也可以更多地采取经济调节（如调整税率、利率）的形式，调节效果也会比单纯依靠行政措施好得多。

第三，资源配置不仅包括了资金投入和再投入，而且包括了投入和再投入的组合。要知道，资金投入和再投入既以价值形式表现，也以实物形式表现，而在以实物形式表现时，就有人力、物力、财力资源的组合比例和组合方式等问题。此外，由于地区之间存在着投入产出关系，

存在着资源的流动，因此，资金投入和再投入也包括了一个地区的资源如何与其他地区的资源有效结合，以便在价值形式和实物形式上相一致的问题。这样，为了使贫困地区的经济有较快的发展，应当尽可能地创造本地资源同外地资源的有效结合方式，并通过这种结合来提供较多的内部积累。当然，一个贫困地区要完全依赖于外部资源（尤其是外部的财力资源）流入来发展经济，既无助于本地区自身内部投入与再投入机制的形成，而且在我国经济的现阶段也缺乏现实性。但从一个贫困地区的具体条件出发，如果完全没有外部资源的流入，地区经济的启动有时会遇到很大困难。因此，重要的是在于本地资源同外地资源究竟以何种方式结合。在传统经济运行机制之下，由于资金投入和再投入的主体缺乏自主性和机动性，本地资源的组合方式以及本地与外地资源的结合方式都受到很大限制。这时，如果说仍然有本地资源与外地资源结合的话，那么也主要是通过行政性措施来实现的，既难以有效结合，又难以长期结合。如果建立了新的社会主义经济运行机制，资金投入的主体有了自主性和机动性，它们就会从经济利益（包括近期利益和长期利益）出发，选择有效的结合方式。由于贫困地区本地资源同外地资源能否有效结合是关系到该地区经济能否产生较多的内部积累、能否加速居民收入水平提高的重要条件，所以单从资源结合方式来看，也有必要通过改革来转换经济运行机制。

五、贫困地区资金投入的结构与经济发展—环境的协调

根据以上分析，地区的资金投入问题的第二个方面是资金投入的方向或资金投入的结构。资金投入量是流量，现有的资金部门结构表现为资金的存量，它们是长期形成的。在传统经济运行机制之下，资金投入的方向是由政府部门决定的。如果资金的部门结构不合理，那么存量调整的难度很大。可行的办法只是调节流量，即调节资金投入量。然而，一方面流量有限，另一方面，流量一旦投入就会变为存量。不妨把流量比喻为“活水”，存量比喻为“死水”。流量变为存量，也就等于“活水”变成了“死水”。于是贫困地区的资金部门结构不仅失调，而且失调状况不易改变，内部积累机制难以形成，内部投入和再投入也难以顺利进行。

此外，考虑到贫困地区经济的发展和居民收入水平的提高是一个持续的过程，就资金投入和再投入而言，应当设法使这种来自内部的投入和再投入保持稳定性。传统经济运行机制之下，是实现不了稳定的投入和再投入的。这是因为，仅仅依靠行政措施，资金投入和再投入缺乏利

益导向，地区的资源结合又不可能持久，这样，势必会形成“热一阵”、“冷一阵”的状况。那么，新的社会主义经济运行机制之下，又将如何呢？要知道，内部投入和再投入的主动权在形成内部积累的企业和有了储蓄的城乡居民手中，而不在政府手中。只有企业和城乡居民愿意把手中的货币投入本地区经济的发展事业，内部积累机制才能被认为已经形成。因此，不能认为只要经济运行机制一转轨，贫困地区的内部积累机制就会形成。比如说，在新的经济运行机制之下，企业有了自主性，城市居民有了投入、再投入的积极性，但他们究竟把资源投入何处呢？是投入本地区还是投入其他条件的地区呢？如果利益导向其他地区而并非本地区，那么，即使建立了新的经济运行机制，贫困地区经济发展的投入和再投入也仍然缺乏保证。在这种情况下，政府的调节是必要的。各级财政部门可以根据具体情况，规定一定比例的贫困地区建设资金，作为对贫困地区投入和再投入规模的某种保证；又如，政府还可以通过优惠的税率，动员社会资金，吸引它们投入贫困地区的开发，以补充这些地区内部投入和再投入之不足；在国家、地方、企业，社会各界广泛集资的基础上，还可以建立某一地区的开发基金，按照内部投入和再投入的实际状况而适当运用。

下面，我们需要着重研究的是，在贫困地区经济发展的过程中，如何才能通过资金的合理投向来促进经济发展与环境的协调？如果客观上已经存在着资金投入结构的不当从而存在着资金部门结构的失调的话，那么，从协调经济发展与环境的角度来看，转换经济运行机制在这些方面究竟能够起多大作用？

应当承认，传统经济运行机制不可能解决这些方面的问题，其理由已经在前面作了说明。关键在于：在传统经济运行机制之下，既然难以形成贫困地区的内部投入和再投入机制，又难以通过资金存量的调整来改变资金部门结构不合理的现状，因此，传统经济运行机制在解决贫困地区的经济发展与环境协调方面的局限性就是不言自明的。那么，在新的社会主义经济运行机制之下，能否解决这些问题呢？这是一个比较复杂的问题，需要较深入地探讨。

从理论上说，即使建立了新的经济运行机制，并不意味着市场信息必定是充分的，也不意味着资金投入的主体必定得到足够的、及时的信息，它们得到的信息中也许有不少是不正确的信息，从而它们不得不在有限的信息、甚至错误信息的指引下进行资源投入的决策，其结果将使社会的资源配置不符合经济发展与环境协调的要求。加之，由于资源供给不足，资金投入的主体不可能以经济发展与环境的协调作为自己的经

济行为的约束，而很可能以加紧开采自然资源来应付短缺资源的供给不足。这就进一步加剧了经济发展与环境协调的困难。

由此可以认识到，新的社会主义经济运行机制的建立并不能自然而然地解决贫困地区的经济发展与环境之间的协调问题。同传统的经济运行机制之下的情形相比，在新的经济运行机制之下，内部投入和再投入肯定要大大增多，但这些内部资金究竟投入什么地区，投入什么部门，特别是它们能否投入环境保护领域或究竟有多少数额投入环境保护领域，并非仅仅取决于经济运行机制的转换。但无论如何，有两点是值得指出的：

第一，在新经济运行机制之下要比传统经济运行机制之下有较多的内部投入和再投入，这样，即使新机制的建立不等于贫困地区经济发展与环境间可以自行趋于协调，也毕竟为推动这种协调准备了财力方面的前提。

第二，在传统经济运行机制之下，由于企业没有摆脱对行政机构的依附地位，不能自主经营和自负盈亏，因此，即使政府采取了旨在协调经济发展与环境调节的措施，企业也可能对此无动于衷，从而使这些调节措施不能取得很好的效果。而在新的经济运行机制之下，企业作为独立的商品生产者，会从自身的利益出发考虑政府采取的措施对自己的影响，趋利避害，使自己的行为符合政府调节的意图。

因此，我们可以得出这样的结论：尽管经济运行机制转换本身并不等于资金的投入方向趋于合理，不等于环境保护领域的投资由此增多，不等于经济发展与环境之间日益协调，但由于前面提到的这两点（新经济运行机制之下有较多的内部投入和再投入，以及企业将会根据自己的利益而按政府的调节意图改变经济行为），经济发展与环境协调的可能性要比在传统经济运行机制之下大得多。这就从资金投入方面或资金投入结构方面说明了环境保护、贫困地区发展、经济运行机制转换三者是紧密地联系在一起的。

六、贫困地区的资源利用效率

地区资金投入的第三个问题是资金利用效率。在资金投入数量和资金投入方向或结构为既定的条件下，资金利用效率的高低便成为决定地区经济发展和居民收入水平提高程度的最重要因素。此外，资金利用效

率的高低还直接关系到生态破坏程度，关系到环境保护部门的发展状况，关系到经济发展与环境的协调程度。

资金利用效率与资源利用效率是同一个概念。经济发展中所投入的经济资源，如果以货币形式来表现的话，那么都可以折算为资金。因此，资金利用效率的高低也就是资源利用效率的高低。资源利用效率也被称为资源的有效利用程度。资源有效利用是指：（1）各种资源都得到充分利用而没有闲置、浪费；（2）各种资源的组合是有效率的，即能在其他条件不变的情况下产生尽可能高的效率；（3）资源利用的结果，即资源组合所提供的产品和劳务，是社会所需要的，它们成为有效供给。简言之，资源有效利用包括资源充分利用、资源组合有效率、资源组合的成果为社会所需要三个内容。只有从这三个方面进行综合分析，才能判断资源是否得到了有效利用，以及在多大程度上得到了有效利用。

在传统经济运行机制之下，资源的有效利用受到严重的限制。市场不完善和企业缺乏活力，不可避免地造成资源的低效率利用，无效供给难以依靠经济内在的力量来加以制止。这时，只有依赖政府采取非经济的手段来干预经济。但经济运行机制不转换，即使政府以非经济的手段来暂时缓和因资源利用效率低下而造成的矛盾，问题也只会越积越多。当问题积累到一定程度以后，资源供求之间的矛盾便充分暴露出来。经济的混乱迫使企业不得不为了自身的利益（甚至是为了本单位职工的利益），通过地下交易活动而谋求出路。对个别企业来说，资源利用效率也许有所提高，但对全社会而言，资源利用效率仍然是低下的，甚至还会因地下交易活动而变得更差。这是因为地下市场可能使一些企业为了进行有利于自己的交易而付出昂贵得多的代价，还可能使资源配置的方向进一步扭偏。

建立新的经济运行机制之后，由于企业有了自主性和机动性，由于企业的资源利用效率高低直接同自身的利益有关，提高资源利用效率便成为企业最关心的目标。而市场的逐渐完善与政府采取的宏观经济调节措施，不仅为社会的资源投向和资源组合趋于合理创造了条件，而且为资源利用效率的普遍提高提供了良好的环境。因此，从提高资源利用效率这一角度来说，及早使社会主义经济运行机制转轨，也是非常必要和迫切的。

七、重要的是及早摆脱“低收入—生态破坏— 低收

入”循环

以上从资金投入的来源、资金投入的方向、资金利用效率三方面探讨了两种不同的经济运行机制下的贫困地区开发问题以及经济发展与环境的协调问题。实际上，资金投入的这三个方面是紧密地联系在一起的；而且，这三个方面中，具有关键性意义的是如何及早建立贫困地区的内部积累机制，这是加速贫困地区经济协调发展的首要条件。只要贫困地区形成了内部积累机制，不断地有资金投入和再投入本地的经济之中，其他一切问题就比较容易处理了。换言之，如果一个贫困地区的经济始终像一个“漏斗”，蓄不住水，那也就谈不上如何利用这些水、如何分配水源等等了。

在贫困地区经济协调发展过程中，资源的有效利用正是以本地区内部积累机制的形成为前提的。贫困地区的居民为什么不珍惜自己的资源而过度采伐，原因之一就在于他们要发展本地区经济和提高居民收入水平，除了尽量消耗本地资源之外，没有其他的途径。只有在本地区内部形成投入与再投入机制之后，资源才会被珍惜，才会被有节制地利用；也只有在这时，贫困地区才会认真考虑如何提高本地资源的利用效率问题。在贫困地区本地资源同外地资源相结合的问题上，情况同样如此。虽然无论是对本地资源还是对外地资源而言，都要使投入的资源能得到充分利用，都要尽可能实现资源的有效组合，并且都力求使这些资源组合的成果（产品和劳务）得以在市场上实现，但对贫困地区来说形成内部积累机制是最为重要的。只有这样，与贫困地区进行经济合作的地区才会对此有持久的热情，两地资源的结合才能持续地进行下去，也才能给贫困地区经济带来实际的好处。否则，即使两地进行了经济合作，这种合作也不可能持久，甚至只是一次性的。

当然，在贫困地区开发过程中，尤其是在协调贫困地区的经济发展与环境之间的关系的过程中，资源有效利用问题仍有其本身的特点。在贫困地区内部积累机制形成之后，仍要时刻注意资源的有效利用，使资源利用效率不断提高。这就是说，不能认为内部积累机制的形成等同于资源的有效利用。如果不注意资源的有效利用，那么即使形成了内部积累机制，积累率却有高有低；如果内部积累率偏低，这对贫困地区的经济发展依然起不了什么作用。因此，贫困地区必须在形成内部积累机制的同时，尽可能提高资源利用效率，以便使来自内部的投入和再投入有更多的产出，从而有更多的剩余。此外，资源有效利用既是一个经济运行机制问题（即经济体制问题），也是一个生产技术问题。在不同的技

术条件下，资源有效利用程度必定有所差异。如果经济体制为既定，提高技术水平不仅可以提高资源有效利用程度，增加单位投入的产出，还可以使现有的资源具有更多的用途，甚至发现更多的资源，利用更多的资源。这说明了在贫困地区不断提高生产技术水平的重要性。

在贫困地区形成内部积累机制和提高资源利用效率，都同调动企业的积极性、居民（包括职工）的积极性有关。对于内部积累机制的形成来说，重要的是调动企业和居民（包括职工）作为资金供给一方的积极性。例如，调动作为投资者的企业的积极性，有助于企业增加再投入；调动作为储蓄者的居民（包括职工和农民）的积极性，有利于提高储蓄率，并为储蓄转化为投资创造条件。在资源有效利用方面，重要的是调动所有生产要素供给者的积极性，既包括资金供给者的积极性，也包括劳动供给者的积极性。在劳动供给者之中，包括了管理人员、技术人员、工人、农民等等。不仅如此，需求一方的积极性的调动对于资源有效利用也是不可忽视的。这是因为，要使得资源组合的成果在市场上实现，需求一方的积极性同样重要，否则生产出来的某些商品就会积压、滞销。当然，这并不是说要人为地刺激需求，而是说需求是有某种伸缩性的，如果加以引导合理的需求仍有扩大的余地。调动需求一方的积极性，实际上是指对需求者进行引导，以适当扩大他们的购买行为，并使贫困地区的供给成为有效供给。在这里，有一个重要的问题需要说明，这就是贫困地区由于人均收入少，市场狭小，对各种工业品的需求也有限。因此，对需求的引导，是既有利于从供给方面提高资源利用效率，又有利于从需求方面提高资源利用效率的。

由于资源有效利用还意味着对资源的保护和对环境的保护，所以在贫困地区开发过程中，不能只注意到资源是否被充分利用（没有闲置的资源），资源组合是否有效率，资源组合的成果是否为社会所需要，而且还应注意资源保护和环境保护问题。从较长时期来考察，不保护资源和环境，必定会导致资源的过度开发和资源的破坏。对于贫困地区经济发展来说，这是非常重要的问题。贫困地区的经济究竟能不能最终摆脱“低收入—生态破坏—低收入”的困境，与此有着十分密切的关系。要突破“低收入—生态破坏—低收入”这一恶性循环，关键在于把“生态破坏”变为“生态保护”。只要这一环节发生了根本性的变化，低收入就可以逐步变为中等收入，然后再变为高收入。

不久前，我在河北承德地区丰宁、围场两县考察时曾针对当地的情况谈到，在发展山区经济的过程中，经常听到这样四个字：“靠山吃山”。这句话的本意并不错，因为山区的经济发展离不开山区资源的优

势，如果抛开了山区资源的优势，山区经济的起步确实是困难重重的。但这句话也可能被某些人所误解，即认为既然“有山可吃”，那还怕什么呢？如果那样的话，结果就会“坐吃山空”，直到把山区资源耗竭了，山区资源破坏了，山既“不可靠”，“吃也无处可吃”了。所以，正确的说法应当是“养山吃山”。要使得山有“可吃之处”，必须“养山”。“养山”就是珍惜山区资源，合理开发，并且不断维护山区资源，使山区资源存量日益增多。在发展山区经济时，不“养山”而“吃山”，没有不失败的。河北省承德地区是山区，我的这些话，不仅对山区，实际上对所有的贫困地区都是适用的。只有“养山”才能把“山”视为财源，只有“养水”才能把“水”视为聚宝盆。“养”字大有文章可做。这不单纯是技术性问题，首要的是经济运行机制问题。贫困地区要真正脱贫致富，唯有走经济与环境相互协调发展的道路，变“低收入—破坏生态—低收入”循环为“提高收入—保护生态—提高收入”循环。在转换了经济运行机制之后，从前一循环向后一循环的转变就有了前提，贫困地区经济与环境的协调发展也才有了可能性。这就是我们所得出的结论。

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Coordinating economy and environment in less developed regions (1991)

An old argument claims that the poorer a place is, the less mindful the locals are of the ecosystem, the more indiscriminate they are in land reclamation, logging, and mining, while having less money to treat the damaged environment and thus sinking deeper into poverty. Another oft-heard opinion puts it this way: When a place is poor, water, soil and air pollution are rare; but when the local economy is booming and the local standard of living is improving, the local rivers, soil and air are polluted too. Which argument holds water? Or are both of them reasonable? If both hold water, does it mean that the cause of environmental protection is helpless whether a place is rich or poor, or that it can be helped only when the place is neither poor nor rich?

In fact, both environmental economics and development eco-nomics are confronted with the same baffling paradox concerning the economic operational mechanisms for environmental preservation and for the development of less developed regions. Only by beginning our study from these mechanisms can these questions be answered.

I. Economic operational mechanisms associated with environmental preservation and developing less developed regions

Society, whatever its type, invariably relies on an inherent impetus and employs the resources at hand to keep the economy going in the direction of certain goals. Defying all sorts of interference, it strives to reach these goals or approach them as closely as it can. The "economic operational mechanisms" is a general term for all the relationships society employs to go through this process. These relationships are inherent in society, rather than

emanating from outside. Generally speaking, there are four operational mechanisms at work in the course of socioeconomic development:

(1) Goals mechanism. How do goals and the system of goals come about? How are these goals aligned in such a system? The issues that should be studied pertinent to economic development are: What are the goals of development? What are the starting point and basis for these goals? Do the environment and ecological equilibrium belong in the goals system; and if yes, what are their positions in it?

(2) Impetus mechanism. What are the sources of impetus? How is impetus produced? In what ways can impetus be obtained? If the ecosystem and ecological equilibrium are listed in the goals system, how can people be motivated to take the environment and ecological equilibrium seriously in the course of pursuing development and acquiring the impetus to do so? In other words, what is to be done to motivate people to be concerned with the environment and ecological equilibrium? How can the impetus for this motivation be made to last?

(3) Resource allocation mechanism. What principle is to be followed in allocating resources? In what way should resources be allocated? How do self-restraints and restraints for and between resource allocation principals come about? How do these two kinds of restraints work? How are resources allocated in the course of economic growth or environmental protection in the context of the relationship between the two? What conflicts will occur between economic growth and environmental protection in the course of resource allocation? What is to be done to reconcile such conflicts? How should resource-allocating principles restrain themselves and each other in economic growth and environmental protection?

(4) Interference elimination mechanism. How should we identify interference in the course of economic operation? How might we eliminate such interference? If economic growth and environmental protection are mutually interfering, how can such interference be identified? How can we estimate the seriousness of such interference? Can it be disposed of spontaneously in the course of economic growth? What is to be done if economic growth itself cannot overcome such interference?

Each mechanism has its distinct attributes. The topic of this study is the

socialist economy's operational mechanisms in relation to environmental protection and the development of less developed regions, but the focus is on how these come about under the old operational mechanisms compared with their progress under the new ones being established. The purpose is to prove that the question of whether the economic operational mechanisms are old or new can make a difference in environmental protection and the process and results of developing underdeveloped regions.

When we study and analyze these four mechanisms, we find differences between the old and new goals mechanisms and between the old and new impetus mechanisms, but such differences are not pronounced. Because both mechanisms are based on the same system of socialist ownership, it is impossible for categorical differences to arise from their old and new forms, despite the fact that the goals are aligned and prescribed somewhat differently and that there are differences in how the source for impetus should be understood and in the way such impetus is obtained. However, our analyses and comparisons do reveal striking differences between the new and old resource allocation mechanism and the new and old interference elimination mechanism. It is the differences in these two mechanisms that are the principal factors behind the differences between old and new socialist economic operational mechanisms in the state of environmental protection and the course and results of developing impoverished regions.

II. Environmental damage under old economic operational mechanisms

Dynamically speaking, a less developed region may encounter two kinds of environmental damage in the course of development. One such damage may have already existed in the early stage of development, in the form of damaged forests, grassland, and vegetation, depleted mineral ores and soil erosion resulting from predatory exploitation of natural resources by local residents in a hasty bid to beat poverty. Generally, this is the only kind of environmental damage that less developed regions suffered before they began to develop industry. The other kind of environmental damage occurs in industrial development and in the form of water, soil and air pollution caused by the emergence of factories. Of course, the first kind of environmental damage may exist alongside the second kind in the stage of industrial

development.

What is the relationship between these two kinds of en-vironmental damage and the old socialist economic operational mechanisms? Let us begin our discussion with a study of the supply and demand in less developed regions.

Such a region is usually an entirely or basically closed economy. Its scanty or zero external connection indicates that it has little or no input and output exchanges with other regions, and that local demand basically matches local supply at a fairly low level.

Such a region is not immune to the first kind of environmental damage even if it is basically in seclusion. For instance, cooking fuel shortage may compel local people to fell trees indiscriminately. Shortfalls in grain supply resulting from low-yielding farmland may precipitate wanton land reclamation. Nevertheless, it should be noted that even if the first kind of environmental damage happens in a secluded region, its consequences may be limited. This is one of the characteristics of a closed economy. Of course, the first kind of environmental damage will not cease in such a secluded region because of poverty. If the local economy is under old socialist economic operational mechanisms, and if a shortage in basic means of living has prompted behaviors that are damaging to resources and environment, such behaviors can only be intervened with administrative steps because the region has no internal mechanisms to coordinate its economic growth and ecological equilibrium.

Nevertheless, regional seclusion is bound to give way in the course of economic growth. The input-output ties between a secluded place and the outside world will grow gradually even if old operational mechanisms are still at work. The development of one place not only boosts its own supply and demand but also is impelled by the supply and demand of other places. Disparity between places in the margin of supply and demand growth will compel them to restructure their economies and readjust their spatial distribution of human, material, and financial resources, thereby causing local resident income to rise to varying degrees. This unevenness between places in economic growth and resident income increase stems mainly from geographical locations, natural endowment, population density and resources, and is not decided by differences in economic operational mechanisms. In

other words, in places where old economic operational mechanisms still hold sway in local economic life, local economic structural changes are not circumscribed by economic operational mechanisms, but by noneconomic operational mechanisms.

Under the impact of disequilibrium between regions in economic and resident income increases, the first kind of environmental damage may go from bad to worse in less developed regions where the state of seclusion is collapsing and economic ties with other regions are growing. Such environmental deterioration can not be checked by merely relying on administrative intervention under old economic operational mechanisms. Undeniably, the officials and citizens of such regions care about developing local economies and increasing local income, and are doing their best to deliver themselves from the quagmire of underdevelopment and destitution. But what should they do to quit poverty and achieve prosperity fast? Development hinges on industry, but industry calls for capital. Where shall the needed capital come from? Industry can be developed with state investment, but not every less developed region can procure state investment in local industry. If a region cannot count on industry to grow its economy and accumulate its capital, where else can it turn to for help? Under old economic operational mechanisms, it is rather difficult for a poor region to go from rags to riches. This gives rise to two possibilities. One is that even though the region's external economic ties are growing, it may find it hard to develop its industry for lack of capital; and even though its agriculture may grow to a certain extent, it cannot grow enough to obtain the capital it badly needs. Thus the region finds it impossible to overcome poverty, while its per capita income gap with other regions widens gradually as a result of its slow economic growth. In the other possibility, the local residents may, of their own accord or in an organized way, resort to excessive tapping of local resources and selling them to boost income, but despite their hard work, they cannot gain what they want, and become even poorer. Their efforts may have an adverse impact on their region and those of others and on both their present and future. There is no lack of such examples in the course of China's economic development.

III. Changing economic operational mechanisms more important than formulating incentive policies for poverty-

stricken regions

We should admit that in a less developed region, the speed of economic growth, the margin of increase in local resident income, and the degree of seriousness of damage done to the local environment and resources are closely associated with economic policy for a given period of time. However, these problems have more to do with economic operational mechanisms than with economic policy.

As illustrated above, "economic operational mechanisms" is a general term for the series of relationships an economy relies upon for development. Some of these relationships are defined in legislation and statutes; the others are instituted in economic rules and regulations. Under a given economic operational mechanism, the promulgation and effective enforcement of a major economic policy will impact the condition and progress of economic operation one way or another, and thus yield economic and social returns. Such is the way government policy works. The impact of economic policy on a given economic operational mechanism alters the condition and orbit of economic operation to a certain extent, and goes on to affect demand and supply, and input and output, causing changes in local economic and income levels. However, it is economic operational mechanisms, rather than policy, that play a more profound part in the development of a less developed region. They determine the course of economic operation. By contrast, if government policy is to play a role, it must influence these mechanisms and change them in certain ways. For instance, the government may grant tax exemption or reduction, financial subsidy, and low-interest or interest-free loans to a rather poor region, hoping to help it beat poverty at an early date. However, the beneficial effects of these incentives can be restricted if the prevailing economic operational mechanisms are detrimental to local economic development. This is because the financial subsidy, interest-free or local-interest loans granted to the poor region through preferential government policy are often not used as start-up fund for local development. Instead, they are frequently spent to cope with immediate financial woes, and are not enough to generate a local economic boom. That is why people often say it is essential to endow less developed regions with the "blood-making" function. "Blood transfusion," whether sporadic or long-term, can never put any population or region on the road to prosperity.

Given that the economic growth of less developed regions is predicated on the soundness of economic operational mechanisms, environmental protection and ecological equilibrium, by reason of their close relevance to economic growth, are also determined by such mechanisms rather than by economic policy. Economic policy alone is not enough to help poor regions overcome poverty. By the same token, it is not enough to rely on economic policy alone to help these regions maintain ecological equilibrium in the course of development. This being the case, we need to learn what kind of economic operational mechanisms are detrimental to the economic growth and ecological equilibrium of poverty-stricken regions, and what kind of economic operational mechanisms can help these regions address these issues. Once we have found the answers to both questions, we will know what policy to take to curtail the economic operational mechanisms that do not work and promote the role of the workable mechanisms. Once sound economic operational mechanisms are chosen, less developed regions will be able to increase their internal accumulation and reinvestment, and limit environmental damage. On the contrary, if they allow old economic operational mechanisms to go on dominating local economic life, they can never beat poverty no matter how much external input or "blood transfusion" they can receive. In that sense, a less developed region can be likened to either a funnel or a reservoir, and investment from the outside can be compared to water. If such a region works like a funnel, it will remain in poverty because all the "water" it receives will drain away sooner or later. If, however, the region works like a reservoir in which all the "water" it receives is retained, and the "fish" raised in it thrive, then the local economy will keep changing for the better. In that case, even if investment arrives in one installment from the outside, it will have such a start-up effect that the entire "reservoir" will be energized. Thus, to develop the economy of a less developed region, the first thing to do is not to turn the region into a "funnel" but to prevent incoming investment from going down the drain. For this purpose, we have to replace old economic operational mechanisms with new ones, and turn local economies from "funnels" to "reservoirs."

IV. Less developed regions' internal accumulation mechanism

Capital investment is pivotal to the development of less dev-eloped

regions. The issue entails (1) the source of capital, (2) the direction or structure of the capital, and (3) the efficiency with which such capital is used. In a socialist economy, the differences between old and new economic operational mechanisms in capital investment are striking in all three aspects.

Insofar as the source of capital is concerned, a region's internal accumulation comes from the accumulations of local businesses and residents. If the region is perennially poor, it may have no industry to speak of. Even if it has a few industrial firms, their accumulations won't amount to a lot, and the low-income local residents will not have large savings. This is a realistic problem, but what I want to prove here is that, no matter how much local firms and residents may have in their bank savings, it is imperative to procure their reinvestment. This is where a kind of internal mechanism is needed to attract local reinvestment in such a region. In my previous brief introduction to economic operational mechanisms, I have pointed out that we need to approach the issue from the perspectives of goals, impetus, resource allocation, and elimination of interference. I have also mentioned that between the two kinds of economic operational mechanisms based on socialist ownership, the differences between old and new goals and impetus mechanisms are not as important as those between old and new resource allocation and interference elimination mechanisms. The differences between the old and new internal accumulation mechanisms are actually those between the principle for resource allocation and the approach to it. Thus it is safe to say that the internal accumulation mechanism for a region is an integral part of the resource allocation mechanism for the entire society.

There are three reasons why the internal accumulation mechanism can work in less developed regions under the new economic operational framework but cannot do so under the traditional framework.

Firstly, resource allocation is realized through capital investment and reinvestment. The pattern of resource allocation is readjusted repeatedly due to structural differences between such investment and reinvestment. But how can capital investment and reinvestment be guaranteed? The answer is apparent: We must convince such investors that they can benefit from such investment and reinvestment. Herein lies the role of capital investment and reinvestment in guiding interests. It goes without saying that the benefits in question refer to relative benefits. As both investment and reinvestment

inevitably flow to where gains are high, this gives rise to the price issue. Under old economic operational mechanisms, the price ratio is irrational. All a less developed region can provide are primary products. As the prices for resources are on the low side, the prices for these primary products are kept low as well, whereas the production and trading costs (transportation included) for the less developed region's products are on the high side. Not only will the region end up with a negligible surplus in hand, it will also be deprived of its fountainhead of capital for investment and reinvestment. Such a situation can hardly attract capital investment and reinvestment from within the region. If, however, new socialist economic operational mechanisms are set up, the price ratio will be rectified and the prices for resources will rise to an appropriate level while production and trading costs drop relatively, so that internal investment and reinvestment become an attractive prospect. A major lesson to be drawn from this is that if macroeconomic decision-makers are really resolved to help less developed regions to prosper, they should, rather than choose the "blood transfusion" method, focus on changing their economic operational mechanisms and gradually address their low resource prices and high production and trading costs. Only in this way can these regions be helped to formulate an effective internal accumulation mechanism.

Secondly, capital investment and reinvestment come from a surplus fund that can be broken down into consumption fund and savings, or consumption fund and investment fund converted from savings. Therefore, from the perspective of resource allocation, the issue involves the distribution of the surplus fund in the very beginning. An underdeveloped economy with low labor productivity, combined with inappropriate pricing of the primary products such an economy provides, results in a scanty surplus fund at the disposal of such regions. If, under these circumstances, a considerable part of the surplus fund is spent on consumption, what is left for investment can be negligible. If less developed regions are to be developed in real earnest, everything should be done to prevent irrational consumption expenses from eroding the internal accumulation fund that can otherwise be used for investment and reinvestment purposes. The term "irrational consumption" points mainly to consumer expenses not on daily necessities but on outmoded conventions and customs, as well as consumer expenses that go way above local productivity and resident income levels. Under old economic operational mechanisms, such "irrational consumption" can only be

controlled by administrative means. This kind of control may be effective on the surface, but it can bring a problem: For lack of motivation for internal investment and reinvestment, potential investors – namely, businesses, urban residents, rural firms, and farming households – may choose to bypass administrative orders, thus forcing local government to tighten its control time and again. What is more, even if administrative control succeeds under old economic operational mechanisms in coordinating prices and costs by raising resource prices and reducing production and trading costs, such a balance may still be eroded by irrational consumer expenses, and the hopes of internal capital investment will still be dashed if businesses and people are not motivated to invest and reinvest. After new socialist economic operational mechanisms are established, businesses and people will have both initiative and motivation to invest and reinvest, and, with internal constraints in place to hold back irrational consumer expenses, internal accumulation will grow. Local governments, on their part, can make more use of economic regulatory means – tax rate and interest rate readjustments – that work a lot better than hard and fast administrative rules.

Thirdly, resource allocation includes investment and reinvestment, as well as grouping such investment and reinvestment. Given that investment and reinvestment are embodied in both value and material, when they come in material forms, they give rise to such issues as ratios and approaches for regrouping human, material and financial resources. Furthermore, taking the input-output relationship and the flow of resources between regions into account, investment and reinvestment also entail how to effectively integrate the resources of one region with those of another region so that their value and material forms can be well coordinated. We have to put less developed regions on the track of fast economic growth in a way that enables the resources of one region to be integrated with those of another region in the most effective way possible, and through such integration, to yield more internal accumulations. Of course, if a less developed region must rely entirely on the inflow of resources – financial resources in particular – to grow its economy, such reliance cannot help the region formulate its internal investment and reinvestment mechanisms, nor is it realistic in the current stage of Chinese development. However, as things are in this nation, less developed regions can find it very difficult to jump-start their economies without the inflow of outside resources. The issue here is how internal

resources can be integrated with external resources. Under old economic operational mechanisms, local and inter-regional groupings of resources are seriously constrained by the lack of autonomy and flexibility on the part of investors and reinvestors. If, under these circumstances, the resources of one place can still be integrated with the resources of another place, this is most likely to happen through administrative intervention, but such integration can be both ineffective and short-lived. If new socialist economic operational mechanisms are permanently instituted, investors, endowed with autonomy and flexibility, can act in their own immediate and long-term economic interests to choose ways that work for such integration. Whether a less developed region can integrate its resources effectively with those of other places determines whether it can acquire a sizeable internal accumulation and speed up increases in local residents' income. Therefore, in order to bring about such an efficient integration in resources, it is imperative to change the economic operational mechanisms through reform.

V. Capital investment structure and coordination between development and environment

According to the analysis made above, the second aspect of the regional capital investment issue involves the direction and structure of this kind of investment. The capital invested is known as "capital inflow," while the sectoral structure of such capital manifests itself in the form of capital stock that is accumulated over a long period of time. Under old economic operational mechanisms, it is the government that decides the direction of capital investment. An irrational capital sectoral structure makes stock readjustment very difficult. A feasible way to cope with the problem is to regulate the capital flow, the amount of money to be spent on capital investment. However, for one thing, the capital flow is limited, and for another, once the capital flow is invested, such amount of money will become part of the stock. We may as well liken capital flow to "flowing water" and the stock to "still water." To turn capital flow into capital stock is like turning "flowing water" into "still water." If that happens, the capital's sectoral structure in a less developed regions will become lopsided, a lopsidedness that cannot be rectified, thereby making it hard to bring about a workable mechanism to facilitate internal accumulation and internal investment and reinvestment.

Moreover, given the continuous process it takes to boost dev-elopment and improve local resident income in less developed regions, it is imperative to maintain stability in investment and reinvestment from within these regions. Such stability is unreachable under old economic operational mechanisms, because the reliance on administrative steps alone can deprive capital investment and reinvestment of the guidance of interests and make lasting integration of resources between regions impossible. As a result, investment proceeds in fits and starts and fails to ensure steady and efficient growth. What, then, will happen under new socialist economic operational mechanisms? We need to ensure that the initiative for internal investment and reinvestment is in the hands of companies with internal accumulations and of urban and rural residents with bank savings. It should not be in government hands. Only when companies and individuals are willing to invest in local economic undertakings can we be convinced that an internal accumulation mechanism has taken shape. However, it is naïve to believe that an internal accumulation mechanism will become permanent simply because an old economic operational mechanism has given way to a new one. If, under new economic operational mechanisms, firms begin to make their own business decisions and urban residents are keen on investing and reinvesting, their investment direction becomes an issue. Where do they want to invest, in their own region, or in other regions with better conditions? If, under the guidance of their interests, they choose to invest somewhere else instead of their own region, less developed regions will have no guaranteed money for investment and reinvestment in development despite the fact that they have adopted new economic operational mechanisms. This is where government regulation can help. Financial authorities at various levels may set aside a certain amount of construction fund to maintain investment and reinvestment in less developed regions on a certain scale. Local governments may also set preferential tax rates so that funds can be drawn from nongovernmental channels to less developed regions to make up for their investment and reinvestment shortfalls. On the basis of raising funds from the state, regions, businesses and various walks of social life, a development fund may be established, and its money can be deployed according to a region's internal investment and reinvestment needs.

At this point, we need to consider how to enhance equilibrium between economic growth and the environment in less developed regions by putting

capital investment where it is most needed in the course of development. If invested capital is structurally flawed and results in disequilibrium in the capital sectoral structure, how effectively can changing economic operational mechanisms work in coordinating development and environment?

It should be conceded that old economic operational mechanisms cannot solve these problems for reasons already explained in a previous chapter. Given that old economic operational mechanisms can neither foster internal investment and reinvestment mechanisms in less developed regions, nor remedy the lopsided capital sectoral structure through readjusting capital stock, their limits are apparent in tackling problems in coordinating development and the environment. Can the problems be addressed under new socialist economic operational mechanisms? This is a complex issue that merits in-depth study.

Theoretically speaking, the establishment of new economic operational mechanisms does not guarantee adequate market information, nor does it indicate that capital investment principals are assured of access to adequate and timely information. A good part of the information they obtain may still be incorrect and misleading when they make resource input decisions. As a result, resource allocation can hardly meet the demand for equilibrium between development and the environment. Furthermore, capital investors, whose economic behavior cannot be restrained by such a demand because of resource supply shortfalls, may most probably step up their exploitation of natural resources to make up for such shortfalls, thus making it even more difficult to coordinate development and environmental issues.

Obviously, the establishment of new socialist economic op-erational mechanisms does not mean that problems in between economic growth and environmental protection can be automatically addressed. In comparison with the situation under old economic operational mechanisms, internal investment and reinvestment are bound to increase considerably under new mechanisms. However, the questions of which region or industry should be invested with such internal capital, and particularly, whether it can be invested in environmental protection, and if so, how much can be invested in it – these cannot be determined merely by changing economic operational mechanisms. Two points are worth noting no matter what happens:

Firstly, more capital will flow into internal investment and re-investment

under new economic operational mechanisms than under old ones. For that matter, even though the establishment of new mechanisms cannot spontaneously bring about a balance between development and environment in less developed regions, it at least sets the financial stage for such a balance.

Secondly, under old mechanisms, because businesses were government appendages that could not make their own decisions and be responsible for their own gains and losses, their indifference to government steps to coordinate development with environmental protection often derailed such attempts. By contrast, new economic operational mechanisms can turn businesses into independent commodity producers that are mindful of their own interests and willing to adapt their behavior to government intentions when they assess the impact of government steps on themselves and seek advantages and avoid risks from these steps.

Thus we can arrive at the conclusion that even though a shift in economic operational mechanisms does not mean that capital investment will be automatically directed rationally and that environmental protection will receive more investment because of it, the new economic operational mechanisms can bring more internal investment and reinvestment, and enable businesses to act on their own interests to adapt their behavior to government regulation intentions. Thus it is more likely for development and environment to be balanced under new economic operational mechanisms than under old ones. From the perspective of capital investment or capital investment structure, this drives home the close connection between environmental protection, development of less developed regions, and changing the economic operational mechanisms.

VI. Resource utilization efficiency in less developed regions

Efficiency in capital utilization is the third issue pertinent to local capital investment. With a given amount of capital investment and a given direction or structure for it, capital utilization efficiency is the foremost factor in determining the level of regional development and of increases in resident income. Furthermore, capital utilization efficiency also has a direct bearing on the level of ecosystem damage, the development of the environmental protection sector, and the level of balance between development and

environment.

Capital utilization efficiency is an identical concept to re-source utilization efficiency. The economic resources put into development can be converted into capital if they come in money form. Therefore, the level of capital utilization efficiency is the same as the level of resource utilization efficiency. Resource utilization efficiency also represents the level of effectiveness at which resources are used. Effective use of resources means that: (1) all sorts of resources have been put to full use, without being left idle or to waste; (2) various groupings of resources are working efficiently, that is, they can yield the highest possible efficiency under the assumption that the other conditions remain unchanged; and (3) the results of using resources are exactly what is needed by society, or, in other words, the products, labor and services provided by grouped resources have become effective supply. In short, effective utilization of resources entails three aspects: full use of resources, efficient resource grouping, and results of such grouping that are welcomed by society. Only by taking these three aspects into overall consideration is it possible to judge if resources have been put to effective use and – if the answer is yes – how effectively they have been used.

Under old economic operational mechanisms, the effectiveness of resource utilization is seriously handicapped. An incomplete market, coupled with lethargic company performance, inevitably keeps resource utilization efficiency low, and ineffective supply of resources cannot be remedied with the economy's internal strength alone. In both scenarios, intervention in the economy can be effected only through noneconomic government means. However, if economic operational mechanisms remain intact, problems will keep snowballing even if the government can reconcile the conflicts resulting from low resource utilization efficiency through noneconomic means. When the problems come to a head, the conflict between resource supply and demand will be fully exposed. An economy in disarray invariably forces firms to seek the way out through underground transactions in an attempt to protect their interests (as well as the interests of their workers). This may enable a few firms to somewhat improve their resource utilization efficiency, but for society as a whole, such efficiency will remain low and tend to be aggravated by such underground transactions. This is because the underground market may force firms to pay a high price if they want to turn such transactions to their favor, thereby steering resource allocation further

from the right course.

Under new economic operational mechanisms, and with newly gained decision-making autonomy and flexibility, firms will become keener than before in pursuing the highest possible resource utilization efficiency because it is directly relevant to their immediate interests. The gradually improved market works alongside government macroeconomic regulatory steps not only to furnish favorable conditions for placing resources where they are needed and grouping them as reasonably as possible, but also to set the stage for universal improvements in resource utilization efficiency. Insofar as resource utilization efficiency is raised, it is both necessary and urgent to shift the socialist economy to new operational mechanisms.

VII. Putting an end to the "low income – ecosystem damage – low income" vicious cycle

From the angles of capital investment sources, the direction of such investment, and capital utilization efficiency, I have just probed into the development of less developed regions and the balance between such development and environmental protection under old and new economic operational mechanisms. As a matter of fact, these three facets of capital investment are closely interrelated. Pivotal to these facets, moreover, is the question of how to establish an internal accumulation mechanism in less developed regions. Such a mechanism is the foremost precondition for speeding up balanced development in these regions. As long as these regions can establish their own internal accumulation mechanisms and secure a constant flow of capital to invest and reinvest in local economies, they will find it easier to tackle their other problems. To put it another way, if the economy of a less developed region is like a funnel that cannot retain any water, using and distributing such water is out of the question.

In the course of balanced economic development in less dev-eloped regions, effective use of resources is predicated on the formation of local internal accumulation mechanisms. One of the reasons why residents of these regions do not value their resources and are given to tapping them wantonly is because in their effort to develop local economies and raise their income, they have no alternative but to consume local resources as much as they can. Only when they have developed their internal investment and reinvestment

mechanisms can they cherish their resources and economize on them. Only then can these regions put improving their efficiency in utilizing local resources on the agenda. The same is true of integrating local resources with those of other regions. It is true that all the input of resources, local or otherwise, should be put to best use and grouped as effectively as possible, and that every effort must be made to put the fruits of such grouping on the market (in the form of products and services). However, nothing is more important to these regions than putting an internal accumulation mechanism in place. Only with such a mechanism can developed regions be motivated for economic collaboration with less developed regions, can sustained integration of local and outside resources happen steadily, and can actual benefits be reaped from the economies of less developed regions. In the absence of such a mechanism, interregional economic collaboration cannot be made to last – in extreme cases, once happened, it can never happen again.

In developing less developed regions, particularly in coordinating their development and environment, we must not lose sight of the salient features of the issue of effective resource utilization. After an internal accumulation mechanism has been set up in such a region, the effort to put resources to effective use and to keep raising the resource utilization efficiency should never be slackened. That is to say, the arrival of the internal accumulation mechanism does not mean utilization of resources can become immediately effective. If effectiveness is overlooked in this regard, the accumulation rate will fluctuate even in the presence of the internal accumulation mechanism. If the accumulation rate is on the low side, it can do little to boost economic development in less developed regions. Therefore, these regions must do their level best to increase resource utilization efficiency when fostering internal accumulation mechanisms, so that their internal investment and reinvestment can yield more output and surplus. It must be pointed out that effective utilization of resources is not only connected with the economic operational mechanism but also affected by production technology. Efficiency in resource utilization varies with technical conditions. Under a given economic system, improved technology can boost such efficiency, increase the output of per-unit input, and put available resources to more uses. It can even help discover and utilize more resources. Such is the importance of steady improvement of production technology in less developed regions.

The cultivation of internal accumulation mechanism and the in-crease of resource utilization efficiency in less developed regions are subject to the enthusiasm of local businesses and residents (workers included). The cultivation of the internal accumulation mechanism, in particular, hinges on motivating capital-supplying businesses and individuals. For instance, the motivation of businesses as investors helps them reinvest more; the enthusiasm of residents (workers and farmers included) as bank creditors helps boost the savings rate and furnishes favorable conditions to convert bank savings into investment. In boosting resource utilization efficiency, it is essential to motivate every supplier of production factors, including capital and labor suppliers – managers, technicians, workers and farmers. Furthermore, the enthusiasm of those on the demand side is also indispensible to efficient utilization of resources, because the marketing of the fruits of resource grouping cannot do without them. Otherwise, the products may be stockpiled or become unsalable. Of course I am not saying that demand should be stimulated artificially, but that demand is elastic, and that if properly guided, rational demand often has room to expand. To motivate those who need capital is in fact to guide them to expand purchases properly while turning the supply from poor regions into effective supply. In this regard we have to see the fact that the demand of less developed regions for manufactured goods is circumscribed by their per capita income and small markets. Therefore, to put demand under proper guidance can help improve the resource utilization efficiency on both sides of the supply-demand relationship.

As efficient utilization of resources also calls for protecting resources and the environment, we should, in the course of opening up less developed regions, focus our attention not only on whether resources are fully utilized (so that none of them is left idle) and grouped efficiently, and whether the products of such grouping are needed by society, but also on the protection of resources and the environment. From a long-term point of view, negligence in resource and environmental protection inevitably leads to overheated development and damaged resources. This is a pivotal issue to the development of less developed regions, for it has a close bearing on whether these regions can be released from the "low income – ecological damage – low income" vicious cycle that can be overcome only by replacing "ecosystem destruction" with "ecosystem preservation." If this fundamental

change can be effected, low income can be gradually turned into middle-level income and further to high income.

During a recent fact-finding tour of Fengning and Weichang counties in Chengde Prefecture, Hebei Province, I told my hosts that I often heard the old refrain about developing mountain economies: "You'd better live off the mountains if you live there." There is nothing wrong with that saying, because mountainous regions cannot be developed without tapping local resources. It can be very difficult to jump-start the economy in such regions if local resources are left unused. However, the old refrain can also be misunderstood by those who think: "We have nothing to fear, now that we can live off the mountains." If that philosophy is taken for granted, then everything in the mountains will be used up before you have realized it. That is, when mountain resources are used up or ruined, the mountains will become so uninhabitable that folk living on them will have nowhere else to turn to for sustenance. For this reason, that old refrain may be reworded like this: "Nourish the mountains to eat off them." To make the mountains "eatable," you have to "nourish" them. This means to cherish mountain resources and tap them in a restrained way while conserving them and building up their stock. Nobody can succeed in developing a mountain economy if they are given to "eating off" the mountains and do not care to "nourish" them. Chengde Prefecture happens to be a mountainous region, but my remarks apply not just to mountainous regions but to every less developed region as well. Only by "nourishing" the "mountains" can they become a source of wealth. Only by "nourishing" the "water" can the "water" become a depository of wealth. A great deal can be accomplished when you are devoted to nourishing something. This is not merely about technicalities, but more than anything else, about economic operational mechanisms. For a less developed region to escape poverty and embark on the road toward prosperity, the only way out lies in coordinating economic development with environment protection, and in reversing the vicious cycle of "low income – environmental damage – low income" into the virtuous circle of "income increase – ecosystem protection – income increase." Both conversion and coordination can happen after old economic operation mechanisms have given way to new ones. Such is my conclusion.

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比较经济史研究与中国的现代化 (1993)

一、从经济史学谈起

经济史学是以人类经济活动的历史过程，即以经济制度的演变、生产力的发展以及二者之间相互作用的历史过程作为研究对象的学科。它是经济学和历史学的交叉学科。从经济学说史上看，虽然从重商主义者到古典经济学家，曾经有不少人论述过历史上的经济现象和经济问题，提出过有关经济和历史的相互关系的观点，但这些非系统的论述还不构成经济史学。作为一门独立学科的经济史学，于19世纪晚期产生于西欧。德国新历史学派的代表人物，如施莫勒（G. von Schmoller）、谢夫莱（A. E. P. Schaffle）、毕歇尔（K. Bücher），以及同一时期英国的罗杰斯（J. E. T. Rogers）、吉宾斯（H. de B. Gibbins）、阿诺德·汤因比（Arnold Toynbee）、艾希利（W. J. Ashley），法国的勒瓦瑟尔（P. E. Levasseur），美国的登巴（C. F. Dunbar）、法尔南（H. W. Farnam）、格罗斯（G. Gross）、伊利（R. T. Ely）等人，都为西方经济史学的建立做出了成绩。在20世纪前半期，在欧洲和美国，经济史学有较大的发展。德国的桑巴特（W. Sombart）、瓦格曼（E. Wagemann），英国的克拉潘（J. H. Clapham）、波士坦（M. Postan）、托尼（R. H. Tawney），法国的亨利·瑟（Henri Sée），瑞典的赫克歇尔（E. F. Heckscher）,奥地利的道布希（A. Dopsch），比利时的皮朗（H. Pirenne），美国的汤普逊（J. W. Thompson）、罗斯托夫采夫（M. I. Rostovtzeff）、阿歇尔（A. P. Usher）等人，都是在经济史学的一定领域内有重要著作问世的知名学者。

在经济史学的发展过程中，不同的研究者由于受到不同的哲学思想、史学思想和经济学思想的影响，在理论与历史之间的关系、地理环境或人口因素在经济发展过程中的作用、政府在经济发展过程中的作用、人类社会经济的发展是单线的还是复线的、人类社会经济的发展是渐进的还是突变的这样一些重大问题上，存在着意见分歧。他们对人类

经济活动的历史、经济制度演变的历史甚至生产力发展的历史都有自己的看法，尽管其中不少看法可能是较片面的，或者是以西方世界作为中心来概述全世界的经济史的，但应当承认，无论在经济史料的收集与整理方面，或在某一具体经济史事实的考证与辨析方面，他们的研究成果值得以后的研究者们重视与参考。

比较经济史学是经济史学的一个分支，它考察世界上各个不同国家和地区经济史过程的差异和共同点，分析这些差异和共同点的原因与后果，以加深对人类社会经济活动的历史过程的认识。比较经济史学产生与发展的时间要比经济史学晚得多。要知道，在经济史学产生以后的较长时期内，虽然像施莫勒、毕歇尔、艾希利、亨利·瑟、皮朗、赫克歇尔、克拉潘等人都曾对不同国家的经济史进行过比较研究，但这些比较研究并不是系统的。并且，由于他们研究的重点主要放在某种经济史理论模式的建立上，因此对不同国家的经济史资料的编排、整理往往服从于他们固有的经济史理论模式。换言之，在当时的条件下，比较经济史学还没有成为一门独立的学科，经济史的比较研究附属于一般经济史研究。

二、比较经济史学的形成

比较经济史学的形成和经济史比较研究的重要性被学术界所认识，主要是在第二次世界大战结束以后，尤其是在20世纪年代中期以后。这是与当时的世界政治经济形势分不开的。第二次世界大战结束后，随着旧的世界政治体制的解体和不少后进国家先后走上现代化的道路，关于经济制度、经济发展、经济政策的历史比较成为学术界广泛感兴趣的课题，这方面的研究为比较经济史学的形成创造了重要的条件。像讷克斯（R. Nurkse）、库兹涅茨（S. Kuznets）、罗斯托（W. W. Rostow）、赫尔希曼（A. O. Hirschman）这样一些以研究经济成长著称的经济学家，都在比较经济史学领域内进行了专门的论述。尽管除了罗斯托以外，其他几位学者都不被归入经济史学家范畴，但他们的著作在比较经济史研究中的地位却是不容忽视的。此外，诸如人力资本理论、制度创新理论、技术创新理论、政治周期理论、长波理论、政治市场与公共选择理论等等的产生和发展，也使得比较经济史研究有了新的理论依据或更为生动的研究内容。

在比较经济史学形成过程中，另一个起着重要作用的因素就是计量

经济史学（econometrichistory）或历史计量学（cliometrics）的兴起。计量经济史学有时也被称做新经济史学（new economic history）,它出现于20世纪50年代末期，自60年代中期以后有较大的发展。福格尔（R. W. Fogel）、诺思（D. C. North）、恩格尔曼（S. L. Engerman）等美国经济史学家是主要代表人物。他们把以往的经济史学称做传统经济史学，认为后者停留于历史编纂学的水平，而未能把经济理论同经济史结合在一起，以及未能运用现代数量分析方法来研究历史上的重要事件、经济的发展过程。他们认为新经济史学弥补了传统经济史学的上述缺陷。60年代至80年代，新经济史学在技术创新史、制度创新史、铁路史、美国南部经济史、西欧中世纪庄园制、历史上国民收入与劳动生产率的计算、经济周期史等领域内所发表的若干论著，引起了学术界的注意，并给比较经济史研究有力的推动。这种推动主要是在研究方法上。正如福格尔和恩格尔曼在1971年出版的《美国经济史的重新解释》一书中所指出的："如果资料十分完备，简单的统计方法通常就够用了。资料越是贫乏，就越需要使用高深的统计方法。但无论如何，可以利用的资料的确总是低于标准统计方法所要求的最低限度。在这种情况下，如果要获得成就，关键就在于研究者要能够设计出在利用资料方面特别有效的方法，也就是说，研究者要能够发现一种可以靠有限的有用资料来解决问题的方法。"[1]　　比较经济史学研究除了有赖于一定的理论作为依据以外，研究方法特别是数量研究方法的进展也是使不同的国家、不同地区经济发展过程的比较研究取得成就的一个不可忽视的原因。

从方法论的角度看，比较经济史研究中既可以采取纵向比较分析，又可以采取横向比较分析。纵向比较分析是指按照经济发展的历史过程分析一国不同历史时期或若干国家不同历史时期的变化，以探求经济发展的历史规律性。横向比较分析是指对一定时期内或一定时点上一国国内不同地区或若干国家的经济状况进行比较，以说明待比较的各国或各个地区的历史上的经济特色。在纵向比较分析时，重要的问题一是指标的选择，一是年代的选择。在指标方面，越是往前推，统计资料越不完整，从而比较越困难，并且不同的统计资料还必须经过换算，口径取得一致，然后才能使比较具有意义。在年代的选择上，主要的考虑在于防止选择的随意性，用来标志历史时期的年份或用来说明经济发展转折点的年份应当具有充足的依据，只有这样，才能通过纵向比较分析而得出较为可信的结论。

再就横向比较分析而言，除了同纵向比较分析一样要注意指标的选择（以及指标的可比性）与年代的选择而外，横向比较分析同纵向比较分析之间的联系也是必须重视的。这是因为，只有使横向比较分析与纵

向比较分析相结合，才能更清楚地说明经济的历史发展的规律性，并能在某种程度上弥补一些国家的某个历史时期内统计资料的不足，而用另一些国家相应历史时期内已有的统计资料进行推算，得出近似值，作为参考。这也就进一步说明了数量研究方法的进展对于比较经济史学形成的意义。

三、比较经济史学与现代化问题研究

第二次世界大战结束以后，有关现代化问题的研究日益成为国际学术界注意的重大课题。发展经济学与比较经济史学都把现代化作为自己的研究任务，但发展经济史学在研究现代化问题时有着自己的特色。它更多地从经济史方面，也就是从人类社会经济的历史过程的比较方面来研究这一问题。较确切地说，在有关现代化的研究中，发展经济学侧重于从生产要素配置与流动、储蓄与消费之间的关系、市场机制与政府职能的作用、部门结构与地区经济结构、经济发展与技术创新、发展过程中的内外均衡等方面来研究经济发展的模式与政策。发展经济学虽然也把现代化问题同制度、文化等因素的作用结合在一起，但它的重点是放在当前，而不是放在历史的总结上。比较经济史学对现代化问题的研究的重点与此是有所不同的。

比较经济史学作为经济史学的一个分支，它不仅侧重于研究经济的历史发展，而且通常探讨一些更为广泛、更为深刻的问题。例如，传统文化、宗教、伦理观念在不同国家、不同地区的社会经济发展的历史过程中曾经起过多大的作用？不同国家、不同地区的社会经济史的差异在多大的程度上可以用传统文化、宗教、伦理观念的差异来加以解释？这些问题是比较经济史学考察的内容，而并非发展经济学的研究者们注意的焦点。又如，亚细亚生产方式的真正含义是什么？东方的前资本主义社会在经济上与西方的前资本主义社会的区别何在？这种区别是怎样形成的，它同此后的资本主义经济发展有着什么样的关系？如果不重视地理环境在这方面的作用，或者，过分渲染地理环境在这方面的作用，将会导致什么样的结论？这些结论是否经得起科学的检验？这些问题同样是比较经济史研究者关心的，而发展经济学则较少涉及这一类问题。

现代化是一个经济、社会、政治、文化的持续发展的过程，而以经济发展过程作为其主要的内容。尽管学术界对世界的现代化的开始日期有不同的看法，如有人认为应当从16世纪和17世纪的科学革命算起，有

人认为应当从18世纪末的工业革命算起，也有人认为应当从更近一些算起，但不管怎样，至少从19世纪晚期以来的100年的历史，都被承认是人类社会经济发展中的现代化阶段，因此对现代化的研究无疑包含了对世界上各个国家最近100年经济发展的经验与教训的总结。已经实现现代化的国家固然需要总结自身经济发展的历史经验，以便正确对待经济发展所遗留下来的社会经济问题，寻求妥善的对策；而目前正在进行现代化的国家则更加需要总结本国和其他国家这些年来经济发展的经验和教训：如果没有这种总结，现代化过程中就会走弯路，就会重复自己走过的和别人走过的错误道路。从这个意义上说，不仅现代化的研究与比较经济史的研究是一致的，而且比较经济史研究还为现代化研究的深入准备了条件，比较经济史研究甚至可以被看成是现代化研究的一项不可替代的基础性研究。

在这里，不妨以布莱克（C. E. Black）等人合著的《日本和俄国的现代化》（1975年纽约版）一书中关于传统与现代化之间关系的比较研究为例，以说明比较经济史研究与现代化研究的结合。布莱克等人之所以选择日本和俄国的现代化过程进行比较，正因为这两个国家有着不同于西欧的传统，而同时又力求在适应过去传统的基础上实现现代化。关于传统与现代化的关系，根据布莱克等人对日本和俄国近代经济史的考察，日本和俄国现代化过程的一个显著特点是传统的东西在现代化过程中被保存下来，并且同现代化相适应，但这种传统已经不再是原来的传统了，它们变成了同现代化适应的传统。布莱克等人得出的一个重要结论是：现代化不等于“西方化”和“欧洲化”；“西方化”和“欧洲化”的含义在于：西方或欧洲的制度本身和价值观念本身被看成是现代化的主要内容，似乎其他社会可以忘掉自己的历史传统而采纳西方的或欧洲的价值标准与制度；但事实上，日本和俄国的现代化表明，现代化总是在传统与现代化相适应的基础上实现的。一个国家只有最大限度地利用过去遗留下来的财富，才能使现代化的努力富有成效，也才能对现代化的战略作出有益的选择，否则现代化可能是徒劳的。

应当承认，布莱克等人的比较经济史研究可以给人们这样一种启示，即现实与传统不可能割裂，任何一种成功的现代化必然是传统与现代化的统一。

四、为什么比较经济史研究引起了中国学术界的浓厚兴趣

进入80年代以后，中国社会各阶层都对现代化问题产生了浓厚兴趣。这种兴趣不仅反映于对中国现代化的途径和前景的关切，而且反映于对世界上其他许多国家和地区的现代化过程的注意。关于社会经济发展战略也就是现代化战略的研究之所以成为中国学术界深感兴趣的课题，正由于这种战略的研究是以其他国家现代化经验和教训的总结作为背景，而这些战略研究总结的是非得失又紧密地联系到中国今后的发展前途，联系到中国未来的体制模式和发展模式，从而具有十分重要的意义。不少学者从80年代一开始就参加了这方面的讨论。可以认为，比较经济史研究在80年代日益被中国的学术界所重视，与当时对社会经济发展战略的研究，即对其他国家现代化过程中经验和教训的总结是分不开的。

在中国学术界的比较经济史研究中，一种有深远意义的思路是：对人类社会经济发展而言，重要的不是经济增长，或者不仅仅是经济增长，而是经济与社会发展的协调，或主要是这种协调。以往，在长期的历史发展过程中，工业化往往被抬高到不适当的位置上，所以18世纪末期以来的传统发展战略是片面强调国民收入的增长，忽视为这种增长所付出的代价；片面强调工业，尤其是重工业，忽视农业的发展；片面强调对技术装备的投资，忽视对人力开发的投资；片面强调消费品的丰裕，忽视消费品丰裕和生活方式变化以后可能带来的不确定的后果，等等。总之，经济与社会发展的协调要比单纯的经济增长更加重要，更加值得后进的国家去追求。

根据这样一种思路，在对西方国家的工业革命进行评价时，十分自然地出现了如下的看法，这就是：18世纪末和整个19世纪内所经历的工业化主要以生产技术的革命作为特征，而不曾把智力的解放、智力资源的开发作为特征，后一方面的问题只是到了20世纪，甚至是到了20世纪中期以后才被重视。也就是说，与现代化有关的教育投资问题到很晚才被摆到恰当的位置上，这正是后进国家在现代化过程中必须吸取的教训。中国的现代化如果忽略了这一根据比较经济史研究所得出的经验、教训，仍然像19世纪某些国家的做法那样，开始时把人仅仅看成工具，看成机器设备的附属物，直到后来才重视智力的解放、智力资源的开发，那就会拖延现代化的进程，并会以经济与文化差距的扩大作为现代化的沉重代价。

需要指出，在80年代内，中国学术界的一些人从比较经济史研究的角度考察现代化问题时，对德国社会学家、经济史学家马克斯·韦伯（Max Weber）的理论感兴趣，于是世界范围内的“韦伯热”也就对中国

有所影响。为什么会有这种影响？这仍然要从中国现代化过程中所遇到的问题以及中国对世界上其他国家现代化的经验和教训的总结谈起。通过比较经济史研究，不难提出下列问题：为什么工业革命在不同的国家和地区有不同的进程？是哪些因素促成了这个国家或那个国家的工业革命？在促成工业革命的若干因素中，最重要的因素是什么？当然，经济史的研究者们可以列出资本形成、市场、劳动力及其素质、技术进步、政府的有关政策等因素在促成或阻碍某一国家的工业革命方面的作用。但在研究中也会产生问题：难道仅仅有了资本、市场、劳动力、技术或政策，就一定能够实现工业革命吗？毫无疑问，这些因素都是不可缺少的，但仅有这些，还不足以实现工业革命，需要从更深的层次上去发现促成或阻碍工业革命的因素，也就是需要从社会结构、文化、伦理等方面去寻找工业革命的原因。马克斯·韦伯在他的著作中，把经济史的研究同文化史、制度史的研究结合在一起，这就是他的论点引起目前研究现代化问题的学者们注意的基本理由。

关于马克斯·韦伯的论点，无疑是有争议的。但即使不同意韦伯论点的人，也并不否认这些论点有某种启发性。从韦伯的论述中可以得到的启发是：一个民族，虽然在某个发展阶段具备了生产要素条件，但如果不具备意识形态、伦理道理观念的条件，即缺乏产生工业革命或经济进步的社会环境和精神动力，那么工业革命仍然难以发生。换言之，在工业革命的背后，存在着一种不易被人们察觉的精神力量，它引导人们去为经济的成果而孜孜不倦地开拓、经营、获取利润。此外，按照韦伯的说法，工业发展过程同时也是人际关系的调整过程，前工业社会的人际关系（如世袭关系、家族统治、人身依附等）是不利于工业发展的。例如，在罗马帝国最盛时期，不是没有为工业发展所需要的资本和劳动力，市场的范围也不可谓不广，但当时的社会结构、制度的范围以及在此基础上形成的人际关系却不利于工业的发展，所以在罗马帝国不可能发生近代意义上的工业革命。又如，14～16世纪的意大利，资本相当充足，市场范围也相当宽广，那么，为什么这时的意大利不会发生工业革命，这同样只有从社会结构、制度环境和人际关系方面来解释。当时意大利的经济与社会进取精神并不是吻合的，结果在意大利已积累的财富转化为非生产性的事业，而没有成为发展技术、发展工业的动力。韦伯的这些论述不仅表明了比较经济史研究对于现代化研究的意义，而且也表明对现代化问题的深入研究要求在社会、文化、伦理等领域内广泛开展研究。中国学术界中一些对韦伯理论感兴趣的人，认为韦伯著作所给予中国现代化研究者的启发，与其说是韦伯的理论本身，不如说是韦伯所提供的一种可以用于观察现代化过程的方法。

五、经济波动的历史比较

一个国家，在实现现代化以前，经济也可能有波动，但这种波动或者是由非经济原因（如战争、自然灾害、瘟疫）造成的，或者是外界传递而来的，因此这种经济波动一般并不引起比较经济史研究者的注意。进入现代化之后，情况便有所不同。现代化过程中，很可能由于内部原因、经济原因而发生经济的波动，波动带有一定的规律性。正因为如此，所以在中国现代化的研究中，对经济波动进行历史比较也成为一个新的课题。

约翰·希克斯（John Hicks）1969年所著《经济史理论》一书对中国的研究者在这个领域的探讨有参考价值。和熊彼特（J. A. Schumpeter）一样，希克斯感兴趣的是提出一种解释人类社会经济史的理论，而不是专门去研究某一时期的某一类具体的经济史课题。[3] 在希克斯看来，当经济还是一个封闭体系的时候（例如工业革命以前），金银数量的变化引起物价的升降和经济的波动，是可以理解的。甚至在金本位制度下，货币数量的变化仍然可以作为物价升降和经济波动的一个原因。然而到了20世纪，由于货币的金属基础削弱了，对经济波动的原因必须寻找另外的解释方式。这时，经济的波动既不可能再用货币数量来解释，也不能单纯归因于某种货币政策的实施，而必须从经济内部投资、储蓄、消费的相互关系的角度，探讨经济增长与衰退的更替，并且还应当从商业的作用、劳动力的供求、市场规模等方面来说明经济波动的过程。这就是说，前工业社会的经济波动史、工业革命时期的经济波动史、20世纪中期以后的经济波动史，在性质上是不一样的，在研究方法上也应当有所不同。按照希克斯在《经济史理论》和他的其他一些著作（如《经济周期理论》、《经济学展望》、《凯恩斯经济学的危机》）中所表述的观点，现代化进程中的经济波动不仅是正常的，而且波动并不会阻碍经济增长，波动只是历史过程中的某种曲折或间歇而已。

中国现代化的研究者显然不会以希克斯对经济波动的理论解释为满足。但从方法上看，历史比较研究方法（包括希克斯的周期分析方法在内）依然是一种有用的工具。80年代内，有关近四十年来的中国经济周期波动的过程和原因的分析，尽管观点不一致，但仍有两个基本结论是大体上接近的。一个基本结论是：中国和其他已经实现现代化或正在进行现代化的国家一样，在经济发展的道路上不可能是直线上升的，经济的波动在所难免；另一个基本结论是：同其他国家一样，中国在现代化过程中发生经济波动的原因应当主要从内部去寻找，来自国际市场的影

响虽然存在，但却是次要的。至于造成波动的因素和波动时间的长短、间隔时间的大小，观点的分歧也相当明显。例如，究竟是货币数量重要还是商品供求状况重要；究竟是以投资因素为主还是投资与消费并重；在历次引起波动的部门中，究竟是农业起的作用大些还是建筑业起的作用大些；还有，波动过程中的变化，应当更多地归因于财政还是应当更多地归因于金融，应当更多地归因于计划还是应当更多地归因于市场，等等。肯定地说，中国现代化过程中的经济波动具有自身的特殊性，不仅不能用西方国家、东南亚国家的情况来类比，甚至也不能用前苏联、东欧国家的情况来类比，这一切都有赖于研究的继续深入。比较经济史研究可以为此提供较多的依据。

实际上，关于经济波动的历史比较研究必然同经济体制的历史比较研究联系在一起。这是因为，如果说投资数额或投资增长率的变动是导致现代化过程中经济波动的一个重要因素，那就会出现另一个问题：投资方面的变动难道不同一定的经济体制有关吗？同样的道理，如果说货币数量或货币供应增长率的变动是导致现代化过程中经济波动的一个重要因素，难道这些变动不是一定的经济体制下的产物吗？从宏观经济体制来考察，投资和货币供应量的变动在不同的经济体制之下有不同的原因和效应，这同财政体制、金融体制、计划体制和市场结构有密切关系。从微观经济体制来考察，投资和货币供应量的变动又同企业体制直接有关。例如，企业是不是真正的、有自主权的投资主体和利益主体，企业对于信贷和利率变动的反应是否灵敏，企业有没有技术进步和降低流动资金占有额的利益动机等等，都同投资和货币供应量的变动有着不可分割的联系。这样，对经济波动的比较研究实际上也就是对不同经济体制下经济波动原因和效应的比较研究。

在谈到经济体制的比较研究时，中国的现代化研究者们倾向于两种看法。一种看法是：中国的经济体制与前苏联、东欧国家的经济体制有较大的可比性，特别是与前苏联的经济体制在历史上有较大的可比隆。如果把1917年以后七十余年内苏联各个历史阶段的经济体制拿来同中国四十年来各个历史阶段的经济体制对应地进行比较，那么在某些历史阶段，这种相似性是相当明显的。所以，在分析中国现代化过程中的经济波动时，可以以前苏联、东欧国家的经济体制同各自国家的经济波动之间的历史关系作为参考。另一种看法是：按人均国民收入和农业人口在总人口中所占比例来看，中国的经济体制（就社会经济结构、市场组织、价格体系等方面而言）可能更类似于现代化程度较低的某些发展中国家，中国同它们之间有较大的可比性。这些发展中国家在现代化过程中，或者由于产业结构失调和资源供给不足，或者由于初级产品滞销和

居民收入减少，都会引起经济波动。这种经济波动在很大程度上是同经济体制方面存在的问题有关的。因此，如果要联系经济体制来研究现代化过程中的经济波动，更需要把中国同某些发展中国家作一番经济的历史比较。

显然，以上两种看法都是有道理的，而且它们之间也没有什么不能相容之处。中国现代化过程中的经济波动，从经济体制上看，也许既有同前苏联、东欧国家的情况相似之处，又有同某些发展中国家相似之处。

六、一个深层次的问题：传统社会结构制动作用的评价

从经济体制的历史比较必然导致一个深层次的问题，这就是：一国在现代化过程中，传统的社会结构对于现代化是否存在制动作用（或阻滞作用）？如果存在这种作用的话，那么制动阻滞）的程度有多大？如何才能减少这种制动的作用？格辛克隆（A. Gerschenkron）的比较经济史论著之所以引起了中国学术界的注意，梅洛蒂（U. Melotti）关于第三世界与多线发展模式的研究之所以对中国学术界有所启发，都因为他们涉及了上述这个深层次的问题，并提出了自己的独特的见解。

格辛克隆的论点是：传统社会结构对于现代化的制动作用主要反映于生产要素供给的约束上，这正是许多后进国家在发展中所遇到的严重障碍。与西欧国家相比，俄国和巴尔干半岛各国都表现出传统社会结构对于大工业发展的束缚和牵制。但值得注意的是，格辛克隆一方面承认传统社会结构对现代化的制动作用的存在，另一方面又强调后进国家一旦决心实现现代化，也可能有着比较有利的条件。他使用了这样两个概念，即“后发性优势”与“后发性劣势”。比如说，传统社会结构之下的劳动力价格低廉，就是“后发性优势”之一；后进国家在技术上同先进国家的差距的扩大，则是“后发性劣势”之一。他指出，“后发性优势”往往与“后发性劣势”同时存在，并且二者可以相互转化。只要后进国家充分利用自己的优势（如工资低），那么劣势是可以克服的。反之，如果这些国家错过了机会，那就好像赶班车一样，错过了这一趟班车，就必须等很久才能搭上下一班车，“后发性优势”也就发挥不了作用，现代化也会延误。正是由于机会难得，所以经济发展中的“大突发”（指工业革命中的“猛烈的冲刺”）对传统社会结构有较大影响的国家说来是必要的，也是有利的。

梅洛蒂从不同的角度探讨了后进国家的传统社会结构对现代化的制动作用。他认为后进国家（主要指亚洲、非洲、拉丁美洲国家）辽阔土地上无数分散的村落经济成为一种特殊的稳定机制，它是封闭的、自给自足的，生产者被牢固地拴在土地上，拴在狭小的活动范围内，从而阻碍这些国家的经济发展以及与经济发展联系在一起的社会结构的变更。那么，为什么亚洲的日本能够在明治维新之后成功地实现了现代化呢？难道单纯用政治因素就能说明这一问题吗？梅洛蒂指出，不可否认，日本的社会结构和意识形态具有明显的亚洲特点，与西欧国家有一些差异，但重要的是，日本即使在明治维新之前，仍不像亚洲其他国家那样从社会经济上扼杀资本主义经济因素的产生。明治维新后日本之所以能够迅速转入资本主义发展轨道，主要不是取决于外部力量，而是由日本传统社会结构的特点决定的。

无论是格辛克隆的研究还是梅洛蒂的研究，对于研究中国现代化问题的人来说，都可以作为研究中国传统社会结构对现代化的制动作用的一种参考。实际上，对中国传统社会结构的上述作用的研究具有十分深刻的意义，它不仅与中国的经济体制改革的设计与进程有关，而且与中国的政治体制改革的设计与进程有关。在学术界有两种影响较为广泛的意见。一种意见是：根据中国传统社会结构的特点，中国在现代化过程中的政治体制改革和经济体制改革的难度很大，因此改革应当是渐进的，欲速则不达；改革与发展必须相互配合，稳步推进，这样才能既促进中国的现代化，又促成传统社会结构的逐渐转变。另一种意见是：由于传统社会结构对中国的现代化有很大的制动作用，如果不首先使传统社会结构解体，使其影响大大减弱，中国的现代化将难以获得进展。为此，不仅中国的经济体制改革要加快，而且政治体制改革也要加快。渐进的改革只可能延续传统社会结构的存在，使得传统社会结构对现代化的制动作用依然是强有力的。介于这两种意见之间有下述这种折中见解，即认为经济体制改革应当加快，政治体制改革不妨以渐进的方式进行。也就是说，在经济体制改革取得一定的进展，经济发展取得一定的成就之后，政治体制改革的实行将较为顺利，传统社会结构变更过程中所带来的社会震荡也就相对地小一些，从而易于被社会所承受。中国的比较经济史研究者在分析各国现代化过程中发展与传统社会结构之间的关系时得出了不同的论点，虽然见仁见智，各持一端，但有一点是一致的，这就是：承认传统社会结构对中国现代化事业有着不可忽视的制动作用，因此必须正视这一问题，慎重地选择对策。由于中国的现代化是社会主义现代化，中国的经济体制改革和政治体制改革以社会主义制度的完善与发展作为目标，所以对策的选择应当以社会主义为方向，中国

的比较经济史研究者探讨现代化问题时对这一点是有清醒认识的。

七、比较经济史研究的另一结论：世界现代化过程的多样性

从有关传统社会结构与现代化之间的关系的比较研究，必然导致另一个重要问题的探讨，即就全世界范围而言，现代化过程是单线的还是多线的？经济史资料充分说明，西欧的社会发展模式和工业革命的途径不一定适用于发展中国家的现代化。再往上推，究竟什么是典型的封建社会，它究竟存在于西欧，还是存在于东方，或者存在于东方的中国？甚至可以假定，西欧的、东方的、中国的封建社会都是典型的封建社会，这种观点也不一定就不正确。总之，在这个领域内，供讨论的问题还有很多，意见的分歧不可能在短期内消失。

早在第一次世界大战结束后不久，施本格勒（O. Spengler）在所著《西方的没落》一书中就曾指出，人类历史无非是各种不同的文明自行生长和衰亡的历史，这些文明彼此自成体系，自生自灭。施本格勒在研究了文明兴衰史之后认为，历史发展中因果关系是不存在的，因此西方文明同其他文明一样，也面临着衰亡的命运，这种衰亡仅仅是重复以往的一些文明（如埃及文明、巴比伦文明、玛雅文明等）经历过的路程而已。施本格勒对历史规律性的否定、对历史继承性和连续性的忽略以及对不同文明之间内在联系的漠视，尽管都有争论之必要，但他能够突破西欧单线论，提出历史发展多样性的观点，无疑开拓了比较历史研究的视野。此后，阿诺德·汤因比在所著《历史研究》中，进一步发展了历史进程多样性的学说，认为各种文明的发展是平行的，一切文明都有自己的成长与衰亡的过程。而且，他不把每一种文明看成是孤立的、封闭的体系，而认为文明之间是相互联系的：即使历史上一种文明衰亡了，但如果由它所创造的或在它影响之下产生的下一代文明能够成长，那么一种文明的衰亡可能就是另一种文明产生的起点。汤因比对人类历史的发展和文明的兴衰的论述中，确有过分夸大宗教的作用之处，但他同斯本格勒一样，也强调历史发展的多线论，即以文明的多中心替代文明的单一中心。这一论点已被当代的比较历史研究者中的多数人所认可。

施本格勒和汤因比都是历史学家、历史哲学家，他们不是经济史学家。尽管他们在自己的著作中涉及了不少经济史问题，但他们并没有专门研究经济发展和经济变更的历史过程。希克斯在《经济史理论》中写

道："汤因比和施本格勒创制的历史模式，就其艺术感染力而言，在其科学吸引力之上。"[5] 然而，不可否认的是，文明的比较研究作为一种历史哲学或作为一种历史研究方法，对经济史的比较研究是有启示的。虽然人们不一定接受施本格勒的历史悲观主义，也不一定赞同汤因比那种把宗教视为文明产生和发展的推动力量的观点，但仍应当承认，传统社会结构和传统观念的影响是综合的影响，它们从若干不同的方面对一种文明或一个区域的经济发生影响，从而形成文明之间的差异或不同区域经济活动方式、经济发展途径的差异。

在分析人类社会经济发展的多样性、现代化过程的多样性时，比较经济史的研究者时常考虑到：如果没有西方势力对东方社会的侵入，东方传统的社会结构是不是会自行解体呢？东方社会是不是会凭借自己的内部力量实现工业革命，走上现代化的道路呢？的确，在东方国家，传统的社会结构是强大的经济发展制约因素，古代和中古历史上的战争、社会动荡、朝代更迭等等并没有使社会结构发生实质性变化。古代和中古的东方也曾出现过较长时期的、阶段性的经济昌盛，但这与近代意义上的经济发展或工业革命不是一回事。因此，从表面上看，西方势力的入侵同东方传统社会结构的解体是直接有关的，似乎没有前者就没有后者，而没有后者也就没有工业革命和现代化了。尽管有些人同意这种推论，但这个问题仍然没有解决，争议继续存在。

关于传统社会结构是否由外部力量所破坏的讨论，研究者们表述过不同的看法。一种对中国现代化进程的研究可能有较大借鉴意义的见解是：外部力量的侵入所能破坏的只是传统社会结构的表层，传统社会深层结构的瓦解则是内部力量作用的结果。拉丁美洲是较早的例证：西班牙的入侵和占领并不曾摧毁当地的社会经济结构。印度是较后的例证：直到20世纪40年代中期为止，印度的传统社会深层结构也未被英国经济力量所破坏，城市和乡村是两个不同的世界，如果说城市中的资本主义有一定程度的发展的话，那么广大农村却仍旧维持传统的社会结构。再一个例证是韩国：为什么它在第二次世界大战前的长时期内经济是落后的，日本的统治并没有破坏其传统社会结构，而从60年代以来，韩国的经济却有较快的发展，传统社会结构解体的速度大大加快了？难道这种促成传统社会结构解体速度加快的力量不是主要来自社会内部吗？从这些例证可以看出，所谓没有外来入侵就没有东方传统社会结构的解体，从而也就没有东方的工业革命和现代化的论点，是片面的、肤浅的。不从传统社会的深层结构进行分析，不对社会内部力量的作用进行研究并给予足够的重视，既说明不了东方传统社会结构解体的实际过程，也说明不了世界历史的多样性和现代化过程的多样性。当然，这并不否认西

方势力入侵在东方传统社会结构解体过程中的应有的作用。这只不过是表明在现代化问题的研究中，包括在传统社会结构解体与现代化进程之间关系的研究中，要把社会内部力量的作用放在主要的位置上。

八、一国内部现代化进展的不平衡性

在研究各国现代化进程时，比较经济史的研究者几乎都注意到各国现代化进展的不平衡性。这一结论是很有价值的，它实际上等于否定了各国现代化按统一的模式进行的论点。在这方面，悉尼·波拉德（Sidney Pollard）的假设引起了中国的比较经济史研究者的兴趣。

波拉德指出，欧洲的工业化不应当按国别模式研究，而应当从工业发展本身的规律来考察。工业化过程好像“发疹”的过程：新兴工业城市好像一个个小红点，起初各国都有红点出现，但有稀有密；隔了一段时间之后，有些地方的红点增多了，红点更密了，红点与红点之间连成片了，而另一些地方的红点仍然是稀疏的、点缀性的。因此，波拉德认为，对工业化过程的研究不能采用国别研究方法，而只能采用区域研究方法，即用红点的分布和红点的扩散作为工业化进展的标志。波拉德写道：“19世纪欧洲的工业化是单一的过程，它有自己的经济逻辑。它像一场瘟疫，不受边界的限制；它轻而易举地越过了边界，但却使相邻的国内领土未受瘟疫的波及。”[7]

波拉德的“发疹”假设不仅有助于说明各国现代化进程的不平衡性，而且也有助于说明一国内部现代化进程的不平衡性。但波拉德的假设还包含了这样一个内容，即上述发展的不平衡性并不妨碍各国共同构成一个经济的整体，以及一国国内各个发展不平衡的区域共同构成一个经济的整体。他认为，在工业化时期，全欧洲是一个整体，欧洲市场也是一个整体，任何一个欧洲国家发展工业时都离不开这个整体，一个地区所实现的工业化从资本、劳动力、技术、进出口商品等方面对另一些地区的影响固然是重要的，但反过来，周围各个地区对这个工业化地区的影响同样不可忽视。一个地区在工业化方面先走一步之后，它往往给另一些后进的地区带来发展的机会，而后进地区的工业化虽然开始得较晚，但它们的周围还有一些更落后的地区，所以它们仍然有利可得，仍然有相对的优势可以利用。

在进行现代化的比较研究时，从波拉德的假设可以得到一些有益的启示。比如说，在一定时点上，中国各个不同的地区或不同的省份）都

存在若干工业发展程度较高的城镇。它们好像是“红点”，分散在不同的地区，但与此同时，在任何一个地区，即使是工业发展程度较高的地区，仍会有大块空白，其中一个“红点”也不存在。不同的地区之间的区别表现为“红点”多少不等、“红点”分布的稀密程度不等以及“红点”本身的大小不等。这就是国内发展的不平衡。在研究时需要弄清楚的是：不同地区的上述区别是怎样形成的？各个地区的“红点”的扩散趋势如何？各个地区的“红点”之间有什么样的联系？

其实，波拉德的假设和他的区域研究方法不仅对中国的研究者在分析现代化进程时有参考之处，而且也可以用于对经济史上的地区发展不平衡性的探讨。例如，在研究明清两代带有工场手工业性质的、较大型的雇工企业的地区分布状况时，在研究19世纪末和20世纪初的近代工厂的地区分布状况时，都可以参考波拉德的假设，避免得出简单化的论断。

九、中国的比较经济史研究还有待于继续深入和拓宽

正如前面已经提到的，比较经济史学作为一门独立的学科形成较晚。而在中国，只能认为比较经济史方面的研究近年来开始受到重视，对它感兴趣的学者逐渐增多，但还不能认为比较经济史研究在中国已经有较大的发展。加之，在现阶段的中国，关于比较经济史领域内的研究，主要围绕着现代化问题而进行。这个问题以外的许多重要的问题，或者尚未被研究者所涉及，或者只是在探讨现代化问题时才被提到。从方法上看，新经济史学的方法整个说来在中国还没有产生影响，个别的研究者在研究现代化问题时，曾使用经济计量方法来研究近几十年的历史过程，但这一方面由于经济史资料的限制，另一方面由于在中国经济发展过程中制度因素起的作用相当大，从而历史的计量研究的局限性是很明显的。当然，这并不等于说在研究中国经济史问题时不可能采取计量方法。可以认为，随着中国的经济史和比较经济史研究的深入与研究范围的拓宽，随着经济史资料整理工作的进展，历史计量研究是有前途的，研究的开展必然是渐进的。并且，在计量研究中，如何结合影响中国经济史的制度因素进行分析，也会有一个探索的过程。在这方面不能急于求成。

1985年，罗伯特·索洛（Robert M. Solow）在《美国经济评论》上谈到经济史与经济学的关系时，曾经这样写道：“现代的经济是十分复

杂的体系。既然我们不能在其规模较小的一些局部进行有控制的试验，或者哪怕对它们作孤立的观察，我们就无法使用经典的、硬科学的手段来甄别相互挑战的那些假设。可供选择的另一种基本手段，就是按历史顺序进行统计分析。”[9]　索洛的这番话是有一定道理的。这表明，既然不可能用物理或化学的实验方法来验证社会经济现象，于是历史统计方法就成为可供选择的一种替代了。但人们会进一步思考：假定经济的发展过程还不明朗，历史本身的许多事实还不清楚，那么历史统计方法即使可以被应用，但这又能在多大程度上说明问题呢？假定历史资料残缺不全，而某些年份的统计数字并不准确，那么历史统计方法又怎能得到有效的利用呢？我们丝毫没有贬低历史统计方法的意思，我们想指出的只是：在中国经济史的计量研究中，更为基本的工作应当以整理历史统计资料、去伪存真、填补某些空白为先，在这个基础上计量研究才有用武之地。

索洛在谈到经济史与经济学的关系时还说过：“经济史学家能够使用经济学家提供的工具，但除此以外还需要有想像力，想像事物变为如今这种状况以前，可能是怎样的。”[10] 索洛在这里提到的“经济史学家在研究中需要有想像力”，很耐人寻味。其实，不仅索洛一个人有这种看法。在新经济史学的作品中，这已经不是一种设想，而且已被用于经济史分析之中了。例如，福格尔在研究美国经济在历史上所起过的作用时，可以假定1890年的美国不存在铁路，然后进行考察；福格尔和恩格尔曼在研究美国南部奴隶制经济史时，可以假定1861～1865年的南北战争不曾发生，并由此出发来探讨种植园经济的前景。无怪乎诺思和托马斯（Robert Paul Thomas）在评论莱恩（Frederic C. Lane）的《政府在近代初期经济增长中所起的作用》时这样写道：“对比较经济史或任何其他经济史来说，最重要的是提出富于想像力的理论。”[11]　我们不应把经济史研究中的“想像”理解为毫无根据的、漫无边际的臆测。经济史学家的“想像”——如果我们同意采用这一概念的话——必须以比较经济史的事实和研究成果为基础，这样的“想像”才是有学术价值的。

为什么在这里强调比较经济史研究同经济史学家的“想像”之间的关系？理由是很清楚的。通过经济史的纵向比较与横向比较的结合，可以用历史上其他国家或地区在相似的阶段所经历的发展过程和当时面临的经济、社会问题来推测另一个国家在某一时期可能经历的发展过程和可能遇到的问题。这就是经济史学家想像力的一种应用。虽然历史不会简单地重复，但建立在比较经济史研究基础上的对一定阶段、一定国家或地区的经济演进过程的推断，要比纯粹主观的臆测具有大得多的可信性。从这个意义上说，中国的比较经济史研究者还有大量的工作需要去

做。比较经济史的研究越扎实，越有成效，对经济演进的推断（包括对现代化过程中将会遇到的各种问题的估计和评价）就越有说服力。

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Comparative economic history and the modernization of China (1993)

I. Economic history: an overview (prelude)

Economic history, as an academic discipline, studies the historical process of economic activity that involves the evolution of the economic system, the development of productivity as well as the interaction between the two. It is a hybrid of economics and history, as its name suggests. From the viewpoint of the history of economics, a lot has been said and written about past economic phenomena and issues, and many ideas have been put forth on the relationship between economics and history from perspectives ranging from mercantilism to classical economics. These efforts, however, were not systematic enough to give rise to economic history as an academic discipline. It was not until the late 19th century that economic history emerged in Western Europe as an independent discipline, thanks to contributions from numerous prominent European scholars. These included representatives of the German history of economics such as Gustav von Schmoller, Albert Eberhard Fridrich Schaffle and Karl Wilhelm Bücher, as well as their contemporaries James Edwin Thorold Rogers, Henry de Beltgens Gibbins, Arnold Toynbee and William James Ashley of Great Britain, Emile Levasseur of France, and Charles Franklin Dunbar, Henry Walcott Farnam, Gerald C. Gross and Richard Theodore Ely of the United States. Economic history came a long way in Europe and America in the first half of the 20th century. Scholars like Werner Sombart and Ernst Wagemann of Germany, John Harold Clapham, Michael Moissey Postan and Richard Henry Tawney of Great Britain, Henri Sée of France, Eli Filip Heckscher of Sweden, Alfons Dopsch of Austria, Henri Pirenne of Belgium, James Walter Thompson, Mikhail Ivanovich Rostovtzeff and Abbott Payson Usher of the United States distinguished themselves with important works in their respective areas of this discipline.

Under the influence of various philosophical, historical, and economic thoughts, economists are divided in their outlook on such major issues as the relationship between theory and history, on the roles of geographical environment, population, and government in economic development, and on whether socioeconomic development is single- or multi-tracked, progressive, or radical. Many of their opinions on the history of humanity's economic activity, the metamorphosis of economic systems and the development of productivity may be blinkered or Euro-centric in their global overview of economic history, yet it has to be admitted that their achievements are valuable for later researchers, both in the collection and collation of historical archives on economics and in textual research on specific facts in economic history.

Comparative economic history as a branch of economic history mainly dwells on the similarities and differences between the economic processes of countries and regions in the world, and analyzes their causes and effects for a deeper understanding of the historical process of socioeconomic activity. In both genesis and development it is something of a latecomer in comparison with economic history. For a considerably long period of time after economic history was established as a field of study, many scholars – such as G. Schmoller, K. Bücher, W. J. Ashley,

H. Sée, H. Pirenne, E. F. Heckscher and J. H. Clapham – made comparative studies of the economic history of different countries, yet their efforts were hardly systematic. Moreover, because of their research focus on the establishment of a certain theoretical model for economic history, they tended to sort out and arrange the economic historical facts and figures of different countries in compliance with this established model. In other words, limited by the circumstances of the time, none of these European economists lived to see comparative economic history maturing into an independent discipline – it was a branch of economic history at best.

II. The rise of comparative economic history

It was not until the end of the Second World War, particularly after the mid-1960s, that the importance of comparative economic history came to be recognized by the academic world. This had something to do with the postwar world political and economic situation. Following the disintegration

of the old world political order, and with many less developed nations embarking on the road of modernization, comparative studies of economic systems, economic growth, and economic policies caught on widely among scholars, thereby paving the way for the birth of comparative economic history as an academic discipline. Ragnar Nurkse, Simon Smith Kuznets, Walt Whitman Rostow, Alber Otto Hirschman, and other scholars who had made a name for themselves in their studies of economic growth, delved into comparative economic history and came up with groundbreaking discoveries and enunciations. Although these people, with the exception of W. W. Rostow, are not considered as economic historians, the important position of their works in comparative economic history can never be ignored. The advent and development of theories on human capital, institutional and technological innovation, political cycles, the long wave, the political market and public choices, either have provided new theoretical backing for the study of comparative economic history, or become vivid research topics.

The rise of econometric history, also known as cliometrics or new economic history, was yet another major factor that contributed to comparative economic history in its formative years. Econometric history first appeared in the late 1950s, and progressed swiftly after the mid-1960s. American economic historians Robert William Fogel, Douglass Cecil North and Stanley Lewis Engerman are its major representatives. These economic historians label past studies in this field "traditional economic history" for the reason that they have stopped at the level of historiography, fallen short of integrating economic theories with economic history, and failed to apply modern quantitative analysis in studying past historical events and economic development processes. Accordingly, they believe they have remedied all these deficiencies with their brand of new economic history. During the period from the 1960s to the 1980s, the new economic history caught the attention of the academic world and gave a major impetus to comparative economic history by coming up with a series of works on the histories of technological innovation, institutional innovation, railways, the southern US economy, the Western European medieval manorial system, historical calculations of GNP and labor productivity, and the historiography of business cycles. This great impetus manifested itself mainly in improvements in research methodology. As R. W. Fogel and S. L. Engerman point out in *The Reinterpretation of American Economic History* (1971), "When the data

are very good, simple statistical procedures will usually suffice. The poorer the data, the more powerful are the methods which have to be employed. Nevertheless, it is often true that the volume of data available is frequently below the minimum required for standard statistical procedures. In such instances the crucial determinant of success is the ability of the investigator to devise methods that are exceedingly efficient in the utilization of data – that is, to find a method that will permit one to achieve a solution with the limited data that are available." [2] Besides the support from certain theories, improved research methods, quantitative methods in particular, are also *sine qua non* for the achievements made in comparative studies of the economic development processes of different countries and regions.

From a methodological point of view, both vertical and lateral comparative approaches can be applied in comparative economic history. Vertical comparative analysis refers to a study of changes that have taken place in different periods in one or several countries along the historical course of economic development, so as to discover the norms governing economic development. Lateral comparative analysis refers to a comparison of the economic situations in different areas of a country or in several countries over a certain period or at a given time, so as to illustrate the distinctive economic features of the areas or countries being compared. Choices of economic indicators and of years are pivotal to the success of vertical comparison. The older the indicators, the more fragmented the statistical data tend to be, and the more difficult the comparison becomes. Moreover, such a comparison can make sense only when different statistics are converted into something that can be measured with the same benchmark. As to the choice of years, arbitrariness must be avoided – the years chosen to represent certain turning points or historical periods in economic development should be solidly grounded. Only thus can convincing conclusions be derived from such a vertical comparison. As to lateral comparative analysis, apart from the above-mentioned caution in the choice of economic indicators and years (as well as the comparability of such indicators), due attention should be paid to the connection between lateral and vertical comparisons. This is because only by putting the two kinds of comparison together can the regular pattern of the economy's historical development be seen more clearly, and only thus can the deficiencies of statistics concerning a certain historical period in a certain country be made

up for with an approximate value derived from corresponding data available for the same historical period in another country. This drives further home the significance of quantitative analysis to the rise of comparative economic history.

III. Comparative economic history and studies of modernization

The modernization issue has been drawing the attention of international academia as a major research topic since the end of the Second World War. Both development economics and comparative economic history have studied it, but the former has distinguished itself by approaching the topic more from the perspective of economic history, that is, by comparing the historical processes of socioeconomic development. To put it more exactly, development economics studies the mode and policy of economic development by leaning heavily on the allocation and flow of production factors, the relationship between saving and consumption, the roles of market mechanism and government functionaries, the relationship between sectoral and regional economic structures as well as between economic development and technological innovation, and the internal-external balance in the development process. Although development economics also links the modernization issue with the roles of institutional, cultural and other factors, it puts a premium on the present situation instead of on historical summary. By comparison, comparative economic history has a different focus in modernization studies.

As a branch of economic history, comparative economic history not only is devoted to historical economic development, but also explores issues with more extensity and profundity. To name just a few: How important are the roles of traditional culture, religion and ethics in the historical process of socioeconomic development of different countries or regions? To what extent can the differences in socioeconomic history between countries (and regions) be interpreted in light of their differences in traditional culture, religion and ethics? Both questions, however, fall into the category of comparative economic history rather than development economics. To cite another group of questions: What are the implications of the Asian mode of production? What is the economic difference between Eastern and Western pre-capitalist

societies? How did such a difference come about, and what is its relationship with the later capitalist economic development? What conclusions can be arrived at if the role of geographic environment in economic development is belittled or exaggerated? Can such conclusions stand the test of science? These questions are, likewise, concerns of comparative economic historians, and rarely dwelt on by development economists.

Modernization entails a process of sustained economic, social, political and cultural development, with economic development as the driving force behind it. The academic world is widely divided as to when worldwide modernization was started. It is dated back variously to the scientific revolution of the 16th and 17th centuries, to the industrial revolution towards the end of the 18th century, or to a more recent date. The consensus, nevertheless, is that the hundred years beginning from the late 19th century constituted the modernization stage in the socioeconomic development of human history. Therefore, no research into modernization can be complete without summarizing the experiences and lessons of all nations in their economic development during those years. It goes without saying that modernized nations need to sum up their historical experiences so that they can address, with appropriate countermeasures, the socioeconomic problems arising from economic development. Nations that are striving for modernization, too, find it necessary to summarize their own experiences and those of others in economic development over the years. Without such summary, they may go astray or repeat other nations' mistakes in their modernization drive. In that sense, the study of modernization is synonymous with comparative economic history. More than that, because comparative economic history can prepare conditions for in-depth modernization studies, it is, indeed, an indispensable branch of foundational research for the latter.

In a comparative study of the relationship between tradition and modernization featured in the book *The Modernization of Japan and Russia* (Cyril Edwin Black et al, New York, 1975), I have discovered a typical example to illustrate the collaboration between comparative economic history and modernization research. C. E. Black and his co-authors chose to compare the Japanese modernization process with that of Russia precisely because the two nations, each with a heritage different from that of Western Europe, were seeking modernization and adapting it to their respective traditions. According to the authors' observations of modern economic history, Japan

and Russia share a distinguished feature in their modernization processes in that they have both succeeded in preserving their traditions. However, such traditions are no longer the same as they were – they have been adapted to modernization. What the authors are saying is that, firstly, modernization is not the same as "Westernization" or "Europeanization"; secondly, these two terms imply that Western or European institutions and values are indispensable elements of modernization, as if other nations could only adopt Western or European values and institutions at the expense of their own heritages; and thirdly, as the Japanese and Russian experiences indicate, modernization can in fact be realized only when it is adapted to local traditions. Only by making the most of its past accumulations of wealth can a nation achieve success in its modernization effort and choose the best modernization strategies. Otherwise, all such effort will prove worthless.

This comparative research in economic history by C. E. Black and others tells us that the present cannot be torn away from tradition and that any type of successful modernization is necessarily the unification of tradition with modernization.

IV. Why comparative economic history catches the fancy of Chinese academia

Since the 1980s, a wide spectrum of Chinese society has shown great interest in the issue of modernization, an interest that manifests itself in its concern not only for the approach to Chinese modernization and its prospects, but also for the modernization processes of many other countries and regions. The reason why studies of socioeconomic development strategies – or modernization strategies – have deeply interested Chinese academia is because such strategic studies are of paramount importance in that they take place against the background of summarizing the experiences and lessons of other countries' modernization drives, and that their successes and failures are closely related to China's future development and the institutional and development modes the nation is going to adopt. Many scholars have joined in such studies since the beginning of the 1980s. We have every reason to believe that these scholars' ever-increasing attention to comparative economic history is inseparable from the tangential and circumferential research on socioeconomic development strategy at that time,

an inclusive summary of empirical results from the modernization process in fellow countries.

A thought of far-reaching influence has run through Chinese research into comparative economic history: What matters for socioeconomic development is not economic growth alone, but – at least mainly – coordinated economic and social development. For a long period of historical development, the role of industrialization has been over-estimated. That is why the traditional development strategy adopted since the late 18th century always emphasized the growth of gross national product to the neglect of the costs involved; stressed industry, heavy industry in particular, to the neglect of agricultural development; favored investment in technical equipment over investment in human resources; and went blindly after abundant supply of consumer goods while ignoring the uncertain aftermath of such an abundance and the resultant changing lifestyles. In a word, coordinated socioeconomic development is more important – and worth the effort of less developed countries – than single-minded pursuit of economic growth.

Such a thought naturally gives rise to the following statement when evaluating the Industrial Revolution: the industrialization that swept across the West from the late 18th century through the 19th century was about revolutionizing production technology rather than about emancipating and developing intellectual resources. It was not until the 20th century, or as late as the mid-20th century, that this resource gained the attention it deserves. In other words, it was not until very late that investment in education was given proper consideration in association with modernization. This is a good lesson for all developing nations in pursuit of modernization. If China ignored this lesson drawn from comparative economic history and followed the example of some countries in the 18th-19th centuries in regarding human beings merely as tools and appendages to machines and came tardily to emancipate and develop its intellectual resources, its modernization process would definitely be delayed, and the widening gap between the economy and culture would become a heavy price to be paid for modernization.

It need be pointed out that China was not immune to the worldwide "Weber fever" of the 1980s, when some scholars in this nation were drawn to the German sociologist and economic historian Max Weber's theories in their studies of the crux of the modernization issue from a comparative research

perspective. The spread of Weber's theories in China stemmed from the problems the nation had come across in its modernization drive and from the Chinese desire to learn from other nations' experiences and lessons in this regard. Comparative economic history posed the following questions: Why did the Industrial Revolution follow different courses in different countries and regions? Which factors precipitated the industrial revolution in one country after another? What was the most important of all these factors? Scholars of comparative economic history may list a host of factors that might have facilitated or hampered the industrial revolution in a given nation, such as the formation of capital, market, labor and its quality, technological progress and government policy. However, one may doubt if industrial revolution could take place by way of capital, market, labor, technology and policy alone. True, these factors are indispensable, but they are not sufficient to bring about industrial revolution. We have to delve into social structure, culture and ethics and look for the other factors that might have stimulated or hindered industrial revolution. In his works Weber made a point of integrating economic history with cultural and institutional histories. That is a basic reason why his theses have drawn the attention of scholars studying the issues pertinent to modernization.

Weber's ideas are, without doubt, controversial, but even his de-tractors have to concede that his ideas are quite illuminating. One of his revelations is that industrial revolution cannot take place in a nation that, despite having prepared the essential production factors, is ill prepared ideologically and ethically – meaning that the nation still lacks the social environment and mental driving force that are essential to industrial revolution or economic progress. In other words, there is a subtle spiritual force behind the industrial revolution that drives people to explore the unknown and run businesses in return for economic results. Furthermore, in Weber's own words, industrial development is also a process in which interpersonal relationships are readjusted, for the interpersonal relationships prior to the industrial society – such as the hereditary hierarchy, clannish rule and vassalage fealty – are detrimental to industrial development. For example, even though the Roman Empire in its heyday had no lack of needed capital and labor and its market was wide enough, industrial revolution in the modern sense of the term did not take place in that empire because its social structure, institutional scope and the interpersonal relations based on it were hostile to industrial

development. Take Italy for another example. That country had acquired adequate capital and developed a wide market during the 14th-16th centuries, but its social structure, institutional environment and interpersonal relations rendered an industrial revolution improbable on its land. In those years, the Italian economy was not matched with a compatible social enterprising spirit, and as a result, the nation's accumulated wealth was channeled into nonproductive undertakings and failed to fuel technological and industrial growth. Weber's expositions in this regard drive home not only what comparative economic history means for modernization research, but also that society, culture and ethics must be studied extensively if we are to deepen our study of the modernization issue. Hence it is justifiable for Weber's Chinese followers to believe that his revelations pertinent to China's modernization lie in his methodological approach rather than in his theories *per se*.

V. A historical comparison of economic fluctuations

A nation is likely to suffer economic fluctuations in its pre-modernization period. Such fluctuations, however, are either caused by noneconomic factors such as war, natural adversity, pestilence, or influences from the outside world. This being the case, pre-modernization economic fluctuations tend to evade the attention of comparative economic history researchers. But this is not the case when a nation has entered its modernization period. In the modernization process, economic fluctuations may be caused by internal and economic factors and show certain regularity. For this reason, the historical comparison of economic fluctuations has become a new topic for studies of the Chinese style of modernization.

British economist John Hicks's work *A Theory of Economic History* (1969) is of great utility for its reference value to Chinese researchers in this field. Like American economist and political scientist Joseph Alois Schumpeter, Hicks is interested in mounting a descriptive theory of socioeconomic history rather than specific elaborations on a certain period involved in a certain research topic about economic history.[4] In Hicks's view, it is understandable that quantitative changes in gold and silver can lead to fluctuations in prices within a secluded economy (for example, what it was prior to the Industrial Revolution). Even under the gold standard system, quantitative changes in a currency can still be counted as a reason for

fluctuations in prices and the economy. However, in the 20th century, because the metallic basis of the currency was weakened, economic fluctuations could no longer be interpreted according to the amount of the currency, nor could it be simply ascribed to the adoption of a certain currency policy. The issue had to be seen in a new light. The cycle of economic growth and recession had to be probed from the perspective of the interaction between internal investment, savings and consumption. Moreover, the process of economic fluctuations could be illustrated by reference to the role of commerce, the supply of and demand for labor as well as the scope of market. That is to say, different research methods had to be applied to the history of economic fluctuations in the pre-industrialized society, during the Industrial Revolution and after the mid-20th century because each of these periods had its own peculiarities. According to Hicks's pronouncements in A Theory of Economic History and other works like A Contribution to the Theory of the Trade Cycle, Journal of Economic Perspectives and Crisis in Keynesian Economics, economic fluctuations are not uncommon in a modernization process, and pose no hindrance to economic growth – fluctuations are merely a temporary setback or slack in the historical course.

Obviously, researchers of China's modernization will not rest contented with Hicks's theoretical presentation of economic fluctuations. But so far as methodology is concerned, historical comparison (Hicks's cycle analysis included) is still useful. In the 1980s, despite a divergence in opinions, scholars were basically unanimous on two basic conclusions in their analyses of the process and causes of the cyclical fluctuation of the Chinese economy over the previous 40 years. Firstly, economic fluctuations are unavoidable in China because, like other economies that are modernized or being modernized, the Chinese economy will never be in a rectilinear motion. Secondly, the causes of economic fluctuations in China's modernization drive are internal in the main, while the impact of the world market is secondary. However, scholars are strikingly divided on the causes of the fluctuations, the duration of each fluctuation, and the intervals between them. For example: Which is a more important cause of the fluctuations, the amount of currency or commodity demand and supply? Should the modernization drive be focused on investment or attach equal importance to investment and consumption? Which sector is more accountable for causing fluctuations, the agricultural sector or the construction industry? Which is more of a factor in

the changing process of fluctuation: finance or banking, planning or market? With their own distinctive features, the economic fluctuations in China's modernization process can be analogized neither to those in Western and Southeast Asian countries, nor to those in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries. All this merits continued and in-depth study, for which comparative economic history may offer more support.

In historical comparative research, economic fluctuations are invariably connected with the economic system. If changes in the volume of investment or the growth rate of investment are regarded as a major cause for economic fluctuations in the modernization drive, this poses another question: Are changes in investment not related to a certain economic system? By the same token, if changes in the volume or supply of money are regarded as a major cause for fluctuations, are not these changes, too, an outcome of a certain economic system? From a macroeconomic point of view, changes in investment and money supply have different causes and effects under different economic systems, a fact that has a great deal to do with fiscal, monetary, and planning systems and market structure. From a microeconomic point of view, changes in investment and money supply are also directly linked with the corporate system. For example, whether a business is a true investor and stakeholder that makes its own decisions, whether it is sensitive to changes in credit and interest rate, and whether it is motivated by its own interests to seek technological progress and reduce its share of the money flow are inseparable from the changes in investment and money supply. All these indicate that comparative studies of economic fluctuations are, as a matter of fact, concerned with comparing the causes and effects of fluctuations under different economic systems.

When it comes to comparative research on economic systems, Chinese modernization scholars tend to hold one of two opinions:

– Opinion 1: China's economic system is highly comparable with those of the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries, historically so with the former Soviet economic system in particular. The analogy between the Soviet economic system over the 70 or so years since the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Chinese economic system over the last 40 years is quite manifest in some historical periods. Thus the historical relationship between the economic systems of the former Soviet Union and Eastern

European countries and their respective economic fluctuations can serve as a reference for studies of the economic fluctuations that have occurred in the modernization process of China.

– Opinion 2: In terms of GNP per capita and the percentage of agricultural population in the total population, the Chinese eco-nomic system is more akin to, and considerably more comparable with, some other developing countries insofar as socioeconomic structure, market organization and price system are concerned. These developing countries are susceptible to economic fluctuations on their road to modernization due to lopsided industrial structures and shortfalls in resource supply, or due to the unsalability of primary products and decreases in residents' income. Because these countries' fluctuations are relevant to a great extent to the problems existing in their economic systems, it is necessary to make historical comparisons between the Chinese economy and those of the developing countries if economic fluctuations in the course of modernization are studied in the context of economic systems.

The above two opinions are both reasonable and not incompatible to each other. As seen from the perspective of its economic system, fluctuations in China's modernization process are similar not only to those in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries but also to some other developing countries.

VI. Deep-seated issue: traditional social structure as a brake

Historical comparison of economic systems brings to light a deep-seated issue, that is, whether or not the traditional social structure acts as a brake on the modernization process. If the answer is yes, how serious is that role? And how can it be mitigated? It is precisely because Alexander Gerschenkron and Umberto Melotti have dwelt on all these questions and come up with unique explanations that Chinese economists are drawn to the former's works on comparative economic history and find the latter's study of the Third World and multi-linear mode of growth enlightening.

Gerschenkron's view is that the retarding role of traditional social structure is reflected in its constraints on the supply of production factors, which is a major hindrance to the progress of underdeveloped countries. He

thinks that large-scale industrial development in Russia and Balkan countries has been shackled by traditional social structure in comparison with Western Europe. But it is noteworthy that while Gerschenkron acknowledges the existence of the braking effect of traditional social structure in modernization, he also stresses that underdeveloped countries may find themselves at a relative advantage once they are resolved to achieve modernization. In this regard, he employs two terms: the "advantages of a latecomer," such as the traditional social structure's low labor cost; and the "disadvantages of a latecomer," such as the yawning gap in technology between underdeveloped and developed countries. He also points out that the advantages and disadvantages are coexistent and mutually convertible. An underdeveloped country can overcome its disadvantage if it can make the most of its advantages, including low wages. If an underdeveloped country lets the opportunity slip through its fingers, its latecomer advantage may fail to play a role and its modernization process may be delayed, just like a man who, having missed a bus, has to wait for a long time before catching the next one. Because good opportunities are rare, a "major outburst" in economic development – akin to a sprint at the finish line of the industrial revolution race – is not only necessary but also beneficial to nations under the heavy influence of a deep-rooted traditional social structure.

For his part, Melotti elaborates from different perspectives on the retarding role a traditional structure plays in the modernization of underdeveloped countries. As he sees it, the vast land area of these countries (mainly in Asia, Africa and Latin America) is studded with numerous village-sized economies that have evolved into a stable but self-enclosed and self-sufficient economic setup that ties producers down to the narrow activity scope of their lands. The economic development and social structural changes are seriously held back as a result. But how is it that Japan, of all Asian countries, made its modernization drive a success after the Meiji Restoration? Is the political factor alone enough of an answer to that question? In answer to it, Melotti points out that despite its distinctive Asian characteristics and its differences from European countries, in its pre- Restoration years Japanese society did not attempt to nip capitalism in the bud the way the other Asian countries did socioeconomically. The reason why post-Restoration Japan wasted no time in embarking on the capitalist track of development was not because of any external factors but because of the salient features of its innate

traditional social structure.

For researchers of the Chinese way of modernization, Gerschenkron and Melotti have provided valuable references to the retarding role of traditional Chinese social structure in modernization. As a matter of fact, research on that role is highly relevant to the design and progress of the nation's economic restructuring and political reform. In this regard at least two views are prevalent among Chinese researchers: One view holds that haste makes waste, given the nature of the fabric of traditional society and the difficulties it poses, and that only by pushing political and economic reforms one step at a time and coordinating reform with development can progress be made in the modernization drive and gradual changes brought to the traditional social structure. The other view maintains that, bearing in mind the retarding impact of traditional social structure, modernization cannot be sustained without breaking up this structure or at least blunting its impact considerably, and that economic and political reforms should be sped up, since slowly progressing reforms can only prolong the survival of the traditional social structure and allow it to go on holding back the modernization process. A compromise between these two views suggests that economic restructuring should be accelerated and political institutional reform conducted in a progressive way. In other words, once economic restructuring and economic development make some headway, political reform will go more smoothly and become more acceptable to the public because it helps minimize the shock wave emanating from the ensuing reshuffling of the traditional social structure.

Although divided in their opinions on the relationship between development and traditional social structure in the modernization process of different countries, Chinese scholars of comparative economic history see eye to eye on the fact that the traditional social structure does have a retardant impact on the nation's modernization drive. They see this as something that cannot be tampered with carelessly, and unanimously suggest that prudence be applied when countermeasures are chosen. Ours is socialist modernization. Therefore, improving and developing the socialist system should be the ultimate goal for economic restructuring and political reform, and the steps to be taken should be socialism-oriented as well. In their modernization studies Chinese scholars of comparative economic history are, indeed, sober-minded on this issue.

VII. Concluding remark: global diversity in the modernization process

Comparative research on the relationship between traditional social structure and modernization inevitably leads to another major issue as to whether modernization is single- or multi-tracked on a global scale. Historical materials on economic history have indicated that the Western European model of social development and its approaches to industrial revolution are not necessarily appropriate to the modernization process of developing countries. This issue can be traced back to some other questions: What did a typical feudal society look like? Where did it occur, in Western Europe, the East, or China specifically? The assumption that all Western European, Eastern and Chinese feudal societies were, without exception, typical ones may not be incorrect. In a word, there are a host of topics that are open for discussion, and the divergence of opinions can never evaporate into thin air overnight.

Shortly after the end of the First World War, Oswald Spengler pointed out in his book *The Decline of the West* that human history was about none other than the spontaneous rise and fall of civilizations, and that every civilization runs its own course, emerging and perishing on its own. His study of the rise and fall of civilizations convinced him that there is no cause-and-effect relationship in history, and Western civilization will eventually meet its demise along the same course followed by ancient Egyptian, Babylonian and Mayan civilizations. Spengler was able to broaden the vista of comparative history by eschewing the unilinear theory regarding Western Europe and embracing diversity in historical development, although his denial of the norms of historical development, his neglect of the successive and continuous nature of history, and his indifference to the intrinsic relationship between civilizations are open to question. Later, in his work *A Study of History,* Toynbee developed the theory on diversity in historical progress, believing that all civilizations are parallel in their development but each follows its own course of rise and fall. He maintained that civilizations are not isolated but interrelated: If a demised civilization can give birth to – or influence the rise of – a second generation of lasting civilization, it is evidence that one civilization's fall is probably the starting point of another. True, Toynbee somewhat exaggerated the role of religion in his dissertations on human

development and the rise and fall of civilizations; but like Spengler, he also stressed the multi-linear development of history and maintained that civilization is multi-centered instead of having only one center. Such a proposition was accepted by most of his fellow history researchers.

Nevertheless, Spengler and Toynbee were general historians and historical philosophers, not economic history scholars. Though they touched upon many issues pertinent to economic history in their works, they never delved into the historical process of economic development and changes. As Hicks commented in *A Theory of Economic History*, "… the grand designs of a Toynbee or a Spengler, the makers of historical patterns which have more aesthetic than scientific appeal."[6] However, there is no denying the inspiration of comparative studies of civilizations to comparative economic history as an approach to historical philosophy or historical research. We may not accept Spengler's historical pessimism or condone Toynbee's belief in religion as the driving force behind the rise and development of civilizations. Nevertheless, we are obliged to admit that the influence of traditional social structures and concepts is comprehensive, and works on a civilization or a regional economy in many ways, resulting in differences in civilizations, regional economic activity and development modes.

Studies of diversity in socioeconomic development and modern-ization often put scholars of comparative economic history in mind of two questions: Would Eastern traditional social structures have crumbled without the invasion of the Western forces? Can Eastern nations accomplish industrial revolution and embark on modernization by their own bootstraps? The traditional social structure in Eastern countries was a powerful constraint on their economic development, and no amount of war, social unrest and dynasty substitutions in ancient and medieval times could change it substantially. Economic booms, long or staggered, did occur in the East in those times, but they stood no comparison with the economic development or industrial revolution of modern times. On the surface, Western inroads are directly related to the disintegration of traditional social structures in the East, as if without the former, the latter would not have happened, or without the latter, there would not have been industrial revolution or modernization. Though some people accept this deduction, the issue remains unsettled, and the dispute continues.

Scholastic opinions vary as to whether the disintegration of traditional social structure resulted from external forces or not. One opinion that may be of high reference value for studies of the Chinese modernization process has this to say: the inroads of external forces could only destroy the surface of the traditional social structure – its collapse was caused by internal forces alone. An early case in point in this regard is Latin America, where Spanish invasion and occupation did not cause the local socioeconomic structures to crumble. A more recent example is India, whose deep-rooted social structure survived the invasion of British economic forces till the mid-1940s. In that country, cities and rural areas were two different worlds. If capitalism was able to make some headway in cities, the traditional social structure remained intact in the vast rural areas. A third case in point is South Korea: Why was the South Korean economy able to grow rapidly, beginning from the 1960s when the disintegration of its traditional social structure picked up speed, while its economy had lagged behind for a long time earlier as it kept its original social structure under Japanese rule before the Second World War? Is it not the case that the destructive factor came mainly from within the country? These examples show that it is prejudiced and superficial to assume that without foreign invasion there would not be the collapse of traditional social structure and the advent of industrial revolution and modernization in the East. Without dissecting the deep-seated structure of traditional society or putting a premium on studying the role of internal forces within that society, there will be no way to account for the actual disintegration of traditional social structures in the East and the diversity in both world history and the modernization process. Of course, this is not to deny the role of the invading forces from the West in the collapse of the traditional social structures of the East. Instead, it is to say that the role of internal forces should be given center stage in studies of the modernization issue, including the relationship between the disintegration of traditional social structure and the process of modernization.

VIII. Disequilibrium in the modernization process within a country

The imbalanced nature of the modernization process has come to the attention of almost all researchers of comparative economic history in their study of different countries. This valuable finding virtually gainsays the

assertion that countries follow a unified mode of modernization. In this respect, Sidney Pollard's hypothesis has attracted the notice of comparative history researchers in China.

Pollard points out that the study of European industrialization should be based on the innate laws of industrial development instead of on country-specific modes, and that the industrialization process looks like an outbreak of a skin rash epidemic. At the very beginning, new industrial cities emerge in a country like a rash of clustered spots in the human skin in varied quantity and density, some of which grow more densely clustered into an inflamed patch while others remain sparsely scattered after a certain period of time. Therefore he believes that studies of the industrialization process should not be based on countries but on regions, that is, by regarding the distribution and proliferation of the "red spots" as signals of the industrialization progress. As he puts it, "It is the argument of this article that the industrialization of 19th century Europe was a single process and had an economic logic of its own. Like an epidemic, it took little note of frontiers, crossing them with ease while leaving neighboring home territories untouched." [8]

Pollard's "red spots" hypothesis helps decode the imbalance in the modernization process between countries and in a given country. It also indicates that such imbalance does not impede the efforts of countries or of regions inside a country to form an economic body. According to him, during its period of industrialization Europe was an integral community and so was the European market, and no European country could do without this community in industrial development. The industrialization of one region often has a major impact on other regions with its capital, labor, technology and import and export commodities. But the impact of the latter on the former cannot be overlooked either. When one region makes the first step toward industrialization, it brings development opportunities to other regions. Although these regions are a step later, such opportunities still put them at an advantage over the neighboring regions that are relatively more backward.

Modernization researchers may draw inspiration from Pollard's assumption. For instance, at a certain point of time, China has a number of industrialized cities and towns scattered in various provinces. They look like "red spots" on the Map of China, but at the same time, every province still has large areas in which not a single "red spot" can be seen. Thus, the

differences between the provinces – or rather, the disequilibrium between them in industrial development – find expression in their differences in the number, density and size of the "red spots." In modernization studies, we should figure out the reasons behind these differences in those regions, the diffusion trend of the "red spots" as well as the relationship between them in different provinces.

Pollard's assumption and regional research method are valuable to studies of Chinese modernization and unbalanced regional development in economic history. For example, they may help ward off over-simplified conclusions in studying the regional distribution of large handicraft workshops with hired labor in the Ming and Qing dynasties and modern factories of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

IX. Comparative research on economic history yet to be deepened and widened

As mentioned earlier, comparative economic history is a relatively young academic discipline. In China, it did not begin to gain the importance it deserves until recently. It is drawing more and more researchers in this nation, but that is not reason enough to say that comparative economic history has come a long way in this nation. As things stand here, studies in comparative economic history are mainly centered on modernization, leaving many other important issues untouched or merely briefly mentioned. Insofar as methodology is concerned, the new economic history methodology has not had any influence on China so far. A few scholars have employed the econometric approach in their historical studies into recent decades; but their results have been obviously restricted by the lack of historical data for one thing, and by the institutional hindrance to Chinese economic development for another. But this does not mean that the econometric approach is not applicable to the study of Chinese economic history at all. With economic history and comparative economic history gaining steady ground and depth, the prospects of econometrics are becoming brighter in this nation. We have got to be patient, for it takes time to explore how to incorporate the institutional factor into the econometric study of Chinese economic history.

Discussing the relationship between economic history and economics in 1985, Robert M. Solow wrote in the *American Economic Review*: "A modern

economy is a very complicated system. Since we cannot conduct controlled experiments on its smaller parts, or even observe them in isolation, the classical hard-science devices for discriminating between competing hypotheses are closed to us. The main alternative device is the statistical analysis of historical time-series."[12] His statement is reasonable in that the historical statistics method would be the best choice wherever other physical and chemical types of scientific experiments failed in the study of socioeconomic events. But queries on its effectiveness arise. Supposing the process of economic development and many historical facts are yet to be clarified, to what extent can a historical statistics method account for the issues even if it can be made to work? In the face of fragmented historical data and inaccurate figures concerning certain years, how can we guarantee the effectiveness of this method? We have no intention to play down the value of this method. We just want to point out that in quantitative studies of the Chinese economic history, only by collecting and collating historical data, and by weeding through falsehoods to fill in the blanks with nothing but authentic data, can full scope be given to quantitative analysis in studies of Chinese economic history.

As to the relationship between economic history and economics, Solow also points out: "So the economic historian can use the tools provided by the economist but will need, in addition, the ability to imagine how things might have been before they became as they now are."[13] His mention of "imagination" in this context is quite thought-provoking. It turns out that this view is shared by many other new economic historians. Thus a hypothesis is turned into a tool in the hands of analysts of economic history. For example, R. W. Fogel studied the historical role of the American economy by assuming that the American continental railway did not exist at all in 1890. R. W. Fogel and S. L. Engerman also began their research on the slave economy in the southern United States under the assumption that there was no Civil War in 1861-1865, and then went on to discuss the prospects of plantation economy. No wonder in a journal review of Frederic C. Lane's thesis "Role of government in economic growth in early modern times," Douglass Cecil North and Robert Paul Thomas make this statement together: "The most crucial ingredient in comparative economic history, or any other economic history for that matter, is the development of imaginative theory."[14] By the term "imagination," we do not mean groundless or wild guesses,

but academic inferences based on facts and achievements in comparative research on economic history. Only this kind of "imagination" can be academically valuable.

Why so much ado about "imagination" in economic history research and its relevance to comparative economic history? The reason is apparent: Combining vertical and lateral comparisons in economic history makes it possible to use the development process and socioeconomic problems of one country to speculate on what problems another country might encountered in about the same stage of development. Such is one of the ways in which economic historians may bring their imagination into play. "History may not repeat itself, but it does rhyme a lot," as Mark Twain puts it. As to a particular economic period in a certain country or region, speculations based on comparative research into economic history are bound to be more accurate than mere wild guesswork. In this regard, researchers in this nation have a great deal of work ahead of them. The more solid the studies in comparative economic history are, the more fruitful such studies become, and the more convincing the inference from an economic process – the estimation and evaluation of problems to be confronted in the modernization process included – tends to be. (*Translated by Ren Xiaomei*)

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非均衡条件下经济增长与波动的若干理论问题 (1993)

一、经济的非均衡对于经济增长与波动的制约

经济非均衡理论从20世纪60年代后期起有较大的发展。克劳威尔（Robert Wayne Clower）于1965年发表的《凯恩斯派反革命：理论上的再评价》（载于哈恩与布雷克林编《利率理论》，1965年伦敦版）和1967年发表的《货币理论的微观基础的再考虑》（载于《西方经济学杂志》，1967年6月）两篇重要论文中，就非均衡理论提出了一个与经济增长、经济波动有关的值得注意的论点，这就是：经济的不稳定并非来源于某一市场本身，而来源于包括各个市场之间的不协调。至于各个市场之间的不协调的存在，则又应当从各个市场的不完善性和信息传递机制的不健全方面来寻找原因。如果把这种非均衡分析方法运用于经济增长与波动分析的领域内，那么显而易见，不仅以储蓄全部转化为投资和已形成的生产能力得到充分利用为前提的均衡增长公式将失去作用，而且以有效需求受到收入及其变动的限制作为经济体系内在不稳定的主要因素的经济波动假设也将被看成是具有很大局限性的。

紧接着，莱荣霍夫德（Axel Leijonhufvud）出版了《论凯恩斯派经济学和凯恩斯的经济学》（1968年牛津版）一书和其他一些作品。他同克劳威尔一样，也以非均衡的分析方法来重新解释凯恩斯经济理论，并就经济稳定与不稳定的原因作了如下的分析。他认为，经济生活中，以劳动的供给为一端，以商品的销售为另一端，这两端之间有若干中间环节，如雇主雇用工人、雇工生产商品、雇主付给雇工工资、雇工用工资购买商品、雇主使商品销出等等。但由于价格刚性的存在、市场的不完善、信息的不通畅、传导机制的缺陷等原因，上述各个中间环节中只要有一处未能衔接，这个经济的链条就会中断，经济的不稳定也就难以避免。这正是经济非均衡的一种表现。如果把这种非均衡分析方法运用于

经济增长与波动的分析领域内，那就同样可以证实经济增长不可能按均衡增长论者所设想的那种均衡增长途径进行，经济波动也不是遵照国民收入均衡公式所要求的调节总需求与总供给之间的平衡关系的做法就能克服的。

70年代以来，贝纳西（Jean-Pascal Benassy）和科尔内（János Kornai）分别从不同的角度对非均衡理论作了深入的探讨。贝纳西的《市场非均衡经济学》（1982年纽约版）、《宏观经济学与非均衡理论》（1984年巴黎版）、《宏观经济学：非瓦尔拉分析方法导论》（1986年纽约版）等书，以及科尔内的《反均衡》（1971年阿姆斯特丹版）、《短缺经济学》（1980年阿姆斯特丹版）、《增长、短缺与效率》（1982年牛津版）等书，都在非均衡分析方面有不少突破。他们关于宏观经济运行的研究对于经济增长与波动的研究有着重要的意义。

贝纳西在非均衡理论分析中的主要贡献是在对于非均衡条件下的限制因素的分析方面以及数量配额的效应分析方面。按照贝纳西的观点，在价格不灵活时，交易者既要根据市场的价格信号来调整需求量和供给量，又要根据市场的数量信号来调整需求量和供给量，于是交易者受到双重限制，即价格限制和数量限制。数量限制的具体形式就是不同形式的数量配额，也就是：在供给小于需求时，如何把有限的供给分配给需求者们；而在供给大于需求时，如何把有限的需求分配给供给者们。通过数量配额而实现的均衡，称为配额均衡。它是一种非均衡，又是一种特定意义下的、暂时的、事后的均衡。这种均衡的位置是由供给或需求中的短线（短边）决定的。贝纳西认为，在考察非均衡经济时，不仅应当摒弃均衡假设中关于价格灵活性的前提，而且必须引入价格刚性与价格伸缩的不对称性。价格刚性与价格伸缩的不对称性固然有某种联系，但在实际经济生活中的效应则是有区别的。价格伸缩的不对称性使非均衡条件下的资源配置更为复杂，政策的作用也更加受到限制。如果再引入预期概念，即交易者对非均衡条件下的不规则的经济行为的个人预期，那么非均衡的经济更不易趋于稳定。

科尔内的非均衡理论分析另有特色。他着重考察的是抑制性通货膨胀条件下的经济非均衡，也就是以短缺作为特征的经济非均衡。这时，有限的商品供给通过数量配额而给予需求各方。在这种情况下，如果增加财政支出，那么商品市场上的需求会进一步扩大，有限的商品供给的分配会更加紧张、更加困难，抑制性的通货膨胀也会更加严重。反之，如果试图用紧缩财政支出的手段来减少商品市场上的需求，那么在需求减少的同时供给量也将减少，其结果仍然没有解决供给缺口问题。科尔

内在研究非均衡经济时，把企业的预算硬约束与软约束作为讨论的重点之一。他的这些观点是很有价值的，因为企业的预算软约束的存在将使经济长期处于非均衡状态，也就是使经济中的短缺现象难以消除。

从国外经济学界对于非均衡经济的研究可以清楚地了解到，无论是经济增长还是经济波动，都必然受到经济的非均衡的制约。

在以哈罗德—多马模型、新古典模型甚至新剑桥模型作为代表的流行于50～60年代的经济增长论中，经济均衡论的影响是很深的。这种影响不仅反映于哈罗德—多马模型和新古典模型内，而且也反映于新剑桥模型内。新剑桥模型与哈罗德—多马模型、新古典模型的一个重大的区别，是在模型中引入了两类不同的收入以及收入分配对经济增长的制约作用。这当然应当被承认为新剑桥模型的贡献。然而，即使是新剑桥模型，也没有摆脱市场完善、价格灵活、信息传递通畅等公开的或暗含的假设；新剑桥模型所反映的经济增长过程中遇到的困难，主要来自收入分配方面的矛盾，而不是主要来自市场机制的不完善以及各个不同市场之间的不协调。这样，新剑桥模型依然解释不了经济增长过程中供求缺口的持续存在对于经济增长的制约作用。

需要说明的是，新剑桥经济增长理论的主要代表人物如琼·罗宾逊等人，从经济理论上说，是反对经济均衡假设的。他们从凯恩斯的著作中找到了经济非均衡的论点，并由此提出了一系列不同意后凯恩斯主流经济学派的论点。但为什么在经济增长分析中却未能摆脱经济均衡论的影响呢？原因在于他们的微观经济理论是不足的、有弱点的。他们忽略了对市场交易行为的分析、企业运行机制的分析、信息传递机制的分析。这就决定了他们的经济增长模型的内在缺陷。

在经济波动的研究中，流行于50～60年代的经济波动论以IS—LM分析（投资·储蓄—流动偏好·货币供给分析）、乘数—加速原理分析为代表的学说，是以经济均衡假设和经济的均衡增长假设为前提的。根据这些分析，如果说经济中产生波动的话，那么这只是由于经济运行中出现的投资偏多或储蓄偏多，货币供给过多或货币供给过少，以及技术设备更新的自身规律所致，而与市场机制的缺陷、价格的不灵活、信息传递的不通畅等等没有直接的关系。再说，IS—LM分析还忽略了宏观经济的微观经济基础的分析，乘数—加速原理分析则偏重于经济中的技术性因素的考察，它们同样不考虑宏观经济的微观经济基础。这也就决定了这些流行于50～60年代的经济波动论的严重不足。

60年代后期起关于经济的非均衡理论分析的进展，对于经济增长与

经济波动的研究有重要的启示。经济的非均衡性质对于经济增长与经济波动的制约作用，经过非均衡理论的研究者的探讨，已经日益被学术界与经济界所承认。这些探讨并不是一概否定哈罗德—多马模型、新古典模型、新剑桥模型在经济增长理论研究领域内的意义及其在某些方面的可借鉴性，也并不是一概否定IS—LM分析、乘数—加速原理在经济波动理论研究领域内的意义及其在某些方面的可借鉴性。这些探讨的重要性在于：它们从另一个角度来分析经济增长与经济波动，从而使经济增长与经济波动的分析具有一个新的、与现实状况联系更紧的立足点；它们所得出的某些结论，比流行于50～60年代的有关理论分析更为符合实际。

经济非均衡分析在经济增长与波动方面所得出的主要结论可以归纳为以下四点：

1．如果市场不完善、价格不灵活、信息传递不通畅，那么投资与储蓄之间的转化将受到阻碍，供给与需求之间的不平衡一旦出现，就不易消失。市场只可能使供给缺口或需求缺口有所缩小，但这些缺口仍将继续存在。于是将出现非零失业率条件下的均衡或非零通货膨胀率条件下的均衡，这就制约了经济增长或导致经济的较大波动。

2．经济的非均衡使得不同市场（商品市场、资金市场、劳动力市场等）之间的协调更为困难。一旦一个市场出现了供给缺口或需求缺口，不仅这个市场上的缺口难以消除，而且必将引起其他市场上的缺口的产生与扩大。这种情况成为经济增长的制约因素或成为经济较大波动的重要原因之一。

3．经济的非均衡以价格刚性的存在作为特征。价格刚性对于经济增长与经济波动的主要影响表现于交易者根据经济生活中的假象来制定供给与需求的决策。但价格刚性并不一定意味着价格永远不变，而很可能意味着价格的突然的、较大幅度的变动，而且是不对称的变动。这对于经济增长固然不利；更重要的是，这可能引发较大的经济波动或使波动加剧。

4．经济的非均衡以及非零失业率与非零通货膨胀率条件下均衡的存在，必将改变市场交易双方的预期。预期的不稳定或预期的紊乱，将导致经济行为的不规则，导致经济行为的短期化。这不仅是加剧经济波动的一个重要原因，而且也是阻碍经济稳定增长与持续增长的有力因素。

二、两类非均衡的区分与经济增长、经济波动的分析

按照非均衡理论的分析，并且结合我国的实际经济情况进行考察，我们可以对当前经济体制改革的思路以及经济增长的途径有较深入的认识。

要知道，既然经济的非均衡状态来自市场的不完善、价格的不灵活、信息传递的不通畅等，那么按照这样的逻辑，从理论上必定得出下列两个论断中的一个：

甲：由于经济的非均衡来自市场的不完善、价格的不灵活、信息传递的不通畅，因此，要使非均衡条件下的经济避免较大的波动，使经济有比较稳定的增长率，在经济体制改革中首先要实现的是放开对价格的限制和完善市场，使经济生活中的交易各方都处于平等竞争的位置上。经济增长将在市场完善和价格放开的环境中实现。

乙：由于经济的非均衡来自市场的不完善、价格的不灵活、信息传递的不通畅，这些都反映了市场机制的局限性。因此，在经济体制改革中的首要任务应当是加强宏观经济管理，以政府的数量配额与价格调节来弥补市场机制之不足，纠正市场不完善所造成的经济中的偏差。在经济增长方面，为了维持较稳定的经济，政府的数量配额（包括资金配额、劳动力配额、生产资料配额等）将起着主要的作用。这就是说，非均衡条件下的经济增长应当是以政府的数量配额为主的经济增长。

以上所指出的甲、乙两种论断，都来自对经济的非均衡分析。论断甲是经济改革中的“价格改革主线论”的简要表述，论断乙是经济改革中的“宏观调控主线论”的简要表述。就经济增长与经济波动的分析而言，按照论断甲的说法，非均衡条件下的经济波动主要归因于市场不完善和价格不灵活，避免经济波动的主要改革措施或维持经济较稳定增长的主要改革措施就必然是放开价格和完善市场。按照论断乙的说法，非均衡条件下的经济波动主要归因于市场不完善或市场机制本身的局限性，避免经济波动的主要改革措施或维持经济较稳定增长的主要改革措施就必然是加强宏观经济管理，把政府的数量配额和价格调节放在主要地位。

然而，对我国的实际经济情况进行研究后却发现，无论是在经济体制改革中按照“价格改革主线论”的主张去做，还是按照“宏观调控主线论”的主张去做，都不可能顺利地推进我国的经济体制改革，也不可能避免我国经济的较大波动或维持我国经济的较稳定的增长。换言

之，“价格改革主线论”或“宏观调控主线论”都是不符合我国经济的实际状况的。

这样就产生了一个新的问题。要知道，经济改革中的“价格改革主线论”与“宏观调控主线论”都来自对经济的非均衡分析。既然这两种论点都不妥当，那么将会引起人们的进一步思考：究竟是非均衡理论错了呢，还是一般的非均衡理论分析不够完善，从而解释不了像我国经济体制改革、经济增长与波动这样复杂的问题呢？

非均衡理论相对于均衡理论而言，确实是经济理论的一种进展。经济均衡的假设依存于市场完善、价格灵活、信息畅通等前提。如果不具备这样一些前提，那么经济均衡的假设就不能成立，而现实经济必定是非均衡的经济，从而只能运用非均衡分析方法来进行分析。可见，我们不能由于“价格改革主线论”与“宏观调控主线论”不适合我国当前的经济现实而认为非均衡分析是错误的。问题不在于非均衡分析本身。

那么，问题究竟何在？问题在于一般的非均衡理论分析不够完善，以至于解释不了像我国经济体制改革、经济增长与波动这样复杂的问题。

需要指出的是：一般的非均衡理论分析并未把微观经济单位企业是否具有充分活力考虑在内，而是暗含了这样一个假定，即企业作为微观经济单位已经具有充分活力；因此，经济非均衡现象主要来自市场的不完善、价格的不灵活、信息传递的不通畅等。正因为如此，所以由此推出的结论或者是以价格改革为经济改革的主线，或者是以加强宏观经济管理为经济改革的主线。这就是一般的非均衡理论分析的不完善之处。我在《非均衡的中国经济》（1990年经济日报出版社版）一书中，就这一问题提出了如下的看法：经济的非均衡分为两种类型，第一类经济非均衡是指市场不完善条件下的非均衡，第二类经济非均衡是指市场不完善和企业缺乏活力条件下的非均衡。现阶段的中国经济处于第二类非均衡状态，中国的经济体制改革应当相应地分为两个阶段，即应当以深化企业改革为主线，使企业从缺乏活力转为具有充分活力，从不自主经营和不自负盈亏转为自主经营和自负盈亏，以便使中国经济由第二类非均衡状态过渡到第一类非均衡状态。然后，以完善市场和放开价格作为经济体制改革的主线，以便使中国经济由第一类非均衡状态逐渐向均衡状态靠拢。对两类经济非均衡的区分，以及针对第二类经济非均衡的特征进行研究，就是我所著《非均衡的中国经济》一书的基本论点，也是我在非均衡分析中不同于一般的非均衡理论分析的地方。

区分两类不同的经济非均衡，对于研究中国的经济增长与波动是有意义的。经济增长在第二类非均衡条件下所受到的制约，要比在第一类非均衡条件下多得多；导致经济波动的因素在第二类非均衡条件下也要比在第一类非均衡条件下多得多。同样的道理，与在第一类非均衡条件下的情形相比，在第二类非均衡条件下，维持经济的较稳定增长或避免经济出现较大的波动要困难得多。如果我们不了解第二类非均衡状态与第一类非均衡状态的区别，只把市场的不完善、价格的不灵活、信息传递的不通畅看成是对于经济增长的主要制约因素，看成是引起经济产生较大波动的基本原因，从而根据这些判断来选择维持经济稳定增长的对策或制定防止、消除经济较大波动的对策，那么很可能不得要领，以至于选择的对策收不到应有的成效。正如医生在给病人治疗时，如果对病情的诊断有错误，对病因判断错了，那么就会开出不恰当的处方，不但医不好病，反会延误病情。

假定不区分两类不同的经济非均衡，不了解当前的中国经济正处于第二类非均衡状态，而是把完善市场和放开价格作为维持经济稳定增长与防止经济较大波动的主要对策，或者把加强宏观经济管理作为这样的对策，那就忽略了企业作为投资主体和消费基金发放主体的不自主经营、不自负盈亏对经济增长与波动的最有力的制约作用。在第二类非均衡条件下，企业还没有成为自主经营、自负盈亏的独立商品生产者；企业的投资主体、消费基金发放主体的地位，或者是虚的，或者不受约束，其结果必然造成以下的问题：

1．企业想投资，但由于缺乏这方面的自主权，投资意愿未能实现，从而经济增长难以与企业经济效益的增长同步。

2．企业不具有投资的自我约束机制，也不承担投资风险、生产经营风险，以至于在投资增长过程中，重复建设难以避免，规模效益无法实现，从而经济增长的过程可能同时就是库存品积压数量增长的过程、企业亏损额扩大的过程。

3．企业的行为是短期化的，消费基金的发放是为了企业眼前利益，企业的经济增长后劲遭到破坏，设备老化，技术陈旧，经济增长将因此受到限制。

4．企业缺乏内在约束机制，消费基金的发放可以不受本企业经济效益的限制，或者，工资奖金虽然同企业经济效益“挂钩”，但企业经济效益却是掺了水的、虚假的。这样，工资奖金越是同企业经济效益挂钩（也就是不合理的挂钩），企业的实际损失就越大，国家因此遭受的实

际损失也越大，这不能不限制经济增长。

5．企业在投资方面缺乏自我约束以及在消费基金发放方面缺乏自我约束，对宏观经济的消极影响是不可低估的。消极影响之一是导致投资膨胀与消费基金增长过快。这时，即使经济增长率可能高一些，但经济增长却是依靠投资膨胀与消费基金增长过快支撑的。这样的经济增长不可能持久，而且很可能为此后的经济巨大震荡种下了根源。消极影响之二是企业的亏损面增加和财政收支的紧张，而财政收支的紧张又成为经济不稳定的重要原因和经济持续增长的巨大障碍。

6．企业的不自负盈亏，特别是政企不分的事实，使得企业的关、停、并、转十分困难，企业资产存量的流动缺乏途径，生产要素也无法在社会范围内优化组合。其结果，产业结构的调整迟迟不能顺利进行，"瓶颈"现象也迟迟不能消除。这样就制约了持续的经济增长。

7．在企业不自主经营、不自负盈亏的条件下，不仅企业资产存量难以流动，从而通过企业资产存量的流动来调整产业结构的意图不易实现，而且通过投资增量来调整产业结构的意图也是很难实现的。投资增量是有限的，有限的投资增量是不容易扭转整个产业结构失调的局面的。但问题不限于此。问题在于：企业资产存量好比一潭死水，投资增量好比活水，今年的投资增量一投入企业后，就转化为来年的企业资产存量。这就等于不断地把活水变为死水，活水再多也无济于事。其结果是"瓶颈"依然存在，经济增长依然受到巨大的限制。

8．在第二类非均衡条件下，由于作为微观经济单位的企业往往同政府部门没有分开，在政府采取宏观经济调节手段时，企业或者难以通过调整自己的经济活动来适应宏观经济形势的变化，或者因缺乏自我约束机制而对宏观经济调节手段作不出适当的反应，于是宏观经济调节手段收不到应有的效果。诸如投资缺乏利息弹性、进出口缺乏汇率弹性、产量缺乏价格弹性等等，就是宏观经济调节手段效果差的反映。这样，一旦发生经济波动，经济内部就缺乏内在调节以趋向稳定的机制，而不得不依靠自上而下的行政干预措施来缓和矛盾。在第二类非均衡条件下，自上而下的行政干预措施往往是严重滞后的，即必须等到下面的问题已经相当尖锐了，上级（甚至是最高决策当局）才会下决心采取调整措施。加之，行政干预措施的不当给经济的稳定所带来的消极性后果，也是不容忽视的。

以上所说的这些，足以说明处于第二类非均衡条件下中国经济增长与经济波动的特殊性质。因此，在对现阶段中国的经济增长与波动问题

进行研究时，不仅需要从经济增长与波动本身的有关因素来分析，而且需要以第二类非均衡作为整个分析的前提。

三、对非均衡理论中的“短线决定原则”的理解

在非均衡理论中，一个重要的原则是“短线决定原则”（或称“短边原则”）。这被认为是制约经济增长与经济波动的关键所在。“短线决定原则”之所以成立，是因为在非均衡经济中，由于市场不可能起着充分地协调供求关系的作用，短线的存在是不可避免的，而短线的存在则使得生产要素只可能按低限的要求进行组合。这种情况正如一个由若干块木板条所组装成的木桶一样：如果这些木板条长短不一，那么组装成的木桶究竟能够盛多少水不取决于较长的那些木板条，而惟一地取决于最短的那块木板条。把水注入这样的木桶后，只要水高于最短的那块木板条的长度，水就向外漏出了。这就是“短线决定原则”的含义。

研究非均衡经济中的经济增长与经济波动时，从“短线决定原则”来理解，至少有三个问题值得我们作进一步思考，这三个问题是：

1．为什么短线会长期存在？若干年以前的短线，经过这些年的经济增长，至今仍然是短线，甚至短线更短了，即木桶的最短的那块木板条又缩短了，这是什么缘故呢？

2．照理说，生产要素之间存在着一定程度的可替代性或互补性，也就是说，即使存在着短线，但短线不是不可以靠某些长线来替代和补充的。然而事实却表明，在非均衡经济中，长线的生产要素对短线的生产要素的替代和补充却是十分有限的，这对经济增长与经济波动有较大的影响。需要研究的是，为什么生产要素之间的替代与互补受到严重限制，从而使“短线决定原则”一直起着制约经济增长与经济波动的关键作用？

3．为了缓和短线所造成的经济困难，在通常情况下，还可以采取生产要素重新组合的办法，以促进经济增长，减少经济波动。不妨仍以木桶为例。虽然木桶盛水量的多少取决于组装成木桶的最短的那块木板条，但未尝不可以采取下述两个办法之一作为补救措施。一是把长的木板条锯下一段，钉在最短的木板条之上。这就相当于上面提到的各种不同的生产要素之间的互补，即以长线补短线、长线代短线的做法。二是把这个木桶拆开，用原有的各块木板条重新组装成一个容器，也许这个

新组装成的容器可以盛较多的水。这就相当于这里所提到的生产要素的重新组合。然而事实同样表明，生产要素难以重新组合。也许是由于这个长短边不等的木桶组装得太牢了，难以拆开它，因此也就无法把各块木板条重新组装为一个新的容器。于是就应当思考：为什么原有的木桶组装得这么牢？难道就找不到把它拆开的办法吗？难道生产要素真的那么难以重新组合吗？

这三个问题都与非均衡条件下的经济增长与经济波动的特点有关。在研究中，我们必须结合两类非均衡的区分，结合我国当前正处于第二类非均衡状态这一事实，分别考察这三个问题，以便进一步理解“短线决定原则”。

（一）第二类非均衡经济中的“短线顽症”

这里所说的“短线顽症”，就是指经过多年的经济增长与结构调整而未能消除久已存在的短线甚至短线更为严重的状况。原因究竟何在？要知道，如果经济处于均衡状态，市场机制的作用将促进生产要素自由流动，资源将在价格信号指引之下重新配置，从而使短线消失。这种情况下，即使在经济增长过程中仍会出现新的短线，但“短线顽症”则是不存在的。可见，“短线顽症”的存在同生产要素不能自由流动有关，同资源难以重新配置有关。

假定经济处于第一类非均衡状态，即非均衡的根源在于市场不完善、价格不灵活、信息传递不通畅，那么通过完善市场和放开价格等措施，生产要素的流动性将显然增大，价格信号将对资源的重新配置发挥指引作用，“短线顽症”也就有可能逐渐被克服。某些资源的稀缺也许会给资源的重新配置带来困难，使得短线不容易迅速消失。但稀缺资源在相当大的程度上是可以通过资源的相互替代或国外资源的利用来加以缓和的，所以不至于形成“短线顽症”。

然而，正如前面所指出的，第二类非均衡下的情况远比第一类非均衡下的情况复杂。“短线顽症”是第二类非均衡状态中所特有的病症。生产要素流动的受阻、产业结构调整的困难、资源重新配置设想的难以落实，在第二类非均衡条件下，可以归结为“无信息、无动力、无渠道”所致。

“无信息”是指：由于缺乏活力的企业在不完善的市场上进行活动，价格方面的信息必然是不准确、不及时、不通畅的。由于作为微观经济单位的企业受到行政主管部门的严格控制，政府既无法从市场及时地获

得准确的信息，又不能从企业那里及时地获得准确的信息。因此，政府的数量调节也往往同市场实际有所出入。其结果，资源的配置只好在缺乏信息的条件下进行。短线被误认为非短线，长线被误认为非长线，无效供给被误认为有效供给等现象也就屡见不鲜。

“无动力”是指：尽管客观上确凿地存在产业结构失调的状况，企业也得到了有关短线与长线的确切信息，但由于企业不自主经营与不自负盈亏，不承担生产经营的风险，因而也就缺乏调整产品结构的动力，不愿冒结构调整的风险。

“无渠道”是指：即使作为微观经济单位的企业和作为宏观经济管理部门的政府都得到了有关短线与长线的确切信息，并且都有结构调整的意愿，但在政企不分、企业附属于行政主管部门、经济被不合理地分割为“条条所有”、“块块所有”等条件下，生产要素的流动（姑且不谈自由流动）是没有渠道的，资源的重新配置（姑且不谈优化配置）也是难以落实的。这一切充分说明了“短线顽症”的不可避免性。

（二）第二类非均衡经济中生产要素替代的困难

前面曾指出，如果经济中存在着短线，那么只要存在着生产要素的可替代性，以长线补短线，那么短线便可以缓和下来。当然，生产要素的可替代，并不是绝对的，而是有条件的，即唯有在一定条件下才能实现生产要素的替代。此外，生产要素替代的结果，既有可能使效率不受损失，也有可能使效率下降。假定生产要素的替代使效率下降的幅度小于因缺乏某种生产要素而导致的效率下降幅度，那么替代仍是可行的。

在经济均衡状态中，凡有可能实现生产要素替代的场合，价格因素以及由此决定的成本与收益比较将促使企业选择生产要素替代的有效方式，从而缓和短线问题。假定经济处于第一类非均衡状态，那么尽管生产要素的替代会因价格的不灵活与价格信号的扭曲而遇到困难，但通过市场的完善化与价格的放开，生产要素替代中的障碍是可以克服的。然而，在第二类非均衡条件下，情况便大不相同了。问题不仅在于生产要素市场的不完善，而主要在于一些生产要素的供给与需求同生产要素供给者与需求者依附于行政主管部门的状况联系在一起。比如说，在资金短缺而又可能以人力资源替代资金的场合，由于人力资源是被政府的数量配额所制约的，人力资源是被分割为部门持有、地方持有、单位持有的，于是生产要素替代便被置于难以实现的境地。又如，在某些物质的生产要素可以彼此替代的场合，往往需要追加投资、改造技术设备才能

实现这种替代。但一方面，即使是物质的生产要素，由于它们分别由不同的部门和地方所提供，又被不同的部门和地方所需要，在条条块块分割的条件下，供求之间往往不易协调；另一方面，追加投资又必然涉及投资体制方面的问题，如果传统的投资体制不改革生产要素的替代仍然难以实现。

（三）第二类非均衡经济中生产要素重组的障碍

前面也已经指出，经济中的短线问题还可以通过生产要素的重新组合来加以缓和。但问题在于：在第二类非均衡经济中，为什么生产要素的重新组合如此困难？以木桶为例，为什么长短边不等的那个旧木桶如此牢固而不易拆开和重新组装？这正是在研究现阶段中国经济增长与经济波动时不能忽略的。

要实现生产要素的重新组合，至少需要三个条件：一是生产要素的产权十分明确；二是生产要素可以流动；三是生产要素的重新组合者是胜任此项工作的。

第二类非均衡经济中生产要素重新组合之所以困难，首先是由于上述第一个条件和第二个条件尚未具备。具体地说，第二类非均衡经济的特征是公有制的产权不够明确，政企不分，从而企业不能自主经营和自负盈亏，缺乏内在约束与外在约束。其结果，生产要素不易流动，生产要素重新组合后的收益归属不确定，生产要素重新组合过程中的风险承担责任不明确，这就是由于上述第一个条件和第二个条件不具备而导致的生产要素重新组合的困难。

再从上述第三个条件来看。生产要素重新组合的实现有赖于能够胜任生产要素重新组合工作并能因此获取潜在利益的生产要素重新组合者的存在。在第二类非均衡经济中，谁充任生产要素重新组合者？由于政企没有分开，企业尚未成为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，企业难以胜任生产要素重新组合者的工作。如果不由企业来重新组合生产要素，而由政府来重新组合生产要素，结果又将如何？当然，不是说不能由政府充当生产要素的重新组合者，而是说，在上述第一个条件和第二个条件未具备时，即使由政府来重新组合生产要素，也未必能实现这一任务。这是因为，如果这里所说的政府是中央政府，那么中央政府虽然有很大权威性，也有相应的重新组合生产要素的手段，但中央政府毕竟是中央政府，它起着宏观经济管理者的作用，不可能从事直接的生产要素重新组合工作。实际上，这里所说的政府主要是指各级地方政府。试

问：地方政府在遇到体制上的种种障碍而难以重新组合生产要素时，究竟能在多大程度上打破这些障碍？地方政府的权威性是否足以打破这些障碍？再者，由地方政府来直接从事生产要素的重新组合工作是否有效率？更重要的是，地方政府能否保证新的生产要素组合方式产生较高的效率？在第二类非均衡经济中，很难认为地方政府就一定能胜任生产要素重新组合工作。因此，这些情况说明了上述第三个条件同样是不具备的。加之，无论是企业充当生产要素的重新组合者还是政府充当生产要素的重新组合者，都需要有富于创新意识和现代生产组织能力的人来从事这项活动。而在中国的现实情况下，这样的创新者、组织者是远远不够的。这也可以从另一个侧面说明生产要素重新组合的困难。

四、经济增长过程中生产与流通之间的关系

在经济生活中，生产与流通之间的关系是值得研究的。一些著作在分析经济增长因素时，往往侧重于生产领域内的考察。这里包括：对投入的资金数量及其在国民收入中比例的考察，对投入与产出之间的比例的考察，对各种生产要素（包括技术、人力等）在经济增长中的贡献大小的考察，对生产要素组合方式及其对企业经济效益与宏观经济效益的作用等等。至于流通因素对经济增长，特别是对经济持续增长的影响，通常被置于较为次要的地位。造成这种情况的原因主要有三点。第一，只是片面地看到生产对流通的决定作用，而忽视了流通对生产的反作用。第二，以产值作为经济增长率计算的依据，似乎只要产值多了，就等于经济增长了，而不考虑产值中有多少是属于无效供给，而无效供给的增长是不能代表经济的实际增长的。第三，对流通因素的不重视与对市场作用的不理解，使得对流通的作用不认识或只有片面的认识。于是在经济增长与经济波动的分析中，流通因素的分析被置于次要地位就不足为奇了。

然而，在我国经济中，特别是在从传统经济体制向新的经济体制过渡的过程中，流通与消费对于生产与分配的重要性已经越来越明显。这是因为，在走向新的经济体制的道路上，人们在经济生活中的自主性、积极性不断增长。人从事生产，而生产是为了满足人的需要。人的需要日益靠市场上的交易行为得到满足，生产出来的各种商品将越来越多地通过市场来实现。商业起着促进生产、协调分配、保证流通、指导消费的作用。就所有的个人消费品、绝大多数公共消费品以及相当数量的生产资料而言，供给的有效性与流通领域内的工作是否顺利展开有密切的

关系。流通渠道的不通畅，必定把本来可以成为有效供给的供给变成无效供给，进而阻碍着经济的增长，导致经济的较大波动。

流通对于经济增长的重要意义还可以从生产要素的流动和重新组合方面进行分析。要知道，生产要素分为现实的生产要素和潜在的生产要素两类。流通所促成的生产要素的流动和重新组合，首先是指现实的生产要素的流动和重新组合而言。但毫无疑问，现实的生产要素的流动和重新组合必将促使潜在的生产要素被动员出来。比如说，对现实的劳动力资源的充分利用，以及现实的劳动力资源得

以在较大范围内自由流动和重新组合，必将导致潜在的劳动力资源投入市场，以增加现实的劳动力资源。资金的状况亦复如此。如果现实的资金得以充分利用，并得以自由流动，得以在效率增长的基础上同其他生产要素相结合，那么就会有更多的资金被动员出来。这些就是潜在的生产要素向现实的生产要素的转化，这种转化对经济增长是有利的。在我国现阶段，流通在这方面的作用尤其重要。由于我国存在着大量潜在的生产要素，于是在现实的生产要素不足（包括绝对意义上的不足和相对意义上的不足）的条件下，通过流通领域内的改革与努力开展工作，把潜在的生产要素转化为现实的生产要素，可以使经济持续增长。

关于流通问题在我国经济生活中的重要性，已如上述。但近年来，我们却在经济生活中发现了一种反常的现象，即“债务链”的存在。“债务链”虽然与经济紧缩、企业产成品积压、国家投资资金缺口的出现以及由此引起的企业之间的相互拖延货款有直接的关系，但如果我们把分析的重点转向经济的非均衡，特别是转向第二类非均衡，那么对流通领域出现的这一问题将会有新的、较深刻的认识。

不能把“债务链”仅仅看成是由于产业结构的不协调或产品结构的不协调所致。当然，产业结构、产品结构的不协调会使得一些企业的产成品滞销、积压，从而无法按期向交易的另一方支付货款。但这绝不是造成“债务链”的基本原因。产业结构或产品结构的不协调已经好多年了，为什么以往不曾导致“债务链”而只是在近两年才出现“债务链”呢？再说，即使产业结构与产品结构不协调，那么为什么不能采取有效措施予以调整呢？造成产业结构与产品结构不协调的原因，也就是造成“债务链”的深层次原因是什么呢？可见，对这个问题的分析不能仅限于结构不协调的分析。

假定认为“债务链”主要是由经济紧缩引起的，那么这种看法同样较为肤浅。这是因为，经济的紧缩是一种政策措施，“债务链”有其深刻的

经济体制背景，并非因某种政策措施而出现。何况，在出现“债务链”之后，政策就不断由“紧”向“松”转变，例如信贷投放大量增加。然而，为解开“债务链”而注入的贷款并没有起到预期的作用，“债务链”依然存在。这不恰好说明紧的经济政策不是形成“债务链”的主要原因么？

根据对第二类非均衡的特征的分析，应当对“债务链”问题作如下的解释：政企不分是第二类非均衡的基本特征，而商品经济的发展又是同政企不分这种状况直接冲突的，因此，“债务链”的根源在于政企不分与商品经济发展之间的矛盾。具体地说，假定商品经济不发展，这时即使政企没有分开，但不会引起企业与企业之间的债务拖欠，“债务链”也不会出现。假定政企已经分开了，那么即使商品经济发展很快，甚至出现了经济的暂时不景气，“债务链”也不会出现。债权的一方可以根据法律向欠债的一方索债；欠债的一方还不起债，就以资产清偿债务，直到破产还债。现阶段中国经济的特点则是：一方面，商品经济与过去相比已有较大的发展；另一方面，第二类非均衡依然存在。换言之，在现阶段的中国，由于商品经济已经有较迅速的发展，而政企不分则依然成为经济生活中的现象。于是在企业之间的交易日趋频繁的情况下，一旦由于某种原因而出现了甲企业对乙企业的货款拖欠、乙企业对丙企业的货款拖欠，欠债的企业与债权者之间的关系就复杂了。所有欠债的企业的后台都是政府部门，债权者无法要求欠债的企业如期清偿债务，也无法实现以欠债的企业的资产来抵债。这种情况与欠债的一方是自负盈亏的企业是很不一样的。可见，只要“债务链”的各个环节上的企业是政企不分的企业，这些企业的后台都是政府部门，那么企业之间的债务纠纷实际上就是政府部门之间的一种纠纷，这种纠纷是不能靠破产还债的方式来解决的。于是债务越拖越多，“债务链”越拉越长。可见，这种债务无非是政企不分的企业欠政企不分的企业的债。要消除“债务链”，从根本上说，必须深化企业改革，使政企真正分开，使企业成为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，也就是使经济及早从第二类非均衡状态过渡到第一类非均衡状态。

从经济的非均衡性质可以进一步了解流通领域内的另一个重要问题，即流通的社会化问题。由于经济增长的持续与稳定不仅取决于生产因素，而且也取决于流通因素；由于经济的较大波动不仅来自生产领域内“瓶颈”的制约，而且也来自流通渠道的阻塞，来自供给的无效性，因此，对流通社会化问题的考察应当被视为经济增长与波动研究的一个不可缺少的组成部分。对当前中国经济增长与波动的研究尤其如此。

从现象上看，流通渠道不畅，某些商品的库存量过大而另一些商品

的货源不足和供应紧张都值得注意，但不可能仅仅从流通渠道方面解决这些问题。在非均衡条件下，流通社会化的含义与均衡条件下是不相同的。如果经济处于均衡状态，市场完善，价格灵活，信息通畅，企业又是自主经营与自负盈亏的商品生产者，于是流通的社会化必然表现为价格放开条件下的自由流通与生产企业的自产自销。如果经济处于第一类非均衡状态，企业自主经营与自负盈亏，但市场不完善、价格不灵活、信息传递不通畅，这时，自由流通将受到阻碍，生产企业的自产自销在客观上会遇到困难，供给缺口或需求缺口的存在使得市场的价格调节发挥不了应有的作用，从而必须在一定程度上依赖数量调节，包括政府的数量调节或市场自发的数量调节。如果经济处于第二类非均衡状态，情况便更加复杂。这时，除了市场不完善、价格不灵活、信息传递不通畅而外，企业也并非自主经营和自负盈亏的企业，企业活力是远远不足的，生产资料的供求矛盾通常比消费品的供求矛盾更为尖锐，发展生产资料市场也比发展消费品市场更为迫切。按照这种观点，在第二类非均衡条件下，流通社会化应当被理解为：发展各类市场，尤其是生产资料市场，在有关市场上尤其是在关键性的生产资料市场上采取数量调节与价格调节相结合的调节措施，以减少流通中的阻碍，促进社会范围内生产要素的有效组合。至于数量调节与价格调节各自所占的比重，则依据经济的非均衡程度来确定。这是因为，在没有条件实现最优选择的场合，次优选择将是可行的。在非均衡经济中，按数量调节与价格调节相结合的方式来理解流通的社会化，符合次优选择原则。在这里，一个应当注意的问题是：经济非均衡中数量调节对价格调节的替代并不是不完全竞争对完全竞争的替代，而是一种不完全竞争对另一种不完全竞争的替代。既然非均衡条件下的市场不可能是完全竞争的市场，那么市场的完善化同数量调节之间肯定存在一些矛盾，否认这些矛盾的存在及其对经济增长与经济波动的影响是不现实的。现阶段我们应该做到的和能够做到的，是尽量提高流通领域的管理水平，减少流通渠道中的阻塞，深化商业改革来缩小流通社会化的阻力，以及从多方面着手以减少经济的非均衡程度，从而达到缓解市场的完善化同数量调节之间的冲突。

以上我们着重探讨了非均衡条件下流通对经济增长与经济波动的制约，对我国近年来出现的“债务链”的深层次原因进行了分析，并对非均衡经济中的流通社会化问题作了解释。通过这些论述，我们对当前我国的经济增长与经济波动问题有了进一步的认识：

第一，即使单独从流通的角度来考察，我国经济所处的第二类非均衡的性质对流通领域的深刻影响也已成为制约经济增长与经济波动的有力因素。而只有把第二类非均衡的性质对生产领域的影响与对流通领域

的影响综合起来考察，才能更好地说明我国经济增长与波动的特征。

第二，从流通领域的考察可以得出如下的结论，即如果不从增强企业活力着手进行经济体制改革，而听任政企不分的状况长期存在，那么不仅无法导致经济的持续增长，而且也无法避免经济的较大波动。这充分说明了第二类非均衡条件下经济体制改革的特点。

五、关于正常波动与非正常波动的思考

由于我们所要研究的是非均衡条件下的经济波动，而不是均衡条件下的经济波动，因此，我们不得不涉及正常波动与非正常波动的问题。这是因为，在均衡条件下，一切经济波动都可以被认为是非正常的，正常波动实际上并不存在。然而，在非均衡条件下，情况与此显然不同。非均衡条件下，或者存在着经常性的供给缺口，或者存在着经常性的需求缺口，市场的作用只表现为使缺口有所缩小，而不能使缺口消失。也就是，非均衡实质上是一种非零失业率与非零通货膨胀的均衡，即非均衡实质上是伴随着一定的失业率或一定的通货膨胀的均衡（伴随着一定的需求缺口或一定的供给缺口的均衡）。

我们可以把经济中的任何缺口都用“短缺”二字来表示。如果经济中出现的是物价上涨，那么这表明有过多的货币在追求较少的商品，从而可以用商品短缺来表示。如果经济中出现的是失业，那么这表明有过多的劳动者在追求较少的工作岗位，从而可以用工作岗位短缺表示。同样的道理，资金不足意味着资金的短缺，而资金过剩则意味着投资场所的短缺；资源供给中“瓶颈”的存在意味着相应的资源的短缺，而经济中的资源闲置则意味着相应的资源使用单位（资源用户）的短缺等等。既然任何缺口都可以用短缺来表示，那么在非均衡条件下，必然存在着两种短缺，一是正常短缺，一是非正常短缺。

如上所述，在非均衡条件下，正常短缺是不足为奇的，也是难以避免的。当然，这并不是说无法以任何手段来消除某一种短缺；而是说，假定要消除非均衡经济中的正常短缺，那么很可能要为此作出较大的牺牲，即必须以另一种效率损失更大的短缺作为代价，才能使某一种正常短缺消失。比如说，假定经济中的正常工作岗位短缺表现为失业率2%，这一失业率（2%）就是正常的工作岗位短缺度。如果硬要采取措施来消除这2%的失业率，即让失业者全部就业，那并不是说无法做到这一点，但要这样做，就可能造成一些工作场所的人浮于事，从而造成

效率的较大损失。换言之，在上述情况下，正常短缺度之内的公开失业率的消失，是以隐蔽失业率的增长、效率的较大损失作为代价的。

我们也可以按类似的方式来分析非均衡条件下属于正常短缺度之内的公开通货膨胀率的消失如何以隐蔽通货膨胀率的增长、效率的较大损失作为代价。根据以上的分析，非均衡条件下宏观经济运行的“警戒线”不可能是一条以零短缺度（零失业率、零通货膨胀率等）为界的“警戒线”。这里所说的“警戒线”是指政府调节所依据的线。如果经济运行在“警戒线”以下，政府不需要调节；只有经济运行在“警戒线”以上时，政府才需要按照具体的情况采取适当的调节措施，对经济的运行进行协调。非均衡条件下的“警戒线”的位置与正常短缺度的大小直接有关。假定在经济中有一条零短缺度（零失业率、零通货膨胀率等）的线，这条线并不是非均衡条件下的警戒线。“警戒线”在这条零短缺度的线之上，二者之间有一段距离，这就是正常短缺度。“警戒线”之上，则是非正常短缺度。可以用下面的简图来表示（见图1）。

图1

在厉以宁等所著《走向繁荣的战略选择》一书第八章“计划与市场在资源配置中的结合”中，对“警戒线”概念作了如下的表述：有两条“警戒线”，即“第一警戒线”与“第二警戒线”。“第一警戒线”是用以表明市场调节与计划调节之间的界限的，“第二警戒线”是在“第一警戒线”之上的又一条“警戒线”。究竟政府的计划调节是以直接调节为主还是以间接调节为主，则需要视超出“第一警戒线”的情况而定。在“第一警戒线”与“第二警戒线”之间，政府的计划调节以间接调节为主，而当“第二警戒线”被突破后，这表明以间接为主的调节方式未能达到预定的调节目标，所以有必要转为以直接调节为主。[7]

图1中所标出的“警戒线”，相当于这里所提到的“第一警戒线”。这里，在加上“第二警戒线”之后，将得出下面这个简图（见图2）。

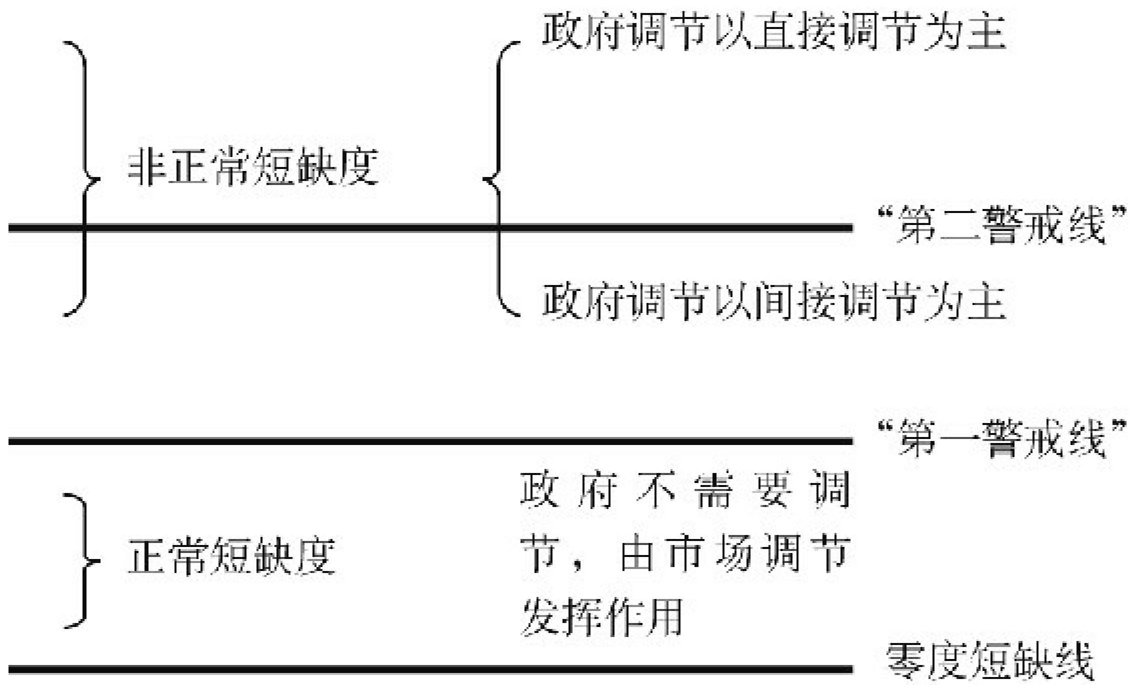

图2

在《走向繁荣的战略选择》一书中，对此曾说明如下："这里所说的间接调节为主或直接调节为主时，都不排除少数产品在资源约束程度较强而短缺度较高时，需要采取计划配额；也不排除在进行间接调节和直接调节时，需要参照市场价格和市场供求的变动情况。"[9]

以上，"第二警戒线"把非正常短缺度分为两部分。"第二警戒线"与"第一警戒线"之间的非正常短缺度，可以称为"非正常短缺度Ⅰ"。这时，政府的调节以间接调节为主。"第二警戒线"以上的非正常短缺度，可以称为"非正常短缺度Ⅱ"。这时，政府的调节以直接调节为主。如果经济中的非正常短缺度达到了非常严重的地步，以至于政府必须采取更强有力的干预措施，那么，政府可以动用"最后手段"，也就是非常规的干预经济的手段。"最后手段"的存在及备用，表明了政府调节经济的决心和力量，表明了政府绝不会听任经济无休止地恶化下去。[10]

于是可以得出下面的简图（见图3）。

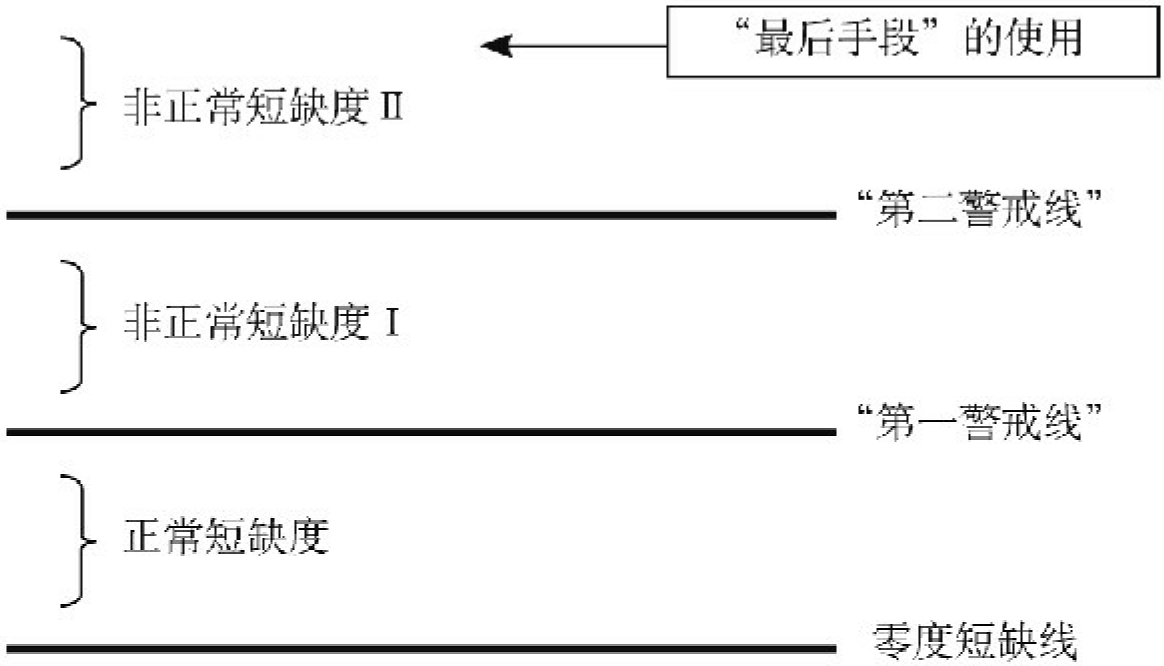

图3

现在，我们在明确了零短缺度线、正常短缺度、非正常短缺度Ⅰ、非正常短缺度Ⅱ、"第一警戒线"与"第二警戒线"等概念之后，就可进而理解正常波动与非正常波动了。

什么是非均衡条件下经济的正常波动？我们可以初步做出这样的判断：尽管经济运行离开了零短缺度线，但只要经济运行仍然在正常短缺度的范围内波动，而没有突破"第一警戒线"，那么这样的经济波动可以被视为正常波动。

什么是非均衡条件下经济的非正常波动？我们也可以初步做出这样的判断：经济运行突破了"第二警戒线"，而在非正常短缺度Ⅱ的范围内波动，那么这样的经济波动可以被视为非正常波动。

如图3所示，零短缺度线与"第一警戒线"之间是正常短缺度，经济运行在这个范围内，呈现着非均衡条件下经济的正常波动；"第二警戒线"以上是非正常短缺度Ⅱ，经济运行在非正常短缺度Ⅱ的范围内，波动是非均衡条件下经济的非正常波动。那么，当经济运行在"第一警戒线"与"第二警戒线"之间时，这样的经济波动是非均衡条件下的正常波动还是非正常波动？这个问题需要进一步分析，而不能简单地认定是正常波动还是非正常波动。

我们知道，经济波动通常按经济增长率的变动来表示。经济增长率与经济生活中的短缺度并不是同一个概念。经济增长率大小并不能准确地反映短缺度。比如说，经济增长率高，既可能是在正常短缺的范围内实现的，也可能是在非正常短缺的范围内实现的。与此相似，低的经济增长率既可能在非正常短缺的范围内实现，也可能在正常短缺的范围内实现。因此，当我们就个别年份或少数年份进行考察时，我们通常难以发现经济增长率与短缺度之间的紧密联系，而且使用经济增长率的大小作为衡量经济波动的依据还掩盖了短缺度的变动率。如果我们简单地以经济增长率变动的状况作为经济正常波动与非正常波动的判断标志，那么不可避免地会导致两个错误。

第一，这一切似乎与经济的非均衡性质无关。非均衡条件下的正常短缺与非正常短缺之间的区别在经济增长率变动的形式下被掩盖了，于是既说明不了波动的真相，更看不出波动的趋势。

第二，由于经济增长率高有可能在非正常短缺的范围内实现，而经济增长率低却有可能在正常短缺的范围内实现，因此，在依据经济增长率变动来判断经济波动时，特别是在制定消除经济波动的对策时，有可能把人们引入错误的途径，即宁肯以非正常短缺度的增大来维持较高的经济增长率，而不愿以非正常短缺度的缩小来维持较低的经济增长率。

由此可见，在判断非均衡条件下经济的正常波动与非正常波动时，不能简单地以经济增长率的变动情况或经济增长率的大小作为依据，而应当以短缺度的变动情况或短缺的多少作为依据。

如果按较长一段时间来分析，对这一点会有更清楚的认识。这是因为，在非均衡条件下，假定经济持续在非正常短缺度的范围内运行，因非正常短缺而造成的困难必定使经济增长率受到影响，经济增长必定会有较大的起落，经济的波动也就必定明显地表现出来。

现在让我们回到前面提出的问题上来，即经济运行在 “第一警戒线”与“第二警戒线”之间时，究竟是非均衡条件下的正常波动还是非正常波动？这就需要根据较长时间经济增长过程中短缺度的大小来判断。有两种不同的情形：

一种情形是：前一时期的经济运行于正常短缺度的范围内，经济增长一直是在正常短缺度的基础上实现的。这时，如果经济运行突破了“第一警戒线”，并且在“第一警戒线”与“第二警戒线”之间波动，那么可以认为这是一种非正常的波动。

另一种情形是：前一时期的经济运行于非正常短缺度Ⅱ的范围内，即运行于“第二警戒线”之上，经济增长一直是在非正常短缺度Ⅱ的基础上实现的。这时，如果经济运行落到了“第一警戒线与”与“第二警戒线”之间，即在非正常短缺度Ⅰ的范围内波动，那么可以认为这是一种正常的波动，因为相对于前一时期而言，经济波动已逐渐趋向于正常了。

（1993年3月21日在国家自然科学基金项目“中国经济增长理论及数学模型”总结会上的报告）

Growth and fluctuations in economic disequilibrium (1993)

I. Restraints of disequilibrium on growth and fluctuations

The late 1960s witnessed a great stride made in disequilibrium theory. In his two papers, "The Keynesian counter-revolution: a theoretical appraisal"[1] and "A reconsideration of the micro-foundations of monetary theory,"[2] American economist Robert Wayne Clower came up with a notable argument on disequilibrium theory: Economic instability comes not from a specific market but from discordance between markets, a discordance that stems from the incompleteness of these markets and of the information transmission mechanism between them. If this argument on disequilibrium is applied to analysis of economic growth and fluctuations, the result will be obvious: Not only will the equilibrium equation of growth predicated on the complete conversion of savings into investment and the full utilization of the production capacities thus yielded become void, but the supposition about fluctuations that lists the restrictions of income and its changes on effective demand as a major destabilizing factor in an economic system will also be considered as having major limitations.

Shortly afterwards, Swedish economist Axel Leijonhufvud pub-lished *On Keynesian Economics and the Economics of Keynes*[3] among other books. Like Clower, Leijonhufvud reinterpreted the Keynesian economic theory with a disequilibrium approach, and made his own analysis of the causes behind economic stability and instability. He maintains that between labor supply and commodity sales on the economic chain in real life, there are intermediary links, including employers hiring workers, workers producing commodities, employers paying workers, workers buying commodities with their wages, and employers selling commodities. Nevertheless, price rigidity, incomplete markets, clogged information and flawed transmission mechanism may disconnect any one of these links, thereby severing the economic chain and inevitably destabilizing the

economy. This is precisely a manifestation of economic disequilibrium. If this analytical method based on disequilibrium is applied to economic growth and fluctuations, it can likewise prove that it is neither possible for the economy to follow the road of balanced growth as designed by those who subscribe to the equilibrium theory of growth, nor can economic fluctuations be overcome by negotiating the balance between aggregate demand and aggregate supply on the basis of the equilibrium equation for national income.

From the 1970s onward, French economist Jean-Pascal Benassy and Hungarian economist János Kornai probed deeply into the theory of disequilibrium from different points of view. They have made quite a few breakthroughs in disequilibrium studies, which is evident in Benassy's *The Economics of Market Disequilibrium, Macroeconomics and Imperfect Competition* and *Macroeconomics: An Introduction to the Non-Walrasian Approach*[4], and Kornai's *Anti-Equilibrium, Economics of Shortage* and *Growth, Shortage and Efficiency*[5]. Their studies on macroeconomic operation contribute greatly to studies of economic growth and fluctuations.

Benassy's contribution to the theoretical study of disequilibrium lies mainly in his analyses of the restraining factors in economic disequilibrium and of the effects of quantitative quotas. According to him, when prices are rigid, traders ought to adjust demand and supply according to both market price and quantity signals. That is to say, traders are restrained by both prices and quantity. The quantity constraint is embodied in quantitative quotas of various forms. That is to say, the market rations the limited supply among demanders when supply falls short of demand, and apportions the limited demand among suppliers when supply outstrips demand. The equilibrium achieved through quantitative quotas is called "rationed equilibrium," which is actually a kind of disequilibrium or, in a certain sense, temporary, ex post equilibrium. The position of this kind of equi-librium is determined by the shortest side in demand and supply. Benassy maintains that, when observing an economy in disequilibrium, not only should the presumption of price flexibility be abandoned, but price rigidity and asymmetric price elasticity should be taken into consideration as well. Although price rigidity is somewhat relevant to asymmetry in price elasticity, the two factors are different in their impact on actual economic activity. Asymmetry in price elasticity tends to complicate resource allocation in economic disequilibrium,

and to further hold back the effectiveness of government policy. If the concept of expectation – that is, individual traders' expectations of uncertain behaviors in economic disequilibrium – is factored in, to stabilize the economy in disequilibrium will become a tougher proposition.

Kornai's analytical approach to the disequilibrium theory is distinctly his own. His study is focused on economic disequilibrium under repressed inflation, that is, disequilibrium characterized by supply shortfalls, where limited commodity supplies are rationed out to demanders by way of quantitative quotas. In that scenario, any increase in fiscal expenditure can further boost the demand on the commodity market, and further strain the distribution of the already limited supplies, thereby worsening the repressed inflation. If, on the contrary, the government attempts to curtail demand by tightening up expenditure, supply and demand will shrink simultaneously, thereby defeating the purpose of making up for supply shortages. Kornai's study of economic disequilibrium is valuable in that he focuses discussions on both hard and soft budget restraints, because the existence of firms' soft budget constraint can keep the economy in long-run disequilibrium and make it hard to eradicate supply shortfalls.

The studies by Western economists drive home clearly that both economic growth and fluctuation are inevitably restrained by economic disequilibrium.

The influence of the equilibrium theory runs deeply in the economic growth theories represented by the Harrod-Domar model, Neo-classical model and Neo-Cambridge model that came in vogue in the 1950s and 1960s. What sets the Neo-Cambridge model far apart from the other two models is that it incorporates two different kinds of income and the restraints of income distribution on economic growth. However, even with this legitimate contribution to growth theories, the Neo-Cambridge model still fails to eschew explicit or implicit assumptions of a complete market, flexible prices, and smooth information transmission. As a result, this model ascribes the difficulties encountered in the process of economic growth mainly to income distribution problems rather than to market imperfections and the incompatibilities between markets. In this way, the Neo-Cambridge model falls short of accounting for the restraining impact of persistent supply shortages on economic growth.

One thing that should be noted is that Joan Robinson and other major advocates of the Neo-Cambridge model were, theoretically speaking, against assumptions of economic equilibrium. Proceeding from Keynes's viewpoints on economic disequilibrium, they raised a series of arguments against mainstream post-Keynesian theorists. But why was it that they could not shake off the influence of the equilibrium theory in their analysis of economic growth? It was because their microeconomic theory was inadequate and weak, and because their neglect of analyses of market transaction behaviors, corporate operational mechanisms, and information transmission mechanisms determined the inherent drawbacks in their model of economic growth.

In economic fluctuation studies, the relevant theory represented by the IS-LM (investment·savings – liquidity preference·money supply) and Multiplier-Accelerator models that were popular in the 1950s and 1960s is preconditioned by equilibrium and equilibrium growth assumptions. According to these models, economic fluctuations are caused by overinvestment, over-saving, over-supply, or inefficient money supply, and by the inherent law of technology and equipment upgrading, and are not directly associated with market imperfections, price rigidity, and informational frictions. What is more, the IS-LM model also ignores the analysis of the microeconomic basis of the macroeconomy, while the Multiplier-Accelerator model does the same by leaning heavily on the economy's technical factors. Such oversight determines the serious flaw in the fluctuation theories that were current in the 1950s and 1960s.

The progress made in the late 1960s in researches on the dis-equilibrium theory provided no small inspiration for studies of economic growth and fluctuations. And the restraining effects of the imbalanced nature of the economy on growth and fluctuations were increasingly accepted in academic and economic circles thanks to constructive explorations made by researchers in the disequilibrium theory. These explorations were made without totally disallowing the significance and reference value of either the Harrod-Domar, Neo-classical and Neo-Cambridge models in the realm of theoretical research on economic growth, or the IS-LM and Multiplier-Accelerator models in their studies of the fluctuation theory. Such explorations were important in that they approached growth and fluctuations from a unique perspective, thereby putting their studies on a new and more realistic footing. That is why

some of their conclusions are closer to reality than those derived from the theories popular in the 1950s and 1960s.

The studies of disequilibrium analyses of growth and fluctuations so far can be summarized in the following four major conclusions:

First, with incomplete markets, inflexible prices and inefficient information transmission, the conversion of savings into investment will be held back, and the imbalance between supply and demand, once it occurs, cannot be easily corrected. Shortages in supply and demand can be mitigated by the function of market to a certain extent, but will not disappear totally. The equilibrium thus achieved under a nonzero unemployment rate or a nonzero inflation rate can restrain economic growth or cause major fluctuations.

Second, disequilibrium makes it harder for markets (commodity market, capital market, labor market, etc.) to function in a coordinative way. Once supply or demand shortages occur in one market, they cannot possibly disappear and will go on to cause new shortages and exacerbate existing ones in other markets. This may become a restraint on growth or an importance cause behind major fluctuations.

Third, disequilibrium is characterized by price rigidity. The major impact of price rigidity on growth and fluctuations is manifested in that economic agents have to make supply-demand decisions based on imprecise signals. However, price rigidity does not mean that a price will hold forever. On the contrary, it may entail sudden, large-scale, and asymmetric price changes. This is detrimental to economic growth, to be sure, and more importantly, it may cause or aggravate fluctuations.

Fourth, the presence of disequilibrium or equilibrium under nonzero rates of unemployment and inflation is bound to alter the expectations of market participants, which in turn gives rise to irregular and shortsighted economic behaviors. Such behaviors are likely to become not only a major cause behind intensified fluctuations, but also a stubborn retardant on steady and sustained economic growth.

II. Telling two kinds of disequilibrium apart and a study of growth and fluctuations

Using disequilibrium analysis, and combining it with the coun-try's actual economic situation, we will be able to get a better understanding of the guidelines for the ongoing economic reform and the way the economy develops.

Given that disequilibrium is caused by incomplete markets, inflexible prices and inefficient information transmission, either of the following arguments will make sense in theory:

Argument A: To avoid volatile fluctuations and stabilize the growth rate, it is necessary to remove price restraints and improve market conditions, and to put economic agents on equal competitive footings. Economic growth will be realized in a relatively complete market with flexible prices.

Argument B: With market mechanism flaws such as incomplete markets, inflexible prices and inefficient information transmission, it is necessary to tighten up macroeconomic management to make up for market deficiencies and rectify economic deviations with government regulation of quotas and prices. Steady and sustainable economic growth will be achieved mainly by allocating capital, labor, and production materials via quantitative quota. To put it another way, economic growth under disequilibrium can be achieved mainly through quantitative quota implementation.

Both arguments stem from analyses of economic disequilibrium. In fact, Argument A is a succinct interpretation of the theory on "price reform as the centerpiece of economic reform," while Argument B emphasizes "macroeconomic stabilization as the centerpiece of economic reform." Insofar as economic growth and fluctuations are concerned, Argument A attributes economic fluctuations in disequilibrium to incomplete markets and inflexible prices, so that flexible prices and better market conditions are the first steps to take to avoid fluctuations or maintain stable economic growth; while Argument B ascribes fluctuations to incomplete markets or limitations in the market mechanism itself, so the inevitable reform step is to strengthen macroeconomic management through government quota and price regulation.

However, a study of the actual performance of the Chinese eco-nomy proves that neither price reform nor macroeconomic stabilization, if chosen as the centerpiece of economic reform, can ensure the smooth development of reform and ward off wild fluctuations or maintain steady economic growth.

This means that neither Argument A nor Argument B tallies with the current Chinese economic situation.

Given that both arguments are based on studies of disequilibrium assumptions and therefore inappropriate, one may wonder what really went wrong. Isn't it that the disequilibrium theory itself is wrong, or that analysis of this theory is not thorough enough to account for such complex issues as economic restructuring, growth, and fluctuations in this country?

In comparison with the equilibrium theory, the disequilibrium theory is, without a doubt, an advance in economics. Equilibrium assumptions are unwarranted in the absence of complete markets, flexible prices, and efficient information transmission. In reality, however, economies are always in disequilibrium; therefore, they can be observed only with disequilibrium analytical methods. For this reason, we cannot make light of the disequilibrium theory simply because the above two arguments do not fit. The problem does not lie in disequilibrium analysis itself.

What really went wrong? The problem dwells in the flaws of general disequilibrium analysis, so much so that it falls short of explaining such complicated issues as economic restructuring, growth, and fluctuations in China.

What merits attention is that general disequilibrium analysis does not take into account the dynamics of firms as microeconomic units. Instead, its assumption is that firms are dynamic enough. It thus follows that analysts attribute disequilibrium to incomplete markets, inflexible prices, and inefficient information transmission. This is how Arguments A and B are drawn, and why disequilibrium analysis is flawed. In my book *Disequilibrium in the Chinese Economy*[6], I propose to divide disequilibrium into two categories, one with incomplete markets, and the other with both incomplete markets and enfeebled firms. The current Chinese economy falls into the second category. This being the case, economic restructuring in this nation should proceed in two stages: Firstly, to transform firms more deeply until they become dynamic and profit-maximizing entities that enjoy decision-making autonomy and are liable for their profits and losses, so that the Chinese economy can complete its transition from the second category of disequilibrium to the first category of it; and secondly, to center economic restructuring on building a complete market and decentralizing prices, so that

the economy can edge its way toward equilibrium. My book differs from the general studies of the disequilibrium theory in that I have differentiated between two categories of economic disequilibrium and observed the attributes of the second category of disequilibrium.

It makes sense to distinguish between these two kinds of dis-equilibrium, because it helps analyze Chinese economic growth and fluctuations. Economic growth is restricted to a larger extent and more vulnerable to fluctuations in the second category of disequilibrium. In the same vein, it is more difficult to maintain steady economic growth and avoid wild fluctuations under the second category of disequilibrium than under the first category of it. Without clarifying the difference between the two categories of disequilibrium, we may mistake incomplete markets, inflexible prices and inefficient information transmission for the main restraints on economic growth and the basic causes behind fluctuations. We will miss the point or only take ineffective measures if we adopt economic policies in light of these judgments. It is like a doctor who, acting on a false diagnosis, writes out an inappropriate prescription and leaves an illness untreated or even aggravated.

If, instead of telling the two kinds of economic disequilibrium apart and seeing that China is in the second kind of it, we set im-proving market conditions and decentralizing prices or intensifying macroeconomic management as our major policy decisions to stabilize economic growth and avert fluctuations, we are ignoring the most forceful restraints on economic growth and fluctuations imposed by weak firms that, as investors and consumption fund issuers, are not responsible for their management decisions, profits and losses. Under the second category of disequilibrium, firms are yet to become independent commodity producers liable for their management decisions, profits and losses, so their status as investors and consumption fund issuers is nominal and unrestrained. In that scenario, the following problems will occur:

(1) Owing to their lack of autonomy, firms may not be able to make investment even when it is profitable to do so, thus making it hard to keep overall economic growth in pace with these firms' increasing economic returns.

(2) Having no self-restraints on investment and bearing no invest-ment,

production and management risks, firms in the process of expanding investment will be susceptible to repetitive construction and fail to realize economies of scale. In that case, economic growth is likely to be a process of ballooning overstock and financial losses for such firms.

(3) Myopic economic decisions such as allocating the consumption fund to serve immediate interests will impair firms' growth potentials and leave them with outdated equipment and technology. Economic growth will be held back as a result.

(4) Firms with no self-restraints may issue more consumption fund than is allowed by their economic returns, and such economic returns are often adulterated even though they are pegged to wages and bonuses. Under these circumstances, the more tightly wages and bonuses are pegged to economic returns, the bigger the losses will become for firms and the state. Economic growth will invariably be held back as a result.

(5) The negative macroeconomic impact of the lack of self-restraints on investment and consumption fund cannot be underestimated. Overinvestment and runaway growth in consumption fund are one of the manifestations of this negative impact. In that case, even if the economic growth rate is increased, such an increase will be short lived and sow the seed for future economic disorder. Extended losses on firms and stressed fiscal balance are another manifestation of this negative impact, with stressed fiscal balance becoming a major cause behind economic instability and a huge obstacle to sustained economic growth.

(6) The fact that firms take no responsibility for their own profits and losses and, in particular, cannot stop production or be closed down, merged or transferred because of government-business collusion, deprives the flow of corporate capital stock of proper channels and makes it impossible to optimize the reallocation of production factors. With bottlenecks like these, industrial restructuring can never go smoothly, and sustained economic growth is hamstrung as well.

(7) When firms have no decision-making autonomy and bear no responsibility for their profits and losses, neither can their capital stock be made to flow, nor can the purpose of industrial restructuring through reinvestment be served. Increases in investment are limited, and limited

increases in investment can hardly put an end to the disproportionate industrial structure. The problem, however, does not stop here. If we liken corporate capital stock to a pool of stagnant water, and reinvestment to flowing water, the real problem is that when year's increased amount of investment is reinvested in a firm, it becomes part of the firm's capital stock the next year. If this cycle is made to last, it is tantamount to constantly turning running water into stagnant water – no amount of running water can put an end to the situation. Consequently, bottlenecks persist and economic growth is greatly held back.

(8) Under the second category of economic disequilibrium, be-cause firms, as microeconomic units, remain as government appendages, whenever the government takes macroeconomic regulation steps, they either find it difficult to adapt their business activity to macroeconomic changes or cannot respond properly for lack of self-restraints. As a result, the government regulation steps fail to yield the desired results. The lack of elasticity – in the investment interest rate, the import-and-export exchange rate, and output prices – is exactly a telltale sign of the undesirable results of government regulation steps. In the absence of stability-oriented internal adjustment mechanisms, once economic fluctuations occur, the situation can only be tackled with government intervention. However, under the second category of disequilibrium, government intervention from top on down to the grassroots level often comes seriously belatedly. The higher-up leadership (or decision-making authorities) will not take action until problems become serious enough. Furthermore, the negative impact of inappropriate government intervention on economy stability should never be overlooked.

These eight problems illustrate what is so unique about the growth and fluctuations in the Chinese economy in the second category of disequilibrium. Therefore, our studies of Chinese economic growth and fluctuations should proceed from the relevant factors, with the second category of disequilibrium as the precondition.

III. Understanding the wooden barrel principle in disequilibrium

An important principle in the disequilibrium theory is the "law of the shortest side," which is believed to be the key restraint on economic growth

and the essential cause behind fluctuations. The "law of the shortest side" is tenable in this regard. This is because in a disequilibrium economy, the market cannot play a complete role in regulating the relationship between supply and demand, and therefore the existence of the shortest side becomes an inevitability, which forces production factors to be reallocated in compliance with the minimum demand. This is like a barrel composed of planks of different lengths. The capacity of the barrel is determined by the shortest plank rather than the longest one. If more water than the shortest plank allows is poured into the barrel, the water will spill out. This is what the "law of the shortest side" entails.

When applying the "law of the shortest side" to the study of growth and fluctuations in economic disequilibrium, the following problems are worth our further consideration:

(1) Why can the shortest side persist for a long time? Despite years of economic growth, the shortest side of previous years remains to this day or becomes even shorter. That is, the shortest plank of the barrel becomes still shorter. What has gone wrong?

(2) In theory, production factors are mutually replaceable and supplementary to a certain extent. This means that the shortest side could be replaced or made up for by certain longer sides. In reality, however, the ability of longer-side production factors to replace or supplement shorter ones is very limited, a fact that has a considerable influence on economic growth and fluctuations. The issue here is: Why mutual replacement and complementation between production factors can be so difficult as to allow the "law of the shortest side" to become the key factor in inhibiting economic growth and causing fluctuations?

(3) Reallocation of production factors can address economic problems caused by shortest-side factors, boost economic growth and curtail fluctuations. Take, again, the barrel for example. Since how much water a barrel can contain is determined by its shortest plank, the situation can be remedied in two ways. One is to saw a certain length off the longest plank and nail it onto the shortest one, so that the two new planks are level with each other. This can happen only when production factors are mutually supplementary. The other is to dismantle the barrel and put the old planks together to make a new one, hopefully a larger one. This is tantamount to the

aforementioned reallocation of production factors. Nevertheless, in reality, such reallocation is an unrealistic proposition probably because the barrel is too solid to be torn apart for reassembling. Then we should ask: Why is the barrel so solid? Why can't we break it apart? Is it really difficult to reallocate production factors?

All these problems are relevant to the characteristics of growth and fluctuations under economic disequilibrium. Bearing in mind the differentiation between the two types of disequilibrium, and combing it with the fact that the Chinese economy is in the second category of disequilibrium, let us proceed from the "law of the shortest side" to observe these three problems, so as to better understand the "law of the shortest side."

i. Problem 1: the shortest-side syndrome in the second category of disequilibrium

The shortest-side syndrome refers to the situation where shortest-side factors remain, or are growing even shorter in spite of years of economic growth and restructuring. Where is the problem? In economic equilibrium, shortest-side factors will disappear when the market mechanism promotes the free flow of production factors and resources are reallocated in response to price signals. In this way, even if new shortest-side factors emerge in the process of economic growth, the economy is immune to the shortest-side syndrome. Apparently, the shortest-side syndrome tends to occur when production-factor is stagnant and resources cannot be reallocated smoothly.

Supposing our economy is in the first category of disequilibrium, which is characterized by incomplete markets, inflexible prices and incomplete information, production factors can flow more freely by improving the markets and decentralizing the prices, and resource reallocation can take place in response to price signals. In this way, the shortest-side syndrome may disappear gradually. Though scarcity in some resources may make it difficult to reallocate resources and overcome the shortest sides, the syndrome can be avoided if this scarcity can be eased with replacements or imports.

However, the situation is more complicated in the second category of disequilibrium, which is peculiarly prone to the shortest-side syndrome. In

this category of economic disequilibrium, clogged production-factor flow and troubles in industrial restructuring and resource reallocation can be imputed respectively to the "lack of information, incentive and channel."

"Lack of information" means that when faltering firms operate in an incomplete market, their access to price signals is bound to be inappropriate, untimely and incomplete. At the same time, because these firms, as microeconomic units, are under the strict control of their leadership authorities, the government cannot obtain timely and accurate information from both the market and these firms. Therefore, government quota adjustments are often at odds with market needs, and resources can only be reallocated in the absence of accurate information. As a result, shortest-side factors are mistaken for longest-side ones, and vice versa; and ineffective supply is regarded as being effective.

"Lack of incentive" means that the lopsided industrial structure is a solid fact, and firms have obtained adequate information about shortest- and longest-side factors and can respond accordingly, but they are not motivated enough to take action and run the risks. This is because, as government appendages that have not the final say in management and are not liable for profits, losses and production and management risks, these forms are neither motivated to restructure their products and nor willing to run such risks.

"Lack of channels" means that even if firms as microeconomic units and the government as macroeconomic authorities have both received adequate information about shortest- and longest-side factors and are willing to restructure the economy, there are no channels to facilitate the free flow of production factors. This is because firms are mere government appendages while the economy has been sectioned by a labyrinth of ownership boundaries, making it difficult to reallocate resources, let alone optimize them. All this bears out the unavoidability of the shortest-side syndrome.

ii. Problem 2: difficulties in mutual replacement between pro- duction factors in the second category of disequilibrium

As mentioned above, as long as production factors are able to replace each other, shortest-side factors can be eased with the help of longest side

ones. This is not to say, however, that such replacement is absolute; rather, it is relative, and cannot work under all circumstances. Moreover, the replacement of one factor by another can either improve or reduce efficiency. Only when the margin of drop in efficiency caused by such replacement is narrower than that caused by the scarcity of the factors in question can such replacement be deemed feasible.

In an economy in equilibrium, whenever production factor replacement is possible, the price and cost-benefit ratio will motivate firms to alleviate the shortest-side syndrome by choosing effective methods for such replacement. In the first category of economic disequilibrium, replacement difficulties caused by inflexible prices and distorted price signals can be overcome by improving the market conditions and decontrolling the prices. However, the situation is worlds apart in the second category of economic disequilibrium, where the problem is not limited to the incomplete production-factor market. The fact that production factor suppliers and demanders are government appendages is more of a problem. For instance, when human resources are controlled by government quotas and sectioned to different departments, localities and firms, they are unable to make up for capital shortages even if replacement is possible. It is also necessary to make reinvestment and upgrade technology and equipment when there is a possibility of replacement between material production factors. On the one hand, because material production factors are supplied by some departments and localities, and demanded by others, it is hard to achieve supply-demand balance under intersected government administration. On the other, reinvestment involves problems concerning the investment system. If the old system continues, production factor replacement cannot take place. In a word, it is not easy for production factor replacement to be realized.

iii. Problem 3: hindrance to production factor reallocation in the second category of disequilibrium

We have noted that shortest-side factors can be compensated for through reallocating production factors. However, why is it so difficult to reallocate production factors in the second category of disequilibrium? Take the barrel again. Why is it so sturdy that it refuses to be torn apart and re-assembled? Herein lays the key to studies in the ongoing Chinese economic growth and

fluctuations.

Production factor reallocation calls for at least three conditions: first, well-defined property rights; second, smooth flow of production factors; and third, competence of the organizer of such reallocation.

The biggest reason why reallocation of production factors under the second category of disequilibrium is so difficult is that the first two conditions are not available. To be more specific, the second kind of disequilibrium is subject to ill-defined property rights under public ownership, business-government collusion, lack of responsibility for management, gains and losses, and lack of internal and external restraints on the part of firms. All these result in inefficient production factor flow, indeterminate beneficiaries of reallocation gains, and undefined risk bearers in such reallocation. These obstacles to reallocation arise when the first two conditions are not satisfied.

Judging from the third condition, the success of production factor reallocation lies in the organizer's proficiency for the task and ability to secure potential benefit from it. Who, then, is the eligible organizer in the second category of economic disequilibrium? As government appendages, firms have yet to become autonomous commodity producers, and are therefore not qualified. If firms cannot organize the reallocation of production factors, how about the government? It is not that the government cannot to do the job, but that it may not be able to fulfill the task in the absence of the first two conditions. Let me explain. If what is referred to here is the central government, it is powerful enough and in the possession of the means for such reallocation, but, as a macroeconomic regulatory institution, it cannot possibly be directly engaged in reallocating production factors. In fact, the government here refers to local authorities. Supposing a local government has difficulty in reallocating production factors due to institutional obstacles, to what extent can it break through those obstacles? Is it authoritative enough to overcome those obstacles? What's more, can a local government be highly efficient in directly organizing the reallocation of production factors? In any case, it is difficult for any local government to be fully competent in the second category of economic disequilibrium. Thus, the third condition is not available either. Furthermore, whether the organizer is a firm or a government, reallocation of production factors can succeed only when it is

handled by someone who is highly innovative and capable of organizing modern production. In fact, innovators and organizers of this type are rare, a fact that also accounts for what a difficult task allocating production factors can be in this nation.

IV. Production and circulation in economic growth

The relationship between production and circulation merits due attention. In analyzing economic growth factors, some authors tend to emphasize elements in the production field, such as investment quantity and its proportion in national income, the input-output ratio, the contribution of production factors (technology and human resources included) to economic growth, different combinations of production factors and their impact on corporate and macroeconomic returns. They tend to give a second seat to the circulation factor in economic growth in general and sustainable economic growth in particular. Three reasons may account for this analytical approach. First, they stress the decisive role of production in circulation to the neglect of the reaction of circulation to production. Second, they base their calculation of the economic growth rate on output value, as if increases in output value are equal to economic growth, regardless of the fact that the percentage of ineffective supply in output value cannot be counted as part of real economic growth. Third, insufficient attention to circulation and misunderstanding in the role of markets lead to inadequate understanding of circulation. Small wonder that circulation is held in a secondary seat in economic growth in these authors' analyses of economic fluctuations.

In the Chinese economy, however, the importance of circulation and consumption to production and distribution is becoming increasingly more pronounced in the traditional economic system's transition to a new one. It is because people's freedom and motivation in economic life are growing steadily. They are engaged in production to meet their needs. Those needs are satisfied on a daily basis through market transactions, and more and more commodities are reaching people through the market. Commerce promotes production, coordinates distribution, ensures circulation and guides consumption. As to all the consumer goods, most of the public goods and a fair quantity of capital goods, the effectiveness of their supplies hinges on whether circulation can go smoothly. Poor circulation leads to ineffective supply, and goes further to hold back economic growth and give rise to major

fluctuations.

The importance of circulation to economic growth is also evident in the flow and reallocation of production factors. Production factors fall into two categories: real ones and latent ones. The production factors that flow and reallocate through circulation are, first and foremost, real ones. And they are bound to activate latent ones. For instance, the full employment, free flow and reallocation of real labor resources will inevitably bring latent labor resources to the market to augment the real labor resources. The same is true with capital. If real capital is put to full use of and flows freely to effectively combine with other production factors, more latent capital will be brought forth. This is the way latent production factors are converted into real ones, to the benefit of economic growth. The role of circulation figures prominently in this regard in the current period of development in the Chinese economy. To maintain sustained economic growth in this country, which abounds in latent production factors but falls short in the supply of absolutely and relatively real ones, it is necessary to turn latent production factors into real ones through reform and hard work on circulation.

So much for the paramount importance of circulation to the Chinese economic life. In recent years, however, there has appeared an abnormal "debt chain" in circulation. Although this "debt chain" is directly related to economic austerity, overstocked inventory, shortage in capital investment and the ensuing overdue obligations to suppliers, however, we can understand it more profoundly and in a new light if we turn our attention to economic disequilibrium, the second category of it in particular.

The "debt chain" is not to be perceived merely as a result of an inordinate industrial or product structure. It is understood that this inordinateness can lead to sluggish sales, overstocked inventory and overdue obligations to suppliers, but it is unfair to regard it as the fundamental cause behind the "debt chain." Inordinate industrial or product structure is nothing new, but why this "debt chain" has surfaced only in the last couple of years? What is more, why haven't we done anything about it? What has thrown the industrial or product structures off balance, or, in other words, what is the deep-seated cause behind the "debt chain"? Obviously, the answers cannot be found from structural inordinateness alone.

It is equally superficial to impute the "debt chain" to economic austerity.

Austerity is nothing but a government policy, whereas the "debt chain" is deeply rooted in the economic system. It is thus unfair to blame the "debt chain" on a certain government policy, not to mention the fact that after this chain appeared, government policy has never stopped its move from austerity to relaxation, such as major increases in credit and loan grants. However, the loans issued to undo the "debt chain" never worked. It is all too obvious that austerity is not the culprit for the "debt chain."

In light of a study of the attributes of the second category of economic disequilibrium, the "debt chain" may be explained in this way: The development of a commodity economy is in direct conflict with government business collusion, which is a hallmark of this category of disequilibrium. Therefore, the "debt chain" was born of the contradiction between government-business collusion and the burgeoning commodity economy. To be more exact, without the commodity economy, government-business collusion would not have resulted in overdue obligations to suppliers, let alone a "debt chain." If government were detached from business, the "debt chain" would not appear no matter how fast the economic economy grows, not even when a temporary slump appeared. This is because when a creditor asks for repayment according to law, the debtor may liquidate his assets to honor the debt until he files for bankruptcy. However, this is not the case with present-day China. On the one hand, a commodity economy is emerging; and on the other, the second category of disequilibrium persists. That is to say, the long-standing government-business collusion is yet to give way. When transactions between firms are taking place in increased frequency, if A is overdue in payment to B, and B to C, the debtor-creditor relationship can be very complicated. In government-business collusion, debtors are always backed by the government, so that creditors are not in a position to ask for due repayment, let alone demand for liquidating the assets. It is another story when a debtor is responsible for its own benefits and losses. This indicates that liability disputes between firms come down to disputes between government departments when the "debt chain" involves firms that are government appendages. Because such disputes cannot be settled by bankruptcies, the debts will be piled up, and the chain will grow in length with each passing day.

Fundamentally speaking, the "debt chain" can never be eradicated if we fail to deepen corporate reform, detach government from business, and turn

firms into commodity producers making their own business decisions and bearing their own profits and losses. In other words, the transition from the second category of disequilibrium to the first category of it must be accomplished at an early date to get rid of the "debt chain."

The nature of economic disequilibrium also sheds light on another major issue in the field of circulation, the issue of the outsourcing of circulation. Stable and sustained economic growth is determined not only by production, but also by circulation. Production bottlenecks, clogged circulation channels and ineffective supply all play a part in volatile economic fluctuations. Therefore, the outsourcing of circulation should become an indispensable part in our study of economic growth and fluctuations, the growth and fluctuations in the Chinese economy in particular.

At the first glance, clogged circulation channels bring about an overstock of some commodities and shortages of others, and strain supply. These problems merit attention, but they cannot be addressed by improving circulation alone. The outsourcing of circulation takes on a different meaning in economic disequilibrium from in economic equilibrium: In economic equilibrium, where the market is complete, prices are flexible, information transmission is smooth and firms are liable for their management decisions, benefits and losses, the outsourcing of circulation is inevitably characterized by free circulation of commodities at flexible prices and by production and sales in the interest of firms. In the first category of disequilibrium, firms are responsible for their own business management, benefits and losses. However, the market is incomplete, prices are inflexible, and information transmission is clogged. As a result, free circulation will run up against obstacles. Firms will find it hard to organize production and sell their products on their own. In addition, supply or demand shortfalls will make it hard for market prices to play a due role in economic adjustment, so much so that such shortfalls must be eased, to some extent, with quantitative adjustment either by the government or by the market. The situation is much more complicated in the second category of disequilibrium. Apart from an incomplete market, inflexible prices, and clogged information transmission, firms are failing and yet to become autonomous. The disparity between supply and demand is more acute in capital goods than in consumption goods, and therefore, it is more pressing to develop capital goods than to procure more consumer goods. According to this interpretation, the

outsourcing of circulation in the second category of disequilibrium should be interpreted in this way: We should develop all sorts of markets, capital goods markets in particular, while combining quantity regulation with price regulation in relevant markets, particularly in the markets for pivotal capital goods. Only thus can obstacles to circulation be lifted, and the effective combination of production factors optimized nationwide. The percentage of quantity quotas and that of price regulation should be decided in light of the degree of economic disequilibrium, because we can always make do with the second best choice where and when the first best choice is hard to come by. It is in accord with the principle of the second best choice to understand the outsourcing of circulation in economic disequilibrium from the perspective of combining quantity and price regulation. What merits attention here is that the replacement of price regulation with quantity regulation in economic disequilibrium is not the same as replacing complete competition with incomplete competition. Rather, it is the replacement of one kind of incomplete competition with another. In economic disequilibrium, there will never be a complete market, and therefore the effort to improve the market is invariably in conflict with quantity regulation. It is unrealistic to deny the existence of such a conflict and its effect on economic growth and fluctuations. In the current stage of economic development, what we should and can do is to improve the management of circulation as much as possible, dredge up the circulation channels, further the commercial reform to minimize obstacles to the outsourcing of circulation. In the meantime, we should also mitigate economic disequilibrium in multiple ways to ease the conflict between market improvement and quantity regulation.

We have elaborated on the restraining impact of circulation on economic growth and fluctuations, probed into the deep-seated causes behind the "debt chain," and elucidated the need to outsource circulation in economic disequilibrium. Thus, we are able to better understand the economic growth and fluctuations in China in two ways:

Firstly, observed from the viewpoint of circulation alone, the profound impact of the second category of disequilibrium on the realm of circulation has clearly become a potent restraint on economic growth and an essential cause behind fluctuations. Only by taking into consideration the effect of the second category of disequilibrium on both production and circulation can the economic growth and fluctuations in this country be better interpreted.

Secondly, from our observations of circulation we can arrive at this conclusion: If, instead of proceeding from invigorating our companies to push economic restructuring, we allow government-business collusion to persist in the long run, sustained economic growth will be out of the question, and major fluctuations will become unavoidable. This fully bears out what economic restructuring is all about in the second category of disequilibrium.

V. Thoughts on normal and abnormal fluctuations

The topic of this study being fluctuations in economic dis-equilibrium rather than in equilibrium, we are confronted with the issue of normal and abnormal fluctuations. Fluctuations are always deemed abnormal in economic equilibrium, where normal fluctuations are nonexistent. However, it is the other way round in disequilibrium, where gaps in either supply or demand are a common occurrence, and the market can bridge such gaps but cannot root them out. That is to say, disequilibrium is essentially balance with nonzero unemployment rate and nonzero inflation rate. To put it differently, disequilibrium is a kind of equilibrium that is accompanied by a certain unemployment rate or a certain inflation rate (or a balance with certain demand shortfalls and certain supply shortfalls).

Any economic gap can be interpreted as "shortage." For instance, a rise in prices, which means that excess money is chasing commodities that are in short supply, can be termed as "commodity shortage." Unemployment, which indicates that many workers are hunting for a few jobs, can be expressed as "job shortage." Similarly, undercapitalization denotes a "fund shortage," while overcapitalization points to "shortage in investment outlets." A bottleneck in resource supply indicates "shortage of a certain resource," while idle resources indicate "shortage of resource users." Since any gap can be regarded as a shortage, there must be two kinds of shortages in economic disequilibrium – normal shortages and abnormal shortages.

As stated above, normal shortages are common and inevitable in economic disequilibrium. However, it does not mean that a certain shortage cannot be eliminated by any means, but that one shortage can be eliminated probably at the cost of another shortage that causes even a greater loss in efficiency. For instance, a 2 percent unemployment rate is an indicator of a normal shortage of jobs, but someone insists to eliminate this normal

unemployment rate. We are not saying that he has no way of accomplishing it, but that in doing so, some firms may be overstaffed and suffer major efficiency losses. In other words, the normal job shortage is eradicated in return for a higher disguised unemployment rate and a greater loss in efficiency.

We may follow a similar line of thinking to prove how a visible inflation rate that is within a normal range of shortage in economic disequilibrium is made to disappear in return for an increased disguised inflation rate and a major efficiency loss. From this analysis, we can see that the alert line for macroeconomic operation in disequilibrium cannot be marked with zero shortages (zero unemployment rate, zero inflation rate, etc.). The alert line in question is designed to guide government regulation. When the economy runs below this line, there is no need to take action. Only when the economy surges above the line should the government take appropriate steps to regulate it. Under disequilibrium, the position of the alert line is directly relevant to the extent of normal shortages. Assuming there is a zero shortage level in the economy (zero unemployment rate, zero inflation rate, etc.), the alert line must be somewhere above this level. The space between the two lines represents normal shortage; the space above the alert line is abnormal shortage, as is shown in Figure 1:

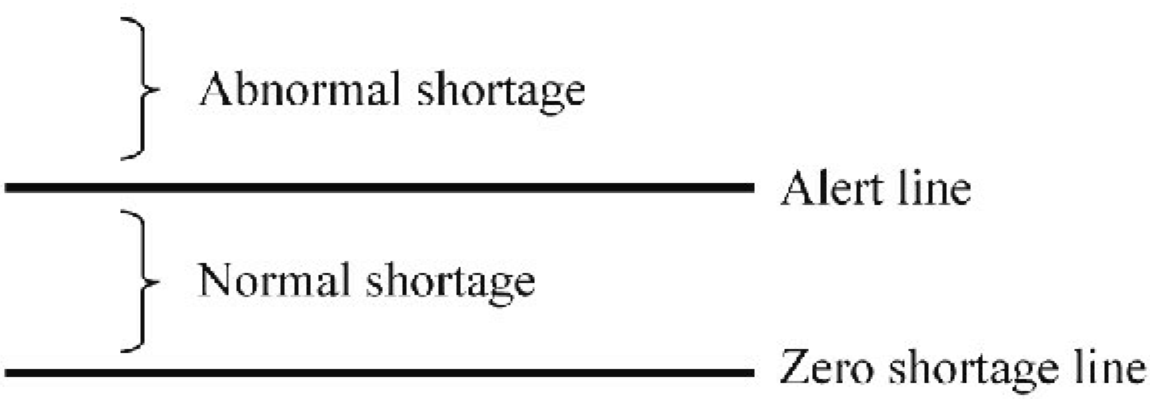

Fig. 1

In the book *Strategic Choice for Prosperity* by Li Yining and others, the concept of "alert line" is explained in Chapter 8, "The integration of planning and market mechanism in resource allocation": There are two alert lines – the

first alert line and the second alert line. The first line sets the boundary between market regulation and government-planned regulation. The second line runs above the first one. Whether the government should give priority to direct regulation or indirect regulation depends on the space above the first alert line. When the economy operates between the two lines, it comes mainly under indirect government regulation. When it runs above the second alert line, it is evidence that indirect regulation has not achieved desired results and, therefore, it is time to shift the emphasis to direct regulation in place.[8]

With a second alert line added to Figure 1, Figure 2 is drawn. The alert line featured in Figure 1 is presented as the "first alert line" in Figure 2:

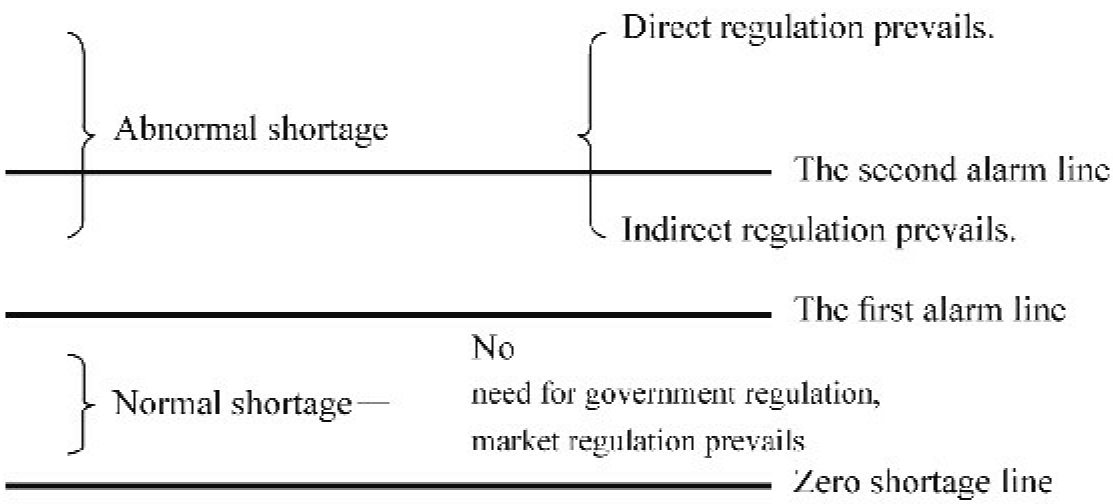

Fig. 2

In *Strategic Choice for Prosperity*, an additional explanation is made: "Whether it is indirect regulation or direct regulation that prevails, the adoption of planned quotas should not be excluded when restraints on resource become strong and shortages run high, and changes in market prices and supply and demand must be followed."[11]

As shown in Figure 2, the second alert line divides abnormal shortages into two sections. Let us call the section between the second and the first alert lines "abnormal shortage I," where the government gives priority to indirect regulation. The section above the second alert line is dubbed "abnormal shortage II," where the government gives priority to direct regulation. If abnormal shortage in the economy is serious enough to necessitate forceful intervention, the government can turn to the "last resort," unconventional

intervention in the economy. The reservation of this "last resort" testifies to the government's resolve and strength to regulate the economy – it will never look on with folded arms as the economy goes from bad to worse.[12]

This can be shown in Figure 3:

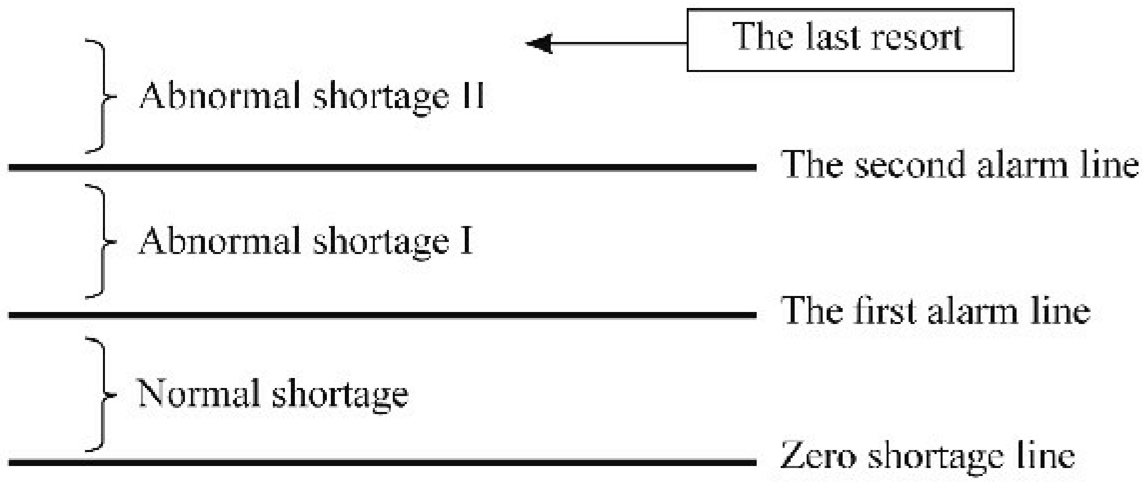

Fig. 3

With these concepts in mind – zero shortage line, normal shortage, abnormal shortage I, abnormal shortage II, the first alert line and the second alert line – we gain a better understanding of what normal fluctuations and abnormal fluctuations are all about.

What are normal fluctuations in economic disequilibrium? We can reach this preliminary conclusion: When the economy operates above the zero shortage line and below the first alert line – that is, within the scope of normal shortage – fluctuations are normal.

What about abnormal fluctuations in economic disequilibrium? We can also arrive at the following preliminary conclusion: When the economy operates above the second alert line but is still within the scope of abnormal shortage II, fluctuations are abnormal.

Figure 3 indicates that the section between the zero shortage line and the first alert line represents normal shortage. When the economy runs within this range, normal fluctuations in economic disequilibrium occur; what happens in the section above the second alert line is abnormal shortage II, in which

abnormal fluctuations in disequilibrium take place. This poses the question: Are fluctuations normal or abnormal when the economy operates between the first and second alert lines? Further analysis is needed to give a reasonable answer.

Fluctuations are usually indicated with changes in the economic growth rate. However, the economic growth rate cannot accurately reflect shortages. A high growth rate can be achieved under both normal and abnormal shortages, and so can a low growth rate. Therefore, when studying the economy's performance in a specific year or a period of years, we find it hard to discover the close ties between economic growth rate and the degree of shortages. In addition, changes in the degree of shortages are concealed when fluctuations are measured by economic growth rate. Therefore, if we judge whether fluctuations are normal or not merely by changes in economic growth rate, we are courting two mistakes.

First, fluctuations seem to have nothing to do with economic disequilibrium. The difference between normal and abnormal fluctuations under disequilibrium conditions is concealed in the changes of economic growth rate. Thus we cannot see through fluctuations and predict their future course of development.

Second, a high economic growth rate can be achieved in the presence of abnormal shortages, whereas a low growth rate may happen amidst normal shortages. This being the case, if we judge fluctuations on the basis of growth rate changes, we will probably go astray in attempting to maintain a high economic growth rate by expanding abnormal shortages instead of maintaining a low growth rate by curtailing such shortages.

Obviously, we cannot jump to a conclusion on normal or abnormal fluctuations in economic disequilibrium simply according to changes in economic growth rate. Rather, we should base our observation on changes in the degree of shortages.

We will get a clearer picture of this if we observe the economy for a longer period of time. This is because, supposing the economy operates within the range of abnormal shortages under disequilibrium conditions, problems caused by such shortages will definitely affect economic growth rate and betray themselves in the form of marked fluctuations.

Now let us return to the previous question: Is it normal or ab-normal fluctuation under disequilibrium when the economy operates between the first and second alert lines? The answer should be based on changes in shortages during an extended period of economic growth. There are two scenarios:

The first scenario: The economy has been operating within a normal shortage range, and economic growth has been achieved on this basis. If the economy runs above the first alert line and fluctuates between the two alert lines, such fluctuations are deemed abnormal.

The second scenario: The economy has been operating within abnormal shortage II, that is, above the second alert line, and economic growth has been achieved on that basis. If the economy operates between the two alert lines and fluctuates within abnormal shortage I, it is considered a normal fluctuation, because compared to the previous period, the economic fluctuations are moving towards normalcy. (*Translated by Zhong Zhilan*)

— A speech at a meeting to summarize the "Growth Theories and Mathematical Models of the Chinese Economy," a National Natural Science Foundation of China research project, on March 21, 1993

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论乡镇企业的产权改革 (1994)

一

在当前的中国经济中，乡镇企业的重要性已经越来越被实践所证实，也已经越来越被人们所认识。在建立社会主义市场经济的过程中，改造原有的国有大中型企业和发展乡镇企业都是重新塑造社会主义市场经济微观基础的基本内容。关于国有大中型企业产权改革的意义，学术界讨论得比较充分，也比较具体。相比之下，对乡镇企业产权改革的意义与做法，就不那么充分，或者只提及发展“股份合作制”。其实，乡镇企业产权改革的重要性和这一改革中可能遇到的困难，并不亚于国有大中型企业的产权改革；而且，“股份合作制”一词的含义也不很明确，所以在这个领域内有深入研讨的必要。

首先，我们不能只注意近年来乡镇企业迅速发展的事实，而应该考虑市场环境对乡镇企业存在与发展的作用，考虑乡镇企业如何进一步适应市场的问题。

乡镇企业有不少竞争对手。在国内市场上，其竞争对手主要是国有企业、原来的城市“大集体”企业、中外合资企业、私营企业以及其他乡镇企业。此外，进口的商品也同乡镇企业的商品有竞争关系。乡镇企业建立和扩大生产规模后，必须考虑到自己的市场究竟在哪里，怎样才能使自己的产品在市场上占有一席之地，并使自己的产品在市场中所占的份额越来越大。

乡镇企业不能指望地方政府的特殊照顾、额外的优惠。如果乡镇企业把希望寄托于地方政府用行政干预的方式来保证本地的市场，排斥外地的企业进入本地的市场，或垄断本地的原材料供应，限制本地的原材料输往外地，那么，一方面，地方政府的这种保护本地乡镇企业的做法是与市场经济的原则相悖的。这种做法无论按计划经济体制的要求来看，还是按市场经济体制的要求来看，都必定受到抵制，必定行不通。

这是因为，从计划经济体制的角度看，地方垄断原材料供应和分割市场的做法不符合计划经济的高度集中原则、计划配额原则；而从市场经济体制的角度看，这种做法违背了市场公平竞争原则，违背了市场统一化的原则。另一方面，地方政府的这种保护本地乡镇企业的做法即使有可能在短时间内给这些乡镇企业带来某种好处。但从长期看，从根本利益上看，这种做法是不利于乡镇企业的发展的，因为这是一种保护落后和扼杀企业生命力的错误做法。乡镇企业应当在市场竞争中成长、壮大，企业的真正生命力在于自己的产品质量，在于自己的经济效益，在于自己的创新能力。

如果说乡镇企业在同计划经济体制下的企业（如国有企业、城市“大集体”企业）竞争时，可以凭借自己的机制灵活而占有一定优势的话，那么在同中外合资企业、私营企业竞争时，这种优势就不存在了。特别是乡镇企业之间相互竞争时，由于彼此都有相同的经营机制，而且也都能得到本地政府部门的优惠政策的照顾，任何一家乡镇企业的优势也就无法显示出来。市场竞争是无情的。竞争的结果，总会有一批乡镇企业垮掉，有一批乡镇企业发展壮大，还会出现一批新的乡镇企业。

由此可以断言，市场是乡镇企业的检验者。各地都兴建了乡镇企业，乡镇企业的数量越来越多。乡镇企业的数量这么多，发展速度这么快，会不会给国民经济带来灾难呢？对这个问题，可以这样看：假定处于计划经济体制之下，企业数量过多，发展速度过快，肯定使得国民经济承受不了；然而，目前的乡镇企业与计划经济体制下的企业是不一样的，乡镇企业必须面向市场，经受市场的检验。如果在竞争中失败，乡镇企业就会垮掉。而计划经济体制下的企业则不然，即使效益差，亏损累累，企业照样可以存在，照样消耗各种资源。因此，市场的检验固然是客观存在的，但计划经济体制下的企业却不在乎市场的这种检验，甚至可以说它们不惧怕市场的检验，它们对于市场的检验是麻木不仁、无动于衷的。而乡镇企业对于市场的检验却十分敏感，经不起市场检验的将被淘汰，这就迫使乡镇企业努力提高经济效益，努力生产市场所需要的产品。换句话说，计划经济体制之下，企业多了而企业效益又不佳，那就必定给国民经济带来灾难；因为企业只能生，不能死，只能存，不能亡。而乡镇企业则既能生，又能死，既能存，又能亡。效益差的乡镇企业将被无情地淘汰，国民经济就不会因乡镇企业数目增加而波动，社会也不会因乡镇企业中一批效益差的企业的倒闭而发生较大的震荡。从这一角度来看，我们不能不得出这样的结论：如果说企业多了，那是指计划经济体制下的无效益企业多了，而适应市场经济要求和经得起市场检验的企业还不够多；如果说企业发展快了，那是指对市场不敏感，从

而不面向市场而进行生产的企业的发展过快，而那些面向市场进行生产并受到市场欢迎的企业的发展速度还不够快。乡镇企业就属于后一类企业。

二

这里，需要对重复建设一词做一些分析。重复建设是不是必须取缔呢？一般说来，不应该从事重复建设，不容许重复建设的现象发生。这是因为，在资源供给为既定的条件下，重复建设意味着资源的浪费、资源的不合理利用，从而使本来就紧张的资源供给更加紧张。此外，在市场购买力为既定的条件下，重复建设意味着总有一些产品因缺乏市场而滞销积压，这同样是资源的浪费、资源的不合理利用。资源的双重浪费、双重不合理使用，这就是重复建设的代价或重复建设对经济的危害。

人们有时在谴责重复建设时，把乡镇企业同重复建设挂上钩，似乎乡镇企业的建立和扩大生产规模同重复建设之间结下了不解之缘；而忘却了同重复建设有着最密切关系的不在于企业是属于乡镇企业还是国有企业，而是企业的经营机制是否转换了，投资体制是新的还是旧的。乡镇企业有着自己的灵活机制，既自主经营，又自负盈亏。如果明知是重复建设的项目，资源供应紧张就必定导致生产成本的上升，市场购买力有限就必定导致销售困难，结果必定是得不偿失，那么谁会硬往重复建设的墙壁上撞呢？乡镇企业是不会往这堵墙上撞的，因为它们知道硬撞的后果是自己的倒闭。但那些不承担投资风险的计划经济体制下的企业却有可能不顾重复建设的后果，铺摊子、上项目，即使投资无效益也在所不惜。可见，问题恰恰在于企业作为投资主体是否承担着投资风险。乡镇企业之所以会避免无效益的投资，避免重复建设，原因正在于此。

从宏观经济的角度来看，对重复建设还需要做进一步的探讨。一般所说的重复建设，是指某种类型的产品已经有某家企业进行生产，如果再建设一家企业，生产同种类型的产品，那就是重复建设，就是资源的浪费。但需要研究的是：禁止重复建设是不是会造成保护垄断、保护落后的现象？重复建设是不是一律损害国民经济？同类产品生产者之间是否容许竞争？比如说，某种类型的产品已经由某家企业进行生产，但产品数量不符合社会的需求，市场仍有较大的份额有待于企业去占据。在这种情况下，是只容许该家企业扩大生产规模呢，还是容许建立新的企

业，由新建的企业的产品来填补市场的空缺？显然，新建的企业的加入不应当被认为是重复建设。再说，假定原来生产某种类型产品的企业尽管能够提供市场所需要的足够多的产品，但价格比较高昂，产品质量仍有改进之必要；而新建的企业所生产出来的同类产品，却能以较低的价格供应给需求者或产品质量比较好。那么在这种情况下，难道只容许原来生产该种类型产品的企业垄断该类产品的生产，而不容许新企业的加入？难道宁肯要价格较高、质量较低的产品而拒绝新企业生产价格较低、质量较高的产品？这无疑是不合理的。这种情况下的新建企业的加入也不应当被认为是重复建设。总之，重复建设不应当被当成是保护垄断、保护落后的挡箭牌。

再看一看与重复建设有关的资源浪费问题。首先要指出，假定只容许原有的企业生产出价格较高、质量较低的产品，而不容许新建的企业去生产价格较低、质量较高的产品，这同样是一种资源的浪费、资源的不合理使用。一定数量的资源，既然有可能被某家新企业用于生产价格较低、质量较高的产品，但却以禁止重复建设为借口而不准这家新企业成立，宁肯让原有的某家企业用来生产价格较高、质量较低的产品，这不是资源的不合理使用又是什么？其次，需要说明的是：市场是企业（包括乡镇企业）的检验者，即使生产资料的供应有限，市场购买力为既定，只要经济中遵循的是“适者生存”原则，那么生产价格较高、质量较低的产品的企业将被淘汰，生产价格较低、质量较高的产品的企业将继续生存下来。有限的生产资料供应将属于后者而不属于前者，既定的市场份额将被后者所取得而把前者排除在外。这样，经过一定时间的较量之后，适者生存，不适者被淘汰，资源浪费问题也就自然而然地通过市场竞争而解决了。我们有什么理由认为重复建设一定是坏事呢？只有重复生产价格高和质量低的产品，才是必须取缔的；只有重复建立那些生产价格高和质量低的产品的企业，才是必须禁止的，才是名副其实的重复建设。不能看投资主体是国有资产管理部门还是乡镇企业。

从这里，我们有一个深切的体会：如果不加快产权改革，不能真正按照市场需求自主组织生产经营，不能真正把经济效益放在首位，不能真正建立激励和约束相结合的管理体制，乡镇企业是适应不了市场经济的要求的。我们甚至可以说，对某些现在虽然产权尚未明晰但仍能取得成绩的乡镇企业来说，它们的“好日子”可能不会太长了。市场经济的形势逼得它们非改革不可，非抓紧改革不可。

三

由此我们可以对乡镇企业产权改革的重要意义进行较详细的分析。产权改革涉及的是市场主体的组织规范化和行为规范化的问题。在我国现阶段，产权改革是指如何把那些政企不分、产权不明、不自主经营、不自负盈亏的企业改造成为政企分开、产权明确、自主经营、自负盈亏的企业。产权改革既与改造原有企业有关，也与建立新企业有关，因为根据产权改革的思想，新建的企业从一开始就应当按照政企分开、产权明确、自主经营、自负盈亏的模式来建立。

前面已经指出，市场对企业进行检验，市场竞争中盛行的是“适者生存”原则。要制止真正的重复建设，企业必须按照产权改革的思想改造或新建，以便它们既可以适应市场的变化而调整产品结构，避免生产社会所不需要、不欢迎的产品，而是生产社会需要、欢迎的产品；又可以用自己的价格较低、质量较高的产品去排挤竞争对手所生产的价格较高、质量较低的产品。更重要的是，通过产权改革，一切企业都处在平等的起跑线上，都同政府机构分开，都只是“遵守法律，照章纳税”，既不受政府机构的直接管辖，又不接受政府机构对自身的生产经营活动的直接干预。此外，通过产权改革，一切企业都承担投资风险，自负盈亏，而不再躺在国家身上吃大锅饭，也不受政府的偏爱和特殊照顾。产权改革是建设现代市场经济体制的基础性改革，其必要性与重要性是不言自明的。

至今依然有人怀疑，乡镇企业是不是同国有企业或原来的城市“大集体”企业一样需要进行产权改革？回答是明确的：乡镇企业同样需要产权改革。要知道，乡镇企业的继续存在和进一步发展是以乡镇企业转换经营机制，自主经营和自负盈亏，并且已经不再成为政府部门的附属物为前提的。这是因为，假定乡镇企业同国有企业、原来的城市“大集体”企业一样不能实现自主经营和自负盈亏，那又怎么谈得上乡镇企业经得起市场的检验，并能按照市场的“适者生存”原则在市场大海中拼搏、竞争呢？假定乡镇企业同国有企业、原有的城市“大集体”企业一样受到政府部门的严格限制和干预，那又怎么谈得上乡镇企业的建立和存在本身是对计划经济体制的有力冲击并使计划经济体制大堤的缺口越来越大？也就是说，不能笼统地认为乡镇企业在产权制度上不同于国有企业和原来的城市“大集体”企业。事实并不完全如此。这可以从两方面来解释：

一方面，在所有的乡镇企业中，只有一部分乡镇企业实现了经营机制的转换，符合独立商品生产者的条件；还有一部分乡镇企业则尚未实现经营机制的转换，不符合独立商品生产者的条件。它们名为乡镇企

业，实际上应当被称为“乡有企业”、“乡营企业”、“镇有企业”、“镇营企业”，即最基层的政权机构所拥有与直接经营的企业。对这部分乡镇企业而言，产权改革还没有开始，甚至当地的乡政府、镇政府还不懂得在乡镇企业中进行产权改革的必要性和重要性。正因为如此，所以绝不能认为乡镇企业已不需要产权改革了。

另一方面，即使以那些已经实现了经营机制转换的乡镇企业来说，它们的经营机制的转换也还只是初步的，它们的产权设置还有待于规范化，它们同乡镇政府之间的关系也还需要进一步调整，以符合乡镇企业作为独立商品生产者的要求。

当前，摆在乡镇企业面前的一项迫切任务应是大力推进产权改革，使乡镇企业的产权设置规范化，使乡镇企业的产权结构合理化。如果以为乡镇企业当前的迫切任务只是扩大生产规模和增加投入，那就是忽略了乡镇企业发展的关键所在。扩大乡镇企业的生产规模和增加投入当然也是很重要的，但这更可能是进行了认真的产权改革之后的必然结果，而不是对产权改革的取代。

乡镇企业产权改革的意义远远不止于此。关于乡镇企业产权改革的深远意义，可以从以下四方面来做进一步分析：（1）有利于大大提高农民作为乡镇企业所有者的主体意识，增加农民的生产积极性和建设新农村的决心；（2）有利于大大提高农民的文化技术与管理水平，使农村的社会经济得到迅速发展；（3）有利于推进乡镇基层政权机构的改革，加强乡镇基层政权建设；（4）有利于提高农民的收入，提高农村的生活水平，为农村的共同富裕创造条件。现具体论述如下：

第一，关于农民作为乡镇企业所有者的主体意识的增强问题。

要知道，如果乡镇企业不进行认真的产权改革，产权依然处于不清晰、不明确的状态，那么农民尽管作为乡镇企业的所有者（即使是部分所有者），但他们对乡镇企业的资产的关心程度必然受到很大的限制，他们对乡镇企业资产的较差的关心程度又必然挫伤他们的生产积极性和投资积极性。这是未进行产权改革的乡镇企业的严重缺陷。反之，只要认真地进行乡镇企业的产权改革，明确了产权，使每个投资者都在企业的产权中有清晰的、确定的份额；这样，即使农民只是乡镇企业的资产的一部分所有者，他们作为所有者主体、投资主体的意识必将大大增强。农民将关心本企业的资产及其保值增值状况，将把企业的经营好坏视为自己所关心的主要问题之一。农民的生产积极性和投资积极性将大大提高。同时，只要乡镇企业通过产权改革后增加了活力，增加了盈

利，扩大了生产规模，作为所有者、投资者的农民就可以由此看清农村建设的前景，看清乡镇企业经济力量的成长与壮大对于农村建设的意义，他们建设新农村的决心也会大大加强。经常听到有人说，农民不安心在农村中生活、工作，农村的人力纷纷外流，农村的健壮劳力都走了等等。不错，在一些农村确实存在这种情况。但我们同样可以看到，在乡镇企业发达的地区，特别是在乡镇企业发展后把自己的一部分盈利用于改善农村文化和生活设施的地区，农民的情绪则是较为稳定的。这些地区不但留住了本地的农民、本地的健壮劳力，而且还吸引外地的健壮劳力前来做工。因此，完全有理由认为，在通过产权改革而大大增强了农民作为所有者的主体意识，大大提高了乡镇企业活力之后，农村的面貌必将呈现巨大的变化，农民建设自己的家乡的热情也必将大为高涨。

第二，关于农民文化技术与管理水平的提高问题。

要提高农民的文化技术与管理水平，可以通过好多途径；但不能忽略的是，通过乡镇企业的产权改革，使农民成为名副其实的所有者主体、投资主体，使农民有机会参与乡镇企业的各种会议，也是提高农民文化技术与管理水平的一个重要途径。这是因为，在未明确乡镇企业的产权时，尽管农民是名义上的乡镇企业主人，但这是虚的，而不是实的。他们既没有机会参与乡镇企业的各种会议，也没有机会表达自己对乡镇企业发展业务的意见。这样，也就谈不上农民通过乡镇企业的活动而提高自身的文化技术与管理水平。这种情况下的农民与乡镇企业之间的关系，或者是农民入厂做工，农民单纯充当劳动力，或者是农民单纯出钱，但乡镇企业却没有把农民当成是真正的主人。乡镇企业产权改革以后，情况将发生重大变化。这时，农民作为所有者、投资者的地位明确了，农民投资所形成的产权份额也清晰了。相应地，农民作为所有者、投资者将直接参与或选出代表参与乡镇企业的有关决策和参加有关会议，他们将逐渐懂得企业的经营和财务状况，进而对企业的兴衰和资产的增减原因有所了解。如果农民是企业的职工，他们在这里就不单纯充当劳动力，而且也直接或间接地参与生产经营决策。如果农民不是仅有一家乡镇企业作为投资对象，而是有可供选择的投资机会，他们就会对各个投资机会进行比较，并从比较中增进自己的技术与经济知识。人们常说市场经济是一所大学校，从这里可以学习到许多书本上学不到的东西。但作为乡镇企业中的劳动力，农民真正从市场中所学到的并不多；而农民如果作为乡镇企业的所有者、投资者，并且真地能够参与决策，那么农民从市场经济中所学到的就多得多。农民越懂得市场经济，市场经济就越能顺利地发展；而要农民比较深刻地了解市场经济，就应使农民不再局限于以消费者、劳动者、储蓄者的身份参加市场经济，而

且也以投资者、经营者的身份参加市场经济。

第三，关于乡镇基层政权的建设问题。

乡镇基层政权的建设所涉及的问题较多，包括乡镇基层政权机构选举的民主化、乡镇基层的党组织自身的建设、乡镇基层政府工作人员素质的提高等等，也包括乡镇基层政权机构与乡镇企业之间关系的调整。乡镇基层政权机构的改革与乡镇企业的产权改革是密切相关的，关键在于乡镇企业应当成为政企分开、产权明确、自主经营、自负盈亏的独立商品生产者；乡镇企业不再是乡镇基层政权机构的附属物，乡镇基层政权机构不再把乡镇企业当做自己的直辖企业，不再把乡镇企业当做自己的“小金库”。如果不进行认真的产权改革，是做不到这一点的。不可否认，在某些地区，在乡镇企业产权不明确、不清晰的条件下，一些盈利的（甚至也有一些不盈利的）乡镇企业被当地的乡镇基层政权机构牢牢掌握在自己的手中，视为乡镇基层政权机构的“小金库”。于是，一方面乡镇企业的活力受到极大限制，农民的生产积极性和投资积极性大受挫折；另一方面，这也成为某些乡镇基层政府工作人员腐败的原因之一。而乡镇基层政府工作人员的腐败又破坏了乡镇基层政权的形象，失去群众对他们的信任，并使得乡镇的政治生活、经济生活不正常，使得当地社会难以安定。迄今为止，已有一些被揭露的乡镇干部胡作非为并造成严重后果的案件，他们的胡作非为往往同他们成为乡镇企业的实际主管人有关。他们把政治权力、经济权力集中于自己身上，从乡镇企业那里随意支取货币，或把各种开销拿到乡镇企业报账，或把持乡镇企业招工用人的大权。所有这些都是与市场经济的要求相背离的。难道不该在乡镇企业产权改革的过程中对这些现象来一番清理、整顿吗？由此可见，按照乡镇企业产权明确化的原则来调整乡镇基层政权机构与乡镇企业之间的关系，使乡镇企业成为政企分开、产权明确、自主经营、自负盈亏的独立商品生产者，并不单纯是一个至关重要的经济问题，而且是一个关系到今后能否巩固乡镇政权和保证乡镇社会安定的政治问题。我们决不能轻视这一问题。

第四，关于农民收入的提高与农村共同富裕问题。

农民收入增长所带来的结果是生活水平的提高。问题在于农民怎样才能较迅速地增加收入？简单地说，主要有两条途径。一是农业（包括畜牧业、渔业、林业、副业）生产以较快的速度发展，劳动生产率有较大幅度提高，农民可以由此提高收入。二是乡镇企业（包括第一、二、三次产业中的乡镇企业）以较快的速度发展，劳动生产率有较大幅度提高，农民作为劳动者和作为投资者都可以由此提高收入。此外，乡镇企

业还可以利用自己的一部分利润来支援农业或用于改善农村的文化与生活设施，提高农民的生活水平。即使农民外出做工，其中也有相当一部分是到外地的乡镇企业去工作。可见，乡镇企业的产权改革以及由此引起的乡镇企业活力的增强和乡镇企业的进一步发展，有利于提高农民的收入和改善农村的物质文化生活。那么，农村中的扶贫问题又将如何解决呢？乡镇企业的发展同农村中的扶贫有什么联系呢？在这里，首先需要指出，农村扶贫是一个社会问题，有赖于全社会的共同努力才能解决，包括各级政府对贫困地区和贫困户采取特殊的政策，城市各个企事业单位以不同方式支持贫困地区发展经济、技术、文化、教育、医疗卫生等，也包括农村中的先富裕农户对贫困户的帮助。乡镇企业对贫困地区和贫困户的扶植、帮助同样是扶贫的有效途径之一。比如说，乡镇企业从贫困地区招工；有较好效益的乡镇企业到贫困地区投资开发，既可利用当地的资源，又能增加贫困地区的收入；发达地区的乡镇企业同贫困地区的乡镇企业加强经济联系等。总之，有乡镇企业的积极参与，贫困户和贫困地区收入水平的提高将会大大加快。这也反映了产权改革后乡镇企业的发展对社会所做的贡献。

现在让我们来探讨乡镇企业产权改革的目标模式问题。承包制不能成为市场经济体制下的企业目标模式，这在经济学界已成定论，并且被许多有造诣的经济学家所公认，因此用不着再赘述了。那么乡镇企业产权改革的目标模式是什么？这倒是可以进一步研究的课题。

四

乡镇企业合作制是乡镇企业产权改革的目标模式之一。合作制既表明企业的经济性质，也表明企业的财产组织形式。合作制的优点可以简略地归结为：

1．以合作制的形式组建或改造乡镇企业，能达到政企分开、产权明确、自主经营、自负盈亏的目的。

2．以合作制的形式组建或改造乡镇企业，能把企业的投资者与企业的劳动者合为一体，从而调动农民作为企业投资者与企业劳动者的积极性。

3．以合作制的形式组建或改造乡镇企业，能在企业内部造成一种比较协调的环境，从而有利于增强企业内部的凝聚力，促进生产力的发

展。

4．以合作制的形式组建或改造乡镇企业，能以规范的合作制企业章程来健全企业的管理制度，并对企业领导层进行约束，对企业职工和投资者的合法权益进行保护，从而有利于企业的顺利发展。

乡镇企业合作制的上述优点是明显的。因此在乡镇企业产权改革时，不应该忽视合作制这种企业财产组织形式。那种所谓合作制企业已经过时的说法，不符合实际。要知道，按照规范的原则组建或改造而成的乡镇企业不同于计划经济体制下曾经存在或至今仍然存在的集体所有制企业。那种集体所有制企业名为集体所有，实际上依旧是产权不明确、不清晰的企业，究竟是谁投资的，任何人也说不清楚。即使有些集体所有制企业当初由个人集资（或一部分由个人集资）而产生，但出了资的个人不仅没有被看成是企业的实际的主人，甚至他们本人也不认为自己是企业的实际的主人。然而，以合作制形式组建或改造的乡镇企业则使得乡镇企业的面貌一新，截然不同于以往那种集体所有制企业。合作制也可以称作集体所有制，但这是一种与社会主义市场经济体制相适应的新的集体所有制。

但乡镇企业合作制只是乡镇企业产权改革的目标模式之一，而不是乡镇企业产权改革的惟一模式。与股份制的乡镇企业相比，合作制的乡镇企业的不足主要有以下五点：

第一，在企业规模不大时，乡镇企业合作制的上述优点可以明显地表现出来；而当企业规模较大时，乡镇企业合作制就显得不够了。比如说，企业规模不大，以合作制形式组建或改造乡镇企业，可以把企业的投资者与企业的劳动者合为一体，在企业内部造成一种比较协调的环境，作为合作制特色的“一人一票制”也容易实现。但如果企业规模较大，人数较多，就不一定能发挥合作制的长处。“一人一票制”即使推行，也易于流于形式，而难以把企业内部的关系协调得如职工人数较少时那样。

第二，从融资集资的角度来看，合作制的乡镇企业是明显地不如股份制的乡镇企业的。股份制的乡镇企业可以从社会广泛地筹集资金；而合作制的乡镇企业则受到从职工内部集资，特别是“一人一票制”的限制，难以筹集更多的资金。乡镇企业合作制的这一局限性在企业规模增大或在有盈利机会存在但由于缺乏资金而难以如愿时更为突出。

第三，从原有的乡镇企业改制为产权明确的乡镇企业时，经常会遇到资产存量折股问题。在股份制条件下，资产存量的折股问题比较容易

解决；而在合作制条件下，通常只有把资产存量平均出售给每一个社员才能解决。如果企业规模不大，让全体社员买下资产存量仍是可行的；如果企业规模较大，全体社员买下资产存量这种做法的可行性较小。

第四，在企业发展过程中，有时需要对外参股、控投，有时需要吸收其他企业的参股，有时企业有可能成长为企业集团。这些经济行为完全是正常的。如果按照股份制形式来组建或改造乡镇企业，这些经济行为可以顺利地进行。如果按合作制形式来组建或改造乡镇企业，这些经济行为的实现就会困难得多。

第五，合作制与股份制的另一不同之处在于：当人们参加合作制的乡镇企业后，退出是自愿的，也是自由的；而当人们参加股份制的乡镇企业后，退股是不容许的，股份只能转让给另一人。因此，股份制有利于企业的生产经营规模的稳定，合作制则不利于企业的生产经营规模的稳定。此外，在股份制之下，股份转让时不是按参加时的价格转让，而是按照现行的价格转让，这对于投资者比较有利；而在合作制之下，退出时究竟按什么价格计算是一个难以解决的问题。如果退出时仍按入社时的价格计算，退出者岂不是吃亏？如果退出时按资产重估后的折价计算，那就有可能引发更多的人要求退出，生产又如何继续进行下去？假如合作制的乡镇企业不容许退出，不就与合作制的原则不符了吗？所以合作制乡镇企业在“自愿退出”问题上会遇到操作的困难。同样的道理，在对待新加入者方面，合作制的乡镇企业也会遇到类似的难处。允不允许新加入者进入？如果不允许新加入者进入而只允许原来的加入者退出，那么合作制的乡镇企业岂不是会越来越小，至少是社员人数越来越少？如果允许新加入者进入，那么新加入者按什么价格出资入社？按原来加入者所支付的价格，原加入者肯定吃亏，新加入者肯定占便宜。那又会促使更多的新加入者进入，原加入者与新加入者之间的矛盾必然加剧。新加入者按资产重估后的价格加入，则也会遇到操作的困难。在股份制的乡镇企业中，由于不得退股而只能转让股份，问题会简单得多。

五

以上所说的这一切并不等于否认乡镇企业合作制的优点。从转换企业经营机制，实现政企分开、产权明确、自主经营、自负盈亏的角度来考察，乡镇企业合作制与乡镇企业股份制一样，都可以达到原定的目标。问题主要在于：乡镇企业规模不大时，合作制是较为适合的；而在

乡镇企业规模扩大后，尤其是在新组建的大中型乡镇企业和原有的大中型乡镇企业改制时，合作制的不足之处将突出地暴露出来，所以它不如股份制。换言之，小型乡镇企业的产权改革适宜以合作制作为目标模式，而大中型乡镇企业的产权改革则以股份制作为目标模式为宜。

在这里，还有一个问题需要提出来进行讨论，这就是关于乡镇企业的“股份合作制”问题。究竟什么是“股份合作制”？从目前已经采取“股份合作制”的乡镇企业来看，其中多数是一种合伙制的小企业，还有一部分是不规范的股份制企业。真正实行规范的合作制的或规范的股份制的乡镇企业是少数。因此，不仅尚未进行产权改革的乡镇企业需要进行产权改革，而且已经被称为“股份合作制企业”的那些乡镇企业，也需要通过认真的产权改革使之规范化：或者向合作制的模式规范化；或者向股份制的模式规范化；或者按其本来的产权组成状况，名副其实地正名为私营企业，包括独资企业和合伙企业。

“股份合作制”这个名称并不科学。从企业财产组织形式上看，合作制与股份制是两种不同的企业财产组织形式。一个企业或者实行合作制，或者实行股份制，或者既不实行合作制又不实行股份制，而不可能同时实行合作制与股份制，也不可能把合作制与股份制合为一体。目前，不少乡镇企业喜欢采用“股份合作制”这种名称，可能有以下三个原因：

一是害怕被说成是资本主义性质的。这是因为，在过去较长时间内，一谈到合作制，就认为这是社会主义性质的；一谈到股份制，则被看成是资本主义性质的。因此，明明是按照股份制的方向来组建或改造乡镇企业（尽管组成的是不规范的股份制企业），但由于怕别人说三道四，就使用了“股份合作制”这个名称，以增加安全感。现在看来，这种顾虑是不必要的。股份制无非是企业财产组织形式的一种，它本身并不表明姓“社”还是姓“资”。是股份制就是股份制，不必硬套上“股份合作制”这样一个不科学的帽子。

二是以为使用“合作”一词在政策上可以得到某些优惠，因此就在股份制之上加上“合作”一词。其实，这也是多余的。政策的优惠可能来自两个方面。一方面，如果符合国家或地区的产业结构调整的要求，那么从产业政策上考虑，政府是会给予优惠的。这时加不加上“合作”一词无关紧要，重要的是投资与生产的产业特征。另一方面，如果是真正的合作制企业，那么根据国家或地区对合作制企业的扶植的规定，企业可以得到一定的优惠。但这时必须确实把企业组建或改造为合作制企业，而不能只从表面上看是否加上“合作”一词。假定有些“股份合作制”的乡镇

企业真的是合作制企业，何必不直接使用合作制的名义，而要用“股份合作制”名义呢？

三是把“股份合作制”看成是有中国特色的一种企业财产组织形式，即这类企业既不同于真正的合作制企业，又不同于规范的股份制企业。比如说，在股权设置中，有“集体股”、“企业股”这样的股份，这当然与规范的股份制不符。所以，有人认为不如改称“股份合作制”，因为“集体股”、“企业股”之类似乎带有合作制的成分。又如，有人认为，在合作制之下，出资人可以申请退股，在股份制之下，退股是不容许的。在合作制之下，一人一票；在股份制之下，按股份多少决定票数多少。假定采取“股份合作制”，那么既可以容许出资人退股，又可以按“一股一票”的原则吸收有实力的投资者（包括自然人和法人）加入，岂不是兼有合作制与股份制的特色？这样的企业财产组织形式——“股份合作制”——难道不就反映了“中国特色”吗？应当指出，以这种方式来理解“有中国特色的”乡镇企业财产组织形式，是不准确的。毫无疑问，乡镇企业的成长及其在中国经济建设中的巨大作用这一事实本身就已经具有“中国特色”了，有什么必要硬要从企业财产组织形式上去制造不规范的股份制或不规范的合作制呢？不规范的合作制或股份制只能阻碍乡镇企业的进一步发展，它们算不上什么“中国特色”。

六

乡镇企业的产权改革正在进行之中。已经存在的“股份合作制”的乡镇企业，不管怎么说，都应当被认为是近年来中国经济生活中出现的新事物。对于它们的不规范性，要予以指出，切切实实地给以帮助和指导，使它们走向规范化。不应当歧视它们，更不应当指责它们或取缔它们。它们在很大程度上是自发地产生的。乡镇干部、群众的热情很高，有些做法（尽管不规范）来自群众的创造。如果说乡镇企业的兴起与发展对80年代的中国起过重要作用的话，那么其中也包括了“股份合作制”乡镇企业所起的作用。如果说乡镇企业的存在与成长是对计划经济体制的有力冲击的话，那么“股份合作制”乡镇企业的功劳也不可磨灭。实践已经充分证明，同以往那种名为集体所有的计划经济体制下的“正统”企业相比，“股份合作制”的乡镇企业可称做是“异端”。为了打破计划经济体制的严重束缚，多一些“异端”是好事。乡镇企业的产权改革可以因地制宜，采取不同的步骤来促进乡镇企业产权设置的规范化，而且在速度上必定有差别。总的趋势将是：小型乡镇企业产权改革的目标模

式是合作制，大中型乡镇企业产权改革的目标模式是股份制。关于这一点，前面已经谈过，不再赘述了。

股份制的乡镇企业不是指一定要公开上市。在股份制条件下，公开上市的股份有限公司是极少数。乡镇企业中，够条件公开上市的，当然不排除这种可能性。大多数股份制的乡镇企业可以改为有限责任公司，这是一种普遍适用的乡镇企业财产组织形式。还有一定数量的股份制乡镇企业可以改为内部持股的股份有限公司。要知道，股份制就是股份制，它不分什么“城市企业股份制”和“乡镇企业股份制”，也不分什么“由国有企业改组的股份制”和“由原乡镇企业改组的股份制”。规范化是一个统一的标准，凡是股份制企业都适用。

有些企业由于种种考虑而宁肯保留“股份合作制”的名称，怎么办？对此不必操之过急。产权改革的目的是为了实现企业的政企分开、产权明确、自主经营、自负盈亏。只要乡镇企业通过产权改革达到了这一目的，有效地转换了企业经营机制，实际上已经按照规范的股份制或规范的合作制组建和运作了。它们愿意采取“股份合作制”这一名称，就听之任之，不要干涉。等到将来某一天，它们自己感到有必要正名为股份制企业或合作制企业之时，它们自己会不再使用“股份合作制”这一名称的。

不仅“股份合作制”这种企业财产组织形式是过渡性的，甚至可以认为，“乡镇企业”这种提法也具有过渡性质。在乡镇企业刚刚出现的时候，这些企业之所以被称为“乡镇企业”，一来是为了同当时占支配地位的计划经济体制下的企业（如国有企业、原来的城市“大集体”企业等）相区别。二来考虑这些企业设置于乡镇，而且劳动力也主要来自附近农村。那么今后呢？难道还有与“乡镇企业”相对而言的“城市企业”吗？难道“乡镇企业”只可能设置于乡镇之中，企业所需要的劳动力仅限于农村吗？假定当初成立乡镇企业时，考虑到这些企业与计划经济体制下的企业的运作方式不同，即这些企业是“计划外的”商品生产者，所以要用“乡镇企业”来表示其运作方式的特点。那么今后在市场经济大环境中，还需要分什么“计划外的”商品生产者与“计划内的”商品生产者吗？正如前面已经指出的，企业就是企业，股份制企业就是股份制企业，用不着分什么“城市企业”与“乡镇企业”、“城市股份制企业”与“乡镇股份制企业”。迟早有这么一天，“乡镇企业”这一过渡性的称呼将不再存在，“乡镇股份制企业”这一说法也将消失。

这可能是若干年之后的事情，距现在还有一大段时间。因此，立足于现实，我们仍有必要着手乡镇企业的股份制改革，研讨乡镇股份制企

业的组建与运行问题。而且，需要再重复一遍：尽管从理论上说“股份合作制”这种提法是不确切的，在组建与运行中也会碰到各种各样的困难，但考虑到“股份合作制”的名称已经在相当广的范围内被农村干部和农民接受，因此可以不必取消它。用“股份合作制”的名称也好，改用“股份制”的名称也好，都是在现有起点上的前进。可以这么说，在产权改革工作中，不要在名称上争论不休，而要看实质，即是否循着产权改革的道路往前走。“一步到位”是做不到的，“分步到位”更有现实意义。

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Property rights reform of rural enterprises (1994)

I

More and more people are coming to terms with the importance of rural enterprises to the Chinese economy, an importance that has been borne out by reality. The reform of large and medium-sized state enterprises and the development of rural enterprises are part and parcel of the effort to reshape the microeconomic foundation of the socialist market economy being developed in this nation. Academic discussions are elaborate and thorough concerning the property rights reform of large and medium-sized state enterprises, but somewhat lacking on the significance of similar reform of rural enterprises and the approaches to it. Indeed, discussions about the latter have merely touched upon the development of the "joint-stock cooperative system." In truth, the property rights reform of rural enterprises is no less important and difficult than that of state enterprises. Moreover, the term "joint-stock cooperative system" is yet to be clarified. All this necessitates some in-depth study.

To begin with, we should not take the burgeoning development of rural enterprises over the recent years for granted. Rather, we should contemplate the role of the market in the survival and development of these enterprises, and look at the question of what is to be done to adapt them further to the market.

Rural enterprises have no lack of competitors. On the home market, they compete with each other, but their competition comes mainly from state enterprises, large urban collectives[1], private businesses, equity joint ventures with Chinese and foreign investment, and imported commodities. After a rural enterprise is built or expanded, its managers must think about where its market is, how to carve out a niche in the market for its products, and how to expand its market shares.

Rural enterprises cannot count on local governments for incentives or fringe benefits. They are mistaken if they believe that local governments can help them secure local markets, bar the entry of outsiders, monopolize local supply of raw materials, and prevent local raw materials from being shipped to other areas. This is because local protectionism runs counter to market economy principles, and, judging from the requirements of either the planned economy or the market economy, is bound to be ditched. From the perspective of the planned economy, the practice of monopolizing the supply of raw materials and carving up local markets among local businesses flies in the face of the principle of centralization and of quota-based distribution. From the perspective of the market economy, local protectionism violates the principle of fair and square market competition and market unification. In the short run, this protectionist practice may benefit rural enterprises, but in the long run, it is wrong in that it protects backwardness, strangles businesses, and can backfire on rural enterprises themselves. Enterprises must grow in strength through market competition, because their survival hinges on product quality, profitability, and creativity.

If flexible business mechanisms can stand rural enterprises in good stead when competing with enterprises under the planned economy (state enterprises and big urban collectives), that competitive edge can do them little good when they are pitted against equity joint ventures and private enterprises. Competition between rural enterprises themselves can be tough, too, as their competitiveness is neutralized by the common business mechanisms they employ and the common incentives they receive from local governments. Market competition is merciless; its result is always the same: In the course of it, some rural enterprises collapse, some grow in strength, and new ones keep appearing.

Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that market conditions are the test of rural enterprises. Today, such enterprises are burgeoning everywhere in the country. Will this robust development grow to disastrous proportions? Under central planning, fast proliferation of rural enterprises would have been the undoing of the national economy. However, that was then, this is now. The rural enterprises we have today are worlds apart from their predecessors in that they must face the market and be tested by it. The underdogs in market competition are doomed. Their predecessors might have still been muddling along under central planning and gone on consuming all

sorts of resources no matter how inefficient they were and how deeply they sank into debt. The test of the market was always there, but under central planning, businesses could ignore such a test or stay impervious to it. Not so for the rural enterprises of today. They are sensitive to the test of the market because their survival is on the line. They must strive to raise economic efficiency and produce nothing but what the market needs. In other words, under central planning, the existence of too many losing companies was a disaster to the national economy because they could be established but were not allowed to die, they were allowed to hang around but not allowed to disappear. By contrast, rural enterprises today are allowed to rise or fall of their own accord; those doing poorly are phased out without mercy; the national economy is immune to fluctuations caused by drastic increases in the number of rural enterprises; and society is in no danger of turmoil when large numbers of such enterprises collapse. This being the case, if people are saying there are too many enterprises, that is because too many ill-managed enterprises are still dragging along under old-fashioned central planning and because too few enterprises can measure up to market requirements and stand the test of the market. If people are saying enterprises are growing too fast, we know they are complaining about the unbridled development of enterprises that are insensitive to market changes and never bother to cater their production to market demand, while enterprises that produce only for the market and whose products sell briskly on the market are not growing fast enough. Rural enterprises of today belong in the latter category.

II

I deem it necessary to say something about repetitious construction. Should repetitious construction be discontinued? Generally speaking, it should be disallowed. This is because with a given supply of resources, repetitious production is synonymous with waste, or unwarranted use of resources that serves nothing but to aggravate the already strained supply. With a given level of market purchase power, repetitious construction or production often means that, for lack of demand, some products become a drag on the market or are stockpiled, which again is tantamount to wasting or abusing resources. This double waste or abuse of resources is a cost or a menace that repetitious construction poses for the economy.

When censuring repetitious production, people tend to lump rural

enterprises in with it, as if there were an indissoluble bond between the rise and expansion of these enterprises and repetitious production. Yet they have forgotten what really matters with such production is not whether an enterprise is rural or state-owned, but whether it has changed its operational mechanisms and whether its investment system is new or old. Rural enterprises are flexible in management, and they make their own business decisions while bearing their own gains and losses. Common sense tells us that repetitious production is a losing cause because it inevitably strains resource supply, inflates production costs, and inhibits sales because of the market's limited purchasing power. Rural enterprises do not meddle in repetitious production in the same way that a man never bangs his head against a wall, knowing perfectly well that such an action spells nothing but headache. By contrast, enterprises that do not have to bear the consequence of investment risks under central planning may willingly go after large production scales and as many production projects as possible at all costs, even if such investment brings no returns at all. The crux of the issue is precisely whether an investing enterprise is accountable for the investment risks it chooses to run. Rural enterprises do not embrace redundant production because they can, of their own accord, shun investment and redundant production projects that bring no economic returns.

From a macroeconomic point of view, we should go a little further in our observation of what people really want out of repetitious production. The term generally refers to building a new factory to make a product that someone else is already making. It is a typical behavior of waste. But the question here is: Does banning repetitious production protect monopoly and backwardness? Is repetitious construction detrimental to the national economy on all occasions? Should competition be allowed between manufacturers of the same product? Take, for instance, a certain product being manufactured by a factory, which is in short supply and leaves a considerable market share to be filled. The dilemma here is whether to allow the factory to expand production or to build a new one to make up for the shortage. In this case, construction of a new factory should obviously not be regarded as repetitious. Again, if the factory already in existence can meet market demand for the product in question but its price is too high and its quality leaves something to be desired, whereas the same product to be made by the factory to be built will be better in quality and lower in price, is it wise

to allow the existing factory to monopolize the product and bar the participation of the new factory? It simply does not make sense to tolerate one factory making an inferior product and reject another factory that can offer the same product with a lower price and better quality. In all, repetitious construction should not be used as an excuse to justify protecting monopoly and backwardness.

Now, a look at the waste of resources associated with repetitious construction. It should be pointed out in the first place that it is a waste or abuse of resources to allow a factory to go on making a product at high price and with poor quality while banning the construction of a new factory to produce the same product more competitively. If, under the pretext of sanctioning repetitious construction, we choose to ban the construction of the new factory that can use the same amount of resources to produce a superior product, and tolerate the existing factory's poor performance, isn't that an abuse of resources? Moreover, it should be reiterated that the market is the test of all enterprises, rural enterprises included. As long as the principle of "survival of the fittest" is followed in economic affairs, those making expensive and shabby products will be eliminated and those making cheaper and better products will survive even if both the amount of capital goods and the market purchasing power are limited. The limited supply of capital goods and market share should be awarded to the latter and denied to the former. Through a period of competition, the fittest survive, and the least fit are phased out. The waste of resources is naturally taken care of through market competition. Isn't there any reason for us to insist that repetitious production is bad? Overlapping production of expensive and shabby commodities should be banned, and so should the overlapping construction of factories producing such commodities, whether the factories involved are owned by the state or farmers.

A profound lesson to be drawn from practice is that rural enterprises can never measure up to the requirements of the market economy if they fail to speed up property rights reform, organize production according to market needs, give precedence to profitability, and establish a managerial system that fuses incentives with restraints. We dare say that the good days are numbered for those rural enterprises that are doing well despite their ill-defined property rights. The market economy is pressing them to overhaul and transform themselves before it is too late.

III

This justifies the need to elaborate on the importance of rural enterprise property rights reform. This reform is designed to standardize the organization and behavior of market participants. At the present stage of development in this nation, its mission is to revamp those enterprises in which government administration is entangled with business management and property rights are ill defined, and which cannot make their own management decisions and bear responsibility for their gains and losses. Only when management is free from government intervention and property rights well defined can enterprises have the final say in economic activity, and account for their own profits and losses. The property rights reform entails transforming old enterprises and establishing new ones. According to the reform guideline, new enterprises should, from day one, have their management detached from government patronage and their property rights clarified, make their own decisions and be liable for their own gains and losses.

As is mentioned above, the market is the test for enterprises, and "survival of the fittest" the rule of market competition. To root out repetitious production, enterprises must be overhauled and new ones set up according to the guidelines for property rights reform. Only thus can they restructure their products in light of market changes, phase out unneeded products and turn out products that are needed and can elbow out competitors' high-priced shabby products. More importantly, property rights reform puts all enterprises on the same scratch line and detaches their management from government administration. Abiding by law and paying taxes according to rules, they are not directly under government administration and their production and business activity are immune from direct government intervention. Through property rights reform, every company bears investment risks and is liable for their gains and losses, instead of living off the government's egalitarian system of distribution and preferential treatments. The significance of property rights reform as a fundamental step towards a modern market economy is self-evident.

People are still wondering if property rights reform is as much needed by rural enterprises as by state enterprises or large urban collectives. The answer is in the positive: Rural enterprises need property rights reform. Such

enterprises' survival and further growth are predicated on changing their operational mechanisms, making independent business decisions, bearing responsibility for their gains and losses, and ceasing to be government appendages. If they do not have the final say on business decisions and cannot take responsibility for their own profits and losses, how can it be said they have stood the test of the market and followed the "survival of the fittest" rule to compete for all their worth? If they are still subject to stringent government restrictions and intervention the way state enterprises and large urban collectives used to be, how can it be said they are a force powerful enough to breach the dyke of central planning? The saying that rural enterprises are following a different property rights system than the state enterprises and urban collectives is a vague statement. It does not tally with reality in two ways.

On the one hand, only a fraction of rural enterprises have radically changed their business mechanisms to qualify as independent commodity producers. Many others are not qualified as such because they are still following the beaten track of central planning – they are rural enterprises in name but "rural-owned" or "town-owned" enterprises in reality. In other words, they are still appendages of local governments at the grass roots level. For them, property rights reform is yet to begin, and local rural or town governments are yet to come to terms with the necessity and importance of such reform. That is why it is absolutely wrong to believe property rights reform is not a requisite for rural enterprises.

On the other hand, even those rural enterprises said to have changed their operational mechanisms have, in fact, only begun to do so. Their property rights structure is yet to be standardized, and their relationship with rural governments is yet to be readjusted before they can qualify as one hundred percent independent commodity producers.

Therefore, the pressing task for rural enterprises today is to push property rights reform, standardize their property rights configurations, and put their property rights structure on a sound footing. To believe their immediate task is expanding production and increasing investment is to overlook the key to their development. It matters, of course, for rural enterprises to expand production and increase investment. But that should come as an inevitable result of property rights reform rather than a substitute

for such reform.

The impact of rural enterprise property rights reform does not stop just there. There are other aspects where its impact is apparent. Firstly, it enhances farmers' awareness of their status as owners of their enterprises and thereby fortifies their resolve to boost production and transform their homeland; secondly, it improves farmers' cultural endowment and business acumen and puts rural socioeconomic development on a fast track; thirdly, it promotes rural government reform and shores up the nation's political power at the grass roots level; and fourthly, it improves farmer income and livelihood and furnishes beneficial conditions for the achievement of common prosperity in rural areas. The following is a further elaboration of the impact of rural enterprise property rights reform in these four aspects.

(1) Enhancing farmers' awareness of their status as owners of rural enterprises.

It should be noted that without genuine property rights reform, the property rights of rural enterprises can remain vague and ill defined, and farmers' self-respect as owners – even if they are just partial owners – of rural enterprises will be hurt, and this will further shake their commitment to production and investment. If, on the contrary, property rights reform has been carried out in all seriousness so that every farmer-investor in such an enterprise becomes clear about his or her share of property rights, their awareness of themselves as owners of their enterprise will be vastly enhanced. They will become more attentive to the incremental value of the assets in their enterprise, and be personally concerned with their business performance and more enthusiastic for production and investment. When rural enterprises are energized by property rights reform to increase their profits and output, they can open the eyes of their farmer-owners and investors to the prospects of rural development and the impact of their economic growth on rural development. Their resolve to turn their villages into brand-new ones will be greatly fortified as a result. It is often reported that, bored or disheartened by village life, able-bodied farmers are quitting farming and leaving their country homes, causing a drain on the rural workforce. True, this is what happens in some rural areas. However, it is equally true that in areas where rural enterprises have grown to a sizeable scale, and particularly where such enterprises are using part of their profits to

improve rural cultural and living conditions, farmers are in a peaceful frame of mind and live a contented life. Not only are local able-bodied farmers staying put, but farmers are coming from elsewhere to join them as well. Therefore, there is every reason to believe that once property rights reform has boosted farmers' awareness as owners of rural enterprises and vastly energized their enterprises, tremendous changes are bound to take place in the rural economic and cultural landscape, and local farmers will become more committed to building up their homeland than ever before.

(2) Improving farmers' cultural and technical proficiency and management acumen.

Farmers' cultural and technical proficiency and business acumen can be improved in many ways. An important way is property rights reform of rural enterprises, which is meant to turn farmers into true owners and investors of such enterprises, give them the opportunity to attend enterprise meetings, and open up new avenues for them to improve their cultural endowment, skills, and business acumen. This is because without such a reform, farmers are just nominal owners of their enterprises, and have no opportunities to attend these enterprises' meetings and make their voice heard, to say nothing of improving themselves through the activities of these enterprises. Under these circumstances, farmers' relationship with their rural enterprise is reduced to the point where they are mere workers or people who have spent some money on them – no enterprise would regard them as its masters. That situation can change dramatically through property rights reform, which serves to clarify farmers' status as owners and investors as well as their share of property rights to rural enterprises. As owners and investors, they can take part in the decision-making process or send representatives to meetings. In this way they gain a gradual understanding of their enterprise's business and financial situation, and get to know the causes for their successes or failures behind the rise and fall of the value of their assets. If a farmer happens to be working in the enterprise he owns or invests in, he is entitled to participate, directly or indirectly, in the making of production and business decisions. If several rural enterprises are presented to him as investment options, he may compare them, and upgrade his technological and economic know-how through such comparisons. The market economy is often said to be a great school in which people can learn a lot of things that cannot be learned from books. However, farmers can learn a lot more from the market economy as rural business

owners and investors than if they are mere workers. The more they come to know the market economy, the more smoothly the market economy can grow. To help farmers understand the market economy deeply, it is necessary for them to participate not just as consumers, workers, or bank-savings depositors but as investors and managers as well.

(3) Bolstering up rural governments at the grass roots level.

The building of governments at the township level involves a number of issues, such as promotion of democracy in rural government elections, the building of Party organizations at the grass roots level, and the character building of rural government officials. It also involves readjusting the relationship between grass roots governments and rural enterprises. Rural government reform is intimately related to the property rights reform of rural enterprises, and the key to the success of both reforms lies in unfettering businesses from government intervention and turning rural enterprises into independent commodity producers with well-defined property rights and decision-making autonomy and bearing their own gains and losses. When rural enterprises cease to be government appendages, rural governments can no longer regard them as their own businesses, let alone turn them into their slush funds. This is something that can never be achieved without genuine property rights reform. As a matter of fact, there is no lack of local governments which, by capitalizing on rural enterprises' ill-defined property rights, put these enterprises under their control and turn them into their slush funds even if they are not making a profit. This inevitably saps the energy of these enterprises and dampens their farmer-owners' ardor for production and investment. As a hotbed for corruption among rural government officials, these illegal "off-book coffers" also spoil the image of grass roots political power, rob local governments of popular support, and destabilize local political and economic life. The dire consequences of the wanton behaviors of rural government officials in this regard have been borne out by a series of legal cases that have been cracked in recent years. As de facto bosses of some rural enterprises with political and economic power in their control, these people have wantonly violated the norms of the market economy by willfully withdrawing money, extorting reimbursement for personal expenses, and practicing nepotism in enrolling workers. Shouldn't these behaviors be sternly sanctioned in the course of reforming the property rights of rural enterprises? Obviously, it is not just a paramount economic issue, but also a political issue

with a close bearing on whether rural political power can be consolidated and whether rural social stability can be maintained. We have got to follow the principle of defining property rights and separating administration from management when we readjust the relationship of rural enterprises with grass roots governments and turn them into independent commodity producers that enjoy well defined property rights and decision making autonomy, and bear their own gains and losses. On no account should this task be taken lightly.

(4) Raising farmer income and striving for common prosperity in rural areas.

Improved rural livelihood is a fruit of increased farmer income. The issue here is how farmers can increase their income quickly. Simply put, there are two ways to achieve this. First, developing farm production (animal husbandry, fishery, forestry, sideline occupations included), and boosting labor productivity by a large margin. Second, striving for fast growth in rural enterprises in the primary, secondary, and tertiary industries and for major growth in labor productivity, so that farmers can make more money immediately as laborers and investors. In addition, rural enterprises may also use part of their profits to support agriculture, improve rural cultural and living facilities and ameliorate farmers' livelihood. Some farmers have left their home villages for somewhere else, but many of them end up working in rural enterprises away from home. It is thus clear that the property rights reform of rural enterprises and the effort to revive rural enterprises for further development are conducive to increasing farmer income and improving rural material and cultural lives. What is to be done to help the rural poor to beat poverty? What is the relationship between the development of rural enterprises and the drive to help the rural poor? First of all, helping the rural poor is a social issue that can be addressed only by the concerted efforts of the entire society. This calls for special policies addressed to impoverished areas and households, aid from urban businesses and institutions for economic, technological, and educational and medicare development of underdeveloped areas, as well as help from families that have become affluent earlier than others to poor families. Another method that works is to enlist help from rural enterprises for poverty-stricken areas and underprivileged households. For instance, enrolling workers from poor areas and investing in these areas for developmental purposes helps tap local resources and boost local income. Rural enterprises in relatively more

developed regions may pair up with counterparts in less developed regions. In all, the enthusiastic participation of rural enterprises can vastly accelerate increases in the income level of households and regions in financial difficulties. Such actions are an embodiment of the fruits of property rights reform.

IV

Now look at the target models for rural enterprise property rights reform. That the contract responsibility system cannot become a target model for enterprises under the market economy is a foregone conclusion among many accomplished economists, and therefore does not need further elaboration. Instead, what target model should be set for this field of property rights reform merits further study.

The cooperative system can be a target model for rural enterprise property rights reform, as it defines the economic nature and organizational form of enterprise properties. What this goal can achieve can be summarized in four points.

First, when adopted to establish or transform rural enterprises, the cooperative system helps separate government administration from business management, clarify property rights and enable enterprises to enjoy business autonomy and handle gains and losses on their own.

Second, when employed to establish or transform rural enterprises, the cooperative system helps combine farmer-investors and farmer-workers into one, thereby motivating farmers as both investors and workers.

Third, when used to establish or transform rural enterprises, the cooperative system can foster a congenial internal environment, thereby enhancing internal cohesion, and promoting labor productivity.

Fourth, when applied to establish or transform rural enterprises, the cooperative system enables them to tighten up their management system under a standard corporate constitution, restrain their leaders and protect the lawful rights of workers and investors, thereby paving the way for their smooth development.

With the aforementioned strengths, the cooperative system for rural

enterprises should not be overlooked as an organizational form for corporate properties. The notion that cooperative enterprises are outdated does not tally with reality. It need be stressed that the rural enterprises established or transformed according to a standard principle are different from their counterparts that existed under central planning or still exist nowadays. Ill-defined property rights make it hard for those rural enterprises that are known as collectives in name only to identify who their investors are. Some of these firms are established with money raised by individuals, but they do not treat their investors as owners, and the investors themselves do not regard themselves as owners, either. By contrast, the rural enterprises that have adopted the cooperative system take on a new look that distinguishes themselves categorically from firms under collective ownership. The cooperative system may also be a form of collective ownership, but it is a new form of collective ownership adapted to the socialist market economic system.

The cooperative system, nevertheless, is just one of the target models for rural enterprise property rights reform. Compared with joint-stock rural enterprises, cooperative rural enterprises have five limits.

First, the cooperative system works smoothly when rural enterprises are small, but it falls somewhat short when they grow larger. When it is adopted to set up or transform a small rural enterprise, its investors are also its workers, thereby creating a congenial corporate atmosphere in which the "one man, one vote" decision-making system – the slogan of the cooperative system – works perfectly. But if the enterprise is big and has a lot of people on its payroll, the same decision-making system is likely to dwindle into a mere formality if it is put in place, for it cannot work as effectively in coordinating the enterprise's internal relationships as it does in a small enterprise.

Second, from a financing and fund-raising point of view, a cooperative rural enterprise compares unfavorably with a joint-stock one. A joint-stock rural enterprise can raise funds from a wide spectrum of public avenues, whereas a cooperative rural enterprise may have trouble raising more money than its internal fund-raising mechanism allows, especially under its "one man, one vote" decision-making system. This limit of the cooperative rural enterprise becomes more pronounced when it grows in size or when it lets a

major profit-making opportunity slip through its fingers because of lack of money.

Third, when a rural enterprise sets about redefining its property rights, it is often harassed by the issue of converting its capital stock into stock shares. The same problem can be easily addressed under the joint-stock system. Yet under the cooperative system, it can be solved only by selling the capital stock evenly among members, something that is easy for a small enterprise but becomes unwieldy for a large one.

Fourth, an enterprise in the course of development sometimes needs to acquire another enterprise's stock, or take control of it through such acquisition. Sometimes it needs to sell its stock shares to other enterprises. It may also grow into an enterprise group through mergers. These normal economic behaviors can go smoothly if rural enterprises are regrouped or transformed under the joint-stock system, but may hit some snags under the cooperative system.

Fifth, the cooperative system differs from the joint-stock system in that the stock shares of such a rural firm can be withdrawn freely, which can be a destabilizing factor for its production and business scale, whereas in a joint-stock rural enterprise, shares can change hands only among colleagues, which helps maintain its production and business scale. Moreover, under the joint-stock system, stock shares are transferred at the current price instead of the original price, which puts investors at a relative advantage. Under the cooperative system, it is hard to price the withdrawn shares – if the original price is applied, the man withdrawing his stock will find himself at the losing end of the deal, but if a higher price is set on the basis of reevaluating the assets, it may trigger off an exodus of stockholders. If that happens, how can the enterprise go on with its production? However, if a cooperative rural enterprise bans such withdrawal altogether, doesn't this violate the cooperative principle? Herein are some operational snags for such an enterprise in dealing with voluntary withdrawal of stock shares. Cooperative rural enterprises are also confronted with the quandary of whether or not to admit new participants. If they do not accept new members while allowing those on the payroll to withdraw freely, won't they shrink in size constantly? At least their membership will keep diminishing. If new participants are welcome, what price should they pay for admittance? If the original price is

used, it will do a great favor to newcomers and attract more new arrivals, leaving old members to feel cheated. Thus the conflict between old and new members will go from bad to worse. If newcomers are asked to pay at a price based on a reevaluation of the assets, the going will be tough for the enterprise. For joint-stock rural enterprises, where stock can only be transferred internally, the problem becomes a lot simpler.

V

Despite all that has been said, the beauty of the cooperative system for rural enterprises can hardly be gainsaid. It works as effectively as the joint-stock system in helping rural enterprises meet their goals by reforming their business mechanisms, keeping government administration from interfering in business management, defining their property rights, making their own business decisions and bearing responsibility for their gains and losses. The problem, however, is that the cooperative system works perfectly in small rural enterprises, but not as effectively as the joint-stock system in large rural enterprises, particularly where large and medium-sized enterprises are established or transformed. In other words, the cooperative system is appropriate for the property rights reform of small rural enterprises, while the joint-stock system should be pursued where the property rights of large and medium-sized enterprises are reformed.

This brings forth another topic for our discussion: the joint-stock cooperative system. What is the "joint-stock cooperative system" all about? Most of the rural enterprises that claim to be under this system are small companies under joint partnership. The others are irregular joint-stock enterprises. Rural enterprises that follow the textbook perfect cooperative system or joint-stock system are few and far between. For this reason, not just those rural enterprises that have not reformed their property rights should carry out such reform – those already passing themselves off as "joint-stock cooperative" enterprises should also undertake this reform in earnest, so as to standardize their operational system. They may either be transformed into cooperatives or joint-stock firms, or, in the light of their property rights situations, become private firms under either single ownership or partnership.

The term "joint-stock cooperative system" is somewhat off the mark. The cooperative system and the joint-stock system entail different

organizational forms of corporate assets. An enterprise may or may not choose either system. It is impossible for a firm to adopt both at the same time, or combine them in one. Nevertheless, the "joint-stock cooperative system" catches the fancy of many a rural enterprise out of three probable considerations.

First, concern over being dubbed "capitalist," a term that may cause some raised eyebrows in socialist China. Out of the belief that the cooperative system is socialist and the joint-stock system capitalist, some enterprises choose to call themselves a "joint-stock cooperative enterprise" when regrouping or transforming themselves to measure up to the requirements of the joint-stock system. They do this to avoid unnecessary controversy and enhance their sense of security even though the name bears little meaning for a joint-stock company. Such concern is uncalled for today. The joint-stock system is, if anything, an organizational form of corporate assets. It is therefore contentious to call it either socialist or capitalist. The joint-stock system can stand on its own. There is no need to pass it off under the ill fitting title of "joint-stock cooperative system."

Second, the belief that the adjective "cooperative" can help attract government policy incentives. This again is unnecessary. Government policy incentives may be granted in two ways. Firstly, an enterprise that meets national or local policy requirements for industrial restructuring naturally qualifies for such incentives whether or not its name contains the word "cooperative." It is the industrial nature of the enterprise's investment and production that counts. Secondly, cooperative enterprises deserve certain policy incentives in compliance with relevant national and local legislation. An enterprise must be regrouped or transformed under the cooperative system to qualify for such incentives. It won't do to add "cooperative" to the name of an enterprise that is not really a cooperative one. If a "joint-stock cooperative" is truly cooperative, why don't they simply call themselves "cooperative"? It is useless to gild the lily.

Third, mistaking the "joint-stock cooperative" system for a corporate property organizational form with Chinese characteristics, which is different from both the cooperative system and the joint-stock system. It so happens that some enterprises have divided their stock into "collective shares" and "corporate shares." Believing that this division does not accord with the

standard joint-stock system, and that "collective shares" and "corporate shares" smack of the cooperative system, they have renamed themselves "joint-stock cooperative enterprises." It also happened that some people – on the ground that the cooperative system allows investors to withdraw their shares but the joint-stock system does not, and that in a cooperative enterprise under the "one man, one vote" decision-making system, votes are decided by the number of stock shares – have coined the term "joint-stock cooperative" system in the hope of incorporating the strengths of both systems, so that old investors can withdraw their shares while new investors, individuals and legal entities included, can be attracted. They assert this "joint-stock cooperative system" is distinctively Chinese. This way of thinking, however, is misleading. For their tremendous role in Chinese economic development, rural enterprises are "distinctively Chinese" enough. There is absolutely no need to concoct an ill-fitting joint-stock or cooperative system. Such irregular systems, if allowed to exist, can only hold back the growth of rural enterprises.

VI

Property rights reform is under way among rural enterprises. The rise of the "joint-stock cooperative" rural enterprises are a nascent phenomenon no matter how you look at them. They deserve help and guidance to meet established business norms. They should not be discriminated against, still less rebuked or disbanded. Their rise is spontaneous to a large extent. Rural government officials and local farmers have embraced them with great gusto. Some of these enterprises, though looking somewhat outlandish, are the brainchild of local people. If the rise and development of rural enterprises had played a positive role in the development of China in the 1980s, part of that contribution came from the "joint-stock cooperatives." If, with their presence and growth, rural enterprises are a powerful onslaught on central planning, the contributions of "joint-stock cooperative" rural enterprises cannot be denied. Practice proves that in comparison with the "orthodox" enterprises which are collective in name but centralized in deed, the "joint-stock cooperative" rural enterprises may well qualify as "heterodoxy." However, to unshackle the national economy from central planning, we would do better to have more of such "heterodoxy." Property rights reform should be carried out variously in light of specific circumstances, and different measures are called

for to institutionalize the property rights configuration of rural enterprises. Such reform should also be allowed to go at different speeds. The general trend is that the cooperative system will be the target model for property rights reform in small rural enterprises, and the joint-stock system for this reform in large and medium-sized rural enterprises. Having made this point previously, I will not labor it further.

Joint-stock rural enterprises need not be listed on the stock market. Under the joint-stock system, only a few companies eventually become listed. Someday, however, some rural enterprises may qualify for it, a likelihood that should never be excluded. Most joint-stock rural enterprises, however, may be converted into limited liability companies, which I believe is a property organizational form universally applicable for rural enterprises. A certain number of them may be transformed into limited liability companies with internal stock shares. It should be noted that the joint-stock system cannot be divided into "urban enterprise joint-stock system" and "rural enterprise joint-stock system," nor can it be split into "joint-stock system for regrouped state enterprises" or "joint-stock system for regrouped rural enterprises." The joint-stock system applies to all manner of shareholding companies.

Some enterprises, out of one consideration or another, choose to stay with the name "joint-stock cooperative enterprise." What is to be done about this? In this case, impetuosity gets us nowhere. The goal of property rights reform is to prevent the government from interfering in business management, to define property rights, and delegate enterprises with autonomy to make business decisions and handle their own gains and losses. A rural enterprise may still be known as a "joint-stock cooperative enterprise" provided it has reached the goals of property rights reform, adopted effective business operational mechanisms, and has already been organized and operated under a standard joint-stock or cooperative system. Someday, it may awaken to the need to change its name to "joint-stock enterprise" or "cooperative enterprise."

The "joint-stock cooperative system" is a transitional corporate property organization form. The "rural enterprise" is transitional, too, and many firms have stuck to this name since its debut for two reasons: first, to differentiate them from enterprises under the dominant central planning, such as state

enterprises and large urban collectives; and second, to take into consideration the fact that they are located in villages and towns, with their workforce coming mainly from among local villagers. What will become of these "rural enterprises" in the future? Will there be any more "urban enterprises" in contrast with "rural enterprises"? Can "rural enterprises" be established only in villages or towns, and can their workforce come only from local villages? If, in these early days, it is necessary to use the term "rural enterprise" to highlight their differences in business operational mechanisms from those under central planning and their identity as "above-norm" commodity producers, is there any need to differentiate "above-norm" commodity producers from "planned" commodity producers in a future market economic environment? As mentioned in the foregoing, enterprises are enterprises, joint-stock enterprises are joint-stock enterprises. There is absolutely no need to divide them into "urban" and "rural" enterprises, still less "urban" and "rural" joint-stock enterprises. "Rural enterprise," as a transitional name, will disappear at last, and so will "rural joint-stock enterprise."

This, however, will not happen anytime soon. Returning to reality, we should pursue joint-stock reform among rural enterprises and devise proper ways and means to establish and operate them. Moreover, to repeat once again, even though the notion of "joint-stock cooperative system" is inaccurate, and the establishment and operation of such enterprises can be very difficult, we may as well let such a title stay, considering the fact that it has been widely accepted by rural officials and farmers. The use of the name "joint-stock cooperative" system, or simply the "joint-stock system," represents a departure from the status quo. In property rights reform, instead of haggling over names endlessly, we should set our eyes on the essence of things. If an enterprise is traveling down the road of property rights reform, it will not reach its goal in just a single leap. A more realistic approach is to go step by step toward the final destination.

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[1] Large urban collective, a term dating back to the Big Leap Forward of 1958, referring to firms in which capital is owned collectively while workers are accorded the same wages and welfare benefits as state enterprise employees. (*Translator*)

收入分配的合理性与协调 (1994)

究竟什么是收入的公平分配？收入分配的合理是不是比收入分配的公平更为合适？这是收入分配理论中的一个重要问题。我的观点是：收入分配的公平是说不清楚的，而且容易导致平均主义分配方式的复归，因此“收入公平分配”的提法不如“收入合理分配”的提法。用“收入分配合理”一词作为“收入分配公平”的替代语也许更为恰当。

那么，究竟什么是收入的合理分配呢？让我们从收入分配合理性的两种含义谈起。

一、 收入分配合理性的两种含义

收入分配的合理性有两种含义：一是指收入本身是否合理；二是指人与人之间的收入差距是否合理。两种含义虽然有密切联系，但并不一样。比如说，甲、乙二人都作为生产要素供给者参加了市场活动，某甲得到n元，某乙得到m元。收入分配合理的第一种含义是指，某甲得到n元，某乙得到m元，这是否合理？他们应当得到比n元、m元更多的收入呢，还是只应得到少于n元、m元的收入？如果说他们得到的收入应当高于n元或m元，那么高多少是合理的？如果说应当低于n元或m元，那么低多少是合理的？这就是第一种意义上的收入合理问题。再说，假定某甲得到n元，某乙得到m元，那么n元与m元之间的差距究竟多大为合理，否则就是不合理？社会上不只是某甲、某乙两人，而是有众多的生产要素供给者、市场参与者，他们之间的收入是有差距的。可以在众多的生产要素供给者、市场参与者中，按照收入状况划分为若干组。这样就便于通过对组与组之间收入差距的研究，进而说明社会收入分配的合理与否。这是第二种意义上的收入合理问题。

第一种意义上的收入合理问题与第二种意义上的收入合理问题有联

系，也有区别。对第一种意义上的收入合理问题的研究，应成为研究第二种意义上的收入合理问题的基础。比如说，如果某甲得到n元收入具有合理性，某乙得到m元收入也具有合理性，那么某甲与某乙的收入差距（n与m的差距）可以被认为是合理的。但是，如果某甲得到的n元的收入是不合理的，那么不管某乙得到的m元的收入是否合理，都难以认为某甲与某乙的收入差距（n与m的差距）具有合理性。反之，如果某乙得到的m元收入是不合理的，那么不管某甲得到的n元收入是否合理，也都难以认为某甲与某乙的收入差距（n与m的差距）具有合理性。

也许有人会提出：以前，在计划经济体制下，尽管人们的收入水平都很低，但彼此之间的收入差距不大，所以这仍应当被看成是收入分配的协调，即使是低收入条件下的收入分配的协调。能不能这样看问题呢？只要我们懂得了收入分配合理性的两种含义，这个问题就不言自明了。要知道，在计划经济体制下，在平均主义分配方式占支配地位的条件下，人们的收入都低于他们作为生产要素供给者本应得到的收入。既然彼此的收入都不合理，那么他们之间的收入差距也就不具有合理性。收入分配不合理（包括第一种意义上的收入分配不合理和第二种意义上的收入分配不合理），那还怎么谈得上收入分配的协调呢？

二、 收入分配协调的含义

下面，让我们在弄清楚收入分配合理性两种含义的基础上，再就收入分配协调的含义进行阐释。

收入分配协调是以第一种意义上的收入合理分配和第二种意义上的收入合理分配为前提的。这就是如前面已指出的，没有第一种意义上的收入合理分配，第二种意义上的收入合理分配就无从谈起。而如果没有这两种意义上的收入合理分配，收入分配协调也就没有可能性。因此，我们不可能脱离收入分配的合理性来讨论收入分配的协调。

前面还指出，低收入水平上的收入分配协调，不可能是真正的收入分配协调，而是一种虚假的、真相被掩盖了的、所谓的“收入分配协调”。对这个问题的认识，必须同对平均主义分配方式的认识联系在一起。在平均主义分配方式之下，效率低，生产力水平低，收入水平也低。尽管彼此之间的收入差距不大，但不能认为这时已经接近了收入分配协调。收入分配协调，只有在按效益分配条件下，生产要素供给者各

自得到了合理的收入，而彼此之间的收入差距也是合理的时候，才能实现。在普遍低收入的条件下，无论怎样进行分配，也不可能做到收入分配的协调。

在人们谈到收入分配协调还是不协调的时候，通常既指个人收入分配的协调，又指地区收入分配的协调。后者是从另一个角度提出的收入分配协调的含义。我们应当看到，个人收入分配的协调问题尽管也会遇到一些困难，但相对于地区收入分配协调问题而言，仍然比较容易解决。这是因为，个人收入分配协调与否同个人收入分配是否合理直接有关。只要把个人收入分配是否合理问题弄清楚了（虽然这也有一定的难度，关于这一点，下面还要展开讨论），那么个人收入分配协调与否也就较易于作出判断。然而，地区收入分配协调与否的判断却要困难得多。理由是：

第一，个人收入分配的合理性是以个人作为生产要素供给者按生产要素供给的效益取得收入为标准的，但地区收入分配的合理性却很难按照同样的标准来处理。要知道，个人收入是指个人提供生产要素所得到的收入。因为只有这样，才能说明这种收入是否合理。但地区收入的含义却不明确。它可能是指地区的国民生产总值和国民收入。如果地区收入是指这些，那么就难以说明它们是否合理，从而地区收入的合理性就缺乏判断的依据。假定把地区收入理解为地区的各个生产要素供给者个人提供生产要素所得到的平均收入，那么这种平均收入同样缺乏判断其合理与否的依据。因为平均收入掩盖了各个不同的生产要素供给者的效益的差别，从而掩盖了各个不同的生产要素供给者的收入的合理性。既然地区收入的合理性缺乏依据，那么上述第一种意义上的收入分配合理与否就判断不了，于是对于地区收入分配的协调与否也是无法判断的。

第二，上述第二种意义上的收入合理分配（即收入分配差距的合理），是以第一种意义上的收入合理分配为前提的。对于个人收入分配合理与否的判断是如此，对于地区收入分配合理与否的判断也应如此。然而，正如前面所指出的，上述第一种意义上的收入合理分配对于地区收入分配是不适用的。既然如此，地区之间收入分配是否合理也就无法判断。人们至多只能说沿海地区的收入与内陆地区的收入差距过大，应当缩小这种收入差距；但却不能判断究竟两个地区之间多大的收入差距才是合理的差距，因为缺乏判断的依据。

由此看来，虽然地区收入分配的合理性和收入分配差距的合理性问题都可以从理论上进行深入的探讨，但在考察收入分配协调问题时，还是以考察个人收入分配协调为宜。至于地区收入分配协调的判断问题，

则不妨作为进一步探讨的理论课题，留待今后去研究、解决。当然，这也并不妨碍我们笼统地使用“促进地区收入分配协调”这样的概念，这主要是指要避免地区收入差距过大而言。

再说，在考察效率与公平的顺序排列时，把个人作为生产要素供给者来对待，要比把地区作为生产要素供给区域来对待，更为清晰。因为效率是指资源的有效使用与有效配置；效率的变化，主要与生产要素供给者所提供的生产要素的效率变化有关。而公平，是指机会均等条件下收入分配的协调。这也只适用于对个人之间收入分配及其差距的考察，而不适用于对地区之间收入分配及其差距的考察，因为地区收入合理与否，以及地区之间收入差距合理与否的判断标准无法确定。

三、经济意义上与社会意义上收入分配差距合理性的区别

尽管我们不得不把收入分配合理性问题和收入分配协调问题的讨论集中到个人收入分配方面来，但是我们必须承认，在这方面还有一个难题有待于分析。这就是前面已经指出的，究竟什么是个人收入分配的合理差距，以及经济意义上的收入分配差距的合理性与社会意义上的收入分配差距的合理性为什么不完全一致。

从经济上说，假定生产要素供给者都是在同一条起跑线上参与市场经济活动的，竞争的结果使他们的收入有一定的差距，这种收入分配差距是机会均等条件下按效益分配原则起作用的产物。因此，经济意义上的收入分配差距的合理性存在的条件有二：一是生产要素供给者的机会均等，他们之间参与市场经济活动的出发点是相同的；二是生产要素供给者按效益分配原则取得各自的收入。不言而喻，经济意义上收入分配的不合理差距，或者来自生产要素供给者之间机会的不均等，即他们在参与市场经济活动时并非站在同一条起跑线上；或者来自生产要素供给者并非都按效益分配原则取得收入；或者两种情况兼而有之。单纯从经济上进行分析，只要收入分配差距来自上述两个原因（或其中任何一个原因），那么不管收入分配差距是大还是小，都是收入分配的不合理差距，都是收入分配不协调的表现。于是都要政府进行第二次分配来予以协调。换言之，从经济上说，只要收入分配是机会均等条件下生产要素供给者参与市场经济活动的结果，并且各个生产要素供给者都按照效益分配原则取得了收入，那么不管收入分配差距是大还是小，都属于收入

的合理分配，也就是收入分配协调的表现。

社会意义上的收入分配差距合理或不合理的界定，比经济意义上的收入分配差距合理或不合理的界定困难得多。为什么这么说？可以从以下两方面来说明：

一方面，在判断经济意义上的收入分配差距合理与否时，是严格地按照是否在机会均等条件下参与市场经济活动和生产要素供给者是否根据按效益分配原则取得了各自的收入来得出结论。而在判断社会意义上的收入分配差距合理与否时，却找不到像判断经济意义上收入分配差距合理与否那样严格的标准。如果采取同判断经济意义上的收入分配差距合理与否的相同的标准，岂不是等于说社会意义上收入分配差距合理与否就是经济意义上收入分配差距合理与否？那样一来，又有什么必要把社会意义上收入分配差距的合理性问题单列出来呢？看来，社会意义上的收入分配差距合理与否的判断标准不能仅限于机会均等条件下的对市场经济活动的参与和生产要素供给者按效益取得收入这样两项，而必须另外寻找。但这个问题却不易解决。

另一方面，经济意义上收入分配的差距，只要是合理的差距，那么不管差距多大，在经济上所反映出来的结果将是效率的增长、生产力的发展、人均收入水平的提高。于是可以认为，经济意义上收入分配合理差距的存在将带来积极的后果。这一积极的后果在近期内就可以被观察到。然而，社会意义上收入分配的差距，如果差距偏大，却会导致社会的不安定，不管这种差距在经济意义上是否合理。加之，由于社会意义上收入分配差距偏大而引起的社会不安定，不一定是近期内就可以被观察到的，这往往需要经过一段时间。问题越积越多，矛盾越来越尖锐时，才会爆发出来。这就表明：要从所产生的后果方面来判断社会意义上收入分配差距的合理性，同样不是一件容易的事情。

既然经济意义上与社会意义上收入分配差距的合理性有上述区别，而社会意义上的收入分配合理性的界定要远远难于经济意义上的收入分配合理性的界定。那么我们不禁要问：是否有必要在界定经济意义上的收入分配差距的合理性之外，再去界定社会意义上的收入分配差距的合理性呢？应当说，这种必要性是存在的。经济意义上收入分配差距合理了，如果从社会意义上说收入分配差距也合理，那当然是最理想不过的。但在实际生活中，却很可能发生这样的情况：一种收入分配差距，从经济意义上说是合理的，而从社会意义上说，却不合理；或者，从经济意义上说是不合理的，而从社会意义上说，既可能也是不合理的，也可能反而是合理的。因此，即使对社会意义上收入分配差距的合理还是

不合理的界定远为困难，但在这里作一些探讨仍是需要的。探讨，有助于使我们距离这个难题的解决更近一些。

四、 社会意义上收入分配差距合理与否的判断

前面已经提到，生产要素供给者参与市场经济活动的机会均等还是不均等，是判断经济意义上与社会意义上收入分配差距合理性的共同标准之一。生产要素供给者是不是按各自的效益取得收入，是判断经济意义上与社会意义上收入分配差距合理性的另一个共同标准。要判断经济意义上的收入分配差距合理与否，有这两个标准就够了。然而，要判断社会意义上的收入分配差距合理与否，单靠这两个标准还不够（尽管它们仍是不可缺少的），而有必要另外寻找。这个问题虽然难度很大，但还不至于完全没有办法。

社会意义上的收入分配差距的不合理，表现为收入分配差距的存在使得社会上产生了不安定，而社会的不安定又会导致经济发展受阻碍，导致效率的增长缓慢、停滞或下降，导致人均收入水平的降低或难以提高。社会意义上的收入分配差距的合理，则表现为：即使收入分配存在着某种差距，但社会上并未因此而产生不安定。于是经济可以持续向前发展，效率可以依然增长，而人均收入水平也可以照常逐步提高。这样，我们就可以把收入分配差距的存在是否引起社会的不安定看成是社会意义上收入分配差距合理与否的判断标准。初步看来，这个论点是可以站得住的。

但如果再仔细推敲一下，至少有三个问题有待于明确。这三个问题是：

第一，社会安定还是不安定的标志又是什么？经济意义上收入分配差距合理性所导致的经济发展、效率增长、人均收入水平提高，可以用统计指标来表示，可以计算，可以比较。社会意义上的收入分配差距合理性所导致的社会安定，或收入分配差距的不合理所导致的社会不安定，究竟用哪些指标来表示？如何计算？如何比较？

第二，正如前面已经指出的，社会意义上的收入分配差距合理还是不合理的后果表现为社会安定或社会不安定，这并不是短时期内所能观察到的。社会不安定有一个累积过程，有一个潜伏期。通常要等到问题尖锐的时候，才被人们观察到，但时间间隔是比较长的。这样就增加了

判断社会意义上收入分配差距合理与否的难度。主要的困难在于：如何衡量潜伏的社会不安定程度？如何才能避免把潜伏的社会不安定当成是社会安定，从而得出社会意义上收入分配差距合理的正确论断？

第三，社会不安定的原因是很多的，社会意义上的收入分配差距不合理只是原因之一。因此，究竟怎样才能判断社会意义上收入分配差距的不合理在社会不安定形成中的作用的大小？社会不安定究竟能在多大程度上归因于社会意义上收入分配差距的不合理？特别是，在社会意义上收入分配差距合理的情况下，难道不会因其他原因而引起社会不安定吗？这些情况同样增加了判断社会意义上收入分配差距合理与否的难度。主要的困难在于：如何衡量社会意义上收入分配的合理差距在促进社会安定方面的作用，并把这种作用同促进社会安定的其他因素的作用区分开来？如何衡量社会意义上收入分配的不合理差距在导致社会不安定方面的作用，并把这种作用同导致社会不安定的其他因素的作用区分开来？

我们列举出以上三个问题，并不意味着由于这些困难的存在而不必再在这个领域内进行探讨了。而是说，正因为考虑到这些困难的存在，所以在这个领域内进行研究时不应当也不可能偏重于数量化的分析，而以比较粗线条式的研究为宜。具体地说，我们不妨以社会成员对自己的收入以及与他人的相比较的收入的满意度作为指标。社会成员对自己的收入的满意度和社会成员对于自己与他人相比较的收入的满意度是不同的，应当分别考察。

社会成员对自己的收入的满意度可以简称为个人绝对收入满意度。个人绝对收入满意度是指个人作为生产要素供给者对于自己提供生产要素所得到的收入同期望值的对应程度。如果个人作为生产要素供给者在提供一定量的生产要素的情况下所得到的收入同期望值达到了对应，个人就对自己的绝对收入感到满意。如果个人在这种情况下所得到的收入大于期望值，尽管二者并不对应，但由于收入是大于期望值的，所以仍应认为个人对自己的绝对收入感到满意。如果个人在这种情况下所得到的收入少于期望值，表明二者不对应，个人对自己的绝对收入就感到不满意。个人在这种情况下所得到的收入越是少于期望值，个人对自己的绝对收入的不满意程度就越大，或个人绝对收入满意度就越小。

社会成员对自己与对他人相比较的收入的满意度可以简称为个人相对收入满意度。个人相对收入满意度是指个人作为生产要素供给者对于自己提供生产要素所得到的收入在同他人因提供生产要素而得到的收入的实际比率同期望比率的对应程度。如果这种实际的比率同期望的比率

达到了对应，个人就对自己的相对收入感到满意。如果这种实际的比率大于期望的比率，尽管二者并不对应，但由于实际比率是大于期望比率的，所以仍应认为个人对自己的相对收入感到满意。如果这种实际的比率小于期望的比率，表明二者不对应，个人对自己的相对收入就感到不满意。实际比率越是小于期望比率，个人对自己的相对收入的不满意程度就越大，或个人相对收入满意度就越小。

社会是由众多成员所组成的。各个社会成员的个人绝对收入满意度不会一样，个人相对收入满意度也不会一样。在任何一种分配方式之下，社会成员的个人绝对收入满意度和个人相对收入满意度之间的差异总是存在的。但某一个社会成员的个人绝对收入满意度低或个人相对收入满意度低并不会造成社会的不安定，而只有在多数社会成员的个人绝对收入满意度低或个人相对收入满意度低的情况下，社会才会出现不安定。于是从理论上说，可以得到一定时点上的社会平均绝对收入满意度和社会平均相对收入满意度。当社会平均绝对收入满意度低到某一数值（临界值）以下时，社会将出现不安定。社会平均绝对收入满意度越是低于某一数值（临界值），社会的不安定程度就越大。当社会平均相对收入满意度低于某一数值（临界值）以下时，社会将出现不安定。社会平均相对收入满意度越是低于某一数值（临界值），社会的不安定程度就越大。

要知道，个人绝对收入满意度与个人相对收入满意度是有区别的。个人绝对收入满意度是个人相对收入满意度的基础。作为生产要素供给者的个人，如果个人绝对收入满意度较好，那么即使个人相对收入满意度较差，对社会不安定的影响也不会十分突出。如果个人绝对收入满意度较差，那么即使个人相对收入满意度较好，对社会不安定的影响也会较大。可以把个人收入满意度对社会不安定的影响的轻重程度按下列顺序排列：

1．个人绝对收入满意度较好，个人相对收入满意度较好。

……对社会不安定的影响最小

2．个人绝对收入满意度较好，个人相对收入满意度较差。

……对社会不安定的影响较小

3．个人绝对收入满意度较差，个人相对收入满意度较好。

……对社会不安定的影响较大

4．个人绝对收入满意度较差，个人相对收入满意度较差。

……对社会不安定的影响最大

正如前面已经指出的，社会成员的个人绝对收入满意度和个人相对收入满意度都应当以社会平均绝对收入满意度和社会平均相对收入满意度来表示。因此，以上关于个人收入满意度对社会不安定的影响的轻重顺序排列也应以社会平均绝对收入满意度和社会平均相对收入满意度来表示。

考虑到在影响社会安定方面个人绝对收入满意度所起的作用要大于个人相对收入满意度所起的作用，所以在把社会平均绝对收入满意度与社会平均相对收入满意度综合为一个社会平均收入满意度时，社会平均绝对收入满意度所占的比重应当大一些，社会平均相对收入满意度所占的比重应当小一些。这样就可以形成社会平均综合收入满意度，并确定社会平均综合收入满意度的临界值。社会平均综合收入满意度及其临界值，可以作为判断社会意义上收入分配差距合理与否的依据。

现在，让我们把上面所讨论的作一概述。

A：个人得到的收入；

B：个人对收入的期望值；

C：根据A与B而得出个人所得到的收入同期望值的对应程度，又称为个人绝对收入满意度；

D：个人得到的收入同他人得到的收入的实际比率；

E：个人对自己得到的收入同他人得到的收入的期望比率；

F：根据D与E而得出个人收入同他人收入的实际比率同期望比率的对应程度，又称个人相对收入满意度；

G：根据C而得出社会平均绝对收入满意度；

H：社会平均绝对收入满意度的临界值；

I：根据F而得出社会平均相对收入满意度；

J：社会平均相对收入满意度的临界值；

K：根据个人绝对收入满意度和个人相对收入满意度各自在影响社

会安定方面所起作用的大小，确定二者在影响社会安定方面各自所占的比重；

L：根据G、I、K而得出社会平均综合收入满意度；

M：社会平均综合收入满意度的临界值；

N：根据L与M来判断社会意义上收入分配差距的合理与否以及不合理程度。

五、对收入分配差距与社会不安定相互关系的进一步分析

前面在谈到以社会不安定作为判断社会意义上收入分配差距合理与否的依据时曾指出：社会不安定有一个累积过程，有一个潜伏期，通常要等到问题尖锐时才被人们观察到。造成社会不安定的原因较多，收入分配差距只是其中一个原因。既然如此，那么我们在考察这方面的问题时就有必要从社会平均综合收入满意度及其临界值的分析上再前进一步，对收入分配差距与社会不安定的相互关系作较为深入的研究。

先讨论社会不安定的累积问题。俗话说，冰冻三尺，非一日之寒。从社会不安定到社会的剧烈动荡的确有一个较长的累积过程。如果说人们对绝对收入的满意度的下降和对相对收入的满意度的下降都是逐步进行的话，那么一旦突破了临界值，问题很可能一下子尖锐起来。也许可以用这样的词句来形容，这就是，形势急转直下，一发不可收拾。在研究中，怎样对待这种情况呢？一个可能的解决方式是，把社会平均综合收入满意度的临界值分解为社会平均综合收入满意度临界值I和社会平均综合收入满意度临界值II。

社会平均综合收入满意度临界值I是指：当社会平均综合收入满意度低到这一数值（临界值I）以下时，社会将出现不安定。但这时，社会的不安定仍然是较轻的，或者带有局部性质。

社会平均综合收入满意度临界值II是指：社会平均综合收入满意度继续下降，当它低到这一数值（临界值II）以下时，社会状况将急剧恶化。社会将出现严重的不安定，或称为剧烈的动荡，而且往往带有全面动荡的性质。

于是，社会平均综合收入满意度临界值I与社会平均综合收入满意度的临界值II之间的区域，是政府需要密切注意的范围。临界值I是路标。当社会平均综合收入满意度逐步下降而接近临界值I时，政府应当由此得到警告，设法缓和社会收入分配差距所产生的社会不满等问题，以免引起社会不安定。而临界值II则是另一个路标。如果社会平均综合收入满意度在降到临界值I之下时仍继续下降，那么尤其要引起政府的警惕。因为问题已经越积越多，矛盾已经越来越尖锐。一旦社会平均综合收入满意度再下降到临界值II以下时，社会的剧烈动荡将难以避免。社会平均综合收入满意度临界值分解为临界值I和临界值II，看来有助于进一步说明收入分配差距与社会不安定之间的相互关系。

至于收入分配差距在造成社会不安定方面的作用，以及收入分配差距作为社会不安定的原因之一同造成社会不安定的其他原因的关系，倒是一个真正的难题。的确，把社会不安定单纯归因于收入分配差距，是过于简单的。造成社会不安定的原因很多，而且这些原因也是相互影响的，所以很不容易把收入分配差距在造成社会不安定方面的作用大小从数量上加以确定。特别困难的是，收入分配差距在造成社会不安定方面的作用，同收入分配差距之间的关系是复杂的。比如说，如果收入分配差距较小，即使社会平均综合收入满意度并不高（指社会上多数成员不满意低收入条件下“吃大锅饭”的现状），但很可能只影响经济效率的增长，而不至于影响社会的安定。如果收入分配差距较大，但社会平均综合收入满意度并不很差（指社会上多数成员认为这种收入分配差距仍然是可以接受的），那么这不会对社会的安定有较大的不利影响。如果收入分配差距较大，而社会平均综合收入满意度又比较差，这就会对社会的安定产生较大的不利影响；并且，如果收入分配差距大到一定程度，社会平均综合收入满意度也下降到一定限界之下，那么这对社会安定所产生的不利影响就会大得多，甚至可以认为这时的社会不安定、社会动荡主要是由此引起的。

了解到收入分配差距同社会安定或社会不安定之间的复杂关系，我们就可以对这个问题采取如下的处理方式：

把收入分配差距和社会平均综合收入满意度作为两项指标。收入分配差距可以用基尼系数（Gini Coefficient）代替。基尼系数越小，越接近于收入的均等化；基尼系数越大，收入分配差距越大，即距离收入均等化越远。这样，收入分配差距同社会平均综合收入满意度之间的关系，可以用基尼系数同社会平均综合收入满意度的关系来代替。

由于基尼系数小的时候，不管社会平均综合收入满意度是高还是

低，社会安定都不会受到收入分配差距的较大影响，所以这种情况可以略去不讨论。

由于社会平均综合收入满意度较高时，不管基尼系数是大还是小，收入分配差距都不至于对社会安定产生较大的不利影响，所以这种情况也可以暂不讨论。

于是讨论的范围就可以限定为基尼系数大而社会平均综合收入满意度又低时的情况。可以把较大的基尼系数分为若干级。比如说，基尼系数多少为1级，基尼系数多少为2级、3级。1级高于2级，2级高于3级。基尼系数越大，级别越高。把较低的社会平均综合收入满意度也分为若干级。比如说，社会平均综合收入满意度多少为1级，社会平均综合收入满意度多少为2级、3级。同样地，1级高于2级，2级高于3级。社会平均综合收入满意度越低，级别越高。这样，可以把各级基尼系数同各级社会平均综合收入满意度组合在一起，根据不同的情况来判断收入分配差距同社会不安定之间的关系。一般说来，当基尼系数为1级，社会平均综合收入满意度为1级时，收入分配差距对社会安定产生的不利影响为最大。这时可以把收入分配差距看成是造成社会不安定、社会动荡的主要原因，造成社会不安定、社会动荡的其他原因相形之下退居于不重要的位置。而当基尼系数为3级，社会平均综合收入满意度为3级时，收入分配差距固然对社会安定产生了不利的影响，但这时的社会不安定也可能主要由其他因素所引起，至少由其他因素与收入分配差距共同引起。对于这种情况，目前是难以从数量上进行分析的。我们只可能通过对具体情况的具体研究来粗线条地加以说明。

小结

1．“收入分配公平”的提法是不清楚的，它容易导致平均主义分配方式的复归，所以不如改用“收入分配合理”这种提法。收入分配合理差距实际上是个人收入分配的合理差距。在这里，需要区分经济意义上的收入分配差距的合理性和社会意义上的收入分配差距的合理性。经济意义上收入分配的合理差距不一定等于社会意义上收入分配的合理差距。从社会安定的角度来看，在政府的收入调节中，不能不把社会意义上收入分配的合理差距问题考虑在内。

2．要判断社会意义上的收入分配差距合理还是不合理，以及不合理程度究竟有多大，可以用社会平均综合收入满意度及其临界值来加以

衡量。为了使政府在这方面能够发挥更好的收入调节作用，可以把社会平均综合收入满意度临界值分解为临界值I和临界值II，并把它们作为两个路标，根据情况采取调节措施。

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Rationality and proportionality in income distribution (1994)

What does an equitable income distribution entail? Is rationality a better benchmark than equity for income distribution? These are major questions pertinent to the theory of income distribution. My answer is that the term "equitable income distribution" is vague and smacks of a rehash of the old idea of egalitarianism, so the word "equitable" does not make as much sense as the word "rational" in this regard. This being the case, it is probably appropriate to replace "equitable income distribution" with "rational income distribution."

What kind of income distribution can be considered as being rational? Let us start this topic from the double meanings of rational income distribution.

I. Double meanings of rational income distribution

The term "rational income distribution" means two things: the rationality of income *per se*, and the rationality of income disparity among people. These two meanings, though closely related, are different. For instance, both Mr. A and Mr. B have taken part in market activity as production-factor suppliers with A earning *n* yuan and B making *m* yuan in return. The first meaning of rational income distribution poses the following questions: Is the distribution rational for A to make *n* yuan and for B to make *m* yuan? Should they be paid higher than *n* yuan and *m* yuan, or lower? If they should be paid higher than *n* yuan and *m* yuan respectively, how higher should it be for their income to be called rational? If they should be paid lower, how lower for it to be called rational? Such questions pertain to the first meaning of the term "income distribution rationality." The second meaning of the term poses the following questions: Supposing A earns *n* yuan and B earns *m* yuan, how little should the disparity between *n* and *m* be for it to be called rational? How

wide should the disparity between *n* and *m* be for it to be called irrational? Mr. A and Mr. B are of course not the only productionfactor suppliers and market participants, and there are income gaps among them. We may divide all production-factor suppliers and market participants into groups according to their incomes, to make it convenient to study the meanings of income distribution rationality by looking into the income disparities among these groups in the light of the second meaning of rational income distribution, or "income distribution rationality."

There are both differences and correlations between the two meanings of income distribution rationality. Studies of the first meaning should serve as the basis for studies of the second meaning. If Mr. A's earning of *n* yuan is rational and Mr. B's earning of *m* yuan is also rational, then the income gap between A and B, or the income disparity between *n* and *m* may also be deemed as rational. However, if A's earning of *n* yuan is irrational, it is hard to believe that the income gap between them, or the income disparity between *n* and *m* is rational no matter how rational B's earning of *m* yuan may be; and vice versa.

People may argue that income distribution in China's recent past under central planning could still be regarded as being well coordinated because despite the meagerness of people's income, the income disparity among them was not so glaring. Does that argument hold water? The question can only be answered after we have understood the double meanings of income distribution rationality. We have to acknowledge that in those years under central planning, when income distribution was dominated by egalitarianism, everyone was underpaid as production-factor suppliers. Given that the earnings of all people were irrational, their income disparity was irrational as well. When income distribution is irrational in either meaning of income rationality, well coordinated income distribution is out of the question in principle.

II. What is meant by income distribution proportionality

Having clarified the double meanings of the rationality of income distribution in the previous section, let me explain what income distribution proportionality means.

Income distribution proportionality is based on both the first and second meanings of income distribution rationality. As was pointed out in the previous section, without the first meaning of income distribution rationality, there can be no income distribution rationality in its second meaning. Well proportioned income distribution is impossible without matching income distribution rationality's double meanings. This being the case, we cannot talk about income distribution proportionality in the absence of income distribution rationality.

It was also mentioned in the previous section that if income distribution is well-proportioned at a low income level for every market participant, it is proportionality in a false, disguised form. This point can be understood only from the perspective of egalitarian income distribution. Egalitarianism is associated with low efficiency, low productivity, and low income level. A seemingly moderate income disparity under egalitarianism should never be interpreted as evidence of near-perfect income distribution proportionality. Well-coordinated income distribution can only be realized when income is distributed according to people's production efficiency so that every production-factor supplier can receive a rational income. Only then can we say that income disparity among people is rational as well. When everybody's income is low regardless of productivity level, income distribution proportionality is an improbable proposition no matter how income is distributed.

Talking about whether income distribution is well-coordinated or not, people usually refer to the proportionality not only of income distribution among individuals, but also of income distribution among regions. Regional income distribution is another topic of income distribution. We should see that although the effort to guarantee proportionality in income distribution among individuals may run up against some difficulties, it can still be handled with relative ease in comparison with the effort to achieve balanced regional income distribution. This is because whether income distribution among individuals is balanced or not is directly related to whether income distribution is rational or not. The evaluation of the rationality of income distribution among individuals can be relatively easy once the degree of income distribution rationality is measured (even though such measurement is somewhat difficult, a point that I will elaborate on later). By comparison, it is far more difficult to determine whether regional income distribution is

well-coordinated or not for the following two reasons.

First, although individual income distribution rationality can be benchmarked by the amount of income individuals earn according to their production efficiency, such a benchmark does not apply to the rationality of regional income distribution. Individual income rationality means individuals earn on the basis of their productivity as production-factor suppliers. However, regional income distribution rationality is not well defined. Regional income may refer to a region's GNP and national income. If that is what regional income is all about, then it is hard to judge the rationality of regional GNP or regional income. If regional income equals the average income that individuals make as production-factor suppliers, it is still hard to decide whether it is rational or not, because the average income conceals the differences in efficiency between production-factor suppliers. Given the difficulties in evaluating regional income rationality in its first meaning, it is likewise impossible to judge whether regional income distribution is well coordinated or not.

Second, rationality of income distribution in its second meaning (i.e., rationality of income disparity) is based on income distribution rationality in its first meaning. This should be the case with both individual and regional income distribution rationality. Since income distribution rationality in its first meaning does not apply to regional income distribution as described previously, there is no way to judge the rationality of regional income distribution. The most we can say is that the income disparity between coastal and inland regions is so glaring that something has to be done to reduce it. However, we cannot decide, due to the lack of empirical evidence, how little the disparity should be to put income distribution between the two regions on a rational footing.

Thus it can be said that even though the rationality of regional income distribution and of income disparity calls for in-depth theoretical study, it is better to focus on individual income distribution proportionality. We may as well leave regional income distribution proportionality for the future as a theoretical research topic. Of course, this does not mean we cannot use in general the term "promoting proportionality in regional income distribution," which is meant mainly to keep regional income disparity from growing out of control.

Efficiency or equality, which should come first? The answer will become clearer by treating individuals, rather than regions, as production-factor suppliers. This is because changes in efficiency – which is about effective use and allocation of resources – are relevant to the changes in the effectiveness of the production factors provided by suppliers. Equality – which refers to well-coordinated income distribution in the principle of equal opportunities – applies to individual income distribution and the income disparity arising from it, but not to regional income distribution and the income disparity resulting from that, because, as to income distribution rationality of a certain region or income disparity rationality among regions, there are no well defined criteria from which to make such a judgment.

III. Differences in economic and social senses of income disparity rationality

Although we cannot but set individual income distribution as the focus for our study of income distribution rationality and proportionality, we must still answer the questions: What is on earth rational disparity in individual income distribution? And why does the economic sense of income disparity rationality not tally completely with its social sense?

From an economic perspective, let us imagine that production-factor suppliers are given the same opportunity to participate in market activity but end up with nonequal income. This inequality in income distribution is an outcome of distribution on the basis of production efficiency in compliance with the principle of equal opportunities. Therefore income disparity rationality in an economic sense can exist under two conditions: First, all production-factor suppliers are given equal opportunities so that they can join market activity from the same starting point; and second, these suppliers earn their income according to their production efficiency. Needless to say, irrational income disparity in an economic sense stems either from unequal opportunities (meaning they are not at the same starting point) or from failing to follow the principle of distribution according to efficiency, or from both. In a purely economic sense, income disparity stemming from either or both of the two factors is irrational, and is a manifestation of poorly coordinated income distribution, whether such a disparity is glaring or not. Such irrational income distribution should be remedied through redistribution by

government. In other words, in an economic sense, as long as income distribution is the result of all production-factor suppliers having equal opportunities in market activity, with each supplier getting his pay in the principle of distributing according to efficiency, the income disparity, big or small, should be regarded as a sign of rational income distribution, or proportionate income distribution.

To define whether income disparity is rational or irrational in a social sense is more difficult than in an economic sense. Why? This can be answered in two ways.

On the one hand, to judge whether income disparity is economically rational or not, the conclusion should be strictly based on whether market activity opportunities are equal and whether income is distributed among production-factor suppliers according to their production efficiency. Yet in judging the rationality of income disparity in a social sense, it is impossible to find a criterion as strict as that for income disparity rationality in an economic sense. If the criteria used to measure the rationality of income disparity in an economic sense are the same as those for the rationality of income disparity in a social sense, then income disparity rationality would be the same in both senses. If so, isn't it unnecessary to separate the economic sense of income disparity rationality from its social sense? It seems the criterion for judging income disparity rationality in a social sense should not be limited to whether participants have equal opportunities in market activity and whether the principle of distribution according to efficiency is followed when income is distributed among production-factor suppliers. A new criterion should be set, but it is not easy to find out exactly what it should be.

On the other hand, the results of rational income disparity in an economic sense will be eventually reflected economically in efficiency improvement, productivity growth, and per capita income rise no matter how great the disparity is. Thus it is safe to say that the presence of a rational income disparity in an economic sense can yield positive results which can be felt in the immediate future. However, if income disparity is too big in a social sense, it will cause social unrest whether it is economically rational or not. Moreover, social unrest caused by a large income disparity in a social sense cannot be felt immediately – it takes time for problems to crop up and conflicts to brew to the point where social turmoil breaks out. So it is not

easy either to judge income disparity rationality from its aftermath in a social sense.

Given the differences between the economic and social senses of income disparity rationality, and the difficulty to define income distribution rationality in its social sense, we cannot but ask: Is it necessary to define such rationality in a social sense apart from defining it in an economic sense? We ought to say the necessity is warranted. If income disparity is rational economically, it would be ideal if it is rational socially as well. However, things may turn out like this in reality: An income disparity deemed rational economically is irrational socially; whereas an income disparity deemed irrational economically may turn out to be irrational socially, or ironically rational socially. For this reason, it is necessary to explore income disparity rationality in its social sense despite the difficulties involved. The expleration may bring us closer to solving the problem.

IV. Income disparity rationality in a social sense

As mentioned above, whether opportunities are equal or not for all production-factor suppliers in the market is one of the criteria for assessing income disparity rationality in both economic and social senses. The other criterion is whether income is distributed according to efficiency. The two criteria are necessary conditions for income disparity to be economically rational. However, they are not sufficient conditions for judging an income disparity to be rational in the social sense. It is not easy to find the missing pieces, but we are not helpless either.

Irrational income distribution disparity, manifested in a social sense by income disparity among people, can lead to social instability. Social instability holds back economic development, and causes improvements in production efficiency to slow down, stagnate, or decline, thereby reducing the per capita income level, or inhibiting its growth. Therefore, we can say income distribution disparity is rational in its social sense if social stability is not affected by income disparity among people, if the economy continues to grow in a sustained way, if production efficiency grows as usual, and if per capita income keeps rising steadily. Thus whether or not income distribution disparity leads to social instability can be adopted as a third criterion for judging whether income disparity is rational or not. At least it is a sensible

criterion at the current stage of Chinese economic development.

To scrutinize the issue further, at least three questions come to surface.

First, what is the signal for social stability or instability? The economic growth, efficiency, and per capita income resulting from rational income disparity in an economic sense can be reflected in statistical indicators that are at once computable and comparable. What statistical indicators should be adopted to signal social stability based on rational income distribution disparity in its social sense? How can those statistics be calculated and compared?

Second, as I have said previously, whether income gap rationality or irrationality has contributed to social stability or caused social instability cannot be determined overnight. It takes a brewing period before social instability becomes keenly felt, but that period can last for a long time, which makes it harder to judge if an income gap is socially rational or not. The catch is to find out how the degree of latent social instability can be measured. When judging if an income gap is socially rational or not, how can latent social instability not be mistaken for social stability?

Third, social instability can stem from many factors, and irrational income gap is just one of them. This gives rise to the question: How should the role of irrational income gap in causing social instability be determined in a social sense, and to what degree? In particular, when the income gap is found to be rational socially, can social instability not be caused by other factors? Both questions can make it more difficult to see if the income gap is socially rational or irrational. The secret lies, firstly, in determining how to measure, in a social sense, the role of rational income gap in promoting social stability and to separate this role from the other factors that are also contributing to social stability, and secondly, in discovering how to benchmark, socially, the role of irrational income gap in causing social instability and to separate it from the other factors that are also precipitating social unrest.

I do not list these three major questions to say that we need not to probe any further because of the aforementioned snags. It is precisely because of these problems that I believe we should not and cannot lean heavily on quantitative analysis in this field of study. Rather, we had better adopt a

rough-sketch type of approach. To be specific, we may use, as a benchmark, people's satisfaction with their own income and with a comparison of income with other members of society. As people's satisfaction differs in degree in both regards, the findings should be studied separately.

The degree of people's satisfaction with their income may be termed "an individual's absolute degree of income satisfaction." This term refers to the degree of correspondence between the income someone receives from the production factors he has supplied on the one hand, and the value of his expected income on the other. A production-factor supplier will be satisfied with his absolute income if what he earns meets his expectation. He will stay satisfied if his earning exceeds his expectation even if the two are not symmetrical. If he earns less than what he expected, he will be dissatisfied with the gap between reality and expectation. The more his actual earning falls below his expectation, the more dissatisfied he becomes, and the lower the degree of his absolute satisfaction is with his individual income.

The degree of a member of society's satisfaction with a comparison between his income and those of others can be abbreviated as the "degree of individual relative income satisfaction." This term denotes the degree of correspondence between the actual ratio of income gap between an individual and the others as production-factor suppliers and his expected ratio. He is satisfied with his relative income if the two ratios correspond with each other. He is even more satisfied if the actual ratio exceeds his expectations, even though the two factors do not correspond with each other. He is dissatisfied if the actual ratio falls below his expected ratio, that is, the two factors are ill-matched. The more the actual ratio falls short of his expected one, the more dissatisfied he becomes with his relative income, or the smaller the degree of his satisfaction is with his relative income.

Society consists of numerous members who differ in absolute or relative income satisfaction. No matter what the mode of income distribution is, there is always a gap between the degrees of the members' absolute and relative income satisfaction. However, an individual's low satisfaction with his absolute or relative income is unlikely to cause social instability. Social instability takes place only when most members of society have registered a low degree of satisfaction over individual absolute or relative income. Theoretically speaking, society's average degree of satisfaction with absolute

or relative income at a given moment in time can be pinpointed. Social instability happens only when this average degree of satisfaction with absolute income falls below a threshold point. The deeper it sinks below the threshold point, the greater the degree of social instability becomes. Social instability occurs when this average degree of satisfaction with relative income drops below a certain point. The more it dips below the threshold point, the greater the degree of social instability becomes.

It is worth noting that there is a difference between the degree of individual absolute income satisfaction and that of individual relative income satisfaction, with the former serving as the basis of the latter. If the degree of an individual's absolute income satisfaction is relatively high, his impact as a production-factor provider on social instability will be negligible even if his relative income satisfaction is low. If the degree of his absolute income satisfaction is low, his impact on social instability will grow even if the degree of his satisfaction with his relative income is high. The degrees of the impact of individual income satisfaction on social instability may be aligned in the following sequence:

(1) A high degree of individual absolute income satisfaction alongside a high degree of individual relative income satisfaction, will have a minimum impact on social instability.

(2) A high degree of individual absolute income satisfaction accompanied by a low degree of individual relative income satisfaction, will have a relatively small impact on social instability.

(3) A low degree of individual absolute income satisfaction coupled with a high degree of individual relative income satisfaction, will have a relatively big impact on social instability.

(4) A low degree of individual absolute income satisfaction together with a low degree of individual relative income satisfaction, will have a maximum impact on social instability.

As I have said previously, both the degree of individual absolute income satisfaction and that of individual relative income satisfaction should be indicated according to society's average degrees of absolute and relative income satisfaction. The above sequence of order in the degrees of impact of individual income satisfaction on social instability should also be expressed

in the same way.

Considering that the impact of individual absolute income satisfaction on social stability is greater than individual relative income satisfaction, when combining society's degrees of average absolute and relative income satisfaction to derive society's average degree of income satisfaction, the former should take a larger portion than the latter. Thus a threshold value can be set for society's average degree of comprehensive income satisfaction. Society's average degree of comprehensive income satisfaction and its threshold value may be applied to back up judgment of income gap rationality in a social sense of the term.

Finally, a rundown of the above discussion:

A: individual income;

B: individual's expected income;

C: the degree of correspondence between A and B, known as the degree of individual absolute income satisfaction;

D: the actual ratio between one's income and someone else's income;

E: the expected ratio between one's income and someone else's income;

F: the degree of correspondence between D and E, known as the degree of individual relative income satisfaction.

G: the average degree of social satisfaction with absolute income as derived from C;

H: the threshold value of the average degree of social satisfaction with absolute income;

I: the average degree of social satisfaction with relative income as derived from F;

J: the threshold value of the average degree of social satisfaction with relative income;

K: based on the impact of the degree of individual absolute and relative income satisfaction on social stability, to determine the portions of both factors in their combined impact on social stability;

L: to derive from G, I, and K the average degree of social comprehensive income satisfaction;

M: the threshold value of the average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction;

N: based on L and M, to determine, in a social sense, the degree of income gap rationality or irrationality.

V. A further look at the relationship between income disparity and social instability

In my previous analysis, social instability is a criterion for income disparity rationality or irrationality. I have said that social instability requires a period of time to gather its momentum. Only when problems come to a head can social instability be keenly felt. Income disparity is only one of several factors that cause social instability. This being the case, we have to look deeper into the relationship between income disparity and social instability based on the previous study of the average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction and its threshold value.

First, consider the cumulative nature of social instability. As the old Chinese saying goes, "It takes more than one cold day for rivers to freeze three feet deep." It takes a relatively long cumulative period for social instability to amount to social upheaval. When people's absolute or relative income satisfaction begins to decline, and once it progressively reaches its threshold value, the situation can turn grim in no time. Just as the old refrain puts it, "Things can take a sudden turn for the worse, and, if mishandled, can run out of control." A possible way to prevent this situation from happening is to break the threshold value of the average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction into Threshold Values I and II.

When the average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction dives below Threshold Value I, social instability will begin to be felt – meaning such instability is relatively mild or partial. Social instability deteriorates when the average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction falls further below Threshold Value II – meaning that it will soon turn into an overall social upheaval.

Thus the grey zone between Threshold Values I and II merits close government attention. Threshold Value I provides a warning sign. When the average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction approaches Threshold Value I, the government should be alerted and take action to avoid social upheaval by alleviating income disparity and relevant problems. If the decline in the average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction continues beyond Threshold Value I, the government should be further alarmed, because problems are boiling over and conflicts are intensifying. Social upheaval becomes unavoidable once the average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction plunges below Threshold Value II. So Threshold Value II is another warning sign. It seems to me that the establishment of Threshold Values I and II can help further clarify the relationship between income disparity and social instability.

The role of income disparity in precipitating social instability, coupled its relationship with other causes of social instability, is a difficult research topic. It is oversimplifying to attribute social instability solely to income disparity. Social instability can be caused by a mixture of many factors that are affecting each other. This makes it hard to quantify the role of income disparity in causing social instability, not to mention the complex relationship between income disparity and its role in causing social instability. For instance, a small income disparity leads to low efficiency, which may result in a low average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction (such as in those low-income years when most members of society were disgruntled about the egalitarian practice of "everybody eating from the same big pot"), but it will have little impact on social stability. If income disparity is huge but the average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction is tolerable (meaning that most members of society find such an income disparity acceptable), it will not have a major impact on social stability. If income disparity is huge while the average degree of comprehensive social income satisfaction is low, its adverse impact on social instability can be felt; if the disparity grows to a certain degree and the average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction has also dropped below a certain threshold, the income disparity may lead to social unrest.

With the complex relationship between income disparity and social stability or instability in mind, we may handle the issue this way:

Let us take income disparity and the average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction as two indicators, and let income disparity be represented by the Gini Coefficient. The lower the Gini Coefficient, the smaller the disparity in income distribution. The higher the Gini Coefficient goes, the bigger the income disparity becomes, that is, the further it drifts away from equal income distribution. Thus the relationship between income disparity and the average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction can be replaced with the relationship between the Gini Coefficient and the average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction.

Whether the average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction is high or low, social stability will not be considerably affected by income disparity when the Gini Coefficient is low. Let us therefore forget about this scenario for the time being.

When the average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction is high, income disparity will not grow to a point where it can adversely impact social stability whether the Gini Coefficient is high or low. Therefore this scenario can also be ignored as far as this study is concerned.

Thus our study is narrowed down to the scenario where the Gini Coefficient is high and society's average comprehensive income satisfaction is low. Let us set the Gini Coefficient at Levels 1, 2 and 3. The higher the Gini Coefficient, the lower its level. We may also divide society's average comprehensive income satisfaction into three tiers: Tiers 1, 2 and 3. The lower society's average comprehensive income satisfaction, the higher its tier. The three levels of the Gini Coefficient and the three tiers of society's average comprehensive income satisfaction can be paired to serve as benchmarks for judging the relationship between income disparity and social instability. Generally speaking, when the Gini Coefficient stands at Level 1, and society's average comprehensive income satisfaction at Tier 1, the adverse impact of income disparity on social stability is the highest, thereby pinpointing income disparity as the primary reason behind social instability or upheaval. When the Gini Coefficient stands at Level 3 with society's average comprehensive income satisfaction at Tier 3, social instability may be caused mainly by other factors, or a combination of factors that may or may not include income disparity, even though income disparity is also

affecting social stability. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to quantify the impact of income disparity on social stability, but at least we can get a rough idea about it by studying individual cases.

VI. Conclusions

(1) "Equitable income distribution" is a vague notion that smacks of egalitarianism. "Rational income distribution" is a better term. In fact, rational income disparity denotes a reasonable gap in individual income distribution. However, it is necessary to distinguish the economic sense of income disparity rationality from its social sense. A rational income disparity in an economic sense is not necessarily the same as it is in a social sense. In the context of social stability, the government is obliged to take the social sense of income disparity rationality into consideration when intervening in income distribution.

(2) To judge if income disparity is rational or irrational in a social sense, and to decide on the degree of such rationality or irrationality, two indicators can be employed – society's average comprehensive income satisfaction and its threshold value. To maximize the effect of government regulation of income distribution, we may benchmark society's average comprehensive income satisfaction with Threshold Values I and II. In that way the government may use them as warning signs in regulating the economy.

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论财政政策与货币政策的配合使用 (1997)

一、市场不完善条件下货币政策作用的局限性

（一）要结合经济增长来分析政策效应

货币政策与财政政策的配合，曾经是凯恩斯学派与货币学派长期争论的问题之一。根据后凯恩斯主流经济学的论述，在宏观经济调节时，除非在异常紧迫的状态中，“双紧”或“双松”都是力求避免的。需要作为政策配合所考虑和选择的是“松紧搭配”，包括松的财政政策与紧的货币政策的配合，或紧的财政政策与松的货币政策的配合。货币学派原则上并不反对货币政策与财政政策的配合，但认为财政政策本身有很大的局限性。例如在采取松的财政政策时，财政的扩张会挤出一部分私人消费与私人投资，从而财政政策不一定收到预期的效果；而在采取紧的财政政策时，经济增长率将会降低。这样，在财政支出减少的同时，财政收入也会相应地下降，从而不一定使财政政策达到预期的目标。因此货币政策的运用要比财政政策的运用更为有效，这是货币学派的基本政策主张。

凯恩斯学派在同货币学派关于政策的论战中，在货币政策与财政政策的配合问题上，进一步研究所得出的一个重要论点是，应当结合经济政策目标来讨论这种政策配合。具体地说，应当以是否有利于经济的稳定与持续增长来考察货币政策与财政政策配合的效应。

松的财政政策是支撑经济增长的，松的财政政策对国民生产总值的增长起着积极的作用。但这时是不是会挤出私人消费与私人投资呢？并不能一概而论。关键在于市场是否受限制，即市场能否随国民生产总值的增长而扩大。假定市场是一个不断扩大的市场，在经济增长过程中，松的财政政策同松的货币政策相配合，那么财政政策并不会挤出私人投资，也不会挤出私人消费。换言之，只有在松的财政政策同紧的货币政

策相配合时，才有可能发生所谓的“挤出效应”。货币学派的假设在这种情况下将有效。

然而，松的财政政策与松的货币政策配合使用的结果，必然是通货膨胀的加剧。这是“双松”政策所导致的格局。但这种格局被认为是可以避免的，主要是：一方面，使货币政策的放松比较适当；另一方面，通过经济增长和社会总供给增加，使通货膨胀有一定的限度。如果这种设想可以成立，那么需要探讨的问题将是：货币政策放松到何种程度，既可以避免由于银根放松而引起通货膨胀，而又不至于使财政支出的增加挤出私人消费和私人投资。这方面的研究尚有待深入。

无论是松的财政政策与紧的货币政策相配合，还是紧的财政政策与松的货币政策相配合，既涉及财政政策与货币政策效应强弱的比较问题，也涉及松的政策与紧的政策的效应强弱的比较问题。如果不能对这些政策效应强弱的比较有所了解，那么就很难对不同政策配合使用的实际效应作出判断，从而难以对不同政策的配合方案作出选择。

（二）市场完善程度对政策效应的影响

以上有关凯恩斯学派与货币学派有关财政政策与货币政策配合问题的论述，对我们是有参考意义的。我们很难简单地作出判断，认为凯恩斯学派与货币学派之中哪一个正确，哪一个错误，因为这涉及经济增长与社会总供给增长的幅度问题。如果经济增长率过低，社会总供给增长太慢，由于财政支出会排挤私人支出，或者财政支出会同财政收入一起下降，所以松或紧的财政政策都可能起不了较大作用，从而也就谈不到财政政策与货币政策的配合。货币学派的分析这时也许是有道理的。否则，凯恩斯学派的分析似乎更有道理些。

但根据中国与一些发展中国家的经验来看，财政政策与货币政策的作用同市场的完善程度有关。具体地说，假定市场相当完善，那么无论是财政政策还是货币政策的效应，都可以比较充分地显示出来。相形之下，紧的财政政策在实行过程中所遇到的阻力要比紧的货币政策所遇到的阻力更大一些，从而其效应也就相应地受到一定的限制。

假定市场不够完善，比如说，资本市场、证券市场、外汇市场、产权交易市场等都不够完善，那么情况便有所不同。这时，货币政策在实行过程中所遇到的障碍可能大于财政政策，特别是紧的货币政策要比紧的财政政策所遇到的阻力更大一些，从而其效应也就相对地受到一定的限制。理由在于：货币政策的作用是通过资本市场、证券市场、外汇市

场、产权交易市场等而发挥的，不完善的市场使货币政策缺乏相应的传导机制或使货币政策的传导机制失灵，所以货币政策不易有效地发挥作用。

财政政策与货币政策不同，财政政策主要直接作用于商品市场。如果说市场不够完善，那么商品市场的不完善程度一般要小于其他市场，而资本市场、证券市场、外汇市场、产权交易市场的不完善程度一般要大于其他市场。目前中国的情形正是如此。因此，财政政策在目前的中国较易于发挥作用，其收效程度也比较高，尽管紧的财政政策仍会遇到不少阻力。

关于这一点，不妨以对经济增长的效应为例。由于财政政策对商品市场直接发生作用，并通过商品市场的伸缩消长而使国民生产总值发生变化，于是既有可能抑制经济增长率，又有可能刺激经济增长。即使商品市场也有不够完善之处，但财政政策的放松或抽紧，依然可以通过商品市场的变化而作用于国民生产总值，并最终反映于经济增长率的变化。货币政策则不然。只要资本市场、证券市场、外汇市场、产权交易市场等是不完善的，货币政策的作用所受限制较大，从而对经济增长率变化的影响也就不那么显著，或不那么直接。在中国，要促进经济增长，松的财政政策要比松的货币政策较为有效；而在加剧通货膨胀方面，松的财政政策所起的作用也要大一些。

松的政策与紧的政策的效应，在市场不完善条件下是不对称的。一般说来，如果确定了银根松紧的标准，那么松的政策的效应要大于紧的政策的效应，货币政策在市场不完善条件下的松或紧所产生的影响尤其这样。这是因为，假定资本市场、证券市场、外汇市场、产权交易市场等都不完善，假定缺乏完善的货币政策传导机制，虽然货币政策的效应要受到某种程度的限制，但银根松紧的效应仍是不一样的。银根放松后，即使市场还不完善，但投资者总有可能从不同的渠道获得信贷，经济便会相应地活跃起来。而在银根由松变紧之后，无论是利率上升了还是存款准备金率提高了，市场的不完善仍会使得一部分投资者并不直接感到利率上升或存款准备金率提高的压力，仍然会按照预定的投资计划进行活动。这是因为，市场越不完善，借贷中的信息约束越大，竞争中的不公平程度也越大。于是一部分居于优越地位的投资者仍能获得信贷，照常投资。也许他们以后会逐渐感受到这种压力，但总的说来，货币政策抽紧后的政策效应对投资者是滞后的。

（三）市场不完善条件下的“松紧搭配”

由此涉及在市场不完善条件下的宏观经济调节的“松紧搭配”问题。这种条件下的“松紧搭配”同市场完善条件下的“松紧搭配”是有区别的。区别大体上有两点。

第一，在市场完善条件下，由于财政政策的效应与货币政策的效应都可以显现出来，尽管紧的财政政策要比紧的货币政策所遇到的阻力更大一些，但这并不妨碍在必要时既可以用松的财政政策同紧的货币政策配合，也可以用紧的财政政策同松的货币政策配合，从而都可以收到一定成效。然而，在市场不完善条件下，情况便有所不同。由于资本市场、证券市场、外汇市场、产权交易市场等要比商品市场更加不完善，而财政政策是直接作用于商品市场的，货币政策则要通过资本市场、证券市场、外汇市场、产权交易市场等发挥作用，所以在选择财政政策与货币政策配合时，为了达到宏观经济调节的目标，财政政策使用的效果比较明显。至于货币政策，除非加大力度，否则其作用受限制较大，所以不宜对它的效应寄以不切实际的希望。这正是市场不完善条件下宏观经济调节的一个特点。

第二，市场完善条件下，当实行紧的财政政策或紧的货币政策时，银根会随之抽紧，经济增长率会下降，通货膨胀率会受到抑制。而在实行松的财政政策或松的货币政策时，银根会随之放松，经济增长率会上升，失业率也会相应地下降。但这种情况只可能出现于市场完善时。如果市场不完善，那么宏观经济调节的效应不仅不能及时显现出来，甚至其结果可能遭到扭曲，产生预料之外的结果。这是因为，在各个市场中，资本市场、证券市场、外汇市场、产权交易市场等的不完善程度较大，货币政策的传导机制更有欠缺。如果准备以抑制通货膨胀作为政策调节目标，那么在实行紧的财政政策与松的货币政策相配合时，由于紧的财政政策易于发挥作用，经济很快地冷却下来，通货膨胀可以得到抑制。但为了使经济不至于冷却过度，不至于妨碍经济增长，配合以松的货币政策是必要的。然而由于市场的不完善和货币政策传导机制的欠缺，松的货币政策在紧的财政政策实行过程中难以发挥作用，达不到使经济仍然保持活跃的目的。结果，市场不完善条件下的紧的财政政策的效应较强和松的货币政策的效应较弱，从而有可能使经济冷却过度或使经济陷于停滞状态。所谓“刹车容易启动难”正表现于此。

与此相似的是，如果准备以促进经济增长作为政策调节目标，那么在实行松的财政政策与紧的货币政策相配合时，由于松的财政政策易于发挥作用，经济受到财政支出扩张或税收减免的刺激而以较快的速度增长。但为了防止出现经济增长过程中的通货膨胀，配合以紧的货币政策

是必要的。然而也正由于市场的不完善和货币政策传导机制的欠缺，紧的货币政策在松的财政政策实行过程中难以发挥作用，达不到避免经济增长率过高和通货膨胀过猛的目的。结果，市场不完善条件下的松的财政政策的效应较强和紧的货币政策的效应较弱，从而使得经济扩张过度，通货膨胀难以被抑制。

对市场不完善条件下财政政策与货币政策的配合使用所遇到的困难，同政策的“跛足”状态有关。即两种政策的效应一强一弱，使得调节过程中不易实现预定的目标。

这并不意味着在市场不完善条件下不可能配合使用财政政策和货币政策，而是指在配合使用这些政策时应当更多在政策强度上多加考虑。比如说，考虑到财政政策的效应强而货币政策的效应弱，于是就可以减轻财政政策的强度而加重货币政策的强度，以便这两种政策在实行过程中能较有效地发挥作用。

（四）一个重要结论：要注意“刹车容易启动难”

以上，对财政政策和货币政策的配合使用问题作了一些探讨，这对于当前的中国经济有什么意义呢？正如前面所说，市场不完善使得货币政策所受到的限制更大，也使得财政政策与货币政策的配合使用更难。因此，就现阶段的中国经济而言，需要注意的是以下两点：

1．松的财政政策与松的货币政策的配合使用，以及紧的财政政策与紧的货币政策的配合使用，对目前的中国经济都不适当。因为这样一来，要么会使通货膨胀遏制不住，要么会把整个经济搞得过死。可以考虑的只能是：财政政策与货币政策一紧一松。而根据市场不完善条件下财政政策与货币政策各自效应的特点，最好是实行稍紧的财政政策与松动的货币政策相配合。

2．市场不完善条件下，中国经济的显著特点之一是“刹车容易启动难”。宏观调节的效应的不对称性也表现于此。这是指：宏观调节抽紧的时候，效应会迅速反映出来，经济会很快趋于紧缩。而当宏观调节放松一些的时候，调节不易达到预期的效果；经济只可能缓慢地复苏，甚至要滞后相当长的一段时间，经济才会重新活跃。理由是：要经济活跃，必须使企业与投资主体有盈利前景看好的信心，必须使广大消费者有预期收入上升的信心。这样才能使购买力旺盛，使市场繁荣。然而，信心的增强是一个累积的过程，并不是宏观调节一放松就能积累起人们对市场前景的信心的。加之，宏观调节的“跛足状态”（即财政政策作用

大于货币政策作用的状态），使得调节遇到困难。假定在实行稍紧的财政政策的同时不使货币政策松动，经济启动的困难就更大了。

结论是很清楚的：现阶段，中国的财政政策可以稍紧一些，而货币政策则应该松动一些，否则不易摆脱“刹车以后启动不了”的窘境。

二、货币政策非常规手段应当慎用

（一）货币政策三个基本手段的作用全都依存于市场完善程度

货币政策对资本市场、证券市场、外汇市场、产权交易市场等发生作用，并通过这些作用而影响国民生产总值的变化。如果以国民生产总值的变化作为最终目标的话，那么在这以前还有一系列中介目标。如果以通货膨胀率的变化和国民生产总值的变化作为双重最终目标，同样会有一系列中介目标存在。所以要研究货币政策对经济的作用，必须研究货币政策的传导机制，必须结合各种不同的货币政策手段的运用来考察货币政策对这些中介目标的影响，以及如何通过中介目标来影响最终目标。

利率是货币政策的中介目标之一。在市场完善条件下，中央银行运用再贴现政策来影响利率。当中央银行调整再贴现率时，将使得商业银行的借入资金成本发生变化，从而引起市场利率的调整，再使得投资者增加或减少对货币的需求。因此，货币供应量便是最重要的一个中介目标，它同利率水平这个中介目标一起影响着社会对货币的需求、社会总需求以及国民生产总值的变化。如果货币政策的传导机制有效，那么通过中央银行的再贴现政策可以作用于中介目标的实现，并对最终目标发生影响。然而这又同整个经济环境有关。假定市场不完善，再贴现作为货币政策的手段不可能像在市场完善时那样影响投资者对货币的需求，也不可能对货币供应量这一中介目标发挥有效的作用。除非再贴现政策的实行伴随着行政干预，否则货币供应量的增加或减少可能不受再贴现率变动的影响。

可以对再贴现率的作用再做些分析。如果想通过再贴现率的调整来影响市场的利率水平，那就需要有商业银行的充分竞争。并且假定商业银行完全按照市场竞争与选择规则给予客户贷款，而客户之间也存在着

彼此公平竞争的关系，否则再贴现率调整对市场利率水平的影响也是不明显的。

存款准备金率的调整是另一个货币政策手段。这一手段之所以能发挥作用，是因为它的调整与使用可以影响商业银行的派生存款数额，约束商业银行的放款行为，从而影响货币供应量。在这里，货币供应量作为中介目标，可以通过中央银行存款准备金率的调整而实现。但是，除非存款准备金率很高，否则，存款准备金率作为一种货币政策手段尽管能起作用，却达不到防止金融危机的目的。此外，要让存款准备金率起作用，还需要有两个前提。一是商业银行应当以最大利润的取得作为自身的目标。如果商业银行尚不具备这样的条件，存款准备金率的调整、甚至存款准备金制度本身都不会产生多大的成效。这就同商业银行制度是否健全有关。二是中央银行的存款准备金率调整应当具有强制性而不应具有弹性，否则货币政策这一手段是难以达到影响货币供应量的目标的。由此看来，尽管存款准备金率调整并不是经常采取的一种货币政策手段，但它的传导机制是否有效仍然依赖于市场的完善程度。

至于中央银行的公开市场业务，它作为货币政策的又一手段，同样需要从经济环境上进行分析。相对于其他货币政策手段而言，公开市场业务所要求的市场条件更为严格。它不仅要求有完善的、发育健全的证券市场，而且要求有合理的市场利率和理性的投资者。公开市场业务的传导机制有欠缺，不仅可能使货币供应量这一中介目标的调节遇到困难，还可能使公开市场业务无法顺利开展，起不到货币政策手段的作用。

以上所说的再贴现率、存款准备金率和公开市场业务是货币政策的三个基本手段。它们的传导机制全都同市场完善与商业银行制度健全有关。市场条件不完善或商业银行制度不健全，必然使得这些政策传导机制有欠缺，甚至失效。

（二）非常规的信贷手段同样依存于市场是否完善

接着，再看看这三种货币政策手段以外的两种非常规政策手段，一是信贷规模控制或信贷配额制，二是再贴现限额与再贷款限额。前者是商业银行在中央银行控制下所受到的贷款规模限制，后者被中央银行用来作为再贴现率调整的手段的补充。这两种手段一般都是在市场不完善或商业银行制度不健全的情况下被中央银行采用的。它们的传导机制各有特点。

信贷规模的大小是由中央银行根据对经济形势的判断而决定的。由于对经济形势判断的依据不一，观察问题的角度不同，以及对信贷规模效应的估计有差异，所以中央银行的信贷规模控制带有相当大程度的随意性。行政主管部门的意志在这里起着很大的作用。信贷规模受到控制，货币供应量便直接发生变化，它的效应的产生比较迅速。从这个意义上说，信贷规模控制这一手段的传导机制是有效的。但效应产生的迅速和传导机制的有效不等于效应一定有利于实现货币政策的最终目标。这主要因为，要促进经济的持续增长并使通货膨胀率保持在较低的水平，必须使资源配置不断优化。资源配置优化表明效率的增长。然而信贷规模控制的效应却是：尽管从短期来看货币供应量发生了政策决策部门所预期的变化，但只要从稍长的时间来看，这种带有行政主管部门意志的货币政策手段有损于资源的优化配置，结果不可避免地妨碍货币政策最终目标的实现。

中央银行的再贴现限额与再贷款限额作为货币政策的又一非常规手段，一般也是在市场不完善或商业银行制度不健全条件下被采用的。这主要是考虑再贴现率的调整所起的作用有限，所以要从数量上再予以限制。假定采取了再贴现限额这种做法，中央银行就有可能通过限额的增减而影响商业银行的贷款能力，进而影响货币供应量。同样的道理，中央银行也可以通过再贷款限额的增减达到同一目标。这种做法被认为有助于弥补再贷款利率调整的效力的不足。然而，无论是中央银行的再贴现限额还是再贷款限额，都是由行政主管部门随机制定的，带有较浓的主观色彩，同实际的货币供求状况不一定相符。因此对货币政策最终目标的实现究竟是有利还是不利，还难以确定。而另一方面，这些手段也会对资源优化配置产生损害，从而从较长时间来看，将会妨碍货币政策最终目标的实现。

（三）要慎重使用信贷规模控制等非常规手段

从货币政策传导机制的研究中，可以得出这样的结论：如果市场是完善的并且商业银行制度是健全的，那么传导机制可以有效地起作用。如果市场不完善，商业银行制度不健全，那么常规的货币政策手段不可能使得货币政策的最终目标实现。而诸如信贷规模控制和再贴现限额、再贷款限额之类的非常规的货币政策手段，虽然其传导机制仍然可以有效，但从较长时间来看，却不利于资源优化配置，从而不利于货币政策最终目标的实现。

现在我们所要探讨的问题是，在经历过一段时间的经济紧缩之后，

怎样才能使经济再度活跃起来？在上一节中已经指出，针对这种情况，实行稍紧的财政政策与松动的货币政策的配合，要优于松动的财政政策与稍紧的货币政策的配合，更优于财政政策与货币政策的“双紧”或“双松”。有关货币政策传导机制的分析，进一步证实了以上的结论是符合中国当前实际情况的。

我们承认，在市场不完善条件下，非常规的货币政策手段（包括信贷规模控制、再贴现限额、再贷款限额等）经常被使用，甚至存在着把非常规的货币政策手段视为常规的货币政策手段的趋势，似乎非如此不足以实现货币政策的最终目标。其实，这纯粹是一种误解。正如前面已谈过的，非常规的货币政策手段虽然能起一定作用，但对资源的优化配置并不有利；特别是它们带有浓厚的行政主管部门意志的色彩，从而同经济运行中的货币供求状况不一定相适应。

在经历过一段时间的经济紧缩之后，要使得经济再度活跃，应在实行稍紧的财政政策的同时，使货币政策松动些，而且力度也应当加大。在这种情况下，信贷规模控制等非常规手段的使用要慎重。这主要是因为：

1. 从经济紧缩走向经济再度活跃，同人们对市场前景的信心的恢复与增强有着密切的关系，而信心的增强是一个累积的过程。假定采用非常规的货币政策手段，无论它们趋向于放松还是趋向于抽紧，都给人们一种不确定的感觉。既然行政主管部门能“放”，它们无疑也能“收”。“放”与“收”都无规律可循，都在很大程度上凭借非常规手段使用者的意志，那么人们的信心依然是不足的。在这种情况下，倒不如不使用或少使用非常规的货币政策手段，宁肯采取常规的货币政策手段，这对于信心的增强和累积反而有利些。虽然常规手段会因市场不完善而使其作用受限制，但力度加大一些，仍可弥补。

2. 由于非常规的货币政策手段的使用往往给人们以错觉，给投资主体以误导，从而不利于资源的优化配置。因此，即使依靠放松了的货币政策来活跃经济，但资源配置难以优化，实际上起不到预期的实现货币政策最终目标的作用。在经济紧缩一段时间以后，要使得经济再度活跃起来，并使这种活跃持久一些，就必须注意资源配置的优化，以便切实地按照市场需要来组合生产要素，提高资源利用效率。就这一点而论，使用非常规的货币政策手段是不如常规的货币政策手段的。至于常规手段因市场不完善而受到的限制，那就必须依靠加大力度来弥补。

3. 要松动货币政策并且松动的力度要大一点，应当以商业银行按贷

款的可偿还性和贷款对象的资金使用效率发放贷款为前提，否则不良债务将增加，对经济的活跃也没有好处。那么，怎样才能防止松动之后不良债务的增加呢？是运用常规性货币政策手段更易于做到这一点，还是运用非常规的货币政策手段更易于做到这一点？显然，非常规的货币政策手段在使用中的随意性很大，行政主管机构干预的色彩很强，从而更不易防止不良债务的增加，更不易收到松动货币政策的预期效果。

三、关于货币政策效力的递减

（一）为什么货币政策的效力会递减

在研究货币政策在客观经济调节中的地位与作用时，涉及货币政策的效力递减问题。货币政策效力递减，是指货币政策在实行一段时间之后，它对经济增长与货币稳定这一最终目标的实现而言，所发生的积极影响会逐渐减弱，而其对经济的消极影响却会逐渐增大。

货币政策效力的递减可能是普遍性的，即不论是在市场完善和商业银行制度健全的条件下，还是在市场不完善和商业银行制度不健全的条件下，都会出现货币政策效力递减的情况。当然，在后一种条件下，货币政策效力的递减更加明显，也更加严重。

货币政策效力递减的主要原因在于：受到货币政策的作用的对象，包括商业银行与其他金融机构，以及社会上的投资者，是理性的行为人。他们对于中央银行所采取的货币政策会作出理性的反应。即使市场是完善的，商业银行制度也是健全的，但只要商业银行与其他金融机构以及社会上的投资者所考虑的是本身利益的最大化，他们就会根据经济形势的变化与政策的变化，拟定自己的对策。这些对策可能使得某一项货币政策手段的效力减少，也可能迫使中央银行重新考虑政策的效应，对政策进行调整。这种情况在市场不完善和商业银行制度不健全条件下无疑会更突出。

货币政策效力递减还同货币政策传导机制本身的局限性有一定的关系。货币政策是通过中介目标而作用于最终目标的。然而经济总是处于不断的结构调整之中，这种结构调整将对货币需求量提出新的要求。也就是说，货币供应量与对货币的需求量之间的关系要随着不断的结构调整发生变化。任何一种货币政策手段，都把着重点放在货币供应量的变

化方面，从而相应地忽略了结构调整对货币需求量提出的新要求。实际上，这意味着中央银行通过货币政策的实行，要让货币需求量来适应货币供应量，而不是让货币供应量去适应货币需求量。货币供应量的变化是货币政策的中介目标，对货币的需求量的变化则没有被视为货币政策的中介目标。或者可以说，中央银行的货币政策都直接作用于货币供应量，并通过货币供应量的变化间接地影响对货币的需求。因此，这些货币政策并没有直接作用于对货币需求量的传导机制。正由于货币政策传导机制有上述局限性，所以在货币政策实行过程中，经济中同货币需求有关的投资者必然设法通过不同渠道来满足自己的货币需求或影响对货币的需求量，而这是货币政策的制定者力所不及的。这样，货币政策的效力递减，即使在市场完善和商业银行制度健全的条件下，也是难以避免的。因为货币政策最终目标的实现从货币的角度来看，不仅依赖货币供应量的变动，而且依赖对货币的需求量的变动。只有货币的供给与需求两方面协调一致，才能使货币政策对最终目标的实现发生有效的作用。

（二）市场不完善条件下货币政策效力的递减

至于在市场不完善和商业银行制度不健全的条件下货币政策效力的递减，除了上述这些原因之外，还有另一些原因。后者也许比前者更为重要。

另一些原因是：

第一，在市场不完善和商业银行制度不健全的条件下，中央银行习惯于把信贷规模控制、再贴现限额、再贷款限额等作为货币政策手段。但这些货币政策手段的制定与执行带有很大的行政管理色彩。中央银行制定了这种规模与限额后，无法根据经济情况的变化而予以调整。结果，这些货币政策手段成为脱离实际的僵硬的政策手段，达不到预定的调节目标。不仅如此，在具体操作过程中，由于这些货币政策手段是依靠行政方式来推行的，往往使商业银行和其他金融机构对中央银行的做法采取公开的或不公开的抵制，从而使得政策的效力减弱。

第二，在市场不完善和商业银行制度不健全的条件下，中央银行对整个经济中的货币数量的控制肯定是有限的。市场越不完善，商业银行制度越不健全，投资者就越有可能从中央银行控制以外的领域取得货币资金。与此相似的是，在市场不完善和商业银行制度不健全的条件下，中央银行越是想通过货币政策手段来控制货币数量，投资者就越想摆脱

中央银行的控制范围，设法到中央银行控制力所达不到的领域内去寻求货币资金，其结果必然是货币政策的效力下降。

第三，在市场不完善和商业银行制度不健全的条件下，中央银行的活动以及商业银行的活动都可能受到各级政府的行政干扰，包括要求给予更多的贷款，甚至要求向银行透支。这些来自行政方面的干扰必然使货币政策难以实现预定的目标，使货币政策的效力减弱。而要摆脱这些行政干扰，除了应当健全商业银行制度和完善市场而外，还需要使中央银行制度本身健全起来，其中包括使财政部与中央银行之间的关系正常化，以及地方政府同中央银行分支行之间关系的正常化等等。

（三）从货币政策效力的递减看货币政策松动以及力度加大的必要性

现在让我们回到经济紧缩之后财政政策与货币政策配合使用这个问题上来。既然我们已经懂得了货币政策效力的递减是不可避免的，以及市场不完善条件下货币政策效力的递减更是必然的现象，那么我们完全有理由认为，要让紧缩之后的经济再度活跃起来，有必要采取稍紧的财政政策与松动的货币政策的配合，而货币政策松动的力度应当大一些。下面，从三个方面来进行论述。

1．由于受到货币政策作用的对象——包括商业银行与其他金融机构，以及社会上的投资者——是理性的行为人，他们根据形势变化与政策变化而采取的对策会使货币政策的效力递减。因此，在放松了银根的条件下，如果不适当加大放松的力度，很可能使货币政策起不到应有的作用。有理性行为的投资者总是根据以往的经验与政府的做法采取相应的对策，特别是在经历过一段时间的经济紧缩之后，他们尤其不敢轻易地采取行动，总会打一点埋伏，留一手，以免再度使自己在投资中陷于不利状态。只有货币政策放松的力度加大一些，才能在一定程度上抵消或缓解货币政策效力的递减，使货币政策的预期目标得以实现。

2．正如以上已经指出的，在经济紧缩之后走向经济活跃的过程中，人们对市场前景和投资前景的信心的恢复与增强十分重要，而信心的增强又是一个累积的过程。因此，在政府实行稍紧的财政政策与松动的货币政策相配合的办法来推进经济活跃时，为了防止松动的货币政策的效力递减，货币政策松动的力度应当加大一些。这样才有利于人们对市场前景和投资前景的信心的增强与信心的累积。信心的充足与不足，通常表现于“可买可不买的买”与“可买可不买的不买”的不同。尽管只是

一字之差，但对市场活跃程度的影响却是不可低估的。假定货币政策仍然从紧，人们将倾向于“可买可不买的不买”，市场活跃无望。货币政策稍松动一些，但力度不够，这种倾向依然不会改变。只有货币政策松动的力度大一些，人们信心增加了，转而采取“可买可不买的买”的做法，经济的兴旺与市场的活跃才会出现。

3．要知道，单凭股市的看好是不足以使经济紧缩之后转入再度活跃的局面的。相反地，股市一枝独秀还可能是经济尚未活跃的反映。因为其他行业的投资前景不乐观，投资渠道又窄，于是大量资金从其他投资领域流进了股市。加之，在其他行业的投资前景尚未看好的情况下，股市的上扬未免显得基础不扎实。这样，我们就应当设法启动其他行业，至少是某些能支撑经济活跃的几个行业，而在政策配合使用方面，需要让货币政策松动的力度加大一些。这实际上强调了结构性货币政策的重要性，即并非不顾行业的结构、投资的结构而让货币政策的松动无序，而是有选择地加大货币政策松动的力度，使某些能支撑经济活跃的行业先复苏，先兴旺，带动相关行业一起发展。对这些行业的货币政策松动力度大一些，将促进有效供给的增长，而不至于导致通货膨胀的加剧。有效供给增长才是名副其实的经济增长。此外，还应当注意到，现阶段的经济增长中不是没有水分的。如果说经济中确实存在着泡沫的话，那么经济增长中的水分就是最大的泡沫。要设法消除这种泡沫，那就必须消除无效供给。趋向于松动的结构性货币政策，只有力度加大一些，才能做到这一点。

总之，经济紧缩以后，要使经济转入兴旺活跃状态，根据中国的实际情况，目前我们不但需要采取稍紧的财政政策与松动的货币政策相结合，而且货币政策松动的力度要加大一些。同时，我们应当谨慎使用非常规的货币政策手段，更多地使用常规的货币政策手段。这就是《论财政政策与货币政策的配合使用》一文的中心思想。

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Meshing fiscal policy with monetary policy (1997)

I. Limitations of fiscal policy in an incomplete market

i. Policy effectiveness in relation to economic growth

The interaction between fiscal and monetary policies was a much debated issue between Keynesians and Monetarists. According to post-Keynesian mainstream economics, in macroeconomic regulation the government should, except in times of crisis, avoid adopting fiscal and monetary policies that are tight or loose at the same time. A better choice is to pair tight fiscal policy with loose monetary policy, or loose fiscal policy with tight monetary policy. Monetarists, in principle, are not opposed to the interaction between fiscal and monetary policies, but they maintain that fiscal policy has great limitations. For example, a loose fiscal policy may not achieve the expected goals because fiscal expansion tends to partially "crowd out" private consumption and private investment, but if fiscal policy is tight, it cuts into the economic growth rate, resulting in fiscal expenditure cutbacks that invariably bring down fiscal revenue, thereby diverting the fiscal policy from its prescribed goals. Consequently, they believe that monetary policy is more effective than fiscal policy. Such is the basic policy preference of Monetarists.

In a policy debate with Monetarists, Keynesians further argue that the coordination between fiscal and monetary policies should be discussed in combination with economic policy goals. To be specific, they argue that it is necessary to observe the effects of the coordination between these two policies from the perspective of whether it is conducive to economic stability and sustainable growth.

A loose fiscal policy is supportive of economic growth and plays a positive part in GNP growth. But can it "crowd out" private consumption and

private investment? Sweeping generalizations should be avoided in answering that question. The key to the answer lies in whether the market is restrained or not, that is, whether the market can expand in time with GNP growth. If the market expands constantly, a loose fiscal policy in interaction with an equally loose monetary policy in the course of economic growth will squeeze out neither private consumption nor private investment. To put it another way, the "crowding out" effect can happen only when a loose fiscal policy interacts with a tight monetary policy. Only in that scenario can the Monetarist hypothesis make sense.

Nevertheless, to pair a loose fiscal policy with a loose monetary policy is bound to aggravate inflation. But this consequence can be forestalled if, on the one hand, the monetary policy is loosened only to a certain extent, and on the other, inflation is kept within bounds by boosting economic growth and aggregate supply. If this condition prevails, it broaches the topic of to what extent should monetary policy be loosened to avoid inflation resulting from increased money supply without allowing increased fiscal expenditure to suppress private consumption and private investment. Research on this topic has yet to be fully completed.

Whether the pairing is between a loose fiscal policy and a tight monetary policy or between a tight fiscal policy and a loose monetary policy, it calls for a comparison of effectiveness between the two parings, as well as that between a tight policy and a loose one. Without such a comparison it is hard to decide how the two should be paired.

ii. Impact of market completeness on policy effectiveness

The above summary of Keynesian and Monetarist viewpoints about coordinating fiscal and monetary policies makes a valuable reference. It is hard to judge which school is correct, because it involves the margin of economic growth and the margin of growth in aggregate supply. If the economic growth rate is too low while aggregate supply grows too slowly, neither fiscal policy nor monetary policy can work whether they are tight or loose, because fiscal expenditure will crowd out private expenditure or decline along with financial revenue. In that way, coordination between fiscal and monetary policies is out of the question. The analysis of monetarists may be warranted in this case. Otherwise, the Keynesian position may sound even

more reasonable.

However, the experience of China and that of some other developing nations indicate that the effectiveness of fiscal and monetary policies is associated with the degree of market completeness. To be specific, both fiscal and monetary policies work most effectively if the market is fairly complete. By comparison, a tight fiscal policy tends to meet more impediments than a tight monetary policy in the course of enforcement, and, as a result, its effectiveness will be more or less curtailed.

The situation will be different if the markets – capital market, securities market, foreign exchange market, property rights market, and so on – are less than complete. In this scenario, monetary policy may come across more obstacles in the course of implementation than fiscal policy, and its effectiveness may be limited to a larger extent. By the same token, a tight monetary policy may face more hindrance than a tight fiscal policy. This is because monetary policy works through the capital market, securities market, foreign exchange market, property rights market and so on, whose incompleteness can deprive the monetary policy of its transmission mechanism or make its transmission mechanism less effective.

Fiscal policy differs from monetary policy in that it impacts the commodity market directly. If the general market is incomplete, the commodity market is usually less incomplete than the other markets, while the capital, securities, foreign exchange and property rights markets tend to be most incomplete. This is exactly true of the Chinese experience, where fiscal policy works relatively more effectively even though a tight fiscal policy may still encounter a lot of obstructions.

This point may be illustrated with the effect of fiscal policy on economic growth. Because fiscal policy has a direct bearing on the commodity market and can change GNP through the extension and contraction, or ebb and flow of that market, it can either restrain or stimulate the rate of economic growth. Even if the commodity market is incomplete, fiscal policy can still act on GNP through corresponding changes in that market, which is ultimately indicated in changes of economic growth rate. This is something monetary policy cannot do, as its impact on the economic growth rate can be considerably lessened – and therefore cannot be as pronounced and direct as the impact of fiscal policy – as long as the capital, securities, foreign

exchange and property rights markets remain incomplete. In China, a loosened-up fiscal policy works better than a loosened-up monetary policy in stimulating economic growth, but conversely, it is also more likely to play a larger part in aggravating inflation.

The effects of a loose policy and a tight policy are asymmetrical in an incomplete market. Given the same money market tightness benchmark, a relaxed policy is more effective than a tight policy. This is particularly true of monetary policy in an incomplete market. This is because – under the assumption that the capital, securities, foreign exchange and property rights markets are incomplete while the monetary policy lacks a transmission mechanism – the impact of a tight money market is different than that of a loose one even though the effect of monetary policy is restricted to a certain extent. When the money market is loosened up, investors can always obtain credit from different channels, and the economy will be animated correspondingly even if the market remains incomplete. When the loose money market is tightened up, however, some investors will still act on prescribed plans, because market incompleteness has made them oblivious to the pressure of a rising interest rate or a rising reserve requirement ratio. This is because the more incomplete the market is and the bigger the informational restraints are, the more unfair competition becomes. As a result, some privileged investors can still obtain credit and make investment. They may gradually feel the pressure, but generally speaking, the effect of a tightened-up monetary policy on them always comes belatedly.

iii. Pairings of loose and tight policies in an incomplete market

This gives rise to the issue of how to pair a loose policy with a tight one in macroeconomic regulation of an incomplete market. Such pairings are different from those in a complete market in two ways.

Firstly, in a complete market, the effects of both fiscal and monetary policies are keenly felt. Even though a tight fiscal policy tends to hit more snags than a tight monetary policy, it works reasonably well, when and where necessary, to coordinate a loose fiscal policy with a tight monetary policy, or to pair a tight fiscal policy with a loose monetary policy. Yet, things are different in an incomplete market where the capital, securities, foreign

exchange and property rights markets are most incomplete, through which monetary policy works. So fiscal policy is more effective than monetary policy. To meet the goal of macroeconomic regulation, fiscal policy is preferred over monetary policy, whose role can be very limited unless robustly enforced. Therefore, it is impractical to count on monetary policy in this regard. Such is one of the salient features of macroeconomic regulation under conditions of an incomplete market.

Secondly, a tight fiscal or monetary policy will strain money supply, bring down the economic growth rate, and curtail the inflation rate, whereas a relaxed fiscal or monetary policy will loosen up money supply, boost economic growth, and reduce unemployment. However, all this can happen only in a complete market. In an incomplete market, macroeconomic regulation will be slow to take effect, and worse, the results might be unexpectedly distorted. This is because the securities, foreign exchange and property rights markets are more incomplete than other markets, and therefore the transmission mechanism of monetary policy becomes even more flawed. If curtailing inflation is the goal of government policy regulation, the adoption of a tight fiscal policy can quickly cool down the economy and reduce inflation because this policy works especially well in this field when it is tightened up. However, the tight fiscal policy needs to be paired with a loose monetary policy if we are to prevent the economy from being cooled to such an extent as to thwart economic growth. Furthermore, because of the incompleteness of the market, and the flaws in monetary policy's transmission mechanism, a loosened monetary policy cannot work properly in the course of enforcing a tight fiscal policy, thereby defeating the purpose of maintaining the economy's momentum. As a result, with the tight fiscal policy having a strong effect and the loose monetary policy having a weak effect under incomplete market conditions, the economy is likely to be over cooled or even bogged down in stagnation. That echoes the saying, "It is easier to stop a car than rev it up."

Similarly, when raising economic growth is the goal of government policy regulation, a relaxed fiscal policy can be adopted in interaction with a tight monetary policy because this is where the relaxed fiscal policy works particularly well. Stimulated by expanded fiscal expenditure or tax reduction or exemption, the economy achieves rapid growth, but it is necessary for the relaxed fiscal policy to be accompanied by a tight monetary policy to curb

inflation in this process of accelerated economic growth. However, the incompleteness of the market and the flaws in its own transmission mechanism prevent the tight monetary policy from working properly in the course of enforcing the relaxed fiscal policy, thereby failing to achieve the goal of keeping economic growth and inflation from running too high. Thus, under incomplete market conditions, the strong effects of the relaxed fiscal policy, coupled with the weak effects of the tight monetary policy, can result in excessive economic expansion, and make it hard to contain hyperinflation.

Therefore, the troubles met in the coordinated application of fiscal and monetary policies in an incomplete market are attributed to the "limping status" of both policies. In other words, the pairing of an effective policy with a less effective one makes it hard to achieve the goals.

This, however, does not preclude the combined use of fiscal policy and monetary policy in an incomplete market. Rather, it means that the forcefulness of both policies should be taken into account when pairing them up. For instance, given the strong effect of fiscal policy and the weak effect of monetary policy, we can implement the latter with more impetus than the former, so as to maximize the outcome of the combination.

iv. Conclusion: It is easier to stop a car than to rev it up again

In the previous chapters I have made a tentative study of the coordinated adoption of fiscal and monetary policies. What does this mean for the Chinese economy in the present stage of development? As I have stated in the foregoing, the effectiveness of monetary policy is considerably restrained in an incomplete market, which makes it even harder to be coordinated with fiscal policy. For this reason, I would like to draw attention to the following two points:

First, in the current stage of economic development in this nation, it is inappropriate to adopt a relaxed fiscal policy alongside a relaxed monetary policy, or a tight fiscal policy together with a tight monetary policy, because the former tends to lead to runaway inflation and the latter a stifled economy. The only option is to couple a tight fiscal policy with a relaxed monetary policy, or vice versa. Given the different attributes of the effects of the fiscal

and monetary policies under incomplete market conditions, I would suggest a relatively tight fiscal policy alongside a relaxed monetary policy.

Second, under incomplete market conditions, the Chinese economy is typical of the saying, "It is easier to stop a car than to rev it up again." It is also where the asymmetrical nature of the effects of macroeconomic regulation is most pronounced. That is to say, when macroeconomic regulation tightens up, its effect is quickly felt and the economy retrenches as a result. By contrast, if macroeconomic regulation slackens only slightly, it can hardly serve the purpose, because the economy can only revive slowly or stay stagnant for a considerable time before it comes back to its own. Why? Because the economy can be dynamic, the purchasing power stays strong and the market thrives only when businesses and investors are optimistic about the prospects of good profits and consumers are confident in anticipation of higher income. Nevertheless, it takes time to boost optimism and confidence. Expansionary policies cannot make people sanguine about market prospects right away, while the "limping state" in which fiscal policy outplays monetary policy can land macroeconomic regulation in an impasse. It will be even harder to rev up the economy with a tight fiscal policy in the absence of a relaxed monetary policy.

Hence the foregone conclusion: At the present stage of development, China can only slightly tighten up its fiscal policy while loosening up its monetary policy a little. Otherwise, the economy can never be delivered from the dilemma in which "it is easier to stop the car than to rev it up again."

II. Be prudent with unconventional monetary policy tools

i. Three basic monetary policy tools predicated on market completeness

Monetary policy impacts GNP through its effects on the capital, securities, foreign exchange and property rights markets. If changing GNP is the policy's ultimate goal, a series of intermediary goals are needed. If changing inflation and GNP are the dual ultimate goals, they cannot be fulfilled before the intermediary goals are attained. Therefore, in our research on the impact of monetary policy on the economy, we should study this

policy's transmission mechanism, and observe, through its different tools, the policy's impact on the intermediary goals, for the purpose of finding the ways and means with which to attain the ultimate goals through these intermediary ones.

Interest rate is one of the intermediary goals of monetary policy. Under complete market conditions, the central bank applies a rediscount policy to influence the interest rate. When the rediscount rate is readjusted, it will change commercial banks' cost of borrowed funds, thereby precipitating readjustments in the interest rate on the market, and compelling investors to raise or reduce their monetary demand. Money supply thus becomes the most important of all intermediary goals that, alongside the interest rate, influences society's monetary demand, aggregate demand, and GNP. If the monetary policy's transmission mechanism is effective, it can exert its impact, through the central bank's rediscount policy, to attain both the intermediate goals and the ultimate goals. This, however, also has something to do with the economic environment as a whole. If the market is incomplete, rediscount policy cannot work as a monetary policy step on money demand the way it does in a complete market, nor can it work effectively for the attainment of another intermediary goal, the volume of money flow. Unless the rediscount policy is executed with government intervention, changing the rediscount rate cannot work on the increases or reductions in money flow.

We may take a further look at the impact of the rediscount rate. For the changing rate to exert a desired influence on interest rate, there need be full competition among commercial banks that are supposed to grant loans to clients strictly in line with the norms of market competition and selection, while the clients are likewise expected to compete on an equal footing. Otherwise, the impact of rediscount rate readjustments on interest rate will be much confined.

Adjusting reserve requirement ratio is another monetary policy tool to influence commercial banks' derived deposit, restrain their lending behavior, and ultimately affect money supply. Here, another intermediary goal – the volume of money supply – can be attained through adjusting the central bank's reserve requirement ratio. This, however, can materialize only when this ratio stays at a high level. Otherwise, even though the reserve requirement ratio can work as a monetary policy tool, it cannot serve the

purpose of forestalling any financial crisis. Furthermore, the reserve requirement ratio cannot function as a policy tool without two preconditions. For one thing, commercial banks should set maximum profits as their goal, for without such a goal, the effectiveness of readjustments in the reserve requirement ratio and of the reserve requirement system itself will be greatly blunted. This precondition is hinged on the soundness of the commercial banking system. For another, central bank's adjustment of the reserve requirement ratio should be compulsory rather than elastic; otherwise it could defeat the purpose of this monetary policy tool to intervene in money supply. Although the adjustment of reserve requirement ratio is not a frequent monetary policy tool, the effectiveness of its transmission mechanism still rests on the degree of market completion.

The central bank's open market operation is yet another monetary policy tool that should also be observed from an economic environment perspective. In comparison with other monetary policy tools, open market operation calls for more stringent market conditions – a complete and mature securities market over and above a rational market interest rate and sensible investors. Pitfalls in the transmission mechanism of open market operation can not only make it hard to achieve the intermediary goal of adjusting money supply but also frustrate open market operation as a monetary policy tool.

The rediscount rate, the reserve requirement ratio, and open market operation discussed here are three essential monetary policy tools. Their transmission mechanisms are, without exception, associated with the soundness of the market and the commercial banking system. They invariably become crippled or totally ineffective under incomplete market conditions or a flawed commercial banking system.

ii. Unconventional policy tools also depend on market completeness

Now a look at two unconventional policy tools besides the three aforementioned monetary policy tools: (1) credit scale control or credit rationing; and (2) rediscount quotas and relending quotas. The central bank uses the former to control the lending scale of commercial banks, and the latter as a supplement to rediscount rate readjustments. Both are adopted under incomplete market conditions or under a flawed commercial banking

system, but each uses a different transmission mechanism.

The central bank decides credit scale on the basis of its judgments of the economic situation. Differences in the grounds and perspectives for such judgment, and errors in evaluating credit scale effectiveness invariably lead to considerable arbitrariness in the central bank's credit scale control. The will of the government plays a big role therein as well. Controlled credit scale can change the money supply volume directly and rapidly, and in that sense, the transmission mechanism of the credit scale control policy is effective. However, prompt response and an effective transmission mechanism are not necessarily conducive to the attainment of the monetary policy's ultimate goal. This is mainly because resource allocation must be optimized constantly if economic growth is to be sustained and inflation is to remain low. Optimized resource allocation indicates improved efficiency. However, the effectiveness of credit scale control is a different story. The problem with credit scale control is that money supply may change the way policymakers want in the short run, but in the long run, with policymakers' will imposed on it, this monetary policy tool is detrimental to optimizing resource allocation, and will inevitably derail the monetary policy's ultimate goal.

Rediscount and relending quotas are adopted as another unconventional policy tool to make up for the limitations of rediscount rate readjustments. Rediscount quotas may enable the central bank to manipulate commercial banks' money-lending capacities by increasing or decreasing such quotas, and starting from there to further control overall money supply. The same purpose can be achieved by increasing or decreasing the relending quotas. However, the central bank's rediscount quotas and relending quotas, being arbitrarily decided by the government, are so subjective that they do not necessarily fit the reality of money supply. Therefore, whether such quotas are beneficial or detrimental to the realization of the monetary policy's ultimate goal is open to question. On the other hand, these unconventional tools may impair the optimization of resource allocation, and, in the long run, will hold back the attainment of the ultimate goal of the monetary policy.

iii. Using credit scale control and other unconventional measures with prudence

From our study of monetary policy's transmission mechanisms we may

conclude that if the market is complete and the commercial banking system sound, these transmission mechanisms may work effectively. If the market is incomplete and the commercial banking system flawed, it is impossible for conventional monetary policy tools to achieve expected results. As to such unconventional monetary policy tools as credit scale control, rediscount quotas and relending quotas, although their transmission mechanisms may remain effective in such a scenario, they are, in the long run, detrimental to the optimization of resource allocation and the attainment of the monetary policy's ultimate goal.

The question at hand to be answered is: What is to be done to reactivate the economy after a period of economic retrenchment? As is noted in the previous section, the adoption of a relatively tight fiscal policy in coordination with a loosened monetary policy under these circumstances is better than the pairing of a loosened fiscal policy with a tightened monetary policy, and even better than coupling fiscal and monetary policies that are both rigid or both relaxed. Our analysis of monetary policy's transmission mechanisms is further proof that this conclusion tallies with the reality of our nation.

Unconventional monetary policy tools – credit scale control, rediscount quotas, and relending quotas included – are often resorted to under incomplete market conditions. Worse, the trend is to regard these unconventional measures as conventional ones, as if the ultimate goal of the monetary policy can never be attained without doing so. In fact, this is sheer misunderstanding. Just as is discussed in the foregoing, despite being somewhat effective, these unconventional measures are harmful to optimizing resource allocation, and, corrupted by government will, cannot satisfactorily fit the money supply situation in economic operation.

To rejuvenate the economy after a period of retrenchment, it is imperative to loosen up the monetary policy more forcefully along with a relatively tight fiscal policy. Thus prudence must be applied when employing such unconventional policy measures as credit scale control, and for three reasons:

First, the transition from economic entrenchment to economic revival hinges on restoring and enhancing public confidence in market prospects, but confidence can be built up only through a cumulative process. The adoption

of unconventional monetary policy tools can engender nothing but uncertainty whether they are relaxed or rigid. If the government can employ relaxed measures, it can also choose rigid ones. In either case there are no norms to go by, because things are at the mercy of those who adopt such measures. The result can be the same: People feel their confidence draining away. That being the case, little or no use should be made of unconventional measures. We would rather adopt conventional monetary policy tools that are sure to help boost people's confidence. Although incomplete market conditions may somewhat tarnish such measures' effectiveness, that can be remedied with redoubled enforcement efforts.

Second, because unconventional monetary policy tools are often misleading to investors, and thus of great disservice to optimizing resource allocation even if a relaxed monetary policy has been adopted to activate the economy, the ultimate goal still cannot be attained due to the failure of these tools to optimize resource allocation. To rejuvenate the economy and keep it primed after a period of retrenchment, it is really important to focus on optimizing resource allocation so that production factors can be grouped and resource use efficiency increased according to market demand. In this regard, unconventional monetary policy measures compare unfavorably with conventional ones. It must be pointed out that, the restraints imposed on conventional measures by an incomplete market can always be overcome through redoubled implementation efforts.

Third, monetary policy can be loosened up a little more than usual, but this should be done on condition that commercial banks issue loans only according to the redeemability of such loans and the borrowers' fund use efficiency. Otherwise bad debts will pile up, and economic vitality will suffer. What, then, is to be done to avoid the accumulation of debts under a relaxed monetary policy? What kind of monetary policy measures – conventional or unconventional – should be employed in this regard? Obviously, unconventional monetary policy measures are susceptible to arbitrariness and government intervention, making it hard to curtail bad debts, let alone achieve the anticipated results of the relaxed monetary policy.

III. The eclipse of monetary policy's effectiveness

i. What makes monetary policy increasingly less effective

The eclipse of monetary policy's effectiveness becomes an issue when our study comes to the position and impact on objective economic regulation of such policy. This refers to the fact that after a monetary policy has been executed for some time, its positive impact on attaining the ultimate goals of economic growth and monetary stability will ebb steadily while its negative impact on the economy will increase.

The waning of a monetary policy's effectiveness may be a universal occurrence. It happens whether the market and commercial banking system are flawless or not. Naturally, the decline in policy effectiveness becomes more serious when the market is incomplete and the commercial banking system faulty.

The decreasing effectiveness of monetary policy is attributed mainly to the fact that market participants – commercial banks, other monetary institutions, and nongovernmental investors – are sensible economic agents that react rationally to the monetary policy adopted by the central bank. Even if the market is complete and the commercial banking system healthy, these agents will take countermeasures against the changing economic landscape and policy if their overriding thought is to maximize their own interests. Such countermeasures may cause the effectiveness of a certain monetary policy measure to decrease correspondingly, or force the central bank to reconsider its policy's effectiveness and readjust it. This phenomenon is undoubtedly more pronounced under incomplete market conditions and a flawed commercial banking system.

Monetary policy's waning effectiveness has also something to do with the limitations of its transmission mechanisms. The policy attains the ultimate goal through intermediary goals. However, the economy is in a state of constant restructuring that constantly updates money demand. That is to say, the relationship between money supply and demand always changes in pace with economic restructuring. The monetary policy tools taken are, without exception, focused on changing money supply, to the neglect of the new money demand out of economic restructuring. As a matter of fact, this means the central bank's monetary policy should be designed to adapt such demand to money supply, not the other way around. Changing the money supply is an intermediary goal of monetary policy; changing the demand for money is not. To put it another way, the monetary policy of the central bank impacts

directly on money supply, and indirectly on money demand by changing money supply. Thus it can be said that the monetary policy does not have a transmission mechanism that directly impacts money demand. Precisely because of this missing point in the transmission mechanism, investors in the chain of money demand inevitably seek to meet their demand for money or influence the aggregate demand for money through other channels, which are beyond the reach of policymakers. Thus the steady decline in the monetary policy's effectiveness becomes inevitable even if the market is complete and the commercial banking system perfect. The achievement of this policy's ultimate goal, observed from a monetary point of view, is predicated on changes not only in money supply but also in money demand. Only by coordinating such supply and demand can a monetary policy be effective in the attainment of the ultimate goal.

ii. The eclipse of monetary policy's effectiveness under incomplete market conditions

The unstoppable ebb of a monetary policy's effectiveness under incomplete market conditions and an imperfect commercial banking system is also ascribed to the following causes that are perhaps more important than the aforementioned ones.

First, in an incomplete market and under a flawed commercial banking system, the central bank habitually resorts to unconventional monetary policy tools like credit scale control, rediscount quotas, and relending quotas. However, because the design and use of such tools smack of government intervention, the central bank is actually not in a position to make adjustments relevant to the changing economy. As a result, these tools become rigid policy measures that can only defeat the purposes. Moreover, because these policy measures are usually introduced and backed by the administration, their effectiveness is invariably whittled down because they are rejected, openly or covertly, by commercial banks and other monetary institutions.

Second, under incomplete market conditions and an unhealthy commercial banking system, the central bank's quantitative monetary control over the entire economy is limited. The more incomplete the market and the commercial banking system are, the more likely that firms and investors

choose to obtain money beyond the central bank's control. Similarly, under the same conditions, the more the central bank tightens up its quantitative money control, the more firms and investors will try to dodge such control and seek money in areas beyond the reach of the central bank, resulting in a reduction in the effectiveness of the monetary policy.

Third, under incomplete market conditions and a flawed commercial banking system, the activity of the central bank and commercial banks may be interfered with by government at all levels that demand, including the demand for more loans and – in extreme cases – bank overdrafts. This manner of government intervention inevitably cuts deeply into the monetary policy's effectiveness and makes it difficult to reach its prescribed goals. To unshackle them from such intervention, not only should the commercial banking system and the market be straightened out, but the central banking system itself should be rectified as well. This calls for normalizing the relationship between the Ministry of Finance and the Central Bank, and between local governments and the Central Bank's local branches.

iii. Monetary policy needs to be more loosened and forceful – judging from its eclipsed effectiveness

Now let us return to the issue of coordinating fiscal and monetary policies in the post-retrenchment years. Now that we have seen that the eclipse of a monetary policy's effectiveness is unavoidable and even more so under incomplete market conditions, we have every reason to believe that, to reactivate the economy in the wake of the retrenchment, it is necessary to adopt a slightly tightened up fiscal policy in coordination with a monetary policy that is loosened up more forcefully. Such a necessity is justified from three aspects:

First, the countermeasures taken by those under the impact of a monetary policy – commercial banks, other monetary institutions and nongovernmental investors – against the changing situation brought about by that policy can keep eroding its effectiveness. As a result, the monetary policy may not work as it should on a relaxed money market if it is not loosened up with appropriate forcefulness. Sensible investors always take countermeasures according to experience and government behavior, and are especially cautious in action after going through the retrenchment years. They

will tend to hold back and bide their time, lest an ill-advised investment move put them at a disadvantage. This being the case, the monetary policy has to be relaxed a little more vigorously if its effectiveness is to stop its decline, and if its prescribed goals are to be achieved.

Second, as illustrated above, to rebuild and enhance public confidence in market and investment prospects is vital to post-retrenchment economic revival. Because this calls for a cumulative process, to loosen up the monetary policy more forcefully in coordination with a relatively tight fiscal policy is a sensible recourse for the government to prevent the monetary policy's effectiveness from diminishing endlessly and to boost people's confidence in market and investment prospects. Whether or not a consumer chooses to buy something he can do without is a conventional benchmark of his confidence or the lack of it. The consumer may make that decision on the spur of the moment, but its impact on the market cannot be underestimated. If the monetary policy is tight, people tend not to buy things they can dispense with, and thus the hope for a revived market is dashed. That tendency will remain unchanged if the monetary policy is not loosened up enough. People will not be confident enough to buy commodities in the gray zone between necessity and nonnecessity, and the economy and market will not come back to their own unless the monetary policy is loosened up adequately.

Third, it should be noted that a booming stock market alone is not enough to put the economy back on track right after a period of retrenchment. On the contrary, if the stock market is the only thing that is thriving, it may be evidence that the economy is still in a quandary, as dim investment prospects in many other fields are channeling large sums of money into the stock market. Furthermore, a bustling stock market may most likely be built on a flimsy foundation when investment prospects are grim in other fields. Under these circumstances, we should go out of our way to boost the other investment fields, at least those industries that can bolster up the economy. In conjunction with this, the monetary policy must be loosened up more emphatically to give precedence to the indispensability of its structural nature. That is to say, the policy must not be loosened up in a disorderly fashion and regardless of the industrial and investment structures. Rather, it should be designed, in the first place, to revive selected industries that can bring the economy to life and cause a chain reaction in other industries. To loosen up the monetary policy a little more liberally for these industries helps

increase effective supply to the extent where inflation will not be aggravated. Growth in effective supply means true economic growth. In addition, we have got to realize that economic growth at the present stage is not without bubbles. Of all the bubbles foaming in the economy, those in economic growth are the most obvious. To get rid of such bubbles, ineffective supply must be eradicated. This can be done by liberalizing the structural monetary policy a little more.

All in all, to shift the economy back on boom conditions in these post retrenchment years, we should not only coordinate a relatively tightened fiscal policy with a relaxed monetary policy, but also step up our effort to loosen up the latter. In the meantime, we should apply unconventional monetary policy measures with prudence, and make more use of conventional monetary policy measures. Such is the keynote of this thesis, entitled "Meshing fiscal policy with monetary policy."

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论效率的双重基础 (1998年)

一、在效率问题的研究中必须考虑人的因素

在市场经济条件下，效率是受市场调节的。利益的驱动就是市场调节起作用的表现。每一个资源投入主体为了取得利益，必须根据市场上生产要素的供求状况与价格水平来组合生产要素，提高效率。因此，在市场经济中，效率背后的机制实际上就是利益机制或市场机制，资源投入主体的利益最大化就是他所追求的目标。这样，利益驱动与目标吸引在效率问题上是统一的。

假定在市场调节之外还有政府调节，那么在效率的背后必定存在着政府调节的影响，目标的吸引主要是政府调节起作用的表现。政府有自己的目标，政府目标不是单一的，而是多元的。政府为了使自己的目标得以实现，就需要通过各种调节手段对资源投入主体发生影响，使他们在资源投入领域的选择上与资源投入方式的选择上作出符合政府目标的选择，从而影响效率的变动。

由于市场调节与政府调节是共同起作用的，所以高效率或低效率的产生实际上受到市场调节与政府调节的共同影响。但对这个问题的分析不应到此为止，我们还需要作深入一层的探讨。这是因为，在市场上进行活动的是各个交易人，一个交易人就是一个资源投入主体。对市场进行调节的是政府，政府自身也是资源投入主体。受到政府调节的是市场上的交易人，他们作为资源投入主体，既要考虑自己的利益，也要考虑政府采取的调节手段对自己利益的影响。于是就出现了另外的问题：资源投入主体是怎样考虑的呢？他们的行为受哪些因素影响呢？效率除了受到市场调节与政府调节以外，是不是还受其他力量的影响呢？

让我们先以一个企业为例。一个企业内部的关系可以分为人与物之间的关系和人与人之间的关系。人与物之间的关系主要反映为生产资料使用者与生产资料之间的关系。企业的生产资料状况和平均每个劳动者

所使用的生产资料数量的多少，基本上反映了这个企业的技术水平，技术水平的高低影响着效率的高低。从人与人之间的关系来看，问题要比人与物之间的关系复杂些。可以把企业内部的人与人之间的关系分为若干种，例如，企业领导层同一般职工之间的关系，企业领导层内部的合作共事关系，企业领导层与各级管理人员之间的关系，各级管理人员内部的合作共事关系，一般职工相互之间的关系等等。这些人际关系中，有的协调，有的不那么协调，还有的完全不协调。有些人际关系在这种情况下比较协调，在另一种情况下却不协调。人际关系的协调程度影响着效率的高低，而且对效率的影响同技术水平对效率的影响是不一样的。如果技术水平低，企业通过增加投入，或增添新设备、修建新厂房，或进行职工培训、鼓励职工钻研技术，就可以大幅度提高技术水平，达到效率增长的要求。但如果企业内部人际关系不协调，增加投入能有多大成效？难道效率会因此而大幅度提高？

再从企业从业人员（包括各级管理人员与工人）的角度来看，在一定的技术水平之下，人的因素被摆到了显著的位置，企业的效率取决于人的因素所发挥的作用。在人的因素中，职工的工作时间、每个人已达到的文化技术等级、每个人在自己的工作岗位上的责任明确程度都是已知的。但在人的因素中，还有一些未知数。例如，职工的努力程度就是未知的，因为每个人在工作中究竟使出了多大的劲，不易确定。又如，每个人都有一定的惰性，惰性的影响小，积极性、创造性发挥得充分；反之，惰性的影响大，职工的积极性、创造性的发挥就受到阻碍。职工自身能在多大程度上克服惰性，也是一个未知数。再如，如果职工个人的目标同企业目标是协调的，效率将会增长；反之，职工个人目标同企业目标不协调，效率将会下降。但职工个人目标同企业目标究竟在何种程度上协调或不协调，同样是未知的。这些未知因素的存在对企业效率的影响，是值得研究的课题，也是市场调节或政府调节都难以解决的难点。

由此可见，对效率的研究有必要在市场调节与政府调节以外展开。这并不意味着市场调节与政府调节对效率的增减不重要，这只是表明市场调节与政府调节在影响效率方面有局限性，特别是在分析效率的源泉方面有局限性。比如说，在企业内部人与人之间关系的研究中，在与人的工作努力程度、人的惰性等有关的若干未知因素对效率的影响的研究中，都需要深入到更深的层次。这就是说，道德力量在许多方面对人的行为发生作用，进而影响效率。什么是效率的真正源泉？效率的真正源泉在于人的作用的充分发挥、人的积极性与创造性的充分发挥；而要做到这一点，道德力量的作用不可忽视。在道德力量作用之下，人的作用

充分发挥了，人的积极性与创造性充分发挥了，效率将会大大提高。

应当指出的是，上述分析是以技术水平既定作为前提的。技术水平的高低，从人与物之间的关系的角度来看，关系到效率的大小。比如有两个国家、两个地区或两个企业。如果一个国家、地区、企业的技术水平高出另一个国家、地区、企业很多，那么道德力量对效率发生作用后所产生的后果就难以进行比较。因此，只有把技术水平作为既定，道德力量对效率的作用才能准确地显示出来，这样的对比才有意义。

二、效率来自凝聚力：团体的凝聚力和社会的凝聚力

前面已经指出，在一定的技术水平的条件下，效率的真正源泉在于人的积极性、创造性的充分发挥。而要充分发挥人的积极性、创造性，必须有合理的经济运行机制，必须做到人际关系的协调。

凝聚力的大小是人际关系是否协调或协调到何种程度的体现。凝聚力基本上分为两类：一是团体的凝聚力，二是社会的凝聚力。团体的凝聚力以团体内部人际关系的协调为条件，社会的凝聚力则以社会中人际关系的协调为条件。凝聚力产生效率：团体的凝聚力产生团体的效率，社会的凝聚力产生社会的效率。

这里所说的团体，包括了企业、事业单位、社区、社团、村、家庭等等。团体有大有小，但各有各的凝聚力。团体的组织有松有紧，紧密不等于有较大的凝聚力，松散也不等于缺少凝聚力。团体组织的松散或紧密，是从组织形式上说的；团体有没有凝聚力或凝聚力有多大，则同团体与成员之间协调与否、成员与成员之间协调与否有直接的关系。比如说，某个社团有严密的组织，但成员彼此之间可能勾心斗角，难以形成一股力量；或者成员对社团的领导层离心离德，存在着强烈的离心倾向，那么不管社团的组织形式多么严密，照样没有凝聚力。反之，某个社团尽管组织形式上是比较松散的，但成员之间的关系协调，成员同社团的领导层的关系协调，成员们为社团的发展齐心协力，这样的社团不仅有凝聚力，而且凝聚力还可能是很强的。

企业是由企业工作人员组成的一个团体。企业的凝聚力是团体的凝聚力中的一种。企业文化建设有助于企业凝聚力的形成。一个企业，如果有较大的凝聚力，不仅能够促使企业效率不断提高，而且在企业遇到困难时，能够使企业克服困难，闯过难关。关于这一点，人们一般是不

会产生疑问的。

需要深入探讨的问题是：社会的凝聚力如何形成？团体的凝聚力同社会的凝聚力之间存在什么样的关系？怎样正确处理这两种凝聚力之间的关系，以便既有团体的凝聚力，又有社会的凝聚力？

社会的凝聚力是指社会成员们能够团结一致，各尽所能来实现共同的目标。最显著的例子就是一个国家、一个民族在反侵略战争时期或遇到严重自然灾害时期社会成员所表现出来的齐心协力、艰苦奋斗与自我牺牲的精神。社会的这种凝聚力带来社会的高效率，会出现许多奇迹。即使在正常的情况下，如果社会上人际关系协调，社会凝聚力强，那么也会出现社会协调的环境，同样有利于效率的增长。

至于团体凝聚力与社会凝聚力之间的关系，应当认为，二者之间可能存在着相互促进的关系，也可能存在着相互制约的关系，关键在于团体的性质与团体的目标是什么样的。社会上有各种各样的团体，性质互异，目标互异。假定某个团体是政治性的组织并具有分离主义政治倾向，它的目标是要求改变现状，从一个国家分离出去。那么，这样的团体内部越有凝聚力，对社会越不利，社会的凝聚力越会受到损害。当然，这是极端的例子，我们可以把这一类团体作为特例，略去不谈。在一般情况下，团体的目标同社会的目标是相容的，也是可以协调一致的。因此，团体的凝聚力与社会的凝聚力通常有着相互促进的作用。这里仍以企业为例。

在市场经济中，企业作为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，有自己的目标，而首要的目标就是争取实现最大利益。企业之间存在着竞争的关系。为了使自己在竞争中取胜，企业不断调整生产和经营方向，也不断改进管理，增加内部凝聚力。正当竞争、合法条件下的竞争，是处理企业之间关系的前提。在这一前提下，企业之间有着共同的利益，这就是：社会越稳定，经济越繁荣，企业越能受益。一个企业的兴旺并不是必定以另一个企业的衰败为条件的。

在社会稳定与经济繁荣的大环境中，企业都有发展的机遇，并且都能实现这一愿望。从现实生活中可以看到，即使在这样的大环境中，也总有一些企业由于生产经营不善，或投资决策失误，或适应不了技术迅速变化的形势，发生生产收缩、企业倒闭或被其他企业兼并等情况。但这是正常的，这只不过是资源重新组合的反映。只要资源的重新组合能给国民经济带来效率的增长，为投资者创造新的机遇，那么某些企业收缩、倒闭或被兼并不会损害企业界的共同利益。

团体的凝聚力同社会的凝聚力是两种不同类型的凝聚力。团体的凝聚力能否同社会的凝聚力统一起来，或者说，团体凝聚力的加强能否促进社会凝聚力的加强，同作为促进团体凝聚力的重要因素的文化建设（如企业文化建设、社区文化建设、校园文化建设等）的内容与成效有密切关系。不妨仍以企业为例。在一个企业中，假定企业文化不仅强调企业自身的目标，而且同样强调社会的目标；不仅关注企业自身的利益和本企业职工的利益，而且也关注公共的利益；不仅致力于企业精神的培育，而且也致力于优良的社会风尚的培育。这样，企业文化建设的成就既表现于企业凝聚力的加强，也表现于社会凝聚力的加强，企业凝聚力与社会凝聚力是一致的。这正体现了成功的企业文化建设的社会功能与社会价值。反之，假定一个企业单纯着重企业自身利益与本企业职工利益的追求而忽略了企业文化建设的社会功能与社会价值，那么，尽管企业的凝聚力也有可能在某种程度上加强，但却无法使企业的凝聚力同社会的凝聚力协调一致，也无法使企业凝聚力的加强带来加强社会凝聚力的结果。在分析效率源泉问题时，我们不应当忽视这一点。

如果再作进一步的分析，那么可以了解到，国民财富的增加、社会的经济繁荣和文化教育事业的发展是联系在一起的。一个经济繁荣、文化教育事业发达的社会，将更有条件来进行文化建设，促进社会凝聚力与团体凝聚力共同加强。道德调节作用在促进社会凝聚力与团体凝聚力共同加强方面表现得尤为明显，道德调节的这种作用是市场调节或政府调节无法替代的。这是因为，只有运用道德力量，才能使团体的成员认识到团体目标的实现从根本上说是同社会目标一致的，个人的利益、团体的利益从根本上说是同公共利益一致的。于是团体的成员就会从内心认同社会目标，其结果将是既增强了团体的凝聚力，又增强了社会的凝聚力。团体的效率与社会的效率将在道德力量的影响下不断提高。

由此可以得出下述结论：以往在效率源泉问题的研究中，通常只着重经济因素与技术因素而忽略非经济因素与非技术因素，只注意利益的影响而不注意社会责任感与公共目标的作用，只强调物的价值实现而忽视人的价值实现。在这种传统的思想与方法的指引下，实际上研究不了效率变动的深层次问题，也揭示不了效率的真正源泉还在于人的作用以及人与人之间的关系，而不仅仅在于物的作用以及人与物之间的关系。团体凝聚力产生团体的效率，社会凝聚力产生社会的效率。在这种情况下，效率的产生与提高的原因不应当到市场机制中去寻找，也不应当到政府的调节行为中去寻找，而只能到道德力量及其对人的影响中去寻找。

三、超常规的效率是怎样产生的

效率具有物质基础，这是人们所公认的。一定的生产设备和原材料，一定的技术条件和具有一定技术水平的工作者，以及一定的社会基础设施（如交通运输设施、通讯设施、供水供热设施、能源供应设施等），构成一定的效率的物质基础。效率的物质基础的重要性已经得到了公认。不设法改善效率的物质基础，效率的提高会遇到障碍。

但是，效率是不是仅有一个基础，即物质基础呢？是不是只要具有效率的物质基础，效率就必定增长呢？从以上的论述中已经可以清楚地了解到，单有效率的物质基础是不足以充分说明效率增减的原因的。我们必须讨论效率的另一个基础，即道德基础。生产设备和原材料由人来使用，技术条件的发挥同人的素质有关，也同人的积极性、创造性有关。即以作为效率的物质基础的组成部分之一的具有一定技术水平的工作者来说，这些工作者是活生生的人，而不是机器人。他们有思想，有主张，有感情，也有目标。对待生活，他们可能持这种或那种态度；对待工作，他们可能热情，也可能冷漠。加之，他们一个个都不是孤立的人，他们同其他人交往，构成各种各样的人际关系，而这些关系的协调程度是不一样的。这一切成为效率的另一个基础，可以称之为效率的道德基础。

效率的物质基础和道德基础是并存的。单单用物质基础或道德基础都解释不了效率的增长或下降。两家企业，假定物质技术条件完全相同，生产出来的产品也相同，并且都被消费者所需要，但为什么其中一家企业的效率高而另一家企业的效率低？效率的道德基础的比较分析将会提供答案。

因此，正确的说法应当是：效率具有双重基础，即物质基础与道德基础。

在任何时代，小到一个家庭、一家企业、一座村庄，大到整个社会、整个国家，都需要有一种精神上的凝聚力、一种以道德规范为准则的行为引导、一种伦理观念。这些同科学技术是可以并行不悖的，而且也互不干扰。在处理人际关系时，凡是科学技术无能为力之处，就需要有道德力量来调整。人际关系融洽了，个人的积极性、创造性发挥了，效率自然会增长。这表明效率确实有自己的道德基础。

效率有双重基础，已如上述。接着要讨论的是：效率的物质基础是

变化的。因为经济发展了，技术进步了，工艺改进了，使用生产资料的工作者的知识也更新了，效率的物质基础肯定发生变化，而且这种变化是不间断的。那么，效率的道德基础是不是也这样呢？难道会有一成不变的道德原则作为效率的道德基础吗？再如，既然效率具有物质基础与道德基础这样两个基础，物质基础是不断变化的，难道效率的道德基础就不会随之变化吗？如果说效率的道德基础是变化的，那么这种变化是主动的变化还是适应性的变化？所谓主动的变化，是指构成效率的道德基础的那些道德规范、行为守则、评价标准等等自身发生了变化，从而导致了效率的道德基础的变化。所谓适应性的变化，是指适应于效率的物质基础的变化而引起的效率的道德基础的变化。当然，主动变化与适应性变化有时是很难分开的。效率的道德基础的变化可能既有主动变化，又有适应性变化，二者往往交织在一起。

接着，让我们考察这样一个问题：超常规的效率究竟来自何处？物质基础通常提供的是常规效率，道德基础则不仅保证常规效率的产生，而且还能提供超常规效率。

历史上移民社会的超常规效率，一直是学术界感兴趣的课题。在中国，中原战乱期间，流民纷纷南下，在广东、福建一带披荆斩棘，排水造田，改变了当地荒芜的面貌。在西欧，从12世纪起，移民们就开始在尼德兰北部从事垦荒，兴修水利，发展农牧业。这些移民所表现出来的高效率，是超常规的。工具简陋，人力单薄，环境艰苦，为什么会涌现超常规的效率呢？在移民迁移过程中，甚至在移民社会形成后的较长时期内，既没有市场调节，也没有政府调节。那么，是什么力量使他们产生如此大的热情，提供如此高的效率呢？这就不能不归因于道德力量的作用、凝聚力的作用、人的创造性的作用。也许可以下这样一个结论：从历史上看，这些移民都是在超常规的客观条件下以超常规的主观力量来完成拓荒任务的，甚至移民们的社会组织也是超常规的。这些可以被看成是人类历史上的一种奇迹。如果没有相应的道德基础，就不可能有超常规的移民社会组织，也不可能有超常规的个人主观力量，从而也就不可能有超常规的效率。

超常规的效率涌现向人们充分显示：效率增长是有潜力的。效率增长潜力的发挥，主要依靠效率的道德基础的存在，依靠道德力量的作用。除了前面提到的以移民社会为例以外，还可以列举一些例证。例如，反侵略战争时期人们种种奋不顾身的行为，在抗御重大自然灾害袭击时人们作出的种种努力，甚至在为了团体（小至一个家庭、一个家族，大至一个宗教组织、一个民族或国家）的目标的实现或团体尊严、

荣誉的维护方面，都可以看到道德力量、信念、信仰在激发人们的意志与能力中的作用。超常规的效率正是这样产生的。那么，效率的物质基础是不是也能为效率的超常规作出贡献呢？当然，效率的任何增长总是离不开物质条件的。例如，移民拓荒过程中，无论人的积极性多么大，总需要有一定的生产资料；抗御重大自然灾害时，也需要有一定的物质条件。但要知道，假定没有道德力量、信念、信仰等等在这些场合发生巨大的作用，依靠物质条件，人们仍然只能产生常规的效率，而不可能产生超常规的效率。不仅如此，还可以认为，假定缺少效率的道德基础，即使有效率的物质基础，完全有可能出现不充分的效率、低效率，甚至负效率。

在学术界曾经长期引起争论的所谓效率标准与道德标准之间的冲突问题，通过对超常规效率的分析，这个问题实际上已经得到了解决。所谓效率标准与道德标准之间的冲突，通常是指：对一种经济行为，究竟如何判断，有两个标准。一是效率标准，即以效率是增长还是下降作为标准，效率增长是善，效率下降是恶；二是道德标准，即以伦理上的是非作为标准，符合伦理原则的是善，违背伦理原则的是恶。这两种标准在许多场合是不一致的，因为效率的增长很可能不符合伦理原则，而符合伦理原则的却引起效率的下降。这是一个由来已久的老问题，它之所以难以解决，主要在于伦理上的是非究竟是从什么角度来判断的。

效率标准是经济学的标准，效率判断也是经济学中的判断，而道德标准和道德判断都不是经济学的研究对象或研究任务。但是，当问题涉及道德标准同效率标准之间的关系，以及涉及道德判断同效率判断是否一致时，这些问题便进入了经济学的讨论范围。我在所著《社会主义政治经济学》中，曾对这些问题做过如下的论述："经济行为的道德判断必须和实践检验统一起来，否则经济中的伦理原则也就会变得难以捉摸……我们可以用'劳动者的最大利益'作为经济行为的伦理标准。也就是说，凡是符合'劳动者的最大利益'的，就是'是'或'善'；不符合'劳动者的最大利益'的，就是'非'或'恶'。"[1] 这是可以用来协调效率标准和道德标准的方法之一。如果采取这种方法，也许可以作为某些经济行为评价的依据。

但不管怎么说，在另一些经济行为的评价中，效率标准和道德标准的冲突仍有可能出现。这也是至今使经济学研究者感到困惑的事情。然而，单就超常规效率的产生来看，我们不难发现，效率标准和道德标准实际上已经一致了。超常规效率的产生，本身就已经表明效率的大大提高，所以效率标准在这里是完全适用的。而超常规效率是怎样产生的

呢？正如前面已分析的，这与道德因素的作用直接有关。没有道德因素的作用，在移民社会中，在反侵略战争期间，在重大自然灾害来临时，是不会产生超常规的效率的。因此，用道德标准来衡量，可以说明超常规效率的产生在符合效率标准的同时也符合道德标准。

四、效率增长潜力的发挥

在谈到效率的道德基础时，还有一个问题需要作进一步的探讨。这就是：是个人越有自主性，效率的增长潜力越大呢？还是个人的自主性越少，个人越是从属于某个团体、某个组织，甚至从属于整个社会，效率的增长潜力越大？

为什么会提出这个问题？这与效率的道德基础有关。在生产资料的技术性质与生产的客观条件为既定的前提下，在个人作为生产者、工作者的文化技术水平已知时，如果个人有较大的自主性，那也就会有较大的积极性和创造精神，从而效率增长的潜力较大。这就是说，经济中自主的生产者、工作者越多，经济就越具有活力，经济增长的能力就越强，效率增长的潜力就越容易发挥出来。所以，不能认为生产者、工作者的自主性越大对经济越不利。但从另一个角度来看，既然效率的源泉也在于人际关系的协调，在于人同团体或社会的适应，那么在个人从属于某个团体、某个组织，甚至从属于整个社会时，人际关系协调的可能性、人同团体或社会相适应的可能性也就越大。这岂不是表明效率增长的潜力越大吗？

其实，上述问题并不是不易弄清楚的。个人的自主性与个人对某个团体、组织、甚至社会的从属，可以相容并存；不能作出必然非此即彼、必须二者择一的结论。效率的道德基础，既包括了人的积极性、创造性的发挥，也包括了人际关系的协调与适应。只强调前一方面而忽视后一方面；或者，只强调后一方面而忽视前一方面，都是不对的。不能设想在个人从属于某个团体、组织、甚至社会的同时，个人又缺乏自主性、积极性与创造性的情况下，效率会持续地、而不是暂时地增长。也不能设想在个人虽有较大的自主性，而人际关系不协调、不适应的现象却不断加剧的情况下，效率会持续增长。因此，合理的情况应当是：既有个人的自主性，又有人际关系的协调与适应，二者不可偏废。个人对某个团体、组织、甚至社会的从属，与团体、组织、社会对个人的尊重，是并存的。这种并存保证了效率的不断增长。换言之，个人对团

体、组织、社会的从属应当是发自内心的，而不是强加的、被迫的；而要人际关系保持协调，人与人之间应当在各自自重的基础上相互尊重。

现实中的情况正是如此。一个人生活在社会中，他必然是社会的成员。一个人在社会中总会参加一定的团体、组织。家庭是最小的团体，一个人总属于某个家庭。如果他是职工，他会在一家企业中工作，也许他还加入工会。如果他是农民，他所在的那个村，或许有村民自治组织。如果他是城市居民，他从属于他所在的那个社区、街道。如果他是私营企业主或个体工商户，那么他有自己的协会之类的组织。总之，他既是社会的成员，又是某个团体、组织中的一员。为此，他必须尽可能地处理好人际关系，以求得相互协调，彼此适应。但与此同时，作为一个人，他有自己的愿望，自己的要求，自己待人处世的原则。他必须有自主性，然后才有积极性与创造性。换言之，他是有活力的。一个人的自主性，是他处理好人际关系的前提，也是他同团体、组织、社会协调与适应的前提。假定他连一点自主性都没有，纯粹被当作一种工具被别人所使唤、支配，他没有活力，没有生气，处理好人际关系又有什么意义？人际关系的协调、适应等等又何从谈起？这不正说明个人的自主性同人际关系的协调相比，应处于首位吗？

进一步说，社会上有无数个个人，一个团体、组织中有若干个个人。如果这些个人都有自主性，都有活力，都能发挥积极性、创造性，也都能够按自己的目标进行活动并力求同社会的目标、团体的目标相协调、相适应，那么人际关系必定处理得更好，效率的增长会更快，幅度更大。这不正是社会或团体所希望实现的吗？

以上的分析告诉我们，效率的道德基础是客观存在的。但效率的增长既有可能是现实的，也有可能是潜在的，效率增长的潜力不一定能充分发挥出来。要发挥这种潜力，一要靠对人的自主性的尊重，以便人的积极性、创造性能得到发挥；二要靠人际关系的协调，靠人同团体、组织、社会的适应。

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The dual foundations of efficiency (1998)

I. The human factor in efficiency studies

In a market economy efficiency is regulated by market, as economic activity is driven by interests. To gain interest, every resource investor must group his production factors in light of supply and demand and prices, and raise his efficiency. Therefore, the mechanism behind efficiency in the market economy is none other than the interest mechanism, or market mechanism, and the investor's goal is to maximize his interest. Thus motivation for interest and the lure of goals are unified insofar as efficiency is concerned.

Where there is government regulation besides market regulation, there will be the impact of government regulation on efficiency. The lure of goals is by and large a manifestation of such impact. Government has its own goals which are multiple rather than single. To meet its goals, the government needs to influence resource investors by way of regulatory means, and compel them to choose investment fields and forms of investment in line with government goals. Efficiency is affected as a result.

Because market regulation works hand in hand with government regulation, efficiency, whether high or low, is under their combined influence. Our study of this issue, however, should not stop just here. We need to probe deeper into it, because those engaged in market activity are individual traders, each being a resource investor. Market participants are subject to government regulation, with the government itself as a resource investor. Market participants as resource investors, are concerned with both their own interests and the impact of government regulatory steps on their interests. This raises the questions: What is on the minds of resource investors? What factors are affecting their behaviors? Apart from market and government regulation, are there any other factors?

Take, for example, any normal firm. The relations in such a firm fall into two categories: relationships between people and materials, and interpersonal relationships. The relationship between people and materials finds expression mainly in the relationship between the means of production and those who use them. The condition and average quantity of the means of production per worker are basic indicators of a firm's technological level, which in turn determines its efficiency level. The interpersonal relationship is a lot more complicated than the former. It can be broken up into a number of relations such as the relation between the firm's leadership and workers, between members of the leadership, between the leadership and the managerial body, between members of the managerial body and between workers. Some of these interpersonal relations are congenial, others are not. Some interpersonal relations are agreeable under one condition, but disagreeable under another. The agreeability of these interpersonal relations impacts efficiency in ways different from the impact of technology. If the technological level is low, it may be upgraded as a *sine qua non* for efficiency growth by increasing investment, adding new equipment, constructing new factory buildings, putting workers through training, or encouraging them to hone their skills with an increase in efficiency as a result. If interpersonal relations are disagreeable, can reinvestment be effective? How can it send efficiency skyrocketing?

Supposing the technological level of a company is fixed, the human factor – managers and workers included – will become so prominent as to determine the efficiency level. In this human factor, every employee's work hours, cultural attainment and skill adeptness, and how well-defined his work post responsibility is, are observable factors, but there are also unobservable factors. For one thing, people's diligence level is elusive, for it is hard to tell exactly how hardworking every one is. For another, employees are under the effect of a certain level of inertia. Those who are less affected by it are more motivated and aggressive in work; those affected more by it are lethargic. To what extent they can overcome inertia is another unknown factor. Moreover, efficiency grows when employees' goals match their firm's goals, and drops when their goals are at odds with each other, but whether or not these two kinds of goals match each other and to what extent are anyone's guess. The impact of these unobservable factors on firm efficiency merits careful study, for it is a hard nut to crack for both market and government regulation.

Therefore the study of efficiency needs to go beyond the scope of market and government regulation. This is not to say that market regulation and government regulation mean little to the rise and fall of efficiency. It only shows the limits of their impact, limits that, in particular, can affect our analysis of the sources of efficiency. For instance, in our research on a firm's interpersonal relationships, the impact of unobservable factors such as diligence and inertia on employees should be probed. This shows that work ethics affect human behavior and go on to affect efficiency in many ways. What is the true source of efficiency? It is the human factor. Efficiency hinges on people's motivation and innovativeness, so work ethics should never be overlooked. Efficiency improves greatly when full scope is given to people's potentials, and when they are highly motivated and innovative under the influence of work ethics.

It should be noted that the above analysis is predicated on a given technological level. Technological level, judged from the perspective of the relationship between people and the means of production, is relevant to efficiency level. If the technological level of a country, region, or firm is a lot higher than that of another country, region, or firm, it makes comparing the impact of work ethics very difficult. Only by accurately reading the impact of work ethics on efficiency at a given technological level can such comparison make sense.

II. Efficiency stems from organizational and social cohesion

As illustrated in the previous chapter, the source of efficiency at a given technological level lies in people's motivation and innovativeness. To make the most of such motivation and innovativeness, it is essential to develop rational economic operational mechanisms and agreeable interpersonal relationships.

The cohesion parameter of the agreeability of interpersonal relationship falls into two categories: cohesion of an organization, and cohesion of society. The cohesion of an organization or society hinges on the agreeability of its interpersonal relationships. Cohesion generates efficiency. Organizational cohesion delivers efficiency inside an organization, and social cohesion endows efficiency on society.

The organization in this context refers in general to businesses, institutions, communities, clubs, villages, households and others. Organizations may vary in size, but each has its own cohesion. Organizations may be structurally loose or tight. Tight structure is not synonymous with high cohesion, while loose structure does not always mean a lack of cohesion. The structural looseness or tightness of an organization is irrelevant to cohesion or the lack of it, which is directly relevant to the agreeability of the relationship between the organization and its members and between its members. If the members of an organization are given to scheming against each other or are in discord with their leaders, this organization will be devoid of cohesion no matter how close-knit its organizational structure is. By contrast, if members of a community are in an amicable relationship with one another and with their leaders and work with one mind to make progress, such a community will enjoy cohesion, and a strong cohesion at that, even if it is loosely organized.

A firm consists of workers and managers. Its cohesion is one of many kinds of organizational cohesion. To foster corporate culture helps cultivate corporate cohesion. With strong cohesion, a firm can not only improve its efficiency steadily but also overcome difficulties and tide over adversities. There is no doubt about it.

Some questions come to mind at this point of this study: How does society's cohesion come about? What is the relationship between organizational cohesion and social cohesion? How should such a relationship be handled to achieve both organizational and social cohesion?

Social cohesion is the force that rallies members of society together as one to achieve common goals. There is no lack of outstanding examples in this regard, such as the concerted effort, hard work, and self-sacrifices of people rallying against foreign invaders or natural disasters. Under such unusual circumstances, this kind of cohesion can generate high social efficiency and work wonders. Under normal circumstances, a society with harmonious interpersonal relationship and strong cohesion invariably enjoys an agreeable social environment that is a boon to the growth of efficiency.

As to the relationship between organizational cohesion and social cohesion, they may either promote or circumscribe each other, depending on what the organization's nature and goals are. There are all sorts of

organizations in society that differ in nature and pursue different goals. If separatism is a political organization's overriding call, then the more cohesive it is, the more destructive it becomes to society. Of course this is an extreme example that can be excluded from my discussion. Generally speaking, an organization and society can get along if they have compatible goals, and consequently the cohesion of the organization and that of society are complementary. Below let me take firms for example again.

In a market economy, maximization of interest is the primary goal of firms that function as commodity producers making their own business decisions and being accountable for their profits and losses. To meet that goal, they must beat competition by constantly adjusting their production and business directions, improving their management and enhancing their internal cohesion. Competition on a level playing field is essential to the proper handling of the relationship between firms, in which their shared interest lies in the belief that the more stable society is and the more the economy thrives, the better off the firms become. The rise of one firm does not necessarily mean the downfall of another.

In an environment of social stability and economic prosperity, every firm has the opportunity to grow and convert their good intentions into reality. However, even in such a friendly environment there are still firms that have to downscale production, go bankrupt, or be annexed due to decision-making errors or failure to keep pace with technological development. These occurrences are a normal reflection of the regrouping of resources. As long as such regrouping proves salubrious to efficiency of the economy as a whole and brings new opportunities to investors, the common interest of the business world will not be hurt by the aforementioned production cuts, bankruptcies, or mergers.

Organizational cohesion and social cohesion, however, are not the same thing. Whether the former can be unified with the latter, or whether enhanced organizational cohesion can strengthen social cohesion, is determined by the substance and efficacy of advancement in culture – corporate culture, community culture, campus culture, etc. – as a major element in the promotion of organizational cohesion. Let us take the firm again. If a firm's corporate culture emphasizes not only its own goals but also the goals of society, attaches importance not only to its own benefits, but to the benefits

of the society as a whole, and aims not only at cultivating its own corporate spirit but also at fostering fine social mores, the achievement of such a corporate culture will be reflected in the improved cohesion of both the firm and society. The unification of corporate and social cohesion precisely embodies the social function and value of a sound corporate culture. Conversely, if a firm is bent on pursuing its own corporate and workforce interests at the expense of its corporate culture's social function and value, it will have no way of coordinating its cohesion with that of society, nor can its improved corporate cohesion result in improved social cohesion. This point should not be overlooked when analyzing the sources of efficiency.

A more nuanced understanding of the issue enables us to see that growth in national wealth is connected with society's economic prosperity and development in culture and education. A prosperous society with advanced culture and education is better endowed to promote cultural development and coordinate its own cohesion with organizational cohesion. Moral values also play an outstanding role in enhancing social and organizational cohesion, a role that cannot be superseded by market or government regulation. This is because only moral values can demonstrate to members of organizations that their own organizations' goals are in line with those of society and that the interests of individuals and organizations are, fundamentally speaking, compatible with the interests of society. That realization enables them to identify themselves completely with society's goals, thereby bolstering both organizational and social cohesion. Both organizational and social cohesion can be steadily enhanced under the impact of moral force.

Hence my conclusion: In the past, researchers of the source of efficiency have often stressed economic and technological factors to the neglect of noneconomic and nontechnological factors, emphasized the impact of interests at the expense of public goals and a sense of social responsibility, and reiterated material values regardless of human values. Under the sway of such outdated ideological and methodological approaches, researchers could neither probe into the deep-seated issue concerning changes in efficiency, nor explain that the human factor and interpersonal relations – rather than the material factor and the relationship between people and materials – are the true fountainhead for efficiency. Organizational cohesion generates organizational efficiency, and social cohesion brings forth social efficiency. This being the case, the source of efficiency and its enhancement lies not in

market mechanisms or government interventional behavior, but in the force of morality and its impact on people.

III. Where super efficiency comes from

It is generally acknowledged that efficiency rests on a material foundation. Such a foundation encompasses production equipment, raw materials, technological conditions, workers with a certain level of technical proficiency, and social infrastructure (including means of communications and transportation, telecommunications facilities, water and heat and energy utilities). The importance of the material foundation is common knowledge. Efficiency suffers when the material foundation stops improving itself.

Does efficiency have only one foundation, the material foundation? Is it true that where there is a material foundation, there will be growing efficiency? As noted previously, a material foundation alone is not enough to account for the ebb and flow in efficiency. Due consideration must be given to the other foundation – the moral foundation. Manufacturing equipment and raw materials are used by people. The efficacy of technology cannot operate without man's proficiency, motivation and creativity. In other words, workers with a certain level of proficiency are an integral part of the material foundation of efficiency. However, workers are not robots. They are human beings who think, feel, and pursue ideas and goals. They may take one attitude or another towards life, and be either devoted to or uncaring about work. In addition, they are not isolated, but interact with one another to form all sorts of interpersonal relations with varying degrees of coordination. All this constitutes the other foundation for efficiency, the moral foundation.

The material and moral foundations of efficiency exist alongside each other. Neither of them can stand alone to account for a rise or fall in efficiency. Let us imagine that two firms have the same material and technological conditions and make the same product needed by consumers: How is it that one firm is more efficient than the other? The answer can be found by comparing the differences in the moral foundation of their efficiency.

Thus it makes sense to say that efficiency has dual foundations, material and moral.

Organizations – as small as families, companies or villages or as large as communities or nations – cannot survive without spiritual cohesion, norms of conduct, and moral values in the same way as they cannot dispense with science and technology. In handling interpersonal relations, morality comes to assist when and where science and technology are helpless. Once interpersonal relations are finely tuned, once full scope is given to people's initiative and creativity, efficiency grows as a matter of course. This shows that efficiency does indeed have a moral foundation.

Efficiency's material foundation changes constantly with economic growth, technological advancement, and the renewal of knowledge on the part of those who use the means of production. Moreover, its changes are unstoppable. Does efficiency's moral foundation ever stop changing itself? Is there any unalterable moral principle that forms this foundation? Given that the material foundation is ever-changing, can the moral foundation stay intact alongside it? If the answer is in the positive, does the moral foundation ever change on its own or only in unison with circumstances? If it changes on its own, this refers to changes in moral values, rules of conduct, and evaluation criteria themselves. If it changes in unison with circumstances, this means that the moral foundation can adapt itself to the material foundation. However, it is difficult to distinguish between these two kinds of changes, which, in fact, are often intertwined with each other.

Now consider this question: Where does super efficiency come from? While the material foundation usually offers conventional efficiency, the moral foundation not only ensures conventional efficiency but also provides super efficiency.

The super efficiency of the immigrant societies of yore has been a topic of perennial academic interest. During the millennium-long war and turmoil following the demise of the Han dynasty (206 BC-220 AD), immigrants from central China hacked their way through brambles and throngs and settled in what are today's Guangdong and Fujian provinces, where they dredged rivers and converted barren land into fertile farmland. Beginning from the 12th century, immigrants into the western European region now known as the Netherlands reclaimed the land, built water conservancy projects and developed farming and animal husbandry. What these immigrants embodied was precisely a kind of super efficiency. How did they achieve such

efficiency with medieval tools and limited manpower in harsh environments? There was neither market force nor government intervention during the process of immigration and the rise of the immigrant society, so what had motivated these people to toil with such high efficiency? This can only be attributed to the magical forces of morality, cohesion, and creativity. We may as well say that given the historical circumstances, these immigrants performed pioneering feats with extraordinary strength under extraordinary conditions. Even their social organizations were extraordinary. These factors combined to work miracles in human history. In the absence of a commensurate moral foundation, there could not have been such extraordinary immigrant social organizations, the immigrants could not have mustered such extraordinary strength as individuals, and such super efficiency would have been out of the question.

The achievement of super efficiency fully testifies to what potential efficiency growth can do. Such potentials can be tapped by relying on the moral foundation of efficiency. Examples in this regard are aplenty, besides the aforementioned immigrant societies. The role of morality, confidence and faith in stimulating human willpower and abilities can be seen in people's death-defying behaviors in resistance against foreign invaders, in combating natural disasters, and even in the effort of members of an organization – as small as a family or clan and as large as a nation or region – in attaining their goals or in safeguarding dignity and honor. Super efficiency arises precisely from among these people. Can the material foundation also contribute to the rise of super efficiency? Efficiency can certainly not do without its material condition. For instance, our forefathers would not have accomplished their pioneering cause without certain means of production in their possession no matter how motivated they were. We cannot combat natural adversities empty-handed. However, without the tremendous impact of morality and faith under these circumstances, material conditions can only yield mediocre efficiency. We must admit to ourselves that in the absence of a moral foundation, our efficiency may still be inadequate, low or even negative despite the provision of an efficient material foundation.

The longstanding controversy about the conflict between the efficiency standard and the moral standard is settled through our analysis of super efficiency. The conflict between these two standards is about judging economic behavior with two criteria. One is a standard of efficiency, meaning

that an economic behavior is good when it boosts efficiency, and bad when it reduces efficiency. The other is a standard of morality: Efficiency is good if it accords with the moral principle and evil if it violates it. These two standards are often in discord because rising efficiency may run counter to the moral principle, whereas efficiency that accords with the moral principle may fall. This longstanding issue cannot be settled mainly because of uncertainty about which standard to use in judging the moral good or evil of efficiency.

The efficiency standard is an issue in economics, and so is efficiency judgment. However, neither the moral standard nor moral judgment is a subject or research task for any economists. Both belong in the realm of economics where and when an economic issue touches upon the relationship between moral standard and efficiency standard, and the need arises to determine whether or not a moral judgment corresponds with an efficiency judgment. In my *Socialist Political Economics* I put it this way, "The moral judgment of economic behavior should be tested in practice, otherwise the moral principle for the economy could become elusive…. We may as well regard 'maximum workforce interests' as the moral standard for economic behavior. That is to say, an economic behavior is sound when it complies with 'maximum workforce interests', and is evil when it does not."[2] This approach to coordinating efficiency and moral standards may serve to support my judgment of certain economic behaviors.

After all, the conflict between efficiency and moral standards may still occur in evaluating some other economic behaviors, to the bewilderment of the economists of today. However, the emergence of super efficiency testifies to the accord between both standards. Extraordinary efficiency itself is evidence of an impressive boost in efficiency, and therefore, the efficiency standard is entirely applicable here. How, then, does super efficiency come about? It is directly related to the role of morality, as I have stated before. Without morality, super efficiency would have been out of the question in an immigrant society or in combating foreign invaders or major natural catastrophes. Thus super efficiency that measures up to the efficiency standard is also up to the moral standard.

IV. Tapping potentials in efficiency growth

The mention of the moral foundation for efficiency brings the following

question to mind: Under which condition is the potential greater for efficiency growth – the more the initiative is taken into the hands of individuals, or the less the initiative is taken into the hands of individuals while the more closely individuals are attached to their organization or society?

Why should I raise such a question? It has something to do with the moral foundation of efficiency. Given the technical nature of the means of production, given objective production conditions, and provided the cultural and technical proficiency of individuals as producers is fixed, individuals with more freedom of choice may become highly motivated and innovative, and thus have greater potential for efficiency improvement. That is to say, the larger the number is producers and workers with freedom of choice in economic activity, the more dynamic the economy becomes, the better the economy's capacity for growth is, and the easier the potentials of efficiency growth are to be tapped. Therefore, it is wrong to believe that the more autonomy is allowed for producers and workers, the more detrimental it is to the economy. On the other hand, however, given that the source of efficiency also lies in harmonious interpersonal relations and in people's compatibility with their organizations or society, it is more likely to coordinate these relations and enable individuals to adapt themselves to their organizations and society if they are subordinate to those organizations or society as a whole. Does this also point to greater potential for efficiency growth?

As a matter of fact, this question is not unanswerable. Individual autonomy and subordination to a particular organization or society can be mutually compatible instead of mutually exclusive. The moral foundation for efficiency entails not just making the most of people's enthusiasm and creativity; it also involves coordinating and harmonizing interpersonal relations. It is senseless to emphasize the former to the neglect of the latter, or vice versa. Nor can we believe that efficiency can grow continuously rather than temporarily when individuals are deprived of autonomy and lack enthusiasm and creativity as members of a particular organization or society, or when individuals enjoy a lot of autonomy while interpersonal relations are growing increasingly more inordinate and incompatible. Thus it is ideal to have both individual autonomy and coordinated and compatible interpersonal relations, with neither aspect neglected. This being the case, there should be individuals subordinate to organizations and society on the one side, and

organizations and society holding individuals in due respect on the other – the coexistence of both conditions can keep efficiency growing steadily. In other words, individuals' subordination to organizations and society should be genuine and voluntary. Instead of being imposed upon them, their subordination should be conditioned by coordinated interpersonal relations and mutual respect, but at the same time, individuals should also conduct themselves with dignity and self-respect.

That should be the way it is in reality. People living in society are inevitably its members. A member of society invariably participates in certain organizations or institutions. The family is the smallest cell of society, and everyone belongs to a particular family. If a man is a worker, he works in a factory, where he may also be a trade union member. If he is a farmer, he may become a member of a villagers' self-governing organization, if such an organization ever exists. If he is an urban dweller, he belongs to the local community or neighborhood. If he is a private or self-employed business owner, he must belong to a certain association in which he handles interpersonal relations the best he can in order to live and work in harmony with fellow members. Meanwhile, as an individual, he should have his own wishes and demands, follow his own principles in dealing with people and daily life, and take the initiative into his own hands to stay motivated and innovative. In all, he should be a dynamic human being. Self-dependence is the prerequisite for someone to be in good interpersonal relations and get along with his organization and society. Good personal and interpersonal relations can mean nothing, and there will be no coordination and compatibility to speak of, if people are deprived of self-dependence and personal initiative. Doesn't this mean that personal initiative should be put in the first place in comparison with harmonious interpersonal relationships?

Society consists of numerous individuals, and an organization or institution comprises a certain number of individuals. If these individuals enjoy self-dependence, are motivated, energetic, and innovative, and have the latitude to pursue their own goals while adapting themselves to organizational and social goals, interpersonal relations can be better handled, and efficiency can grow faster and by bigger margins. Isn't this exactly what society and organizations hope for?

Based on the above study, we know that the moral foundation of

efficiency is an objective reality, but efficiency growth may either be real or potential, and the potential in efficiency growth is not necessarily tapped to capacity. To give full scope to such potential, we have to do two things: first, to respect people's self-dependence and give full scope to their motivation and innovativeness; and second, to coordinate interpersonal relations and adapt individuals to their organizations and society.

— *Journal of Peking University* (*Philosophy and Social Sciences*), issue No. 6, 1998

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[1] 厉以宁：《社会主义政治经济学》，商务印书馆1986年版，第438－439页
[2] Li Yining (1986), *Socialist Political Economics*, Beijing: Commercial Press, pp. 438-439.

后 记

一、生平简述

（一）求学（1955年以前）

厉以宁原籍江苏仪征，1930年11月22日出生于南京，是家中的长子。在他4岁那年，全家从南京迁到了上海；6岁时在距家不远的上海中西女中第二附小（现建襄小学）读书，从小就是一名勤奋好学的学生。

小学毕业后，他考进了上海南洋模范中学。太平洋战争爆发后，日军占领了上海租界，全家逃难到湖南沅陵。厉以宁转入由长沙迁到沅陵办学的雅礼中学。抗战胜利后不久，厉以宁回到南京，在南京金陵大学附中一直读到高中毕业。

在中学时代，厉以宁深受化学老师的影响，认为工业的落后是中国贫穷的根源，从而立下了实业救国的志向。1948年底，在烽火连天的战争中，厉以宁以优异成绩从高中毕业，并被保送进入金陵大学。一心想以实业报国的厉以宁选择了化学工程系。人民解放战争的胜利改变了厉以宁一生的命运。新中国的成立，使厉以宁对中国的前途和命运改变了看法，他对中国繁荣富强的希望之火重新点燃。厉以宁决定投身于新中国建设事业，在湖南参加了工作，在湖南沅陵教育用品消费合作社担任会计。

厉以宁学生时代 Li Yining in his school days

厉以宁在工作中发现自己的知识相当贫乏。因此，1951年，他毅然决定离职参加高考。1951年7月，厉以宁在长沙应试，8月底接到了北京大学的录取通知书，成为北京大学经济系的一名学生。

在北京大学学习期间，厉以宁忘我地学习，他十分珍惜这四年的学习时光。大学四年的八个寒暑假，他将全部时间都留在了北大图书馆，从未回过家。平时的正常学习时间里，他比其他同学更加勤奋。在别人刚刚起床、准备投入新一天的学习时，他往往已在晨曦里完成了大量而充实的阅读工作。课堂上的厉以宁，敏锐的目光一直紧紧地追随着授课老师，他往往能比别人更早、更透彻地理解老师的讲授，并提出一些颇有见地的问题。四年里的1000多个日日夜夜，厉以宁从未放松过学习。

博闻强记与发奋努力结出了丰硕的成果，年轻的厉以宁很快就在北大脱颖而出，成为众所瞩目的尖子学生。当时的北大经济系代理系主任陈振汉教授对他的评语是："成绩优异，名列前茅"。1952年7月，刚刚完成一年学业的厉以宁就发表了题为《波兰经济的新面貌》的论文，翻译了《赫尔岑和奥加略夫的经济观点》等专著。正所谓名师出高徒，厉以宁在大学时期的学习和研究，与当时北大经济系强大的师资力量密不

可分。最早引导厉以宁钻研西方经济理论的是罗志如教授。他不仅在课堂上认真授课，而且在课下把英文书刊上的某些文章借给厉以宁阅读，使他眼界大开。陈岱孙教授毕业于美国哈佛大学，作为经济学说史研究者，他在潜移默化中影响着厉以宁。对厉以宁影响较大的老师还有胡代光、周炳琳、赵迺传、陈振汉和徐毓枬等教授。

（二）韬光养晦（1955-1980年）

1955年，厉以宁毕业留校任教。从1955年至1980年这一段时期，正是他潜心阅读、学习、思考和研究的时期。20世纪50年代末至60年代初，厉以宁翻译了共约200多万字的经济学著作，还主办了30多期共100多万字的《国外经济学动态》，其中近90%的稿件是由厉以宁一人编写的。他还阅读了不少西方经济学专著，对凯恩斯、哈耶克、熊彼特和希克斯的学术思想非常熟悉。另外，他还是国内研究西方经济学非均衡理论的第一人。在如此深厚的理论基础的支撑下，厉以宁厚积薄发，于20世纪70年代末80年代初一跃成为中国学术界引人注目的中年学者。

在这25年的时期里，厉以宁的研究也多次被打断。1958年，在大跃进浪潮中，厉以宁随北大教师队伍来到京西地区，整整劳动了一年。1964年和1965年，厉以宁再次被迫放下书本，到农村参加四清运动；1964年秋到1965年夏，在湖北江陵农村；1965年秋到1966年6月初，即“文化大革命”开始，到北京朝阳区高碑店。1969年10月，厉以宁又跟随北大教师队伍到江西鲤鱼洲农场劳动，直到1972年才回到学校。但此后4年左右，厉以宁仍一再被派往农村，边劳动，边接受再教育。直到1976年11月初，也就是“四人帮”被粉碎后一个月，才在学校里安定下来。

厉以宁夫妇及女儿厉放在鲤鱼洲 With wife and daughter on Liyuzhou Farm

从1957年“反右”算起，到1976年为止，整整20年，厉以宁度过了心灵和肉体双重折磨的年代。他成熟了，是在不停的磨难中趋于成熟的。他上山下乡，亲历了国民经济遭受的严重破坏，目睹了广大农民的贫苦。他那颗充满理想主义信念的心受到了深深的震撼。他对传统社会主义模式的信念一次又一次遭到现实的无情打击，他不仅对这一传统模式产生怀疑，还进而从根本上予以否定。正是在这段时间里，厉以宁的经济观点发生了剧烈的变化，他决心自己去探寻一条研究社会主义经济的新路。

（三）大器晚成（1980年至今）

经过20多年的韬光养晦，厉以宁厚积而薄发，其经济学研究结出了累累硕果。从1979年起，他陆续向读者展示了自己对西方经济学20多年的研究成果，包括《论加尔布雷思的制度经济学说》、《现代西方经济学概论》、《宏观经济学的产生和发展》等一系列著作。这些著作在当时中国经济学学术界掀起了巨大的波浪。重返讲台之后，厉以宁马上成为北京大学最受欢迎的老师之一。他在校园里的课堂上，100人的教室，每次都能挤满200多人。讲课期间，掌声雷动。很快地，厉以宁在全国范围内名气大增，成为众人瞩目的经济学大师。

厉以宁的学术成就与中国改革开放的历史大潮息息相关。1980年以前，中国实行计划经济，在改革开放后逐步向社会主义市场经济转变。如此庞大的经济体，其转型过程充满了未知和疑惑。厉以宁以其近30年对西方经济学的理论积淀，运用现代的经济学理论，加上其对中国现实经济的深刻理解，提出了一系列的改革主张。由于他提出并推动了1980年代的“股份制改革”，而被称为“厉股份”。

在这个时期，厉以宁还一手创办了北京大学光华管理学院。光华管理学院前身是1985年北京大学的经济管理系和管理科学中心。1993年，厉以宁带领多名老师，在此基础上成立北京大学工商管理学院。1994年，在厉以宁的推动下，北京大学与光华教育基金会签定合作办学协议，工商管理学院改名为光华管理学院。管理学院自成立起，厉以宁长期担任院长，直至2005年。目前，光华管理学院已经成为中国最好的商学院之一。厉以宁还长期研究中国特有的“城乡二元结构”，推动民营经济的健康发展，关注中国的地区发展差异和帮助贫困地区的发展。

2010年，厉以宁已满80岁。自1980年以来，他30年来一直活跃于中国经济学学术界，是学生喜爱的老师，是受社会敬重的教授，也是对经济政策具有一定影响力的经济学家。关于他的学术思想和对中国经济改革开放的贡献，后文再做详细介绍，这里不再赘述。

（四）家庭生活

中国古代传说中有一种鸟，叫鹣，雄有左翼，雌有右翼，比翼双飞。于是，人们也希望自己拥有相扶到永远的另一半，“鹣鲽情深”就成了人们对恩爱夫妻的赞美。厉以宁和他夫人何玉春，就是这样一对夫妻，患难与共，恩爱有加。

厉以宁和何玉春第一次相遇于20世纪40年代的湖南沅陵。1951年厉以宁考取了北京大学，1953年何玉春考取了华中工学院，两人天各一方。直至1957年2月，何玉春来京探亲，住在其兄何重义家中；厉以宁由北大来清华看望老同学何重义。两人不期而遇，从此结下一世情缘。

厉以宁何玉春结婚照 The wedding photo

1958年2月，正是农历除夕，厉以宁与何玉春喜结连理。新房就在北京海淀的三小间简陋平房，总面积不过20平方米。外祖母、母亲、弟弟都与他们住在一起。家具除了床以外，只有一张饭桌、四个板凳、一个碗柜、一个脸盆架。然而，简陋的小屋中却充溢着浓浓的甜蜜和欢笑。

两人结婚照颇具时代特点。厉以宁一身中山装，戴着眼镜，白净瘦削，显然一文静书生；何玉春穿着自织的花毛衣，两条长辫子挽上两边，一边扎一朵蝴蝶结，面带微笑。新婚后，他们在一起生活的时间很短，两人一个赴北京斋堂乡劳动，一个去辽宁鞍山上班。此后，在相当长的一段时间内，这对恩爱夫妻如同当时的许多家庭一样，不得不长期两地分居。直到1970年12月，夫妻分居终于熬到了头。经过长达十几年的两地相思苦煎熬之后，何玉春放弃了一切能放弃的（户口、专业、工作等），来到了江西鲤鱼洲，与厉以宁开始了一次真正不再分开的相聚。

到2010年，厉以宁、何玉春已相偕相伴走过了52个春秋。他们的女儿厉放已获得澳大利亚莫纳什大学博士学位，儿子厉伟自北京大学化学系毕业后，就南下广东创业。此时，厉以宁夫妇的幸福生活不仅体现在

儿女长大成人，更体现在事业上的携手共进。在改革开放这个大舞台上，厉以宁充分施展着自己的才华，名气盛大；但在他耀眼的光环后面，是夫人何玉春默默无闻的奉献。何玉春所学并非经济学，她是电气专业的高级工程师，但她却是厉以宁经济学专著的第一读者。厉以宁说："她在阅读书稿时感到哪里还不够简明，还不易被人们看懂，我就修改，直到她满意为止。所以读者读完我的书，如果感觉到符合深入浅出的要求，那么夫人的功劳占一半。"

二、学术成就

（一）经济史研究

1．概述

经济史研究，在厉以宁的学术研究中占有重要的位置。1962年，厉以宁第一次登上北大讲坛，讲授的就是外国经济史。在他后来几十年的学术生涯中，包括近30年着力研究中国经济体制改革的理论与实践问题期间，他都从未间断过对经济史、尤其是西方经济史的研究。在一定程度上可以说，厉以宁在经济学方面的建树，也来源于他在经济史方面的功力。《二十世纪的英国经济——"英国病"研究》、《资本主义的起源：比较经济史研究》以及《罗马—拜占庭经济史》等著作，都是厉以宁在经济史方面的集大成之作。

2．《二十世纪的英国经济——"英国病"研究》

《二十世纪的英国经济——"英国病"研究》出版于1982年，是厉以宁早期经济学学习研究的结晶，也是他学术生涯的一个界碑。

20世纪大英帝国的衰落是世界史上最引人注目的话题之一。在西方一些著作中，学者们往往把大英帝国的衰落与其"世界工厂"地位的丧失等同起来。但是厉以宁对此并不完全认同。他认为，"世界工厂"地位的丧失虽然可以解释英国在世界上相对地位的下降，却解释不了为什么其经济本身陷入停停走走的状态。对于"英国病"，厉以宁给出了自己的诊断。那就是：世界工厂地位的丧失，殖民扩张的结束给国内经济带来的后果，福利国家政策所引起的问题和传统精神对经济的消极作用。在这本书中，厉以宁对英国二十世纪的社会、政治、经济和意识形态进行了综合的考察，得出了不同于前人的结论。这本书，既是中国当代经济学

家撰写的第一部关于20世纪的西方国家的经济史，也是第一部国内学者对英国政府宏观政策进行经济分析的著作。

2002年厉以宁全家合影照 A 2002 picture of all members of the Li family

3．《资本主义的起源：比较经济史研究》

2003年由商务印书馆出版的《资本主义的起源：比较经济史研究》，从策划到完稿用了二十年的时间，是厉以宁在经济史方面的呕心沥血之作。在二十年的时间中，厉以宁不断地探索、思考和完善资本主义起源的理论体系，并结合他参与中国经济改革设计的经验，最终悟出了破解资本主义起源这道历史难题的全新思路。

按照起源的不同，厉以宁将资本主义划分为原生型资本主义和非原生型的资本主义。前者是指在本国或本地区的封建社会解体的过程中，由于内部因素的作用产生和发展起来的资本主义。西欧国家大体上属于这一类型。后者是指某种外力冲击了本国或本地区的封建社会，动摇了其统治基础，削弱了其统治力量，在封建社会解体过程中产生和发展起来的资本主义。日本和其他亚洲、非洲、拉丁美洲的一些后发资本主义国家即属于这一类型。那么，为什么资本主义能在一些国家的封建社会内部产生、发展并最终确立下来，而在其他国家却需要外力的冲击才能

确立呢？厉以宁认为，这与封建社会的不同体制有关。封建社会可以划分为刚性体制和弹性体制。在刚性体制下，社会等级制和身份制严格，社会流动不易。在弹性体制下，封建统治者未采用严格的等级制和身份制，容许纵向的和横向的社会流动；权力结构可以发生变化，权力的行使方式也灵活多样，以确保封建制度的存在和延续。在刚性体制下，由于权力结构固定，权力行使方式僵化，所以各权力之间容易出现空隙，便于体制外异己力量滋生成长；再发展壮大形成体制外的权力中心，与体制内的权力中心发生冲突，最终导致封建社会的崩溃和资本主义社会的诞生。而弹性体制下的封建制度，应变能力很强，遇到危机可以自我调整，不易产生体制外的异己力量，从而能够长期存活下来。

西欧封建社会的刚性体制看起来很坚硬、稳定，但实际上像脆弱的铁锅，经不起打击——农奴竭力想摆脱自己不自由的处境而向往城市，因为城市不但给卑贱者提供生存之路，而且提供了可以摆脱对封建主的人生依附关系和争取到平等地位的机会。社会体制越是限制社会的流动，卑贱者和等级低下的人，就越想摆脱这种限制。改变的最直接途径就是反抗。随着社会的发展，城市中聚集的人越来越多，城市的力量越来越大，形成了反对封建主的力量，最终造成了西欧封建社会的覆亡。

此书还对中国弹性的封建体制和非原生型资本主义的产生给出了生动而独到的分析。在整本书中，厉以宁关于制度调整的分析方法不但可以给资本主义的起源一个令人信服的解释，而且可以用来分析资本主义和社会主义的制度调整问题。可以说，它不仅分析了资本主义的起源，而且最终能提炼出社会制度转型和变迁的普遍规律。

4．《罗马—拜占庭经济史》

《罗马—拜占庭经济史》（上、下编）是厉以宁出版于2006年的一部重要经济史学著作，是厉以宁多年来研究罗马、拜占庭经济史心得的积累，也是一部见解独到、思想深邃的重要史学著作。此书共分上下两编，上编为“从共和到帝制”，时间跨度大约为700多年，即从公元前3世纪罗马共和国盛期到公元476年西罗马帝国灭亡。下编为“东方与西方之间”，时间跨度将近1000年，即从公元476年西罗马帝国灭亡到1461年拜占庭帝国全境被奥斯曼帝国征服。全书时间跨度两千年，纵横数千公里，从不列颠直到阿拉伯海，描述了围绕着地中海东西部的广阔历史画卷，对罗马共和国盛期到拜占庭帝国灭亡期间的社会经济变迁做了论述。在这本书中，厉以宁针对罗马—拜占庭的历史提出了一系列自己的观点。如，小土地所有者和大土地所有者之间的矛盾和斗争是贯穿罗马社会经济生活的主要线索；罗马共和国的兴盛和罗马帝国的兴盛所依靠

的是乡村自耕农和城市工商业者的支持；罗马的帝制并不是古代东方国家的帝制的搬用。罗马帝制初期类似于军事独裁制，同时又保存了罗马共和制的一些因素。只是到了后来才吸收了越来越多的东方专制制度的内容和仪式，形成一种准东方的或半东方的帝制。

西罗马帝国的灭亡是一个影响深远的历史事件。对这一事件的原因，厉以宁既不同意“阶级斗争论”，也不同意“民族斗争论”，更不同意“罗马人素质退化论”。他认为，“任何大国在未经自我毁灭之前是不会为他国所征服的。”西罗马帝国的灭亡要从它自身寻找原因：罗马共和国和罗马帝国的兴盛所依靠的都是乡村中自耕农和城市中工商业者的支持，兵源充足、府库充实、经济繁荣、社会基本稳定。但是，安东尼王朝结束以后，长时期内自耕农和工商业者备受打击、剥夺，相继沦于破产、逃亡的困境。兵源枯竭了，府库空虚了，经济萧条了，社会动荡不安，西罗马帝国自己摧毁了赖以生存的社会基础——社会的中产阶级。所以等待它的只有覆亡。

厉以宁认为，近1000年后拜占庭帝国的灭亡则重演了西罗马帝国灭亡的悲剧：拜占庭帝国毁坏了自己赖以生存的基础，即乡村中的小土地所有者和城市中的工商业者，兵源和税源都枯竭了。兵源枯竭后，只能由外族的雇佣兵来充当军队的主力。为了供养这批外族的雇佣兵，又只能加重赋税，迫使城市中的工商业者继续破产、被捕或逃亡，税源就更加枯竭了。

《资本主义的起源》和《罗马—拜占庭经济史》这两部经济史巨著说明，厉以宁对于经济史方面的学术研究，数十年保持了一种高度的热情。正是由于有这种热情，再加上他高超的洞察力，厉以宁才能够在经济史研究方面取得如此巨大的成就。

（二）转型经济学研究

1．概述

厉以宁关于中国经济转型与经济发展理论的集中体现，是他关于转型经济学的观点。以两类经济非均衡的理论为基础，厉以宁对中国经济的转型问题做了深入的研究，并提出了三个重要的观点。第一，产权改革比价格改革更重要；第二，失业问题比通货膨胀问题更令人担心；第三，经济增长分析比货币流量分析更有用。在他的转型经济学研究中，厉以宁还系统分析了经济转型过程中的政府调节、社会协调发展以及观念更新等许多重要的问题。

2．《非均衡的中国经济》

在《非均衡的中国经济》一书中，厉以宁深入阐述了非均衡理论，又以非均衡理论为基础，分析了中国的经济现状，继而提出了中国经济改革的方略。

在西方非均衡理论的基础上，厉以宁将经济中的非均衡区分为两类。第一类经济非均衡是指：市场不完善、价格不灵活、超额需求或超额供给都存在、需求约束或供给约束也都存在，但参加市场活动的微观经济单位是自主经营、自负盈亏的独立商品生产者，它们有投资机会和经营方式的自由选择权，自行承担投资风险和经营风险。第二类非均衡是指：市场不完善、价格不灵活、超额需求和超额供给都存在、需求约束或供给约束也都存在，但参加市场活动的微观经济单位并非自主经营、自负盈亏的独立商品生产者，缺乏自由选择投资机会和经营方式的自主权，也不自行承担投资风险和经营风险。微观经济单位没有摆脱行政机构附属物的地位。厉以宁认为，资本主义经济中所出现的非均衡属于第一类，而社会主义经济中的企业由于没有摆脱行政机构附属物的地位，因此属于第二类非均衡。因此，中国的经济体制改革应当以所有制改革，即产权改革为主线，使企业从缺乏活力转为具有活力，转为自主经营和自负盈亏，以便使中国经济由第二类非均衡状态过渡到第一类非均衡状态；然后继续完善市场，使中国经济由第一类非均衡状态逐渐向均衡状态靠拢。

厉以宁有关中国经济改革主线的论述，通过股份制改革重新构造微观经济基础的论述，以股份制为主要形式的新公有制的论述，以及有关资本市场的论述，都是从他的两类非均衡理论出发的。

3．双覆盖论：社会主义计划与市场

在1986年出版的《社会主义政治经济学》一书中，厉以宁系统阐述了他的两次调节论：一种调节是微观经济调节机制，实质上就是市场机制的调节；一种调节是宏观经济调节机制，实质上就是政府对宏观经济的调节。厉以宁指出，政府的经济调节对于消除由宏观、微观经济的不协调而引起的总量和结构失衡，有重大的意义。它能够保证国民经济的正常运行，使经济和社会发展达到预定目标。厉以宁将并存着的市场机制和政府调节称为社会主义经济中的二元机制，市场调节是第一次调节，政府调节是第二次调节，即高层次的调节。政府对资源配置进行调节的结果，必然使政府调节的作用通过市场供求关系的相应变化而在全社会经济的各个方面表现出来。从这个意义上讲，政府调节是覆盖于全

社会的，而且政府调节对全社会的覆盖是一种再覆盖，即覆盖于市场调节之上的覆盖。作为第一次调节的市场调节是对社会经济的第一次覆盖，作为第二次调节的政府调节对社会经济的覆盖是第二次覆盖，也是第二个层次的覆盖。这就是厉以宁由早期的“第二次调节论”、“两次调节论”逐步演变而成的“双覆盖论”。

4．股份制：所有制改革的目标模式

自20世纪80年代以来，中国经济学界对中国的经济体制改革一直存在两种思路：“价格改革主线论”和“企业改革主线论”。厉以宁是后一种改革思路的坚定支持者。他认为，中国经济的非均衡属于第二类非均衡。在这种经济中，市场调节取得成效的两个条件——完善的市场环境和有活力的微观经济单位——都不具备，根本问题在于微观层面，即企业没有摆脱行政机构附属的地位。这一分析充分说明了经济体制改革、尤其是激发企业活力的改革，对经济发展具有迫切的意义。中国建设现代市场经济体制的核心问题，是产权制度的重新构造与市场主体行为的规范化。

厉以宁进而认为，进行企业制度的重新构造、明确财产关系的根本出路在于对企业实行所有权与经营权分离的股份制，并在此基础上完善所有制改革。他指出，所有制改革不是将公有制改为私有制，而是突破传统的全民所有制形式，把传统的公有制改造成为新型的公有制。他认为，20世纪80年代中国农村经济体制改革给人们的最大启示是：农村活力的源泉来自所有制改革，即家庭联产承包责任制的推广。城市的所有制改革则需要以建立更多的股份制企业为基础，以重新构造经济运行的微观基础。

（三）经济伦理与道德力量

1．概述

厉以宁一直坚持认为，人的研究，是经济学研究的最高层次。离开了对人的研究、对生活质量的研究，经济学会变得没有意义。对经济伦理与道德力量的研究，则是厉以宁经济学人本理论的重要组成部分。

2．经济伦理问题的探讨

经济学的伦理问题，一直是厉以宁关注的一个重要课题。他在这方面研究心得的集中体现，是出版于1995年的《经济学的伦理问题》一书。在这本书中，厉以宁从社会伦理的角度，讨论了中国由传统计划经

济体制向社会主义市场经济体制转轨的过程中经济社会的一些焦点问题，如效率与公平的关系问题、产权交易的问题、失业与通货膨胀、个人消费问题、个人投资问题、经济增长的代价、合理的经济增长率等。厉以宁采用规范经济学的方法，把共同富裕作为社会主义发展的根本性目标，以劳动者的最大利益作为评价经济社会中是非善恶的标准，从伦理和道德的角度，提出了很多精辟的观点。

3．道德力量在经济中的作用

厉以宁经过长期的思考，认为经济学是研究资源配置及其机制的科学。市场调节和政府调节是两种不同的资源配置方式。此外，还存在第三种调节方式，那就是习惯和道德调节。习惯和道德调节是市场调节与政府调节出现以前唯一起调节作用的经济调节方式，也是市场力量与政府力量达不到的领域内唯一起调节作用的经济调节方式。因此，在中国经济改革与发展中，有必要对市场调节与政府调节以外的道德调节进行研究，并加强道德调节的作用。

在此基础上，厉以宁还研究了效率的基础问题。他认为，效率有两个基础，一个是物质技术基础，一个是道德基础。物质技术基础通常提供的是常规效率，道德基础则不仅保证常规效率的产生，而且还提供超常规效率。效率增长潜力的发挥，主要依靠效率的道德基础的存在，依靠道德力量的作用。

（四）教育经济学

1978年，厉以宁在《社会科学战线》上发表《技术教育与资本主义工业化》一文。从那时起，厉以宁一直将教育经济学作为自己的研究重点。在随后的一系列学术论文的基础上，厉以宁在1984年出版了《教育经济学》一书。该书提出了许多富有开创性的学术观点，是“中国当代第一部教育经济学专著”。

厉以宁阐明了教育在中国经济增长以及经济和社会发展中的作用，阐明了智力投资的经济效果的含义、指标的选择和提高智力投资经济效果的途径。他对教育投资促进劳动生产率的机理进行了全面的剖析，揭示了教育投资和劳动生产率之间的关系。他指出，教育或智力投资的经济效果可以分为宏观经济效果和微观经济效果，并分别讨论了效果的可计量性。厉以宁还研究了知识转化滞后以及毕业生发展潜力等问题。

三、社会贡献

（一）推动股份制改革

自1986年开始，中国经济学界对中国未来经济体制改革一直存在两种不同的思路。后来人们把两种不同主张分别称为“价格改革主线论”和“企业改革主线论”。厉以宁一直是后一主张的代表。1984年以来，价格改革先行、放开物价曾经成为影响国策的指导思想，但两种主张的争论一直没有停止过。

与“价格改革主线论”者将价格改革放在首位不同，厉以宁认为，在设计中国经济体制改革的总体思路时应该把企业制度的改革放在首位。他的理由是：商品价格以生产要素价格为基础，生产要素价格又以所有权为基础，所以价格说到底是市场当事人之间转让所有权的交易条件。没有有效的所有权结构，就不可能有对企业和消费者有效的财产权力关系的约束，也就不可能有真正合理的价格体系。而且我国是短缺经济，存在较多的数量配额的情况下，价格和价格水平的调整对经济恢复均衡的作用是微乎其微的。中国的企业不具有真正商品生产者法人的自由度，放开价格只能加剧短缺条件下的经济混乱，而不能收到二战后西德和日本价格改革带来的效果。因此，厉以宁提出，改革的首要任务是用八年左右时间明确企业产权关系，实现企业的公司化。应把企业经营机制的改革与企业产权关系的改革联系起来，把非规范化的承包与规范化的产权改革联系起来。在八年的时间里，企业改革的重点应逐渐由承包制向股份制过渡，由低层次的经营机制与产权关系的改革向高层次的经营机制与产权关系的改革过渡。

厉以宁的主张随后被采纳，波澜壮阔的股份制改革在全中国推行。1993年11月，中共十四届三中全会通过了《中共中央关于建立社会主义市场经济体制若干问题的决定》，明确指出，我国国有企业的改革方向是建立“适应市场经济和社会化大生产要求的、产权清晰、权责明确、政企分开和管理科学”的现代企业制度，要求通过建立现代企业制度，使企业成为自主经营、自负盈亏、自我发展、自我约束的法人实体和市场竞争主体。按照厉以宁的思路，中国国企改革逐步明确建立现代企业制度的目标，国有企业战略性改组与国有经济布局调整稳步推进，资本市场从无到有持续健康发展。可以说，中国过去30年取得的经济奇迹，与选择股份制改革的道路是密不可分的。作为“股份制改革”理论的倡导者和实践者，厉以宁对中国股份制改革作出了巨大贡献，被公众以及媒

体尊称为“厉股份”。

（二）促进民营经济发展

民营经济这个概念是中国改革开放过程中的一大创造，它包括个体工商户和私营企业在内，但又不限于个体工商户和私营企业。自改革开放以来，民营经济从无到有，从小到大，至今已经成为国民经济最重要的力量。

然而，民营经济的发展并不是一帆风顺，尤其是政策方面的问题。各省市根据实践，把民营经济发展的政策问题反映上来，从而引起了全国政协的高度重视。2003年下半年，全国政协经济委员会成立了非公有制经济专题组，厉以宁任专题组组长。专题组到辽宁、广东两省的一些城市进行调研，还在吉林、河北、江苏、浙江、福建等省召开了调研会、座谈会。调研前和调研期间，厉以宁收集到很多民营企业家的反映，表示他们在发展中遇到了一些障碍。厉以宁经过调研发现民营企业家反映的情况是存在的。比如准入限制，民营企业进入的领域还不如外商；政府在融资、税收、土地使用、对外贸易等方面，对民营企业都有不公平的地方；舆论环境对民营经济也不好等等。

2003年年底，以厉以宁为组长的调研组形成了一份报告，经全国政协经济委员会讨论后，由全国政协报送国务院。温家宝总理很重视，在2004年2月作了批示。批示指出：要落实中共十六届三中全会精神，促进非公有制经济发展，似应有一个通盘考虑，着手研究一些重大的政策性问题，最好能够形成一个指导性文件。温家宝让国务院研究室和发改委牵头起草文件。在文件起草过程中，初稿曾拿到全国政协经济委员会讨论，厉以宁和委员会提了一些修改意见。最终，文件在2005年2月出台。2005年2月24日，国务院下发了《关于鼓励支持和引导个体私营等非公有制经济发展的若干意见》（民间称之为“非公经济36条”）。从此，中国民营经济的发展进入了一个新的阶段。“非公经济36条”被社会上认为“是改革开放以来中国最全面、最系统的一部关于促进非公有制经济发展的政策性文件”，其发布实施是中国非公经济发展的一项突破。厉以宁也因为其推动“非公经济36条”的巨大贡献，被媒体称为“厉民营”。

（三）帮助贫困地区

贫困是人类社会面临的最严峻挑战之一，消除贫困是当今世界共同

的课题。中国目前的绝对贫困人口数量仍然庞大。由于对中国1960和1970年代贫困的亲身体验，厉以宁对中国贫困地区的发展倾注了许多心血，不仅持续研究如何促进贫困地区的发展，而且身体力行地以时间、精力和物质支持贫困地区的发展。

厉以宁在贫困地区考察 Visiting an impoverished village

——2005年11月，发起成立了北京大学贫困地区发展研究院，并出任院长；

——2006年3-4月，组织五个调研组，分赴贵州省毕节县、湖南省怀化县和攸县、甘肃省定西县、北京门头沟五种类型的贫困地区进行实地调查；

——2006年5月，发起举办了首届中国贫困地区可持续发展战略论坛（在天津召开）；

——2008年9月，举办了第二届中国贫困地区可持续发展战略论坛（在贵州毕节召开）；

——2004年7月，将日本福冈亚洲文化奖奖金300万日元（合人民币20.05万元）全部捐出，在贵州毕节地区毕节市捐建宗琳小学；

——2006年10月，出资40余万元，在湖南省沅陵县二酉苗族自治乡捐建宗琳学校；

——2008年12月，由厉以宁夫人何玉春作画、厉以宁题词，举行义卖，两次共卖得126万元；其中100万元用于山区贫困农民老年白内障治疗，26万元用作捐建山区农村图书室。

……

以上这份纪录并不完整，但已足以展现厉以宁对贫困地区、对弱势群体、对欠发达地区的热忱与奉献。

2004年3月，厉以宁出任中央智力支边小组毕节实验区专家顾问组组长，并为毕节的干部做了脱贫致富的第一次培训。从那时开始，厉以宁开始了扶贫解困的深入实践。此后，他每年去一次贵州毕节，并在当地组织培训讲座。

当前正值我国即将进入第十二个五年规划时期，这是我国根除贫困的关键时期。厉以宁定位了两条研究思路。一方面进行实地考察案例研究，以某一特定地区或者特定群体为对象，提出有针对性的缓解贫困的方案；一方面进行政策理论研究，以扶贫政策本身为研究对象，通过历史数据考察既有政策的实施效果，提出改进方向，使之具有可持续的效果。这就是厉以宁在中国发展的关键时期又一次发出的声音。

四、诗人与经济学家

（一）双重身份

厉以宁不但在经济学研究方面成就卓越，而且在诗词创作方面也有独到的建树。厉以宁从1947年读高中时便开始填词，至今50多年，从未间断。即使在“文化大革命”期间，只要有感触，他就会情不自禁地用诗词写下自己的所思所想。诗词不但以特殊的方式承担了厉以宁对社会、对历史、对经济发展的思考，而且也显示了厉以宁在人文方面的修养。这种修养看似和经济学研究没有关系，但实际上显示了厉以宁丰沛的想象力和敏锐的感受力。他能成为学问大家，与此是密不可分的。

厉以宁的诗作清新自然，丝毫没有矫饰做作之态。他曾在一首七绝中表示，诗词是感情和思想的自然流露，奉命作诗，是不会有好作品的。厉以宁就是怀着这样纯朴的想法在写诗。厉以宁的诗词总是充溢着真情实感，反映的也都是他对现实的观察，很多诗都具有浓郁的感情，

并且蕴藏着他的经济学思想以及深刻的人生哲理。

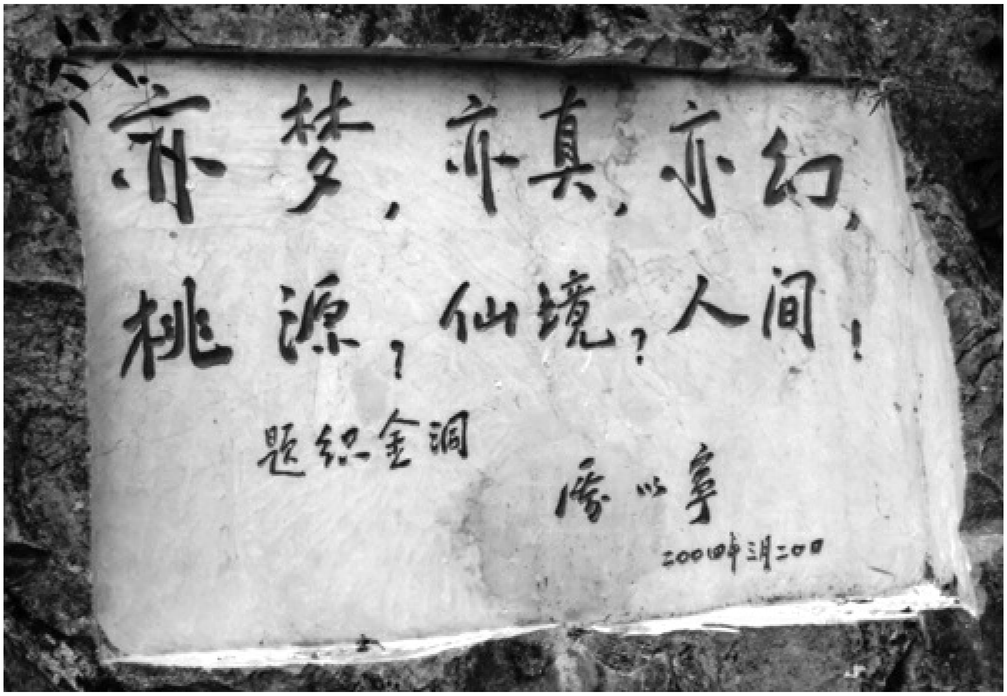
（二）诗词中的经济思想

厉以宁几十年来所写的数百首诗词，绝大多数都是谈个人的生活经历、家庭亲情、师生和同学之谊，以及所到之处的自然风光或人文景观。但是，如果仔细品味，会发现某些诗词也反映了他的经济思想，或者说，他的经济思想也能在这些诗词中有意无意地流露出来。如同上文提到的，厉以宁非常重视道德力量在经济发展中的作用，他有一些诗词，就是反映这个思想的。

1998年，厉以宁在福建龙岩市考察时写下的一首诗，以客家人发展的历史为例，说明了道德调节在社会发展中的作用。客家人的祖先原在中原，历朝动乱时期，以家族为单位陆续南迁到了南方，在蛮荒之地恶劣的自然环境中扎下根来。福建省龙岩市约有一万多座客家的土楼，每座土楼中都有几百户客家人共同生活在一起。厉以宁认为，移民社会之所以能有这种超常的效率，恰恰是由于道德调节的作用。

1980年4-5月，厉以宁参加了中共中央书记处研究室和国家劳动总局联合召开的劳动工资座谈会，讨论经济体制改革问题。在会议期间，厉以宁写了一首七绝，反映了他对经济体制改革的看法。厉以宁曾提出许多关于改革的建议，某些建议在开始时不能被人们所理解，甚至遭到批评。但他始终坚信陈规陋习是迟早要改变的，人不应该计较荣辱得失，而是要让时间来检验一切，让后人评价自己的功过是非。

1981年，改革开放之初，厉以宁到成都参加外国经济学说史研究会首届年会，并到青城山一游。青城山是道教名山，洞穴甚多，都是历代道士炼丹之处。厉以宁在这里填了一首《鹧鸪天》。这首词由古代中国道士的炼丹传统生发开来，说明要想悟道、得到真理，并不能依赖神丹仙药，而往往在于是非一念之间。在这首词中，厉以宁还引申到了治国的理念：改革需要渐进，处理社会问题则重在疏导。在当时的形势下，厉以宁用诗词语言表达了自己的想法：要用“看不见的手”来调节经济，进行社会资源的配置。市场活跃了，人民生活水平提高了，社会自然就安定了。



厉以宁的题词 An inscription of Li Yining

（三）诗词中的人生哲理

厉以宁1963年游览北京的潭柘寺时曾写过一首诗，这首诗受到了很多人的喜爱。在这首诗中，厉以宁以潭柘寺中的龙潭水作比喻，指出一个人如果有足够的修养，便可以抵挡外界的干扰。这在中国的传统文化中，也被视为一种重要的修养和智慧。在现实中，我们对于客观的把握常常无能为力，但我们可以通过自身修养来提高适应客观环境的能力。风动不动我把握不了，但我可以心不动。天热不热我无可奈何，但我可以心静自然凉。这是人生的一种境界。

厉以宁在“文革”期间，和周围的许多人一样，被批斗、抄家、长期从事体力劳动，正常的研究工作无法进行。但他总是能抵挡外界的干扰，无论是经济学研究，还是诗词创作，都从未中断。改革开放以来，厉以宁担任的社会职务越来越越多，工作日益繁重，社会活动也异常频繁；但他依然能笔耕不辍，不断有新的观点和新的著作问世。这种旺盛的创造力，和他心灵的沉静是分不开的。

厉以宁在题词 Writing a calligraphic inscription

1988年，厉以宁到湖南桃源考察，写了一首咏诗，其中蕴含了深刻的哲理。桃花源在中国古代人的想象中，是一方远离乱世干扰、人人享受平静幸福生活的净土，寄托了饱受战乱之苦的人们一种美好的愿望。厉以宁在这首诗中提到，这种美好的愿望只能是一种愿望，世界上并不存在真正的“世外桃源”。但是，人们的心中却可以有这样一片美好的乐土，只要人心胸宽广、豁达、乐观，便可以随时享受桃源的怡然之美。这就是“心宽无处不桃源”。

哲学的思考是最终极的思考。从这个意义上来说，厉以宁不仅是一位造诣深厚的经济学家，也是一个洞悉世间百态的哲人。

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Postscript: a profile of Li Yining

I. Biographical sketch

i. Education (before 1955)

A native of Yizheng, Jiangsu province, Li Yining was born the eldest son of a family in Nanjing on November 22, 1930. When he was four, his family moved to Shanghai. Two years later, he went to the Second Elementary School Affiliated to the McTyeire School (the predecessor of the present-day Jianxiang Primary School), where he began his education as a hardworking student.

Upon graduation from elementary school, he enrolled in the Nan Yang Model High School of Shanghai. When the Japanese army sacked the city's foreign concessions after the Pacific War (1941-1945) broke out, his family fled to Yuanling, Hunan province, where Li resumed his studies in the Yali High School that had just been relocated from Changsha to avoid the war and turmoil. Shortly after the V-day of the War of Resistance against Japan (1937-1945), he returned to Nanjing to complete his high school education in the Affiliated High School of Nanking University.

Under the influence of a high school chemistry teacher, Li Yining set his mind on saving the country through industrialization, believing the root of its poverty lay in its industrial backwardness. Toward the end of 1948, while the War of Liberation (1945-1949) was still raging, Li became one of the students to be exempt from qualification exams on account of his outstanding high school academic records, and admitted to Nanking University. To live out his dream of national salvation, he chose the Department of Chemical Engineering, but victory in the war changed his plans. The founding of the People's Republic reshaped Li's outlook on China's destiny, and rekindled his

hope for national prosperity and strength. Resolved to join in the construction of a new China, he preferred work over college. Thus he became an accountant with the School Stationery and Supplies Cooperative of Yuanling, Hunan province.

In his work Li found himself in dire need of knowledge. Therefore, he quit his job to prepare for college. He sat the college entrance examinations in Changsha in July 1951, and was enrolled in the Department of Economics of Peking University a month later.

Li studied every possible moment during his college days. The eight summer and winter vacations in the four years saw him absorbed in his studies in the university library. On weekdays, he worked harder than others. Usually he had already finished his morning reading by the time his classmates began to get up; in class, he was quick to learn and able to raise insightful questions. That was the way he passed his 1,000 or so university days.

Li's wide learning, retentive memory and unflagging diligence soon shone through, and he became a top student in Peking University. As Professor Chen Zhenhan, acting dean of the Department of Economics, put it in his comment on Li Yining, "Test scores exceptionally high; definitely among the best." In July 1952, barely a year had passed since he entered college, but Li already published his essay "The new face of the Polish economy," and translated *Economic Perspectives of Herzen and Ogarev*, among other works. As the old saying goes, "A great teacher produces a brilliant student." Li owed his achievement largely to the top-notch faculty members of the Department of Economics of Peking University. Professor Luo Zhiru, the first teacher to usher Li into the study of Western economic theory, not only taught him knowledge in class, but also lent him articles copied from English books or periodicals to broaden his vision after class. A Harvard University graduate, Professor Chen Daisun's influence on him as an economics historian was at once subtle and deep. Professors Hu Daiguang, Zhou Binglin, Zhao Naichuan, Chen Zhenhan, and Xu Yuzhan also influenced Li academically in their respective ways.

ii. Getting through difficult times (1955-1980)

Li Yining joined the Peking University faculty upon graduation in 1955. During the 1955-1980 period, he plunged himself in reading, studying, contemplation and research. From the late 1950s to the early 1960s, the economic works he translated topped two million words, and the 30 issues of the *Foreign Economic Trends* journal he edited amounted to over one million words, 90% of which were compiled by himself. An avid reader of Western works on economics, Li could reel off the academic thoughts of John Maynard Keynes, Friedrich August Hayek, Alois Schumpeter, and John Richard Hicks. He was also the first Chinese economist to delve into the Western theory on economic disequilibrium. Having gained a solid theoretical grounding through years of unremitting study, Li was able to come to the fore as an outstanding middle-aged scholar in Chinese academic circles at the turn of the 1970s.

Li's researches, however, were interrupted repeatedly in this 25-year period of his academic career. During the Great Leap Forward[1] of 1958, he did manual labor for a full year in west Beijing along with his colleagues. During the 1964-1965 period, 2he was forced to put down his books to join the "Four Clean-ups" Movement[2] in two places in rural China: Jiangling, Hubei province, from autumn 1964 to spring 1965; and Gaobeidian in Beijing's Chaoyang district from autumn 1965 to early June 1966, when the Cultural Revolution started. In October 1969, Li and other Peking University faculty members went to the Liyuzhou Farm in Jiangxi province, where he worked as a farmer until he returned to the university in 1972. In the four years that followed, Li was frequently dispatched to rural areas, where he did farm work while being "reeducated" by local farmers. It was not until early November 1976, or one month after the gang of four was incarcerated, that he was finally able to settle down in his university.

For two whole decades from the start of the struggle against the "bourgeois Rightists" in 1957 to the demise of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, Li Yining had his fill of physical and psychological trauma. The continuous trials and tribulations, however, made a mature man out of him. The grave damage done to the national economy by political movements, coupled with the poverty that reigned over the rural population, shocked his idealistic heart to the core, and smashed his belief in the traditional mode of socialism. His economic views changed dramatically, prompting him to seek a new road for the socialist economy.

iii. A great mind matures late (from 1980 onward)

Li Yining's twenty or so years of indefatigable toil in economics finally began to come to full fruition. From 1979 on, he had come up with a constant stream of research results. His *On Galbraith's Institutional Economics*, *A Concise Introduction to Modern Western Economics*, *The Rise and Development of Macroeconomics*, and other works on Western economics caused quite a stir in domestic economic circles the moment they came off the press. He became one of the most acclaimed teachers in Peking University shortly after his return to the lectern. His 100-seat classroom was often packed with twice as many students, and his lectures were invariably interrupted repeatedly by warm applause. His reputation spread in no time, and he eventually gained national attention as a preeminent economist.

Li Yining's academic accomplishments have everything to do with China's historic reform and opening up efforts. China was a planned economy before 1980, but has been in transition to a socialist market economy since the adoption of the policy of reform and opening up to the outside world. The transformation of such a gigantic economy is without doubt filled with uncharted dangers and fraught with uncertainties. Applying modern economic theories distilled from his near three decades of theoretical studies in Western economics, he set forth a series of reform proposals. As the initiator of the "joint-stock reform" that swept across China in the 1980s, he has since been fondly nicknamed "Li the Shareholding Guru."

In 1993, Li Yining masterminded the establishment of the Peking University Business School by merging the Department of Economics and Management and the Center of Management Science that had been established in 1985. In 1994, the Business School was renamed Guanghua School of Management after Peking University concluded, with Li as the driving force behind it, an agreement on cooperative school management with the Kwang-Hua Education Foundation of Hong Kong. Li served as the dean till 2005. Today, Guanghua is one of the best business colleges in China. A solicitous educator, Li has long been studying the peculiarly Chinese "urban-rural dual structure." He does his utmost to promote the healthy development of the private sectors of the national economy. Being attentive to the regional disparity in development, he renders great support for the development of less developed regions.

Li Yining turned 80 in 2010. For the last three decades, he has been preeminent amongst the Chinese economics academia. Loved by his students as a teacher, and held in high esteem by the public as a scholar, he is also an economist whose influence on the nation's economic policies is keenly felt. His academic thoughts and contributions to China's reform and opening up endeavors will be elaborated in a later chapter.

iv. Family life

In Chinese mythology, there was *jian*, a one-winged lovebird. The male sported a left wing, and the female a right one. They were always flying in pairs. This couple of lovebirds is therefore likened to the union of a doting husband and his loving wife. Li and his wife, He Yuchun, are exactly such a couple who have shared weal and woe for more than five decades in conjugal bliss.

Li Yining and He Yuchun came to know each other in Yuanling, Hunan province, in the 1940s, but were not able to see each other after he went to study in Peking University in 1951 and she enrolled in the Huazhong Institute of Technology at Wuhan in 1953. It was not until February 1957 that he saw her again when he called on He Zhongyi, a former classmate who happened to be her elder brother, and whom she was visiting during a family reunion. That chance encounter kindled love between them, and before long they were talking about marriage.

They tied the knot on the lunar New Year's Eve in 1958 in a three-roomed bungalow in Haidian district, Beijing. The bridal chamber is a less than 20-square-meter property that they shared with his maternal grandmother, mother and younger brother. A few beds, a dining table, four chairs, a cupboard, and a washstand were all they had in the house. The family, nevertheless, was brimming with love and merriness.

Their wedding photo is characteristic of the era they lived in. Li, slim and bespectacled, neat and clean, is a typical intellectual dressed in a Sun Yet-sen suit. His wife, wearing a long plait tied up in a single loop with a bowknot on either side of her head, smiles meekly in a patterned woolen sweater she had knitted for herself. After a brief honeymoon the newlyweds were separated. He did manual labor in Zhaitang township, Beijing, while she

became a commuter in Anshan, an industrial city in the northeastern province of Liaoning. For quite a long time, the couple lived apart like so many other families at the time. In December 1970, she gave up her job and career to join him at Liyuzhou, Jiangxi province, where he was working and being reeducated with local farmers. They have since never been apart from each other.

By 2010, they had spent 52 years together as husband and wife. Their daughter, Li Fang, graduated from Monash University, Australia, with a doctor's degree. Li Wei, their son, runs his own business in Guangdong province after graduating from the Department of Chemistry of Peking University. But the Lis' happiness does not stop at the successes of their son and daughter. The era of reform and opening up gave full scope to Li Yining's talent and academic prowess, and his reputation soared as a result. In the shadow of his luminous aura stands his wife, making quiet contributions to his career. He Yuchun is a senior electrical engineer by profession, but she willingly serves as the first reader of her husband's works on economics. Li Yining said of his wife, "Whenever she spots any part of my writing that isn't succinct, lucid or readable enough, she'll demand a rewriting. I won't stop amending it until she is satisfied. If readers find my books not too difficult to read, half the credit is due my wife."

II. Academic achievements i. Research in economic history

i) General introduction Economic history figures prominently in Li Yining's academic studies. His first teaching assignment in Peking University in 1962 was on international economic history. In his academic career, including the last three decades that he has dedicated to the theory and practice of economic restructuring in China, he has never stopped his research in economic history, Western economic history in particular. In a sense, Li's accomplishment in economics is rooted in his scholarship in economic history. *British Economy in the 20th Century: A Study of the "British Disease"*, *The Rise of Capitalism: A Study of Comparative Economic History* and *Roman-Byzantine Economic History*, to name just a few, are crystallizations of his wisdom and hard work in economic history.

ii) British Economy in the 20th Century: A Study of the "British Disease" Published in 1982, this book was a product of Li Yining's early research on economic history, as well as a milestone in his academic career.

The fall of the British Empire in the 20th century is a topic of heated debate in world history. While Western scholars tend to ascribe the decline of the empire to the loss of its position as a "world factory," Li is of the opinion that such a loss might be responsible for Britain's diminishing world status, but is not enough to account for its tottering economy per se. On the "British Disease," Li gives his own diagnosis:

It was caused by a combination of factors that included the loss of that country's position as a world factory, the aftermath of its colonial expansion, the flaws of a welfare state, and the negative influence of conservatism on the economy. Through a comprehensive survey of the social, political, economic and mental landscape of twentieth-century Britain, Li arrives at a conclusion that is worlds apart from his predecessors. The first book on the economic history of twentieth-century Western countries by a contemporary Chinese economist, *British Economy in the 20th Century: A Study of the "British Disease"* is also the first study of the macroeconomic policies of the British government by a Chinese scholar.

iii) The Rise of Capitalism: A Study of Comparative Economic History *The Rise of Capitalism: A Study of Comparative Economic History* (Commercial Press, Beijing, 2003) is Professor Li's brainchild from two decades of painstaking labor on economic history. By unremittingly exploring and contemplating the theoretical system concerning the genesis of capitalism, and by drawing on his own experience in helping draw the blueprints for the economic restructuring in China, he eventually discovered an entirely new approach to this historical question.

In the book, Li Yining divides capitalism into two types, homegrown and transplanted. The homegrown type of capitalism arose and developed in a country or region under the impact of internal factors during the disintegration of feudalism; and most West European countries belong in this category. The transplanted type of capitalism evolved during the collapse of the feudal society of a country or region under the onslaught of external forces that shook its foundation and weakened its rule; Japan and other capitalist "latecomers" in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are of this type.

Why, then, could capitalism grow and establish itself from within feudal society in some countries while in other countries capitalism had to be midwived by external forces? Li Yining believes that it had something to do with whether the institution of a feudal society was rigid or flexible. In a feudal society with a rigid institution, the social hierarchical and identification systems were ossified, making social mobility very difficult. In a feudal society with a flexible institution, the ruler forsook stringent hierarchical and identification systems, tolerated lateral and vertical social mobility, and favored changes in power structure and flexibility in power enforcement – thereby ensuring the survival and continuity of the feudal society. The ossified power structure and enforcement in a rigid feudal society were riddled with loopholes that gave rise to dissidence. When such dissidence grew into a power center outside the feudal institution, its conflict with the established power center would eventually cause the collapse of feudalism and the birth of capitalism. By contrast, a feudal society with elastic institutions could last for a long time because it was highly maneuverable and adjustable in emergency, leaving little room for the rise of anti-establishment forces.

The rigid institution of West European feudal society looked solid and stable on the surface, but in reality it was like a worn-out cast-iron wok, too fragile to withstand any blow. The serfs, desperate for freedom, were drawn to the cities, where there were not only hopes for survival but also opportunities for the underprivileged to end their status as appendages to feudal lords and become equal members of society. The more the feudal social institution restricted social mobility, the more resolved the humble and underprivileged became to unshackle themselves from such restriction. A direct course of action for them was to rise up in arms against the serf-owners. The larger the urban population grew, the greater the cities' strength against serf-owners became. Thus feudalism in West Europe was doomed.

The Rise of Capitalism also provides vivid and original analyses of the elastic feudal system and the birth of transplanted capitalism in China. Permeating the entire book is the author's analytical approach to institutional readjustment, an approach that not only gives a convincing explanation of the origin of capitalism, but also applies to institutional adjustments under both capitalism and socialism. While dissecting the genesis of capitalism, Li Yining also derives the universal norms governing transition and changes in

social systems.

iv) Roman-Byzantine Economic History A crystallization of Li Yining's years of hard work on the economic history of the Roman Republic and Byzantium, the two-volume *Roman-Byzantine Economic History* (Commercial Press, Beijing, 2006) is another major work on economic history marked by unique perspectives and profound opinions. Volume One of the book, *From the Republic to the Empire*, covers a time span of over 700 years from the heyday of the Roman Republic in the 3rd century BC to the demise of the Western Roman Empire in 476 AD. Volume Two, *Between the Oriental and the Occidental*, encompasses nearly 1,000 years from the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 AD to the Ottoman Empire's complete conquest of the Byzantine Empire in 1461 AD. The entire book provides a broad historical panorama of the region that stretches for thousands of miles from Britain to the Arabian Sea via the Mediterranean, and recaptures two thousand years of socioeconomic vicissitudes from the zenith of the Roman Republic to the collapse of the Byzantine Empire. In this book, Li Yining takes a series of original viewpoints on Roman-Byzantine history. For instance, he believes that the conflicts and struggles between small and big land-owners were a major factor that affected Roman society's socioeconomic life, and that the prosperity of the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire hinged on the support of yeomen in rural areas and industrialists and merchants in urban areas. He maintains that the imperial system of the Roman Empire was not transplanted from Oriental countries – it was akin to a military autocracy that retained some remnants of the Roman republican system in the early years of the empire, and absorbed more and more elements and rites of Oriental dictatorship to evolve into a quasi- or semi-Oriental imperial system.

The fall of the Western Roman Empire is a historical event of far-reaching significance. In his cause-and-effect analysis, Li Yining disagrees with those who attribute it to "class struggle" or "ethnic strife," and rejects the opinion that it was caused by the "deteriorating Roman character." "A big power, whatever it is, cannot be conquered unless it has gone through a process of self-destruction," he believes. The causes of the fall of the Western Roman Empire should be uncovered from within itself: The prosperity of both the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire stemmed from the support of the rural yeomen and the urban industrialists, who provided both the

Republic and the Empire with an ample supply of conscripts, a full state treasury, a booming economy, and basic social stability. However, all this changed with the demise of the Antonine Dynasty (96-192 AD). The long years of repression and deprivation that followed pushed the yeomen, industrialists, and businessmen to bankruptcy and sent them into exile. The supply of conscripts dried up, and so did the state treasury. The economy slumped, and society was in chaos. In this way, the Western Roman Empire ruined the middle class, the very social foundation it relied on for existence. At this point, what awaited the Western Roman Empire was nothing but downfall.

Li maintains that the fall of the Byzantine Empire was a replay of the tragedy of the Western Roman Empire. The Byzantine Empire did exactly what the Romans had done nearly a millennium before, tearing down the very foundation for its survival in rural small land-owners and urban industrialists and merchants, and thus losing its sources of military manpower and tax revenue. After running out of local conscripts, the empire had no alternative but to man its main military force with mercenaries. To maintain these mercenaries, it had to levy more taxes, which drove more and more urban industrialists and merchants into bankruptcy, prison, or exile. The tax revenue shrank further as a result.

Both *The Rise of Capitalism* and *Roman-Byzantine Economic History* display Li Yining's persistent passion for economic history studies over the years. This passion, coupled with a penetrating insight, is the reason why he has been able to accomplish so much in this field of academic pursuit.

ii. Study of transitional economics

i) An overview Li Yining's theory of economic transition and development in China derives from his interpretation of transitional economics. By probing deeply into issues pertinent to the Chinese economy in transition on the basis of the theory of two categories of economic disequilibrium, he comes up with three important viewpoints: First, ownership reform is more important than price reform; second, unemployment is more worrisome than inflation; third, analyzing economic growth is more useful than analyzing money flow. In his study of transitional economics, he also looks systematically into such major issues in the course

of economic transition as government regulation, coordinated social development, and conceptual upgrading.

ii) The Chinese Economy in Disequilibrium In *The Chinese Economy in Disequilibrium* (Encyclopedia of China Publishing House, Beijing, 2009), Li Yining elaborates the disequilibrium theory in depth, and, basing himself on this theory, studies the current situation with the Chinese economy and goes on to propose his strategy for Chinese economic reform.

Based on Western disequilibrium theories, he divides disequilibrium in an economy into two categories. Economic disequilibrium of the first category is characterized by an incomplete market, inflexible prices, the presence of both excess demand and excess supply, and of restraints on both demand and supply, while the microeconomic agents in the market are independent commodity producers that make their own business decisions, are responsible for their own gains and losses, have the freedom to choose investment opportunities and modes of management, and bear investment and business risks on their own. Economic disequilibrium in the second category is characterized by an incomplete market and inflexible prices, the presence of both excess demand and supply and of restraints on both demand and supply. It is also marked by a market filled with microeconomic agents that, instead of being independent commodity producers making their own business decisions and taking responsibility for their own gains and losses, neither have the freedom to choose investment opportunities and management modes nor bear investment and management risks on their own. In a word, these microeconomic agents have not quit their status as government subsidiaries. Li believes that disequilibrium in a capitalist economy belongs in the first category, while disequilibrium in a socialist economy belongs in the second category because its firms are yet to end their status as government subsidiaries. For this reason, economic restructuring in China should be focused on ownership reform, that is, reform of property rights relationships. That means to energize slumping firms and enable them to make their own business decisions and take responsibility for their gains and losses. Only in this way can the Chinese economy accomplish the transition from the second category of disequilibrium to the first category, and, by continuing to improve the market mechanism, move gradually on to equilibrium.

Li Yining's theory of two categories of economic disequilibrium constitutes the starting point for his pronouncements on a series of Chinese economic issues, such as what the focus should be for economic restructuring, reconstructing the nation's microeconomic foundation through joint-stock reform, shareholding as a major form of new public ownership, and the capital market.

iii) Double-coverage theory: socialist planning and the market In *Socialist Political Economics* (Commercial Press, Beijing, 1986), Li Yining gives a systematic illustration of his double-regulation theory: on the one hand, microeconomic regulation, which, in essence, is regulation by market; and on the other, macroeconomic regulation, which, in essence, is regulation by governmental macroeconomic mechanisms. He points out that government regulation of the economy means a great deal for the eradication of disequilibrium in economic aggregates and structure caused by dissonance between micro- and macro-economies, because it can set the national economy in orbit and guarantee the fulfillment of prescribed socioeconomic development goals. Li regards market and government as the "dual mechanisms" for the socialist economy. According to him, the socialist market should be regulated, first, by the market itself, and second, at a higher level, by the government. When the government mechanism works on resource allocation, its impact invariably manifests itself in all aspects of social and economic lives through the changes in the relationship between supply and demand on the market. In that sense, government regulation works atop market regulation on the whole society. In other words, the market is subject to two layers of regulation: the market mechanism as the first layer, and government mechanism the second. Such is Li Yining's "double coverage" theory, derived from the "second regulation" and "dual regulation" theories he founded in the early stage of his academic career.

iv) Shareholding: the target mode for ownership reform Since the 1980s Chinese economic circles had been divided on which should take the center stage of economic restructuring – price reform or corporate reform. Li Yining, a staunch supporter of the latter, believes that the Chinese economy is in the second category of disequilibrium on the ground that neither of the two prerequisites for market regulation to become effective – a relatively complete market and energetic microeconomic agents – is available in the economy, and that the fundamental problem lies at the microeconomic level,

where firms have yet to quit their status as government subsidiaries. His analysis drives home the urgent significance of economic restructuring, in particular the reform to invigorate firms, for economic development. Indeed, restructuring the property rights system and standardizing the behavior of market participants are pivotal to the building of a modern market economy in this country.

Li further asserts that the fundamental strategy in restructuring the corporate system and defining the property rights relationship is to introduce the shareholding system that separates ownership and management in firms, and on this basis, to bring the ownership structure to near perfection. He points out that, rather than replacing public ownership with private ownership, ownership reform is meant to break through traditional state ownership and transform it into a new type of public ownership. In his view, the greatest inspiration from the rural economic restructuring in the 1980s was that the vitality of the rural economy hinged on ownership reform, in which a household contract responsibility system linking remuneration with output was introduced. Ownership reform in cities calls for the emergence of more shareholding firms, so as to restructure the microeconomic foundation for the operation of the national economy.

iii. Economic ethics and the power of morality

i) An overview Li Yining insists all along that the study of people represents the supreme level of economic research, and that economics is meaningless without studying human beings and the quality of human life. Economic ethics and the power of morality are part and parcel of his humanity-oriented economic theory.

ii) Exploring the issue of economic ethics Ethics in economics has always commanded Li Yining's attention as a major research topic. His achievements in this field of study find concentrated expression in his *Ethics in Economics* (SDX Joint Publishing Company, Beijing, 1995). In this book, he proceeds from social ethics to dwell on some essential socioeconomic issues that have occurred during China's transition from traditional central planning to a socialist market economy. These include the relationship between efficiency and equity, transactions in property rights, unemployment and inflation, consumption and investment by individuals, the cost of

economic growth, and rational economic growth rate. By adopting normative economic approaches, setting common prosperity as the ultimate goal of socialist development, and regarding workers' maximum interests as the benchmark for truth and falsehood and good and evil in the socioeconomic realm, *Ethics in Economics* provides an array of incisive viewpoints from the perspective of ethics and morality.

iii) The role of moral power in the economy Through many years of contemplation, Li Yining arrives at the conclusion that economics is a discipline of resource allocation and its mechanisms, and that market regulation and government regulation are two different mechanisms for resource allocation. Besides these, he says, there is a third mechanism: custom and morality, which combine to be the only regulatory mechanism for resource allocation prior to the advent of market and government mechanisms, and is still the only mechanism that can work in areas beyond the reach of market and government. Therefore, it is necessary to study morality as a regulation mechanism apart from market and government mechanisms, and emphasize the role of morality in regulating resource allocation.

On that basis Li has also studied what constitutes the foundations for efficiency. To him, efficiency rests on dual foundations – first, materials and technology, and second, morality. While the material and technological foundation guarantees conventional efficiency, morality not only ensures conventional efficiency but also provides extraordinary efficiency. The potentials for higher efficiency can be tapped mainly by relying on efficiency's moral foundation and on the role of moral force.

iv) Educational economics Li Yining published his paper "Technology education and capitalist industrialization: a study of the rise of technological power in Western Europe and America" in the *Social Sciences Front* journal, issue No. 4, 1978. Since then, educational economics has become another main field in his researches. Based on a series of papers that he had written on that subject, he published the book *Educational Economics* (Beijing Publishing House, Beijing, 1984). With its wealth of ground-breaking academic findings, it was hailed as "the first exclusive work on educational economics in contemporary China."

In *Educational Economics*, Li spells out the role of education in

economic growth and socioeconomic development in China, what is entailed in the economic returns of intellectual investment, benchmark options, and approaches to enhancing the economic returns of such investment. His all-around dissection of the mechanisms by which investment in education boosts labor productivity brings to light the relationship between education investment and labor productivity. In this book he points out that the economic returns of educational or intellectual investment are both macroeconomic and microeconomic, and follows up with a discussion on the quantifiability of each category of returns. Moreover, the book also covers such issues as the time-lag in the commercialization of technological knowledge, and the potentials in the development of school graduates.

III. Social contributions

i. Promoting the shareholding system

Reference has already been made to the division, from 1986 onward, in Chinese economic circles between two opinions on what should take the lead in the nation's economic restructuring, price reform or corporate reform. Li Yining is a proponent of corporate reform. Although price reform, or price decentralization, has dominated national policy decision-making since 1984, the controversy remains unresolved to this day.

Unlike those who put price reform above anything else, Li Yining believes that precedence should be given to corporate reform when shaping the general principle for economic restructuring. His reason: Because commodity prices are based on the prices of production factors, which are in turn predicated on ownership, prices are ultimately the prerequisites of transactions for ownership between market participants. Without an efficient ownership structure, there will be no effective restraints on the property rights relationship between firms and consumers, still less a truly reasonable price system. In addition, in the presence of large numbers of quotas in a shortage economy like ours, the impact of price regulation on the restoration of economic equilibrium is negligible. Chinese firms are yet to become free legal entities of commodity producers in the true sense of the term. To decentralize prices can only exacerbate economic disorder when there are

shortages in various fields, and fail to achieve what postwar West Germany and Japan did in price reform. So Li Yining proposes that before anything else, the property rights relationships should be straightened out and firms demutualized over a period of about eight years. During this period, it is necessary to link the reform of corporate management mechanisms with the reform of the property rights relationship and to link nonstandard contractual management with standard property rights reform. In this eight-year span, the weight of corporate reform should be gradually shifted from a contractual system to a shareholding system, and from low-level management mechanisms and property rights relationships to high-level ones.

His proposal was adopted, and shareholding reform came under way all over the land. The *Decision of the Party Central Committee on Issues Concerning the Establishment of a Socialist Market Economic Structure*, adopted at the Third Plenary Session of the Fourteenth Party Central Committee in November 1993, sets the goal for the transformation of state firms to establish a modern corporate system that "conforms to the requirements of the market economy and large-scale production, with well-defined property rights, rights and responsibilities, separates government and management, and is under scientific management." The document also sets the requirement to turn firms, through the establishment of such a modern corporate system, into legal entities and market competitors that make their own business decisions, bear the responsibility for their own gains and losses, seek their own development, and regulate themselves. Following Li Yining's thoughts, the goal of the reform of state-owned firms to establish a modern corporate system has been gradually clarified, the strategic regrouping of state-owned firms and the restructuring of the state sector of the national economy have been making steady headway, and a capital market has started from scratch to achieve healthy and sustained development. It can be said that China's economic miracle over the past three decades has everything to do with the decision to introduce the shareholding system. As an advocator and practitioner of the theory on this system, Li has made no small contribution to the nation's economic reforms. Hence his nickname, in Chinese, "Li the Shareholding Guru."

ii. Promoting a nonpublic economy

Coined during the reform and opening-up process, the concept of "nonpublic economy" encompasses self-employed industrial and commercial businesses and private firms, but is not limited to these entities. Since the adoption of the policy of reform and opening up to the outside world in 1978, the nonpublic economy has started from nothing and grown into the foremost sector of the national economy.

The development of the nonpublic economy, however, is not without its problems, those concerning state policy in particular. Reports on these policy-associated problems came flooding in from various provinces and municipalities, and eventually came to the attention of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. In the latter half of 2003, the CPPCC Economic Committee set up a panel for a survey of the nonpublic economy. Li Yining, who had already received complaints from many entrepreneurs about the snags they had encountered in developing the nonpublic economy, was appointed as head of the panel. From the facts collected by a series of surveys and discussion meetings in Liaoning, Guangdong, Jilin, Hebei, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Fujian provinces, he was able to see that the problems were real. For example, nonpublic firms were allowed a much narrower business access than foreign investors, and were held back by government discrimination in financing, tax, land use, and foreign trade. Public opinion was prejudiced against them as well.

Toward the end of 2003, the CPPCC Economic Committee submitted a survey report by Li Yining's panel to the State Council. It drew the attention of Premier Wen Jiabao, who instructed in February 2004 that, in order to comply with the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the Sixteenth Party Central Committee and promote the nonpublic economy, it was necessary to take the overall situation into consideration and draft a document to provide guidelines on relevant policy issues. The premier entrusted the State Council Research Office and the State Development and Reform Commission to take the lead in drafting the document. The draft was discussed at meetings of the Economic Committee, and amended by taking the suggestions of Li Yining and other members into consideration. On February 24, 2005, the State Council promulgated the *Opinions on Encouraging, Supporting and Guiding the Development of the Nonpublic Economy*, known as *36 Regulations on the Nonpublic Economy*. The promulgation of the document ushered the nonpublic economy in China into a new period of development. The *36*

Regulations is hailed as a "comprehensive and systematic policy document for promoting the nonpublic sectors." Its implementation marks a breakthrough in the development of this sector of the national economy. For his immense contributions to the *36 Regulations*, Li Yining has been dubbed, in Chinese, "Li the Nonpublic Economist."

iii. Helping impoverished areas

Poverty is one of the sternest challenges confronting humanity. Eradication of poverty has become a global concern. In China, a huge part of the population still lives in absolute poverty. With his personal experience of such poverty in the 1960s and 1970s, Li Yining has made painstaking efforts for the development of the nation's less developed regions. While persisting in exploring ways and means to hasten economic growth in these regions, he has also devoted personal time, energy and wealth to the effort of improving the lot of his countrymen there.

- November 2005. He became dean of the Peking University Institute of Poverty Research that he initiated.
- March-April 2006. He organized five investigative teams on fact-finding tours in five types of poverty-stricken areas – Bijie county in Guizhou province, Huaihua and Youxian counties in Hunan province, Dingxi county in Gansu province, and Mentougou district of Beijing.
- May 2006. He initiated the first session of the China Forum on Strategies for Sustainable Development of Less Developed Areas in Tianjin.

- September 2008. He chaired the second session of the China Forum on Strategies for Sustainable Development of Less Developed Areas in Bijie county, Guizhou province.
- July 2004. He donated his 3-million-yen (equivalent to 200,500 yuan) Fukuoka Asian Culture Prize to Bijie, Guizhou, for the construction of the Zonglin Primary School.
- October 2006. He donated over 400,000 yuan to the Eryou Miao Autonomous Township, Yuanling county, Hunan province, for the

construction of another Zonglin Primary School.

- December 2008. He collected 1.26 million yuan from two charity auctions of the paintings of his wife He Yuchun with his own inscriptions, donating one million yuan for the medical treatment of senior cataract patients in impoverished mountain areas, and 260,000 yuan for the construction of libraries in those areas.

This incomplete record is enough to bear out Li Yining's devotion and contribution to underprivileged people and underdeveloped areas.

In March 2004, Li Yining ran his first training class for government officials in Bijie, Guizhou, shortly after he was appointed to head a panel of experts and advisors for the Bijie Experimental Area under the Central Task Force for Intellectual Support of Peripheral Regions. Since then he has made it an annual routine to visit the experimental area and train local officials.

China today is on the threshold of the Twelfth Five-Year Plan Period (2011-2015), which is pivotal to the nation's poverty eradication efforts. Li Yining has adopted a two-fold research approach accordingly: first, case studies on specific areas or groups of people, which will help him make specific poverty alleviation proposals; second, policy theory studies that enable him to observe the actual effects of national aid-the-poor policies, and, on this basis, to make improvement proposals that will help these policies achieve enduring effects. That is the way Li Yining makes his voice heard once again when national development enters a crucial period.

IV. Li Yining the poet

i. Double identity

Li Yining is not just a towering figure in economics. He is an accomplished poet as well. He has been composing lyric poems for the last 50 or more years since his senior middle school days. Even the chaos of the Cultural Revolution could not prevent him from jotting down his thoughts and feelings in verse whenever the mood hit him. Poetry is instrumental in voicing his musings on society, history and economic development; it also

showcases his profound attainment in the humanities. Seemingly irrelevant to economic research, this attainment actually reflects his prolific imagination and incisive acumen, without which he would not have become the erudite scholar he is today.

Li Yining's verse is lucid and natural, without the least affectation. In one of his seven-character quatrains, he says poetry is the natural revelation of his innermost feelings and thoughts, and that you will never come up with good poems if you are doing someone's bidding. It is this crystal-clear frame of mind that enables him to imbue his verse with genuine passion, economic insight, philosophical wisdom, and penetrating observations of reality.

ii. Expressing economic thoughts in verse

Most of the hundreds of poems he has written over the decades are about personal experience, family life, teacher-student emotional ties, and camaraderie between school friends. Some of them portray scenes and sights, and places of historical and humanistic interest. Upon a closer perusal, however, his economic thoughts are discernible between the lines of some of his poems. In other words, his ruminations on economics often reveal themselves consciously or unconsciously in his verse.

In a poem written during a 1998 inspection tour of Longyan, Fujian province, he cites Hakka history to drive home the role of morality in economic development, a role that he has always cherished in his academic studies. In ancient times, clan after clan of the Hakkas' ancestors fled the war and turmoil of central China, and settled down in south China despite its harsh natural environment. The land of what is the present-day city of Longyan, is clustered with more than ten thousand dwelling complexes, in which several hundred Hakka people lived under the same roof. According to Li Yining, the extraordinary efficiency of such an immigrant society was made possible precisely because of the regulatory role of morality.

Attending a round-table conference on labor, wage and economic restructuring co-sponsored by the Research Office of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee and the State Labor Bureau in April and May 1980, Li Yining composed a seven-character quatrain to voice his opinions about economic restructuring. At the time, he was under fire for some of his reform

proposals that people found unacceptable. Convinced that outmoded conventions and customs would give way sooner or later, in that poem he indicates that one should not haggle over personal honor or disgrace, gains or losses, and that a person's merits and demerits should be left to the judgment of time and posterity.

In 1981, when the reform and opening-up policy was still in its infancy, Li Yining attended the first annual meeting of the Society of History of Foreign Economic Thoughts in Chengdu, Sichuan province. That gave him the opportunity to visit the nearby Qingcheng Mountain, a famous Taoist domain studded with caves in which Taoist priests of yore practiced alchemy. Inspired by the mountain's ancient Taoist alchemical tradition, he improvised a lyric poem to the tune of *Partridge Sky*, in which he says that immortality and truth can be attained not with wonder drugs but often in a flash of inspired thought. Extending that idea to the philosophy of state governance, he argues that reform should advance progressively and social problems can be addressed only through patient persuasion and proper guidance. With the current situation in mind, he suggests in this poem that the economy should be regulated, and social resources allocated, with an "invisible hand." According to him, only when the market is activated can people's living standards be raised and social stability achieved.

iii. Versifying a philosophy of life

In 1963, Li Yining acquired quite a following with a poem he wrote on a tour of the Tanzhe Temple in Beijing. In it he likens a person's peace of mind to the tranquil water in that temple's Dragon Pool, indicating that one can resist the interference of the outside world if he has done enough in self-edification. In traditional Chinese culture, such self-edification is deemed a major part of one's character and wisdom. According to the poet, we may not be able to control the environment around us, but we can adapt to it through self-cultivation. "Whether the wind moves or not is beyond my control," Li says, "but my mind can remain in peace come what may. By the same token, whether it is hot or not is beyond us, but we can stay cool as long as we maintain a peaceful frame of mind. Such is the state of mind we can strive for."

During the Cultural Revolution, Li Yining, like so many people around

him, was denounced and manhandled at public meetings, his house was ransacked, and his research work interrupted by long years of physical labor. Nevertheless, he could always overcome these disturbances, and keep his economic studies and poetic composition going uninterrupted. In these reform and opening-up years, he has taken up more and more public positions, which has vastly increased his workload and social activities. But he never gives up writing, and his new ideas and books come in a constant stream. His exuberant creativity is intimately associated with his tranquil mindset.

Visiting Taoyuan county in Hunan province on a fact-finding tour in 1988, he composed a profoundly philosophical poem on the name of the county meaning "peach blossom spring." In the imagination of our ancestors, the Peach-blossom Spring is the Chinese translation of Shangri-la, where people are free from the chaos of the mundane world and live in peace and bliss. In that poem Li points out that the Peach-blossom Spring is a utopian ideal, but it is possible to carve out such a wonderland in our heart. We can be bathed in the serenity of this wonderland anytime we want it, provided we stay magnanimous and optimistic. As one line in Li Yining's poem goes, "For those who are open-minded, the Peach-blossom Spring is everywhere."

Philosophical meditation is the ultimate way of thinking. In this sense, Li Yining, the accomplished economist, is also a philosopher with a penetrating eye. (*Translated by Peng Lin, Ren Xiaomei and Zhong Zhilan*)

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[1] A socialist movement designed to mobilize the nation's abundant labor force to accomplish a "leap" in industry and agriculture (1958-1960). It failed due to the fact that "Comrade Mao Zedong and many leading comrades, both at the center and in the localities, had become smug about their successes, were impatient for quick results and overestimated the role of man's subjective will and efforts", according to the *Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China*, 1981. (*Translator*)

[2]2 A national movement to clean things up in the fields of politics, economy, organization and ideology (1963-1966). (*Translator*)

专有名词表 Glossary

I. Personal names

阿歇尔（美） Usher, Abbott Payson, American economic historian

艾希利（英） Ashley, William James, British economic historian

贝纳西（法） Benassy, Jean Pascal, French economist

毕歇尔（德） Bücher, Karl Wilhelm, German economist

波士坦（英） Postan, Michael Moissey, British economic historian

布莱克（美） Black, Cyril Edwin, American historian

道布希（奥） Dopsch, Alfons, Austrian economist

登巴（美） Dunbar, Charles Franklin, American economist

恩格尔曼（美） Engerman, Stanley Lewis, American economic historian

法尔南（美） Farnam, Henry Walcott, American economist

福格尔（美） Fogel, Robert William, American economic historian and scientist

格罗斯（美） Gross, Gerald C., American economist

格辛克隆（美） Gerschenkron, Alexander, American economic historian

赫尔希曼（美） Hirschman, Alber Otto, American economist

赫克歇尔（瑞典） Heckscher, Eli Filip, Swedish political economist, economic historian

亨利·瑟 （法） Sée, Henri, French historian

吉宾斯（英） Gibbins, Henry de Beltgens, British historian

凯恩斯（英） Keynes, John Maynard, British economist

科尔内（匈） Kornai, János, Hungarian economist

克拉潘（英） Clapham, John Harold, British economic historian

克劳威尔（美） Clower, Robert Wayne, American economist

库兹涅茨（美） Kuznets, Simon Smith, Russian-American economist

莱恩（美） Lane, Frederic C., American historian

莱荣霍夫德（瑞典） Leijonhufvud, Alex, Swedish economist

勒瓦瑟尔（法） Levasseur, Emile, French economist

罗宾逊（英） Robinson, Joan, British economist

罗伯特·索洛（美） Solow, Robert M., American economist

罗杰斯（英） Rogers, James Edwin Thorold, British economist

罗斯托（美） Rostow, Walt Whitman, American economist and political theorist

罗斯托夫采夫（美） Rostovtzeff, Mikhail Ivanovich, American historian

马克斯·韦伯（德） Weber, Max, German political economist, sociologist

梅洛蒂（意） Melotti, Umberto, Italian political sociologist

纳克斯（美） Nurkse, Ragnar, American economist, policy maker

诺思（美） North, Douglass Cecil, American economist

皮朗（比） Pirenne, Henri, Belgian economist

桑巴特（德） Sombart, Werner, German economist and sociologist

施本格勒（德） Spengler, Oswald, German historian, philosopher

施莫勒（德） Schmoller, Gustav von, German economist

汤普逊（美） Thompson, James Walter, American pioneer of advertising

techniques

汤因比（英） Toynbee, Arnold, British historian

托马斯（美） Thomas, Robert Paul, American economist

托尼（英） Tawney, Richard Henry, British economic historian

瓦尔拉（法） Walras, Léon, French mathematical economist

瓦格曼（德） Wagemann, Ernst, German economist

悉尼·波拉德（英） Pollard, Sidney, British historian

谢夫莱（德） Schaffle, Albert Eberhard Fridrich, German economist

熊彼特（美） Schumpeter, Joseph Alois, American economist, political scientist

伊利（美） Ely, Richard Theodore, American economist

约翰·希克斯（英） Hicks, John, British economist

II. Journals and economic works

北京大学学报（哲学社会科学版） *Journal of Peking University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)*

财贸经济 *Finance & Trade Economics*

短缺经济学 *Economics of Shortage*

反均衡 *Anti-Equilibrium*

非均衡的中国经济 *Disequilibrium in the Chinese Economy*

工业化与欧洲经济 "Industrialization and the European Economy"

宏观经济学：非瓦尔拉分析方法导论 *Macroeconomics: An Introduction to the Non-Walrasian Approach*

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经济史理论 *A Theory of Economic History*

经济史评论 *Economic History Review*

经济文化 *Economics & Culture*

经济学展望 *Journal of Economic Perspectives*

经济研究参考资料 *Economic Reference*

经济周期理论 *A Contribution to the Theory of the Trade Cycle*

就业、利息和货币通论 *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*

凯恩斯经济学的危机 *Crisis in Keynesian Economics*

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日本和俄国的现代化 *The Modernization of Japan and Russia*

社会科学战线 *Social Sciences Front*

社会主义政治经济学 *Socialist Political Economics*

世界经济 *World Economy*

市场非均衡经济学 *The Economics of Market Disequilibrium*

数量经济技术经济研究 *Quantitative & Technical Economics*

西方的没落 *The Decline of the West*

西方经济学杂志 *Western Economic Journal*

亚太经济时报 *Asia Pacific Economic Times*

增长、短缺与效率 *Growth, Shortage and Efficiency*

政府在近代初期经济增长中所起的作用 "The role of government in economic growth in early modern times"

中国社会科学 *Social Sciences in China*

走向繁荣的战略选择 *Strategic Choice for Prosperity*

III. Economic terms

安置费 relocation grant

按劳分配 distribution according to work done; distributing to each according to one's work

北京大学“五四”科学讨论会 Peking University "May Fourth" Symposium

比较经济史 comparative economic history

变量 variable

补偿 compensation

不充分补偿 inadequate compensation

不等价交换 unequal exchange of value

不等价交换制度 system of unequal exchange

不合理投资 irrational investment

不良债务 bad debt

不完全竞争的价格 price from imperfect competition

部分补偿 partial compensation

财政拨款 fiscal appropriation; fiscal funding

财政赤字 fiscal deficit

财政平衡 fiscal balance; financial balance

财政收入 fiscal revenue

财政收支 fiscal revenue and expenditure

财政政策 fiscal policy

参与制 participatory system

仓储设备 storage facilities

产出增长率 output growth rate

产品经济 commodity economy

产权改革 reform of property rights

产权关系不明确 ambiguous property rights

产权交易市场 property rights market

产业结构 industrial structure

产业结构调整 industrial restructuring

产值 output value

长波理论 theory on the Long Wave

长期经济效益 long-term economic benefit

超常规效率 super efficiency

成本—收益分析方法 cost-benefit analysis

成本下降率 cost reduction rate

成本与收益之比 cost-benefit ratio

承包 contract; subcontract

承包经营 contracted management

城市“大集体”企业 urban collective enterprise

乘数—加速原理分析 Multiplier-Accelerator model

持股公司 holding company

充分补偿 full compensation; compensate in full

重复建设 repetitious construction; redundant construction

初级产品 primary product

传导机制 transmission mechanism

次优选择 second-best choice

存款准备金率 reserve requirement ratio

大规模商品经济 large-scale commodity economy

贷款的可偿还性 redeemability of loans

单一的所有制 monomorphic ownership structure

道德标准 moral standard

道德判断 moral judgment

低收入家庭生活补助 allowances for low-income family

抵押 mortgage

地下的市场价格 black market price

第二次分配 redistribution

第二警戒线 second alert line

第一警戒线 first alert line

动力机制 impetus mechanism

短边原则 law of the shortest side

短缺 shortage; shortfall

短缺资源的渗漏现象 resale of scarce resources

短缺资源的自发分配 spontaneous distribution of scarce resources

短线（短边） shortest side

短线决定原则 wooden barrel principle

短线顽症 shortest-side syndrome

多线发展模式 multi-linear mode of growth

二元机制 dual mechanism

发展经济学 development economics

“发疹”假设 "red spots" hypothesis

反事实度量法 counterfactual analysis

房地产市场（房产市场） real estate market

非公有制 nonpublic ownership

非均衡 disequilibrium

非均衡理论 disequilibrium theory

非零失业率 nonzero unemployment rate

非零通货膨胀率 nonzero inflation rate

非贸易项目的国际收入 international revenue from nontrade item

非熟练劳动力 unskilled worker; unskilled laborer

非熟练劳动密集型 unskilled-labor-intensive

非瓦尔拉均衡 non-Walrasian equilibrium

非物质生产部门 nonmaterial production sector

非正常波动 abnormal fluctuation

非正常短缺度 abnormal shortage

分期补偿（多次补偿） payment in installments

负值经济效益 negative economic returns

高层次的调节作用 high-level regulating role

个人经济效益 individual's economic returns

个人绝对收入满意度 individual's absolute degree of income satisfaction

个人相对收入满意度 individual relative income satisfaction

个人消费基金的结余部分 surplus of personal consumption fund

个人职业选择性 individual occupation selectivity

个体劳动者 self-employed worker

个体所有制 private ownership

各尽所能，按劳分配 from each according to his ability, to each according to his work

工资成本 wage cost

工资刚性 wage rigidity

公方 public owner

公股持有者 public shareholder

公积金 public accumulation fund

公开的市场价格 open market price

公开失业率 registered unemployment rate

公开市场业务 open market operation

公开通货膨胀率 registered inflation rate

公司财团（企业财团） enterprise consortium

公益金 public welfare fund

公有制 public ownership

供给价格弹性 price elasticity in supply

供给约束 restraint on supply

供销社 supply and marketing cooperative

购买主体 purchaser

古典经济学 classical economics

股份合作制 joint-stock cooperative system

股份化 shareholding system; demutualization

股份经济 shareholding economy

股份企业 shareholding company

股份制 shareholding (system)

股票经纪人 (stock) broker

股权 equity

关键性产品 key commodity

官倒 official smuggling

规范方法 normative approach

规范经济学 normative economics

规模效益 economies of scale

国际贸易 international trade

国际收支 international payment

国际收支逆差 balance of payments deficit

国际收支平衡 balance of international payments

国际资本市场 world capital market

国民财富 national assets

国民生产总值 GNP

国民生产总值或国民收入的年变动率 annual rate of changes in GNP or national income

国民收入 national income

国民收入均衡公式 equilibrium equation for national income

国有企业 state firm; state enterprise

过度扩张 excessive expansion

过度收缩 excessive recession

哈罗德—多马模型 Harrod-Domar model

合理投资 rational investment

合作企业 cooperative firm

合作制 cooperative system

横向经济联系 lateral ties in the economy

宏观经济调节措施 macroeconomic regulatory step

宏观经济管理体制的改革 macroeconomic administrative reform

宏观经济效果 macroeconomic effectiveness

后发性劣势 disadvantages of a latecomer

后发性优势 advantages of a latecomer

后凯恩斯经济学派 post-Keynesian theorists

环境保护经济学 economics of environmental protection

环境经济学 environmental economics

环境破坏 environmental damage

环境治理 environmental treatment

环境治理费用 environmental treatment cost

混合经济型企业 mixed-ownership company

混合企业 company under mixed ownership

活劳动部分 living labor

货币供应量 money supply; amount of currency in circulation

货币回笼 withdraw money from circulation

货币流通量增长率 growth rate of the amount of currency in circulation

货币市场 money market

货币学派 Monetarists

货币政策 monetary policy

货币资金 monetary fund

货源缺口 supply shortfall

积累率 saving rate; accumulation rate

基础性的调节作用 basic regulating role

基尼系数 Gini Coefficient

集体股 collective share

集体所有制 collective ownership

集体所有制企业 collective firm

挤出效应 crowding-out effect

计划管理 planned management

计划价格 planned price

计划经济体制 planned economic system

计量经济史学 econometric history

技术创新理论 theory on technological innovation

技术创新史 history of technological innovation

技术改造 technical renovation

技术结构 technological structure

技术市场 technology market

家庭财产存量 household wealth

家庭承包 household responsibility system

价格刚性 price rigidity

价格伸缩 price flexibility

价格限制 price limit

价格信号 price signal

间接补偿 indirect compensation

减产 reduce output

交易成本 trading cost

交易人 trader

金本位制度 gold standard system

紧缩投资 tighten up investment

紧缩需求 reduce demand

紧缩政策 retrenchment policy

近似值 approximate value

经济波动 economic fluctuation

经济波动论 theory of economic fluctuations

经济的不平衡增长 imbalanced economic growth; uneven economic growth

经济的横向联系 lateral economic tie

经济的平衡增长 balanced economic growth

经济调节 economic regulation

经济管理体制 economic administration

经济核算 financial auditing

经济计量学 econometrics

经济结构 economic structure

经济紧缩 economic austerity

经济联合体 economic conglomerate

经济史学 economic history

经济体制改革 economic restructuring

经济效率 economic efficiency

经济效益 economic returns

经济行为规范 economic norm

经济运行机制 economic operational mechanism

经济增长（正值增长、零增长或负增长） economic growth (positive, zero or negative)

经济增长率 economic growth rate

经济增长主体 principal of economic growth

经济周期史 historiography of business cycles

经济资源 economic resources

经济组织形式 economic organizational form

警戒线 alert line

净产值 net output value

净收益 net returns

纠偏 rectification

就业结构 employment structure

就业问题的“结构性” "structural" nature of the employment problem

均衡价格 equilibrium price

均衡经济学 theory based on equilibrium

凯恩斯学派 Keynesians

控股制 controlling shareholder system

亏损 in the red

劳动管理体制 labor administration

劳动力 workforce

劳动力的结构 labor structure

劳动力流动状况 labor mobility

劳动力市场 labor market

劳动力总资源 aggregate volume of labor resources

劳动密集型经济 labor-intensive economy

劳动生产率 workforce productivity; labor productivity

劳务 labor services; labor and services

劳务市场 service market

累进制的个人所得税税率 private income tax rate within the framework of a progressive tax system

累进制的所得税 progressive income tax

历史比例原则 principle of historical ratios

历史计量学 cliometrics

利率 interest rate

利益刚性 rigidity of interest; rigidity in interest

利益机制 interest mechanism

利益主体 master of one's own interests; interest principal

联产承包责任制 household responsibility system

联合经营组织 voluntary economic cooperative

临界值 threshold value

零短缺度 no shortage

零失业率 zero unemployment

零通货膨胀率 zero inflation

流通 circulation

每小时工资购买力 hourly wage's purchasing power

每小时工资收入与耐用消费品的交换比率 exchange ratio between hourly wage and durable consumption goods

名义生产能力 nominal production capacity

目标机制 goals mechanism

目标吸引 lure of goals

目标原则 goals principle

内部积累机制 internal accumulation mechanism

内在约束机制 self-restraint mechanism

农村产业结构 rural economic structure

农业合作化 Movement of Agricultural Collectivization

农业生产率 productivity in agriculture

排除干扰机制 interference elimination mechanism

排他性 cliquishness

配额均衡 balance of government quotas; rationed equilibrium

“平等”和效率的交替 trade-off between "equality" and efficiency

平均国民收入 per capita national income

平均技术熟练水平 average skill proficiency

平均原则 principle of averages

破产法 bankruptcy law

企业保留资金 business reserve fund

企业股 corporate share

企业家精神 entrepreneurship

企业控股制 corporate stock-holding system

企业体制 corporate system

企业运行机制 corporate operational mechanism

企业制度的改革 corporate institutional reform

企业资产存量 corporate capital stock

潜在的生产要素 latent production factor

清产核资 liquidate the assets and check the accounts

全民所有制 state ownership

全民所有制企业 state firm; public company

缺口 gap

人口增长率 population growth rate

人力投资 investment in human capital

人力资本理论 theory on human capital

人民公社化 Movement of the People's Communes

人员的水平流动、垂直流动 labor's lateral and vertical mobility

商品经济 commodity economy

商品市场 commodity market

设备更新 equipment upgrading

社会补偿 social compensation

社会补偿基金 social compensation fund

社会化大生产 society's large-scale production

社会经济发展目标 socioeconomic development goal

社会平均绝对收入满意度 average absolute income satisfaction in the society

社会平均相对收入满意度 average relative income satisfaction in the society

社会平均综合收入满意度 average degree of society's comprehensive income satisfaction

社会效益 social returns

社会效益的变动幅度 magnitude of changes in positive or negative social returns

社会主义经济制度 socialist economy

社会总产品 aggregate social product

社会总产品增长率 growth rate of aggregate social product

生产成本 production cost

生产方法 means of production; tools of production

生产管理体制 administration and management of production

生产过剩 overproduction

生产和再生产 production and reproduction

生产力水平 labor productivity

生产能力 production capacity

生产设备 production equipment

生产型投资 productive investment

生产要素 production factor

生产要素的流动 flow of production factors

生产资料 means of production; capital goods

生产资料的社会主义公有制 socialist public ownership of capital goods

生产资料公有制 public ownership of capital goods

生产资料所有权 capital goods ownership; proprietorship over capital goods

生产资料投入量 capital goods input in production

生产资料资本主义私有制 private ownership of capital goods under capitalism

生产组织形式 organizational form of production

生活津贴 living allowance

剩余 surplus

实际生产能力 real production capacity

实证方法 positive approach

食物支出 food expense

使用价值 use value

市场单一定价制 sole market price

市场的优先原则、垄断原则 market principles of priority and monopoly

市场调节 market regulation

市场机制 market mechanism

市场经济体制 market economy system

市场缺口 demand shortfall

市场条件 marketability; market condition

适者生存 survival of the fittest

收入分配协调 income distribution; coordination of income distribution;

equitable income distribution

收益分配 income distribution

收益增长率 profit growth rate

熟练劳动力 skilled worker

熟练劳动密集型 skilled-labor-intensive

数量配额 quantity quota

数量限制 quantity constraint

双轨价格 double-track price system

双轨经济体制 dual-track economic system

税后利润 after-tax profit

私倒 nonofficial smuggling

私营企业 private enterprise; private firm

所有制的多元化 ownership diversity

所有制改革 ownership reform

所有制体系（所有制形式） ownership structure

体制改革 institutional reform

调节税 income-adjustment tax

贴现 discount for cash

贴现率 depreciation rate

停产 stop production

通货膨胀 inflation

投入 investment

投入产出分析方法 input-output analysis

投资·储蓄—流动偏好·货币供给分析 IS-LM (investment · savings –

liquidity preference · money supply) model
投资的自我约束机制 self-restraint in investment
投资回收期 investment-recouping period
投资率 rate of investment
投资增量 reinvestment
投资主体 investment principal
瓦尔拉均衡 Walrasian equilibrium
外汇储备 foreign exchange reserve
外汇市场 foreign exchange market
外汇收入 foreign exchange earnings
外贸平衡 balance of foreign trade
外资企业 foreign-invested company
完全竞争 perfect competition
微观经济单位 microeconomic agent
文化经济学 cultural economics
无效供给 ineffective supply
无效投资 ineffective investment
物化劳动 materialized labor
物化形态 in the form of physical commodity
物质生产部门 material production sector
物质生产领域 material production
物质资源 material resources
现有资金 available capital
乡镇企业 rural firm

乡镇企业合作制 cooperative system for rural enterprises

消费基金 consumption fund

消费基金发放主体 consumption fund issuer

消费结构 consumer-goods structure; consumption composition; consumption structure

消费品市场 consumer goods market

消费早熟 premature consumption

销售收入 sales income

小生产者 small-time producer

小型合作企业 small cooperative

效力递减 eclipse of effectiveness

效率标准 efficiency standard

效率判断 efficiency judgment

效率增长潜力 potential in efficiency growth

新公有制 new public ownership

新古典模型 Neo-classical model

新剑桥模型 Neo-Cambridge model

新经济史学 new economic history

信贷规模控制 credit scale control

信贷配额制 credit rationing

信贷平衡 credit market equilibrium

信贷条件 credit condition

行政改革 administrative reform

需求价格弹性 price elasticity in demand

需求约束 restraint on demand

需求主体 demander

亚西亚生产方式 Asian mode of production

一人一票制 "one man, one vote" decision-making system

遗产税 inheritance tax

抑制性通货膨胀 repressed inflation

银根 money supply

银行信贷 bank credit

银行信贷膨胀 bank credit expansion

隐蔽失业 concealed unemployment; disguised unemployment

隐蔽失业率 disguised unemployment rate

隐蔽通货膨胀率 disguised inflation rate

盈亏的对称性 symmetrical treatment of gains and losses

赢利性 profitability

有限市场的自发分割 spontaneous division of a limited market

有效投资 effective investment

预期 expectation

预算软约束 soft budget constraint

预算硬约束 hard budget constraint

原材料消耗 consumption of raw materials

运输手段 means of transportation

运行机制 operational mechanism

再补偿 double compensation; twofold compensation; recompensation

再贷款限额 relending quota

再贴现率 rediscount rate

再贴现限额 rediscount quota

再贴现政策 rediscount policy

再投入 reinvestment

债务链 debt chain

折股到户 distribute the stock to every member household

折旧费 depreciation expenses

正常波动 normal fluctuation

正常短缺度 normal shortage

正值经济效益 positive economic returns

证券市场 securities market

政府的平均原则、目标原则、历史原则 government's principles of egalitarianism, goals, and history

政府调节 government regulation

政企不分 government-business collusion; government adminis-tration intermixed with business management

政企分开 detach government administration from business management; separate government administration from business management

政治市场与公共选择理论 theory on the political market and public choices

政治周期理论 theory on political cycles

知识密集型经济 knowledge-intensive economy

直接补偿 direct compensation

职位空缺 job vacancy

职业歧视 workplace discrimination

职业世袭制 hereditary tenure

指标 indicator

指导性计划 guidance planning; central planning; mandatory planning

制度创新理论 theory on institutional innovation

制度创新史 history of institutional innovation

滞销 unsalability

滞销积压 overstocked and unsalable

滞胀 stagflation

中间购买者 intermediate buyer

中世纪庄园制 Western European medieval manorial system

中外合资企业 joint venture with Chinese and foreign investment

重商主义 mercantilism

主导产业政策 industry-prioritizing policy

专业银行 specialized banks

资本市场 capital market

资本主义雇佣劳动制度 capitalist hired-labor system

资本主义垄断阶段 monopolist stage of capitalism

资本主义所有制 capitalist ownership of capital goods

资产重估 assets reevaluation

资金存量折股 convert capital stock into stock share

资金使用效率 capital utilization efficiency

资金市场 capital market

资金周转 fund turnover rate

资源存量 stock of resources

资源分配比例 distribution ratio

资源利用效率 resource use efficiency

资源配置 resource allocation

资源配置不当 improper resource allocation

资源配置机制 resource allocation mechanism

资源投入和组合 resource input and combination

资源增量的变动 incremental changes in resources

自负盈亏 take responsibility for one's own gains and losses; function as an independent accounting unit; liable for one's own gains and losses

自然单位的劳动投入量 labor and capital goods inputs in production by natural physical units

自我制约 self-restrain

自行调节功能 self-regulatory function

自由价格 free price

自主经营 make one's own business decisions

自主经营权 decision-making autonomy

总供给 aggregate demand

总需求 aggregate supply

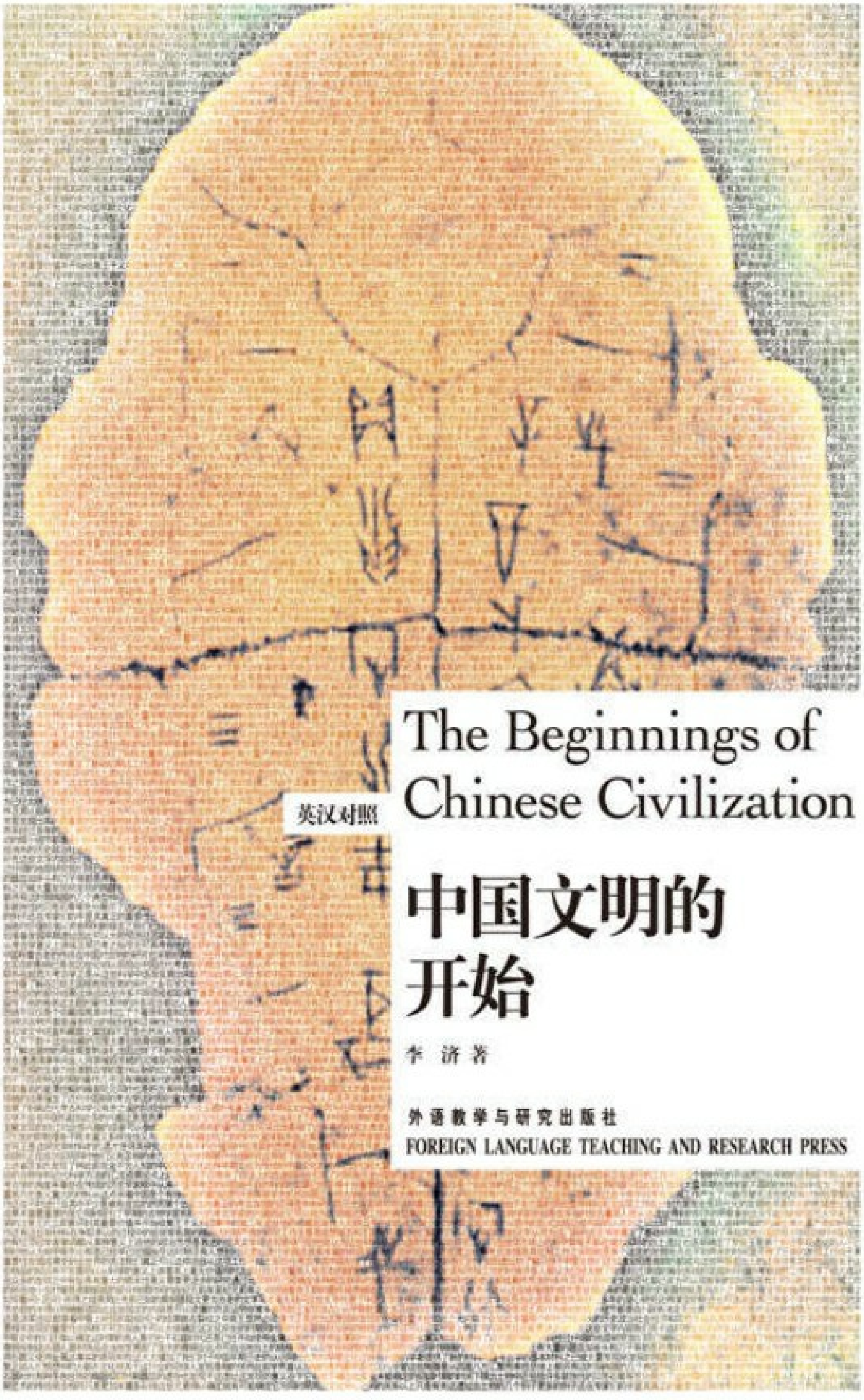
租赁 lease

租赁经营 leased management

最大效益原则 maximum gains at a certain expense

最小成本原则 minimum expense in return for a certain amount of gain

精选李济先生考古学、人类学代表之作，双语呈现，大师智慧与学术情怀互见，跟随大师探寻古老中国文明之踪迹，追溯中华民族人种之起源。



英汉对照

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中国文明的开始

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“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外研社人文社科出版分社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在

古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社

人文社科出版分社

序

李济先生曾于1957年在华盛顿大学出版社出版了*The Beginnings of Chinese Civilization*一书，在海内外引起广泛的反响，十余年内共印了五版。外研社全新推出的这本《中国文明的开始》（英汉对照）在该书的基础上，增选了几篇相关主题的重要文章，其中既有关于考古学、人类学研究的发现，也有对学术范式、人才培养的思考，旨在从不同角度展现李济先生的主要学术思想及其发展脉络。

李济先生的著作在国内外已有数个版本流传，但此番乃是首次以英汉双语的形式呈现。对人文社科领域英汉双语著作的提倡，据我所知，最早可追溯到剑桥大学历史系的蒲立本教授。他感到要研究中国历史，需要学习并熟悉关于中国语言的知识。受他的启发，费正清等人提出了“中国的思想和制度”这一研究计划。李济于上世纪60年代初期接触到该方案时，就建议这个“时髦的计划”应当在严格的人类学基础上进行。李济建议，要更好地研究中国历史，应该采取一套他名之为“心理学+双语研读制+人类学”的方法。而能够善用这种研究方法的人无非两类：一类是“学会用中国话和中国文字去思考，必须能用中国语言客观地内省自己的思维过程，并用他同样熟悉的另一种语言把这一过程记录下来”的外国学者，另一类是“以中国话为母语……又受到完善的科学方法的训练，并且外国语也学得很好”的中国学者。由此看来，外研社人文社科分社以英汉双语形式出版李济先生的作品，可谓对其学术主张的一种很好的回应。

本书所选篇目大多曾刊载于海内外颇具影响力的学刊上。前三篇选文原为李济先生于1955年在美国华盛顿大学所作的三次演讲的手稿，介绍了震惊世界的“使殷商文化由传说变为信史”的河南安阳殷墟发掘。《考古学》（"Archaeology"）选自陈衡哲主编的《中国文化论集》（*Symposium on Chinese Culture*）。《山西南部汾河流域考古调查》（“Archaeological Survey of the Fêng River Valley, Southern Shansi, China"）原文刊载于《史密森研究院各科论文集刊》（*Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*），此次调查拉开了中国人自己主持科学考古发掘工作的序幕，具有相当的史料价值。在此需要特别提及的是，《中国的若干人类学问题》（"Some Anthropological Problems of China"）一文首先于1922年发表在巴尔的摩的《中国留学生月刊》（*The Chinese*

Students Monthly）上，并在美国科学促进协会年会上宣读；经作者修改后，于次年再度发表于《哈佛研究生杂志》（*Harvard Graduates Magazine*），在学界引起轰动，并为英国哲学家罗素所引用。鉴于此修订版已为笔者译为中文并发表于《中国现代学术经典·李济卷》上，为更完整地展现李济先生对此议题的思考，本书选用了最原初的版本，以供读者参照比较。《再论中国的若干人类学问题》（“Some Anthropological Problems of China: Reconsidered"）最初发表于1962年的《国际亚洲历史学家学会第二届双年会会议记录》(*Second Biennial Conference Proceedings, International Association of Historians of Asia*)上。《中国人的种族历史》("Racial History of the Chinese People")是李济先生于台北所作的一次演讲，手稿于1969年发表于《中国社社刊》（*Journal of the China Society*）。

参与本书翻译工作的多是考古学、人类学等相关领域的专家学者，他们的劳动是此双语版得以呈现的前提。已故的地质学界前辈袁复礼教授、李济先生弟子夏鼐教授、张光直教授和人类学家杨希枚教授等对译文的审校和订正工作提供了大力帮助。本书的编者和相关负责人对所有的原文和译文都进行了细致的核实与修订。在此向他们一并表示诚挚的感谢。我相信，以一丝不苟的态度来翻译、编辑和出版李济先生的作品，是对先生最好的追忆和纪念。

李光谟

2011年2月于北京

1924年在清华国学研究院，前坐四人左起为李济、王国维、梁启超、赵元任

李济留美时Li Chi in U.S. as a student

1924年在清华国学研究院，前坐四人左起为李济、王国维、梁启超、赵元任

Li Chi, Wang Kwo-wei, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, and Chao Yuen Ren (from left to right, the front row) at Tsinghua Research Institute on Chinese Study in 1924

1926年山西西阴村考古发掘现场 Archaeological excavation site of Hsi-yin Ts'un of Shansi in 1926

1934年，安阳侯家庄1001号大墓开掘 Excavation of HPKM: 1001 of the Hou-chia-chuang Royal Cemetery in 1934

1957年李济、胡适摄于南港“中央研究院”史语所楼前 With Hu Shih (left) before the building of Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica at Nankang in 1957

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Preface Li Chi: 1896-1979

After almost sixty years, first as the father and later as the dean of Chinese archaeology, Li Chi has left indelible contributions to the science of humankind and of history, and his thinking still dominates his discipline in China.

Born in Hupei, Li Chi grew up at home and in Peking at a time when the old country, forced by encounters with the West, was taking its initial steps on the long road to modernization. Then, as now, bright young students were sent to Western countries to learn their scientific secrets. After his graduation from the elite Tsinghua Academy, Li Chi was sent to the United States, where he studied psychology and sociology at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, and then anthropology at Harvard. According to an interview with Wilma Fairbank in 1977, Li Chi said that he went to Clark because a psychology teacher at Tsinghua, a Dr. Wolcott, had told him that Clark was the place to be for psychology. While at Clark, Li Chi developed the habit of spending every Saturday morning browsing in the open shelves of the library. There he happened upon anthropology books and was fascinated by this subject, of which he had had no previous knowledge. At Harvard, where he earned a doctorate in 1923, Li Chi studied with Hooton, Tozzer, and Dixon, and from these three mentors he learned, respectively, physical anthropology, archaeology, and ethnology, all of which he made use of, both in his doctoral dissertation (1928) and in his subsequent sixty-year career in China.

From 1923, when he returned to China, to 1928, Li Chi was the typical university professor-cum-research scholar in the American mold. He taught at Nan-k'ai University in Tientsin (1923-1925) and then at his alma mater Tsinghua Academy's new Graduate Research Institute (1925-1928). From 1925 to 1926 he undertook the excavation of a Neolithic Yang-shao culture site at Hsi-yin-ts'un in Hsia Hsien, southern Shansi, under the joint auspices of the Tsinghua Institute and the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D. C., becoming the first Chinese scholar to dig an archaeological site.

The year 1928 was a turning point in Li Chi's life, and it was a turning point in Chinese archaeology and historiography as well. To appreciate fully

the significance of events surrounding Li Chi beginning in 1928 we must go back some thirty years, to 1899, one year before the Boxers and the Allied Invasion which wrought Imperial China's ultimate humiliation in the face of the industrial and military might of the West. In that year oracle bone inscriptions of the Shang (or Yin) Dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.) came to the attention of ancient historians for the first time since the dynasty's fall three thousand years previously, and during the next thirty years Shang scholars within and outside of China became fascinated by this new historiographic source material and launched extensive efforts to track down the bones floating on the antiquities market. Before long, the scholars became aware that these inscribed bones had come from Yin Hsü, the ruins of the Yin Dynasty, long known to be on the banks of the river Huan, near the modern city of An-yang, in northern Honan.

前言 怀念李济（1896～1979）

近六十年的岁月里，首先作为中国考古学之父、随后又作为中国考古学掌门人的李济，为人文科学和历史科学作出了不可磨灭的贡献。在中国，他的学术思想至今仍在他的研究领域占据支配地位。

李济在湖北出生，在老家和北京成长，他的少年时期正处于这个古老国家在与西方接触的压力下迈开通向现代化漫长道路的最初步伐的时候。就跟现在一样，当时一批批颇有才华的青年学生被送往西方各国去学习它们的科学奥秘。从著名的清华学校毕业后，李济被送到美国麻省伍斯特市的克拉克大学攻读心理学和社会学，接着又到哈佛去学习人类学。据李济在1977年跟费正清的夫人费慰梅女士的一次谈话中说，他之所以去克拉克大学，是因为清华的一位心理学老师华尔考博士跟他说，要学心理学，就要去克拉克。在克拉克时期，李济养成了一个习惯：每个星期六的上午他都去图书馆开架阅览室，尽情浏览各种书刊。在这种啃青草式的阅读中，他偶然地接触到自己不曾了解的人类学的书籍，立刻就被这门学问吸引住了。李济于1923年获得哈佛大学博士学位。在那里，他跟从虎藤、托策和狄克森三位老师分别学习了体质人类学、考古学和人种学；这三门学问在他的博士论文写作（1928年出版）和之后六十年的学术生涯中全都派上了用场。

从1923年回国到1928年，李济一直担任着一种典型的美国式的大学教授兼研究学者的工作。他先后在天津南开大学（1923年～1925年）和母校清华大学新成立的国学研究院任教（1925年～1928年）。1925年到1926年他负责主持了在山西南部夏县西阴村一处新石器时代仰韶文化遗址的发掘。这次发掘是由清华的国学研究院和美国华盛顿特区的弗利尔美术馆联合举办的。李济因此成为第一位挖掘考古遗址的中国学者。

1928这一年是李济一生中的转捩点，也是中国考古学和历史学的转捩点。为了充分认识从1928年开始李济所经历事件的重要意义，需要再上溯到近三十年前的1899年，即义和团事件和八国联军入侵的前一年；八国联军的入侵使中华帝国在西方强大的工业实力和军事威力面前蒙受了奇耻大辱。也就是在这一年，商（或殷）代（公元前1766年～公元前1122年）[1]的甲骨文在王朝灭亡近三千年之后，首次引起了古史学者们的关注。在此后的三十年里，中国和外国的研究商史的学者们都被这一新的史料来源迷住了，他们大规模地追踪古董市场上流通的这类骨片的

出土源头。没过多久，这些学者就察觉到契刻甲骨来自殷墟，即长久以来为人们所知晓的位于河南北部洹水岸边、现代安阳所在地附近的殷王朝废墟。

In 1928, the Nationalists succeeded in their Northern Expedition and founded a new regime in Nanking. A new national academy of sciences—Academia Sinica—was established, and under it there was a National Research Institute of History and Philology. The institute's director, Fu Ssu-nien, who had studied historiography and philology in Germany, decided at once on two projects, among others, for the new institute to launch—to establish a department of archaeology as a new instrument to investigate Chinese history; and to carry out an excavation at Yin Hsü as the department's first field project. For both, Fu needed a senior archaeologist trained in the Western tradition of field investigations, and Li Chi was a logical choice for both department chairman and excavation project director. From then on, Li Chi's career became inextricably linked with the An-yang excavations, which, under Academia Sinica, lasted for fifteen field seasons, until the middle of 1937.

It is known to only a very few people now that when Fu was looking for a suitable scholar to head the new archaeology department—thus choosing, in effect, the national leader of archaeology—he had recommended to him not one, but two strong candidates, the other being Ma Heng (1881-1955), a highly respected scholar of the traditional antiquarian mold, later to become chairman of the Research Section of Archaeology of Peking University and director of the Palace Museum. It would be interesting to speculate what Chinese archaeology would be like now had Ma Heng been Fu's final choice, for the An-yang excavations of 1928-1937 and Li Chi's direction of them were to shape Chinese archaeology for the next half century.

国民党人在1928年取得了北伐的胜利，在南京建立了新的政府。一个新型的全国性的科学研究机构——中央研究院——成立了，研究院内设立了一个国立的历史语言研究所。所长傅斯年曾在德国学习历史学和语言学，他立即为新成立的研究所立下了两个项目：（一）成立一个考古组，作为研究中国历史的新工具；（二）发掘殷墟，作为考古组的第一个田野工作项目。为实现这两件事，傅亟需一位受过西方田野调查传统训练的有资历的考古学家；组主任和发掘项目主持人这二者的必然选择结果，都落在李济身上。从这时开始，李济的学术生涯就和安阳的发掘再也分不开了。中央研究院所领导的这一发掘工作一直持续了十五个

工作季，直到1937年年中。

如今只有为数很少的人知道，当傅寻找一位合适的学者来领导这个新成立的考古组——这实际意味着挑选一位全国性的考古事业的领导者——时，受到推荐的不是一位、而是两位有力的候选人。这另一位是马衡（1881年～1955年）。马是一位备受尊敬的传统古文物研究学者，后来是北京大学考古研究室主任和故宫博物院的院长。不妨设想一下：如果马衡当年成了傅最后选中的人，中国的考古学现在会是一个什么样子？因为1928年至1937年的安阳发掘和李济对安阳发掘的领导，对下半个世纪的中国考古学的发展起了决定性的影响。

First of all, the An-yang excavations established the status of the Shang civilization at the head of the ancient history of China as the first civilization in the whole eastern half of Asia with written documents. Shang is the linchpin that ties together the vast recorded history of China with the increasing body of information about prehistoric China. But our knowledge of the Shang has to a great extent been shaped by Li Chi. He organized the search at An-yang for archaeological sites. He applied Western archaeological methods and concepts. He recruited colleagues and students and trained them in these methods and concepts at An-yang. Among these younger scholars were all the leading archaeologists active in China in the last thirty years, including Hsia Nai, director of the Institute of Archaeology, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and Kao Ch’ü-hsun, until summer 1981 director of the Institute of History and Philology in Taiwan. Li Chi also set both the tone and the priorities of the study of the An-yang finds, and his methodology—above all ceramic and bronze vessel nomenclature and typology—still dominates the whole field of archaeology in China. In his own research he set a high standard of scientific excellence, which his successors struggle to measure up to in their own works. He was also both a patriot, jealously guarding China's cultural treasures against foreign pilferage, and an internationalist eager to adopt the best techniques and ideas the West had to offer and to view and conceptualize about China in the world setting. Many of his successors have succeeded in being one or the other, but few have equaled his tenacity and vision to be both.

The Sino-Japanese War that broke out in July 1937 virtually put an end to further archaeological fieldwork of significance being carried out by Li Chi's department, and after 1949 he went to Taiwan. From 1937 until his death in 1979, Li Chi spent much of his time dealing with the care,

transportation, study, and publication of the An-yang material excavated during the 1928-1937 interval. Although the war-caused instability of institute life and the deaths and departures of many of the An-yang archaeologists had adversely affected Li Chi's plans for the Shang treasure, by the time of his death he had seen the publication of the bulk of the material, which he summarized in his last book Anyang (1977). The whole report is not out, but the adverse factors were beyond Li Chi's control, and he did everything he could have done, for which we are truly grateful. I have a strong feeling that the reason Li Chi declined repeated offers of university posts in the United States, to which some of his Academia Sinica colleagues immigrated during and after the war, was primarily because he felt he had to stay in China to see the Anyang studies through.

首先，安阳的发掘确立了商文明在中国古代史上为首的地位，它是整个东亚地区第一个有文字记载的文明。商代是把浩瀚的中国史籍记载和日益增长的史前中国信息体联结起来的一个纽带。然而我们关于商代的知识很大程度上仍是由李济给我们塑造的。他组织了在安阳的考古探寻。他使用了西方的考古方法和观念。他招募了众多的同事和学生，并在安阳的实地工作中用这些方法和观念培养他们。这些年轻的学者中包括近三十年活跃在考古界的所有重要人物，包括夏鼐——中国社会科学院考古研究所的所长，包括高去寻——直至1981年夏天高一直在台湾任历史语言研究所所长。李济为安阳出土器物的研究定下总基调，并确立了研究的主次性，他的整套研究方法——尤其是陶器和青铜器的命名和类型学方法——一直还在整个中国考古学界处于支配地位。在他本人的研究工作中，他树立了一种高要求的科学标准——他的后继者们都努力在自己的工作中以之为榜样。他既是一个认真守护中国的文化珍品、防范外国盗窃者侵犯的爱国者，又是一个渴望接受西方所可能提供的最佳技术和观念、渴望在世界背景下观察和构想中国的国际主义者。他的后继者中有许多人能做到这两者中的一个方面，但几乎无人能像他那样有韧性和眼光同时做到两个方面。

1937年7月爆发的抗日战争事实上结束了李济的考古组所进行的进一步重要田野考古工作；1949年以后，李济去了台湾。李济从1937年直到1979年逝世，花去大部分时间用于保管、运送、研究和出版1928年至1937年期间安阳出土的资料。虽然因战争而造成的研究生活的不稳定，以及参加安阳工作的考古学家中有些人故去、有些人离去，给李济管理商代遗宝的计划造成不利的影响，但到他去世前，他看到在他的最后一部著作《安阳》（1977年英文版）中概述到的很大一部分资料都已经出

版了。完整的报告并没有出来，但是不利的因素已非李济所能控制的了；他已经做到他力所能及的一切，对此我们表示衷心的感谢。我强烈地意识到，李济一生之所以一再拒绝美国一些大学提供职位的邀请、没有像他的一些同事那样在战中或战后移民过去，最根本的原因是，他感到自己必须留在国内，看到安阳研究的全过程。

Outside his An-yang work, Li Chi was engaged in many other significant scholar activities, first during the war in the Southwest and, after 1949, in Taiwan. Among them we may name the following. In 1934 he was appointed to head the Central Museum, and from then on he was an ardent espouser of historical museums as organs of excavation, research, and education. This ideal has been put into practice extensively throughout China during the last thirty years. In 1949 he founded the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at the Taiwan University in Taipei, the first university program in China to train professional archaeologists. In the early 1960s he was instrumental in the organization, under Academia Sinica, of a committee on the ancient history of China to launch the preparation of a multiauthored, interdisciplinary volume on ancient Chinese history, the first such effort in Chinese historiography. By the time of his death the first drafts of this volume were beginning to appear.

I first met Li Chi in the fall of 1950, when I was admitted to his new department at Taiwan University. For the next twenty-nine years he was my teacher, mentor, critic, role model, and academic conscience. I was always conscious, of course, that Li Chi was a great historical figure, who had given archaeology in China its present shape. But above all he meant just one thing to me—he embodied the highest scientific standard that could be achieved in the study of Chinese history and archaeology. He had a single-minded devotion to scientific scholarship in China and by his own word and deed set a forbidding model for his followers to aspire to. His death is a gigantic loss for all true scholars of the world.

K. C. Chang

19 November 1981

除了安阳的发掘和研究外，李济还从事了其他许多重要的学术活动，最早是在抗战时期的大西南，1949年以后在台湾。这里仅列举其中的几项：1934年他被任命为中央博物院的筹备主任，从此以后，他成为了一名主张历史博物馆应是发掘、研究兼教育的机构的热心拥护者。他

的这一理想在近三十年里已在中国得到广泛的实现。1949年他在台北的台湾大学创办了考古人类学系，第一次在中国把培养专业考古学家列入大学计划之内。20世纪60年代初期，他在促成“中央研究院”成立中国古史委员会，着手编写一部多著者、跨学科的中国古史中起到关键作用，此举开中国史学编著之先河。到李济去世时，该书的初稿已开始问世。

我第一次见到李济是在1950年秋季进入台大他创办的新系的时候。这以后的29年里，他是我的老师、导师、批评者、行为榜样和学术良心。当然，我时常感到，李济是一位伟大的历史人物，他塑造了今天中国的考古学；但对于我来说，他最主要的价值就在于他体现了在中国历史学和考古学研究中所能达到的最高科学标准。他对在中国建立科学的学术事业怀有一种纯挚的热忱，并用自己的言行树立了一个令他的后继者渴望达到而又难以企及的榜样。他的过世是世界上一切真正学人的一大损失。

张光直

1981年11月19日

李光谟 译

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[1] 历学界对商代的起始年代尚有争议。一说商代始于公元前1600年，亡于公元前1046年。——编者注

I Digging Up China Past

More than forty years ago, when I was first admitted to the middle school, I used to feel extremely happy to know that I was born in a country whose history had already lasted 5,000 years. I say 5,000 years because it was actually the figure given to the youthful mind of my generation. The Sumerian civilization and the Egyptian civilization, we were told, might have started earlier; but they were also dead long ago. The Hindus, too, enjoy a long tradition, but their men of learning, till recently, never seemed to think it worth while to put their tradition on written records. So when all these things have been considered, China is certainly the oldest country still existing on this earth, and possesses the longest—and this is important—continuous written history of all the nations. This was my understanding of China's past before the time of the Chinese Revolution.

After the revolution, things began to change. There was a time when the reformers of China were skeptical about everything recorded in and about the past, including history itself.[1] The Renaissance movement in the early twentieth century was essentially a rationalist movement, more or less akin in spirit to that of the classicists of the seventeenth century. Their slogan, "Show your proof," though destructive in nature, did bring about a more critical spirit in the study of ancient China. Thus, if one wants to pay excessive tribute to the Golden Age of Yao and Shun, well, Show your proof; if one wishes to talk about the engineering miracles of the Great Yü of the third millennium B.C., proofs must also be given. What must be remembered in this connection is that written records alone were no longer accepted as valid proofs.

This proof-seeking movement created a great deal of havoc with the traditional learning and revolutionized the method of classical studies. Modern archaeology in China was born in this atmosphere.[2]

The task of a modern archaeologist in China, however, is not limited to the search for proofs in order to reinstate the glories that were China's past. His more important mission is rather to answer a set of new questions conceived in the light of modern science but only dimly perceived by

historians of bygone generations. The questions so raised are of two different categories but are closely interwoven with each other: the one is concerned with the origin and the formation of the Chinese people, and the other with the nature and the building of Chinese civilization.

壹 挖掘中国的历史

四十多年以前，我初入中学读书，当我知道自己生于一个有五千年悠久历史的国度里时，常觉欢欣莫似。我说五千年，是因为灌输于我那一代年轻人心目中的，恰是这个数字。据说苏美尔人和埃及人的文化可能起源更早，但是那些文化消逝得也早。印度人也有一段很长的文化传统，但是，印度的学人似乎从不认为有必要将他们的传统记载下来，这一观点直到最近才有所转变。所以，如果将以上这些因素都考虑在内，中国无疑是依然存在于地球上的最古老的国家。她有着世界上最悠久的——这一点很重要——延绵不断的历史记录。这就是辛亥革命前我对中国过去的理解。

辛亥革命以后，情况开始转变。有一个时期，中国的革新者对过去的记载和关于过去的记载全都发生怀疑，也怀疑历史本身。[3]20世纪初期中国的“文艺复兴”运动，本质上是一场理性运动，其精神多少与17世纪的古典主义相仿。他们的口号“拿证据来”在本质上虽然具有破坏性，但对中国古代研究的确带来了更多批判的精神。因此，如果你想颂赞尧舜的盛世，好吧，拿出你的证据来；如果你想谈论公元前两千多年大禹在工程上的伟绩，也得拿出证据来。我们得先记住，在这种怀疑的精神之下，单纯的文字记载已不复被认为是有效的佐证了。

这种找寻证据的运动给传统的治学方法以重创，但同时却给古典研究的方法带来了革命性的改变。中国的现代考古学就是在这一种环境之下产生的。[4]

然而，现代中国考古学家的工作，不仅限于找寻证据以重现中国过去的光辉，其更重要的责任却是回答以前历史家只是隐约感知到的、而在近代科学影响下酝酿出的一些新问题。这些问题分为两类，但两者却息息相关：其一是有关中华民族的起源及其形成，其二是有关中国文明的性质及其形成。

So the new historians have been continually asking: Who were the earliest Chinese and in what manner was the Chinese civilization developed? I shall make an attempt to answer the above two questions in a general way and on the basis of modern archaeological discoveries. Let me take up the racial history of the Chinese people first.

The earliest examples of *Homo sapiens* discovered in the Chinese area are still those from the Upper Cave of Chou-kou-tien, first found in 1933 and briefly described in a preliminary report by Franz Weidenreich in 1939.[5] The skeletal remains from this cave show a curious combination of several specimens. According to Weidenreich's descriptions, the three best preserved skulls represent "three different racial elements...to be classified as primitive Mongoloid, Melanesoid and Eskimoid...." [6] What is amazing to many an anthropologist who studied these data is the great possibility that these three individuals might have belonged to only one family, if there was at that time a family organization. Weidenreich's paper aroused some very interesting speculations in many quarters. One of the queries stimulated by this discovery was about the possible relation of the Upper Cave skeletons to the formation of the Chinese people in historical times. According to Weidenreich's idea, if the ancestors of the modern Chinese were already existent 20,000 years ago,[7] they were certainly not represented in the Upper Cave of Chou-kou-tien. The concluding paragraph of his interesting paper published in the *Bulletin of the Natural History Society of Peking* includes the following remarks:

As to the origin of the Chinese—in so far as it is permissible to use this designation in determining a race—the discovery of Chou-kou-tien population failed to shed any light. Even so, one cannot conclude that the Chinese did not already exist during the Upper Palaeolithic time because there is evidence that Melanesian and Eskimoid types were in existence at that time. It is possible that the Chou-kou-tien family belonged to a migrating tribe foreign to the country and that the actual settlers who attacked and exterminated them were the real representatives of that Chinese race....[8]

Professor E. A. Hooton, while agreeing with Weidenreich's major diagnosis, expressed his dissension on one point. He believed that the Old Man of the Upper Cave, whom Weidenreich classified as primitive Mongoloid, “... looks like a primitive European White, with more than a dash of the archaic Australoid features and can be duplicated almost exactly in the skulls of modern Ainu…."[9]

因此新的史学家常问：谁是最早的中国人？中国文明又是怎样发展起来的？我想试着以近代考古学的发现为基础，概括性地回答以上两个问题。让我先谈一谈中国人的种族历史。

在中国地区所发现的智人（指有分辨能力的人属动物，通常译

为"智人”；笔者惯用半意译、半音译的"有辨的荷谟”。——译注）的例子，仍然以1933年周口店首次发现的山顶洞人为最早，对此魏敦瑞在其1939年写的一篇初步报告中有简要描述。[10]山顶洞所遗的头骨是一个包含多种样本的奇怪组合。据魏氏所述，其中保存最完整的三具头骨代表了“三种不同的种族成分……分别为原始的蒙古人种、美拉尼西亚人种及爱斯基摩人种……”。[11]让许多研究这些数据的人类学者感到惊异的是，这三具头骨分属的三个人非常可能是一个家庭的三个成员——如果那时有所谓家庭组织存在的话。魏氏的论文在很多方面引起了非常有趣的揣测。其中之一是山顶洞人之骨骼和中华民族在历史过程中的形成的可能关系。据魏氏的观点，如果现代中国人的祖先在两万年以前业已存在的话，[12]他们绝不可能以周口店的山顶洞人为代表。他在《北京博物学会会志》上发表的这篇颇为有趣的论文的结论中有如此的叙述：

说到中国人（如果允许以这个名词作人种名称的话）的起源，周口店所发现的骨骼无法给予我们任何启示。虽然如此，任何人都不能因为美拉尼西亚人种和爱斯基摩人种在上期旧石器时代已有存在的证据了，就断言中国人在此时期尚未存在。也许周口店那一家人是别处移居来的，被原住在该地的人所攻击消灭了。这些原住人才是中国人的真正代表……[13]

虎藤教授大致赞同魏敦瑞的意见，但同时陈述他自己一个不同的观点。他以为被魏氏归为原始蒙古人种的山顶洞老人，“……看来类似具有些许古代澳洲人种特征的原始欧洲白人，并且其头骨几乎与近代的阿依努人的头骨完全相同……”[14]

Professor Hooton's remark is the more interesting because it serves to link the discovery of the Upper Cave not only with modern anthropology of the Far Eastern region but also with some curious tales transmitted from early China.

Among the strange tales told in the *Mountain and Sea Classics*, there is one story about a Hairy People in Book 17.[15] This book is devoted to the folklore of the northeastern region of the Ancient East, covering approximately the territory of modern Manchuria, eastern Siberia, and the islands of Sakhalin and Japan. The description of the *Mao-min* of this region, that is, the Hairy People, includes some statements about both their physical appearance and their food habits. An explanatory note attached to the term *Mao-min* by a fourth-century commentator says that the faces and bodies of these people were all covered with hair.[16] It is obvious that both the author of *Shan-hai-ching* (that is, the *Mountain and Sea Classics*) and its

commentator must have been more or less familiar with the appearance of the *Mao-min*, as their descriptions of these people almost exactly fit the modern Ainu, still surviving in the northern part of Japan.

Even more significant than this interesting tale about the *Mao-min* is a statement occurring in the chapter on antiphrenology of Hsün-tzŭ, the great Confucian philosopher of the third century B.C. In his scathing criticism of the practice of, and the superstitious beliefs in, phrenology, Hsün-tzŭ said: "In Hung Yao's physical appearance, no skin is visible on his bodily surface...," meaning that the strange appearance of Hung Yao did in no way check his eminent career.[17]

Hung Yao, as is well known to students of ancient Chinese history, was one of the ten most prominent ministers who composed the brain trust in the court of the founders of the Chou dynasty.[18] If his face was all covered with hair, it would be by no means too speculative to take him as one of the kinsmen of the Ainu's ancestors or, perhaps, a descendant of the Old Man of the Chou-kou-tien Upper Cave, if one were inclined to accept the opinions of the late Professor Hooton. Since the Ainu have been classified as one of the Palaeo-Asiatic peoples, the assumption is certainly well justified that they played an important role in the formation of the Chinese people in the protohistorical period. But evidently they were in a small minority, as in the time of Hsün-tzŭ their hairiness was already considered more or less unusual.

虎藤教授的看法很有意思，他不但把山顶洞的发现与远东地区的现代人类学联系了起来，而且也把这一发现和古代中国神话传说连贯在一起。

在《山海经》讲述的那些奇异的传说中，第十七卷内有一段关于“毛民”的故事。[19]这一卷专门叙述古代东方东北地区的民情风俗，其所及的区域约为现在的中国东北、东西伯利亚、萨哈林岛（库页岛）及日本一带。有关这一地区“毛民”的叙述涉及了他们的形体特征和饮食习惯。公元4世纪的注释家解释“毛民”，说他们脸部和全身上下都长满了毛。[20]显然《山海经》的作者和它的注释者都多少熟稔“毛民”的外表，因为他们的描述与现在仍然生活在日本北部的近代阿依努人的外貌几乎完全相符。

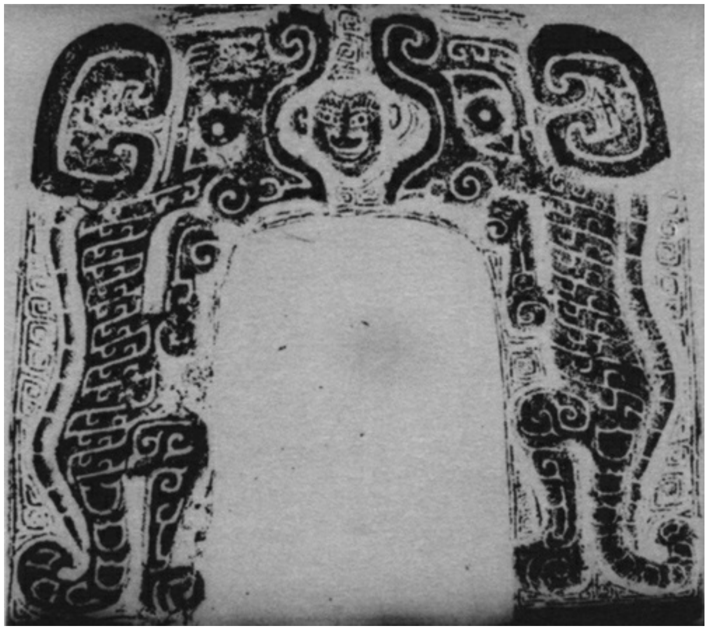
比以上所述更重要的是公元前3世纪的伟大儒家思想家荀子在《非相篇》里的一段陈述。荀子无情地批评面相之术，反对人们对于面相的迷信。他说“闳夭之状，面无见肤，……”意思是说，即以闳夭那样奇异

的长相，也无碍他的丰功伟绩。[21]

学习中国古代史的人都知道，闳夭是组成周朝创始者智囊团的十大功臣之一。[22]如果他的脸部生满了毛发，那么我们基本可以肯定他是阿依努人祖先的近亲，或接受已故虎藤教授的观点，认为他是周口店山顶洞老人的后裔。因为阿依努族已被认为是古亚语族之一，所以完全有理由推断他们在史前中华民族的形成过程中扮演了重要的角色。但是显然他们是一个很小的少数民族，因为在荀子时代他们多毛的外貌已被认为多少有些不寻常了。

As to the Melanesian elements, it is also interesting to speculate as to when they became "exterminated" by representatives of the Chinese, as Dr. Weidenreich has put it. We know almost for certain that there were still Negrito survivals in South China as late as the ninth century A.D.,[23] and perhaps even later, a fact that tends, indirectly at least, to confirm what the French archaeologists found in the prehistorical sites of Indo-China, the presence of pre-Melanesian skulls. On ancient Chinese bronzes, one occasionally finds, among their profuse decorative patterns, the casting of the human face realistically done; the Melanesian appearance is by no means rare. The most illuminating example is from the Sumitomo's collection,[24] a *yu* wine vase cast in the form of a tiger embracing a child; the face of the child shows a decidedly Negroid countenance with which the designer of this bronze must have been intimately acquainted. A big bronze tetrapod, weighing many hundred pounds, was dug out during World War II by a group of peasants in the neighborhood of the ancient capital of the Shang dynasty. This, too, shows, on the two standing lugs above the rim, a decorative pattern consisting of a human head, Negroid in appearance, placed between the heads of two tigers standing on their hind legs and arranged antithetically (Fig. 1). Other instances of this kind need not be repeated.

But down to the close of the Neolithic time in North China, the people who dominated this area were Mongoloid and, according to the study of Davidson Black, "conformed to a type essentially similar to that represented by the present-day Northern Chinese...." Three years later Black again said, in the concluding chapter of his study on the Kansu and Honan Aëneolithic skulls:



(1) Ink rubbing of the decorative pattern on the standing lug above the rim of a tetrapod discovered in the neighborhood of Hou-chia-chuang 侯家庄附近出土之后母戊鼎立耳的纹饰拓片

...As a result of the foregoing investigations into the group measurements and form relations of the Honan and Kansu prehistoric crania in comparison with recent North China material, it would seem to be established beyond any reasonable doubt that the prehistoric populations represented were essentially oriental in physical character.

Further, the resemblances between these prehistoric and recent North China populations would appear to be such that the term "proto-Chinese" may with some propriety be applied to the former.[25]

至于美拉尼西亚人种成分，推测他们在何时为典型的中国人“消灭”（像魏氏所说）也是一件十分有意思的事情。我们几乎可以确认，直到9世纪或更晚一些，华南地区仍有小黑人种存在；[26]这一事实，至少间接地证实了法国考古学家们在印度支那史前遗址所发现的前美拉尼西亚人种的人头骨。在古代中国青铜器的繁复花纹中，我们有时会发现非常逼真的人面像，而其中不乏美拉尼西亚人的人面相。住友收藏的一支卣是说明这一事实的最好例子。[27]这支卣的形状是一只老虎抱着一个孩子，孩子的面貌与小黑人的面貌绝肖，这一面貌想来为此青铜器的设计人所熟稔。二战期间，一群农人在安阳附近掘出一四足鼎，重达几百磅。此一铜鼎之二立耳，饰以一个人头和两个虎头的图案：虎之后足挺立，小黑人的人头像夹在两个虎头中间。两只老虎相对而立（图1）。类似的例子不必一一枚举。

但是到了新石器时代末期，华北一带占多数的是蒙古人种。据步达生研究，这些人“在本质上和今日华北中国人的类型相符……”。三年之

后，步达生在有关甘肃及河南铜石并用时代的头骨研究一文的最后一章再次说道：

……由以上对河南及甘肃史前人头盖骨的集体量度及型式关系研究的结果，并与今日华北所获之资料比较，史前居民在形体特征上说实质上是东方的已无甚疑义。

再者，因为史前居民与今日华北居民的类似，所谓“中国原人”一词，亦可适用于前者。[28]

It is to be observed that from the time of the Old Man of the Upper Cave of Chou-kou-tien to the Late Neolithic of North China, the time interval is more than 10,000 years. Modern archaeology has not yet been able to supply any material for a study regarding the emergence of the proto-Chinese or to fill up the gap with an evolutionary series of the Mongolian race from the primitive Mongoloid to the formation of the Chinese people in historical time, except for the find of a single tooth of Upper Palaeolithic time in the Ordos region,[29] discovered by Licent and Teilhard de Chardin, and described by Davidson Black as a "shovel-shaped upper incisor."

This isolated find, on account of its unique morphological character, has aroused a great deal of interest among both anthropologists and historians. It is doubly significant because on the one hand this morphological feature seems to be related to Sinanthropus pekinensis, according to Franz Weidenreich, and on the other hand to the modern Chinese. Weidenreich's study on the "Dentition of Sinanthropus Pekinensis" devoted fully two pages to discussing the problem of shovel-shaped incisors in recent mankind and made the following remarks:

As to the occurrences of these types in recent mankind, the essential point is not that they may be found to a certain extent in all races in a minor percentage, but that they occur in special races up to almost 100 per cent; as, for instance, in Eskimo and Chinese, at least as far as the lateral incisors are concerned; and the same percentage must be taken to be characteristic for Sinanthropus...[30]

It is not my purpose to discuss any possible relation between the Sinanthropus and the Mongoloid or the Chinese. But it is important to note that Professor Weidenreich's statement about the frequency of the shovel-shaped incisors among the Chinese has recently been confirmed by an examination of the incisor teeth of freshmen of the Taiwan University.[31]

Among 803 male freshman students examined in 1952, more than 90 per cent possessed shovel-shaped upper incisors; the same was true of 121 female freshmen. In both sexes the incisors of less than 1 per cent showed a non-shovel-shaped appearance.

In addition to the above confirmatory evidence it is to be further noted that Davidson Black, in his note on the Ordos tooth, made use of a number of the upper lateral incisors recovered from the Aëneolithic sites in North China for comparative study. He said that in all these specimens, whether Early Bronze and Copper Age or modern North China, we are dealing with well-formed incisor teeth, conforming in all essentials and most details to a type aptly described by Hrdlička as shovel-shaped.

需要注意的是，由周口店的山顶洞老人时期到华北的新石器时代的晚期，其间约有一万年以上。近代的考古学家尚未能提供任何材料借以研究中国原人的出现，也未能提供任何资料来说明原始蒙古人种如何经过一系列革命性的种族演进进化成中国人的这一历史进程，以填补这一空白。唯一的例外是桑志华和德日进在河套地区发现的一枚旧石器时期上期的人齿，[32]步达生称之为“箕形上门齿”。

这枚孤零零人齿的发现，由于其独特的形态学特征引起了考古学家和历史学家的极大兴趣。它的双重意义在于，以形态学的特征来看，一方面它似与中国猿人北京种有关——据魏敦瑞的观点；另一方面又与现代的中国人相似。魏氏在《中国猿人北京种的牙齿》一文中，用了整整两页来讨论近代人类的箕形门齿，他这样写道：

关于这类门齿在近代人类出现的例子，主要的不是我们可以在所有的种族中找到一小部分例证，而是在某些种族中这类门齿所发生的比例几乎是百分之百。例如，爱斯基摩人和中国人，至少边门齿是如此的。这样的百分比也必须视为中国猿人的特征……[33]

我的目的不是讨论中国猿人与蒙古人种或是中国人的可能关系。不过应该注意到，魏氏关于中国人箕形上门齿出现频率的论断，最近在一次对台湾大学新生的体质调查中得到了证实。[34]1952年对803位男性大学新生的调查中，有90%以上具有箕形上门齿，121位女性大学新生的情形亦复如此。无论男生和女生，仅有不足1%的具有非箕形上门齿。

除了上述确凿的例证之外，还应进一步注意到，步达生曾在他有关河套人齿的笔记中，将在华北铜石并用时期遗址中所发现的侧上门齿用于比较研究。他说，不论是由青铜时代早期或是近代华北所得的标本，我们研究的都是形成完好的上门齿，它们在本质上和诸多细节上都与赫

得利奇卡氏所谓的箕形相吻合。

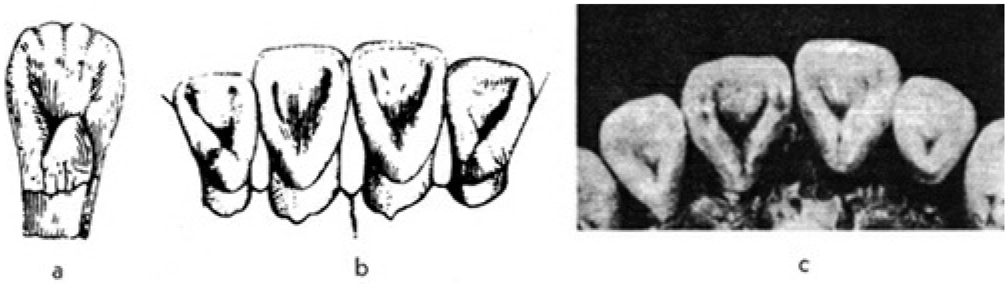
Thus modern archaeology and modern anthropology have jointly established a case that in Eastern Asia the evolution of Hominidae, from the time of early Pleistocene down to the modern age, is accompanied at different stages by a persistent morphological characterization: the invariable presence of the shovel-shaped upper incisor teeth. It is a phenomenon quite peculiar to this region, which so far has found no parallel anywhere else (Fig. 2).

There seems to be little question that the origin of the ancestors of the Chinese is tied up with the origin of the Mongoloid; and the Mongoloid race, on the evidence now available, must have evolved east of the Ural Mountains. With this background as a working hypothesis, we should be better prepared for an interpretation of early Chinese history.

I propose to start the discussion of early Chinese history with the Neolithic phase, as it is only at this stage that there is something definite to work upon.

It is well known that prehistorical researches in China started with the Swedish geologist, Dr. J. G. Andersson, who not only discovered the locality of Chou-kou-tien and the first trace of Peking Man but was also the first scientist to find the existence of a widely distributed prehistorical culture of the late Neolithic phase in North China. The interest shown in this discovery by archaeologists all the world over is mainly due to the possible relation this culture might have had with the West. This fascinating question, however, could hardly be settled at present on the basis of available data; so let us confine our discussion to the field of the Chinese area.[35]

In the last thirty years archaeologists have located the presence of the Painted Pottery culture along the major portion of the Yellow River Valley basin in North China, with, however, a marked exception in the province of Shantung. Its sphere of influence reached Manchuria in the east and Sinkiang in the west; its zone of concentration is located in the section of the Yellow River Valley between T'ung Kuan and Taihang Shan that divides the province of Honan from Shansi.



(2) Three examples of shovel-shaped incisor teeth from North China: a, Ordos tooth of presumably Pleistocene period; b, Sinanthropus teeth; c, upper frontal incisor of a Shang dynasty skull 华北箕形门齿三例：a. 更新世河套人齿；b. 中国猿人齿；c. 商代人头骨上门齿

由此近代考古学和人类学共同证实了一个事实，即：从更新世早期到现在，东亚区域的人科在其不同的演进阶段，有一个贯穿始终的形态学特征——箕形上门齿的存在。这一现象是这个区域所特有的，在别的区域尚未发现类似的情形（图2）。

中国人的祖先和蒙古人种有密切的关系似已不成问题了，而且以现有的证据而论，蒙古人种必然是起源于乌拉尔山脉东部。以此背景作为作业假说，我们对早期中国历史的解说就有了更好的基础。

我以为讨论早期的中国历史应自新石器时代开始，因为只有从这时期开始，我们才有信而可征的资料。

众所周知，中国史前的研究始自瑞典地质学家安特生博士。他发现了周口店的遗址、北京人的最早足迹，同时也最早发现了散布在华北一带颇广的新石器时代晚期的一种史前文化。全世界的考古学家对这发现感兴趣，主要是由于这文化可能与西方文化有些关系。这纵然是一个颇引人入胜的问题，然而以现有的资料为基础，仍不能得到定论。这样，还是让我们把讨论局限于中国地区吧。[36]

近三十年来考古学家发现的彩陶文化都在华北黄河流域的主要地区，仅有的一个显著的例外是山东省。彩陶文化影响所及，东自东北、西迄新疆。其中心位于河南与山西交界的太行山和潼关之间的一段黄河流域。

It is precisely within this zone that the simplest type of painted pottery, in shape as well as in patterns of decoration, is located.[37] Liang Ssu-yung, followed by G. D. Wu, was of the opinion that the painted pottery discovered by him at Hou-kang in Anyang represented the earliest stage—at any rate earlier than the Yangshao group. Wu went a step further and assigned definite dates to the Hou-kang 0cultures in his chronological table of Chinese prehistory.[38] It seems to be quite definite that, as far as present knowledge

goes, neither in the northwest from Kansu to Sinkiang nor in the northeast from Hopei to the Liaotung Peninsula has there been discovered, up to the present time, any painted pottery culture simpler and more primitive than that found in Hou-kang, located in the northernmost part of Honan province.

What is particularly baffling in regard to the distribution of the Yangshao culture is its complete absence in the province of Shantung. In spite of the many efforts made by a number of archaeologists to find Neolithic remains in this peninsula, no trace of painted pottery has ever been discovered there. Shantung is China's Holy Land, not merely for the reason that Confucius was born there; it was also, as many historians would testify, the cultural center of China in the first millennium B.C. And, what is even more important, it was most probably the homeland where the culture of the Shang dynasty had its early growth.

It was precisely in this province that another phase of the prehistorical culture of North China was discovered by the young archaeologist Wu Gin Ding (G. D. Wu) in 1930, just after he was graduated from the Tsing Hua Research Institute. This phase is known as the Lungshan culture after the name of the village near which the first and the type site is located. The most characteristic feature of this culture, as of the Yangshao remains, is its pottery; but unlike the Yangshao pottery the Lungshan ceramics are mostly monochrome, of which the most distinguished group is pure black, lustrous, and thin. Subsequently it was found that this culture also covered a wide area in eastern and northeastern China,[39] extending northward to the Liaotung Peninsula[40] and southward to the delta region of Hangchow Bay.[41]

Following this discovery arose the chronological problem of the relative sequence of these two prehistorical cultures in North China as a whole. The basic work in the field that determined the time relation of these two cultures was carried out in the Anyang region by members of the Archaeological Section of the Academia Sinica. Here were discovered many sites in which three distinct types of cultural remains were found in successive deposition; they were: (1) the Painted Pottery culture, (2) the Black Pottery culture, and (3) the historical culture of the Shang dynasty, of which the white pottery has received the most attention from antiquarians.[42]

考古学家们正是在这个区域发现了形制和花纹都极简单的彩陶。[43]梁思永以及之后的吴金鼎都认为梁氏在安阳后岗发现的彩陶是最早的——起码较仰韶村出土者为早。吴氏则更进一步，在其中国史前年代表

中给予后岗文化以一明确之年代。[44]以目前所得的知识，大约足以肯定：不论西北从甘肃到新疆或东北由河北至辽东半岛，直到现在仍未发现有比在河南省最北端后岗的更原始、更简单的彩陶文化。

仰韶文化分布中的一个令人不解的问题，是在山东境内全无它的踪迹。尽管不少考古学家费了很多气力想在这半岛上寻找新石器时代的遗存，却从未发现彩陶的痕迹。山东是中国的圣地，不但是因为孔夫子诞生于斯，而且像很多历史家都证实的，它是公元前第一个千年内中国的文化中心。更重要的是，它很可能也是商文化发轫的所在。

恰好就在这个省，年轻的考古学家吴金鼎，刚从清华研究院毕业后，即于1930年发现另一阶段的华北史前文化。这阶段的文化被称为龙山文化，因在龙山镇附近首先发现此一典型之遗址而得名。此文化最鲜明之特征，也像仰韶遗存一样，表现在其陶器上。但龙山之陶器与仰韶的陶器不同，多为单色的。其中最显著的呈黑色，光亮，壁薄。其后，人们发现这一文化远及中国东部及东北部甚广地区，[45]北至辽东半岛，[46]南迄杭州湾三角地带。[47]

紧接着这发现所产生的问题是，如果把华北看作一个整体，那么这两个史前文化的年代孰先孰后呢？中央研究院考古组在安阳的基础田野工作，解决了这相互的年代关系问题。在安阳地区多处遗址中有三种文化遗物，并且有明显的分布层次，即：（1）彩陶文化，（2）黑陶文化，（3）商代的历史文化。其中商文化的白陶曾引起古物学家的很大注意。[48]

In the stratified area of the Hou-kang site, three types of relations of the three different types of cultures were observed: the superposition is either the Shang over the Yangshao, or the Shang over the Lungshan, or, thirdly, the Lungshan over the Yangshao. These orders have been found to exist wherever intact stratified cultural remains have been located. The reverse of such orders was not reported in any of the excavated areas within this region. So the sequence thus determined may be given as: the Painted Pottery culture as the earliest, followed by the Black Pottery culture, and then the historical Shang culture.

But it must be made clear at once: this established sequence has its geographical limitation.

Now about the earliest historical Chinese culture, the culture of the Shang dynasty. For quite some time it was thought that, from the latest phase of the Neolithic culture discovered in North China to the earliest phase of the

historical remains discovered in Anyang, there was a close and almost immediate succession. The cultural sequence established in Anyang and confirmed in a number of other places has been usually taken as a positive proof of the closeness in time of the Lungshan and the historical Shang cultures. But a more critical examination of their detailed contents, especially the pre-Shang and the Shang remains found in Hsiao-t'un, reveals the existence of a gap which might have been caused by interrupted development, a discontinuity which might be an indication of some time interval.[49]

What distinguished the historical remains of the Shang at Hsiao-t'un from the pre-Shang deposits found quite extensively in Anyang, including Hsiao-t'un, are the following six groups of cultural traits:

(1) New development of ceramic industry

(2) Employment of bronze to cast tools, weapons, and sacrificial vessels

(3) The presence of a highly developed writing system

(4) Chamber burials and human sacrifices

(5) Use of chariots

(6) Advanced stone carvings

None of the above six cultural traits could be linked, as far as is known, in even a remote way to the Yangshao and the Lungshan cultures. They also differ among themselves in the degree of the suddenness of their emergence from a total obscurity in the Neolithic time to the foreground of the historical scene. Of these six groups the ceramic craft especially needs some discussion. The nine types of pottery which occurred most frequently in the Shang (Yin) stratum were all novel as compared with the pottery forms of the black pottery in the bottom deposit underneath the Shang stratum (Fig. 3). The prevalent six types of the gritty and the black wares of the prehistorical period disappeared almost completely in the cultural stratum of the Shang period. The Shang potters discarded altogether the fine and delicate craft of producing the thin, lustrous, and beautifully turned black ware. They went on experimenting with some inventions of their own and introduced for the first time in the history of ceramic art the use of kaolin clay, with which they produced the famous white pottery. They also made the earliest attempt to cover the external surface of the stoneware with an extra coating of glaze. It

is true that methods used by potters of the preceding periods were still continued in the Shang time to produce certain types of wares for daily use, but there was a distinct change in both the style and the method of production of the more refined articles.[50]

在后岗遗址的地层组织中，观察到三类这三种文化层的相互关系：商文化层在仰韶文化层的上面，或是商文化层在龙山文化层之上，或是第三类，龙山文化层在仰韶文化层的上面。在任何未被搅乱的地层中，都有这三类顺序之一的存在。而与之相反的顺序排列在此地区从未报告过。因之，我们可以确定这三个文化层的层次是：彩陶文化最早，其次是黑陶文化，再其次是商文化。

在这里必须说明的是：这样的顺序是有其地区局限性的。

现在让我谈一谈历史时期最早的中国文化——商文化。在很长一段时期内，人们都以为从华北一带所发现的新石器时代末期，到安阳出土的历史遗址所处的最早时期，二者在时间上相近，并且几乎是紧接着的。在安阳确认、并相继被其他各地所证实的文化层次，常被视为这种论断的有力证据：历史时期的商文化与龙山文化紧密相连。但是如果仔细考察其细节，尤其是考察小屯发现的商及前商遗物，我们可发现其间有一段缺口，这一缺口表明二者之间可能存在一定的间隔期。[51]

小屯的商代历史遗迹与广泛分布在安阳地域（包括小屯）的前商遗迹的区别，主要体现在以下六个方面的文化特征：

（1）制陶业的新发展；

（2）使用青铜铸造工具、武器及祭器；

（3）高度发展的文字体系的出现；

（4）墓葬和人牲；

（5）战车的使用；

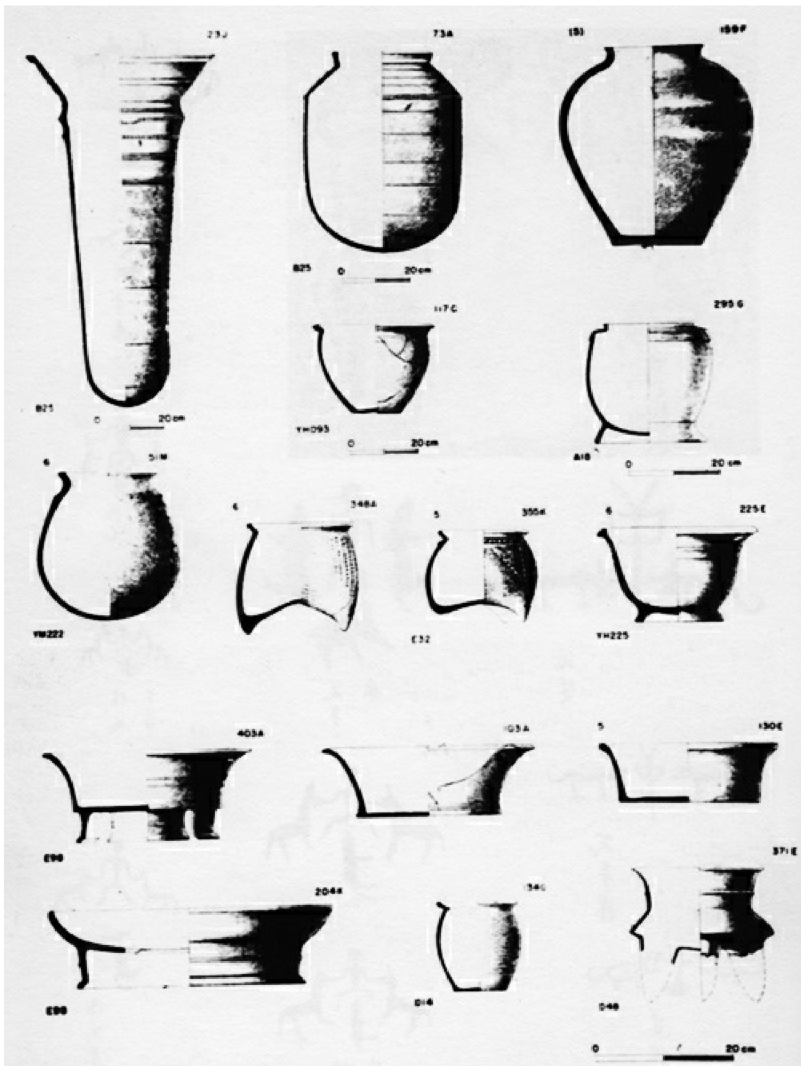
（6）先进的石刻。

以现有的知识而论，以上六种文化特征，没有一种能和仰韶或龙山文化拉上一点关系。它们在新石器时代杳无踪迹，而在此时却突现，这一突然性之程度在它们各自之间也有所不同。六种文化特征中的陶业需要专加探讨。殷商地层甚常发现的九种形制的陶器，全都与殷商地层下面的黑陶形制大异其趣（图3）。史前时期所盛行的六种夹砂的黑色陶器，在殷商文化层中几乎完全绝迹。商代陶工完全摒弃了制作质地轻薄而表面光泽的黑陶器皿所采用的精巧旋盘工艺。他们试以自己独创的方

法，并且在制陶史上首先采用高岭土制造出著名的白陶。他们又首先尝试在粗陶器外层涂上一层透明光泽的釉。确实，在某些日常的器皿制作上，商代陶工仍然沿用前代的工艺，但是更为精致的物品，其风格与制作方法已有显著的改变。[52]

Of the other five cultural elements which made their first appearance in the Shang dynasty, the writing system and the bronze may be discussed together. The general impression has been that these two cultural activities seem to have started almost simultaneously.

其他五种在商朝首次出现的文化成分中，文字体系和青铜器可一并讨论。一般印象是，这两种文化活动似乎是同时出现的。



(3) Pottery types from Hsiao-t'un: above, nine common types from the Shang stratum; below, six common types from the pre-Shang stratum 小屯出土陶器的形制：上方为殷商地层出土的九种普通形制；下方为先殷地层出土的六种普通形制

As I have tried to show in another connection, their simultaneity is more apparent than real; and both of them must have had an earlier development from which their Hsiao-t'un phase was evolved. Taking first the problem of the bronzes found in Hsiao-t'un, it is obvious to anyone who has examined this problem that an earlier background must be postulated in order to explain the stage of development which the bronze of Hsiao-t'un attained. Among the Hsiao-t'un remains themselves, evidence was by no means lacking to show that the history of bronze foundry in this locality is divisible into two substages; and the earlier substage may lead back to a still more primitive phase.

The writing system of the Hsiao-t'un stage as found on the oracle bones, like the Hsiao-t'un bronzes, represents a development on a comparatively advanced level. It is of course a well-known fact that the Hsiao-t'un scripts are 1,600 to 1,800 years later than the earliest Sumerian writing; and in this time interval the idea of keeping some written records might have migrated from the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates to the valley of the Yellow River. Still this does not explain how such a highly complicated system as the earliest known Chinese writing, composed of more than 2,000 characters and totally unlike the cuneiform scripts in either form or structure, should have appeared all of a sudden on Chinese soil. It is to be remembered that in the middle of the second millennium B.C., east of the Ural Mountains and the Indian peninsula, North China was the only literate spot in the whole region bordering on the Pacific. Even the most earnest diffusionist must prove his thesis by gathering evidence in the intervening region between Mesopotamia and the northeastern China plain before any convincing arguments can be made to support the idea of complete borrowing. Personally, I am more inclined to believe that the birth of all great civilizations, in the past as well as the present, is due to cultural contact. But before we accept this as true of any particular civilization, no effort should be spared to collect all available data in order to examine in detail the process of actual growth. In China's past, only a small area has been properly investigated up to the present time, and, even in this area, the task is hardly half done. In fact, just when scientific data were being accumulated in the middle 1930’s, the endeavor was brought to a sudden end by the Japanese invasion.

And now, after a lapse of almost twenty years since World War II started in the Far East, we are still dependent upon the materials collected in

the brief span of nine years (1929-1937) when the Academia Sinica excavated in Anyang and its adjacent region. In many key areas, although there have been plenty of fruitful lootings, hardly any properly conducted archaeological excavations have taken place. There is scarcely any doubt that our urgent problem is still to look for new facts so that the sudden emergence of the bronze industry, as well as the writing system, may be explained on a more substantial basis.

我在别处曾提到过，这“同时”不过是一种表象而并非实际，而且两者一定都已过了一段早期的发展历史，才演进到小屯这一阶段。先以小屯发现的铜器来说，任何研究过这个问题的人都知道，为了解释小屯铜器的发展阶段，必须假定一个更早的背景。而在小屯遗址本身也不乏证据，足以证明此地青铜铸造的历史可分成两个亚阶段，而由其中较早的阶段还可能追溯到一个更原始的阶段。

在甲骨上所找到的小屯阶段的文字体系，正如小屯的铜器一样，也呈现出一种相对进步的发展水平。众所周知，小屯的文字比最早的苏美尔文字约晚了1600年至1800年；在这一段时间里，保存书写记载的观念可能由底格里斯河和幼发拉底河流域传入了黄河流域。然而这仍不能解释这种高度复杂的、中国已知最早的文字体系——拥有两千多个单字、在形式和结构上与楔形文字无一相似之处——突然出现在中国土地上的原因。我们要记住，在公元前一千多年，在乌拉尔山和印度半岛以东，华北是整个太平洋沿岸区域唯一具有文字的所在。纵使是最执着的文化传播论者，也得在中国东北平原地区与美索不达米亚之间搜集证据，才能作出论断支持它们是完全舶来的观点。就我个人而言，我认为今日或过去所有伟大文明的发生都是文化接触的结果。但在接受此种理论适用于任一文明之前，我们必须不惜余力搜集资料来详细考察此文明实际成长过程。截至目前为止，中国仅有一小部分地域作过考察，而即使连这一小部分地区的工作也仅做了不到一半。事实是，在20世纪30年代中叶，当科学的资料正在积累时，日本的侵略使一切都归于停顿。

如今，在第二次世界大战在远东爆发二十年后的今日，我们仍需依靠自1929到1937这短短九年间中研院在安阳及其附近地区发掘所获的资料。而在很多重要的地区，目前尽管已经知道许多有价值的文物遗存，但是几乎不曾作过任何适当的考古发掘。毫无疑义，我们亟待解决的问题仍然是寻找新的证据，以便在更坚实的基础上对青铜业及文字体系的突然出现作出解释。

万家保 译

[1] The more important papers which reflect the spirit of this period were collected by Ku Chieh-kang in Ku-shih-pien (in Chinese), of which the first volume was published in 1926. Ku wrote a lengthy preface to this unique publication; it is mainly autobiographical, dealing with the development of his own interest in historical studies. A. W. Hummel, who translated this preface into English with the title The Autobiography of a Chinese Historian, said in the introductory remarks to his translation: "It is a critical résumé of all the currents of thought that have swept over China in the past thirty years." Hummel's translation was published in 1931 in the Sinica Leidensia Series.
[2] In the Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica (in Chinese), Vol. I, No. 1 (1928), Fu Ssu-nien, the founder and the first director of the Institute, discussed in the publication notice of the bulletin the general background of historical researches in China and expounded the urgency and necessity of the adoption of a new method and a new approach for the continuous advancement of this branch of Chinese learning.
[3] 反映这时代精神更为重要的文献是顾颉刚所编的《古史辨》（中文），第一卷发行于1926年。顾氏在这文集前面，写了一篇自传性的长序，主要讲述他自己对历史研究兴趣的变迁。恒慕义把这序译成英文，并以《一个中国历史学家的自传》出版。恒氏在他的译前评介中说："这是一项对近三十年来中国流行思潮的批判摘要。"他的译本于1931年作为荷兰莱顿汉学丛书系列之一推出。
[4] 在《国立中央研究院历史语言研究所集刊》（中文）第一本第一分（1928）的发刊词中，史语所的创办人、第一任所长傅斯年讨论了中国历史研究的一般背景，并说明了为求中国史学的继续发展，探取新方法及新途径的急迫需要。
[5] Franz Weidenreich, "On the Earliest Representatives of Modern Mankind Recovered on the Soil of East Asia," Bulletin of the Natural History Society of Peking, XIII (1939), 161-174. For a general account, see also Apes, Giants and Man (Chicago, 1946) by the same author, especially Lecture IV on the "Human Races and Principles of Their Classification and Origin," pp. 67-91.
[6] Weidenreich, "On the Earliest Representatives of Modern Mankind Recovered on the Soil of East Asia," p. 170.
[7] Professor Hallam L. Movius, Jr., of Harvard University, has written to tell me that, in his opinion, "the time when this locality (that is, the Upper Cave at Chou-kou-tien) was occupied would fall closer to 10,000 B.C. than it would to 20,000 B.C. This fact is conclusively shown by the fauna."
[8] Weidenreich, "On the Earliest Representatives of Modern Mankind Recovered on the Soil of East Asia," p. 173.
[9] E. A. Hooton, Up from the Ape (New York, 1946), p. 402.
[10] 魏敦瑞：《东亚发掘的最早近代人类》，载《北京博物学会会志》，第13卷（1939），161～174页。关于这个问题的一般介绍参见同一著者的《猿、巨人和人》（芝加哥，1946），特别是第四讲《人种及其分类与起源的原则》，67～91页。
[11] 魏敦瑞：《东亚发掘的最早近代人类》，170页。
[12] 哈佛大学的侔维斯教授写信告诉我他的意见："由周口店山顶洞的动物群来看，可以推论该地有住民的时间当为公元前一万年左右，而非公元前两万年。"
[13] 魏敦瑞：《东亚发掘的最早近代人类》，173页。
[14] 虎滕：《从猿上升》（纽约，1946），402页。
[15] Shan-hai-ching (in Chinese), Part II, Book 17, p. 80. Ssu-pu-ts'ung-k'an edition (Shanghai, 1919-1929).
[16] Ibid., "Notes on 'Mao-min,' " by Kuo P'o.
[17] Homer H. Dubs, Works of Hsüntze, in Book V, p. 69, "Against Physiognomy"; the quoted sentence is translated as, "The physiognomy of Hung Yao was such that the skin of his face could not be seen." The footnote attached to this sentence says, "too hairy." The above work was published in 1928 in Probsthain's Oriental Series (London) as Vol. XVI.
[18] Édouard Chavannes, Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma-Ts'ien (Paris, 1895-1905), I, chap. iv, "Les Tcheou," pp.217-218.
[19] 《山海经》（中文）（四部丛刊版，上海，1919～1929），篇二，卷十七，八十页。四部

丛刊版（上海，1919～1929）。
[20] 同上，见郭璞注“毛民”。
[21] 德效骞：《荀子文集》，第5卷，69页，《非相篇》；书中对此句的翻译是"The physiognomy of Hung Yao was such that the skin of his face could not be seen"，并以"too hariy"作注。该书于1928年作为普罗赛因东方文学丛书（伦敦）第16卷出版。
[22] 沙畹：《司马迁的史记》（巴黎，1895～1905），第1册，第4章《周本纪》，217～218页。
[23] See, for instance, Arthur Waley's The Life and Times of Po Chü-i (London, 1949), p. 66; on the people of Tao-chou, the author commented, "The population was largely aboriginal and the dwarfs were perhaps Negrito similar to those of modern Malaya."
[24] This well-known specimen has been reproduced in many of the European and American catalogs on Chinese bronzes. Albert J. Koop's Early Chinese Bronzes (London, 1924) gives a good reproduction in Pl. XVI.
[25] Davidson Black, "A Study of Kansu and Honan Aëneolithic Skulls and Specimens from Later Kansu Prehistoric Sites in Comparison with North China and Other Recent Crania," Palaeontologia Sinica, Ser. D, Vol. VI, Fasc. 1 (1928), p. 81. See also Black's earlier report in 1925, "On the Human Skeletal Remains from Yangshao Ts'un in Comparison with Recent North China Skeletal Materials," Palaeontologia Sinica, Ser. D, Vol. I, Fasc. 3 (1925), p. 298.
[26] 例如，亚瑟·韦利：《白居易的生活和时代》（伦敦，1949），66页。著者谈到道州的居民“大部分是土著，矮人可能是和现在的马来人相似的小黑人”。
[27] 欧洲和美国的中国铜器图录中对这一著名标本屡有录载。艾伯特·库普的《中国古代铜器录》（伦敦，1924）一书图版16所载尤为清晰。
[28] 步达生：《甘肃河南晚石器时代及甘肃史前期遗址之人类头骨与现代华北及其他现代人头盖骨之比较》，《古生物志》，丁种，第六号，第一册（1928），81页；另见步达生较早在1925年的报告：《奉天沙锅屯及河南仰韶村之古代人骨与近代华北人骨之比较》，《古生物志》，丁种，第一号，第三册（1925），298页。
[29] E. Licent, Teilhard de Chardin, and Davidson Black, "On a Presumably Pleistocene Human Tooth from the Sjara-osso-gol Deposits," Bulletin of the Geological Society of China (in Chinese), V, No. 1 (1926), pp.285-290.
[30] Franz Weidenreich, "Dentition of Sinanthropus Pekinensis," Palaeontologia Sinica, New Ser. D, No. 1 (1937), introductory chapter.
[31] Chang Kwang-chih, "Notes on Some Anthropometrical Measurements of the Freshmen of the National Taiwan University," Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology (in Chinese), No. 3 (1954), p. 43, gives a tabulated summary of percentages of occurrence of the shovel-shaped incisors.
[32] 桑志华、德日进、步达生：《萨拉乌苏河更新世的人齿》，载《中国地质学会志》（中文），第五卷，第一期（1926），285～290页。
[33] 魏敦瑞：《中国猿人北京种的牙齿》，《古生物志》，丁种，第一号（1937），绪论。
[34] 张光直在《台大四十一学年度新生体质》（载《台大考古人类学刊》，1954年第3期，43页）一文中对箕形上门齿的出现频率进行了列表总结。
[35] J. G. Andersson summarized his main archaeological works in China in a monograph published as No. 15 of the Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Stockholm, 1943) under the title, "Researches into the Prehistory of the Chinese."
[36] 安特生对他在中国主要的考古工作作了一个总结，并以《中国史前研究》为题撰写专著在《远东古物博物馆通报》第15册（斯德哥尔摩，1943）予以发表。
[37] In "Researches into the Prehistory of the Chinese," Andersson expressed the opinion that "the problem of pottery painting in the Far East does not begin with Yangshao, but with the hanging triangle of Ch'i Chia P'ing," (p. 282; P1. XXXVII, 2). Since 1943, however, the chronological position of the Ch'i Chia remains, as interpreted by Andersson, has been definitely proved to be untenable by the discovery of Hsia Nai ("New Discoveries of a Ch'i Chia Culture," Chinese Journal of Archaeology (in

Chinese), III (1948), pp.116-117). It may be noted here that, as early as 1938, G. D. Wu already mentioned the fact that the specimen of the Hou-kang painted pottery, first described by Liang Ssu-yung, consisting of a few parallel vertical lines, is the simplest of its kind that has been discovered in the whole of North China including Ch'i Chia P'ing. See also note 20.

[38] G. D. Wu, Prehistoric Pottery in China (London, 1938). See Pl. V; also the chronological table at the end of the book.

[39] Liang Ssu-yung, "The Lungshan Culture, a Prehistoric Phase of Chinese Civilization," Proceedings of the Sixth Pacific Science Congress, IV (1939), pp.59-79.

[40] "Yang-Teou-Wa", Archaeologia Orientalis, Ser. B, Vol. III (1942). Fig. 27 on p. 48 of this report reproduces a photograph of the oracle bone discovered at this site, located west of Port Arthur in the southern tip of the Liaotung Peninsula.

[41] Shih Hsin-keng, Preliminary Report on the Black Pottery Cultural Remains in the Second District in Hang Hsien (in Chinese) (Hangchow, 1938).

[42] Liang Ssu-yung, "Preliminary Report on the Excavation at Hou-kang," in the Preliminary Reports of Excavations at Anyang (in Chinese), Part IV (1933), pp. 609-626.

[43] 在《中国史前研究》一文中安特生说："远东的陶绘问题并不始于仰韶，而始于齐家坪。"（282页；图版37之2）。但是1943年以后因为夏鼐的发现（《齐家期墓葬的新发现及其年代的改订》，载《中国考古学报》，第三期，1948，116～117页），安特生关于齐家期年代的说法就得修改了。其实早在1938年吴金鼎就说过，那种有少量平行垂直线的后岗出土的彩陶（梁思永首先加以描述），是整个华北——包含齐家坪——出土的彩陶中最简单的。参考注释20。

[44] 吴金鼎：《中国的史前陶器》（伦敦，1938），见图版5及书末的年代表。

[45] 梁思永：《龙山文化——中国文明的史前期之一》，载《第六届太平洋学术会议会志》第四本（1939），59～79页。

[46] 《羊头洼》，《东方考古学丛刊》，乙种，第三册，东方考古学会日文版，昭和十七年（1942）。本报告第48页的图27重现了在辽东半岛南端的旅顺口以西所发掘的甲骨。

[47] 施昕更：《杭县第二区黑陶文化遗址的初步报告》（杭州，1938）。

[48] 梁思永：《后岗发掘小记》，见《安阳发掘报告》（中文），卷四（1933），609～626页。

[49] Li Chi, "Pre-Yin Cultural Deposits under the Surface of Hsiao-t'un," Hsüeh Shu Hui K'an (in Chinese), published by Academia Sinica, No. 1 (1944), pp. 1-14.

[50] Li Chi, "Chemical Analyses of Different Types of Hsiao-t'un Potteries," Memorial Volume of President Fu Ssu-nien (in Chinese), published by the Taiwan University (1952).

[51] 李济：《小屯地面下之先殷文化层》，载《中央研究院学术汇刊》，第一卷，第二期，1944，1～14页。

[52] 李济：《小屯陶器质料之化学分析》，载《傅故校长斯年纪念论文集》（中文），台湾大学（1952）。

II Origin and Early Development

In the last thirty years field archaeology in China has uncovered the remains of the Shang dynasty, datable to the middle and the latter part of the second millennium B.C. It has been found that Chinese civilization as represented by these remains, located in the northernmost part of Honan province and north of the Yellow River, was very advanced and had already attained maturity, with a complete mastery of the technique of casting bronze, the possession of an independent writing system, and an efficient and complicated military and political organization; it was also characterized by an abundance of material well-being, a remarkable manifestation of a highly sophisticated decorative art, an exacting social system, and a theocratic religion dominated by an excessive devotion to ancestor worship. It was a civilization full of vitality and vigor; although not without elements of cruelty and monstrosity, it had nevertheless adequately prepared the ground for the coming of a humanistic philosophy that found its ablest exponents in Confucius and his school in the following Chou dynasty.

Is the civilization of the Shang dynasty homogeneous, autochthonous, and entirely independent of outside influence? My answer to this question is an emphatic no. Let me discuss it in some detail.

It is a well-known fact that, at the close of the Neolithic age, North China was divided into at least two cultural zones, with a possible third one which still needs further clarification by more archaeological evidence. In a paper which I read before the Eighth Pacific Science Congress in 1953, I pointed out the fact that during this period:

In the northwest and along the Sino-Mongolian border was the culture first developed by the Painted Pottery people, and most probably further elaborated by the Hsia, the first of the Chinese dynasties, which preceded the Shang. To this dynasty the earliest Chinese bronzes and bronze foundry were usually attributed both according to the historical narratives and the antiquarian's account. Most probably also, the people of this dynasty believed in and practiced totemism, in the light of some recent interpretations of certain folk literature that survived in the various compilations of the Chou

philosophers.[1] The center of the second tradition is to be located near the Eastern Coast and was represented by the Black Pottery folk who survived in the historical time as the Eastern I, also known as the Squatting Barbarians in the early documents....

贰 中国文明的起源和早期的发展

在最近三十多年的中国田野考古工作中，考古工作者发现了商朝遗址。商朝的年代约当公元前第二个千年的中期至晚期。由这个坐落在河南省北端、黄河北岸的遗址所表现的来看，彼时中国文明不但相当进步，而且已臻成熟。它具备一套完整熟练的铸铜技术、独立发展的文字体系和一种复杂而有效率的军事和政治组织。这种文化还体现了富庶的物质生活、高度成熟的装饰艺术、严苛的社会组织和对祖先极度崇拜的神权政治。这是一种充满生机和活力的文明；虽然其间不免含有残酷和黩武的因素，但这个文化也为后来周朝的孔子及其学派所代表的人文主义哲学奠定了相当的基础。

商的文明是不是同质的、土著的、完全独立于外界影响之外的呢？我对这个问题的回答是断然否定的。现在让我详细加以解说。

众所周知，在新石器时代的末期，华北至少已分为两个文化地区。也许还有第三个地区，但尚需更多考古学的发掘方能予以证实。我在1953年第八届太平洋学术会议上宣读的一篇论文中曾经指出，在这一时期：

彩陶民族首先在西北与中蒙边界沿线地方发展其文化，这种文化很有可能为商朝以前的中国第一个王朝——夏朝——进一步予以发扬。根据历史记述和古物学家的看法，夏开中国青铜器及青铜铸造的先河。又根据最近一些对在周朝先哲浩淼著述中保留下来的民间文学的新解释，夏人很可能相信且已运用图腾。[2]第二种文化传统的核心位于东部沿海一带，以黑陶民族为代表，亦即历史上的东夷，在早期的文献中被称之为“尸方”……

But the forerunners of the Shang dynasty could not, by any historical or archaeological evidence, be positively identified with either of the above traditions. The founders of the Shang dynasty were probably the earliest Chinese who developed the kneeling posture into a sitting habit, known later among the Japanese as *seiza*. Whether they learned this from the Egyptian scribes or developed it independently remains to be investigated. It seems to be pretty certain that at first the ancestors of the Shang dynasty conquered the Eastern I and absorbed some of their art tradition; in return, they also taught them a new technique of warfare, on the condition, of course, that they

should fight under their leadership. With this newly trained army, the Shang conquered the Hsia further west, and subsequently learned from the Hsia whatever was worth their while learning. So the dynastic splendor of the Shang is the result of the coalescence of three distinct cultural traditions: the Eastern I, the western Hsia, and the proto-Shang....[3]

The foregoing statement was based mainly on the study of the decorative art of the Shang dynasty, especially the two fragments of human figures carved in stone, recovered respectively from the dwelling site of Hsiao-t'un and the cemetery site of Hou-chia-chuang (Fig. 4·1, Fig. 4·2), with additional confirmatory evidences from bone carvings and pottery decorations.

(4·1) Fragment of human figures in stone from Hou-chia-chuang 侯家庄出土的石雕人像残片

(4·2) Fragment of human figures in stone from Hsiao-t'un 小屯出土的石雕人像残片

The economic conditions of the three types of community in the Aëneolithic and protohistorical periods—the Yangshao, that is, the Painted Pottery culture; the Lungshan, the Black Pottery culture; and the Hsiao-t'un, the Shang culture—are clearly reflected in the faunistic remains collected from these sites. The fauna of the Yangshao remains consist only of pigs, dogs, and cattle; neither sheep nor horses were found.[4] In Ch'eng-tzu-yai,[5] the type site of the Black Pottery culture, the list of the animal bones includes those of pigs, dogs, sheep, oxen, and horses. In both Yangshao and Ch'eng-tzu-yai, deer were also found; whether they were domesticated or not is not clear. On the whole, bones of wild animals were rare in both of the prehistorical sites. This is certainly an indication of a quiet sedentary life, devoted entirely to agriculture and the keeping of a few domesticated animals; if there was any game hunting, it was limited to the hunting of a few deer.

但是无论是历史学证据或是考古学的证据，都不能证实商朝的祖先具有上述某一传统。商朝的创始者可能是最早将跪姿转为坐姿的中国人，日本人后来称之为“正坐”。这是从埃及学来的，还是自己发明的，还有待考察。不过，可以确定的是，商朝的祖先首先征服了东夷，吸取了他们的某些艺术传统，也教给他们一些战争新技术，当然前提是他们

在商人的领导下作战。商人挟此新练之兵，西指克夏，又吸收了一部分他们认为值得学习的夏文化。所以商朝灿烂的文明是综合了东夷、西夏和原商三种不同的文化传统……[6]

以上的叙述，主要是根据对商代装饰艺术、特别是对两块分别从小屯居住区及侯家庄墓葬区发掘出来的石雕人像残片（图4·1，图4·2）的研究得出的；这一说法在骨雕及陶饰中得到了进一步证实。

铜石并用时代与原史时期的三大群落——仰韶（彩陶文化）、龙山（黑陶文化）和小屯（商文化）——之经济环境，分别从这些遗址所收集的动物群之遗骸中清楚反映出来。仰韶遗址的动物群仅包括猪、狗和牛，并无羊或马。[7]典型的黑陶文化遗址城子崖，有猪、狗、羊、牛及马的兽骨遗存。[8]仰韶和城子崖两地还曾发现过鹿，至于鹿是驯养的还是野生的则不能确知。总体而言，野生动物的骨骼在这两处都很罕见。这样的情况确定地表现了一种平静的定居生活，以农耕和饲养家畜为主；即使有狩猎的话，也只限于狩鹿。

But the faunistic assemblage from the Shang remains[9] at Hsiao-t'un is much more remarkable, not only for its greater variety of domesticated animals—for it includes oxen and buffalo, sheep and goats, dogs and horses, and two varieties of pigs; but there is also an impressive list of wild animals, ranging from monkeys to whales, and comprising bears, tigers, leopards, tapirs, elephants, rhinoceroses, many varieties of deer, foxes, badgers, and so forth. The whole list of the mammalian collection, including both the wild and the domesticated group, numbers no fewer than twenty-nine species, according to the latest estimate of the eminent palaeontologists Dr. C. C. Young and the late Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.

The great abundance and variety of the faunistic remains from Hsiao-t'un,[10] especially of the undomesticated group, may be taken as an unmistakable index to the life of a people given to wild game hunting. So it is obvious that the ruling house of the Shang dynasty must have been somewhat different, culturally at least, from the peasants of the Aëneolithic Yangshao and the Lungshan periods. This is confirmable not only by the obsequies of the members of the royal families but also by the oracle bone inscriptions. In Archaeologia Sinica, Number Two, IIB, 2908 (Fig. 5), there is on record the following inscription:

Divine on the day Wu-wu

Ku made the inquiry

We are going to chase at "Ch'iu”; any capture?

Hunting on this day, (we) actually captured:

Tigers, one;

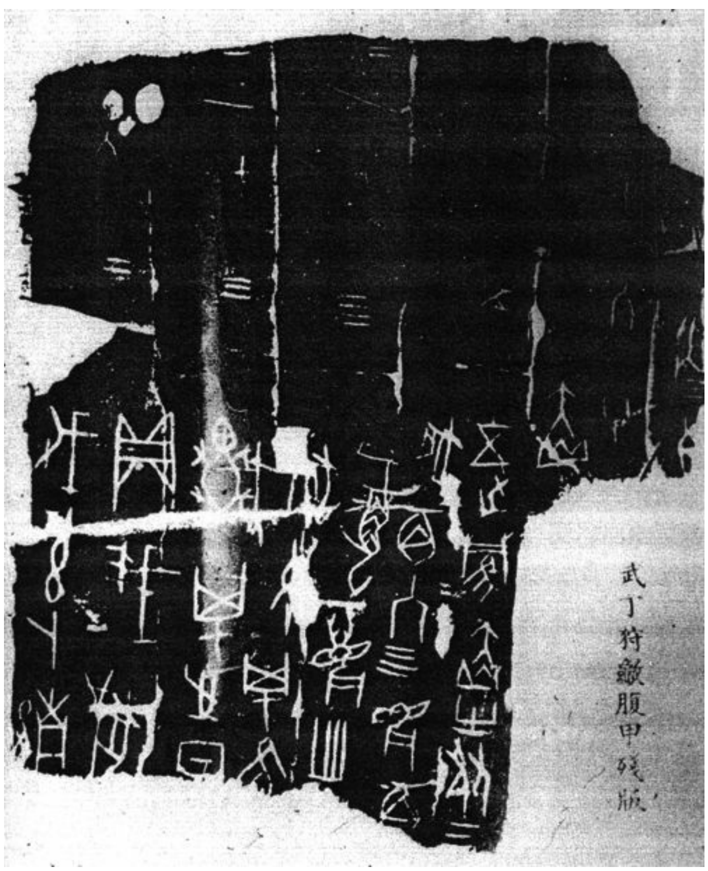
Deer, forty;

Foxes, one hundred and sixty-four;

Hornless deer, one hundred and fifty-nine;

and so forth ....

由小屯的商朝遗址出土的动物群更加引人注目，[11]因为这其中不但有更多种类的家畜——包括了黄牛、水牛、绵羊、山羊、狗、马和两种猪，而且还有从猴到鲸的一系列野生动物，其中包括熊、虎、豹、貘、象、犀牛、许多类型的鹿、犴及獾等等。据著名古生物学家杨钟健博士和已故德日进神甫的最新估计，此地哺乳类动物——包括驯养的和野生的——合计共达29类之多。



(5) Ink rubbing of the inscribed plastron about King Wu-ting's captures in a hunting expedition at "Ch'iu" 武丁狩鬾腹甲残片拓片

小屯出土的动物遗骨[12]——尤其是野生动物遗骨——总量之丰富，种类之繁多，无疑可以显示此时人们对于狩猎的喜好。因之，显然商朝王室至少在文化上与铜石并用的仰韶和龙山时期的农民有所不同。这不同之处通过王室成员的葬礼和甲骨文都可得以确证。《中国考古报告集之二·小屯·乙编》中第2908号甲骨片（图5）刻有如下的文字：

戊午卜（在戊午那天卜卦）

谷贞（是名叫谷的人卜的）

我狩鬼，禽？（我们去狩鬼，能获得多少？）

之日狩，允禽，获：（这天我们实际猎到）

虎一；

鹿四十；

犷一百六十四；

麑一百五十九……

Following the above records are some more inscriptions not yet decipherable. The inscription quoted is a sufficiently clear example that bears witness to the royal passion for hunting. This particular record is attributed by Professor Tung Tso-pin to the reign of Wu-ting of the fourteenth century B.C.[13] In another inscription of the same period, it is recorded that two tigers were captured; the largest number of deer shot in one chase during this reign is 162.[14]

Hunting records are frequently found in the oracle bone inscriptions; they were taken down from various periods and by different kings; so this passion for big game hunting was really a tribal habit shared in common by all the members of the royal house instead of being the idiosyncrasy of an individual king.

The royal passion for sports may be also testified to by the fact that, underneath the wooden chamber where the royal coffin was placed, there were always sacrificial pits in which large dogs accompanied by big adult human males were sacrificed. These men and dogs were the king's company in his lifetime; as they followed him in his moments of pleasure, so they accompanied him to another world (Fig. 6).

Thus it could not be considered as a mere coincidence that with the coming of Shang there was a sudden efflorescence of animal art. This art

must have been developed with a whole tribal tradition behind it: the passion for hunting and also for keeping wild animals alive; then, at the death of the master, all followed him to eternity. Once correlated with this tradition, the animal art of this period becomes much more intelligible.

If the Shang culture was totally different from the Yangshao and not exactly the same as the Lungshan, the question naturally arises, where was this culture first developed? The question sounds complicated, so the answer requires a ramified search.

后面紧接着还有一些仍然不能解释的文字。不过这几行记载已足以清楚展示王室对于狩猎的热爱。董作宾教授将这片龟甲划归于公元前14世纪武丁在位时期。[15]同时期的另一片甲骨上有猎得虎两只的记载；武丁在位时曾有一举猎鹿162只之多的记载。[16]

关于狩猎的记录频见于甲骨文中，涉及到不同时期的不同帝王。由此可见狩猎大型动物实为一种风靡整个王室的部落习惯，而非某位帝王个人的特殊癖好。

王室对于狩猎运动的热爱也可从安置王棺的木椁下面获得证明：那里总有埋葬牺牲用的坑穴，坑中有巨犬和高大的成年男人尸体。这些曾伴着帝王狩猎，他们在主人生前曾追随他欢享过愉快的狩猎时光，又陪伴主人到另一世界去（图6）。

因此，自商代以来动物艺术的突然兴盛不应被看作是一种巧合。这种艺术的发展背后必定有整个部落传统的支持：热爱狩猎和饲养野生动物，在主人死后将之一起送到极乐世界。只要与这一传统联系起来看，这时期的动物艺术就容易理解得多。

既然商文化和仰韶文化截然不同，又和龙山文化互异，那么随之而来的问题是：商文化是从哪儿来的？这个问题听起来很复杂，所以答案也须作多方面的探讨。

(6) Floor of the wooden chamber of HPKM: 1001, Hou-chia-chuang 侯家庄HPKM:1001大墓之木椁地面遗迹

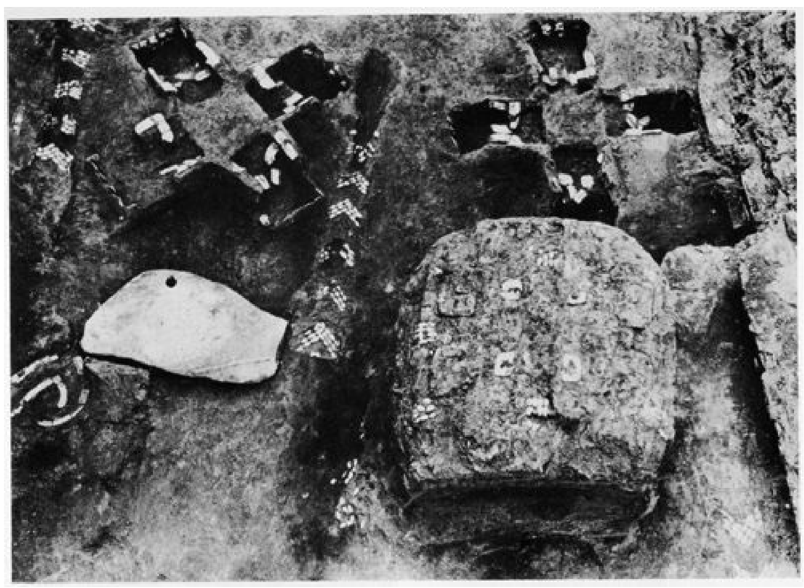
In my paper on the "Diverse Background of the Decorative Art of the Shang [Yin] Dynasty" which I have cited above, I tried to show that the animal art found on the Shang bronzes was most probably derived from wood carvings. The imprints left on the pounded earth in the royal tombs were originally the decorative parts of perishable materials, made up mostly of leather, textiles, and wood (Fig. 7). Although the wooden chamber which housed the royal coffin has vanished with only minute fragments left here and there, still these are sufficient to prove that the inside of the chamber was originally decorated. So the existence of a wood-carving art is beyond dispute.[17] A study of the imprints on the pounded earth from the various tombs proves that the Chinese decorative art at this stage of its development was already a commingling of several traditions; a similar condition is also reflected in the bone and stone carvings. Among the sundry traditions, the

one with an obvious Western affiliation usually attracts the attention of the archaeologists first. Several important examples under this category may be mentioned; of these the *fei-i* monster (Fig. 8), developed as a decorative pattern with one head, *t'ao-t'ie* fashion, and two intertwining bodies, may be taken as the first instance. This pattern was traced out on the top of the wooden chamber in HPKM: 1001 of the Hou-chia-chuang royal cemetery, and is certainly the earliest example of its kind in the art history of China. The pattern underwent an evolution in China and was transmitted in various versions in later times. It reappeared in the famous Wu Liang Tz'u’s two incised human figures,[18] the lower parts of which are made up of two long tails intertwined with each other. But the earliest example of this pattern as found in the royal tomb was already more than a thousand years later than those discovered in the Middle and the Near East. So its ultimate origin must be traced to the Mesopotamian region; and it is quite likely that, like the gold-foiled handle from Gebel el Tarif of Egypt, decorated by two intertwining snakes, which Henri Frankfort thought was of Sumerian derivation,[19] the *fei-i* pattern of the Shang art was inspired from the same origin, modified to some extent to suit the Chinese tradition.

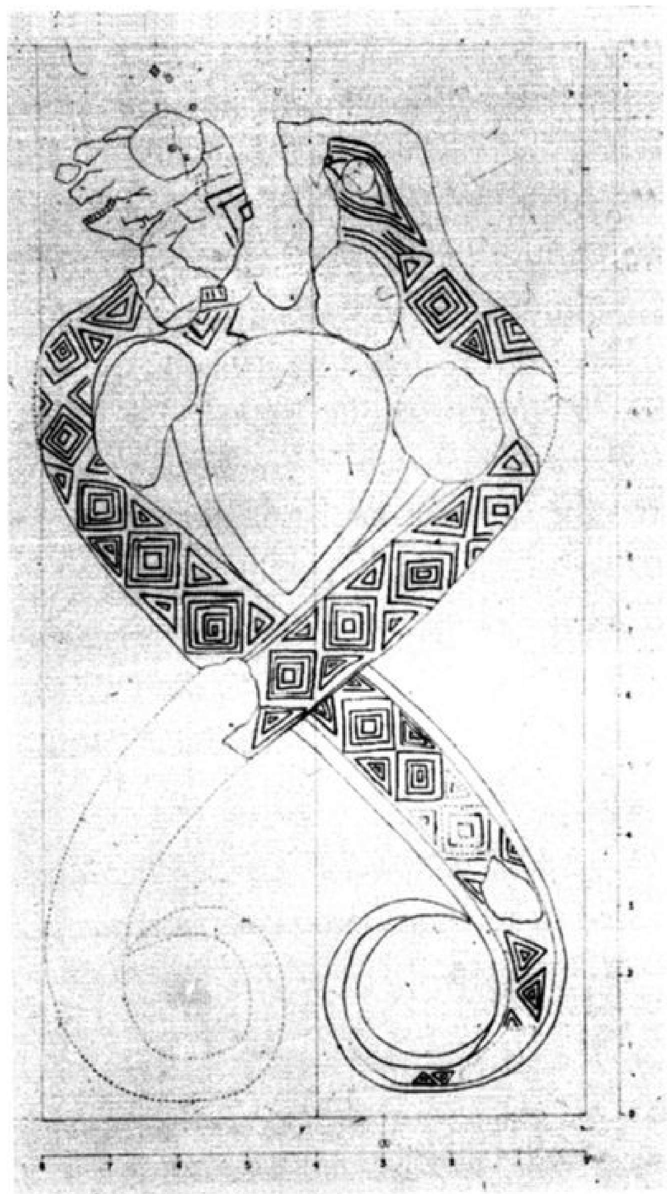
在上面曾引述的我的一篇名为《殷代装饰艺术的诸种背景》的论文中，我曾试图证明商朝铜器上所见的动物艺术非常可能是由木雕演变而来。在王室陵墓夯土上遗存的凹痕是原来的旧皮革、纺织品或木材等易腐坏材料制成的装饰部分（图7）。虽然安放帝王棺材的木椁已经消失，但是仅有的零星散布的碎片仍足以证明木椁内部最初曾刻意装饰过。所以木雕艺术的存在是无可争议的。[20]对不同墓葬中夯土印痕的研究证明，发展到这一阶段的中国装饰艺术已经综合了几种不同的传统；同样的情形也反映在骨雕和石雕上。在各种不同的传统之中，和西方有明显关联的通常首先引起考古学家的注意。这一类中有几个重要例子可以一提。其中，一个名为“肥遗”的怪兽图案（图8）可以作为一个首要的例证，她的头部形似饕餮，二身交结。这一图案是从侯家庄王陵HPKM：1001大墓的椁顶模写下来的，这无疑是中国艺术史上此类图形的最早例子。这种图案在中国经过了若干演变，后以各种不同式样传世。在著名的武梁祠中，它以两个雕刻人形再现，[21]其下半身是两条长长的扭在一起的尾巴。但是在殷代王陵中发现的首个此类图形，已比中东和近东出现的晚了一千多年。所以，它最根本的源头定可追溯到美索不达米亚地区。亨利·法兰克福认为出土于埃及盖伯尔塔里夫的有双蛇交缠图案装饰的包金手把起源于苏美尔人，[22]商朝艺术中的“肥遗”图案也很有可能是从同一起源中受到启发，只是经过了些许修正以适合中国

的传统。

Another motif that appeared among the traces of the perishable wood-carving art is a pair of tigers, arranged antithetically with tails pointing toward the center and an animal face between the tigers near the top. The whole pattern was badly decayed and almost beyond recognition, but careful tracing work recovered it. The accuracy of the tracing was proved by the discovery of a similar pattern on a big bronze tetrapod recovered in a village very near to the royal cemetery (Fig. 9·1). This is evidently a degenerated version of the famous Hero and Beast motif, which also originated in Mesopotamia and was then transmitted to Egypt and later immortalized in the Mycenaean time by the famous Lion Gate.[23]



(7) Drum and musical stone discovered together with remnants of their hanging frames in HPKM: 1217, Hou-chia-chuang 侯家庄HPKM:1217大墓出土的皮鼓、石磬及其支架之遗迹



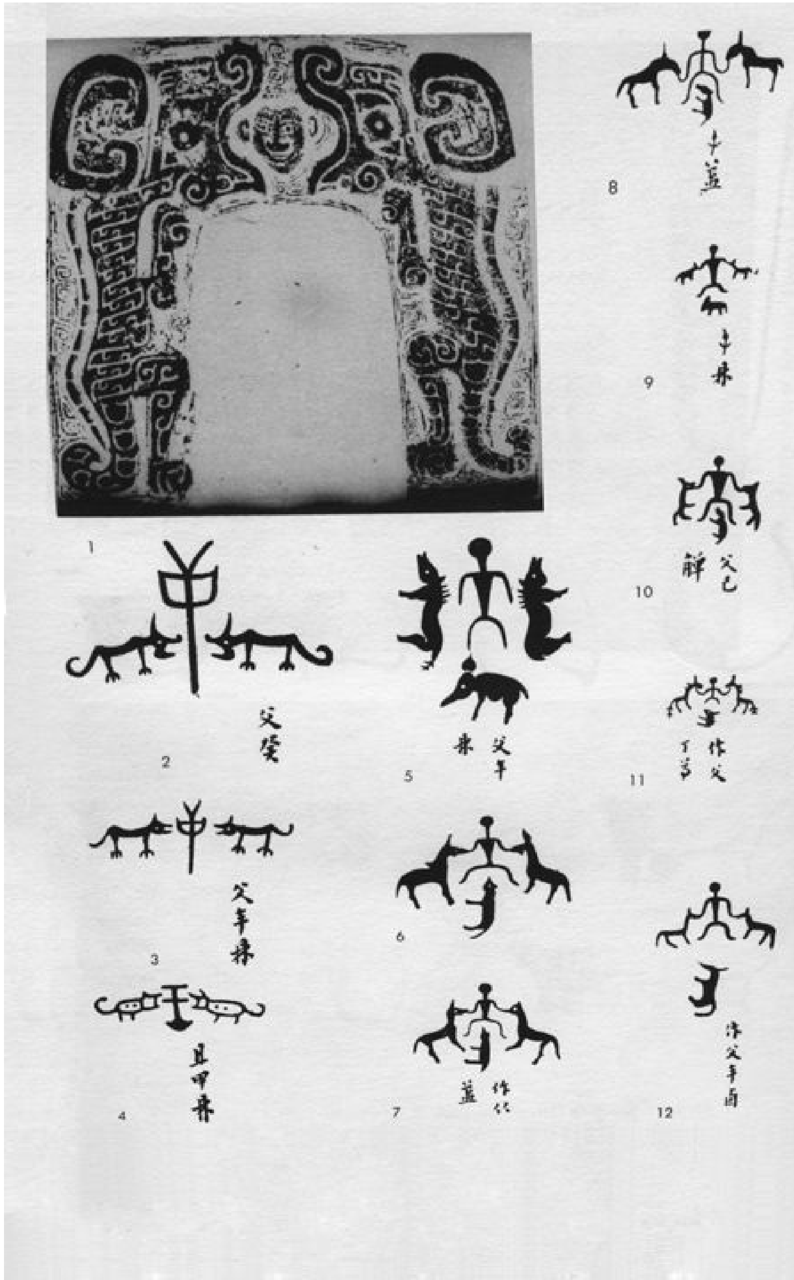
(8) *Fei-i* pattern traced from the remnants of a disintegrated wooden article in one of the big tombs of Hou-chia-chuang 侯家庄大墓残存木制品上的肥遗图案

It is clear that, as it appeared on the Chinese bronzes, the motif of the hero subduing the beasts had already undergone important changes. In place of the figure of the hero, the character *wang*, meaning the king, might appear; and the lions on both sides were replaced at first by tigers, and later by a pair of boars or even dogs. In some cases the hero was given an actual human figure but was also accompanied by an additional beast placed under the figure of the hero. In other cases some other character, not yet decipherable, was substituted for the pictorial character for the king. All these versions,

which appeared as incised symbols on many bronzes, were, it seems to me, simply variations of the original Mesopotamian motif (Fig. 9).

另一种在易腐坏的木雕残迹中发现的母题是一对老虎的图形：两虎左右对称，虎尾直指中央，两虎之间靠近上方有一兽面。这个图案原已残碎得不堪辨认，但是经过精细描摹已得以复原。王室墓区临近村落发掘出的一只四足鼎上的一幅相似图形证明了此次复原的精确性（图9·1）。显然，这个图形是著名的“英雄与野兽”母题的一种变形，它亦起源于美索不达米亚，后流传到埃及，再后来又于希腊迈锡尼时期因著名的狮门而得以不朽。[24]

正如中国铜器上的图案所表现的那样，这种英雄擒兽主题明显经历了若干重大改变。英雄像可能化成一个“王”字；两旁的狮子，先变成了一对老虎，后来则是一对公猪甚至一对狗。有时英雄也以真正的人形出现，但是还会有一只野兽在其下方。有时中间的象形文字“王”也会被另一个尚未辨识的字所替代。所有这些刻在铜器上的不同花样，在我看来，不过是美索不达米亚原母题的不同变体。（图9）



(9) 1, Ink rubbing of the decorative pattern on the standing lug above the rim of a tetrapod discovered in the neighborhood of Hou-chia-chuang; 2-12, bronze inscriptions from Jung Keng's *Chin-wen-pien* (*Inscriptions on Bronzes*) (2nd ed. rev. and enl.; Ch'ang-sha, 1939), supplementary chapter, p. 26. 1, 侯家庄附近出土之后母戊鼎立耳之纹饰拓片；2~12，容庚：《金文篇》（增订第2版，长沙，1939）中所录有关"英雄及野兽"金文拓片，见补充章节，26页

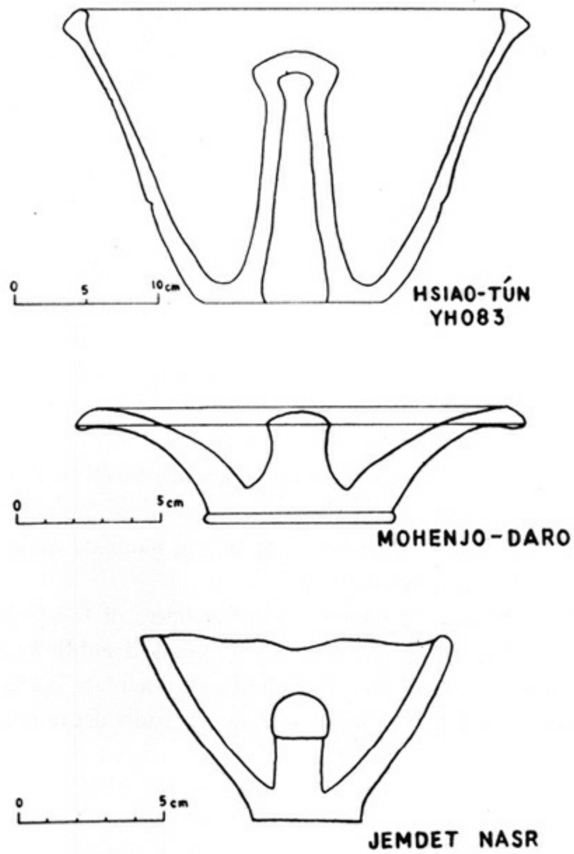
The most interesting proof of China's contact with the West in the second millennium B.C. or even earlier comes from some pottery forms. The example I have in mind for illustration is a jar cover, in the shape of a flower pot, with a phallic-shaped handle standing upright in the center inside the pot.

This type of cover, as made known by McKay and publicized by Gordon Childe,[25] was also found in Jemdet Nasr and Mohenjo-daro. Comparing the pottery forms of the Shang period with those of the Middle East and the Near East regions, one may find a number of instances that exhibit close resemblances; but I take this one as the most indisputable example indicating cultural contact, as no imaginable reason could be conceived for the independent invention of covers so similar in structure in two different and widely separated parts of the world (Fig. 10).

All these evidences, however, show only the existence of some contact between the cultures of the Near East and the Far East. The nature of such contact could scarcely be inferred from the above evidences; it may have been a very remote one resulting in partial imitations, such as most of the instances cited actually were. The real foundation of the Shang culture was still in the Asiatic East, which also gave rise to and inspired the major art tradition of the whole Pacific basin. The source of this tradition is most probably to be found in the lost art of wood carving of China's past. I have dwelt elsewhere on the main features of this particular tradition in some detail; as they are so important in the present connection, let me cite some of the samples used for the illustration of this thesis.

中国在公元前第二个千年或更早时期和西方文明接触的最有趣的证据，是从陶器的形制上得到的。我想用以说明这一事实的例证是一件陶罐的盖子。这一件像花盆一样的盖子的中央有一根直立的阴茎状的柄。这样形状的盖子最初由麦偕氏所发现，经柴尔德氏介绍而为世人所知，[26]同样的盖子也在杰姆德纳刹和莫汉久达鲁地方发现过。将商代陶器形制和近东、中东的加以比较，可以发现很多甚为相像的例子，但我以为这一个是说明文化接触最无可争议的例证。在相隔这样遥远而且互异的世界的两端，如果能各自独立发明出结构如此相似的器盖，其原因是难以想象的。（图10）

然而，上述的各种证据只能说明近东和远东之间存在文化接触。这种文化接触的性质甚难由上述例证推断——这也许只是一种引起部分模仿的遥远接触，像上述所举的多数例子实际上就是如此。商文化的真正基础仍在亚洲东部。这个地区孕育并且启发了整个太平洋地区的主要艺术传统，而这一传统很可能在失落的中国古代木雕艺术中找到源头。我曾在别处详细讨论过这种独特传统的主要特征。因为这些特征在这里也很重要，让我引述几个例子来加以阐释。

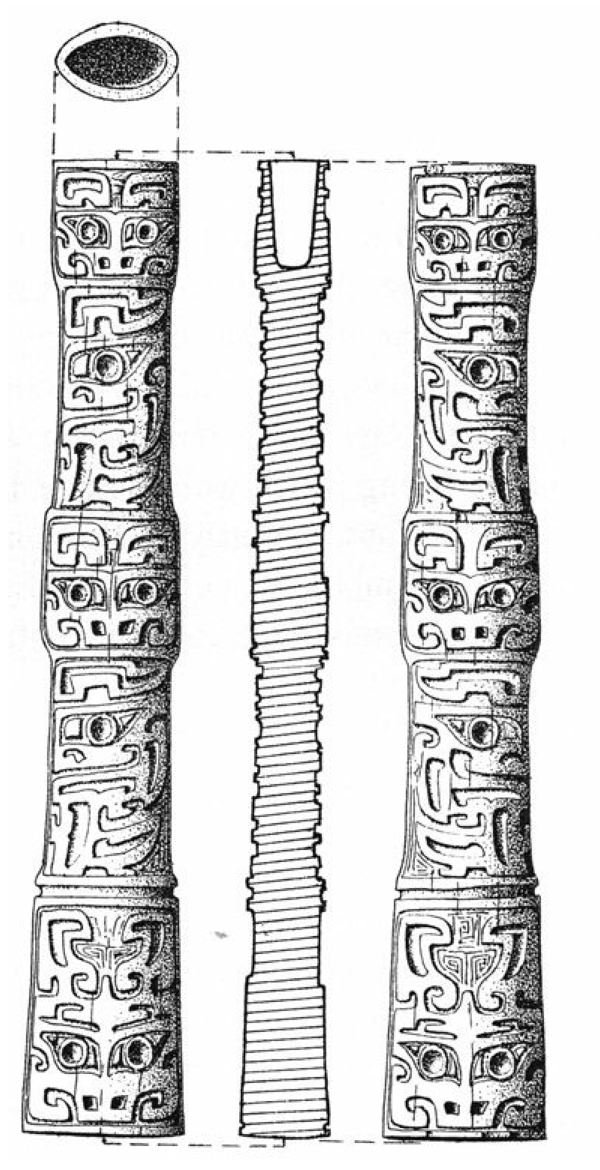


(10) A type of jar cover found in Jemdet Nasr, Mohenjo-daro, and Hsiao-t'un. (The bottom one from *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, by V. Gordon Child [New York: Frederick A. Praeger Inc., 1952], p.132.) 小屯、莫汉久达鲁、杰姆德纳刹（从上至下）出土的陶盖比较图（最下方图示出自柴尔德：《远古东方之新曙光》【纽约：Frederick A. Praeger Inc., 1952】, 132页）

The unique bone handle which I first uncovered in 1929 still remains the most important example of its kind that is nearly complete. The most remarkable features of this handle are the ornamental patterns (Fig. 11). It is about 15 cm. in length and almond-shaped crosswise, with a socket at the smaller end that measures 16 mm. deep; the cross section of the socket, which is lentil-shaped, measures 16 mm. by 8 mm. at the maximum. The outside of this handle is completely carved from top to bottom, on both sides and in five units; three of the units are composed of *t'ao-t'ie* masks, each consisting of a pair of such masks joined at the back and facing opposite sides. These three units are separated from each other by two longer and slenderer units of *t'ao-t'ie* in profile, each with a body attached to the head. These five units of decorative patterns, essentially similar to one another, pile up on the handle with a vertical succession that reminds one of the arrangements of the animal heads carved on the totem poles found on the

northwestern coast of Canada, except that the composition of the Hsiao-t'un handle seems to carry a more subtle rhythm.

我在1929年发现的一只几近完整的独特骨柄，至今仍是这类物品中最重要的一个例子。这只骨柄最引人注目的是它的装饰图案（图11）。骨柄长约150毫米，截面为杏眼形，在较细的一端有深16毫米的承口，此一扁豆形之承口最宽处面积为16毫米×8毫米。骨柄之表面由上至下正反两面通体皆刻以花纹，分成五个单位；其中三个单位分别以两饕餮面组成，两面相背而立，边缘相接，朝向相反的方向。这三个单位又被两个瘦长的、头体相连的饕餮纹单位两两相隔。这五个饰纹相类的单位，在骨柄上依次堆叠，使人联想到加拿大西北海岸刻有重叠兽首的图腾柱，只是这只小屯出土的骨柄构图更加精巧和谐。



(11) Patterns of carved decoration and sections of a bone handle from Hsiao-t'un 小屯雕花骨柄及其剖面

The decorative patterns and their arrangement described above suggest three principles which have been found to be basic in most Pacific arts; besides the piling up of similar designs in vertical succession, there are the junction of profiles of the animal body, split into two symmetrical halves on a curved surface or a flat one, and, in addition, a rigid symmetry and a regular rhythm. All these three principles found their fullest expression in the bronze works of Shang and later times and in many of the wood carvings of the Pacific region.[27]

Let me give some more examples from the excavated bronzes of Anyang. Of this collection there are many square *yi* on record. Each of the square sides was cast like a flat piece of wooden plank (Fig. 12·1). All the sides are fully decorated with the head of an animal either with or without a body as the central motif, surrounded by some minor decorative patterns. The main theme on the yi illustrated is the treatment of the animal's head; it is an attempt to render a three-dimensional object on a two-dimensional background by cutting the head into two profiles and joining them together in a perfectly symmetrical arrangement. The effect is almost exactly the same as that of the house-front painting of the Kwakiutl, cited by Franz Boas in his work on Primitive Art.[28] On the Chinese bronzes, such animal heads have been called t'ao-t'ie, but they evidently had more realistic names in earlier times, names more suggestive of the true nature of these animal representations.

(12·1) Square *yi* of the Shang dynasty from Hou-chia-chuang 侯家庄出土的商代方彝

(12·2) Square *yu* of the Shang dynasty from Hsiao-t'un 小屯出土的商代方卣

The square *yi* of the Shang time is almost always fully decorated. In one of my earlier papers[29] I have tried to show that, as far as the shapes of the excavated bronzes from Hsiao-t'un are concerned, the majority of these in the round-bodied group derived their origin from the pottery forms, while the angular type—both the square and the quadrangular bronzes—copied their forms as well as their patterns of decoration from some wooden prototypes. It was also pointed out in this paper that the angular type was always fully decorated (Fig. 12·1, Fig. 12·2), while the round type was fully covered only rarely, and more frequently left completely plain (Fig. 13·1, Fig. 13·2). An obvious inference from all these discoveries would be that the angular-bodied bronzes not only inherited the shapes of the wooden prototypes but also carried on the method and patterns of decoration of the wood carvers, while the round-bodied articles cast in bronze, shaped mainly after the ceramic

tradition, acquired their ornaments much later.

以上描述的装饰图案及其构图使人想到太平洋艺术中所见的三点基本原则：除了相似图案的依次垂直堆叠以外，这种艺术还呈现出动物身体侧面图在平面或曲面上的对称拼接，以及严格的对称性和规律性。这三点原则都在商代及其以后的青铜器，以及太平洋区域的许多木雕图案上充分表现出来。[30]

让我再举几个安阳出土的青铜器做例子。在这类藏品中有好几个有记录的方彝，其每一方面都像一块木板（图12·1）。每一面都完全饰以一个兽面或连体兽面为核心的母题，周围充以其他细小的饰纹。图版所示的方彝也以兽首为主题，它将兽首一分为二并将两面以相接的方式完全对称地平铺于一个平面上，试图以此在二维空间里展现三维物体。这种效果与博厄斯在《原始艺术》[31]一书中引述的夸扣特尔人的房前绘画几乎完全一样。中国铜器上这种兽面，我们称作饕餮，不过其早期的名字显然更具现实性，更能代表这些动物图像的真实特性。

商代的方彝几乎都是满面纹饰。在我早期的一篇文章中[32]，我曾试图证明，以小屯出土铜器的形制而论，圆形的铜器大部分都是由陶器演变而来，而方形——包括正方的和长方的——铜器无论形制还是饰纹都是对木器的临摹。在这篇论文中，我还提出，方形的铜器通常都是满面饰纹（图12·1，图12·2），圆形的满面饰纹则很罕见，全素的更为常见（图13·1，图13·2）。从这些发现中可以明显地推断：方形铜器不但承继了木器的形制，而且沿袭了木雕的方法和饰纹样；圆形的铜器则主要承袭陶器传统，较晚的时候才开始模仿其装饰。

(13·1) *Ting* tripod from Hsiao-t'un 小屯出土的鼎

(13·2) *Ku* from Hsiao-t'un 小屯出土的觚

It may be further inferred that, as the members of the ruling house of Shang were probably all genuine lovers of wild game hunting, such habits were very likely nurtured in a forest environment, which would also be best fitted for the development of a wood-carving art. It is most interesting to compare the types of animal patterns on the bronzes with the hunting records in the oracle bone inscriptions. Tiger and deer motifs were constantly met with on the chariot pieces as well as on the big bronzes; the tiger was frequently found on musical stones, inlaid and painted decorative pieces, of which the substances had disappeared long ago but whose impression had been left on the stamped earth. The abundance of deer is proved not only by the hunting records; it is even better testified to by their skeletal remains, quantitatively second only to the domesticated pigs among the remains of Hsiao-t'un. These animals, as we know, are essentially woodland creatures; wherever they roamed, their presence may be taken as an indication of some forested region not far off.

The dominance of the animal motifs, however, did not succeed in obliterating completely the geometrical arts which prevailed in North China before the Shang. Authentic Shang bronzes were sometimes covered exclusively with spirals or zigzags (Fig. 14, Fig. 15).

由商王室之爱好狩猎还可进一步推测，狩猎习惯很可能是在森林环境中养成的，而这样的环境也最适合木雕艺术的发展。把铜器上动物的图案和甲骨文上的狩猎记录加以比较，也是一件非常有趣的事。虎和鹿的母题经常在战车残片及大型铜器上出现；虎的图案也常常出现在磬上，目前所见的是有镶嵌和绘图的残片，虽然原物消失已久，但我们仍能从压土上找到图案的印迹。鹿之众多不但能从甲骨文的狩猎记录中窥见一斑，更在小屯出土的动物残骨中得到了印证——鹿骨的数目位列第二，仅次于家猪。我们都知道上述动物都是森林动物，不论它们在哪里游走，它们的出现意味着附近有森林地区存在。

然而，动物母题虽占有绝对优势，也没有完全取代商以前流行于华北的几何图案。真正的商代青铜器有时是完全以云纹或锯齿状纹为装饰的（图14，图15）。

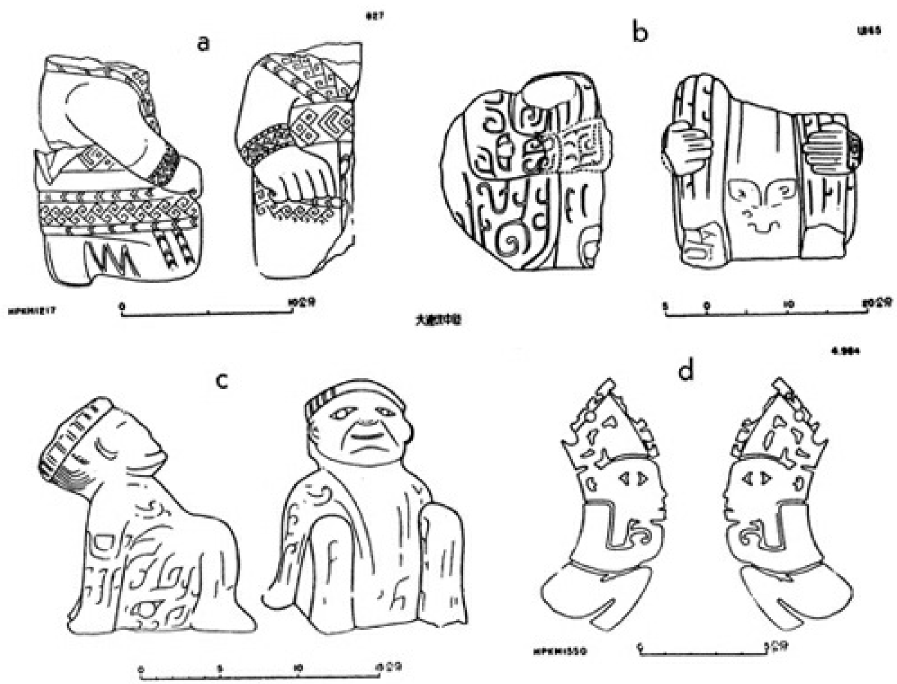
The most important example that testifies to the survival of geometrical decoration in the Shang dynasty is a fragment of a stone human figure in a kneeling-sitting posture, fully dressed in robe and skirt; the border of the garment and the skirt and the cuff of the sleeve are all ornamented with a band composed of double chevrons and interlocked T-patterns (Fig. 4·1, Fig. 16a). All these patterns are incised in narrow lines, hardly wider than 1 mm.; most of the lines thus rendered are short and straight, and at each turning the incision usually starts anew. There is no continuous curvilinear line in the whole composition.

(14) *Tzu* decorated with spirals only 云纹装饰的觯

(15) *P'an* from Hou-chia-chuang with geometrical patterns 侯家庄出土的以几何图形装饰的盘

This kneeling-sitting posture, as distinguished from the squatting-sitting stone torso (Fig. 16b) discovered at Hsiao-t'un, is singularly significant in that

it serves to link the daily habit of the ruling class of the Shang dynasty with the decorative art found at the closing phase of the Neolithic time, especially in the Black Pottery region. In the historical period, as we have noted, the indigenous inhabitants who inherited the old territory of the Black Pottery people on the eastern coast were known as the Eastern I, or the Squatting Barbarians. In other words, while the Shang people adopted the decorative art of the coastal culture to a limited extent, the native inhabitants of the coast had stuck to their old habit of squatting instead of aping the *seiza* posture of their conquerors.



(16) Human figures in stone from Anyang: a, d, from Hou-chia-chuang; b, from Hsiao-t'un; c, from Ssu-p'an-mo 殷墟石雕人像四种：a及d自侯家庄出土；b自小屯出土；c自四盘磨出土

The squatting torso from Hsiao-t'un, however, cannot be identified with the coastal culture, if we take the Black Pottery tradition as its main representative. Unlike the Hou-chia-chuang figure, it is entirely devoid of any sartorial covering, except perhaps an apron in the front below the waistline. All four limbs are covered by carved tattooing marks of disintegrated patterns reassembled around an eye design near the joints.

用以证明几何图案在商代仍然存在的最重要证据，是一座跪坐的服饰俱全的石像残片，它的衣边、裙边及袖口都饰以复山形及交错的"T"形花边（图4·1，图16a）。这些花纹都以宽不足1毫米的线条刻画

而成，线条短而直，线条的弯折处，皆系另起一笔，整体鲜有曲线连接。

这尊与小屯出土的蹲踞半身石像（图16b）风格迥异的跪坐石像意义重大，因为它把商的统治阶级的日常习惯与新石器时代晚期、特别是在黑陶文化区域里的装饰艺术连接起来了。上面我们曾经提到过，历史上东部滨海的土著，即居住在以往黑陶文化区域的居民，我们称之为“东夷”，亦即“尸方”。换句话说，商人在一定程度上采用了沿海文化中的装饰艺术，但这些滨海土著居民仍执着于传统的蹲坐，并没有模仿他们的征服者改为“正坐”。

然而，如果我们将黑陶文化视为滨海文化的主要代表，小屯出土的蹲踞石像并不能与此文化相等同。与侯家庄出土者不同，这座小屯的石像除了在体前腰下着有一件腹兜外，全身赤裸。四肢皆刻以碎裂的文身图案，图案在关节处攒成一个目形纹饰。

Tattooing as a cultural trait survived among many indigenous tribes south of the Yangtze River in early China. The first century B.C. historian, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, made it known that the native people of Chekiang, whose culture the uncles of the founder of the Chou dynasty adopted, practiced tattooing.[33] In the classic *Li Chi* there occurs this general statement: "The Easterners are called I; they let their hair loose, and tattoo their bodies."[34] On the basis of this statement, it seems to be justifiable to identify the Hsiao-t'un torso with the squatting Eastern I; however, additional evidence is needed to show that the tattooing patterns found on the torso of Hsiao-t'un were evolved from a prehistorical prototype before such identification can be confirmed. The southern origin of this particular custom is probably indisputable, as many of the aboriginal tribes south of the Yangtze River are still tattooing their bodies.

This leads us to another aspect of the culture of the Shang dynasty as a whole. How large a portion of its total content may be considered as related to the south or of southern origin? Twenty years ago, I stated in the *Preliminary Reports of Excavations at Anyang* that the shouldered celts, tin ingots, rice, elephants, and buffalo were all apparently related to the south.[35] As the matter stands now, and after twenty years of discussion and reflection, it seems proper that the case should be restated. Rice was cultivated in northern Honan as early as the Yangshao time; however, no domesticated buffalo were discovered contemporaneous with this cultivation.[36] In the Shang time, on the other hand, according to recent interpretation of some

passages in the oracle bone inscriptions, not only was there rice cultivation but the fields were actually ploughed, and the ploughs were drawn by domesticated buffalo.[37] The character for rice was identified in the oracle bone inscriptions. In this connection it might be fitting to quote the authentic opinion of the authors of "On the Mammalian Remains from the Archaeological Site of Anyang." In a note at the end of their report, they said: "The discoveries from western Honan, northern Shantung, and eastern Szechwan support the idea that in Anyang, Bubalus mephistopheles represents an old indigenous type (artificially prolonged by domestication) rather than an imported foreign form."[38] So it would seem that, although the rice cultivation may have originated in the south, it may have been improved and further developed in the Yellow River basin. The statistical study of the faunistic remains of Hsiao-t'un by C. C. Young shows that Bubalus mephistopheles is one of the three mammals that ranked highest numerically in our collection, the individual specimens exceeding 1,000 in number.[39] Yet buffalo were never used for sacrificial purposes; in the sacrificial pits, only Bos exiguus was found.

作为一种文化特色，文身曾存在于古代中国长江以南的许多土著部落中。公元前1世纪的历史学家司马迁曾记载周朝开国王叔们“观乡而顺宜”，效法浙江土著文身的风气。[40]《礼记》中也有类似叙述：“东方曰夷，被发文身。”[41]据此记载，似乎有理由认为小屯的石像为蹲踞的东夷；不过还需再找到证据证明小屯石像上文身的花纹是由史前的花纹原型演变而来，此一断语方能确立。文身之习俗源于南方，似无争辩之余地，因江南的土著至今仍有文身者。

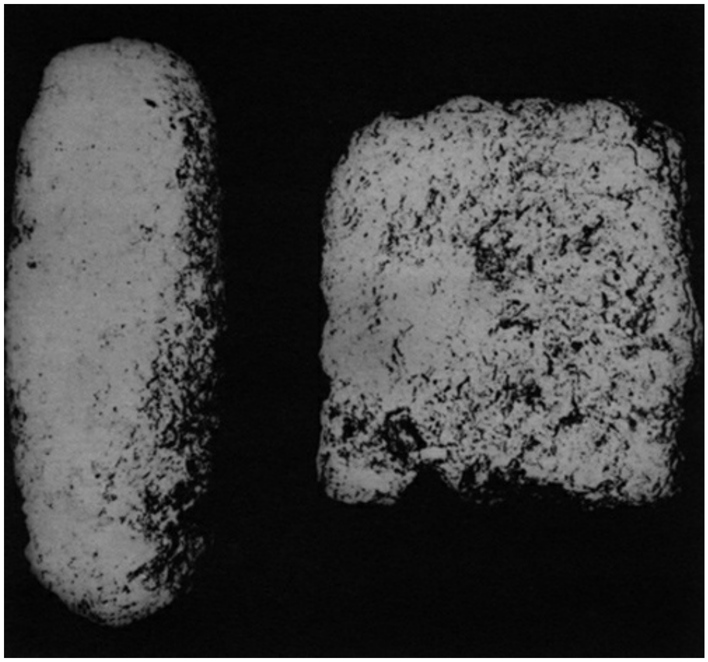
以上讨论导引我们进入商整体文化的另一个方面：商文化当中究竟有多少与南方有关，或起源于南方？二十年前，我在《安阳发掘报告》中说：有肩石斧、锡锭、米、象和水牛都明显地和南方有关。[42]照目前的情况来看，经过了二十年的讨论和辨疑之后，这一主张确有重申的必要。早在仰韶时期，在河南北部已有了稻米的耕种，但驯养的水牛却未在栽种水稻的同一时期发现过。[43]另一方面，根据最近对甲骨文某些片段的解读，商人不但已开始种植稻米，而且懂得犁地，并且拖犁的就是驯养的水牛。[44] “米”这个字在甲骨文中也确定了。在这里或适于引用《安阳殷墟之哺乳动物群》一文作者的真实观点。在文末一段注释中，作者说到：“豫西、鲁北及川东的发现，证实安阳的圣水牛代表一类古老的土生的品种（其体型通过驯养人为地被拉长），而非引进的。”[45]因此，事实可能是，虽然稻米或源于南方，但却可能在黄河流域经过一

番改良和培育。杨钟健先生对小屯动物遗骸的统计显示：圣水牛是我们发掘出土三种为数最多的哺乳类动物之一，其单体取样已逾千个。[46]但水牛从未做牺牲品用，在祭礼坑中发现的只有牛。

The problem of the tin remains the same as twenty years ago; no new data can be added (Fig. 17). It may be emphasized once more that the very fact that this mineral was stored in ingot form is an indication of its being imported from some distance. The copper was evidently smelted right at the spot of the foundry near the site of Hsiao-t'un, as malachite ore was more than once discovered. This ore was apparently brought to the foundry without any preliminary reduction. If the tin was imported, the further question is whether it was imported from the south or from some other quarter. Old gazetteers reported the production of tin in North China within the radius of a few hundred kilometers of Anyang.[47] Mining geologists are not totally prepared to accept such reports, but neither are they prepared to deny their accuracy altogether.

Elephants, like buffalo, might have been native Anyang beasts, too, at least in the Shang time. As for shouldered celts, they might have inspired certain types of bronze weapons of the Shang dynasty.

In addition to the 1933 list, one item of real significance should be added, namely the tortoises whose plastrons were used for divinatory purposes. My colleague Professor Shih Chang-ju recently argued for an independent origin of plastromancy,[48] as a contrast to the practice of scapulimancy of the Lungshan culture. Whether one agrees with him or not, the southern origin of Testudo anyangensis seems to be indisputable. If these shells were sent to the royal court as tributes from various vassal states, as abundantly proved in the oracle bone inscriptions and recently elucidated by Tung Tso-pin,[49] it is a sure proof that the Shang Empire had a large slice of territory south of the Yangtze River, over which it might have exercised some political control.



(17) Tin ingots from Hsiao-t'un 小屯出土的锡锭

To sum up: my thesis is that the culture of the Shang dynasty is a very composite affair and represents a fusion of many cultural streams. The fundamental stratum upon which the Shang culture was built is rooted deep in the prehistorical past; the development of the rice culture and the whole complex attached to it illustrates the fact that the economic basis of the Shang Empire is typically Eastern Asiatic and developed in *situ*, as shown by the various eminent workers in the field, such as Andersson, Teilhard de Chardin, and Young, and reaffirmed by the oracle bone inscriptions.

关于锡的问题仍和二十年前一样，并未发现新的资料（图17）。我们现在可以再予强调的是，此金属以锭的形式存在意味着系由外地运来。但是显然铜在小屯附近冶炼，因孔雀石之发现屡见不鲜。此种矿石显然未经预加工便运至铸造地。既然锡系外来，那么进一步的问题是：它是由南方运来，还是由其他地方运来的呢？旧方志记载，在华北地区，安阳方圆数百公里之内有锡矿存在。[50]采矿地质学者未完全认可此种说法，亦未全予否认。

象和水牛一样，可能也是安阳土生动物之一，至少在商朝是如此。至于有肩石斧，则可能启发了商代某些类青铜武器的形制。

除了1933年论文中所论及的物品外，另有一件物品具有真正重要的意义，即占卜所用的龟甲。我的同事石璋如教授最近以为，不同于龙山文化的牛肩胛骨，龟甲有其独自的来源。[51]不管同意或不同意他的说

法，安阳土龟之来自南方似已无可辩驳。如果正如大量甲骨文所证，如董作宾先生最近所言，[52]这些甲壳是由各诸侯国贡献给殷王室的，那么，这确实可以证明殷王朝在长江南岸有一大片可以实施政治控制的领地。

总结来说，我以为商的文化是一个多方面的综合体，代表了多种文化源流的交融。殷文化之基础深植于史前时期；稻米文化的发展及附着于此的文化综合体，说明了殷商帝国之经济基础是典型东亚型的，并且是在原地发展起来的。此一事实为许多卓越的田野工作者指出，如安特生、德日进及杨钟健等，又由甲骨文再次证实。

The ruling house of the Shang dynasty had a passion for big game; in the royal park at Hsiao-t'un, the collection certainly included tigers, elephants, monkeys, many species of deer, foxes, wolves, wild boars, and such rare animals as *Budorcas taxicolor lichii*. Their hunting territory must have covered a very large region including large tracts of heavily forested region and extending to places like eastern Mongolia and southern Manchuria. From these quarters, and also from the eastern seaboard, the ancestors of the Shang dynasty acquired some vague knowledge of foreign countries. The Shang people might have been the earliest Chinese to make extensive use of chariots both for hunting and for war purposes, although it was as yet impossible to prove that the Shang people were the first to introduce metals. But it is beyond any doubt that they improved the art and craft of the bronze-casting industry enormously; and the chief use they made of the alloy was to cast ceremonial vessels which were never equaled in any other parts of the world.

The basic problem concerning the genesis of the Shang culture has to do with the still undiscovered pre-Shang phases of the evolution of the Chinese scripts. In this connection, it must be remembered that, so far, only a very small area of North China has been properly investigated; if other key areas could be studied as thoroughly as the valley of the Huan River, it would certainly be only a matter of time until such fundamental problems would be solved.

商王室酷爱猎狩大型猎物。小屯王家苑林中显然有虎、象、猴、各类的鹿、犴、狼、野猪以及诸如“李济氏扭角羚”类的稀有动物。他们的狩猎范围定然十分宽广，远及蒙古东部、东北南部，并且有大片密林。从这些地区和东部沿海一带，商人的祖先得到了一些关于外国的模糊知识。商人也许是最早在狩猎和战争中广泛利用战车的中国人，虽尚无法

确定他们是否最早利用金属。不过他们极大地改进了青铜器铸造工艺和艺术，这一点无可置疑。商人应用青铜合金主要是为了制造礼器，此种礼器在世界各地罕有与其匹敌者。

商文化发生之基本问题，与至今仍未明了的前商时代中国文字的演变有密切的关系。在这方面，我们必须记住，截至目前为止，华北仅有小块地区得到了适当的调察。如果别的重要地区也像洹水流域一样得以系统的彻底研究，那么获致这一基本问题之最后答案，只不过是时间早晚而已。

万家保 译

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[1] In the fifth year of Yin Kung of Lu (Duke Yin), Confucius noted the following event in Ch'un Ch'iu: "The duke reviewed a display of the fishermen at T'ang" (Ch'un Ts'ew, translated by James Legge in the Chinese Classics series, V, Part l [London, 1872], 19). In his translation of this entry, Legge followed the standard interpretation. The original meaning of this version has recently been discussed by Mr. Ch'en P'an, Research Fellow of the National Research Institute of History and Philology; Fu Ssu-nien, Director of the Institute at the time, wrote a lengthy supplementary note to this paper and advanced the interesting theory that the Chinese character wu 物, used in this connection and in many other ancient texts, really had the meaning that the term "totem" has in modern ethnology. Fu's paper has been republished in the Collected Papers of Fu Meng-chen (in Chinese), IV (Taipei, 1952), pp.236-240.

[2] 孔子在《春秋》中记载：鲁隐公五年，“公观鱼于棠”。（原文此处引用李雅各英译《中国经典》第5册，第1部［伦敦，1872］，19页。）李雅各在翻译该句时遵循的是标准的理解方式。史语所研究员陈槃先生最近曾讨论这句话的原意；史语所前所长傅斯年在陈氏的文后，写了一篇很长的跋，提出了一个非常有趣的理论，他认为“物”字在此处和其他若干古代典籍中确有现代民族学中“图腾”的意义。傅氏的文章收集在《傅孟真先生集》（中文）的第4卷（台北，1952），236～240页。

[3] Li Chi, "Diverse Background of the Decorative Art of the Shang Dynasty," Proceedings of the Eighth Pacific Science Congress, I (Quezon City, Philippines, 1955), p.181.

[4] J. G. Andersson, "Researches into the Prehistory of the Chinese," Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Stockholm), No. 15 (1943), pp. 42-43.

[5] a. Canis familiaris L. Pseudaxis cf. hartulorum
b. Lepus sp. Elaphurus menziesanus Sowerby
c. Sus sp. Ovis changi Teilhard and Young
d. Equus sp. Bos exiguus
e. Hydropotes
Compare for stratigraphical details the Chinese original in the same report, p. 91. See also Ch'eng-tzu-yai: The Black Pottery Culture Site at Lung-shan-chen in Li-ch'eng-hsien, Shantung Province, edited by Li Chi et al., a translation by Kenneth Starr of Archaeologia Sinica, No. 1 (1934) (Yale Publications in Anthropology, 52 [New Haven, 1956]).

[6] 李济：《殷代装饰艺术的诸种背景》，载《第八届太平洋学术会议会志》，第1卷（菲律宾奎松市，1955），181页。（原论文题目为"Diverse Background of the Decorative Art of the Yin Dynasty"。——编者注）

[7] 安特生：《中国史前研究》，载《远东古物博物馆通报》，第15期（斯德哥尔摩，1943），42～43页。

[8] 梁思永在《城子崖》（南京，1934）一书第11页的英文摘要中附有地下动物的细目：
a. Canis familiaris L. Pseudaxis cf. hartulorum

b. Lepus sp. Elaphurus menziesanus Sowerby
c. Sus sp. Ovis changi Teilhard and Young
d. Equus sp. Bos exiguus
e. Hydropotes
可对照参看该报告91页上的中文原文有关地层学的细节。另参看李济等编：《城子崖：山东省历城县龙山镇的黑陶文化遗址》（《中国考古报告集之一·城子崖》，1934），肯尼斯·斯塔尔译，耶鲁人类学丛书之五十二（纽黑文，1956）。

[9] P. Teilhard de Chardin and C. C. Young, "On the Mammalian Remains from the Archaeological Site of Anyang," Palaeontologia Sinica, Ser. C, Vol. VII, Fasc. 1 (1936).

[10] C. C. Young and T. S. Liu, "Further Notes on the Mammalian Remains of Yin-hsü, Anyang," Chinese Journal of Archaeology (in Chinese), IV (1949), pp.145-152.

[11] 德日进、杨钟健：《安阳殷墟之哺乳动物群》，载《古生物志》，丙种，第七卷，第一册（1936）。

[12] 杨钟健、刘东生：《安阳殷墟之哺乳动物群补遗》，载《中国考古学报》（中文），第4册（1949），145～152页。

[13] Tung Tso-pin, "On the Inscribed Plastron (No. 2908) Recording King Wu-ting's Hunting Expedition to 'Ch'iu’," Continental Magazine (in Chinese), Vol. VIII, No. 12 (June, 1954).

[14] Ibid., p. 14.

[15] 董作宾：《武丁狩[illegible]浅说》，载《大陆杂志》（中文），第8卷，第12期（1954年6月）。（一说发表于1954年8月。——编者注）

[16] 同上，14页。

[17] The late Mr. Liang Ssu-yung, in his copious field notes on the Hou-chia-chuang excavations, mentioned positive evidences proving that inside the wooden chambers that housed the coffins in all the big tombs within this cemetery area there were elaborately carved and painted decorations.

[18] Jung Keng, Photographic Reproductions of the Rubbings of the Tomb Figures of Wu Liang Tz'u (in Chinese), published by the Yenching Archaeological Society, Monograph 3 (1934). See also Édouard Chavannes, La Sculpture sur pierre en Chine au temps des deux dynasties Han (Paris, 1893), Pl. XXIV.

[19] Henri Frankfort, The Birth of Civilization in the Near East (London, 1951), p. 102; Pls. X, 16, and XXI, 41.

[20] 已故梁思永先生在记载侯家庄田野工作的大量笔记里，提出确实的证据，证明墓葬区大墓所有置放棺材的木椁里都有精致的雕刻与绘画纹饰。

[21] 容庚：《汉武梁祠画像录》（中文），燕京考古学社，专论三（1934）。另参看沙畹：《两汉时期中国的石刻》（巴黎，1893），图版24。

[22] 亨利·法兰克福：《近东文明的诞生》（伦敦，1951），102页，图版10之16和图版21之41。

[23] Ibid., Pl. XIII, 23, 24; p. 102.

[24] 同上，图版13之23，24；102页。

[25] V. Gordon Childe, New Light on the Most Ancient East (New York, 1952), pp. 132 ff. and Fig. 65.

[26] 柴尔德：《古代东方之新曙光》（纽约，1952），132页以后及插图65。

[27] Franz Boas, Primitive Art (Oslo, 1927), pp. 223 ff.

[28] Ibid., p. 239.

[29] Li Chi, "Studies of Hsiao-t'un Bronzes, Part I," Chinese Journal of Archaeology (in Chinese), III (1948), p.69.

[30] 弗朗兹·博厄斯：《原始的艺术》（奥斯陆，1927），233页以后。

[31] 同上，239页。

[32] 李济：《记小屯出土之青铜器（上篇）》，载《中国考古学报》（中文），第三册（1948），69页。

[33] Édouard Chavannes, Les Mémoires historiques de Se-Ma-Ts'ien (Paris, 1895-1905), IV, chap.

xxxi, "Tai-po de Ou," p.2.
[34] Li Chi, chap. "Wang Chih," Thirteen Classics edition, XII, 12 (translated by James Legge, The Sacred Books of China, Part III, p. 229, in the Sacred Books of the East series, edited by F. Max Müller, Vol. XXVII [Oxford, 1885]).
[35] Li Chi, Preliminary Reports of Excavations at Anyang (in Chinese), Part IV (1933), p. 576.
[36] Andersson, "Researches into the Prehistory of the Chinese," pp. 43-44.
[37] Hu Hou-hsüan, "Agricultural Records of the Yin Dynasty from the Oracle Bone Inscriptions" (in Chinese), Chia Ku Hsüeh Shang Shih Lun Ts'ung, II (1945), p.81.
[38] See note 5.
[39] See note 5; see also Shih Chang-ju, "On the Animal Remains from the Tombs of the Yin Dynasty at Hsiao-t'un, Anyang," Bulletin of the College of Arts (in Chinese), published by the National Taiwan University, No. 5 (1954).
[40] 沙畹：《司马迁的史记》（巴黎，1895～1905），第4册，第31章《吴泰伯》，2页。
[41] 《礼记·王制篇》，十三经版，第12册，第12卷（李雅各所译的《中国经典》系列第3集，229页。收入麦克斯·缪勒编：《东方圣书》，第27卷，牛津，1885）。
[42] 李济：《安阳发掘报告》（中文），第四期（1933），576页。
[43] 安特生:《中国史前研究》，43～44页。
[44] 胡厚宣：《卜辞中所见之殷代农业》，载《甲骨学商史论丛二集》（1945），81页。
[45] 见注释5。
[46] 见注释5；另参看石璋如：《河南安阳小屯殷墓中的动物遗骸》，载《台大文史哲学报》（中文），第五期（1954）。
[47] Motonosuke Amano, "Mining and Agriculture in the Yin Dynasty," Tôhô Gakuhô (Journal of Oriental Studies) (Kyoto), No. 23 (1953), p. 236.
[48] Oral communications.
[49] See also M. N. Pien, "On the Turtle Remains from the Archaeological Site of Anyang, Honan," Bulletin of the Geological Society of China, XVII, No. 1 (1937), pp.121-133.
[50] 天野元之助：《殷代产业に关ちゐ若干の问题》，载《东方学报》（京都），第23期（1953），236页。
[51] 石璋如先生之口述。
[52] 另参看卞美年：《河南安阳遗龟》，载《中国地质学会志》，第十七卷，第一期（1937），121～133页。

III The Bronze Age of China

The bronze age of China, as far as present knowledge goes, ranges from the middle of the second millennium B.C. to the middle of the first millennium B.C. Actually, of course, it lasted much more than one thousand years. But it is difficult to fix a definite date either for its beginning or for its end. In the past, students of Chinese bronzes were so completely charmed and dazzled by the splendor of the ritual vessels that they scarcely found any chance to ponder upon the possibility of a humbler history for these antiquities. But like every other craft and institution, the bronze industry of China never was a gift from heaven; it emerged gradually and developed step by step. At least, modern archaeology is proving this to be the case.

Stratigraphy

The most reliable set of data available for a scientific study of this problem is no doubt the collection of bronzes from the Anyang excavations. Of the various localities which were excavated in Anyang, two are the most important. They are the dwelling site of Hsiao-t'un and the cemetery site of Hou-chia-chuang. While it was from the dwelling site that practically all the written records on oracle bones were recovered,[1] it was from the tombs that the significant collections of bronzes were made. During the Shang dynasty, the northwestern part of Hou-chia-chuang was used exclusively as a burial ground. In Hsiao-t'un, burials of a sacrificial type were also discovered; although not comparable in magnitude with the Hou-chia-chuang big tombs, they were evidently contemporaneous with them. From these burials, a number of important bronzes were also recovered. So the great majority of the bronzes from Hsiao-t'un and Hou-chia-chuang are tomb furniture, buried together with one or a number of persons. Only occasionally was a hoard of bronzes discovered in a storage pit. Such hoards constitute only a small fraction of the total collection; specimens from the storage pits are not only limited in number but are also limited in typology.

For a long while, the exact relation of the tomb bronzes to the inscribed

oracle bones, uncovered mainly from the cultural stratum of the Shang dynasty, at Hsiao-t'un, remained an enigma to the fieldworkers in Anyang. In fact, although more than a thousand tombs in Hou-chia-chuang and Hsiao-t'un were opened by the Anyang excavation party, none of them contained any inscribed oracle bones; a few inscribed bronzes discovered in the tombs, which seemed helpful for identification purposes, are again too meager for detailed investigation, as none of these inscriptions contains more than ten characters.[2] Thus the inscribed oracle bones and the beautiful big bronze vessels, in the opinion of the field archaeologists at Anyang, were only indirectly and partially associated.

叁 中国的青铜时代

以目前所获的知识而言，中国的青铜时代约当公元前1500年至公元前500年之间。实际上青铜时代当然持续了远不止一千年，可是要确定它究竟起于何时、止于何时，是颇为困难的。以往研究中国青铜器的学者们完全迷醉于这些礼器的华丽，无暇去思考这些古物可能有着相对朴实的历史。但是中国的青铜业，如同任何的工艺及制度一样，不是天赐的；它是逐渐地生长起来，又一步一步发展下去的。至少现代的考古学证明正是如此。

地层

这一问题的科学研究所能依据的最可靠材料，无疑是安阳发掘出土的一批青铜器。在安阳很多被发掘的区域里，其中两个地区最关重要。其一是小屯的居住区，另一处是侯家庄的墓葬区；全部有字的甲骨都自居住区出土，[3]而主要的青铜器则出自墓葬区。在商代，侯家庄西北部几乎全被作为墓地之用。在小屯亦间有发现具随葬物的墓穴，虽然在规模上不能与侯家庄大墓相比较，但二者显然是处于同一时期的。从这些墓葬中也发现了许多重要的青铜器。所以小屯及侯家庄出土的大部分青铜器都是随葬品，随一个或多个死者埋在墓里。仅仅偶然间可在地窖中发现青铜器，此类青铜器为数既少，形制亦不多。

很长的一段时间，随葬青铜器和小屯殷商文化层出土的有字甲骨这二者之间的确切关系究竟如何，使安阳发掘的工作者感到迷惘。安阳发掘团曾掘开一千多座小屯和侯家庄的墓，但其中从未发现有字甲骨。仅有的几件带铭文的青铜器，看上去有供鉴定用的价值，但是文字多者不超过十个字，也无法作详细的研究。[4]所以，对安阳的考古家来说，有字的甲骨和优美硕大的青铜器间只有间接的、部分的关联。

This partial association was determined by a careful study of the content of one storage pit, E16, discovered at Hsiao-t'un in the fourth season of the Anyang expedition (1931).[5] In this pit a large number of inscribed scapulae as well as plastrons, in addition to a small hoard of well-preserved bronze tools and weapons, were found together. As weapons and tools similar in type to this hoard were also found among the burial goods of Hsiao-t'un and

Hou-chia-chuang, E16 has served as a strong connecting link which definitely proves the contemporaneity of the bronze with the oracle bone records.

This link, however, connects these two cultural traits in only a general way; it supplies no details as to how closely the different stages of bronze development are related to the various periods of oracle bone inscriptions. It is fairly obvious that the industry of bronze foundry underwent a process of evolution during the time that the Shang dynasty had its capital at Hsiao-t'un. But by what criteria besides typology are these substages to be divided?

The answer to this question depends much, of course, upon our knowledge of the underground condition of the occupation site at Hsiao-t'un. The earliest settlers in this place were the prehistoric Black Pottery people, who lived in huts partly underground; besides pottery, they manufactured bone and stone implements, but they possessed no knowledge of bronze or copper. This cultural stratum at Hsiao-t'un was first worked out by the Anyang excavation party; they discovered further that on and directly above this cultural stratum were the deposits of the metal-using Shang people.[6] This observation, however, is susceptible to two interpretations. It may be asked: Are the immediate successors of the Black Pottery culture at Hsiao-t'un the dynastic Shang people or their forerunners?

The establishment of Yin (namely, the locality at Hsiao-t'un) as the capital of the Shang Empire in the time of P'an Keng is an important historical event long familiar to students of antiquity and Chinese history; traditional chronology attributed its occurrence to the fifteenth year of P'an Keng's reign, which was approximately 1384 B.C.[7] Modern archaeology is naturally concerned with the problem of whether Hsiao-t'un was a deserted village or a populous city when P'an Keng cast his eye on that place and made the momentous decision to establish there the royal seat of administration. Hsiao-t'un continued as the capital city until the end of the Shang dynasty—a period of 273 years, about seven years longer than the total reign of the Manchus.

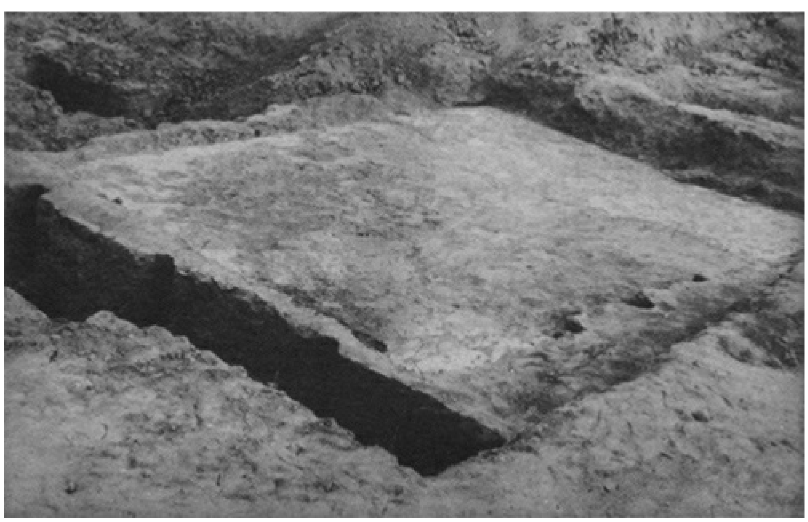
这种部分的关联乃是在仔细研究1931年安阳第四次发掘中所见E16灰坑中的掩埋物后而确定的。[8]在这灰坑里，有很多带字的牛胛骨、龟版和少量保存良好的青铜工具及武器。由于小屯及侯家庄墓葬中也发现了与此形制相似的武器和工具，因而E16灰坑成了一个证明青铜器与甲骨记录同期的有力环节。

然而，这个环节仅仅是大体上联结了这两组文化特征，并不能详细说明青铜文明发展的各阶段与甲骨文各时期有多么密切的关系。很明显的，青铜铸造业在商朝奠都小屯之后曾经历一番演变过程。但除了类型之外，还能根据哪些标准来把这些阶段细分出来呢？

这一问题的答案大部分当然要靠我们对小屯居住区地下情形的了解来解决。那里最早的居民是史前的黑陶文化居民。他们的茅舍一半在地面以下；他们除了制陶器以外，也曾做骨质和石质的用具，但是却未掌握任何青铜和铜的知识。这一小屯文化层首先由安阳发掘团发现。他们进一步发现此文化层和紧接其上的文化层的是应用青铜器的商文化层。[9]这一现象可有两种解释，人们要问：小屯的黑陶文化紧接的后继者是殷人，还是殷人的先辈呢？

在盘庚时期商王朝奠都于殷（小屯区域），这一重要历史事件早为古物学者及中国历史学者所熟稔。传统的历书以为其发生于盘庚统治的第十五年，约相当公元前1384年。[10]现代考古学关心的自然是，当盘庚放眼于这片土地并决定以其作为王朝统治中心时，到底小屯是一个荒废的村落呢，还是一个人烟稠密的都市。其后小屯一直是商代首都，直到其衰亡——前后历时273年，比清代的统治时期尚多七年。

It has been assumed, on a very substantial basis, that P'an Keng's new era coincided with a series of novel architectural activities (Fig. 18·1, Fig. 18·2), which left abundant traces among the ruins of Yin-hsü. The new method of building introduced in this new era was the adoption of pisé, which the field archaeologists in Anyang call *hang-t'u*. It is a method that is still extensively employed in all parts of China, wherever the clay is of a kind that can be stamped.



(18·1) Building foundations of stamped earth, discovered at Hsiao-t'un: earth floor of a Shang dynasty house 小屯夯土建筑基址之商朝房屋的地板

(18·2) Building foundations of stamped earth, discovered at Hsiao-t'un: side view of the structure of the stamped earth, 20 layers in succession 小屯夯土建筑基址之夯土层次的侧视图，共计二十层

The underground deposit of Hsiao-t'un, when uncovered, exhibited extensive foundations built of pisé; around these foundations were located many sacrificial pits, in which were buried both human and animal victims, accompanied in a number of cases by bronzes, pottery, and articles of bone and jade. Underneath the pisé foundations were found many subterranean pits and caches and sometimes even the remains of dwelling floors, which were undoubtedly earlier than the overlying stratum built of *hang-t'u*. The artifacts excavated from the various pits in the substrata often show no appreciable difference from authentic Shang finds but are decidedly different when compared with the premetallic remains of the Black Pottery period.

我们有充分理由假定，在盘庚统治时期，曾有一系列新奇的建筑活动相伴而来（图18·1，图18·2）。这种建筑活动在殷墟留下了大量的痕迹。此时期新引入的建筑方法采用了捣实黏土，安阳考古家们称之为夯土。这种建筑方法如今仍为中国全境普遍施用，只须该地的黄土为适于锤培者。

当小屯的地下遗址被发掘时，遗址显露了散布甚广的夯筑基础，在此种基础周围遍布着许多祭祀坑，坑穴里面埋葬着殉葬的人和动物，常伴有青铜器、陶器、骨器及玉器等。在夯筑基础的下方，更发现许多地下的穴窖，有时还残留着一些居所的地面，这些无疑都比在上面的夯土层为早。在这较深的文化层坑穴中所发现的器物，往往与商朝的器物并

无显著区别，但是与黑陶时期的前金属期遗存比较，则其不同甚为明显。

Thus, in many respects, the transition from the predynastic Shang period to the dynastic Shang period at Hsiao-t'un happened without any concurrent changes of the material culture. The question is further complicated by the fact that the *hang-t'u* remains were built in several different periods, so it frequently happened that early dynastic Shang pits might be overlaid by late dynastic Shang *hang-t'u* buildings. It is not my purpose here to disentangle these intricate relations between the pre-Shang and dynastic Shang underground conditions. Suffice it to say that differences actually existed and have been found. Professor Shih Chang-ju, field director of the last three seasons of Academia Sinica's archaeological expedition to Anyang, says:

The normal stratification under the surface soil of Hsiao-t'un is composed of subterranean pits, caches, or houses as the lower layer, overlaid by a stratum of *hang-t'u* foundations. There are many instances of this type; they are quite extensively distributed under the surface soil of the Hsiao-t'un site.[11]

As to the time interval that separates the two strata, Shih is of the opinion that it is, as yet, not ascertainable. Shih is also of the opinion that, before this place was chosen as the capital city, it must have been already occupied by the pioneers of the Shang settlers for a considerable length of time. The culture of the dynastic period is profusely represented by abundant archaeological remains; in addition to many magnificent bronzes, whose date we shall discuss at length, there are the oracle bones, the chariots, wooden chamber burials, and many pieces of stone, jade, bone, and ivory carvings, and so forth. Most of these can be dated on a fairly accurate basis and assigned to the period from the reign of P'an Keng to the downfall of the Shang dynasty.

But the cultural remains do not seem to terminate at the same time as the fall of the Shang. What followed the Chou conquest of this ancient capital has also for a long time been a matter of speculation. According to available historical accounts, the capital must have been thoroughly sacked by the Chou soldiers after the last king of the Shang dynasty, King Chou, burned his palace and his own body.[12] Ssu-ma Ch'ien put it on record that when Chi Tzŭ, the elder brother of King Chou, who surrendered and received a title from the new dynasty, revisited the old capital some years after the conquest,

he found only beautiful crops of wheat or millet growing all over the ruins of the destroyed palaces and ancestral temples.[13]

Archaeological excavations carried on both at Hou-chia-chuang and Hsiao-t'un have brought to light post-Shang burials as well as evidences of post-Shang occupation, although to a greatly reduced extent. It is clear at any rate that Hsiao-t'un was abandoned gradually and converted to agricultural land only a part at a time.

如此看来，在很多方面，从前商迄于商代，小屯的物质文化方面并无任何相应的变更。而使得问题更为复杂的是：夯土的遗存是在不同时期形成的，所以商代早期的坑穴可能在晚期夯土建筑覆盖之下。而今我的目的不在清理前商与商代二者之间埋藏状况的复杂关系，只是说明差异的存在而且已为人发现就足够了。中央研究院最后三次田野考古发掘的主持人石璋如教授曾说：

小屯地面土层下的典型地层是，由地下的覆穴、窦窖、居室组成了较低的一层，这一层的上面是夯土基础层。这一类型的地层甚为普遍，其在小屯的地下分布也很广泛。[14]

这两地层相距的时间，据石氏称仍未能确定。石氏认为小屯在成为商的首都之前，早已为商的前驱者占据了相当长的一段时间。此王朝时期的文化，通过大量考古学遗迹充分表现出来：除了许多华美的青铜器（青铜器的年代我们将会详加讨论）以外，还有甲骨、车马器、木椁以及石器、玉器、骨器及象牙雕刻等等。这些器物多数可相当精确地判定为属于盘庚到商代覆没时期。

但是此文化的遗迹似乎并不随商代的衰亡而同时终止。周人占领了这一古都之后的情形如何，长期以来不甚了然。根据历史记载，继商的最后一个君主纣放火烧了皇宫并自焚以后，这个城市被周兵洗劫一空。[15]《史记》记载说，那一位降周并受封的纣王之兄箕子[16]，亡国数年后曾重临旧都，但见禾黍绿油油地生长在宫殿和宗庙的废墟上。[17]

侯家庄和小屯的考古发掘，虽然也曾出土商以后的墓葬和居住的遗迹，然而数量锐减。很显然小屯逐渐被遗弃、变成农田。

Thus there have been discovered enough criteria by means of which the archaeological remains of Hsiao-t'un may be divided into four substages: (1) the premetallic substage of the Black Pottery culture; (2) the predynastic substage of the Shang culture; (3) the dynastic Shang culture; and (4) the post-Shang substage. The lines of division that mark the various substages are in most cases stratigraphically definite and chronologically under control.

They may be arranged in tabular form as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Cultural Stages of Hsiao-T'un Remains

Periods	Cultural Characteristics	Stratifications	Dating
Premetallic	Black Pottery	Bottom layer(on the virgin soil)	Late Neolithic
Predynastic Shang	Early Bronze	Above Black Pottery, below *hang-t'u*	Up to about 1384 B.C.
Dynastic Shang	Middle Bronze I	*Hang-t'u* period	ca. 1384-1111 B.C.
Post-Shang	Middle Bronze II	Post-*hang-t'u*	1111 B.C.

The major portion of the bronze collection made at Hou-chia-chuang and Hsiao-t'un belongs to the *hang-t'u* period (Hsiao-t'un 3); some pieces are assignable to Hsiao-t'un 2. A few pieces may be as late as Hsiao-t'un 4. Those which follow Hsiao-t'un 4 were the finds of the Western Chou dynasty and their sequels.

Analyses

Eight samples of Hsiao-t'un bronzes were analyzed in 1947 by the National Research Institute of Chemistry at the request of the Archaeological Section; the results are arranged in Table 2.

Table 2 Chemical Analyses of Bronze Specimens Excavated from Hsiao-t'un

Sample Number	Type of Specimen	Sn	Pb	Cu	Fe	Zn	Ni	Total (%)
3.	Arrow-head	1.83	1.85	96.06	0.03	no trace	not determined	99.77
6.	Knife handle	3.67	1.03	94.65	0.05	no trace	not determined	99.40
1.	*Ko* blade	4.01	2.59	88.98	0.13	no trace	not determined	95.71
2.	Upright vessel	13.07	0.83	83.73	0.04	no trace	not determined	97.67
4.	Décor piece	16.27	0.22	80.25	0.12	no trace	not determined	96.86
8.	Décor piece	16.78	0.06	82.99	0.05	no trace	not determined	99.88
7.	Edge of vessel	17.65	0.09	81.74	0.06	no trace	not determined	99.54
5.	Vessel piece	20.32	0.05	79.12	0.04	no trace	not determined	99.53

由此，我们已经具备足够的标准，将小屯的考古遗物分为四个阶段：（1）前金属期的黑陶文化时期；（2）前商文化时期；（3）商代文化时期；（4）后商文化时期。上述各时期的分划大体都有明显的地层根据，年代亦多确定，可由表1显示。

表1 小屯遗址的文化层

时期	文化特征	地层	年代测定

前金属	黑陶	底土（在生土之上）	新石器晚期
前商	青铜早期	黑陶之上，夯土之下	约至公元前1384年
商代	青铜中期Ⅰ	夯土期	约公元前1384年～公元前1111年
后商	青铜中期Ⅱ	后夯土期	公元前1111年

侯家庄及小屯出土的大部分青铜器属夯土期（小屯三期），有些可归于小屯二期。少数可晚至小屯四期。晚于小屯四期的属西周或更晚时期。

分析

中央研究院化学所在1947年曾应考古组之请分析了八件青铜标本的成分，其结果详见表2。

表2 小屯出土青铜器标本之化学分析

样品号码	样品类型	锡	铅	铜	铁	锌	镍	总计（%）
3.	箭头	1.83	1.85	96.06	0.03	无	未确定	99.77
6.	刀柄	3.67	1.03	94.65	0.05	无	未确定	99.40
1.	戈身	4.01	2.59	88.98	0.13	无	未确定	95.71
2.	竖直容器	13.07	0.83	83.73	0.04	无	未确定	97.67
4.	花纹片	16.27	0.22	80.25	0.12	无	未确定	96.86
8.	花纹片	16.78	0.06	82.99	0.05	无	未确定	99.88
7.	容器边缘	17.65	0.09	81.74	0.06	无	未确定	99.54
5.	容器片	20.32	0.05	79.12	0.04	无	未确定	99.53

The detailed percentages of the component minerals shown in Table 2 may be roughly divided into three groups: specimens 3 and 6, each with more than 90 per cent of the element copper, form one group; specimen 1, with a relatively large proportion of lead, forms a group by itself; then the remaining five specimens, each containing more than 10 per cent of the element tin, form the third group. The last group is comprised entirely of vessels of the ceremonial type, while groups 1 and 2 are specimens of tools and weapons. I have in my possession a series of analyses of the *ko* halbert of different periods; Table 3 shows the results of the various analyses. It is revealing to compare the chemical compositions of the *ko* halberts of the various periods. The increasing proportions of the tin and the lead elements in the later periods serve to indicate some significant change in the supply of these two minerals. In the Chou dynasty tremendous new activities might have prevailed in the search for new sources of these minerals, and, as a result,

their supply might have been much more abundant to the people of northern Honan. The copper supply seems never to have worried the Bronze Age people of this area since the Shang dynasty. Old gazetteers recorded many copper mines in this region; a recent compilation of these records[18] shows that, within a radius of 300 kilometers of Anyang, no fewer than nineteen copper mines were mentioned. The one at Yuan-chü, less than 300 kilometers from the ancient remains of the Shang capital, was still a great center for money coinage in the Northern Sung dynasty. The mineral specimens from this district, collected in 1948, were on exhibition in the Geological Survey in Nanking.

由表2详示各种金属在合金中所占百分比，这八件样品可大体分为三组：样品3和6的铜含量皆在90%以上，归为一组；样品1含铅较多，自成一组；其他的五件样品，含锡量皆在10%以上，构成第三组。第三组全部为礼器，一、二两组为工具和武器。我手边另有几项不同时期戈的分析，表3是这些分析得出的结果。我们可以比较不同时期戈的化学组成，得到一些启示。后期锡和铅两种成分的增加表明此时这两种矿物质的供给发生了重要变化。周朝可能大举进行过寻找这些矿物质的新来源的活动，结果使得河南北部的人们有了更充足的供给。自商代以来，此地青铜器时期的人们似从不忧虑铜的供给。旧的地方志记录了此地有许多铜矿，新近关于这些记录的一个汇编[19]显示，在安阳方圆三百公里的范围内，至少有十九处铜矿存在。离殷墟不到三百公里一处称为垣曲的地方，截至北宋时仍然是一处大型铸币中心。1948年在垣曲采集的铜矿石标本曾在南京地质调查所展出。

Table 3 Chemical Analyses of Five Ko Specimens from Three Localities: Anyang, Chün Hsien, and Chi Hsien

Sample Number #	Localities	Sn	Pb	Cu	Fe	Zn	Ni	Total (%)
HT. 1	E16 (1634)	4.01	2.59	88.98	0.13	no trace	not determined	95.71
HTs. 3	M28.8	13.61	0.78	82.72	0.05	0.10	not determined	97.26
HTs. 4	M29.8	10.75	0.10	87.44	0.10	0.09	not determined	98.48
HTs. 5	M19.2	12.10	12.41	73.38	0.11	0.07	not determined	98.07
SPT. 7	73	17.61	13.55	66.27	0.22	0.13	0.11	97.89

HT. 1: Shang dynasty; HTs. 3, 4, 5: Western Chou dynasty; SPT. 7: Eastern Chou dynasty.

Such data as the above fit into the historical conditions of the Shang dynasty very well; otherwise, it would be difficult to explain the intense

activity and the great output of the bronze products of this period. But the low proportions of the tin and lead found in the making of the *ko* halbert during the Shang dynasty cannot be satisfactorily explained by merely resorting to the interpretation that the supply of these raw materials was limited; as a matter of fact, these two minerals were quite generously provided in the casting of ceremonial vessels (see Table 2).

Moreover, the *ko* halbert is not the only type of specimen whose composition shows a low percentage of tin. The arrowhead and the knife handle, as analyzed in the above table, also contained a low proportion of this mineral. Thus it seems that, as early as the Shang time, there was already a distinct correlation between the type of product and the relative proportion of different minerals that entered into the composition of the alloy. On the basis of such distinctions found among the compositions of the alloys of different bronze articles, it is even justifiable to indulge to a certain extent in some speculation as to whether some of the products might have appeared earlier than others.

Evidence is not lacking to indicate that bronze knives dug out from pits underlying the pisé foundation might have been manufactured in an earlier period. The one mentioned in my article of 1948 (see note 12) is a case that illustrates the point. The pit in which this knife was found is YH379 and is located in the excavation unit C333. Directly above this pit was the *hang-t'u* stratum gamma 16. The convex-edged knife (Fig. 19·2) is unique among the Hsiao-t'un finds and does not seem to have reappeared in the *hang-t'u* period.

表3 安阳、浚县和汲县出土五件青铜戈的化学分析

样品号码#	出土地	锡	铅	铜	铁	锌	镍	总计（%）
HT.1	E16 (1634)	4.01	2.59	88.98	0.13	无	未确定	95.71
HTs.3	M28.8	13.61	0.78	82.72	0.05	0.10	未确定	97.26
HTs.4	M29.8	10.75	0.10	87.44	0.10	0.09	未确定	98.48
HTs.5	M19.2	12.10	12.41	73.38	0.11	0.07	未确定	98.07
SPT.7	73	17.61	13.55	66.27	0.22	0.13	0.11	97.89

HT. 1：商朝；HTs.3，4，5：西周；SPT.7：东周。

以上的数据和商代历史环境甚为相符，否则就难以解释商代青铜器生产之繁荣及产品之丰富。但如果将商代青铜戈中铅与锡的低含量完全归因于铅与锡之供应量不足，这种解释并不能令人满意；事实上以礼器铸造来说，这两种金属的用量并不算少。（参见表2）

并且，戈并非仅有的低锡含量标本类型。如上表所示，箭头和刀柄的锡含量亦颇低。因此，似乎早在商代，物品的类型与其合金中所含矿物的成分比例之间已有明确之相互关系。根据青铜器物所用合金成分的不同，在一定范围内我们甚至可以推断器物出现的相对的早晚关系。

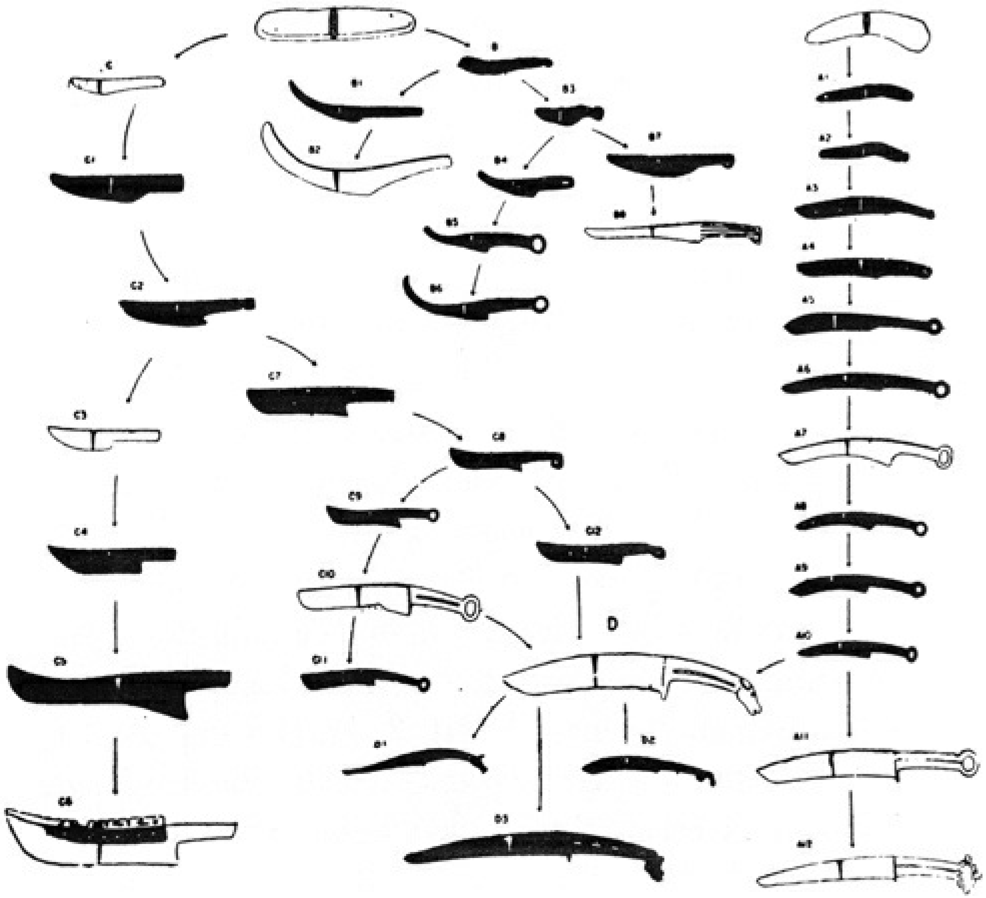
很多证据表明，夯筑基址下面的坑穴出土的青铜刀可能是在更早时期制造的。我在1948年发表的一文中（参见注释12）所提到的那把青铜刀即为此例。这把刀发掘于小屯C333区的YH379灰坑，紧接其上的是γ16夯土层。这一只新月形的刀（图19·2）在小屯出土的文物中是独一无二的，夯土期中再没有发现。

While the pit YH379 might be of the Shang period, judging by its general contents, the possibility of the presence of some early survival in such a definitely stratified pit is certainly greater than in pits without so distinctive a position. Another distinctive attribute of this find is the method of its casting by a one-piece mold, with only one side in relief and the other side entirely flat. At a later period, namely the *hang-t'u* stage, symmetrical knives (Fig. 19·3-9) with similar reliefs on both sides were manufactured. To achieve this purpose, valve molds were undoubtedly used. Whether the method of using the internal molds was introduced at the same time it is difficult to say. In my article referred to above, I divided the nineteen specimens of bronze knives from Hsiao-t'un into three types according to the methods by which they were manufactured: (1) single-mold casting, articles with one side flat, two samples; (2) valve-mold casting, articles symmetrical on both sides, thirteen specimens; (3) multimold casting with the occasional employment of internal molds, four specimens (Fig. 19·8, 9). It is important to point out that all the nineteen specimens of the bronze knives from Hsiao-t'un were designed for daily use; in no case were they made for burial purposes, as is true of many of the Hou-chia-chuang knives (Fig. 20).

虽然YH379灰坑可能属于商代，根据其内容物可以判断，在这类有明确分层的灰坑埋藏有早期遗物的可能性远较那些层次不明的坑穴为大。这把刀的另一显著特征是它所采用的开范法铸造方式：刀的一面有浮雕的纹饰，另一面完全是平的。在晚些时候，即夯土期，制造的是两面纹饰相似对称的刀（图19·3～9），铸造这类青铜刀无疑要用两瓣范法，但是同时是否已应用了心型范法尚不能确定。在上面提到过的那篇文章中，我将小屯出土的十九件青铜刀，按其铸造方法分成三类，即：（1）开范法，刀子一面平，二件；（2）双瓣范法，刀子两面对称，十三件；（3）多瓣块范法，间用心型范法，四件（图19·8，9）。须特予

说明者，上述十九件出土于小屯的青铜刀都是日常用品，非为陪葬之用，而侯家庄多数铜刀则属此用（图20）。

(19) Types of bronze knives excavated from Hsiao-t'un and Hou-chia-chuang: 1, 2, one-sided flat knives; 3-7, symmetrical shapes, showing bivalve casting; 8, 9, hollowed handlers, indicating use of internal mold 小屯及侯家庄出土青铜刀的形制：1, 2，一面平的刀；3~7，两面对称的刀，两瓣范铸成；8, 9，空柄，示铸造时应用心型范



(20) Structural relations of different types of bronze knives excavated from Hsiao-t'un and Hou-chia-chuang (Reproduced from "Studies of Hsiao-t'un Bronze, Part II," by Li Chi, in *Chinese Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. IV (1949), Fig. 26) 小屯及侯家庄出土各种形制青铜刀的结构关系（摘自李济：《记小屯出土之青铜器（中篇）》，载《中国考古学报》，第四册(1949)，插图26）

Molds

In this connection it may be fitting to say a few words about the molds excavated from Hsiao-t'un. The collection of these artifacts reached quite a respectable size after the fifteenth season in Anyang. Most of the better preserved pieces, that is, those with patterns still distinctly shown, are light gray in color, occasionally mixed with a light brownish hue, and they are more or less porous in composition. The back part of the mold is usually irregular, and the edges, if not broken, are tenoned or mortised in many cases. Many of these fragments are complete and have suffered no damage as far as external appearances are concerned, but no success has been achieved in attempts to piece the individual fragments together into a complete unit originally used in the casting operation.

It is also remarkable that, while hundreds of clay molds were collected, not a single piece of stone mold was found. There are many pieces of stone carvings in the Academia Sinica collection, but none of them could have served as a model for these clay negatives. On the other hand, a number of clay models (Fig. 21) were discovered; they were evidently molded after the shape of the article in the process of being cast, and on them the molds that were to serve as negatives for direct casting were to be printed. On these models, decorative patterns in relief were worked out just as one finds them on the finished products in bronzes; in several cases, on the relieved parts, fine lines were drawn in red or black pigments (Fig. 21, upper right), which were evidently to be incised afterward. These half-finished models discovered at Hsiao-t'un throw a great deal of light on the early history of bronze casting.

铜范

在此，我想应当谈一谈小屯出土的铜范。到安阳第十五次发掘后，出土的铜范已聚集了相当大的数目。保存得比较好的铜范，也就是说花纹比较明显的，呈浅灰色，有时掺杂点浅褐色。铜范为多孔性的烧土制成，范的背面多呈不规则状。如果两侧完整，则多带有阴或阳榫。许多范块外表看来完整，没有受到任何破坏，但是考古工作人员始终未能将这些单个的范块重新拼成一个原来用以铸造的完整的范组。

值得一提的是，虽然发掘到数以百计的土范，却连一块石范都不曾见到。“中央研究院”存有很多石雕，但是没有一件石雕是用来做这些范的母模的。另一方面，我们发现一些泥制母模（图21），它们很显然是依欲铸造的铜器而制，范就由这些母模压制而成。这些母模上雕凿着突起花纹，同青铜制成品上的花纹相仿。有的母模在这些突起的花纹上绘有朱笔或墨笔的细线（图21，右上），显然是备雕刻用的。小屯发掘出的这种半成品母模，对了解早期的铸铜历史贡献颇大。

Most of the clay molds were well baked; some attained a degree of hardness almost comparable with that of stoneware. It is interesting to note that one of the hard-baked pieces was incised with a character (Fig. 22·2) not yet decipherable but obviously the name of a person whose property this mold might have been. As the character was incised on the back part of the mold, it could not have been intended for casting. So, if the incised character was for the purpose of identification, the object to be identified would be the

mold itself rather than the article to be cast after this mold.

(21) Clay models for casting in bronze, all from Hsiao-t'un. Specimen upper right still retains traces of lines drawn in red pigment. 铸铜用的泥模，皆为小屯出土。右上方的一块，仍留有以红色涂料绘画的线条。

Several fragments for casting arrowheads were found (Fig. 22·5). They belong evidently to the valve type; no molds so simple that they might have been used for the open-hearth process were discovered. Inner molds were found in abundance—a definite indication that the foundry at Hsiao-t'un in the Shang time was a factory for the production of an advanced type of bronze. The factory was well supplied with plenty of malachite and prepared ingots of imported tin. Both these minerals were discovered during our excavations.[20]

Shapes

In my first study of the Hsiao-t'un bronzes,[21] I listed eighty-two specimens of the containers, including six covers, which were excavated from this site. Covers excepted, the seventy-six containers were divisible into five classes: round-bottomed, flat-based, ring-footed, tripod, and tetrapod; these five classes were again divided into nineteen types. Tools and weapons were studied in my second article.[22] There are eighty-one specimens within

this category besides arrowheads, and they are divided into four classes and fourteen types. Chariot parts, ornamental pieces, and articles of miscellaneous character which do not belong to the first two categories still remain unclassified, since most of them were parts of, or attached to, composite tools, weapons, or chariots. They will be discussed in relation to the things which they decorate or of which they constitute a part. Bronzes in the Hou-chia-chuang collection are amazingly similar to those from Hsiao-t'un, but they are richer in variety of forms, bigger in size, and better made. Owing to the highly dilapidated conditions in both sites, it is difficult to say whether the differences found so far are more apparent than real. About their contemporaneity there seems to be hardly any doubt.

多数土范皆经过焙烧，有些硬度几与石器相若。甚为有趣的是，有一块焙烧过土范刻有一个尚不能辨认的文字（图22·2），但显然是这一土范所有者的名字。此一文字刻在土范的背面，所以应该并非做铸造用。因之，如果此文字供做识别用，则被辨识者必是土范本身而非以此为模板制作的器物。

(22) Clay model used for casting bronzes, from Hsiao-t'un: 1, 4, clay negatives for socketed spear handles; 5, mold for casting arrowheads; 2, 3, 6, molds with signs 铸铜的泥范，小屯出土：1，4，铸矛柄的范；5，铸箭头的范；2，3，6，有记号的范

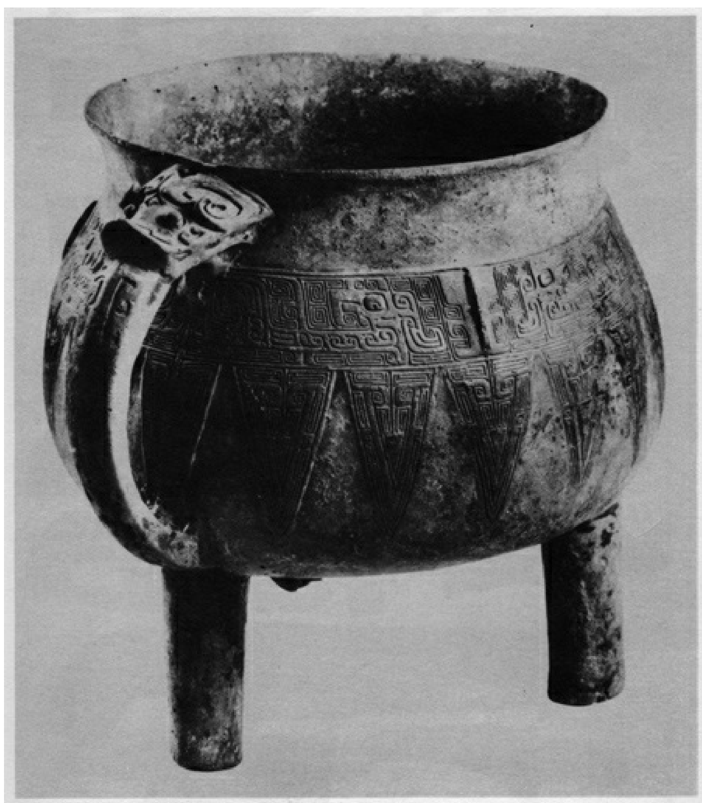
在铜范之中，有几块是铸造箭头用的（图22·5），属于双瓣范一类，用于开模铸法的简单铜范尚未发现。心型范发现颇多，证实了商代在小屯的铸铜场确是产制高级青铜器的工厂。同时这些铸铜场也有足够的孔雀石及外来锡锭供应，这些矿料皆曾由我们的考古队发掘出土。[23]

形制

我在《记小屯出土之青铜器（上篇）》一文中，[24]曾列举八十二件容器样本，其中六件为器盖，皆自小屯出土。除了器盖，我把七十六件容器分为五目：圜底目、平底目、圈足目、三足目及四足目。这五目复分为十九式。该文中篇所讨论的课题为工具及武器。[25]除箭头外，共计有标本八十一件，分成四目十四式。车马器、饰物及不属于前二项之杂

项铜器仍未予分类，因其多半为武器、工具或车马之零件或附属品。它们将在介绍其装饰的或附着的物品时一并加以讨论。侯家庄出土的铜器与小屯出土者极相似，唯其形制之变化较多，体型较大，铸造亦较考究。但这二地区皆经破坏，故这种表面的区别与实际上是否一致颇难断言，然两者属于同一时期则几无疑义。

Among the Hou-chia-chuang bronzes there were certain pieces (Fig. 23) that were never duplicated in the Hsiao-t'un collection; but the majority of the bronze forms are about the same, and many of the specimens from these two sites could be exchanged without being recognized. So, on the whole, it is safe to say that the two collections are the products of the same period, and that whatever marks the Hou-chia-chuang group off is mainly due to the custom that the best bronzes went to the royal tombs.[26]



(23) *Ting* tripod with a big handle, from Hou-chia-chuang 侯家庄出土的具鋬鼎

The shapes of most of the containers found in Hsiao-t'un could be accounted for. The tetrapods, tripods, and ring-foots as well as the flat-based containers evidently derived their forms from the wooden and the pottery receptacles. Tools and weapons found their prototypes in implements made of bone, stone, or antlers. There are also a number of articles whose origins

are obscure. One of the Hsiao-t'un flat-based specimens is a pan-shaped bronze, originally found in broken condition in YM331. Restored, it looks very much like a frying pan, with a big rim whose diameter measures 52 cm.[27] It is undoubtedly the forerunner of the frying pan used by every Chinese housewife, but its origin is rather indefinite.

侯家庄出土的铜器中，确有几件（图23）是在小屯出土的铜器群中找不到类似的。但是两地大部分的铜器形制都甚相似，纵将两处的样本相互调换，也不易分辨出来。所以大体来说，这两组铜器为同一时期之产物是可信的，而侯家庄的出土物的有所不同主要归因于通常最好的青铜器都要随葬在王墓这一习俗。[28]

大多数小屯出土的容器，其形制皆有所本。四足目、三足目、圈足目及平底目的容器，显然由陶制或木制容器演变而成。工具和武器亦可在骨、石及角制品中找到它们的原型。也有数件器物，其原始形制仍模糊不清。小屯出土过一只平底目的样品，为平底盘形铜器。此一铜器于YM331墓出土，出土时已呈破损。经复原后，看来甚似一只平底锅，其口缘甚大，直径52厘米。[29]它无疑是中国主妇家用的平底盘的前身，但其原始形制则不明。

If these two collections are taken as typical Shang dynasty bronzes and compared with the Hsin-ts'un collection of the Western Chou and the Shan-piao-chen collection of the Eastern Chou time, certain marked changes in the shapes of the containers are evident. In the post-Shang periods the tetrapod class almost completely disappeared while the tripod class persisted but had undergone a great number of structural modifications.[30] The *ting* tripods of the Eastern Chou periods acquired covers, and the *hsien* steamer was cast in two pieces in the Eastern Chou. A number of new shapes made their appearance in the later periods, owing partly to changes of customs as well as to technical improvements. The best group of bronzes that may be taken to illustrate such changes are the *ko* halberts, which were found all through the Bronze Age of China and were represented by a large number of examples in all the above collections.

The *ko* halbert is a weapon used for more than one thousand years by the Chinese fighting force in the classical period. It is a typical Chinese invention and developed exclusively in China. In 1950, the *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* published my article on "Typological Studies of the Bronze Kou-ping (Chinese Halberts) Excavated from Northern Honan, with a Classified and Illustrated List." In this article the development of *ko*, leading

gradually from the stone prototype and bronze imitation, through the various intermediate stages to the ideal shape as laid down in the famous version of "K'ao Kung Chi," was traced.[31] The specimens examined are 208 in number and belong to the following five collections:

Collection	Specimens
(1) Hsiao-t'un	35
(2) Hou-chia-chuang	31
(3) Hsin-ts'un	67
(4) Shan-piao-chen [32]	59
(5) Liu-li-ko	16
	——
Total	208

The first two groups belong to the Shang dynasty; the Hsin-ts'un collection consists mainly of remains of the Western Chou time; while the fourth and the fifth groups represent the period of the Warring States. The typological characteristics of these three periods may be summarized in the following terms.

如果把小屯和侯家庄这两组铜器当作是典型的商代青铜器，用来与辛村的西周青铜器及山彪镇的东周青铜器相参证，我们会发现容器在形制上有明显的变化。商以后四足器几乎全部消失，三足器虽然继续存在，但在结构上有了很多的改进。[33]东周的三足鼎已有了器盖，同一时期的甗则分铸作两件。同时在周的晚期，部分由于习俗的改变及技术的改良，许多新形制的铜器也出现了。说明这种变迁的最好例子是戈，戈在中国整个青铜器时代都有发现，上述各遗址中都有很多样品。

中国古代军队以戈为武器前后达千余年之久。戈是一种典型的中国的发明，并仅在中国境内得到发展。1950年《历史语言研究所集刊》中有我一篇《豫北出土青铜句兵分类图解》。在这一文中，我将戈由其石器的原始形态到青铜的仿制品、历经各种变化阶段演变成著名的《考工记》所载的理想形制这其中的发展轨迹探溯出来。[34]计所检查样品达208件，分属下列五地出土：

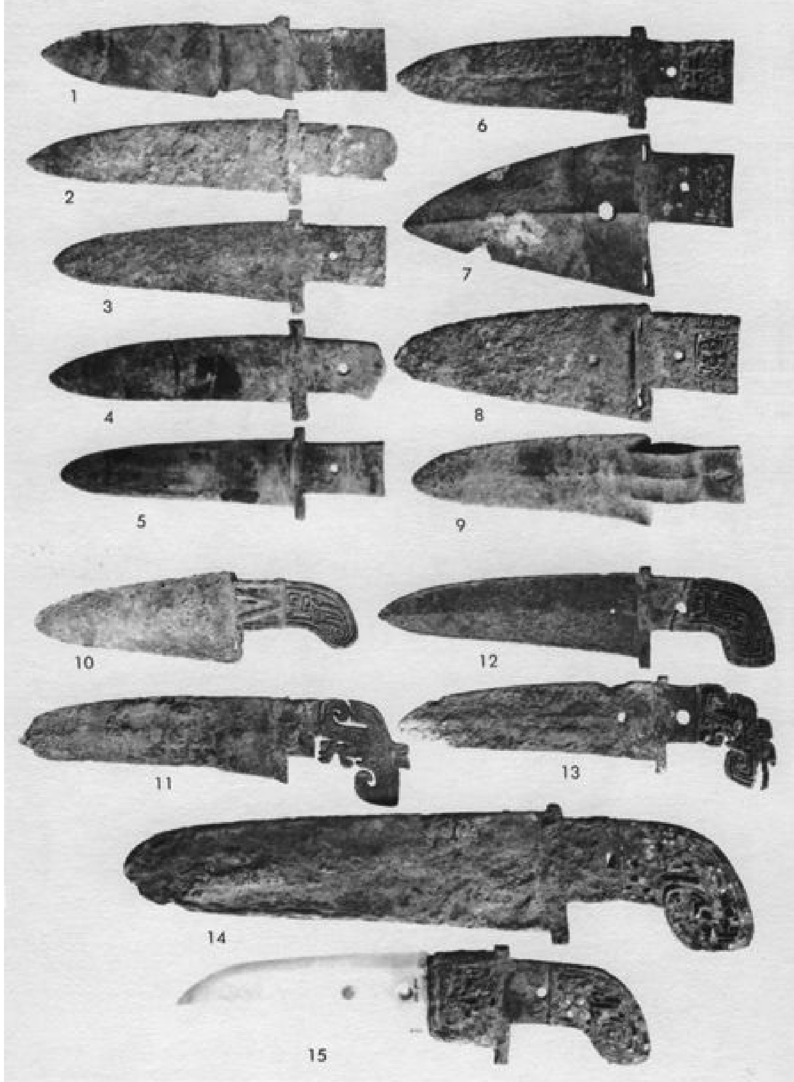
前两组属商代；辛村出土者大部分为西周遗物；第四、五组属于战国时期。以上三期青铜戈形制的特征可综述如次：

收藏	样品
（1）小屯	35件
（2）侯家庄	31件
（3）浚县辛村	67件

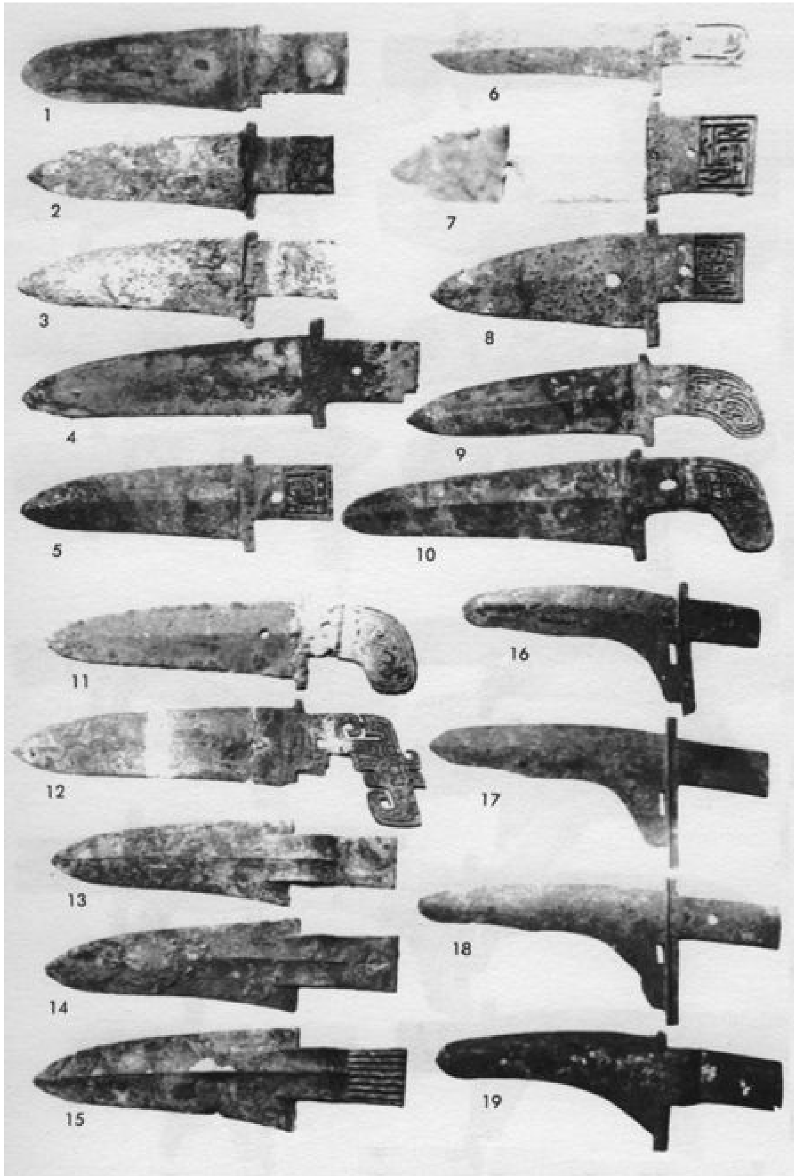
（4）汲县山彪镇[35]	59件
（5）辉县琉璃阁	16件
	——
	总计 208件

(1) The *ko* of the Shang dynasty is of the simplest type (Fig. 24, Fig. 25); it is frequently composed of an elongated tongue-shaped blade made of jade or other hard stone of fine grain, which may be hafted into a T-shaped bronze sleeve (Fig. 25·7). A more primitive type of *ko* (Fig. 26·1-3), evidently of early survival and used exclusively for burials, is made completely of stone; it is merely an elongated blade, pointed at one end, and with the other end cut into a tang for hafting. All-bronze *ko* of this period were usually cast in imitation of the jade-with-bronze-sleeve type; the two projecting points on both edges of the socket were retained at the junction between the blade (*yuan*) and the hafting part (*nei*). These structural peculiarities were never found in the stone prototype.

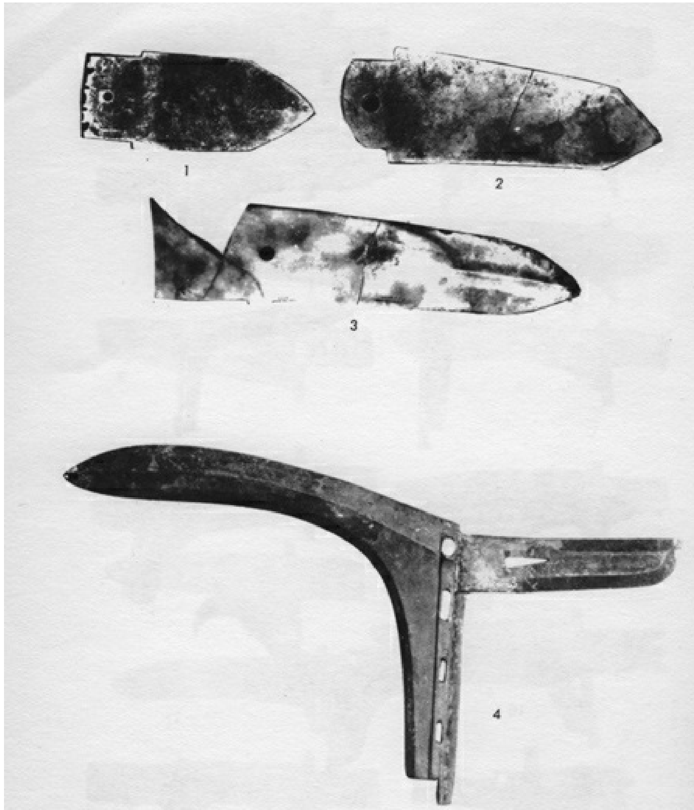
（1）商代的戈形制最为简单（图24，图25），通常包括一长条形舌状戈身，为玉或其他细纹理的硬石所制，楔于一T形青铜套内（图25·7）。更原始的戈（图26·1～3）只做随葬用的，且显然是较早期的遗物，为全部石质；一端为一长尖刀，另一端为戈根以置入柄内。这一时期的全青铜戈都仿制玉身铜套戈的式样，在戈身的锋刃部分（援）与供置入柄内的部分（内）相接处，承口的两阑仍保留尖头形。这种结构特征在石制的戈中从未发现。



(24) *Ko* halberts from Hsiao-t'un 小屯出土的青铜戈



(25) *Ko* halberts from Hou-chia-chuang 侯家庄出土的青铜戈



(26) The earliest and latest types of the ko halbert: 1-3, stone *ko* from Hou-chia-chuang, Shang dynasty; 4, bronze *ko* from Ch'ang-sha, Chan-kuo period 最早和最晚时期戈的形制：1~3，商代侯家庄的石戈；4，战国时期长沙青铜戈

Stone *ko* were found in large numbers in both Hou-chia-chuang and Hsiao-t'un. It is interesting to note that in one of the Hou-chia-chuang royal tombs (HPKM: 1001), together with the underground guards buried in the sacrificial pits underneath the wooden chamber, there was found in each case a *ko* halbert. The one found in the central pit, evidently the resting place of the chief guard and much larger in size than the other pits (Fig. 6), is made entirely of stone; those found in the corner pits are all made of bronze. There is no doubt here that the weapon made of stone was given a more honored position chiefly for its greater antiquity.

侯家庄与小屯两地，石制戈形句兵皆有大量出土。有趣的是，在侯家庄的HPKM: 1001王墓里，在其木椁室下面陪葬卫士的每个坑穴里，各有一具戈。中央最大的坑穴，显然是卫士长葬身之处（图6），其中的戈是完全石制的；角落的坑穴中的戈则为铜制。无可置疑的是，石制的武器因其更古老而更受尊崇。

(2) In the Western Chou period, both the inventive genius of the

founders and the innate qualities of the metallic substance began to assert themselves, and the results were expressed in the new types of *ko* halberts (Fig. 27) which were evolved from a more primitive form found in the preceding dynasty. In this period there is, for the first time, a definite sign of the development of *hu*, or necking, namely, a downward projection at the hafting section of the blade; it was, no doubt, a device invented by the foundry master to improve the efficiency of hafting. The continuous development of *hu*, mainly its projection downward, took place in this period. In the Hsin-ts'un collection the variation of this particular feature is most noticeable. As the different specimens show, a number of ingenious experiments were made for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of this weapon. There was an effort made, for instance, to combine the *ko* and the *mao* into one composite weapon, an experiment which did not achieve any success till several hundred years later (Fig. 28).

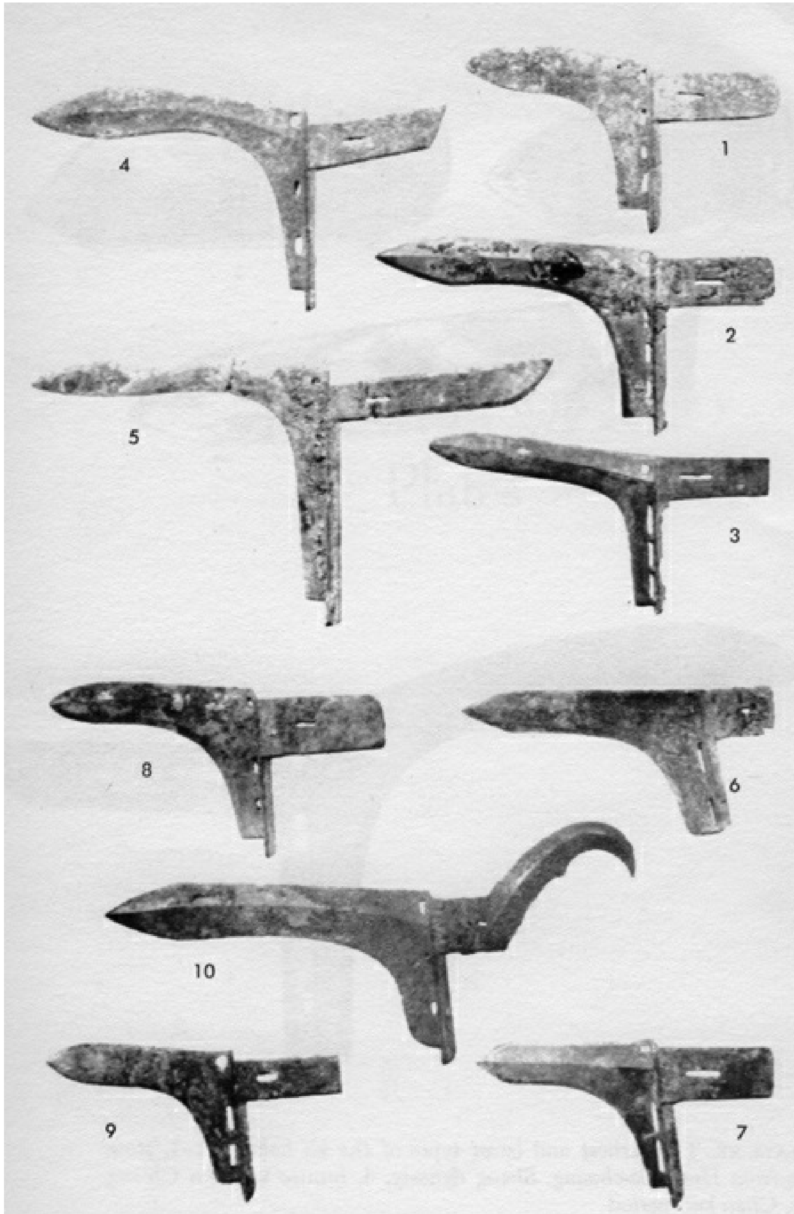
（2）到了西周，因为铸工的创新能力及金属固有的性能的开发，出现了由商代原始形制演变而来的新形制的戈（图27）。这一时期最重要的形态变化是“胡”的产生，也就是刀根部分下展。此一变迁明显的是铸工在增强戈与戈柄连接方面所作的努力。“胡”的继续下伸发生在这一时期。辛村所出之戈头，此特征之变迁最为显著。由这些不同形态的戈头，我们可以看出改进此类武器效率所作的各种尝试。尝试之一是想把戈和矛的作用合并，成为一种综合的武器，然而此种尝试在数百年后方始成功（图28）。

(27) *Ko* halberts from Hsin-ts'un, Chün Hsien 浚县辛村出土的青铜戈

(28) Ink rubbing of the decorative pattern of a *chien* basin from Shan-piao-chen, Chi Hsien 汲县山彪镇出土战纹鉴拓片

(3) The typological development of the *ko* reached its zenith in the period of the Warring States (Fig. 29). The classical description of the standard type of *ko* (Fig. 26·4) provided by "K'ao Kung Chi" was a product of this period. In the *ko* of this period, not only was the hafting process perfected but ingenious use was also made of the originally useless *nei*. In the earlier time the *nei* had served only ornamental purposes, but it was now put to effective use by being provided with sharp points and edges or sometimes bent into hook-shaped cutters (Fig. 29·5, 10). A device was finally found, after a long series of experiments, to combine effectively the *ko* and the *mao*, namely, the halbert and the spearhead, into one effective weapon, the *chi* (Fig. 28), with which the State of Ch'in unified China for the first time. It was with this same weapon that the Emperor Han Wu-ti subdued his rivals in both Central and Eastern Asia.

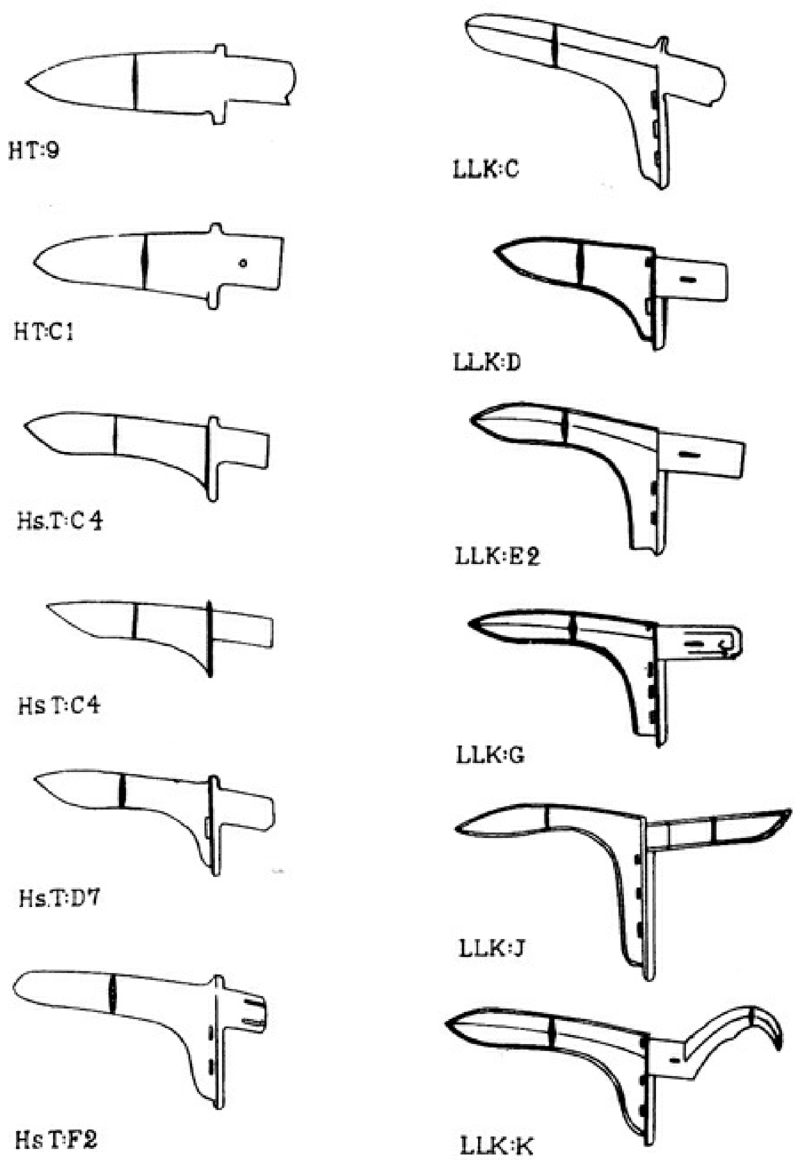
These three typological stages are all well illustrated by the five collections mentioned above (Fig. 30). In the period of the Warring States, iron was already in use for making agricultural implements. At exactly what time bronze was fully replaced by iron in the manufacture of weapons is, archaeologically speaking, still uncertain. What is definite is that the evolution of the *ko* halbert must have taken nearly one thousand years before it reached its perfection, and its active service must have lasted more than a millennium before it was finally abandoned. The various stages of the typological development of this weapon have a chronological value which can hardly be equaled by any other group of artifacts of the Bronze Age. But to trace back to the earliest stage and the origin of this era, there is still a great deal of work that must be done. The data selected for the present survey were all collected by our own field workers from the northern part of Honan. There are many key areas equally important for archaeological purposes but totally unknown. Until these areas have been examined with scientific care, it would be rash indeed to postulate a definite theory about the origin of the Chinese Bronze Age.



(29) *Ko* halberts from Liu-li-kuo, Hui Hsien 辉县琉璃阁出土的青铜戈

（3）战国时期，戈在形态上的演变达到顶点（图29）。经典文献《考工记》中描述的标准形态的戈（图26 · 4）就是这一时期的产物。这时期的戈，不但固着柄的方法已臻完善，而且一向没有什么作用的戈柄部分（内）也很巧妙地加以利用。较早的时期，内只是用以装饰，而今则有了实际的用途：或制成锋尖，或弯作镰刀状（图29 · 5，10）。经过一系列长期的试验，戈和矛终于综合成一件名为戟的有效武器（图28）。秦国之初次统一中国，汉武帝之征服中亚和东亚的敌人，所使用的都是这种武器。

这种武器形态演变的三个阶段，很清楚地由上述五处出土的戈形句兵表现出来（图30）。在战国时期，铁已被用来制造农具，不过究竟何时铁完全取代铜制造武器，考古学上仍无定论。我们能确定的是：戈的演变历时近一千年始臻于完美，而它用做武器以迄被放弃，其间定在一千年以上。这一武器在形态学上的演变所具有的年代学价值非青铜时代其他任何制品所能比拟。但是推溯其最早的发展形态以及此时期的缘起，仍有很多工作要做。这里所选用的资料，都是史语所实地工作人员在豫北得到的。还有很多具有同样考古意义的关键地区，但是尚不为人知。只有在对这些地区全都作了科学考察之后，才可能对中国青铜时代的起源提出一个审慎的理论假说。



(30) Typological evolution of the *ko* halbert 戈的形制演变

Table 4 Bronze Age of China

Period	Type Site	Characteristic Features	Chronology
Early Bronze	Hsiao-t'un 2 (YH379) (Anyang)	Open-hearth casting Knives with one side flat	Predynastic Shang
Middle Bronze I	Hsiao-t'un 3 (E16) Houchia-chuang royal tombs (Anyang)	Valve molds and internal molds Simple-bladed *ko* Big bronze vessels	Dynastic Shang ca. (1384-1111B.C.)
Middle Bronze II	Hsin-ts'un tombs (Chün Hsien)	Method of casting same as above Curved-bladed *ko* with developing *hu* Tetrapods disappeared	Western Chou
Late Bronze	Shan-piao-chen tombs (Chi Hsien) Liu-li-ko tombs (Hui Hsien)	*Ko* of "K'ao Kung Chi" type with sharpened *nei Chi*	Eastern Chou

表4 中国的青铜时代

时期	遗址	特征	年代
早期	小屯2区（YH379） （安阳）	开模铸法 刀身一面平	前商
中期I	小屯3区(El6) 侯家庄王墓（安阳）	双瓣范和心型范 戈身简洁 大型青铜容器	商朝 （约公元前1384年～公元前1111年）
中期Ⅱ	辛村墓葬（浚县）	铸法同上 带有胡的弯刃戈 四足容器消失	西周
晚期	山彪镇墓葬（汲县） 琉璃阁墓葬（辉县）	《考工记》所描写、具尖头的内 戟	东周

万家保 译

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[1] With the exception of a small lot of inscribed oracle bones discovered in the southern part of Hou-chia-chuang (See Tung Tso-pin, "On the Seven Complete Inscribed Tortoise Shells from the Excavation at Hou-chia-chuang, Anyang," T'ien-yeh-k'ao-ku-pao-kao [in Chinese], No. 1 (1936), pp. 91-165), and one piece found at the site of Hou-kang, all the inscribed oracle bones in the Academia Sinica collection were excavated from the dwelling site of Hsiao-t'un.

[2] Of the excavated bronzes from Hsiao-t'un and Hou-chia-chuang, only one piece bears an inscription of four characters; it is a big basin-shaped container, placed at one of the passages in one of the big tombs. The four characters read: ch' in (sleeping), hsiao (small), shih (chamber), and yü (basin).

[3] 除了一小部分有字甲骨在侯家庄南部发现（参看董作宾：《安阳侯家庄出土之甲骨文字》，载《田野考古报告》［中文］，第一册［1936］，91～165页），和一块在后岗遗址发现之外，“中央研究院”所藏的有字甲骨全都是从小屯居住区遗址发掘的。

[4] 小屯和侯家庄发掘的青铜器，只有一件刻有四个字；这只大盂是在一个大墓的墓道发现的。四个字是“寝、小、室、盂”。

[5] Storage Pit 16 was discovered and excavated in the fourth season at Hsiao-t'un in the spring of

1931; this pit was first found on April 10 of that year, and the excavation lasted nine days; the deposit reached a depth of 9.3 meters, somewhat beyond the present water level in the rainy season. The pit is circular in shape with a diameter of 1.7 meters at the upper rim. See for details Preliminary Reports of Excavations at Anyang (in Chinese), Part IV (1933), pp. 564-567.
[6] Li Chi, "Pre-Yin Cultural Deposits under the Surface of Hsiao-t'un," Hsüeh Shu Hui K'an (in Chinese), published by Academia Sinica, No. 1 (1944), pp. 1-14.
[7] Recent discussions on the chronology of the Shang (Yin) dynasty have advanced much of our knowledge about its complicated nature, but the result, if there is any, is still far from being conclusive. I have in the tentative table of this paper chosen a more conservative estimate, as it seems to me that none of the half-dozen new dates proposed by the various schools is backed up by arguments either more substantial or less defective than earlier calculations. One of the most serious attempts to build up a new chronology for this period is, no doubt, the one made by Professor Homer H. Dubs. In defense of his own interpretations of astronomical records preserved in ancient Chinese documents, he has recently criticized, rather fairly I should say, Tung Tso-pin's (Dung Dzo-pin, according to Dubs) chronology in these words: "It is dangerous to employ a Han Calendar for a period a thousand years earlier" ("The Date of the Shang Period," T'oung Pao, XL, Nos. 4-5 (1951), p.325). It is, therefore, most amazing to read in the same paper five pages further on, where the author discusses the problem of the beginning and end of "day," the following remarks: "Later Chinese practice, however, provides strong evidence [italics mine] that in the Shang period China used the Roman Day. Eclipse Record IV confirms that probability" (p. 330). The point is, as admitted by Professor Dubs himself, that Eclipse Record IV is also a defective document which contains at least one character, a key word for the interpretation of the whole record, still disputable as to its exact connotation. It is obvious that here Professor Dubs's superior knowledge of astronomy does not help him to settle this problem. When he goes back to the idea of referring to "later practice" as "strong evidence" to prove what might have been the case a thousand years or so earlier, or even a few hundred years earlier for that matter, he seems to be using exactly the same method which he had discredited in the earlier part of his paper. So, pending the arrival of a genuine scientific reconstruction of the Shang chronology, a more conservative date is certainly preferable for the simple reason that it would, at least, avoid much useless confusion.
[8] 1931年春小屯第四次发掘出现第16号灰坑，坑于该年4月10日被发现，发掘工作持续了9天。坑深达9.3米，稍高于现在雨季时的水位。坑呈圆形，上口直径为1.7米。详见《安阳发掘报告》（中文），第四册（1933），564～567页。
[9] 李济：《小屯地面下之先殷文化层》，载《学术汇刊》（中文），中央研究院版，第一卷，第二期，1944，1～14页。
[10] 最近有关商殷年代的讨论，大大推进了我们对其复杂性质的认识。不过如果说有什么结论，仍为时尚早。我在这篇文章中初拟的年代表上，选择了一种较为保守的估计。因为，依我看来，由各学派提出的六种新的时间，其理论依据并不比前人的更充分或更完善。在诸多试图重新确立这一时期的年代的学者中，德效骞教授无疑是最为认真的一位。为了要卫护他自己对中国古文献中有关天文记载的解释，他批评了（我认为他的批评相当公正）董作宾所著的年表："将汉代的历法应用到一千多年以前是危险的。"（《殷日》，载《通报》，40，4～5期(1951)，325页）不过再往下读五页之后，德效骞讨论一"日"的开始和终止时，他说，"中国后来的做法有力地证明了（着重号是我加的——作者注）商代采用的是罗马记日，第四次月食的记录也证实了这一可能"（330页）。德效骞自己也承认，问题是第四次月食记录也是一项有缺陷的文件，文件至少有一个关系整个记录解释的字，其确切的含义至今仍争论未决。显然，德效骞教授的卓越天文学知识对此问题也无能为力。于是他走回董作宾的老路子，拿"后来的做法"去"有力地证明"一千多年前或更早，或只几百年前的事。他用了他自己在文中所抨击的方法。所以，在以真正科学的方式重建殷历之前，我宁愿选择较保守的纪年方法，至少可以避免许多无谓的争论。
[11] Translated from the unpublished manuscripts of Shih Chang-ju.
[12] What really took place during the battle of conquest of the Shang by the Chou is still preserved in some documents, such as certain chapters of I Chou Shu (in Chinese) (Ssu-pu-ts'ung-k'an edition

[Shanghai, 1919-1929]); chap. xxxvi on "Conquering Yin," and chap. xl on "Captives" throw a great deal of light on this famous battle.
[13] Édouard Chavannes, Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-Ma-Ts'ien (Paris, 1895-1906), IV, chap. xxxviii, "Le Vicomte de Wei, (Prince de) Song," pp.230-231.
[14] 根据石璋如教授未出版的手稿翻译。（该手稿于1959年出版，书名为《殷墟建筑遗存》，“中央研究院”历史语言研究所出版。——译注）
[15] 周伐殷战争的情形在一些文献中仍保存记载，诸如《逸周书》（中文）（四部丛刊版，上海，1919～1929）。第三十六章《克殷解》和第四十章《世俘解》对此著名的战争均说得很详尽。
[16] 据司马迁《史记》记载，箕子为商王室，并未指明其为纣王兄。另有说法认为箕子为后者叔父。——编者注
[17] 沙畹：《司马迁的史记》（巴黎，1895-1906），第4部，第38章《魏襄子》，230～231页。
[18] Motonosuke Amano, "Mining and Agriculture in the Yin Dynasty," Tôhô Gakuhô (Journal of Oriental Studies) (Kyoto), No. 23 (1953), p. 236.
[19] 天野元之助：《殷代产业に关するゐ若干の问题》，《东方学报》（京都），第23期（1953），236页。
[20] Liu Yü-hsia, "Study of the Bronze Casting Technique of the Yin Dynasty," Preliminary Reports of Excavations at Anyang (in Chinese), Part IV (1933), pp. 681-696.
[21] Li Chi, "Studies of Hsiao-t'un Bronzes, Part I," Chinese Journal of Archaeology (in Chinese), III (1948), pp.1-93.
[22] Li Chi, "Studies of Hsiao-t'un Bronzes, Part II," Chinese Journal of Archaeology (in Chinese), IV (1949), pp.1-70.
[23] 刘屿霞：《殷代冶铜术之研究》，载《安阳发掘报告》（中文），第四期（1933），681～696页。
[24] 李济：《记小屯出土之青铜器（上篇）》，载《中国考古学报》（中文），第三册（1948），1～93页。
[25] 李济：《记小屯出土之青铜器（中篇）》，载《中国考古学报》（中文），第四册（1948），1～70页。
[26] The term "royal tombs," as far as I am aware, was first employed by Professor Paul Pelliot in his lecture at Harvard University on the occasion of its tercentenary celebration (see "The Royal Tombs of Anyang," in Independence, Convergence and Borrowing in Institution, Thought and Art [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937], pp. 265-272); the field archaeologist who worked in Hou-chia-chuang called them simply big tombs and small tombs. Liang Ssu-yung, Director of the Hou-chia-chuang excavations, labeled the map of this cemetery area as "Thousand Tombs Cemetery Area of Hou-chia-chuang." But there is much justification for Professor Pelliot's adoption of this descriptive term. Tomb HPKM: 1001, for instance, as surveyed, shows a total content of no less than 4,200 cubic meters; so, to dig the pit alone, it must have required no less than 4,200 day-labor units, if one labor unit at that time could have removed one cubic meter of dirt in a day; as the best of farm hands nowadays, with a much superior tool and better incentive, might occasionally be able to do. It is scarcely imaginable that in the neighborhood of the capital of the ruling dynasty any other group of people, aside from the royal clan, were in the position to command such wealth and power.
[27] See Li Chi, "Studies of Hsiao-t'un Bronzes, Part I," p. 68.
[28] 据我所知，“王墓群”一词是伯希和教授在哈佛大学三百年庆典演讲时首先使用的。（参看《安阳的王墓群》，《体制、思想和艺术的独立、汇合和借鉴》[剑桥：哈佛大学出版社，1937]，265～272页）。侯家庄田野考古家只称之为大墓群或小墓群。侯家庄发掘工作主持人梁思永，曾在这些墓区位置图上标识为“侯家庄千墓区”。但伯希和教授用王墓群这一形容词也颇适当。以HPKM：1001墓为例，勘察显示整个土方不下于4200立方米，按1个劳动单位每天移走1平方米泥土计算，单掘一个这么大的坑，至少需要4200个日劳动单位；即使是今日最好的农人，配以更优越的工具、有更好的激励机制，也只是偶尔可以做到这一点。所以很难想象在都

城邻近，除了王室之外，还有其他人能统御如此众多的人力和物力。
[29] 李济：《记小屯出土之青铜器（上篇）》，68页。
[30] Kuo Pao-chün, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Ancient Cemetery at Hsin-ts'un, Chün Hsien, Honan," T'ien-yeh-k'ao-ku-pao-kao (in Chinese), No. 1 (Shanghai, 1936), pp. 167-200.
[31] "K'ao Kung Chi" (the artificers' record) is a section of the Chou Li, one of the Thirteen Classics. There is a French translation, Le Teheou-li, by Édouard Biot (Paris, 1851).
[32] The excavations at Shan-piao-chen and Liu-li-ko are not yet reported.
[33] 郭宝钧：《浚县辛村古残墓之清理》，见《田野考古报告》（中文），第一册（上海，1936），167～200页。
[34] 《考工记》是《周礼》的一部分，十三经之一。有法文译本Le Teheou-li，由爱德华•毕欧翻译，1851年巴黎出版。
[35] 山彪镇与琉璃阁之发掘尚未有报告。

IV Archaeology

Antiquarian studies in China began to develop in the beginning of the Sung Dynasty (960-1126 A.D.). They enjoyed a glorious period for more than one hundred years, during which a solid foundation was laid for later development. The classical revival in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries included a very strong current of antiquarian interest, which has been rightly considered as the direct descendant of Sung scholarship. Western science began to affect China seriously, only at the beginning of the twentieth century. So the concept of modern archaeology in China may be said to be developed from two entirely different, but mutually complementary traditions: on the one hand, it is related to that special branch of classical learning known as the Study of Metals and Stones; and on the other, to the field explorations and excavations, which were first developed in the science of geology and biology, and from which archaeology in the West has been gradually evolved. Such being the case, archaeology, therefore, unlike most other natural sciences which have come to China unprecedented, serves best to link together modern science and traditional Chinese learning. In order to make a proper estimate of what is being done at present and what can be achieved in the future, it is necessary that something should be known of China's antiquarian past.

Historical Background

In a paper published by the late Professor Wang Kwo-wei on "Archaeology in the Sung Dynasty,"[1] he pointed out the distinct achievements by Sung scholars in archaeology, in several different fields. The more important of these are collecting, recording, and identifying. In all these their merits rank very high; some remain unsurpassed down to the present time. It is interesting to note that this is only part of the result of a broad intellectual movement of the Sung Dynasty, which yielded important achievements in many different spheres. The whole movement was characterized by a great deal of constructive effort; many of the monumental works on history, treasures of Chinese spiritual possessions, date from this

period. While the interest in antiquities was no doubt a phase of the historical mentality of the time, it attained an independent development in the very beginning. Works on this subject left to us from this period are strangely modern in many of their ideas.

肆 考古学

在中国，对古物的研究在宋朝（公元960年～公元1279年）[2]初期就已经开始有所发展，当时曾经有百余年的鼎盛期，为以后的发展奠定了坚实的基础。18～19世纪古学的复兴包含了一股古物热的风潮，这股热潮被认为与宋学一脉相承，此种看法是正确的。西方科学开始对中国产生实在的影响，已是在20世纪初以后。因此，中国近代考古学的概念可以说是从两个截然不同而又相互补充的传统发展而来：一方面，它是从中国古典学问中的金石学这一特殊分支发展而来；另一方面，它又与地质学和生物学中首先发展起来的田野调查与地下发掘联系在一起，西方考古学正是从这些科学中逐渐发展出来。既然如此，那么，与大多数中国第一次接触到的自然科学不同，考古学极好地将西方近代科学和中国古典学问联系起来。要准确评价目前正在进行的工作和未来可达成的目标，有必要对中国古学研究的历史作一番了解。

历史背景

在已故王国维教授发表的《宋代之金石学》[3]一文中，他指出宋代学者在金石研究多个方面取得了非凡成绩，尤其体现在搜集、著录和考订方面。他们在研究所及之领域均获得了极高的成就，有些至今尚无人能及。应该注意到，这只是宋代这场大的思想运动的部分结果，这场运动在许多不同领域都取得了重要成果。此次运动整体呈现出极具建设性的特点，许多史学巨著、精神财富都起源于那个时代。虽然对于古物的兴趣无疑只是宋代史学思想发展的一个阶段，但它从一开始就获得了独立的发展。这一时期留传下来的有关这一主题的著作，其中的许多观念都出人意料地具有近代特征。

It is true that there was neither historical nor comparative method, nor any attempt at a comprehensive system, but the effort aimed at accurate presentation and reproduction, and many of their identifications are quite praiseworthy. *K'ao Ku T'ou* and *Po Ku T'ou* published between the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. are more than a collector's handbook. In them a system was created for recording and reproducing antiquities, which, except for minor details due to improvements in modern printing, has been taken as

a model of all treatises on antiques till the present day. It may not be possible to test the accuracy of their measurements or reproductions, but their aims at being accurate are more than obvious; and the ingenuity and correctness of most of their identifications have been confirmed by modern criticism. As printing was at that time already invented, so the vogue of collecting spread fast. What is more remarkable is that the fashion of collecting was created and maintained chiefly by private individuals, in spite of the fact that the largest and the most well-known collection is an Imperial one. Thus Professor Wang says in his paper on "Archaeology in the Sung Dynasty":

Remarkable as was the Imperial collection, the fashion of collecting ancient objects, however, was created by private individuals. History records that Liu Ch'ang, when governor of Yung Hsing (present Hsianfu in Shansi), secured eleven objects of pre-Ch'in periods; and that Li Kung-lin, having a wide acquaintance with objects of antiquity and being skilful in judging them, showed such enthusiasm, that whenever he heard of an object of value, he would not hesitate in the least to pay a price of a thousand taels. Books such as Lü Ta-lin's *K'ao Ku T'ou*, *Hsu K'ao Ku T'ou* by an unknown author, Wang Fu-chai's *Chung Ting K'uan Shih*, and the appendices of the *Tsih Ku Lu* and *Chin Shih Lu*, very frequently record the names of the collectors underneath the descriptions of the objects. The collectors thus recorded numbered no less than several scores.... (p. 223)

The scope of those collections included mainly bronzes and jades, but coins and some kinds of stone work were sometimes also included. Although they concentrated most of their interest on inscriptions, it is the merit of the Sung archaeologists that they were able to see, in the antiques which they were collecting, important materials for studying ancient institutions. It was the common belief of the Sung antiquarians that it needed men versed in rituals to know the usage of antiques. Thus they made two great contributions towards the gradual building up of an antiquarian science in China: namely epigraphical study, and identification of forms, besides their persistent effort in collecting, reproducing, and circulating. In about one hundred years or so, they created a new science and perfected a new technique.

诚然，那时没有历史方法，没有比较方法，更没有试图创造一个综合体系，但他们追求准确描述和复制的努力以及他们的许多考订，都是颇值得称道的。11～12世纪出版的《考古图》和《博古图》绝不仅仅是一个收藏指南，其中创立了一个著录和复制古物的系统，除了因近代印

刷技术的改进而造成的在少数细节上比较落后外，这一系统直到今天都是这方面论著的典范。也许无法检测其度量与复制的精确程度，但他们力求精确的目标是显而易见的；他们在辨识古物方面表现出的独创性和正确性已为近代批评界所印证。由于那时印刷术早已发明，因此，收藏古物之风传播极快。更令人惊叹的是，尽管最大最著名的收藏是皇室收藏，但收藏之风尚却主要是由个人开创并维持的。因此，王国维教授在其《宋代之金石学》一文中说：

……宣和藏器之富，固自不足怪也。然宋人搜集古器之风，实自私家开之。刘敞知永兴军[今山西]，得先秦古器十有一物。李公麟博物精鉴，闻一器捐千金不少靳。而《考古图》、无名氏《续考古图》、王复斋《钟鼎款识》以及《集古》、《金石》二录跋尾，往往于各器之下注明藏器之家，其人不下数十……（223页）

这些收藏的范围主要包括青铜器和玉器，不过，钱币和石器有时也在收藏之列。尽管宋代收藏家们的兴趣主要是在铭文上，但是，他们的可贵之处在于，他们能在其所收藏的古物之中看出研究古代制度的重要材料。宋代的古物研究者们普遍相信：了解古器物的用途需要熟谙礼法。因此，除了不断地收集、复制和传播古物之外，他们对中国古物学的逐步建立还作出了两方面的重大贡献，即铭文研究和款式识别。在一百年左右的时间里，他们开创了一门新科学，完善了一门新技术。

This new science, founded by a group of Northern Sung scholars, was ably continued even after the disastrous event of the Tsing K'ang era when the Golden Tartars raided the capital city at K'aifeng and made it a ruin. In fact it continued to the very end of the Sung Dynasty. Many notable treatises on antiques were produced in the later period.

Owing to this continued activity, the foundation of the new science was laid firmly; so even after a total lapse of almost five hundred years, it still retained enough vitality to give new strength to the classical revival in the Manchu Dynasty. "During the 150 years, from the middle of Chien Lung's reign to the present, marvellous progress has been made in the study of archaeology, ..." says Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in an address in honor of the visit of the Crown Prince of Sweden to China. "The number of books on archaeology is truly astonishing. I am familiar with at least 400 books which I consider as valuable contributions to this subject,"[4] he continued. The works of this period, however, deviate very little from their Sung prototype; but they have attained greater accuracy, and are worked in greater detail. They are on the whole better epigraphists. Owing to the intensive interest in textual criticism

of this period, antiquarian studies were much encouraged, as they offered so much new material, and were evidently helpful in the study and interpretation of ancient classics. Yüan Yüan, who edited the famous Huang Ch'ing Chin Chieh, is also the author of Chi Ku Chai Chung Ting I Ch'i K'uan Shih, one of the first treatises on bronze inscriptions written in this period. From Yüan Yüan's time on, a long list of scholarly antiquarians has followed, until it gradually merges into an intermediate stage when Western influence began to penetrate. The result of the contact of this influence with the old tradition is the birth of a new archaeology in modern China.

The great contribution of this period is the advancement of epigraphical studies, of which the Sung antiquarians made only a start. They also showed a more diversified interest, and produced special treatises on bricks, tiles, seals, and other antiques of a given locality. It is only fair to say that at the end of the nineteenth century, traditional antiquarian science had already developed to such a stage that it was only a step from the standard of Modern Archaeology. Wu Ta-chêng's treatise on jade, and his study of early inscriptions, for instance, can stand comparison with any modern scientific treatise of a similar nature. It is an even bet whether or not traditional archaeology in China would have advanced to the modern stage even without Western influence! It is at any rate obvious that without such background archaeology would not have attracted so much interest in China at the present time.

由北宋学者建立的这门新科学，即使在遭遇靖康年间金人突袭、摧毁京城的灾难后，仍顽强地沿续了下来。事实上，它一直延续到宋朝末年。许多有关古物学方面的著名论著都是在宋朝后期完成的。

由于此种连续不断的努力，这一新兴科学的基础得以建立牢固；也正因为如此，即使在经过了近五百年后，它仍有足够的生命力给清朝古学的复兴以新的动力。“由乾隆中叶以后直至现在，一百五十年间，这种学问有很猛烈的进步”，梁启超在欢迎瑞典王储到访中国的致辞中说。他还继续说道：“关于考古学的著作，数目的增加实在可惊，据我所看见过，认为很有价值已经成书的，不下四百种。”[5]这一时期的著作几乎没有偏离宋代的原型，不过更精确、更详细而已。从总体上看，他们是更优秀的碑铭研究家。由于这一时期对于文本考据的浓厚兴趣，古物研究得到大力提倡，因为它们提供了如此多的新材料，对于研究和解释古代经典显然极有帮助。著名的《皇清经解》的编者阮元，同时也是《积古斋钟鼎彝器款识》的作者，后者是这一时期研究青铜器铭文的最

早的专著之一。自阮元以后，涌现出了一大批学者型的古物学家，直到西方影响渗入中国，传统的金石学逐渐进入一个过渡性的中间阶段。古老传统与西方影响接触的结果催生了近代中国新的考古学。

这一时期的重大贡献在于铭文研究的进步。在这一领域，宋人只是开其端绪而已。此外，他们的兴趣也比宋人更为广泛，并撰写了有关砖、瓦、印玺及某些特定地区的其他古物的专门论著。公允地讲，到19世纪末，传统的古物学早已发展到了离近代考古科学仅有一步之遥的阶段。例如，吴大澂论玉器的专著及其对早期铭文的研究，可与任一同类性质的现代科学著作相媲美。即使没有西方的影响，中国传统的考古学是否也已发展到近代阶段，对此我们很难下结论。无论如何，若没有这样一个背景，考古学不会在中国引起如此多的兴趣，这是显而易见的。

An Intermediate Stage

Before we discuss recent works, it is worth while to note how Western explorations of Chinese antiques have reacted upon the classical school of China. In this connection, two great events need special mentioning: one is the discoveries of the Tun Huang Manuscripts, and the other is the activity of the Geological Survey. I have no space here to relate in any detail the story leading to the discovery of the Tun Huang treasury. Those who are interested may be referred to the publications of Aurel Stein[6] and Paul Pelliot[7]. This discovery has influenced the classical school of China in recent years most profoundly, and it proves convincingly to the conservative Chinese learned world how much more fruitful is field exploration than mere book pursuit, even in classical study. This stage of reaction was brought forth by a very fortunate circumstance; that is, the Tun Huang manuscripts are both rich and variegated, and relate to a period immediately preceding the age of the earliest printed books. Some of the best minds of the last generation were occupied with the study of this new discovery; the results are almost revolutionary. A perusal of the works of Lo Chên-Yü and Wang Kuo-wei, two of the most eminent scholars, whose activity may be properly assigned to this stage, show, that what makes their achievements enduring is their opportunity to study these new materials.

Meanwhile some energetic minds began working along a different line, which was bound to exercise a healthful influence in the same direction and quicken the birth of a modern archaeology in China. I mean to refer to the

activity of the Geological Survey of China. The survey was established for a definite purpose, which is being successfully fulfilled; besides, they have found enough energy to pay a great deal of attention to the Psychozoic period. This has resulted in a series of archaeological works culminating in the recent discovery of Sinanthropus Pekinensis. But the works that have a more immediate bearing on archaeology are those undertaken by J. G. Andersson, Swedish advisor to the Survey, in Manchuria, Honan, and Kansu, where he found an early Chinese culture totally unknown before, and whose relation to the traditional Chinese culture has aroused a great deal of speculation.[8] An intense interest in early Chinese history has been stimulated by these discoveries. The younger generations are finally and totally convinced of the great possibilities of archaeological excavations; plans for such activity have begun to mature.

中间过渡阶段

在我们讨论近期工作之前，应当关注一下西方对中国古物的勘查是如何影响中国古典学派的。在此方面，有两件大事特别值得一提：一是敦煌卷子的发现，二是地质调查所的活动。因篇幅所限，此处不可能详叙敦煌宝藏发现的经过，对此感兴趣的读者可以参阅斯坦因[9]和伯希和[10]的著作。这一发现更深远地影响了近年来的中国古典学派，令人信服地向保守的中国学界证明：即使在古学研究领域，田野调查也比单纯的书本研究要有成效得多。这一时期的影响是由一个特别幸运的情况引发的，即：敦煌卷子既丰富又多样，恰恰又与最早的印刷本的书籍出现的前一个时代相联系。一些上一辈最优秀的思想家都潜心研读这些新发现的材料，其所得之结果几乎是革命性的。仔细研读罗振玉和王国维两位这一时期内研究最具代表性、最杰出学者的著作，就会发现正是这一研究新材料的机遇才使得其研究成果具有不朽价值。

同时，一批活跃的思想家开始沿着另一条路线开展工作，这必将在同一方向上对考古学产生健康的影响，并加速中国近现代考古学的诞生。此处指地质调查所的活动。该所的建立有其特定的目标，且该目标正在成功实现；同时，他们又有足够的余力对灵生代时期展开仔细研究。这导致了一系列考古学著作的问世，以最近北京人的发现达到了顶峰。不过，对考古学产生更为直接影响的，是地质调查所的瑞典籍顾问安特生在东北、河南、甘肃所开展的研究工作。在上述省区，安氏发现了一种此前完全不为人知的中国早期文化，此种早期文化与传统的中国文化的关系已经引起大量猜测。[11]这些发现引发了人们对于中国早期历

史的强烈兴趣。年青一代终于完全相信考古发掘工作的巨大潜力，此类研究计划也已经开始成熟。

Recent Works

The confluence of traditional antiquarian studies and modern scientific method has necessitated a readjustment of viewpoints, and brought forth not only an improvement of technique, but also a complete review of all the historical problems. It must be said that such a process will take a long time to complete; what is being done at present is only the beginning of a new era.

From a purely archaeological viewpoint, as different from that of early antiquarians, there are certain problems never thought worth consideration by traditional historians, which have gained their importance through the development of natural sciences. When China is now viewed not as an isolated unit by itself, but merely a fragment of the total humanity, one finds that a great deal of materials, totally disregarded by early antiquarians, become extremely informative and historically significant. From this point of view China is an extremely rich field which has just begun to be explored.

Many of the institutions of higher learning like the Department of Chinese Studies of the Peking Government University, the Historical Museum, and the Tsing Hua Research Institute began to take up these new problems, and became interested in archaeological excavations in the last decade. Although it has not been possible to carry out all the plans, sporadic work has been done from time to time, and some of it has been done meritoriously. However, it remains for the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, to be the first sponsor of serious archaeological excavations. The recent work undertaken by the Institute in Anyang[12] deserves special mention for a variety of reasons; it is thoroughly modern in its planning; it is one of the key sites of North China; it has yielded abundant results; and above all, it has been of interest to both the early antiquarians and the modern archaeologists. So it may be taken as a typical example of recent work done in this field.

近期的研究工作

传统的古物学和近代科学方法的汇流，亟需观点上的调整。这不仅

带来了技法上的改进，同时也引发了对所有历史问题的全面反思。必须指出的是，这样一个过程的完成需要很长时间，目前正在进行的工作不过是一个新时代的开端而已。

与早期的古物学不同，从纯粹考古学的角度来看，一些在传统的历史学家眼中从来不值得考虑的问题，由于自然科学的发展已经变得十分重要。现在，中国已不再被看作是一个自成一体的孤立个体，而只是整个人类世界的一部分，因此，我们发现，大量早期古物学家不屑一顾的材料如今成为了信息含量高、历史意义重大的材料。从这点来看，中国是一个有待探查的富饶田野。

许多高等学术机构，如国立京师大学校中文系、历史博物馆、清华国学研究院等，均已开始关注这些新问题，并在过去十年中对考古发掘工作产生了兴趣。尽管无法完成所有计划，但零星的工作还在不时进行，且其中不少是卓有成效的。然而，第一个出面主持真正的考古发掘的还得是中央研究院历史语言研究所。该所最近在安阳[13]所进行的工作由于多方面的原因，值得特别关注：这项工作在计划方面，完全是现代化的；发掘地点是华北的关键遗址；发掘成果丰富；最重要的是，它同时吸引了早期的古物学家和现代的考古学家的兴趣。因此，它可以视为这一领域近期工作的典型事例。

This site first became known to the antiquarians in 1899, when some curio dealers brought some inscribed bones from this site to Peking, attracting the attention of Wang I-yung, a great scholar and statesman who immediately recognized their importance and began to collect them. He died in the Boxer's time the year following. His collection passed into the hands of Liu Tieh-yün, who was the first to make rubbings on these inscribed bones, and publish them in book form. Then it was followed by some periodical bone-rushes among the curio dealers, a great deal of serious work, and some very interesting episodes when these new materials were struggling for recognition. During this period serious studies were made chiefly by Lo Chên-Yü, and Wang Kuo-wei, who deciphered about half of these newly discovered characters, thus laying the foundation of this new branch of palaeography. In the early period the work were carried on with a great deal of opposition from other quarters. Chang Ping-lin for instance, one of the greatest living Chinese scholars at the time, who is in certain sense radical in his political thought, but conservative in his literary ideas, considered these materials as forgeries. Nevertheless, studies were carried on and new inscribed bones were added to the market every day. The actual site was

eventually ascertained. Lo Chên-Yü had the originality of visiting it himself but at that time he considered the site, so far as the inscribed bones were concerned, as already exhausted. All the while it never occurred to anybody that excavations might be fruitful.

The Institute of History and Philology was organized in 1928. In the very beginning, archaeological excavation has been taken as one of its regular enterprises. Anyang was chosen as the first site for work. In less than two years time three seasons' diggings have been done. Because of their importance the results achieved have received attention all the world over. It may be truly said that since this work started, modern archaeology has made a beginning in China.

Previous to the excavations of the Institute, our knowledge of the Anyang site was confined to the inscribed bones. It was also known that it was the capital city of the Shang Dynasty, and that many other things were found together with these bones. But the knowledge of the latter was so imperfect that scientifically speaking it was almost worthless. Meanwhile, the site was badly destroyed by the reckless plundering of curio dealers for almost thirty years. When the Institute first began to work, many thought it already too late. But through careful planning, methodical procedure, and detailed observations, the field work has been carried out with extraordinary success.

这一遗址的存在最早为古物学家所知是在1899年。当时，一些古董商人把从该遗址得到的刻字的甲骨拿到北京，引起当时的官员、大学者王懿荣的注意。王氏立即意识到其重要价值并开始收集。王于义和团事件的第二年逝世，他的收藏后来传入刘铁云手中。刘氏成为第一个制作甲骨文拓片、第一个以图书的形式出版这些内容的人。在刘之后，出现了一阵阵古董商人追逐甲骨的热潮，也有大量严肃的研究工作，还有这些新材料在争取承认的过程中的一些非常有趣的插曲。这一时期严肃的研究工作主要是由罗振玉和王国维完成的。他们解密了约一半的新发现的文字，从而为这门新的古文书学奠定了基础。初期，这一工作遇到了来自其他方面的反对。例如，当时中国在世的一位顶级学者章炳麟——从某种意义上说他的政治思想是激进的，但其文学观念却是保守的——他就认为这些材料都是伪造的。尽管如此，研究工作仍在继续，市场上每天都有新甲骨流入。实际的出土遗址也最终确定了。罗振玉是第一个前往参观遗址的人。不过，那时他认为，就甲骨而论，那里已经早已挖掘殆尽。人们始终没有想到，对这一遗址进行发掘还会有丰富的收获。

1928年，历史语言研究所组建。在建立初期，考古发掘是其定期工作之一。安阳就是第一个选定的发掘地点。在不到两年的时间里，开展了三季的发掘工作。由于其重要性，发掘成果受到全世界的关注。我们真正可以这样说，自从这项工作开始之后，近代考古学在中国创生了。

在史语所开始发掘之前，我们对于安阳遗址的了解只限于甲骨文。我们还知道，安阳是商朝的都城，与这些甲骨一起出土的还有许多其他物品。但关于这些物品的知识并不完善，所以从科学的角度上讲，基本上毫无价值。同时，这一遗址经过古董商人三十年左右的肆意掠夺，已受到严重破坏。当史语所开始工作的时候，许多人都认为已经太晚了。但是，经过详细的筹划、系统的发掘和仔细的考察，田野工作取得了极大成功。

Among the many discoveries that have been made, some are of such fundamental importance that they deserve more detailed treatment. Through stratigraphical studies it has been possible to determine definitely the general character of the various associated finds. The nature of the deposit, the conditions that led to the final abandonment of the city, and the changes that have taken place after the abandonment have all become observed knowledge. It can now be categorically laid down that Hsiao-t'un Ts'un, where the diggings were carried out for three seasons, was once part of the capital city of the Shang Dynasty, sometime between 1400 and 1200 B.C., but it was deserted during the final collapse of the Dynasty. The place has never again been occupied as a city site.

The most important group of artifacts that have been taken out from the buried city are inscribed plastrons and scapulars that were used for the purpose of divination. On them are inscribed the queries made and answers given in consultation, in archaic characters, which are more primitive than the oldest inscriptions on bronzes previously known. They represent undoubtedly one of the early stages in the development of Chinese writing, from which the later ones have gradually been evolved. It has been possible after many years of patient work to trace, gradually, such development. More than eight hundred of these characters, about half of the total that have been discovered, can be definitely deciphered. The contents of these inscriptions are therefore quite readable and prove to be very rich.

The royal house of the Shang Dynasty were faithful observants of oracles. Judging by the great abundance of these bones and the contents of the inscriptions, it is quite definite that oracles regulated even the minute

details of the conduct of the king. Whether it was an act of performing a sacrifice, or taking a trip, going out hunting or fishing, inquiring about the weather, or sending out an expedition, the cracks of the bones must be consulted; answers were found in the signs of these cracks, which the king evidently had to obey. It is for this reason that the inscribed bones have been found in such great abundance and with content so rich that from them a great deal of the lost history of that period, political, social, economic, and religious, can be reconstructed.

在众多的发现之中，有一些具有重大的根本性意义，值得更进一步研究。通过地层研究，已能确定各种相互联系的发现的一般特性。沉积物的特性、致使这一都城最终荒废的条件及其以后所发生的变化，都已成为可以观察到的知识。现在我们可以断定，三季发掘工作的所在地小屯村，曾是商朝都城的一部分，持续时间约在公元前l500年至公元前1200年之间，但随着商王朝的最终崩溃被放弃。从此以后，此地再无城市兴建。

从这座被掩埋的城市里发掘出来的最重要的史前器物就是供占卜之用的刻有文字的龟甲和牛胛骨。甲骨上刻写着问卜及问卜所得之结果，用比先前已知的青铜器铭文更为古老的文字写成。毫无疑问，这些文字代表了中国文字发展的早期阶段，后来的文字就是由此逐渐演变而来。经过多年的潜心研究，此种演变的轨迹也可逐渐追寻。已有八百多个字——约为所发现的文字总数的一半——得以明确解读。因此，这些铭文的内容是可以读懂的，而且证明非常丰富。

商王室笃信占卜。从甲骨数量之多及所刻文字的内容可以断定，商王即使是微小细节的行为举动都要由卜辞来决定。无论是贡献牺牲，还是外出巡狩渔猎，无论是问询天气，还是派军远征，都要看甲骨上所现的裂纹。问卜的结果就在裂纹之中，商王显然必须遵守。正是因为这一原因，所发现的甲骨数量才会如此之大，内容才会如此丰富，那个时代已经消失的历史、政治、社会、经济和宗教才能得以重建。

Important as these inscribed bones are, the associated finds are no less so. Inasmuch as the time can be approximately defined, the material culture, as revealed in the artifacts contemporaneous with this period, can both substantiate the verbal statements on the bones and, to an even greater extent, supplement them. A great deal of our knowledge concerning the culture of this period depends almost entirely on such finds. For instance, it would be difficult to find out from the inscriptions whether the Shang people of this period were still in the stone age or had already begun to use metals; if they

used metals, to what extent. The stone or metal objects themselves furnish the exact data. By means of careful stratigraphical study we know for certain now that the Shang people of this period had already mastered to a very advanced degree the secret of casting bronze. They made weapons, ceremonial vessels, and many ornaments of this metal, and developed an extensive bronze industry right on the spot, as proved by the remains of moulds, bronze ore, and slags attached by copper rust. But at the same time, the copper and tin supply must have been somewhat limited, so a great number of utensils were still made both of bronze and stones, such as axes and knives, etc. That it is possible to show and prove that in this period people were using both stone and metals, is, I believe, a great contribution to our knowledge of early Chinese history, and at the same time furnishes new materials for students who are interested in the migrations of early cultures.

Ceramics, which are basic archaeological materials, have been found in great quantity. They consist of many fundamentally different types, easily proven to be an aggregation of different local productions, as is to be expected of a metropolitan culture. One of the amazing discoveries concerning this industry is its use of glaze, the beginning of which has been hitherto considered to be sometime in the Han Dynasty. In spite of its aggregative character, the ceramics on the whole share certain individual traits typical of this period. For instance they are all monochrome and decorated by incised lines, entirely different from the aëneolithic Yang-shao ceramics, which are polychrome and decorated by paintings. Survivals of Yang-shao wares were discovered on this site. This discovery is of some importance because it helps to determine the lower limit of the age of Yang-shao which has never been definitely fixed.

The finds also contain many decorative works of shell, stone, and bone, illustrating profusely the art of the period. The decorative elements on the whole are quite consonant with the traditional ideas relating to the art of the period, only proving to be more luxurious. When they are worked out, it will be possible to determine the relationship with the various surrounding centers that were contemporaneous with this culture.

这些刻有文字的甲骨固然重要，相关发现的重要性也同样不可忽视。由于可以大体确定这一文化所处的时期，同时期的史前器物所反映的物质文化，不仅可以证实甲骨上的文字内容，而且还能更进一步地补充这些文字内容。我们关于这一时期文化的许多认识几乎完全依赖于这

些发现。例如，从甲骨文中，我们还难以确定：这一时期的商人是仍处于石器时代，还是已经开始使用金属；如果他们使用金属，到什么程度。石器或金属实物本身提供了这方面的确切资料。经过仔细的地层研究，我们现已确知，这一时期的商人已经掌握了相当先进的铸铜技术。他们用青铜来制造兵器、礼器和饰品，在当地发展起了庞大的青铜业，此点可由当地出土的铸模、铜矿以及带有铜锈的熔渣证明。但与此同时，铜、锡的供应必定有限，因此还有大量的器皿，如斧头和刀子等，都是用青铜和石头混合制造的。笔者认为，对这一时期人们可能既使用石器又使用金属这一事实的表现和佐证，大大增加了我们对于中国早期历史的认识，同时也为对早期文化迁移有兴趣的学者提供了新的材料。

陶器——考古学的基本材料之一——已被大量发现。所发现的陶器包含许多迥异的类型，显然证明了这是不同产地陶器的汇聚，这正如人们预想中的大都市文化一样。关于这一行业的一项惊人发现是釉的使用。此前学界一直认为，釉的使用最早是在汉代。尽管这些陶器是从四面八方汇聚而来，但总体上都有这一时期陶器的几个典型特征。比如，它们都是单色的，刻有装饰线条，完全不同于仰韶新石器时代那种多色、绘饰的陶器。仰韶时期器皿的遗存也发现于这一遗址。这一发现的意义在于，它有助于确定此前一直未能确定的仰韶时期的时间下限。

出土物中还包括许多装饰性的贝壳、石、骨等，充分展示了这一时期的艺术。这些装饰性元素从总体上看与有关这一时期艺术的传统观念相符，只是更加丰富多彩。待这些元素得以确定，就有可能确定它们与同时期周边文化中心之间的关系。

These are only a few examples of the finds from this site; many are still in the hands of specialists whose opinions are being awaited as to their real significance. Even these few are sufficient to show the general nature of the contents and the importance that may be attached to them. From an archaeological viewpoint it is most fortunate that this site should have been chosen for the first serious work. When the materials are thoroughly studied they will help to clarify many difficult problems and serve as standard of definite value by which others may be compared and judged. In other words we have got a key site in North China, gradually worked out and found a guide to direct our search in the archaeological maze of the Yellow River Valley.

Future Prospect

The work of the Institute has already created a widespread interest in archaeological excavation in China. To follow up this work many plans have been made by various universities and museums to excavate early remains. It can be safely predicted therefore that as soon as the country is politically settled there will be a flourishing period of archaeological diggings. But from practical experience can we say anything about the archaeological prospects of this country?

I have been told that when Sir Flinders Petrie first went to Egypt in 1880 he was not at all encouraged by any of his senior workers; the fact was that Egypt seemed to many experts at that time to have been archaeologically exhausted. Fifty years have now passed since his first triangulation of the Pyramids in Gizeh, and many undreamed of discoveries have been made, one after another in this period; yet, to this day, Egyptology seems to be a field for young archaeologists just as alluring as it was fifty years ago. China possesses an ancient tradition and is just beginning to be explored. Results of the recent works prove most substantially that the spade can work just as many wonders here as it did in other old countries. The forgotten history of China will certainly be written on materials to be recovered from this source, as has been the case with Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome.

以上只是有关这一遗址出土物的几个例子，更多的例子还在专家们的手里，其真正的重要性还有待专家的意见。不过，仅这几例已足以表明这些发现的一般性质及其可能具备的重要性。从考古学的角度来看，选择这一遗址作为第一个正式发掘点是十分幸运的。材料经过彻底研究后，会有助于澄清许多难题，并充当绝对价值标准，以资参照、判断。换言之，我们已经在华北地区发现了一个颇为关键的遗址，并逐渐摸索得出了一个指引我们在黄河流域考古谜宫探索的指南。

未来展望

史语所的工作已在中国引发了一阵广泛的考古发掘的热潮。紧接着这一工作之后，许多大学和博物馆制订计划，准备发掘早期遗址。因此，可以大胆预测，一旦国家政治上安定下来，马上会有一个繁忙的考古发掘期到来。不过，就实践经验而言，我们对于本国的考古前景可以说些什么呢?

有人曾经告诉笔者说，1880年派特力前往埃及时，没有一个前辈鼓励他；在那时的许多专家看来，从考古学意义上讲，埃及早已考之殆

尽，无可再考。自他对吉萨的金字塔进行三角定位以来，已经五十年过去了。在这段时期里，许多前人连做梦都未想到过的发现却一个接一个出现了。直到今天为止，对于年轻的考古学家来说，埃及学仍像半个世纪前那样充满魅力。中国有着古老的传统，探索才刚刚开始。最近的工作结果充分证明，一把铁锹在其他古国可以发现奇迹，在中国同样可以发现奇迹。同美索不达米亚、埃及、希腊、罗马一样，有了这一源头所发掘出的资料，中国被遗忘的历史必将被重新书写。

王宪明 译

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[1] The China Journal of Science and Arts, Vol. VI., No. 3, pp. 222-231.
[2] 宋朝结束于1129年，而非1126年，已在译文中修改。——编者注
[3] 《中国科学美术杂志》，第6卷，第3期，222～231页。
[4] Reprinted in the Smithsonian Report for 1927, pp. 453-466.
[5] 引自《1927年史密森报告》，453～466页。
[6] Aurel Stein: Ruins of Desert Cathay, Chapter XIV, pp. 491-511; Serindia, Vol. II. Chapter XXI-XXII, pp. 791-830; Innermost Asia, Chapter X, pp. 343-370.
[7] Paul Pelliot, Les Grottes de Touen-houang, Paris, 1922-1924.
[8] See the various works of J. G. Andersson published by the Geological Survey. The more important of these are: An Early Chinese Culture, 1923; The Cave Deposits of Sha-Kou-T'un in Fengtien, 1923; Archaeological Research in Kansu, 1923.
[9] 奥雷尔·斯坦因：《中国沙漠中的遗址》，第14章，491～511页；《西域考古图记》，第2卷，第21～22章，791～830页；《亚洲腹地》，第10章，343～370页。
[10] 伯希和：《敦煌石窟》，巴黎，1922～1924。
[11] 参见地质调查所出版的安特生氏所著的各种论著，其中重要者有：《中国远古之文化》，1923；《奉天沙锅屯洞穴堆积》，1923；《甘肃考古记》，1925。
[12] The Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, has been for many years, actively interested in archaeological works in China. The expense for the Anyang excavation for the year 1929 was equally shared by the Institute and the Freer Gallery of Art, with which the author was connected for five years, and to which he is glad to be able to acknowledge his indebtedness.
[13] 史密森研究所的弗利尔美术馆多年来一直积极关注中国考古研究。安阳考古发掘所用经费由清华国学研究院和弗利尔艺术博物馆平均分担。五年来，笔者参与此事，特此致谢。

V ArchAeological Survey of the Fêng River Valley, Southern Shansi, China

In the latter part of December, 1925, Mr. Bishop suggested that I undertake some work in the field. The idea immediately occurred to me that before the spade be brought out, a preliminary survey should be made, so it was agreed that I should go to the southern part of Shansi and investigate the archaeological possibilities along the Fêng River valley. The president of Tsing Hua College, Mr. Y. S. Tsao, kindly consented to cooperate. In his official capacity, he wrote to Governor Yen Hsi-san and successfully arranged for a permit for me to travel in southern Shansi. By a lucky coincidence also, the Geological Survey of China was on the point of sending Mr. P. L. Yüan to the same region for some field-work in geology. Mr. Yüan is a geologist of much experience, having travelled with Andersson in Kansu for two years and acquired a great deal of interest in prehistoric archaeology. So we arranged to travel together. Our start was somewhat delayed, and it was not until February 5, 1926, that we left Peking, just a week before the Chinese New Year.

We arrived at T'ai-yüan on the 7th, and spent the whole day of February 8th in making calls and purchasing equipment. When I left Peking, I brought a large number of letters of introduction to the Governor and the various officers of influence in Shansi. Among these was one written by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, now senior professor of the Tsing Hua Research Institute. Similar to many other letters, this one explained the purpose of my visit and the necessity of archaeological work at present. The Governor, however, was too much occupied with matters of greater importance to see us; but we succeeded in having an interview with his secretary, who, on behalf of the Governor, promised us all the help we asked. These promises were well fulfilled later on.

We left T'ai-yüan on the 9th (Fig. 31) and, traversing what is geologically a *loess* area, arrived at Chieh-hsiu three days later. I was much impressed by the extensive use of arches that is noticeable from T'ai-yüan southward. It seems to be quite a peculiarity of Shansi architecture. The first

series I saw was along the Chêng-t'ai road. All the way, in houses that were built on a grand scale, as well as in the small inns, we found such arches employed. Buildings of this type are known as *yao-fang*. Native scholars told me that they are warm in winter and cool in summer, the style being derived from the early cave-dwellings. At present, we still find all the transitional stages from the *loess* cave type to the most complicated *yao-fang* represented in this region.

伍 山西南部汾河流域考古调查[1]

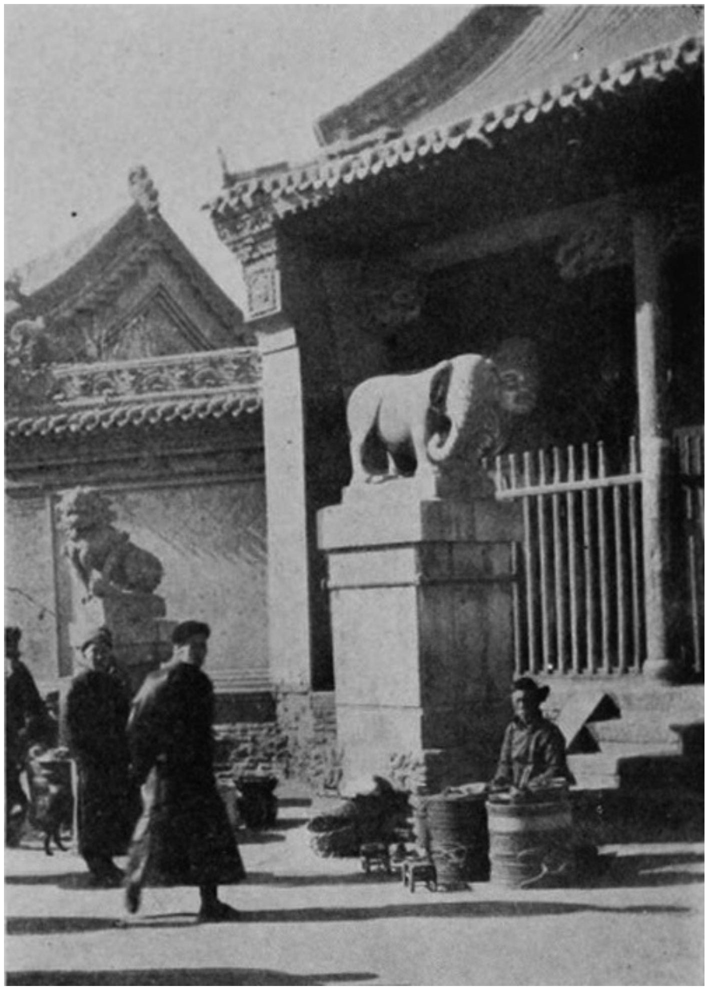
1925年12月下旬，毕士博先生（即卡尔·怀顶·毕晓普，美国弗利尔艺术馆的专员。——译注）建议我做点野外工作。当时我就有一个想法：在动手发掘之前，需要先作个初步调查。因此，我们商定，由我到山西南部沿着汾河流域去作一番考察，以确定有无进行考古发掘的可能性。清华学校校长曹云祥先生欣然同意予以配合。（整个这次调查和半年以后的西阴村史前遗址发掘，都是以清华学校和弗利尔艺术馆合作的名义进行的；本文作者当时是清华的国学研究院人类学特约讲师。——译注）他以校长的名义给阎锡山省长写了一封信，商妥同意我去山西南部旅行。在这同时，恰巧中国地质调查所正要派袁复礼先生到同一地区进行地质学的田野调查工作。袁先生是一位富有经验的地质学家，他曾经和安特生一道在甘肃考察了两年，对史前考古学极感兴趣。这样，我们就决定结伴同行。动身的日子稍有些延误，直至1926年2月5日（正是中国旧历新年的前一周）我们方才离开北京。

2月7日，我们抵达太原，8日用了一整天时间进行各种拜会和购置用具。我离开北京时，带了许多封给山西省省长和有影响力的有关官员的介绍信，其中一封是由现在清华国学研究院的资深教授梁启超先生写的。这封信同其他许多信件一样，说明了我此行的目的和当前考古工作的必要性。省长由于要公在身无法接见我们，不过我们还是见到了他的秘书，秘书代表省长对我们提出的全部要求作了承诺。这些诺言后来也都很好地履行了。

我们在9日离开太原（图31），横跨过地质学上所称的黄土地区，三天后到达介休。太原以南地区到处可以看到广泛采用的拱形结构，这给我留下了很深的印象。这似乎是山西建筑式样的一个特色。我最先看到的一组这样的建筑，是在正太铁路沿线。一路上我们发现，从大型的建筑到小客栈都采用这种拱形结构。这种建筑称为窑房。当地的读书人告诉我：这样的房子冬暖夏凉，样式是从古代的洞穴演变来的。今天我们在这个地区仍能看到从黄土窑洞向极其复杂的窑房演变的所有过渡形态。

(31) Our cart in front of a roadside temple 骡车在路旁小庙前

We took advantage of the Chinese New Year to see the city of Chieh-hsiu (Fig. 32) and also made some measurements of the natives, who seem to be quite a heterogeneous group. I saw bearded men who can be compared with the average Armenian; I saw also men with 100 per cent yellow moustaches. One of the commonest physical types found in this district is the round headed individual with a long face, a disharmonious type according to physical anthropology. Such an occurrence did not, however, surprise me at all, as both dolichocephalic and brachycephalic people are found in this region. Very likely it is the mixing of these two fundamental types that has given rise to this disharmony.



(32) Chieh-hsiu: in front of Kuan-yao Miao 介休县关岳庙前

On the 15th, we started our first trip to the mountain (Mien-shan) in the southwestern part of the district where some of the ancient temples are found. Of two of these, especially, I made some detailed study. Both temples are Buddhist, one located at the foot of the mountain, the other near the top of one of the peaks. The one at the foot was first built in the T'ang Dynasty, but has been destroyed and rebuilt many times since, only the bell and drum-tower still retaining a pre-Yüan style. The temple on the peak, also, was first built in the T'ang period, but burned during the Ming. The stratification of the three different layers of culture is here plainly visible. One of the halls is located very near to a cave. The images that are worshipped at present are evidently of recent origin. Behind them is another row of images cast in iron; and finally in the cave I found two broken statues of stone, one with a head and one without, carved in simple, bold style, showing T'ang workmanship; but they are cast away in the rear of the cave and covered by dust. Perhaps,

however, the most interesting thing we saw on this trip is a stone ox washed down by a mountain torrent some time ago, from where no one knows.

趁旧历新年之际，我们观光了介休城（图32），并对当地居民作了一些人体测量，他们看上去不像是纯一的群体。我看到一些人的鬓胡堪与一般的亚美尼亚人相媲美；我也看到一些长着纯黄色胡髭的人。这个县最常见的一种体质形态是圆头长面型，即体质人类学上所谓的不协调型。可是，这种情况一点也没有使我惊奇，因为长颅的和短颅的人在这里都能见到。很可能是这两种主要类型的混合导致了这种不协调型的出现。

15日，我们开始了去这个县区西南部绵山的首次旅行。我们在那里见到了些古老的庙宇，我特别对其中的两座作了详细研究。它们都是佛教寺院，一座位于山脚，另一座靠近一个山顶。山脚下的那座庙始建于唐代，但已多次毁坏和重建，只有钟和鼓楼还保留着元代以前的风格。山顶上的那座寺院也是始建于唐代，但于明代烧毁。在这里，三种不同文化层的层次一目了然。其中一座殿紧挨着一口窑洞。人们现今在那里朝拜的佛像显然是新修的；在这些佛像后面另有一排铁铸的佛像。最后，在窑洞里面我发现有两个残破的石像：一个有头，一个无头，雕工简朴，风格粗犷，显出是唐代的做工。但这两座像却被抛弃在窑洞的最里面，为尘土湮没。不过，我们在这次旅程中看到的最有意思的应该是一头石牛了，这头石牛不知是在什么年代也不知是从什么地方被一次山洪冲来的。

The river Fêng has its source at Kuan-ch'in-shan and flows in a straight southerly direction till it reaches Chiang Chou. From I-t'ang southward, it cuts through the Ho-shan range for about 40 miles, after which it flows through the plain again. For a whole day, the 23rd, after leaving Chieh-hsiu, we wormed our way through the Ho-shan along the river bed. About noon we reached Hsia-mên Ts'un which is one of the most beautiful villages I have seen in this province: the buildings of brick and limestone, the windows and doors arched.

From there southward, the mountains on both sides rise steeply, and in them are many limestone caves, some of which I explored, but found only traces of modern habitation. We stopped at Ho-chou, between which place and Lin-fêng Hsien there are many historic places; but as I did not intend to make any intensive study north of the latter, we passed this region rather hurriedly and reached Lin-fêng Hsien on the 25th.

Lin-fêng Hsien (or P'ing-yang Fu), a city that has aroused imagination in the past—the ancient capital of the Emperor Yao! What Chinese scholars are not acquainted with the list of virtues of this august monarch? Did he, however, also create a model city? Since he was, perhaps, the most self-denying emperor that the world has ever known, it would not be in harmony with his ethical principles if he should have used the national wealth to build luxurious palaces like those found in Troy and Knossos; but whatever he might have done in this respect, it is a fact that there is not even a tradition as to the exact location of his capital. The modern city of Lin-fêng Hsien is, like every other city in inland China, surrounded by machicolated walls. About a mile west of the city flows the Fêng River, and west of the Fêng is the famous Ku-i-shan where, according to the mythical tales of Chuang tzŭ, resided many fairies.

We rested in Lin-fêng Hsien for a day, and on the morning of the 27th started to explore Ku-i-shan in the western part of the district the place being popularly known as Hsien-tung (Fairies' Caves). A mile out of the western gate of the city, we crossed the Fêng River. Between the river and the foot of the mountain there is a series of *loess* terraces ascending higher and higher towards the mountain and dotted here and there by villages, some of which are merely a collection of cave dwellings. It took us more than half a day to reach the Northern Fairy Cave, where we were received by a monk—an old man, widely travelled, and evidently knowing something about his profession.

汾河发源于管涔山，流向正南，直到绛州。义棠迤南，汾河穿过霍山山脉近40英里之长（本文中作者在标示长度时，多半采用英制单位，但也杂用了市制和公制单位。——译注），而后进入平原。离开介休后，23日一整天我们沿着河床缓慢地探路通过霍山。大约中午时分，我们到达了夏门村。这是我在山西所见的一个最漂亮的村庄：房子是砖和石灰石砌成的，门窗呈拱形结构。

从这里向南，汾河两岸山势陡峭，山上有许多石洞。我勘察了其中的几个，但发现只有晚近住过人的痕迹。我们歇宿在霍州。霍州与临汾县之间有很多历史遗迹，但是我不打算在临汾以北作什么细致的考察，因此我们就很快路过了这个地区，于25日抵达临汾县。

临汾县（平阳府），这是一个勾起人们历史遐想的城市——尧帝的古都！中国的读书人有谁不熟悉这位伟大君王的种种崇高品德呢？可是，他是否也建造过一个典范城市呢？也许因为他是世界上历来最克己

的一位君王，所以假如他耗费国帑去修建像在特洛伊和克诺索斯发掘出的那种豪华宫殿，就不符合他的道德原则了。然而，不论他在这方面做过什么，事实上就连关于他的都城的精确位置的传说都没有。就像中国内陆地区所有的县城一样，现在的临汾县城是由带枪眼的城墙包围起来的。从县城往西大约一英里就是汾河，汾河以西就是著名的姑射山；按照庄子神话故事的说法，那里住着许多仙女（参看《庄子·逍遥游》："藐姑射之山，有神人居焉；肌肤若冰雪，绰约若处子……”——译注）。

我们在临汾县休息了一天，27日早晨前往西部的姑射山进行考察，这个地方俗称仙洞（仙女洞）。我们在出县城西门一英里的地方渡过汾河。在汾河与山脚之间的斜坡上有一排一排的黄土梯田逐级向山上延伸。山坡上到处是星星点点的村庄，其中有些仅仅是聚在一起的几个窑洞。我们花了半天多时间到达北仙女洞，那里接待我们的是一位道士，这是个曾经四处云游、对自己干的这一行颇多阅历的老者。

The temples in this mountain are for the Buddhists. They were originally built in the early part of the T'ang Dynasty; but in later periods they were repeatedly ruined and rebuilt. For some time in the Mongol Dynasty, the Taoists took hold of them and converted them into Taoist temples. They were, however, soon restored to the Buddhists again.

The purpose of my own visit to this place was to explore the limestone caves; that of Mr. Yüan, to investigate the coal region still further west; so on the morning of the next day, each of us pursued his own task. The whole region here is limestone formation, divisible into many different strata. A deep ravine cuts the ground into two perpendicular walls, north and south, in which are several rows of caves, most of them inaccessible, while some are well fitted for early human habitation. Of these I visited five, in the hope of unearthing some paleolithic remains, but the search proved fruitless. We left the mountain on the next day by a different route and made a further search at the foot of the mountain—only to be disappointed again. I had a long discussion with Mr. Yüan in the evening as to the exact route we should follow, and finally came to the conclusion that, so far as my personal work was concerned, I should follow partly the historical sites and partly the probably pre-historic settlements as my guides, so at 10 a. m. on March 2nd we left for Yao-ling.

The exact location of the tomb of the Emperor Yao is a long debated question. Previous to the Mongol Dynasty, this tomb was usually located in

Shantung. The tomb in P'ing-yang Fu was not so well known at that time. The argument for its location in Shansi is that as Yao retired at quite an advanced age, it is improbable that he should subsequently have inspected his distant domains and died so far away from home. As the tomb in P'ing-yang Fu is near his supposed capital, it is probably the true one—if, indeed, there be a tomb of this Emperor; but since the very existence of such a person is doubtful, we can only consider both tombs as variations, merely, of the same myth. All these considerations passed through my mind while we were riding towards the tomb of the Emperor. When we inquired about the way to Yao-ling, the natives simply stared at us, and it was a long time before we made out that the local name for the place is Shên-lin (Spirit Forest). There we arrived late in the evening, and found it surrounded by a wall enclosing a building of modest size, a solitary temple in the midst of mountains, where we stayed that night.

这座山上的寺院都是为佛教徒修建的。它们始建于初唐时期，但后来屡遭毁坏，又多次重建。元代时道家曾一度接管，把它们改建为道教的宫观，可是不久它们又复为佛教寺院。

我个人考察这个地方的意图，是要探寻一下石灰岩洞穴，袁先生的目的则是到还要迤西的地带调查煤田。这样，第二天一早我们就各自去干自己的工作了。这里整个地区都是石灰岩构造，分为许多不同的地层。一道深沟把地面截割成南北两堵峭壁；峭壁上有几排洞穴，其中多数是险峻难达的，但有些则很适于古代人类居住。我怀着发掘一些旧石器时代遗迹的希望，探查了其中的五个洞，但是毫无所获。次日我们沿着另一条路线离开这座山，并在山脚下作了进一步的考察，结果是再次落空。晚上，我跟袁先生就我们应该走的确切路线进行了长时间的讨论，最后得出这样的结论：就我个人的工作而言，我应当部分地以历史遗址、部分地以可能的史前定居点作为我前进的路标。这样，在3月2日上午10时，我们便动身前去尧陵。

尧帝陵墓的确切地点，是一个争论很久的问题。元代以前一直认为这个陵墓在山东。那时平阳府的陵墓尚不太为人所知。说这个陵墓在山西的论据是：尧帝到了年高退隐时，不大可能还去视察远方的国土而死在离家很远的地方。平阳府的陵墓位于传说中的尧的都城附近，所以这很可能是一座真的陵墓——如果这位帝王真有一座陵墓的话。但是，既然连这样一个人物是否确曾有过还属疑问，我们只能认为这两座陵墓不过是同一神话的两种说法而已。我们乘车向尧陵行进时，所有这些念头都在我脑海中浮现。当我们打听去尧陵的路时，当地人直盯着我们；弄

了许久我们才知道当地把这个地方叫作神林。我们到达那里天色已很晚了，发现四周都是围墙，里面是座规模不大的屋宇——一座深山中的孤庙。当晚，我们就住在这座庙里。

The tomb is quite high, pyramidal in shape and half encircled by a rivulet (Fig. 33). It was officially lost for a long time, but was rediscovered in the Ming Dynasty, according to the inscription in the temple. The arguments as to whether this is the real tomb are difficult to follow; but in spite of them the question remains a question today, and undoubtedly will remain so until the spade of an archaeologist shall clear it up.

(33) Supposed tomb of the Emperor Yao (from the southeast) 传说中的尧陵（东南侧）

We worked about two hours in the morning and left this reputed resting place of the august Emperor at 10 a. m., arriving at Fou-shan Hsien late in the afternoon. On the fourth, we made very little progress. The ground was wet, and there were many steep ascents and descents. We covered about six miles in all and stopped at Hsiang-shui-ho. On this day I picked up my first piece of red pottery of an archaic character on a descending *loess* slope.

The next day we started early, while the ground was still wet. The road we followed lies deep down between *loess* cliffs. Such roads make it convenient to observe the exposed surface of the *loess*. The finding of the red pottery sherd was very encouraging and made me look carefully all along the way. Not long after we started from Hsiang-shui-ho, I began to see gray pottery sherds of the Chou and Han periods. All of a sudden I discerned a piece of red pottery decorated with black lying among the withered, wet

grass. Then one after another came into view as we traced them to their source. It is a heap of earth about 10 feet in height and cut down vertically on one side to the public road. The upper surface is a long and narrow strip. This piece of land is owned by the Li brothers, who most politely received me and helped me with their spades to gather samples of the painted sherds from the exposed surface of their mound. When I left them, they were very willing to pose for a picture (Fig. 34) by the side of the heap where these pottery sherds were discovered—the first Yang-shao site to be found in southern Shansi. The rest of the day's journey was a cheerful one, and at four in the afternoon we arrived at the city of I-ch'eng Hsien.

陵墓相当高，呈金字塔形，一半被溪水环绕（图33）。根据庙里的碑文，在官方记载中它曾湮没无闻了很久，直到明代重新发现。关于这是否是一座真正陵墓的争论，是难以进行下去了，可是无论如何这个问题在今天仍然是一个问题，而且无疑还将继续保留下去，直到考古学家的铲子把它彻底弄清楚为止。

我们上午工作了近两个小时，10点钟离开了这位伟大君王的著名的长眠之地，下午很晚才抵达浮山县。4日，我们没有往前走多少路。地是湿的，而且有许多陡峭的上下坡路。我们总共走了大约六英里路，在响水河边住下。这一天，在一个下倾的黄土斜坡上，我采集到第一片古朴风格的红色陶片。

第二天我们动身很早，地还是湿的。我们走的那条路是在黄土峭壁之间的深谷里。这样的道路便于观察暴露在外面的黄土层。找到红色陶片是很鼓舞人的，这使我一路上都在仔细察看。在我们从响水河启程后不久，我开始看到有周代和汉代的灰陶碎片。突然间，我认出枯萎的湿草中有一块带黑色花纹的红色陶片。接着，当我们去探溯来源时，这类陶片就一块接一块地映入眼帘。这是一个大约10英尺高的黄土堆积，在大路的一边为一个垂直的陡峭面，上部顶面是一条狭长带。这块土地属李氏兄弟所有。他们很殷勤地接待了我，并用锄帮助我搜集暴露在他们这块土墩表面的彩陶碎片。我离开时，他们非常乐意在那个发现陶片的土堆旁拍张照片（图34）——这是在山西南部找到的第一个仰韶期遗址。这一天剩下的旅程是很令人快慰的，下午4时我们到达翼城县。

(34) Site at Chiao-t'ou-ho where prehistoric pottery of the Yang-shao type was found 发现仰韶期史前陶片的交头河遗址

It was a whole day's journey from I-ch'eng to Chü-wo which, in turn, is about 60 *li* east of Chiang Chou—one of the most important cities in southern Shansi and a center for curio-dealers. At this city, the Fêng River turns westward. While we were in Chü-wo, we decided to pay a visit to Chiang Chou to have a look at the various curio shops in that city. This, I thought, might perhaps serve to help us in forming a notion as to the kinds of antiquities which are unearthed in this region. But this idea proved to be a delusion. All the curio-dealers have a common secret: if one inquires about the exact location of the place whence the things they exhibit come, the unanimous and invariable answer is that they do not know. In vain one may tell them that the curios would increase in value if their sources were known. Thus a whole day in Chiang Chou only convinced me that so far as real archaeological work is concerned, very little help can be derived from such people. Having gone to Chiang Chou from Chü-wo by the northern route through Hou-ma, we returned over a bypath through mountains in the south which has been gradually elevated from the Fêng River valley by *loess* deposit. A day and a half was spent in exploring the terraces, and although no particular archaeological results were obtained on this trip, we had a fine chance to study the *loess* ormation (Fig. 35), a certain knowledge of which, I think, is necessary, if the archaeology of southern Shansi is to be properly understood.

从翼城到曲沃是一整天的路程，而曲沃位于绛州（绛州系指现今的

新绛，不是绛县。——译注）以东约60里。后者是山西南部重镇之一，也是古董商人麇集之地，汾河从这里转向西流。我们到达曲沃后，决定去绛州观光一下，看一看那里各式各样的古董铺子。我想这或许有助我们对这一带出土的古物的种类获得一些概念。但事实证明这只是一种幻想。所有的古董商人都有一个共同的秘密：假使有人询问他们所陈列出来的文物的准确出土位置，他们千篇一律、毫无例外的回答是不知道。即使有人告诉他们，古董如果有了肯定的出处就更值钱，那也是徒劳。这样，在绛州的一整天只不过使我确信：就真正的考古工作来说，从这些人那里是得不到什么帮助的。我们从曲沃来绛州时是经侯马走北边的大路，回程则是通过南边山间的一条小路，地势由于黄土堆积而离汾河河谷越来越高。我们花了一天半的时间勘查这高原上的梯田，虽然这段旅程没有什么特殊的考古收获，但使我们得到一个研究黄土构造的好机会（图35）。我认为，要正确了解山西南部的考古学问题，关于黄土地层构造的确切知识是必须具备的。

(35) Loess terraces south of Chiang Chou 绛州以南的黄土梯田

After we returned to Chü-wo, our next trip was to dash across Chung-t'iao-shan. This range, according to the local estimate, extends for about 800 *li* from east to west, parallel to the Yellow River on the south and the Fêng on the north, and inasmuch as early traditions about the Emperor Shun and the Hsia Dynasty are centered about these mountains, I decided to spend some time here. The next four days, therefore, were devoted to crossing and recrossing Chung-t'ao-shan; but as we found no archaeological prospects here, we turned immediately northward to An-i Hsien and Yün-ch’êng.

We arrived at Yün-ch’êng in the evening of the 17th and entered the city on the 18th. On the 19th we set out to visit the supposed tomb of the Emperor Shun, and on the way stopped at certain temples in Yün-ch’êng. In *Shansi-t'ung-chih* (Vol. 52, p. 2), it is recorded that the stone pillars of these temples were formerly the palace pillars of Wei Hui-wang (335-370 A.D.), recovered from the ruined city south of An-i Hsien. Some of them are now used as the entrance pillars in Ch’ên-huang Miao and Hou-t'u Miao, and those of Ch’ên-huang Miao certainly show peculiar features which are worth recording. Two pillars, hexagonal in section and carved with dragons coiled around them, are found at the entrance. The left one (Fig. 36) is especially interesting, because in the claws of the dragon are grasped two human heads with perfect Grecian features: curly hair, aquiline and finely chiselled nose, small mouth and receding cheeks. One head with the tongue sticking out is held at the mouth of the dragon, while the other is held in the talons of one hind leg. It is an unusually fine piece of sculpture in limestone, wonderfully spaced and with the most graceful lines. The right one is inferior in its workmanship: evidently the two were not executed by the same hand. I saw 28 of this kind of pillar in the succeeding two days; but most of them were crude imitations. It is possible, however, that some are of the ancient type and were made earlier than others. The whole subject is well worth more detailed study.

我们回到曲沃后的下一步行程是尽快越过中条山。根据当地的估算，这座山脉从东到西蜿蜒约达800里，南面与黄河、北面与汾河走向平行。关于舜帝和夏代的一些古老传说都集中在这座山脉四周，因此我决定在这里花费些时间。我接着用了四天功夫在中条山往复穿行，但是当我们发现这里没有什么开展考古活动的前景时，就立即转向北边的安邑县和运城。

我们在17日傍晚抵达运城，18日进入县城，19日开始寻访传说的舜帝陵墓，途中又在运城的一些庙宇作了逗留。据《山西通志》（指光绪十八年——1892版的184卷本通志。——译注）第52卷第2页记载，这些庙宇的石柱以前是魏惠王（公元335年~公元370年在位。——按英文文本有误。魏惠王在位应是公元前370年~公元前319年，不算期间改元则为公元前370年~公元前335年。——译注）宫殿的柱子，是从安邑县南部一座城市的废墟中发现的，有几根现在用在城隍庙和后土庙的大门口上。城隍庙的那些石柱确实显出了值得一述的独有特色。大门口有两根六角形的、雕着蟠龙的柱子。左边的一根（图36）特别有趣。龙爪攫住两个纯粹希腊面型的人头：卷发，精雕细刻的鹰钩鼻，小嘴，后削的脸

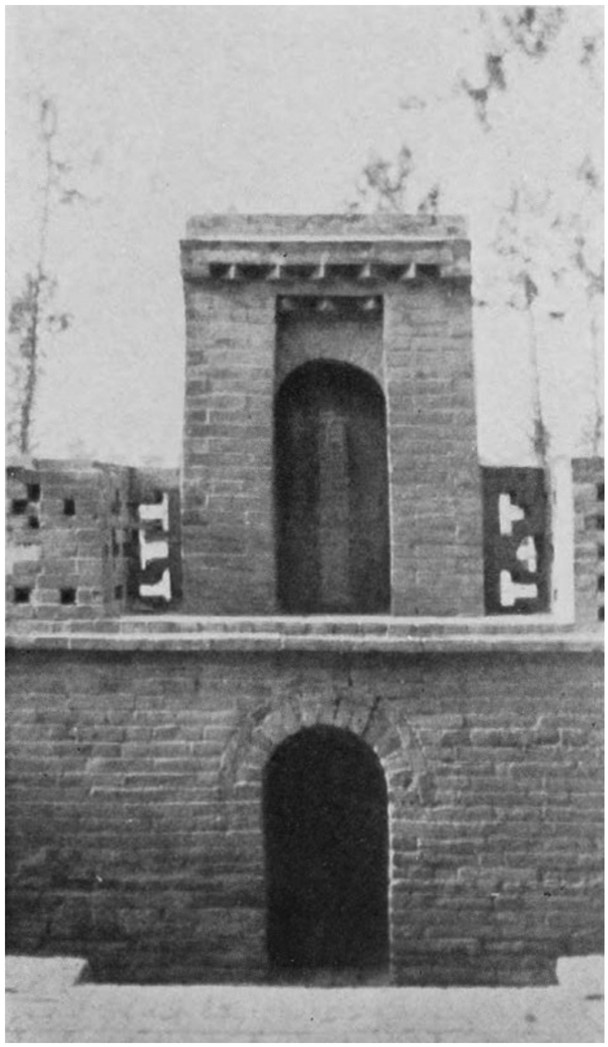
颊。一个吐舌的人头被龙嘴衔着，另一个人头则被一只后爪抓住。这是一件非凡的精致石雕作品，布局奇妙，线条绝美。右边石柱的工艺就逊色一些，显然不是出自同一匠人之手。此后两天内我共看到了28根这类的石柱，但多数是拙劣的摹制品，不过有些也可能是古代的标本，制作年代较早。整个这类文物很值得进一步详细考察。

The tomb of Shun (Fig. 37) has a very different appearance from that of Yao. It is located about 30 *li* northwest of the city of An-i Hsien in the midst of a vast plain with apparently no natural barrier on any side to shelter it from "the wind and the water." Half of the early references to the tomb of this emperor put its location at Ch'ang-wu. Yet Chang Chin-chün quite convincingly argued that it must be in An-i (*Shansi-t'ung-chih*, Vol. 56, pp. 20-23). The problem is similar to that concerning the tomb of Yao, and consequently the solution must be sought in the same way.

(36) Details of the left hand stone pillar at the entrance to Ch’ên-huang Miao, Yün-ch’êng 运城城隍庙大门左侧石柱细部

On the 20th, we were invited to dinner by the magistrate of An-i Hsien, Mr. Chêng, who is a student and collector of antiquities. He introduced us to

a small museum in his *yamên* where he has gathered together a large number of Buddhist *stelae* and ancient tablets (Fig. 38) which were originally scattered all over the district of An-i. Only a part of all he found has been moved to his *yamên*; but his catalogue includes those which still remain in the different villages. He draws rather a sharp line of demarcation and leaves all the post-Sung sculptures unrecorded. It is an unusual work that he is doing, and gives one a ray of hope that some of the ancient monuments in inland China may yet be preserved.



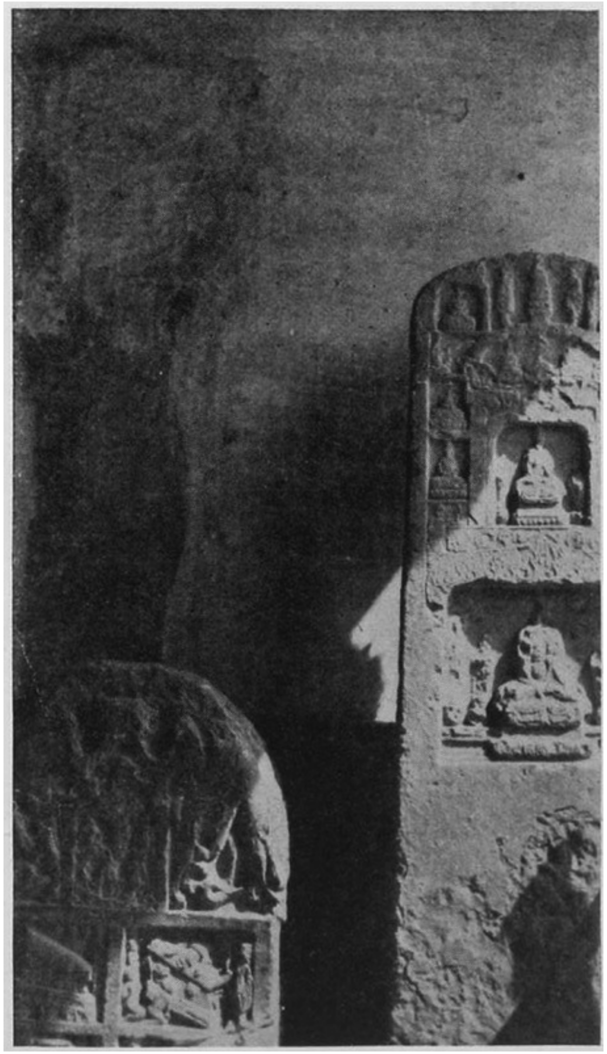
(37) Supposed tomb of the Emperor Shun 传说中的舜陵

舜陵（图37）在外貌上与尧陵全然不同。舜陵位于安邑县城西北30里左右，在一片开阔的平原当中，显然没有天然屏障遮挡任何一方的“风水”。早先关于这位皇帝的陵墓的资料，有半数提到它位于苍梧，但张京俊非常有说服力地论证它肯定在安邑（《山西通志》第56卷

20~23页）。（引自张京俊的《舜陵辩》。——译注）这个问题跟有关尧陵的问题相像，因此也要按同样方式来寻求答案。

20日，安邑县陈县长请我们吃饭。陈先生是位古器物学者和收藏家。他带我们到他衙门里一个小博物馆去看他的藏品：他把原先分散在安邑境内各地的大量佛教造像碑和其他古碑收集在一起（图38）。搬到衙门里来的只是他所找到的物品的一部分，在他的目录中还包括仍然留在各个村子里的碑碣。他划了一条相当明确的界线：宋代以后的石刻一律不予登录。他正在做的是一件不寻常的事，并给人以一线希望——中国内陆地区的一些古迹还是有可能保存好的。

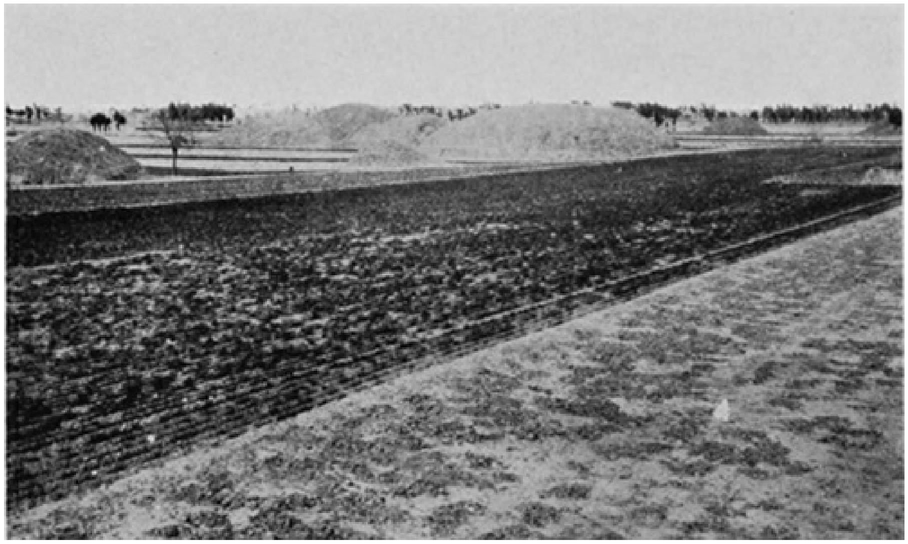
After the dinner we were taken about the city, where we saw some more of the dragon pillars, mostly in Taoist temples. The ancient city itself, where some of these pillars are supposed to have been found, is less than a mile from the southern gate of An-i. The remains of the old wall are still visible, but, if the place was a city at all, it was indeed a very small one, measuring about 400 by 250 yards. It may, however, be the site of an important ancient building.



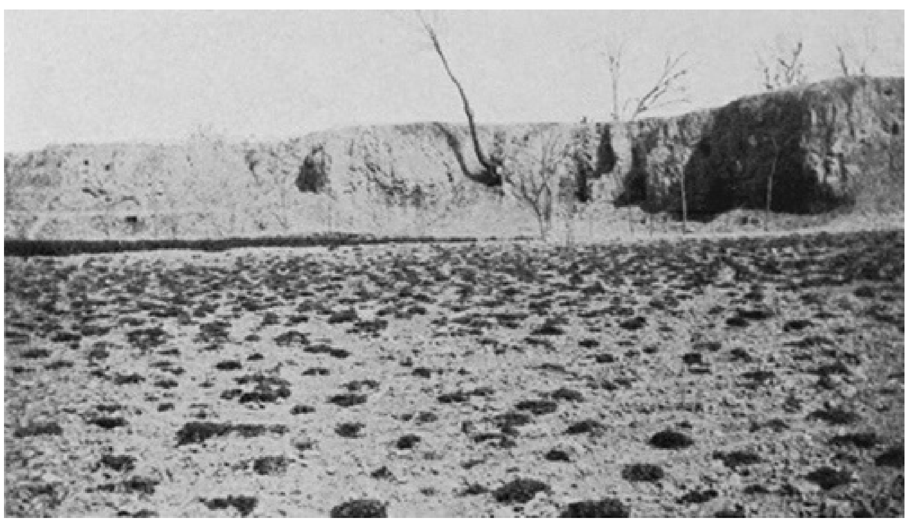
(38) Type of Buddhist *stela* collected by the Magistrate of An-i Hsien 安邑县县长所藏佛教石碑一例

We left Yün-ch'êng on the 21st, and on the 22nd we arrived at Hsia Hsien—center of the traditions of the ancient Hsia Dynasty. The temple of the Great Yü and the tombs of his descendants as well as many of the famous ministers of that dynasty are said to be located here, and all these I visited (Fig. 39); but I must confess that I am not at all able to determine whether, judged by their appearance, they are the real tombs or not. They all look like the ordinary burial mounds, except that they are larger. However, while on our way to visit these tombs the unexpected happened. It was after riding through the village of Hsi-yin that, suddenly, a large field of prehistoric potteries was discovered! Mr. Yüan was the first to see it. The site (Fig. 40), extending to several *mou* of land, is apparently larger than the one we found at Chiao-t'u-ho, and the pottery is somewhat different, too. While we were

picking up at random the sherds exposed on the surface, the villagers gathered in large number, so we did not stay very long lest there be too much excitement created.



(39) Supposed tombs of the Hsia emperors 传说的夏诸王陵



(40) Site at Hsi-yin Ts'un where prehistoric pottery was found 发现史前陶片的西阴村遗址

饭后，我们被招待参观了县城。我们在城里又看到了一些龙柱，它们多半在道教的宫观里。传说出土某些柱子的那座古城本身，离安邑县南门不到一英里路。旧城墙留下的残迹依然可见；不过，这里即便原来是座城，它也实在是个很小的城，面积约为400码×250码。可是不管怎么说，它有可能是一个重要的古代建筑的遗址。

我们于21日离开运城，22日到达夏县——传说的夏朝中心。据传大

禹庙以及禹王后裔和许多著名大臣的陵墓都在这里（当地称其为夏后氏陵。传说禹葬在会稽，太康葬在河南太康县，这里只有启和太康以下的诸王的陵寝。——译注）。所有这些我都去寻访了（图39）。不过说实在的，从外表上判断，我根本无法肯定这些是否是真正的陵墓。它们看起来都像是普通的坟冢，只是稍大一些。可是，在我们寻访这些陵墓的途中，出现了意想不到的事。当我们穿过西阴村后，突然间一大块到处都是史前陶片的场所出现在眼前（图40）。首先看到它的是袁先生。这个遗址占了好几亩地，比我们在交头河发现的遗址要大得多，陶片也略有不同。在我们随意捡拾一些暴露在地表的碎陶片时，聚拢了不少村民。我们没在这里逗留多久，以免引起过多的注意。（同年10月，本文作者和袁复礼先生再次来到此地，进行了有名的西阴村史前遗址的发掘。——译注）

When we left An-i Hsien, the magistrate had given us a copied list of the names and locations of the various votive stones which are still scattered in the different villages of his district, and as we were on our way northward again, we determined to stop and see some of them. Three places were visited on the 25th and the 26th, where besides *stelae*, we saw also a number of individual Buddhist figures which are preserved in good condition, the most perfect piece being in San-lu-li Ts'un. Unfortunately, it is preserved in a dark room, where a picture could not be taken, as I had no flash light with me.

On the 26th, while Mr. Yüan went away on some special geological mission, I started for Chi-san Hsien to have a look at the so-called T'ang wall paintings at Hsiao-ning Ts'un, some of these paintings having been recently sold to curio-dealers who sent them to Peking for sale. Hsin-hua-shih is a Buddhist temple built in the 12th year of K'ai-huang of the Sui Dynasty near Ch'a-tien-chieh. It has been destroyed and repaired many times; but the front hall still retains some reminiscence of T'ang architecture. It is in the central and the third hall that the walls are painted on three sides. The paintings of the side walls of the third hall and those of the southern wall of the central hall (opening towards the north) have been taken away by curio-dealers. The rest is still intact; and the date is to be found on the northern wall of the third hall, being the *wu-hsü* year of Yüan (1298 or 1358 A.D.). The courtyard between the front hall and the central hall was locked, and my guide assured me that there was nothing worth seeing inside the yard. Nevertheless, I had him open it for me, in spite of his assurance, and by sheer accident I found the protruding corner of a stone which lay buried in the ground. I asked the

villagers to dig it out for me, and it proved to be a votive *stela* (Fig. 41) carved at the time when the temple was first built. This little discovery rounded out my trip, and from this day on I marched directly northward and returned to Peking.

(41) Votive stela found at Hsin-hua-shih 兴化寺发现的造像碑

我们离开安邑县时，县长给我们开了一份关于分散在他所辖各村里的各种各样碑碣的名称和位置的单子。于是我们再次朝北走的时候，决定停下来看看其中的几个。25日和26日我们寻访了三个地方，除造像碑外，我们还看到了一些单个的佛像。它们保存完好，最好的一个是在三路里村。遗憾的是，这座像立在一间昏暗的屋子里，由于我没有带闪光灯，无法给它拍照。

26日，袁先生去完成专门的地质考察任务，我启程去稷山县看一看小宁村的所谓唐代壁画。这些画中有一些新近卖给了古董商人，已被送往北京出售。兴化寺是一座佛教寺院，在隋朝开皇十二年建于翟店街附近。这座寺院几经破坏和修复，但前殿还保留了唐代建筑式样的一些痕迹。在大殿和后殿，三面墙上都有彩绘。后殿两侧墙壁上所有的画和大

殿南墙（殿门朝北）的画，已被古董商人剥走。其他的还没被触动。后殿北墙上标明的作画年代是元朝戊戌年（公元1298年或公元1358年）。前殿和大殿之间的院子上了锁，向导对我保证说院子里没有值得一看的东西。然而我没有理睬他的保证，还是请他为我开了锁。十分偶然地，我发现一块埋着的石碑外露的一角。我请村民替我挖了出来。这原来是寺院始建时雕刻成的一块许愿的造像碑（图41）。这个小小的发现圆满地结束了我的旅程。我就在当天径直朝北行进，返回北京。

NOTES

1. Anthropometrical measurements at Chieh-hsiu

Through the kind arrangements of Mr. Huang Tzŭ-sen, Magistrate of Chieh-hsiu Hsien, I was able to measure 86 of the natives of this District who are serving in the Army Training Camp and the Police Court. With the exception of my series of Huang-p'i and Huang-kang, this is the largest of any series of anthropometrical measurements made in any one district. The following 13 measurements were taken of each individual: stature, auditory height, sitting height, head length, head breadth, horizontal circumference, minimum frontal diameter, bi-zygomatic diameter, nasion-menton height, nasion-prosthion height, nasal height, and nasal breadth. Observations were also made of the following descriptive characters: hair color, eye, brow, chin, shape of nose, malar bone, shape of face, prognathism, teeth.

2. Pottery Sherds from Chiao-t'ou-ho

The total number of sherds is 127. Of these, 42 are painted. Of the painted, 20 are with rims: 6 with bent rim, 1 with thickened rim, and 13 with plain rim. The paint used is black. The ground color varies from light brown to dark brown. The patterns consist of triangles with three sides concave, or with two sides concave and one side straight or convex; straight lines; crescent moon; big round dot; cross-hatched lines; shape of X with horns elongated into straight lines; and parallel lines with big dots between. Of the 85 unpainted, 21 are gray in color and are decorated with incised lines in parallel, cross-hatched or mixed directions; 2 are black and undecorated; 2 are dark violet and undecorated; 60 have the same ground color as the painted, and of these 17 are decorated with incised lines, 1 with ornamentation in relief, and 42 are plain. In addition to these potteries, there

are also two broken pieces of finely made black stone rings, and a small piece of the shaft of a human ulna.

附记

1. 在介休作的人体测量

通过介休县黄直生县长的好意安排，我对该县的86名本地人作了人体测量。这些人都是新兵和警察。除了我在黄陂、黄冈所作过的测量外，这是在一个县的范围内所作的规模最大的一组人体测量。对每个人都作了以下13个项目的测量（文中实际只列举了12个项目的名称。这12项以及正文下面所举的目测项目，绝大多数曾为作者写博士论文时实地采用过。这里对其中几个译名作些说明：听高，又名耳点高——即听觉器官的高度，指耳下垂上沿最低凹处至足跟的高度；鼻颚距，又名全面高——指鼻根部至下颚尖的长度；鼻齿距，又名上面高——指鼻根部至上门齿端的长度。——译注）：身高，听高，坐高，头长，头宽，头水平周长，最小额径，横经颧骨之面部直径，鼻颚距，鼻齿距，鼻长，鼻宽。本次观察还包括发色，眼睛，眉毛，下颚，鼻形，颧骨，面形，牙床凸度，牙齿。

2. 交头河收集的陶片

陶片总数为127片。其中42片是带彩的。带彩陶片中有20片是有边的：6片带卷边；l片带宽边；13片带平边。彩用黑色，底色从浅棕到深棕不一。图案有下列形状：3个凹边的三角形以及2个凹边和1个直边或凸边的三角形，直线，初月形，大圆点，格子线，铁十字形，中间带圆点的平行线。（这里用的一些译名基本采用作者本人在《西阴村史前的遗存》一书中文本里所用的名称。——译注）85片不带彩的陶片中，21片灰色的带有平行线、格子线或不定向的刻纹；2片无刻纹，黑色；2片无刻纹，暗紫色；60片有着与上述带彩陶片相同的底色，其中17片有线条刻纹，l片带有凸纹，42片是平的。除这些碎片外，还有2块制作精细的黑色石环碎片和一小条人的尺骨碎片。

3. Pottery Sherds from Hsi-yin Ts'un

The total number is 86. Of these, 14 are painted. Of the painted, 7 have rims—3 bent and 4 plain. Triangles, straight lines and big dots are the chief decorative patterns. They are often combined. Of the unpainted, 15 are gray

or black in color and 57 are red or dark brown. Of the gray or black, 11 have incised lines and 4 are plain. Of the red, 34 are incised and 23 are plain. One complete, rather ill-shaped cup is found in this collection. It is dark gray in color and not uniformly fired. The diameter of the rim varies from 5.5 cm. to 5.9 cm.; the height is 5.3 cm. There are 7 ridges at the bottom with 7 finger depressions between the ridges.

4. Votive stelae seen in An-i Hsien

In the list of ancient votive *stelae* given to me by the magistrate, there are 41 dated previous to the T'ang Dynasty. Of these, 28 have been moved to Fang kung-tz'ŭ, the museum in the magistrate's *yamên*. Twenty others are dated in T'ang and Sung, the latest date corresponding with 1101 A.D.

3. 西阴村收集的陶片

总数为86片。其中14片是带彩的。带彩陶片中有7片有边——3片带卷边，4片带平边。主要图案是三角形、直线和大圆点。几种图形通常结合使用。不带彩陶片中15片是灰色或黑色的，57片是红色或深棕色的。灰或黑色陶片中11片有刻纹，4片无刻纹。红色陶片中34片有刻纹，23片无刻纹。在这堆收集品中，还发现一个完整的、有些变形的杯子。杯呈深灰色，烧制的火候不均匀。杯沿直径从5.5厘米到5.9厘米不等，高5.3厘米。底部有7个隆起突，其间有7个手捺的凹印。

4. 安邑县所见的碑碣

在县长交给我的古代碑碣的单子上，注明41件是唐代以前的。其中28件已经移到县衙门的博物馆——房公祠。另20件注明是唐代和宋代的，其最晚日期相当于公元1101年。

李光谟 宋梅凤 译

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[1] 由于空间有限，这里我们不能将李济先生的精彩报告全部呈现，包括其中的插图以及先生非常有趣的结论，对此我们深表遗憾。但是以下所选的片段至少可以让我们对他在山西南部的初步考古发现所取得的成果略有了解。——编者注

VI Some Anthropological Problems of China

It is easier to speak with definiteness on problems concerning archaeology, linguistics, ethnology and to a certain extent sociology and psychology than those concerning anthropology. The reason is not far to seek. Anthropology as a science, if it has long been conceived, is not yet born. It may never become a science. It has a greater chance to become a system of philosophy. But it is a good term to retain and useful for more than one purpose, since in the family of scientific vocabulary, it alone comprehends all the phases of humanistic study. One of its many definitions that has been handed down to us since its inception as a branch of scientific inquiry is: it aims to study man and his products. Ignoring the metaphysical dilemma upon which this definition rests, an anthropologist may enthusiastically go on working out his problem with a perfect good conscience that he is making contributions to this great study of humanity. He is justified to do so. But his results will be either archaeological, ethnological or linguistic, or any other of a sub-anthropological nature rather than anthropological in the strictest sense. They can be valuable only discreetly.

Anthropology conceived as a concourse of all humanistic studies has an inherent difficulty to tackle with. It all depends whether man can study himself in a really scientific sense, whether as William James once so curtly put in his discussion on introspection as a scientific method, one can see the form and color of his own eyes by turning his eyes rapidly. The European answer to it is of course not to answer on the very sensible ground that it has never been answerable. One may almost say to himself with a feeling of relief that since there are definite groups of phenomena known by the term: Man, and His Products, why not study them as they are inductively with the recognized biological principle of evolution as the guidance! This has been the course generally pursued, and speaking at large, the position of European and American anthropologists up to the present time.

That is probably the only course from a European and American point of view. But a Chinaman is not necessarily bound to take it, even he wants to study anthropology. Nor does he have the right to, as he lacks that great

history of scientific scholarship as his background which is at once the pride and burden of all Europeans. An Easterner is to be benefited by a knowledge of scientific development in the West, only in so far as it is negative. For failures are always to be avoided, while achievements shift their value from generation to generation, thus needing constant reexamination. To this rule the theory of evolution forms no exception.

陆 国的若干人类学问题

确定地讨论考古学、语言学、人种学，以及一定程度上讨论社会学和心理学的问题，都要比确定地讨论人类学的问题要容易。原因很简单。尽管经历了长时间的酝酿，人类学仍未作为一门科学诞生。它也许永远不会成为一门科学。它更可能成为一个哲学体系。不过人类学确是一个有存在价值的术语，这不只是为一个目的，因为在科技术语的大家庭中，仅有人类学一词涵盖了人文学科研究的各个阶段。自从人类学作为科学探索的一个分支创立以来，关于它的定义众多，一个沿用至今的是：它致力于研究人类及其产品。不考虑这一定义在形而上学层面的困境，人类学家可以怀着为人类研究的伟大事业作贡献的美好愿望，孜孜不倦地致力于他的研究。他有理由这样做，但是，其研究结果可能是考古学的、人种学的、语言学的，或者其他亚人类学的，却偏偏不是严格意义上的人类学的。这些研究结果可能有价值，但须谨慎对待。

被认为是所有人文学科总汇的人类学，研究起来有一个固有的困难。它完全取决于人类是否能够从真正科学的角度来研究自己，能否像威廉·詹姆斯在探讨把内省作为科学研究方法时简述的那样——可以通过快速转动眼球看到自己眼睛的形状和颜色。欧洲人对此问题的回答，当然是不基于它从未得到解答这一实际前提。我们几乎可以安慰自己说，既然已有确定的现象组为研究对象——人及其产品，为什么不以公认的生物进化论为指导、用归纳法加以研究呢？这一直是人们通常采用的途径，笼统地说，也是迄今为止欧美人类学家采取的立场。

依欧美学者的看法，这也许是唯一的途径。但是中国人并不一定要采用这种方法，即使他希望从事人类学研究。同时他也并无此权利，因为他缺乏欧洲人引以为傲又视为负担的悠久科学研究历史为背景。东方人应能受益于西方科学发展的知识，但仅限于借鉴负面的例子，因为失败总是应当避免的，而成就的价值随不同代的人而改变，因此需要不断重新检验。在这一点上，进化论也不例外。

In the long list of eminent scientists in Europe and America, there is perhaps no abler biological thinker than Darwin whose discourse on evolution culminates all scientific achievements of the nineteenth century. The almost divine attempt of Herbert Spencer to fit all natural phenomena into his conceived and conceivable pattern of evolution has never been

challenged in regard to its fundamental premise. Today the one thing that a school teacher is sure to know is that man is descended from a kind of monkey. He will tell you that in the course of time, Baboon begets Gibbon, Gibbon begets Chimpanzee, Chimpanzee begets Gorilla, Gorilla begets Pithecanthropus Erectus and Pithecanthropus Erectus begets Man—strangely reminiscent of the Chapters on Genesis except the garment has changed its shape. Anthropological literature is literally saturated with Darwinism. Only lately, one eminent anthropologist has made this remark: anthropology is essentially a Darwinian science, accept Darwinism or reject anthropology. One discerns immediately that the Zeitgeist with which more than 10,000 articles on Pithecanthropus Erectus have been produced is still having its palmy days and the recent discovery of Rhodesiansis is likely to produce another scientific storm sweeping over five continents.

There is no necessity for any one to renew the Agassizian controversy over Darwinism just now. Yet it does not take one long to find that the Darwinian tyranny, enlightened as it is, is irritating in many respects to those who are devoting themselves to humanistic study. One finds too that some of the essential aspects of its meaning are extremely hollow. The interpretation of the survival of the fittest is only one of many examples that one can cite. Nor has there been a single successful experiment unveiling the mystery of heredity on which the whole Darwinian formula hangs. The net result is that there are as many interpretations of Darwinism as the number of interpreters. Thus it rivals the concept of God as a topic for speculation.

在欧美众多杰出的科学家中，恐怕没有一个生物学家比达尔文更为出色，他关于进化论的论述是19世纪所有科学成就的巅峰。斯宾塞企图将一切自然现象纳入他假想的、可以想见的进化模型，这一近乎神圣的创举，从未在其根本前提上遭到质疑。如今，校园老师确知的是：人是从某种猴子进化而来。他会告诉你，在漫长的时间里，狒狒生成了长臂猿，长臂猿生成了黑猩猩，黑猩猩生成了大猩猩，大猩猩生成了直立猿人，直立猿人最后生成了人。这奇怪地让人联想到《创世纪》中的某些章节，只是故事的外壳变了。人类学的文献中充斥着达尔文主义。就在最近，一位著名的人类学家还作了这样的评述：本质上，人类学是一门达尔文主义的科学——要么接受达尔文主义，要么拒绝人类学。人们会立即意识到，这种时代思潮虽已促成一万多篇关于直立猿人的文章发表，但它仍处在鼎盛时期，近期罗得西亚人的发现可能会再次掀起一场席卷五大洲的科学风暴。

现在没有必要重提阿加西斯对达尔文主义的反对。但是，不用花很长时间我们便可发现，达尔文思想的专制，虽然具有启蒙意义，但对人文学者来说在很多方面仍是令人恼怒的。人们还发现，其定义中的某些基本方面极其空洞。关于适者生存的阐释只是众多可供引用的例证之一；而且从来没有一例成功的实验揭开遗传定律的神秘面纱，而这一定律正是达尔文定律的立论根基。最终结果是，有多少达尔文理论的阐释者，就有多少种对该理论的解释。因此，这个话题引起的猜想简直可以与上帝这一概念相媲美了。

But Darwinism has stimulated research. As a working hypothesis it still offers an immense potentiality for further exploration. The danger spot of the whole theory, which one apprehends, lies in its ossification with age into a rigid dogma which would deaden the scientific spirit that has been originally stimulated by it, and that unfortunately seems to be the present ten-theory [Sic] in regard to the increasing zest shown by Europeans and Americans for anthropological study; it points out that this zest is impelled by their curiosity to prove how civilized they are rather than a real scientific interest. This may also serve to explain the ponderous faith of Europeans in human progress and incidentally as the foundation of their Greco-Roman Mania. Whatever one may say, Europe is on the tip-top of civilization, and will always be so as long as there are heaven and earth. All anthropologists, therefore, must do their homage to the classical scholars from a European point of view. If any European dares to break this tradition, he will be ostracized and considered as an outlaw to his class defying their ancestral God, which is the greatest triumph of Darwinian dogma.

Of course no seriously minded person would belittle the tradition of the Greeks and the Romans, or the theory of evolution as a pure hypothesis. It is altogether a different argument than self-pooled esteem that should lead an Easterner to start his scientific inquiry with thorough skepticism. Nothing harms one's mental habit so much as the acceptance of other's conclusion without first of all living through with their premises. The Chinese as a race is just beginning its serious scientific career; the first item on its programme, if it works, ought to be an examination of all the Western scientific dogmas by studying their details. Moreover, his task is not only to de-Europeanize science, but also denationalize himself as far as his attitude towards the object of his study is concerned. This applies particularly to those whose course of scientific pursuit is more of a humanistic nature in which the *ego* has a

greater part to play.

The arguments advanced so far are intended to show that the anthropological problems of China are more than a purely technical question. It is true that we have many technical problems to solve. We need an archaeological survey, an anthropometrical survey, an ethnographical survey and a linguistic survey, all of which require a vast amount of energy and great ingenuity for solution. Their immediate solution is the more necessary in order to dispel some of the common misconceptions about China entertained in some parts of the world and created intentionally or unintentionally by the pseudo-scientific attempt of some over-enthusiastic and self-appointed authorities of the Far East. But in the nature of the case, these problems, while difficult, are not baffling. Given time and money, they are capable of being solved within a fixed period. Looking from a different angle into this field, a Chinese anthropologist would feel the urgent necessity of transcending his national boundary. These are general problems which he alone, by virtue of the peculiar position that he occupies in the scientific world, can solve and from which responsibility he has no reason to evade. This brings us to the anthropological problem of China in its truest sense.

但达尔文主义催生了很多研究。作为一个作业假说，它仍然为进一步探索提供着巨大的潜能。在人们看来，该理论危险之处在于：因年久僵化，它已成为刻板的教条，最初激发科学探索精神的理论如今却要将其扼杀。不幸的是，在欧美越来越炙手可热的人类学领域，如今这似乎已成为金科玉律。这些学者对人类学研究的热情是受他们想要证明自己有多么文明的好奇心驱使，而并非出于真正的科学兴趣。这也可以用于解释欧洲人关于人类进步固化的坚信，同时也成为他们对希腊罗马狂热崇拜的基础。无论怎么说，欧洲始终处在文明的顶端，而且将永远如此。因此，在欧洲人看来，所有的人类学家都应该对那些古典学者心怀敬意。如果任何一个欧洲人胆敢背弃这一传统，他将会被排斥，并被视为反抗其祖先上帝的阶级叛徒：这便是达尔文教条最伟大的胜利。

当然，任何一个有头脑的人都不会轻视希腊和罗马传统，也不会认为进化论只是一个纯粹的假设。总的说来，教一个东方学者抱着彻底的怀疑态度开始科学探索的应是一种不同的观点，而不是一种自满。没有什么比在不了解别人立论前提的情况下就全盘接受其结论更有害思维的了。中国人，作为一个种族，刚刚开始我们严谨的科学事业。这一事业如果可行的话，首要任务就是通过研究细节去检验西方的一切科学信条。而且，我们的任务不仅是将科学去欧洲化，在涉及到个人对研究对

象的态度时，还要让自己去民族化。这一点尤其适用从事人文科学研究的人，因为“自我”在这样的研究中的影响更大。

到目前为止，笔者的论述都旨在说明中国的人类学问题并不是一个单纯的技术问题。诚然，我们有很多技术问题有待解决。我们需要进行考古学、人体测量学、人种学以及语言学的调查，所有这些都需要大量的精力和高度的独创性来解决。要消除世界上某些地区民众所持有的、由远东地区某些过度热情的、自封的权威所进行的伪科学尝试而有意或无意创造出来的对中国的误解，就更需要立即解决以上问题。然而，这些问题虽然很困难，但本质上并非不可捉摸。只要有足够的时间和资金，它们都能在一定期限内得到解决。从另一个角度来看，中国人类学家更感到亟须超越自己的国界限制。这些普遍的问题，中国人类学家凭借其在学术界的特殊位置便可解决，且责无旁贷。这就将我们带到了真正意义上的中国人类学问题面前。

Certain premises have to be taken for granted before these problems could be brought out in the right perspective. They are time and changes. All genetic studies have time as their background. Anthropology if rightly studied is essentially a genetic science and depends mainly for its results on historical and comparative method. It is in this sense only that anthropology may be considered as an evolutionary science; for the only logical meaning of evolution is also the simplest, namely, time accompanied by change. As such, it does take a Hackel to speak of its final works, for the ancient Greeks have defined it for us long ago. When Herbert Spencer elaborated it in term of complexity and heterogeneity, he not only smothered the soul of this term but also betrayed a refreshing ignorance of human psychology and unconsciously led his younger contemporaries astray. It is he together with Huxley who is more responsible for the hunting expedition of all European and American anthropologists for Man in "his bodily frame the indelible stamp of his lowly origin" than Darwin's own words. There is nothing wrong in this, so far as it serves only as an impetus for further research, but it resulted in a distorted proportion of our knowledge about ourselves. Now we know a great deal more about our bones and muscles thus, linking our stock with the Simian family with a great deal of pride, than our own mind. The reason is that evolution in the Spencerian sense finds more confirmation in one's body than in one's soul.

在正确认识这些问题之前，我们需要先接受几个前提。这就是时间与变化。所有遗传学的研究都是以时间为背景。如果得以恰当研究，人

类学本质上是一门遗传科学，其结果主要依靠历史法和比较法获取。只有从这个意义上讲，人类学方可以被视为一门进化科学，因为对于进化唯一合乎逻辑的、同时也是最简单的解释，就是伴随着变化的时间。所以，虽然古希腊人早已给人类学下了定义，但要了解人类学的最新著作，却需要读恩斯特·海克尔。当斯宾塞从复杂性和异质性的角度讲解人类学时，他不仅窒息了这个词的灵魂，同时也意外地暴露了人类心理的无知，继而在无意识中将同时代的后辈引入了歧途。斯宾塞和赫胥黎应该对所有欧美人类学家猎寻人类“身上不可抹去的卑微出生的印记”这一行为负有更大责任，虽然这句话出自达尔文之口。如果只是作为后续研究的推动力而言，这并没有错，但它导致了我们对自身认识的极度失衡。如今，我们对自己的骨骼和肌肉有了足够多的了解，基于此，还满怀自豪地把我们的血统与猿类联系起来，而与之相比，我们对于大脑的了解却不甚了了。这是因为，在斯宾塞派看来，能够更好地印证进化的是人的身体，而非灵魂。

Yet it is commonly admitted that the study of man must begin with that on his very self as a separate entity, rather than through the sounds that he could utter, the metals that he could shape or the institutions that he could build. This forces us back to face the metaphysical dilemma to which we have a moment ago referred. In the light of psychology as a science, it is altogether too early to give an adequate answer to the question whether man can study his self. But the peculiar position of a Chinese who has acquired an Indo-European language as an organ of thinking in addition to his own native tongue suggests at least a possibility of avoiding this metaphysical dilemma.

For it may be argued, much of the difficulty arising out of the study of our own mental constitution is due to the impossibility of rendering an impartial account of it by the very language with which the mental habit is formed. The Chinese linguists, and the European orientalists too should they acquire it as a part of their mental equipment rather than as a fulfillment of their simple curiosity, have obtained a mirror. If the nature of the language does effect the mode of thinking, the knowledge of a second tongue totally different from the first would give him a clear reflection of the original mode.

It is the written language as well as the spoken language that are meant here. Language has been traditionally treated by European scientists as a collection of sounds instead of an expression of something inner and deeper than the vocal apparatus as it should be. The accumulative effect of language-symbols upon one's mental formulation is still an unexploited field. Dividing

the world culture of the living races on this basis, one perceives a fundamental difference of its types between the alphabetical users and the hieroglyphic users, each of which has its own virtues and vices. Now with all respects to alphabetical civilization, it must be frankly stated that it has a grave and inherent defect in its lack of solidity. The most civilized portion under the alphabetical culture is also inhabited by the most fickle people. The history of the Western land repeats the same story over and over again. Thus up and down with the Greeks; up and down with Rome; up and down with the Arabs. The ancientic Semitic and Hametic peoples are essentially alphabetic users, and their civilizations show the same lack of solidity as the Greeks and the Romans. Certainly this phenomenon can be partially explained by the extra-fluidity of the alphabetical language which cannot be depended upon as a suitable organ to conserve any solid idea. Intellectual contents of these people may be likened to waterfalls and cataracts, rather than seas and oceans. No other people is richer in ideas than they; but no people would give up their valuable ideas as quickly as they do. Westerners have called their civilization dynamic which is essentially true and compatible with the nature of their language. But its mobile part is that of Tennyson's man rather than that of his brook, for it apprehends its coming by going and never stays. "Nothing is new under the sun" is a European proverb; yet every European tries to get something new everyday, and also gives it away as soon as they have got it—a defect inherent in their civilization.

然而，人们普遍承认的是：研究人类必须从研究作为独立的个体而存在的人本身开始，而不是通过他发出的声音、塑造的金属形制，或是建立的制度开始。这就迫使我们重新面对之前提到过的那个形而上的困境。如果将心理学作为一门科学来看，要给“人是否能够研究自己”这个问题一个令人满意的答案，还为时尚早。但是，那些在母语之外又习得一门印欧语言，并以之为思考工具的中国人的存在，至少表明避免这种形而上的困境的可能。

因为，有人可能会说，研究我们自身思维所遭遇的大部分困难是因为我们不可能用作为思维载体的语言对思维本身进行客观描述。中国的语言学家和欧洲的东方学者，如果习得一门外语作为思维工具，而不是纯粹为了满足好奇，便获得了一面镜子。如果语言的特性的确可以影响思维模式，那么，一门与母语截然不同的第二语言便可使人清晰反观其原思维模式。

这里所指的不仅仅是书面语，也包括口语。在欧洲科学家看来，语

言历来只是声音的集合，而不是一种比发音器官更内在、更深刻的东西的表述，而它本应是后者。语言符号对人思维方式产生的累积效果仍旧是一个未曾开发的领域。以此为依据划分世界上各种族的文化，可以察觉到拼音文字的使用者与象形文字的使用者的文化类型有本质的区别，两种各有优劣。纵观拼音语言文明的各个方面，必须坦率地说，它在连续性方面天生就具有严重的缺陷。文明程度最高的拼音文化区也是最多变的群体居住区。在西方世界的历史中，同样的情况重复发生。希腊人经历了鼎盛与衰败，罗马人也是如此，阿拉伯人同样如此。古代的闪族人和含族人本质上也是字母文字的使用者，他们的文明与罗马、希腊文明一样缺乏连续性。当然，这种现象可以部分归因为字母语言的极大流动性，人们不能依赖这种语言作为一个合适的保存任何持久思想的载体。这些民族的智慧可被比作瀑布，而不是海洋。没有一个民族比他们更有想法，但是也没有一个民族会像他们那样快地丢弃那些很有价值的想法。西方人称他们的文明是动态的；本质上的确如此，也符合他们语言的特性。然而，流动的是丁尼生的民族，而不是他诗歌中的溪流，因为它以不断地离去来解释不断地到来，从不停息。“太阳底下无新事”是一句欧洲谚语，但欧洲人每天都试图找到些新鲜的事物，并且一旦找到就立即抛到一边——这是该文明的一大固有缺陷。

The Chinese language is by all means the counterpart of the alphabetic stock. It lacks most of the virtues that are found in the alphabetic language; but as an embodiment of simple and final truth, it is invulnerable to storm and stress. It has already protected the Chinese civilization for more than forty centuries. It is solid, square, and beautiful exactly as the spirit of it represents. Whether it is the spirit that has produced this language or whether this language has in turn accentuated the spirit remains to be determined.

The proposition laid out here is not for moralizing but for experimentalization. It is to be considered as the first anthropological problem of China. The science of psychology has already reached a stage of development at which an anthropologist may utilize its result to his advantage. The influence of lines and forms exerted on the mental content of a psychological observer has long been reckoned with. Certainly it is reasonable to assume the existence of an intricate relation between the character of a written language on the one hand and the origin, growth, formulation and mobility of ideas on the other, which could be experimentally determined. If in term of an alphabetical language, one can describe the influence of hieroglyphic writings on his thinking mode, and

then reverse the process to identify the result, it would not be too much to expect that man has finally achieved a method to study his most supreme self in the most objective way.

To study linguistics on a psychological basis as an anthropological problem is by no means a radical idea. It is the only logical outcome of the scientific movement for the study of man. To correlate language, culture and race with each other has already become an obsolete anthropological game.Classification of mankind on different anatomical basis could no longer be considered as the final goal of anthropological study just as classification of living organism can no longer be considered as the object of biological study. It is doubtful whether the classification of man should be considered as an anthropological problem at all; or granting that it is still of some use, whether it should rest on an anatomical basis. But at any rate, it could be considered only as a means for further end. The most wayward development of modern anthropological study is the gross assumption by anthropologists of a concomitant variation between body and mind. This is due more to the lack of psychological knowledge than any other single cause. The only remedy to it is a genetic study of mind for which the hieroglyphic alphabetic method has been proposed.

汉语在所有方面都与拼音文字相对立。它缺少拼音文字的大多数优点，但是作为简单终极真理的载体，它在动荡变迁中留存至今。它已保护了中华文明四千多年。它是稳固的，方正的，正如它代表的精神一样美丽。而究竟是这种精神造就了这门语言，还是这门语言强化了这种精神，这个问题仍有待确定。

在此提出的主张并不是为了说教，而是用来试验。这将被认为是中国的首个人类学问题。心理学已发展到可供人类学家利用其成果的阶段。线条与形状会对心理观察者的思考内容产生影响，这一点早已为人们所注意。我们当然有理由假定，在某一书面语言的特性与某些观点的起源、发展、形成和流动之间存在某种复杂的关系，而这种关系可以通过试验来确定。如果我们可以用拼音文字来描述象形文字对其思维模式的影响，然后反过来用象形文字来描述拼音文字的影响，那么，可以不夸张地想见，人类终于找到一个研究终极自我的最为客观的方法。

以心理学为基础把语言学当成一个人类学问题来研究，这绝不是一个激进的想法。这是人类研究这一科学运动发展的唯一合理的结果。将语言、文化和人种相互联系已经是一个过时的人类学游戏。基于解剖结构的人类分类已不再可能被认为是人类学研究的终极目标，正如生物有

机体的分类不再被视为生物学研究的目标一样。人类分类是否能被认为是一个人类学问题，这本身就值得怀疑；即使假定这种分类是有用的，它是否能以解剖学为基础也是一个问号。无论如何，它仅可以被视为达到下一步目标的方法。现代人类学研究最任性的发展就是人类学家草率地假定身体和思维是相随变化的。这更多的是因为缺乏心理学知识，而不是其他任何单方面的原因。对此唯一的解决方法是对人类思维的起源与发展进行研究——在此我提出了象形的、字母的研究方法。

To study mind on its own account and ascertain its different types and laws in order to give a more vital stimulus to anthropological study as well as a living interpretation of the existing anthropological data must be based on a broadly defined principle of evolution rather than by restrained Darwinian formulae which necessitates the assumption of a monotypical nature and hampers the range of investigation. The two types of language, for instance, which we have considered cannot be possibly explained on the old-fashioned evolutionary basis. This bi-lineal development suggests plainly other cultured phases of a similar nature, and sufficiently warrants us to take departure from the orthodox anthropological method.

If the above considerations are of logical possibilities, it is evident that the other anthropological problems of China are to be deduced therefrom. Of course everybody is interested in the origin of the Chinese and their relation with the other races. In the light of our present knowledge, which is extremely limited, it is to be said that the Chinese are extremely heterogeneous and their origin is quite obscure. Thus it justifies a thorough anatomical and anthropological survey not only of the [Han] Chinese themselves, but also the Aborigines found in the Southwest of China, the Tibetans, Mongolians, and the Siberians, all of whom have contributed their quota to the formation of the Chinese. To this must be added the linguistic study by means of phonology, which, however, can be of use only as an accessory to the psychological method. As for the social institutions and the meaning of the different phases of material culture, they are closely dependent for their interpretation upon a revelation of the Chinese type of mind which I consider as qualitatively different from the alphabetical races. Facts are what we need to prove this thesis. The duty of a Chinese anthropologist at present is to collect facts.

以思维本身作为研究对象，查明其不同的类型和规律，从而更好地激发人类学的研究、完善目前对现存人类学资料的解释，这必须基于广

义的进化原则，而不是受限的达尔文公式，因为后者需要假定一个单一性，从而使研究范围受限。例如，上面提到的两种语言就无法用老式的进化论观点解释。这种双线发展明确提示了性质类似的其他文化阶段，并充分允许我们寻求正统的人类学方法之外的其他研究方法。

如果上述思考在逻辑上具有可能性，显然中国的其他人类学问题也可以随之被推断出来。当然，每个人对中国人类的起源及其与其他种族的关系都很感兴趣。以我们目前十分有限的知识来看，可以说中国人极其混杂，其起源也非常模糊。因此，不仅有必要对汉族人本身进行彻底的解剖学和人类学调查，还应该对中国西南部原住民、藏人、蒙古人和西伯利亚人进行研究，他们的血统都存在于现代中国人中。此外，还须进行语言学语音系统研究，不过，这只能作为心理学研究的辅助手段。至于社会制度和物质文化不同发展阶段的意义，对它们作出解释在很大程度上要依赖对中国人思维方式的揭示。在我看来，中国人的思维方式与使用拼音文字的种族的思维方式有着质的区别。这个论题还需要靠事实来证明，而目前中国人类学家的任务就是搜集论据。

佚名 译

VII Some Anthropological Problems of China: Reconsidered

Forty years ago, when the American Association for the Advan-cement of Science held its annual conference in Boston in 1922, I was persuaded and encouraged by my fellow students and teachers in the Peabody Museum at Harvard University to discuss publicly my youthful ideas about Chinese anthropology at a scheduled meeting of the anthropological section of the Association. As a result, a paper entitled "Some Anthropological Problems of China" was read before the gathering of some of the leading anthropologists of North America, including such eminent authorities as Franz Boas, Clark Wissler, Alfred L. Kroeber, Roland B. Dixon and a number of others. As I had the whole area of China to speculate upon, I found myself at a great advantage. The very topic aroused curiosity in the distinguished audience. One evening paper in Boston even gave a column to the event, and later on the editor of the *Harvard Graduates Magazine* must have thought rather well of the paper: for it was published in its subsequent issue[1].

I recall this episode because it is needed as a background against which I am going to discuss certain anthropological problems of China which we are facing today. In the paper that I read forty years ago, as one of the early pioneers in the anthropological inquiry into the vast, unexplored Chinese field, I pleaded for an overall consideration of what I thought to be the preliminary requirements in this area. I advocated the simultaneous undertaking of an anthropometrical survey, a linguistic survey and an archaeological survey. I told that august body of learned men that in order to find out anything about the Chinese people, it is absolutely necessary first to collect systematically these relevant scientific data. I also mentioned certain specific problems, as they then occurred to me; and I said that if one wished to understand the nature of Chinese civilization, one must start with a thorough investigation of the Chinese written language. The paper was a short one, but the needs I presented and the problems I listed, definitely impressed my audience. Some of the senior members present in the meeting commented that there was something in what I said.

柒 再论中国的若干人类学问题

四十年前，当美国科学促进协会在波士顿举行1922年年会时，在哈佛大学皮博迪博物馆的同学和老师们的敦促和鼓励下，我去参加了协会人类学组的一次日程上的会议，把我关于中国人类学的一些幼稚想法拿出来公开讨论。于是，在这次北美顶级人类学家云集的会议上，在弗朗兹·博厄斯、克拉克·威斯勒、艾尔弗雷德·克罗伯、罗兰·狄克森等许多著名权威人士面前，我宣读了一篇题为《中国的若干人类学问题》的论文。因为我所要探索的是整个中国这个领域，所以我发现自己拥有很多有利的条件。题目本身就在尊贵的听众当中引起了好奇。波士顿的一家晚报甚至专栏报道了这件事，后来，《哈佛研究生杂志》在随后的一期[2]里也刊登了我的这篇文章，想必该杂志的编辑认为它还不错。

我回顾这段经历，是因为要用它作为背景，来探讨我们目前面临的有关中国的一些人类学问题。在四十年前我宣读的那篇论文里，作为一名早期涉入中国这片广袤的、未经发掘的人类学研究领域的开拓者，我号召对那些我认为的该领域的首要问题作全面考虑。我建议同时着手进行人体测量调查、语言学调查和考古学调查。我向那些可敬的与会学者说，要对中国这个民族有所了解，首先系统地搜集上述各方面的相关科学资料是绝对必要的。我还提到当时想到的一些具体的问题；我说道，要想了解中国文明的本质，首先需要对中国文字有透彻的了解。这篇论文不长，但是我提出的需要和列出的问题肯定给我的听众留下了深刻印象。出席会议的一些资深学者认为我的发言言之有物。

It has been happily for me a piece of fortuitous coincidence that for the past forty years I have been able to follow uninterruptedly the course of my chosen profession though not without its accompanying vicissitudes. I have worked a little and thought more; but I have seen much. So it is to my own interest and in a way an amusing piece of experience to compare what I like to say today with what I did say forty years ago.

Today, China is no longer a virgin field for any anthropologist; it is true that the systematic surveys which I advocated in my student days were never systematically carried out. But there have been numerous individual and collective field works in anthropology and in related subjects in the past forty years. Quite a number of them are of first rate scientific quality. Many of you

no doubt are familiar with the archaeological discoveries accomplished in China between 1920 and 1960. In linguistics, there have also been important contributions not only in the systematic recording of dialectic studies, but also in theoretical phonetics. It is in physical anthropology that the progress has been comparatively slow. Nevertheless, everybody knows something about the Peking Man, whose discovery was itself a milestone that marked the progress of palaeoanatomical research in the scientific world. But one must admit, however, that in the study of the historical Chinese, the interest in their bodily changes has not been properly developed, though even in this respect, there are not without some important contributions. So, on the whole, we can say that as far as China is concerned, we have in each of the three important branches of the anthropological science, accumulated enough reliable data which may be used either for comparative purpose, or for the advancement of such scientific inquiries on a broader basis. In other words, we have broken the field; what needs to be done further is to continue its cultivation and wait for the harvest.

The first-hand materials collected by trained workers have certainly clarified a great deal of the myth about the Chinese people; they not only have solved a number of old problems, but also, what is even more important, have led to the discovery of many new ones.

这过去的四十年里，尽管也不是毫无曲折，但我得以没有间断地沿着我所选择的专业道路走了下来，这对我而言是一种幸福而幸运的巧合。我做了一些工作，但我思考的东西更多些；至于所见所闻就更加多了。因此，把我今天要讲的跟我四十年前讲过的作一比较，不但我自己感到有趣，而且在某种程度上也是一段有意思的经验体会。

今天的中国，对于任何一个人类学家都不再是一块处女地了。诚然，我在学生时代所建议的那些系统的调查从未系统地进行过。但在过去的四十年里，在人类学以及相关学科里曾进行过多次单独的和集体的实地考察工作。其中有相当一部分具顶尖的科学水平。你们当中有许多人无疑是熟悉1920年至1960年期间中国的考古发现的。在语言学上，不仅在方言的系统记录方面，而且在语音理论方面，都取得了重要成就。在体质人类学方面，进展则比较缓慢。不过，每个人对北京人都有所了解；北京人的发现，本身就是标志古人类解剖学研究在科学界取得进展的里程碑。可是也必须承认，在对历史上的中国人的研究方面，对其体质变化的兴趣并没有真正发展起来，尽管在这方面也不是毫无重要成就。因此，整个来看，我们可以说，就中国而言，我们在人类学这三个

重要分科上都积累了相当数量的可靠资料；它们既可用于比较研究，又可用于推动在更广泛的基础上进行这类科学调查。换言之，这块园地已经开辟，需要进一步做的就是继续耕作，以期结果收成。

受过训练的工作者搜集到的第一手资料，确凿无疑地澄清了有关中国人的大量神话故事。这些资料不只是解答了一些老问题，更重要的是还指引人们发现了许多新问题。

As these problems are many-sided and complicated in nature, let me confine myself to a few examples. First and foremost, I should like to take up the problem of physical anthropology of the Chinese people. The Chinese people, as is well-known, have always been classified as a branch of the Mongoloid race ever since anthropologists started classifying mankind. What do we know about the Mongoloid race? The question, unfortunately, is rather difficult to answer, even for the best authority on the racial history of man. Recently it has been suggested that the most representative physical traits of a Mongoloid are found on his face. They are: the almond eyes, the flattish forehead, the more or less depressed nasal root, the broad, heavily patted cheek bone. And there is also a theory to explain their origin and evolution. Professor Carleton Coon, the ablest exponent of this theory, is of the opinion that the particular facial appearance of the Mongoloid people was originated from the necessity of fighting against the bitterly cold weather during the last glacial age, when a group of early Mongoloid were trapped in dry cold region in northeastern Siberia. According to this theory, the people at that time had already invented shelter and clothing which were sufficient to keep their body in comfortable and balanced condition. But their face was by necessity exposed. So this severe cold climate wiped out the unfit by pneumonia and sinus infection; while those who happen to be protected in the sinus region and eye region by a thick layer of fatty substance and a small nasal aperture, were better qualified to survive in this cold climate than otherwise. The result of this severe struggle, as one sees, is the development of the Mongoloid face.

If we started with this definition of the Mongoloid and applied it to a racial study of the Chinese people, we would encounter from time to time some highly interesting problems. It is rather difficult to find typical examples of the Mongoloid among the Chinese people according to this definition, as difficult as, say, one should try to find a typical Nordic man or a Nordic woman in Switzerland in accordance with the definition of a

taxonomist. It is true, that there are isolated examples of individual Chinese here and there, whose physical appearance may fit into the above definition. Yet they hardly constitute a type.

这些问题牵涉的方面很多，性质错综复杂，所以这里我只举几个例子。首先，也是最重要的一个，我想讨论中国人的体质人类学问题。大家都知道，自从人类学家开始对人类进行分类以来，中国人一直都被认定是蒙古人种的一个分支。那么我们对蒙古人种都知道些什么呢？遗憾的是，这个问题即使对于研究人类种族史的顶级权威来说，也很难回答。近来有人主张，蒙古人种最具代表性的体征表现在面部，即：杏仁状的眼，稍平的前额，多少有些塌陷的鼻根和宽广而扁平的颧骨。同时还有一种理论来解释这些体征的起源和演变。卡尔登·孔恩教授是倡导这一理论最力的人，他认为蒙古人种这种独特的面部外形，起源于最后一次冰河期中跟严酷寒冷的气候搏斗的需要，当时一个早期蒙古种群陷在西伯利亚东北部的干冷地带。按照这个理论，那时的人已经发明了居所和衣服，足以使他们的身体处于舒适平稳的状态。但他们的面部却不得不裸露在外。这种酷寒气候，致使一些人患肺炎和窦室炎症而被淘汰，而那些碰巧在窦部和眼部有一层厚脂肪组织保护并且鼻孔小的人，则比没有这些体征的人更适应在这种寒冷气候生存。正如所见，这种严酷斗争的结果，就是蒙古人种的脸型演进。

如果我们从蒙古人种的这一定义出发，并把它应用于中国人的种族研究，我们将会不断遇到一些饶有兴味的问题。要按照这个定义在中国人当中找到标准的蒙古人种的例证，是颇为困难的，其困难程度可以说就像按照分类学家的定义在瑞士找出一个标准的北欧男人或北欧女人一样。不错，我们可以在各处找到体征符合上述定义的单个的中国人，但这些人远不能构成一个类型。

The physical type of the Chinese people as studied in the last forty years, shows a great deal of variation in stature, head form, nasal form, and even in pigmentation. One finds it, for instance, as in the case of the skeletal materials collected from the famous Anyang site, far from being homogeneous. The standard deviation calculated from a study of the cranial index of this series is considerably beyond the normal range, definitely indicating the miscellaneous origins of the skulls composing the series. I have myself occasionally tried to study the changes of physical type of the Chinese people in two different respects: geographical variation and historical evolution. While the data gathered are hardly enough to base any definite conclusion, they are nevertheless, quite illuminating. The great scope of

geographical variation may be best illustrated by a survey of the regional distribution of the Chinese stature, head index, and nasal index. The northern Chinese for instance, are much taller than the southerners by an average sometime as great as almost 9 cm. As for the cephalic index, the Chinese people also differ in different parts of China. It has been found that both in eastern Shantung and western Kansu, there are concentrations of some comparatively long-headed people; while in central China, as Hunan, southern Hupei, and certain parts of Fukien, the local inhabitants are quite broad headed; but in general, the cephalic index of the southern Chinese is usually given as a little below 80, and the published figure for the northern average is over 81.

In the case of nasal index, the contrast between the north and the south, is even greater. Paul H. Stevenson calculated the northern average as 68.66; S. M. Shirokogorff, on the other hand, figured that the southern average is as high as 93.19. All the above mentioned results have aroused some popular interest, and are usually believed to be anthropologically significant. But none of them is considered by any anthropologist as relating to a typical Mongoloid character.

For typical Mongoloid traits investigated among the Chinese, we may take the study of the bi-zygomatic breadth as an example. We have at present more information about the result of this study than any other physical character, associated with the Mongoloid race. In 1932, *Biometrika* published a paper on a preliminary classification of Asiatic races by T. L. Woo and G. M. Morant. In this paper, 18 series of Mongoloid people, *alias* oriental races, were cited. The average values of bi-zygomatic breadth for the six series of northern Mongols range from approximately 140 mm. to 144 mm.; but those for the five series of Chinese and Japanese and seven series of southern orientals are found to be between 131-135 mm. only; whereas the average of the same measurement for the five Indian series studied in the same paper falls down to the min-max. range of 124-128 mm. Thus, the sharp contrast of the same measurement, appears not only between the orientals and non-orientals, but also between the sub-groups of the orientals, which is even more striking. The excessively large value of the average facial breadth of the northern Mongols constitutes without doubt a truly characteristic feature of the Mongoloid people. These people are mainly located at present in outer Mongolia and southern Siberia with the centers of their settlements in the

neighborhood of Lake Baikal, Mt. Altai and the City of Urga, all north of the Gobi Desert.

近四十年来对中国人体征类型的研究表明，中国人在身高、头形、鼻形乃至肤色等方面差异是很大的。举例说，从著名的安阳遗址出土的人骨资料来看，中国人就远不属纯一人种。从研究这一组人骨的头指数计算出的标准差远远超出正常范围，这肯定地说明这一组颅骨的混杂来源。我本人曾试过从两个不同的角度探索中国人体征类型的变化：地理上的差别和历史上的演进。虽然搜集到的资料远不足据以得出任何肯定的结论，但它们却是很有启发意义的。地理上的差别之大，从对中国人的身高、头指数和鼻指数的地区分布的调查中就可以得到最好的说明。例如，北方的中国人就比南方的高出很多，有时平均竟达约9厘米。至于头指数，在中国，不同地区的人也各不相同。人们发现在山东东部和甘肃西部，集中居住着一些头比较长的人；而在中国中部，如湖南、湖北南部以及福建的某些地区，当地居民的头是相当宽的；但总的来说，南方的中国人的头指数通常略低于80，而北方人（按公布的数字看）则平均高于81。

就鼻指数而言，北方人和南方人的对比差别还要大些。许文生算出北方人的平均数为68.66；史禄国算出南方人的平均数则高达93.19。以上所提到的各种调查结果都曾引起广泛的兴趣，而且通常被认为在人类学上是有意义的。但是没有哪一位人类学家认为其中任何一项结果是与典型的蒙古人种特征有关系的。

关于中国人中典型蒙古人种特征的调查，我们可以举双颧间宽的研究为例。目前我们所掌握的这方面研究成果的材料，多于任何其他有关蒙古种族体征的材料。1932年，《生物统计学》杂志发表了吴定良和莫兰特合著的一篇关于亚洲种族初步分类的论文。这篇论文引证了18组蒙古人种或称东方种族的数据为例。6组北部蒙古人种的双颧间宽的平均值约在140~144毫米之间变动；但在另外5组的中国人和日本人以及7组的南部东方人身上，上述数值只处于131~135毫米之间；这篇论文研究的5组印度人的测量，平均数值下降到了上限128毫米、下限124毫米这个幅度。这样一来，同一测量得出的鲜明对比不仅出现在东方人与非东方人之间，而且出现在同属东方人的各个亚族群之间，后者甚至更引人注目。北部蒙古人种平均面宽的特大数值，无疑构成蒙古人种的真正有代表性的特征。这些人目前主要居住在戈壁沙漠以北以贝加尔湖、阿尔泰山和库伦（即乌兰巴托）一带为中心的外蒙古和南西伯利亚。

Broadly speaking, the average of the facial breadth of the Mongoloid people as represented by the Chinese and Japanese dropped nearly one cm. as

compared with the northern Mongols. Whether the sudden decrease of this absolute measurement south of the Gobi Desert is due to environmental change or race mixture, or both, it is not easy to say. I have collected some historical data that may also be cited here. The measurements of bi-zygomatic breadth of the Chinese in various periods, for

(1) The Old Man of Choukoutien Upper Cave (1) is 143.0 mm. (10,000 B.C.)

(2) The Aeneolithic Series (19), the average is 130.7 mm. (3,000-2,000B.C.)

(3) The Yin Dynasty Series (20), the average is 136.9 mm. (1,400-1,100B.C.)

(4) The Modern North China Series (83), the average is 132.7 mm.

These samples were all taken from North China. It would be dangerous to make too much out of these figures; nevertheless, it is worth noting that the Chinese, at least the North China inhabitants, have not remained stable in the historical time even in this typical Mongoloid physical character.

The change of the bi-zygomatic measurement of the Chinese in the historical period is correlated with parallel changes in the cephalic index: of which the aeneolithic average is 74.96; that for the Shang Dynasty is 76.96; and the three north China modern series are given as: 77.56, 78.0 and 78.1 respectively. It may be remarked that brachycephalization as observed by a number of anthropologists in the past decade, is a general tendency among *Homo sapiens*; so there may not be any special historical significance as far as these figures are concerned. But there are other results, given in Woo and Morant's paper, which are of undeniable great historical importance. They found, by means of the formula known as the Coefficient of Racial Likeness, a formula much used by the biometricians, that the Chinese and Japanese cranial series are highly differentiated from the northern Mongol series in other respects too. They are so different from the northern Mongols, that by a series of comparative studies, it has been demonstrated beyond any doubt that the Chinese and the Japanese are much more closely related to the southern Orientals, which include the Malayans, the Tagals, the Dayaks, the Javanese, the Burmese, the Shans. Even the various Indian series seem to be closer to the Chinese and Japanese in their cranial structure than the northern Mongols.

大致来说，中国人和日本人身上所表现的蒙古人种的面宽平均数，

比北部蒙古人种的约下降了1厘米。戈壁沙漠以南的这个绝对测量数据的陡然下降，究竟是环境变迁还是种族混合所造成，抑或两种因素兼有，这很难说。我曾搜集到一些历史上的数字，可以在这里举出。以下是几个不同时期中国人的双颧间宽的测量值：

（1）周口店山顶洞男性老人（1例），数值为143毫米（公元前l万年）；

（2）铜石并用期组（19例），平均数值为130.7毫米（公元前3000年~公元前2000年）；

（3）殷代组（20例），平均数值为136.9毫米（公元前1400年~公元前1100年）；

（4）现代华北组（83例），平均数值为132.7毫米。

这些取样全都来自华北地区。从这些数字中作出过多的结论是危险的；然而值得注意的是，中国人，至少华北的居民，在历史上，即使在这一典型的蒙古人种体征上，也并非保持不变。

中国人双颧间宽在历史上的变化，与头指数的变化是平行照应的：头指数在铜石并用时期组的平均数为74.96，商代组为76.96，三个现代华北组分别为77.56、78.0和78.1。可以说，众多人类学家在过去十年里观察发现：短头化是智人的一个总的趋势；这样的话，上述这些数字也许就没有任何特殊的历史意义了。但是，吴定良和莫兰特的文章里确有一些成果具有无可否认的历史重要性。他们使用生物统计学家常用的所谓种族相似性系数的公式发现，中国人和日本人头骨组在其他一些方面也与北部蒙古人种组有很大差别。他们与北部蒙古人种的差别之大可以通过一系列的比较看出；这些比较毫无疑问地显示：中国人和日本人更接近于包括马来人、他加禄人、达雅人、爪哇人、缅人和掸人在内的南部东方人。就连各组印度人的头盖骨构造也比北部蒙古人种更接近中国人和日本人。

It may be pointed out here, also, that of the four Chinese cranial series employed in the above study, three were collected in North China, mainly from Hopei, Shantung, and southern Manchuria. And one of the three series is from neolithic time. Everybody knows that in historical time, China was repeatedly invaded by the northern barbarians, which started some of the great population movements known in eastern Asia. In each case, the result was that many of the nomadic tribes from the Mongolian steppe settled in north China, especially in the Yellow River basin, where the original population had mostly migrated southward. What deserves our particular

attention here is that the northern Mongols not only had contributed a Genghis Khan to world history, but also founded a dynasty for China, which lasted nearly a century. It is therefore an anthropological puzzle, as well as a historical myth, that the modern Chinese population should have almost no representation from the kins of Genghis Khan and his horde, according to the analysis of physical anthropology.

It may be too early yet to discuss this question. When more physical data are accumulated, the very nature of the problem may become completely metamorphosed. Still, the comparatively closer tie, which the Chinese people as a whole, have shown for the southern Orientals as compared with the northern Mongols, may be accepted as a piece of important anthropological observation that may stay long and stand enduring test. Recent discoveries of fossil men, south of the Yangtze River, also serve to indicate that more important contributions were made from the south toward the composition of the early population of China than from any other quarters; and, of course, Peking Man himself, as many eminent anthropologists suggested more than once, was probably of southern origin.

这里还要指出，上述研究中所引用的四组中国人头骨，有三组是在华北搜集到的，主要来自河北、山东和东北南部。这三个组中有一组是新石器时代的。大家知道，历史上中国一再遭受北方胡人入侵，造成东亚地区几次著名的人口大迁徙。每一次迁徙的结果是，许多蒙古草原上的游牧部落定居到华北，特别是黄河流域一带，而这些地方原先的居民则大部分南迁。这里值得我们特别注意的是，北部蒙古人种不仅为世界历史造就了一位成吉思汗，而且还为中国建立了一个维持了近百年之久的王朝。因此，根据体质人类学的分析，现代中国的人口中很少能找到同成吉思汗及其游牧部落有血缘关系的代表，这是一个人类学上的谜，同时也是一个历史的疑团。

也许现在讨论这个问题还为时过早。当体质资料搜集得更多的时候，问题的性质本身也许就完全改观了。中国人作为一个整体，所显示出的与南部东方人更密切的（跟北部蒙古人种相比而言）联系，这可以认为是人类学研究的一项长期存在的、经得住时间检验的重要成果。近期在长江以南的人类化石的发现，也还是有利于说明：在早期中国人口的组成上，南方所起的作用比任何其他地方都重要；此外，北京人本身，正如许多著名人类学家不止一次地提出的，可能来源于南方。

When we turn our attention from somatology to cultural problems, we find ourselves in a less speculative position. Archaeological discoveries in

this half a century, have made it quite clear, that the historical civilization of China was neither a complete gift from the west, nor a sudden development from an unknown origin. Like all other old world cultures, it was gradually evolved from a prehistorical past, which goes back to many hundreds of thousand years. If anything is remarkable about the cultural phenomenon of this area, it is its continuity despite the disconformities at several stages of its evolution; and as scientific archaeology progresses, these apparent gaps one after another are gradually closed. For instance, not long ago, all prehistorians had the impression that, with the exception of Peking Man and his culture, there was no early palaeolithic remains in this area to speak of; but now, new discoveries in the valley of the upper Yellow River have disclosed many sites of this period. Again not more than a decade ago, another impression among prehistorical archaeologists was, that Pithecanthropus migrated to the neighborhood of Peking from Java, without leaving any traces on his way; but recent fossil finds, south of the Yangtze River, certainly prove that the contrary is the case. Coming down to more recent times, many of us still believe that there is a big gap between the hunting culture of the late palaeolithic age and the sedentary village culture of the advanced neolithic period for Chinese prehistorians to account for. In other words, so far, Chinese archaeologists have not been able to prove the existence in the Chinese soil of any genuine mesolithic culture or an early neolithic civilization. Then, we have the problem of the beginning of the bronze age, and that of the Chinese written symbols, which could hardly have been evolved from the wide spread Yang Shao or Lung Shan culture. All these problems, many of us may have to admit, are impressive, challenging, and quite realistic. But, when they are more carefully scrutinized, it is equally obvious that if these questions appear imponderable, it is mainly because they are conceived on a holistic basis; which, one may observe, is the usual way that European and American scholars have studied Chinese civilization in the past three hundred years. Should they be approached from an anthropological viewpoint and defined with greater precision, those gaps apparent in the beginning might soon vanish in the course of accumulated new evidences.

当我们把注意力从人体学转向文化问题时，就会发现我们无需作那么多推测的了。半个世纪来的考古发现，已经澄清了这样一点：中国的历史文明既不是完全由西方送来的礼物，也不是从哪个不为人知的源头突然发展起来的。正像其他旧世界文化一样，它是从长达数十万年的史前时期逐渐演变过来的。如果说这一地区的文化现象中有什么不同寻常

的，那就是它的连续性，尽管在它演进的某些阶段上也出现了一些不衔接的现象；随着科学考古学的进步，那些明显的缺口也已一个接一个地逐渐合拢了。举例说，不久前，所有的史前学家都有一个印象，认为除了北京人及其相关文化之外，这个地区没有什么旧石器早期的遗存可言；可是目前，黄河流域上游地区的一些新发现，揭开了这一时期的许多遗址。另外，不足十年以前，史前考古学家们的另一个印象是：爪哇直立猿人在从爪哇迁到北京附近时，途中没有留下任何踪迹；可是近年来长江以南的化石发现，确凿证明了事实正好相反。直到不久以前，我们中间有许多人仍然相信，在旧石器晚期的狩猎文化与发达的新石器时代的定居村落文化之间，还有一个大空白有待中国史前学家解释。换言之，中国考古学家迄今为止还未能证明，在中国土地上存在过任何真正的中石器时期文化或新石器早期文明。再者，还有青铜时代开始的问题和中国的书写符号由来的问题；这些很难说是从广泛分布的仰韶或龙山文化演进而来。我们中许多人都不能不承认，所有这些问题都是重大的、富有挑战的，又是十分实际的。但是，这些问题一经认真推敲，同样可以明显地看出：它们之所以显得难以捉摸，主要是因为人们是在一种整体论的基础上思考这些问题；大家可以注意到，欧美学者近三百年来研究中国文明惯用的就是这种方法。如果从人类学的角度来探索这些问题并更加精确地作出解释，这些在开始看似明显的空白，可能随着新证据的积累很快就消失了。

As an anthropologist, one is more accustomed to treat his problem analytically; he is willing to pay more attention to what are usually considered as trifles; he views culture from many different angles and in all comparable perspectives. One finds this method of approach particularly effective in an inquiry, when terms, as "Neolithic" or "bronze age" are involved. An investigator with a preliminary training in comparative ethnology will find it easier to itemize the contents of those cultures, as indicated by these terms. And in his customary way, he may treat the diffusion and evolution of all the individual items before making any attempt to draw big conclusions. Following this method of approach, one often finds that the so-called historical cultural gaps in the areas treated, existed more on the foundation of ignorance than on actual facts. But it is important to realize that those gaps so frequently given in a number of responsible statements, have to be bridged by the accumulation of new facts, as well as by the adoption of a new method.

If we study the beginning of early Chinese civilization in this spirit, we

can at least say that the way to solve this complicated and highly difficult problem is clear and plain. I have myself reported on the results of my investigation in the question of the ancient Chinese ceramics based on the materials collected from the Anyang excavation. I discovered in this study that the pottery of the Shang Dynasty is divisible into several distinct groups; what interested me particularly is to find that the contemporary ceremonial bronze vessels did not at all reproduce the shapes of the pottery of this period. They are clearly imitations of the earthern wares of the late neolithic culture located mainly on the coastal region. But shape is only one aspect of what may be studied of the bronze vessels; and bronze vessels form only a part of the bronze culture complex. Another avenue of approach is the study of the decorative art found on the bronze articles. Here again one may investigate either the individual pattern or the complete composition. In the case of the Anyang collection, one will find that some of the bronzes are nakedly plain, some are richly adorned; some are covered with bands of simple figures; some are decorated by intricately composed designs. The ornaments may be plainly executed or inlaid with shells and colored stones; and, a number of these are cast in high relief. These different modes of expression may be reasonably taken as a definite indication of the many diversified backgrounds, datable to an earlier age, which jointly led to the final development and efflorescence of this creative art.

一个人类学家，更习惯于用分析法处理问题，喜欢把更多注意力投向通常被视为无关紧要的小事，并从多个不同角度和一切可以比较的视角来看待文化。人们发现，当某一考察工作中牵涉到“新石器时代”或“青铜时代”这样一些字眼时，上述的探索方法特别有效。一个受过比较民族学初步训练的调查者，会觉得把这些字眼所指向的文化内容加以逐条列项更容易一些。按照他的习惯，在尝试作出重要的结论之前，他要逐一探讨各个项目的传播和演变。如果遵循这样的方法，人们就常会发现，在这个领域中所谓历史文化空白，往往不是存在于确切事实之上，而更多是源于无知。但重要的是应该认识到：在许多负责任的论述中常常提到的那些空白，是需要用新事实和新方法加以填补的。

我们若本着这种精神去探究早期中国文明的开始，就至少可以说，解决这一复杂的高难度问题的途径是简明清晰的。我曾依据安阳发掘所搜集的资料撰写了关于中国古代陶器研究的报告。我在这项研究中发现，商代的陶器可以分为若干截然不同的类别；特别让我感兴趣的是，同时期的青铜礼器绝非重复当时陶器的形制。它们显然是主要位于沿海

地区的新石器晚期文化中的陶器的模仿品。但是，形制只是研究青铜容器应注意的一方面，青铜容器又只是青铜文化复合体的一部分。另一条研究途径是考察青铜器上的装饰艺术。这里既可研究单个的纹样，也可研究总体的构图。在安阳的出土物中，人们发现有些青铜器完全平滑无纹，有些则是繁复装饰的；有些覆以简单图形的带纹，有些则饰有错综复杂的图案。饰纹有的是简单施上去的，有的则是用贝壳和有色石子镶嵌的，还有很多则是带有浮雕的铸件。所有这些不同的表现风格，可以合理地解释为确定是对多种多元背景的反映，而这些背景可以追溯到更早的时期，它们共同成就了这门创造性艺术的最终发展和繁荣。

This decorative art of the bronzes may also be compared with similar art in the medium of bone, wood and stone, etc., of which there are more and more reliable materials uncovered by field archaeologists. The results of such analytical studies and comparisons will do much to close the gaps in one's knowledge.

There are of course other finds of this period which may be treated in the same way; in fact, they can only be best studied by a similar method. Unless and until all the more important items of the cultural content of this complex have been thoroughly covered, it may be advisable to exercise some restraint in pronouncing one's view about the general nature of the Chinese Bronze Age.

I have taken this particular example and gone into it in some detail for one fundamental reason, that is, if the task of dating the Bronze Age of China is to be undertaken with some scientific care, one has to start with a group of artifacts whose provenances are definite and identifications precise. If this basic study could be carried on as a paleontologist studies his fossils in order and in detail, then, one might, with some justification, proceed to compare it with similar studies from other regions and induce generalizations. Very unfortunately, few publications of present day can meet this test, except what have been reported from field works recently.

It is therefore gratifying to note that in recent years not only are there more and more field anthropologists appearing in the Far East; but what is even more significant, is that the anthropological approach is gradually extending its influences even to the historians.

When Professor E. G. Pulleyblank delivered his inaugural lecture on taking the chair of Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge

(1953), he said:

这种青铜器的装饰艺术也可以跟骨料、木料、石料等器物上的类似艺术相比较，田野考古学家发现了越来越多这些质料器物的可靠资料。这样的分析研究和互相比较的成果，将大大填补人们知识上的空白。

当然，这一时期还有其他一些发现物都可以按照同一方式加以考察；事实上，只有用类似的方法才能对它们进行最好的研究。在对这一复合体的文化内容中的所有较重要项目作彻底考察之前，建议最好是谨慎地发表对中国青铜时代的总体性质的看法。

我举这样一个特定的例子并作出比较细致的探讨，基本理由是：如果以科学的态度来确定中国青铜时代的年代问题，就需要从这样的器物开始——它们的出土来源是肯定的，它们的身份是确凿的。如果这项基础性的研究做得就像古生物学家对待化石那样按部就班和深入细致，那么才有理由进一步将其与其他地区的相似的研究作出比较，从而归纳出一般性的结论。非常遗憾的是，现在的出版物几乎没有能满足这个标准的，近期田野工作的一些报告除外。

因此，令人高兴的是，近年来在远东不仅有了愈来愈多的从事田野工作的人类学家，更重要的是，人类学方法的影响逐渐扩大，甚至已影响到历史学家。

蒲立本教授在1953年发表就任剑桥大学中文教授的演讲中说道：

…if we will have the patience and perseverance to study Chinese history in its sources with the thoroughness and care that we expect in other scholarly discipline, if we do this not in a narrow spirit of pedantry but with our minds alert to the perennial problems that have assailed mankind everywhere…the basic biological urges of hunger and sex, the inadequacies of established social patterns to deal with new conditions, the oppression of the weak by the strong and the reaction of men driven to desperation, the universal aesthetic and religious aspirations of mankind, the problems of power and corruption…if we do this with imagination, but with imagination that will not go beyond what can be verified by evidence, we shall, I am sure, find that Chinese history throws light on our own history in countless ways and that mankind is indeed one.

Then Professor Pulleyblank continued to suggest the two practical methods of procedure: namely by piece-meal comparison and by detailed studies of the actual context. One may say that to an ethnologist, there is nothing new in Professor Pulleyblank's recommendation; but what is really

important in his suggestions is the fact that a Cambridge professor now publicly advices his English speaking audience, the adoption of a scientific method in the study of Chinese history, which up to very recent years, had not been taken really seriously in the West, in spite of the fact that sinology had already an established chair in Europe's most well-known center of learning in the beginning of the XIX century.

For almost three centuries, Chinese civilization in the opinions of European scholars, was held either in the highest esteem or in utter contempt. In either case it was the outcome of an attempt to reduce an enormous and complicated panorama into a simplified image, strangely akin in their labor to that of an ancient Chinese landscape painter or a modern cartoonist, who can in his inspired moment make his subject matter sublime or ridiculous by means of a few strokes of the brush.

The tendency to holistic characterization of the Chinese civilization has been the dominant note of most European works on China, ever since Europe became interested in Cathay. While the Voltairians and Sinophiles idealized Chinese culture with some exaggeration, it was more than counterbalanced by the Hegelian assault and the onslaught of its communist descendents; but both schools shared the same unconscious habit; they both suffered a deficiency in what the late Dr. Hu Shih called "evidential thinking."

……如果我们也能像期待其他学科那样，以耐心和坚韧认真彻底地从原始资料中去研究中国历史，如果我们不是用一种狭隘的卖弄的心态，而是敏感警觉地去思考那些处处困扰人类的永恒的问题……饥饿和性欲的基本生理冲动，已建立的社会模式之不足应付新的情况，强者对弱者的压迫以及被逼入绝境的人的反抗，人类普遍对美和宗教的渴望，权力和腐败的问题……如果我们发挥想象力——但当然不是超乎证据所能验证之外的想象力——来对待这一切，我相信，我们将发现中国历史在数不清的方面能有助于我们理解自己的历史，将发现人类真正是一家。

蒲立本教授接着建议采用两种实际作法，即逐件比较法和对实际环境的细致研究。也许有人认为，蒲立本教授的劝告对于一个民族学家而言并无任何新奇之处；但他的建议的真正重要之处在于，一位剑桥的教授现在公开建议他的说英语的听众，要在中国史的研究上采用科学的方法。直到最近几年，中国史的研究在西方都一直未受到认真对待，尽管从19世纪初开始，欧洲最负盛名的学府中就已有了汉学讲习教授。

近三百年来，在欧洲学者的心目中，中国文明要么是获得至高的尊敬，要么就是受到极端的蔑视。两者都是试图把一幅庞大复杂的全景画简化为一幅简单图像的结果。他们的这种工作非常像中国古代的山水画家或现代的漫画家：灵感一来，几笔就可以把要表现的主题画得十分高雅或极具讽刺意味。

自从欧洲开始对中国发生兴趣以来，从整体上描述中国文明特点的趋向，一直是大多数研究中国的欧洲人论著的主调。伏尔泰主义者和中国迷们过于夸张地将中国文化理想化，而黑格尔主义者及其共产主义继承者对中国文化的抨击则矫枉过正。然而这两派都有同一种不自觉的习惯，就是缺乏已故胡适博士所称的有证据的思考。

One of the fetishes resulting from this eccentric development which still survives in some academic circles is the strange belief that a sinologist can study Chinese civilization without a competent knowledge of the Chinese written language. So when professor Pulleyblank preceded the main point in his inauguration address with a "if," one gets the impression that he did so with a great deal of courage and knowledge of the facts.

For a new historian to study China, however, a mere knowledge of the Chinese language is but the first step towards his necessary preparation. He should in addition learn and become quite familiar with what is being taught in current anthropology at large. He can learn something useful from every branch of the science of man, especially from what these scientists have to say about the unity of modern man and his ancestors, and the antiquity of human culture.

From physical anthropology, the historian may learn the fact that while racial differences may appear to be real, the changes that take place constantly in the human physical type everywhere…for whatever reasons… have compelled many observant anthropologists and biologists to start questioning whether the term "race" could still serve any useful purpose in human biology.

From prehistorical archaeology and ethnology, the historian may learn much about cultural types, their local characteristics and their mutual relations. He may also learn the fundamental lesson that no natural or artificial barrier could stop the spread of basic inventions if they served any human needs. And, no basic invention could be identified with or monopolized by any particular regional group or a chosen people.

These lessons are useful to all historians. They are probably the best cures and the most effective correctives of parochialism, to which in one form or another, be it national attachment, religious ties, political affiliation, or partnership in the same philosophical ideas, not to mention the various common expressions of local bias and race prejudice, historians of all lands and all ages are prone to be addicted.

这种不正常的发展至今仍存在于某些学术圈中，种种对中国文明的盲目迷恋就是源自于此。其中有一种奇怪的看法就是：汉学家无需对中国文字有足够的知识就可以研究中国的文明。因此，蒲立本教授在切入他就任演讲的主要观点前还加上一个“如果”，使人感到他这样说是具备了相当的勇气和对实际情况的足够了解。

但是，对于一个刚开始研究中国史的人来说，仅有一些关于中国语言的知识，不过是他的必要准备工作的第一步。他还需要学习并逐步熟悉目前人类学所讲授的详尽内容。他可以从有关人类的科学的各个分支中，特别是从这些领域的科学家对现代人及其祖先的共性、对人类文化的古老性质的见解中学到一些有用的东西。

从体质人类学方面，历史学家可能认识到这样的事实：尽管种族差别看来像是实际存在的，时时处处发生在人类体质类型上的各种变化——不论是何种原因造成的——却使许多敏于观察的人类学家和生物学家不得不提出这样的问题：“种族”一词在人类生物学中是否还有什么真正意义？

从史前考古学和民族学方面，历史学家可能学到许多关于文化类型及其地方特色和相互关系的知识。他也可能学到这样一堂基础课：任何天然的或人为的障碍都无法阻止那些能满足人类需求的基本发明创造的传播。同时，任何一种基本的发明创造都不能视为属于某个特殊地域群体、某个特选的民族，或为他们所垄断。

这些功课对所有的历史学家都是有用的。它们可能是治疗狭隘局部观念的良方和矫正它的最有效方法。来自任何国度任何年龄层的历史学家，都有时不免沉溺在这种或那种形式的狭隘局部观念之中：民族感情，宗教联系，政治依附，对同一哲学观念的信从，更不用说种种地方偏见和种族歧视的常见表现了。

But for historians who are interested in Chinese civilization, there are some extra-curricula. I need, perhaps, to elaborate this point a little more. What I mean is that although theoretically speaking a well educated Chinese, according to present day standard, is supposed to be able to handle both his

own mother tongue and at least one European language, but in reality such attainment is comparatively rare. So there is a scientific need, or a practical demand, in the international community of learning, of a group of trained historians and anthropologists, who can handle the Chinese language in both the written and spoken form as efficiently as one of the European languages.

With this as an introductory note, my proposition is that the problem of "Chinese Thought and Institutions,"[3] a research program very much in vogue now in America, should be approached on a more strictly anthropological basis. There seems to be little doubt that much of what strikes the uninitiated as peculiar in Chinese institutions and Chinese thought may find its nearest explanation in the Chinese written language.

The Chinese have developed a written language with an uninterrupted continuity of more than three thousand years. It is a language in which new ideas in most cases are registered by the merging of meaningful symbols into one single character; in which, word-order and the ordering of words are the most conspicuous features in grammatical construction; in which tones and intonations have played a ro1e unparalleled in any alphabetical language; and in which, symmetry outweighs any syllogistic consideration in every form of literary production. All these peculiarities have been closely interwoven into the fabric of the mental life of the educated Chinese and are strongly reflected in the institutions with which the literati class are intimately associated.

Now here comes my main point. As an investigator in the problems of "Chinese Thought and Institutions," while one may find much useful information by patient and intelligent examination of Chinese records from the original sources, in order to make his search really up-to-date he will have to supplement his documentary study with some direct observations. These supplementary evidences are especially needed in the studies of "Chinese Thought," about which documentary data, in the majority of cases, may be so remote from realities that they can hardly reveal its true or complete nature. They should at least be checked with more experimental investigations which ought to be obtainable by studying the Chinese mental process in actual operation. The way to do it is of course somewhat delicate, and extremely difficult; it involves many interdepartmental disciplines. If I am permitted to make some suggestion here, let me call this special recommendation the psycho-bilingual-anthropological approach. The participant in this program must learn, as one of the fundamental requirements, to do his thinking in

spoken as well as written Chinese; and secondly, he must be able to introspect objectively his thinking process done in the Chinese, and record it in another language with which he is equally familiar.

不过，对于有志于研究中国文明的历史学家而言，还需要上点补充的课程。也许我还需要对此多说几句。我的意思是说，从理论上讲，一个受过良好教育的中国人，按现在的标准应该既能运用他的母语，又至少能运用一门欧洲语言，但实际能达到这个要求的人是比较少的。因此，从科学的需要或从实际的需要来看，在国际学术界都应该有一批受过训练的历史学家和人类学家，他们能够像使用一门欧洲语言一样在书面和口头上有效地使用汉语。

用上述观点为导言，我的主张是，“中国的思想和制度”[4]——这个当今在美国很时髦的研究计划，应当在更加严格的人类学的基础上进行。许多在那些尚未入门的人看来是中国制度和中国思想中的奇特现象，可能在中国文字中找到最切近的解释，这么说大概是没有什么可怀疑的。

中国人发展了一种文字，三千余年，它不曾中断。它是这样的一种语言：在多数情况下通过把若干有意义的符号组合为一个方块字来记录新的思想；字序和词序是语法结构中最明显的特色；声调和语调所起的作用为任何拼音语言所不能比拟；在各种文学作品中对称原则的重要性超乎一切逻辑推理。所有这些特点紧密交错，编织成中国读书人的精神生活，并强烈反映在与知识分子阶层密切相关的各种制度上。

现在谈谈我的主要看法。作为“中国的思想和制度”问题的一个探讨者，经过对原始中文资料进行耐心的、理智的检验，固然可以找到许多有用的信息；但为了使他的研究真正与时俱进，他还需要用一些直接的观察来补充他对文献的研究。这种补充证据对研究“中国的思想”尤为需要，因为文献材料绝大部分可能远离现实，难以展示中国思想真实的、完整的性质。这些文献至少也要用更多的实验调查加以检验，这些调查可以通过研究中国人现实活动中的心理过程开展。这项工作做起来当然是相当精细的，也是十分艰难的，涉及到许多跨部门的学科。如果允许我在此提点建议，我将把这项独特的建议称为“心理学+双语研读制+人类学”的方法。参与这种研究计划的人所应达到的一个首要要求，即必须学会用中国话和中国文字去思考；其次，他必须能用中国语言客观地内省自己的思维过程，并用他同样熟悉的另一种语言把这一过程记录下来。

If I am inclined to believe that this particular group of anthropological

problems of China ought to be easier for a Chinese scholar to handle, my main reason is that, a Chinese scholar is supposed to possess the initial advantage of speaking the Chinese as a mother tongue. With this initial advantage, if he acquires a thorough training in scientific method and learns his foreign language well, what he needs further will be only a spirit of intellectual adventure and a sense of this particular problem. At any rate, the time has certainly come that some Chinese scholars should study their own mental characteristics; for in addition to the scientific value and the intrinsic interest in the problems themselves, they are a part of the fountain source from which all primary data of Chinese Thought may issue. On the other hand, non-Chinese scholars who have already developed an interest in the evolution of Chinese Thought and Chinese Institution, and who, besides, are naturally more objective in dealing with problems of this kind, have all the reasons to go to the root of the question by a more daring and direct approach as suggested above. It would be interesting, too, to find out whether introspective psychology could still revitalize its function by lending its technique to a new mode of operation in the study of the proposed thesis. In my judgement, and with all the premises as laid above, the psychological situation so created may be as appropriate as one can make for the conduct of such an experiment. Let us hope that before long, there may be some qualified and adventurous spirit who will be willing enough to try.

如果说我倾向于认为，这类特殊的中国人类学问题由中国学者来处理要容易些，我的主要理由乃是，中国学者应当是拥有以中国话为母语的基本优势的。如果他有了这项基本优势，又受到完善的科学方法的训练，并且外国语也学得很好，那么他进一步需要的只是一种智力上的探索精神和对这种特殊问题的敏感。无论如何，这样的时刻肯定已经到来——中国学者应当研究他们自己的精神特点。因为除了问题本身的科学价值和内在趣味外，他们自己就是提供中国思想的全部第一手资料的部分来源。另一方面，那些已经对中国思想和中国制度的演化产生兴趣、并且在处理这类问题时天然地比较客观的非中国学者，正如前面所说，有一切理由以更大胆和直接的方式去探寻问题的根源。探索一下内省心理学是否仍能通过将它的方法应用于研究上述命题的新活动方式来重新发挥作用，这也将是很有兴味的。在我看来，在前面规定的各种前提下产生出来的心理情境，可能最适于进行这种实验。让我们期待，在不久的将来，就会有一些合格的、富有冒险精神的人甘心情愿意去作这种尝试。

李光谟 译

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[1] 1923, Vol. 31, No. 123, pp. 346-351.
[2] 请见该杂志1923年，第31卷，第123期，346～351页。
[3] Chinese Thought and Institutions, edited by John K. Fairbank, published by the University of Chicago Press since 1957.
[4] 费正清编：《中国的思想和制度》，芝加哥大学出版社，自1957年起出版。

VIII Racial History of the Chinese People

Ever since anthropologists started classifying man as a natural animal the Chinese people have always been considered to be a branch of the Mongoloid race. There are many different opinions regarding the exact position of the Chinese in this racial classification. But from the time of Blumenbach down to Professor William Howells, who made his latest statement in 1961, the racial status of the Chinese in the eyes of specialists has remained very much the same: they are Mongoloid. So in order to orientate ourselves into the racial history of the Chinese people, it may be pertinent to say a few words about the Mongoloid race first.

But this, unfortunately is rather a difficult task. What I mean is that physical anthropologists at present do not know very much about the origin and the evolution of the Mongoloid, although they have advanced a number of theories to interpret the physical characteristics of this particular branch of modern man. It has been, however, generally agreed that the most representative physical traits of the Mongoloid are found in his physiognomy. The characteristics of the modern Mongoloid man, it is often said, are revealed more by his face than any other part of his body. These traits include the almond eye with the Mongoloid folds, the flattish forehead, the more or less depressed nasal root, and the broad heavily patted cheek bone. In other words, the Mongoloid face as compared with either the Caucasoid or the Negroid, looks flat. The best known theory advanced to account for the origin and development of the Mongoloid facial characteristics is the climatic interpretation, which has been very eloquently expounded by Professor Carleton Coon and supported widely by many others.

The particular facial appearance of the Mongoloid people had its origin, according to this theory, in the necessity of fighting against the bitterly cold weather during the last glacial age, when a group of early Mongoloids were trapped in the dry cold region somewhere east of the Ural Mountains in northeastern Siberia. Man at that time had already invented both shelter and clothing which were sufficient to protect his body, but his face was by necessity exposed. This severe cold climate wiped out those who were

physically unfit by the spread of pneumonia and sinus infection. Those who happen to be naturally protected in the sinus region and the eye region by a heavily padded layer of fatty substance and possessed smaller nasal apertures, were better qualified to survive in this kind of climate than their fellow creatures devoid of these natural gifts. The result of this severe struggle is the development of the Mongoloid physiognomy.

捌 中国人的种族历史

自从人类学家开始将人类划为自然动物的那一天起，中国人就一直被当作蒙古人种的一个分支。关于中国人在此种族类别中的确切位置，存在着许多不同的观点。不过，从布卢门巴赫开始一直到1961年发表了最新声明的威廉·豪厄尔斯教授，在专家的眼中，中国人的种族身份几乎是一成不变的：中国人属于蒙古人种。因此，为了确定我们中国人的种族历史，也许有必要先讲一讲蒙古人种。

遗憾的是，要说清楚这一点还有相当的难度。我的意思是说，现在的体质人类学家对蒙古人种的起源和演进知之甚少，尽管他们提出了诸多理论来解释现代人中这一特定分支的体质特征。不过，他们在有一点上达成了共识，即，蒙古人种最具代表性的身体特征表现在他们的面部。通常来讲，现代蒙古人种的特征更多地是从他们的脸上而不是从身体的其他部位反映出来的。这些特征包括：长着蒙古褶的杏仁状眼，稍平的前额，有些塌的鼻根，以及宽阔扁平的颧骨。换句话说，与高加索人或尼格罗人相比，蒙古人的脸略显扁平。用来解释蒙古人种面部特征的起源与演进的最著名的理论就是气候说，卡尔登·孔恩教授曾有力地详释了这一说法，并得到了其他很多人的广泛支持。

根据该理论，蒙古人种特殊的面部外形源于抵御最后一次冰河期的酷寒天气的需要。那时候有一支早期的蒙古人被困在了西伯利亚东北部乌拉尔山东侧的干冷地带，人类当时已经发明了足以保护身体的掩蔽所和衣服，但脸部却不得不暴露在外。严寒气候造成了肺炎和鼻窦炎的蔓延，身体上不能适应的人就被淘汰了；而那些鼻窦部和眼部有着厚重脂肪层的、鼻孔小的人恰好拥有天然的保护，与没有这些天赋之物的同胞相比，他们更适合在这种气候条件下生存。这种严酷斗争的结果就是蒙古人种面型的演进。

It is also postulated in this theory that the evolution of the Mongoloid face started after the first migration of *Homo sapiens* to the new world. Professor Howells suggested that the Mongoloid face probably originated sometime between 25,000 and 10,000 B.C. He believes that about 600 generations were needed for the development of this group of physical characteristics.

It is obvious that this theory, although ingenious in several respects, still

leaves the origin of the early Mongoloid in the category of a myth. At any rate, there still remain a number of other bodily characteristics, also considered to be typical of the Mongoloid race, such as the hair structure, the pigmentation, and the peculiar anatomy of the incisor teeth, which certainly need another theory to explain them.

Physical Anthropology of the Chinese People

So much for the Mongoloid race in general. Let us now turn our attention to the physical characteristics of the Chinese people, who are an offshoot of the Mongoloid race. One of the best papers on the anthropometry of the Chinese is that of Professor Paul H. Stevenson, who measured more than one thousand Chinese soldiers recruited mainly from the north China plain. This paper was published by the Academia Sinica in 1938. The author made 66 direct body measurements of these soldiers. In addition, he also recorded quite a number of non-metrical characters: namely, the skin color, the hair structure, the nasal form, etc. In this paper one may find some of the most reliable data about the bodily characteristics of the Chinese of the three provinces, Honan, Hopei and Shantung, where ancient Chinese civilization had its roots. With this paper as a reference point, one finds from the various physical measurements published from time to time by a number of investigators that the Chinese people are by no means homogeneous in their physical attributes; they vary from locality to locality. For example, the northern Chinese are taller than the southern Chinese by an average of sometimes as much as 9 cm., depending of course on where the samples are taken. Another instance which may be taken is the head form. One finds in Shantung as well as in Kansu concentrations of long-headed people, while in central China, like Hunan, Hupeh and certain parts of Fukien near the eastern coast, the local populations are quite broad-headed, the average index often exceeding 85. But in the text books, the cephalic index of the southern Chinese is usually given as a little below 80, and for the northern Chinese it is 81. In the case of the nasal index, the contrast between the north and the south, according to published figures, is really striking. The northern average given by Stevenson is 68.66, while Shirokogoroff calculated the southern average as 93.91!

气候说还假定，蒙古人种面型的进化是在智人第一次迁徙到新大陆以后才开始的。豪厄尔斯教授提出，蒙古人种的面型或最早形成于公元

前25,000年到公元前10,000年之间。他认为，这组体质特征的演进大概需要600代人的时间。

很显然，这一理论在若干方面虽有其独到之处，但早期蒙古人种的起源问题仍然停留在神话阶段。至少，还有很多其他公认的蒙古人种典型的身体特征，如毛发结构、肤色以及门齿的独特解剖构造等，这无疑还需要另一个理论来加以解释。

中国人的体质人类学

关于蒙古人种大体上就先讲这么多。现在我们将注意力转到作为蒙古人种的一个分支的中国人的体质特征上来。许文生教授所著的有关中国人人体测量学的论文是这方面最优秀的论文之一，这篇论文于1938年由中央研究院发表。许教授是在对一千多名主要从华北平原招募的中国士兵进行测量的基础上完成这篇论文的。他对这些士兵进行了66项直接人体测量，另外还记录了许多非测量性状，即肤色、毛发结构和鼻形等。读者可以从这篇论文中找到有关中国古代文明发源地河南、河北和山东三省的中国人身体特征的可靠资料。以这篇论文为参照点，读者还可以从众多调查者发表的各种体质测量的资料中发现，中国人从体质特征上来看绝不是纯一的；人们的体质特征因地而异。例如，华北人平均比华南人要高9厘米，当然这也取决于样本的采集地。另外一个例子就是头形。人们发现，山东和甘肃有长头型的人密集分布，而在华中地区，如湖南、湖北和靠近东海岸的福建部分地区，当地居民头形颇宽，其平均指数通常超过85。然而，教科书给出的华南人的头指数通常要略低于80，华北人为81。至于鼻指数，根据已发表的数据，南北方的差异实在相当惊人。许文生提供的华北人平均鼻指数为68.66，而史禄国计算的华南人平均鼻指数高达93.91！

As we all know, stature, cephalic index, and nasal index are of considerable popular interest and have usually been taken as anthropologically significant by many professional anthropologists in the past. Unfortunately, so far as the Chinese area is concerned, the qualities of the published data are of unequal value. Nevertheless, they have served the purpose of showing the great variability of the physical character of the living Chinese population, which is confirmed also by some osteological measurements.

But none of these three measurements represents any typical Mongoloid character. Of the typical Mongoloid characteristics studied in current

anthropology, two deserve special mention: one is the so-called almond eye, the other is the high cheek bone. While both characteristics distinguish the Mongoloid from other living races, the latter possesses the additional merit of being measurable on the skull as well as on the living face. The anatomy of the Mongoloid malar bone has been examined in every detail by many eminent physical anthropologists. Let us see what has been found out about these two racial traits among the Chinese people.

In the Stevenson paper, out of the 921 observations he made on the eyes of his soldiers, only 30.7% of them possessed the marked Mongoloid fold, 8.9% were found to be without any trace of it, while the remaining 60.4% were recorded as intermediate cases between the two extremes. Regarding the direction of the eye-slits there were 906 observations in his record; of these 14% were classified as horizontal, 5.1% as markedly sloping. The others, more than 80.0% of the total number, were only moderately or slightly sloping.

The malar bone is more capable of a number of direct measurements, of which the maximum bi-zygomatic width is specially important as its measurement can be carried on accurately on both the living person and the dead skull. In 1932, *Biometrika* published a preliminary classification of Asiatic races based on cranial measurements. In this study, by T. L. Woo and G. M. Morant, twenty-six published series of cranial materials were used for comparison. Out of these twenty-six series, no less than eighteen series were skulls of the Oriental or Mongoloid people. The authors of this paper divided the Orientals into three sub-groups: (1) the northern Mongolian, (2) the Chinese and the Japanese, and (3) other Orientals, including in these inhabitants of Java, Borneo and the Philippine Islands, etc. This tripartite division is based mainly on what the biometricians call "the Coefficient of Racial Likeness."

众所周知，身高、头指数和鼻指数是大家普遍都感兴趣的，过去的许多专业人类学家通常认为它们是人类学的重要指标。遗憾的是，就中国地区而言，所发表的资料的质量参差不齐。尽管如此，这些资料还是体现出了现生的中国人在体质特征方面的巨大差异性，这一点在一些骨骼测量中也得到了证实。

然而，这三项测量都没有显现出任何一项典型的蒙古人种特征。在当代人类学所研究的蒙古人种的典型特征中，有两点值得一提：一是所谓的杏仁状眼，二是高颧骨。这两点都是蒙古人种区别于其他现生人种

的典型特征，而后者更是具有既可通过测量头骨又可通过测量活体面部来获取数据的优点。许多杰出的体质人类学家都对蒙古人种颧骨的解剖结构进行过细致的研究。让我们来看一看，关于中国人的这两项种族特征的研究有什么发现。

许文生在他的论文中提到，他对921位士兵的眼部作了观察，结果发现只有30.7％的人长着典型的蒙古褶，8.9％的人没有任何蒙古褶的痕迹，而剩下的60.4％则介于两者之间。关于眼裂倾斜度，许文生记录下了906例观察结果，其中14％的人可归为水平，5.1％的人明显倾斜，而占总数80％多的人只是中度或稍稍倾斜。

对颧骨能够作多项直接测量，其中最大两颧点间宽因其在活体和死者头骨上都能进行精确测量而显得尤为重要。1932年，《生物统计学》学报上发表了一份以头盖骨测量为基础的亚洲诸种族初步分类表。在这项研究中，吴定良和莫兰特对26组已发表的头盖骨资料进行了比较。在这26组资料中，至少有18组是东方人或蒙古人种的头骨。该文作者将东方人分为三个亚群：（1）北部蒙古人种，（2）中国人和日本人，（3）其他地区的东方人，包括爪哇、婆罗洲和菲律宾群岛等地的居民。这种三分法主要是以生物测量学家所谓的“种族相似率”为依据。

According to these authors, the average value of the bi-zigomatic measurement for the six series of the northern Mongols ranges from 139.5 mm. to 144 mm.; for the five series of the Chinese and the Japanese, its range is from 132.2 mm. to 134.7 mm.; for the seven series of the other Orientals, it is 131.0 mm. to 134.7 mm.; whereas the value of the same measurement for the five Indian series studied in the same paper, diminish to the min.-max. range of 124.3-127.8 mm.

Thus the sharp contrast of the same measurements appears not only between the Orientals and the non-Orientals, but also among the three sub-groups of the Orientals. The excessively large value of the average cranial bi-zygomatic diameter of the northern Mongols constitutes obviously a characteristic feature of the Mongoloid race; they are, at the present time, mainly located in the neighborhood of Lake Baikal and the Altai mountains; the settlement area of this broad-faced population is apparently confined to central, eastern and southern Siberia, much to the north of the great Gobi Belt.

Generally speaking the average facial diameter of the Chinese and the Japanese according to the measurements of the skulls, shows a drop of more

than half a centimeter as compared with the northern Mongols. Whether the sudden decrease of this absolute measurement south of the Gobi desert is due to environmental influence or racial mixture or both, it is not easy to say. Six years ago, I collected some historical data which may also be referred to here. They are the measurements of the bi-zygomatic diameter of the Chinese cranial series from various datable periods:

(1) C.K.T. Upper cave (1)	10,000 B.C.	143.0 mm.
(2) Black's Prehistorical (32)	3-2,000 B.C.	132.2 mm.
(3) Yin-Shang Series (20)	14-11,00 B.C.	136.9 mm.
(4) Sui-T'ang Series (2)	ca. 700 A.D.	133.6 mm.
(5) Modern N. China (83)	1900 A.D.	132.7 mm.

据这些作者提供的数据，6组北部蒙古人种的两颧点间宽测量平均值在l39.5~144毫米之间，5组中国人和日本人的测量值在132.2~134.7毫米之间，而其他的7组东方人则在131.0~l34.7毫米之间；然而，这篇论文对5组印度人进行了同样的测量，所得数值降到了124.3~127.8毫米之间。

因此，同样的测量得出的数值的巨大差异不仅出现在东方人和非东方人之间，也出现在东方人的三个不同亚群之间。北部蒙古人种极大的头盖骨两颧间距平均值无疑构成了蒙古人种的显著特征；他们现在主要居住在贝加尔湖和阿尔泰山附近；这一宽脸人群的居住区显然是在中、东和南西伯利亚一带，在大戈壁滩以北更为集中。

一般来讲，根据这些头骨测量数据，中国人和日本人面宽平均值总体上比北部蒙古人种低了半厘米还多。戈壁沙漠以南居民绝对测量值的骤降究竟是由于环境影响，还是种族混合，或是二者兼而有之，还很难说。六年前，我收集到一些历史数据，也可在此用作参考。这些数据是各个可确定年代的不同时期里中国人头骨组的两颧间宽的测量值：

（1）周口店山顶洞（1例）	公元前10,000年	143.0毫米
（2）步达生的史前组（32例）	公元前3000年~公元前2000年	132.2毫米
（3）殷商组（20例）	公元前1400年~公元前1100年	136.9毫米
（4）隋唐组（2例）	公元700年左右	133.6毫米
（5）现代华北人（83例）	公元1900年	132.7毫米

Recently the osteological laboratory of the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica at Nankang issued a preliminary report summarizing the results of a very extensive osteometrical analysis of the Yin-Shang dynasty crania excavated by the Institute from the Anyang area, totalling more than three hundred in the whole collection. Of these, there are

272 specimens whose facial bones are sufficiently well preserved for bi-zygomatic measurement. Professor Hsi-mei Yang, who is working on this collection has found it justifiable to classify his materials into five sub-groups on a morphological basis; they are,

(1) Sub-group I, composed of thirty specimens, characterized by broad and flat face with massive malar bones, narrow nasal bones and narrow nasal aperture, broad cranium, average cephalic index being 79.15.

(2) Sub-group II, composed of forty specimens, characterized by narrow and short face with moderate malar bones and low orbits, prognathous maxilla, depressed nasal roots, low and broad nasal aperture; skull cap comparatively long, average cephalic index being 75.00.

(3) Sub-group III, only two specimens studied; characterized by a narrow face with a high and narrow nasal bridge, moderate malars and prominent brow ridges; head form definitely dolichocephalic, the average index being 73.58.

(4) Sub-group IV, composed of 50 specimens, characterized by flat face, but not as broad as sub-group I, with massive malars, spacious orbits, pinched nasal bone and keel-shaped skull, the average cephalic index being 76.35.

(5) Sub-group V, composed of 50 specimens, size of skull smaller than the other four sub-types, with narrow face but not as short as sub-group II, skull cap narrow with protruding occipital, average cephalic index being 75.71.

The average bi-zygomatic measurements of the five classified groups are as follows:

Sub-group	I	II	III	IV	V
Bi-Zygomatic Diameter (Average)	141.18	134.52	131.50	133.66	131.32

南港“中央研究院”历史语言研究所人骨实验室最近发表了一份初步报告，概述了该所从安阳发掘出来的300多个殷商时期头骨的广泛骨测量分析结果。在这些头骨中，有272个样本的面部骨骼保存得相当完整，可以进行颧骨间宽度测量。杨希枚教授参与了对这些采集物的研究，他发现，根据形态学原理，可以将此材料划分为5个亚群，它们分别是：

（1）亚群I，包括30个样本，特征：脸部宽而扁平，大颧骨，窄鼻骨，窄鼻孔和宽颅骨，平均头指数为79.15；

（2）亚群II，包括40个样本，特征：脸部窄而短，颧骨大小适中，凹眼眶，上颌突出，塌鼻根，鼻孔低而宽，颅顶相对较长，平均头指数为75.00；

（3）亚群III，仅对两个样本进行了研究，特征：窄脸，鼻梁高而窄，颧骨适中，眉骨突出，明显的长头形，平均头指数为73.58；

（4）亚群IV，包括50个样本，特征：脸部扁平，但较亚群I稍窄，大颧骨，宽眼眶，鼻骨紧缩，头骨呈龙骨状，平均头指数为76.35；

（5）亚群V，包括50个样本，头骨尺寸小于前四个亚群类型，脸部窄，但长于亚群II，颅顶窄，枕骨突出，平均头指数为75.71。

这5类的平均两颧间宽测量值如下：

亚群	I	II	III	IV	V
两颧间宽（平均值）	141.18	134.52	131.50	133.66	131.32

It is interesting to compare the averages of the bi-zygomatic measurements of the five sub-groups with those given in Woo and Morant's paper for the three Oriental sub-groups. Yang's sub-group I with an average 141.18 falls definitely within the range of the northern Mongols, while the mean values of Yang's sub-groups III & V are quite below the modern Chinese average and only slightly above the minimum of the "other Orientals." Sub-group IV is within the range of the modern Chinese and Japanese, but sub-group II is above it. Professor Hsi-mei Yang in his preliminary report also announced the results of some of his comparative studies. In 1963 Professor Yang brought some of the type specimens from the Anyang collection to the Smithsonian Institution at Washington D. C. where the authorities helped him to carry on a series of studies comparing his specimens with crania of other peoples available in storage there: sub-group I with the Buriats, Chuckchis and the Mongols of Urga; sub-group II with the Melanesians, Australoids and some African Negroes; sub-group III with American-British and Plains Indians; sub-group IV with the Eskimoid; sub-group V with some Hawaiian skulls. Professor Yang found in each of these five comparative studies some striking morphological resemblances.

All this leads me to the core of today's problem, namely the making of the modern Chinese people. As a matter of general observation it may be said that the continuous change in the physical characteristics of the Chinese people is quite faithfully reflected in the present day geographical variations as recorded, although imperfectly, by many anthropometricians and

craniologists. Let us go back once more to Woo and Morant's paper on the classification of the Asiatic races. In this paper four Chinese series of cranial measurements were discussed. The first Chinese series was taken from Goldon Harrower's work, which consisted of 31 male skulls of Fukien origin. The second series was composed of the data, collected by the Japanese anthropologist Dr. Koganei, in the provinces of Chihli, Shantung and Southern Manchuria in 1902; but the 70 skulls in his collection were soldiers killed in war time, so they are actually of unknown origin. The third and the fourth series were both taken from Davidson Black's works in which the origin of the materials used in his study were fully recorded. One consists of the measurements of 86 skulls from the northern provinces of China. The other was Black's monograph on 64 male skulls of the late neolithic and early bronze age. So we know more or less definitely about the geographical locations of three series among the data quoted by Woo and Morant in their paper.

将五个亚群的平均两颧间宽测量值与吴定良和莫兰特论文中三个东方亚群的数值进行比较，非常有意思。杨希枚划分的亚群I平均值为141.18，正好处于北部蒙古人种的数值范围内，而他的亚群III和亚群V的平均值却比现代中国人的平均值低得多，仅仅略高于“其他地区的东方人”的最小值。亚群IV的数值在现代中国人和日本人的数值范围内，而亚群II却比它要高。杨希枚教授在他的初步报告中还公布了他的一些比较研究的结果。1963年，杨希枚教授将安阳采集物中一些有类型代表意义的标本带到了美国华盛顿特区的史密森研究院，院方帮助他开展了一系列研究，将他带去的标本与院方保存的其他民族的头盖骨进行比较：亚群I与布里亚特人、楚克奇人和库伦蒙古人；亚群II与美拉尼西亚人、澳大利亚土著居民，以及一些非洲尼格罗人；亚群III与英美人和大平原印第安人；亚群IV与爱斯基摩人；亚群V与一些夏威夷人。杨教授发现，这5组比较研究的对象在形态学上都有一些惊人的类同之处。

所有这些将我们引向了今天所讨论问题的核心——现代中国人的形成。如果只作一般观察，我们可以说，根据许多人体测量学家和头盖学者的——尽管有所缺陷的——记录，中国人身体特征的不断变化是今天的地域差异的忠实反映。让我们再次回到吴定良和莫兰特划分亚洲种族的论文上去。这篇论文讨论了四组中国人头骨测量数据。第一组中国人系列取自古尔登·哈罗尔的著作，由31名福建籍男性的头骨组成。第二组是取自日本人类学家小金井博士1902年从直隶、山东和东北南部等地收集到的资料；不过，他收集的有70个头骨是阵亡的士兵，所以他们确

切的籍贯不详。第三和第四组来自步达生的著作，他对研究中所用资料的籍贯作了翔实的记录。其中一组包括中国北方数省的86具头骨的测量数据，另一组则是步达生关于新石器时代晚期和青铜时代早期的64具男性头骨的专著。因此，我们多少能够准确地了解吴定良和莫兰特文章中所引用的资料里其中三组所在的地理位置。

Applying the formula of C. R. L. (Coefficient of Racial Likeness), Woo and Morant found that among the four Chinese series, Koganei's group is more closely related to Harrower' Fukien Collection. The C. R. L. between these two series is 2.86; while Black's modern series shows only a moderate association with Koganei's, the C. R. L. of these two series is 5.6 which is a much larger figure than the C. R. L. between the Japanese series and the Fukien series 3.73. The prehistoric series of Black shows only a slight association with the three modern Chinese series; the C. R. L. between the prehistoric and any of the three modern Chinese series is more than 9 but less than 10.

If we compare these Chinese series with the other Oriental and non-Oriental races of Asia, according to the calculated C. R. L. shown in the above paper, we find some significant results. It is a fact that the modern Chinese crania are further differentiated from all the northern Mongolian series except those of the Chuckchis, an isolated group located in the northeasternmost corner of Asia, on the coast of the Bering Strait. But with the other groups of Orientals in the south the Chinese series have demonstrated a relationship of a mixed character.

In the historical period of the last three thousand years, an anthropologist may find that the formation of the Chinese people in a cultural sense is richly documented both in the written records and the archaeological remains. As for the racial aspect, the data are only gradually accumulating. In the remaining few minutes, I am going to summarize for you some of the important historical notes I have made on this theme.

Franz Weidenreich, in describing the skeletal materials of what he called "the earliest Moderns in East Asia," namely the upper cave finds at Chou-k'ou-tien, concluded that the old male among them represents not only a very primitive form of modern man, but also a type of primitive Mongoloid. He said further that the recent northern Chinese, while more advanced in their physical characteristics are in fact traceable to ancestors like those represented by the old man in the Upper Cave.

The conclusion arrived at by this eminent anthropologist has given rise to much discussion. Recently both Soviet and China archaeologists have claimed discoveries of skeletal remains identifiable to Mongoloid, earlier than the dating of the CKT Upper cave. But more detailed evidence is needed for verification of these claims. Next to Weidenreich's study, Davidson Black's investigation of the north China prehistorical series may be considered. Black remarked at the conclusion of his paper that the neolithic Chinese show a group of physical characters differing very little from the modern inhabitants of North China. He even went so far as to say that the neolithic Chinese were the proto-type of the modern inhabitants of North China.

应用“种族相似率”公式，吴定良和莫兰特发现，在四组中国人中，小金井的那组与哈罗尔的福建组更相近，这两组之间的种族相似率是2.86；步达生的现代组仅仅表现出与小金井组有一定的联系，这两组的种族相似率为5.6——这个数字比日本组与福建组的3.73的数值要大得多；步达生的史前组与三个现代中国人组只有细微的相似之处，史前组与三个现代中国人组中任何一组的种族相似率都大于9但小于10。

如果将这些中国人组与亚洲的其他东方种族和非东方种族相比较，依照上面论文计算出来的种族相似率，我们会有一些重大的发现。事实就是：现代中国人的头盖骨与所有北部蒙古组的头盖骨区别更大，只有生活在亚洲最东北端、白令海峡附近的一个孤立群体楚克奇人除外。而与南方的其他地区的东方人群体相比，中国人组则显示出与他们有特征混合的关系。

人类学家可以发现，在过去三千年的历史时期里，文化意义上中国人的形成在文字记录和考古遗存中都有丰富的记录；而在种族意义上，此方面的资料只是在逐渐积累。在剩下的几分钟里，我想简要地向你们讲一讲我在这方面所作的一些重要的历史摘录。

魏敦瑞在形容被他称为“东亚最早的现代人”，即周口店山顶洞发现的骨骼资料时，这样总结道：其中的老年男子不仅代表了现代人的原始形态，还代表了原始蒙古人种的一个类型。他还进一步认为，近代华北人，尽管在体质特征上更为先进，事实上可以追溯到以周口店山顶洞的老年男子为代表的祖先。

这位杰出的人类学家得出的结论引起了诸多议论。最近，苏联和中国的考古学家都宣称自己发现了可确认为比周口店山顶洞更早的蒙古人的骨骼遗存。但还需要更详细的证据来证实他们的说法。除了魏敦瑞的

研究，步达生对华北史前组所作的调查也可加以考虑。步达生在他的论文的结论讲到，新石器时代的中国人显现出的一类体质特征几乎与现代华北居民无异。他甚至大胆判言，新石器时代的中国人是现代华北居民的原型。

Now with the study of the earliest historical crania nearing the final stage, we are in a position to make some amendments to Black's conclusion. The core of the problem with the Anyang data is, while comparative studies have made it quite clear that this collection is composed of at least five morphologically distinct units, of which four are identifiable with living ethnical groups, it remains rather obscure which of these units was typical of the ruling class of the Yin-Shang dynasty. The reason is: practically all these skulls in the Anyang collection were excavated from what the field archaeologists call "the cranial pits," mainly sacrificial in nature. In other words, these skulls were offerings to the departed spirits of the masters of the Royal Tombs, whose own bodies were destroyed by tomb robbers long before modern scientific excavation took place. In the oracle bone inscriptions there are many records of the Yin-Shang people fighting against foreign invasions on both the northwestern frontier and the southeastern border. It is not unusual, according to these records, to find that the heads of captured invaders were chopped off and offered to the spirit of the departed ancestors, a practice which was evidently very fashionable with the warriors of the Bronze Age all over the Eurafrican and Asian continent.

It is possible that the sacrificial victims might have included in their number, members of the royal clan and even the descendents of royalty. It is a question that certainly should be investigated by social scientists, and historians. For the present, it is sufficient to note that in the latter part of the 2nd millennium B.C., north China was a meeting place for a variety of peoples: Eskimoid, Mongoloid, Australoid, Negroid, Caucasoid and a number of others. The Eskimoid and the Mongoloid are the numerically dominant groups; next are the various Melanesian types; the smaller headed skulls are not quite identifiable.

These identifications serve to indicate that the Chinese of this period were already in a melting pot.

现在，对最早历史期的头盖骨的研究进入尾声，我们可以对步达生的结论作一些修正。有关安阳资料的问题的核心在于：虽然比较研究已经确定这些采集物至少由五个形态截然各异的单元组成，而且其中四个

单元可确认与现生种族群属于同一类型；然而，殷商王朝统治阶级代表的是其中哪一种还没有澄清。原因是：实际上，安阳采集物里所有的头骨都是从被田野考古学家称作“头盖坑”的地方发掘出来的，那里埋葬的主要是殉葬者。换句话说，这些头骨是被用来献祭王陵主人的亡灵的，而墓主本人的尸骨在现代科学发掘之前早已经被盗墓者毁坏。甲骨文上有许多关于殷商王朝人民与西北边疆和东南边境的外来入侵者作斗争的记录。根据这些记录，我们不难发现，砍下被俘获的入侵者的头颅来祭奠祖先的亡灵，这种行为在青铜时代的欧非和亚洲大陆的战事中显然相当盛行。

这些人牲当中可能会有王族成员，甚至王族后裔。这确实是一个亟待社会科学家和历史学家考证的问题。不过，目前我们只需要注意到公元前第二个千年的后期，华北是爱斯基摩人、蒙古人种、澳大利亚土著、尼格罗人、高加索人等多个种族的汇聚地就足够了。爱斯基摩人和蒙古人种群体在数量上占绝对优势；其次是各种类型的美拉尼西亚人；头形较小的头骨的类型未能确认。

这些识别工作表明，这一时期的中国人已经处在一个“熔炉”之中。

In the dynasties that followed this period, we have more historical data for a study of migration of the Chinese people both within the boundary of China proper, and in the borderland area; successive invasions, mainly from the north, gave impetus to most migrations. In every case, the result was an intensification of the process of hybridization among different clans, tribes and nationals. There were at least four major population movements in the historical period. The first population movement of great importance took place in the Shang-Chou period when the Chou Dynasty replaced the power of the Shang in the 12th century B. C. It was followed by a second movement in the 5th century B.C. in the Chan-kuo period which lasted to the late 3rd century B.C. The best recorded population movements are those of the subsequent two periods about which I first worked out the general outline more than forty years ago, and which has been elaborated recently by an enormous number of historical documents. They are the Yüngchia movement in the 4th century A.D. and the Chingk'ang movement of the 12th century A.D. In both cases, the movement started with foreign invasions from the north, activating the momentum of the mass migration towards the south. The remnant indigenous people in north China, as a consequence, absorbed the invaders from the steppes, while emigrants from the Yellow River basin who crossed the Yangtze River and settled further south, mixed to some degree

with the indigenous population of the southern territory.

Völkerwanderungs are not unlike atmospheric circulation; the major movements mentioned above were typhoons and hurricanes. In addition, there were also seasonal winds and gentle breezes which intervened regularly between the stormy years. I believe that all students of population studies would concur that to this day, in the land of the mainland of China, Völkerwanderung is still as active as in earlier historical times.

One of the main results of this perpetual motion as evidenced by the continuous historical marches is the highly hybridized character of the Chinese of the present day, homogenized by a unique culture. Two questions remain to be answered. What happened to the northern Mongols, whose ancestral type not only made a major contribution to the sacrificial pits in the royal tombs of the Yin-Shang period, but also produced a Chinggis Khan for world historians to ponder and created a dynasty for the Chinese people to endure? They seem to have left no noticeable somatic impression on the Chinese population in spite of the free philandering activities which they monopolized in China for nearly a century.

随后的几个朝代给我们提供了更多的历史资料，用来研究中国人在中国本土和边境地区迁徙的情况；大多数的迁徙主要是在不间断的——尤其是北方的——民族入侵的推动下发生的。每一次迁徙都导致了不同氏族、不同部族和不同民族之间杂交进程的加剧。历史上至少有四次大的人口迁移。第一次重要的人口迁移发生在商周时期，即公元前12世纪，周朝夺取了商朝的政权。随后的第二次迁移发生在公元前5世纪的战国时期，这次迁移活动一直持续到公元前3世纪后期。文字记录最完整的两次人口迁移是后来的两次。四十多年前，我曾就这个问题拟过一份概要，最近又有许多历史文献对此作了详细的阐述。它们分别是公元4世纪的永嘉迁移和公元12世纪的靖康迁移。这两次迁徙的起因都是北方民族入侵迫使居民大规模地向南迁移。结果，留在华北的当地人吸收了来自西伯利亚大草原的入侵者；而那些跨过长江在更加偏南地区定居下来的黄河流域的移民，则在一定程度上与南方地区的土著居民融合了。

人口流动就像是空气流通；上面提到的主要迁移就像台风和飓风。另外，在暴风骤雨之间还有规律地穿插着季风和微风。我相信，所有从事人口研究的学者都会同意这样的说法：如今，中国大陆的人口流动仍然像在过去的历史时期里一样活跃。

不间断的历史演进证实了这种永恒运动的存在，它所造成的主要后果之一就是，今天中国人统一于一种独特的文化之下的高度杂成性。现在还有两个问题需要回答。北部蒙古人种究竟遭遇了什么？大量出现于殷商时期王陵殉葬坑中的正是他们祖先的遗骸；创建了一个令中国人饱受苦难的朝代，并给历史学家留下无限思考空间的成吉思汗，也正是源自他们的血脉。然而，尽管他们在统治中国近一个世纪的时间里恣意玩乐，但却没有明显地在中国人身上留下蒙古体征的痕迹。

The second question is about the Melanesian elements found in the Anyang skeletal remains. They certainly seem to have been present in Shang times in the neighborhood of the North China Plain. Were they ever mixed with other racial elements among the Chinese population?

These are questions for further investigations. But from the data which we have reviewed, one point emerges quite clearly: if the northern Mongols and the Melanesian group have not succeeded on China's mainland today it cannot have been due to any political reason, or race prejudice which is altogether a modern concept. Everybody knows the famous Confucian saying: EDUCATION WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION, a motto which helped the Chinese statesman for more than 2000 years to forge many racial elements into one people, and many local cultures into one civilization. If the northern Mongols and the southern Melanesians seem to have disappeared somatologically within the boundaries of China proper, the reasons, I venture to suggest, are mainly environmental.

I am using the word "environmental" in its broadest sense, covering all the physical and the social aspects. There is little doubt that in the land of China, as everywhere else, group mores and individual variations of man's ability to adapt himself to the climatic and ecological changes and to the constant new demands of an active society and a dynamic polity have always played a fundamental role in the selective process. By continually moulding and remoulding the physical as well as the mental character of its inhabitants, this process developed a modern type of Chinese widely divergent from that of their neolithic ancestors as described by the late Professor Davidson Black. This divergence has been demonstrated rather convincingly by the study of Woo and Morant, who, by means of the formulae of C. R. L. have shown that the degree of association among the three modern series of Chinese crania is much closer than that of any one of the three compared with the prehistoric group.

Thus, in spite of the wide range of anthropometrical variations made apparent by recent surveys among the living inhabitants, a more or less convergent somate-type seems to be emerging in the mainland of China. And, its emergence will inevitably be accelerated by another quickened pulse of völkerwanderung which is already taking place in Eastern Asia. The recent population movement on a gradually enlarged scale is obviously a repetition of the many historical marches recorded in Chinese chronicles. Its ultimate consequence is very likely to be a further intensification of the hybridizing process of the immigrants with the native born along the migratory route. If racialists should insist on the existence of a pure Chinese stock, let me quote what Franz Weidenreich queried over twenty years ago. He asked: "Who are the individuals who produce the hybrids anew each day?" His own answer to this question is well-known: there has never been any "pure race" on this planet of ours. This theory, in my opinion can be fully confirmed by the racial history of the Chinese people.

另一个问题与在安阳遗骸中发现的美拉尼西亚种族成分有关。由此看来，商时期他们肯定在华北平原附近出现过。那么，他们是否曾经与中国人口中的其他种族成分相融合？

这些问题都有待进一步探讨。但是从我们回顾过的这些资料来看，有一点相当明确：假如北部蒙古人种和美拉尼西亚群体在今天的中国大陆未能得到延续，那绝不是出于任何政治因素，或是种族偏见（这是个纯粹的现代概念）。大家都知道孔子的一句名言“有教无类”；在过去的两千多年里，这句箴言帮助中国政治家把多种种族成分统一成了一个民族，将多种地方文化融合成了一种文明。如果说从人体学的角度而言，北部蒙古人种和南部美拉尼西亚人似乎已经从中国本土范围内消失了，我斗胆说一句，那主要是环境因素造成的。

我所说的是最广泛意义上的“环境因素”，包括自然的和社会的两个方面。毫无疑问，不论在中国还是其他地方，群体习惯和个体在适应气候和生态变化、适应活跃的社会和动态的政体不断提出的新要求方面的能力差异，在优胜劣汰的过程中始终起着根本性的作用。这个过程不断地塑造和再塑造居住者的身体和心理特征，创造出了一类新型的现代中国人，全然不同于已故步达生教授笔下他们新石器时代的祖先。吴定良和莫兰特的研究已经相当有力地证实了这种差异。他们应用“种族相似率”公式证明：三个现代中国人头盖骨组之间的相似程度比这三组中的任何一组与史前群体之间的相似程度都要高得多。

因此，尽管近期的调研显示，现在的居民的人体测量数据的差异范

围很大，但中国大陆似乎正在形成一种趋同的体型，而在目前东亚活跃的人口流动必将加速它的形成。近代人口迁移的规模正在逐渐加大，它很显然是中国编年史中所记载的数次演进的重复。它的最终结果很可能是移民们在迁徙的过程中与当地居民的杂交进一步加剧。假如种族主义者还坚持认为存在着纯粹的中国血统的话，那我不妨引用一下魏敦瑞二十多年前发出的一个疑问。他问道：“每一天是谁在创造新的混血儿？”他的回答广为人知：在我们这个星球上，绝没有任何“纯种”。我认为，这一论断可以通过中国人的种族历史得到充分证明。

胡鸿保、周燕 译

APPENDIX I Letter to the British China Indemnity Delegation

Tsing Hua College,

Peking,

June 5, 1926.

The British China Indemnity Delegation,

c/o British Legation,

Peking.

Dear Sires:

The undersigned beg to present to your delegation a few data on the importance of the [*Sic*] establishing a museum of Chinese anthropology and archaeology, and reasons to apply a grant from the Indemnity Fund.

I

The aggregation of the Chinese people, as many visiting anthropologists can testify, is composed of such a number of quite different racial elements and strains that their discrimination is often a puzzle even to the expert anthropologists. Such blending of races cannot but have a considerable influence upon the history and the development of the Chinese as a race. Compared with the advance of recent researches accomplished in Europe and America, and even in other parts of Asia, the anthropological data collected in China are very meager and sporadic. In view of the vast territory of China, it is quite possible that a systematic and combined effort of anthropological study, if it could be made, would yield surprisingly valuable results.

The science of archaeology is no less in need of development to a far greater extent than at present. It has been quite widely deplored that much of Chinese archaeological remains have suffered from the secret pillage and plundering by unscrupulous curiosity dealers. Their underhand method of collecting has resulted in hiding from the public any knowledge of the

locality, position, and association of objects which are necessary for scientific study and preventing further systematic excavation. Such wanton destruction of ancient sites and dispersion of remains into unknown channels can only be checked by conducting scientific expeditions for the purpose of excavation, the result of which will not only convince the public of the scientific value of ancient sites and remains, and their necessary protection, but also contribute to the progress of archaeological knowledge itself.

附录壹 致英“庚款”咨询委员会调查团

北京

英国公使馆转

英“庚款”咨询委员会调查团

敬启者：

现由以下签名者向贵会呈送以下资料，论列建立中国人类学及考古学博物馆之重要性，并陈述申请“庚款”基金资助之理由。

一

中华民族之总体，正如众多来访之人类学者所判识，实由诸多极不相同之种族成分和血统所构成；其间差异，即使对专业的人类学者而言亦常为难解之谜。此种种族之混合必对中国人之历史及发展产生极大影响。试观欧美各国乃至亚洲其他地区在此领域之最新研究进展，益觉中国之人类学资料搜集甚为贫乏零散。以中国疆域之广袤而见，若能在人类学方面展开系统、协力之研究，定能取得极有价值之成果。

人类科学极需大力发展。肆无忌惮的古董商明抢暗窃，已使中国众多考古遗址惨遭破坏，令人不胜惋惜。此辈之卑劣采集手段致使公众对古器物之出土地点、层位及连带关系全然无从得知；而此种知识乃为科学研究与进一步系统发掘所必具备。古遗址惨遭破坏，遗物四散流失，唯有实行以发掘为宗旨之科学探索方得遏止。科学发掘之结果，不仅能使公众确信古代遗址、遗物之科学价值，及对其施以保护之必要，并能促进考古学知识之进步。

In this connection, the undersigned are not unaware of the existence of several establishments which might be in a position to carry forward the work mentioned. Unfortunately owing to the lack of financial aid or to the insufficiency of the technical staff they have not been able to perform these duties as actively as might be expected. The Historical Museum under the Ministry of Education had conducted only two excavations and these in cooperation with a representative of the Smithsonian Institution. The Art Museum under the Ministry of Interior has fulfilled only the function of an

exhibition.

On the other hand several scientists interested in the subjects have worked either independently, or under the auspices of organizations whose primary function is rather remotely related to archaeology. The finds of culture of New Stone Age in North China by Dr. J. G. Andersson and members of the Geological Survey, the anthropological measurement made by Dr. Black and Dr. Stevenson of P. U. M. C. and the recent anthropometrical work by Dr. Chi Li in Hupeh, Honan, Shansi are a few instances of the widely scattered efforts in this field. The need of combined efforts is evident to avoid much duplication of work and to promote new lines of research. We can count on quite a number of both Chinese and foreign experts now in Peking to aid in this work. But an organized center should exist and this should be full-equipped and [*Sic*] modern museum which can fulfill the function of a centralizing organization.

II

The proposed museum shall be located in Peking as a National Institution. It shall serve as a clearing house of all the archaeological and anthropological work done in China. It shall have a free hand in its administration from other organizations. Therefore an independent administration with Boards of Trustees and Counsellors can best serve the purpose. It may start from a small beginning but its aim shall be to carry out active research and systematic excavations. But at the same time it shall be so organized that rapid expansion and enlargement of the scale of its work, is possible.

Its activities shall comprise:

(1) Field Expeditions: including archaeological excavations and anthropological measurements, together with photographing, rubbing, and modelling of valuable objects, etc.

就此端而言，以下签名各位深知已有若干机构或有能力推进上述工作。无奈财力匮乏、技术人员不足，迄今未能如预期般积极履行其职责。教育部下属之历史博物馆仅在与史密森研究院之代表合作下进行过两次发掘。内务部下属之艺术博物馆也只是尽到了展览的职责。

另一方面，有志于此项工作之若干科学家或独力、或依靠与考古学关系较远之机构的资助工作。安特生博士及地质调查所人员在华北对新

石器时期文化遗存之发现，北京协和医学院步达生博士及许文生博士所作之人类学测量，以及李济博士最近在湖北、河南、山西等地进行之人体测量工作，仅为此领域内零星分散工作之少数例证。实行联合协作之必要性显而易见，以避免过多重复劳动，并发展研究工作之新取向。可预期，眼下北京相当数量之中外专家必将支持此项事业。然须建立一有组织的中心，而此中心应为一设备齐全的现代博物馆，以行统一组织之职能。

二

以上拟议之博物馆可设于北京，作为一国立机构。此馆将成为全国一切考古学及人类学工作之“结算中心”。馆务行政有不受其他机构干预之自由。为此，应有独立之行政部门，并设立理事会及董事会以保证实现此目的。起步不必求大，但目标应指向积极之研究工作及系统之发掘工作。同时，该馆须合理组织，为其工作范围的快速扩展创造条件。

馆务活动拟包括以下方面：

（1）田野考察：包括考古发掘，人类学测量，连同摄影、墨拓以及重要实物之模型制作等。

(2) Laboratory Research: including description and identification of objects, anthropometrical calculation and comparisons, etc.

(3) Publication: including the writing and printing of memoirs, reports, and guide books on the investigation and exhibited objects.

(4) Exhibition: including cleaning, restoration, mounting of exhibits.

III

Therefore herewith the undersigned apply for a grant from the Indemnity Fund to finance the above-outlined undertaking. Our estimated annual budget and initiative expenditure are as follows:

(1) Annual Expenditure:

1) Field excavations (for the work of four parties for five months out of a year)	
a. Equipment: tents, tools, photograph, surveying.	7800
b. Field Expenses: personal maintenance.	6000
wages of local working men.	5800
c. Packing and transportation.	7000
2) Laboratory work	10000

3) Publications (four volumes a year)	14000
4) Mounting of exhibits	8000
5) Administration and salary	17000
6) Maintenance of buildings & repair	25000
Total	$90000M [Sic]
(2) Initial expense of building the Museum.	
1) Ground	50000
2) Construction	450000
3) Furnishings, including cases, furniture, light and heat.	150000
Total	$650000M [Sic]

Respectively submitted

Chi Li. Ph.D. (Harvard). Lecturer of anthropology, Tsing Hua College; former Dean and Professor of anthropology of Nan Kai University.

（2）实验室研究：包括实物之说明、鉴别，人体测量之计算、比较等。

（3）出版：包括撰写和出版介绍调查工作与展出物品的论文、报告和手册。

（4）展览：包括展品之清理、修复、陈设。

三

为此，以下签名者特向英“庚款”基金提出对上项事业资助之申请。估计年预算及启动费用大致如下：

（1）年度费用：

1）田野发掘（按每年四队为期五个月的工作计）：	
a. 设备：帐篷、工具、照相器材、测绘用具	7800元
b. 田野费用：生活费用	6000元
当地工人工资	5800元
c. 包装与运输	7000元
2）实验室工作	10000元
3）出版（每年四卷）	14000元
4）展品陈设	8000元
5）行政费用及薪金	17000元
6）房屋修建与维护	25000元
合计：	90000元
（2）建造博物馆之启动费用：	
1）土地	50000元

2）修建	450000元
3）设备：陈列柜、家具、照明和供暖设施	150000元
合计：	650000元

呈报人：

李济（哈佛大学哲学博士）：清华学校人类学讲师，前南开大学文科主任、人类学教授

Chien-Shih Shen. Dean, The Institute of Sinological Studies, National University of Peking.

Wen-hao Wong, D.Sc. (Louvain). Director, National Geological Survey; President, Geological Society of China; President, Peking Society of Natural History.

A. W. Grabau, Sc.D. (Harvard). Chief Palaeontologist, Geological Survey; Professor of Paleontology, National University of Peking; Dean, Peking Laboratory of Natural History.

P. L. Yuan, M. A. (Columbia). Geologist, National Geological Survey; Lecturer on Physiography, National University of Peking.

Davidson Black, Ph.D. M.D. Professor, Department of Anatomy, Peking Union Medical College.

Y. T. Tsur, M.A. (Yale), Litt.D. (St. John's). Secretary-General, Commission for the Adjustment of Finances; Manager of the Chung Foo Union Bank; Former President of Tsing Hua College.

W. W. Yen, LL.D. Premier; Minister of Foreign Affairs; Chairman, Commission for the Adjustment of Finance.

Y. S. Tsao, M.B.A. (Harvard). President, Tsing Hua Collge, Peking.

Monlin Chiang, Ph.D. (Columbia). Acting Chancellor, National University of Peking.

沈兼士 国立北京大学研究所国学门主任

翁文灏（鲁汶大学科学博士）：地质调查所所长，中国地质学会会长，北京自然史学会会长

葛利普（哈佛大学科学博士）：地质调查所首席古生物学家，国立北京大学古生物学教授，北京自然历史研究室主任

袁复礼（哥伦比亚大学文学硕士）：地质调查所地质学家，国立北

京大学地文学讲师

步达生（哲学博士，医学博士）：北京协和医学院解剖系教授

周诒春（耶鲁大学文学硕士，圣约翰大学文学博士）：整理财政委员会秘书长，中孚银行总经理，前清华学校校长

颜惠庆（法学博士）：内阁总理，外交部总长，整理财政委员会会长

曹云祥（哈佛大学商业管理硕士）： 北京清华学校校长

蒋梦麟（哥伦比亚大学哲学博士）： 国立北京大学代理校长

北京清华学校

1926年6月5日

李光谟 译

APPENDIX ii Letter OF INVITATION from Hu Shih

104 East 81 Street

New York 28, N. Y.

February 16, 1955

Dear Fellow Member _____:

There are twelve members of the Academia Sinica in North America. They are:

Y. R. Chao, Cambridge, Mass.

K. K. Chen, Indianapolis, Ind.

S. S. Chern, Princeton, N. J.

Hsiao Kung-chuan, Seattle, Wash.

Hu Shih, New York, N. Y.

Li Chi, Seattle, Wash.

Li Fang-kuei, Seattle, Wash.

Li Shu-hua, New York, N. Y.

Robert K. S. Lim, Elkhart, Ind.

G. H. Wang, Baltimore, Md.

Hsien Wu, Brookline, Mass.

Wu Ta-you, Ottawa, Canada

During my last two visits to Taipei, President Chu Chia-hua of the Academia Sinica and the other members now in Taiwan agreed that an informal meeting of the members of Academia Sinica now scattered in many parts of the North American continent might be held for the purpose of renewing friendship, receiving reports of the A. S., and exchanging news regarding its future.

When Dr. Li Chi came to New York last November, he again urged me to try to call such a meeting. Dr. Li is now lecturing at the University of Washington, Seattle, Wash., where two other members of the A. S., Dr. Li Fang-kuei and Dr. Hsiao Kung-chuan have been teaching and doing research work.

Last week, Dr. Y. R. Chao, who had just returned from a European trip and is now residing at Cambridge, Mass., came to New York and met with three other fellow-members, Drs. S. S. Chern, Li Shu-hua and myself. This question of holding an informal meeting of the Members of the A. S. in North America was informally discussed. The discussion was resumed the next day by Dr. Chao and myself.

附录贰 胡适的一封邀请信[1]

尊敬的________院士：

“中央研究院”院士现正在北美的计有十二位，他们是：

赵元任	马萨诸塞州	剑桥
陈克恢	印第安纳州	印第安纳波利斯
陈省身	新泽西州	普林斯顿
萧公权	华盛顿州	西雅图
胡 适	纽约州	纽约
李 济	华盛顿州	西雅图
李方桂	华盛顿州	西雅图
李书华	纽约州	纽约
林可胜	印第安纳州	埃尔克哈特
汪敬熙	马里兰州	巴尔的摩
吴 宪	马萨诸塞州	布鲁克林
吴大猷	加拿大	渥太华

我两次访问台北时，“中央研究院”朱家骅院长和现居台湾的另外几位院士都说到，目前散居北美大陆各地的“中研院”院士有必要举行一次非正式聚会以重叙旧情，了解“中研院”的近况，并就研究院的未来交流信息。

李济博士去年11月来纽约时再次敦促我设法安排这样一次会面。李博士现正在华盛顿州西雅图市的华盛顿州立大学讲学；另两位院士李方桂博士和萧公权博士也都在该校授课和做研究工作。

赵元任博士刚从欧洲旅行回来，现居住在马萨诸塞州的剑桥。他上星期来到纽约，会见了另三位院士：陈省身博士、李书华博士和我。我们聊起举行一次现住北美的“中研院”院士非正式会晤的问题。第二天赵博士和我又继续作了商讨。

Because of the four-quarter system of the University of Washington, the three Seattle members can only have their vacation from March 18-28. It is suggested to call a meeting of the A. S. members on Saturday and Sunday, March 19-20, in New York. I have volunteered to write to the members and to take charge of the arrangements as to the place of meeting and hotel

accommodation.

There is a fund held by Dr. Chao for the A. S. in the U. S. A. We are authorized to draw on this fund to pay traveling and living expenses of the members attending this meeting according to the following suggested scale:

$400 for each member coming from the Pacific Coast.

$150 for each member coming from Indiana and Ottawa.

$100 for each member coming from Baltimore and Boston.

$50 for each member coming from the New Jersey and New York area.

If all twelve members can come, the total expenses will amount to $2,100 plus rent for the meeting place.

There will be no "official business" to be transacted. Dr. Li Chi will report on the present situation, new buildings at Nankang and future plans of the A. S. It will be entirely a meeting of old friends and friendly chats.

Kindly airmail or wire me whether you can come on March 19-20. When all replies are in, I shall immediately make the hotel arrangements and notify you of the meeting place and your hotel reservations. The meeting will probably begin in the afternoon of Saturday, March 19th.

Hoping the above information and suggestions may meet with your approval.

Sincerely yours,

由于华盛顿州立大学实行一年四学期的学制，住在西雅图的三位院士只有在3月18日至28日才有假期。为此，特建议院士的聚会于3月19日至20日（周六和周日）在纽约举行。我自告奋勇写信给诸位院士，并负责安排聚会场所和旅馆预定。

赵博士手中保管着“中研院”在美国的一笔经费。我们受权可以使用这笔经费支付各位院士参加此会的旅费和生活费用，其标准暂定如下：

来自西海岸的院士每位400美元；

来自印第安纳和渥太华的院士每位150美元；

来自巴尔的摩和波士顿的院士每位100美元；

来自新泽西和纽约地区的院士每位50美元。

十二位院士如全体出席，外加会场的租金，全部费用总计为2100美元。

会上没有什么需要处理的“公事”。李济博士将向大家报告“中央研究院”的现状、南港新院址的建设和研究院今后的计划。这纯属一个老朋友会面和聊天的聚会。

诸位是否能在3月19日和20日参加此会，请通过航空信或电报告知。收到全部回音后，我会立即预定旅馆，并通知诸位开会地点和每个人预定的旅馆房号。开会时间暂定在3月19日（周六）下午。

希望以上信息和建议能得到诸位的赞成。

您诚挚的朋友

胡 适

纽约州纽约市东81街104号

1955年2月16日

李光谟 译

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[1] 1954年冬李济去美讲学时，受朱家骅委托准备向在美的“中研院”首届院士介绍“中研院”近况和前景，因此拜托胡适出面邀集聚会。此文为胡适写的邀请信。——编者注

A meeting of Academia Sinica members in U. S.: (clockwise) Y. R. Chao, G. H. Wang, T. H. Tung (guest), K. H. Chen, Hsiao Kung-chuan, Li Fang-kuei, S. S. Chern, Robert K. S. Lim, Y. C. Yuan, Hsien Wu, Wu Ta-you, Lao Kan (guest), Li Shu-hua, Hu Shih, Li Chi
“中研院”美国聚会：（顺时针方向）赵元任、汪敬熙、董同龢（客）、陈克恢、萧公权、李方桂、陈省身，林可胜、袁贻瑾、吴宪、吴大猷、劳榦（客）、李书华、胡适、李济

Glossary 译名对照表

I. Personal names 人名

A. W. Hummel 恒慕义

Albert J. Koop 艾伯特·库普

Alfred L. Kroeber 艾尔弗雷得·路易斯·克罗伯

Arthur Waley 亚瑟·韦利

Aurel Stein 奥雷尔·斯坦因

C. C. Young 杨钟健

Carleton Coon 卡尔登·孔恩

Clark Wissler 克拉克·威斯勒

Davidson Black 步达生

E. A. Hooton 虎藤

E. G. Pulleyblank 蒲立本

E. Licent 桑志华

Édouard Biot 爱德华·毕欧

Édouard Chavannes 沙畹

F. Max Müller 麦克斯·缪勒

Franz Boas 弗朗兹·博厄斯

Franz Weidenreich 魏敦瑞

G. D. Wu 吴金鼎

G. M. Morant 莫兰特

Goldon Harrower 古尔登·哈罗尔

Gordon Childe 戈登·柴尔德

Hallam L. Movius, Jr. 侔维斯

Henri Frankfort 亨利·法兰克福

Herbert Spencer 赫伯特·史宾赛
Homer H. Dubs 德效骞
Hrdlička 赫得利奇卡
Hsi-mei Yang 杨希枚
Hu Hou-hsüan 胡厚宣
J. G. Andersson 安特生
James Legge 李雅各
John K. Fairbank 费正清
Jung Keng 容庚
K. C. Chang 张光直
Kenneth Starr 肯尼斯·斯塔尔
Kuo Pao-chün 郭宝钧
Li Chi 李济
Liang Ssu-yung 梁思永
Liu Yü-hsia 刘屿霞
M. N. Pien 卞美年
Motonosuke Amano 天野元之助
P. L. Yüan 袁复礼
Paul H. Stevenson 许文生
Paul Pelliot 伯希和
Pierre Teilhard de Chardin 德日进神甫
Roland B. Dixon 罗兰·狄克森
S. M. Shirokogoroff 史禄国
Shih Chang-ju 石璋如
Shih Hsin-keng 施昕更
Sir Flinders Petrie 派特力
T. L. Woo 吴定良
T. S. Liu 刘东生

Tung Tso-pin 董作宾

William Howells 威廉·豪厄尔斯

William James 威廉·詹姆斯

Wilma Fairbank 费慰梅

Y. S. Tsao 曹云祥

II. Institutions 机构名

Academia Sinica 中央研究院

American Association for the Advancement of Science 美国科学促进协会

British Legation 英国公使馆

Central Museum 中央博物院

Chung Foo Union Bank 中孚银行

Clark University 克拉克大学

Commission for the Adjustment of Finances 整理财政委员会

Peking Government University 国立京师大学校

Freer Gallery of Art 弗利尔美术馆

Geological Society of China 中国地质学会

Historical Museum 历史博物馆

National Geological Survey 地质调查所

Peabody Museum 皮博迪博物馆

Peking Laboratory of Natural History 北京自然历史研究室

Peking Society of Natural History 北京自然史学会

Peking Union Medical College (P. U. M. C.) 北京协和医学院

Research Institute of History and Philology 历史语言研究所

Smithsonian Institution 史密森研究院

The British China Indemnity Delegation 英“庚款”咨询委员会

Tsing Hua College 清华学校

Tsing Hua Research Institute on Chinese Study 清华国学研究院

Yenching Archaeological Society 燕京考古学社
III. Technical terms 考古学、人类学专业词汇
Ainu 阿依努人
anthropometrical measurement 人体测量
auditory height 听高
Australoid 澳洲人种
bent rim 卷边
bi-zygomatic diameter 横经颧骨之面部直径
bi-zygomatic width 两颧点间宽
Black Pottery culture 黑陶文化
Bos exiguu 牛
Bronze and Copper Age 铜石并用时期
Bubalus mephistophele 圣水牛
Budorcas taxicolor lichii “李济氏扭角羚”
cephalic index 头指数
ceremonial vessel 礼器
chi 戟
Chuckchi 楚克奇人
Coefficient of Racial Likeness 种族相似率
cranial measurement 头盖骨测量
Dayak 达雅人
décor piece 花纹片
Eskimoid 爱斯基摩人种
glacial age 冰河时期
Hametic people 含族人
hang-t'u stratum 夯土层
head breadth 头宽
head length 头长

Hominidae 原始人类
Homo sapiens 智人
horizontal circumference 头水平周长
hsien 甗
hu 胡
jade-with-bronze sleeve 玉身铜套
Melanesoid 美拉尼西亚人种
minimum frontal diameter 最小额径
Mongoloid fold 蒙古褶
Mongoloid 蒙古人种
mortise 阴榫
nasal aperture 鼻孔
nasal bone 鼻骨
nasal breadth 鼻宽
nasal bridge 鼻梁
nasal form 鼻形
nasal height 鼻长
nasal root 鼻根
nasion-menton height 鼻颚距
nasion-prosthion height 鼻齿距
Negrito 小黑人种
Negroe 尼格罗人
New Stone Age 新石器时期
occipital 枕骨
Ordos region 河套地区
Ordos tooth 河套人齿
osteological measurement 骨骼测量
Painted Pottery culture 彩陶文化

Palaeo-Asiatic people 古亚语族

palaeography 古文书学

physical anthropology 体质人类学

pisé foundation 夯筑基址

Pithecanthropus Erectus （爪哇）直立猿人

Pleistocene 更新世

proto-Chinese 原中国人

Psychozoic period 灵生代时期

shovel-shaped upper incisor 箕形上门齿

Sinanthropus pekinensis 中国猿人北京种

sitting height 坐高

square *yi* 方彝

stature 身高

tenon 阳榫

Testudo anyangensis 安阳土龟

ting tetrapod 四足鼎

ting tripods 三足鼎

Upper Palaeolithic time 上部旧石器时代

Völkerwanderungs 人口流动

yu wine vase 卣

IV. Related works and documentations 考古学、人类学及相关文献

"A Study of Kansu and Honan Aëneolithic Skulls and Specimens from Later Kansu Prehistoric Sites in Comparison with North China and Other Recent Crania" 《甘肃河南晚石器时代及甘肃史前期遗址之人类头骨与现代华北及其他现代人头盖骨之比较》

"Agricultural Records of the Yin Dynasty from the Oracle Bone Inscriptions" 《卜辞中所见之殷代农业》

"Chemical Analyses of Different Types of Hsiao-t'un Potteries" 《小屯陶器质料之化学分析》

"Dentition of Sinanthropus Pekinensis" 《中国猿人北京种的牙齿》

"Diverse Background of the Decorative Art of the Yin Dynasty" 《殷代装饰艺术的诸种背景》

"Further Notes on the Mammalian Remains of Yin-hsü, Anyang" 《安阳殷墟之哺乳动物群补遗》

"Mining and Agriculture in the Yin Dynasty" 《殷代产业に关するゐ若干の问题》

"New Discoveries of a Ch'i Chia Culture" 《齐家期墓葬的新发现及其年代的改订》

"Notes on Some Anthropometrical Measurements of the Freshmen of the National Taiwan University" 《台大四十一学年度新生体质》

"On a Presumably Pleistocene Human Tooth from the Sjara-osso-gol Deposits" 《萨拉乌苏河更新世的人齿》

"On the Animal Remains from the Tombs of the Yin Dynasty at Hsiao-t'un, Anyang" 《河南安阳小屯殷墓中的动物遗骸》

"On the Earliest Representatives of Modern Mankind Recovered on the Soil of East Asia" 《东亚发掘的最早近代人类》

"On the Human Skeletal Remains from Yangshao Ts'un in Comparison with Recent North China Skeletal Materials" 《奉天沙锅屯及河南仰韶村之古代人骨与近代华北人骨之比较》

"On the Inscribed Plastron (No. 2908) Recording King Wu-ting's Hunting Expedition to 'Ch'iu’" 《武丁狩魌浅说》

"On the Mammalian Remains from the Archaeological Site of Anyang" 《安阳殷墟之哺乳动物群》

"On the Seven Complete Inscribed Tortoise Shells from the Excavation at Hou-chia-chuang, Anyang" 《安阳侯家庄出土之甲骨文字》

"On the Turtle Remains from the Archaeological Site of Anyang, Honan" 《 河南安阳遗龟》

"Preliminary Report on the Excavation at Hou-kang" 《后岗发掘小记》

"Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Ancient Cemetery at Hsin-ts'un, Chün Hsien, Honan" 《浚县辛村古残墓之清理》

"Pre-Yin Cultural Deposits under the Surface of Hsiao-t'un" 《小屯地面下之先殷文化层》

"Researches into the Prehistory of the Chinese" 《中国史前研究》

"Some Anthropological Problems of China" 《中国的若干人类学问题》

"Studies of Hsiao-t'un Bronzes, Part I" 《记小屯出土之青铜器（上篇）》

"Studies of Hsiao-t'un Bronzes, Part II" 《记小屯出土之青铜器（中篇）》

"Study of the Bronze Casting Technique of the Yin Dynasty" 《殷代冶铜术之研究》

"The Lungshan Culture, a Prehistoric Phase of Chinese Civilization" 《龙山文化——中国文明的史前期之一》

"The Royal Tombs of Anyang" 《安阳的王墓群》

"Typological Studies of the Bronze Kou-ping (Chinese Halberts) Excavated from Northern Honan, with a Classified and Illustrated List" 《豫北出土青铜句兵分类图解》

An Early Chinese Culture 《中国远古之文化》

Apes, Giants and Man 《猿、巨人和人》

Archaeologia Orientalis 《东方考古学丛刊》

Archaeologia Sinica 《中国考古报告集》

Archaeological Research in Kansu 《甘肃考古记》

Biometrika 《生物统计学》

Bulletin of the College of Arts 《台大文史哲学报》

Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology 《台大考古人类学刊》

Bulletin of the Geological Society of China 《中国地质学会志》

Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities 《远东古物博物馆通报》

Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology of

the Academia Sinica 《国立中央研究院历史语言研究所集刊》

Bulletin of the Natural History Society of Peking 《北京博物学会会志》

Ch'eng-tzu-yai《城子崖》

Ch'eng-tzu-yai: The Black Pottery Culture Site at Lung-shan-chen in Li-ch'eng-hsien, Shantung Province 《城子崖：山东省历城县龙山镇的黑陶文化遗址》

Chinese Journal of Archaeology 《中国考古学报》

Chinese Thought and Institutions 《中国的思想和制度》

Collected Papers of Fu Meng-chen 《傅孟真先生集》

Continental Magazine 《大陆杂志》

Early Chinese Bronzes 《中国古代铜器录》

Harvard Graduates Magazine 《哈佛研究生杂志》

Independence, Convergence and Borrowing in Institution, Thought and Art 《体制、思想和艺术的独立、汇合和借鉴》

Innermost Asia 《亚洲腹地》

La Sculpture sur pierre en Chine au temps des deux dynasties Han 《两汉时期中国的石刻》

Les Grottes de Touen-houang 《敦煌石窟》

Les Mémoires historiques de Se-Ma-Ts'ien 《司马迁的史记》

Memorial Volume of President Fu Ssu-nien 《傅故校长斯年纪念论文集》

New Light on the Most Ancient East 《古代东方之新曙光》

Palaeontologia Sinica 《古生物志》

Photographic Reproductions of the Rubbings of the Tomb Figures of Wu Liang Tz'u

《汉武梁祠画像录》

Prehistoric Pottery in China 《中国的史前陶器》

Preliminary Report on the Black Pottery Cultural Remains in the Second District in Hang Hsien 《杭县第二区黑陶文化遗址的初步报告》

Preliminary Reports of Excavations at Anyang 《安阳发掘报告》

Primitive Art 《原始的艺术》

Proceedings of the Eighth Pacific Science Congress 《第八届太平洋学术会议会志》

Proceedings of the Sixth Pacific Science Congress 《第六届太平洋学术会议会志》

Ruins of Desert Cathay 《中国沙漠中的遗址》

Second Biennial Conference Proceedings, International Association of Historians of Asia 《国际亚洲历史学家学会第二届双年会会议记录》

Serindia 《西域考古图记》

Smithsonian Report for 1927 《1927年史密森报告》

The Autobiography of a Chinese Historian 《一个中国历史学家的自传》

The Birth of Civilization in the Near East 《近东文明的诞生》

The Cave Deposits of Sha-Kou-T'un in Fengtien 《奉天沙锅屯洞穴堆积》

The China Journal of Science and Arts 《中国科学美术杂志》

The Life and Times of Po Chü-i 《白居易的生活和时代》

Tôhô Gakuhô (*Journal of Oriental Studies*) 《东方学报》

Up from the Ape 《从猿上升》

Works of Hsüntze 《荀子文集》

V. Others 其他

Gebel el Tarif 盖伯尔塔里夫

Jemdet Nasr 杰姆德纳刹

Mohenjo-daro 莫汉久达鲁

Port Arthur 旅顺口

编后记

《中国文明的开始》（英汉对照）结集了李济先生学术生涯各阶段重要的英文演讲稿和论文，文章按发表年代排列，可大致反映作者学术思想的发展过程。其中对个别问题的引述难免有赘述之处，但对作者一生学术发展脉络的呈现是清楚的。

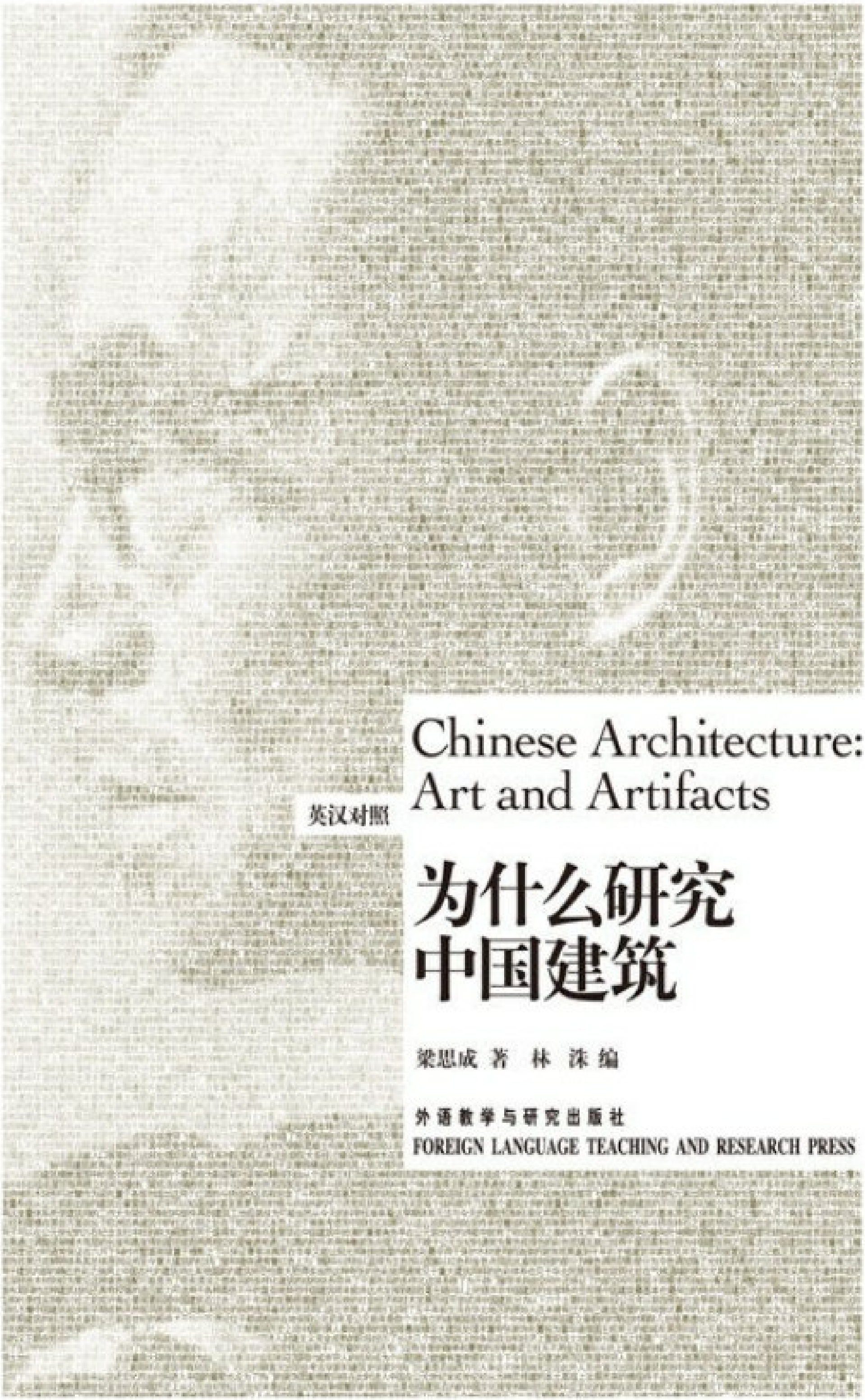
作者在不同时期语言习惯略有不同，在一些专有名词和集合名词等的拼写上略有差别，语言方面也难免有个别纰漏之处。需要特殊说明的是，《山西南部汾河流域考古调查》一文中关于地名、人名的拼写与普通话的读音略有出入，如平舌与翘舌、前鼻音与后鼻音等，应是依据当地口音拼写而成。鉴于所选文章大多都曾在国内外知名学术期刊上发表，并为学者所频繁援引，在与作者家人商议后，决定尊重作者的写作风貌，不予改动。

在本书的编辑过程中，李济先生的哲嗣、资深翻译家李光谟先生，在原文的核实、历史的考证和译稿的审校等方面给予我们宝贵的指导和建议，并热心地为我们提供了珍贵的参考文献和信息。在此，我们对李光谟先生严谨的治学态度表示崇高的敬意，对先生悉心的帮助表示真诚的感谢。

编者深知，虽殚精竭虑，遗误在所难免，敬请广大读者批评指正，以便在再版时加以修订，使之更臻完美。

2011年2月

中国建筑在世界建筑群体中，可谓自成一体，四千多年来，中国的建筑体系持久留存，栩栩如生，中国建筑的历史与中国文明史相生相伴，源远流长。



Chinese Architecture: Art and Artifacts

英汉对照

为什么研究中国建筑

梁思成 著　林 洙 编

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除非我们不知尊重这古国灿烂文化，如果有复兴国家民族的决心，对我国历代文物，加以认真整理及保护时，我们便不能忽略中国建筑的研究。

——梁思成

“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外研社人文社科出版分社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在

古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社·人文社科出版分社

前 言

2011年是梁思成先生（1901-1972）诞辰110周年纪念，因此外语教学与研究出版社准备将先生的古建筑英文文稿整理，以平装本和限量珍藏本两种形式出版。先生的英文文稿大多完稿于1946年以前，是在古建调研工作的空隙中完成的。他在忙于撰写调研报告的同时，为什么还要坚持用英文写中国古建筑的介绍文章呢？

他始终认为，中国古建筑史上各民族不同文化的交流濡染是极有趣的现象，也是丰富和发展本民族文化必不可少的要素。比如，印度的塔（“窣堵坡”，stupa）流传到我国，经汉民族文化的濡染演化而成为各种形式的塔，成为中国建筑文化中一个独特的标志，而窣堵坡却变成了中国式塔的塔刹。

先生在美国研习时曾对西方古建筑下过苦功夫，因而他也热衷于把中国的古建筑介绍给外国读者。这次集录的英文文稿，绝大多数是他在20世纪三四十年代发表在美国一些刊物上的。特别指出的是，《蓟县独乐寺观音阁山门考》因篇幅较长，原准备出一个小册子，但未实现，这次一并发表，虽非完全英汉对照，却呈文稿本真原貌。书中图版及照片大部分是由先生当年亲自绘制和拍摄的。外研社人文社科分社社长吴浩和编辑任小玫、张昊媛为本书的出版，花费了很多心血。我再次感谢外研社的朋友们，他们完成了先生未竟的遗愿。谢谢！

林洙 2010年6月15日

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CHINESE ARCHITECTURE
中国建筑

[年份不详]

I. General Characteristics

〔A〕Early Origin

Among the family of architecture of the world, Chinese architecture may be considered an independent branch by itself. Its history is as long as the history of Chinese civilization.

From every source of information—literary, graphical and exemplary—there can be gathered convincing evidences testifying to the fact that the Chinese people have always employed an indigenous system of construction and a conception of planning which have retained their principal characteristics from the earliest times till the present day. Over the vast area from Xinjiang to the Northeast, from Inner Mongolia to the South Sea coast, the same system of construction and planning is prevalent. Beyond China, in Korea and Japan in the east and Vietnam in the south, the same system of construction and similar plan arrangements are much used. And these have all along been the countries whose people have established very intimate contacts with the Chinese for thousands of years. The ability of this system to perpetuate itself for over four thousand years over such a vast area and still remain a living architecture, and to retain its principal characteristics in spite of repeated and continuous foreign influences, hostile or friendly, economical, cultural or military, is a phenomenon comparable only to the continuity of the civilization of which it forms an integral part.

1. Neolithic Remains

Excavation in 1954 at the village of Banpo, near Xi'an, led to the discovery of a number of pits in the loess stratum. They were identified as remains of human habitations of the Neolithic period. Along the periphery of one of the larger pits of an oblong plan, of which only a portion now remains and estimated to have a major axis of about 20 meters long, is a low earthen wall in which are a row of holes containing charred studs of logs, evidently the lower ends of posts of a house that was later destroyed by fire. It is the remains of the earliest houses known in China today. Of course, it would be too far-fetched to assume that any of the characteristics of the architecture that later developed in China may be traced in these primitive sites.

壹 概览

〔1〕早期溯源

中国建筑在世界建筑群体中，可谓自成一体。中国建筑的历史与中国文明史相生相伴、源远流长。

从收集到的一些遗存文字、图案和标本等实物中可以找到充分的证据证明，国人一向采用的本土营造体系和设计构思，其主要特征从古至今未曾改变。在广袤的大地上，从新疆到东北，从内蒙古到南海沿岸，同样的营造和设计体系被广泛采用。甚至在周边国家，如东边的朝鲜和日本，以及南边的越南，也常常采用中国的营造体系和类似的平面布局。数千年来，这些国家一直和中国保持着密切的往来。四千多年来，尽管中国接连不断地受到外界的影响，无论是敌视的或是友善的，还是在经济、文化或军事方面，但在如此广袤的土地上，中国的建筑体系依然能够持久留存，栩栩如生，从而构成了绵延不断的中华文明的一部分。

1．新石器时代的遗存　1954年在西安附近半坡村考古挖掘时，发现了黄土地层的数个地坑，经确认是新石器时代人类聚居的穴居地遗址。[1]　其中的一个四方平面只有部分得以保存，据估算其主轴长约20米。当中的一个较大坑穴的外围是一堵低矮的土墙，上有一排洞眼，洞眼内为烧焦的木楔残物，显然是木骨泥墙房屋的柱础毁于火灾的痕迹。这是迄今所知中国最早的房屋遗址。当然，如果认为以后中国建筑发展的任何特征都可以追溯到这一原始遗址，那也未免太牵强附会了。

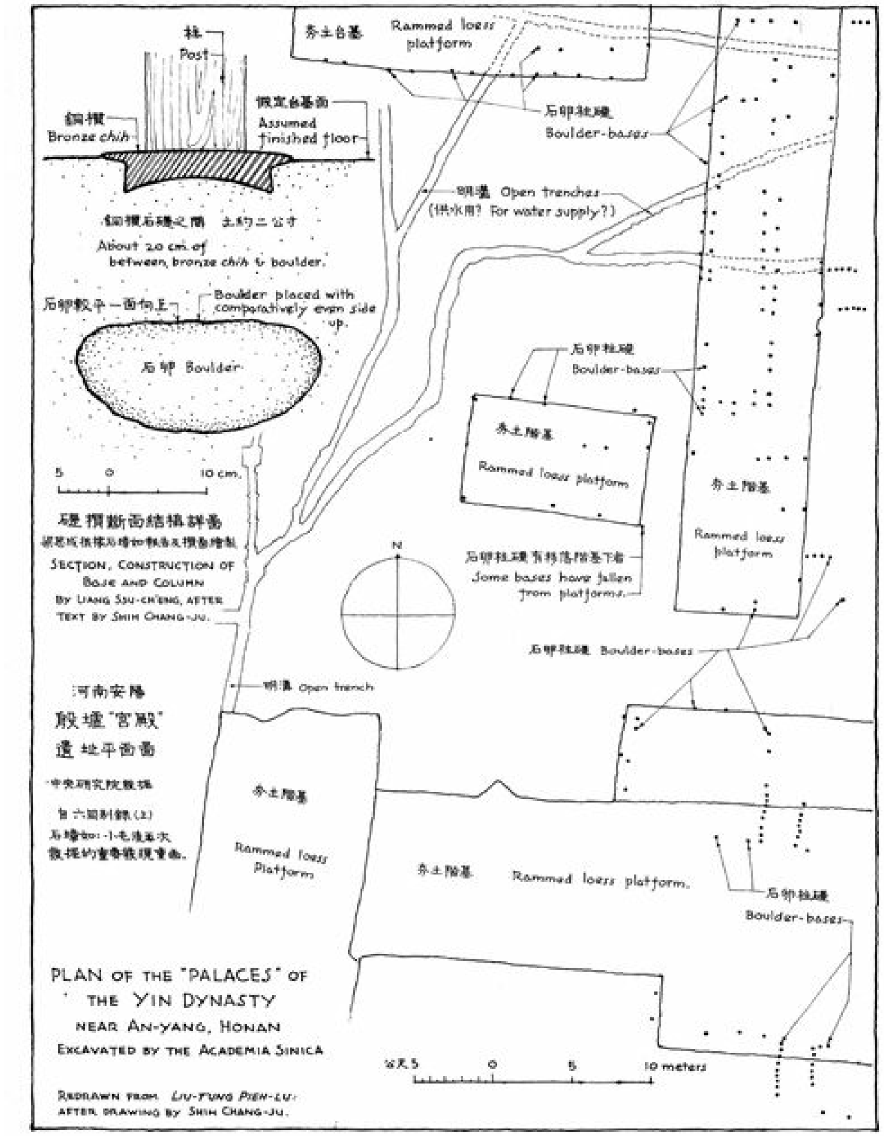
2. Earliest Site Suggestive of Later Chinese Characteristics

Near Anyang, Henan Province, at the site of the palaces and necropolis of the Yin emperors, circa 1400 BC–1120 BC, archaeologists found the earliest remains of buildings that suggest the possible embodiment of the basic characteristics which later evolved and matured into architecture unique to China and her neighboring countries. At the site is large rammed-earth platforms, on top of which are placed at regular intervals undressed boulders, each covered by a bronze disc. On top of these discs are found charred logs—the lower ends of wooden posts that once supported the super-structures which were burnt down at the sack of the capital circa 1120 BC. The arrangement of these bases of columns testifies to the existence of a structural system that had by this time already taken a very definite form. (Figure 1)

〔B〕Basic Characteristics

The basic characteristics of Chinese architecture may be considered from two aspects—the structural system and the plan arrangement. The structure of the individual building, as it is found today as well as more than three thousand years ago, consists of, in general parti, a raised platform or stylobate which forms the base for a structure with a timber skeleton of posts and lintels which in turn supports the roof, generally pitched and with overhanging eaves.

2．具有中国建筑特征的最早遗址　在河南安阳附近所发现的公元前约1400年到公元前1120年殷商王宫和陵墓遗址中，考古学家找到了后来演变和发展成为中国及周边国家建筑独有的基本特征的可能例证。遗址中大型夯土台基的顶端，间隔均匀铺陈着原料石块，石块上均覆盖着青铜圆板，上置柱础，即曾经用以支撑上部结构的木柱下端。大约在公元前1120年，都城被攻陷，上部结构被焚。从这些柱础的排列看来，此时的结构体系已明显成型。（图1）



【1】

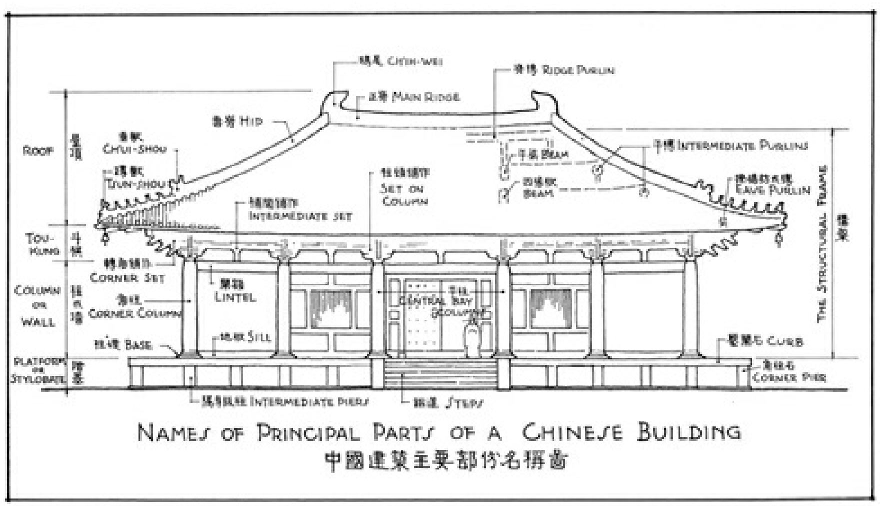
〔2〕基本特点

中国建筑的基本特点可从结构体系和平面布局两方面来考量。现今发现三千多年前的单体建筑，其结构通常包括一个垒抬提升的台基或柱座，以作为整座建筑的基础。建筑有着木结构的立柱和横梁，用以支撑屋顶；屋顶则通常带坡度，有飞檐。

This osseous construction lends complete freedom in walling and fenestration and renders a house, by merely adjusting the proportion between

walls and openings, practical and comfortable in any climate varying from that of the tropical south to that of sub-artic Manchuria. (Figure 2) It is this extremely high degree of flexibility and adaptability that enables this architecture to follow the Chinese people to wherever place they chose to settle down and live without encountering any difficulty in sheltering its occupants from the elements, however diverse they may be. Perhaps nothing analogous is found in the architecture elsewhere until the invention of the reinforced concrete and the steel framing system in the nineteenth century.

这一框架结构在屋墙上开窗通风极为方便，只需调节好墙体和门洞、窗口之间的比例，即可使房屋不管是处于炎热的南方还是在寒冷的东北都既实用又舒适。（图2）正是由于这一建筑结构极高的灵活性和适应性，中国人无论走到哪里，在哪里居住，无论他们生活方式如何不同，都不会受到恶劣天气的困扰。在19世纪钢筋混凝土及钢结构出现之前，恐怕很难在其他地方找出类似的建筑。



NAMES OF PRINCIPAL PARTS OF A CHINESE BUILDING

【2】

In plan, a "house" in the Chinese sense of the word is generally composed of a number of such individual buildings which are then connected to each other by auxiliary buildings—verandas, loggias, portals, etc.—so disposed of to form one or a series of courtyards or patios. Such courtyards are generally paved and often planted with trees and flowers, forming very pleasant "out-door living rooms." As a rule, the buildings around a courtyard are generally symmetrically arranged along a principal axis. But for gardens, or when required by the topography, informal arrangements become the rule.

1. The Structure of the Individual Building

It is necessary to analyze the Chinese frame construction in order to have a better understanding of Chinese architecture. The basic unit of the skeleton is a frame composed of two posts supporting a beam, on top of which, in turn, are one or two or even three successive tiers of beams standing on studs. As the tiers pile up, the lengths of the beams above diminish, and, on the uppermost and shortest beam stands a king post, the top of which forms the apex of a triangle thus formed. This is what one will see in a transversal section drawing of a building. Such a unit is called a liangjia or "beam-frame." A pair of such liangjia placed side by side at certain distances, and connected to each other by lintels or tie-beams reaching from the top of the post of one liangjia to that of the adjacent liangjia, define a space called jian or bay.

在平面布局术语中，汉语的"房屋"一词，通常是指数座单体建筑，通过游廊、凉廊、门廊等附属建筑，将彼此连接起来，形成一个或一系列院落。这些庭院一般都经过铺设，莳花种树，形成赏心悦目的"露天客厅"。院落四周的建筑，通常沿中轴线对称排列。对于园圃，可因顺地形地势不拘一格，予以适当变通。

1．单体建筑结构　如想更好地了解中国建筑，就有必要分析中国的框架结构。其基本框架单位是由两根柱子支撑着一根横梁的结构。横梁之上，相继依次排列着单层或两三层用直立柱支撑的横木。层层垒高的同时，横木长度向上依次缩短，最上层也就是最短的横木上架设中柱，其上端由此构成三角形稳定结构的顶点。这就是建筑剖面图中所显示的形式。这样的一个单位称为一副"梁架"。梁架组对间隔排列，由从一个梁架立柱顶端延伸到相邻梁架的横梁或系梁连接组成的空间，称作"间"或"格"。

A building, usually oblong in shape, is constructed by a repetition of these jian and liangjia. On the ends of the successive tiers of beams are placed purlins on which, in turn, are placed rafters. The rafters are covered with sheathing and tiles to complete the roof. The spaces between every two posts can be filled with walls, windows, doors or light movable partitions, or as for a garden pavilion, left entirely open on all sides.

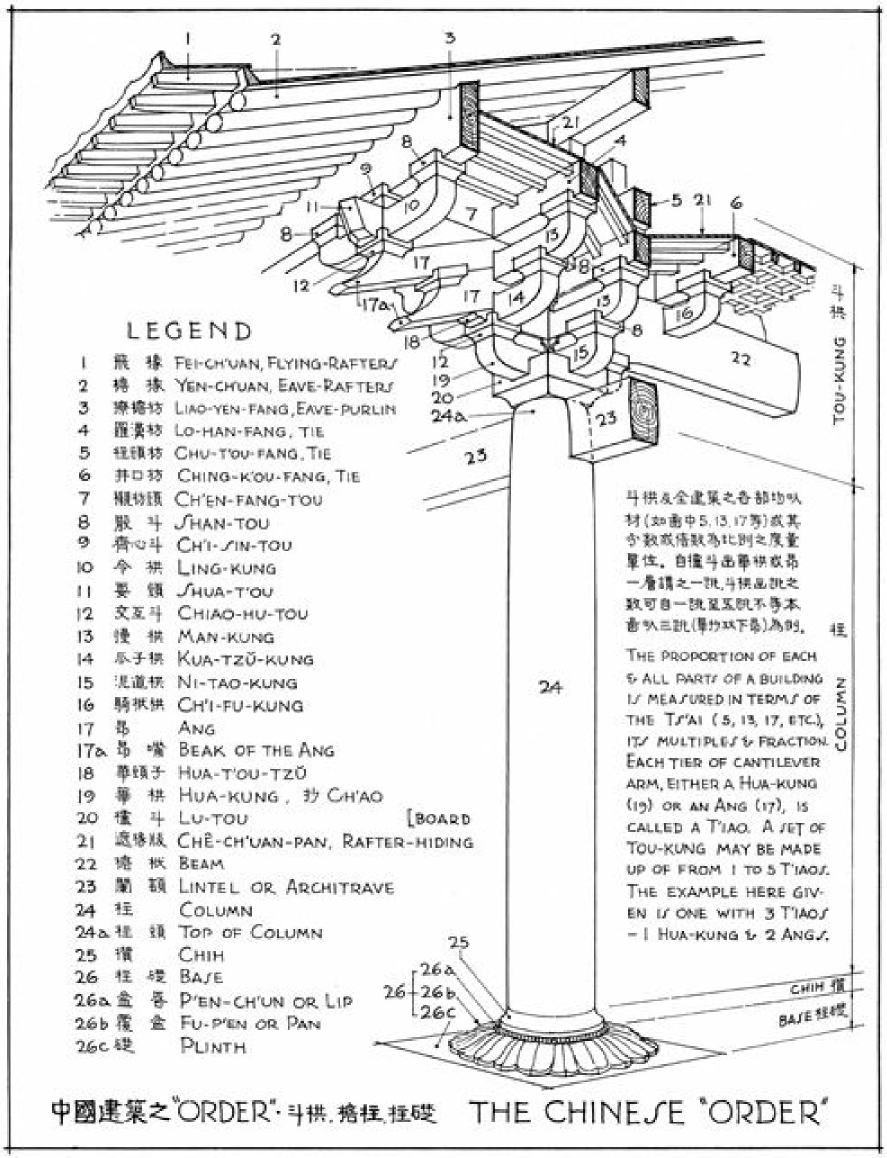
2. The Dougong

One particular feature in this structural frame deserves special attention.

It is the dougong, employed generally in buildings of a monumental character. In order to counteract the shearing stress at the joints of vertical and horizontal members, particularly at the points where the beam is supported by the post, the architect of perhaps more than two thousand years ago invented the method of putting trapezoidal blocks and bow-shaped "arms" in tiers as corbels, and thus created a transitory element known as dougong. The term means simply block (dou) and "arm" (gong). The tiers of "arms," when extending into the interior of the building, receive the ends of the principal beams, while the other half of the "arms," extending outward, receive the overhanging eaves of the roof. The dougong was originally conceived as a structural element, but its decorative potentiality was soon discovered and exploited to the utmost degree. (Figure 3)

建筑通常呈矩形，由若干“间”和“梁架”组成。横木各层末端架设桁条，其上架椽。椽上覆盖木板，木板上铺置瓦片，构成屋顶。每两根立柱间为墙体、门窗或轻型活动隔扇，为花园亭台时四面则完全敞开。

2．斗拱　这种框架结构的一个显著特点值得格外关注，这就是通常在大型建筑中采用的斗拱。为了平衡垂直和水平部件连接处的剪应力，尤其在立柱支撑横梁的部位，大约两千多年前的建筑师就想出了一个办法，将梯形的“斗”和弓形的“拱”作为枕梁托置于梁之间，因而创造出了斗拱这一过渡构件。这一名称包含了“斗”和“拱”两层意思。一层层的“拱”的一端延伸至建筑内部，以承托主梁末端；“拱”的另一端则向外延伸，以承托屋顶飞檐。最初，斗拱只被视为一个结构部件，但其装饰潜能很快被发现，并被发挥到极致。（图 3）



【3】

3. Modular System

From a treatise on architecture, the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*, first published in the year 1100 AD, it is known for certain that not later, and possibly even much earlier, than then, the dimension of one member of the dougong—the width of the gong or "arm"—was set as the module for determining the proportions of every structural member as well as that of the entire building. The module is classified into a certain number of "sizes" or "classes" for buildings of different sizes and functions. By employing this modular system

in the process of designing, the architect's work is much simplified and structural members could be prefabricated elsewhere and then assembled at the building site. Certainly, judging from the scientific standards of today, this rather rudimentary system could stand no comparison with the modular, prefabrication, standardization and typification of today. Nevertheless, it may justly be called an elementary prototype of the modern method.

From another point of view, the dougong, together with its column and eave, is in certain respects similar to the order in European classical architecture. The difference lies in the fact that the European order was employed essentially as an aesthetic consideration while the Chinese "order," if it may be so called, has remained throughout structural in function and its aesthetic quality is integrally identified with the construction. The dougong was also employed as a purely decorative architectural treatment on masonry buildings, such as pagodas. The earliest example is found on some ashlar monumental piers, called qüe, of the second century AD.

4. The Roof

Another characteristic to be noticed is the important role played by the roof in Chinese architecture. From poems of as early as the eleventh century BC, there were already verses eulogizing the beauty of the roof. Wings of birds were used as metaphor for describing the out-stretching eaves. The typical Chinese roof is pitched and the surface is formed by a slightly "sagged" plane. This effect is acquired by adjusting the lengths and elevation of each tier of beam of the liangjia. The ridges where two roof-planes meet are usually accentuated by raised moldings and decorated with ornaments of mythological animal motifs. Perhaps by the time not later than the eleventh century AD, colored glazed tiles, usually of yellow or green, were used on roofs. The glistening colors make the roof a glorious crowning feature of the building.

3．模数制　从最初刊行于公元1100年的建筑专著《营造法式》中可以确切得知，当时甚至是更早些时候，就把斗拱的拱的宽度确定为决定每个结构部件乃至整个建筑比例的度量单位。这一度量单位根据建筑的不同尺寸和功能分为一定数量的“尺寸”或“级别”。这一模数体系在设计中的应用使建筑师的工作大为简化。一些建筑构件可以在别处预制，然后在建筑工地组装。当然，从今天的科学标准来看，这一相当原始的建筑程式无法与今天的模件、预制、标准化和典型化相提并论。尽管如

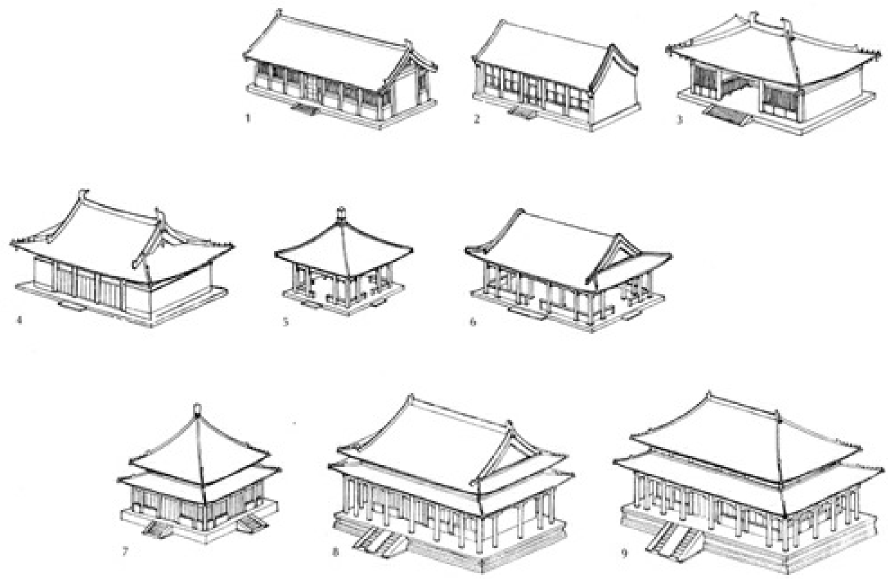
此，将其称之为现代化建筑程式的基本原型还是当之无愧的。

从另一个角度看，斗拱结构，加之立柱和屋檐，在某些方面类似于欧洲古典建筑中的“柱式”。不同之处在于，欧洲的“柱式”的应用本质上出于审美的考虑，而中国的“柱式”——如果可以这么表达的话——则自始至终承担着结构功能，而其审美特性与建筑整体是融为一体的。斗拱在砖石建筑中也只是起着装饰性的作用，比如砖石砌筑的宝塔。斗拱的这一功能，已从公元2世纪遗留下来的、被称为“阙”的石碑基中找到了最早的例证。[2]

4．屋顶 另一个值得注意的特点是屋顶在中国建筑中扮演的重要角色。早在公元前11世纪的诗歌中，就有了称颂屋顶之美的诗文，用飞禽的双翼来比喻向外延展的屋檐。[3] 典型的中国式屋顶，是由稍微倾斜的斜坡平面层层组成的。这种效果是通过调整“梁架”每一层梁的长度和高度而形成的。屋顶坡面两两相交的屋脊，通常通过加高的线脚予以强化，并用神兽饰物点缀。或许在不晚于公元11世纪之时，明黄色或碧绿色的琉璃彩瓦就已经常用于屋顶。熠熠生辉的色彩，使得建筑物的屋顶如同灿烂的冠冕一般辉煌。

The architects of ancient China paid much attention to the depth of the overhang of the eave. Generally it is designed so that the entire south wall will be completely under the shadow of the eave during the latter part of June to assure maximum coolness in the summer and, while in the winter months, the sunlight may reach far into the back part of the room. (Figure 4)

中国古代的建筑师非常重视飞檐的进深。设计时通常要使6月的下半个月期间整面南墙都处于檐影遮蔽之下，以保证夏季最大限度的凉爽。而在冬季的岁月里，关于采光条件，又能做到让阳光可以一直照射到房屋后部。（图 4）



【4】

5. Color

The decorative potentiality of paint, a material at first employed essentially for the protection of timber, was discovered by the architect and made the maximum use of since about a thousand years ago. From the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*, one can see that by the Song Dynasty (960–1279 AD), the decorative use of paint had already formulated into a definite system, which was, in general principle, followed till today. The posts, doors and windows and the walls of monumental building are usually painted red, while the lintels and dougong above are decorated with patterns painted principally in a combination of blue and green, relieved with specks of red and gold. Thus the parts exposed to direct sunlight are warm while the shadowed portions are cold in tone of colors, thereby accentuating the effects of contrast between light and shade. The same distribution of colors is also carried into the interior of the building. Indeed, in the handling of colors, the architects of ancient China have displayed, perhaps, more audacity than their colleagues in other countries.

5．色彩　最早基于保护木材的目的而使用的油漆材料，其装饰效果直到大约一千年前才被建筑师发现并应用到极致。根据《营造法式》的记载，我们可以得知，及至宋朝（公元960—1279年），油漆的装饰性使用已成固定程式，其总体原则沿用至今。重大建筑的柱体、门窗和墙体通常为朱红色，而上方门楣和斗拱装饰有以蓝绿色为主色、以朱红色

和金黄色为点缀辅色的图案。这样一来，直接向阳的部分为暖色调，而阴影部分为冷色调，加强了光与影的对比效果。同样的色彩分布也适用于建筑内部。的确，在色彩的处理上，中国古代的建筑师比其他国家的建筑同仁或许要大胆破格得多。

Of course, such lavish play of color is generally employed on buildings of monumental character. The same color scheme, but more restrained and subdued, are also used on residential buildings in North China. But in the south, where the climate is warm, especially in the average dwelling houses, white walls and natural or dark brown timber is generally the rule. Such quiet combination of colors is perhaps more apt to induce a feeling of coolness.

6. Versatility in Planning

The skeleton system of construction lends great versatility in plan arrangements. This system, besides the freedom it gives to fenestration, also permits the free arrangement of interior partitions to fulfill different requirements. Through the manipulation of columniation, almost any desired shape of plan can be acquired. The skeleton system also possesses a high degree of adaptability to the ups and downs of tricky topography. This asset the Chinese architect did not fail to utilize to the highest degree.

Needless to say that the above mentioned are not all the characteristics of Chinese architecture. But they are the basic and most outstanding ones that give Chinese architecture its own character.

当然，浓艳重彩的装饰，主要是用于某些标志性的重大建筑。同样的色彩装饰也见于华北民居，但色调更加拘谨柔和。而在气候温暖的南方，尤其在普通民居中，则较常采用白色的墙体和自然色或深棕色的木材。这种素色搭配可能更易于产生清凉之感。

6．布局的多样化　中国建筑的骨架结构体系带来了平面布局的多样化。这一体系，除了给开门辟窗提供自由空间外，还可根据不同需求对内部间隔进行自由安排。通过调整柱间距，几乎可以形成任何想要的平面布局。这种结构体系也具有高度的适应性，可适用于各种高低不平的复杂地势。关于这一点，中国的建筑师将其发挥到了极致。

毫无疑问，以上所述并非中国建筑的全部特点，但却是中国建筑基本的同时也是最突出的特征。

II. A Brief Review of the Historical Development of Chinese Architecture

Before proceeding into a discussion of the types and certain representative examples of Chinese architecture, perhaps it is necessary to trace, however briefly, the development of Chinese architecture through the past three or four thousand years. Taking into consideration the social, economical, political and technological developments as they were reflected in architecture, the developments of Chinese architecture may be tentatively divided into the following six principal stages.

〔A〕The First Stage: Before 220 AD

From the very early days of primitive society to the downfall of the first great Chinese empire—the Han Dynasty—in the year 220 AD, is the stage marking the dawn of Chinese architecture to its age of early maturity. The natural cave was a natural solution to the primitive man's domicile problem. The site of the famous Peking Man at Zhoukoudian near Peking revealed to us the fact that the primitive man living in North China five hundred thousand years ago had not yet made any attempt to construct for himself a shelter.

贰 中国建筑发展历程概述

在讨论中国建筑的具体类型和代表性实例之前，或许有必要简要回顾一下中国建筑在过去三四千年之间的发展情况。考虑到建筑所反映的社会、经济、政治和技术发展历程，可试将中国建筑的发展历程分为以下六个主要阶段。

〔1〕第一阶段：公元220年以前

时间起始点为原始社会早期，至公元220年中国伟大的封建王朝汉朝衰败，这一阶段标志着中国建筑从起步发展到早期成熟阶段。天然洞

穴是原始人类解决居住问题的自然途径。著名的京郊周口店“北京猿人”遗址，向我们证明了50万年前生活在华北地区的原始人还未曾有过为自己建造房屋的任何尝试。

The remains of the earliest constructed dwelling are those found at the village of Banpo, as mentioned above. But the first indications of the basic characteristics of Chinese architecture are not to be seen until the Yin Dynasty, circa fifteenth century BC to eleventh century BC, at Anyang, the site of the Yin capital.

From about 1000 BC to 220 BC is a period in which several hundred semi-independent principalities were gradually unified into a centrally administered empire, as a result of which the Qin Dynasty was founded. A certain number of tombs and a few gigantic earthen terraces are the only remnants we have of this period. But from a few decorative patterns engraved on bronze vessels, depicting dwelling houses of the time, it can be seen that the characteristics mentioned above had by this time definitely taken shape. From literary sources, we learned that the palaces and tombs of the emperor who for the first time unified China—Qin Shihuangdi—were indeed extremely extensive in scale, rich and elaborate in architectural treatment and luxurious in furnishing.

Principles for laying out the capital city of a ruling king or emperor were specified as early as the eleventh century BC.

From 206 BC to 220 AD is the period of the famous Han Dynasty, the great dynasty that, on the basis of the short-lived Qin Dynasty, consolidated China into a great empire. By this time, China had already entered into a stage of fully matured feudalism. As a result of the political and economical unification and the redistribution of land after several centuries of incessant wars, together with the introduction of ferro implements, productivity reached an unprecedented high. The prosperity of the period was reflected vividly in its architecture, which was given the opportunity of making a big stride forward in its development. According to literary records, the palaces of the Han emperors were so vast that they had "a thousand doors and ten thousand windows." There were "warm pavilions" for the winter and "cool palaces" for the summer. The beams and columns were decorated with gold and precious stones. The dougong were elaborately painted and the rafters exquisitely carved. The walls were covered either with mural paintings of mythological beings and ethereal clouds or with rich brocade hangings.

During the later half of the dynasty, when land and wealth became more and more concentrated, nobilities, high officials and even rich merchants, fattened by unscrupulous exploitation, also built for themselves luxurious mansions and gardens. Meanwhile the housing of the urban poor became a problem. History recorded a decree mandated by an emperor ordering the erection of "two hundred regions of houses in Chang'an to house the poor."

最早的人为建造的住所遗址，为上文提到的西安半坡村。但中国建筑早期的基本特点，直到大约在公元前15世纪至公元前11世纪时期的殷朝才开始显现，遗址位于都城所在地安阳。

大约在公元前1000年至公元前220年的这段时期，数百个半独立的诸侯王国逐渐统一成一个中央集权的帝国，于是秦朝建立了。这一时期除几处陵墓遗址和为数不多的巨型土台之外，并无其他遗迹史料可循。但是从青铜器上所刻的几处描绘当时居住房舍的装饰性图案可以看出，此时上文所述特点业已成型。文献表明，历史上第一位统一中国的皇帝秦始皇的宫室与陵墓规模极其宏大，建筑富丽堂皇，装饰极为豪华。

君主或帝王的都城布局原则，早在公元前11世纪时就有规定。

公元前206年至公元220年，为著名的两汉王朝。在短命的秦王朝基础上，汉朝将中国建成为一个强大的帝国。此时，中国已经进入封建主义完全成熟的阶段。历经数世纪之久的战事之后，政治和经济上重新统一，土地重新分配，铁器开始推广，生产力达到了空前的高度。这一时期的繁荣景象，从其建筑中得到了生动的体现，建筑也得以向前迈进了一大步。据文字记载，汉朝皇帝的宫殿宏伟壮丽，有“千门万牖”的说法。这些宫廷建筑冬有“暖亭”，夏有“凉宫”。横梁立柱，金雕玉刻；斗拱彩绘繁复，椽子精工雕琢。墙上绘有神灵和祥云壁画或饰以绫罗绸缎。后汉即东汉时期，土地和财富更加集中，贵族、高官甚至富商大贾大肆搜刮掳掠，也为自己建造豪华的宅第和苑囿。与此同时，广大城市贫民的住房却成为一个问题。据历史记载，曾有皇帝下诏，命令在长安城里划出两百个“闾里”“街巷”的面积建房造屋，以供下户贫民居住。[4]

It was the belief of that time that the gods and immortals had the preference to dwell in high towers. So, in order to induce the condescension of these heavenly beings, very high towers were also erected in the imperial parks.

Trade contacts with West Asia during this period also brought from the West cultural elements which are reflected also in architecture. The arch appeared for the first time in this period. Some archaeologists and

architectural historians brought forth the contention that it is an importation from the West. But no agreement has been reached on the controversy. History also records for the first time the using of human figures as architectural embellishments. Notable among these are the twelve bronze figures in front of the palace of Qin Shihuangdi. The winged-lion, probably of Assyrian origin, appeared in sculpture and the grape, then a new comer to China, became a favorite decorative motif.

Buddhism was also introduced into China at this time. At the end of the second or the beginning of the third century AD, the Buddhist pagoda, developed from the indigenous high towers for the gods and immortals, was recorded in history to have made its appearance.

All these new elements from the West had greatly enriched the architecture of China.

〔B〕The Second Stage: Buddhist Influence, 3rd to 6th Century

From the beginning of the third century to the end of the sixth century AD was a period in Chinese history in which the situation of division lasted longest and war was almost incessant. It was also a period in which Chinese culture, including architecture, was greatly influenced by, and absorbed most from, Indian and Central Asian culture. In such a period of political unrest and economic insecurity, the newly imported religion of Buddhism found a favorable soil for nurture.

The social situation was duly mirrored in architecture. Miniature capitals for petty "emperors" were built and destroyed as the "dynasties" were established and vanquished. The Han people (the national majority of China today), whose rulers being driven to the south of the Yangzi River, saw six dynastic changes in three centuries. Only the Northern Wei Dynasty in the north, founded by the Toba tribe, enjoyed a comparatively long regime of one and a half centuries. Buddhist temples and pagodas were built almost everywhere. It may be assumed that, prior to this time, the only monumental buildings in the cities were the palaces of the emperors and mansions of the nobilities. But with the sporadic construction of Buddhist temples and pagodas, there appeared in the cities, besides the palaces and mansions, rich and monumental temple buildings and ensembles accessible to the public

and, therefore, of a more or less popular nature. These undoubtedly greatly altered the general appearance and silhouette of the Chinese cities.

当时据信，长生不老的神仙喜居高塔。因此，为了赢得天神的青睐，皇家园林中也修建了很多高塔。

与西亚贸易的接触，给中国带来西方的文化元素，同样在中国建筑中有所反映。拱门在这一时期首次出现。一些考古学家和建筑史学家对拱门的建造是否由西方引入争论不休，但迄今尚无定论。此外，建筑装饰中人形也首次出现，其中较为著名的是秦始皇宫殿前的12个铜人。雕塑中还出现了带翼的狮子，可能是来自亚述文化；而当时刚传入中国的葡萄，也成了热门的装饰性主题图案。

佛教也在此时传入中国。在公元2世纪末或3世纪初，从为神灵修建的本土高塔发展而来的佛塔，如记载所示，已在历史上出现了。

所有这些来自西方的新元素，都极大丰富了中国的建筑。

〔2〕第二阶段：佛教的影响（公元3世纪至6世纪）

从公元3世纪初到6世纪末，是中国历史上纷争历时最久、战争频繁不断的时期，同时也是包括建筑在内的中国文化吸收印度和中亚文化最多、受其影响最大的时期。这样一个政局动荡、经济萧条的情况，就为新近传入的佛教的滋生和发展，创造了良好条件。

当时的社会状况也相应在建筑中有所反映。那时候，群雄割据、交相秉政、称霸一方的“帝王”，都各自兴建了规模不大的国都，随后朝纲衰落凌替，都城也烟消云泯。汉族（当今中国人口最多的民族）的统治者被驱逐到长江以南，在三个世纪中经历了六次王朝更迭。只有由拓跋部在北方建立的北魏王朝，持续了相对较长的一个半世纪。佛教寺庙和宝塔几乎遍及各地。据推测，此前城市中最雄伟的建筑就是帝王宫殿及贵族宅邸。但随着佛教寺庙和佛塔的零星建造，城市中除了宫殿官邸之外，还出现了华丽而巨大的庙宇建筑和建筑组群，准许民众入内，因而也就多少带有亲民的大众化性质。这无疑极大改变了中国城市的整体景观和风貌。

History cited the donation by an empress to a Buddhist temple, a pagoda measuring "one thousand feet in height," only to be destroyed in a war a few years after its completion.

The principal remains of this period are a number of rock-cut or cave temples and a few masonry pagodas. Some of the cave temples, such as those

at Yungang near Datong, at Maiji Shan near Tianshui and at Tianlong Shan near Taiyüan are given architectural treatments of a high degree of perfection.

The oldest Buddhist pagoda standing in China today is one from this period. The pagoda of Songyue Si in the Song Mountains, Henan Province, built in the year 520 AD, measuring about 40 meters high and sparsely embellished with a few motifs of Indian origin, heralded the appearance of a new architectural type in China.

From these remains of the period, is seen that Chinese architecture in this stage was how much influenced by that of India, Western Asia, and even, Greece. Buddhism brought forth to the Chinese architects new problems and laid down new requirements. These new requirements and problems must be fulfilled and solved with new conceptions. The architects of the period successfully accomplished their task by ingeniously adapting and developing their traditional architecture and created new types and ensembles to meet the new demands. Western influences are also seen in decorative motifs, some of which have, in due course of time, so climatized that they became inseparable and indiscernible elements in Chinese art and architecture.

〔C〕The Third Stage: the Glorious Tang Dynasty, 7th to 9th Century

By the end of the sixth century, China was once more unified. The recovery of production after a long period of wars, the political reunification and the development of foreign trade all became powerful impetus to architectural activities.

The Sui Dynasty, a mere "prelude" to the Great Tang Dynasty, planned and started building an imperial capital—Chang'an, Xi'an of today—in magnitude unprecedented in history. With a definite attempt to build a city with zoning according to functions, the imperial palaces, the area for government offices, residential super-blocks (called fang) and trading squares were all arranged with precise order in the rectangular, walled city. All these areas and blocks were divided and inter-connected by a checker-board system of boulevards, arterial streets and minor streets. (Figure 5)

据历史记载，某皇后曾为佛教寺庙捐赠一座佛塔，“高千尺”，但建成数年之后即毁于战乱。

这一时期的主要遗存建筑物，包括一些石窟或洞窟以及凤毛麟角的砖石宝塔。其中一些石窟，如大同附近的云冈石窟、天水附近的麦积山石窟以及太原附近的天龙山石窟，建筑处理都达到了较高的水准。

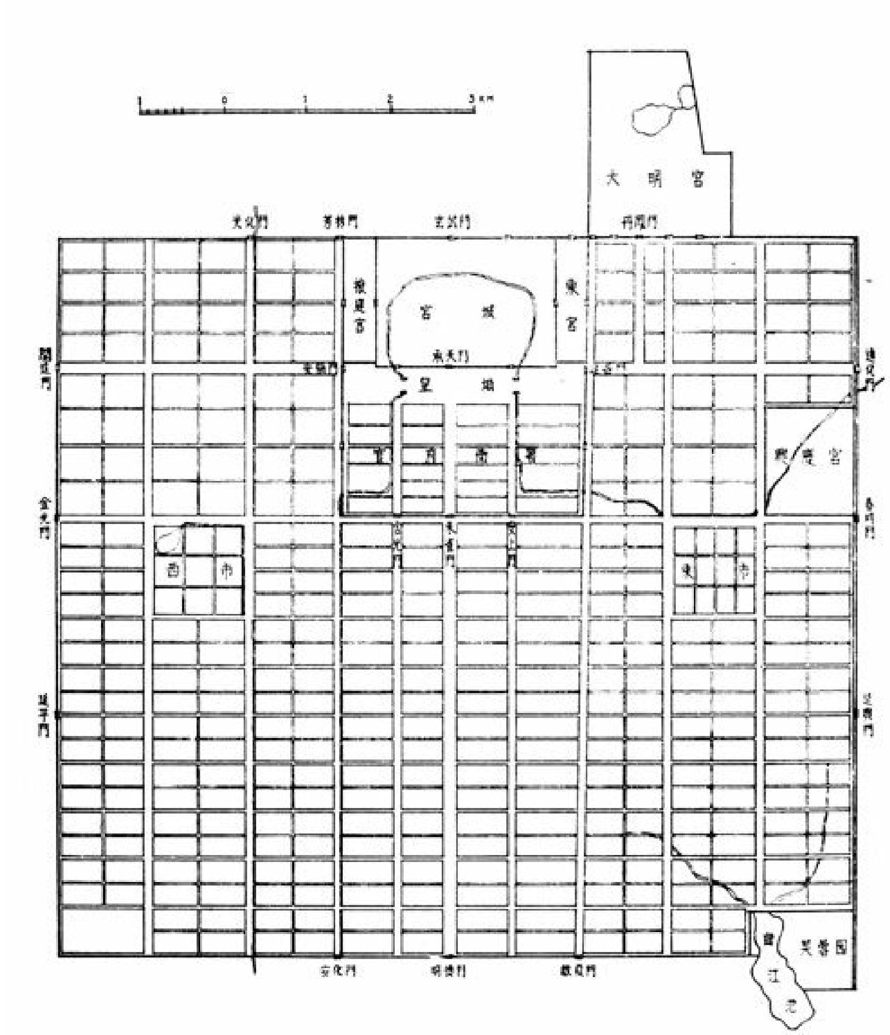
中国保存至今最古老的佛塔就出自这一时期。河南省嵩山嵩岳寺塔，建于公元520年，高约40米，雕饰有一些印度图案，标志着一种新的建筑形式在中国的出现。

从这一时期遗存的建筑可以看出，中国建筑在此时期很大程度上受到了印度、西亚甚至希腊的诸多影响。佛教为中国建筑师带来了新的问题，并提出了新的要求。要满足新要求，解决新问题，就必须采用新的理念。当时的建筑师成功地做到了这一点：他们巧妙地修改、发展了传统建筑，对形式和整体进行了创新，以适应当时新的要求。西方的影响也可从装饰图案中看出，其中的一些随着时间的推移变得非常本土化了，甚至已演变发展成为中国艺术和建筑中不可分割的部分。

〔3〕第三阶段：盛唐时期（公元7世纪至9世纪）

到公元6世纪末，中国再度统一。连年战乱之后生产的恢复、政治上的重新统一以及对外贸易的发展，都对建筑业的繁荣起到了强有力的推动作用。

为大唐揭开历史序幕的隋朝建立后，开始大兴土木，在汉长安城（即今日西安）旧址的基础上建造新都。其规模之宏大，可称史无前例。新都的建设明确根据建筑的性质进行分区规划；宫殿、官府和坊市都在城墙围蔽的四方城垣里归整排列。所有这些区域都由畦分棋布的纵横干道和大街小巷分隔和连接。（图 5）



唐長安城平面圖

【5】

In the city of Chang'an during the Tang Dynasty, there were traders in large numbers from various Western Asian countries. There were also Buddhist missionaries from India and artists from Khotan, Afghanistan, etc. Painting, sculpture, music, dancing were all enriched by the absorption of Western influences. In architecture, either technologically or artistically, an unprecedented high tide was reached.

The oldest specimen of the timber skeleton structures existing in China date from the Tang Dynasty. Here we see that the carpenter's art had reached a high degree of mastery. The structural members are logically and organically integrated. The architectural treatment shows a high degree of

refinement and sensitiveness. The only two examples are the principal halls of the Nanchan Si and of Fokuang Si, both situated in the Wutai Mountains in the Province of Shanxi.

The pagoda, which in the previous stage of development was mostly built with wood, was, by this time, gradually substituted by masonry structures. New types of pagodas were innovated from time to time. The facades of some pagodas were given architectural treatments representing the forms of timber construction—the column, the lintel, the dougong and the eave. This conception is identical with the way the classic orders were employed on the facades of European architecture.

唐朝的长安城内，来自西亚诸国的商贩为数颇多，还有来自印度的佛教徒和来自和阗、阿富汗等地的艺术家。绘画、雕刻、音乐、舞蹈均因受西方影响而得以大大丰富。建筑方面，不管是技术或是艺术方面，均进入了前所未有的全盛时期。

中国现存最早的木结构建筑典范就出自唐代，从中可见木匠工艺的精湛程度。结构部件合理而有机地耦合在一起，建筑处理手法也展现了高度的精湛入微的水平。仅存的两个实例是均位于山西省五台山的南禅寺和佛光寺的主殿。

此前佛塔多用木造，此时首次逐渐以砖石结构取而代之，形式上不断推陈出新。部分佛塔的立面进行了木结构式的处理——采用了立柱、横梁、斗拱和屋檐。这一概念与欧洲建筑立面采用的古典柱式相同。

The plan of the pagoda in this period is generally squared in shape. The superstructure is hollow, like a covered smoke stack. The floor is of wood. The treatment of the mass form may be classified into two main categories according to the division of floor heights and the application of eaves. One we may call the "multi-storied" pagoda, which is a super-position of a number of single-storied pavilions. Another we may call the "multi-eaved" pagoda, which takes the form of a lofty main story topped by tiers of eaves almost one right on top of another. In general effect, the pagodas of this period are rather austere, some very robust and even severe.

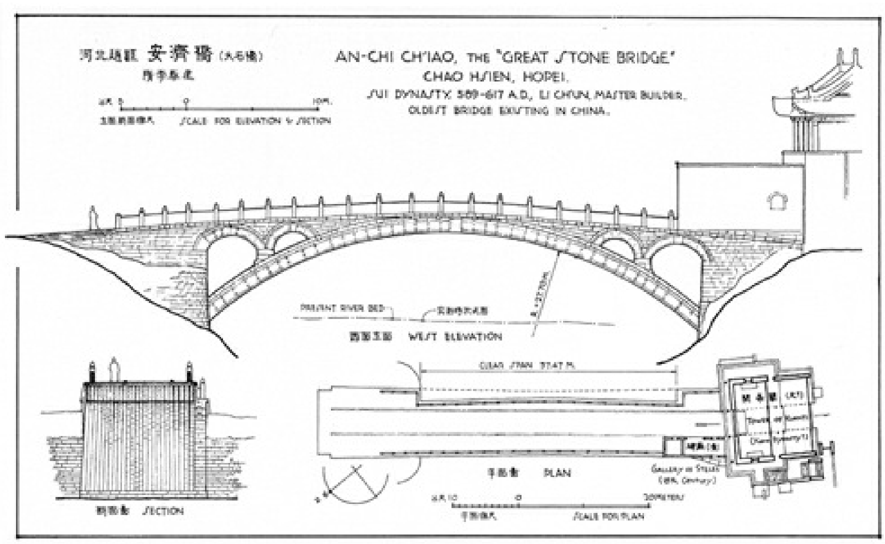
The wide spread use of masonry indicates the advances made in both the technique of making and using of brick. The arch was used on almost all openings of brick pagodas. One arched structure of supreme importance in the history of bridge architecture is the open-spandrel bridge at Zhao Xian, Hebei Province. Built during the Sui Dynasty (588–618 AD), with a principal

arch spanning nearly 38 meters, it boasts to be the earliest open-spandrel bridge known in the world. (Figure 6)

〔D〕The Fourth Stage: Large Ensembles Standardization and Refinement, 10th to 14th Century

From the beginning of the tenth century to the middle of the fourteenth century, there were a series of wars among the Han people themselves and also between the Han people and various branches of the Tungus and Mongols from the north. The quick succession of the Five Dynasties and Ten States were eventually, in the year 960 AD, unified by the Song Dynasty, only to be, in turn, incessantly oppressed first by the Khitans and later by the Nüchens from the northeast. Finally, in 1280, the Mongols conquered the entire land and China became a part of the great Mongol Empire, called the Yuan Dynasty in Chinese history.

Except for the mere half-a-century after the founding of the Song Dynasty, there were hardly any interlude of peace. Corrupt government officials and high concentration of land piled up wealth for the ruling class, who became great patrons in architecture and objet d'art in general. Meanwhile peasants were driven into rebellion and "vacuums" were created to invite invasion.



这一时期佛塔的平面布局基本呈方形。上部结构中空，类似加盖的烟囱；地面则为木制的。根据地面高度的分隔和屋檐的应用，可以将佛塔形式分为两大类。一种即所谓“多层”佛塔，即楼阁式塔，由多个单层亭阁重叠起来。另一种称作“多重檐”佛塔，即密檐式塔，形式上类似于较高的主楼层上屋檐层层错位堆叠的处理手法。总体效果上，该时期的佛塔相当朴实无华，有的则显得庄严甚而肃穆。

大规模使用砖石标志着砖石制作和运用技术上的进步。几乎所有砖塔的入口都采用拱门。在桥梁建筑史上非常重要的一座拱形建筑是河北省赵县的安济桥。它建造于隋朝（公元588—618年），主拱跨度几乎达38米，为世界上目前所知最早的空腹拱桥（又称敞肩拱桥）。（图 6）

〔4〕第四阶段：大型建筑群标准化和精细化（公元10世纪至14世纪）

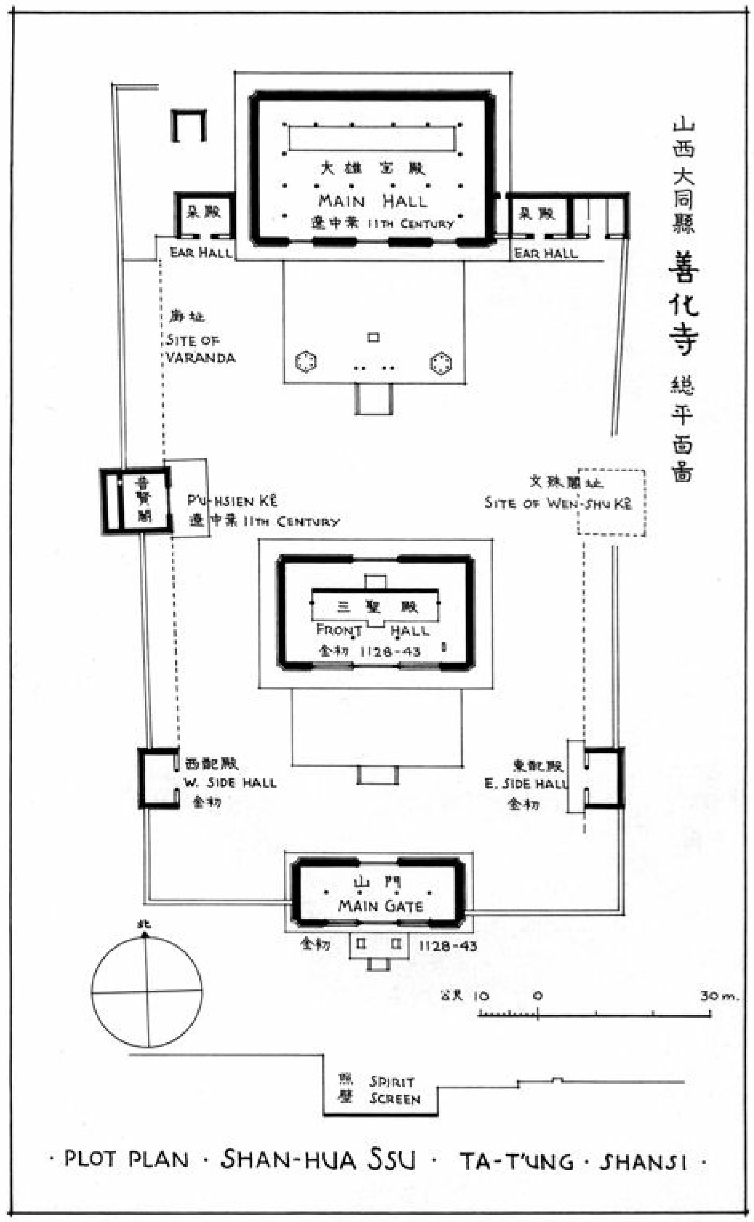
从公元10世纪初到14世纪中叶，汉族内部及汉族与北方的通古斯族和蒙古族之间爆发了一系列战争。五代十国迅速更替之后，宋朝终于在公元960年统一中原，但仍然不断地受到东北的契丹以及后来女真族的侵扰。最终于公元1280年，蒙古征服全部疆土，中国成为大蒙古帝国的一部分，这在中国历史上称为元朝。

这一时期除了宋朝建国初期的半个世纪以外，鲜有和平的缓歇。朝廷官员的腐败和土地的高度集中化，为统治阶级积累了大量财富，他们由此得以出资促进建筑和艺术发展。与此同时，农民被迫起义造反；由此形成的“真空地带”，招致了外来侵略。

The principal developments of this stage are the great increase in the sizes of architectural ensembles and the advances made in architectural refinements. The imperial palaces of the Song rulers were cited in history to have consisted of more than three thousand jians. In order to economize on materials and labor and to speed up the processes in designing and construction in such vast scale, the method of typification and standardization was sought. Thus, centuries of heritage in the art and technique of building was summarized, systematized, and compiled into the famous treatise on architecture, the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*. As mentioned above, a modular system was definitely set, with which the dimensions and proportions of the building was computed and structural as well as decorative members could be prefabricated elsewhere and be shipped to and assembled at the building site. Ever since, standardization and typification with the modular system has

become the common practice in Chinese architecture. Specific dimensions and proportions may vary from time to time and in different localities, but the principle is the same. The compilation and publication of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* must thus be considered an event of great historical significance in the development of Chinese architecture.

这一时期的主要发展在于建筑群规模扩大以及手法日趋华丽精细。史书记载，宋朝的皇宫超过三千来间。为节约材料和劳力，并且加快大规模建筑物的设计速度和建造进程，出现了对典型化和标准化的追求。因此，数世纪以来的建筑艺术和建造技术得以总结、系统化并编成著名的建筑文献《营造法式》一书。如前所言，模数制已确定下来，并据此规制计算建筑的尺寸和比例。结构性部件和装饰性部件可以在别处预先制作，尔后运至建筑现场进行组装。自此以后，应用模数制的标准化和典型化在中国建筑中成为惯例。[5] 具体的尺寸和比例因时因地制宜，但原则始终如一。《营造法式》的编撰出版因而成为中国建筑发展史上的一个重要事件。


山西大同縣
善化寺
總平面圖
大雄寶殿
MAIN HALL
遼中業 11TH CENTURY
朵殿
EAR HALL
朵殿
EAR HALL
廊址
SITE OF
VARANDA
普賢閣
P'U-HSIEN KŌ
遼中業 11TH CENTURY
文殊閣址
SITE OF WEN-SHU KŌ
三聖殿
FRONT HALL
金初 1128-43
西配殿
W. SIDE HALL
金初
東配殿
E. SIDE HALL
金初
山門
MAIN GATE
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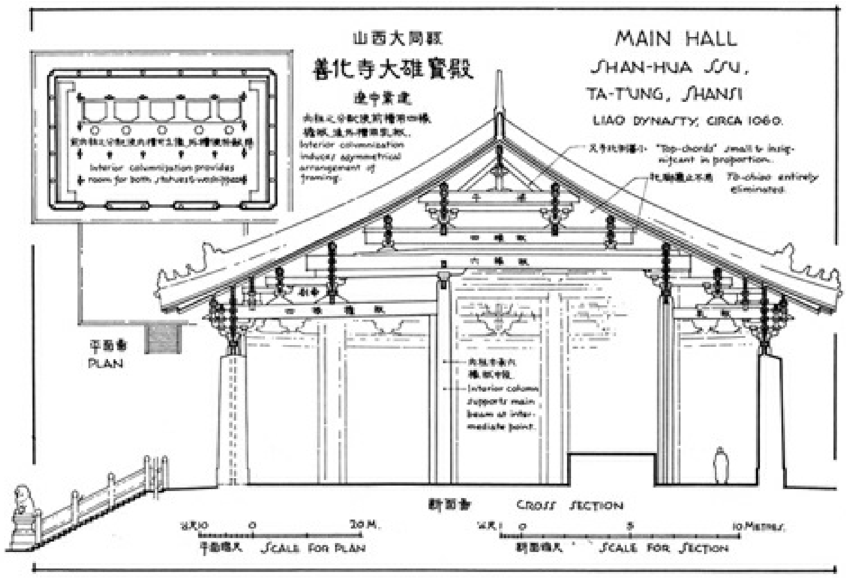


【8】

There are still a considerable number of edifices from this period standing today. (Figures 7, 8) Except a few bridges, all are religious buildings—temples and pagodas. Among these, all the temple buildings are of timber construction; but the pagodas left to us from this period, though most of them are masonry structures, also include a unique specimen of wooden pagoda. (Figures 9, 10)

As the number of buildings that survived till today became greater, examples representing varieties in use, construction and form also increased. Among the timber skeleton buildings, besides the most commonly seen principal hall, there are preserved also libraries, side-halls, gateway buildings, etc. The buildings are also seen in various story-heights, from the single-storied hall to a pagoda of five principal and four mezzanine stories. Various roof forms—the wudian or hip-roof, the xieshan or gabled-roof with eave under the gable and the double-eaved roof—are found. These roof forms, although known to have been created perhaps even as early as the Han Dynasty, and depicted in paintings and sculpture in the cave temples, but with the exception of the wudian, no actual specimen survived from the former periods. The dougong became smaller, in comparison with the former stage of development, in proportion. But still, in the northern provinces, and during the early part of this stage of development, the more robust proportion of the former stage was retained for a considerable length of time. Thus, local

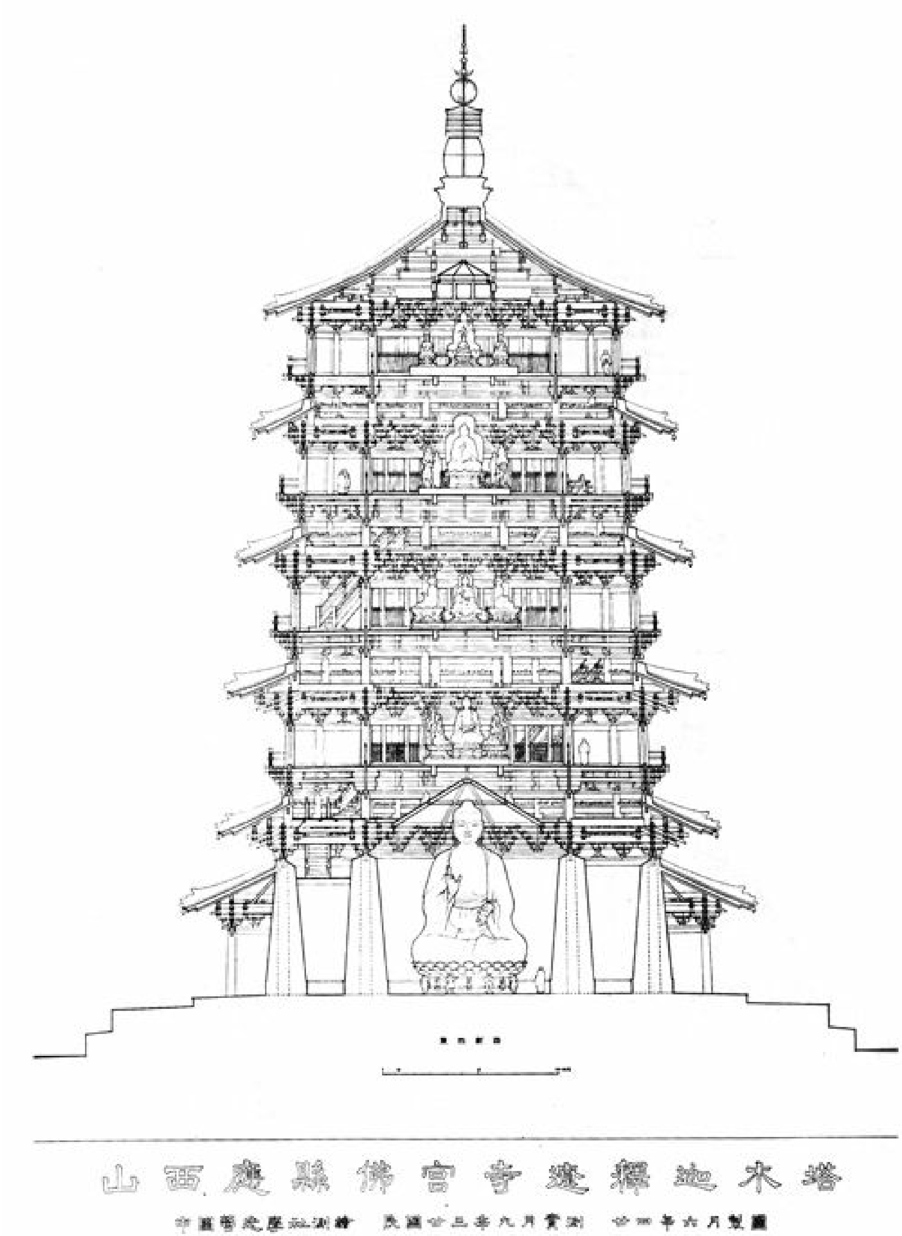
characteristics can be more noticeably detected.

In plan arrangement, there are a few ensembles partly, or to a certain degree completely, preserved. A principal building is often flanked by a smaller building on each side, all arranged in a row and facing the same direction. Buildings on either side of the courtyard are given more importance. Instead of the veranda or gallery of uniform height, it is accentuated by placing in its middle a building of more prominence. With this treatment, a cross-wise axis is definitely introduced.

现存的这一时期的宏伟建筑，数目较大。除寥若晨星的几座桥梁之外，全部为寺庙和佛塔等宗教建筑。（图 7，8）其中，所有寺庙均为木结构。至于此阶段所有留存的佛塔，则大多为砖石结构，只有一座独特的木构架八角塔（即山西应县佛宫寺释迦塔，俗称应县木塔）除外。（图 9，10）

随着遗留实物数量的增多，用途、建造和形式方面各种类型的个案也随之增加。在木骨架建筑中，除最常见的主殿外，还保留有藏经楼、配殿、山门等。建筑层高不定，从单层的殿堂到主层五层和夹层四层的佛塔都有。不同的屋顶形式，如庑殿、歇山、重檐等，均可找到实例。这些屋顶形式虽然可能早在汉代就已建造出来，并在石窟的壁画和雕刻中也都有所呈现，但是除了庑殿之外，并无更早的实物得以留存下来。较先前阶段，斗拱的比例变小。但在北方诸省中，这一阶段的早期，在较长一段时间内仍保持了前一阶段的较大比例的斗拱。因此，地方特征表现较为显著。

在平面布局上，屈指可数的几个建筑群得到了部分的或某种程度上全面的保存。主建筑两侧经常排列有较小的建筑，按同一方向连成轴线。庭院两侧的建筑也得到了重视。长廊或走廊也并非高度取齐，而是在庭院正中设置更为突出的建筑。如此一来，形成了鲜明的十字交叉轴线布局。



【9】

It is quite natural that the number of masonry pagodas that survived till today should be much greater than that of wooden buildings. With the single exception of the wooden pagoda mentioned above, all the pagodas from this period that are still standing are masonry structures.

Pagodas of this period assume a greater variety of forms. Instead of the square plan, which was almost the absolute rule in the former stage of development, the octagon became the favorite plan shape of this period and thereafter. (Figures 11, 12)

相比于木建筑而言，留存至今的砖石佛塔数量自然更多。除上文提及的应县木塔这一例外，这一时期所有保留下来的佛塔均为砖石结构。

这一时期的佛塔形式多样。布局方面，除了此前阶段几乎作为绝对法则的方形，八边形成为了此时和之后最受欢迎的平面布局。[6]　（图11，12）

【10】

【11】

【12】

【13】

The "multi-storied" and the "multi-eaved" are still the two principal types in the treatment of the mass and silhouette of the pagoda. But the octagonal plan has given them an effect of slenderness and richer play of light. In general, the pagoda of this period became more refined and elegant. Some of them are more restrained, attaining their aesthetic effect by well studied proportion and are sparingly ornamented. But there are also a

considerable number of them that are given architectural embellishments in imitation of the timber construction, giving the pagoda a richness unseen in masonry structures in former periods. (Figure 13)

〔E〕The Fifth Stage: Age of Peking European Influence, 1368–1949

From the latter half of the fourteenth century to the first decade of the present century, there were only two dynasties and they both succeeded in maintaining their regimes for a comparatively long duration. The Ming Dynasty drove away the Mongols and reestablished a regime of Han rulers. It was an age of national revival. The Yuan capital Dadu was sacked and a new capital was built in Nanjing. But only thirty years later, the capital was moved to Peking, utilizing the greater part of the destroyed Dadu. The Qing Dynasty, established by the Manchus, inherited Peking almost intact. For more than five centuries, Peking was twice enlarged and survived without going through any large scale destruction. The city, with its palaces and parks, stands as the most important monument of this period.

Every newly founded dynasty brought along with it a redistribution of land and a rise in production and consequently greater building activity. The first hundred years or so of both these dynasties were periods of comparative peace and prosperity. All kinds of handicraft were brought to ever higher perfection. All these factors found expression in the architecture of the time. Both the Ming and Qing Dynasties left to posterity innumerable buildings, some still standing today in perfect state of preservation. Unlike the earlier periods, dwelling houses of the ordinary people have also been preserved.

Needless to say, the Imperial Palaces of Peking, first laid out and built in the early part of the fifteenth century and renovated, some even completely rebuilt, in later ages, as a group, stand one of the most magnificent ensemble created by any architect of any time. (Figures 14, 15)

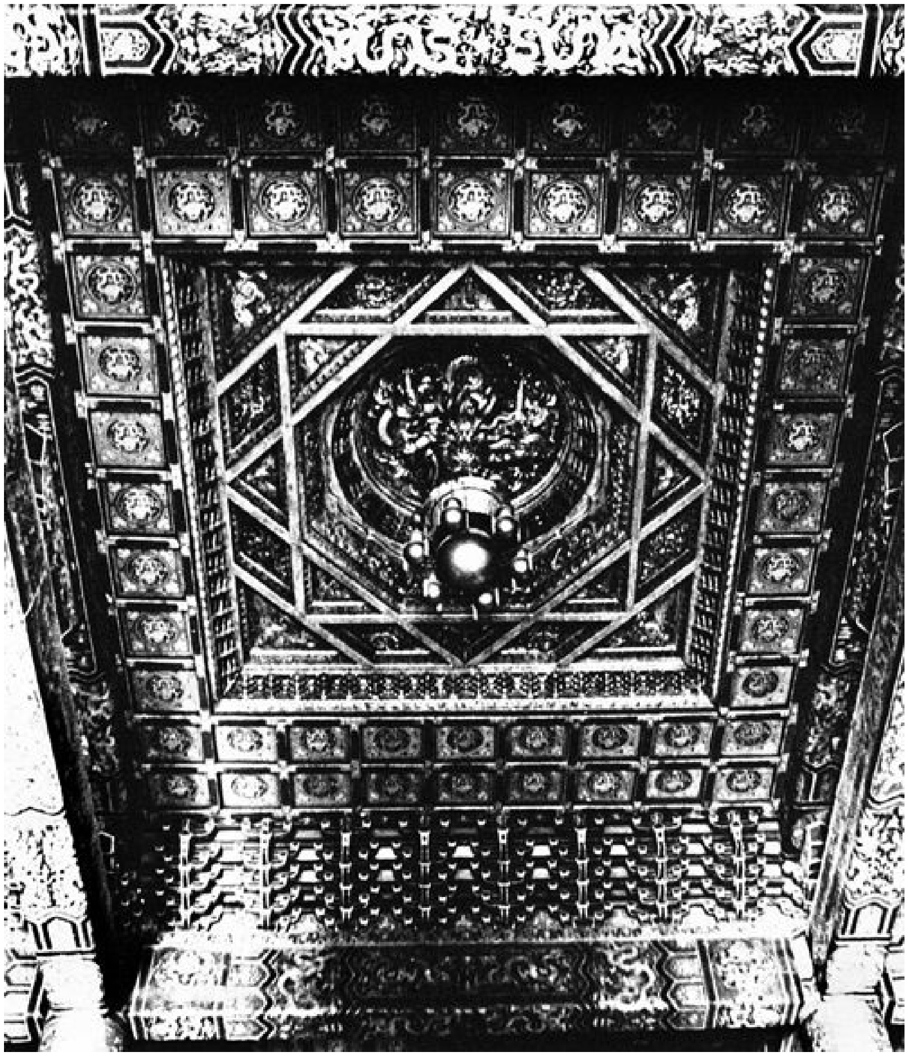
“多层”和“多檐”仍然是佛塔体量和轮廓处理方面主要的两个类型。八角形的平面布局产生了纤细修长、光影重重的效果。整体而言，这一时期的佛塔更加精致典雅。有一些较为保守，比例恰切，装饰简约，从而达到了审美效果。但也有相当数量的佛塔模仿木结构建筑的装饰风格，这样就使砖石佛塔相较此前更加富丽华美。（图 13）

〔5〕第五阶段：北京—欧式影响风行的时代（公元1368至1949年）

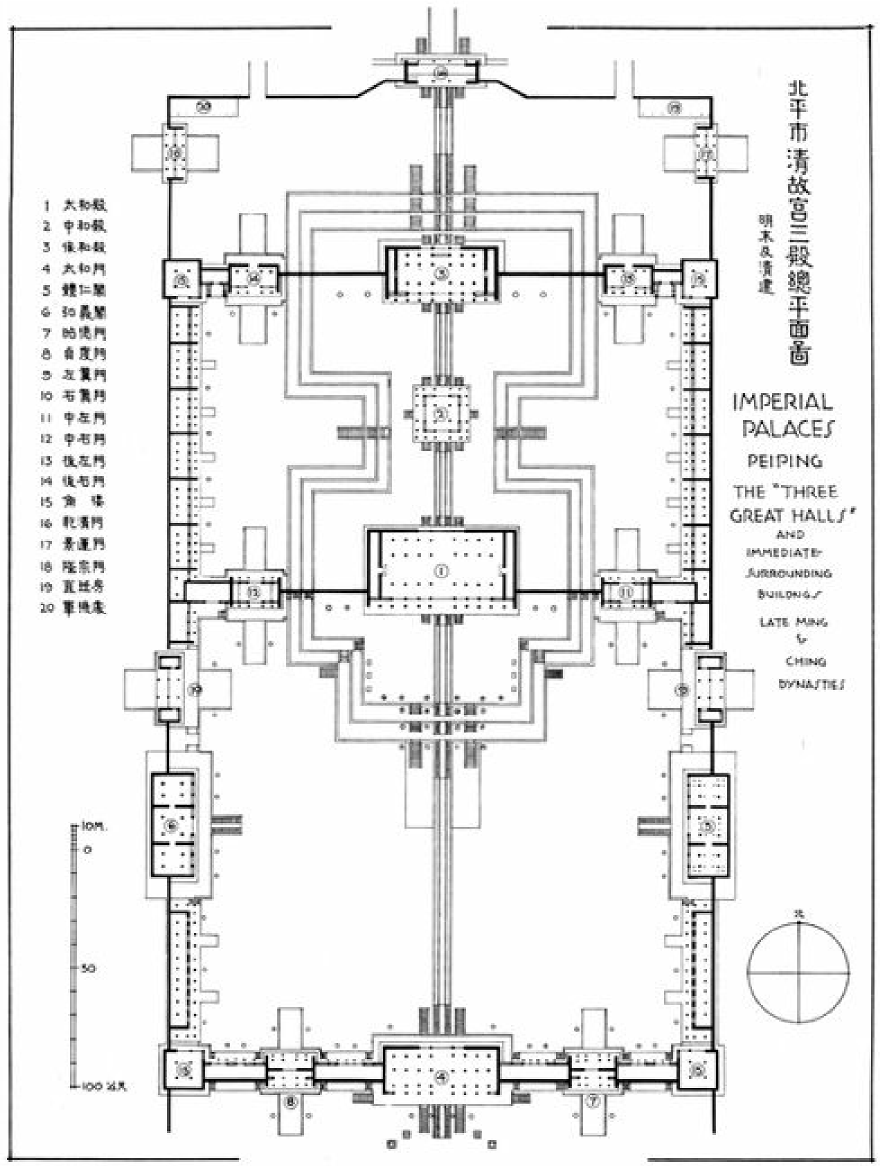
从14世纪下半叶到20世纪头十年，经历了两个朝代，且均持续了相对较长的时间。明朝赶走了蒙古人，重新建立了汉族统治，可算是民族复兴。元大都遭到劫掠，新的都城在南京兴建。但仅30年之后，明朝又迁都北京，在元大都的大部分废墟旧址上兴建新都。清朝是由满人建立的，大体沿袭了前朝北京的格局。在五个多世纪里，北京城两度扩建，免遭大肆破坏而得以保存。北京城及其宫殿苑囿，是这一阶段最重要的历史遗迹。

新建各朝之初，土地重新分配，生产力得到提升，并由此促进了建筑业的发展。这两个朝代开初的一百年左右，均是相对和平、繁荣的时期。各种手工业空前蓬勃发展。所有这些因素，在当时的建筑中都得以展现。明清两代留下来不胜枚举的建筑，有些至今仍得到完好保存。和前期不同，这一时期的一些民居也被保存下来。

毋庸置疑，开始设计并营造于15世纪早期、其后又整修甚至重建的故宫建筑群，是任何时期、任何建筑师能建造出的最宏伟壮丽的建筑作品之一。（图 14，15）



【14】



【15】

Mansions of nobilities and high officials as well as dwellings of the common people, some built four or five centuries ago, still stand in good condition. Compared to remains of earlier periods, religious buildings are found to be of less importance. Parks and gardens several hundred years old still give pleasure to the mass of people in their time of leisure. (Figures 16, 17) Even tombs of emperors, pompous ensembles, magnificently laid out and originally surrounded by groves of evergreens, have become favorite weekend resorts. (Figures 18, 19)

许多达官贵族的宅邸，乃至普通民居，四五百年后依然保存得相当

完好。宗教建筑，与早期遗存的建筑相比，则相形式微。具有数百年历史的各种园林景区，仍是公众休闲游乐的好去处。（图 16，17） 不少皇帝陵墓，修建得十分华丽壮观，气势恢宏，周围绿树成荫，蕴含有“万年长青”之寓意；也已成为最受欢迎的周末游览胜地。（图 18，19）

【16】

【17】

【18】

【19】

From the architecture of this period, we see most clearly the marked class imprint of the social system. From the palaces and mansions to the

houses of the ordinary well-to-do, besides the spacious, comfortable quarters for the "masters and mistresses," without exceptions there are "servants' quarters," a miniature slum attached to every house. Nevertheless, they are still much better than the real slums of the masses of city poors. (Figures 20, 21)

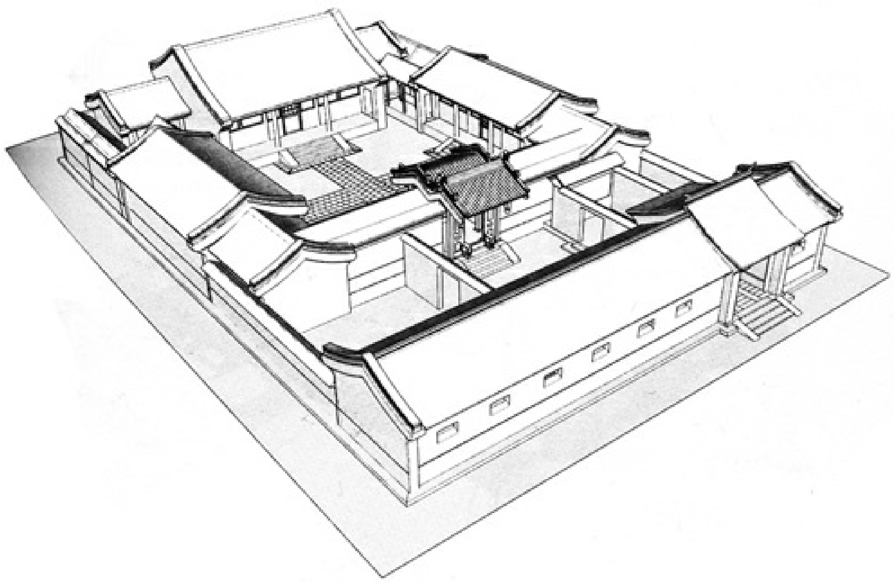
From the plans, especially those of ensembles built in strict accordance with the official regulations, there is found the traditional preference for symmetrical arrangements. But one conspicuous characteristic is that when two or more groups of quadrangular courtyards are put adjacent to each other, there is an almost complete lack of correlation between the major axes of the groups which are parallel to each other. In places away from Peking, especially in the dwellings of the working people, great liberty is taken so as to arrange the houses to meet the demands of work and living.

Certain changes in construction details influenced to a considerable extent the general proportions of the buildings. The beam is brought into more direct contact with the column. To counteract the shearing stress, the width of the beam is increased to a dimension wider than the diameter of the column and placed directly on top of it. Even when the dougong is used, it is used merely as a "cushion," although still functioning as a weight bearing unit, but primarily for decorative purposes. On account of this, the size of the dougong, in proportion to the height of the building, is very much reduced, and the overhang of the eave becomes less far. Thus the buildings of this stage of development, especially those of the Qing Dynasty, present an appearance so restrained that it looks almost rigid when in comparison with the earlier buildings.

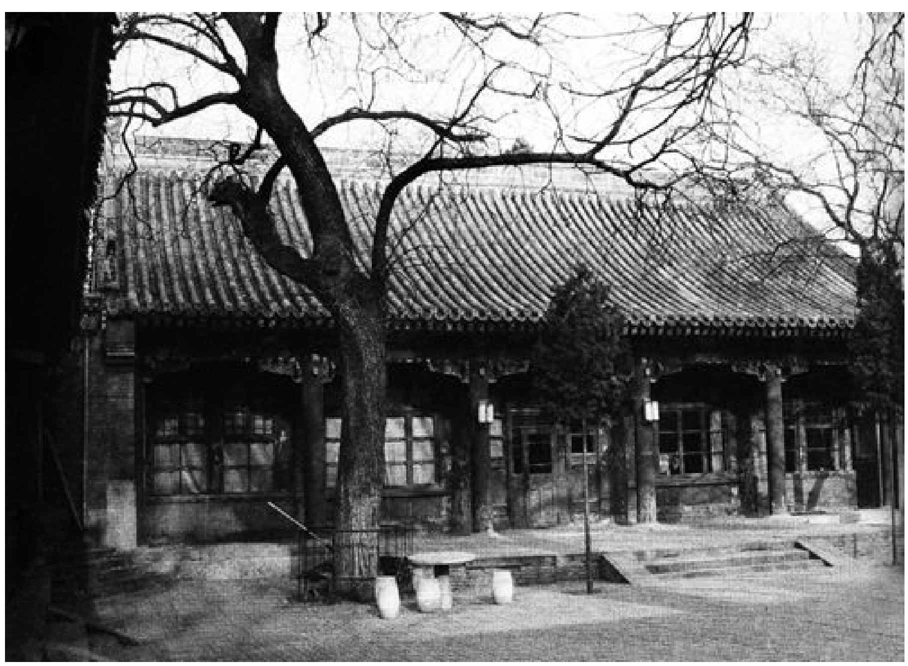
我们可从这一时期保存下来的建筑中清楚地看出，在当时的社会体制下，阶级划分的明显痕迹。从宫殿宅邸到小康民居，除供老爷和夫人使用的宽敞舒适的上房、正房外，无一例外都附有简陋的（倒座或鹿顶）平房供仆役使用。不过，这些仆役居室的条件仍远远优于广大城市贫民的栖身之所。（图 20，21）

在平面布局上，尤其是严格遵循官方规制的建筑组群，可以看出对对称布局这一形法传统的偏好。但还有一个显著的特点，即两组或多组四合院毗连时，这些庭院的主轴彼此平行，但其间几乎没有任何关联。在北京以外的地方，尤其是劳动人民的聚居地区，房屋布局视劳作和居住的需要而定，非常自由随意。

建筑细节上的某些改变，在很大程度上影响了建筑的整体比例。横梁更直接地与立柱相连。为了抵冲剪应力，横梁的宽度扩展得比柱径还要宽，并直接置于柱顶。即便是斗拱派上用场，也只是作为建筑中的一个“枕垫”；尽管仍然起着承重作用，但主要是装饰性的用途了。因此，斗拱的尺寸就建筑高度的比例而言大幅减小了，屋檐的外悬出檐部分也大幅缩水。这样一来，这一阶段尤其是清朝的建筑，和以往的相比，造型上较为拘谨，甚至几乎显得刻板了。



【20】



The nineteenth century was an epoch of profound changes in the history of China. Capitalism and imperialism brought the West to China, and along with it, Western architecture. New methods of construction, new architectural styles, new ways of using buildings, etc., etc., in short, an entirely new conception of architecture was introduced. In some coastal cities, where the imperialists acquired "concessions," even the city of the nineteenth-century Europe was reproduced.

The Qing Dynasty was overthrown in 1911 and a republic was founded. For a quarter of a century, China was torn by successive wars between the "warlords" and then eight years' war against the Japanese invaders. It was also in these years that Marxism-Leninism was introduced into China and eventually led to the formation of the Chinese Communist Party and finally the founding of the People's Republic in 1949.

The architecture of the first half of the twentieth century in China mirrored most faithfully the height of semi-feudalistic and semi-colonial state of Chinese society. In the countries and in the smaller towns, the traditional Chinese building is still the people's choice. But in the larger cities, especially in the so-called "treaty ports," the "foreign-style house" is the mode. Eclecticism, including the so-called "Chinese style" was the vogue for three decades or so, followed by a high tide of "contemporary architecture."

It was in such a state that the architects of China found themselves when China was liberated in 1949.

〔F〕The Sixth Stage of People's China, People's Architecture

In 1949, the Chinese people liberated themselves from the bondage of more than two thousand years of feudalism and a century of imperialism and founded the People's Republic of China. Architecture immediately became the common affair of the entire populace. As soon as the period of economic recovery, from 1949 to 1952, is over, with the generous help of the Soviet Union and the people's democratic countries, the reconstruction work under the First Five-Year Plan was launched forward. Numerous new industrial towns have been planned and started building. Certainly many more will be

planned and built in the future. Reconstruction plans for many of the old cities are also gradually taking shape.

19世纪是中国发生深刻变化的历史时期。资本主义和帝国主义使西学东渐，也带来了西洋建筑，包括新的建筑方法、新的建筑风格、新的建筑功用等等。简而言之，引入了全新的建筑理念。一些中国沿海城市，在帝国主义者得到“特许”的“租界”中，甚至复制了不少19世纪欧洲的城市建筑。

1911年，清朝政府被推翻，民国建立了。此后的四分之一个世纪，中国饱受“军阀”混战之苦，后又经历了八年抗日战争。也正是在这一时期，马列主义被带进了中国，中国共产党成立了，并最终于1949年建立起了中华人民共和国。

20世纪上半叶的中国建筑如实地反映了中国半殖民地半封建社会鼎盛时期的风貌。在田间乡下和小城小镇，传统中国建筑仍然是人们的选择。但在较大的城市，尤其是在所谓的“通商口岸”，“洋房”甚为时髦。大约三十来年间，包括所谓“中式风格”在内的折中主义建筑蔚然成风，随后则是“当代建筑”的盛行时期。

1949年中国解放时，建筑师们正是处于这样一种历史背景之中。

〔6〕第六阶段：人民的中国，人民的建筑

1949年，中国人民从两千年多的封建主义和一个世纪的帝国主义束缚中解放出来，建立了中华人民共和国。建筑很快成为全体民众的共同事业。1949年到1952年的经济恢复时期刚一结束，在苏联和人民民主国家的慷慨相助下，随即开始了第一个“五年计划”，开展重建工作。无数新兴的工业城市开始进行规划兴建，当然，还有更多的要在未来进行规划和建造。很多古城的重建计划正在逐渐形成。

The Chinese people are at present endeavoring with all their efforts to have their four-thousand-year-old agricultural country basically industrialized in the short span of three Five-Year Plans. For the realization of this historical task, architects and engineers of China are offering every ounce of their strength.

Many old cities have changed considerably. New cities are planned and old cities, replanned. Workers' homes and dormitories are built in unprecedented numbers and with great speed, but they still lag behind the need of the people. Plans for residential buildings and certain public and

office buildings have been worked towards the direction of standardization since 1953. A considerable number of hotels were built to accommodate the increasing number of visitors to various cities.

Public buildings of diverse nature, from government offices to department stores, etc., constitute none too small a part of the architects' work. The great number of educational buildings, from nurseries to institutions of high education, testifies the great attention the People's Government is paying to the education of the next generation. Hospitals and sanitariums are also built for the health of the great mass of workers, while the number of theaters, palaces of culture, clubs, exhibition galleries, gymnasium, etc., is also considerable.

Needless to say, the one field in building activities that ranks in supreme prominence is that of industry. It is in this field that the Chinese architects found themselves face to face with entirely new problems. The state of industrial development under the reactionary regimes offered hardly any opportunity for the architects to practice in industrial architecture. But with the help of architects from the Soviet Union and other people's democratic countries, Chinese architects not only have learned, but are now able and competent designers in this particular field. The problems facing the Chinese architects are complex and difficult. To plan and build to answer the demands of socialism and of the great masses of working people is no simple task, but, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, with the guiding principles of Marxism-Leninism, and, with the inexhaustible strength and wisdom of the working people, the Chinese architects are filled with self-confidence that they will create an architecture that is socialist in nature and endowed with national characters.

Having made a brief review of the stages of historical development of Chinese architecture, we shall now proceed with the examination of some of the representative specimens.

中国人民目前正在竭尽全力，力争在短短的三个“五年计划”的时间之内，将这个拥有四千年历史的农业大国基本实现工业化。为了实现这一历史任务，中国的建筑师和工程师正在贡献自己的全部力量。

很多古城已经大为改观。新城市正在规划，旧城市则在重新规划。以前所未有的数量和速度修建了不少工人住宅和宿舍，但依旧不能满足人民的需求。1953年以来，民用住宅、公共建筑和办公建筑正朝着标准

化的方向进行规划。大批酒店已经建成，以满足各个城市不断增长的游客的需求。

种类不同的公共建筑，从政府办公室到百货公司等，在建筑师的工作中也占据着不小的分量。兴建的从幼儿园到大学的大量教育建筑，体现了人民政府对下一代教育的重视。医院和疗养院为广大劳动人民而建造，而剧院、文化宫、俱乐部、展览馆以及体育馆等的数量也很可观。

无需多言，建筑活动中最重要的就是工业建筑。正是在这一领域，中国的建筑师发现自己遇到了全新的问题。反动政府统治之时，工业发展完全没有为建筑师修建工业建筑创造任何机会。但是，有了苏联和其他人民民主国家同行的帮助，中国建筑师不仅学会了方法，还成为了这一特殊领域能干的设计师。中国建筑师遇到的问题是复杂和困难的。设计和建造符合社会主义和广大劳动人民需要的建筑，绝非易事。但是，有了中国共产党的领导，有了马列主义的指导原则，有了劳动人民无穷无尽的力量和智慧，中国的建筑师们满怀信心，一定能够兴建兼具社会主义与民族特色的建筑大业。

简要回顾了中国建筑发展的历程之后，我们可再来审视一些具有代表性的实例。

III. City Planning

〔A〕Principles for Planning a Capital

As mentioned above, the principles for laying out the capital city of a ruling king or emperor were specified as early as the eleventh century BC. In the *Zhouli* or *Book of Rites*, in the chapter "Kaogong Ji" which narrates the work of crafts, is mentioned that the capital of a king should be "nine li[7] square with nine boulevards running longitudinally and nine boulevards running latitudinally. The longitudinal boulevards should be the width of nine carriages. The palaces should be located in front and the market places, at the rear; the ancestral temple to the left and the temple of the god of lands to the right."

In this simple statement, the basic principles are precisely put down. It is a faithful testimony of the social and political systems of the early days of

feudalism. The lord was supreme. His palaces must be put in the center-front. The two temples to the left and right were to stand as permanent proclamations to his noble lineage of decent and indisputable right of sovereignty. The market places, which were the only places for the common people, logically, were located in the least important quarter.

It is interesting to note that this principle was not strictly adhered to in earlier days, such as the Chang'an of the Han Dynasty. It was not until the time when the teachings of Confucius were proclaimed by the feudal rulers as state teachings and the Zhouli included into the Thirteen Classics that the planning of an emperor's capital was given such ritual considerations.

〔B〕The Sui and Tang Capital Chang'an

The Chang'an of the Sui and Tang Dynasties was the first and largest city in the history of China that was planned and built, with certain modifications, on the principle specified in the *Zhouli*. Though completely destroyed at the end of the Tang Dynasty (beginning of the tenth century), exact and minute descriptions by an early Song author and recent researches enable us to have a fairly accurate plan of the city as it existed before destruction. It was a rectangular city completely surrounded by walls on all sides, with three gates on each side. Streets were laid out like a chessboard, with the principal streets in line with the gates. The central part of the northern portion of the city was the Palace City within which were the palaces of the emperor.

叁 城市规划

〔1〕都城规划原则

如前所言，公元前11世纪就已经明确提出了帝王所在都城的规划原则。《周礼·考工记》，即专门描述工艺之术的章节中，讲到了都城应“方九里，（旁三门，）国中九经九纬，经涂九轨，左祖右社，面朝后市”[8] 。

这一简单的语句精确地阐述了基本的规划原则，并如实反映了封建

社会初期的社会关系及政治体系。封建领主有着至高无上的权力，因此其宫殿必须位于正前方正中央的位置。[9] 左右两庙象征着王室世系相传的高贵血统及毋庸置疑的统治权威。与平民百姓唯一有关的“市”，自然占据最不重要的位置。

有意思的是，早期规划帝王之都时这些原则并未得以严格的遵循，比如汉朝的长安城就是这样。直到孔子的儒家学说被封建统治者确立为官方学说并且将《周礼》列入“十三经”之后，对国都建设的规划，才开始有了礼制性的考量。

〔2〕隋唐都城长安

隋朝和唐朝的都城长安，是中国历史上第一座同时也是最大的一座根据《周礼》的礼制营造原则规划建成的都城，当然也作了些变通。虽然唐朝末年（10世纪初）都城被毁，但是根据宋初某位作家精确而细致的描述和最新的研究发现，我们能够相当准确地了解到长安城被毁前的规划设计。该城为长方形，四周完全被城墙包围，各面开三座城门。街道格局如同棋盘般区划整齐，主道贯穿城门。城北中央是宫城，即皇帝的宫殿所在地。

To the south of this was the Imperial City, where the ministries of the government were located. Surrounding the Imperial City on three sides was the fang, each also surrounded by walls with a gate on each side and with crossroads within. To the left and right and slightly in front of the Imperial City were two spacious market squares. At the southeastern corner of the city was a "green area" with attractive natural sceneries. It was a favorite resort for the rich and poor alike and had inspired many poets who immortalized the place through their verses.

All the common people lived in the walled fang or blocks, the gates of which would be locked as soon as the "evening drum" was beaten. Hence all residents must be home before that time. Only officials above a certain rank were permitted to open their gates facing the principal streets and had the right of way night and day. The basic conception of the city of Chang'an is a congregation of small cities surrounded by wall to form a big city. The small cities—fang—were separated and connected to each other by major and minor arterial streets. Such arrangements and restrictions mirrored the policy of discouragement of commerce, for no shop was permitted to open onto the principal streets. The street scene of the Chang'an during the Tang Dynasty

must have been rather austere. However, official restrictions could not bind social and economical progress forever. By the tenth century, the walls of the fang were broken through and shops were built facing the streets. The street scene in the Chinese city took up an entirely new and different appearance.

〔C〕Peking, Capital of the Ming and Qing Dynasties

On the site where Peking, the capital of the People's Republic of China, stands today, a town or settlement have been in existence as far back as the Yin Dynasty (1765 BC–1122 BC). After having sacked the capital of the Jin Dynasty, Yanjing, which had grown up through nearly thirty centuries of development, Kublai Khan of the Mongols ordered the building of a new capital just to the northeast of it, called Dadu, the "Great Capital" and known as Khanbaliq in *Marco Polo*'s *Travels*. It was planned according to the principle set in the *Zhouli*—the palace in the front, the market place at the rear, the ancestral temple to the left and the temple of the god of lands to the right. But Dadu suffered the same fate as that of Yanjing when the Mongols were driven out by the Han people who established the Ming Dynasty in 1368.

宫城之南是皇城，即行政官署所在地。皇城的三面外围均为坊，各坊四面又有围墙，城墙上各有一门，内有出入通路。皇城左侧、右侧及略偏南边，为两个面积宽敞的集市区。[10] 长安城的东南角是有着秀美景色的“绿色园林区”，不但为贫富世人共爱，而且激发了不少文人骚客的诗兴，从而使此地不朽于世。

所有的平民都居住在坊内，坊门在“暮鼓”敲响之时便会锁上。因此，所有居民必须在此之前赶回家中。只有朝廷百司一定级别以上的官员才能将府门开向主街道，并享有不分昼夜均可通行的特权。长安城的基本建设理念，是由畦分棋布的、内向性封闭的小城围合聚拢而成一个大城的格局。小城即指“坊”，由大小主干道相隔相连。这种排列规整的布局及其限制作用，禁止在大街上开设商铺，体现了当时的禁商政策。唐朝那时的长安街道，一定非常俭朴无华。然而，官方的限制不能永久地阻挡社会和经济的进步。到公元10世纪时，各坊城墙被打破，店面朝街而开。当时中国的城市街景，呈现出一副截然不同的全新面貌。

〔3〕明清都城北京

中华人民共和国现在的首都北京城，始建于殷商时期（公元前1765—公元前1122年）。在蒙古可汗忽必烈攻占劫掠金朝的首都燕京（已有几近三千年历史）后，他下令在燕京的东北方向建立了一座新的都城，称为“大都”，取“伟大的都城”之义，而在《马可·波罗游记》中被称为“可汗大都”。该城依据《周礼》的原则规划，即“左祖右社，面朝后市”。而当汉人于1368年将蒙古人逐出中原并建立明朝之后，大都也遭遇了和燕京类似的被洗劫的命运。

Shortly afterwards, the ruined capital was reconstructed and renamed Beijing, the North Capital, known to Westerners as Peking. It has been, except for two short intervals, the capital of China ever since. The Peking up till the liberation in 1949, as the capital of an absolute monarchy, took its final shape in the year 1553, after three successive large-scale alterations. The reconstruction in 1553 added an "outer city" to the original square city, thus lengthened the principal axis of the city to eight kilometers. The composition of the entire city was basically symmetrical. The street system was laid out with that of the Mongol city as basis. The chessboard main streets divide the city into large "super-blocks," within which most of the minor streets run in the east-west direction. This "fish-bone" pattern of street system defines clearly the different functions of the major and minor streets on the one hand and enabled all the houses to have a southern exposure on the other. The planner had shown great ingenuity in the creation of such a system.

The string of natural lakes in the heart of the city did not embarrass the planner. The effect of symmetry in the street system was by no means destroyed. On the contrary, he made the best use of the irregular lines of the lakes to help soften the possible effect of harshness due to excessive emphasis on symmetry and succeeded in adding a touch of unexpected joy of playfulness to the majestic city. When a casual visitor who comes to Peking for the first time, after passing through streets lined with buildings on both sides and comes suddenly to the head of a bridge, he is brought, most unexpectedly, face to face with a vast stretch of water surface, lined with such informal shorelines, and, on the slopes of the island-hill, such wooded shades of evergreens. He will be standing on or strolling over the marble bridge with exquisitely carved balustrades and enjoying the scenery composed of fairyland-like pavilions and loggias. It makes one wonder whether he is in the middle of a city of over three million inhabitants.

One of the unseen achievements of ancient Peking must not be

overlooked, that is the sewage system first laid down six centuries ago. There was originally in Peking an ancient sewage system totaling more than three hundred kilometers in length, slowly built up through the centuries. Portions of it have already collapsed during the past few decades, but there are still more than two hundred kilometers of it in usable condition. After the liberation, the People's Government drained and repaired the still usable portion of the entire system and it is now an integral and important part of the new sewage system.

不久之后，这座被毁的都城得以重建，并被重新命名为“北京”，即“北方的京城”，西方人称之为Peking。除了两个短暂的时期以外，自此北京一直是中国的首都。[11] 直至1949年解放之前，北京一直是君主专制政权的都城。历经三次大规模整修之后，它最终定型于1553年——这一年的重建工作主要是在原来方城的基础上增加了“外城”，从而将城市的中轴线延长至八公里。整座城市的构造基本呈对称状。街道设计以大都为基础，格网状的主干道将城市分为大的坊区，区内多数支干道为东西向。这种鱼骨状的街道体系一方面清晰地体现了主干道和支干道的不同功能，同时也使得所有房屋都能坐北朝南。这种体系的创建，体现了设计者的匠心独具。

城中心的天然湖区（即“海子”），也没能难倒设计师。这些海子更没有破坏街道体系的对称效果。恰恰相反，设计师充分利用了它们的不规则形状，来弱化因过分强调对称而有可能导致的刻板印象，成功地为这座庄严的城市增添了意外的愉悦之感。初次造访北京城的游客穿过两侧建筑林立的街道时，突然走到了一个桥头，与他不期而遇的，是一片河岸蜿蜒的广阔水域，以及水域当中小岛斜坡上成片的绿荫。他会驻足或漫步在有着精雕细刻的汉白玉栏杆的小桥上，欣赏着如梦如幻仙境般的亭台楼阁，间或怀疑自己是否真的置身于聚居着三百多万市井居民的凡尘闹市当中。

古都北京还有一项无形的、不容忽视的成就，那就是最先在600年前建成的排水系统。数世纪来逐渐建成的老北京城的排水系统总长为三百多公里，近几十年来部分已经坍塌，但仍有两百多公里的管道在继续发挥作用。解放后，人民政府排干沟渠中的废水并修缮了依旧可用部分，如今它已成为新排水系统中不可或缺的重要组成部分。

It must be pointed out here that the entire city of Peking was planned with the emperor's palace—the Forbidden City—as the dominant feature occupying a vast area in the center of the city, surrounded by a massive wall and a moat. It solved excellently the problem of guarding the safety of the

emperor, but today it stands an insoluble problem in a modern city as an obstacle to traffic.

〔D〕Smaller Cities and Towns

For thousands of years, a city, regardless of its size, was seldom built without a wall. Whenever the topography permits, the city was laid out either square or rectangular, with chessboard-like road systems. But in the mountainous regions, cities were always planned and built in conformity to the terrain.

这里必须说明的一点是，整个北京城的规划基于一点，即以皇宫紫禁城为中心，它在城中央占据了很大面积，其外围是宏伟的城墙和护城河。这一设计曾成功解决了护卫皇帝安全的问题，但如今却成为现代城市中堵塞交通的难题。

〔4〕小城镇

中国数千年来，凡是城市，不论大小如何几乎都筑墙而建。只要地形允许，城市格局非方则长，街道格网状分布。但是在山区，城市通常则要根据地形地势规划建造。

IV. Architecture of Domestic and Public Buildings

〔A〕The Emperor's Palaces, Peking

The Emperor's Palaces, an enormous ensemble surrounded by a massive wall, called the Purple Forbidden City, are the nucleus around which the entire city of Peking was planned. The Forbidden City has within its enclosure numerous ensembles with a total of several hundred buildings, including halls of audience, offices for government administration, secretariats, living quarters for the emperor and his enormous family, living quarters for the army of courtiers and court ladies, kitchens, stables and other

service quarters for the entire court. There are also in the precinct the emperor's private Buddhist chapel, libraries, art galleries and gardens. All these buildings for different purposes are arranged in numerous ensembles, each consisted of several courtyards. Almost every building is roofed with yellow glazed tiles. The walls are all painted red and the shaded portions under the eaves of the buildings are decorated with painted patterns in blue, green and gold. Halls and pavilions of importance, as a rule, are elevated on top of white marble terraces which are arranged into one or three tiers according to the importance of the building. Each ensemble in the Forbidden City is composed with one axis, and, as mentioned before, little attention is paid to the axes of adjacent ensembles.

肆 民用建筑与公共建筑

〔1〕紫禁城——北京城的皇宫

巍峨高墙之内的皇家宫殿群，被称为“紫禁城”，也是整个北京城规划的核心。城内有数百座建筑，包括征召臣工觐见的大殿、奏事议政处、内廷机要用房、皇帝本人及皇室的寝宫、侍臣宫女的住所、御膳房、牲口厩以及宫廷里其他杂役的居住区域。城内还设有皇帝的专用佛堂、书房、雅玩收藏室以及御花园。这些功能不一的建筑都自成一体，每个建筑群由几个庭院构成。几乎所有建筑的屋顶都铺着黄色的琉璃瓦；城墙都刷成朱红色，檐下部分则以金黄、翠绿及碧蓝色的图案装饰。凡是重要的大殿和楼阁，通常都要建在汉白玉台阶之上。至于台阶的数目，通常是一层或三层，根据建筑的重要性而定。紫禁城中，各宫殿群均由一条中轴线贯通；但是正如此前提及，不太注意相邻宫殿群的轴线之间的关联关系。

1. Two Groups of Three Big Halls

On the principal axis of the Forbidden City are rhythmically placed in a string a double "triads" of monumental buildings, popularly known as the "Front Three Big Halls" and the "Rear Three Big Halls." Each of the "triad" consists of one rectangular hall in the front, a square hall in the middle and another, but smaller, rectangular hall at the rear. The rear "triad" is a

repetition of the front "triad" in a reduced size. Both these "triads" each as a group, is raised on a marble terrace of three tiers and surrounded by galleries, pavilions, etc. and preceded in the forefront by a monumental gateway.

The Taihe Dian or Hall of Supreme Harmony is the principal hall of audience in the palaces and focal point of the whole Forbidden City. With its six rows of twelve columns each, forming a hypostyle hall eleven bays in length and five in depth, double-eaved and hip-roofed, it is the largest single building of its kind in China. The present structure dates back no farther than 1697, being the substitute for the one destroyed by a fire in 1679. The seventy-two columns arranged in monotonous regularity, seemingly showing not much ingenuity, are yet a most impressive sight. The structure stands on a low marble platform, which in turn is elevated by three tiers of balustraded terraces, profusely decorated with the most exquisite carvings.

Compared to buildings of earlier dates, as will be seen from some examples to be cited later in this discussion, the dougong of this gigantic hall is very small in proportion. It has lost its original function as a structural unit and degenerated into mere decorations. From a distance, the presence of dougong is hardly noticeable. The walls, columns, doors and windows are painted red, the dougong and the architraves in blue and green and accentuated with gold. The whole structure is crowned by a roof of glazed yellow tiles, glistening like gold in the bright sunshine against the blue sky of North China. Elevated on the white marble terraces that seem to vibrate with their exuberant carvings, the great hall is an apparition of grandeur, dignity and gorgeousness that, once seen, is never forgotten.

Behind the Taihe Dian is the Zhonghe Dian, the Hall of Middle Harmony. It is a square, small pavilion-like structure with a pyramidal roof. Further back is the Baohe Dian, the Hall of Retained Harmony, a structure slightly smaller than the Taihe Dian that concludes the Front Triad with an appropriate rhythmic accent.

Both Triads are places for the most solemn ceremonies: the Front Triad is for audiences of the greatest importance and the Rear Triad was used exclusively for imperial nuptial ceremonies. Thus the buildings were rarely used. Their function is almost purely symbolic.

1．前后“三大殿”　沿紫禁城的中轴线上，有节奏地间隔分布着两组建筑群，即通常说的“前三大殿”和“后三大殿”，各由前面的长方形宫

殿、中间的正方形宫殿及后面稍小的长方形宫殿构成。后三大殿是前三大殿的缩小复制版。这两组宫殿群都位于三层汉白玉高台之上，并由廊台亭榭环绕，前方则是气势恢弘的入口通道。

太和殿是宫殿群乃至整个紫禁城中朝觐的主殿。殿内6排柱子，每排12根，其殿面阔11间，进深5间，重檐庑殿顶，它是中国现存古建筑中规模最大的殿宇。这座宫殿在1679年的火灾中被焚毁，现存的宫殿修建年代不迟于1697年。殿内72根柱子排列整齐，乍看并无创意，整体上却蔚为壮观。整个建筑位于低矮的汉白玉基座之上，基座之下是三层精雕细琢的汉白玉栏杆。

与文后将提到的早期建筑相比，在雄伟的太和殿中，斗拱的尺寸极小。它已经失去原先的构造功能，而沦为纯粹的装饰品，从远处看几乎毫不起眼。殿墙、柱子、门窗被刷成朱红色，斗拱和额枋刷成碧蓝色和翠绿色，间以鲜艳的金黄色。[12] 整个建筑的屋顶铺饰着黄琉璃瓦，在北方艳阳蓝天的映衬下闪烁着熠熠金光。高踞在雕刻逼真生动的汉白玉基座之上的这座大殿，如此宏伟壮观、庄严华丽，真叫人过目难忘。

太和殿之后是中和殿。这是一座方形的亭状建筑，屋顶为攒尖形。再后方是保和殿，只比太和殿略小。这三者生动而有韵律地构成了前一组的三大殿。

前后三大殿是普天之下最庄重的礼仪之地：最重要的朝会在前三大殿举行，后三大殿则在操办皇家婚礼时方才启用。因而，它们鲜有机会使用，功能几乎只是象征性的。

2. Other Groups in the Forbidden City

To the left and right, or east and west, of the two Triads of ceremonial halls are numerous smaller ensembles within the confines of the Forbidden City. Consisted of several courtyards and surrounded by high walls, each of such an ensemble is a separate unit by itself. Such walled ensembles are "apartments" for the everyday living of members of the imperial family. To each person—an empress dowager, an empress, a concubine, a prince or a princess—or, rarely, to two or three persons is assigned such an "apartment." Such arrangements reflect most vividly the demand imposed by the rules in court life for the highest degree of exclusiveness or isolation, not only with the outside world of common people, but even from each other of the family. The impression one gets today from these luxurious "apartments" is that they were once upon a time nothing but beautiful, gilded "cells" for the life-term

imprisonment of those unfortunate blue-blooded "inmates."

〔B〕Dwelling of the People

The palaces in Peking are by no means the norm exemplifying the dwelling houses of the great mass of people. In a classed society, needless to say, the best part of the working people's labor is robbed and enjoyed by the ruling-exploiting class. So, aside from the imperial palaces, outstanding buildings in the towns and countries were usually those of the landlords, officials and well-to-do. As a rule, these dwellings are also composed of courtyards and surrounded by walls. But in different localities, under different natural conditions and social requirements as well as possibilities in technical and material supplies, great variation is found. But in the countries, especially in South China, the "orthodox" plan arrangement of courtyards and symmetry is not so strictly followed. Irregularity in planning is found everywhere. The construction also shows tendencies towards lightness.

In Peking, the average dwelling house is planned with one or several courtyards, with buildings on three or four sides. The construction is usually in strict accordance with the standards set by the Ministry of Construction in the eighteenth century. The buildings forming the quadrangle are detached from each other and so are usually arranged that they do not obstruct each other's view or sunshine. Thus the courtyards also function as very pleasant "outdoor living rooms."

2．紫禁城里的其他建筑群　在前后三大殿的东西两侧，分别是紫禁城里众多的小型宫殿群。每组宫殿都自成一体，各由几个庭院构成，并被高墙环绕。这些高墙之内的宫殿是皇室成员的寝宫。皇太后、皇后、嫔妃、皇子或公主都独居一间，偶尔也有两三位皇室成员共用一处的情况。这种布局安排，生动地反映了宫廷生活准则中对最高级别的特权亦或说隔离的需要，不仅体现了皇家同外界隔绝，还体现了皇亲之间的相互孤立。如今，人们从这些奢华的寝宫看出，它们历史上只是漂亮豪华的、终身禁锢着不幸有着皇家血统之人的“金丝鸟笼”。

〔2〕百姓居所

北京城内普通大众的居所与宫殿却差之千里。在阶级社会里，劳动人民的成果无疑被统治阶级、剥削阶级掠夺和享用了。因此，除帝王宫

殿之外，城里乡间耀眼的建筑通常也是那些地主、官僚及富豪的宅第。通常，这些建筑也由数个庭院构成，并被高墙环绕。但由于位于不同的地点，自然条件、社会要求及工艺和材料的限制，建筑格局上有很大的差异。但在农村，尤其是南方，正统的庭院和对称规划格局并没有得到严格遵守。不规则的构造到处可见，而营造也倾向于简洁轻巧的风格。

北京城里的普通民居包含一个或几个院落，周围三面或四面建有房屋。营造通常都严格依据了18世纪内务府内工部（后改称营造司）的规定。构成四合院的各房屋互不相连，所以通常互不遮挡视线或采光。因此，院子也担当起了宜人的“露天客厅”的作用。

In the towns and countries, less attention is paid to the formal arrangement of the buildings and to the size and shape of the courtyards. In North China, where the rainy season is short, buildings in the same ensemble are, as a rule, detached from each other like those in Peking. But in the rainy south, very often the buildings on all three or four sides of the courtyard are joined up into a continuous whole, or, when detached, connected with each other by verandas. An old residence in Shanghai is typical of this kind of arrangement.

In the North China plain, dwellings are usually only one story in height. But in certain places in the south and southwestern provinces, houses of two or three stories are quite common. The mansion of a former official in Yungding, Fujian Province is an ensemble composed of buildings of different story heights. In the Province of Yunnan, as in the typical residence of Kunming, the two story height is the norm. In the latter case, the plan of the house is usually arranged into a very compact square, leaving a small courtyard in the center, while the exterior is treated with rather forbidding walls relieved with a few small windows.

It is in the farm houses in South China that one finds the highest degree of flexibility in planning. One excellent example is the former home of Comrade Mao Zedong in Xiangtan, Hunan Province. The house is located at the foot of a gentle hill, facing a pond in front. The living quarters is in the form of an asymmetrical "U," part of it two stories in height and tile-roofed, while one leg of the "U" is lower and thatch-roofed. Adjacent to the other leg is a service yard in which are located the flour mill, cow barn, pig style, etc. It is to be noticed that here the enclosed courtyard idea is completely discarded. There is neither the quadrangle nor the forbidding walls. The house is comfortably in harmony with nature and presents an appearance of cozy

picturesqueness. Farm houses of this character are quite common in the regions south of the Yangzi River.

〔C〕Cave Dwellings

In the loess districts in North China, especially at places where the terrain is worn by nature into steep ravines, cave dwelling is quite common. The caves are usually dug horizontally into the wall or cliff of the loess like a tunnel. The interior is vaulted with brick masonry and the open end is closed by a wall with a door and a window. Cave dwellings have the advantage of being warm in the winter and cool in the summer. A "house" or family may consist of several such caves, but they are usually placed parallel to each other without interior communications.

至于小城小市和乡间郊野的建筑，更加不注重房屋合乎规格的布局及庭院的大小与形状。华北地区的雨季较短，同一组群的房屋，和北京城里的一样，通常也是互不相连的。但在雨季较长的江南地区，院子里四周的或三面的房屋是连为一体的，或者即使隔开也由走廊相连。上海的老房子就是这种格局的典型。

华北平原的民居通常是单层的。但在华南或西南诸省，却常见两三层的房子。福建省永定某位官员的府邸是由数座层高不同的房屋构成的客家土楼。至于云南典型的民居，以昆明为例，则以两层楼最为常见。其构造整体为紧凑的正方形，中间是天井，而外围则是仅有几扇小窗的高墙。

中国南方的农家院设计体现了建筑规划中最大程度的灵活性。一个典型例子便是毛泽东同志在湖南湘潭的故居。它位于起伏和缓的小山脚下，并面朝池塘。居住房屋呈非对称的马鞍型，一侧为两层的瓦顶楼，而另一侧则为低矮的茅草屋。楼房旁边是个农家场院，里面有磨房、牛栏、猪圈等。值得注意的是，庭院围合的思想在这里完全没有体现出来，既不用四合院的形式，又没有森严的高墙环绕。整个房屋与自然非常和谐，展现出温馨生动的场景。这种类型的农家院在江南非常普遍。

〔3〕窑洞

在华北的黄土高原地区，尤其是地表被侵蚀成险壑的沟谷之处，窑洞便很常见。窑洞通常水平打入黄土崖壁中，有如隧道。内部用砖石砌成拱顶，出入口的那堵墙有门有窗。窑洞有冬暖夏凉的好处。一家可由

几个这样的窑洞构成，但通常窑洞并排，之间并不打通相连。

V. Religious Architecture

Cave Temples

The earliest remains of Buddhist architecture existing in China today are the cave temples. Unquestionably the conception was imported from India, having its prototypes in Karli, Ajanta and elsewhere in India. Although rock-cut tombs were already hewn during the Han Dynasty, possibly shortly after the beginning of the Christian era, and some of them given architectural treatment, nevertheless they were used exclusively for the dead. Although cave dwellings, like those just mentioned above, undoubtedly were in use even before the hewing of the rock-cut tombs, yet they made no pretension for monumentality. It was not until the arrival of the Indian idea that the cave ascended to architectural prominence.

In the middle of the fourth century AD, Buddhist believers started hewing caves as places for worship, and the practice was continued till the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644). The high tide was reached during the Northern Wei, Northern Qi, Sui and Tang Dynasties, from the middle of the fifth to the later part of the ninth centuries, assuming the scale of a nationwide "movement" of great popularity. It was only during the earlier years, approximately up till the middle of the seventh century, that the caves were treated architecturally. Gradually the idea of opening up a cave was replaced by that of carving niches on the rock cliffs and became mere objects of sculpture. Architecturally speaking, the most important caves are those at Dunhuang, Gansu Province, Yungang, Shanxi Province, the Maiji Mountains, Tianshui, Gansu Province, Tianlong Shan, Taiyuan, Shanxi Province and Xiangtang Shan, Cixian, Hebei Province.

In most of these caves, with the exception of the last mentioned, the architectural treatment show surprisingly little influence form India and the architecture is essentially Chinese. The only noticeable indications of foreign influence are the concept of the caves itself and the Greco-Buddhist motifs in the ornaments, such as the acanthus leaf, the egg-and-dart, the swastika, the

garland, the bead, etc. These motifs have enriched, and have since taken their permanent positions in, the vocabulary of Chinese ornamental motifs.

The architecture of these caves may be studied from two aspects: firstly, the caves themselves, including the architectural treatment of the exterior and interior; and, secondly, contemporary timber and masonry architecture depicted in the reliefs decorating the walls of the caves. Among the latter are depicted numerous halls and pagodas, replicas of the structures that once rose in great numbers all over the plains and hills of North and Central China.

伍 宗教建筑

佛窟

中国如今尚存的最早佛教建筑是佛窟。这种理念当然是从印度引进的，其原型如印度的卡尔利、阿旃陀及其他处的佛窟。汉朝时，可能是公元纪年开始后不久，已有石刻的墓穴，其中一些也有人工营造处理的痕迹，但都是为逝者而建。如前所提，尽管窑洞在石刻墓穴出现之前就已存在了，但当时却没有张扬。直到印度佛教的思想传入之后，石窟才上升到建筑的高度。

4世纪中期，佛教徒开始为宗教信仰而开凿洞窟，这一举措一直延续到明朝（公元1368—1644年）；从5世纪中叶至9世纪末，即在北魏、北齐、隋朝以及唐朝等朝代达到高潮，在全国掀起了大规模的信佛造佛“运动”。但也只是在约至7世纪中期之前的早期，洞窟的建筑风格才有所讲究。之后，在崖壁上雕刻的佛龛逐渐取代了向内开凿的洞窟，并发展成为纯粹的雕塑的创作对象。从建筑角度上讲，最重要的石窟是甘肃省的敦煌石窟、山西省的云冈石窟、甘肃天水的麦积山石窟、山西太原的天龙山石窟以及河北磁县的响堂山石窟。

除上段提到的最后一个响堂山石窟之外，这些石窟的建筑风格很少体现印度的影响，而主要是中国风格。唯一明显受到外国影响的标志，便是石窟的概念本身以及饰品中的希腊—佛教图案，例如莨苕叶纹饰、卵锚饰、万字饰、花环纹饰、串珠纹饰等。这些图案丰富了中国装饰图案的语汇，并自此占据了永久性的地位。

这些石窟的建筑手法，可从两方面加以研究：首先是石窟本身，包

括外部和内部的建筑处理；其次是装饰石窟墙体用的浮雕所描绘的同时期的木材及石材建筑。后者包括所绘大殿和佛塔，摹仿了曾经风靡于华北平原和华中山区的建筑风格。

These caves have preserved in stone faithful copies of the wooden architecture of their time. Among the salient characteristics we notice that the columns in most cases are octagonal, with capitals in the shape of a dou (the block in the dougong). Above the capital is placed the architrave, which, in turn, is to receive the principal dou of the set of dougong. This arrangement was in later ages modified by mortising the architrave directly onto the upper end of the column, thus making the dou on the column to function at the same time as the principal dou of the set of dougong.

In the architectural treatment of these caves, the element most informative to posterity is the presentation of the timber construction in stone carving. Here we notice that the dougong is ever the dominant decorative feature. The aesthetic potentialities of the structural system were by this time so much…

这些石窟忠实地保留了当时的木质建筑的风格。我们注意到的最明显的特点，便是柱头呈斗状的八边形立柱的运用。在柱头之上是过梁，用来承托斗拱中的主斗。这一组配方式后来经过修改，用榫将过梁与柱头直接联系起来。这样，柱头的斗状部分就类似于斗拱中斗的构件而且发挥着同样的作用。

这些石窟的建筑处理对后世最大的意义，在于以石雕形式再现了木结构建筑的风格。我们在此注意到，斗拱始终主要起着装饰性的作用。这一构件体系此时已充分显示出其美学蕴涵……

（郑文博 任小玫 译 曾俊伟 校）

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[1] 半坡遗址分为居住、制陶、墓葬三个区，涉及的房屋遗迹、圈栏、窖穴、陶窑、墓葬等，均在英文术语"pit"的覆盖范围之内——任小玫注。

[2] 阙是从防卫性的“观”演变而来的一种表示威仪和等级名分的建筑，由于双阙孤植而“中间阙然为道”，因而称“阙”——任小玫注。

[3] “如跂斯翼，如矢斯棘，如鸟斯革，如翚斯飞，君子攸跻。” 这是《诗经》中对宫室建筑的描述，详见《小雅•斯干》。由此可知西周大屋顶已引人注目，但不知有无翼角——李革胜注。

[4] 根据“匠人营国”的制度，除皇城以外，居住区分为国宅与闾里两部分。“国宅”指王公贵族和朝廷重臣居住的地方，一般都环绕在王城左右或前后。“闾里”则是一般平民居住的地方，但也是分等级的，较上层的从地理位置上看也是对称分布于皇城的东西两侧不远的地方——任小玫注。

[5] 木材加工远比石料快，加上唐宋以后使用了类似今天的建筑模数制的方法（宋代用“材”，清代用“斗口”），各种木构件的式样也已定型，因此可同时加工，制成后再组合拼装——任小玫注。

[6] 欧洲人用来表示中国的“塔”所用的"pagoda"一词来源存疑。很有可能pa-go-da只是三个中文字母的摹仿标音：ba（八）、go（角）和ta（塔）。因此，pagoda音为bagota，即“八角塔”——作者注。

[7] The li is a Chinese lineal measure equivalent to 500 meters. The li of the Zhou Dynasty is estimated to be about 440 meters long. 里是中国的长度计量单位，每里相当于500米，周朝时则约为440米——作者注。

[8] 意思是说，帝王都城的规制是城市平面应当见方九里，各边城门大小三个。城内街道划分成九纵九横。纵向街道宽度应为能同时行驶九辆马车。宫殿的左边是祖庙，右边是社稷。宫殿前面是群臣朝拜的地方，后面则是市场——任小玫注。

[9] 《周礼•天官》中就有此规定：“唯王建国，辨方正位”——任小玫注。

[10] 从战国到北宋初年，都城实行的是坊市制；北宋中期以后，采用的则是街巷制。至于文中所提的“集市区”，即隋代的“都会市”和“利人市”，各用两坊地的面积，因此作者形容其“面积宽敞”。都会市在朱雀街东侧，唐代称为“东市”；利人市在朱雀街西，唐代称为“西市”。东、西两市是商肆集中的商业区——任小玫注。

[11] 明朝初期，曾建都应天（今江苏南京）。1927年，南京国民政府成立。此后直至1949年，除1932年“一·二八事变”后短期迁都洛阳和全面抗战爆发后迁都重庆之外，南京一直作为国都——任小玫注。

[12] 在色彩应用上，故宫完全反映了“五行”思想：宫墙、殿柱用红色，红属火，属光明正大；屋顶用黄色，黄属土、属中央，皇帝必居中；皇宫东部屋顶用绿色，属东方木绿，属春，用于皇子居住——曾俊伟注。

A Han Terracotta Model of a Three-story House

一个汉代的三层楼陶制明器[1]

〖年份不详〗

Like most people of the ancient civilizations, the Chinese believed in the life after death. He did not think that the soul would come back to the same body, as the Egyptians, but that the deceased was to live in another world where the daily life of this world would be led as usual. He would have to be living in a house, wearing clothes and eating the same grain as he did in his life of this side, and, in an important personage, he would be needing the service and attendance of servants.

The practice of human sacrifice was therefore not uncommon with the early Chinese. But the practice was apparently abandoned later, and, in its place, clay or wooden figures were used to accompany the dead; and, with the figures, undoubtedly all kinds of utensils necessary for a comfortable living.

Even as late as the seventh century BC, we find in *Cho Chuan*, the chronology of the state of Lu, recording the funeral of Chin Mu-kung: "Jen-hao, Court of Chin, died. The three sons of the Tze-chu family, Yen-hsi, Chung-hsing and Tsen-hu, were sacrificed as his attendants. All three were geniuses of Chin. The people were mournful over their death, and composed *The Poem of Huang-niao (Yellow Bird)*:

'If only their lives could be restored,

Let every man have hundred bodies.

…'"

About seventy years after this song was sung, Confucius was born (551 BC). This master's doctrines never touched anything outside of this world or

this life. He evaded all questions concerning the mysterious, such as ghosts, gods, death, etc. His mention of God has always been the vague Shang-ti or T'ien-ti. When he was asked on the question of spirits, his answers was "respect and keep away from them." One of his pupils asked about death, he again cunningly replied, "Not knowing life, what do I know of death?"

During the century after Confucius the Middle Kingdom was producing an amazing number of thinkers. And about the fifth generation after him was Mencius, whom the Sung scholars considered the orthodox of the Confucian school. Among the numerous quotations in *Mencius* is this isolated utterance of a curse: "May the originator of Yung (tomb figures) be forever void of descendants!" which is the greatest of the three infilialities. The cause of this curse is not explained, but it must be either that it was too mysterious and superstitious which was not Confucius' taste to practice, or that the consequent extravagance or its use was in conflict with Mencius' economic principles.

中国人和古代文明中的大多数人一样，也相信人死后有灵魂。他们不像埃及人那样，认为灵魂还会回到原有身体里，而是认为死者会生活在另一世界，那里的日常生活仍同在世时一样。他将会生活在一所住宅里，穿衣、吃饭一如生前，并且他如果是位重要人物，还需要照顾和陪侍的奴仆。

因此，在中国早期，以活人殉葬的做法并不少见。但是这种做法后来明显是废止了，而是代之以泥制或木制的人俑来陪伴死者，同人俑一起当然还有为生活舒适的各种必要用品。

甚至晚至公元前7世纪时，我们在鲁国的编年体史书《左传》中，还读到秦穆公葬仪的记载，说到秦穆公任好亡，子车氏三子——奄息、仲行、针虎——皆随而殉葬。这三个人都是秦国的良臣，时人感伤其死，乃制《黄鸟》诗篇，其中说：

“如可赎兮，人百其身。……”

这诗篇唱出后大约七十年，孔子诞生了（公元前551年），这位导师的学说，从未触及现世和今生以外的任何事物。他回避全部神秘的问题，如鬼、神、死亡等等。他提到神的时候，总是模糊的上帝或天帝。当被问到神鬼问题时，他的回答是：“敬鬼神而远之。”他的一位弟子问到死亡问题，他又一次巧妙地回答说：“未知生，焉知死？”

在孔子之后的世纪中，中国产生了大批的思想家。而孔子后大概经过五代人，出现了孟子，他被宋代学者尊为儒家的正宗传人。在《孟

子》书中大量的孟子语录里，有这么一句孤立的咒语，即：“始作俑（陪葬偶人）者，其无后乎？”而“无后”居三大不孝之首。这个诅咒的理由没有解释，但它很可能或是过于神秘和迷信，而与孔子的行事风格不合；或是使用过分与奢侈，而与孟子的节俭原则相背。

However, this art, which later flourished to its height during the T'ang Dynasty, was already widely practiced during the early half of the fourth century BC. Although we find no positive record of its practice before Mencius time, we may with fair justification date it considerably back, even earlier than Chin Mu-kung.

In spite of its popularity, the late Chou tomb utensils, pottery or wood, is yet little known to us. But of the next epoch—the Han—various kinds of funeral accompaniments had been unearthed and a great number of them distributed among these object are some small terracotta models of houses.

These models of houses are not uncommon in American museums. They represent from pig pens to palaces. Among these the new acquisition of the Fogg Museum of Harvard University is indeed a valuable example. Aesthetically it is not a masterpiece, but is of great importance to a student of architectural archaeology.

It is a three-story house or palace, measuring approximately 39½ inches in height. The terracotta is of a reddish buff color baked from the huang tu (yellow earth) that is common in North China. Each story is baked separately with the balcony or roof over it. Thus, the lower-story and the second-story balcony forms one section; the second-story and the third- story balcony another; and the third with the roof, another. It was glazed with a coat of green glaze, but now only a few flakes of silver gray glaze are visible. The original color is still recognizable where parts overhang allowing the dripping glaze to collect thick—such as the lower side of the tile ends. The whole house is built up from flat "boards" of clay, of a uniform thickness of approximately 3/8 of an inch, put together at angles. The joints are distinctly visible, and there is not a single bent or curved surface throughout. Where the short flight of steps is attached to the wall, we can still find traces of the scratched surfaces that were made to hole the two pieces securely together. The bracket and the corbels that support them seem to have been produced from molds. The two balconies are made from flat pieces with the open work cut out. The floors of the second and third stories or rather, in our case, the tops of the two lower sections have each a round hole about two inches in

diameter, probably for the convenience of the handling of the potter. The round windows on the side of each floor may be explained as an outlet for the hot air in the process of baking, and to prevent the thing from bursting in the kiln. The front window lattice on the second floor is likewise a cut-out piece, but the potter here failed as a draughtsman to lay out the crossing of laths neatly. The grille-like front of the box window on the third floor is produced by a mold.

然而，这种在唐代以后极为盛行的艺术，无论如何在公元前4世纪上半叶已经广为使用了。虽然我们尚未发现在孟子以前其被使用的确切记载，我们仍可以有充分理由推前其年代，甚至早于秦穆公。

尽管它早已普及，晚周墓穴中的陶制或木制的随葬品，我们迄今仍知之不多。但是属于下一个朝代——汉代的各式各样的随葬品已经出土，并且其中大量明器等已经散布在欧洲和美国的博物馆里了。其中最令人感兴趣的是一些陶制的房屋小模型。

这些房屋的模型（明器）在美国的博物馆中并不少见，从猪圈到宫室都有所体现。其中哈佛大学福格博物馆的新藏品确实是一件有价值的例子。从美学上说，它或许不是杰作，但是对于一位建筑考古的学者来说，则是非常重要的。

它是一座三层的住宅或宫室，高约39又1/2英寸。陶器是用中国北方普通的黄土烧成的，呈偏红的暗黄色。每一层楼都是连带着上面的阳台或屋顶一起分别烧成的。因此，底层和二层的阳台形成一部分；二层和三层的阳台是另一部分；三层带着屋顶是又一部分。它原涂有绿釉，但现在只有很少的银灰色残片尚能见到。而在陶器的釉子流淌聚集的部位，如瓦片的最底处，仍能辨认出原来的颜色。整个住宅是用平的泥“板”制成的，泥板的平均厚度约3/8英寸，将其以各种角度合在一起。结合处清晰可见，而且任何地方都没有一个折弯或曲面。在台阶与墙体的接触处，我们仍能发现刮平表面的痕迹，那是为了使两者牢固结合。托架和支承它的托臂好像是用模子制成的。两个阳台是用平片做成并切出栏杆孔眼。第二、三层的楼板，更确切说在我们这里是两个下面组件的顶部，各有一个约两英寸直径的圆孔，可能是为了陶工操作的方便。每层楼两侧的圆窗，可以解释为在烧制过程中的热气出口，以避免器物在窑内爆裂。二层楼前窗的网格也是切出来的，但是陶工在这里却没能像绘图员那样使交叉的窗棂排列匀整。三层正面的格栅似的盒窗是用模子制出的。

House models like this must have been produced in the great demand of

the surviving sons and daughters who were anxious to provide their parents with a comfortable lodging in the other world.

Architecturally it is of great significance. Of Han Dynasty architecture, no actual edifice has come down to our time, and a future discovery is not probable. In the few reliefs in the Wu Family Tombs near Chiahsiang Hsien, Shantung Province, palace of one, two, or even three stories were represented. But its drawing can give only a very vague idea of the appearance of the actual building. The other source of information is the numerous stone piers that form the monumental gateways leading to the roads of spirits of the Han tombs. These sculptural pieces almost invariably have each an elaborately carved top in the form of a cornice with a roof over it. It is an imitation of wooden structure and gives a fairly good idea of the system of construction. But the lower portion is a mere tablet, and tells nothing about the habitable part of a house.

The third source, in plastic form, is the clay models that were unearthed. Whether these houses were meant for the deceased to live in the other world or not is uncertain, but outwardly they are fairly good representations of the domestic architecture of its period.

This one in the Fogg Museum has a unique combination of a number of the architectural elements. We may without much doubt assume that there is not more than one room in each story. The first floor, as we may call it, has two doorways in the front. These two doorways open out to a small porch landing which is approached by a short flight of steps running parallel to the front facade. The spirit of the deceased, who is to go in and out of these doorways by way of this porch is prevented from falling over it by a balustrade on two sides. This balustrade on this small landing, as well as the two larger balconies on the two upper floors, distinctly shows its wood structure. It consists, in its scheme, of three horizontals—a hand rail, a base rail, and an intermediate piece—supported by studs at certain intervals. Where the joints occur, nail heads are shown in the form of decorative metal buttons. Where the balustrade of the landing meets the steps, it is ingeniously eased off in a downward curve, as can be seen in the illustration. This interesting way of ending railing is represented also in the Han model house in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. It probably was a common treatment of the subject by the architects in those days. At this point on the railing is a peculiar piece of horizontal board of plank, apparently nailed

down in the middle on top of the railing. It may be a piece supposed to be pivoted on this rail like a turn-stile, and when turned over, could be locked, so that the advance of any intruding ghosts might be barred.

这种房屋模型想必是为满足孝子贤孙们想给先人提供舒适阴宅的急切愿望而生产的。

在建筑学上，它极有意义。关于汉代建筑，没有真正的大型建筑物保存至今，并且未来的发现也不大可能。在山东省嘉祥县附近武氏祠的少数浮雕中，刻画了单层、双层甚至三层的宫室，但这种描绘只能给予实际建筑形象以非常模糊的概念。另外的信息来源是汉墓神道前形成纪念性入口的石阙。这些雕刻的石阙几乎都有带屋顶檐口形式的精心雕刻的顶部，是木结构的仿制品，而且相当准确地表达出结构系统。但是下面的部分则只不过是块平板，完全没有表现出住宅的使用部分。

第三个在造型上的来源，则是出土的陶制模型（明器）。这些住宅是否原本是为死者准备的在阴间的生活之处虽然难以肯定，但是从外观上，它们却是该时代居住建筑的极好表现。

福格博物馆的这个明器，是许多建筑要素的独特组合器。我们可以不用过多怀疑地设想：它每层至多只有一个房间。我们称之为首层处，前面有两个出入口。这两个出入口开向一座小的门廊平台，从平行于前立面的几步台阶可以通至其上。自这个门廊出入的死者鬼魂，由两面的扶手栏杆保护着，以防其跌落。小平台的栏杆也像上边两层较大的阳台一样，明显是模仿木结构的。它的组成包括三条水平带——一扶手、一基座以及一中间部分——由一定间隔的立柱支承。当出现结合点处，则有表现装饰性金属圆纽形状的钉头。在平台扶手栏杆到台阶处时，巧妙地变成向下的曲线，如插图中可以看到的（见后）。这种结束扶手的有趣方法，也同样表现在宾夕法尼亚大学博物馆所藏的汉代明器上。这大概是当时建筑师们的一般处理方法。在扶手的这个点上是一块特殊的水平板，表面上钉在扶手顶部的中间。它可能是可以在扶手上旋转的一块板，像一个转梃，转动后能将平台锁上，将任何闯入的恶鬼拒之门外。

The house itself is shown in an indication of, if we may call it, "half timber construction," that is, a framework of uprights and lintel is first constructed, and the wall spaces between are filled in with solid masonry or merely plaster on lath. The latter case is still commonly practiced in Japan today, and this model is undoubtedly the miniature of a near ancestor of the architectural forms which were introduced to the Islands at the Suiko period.

The two doorways leading to the porch are expressed structurally with

jambs on the sides and a common lintel over head. One of them is left ajar, and the other closed. The closed door is well rendered by a few parallel vertical lines suggesting a wood texture. The open door is slightly lower than the closed one, probably due to the inaccuracy of the potter.

The two side walls have each a round hole like a bull's eye window. The same are also found on the two upper stories. It is possible to explain it as an escape for hot air to prevent the house from bursting during the process of baking. But they show a very consistent architectural scheme not to be overlooked.

On the front wall are two projecting corbels, flanking the two doors. On them are the two brackets which support the second floor balcony. One of these corbels is cleverly merged with the narrow side of the balustrade of the landing. The precise form of these brackets is not yet known to us. They are certainly not the same thing that is commonly seen in Chinese and Japanese architecture, both ancient and modern. It is an upright supporting a horizontal on top, but to assure its rigidity, another horizontal is put across the upright at a little distance down, and the ends of the horizontals are held in place by means of some almond shaped "nuts." The two horizontals are decorated with a simple panel, more likely meant to be painted on, and the short stub between them has a monster's mask with a large ring in its mouth. The short piece supporting the lower horizontal is decorated with a leaf form. These brackets were made from a mold.

Immediately above these brackets is the second-floor balcony, showing the same structural detail as the smaller one underneath; but it is carried around and it overhangs the front and the sides of the house. It has three bays in front and the ends are strengthened by an extra post, with the intermediate horizontal stopping only at the inner post. Nail heads in form of bosses are used at joints, and, on the base rail, on axis of the bays. This balcony, the ones above and beneath it, as well as the timbers framed in the walls of the first floor, are all decorated with lines crossing each other to make a diamond shape, which is characteristic of many other decorated sculptures of the Han Dynasties.

这个住宅本身表现的样式，我们或可称之为“半木构架”——即先造起由立柱和梁组成的框架，再将其间的墙体部位以实砌体或板条抹灰填充。后面这种作法，在今天的日本仍然普遍实践着，而这个明器无疑是近于初始形式的建筑小模型，该种建筑形式是在推古时期被日本岛国引

进的。

通向门廊的两个门，从结构上表现出两边有门框和顶上有一通梁。一个门半开着，另一个关着。关着的门刻画入微，以几条平行的垂直线表现着本材质感。开着的门稍低于关着的门，这可能由于陶工做得不够精确。

两侧墙上各有一个像圆窗似的洞口。同样在上面两层也有。它可能解释为热气出口，以防模型在焙烧的过程中爆裂。但是它们也显示出一种不应忽视的非常协调的建筑设计。

在正面墙上，双门的两旁是两个突出的托臂，其上是两个托架支承着二层阳台。托臂之一聪明地并入了平台扶手栏杆的短边。这些托架的精确形式我们尚不清楚。它们肯定与古代或现代的中国和日本一般见到的斗拱不是同样的东西。它是一根直立件顶上支承着一个水平件，但为了保证其刚性，又有另一水平件穿过垂直件放在稍下边，水平件尽端是用一些扁桃状的“坚果”来固定位置的。两个水平件以简单的镶板装饰，很像本应是上面涂色的，而在其间的短柱则有一个嘴里衔着大环的兽面。支承下面水平件的短件以叶形装饰。这些托架全用模子制成。

紧接在这些托架上的是二层阳台，同下面较小的平台一样表现着同样的结构细部；但是它是环绕房子四周的，并且悬挑在房子前面和边上。阳台在前面分成三个柱间，在端部则另有较粗的立柱加固，只是在内柱之间带有中间水平栏板。凸圆状的钉头用于连接点，在底横杆上和柱间轴线上。这个阳台，以及它上面和下面的阳台，同首层墙上的框架木材一样，都用互交成菱形的线装饰，它是汉代许多装饰性雕刻的特点。

The balustrades at the two ends of the building are left merely a smooth low wall, undecorated. The underside of the second-story balcony is decorated with a series of closely drawn parallel line suggesting the so-called combed line ornament.

There are still two riddles in this balcony which remain unsolved. First, the little extra boards at the corners of the railings, nailed down in the same manner as the "turn-stile" on the lower floor. An excuse for its presence is difficult to find. Second, the two lower corners of the balcony are smoothly sliced off. It is not likely to be a faithful reproduction of the structural detail, as the architects or carpenters of the Han would know well enough not to weaken an important joint. It is probably a potter's technicality. The balcony is much wider on the side than in front. The overhang is also braced at one

end to the wall by a diagonal piece. The second-story eave receives the same treatment.

The second story is quite different from the first. There is no doorway on any wall in spite of the balcony around it. There is only a rectangular window on the front, the frame of which projects slightly from the wall surface. Diagonals crossing each other make this a latticed opening. The wood frame and the lattice are ornamented with lines. The ornamental nail heads also appear on the window frame.

The walls of this story have no indication of the timber frame. Two brackets like those of the lower floor project from the wall, at the corresponding position supporting a roof, instead of the balcony, which comes over the roof.

The roof is very interesting. It shows only the tiles. The rafters underneath them are innocently forgotten by the potter. The tiles are apparently similar to those of the orient today. The tubular ridges, the supposed to be concaved spaces between them, the double crested hips, all are precisely the same as those of today. The tile ends are decorated with a simple design of two concentric circles; the band between them is divided into four quadrangles with a little boss in each. Inside of the inner circle is a slightly larger boss. The potter made the tubular ridges too thin for the end design so that the jointing of the two makes a clumsy shape resembling a horse's hoof.

The third or top story has a balcony exactly like that of the second. It is the same in every detail—even the curious corner board on the railing and the sliced off lower corners.

在建筑物两头的栏杆，则仅处于光溜无装饰的矮墙状态。二层阳台的底面以一系列刻画稠密的平行线加以装饰，使人想到所谓的齿纹饰。

这个阳台仍然有两个谜团没有解开：第一，附加的小板以首层栏杆上同样的方式钉在扶手角上，这难以找出其存在的理由。第二，阳台两个拐角的下边被整齐地切掉了。它不大可能是结构细部的忠实再现，因为汉代的建筑师或木工们也很清楚，不能削弱此重要节点。它大概是某位陶工的技术问题。侧面的阳台比正面的要宽得多。悬挑部分也由墙上伸出的斜撑加固。二层的挑檐也有同样的处理。

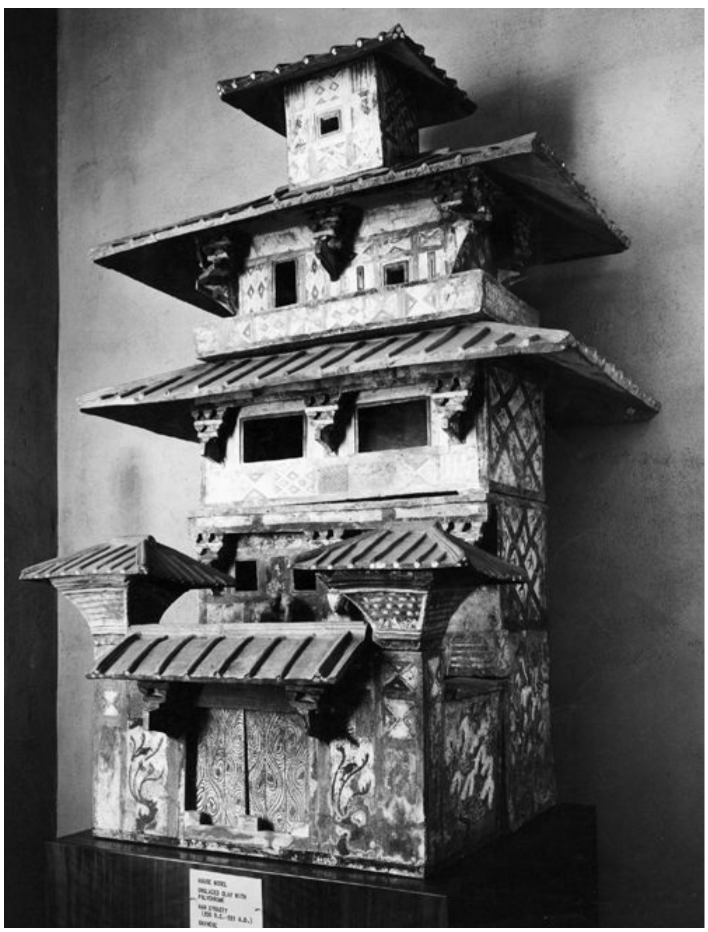
二层与首层完全不同。二层虽有阳台环绕，却在任何墙上全没有门。在正面上只有一个长方窗，其窗框稍稍突出于墙面。窗棂斜向交叉

而成为斜条格窗。木窗框和斜条全用细线装饰。装饰性钉头也出现在窗框上。

这层墙壁并未表现出木框架的迹象。两个托架像下层一样突出于墙面，而在原阳台的位置上托起了屋檐，阳台则在屋檐的上面。

屋檐非常有趣。它只表现着屋瓦，下面的椽子则被陶工无辜地省略了。屋瓦显然与今天东方的那些类似。筒形的脊背、其间想象应是下凹的空间、双顶饰的斜脊，全部同今天的一模一样。瓦端头（瓦当）简单设计成两个同心圆来装饰，两圆之间分成四个四边形，每个中间有个小凸圆饰，而在内圆的中心则是稍大的凸圆饰。陶工的筒形瓦垄做得太浅了，因而贴上圆形瓦当后成了不规矩的马蹄形了。

第三层或顶层的阳台极像第二层的那样，每个细部完全相同——甚至扶手上奇特的角处板和被切掉的下边拐角。



House model, unglazed clay with polychrome, Han Dynasty (206 BC–221 AD), Fogg Museum at Harvard University. 哈佛大学福格博物馆藏汉明器

This floor, too, is doorless, but it has two windows in front. One is a mere rectangular opening, the jambs of which are decorated with diamond cross lines. The other window has a curious cage masking the entire opening. It looks as if a box is put against the wall. The top is taken off, and the front is in the form of a grill or lattice. The enclosed space forms a protruded sill of considerable room. The sweet daughter of the house must have carefully caressed her delicate flowers planted in pots and placed on this sill, or else she must have leaned pensively over this high window meditating about some romantic Prince Charming that might one day come from a distant land to ask her father for her hand.

A pair of brackets is again placed at exactly the same position supporting the crowning roof. This one is not unlike the skirt-like roof dividing the two upper stories except that instead of carrying the balcony, the four sloping sides go up to meet in a ridge, which is in the form of a shallow crescent. The tubular ridges at the sides have no decorative tile ends, as on the second floor. The rear surface of the top roof is left simply plain, with a crude suggestion of the double crested hips. The Han potter, like some American architects of today, must have forgotten or purposely neglected the other three facades.

As a whole, the potter conceived the piece in terms of different architectural elements with no sense of scale whatsoever. The brackets are huge, and also the roof tiles. The balcony is much too narrow, and its railing is heavy. However, it is superfluous to criticize it from such a viewpoint. The innocence and naivety of this ancient craftsman is most entertaining.

The question of multi-story buildings may be of some interest. Although the trick of superposing one house over another was known to the ancient Chinese, the use of such for habitation is found only in a comparatively late date. Ch'in Shih-huang-ti's palace, the O-fang-kung is said to have a sitting capacity of ten thousand on the upper floor, and beneath it, a flag on a fifty-foot pole could be hoisted.

The chronology shows that the early Han emperors built quite a number of t'ai (towers), mainly for sporting or religious purpose. It is not until the great Han Wu-ti that the definite evidence of upper story living have been recorded. Not satisfied with merely a glorious long reign of over fifty years, he became desirous to find the elixir of life, and to get into communication with the immortals. Kung-shun Ch'ing the magician said that the immortals

loved living in lo (house of more than one story), so a number of them were ordered to be constructed. Kung-shun Ch'ing was charged to live in them with all ceremonial apparatus to wait for the visit of the immortals.

这层也没有门，但正面有两个窗户。一个不过是一长方形的开口，窗框饰以斜交线。另一个窗户则用奇怪的笼子遮住了整个窗口。它看上去像是个箱子反扣在墙上。它的顶板已经去掉，而正面像网或格栅。闭合的空间形成一间相当大的突出的窗台。这所住宅里的可爱小姐，曾经一定细心抚弄她摆在这个窗台上的娇嫩盆花，或者心事重重地斜倚在窗边，默想着浪漫的白马王子，他可能有朝一日，自远方来请求她的父亲把女儿嫁给他。

再一次置于相同位置上的一对托架，支承着屋面。它与将上面两层隔开的裙状屋檐样子相似，只是不再支承阳台，而是四面坡屋面向上汇于一条微呈新月形的房脊上。侧面的瓦垄没有像二层的屋檐那样有端头瓦当。屋顶的后坡表面是没有装饰的，双顶饰的斜脊也做得粗糙。汉代的陶工，也像今天某些美国的建筑师一样，一定是忘掉或有意忽略其他三个立面了。

从整体看，陶工在构想这些不同的建筑组件时，毫无尺度比例的概念。托架巨大，屋瓦也是这样。阳台过于狭窄，而其扶手却极粗。然而，用这种观点去批评它未免太过分。这位古代匠师的天真和质朴是最有趣的。

多层建筑物的问题可能有点意思。虽然古代中国人已知将房屋叠加起来的手法，而将其用于住房仅发现在较晚时期。据说秦始皇的宫殿（阿房宫）“上可以坐万人，下可以建五丈旗”。

史书记载：汉朝初年的皇帝们曾建了许多台，主要为游乐或宗教目的。直到汉武帝，才有住楼上的确切记载。他不满足于五十多年的盛世王朝，开始渴望长生不老，并且得与诸神交往。方士公孙卿进言说，诸神喜欢住在多层的楼上，因此遵旨建成了许多楼房。皇帝命公孙卿住于楼上，备好全部礼器，静待众神造访。

The reliefs from the Wu family tombs show a number of two- or three-story buildings. Generally the first floor is for service; the second for men, and other social and business affairs, as feast scenes are often shown; and the third is most logically assigned to women, as the sexes had always been most carefully separated since the earliest time.

This model is important for its completeness in showing the architectural elements. Of special significance is the use of brackets, which is

a unique feature of Chinese architecture. It must have originated back of history, far beyond the memory of the BC chroniclers.

Curious enough is that every house in the Han reliefs has columns, but none of our Han models has any trace of it. It is not a good excuse to say that the material is not fit for it, as we can see that house models with columns of later periods have been found. Our knowledge may have to stop here for the time being. Some future discoveries may help to throw more light on this, and many other problems. The secret remains always a secret until it is revealed.

武氏祠的浮雕上表现着许多二层或三层建筑物。一般讲，首层是作服务之用的；二层是为男人们提供的，并且是处理社会或其他事务之处，因为经常可见宴会情景；第三层最符合逻辑的是分配给妇女们，因为自古以来，男女从来就是严格分开的。

这个明器的重要性在于其表现建筑物各组成部分的完整性。尤其意义重大的是托架（斗拱）的使用，它是中国建筑中独有的特征。它肯定是大大早于有史书的时代所创始的。

十分奇怪的是：汉代浮雕中每个住宅都有柱子，但是在我们的汉代明器中却没有它的踪迹。如果说这种材料不宜于表现柱子，其理由似难成立，因为我们已经发现较晚时期的有柱子的明器。我们的理解目前仅止于此。某些未来的发现将可能帮助我们更多了解这个疑问以及其他许多问题。秘密在揭露之前总还是秘密。

（英若聪 译 程慕胜 校）

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[1] 本文为打字稿，现存清华大学建筑学院档案，估计作于梁思成先生第一次赴美留学期间——英若聪注。

Two Liao Structures of Tu-lo Ssu, Chi Hsien

蓟县独乐寺观音阁山门考[1]

〖1932〗

I. INTRODUCTION

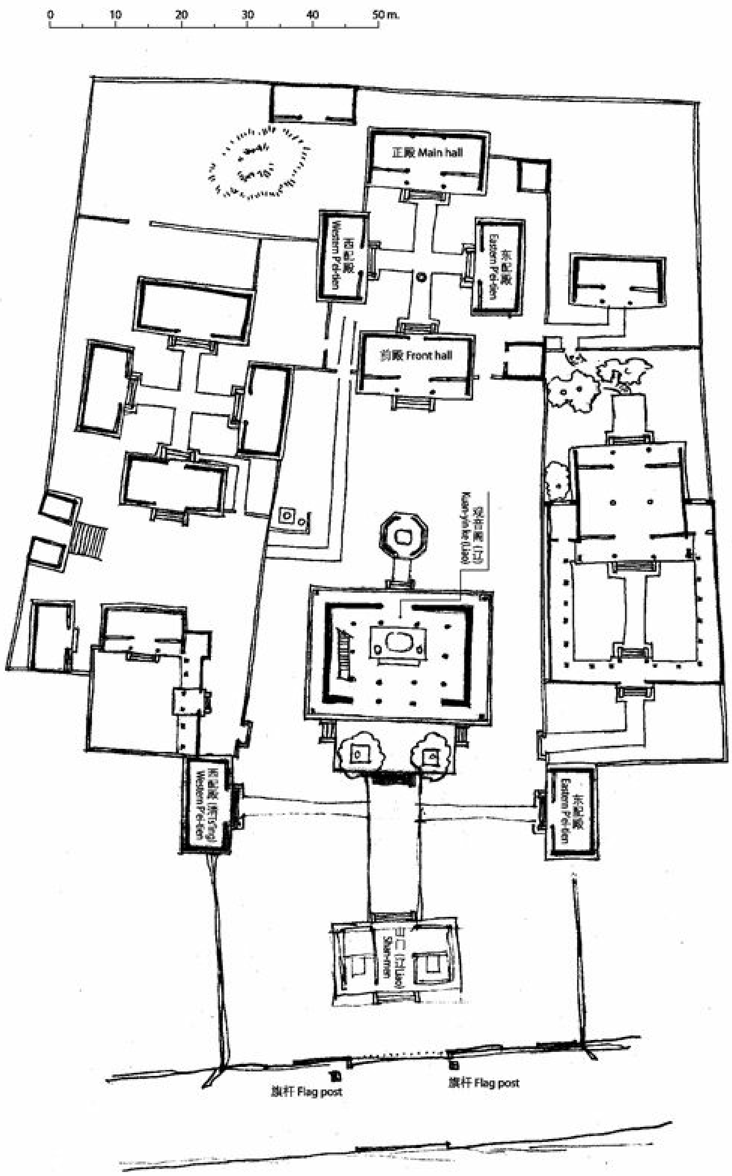
Records and descriptions of ancient Chinese architecture are often found in the classics and essays such as *The Kao-kung-chi of Chow-li*[2] , *The O-fang-kung Fu*[3] , *The Liang-tu Fu, The Liang-ching Fu,*[4] and *The Lo-yang Chia-lan Chi*[5] (Figure 1). In these the palaces and temples of old are described most beautifully and often in exquisite meter, but the impression the reader obtains is merely a hazy picture of the grandeurs, the intricate construction and the elaborate ornaments of these structures. The Ming and Ts'ing Dynasties have handed down more records of old palaces, among which the *Yuan-ku-kung Yi-lu*[6] , or *Recollections of the Old Yuan Palaces*, by Hsiao Hsun of the Ming Dynasty, is well known to Chinese scholars. Nevertheless, these records are no more than long lists of names of different buildings, with figures indicating their dimensions, and characters indicating their positions relative to the cardinal point.

壹 绪言

近代学者治学之道，首重证据，以实物为理论之后盾，俗谚所谓“百闻不如一见”，适合科学方法。艺术之鉴赏，就造形美术言，尤须重“见”。读跋千篇，不如得原画一瞥，义固至显。秉斯旨以研究建筑，始庶几得其门径。

我国古代建筑，征之文献，所见颇多，《周礼·考工记》、《阿房

宫赋》、《两都赋》、《两京赋》，以至《洛阳伽蓝记》（图1）等等，固记载详尽，然吾侪所得，则隐约之印象，及美丽之辞藻，调谐之音节耳。明清学者，虽有较专门之著述，如萧氏《元故宫遗录》，及类书中宫室建置之辑录，然亦不过无数殿宇名称，修广尺寸，及“东西南北”等字，以标示其位置，盖皆“闻”之属也。



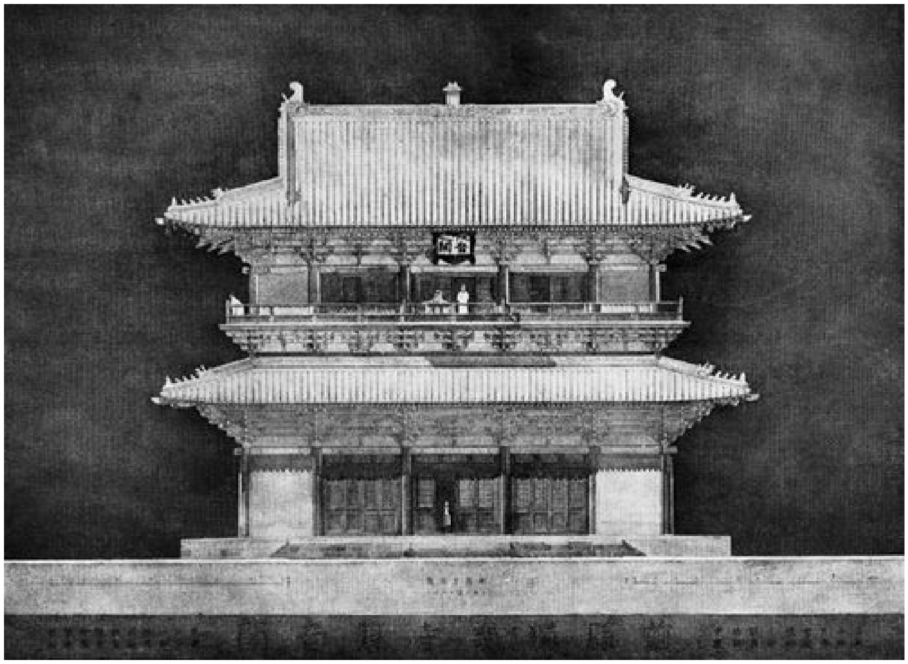
【1】Sketch of Tu-lo Ssu, Chi Hsien from The Lo-yang Chia-lan Chi. 蓟县独乐寺伽蓝配置略图

To obtain knowledge of the actual appearance of the architecture of its structure through reading these records is as difficult as to try to recognize a

person's face from a description. The study of ancient Chinese architecture, like all other plastic arts, must naturally be undertaken with the aid of actual specimens, and not merely through literature.

Wood has since time immemorial been the principal material used in Chinese buildings. It is used as a structural frame, and walls are filled in as "curtain walls." The system is identical with that of the reinforced concrete or steel frame systems of today. When wood is used to form the structural frame, its durability becomes the one factor that determines the length of life of the building. Unfortunately it is an impermanent material and thus a wooden edifice of ancient period is rare and therefore especially valuable. But, under favorable circumstances, wood can easily last over a thousand years or more. The Scientific Expedition to the Northwest that returned to Peiping in 1931, brought back from Chinese Turkestan numerous wooden chien, or thin sheets of wood, of the Han Dynasty, all in a remarkable state of preservation. As they are all over two thousand years old, they can testify to the durability of wood under certain circumstances.

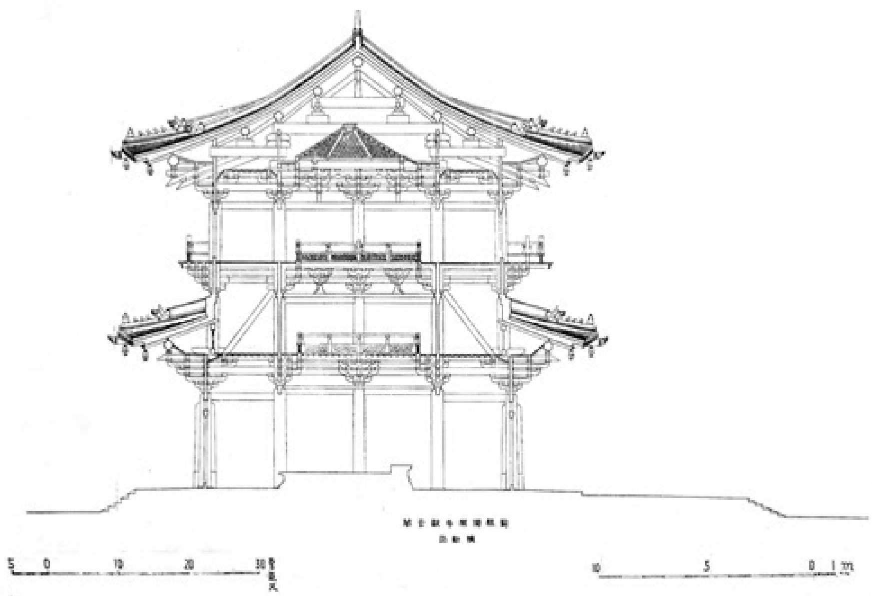
【2】Bronze statue of Veda. 韦驮铜像



【3】Facade of south of Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁南面立面图

读者虽读破万卷，于建筑物之真正印象，绝不能有所得，犹熟诵《史记》“隆准而龙颜，美须髯，左股有七十二黑子”，遇刘邦于途，而不之识也。造形美术之研究，尤重斯旨，故研究古建筑，非作遗物之实地调查测绘不可。

我国建筑，向以木料为主要材料。其法以木为构架，辅以墙壁，如人身之有骨节，而附皮肉。其全部结构，遂成一种有机的结合。然木之为物，易朽易焚，于建筑材料中，归于“非永久材料”之列，较之铁石，其寿殊短；用为构架，一旦焚朽，则全部建筑，将一无所存，此古木建筑之所以罕而贵也。然若环境适宜，保护得法，则千余年寿命，固未尝为不可能。去岁西北科学考察团自新疆归来，得汉代木简无数，率皆两千年物，墨迹斑斓，纹质如新。固因沙漠干燥，得以保存至今；然亦足以证明木寿之长也。



【4】Cross section of Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁断面图

The oldest known examples of wooden architecture are the few Suiko (593–628 AD) structures of Horyuji in Nara, Japan, built some thirteen hundred years ago by Koreans, or even possibly Chinese builders who went to Japan across the Channel from Korea. The climatic conditions of Japan are not particularly advantageous for the preservation of wooden architecture. But the comparative rarity of civil wars, as well as the love for art and antiquity on the part of the Japanese fighting nobility may account for the comparatively large number of wooden structures preserved in Japan. While in China, if any structure escaped destruction at a change of dynasty, it was a matter of sheer luck. Chinese conquerors usually followed the example of Hsiang Yü who set fire to the palaces of the Ch'in Emperors, and the flames, it is recorded in the histories, lasted for three months.

至于木建筑遗例，最古者当推日本奈良法隆寺飞鸟期诸堂塔，盖建于我隋代，距今已千三百载[7] 。然日本气候湿润，并非特宜于木建筑之保存，其所以保存至今日者，实因日本内战较少，即使有之，其破坏亦不甚烈，且其历来当道，对于古物尤知爱护，故保存亦较多。至于我国，历朝更迭，变乱频仍，项羽入关而“咸阳宫室火三月不灭”，二千年来革命元勋，莫不效法项王，以逞威风，破坏殊甚。在此种情形之下，古建筑之得幸免者，能有几何？故近来中外学者所发现诸遗物中，其最古者寿亦不过八百九十余岁[8] ，未尽木寿之长也。

蓟县独乐寺观音阁及山门，皆辽圣宗统和二年重建，去今（民国二

十一年）已九百四十八年，盖我国木建筑中已发现之最古者。以时代论，则上承唐代遗风，下启宋式营造，实研究我国建筑蜕变上重要资料，罕有之宝物也。

翻阅方志，常见辽宋金元建造之记载；适又传闻阁之存在，且偶得见其照片，望而知其为宋元以前物。平蓟间长途汽车每日通行，交通尚称便利。二十年秋，遂有赴蓟计划。行装甫竣，津变爆发，遂作罢。至二十一年四月，始克成行。实地研究，登檐攀顶，逐部测量，速写摄影，以纪各部特征。

Recent researches and discoveries have not yet revealed edifices of wood over a thousand years old in China. Until recently, the oldest known wooden edifice was the Library of Hsia Hua-yen Ssu, Ta-t'ung, built in 1038. But in April, 1932, the author had the good fortune to discover two Liao structures among the buildings of the Tu-lo Ssu of Chi Hsien, in the Province of Hopeh. The Tu-lo Ssu is a temple built in 984 AD—the second year of T'ung-ho, of the reign of Emperor Sheng-tsung of the Liao Dynasty which was contemporary with the Northern Sung Dynasty.

The two above-mentioned buildings are significant not only because they are the oldest wooden structures yet discovered in China, but because stylistically they show the transition between the T'ang and Sung styles, a rare feature that reveals a most interesting chapter in the history of Chinese architecture.

归来整理，为寺史之考证、结构之分析及制度之鉴别。后二者之研究方法，在现状图之绘制；与唐、宋（《营造法式》），明、清（《工程做法则例》）制度之比较；及原状图之臆造（至于所用名辞，因清名之不合用，故概用宋名，而将清名附注其下）。计得五章，首为总论，将寺阁主要特征，先提纲领；次为寺史及现状；最后将观音阁山门作结构及制度之分析。

除观音阁、山门外，更得观音寺辽塔一座，附刊于后。

此次旅行，蒙清华大学工程学系教授施嘉炀先生[9] 惠借仪器多种，蓟县王子明先生及蓟县乡村师范学校校长刘博泉，教员王慕如、梁伯融，工会杨雅园诸先生多方赞助，予以种种便利。而社员邵力工、舍弟梁思达同行，不唯沿途受尽艰苦，且攀梁登顶，不辞危险，尤为难能。归来研究，得内子林徽因在考证及分析上，不辞劳，不惮烦，予以协作。又蒙清华大学工程教授蔡方荫先生[10] 在比较计算上予以指示，始得此结果。而此次调查旅行之可能，厥为社长朱先生[11] 之鼓励及指导

是赖，微先生之力不及此，尤思成所至感者也。

II. General Characteristics

Of the Liao structures of Tu-lo Ssu, only the three-storied Kuan-yin Hall and the Shan-men or Main Entrance still remain. These are not only the oldest examples of wooden architecture known to us, but, as already stated, they are especially important in showing the transition between the T'ang and Sung periods and thus very valuable to the structure of Chinese architecture. The second year of T'ung-ho corresponds to the first year of Yung-hsi, of the reign of Tai-tsung, second emperor of the Northern Sung Dynasty. This was the 24th year of the Sung Dynasty and only 77 years since the overthrow of the T'ang sovereignty.

It was not until 116 years after the erection of these edifices that the famous *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*[12] was first published. It is interesting to note how much nearer style of the Tu-lo Ssu structures are to the late T'ang than to the matured Sung style. Li Chieh, the author of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*, better known as Li Ming-chung, was imperial architect to the Emperor Hui-tsung, who was a ruler of no high ability although he was an artist of the first rank. He was later captured by the Chin Tartars, who had by this time conquered the Liao Tartars and become the invaders of the northern border of the Sung domain. With the capture of Ch'in-tsung, Hui-tsung's son and successor, the Northern Sung Dynasty ended in 1127.

贰 总论

独乐寺观音阁及山门，在我国已发现之古木建筑中，固称最古，且其在建筑史上之地位，尤为重要。统和二年为宋太宗之雍熙元年，北宋建国之第二十四年耳。上距唐亡仅七十七年，唐代文艺之遗风，尚未全靡；而下距《营造法式》之刊行尚有百十六年。《营造法式》实宋代建筑制度完整之记载，而又得幸存至今日者。观音阁、山门，其年代及形制，皆适处唐宋二式之中，实为唐宋间建筑形制蜕变之关键，至为重

要。谓为唐宋间式之过渡式样可也。

The *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* is the most complete treatise on architecture of the Northern Sung style, a Vignola and a Kidder combined. A comparison of the Kuan-yin Hall and the Shan-men of the Tu-lo Ssu with the specifications and designs of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* has revealed to us many hitherto unknown architectural characteristics besides illustrating many statements in the book which have been almost meaningless to us before.

The general arrangement of the whole temple during the Liao Dynasty is unknown. From the old records we learn that Buddhist temples of the Sui and T'ang Dynasties were usually divided into a number of cloisters or yuans surrounded on all sides by colonnades. Examples of such arrangements can still be found in the Horyuji at Nara, Japan. But in the case of Tu-lo Ssu, one can now find no trace of the colonnade that must have once connected the Shan-men with the rear part of the temple. The P'ei-tien or Flanking Hall in front of the Kuan-yin Hall along its east and west sides, as well as the several courtyards to the rear, are all reconstructions. Neither is the courtyard to the east in its original condition as in 1753, during the reign of Emperor Ch'ien-lung of the Ts'ing Dynasty, it was demolished to make room for the erection of an imperial apartment which stood ready for the occasional visits of the Emperor. These changes necessarily affected the general parti of the temple. Only the Hall and the Shan-men survived in these disasters.

The most important characteristic of the Hall and the Shan-men is its striking resemblance to the architecture so faithfully represented in the mural paintings of the Grottoes of Tun-huang (Figure 30). This architecture is mostly of the late T'ang or Wu-tai periods, antedating the Tu-lo Ssu structures by a hundred years or so. In these paintings there are representations of halls, one or two stories in height, with heavy overhanging eaves supported by a system of tou-kung, or brackets, of gigantic proportion. The exterior appearance of both the Hall and the Shan-men is curiously similar to the buildings in the paintings, while it is radically different from not only the Ts'ing buildings we see today, but also from the comparatively nearer style of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih.*

This resemblance in exterior appearance is neither a coincidence nor a conscious imitation, but the natural consequence of a similar system of construction based upon the wooden structural frame.

The Chinese structural framing system may be divided roughly into three principal parts: the vertical supports, or columns; the horizontal members, or the beams, purlins; and the transitional members, or system of members, the characteristic tou-kung or brackets.

The columns of the Kuan-yin Hall, taking the material used into consideration, are rather stout in proportion, thus giving an impression of stability. The columns of the Shan-men are the same in diameter as those of the Hall while they are shorter. The columns on the second and third stories of the Hall are also the same in diameter, but shorter than those below. It is evident, therefore, that the height of the column is in proportion to the diameter as is the case with the Ts'ing style or the Roman orders. The rounded head (Figure 33) as well as the slight inward inclination of the column are also among the few notable characteristics.

独乐寺伽蓝之布置，今已无考。隋唐之制，率皆寺分数院，周绕回廊[13]。今观音阁山门之间，已无直接联络部分；阁前配殿，亦非原物；后部殿宇，更无可观。自经乾隆重修，建筑坐落于东院，寺之规模，更完全更改，原有布置，毫无痕迹。原物之尚存者惟阁及山门。

观音阁及山门最大之特征，而在形制上最重要之点，则为其与敦煌壁画中所见唐代建筑之相似也。壁画所见殿阁，或单层或重层，檐出如翼，斗拱雄大。而阁及门所呈现象，与清式建筑固迥然不同，与宋式亦大异，而与唐式则极相似。熟悉敦煌壁画中净土图（图30）者，若骤见此阁，必疑身之已入西方极乐世界矣。

其外观之所以如是者，非故仿唐形，乃结构制度仍属唐式之自然结果。而其结构上最重要部分，则木质之构架——建筑之骨干——是也。

其构架约略可分为三大部分：柱，斗拱，及梁枋。

观音阁之柱，权衡颇肥短，较清式所呈现象为稳固。山门柱径亦如阁，然较阁柱犹短。至于阁之上中二层，柱虽更短，而径不改，故知其长与径，不相牵制，不若清式之有一定比例。此外柱头削作圆形（图33），柱身微侧向内，皆为可注意之特征。

The tou-kung or bracketing system is a peculiarity unique to the Chinese style architecture—in the broader sense which therefore includes the Japanese style. It is a motif structural in function, while at the same time highly decorative in appearance. It is the transition as well as the connection between the horizontal members above and the vertical supports below. The position it occupies in Chinese architecture is much like that of the order in

the Greco-Roman styles. One may justly say that the development of the tou-kung has influenced the development of the Chinese structural system just as the order has influenced Western architectural styles.

The origin of the tou-kung is unknown. As early as the Chou Dynasty, it was often mentioned in literature. Among the sepulchral sculpture of the Han Dynasty one finds the tou-kung in stone, imitating a highly perfected wooden construction. During the T'ang and Sung Dynasties, the tou-kung was used primarily for its structural value—for the support of the heavy overhanging eave; it was logical both in proportion and arrangement. But, during the Ming and Ts'ing Dynasties, the tou-kung gradually lost its original function, became more intricate and delicate, and assumed a weak and frail proportion. Since the Ming Dynasty, the tou-kungs have increased in number and have become almost purely ornamental. The degeneration of the tou-kung has reached the utmost limit.

Returning to the Tu-lo Ssu, the height of tou-kungs of the Hall and the Shan-men is approximately half the height of the column, or one-third of the entire story, while the Ts'ing regulation allowed only a proportion of about one-fourth or one-fifth of the column, or one-sixth of the height of the entire story. A simple comparison of the height of the tou-kung to its height or the column is a fair means of judging the importance of the tou-kung. Structurally, these Liao tou-kungs are also different from those of the Sung or Ts'ing system. They are constructed so as to serve each its particular function, and they are units of an organic, logical whole. In the case of the Kuan-yin Hall, the tou-kungs support either the eave, the balcony, or the beams and purlins; they are placed either on a column, or between columns, or at a corner; they are used either on the exterior or the interior, on the first, second, or third stories. Each one was designed to fulfill its particular function. These are in all twenty-four different kinds of tou-kung, each kind alone being an exemplification of architectural logic.

The beams and other horizontal members in the Hall and the Shan-men are all laid according to the simple lintel system, involving no complicated theory of mechanics. The only peculiarity of the beams as compared with those of later Chinese structures is the proportions of the cross section.

斗拱者，中国建筑所特有之结构制度也。其功用在梁枋等与柱间之过渡及联络，盖以结构部分而富有装饰性者。其在中国建筑上所占之地位，犹柱式之于希腊罗马建筑；斗拱之变化，谓为中国建筑制度之变

化，亦未尝不可，犹柱式之影响欧洲建筑，至为重大。

唐宋建筑之斗拱以结构为主要功用，雄大坚实，庄严不苟。明清以后，斗拱渐失其原来功用，日趋弱小纤巧，每每数十攒排列檐下，几成纯粹装饰品，其退化程度，已陷井底，不复能下矣。

观音阁山门之斗拱，高约柱高一半以上，全高三分之一，较之清式斗拱——合柱高四分或五分之一，全高六分之一者，其轻重自可不言而喻。而其结构，与清式、宋式皆不同；而种别之多，尤为后世所不见。盖古之用斗拱，辄视其机能而异其形制，其结构实为一种有机的、有理的结合。如观音阁斗拱，或承檐，或承平坐，或承梁枋，或在柱头，或转角，或补间，内外上下，各各不同[14]，条理井然。各攒斗拱，皆可作建筑逻辑之典型。都凡二十四种，聚于一阁，诚可谓集斗拱之大成者矣！

观音阁及山门上梁枋之用法，尚为后世所常见，皆为普通之梁，无复杂之力学作用。其与后世制度最大之区别，乃其横断面之比例。

The Ts'ing regulation specifies that the proportion of the width to the height of the cross section of a beam be either eight to ten or ten to twelve, resulting in almost a square. The Sung regulation, as specified in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* seems to be more scientific, requiring a proportion of two to three. The Liao proportions, as seen in the Hall and the Shan-men, are one to two, just those most practiced in modern construction. It is incredible that a thousand years of evolution in Chinese architecture has brought us not only to no new knowledge, but positively to greater ignorance in the mechanics of materials.

Another characteristic of importance is the high degree of standardization in the size of the timbers. In the Kuan-yin Hall, there are only six different sizes in its structural members. This extreme degree of standardization must have simplified to a very great extent the processes of designing, cost estimation, as well as construction.

Among the less important characteristics may be mentioned the ceiling of the Hall and the tile ornaments of the roof. The caisson of the Hall has an appearance quite different from the corresponding sections of the Imperial Palaces of the Peiping of today. The check-squares are rather small in proportion to the timbers that are used to form them. This peculiarity is also found in the architecture of the Kamakura period in Japan. The roof-tiles are later substitutes of the Liao original. The ornamental ridge-ends of the Shan-

men are particularly interesting. Prior to the Sung Dynasty, this feature was a kind of fish-tail, turned upwards and inwards towards the center of the building, while the post-Sung examples were all in the form of a dragon's head with a small tail turned up and outward. On the Shan-men one finds a combination of both: the lower part is already the dragon-head of today while the top still retains the upward-inward tail of the T'ang manner. This ornament may not be the original of the Liao period, but is probably a Ming reproduction of the original. As a milestone marking a step in the history of architecture, no better example can be found.

The peculiarly low ch'ün-chien or "pedestal" of the masonry wall is also noteworthy. It is less than half the height of the Ts'ing specifications. The few Liao structures in the northern part of Shansi Province all possess this same characteristic, which must have been particular to that age.

The colossal statue of the Eleven-headed Kuan-yin, although it was remodeled at the time of the reconstruction of the Temple, still retains much of the T'ang flavor. The two smaller Bodhisattvas standing on either side of the central figure are particularly T'ang in character. They could undoubtedly be placed in their due position in the history of Chinese sculpture.

梁之载重力，在其高度，而其宽度之影响较小；今科学造梁之制，大略以高二宽一为适宜之比例。按清制高宽为十与八或十二与十之比，其横断面几成正方形。宋《营造法式》所规定，则为三与二之比，较清式合理。而观音阁及山门（辽式）则皆为二与一之比，与近代方法符合。岂吾侪之科学知识，日见退步耶！

其在结构方面最大之发现则木材之标准化是也。清式建筑，皆以“斗口”[15] 为单位，凡梁柱之高宽，面阔进深之修广，皆受斗口之牵制。制至繁杂，计算至难；其“规矩”对各部分之布置分配，拘束尤甚，致使作者无由发挥其创造能力。古制则不然，以观音阁之大，其用材之制，梁枋不下千百，而大小只六种。此种极端之标准化，于材料之估价及施工之程序上，皆使工作简单。结构上重要之特征也。

观音阁天花，亦与清代制度大异。其井口甚小，分布甚密，为后世所不见。而与日本镰仓时代[16] 遗物颇相类似，可相较鉴也。

阁与山门之瓦，已非原物。然山门脊饰，与今日所习见之正吻不同。其在唐代，为鳍形之尾，自宋而后，则为吻，二者之蜕变程序，尚无可考。山门鸱尾，其下段已成今所习见之吻，而上段则尚为唐代之尾，虽未可必其为辽原物，亦必为明以前按原物仿造，亦可见过渡形制

之一般。

砖墙下部之裙肩，颇为低矮，只及清式之半，其所呈现象，至为奇特。山西北部辽物亦多如是，盖亦其特征之一也。

观音阁中之十一面观音像，亦统和重塑，尚具唐风，其两傍侍立菩萨，与盛唐造像尤相似，亦雕塑史中之重要遗例也。

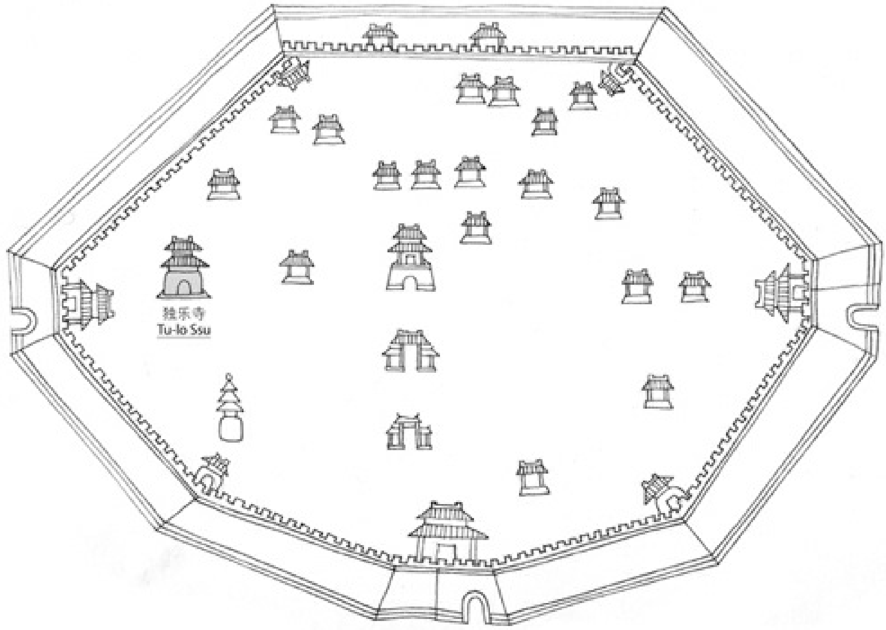
III. History

About 180 li directly east of Peiping (Peking) is the old city of Chi Hsien. During the Han Dynasty, it was a part of Yü-yang Chün. It was not until the reign of Emperor Hsuan-tsung, 712–756 AD, of the T'ang Dynasty that the Magistracy of Chi-chou was first founded. The Tsin rulers of the Wu-tai period ceded the land as a bribe to the Liao Tartars, and, thereafter, for a period of nearly four hundred years, the land was under the control of the northern invading tribes. The Chin Tartars once returned Chi-chou to the Sung, only to snatch it back a few years later. Even during the Yuan and Ming Dynasties it continued to be the zone of conflict between the Chinese and the invaders from the North, a city of strategic importance, guarding the entrance to old Peking.

Chi-chou is not only a city of military importance, but also a name that has been dear to artists and poets for over a thousand years. The quaint fortified city is located at the foot of Pan Shan, the beautiful hill that has been the subject of so many poems of the T'ang and Sung Dynasties.

Being a city of no little importance, Chi Hsien is well provided with public buildings of all kinds—offices, schools, garrisons, barns, as well as Taoist and Buddhist temples (Figure 5). And the one temple that had been the religious center, for over a thousand years, to the Chi people, is no other than the Tu-lo Ssu, situated just inside the Western City Gate. Its three-storied Kuan-yin Hall towers over the city wall and is visible miles away. On the fifteenth day of the third moon every year, a fair is always given in the temple; pilgrims from all parts of the hsien will come, to participate in and enjoy the different acrobatic side-shows and tournaments, and to ascend the celestial hall to view the mountains and the plain, and finally to pay homage to the almighty God (or Goddess) of Mercy. This has been the custom for

centuries, the origin of which is perhaps as old as the city itself.



【5】Map of Chi-chou.[Copy of Ch*i-Ch*ou Chih during Kang-hsi Period] 蓟州城图［摹自康熙《蓟州志》］

叁 寺史

蓟县在北平之东百八十里。汉属渔阳郡，唐开元间，始置蓟州。五代石晋，割以赂辽，其地遂不复归中国[17]。金曾以蓟一度遣宋，不数年而复取之。宋元明以来，屡为华狄冲突之地；军事重镇，而北京之拱卫也。蓟城地处盘山之麓。盘山乃历代诗人歌咏之题，风景幽美，为蓟城天然之背景。

蓟既为古来重镇，其建置至为周全，学宫衙署，僧寺道院，莫不齐备（图5）。而千数百年来，为蓟民宗教生活之中心者，则独乐寺也。寺在城西门内，中有高阁，高出城表，自城外十余里之遥，已可望见。每届废历[18]三月中，寺例有庙会之举，县境居民，百数十里跋涉，参加盛会，以期“带福还家”。其在蓟民心目中，实为无上圣地，如是者已数百年，蓟县耆老亦莫知其始自何年也。

But, in spite of the religious and social importance of Tu-lo Ssu, the history of the temple is shrouded in mists. Its origin is unknown. It is said that

the tablet in the little pavilion placed at the middle of the roof-ridge of the Hall once bore the characters "Built in the Tenth Year of Cheng-kwan" (636 AD); some say that the inscription was "Built under the direction of Yü-ch'ih Ching-teh"; while another version of the story combines these two and the inscription is reported as "Built in the Tenth Year of Cheng-kwan under the direction of Yü-ch'ih Ching-teh." Yü-ch'ih Ching-teh was a general under T'ang T'ai-tsung, and having successfully assisted the Emperor in building the Empire, was later entrusted with the erection of many important palaces and temples. Thus he became a legendary figure, to whom any building that is considered old is attributed. Now the tablet is no longer the original, but a plain one without any inscription, so that the date and the name of the architect if is supposed to have cannot be assumed as authentic. And, even if they are accepted, they mark only the founding of the history of the temple. The Kuan-yin Hall and the Shan-men as they stand today could not have been built at the founding of the temple as they are decidedly of a period later than the T'ang.

The people of Chi Hsien also take delight in telling that the Tu-lo Ssu, the Temple of "Unshared Joy," is the site where An Lu-shan, the rebellious Tartar general, then garrison commander of Yü-yang, took his oath of office before he started his march against the romantic Emperor Hsuan-tsung. The wicked general, it is said, named the temple "Tu-lo" because he did not want his joys shared by others.

To the northwest of the city is a river by the same name. It is a problem whether the temple is named after the river, or the river after the temple, or both named by the selfish Tartar rebel.

The Temple must have been founded no later than the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty. A passage from the *P'an-shan Chih*[19] is quoted in the *Jih-hsia-chiu-wen Kao* as follows:

"Tu-lo Ssu, date of founding unknown; reconstructed in the Liao Dynasty. In the temple is a stele by Liu Cheng, Hsueh-shih of the Han-lin Yuan, erected in the fourth year of T'ung-ho. The inscription reads 'The late Shang-fu, Prince of Ch'in, requested the Great Master T'an-chen to Tu-lo Ssu to repair the Kuan-yin Hall. In the tenth moon, in the winter of the second year of T'ung-ho, the great Hall was reconstructed. It measured two stories in height, and had five bays from east to west, and eight rafters from south to north. The statue of the Eleven-headed Kuan-yin was also remodeled.'"

The reign of T'ung-ho was about three hundred years after the beginning of the T'ang Dynasty which was marked by a hitherto unequalled spread of Buddhism. Many temples and statues were then erected so that it is quite probable that the Tu-lo Ssu was founded then, and for three centuries or more, well protected by the devout public.

独乐寺虽为蓟县名刹，而寺史则殊渺茫，其缘始无可考。与蓟人谈，咸以寺之古远相告；而耆老缙绅，则或谓屋脊小亭内碑文有“贞观十年建”字样，或谓为“尉迟敬德监修”数字，或将二说合而为一，谓为“贞观十年尉迟敬德监修”者，不一而足。“敬德监修”，已成我国匠人历代之口头神话，无论任何建筑物，彼若认为久远者，概称“敬德监修”。至于“贞观十年”，只是传说，无人目睹，亦未见诸传记。即使此二者俱属事实，亦只为寺创建之时，或其历史中之一段。至于今日尚存之观音阁及山门，则绝非唐构也。

蓟人又谓：独乐寺为安禄山誓师之地。“独乐”之名，亦禄山所命，盖禄山思独乐而不与民同乐，故尔命名云。蓟城西北，有独乐水，为境内名川之一，不知寺以水名，抑水以寺名，抑二者皆为禄山命名也。

寺之创立，至迟亦在唐初。《日下旧闻考》引《盘山志》云：

“独乐寺不知创自何代，至辽时重修。有翰林院学士承旨刘成碑。统和四年孟夏立石，其文曰：‘故尚父秦王请谈真大师入独乐寺，修观音阁。以统和二年冬十月再建上下两级、东西五间、南北八架大阁一所。重塑十一面观音菩萨像。'"

自统和上溯至唐初三百余年耳。唐代为我国历史上佛教最昌盛时代；寺像之修建供养极为繁多，而对于佛教之保护，必甚周密。在彼适宜之环境之下，木质建筑，寿至少可数百年。

Then came the disturbances of Wu-tai after the overthrow of the T'ang line, when the religious fervor, curiously coincidental with the political and social welfare, sank down to the unprecedentedly low ebb. It was at this time that the Chi district was ceded to the Liao Tartars, and, most probably, the buildings of the Tu-lo Ssu reached a state of deterioration that made reconstruction necessary. The supposition that the Tu-lo Ssu had already had a history of three hundred years or more prior to the reconstruction in 984 AD is not altogether untenable.

The stele of Liu Ch'eng has since long disappeared, while the name of the erector is also unknown to history. Shang-fu, Prince of Ch'in, whose proper name is Yeh-lü Nu-kwa, was a Prince of royal blood and a general,

who, more than once, defeated the Sung army in the vicinity of Ting-chou and Wang-tu, situated in the southern part of the Province of Hopeh. Chi-chou, which is nearer to the northern border of the present province, was then considered safe in the interior of the Liao domain, where constructions could be carried on without the danger of being interrupted by the receding Sungs. Yeh-lü Nu-kwa was, therefore, the client or donor of the reconstructed Tu-lo Ssu, while T'an-chen, Buddhist monk of high prestige, supervised the construction.

It has already been noted that, chronologically, the Liao structures of the Tu-lo Ssu belong rather to the late T'ang than to the matured Sung style. It is also interesting to note that, geographically, during the T'ang Dynasty Chi-chou was a part of China, where the cultural influence from Ch'ang-an could not but have dominated, while after the fall of T'ang, it fell into the hands of the "barbarians." There the old cultural sway nevertheless naturally lingered on, and more likely, retained more of the T'ang flavour than in China proper, for the very reason that it was separated from China where new movements in culture continued to develop, sweeping away and replacing the old as time went on. Therefore, the Tu-lo Ssu structures, as is the case with Roman colonial architecture, may be built in a manner older than its accepted date, while further down south in the Sung territory, the Chinese had modified architectural style to something that is more akin to that of the Ying-tsao-fa-shih.

The hall that we see today answers well to the description of the Liu Ch'eng stele, "two stories in height, five bays from east to west, and eight rafters from south to north." In reality, the Hall is of three stories but the second story, which is a sort of mezzanine, is invisible from the exterior. The Hall thus has the appearance of a two-storied building, or a building of two principal and a mezzanine stories. "Eight rafters" means that there are nine purlins running from east to west, thus dividing each row of rafters into eight sections.

殆经五代之乱，寺渐倾颓，至统和（北宋初）适为须要重修之时。故在统和以前，寺至少已有三百年以上之历史，殆属可能。

刘成碑今已无可考，而刘成其人者，亦未见经传。尚父秦王者，耶律奴瓜也。[20] 按辽史本传，奴瓜为太祖异母弟南府宰相苏之孙，“有膂力，善调鹰隼”，盖一介武夫。统和四年始建军功。六年败宋游兵于定州，二十一年伐宋，擒王继忠于望都。当时前线乃在河北省南部一带，

蓟州较北，已为辽内地，故有此建置，而奴瓜乃当时再建观音阁之主动者也。

谈真大师亦无可考，盖当时高僧而为宗室所赏识或敬重者。观音阁之再建，是在其监督之下施工者也。

统和二年，即宋太宗雍熙元年，公元984年也。阁之再建，实在北宋初年。《营造法式》为我国最古营造术书，亦为研究宋代建筑之唯一著述，初刊于宋哲宗元符三年（公元1100年）[21]，上距阁之再建，已百十六年，而统和二年，上距唐亡（昭宣帝天祐四年，公元907年）仅七十七年。以年月论，距唐末尚近于《法式》刊行之年。且地处边境，在地理上与中原较隔绝。在唐代地属中国，其文化自直接受中原影响，五代以后，地属夷狄，中国原有文化，固自保守，然在中原若有新文化之产生，则所受影响，必因当时政治界限而隔阻，故愚以为在观音阁再建之时，中原建筑若已有新变动之发生，在蓟北未必受其影响，而保存唐代特征亦必较多。如观音阁者，实唐宋二代间建筑之过渡形式，而研究上重要之关键也。

阁之形式，确如碑所载，“上下两级，东西五间，南北八架”。阁实为三级，但中层为暗层，如西式之mezzanine。故主要层为两级，暗层自外不见。南北八架云者，按今式称为九架，盖谓九檩而椽分八段也。

We are able to trace only four of the numerous restorations that must have occupied to the temple since the T'ung-ho reconstruction. All these restorations occurred not earlier than the beginning of the seventeenth century. For six hundred years since it was, i.e., during the Liao, Chin, Yuan and Ming Dynasties, no record of restoration can be found anywhere.

The earliest of the recorded restorations is that of the Wan-li period, near the end of the Ming Dynasty. Wang Yü-pei, lang-chung of the Treasury, is the principal director of this "good act" as recorded in his essay "Tu-lo Ssu Ta-pei Ke Chi" or "Memoirs of the Hall of Great Mercy of Tu-lo Ssu." No date is given in this essay, but it must have been written very soon after 1595, the year Wang Yü-pei passed his examination for the degree of Chin-shih, after which he was appointed Chu-shih and subsequently promoted to the position of lang-chung. In this early restoration, no alteration was made to the structural parts.

The change of dynasty from Ming to Ts'ing instigated three massacres of Chi-chou city. It is said that the people of the city gathered at Tu-lo Ssu and defended the Holy Structure at the expense of numerous lives, or it would

have suffered the same fate as so many other once famous but now destroyed buildings.

In 1658, it was repaired by Wang Hung-tsao, director (Shang-shu) of the Treasury, who also recorded in an essay "Hsiu Tu-lo Ssu Chi" a list of the personnel who participated in the event, among whom were Hu Tso-kuo[22] , the magistrate and the monks Chun-shan and Miao-ch'eng. Like the former one, this reparation consisted in merely retouching the paint and ornaments, involving little or no structural changes. It is to be noted that this was the first restoration in the Ts'ing Dynasty.

The *Chi-chou Chih* or the *Chronicle of Chi-chou* mentioned another reparation in 1753, the eighteenth year of Ch'ien-lung, when "an imperial apartment was erected in the Eastern Cloister, with wooden railings and spirit screen at the main entrance to match, thus altering the appearance to a great extent." This must have caused a radical departure from the plan of its original parti, for prior to this date, the temple must have been as usual in the T'ang period, surrounded on all sides by verandas, which led from the Shan-men around the Hall to the rear of the Temple. The Ch'ien-lung addition necessarily caused the destruction of certain parts of the veranda on both the east and west sides, resulting in the plan that is found today.

自统和以后，历代修葺，可考者只四次，皆在明末以后。元明间必有修葺，然无可考。

万历间，户部郎中王于陛重修之，有《独乐大悲阁记》，谓：

“……其载修则统和巳酉也。经今久圮，二三信士谋所以为缮葺计；前饷部柯公[23] ，实倡其事，感而兴起者，殆不乏焉。柯公以迁秩行，予继其后，既经时，涂暨之业斯竟。因赡礼大士，下睹金碧辉映，其法身庄严钜丽，围抱不易尽，相传以为就刻一大树云。”

按康熙《朝邑县后志》：

“王于陛，字启宸，万历丁未进士。以二甲授户部主事，升郎中，督饷蓟州。”

丁未为万历二十五年（公元1595年）。其在蓟时期，当在是年以后，故其修葺独乐寺，当在万历后期。其所谓重修，亦限于油饰彩画，故云“金碧辉映，庄严钜丽”，于寺阁之结构无所更改也。

明清之交，蓟城被屠三次，相传全城人民集中独乐寺及塔下寺，抵死保护，故城虽屠，而寺无恙，此亦足以表示蓟人对寺之爱护也。

王于陛修葺以后六十余年，王弘祚复修之。弘祚以崇祯十四年（公元1614年）“自盘阴来牧渔阳”。入清以后，官户部尚书，顺治十五年（公元1658年）“晋秩司农，奉使黄花山，路过是州，追随大学士宗伯菊潭胡公来寺少憩焉。风景不殊，而人民非故；台砌倾圮，而庙貌徒存。……寺僧春山游来，讯予（弘祚）曰，‘是召棠冠社之所凭也，忍以草莱委诸？'予唯唯，为之捐资而倡首焉。一时贤士大夫欣然乐输，而州牧胡君[24]，毅然劝助，共襄盛举。未几，其徒妙乘以成功告，且曰宝阁配殿，及天王殿山门，皆焕然聿新矣”（《修独乐寺记》）。

此入清以后第一次修葺也。其倡首者王弘祚，而“州牧胡君”助之。当其事者则春山妙乘。所修则宝阁配殿，及天王殿山门也。读上记，天王殿山门，似为二建筑物然者，然实则一，盖以山门而置天王者也。以地势而论，今山门迫临西街，前无空地，后距观音阁亦只七八丈，其间断不容更一建筑物之加入，故“天王殿山门”者，实一物也。

【6】A distant view of Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁远望

The four posts supporting the eave at the four corners of the Kuan-yin Hall much have been added at this reparation. The corners of the eave were probably found to be tumbling after seven hundred years. The addition of these posts was a necessity without which the entire structure would have been reduced to ruins a hundred years ago. The shan-hua-pan, or "gable board," that covered and concealed the beautiful overhanging gable, of which

only a few millions of the grills of the transom are left today, as also the doors and windows, was all added or "restored" at this time.

Ch'ien-lung had the good fortune to be the Emperor when the Ts'ing Dynasty was at its height. The entire Empire enjoyed great prosperity and the Imperial Treasury was full of gold and silver. Being a great traveler and lover of art, the Emperor seldom failed to visit any temple of renown, where he, sometimes ordered the temple to be "restored," but more often pulled down and reconstructed, thus destroying innumerable treasures of T'ang and Sung architecture, especially around the neighborhood of Peking. It is miraculous, and most fortunate for the student of architectural archaeology, that the Kuan-yin Hall, together with the Shan-men, actually escaped the "restoration" of the art-loving Emperor in spite of the erection of the imperial apartment to the east of the temple.

乾隆十八年（公元1753年）“于寺内东偏……建立座落，并于寺前改立栅栏照壁，巍然改观”（《蓟州沈志》卷三）是殆为寺平面布置上极大之更改。盖在此以前，寺之布置，自山门至阁后，必周以回廊，如唐代遗制。高宗于“寺内东偏”建立座落，“则寺内东偏”原有之建筑，必被拆毁。不唯如是，于“西偏”亦有同时代建立之建筑，故寺原有之东西廊，殆于此时改变，而成今日之规模。“巍然改观”，不唯在“栅栏照壁”也。

乾隆重修于寺上最大之更动，除平面之布置外，厥唯观音阁四角檐下所加柱，及若干部分之“清式化”。阁出檐甚远，七百余年，已向下倾圮，故四角柱之增加，为必要之补救法，阁之得以保存，唯此是赖。

关于此次重修，尚有神话一段。蓟县老绅告予，当乾隆重修之时，工人休息用膳，有老者至，工人亨以食。问味何如，老者曰：“盐短，盐短！”盖鲁班降世，而以上檐改短为不然，故曰“檐短”云。按今全部权衡，上檐与下檐檐出，长短适宜，调谐悦目，檐短之说，不敢与鲁班赞同。至于其他“清式化”部分，如山花板，博脊及山门雀替之添造，门窗隔扇之修改，内檐柱头枋间之填塞，皆将于各章分别论之。

高宗生逢盛世，正有清鼎定之后，国裕民安，府库充实；且性嗜美术，好游名山大川。凡其足迹所至，必重修寺观，立碑自耀。唐宋古建筑遗物之毁于其“重修”者，不知凡几，京畿一带，受创尤甚。而独乐寺竟能经“寺内东偏”座落之建立，观音阁山门尚侥幸得免，亦中国建筑史之万幸也。

光绪二十七年（公元1901年），“两宫回銮”之后，有谒陵[25] 盛典，

道出蓟州，独乐寺因为座落之所在，于是复加修葺粉饰。此为最后一次之重修，然多限于油漆彩画等外表之点缀。骨干构架，仍未更改。今日所见之外观，即光绪重修以后之物。

On their return to Peking in 1901, after the "Boxer Rebellion," Emperor Kwang-hsü and the Empress Dowager visited and paid homage to the Imperial Tombs at Tsun-hua Hsien, east of Chi-chou. Being the site of the imperial apartment, the Tu-lo Ssu then received its last "restoration" which consisted mostly in the retouching of the painted ornament on the inside of the building giving the structures the appearance that we see today.

After the erection of the imperial apartment, the Tu-lo Ssu became a forbidden ground. The annual fair was held in front of the temple throughout the Ts'ing Dynasty instead of in the temple grounds.

Since the overthrow of the Manchu monarchy in 1911, the temple has become once more the monument of the people. It enjoyed for a time an overwhelming popularity expressed in incense and sacrifice. A country normal school was established in the western courtyards in 1917. From 1924 to 1929, the central and eastern portions were occupied by different armies that caused a tremendous amount of damage to the various buildings, especially to the windows and doors, as well as to the ceiling boards, which were broken and used as fuel.

In 1930, the entire property was given into the charge of the Normal School, which turned all the modern parts into school buildings, but left the two Liao structures untouched. Fortunately, the school authorities are now beginning to realize the significance of the two invaluable treasures they have in their custody, and are anxious to do whatever they can to protect and conserve these ancient monuments.

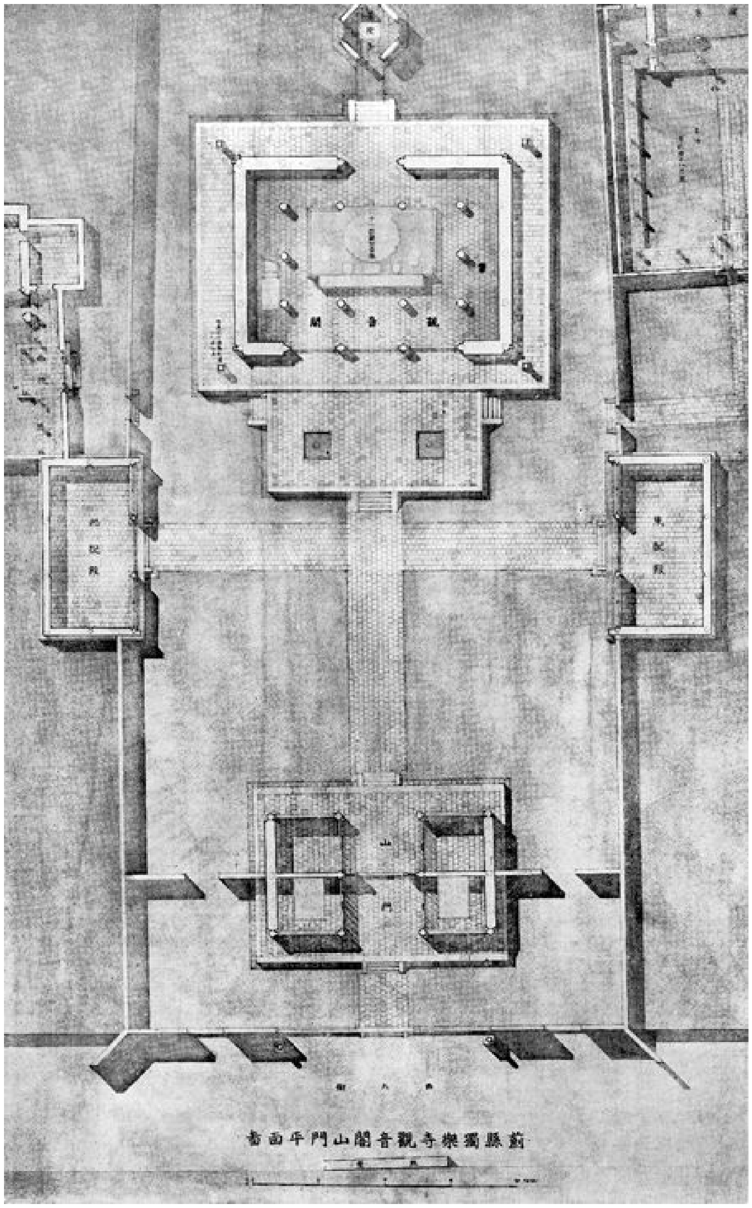
【7】Rear hall and censer. 后殿及香炉

有清一代，因座落之关系，独乐寺遂成禁地，庙会盛典，皆于寺前举行。平时寺内非平民所得入，至清末遂有窃贼潜居阁顶之轶事。贼犯案年余，无法查获。终破案于观音阁上层天花之上；相传其中布置极为完善，竟然一安乐窝。其上下之道，则在东梢间柱间攀上，摩擦油腻、尚有黑光，至今犹见。

鼎革以后，寺复归还于民众，一时香火极盛。民国六年，始拨西院为师范学校。十三年，陕军来蓟，驻于独乐寺，是为寺内驻军之始。十六年，驻本县保安队，始毁装修。十七年春，驻孙殿英部军队，十八年春始去。此一年中，破坏最甚。然较之同时东陵盗陵案，则吾侪不得不庆独乐寺所受孙部之特别优待也。

北伐成功以后，蓟县党部成立，一时破除迷信之声，甚嚣尘上，于是党部中有倡议拍卖独乐寺者。全蓟人民，哗然反对，幸未实现。不然，此千年国宝，又将牺牲于“破除迷信”美名之下矣。

民国二十年，全寺拨为蓟县乡村师范学校，阁、山门并东西院座落归焉。东西院及后部正殿，皆改为校舍，而观音阁、山门则保存未动。南面栅栏部分，围以土墙，于是无业游民，不复得对寺加以无聊之涂抹撕拆。现任学校当局诸君，对于建筑，保护备至。观音阁山门十余年来，备受灾难，今归学校管理，可谓渐入小康时期，然社会及政府之保护，犹为亟不容缓也。



【8】Plan of Main Gate (Shan-men), Kuan-yin Ke, Tu-lo Ssu. 独乐寺观音阁山门平面图

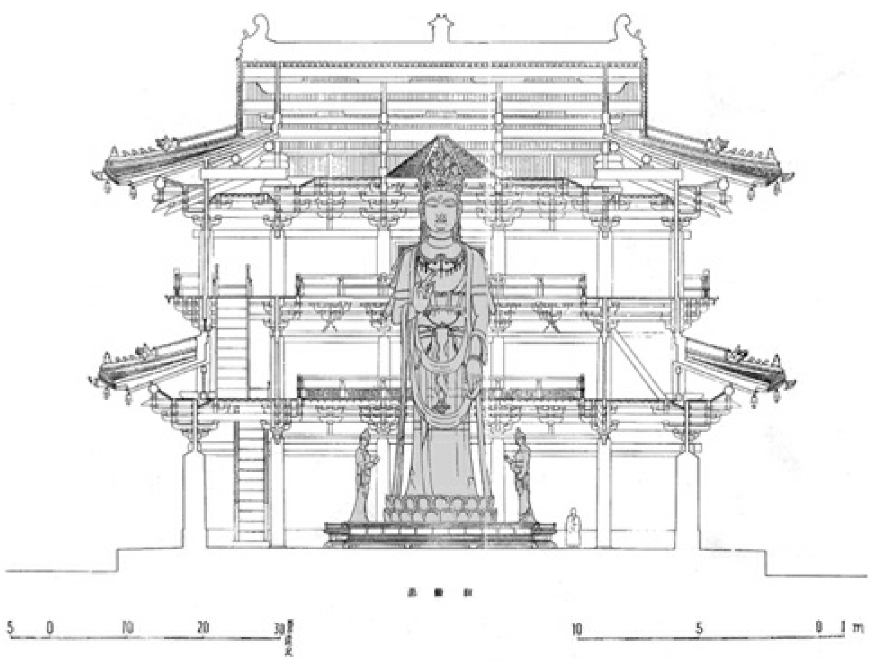
现状

统和原构，唯观音阁及山门尚存，其余殿宇，殆皆明清重建。今在街之南，与山门对峙者为乾隆十八年所立照壁。街之北，山门之南为墙，东西两端辟门道，而中部则用土坯垒砌，与原有红墙，显然各别。此土墙部分，原为乾隆十八年立栅栏所在，日久栅栏朽坏，去岁蓟县乡

村师范学校接收寺产后，遂用墙堵塞，以防游民入校。虽将山门遮掩，致使瞻仰者不得远观前面立面之全部，然为古物之保存计，实亦目前所不得不尔者。栅栏之前有旗杆二，一杆虽失，而石座夹杆则并存。旗杆与栅栏排列并非平行，东座距壁0.28米而西座距壁0.73米。座高1.57米，见方约0.84米。与北平常见乾隆旗杆座旨趣大异。且剥蚀殊甚，殆亦辽物也。

栅栏之内为山门（图12），二者之间，地殊狭隘。愚以为山门原临街，乾隆以前未置栅栏，寺前街道，较他部开朗，旗杆立于其中，略似意大利各寺前之广场，其气象庄严，自可想见。山门面阔三间，进深二间[26]，格扇装修，已被军队拆毁无存、仅存楹框。南面二梢间[27]，立天王像二尊，故土人亦称山门曰“哼哈殿”。天王立小砖台上。然砖已崩散，天王将无立足之地矣！北面二梢间东西壁画四天王，涂抹殊甚，观其色泽，殆光绪重修所重摹者。笔法颜色皆无足道。

山门之北为观音阁，即寺之主要建筑物也。阁高三层，而外观则似二层者。立于石坛之上，高出城表，距蓟城十余里，已遥遥望见之（图6）。经千年风雨寒暑之剥蚀，百十次兵灾匪祸之屠劫，犹能保存至今，巍然独立。其完整情形，殊出意外，尤为难得。



【9】Longitudinal section of Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁纵断面图

阁檐四隅，皆支以柱，盖檐出颇远，年久昂腐，有下倾之虞，不得不尔。阁中主人翁为十一面观音像，高约16米，立须弥坛上，二菩萨侍

立（图9）。法相庄严，必出名手，其年代或较阁犹古，亦属可能。与大像相背，面北部分尚有像，盖为落伽山中之观音。此数像者，其意趣尚具唐风，而簇新彩画，鲜艳妖冶，亦像之辱也。坛上除此数像外，尚有像三躯，恐为明以后物。北向门额悬铁磬一，万历间净土庵物，今为学生上课敲点用。庵在县城东南，磬不知何时移此。

阁与山门之间，为篮球场，为求地址加宽，故山门北面与观音阁前月台南面之石阶，皆已拆毁，其间适合球场宽度。球场（即前院）东西为配殿，各为三楹小屋，纯属清式。东配殿门窗全无，荒置无用，西配殿为学校接待室。

阁之北，距阁丈余为八角小亭，亦清构。亭内立韦驮铜像（图2），甲胄武士，合掌北向立，高约2.30米，铸刻极精。审其手法，殆明中叶所作。光绪重修时，劣匠竟涂以灰泥，施以彩画，大好金身，乃蒙不洁，幸易剔除，无伤于像也。

【10】Iron bell. 铁钟

亭北空院为网球场，场北为本寺前殿，殿三楹，殊狭小，而立于权衡颇高之台基上。弦歌之声，时时溢出，今为音乐教室。前殿之后为大

殿，大小与前殿略同，为学校办公室。东西配殿为学生宿舍，此部分或为明代重修。然气魄极小，不足与阁调和对称（图7）。庭中有铁香炉一座，高约2.60米，作小圆亭状，其南面檐下斗拱间文曰：

顺天府蓟州

独乐寺大殿前进

□炉一座

本寺僧正 □僧□

□□ □□(?)

元成(?)

□智

□□

宽龙(?)

普福

普祥

惜僧正名无可读。西南二门之间文曰：

信士 平治 陈□程元忠魏邦治

铸匠 王之禄 王之富 王之屏 王之蒲 男王有文等

崇祯拾肆年拾壹月吉日造

韦驮亭西有井一口，据县老绅士王子明先生言，幼时曾见寺有残碑，于光绪重修时用作垒砌井筒之用，岂即刘成碑耶？井口现有铁钟一口（图10），系于井架，高0.83米。钟分八格，其中二格有左列文字：

蓟州独乐 口二百斤

寺募缘比 弘治二年

丘戒莲诚 四月□日

资铸钟一 首座戒宗

皇图永固 匠人邓华

帝道遐昌 信女惠成

佛日增辉 妙真妙全

法轮常转 刘氏刘氏

惠贤

惠荣

铸钟信人

王璩

藉此得知明孝宗时首座之名。

【11】Main Hall located in the eastern yard.东院座落正厅

前院东配殿之北，墙有门，通东院，即乾隆十八年所建之“座落”也。入门有空院，其北为垂花门，内有围廊，北面广厅，东西三楹，南北二间，其一切形制，皆为最合规矩之清式。厅现为大讲堂（图11）。其后空院，石山大树犹存，再后则小屋三楹，荒废未用。

前院西配殿之北，墙亦有门，通两院，殆亦同时建。入门为夹道，垂花门东向，内有小廊，小屋三楹，他无所有。现为校长及教员宿舍。

此部之后面，尚有殿二进，东西配殿各一座，皆三楹。现为学生宿舍及食堂。其西尚有大门三楹，外临城垣，内有礓䃰[28]，颇似车骑出入之门。在寺产完全归校以前，此即学校正门也。

总之，寺之建筑物，以观音阁为主，山门次之，皆辽代原构，为本次研究主物。后部殿宇，虽属明构，与清式只略异，东西两院，则纯属极规矩之清式，无特别可注意之点也。

【12】The Shan-men. 山门

IV. The Shan-men

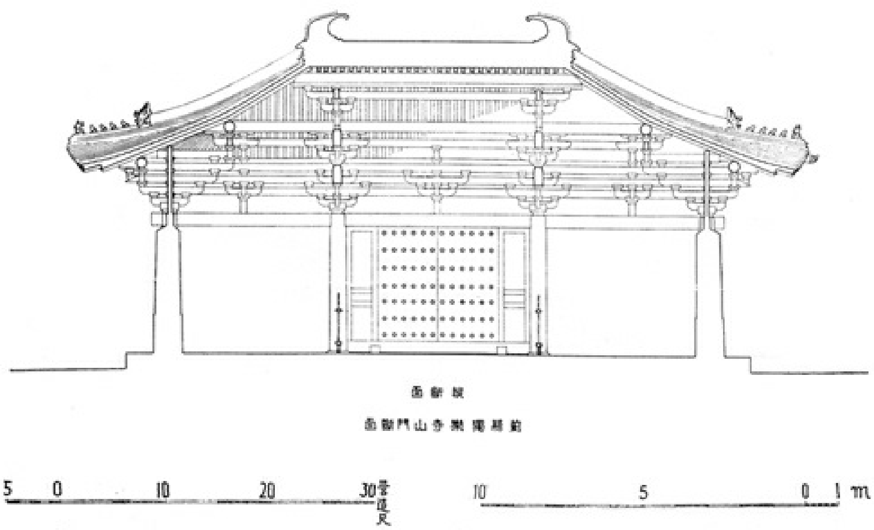
〔A〕General Appearance

The Shan-men of the Tu-lo Ssu is a one-story building of moderate size but monumental proportions, and is the propylaea or main entrance to the temple. The longer facades are on the north and are each divided into three bays. The central and slightly wider one with its gigantic doors is the main thoroughfare and the side ones with window and railings as rooms for the guardian Lokapalas. The Shan-men is covered by a gray tile roof, sloping on all four sides, with heavy overhanging eaves. It is supported by a system of tou-kung, or brackets, of bold proportion. The general proportion is altogether different from that of the Ming and Ts'ing styles, giving an impression of vigor, stability and dignity. The use of the "four sloped roof" on a building of secondary importance and size is unknown to later styles (Figure 26). The pien, or sign board, under the southern eave, bearing the characters for "Tu-lo Ssu" is attributed to Yen Sung, one of the best known treacherous prime ministers of the Ming Dynasty.

肆 山门

〔1〕外观

山门为面阔三间、进深二间之单层建筑物。顶注四阿[29]　，脊作鸱尾，青瓦红墙。南面额曰“独乐寺”，相传严嵩手笔。全部权衡，与明清建筑物大异，所呈现象至为庄严稳固。在小建筑物上，施以四阿，尤为后世所罕见（图26）。

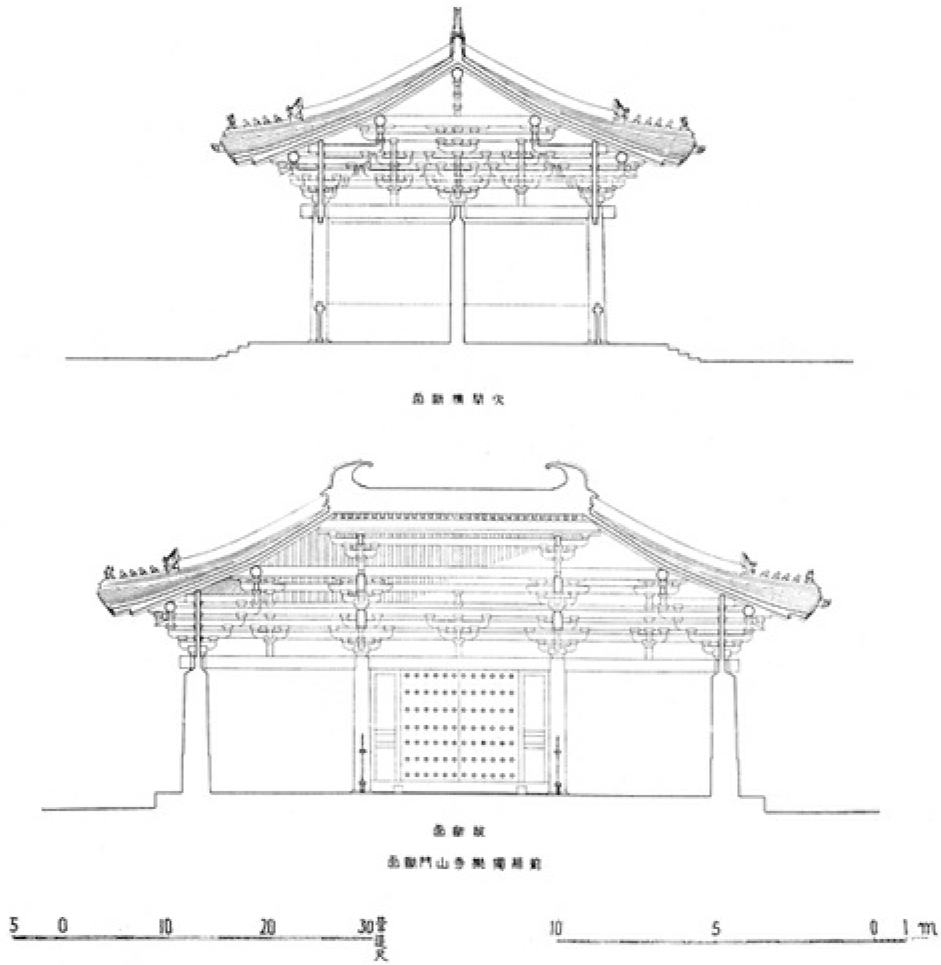


【13】Longitudinal section of the Shan-men. 山门纵断面图

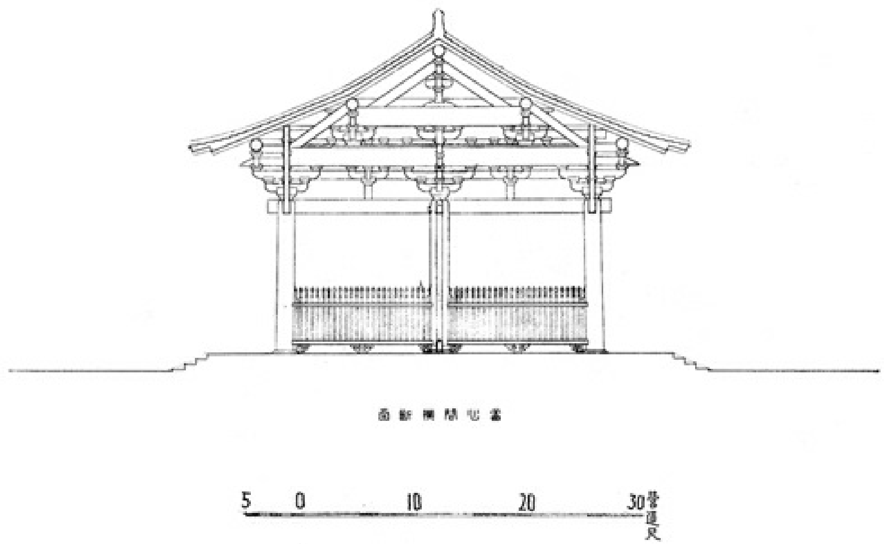
〔B〕Plan

The plan of the Shan-men is a rectangle, three chiens or bays long and two chiens wide, formed by twelve columns arranged in three rows of four in each row. The tang-hsin-chien or central bay, measuring 6.10 m. from center to center of columns, is the main thoroughfare. It can be shut off with the doors between the chung-chus, or columns on the longitudinal axis. The shao-chiens, or end bays, are smaller than the tang-hsin-chien; in the two southern chiens are two statues of guardian Lokapalas, practically filling the entire chien, while on the walls of the two northern chiens are mural paintings of the four Lokapalas. The distance between the chung-chus and the yen-chus, or columns under the eave, is smaller than the width of the shao-chien, resulting in the intersection of the main ridge of the roof with the two

hips at a point somewhere in the shao-chien instead of on the chung-chu.



【14】Cross section of the side bay, Shan-men. 山门次间横断面图



【15】Cross section of the central bay, Shan-men. 山门当心间横断面图

〔2〕平面

面阔三间，进深二间，共有柱十二。当心间（今称明间）面阔6.10米，中柱[30] 间安装大门，为出入寺之孔道。梢间面阔5.23米，南面二间立天王像，北面二间原来有像否，尚待考。中柱与前后檐柱间之进深为4.38米。因进深较少于梢间面阔，故垂脊与正脊相交乃在梢间之内而不正在中柱之上也（图8）。

〔C〕Base and Steps

The Shan-men stands on a stone base, or terrace, of low proportion paved with square brick tiles. The distance from the yen-chu to the edge of the terrace is wider on the front and rear than on the sides of the building. Thus the border around the yen-chu is not equally wide on all sides, contrary to the practice of the Ming and Ts'ing styles. This was probably because it was not designed to accommodate circulation around the building. It should be remembered that the Shan-men in its original surroundings was not a free-standing building like the one we see today, but connected with the rear of the temple by colonnades leading from the two narrow sides, and it was therefore only natural to narrow down the terrace slightly at those sides. On the southern side there are steps leading from the street level up to the terrace and these, according to the practice from the Sung Dynasty until today,

should be as long as the width of the tang-hsin-chien. But the present steps are only a dingy narrow "restoration" of modern times. The steps to the north of the base have been destroyed.

〔D〕Columns and Bases

The columns of the Shan-men, twelve in number, form the main supports of the heavy roof above. The height of the columns is about 8.6 times the diameter, slightly shorter than that of the Ionic order. Considering the material used, this proportion seems rather heavy, especially when compared to the wooden columns of American colonial architecture. The column has a very slight entasis of about 2.5 per cent of the length. The tapering from the bottom towards the top is almost imperceptible and nothing like the very marked entasis of the Greco-Roman orders.

Measurements taken cross-section-wise show that the distance between the top of the columns is smaller than that between the bases by about two per cent of the height of the column. In Chapter V of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih,* the following passage occurs.

"In the erection of a column, the top should incline slightly inward, with the roof protruding out, this is called ch'e-chiao (meaning 'tilted-foot'). On the front and rear of the building, the ch'e-chiao should be 1 fen to every ch'ih of the height of the column (1%); while on the sides of the building it should be 8 li (0.8%). [31] When it comes to a corner column, the inclination should be in both directions in accordance to this rule (diagonally)."

The columns of the Shan-men were undoubtedly erected in the manner described above, but with an even greater inclination, so marked that it is noticeable to the naked eye (Figure 26).

〔3〕台基及阶

台基为石质，颇低；高只0.50米。前后台出[32] 约2.20米，而两山[33]台出则为1.30米，显然不备行人绕门或在两山檐下通行者。南面石阶三级，颇短小，宽不及一间，殆非原状。盖阶之“长随间广”，自李明仲至于今日，尚为定例，明仲前百年，不宜有此例外也。北面石阶已毁，当与南面同。

〔4〕柱及柱础

山门柱十二，皆《营造法式》所谓“直柱”者是。柱身与柱径之比例，虽只为8.6与1之比，尚不及罗马爱奥尼克式[34] 柱之瘦长，而所呈现象，则较瘦；盖因抱框[35] 等附属部分遮盖使然。柱之下径较大于上径，唯收分[36] 甚微，故不甚显著，非详究不察；然在观者下意识中，固已得一种稳固之印象。兹将各柱之平均度量列下：

柱高 4.33米 下径 0.51米

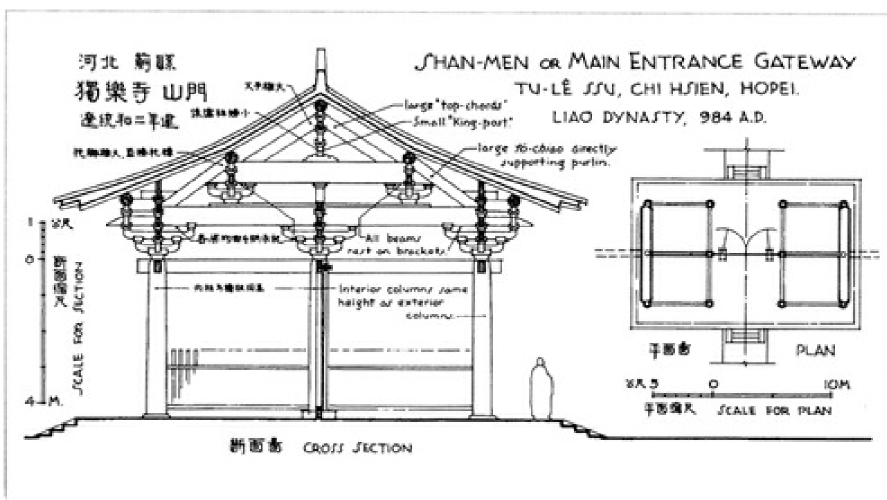
上径 0.47米 高:径 8.65∶1

收分 25‰

前后柱脚与中柱脚之距离为4.38米，而柱头间则为4.29米，柱头微向内偏，约合柱高2%。按《营造法式》卷五：

“凡立柱，并令柱首微收向内，柱脚微出向外，谓之侧脚。每屋正面，随柱之长，每一尺即侧脚一分；若侧面，每长一尺，即侧脚八厘。至角柱，其柱首相向各依本法。”

山门柱之倾斜度极为明显，且甚于《营造法式》所规定，其为“侧脚”无疑（图26）。



【16】Plan and cross section of the Shan-men 山门平面和断面图

This refinement is identical with that of the Parthenon, another important but unnoticed evidence of the influence of Greco-Buddhist art in China.

The chu-ch'u, or base of the column, is of local greenish slate stone, measuring less than twice the diameter on its side, differing from both Sung

and Ts'ing regulations that call for a base the side of which is twice the diameter. This dimension refers to the plinth of the base, which is usually sunken in the ground with the top of the plinth flushing with the finished floor. On the top is the part corresponding to the torus and the moldings in the Roman columns, called fu-p'en, the "upset basin." The fu-p'en of the Ying-tsao-fa-shih is very similar to the torus and the fillet in the base of a Roman order, but usually decorated with elaborate carvings. But in the case of the Shan-men, the fu-p'en is merely a slightly rased disc with no carving, more like those of the Ts'ing style.

〔E〕The Tou-kung, or Bracketing System

Structurally analyzed, the tou-kung is merely a system of corbelling, consisting of a number of kungs or horizontal "arms," put one on top of another—the higher the position, the longer the "arm"—with tous, or blocks, or "cushions" as Dr. Siren calls them, at the end and center of each lower kung to support the upper one. The kungs are put often both parallel and perpendicular to the facade, the former to enable a far overhang of the eave and the latter to take care of the load of the purlins. The kungs perpendicular to the facade are called hua-kung, and each "step" of the corbel is called a t'iao, and, starting from the bottom, each t'iao is given a numeral "first," "second," etc. to designate its position. The kungs parallel to the facade, and on the center-line of the column, are of only two lengths: the shorter and lower one is called the ni-tao-kung, while the longer and upper one is called the man-kung. Those parallel to the facade, but supported on the end of a hua-kung, are called the ling-kung if they are on the end of the uppermost, and, therefore, longest hua-kung. Those on any other hua-kung but between the ling-kung and the center-line of the column are called the kua-tzu-kung.

Under the intersection of the 1^{st} hua-kung and the ni-tao-kung is the large lu-tou, the foot of the entire p'u-cho, or set of tou-kung, standing right on top of the column. On the ends of all kungs are smaller tous called san-tou, and at the intersection of kungs, chiao-hu-tou.

On the exterior of the Shan-men, supporting the eave, are three different kinds of tou-kungs: 1. chu-t'ou-p'u-cho; 2. chuan-chiao-p'u-cho; 3. pu-chien-p'u-cho.

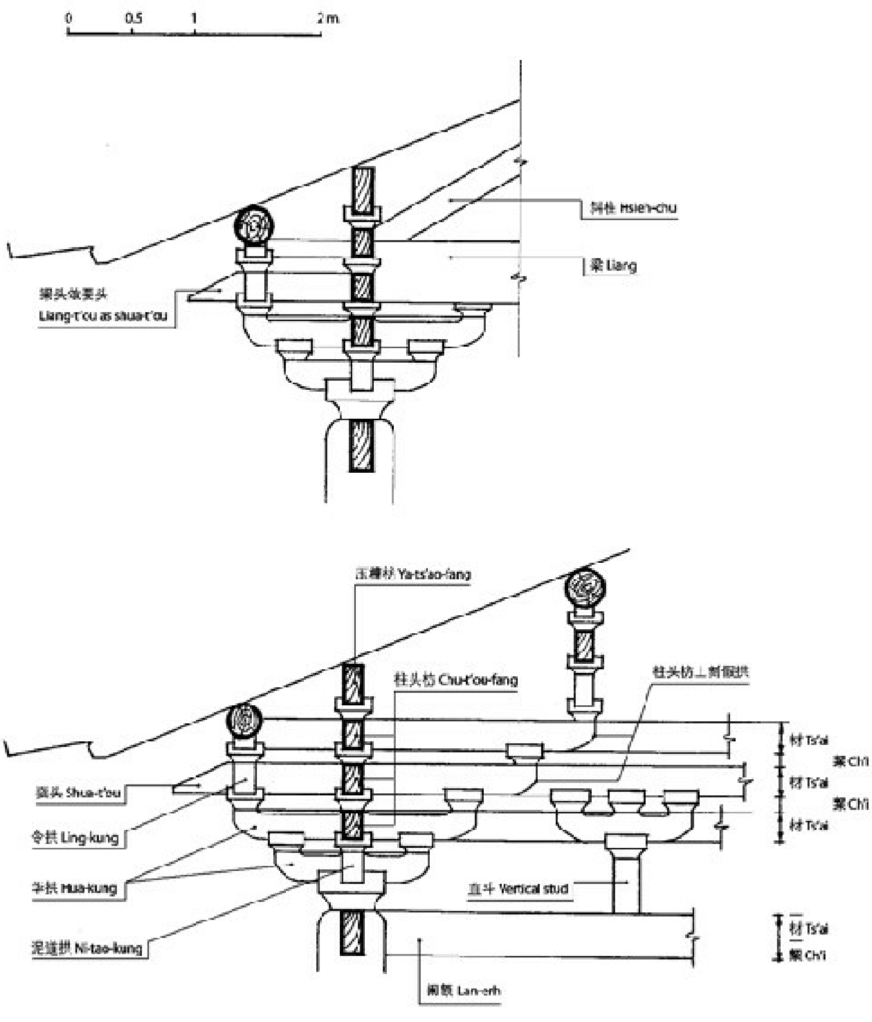
柱身经历次重修，或坎补，或涂抹，乃至全柱更换，亦属可能。观

音阁柱头，皆“卷杀[37] 作覆盆样”（图33），而山门柱头乃平正如清式，其是否原物，亦待考也。

柱础[38] 为本地青石造，方约0.85米不及柱径之倍，而自《营造法式》至清《工程做法》皆规定柱础“方倍柱之径”，此岂辽宋制度之不同欤？础上“覆盆”较似清式简单之“古镜”，不若宋式之华丽也。

〔5〕斗拱

山门外檐斗拱，共有三种，分述如次：



【17】Chu-t'ou-p'u-cho, Shan-men. 山门柱头铺作侧样

1. Chu-t'ou-p'u-cho or "the set of tou-kung on the column"

The lu-tou stands right on top of the column instead of on a p'u-p'ai-fang, or plate, differing from the practice of the Ming and Ts'ing styles (Figures 16, 17). From the lu-tou extending two hua-kungs, one on top of the other. At the end of the second hua-kung is a ling-kung, intersecting with the shua-t'ou, a member parallel to, above, and of the same size as a hua-kung, but instead of the rounded curve near the end, it is beveled off from the upper surface into a wedge, with the inclined surface making an angle of 30 degrees with the ground. On the ling-kung are placed three shua-t'ous, in which is the t'i-mu, which in turn supports the liao-yen-ch'uan, or eave supporting purlin. The t'i-mu is a member unseen in later structures, the term occurs in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*, with dimensions and proportion, but its function and position is not defined. From the passage "the lower surface is rounded off by four fens…and when it is used in gable construction, it should follow the length of the purlin," a rough idea of its shape can be gathered, and its position is found to be related to the purlin. This unknown member in this p'u-cho, as well as in the gable of the Hall, seems to answer very well to the description. And since there is no reason to contradict its being something else, I call it the t'i-mu, for the time being at least, till evidence is brought up to contradict it.

1.柱头铺作[39]　　清式称柱头科（图16，17）。其栌斗（今称坐斗）“施之于柱头”，不似清式之将“坐斗”施于“平板枋”上。自栌斗外出者计华拱（今称翘）两层，故上层长两跳[40]　。上层跳头施以令拱（今称厢拱），与耍头相交，置于交互斗（今称十八斗）内。其耍头之制，将头作成约三十度向外之锐角，略似平置之昂，不若清式之作六十度向内之钝角者。令拱之上，置散斗（今称三才升）三个，以承拱形小木，及其上之槫（今称桁）按《营造法式》卷五，有所谓“替木”者，其长按地位而异，“两头各下杀四分……若至出际，长与槫齐”。此拱形小木，殆即“替木”欤？与此“替木”位置功用相同者，于清式建筑中有“挑檐枋”，长与檩同，而此处所见，则分段施于各铺作令拱之上，且将两端略加卷杀，甚足以表示承受上部分散之重量，而集中使移于柱头之机能，堪称善美。

【18】Chuan-chiao-p'u-cho and the rear of the pu-chien-p'u-cho, Shan-men.
山门转角铺作并补间铺作后尾

Intersecting with the first hua-kung is the ni-tao-kung, and with the second hua-kung is the man-kung. It is interesting to note in this case that the man-kung is not a kung in the real sense, but a fang, here called the chu-t'ou-fang, of the same size as the kung, but extending through the entire length of the facade. In later styles, the chu-t'ou-fang, supported by the man-kung, usually intersects with the third hua-kung, or shua-t'ou as the case may be. But here the chu-t'ou-fang is supported on the ni-tao-kung, with the man-kung carved in relief on the fang, a characteristic not found in the representations of buildings in the mural paintings of Tun-huang (T'ang), or in the specifications of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* or in still existing old buildings such as the Ch'u-chu-an in Shao-lin Ssu, Sung-shan, or in late Northern Sung, or any of the Ming and Ts'ing structures. But, this characteristic is common to the approximately contemporary Upper and Lower Hua-yen Ssu at Ta-t'ung and the Wooden Pagoda of Fo-kung Ssu at Ying Hsien, Shansi Province. The

above-mentioned characteristic therefore must have been peculiar to the Liao period.

On the end of the second hua-kung is a ling-kung, a transverse member supporting the eave-purlin, but on the end of the first hua-kung, such a member is absent, another peculiarity not found in later styles. In Chapter IV of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*, there is the following statement describing the "ensemble of the p'u-cho”:

"If a transverse kung is used on every t'iao, the p'u-cho is called chi-sin; if used on every other t'iao, it is called t'ou-sin."

In the very few existing structures contemporary to the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* only the chi-sin system is used. To the builder of the Ming and Ts'ing Dynasties, even the term t'ou-sin was unknown. It is only in these Liao structures that we see an actual example and possibility of such a system of construction.

与华拱相交而与建筑物表面平行者为泥道拱（今称瓜拱）及与今万拱相似之长拱。然此长拱者,有拱之形，而无拱之用，实柱头枋（清式称正心枋）上而雕作拱形者也。就愚所知，敦煌壁画、嵩山少林寺初祖庵、[41] 营造法式及明清遗构，此式尚未之见，而与独乐寺约略同时之大同上下华严寺、应县佛宫寺木塔皆同此结构，殆辽之特征欤？

华拱二层，其上层跳头施以令拱，已于上文述及；然下层跳头，则无与之相交之拱，亦为明清式所无。按《营造法式》卷四，《总铺作次序》中曰：

“凡铺作逐跳上安拱谓之‘计心'。若逐跳上不安拱，而再出跳或出昂者谓之‘偷心'。”

山门柱头铺作，在此点上适与此条符合，“偷心”之佳例也。

前后檐柱柱头铺作后尾为华拱两跳，跳头不安拱，而以上层跳头之散斗承托大梁之下。使梁之重量全部由斗拱转达于柱以至于地，条理井然，为建筑逻辑之最良表现（图13-15）。

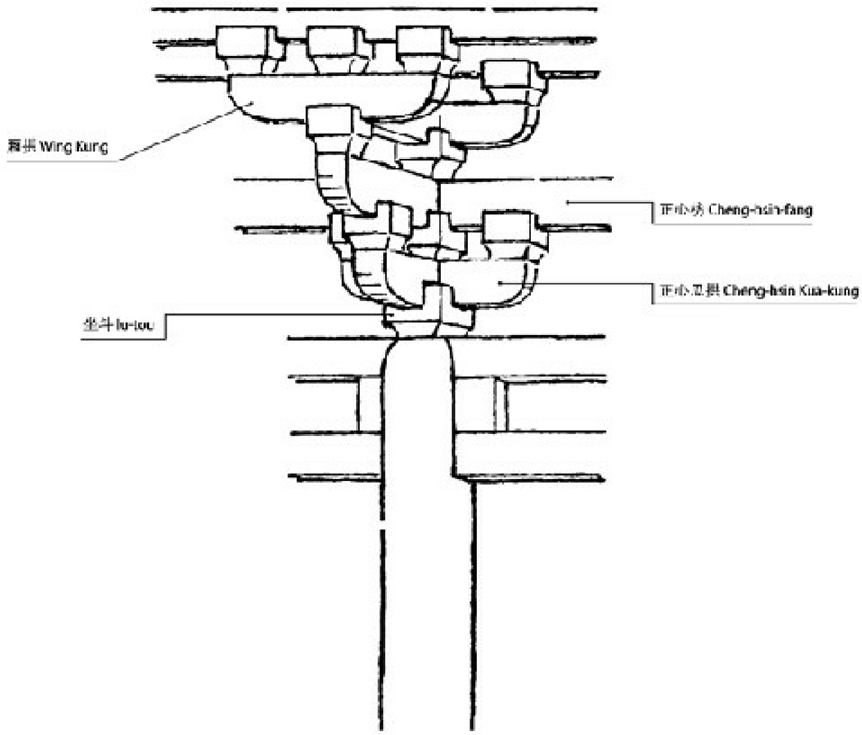
山柱柱头铺作后尾，则唯华拱四跳，层层叠出，以承平槫。跳头皆无横拱，为明清制度所无（图17，18）。此式《营造法式》亦未述及。然考之日本镰仓时代所建之奈良东大寺南大门，及伊东忠太博士发现之怀安县照化寺掖门[42] ，皆作此式，虽内外之位置不同，而其结构法则一。此式在日本称“天竺样”，虽称“天竺”，亦来自中土，不过以此示别于日本早年受自中国之“唐样”，及其日本化之“和样”耳。

服部胜吉《日本古建筑史》所引《东大寺造立供养记》关于寺中佛像之铸造，则有“……铸物师大工陈和卿也，都宋朝工舍弟陈佛铸等七人也，日本铸物师草部是助以下十四人也。……”等句，是此寺所受中土影响，毫无疑义。前此只见于日本者，追溯其源，伊东先生得之于照化寺，今复见之于蓟县遗物，其线索益明瞭矣。

At the rear of the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho are two t'iaos of hua-kung, with no transverse kungs at the ends; on the shua-t'ou at the end of the second hua-kung is supported the principal beam, the ends of which are made into the shape of shua-t'ous, intersecting with other kungs of the p'u-cho, thus making a strong and logical union between the beam and the tou-kung (Figures 13-15).

On the narrow side of the building, the rear of the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho is different from these of the longer facade in the following respect. It does not support any beams which are all placed parallel with the transversal axis of the building. Here the second hua-kung, the shua-t'ou, and another similar member above, all have the rear ends prolonged into fangs on the longitudinal axis, with the form of kungs carved on the fang in relief, four successive t'iaos without a single transversal kung. This characteristic will be discussed under the topic "pu-chien-p'u-cho."

From the structural point of view, to disguise a fang in the form of a kung may be considered an architectural dishonesty. Existing examples as well as diagrams in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* all show the use of a fang immediately above the man-kung; no instance of the fang carved with a kung is found in later structures. But the logical development of such a system is easily traced in the T'ang engraved drawing of a temple on a stone lintel over the western doorway of the Ta-yen T'a of Sian Fu. A set of ni-tao-kung is represented there as supporting a chu-t'ou-fang superposed on another set of ni-tao-kung and chu-t'ou fang identical to those below (Figure 19). Should one imagine the ni-tao-kung of the upper set as elongated into a fang, while still retaining the kung in relief, while the chu-t'ou-fang of the lower set is carved with a man-kung, the result would be exactly a tou-kung of the Liao style, as those found in the Shan-men and the Kuan-yin Hall of the Tu-lo Ssu.



【19】Chu-t'ou-p'u-cho of a stone lintel, Ta-yen T'a of Sian Fu (drawing by Liu Tun-tseng). 西安大雁塔门楣石柱头铺作（刘士能先生制图）

至于斗拱之正面，则栌斗之内，与华拱相交者，有泥道拱（今称正心瓜拱），其两端施以散斗（散斗之在正心上者今称槽升子）；其上则为柱头枋，枋上刻成长拱形。再上为第二层柱头枋，亦刻作拱形，长与泥道拱同，其上为第三层柱头枋，又刻作长拱形。其全部所呈现象，为短拱上承长拱之结合共二层，各拱头皆施以散斗。

上述泥道拱，即今之正心瓜拱。其长拱殆即《营造法式》所谓“慢拱”是。《营造法式》卷四有各拱名释，谓“造拱之制有五”，而所释只四。同卷中又见“慢拱”之名，慢拱盖即第五种拱而为李所遗者。但卷三十大木作图样中，又有慢拱图，其形颇长。清式建筑中，与之位置相同者称“万拱”，南语慢万同音，故其名称无可疑也。

在结构方面着眼，将多层枋子雕作拱形，殊不合理。《营造法式》以至明清制度，皆在慢拱之上施以枋子，无将枋上雕作拱形者。然追溯古例，其所以如此之故，颇易解释。按西安大慈恩寺大雁塔门楣雕刻所见，乃正心瓜拱上承正心枋，正心枋上又有小坐斗（《营造法式》所称“齐心斗”？），斗上又有正心瓜拱及正心枋。是同一物而上下两层叠叠者也（图19）。今若将此下层正心枋雕以慢拱之形，再将上层正心瓜拱伸引成枋，则与山门所见无异。其来历固极明显也。

2. Chuan-chiao-p'u-cho or "the set that turns the corner"

The chuan-chiao-p'u-cho may be considered an intersection of two sets of chu-t'ou-p'u-cho (Figure 20). As the adjacent sides are identical, either may be taken for the front. Therefore, on the center-line of the column, both on the front and side, are two t'iaos of hua-kung. In the first t'iao, the rear of the hua-kung is at the same time the ni-tao-kung on the other side, and vice versa when viewed from around the corner. The rear of the second t'iao, likewise extends to become the first chu-t'ou-fang on the other side, while the shua-t'ou becomes the second chu-t'ou-fang. The third chu-t'ou-fang, in this case, does not reveal its end, but intersects with the one on the other side that is hidden behind the eave-purlin. This system of extending the rear of a member to form another member on the adjacent facade is called lieh-kung in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*. On the end of each t'iao of hua-kung is placed a transversal kung in the "chi-sin" manner.

On the mitre-line of the building, bisecting the right angle, formed by the intersection of the kungs and fangs of the adjacent facades, and perpendicular to each other, are three t'iaos of chiao-kung or corner kungs. The uppermost t'iao is on the level of the ling-kung, supporting the chiao-liang, or hip-rafter, above. On the same level is another long kung, on the axis of the column, but making a right angle with the mitre kungs, with shua-t'ous on its ends to support the t'i-mu. The author takes the liberty to call this characteristic mo-chiao-man-kung, or "diagonal man-kung."

The rear of the chuan-chiao-p'u-cho is formed by the rear ends of the chiao-kungs, five t'iaos altogether in number, corbelling out one above and beyond the other. The uppermost or fifth t'iao is just in position to receive the intermediate purlin or hsia-p'ing-chuan.

This will be discussed more fully under the next topic.

【20】Chuan-chiao-p'u-cho, Shan-men. 山门转角铺作

2．转角铺作　清式称“角科”。其结构较柱头铺作为复杂，盖两朵[43]柱头铺作相交而成（图20）。于柱之中线上，其正面及侧面皆有华拱二层。上层华拱之上，正面侧面皆各出耍头，与柱头铺作上者同。而此面耍头之后尾，则为他面第二层柱头枋，换言之，则正侧二面第二层柱头枋相交后伸出而为耍头也。此面第一层华拱之后尾为彼面泥道拱，第二层华拱后尾则为彼面刻成慢拱形之第一层柱头枋。此种做法，即清式所谓“把臂”，宋式称为“列拱”者是，每层华拱跳头，皆施以拱，成所谓“让心”者。

屋角四十五度斜线上，有角拱三层，最上者与跳头令拱平，以支角梁。与角拱成正角，而施于柱中线上者，有长拱一道，与令拱平，唯安于二层跳头之瓜子拱（今称外拽瓜拱）上，姑名之曰“抹角慢拱”。其拱端亦安散斗，以承槫下之替木。

转角铺作之后尾乃由角拱后尾五层叠成，与山柱头铺作后尾同其形制，其最上一跳则以承正面及山面下平槫（今称下金桁）之相交点。

3. Pu-chien-p'u-cho or "the set that fills the bay" (Figures 16, 21)

The function of the pu-chien-p'u-cho is to prevent the sagging of the middle portion of the purlin which is supported at the two ends by the chu-t'ou-p'u-chos. It is placed midway, or nearly midway, between the columns.

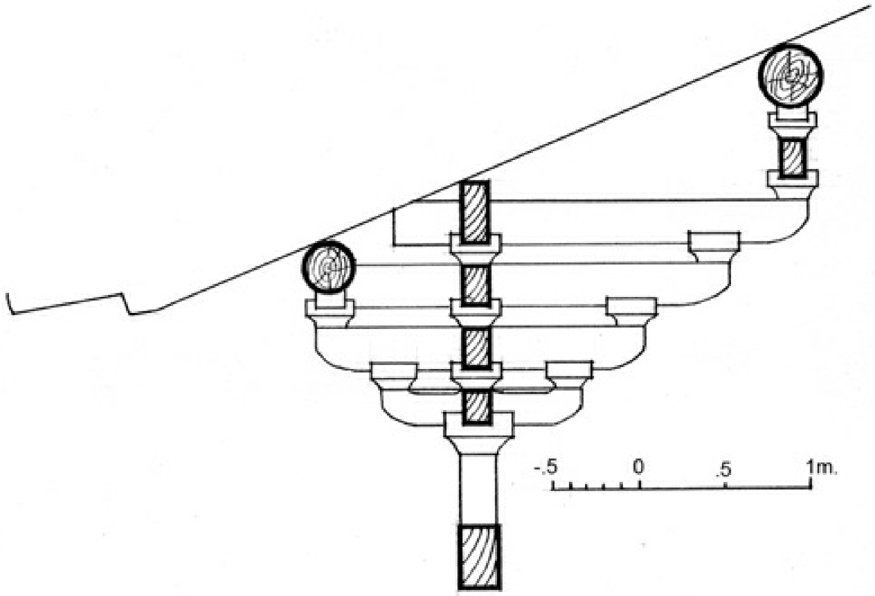
The lowest member of the set, a short stud, stands on the lintel, or lan-erh; on the stud is placed a large tou, which holds two t'iaos of hua-kung. The upper hua-kung has a short t'i-mu on its end, immediately beneath the eave-purlin. Intersecting with the lower hua-kung in the large t'ou is the first chu-t'ou-fang, which is carved with a ni-tao-kung in relief, while the upper hua-kung intersects with the second fang in which the man-kung is carved. The third chu-t'ou-fang is again carved with a ni-tao-kung. The distribution of these carved fangs is such that the lengths of the kungs of the pu-chien-p'u-cho is just the reverse of that of the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho, fitting but not interfering each other. This distribution would have been impossible if the Kings had been real, instead of being carved as the fangs.

3．补间铺作（图16，21）　清式称“平身科”。其机能在防止两柱头间之槫及上部向下弯坠。其位置在二柱头之间。其最下层为“直斗”，立于阑额（今称额枋）之上，直斗之上置大斗，大斗之上安华拱两跳，上层跳头施以替木，以承檐槫（今称挑檐桁）。下层华拱与第一层柱头枋相交安于大斗口内。此第一层柱头枋雕作泥道拱（瓜拱）形，其上第二层柱头枋则雕作慢拱，第三层又雕作泥道拱。与柱头铺作上各层枋上所雕拱，长短适相错。若皆为真拱，则此相错排列，为事实上所不能，亦其不合理处也。

此种补间铺作，与明清制度固极不同，而与《营造法式》亦迴然异趣。明清式之补间铺作，多者可至七八攒——如太和殿。《营造法式》卷四《总铺作次序》则谓：

“当心间须用补间铺作两朵，次间及梢间各用一朵。其铺作分布，令远近皆匀。”

而独乐寺观音阁及山门，补间铺作皆只一朵（即一攒），虽当心间亦无两朵者。



【21】Pu-chien-p'u-cho, Shan-men. 山门补间铺作侧样

Here we have another motif that is unknown, or at least not used, in later ages, namely, the short stud. The use of such a stud was quite commonplace in the pre-T'ang dynasties, as exemplified in the mural paintings and cave sculptures of Tun-huang, Yun-kang, Lung-men and T'ien-lung Shan. But in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*, the stud is not even mentioned, thus leaving us in total ignorance of the name of a once very popular architectural motif. But in Japan, the short stud has been retained in later monuments, and there it is known as 束. The Chinese equivalent is yet to be determined.

In earlier examples, the short stud is usually found supporting a tou which in turn supports the fang, with no intersecting hua-kungs. But in the Ming and Ts'ing styles, the pu-chien-p'u-cho developed to such an extent that it was actually identical with the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho in construction, the only difference being in its position. But in the case we see here in the Shan-men, two t'iaos of hua-kung are placed in the tou, intersecting with the chu-t'ou-fang. At the end of the second t'iao is placed a short t'i-mu that receives the purlin above it. As far as complexity is concerned, this arrangement may be fairly considered as a transition between the pre-T'ang and Ming or Ts'ing styles. This short stud is preserved only in the two p'u-chos on the eastern facade, but it has been sadly abused by restorers of the Kwang-hsü period who painted it over with an all-over pattern of frets, together with the wall between the p'u-chos, ignoring totally its structural function. To an

unobservant eye, it is as good as lost.

The point of greatest significance in the pu-chien-p'u-cho is the arrangement of the rear ends of the hua-kungs. Four t'iaos of hua-kungs are placed one on top of the other till the uppermost is high enough to support the p'ing-ch'uan, or intermediate purlin. With the exception of the uppermost t'iao, which carries a p'an-chien, or long fang on its end, not one of these hua-kungs carries any transversal member, either the kung or the fang. This system is again unknown to later ages, and not even mentioned in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*. But on the Nandaimon of the Todaiji at Nara, Japan, a structure of the Kamakura period, as well as the Chao-hua-ssu at Huai-an Hsien, an identical treatment of the hua-kung is seen. It was undoubtedly a feature once very common in China and later taken up and much used in Japan where it is known as the Tenjiku style. Although nominally from India, its Chinese origin can never be denied. The discovery of such a construction here is another evidence of its genealogy.

On the interior of the Shan-men are two different kinds of tou-kungs:

4. Chu-t'ou-p'u-cho on the chung-chu

The chung-chu, whose literal translation is the "central column," is a column on the longitudinal axis of a building and at the same time in the interior. (Those on the exterior being called shan-chu, or "gable columns.") The p'u-cho on the chung-chu is used to support the middle of the principal beam, the two ends being supported by the yen-chus. Parallel with the beam and beneath it, are two t'iaos of hua-kung, extending from the lu-tou, like the rear of the exterior chu-t'ou-p'u-cho. Intersecting with these hua-kung, and also with the beam, are one ni-tao-kung and three tiers of chu-t'ou-fang, which are also carved with kungs in relief, like those on the exterior.

至于其结构，则与宋元明清更异，如直斗一物，在六朝隋唐遗物中，固所常见；在《营造法式》中则并其名亦无之；日本称之曰“束”，刘士能先生称之曰“直斗”，今沿刘先生称。隋唐直斗上多安一斗以承枋，而无拱交于其口内。明清补间铺作则似柱头铺作，以栌斗安于平板枋上。此处所见，则直斗之上，施以华拱二跳，以承檐桁，盖二者间之过渡形式，关键至为明显。今南北西三面直斗皆已失，唯东面尚存，劣匠施以彩画，竟与垫拱板画成一片，欲将其机能之外形一笔抹杀；幸仔细观察，原形尚可见也。

补间铺作之后尾，与山柱柱头铺作后尾略同，为四层华拱，跳头无横拱，层层叠出以承下平槫。其梢间铺作与山面铺作皆不在二柱之正中，与《法式》“令远近皆匀”一语不符，前者偏近角柱，后者偏近山柱，而二者与角柱间距离则同，盖其后尾与转角铺作之后尾共同承支前后下平槫及山下平槫之相交点，其距离乃视下平槫而定也。

山门内檐斗拱，则有：

4．中柱柱头斗拱　其机能在承托大梁之中段，将其重量转达于柱。华拱二跳自栌斗伸出，与外檐柱头铺作后尾同，前后二面皆如此。正面则泥道拱一道，上承三层枋，枋上亦雕拱形，如外檐所见。

5. Interior pu-chien-p'u-cho

Structurally, the pu-chien-p'u-cho in the interior is practically of no value. It is composed of the three fangs extending from the rear of the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho of the narrower facade. Near the center of each bay, these fangs are carved into the forms of different kungs like those on the exterior chu-t'ou-fangs, and the spaces between each tier of the kungs are taken care of by tous, while the lowest fang is supported by a larger tou which is placed on top of a short stud standing on the lan-erh. Having no overhanging roofs for them to support, intersecting hua-kungs are totally absent in this particular case, which is similar to many of the pre-T'ang examples.

Before leaving the subject of the tou-kung, it may be interesting to make an analysis of the dimensions and proportion of the different members of the entire p'u-cho, and also to compare them with those of the Sung and Ts'ing styles.

In Chapter IV of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*, on the making of the tou, it is specified that:

"The lu-tou…should be thirty-two fen square…by twenty fen in height. The upper eight fen of the height compose the erh, the middle four fen the p'ing, and the lower eight fen the i. The kou (mortise on the tou to receive the kung) should be ten fen wide by eight fen deep."

From this passage it is clear that the proportion of the length or width to the height is 8:5. The Shan-men, in this particular respect, is similar to the Sung style while differing from the 3:2 of the Ts'ing regulations. The proportion of the erh, p'ing and i, which are called the tou-erh, sheng-yao and

tou-ti respectively in the Ts'ing style, is however definitely different to both the Sung and Ts'ing regulations which specified that it should be 2:1:2. In the Shan-men under consideration the approximate proportion is 6:4:7. The depth of the kou is slightly less than either the Sung or Ts'ing lu-tous, causing a great influence on the proportion of the entire p'u-cho. The proportions of the chiao-hu-tou and the san-tou are also slightly different from the Ying-tsao-fa-shih proportions, but being much smaller in size, their influence on the appearance of the p'u-cho is far less prominent.

All the kungs, regardless of their lengths, are the same in their cross sections, about 16.5 cm. ×24 cm., which is in accordance with the 2:3 proportion of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*. The Ts'ing proportion was 1:2.

5．补间铺作　内檐补间铺作乃将外檐补间铺作而去其华拱所成。其直斗立于阑额上，其上承枋三层，枋亦雕成拱形。当心间铺作上，第一层枋雕作泥道拱，第二层则雕作慢拱，第三层不雕。梢间唯第一层雕作拱形，二三层不雕。此三层枋子者，实山面柱头铺作后尾伸引而成，亦有趣之结构法也。

大梁以上尚有斗拱数种，当于下节分析之。

至于斗拱各部尺寸，亦饶研究价值，兹先表列如左：

	长（米）	宽（米）	高（米）
栌斗	0.51	0.51	0.32
交互斗	0.27	0.22	0.165
散斗	0.22	0.22	0.165
补间铺作大斗	0.43	0.43	0.25
华拱	按跳定	0.165	0.24
泥道拱	1.17	0.165	0.24
慢拱	1.90	0.165	0.24
令拱	1.08	0.165	0.24
替木	1.83	0.165	0.105

考之《营造法式》，卷四有造斗之制：

“栌斗……长与广皆三十二分……高二十分；上八分为耳，中四分为平，下八分为欹，开口广十分，深八分。底四面各杀四分，欹䫜一分。”

其长广与高之比例为八与五之比；0.51米与0.32米亦适为八与五之比，故在此点，与宋式同，而异于清式之三与二之比。宋式之耳、平、欹，及清式之斗口、升腰、斗底，皆为二一二之比；而山门栌斗此三部

乃0.37、0.26、0.43米[44]　。其开口之深度，较宋清式略浅，而其影响于全朵之权衡则甚大。

交互斗及散斗与法式所述亦略有出入，然因体积较小，故对于全朵权衡之影响亦较小也。

关于拱之横断面，《法式》所定宽与高为二与三之比，此处所见虽略有不同，大致仍符合。而清式则为一与二之比。

In both the Sung and Ts'ing styles, the lengths of the different kungs are set in definite proportion to the width of the k'ou, i.e., the width of the kung. The Ts'ings required a length of 6.2 times the k'ou for the kua-kung (called ni-tao-kung by the Sungs) and 9.2 times the k'ou for the wan-kung (called man-kung by the Sungs), while in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*, with the width of the k'ou set as 10 fen, the length of the ni-tao-kung was specified as 62 fen, the kua-tze-kung 62 fen, the ling-kung 72 fen while the man-kung is not mentioned. Judging from the similarity of lengths in the Sung and Ts'ing kungs, it is fairly safe to assume the man-kung would have been specified to be 92 fen long. The measurements of the Liao kungs in the Shan-men however revealed to us something quite different; the ni-tao-kung is slightly less than 71 fen long while the man-kung reached the tremendous length of more than 115 fen. It is evident that the Liao kungs assume a much slenderer proportion than those found in later architecture.

The lengths of the hua-kungs are rather indefinite, depending entirely upon the distance of each t'iao, which seems to be rather irregular. The first t'iao measures 45 cm., and the second t'iao, 35 cm., unlike the even extension of the Ts'ing t'iaos.

The gentle curve at the ends of the kungs is formed by a series of straight planes. There are four such planes on the hua-kung and three on the ni-tao-kung. This particular process of making the curve is termed chüan-sa.

〔F〕Liang and Fangs, the Horizontal Members

1. The Lan-erh

On the heads, and connecting, the columns are horizontal lintels, whose upper surfaces flush with the tops of the columns, and the ends are fitted into mortises cut out from the columns. These lintels are known in the *Ying-tsao-*

fa-shih as lan-erh, and later as eh-fang. Originally they were not intended to carry any weight, their sole function being to hold the columns in position. When the pu-chien-p'u-cho was introduced, the lan-erh began to assume another duty until in the Ming and Ts'ing periods, the pu-chien-p'u-cho became so numerous that the size of the lan-erh was necessarily enlarged to a stupendous dimension. And in addition the p'ing-pan-fang, or plate, which was placed on top of it, was introduced to carry the tou-kungs.

In the case of the Shan-men, the lan-erh measures 37 cm. × 15 cm., which is a rather slender dimension. The p'ing-pan-fang, whose use the Liao builders undoubtedly knew, is not in evidence. The pu-chien-p'u-cho is placed directly on the lan-erh.

2. The Liang-chia or the "Truss"

The central portion of the roof is held up by two "trusses," placed on the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho. They are not trusses in the true sense, being a series of lintels on posts supported by the longer lintel below, exerting no thrust as a true truss does. In the Shan-men, the "truss" is formed by the combination of two liangs, or beams, the shorter one with its two t'o-tuns or beam-supports, is placed on the longer and lower one, which is in turn supported by the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho.

宋式口广十分，泥道拱长六十二分，慢拱长无可考[45]。清式瓜拱之长与斗口之比亦六十二分，而万拱则为九十二分。山门泥道拱长1.17米，口广0.165米，其比例约为七十一分弱；慢拱长1.90米，约合一百十五分强，故辽拱之长，实远甚于宋以后之拱。

华拱之长，视出跳之数及其远近而定。然出跳似无定制，第一跳长0.49米，第二跳则长0.35米，耍头则长0.47米，不若清式之各跳均匀也。华拱卷杀，每头四瓣，每瓣长约0.075米；泥道拱则每头三瓣，与宋清制度均同。

〔6〕梁枋

阑额横贯柱头之间，清名额枋。其广0.37米，厚0.15米。厚约当广之五分之二。额上无平板枋，异于清制。补间铺作即置于阑额之上。

山门有梁二架（图13-15），置于柱头铺作之上，梁端伸出，即为耍头，成铺作之一部分。清式耍头只用于平身科（即补间铺作），柱头

科上梁头则大几如梁身，不似辽式之与拱同大小也。

The portion of the beam that extends beyond the center-line of the column below is shaped into a shua-t'ou, forming a part of the p'u-cho. The shua-t'ou is found only on the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho in the Ts'ing style; while on the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho, the end of the liang is almost as big as the liang itself. Since the shua-t'ou, the end of the beam, is at the same time a part of the tou-kung, the connection between the two parts cannot but be strong, and the transition logical. Moreover, the shua-t'ou is made to intersect with ling-kung for the supporting of the t'i-mu and the eave-purlin, resulting in the organic union of the different parts.

The beam is supported at the middle by the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho on the chung-chu, reducing the span of the beam by half, although, judging from its size, it could without difficulty stand the load for the last thousand years without the intermediate support.

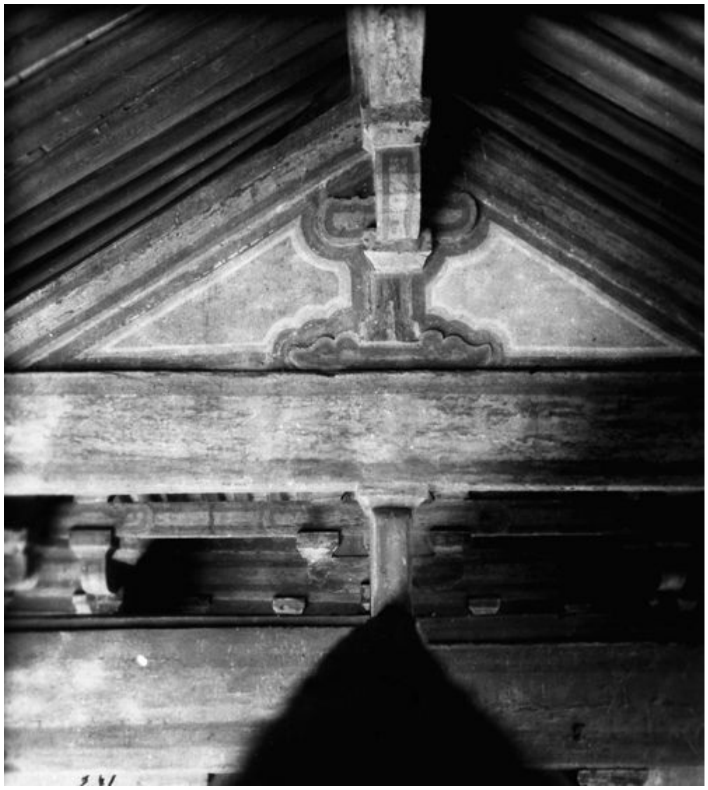
The t'o-tun, or beam-support, which lifts the shorter and upper beam on the longer and lower beam is a simple p'u-cho in form and construction. Two intersecting kungs are placed in a large tou; the one parallel with the beam supports the shorter beam above, and the one perpendicular to the beam supports the p'an-chien, an auxiliary horizontal member, usually of the size as the kung, and running parallel and beneath the purlin (Figure 22). It is to be noted that the t'o-tun is not placed directly on the main beam, but on a thin plate, measuring 21 cm. × 6 cm. Its position is not mid-way between the center-line of the ridge and the external columns, but nearer to the latter; the distances to the two center-lines being 2.41 m. and 1.88 m. respectively.

The upper beam, called the san-chia-liang, or the beam of three supports, is placed on the above mentioned t'o-tun. Its ends are also shaped like the shua-t'ou. The middle of the san-chia-liang is supported by a short stud, standing on the middle of the wu-chia-liang. Above it, and on the san-chia-liang is the t'o-feng or "camel's back," forming the base of the chu-ju-chu or "dwarf column," which supports the tou, the ni-tao-kung with its intersecting wing-shaped kung, the p'an-chien, the t'i-mu, and ultimately the ridge-purlin. The ridge-purlin is supported on the sides by two hsieh-chus, or inclined columns, forming a sort of bracing to prevent the purlin from inclining to either side. The triangular spaces beneath the hsieh-chu were originally empty, but are now filled up with brick and plaster, the original light effect therefore becoming totally lost (Figure 23).

耍头既为梁头，而又为斗拱之一部分，梁与斗拱间之联合乃极坚实。同时耍头又与令拱交置，以承替木及“橑檐槫”[46]（今称挑檐桁），于是各部遂成一种有机的结合。梁之中段，置于中柱柱头铺作之上，虽为五架梁，因中段不悬空，遂呈极稳固之状。梁上檐柱及中柱之间置柁橔，然其形不若清式之为“墩”，乃由大斗及相交之二拱而成，实则一简单铺作（图22）；其前后拱则承上层之三架梁，左右拱则以承襻间（今称枋）。然此铺作，不直接置于梁上，而置于梁上一宽0.21米、厚0.06米之缴背上。其位置亦非檐柱及山柱之正中，而略偏近檐柱。距檐柱1.88米，距中柱则2.41米。

三架梁与下平槫相交于此铺作上，梁头亦形如耍头。枋上复有散斗及替木以承平槫。梁之中段则置于五架梁上直斗之上；其上则有驼峰，驼峰上又为直斗，直斗上为交互斗（或齐心斗），口内置泥道拱及翼形拱一。泥道拱上为襻间（今称脊枋），枋上置散斗，枋端卷杀作拱形，以承替木及脊槫。自枋之前后，有斜柱下支于三架梁，平槫之前或后，亦有斜柱下支于五架梁。斜柱下空档，现有泥壁填塞，原有玲珑状态为此失去不少（图23）。

【22】The T'o-tun, Shan-men. 山门大梁柁橔



【23】The chu-ju-chu, Shan-men. 山门侏儒柱

The wu-chia-liang is known in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* as the ssu-ch'uan-fu or the beam of four rafters' length, while the san-chia-liang is called the p'ing-liang. The wing-shaped kung is not named in the famous book, but on page 22, Chapter XXXI, in the drawing of the cross section of a small building, is shown a motif very similar to it; judging from its position, it may well be considered the prototype of the p'eng-liang-yün of the Ts'ing style.

In Chapter V of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih,* on the making of the chu-ju-chu, it is specified that:

"If the truss construction is exposed, a tou should be placed on the chu-ju-chu; on the t'ou should be placed one or two pieces of p'an-chien. The size of the p'an-chien should be the same as the ts'ai, and its length in accordance with the width of the bay. Its end should be made into a half kung extending beyond the chu-ju-chu with the other half in the p'an-chien itself…”

The chu-ju-chu construction of the Shan-men answers very well to the above specifications (Figure 24).

The beams, which are the principal members of the "truss," are also

worth studying. Beams are divided into two main categories in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*: the yüeh-liang or "crescent beam" and the chih-liang or "straight beam." Those used in the Shan-men and the Kuan-yin Ke are of the latter kind. Their peculiarity lies in the cross section of the beams. The Ts'ing regulations required the proportion between the depth and the width of the beam to be 10:8 or 12:10; the cross section resulting in almost a square. They did not know that the strength of the beam lies in the depth rather than in the width. The *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* set the proportion of 3:2, a much more logical shape. But in the case of the Shan-men, the wu-chia-liang measures 54 cm. × 30 cm., and the san-chia-liang measures 50 cm. × 26 cm., both being very near the modern practice of the 2:1 proportion. It seems that the Chinese builders of the Ts'ing Dynasty compared to their ancestors had a very poor knowledge of the strength of materials.

Refinement is also evident on these beams. They were shaped with a slight bulge near the middle on the sides of the beam. This was certainly done not for structural value, but in order to soften the mechanical harshness of the straight lines as the slightly curved face of the Parthenon. It may not be altogether incredible to suppose that the T'ang and Sung architects learnt delicate techniques of this kind, indirectly, of course, through Gandara and India, from Greece.

〔G〕The Heng or Purlin

At the end of the beams and on the chu-ju-chu are placed hengs, (also termed lins), or purlins. The Chinese purlin, unlike those of the Western method of constructions are round in cross section. The Ming and Ts'ing methods of construction placed these hengs, in addition to the above-mentioned places, also on the center-line of the columns. They were then termed cheng-hsin-heng or "center-line purlins," and if on the end of the uppermost hua-kung, they were called the t'iao-yen-heng or "eave-lifting purlins."

五架梁于《营造法式》称“四椽栿”，三架梁称“平梁”。平梁上之直斗称“侏儒柱”。斜柱亦称“义手”，见《法式》卷五《侏儒柱》节内。翼形拱不知何名，《法式》卷三十一第22页图中有相类似之拱；以位置论，殆即清式所谓“捧梁云”之前身欤？

《营造法式》卷五《侏儒柱》节又谓：

“凡屋如彻上明造，即于蜀柱之上安斗，斗上安随间襻间，或一材或两材。襻间广厚并如材，长随间广，出半拱在外，半拱连身对隐。……”

“彻上明造”即无天花。柱上安斗，即山门所见。襻间者，即清式之脊枋是也[47]　。今门之制，则在斗内先作泥道拱，拱上置襻间。其外端作拱形，即“出半拱在外，半拱连身对隐”之谓欤？（图24）。

此部侏儒柱之结构，合理而美观，良构也。然至清代，则侏儒改称脊瓜柱，驼峰斜柱合而为一，成所谓“角背”者，结构既拙，美观不逮尤远。

〔7〕桁

侏儒柱之机能在承脊槫，而槫则所以承椽。而用槫之制，于檐槫——清式称檐桁或檐檩——一部，辽宋清略有不同，特为比较。

Of the twenty-two cross section drawings in Chapter XXXI of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*, five include the cheng-hsin-heng but omit the t'iao-yen-heng, in place of which is represented a fang, rectangular instead of round in cross section. In the remaining seventeen drawings no heng are represented in either position, but fangs are indicated.

The Hall of Ch'u-chu-an, of the Shao-lin Ssu in Sung-shan, was built in the seventh year of Hsuan-ho (1125), contemporary to the publication of the famous book on Chinese architecture. In the structure of this hall only cheng-hsin-heng were employed. It is evident that it was customary in the Sung period to omit either t'iao-yen-heng, or both the t'iao-yen and the cheng-hsin-heng. But in the Shan-men and Kuan-yin Ke of Tu-lo Ssu, the placing of the heng and the fang is just contrary to the Sung method. Here it is the cheng-hsin-heng that has been omitted while on the end of the uppermost hua-kung is placed a large, round t'iao-yen-heng (Figure 17).

清式于正心枋上置桁（即槫），称“正心桁”，而于斗拱最外跳头上亦置桁，称“挑檐桁”。

《营造法式》卷三十一殿堂横断面图二十二种，其中五种有正心桁而无挑檐桁，其余则并正心桁亦无之，而代之以枋。嵩山少林寺初祖庵，建于宣和间，正与《营造法式》同时，亦只有正心桁而无挑檐桁，其为当时通用方法无疑。

独乐寺所见，则与宋式适反其位置，盖有挑檐桁而无正心桁者。同

一功用，面能各异其制如此，亦饶趣矣（图17）。

《营造法式》造梁之制多用月梁，于力学原则上颇为适宜。《法式》图中亦有不用月梁而用直梁者。山门及观音阁所用亦非月梁。其最异于清式者，乃在梁之横断面。《工程做法则例》规定梁宽为高之十分之八，其横断面几成正方形。不知梁之载重力，视其高而定，其宽影响甚微也。《营造法式》卷五则规定：

“凡梁之大小，各随其广分为三分，以二分为厚。”

〔H〕The Chiao-liang or Hip-rafter

In the construction of a hipped roof, the Chinese method had always been to place the hip-rafter on the purlins, contrary to the practice in modern construction. But the function of the hip-rafter is no different from that of the purlin, that is, to support the rafters. The hip is built in sections spanning the spaces between the purlins, running in a direction bisecting the right angle of the two adjacent walls. The lowest section is longer than the span and overhangs a considerable distance beyond the corner column on the mitre-line. This is the lao-chiao-liang or "old corner beam." On top of the lao-chiao-liang and extending even further out, forming a corbel, is the tze-chiao-liang or "little corner beam."

其广与厚之比为三与二，此说较为合理。今山门大梁（《法式》称“檐栿”）广（即高）0.54米，厚0.30米，三架梁（《法式》称“平梁”）广0.50米，厚0.26米，两者比例皆近二与一之比。梁之载重力既不随其宽度减小而减，而梁本身之重量，因而减半。宋人力学知识，固胜清人；而辽人似又胜过宋人一筹矣！

梁横断面之比例既如上述，其美观亦有宜注意之点，即梁之上下边微有卷杀，使梁之腹部，微微凸出。此制于梁之力量，固无大影响，然足以去其机械的直线，而代以圜和之曲线，皆当时大匠苦心构思之结果，吾侪不宜忽略视之。希腊雅典之帕蒂农神庙亦有类似此种之微妙手法，以柔济刚，古有名训。乃至上文所述侧脚，亦希腊制度所有，岂吾祖先得之自西方先哲耶？

〔8〕角梁

垂脊之骨干也。于屋之四隅伸出者，计上下二层，下层较短，称老角梁或大角梁，上层较长者为仔角梁，置于老角梁之上。

The sections of the hip-rafter spanning the spaces between the higher purlins are termed the yin-chiao-liang or "hidden corner beam" in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih,* but it was known to the Ts'ing architects as the yiu-ch'iang. When the point of intersection of the two hips and the ridge is directly above a chung-chu, as in most cases, the load is carried down straight to the column. But in the Shan-men, the shao-chien or end bay is smaller than half the width of the building, so the mitre-lines and the longitudinal axis meet at a point quite far in the shao-chien. This necessitates the use of two kungs extending from the chu-ju-chu to transmit the load to the column (Figure 24).

The end of the lao-chiao-liang is finished in two fine, restrained curves, architecturally far superior to the complicated pa-wang-ch'uan curve of the Ts'ing style. The tze-chiao-liang is smaller than the lao-chiao-liang in cross section, but much longer. Its outer end is terminated by a t'ao-shou, the head of a monster, in terracotta; and from underneath is hung a bronze bell. Both ornaments are believed to be not earlier than the Ming Dynasty.

〔I〕Chü-che

Chü-che, literally meaning "raise and bend," is the method used in deciding the pitch and in plotting the curve of the Chinese roof (Figures 13-15). In Chapter V of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* is the following rule:

"For raising the roof: For Palaces, halls, multiple-storied buildings and towers, the distance between the front and rear liao-yen-chuans" should be taken and divided into three equal parts. The altitude measuring from the top of the liao-yen-chuan to the top of the chi-ch'uan should be equal to one part. For halls and buildings covered with tubular tiles, the distance should be divided into four parts, and the altitude should be equal to one part; this may be further increased by eight-one hundredth…

For bending the roof: The first bend from the top should be one-tenth the height of the raise, and each bend below is lessened by half. For instance, if the raise is twenty feet in height, a straight line is drawn from the top of the chi-ch'uan to the top of the liao-yen-ch'uan. The first bend from the top is bent down two feet. Again a straight line is drawn from the top of the ch'uan of the first bend to the top of the liao-yen-ch'uan, and the second bend is bent down one foot…and so forth…”

A few words of explanation are perhaps necessary to make these passages clear. The liao-yen-ch'uan is called t'iao-yen-heng in the Ts'ing style, and the chi-ch'uan is the chi-heng or ridge-purlin.

【24】The ridge-purlin, chu-ju-chu and pu-chien-p'u-cho, interior tou-kungs of the Shan-men. 山门脊槫与侏儒柱并内檐补间铺作

由平槫以达脊槫者今称“由戗”，《法式》卷五则称为“隐角梁”。大角梁及隐角梁皆置于槫（即桁）上，前后角梁相交于脊槫之上。清式往往使梢间面阔作进深之半，使其相交在梁之中线上。山门因面阔较大，故相交在梢间之内，而自侏儒柱上伸出斗拱以承之（图24）。

大角梁头卷杀为二曲瓣，颇简单庄严，较清式之“霸王拳”善美多矣。仔角梁高广皆逊大角梁，而长过之。头有套兽，下悬铜铎，皆非辽代原物。

〔9〕举折

今称“举架”，所以定屋顶之斜度，及侧面之轮廓者也（图13-15）。山门举折尺寸，表列如下：

部位	长（米）	举高（米）	高长之比
橑檐槫中至平槫中	2.72	1.11	十之四强
平槫中至脊槫中	2.41	1.46	十之六强
橑檐槫中至脊槫中	5.13	2.57	十之五强

The method for-plotting the curve is first to draw a straight line from the top of the ridge-purlin to the top of the eave-lifting purlin, and at the line of the first intermediate purlin from the top, a vertical line, perpendicular to the ground, is dropped down. One-tenth the total altitude is measured off on this line, deciding the height of the top of the first intermediate purlin. From the top of this purlin, another straight line is drawn to the top of the eave-lifting purlin, and at the line of the second intermediate purlin, a vertical line is also dropped. One-twentieth of the total altitude is measured off to give the top of the next purlin below. The same process is repeated until the top of the lowest intermediate purlin is reached, and every bend is half the height of the one above.

The measurements of the roof of the Shan-men revealed to us an example that was built almost in exact accordance to the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* rules, entirely different from the rules of the Ts'ing style, according to which the roof is "built up" by a series of rafters each put in an angle greater than the one below. Thus the height of the ridge is therefore a consequence of the meeting of the two "built-up" slopes of the roof, contrary to the earlier method, according to which the pitch is first decided and the curved slope is the consequence of the "bends."

The distance between the front and rear liao-yen-ch'uan is 10.26 m., while the "raise" is 2.57 m., just one-fourth of the distance; but the additional raise of eight per cent was apparently ignored. The intermediate purlin—there is only one in this case—whose center line is horizontally 2.72 m. from the projection of that of the liao-yen-ch'uan, is raised 1.11 m. The figure drawn from these dimensions gives at the line of the intermediate purlin a "bend" of about 0.257 m. below the straight line drawn from the ridge to the eave-purlin, a perfect example of the "bending" method described in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih.*

The general effect resulting from this method of chü-che is radically different from that of the Ts'ing methods. In the Ts'ing structures, the slope of

the roof near the ridge is often set at 45 degrees to the ground, whereas in the earlier examples, the pitch is usually set at a proportion of 6 to 10,or about 30 degrees. The earlier edifices, therefore, often give an impression of gentility and ease in swing which is totally lacking in later structures.

〔J〕The Eave

In close relation to the chü-che, and influencing the external appearance of the building is the overhang of the eave. The Ts'ing regulations call for an overhang of approximately three-tenths or one third the height from the ground to the eave, giving an impression of restraint. But in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* the overhang of the eave is specified as from 9 to 11 times the diameter of the rafter, regardless of the height of the building. But on account of the comparatively large size of the tou-kung, the overhang is usually great, often reaching half the height of the eave from the ground. The impression it gives is that of the vigor and freedom which one often senses in front of an Early Renaissance Italian Palazzo.

此第一举（即橑檐槫至平槫）之斜度，即今所谓“四举”；第二举（平槫至脊槫）之斜度，即今所谓“六举”。而全举架斜度，由脊至檐，为二与一之比，即所谓“五举”是。其义即谓十分之长举高四分、五分或六分是也。《法式》卷五：

“举屋之法，如殿阁楼台，先量前后橑檐方相去远近，分为三分，从橑檐方背至脊槫背，举起一分。如瓪瓦厅堂，即四分中举起一分。又通以四分所得丈尺，每一尺加八分……”

若由脊槫计，则瓪瓦厅堂之斜度，实乃二分举一分，即今之五举[48]。山门举架之度，适与此合。宋式按屋深而定其“举”高，再加以“折”，故举为因而折为果。清式不先定屋高，而按步数（即宋式所谓椽数）定为“五，七，九”或“五，六五，七五，九”举，此若干斜线连续所达之高度，即为建筑物之高度。是折为因而举为果。清式最高一步，互折达一与一之比，成45度角，其斜度大率远甚于古式，此亦清式建筑与宋以前建筑外表上最易区别之点也。

〔10〕椽

与举折有密切关系，而影响于建筑物之外观者，则椽出檐之远近是也。清式出檐之制，约略为高之十分之三或三分之一，其现象颇为短促

谨严。《营造法式》檐出按椽径定，而椽径按槫数及其间距离定，与屋高无定比例[49]　　。然因斗拱雄大，故出檐率多甚远，恒达柱高一半以上。其现象则豪放，似能遮蔽檐下一切者。与意大利初期文艺复兴式建筑颇相似。

The height from the top of the liao-yen-fang to the top of the terrace is 6.09 m., while the distance from the center-line to the tip of the eave is 2.63 m., about 4.32/10 or 1/2.31 of the height. This great overhang together with the gentle slope of the roof, is one of the important factors that constitute to the character of the building.

The shaping of the rafter-ends is also worth noticing. The ends of the ch'uan or rafter and the fei-tzu or flying rafter are all slightly tapered. It is specified in Chapter V of the *Fa-shih* that:

"for all fei-tzu, the width should be eight-tenths, and the depth seven-tenths, the diameter of the ch'uan; both the width and the depth are each again divided into five parts; on each of the two sides, one part is tapered off, but from the bottom, two parts are tapered while the top is uncut.…"

The rafters of the Tu-lo Ssu structures were apparently shaped in accordance with the above quoted method, or some method similar to it. This particular kind of refinement was totally unused in buildings of the Ts'ing Dynasty.

〔K〕Roof-tiles and Ornaments

The writer was informed by an old gentleman of Chi Hsien that the original tiles of the Kuan-yin Ke and the Shan-men were very large, measuring about a foot and half in width and four feet in length. They were replaced by smaller ones during the repair of the Kwang-hsü period. A certain gentleman of the town is in possession of a piece of the original tiles, but the author was disappointed when he asked to be allowed to see it. The tremendous length of four feet of the original tile is certainly doubtful, but that the present tiles are not the original ones is unquestionable. However, the most important and noticeable parts of the roof-tiles are the two ridge-end ornaments or tz'u-wei (Figure 25). The tz'u-wei is a motif first introduced by a Taoist monk into Chinese architecture during the time of Han Wu-ti for the superstitious reasons. T'ang examples can still be seen in mural paintings of Tun-huang and on the roof of the Toshodaiji in Nara, Japan, where it assumes

the form of a fin-shaped tail, rising from the end of the ridge, and turning up and pointing in towards the center of the building. During the Ming and Ts'ing Dynasties, its name was changed to wen or lips, where it assumes the form of a dragon's head, facing in and biting the ridge in its mouth as though trying to swallow it, while the "tail" turns up and outward.

山门自台基背至榱檐槫背高为6.09米，而出檐自檐柱中线度之，为2.63米，为高之十分之四·三二或二·三一分之一。斜度既缓，出檐复远，此其所以大异于今制也。

椽头做法，亦有宜注意者，椽头及飞椽头（即飞子）皆较椽身略小。《营造法式》卷五檐节下：

“凡飞子，如椽径十分，则广八分厚七分；各以其广厚分为五分，两边各斜杀一分。底面上留三分，下杀二分。……”

此种做法，于独乐寺所见至为明显。且不惟飞子如是，椽头亦加卷杀，皆建筑上特加之精致也。

梢间檐椽，向角梁方面续渐加长，使屋之四角，除微弯向上外，还要微弯向外，《营造法式》称为“生出”，清式亦有之，但其比例略异耳。

〔11〕瓦

蓟县老绅士言，观音阁及山门瓦，原皆极大，宽一尺余，长四尺，于光绪重修时，为奸商窃换。县绅某先生，曾得一块，而珍藏之。请借一观则谓已遗失。其长四尺，虽未必信，而今瓦之非原物，固无疑义。其最可注意者，则脊上两鸱尾，极可罕贵之物也（图25）。鸱尾来源，固甚久远，唐代形制，于敦煌壁画及日本奈良唐招提寺见之，盖纯为鳍形之“尾”，自脊端翘起，而尾端向内者也。明清建筑上所用则为吻，作龙头形，其尾向外卷起，故其意趣大不相同。

【25】Tz'u-wei, Shan-men. 山门鸱尾

The name "tz'u-wei" is used in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih,* but no drawing can be found to identify its actual appearance, except in Chapter XXXII, in "the drawings for Cabinet Works," a number of Buddhist shrines are shown with wens identical to the later wens. But here in the case of the Shan-men, the dragon's head is similar to the modern designs, but the inward turn of the tubular "tail" is something unseen in later models. It is probably a Liao original, or a later replica of a Liao original, an interesting evidence of the transition.

About midway down the hip is the shou-t'ou or beast's head. It is known in later periods as the ch'ui-shou, the sloping beast. At the end of the hip, i.e., the corner of the roof, is the hsien-jen or immortal whose correct name is pin-chia or lady-in-waiting in *Fa-shih*; but here she is represented as a fierce, bearded, armored warrior, in a dignified sitting pose, with his right arm raised as though getting ready to strike any sparrow that might happen to perch in front of him!

In between the shou-t'ou and the pin-chia are a number of chou-shou or running beasts, known in the *Fa-shih* as the tsun-shou or sitting beasts. Whether they are running or sitting depends upon the designer, and in many cases on the spectator who views them from below. There are four of them at each corner, even members are employed unlike the Ts'ing image of odd numbers. The distribution of these beasts is here different from both the later practice of putting them close to each other, and the excessively scanty spacing of putting three tiles between each beast as specified in the *Fa-shih*. They are here spaced with one tile between, and a happy medium seems to have been stuck between the two extremes.

〔L〕The Masonry Walls

The two narrower facades and the spaces in between the chung-chu and shan-chu, i.e., in the two end bays on the longitudinal axis, are all built in with brick walls. They were undoubtedly built in during one of the Ts'ing restorations. It is therefore all the more interesting to note that they were not built in accordance with Ts'ing regulations, in which the ch'ün-chien, the lower part of the wall, is specified to be one-third the total height of the wall, while here it is only 97 cm. high in relation to the 4.33 m. of the height of the wall, that is less than one-fourth (Figure 12).

There are traces of brick walls between the lower parts of the columns in the front and rear in the end bays. They were recently destroyed.

《营造法式》虽有鸱尾之名，而无详图，在卷三十二《小木作制度图样》内，佛道帐上有之，则纯为明清所习见之吻，非尾也。此处所见，龙首虽与今式略同，而其鳍形之尾，向内卷起，实后世所罕见；其辽代之原物欤？即使非原物，亦必明代仿原物所作。于此鸱尾中，唐式之尾与明清之吻，合而为一，适足以示其过渡形制。此后则尾向外卷，而成今所习见之吻焉。

正脊与垂脊，皆以青砖垒成，无特殊之点。但《营造法式》以瓦为脊，日本镰仓时代建筑物亦然，是独乐寺殿堂原脊之是砖是瓦，将终成永久之谜。垂脊之上有兽头（今称垂兽），脊端为“仙人”，《法式》称“嫔伽”，而实则甲胄武士也！嫔伽与垂兽间为“走兽”，《法式》亦称“蹲兽”，其数为四。宋式皆从双数，而清式从单。其分布则不若清式之密，亦不若宋式“每隔三瓦或五瓦安兽一枚”之疏，适得其中者也。

〔12〕砖墙

两山及山柱与中柱间皆有砖墙，其为近代重砌，毫无可疑，然其制度则异于清式。清式以墙之最下三分之一为“裙肩”，此处则墙高4.33米，而裙肩高只0.97米，约为全高之1/4.5，其现象亦与清式所习见者大异（图12）。此外则别无特殊可志者。姑将其各部尺寸列下：

墙高	4.33米	外裙肩高	0.97米	山墙厚	约0.97米	收分	2%
里裙肩高	0.38米	墙肩高	0.31米	中墙厚	0.44米		

梢间檐柱与角柱间，尚有槛墙痕迹，高1.13米，厚0.43米，亦清代所修，而近数年始失去者。

【26】General view of the Shan-men. 山门全貌

〔M〕Windows and Doors

Not a trace of the Liao original windows or doors is conserved. Even the windows that once sheltered the end bays are missing. The only thing of the sort that can be seen is the two large gates, the design of which tells its date of construction—Ts'ing. A few of the transoms are still left with grills of geometrical patterns, similar to those of the Imperial Palaces in Peiping. Separating the central bay, which was the main thoroughfare, from the end bays, which were rooms for the Lokapalas, were originally wooden railings. Probably they were destroyed only recently.

〔13〕装修

辽代原物，一无所存。清物则大门二扇，尚称完整。考其痕迹，南北二面梢间之外面，清代曾有槛墙，上安槛窗。今抱框及上中槛尚存，横披花心亦在，其楞子为清故宫内最常见之“菱花”几何形纹样。檐柱与中柱间，当曾有栅栏，想已供数年前驻军炊焚之用矣。

〔N〕Painting

The painting is the worst part of the modern touches. It was probably done during the Kwang-hsü restoration in accordance with paintings of the Chien-lung period. The painters were totally ignorant of the functions of the different components of the architecture, and taste was altogether lacking in their distribution of colors. With the exception of the tou-kungs, which are tolerable and not too outrageous, the entire painted decoration is merely an exhibition of the lowest degeneration of decorative art. Because of the difference in structure, the Ts'ing system of painted ornaments could not be very well applied to a Liao building, while the lack of creative ability prevented the painters from inventing something new. The Ts'ing system of ornamentation was thus forced onto the Liao structure, making a clown of the dignified old monument. The filled-in spaces between the tou-kungs are treated with an all-over pattern of frets. This pattern was carried right across and over the short stud of the pu-chien-p'u-cho, as if purposely trying to disguise its structural value. To paint a religious building in a ridiculous manner like this is not only sacrilegious but mocks the functional value of the architectural parts.

〔14〕彩画

彩画之恶劣，盖无与伦。乃光绪末年所涂者。画匠对于建筑各部之机能，既毫无了解，而于颜色图案之调配，更乏美术。除斗拱所施，尚称合宜外，其他各部，皆丑劣不堪。因结构之不同，以致清式定例不能适用，而画者又乏创造力，于是阑额作和玺，檐槫（桁）作“大点金”，大点金而间以万字“箍头”又杂以“苏画枋心”。数层柱头枋上彩画亦如是，而枋心又不在其正当位置。替木上又加以卍纹。尤为荒谬者则垫拱板上普遍之万字纹上添花，竟将补间铺作之直斗亦置于其掩盖之下，非特加注意，观者竟不知直斗之存在。喧哗嘈杂，不可响尔。夫名刹之山门，乃法相庄严之地，而施以滑稽如彼之彩画，可谓大不敬也矣。

〔O〕Statues

In each of the two end bays is a colossal figure of a Lokapala, modeled in clay. They are the familiar conventional figures often seen at the entrances of Chinese temples. Their expressions are fierce, and their draperies suggestive of violent movement. Both figures are beginning to fall forward, and are held in position by iron chains and rods from behind. The painting on the figures is new (Figure 27).

〔P〕Mural Paintings

On the two end walls, in the northern end bays, are painted the Four Heavenly Kings. On the east are Tseng-ch'ang-t'ien (Virûdhaka) and Ch'ih-kuo-t'ien (Dhritarâshtra) on the west wall are To-wen-t'ien (Vais'ravana) and Kwang-mu-t'ien (Virupâksha). The paintings show very little merit from point of view of the technique of the painter, but the composition is fairly interesting. It is quite possible that they are older originals retouched and traced over in one of the later restorations. The murals were packed over with paper and have been much defaced and marred by its removal (Figure 28).

〔Q〕The Pien

Under the eave on the southern (front) facade is the signboard with the characters 独乐寺 (“Tu-lo Ssu”). The board measures more than two meters by one while each character is about 90 cm. square. The calligraphy is attributed to Yen Sung, a treacherous prime minister of the Ming Dynasty (Figure 29).

〔15〕塑像

南面梢间立塑像二尊，土人呼为哼哈二将，而呼山门为“哼哈殿”。像状至凶狞，肩际长巾，飘然若动。东立者闭口握拳，为哼（图27）。西立者开口伸掌为哈。实为天王也。像皆前倾，背系以铁索。新涂彩画甚劣。

〔16〕画像

北半梢间山墙，画四天王像。东壁为增长（南）持国（北），西壁为多闻（北）广目（南）（图28）。笔法平庸，而布局颇有意趣，盖近代重修而摹画者耶？驻军曾以纸糊墙，今虽撕去，而画受损已多矣。

〔17〕匾

山门南面额曰“独乐寺”，匾长2.17米，高1.08米，字方约0.9米。相传为严嵩手笔（图29）。

【27】A Lokapala in the end bay, Shan-men. 山门东间天王塑像

【28】Mural paintings of Heavenly Kings on the west wall, Shan-men. 山门西壁天王画像

【29】The pien of Tu-lo Ssu, Shan-men. 山门匾

V. The Kuan-yin Ke

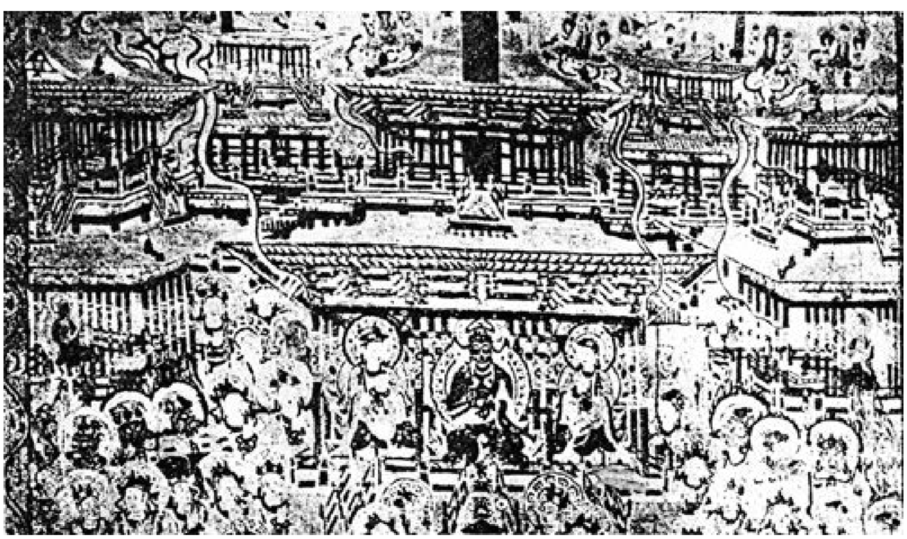
〔A〕Exterior Appearance

The Kuan-yin Ke is a three-storied building of two main floors and a mezzanine which is not visible from the exterior. It resembles strikingly the two- or three-storied buildings represented in the T'ang mural paintings of the caves of Tun-huang (Figure 30). The bold proportions of the tou-kungs, the heavy overhang of the eaves, together with the gentle pitch of the roof line, endow it with an air of dignity and composure that nevertheless is full of vitality, a characteristic found only in architecture of a new and growing epoch. The three tiers of tou-kungs on the exterior vary in form and structure according to their respective position and function. The roof is of the hsien-shan kind, a combination of the pitched and gabled roof.

伍 观音阁

〔1〕外观

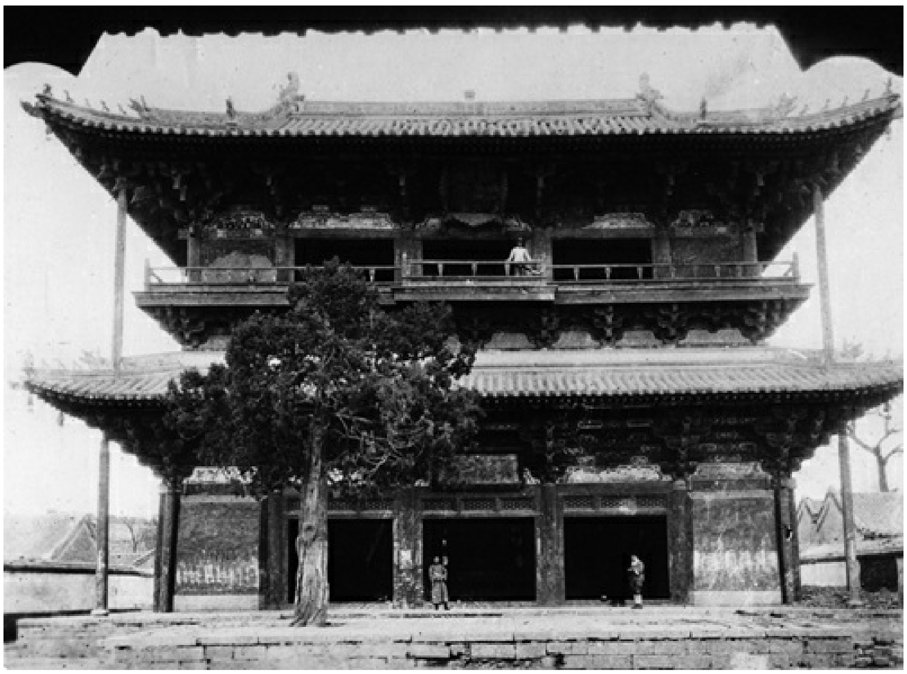
阁高三层，而外观则似二层；其上下二主要层之间，夹以暗层，如西式所谓mezzanine者，自外部观之不见。阁外观上最大特征，则与唐敦煌壁画中所见之建筑极相类似也（图30）。伟大之斗拱，深远之檐出，及屋顶和缓之斜度，稳固庄严，含有无限力量，颇足以表示当时方兴未艾之朝气。其三层斗拱，各因其地位而异其制。



【30】Mural paintings of the caves of Tun-huang. 敦煌壁画净土图

The recess of the gable from the eave, technically termed shou-shan, is greater than that of the Ts'ing style, resulting in a comparatively short ridge and small triangular gable, or shan-hua. Surrounding the third story on the exterior is a balcony, commanding an admirable view of the surrounding landscape. At the four corners on both stories are posts supporting the heavy overhanging eaves which threaten to fall down. This entire structure stands on a low base or terrace of stone, called the t'ai-chi, in front of which is another terrace one step lower, called the yueh-t'ai. On this yueh-t'ai are two square "beds," in one of which still stands an old cypress tree (Figure 31).

屋顶为“歇山”式[50]，而收山殊甚，正脊因之较清式短，而山花[51]亦较清式小。上层周有露台，可登临远眺。今檐四角下支以方柱，以防角檐倾圮。阁立于低广石台基上，其前有月台，台上有花池二方，西池内尚有古柏一株（图31）。



【31】Southern side of Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁南面

〔B〕The Plan

The Kuan-yin Ke is a peristylar hall of five bays by four, with the longer facade facing south. The columns on the exterior are 18 in number, while in

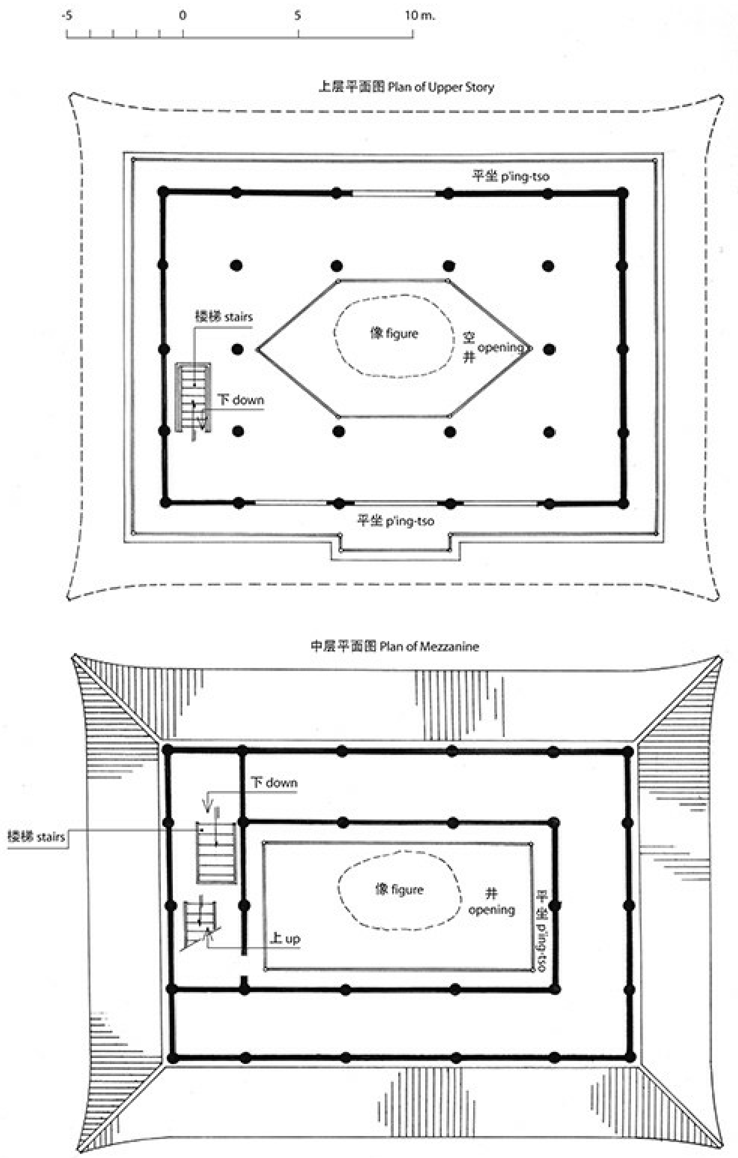
the interior there are 10 (Figure 8), forming the cella of the Hall. Within the area bound by the inner columns is a platform, situated slightly to the northern half of the space. On the platform is the colossal standing figure of an Eleven-headed Kuan-yin, with two Bodhisattvas in attendance, all three statues resembling strongly the sculptures of the T'ang period. There are three other seated figures on the platform, apparently of a much later date. On the northern side of the platform, back to the colossal figure is another figure of a Kuan-yin, sitting on a hilly setting. In the bay on the western end is the stairway that gives access to the mezzanine and upper floors.

The mezzanine floor is situated between the ceiling of the lower story and the floor of the upper story. It is not visible from the exterior. Being behind the roof of the lower story and the brackets of the balcony above, fenestration is almost totally illuminated. With the exception of the western end bay, which is used as the hall leading to the stairs, the entire space between the exterior and interior rows of columns is left unused. The central space, bound on the four sides by the inner columns is unfloored, but provided with a balcony which enables the worshipper to go around the body of the figure, which pierces through all the three stories (Figure 9). The stairway from below is accessible at the northern end of the stair-hall, while to the south is another flight of stairs leading to the upper floor.

〔2〕平面

阁东西五间，南北四间；柱分内外二周。外檐柱十八，内檐柱十（图8）。最中为须弥坛，坛略偏北，上立十一面观音像一，侍立菩萨像二，其他像三；与大像相背有山洞及像。西梢间内为楼梯，可达中层。

中层位于下层天花板之上，上层地板之下，其外周为下檐及平坐铺作所遮蔽，故无窗。其檐柱以内，内柱（清称金柱）以外一周，遂空废无用。内柱以内上下空通全阁之高，而有小台可绕像身一周（图9）。楼梯在西梢间北端，至中层后折而向南，可达上层。



【32】Plan of Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁平面图

The upper story is one spacious room with the three middle bays open. Now that the doors are destroyed, it gives more than ever a feeling of spaciousness and loftiness. The entire upper story is surrounded on the exterior by a balcony, supported on a series of tou-kungs, commanding a magnificent vista of the city in front and the hills at the rear. In the center of the room is a hexagonal opening, surrounded by balustrades, from which one can obtain an excellent view of the figure, particularly the head and the bust (Figure 32). The bays that are not open are filled in by walls of earthen plaster on laths of twigs.

The inter-columniation of the different bays is not equal, but wider in the center and narrower at the ends. The width of the end bays in both facades is the sauce, that is to say, the inner columns are all equidistant from their corresponding outer columns forming an aisle all the way around the nave. It is interesting to note that the three superposed "orders" of the inner peristylar columns are placed directly one on top of the other, on the same center line, while the two upper "orders" on the exterior columns are placed not directly on the lower columns, but on the beam spanning the space between the inner and outer columns. This moves the outer columns on the two upper stories a little distance back of the lower rows, thus making the upper stories considerably smaller than the lower one and thus giving an appearance of stability.

上层极为空朗，周有檐廊[52]　，可以远眺崆峒盘谷。内柱以内，地板开六角形空井，围绕佛身，可以凭栏细观像肩胸以上各部（图32）。南面居中三间俱辟为户，可外通檐廊，北面唯当心间辟户。其余各间则皆为土壁，梯位置亦在西梢间，可以下通中下二层。

下层面阔，当心间较阔于次间，次间又阔于梢间；进深则内间较深于前后间。而梢间之阔与前后间之深同，故檐柱金柱之间乃成阔度相同之绕廊一周。而内部少二中柱，为佛坛所在。其特可注意者，乃中上二层之金柱，立于下层金柱顶上，而上中层檐柱乃不立于下层檐柱顶上，而向内立于梁上，故中上二层外周间较狭，而阁亦因之呈下大上小之状。

〔C〕The Terrace

The sub-structure to the entire Kuan-yin Ke is the stone t'ai-chi forming that the footing to the Hall, and is the transition between the structure and the ground. In relation to the entire building, the terrace seems rather low. The exterior appearance of the Hall would be greatly improved if the terrace were increased to double its height. But whether the present height is that of the original or not is doubtful. The stone used for the side walls of the terrace is local granite, roughly dressed. The top of the terrace is paved with square brick tiles. The space within the peristyle is on the same level as the outer part of the terrace, forming the floor height of the lower story.

In front of the t'ai-chi, and lower by one step, is the yueh-t'ai, a little more than three bays in length, with its width less than half its length. The

side walls are of the same material as the t'ai-chi, and the top paved with the same tile. Two unpaved squares on the yueh-t'ai from the "flower-beds," in one of which may still be seen an old cypress tree.

On both the east and west of the yueh-t'ai, and butting against the side of the t'ai-chi, is a flight of steps. The steps to the southern side, once the main access to the terrace and the Hall, were destroyed in 1931. The stones for the steps are still piled up nearby. A similar flight of steps is provided on the northern side of the terrace.

〔D〕The Column and the Base

In form the columns of the Kuan-yin Ke are quite similar to those of the Shan-men. After a thousand years' reparation and restoration, in addition to the natural shrinkage and expansion of the wood, the columns have become quite un-uniform in size, and to obtain an accurate measurement is impossible. However, the average of the dimensions taken show definitely that there is no definite proportion between the diameter to the height of the column. This differs from both the Greco-Roman and Ts'ing styles. In Chapter V of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* on the making of columns, no definite proportion is given between the diameter and height of the column. In the case of the Shan-men and the Kuan-yin Ke, although there is no definite diameter to the columns, they nearly all measure half a meter across. It may not be altogether without justification to presume that they were all meant to be of the same size regardless of their height and position. The slight variation in size found today is due to inexact workmanship or the shrinkage of materials in past ages.

兹将各层各柱脚间尺寸列下：

	下层（米）	中层（米）	上层（米）
明间面阔	4.75	4.75	4.75
次间面阔	4.35	4.35	4.35
梢间而阔	3.39	3.03	2.98
前后间进深	3.39	3.03	2.98
内间进深	3.74	3.74	3.74

以上度量，不唯可见中上二层檐柱之内移，且可见柱侧脚之度[53]

。

〔3〕台基及月台

观音阁全部最下层之结构为台基，全部之基础，而阁与地间之过渡部分[54] 也。台基为石砌，长26.66米，宽20.45米，高1.04米。以全部权衡计，台基颇嫌扁矮，若倍其高，于外观必大有裨益。然台基今之高度，是否原高度，尚属可疑，惜未得发掘，以验其有无埋没部分也。砌台基之石，皆当地所产花刚石，虽经磋琢，仍欠方整，殆亦原物而经重砌者。台基之上面，墁以方砖；檐柱以内，即为下层地面。

台基之前为月台，长16.22米，占正面三间有余，宽7.70米，而较台基低0.20米。月台亦石砌，与台基同。上墁方砖。台上左右有花池二，方约2米，西池内尚有古柏一株，而东池一株并根不存矣。

月台东西两方，与台基邻接处，有阶五级，可下平地。南面原亦有阶，然因有碍球场，已于去岁拆毁。今阶石尚存月台东阶下，拆毁痕迹尚可见。台基北面亦有阶。

〔4〕柱及柱础

观音阁柱与山门柱形制相同，亦《营造法式》所谓直柱者也。山门诸柱，原物较少，而观音阁殆因不易撤换，故皆（？）原物，千年来屡经修葺，坎补涂抹之处既多且乱，致使各柱肥瘦不同，测究非易。

The entasis on the columns of the Ke is peculiarly slight. It is difficult to make any measurement on account of the unevenness and inexactitude of the columns.

However, the ch'e-chiao or slanting of the columns can generally be easily seen. A passage from the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* has already quoted in discussing the columns of the Shan-men. Referring to the ch'e-chiao of multiple-story buildings, the handbook says that the degree of inclination should be carried all the way up. Measurements taken at different levels show that the ch'e-chiao is strictly observed in the Ke columns, as the distances between the outer and inner columns steadily diminish from the lower to the upper ends. This is plainly visible even to the naked eye (Figure 31).

It is to be noted that the three-story height of the Kuan-yin Ke is actually composed of three separate stories of structural framework, each complete in itself with its "order" of columns, tou-kungs, and horizontal liangs and fangs. Therefore, the superposition of the different stories is worth studying. It has

already been mentioned in a previous paragraph that the outer columns of the mezzanine do not stand directly on top of the lower-story columns, but on a beam, and the distance between the center lines of the lower and upper columns is 0.355 m. The column on the beam does not stand directly on the beam, but interposed by a base which is merely an old kung put upside down. This kung is at least as old as the end of the T'ang Dynasty, as it is evident that it must have been taken from some old buildings that were destroyed prior to the building of the Kuan-yin Ke in 984 AD. The function of this interposition is primarily to take care of the strong shear exerted on the beam on account of the closeness of the columns above and below. But the two t'iaos of hua-kungs under the beam have reduced greatly the actual span of the beam on which the upper column stands, and the successive tiers of corbelling are made to react as one single member, transmitting the load to the column below.

然测究之结果，乃得知各柱因位置之不同，尺寸略约，姑列如下表：[55]

	高（米）	下径（米）	上径（米）	收分	高与径比
下层檐柱	4.35	0.48	—	—	9.1:1
下层内柱	4.58	0.505	—	—	9.1:1
上层檐柱	2.75	0.49	0.49	无	5.6:1
上层角柱	2.75	0.52	0.52	无	5.3:1
上层内柱	2.75	0.54	0.52	7‰	5.1:1
上层中柱	2.75	0.47	0.45	7‰	5.85:1

综上列诸度量及山门柱度量，得知柱径与高无一定之比例。清式定例，柱高为柱径之十倍，而独乐寺所见，则绝无定例。考之《营造法式》卷五，用柱之制，亦绝无以柱高或径定其比例及尺寸者。山门及观音阁，其柱径虽每柱不同，然皆约略为0.5米，愚意以为原计划必每柱皆同径，不分地位及用途；其略有大小不同者，乃选材不当或施工不准及后世斫补所使然耳。

阁柱收分尤微，虽有亦不及1%。然因各柱尺寸不同，亦难得知确为何如。

其最显而易见者，则柱之侧脚度也。关于此点，上文已详加申述，然于楼阁柱侧脚之制，则《法式》有下列一段：

“若楼阁柱侧脚，只以柱以上为则，侧脚上更加侧脚，逐层仿此。”

按前页各层面阔进深尺寸表，梢间面阔及前后间进深，向上层层缩

减，可知其然；即未测量，肉眼描视，亦显现易见也（图31）。

阁高既为三倍，柱亦为三层垒叠而上达，而各层于斗拱檐廊等部，各自齐备；故阁之三层，可分析为三个完整之结构垒叠而成[56]。然则各层相叠之制，亦研究所宜注意。中层檐柱，不立于下层檐柱之上，而立于其上之梁上，二柱中线相距0.355米。惧其不固也，更以横木承之。而此横木，乃一旧拱，其必为唐以前物无疑。上下二柱既不衔接，则其荷重下达亦不能一线直下，而藉梁枋为之转移，此转移荷重之梁枋，遂受上下二柱之切力[57]，为减少切力之影响，故加旧拱以增其力。但枋下梁拱叠出，最上受柱重之枋，已将其重量层层移向下层柱心，而切力亦在拱之全身，而不独在受柱之枋。此法固非极善，然因斗拱结构完善，足以承重不欹也（图9）。清式楼阁有童柱之制，与此略同。然因童柱立于梁中，而不在梁之一端，故其应力亦不同也。

The outer columns of the top story are placed directly on those of the mezzanine story. The foot of the upper column is mortised and jointed to form a part of the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho beneath it, with its foot standing on the lu-tou, as if standing on a regular base. The inner columns are also superposed in the same manner. Many of the mortised feet of the upper columns have split and threaten to give way under the slightest access of load (Figure 46).

The heads of the columns are rounded off like a fu-p'en or "in the shape of an inverted bowl." This characteristic is especially noticeable in the dark parts of the mezzanine, where the contours of the columns are not deformed by the plaster and paint of later ages (Figure 33).

The base of the column of the lower story is of the same material as that of the Shan-men. It is about 90 cm., less than twice the diameter of the column, but considerably larger than the Shan-men bases. The fu-p'en of the base is also treated in the same manner as that of the Shan-men.

〔E〕 Tou-kungs

There are twenty-four different kinds of tou-kung in the structure of the Kuan-yin Ke. Each kind is specially constructed to fit the position and suit the function of each particular case.

1. Exterior Tou-kungs of the Lower Story

(a) Chu-t'ou-p'u-cho, the Brackets on the Column On the column the lu-tou isplaced

from which extend four t'iaos of hua-kungs and the shua-t'ou. Intersecting with these are a ni-tao-kung, three tiers of chu-t'ou-fangs, and a ya-ts'ao-fang above in all five tiers. The three tiers of chu-t'ou-fang are all carved with false kungs in relief, like the Shan-men. On the ends of the second and fourth t'iaos of the hua-kung, are placed a transversal kung, in the t'ou-hsin manner. The kung on the second t'iao is called the kua-tze-kung, on which is placed a man-kung, supporting a long horizontal member, called the lo-han-fang (Figures 34, 35). Concerning constructions of this kind, it is stated in Chapter IV of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih,* on the "Ensemble of the P'u-cho”:

“…when the shu-fang is supported by the ling-kung on the end of the t'iao, it is called the single kung method.… When a man-kung is placed on the kua-tze-kung, which is on the end of the t'iao, and the shu-fang placed on the man-kung, it is called the double-kung method."

至于上层檐柱，乃立于中层柱头栌斗之上，上中层内柱，亦立于中下层内柱柱头栌斗之上；与各拱相交，似成为斗拱之中心然者，因与各拱交置，故各柱脚竟多劈裂倾斜，亦非用木之善法也。此种作法，当于下文平坐铺作题下详论之（图46）。

至于柱之形式，上径下径相差无几，其收分平均不过1%，故其所呈现象颇长而直。所谓直柱者是。其柱头卷杀作覆盆样，亦为特征，此点于在暗层内之中层内柱，未经油饰诸部分最为明显（图33）。

柱基石料与山门同，亦当地青石造。方0.90米，亦不及柱径之倍，然比例较大于山门柱础。其上覆盆之制亦与山门同。[58]

〔5〕斗拱

观音阁上下内外计有斗拱二十四种，各因其地位及功用之不同，而异其形制。

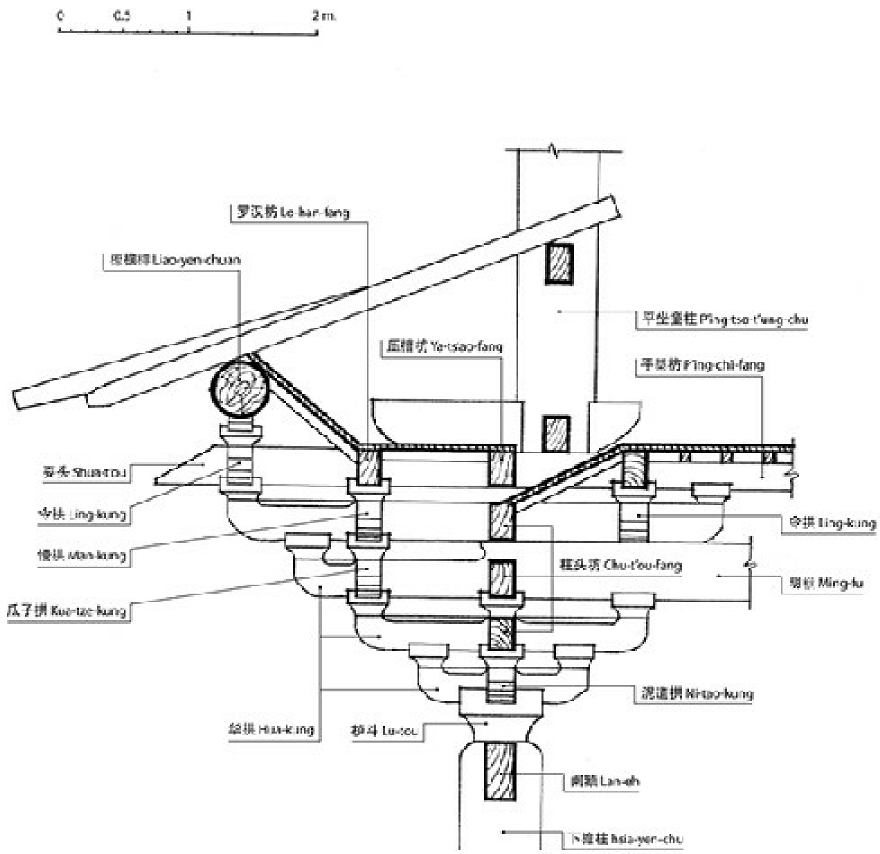
下层外檐斗拱四种：

1．柱头铺作　栌斗施于柱头，斗上出华拱四跳，并耍头共计五层。与华拱耍头相交者计泥道拱一层，柱头枋四层，共计亦五层。下三层柱头枋皆雕作假拱形，如山门之制。跳头每隔一跳，上安横拱，作“偷心”之制，故华拱四跳中，唯第二跳及第四跳跳头上安横拱，拱上承枋（图34，35）。关于此部结构，《法式》卷四《总铺作次序》谓：

“……每跳令拱上只用素方一重，谓之单拱。……每跳瓜子拱上施慢拱，慢拱上用素方，谓之重拱。”

【33】The heads of the columns in the dark parts of the mezzanine. 观音阁暗层内柱头

【34】Exterior tou-kungs of the lower story. 观音阁下层外檐柱头及补间铺作



【35】Chu-t'ou-p'u-cho and pu-chien-p'u-cho, exterior tou-kungs of the lower story, Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁下层外檐柱头及补间铺作

【36】 T'i-mu of chu-t'ou-p'u-cho, exterior tou-kungs of the lower story, Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁下层外檐柱头铺作之替木

But in an explanatory note to this passage, the following definitions are given:

"The su-fang (meaning plain fang) above the ni-tao-kung is called the chu-t'ou-fang, while the one on the t'iao is called the lo-han-fang on which is placed the che-ch'uan-pan (rafter-hiding board) in a sloping position."

Here we have on the end of the second t'iao a kua-tze-kung supporting a man-kung, on which is placed a lo-han-fang, answering exactly to the description of the double-kung method; while on the end of the fourth t'iao, the ling-kung with the t'i-mu and eave-purlin above give an excellent example of the single kung construction (Figure 36).

It is interesting to note that the second and fourth t'iaos are slightly longer than the first and third, because in a p'u-cho of the t'ou-hsin manner, the second and fourth t'iaos, on which the transversal kungs are placed, are apparently of greater importance than the other two t'iaos.

而此段小注中则谓：

“素方在泥道拱上者谓之柱头方，在跳上者谓之罗汉方[59]，方上斜安遮椽板。”

第二跳跳头计瓜子拱慢拱各一层，上用罗汉枋，即所谓重拱之制。此制至清代仍沿用之。第四跳跳头上则只用单拱，唯令拱一层，与耍头相交，清代亦同此制。唯清式于令拱（清称厢拱）上散斗（清称三才升）内安挑檐枋，上承挑檐桁。宋式则无桁而用橑檐枋，辽式则以替木代挑檐枋（图36），上加橑檐槫（挑檐桁）。此节上文虽已论及，唯为清晰计，故重申述之。

至于各跳长度，亦因地位功用而稍异。第一第三两跳出跳较长，而第二第四两跳出跳较短，盖因偷心之制，二四两跳较重要于一三两跳，故使然也。

The rear of the p'u-cho (Figure 37) consists of two t'iaos of hua-kung supporting a small beam, called the ming-fu, on which is placed the rear of the fourth hua-kung, in the form of a kung, intersecting with a ling-kung. The shua-t'ou is extended at the rear right across the aisle, above and parallel to the ming-fu, known as the p'ing-ch'i-fang or the fang of the coffer ceiling.

The function of these two horizontal members is primarily for the tying together of the inner and outer peristylar columns, and not for the carrying of any load above, although the p'ing-ch'i-fang is made to carry the ceiling which is not very heavy.

The spaces between the inner and outer su-fang are covered by the che-ch'uan-pan, known as the kai-tou-pan in the Ts'ing style. As the spaces are comparatively wider than those of the later styles, the che-ch'uan-pan is supported by a number of small rafters, a treatment not seen in Ts'ing structures but quite usual in Japanese structures of the Heian and Kamakura periods, when T'ang and Sung influence were most dominant in Japan.

(b) Chuan-chiao-p'u-choAs discussed in a previous paragraph, the set that turns the corner may be analyzed as the intersection of two chu-t'ou-p'u-cho each facing a direction that makes an angle of 90 degrees with the other (Figure 38). Here on the exterior of the lower story of the Kuan-yin Ke, the lu-tou is found with intersecting hua-kungs, the rear ends of which are simultaneously the ni-tao-kungs of the adjacent side. Above each of these intersecting kungs are three t'iaos of hua-kungs, all being the extension of the ends of the chu-t'ou-fangs of the adjacent sides.

铺作后尾之结构（图37），亦殊饶趣味。最下华拱两层，与前面相同，唯长0.02米。第三跳前为华拱尾为梁，直达内柱拱头铺作上。第四跳为拱，顺安于梁上，长只如三跳，而于二跳中线上施以令拱，以承内

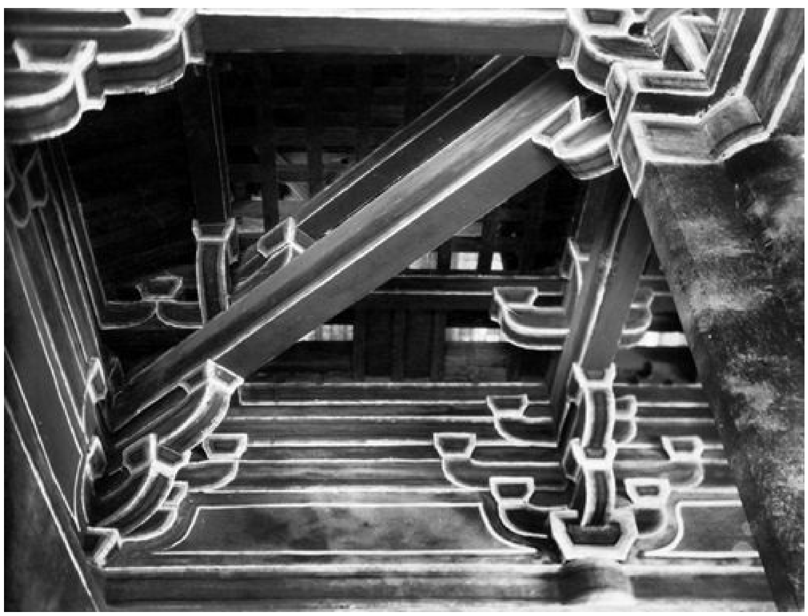
罗汉枋。更上则为耍头后尾，直达内檐柱头铺作上。

檐柱与内柱之间，遂有联络材二件，梁枋各一。二者功用皆在平的联络，而不在上面负重者也。

各跳间素枋上皆有遮椽板，清称盖斗板者是。因枋间相距颇远，故板下以小楞木承之，为清式所无，然多见于日本，亦隋唐遗制也。

铺作正面立面为重拱两叠，令拱一层，其在柱上者，除泥道拱外，皆由柱头枋雕成假拱，第二跳跳头为重拱；第四跳跳头为令拱。其偷心之结构，特长之慢拱，及全铺作雄大之权衡，遂使建筑物全部之现象，迥异于明清建筑矣。

2．转角铺作　转角铺作者，实两面之柱头铺作，前已述及。故仍当按此原则分析之（图38）。栌斗口中，泥道拱与华拱相列之列拱二件相交，其上华拱三跳，皆由三层柱头枋伸出，即柱头枋与华拱相列也。



【37】The rear of chu-t'ou-p'u-cho and chuan-chiao-p'u-cho, exterior tou-kungs of the lower story, Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁下层外檐柱头铺作及转角铺作后尾

【38】Chuan-chiao-p'u-cho and chu-t'ou-p'u-cho, exterior tou-kungs of the lower story, Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁下层外檐转角铺作及柱头铺作

On the mitre-line are five t'iaos of chiao-kungs, corresponding to the four t'iaos of hua-kungs and the shua-t'ou on the two sides. The kua-tze-kung on the end of the second hua-kung on either side is made to intersect with that of the other side on the end of the second chiao-kung, and then carried beyond the point of intersection to become the double- kung of the corresponding level on the other side, whereon is supported the lo-han-fang. The end of the lo-han-fang, in a position similar to that of the shua-t'ou, is shaped into a wing-like curve, with no transversal kung on its end. On the end of the fourth chiao-kung are two intersecting ling-kungs, supporting two intersecting t'i-mu under the eave-purlins which also intersect at this point. On the same level as the shua-t'ou on the mitre-line is the fifth chiao-kung, on the end of which sits a pao-p'ing or "treasure bottle" to support the chiao-liangs above.

The rear of the p'u-cho consists of nothing but the rear ends of the chiao-kungs, bisecting the inner angle. The two lower t'iaos, like those of the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho, are made to support the beam above, running from the outer to the inner corner columns of the peristyle. The third chiao-kung on the exterior is extended in the rear into a diagonal beam, spanning the corner columns. The fourth tier is again a kung parallel to the beam and resting on it.

The fifth and uppermost tier is a diagonal fang, forming another tie between the corner columns. The construction of this part is identical to that of the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho, but diagonally put; the only difference being in the ling-kung under the inner lo-han-fang, the outer end of which is made to butt against the chu-t'ou-fang of the corresponding level.

This chuan-chiao-p'u-cho has the appearance of something very complicated, but a little analyzation reveals it to be an ensemble of nothing but logic and order, a natural outcome of the structural system.

(c) The Pu-chien-p'u-cho on the Front Facade

It is applied only in the three central bays. It hardly functions as a structural unit. The p'u-cho is only a composition of false kungs carved on the chu-t'ou-fangs, with the spaces between filled in with a few tous. The two lower fangs are carved with the ni-tao-kung and man-kung combination, while the upper fang is treated with a ling-kung. There are no hua-kungs extending out to support the overhanging eave like that of the Shan-men. The large t'ou under the ni-tao-kung was probably supported by a short stud or a t'o-feng which is now missing (Figure 34).

斜角线上，亦安角拱，与各华拱及耍头相埒者五层。正面及侧而华拱第二跳跳头之瓜子拱及慢拱相交于第二跳角拱跳头之上，其另一面遂成罗汉枋下之华拱第三四跳，瓜子拱或慢拱与华拱相列者也。最上一层之柱头枋，在彼一面伸出为耍头，与令拱相交于华拱第四跳跳头之上。而罗汉枋亦在彼一面伸出，与耍头并列，但上不施拱，其端则斫作翼形。角华拱第四跳跳头上则有令拱二件相交，上施散斗，斗上承长替木，达正令拱之上。而与耍头相埒之角枋，则端亦作拱形，成第五层角华拱，拱端斗上安“宝瓶”，以承大角梁。

其后尾唯角华拱二层。第三层为斜梁，达内角柱。第四层为拱，顺安梁上。第五层为斜枋，即外端上置宝瓶之最上层角华拱后尾也。此部结构与柱头铺作后尾完全相同，唯位置斜角；其唯一不同之点，乃内罗汉枋下令拱，其一端为拱，而另一端乃与第三层柱头枋相交，《法式》所谓令拱与切几头相列者是也。

此转角铺作，骤观颇似复杂不堪者，但略加分析，则有条不紊，逻辑井然，结构法所自然产生之结果也。

3．正面补间铺作　下檐唯当心间及次间有补间铺作，而梢间无之。由结构上言，谓下檐无补间铺作可也。盖柱头铺作与柱头铺作之间，有柱头枋四层互相联络，而所谓补间铺作者，徒在枋上雕作拱形；其在下

一层为泥道拱，其上为慢拱，再上为令拱，无华拱出跳，非所以承檐者也。各拱上置散斗三，以承上层之柱头枋，而最下层之下，则有一小斗及直斗，置于阑额之上。今直斗已失，其形制幸自山门东面得见之；而大斗则至今尚虚悬枋下也（图34）。

(d)The Pu-chien-p'u-cho on the End Facade

It is also applied only to the two inner bays, and the spaces between the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho and the chuan-chiao-p'u-cho are left without any p'u-cho. Although, like the pu-chien-p'u-cho of the front and the rear, the p'u-cho is nothing more than a number of carved kungs on the chu-t'ou-fangs, it is yet slightly different in the combination of kungs on account of the slightly smaller inter-columniation. The lowest fang is carved into the form of a wing-shaped kung, supported at its middle by a large tou on a short stud. The second fang is carved into a ni-tao-kung on which is the man-kung, also carved on the fang. It is to be noted here that the carved man-kung of the pu-chien-p'u-cho is connected with that of the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho on account of the narrow space. Such an arrangement is known in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* as lien-kung-chiao-yin or the inter-locking hidden kungs (Figure 39).

It was only after the Sung Dynasty that the pu-chien-p'u-cho began to develop into one more complicated form. Sui and T'ang examples are found mostly as the kungs or short vertical studs. The function of these earlier pu-chien kungs or studs was primarily to keep the fangs of different levels in rigid relation to each other, and had little or nothing to do with the supporting of the overhanging eave. The pu-chien-p'u-cho of the other stories of the Kuan-yin Ke and of the Shan-men are all more complicated and "modern." The simple examples like those discussed here that have in very rudimentary form the later combination while still purely Sui-T'angish in function are certainly rare examples of a transitional construction.

2.Interior Tou-kungs of the Lower Story (Figure 40)

(e) Chu-t'ou-p'u-choInstead of being supported directly by the inner peristylar column, the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho is placed on a p'u-p'ai-fang or plate which in turn is placed on top of the column. The front of the p'u-cho is made to face the center of the building, while the rear is directed towards the exterior.

4．山面补间铺作　亦唯内间有之，而前后间不置。虽与正面补间铺

作同在枋上雕成假拱形，然因间之进深较小，故拱形亦略异。其最下层为翼形拱，上置一散斗，其上为泥道拱，再上为慢拱，与柱头铺作同层之慢拱“连拱交隐”（图39）。各层枋间，亦垫以散斗，最下则支以直斗，如正面及山门之制。

补间铺作，自宋而后始见繁杂，隋唐遗例，殆多用人字形或直斗者。人字形及直斗之功用在各层枋间上下之联络，于檐之出跳无与也。观音阁他层及山门虽有较繁杂之补间铺作，而简单如阁之下檐，只略具后代补间铺作之雏型，而于功用上仍纯为“隋唐的”者，实罕见之过渡佳例也。

下层内檐斗拱三种：

5．柱头铺作 （图40） 立于内柱柱头上平板枋上，其内向者为铺作之正面，而向外一面乃其后尾。

【39】Tou-kungs on the western side of Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁西面各层斗拱

【40】P'ing-tso-p'u-cho, interior tou-kungs of the lower story. 观音阁下层内檐平坐铺作

The function of these interior tou-kungs is to support the narrow balcony that is carried around the colossal figure at the mezzanine floor height. The chu-t'ou-p'u-cho consists of two t'iaos of hua-kungs, which, with the assistance of kungs, carry two shu-fangs, forming the immediate support of the overhanging portion of the balcony.

The first hua-kung carries a "double-kung" and the second hua-kung, a single ling-kung. Intersecting with the first hua-kung in the lu-tou is the ni-tao-kung, carrying three chu-t'ou-fangs above, which are also carved into kungs in relief. On the same level with the two upper fangs, and intersecting with them, are two members, the lower one being a shua-t'ou without the projecting tip, while the upper one is a small beam spanning the space between the inner and outer peristylar columns supporting the floor, and at the same time intersecting with the two shu-fangs.

The construction of this p'u-cho answers precisely to the following passage from the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*:

"In the construction of this p'ing-tso (balcony), the p'u-cho should be one or two t'iaos less than the upper story, with double-kung and built in the chi-hsin manner. Underneath the p'u-cho a p'u-p'ai-fang should be used…”

此斗拱者，所以承中层内平坐：华拱两跳，每跳上安素枋，枋上铺

地板，置栏杆，可绕佛身中段一周。而中层内柱，亦立于同柱头之上。重拱计心，与《营造法式》下列数段符合：

“造平坐之制，其铺作减上屋一跳或两跳，其铺作宜用重拱及逐跳计心造作。”

“凡平坐铺作下用普拍方，厚随材广或更加一栔……”

而普拍枋者，盖即清式所谓平板枋；清式凡斗拱皆置于平板枋上，无将栌斗直接置于柱头者，而此处所见于普拍枋之用，只限于平坐铺作之下，与宋式适同。

铺作后尾。第一层为拱，第二层为梁，即外檐第三跳后尾之梁也。第三跳又为拱，第四层为枋。即外檐耍头后尾伸引部分也。

铺作正面，栌斗之内，泥道拱与华拱相交，第二层为慢拱，乃由柱头枋雕成假拱形，柱头枋共计三层，第二层亦雕泥道拱形。第一跳跳头施重拱，上安素枋，第二跳跳头施令拱，上安散斗三枚，以承素枋。

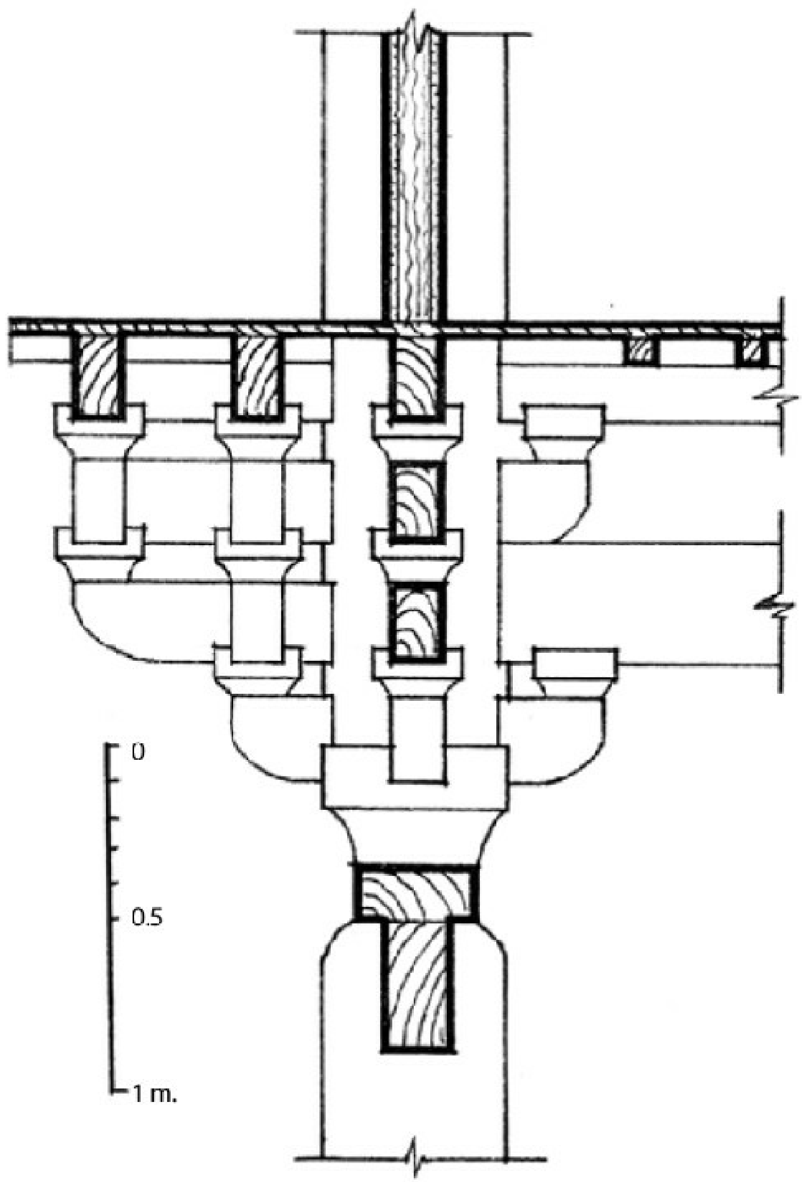
The p'u-p'ai-fang or plate is called the p'ing-pan-fang in the Ts'ing style, where it is seldom missing, while here, as specified in the Sung official book, it is used only under p'u-chos of the balcony.

Besides being the support for the balcony, it is important to note that the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho here is at the same time the base for the second tier of the superposed "orders." The lower end of the column is mortised to join with the kungs and fangs of the p'u-cho of which it seems to form an integral part (Figure 41). Such construction is also specified in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*.

中层内柱，立于下层内柱上栌头之上，与各层拱枋相交，似成为斗拱之一部分者（图41）。《法式》卷四造平坐之制：

“凡平坐铺作，若叉柱造，即每角用栌斗一枚，其柱根叉于栌斗之上；若缠柱造，即每角于柱外普拍方上安栌斗三枚。”

平坐铺作与上层柱之不能分离，于此已可见；故上一层柱根，实已为下层平坐铺作之一部分。观音阁所见，显然非缠柱造，然是否即为叉柱造，愿以质之贤者。



【41】Cross section of p'ing-tso chu-t'ou-p'u-cho, interior tou-kungs of the lower story. 观音阁下层内檐平坐柱头铺作侧样

(f) Chuan-chiao-p'u-cho (Figure 40) The construction of the set at the corner is different from the one on the exterior corner because the front of the p'u-cho is made to face the center of the building. The two principal sides consist of the intersection of ni-tao-kungs and man-kungs with the corresponding members of the other side, while the rear end of the ni-tao-kung becomes the hua-kung and that of the man-kung becomes a beam. Two t'iaos of chiao-kungs bisect the right angle formed by the intersecting kungs. The intersecting ling-kungs are placed at the end of the second chiao-kung, while

at its rear is the diagonal beam that spans and braces the inner and exterior corner column thus building them together. Being the point of intersection of beams from three directions, the interior chuan-chiao-p'u-cho is of vital importance in the structure.

(g) Pu-chien-p'u-cho (Figure 40) Applied only to the front and rear bays. Like the pu-chien-p'u-cho of the exterior, it consists merely of a number of carved kungs with tous filling the spaces in between. It has nothing to do with the support of the balcony. This holds true of the pu-chien-p'u-chos of the first story, whether interior or exterior.

3. Exterior Tou-kungs of the Mezzanine Story

There are five different kinds of tou-kungs on the exterior of the mezzanine. In spite of their similar function, i.e., the support of the exterior balcony, their construction varies according to the positions in which they are placed (Figures 39, 41).

(h) Chu-t'ou-p'u-choLike those of the interior p'u-chos of the lower story, the lu-tou is placed on the p'u-p'ai-fang. There are three t'iaos of hua-kungs corbelling out from the lu-tou; the kungs are arranged in the chi-hsin, double-kung manner. The double-kung is placed on the end of the first t'iao, while the second t'iao supports only one ling-kung. The third t'iao has no kung on its end, but merely a small tou, into which the outermost su-fang is placed. The latter, together with the other two su-fangs, which are placed parallel and on the same level with it, form the immediate support for the balcony floor. Intersecting with these su-fangs on the same level is the shua-t'ou, the end of which is not beveled off like those of the lower p'u-chos. The balcony of the central bay on the southern side is widened by lengthening the shua-t'ou considerably to enable an easier view of the main tablet, the penmanship of which was attributed to Li T'ai-po, illustrious poet of the T'ang Dynasty.

To the rear of the p'u-cho, the first and third t'iaos are short hua-kungs, while the second and fourth t'iaos are lengthened into fangs, reaching the tou-kungs of the inner peristylar columns. In Chapter V of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*, on the construction of the p'ing-tso we read:

6．转角铺作（图40） 其正面向内，故其结构亦与向外之转角铺作不同。其正侧二面各有泥道拱、慢拱，泥道拱与后尾之华拱相列，慢拱与后尾之梁相列，斜角上华拱二跳。第一跳跳头正侧二面重拱相交，重

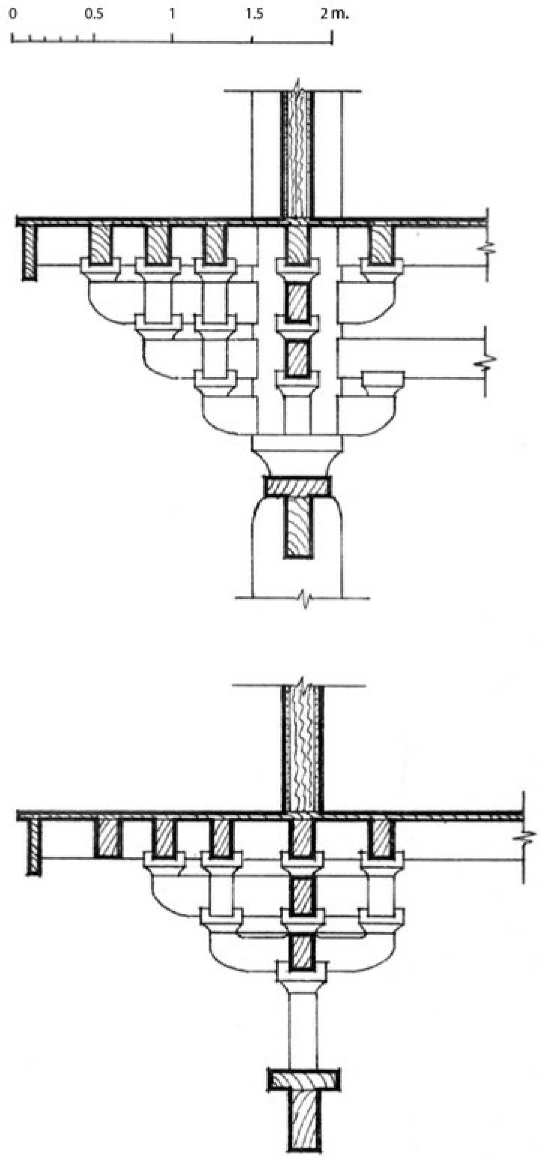
拱之后尾为切几头，接于柱头枋上。第二跳跳头为二面令拱相交，其后尾亦为切几头，与第一跳上慢拱相交于瓜子拱端斗内。斜角华拱后尾为华拱及梁，与柱头铺作同，亦为外檐转角铺作之后尾。外檐转角铺作及次梢间正面山面二柱头铺作后尾，三面梁枋会于此柱头之上，于结构上，其位置殊为重要也。

7．补间铺作 （图40） 唯正面有之，山面则无。其形制似外檐山面补间铺作，只各层柱头枋间之联络，与出檐结构无关系。下层内外檐补间铺作皆如此，制度一致，非偶然也。

中层外檐铺作五种：

皆平坐铺作也；同在一平坐之下，因功用及地位之不同，而各异其结构（图39，41）。

8．柱头铺作 栌斗安于普拍枋上。华拱三跳，计心重拱：第一跳跳头安重拱，第二跳跳头安令拱，第三跳跳头无横拱，唯安散斗以承素枋及耍头；重拱、令拱上亦施素枋，故共有素枋三道；枋上铺板，即上层外平坐也。耍头之头，不斜斫作耍头形，而南面正中一间，且将此耍头加长约0.5米，以增加平坐之深度，俾登临者可瞻李太白题额。泥道拱上为柱头枋三层，上雕假拱形。铺作后尾第一三两层锯齐无卷杀，第二层为枋，直达内檐中层柱头，铺作之上；第四层即耍头后尾，亦为枋以达内柱柱头。耍头端外即为挂落板。《法式》卷五平坐之制末条谓：



【42】Cross section of exterior p'ing-tso chu-t'ou-p'u-cho & pu-chien-p'u-cho of Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁外檐平坐柱头铺作、补间铺作侧样

"Beneath the ts'ao-fu, front-and-back-wise, the ti-mien-fang are used to hold the front and rear p'u-chos in position; on the p'u-cho is placed the p'u-pan-fang, one ts'ai in size; all the way around is the yen-ch'ih-pan, twice the ts'ai in width, and four to five fen in thickness."

It is not altogether unjustifiable to call the rear of the second t'iao the ti-mien-fang and that of the fourth t'iao the p'u-pan-fang. The yen-ch'ih-pan is known in the Ts'ing style as the ti-chu-pan. (Figure 42)

(i) Chuan-chiao-p'u-choThe p'u-cho at the corner is plainly the intersection of the different fangs and kungs of the two adjacent sides. The three t'iaos of hua-kung, together with the shua-t'ou above are extended at the rear to form the ni-tao-kung and the three tiers of chu-t'ou-fangs on the other side. The kua-tze-kung, man-kung, and ling-kung are all extended to form auxiliary hua-kungs on the other side. The intersection of these is supported by three t'iaos of chiao-kungs on the mitre-line. The entire p'u-cho may be considered a very logical and "regular" ensemble (Figure 39).

“平坐之内，逐间下草栿前后安地面方，以拘前后铺作；铺作之上安铺板方，用一材；四周安雁翅板，广加材一倍，厚四分至五分。”

第二跳后尾盖即地面枋，耍头后尾盖即铺板枋耶？清式称为挂落板者，即雁翅板也。西面铺作后尾，虽在暗层，适当梯间，故第一三两层作拱形，拱端施斗。（图42）

9．转角铺作　华拱三跳，计心，重拱，各拱平正相交相列，角拱亦三跳，绝无不规则之结构（图39）。

(j) Pu-chien-p'u-cho of the Three Central Bays on the Front and Rear FacadeLike the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho, it also consists of three t'iaos of hua-kung, with double-kung and built in the chi-hsin manner. From the exterior, it appears to be identical to the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho both in appearance and construction except that it is not burdened from above with a column the foot of which is worked into the p'u-cho (Figure 31). But a careful study of its rear revealed to us that lu-tou is merely a false "applique." The real member on which the entire load of the pu-chien-p'u-cho is concentrated is not the lu-tou, but a t'o-feng or "camel's back" (Figure 43). The rear ends of the hua-kungs are left unfinished.

(k) Pu-chien-p'u-cho of the Two Inner Bays of the End FacadesThe short stud, standing on the p'u-p'ai-fang is the foot of the p'u-cho, which is formed by intersecting two hua-kungs with the chu-t'ou-fangs. On the end of each t'iao of the hua-kungs is placed a su-fang. Since there are three su-fangs for the three t'iaos on the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho, and there are only two t'iaos on the pu-chien-p'u-cho, the outermost su-fang is left unsupported at the middle. But the shua-t'ou or p'u-pan-fang comes in conveniently to intersect with it, thus supporting it at the middle.

The short stud as well as the large t'ou on its top are now lost.

The pu-chien-p'u-cho of the end facade on account of the narrower space into which it is put is constructed differently from those of the front and rear

facades.

(l) Pu-chien-p'u-cho of the End BaysOn account of the even narrower space, the p'u-cho in the end bay is deprived of even the carved ni-tao-kung, and given a wing-shaped kung instead. The ling-kung on the end of the second hua-kung is forced to join with the man-kungs of the adjacent p'u-chos in the method called the "lien-kung-chiao-yin" (Figures 31, 39).

4.Interior Tou-kungs of the Mezzanine Story

Like the interior tou-kungs of the lower story, they are placed with the front side facing the center of the building. The rear of the tou-kungs is visible only from the dark aisle. They are, therefore, unfinished except in the aisle on the western end which is the staircase. There are also five different kinds of tou-kung in the interior of the mezzanine story. (Figure 32)

【43】The rear of tang-hsin-chien, pu-chien-p'u-cho, interior tou-kung of the mezzanine story. 观音阁中层内檐当心间补间铺作后尾

10．正面当心间及次间补间铺作　亦华拱三跳，计心，重拱。其外形与柱头铺作相同，结构亦极相似，唯栌斗上无斗（图31）。今自外视之，其栌斗与柱头铺作栌斗同，然其背面，则次间无栌斗，而代以驼峰（图43）。其后尾唯第三跳作地面枋（？）直达内檐铺作上，“以拘前后铺作”。

11．山面补间铺作　指山面居中两间而言。其泥道拱雕于下层柱头枋上，华拱与之相交，计二跳，第一跳跳头横施令拱，上承最内罗汉枋，第二跳无拱，唯安斗以承中罗汉枋，至于外罗汉枋则由柱头达柱头，其间无承支之者。其泥道拱上未雕慢拱形，盖单拱计心造也。下跳华拱与泥道拱之下，盖有大斗及直斗以置于普拍枋者，今皆毁无存。山面补间铺作之必须异于正面者，盖因山面柱间距离较小，不足以容全部之阔也。

12．梢间补间铺作　柱间距离较山面尤小，并单拱而不能容，故下层柱头枋上雕云形拱，跳头令拱则与并列之柱头铺作及转角铺作之第一跳上慢拱“连拱交隐”（图31，39）。

中层内檐铺作五种：

如下层内檐铺作，以内向一面为正面，外向一面为后尾。外向一面，即为暗层之内，故其中除抹角铺作及西面与梯相近之铺作外，其后尾皆如外檐平坐铺作之后尾，拱头概无卷杀，不加修饰。

斗拱之功用，即在承上层之结构，故此部斗拱，亦因上层特殊之布置（图32），而有特殊之形制。

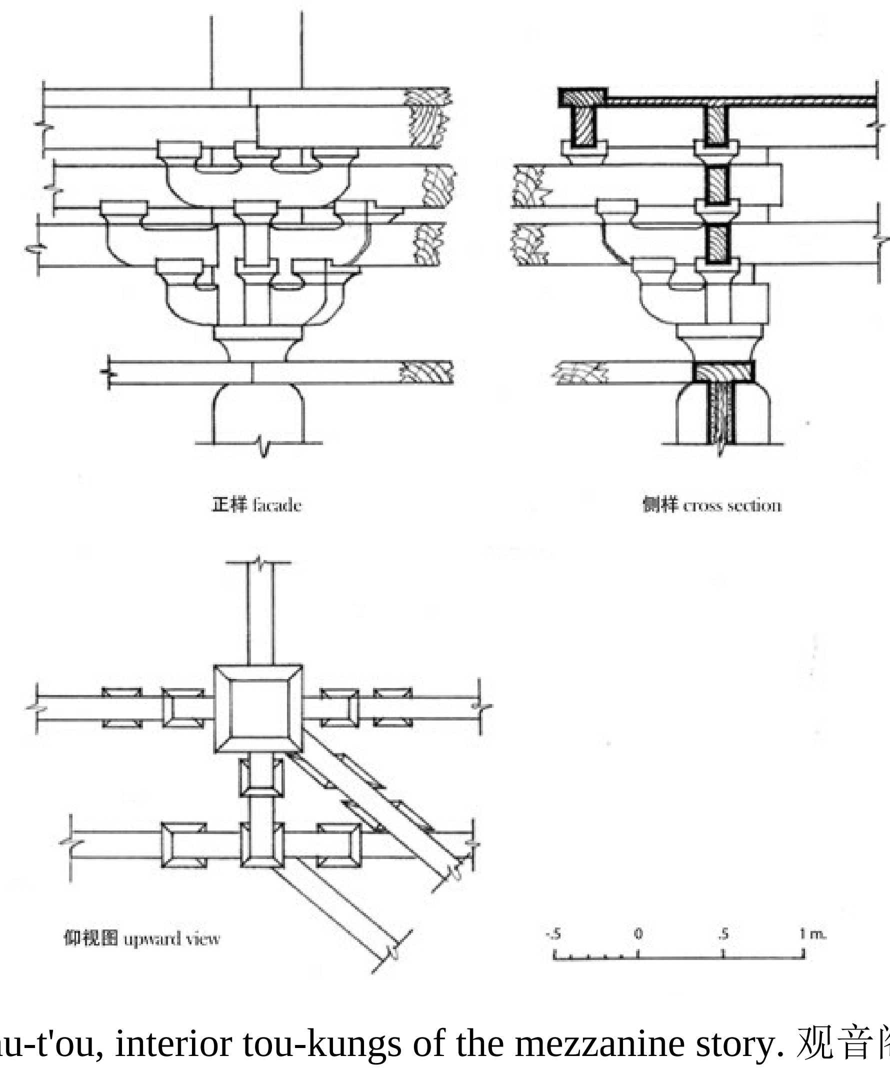
(m) Chu-t'ou-p'u-cho of the Front and RearThe large hole on the upper floor through which the figure of the Kuan-yin is hexagonal in shape. The angles at the eastern and western ends are of approximately 50 degrees and those of the northern and southern sides are of 130 degrees. But the hole through the mezzanine floor is a rectangle. The hexagonal shape of the upper floor has been obtained by spanning the spaces between the front columns connecting them to the center columns of the sides. This diagonal span imposes an extra set of fangs on the chu-t'ou-p'u-chos of the front and the end sides. Therefore, besides the intersection of chu-t'ou-fangs and hua-kungs, the p'u-cho is further complicated by the introduction of intersection of the extra fang. This peculiar construction may in a sense be called a chuan-chiao-p'u-cho (Figure 44).

Judging from its function and position, it is really a p'u-cho for the support of a balcony. According to the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*, it should have been

built in the chi-hsin manner, but because of the imposition of the diagonal fangs, the t'ou-hsin manner has been employed to ensure simplicity in construction.

13．当心间两旁柱头铺作　上层地板围绕像身之空井为六角形，东西两端成较正角略小之锐角，其余四角则成约一百三十度之钝角；然中层空井则为长方形。此六角形者，实由自当心间与次间之间之内柱上至中柱上抹角所成。而此抹角之结构，与其他部分两柱头间之结构相同，其各层枋与柱头上各层枋相交于柱头而成铺作；而铺作上除正角相交之华拱与柱头枋外，乃沿约一百三十度之钝角线上，加交各层枋，此乃中层内檐柱头铺作之特点也。谓为转角铺作亦未尝不可（图44）。

以位置及功用论，则此部实为平坐；既为平坐，则按法式之制，须用计心造；然因抹角之故，计心颇为不便——结构不便即不合理——故从权用偷心造也。



【44】Chu-t'ou, interior tou-kungs of the mezzanine story. 观音阁中层内檐

柱头斗拱

From the lu-t'ou, two t'iaos of hua-kung intersect with the ni-tao-kungs of both directions, on which are chu-t'ou-fangs, also from both directions. All the chu-t'ou-fangs are carved into kungs in relief exactly as those of the other p'u-chos. On the end of the second hua-kung is a ling-kung, which supports the su-fang that forms the edge of the balcony.

The rear ends of the hua-kungs are left unfinished, and the second and fourth t'iaos are extended to form the ti-mien-fang and p'u-p'ai-fang which are supported at the outer end by the exterior p'u-chos.

(n) Chu-t'ou-p'u-cho of the Chung-chu or Central-end ColumnThe construction is identical to those of the front and rear, except that there are two extra sets of fangs intersecting on it, one set from the front column and the other from the rear column (Figrue 47).

(o) Pu-chien-p'u-cho On the p'u-p'ai-fang is the lu-tou, from which spring two t'iaos of hua-kung, built in the t'ou-hsin manner. On the end of the second hua-kung is a ling-kung, supporting the lo-han-fang, on which rests the upper floor (Figure 45). A study of the p'u-cho from the rear reveals that the set rests on a t'o-feng (camel's back) instead of what is seen in the front, a lu-tou, which therefore must have been an alteration in one of the later repairs. The t'o-fengs of the central bay are shaped differently from those of the side bays (Figures 43, 46).

(p) Chuan-chiao-p'u-cho Being in the t'ou-hsin manner, the construction is extremely simple without the transversal kungs. Besides the ni-tao-kung and the chu-t'ou-fangs of the two sides, there is only the set of three chiao-kungs or corner-kungs for the support of lo-han-fangs from three different directions that intersect on the end of the third chiao-kung (Figure 45).

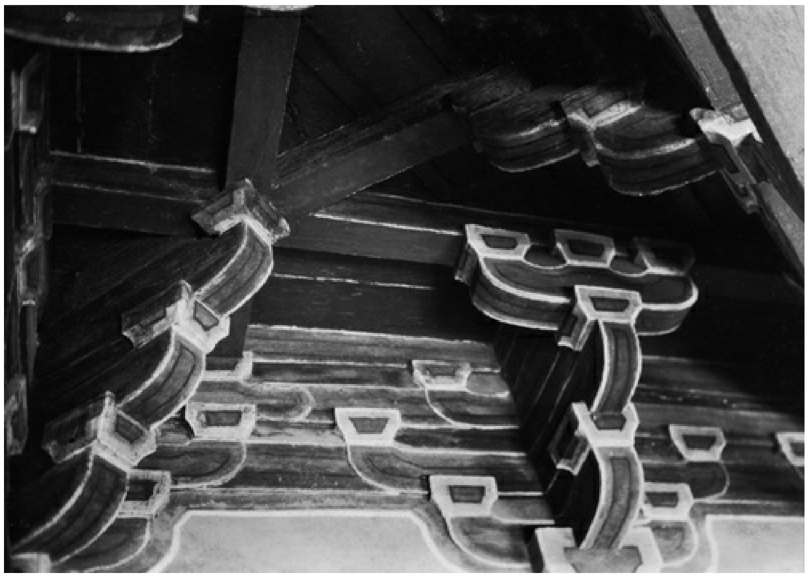
其结构为华拱二跳，偷心造，跳头横施令拱，拱上置斗，斗上承罗汉枋。与华拱正角相交者为泥道拱及柱头枋三层，枋上雕假拱形，本平平无奇。乃于百三十度斜线上加普拍枋、泥道拱以及柱头枋三层，全部斜加一份，此其所以异也。

铺作后尾则锯齐如外檐平坐铺作，而第二、第四两层则伸长成地面枋及铺板枋焉。

14．中柱柱头铺作　其结构与13同，唯各层抹角枋自两面来交（图47）。

15．补间铺作　栌斗安于普拍枋上，华拱二跳，偷心造，第二跳跳头施令拱，拱斗上承罗汉枋，枋上为上层地板（图45）。今栌斗作斗形，然自后尾观之，则作驼峰形；当心间驼峰（图43）与次间驼峰（图46）复略异，正面所见之栌斗，恐非原物也。

16．转角铺作　结构殊简单，角拱三跳，上承三方面之罗汉枋。第二层柱头枋上雕翼形拱，适在慢拱头散斗上，其上复置交互斗以承罗汉枋（图45）。



【45】Side bays of pu-chien-p'u-cho and chuan-chiao-p'u-cho, interior tou-kungs of the mezzanine story. 观音阁中层内檐次间补间铺作及转角铺作

【46】The rear of pu-chien-p'u-cho from side bays, interior tou-kungs of the mezzanine story. 观音阁中层内檐次间补间铺作后尾

It is to be noted that these chiao-kungs do not bisect the right angle into two angles of 45 degrees each, because the outer end of the su-fang is supported by the pu-chien-p'u-cho which is placed midway between the front and rear column and the chung-chu, and consequently, the line of this su-fang is one drawn from the apex of a right-angled triangle of legs of different lengths to the mid-point of its hypotenuse.

(q) Pu-chien-p'u-cho on the Diagonal Fang Structurally, this pu-chien-p'u-cho differs in no way whatsoever from any other pu-chien-p'u-cho, being placed on a p'u-p'ai-fang or lan-erh which is supported at the two ends by the columns. But, because the space under the p'u-p'ai-fang and lan-erh is left unfilled by a curtain wall, the p'u-cho gives the impression of being

suspended in space instead of resting on a solid wall, and the whole effect is one of lightness and ethereal quality (Figure 47).

A t'o-feng, rather tall in proportion, is placed on the p'u-p'ai-fang. In the large tou above it intersect the chu-t'ou-fangs and the two t'iaos of hua-kung. The fangs are carved with kungs in relief as usual. The t'ou-hsin manner is again applied here, eliminating even the ling-kung which is usually used on the end of the uppermost t'iao.

5.Exterior Tou-kungs of the Upper Story

From both the structural and ornamental points of view, the tou-kungs of the upper story are undoubtedly of supreme importance. It is they that give the Kuan-yin Ke its expression and character, and bring us into a closer contact and better understanding with building and builders of the Liao Dynasty. There are three kinds of tou-kung on the exterior of the upper story.

(r) Chu-t'ou-p'u-choHere the lu-tou is placed directly on top of the column, the p'u-p'ai-fang being eliminated. From the lu-tou spring four t'iaos for the support of the overhang, the two lower t'iaos being hua-kungs and the two upper t'iaos, angs. The whole ensemble is known in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* as ch'ung-ch'ao-ch'ung-ang. The transversal kungs on these t'iaos are distributed in the t'ou-hsin, double-kung manner. On the end of the second hua-kung are a kua-tze-kung and a man-kung, on which is the lo-han-fang. Intersecting with these two kungs are two angs, which may be defined as hua-kungs set in a slanting position. On the end of the second ang is placed the ling-kung with its t'i-mu and liao-yan-ch'uan above (Figure 48).

此角拱中线，非将角平分而成四十五度者[60]　。盖角拱上素枋之彼端，乃承于抹角枋正中之铺作上，而素枋非将角平分，则角拱须随枋略偏也。

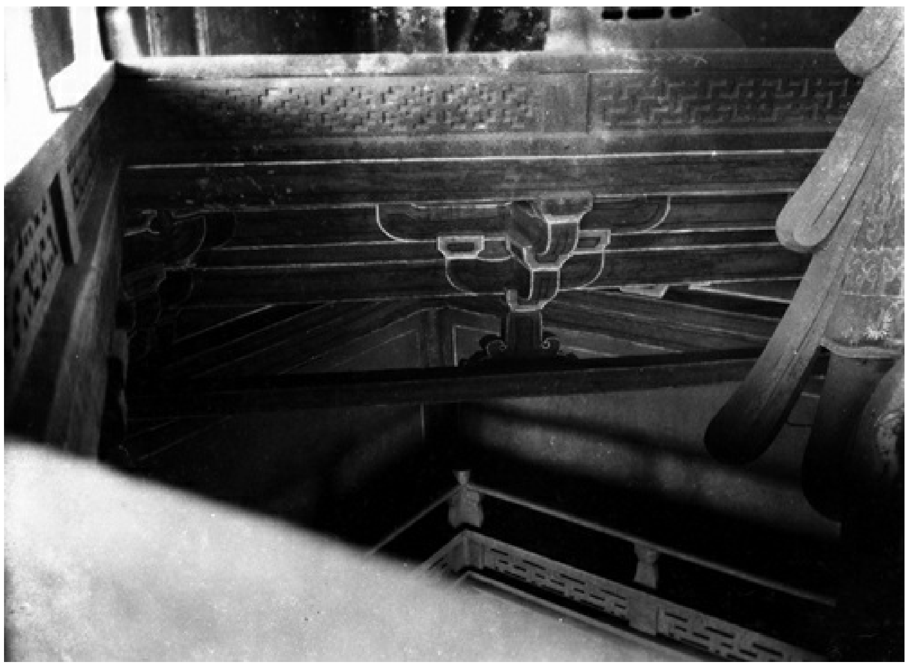
17．抹角枋上补间铺作　　自结构方面观之，各层枋皆置于柱头之上，而铺作居枋之中，与普通补间铺作无异，唯因悬空而过，下无墙壁，故其所呈现象，殊觉玲珑精巧。驼峰置普拍枋上，上置交互斗；华拱与雕作泥道拱形之柱头枋相交于交互斗内。华拱计共两跳，偷心造，第二跳跳头置散斗，斗上承素枋，而不施横拱。结构至简（图47）。

观音阁全部结构中，除中层内外檐当心间及次间平坐补间铺作外，其余各铺作，泥道拱皆雕于第一层柱头枋上，而于其下置直斗或驼峰；此类部分，内外上下皆毁，唯此抹角铺作上尚存，良可贵也。

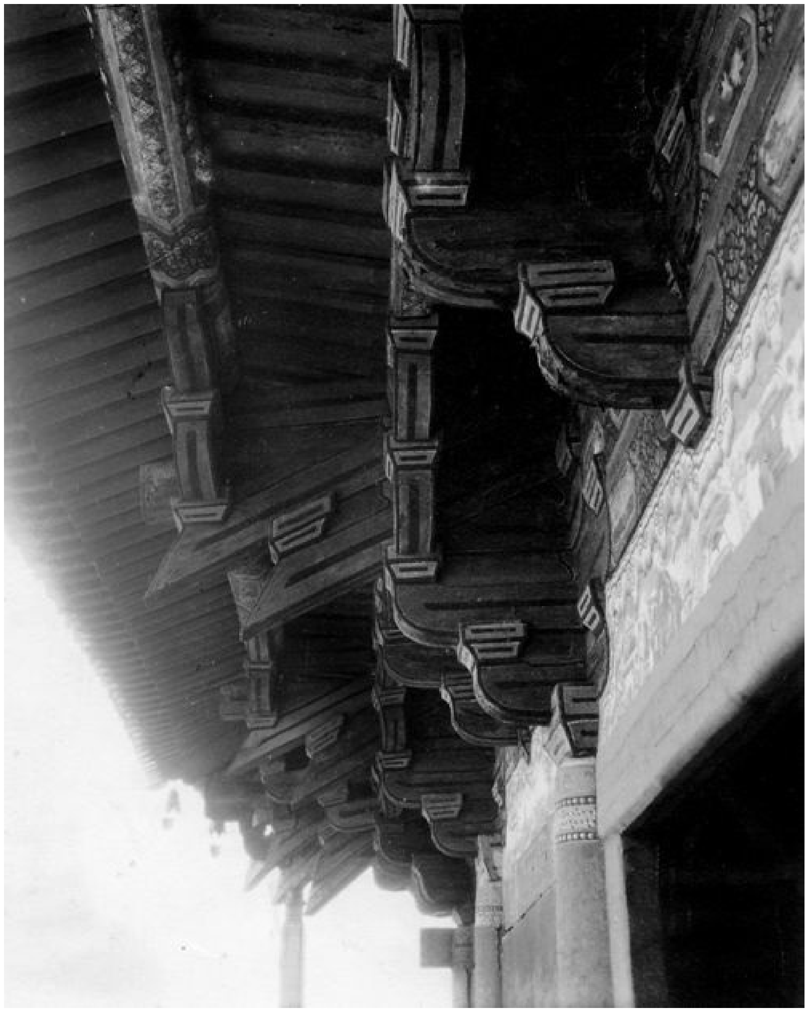
上层外檐斗拱三种：

在结构上及装饰上皆占最重要位置，观音阁全部之性格，可谓由此部斗拱而充分表现可也。

18．柱头铺作　栌斗施于柱头，其上出四跳，下两跳为华拱，上两跳为昂，即《法式》所谓“重杪重昂”[61]　者是。其跳头斗拱之分配为重拱，偷心造。第二跳华拱跳头施瓜子拱及慢拱，慢拱上为罗汉枋。与瓜子拱及慢拱相交者为下昂二层，第二层昂上施令拱，以承替木及橑檐槫。其正面立面形与下檐略同，而侧面因用昂而大异（图48）。



【47】Pu-chien-p'u-cho on the diagonal fang, interior tou-kungs of the mezzanine story. 观音阁中层内檐抹角补间铺作



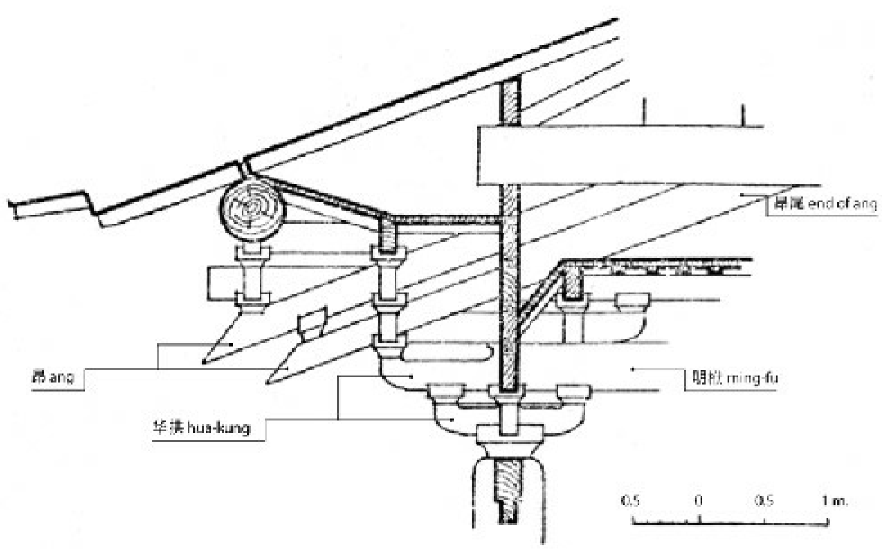
【48】Chu-t'ou-p'u-cho and pu-chien-p'u-cho of exterior tou-kungs of the upper story, Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁上层外檐柱头铺作及补间铺作

The rear of the first t'iao is a hua-kung, and that of the second t'iao is lengthened to form a tie beam which is supported by the interior chu-t'ou-p'u-cho in exactly the same manner at both ends. Above the tie beam is another hua-kung, the outer end of which is beveled off to butt against the lower surface of the ang. On this hua-kung is placed a ling-kung, supporting the p'ing-ch'i-fang or the fang that supports the ceiling. This p'ing-ch'i-fang is in a sense a lo-han-fang, the only difference being that it is used in the interior while the latter is used in the exterior. Intersecting with the p'ing-ch'i-fang is another su-fang which would have been the rear of the fourth hua-kung had it been placed horizontally. The exterior end of this su-fang is also beveled to against the bottom of the ang.

The lower support for the lower ang is the end of the second hua-kung,

on which the ang is placed in a slanting position with the lower end pointing downward. The bottom of the ang is carried to the same level and therefore intersects with the third chu-t'ou-fang. The angle the ang makes with the ground is approximately 30 degrees. The upper or second ang is made to rest directly on the lower one, and runs parallel to it. On the end of the upper ang is the ling-kung, on exactly the same level as the man-kung of the second hua-kung, and two t'iaos further out. Thus a greater overhang is achieved without an excessive raise in height, because the outward stretch of two t'iaos is gained with a corresponding raise of one t'iao only. On the upper ang, and intersecting with the ling-kung in a horizontal direction is a small shua-t'ou, the rear end of which is beveled to rest on the sloping surface of the upper ang, while the outer is left angular and square (Figure 49).

华拱第一跳后尾为华拱；第二跳后尾伸引为梁，直达内柱柱头铺作上。梁以上又为华拱，与令拱相交；令拱上承平綦枋（井口枋），与又一素枋相交。此第三层拱之外端，长只及第二跳跳头，第四层枋则长只及柱头枋，二者背上皆斫截成斜尖，以承第一层下昂。下昂下部承于第二跳跳头交互斗内，斜向后上伸，至与柱头枋相交处，其底适与第三层柱头枋之底平，昂之斜度，与水平约略成三十度。第二层昂在第一层昂之上，而与之平行，昂端横施令拱，与第二跳跳头上之慢拱平。其向外伸出较第二跳长两跳，而向上升高，则只较之高一跳。故其出檐较远而不致太高；盖伸出如华拱两跳之远，而上升只华拱一层之高也。与令拱相交者为耍头，与华拱平行，虽平出在第四跳之上，而高下则与第四跳平。其后斫斜，平置昂上（图49）。



【49】Chu-t'ou-p'u-cho of exterior tou-kungs of the upper story, Kuan-yin

Ke. 观音阁上层外檐柱头铺作侧样

The rear end of the ang is really the most important as well as the most interesting part of the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho. After intersecting with the third and fourth chu-t'ou-fang, the two angs are carried straight back until the rear ends hit again the bottom of the beam which the p'u-cho is carrying. The angs are also beveled here to butt against the bottom of the beam. Thus the ang acts as a lever arm, supported at the middle by the chu-t'ou-fang, loaded at the outer and with the liao-yen-ch'uan and the eave above, and held in equilibrium by the beam and its heavy load from above. This enables the eave overhang to become much greater than otherwise. This is also in accordance with the specification in Chapter IV of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* on "the making of the ang": "that when it is on the column, it is to be held down by the ts'ao-fu or ting-fu." Before the Sung Dynasty, the ang had always been a structural member, but in Ming and Ts'ing examples, although the term "ang" was still used to designate a certain member of the tou-kung, it was no longer the lever arm that it had been hitherto, but a horizontal hua-kung with the end shaped into the beak form of the ang. The organic function of the original ang was thus totally lost.

As to the exterior finish of the ang-chui or beak of the ang, we find later examples to be universally curved. In the same section of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* we read that the face of the beak should be concaved two fen, and all Ming and Ts'ing ang-chuis are shaped in this fashion. But the ang-chui of the Kuan-yin Ke is a pure, simple bevel, making an angle of approximately 35 degrees with the ang itself, giving an appearance much like those represented in the Tun-huang cave paintings. This style was still used in the Sung period as is found in one of the small notes in the same section, that "there is also the method of cutting diagonally from the bottom of the tou to the end (of the ang), so that the face of the ang will be a straight even surface, called the p'ei-chu-ang." This is precisely the method employed in making the ang-chui of the Kuan-yin Ke. The ang-chui of the wooden pagoda of Ying Hsien, Shansi Province is also shaped in the same manner, and it is undoubtedly usual during the T'ang and Liao periods. The gradual softening of the straight, vigorous p'ei-chu-ang of the Liao to the dainty, delicate curvature of the ang-chui of later times is merely a natural evolution so inevitable that it seems that no mature art can escape from this beaten track.

(s) Chuan-chiao-p'u-choThis again may be analyzed as the intersection of chu-

t'ou-p'u-cho from two sides (Figure 38). On the lu-tou, there are four hua-kungs intersecting each other, forming a figure in plan. The second t'iao consists of hua-kungs extended from the lowest chu-t'ou-fang, a corner kung and a diagonal kung. The third and fourth t'iaos on the center-line consist of the two angs, while on the corresponding level, the ends of the corner kung and the diagonal kung are each accentuated by two more t'iaos of hua-kungs. The two that intersect at the end of the corner kungs are the extension of the double-kungs at the end of the second t'iao of the front and side hua-kungs, while those on the diagonal kungs are extended from the interior p'ing-ch'i-fang.

昂之后尾，实为上层柱头铺作最有趣部分。上下二昂，伸过柱头枋后，斜上直达草栿（清称“三架梁”）之下。昂之外端，受檐部重量下压，其尾端因之上升，而赖草栿重量之下压而保持其均衡。利用杠杆作用，使出跳远出，以补平出华拱之不逮。《法式》卷四《造昂之制》有“如当柱头，即以草栿或丁栿压之”之句，盖即指此。宋代建筑用昂之制，尚以结构为前提。明清以后，斗拱虽尚有昂，而徒具其形而失其用，只平置华拱（翘）而将其外端斫成昂嘴状，非如辽宋昂之具“有机性”矣。

昂嘴部分，宋以后多为曲线的。《法式》卷四谓：

“……昂面中顱二分，令顱势圜和。”

清式亦如此。然观音阁昂嘴，则为与昂底成三十五度之斜直线，其所呈现象，颇似敦煌壁画所见。此式宋代殆尚有之，见于《造昂之制》文内小注中：

“……亦有自斗外斜杀至尖者，其昂面平直，谓之‘批竹昂'。”

适与此处所见符合。应县佛宫寺塔亦如此，其为唐辽盛行之式无疑。其后刚强之直线，受年代磋磨，日渐曲柔，至明仲之世，已成“亦有”之一种，退居小注之中；此固所有艺术蜕变之途径，希腊之成罗马，乔托之成拉斐尔，[62] 顾虎头之成仇十洲，其起伏之势，如出一辙，非独唐宋建筑之独循此道也。

【50】Interior tou-kungs of the upper story, Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁上层内檐斗拱

But on the mitre-line, there are three angs on the corner kungs, the lower two stretching out to receive the intersection of the t'i-mu and liao-yen-ch'uan or eave-purlin, while the third is extended further, with the "cushioning" of the pao-p'ing, to support the two corner rafters. It is to be noticed that these three corner angs or chiao-angs are so placed that their horizontal projection makes the same angle with the ground as that of the front and side angs, while the true angle is considerably smaller. Consequently the slope of these corner members is gentler than that of the front and side, and, with the further raise of the chiao-liangs or corner beams, the gentle upward curve at the corners is the natural result.

It is interesting to note that the second t'iaos of the hua-kung, corner kung and the diagonal kung, are each, theoretically, provided on their ends with a hua-tze-kung to support the man-kung above. But since they are fitted into each other in such a way that there would not be room enough for each of them to have their separate kua-tze-kung, the latter are combined into one through the carving of three false kungs out of one piece of timber. At the point where they combine, the two kungs are made to share one tou (Figure 50). This is what is called the yuan-yang-chiao-shou-kung in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih*.

This entire chuan-chiao-p'u-cho is a gigantic motif, decorative and

complicated in appearance, but structural, simple and logical in function, designed and constructed to take care of the important corners of this edifice.

(t) Pu-chien-p'u-choUsed in the inner bays, and ommited in the end bays. Two t'iaos of hua-kung intersecting with the two tower chu-t'ou-fangs are arranged in the t'ou-hsin manner with a ling-kung on the end of the second t'iao to receive the lo-han-fang. The lowest chu-t'ou-fang is carved into a wing-shaped kung. The intersection of the hua-kung and chu-t'ou-fangs is put on a chiao-hu-tou which was supported by a short stud that is now missing. The second and third chu-t'ou-fangs are carved with a double kung in relief. The rear of the p'u-cho is merely a hua-kung with a ling-kung to support the p'ing-ch'i-fang (Figure 51).

19．转角铺作　在柱头中线上，正侧二面各层拱昂之结构与程次与柱头铺作者同，所异者唯第二跳跳头重拱与同层他拱相列　（图38）。角线上角拱二跳，角昂二跳，其上更有“由昂”，上置宝瓶，以承角梁。此三重角昂，在正面及侧面之投影，与正昂投影之角度相同，然其与地面所成之真角，度数实较小，而斜度较缓和，宜注意也。第二跳角拱之上，有正侧二面第二跳上之重拱伸出而成华拱二跳，与角昂相交；上跳跳头置散斗以承替木。第二层角昂之上，置令拱两件相交，与由昂相交；令拱上置散斗，以承其上相交之正侧二面替木。此外尚有斜华拱两层，与角拱成正角而与正拱成四十五度角，相交于栌斗口内（图50）；其上又置拱两跳，与角拱上之两拱夹衬于正昂之两旁。与此拱相交者重拱，其外一端与角拱上之华拱相列，其内一端则慢拱与柱头铺作上相埒之慢拱“连拱交隐”。

此转角铺作之全部，殊为雄大，似繁而实简，结构毕现焉。

20．补间铺作　正面当心间次间及山面居中两间用之。华拱两跳，偷心造，跳头横施令拱，以承罗汉枋。下层华拱与下层柱头枋交于交互斗内，枋雕作翼形拱。二层枋以上则雕重拱，铺作后尾唯拱一跳，上施令拱，以承平棊枋（图51）。交互斗下，原有直斗，今已无存。

【51】The rear of chu-t'ou-p'u-cho and pu-chien-p'u-cho, interior and exterior tou-kungs of the upper story. 观音阁上层内外檐柱头及补间铺作后尾

With the exception of the central bay to the northern side, all the pu-chien-p'u-cho in the interior of the upper story is similar to those of the exterior. But there is a slight modification in those of the east and the west because of the narrow space accommodating them, thus eaving the ling-kung and the man-kung to be combined with those of the adjacent chuan-chiao-p'u-cho (Figure 51).

6.Interior Tou-kung of the Upper Story

There are four different kinds of tou-kungs in the interior of the upper story.

(u) Chu-t'ou-p'u-choThe front of the p'u-cho, facing the inside of the building, is identical to the exterior chu-t'ou-p'u-cho of the lower story, being composed of four t'iaos of hua-kung, double-kung and t'ou-hsin (Figure 52).

The rear of the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho is identical to those of the exterior chu-t'ou-p'u-cho with the exception of the angs (Figure 51). The distribution of kung, the extension of hua-kungs into beams or fangs are all identical.

(v) Chu-t'ou-p'u-cho on the Two Columns that Form the Central Bays On account of the position of Eleven-headed Kuan-yin which is towards the rear of the hall, the octagonal pyramidal "baldachin," which is really a part of the ceiling, is forced slightly northward. This throws the "baldachin" off the longitudinal center-line so that it rests on the p'ing-ch'i-fang on the southern side and on lo-han-fang on the northern side where the p'ing-ch'i-fang is interrupted. This causes the ling-kung on the fourth t'iao, the outer end of which is supporting the lo-han-fang, to have its inner end cut off at the angle of 45 degrees to support the side of the octagon above (Figure 53).

上层内檐补间铺作，除当心间北面一朵结构特殊外，其余皆与外檐补间铺作相同。其中略异之一朵，乃内檐山面补间铺作，因地位狭窄，其令拱、慢拱皆与两旁铺作连拱交隐（图51）。

上层内檐斗拱四种：

21．柱头铺作　正面与下层外檐柱头铺作完全相同，为华拱四跳，重拱，偷心造（图52）。后尾则与上层外檐柱头铺作完全相同（图51）。上层内檐柱头铺作之特殊者为当心间北面柱头铺作。

22．当心间北面柱头铺作　因观音像之位置不在阁之正中，而略偏北，故像顶上之斗八藻井亦随之北偏；因是之故，藻井之南面承于平棊枋上。而北面乃承于罗汉枋上，而平棊枋至当心间而中断。于是华拱第四跳跳头之令拱，在次间内之一端承平棊枋，而在当心间内之一端则斫作四十五度角，以承藻井下之抹角枋。而罗汉枋遂为抹角枋与藻井下北面枋相交点之承支者，遂在其相交点之下，承之以斗，而斗下雕作拱形（图53）。

【52】Different exterior kungs on the lu-tou, chuan-chiao-p'u-cho of the upper story, Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁上层外檐转角铺作栌斗上各拱

【53】Chu-t'ou-p'u-cho of the central bays, interior tou-kung of the upper story, Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁上层内檐北面柱头及当心间补间铺作

(w) Chuan-chiao-p'u-cho On the mitre-line bisecting the right-angle formed by the interior chu-t'ou-fangs of its adjacent sides are four t'iaos of chiao-kungs

in the t'ou-hsin manner. On account of the very narrow space which renders the application of the double-kung impossible, the end of the second t'iao is treated with two short intersecting wing-shaped kungs, and the end of the fourth t'iao has two short intersecting ling-kungs to support the p'ing-ch'i-fang (Figure 52).

The rear of this chuan-chiao-p'u-cho is similar to that of the one on the lower story. The second t'iao is extended in the form of beams, supported at the outer ends by the p'u-chos of the exterior. The fourth t'iao is extended as the su-fang described in article r.

(x) Pu-chien-p'u-cho of the Northern Central BayIt is different from the other pu-chien-p'u-chos because the ling-kung of the second hua-kung is raised into a carved relief on the lo-han-fang, and replaced by a short wing-shaped kung (Figure 53).

In the structure of the Kuan-yin Ke, we find a grand exhibition of tou-kungs, in all 24 varieties, each designed to fulfill a particular function. In seeming complication, the underlying principals are logical and simple. To permeate a structure with such a sense of logic and organic being could only have been achieved by artists of the highest order.

〔F〕 Ceiling Construction

The ceilings of both stories of the Kuan-yin Ke are built in caisson, known in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* as the p'ing-ch'i. The p'ing-ch'i is supported on the side parallel to the facade by the p'ing-ch'i-fang, and perpendicular to it, by the shuan-ch'eng-fang which runs parallel and above the ming-fu or exposed beam. The p'ing-an-ch'uans which form the check square of the caisson are arranged rather close to each other, forming very small caissons of about 28 cm. square, much smaller than and therefore totally different in appearance from those more commonly seen today (about 70 cm. square) (Figures 45, 51). The *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* specifies only that the p'ing-ch'i should be evenly and squarely distributed, without reference to its actual size. Japanese structures of the Kamakura period, which were undoubtedly the result of direct Sung influence, have caissons of precisely the same proportion as those of the Kuan-yin Ke, still with the original paintings preserved. The ceiling of the Kuan-yin Ke shows sufficient similarities for us to draw the conclusion that the present caisson ceiling was built on the model

of the original if it is not the original itself.

23．转角铺作　角拱四跳，偷心造，因地位狭小，其势不能容重拱之交列，故第二跳跳头之上，唯短小之翼形拱与第三跳相交。翼形拱与切几头相列，交于柱头枋上。其上则施短令拱与第四跳相交，而在山面，则短令拱与补间铺作上之令拱连拱交隐。第四跳上则短令拱二件相交，以承平棊枋（图52）。

正侧二面，则泥道拱相交，其上慢拱之后尾及第二层华拱之后尾皆为梁，第三层柱头枋之后尾则为枋，皆三面分达角柱及其旁二柱，于结构上至为重要焉。

24．当心间北面补间铺作　与他间略同，所异者乃华拱跳头只置翼形小拱，更上则于罗汉枋上雕令拱形，上置三散斗，以承藻井下枋（图53）。

全阁斗拱共计二十四种，各以功用而异其结构，条理井然，种类虽多而不杂，构造似繁而实简，以建筑物而如此充满理智及机能，艺术之极品也。

〔6〕天花

观音阁上下二层项部皆施天花。天花宋称“平棊”[63]，其主要干架即斗拱上之素枋名“平棊枋”者，及与之成正角而施于明栿（梁）上之“算桯枋”（？）也。支条（宋称平闇椽）纵横交置枋上，其分布颇密，而井口亦甚小。约0.28米见方，与今所见约二尺（0.70米）见方之天花，其现象迥异（图45，51）。《法式》于平棊之大小，并无规定，只曰“分布方正”，其是否如此，尚待考。今天花板泰半已供年前驻军炊焚，油饰亦非旧观，然日本镰仓时代之兴福寺北圆堂及三重塔内天花，皆与此处所见大致同一权衡，且彩画尚存，与《营造法式》彩画极相类似，可相鉴较也。

Most of the sheathing of the ceilings of the Kuan-yin Ke has been destroyed, leaving only the squares formed by the p'ing-an-ch'uan. The octagonal "baldachin" in the central bay is formed by a number of triangles. It is totally different in scale to the other parts of the ceiling, and whether it is a part of the original design or not is subject to dispute.

The spaces between the p'ing-ch'i-fang and the lo-han-fang, and between the latter and the chu-t'ou-fang are all covered by a "cove," formed by putting p'ing-an-ch'uans over the fangs, and covered with sheathing from above.

Such examples are still to be seen in many Japanese buildings of the Kamakura period or earlier.

〔G〕 The Liangs and Fangs

In the Shan-men, all structural framing members are exposed and visible from below. But in the Kuan-yin Ke, there is the p'ing-ch'i or caisson ceiling, all structural members hidden above which are invisible to the spectator below, and therefore, left undressed. In Chapter II of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih,* under the general definition of p'ing-ch'i, there is a note as follows:

"In palaces of today, the members above the ceiling, such as the beam and purlins that are loaded with the weight of the roof, or members for tying and bracing in all directions, are all left undressed…"

The ts'ao-fu mentioned in previous paragraphs is the general term for all these hidden beams, in contrast to the ming-fu or exposed beams.

On the chu-t'ou-p'u-chos of the Kuan-yin Ke, the rear ends of the second or third t'iaos are all extended to become the ming-fu, above and parallel to which is the shuan-ch'eng-fang (Figure 51), as has already been discussed in previous paragraphs. But the function of the ming-fu and the shuan-ch'eng-fang is to tie and brace the interior and exterior p'u-chos, and receive the p'ing-ch'i, while the load of the roof is supported entirely by the liangs and fangs which are undressed and hidden above the p'ing-ch'i.

The general principle in the construction and arrangement of the liang-chia or "truss" here is similar to that of the Ts'ing Dynasty. It is not a "truss" in the real sense that exerts a thrust among its different members, but a series of posts and lintels superposed one on top of the other. The aisle around the entire building is spanned by beams supported by the inner and exterior columns, called the ju-fu, (or shuang-pu-liang in the Ts'ing style). The distance between the front and rear inner peristylar columns, which is equivalent to two bays' width, is spanned by the yen-fu (or wu-chia-liang in the Ts'ing style). On this yen-fu, at points half a bay's distance from either end are placed t'o-tuns or beam-blocks, which supported the p'ing-liang (or san-chia-liang in the Ts'ing style). On the p'ing-liang stands the chu-ju-chu, the dwarf column (or chi-kua-chu in the Ts'ing style). The difference between the liang-chia of the Kuan-yin Ke and that of today lies, therefore, not in the methods of ensemble of the different members, but in the size and proportion

of the beams.

天花与柱头枋间，亦用平闇椽斜置，上遮以板，日本遗物，尚多如此。

当心间像顶之上，作“斗八藻井”，其“椽”尤小，交作三角小格，与他部颇不调谐。是否原形尚待考。

〔7〕梁枋

山门屋内上部，用“彻上露明造”之制，一切梁枋椽桁，自下皆见。观音阁则上施平綦。平綦以上之梁枋等等，自下不见，故其做法，亦较粗糙。《法式》卷二《总释》平綦下小注云：

“今宫殿中，其上悉用草架梁栿承屋盖之重，如攀额……方槫之类，及纵横固济之物，皆不施斤斧。……”

其后常用之“草栿”，即指此不施斤斧之梁枋而言；而与之对称者，即“明栿”是也。

观音阁各柱头斗拱上，第二或第三跳华拱之后尾，皆伸引为“明栿”，明栿背上架“算桯枋”（图51），已于斗拱题下论及。然明栿及算桯枋之功用在拘前后铺作，及承平綦；屋盖之重，及纵横固济之责，悉在平綦以上不施斤斧之梁栿之上焉。

此处用梁之制，与清式大同小异。檐柱与内柱之上施“双步梁”（宋称“乳栿”），内柱与内柱之上施“五架梁”（“檐栿”），五架梁之上置柁橔，上施“三架梁”（“平梁”），三架梁上立“脊瓜柱”（“侏儒柱”），其上承脊槫。其与今日习见所不同者，厥为其大小比例及其与柱之关系。

According to the Ts'ing regulations, the liang (beam) is invariably two ch'un (Chinese inch) wider than the diameter of the column, and the depth of the beam is set at either five-quarters or six-fifths of its width, regardless of the length of the span or the load it has to carry. The proportion of the width to the depth of the beam is, therefore, either 8:10 or 10:12, evidently ignoring the fact that the strength of the beam lies more in the depth than in the width. The Sung builders seemed to have a better understanding of the mechanics of the material they employed and specified that the ratio of width to depth should be 2:3. This is clearly showed in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih.*

The following calculation of the two principal yen-fu of the Kuan-yin Ke will bring out an interesting fact in the comparison of the sizes of the

beams of the Liao and Ts'ing styles:

清式造梁之制，其大梁不论长短及荷重如何，悉较柱宽二寸，而梁高则为宽之四分之五或五分之六。就此即有二问题须加注意者：一，梁对荷重之比例；二，梁宽与梁高之比例。关于第一问题，当于下文另述。横梁载重之力，在其高度而不在其宽度；宋人有见于此，故其高与宽为三与二之比。载于《法式》，奉为定例。清人亦知此原则，故高亦较大于宽，然其比例已近方形。岂七八百载之经验，反使其对力学之了解退而无进耶？

至于梁之大小，兹亦加以分析，并与清式比较：

Sizes of the beams 梁之尺寸

Length of beam	梁长	7.43 m.
Length of each chia	每架长	1.86 m.
Width of central bay	当心间面阔	4.73 m.
Raise of ridge from beam	举高	2.51 m.
Length of slope	斜顶长	4.40 m.
Area of roof over central bay	当心间顶面积	4.40×2×4.73 = 41.7 sq.m.
Cross section of beam	梁横断面	0.305×0.585 m.

Dead load 静荷载

Timber (T'o-tun, p'ing-liang, chu-ju-chu, tous, fangs, purlins, rafters, sheathing, etc. included.) 7.069 cu.m.

木料（柁墩，三架梁，侏儒柱，斗座，襻间，槫，椽，望板均在内）体积

Tiles (Tubular and plate tiles)	瓦（筒瓦板瓦）体积	3.13 cu.m.	5.26 cu.m.
Do (Ridge tiles)	脊体积	2.13 cu.m.	
Earth (ground for tiles)	苫背体积		3.13 cu.m.

Weight of timber 木料重量

per cu.m.	每立方米	720 kg.
Volumn	体积	7.069 cu.m.
Dead load	静荷载	7.069×720=5,100 kg.

Weight of tiles (brick) 砖瓦重量

per cu.m.	每立方米	2,000 kg.
Volume	体积	5.26 cu.m.
Dead load	静荷载	5.26×2,000=10,520 kg.

Weight of earth 苫背重量

per cu.m.	每立方米	1,600 kg.
Volume	体积	3.13 cu.m.
Dead load	静荷载	3.13×1,600=5,000 kg.

Total dead load 总静荷载 5,100+10,520+5,000=20,620 kg.

Weight of yen-fu（五架梁自身重）：

0.585×0.305×7.43×720=954 kg.

From the above dead load（用上得之静荷载，则）：

The maximum bending moment of the yen-fu is（五架梁所受之最大挠曲弯矩为）：

$$10{,}310\times1.86+954\times\frac{7.43}{8}=20{,}100\ \text{kg. m.}$$

The maximum vertical shear is（其所受最大之竖切力为）：

$$10{,}310+\frac{954}{2}=10{,}800\ \text{kg.}$$

And the maxium bending stress on the yen-fu is（则五架梁中之最大挠曲应力为）:

$$\frac{6\times20{,}100}{0.305\times0.585^2}=1{,}160{,}000\ \text{kg./sq.m.}$$

And the maximum shearing stress is （其最大切应力为）：

$$\frac{10{,}800}{0.305\times0.585}\times\frac{3}{2}=91{,}000\ \text{kg./sq.m.}$$

Live load（活荷载）：

The live load on the roof includes both snow and wind pressure, assumed at 195 kg. per sq.m. Being a beam supported at two ends, the total live load is （屋顶之活荷载包括屋顶所受之雪压及风力等数。此项荷载，通常可假定为195公斤／平方米，然其重量之四分之一，已由梁之两端，直下内柱之上。由梁身转达柱上者，只其余四分之三。故其活荷载总量为）：

$$195\times41.7\times\frac{3}{4}=6{,}100\ \text{kg.}$$

The maximum bending moment is (其最大挠曲弯矩为):

3,050×1.86=5,670 kg.m.

The maximum vertical shear is (其最大竖切力为) :

3,050 kg.

And its maximum bending stress is (其最大挠曲应力为) :

$$\frac{6\times5{,}670}{0.305\times0.585^2}=326{,}000\ \text{kg./sq.m.}$$

And the maximum shearing stress is (其最大切应力为) :

$$\frac{3,050}{0.305 \times 0.585} \times \frac{3}{2} = 25,600 \text{ kg./sq.m.}$$

Since the strength of timber varies greatly according to its age and the climatic conditions to which it is subject, it is difficult to decide with any accuracy the strength of the wood of the Kuan-yin Ke without testing it. But as the maximum bending strength of timber varies between 3,000,000 kg. to 4,600,000 kg., and the maximum shearing strength between 120,000 kg. to 230,000 kg., it is fairly safe to assume the medium, i.e., 3,800,000 kg. for its bending strength and 180,000 kg. for shear. The factors of safety of the yen-fu are:

木料之强度，至不一律，且因年龄与气候而异。观音阁梁枋木料之最大强度果为若干，未经试验，殊难臆断，但木料之最大挠曲强度约在3,000,000—4,600,000公斤/平方米间；而其最大切强度约在120,000—230,000公斤/平方米。若以上述之平均数为此阁木料之最大强度，则其挠曲强度为3,800,000公斤/平方米，而切强度为180,000公斤/平方米，则此五架梁之安全率约如下表：

	Bending 挠曲		Shear 切	
	Stress 应力 (kg./sq.m.)	安全率 f.s.	Stress 应力 (kg./sq.m.)	安全率 f.s.
Dead load 静荷载独计	1,160,000	3.23	91,000	1.98
Dead & live load 静活荷载并计	1,486,000	2.56	116,600	1.54

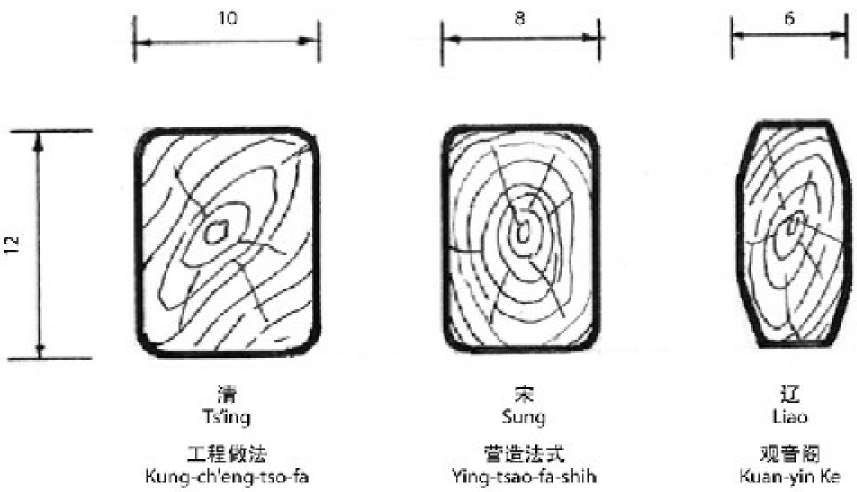
The above figures show that the factor of safety was slightly smaller than the most desirable, but still within the allowable limit of good practice, and the existence of the building for a thousand years is surely a sufficient test of its stability.

The same beam, when designed in accordance to Ts'ing regulations, is 74 by 59 cm., as large as two Liao beams. The Ts'ing builders were apparently far behind the Liaos in both knowledge of strength of material and economics! Figure 54 is a comparison of the widths of beams of the Liao, Sung and Ts'ing periods, all the beams being of the same depth.

It should be noted here that the yen-fu and the columns are not joined directly to each other, but interposed by the inner ends of the ju-fu, which unlike the ming-fu of the lower story, are merely placed on top instead of being incorporated into, and becoming an integral part of, the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho.

兹安全率，虽微嫌其小，然仍在普通设计许可范围之内，且各部体积，如瓦之厚度，乃按白板瓦底至筒瓦上作实厚许，未除沟陇之体积；脊本空心，亦当实心计算，故静荷载所假定，实远过实在重量。且历时千载，梁犹健直，更足以证其大小至为适当，宛如曾经精密计算而造者。今若按清式定例计算，则其高当为0.74米，宽为0.59米，辟为二梁，尚绰有余裕，清人于力学与经济学，岂竟皆不如辽宋时代耶？（图54）。

至于梁与柱安置之关系，则五架梁并非直接置于柱或斗拱之上者。五架梁之下，尚有双步梁，在檐柱及内柱柱头铺作之上；然双架梁亦非如明栿之与铺作合构而成其一部，而只置于其上者。双架梁之内端上，复垫以橔，上置五架梁，结构似嫌松懈。然统和以来，千岁于兹，尚完整不欹，吾侪亦何所责于辽代梓人哉！



【54】Comparison of the widths of beams of Liao, Sung and Ts'ing. 辽、宋、清梁横断面比较

Many of the auxiliary parts of the "truss" were made of old materials. The t'o-tun of the yen-fu are of special interest as they are nothing but enormous old kungs, two at each end, one piled on top of the other. They are much larger than the kungs on the Ke, and must have been either parts of the original building which is now substituted by the present Kuan-yin Ke, or of other buildings, and cannot be of a later date than the glorious T'ang period!

Purlins, round in cross section, are placed at regular distances, four on each side of the slope and one at the ridge. At points where they are supported, t'i-mu is invariably used, apparently to reduce the shearing force.

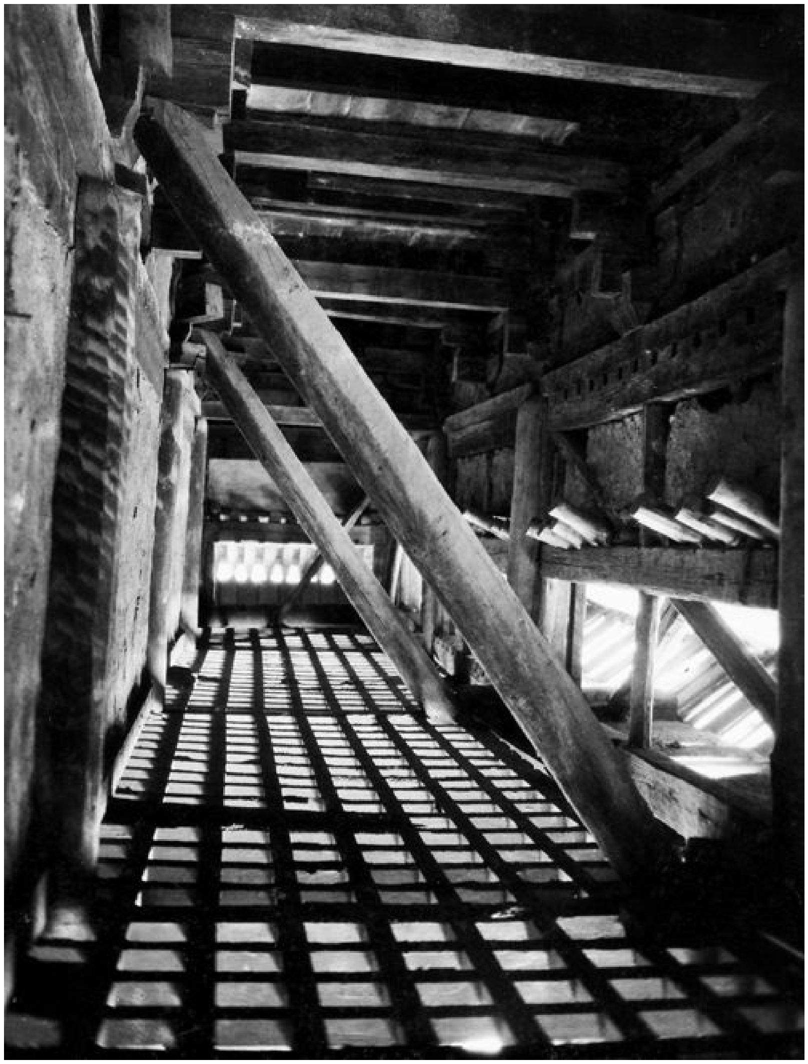
Beneath the t'i-mu, and interposed by tous, are the p'an-chien or fang, of which the one on the chu-ju-chu or under the ridge-purlin is specially large and interesting because short struts are used between the t'i-mu and p'an-chien causing the three to act somewhat like a single member.

From either side of the principal p'an-chien is a hsieh-chu ("slanting column"), like the principal rafters of a truss with the chu-ju-chu as the king post (Figure 55). This is not found in structural systems of later periods. The hsieh-chu is also used in the surrounding aisle of the mezzanine floor as a bracing to the framework. It may or may not be a part of the original construction. Though the use of diagonal bracing is seldom found elsewhere in China, it may be too hasty to conclude that those of the Kuan-yin Ke were put in after the building had begun to show signs of incline. Besides, if the hsieh-chu is applicable to the sides of the purlins, there is no reason to deny the possibility of its being used elsewhere in the building.

The most important discovery in the study of the structural side of the Liao architecture of the Tu-lo Ssu is the high degree of standardization of structural members. The regulation of the Ts'ing style sets the tou-kou (or mortise on the tou to receive the kung) as the standard unit measure, involving a very complicated process in both designing and execution of the work. But here in the gigantic structure of the Ke, the structural members are of only six different sizes, an amazingly high degree of standardization.

The opening paragraph of Chapter IV of the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* may be quoted here, on the construction of framing carpentry:

"In constructions of all kinds, the ts'ai is always the first consideration. There are eight different sizes of ts'ai, and they are to be used according to the size of the building.… The depth of the ts'ai is to be divided into 15 fen, and its width will be equal to 10 fen. It is with this fen as a unit that the height and breadth of the building, the length of different parts, the curve of the roof, and everything else governed by the compass, the square and the plumb are determined."



【55】Hsieh-chu in the interior of the mezzanine floor, Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁中层内部斜柱

草栿之附属部分，多用旧料，其中如垫五架梁之柁墩，皆由雄大旧拱二件垒成，较今存拱尤大；是必统和重葺以前原建筑物或他处拆下之旧拱，赫然唐木，乃尚得见于兹，惜顶中黑暗，未得摄影为憾耳。

三架梁及五架梁头，并双步梁上柁橔及三架梁上侏儒柱上皆置槫（桁），槫与梁或橔间，皆垫以替木；替木之下，复有襻间（枋），长随间广，与梁相交。侏儒柱上襻间尤大。襻间与替木间，复支以短柱；使槫、替木、襻间三者合成一“复梁”作用焉。

脊襻间之左右，有斜柱支撑于平梁之上。以下每槫之下，皆有斜柱支撑，此为清式所无，而于坚固上，固有绝大之关系也。

斜柱之制，不唯用于梁架之上，于中层暗部亦用之（图55）。此部

或为后世修葺所加；然当初若知用于梁上以支槫，则将此同一原则转用于此处，亦非不可能也。

此次独乐寺辽物研究中，因梁枋斗拱分析而获得之最大结果，则木材尺寸之标准化是也。清式用材，其尺寸以“斗口”为单位，制至繁而计算难。而观音阁全部结构，梁枋千百，其结构用材，则只六种，其标准化可谓已达极点。《营造法式》卷四，大木作制度，辟头第一句即谓：

“凡构屋之制，皆以材为祖。材有八等，度屋之大小，因而用之。……各以其材之广，分为十五分，以十分为其厚。凡屋宇之高深，名物之短长，曲直举折之势，规矩绳墨之宜，皆以所用材之分以为制度焉。”

After giving the dimensions of the eight standard sizes, it continues:

"The ch'i is 6 fen wide and 4 fen thick. When a ch'i is added to the ts'ai, it is called a chu-ts'ai."

These are undoubtedly the standard measures of the Sung style of architecture. But since the ts'ai and ch'i are not properly defined, it is difficult to know their proper mode of application, though the dimensions and proportions are given. It is only after a study of the structural members of the Tu-lo Ssu that we know to what an extent the system is applicable, and how much convenience it brings to the designing and execution of the work as well as saving of material and labor.

Since the ts'ai and ch'i are standard measures for construction, every part of the building is expressed in terms of either the ts'ai or the ch'i, or a multiple of either or both of them. It is necessary therefore to define the ts'ai. Firstly, it may be described as a unit measure, where the depth of a kung is called a ts'ai. Secondly, it is a standard member, the cross section of which is that of the kung, regardless of its length. The ni-tao-kung, man-kung, chu-t'ou-fang, etc., are, for instance, all of the same size in cross section, and are, therefore, each a ts'ai.

在八等材尺寸比例之后，复谓：

"栔广六分，厚四分。材上加栔者谓之足材。”

此乃宋式营造之标准单位，固极明显。然而“材”、“栔”之定义，并未见于书中；虽知其大小比例，而难知其应用法，及其应用之可能度。今见独乐寺，然后知其应用及其对于设计及施工所予之便利及经济。

“材”、“栔”既为营造单位，则全建筑物每部尺寸，皆为“材”、“栔”之倍数或分数；故先考何为一“材”。“材”者：（一）为一种度量单位；以拱之广（高度），谓之“一材”。（二）为一种标准木材之称，指木材之横断面言，长则无限制。例如泥道拱、慢拱、柱头枋等，其长虽异，而横断面则同，皆一材也。

The ch'i is 6 fen in width and 4 fen in thick, where 6 fen is 6/15 of a ts'ai, and its height (thickness) is that of the space or void between two kungs or fangs. It is, therefore, also a term used both for a unit measure as well as a standard member.

Measurements show that the depth of the kungs and fangs of the Kuan-yin Ke vary from 24.1 to 25 cm. The variation may be due to either inaccuracy in workmanship or the climatic effect of nearly a thousand years. However, the average depth is about 24.5 cm., which is the ts'ai of both the Hall and the Shan-men. The average ch'i is about 10 cm., approximately 2/5 of a ts'ai, which is fairly close to 6/15 of it. It is then clear that the use of the ts'ai as a unit measure is a system common to both the Liao and Sung regulations of construction, and consequently indicates a common origin, probably from the T'ang Dynasty or even earlier.

"栔广六分，厚四分”：其“广”即散斗之“平”（升腰）及“欹”（斗底）之总高度，即两层拱间之空隙；六分者，“材”之广之十五分之六也。“栔”为“材”之辅，亦为度量单位名称；用作木材时，则以补拱间之隙，非主要结构木材也。材栔二者，用为度量单位时，皆用其“广”（高度）。栔“厚四分”者，材之广之十五分之四也。“厚”从不用作度量单位，只是标准木材之固定大小而已。

观音阁山门各部拱枋之高，自0.241米至0.25米不等。工匠斧锯之不准确，及千年气候之影响，皆足为此种差异之原因，其平均尺度则为0.244或0.245米，此即阁及门“材”之尺寸也。其“栔”则平均合0.10米，约合“材”之五分之二强（虽略有出入，合所谓“六分”——十五分之六）。然则以材栔为度量之制，辽宋已符，其为唐代所遗旧制必可无疑。

The solution of the ts'ai and ch'i riddle precedes that of a number of hitherto perplexing problems. The ni-tao-kung, man-kung, kua-tze-kung, ling-kung and all other kungs; chu-t'ou-fang, lo-han-fang, p'ing-ch'i-fang, and most other fangs; the angs, are all ts'ai, or more specifically tan-ts'ai as distinguished from the chu-ts'ai which is the combination of a ts'ai and a ch'i.

Chu-ts'ai members of the Ke are the lan-erh, p'u-p'ai-fang, hua-kung, etc. The ming-fu is one ts'ai & one ch'i; ta-ch'ian, about two ts'ai; p'ing-liang, two ts'ai; yen-fu, two ts'ai & one ch'i. There are only these six different dimensions for the thousands of structural pieces in the building. The high degree of standardization is certainly amazing, and the statement in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih* that "in construction of all kinds, the ts'ai is always the first consideration" is certainly a principle that no student of Liao or Sung architecture can afford to overlook.

〔H〕Chiao-liang

The chiao-liang or hip-rafter is similar to that of the Shan-men in construction. The yin-chiao-liang or "hidden corner beam" is not used in the Kuan-yin Ke, as neither the top nor the lower roof necessitates the extension of the "corner beam." The upper story hip-rafter terminates where the gable roof starts, and the one of the lower story is not carried beyond the mezzanine corner column. The end of the lao-chiao-liang is shaped into two convexed surfaces for the lower story and three similar curvatures for the upper. The curvature is a simple curve, severe and dignified, rather Greek in feeling, unlike the wriggling pa-wang-ch'uan used for ta-chiao-liang of later periods. The tze-chiao-liang is on the lao-chiao-liang, extending further out but slender in proportion, with a t'ao-shou, a dragon head tile cap on its tip. Copper bells are hung from underneath the chiao-liangs.

〔I〕Chü-che

The pitch and curve of the roof is worked out exactly according to the same method as described in the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih.* The distance between the front and rear liao-yen-ch'uan is 17.42 m. with an altitude of 4.76 m., measuring from the top of the liao-yen-ch'uan to the top of the ridge-purlin. One-quarter of the distance is 4.36 m., the basic raise, 8% of which is nearly 0.35 m. making 4.71 m. as the total raise according to the method described in the *Fa-shih*. Here the measurement of the Kuan-yin Ke is 4.76 m., about 1% more than the specified proportion which may be due to settlement or the effect of age and weathering. It is, therefore, the best existing example of the raise in the Sung manner.

The curve, it is slightly straighter than that laid down in the *Fa-shih*. The

dotted line of figure shows the regulation curve as compared with the existing specimen (in black line); the difference between the two being very slight. The general contour is, however, radically different from that of the Ts'ing buildings.

材栔之义及用既定，若干问题即迎刃而解。例如：泥道、慢、瓜子、令诸拱；柱头、罗汉、平綦等枋；昂，皆“单材”也（其广一材，其厚为广三分之二）。阑额、普拍枋、华拱皆“足材”也（其广一材一栔，其厚为一材之三分之二）。明栿广一材一栔；劄牵（双步梁）[64] 广约二材弱；平梁（三架梁）广二材，檐栿（五架梁）[65] 广二材一栔。共计凡六种，此外其他部分亦莫不如是，其标准化可谓已达最高点。《法式》谓“构屋之制，以材为祖”信不诬也。

〔8〕角梁

下层大角梁卷杀作两瓣，而上层则作三瓣；其卷杀之曲线严厉，颇具希腊风味。下层角梁后尾安于中层角柱之上。而上层后尾与角昂、由昂，皆置上层内角柱之上。仔角梁较大角梁短小，头戴套兽。大小角梁下皆悬铜铎，每当微风，辄吟东坡“东风当断渡”句，不知蓟在山麓，无渡可断也。

〔9〕举折

观音阁前后橑檐槫相距17.42米，举高为4.76米，适为五五举弱。较山门举度（五举）略甚。按《法式》之制，殿阁楼台，三分举一分，而筒瓦厅堂则四分举一分又加百分之八，五五举弱适与此算法相符，是非偶然，盖以厅堂举法而施于殿阁也。

至于其折高，则第一举为三二五举，第二举为五举弱，第三举为六举强，第四举为六五举弱，第五举为七五举，其折法不如《法式》之制，与清制亦异。

〔J〕The Rafter and the Eave

The rafters, or ch'uan, are made of round posts, about 14 cm. in diameter, and above them are the fei-tze or flying rafters. Like the rafters of the Shan-men, they are tapered slightly at the tips, in exactly the same manner.

As we have noted before, the overhang of the eave buildings is much greater than that of the Ts'ing style. The height from the top of the t'ai-chi (base) to the top of the liao-yen-ch'uan is 6.57 m., and the horizontal distance between the center-line of the columns and the tip of the fei-tze is 3.28 m., just one-half of the height. The overhang of the upper eave is about the same as the lower one, but the height of the top story columns is much shorter. The general impression one gets of these two decks of far overhanging roofs is, therefore, that of vigor and free, quite unlike the timid elaboration of the later styles (Figure 31).

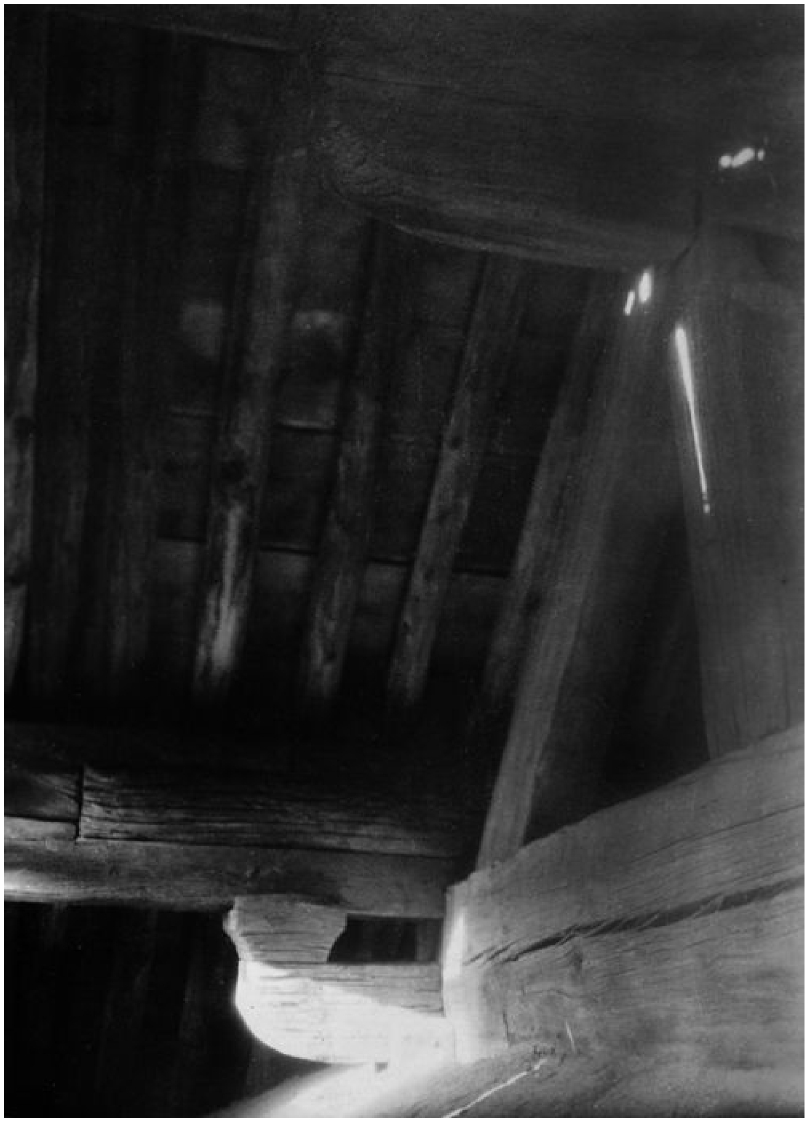
〔K〕Gables

The roof of the Kuan-yin Ke is in the hsieh-shan manner, a peculiar roof construction characteristic of the Chinese architecture. A gable is made to intersect with the sloping roof of the end of the building, thus geometrically it is just the reverse of the roof, in which the gable is interrupted by the slope. The shan-hua as the gable is called by the Ts'ing builders, is known in the Sung Book as liang-chi (Figure 56).

The liang-chi of the Kuan-yin Ke is constructed by extending the purlins about 1.45 m. beyond the "truss" between the intermediate and end bays, to allow an overhang of the roof. The cantilever of the purlin is taken care of by a t'i-mu and a kung, which is shaped out of the end of the p'an-chien underneath each purlin. The three central bays are, therefore, under the front and rear slopes while the two end bays are under the side slopes of the roof. Onto the ends of the purlins is attached the po-feng-pan which may be called a "gable plate."

The hsieh-shan roof that is common in China today is somewhat different both in appearance and construction from the liang-chi of the Sung style. The recess of the vertical triangle of the gable from the end facade in the Ts'ing style is smaller than in the Sung style. It is due to the extraordinarily long cantilever of the purlin-ends which almost reaches the entire width of the end bay. The result is that the triangular space of the gable is much enlarged and the main ridge of the roof lengthened. But, on account of the heavy overhang, the later architects found that the cantilever was not strong enough to support the weight of the roof, so that an extra set of framework was necessary to hold the gable in place. As this addition is

illogical and unsightly, a board, the shan-hua-pan, is nailed on to hide the ugliness behind.



【56】The construction of liang-chi, Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁两际结构

〔10〕椽及檐

椽皆以径约0.14米之杉木造。椽头略加卷杀，飞子亦然，如山门所见。

清式檐出为高三分之一。观音阁下层自橑檐槫背至地高6.57米，而自檐柱中至飞头平出檐为3.28米，适为高之半。上檐出与下檐出大略相同，因童柱之移入及侧脚之故，故较下檐退入约0.33米。然吾侪平日所

习见之明清建筑，上檐多造于内柱之上，故似退垒而呈坚稳之状；而观音阁巍然两层远出如翼，其态度至为豪放（图31）。

橑檐槫及罗汉枋间，罗汉枋及柱头枋间，皆有似平闇椽之斜椽，上安遮椽板。

〔11〕两际

屋顶为歇山式，其两际之结构，与清式颇异。清式收山少，山花几与檐柱上下成一垂直线。收山少则悬出多，其重量非自梁上伸出之桁（槫）所能胜，故须在山花之内，用种种方法——如踢脚木、草架柱子等——以支撑之；而此种方法，因不甚合理，故不美观，于是用山花板以掩藏之。

The later style is decidedly degeneration as compared with the frank exposure of all structural members in the Sung method. The Kuan-yin Ke is found with shan-hua-pan at both gables. But behind them may still be seen the kung-shaped ends of the p'an-chian with tous and t'i-mu. The end of the large p'an-chien under the ridge-purlin is shaped into a simple cyma, reaching to half the length of the overhang. The two hsieh-chus that hold the ridge in position were originally also exposed, with the spaces inside them filled in with partitions to shut out the heat and cold; but now the little triangular walls have been taken away and their work is undertaken by the shan-hua-pan, which, from both structural and aesthetic points of view, is far inferior to the original construction.

Right underneath the apex of the shan-hua, there must once have been a hsüan-yü, the "hanging fish," with jeh-ts'ao on both sides. Those shown in the side elevation are drawn according to the *Ying-tsao-fa-shih.*

〔L〕Roof-tiles

The grey tiles of the Kuan-yin Ke, like those of the Shan-men, are not the originals of the Liao period. The cheng-wen (ridge-end ornament), cheng-chi (main ridge), ch'ui-chi (hip), ch'ui-shou (hip beast), tsun-shou (sitting beasts), pin-chia (angel or lady-in-waiting) are probably all of the Ming Dynasty.

宋以前则不然，两际之构造，颇似清式之“悬山”；无山花板，各层梁枋槫头等构材，自下皆见。观音阁两际今则掩以山花，一望而知其非

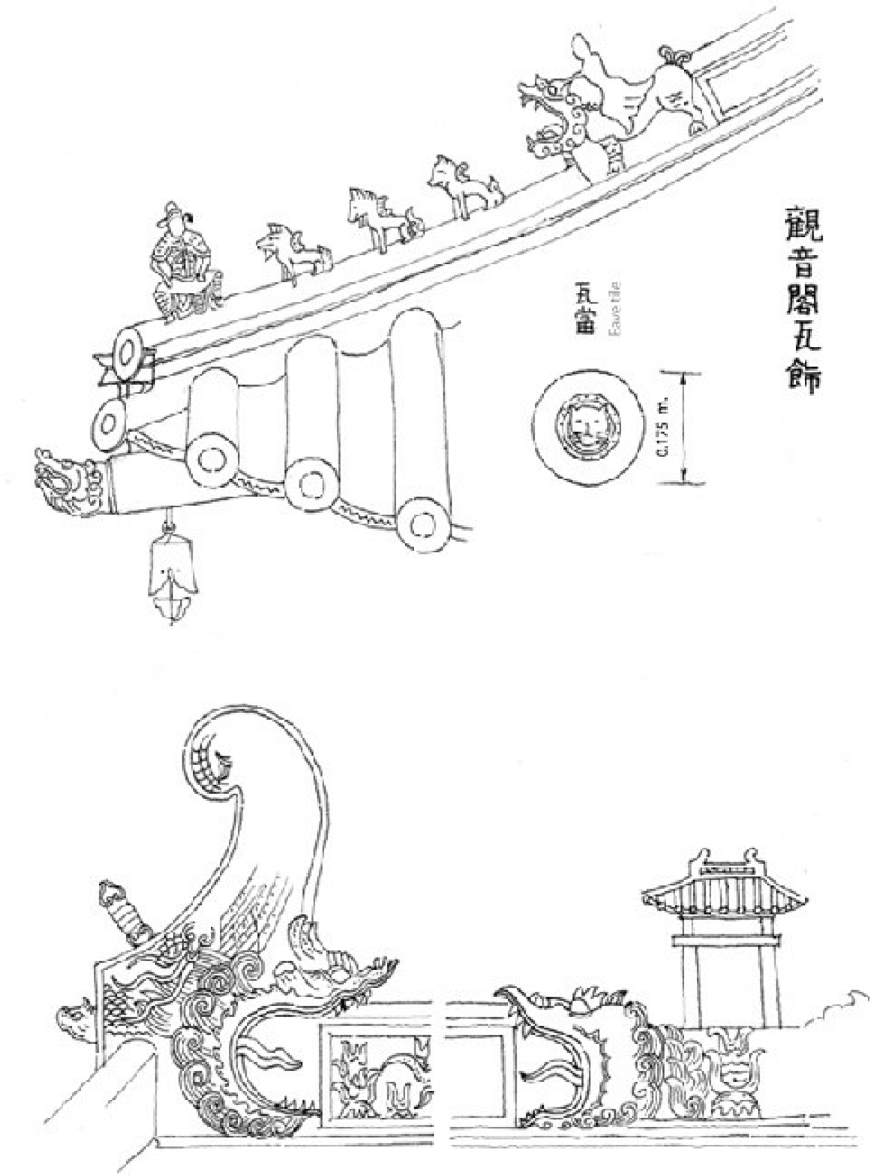
原物；及登顶细察，则原形尚在（图56），惜为劣匠遮掩，自外不得见。

侏儒柱上大襻间，头卷杀作简洁之曲线，长及出际之半。平槫下襻间与平梁（三架梁）交，伸出长如大襻间，卷杀如拱，上置散斗，以承替木。斜柱与侏儒柱之间，其先必填以壁，以防风寒吹入，今则拆去，而于槫头博风板下，掩以山花。既不合理，又复丑恶，何清代匠人之不假思索耶？

博风板之下，原先必有悬鱼惹草等装饰，今亦无存。谨按《营造法式》所见。

〔12〕瓦

与山门瓦同，青瓦，亦非原物，其正吻、正脊、垂脊、垂兽、仙人等，殆为明代重修时所配者。



【57】Ornaments of roof-tiles, Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁瓦饰

The cheng-wen is similar to that of the Ts'ing style, but with a much larger "tail," and its end does not turn inward in the form of a spiral. The relief of the facial features is more prominent. The top of the "back" is a slope instead of the level shelves of the Ts'ing style. The chien-pa or sword handle is very realistic in modeling, sticking on the "back" at an angle (Figure 57).

The cheng-chi or main ridge has a small pavilion in the middle, which shelters a tablet. Inhabitants of the town told me that prior to the restoration in the Kwang-hsü period, there were inscriptions on the tablet with the date

and name of the architect as follows: "Erected under the supervision of Yü-ch'ih ching-teh in the 10th Year of Cheng-kwan."

But a careful scrutiny with a telescope failed to bring out these characters. It was very probable that there were inscriptions on the tablet, but the date of Cheng-kwan and the name Yü-ch'ih Ching-teh are probably not genuine. The name especially is unreliable as it is one that has for ages been legendary to carpenters and builders. A local legend tells that the sacred lamp of the She-li Pagoda in Pan-shan descends the hill and visits the city at midnight on New Year's Eve. It lands on the little tablet first and then goes to other temples in the city. The lamp is known as one of the eight sights of Chi-chou, and is called "Tu-lo-ch'en-teng" (the Sacred Lamp of Tu-lo). The long narrow panels of the ridge are decorated with dragons playing the flaming pearl.

The ch'ui-chi or hip is decorated with floral designs. The ch'ui-shou is entirely different from the Ts'ing ch'ui-shou; it is a sort of unicorn with mouth wide open, and a little human figure riding on its back, holding onto its horns. The sitting beasts, though slightly different from those of later dates, are nothing very unusual. The pin-chia is a husky warrior in helmet and armor, sitting on the end of the hip looking down proudly onto the worshipers below the sacred roof. All these tiles might be several centuries old.

The tubular and plate tiles are similar to those of the Shan-men.

〔M〕Walls

Except for the three central bays on the southern facade and the one central bay on the north, the spaces between the exterior peristylar columns of the lower floor are filled in with massive masonry walls, about one meter thick. The top of the wall just reaches the bottom of the lan-erh, and is about four times its own thickness. There is a slight decrease in thickness towards the top, and a sharp inward turn near the lan-erh. The ch'ün-chien or base of the wall is only about one-seventh of the height, much lower than the regulation proportion of one-third as specified in the Ts'ing style, and therefore still further from the Ming proportion which is even higher. The base of the wall of the Wooden Pagoda of Fo-kung Ssu is also of a similar proportion. It might have been a Liao characteristic.

正吻颇似清式，然尾翘起甚高，亦不似清式之如螺旋之卷入。须眉

口鼻皆较玲珑。吻背之上皮，斜上尾部，不若清式之平。其剑把则似真剑把，斜插于吻背之背。背兽颇瘦小（图57）。

正脊为双龙戏珠纹样。其正中作小亭。相传每届除夕夜午以后，盘山舍利塔神灯，下降蓟城，先独乐而后诸刹。神灯降临则亭中光芒射出，照耀全城，称“独乐晨灯”，为蓟州八景之一云。小亭之神话，尚不止此。蓟人告予，光绪重修以前，亭内有碑，碑刻“贞观十年尉迟敬德监修”云云。吾以望远镜仔细察良久，未见只字。碑上原有文字当无可疑，贞观敬德，颇近无稽；尉迟敬德监修寺庙，亦成匠人神话，未可必信也。

垂脊亦有花纹，但无龙。垂兽为清式所不见。似仙童骑于独角犀牛上，双手攀犀角，颇饶谐趣。走兽虽略异，亦无奇。仙人乃甲胄武士，傲然俯视檐下众生。亦历数百寒暑矣。

筒瓦、板瓦与山门同，详见图五十七，不复赘。

〔13〕墙壁

下层除南面居中三间及北面居中一间外，皆于柱间砌砖墙。墙高至阑额下。厚约一米，计合墙高四分之一。墙收分之度，约为2%。墙顶近阑额处，斜收入为墙肩。下肩甚低，约合墙高七分之一。清式定例，下肩高为墙高三分之一。明物则下肩尤高。而观音阁及山门与应县佛宫寺塔，下肩皆特低，绝非偶然，窃疑其为辽制。

In one of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung's poems on the Tu-lo Ssu there is a line on "the faded paintings of Buddha's twelve origins," and a note attached giving the explanation that "Buddha has twelve origins, a favorite topic for mural paintings in Buddhist Temples." It is certain that the walls were originally decorated with paintings which were already faded in Ch'ien-lung's time.

The interior partitions of the mezzanine floor and the exterior walls of the upper floor are all constructed of plaster on lath. The lath is of small branches tied together, and the plaster is local clay mixed with a small proportion of lime and straw. A diagonal post is built in each of these partitions to act as bracing.

〔N〕Doors

None of the original doors are preserved. During the Ts'ing restorations, doors with geometrical floral grills were used. Traces of these are still to be seen in a few of the transoms. The movable parts have all been destroyed.

〔O〕Floor

On the p'u-pan-fang (joists) that rests on the chu-t'ou-p'u-cho of the mezzanine story is placed the floor of the upper story, which is finished with a coat of plaster about 3 cm. thick. The joists are placed more than 2 m. apart, and in some places the floor sags so much under the weight of men walking on it that it actually threatens to give way.

〔P〕Balustrades

On both the mezzanine and upper floors, around the wall that surrounds the figure, are wooden balustrades. Round posts are placed at points where the railing turns a corner, and short posts called shu-chu are placed at intervals in between. The head of the shu-chu is shaped into a tou, upon which is placed the hsün-chang or rail. Other horizontal members are the p'en-ch'un at the middle and the ti-fu or foot rail below. Between these two is the hua-pan, which is usually treated with different combinations of the swastika, similar to those seen in the mural paintings of Tun-huang. The pattern of the mezzanine floor balustrades is identical to the painting. The six sides of the upper story balustrade are divided into twelve panels with six kinds of designs (Figure 58). The balustrades around the exterior balcony on the upper floor are modern replacements with modified designs.

乾隆御制诗《过独乐寺戏题》有“梵宇久凋零，落色源流画”句，其夹注则曰“佛有十二源流，僧家多画于壁间”，是独乐寺本有画壁，其画题则十二源流，当时已“落色”，必明以前画也。

上层外墙及中层内墙系在柱间先用绳索系枝为篱，然后将草泥敷于篱上，似今通用之板条抹灰墙；然所用绳索枯枝，皆甚粗陋。壁内藏有斜柱，以巩固屋架之结构。

〔14〕门窗

原物无丝毫痕迹。清代修葺，门窗改用菱花楞子。下层横披尚见。

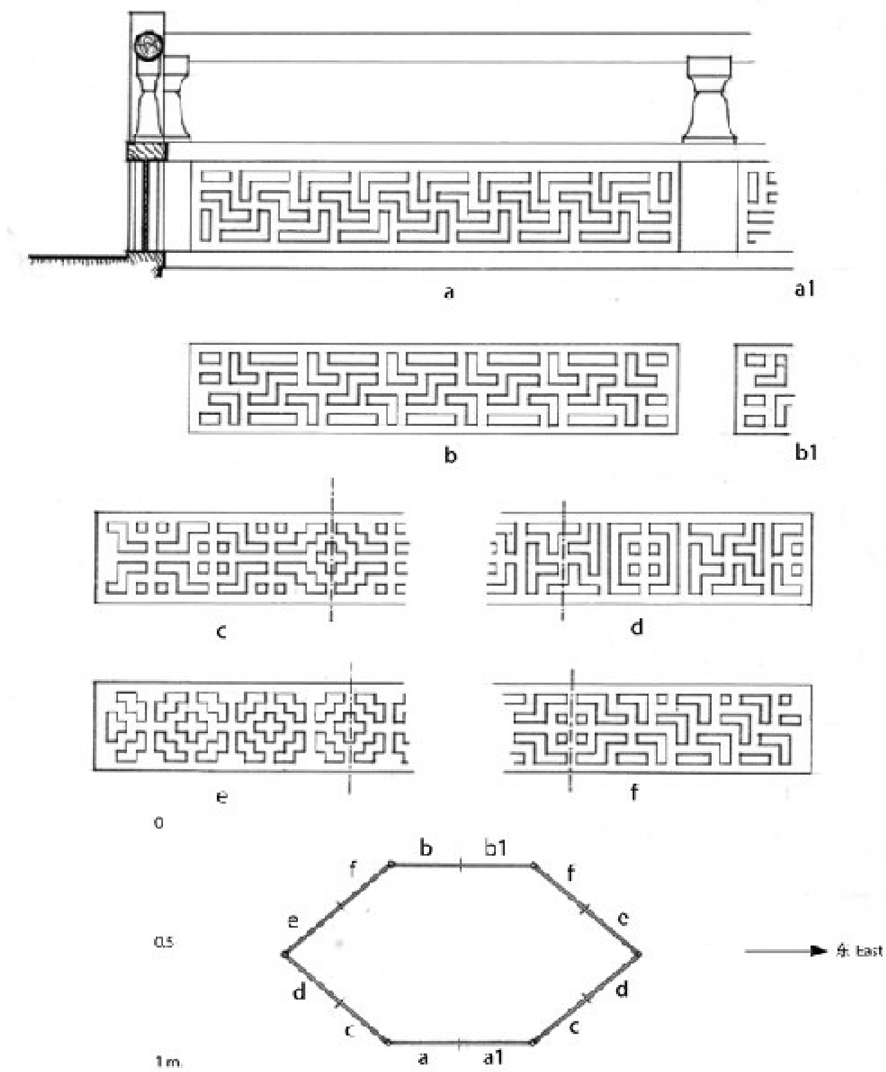
其活动部分，已全被年前驻军拆毁。

〔15〕地板

在中层各铺作上铺板枋上，敷设地板，板上敷灰泥约一寸。枋间距离，至短者亦在二米余以上，而板则厚仅一寸。人行板上，板上下弯曲弹动，殊欠安稳。清式于“承重”梁上加“楞本”，无弹动之虞。每年旧历三月中，蓟人举行酬神盛会，登楼者辄同时百数十人，如地板不加坚实，恐惨剧难免发生。

〔16〕栏杆

中层内平坐上，绕像一周；上层内地板上，六角形空井一周，及上层外檐平坐一周，皆绕以栏杆。栏杆于转角处立望柱，其间则立短小之蜀柱。柱下为地栿，中部为盆唇，上为寻杖，蜀柱之间盆唇之下为束腰。其各部名称见于《营造法式》，而形制则较似敦煌壁画所见。中层栏杆束腰花纹，与敦煌者尤相似。上层内栏杆六面十二格，花纹六种（图58），虽各不同，而精神则一贯。上层外檐栏杆，云拱瘿项改作花瓶形，已失原意矣。



【58】Modified designs of balustrades, interior of upper story, Kuan-yin Ke.

观音阁上层内勾栏束腰纹样

〔Q〕Stairway

The stairway, which is the only access to the upper floors, is located in the western end bay. The mezzanine is reached by one long flight, running upwards from south to north. It then turns back southward leading to the upper floor. The incline of the stair is rather steep, making an angle of almost 45 degrees with the ground. The lower end of the lower flight rests on a low platform. The carriages, which are at the same time strings, are rather large in size. They are terminated at the lower end by a wang-chu or newel, in the

form of a simple cylindrical post, and at the upper end by a shu-chu. There are a few more shu-chu, in between the two ends, and on them rests the hsün-chang (hand rail). The carriage acts at the same time as the ti-fu, while the hua-pan is substituted by a long post, square in cross section, and placed cornerwise (Figure 59).

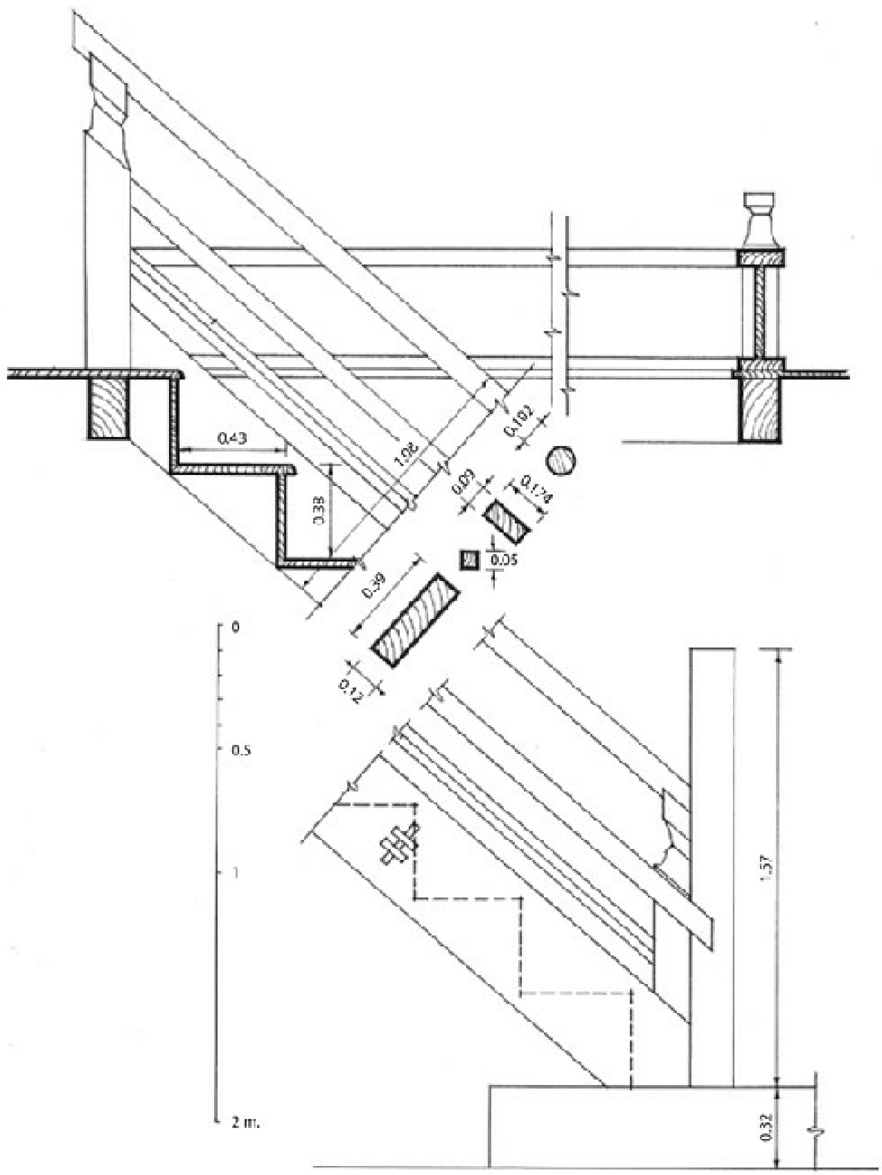
The present stairway consists of one flight of twenty-eight steps and one flight of twenty. An examination of the inner face of the carriage from underneath shows that the present steps are only half as large as the original, mortises of which are still traceable, measuring 38 cm. for the rise and 43 cm. for the thread (Figure 60).

〔17〕楼梯

位于西梢间居中两间内，自地北向上至中层，复折而南至上层。梯斜度颇峻，约作四十五度角。梯脚下有小方坛，梯立坛上。梯之两框，颇为长大，辅以栏杆，略如上述。其上下两端，立以望柱；望柱之间，立蜀柱数支，其间贯以盆唇寻杖，其不同者，为束腰部分，不用板而代以一方杖。梯之上端，穿地为孔，孔之三面复以小蜀柱及盆唇束腰栏护焉（图59）。

今梯下段分二十八级，上段分二十级。仰察梯底，乃知今每级只原阶之半，原级之大，实倍于今，下段十四而上段十级，每级高0.38米，宽0.43米，卯痕犹在，易复原状也（图60）。

【59】Head of stairway on the upper floor of Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁上层梯口



【60】Architectural drawings of stairway, Kuan-yin Ke.

观音阁楼梯详样

〔R〕Painted Ornaments

It is customary in China to repaint all the painted ornaments. Therefore an old painted ornament is even rarer than an old building. The paintings of the Tu-lo Ssu buildings are no exceptions, having being repaired during the Kwang-hsü restoration. The basic function of the paint is to protect the wood, and to prolongate its life, the decorative element being merely a by-product.

A well applied ornament helps to give expression and proper emphasis to the structural members and thus should change according to the difference in structural systems.

The painted ornaments of the Kuan-yin Ke, like those of the Shan-men, are a forced application of the Ts'ing system onto a Liao building. The exterior paintings are especially bad. Emphasis and accentuation are almost always applied in the wrong place, such as the use of the tangent-circle motif known as the Hsiao-tze with the "panels" put so that they are half-covered by the tous. This is an arrangement so awkward that it should not be employed under any circumstance. The painters have here shown great embarrassment in dealing with this fang which is always hidden above the rows of p'u-cho in later styles, but here is entirely exposed in the Ke in the frankest manner. The paintings are not only unsuitable, but positively comical.

〔18〕彩画

我国建筑，每逢修葺，辄“油饰一新”，故古建筑之幸存者，亦只骨架，其彩画制度，鲜有百岁以上者。独乐寺彩画，亦非例外，盖光绪重修时所作也。彩画之基本功用在保护木料而延其寿命，其装饰之方面，乃其附带之结果。善施彩画，不唯保护木材，且能籍画以表现建筑物之构造精神。而每时代因其结构法之不同，故其彩画制度亦异。

观音阁及山门，皆以辽式构架，施以清式彩画。内部油饰，犹简单稍具古风，尚属可用。外檐彩画，则恶劣不堪，“大点金”也，各种“苏画”或“龙锦枋心”也，橑檐槫、阑额及斗拱上，尚因古今相似，勉强可观。而各层柱头枋及罗汉枋，在清式所占地位极不重要，在平时几不见，故无彩画，但在辽式，则皆各露，拙匠遂不知所措，亦画以“旋子（学子）”、“枋心”等等纹样。有如白发老叟、衣童子衣，又复以裤为衣、以冠为履，错置乱陈，喧哗嘈杂，滑稽莫甚焉（见外檐各图）！

〔S〕Statues and Their Platform

The colossal statue of the Eleven-headed Kuan-yin is the main subject of the Hall—or the Temple. The statue is about 16 meters in height and is the largest free-standing figure known in China. Legends told that the statue was carved out of a single piece of sandalwood, but in reality it is modeled in clay over a gigantic armature. The figure is characterized by arched brows over

long, narrow eyes, wedge shaped nose and a subtle smile. The body inclines slightly forward with a protruding belly. The drapery is fluent, with two long sashes hanging from the arms and straight down to the foot, touching the sides of the lotus-flower-pedestal. All these characteristics show the strong influence of T'ang sculpture, and there is little doubt of the statue having been remodeled in 984. The reparation and restoration of successive ages have undoubtedly caused some change to the figure, but the general characteristics are still those of the late T'ang style. The statue is sadly abused by vulgar painted ornaments of later periods (Figure 62).

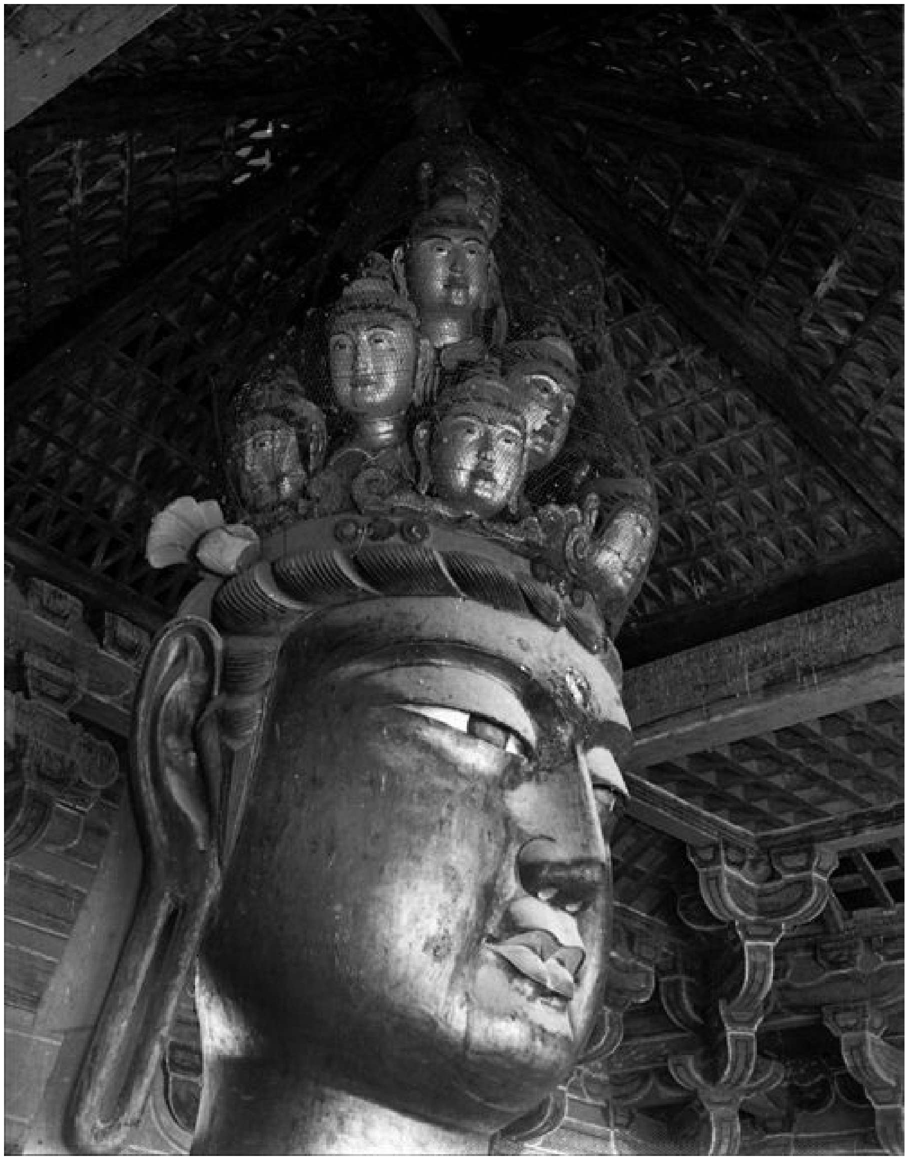
To the left and right of the principal figure on the platform are two attending Bodhisattvas. Their posture and drapery are especially "T'angish" in spirit (Figure 61).

〔19〕塑像及须弥坛

十一面观音像，实为本阁——或本寺——之主人翁。像高约十六米，立须弥坛上，二菩萨侍立。相传像为檀香整木刻成，实则中空而泥塑者也。像弯眉楔鼻，长目圆颔，微带慈笑；腹部微突，身向前倾；衣褶圜和，两臂上飘带下垂，下端贴莲座上，皆为唐代特征。然历代重修，原形稍改，而近代彩画，尤为可厌（图62）。

坛上左右侍立菩萨，姿势手法，尤为精妙，疑亦唐代物也（图61）。坛上尚有像数尊，率皆明清以后供养，兹不赘。

【61】Figure of the attending Bodhisattva in the east. 东面侍立菩萨像



【62】Eleven-headed Kuan-yin. 十一面观世音像

There are a few other figures on the platform, probably of the Ming and Ts'ing periods, deserving no special attention. The platform, on which all the statues are placed, is of solid masonry and finished with wooden moldings and panels all the way around. A low balustrade of swastika pattern runs all the way round. The sacrificial table in front of the platform is treated with an enormous number of stringy moldings (Figure 63). These woodworks are probably of the Kwang-hsü period.

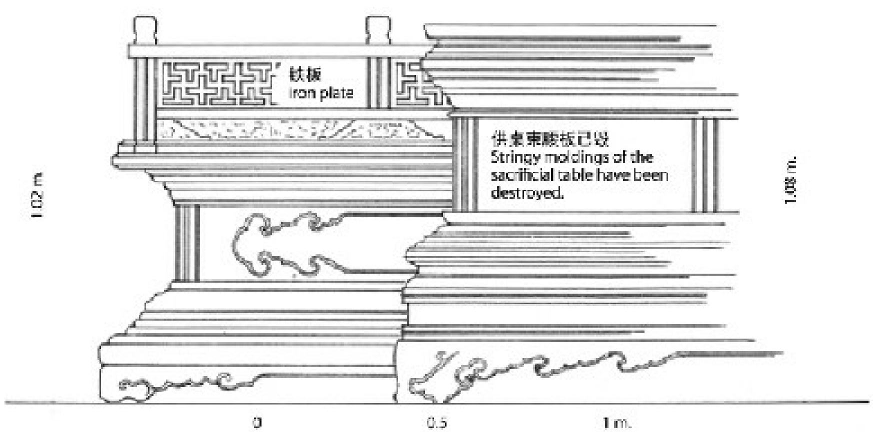
〔T〕Pien

The principal tablet or pien under the front upper eave, with the characters "Kuan-yin-chih-ke" is also considered a treasure of the city. The calligraphy on it is attributed to Li Po, famous poet of the T'ang Dynasty. Judging from the penmanship, it is of the T'ang school, very vigorous but slightly clumsy. The signature "T'ai-po" appears under the character "ke," but there is very little doubt of its being a forgery. It is more likely that Li Tung-yang of the Ming Dynasty was the calligrapher and was later mistaken for Li Po (Figure 64).

像所立之须弥坛及坛前供桌，制作亦颇精巧。坛下龟脚、束腰，及上部之栏杆，皆极有趣。供桌叠涩太复杂，与坛似欠调谐（图63）。

〔20〕匾

阁尚有匾额三，下层外额曰“具足圆成”，内曰“普门香界”，乾隆御书。上层外额曰“观音之阁”，匾心宽1.63米，高2.08米，每字径几1米，相传李太白书，笔法古劲而略拙，颇似唐人笔法。阁字之下署“太白”二字，其为后代所加无疑。朱桂辛先生则疑为李东阳书，而后人误为太白也（图64）。



【63】Architectural drawing of the platform, Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁须弥座供桌详图

【64】Pien of Kuan-yin Ke. 观音阁匾

陆 今后之保护

观音阁及山门，既为我国现存建筑物中已发现之最古者，且保存较佳，实为无上国宝。如在他国，则政府及社会之珍维保护，唯恐不善。而在中国则无人知其价值，虽蓟人对之有一种宗教的及感情的爱护，然实际上，蓟人既无力，亦无专门智识，数十年来，不唯任风雨之侵蚀，且不能阻止军队之毁坏。令门窗已无，顶盖已漏，若不及早修葺，则数十年乃至数年后，阁、门皆将倾圮，此千年国宝，行将与建章、阿房同其运命，而成史上陈迹。故对于阁、门之积极保护，实目前所亟不容缓也。

保护之法，首须引起社会注意，使知建筑在文化上之价值；使知阁、门在中国文化史上及中国建筑史上之价值，是为保护之治本办法。

而此种之认识及觉悟，固非朝夕所能奏效，其根本乃在人民教育程度之提高，此是另一问题，非营造师一个所能为力。故目前最重要问题，乃在保持阁、门现状，不使再加毁坏，实一技术问题也。

木架建筑法劲敌有二，水火是也。水使木朽，其破坏率缓；火则无情，一炬即成焦土。今阁及山门顶瓦已多处破裂，浸漏殊甚，椽檩已有多处呈开始腐朽状态。不数年间，则椽檩将折，大厦将颓。故目前第一急务，即在屋瓦之翻盖。他部可以缓修，而瓦则刻不容缓，此保持现状最要之第一步也。

瓦漏问题既解决，始及其他问题；而此部问题，可分为二大类，即修及复原是也。破坏部分，须修补之，如瓦之翻盖及门窗之补制。有失原状者，须恢复之，如内檐斗拱间填塞之土取出，上檐清式外栏杆之恢复辽式，两际山花板之拆去等皆是。二者之中，复原问题较为复杂，必须主其事者对于原物形制有绝对根据，方可施行；否则仍非原形，不如保存现有部分，以志建筑所受每时代影响之为愈。古建筑复原问题，已成建筑考古学中一大争点，在意大利教育部中，至今尚为悬案；而愚见则以保存现状为保存古建筑之最良方法，复原部分，非有绝对把握，不宜轻易施行。

防火问题，亦极重要。水朽犹可补救，火焰不可响尔。日本奈良法隆寺由政府以三十万巨金，特构水道，偶尔失慎，则顷刻之间，全寺可罩于雨幕之内；其设备之周，管理之善，非我国今日所敢希冀。然犹可备太平桶水枪等，以备万一之需。同时脊上装置避雷针，以免落雷。在消防方面，则寺内吸烟及佛前香火，尤须永远禁绝。阁立寺中，周无毗连之建筑物，如是则庶几可免火灾矣。

在社会方面，则政府法律之保护，为绝不可少者。军队之大规模破坏，游人题壁窃砖，皆须同样禁止。而古建筑保护法，尤须从速制定、颁布、施行；每年由国库支出若干，以为古建筑修葺及保护之用，而所用主其事者，尤须有专门智识，在美术、历史、工程各方面皆精通博学，方可胜任。日本古建筑保护法颁布施行已三十余年，支出已五百万。回视我国之尚在大举破坏，能不赧然？唯望社会及学术团体对此速加注意，共同督促政府，从速对于建筑遗物，予以保护，以免数千年文化之结晶，沦亡于大地之外。

1929年世界工程学会中，关野贞博士提出“日本古建筑物之保护”一文，实研究中国建筑保护问题之绝好参考资料。蒙北大教授吴鲁强先生盛暑中挥汗译就，赐载本期汇刊。籍资借鉴，实所至感。

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[1] 本文原载于1932年《中国营造学社汇刊》第三卷第二期——莫宗江注。中英文均为梁思成先

生所作——编者注。
[2] 《周礼•考工记》, *The Book of Works of the Chow Dynasty*——作者注。
[3] 《阿房宫赋》, *An Ode on the Famous Palaces of Chin Shih-huang-ti, Emperor of China, 221 BC–210 BC*——作者注。
[4] 《两都赋》and《两京赋》, *Odes on the East and West Capitals of the Han Emperors*——作者注。
[5] 《洛阳伽蓝记》, *Buddhist Temples of Loyang* by Yang Hsien-chih (杨衒之) of the Wei Dynasty——作者注。
[6] 《元故宫遗录》, *Recollections of the Old Yuan Palaces* by Hsiao Hsun (萧洵) of the Ming Dynasty——作者注。
[7] 此是20世纪30年代日本学界的说法。近年日本学界已公认法隆寺虽为公元607年圣德太子创建，但在公元670年焚毁。公元680年以后在原址西北重建，约在公元710年建成，即现存的法隆寺西院中门、塔、堂、回廊等筑。但再建的法隆寺西院仍保持飞鸟时代的风格特点，也仍是现存世界上最古的木构建筑——傅熹年注。
[8] 山西大同华严寺教藏，建于辽兴宗重熙七年（公元1038年）——作者注。当时中国营造学社刚开始进行调查古建筑，尚未积累足够的史料，故多参考日本学者的调查资料。如日本常盘大定、关野贞等的著作《支那佛教史迹》等，薄伽教藏是其中有确切纪年之例，故引用之。以后随着营造学社工作的开展，发现了一些更古老的建筑，最后形成一个有纪年的木建筑的排序目录。薄伽教藏现在的年代排序是第15名——傅熹年注。
[9] 施嘉炀，1902年出生，早年赴美留学，回国后在清华大学土木系任教，是清华大学土木系第一任系主任，20世纪40年代任清华工学院院长，现为清华水利系一级教授，已退休。曾长期任水利学会、水利工程学会理事长——傅熹年注。
[10] 蔡方荫，详《故宫文渊阁楼面修理计划》一文——傅熹年注。
[11] 朱启钤，（1872—1964）字桂辛，贵州紫江人，曾任清京师大学堂译学馆监督，辛亥革命后历任交通总长、内务总长、代理国务总理。退休后，于1929年发起组织中国营造学社，1930年正式成立，自任社长，聘梁思成、刘敦桢分任法式部、文献部主任，从事中国古代建筑的调查研究，影响深远。1949年后历任中央文史馆馆员，第二、三届全国政协委员——傅熹年注。
[12] First published in 1103, reprinted in 1925 by the Commercial Press, Shanghai.初刊于1103年，1925年上海商务印书馆再版——作者注。
[13] 参阅拙著《我们所知道的唐代佛寺与宫殿》——作者注。
[14] 楼阁外周之露台，古称“平座”。斗拱之在屋角者为“转角铺作”，在柱与柱之间者为“补间铺作”——作者注。
[15] 斗拱大斗安拱之口为“斗口”——作者注。
[16] 日本古代历史时代，起自公元1185年，止于公元1333年。当中国南宋孝宗淳熙十二年至元顺帝元统元年，镰仓时代建筑受同期中国南方建筑影响较大——傅熹年注。
[17] 梁思成先生在述及中国古代与辽、金、蒙古等少数民族政权并立的汉族政权时，常使用“中国”一词。“中国”的这一用法在古代汉语中十分常见，指“我国中原地区或在中原地区华夏族建立的政权”之义。例如，《史记·孝武本纪》：“天下名山八，而三在蛮夷，五在中国。”又如，《汉书·匈奴传下》：“[伊黑居次]云常欲与中国和亲。”——吴子桐注。
[18] 即夏历，1927年以后推行公历，故称夏历为废历——傅熹年注。
[19] This passage not found in the 1872 edition of the *P'an-shan Chih*.同治十一年李氏刻本《盘山志》方无此段——作者注。
[20] 查辽史，统和四年碑上提到的“故尚父秦王”应是韩匡嗣，而不是开泰初（公元1012—1021年）始加尚父的耶律奴瓜——莫宗江注。
[21] 《营造法式》初刊于宋崇宗二年（公元1103年）——莫宗江注。
[22] 胡国佐（Hu Kuo-tso），疑为作者笔误，见注[10]——编者注。
[23] 《蓟州志》（官秩·户部分司题名）柯维蓁，万历中任是职，王于陛之前任——作者注。
[24] 《蓟州志》（官秩·知州题名）胡国佐、三韩人、荫生。修学宫西庑戟门，有记。陞湖广德安府同知，去任之日，民攀辕号泣，送不忍舍，盖德政有以及人也——作者注。
[25] 清东陵，在蓟东遵化县境——作者注。

[26] 建筑物之长度为面阔，深度为进深——作者注。
[27] 如屋五间，居中者为明间或当心间，其次曰次间，两端为梢间——作者注。
[28] 斜坡不作阶级，由一高度达另一高度之道为礓礤——作者注。
[29] 屋顶各面斜坡相交成脊，如屋顶四面皆坡，则除顶上正脊外，四隅尚有四垂脊，即“四阿”是——作者注。
[30] 在建筑物纵中线之上之柱，在明间次间之间，或次间梢间之间者为“中柱”。在最外两端者为“山柱”。在建筑物前后面之柱为“檐柱”，在角者为“角柱”——作者注。
[31] The ch'ih is the Chinese foot, and is equal to about 32 cm. A ch'ih is divided into ten ch'un (inch), a ch'un into ten fen, a fen into ten li.尺为中国市制长度单位，约相当于32厘米。一尺等于十寸，一寸等于十分，一分等于十厘——作者注。
[32] 由檐柱中线至台基外边为前后“台出”，由山柱中线至两旁台基外边为两山“台出”——作者注。
[33] 长方形建筑物之两狭面为“两山”——作者注。
[34] 罗马建筑五式之一（爱奥尼克柱式），其柱之长为径之九倍——作者注。
[35] 柱间安窗，先将窗框安于柱旁，谓之“抱框”——作者注。
[36] 柱下大上小，谓之“收分”——作者注。
[37] 将木材方正之端，斫造使圆，谓之“卷杀”——作者注。
[38] 柱下之石，谓名“柱顶石”。其上雕起作盘形部分，宋称“覆盆”，清称“古镜”，宋式繁多，而清式简单——作者注。
[39] 清称“斗拱”，宋称“铺作”——作者注。
[40] 用拱之制，原则上为上层材较下层伸出，层层叠出，即挑檐或悬臂之法是也。《营造法式》拱每伸出一层，谓之一“跳”，拱端谓之“跳头”——作者注。
[41] 敦煌壁画大部为唐代遗物，初祖庵建于宋徽宗宣和七年——作者注。
[42] 见《营造学社汇刊》三卷一期刘敦桢译《法隆寺建筑》补注，补图第十六、第十七——作者注。
[43] 斗拱之全部称“朵”，清称“攒”——作者注。
[44] 栌斗耳、平、敧的高应为0.11、0.08、0.13米——莫宗江注。
[45] 1932年明用陶本《营造法式》缺慢拱条全文——莫宗江注。
[46] 据《营造法式》卷五栋条，应称“橑风榑”，后同——傅熹年注。
[47] 清代已无营造法式中襻间的做法——莫宗江注。
[48] 宋代举屋之法仍应按以上所引《法式》原文，非清式之五举——莫宗江注。
[49] 《营造法式》规定檐出按椽径定，而椽径是按殿阁或厅堂而定。如殿阁椽径九分至十分，厅堂椽径七分至八分等——莫宗江注。
[50] 中国屋顶之结构，可分三大类：前后左右皆为斜坡者为“庑殿”，古称“四阿”；前后有斜坡而左右山墙直上者为“悬山”；四周有斜坡而左右两坡之上半截改为直上，如悬山与庑殿相合者为“歇山”——作者注。
[51] 歇山直立部分之三角形为山花，宋式称“两际”——作者注。
[52] 清代在外檐平坐栏杆的四角加支柱，造成类似一周檐廊的错觉，实际是平坐（下同）——莫宗江注。
[53] 文中只有各柱脚间尺寸，无各柱头间尺寸，因此不能看出柱侧脚之度——莫宗江注。
[54] transitional member——作者注。
[55] 表中将上层檐柱、角柱、内柱、中柱的柱高都作2.75米，这是当时还不了解古代建筑的柱高有生起之误——莫宗江注。
[56] 欧洲建筑有所谓superposed order者，此其真正之实例也——作者注。
[57] shearing force——作者注。
[58] 独乐寺的阁与门柱础上都没有覆盆——莫宗江注。
[59] 罗汉枋长通建筑物之全长宽度或全长度，清式谓之“拽枋”；其在外者为“外拽枋”，在内者为“内拽枋”。柱头枋清式称“正心枋”——作者注。
[60] 角拱仍是45度——莫宗江注。
[61] “重杪重昂”清式称“重翘重昂”——作者注。

[62]　乔托（Giotto），文艺复兴初期意大利画家，画纯朴有蕴力。拉斐尔（Raphael），文艺复兴后期画家，写实妙肖——作者注。
[63] 这里所指的是“平阁”，下同——莫宗江注。
[64] 观音阁无劄牵，应是指前后乳栿——莫宗江注。
[65] 内槽柱上的五架梁，不应是檐栿——莫宗江注。

In Search of Ancient Architecture in North China

华北古建调查报告[1]

〖1940〗

Extract 节选

With Illustrations from Photographs by the Author

插图照片由作者拍摄[2]

For the last nine years, the Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture, of which I am a member, has been dispatching twice every year, on trips of two or three months' duration, small teams of field-workers, headed by a research fellow, to comb the country for ancient monuments. The ultimate aim is the compilation of a history of Chinese architecture, a subject that has been virtually untouched by scholars in the past. We could find little or no material in books. We have had to hunt for actual specimens.

We have, up till today, covered more than two hundred hsiens or counties in fifteen provinces and have studied more than two thousand monuments. As head of the section of technical studies, I was able to visit most of these places personally. We are very far from our goal yet, but we have found materials of great significance which may be of interest to the general reader.

过去九年间，我参加的中国营造学社经常派出野外考察小分队，由一名资深研究人员带领，在乡间探觅古代遗迹。这种考察每年两次，每次为时两到三个月。我们的最终目标是编撰一部中国建筑的历史，过去的学者们实未涉足这一课题。典籍中的材料寥寥无几，我们必须去搜寻实际遗例。

迄今为止，我们到过十五个省、二百多个县，研究过两千余处遗

迹。作为技术研究部门的主管，我得以亲临这些遗迹中的大多数。我们的目标尚遥不可期。但是我们发现了一些极重要的材料，或许普通读者也会对之感兴趣。

I. Chinese Architecture, Essentially of Wood, is at the Destructive Mercy of Nature and Man

Unlike European architecture, which uses stone as its principal material, Chinese architecture is essentially of wood, a much more easily perishable material. Even structures in masonry are mere imitations of wooden forms in brick or stone. A student must, therefore, first of all, familiarize himself with the wooden structural system. It is like learning the Vignola, a necessary step before one could proceed with the study of European architecture. In field work too, the student must pay the greatest attention to wooden structures. He is actually racing with time, for these structures are all the while undergoing a steady and uncompromising process of disintegration. Waves of new influences, stirring up the whims of a few men in a conservative town, can innocently deface a masterpiece by their efforts at so-called "modernization" of an "old-fashioned" structure. Delicate window traceries, finely carved door-panels, are always among the first to suffer such heartless outrages. Seldom does one find to one's satisfaction a real gem left in peace and beauty by nature and man alike. A stray spark from an incense stick may also reduce a whole temple to ashes.

壹 任凭自然与人类肆意毁坏的中国木建筑

欧洲建筑主要取材于石料，与此不同，中国建筑是木构的，这种材料极易受损。纵有砖石建筑，亦以砖或石材模仿木建筑的结构形式。因而，学生的首要任务便是熟悉木构体系，就像研习欧洲建筑之前必先研习维诺拉[3] 一样。同样，在野外考察时，学生必将主要精力集中于木结构上。他实际上是在与时间赛跑，因为这些建筑无时无刻不在遭受着难以挽回的损害。在较保守的城镇里，新潮激发了少数人的奇思异想，努

力对某个“老式的”建筑进行所谓的“现代化”，原先的杰作随之毁于愚妄。最先蒙受如此无情蹂躏的，总是精致的窗牖、雕工俊极的门屏等物件。我们罕有机会心满意足地找到一件真正的珍品，宁静美丽，未经自然和人类的损伤。一炷香上飞溅的火星，也可能会把整座寺宇化为灰烬。

Besides, there was the threat of a Japanese war, such an uncalled- for instance of human cruelty and destructive ability. The love and preservation of antiquity are no business of the Japanese warlords, though their nationals normally should share with us the special love and respect for our old culture from which they derived their own. Even as early as 1931 and 1932, most of my trips were abruptly disrupted by the renewed booms of Japanese guns, each time drawing nearer than the last, meaning business. It was quite evident that the days we could work in North China were limited. Before we were prevented from doing so, we decided to put our entire effort in that part of the country. The once cheerless prescience has been now, for almost three-and-half years, a painful fact. With the Institute physically removed to the far corner of China's southwest, recollections of field work over now enemy-trodden northern lands are the more vivid and dear with our ever increasing nostalgia and concern.

此外还有日本侵略战争的威胁，它是如此突如其来，例证了人类的残忍和毁灭性。日本军阀全然不知珍爱与保存古迹，尽管照理说他们的国民也应该和我们一样，对我们古老的文化特别地热爱与敬重，因为这也是他们自己的文化的源泉。早在1931、1932年，日军的炮声一天近似一天，我的旅行就多次被迫蓦然中止。显然，我们还能在华北工作的时日有限了。我们决定，抓紧最后的机会，竭尽全力考察这个地区。近三年半来，当时这令人难过的预感已成惨痛的事实。目前，营造学社的机构迁至中国西南边陲，北方的土地遭受着敌军铁蹄的践踏，我们的怀念和关注与日俱增，曾经在那里进行过的野外考察的记忆愈发鲜活而亲切。

II. Our Trips

Every season's trip was preceded by careful preparations in library research. Books on history, geography and Buddhism yielded a list of places

where we hoped to find something. An itinerary was made up from the list for the team to follow in its field trips. Every item on the list must be located, identified, and, if still existing, measured and photographed.

The finds of our trips were numerous and of varied degrees of interest and significance. Often we got from literary sources wonderful visions of certain old monuments, only to find, after hundreds of miles of anticipatory pilgrimage, a heap of ruins, with perhaps a few roof-tiles and stone column-bases for reward.

Our trips themselves were also adventures full of unexpected ups and downs. With physical discomfort taken for granted, we enjoyed frequently unforgettable experiences of rare charm and delight. Generally, the journeys, like odd kinds of picnics prolonged, were either extremely disconcerting or highly entertaining when we encountered comical but disastrous mishaps.

贰 我们的旅行

每季出行之前，我们都要在图书馆里认真进行前期研究。根据史书、地方志和佛教典籍，我们选列地点目录，盼望在那里有所发现。考察分队在野外旅行中就依此目录寻访。必须找到与验明目录上的每一条，并对尚存者进行测绘和拍照。

旅行中的寻获和发现极多，其趣味与意义各有千秋。时常，我们从文学典籍中读到某个古代遗迹的精妙景致，但满怀期望地千里朝拜后只找到一堆荒墟，或许尚余零星瓦片和雕石柱础聊充慰藉。

我们的旅途本身同样是心情沉浮不可期的探险。身体的苦楚被视作当然，我们常在无比迷人而快乐的难忘经历中锐感快意。旅途常像古怪的、拖长了的野餐，遇到滑稽而惨痛的麻烦时，或惶急无比，或乐不可支。

Unlike the highly expensive expeditions of archaeologists, big game hunters, or any tropical or arctic scientific explorers, the equipment for our trips were scanty. Besides instruments for surveying and photographing, our luggage consisted mostly of gadgets of the home-made order, designed and modified by our members as they accumulated experience. Knapsacks like an electrician's, to be carried while working perched precariously on top of any

part of a building, were among our favorite treasures which include anything from a spool of string to a telescopic pole that could be extended like a long, rigid fishing-rod. We following the philosophy of the famous white knight in Alice's wonderland, believed that one never knows what will prove to be useful in case of emergency, so were willing to fall off horses' backs for our burdens.

Often we had to make camp, cook, eat and sleep under such very different circumstances each day and night and our means of transportation were so uncertain, ranging from the most ancient and quaint to the more usual and up-to-date, that what we considered essentials could not help being peculiar, resilient tin-cans of one sort or another.

Aside from architecture, we often came across subjects of artistic and ethnological interest—handicrafts of different localities, archaic dramatics of out-of-the-way towns, queer customs, picturesque fairs, etc, but economy of film often prevented me from photographing liberally pictures of them. In most of my trips, I was accompanied by my wife, herself an architect. But being also a writer and lover of dramatic art, she, more often than I, let her attention stray and enthusiastically insisted on some subjects for the camera at any cost. I was always glad after we returned from a trip to have the valuable pictures of scenes and buildings which would otherwise have been neglected. But many interesting subjects and happenings in our trips I shall not be able to relate in detail. For economy of space I can give here only rambling and rather random accounts of some of the high-lights of our searches and researches.

III. The Imperial Palaces of Peiping

My first "field work," very naturally, started with the Imperial Palaces in Peiping, in a courtyard of which the Institute's office was appropriately located. However, the work of surveying the entire Palace group as a complete project was not taken up till some years later. As the Palaces are already well known to Westerners, and our "discoveries" are mostly of a technical nature, I shall not here indulge in the discussion on them.

不比耗费巨资的考古探险队、追踪狮虎的猎人抑或任何热带与极地

的科学探险队，我们的旅途装备极少。除了测绘和摄影的仪器以外，我们的行囊里，最常见的装备多由队员们根据经验在家自行设计改装而成。像电工包似的旅行背包，就是我们最心爱的宝贝。登上一座建筑物任何部位的高处工作时都可以背着它，里面什么都可以装，从一团绳子到可以变成一根刚硬的长钓竿状的伸缩竿。我们遵奉《爱丽丝漫游仙境》里著名的白骑士的哲学，深信在急难中万物皆有用，于是不惜离开马背，以便多运些装备。

日复一日，我们扎营、举炊和食宿的条件悬殊，交通方式亦全无定式，从最古旧离奇到比较现代普通的，无所不有，因此我们认为的必需品莫过于形形色色奇特的、颠簸的老式汽车。

除建筑而外，我们常会不期而遇有趣的艺术品或民族用品——各地的手工艺品、偏僻小镇的古戏、奇异的风俗、五光十色的集市，诸如此类——但是，由于胶卷匮乏，我难得随心所欲地拍摄这些东西。我的多数行程都有我的妻子相伴，她也是一名建筑师。此外她更是作家，深爱戏剧艺术。因此，她比我更会转移注意力，热切地、坚持不惜代价地拍摄某些主题。归程之后，我总是庆幸获得了这些珍贵照片，其中的景色与建筑原本可能被忽略。但是，途中遇到的许多趣物趣事无法逐一细述。限于篇幅，在此我只能从我们的探索与研究当中，信手拈来若干最精彩的部分作一说明。

叁 北平的皇宫

很自然，我最早从北平的皇宫开始进行“野外考察”，营造学社的办公室就妥贴地安置在其中一角的院落里。然而，测绘整个宫殿群的完整计划直至若干年后方得施行。由于西方世界已经熟知了故宫，而且我们的“发现”主要是技术性的，在此不作详论。

IV. The Hall of Kuan-yin, Chi Hsien, a Structure of Unfamiliar Proportions

In the spring of 1932, in the walled-city of Chi Hsien, about fifty miles

east of Peiping, I set my eyes for the first time on a wooden structure with proportions entirely different from the familiar Manchu Palace buildings which were mostly built according to a set of "Rules" published by an imperial mandate in 1733.

That memorable trip was my first experience of traveling away from main trunklines of communications and departure from a metropolis like Peiping or Shanghai. The old model-T that would have been, were it in America, sold long since as scrap-iron, was still made to run regularly—or rather, irregularly—between Peiping and the little town. When we were a few miles out of the East Gate of Peiping, we came to the Chien-kan River. Its main flow was reduced to less than thirty feet wide in the dry season. But the river-bed of very fine sand measures about a mile-and-half from bank to bank. After crossing the stream by ferry-boat, the bus could not move even an inch in the soft ground. We—the passengers—had to help push the old buggy the entire width of the river-bed, while the engine roared and the rear wheels turned frantically, only to blow the sand right into our eyes and noses. There were other difficult stretches where we had to get off and on the bus many times. It took more than three hours to cover the fifty-mile ride. But it was excitement and fun. I did not know then that for the next few years to come, I was to get used to rides like that and think nothing unusual about them.

The Hall and the Statue

The Kuan-yin Ke, or the Hall of Avalokitesvara, of Tu-lo Ssu, the Temple of Solitary Joy, was the objective of my trip. It stands high above the city-wall and could be seen from a great distance. From afar, one gets an impression of a building of great vigor and suavity. That was the first time I opened my eyes to a building of real archaeological interest.

The Hall was built in 984 AD. That was the beginning of the Sung Dynasty, but the land was then held by the Liao Tartars. The Hall is a two-storied building with a mezzanine floor. The "brackets," a characteristic system of construction of Chinese architecture, composed of a series of super-imposed cantilevers to enable a far overhang of the eave, are large and simple (Figure 1). They are supported by slightly entasised columns and crowned by deep, overhanging eaves. The balcony around the upper floor is likewise supported by such "brackets." Thus they form three decorative bands

which are basically structural. These present a marked contrast to the straight columns and small, crowded "brackets" of later periods. To those who are familiar with the T'ang Dynasty paintings of the Tun-huang Caves, it shows a striking resemblance to the architecture therein depicted.

肆 蓟县观音阁

由城墙拱卫着的蓟县去北平东约五十英里[4] 。1932年春，我首次目睹此地的一座木构，其比例迥异于清代宫殿，后者建造时所依据的主要是1733年敕令发布的一整套“法式”。

那次难忘的旅程是我第一次体验远离主要交通干线，远离北平和上海这类大都市。如果是在美国，老式的福特T型车早就只能卖作废铁了，而在北平和小城之间，它还被用作定期的——毋宁说是不定期的——交通工具。出北平东门数英里以外，我们来到了箭杆河。河水的宽度在旱季萎缩至不足三十英尺。但是，细沙的河床大约宽达一英里半。乘船渡过河流以后，汽车陷入松软的地面寸步难行。我们这些旅客只得帮着把这辆老破车推过整个河床，同时引擎轰鸣，后轮疯转，把细河沙掀得我们满眼满鼻。此后尚有其他崎岖路段，我们不得不反复地从汽车里跳上跳下。五十英里的路程耗时三个小时不止。但那真是刺激有趣。那时我尚懵然不知，今后数年我会习于这样的奔波且安之若素。

观音阁与塑像

我此行的目标是独乐寺的观音阁。它高耸于城墙之上，遐迩可见，远观时益觉其活力与祥和。那是我首次看见一座真正古趣盎然的建筑。

观音阁建于公元984年。彼时宋朝初立，而此地尚为辽所踞。观音阁分两层，其间夹有平坐一层。中国建筑用独有的结构体系斗拱支撑出檐，在此为一系列巨大而简洁的双下昂（图1）。其下支柱中段微凸，顶上是深远的屋檐。环绕上层的平坐同样由这种斗拱支承。于是，它们构成了三条基本上是结构性的饰带。这些与后来的直柱、细小密集的斗拱形成了鲜明对照。凡熟悉敦煌石窟中唐代壁画者，均感觉它与那些壁画中的殿宇惊人地相似。

【1】Hall of Kuan-yin, Chi Hsien, second oldest wooden structure in China. Built in 984 AD, the Hall was the oldest wooden structure known in China till July 1937, when a ninth-century building was found. The use of brackets to support the overhanging eaves is a characteristic of all formal Chinese architecture. 蓟县观音阁，中国第二古老木构。观音阁建于公元984年，至1937年7月发现一处9世纪建筑之前，一直是中国已知的最古木构。运用斗拱支承出檐是中国所有正规建筑的一大特征。

The Hall houses a colossal clay statue of an Eleven-headed Kuan-yin, sixty feet in height. The upper two floors had to be built with an opening in the center to form on each a sort of gallery at the levels of the waist and chest of the statue (Figure 2). It is the largest clay figure known to exist in China today.

Incidentally, this Hall, together with the Gate House in front of it, my two very first finds, remained for long the oldest wooden structures in the Institute's record, and were not antedated until I came across a T'ang Dynasty building early in July, 1937, just a few days before the outbreak of the present Sino-Japanese war.

观音阁中有一庞大泥塑，为高达六十英尺的十一面观音。靠上的两层阁板只得在中央留出空腔，在像腰及像胸的高度上形成展廊状空间（图2）。这是迄今中国已知的现存最大泥塑像。

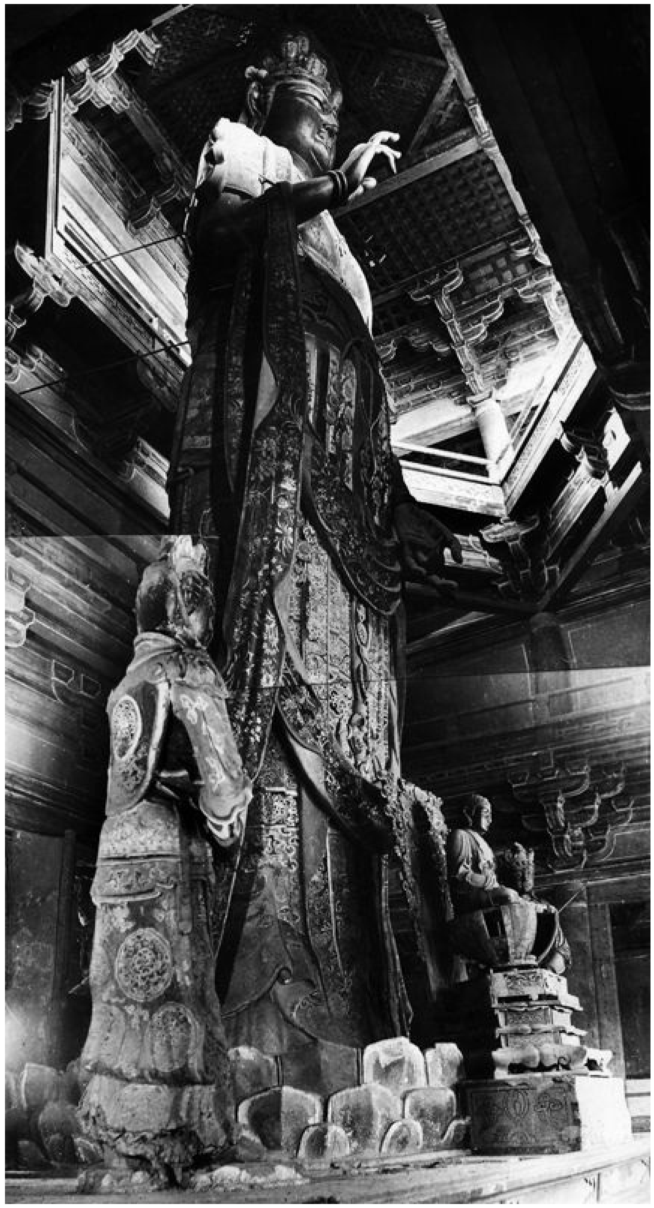
顺便提及，这座观音阁和它前面的山门——我最早的两个发现——在营造学社的记录中长期保持为最古的木构，且其年代记录一直未被打破，直到1937年7月初我偶遇一座唐代建筑。数日后，现正进行的中日战争就爆发了。

V. A Seventy-foot Bronze Statue

At Chengting, on the Peiping-Hankow railway, is the magnificent Buddhist temple of Lung-hsing Ssu. Founded in the sixth century, the temple has undergone in turn a series of destructions and reconstructions during the last thirteen centuries. There are still preserved in the temple-compound several buildings of the Sung Dynasty (960–1127). Alongside these ancient buildings is a catholic Mission and its Gothic-like cathedral which had sprung up sometime in the last century at the place where Emperor Ch'ien-lung's "travel palace" once stood.

伍 一座七十英尺高的铜像

宏伟的隆兴寺位于北平—汉口铁路线上的正定。这处寺宇建于6世纪，在以往十三个世纪里，它曾相继经历过多次的倾圮与重建。群殿之间，几座北宋（公元960—1127年）的建筑至今犹存。一个天主教的传教团住在这群古建筑旁，上世纪时哥特式天主教堂赫然拔地而起，替代了一度坐落于此的乾隆皇帝的行宫。



【2】The Eleven-headed Kuan-yin of Chi Hsien, largest clay figure in China. The upper floors of the Hall are opened in the center to form galleries at the waist and chest heights of the figure. Brackets are used to support the galleries as well as the ceiling above. 蓟县十一面观音，中国最大的泥塑像。观音阁上层中央留空，以在像腰及像胸高度处形成展廊。展廊与头顶藻井一样以斗拱支承。

【3】At Lung-hsing Ssu, Chengting, is the 10th-century seventy-foot bronze statue of Kuan-yin. Existing buildings in the temple are mostly of the 10th and 11th centuries, extensively repaired in the 18th. The tower to the right was recently constructed to protect the colossal figure which was left standing in the open for nearly 200 years. 正定隆兴寺的10世纪七十英尺观音铜像。寺内现存遗构多为10世纪与11世纪之物，曾于18世纪广为修葺。右侧高塔新建不久，以蔽露天站立近二百年的巨像。

The dominating feature of Lung-hsing Ssu is the colossal bronze statue of a forty-two-armed Kuan-yin, about seventy feet high, standing on a beautifully carved marble platform (Figure 3). It was originally sheltered by a

three-storied Hall which was extensively repaired in the eighteenth century, but is now again in such dilapidated condition that the upper portions are all gone, leaving the Bodhisattva standing in the open, with all the forty "extra arms" missing.

A stone tablet in the Temple tells the dramatic story of the casting of the statue. When Emperor T'ai-tsu, founder of the Sung Dynasty, came to Chengting during one of his campaigns, he enquired after the famous bronze statue there which was said to be forty feet high.

Being a devout Buddhist, he was grieved to hear of its destruction a few years before. Then in the garden of the Temple, "the earth shone with rays of light at night that could be seen by priests and laymen alike." Furthermore, torrential rains brought down by way of the Fu-t'o River "thousands of timbers which were clogged by a huge log" at Chengting. "Manjusri, Bodhisattva of Wu-t'ai Shan, has sent down the timber for the construction of Kuan-yin's Palace" was the enthusiastic conclusion.

隆兴寺最醒目处是它巨大的四十二臂青铜观音像，约七十英尺高，立于雕工精美的大理石宝座上（图3）。其上原覆有一座三层阁，曾在18世纪大举修葺过，但目前已复倾颓，阁上部消失得无影无踪，露天而立的菩萨像上四十只“多余的手臂”都不见了。

庙中一座石碑记载了铸造铜像的传奇[5]。宋朝的开国之君太祖皇帝在一次征战中驾临正定，欲拜谒此处著名的铜像，据说该像高达四十英尺。

太祖是一个虔诚的佛教徒，听说铜像已于几年前被毁，他深感痛心。此后，庙后菜园夜间“有祥光出其上”，时人皆见。随后，暴雨大作，沿滹沱河[6]“浮栋梁材千万计，自五台山而下”，直至被一大木拦住，停在了正定。狂热的信徒得出的结论是，“五台山文殊菩萨送下木植与镇府大悲菩萨盖阁也！”

The Emperor was much pleased with the miracles and ordered a new statue to be cast. An imperial architect and the chief of the Imperial Mint were dispatched to take charge of the building of the Hall and the casting of the statue. Three thousand workmen and soldiers were detailed to the task.

The stele also tells of a foundation of seven cast-iron piles, "supporting a cast-iron platform forty feet square and six feet thick, the top of which is flush with the ground." The design of the Bodhisattva "had to be drawn three times before it met the great Emperor's approval." The casting was done in

seven sections. When completed, the statue "measured seventy-three feet high." It was commenced on "the twentieth day of the seventh month of the fourth year of K'ai-pao," (971 AD) but the date of completion was not mentioned on the stele.

When I visited the Temple last time, we still saw some original portions of the three-storied Hall mixed with later repairs. The Kuan-yin was subsequently "renovated" by the devout but ignorant abbot. The beautiful patina I so loved was covered by coats of paint in bright primal colours, giving the Bodhisattva the appearance of an ugly giant doll. I had to comfort myself by thinking that the paint will not last very long, perhaps not more than a century! A niche as high as the Niche of the Pine Cone in the Vatican was built to shelter the newly dolled-up deity. The new structure, a happy accident, looking like a slender, graceful tower, crowned by a Chinese roof, could be seen miles away.

In the fall of 1937, Chengting was subjected to heavy bombardments by the Japanese who later occupied the city. The fate of the Statue is yet to be ascertained.

VI. A Sixth-Century Open-spandrel Bridge

The most astonishing piece of bridge engineering among China's relics is the "Great Stone Bridge" of Chao Hsien, about forty miles southeast of Chengting where the colossal bronze statue stands. I found this magnificent bridge not through studious research in books, but was led to it by a popular folk-song. I thought it was going to be merely another of those arched bridges so common in China. But when I came confronting the single arch of nearly 120-foot-span, with two smaller arches resting on it at each end, I could hardly believe my eyes (Figure 4). It was nothing short of what is today called in engineering an "open-spandrel bridge"!

皇帝见此奇迹龙颜大悦，敕令新铸铜像。宣派八作司十将及铸钱监内差负责建阁铸像。下军三千工役于阁下。

碑上记载亦提及，“留六尺深海子自方四十尺，海子内栽七条熟铁柱，……海子内生铁水铸满六尺”。菩萨像的设计“三度画相仪进呈方得圆满”。铸造分七段而成。完工后的塑像“举高七十三尺”。工程至开宝

四年七月二十日下手修铸（公元971年），但是完工的日期在石碑上未见提及。

我们上次探访此地时，犹见三层阁的零星遗构，混于后世修葺部分之间。后来，虔诚而愚妄的住持“翻新”了观音像。我所心爱的铜绿被覆以一层艳丽的原色油漆，菩萨像变成了丑陋不堪的巨偶。见此唯有自我开解，油漆不耐光阴，也许熬不过一个世纪！为遮蔽这座装点一新的神像，建造了一座佛龛，高度类于梵蒂冈的大松球龛。新建的这一佛龛可谓意外之喜，它看上去像个细高而优雅的高塔，而又给添了个中国式的屋顶，数里远之外都清晰可辨。

1937年秋，正定遭日军猛烈炮轰，随即沦陷。塑像的命运存疑。

陆 6世纪的开拱桥

青铜巨像所在的正定县城外，去城西南四十英里许，是中国古迹中最惊人的桥梁工程作品——赵县的“大石桥”[7] 。我不是通过精研典籍，而是由一首妇孺皆知的民歌指引，发现了这座精妙绝伦的桥梁。我以为它只是又一座在中国俯拾皆是的普通拱桥。但是，它的单拱跨度将近一百二十英尺，两端各有两个比较小的空撞券[8] 。面对此桥，我几乎不敢相信自己的眼睛（图4）。它完全相仿于当代工程里所谓的“开拱桥”！

【4】This modern looking open-spandrel bridge was not built in America today but in China during the sixth century. Built sometime between 591 AD and 599 AD by Li Ch'un, the master builder, the main arch has a span of 116 feet, with two smaller arches resting on it at each end. Such construction did not come into general practice in the West until the beginning of the present century. 这座现代外观的开拱桥并非建于今日之美国，而是6世纪的中

国。由建筑大师李春建于公元591年至599年间，主拱跨度116英尺，两侧各有两个小空撞券。如此建造方法直至本世纪方才普遍运用于西方。

In the West, such methods of construction did not come into general use until the present century, though it once made its appearance in France in the 14th. But this Chinese bridge was built in the beginning of the Sui Dynasty, sometime between 591 AD and 599 AD. According to an old book on archaeology, one of the abutments once bore the signature of the builder, Li Ch'un, which had since weathered off. But we still could see numerous names of admiring passers-by from the T'ang Dynasty (619–906 AD) till today. A citation, by a prime minister of the T'ang Dynasty, specially mentioned the unusual small arches at the two ends and also the name of the builder. Since it is unusual to give credit to an architect or engineer in ancient China, such special mention may be taken as a proof that the bridge is not a product following the general mode of construction of the time, but the creation of an ingenious and great mind.

如此建造方法直至本世纪方才普遍运用于西方，尽管法国曾在14世纪出现过一个例子。但是，这座中国桥建于隋代之初，即公元591年至599年之间。据一本考古典籍记载，其中一个桥墩上一度镌刻着建桥者李春的签名，后为时光剥蚀。但我们依旧可以看见自唐（公元619—906年）[9] 以降心怀崇敬的无数过客的名号。有一段铭文引用了唐时一位中书令的话，特地提及了两端非凡的小券和建桥者的名字。中国古代很少会有建筑师或工匠得获荣名，因此这样特地的提及多少可以证实，这座桥的造法与式样不是沿袭当时的定式，而是天才的独创。

In spite of its thirteen-and-half centuries, the noble structure has the streamlined appearance of an ultra-modern bridge. Had it not been for the inscriptions of different ages, it would be difficult to believe its very early date. So far as I know, it is the oldest bridge existing in China.

In the same city is another bridge of identical design but much smaller dimensions, called the "Little Stone Bridge." Built during the Chin Tartar Dynasty (late 12th century) by a Tartar builder, Pao ch'ien, it was evidently an imitation of the "Great" one. Even then, it is older than the French bridge by more than a hundred years.

VII. Honan Province, the Ancient "Central

Land"

The Province of Honan has been known in China as the "Central Land" and has been the heart of Chinese civilization and culture for thousands of years. It is the key to the domination of China, a trophy that a champion must necessarily acquire. It has been a favourite arena for most of the important battles in Chinese history. It was at Loyang, many times capital of the Empire and one of the principal cities of the province, that the first Buddhist temple in China was built a century before the Christian era began. Along the rivers and up on the mountains of Honan we have some of the most noble monuments of Buddhism.

An Ancient Observatory

At Kao-ch'eng, not far from Sung Shan, is one of the few old observatories in China (Figure 5). It is the Chou-kung's Tower for the Measurement of the Shadow of the Sun, one of the several built by Kuo Shou-ching of the Yuan Dynasty (1280–1376).

By setting up a vertical at the end of a horizontal to measure the shadow of the sun, the exact duration of the solar year was calculated. The purpose of the Tower, with a "slit" on the northern side, is to erect the vertical which was 40 Yuan feet high. The horizontal, 128 Yuan feet long, is a long stone bench or platform with a channel on the top-side over the entire length, so that a perfect level could be obtained by filling it with water. With the exception of the small house on top of the tower, which is a later addition that has nothing to do with the original purpose, this structure answers exactly to the descriptions in the chapter on Astronomy, the *History of the Yuan Dynasty*.

This curious monument that looks like a city-gate, standing on a wide, flat plain, was restored in 1936 by order of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and under the technical supervision of the Institute.

虽已历时十三个半世纪，这高贵的建筑物看去犹如最新型的超级摩登桥梁。若非上面那些不同年代的铭记，它极其古老的年代简直令人难以置信。据我所知，它是中国尚存最古老的桥梁。

同一县城里尚有另外一座桥，设计相仿而尺寸远逊，名为“小石

桥”，由一位名为褒钱的女真人建于女真族的金朝（12世纪末）。它显然是“大石桥”的摹本。即以那时论，它也比法国的单拱桥提早百年不止。

柒 古老的“中原”河南省

河南省在中国向以“中原”闻名，几千年来，它是中国文明与文化的中心。得天下关键处即在中原，乃兵家必争之地。中国历史上，大多数重要战役都在这个著名的舞台上演。早在公元纪年开始之前一个世纪，河南的重镇、历朝故都洛阳，就建起了中国的第一座寺庙。溯河上行至河南群山间，我们发现了一些最恢弘的佛教遗迹。

古观星台[10]

去嵩山不远的告成镇有中国少数占观星台之一（图5）。这处周公测景台为元代（公元1280—1376年）[11] 郭守敬所建。

在水平面上立起一根垂直的立表，通过测量日影可以算出太阳年的确切时间。建此台的目的是立起高达40元尺[12] 的立表。此台北侧，有一直漕。圭面长128元尺，为一长条石或石台，上有通长水渠，注水其中则可获完美的水平面。台顶有一小屋，为后世加建，与其原本用途毫无关系。除此而外，这座观星台完全符合《元史·天文志》中的描述。

这座珍贵的遗迹形似城门，立于广阔平坦的原野上。1936年，蒋介石总司令下令修复，营造学社担任了技术监理。

【5】Chou-kung's Tower for the Measurement of the Shadow of the Sun. Built in the 13th century, the slit on the side of the tower is for holding up a vertical which makes a right angle with the long horizontal bench at its foot. By the shadow of the vertical the exact duration of the solar year was calculated. 周公测景台。建于13世纪。台边直漕用于立表，垂直于足下水平长石条。据立表投影可以计算太阳年的确切时间。

VIII. Sian, Two-thousand-Year Capital of the Chinese Empire

Sian, the provincial capital of Shansi, and "Ch'ang-an" of ancient times, was the capital of the Chinese Empire from 1132 BC to 906 AD almost continually. The province, especially in the neighborhood of Sian, is immensely rich in historic remains. Being the capital, it became the objective of every dynasty founder and was seldom spared from wars; its destruction at every dynastic change became almost a matter of course. Consequently, no wooden structure of any appreciable date has been left to posterity. Other remains of historical significance—ruined sites of Han palaces, tombs of even earlier dates—of interest to the student of architectural history are, however, numerous.

A 1500-square-mile Graveyard

Among the profusion of historical sites may be mentioned the tombs of the Chou, Han and T'ang Dynasties. To the west of Sian, in the counties of Hsien-yang, Hsing-p'ing and Wu-kung, over an area measuring about thirty to fifty miles in length and width, are innumerable immense earthen mounds. They are tombs of emperors, princes, ministers and generals during the two thousand years. Mostly square in plan, they have a trapezoid elevation, resembling huge mastabas. Some are attributed to a certain historical figures, but most of them are yet to be identified.

One of the most interesting is the tomb of the great general Huo Ch'ü-ping, conqueror of the Huns in the Han Dynasty (2nd century BC). After his death, Emperor Wu-ti ordered his tomb be made to resemble the Ch'i-lien Mountains, where he had one of his greatest victories. This is the only tomb that is decorated with rocks. At this tomb were found several stone sculptural pieces in granite, portraying the warrior's career. "A Horse Treading on a Hun" is the best known and has already been introduced to the West. Recent excavations revealed a few more. The sculptors seemed to have taken good advantage of the natural shaped of the big rocks and turned them into human figures of great vigour, strangely resembling to the Menhirs (Figure 6). But with the beasts, the artist seemed to have a totally different, and more intimate, understanding, such as is shown in the bull with big, round eyes (Figure 7).

About fifteen miles from Huo Ch'ü-ping's tomb is the pretentious tomb of the father of Empress Wu of the T'ang Dynasty. The approach to the tomb is an avenue flanked on both sides by chimeras, lions, horses, as well as civil and military attendants (Figures 8,9). Such arrangements are to be found in imperial tombs of later ages. In grandeur and workmanship the T'ang Dynasty is unequalled. But in these figures, one feels the lack of the deep understanding of animals found in the animal sculpture of the Han Dynasty.

捌 中国的两千年皇城西安

西安是陕西省的省会，古代的“长安”。从公元前1132年至公元906

年，中国的皇都几乎毫无间断地设在此地。尤其毗邻西安一带，该省的历史遗迹极其丰富。每个朝代的开国君主都视此都城为必得之物，因此它罕有机会逃脱战祸；每逢改朝换代，它似乎理所当然地要遭受灭顶之灾。因而，后人已经见不到任何有年代可考的木构建筑。然而尚存无数有历史意义的残迹，如更早期的汉代宫殿与陵墓的废墟等，当令研习建筑历史的学生深感兴趣。

方圆一千五百英里的陵墓区

在丰富的历史遗址当中，周、汉、唐诸代的陵墓值得一提。它们位于西安的西侧，咸阳、兴平和武功县境内，在方圆达三四十英里的区域，隆起无数庞然土堆。这些帝王、国君、文臣武将的陵墓陆续建于这两千年间。其平面多为方形，立面多为梯形，像似巨型石室坟墓。可以确知有些墓主是历史上某个人物，但是大多数陵墓的主人尚待考证。

最有趣的一座陵墓属于汉代远征匈奴的征服者——大将军霍去病（公元前2世纪）。在他身后，汉武帝敕令建陵如祁连山形，他曾在那里赢得最伟大的胜利。这是唯一饰以岩石的陵墓。在此发现的几件花岗岩石雕，描摹着这位武士的征战生涯。最著名的一件是“马踏匈奴”，已经介绍给了西方世界。最近的挖掘又有新的发现。看来雕刻家善于利用大石材的天然形状，以此雕作栩栩如生的人像，出奇地相似于史前巨石阵（图6）。而对动物，艺术家的认识似乎更加深刻且有所不同，例如大环眼的牛像所示（图7）。

距霍去病墓约十五英里外，是唐代的武后之父顾盼自雄的陵墓。神道两侧俱为麒麟、狮子、马和军民侍役（图8，9）。此类布置亦见于后世皇家陵墓。唐代的雄浑和工艺无与伦比。但是此地的雕像似觉对动物缺乏深刻认识，逊于汉代的动物雕刻。

【6】"The Giant Devouting a Hog" at Huo Ch'ü-ping's tomb is strangely like the Menhirs. The ancient Chinese seemed to have less understanding of the human form than the animal. This Giant was carved out from the natural shape of the stone and has an appealing sense of humor. 霍去病墓的“野人抱熊”与史前巨石阵出奇地相似。古代中国人对人的认识似乎不及对动物的认识深刻。巨人形得之于石材的天然形状，颇为风趣。

【7】The bull at Huo Ch'ü-ping's tomb reveals the perfect understanding of the animal by the Han sculptor. Up till the discovery by the Academia Sinica of some Shang Dynasty stone figures at Anyang a few years ago, this and a few other stone sculpture at the tomb of the great conqueror of the 2nd century BC were the oldest stone sculpture known in China. 霍去病墓的牛像显示了汉代雕刻家对动物的深刻理解。直到几年前中央研究院在安阳发现商朝石刻，出土于这位公元前2世纪伟大征服者陵墓的此件石刻及另外几件是中国已知最古的石刻。

【8】【9】The tomb of Empress Wu's father has an avenue flanked by colossal stone animals and men. These monolithic giants measure about 13

feet in height. Compared with the animal sculpture of the Han Dynasty, the perfected craftsmanship is of little significance when the basic understanding of the animal is lost. 武后之父的陵墓，神道两侧皆为巨大的石人石兽。这些整石巨像高十三英尺许。形诸汉代动物刻像，由于缺乏对动物的基本理解，此处精良的雕工甚无意义。

IX. The Holy Land of China

The Province of Shantung was in the Chou Dynasty the principalities of Ch'i and Lu, the latter being the native land of Confucius. In the city of Ch'ü-fu today is the temple of the Sage. Perhaps no other building-project in the world can boast of a longer history. Immediately after the death of Confucius in 479 BC, a few of his disciples kept the Master's house as in his living days and paid regular homage there. The simple abode of three rooms gradually became the symbol of reverence in later ages. From the Han Dynasty downward it became the affair of the State not only to have the sacred place kept in proper order, but also to raise the Sage's descendants to a hereditary peerage with the title of duke. During the last two thousand years the Temple continued to grow in size and complexity, till today it covers one-third of the entire area of the walled-city of Ch'ü-fu.

玖 中国的圣地

山东省在周朝时是齐国和鲁国的封地，后者是孔夫子的故乡。今曲阜城内有孔庙。也许举世再无另一建筑工程能够夸口其历史更为久远。孔夫子逝于公元前479年，一些门生在他身后维持乃师的居处如其生前状况，在此定时拜祭。三间屋的简朴住处在后世逐渐演变为尊严的象征。自汉代以降，有序地维护圣地，并封圣人后裔为世袭贵族“公”，则成为国事之一。两千年来，孔庙日益扩大，日渐复杂，直至今日，它覆盖了曲阜城内三分之一的区域。

【10】The library building of the Temple of Confucius. On the site of an older building which was destroyed by fire, the present structure was built at the end of the 15th century when an extensive restoration was carried out on the Temple. 孔庙书楼。15世纪末大举修缮孔庙时建于旧楼遗址，原楼被大火烧毁。

【11】The carved marble columns of the Temple of Confucius at Ch'ü-fu are familiar to many Westerners. From a simple abode of three rooms, the Sage's home "grew" in 24 centuries' time into this magnificent hall, with surrounding buildings and courtyards covering a third of the city of Ch'ü-fu. In the side buildings are also enshrined Confucius' 72 disciples and other deserving scholars of later ages. 曲阜孔庙的大理石雕石柱为许多西方人熟知。24个世纪里，圣人的住处由陋室三间“长”成这个堂皇大殿，周遭殿宇群及天井覆盖了曲阜城的三分之一。偏殿内配享孔子的七十二门徒及后世硕儒。

In the Temple compound are numerous stele from the Han Dynasty downward, recording the more important happenings in the House of K'ung and in the Temple ground. However, of the existing structures, the oldest is a stele-pavilion dating only from the Tartar Dynasty of Chin, 1195. Most of the buildings were built in the reign of Emperor Hung-chih (about 1500) of the Ming Dynasty, the K'uei-wen Ke or Library being the most important representative (Figure 10). The Ta-ch'eng Tien, or Hall of Supreme Perfection where a large statue of Confucius is enshrined, may not be unfamiliar to Westerners for its beautifully carved marble columns (Figure 11). However, to the student of Chinese architectural history, this 1730 building is of no special significance, except as a good example of the execution of the "Rules" of 1733.

在孔庙建筑群中有无数汉代以降的石碑，记录了孔府和孔庙发生的

大事。然现存建筑物中，最古老的碑亭，其纪年亦只及女真族的金朝（公元1195年）。楼宇多建于明弘治年间（约公元1500年），最重要的代表是奎文阁，或称“书楼”（图10）。祭祀孔夫子巨像处为大成殿，它的大理石雕刻石柱美丽精致，西方人因此对它很熟悉（图11）。而在研习中国建筑历史的学生目中，这座建于公元1730年的大殿并没有独到的意义，只是实施1733年“法式”的一个佳例。

In this Temple is worshipped not Confucius alone. He is "attended" by his 72 disciples. In the side buildings on both sides of the courtyard in front of the Ta-ch'eng Tien are a great number of "spirit-tablets," each bearing the name of a distinguished scholar or a deserving official of the last two thousand years. The chosen ones were solemnly admitted by imperial decrees dynasty after dynasty. It is the highest possible posthumous honour that could be conferred upon a Confucian scholar.

In the courtyards to the left are halls to house Confucius' ancestors of five generations back while to the right are his parents' quarters. His wife is enshrined in a special hall behind the Hall of Supreme Perfection. There are also in the Temple compound halls for different ceremonial purpose. The entire compound is preceded in front by a series of courtyards and gateways which make the entrance to the temple ground most impressive.

As a whole, the Temple of Confucius is a magnificent example of Chinese planning, and historically there is perhaps no other building in the world comparable to it in its continuity of development.

In 1935, the Chinese Government planned another grand-scale repair of the sacred Temple, and I was honoured to be chosen as the architect for its restoration. But the plan was frustrated when the Japanese started to press their way into North China. Today the city of Ch'ü-fu, with the Temple in it, has fallen under Japanese control. "Duke" K'ung Te-ch'eng, 77th-generation-grandson of the Sage, whose present republican title is "High Commissioner in Charge of the Worship of the Sage, " has fled to Chungking so that he, true to his ancestor's teachings on Loyalty, would not be taken by the Japanese and made a political tool.

X. The Province of Shansi, Rich Conservatory of Old Wooden Structures

The Province of Shansi, shielded on the east by the T'ai-hang Mountains, bounded on the west and south by the majestic Yellow River, and protected on the north by the Great Wall and Mongolian deserts beyond, has been spared the destruction of wars when other provinces have had to build up new cities on top of ruins over and over again since the beginning of the Sung Dynasty (960 AD). Until the Japanese came in the autumn of 1937, Shansi had enjoyed an uninterrupted peace for almost a thousand years. Consequently it became the rich conservatory of a great number of old wooden structures. Between 1931 and 1937, I took altogether six trips to that province, three to the northern part, and another three to the middle and south.

殿内享祀者除孔夫子外，尚有七十二门徒“配享”在侧。大成殿前，于天井两侧厢房供奉大量灵位，其上神主均为两千年间的硕儒或良臣。历年历代，由皇帝敕令庄严地批准这些人选。一位儒者身后的哀荣莫过于此。

左跨院内大殿祭祀孔夫子上五代先祖，右跨院内祭祀夫子考妣。大成殿后设一殿专供其妻。孔庙建筑群另有其他多种仪式功能。整个建筑群前面，层层天井与重门使得孔庙的入口无比庄严。

作为一个整体，孔庙出色地例证了中国规划思想，而且，在世界历史上，可能亦无他处能与它的持续发展相提并论。

1935年，中国政府计划再次大规模修缮孔庙，我有幸入选为负责修缮的建筑师。但是，日军开始入侵华北，计划被迫搁置。如今，曲阜城和孔庙一起落入了日军掌中。现由民国政府授职“大成至圣先师奉祀官”的圣人七十七世孙、衍圣公孔德成飞去了重庆，他恪守先祖尽忠国家的教诲，不愿落入日本人手中，成为政治工具。

拾 木质古构的富饶温床山西省

山西省东倚太行山，西、南临壮丽的黄河，北有长城和蒙古沙漠拱卫，因此有宋（公元960年）以来一直远离战祸，而其他省份却于改朝换代之际反复地在层层焦土之上重建新城。直至1937年秋日军入侵，山西安享太平几近千年。于是这富饶的温床孕育了大量的木质古构。在1931年至1937年之间，我六度赴晋，三次访晋北，其余三次访晋中与晋南。

In almost every town or walled-city, or in the mountains, one could hardly fail to come across some ancient looking buildings, Buddhist or Taoist temples of the 12th and 13th centuries, or even earlier dates. It was in Shansi Province, totally unexpectedly, that we found, on our way to T'ai-yuan, near Yü-tz'u, dangerously missing the railway track by only 20 yards, a small structure, most neatly constructed, bearing the date corresponding to 1008, the third oldest wooden building so far known; at T'ai-ku, three temples of the Sung and Chin periods in perfect state of preservation; at Tsin-tz'u, the Garden-temple to the Goddess of the Spring, built sometime between 1023 and 1031, a most beautiful grouping of landscape and architecture; and such odd little subjects as the residence with a 100-foot retaining-wall as foundation, overlooking the Fen River at Ling-shih; or the cast iron Buddhist seated among the ruins of the huge temple of Ling-yen Ssu off the highway near Fen-yang (Figure 12); etc. It would be impossible for me to go over all the important finds in Shansi one by one. I can only choose a few of the most outstanding.

An Early 11th-century Library Building

Ta-t'ung is famous not only for the great Wei caves at Yun-kang but also for the Liao (937–1125) and Chin (1125–1234) temples within the city itself. The Upper and Lower Hua-yen Ssu were originally one temple, covering a large area with a grouping of a hundred buildings. But in nearly a thousand years, much of the temple ground was encroached upon by the profane. The library was thus separated from the Temple proper and became known as the Lower Temple; it is a structure of particular interest (Figure 13). The purpose of the building was housing the Buddhist scriptures which were kept in wall cabinets built along the three sides of the Hall. The cabinets, rare examples of their kind, are surmounted with miniature temple buildings symbolizing the Heavenly Palaces (Figure 14). In the center of the Hall and arranged on a large platform, is one of the finest groups of clay figures in China. Three Buddhas are seated on their thrones, attended by Arhats and Bodhisattvas and guarded by Lokapalas. Unlike most of the ancient figures in China, this group graceful and with mellowed, tarnished tint is not spoiled by later "renovations." Under one of the beams, written in black Chinese ink, is the date corresponding to 1038, giving the time of the construction of the Library building. This is an age-old custom in China, but this is one of the very few

of the early dates that have been thus preserved.

几乎在每座小城镇里，或在群山之间，总会遇到一些外观古旧的楼宇、佛寺或道观，其年代早至12、13世纪或更久远。正是在山西省，在我们赴太原中途，位于榆次附近离火车铁轨不到二十码处，一座小建筑与我们不期而遇。它极为匀称，纪年为公元1008年，是迄今已知的第三古老的木构建筑[13]；在太谷，三座宋、金时期的庙宇保存完好；祭祀清泉圣母的花园寺庙晋祠，建于公元1023年至1031年间，是最美丽的并垣名胜；奇特的小建筑如俯瞰汾河的灵石民房，地基为高达一百英尺的挡土墙；汾阳附近大路边，铸铁佛像趺坐于灵岩寺堂皇残址的瓦砾间（图12）；如此等等不一而足。我不可能逐一讲述在山西省的所有重要发现，只能挑选一些最出色的例子。

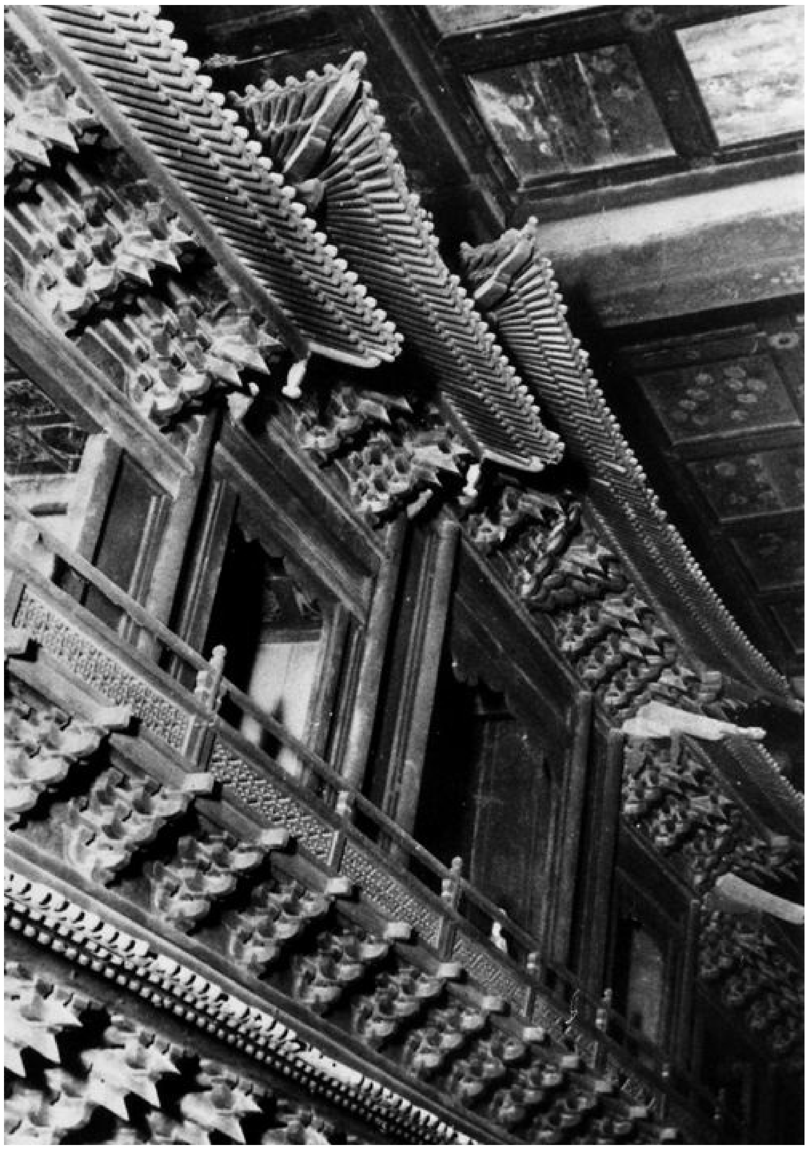
11世纪早期的薄伽教藏

大同之盛名不仅得之于云冈伟大的北魏石窟，亦得之于城中辽（公元937—1125年）[14]、金（公元1125—1234年）时期的寺宇。上下华严寺原为一体，占地辽阔，楼阁有上百之数。然近千年内，大多庙产逐渐为世俗用途所蚕食。从此薄伽教藏彻底脱离上寺，开始以下寺而知名；它是一座特别有趣的建筑（图13）。建殿意在收藏佛经，沿大殿三面墙上置壁柜式经橱藏之。这些经橱极罕见，橱顶有微缩楼阁以象征天宫（图14）。殿心大坛上为中国最精美的泥塑佛像群之一。三本尊趺坐于宝座，胁侍尊者、菩萨、金刚护卫。这组群像外形秀丽，色泽柔美黯淡，所幸没像中国众多古老造像那样遭后世“翻新”之厄。在一根梁下用墨汁写有建殿年代，为公元1038年。这种做法在中国虽然由来以久，但这一年代是以这种方式保存下来的极少数早期年代之一。

【12】How the divine bears a human wound. Among the ruins of Ling-yen Ssu near Fen-yang are three seated iron Buddhas of the 15th century. One, bearing a wound on the neck, bends slightly in an unusually benevolent repose. 神佛蒙受人间伤痛。汾阳附近的灵岩寺荒墟上，三座15世纪的铁佛趺坐。其一颈上带伤，以非凡的仁静微微倾欹。

【13】The oldest library building existing in China, built in 1038 to house

Buddhist scriptures. This was once part of Hua-yen Ssu, a large temple of a hundred buildings in Ta-t'ung. In 900 years, the temple lost much of its ground and the Library, thus separated from the main-group, is now known as the Lower Temple. 中国最古老的藏书楼薄迦教藏，为藏佛经建于公元1038年。它原为大同殿宇过百的华严大寺的一部分。九百年间，大寺失去了许多地界，而薄迦教藏则脱离了主寺，现以下寺知名。



【14】Heavenly Palaces decorate the cabinets in the library of Hua-yen Ssu. Arranged along walls of the three sides of the Library, the cabinets, rare examples of their kind, are surmounted by miniature temple buildings symbolizing the Heavenly Palaces. 华严寺薄迦教藏经橱上的装饰天宫。沿薄迦教藏三面墙布置的经橱顶有微缩楼阁象征天宫，为类中罕例。

XI. Kuang-sheng Ssu, Huo Shan, Unusual Construction and Unusual Mural-painting

The discovery, in 1933, of a complete set of Chin (1149) edition *Tripitaka* at Kuang-sheng Ssu was a great event to students of Chinese Buddhist bibliography. It was the discovery of the scriptures that led to our visit to the Temple.

About fifteen miles east of Chao-ch'eng, at the southern spur of the Huo Mountains, are the Upper and Lower Temples of Kuang-sheng Ssu. There we found two groups of buildings, probably all of the Yuan Dynasty (1280–1376) of most unusual construction. The external appearance of the buildings conforms well with that of the usual Chinese structure. But the framing of beams for the support of the roof is anything but orthodox. Slanting members with long cantilevers are freely employed, showing a good deal of originality and ingenuity on the part of the designer (Figure 15). Such organic use of the wooden frame has not been found in other places in our trips.

拾壹　霍山广胜寺，非凡的建筑与非凡的壁画

1933年，在广胜寺发现一整套金代版（公元1149年）《三藏经》，这是中国佛教典籍研究界的一件大事。正是经书的发现把我们引向了这里。

上下广胜寺位于赵城以东约十五英里的霍山南脉山头。我们在那里发现了两组建筑，可能俱为元代的罕贵遗构（公元1280—1376年）。建筑外形与常见的中国建筑很吻合，但支撑屋顶的梁枋体系却绝非正统，而是自由运用了出挑深远的斜昂，展示出设计师的极大原创力和才智（图15）。对木结构如此灵活有机的运用在我们的旅途中尚属初见。

【15】The free use of slanting members and cantilevers is uncommon. The 14th-century buildings of Kuang-sheng Ssu, Chao-ch'eng, have peculiar, unorthodox constructions. The beams and purlins are organically held in equilibrium by the slanting cantilevers. 斜昂的自由运用不同凡响。14世纪遗构赵城广胜寺的建造方法独出心裁。梁、檩俱由斜昂灵活有机地平稳支撑。

Alongside the Lower Temple is the Temple of the Dragon King, god of the great spring that gushes from under the hill (Figure 16). The temple itself, rebuilt in 1319, is nothing extraordinary. It is some of the mural paintings on its walls that attracted our attention. In our past trips, we have only come across mural paintings of religious subjects, and it was here that we, for the first time, saw secular scenes thus depicted. Most interesting among these is a scene of a theatrical performance. The actors are seen with either Sung (Chinese) or Mongolian costumes. The conventionalized facial make-up shows a prototype of the elaborate designs used on the stage in later periods. This painting is most important for the study of both Chinese painting and drama of the Yuan Dynasty. It is the more valuable for its inscription and date, corresponding to 1326.[15]

下寺旁边是拜祭山麓泉水的龙王庙（图16）。龙王庙重建于公元1319年，本身并无特别之处。但其壁上有一些壁画吸引了我们的注意。在以往的旅途中，我们所遇壁画均取宗教题材，而在这里，我们首次目

睹了如此描绘的世俗场面。其中最有趣的是一个演戏的场景。演员们的服饰宋（汉）、蒙互见。程式化的面部化妆显为后世精研的舞台化妆的原型。这幅壁画对研究中国绘画和元剧都至为重要。更珍贵的是，它的铭文纪年为公元1326年。

（林鹤 译 李道增 校）

【16】Temple of the Dragon King at Kuang-sheng Ssu. Rebuilt in 1319, wooden structures like this is nothing unusual in Shansi Province. It is the mural paintings in this building that are of particular interest. 广胜寺龙王庙。此木构重建于公元1319年，在山西省不足为奇。此寺特别有趣处在其壁画。

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[1] 本文是梁思成为北京大学和清华大学所作关于建筑历史的英文演讲稿，未曾发表，打字稿现存清华大学建筑学院档案。根据文章内容推断，应写于1940年，当时梁家随中央研究院正住在昆明。另据费正清夫人费慰梅女士所著《梁思成与林徽因》一书第11章的注释，费慰梅亦保存有本文打字稿，并注明该文1940年写于昆明（Wilma Fairbank: Liang and Lin, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1994, P. 199）。本文的部分内容后来整理成《中国最古老的木构建筑》及《五座中国古塔》两篇文章，分别发表于英文《亚洲杂志》1941年7月号和8月号——林鹤、李道增注。本篇节选内容未包括《中国最古老的木构建筑》与《五座中国古塔》（单篇见后），另《佛教石窟造像》一节因内容相对独立，亦在本书单独成篇（见后）——编者补注。

[2] 本文全部图片经中国营造学社允许发表——作者注。

[3] 维诺拉（Vignola），意大利建筑师，五柱式建筑的创造者——林鹤、李道增注。

[4] 本文中“英里”、“英尺”等度量单位据原文均为英制，但根据梁思成中文著作比较，应为中国度量单位“里”、“尺”，下同——林鹤、 李道增注。

[5] 清王昶辑，《金石萃编》，卷一百二十二，宋一，“正定府龙兴寺铸铜像记，乾德元年五

月”——林鹤、李道增注。
[6] 据《金石萃编》记载碑文为颊龙河——林鹤、李道增注。
[7] 作者的一篇文章《中国古代的开拱桥》于1938年2月与3月发表于《铅笔尖》(*Pencil Point*)上——作者注。
[8] 梁著《中国建筑史》中称“空撞券”，现通称“敞肩拱”——林鹤、李道增注。
[9] 唐代起始年代现通常作公元618—907年——编者注。
[10] 梁著《中国建筑史》中称“观星台”，即今之“观象台”——林鹤、李道增注。
[11] 元代起始年代现通常作公元1271—1368年——编者注。
[12] 一元尺约合23.9厘米或9又 7/16英寸——作者注。
[13] 即永寿寺雨华宫——林鹤、李道增注。
[14] 辽代起始年代现通常作公元916—1125年——编者注。
[15] Cf. L. Sickman, "Wall Paintings of the Yuan Period in Kuang-Sheng-Ssu, Shansi,"*Revue des Arts Asiatique*, X1, 2, 1937.——作者注。

Buddhist Cave Sculpture
佛教石窟造像[1]

〖1940〗

Buddhist cave sculpture on cliffs in China is a most important phase of Chinese art that has been sadly overlooked by the Chinese during the past. Such monuments were often given brief mention in old books on geography and in travelers' diaries, sometimes even with contempt by Confucianists. Buddhist sculpture, or rather sculpture of any kind, has never been regarded by the Chinese as an art, or anything worth a gentleman's attention. It is only in recent years that the Chinese began to realize the greatness of these monuments and give the art of the sculptor its due recognition.

I. The Yun-kang Caves

Perhaps no name is more inspiring than Yun-kang to one who is interested in Chinese sculpture. Located on the band of the Wu-chou River about ten miles from Ta-t'ung, once capital of the Northern Wei Dynasty (386–534 AD), the place was made, in 1935, easily accessible to tourists from Peiping by bus connections provided by the Railway. But my first few visits were still made during those mule-cart days. When nearing Yun-kang, the springless vehicle had to bump over miles of saw-toothed, slanting rock strata. It is an experience to remember a lifetime.

The vertical sandstone cliff, about 150 feet high and a mile long, is hollowed by numerous caves and niches which are covered with thousands of images of the Buddhist pantheon. Among them, the five colossal figures, about 70 feet high, are well known to many travelers who have been to Peiping and Yun-kang. The village at the foot of the cliff has a present day

population of about two hundred. Some of the caves are even occupied by villagers as convenient, ready-made homes. But from old records we could easily visualize the grandeur and pop of the temples at the height of their glory.

We stayed in the Temple for several days during our first visit there. To our great dismay, we found that we could not get even the simplest kind of food. A lieutenant of the small army detachment stationed there finally helped us with a few ounces of sesame oil and two cabbages in exchange for half-a-dozen thumb-tacks!

The creation of the Yun-kang caves was started in the reign of Emperor Hsiao-wu-ti of the Wei Dynasty, 454 AD. The group of rock-out images is the most important example of early Buddhist art in China. The caves and niches were placed at random on the face of the cliff. Emperors and commoners alike, to seek blessings for their beloved, could have images caved according to whatever size and position they wished. The iconograhic activities at Yun-kang lasted exactly half a century, and ended abruptly when the Wei capital was moved south to Loyang in 494 AD.

中国崖壁间的佛教石窟造像是中国艺术里最重要的一章，惜乎襄日为国人所忽视。古人的方志和游记对此类遗迹常一笔带过，儒者有时竟至于轻藐以对。佛教造像，或毋宁说任何种类的雕塑，从未被国人目为艺术，士大夫辈不齿为此花费心思。直到近年，国人才开始发现这些遗迹之伟大，并且还雕塑艺术以应有的重视。

壹 云冈石窟

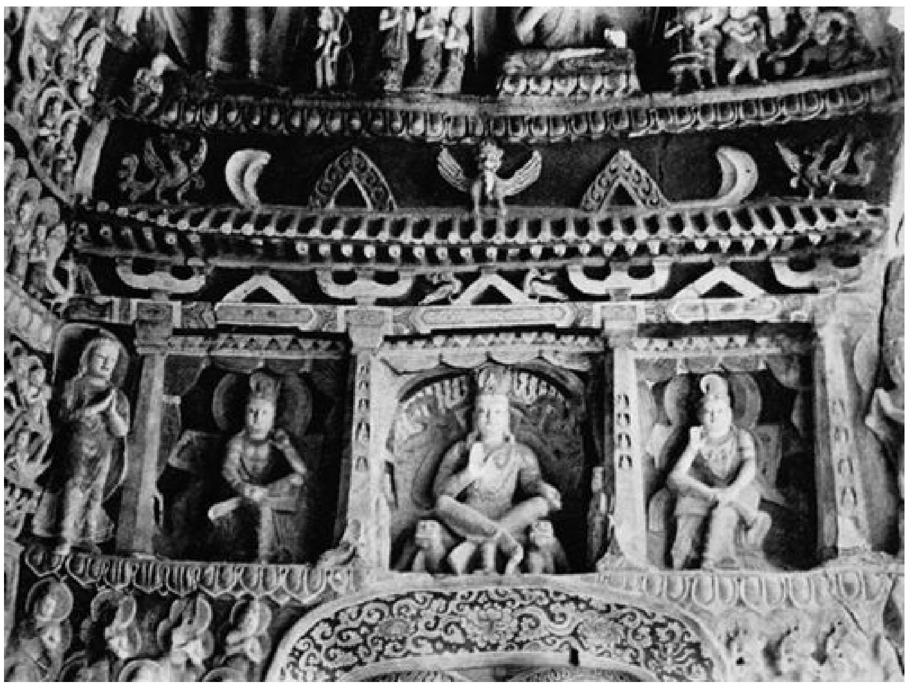
关心中国雕塑艺术的人，或以云冈为最令人激动之地。它位于武周河岸，去大同十英里许。1935年，铁路局由北平通汽车至大同，旅行者辄易于抵此北魏国都（公元386—534年）。但是，我的头几次探访尚在此前的骡车年代里。接近云冈的时候，艰涩的车行不得不颠簸于一里又一里犬牙交错的倾斜石面上。这种经历终生难忘。

垂直的砂石质崖壁高约一百五十英尺，一英里长，被无数石窟和佛龛镂空，里面有数以千计的佛教诸神之像。其中，五座巨型塑像高约七十英尺，为履及北平和云冈的旅客所熟知。崖壁脚下的村落目前约有人口二百。一些石窟竟至于被村民占据，成为方便现成的居家。但是，依

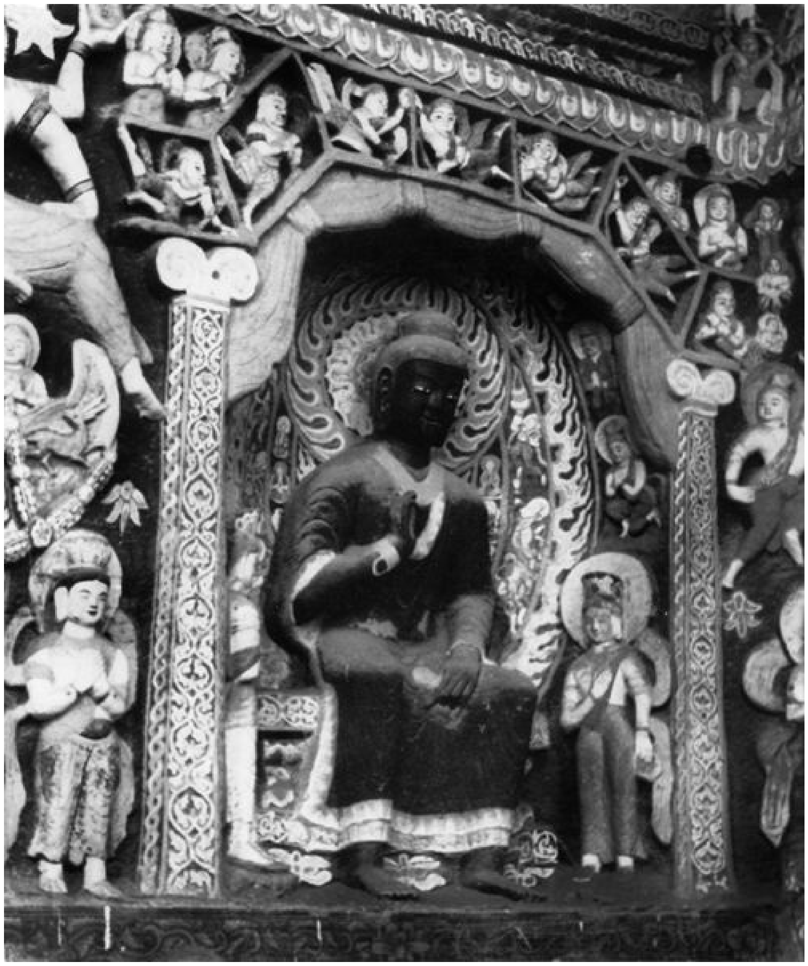
据旧时记载，我们很容易想见当日寺宇鼎盛时何其宏伟壮丽。

我们第一次探访期间，在庙里住了几天。我们极其沮丧地发现，连最简单的食物亦无处可觅。最终，我们用了半打大头钉，从派驻此地的一支小部队的排长手里换得几盎司芝麻油和两棵卷心菜！

云冈石窟始建于北魏文成帝时期（公元454年）[2]　。石刻群像是中国早期佛教艺术最重要的遗例。石崖表面随机散布石窟与佛龛。上自帝王下至庶民，均可随意各择尺寸位置，凿龛造像为至爱祝祷。云冈的造像活动持续了半个世纪，至公元494年魏室南迁定都洛阳时，方兀然中止。



【1】Niches of some caves at Yun-kang are architecturally treated, complete with columns, brackets and roof. In decorative motifs, there is an unmistakable "Greco-Buddhist" influence. The "egg-and-dart" is Greek. But most interesting is the translation of the Persian "double-bull" capital into the Chinese bracket. 云冈石窟某些佛龛得到了艺术处理，配以柱、斗拱及屋顶。装饰母题无疑表现出“希腊—佛教”的影响。“卵箭饰”为希腊式。但最有趣的是波斯“双牛”柱头被移植为中国的斗拱。

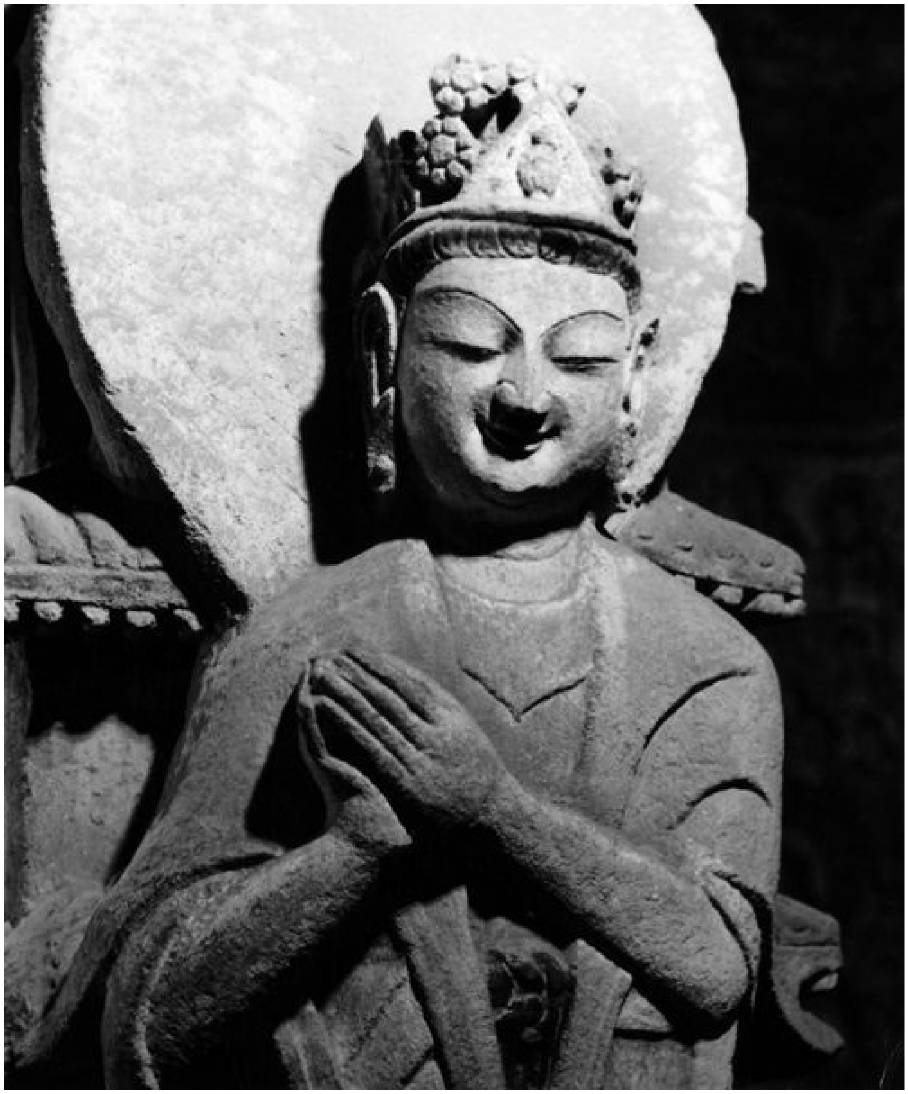


【1】The Yun-kang caves are melting pots of Chinese, Greek and Indian decorative elements. In niches like this, the "Greco-Indian" influence dominates. The "angels" may be a mixture of Han and Indian prototypes. The trapezoidal arch is not Chinese. The Ionic-esque scrolls on capitals deserve special attention of the student. 云冈石窟融汇了中国、希腊与印度的装饰元素。在这类佛龛中，明显有“希腊—印度”的影响，“飞天”或许混杂了汉与印度的原型。五边拱并非中国式样。柱头爱奥尼克式的涡卷特别值得注意。

A number of the caves in Yun-kang are large and spacious. Some are preceded by an antechamber. The sanctuary has usually a core in the center in the form of a pagoda, a Chinese version of the Indian chaitya, after which the Chinese caves were modeled. Here we find a jumble of "Greco-Buddhist" elements. Some columns even have capitals like Ionic scrolls, and the original Chinese "bracket" was ingeniously translated into the Persian "double-bull" capital motif (Figures 1, 2). But, in spite of all that, the

architecture remains fundamentally Chinese. From these caves we gathered a good deal of information about the wooden architecture of the Wei Dynasty of which we have, so far, found no actual specimen. Of the large number of caves of later periods in different parts of China, with the exception of the T'ien-lung Shan caves near T'ai-yuan, none is quite as rich in architectural treatment as these early ones.

云冈的石窟有若干庞大卓异者。有些带有前廊。窟殿中心通常有一中央塔柱，是印度“支提”的中式翻版，为中国石窟模仿的蓝本。我们在此发现了“希腊—佛教”的元素相互掺杂。有些柱上坐斗甚至如同爱奥尼克式卷纹的柱头，而中国本土的斗拱灵活地变形为波斯“双牛”的兽形柱头母题（图1，2）。然建筑物大体仍为中式。我们从这些石窟里采得北魏木构建筑的大量资料，这段时期迄今尚无实际遗例。中国各地后世出现了大量石窟，除了太原附近的天龙山石窟以外，无一如这些早期石窟般具有如此丰富的建筑处理细节。



II. The Lung-men Caves

To students of Chinese sculpture, the caves of Lung-men, about ten miles south of Loyang, are equally as important as the caves of Yun-kang. When the Wei Tartars moved their capital here from Ta-t'ung, the iconographic artists came with them. The miles of limestone cliffs on both bands of the Yi River offered an excellent base for sculptural work. The activity started there in 495 AD, and lasted over a period of more than 250

years.

The earlier caves have figures executed with an archaic feeling similar to the Yun-kang carvings—the cylindrical form dominates. The facial expressions of the figures are singularly tranquil and enchanting. In recent years, these figures became victims of the vandalism of curio-dealers and several of the best examples found their way in museums in Europe and America.

The most monumental group of statues at Lung-men did not appear until Empress Wu had the colossal vairochana hewn in 676 AD. An inscription tells how her Imperial Majesty ordered all the court ladies to donate their "powder-and-rouge-allowance" towards the fund for the carving of the eighty-foot seated statue, complete with attendants: Arhats, Bodhisattvas and Lokapalas. The entire group was originally sheltered by a wooden hall of nine bays that has disappeared long since. But holes and grooves on the cliff still indicate clearly the position and curvature of the roof as well as the location of many beams.

The walls of the hundreds of grottoes of Yun-kang bear innumerable inscriptions, giving the names of donors and dates of their donations, making the dating of most of the images easy. From the point of view of an architectural archaeologist, however, the Lung-men caves are of far less importance than the Yun-kang caves.

Besides Lung-men, there are a number of other places in Honan Province where are cave images of early date, notably at Tz'u Hsien, Chun Hsien and Kung Hsien. As groups they are all smaller and of less importance than the Yun-kang and Lung-men caves.

In 676 AD Empress Wu ordered all her court ladies to donate their cosmetic allowance for the caving of this colossal vairochana group at Lung-men. The entire group was sheltered by a wooden hall that has disappeared. Holes and grooves on the cliff still indicate clearly the position and curvature of the roof and the location of many beams. 公元676年，武后颁旨所有宫娥捐献脂粉钱在龙门开凿这组卢舍那巨型群像。群像原覆有木构寺阁，现已不存，崖上龛壁处仍有卯孔与凹槽清楚指示屋顶刻槽位置及梁柱位置。

贰 龙门石窟

在研习中国雕塑者目中，洛阳南面十英里的龙门石窟当与云冈石窟同等重要。当北魏鲜卑族从大同迁都至此时，造像艺术家亦随之而来。伊河两岸连绵的石灰石崖壁为雕刻作品之上佳基址。造像活动始于公元495年，持续时间逾二百五十年而不止。

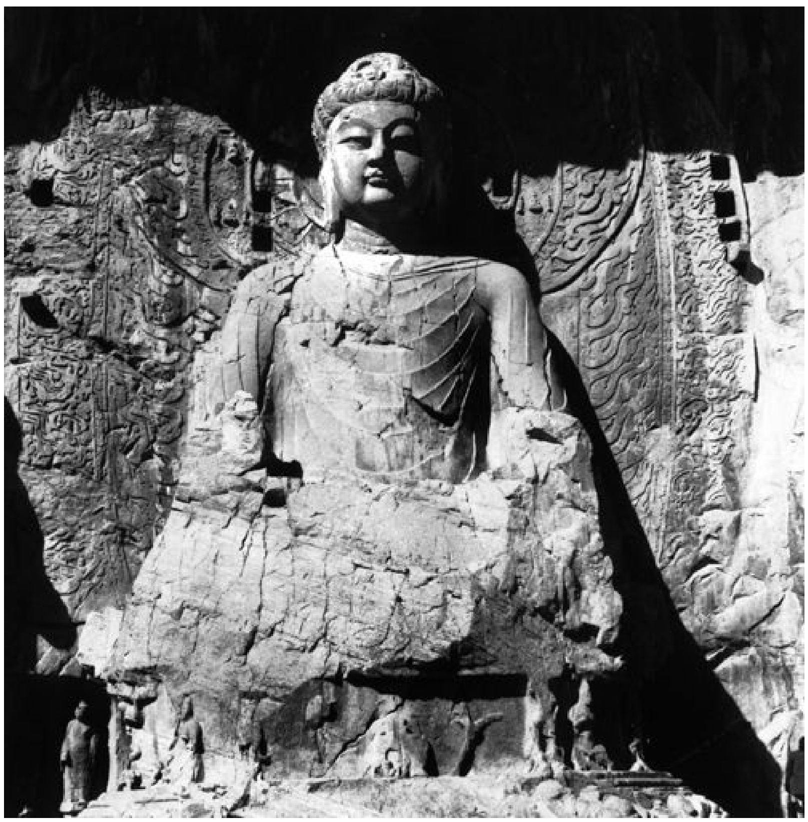
早期石窟造像具有和云冈相似的古雅感觉——主要形式为圆雕。雕像的表情异常静谧而迷人。近年来，这些雕像遭到古董商的恶意毁坏，最杰出的作品流落到了欧美的博物馆中。

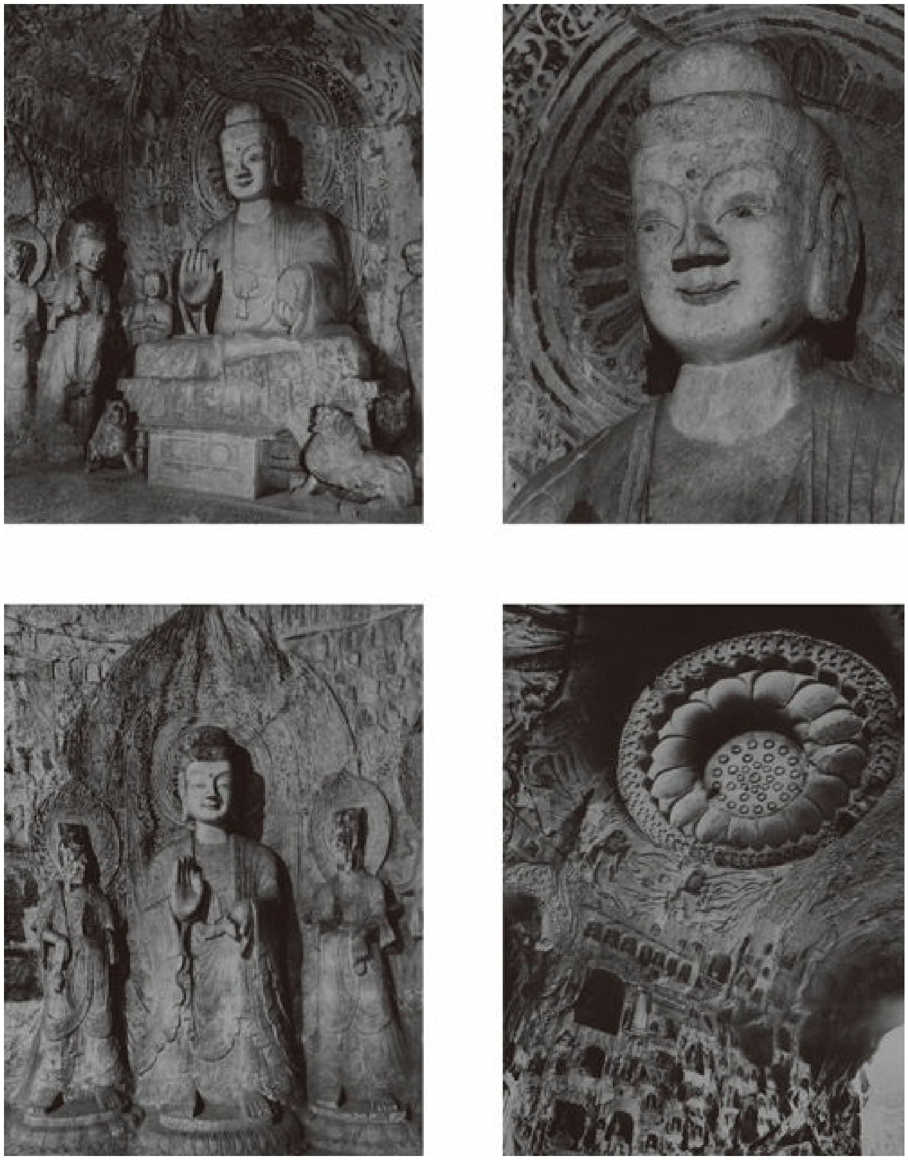
龙门最不朽的雕像群成于武后时，即公元676年开凿卢舍那龛。据一处铭文记载，皇后陛下颁旨所有宫人捐献“脂粉钱”为基金，雕刻八十英尺高的坐佛、胁侍尊者、菩萨及金刚神王。群像原覆以面阔九楹的木

构寺阁，惜早已不存。但崖上龛壁处尚有卯孔和凹槽历历在目，明确指示出屋顶刻槽的位置和许多梁楣的位置。

与云冈不同，逾百龛壁上铭文无数，记录了功德主的名字与捐献日期，便于确认大多数雕像的年代。然而，从建筑考古的角度来看，龙门石窟的重要性远逊于云冈石窟。

除龙门石窟以外，河南境内尚有其他早期石窟，较大者有磁县、浚县及巩县各处。作为组群，其规模与重要性都不如龙门石窟和云冈石窟。





Statues of Buddha and Lotus in Lung-men Caves 龙门石窟中的佛像及莲花洞

III. The T'ien-lung Shan Caves

For studying the architecture of the Ch'i and Sui Dynasties, the caves at T'ien-lung Shan, some forty miles southwest of T'ai-yuan, in the Province of Shansi, offer some most valuable material. Unlike Yun-kang and Lung-men, where the caves are carved out of rock-cliffs on river banks, the T'ien-lung

Shan caves are high and dry up on the mountain. The group here is comparatively small, only about twenty caves in all. The largest figure, about thirty feet high, is a dwarf compared with the giants of either Yun-kang or Lung-men. The other caves have mostly figures about life-size. They represent a period of high accomplishment in Chinese sculpture. Unfortunately, almost every one of them, except the largest, were ruthlessly cut down and removed by curio-dealers. The stolen pieces are now scattered in museums all over the world. Some of them are objects of admiration in the Winthrop Collection in New York. Some others, characteristically, found their way to a certain private collection in Japan.

Architecturally, these caves are of the greatest importance. Some of them are preceded by a porch, executed in most faithful imitation of the wooden construction of the time. Though merely facades, we could get from them not only a general idea of the parti, but even the exact proportions and the delicate shades of refinement.

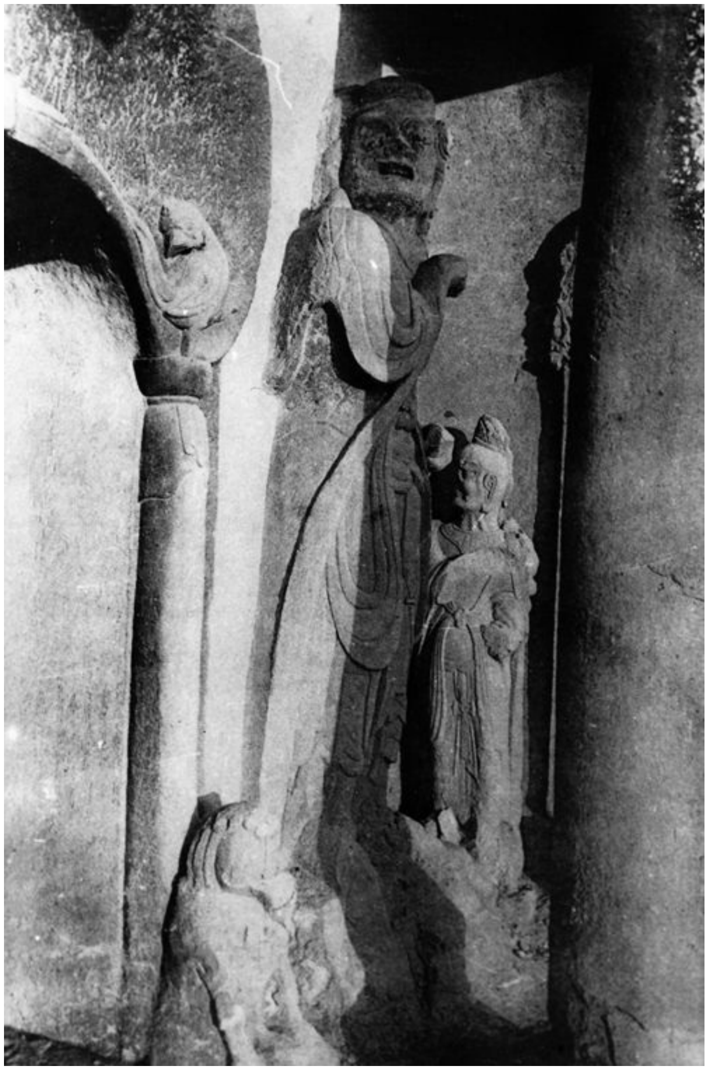
叁 天龙山石窟

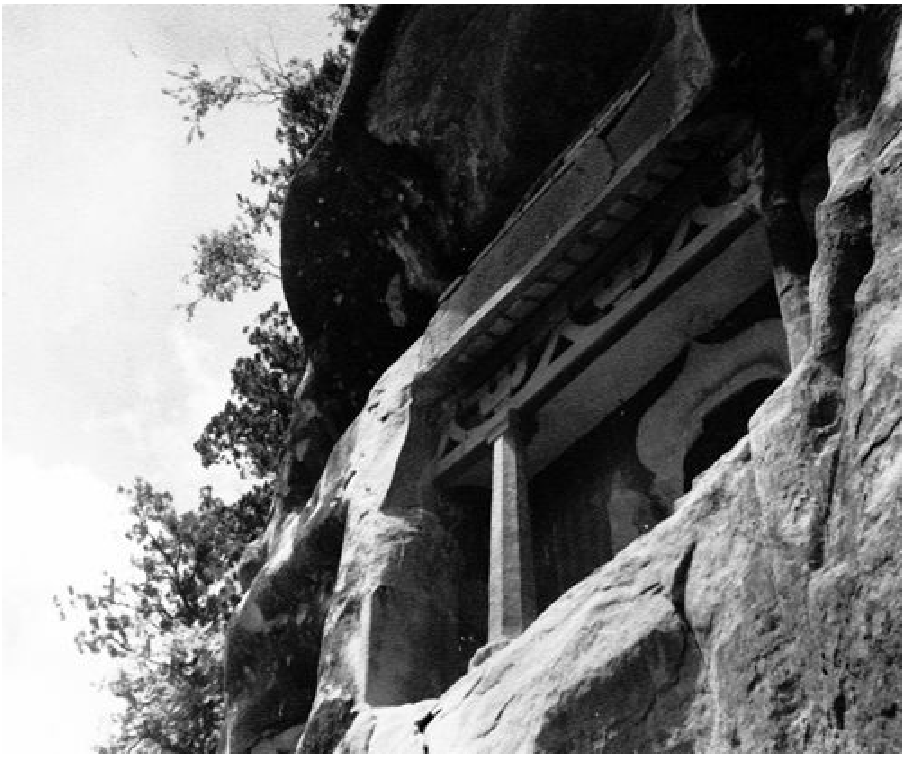
山西省会太原西北四十英里许，有天龙山石窟，它为研究北齐与隋朝的建筑提供了许多珍贵资料。云冈石窟和龙门石窟开凿于岸边崖壁，而天龙山石窟则高踞于群山之上的旱地。这里的组群相对较小，统共仅约二十窟。最大的佛像高约三十英尺，与云冈或龙门的巨像相比，简直像是侏儒。其他诸窟的塑像多为真人尺寸。它们代表着中国雕塑史上造诣高超的一段时期。不幸的是，除最大的一尊外，几乎所有塑像都被无情地凿下，流落于古董商手中。失窃的残片现在散见于世界各地的博物馆里。其中一些在纽约的温思罗普藏品中为人称羡，另外若干照例落入了某些日本私人收藏家之手。

这些石窟在建筑意义上极其重要。其中一些前有柱廊，极为忠实地模仿当时的木构建筑。尽管只有立面，我们从中不仅大致认识到了总体组合的思路，甚至于还认识到了具体的比例和细部的阴影。

（林鹤 译 李道增 校）

The thirty-foot Buddha of T'ien-lung Shan is a dwarf compared with the giants of Yun-kang and Lung-men. This statue, though started at the later part of the 6th century, was not completed until the 7th. With its attending Bodhisattvas, it is the only group at T'ien-lung Shan that had escaped the vandalism of curio-dealers. 天龙山的三十英尺高的佛像与云冈及龙门的巨佛相比简直为侏儒。此像始造于6世纪末期，但直至7世纪方得完成，旁立胁侍菩萨。这是天龙山逃脱古董商掠毁之厄的唯一群像。





The T'ien-lung Shan caves are the most architecturally treated. Some of them are preceded by a porch, executed in most faithful imitation of the wooden construction of the time, even the exact proportions and the delicate shades of refinement. 天龙山石窟最富建筑处理之功。类似的一些石窟前有柱廊，精工细做，忠实模仿木构，连细部的微妙光影也不放过。

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[1] 节选自《华北古建调查报告》——编者注。

[2] 此处原文“孝武帝”（Hsiao-wu-ti），然梁著《中国建筑史》等各处均为“文成帝”(Wen-ch'eng-ti)，疑为当年笔误，据诸本改——林鹤、李道增注。

Five Early Chinese Pagodas
五座中国古塔[1]

〖1941〗

In Sung Shan, the Central Holy Mountain, in Teng-feng Hsien, Honan Province, is the ancient Buddhist temple, Sung-yueh Ssu. Within its compound stands a most unusual pagoda, one of five early pagodas of North China visited by me and my fellow workers of the Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture in the process of collecting material for a history of Chinese architecture from study of actual specimens. Built in 523 AD, this is the oldest brick pagoda existing in China today.

The temple was originally the summer villa of Emperor Hsiao-ming of the Eastern Wei Dynasty. The pagoda was built for the salvation of the Emperor's deceased mother, the Empress Dowager. It has brought her blessing through fourteen hundred years. The pagoda, entasised to give a silhouette like that of a modern artillery shell, has both grace and grandeur. Its twelve-sided plan is unique. Pagoda contemporary with this one are usually square in plan, whereas those of later periods are octagonal.

在河南省登丰县的中岳嵩山，有一座古代佛寺——嵩岳寺，寺内矗立着一座非同寻常的古塔，它是我和我在中国建筑营造学社的同仁们从实例研究开始进行中国建筑史史料收集过程中所造访的中国北方五座古塔之一。该塔建于公元523年，是中国现存最古老的一座砖塔。

嵩岳寺最初是北魏孝明帝[2] 的夏宫，嵩岳寺塔则是为其母灵太后禳病所建，此后该塔带着太后的恩泽一直延存了1400年。嵩岳寺塔的整体轮廓向上逐渐收分，像是一个现代的炮弹壳，优美而秀丽。塔的十二边形平面形式也很独特，因同时期的塔常为四边形平面，而此后塔的平面又多为八角形。

【1】The oldest brick pagoda in China is in the compound of the ancient Buddhist temple of Sung-yueh Ssu at Sung shan, Honan. The pagoda, built in 523 AD, is very unusual in style having, as it does, twelve sides and fifteen stories. 这座中国现存最早的砖塔位于河南嵩山嵩岳寺院内。该塔建于公元523年，其十二边形和十五层的形制极为罕见。

The fifteen stories of the pagoda also constitute an uncommon feature. On a very high base is the tall first-story, above which are fifteen decks of cornices of roof-eaves. Though regarded as fifteen-stories, a pagoda with such arrangement may perhaps be more appropriately described as one-storied, fifteen-deck-roofed. The first story is embellished at the corners with polygonal engaged columns with lotus-blossom capitals. Each of the

doorways on the four sides facing the cardinal points is arched, the extrados of the arch being shaped like a lotus petal and ending in volutes at the spring-line. The other eight sides each has a niche in the form of a Ssu-men T'a or one-storied, four-doored, square pagoda. Undoubtedly these niches were once occupied by statues which were lost long ago. The architectural motifs show unmistakable Indian influences. The general parti of the edifice is the primogenitor of a pagoda-form that later became very popular in China. (Figure 1)

Such a Ssu-men T'a as I have mentioned is to be found at Shen-t'ung Ssu in the mountains thirty miles south of Tsinan, in Shantung Province. These thirty miles we covered on our visit to the pagoda in a whole day's pleasant travel along rocky paths, in the date-flower-scented breeze of early summer, watching the ever-changing silhouette of rugged mountains against the sky, until we reached the seldom visited region lying at the back of T'ai Shan, the Eastern Holy Mountain, which was our destination.

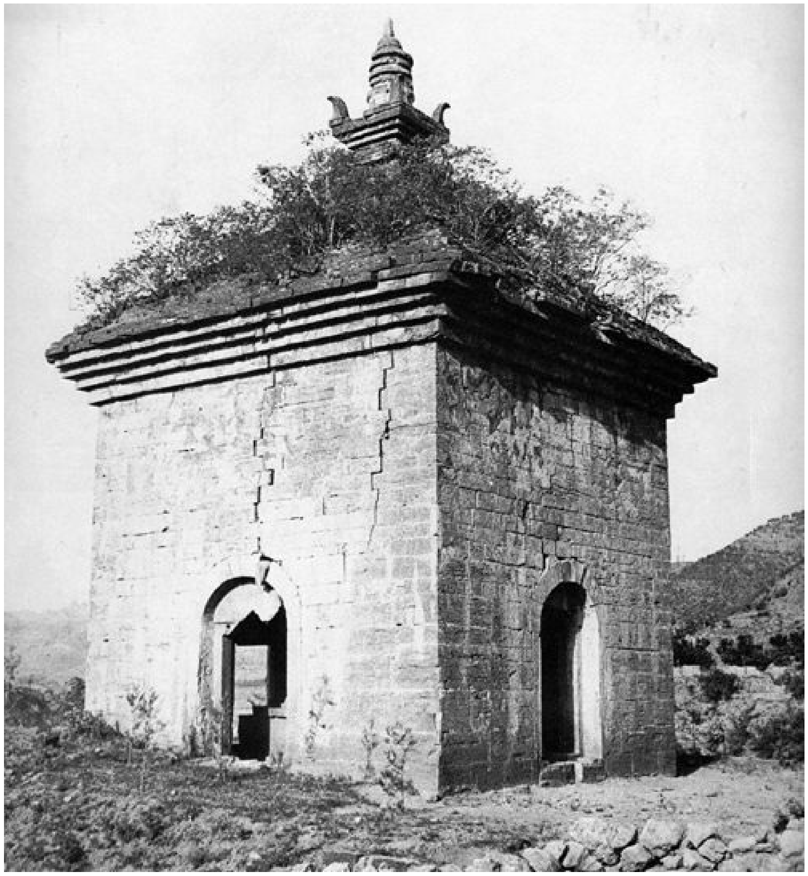
The small, one-storied stone pagoda bearing the date corresponding to 544 AD on one of the marble statues it shelters, is the oldest of its kind in China. Short and stubby on first observation, the structure may be described as a pavilion square in plan, with a core in the center and an arched doorway on each facade. The roof is a stepped pyramid, surmounted by a "pinnacle" which in essence is a miniature Indianesque stupa. (Figure 2)

该塔的外观亦不同一般。在高大的第一层塔身上，叠涩出15层的密檐。虽然被视为15层，但像这种类型的塔也许称其为一层塔身、15层密檐顶更为恰当。一层塔身各隅砌有角柱，柱头呈莲花样式。塔身东西南北四个主面上设有拱门，拱背形如莲瓣并在起拱线处呈涡卷饰。塔身其余八面各设佛龛一座，状似四门塔样式，即一层四门的方形塔。无疑，龛内原曾有佛像，但早已佚失。塔的建筑风格显然深受印度影响，其整体设计样式成为后来盛行于中国的一种塔的形式的始祖。（图 1）

在山东济南城南30英里的群山之中的神通寺，就有一座上文提及的四门塔。我们花了一整天的时间才走完30英里的路途，找到该塔。这是一段愉快的旅途：行走在山岩间的小径上，我们一边呼吸着早夏时节风中的花香，一边浏览着蓝天下步移景异的山峦起伏，最后来到了旅途的终点——位于东岳泰山之阴的一处人迹罕见之地。

这座单层的小石塔内的石像上有公元544年的题刻[3]，它是国内该类型塔中最古老的一座。这个初看短粗的结构实际上是一个方形平面的

亭子，亭中心为塔心柱，四面设拱门。屋顶是一个阶梯形的金字塔，上覆以一个缩小的印度窣堵坡样式的尖顶。（图 2）



【2】China's oldest stone pagoda, erected at the back of T'ai Shan, probably in 544 AD, is a simple structure, a single-storied pavilion unlike what is generally known as a pagoda. Its doorways are arched; its roof is a stepped pyramid with a stupa. 神通寺四门塔——中国现存最早的石塔，大约建于公元544年，位于泰山之阴。它是一个与一般概念的塔不同的单层简单结构。塔门呈拱状，塔顶为窣堵坡样式的金字塔。

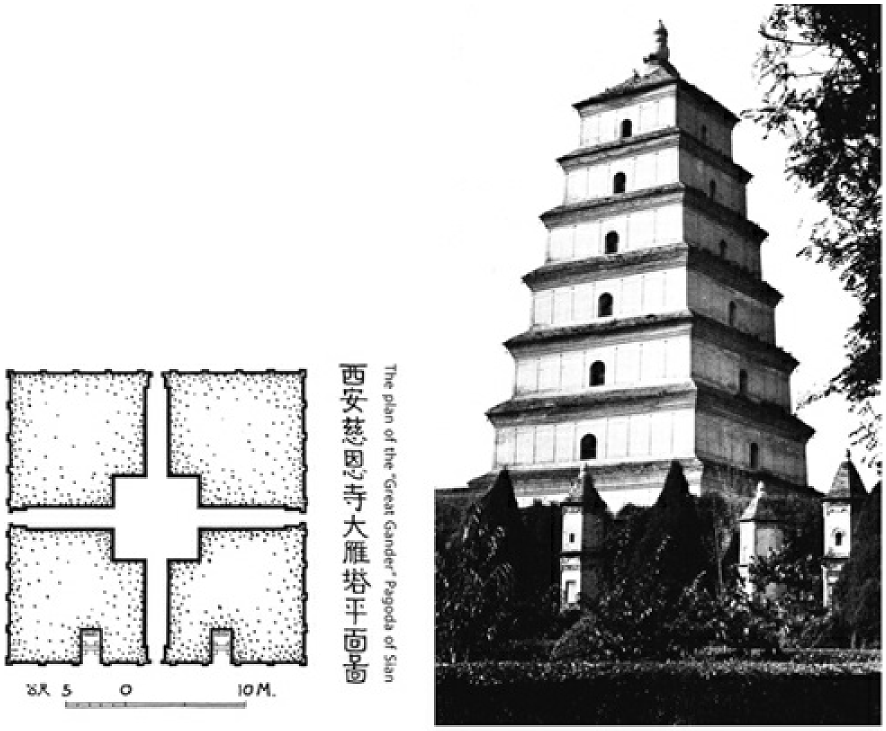
My study of a large number of pagodas in China led me to the conclusion that the Chinese pagoda is an interesting combination of an original multiple-storied Chinese structure and an Indian stupa which crowns the former. The Ssu-men T'a of Shen-tung Ssu is one of the earliest and simplest examples of this combination and should be given a most prominent position in the evolution of the Chinese pagoda.

The two pagodas described above date from the period of the Six Dynasties. When we come to the T'ang period, it is no surprise to find two

important pagodas among the innumerable Buddhist remains of this period in the Sian area, in Shensi. These are the Ta-yen T'a and Hsiao-yen T'a, the Great and Little Gander Pagodas. Rising high above the vast plain, they stand about two miles to the south of the Celestial City and are themselves about two miles apart. The "great" one, a little earlier in date, is the more important. It stands in the temple grounds of Tz'u-en Ssu, where it was built to house the Buddhist scriptures.

The present structure represents a rebuilding of an even earlier pagoda. The original was only five stories high, and was founded by the great monk Hsüan-tsang, in 652 AD. It was said that the Master, after his return from his nineteen-year pilgrimage to India, obtained the Emperor's permission to build this pagoda to house the scriptures he brought back. On the day when the ground was broken at the building site, he carried on his own shoulder the first shovels of earth and encircled the site three times in prayer. Unfortunately this original pagoda was badly damaged in war shortly after completion. It was completely rebuilt between 701 AD and 705 AD and made seven stories high. (Figure 3)

The plan of the pagoda is square, the construction entirely of brick. The exterior of each story is treated with pilasters and architraves in delicate relief, and a corbelled "cornice." The general silhouette of the Ta-yen is not often seen elsewhere in China. Instead of the usual graceful entasis, its upper stories diminish in an uncompromising incline. Sturdy and dignified, it stands as a most fitting monument to the great Buddhist pilgrim and scholar who was its founder.



【3】The "Great Gander" Pagoda, Sian, is one of the most sacred monuments of Buddhist China. The present pagoda replaced in the 8th century one erected by the great 7th-century monk Hsüan-tsang but soon war-damaged.

西安大雁塔是中国最重要的佛教纪念性建筑物之一。现存的大雁塔是公元8世纪重建的，原塔由7世纪的名僧玄奘所建，但不久便毁于战火。

对大量中国古塔的研究使我得出了这样一个结论：中国古塔是在其传统多层结构之上覆以印度窣堵坡样式的有趣结合。神通寺四门塔是这种融合样式最早和最简洁的实例之一，它在中国古塔的演进过程中具有极其重要的地位。

上述两塔都建于六朝时期。当我们转向研究唐朝时，在陕西西安地区众多的佛教建筑遗迹中发现的两座佛塔无疑是最重要的，这就是大雁塔和小雁塔。这两座塔高高耸立于西安古城以南约两英里的开阔平原地带，两塔间相距也约两英里。相较之下，稍早建成的大雁塔更为重要，它立于慈恩寺内，为存放佛经而建。

现存的大雁塔是由一座更早的古塔重建而成。最初它只有五层高，是由著名的唐僧玄奘于公元652年所建。据说玄奘西行印度17年[4] 朝圣归来后，经皇帝恩准建造此塔以珍藏其带回的佛经。在该塔破土动工之

日，玄奘曾亲自执锹铲土并绕行场址三周行祷告礼。遗憾的是，最初的佛塔建成不久就因战乱而遭严重毁坏。它于公元701至705年间彻底重建并加高到七层。（图 3）

大雁塔平面呈方形，全部由砖建造。外部各层设有壁柱，带有精美浮雕的柱顶过梁和出挑的“檐口”。其外廓在中国其他地方实属罕见，它并非通常的逐渐收分，而是每上一层都有明显的向内收退。坚定而庄严的性格，使大雁塔成为最恰当地纪念其缔造者——那位伟大的佛教学者和朝圣者——所矗立的一座丰碑。

The only wooden pagoda existing in China today dates from the Sung period. It stands about fifty miles south of Ta-t'ung, Shansi, not far outside the inner stretch of the great wall in the town of Ying Hsien.

This miserable town, on alkaline soil, poverty-stricken, with only a few hundred mud houses and barely a dozen trees within the city enclosure, is about twenty-five miles away from the nearest highway bus station. This distance I traveled by mule-cart on my trip to the pagoda, suffering six hours of bumpy ride. It was sunset time when I reached a point about five miles west of the town. Most unexpectedly I saw ahead of me, at the far end of the almost straight trail, a sparking jewel on a dark purplish background: the red and white pagoda, reflecting the golden setting sun, against the mountain beyond. Rising about two hundred feet above the surrounding plain, the five-storied tower is visible, in good weather, from places nearly twenty miles away. (Figure 4)

It was dark when I reached the walled city. The bulk of the pagoda towered over the whole town like a black giant. But on the southern side of the top story was visible a light, a spark that penetrated the enveloping darkness. That, I found out later, was the "ten-thousand-year lamp" that had been burning there day and night for nearly nine hundred years.

中国现存的唯一一座木塔建于宋代[5] ，它位于山西大同以南约50英里处的应县城内。

在我们考察时，应县是一个建在盐碱地上的贫困小镇。它距离最近的公路汽车站约25英里，城内只有百来栋土坯房，树木稀少。我坐在骡车上，经过六个小时的颠簸后才从车站来到木塔前。当我到达镇西约5英里处时，正是日落时分，出乎意料之外，我看见在几乎笔直的小路尽端暗紫色的天空背景下一个熠熠闪光的宝石：红白相间的古塔，在其后群山的衬托下，披上了金黄色的落日余辉。木塔在平原上耸起约200英

尺高，在晴朗的天气下，大约20英里以外都能看到这座古塔。（图 4）

当我抵达小镇时，夜色已深。古塔像个怪物般耸立在小镇的上空。不过在塔的顶部南侧可以看到一丝闪亮，它穿透了漆黑的夜空。我后来才知道，那是一盏“万年灯”，它已经历了近九百年的日日夜夜而长明不熄。

【14】A poverty-stricken Shansi town, Ying Hsien, boasts the only wooden pagoda known to exist in China, built in 1056 AD. Its eaves and stories are supported by a system of brackets. 山西穷镇应县以中国目前现存唯一木塔

而自豪。木塔建于公元1056年。各层出檐及平坐各有斗拱支撑。

The pagoda was built in 1056 AD. Octagonal in plan and constructed entirely of wood, its structure is essentially the super imposition, in five tiers, of single-storied Chinese buildings. The first story has double-decked eaves, supported by huge brackets, stylistically identical with those of the Kuan-yin Ke in Chi Hsien, Hopeh. Each of the four upper stories has a surrounding balcony and an overhanging eave, supported by its own system of brackets. On each story, doors are opened on the four sides facing the cardinal points, the other four sides being walled-in with plaster on lath, decorated with paintings of Arhats and Bodhisattvas.

On the ground floor, seated in the center of the octagonal sanctuary, is a colossal clay statue of Sakyamuni, while on the upper floors are different Buddhas, usually attended by Arhats and Bodhisattvas.

The top of the pagoda is finished with an elaborate spire of wrought iron, secured to the corners of the uppermost roof by eight iron chains. I was up on that spire one sunny, clear afternoon, absorbed in measuring and photographing, when the clouds closed in rapidly but unnoticed. Suddenly a terrific thunderbolt struck nearby. Taken by surprise, I nearly lost my hold on the icy-cold chain two hundred feet above the ground. My only other experience at all similar to this was when, without the usual alarm, some Japanese planes dropped several 250-pound bombs around my house, the nearest one only twenty feet away.

This pagoda, generously spared by nature, is entering its last century of a thousand-year cycle. We wonder, here in the Southwest, whether it has survived the fortunes of war. The Japanese besieged and took the town of Ying Hsien in the fall of 1937.

The last and latest of these five pagodas is the Hua T'a, or "Flowery Pagoda" of Chengting, on the Peiping-Hankow Railway, in Hopeh Province. It is a brick structure of the Chin Dynasty, twelfth century AD. Its name is a tribute to its very complicated shape. Though it is octagonal in plan, with doors on the four sides facing the cardinal points of the compass, the other four sides each have a hexagonal chamber attached on the outside. The exterior finish in stucco is modeled to represent columns, beam and brackets of wood. The "pinnacle" is profusely decorated with high reliefs of elephants, lions and small, one-storied stupas. It is a chaotic but not too unhappy

mixture of the Indian stupa and the Chinese pagoda, a compact presentation of the "five-pagoda" composition. In all my later trips I never came across another similar structure. (Figure 5)

应县木塔建于公元1056年。其平面为八角形，是一个全部为木构的五层结构[6] 。首层由巨型的斗拱托起重檐，风格与河北蓟县（独乐寺）观音阁相类似。上部四层各有回廊平坐与挑檐，由自身的斗拱系统支撑。塔各层东西南北向设门，其他四面由壁柱和板墙围合，木板隔墙上饰有阿罗汉和菩萨像。

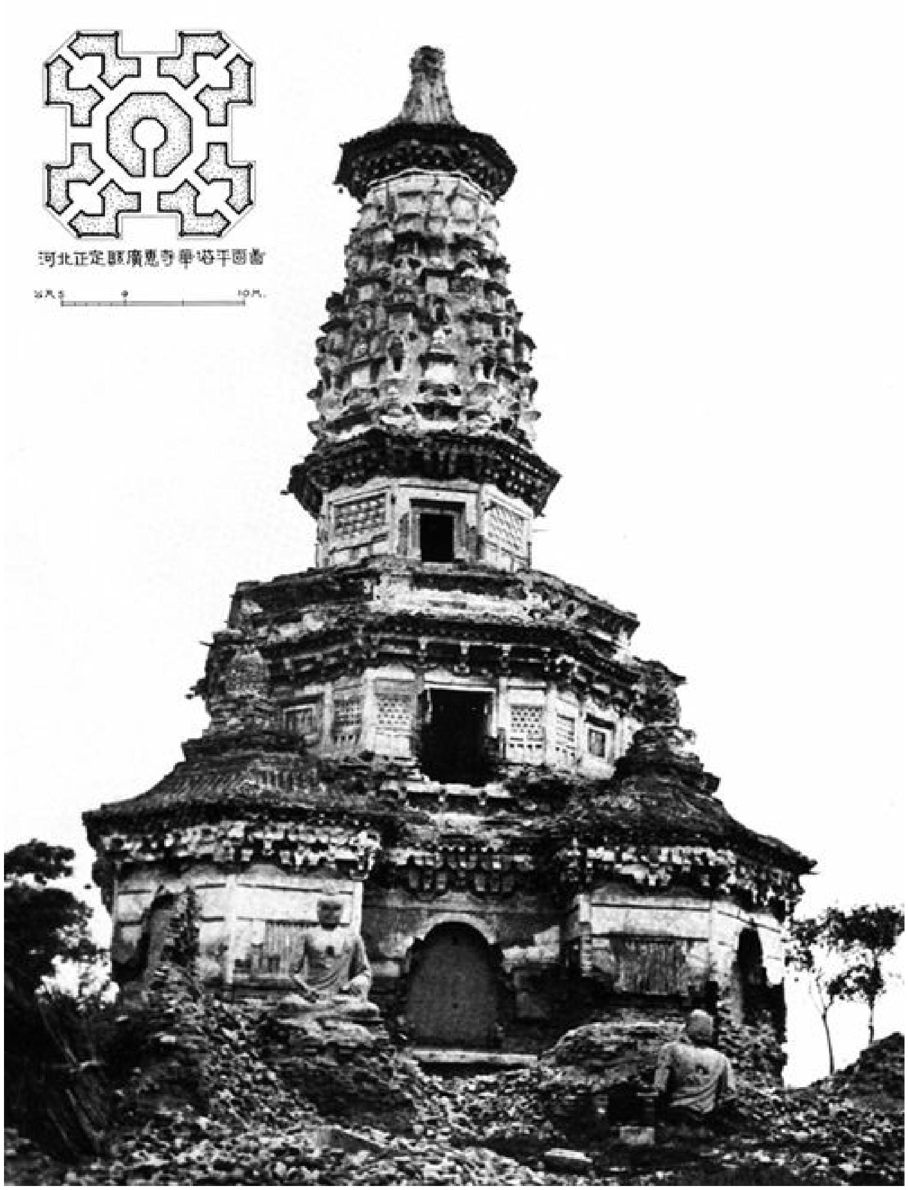
底层八角形圣坛中央，设有巨大的泥塑释迦牟尼像，上部每层均有各种佛像，多为阿罗汉与菩萨像。

塔顶为一精美的铁制塔刹，固定在屋顶八角尽端的铁件上。在一个阳光明媚的下午，我攀上塔刹去测量和拍照，由于全神贯注，我竟然没有注意到浮云的迅速掩近。突然，不远处炸起一个闪电，惊吓之中，我险些在离地200英尺的高空中松开握住冰冷铁链的双手。我唯一与此类似的一次经历，是在没有任何警报下，日军的飞机在我住所周围投下了几枚250磅的炸弹，其中最近的一颗距我只有20英尺。

大自然宽厚赦免的这座木塔，行将步入它千年周期的最后一个世纪。在日军于1937年秋季攻占了应县后，我们不知道这座位于城西南的古塔，是否在战火中幸免于难。

五座古塔中的最后一座、也是年代最近的，是位于河北省北平—汉口铁路线上的正定花塔（亦称华塔）。这座砖塔是公元12世纪的金代遗物。花塔的名称源于其繁复的造型。虽然其塔身平面为八角形，在东西南北四面设有塔门，但在其他四个面上又有附建的六角形小塔。塔的外部用灰泥仿制出木构的柱、梁和斗拱样式。塔刹大量地饰以象、狮和小的一层窣堵坡高浮雕。它是印度的窣堵坡和中国佛塔混杂但并不太令人厌烦的结合，是一种集中而小巧的“五塔样式”[7] 。在我此后的考察途中，再未遇见过另一个类似的塔的实例。（图 5）

（单军 译 高亦兰 校）



【5】The "Flowery Pagoda" of Chengting was so named for its complicated shape: to four sides of the octagonal plan are attached hexagonal chambers. The brick structure is finished in stucco; its upper part is profusely embellished with stupas, elephants and lions in high relief. 正定花塔（华塔）因其繁复的形状而得名：在其八角形主塔的四面又有四个六角形小塔依附其上。砖结构的表面装饰以灰泥。塔的顶部有高浮雕的窣堵坡、大象和狮子等装饰。

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[1] 本文原载《亚洲杂志》（*Asia Magazine*）1941年8月号——单军、高亦兰注。

[2] 孝明帝为北魏时期的帝王，在梁思成其他文稿中亦为“北魏”（见《梁思成文集》（三）P. 51），故原文称Eastern Wei Dynasty（东魏），应为英文稿笔误——单军、高亦兰注。

[3] 此塔建于隋炀帝大业七年，即公元611年； 年代更早的题刻可能是后来搬入塔内的——单军、高亦兰注。

[4] 玄奘西行印度朝觐，按史书记载共历时l7年，即贞观二年至贞观十九年（公元629—645年），所以原文称其为19年（nineteen-year pilgrimage），在时间上有误——单军、高亦兰注。

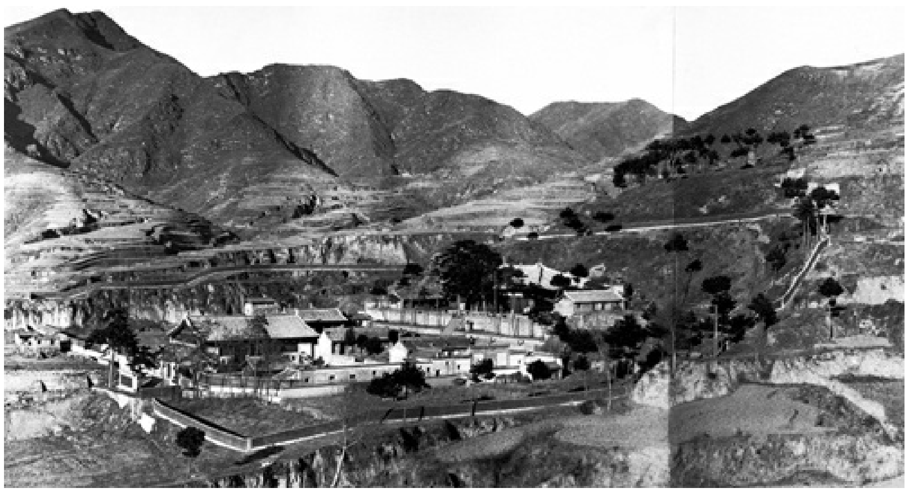
[5] 应县木塔一般文献多称其建于辽清宁二年，年代上即宋仁宗嘉祐元年，梁思成在其所著的《中国建筑史》中也如是说，见《梁思成文集》（三） P. 135——单军、高亦兰注。

[6] 应县木塔实际为五个明层和四个平坐暗层——单军、高亦兰注。

[7] 五塔式形制源于印度，如佛陀伽耶的大菩提塔（Mahabodhi Stupa），在中国称为金刚宝座塔。正定花塔因为有四个小的扁平六角形佛塔依附主塔上，所以与五塔式类似——单军、高亦兰注。

China's Oldest Wooden Structure
中国最古老的木构建筑[1]

〖1941〗



Panorama of Fo-kuang Ssu, Wu-t'ai Shan, Shansi 山西五台山佛光寺全景

Wu-t'ai Shan, the sacred mountain of the Bodhisattva Manjusri, whom the Chinese call Wen-shu P'u-sa, has been holy to Chinese Buddhists since even before the T'ang Dynasty. For over a thousand years its wealthy temples have been constantly being rebuilt and kept in shining gilt and glaring paints for the pilgrims. But around the outskirts of the Mountain, where the fashionable did not care to go, and the poverty-stricken monks could not afford to undertake large building measures, here, if anywhere, ancient buildings might remain for centuries intact.

The Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture, of which I am a member, has for the past nine years been combing the country for ancient monuments. Our ultimate aim is the compilation of a history on Chinese architecture, a subject which has been virtually untouched by scholars in the past. Since little or no material existed in books, we have to hunt out the

actual specimens. This search has, to date, taken us to fifteen provinces, where we have studied more than two thousand monuments. But from l932 the earliest structure we had found of wood , that highly perishable material, dated from the early Sung Dynasty, 984 AD. In June of 1937, our search for a wooden building of the still earlier T'ang Dynasty led us to the Wu-t'ai Shan, where it was at last rewarded.

I set off from Peiping with my architect-wife, Lin Hui-yin, and a small group of field workers, for Tai-yuan and thence, by automobile, eighty miles to Tung-yeh. At Tung-yeh we changed to mule-litters to enter the Wu-t'ai Shan by the uncustomary route, along which, unknown to us, lay the temple we sought. Outside the South T'ai, about three miles beyond the town of Tou-ts'un, we entered the gateway of Fo-kuang Ssu, the Temple of Buddha's Light.

The temple stands on a high terrace on the mountain-side, facing a large courtyard in front, framed by twenty or thirty very old pines. It is a majestic building. Only one story in height, it has large, strong, simple brackets and a far overhanging eave which, at a casual glance, at once tell its very old date. But could it be older than the oldest wooden structure we had yet found?

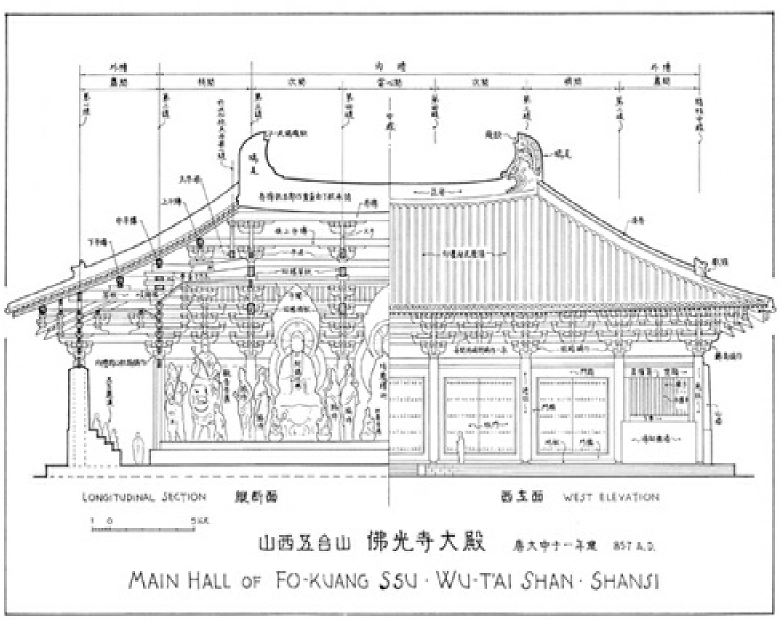
山西省五台山，是中国称为文殊菩萨的文殊师利菩提萨埵的神山，该处对中国佛教徒而言，在唐代甚至以前就已经成为圣地了。千余年来，其中大量寺庙曾不断重修，并为朝拜者保持着灿烂的外观和耀眼的彩画。但是在山岭的周边外围则讲时髦的人不爱去，贫穷的僧人也无力

从事大规模的修建工程。如果有什么地方的古代建筑经过若干世纪仍然保持原状，可能就在这里。

我作为成员之一的研究中国建筑的营造学社，在过去九年里，已经在全国到处搜寻古代建筑遗迹。我们的最终目标是编纂一部中国建筑历史，它是过去学者们从没有真正接触过的一个课题。由于在文献中极少或者缺乏材料，我们不得不寻找实例。迄今为止，这项调查已经使我们走遍了十五个省，研究了两千多处建筑遗迹。不过自1932年以后，我们发现年代最早的极易腐朽的木构建筑是宋代早期的（公元984年）。1937年6月，为了寻找年代更早的唐代木构建筑，我们去了五台山，在那里最终得偿所愿。

我和我的妻子林徽因建筑师以及几位工作人员，从北平去了太原，再坐汽车到80英里外的东治。从东治我们改乘骡车走很少有人走的土路进五台山，当时并不知道沿路就有我们要寻找的庙宇。在南台外围，大约过豆村三英里，我们走进了佛光寺大门。

这座庙宇位于山坡的一处高台上，面对一座大院，周围有二三十棵古松环绕。它是一个雄伟的建筑物，仅一层高的大殿，有着巨大、宏伟、简洁的斗拱和深远的出檐，一眼望去，立即表明了它远古的年代。但是，它能比我们以前发现的最古老的木结构更古老吗？



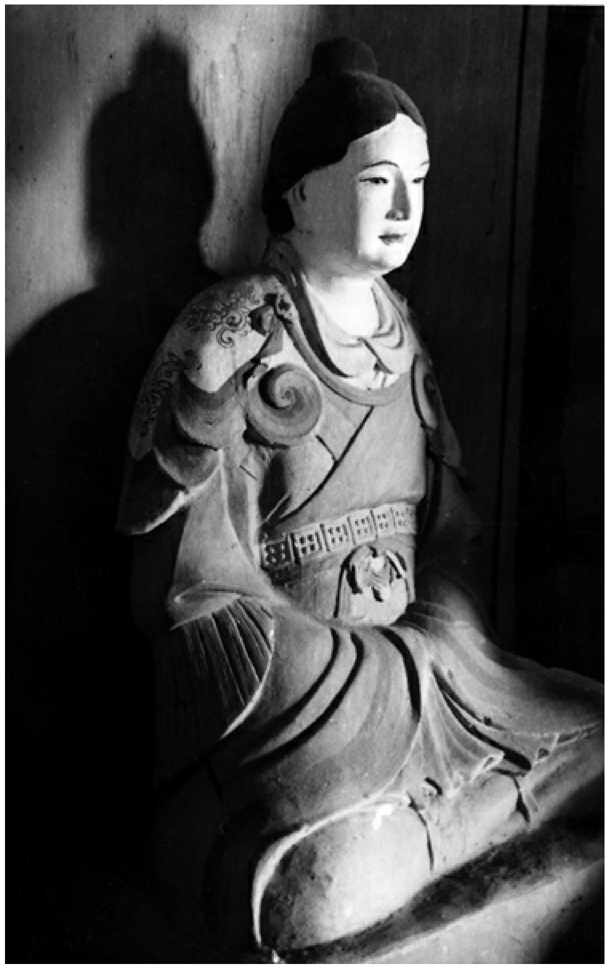
佛光真容禪寺

The Main Hall of Fo-kuang Ssu—a T'ang temple, built in 857 AD—near Wu-t'ai Shan, is the oldest wooden structure now known in China. Associated with it are examples of T'ang sculpture, painting and calligraphy, a unique combination. 佛光寺大殿——唐代庙宇，建于公元857年，位于五台山附近，是现知中国最古老的木构建筑。同一大殿中尚有唐代的雕塑、绘画及书法，汇成无双的组合。

The huge doors were at once thrown open for us. The interior, seven bays in width, was more than impressive in the twilight. On a large platform, seated statues of Buddha, a P'u-hsien and a Wen-shu and numerous attending Arhats, Bodhisattvas and Lokapalas rose before us like an enchanted deified forest. At the extreme left end of the platform was a seated figure of a woman in secular dress, a life-size statue, but very small and humble amidst the group of deities (Figure 1). She was, the monks told us, the wicked Empress Wu. The entire group, though glaring with fresh color from a recent renovation, was without doubt of the late T'ang period. But, if these were the original T'ang clay figures unharmed, the building that covered them could not but be the original T'ang structure. Obviously any rebuilding would have damaged everything under it.

巨大的殿门立即被我们用力地推开了。面宽七开间的室内，在昏暗之中非常动人。在太平坛上，坐着佛陀像，两边是普贤和文殊以及众多随侍的罗汉、胁侍菩萨及金刚神王等，像迷人的众神之林出现在我们面前。在坛上最左边是一个真人尺度的、穿着世俗服装的妇女坐像，在诸

神之间显得十分渺小和谦恭（图1）。僧人告诉我们，她是邪恶的“武后”。整个塑像群虽然经过近来的重修显得色彩光鲜，但毫无疑问是晚唐时期的作品。但是，如果这些是未经破坏的原来唐代泥塑，那么覆盖它们的建筑物也只可能是原来唐代的结构。显而易见，任何房屋重建都会破坏下面的所有东西。



【1】At the very end of the platform bearing the great clay figures of deities is the life-size figure of a woman, obscure, in secular dress. Named "Empress Wu" by the monks, she proved instead to be Lady Ning Kung-yü, donor of the temple. 承载着巨型塑像的坛台的最边上，是一座真人大小的妇女像，她姿态谦恭，身着世俗服装。僧人称之为“武后”，她实际却是佛殿的捐献者宁公遇夫人。

In Fo-kuang Ssu is a magnificent group of T'ang Dynasty clay figures, perhaps the only remaining group in China proper, aside from those found at Tun-huang. In spite of the recent "renovation," the figures reveal unmistakable late T'ang characteristics. 佛光寺中精妙的泥塑群像。除敦煌雕塑以外，此处或许是中国境内迄今所存唯一唐代泥塑群像。虽经新近“翻修”，塑像特点无疑为晚唐风格。

Next day we started a careful investigation. The brackets, the beams, the checkered ceiling, the carved stone bases of the columns were all anxiously examined. One and all yielded to us their unmistakable late T'ang characteristics. But my greatest surprise came when we climbed into the dark

space above the ceiling; there I found roof trusses (Figure 2) built in a way I knew only from T'ang paintings. The use of two "main-rafters" (to borrow the terms of a modern truss) without the "king-post," just the reverse of later methods of Chinese construction, was overwhelmingly unexpected.

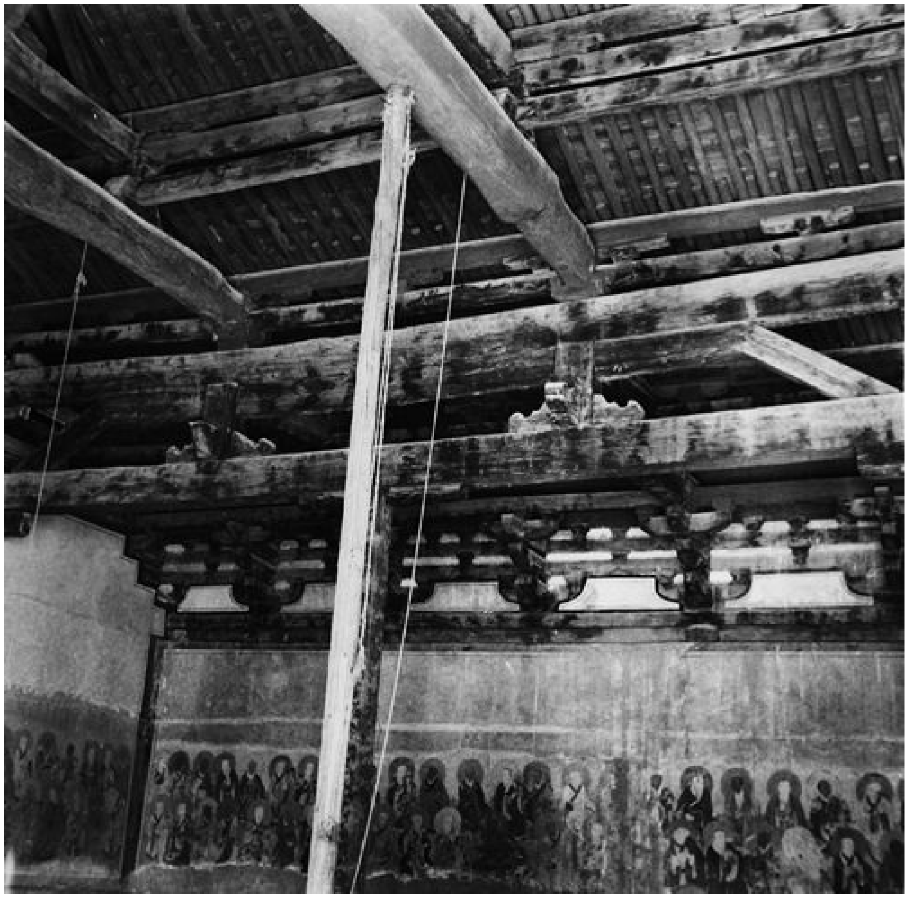
This "attic" was inhabited by thousands of bats which clustered around the ridge-purlin like a thick spread of caviar, thus preventing me from finding a possible date written thereon. In addition, the timbers were infested with millions of bed-bugs that live on the bats. The upper side of ceiling, on which we stood, was covered with a thick layer of fine dust, deposited there perhaps during the last few centuries and strewn with little corpses of dead bats here and there. In complete darkness and amid the vile odor, hardly breathing with a thick mask over our noses and mouths, we measured, drew and photographed with flashlights for several hours. When at last we came out from under the eaves to take a breath of fresh air, we found hundreds of bed-bugs in our knapsack. We ourselves had been badly bitten. Yet the importance and unexpectedness of our find made those the happiest hours of my years of hunting for ancient architecture.

次日，我们开始细心的调研。对于斗拱、梁枋、棋盘式天花板、石刻的柱础，我们全部急切地加以考察，每项都告诉我们其明确的晚唐时代特征。而当我们爬到天花板上的黑暗空间时，则令我大感惊奇；我发现屋顶桁架的构造方式（图2）以前只是在唐代绘画中见过。它使用两根“主椽”（借用现代桁架用语）而没有“中腹杆”，这与中国较后的结构正好相反，令人感到莫大的意外。

这个“阁楼”里住着成千上万只蝙蝠，它们群集在脊檩周围，像是涂了一层厚厚的鱼子酱，因而我难以发现可能写在梁上的年代。另外，木料上布满了靠蝙蝠为生的千百万只臭虫。我们所站的天花板上面，是一层厚厚的尘土，大概是过去若干世纪所沉积的，并且到处散布着蝙蝠的尸体。在完全黑暗和恶臭之中，在戴着遮住口鼻的厚口罩而令人难以呼吸的情况下，我们一连测量、绘图和用闪光灯拍照了数个小时。当我们最后从屋檐下出来，呼吸到新鲜空气的时候，发现背包里竟有数百只臭虫。我们自己也已经被咬得伤痕累累了。然而，我们这次发现的重要和意外收获，却成了我搜寻古代建筑时期中最愉快的时光。

【2】The truss without the king post was used in T'ang architecture—this is the only known specimen. The underside of the ridge-purlin was covered with the innumerable bats that inhabited the attic and made its study difficult.
应用在唐代建筑的没有中腹杆的桁架——这是唯一已知的实例。脊檩下面布满无数蝙蝠，它们栖息在阁楼里，造成研究上的困难。

Frescoes must originally have decorated the walls of the Hall. But the only frescoes parts preserved today are the "frieze," the plastered portions above the lintel and between the brackets. Different sections of the frieze have paintings of very different standards of draftsmanship and evidently of different dates. There is a section, painted with Buddhas in medallions, which bears the date corresponding to 1122 AD. Alongside it is a section painted with Buddha and attending Bodhisattvas, definitely older in date and superior in artistic merit. The analogy of this section of mural painting to those of the Tun-huang caves is most striking. It can be of no other date than the T'ang Dynasty. Though merely a "strip" of wall occupying a position of minor importance, it is the only T'ang mural painting I know of in China proper besides those of the Tun-huang caves.



大殿的墙壁一定曾经饰以壁画。但仅存至今的壁画部分只有“檐壁”，即梁上面和斗拱之间的抹灰部位。檐壁的不同部分具有极为不同的绘画标准，并且显然是不同时期的。有一处绘有团花中的佛陀像，标明的日期相当于公元1122年。旁边一处画有佛陀和胁侍的菩萨像，肯定时期要更早并且艺术价值更高。将这部分壁画与敦煌石窟的壁画加以对比，结果极为明显。它不可能不是唐代的。虽然只是墙上一条，又非重要位置，而据我所知，却是中国在敦煌石窟以外唯一的真正唐代壁画。

On the third day of our work in the Main Hall, my wife noticed on the bottom of one of the beams very faint indications of calligraphy in Chinese ink. The effect of the discovery on our party was electrifying. There is nothing we like better than the dates of a building actually written on its beams or carved in stone beside it. Here was this glorious T'ang structure, the first we had found—but how was I to report its date? The T'ang Dynasty had lasted from 618 AD to 906 AD. Now the timbers that bore the faint traces of calligraphy would soon give me the much desired answer. While the rest of us were busy with the problem of arranging for a scaffolding to be erected between the valuable statues for the purpose of cleaning the beams and

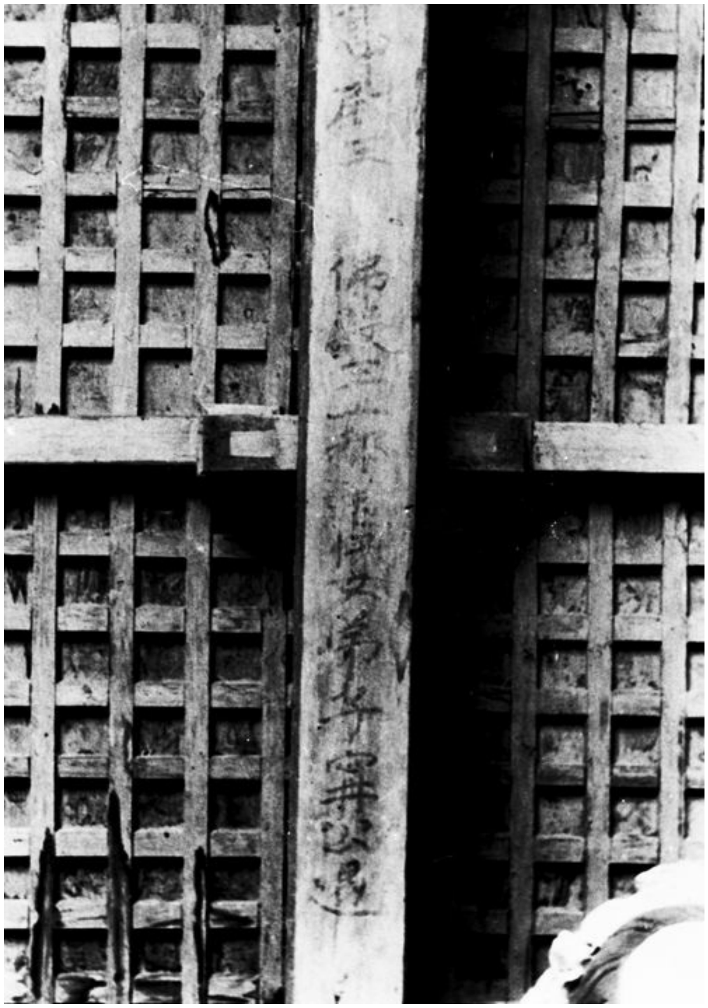
studying the inscription close at hand, my wife went directly to work. Straining her head back, she tried her eager eyes on the beams from various angles below. After some time of such strenuous efforts she was able to read a number of dubious names with long, official titles of the T'ang Dynasty. Of these the most important was on the beam to the extreme right, only partly readable then: "Donor of the Hall of Buddha, Sung-kung of Shang-tu, Woman Disciple of Buddha, Ning Kung-yü."

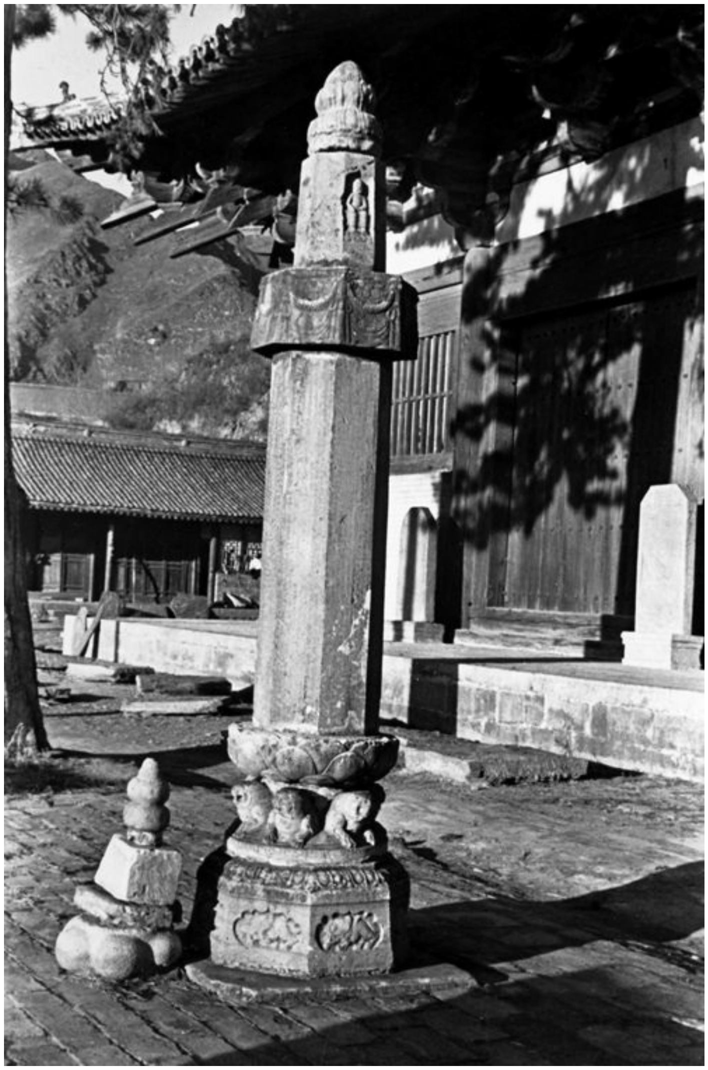
我们在大殿工作的第三天，我的妻子觉察到在一根梁底上有非常模糊的毛笔字迹象。这个发现使我们大家极为兴奋，没有比将建筑的年代实际写在其梁下或刻在旁边的石头上更令我们高兴的。这里是我们第一次发现的极好的唐代建筑，但是我将如何报告其年代呢？唐朝从公元618年延续到906年。现在这块带有模糊字迹的木材，不久将给我极为渴望的答案。当我们为了清洗木梁和研究近在手边的题词正忙于在有价值的塑像之间搭脚手架时，我的妻子直接投入了这一工作。她仰起头，努力从梁下不同的角度，用热切的目光观察。经过一段时间的这种紧张的努力以后，她已经能够读出许多带有冗长唐代官衔的、不清楚的人名。其中最重要的是在大梁最右边的、部分清晰的文字，即“佛殿主上都送供女弟子宁公遇”。

Donated by a woman! That this young architect, a woman, should be the first to discover the donor of China's rarest old temple to have been a woman, seemed too unlikely a coincidence. She feared she might have misread some of the less decipherable characters by too lively an imagination. But she remembered having seen similar names with official titles on the stone dhanari column (Figure 3) which stood on the terrace outside. She left the Hall in the hope of verifying her reading from the column inscription. There, to her great delight, she found, apart from the long list of imposing officials' names, the same phrase clear and distinct: "Donor of the Hall of Buddha, Woman Disciple Ning Kung-yü." The column bore the date "The 11th year of Ta-chung, T'ang Dynasty," which corresponds to 857 AD.

佛殿是由一位妇女捐献的！而我们这个年轻建筑师，一位妇女，却是第一个发现这座中国最难得古庙的捐献者也曾是一位妇女，这似乎未必是巧合吧。她怕自己由于想象力太活跃而误读了些难辨认的字，但她记起在外面平台上的石经幢（图3）上面好像见过有类似官衔的一些名字。她离开大殿，希望从石柱的刻字上去核实自己的解读。这回，她大为高兴，因为发现除去一连串显赫官员的名单外，同样的词句赫然在目，即“佛殿主女弟子宁公遇”。这颗石经幢带有纪年为“唐大中十一

年”，相当于公元857年。





【3】A "dhanari" column in front of the Main Hall confirmed the inscription on a beam naming Lady Ning Kung-yü as donor. The inscription on the column, erected contemporaneously with the Hall or soon afterward, established a date. 大殿前面的“经幢”柱上确认了写在一根梁上的捐献者宁公遇夫人的名字。柱子是与大殿同时或稍后建立的（上面文字中有年代记载）。根据这个可以证实大殿的年代。

Then it dawned upon us that the small figure of a woman in secular dress, sitting humbly at the end of the platform, whom the monks called "Empress Wu," was none other than the donor Lady Ning Kung-yü herself.

Assuming that the dhanari column was erected soon after the completion of the Hall, the date of the building can be closely ascertained. It is earlier by 127 years than the oldest wooden structure previously found. It is the only

wooden building of T'ang date we have yet encountered in these years of search. Moreover, in that one Hall, we have T'ang painting, T'ang calligraphy, T'ang sculpture and T'ang architecture. Individually they are extremely rare but, collectively, unique.

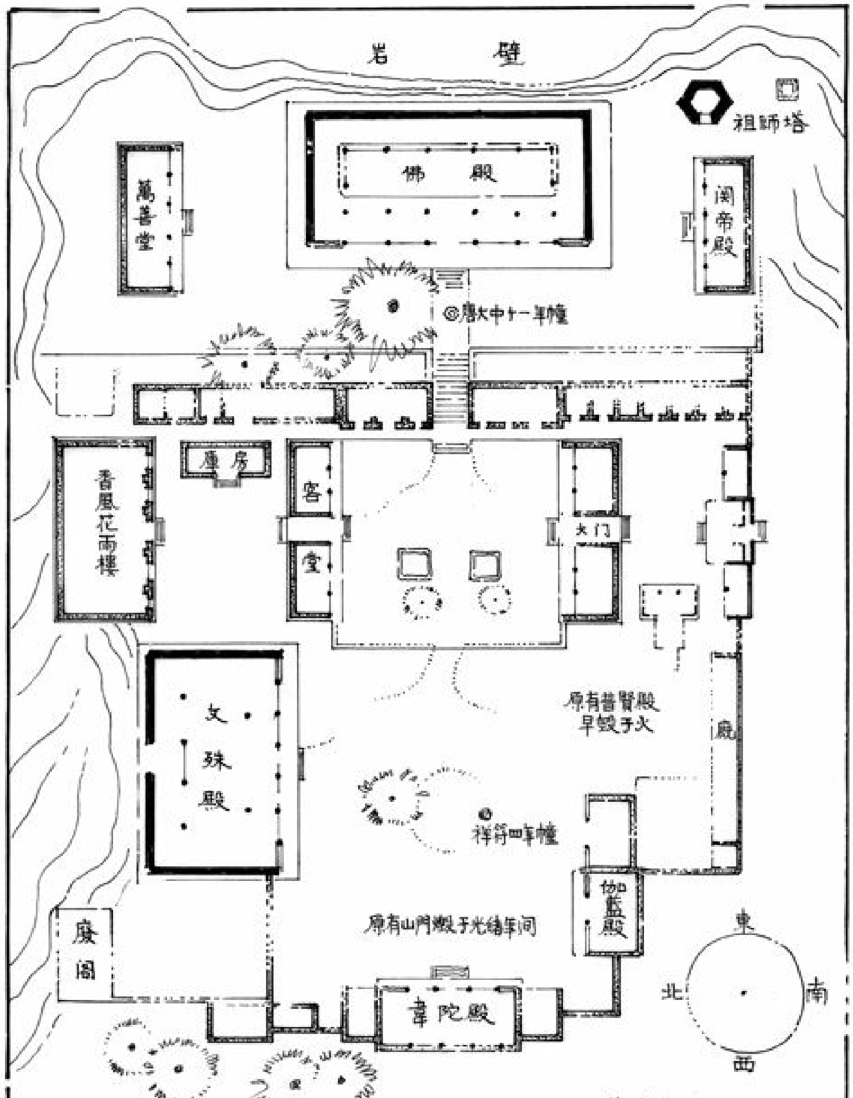
Our investigations were cut short by the news, already a week old, that the war had begun. We left our T'ang temple for the devious journey back to Peiping and thence, with the other educational institutions, to the Southwest. In the ensuing years Shansi has been an important battleground, and the site of the temple, Tou-ts'un, from its previous obscurity has appeared again and again in the papers, sometimes as the base used by the Japanese for an offensive into the Wu-t'ai Shan, sometimes as the objective of Chinese counter-attacks. Whether there will be anything left of the T'ang building after the war is highly questionable. Already my photographs and drawings may be—I hope not—the only records of it now left.

于是它使我们理解到：那位身着世俗服装、在坛末谦恭地坐着的妇女塑像，僧侣们称之为“武后”的，原来就是宁公遇夫人本人。

假定石经幢是大殿完成后不久所立，建筑物的年代也就可以大致肯定。它比过去发现的最古老的木构建筑还早127年。它是我们在这些年的寻访中所遇到的唯一唐代木结构。而且在一座殿堂中，我们拥有唐代绘画、唐代书法、唐代雕塑和唐代建筑。从每项来说，它们已属难得，何况集中一起，则更是罕见。

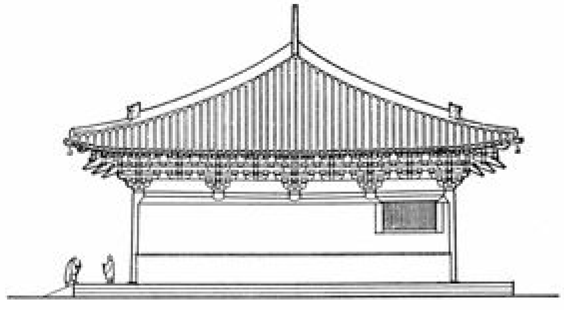
“战争已经开始”这个迟到一周的消息，立即打断了我们的调查。我们离开了我们的唐代庙宇，迂回地回到北平，以后又随其他教育机构到了西南。在以后的几年中，山西已成为重要的战场，而唐宇所在的豆村，则从原先的默默无闻转而一次又一次地出现在报纸上，有时成为日本人进攻五台山的基地，有时成为中国人反攻的目标。战后该唐代建筑还能剩下什么是很成问题的。我不希望我的照片与图纸竟为它唯一现存的记录。

（英若聪 译 程慕胜 校）

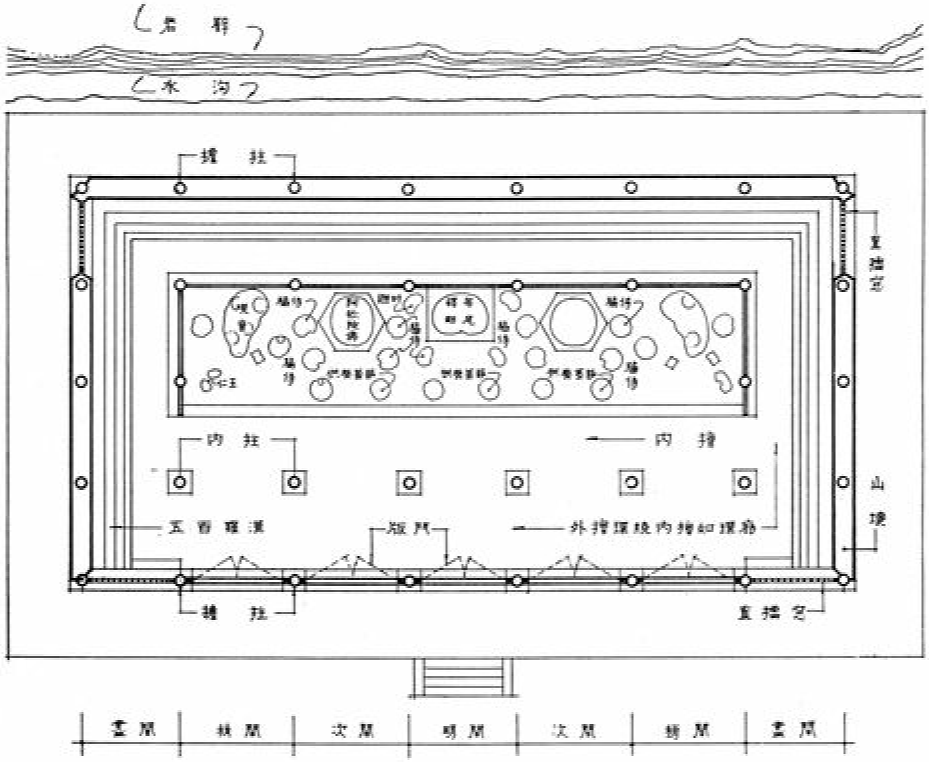


山西五台山佛光寺平面略圖

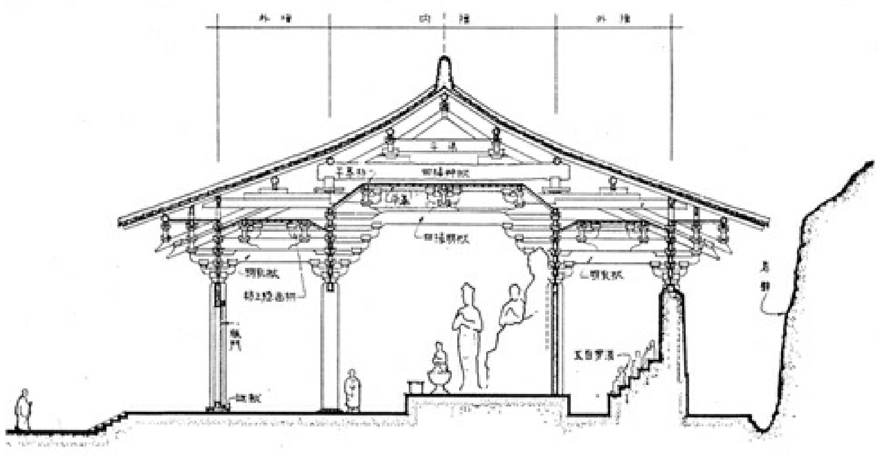
第一圖



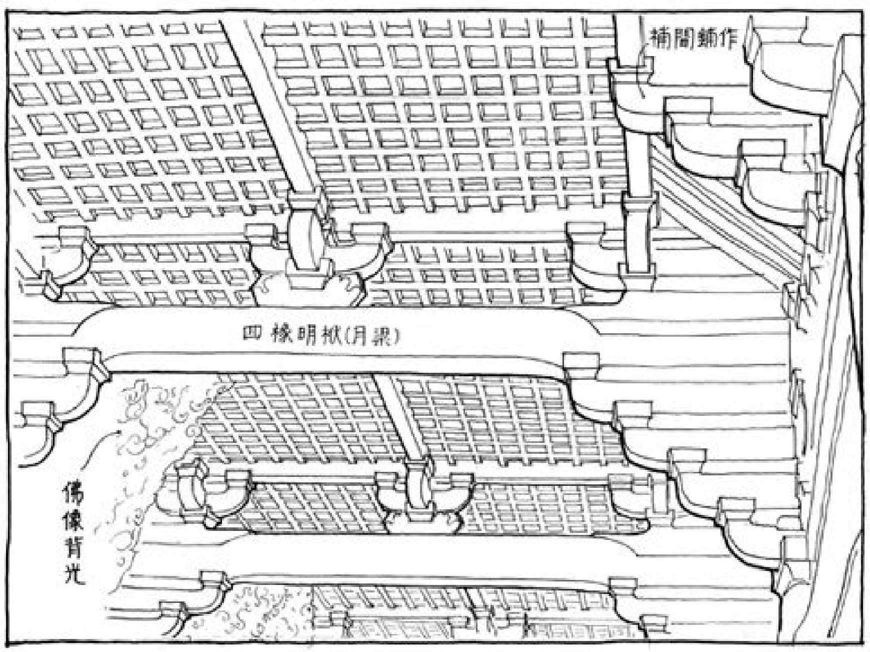
山西五台山佛光寺大殿



山西五台山佛光寺大殿 ·平面圖樣·

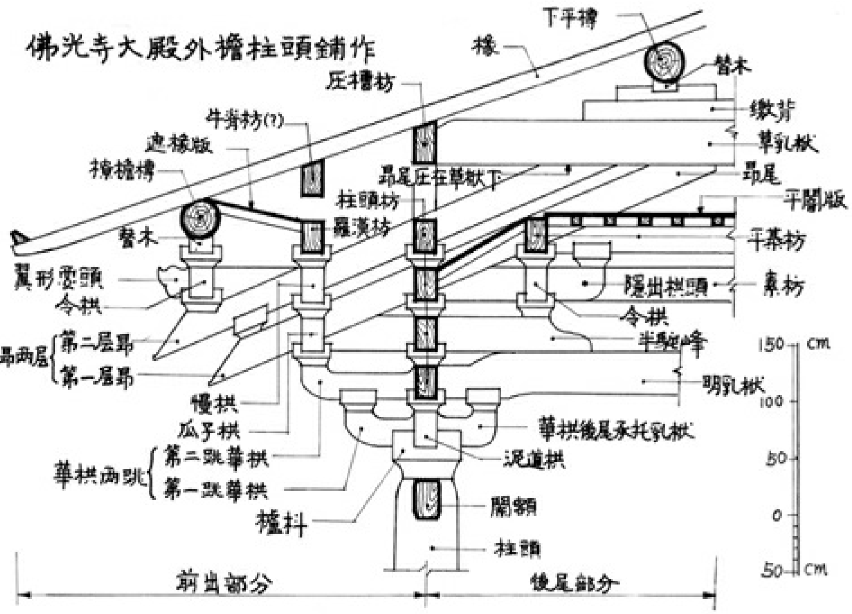


山西五台山佛光寺大殿 當心間横斷面

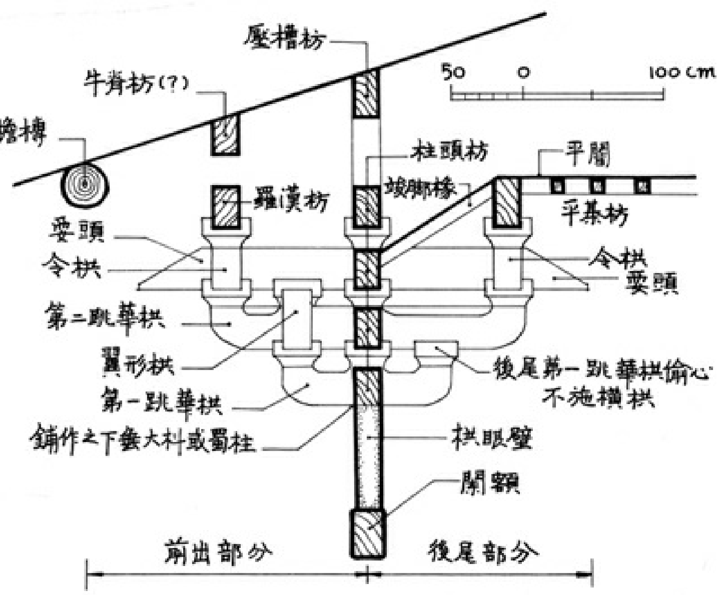


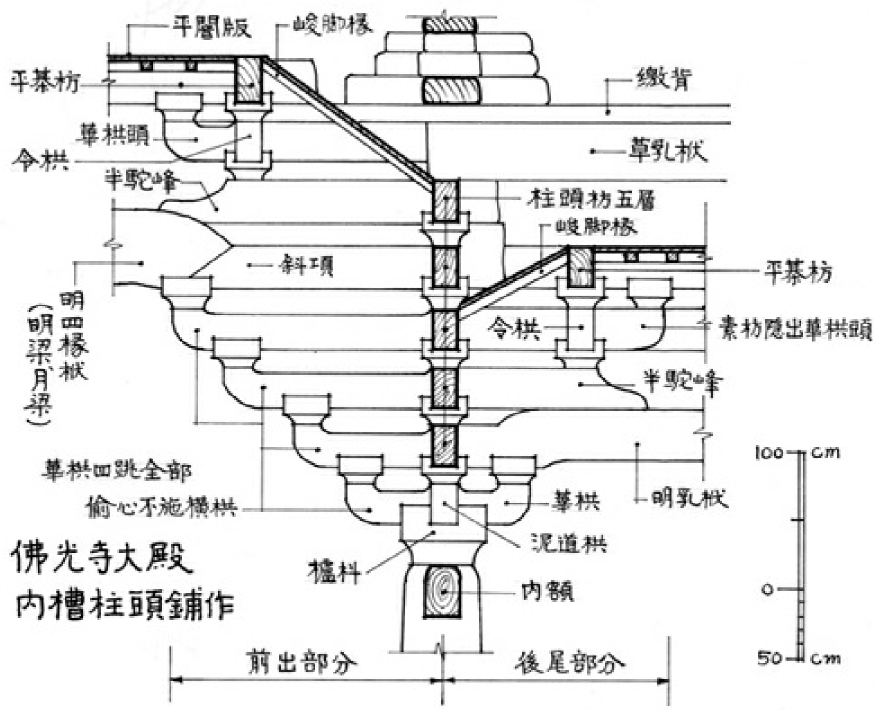
唐山西五台佛光寺大殿

佛光寺大殿外檐柱頭鋪作

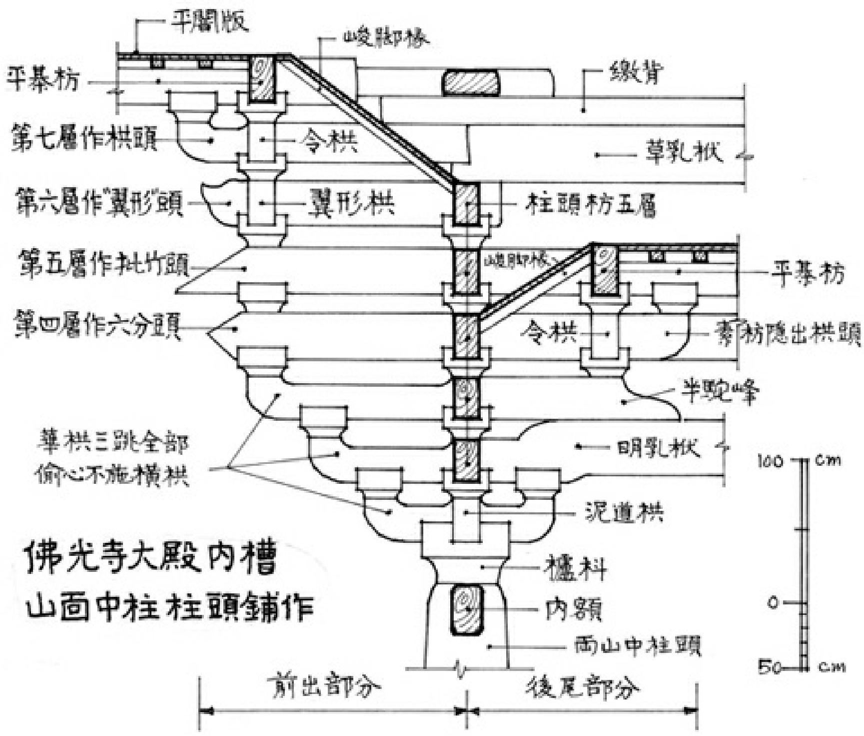


佛光寺大殿外檐補間鋪作

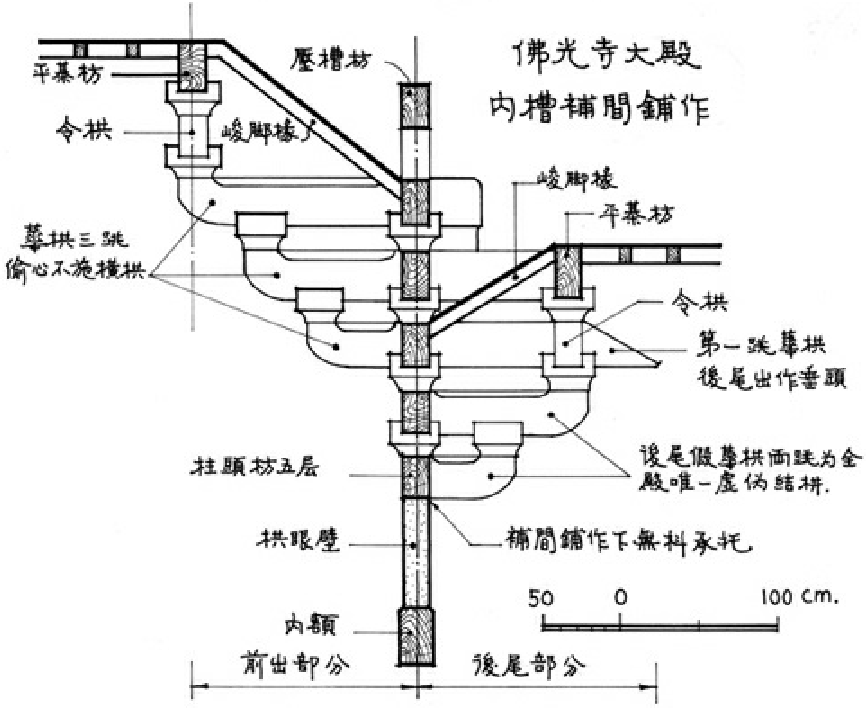


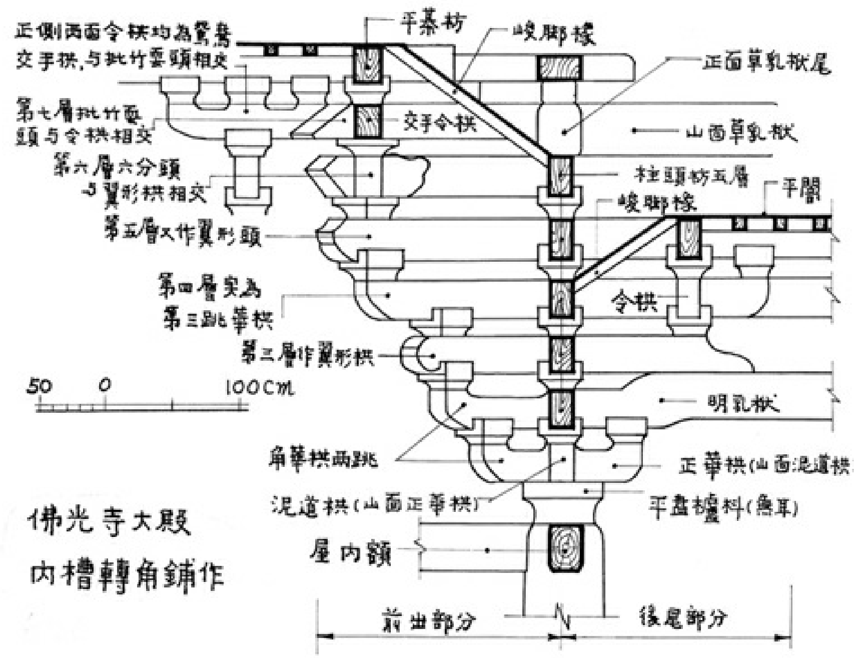


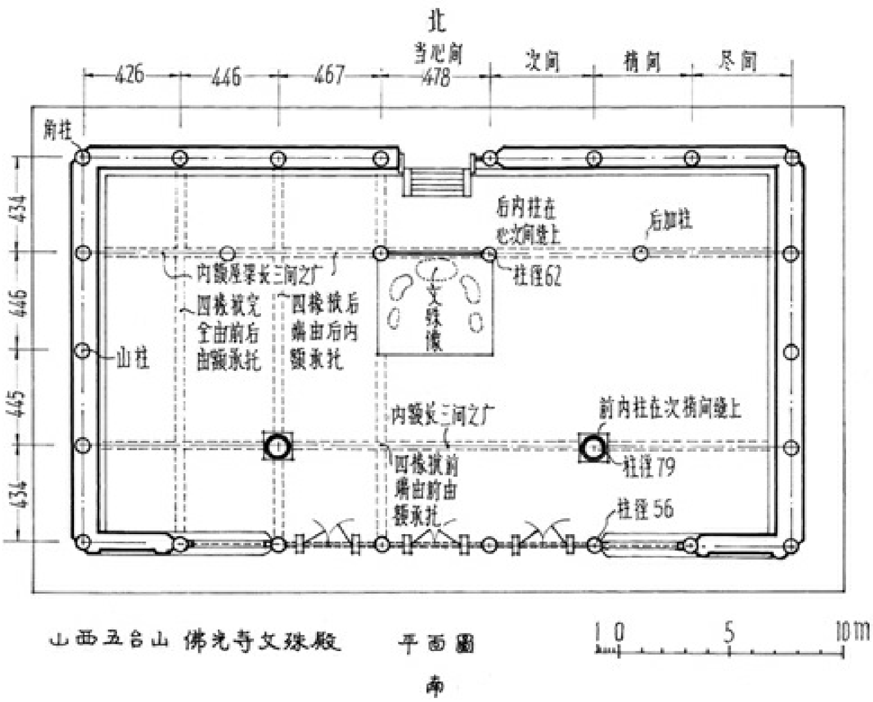
佛光寺大殿
內槽柱頭鋪作

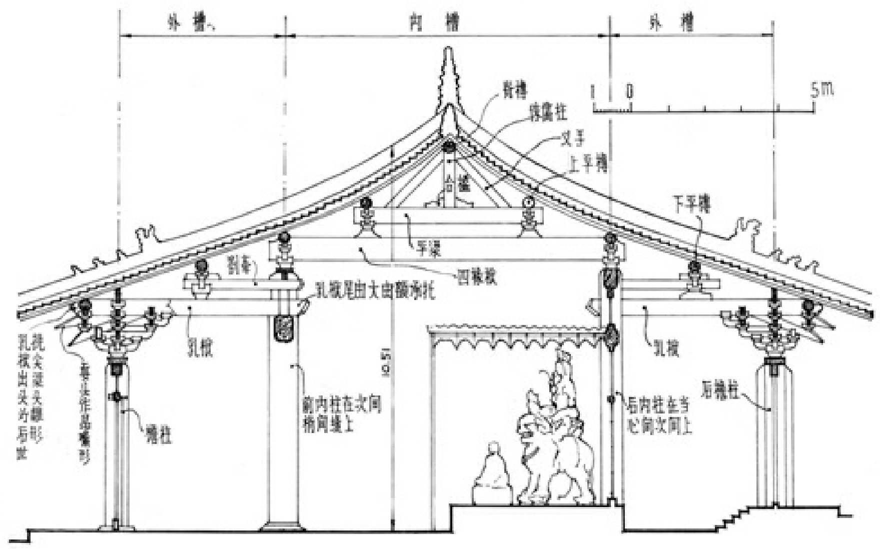


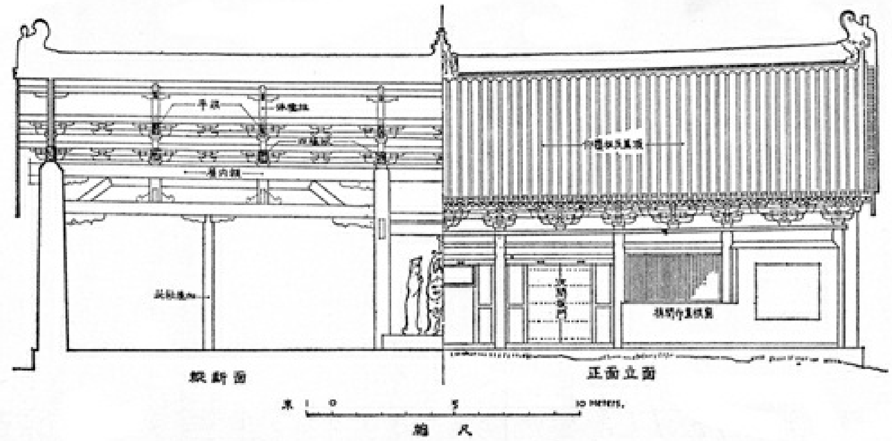
佛光寺大殿內槽
山面中柱柱頭鋪作

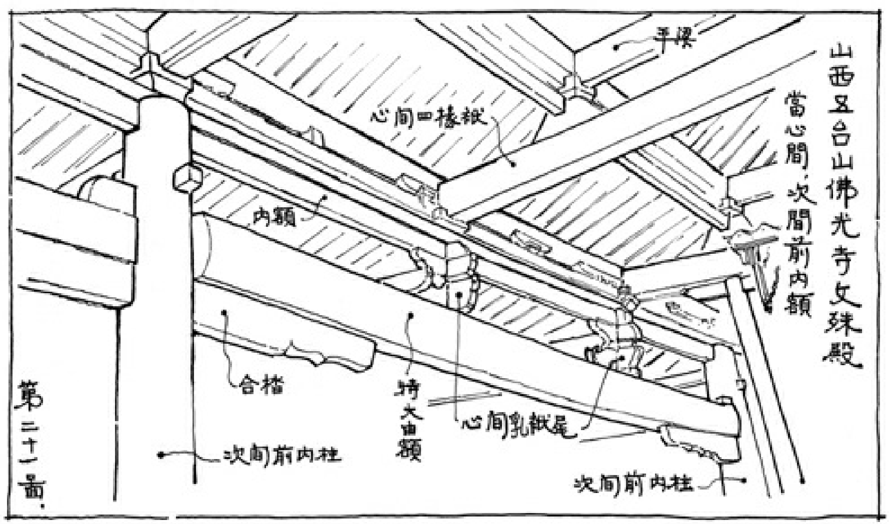

佛光寺大殿
內槽補間鋪作
平棊枋
壓槽枋
令栱
峻腳椽
華栱三跳
偷心不施橫栱
峻腳椽
平棊枋
令栱
第一跳華栱
後尾出作垂頭
柱頭枋五层
後尾假華栱兩跳为全
殿唯一虚伪結栱.
栱眼壁
補間鋪作下無枓承托
50 0 100 cm.
內額
前出部分
後尾部分


正側两面令栱均為鴛鴦
交手栱,与批竹耍頭相交
平棊枋
峻腳椽
正面草乳栿尾
第七層批竹耍
頭与令栱相交
交手令栱
山面草乳栿
第六層六分頭
与翼形栱相交
柱頭枋五層
峻腳椽
平闇
第五層又作翼形頭
第四層实為
第三跳華栱
令栱
第二層作翼形栱
50 0 100CM
明乳栿
角華栱兩跳
正華栱(山面泥道栱)
泥道栱(山面正華栱)
平盘櫨枓(無耳)
屋內額
佛光寺大殿
內槽轉角鋪作
前出部分
後尾部分


北
当心间
426
446
467
478
次间
梢间
尽间
角柱
434
446
445
434
后内柱在
心次间缝上
后加柱
内额压梁长三间之广
四椽栿完
全由前后
由额承托
四椽栿后
端由后内
额承托
柱径62
文
殊
像
山柱
内额长三间之广
前内柱在次梢间缝上
四椽栿前
端由前由
额承托
柱径79
柱径56
山西五台山 佛光寺文殊殿 平面图
1 0 5 10m
南


外槽
内槽
外槽
1 0 5m
脊槫
侏儒柱
叉手
上平槫
合楷
下平槫
平梁
四椽栿
割牵
乳栿尾由大由额承托
乳栿
乳栿
檐柱
前内柱在次间
梢间缝上
后内柱在当
心间次间上
后檐柱

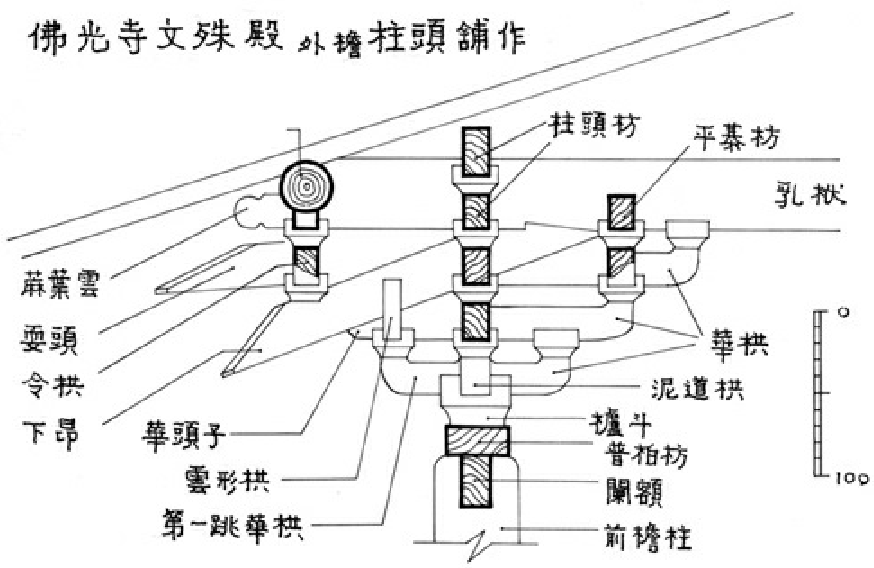




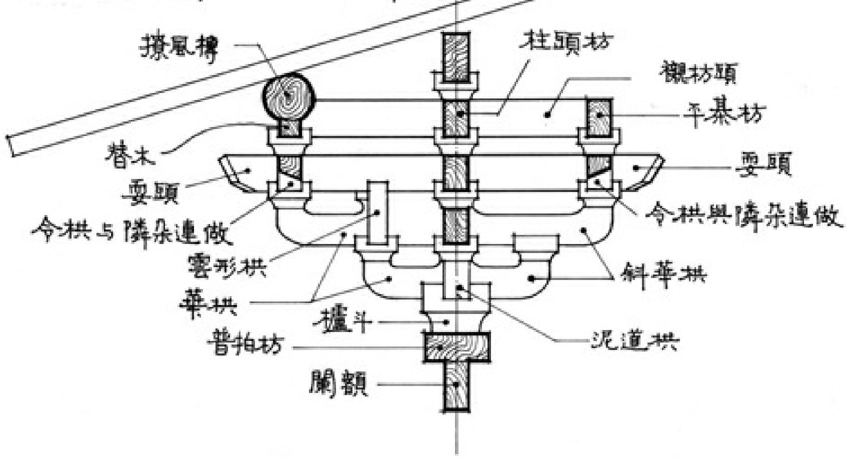
山西五台山佛光寺文殊殿 當心間,次間前内額

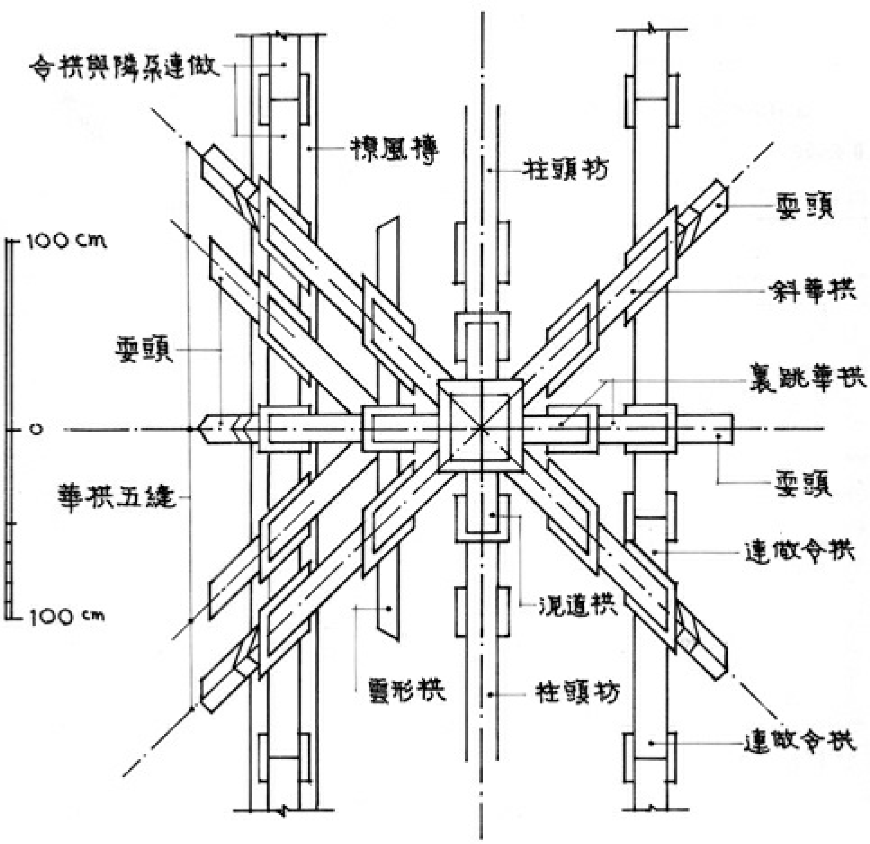
第二十一圖

佛光寺文殊殿 外檐柱頭舖作

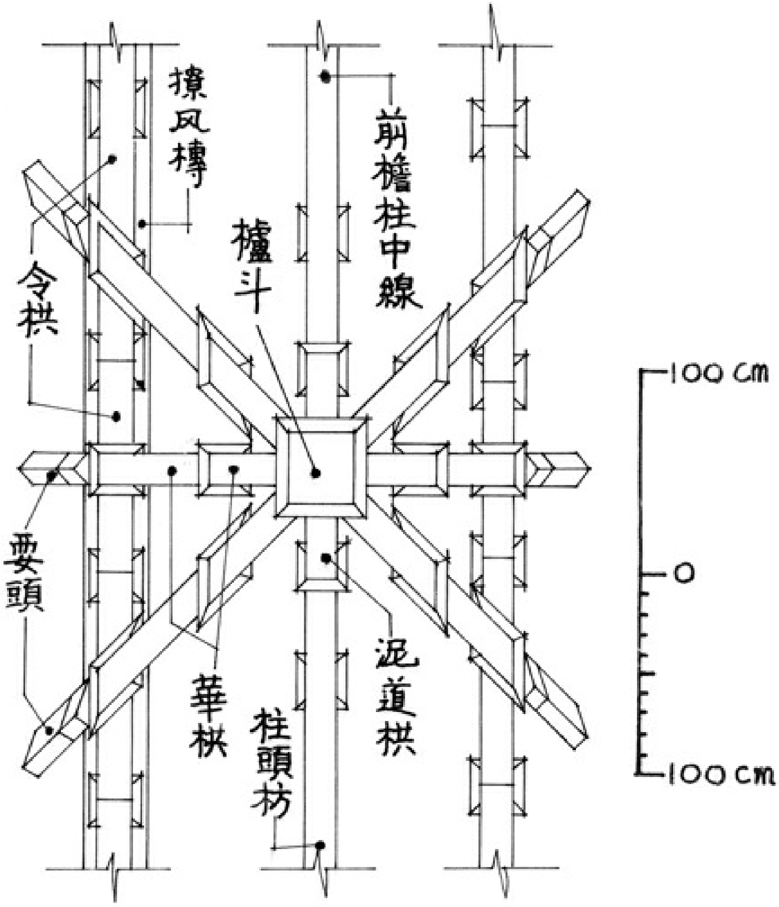


佛光寺文殊殿心間&次間
補間鋪作

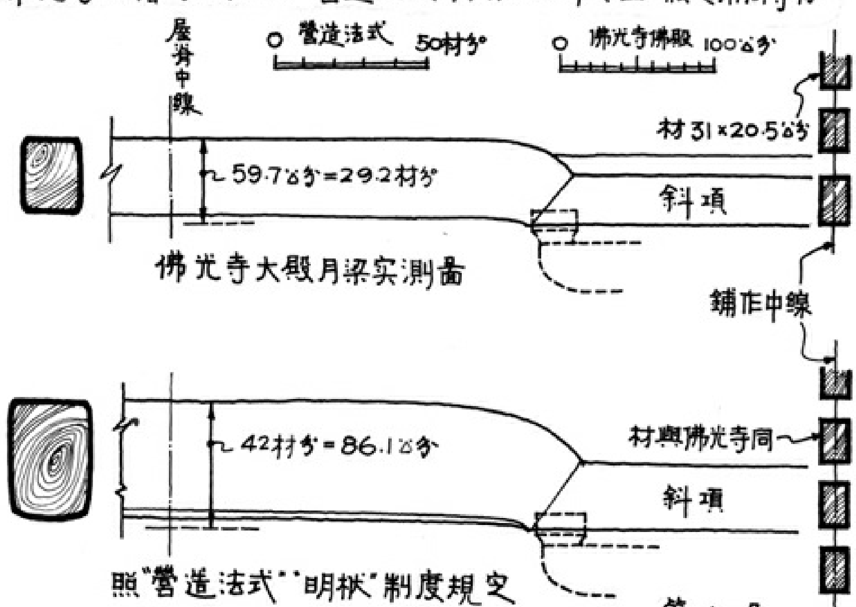




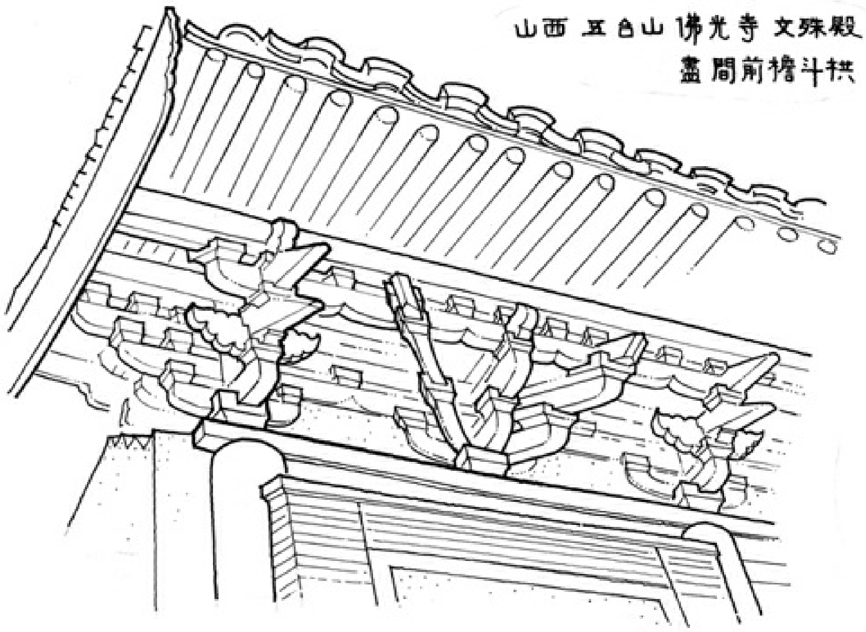
佛光寺文殊殿前檐梢間及盡間補間鋪作

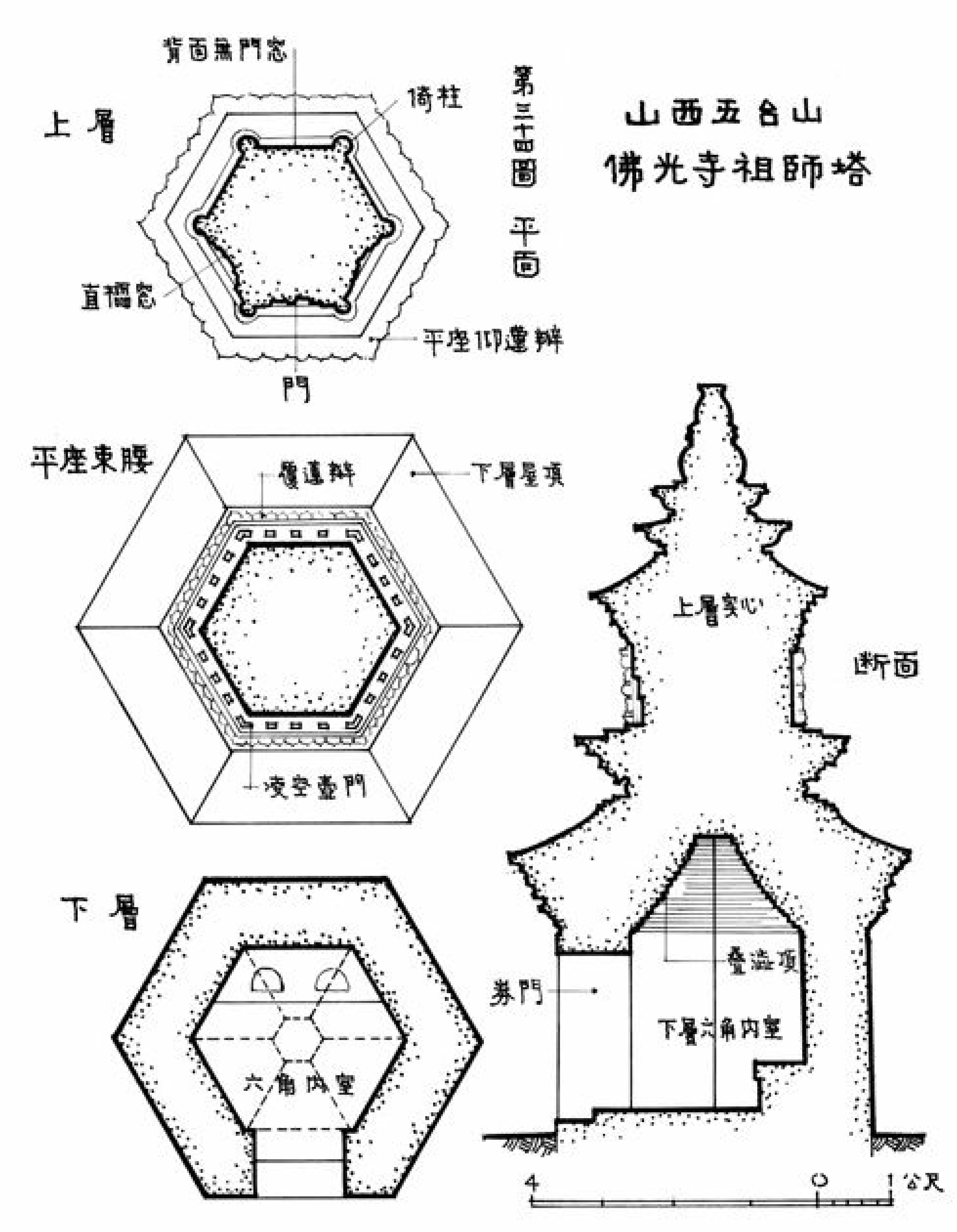


佛光寺內檐月梁與"營造法式"月梁比較畫 假定用同等材



第七畫


山西 五台山 佛光寺 文殊殿
盡間前檐斗拱



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[1] 本文原载《亚洲杂志》（*Asia Magazine*）1941年7月号——英若聪、程慕胜注。

Art and Architecture China: Arts, Language, and Mass Media

中国的艺术与建筑[1]

〖1947〗

I. Architecture

Although the ancient Chinese never considered architecture a fine art, in China as in the West it has been the mother of the fine arts. It was through the medium of architectural decoration that painting and sculpture matured and gained recognition as independent arts.

〔A〕Technique and Forms

The architecture of China is an indigenous system of construction which was conceived in the dawn of Chinese civilization and has been developing ever since. Its characteristic form is a timber skeleton or framework standing on a masonry platform and covered by a pitched roof with overhanging eaves. The spaces between the posts and lintels of the framework may be filled in with curtain walls whose sole function is to separate one portion of the building from another, or the interior from the exterior. The walls of the Chinese building, unlike those of the conventional European building, are free from the weight of the upper floors and the roof, and may be installed or omitted as required. By adjusting the proportion of the open and walled-in spaces, the architect may admit or exclude just the amount of light and air appropriate to any purpose and to any climate. This high degree of adaptability has enabled Chinese architecture to follow Chinese civilization wherever it has spread.

As the Chinese system of construction evolved and matured, rules like the orders of classical European architecture were developed to govern the proportion of the different members of the building. In buildings of a monumental character the order is enriched by tou-kung, sets of brackets on top of the columns supporting the beams within and roof eaves without. Each set consists of tiers of outstretching arms called kung, cushioned with trapezoidal blocks called tou. The tou-kung are functional members of the structure, carrying the beams and permitting the deep overhang of the eaves. As they evolved, they assumed different shapes and proportions. In earlier periods they were simple and large in proportion to the size of the building; later they became smaller and smaller and more complicated. Hence they serve as a convenient index to the date of construction.

The planning problem of the Chinese architect is not that of partitioning a single building, since the framing system makes the interior partition mere screens, but of placing the various buildings of which a Chinese house is composed.

壹 建筑

中国古人从未把建筑当成一种艺术，但像在西方一样，建筑一直是艺术之母。正是通过作为建筑装饰，绘画与雕塑走向成熟，并被认作是独立的艺术。

〔1〕技术与形式

中国建筑是一种土生土长的构筑系统，它在中国文明萌生时期即已出现，其后不断得到发展。它的特征性形式是立在砖石基座上的木骨架即木框架，上面有带挑檐的坡屋顶。木框架的梁与柱之间，可以筑幕墙，幕墙的唯一功能是划分内部空间及区别内外。中国建筑的墙与欧洲传统房屋中的墙不同，它不承受屋顶或上面楼层的重量，因而可随需要而设或不设。建筑设计者通过调节开敞与封闭的比例，控制光线和空气的流入量，一切全看需要及气候而定。高度的适应性使中国建筑随着中国文明的传播而扩散。

当中国的构筑系统演进和成熟后，像欧洲古典建筑柱式那样的规则

产生出来，它们控制建筑物各部分的比例。在纪念性的建筑上，建筑规范由于采用斗拱而得到丰富。斗拱由一系列置于柱顶的托木组成，在内部它承托木梁，在外部它支承屋檐。一攒斗拱中包括几层横向伸出的臂，叫“拱”，梯形的垫木叫“斗”。斗拱本是结构中有功能作用的部件，它承托木梁又使屋檐伸出得远一些。在演进过程中，斗拱有多种多样的形式和比例。早期的斗拱形式简单，在房屋尺寸中占的比例较大；后来斗拱变得小而复杂。因此，斗拱可作为房屋建造时代的方便的指示物。

由于框架结构使内墙变为隔断，所以中国建筑的平面布置不在于单幢房屋之内部划分，而在于多座不同房屋的布局安排，中国的住宅是由这些房屋组成的。

These are usually grouped around courtyards, and a house may consist of an indefinite number of such courtyards. The principal buildings are usually oriented toward the south, so that a maximum amount of sunlight can be admitted in winter, while the summer sun is cut off by the overhanging eaves. Apart from the variations required by special topographical conditions, the same general principles apply to all domestic, official, and religious architecture.

〔B〕Historical Development

The oldest architectural remains in China are some tombs of the Han Dynasty. Both the burial chamber and the ch'üeh, or gate piers, include translations into stone of timber construction, showing a highly accomplished carpenter's art rendered by an equally masterful touch of the sculptor's chisel. The important role played by the tou-kung is seen even in that early period.

No timber structure built during the long interval up to the middle of the 8th century AD has as yet been found standing in China. Yet glimpses of the outward appearance of such structures may be gathered from the details of construction in some of the cave temples and from the paintings on their walls. In the caves of Yun-kang, near Ta-t'ung, Shansi, constructed about 452–494 AD, and in those of Hsiangtang Shan, on the border of Honan and Hopeh Provinces, and T'ien-lung Shan, near Yanku (Tai-yuan), Shansi, which were built about 550–618 AD, the facades and interiors are treated architecturally, carved from the rock cliffs to emulate the contemporary timber structures. On the tympanum of the west portal of the Tz'u-en Ssu pagoda (701–704 AD), in Sian (Chang'an), Shensi, is an engraving showing

in accurate detail a Buddhist temple hall. The frescoes on the walls of the 6th to 11th centuries caves at Tun-huang, Kansu, are paradise scenes with elaborate architectural backgrounds. These relics are graphic records of the architecture of a period that has left us no standing specimens. Here, too, we notice the importance of the tou-kung, whose evolution may be clearly traced.

Such indirect evidence of the character of early Chinese architecture is well supported by groups of buildings still standing in Japan. They were erected in the Suiko (Asuka), Hakuho, Tempyo, and Konin (Jogan) periods, corresponding to the Sui and T'ang Dynasties in China. In fact, until the middle of the 19th century the architecture of Japan reflected as in a mirror the changing styles of continental builders. The early Japanese structures may justifiably be called colonial Chinese, and some are actually known to have been erected by continental architects.

房屋通常围绕院子安排。一所住宅可以包含数量不定的多个院子。主房大都朝南，冬季可射入最多的太阳光，在夏天阳光为挑檐所阻挡。除了因地形导致的变体，这个原则适用于所有的住宅、官府和宗教建筑物。

〔2〕历史的演变

中国最古的建筑遗存是一些汉代的坟墓。墓室及墓前的门墩——阙，虽是石造的，形式却是仿木结构，高起的石雕显现着同样高超的木匠技艺。斗拱在如此早期的建筑中已具有重要作用。

在中国至今没有发现存在公元8世纪中叶以前漫长时期里所造的木构建筑。但从一些石窟寺的构造细部和它们墙上的壁画我们可以大略知晓8世纪中期以前木构建筑的外貌。山西大同附近的云冈石窟建于公元452年至494年；河南、河北交界处的响堂山石窟和山西太原的天龙山石窟建于公元550年至618年间，它们是在石崖上凿成的佛国净土，外观和内部都当作建筑物来处理，模仿当时的木构建筑。陕西西安慈恩寺大雁塔西门门楣石刻（公元701年至704年）准确地显示出一座佛寺大殿。甘肃敦煌公元6世纪到11世纪的洞窟的壁画中画的佛国净土，建筑背景极其精致。这些遗迹是未留下实物的时代的建筑状况的图像记录。在这样的图像中，我们也看到斗拱的重要性，并且可以从中追踪到斗拱的演变轨迹。

这些中国早期建筑特点的间接证据可从日本现存的建筑群得到支

持。它们造于推古（飞鸟）、白凤、天平和弘仁（贞观）时期，[2] 相当于中国隋朝和唐朝。事实上，到19世纪中期为止，日本的建筑像镜子一样映射着中国建筑不断变化着的风格。早先的日本建筑可以被称之为中国殖民式建筑，而且那里有一些建筑物还真是出于中国匠人之手。

Earliest of these is the Horyuji group, near Nara, which was constructed by Korean builders and completed in 607 AD. Another is the Kondo of the Todaiji, Nara, built by the Chinese monk Ganjin (Chien-chen, died 763 AD) in 759 AD.

The oldest extant wooden structure in China itself is the main hall of the Buddhist temple Fo-kuang Ssu, Wu-t'ai Shan, Shansi. It is a one-story building of seven bays, with tou-kung of gigantic size, showing an unparalleled vigor and dignity in proportion and design. The temple was built in 857 AD, shortly after the nationwide Buddhist persecution of 845 AD. It is the only wooden structure known to date from the T'ang Dynasty, the golden age of Chinese art. The hall houses specimens of sculpture and calligraphy and a fresco frieze, all of the same period. The congregation in one spot of all the major arts of T'ang date makes this temple and its contents a unique treasure in China.

Wooden structures of later periods are found in increasing numbers. A few of the more outstanding monuments may be chosen to represent the Sung Dynasty, together with the contemporaneous Liao and Chin Dynasties.

The Hall of Kuan-yin (Goddess of Mercy) of the Tu-lo Ssu, Chi Hsien, Hopeh, was built in 984 AD. It is a two-story structure containing an eleven-headed Kuan-yin, standing upright. A mezzanine story is inserted between the two main stories, so that the structure is actually built of three superposed "orders." Here the function of the tou-kung is shown to best advantage.

The group of buildings at Tsin-tz'u, near Yanku, was built about 1025. The two principal buildings are each one story in height, but the main hall has double-decked eaves. The main hall of the Hua-yen Ssu, Ta-t'ung, is a huge single-story structure with single-decked eaves. Built about 1090, it is one of the largest Buddhist structures in China. Of considerably later date (1260) is the main hall of the Pei-yueh Miao, Chuyang, Hopeh. The inner structural members supporting the upper part of the roof have been extensively rebuilt, but the lower part and the outward appearance of the building as a whole are essentially unaltered.

A comparative study of these few examples reveals that the tou-kung tends to become smaller and smaller in proportion to the building. Another common characteristic is an increase in the height of the columns toward the corners of the building. This latter refinement brings about a gentle curvature of the eave line (with the exception of the Hua-yen Ssu hall), and of the roof ridge, giving an appearance of elegance.

最早的是奈良附近的法隆寺建筑群，由朝鲜工匠建造，公元607年建成。奈良唐招提寺金堂是中国鉴真和尚（公元763年去世）于公元759年建造的[3] 。

中国现存最早的木构建筑是山西省五台山佛光寺大殿。它单层七间，斗拱雄大，比例和设计无比地雄健庄严。大殿建于公元857年，在公元845年全国性灭法后数年。佛光寺大殿是唯一留存下来的唐代建筑，而唐代是中国艺术史上的黄金时代。寺内的雕塑、壁画饰带和书法都是当时的作品，这些唐代艺术品聚集在一起，使这座建筑物成为中国独一无二的艺术珍品。

唐朝以后的木构建筑保留的数量逐渐增多。一些很杰出的建筑物可以作为宋代和同时期的辽代与金代的代表。

河北省蓟县独乐寺观音阁建于公元984年。这是一座两层建筑，当中立着一座十一面观音像。两个楼层之间又有一个暗层，实际是三层。在观音阁上，斗拱的作用发挥到极致。

太原附近晋祠的建筑群建于公元1025年，两座主要建筑物都是单层，但主殿为重檐。大同华严寺大殿是一座巨大的单层单檐建筑，建于公元1090年，是中国最大的佛教建筑物之一。许多年后的公元1260年，河北曲阳的北岳庙建成，它的屋顶上部构件经过大量改建，但其下部及外观整体基本未变。

对上述这些建筑物的比较研究表明，斗拱与建筑物整体的比例越来越小。另一共同特点是越往建筑物的两边柱子越高。这一细致的处理使檐口呈现为轻缓的曲线（华严寺大殿是个例外），屋脊也如此，于是建筑物外观变得柔和了。

With the coming of the Ming Dynasty, the subtle refinements disappeared. This trend is especially noticeable in the monuments built under imperial patronage, and is best exemplified in the sacrificial hall at the tomb of Emperor Yung Lo, built in 1425 at Changping, Hopeh, 25 miles (40 km) north of Peking. Here the tou-kung has shrunk to insignificance; its presence can be detected only at close view.

Despite the retrogressive features of individual building of the Ming and Ts'ing Dynasties, we have in the imperial palaces of Peking a superb example of planning on the grandest scale, showing the aptitude of the Chinese for conceiving and executing a design of colossal proportions. The hundreds of audience halls and apartments within the Forbidden City, a walled enclosure measuring about 3350 feet (1020 meters) by 2490 feet (760 meters), are mainly structures of the late Ming and the Ts'ing Dynasties. The entire area was conceived as a single architectural unit, with one main axis dominating the Forbidden City and the entire Imperial City surrounding it. The halls, pavilions, verandas, and gates are grouped in innumerable courtyards connected by colonnades. The buildings themselves are raised on white marble terraces. Columns and walls are generally painted red, while the tou-kung are decorated with intricate designs in blue, green, and gold, forming a cool belt which accentuates the deep shady overhang of the eaves. The whole structure is crowned by a roof of glazed yellow or green tiles. The ingenuity of the Chinese in applying color to architecture on an all-inclusive scale has never been equaled.

〔C〕Multi-storied Timber Structures

Because of the limitations of the material, high structures in timber are rare. The best known is the Ch'i-nien Tien of the Temple of Heaven, Peking. It is a building of circular plan, standing on three tiers of white marble terraces and crowned by three tiers of blue glazed tile roofs, the uppermost of which converges into a cone whose apex is about 108 feet (33 meters) above the ground.

The finest example of multi-storied timber construction in China is the little-known wooden pagoda of Ying Hsien, Shansi. Erected in 1056, it is a five-story structure with four additional mezzanine stories, built on an octagonal plan. Each of its main and mezzanine stories is a complete "order" in itself. The pagoda as a whole therefore comprises nine superposed "orders." Scarcely any of its members is idle: every timber has its part in supporting the building. The top roof, which is an octagonal cone, is surmounted by a wrought iron spire whose tip is 215 feet (65 meters) above the ground. Although most of the early pagodas were of wood, this is the only one of its kind still standing in China.

到了明朝，精巧的处理消失。这个趋势在皇家的纪念性建筑中尤其明显。建于公元1425年、北平以北40公里的河北省昌平县明朝永乐皇帝陵墓的大殿是突出的例子。它的斗拱退缩到无足轻重的地步，非近观无法看见。

虽然明、清两代的个体建筑退步，但北平故宫是宏伟的大尺度布局的佳例，显示了中国人构想和实现大范围规划的才能。紫禁城用大墙包围，面积为3350英尺×2490英尺（1020米×760米），其中有数百座殿堂和居住房屋。它们主要是明、清两代的建筑。紫禁城是一个整体。一条中轴线贯穿紫禁城和围绕它的都城。殿堂、亭、轩和门围着数不清的院子布置，并用廊子连接起来。建筑物立在数层白色大理石台基上。柱子和墙面一般是刷成红色的。斗拱用蓝、绿和金色的复杂图案装饰起来，由此形成冷色的圈带，使檐下更为幽暗，显得檐部挑出益加深远。整个房屋覆在黄色或绿色的琉璃瓦顶之下。中国人对房屋整体所作的颜色处理，其精致与独创性举世无双。

〔3〕多层木构建筑

因为材料的限制，高层木构建筑很少。北京天坛祈年殿是著名的高大木构建筑。这是一座圆形建筑，立在三层白色大理石基座上，上部为三层蓝色琉璃瓦顶，最高层束成圆锥形。顶尖高于地面108英尺（33米）。

最好的一个多层木构建筑是山西应县木塔，但不那么有名。它建于公元1056年，有五个明层和四个暗层，平面为八角形。木塔的每一层，不论明暗，都有完整的木构架。因此全塔由九个构架累积而成。其中每一构件都起支承作用，没有多余之物。塔顶屋面为八角锥体。最上为铁铸塔刹，最高点距地面215英尺（65米）。虽然早期大多数塔为木塔，但应县木塔是该类型的塔的唯一留存者。

〔D〕Masonry Pagodas

The early wooden pagodas have disappeared, but many of their counterparts in brick—or, in rare cases, stone—have survived the destructive forces of man and nature. Contrary to the general assumption, the design of the Chinese pagoda was not imported from India; rather, it is a cross between the architectural ideas of the two civilizations. The body is entirely Chinese, the Indian element finding expression only in the spire, which is derived,

often in much modified form, from the stupa. Many of the pagodas are brick and stone translations of wooden prototypes embodying the traditional Chinese architectural conceptions.

Chinese masonry pagodas may be divided into five principal types:

1.One-story Pagodas

A stupa is a monument marking the site where some Buddhist relic is buried; the tomb stupa of a deceased monk may properly be called a pagoda. Most of the bomb stupas of the 6th to the 12th centuries are small, square pavilion-like structures, one story high, with one or two strings of cornices. The earliest examples of the one-story form is the Ssu-men T'a (which is not a tomb), built in 544 AD near Tsinan, Shantung. More typical is the tomb of Hui-ch'ung at Ling-yen Ssu (mid-7th century), Changching, Shantung.

2.Multi-storied Pagodas

The multi-storied pagoda retains most of the characteristics of the indigenous multi-storied building. Counterparts in wood are still extant in Japan, but only brick structures of this type remain in China. One of the earliest and best examples is the Hsiangchi Ssu pagoda, built in 681 AD, near Sian. It is a square pagoda of 13 stories, 11 of which are intact. The stories are marked by strings of corbelled cornices; and the exterior walls of each story, in addition to their doorways and windows, have delicate reliefs of simple pilasters and architraves supporting tou.

In the Sung Dynasty the octagonal plan became general. Representation of columns or pilasters on the walls is often omitted, but the cornices are in most cases supported by numerous tou-kung. In some instances, such as the twin pagodas of Tso Hsieh, Hopeh (about 1090), the outward appearance of the wooden pagoda has been faithfully reproduced in brick.

3.Multi-eaved Pagodas

The multi-eaved type seems to be a mutation of the single-story pagoda, produced through increasing the number of cornices. In appearance, it presents a high main story crowned by a great number of closely decked eaves. The earliest example is the 12-sided, 15-story pagoda of Sung-yueh Ssu, built about 520 AD, on Sung Shan, a sacred mountain in Honan. During

the T'ang Dynasty the square plan was the only one chosen for this type of pagoda. The pagoda of Fa-wang Ssu (about 750 AD), also on Sung Shan, is an excellent example.

〔4〕砖石塔

早期木塔大都消失了，留存下来的多是砖塔，也有少数石塔，它们经受了人为的和自然的损害。与一般人的看法相反，中国塔的设计并不是从印度传入的，它们是中国与印度两种文明交会的产物。塔身完全是中国的，印度因素只在塔刹部分可以见到，它来自窣堵坡（stupa），但已大大改变。许多的砖塔或石塔演绎着木塔原型，木塔才是中国传统建筑观念的体现。

中国砖石塔有五大类型：

1．单层塔　印度的窣堵坡是浮屠遗骸埋葬地的标志，而死去的僧人坟墓窣堵坡就叫“巴高大”(pagoda)[4]　。6世纪到12世纪的坟墓窣堵坡大都做成单层小亭子似的建筑，上面有单檐或重檐。山东济南附近的四门塔建于公元544年，是最早的单层塔的例子（它不是坟墓）。更典型的例子是山东长清灵岩寺的慧崇禅师塔墓。

2．多层塔　多层塔保持中国土生土长多层建筑的许多特点。日本尚有多层木塔屹立至今，中国只保存了此种类型的砖塔。西安附近的香积寺塔，建于公元681年，是最早和最好的例子。那是十三层的方塔，其中十一层保存完好。楼层用叠涩砖檐分划，各层外墙上用浅浮雕显示门洞、窗子之外，尚有简单而精细的浮雕壁柱和额枋，上承大斗。

宋代多八角形塔。墙上的壁柱常被省去。砖檐常由许多斗拱支承。有些例子，如河北涿县的双塔（约公元1090年），是在砖塔上忠实地复制出木塔的外貌。

3．密檐塔　密檐塔似乎是单层塔而上面有多重檐口所形成的变体。外观上看，它有一个很高的主层，其上为密密的多重檐口。公元520年建的河南佛教圣地嵩山嵩岳寺塔，十二边形，十五层，是最早的实例。在唐代，这种塔全采用四方形。最杰出的一例是法王寺塔（约公元750年），也在河南嵩山。

The octagonal plan was introduced about the middle of the 9th century and after the 11th century became accepted as the standard shape for a pagoda. A great number of pagodas of this type, enriched by tou-kung under the eaves, were built in North China from the 10th to the 12th centuries. The

best-known example is the pagoda of the T'ien-ning Ssu, Peking, a structure of the 11th century which has been much repaired.

4.Stupas

The stupa in its original Indian form, though known in China through the early Buddhist missionaries, was never transplanted there. When the stupa finally did become established in China, in much modified form, it arrived through Tibet in conjunction with the spread of Lamaism. The Tibetan stupa is generally bottle-shaped and raised on a high base. The best example is the stupa of Miao-ying Ssu, Peking, which was built in 1260 by Kublai Khan. Later the bottle became more slender, particularly the neck. This part, which originally resembled a truncated cone, came to resemble a smokestack. Typical of the later stupas of the Tibetan type is the one in North Sea Park, Peking, built in 1651.

5.Diamond-based Pagodas

The chin-kang pao-tso t'a, or diamond-based pagoda, consists of a group of pagodas on a common base. Its development was foreshadowed as early as the 8th century in the pagoda group of Yun-chu Ssu, Fangshan, Hopeh, which is composed of a large pagoda and four small ones on a single, very low platform. The form did not reach full architectural maturity until the Ming Dynasty. An excellent example is the Wu-t'a Ssu (Five Pagoda Temple), built in 1473 outside one of the west gates of Peking. This structure reminds the observer in various ways of the 8th- century Borobudur in Java.

〔E〕P'ai-lou

In most of the towns and on many of the country roads of China are found monumental archways called p'ai-lou. Although the p'ai-lou is considered a purely Chinese architectural concept, one cannot fail to notice an analogy between this form and the gateways of the railings surrounding certain Indian stupas, such as those of Sanchi. In South China stone p'ai-lou are common; in northern cities the street scene is often enlivened by gaily painted timber ones.

9世纪中有了八角塔，到11世纪以后，这已经成了塔的标准型式。从10世纪到12世纪，在中国北方建造了大量的这种塔，檐下用斗拱装

饰。最出名的一个例子是北平的天宁寺塔，建于11世纪，经过多次重修。

4．喇嘛塔（窣堵坡）　　印度窣堵坡的原貌，通过早期的佛教传布者，在中国早已为人所知，但其长期未移植于此。后来，随着喇嘛教的传播，终于通过西藏植根于中原，其形貌发生了较大的改变。西藏喇嘛塔一般做成壶形，立在高高的基座上面。公元1260年由忽必烈下令建造的北平妙应寺窣堵坡是最好一例。后来它的壶状身躯变得细巧了，塔的颈部尤其如此。这个颈部原先像截了一段的锥形，后来渐渐像烟筒。这种后出的西藏式窣堵坡的一个典型例子是北平北海公园里的白塔，建于公元1651年。

5．金刚宝座塔　在一个基座上耸立数个塔，称金刚宝座塔。早在8世纪建造的河北省房山县云居寺塔是这种塔型的先兆。云居寺塔有一个宽阔的低台，上面立着一座大塔和四座小塔。到明代此种形制始臻于成熟。公元1473年建的北平西郊的五塔寺是一个绝好的作品，它在很多方面使人联想起公元8世纪爪哇的婆罗浮屠。

〔5〕牌楼

在中国大多数城镇和不少乡村道路上，都可见到称为牌楼的纪念性的大门。虽然牌楼纯粹是中国的建筑，但可以看到与印度桑契的窣堵坡围栏上的门有某种相似之处。中国南方多石牌楼，北方城镇的街道常有华丽的木牌楼。

〔F〕Bridges

The building of bridges is an ancient art in China. Early examples were either simple timber structures or pontoon bridges, and it was not until the middle of the 4th century AD that the arch was used to span a water barrier. The most notable example of Chinese bridge building is the Great Stone Bridge, Chao Hsien, Hopeh. This is an open-spandrel bridge (one with small arches piercing the triangular space between the roadway and the ends of the main arch) whose principal arch has a span of 123 feet (37 meters). Built in the Sui Dynasty, it is a feat of engineering to amaze even a modern engineer. The more common type of bridge, exemplified by the celebrated Marco Polo Bridge near Peking, uses intermediate piers. Suspension bridges are often employed in the mountainous regions of Southwestern China, and bridges

with huge stone lintels, sometimes measuring 70 feet (20 meters) or more, are not uncommon in Fukien.

〔6〕桥梁

造桥在中国是一种古老的技艺。早期的例子是简单的木桥或是浮桥。直到4世纪中期以后开始用拱券跨过水流。中国桥梁建造最有名的一个例子是河北赵县的大石桥。它是一座敞肩拱桥（在主拱两头桥面以下的三角形部位，又开着小拱洞）。赵州桥的主拱跨度为123英尺（37米）。赵州桥建于中国隋代，是使现代工程师感到惊讶的工程奇迹。较常见的一种拱桥可以北平著名的马可波罗桥[5] 为例，有许多桥墩。中国西南部的山区常用悬索桥。福建有许多用长长的石梁和石墩造的桥，有的总长度[6] 可达70英尺（20米）。

II. Painting

Painting as an art first appeared in China in the form of decorations on banners, dresses, gates, walls, and other surfaces. The aesthetic appeal and suggestive power of this medium were utilized by kings and emperors of the earliest days as a convenient means of teaching and governing the people.

〔A〕Pre-T'ang Painting

In the Han Dynasty the art of painting reached technical maturity, and murals were used to decorate the interiors of halls and palaces. In 51 BC, Emperor Hsuan-ti (reigned 73 BC–49 BC) ordered portraits of 11 of his ablest generals and ministers, who had brought about the surrender of the shan-yu (king) of the barbarian Hsiung-nu, painted on the walls of Ch'i-lin Ke—an indication that portrait painting had already become a recognized art. Paintings were executed on walls and on silk. A considerable number of paintings on silk are reported to have been included in the imperial collections of the T'ang Dynasty, but these have disappeared.

贰 绘画

作为艺术的绘画，在中国首先作为装饰出现在旗帜、服装、门、墙及其他东西的表面上。早先的帝王们利用这种媒介的审美感染力和权势暗示力得心应手地教化和统治人民。

〔1〕唐以前的绘画

在汉代，绘画技术已趋成熟，壁画被用来装饰宫殿内部。公元前51年，汉宣帝（公元前73—公元前49年在位）命令为十一名在降服匈奴首领单于过程中立功的大臣和将军画像于麒麟阁内墙上。这件事表明画像在当时已被承认为一种艺术。当时的绘画不是画在墙壁上便是画在绢上。据记载，唐朝宫廷收藏了大批绢画，但实物没有留下来。

A painted brick discovered in a tomb at Naknang (Lolang), Korea, which was the capital of a Chinese province from 108 BC to 313 AD, is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. It affords a glimpse of painting in a frontier province of the great Han Empire. Numerous stone slabs with designs engraved or in relief also provide indirect but valuable evidence of the character of Han mural painting.

The oldest existing Chinese scroll painting, attributed to Ku K'ai-chih (344 ?–406 ? AD), is treasured in the British Museum in London. Ku K'ai-chih was a celebrated painter of the Chin (Tsin) Dynasty. The scroll, probably a T'ang copy, is labeled Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies and depicts scenes illustrating a series of proverbs or morals. The figures are painted with a brush on silk, in lines of great accuracy and dexterity, but no attempt was made to set them against a background. The painting shows conceptions of the human form and of space which still adhere to some extent to the archaic methods of presentation on the Han relief stone slabs. Yet it also contains the essential characteristics of the 5th- and 6th-century Buddhist sculpture.

〔B〕Painting of the T'ang Dynasty

Painting, like other branches of art, blossomed into its full glory during the T'ang Dynasty. Yen Li-teh and his brother Yen Li-pen (about 600–673

AD) are the first of a long list of great T'ang painters. Li-teh was also an architect, while Li-pen was the greater painter. Attributed to the latter is the scroll Portrait of Emperors and Kings, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in which many of the characteristics of the Ku K'ai-chih scroll are traceable.

Wu Tao-tzu (about 700–760 AD) became the most celebrated Chinese painter. The first to make full use of the flexible of the brush, he employed undulating lines varying in thickness, with third-dimensional effects. This was a radical departure from the wirelike lines of the earlier painters and gave him greater freedom of expression. "Wu's wind-blown draperies" became a phrase familiar to every student of Chinese painting, and succeeding painters depicted movement ever more vividly. Wu, with his free and masterly brush, excelled in painting subjects of all kinds, sacred and secular—figures, animals and plants, landscape, and architecture. The number of his murals recorded in the *Li-tai Ming-hua Chi* (*Famous Paintings of All Ages*) by Chang Yen-yuan (late T'ang) totals more than 300. Most have been destroyed.

朝鲜的乐浪在公元前108年至公元313年是中国的一个郡，[7] 那里的一处坟墓中出土一块有绘画的砖，现藏于美国波士顿美术馆。它让我们看到了当时汉帝国边疆省份的绘画作品。大批带有线刻和平浮雕的石板是汉朝壁画的特点的间接然而有价值的证物。

现存最早的中国画卷被认为是顾恺之（公元344—406年）的作品，现在珍藏于伦敦大英博物馆。顾恺之是东晋时的著名画家。那卷画可能是唐代的摹本，题名《女史箴》，画的内容是图解一系列道德箴言。人物用毛笔在绢上画成，线条精确流畅，但不画背景。人物形象和空间的表现在相当程度上保持汉朝画像石的古拙风格，但同时显露出5世纪至6世纪佛教雕塑的主要特征。

〔2〕唐代的绘画

绘画和别的艺术门类一样，在唐代进入繁盛期。阎立德和阎立本（约公元600—673年）兄弟二人名列一大串唐代大画家名单之首。立德兼作建筑家，立本是更大的画家。阎立本的《历代帝王图卷》现藏波士顿美术馆，其中许多笔意可追溯到顾恺之的画卷中去。

吴道子（约公元700—760年）是最有名的中国画家，他第一个把毛笔的灵活性发挥至极致。他运用深浅不同的波动的线条表现三度空间的效果。摆脱早期线条的僵硬性，表现极为自由。每一个学中国画的学生

都知道“吴带当风”之说，后继的画家因而更鲜活地表现运动。吴道子以他自由而纯熟的笔，在画中精妙地画出各式各样的题材——神和人，动物和植物，风景和建筑。据晚唐张彦远《历代名画记》记载，吴道子的壁画作品有三百件之多，多已损毁。

By the T'ang Dynasty, decorating temple walls with paintings had become almost a universal practice. Several hundred items are recorded in the *Li-tai Ming-hua Chi*: scenes of paradise and hell, images of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, Lokapalas, demons, and other legendary beings. And these were from collections in the two capitals only—from Sian and Loyang (Honan). There were also many paintings by lesser artists in other cities and on the sacred mountains. Almost no works of this kind have been preserved in the central provinces, but the caves of Tun-huang on the Silk Road are a rich source of information on Buddhist mural painting in a frontier province.

By the beginning of the 8th-century landscape, which was to become the noblest form of Chinese painting, had freed itself from its role as a mere background to figure painting. Li Ssu-hsun, who was born about 651 AD and died in 716 AD, and his son, Li Chao-tao, are generally recognized as the liberators of landscape painting. Known as the Two Li Generals, they founded the Li or northern school of painting. The work of this school is characterized by careful, wirelike drawings colored with bright blue and green and accented with specks of gold and vermilion. It is highly decorative but somewhat stiff, with every detail minutely and laboriously depicted. While the Two Li Generals were perfecting this style, Wu Tao-tzu painted on the walls of the Ta-t'ung palace, in one day, in ink and only faintly tinted with colors, the panoramic Three Hundred Li on the Chialing River—a work widely different in technique and style from the products of the Li school.

About a half century later, the poet-painter Wang Wei (699–759 AD) was to be hailed as the master of ink landscape. His work, in contrast to the rigid draftsmanship of the Li school, is characterized by boldness and freedom. Wang Wei excelled in depicting mist and water and was the first to succeed in capturing atmosphere in nature. It is said of him that there are pictures in his poetry and poetry in his pictures. He, too, had his followers, and was hailed by Ming critics as the founder of the southern school of landscape painting, just as the Li Generals were called the founders of the northern school.

Among other great T'ang painters were Ts'ao Pa and Han Kan (about

750 AD), both celebrated for their pictures of horses, and Chou Fang and Chang Hsuan (late 8th century), who depicted domestic and feminine scenes. A copy of one of Chang's scrolls, made by Emperor Hui-tsung (reigned 1101–1125 AD) of the Sung Dynasty, is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

在唐代，用壁画装饰寺庙墙壁蔚然成风。《历代名画记》记载了数百幅，其中有佛国净土和地狱，佛陀、菩萨、护世天王、恶魔及其他神话人物。而这只是对长安和洛阳两个首都的寺庙壁画的记录。在其他城镇和名山圣地还有众多二流画家的作品。在中原省份这些壁画几乎早消失了。但是在丝绸古道上的敦煌石窟是有关边陲佛教壁画信息的富源。

到8世纪初左右，山水从人物画的背景独立出来，将要成为中国画中最高尚的一个品类。李思训约生于公元651年，歿于公元716年，他和他的儿子李昭道被普遍认为是山水画的解放者。他们被称为“大小李将军”，创立了“北派”或称“李派”山水画。其特点是采用精致而挺拔的线条、鲜艳的青色和绿色，重点的地方加上金或朱红色点。这种画极富装饰性，笔触细致入微，不免流于匠气。当大小李将军在完善他们的风格时，吴道子在大同宫的墙壁上用墨和淡色作画，一天就完成了《嘉陵江三百里山水》，其技法与风格与“二李”作品迥异。

又过了大约半个世纪，诗人画家王维（公元699—759年）被认为是水墨山水画大家。他的作品的特点是自由而大胆，也与“二李”僵化的匠气风格成鲜明对照。王维善于表现雾和水，是成功地描绘大自然神韵的第一人。他被认为是“画中有诗，诗中有画”。他也有追随者。明代的评论家指出，王维是“南派”山水画的始祖，正如“二李”是“北派”的创立者。

唐代大画家还有曹霸与韩干（约公元750年），两人以画马著称。周昉和张萱（8世纪晚期）擅长画家庭生活及妇女。宋朝皇帝徽宗（公元1101—1125年在位）临摹张萱的一个画卷的摹本现藏波士顿美术馆。

〔C〕Five Dynasties and Sung

During the chaotic Five Dynasties period there flourished a number of artists who heralded the great Sung painters. Ching Hao, who lived at the end of T'ang and the beginning of this period, was the master of the great landscapist Kuan T'ung who exerted a tremendous influence on the landscape painting of the Sung Dynasty. The monk Kuan-hsiu, who was active about 920 AD, was famous for his figures, particularly lohans. Hsü Hsi and Huang Ch'üan were painters of birds and flowers.

Mural painting, though less popular than it had been in the T'ang period, was still common during the Northern Sung Dynasty, and a few Sung murals have escaped destruction and survived for posterity. In the Tun-huang caves are examples of the work done in a frontier province.

Working at the court academy under imperial patronage were such great painters as Kuo Hsi (1020–1090), the landscapist, and Huang Chü-ts'ai, son of Huang Ch'üan, who like his father painted birds and flowers but was a finer artist.

Among the scholar painters of the early Sung period, Li Ch'eng and Tung Yüan (late 10th century) are generally recognized as the greatest landscapists. Another painter, Fan K'uan, often covered his hilltops with heavy vegetation, and placed high, rugged cliffs along riverbanks. Mi Fei (1051–1107) filled his scenes with heavy mists and clouds, and rendered his protruding hilltops with the horizontal, broad, short "egg-plant" strokes so much imitated by later painters. Li Lung-mien (Li Kung-lin, 1040–1106) is well known to the Western world. His line drawings of figures and horses, executed with extreme facility and dexterity, are examples of the highest achievement in draftsmanship.

Toward the end of the Northern Sung Dynasty, Emperor Hui-tsung, himself an accomplished artist who aimed at extreme naturalism, became a great patron of art. Nevertheless, though he devoted far more attention to the academy than had earlier emperors, it did not produce any outstanding artist.

While painting in general flourished in the Southern Sung Dynasty, Buddhist painting receded into almost complete obscurity. By this time Buddhism had died out in the land of its origin. Confucian scholars launched merciless attacks on it, and the Buddhists themselves, now dominated by the Ch'an (Zen) sect, while not entirely iconoclastic, substituted meditation for image worship. Buddhist painters of this period preferred such themes as "Kuan-yin in White Dress by the Moonlit Pool," "Meditating Sages," or "Sixteen Lohans"—themes which were not bound by rigid rules calling for dignity and symmetry, as were the religious paintings of earlier periods.

〔3〕五代和宋朝的绘画

在混乱的五代，有一批艺术家风华正茂，他们是宋朝画家的先驱者。荆浩生活于唐末和五代之初，是大山水画家关仝的老师，他对宋代

山水画有重大影响。贯休和尚活跃于公元920年前后[8]　，擅长人物，尤善画罗汉。徐熙和黄筌是花鸟画家。

这一时期壁画虽不若唐代兴盛，但在北宋仍是常见。少数宋代壁画逃过劫难，留至后世，敦煌石窟有宋代壁画，是边陲的作品。

宋代宫廷画院中聚集了许多著名画家。如山水画家郭熙（约公元1020—1090年），黄筌的儿子、同为花鸟画家但略胜一筹的黄居宷。

宋代初年的文人画家有李成和董源（10世纪末），是山水画大家。范宽画山覆有厚厚的植被，河流两旁岩峰峥嵘。米芾（公元1051—1107年）的山水画云雾缭绕，高耸的山顶散落着短、平、宽的墨点，后世画者多有仿效。李龙眠（李公麟，公元1040—1106年）的作品现在西方很著名。他用线条画人和马，极其娴熟流畅，为笔墨技法的最高成就。

北宋末期，徽宗皇帝本人在艺术上有很高的造诣，他追求极端的自然主义。徽宗醉心于书画，对宋代画院的兴盛起到推动作用。不过尽管他比先前的君王更重视画院，画院却没有再出现伟大的画家。

南宋的画风仍盛，但佛教绘画却由盛转衰，日渐湮没。其时佛教在其发源地印度近于消失。中国儒家学者无情地攻击佛教。佛教徒中禅宗成为主流，他们虽然不是彻底的偶像破坏者，但注重冥想而不重偶像崇拜。这时佛教画家偏爱的题材多是“月下湖畔的白衣观音”、“沉思中的贤者”或“十六罗汉”之类。这一类作品脱出了早期佛教绘画要求庄严、对称的严格规矩的束缚。

In a world dominated by neo-Confucianism and Ch'an Buddhism, painters turned to landscape as their preferred medium of expression. In the late 12th and early 13th centuries the academy numbered a host of great landscape painters, including Liu Sung-nien, Liang K'ai (about 1203), Hsia Kuei (about 1195–1224), and Ma Yüan (about 1190–1225). Liu Sung-nien excelled in landscape of the blue-and-green (Li) style, and Liang K'ai was a master of the technique of line drawing of human figures against a landscape background, also in line. But the two great figures in ink landscape of the Southern Sung Dynasty were Hsia Kuei and Ma Yüan. Hsia Kuei's strength and boldness are best seen in his famous *Ten Thousand Li of the Yangtze River*. Ma Yüan, who placed his horizons rather low, is more readily appreciated by Westerners. His landscapes, in contrast to those of Hsia Kuei, are marked by tranquility and delicate atmosphere, best illustrated by a pine tree silhouetted against a misty background, a motif familiar to every student of Chinese painting. Up to his time, Chinese landscape painters had tried to

include all they saw. Ma Yüan's compositions show merely a few rocks and one or two trees. This pattern—simple in construction and sparse in detail—is perhaps closer to the Western conception of landscape painting than the all-inclusive of the Yüan Dynasty.

〔D〕Yüan Painting

The comparatively short Yüan period had a number of great painters. Chao Meng-fu (1254–1322), best known as a painter of human figures and horses, was equally at home with landscape. He was also calligrapher of the first rank. His best-known work is the *Horse with Groom*. Among the scholars who avoided Mongol officialdom was Ch'ien Hsüan (1235–about 1290), renowned as a painter of flowers, birds and insects.

Wu Chen (1280–1354), Huang Kung-wang (1261–1354), Ni Tsan (1301–1374), and Wang Meng (died 1385) are honored as the Four Great Masters of Yüan. They were all landscape painters. Wu Chen treats his material somewhat heavily, but he has a keen sense of space. He is also well known for his bamboos. In striking contrast are the airy scenes of Huang Kung-wang and Ni Tsan, who used washes very sparingly, obtaining their effects with lines consisting mainly of dry brush strokes. This is particularly true of Ni Tsan, who emphasized this style through his choice of extremely simple subjects. Wang Meng painted his scenes heavily, building them up laboriously with individual strokes.

在新理学和禅宗佛教统治之下，山水画成了画家们最喜爱的表现媒介。12世纪末到13世纪初，画院又产生一批著名的山水画家，其中有刘松年、梁楷（约公元1203年）、夏珪（约公元1195—1224年）和马远（约公元1190—1225年）。刘松年的青绿山水超过“二李”。梁楷善用线条画人物，背景中的山水也用线条画。但是南宋时期水墨山水画大家首推夏珪和马远二人。夏珪的《长江万里图》充分表现出他的大胆和力度。马远画作中地平线安排得靠下，更受西方人的赏爱。马远的山水画与夏珪不同，他表现一种静寂精致的情调，如云雾背景中的松树。每个学中国画的学生对此题材都极谙熟。在马远以前，画家总是把看见的东西都收入画内。马远的画只有几处山石和一二株树。构图简洁，细部略省，比元代包罗万象的作品更接近西方人对于风景画的观念。

〔4〕元代绘画

年代较短的元朝有很多大画家。赵孟頫（公元1254—1322年）以画人物和马著称，但亦擅长山水，同时又是第一流的书法家。他的最著名的画是《鞍马图》。在元朝避官不仕的知识分子中，钱选（公元1235—约1290年）[9] 是著名的花鸟画家。

吴镇（公元1280—1354年）、黄公望（公元1261—1354年）[10] 、倪瓒（公元1301—1374年）和王蒙（公元1385年卒）被推崇为元代四大家。他们都是山水画家。吴镇下笔厚重，但富有空间感，他也擅长画竹。与吴镇鲜明对照的是黄公望及倪瓒，此二人很少用渲染，多用枯笔。倪瓒尤其如此，他常画简单的对象以突出他的风格。王蒙风景画浓墨重笔，一笔一画极为工整。

〔E〕Ming and Ts'ing Dynasties

The Ming Dynasty, relatively recent, has left us many paintings. Mural painting became rare, but some examples which have come down to us, such as those in the Fa-hai Ssu, near Peking, show superlative craftsmanship. Yet connoisseurs and critics do not classify these murals as art, looking to the scrolls alone for the work of the great masters. Early Ming academicians strove to emulate T'ang and Sung paintings, but the spirit of their work is entirely different. Wu Wei, the landscape painter, who modeled himself on Ma Yüan, became the founder of the so-called Che (Chekiang) school. Pien Wen-chin (Pien Ching-chao, about 1430) and Lü Chi (about 1500) were well known for their flowers and birds in the manner of Huang Ch'üan and Huang Chü-ts'ai; Lin Liang founded a school in which the same subjects were treated in an extremely facile and sketchy manner. The leading exponent of the Che school is Tai Chin (Tai Wen-chin, about 1430–1450), originally an academician, but expelled from the academy through the intrigues of jealous colleagues. Like all painters of the period, he modeled himself upon Sung masters—specifically, on Ma Yüan—but created a style of his own, simple and articulate in stroke, light in rendering.

〔5〕明清绘画

明代离我们不远，留下较多的画作。壁画很少了，但有些留传至今，如北平附近的法海寺就有明代壁画，技艺相当不错。可是鉴赏家和评论者不把那些壁画看作艺术品，他们只把卷轴画看作艺术大家的作品。明代初期士人们努力仿效唐宋的绘画，但他们的作品的气质与唐宋

大不相同。山水画家吴伟追学马远，却创立了“浙派”。边文进（边景昭，约公元1430年）和吕纪（约公元1500年）以花鸟画著称，风格接近黄筌和黄居寀。林良创立一个画派，作花鸟画特别流畅，类似速写。“浙派”的最重要的诠释者是戴进（字文进，约公元1430—1450年）[11]，本是画院画家，后受人嫉害被逐出画院。像当时所有的人那样，他追从宋代大师，尤重马远，结果却创立了自己的画派，画风简洁清新。

Both the academic and the Che schools gradually died out, the latter being reincarnated in the "literary man's style," best represented by the Four Masters of Ming: Shen Chou (1427–1509), T'ang Yin (1470–1523), Wen Cheng-ming (1470–1559), and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1554–1636). Ch'iu Ying (about 1522–1560), who learned his craft as a lacquer painter, was a master of detail. In his paintings we see the pleasures of everyday life exquisitely and faithfully recorded. A salient characteristic of Ming painters is their masterly manipulation of the brush. It does not merely make a line or a wash; it conveys tone, strength, and spirit. In this dynasty the technique of the brush attained perfection.

Ts'ing Dynasty art is a continuation of the Ming tradition. Early in this period the southern school of landscape painting, best represented by the four Wangs—Wang shih-min (1592–1680), Wang Chien (1598–1677), Wang Hui (1632–1717), and Wang Yüan-ch'i (1642–1715)—came into prominence.

学院派和“浙派”都渐渐消失了。后者演变成所谓的“文人画”风格。明代“文人画”的四大代表者是沈周（公元1427—1509年）、唐寅（公元1470—1523年）、文征明（公元1470—1559年）和董其昌（公元1554—1636年）。仇英（约公元1522—1560年）[12]原来学习漆画，是工笔画大师，他的作品细致忠实地记录下当时日常生活的乐趣。明代画家有一个突出的共同点，即毛笔的运用极为熟练，笔画出不止是一根线或一小片洇墨，还表达出风格、力度和气韵。明代毛笔的运用达到完美的程度。

清代艺术承继了明代的传统。清初“南派”山水画的代表是“四王”，他们是王时敏（公元1592—1680年），王鉴（公元1598—1677年），王翚（公元1632—1717年），王原祁（公元1642—1715年）。

Wang Shih-min and Wang Chien, who took Tung Yüan and Huang Kung-wang as their masters, formed the vanguard of Ts'ing painting. The former is known for his bold brush strokes. Wang Hui was a disciple of

Wang Shih-min, and excelled him in control of the medium. He is said to have combined the northern and southern schools, and was proclaimed by his masters the Sage of Painting. Wang Yüan-ch'i, grandson of Wang Shih-min and the most learned of the four, best caught the spirit of Huang Kung-wang. He is known for his landscapes with light tinges of color.

Ch'en Hung-shou (1599–1652) originated a style in which, despite an appearance of carelessness, each stroke is skillfully conceived and precisely executed. He had many imitators. Shih T'ao was another "careless" painter of landscapes and bamboos. Both men reached maturity in the Ming Dynasty, but they lived into the early years of Ts'ing and their influence on later painters places them as artists of the later rather than of the earlier dynasty.

王时敏和王鉴师法董源和黄公望，是清代画家的先驱。王时敏以粗大笔触闻名。王翚是王时敏的弟子，在运笔上超越乃师。据认为他把“南派”和“北派”风格加以融合，他的老师称他为“画圣”。王原祁是王时敏的孙子，是“四王”中学问最大者，他最得黄公望的意境。王原祁以淡彩山水画著称。

陈洪绶（公元1599—1652年）创立一种绘画风格，看似无意，实则每笔均精心考虑、精心落墨。仿效陈洪绶的人颇多。石涛善画山水及竹，也是一位看似“随意”的画家。这两人的画技在明代末年已经纯熟，他们活到清初。由于他们对后人的影响大，陈洪绶与石涛被视作清代画家。

III. Sculpture

Sculpture, like architecture, was not accorded due recognition by the Chinese. While we know the great painters, the sculptors are anonymous.

〔A〕Early Sculpture

The oldest specimens of Chinese sculpture were found in the Shang Dynasty tombs at Anyang. The owl, tiger, and turtle are favorite motifs, and the human figure also appears occasionally. These marble pieces are in the round, some of them being architectural elements. Their surfaces are decorated with patterns like those found on the contemporary bronzes. In

decorative pattern, in basic concepts of form and mass, and in spirit, the sculpture and the bronzes are one. Bronze masks have also been found, some of the t'ao-t'ieh, some of human beings. They are often well modeled.

Human figures and animals in the round began to be used as decorative motifs on the bronzes around 500 BC. The human figures were first carved in the kneeling position molded in strict conformity with the law of frontality, but the art soon freed itself to portray action. In general, the human figures are short and stubby, rendered with little feeling for modeling, but the animal forms show keen and subtle touches of the chisel, based on careful observation of nature.

叁 雕塑

像建筑一样，雕塑在中国也未获得应有的承认。我们知道大画家的名字，但雕塑家都默默无闻。

〔1〕早期的雕塑

最早的雕塑是在安阳商朝的墓葬中发现的。猫头鹰、老虎和乌龟是常见的雕刻母题，也偶有人的形象。那些大理石作品都是圆雕，有些就是建筑部件。表面装饰同那个时代的青铜器的纹样相同。石雕和青铜器在装饰纹样、基本形体和气质方面是一致的。出土的铜面具有的是饕餮，有的是人形。它们都铸造得很好。

公元前500年前后，青铜器开始以人和动物形体的圆雕做装饰题材。初时人像是正画跪姿，严格按照“正面律”制作。不久，艺术摆脱束缚去表现动作。总的来看，人物造型矮而且呆板，而动物造型显现出刀凿的运作精准有致，这是基于对自然的准确观察。

〔B〕Han, Three Kingdoms, Six Dynasties

In the Han Dynasty sculpture gained importance in conjunction with architecture. Reliefs decorate interior wall surfaces, such as those found in a number of tomb shrines, notably the tombs of the Wu family at Chiahsiang, Shantung. Human figures and animals (lions, lambs, and chimeras) in the

round stand in pairs flanking the avenues leading to tombs, temples, and palaces. At Ch'üfu, Shantung, the human figures are typically rigid, lumpy, and ill-modeled, bearing only a vague resemblance to the human form. Yet the animals are in general well modeled, robust, vigorous, and animated. The lions and chimeras are usually winged. (Since figure sculpture, animal or human, had never been employed by the Chinese of earlier times as guardian monuments to an architectural approach, it is possible that the idea was imported from the Occident through contact with the barbarian tribes of the west and north.) On some of the contemporary ch'üeh in Szechwan are found reliefs of birds, dragons, and tigers that rank with the best decorative sculpture.

With the spread of Buddhism during the period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, an anthropomorphic sculpture assumed an important role. A few small images of the early 5th century have come down to us. The first important monuments are in the caves of Yun-kang, near Ta-t'ung, first capital of the Northern Wei Dynasty (386–535 AD). These are undoubtedly Chinese versions of Buddhist caves in India. Yet, aside from decorative motifs (the acanthus leaf, the frets, the beads, and even the Ionic and Corinthian capitals) and the basic conception of the caves themselves, there seems to be no traceable Indian influence to give the sculpture an Indian or otherwise un-Chinese character. There are a few characteristically Indian figures, but the group remains essentially Chinese.

The work on the caves near Ta-t'ung was begun by imperial order in 452 AD and stopped abruptly in 494 AD, when the capital was moved south to Loyang. The plan of some of the caves is fairly similar to the chaitya caves of India, with the chaitya, or stupa, in the center. The architecture and sculpture, however, are basically Chinese.

The earliest, and larger, figures, some measuring over 70 feet (21 meters) in height, are heavy and sturdy. The pleated draperies cling to the body. Later the figures grew more slender, and the head and neck became almost tubular. The eyebrows are arched and join with the bridge of the nose. The wide forehead is almost flat, turning sharply back at the temples. The eyes are mere slits; the lips, thin, forever smiling. The chin is often sharply pointed—a feature especially noticeable in some bronze statuettes of the period.

〔2〕汉、三国、六朝

到汉代，雕塑在建筑上的重要性增加了。室内墙壁上有浮雕装饰，这可以从许多汉墓祭室中得到印证。尤如山东嘉祥武氏墓群，人和动物（狮、羊、吐火兽）的圆雕成对地排列在通往墓室、宫庙的大路两旁。山东曲阜的人像非常呆拙、粗糙、模糊一团，只大致有点像人形。面兽像则造型优美、雄壮，栩栩如生。狮子和吐火兽常常有翼（考虑到中国早期建筑不用人像和兽雕保卫大门，这一做法很可能是在与北方和西方蛮族接触中从西亚传入的）。四川发现的汉阙常有鸟、龙、虎的浮雕，它们是装饰雕刻的上品。

南北朝时，佛教盛行，人像雕刻多起来。有一些5世纪早期的小佛像留传下来。第一批重要的纪念性雕像见于大同云冈，大同（时称平城）是北魏（公元386—535年）第一个首都。云冈石窟是印度石窟的中国翻版。除了一些装饰题材（叶饰、回文饰、念珠，甚至爱奥尼克或科林斯柱头）和洞窟的基本形制外，看不出在雕刻上有什么印度或其他非中国的特点。固然有少数典型的印度式佛像，但群体还是中国的。

云冈石窟由皇帝下令于公元452年开始建造，但因首都南迁洛阳，而于公元494年突然停止。云冈的一部分石窟与印度的“支提”十分相似。中间是圣坛或窣堵坡。建筑与雕塑则基本是中国式的。

早期的较大的雕像有的高度超过70英尺（21米），粗壮结实，身上紧裹着有褶的服装。后来佛像变得苗条些，而头及颈部却几乎是圆柱形的。眉毛弯弯，与鼻梁相接。前额宽而平，在太阳穴处突然后折。眼是细长缝，薄唇，永远微笑。下巴尖尖的，这一特征多在同时期的小型铜佛像上见到。

The draperies no longer cling to the body, but hang from it, often flaring out at ankle level, and are arranged symmetrically on the right and left, with the pointed, almost knife-like, ends of the folds spread out like a bird's wings. (It is not by accident that pointed ends are also characteristic of the strokes of the calligraphy of the period.) The Bodhisattvas of these statuary groups, whose Indian counterparts wear princely attire, are stripped of most of their ornaments. They wear a simple tiara and a heart-shaped necklace, and from the shoulder of each figure hangs a long sash, the ends crossing through a ring hung in front of the thighs.

A project similar to that at Ta-t'ung was begun by the Wei emperors about 495 AD at Lung-men, near Loyang, on the cliffs of the I (Yi) River.

Here the heads are less tubular and more rounded, and the draperies less pointed and more fluent, though still symmetrically arranged, achieving a superb decorative effect. The walls of some of the caves are decorated with reliefs representing the emperor on one wall and the empress on the opposite one, each attended by an entourage, forming compositions of the highest order. The activity of the cliff sculptors at Lung-men continued until the latter part of the 9th century.

The Northern Ch'i (550–577 AD) rulers were devout but extravagant Buddhists, yet it was not until nearly the end of their brief dynasty that they began the caves at T' ien-lung Shan. Most of the figures of these caves assume a standing posture. Their heads are almost round. The forehead is markedly lower; the eyes, though still very narrow, are wider. The nose and lips are fuller, with the enchanting smile of earlier periods almost completely suppressed. The draperies are simpler, hanging vertically.

〔C〕Sculpture of the Sui and T'ang Dynasties

In the Sui Dynasty the standing figures begin to show a peculiar protrusion of the abdomen. The head has become smaller in proportion to the body, and the jaws and nose are fuller. The eyes, though still narrow, show some convexity in the upper lids, emphasizing the presence of the eyeballs. The slightly convex surface intersects the curved plane under the brow in a gentle "valley." The line of intersection appears as a wide arc, repeating the rhythm of the brow and the eye. The subdued smile is produced by more fully modeled lips, and the mouth is smaller. The neck has assumed the peculiar shape of a truncated cone, protruding sharply from the chest and joining the head with similar abruptness. The cone is circumscribed about halfway up by a groove-like fold. The drapery is shown in more natural folds, and the hem rarely flares. In contrast to the costume of Buddha, which is austerely draped in all periods, that of the Bodhisattvas has become more gaudy. The tiara and the necklace are now bedecked with jewel-like ornaments. Strings of beads, hanging from the shoulders and interrupted at intervals with pendants, reach far below the knees.

衣服不再紧贴，而是披挂在身上，在脚踝处张开，左右对称，衣褶尖挺如刀，像鸟翼似地张开（这并非偶然，这时期中国书法常有尖锋）。佛像组群中有菩萨像，在印度菩萨作公主般打扮，在中国则几乎

取消全部装饰，只戴简单的头巾和一个心形项圈，有长长的肩带，穿过在大腿前的环。

公元495年，在洛阳附近的龙门，在伊川河的山岩上开始开凿龙门石窟，情形与大同云冈近似。这里的佛像头部更圆润而较少圆柱形，衣褶不那么尖了，仍然对称，但更流畅，富有高雅的装饰性。有些洞窟的墙面上有浮雕，一面是皇帝像，对面是皇后像，各有随从侍候，表现着最高级的构图。龙门的雕凿工作持续到9世纪后期。

北齐（公元550—577年）统治者笃信佛教而奢靡。但在其统治的末期，方才开始开凿天龙山石窟，这些石窟里的大部分佛像站立着，头部是浑圆的，额头明显较低，眼睛虽然仍细但比较长，鼻与唇比较饱满。先前时期那种迷人的微笑几乎不见了，衣褶简单，直上直下。

〔3〕隋与唐的雕塑

隋代立像的腹部独特地挺出。头占全身的比例变小，鼻子和下颚较以前丰满。眼睛仍细，但上眼皮凸出一些，显出其下的眼珠。这微微凸出的眼皮与眉毛下面的弧形平面相交形成柔和的凹沟。这交线像一张弓，重复了眉和眼睛的韵律。嘴变小了，造型精致的双唇使雕像微带笑意。颈子如截去尖端的圆锥体，从胸部突然伸出，与头部生硬相接。颈部中段横一道深深的皱褶。衣服上的衣褶自然，卷边精致，很少展开，如来佛的服饰永远保持朴素，与之相反，菩萨的服饰变得华丽。头巾和项链上嵌着宝石般的装饰。珠链从肩上垂下，间隔地挂着饰物，抵至膝部以下。

Sculpture, especially Buddhist sculpture, reached its zenith in China in the T'ang Dynasty. The work begun at Lung-men by the Wei Tatars attained new heights, and the creation of Buddhist images was advanced with similar zeal throughout the empire. About the end of the 9th century, however, cave sculpture seemed to lose the interest of the worshipers of central China. It was continued at Tun-huang, but the center for China proper shifted to Szechwan, which contains many late T'ang caves. The activity in that province continued through the Sung and Yüan periods into the Ming Dynasty.

It is difficult to differentiate sharply between the Sui and early T'ang styles, but toward the middle of the 7th-century T'ang characteristics definitely emerged. The figures have become more naturalistic. The S-curve appears in most of the standing figures, which are balanced on one leg, with

the hip of the relaxed leg and the shoulder on the same side slightly lowered. To maintain equilibrium, the head is tilted slightly toward the side of the supporting leg. The body is more fleshy, although the waist remains slim. The face, especially that of the Bodhisattva, is pleasingly plump. The gracefully arched eyebrow is not carried quite so far as in the previous periods, but curves naturally, clearly defining the temple. The ridge of the eyebrow is now seldom incised with a groove. The area of the upper eyelid extends farther up, and the curved plane below the brow is narrower. The nose is shorter and less sharply ridged. The lips are definitely sensuous, and the distance of the upper lip from the nose is markedly shortened. The hair is now carried very low, reducing the height of the forehead. The Bodhisattvas of this period are less garishly ornamented. The tiara is often simplified, but the hair is drawn into an enormous knot on top of the head. The garments are modeled to conform closely to the body, and the beads, though still often worn, are bare of most of their former pendants.

About the beginning of the 8th century a very earthly type of Buddha was introduced. He is represented as a complacent, fat creature of this world, with a flabby chin, scarcely any neck, and a full, protruding abdomen—a most unusual conception of the ascetic who wandered the woods of Buddha Gaya. Not many figures of this type have been found, but all are evidence of superlative achievement in the plastic representation of the human form.

Toward the end of the T'ang Dynasty, in the caves of the seclude Szechwan area, there appeared a type of sculpture characterized by the iconographic tributes and fantastic physiology of the newly popular mi-tsung or mi-chiao (secret sect or religion). In its treatment of the human form and of the draperies, however, it shows no perceptible break with T'ang tradition. An entire wall area is often used for a single subject. The paradise scene, which is pictured over and over again in the contemporary mural painting at Tun-huang, is here executed in relief, forming a single composition—a plastic conception never found in cave sculpture of earlier periods.

中国的雕塑，尤其是佛教雕塑，在唐代直抵顶峰。北魏开始的龙门石窟达到新的高度。在唐帝国版图之内，到处都热情地雕凿佛像。大约在9世纪末，中原的信徒们对石窟失去了兴趣。敦煌石窟仍在继续，而在中国中部，石窟开凿转移到四川，那儿有一些晚唐的石窟。这一活动在四川历经宋、元，延续到明代。

唐初与隋代的风格接近，很难明确区分。到7世纪中期，唐代自己

的风格出现了。雕像更加自然主义了。大多数立像呈S形姿势，由一条腿平衡，放松的那条腿的臀部和同侧的肩部略向前倾。头部稍稍偏向另一边。躯体丰满，腰部仍细。菩萨的脸部饱满，眉毛优雅地弯曲，不像前一时期那样过分，很自然地呈弧形勾画出天庭。眉弓下也不再有凹沟。眼睛上皮更宽，眉下的曲面减窄。鼻子稍短，鼻梁稍短也稍低。鼻端与嘴稍近，嘴唇更有表情。发际下移，额头高度稍减。这时期的菩萨像的装饰不那么华丽了。头巾简化，头发在头顶上堆成高髻。服装更合身；仍然戴着珠串，但挂着的饰物减少了。

到8世纪初，出现一种非常人性化的如来佛像。他被雕凿成一个自我满足的、心宽体胖的俗世之人，下巴松弛，看不见颈子，大腹便便。这是一种关于在菩提伽耶森林中漫步的苦行者的极不寻常的观念。这样的佛像不多见，但就人体形象的雕凿而言是十分高超的。

唐末，在四川人迹罕至的地区的石窟中出现由新传播的密宗（或密教，意为秘密教派）搞的反映奇幻心理的偶像。不过人和服饰的处理与唐代传统相似。那里，一整片墙只描绘一个题材。同时期在敦煌一再出现的描绘净土的壁画，此处则用堆塑来表现，形成单一的构图。这在先前的石窟雕塑从未见过。

T'ang sculptors were extremely skillful in portraying animal forms, many examples of which have been preserved in the grounds of the T'ang imperial tombs. Some smaller pieces are on view in museums of the United States and European countries.

〔D〕Sung Sculpture

With the fall of the T'ang Dynasty the creation of Buddhist images in stone almost ceased. Statues in Sung temples were carved in wood, modeled in clay, or, rarely, cast in bronze. The only exceptions are found in the caves of Szechwan. Few of the bronze images escaped melting down in later periods. One notable exception is the 70-foot statue of Kuan-yin in Chengting, Hopeh, cast by order of the first Sung emperor, T'ai-tsu (reigned 960–976 AD). Clay figures are numerous. A superb example of this work is the altar group in the Hua-yen Ssu, Ta-t'ung. The eleven-headed Kuan-yin of the Tu-lo Ssu, Chi Hsien, closely follows the T'ang tradition; it measures about 60 feet (18 meters) in height and is the largest clay figure in China. Many wooden statues of the Sung period have found their way to the museums of the West.

The most noticeable characteristic of Sung statues is the rounding of the face. The forehead is broader than in previous periods. The nose is short and almost bulbous. The eyebrows are less arched, and the convex surface above the upper lid is ever wider, reducing to a narrow strip the concave plane under the eyebrow. The lips are thicker, and the mouth is very small. The smile has almost vanished. The neck is rendered naturally, emerging above the chest and supporting the head without any demarcation.

The S-curve of the T'ang Bodhisattvas seems to have been forgotten. Even when the figures are not completely rigid, the ease with which T'ang figures carry their weight, and the consequent lowering the relaxed side of the body, seem beyond the grasp of the Sung sculptors. The Ch'an Buddhists introduced a new pose for the Kuan-yin, showing the goddess seated on a rock with one leg hanging down and the other foot resting on the rock. This complicated pose presented the sculptor with new problems of arrangement of the body and the draperies.

Szechwan cave sculptured of the Southern Sung period shows evidence of a decline in the sculptor's art. This is especially noticeable in some of the Bodhisattvas. By this time they have taken on an unmistakably feminine appearance. They are gaudily dressed and overburdened with jewelry and ornaments. The pose is rigid, almost frigid; the expression is blank. The best example of this work is the group of young, matron-like Bodhisattvas in Tatsu.

唐代雕刻家雕刻动物的技艺特别高超，许多作品藏在唐代帝王陵墓中的地下。欧洲和美国博物馆展出了小件作品。

〔4〕宋代雕塑

唐朝之后，石造佛像几乎停止了。宋代庙宇中供奉的佛像是木刻的或泥塑的，偶尔也有用铜铸的。只有四川地区的石窟例外。几乎没有铜佛像能逃避被熔化之祸。最有名的例外是河北正定的70英尺高的铜观音，它由宋太祖（公元960—976年在位）下令铸造。泥塑佛像不计其数。极精美的一组在大同华严寺祭台上。河北蓟县独乐寺十一面泥塑观音像高60英尺（18米），风格十分接近唐代传统，是中国最高大的泥塑佛像。许多宋代木雕佛像流入西方博物馆。

宋代雕塑最突出之点是脸部浑圆，额头比以前宽，短鼻，几乎圆鼓；眉毛孤形不显，眼上皮更宽，而致与眉下方凹进处间距缩窄；嘴唇

较厚，口小，笑容几乎消失；颈部处理自然，自胸部伸出，支持头颅，与头胸之间没有分明的界线。

唐朝菩萨那种S形曲线姿势不见了。宋代雕塑虽然并不僵硬，但唐代那种轻松地支持体重并降低放松的身体一侧的安闲相不是宋代雕刻者所能掌握的。禅宗搞出另一种观音像，她坐在石头上，一脚踏石，一脚垂下。这种复杂的姿势向雕刻家提出了处理身躯和衣褶的新问题。

南宋时期，四川石窟雕刻艺术衰落，尤其是菩萨像，此时日益显现为女身。服装过分华丽，珠宝、装饰太多。姿势僵硬拘谨，表情空漠。四川最好的作品是大足石刻中少女般的菩萨群像。

〔E〕Yüan, Ming, and Ts'ing Sculpture

During the Yüan Dynasty, Lamaist Buddhism was introduced from Tibet. With it came sculptors whose influence was to last through the Ming and Ts'ing periods. Most of their figures are shown sitting cross-legged. The waist is almost wasp-like, the chest is broad, and the shoulders are square. The head has become more squat, but the rhythm of the torso is repeated in the broadening of the forehead. The top of the head is flattened and surmounted by a grossly elongated ushnisha, the hump characteristic of the sculptured heads of Buddha.

The Ming and Ts'ing Dynasties were a sad period for sculpture in China. The statuary of these periods shows neither the robust vigor of Han, nor the archaic charm of the Six Dynasties, nor the mature self-assurance of T'ang, nor even the rococo elegance of Sung. The sculptor's art had degenerated into uninspired manual labor.

〔5〕元、明、清雕塑

元代，喇嘛教从西藏传入中原，该教派的雕塑匠人也来了，他们影响了明、清的雕塑。他们的塑像大都交腿而坐，胸宽，腰细如蜂，肩方。头部短胖，而宽宽的前额重现全身的韵律。头顶是平的，上面有浓密的螺髻，是如来佛头顶上特有的疙瘩形发式。

明、清两代是中国雕塑史上可悲的时期。这个时期的雕像一没有汉代的粗犷；二没有六朝的古典妩媚；三没有唐代的成熟自信；四没有宋代的洛可可式优雅。雕塑者的技艺蜕变为没有灵气的手工劳动。

（吴焕加 译 陈志华 校）

[1] 本文根据1982年出版的《大美百科全书》（*The Encyclopedia Americana*, Grolier Educational Corp. Danbury, Conn.），为“中国的艺术、语言与大众性媒体”章内之第十一节翻译。英文文字与清华大学建筑学院档案存打字稿（1947）完全相同——左川注。

[2] 推古时期：指传说中的日本天皇谱系中第30代天皇“推古天皇”（女皇）在位时期，一般认定为公元592—628年；飞鸟文化：指的是公元6世纪中期到7世纪上半期，当时的古日本以今日“飞鸟”（地名）为都城的时代，其统治力量在于日本奈良盆地的中部（亦即藤原京时代）。近代研究者把以“飞鸟”为统治中心时期的文化，称为“飞鸟文化”。“白凤文化”与“飞鸟文化”是重叠的学术概念，指传说中天皇谱系第36代的孝德天皇时期的文化。天平时期：一般指称传说中天皇谱系的第45代天皇即日本圣武天皇第6年（公元729年）改元“天平”年号开始，共计四代天皇相继五个“天平”年号的时间段（公元729—766年）。弘仁时期：公元810—823年。贞观时期：公元859—876年——编者注。

[3] 原文Kondo of the Todaiji, Nara，指奈良东大寺。鉴真所建为Toshodaiji，唐招提寺。疑梁先生笔误——吴焕加注。

[4] 今以“塔”对应“巴高大”——陈志华注。

[5] 即卢沟桥——陈志华注。

[6] 总长度，原文如此——陈志华注。

[7] 乐浪郡为西汉汉武帝在朝鲜半岛设置的汉四郡之一，治所在朝鲜县——编者注。

[8] 据《中国大百科全书·美术卷》，贯休生卒年为832—913年——陈志华注。

[9] 据《辞海》（1999年版），钱选生卒年为约1239—约1300年——编者注。

[10] 据《辞海》（1999年版），黄公望生卒年为1269—1354年——编者注。

[11] 据《辞海》（1999年版），戴进生卒年为1388—1462年——编者注。

[12] 据《辞海》（1999年版），仇英生卒年为约1501—约1551年——编者注。

Appendix
附录

Letter to Alfred Bendiner (CV Included)

1037 Yale Station

April 26, 1947

Dear Al:

Thank you for the note. You & Betty must think me the most ungrateful animal in the world not to have written a word after the wonderful & warm reception given me. However, I know you both will understand and forgive me since I am living the life of slave that is perpetually driven by an invisible whip.

Recently there had been frequent enquiries about my work since I left America last. Once I made a list in answer to an exhaustive questionnaire. I am enclosing a copy for your reference.

My best to you & Betty,

Yours

Ssu-ch'eng

致阿尔弗雷德·班迪纳的信（内附履历）[1]

亲爱的阿尔：

谢谢你的信。你和佩蒂一定觉得我是世界上最忘恩负义的动物——我受到了你们美好热情的招待，之后却没有给你们寄去只言片语。不管怎样，我知道你们一定会理解我、原谅我，因为我正过着奴隶般的生活，总是被无形的鞭子所驱使。

最近，经常有人问到我上次离开美国后的工作情况。我曾列了一张简历表来回答一份详尽的问卷，随信寄给你一份，供参考。[2]

向你和佩蒂致以最良好的问候。

你的

思成

耶鲁车站1037号

一九四七年四月二十六日

LIANG SSU-CH'ENG

Scholarship in Colleges

Graduate, Tsinghua College, Peiping, 1923;

B. Arch., University of Pennsylvania, 1927 (February);

M. Arch., University of Pennsylvania, 1927 (June);

Harvard Grad. School (Fine Arts), 1927–28;

Spayd Brook Gold Medal for merit in architectural design, 1927;

Litt. D. (Hon.) Princeton, 1947;

Honorary fraternities: Sigma Associate, Tau Sigma Delta, Architectural Association of the University of Pennsylvania.

Research & Teaching

Research Fellow & Director of Research, Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture, 1931– (reorganized and introduced scientific approach

to its studies);

Assistant Professor in Charge, Department of Architecture Northeastern University, 1928–30 (founded this department);

Professor in Charge, Department of Architecture, North-eastern University, 1930–31;

Lecturer of History of Architecture, National Peking University, Peiping, 1932-33;

Lecturer of History of Architecture, National Tsinghua University, Peiping, 1932-34;

Professor & Chairman, Department of Architecture, National Tsinghua University, Peiping, 1946– (founded this department);

Director, Institute of Architectural Research, National Tsinghua University, 1946– (founder);

Visiting Professor of Fine Arts, Yale University, 1946–47.

梁思成

学校教育

清华学校毕业，北平，1923；

宾夕法尼亚大学，建筑学学士，1927（2月）；

宾夕法尼亚大学，建筑学硕士，1927（6月）；

哈佛研究生院（艺术学院），1927—1928；

因建筑设计成绩获得斯拜德·布鲁克金奖，1927；

普林斯顿文学荣誉博士，1947；

西格玛协会荣誉会员，宾夕法尼亚大学建筑协会。

研究与教学

中国营造学社研究员及研究主任，1931— （对研究工作用科学的方法进行重组和阐释）；

东北大学建筑系助理教授，1928—1930（建立该系）；

东北大学建筑系教授，1930—1931；

建筑历史讲师，国立北京大学，北平，1932—1933；

建筑学讲师，国立清华大学，北平，1932—1934；

教授及系主任，国立清华大学建筑系，北平，1946—　　（建立该系）；

主任，建筑研究所，国立清华大学，北平，1946—（创立者）；

艺术学院访问教授，耶鲁大学，1946—1947。

Membership and Services to Cultural and Professional Institutions

Fellow Member, Academia Sinica, 1933– ;

Member, National Academy of Peiping, 1934– ;

Member, Association of Chinese Architects, 1928– ;

Member & Specialist on Architecture, Central Commission for the Conservation of Antiquities, 1934– ;

Member, Provincial Commission for the Conservation of Antiquities of Szechwan, 1939– ;

Member & Technical Expert, National Commission for the Restoration of Historical Monuments of the Ancient Capital (Peiping), 1934– ;

Architectural Advisor, National Central Museum, 1936– ;

Architectural Advisor, National Central Library, 1937– ;

Chairman, Committee for Compilation of Historical Materials On Chinese Architecture, National Central Museum, 1939– (founder);

Vice-Chairman, Chinese Commission for the Preservation of Cultural Objects in War Areas (counter-part of the "Robert Commission" of U.S.A.O., 1945–46);

Technical advisor, National Palace Museum, Peiping, 1934;

Correspondence Member, Ostasiatische Kunstgeschichte Something (I forget)

1936 (?)– , Frankfurt or Berlin (I also forget);

Chinese Architect to Board of Design Consultants, UN Planning Board, 1947.

Publications

Official Regulations for Architectural Design in Ts'ing Dynasty Style,

1933;

The Liao Dynasty 984, *Structure of the Hall of Avalokitesvara at Tu-le Ssu (Chi Hsien)*, 1932;

The Architecture of the Temple of Confucius, Ch'üfu, and Plans for Its Restoration, 1935;

Wen-yuan Ke (a report on the architecture of the famous library of Emperor Ch'ien-lung and plans for its restoration) 1932, (in collaboration with Cai Fang-yin & Liu

Tun-tseng);

A Report on the Ancient Architecture of Ta-t'ung, 1933 (in collaboration with Liu

Tun-tseng);

文化与专业研究机构成员或工作经历

通讯研究员，中央研究院，1933—；

研究员，北平国立研究院，1934—；

会员，中国建筑师协会，1928—；

委员及建筑专家，中央古物保存委员会，1934—；

委员，四川省古物保存委员会，1939—；

委员、技术专家，国家古都历史建筑保护委员会（北平），1934—;

建筑顾问，国立中央博物院，1936—；

建筑顾问，国立中央图书馆，1937—；

主任，国立中央博物院中国建筑史料编纂委员会，1939— （创立者）；

副主任，战区文物保护中国委员会（美国罗伯特委员会的国家分委员会，1945—1946）；

技术顾问，故宫博物院，北平，1934—；

通讯成员，东亚艺术史的什么机构（我记不清了），1936（?），在法兰克福或柏林（我也记不清了）；

联合国总部设计顾问团中国建筑师，1947。

出版物

《清式营造则例》，1933；

《蓟县独乐寺观音阁山门考》，1932；

《曲阜孔庙之建筑及其修葺计划》，1935；

《故宫文渊阁楼面修理计划》（关于清代乾隆皇帝的这一著名藏书建筑的报告和修复方案），1932（与蔡方荫、刘敦桢合著）；

《大同古建筑调查报告》，1933（与刘敦桢合著）；

A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture (text in both English and Chinese), to be published, possibly in U.S.A.;

A Modern Interpretation of Ying-tsao-fa-shih (a treatise on architecture by Li Chieh, architect to Emperor Hui-tsung, Sung Dynasty, first published in 1100), to be published;

A Grammar of Chinese Architecture, English & Chinese editions, in preparation.

Articles:

What We Know of the Buddhist Temples and Palaces of the T'ang Dynasty, 1932;

The Hall of Three Bodhisattvas of Kuang-tsi Ssu, Pao-ti, 1932;

Plans for the Restoration of the Liu-ho Pagoda, Hang-chou, 1935;

Preliminary Report on the Ancient Architecture, Fen River Valley, Shansi, 1935 (in collaboration with Lin Hui-yin / Mrs. Liang);

The Architecture of the Northern Wei Dynasty found Represented in Yun-kang Caves, 1933 (in collaboration with Liu Tung-tseng & Lin Hui-yin);

The Architecture of the Han Dynasty, 1934 (in collaboration with Liu Tun-tseng & Pao Ting);

Preliminary Report on the Ancient Architecture of Chengting, 1933;

An-chi Ch'iao, the "Great Stone Bridge" of Chao Hsien, 1934;

Open-spandrel Bridges of Ancient China (I. The An-chi Ch'iao at Chao-chou, Hopei; II. The Yung-t'ung Ch'iao at Chao-chou, Hopei) (a condensed English version of the above article), *Pencil Points* Magazine, January & March, 1938;

Five Early Chinese Pagodas, *Asia Magazine*, 1941;

A Report on the T'ang Dynasty Hall, 857, of Fo-kuang Ssu, Wu-t'ai Mountains, Shansi, 1945;

The Oldest Wooden Structure in China (a condensed English version of the above article), *Asia Magazine*, 1941;

Chinese Architecture, for the next edition of *The Encyclopedia Britannica*;

Chinese Architecture and Art, for the next edition of *The Encyclopedia Americana*;

etc., etc., etc.

《图像中国建筑史》（文字为英文和中文），可能将在美国出版；

《宋营造法式注释》（《营造法式》为宋徽宗的皇家建筑师李诫关于建筑的专著，出版于1100年），即将出版。

《中国建筑的文法》（英文稿和中文稿），写作中。

文章

《我们所知道的唐代佛寺与宫殿》，1932；

《宝坻县广济寺三大士殿》，1932；

《杭州六和塔复原状计划》，1935；

《晋汾古建筑预查纪略》，山西，1935（与林徽因合著）；

《云冈石窟中表现的北魏建筑》，1933（与刘敦桢、林徽因合著）；

《汉代的建筑式样与装饰》，1934（与刘敦桢、鲍鼎合著）；

《正定调查纪略》，1933；

《赵县大石桥》，1934；

《两座中国古代的拱券桥》（即上文的英文简写稿），发表于《铅笔尖》杂志，1938年1月号和3月号；

《中国的五座古塔》，发表于《亚洲杂志》，1941；

《记五台山佛光寺的唐代建筑（857）》，1945；

《中国最古老的木结构建筑》（即上文的英文简写稿），发表于《亚洲杂志》，1941；

“中国建筑”条目，为新版《大英百科全书》所写；

“中国的建筑与艺术”条目，为新版《大美百科全书》所写；

等等，等等，等等。

Field Trips

In search of architecture in this virgin field of study, field trips were taken by members of the Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture regularly twice every year from 1932 to 1937. Less regularly from 1935 to 1945. Covering more than 200 hsiens (counties) in 15 provinces in China. More than 2200 "units" studies (photographed & measured). Mostly conducted personally by L. S. C. Less than one-tenths of materials thus collected were able to be published.

Creative Work in Architecture

The University of Chi-lin Group, Chi-lin Province, 1930 (in collaboration with Ch'en Chih and T'ung Chun, and Cai Fang-yin);

The University of Communication Group, Chin-chou, 1930 (destroyed in war) (in collaboration with Phyllis Lin);

The Geology Building, National Peking University, Peiping, 1934 (in collaboration with Phyllis Lin);

Women's Dormitory, National Peking University, Peiping, 1935 (in collaboration with Phyllis Lin);

National Central Museum, Nanking (as consulting architect), 1937 (work interrupted by war, resumed in 1946);

And a number of residences and shops, etc., with Phyllis Lin.

Restoration Work

The Temples, Pagodas & Palaces of Peiping, as technical expert to the Ancient Capital Commission (work started in 1934, still going on);

The Temple of Confucius Group, Ch'üfu (interrupted by war);

The Pagoda of Liu-ho T'a, Hang-chou (prevented by war);

The Great Stone Bridge, Chao Hsien (interrupted by war);

The "Little Geese Pagoda," Sian (did not start on account of war);

The Main Hall of Yen-fu Ssu, Hsuan-p'ing (did not start on account of

war);

The Yun-kang Caves, Ta-t'ung (plan did not realize on account of prohibitively high expense).

实地考察

在这块研究的处女地中，为找寻建筑，从1932年到1937年中国营造学社的成员每年固定进行两次调查，从1935年到1945年则不十分规律，旅行地区覆盖了中国15个省的200多个县。进行了2200多个实例的研究（摄影和测量）。大部分由梁思成指导，将近十分之一已收集到的资料将能出版。

建筑创作

吉林大学，吉林省，1930，与陈植、童寯和蔡方荫合作；

交通大学，锦州，1930（战争中被毁），与林徽因合作；

地质馆，国立北京大学，北平，1934，与林徽因合作；

女生宿舍，国立北京大学，北平，1935，与林徽因合作；

国立中央博物院，南京（顾问建筑师），1937（工作因战争中断，1946年恢复）；

其他一些住宅和商店等，与林徽因合作。

复原保护工作

作为故都文物整理委员会技术专家，参与北平的寺庙、塔和宫殿的保护（工作开始于1935年，现仍在进行）；

曲阜孔庙（因战争而中断）；

六和塔，杭州（因战争而停止）；

大石桥，赵县（因战争而中断）；

小雁塔，西安（因战争而未能开始）；

延福寺大殿，宣平（因战争而未能开始）；

云冈石窟，大同（由于造价限制，计划未能实现）。

（吕舟 译 高亦兰 校）

Letter to Wilma Fairbank

Tsing Hua, Peking

December 30, 1956

Dear Wilma:

It is a pleasant surprise to hear from you again after all these long years. I was away in Poland and Germany when T. S. came back with your warm letter which reached me only after my return to Peking a few days ago.

Yes, Wilma, I know that you will share with me my grief over P.'s death and I am deeply touched by your sympathy and condolescence. It is more than a year and a half now. She fought most courageously against her poor health and was undaunted till the last moment. It may console you a little to know that she was never so happy over life and work as in her last 6½ years. Like all the intelligentsia in China today, she had already seen with unshakable conviction and absolute self-confidence a picture of the great and bright future for her country and her people. In spite of her very poor health, she proudly shares with other architects the responsibility and burden of reconstructing the country and the training of future generations of architects. She was appointed a top-rank architect of the Municipality of Peking and a member of the City Planning Commission, concurrently teaching in Tsing Hua, and was elected a representative of the People's Representatives' Congress of Peking. She even found opportunities in improving the designs of cloisonné (remember how ugly they could be?!) and "soaked" herself in the workshops for days on a stretch, working together with the artisans and created articles of exquisite beauty.

She was still bending over her drawing board, sitting in bed, against the advice of doctors and disregarding the protests of the family and friends, till a few days before she was taken to the hospital on Feb. 12, '55. She was 50, and ill, but her enthusiasm was as high as ever, as you knew her years ago. She was confident that she would recover soon and be back to work again. But in spite of all the efforts of the doctors, she lost her last battle on April 1st. Perhaps her only regret is that she did not live to see the radiant future for

which she contributed every ounce of strength of her last few years' life.

致费慰梅的信

亲爱的威尔玛：

多年以后再次收到你的来信，真令我感到惊喜。（钱）端升带回来你热情洋溢的信件的时候，我正在波兰和德国。几天前，我刚结束访问回到北京，就收到了你的来信。

是的，威尔玛，我对徽因的病逝痛不欲生，我想你也会和我一样悲伤。你的同情和慰问让我非常感动。徽因的离去已经超过一年半时间了。她非常勇敢地同病魔战斗，直到最后一刻也没有畏缩。她从来没有像生命中最后六年半时间里那样，为生活和工作而如此幸福——我想这会使你感到稍许宽慰。像今天中国的知识精英一样，徽因对她的祖国和人民伟大光明的前途有着坚定不移的自信。她拖着病体，与其他建筑师一起非常自豪地承担重建国家和培养下一代建筑师的责任和重担。她被任命为北京市高级建筑师和北京市都市计划委员会委员，被推选为北京市人大代表；同时，她一边还在清华教课。她甚至觅得良机去改进景泰蓝的设计（你还记得它们是多么地不堪入目么?!），整天绷紧了弦泡在车间里，与工匠们一起工作，创造精美的款式。

她不听从医生的忠告和家人朋友的反对，即使卧病在床仍然离不开画板，直到1955年2月12日被送往医院的前几天。她当时已经有50岁了，病魔缠身，但是她的激情与你多年前认识她的时候一样高昂。她相信自己将会很快康复，并重新投入工作。尽管医生们竭尽全力，她还是在4月1日结束了人生的这场战斗。她在最后几年光阴里耗尽精力为之奋斗的事业，其未来是如何地光辉，这个她没有亲眼见到，也许是她唯一的遗憾。

Ever since 1949, she was given the best medical care by the Government (all free of charge, of course) and, after her death, in recognition of her service to the people, was buried in the People's Revolutionary Cemetery near 八宝山. Only if she had such case a few years earlier, she would have a much better chance to recover, and would be able to do much much more.

Yes, Wilma, P.'s death is a terrible blow to me and an irretrievable loss to many of our friends, Lao Chin, Hsi-jo and T. S. especially, and to many younger members of the teaching staff in Tsing Hua. I found work difficult

without her cooperation to which I was so accustomed for nearly 30 years. It took me considerable length of time to pull myself together again and proceed with work. But, you can well imagine, how limped I am without her guiding wisdom and never failing encouragement on which I was almost completely dependent.

As to myself, I can only tell you that, like every architect, no, like almost everybody in China today, I have been very, very busy for the last eight years. In 1949, architects were transformed overnight from a mere social ornament to the post of vanguard of the country's reconstruction. Ever since 1949, I have been working on the planning of Peking, but did comparatively little in the designing of individual buildings. If you come today, you will find Peking very much changed. Hundreds of new buildings have sprung up, most of them in the suburbs—enormous cotton mills with their workers' dormitories in the East suburbs where you used to go riding with P.; the North and N.W. suburbs covered with numerous new buildings of new institutions of higher education. All these connected by miles and miles of new roads. And by the way, talking about roads, the road from 西直门 to the Summer Palace is now a double driveway, and on Sundays and holidays, when the Summer Palace (usually) gets as crowded as the Tung-an Shih-chang (unimaginable?), the traffic flow on the driveway presents a sight unthinkable a few years ago, and of course the parking problem in front of the entrance to the Summer Palace duely becomes a headache for the city planner. The area around the former race-course and 八宝山 is now almost completely urbanized. In short, you will find Peking very much different from what you know of it from your memories.

1949年以来，她一直受到政府最好的医疗护理（当然一切都是免费的）；在她去世以后，为肯定徽因对人民的贡献，她被葬在八宝山附近的人民革命公墓。哪怕更早几年是这种情况，她将会有更好的机会康复，也将会做更多的事情。

是的，威尔玛，徽因的死对我是一个重大的打击，对我们的许多朋友以及清华大学的许多年轻教师而言也意味着不可挽回的损失，特别是老金（金岳霖）、（张）奚若和（钱）端升。近30年来，我早已习惯了她的协作，失之犹感寸步难行。我过了很长时间才使自己恢复平静、重新振作起来投入工作。但是，你能想象得到，她的睿智引导和从未间断的鼓励，是我所完全依赖的；缺少了这个，我就如同跛行夜路一般。

至于我自己，我只能告诉你，像每一个建筑师，不，像今天的大多

数中国人一样，我在这八年里非常繁忙。1949年，建筑师从仅仅是社会的装饰品，一夜之间转变为国家重建的急先锋。1949年以来，我一直在忙于北京城市的规划，在单体建筑的设计上所作相对甚少。如果你今天来到北京，会发现北京发生了翻天覆地的变化。成百上千的新建筑如雨后春笋般出现，它们大部分在郊区。在你从前经常和徽因一起骑马的东郊建起了大片的棉纺厂和工人的宿舍。北郊和西北郊满是新建高校的新建筑。穿连其中的则是一条条长长的新公路。说到公路，从西直门到颐和园的公路现在是双向车道。在周日和节日，颐和园（常）像东安市场一般拥挤（不能想象吧？），车流之繁忙为几年前所无法想象；当然，颐和园入口处停车的问题令城市的规划者颇为头疼。过去的赛马场和八宝山附近的区域现在已经几乎完全城市化了。简而言之，北京与你记忆中的印象大为不同了。

It may also interest you to know that the architectural department in Tsing Hua has grown to more than ten times its original size and by 1958, it will be expanded to about 600 undergraduate (plus about 50-60 graduate students). These boys and girls are all so eager to learn and so confident and aware of their responsibilities in the future that it is a joy to teach them. In spite of these vast expansions, but still, how they clamour for more and more architects.

Engaged principally in planning and teaching, I did comparatively little field work in Chinese architecture since 1949. But many of my former colleagues, who are now working in the Ministry of Culture, had done a great, great deal. Besides many important discoveries, they also did much in repair and restorations of ancient edifices, including the Sui Dynasty bridge at Chao-chou. Batches of archaeological workers from all over the country were given courses in Chinese architecture in successive summer training classes in which I gave series of lectures almost every summer. But recently, the Government decided to establish an Institute of Research in the History and Theory of Architecture, starting with a staff much bigger than that of the Ying-tsao Hsüeh-shê and I expect to devote at least half of my time to it. Perhaps you've already read about it in the Kuang-ming Jih-pao.

Perhaps it will be a surprise (or no surprise?) to you if I tell you that P. was already a grandma before she died, and that now I have already three grandchildren!! Tsai-ping (Bao-bao) has a son and a daughter and Chung-chieh (Hsiao-ti), a son. Chung-chieh's wife is Chou Ru-mei (May), Pei-yuan's daughter. Enclosed are a few snap-shots introducing the new members of the

family.

还有一个消息也许会令你感兴趣：清华大学建筑系的规模已相当于初建之时的十多倍，到1958年它将扩展到拥有600名本科生（以及五六十名研究生）。这些孩子们都非常好学，非常清楚他们未来的责任，并且信心十足；所以，给他们教课是一件令人愉快的事。尽管建筑系扩展得很快，但我们仍然需要越来越多的建筑师。

1949年以后，我主要精力放在城市规划和教学工作上，对中国建筑的实地调查所作相较而言极少。但是我之前的很多同事现在在文化部工作，他们在这方面做了很多很多。除了一些重大的发现，他们在修复包括隋代赵州桥在内的古建筑方面也贡献颇多。连续几个暑期的训练班上，全国各地的考古工作者分批接受中国建筑方面的课程培训，几乎每个暑期我都为此作了一系列讲座。而就在最近，政府决定重新建立建筑历史与理论研究室，人员的数量要比营造学社大很多。我希望能把至少一半的时间投入其中。也许你已经在《光明日报》上看到了这一消息。

如果我告诉你徽因在去世之前已经成为祖母，而且我现在也已经有了三个孙辈孩子了，你也许会感到惊讶（或者不惊讶？）。再冰（宝宝）生了一儿一女，从诫（小弟）有了一个儿子。从诫的妻子是周如枚，是（周）培源的女儿。信里附上几张我家新成员的照片。

About your old friends, all I need to tell you is that they are all well and happy. They are happy in their work and very busy. I hope you and John will come and pay us a visit. (The door of New China is always wide open and many Americans have already been here.) You'll find great changes here. They are worthwhile seeing. And of your old friends, with the single exception of myself, the most noticeable change in their appearance is perhaps in their hair, especially Lao Chin and Hsi-jo, who are now almost completely white, but in spirit, as young as ever. In health, the only one who should be ashamed of himself is myself. I had a rather bad relapse of T.B. last year and was in the hospital for six months and later in the Summer Palace rest-curing for five months. But I have only myself to blame because I still insisted on working with such gusto as I did in the young days, a little too disproportionate to my age and present state of health. Now I have learnt to be wiser and promise to go slow and to apply my brake more diligently. I am determined to keep on going, moderate but conspirito, for at least another 25 years, because New China needs every architect—every single person's strength, no matter how meager his contribution.

In closing—One request and three wishes:

Request:—Will it be too much trouble for you to mail the drawings and photographs of Chinese architecture which I left with you back in '47 to "Miss Chen Lau 刘蕙真, Methodist International House, 76, Osborne Rd., Newcastle-on-Tyne, 2, England"? I wish to make many revisions and additions to those drawings.

Wishes:—(1) that you will write again; (2) that you and J. will come and pay us a visit soon; (3) [much belated] A very Merry X'mas and a Happy New Year!

Yours,

Ssu-ch'eng

关于你的老朋友们，我要告诉你的是，他们都身体很好，也都非常幸福。他们非常开心地投入工作，也非常繁忙。我希望你和约翰（译者注：即费正清）能来看看我们。（新中国的大门永远是打开的，很多美国人已经来过这里。）你将会发现这里发生了巨大的变化。这些都值得看看。除了我以外，你的老朋友们在外貌上最显著的变化就是他们的头发，特别是老金和奚若，头发几乎全白了，但是精气神儿仍旧跟年轻时一样。在健康上，只有我自惭不已。去年，我因为肺结核复发住院六个月，尔后在颐和园疗养了五个月。这只能怨我自己，因为我仍然坚持像年轻时候一样干劲十足地去工作，这与我现在的年纪和健康状况有点不太相称。现在我学聪明了，答应会放慢脚步，勤踩刹车。我决定平和而精神饱满地至少再工作25年，因为新中国需要每一个建筑师、每一个人贡献力量，无论他的力量是多么微薄。

最后，一个请求和三个心愿：

请求——可否麻烦你将我1947年留在你那儿的中国建筑的绘图和照片邮寄给刘蕙真小姐？她的地址是 Methodist International House, 76, Osborne Rd., Newcastle-on-Tyne, 2, England。我想对那些绘图作多处修订和补充。

心愿——（一）你将会再写信过来；（二）你和约翰很快会来看望我们；（三）迟到的祝福：圣诞快乐！新年快乐！

思成

一九五六年十二月三十日

于北京清华大学

（吴子桐 译）

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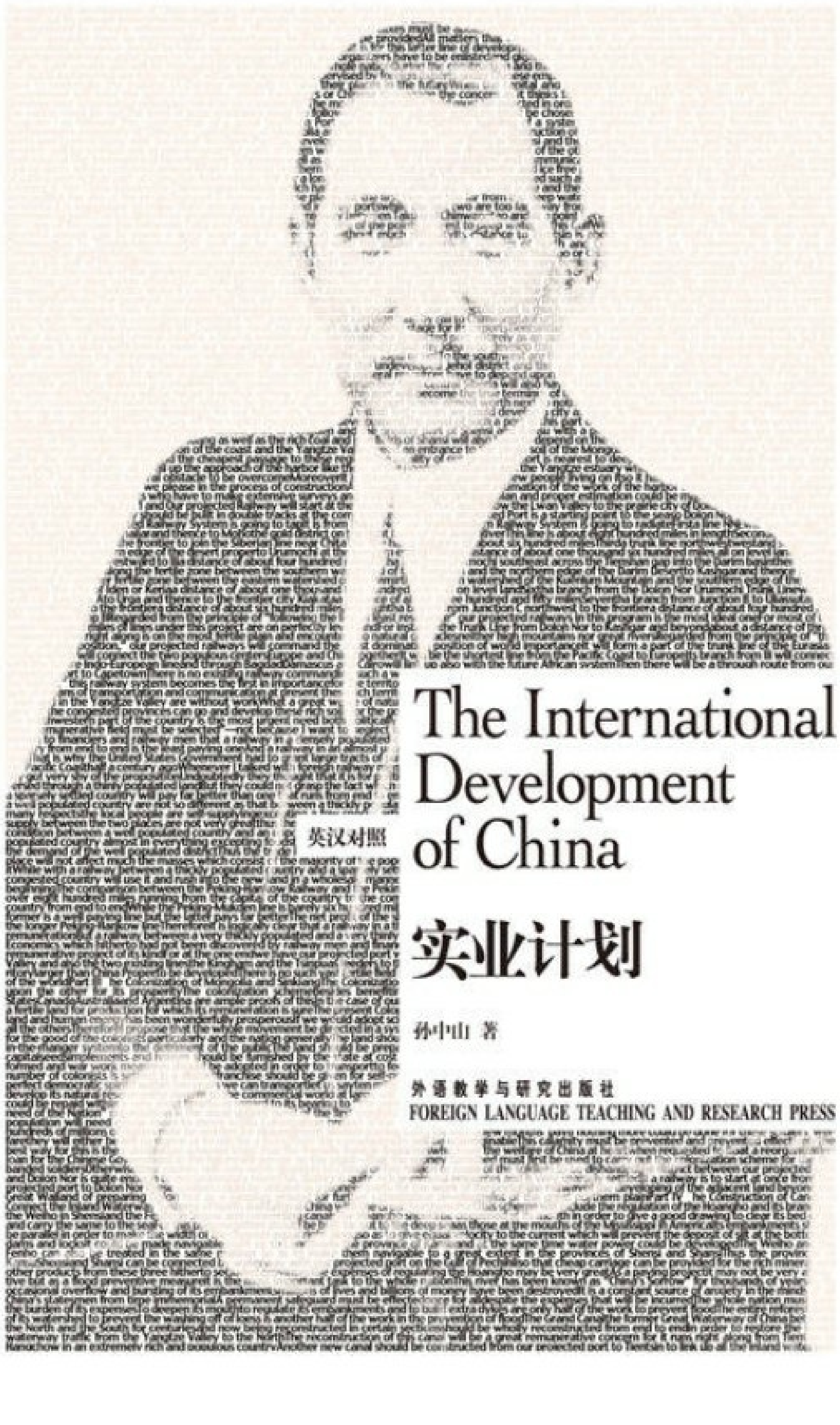
[1] 阿尔弗雷德·班迪纳（Alfred Bendiner），已故美国建筑师，宾夕法尼亚大学建筑学院校友。1947年时是费城房地产信托公司的建筑师。梁思成在耶鲁大学艺术学院访问讲学期间，他邀请梁思成到费城出席校友会和晚餐会并发表演说。这封信件即为梁思成与班迪纳在此期间的通信。原信由班迪纳夫人保存，1982年费慰梅女士写作《梁思成与林徽因》期间，应费慰梅要求，班迪纳夫人把丈夫和梁思成当时来往的信件提供给宾夕法尼亚大学建筑学院，并转费慰梅。出版使用的复印件得之于宾夕法尼亚大学建筑学院档案室——左川注。

[2] 已对原文及译文中个别与实际有出入的年代等信息校改——编者注。

《建国方略》的核心内容，实业振国的宏伟蓝图，20世纪初中国现代化建设的战略规划——回首百年，孙中山先生在著作中畅想的重大计划大多已经成为现实。



英汉对照

The International Development of China

实业计划

孙中山 著

外语教学与研究出版社
FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH PRESS

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“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外研社人文社科出版分社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系

列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

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编者说明

孙中山于1918年11月开始用英文写作《实业计划》。1919年8月起，《实业计划》的中译稿在《建设》杂志连载。1920年，上海商务印书馆出版英文本。1921年10月，上海民智书局出版中文本。《实业计划》后作为“物质建设”与《孙文学说》（“心理建设”）、《民权初步》（“社会建设”）一起合编为《建国方略》。

此英汉对照版的英文部分以美国G. P. Putnam's Sons旗下The Knickerbocker Press 1929年第二版为底本，附有孙科1928年10月为第二版所作的序言；中文部分依据华夏出版社2002年版《建国方略》，以民智书局本作为底本。

本书作于民国初年，彼时也是中国国内政局不稳、社会经济亟待发展的时期，作品无可避免地带有其所处时代的背景与印记。举例来说，当时对一些地名、译名、朝代称谓、民族关系、世界政治的表述等与当前的通行用法不尽一致，亦有部分词语已不再使用，因而不为读者所熟悉——对于此类情况，均作注说明于书后，供读者参阅。除部分编者注外，承蒙张小莉、申学锋为中译文部分词语作注，王希教授、李典蓉博士对编辑工作给予了热心指导，特此一并感谢。

This work is

affectionately dedicated

to

Sir James and Lady Cantlie

My revered teacher and devoted friends

to whom I once owed my life

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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

During the eve of the Manchu Régime[1] , the first spark of industrialization took place in China in the forms of various state and quasi-state enterprises; railways and steamship lines, iron and steel works and coal mines, arsenals and docks all began to bedeck the Empire but they were soon found toiling under a corrupt and decadent political system. Then came the 1911 Revolution with its almost immediate reverses in the hands of Yuan Shi-kai and his military satellites. It has taken the Kuomintang fully seventeen years to wipe out these reactionaries and establish its undisputed political authority over the whole country. Although much to the sacrifice of our economic progress, we have, in these long years of bitter struggles, achieved a great political revolution; and a new, healthy political order is necessary for proper economic development.

How would Nationalist China carry out her program of economic reconstruction and development? This is necessarily a question of world interest.

In 1921 my father, the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, wrote this "International Development of China." It was then his desire that international capital should come to China to develop railroads and highways, river conservancy and irrigation, new ports and modern cities, basic industries and public utilities.

The nature of the whole plan, in the words of my father, is a "rough sketch—from a layman's thought with very limited materials at his disposal; alterations and changes will have to be made after scientific in-vestigations and detailed survey." It shows the stupendous requirements to modernize China. It will be the acme of economic rationalization when fully carried out. In its policies of reconstruction and economic development, the Nationalist Government will essentially follow this plan as its supreme guidance.

Naturally, working schedules will have to be carefully mapped out in order of the importance and urgency of these different projects. As means of

communication are a prime mover to drag a country out of its economic stagnation, construction of sufficient trunk lines of railways with highways serving as their feeders should engage our serious attention at present. In my father's plan, seven great systems of railways are to traverse the whole of China. As North China is comparatively better served with railways at present than South China, special preference should be given to regions in the latter, especially to those places where even proper means of water transportation are lacking. In this respect, some trunk lines of the Southwestern System, which is to cover Kwangsi, Kweichow, Yunnan, southeastern Szechuen, southwestern Hunan and the western half of Kwangtung, should be constructed to tap the rich mineral resources in these regions and to provide rapid means of transport in place of the present tedious travel requiring weeks to reach these inner provinces. Turning back to the north, the Northwestern System is all important to open up Mongolia and Sinkiang and to release the population pressure in China Proper by colonization of these grazing lands and irrigable tracts. As to the existing railways, the completion of the unfinished section of the Canton-Hankow Line and the extension of the Lunghai Line to Lanchow should merit special attention.

Then the improvement of the present telegraph system and the extensive introduction of long-distance telephones and wireless service should contribute much in promoting greater efficiency and stronger unity of the national life. Some of the projects have the great advantage of being immediately very profitable.

Concerning other parts of my father's plan, that which will directly help agriculture and promote industry should form the complement to the communication program and should be as equally urgent. River conservancy and land irrigation to add more acreage to agriculture, better mobilization of coal resources and proper harnessing of water power to provide cheap motive power for industry; these are the agencies through which national production will be stimulated and increased. Past studies have shown the Hwaiho regulation and Sikiang regulation to be immensely profitable. Possibilities of the North River of Kwangtung for hydroelectric development have also been carefully studied and found to be very attractive. Incidentally, increased national production means greater purchasing power, and that in turn means bigger international trade.

Enough have been mentioned to indicate the vast opportunities of profitable investment. To show our readiness to accept foreign capital upon equitable and businesslike terms, we can do no better than to refer again to the words of my father. He tells us that "the Chinese people will welcome the development of our country's resources provided that it can be kept out of Mandarin corruption and ensure the mutual benefit of China and the countries cooperating with us." He further says that "international cooperation of this kind cannot but help to strengthen the Brotherhood of Man." For the realization of the worthy objects of such financing, all necessary safeguards will be granted to the lenders, who should provide us with "organizers, administrators and experts." In other words, we welcome sound business arrangements.

Looking over the activities of the international capital market in recent years, we find it has been principally absorbed in the herculean task of the reconstruction of post-war Europe. Capital did not merely flow passively to openings already safe and lucrative, but, on account of preponderant interests involved, it actually went to put things to order. Now Europe has fully revived, and in some quarters there is even an alarm against American financial imperialism. But New York and London will keep on busy finding outlets for the immense accumulation of wealth in America and England. Hand in hand with financiers, there are also producers of industrial equipments who constantly seek wider and greater markets. As to the China market, what is mostly needed at present is information. Always more *Information*, better collected and more widely distributed.

Finally, let us consider the economic development of China as a world problem. Commenting on the purpose of his book, my father tells us that it is his desire "to contribute my (his) humble part in the realization of the world peace—for the good of the world in general and the Chinese people in particular." The mere thought of the size of China and her population will prompt one to the correct appreciation of the question. I have no doubt that far-sighted and well-meaning statesmen will actively help in solving it.

Sun Fo.

NANKING, Oct. 6, 1928.

[1] Manchu Régime：指清朝。——编者注

自序

欧战甫完之夕，作者始从事于研究国际共同发展中国实业，而成此六种计划。盖欲利用战时宏大规模之机器，及完全组织之人工，以助长中国实业之发达，而成我国民一突飞之进步；且以助各国战后工人问题之解决。无如各国人民久苦战争，朝闻和议，夕则懈志，立欲复战前原状，不独战地兵员陆续解散，而后路工厂亦同时休息。大势所趋，无可如何。故虽有三数之明达政治家，欲赞成吾之计划，亦无从保留其战时之工业，以为中国效劳也。我固失一速进之良机，而彼则竟陷于经济之恐慌，至今未已。其所受痛苦，较之战时尤甚。将来各国欲恢复其战前经济之原状，尤非发展中国之富源，以补救各国之穷困不可也。然则中国富源之发展，已成为今日世界人类之至大问题，不独为中国之利害而已也。惟发展之权，操之在我则存，操之在人则亡，此后中国存亡之关键，则在此实业发展之一事也。吾欲操此发展之权，则非有此知识不可。吾国人欲有此知识，则当读此书，尤当熟读此书。从此触类旁通，举一反三，以推求众理。庶几操纵在我，不致因噎废食，方能泛应曲当[1]，驰骤于今日世界经济之场，以化彼族竞争之性，而达我大同之治也。

此书为实业计划之大方针，为国家经济之大政策而已。至其实施之细密计划，必当再经一度专门名家之调查，科学实验之审定，乃可从事。故所举之计划，当有种种之变更改良，读者幸毋以此书为一成不易之论，庶乎可。

此书原稿为英文，其篇首及第二、第三计划及第四之大部分为朱执信所译，其第一计划为廖仲恺所译，其第四之一部分及第六计划及结论为林云陔[2] 所译，其第五计划为马君武所译。特此志之。

民国十年十月十日 孙文序于粤京[3]

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[1] 泛应曲当：广泛应用于各种情况，到处都很恰当。

[2] 林云陔：1883—1948年，广东人。同盟会会员，朱执信的学生，曾赴美留学，回国后，任《建设》杂志编辑。

[3] 粤京：指广东省省会广州。

PREFACE

As soon as Armistice was declared in the recent World War, I began to take up the study of the International Development of China, and to form programs accordingly. I was prompted to do so by the desire to contribute my humble part in the realization of world peace. China, a country possessing a territory of 4,289,000 square miles, a population of 400,000,000 people, and the richest mineral and agricultural resources in the world, is now a prey of militaristic and capitalistic powers—a greater bone of contention than the Balkan Peninsula. Unless the Chinese question can be settled peacefully, another world war greater and more terrible than the one just past will be inevitable. In order to solve the Chinese question, I suggest that the vast resources of China be developed internationally under a socialistic scheme, for the good of the world in general and the Chinese people in particular. It is my hope that as a result of this, the present spheres of influence can be abolished; the international commercial war can be done away with; the internecine capitalistic competition can be got rid of, and last, but not least, the class struggle between capital and labor can be avoided. Thus the root of war will be forever exterminated so far as China is concerned.

Each part of the different programs in this International Scheme, is but a rough sketch or a general policy produced from a layman's thought with very limited materials at his disposal. So alterations and changes will have to be made after scientific investigation and detailed survey. For instance, in regard to the projected Great Northern Port, which is to be situated between the mouths of the Tsingho and the Lwanho, the writer thought that the entrance of the harbor should be at the eastern side of the port but from actual survey by technical engineers, it is found that the entrance of the harbor should be at the western side of the port instead. So I crave great indulgence on the part of experts and specialists.

I wish to thank Dr. Monlin Chiang[1] , Mr. David Yui[2] , Dr. Y. Y. Tsu[3] , Mr. T. Z. Koo[4] , and Dr. John Y. Lee[5] , who have given me great

assistance in reading over the manuscripts with me.

Sun Yat-sen.

CANTON, April 25, 1921.

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[1] 蒋梦麟：1886—1964年，原名梦熊，浙江余姚人。美国哥伦比亚大学教育学博士，师从杜威。曾长期担任北京大学校长。著有《西潮》、《新潮》等。——编者注

[2] 余日章：1882—1936年，原籍蒲圻，生于武昌。获美国哈佛大学教育科硕士学位、上海圣约翰大学文科博士学位。先后担任中华基督教青年会全国协会总干事、中华基督教协进会会长等职务。——编者注

[3] 朱友渔：1886—1986年，社会学家、基督徒。1911年获美国哥伦比亚大学哲学博士学位。曾任上海圣约翰大学社会学教授、中华圣公会云贵教区主教等。——编者注

[4] 顾子仁：1887—1971年，生于上海，毕业于上海圣约翰大学，曾任职于中华基督教青年会、世界基督教学生同盟等。——编者注

[5] 李耀邦：1884—约1940年，物理学家，生于广东省番禺，1914年获美国芝加哥大学哲学博士学位。曾任南京高等师范学校教授、基督教青年会全国协会副总干事等。——编者注

THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA—A PROJECT TO ASSIST THE READJUSTMENT OF POST-BELLUM INDUSTRIES

It is estimated that during the last year of the World War the daily expenses of the various fighting nations amounted to two hundred and forty millions of dollars gold. It is accepted by even the most conservative, that only one half of this sum was spent on munitions and other direct war supplies, that is, one hundred and twenty millions of dollars gold. Let us consider these war supplies from a commercial point of view. The battlefield is the market for these new industries, the consumers of which are the soldiers. Various industries had to be enlisted and many new ones created for the supplies. In order to increase the production of these war commodities day by day, people of the warring countries and even those of the neutral states had to be content with the barest necessities of life and had to give up all former comforts and luxuries.

Now the war is ended and the sole market of these war supplies has closed, let us hope, forever, for the good of humanity. So, from now on we are concerned with the problem as to how a readjustment may be brought about. What must be considered first is the reconstruction of the various countries, and next the supply of comforts and luxuries that will have to be resumed. We remember that one hundred and twenty million dollars were spent every day on direct war supplies. Let us then suppose that the two items mentioned will take up one half of this sum, that is, sixty millions of dollars a day which will still leave us a balance of sixty million dollars a day. Besides, the many millions of soldiers who were once consumers will from now on become producers again. Furthermore, the unification and nationalization of all the industries, which I might call the Second Industrial Revolution, will be more far-reaching than that of the first one in which Manual Labor was

displaced by Machinery. This second industrial revolution will increase the productive power of man many times more than the first one. Consequently, this unification and nationalization of industries on account of the World War will further complicate the readjustment of the post-war industries. Just imagine sixty million dollars a day or twenty-one billions and nine hundred millions of dollars a year of new trade created by the war suddenly have to stop when peace is concluded! Where in this world can Europe and America look for a market to consume this enormous saving from the war?

国际共同发展中国实业计划书——补助世界战后整顿实业之方法

世界大战最后之一年中，各国战费每日须美金二万四千万元。此中以极俭计，必有一半费于药弹及其他直接供给战争之品，此已当美金一万二千万元矣。如以商业眼光观察此种战争用品，则此新工业乃以战场为其销场，以兵士为其消费者，改变种种现存之他种实业，以为此供给，而又新建以益之。各交战国民，乃至各中立国民，日夕缩减其生活所需至于极度，而储其向日所费诸繁华及安适者，以增加生产此种战争货品之力。

今者战事告终，诚可为人道庆。顾此战争用品之销场同时闭锁，吾人当图善后之策。故首当谋各交战国之再造，次则恢复其繁华与安适。此两项事业，若以日费六千万元计之，只占此战争市场所生余剩之半额，而所余者每日仍有六千万元，尚无所用之地。且此千数百万军人，向从事于消费者，今又一转而事生产，则其结果必致生产过多。不特此也，各国自推行工业统一与国有后，其生产力大增，与前此易手工用机器之工业革命相较，其影响更深。吾人欲命以第二工业革命之名，似甚正确。若以其增加生产力而言，此次革命之结果，实较前增加数倍。然则以世界战争而成此工业统一与国有之现象者，于战后之整理，必多纠纷。今夫一日六千万，则一年二百一十九万万也，贸易如是其巨也，以战争而起者，乃忽以和平而止。试问欧美于此世界中，将向何处觅销场，以消纳战争时储节所赢之如许物产乎？

If the billions of dollars worth of war industries can find no place in the post-bellum readjustment, then they will be a pure economic waste. The result will not only disturb the economic condition of the pro- ducing countries, but will also be a great loss to the world at large.

All the commercial nations are looking to China as the only "dumping ground" for their over-production. The pre-war condition of trade was unfavorable to China. The balance of imports over exports was something over one hundred million dollars gold annually. The market of China under

this condition could not expand much for soon after there will be no more money or commodities left for exchanging goods with foreign countries. Fortunately, the natural resources of China are great and their proper development would create an unlimited market for the whole world and would utilize the greater part, if not all of the billions of dollars worth of war industries soon to be turned into peace industries.

China is the land that still employs manual labor for production and has not yet entered the first stage of industrial evolution, while in Europe and America the second stage is already reached. So China has to begin the two stages of industrial evolution at once by adopting the machinery as well as the nationalization of production. In this case China will require machinery for her vast agriculture, machinery for her rich mines, machinery for the building of her innumerable factories, machinery for her extensive transportation systems and machinery for all her public utilities. Let us see how this new demand for machinery will help in the readjustment of war industries. The workshops that turn out cannon can easily be made to turn out steam rollers for the construction of roads in China. The workshops that turn out tanks can be made to turn out trucks for the transportation of the raw materials that are lying everywhere in China. And all sorts of warring machinery can be converted into peaceful tools for the general development of China's latent wealth. The Chinese people will welcome the development of our country's resources provided that it can be kept out of Mandarin corruption and ensure the mutual benefit of China and of the countries coöperating with us.

It might be feared by some people in Europe and America that the development of China by war machinery, war organization and technical experts might create unfavorable competition to foreign indus-tries. I, therefore, propose a scheme to develop a new market in China big enough both for her own products and for products from foreign countries. The scheme will be along the following lines:

I. The Development of a Communications System.

(a) 100,000 miles of Railways.

如当整理战后工业之际，无处可容此一年二百一十九万万之贸易，则其工业必停，而投于是之资本乃等于虚掷，其结果不惟有损此诸生产国之经济状况，即于世界所失亦已多矣。

凡商业国，无不觅中国市场，以为消纳各国余货之地。然战前贸易状态，太不利于中国，输入超过输出，年逾美金一万万。循此以往，中国市场不久将不复能销容大宗外货，以其金钱、货物俱已枯竭，无复可持与外国市易也。所幸中国天然财源极富，如能有相当开发，则可成为世界中无尽藏之市场；即使不能全消费此一年二百十九万万之战争生产剩余，亦必能消费其大半无疑。

中国今尚用手工为生产，未入工业革命之第一步，比之欧美已临第二革命者有殊。故于中国两种革命必须同时并举，既废手工采机器，又统一而国有之。于斯际中国正需机器，以营其巨大之农业，以出其丰富之矿产，以建其无数之工厂，以扩张其运输，以发展其公用事业。然而消纳机器之市场，又正战后贸易之要者也。造巨炮之机器厂，可以改制蒸汽辘压，以治中国之道路；制装甲自动车之厂，可制货车以输送中国各地之生货；凡诸战争机器，一一可变成平和器具，以开发中国潜在地中之富。此种开辟利源之办法，如不令官吏从中舞弊，则中外利益均沾，中国人民必欢迎之。

欧美人或有未之深思者，恐以战争时之机器、战争时之组织与熟练之技工开辟中国利源，将更引起外国工业之竞争。故予今陈一策，可使中国开一新市场，既以销其自产之货，又能销外国所产，两不相妨。其策如下：

甲 交通之开发。

子 铁路一十万英里。

(b) 1,000,000 miles of Macadam Roads.

(c) Improvement of Existing Canals.

(1) Hangchow-Tientsin Canals.

(2) Sikiang-Yangtze Canals.

(d) Construction of New Canals.

(1) Liaoho-Sunghwakiang Canal.

(2) Others to be projected.

(e) River Conservancy.

(1) To regulate the Embankments and Channel of the Yangtze River from Hankow to the Sea thus facilitating Ocean-going Ships to reach that port at all seasons.

(2) To regulate the Hoangho Embankments and Channel to prevent floods.

(3) To regulate the Sikiang.

(4) To regulate the Hwaiho.

(5) To regulate various other rivers.

(f) The Construction of more Telegraph Lines and Telephone and Wireless Systems all over the Country.

II. The Development of Commercial Harbors.

(a) Three largest Ocean Ports with future capacity equalling New York Harbor to be constructed in North, Central and South China.

(b) Various small Commercial and Fishing Harbors to be constructed along the Coast.

(c) Commercial Docks to be constructed along all navigable rivers.

III. Modern Cities with public utilities to be constructed in all Railway Centers, Termini and alongside Harbors.

IV. Water Power Development.

V. Iron and Steel Works and Cement Works on the largest scale in order to supply the above needs.

VI. Mineral Development.

VII. Agricultural Development.

VIII. Irrigational Work on the largest scale in Mongolia and Sinkiang.

IX. Reforestation in Central and North China.

X. Colonization[1] in Manchuria[2] , Mongolia, Sinkiang, Kokonor[3] , and Tibet.

丑 碎石路一百万英里。

寅 修浚现有运河：

（一）杭州、天津间运河。

（二）西江、扬子江间运河。

卯 新开运河：

（一）辽河、松花江间运河。

（二）其他运河。

辰 治河：

（一）扬子江筑堤浚水路，起汉口，迄于海，以便航洋船直达该港，无间冬、夏。

（二）黄河筑堤，浚水路，以免洪水。

（三）导西江。

（四）导淮。

（五）导其他河流。

巳 增设电报线路、电话及无线电等，使遍布于全国。

乙 商港之开辟。

子 于中国中部、北部、南部各建一大洋港口，如纽约港者。

丑 沿海岸建种种之商业港及渔业港。

寅 于通航河流沿岸建商场船埠。

丙 铁路中心及终点并商港地设新式市街，各具公用设备。

丁 水力之发展。

戊 设冶铁、制钢并造士敏土[4] 之大工厂，以供上列各项之需。

己 矿业之发展。

庚 农业之发展。

辛 蒙古、新疆之灌溉。

壬 于中国北部及中部建造森林。

癸 移民于东三省、蒙古、新疆、青海、西藏。

If the above program could be carried out gradually, China will not only be the "Dumping Ground" for foreign goods but actually will be the "Economic Ocean" capable of absorbing all the surplus capital as quickly as the Industrial Nations can possibly produce by the coming Industrial Revolution of Nationalized Productive Machinery. Then there will be no more competition and commercial struggles in China as well as in the world.

The recent World War has proved to Mankind that war is ruinous to

both the Conqueror and the Conquered, and worse for the Aggressor. What is true in military warfare is more so in trade warfare. Since President Wilson has proposed a League of Nations to end military war in the future, I desire to propose to end the trade war by coöperation and mutual help in the Development of China. This will root out probably the greatest cause of future wars.

The world has been greatly benefited by the development of America as an industrial and a commercial Nation. So a developed China with her four hundred millions of population, will be another New World in the economic sense. The nations which will take part in this development will reap immense advantages. Furthermore, international coöperation of this kind cannot but help to strengthen the Brotherhood of Man. Ultimately, I am sure, this will culminate to be the keystone in the arch of the League of Nations.

In order to carry out this project successfully I suggest that three necessary steps must be taken: First, that the various Governments of the Capital-supplying Powers must agree to joint action and a uni- fied policy to form an International Organization with their war work organizers, administrators and experts of various lines to formulate plans and to standardize materials in order to prevent waste and to facilitate work. Second, the confidence of the Chinese people must be secured in order to gain their coöperation and enthusiastic support. If the above two steps are accomplished, then the third step is to open formal negotiation for the final contract of the project with the Chinese Government. For which I suggest that it be on the same basis as the contract I once concluded with the Pauling Company of London, for the construction of the Canton-Chungking Railway, since it was the fairest to both parties and the one most welcomed by the Chinese people, of all contracts that were ever made between China and the foreign countries.

如使上述规划果能逐渐举行，则中国不特可为各国余货消纳之地，实可为吸收经济之大洋海，凡诸工业国其资本有余者，中国能尽数吸收之。不论在中国抑在全世界，所谓竞争、所谓商战者，可永不复见矣。

近时世界战争，已证明人类之于战争不论或胜或负，均受其殃，而始祸者受害弥重。此理于以武力战者固真，于以贸易争者尤确也。威尔逊总统[5] 今既以国际同盟防止将来之武力战争，吾更欲以国际共助中国之发展，以免将来之贸易战争。则将来战争之最大原因，庶可从根本绝去矣。

自美国工商发达以来，世界已大受其益。此四万万人之中国一旦发达工商，以经济的眼光视之，何啻新辟一世界？而参与此开发之役者，亦必获超越寻常之利益，可无疑也。且此种国际协助，可使人类博爱之情益加巩固，而国际同盟亦得借此以巩固其基础，此又予所确信者也。

欲使此计划举行顺利，余以为必分三步以进：第一，投资之各政府，务须共同行动，统一政策，组成一国际团，用其战争时任组织、管理等人材及种种熟练之技师，令其设计有统系，用物有准度，以免浪费，以便作工。第二，必须设法得中国人民之信仰，使其热心匡助此举。如使上述两层，已经办到，则第三步，即为中国政府开正式会议，以议此计划之最后契约。而此种契约，吾以为应取法于曩者吾与伦敦波令公司所立建筑广州重庆铁路合同，以其为于两方最得宜，而于向来中国与外国所结契约中为人民所最欢迎者也。

And last but not least, a warning must be given that mistakes such as the notorious Sheng Shun Hwai's nationalized Railway Scheme in 1911 must not be committed again. In those days foreign bankers entirely disregarded the will of the Chinese people, and thought that they could do everything with the Chinese Government alone. But to their regret, they found that the contracts which they had concluded with the Government, by heavy bribery, were only to be blocked by the people later on. Had the foreign bankers gone in the right way of first securing the confidence of the Chinese people, and then approaching the Government for a contract, many things might have been accomplished without a hitch. Therefore, in this International Project we must pay more attention to the people's will than ever before.

If my proposition is acceptable to the Capital-supplying Powers, I will furnish further details.

吾人更有不能不预为戒告者，即往日盛宣怀[6] 铁路国有之覆辙，不可复蹈也。当时外国银行家不顾中国之民意，以为但与中国政府商妥，即无事不可为；及后乃始悔其以贿成之契约，终受阻于人民也。假使外国银行先遵正当之途，得中国人民之信仰，然后与政府订契约，则事易行，岂复有留滞之忧？然则于此国际计划，吾人不可不重视民意也。

如资本团以吾说为然，吾更当继此有所详说。

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[1] colonization：殖民。

colonization的词根是colonize，主要的意思是“种植”（plant）、“移居到偏远地区”（migrate）、“将居民、住民等送往另外一个地方长期居住”（settle）、“建立殖民地”。此词从1622年开始使用，开始并无后来语境中的贬义，而更多地是指“移居”、“移植”等。到了19世纪，当英国开始征服非洲和亚洲其他地区并建立殖民地（colony）时，因为这些地区已经拥有

比较“成熟”的文明社会，此刻英国或欧洲人的“殖民”内容和目的就有了较殖民美洲时不同的变化，征服和建立控制成为建立殖民地的主要内容，尤其是在早期。这样，所谓colonialism（殖民主义）或colonization（殖民化，建立殖民地）在20世纪也就逐渐变成了一种贬义词。
具体到孙中山先生《实业计划》的用语，孙先生是一位反清的民族主义者，他写作的时代正是“帝国主义”盛行、民族主义在殖民地国家和其他非西方国家开始兴起的时代，他无疑同时受到反帝国主义、社会达尔文主义、民族主义的影响，强调建立一个有实力的、强大的中国，应对西方和俄国。他提出开发蒙古和新疆，显然将这两个地区视为中国的一部分；提出用colonization的方式来开发，更多的可能是指将汉民族的人移居到这些地方去定居，建立商业或永久定居点，目的是将这些地方纳入为中国国家的一部分。这里使用的colonization，与早期英国人殖民美洲的用法非常相似，而不是后来19世纪和20世纪使用的“征服”性colonization的意思。——王希注

[2] Manchuria：满洲，旧指我国东北一带。——编者注

[3] Kokonor：青海，蒙语称“库库诺尔”，“库库”意为“青色”，“诺尔”意为“海子”。——编者注

[4] 士敏土：即英文"cement"的音译，指水泥、混凝土。

[5] 威尔逊总统：1856—1924年，美国第28届总统，民主党人。其总统任内促成美国参加“一战”，战后倡议建立国际联盟，提出所谓“十四点”和平纲领。

[6] 盛宣怀：1844—1916年，江苏武进人。大力兴办洋务，后因奏请“铁路国有”，激起铁路风潮。

PROGRAM I

The industrial development of China should be carried out along two lines: (1) by private enterprise and (2) by national undertaking. All matters that can be and are better carried out by private enterprise should be left to private hands which should be encouraged and fully protected by liberal laws. And in order to facilitate the industrial development by private enterprise in China, the hitherto suicidal internal taxes must be abolished, the cumbersome currency must be reformed, the various kinds of official obstacles must be removed, and transportation facilities must be provided. All matters that cannot be taken up by private concerns and those that possess monopolistic character should be taken up as national undertakings. It is for this latter line of development that we are here endeavoring to deal with. In this national undertaking, foreign capital have to be invited, foreign experts and organizers have to be enlisted, and gigantic methods have to be adopted. The property thus created will be state owned and will be managed for the benefit of the whole nation. During the construction and the operation of each of these national undertakings, before its capital and interest are fully repaid, it will be managed and supervised by foreign experts under Chinese employment. As one of their obligations, these foreign experts have to undertake the training of Chinese assistants to take their places in the future. When the capital and interest of each undertaking are paid off, the Chinese Government will have the option to employ either foreigners or Chinese to manage the concern as it thinks fit.

Before entering into the details of this International development scheme, four principles have to be considered:

(1) The most remunerative field must be selected in order to attract foreign capital.

(2) The most urgent needs of the nation must be met.

(3) The lines of least resistance must be followed.

(4) The most suitable positions must be chosen.

In conformity with the above principles, I formulate Program I as follows:

I. The construction of a great Northern Port on the Gulf of Pechihli.

II. The building of a system of railways from the Great Northern Port to the Northwestern extremity of China.

III. The Colonization of Mongolia and Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan[1]).

壹 第一计划

中国实业之开发，应分两路进行。（一）个人企业，（二）国家经营是也。凡夫事物之可以委诸个人，或其较国家经营为适宜者，应任个人为之，由国家奖励，而以法律保护之。今欲利便个人企业之发达于中国，则从来所行之自杀的税制应即废止，紊乱之货币立需改良，而各种官吏的障碍必当排去；尤须辅之以利便交通。至其不能委诸个人及有独占性质者，应由国家经营之。今兹所论，后者之事属焉。此类国家经营之事业，必待外资之吸集、外人之熟练而有组织才具者之雇佣、宏大计划之建设，然后能举。以其财产属之国有，而为全国人民利益计以经理之。关于事业之建设运用，其在母财、子利[2] 尚未完付期前，应由中华民国国家所雇专门练达之外人任经营监督之责；而其条件，必以教授训练中国之佐役，俾能将来继承其乏，为受雇于中国之外人必尽义务之一。及乎本利清偿而后，中华民国政府对于所雇外人当可随意用舍矣。

于详议国家经营事业开发计划之先，有四原则必当留意：

一、必选最有利之途以吸外资。

二、必应国民之所最需要。

三、必期抵抗之至少。

四、必择地位之适宜。

今据上列之原则，举其计划如下：

一、筑北方大港于直隶湾[3] 。

二、建铁路统系，起北方大港，迄中国西北极端。

三、殖民蒙古、新疆。

IV. The construction of canals to connect the inland waterway systems of North and Central China with the Great Northern Port.

V. The development of the Iron and Coal fields in Shansi and the construction of an Iron and Steel Works.

These five projects will be worked out as one program, for each of them

will assist and accelerate the development of the others. The Great Northern Port will serve as a base of operation of this International Development Scheme, as well as a connecting link of transportation and communication between China and the outer world. The other four projects will be centered around it.

Part I The Great Northern Port

I propose that a great deep water and ice free port be constructed on the Gulf of Pechihli. The need of such a port in that part of China has been keenly felt for a long time. Several projects have been proposed such as the deepening of the Taku Bar, the construction of a harbor in the Chiho estuary, the Chinwangtao Harbor which has actually been carried out on a small scale and the Hulutao Harbor which is on the point of being constructed. But the site of my projected port is in none of these places for the first two are too far from the deep water line and too near to fresh water which freezes in winter. So it is impossible to make them into deep water and ice free ports, while the last two are too far away from the center of population and are unprofitable as commercial ports. The locality of my projected port is just at midway between Taku and Chinwangtao and at a point between the mouths of the Tsingho and Lwanho, on the cape of the coast line between Taku and Chinwangtao. This is one of the points nearest to deep water in this Gulf. With the fresh water of the Tsingho and Lwanho diverted away, it can be made a deep water and ice free port without much difficulty. Its distance to Tientsin is about seventy or eighty miles less than that of Chinwangtao to Tientsin. Moreover, this port can be connected with the inland waterway systems of North and Central China by canal, whereas in the case of Chinwangtao and Hulutao this could not be done. So this port is far superior as a commercial harbor than Hulutao or Chinwangtao which at present is the only ice free port in the Gulf of Pechihli.

From a commercial standpoint this port will be a paying proposition from the very beginning of its construction, owing to the fact that it is situated at the center of the greatest salt industry in China. The cheapest salt is produced here by sun evaporation only. If modern methods could be added, also utilizing the cheap coal near by, the production could increase many times more and the cost could thus be made cheaper. Then it can supply the whole of China with much cheaper salt. By this industry alone it is quite sufficient to support a moderate sized harbor which must be the first step of this great project. Besides, there is in the immediate neighborhood the greatest coal mine that has yet been developed in China, the Kailan Mining

Company. The output of its colliery is about four million tons a year. At present the company uses its own harbor, Chinwangtao, for shipping its exports. But our projected port is much nearer to its colliery than Chinwangtao. It can be connected with the mine by canal thus providing it with a much cheaper carriage than by rail to Chinwangtao. Furthermore, our projected port will in future consume much of the Kailan coal. Thus eventually the Company must use our port as a shipping stage for its exports. Tientsin, the largest commercial center in North China, has no deep harbor and is ice bound several months a year in winter, and so has to use our projected port entirely as an outlet for its world trade. This is the local need only but for this alone it is quite sufficient to make our projected port a paying proposition.

四、开浚运河，以联络中国北部、中部通渠及北方大港。

五、开发山西煤铁矿源，设立制铁、炼钢工厂。

上列五部，为一计划，盖彼此互相关联，举其一有以利其余也。北方大港之筑，用为国际发展实业计划之策源地。中国与世界交通运输之关键，亦系夫此。此为中枢，其余四事旁属焉。

第一部 北方大港

兹拟建筑不封冻之深水大港于直隶湾中。中国该部必需此港，国人宿昔[4] 感之，无时或忘。向者屡经设计浚渫[5] 大沽口沙，又议筑港于岐河口。秦皇岛港已见小规模的实行，而葫芦岛港亦经筹商兴筑。今余所策，皆在上举诸地以外。盖前两者距深水线过远而淡水过近，隆冬即行结冰，不堪作深水不冻商港用；后两者与户口集中地辽隔，用为商港，不能见利。兹所计划之港，为大沽口、秦皇岛两地之中途，青河、滦河两口之间，沿大沽口、秦皇岛间海岸岬角上。该地为直隶湾中最近深水之一点，若将青河、滦河两淡水远引他去，免就近结冰，使为深水不冻大港，绝非至难之事。此处与天津相去，方诸天津、秦皇岛间少差七、八十咪[6] 。且此港能借运河以与北部、中部内地水路相连，而秦皇、葫芦两岛则否。以商港论，现时直隶湾中唯一不冻之港，惟有秦皇岛耳。而此港则远胜秦皇、葫芦两岛矣。

由营业上观察，此港筑成，立可获利，以地居中国最大产盐区域之中央故也。在此地所产至廉价之盐，只以日曝法产出；倘能加以近代制盐新法，且可利用附近廉价之煤，则其产额必将大增，而产费必将大减，如此中华全国所用之盐价可更廉。今以本计划遂行之始，仅能成中等商港计之，只此一项实业，已足支持此港而有余。此外直接附近地域，尚有中国现时已开最大之煤矿（开滦矿务公司），计其产额，年约四百万吨。该公司现用自有之港（秦皇岛），借为输出之路。顾吾人所计划之港，距其矿场较近，倘能以运河与矿区相联，则其运费，方诸陆运至秦皇岛者廉省多矣。不特此也，兹港将来必畅销开滦产煤，则该公司势必仰资此港为其运输出口之所。今天津一处在北方为最大商业之中枢，既无深水海港可言，每岁冬期，封冻数月，亦必全赖此港以为世界贸易之通路。此虽局部需要，然仅以此计，已足为此港之利矣。

But my idea is to develop this port as large as New York in a reasonable limit of time. Now, let us survey the hinterland to see whether the possibility justifies my ideal or not. To the southwest are the provinces of Chihli and Shansi, and the Hoangho valley with a population of nearly a hundred millions. To the northwest are the undeveloped Jehol district and the vast Mongolian Prairie with their virgin soil waiting for development, Chihli with its dense population and Shansi with its rich mineral resources have to depend upon this port as their only outlet to the sea. And if the future Dolon

Nor and Urga Railway is completed with connection to the Siberian line then Central Siberia will also have to use this as its nearest seaport. Thus its contributing or rather distributing area will be larger than that of New York. Finally, this port will become the true terminus of the future Eurasian Railway System, which will connect the two continents. The land which we select to be the site of our projected port is now almost worth next to nothing. Let us say two or three hundred square miles be taken up as national property absolutely for our future city building. If within forty years we could develop a city as large as Philadelphia, not to say New York, the land value alone will be sufficient to pay off the capital invested in its development.

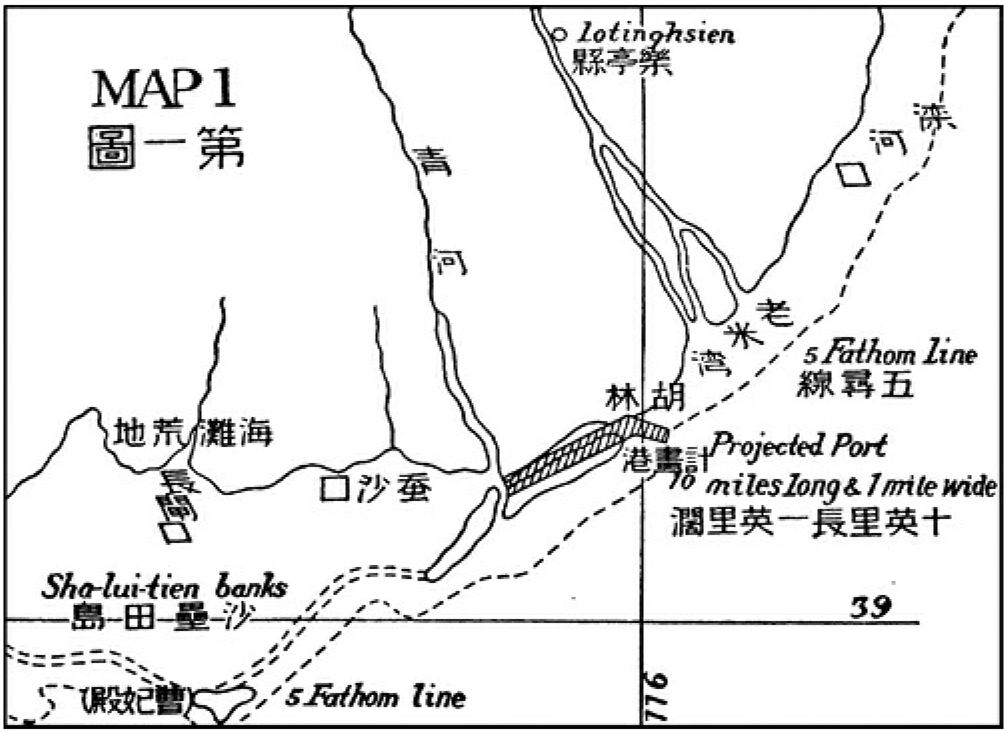
顾吾人之理想，将欲于有限时期中发达此港，使与纽约等大。试观此港所襟带[7] 控负之地，即足证明吾人之理想能否实现矣。此地西南为直隶、山西两省与夫黄河流域，人口之众约一万万。西北为热河特别区域及蒙古游牧之原，土旷人稀，急待开发。夫以直隶生齿[8] 之繁，山西矿源之富，必赖此港为其唯一输出之途。倘将来多伦诺尔、库伦间铁路完成，以与西伯利亚铁路联络，则中央西伯利亚一带皆视此为最近之海港。由是言之，其供给分配区域，当较纽约为大。穷其究竟，必成将来欧亚路线之确实终点，而两大陆于以连为一气。今余所计划之地，现时毫无价值可言。假令于此选地二三百方咪置诸国有，以为建筑将来都市之用，而四十年后，发达程度即令不如纽约，仅等于美国费府[9] ，吾敢信地值所涨，已足偿所投建筑资金矣。

The need of such a port in this part of China goes without saying. For the provinces of Chihli, Shansi, Western Shantung, Northern Honan, a part of Fengtien and the greater part of Shensi and Kansu with a population of about 100 million are lacking of a seaport of this kind. Mongolia and Sinkiang as well as the rich coal and iron fields of Shansi will also have to depend on the Chihli coast as their only outlet to the sea. And the millions of congested population of the coast and the Yangtze Valley need an entrance to the virgin soil of the Mongolian Prairie and the Tienshan Valley. The port will be the shortest doorway and the cheapest passage to these regions.

The locality of our projected port is nearest to deep water line, and far away from any large river which might carry silt to fill up the approach of the harbor like those of the Hoangho entrance and the Yangtze estuary which cause great trouble to conservancy work. So it has no great natural obstacle to be overcome. Moreover, it is situated in an arid plain with few people living on it, so it has no artificial hindrance to be overcome. We can do whatever we

please in the process of construction.

As regards the planning and estimation of the work of the harbor construction and city building, I must leave them to experts who have to make extensive surveys and soundings before detailed plan and proper estimation could be made. Whereas for rough reference see Map I, and figures 1 and 2.[10]

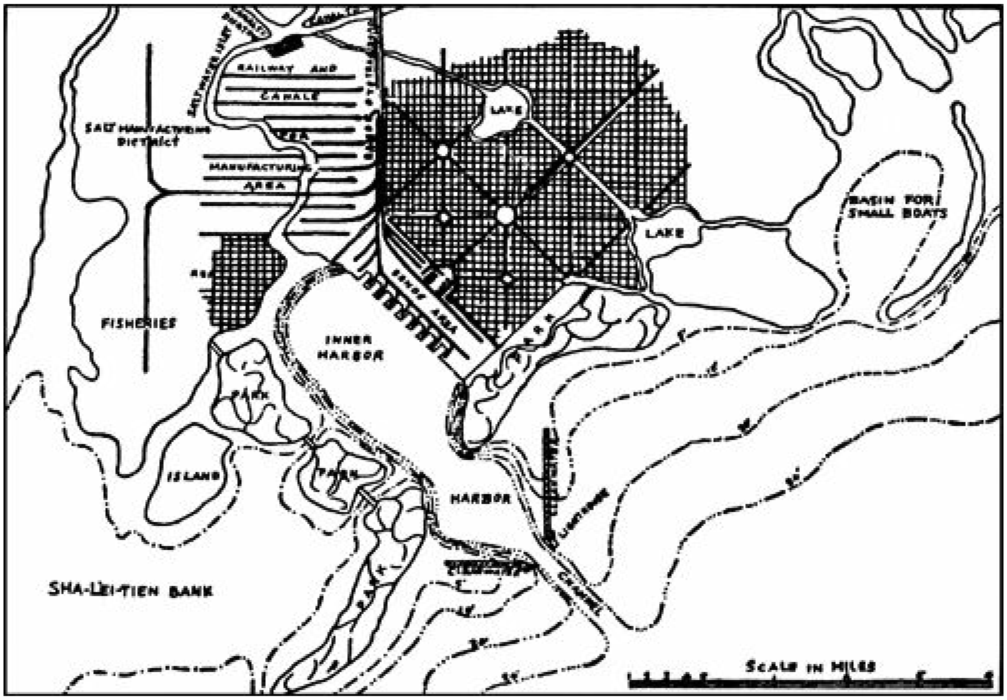


中国该部地方，必需如是海港，自不待论。盖直隶、山西、山东西部、河南北部、奉天[11] 之一半、陕甘两省之泰半，约一万万之人口，皆未尝有此种海港。蒙古、新疆与夫煤铁至富之山西，亦将全恃直隶海岸，为其出海通衢。若乎沿海、沿江各地稠聚人民，必需移实蒙古、天山一带从事垦殖者，此港实为最近门户，且以由此行旅为最廉矣。

兹港所在，距深水至近，去大河至远，而无河流滞淤，填积港口，有如黄河口、扬子江口时需浚渫之患。自然之障碍，于焉可免。又为干燥平原，民居极鲜，人为障碍丝毫不存，建筑工事，尽堪如我所欲。至于海港、都市两者之工程预算，当有待于专门技士之测勘，而后详细计划可定。（参观第一图，并观详图一、二）

详图之说明：自第一计划寄到北京公使馆之后，美使芮恩诗[12] 博士即派专门技师，往作者所指定之北方大港地点实行测量，果发见此地确为直隶沿海最适宜于建筑一世界港之地。惟其不同之点，

只有港口当位于西边耳。因作者当时无精确之图也。读者一观此两详细图，便可一目了然矣。



详图一、二

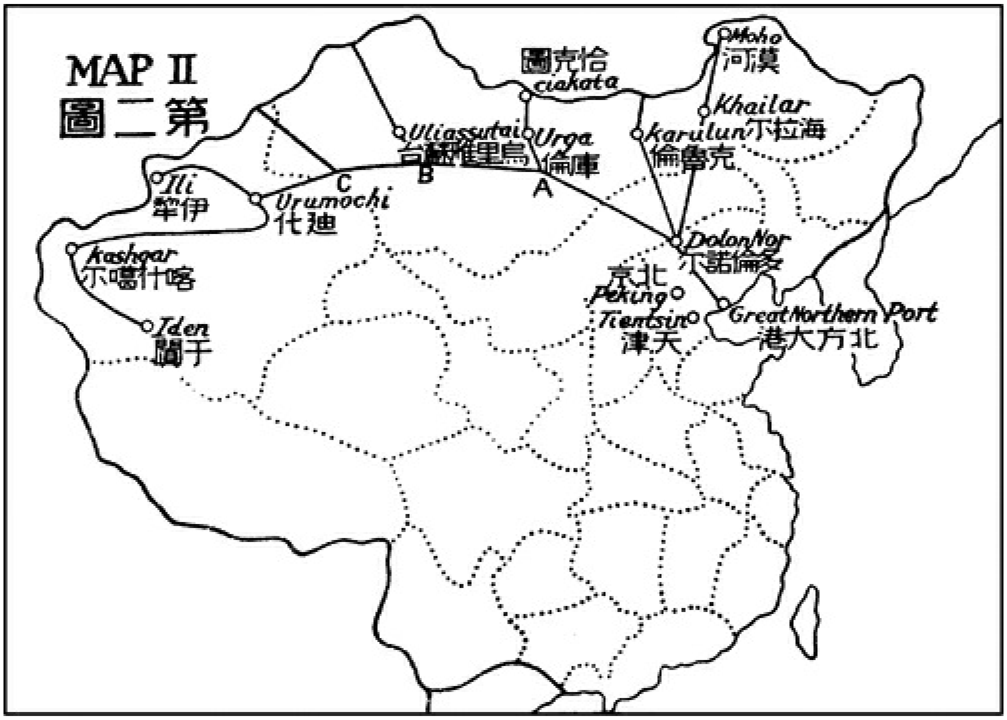
Figures 1 and 2

Part II The Northwestern Railway System

Our projected Railway will start at the Great Northern Port and follow the Lwan Valley to the prairie city of Dolon Nor, a distance of three hundred miles. This railway should be built in double tracks at the com- mencement. As our projected Port is a starting point to the sea, so Dolon Nor is a gate to the vast prairie which our projected Railway System is going to tap. It is from Dolon Nor our Northwestern Railway System is going to radiate. First, a line N. N. E. will run parallel to the Khingan Range to Khailar, and thence to Moho, the gold district on the right bank of the Amur River. This line is about eight hundred miles in length. Second, a line N. N. W. to Kurelun, and thence to the frontier to join the Siberian line near Chita. This line has a distance of about six hundred miles. Third, a trunk line northwest, west, and southwest, skirting off the northern edge of the desert proper, to Urumochi at the western end of China, a distance of about one thousand six hundred miles all on level land. Fourth, a line from Urumochi westward to Ili, a distance of about four hundred miles. Fifth, a line from Urumochi southeast across the Tienshan gap into the Darim basin, then turning southwest running along the fertile zone between the southern watershed of the Tienshan and the northern edge of the Darim Desert, to Kashgar, and thence turning southeast to another fertile zone between the eastern watershed of the Pamir, the northern watershed of the Kuenlum Mountain and the southern edge of the Darim Desert, to the city of Iden or Keria, a distance of about one thousand two hundred miles all on level land. Sixth, a branch from the Dolon Nor Urumochi Trunk Line, which I shall call Junction A, to Urga and thence to the frontier city Kiakata, a distance of about three hundred and fifty miles. Seventh, a branch from Junction B to Uliassutai and beyond N. N. W. up to the frontier, a distance of about six hundred miles. And eighth, a branch from Junction C northwest to the frontier, a distance of about four hundred and fifty miles. See Map II.

第二部 西北铁路系统

吾人所计划之铁路，由北方大港起，经滦河谷地，以达多伦诺尔，凡三百咪。经始之初，即筑双轨，以海港为出发点，以多伦诺尔为门户，以吸收广漠平原之物产，而由多伦诺尔进展于西北。第一线，向北偏东北走，与兴安岭山脉平行，经海拉尔，以赴漠河。漠河者，产金区域，而黑龙江右岸地也。计其延长，约八百咪。第二线，向北偏西北走，经克鲁伦，以达中俄边境，以与赤塔城附近之西伯利亚铁路相接，长约六百咪。第三线，以一干线向西北，转正西，又转西南，沿沙漠北境，以至国境西端之迪化城[13]，长约一千六百咪。地皆平坦，无崇山峻岭。第四线，由迪化迤西以达伊犁，约四百咪。第五线，由迪化东南，超出天山山峡，以入戈壁边境，转而西南走，经天山以南沼地与戈壁沙漠北偏之间一带腴沃之地，以至喀什噶尔；由是更转而东南走，经帕米尔高原以东，昆仑以北，与沙漠南边之间一带沃土，以至于阗，即克里雅河岸。延长约一千二百咪，地亦平坦。第六线，于多伦诺尔、迪化间干线，开一支线，由甲接合点出发，经库伦，以至恰克图，约长三百五十咪。第七线，由干线乙接合点出发，经乌里雅苏台，倾北偏西北走，以至边境，约六百咪。第八线，由干线丙接合点出发，西北走，达边境，约四百咪。（参观第二图）



Regarded from the principle of "following the line of least resistance" our projected railways in this program is the most ideal one. For most of the seven thousand miles of lines under this project are on perfectly level land. For instance, the Trunk Line from Dolon Nor to Kashgar and beyond, about a distance of three thousand miles right along is on the most fertile plain and encounters no natural obstacles, neither high mountains nor great rivers.

Regarded from the principle of "the most suitable position," our projected railways will command the most dominating position of world importance. It will form a part of the trunk line of the Eurasian system which will connect the two populous centers, Europe and China, together. It will be the shortest line from the Pacific Coast to Europe. Its branch from Ili will connect with the future Indo-European line, and through Bagdad, Damascus and Cairo, will link up also with the future African system. Then there will be a through route from our projected port to Capetown. There is no existing railway commanding such a world important position as this.

兹所计划之铁路，证以“抵抗至少”之原则，实为最与理想相符合者。盖以七千余咪之路线为吾人计划所定者，皆在坦途。例如多伦诺尔至喀什噶尔之间，且由斯更进之路线，延袤三千余咪，所经均肥沃之平野，并无高山大河自然之梗阻横贯其中也。

以“地位适宜”之原则言之，则此种铁路，实居支配世界的重要位

置。盖将为欧亚铁路系统之主干，而中、欧两陆人口之中心，因以联结。由太平洋岸前往欧洲者，以经此路线为最近；而由伊犁发出之支线，将与未来之印度、欧洲线路（即行经伯达[14]　，以通达马斯加斯[15]及海楼[16]　府者）联络，成一连锁。将来由吾人所计划之港，可以直达好望角城。综观现在铁路，于世界位置上无较此重要者矣。

Regarded from the principle of the "most urgent need of the Nation," this railway system becomes the first in importance, for the territories traversed by it are larger than the eighteen provinces of China Proper. Owing to the lack of means of transportation and communication at present these rich territories are left undeveloped and millions of laborers in the congested provinces along the Coast and in the Yangtze Valley are without work. What a great waste of natural and human energies. If there is a railway connecting these vast territories, the waste labor of the congested provinces can go and develop these rich soils for the good not only of China but also of the whole commercial world. So a system of railways to the northwestern part of the country is the most urgent need both politically and economically for China to-day.

I have intentionally left out the first principle—"the most remunerative field must be selected"—not because I want to neglect it but because I mean to call more attention to it and treat it more fully. It is commonly known to financiers and railway men that a railway in a densely populated country from end to end is the best paying proposition, and a railway in a thinly settled country from end to end is the least paying one. And a railway in an almost unpopulated country like our projected lines will take a long time to make it a paying business. That is why the United States Government had to grant large tracts of public lands to railway corporations to induce them to build the Transcontinental lines to the Pacific Coast, half a century ago. Whenever I talked with foreign railway men and financiers about the construction of railways to Mongolia and Sinkiang, they generally got very shy of the proposition. Undoubtedly they thought that it is for political and military reasons only that such a line as the Siberian Railway was built, which traversed through a thinly populated land. But they could not grasp the fact which might be entirely new to them, that a railway between a densely populated country and a sparsely settled country will pay far better than one that runs from end to end in a densely populated land. The reason is that in economic conditions the two ends of a well populated country are not so

different as that between a thickly populated country and a newly opened country. At the two ends of a well populated country, in many respects, the local people are self-supplying, excepting a few special articles which they depend upon the other end of the road to supply. So the demand and supply between the two places are not very great, thus the trade between the two ends of the railway could not be very lucrative. While the difference of the economic condition between a well populated country and an unpopulated country is very great. The workers of the new land have to depend upon the supplies of the thickly populated country almost in everything excepting foodstuffs and raw materials which they have in abundance and for disposal of which they have to depend upon the demand of the well populated district. Thus the trade between the two ends of the line will be extraordinarily great. Furthermore, a railway in a thickly populated place will not affect much the masses which consist of the majority of the population. It is only the few well-to-do and the merchants and tradesmen that make use of it. While with a railway between a thickly populated country and a sparsely settled or unsettled country, as soon as it is opened to traffic for each mile, the masses of the congested country will use it and rush into the new land in a wholesale manner. Thus the railway will be employed to its utmost capacity in passenger traffic from the beginning. The comparison between the Peking-Hankow Railway and the Peking-Mukden[17] Railway in China is a convincing proof.

以“国民需要”之原则言之，此为第一需要之铁路。盖所经地方，较诸本部十八行省[18] 尤为广阔。现以交通动输机关缺乏之故，丰富地域，委为荒壤，而沿海沿江烟户稠密省分，麕聚[19] 之贫民无所操作，其弃自然之惠泽而耗人力于无为者，果何如乎？倘有铁路与此等地方相通，则稠密省区无业之游民，可资以开发此等富足之地。此不仅有利于中国，且有以利世界商业于无穷也。故中国西北部之铁路系统，由政治上、经济上言之，皆于中国今日为必要而刻不容缓者也。

吾人所以置“必选有利之途”之第一原则而未涉及者，非遗弃之也，盖将详为论列，使读者三致意焉耳。今夫铁路之设，间于人口繁盛之区者其利大，间于民居疏散之地者其利微，此为普通资本家、铁路家所恒信；今以线路横亘于荒僻无人之境，如吾人所计划者，必将久延岁月，而后有利可图。北美合众国政府于五十年前，所以给与无垠之土地于铁路公司，诱其建筑横跨大陆干路，以达太平洋岸者，职是之故。余每与外国铁路家、资本家言兴筑蒙古、新疆铁路，彼辈恒有不愿。彼将以为

兹路之设，所过皆人迹稀罕，只基于政治上、军事上理由，有如西伯利亚铁路之例，而不知铁路之所布置，由人口至多以达人口至少之地者，其利较两端皆人口至多之地为大。兹之事实，盖为彼辈所未曾闻。请详言其理。夫铁路两端人口至多之所，彼此经济情况大相仿佛，不如一方人口至多、他方人口至少者，彼此相差之远。在两端皆人口至多者，舍特种物产此方仰赖彼方之供给而外，两处居民大都生活于自足经济情况之中，而彼此之需要供给不大，贸迁交易，不能得巨利。至于一方人口多而他方人口少者，彼此经济情况，大相径庭。新开土地从事劳动之人民，除富有粮食及原料品，以待人口多处之所需求而外，一切货物，皆赖他方之繁盛区域供给，以故两方贸易必臻鼎盛。不特此也，筑于两端皆人口至多之铁路，对于人民之多数无大影响，所受益者惟少数富户及商人而已；其在一方人口多而他方人口少者，每筑铁路一咪开始输运，人口多处之众必随之而合群移住于新地，是则此路建筑之始，将充其量以载行客。京奉、京汉两路比较，其明证也。

The Peking-Hankow Railway is a line of over eight hundred miles running from the capital of the country to the commercial center in the heart of China right along in an extraordinarily densely settled country from end to end. While the Peking-Mukden line is barely six hundred miles in length running from a thickly populated country to thinly populated Manchuria. The former is a well paying line but the latter pays far better. The net profit of the shorter Peking-Mukden line is sometimes three to four millions more yearly than that of the longer Peking-Hankow line.

Therefore, it is logically clear that a railway in a thickly populated country is much better than one that is in a thinly populated country in remuneration. But a railway between a very thickly populated and a very thinly populated or unpopulated country is the best paying proposition. This is a law in Railway Economics which hitherto had not been discovered by railway men and financiers.

According to this new railway economic law, our projected railway will be the best remunerative project of its kind. For at the one end, we have our projected port which acts as a connecting link with the thickly populated coast of China and the Yangtze Valley and also the two existing lines, the Kingham and the Tsinpu, as feeders to the projected port and the Dolon Nor line. And at the other end, we have a vast and rich territory, larger than China Proper, to be developed. There is no such vast fertile field so near to a center of a population of four hundred millions to be found in any other part of the

world.

京汉路线之延长八百有余咪，由北京直达中国商业聚中之腹地，铁路两端之所包括，皆户集人稠之所；京奉路线长仅六百咪耳，然由人口多处之京、津，开赴人口少处之满洲。前者虽有收益，则不若后者所得之大。以较短之京奉线，方诸较长之京汉线，每年纯利所赢，其超过之数有至三四百万者矣。

故自理则上言之，从利益之点观察，人口众多之处之铁路，远胜于人口稀少者之铁路。然由人口众多之处筑至人口稀少之处之铁路，其利尤大。此为铁路经济上之原则，而铁路家、资本家所未尝发明者也。

据此铁路经济上之新原则，而断吾人所计划之铁路，斯为有利中之最有利者。盖一方联接吾人所计划之港，以通吾国沿海沿江户口至多省分；又以现存之京汉、津浦两路，为此港暨多伦诺尔路线之给养，他方联接大逾中国本部之饶富未开之地。世界他处，欲求似此广漠腴沃之地，而邻近于四万万人口之中心者，真不可得矣。

Part III The Colonization of Mongolia and Sinkiang

The Colonization of Mongolia and Sinkiang is a complement of the Railway scheme. Each is dependent upon the other for its prosperity. The colonization scheme, besides benefiting the railway, is in itself a greatly profitable undertaking. The results of the United States, Canada, Australia, and Argentina are ample proofs of this. In the case of our project, it is simply a matter of applying waste Chinese labor and foreign machinery to a fertile land for production for which its remuneration is sure. The present Colonization of Manchuria, notwithstanding its topsy turvy way which caused great waste of land and human energy, has been wonderfully prosperous. If we would adopt scientific methods in our colonization project we could certainly obtain better results than all the others. Therefore, I propose that the whole movement be directed in a systematic way by state organization with the help of foreign experts and war organizers, for the good of the colonists particularly and the nation generally.

The land should be bought up by the state in order to prevent the speculators from creating the dog-in-the-manger system, to the detriment of the public. The land should be prepared and divided into farmsteads, then leased to colonists on perpetual term. The initial capital, seeds, implements and houses should be furnished by the state at cost price on cash or on the instalment plan. For these services, big organizations should be formed and war work measures should be adopted in order to transport, to feed, to clothe and to house every colonist on credit in his first year.

As soon as a sufficient number of colonists is settled in a district, franchise should be given for self-government and the colonists should be trained to manage their own local affairs with perfect democratic spirit.

If within ten years we can transport, let us say, ten millions of the people, from the congested provinces of China, to the Northwestern territory to develop its natural resources, the benefit to the commercial world at large will be enormous. No matter how big a capital that shall have been invested in the project it could be repaid within a very short time. So in regard to its bearing to "the principle of remuneration" there is no question about it.

Regarded from "the principle of the need of the Nation" colonization is the most urgent need of the first magnitude. At present China has more than a million soldiers to be disbanded. Besides, the dense population will need elbow room to move in. This Colonization project is the best thing for both purposes. The soldiers have to be disbanded at great expense and hundreds of millions of dollars may be needed for disbandment alone, in paying them off with a few months' pay. If nothing more could be done for these soldiers' welfare, they will either be left to starve or to rob for a living. Then the consequences will be unimaginable. This calamity must be prevented and prevented effectively. The best way for this is the colonization scheme. I hope that the friendly foreign financiers, who have the welfare of China at heart, when requested to float a reorganization loan for the Chinese Government in the future, will persist on the point—that the money furnished must first be used to carry out the colonization scheme for the disbanded soldiers. Otherwise, their money will only work disasters to China.

第三部 蒙古、新疆之殖民

殖民蒙古、新疆，实为铁路计划之补助，盖彼此互相依倚，以为发达者也。顾殖民政策，除有益于铁路以外，其本身又为最有利之事业。例如北美合众国、加拿大、澳洲及阿尔然丁[20] 等国所行之结果，其成绩至为昭彰。至若吾人之所计划，不过取中国废弃之人力，与夫外国之机械，施于沃壤，以图利益昭著之生产。即以满洲现时殖民言之，虽于杂乱无章之中，虚耗人工地力，不知凡几，然且奇盛；假能以科学上方法行吾人之殖民政策，则其收效，将无伦比。以此之故，予议于国家机关之下，佐以外国练达之士及有军事上组织才者，用系统的方法指导其事，以特惠移民，而普利全国。

土地应由国家买收，以防专占投机之家置土地于无用，而遗毒害于社会。国家所得土地，应均为农庄，长期贷诸移民。而经始之资本、种子、器具、屋宇应由国家供给，依实在所费本钱，现款取偿，或分年摊还。而兴办此事，必当组织数大机关，行战时工场制度，以为移民运输居处衣食之备。第一年不取现值，以信用贷借法行之。

一区之移民为数已足时，应授以自治特权。每一移民，应施以训练，俾能以民主政治的精神，经营其个人局部之事业。

假定十年之内，移民之数为一千万，由人满之省徙于西北，垦发自然之富源，其普遍于商业世界之利，当极浩大。靡论所投资本庞大若何，计必能于短时期中，子偿其母[21] 。故以“有利”之原则论，别无疑问也。

以“国民需要”之原则衡之，则移民实为今日急需中之至大者。夫中国现时应裁之兵，数过百万；生齿之众，需地以养。殖民政策于斯两者，固最善之解决方法也。兵之裁也，必须给以数月恩饷，综计解散经费，必达一万万元之巨。此等散兵无以安之，非流为饿莩[22] ，则化为盗贼，穷其结果，宁可忍言。此弊不可不防，尤不可使防之无效。移民实荒，此其至善者矣。予深望友好之外国资本家，以中国福利为怀者，对于将来中国政府请求贷款以资建设，必将坚持此旨，使所借款项第一先用于裁兵之途；其不然者，则所供金钱，反以致祸于中国矣。

For the million or more of the soldiers to be disbanded, the district between our projected port and Dolon Nor is quite enough to accommodate them. This district is quite rich in mineral resources and is very sparsely

settled. If a railway is to start at once from the projected port to Dolon Nor these soldiers could be utilized as a pioneer party for the work of the port, of the railway, of the developing of the adjacent land beyond the Great Wall, and of preparing Dolon Nor as a jumping ground for further colonization development of the great northern plain.

Part IV The Construction of Canals to Connect the Inland Waterway Systems of North and Central China with the Great Northern Port

This scheme will include the regulation of the Hoangho and its branches, the Weiho in Shensi, and the Fenho in Shansi and connecting canals. The Hoangho should be deepened at its mouth in order to give a good drawing to clear its bed of silt and carry the same to the sea. For this purpose, jetties should be built far out to the deep sea, as those at the mouths of the Mississippi in America. Its embankments should be parallel in order to make the width of the channel equal right along, so as to give equal velocity to the current which will prevent the deposit of silt at the bottom. By dams and locks, it could be made navigable right up to Lanchow, in the province of Kansu, and at the same time water power could be developed. The Weiho and the Fenho can also be treated in the same manner so as to make them navigable to a great extent in the provinces of Shensi and Shansi. Thus the provinces of Kansu, Shensi, and Shansi can be connected by waterway with our projected port on the Gulf of Pechihli, so that cheap carriage can be provided for the rich mineral and other products from these three hitherto secluded provinces.

对于被裁百余万之兵，只以北方大港与多伦诺尔间辽阔之地区，已足以安置之。此地矿源富而户口少，倘有铁路由该港出发以达多伦诺尔，则此等散兵可供利用，以为筑港、建路及开发长城以外沿线地方之先驱者。而多伦诺尔将为发展极北殖民政策之基矣。

第四部 开浚运河以联络中国北部、中部通渠及北方大港

此计划包含整理黄河及其支流、陕西之渭河、山西之汾河暨相连诸运河。黄河出口，应事浚渫，以畅其流，俾能驱淤积以出洋海。以此目的故，当筑长堤，远出深海，如美国密西悉比河[23] 口然。堤之两岸，须成平行线，以保河辐之划一，而均河流之速度，且防积淤于河底。加以堰闸之功用，此河可供航运，以达甘肃之兰州。同时，水力工业亦可发展。渭河、汾河亦可以同一方法处理之，使于山、陕两省中，为可航之河道。诚能如是，则甘肃与山、陕两省，当能循水道与所计划直隶湾中之商港联络，而前此偏僻三省之矿材物产，均得廉价之运输矣。

The expenses of regulating the Hoangho may be very great. As a paying project, it may not be very attractive but as a flood preventive measure, it is the most important task to the whole nation. This river has been known as "China's Sorrow" for thousands of years. By its occasional overflow and bursting of its embankments, millions of lives and billions of money have been destroyed. It is a constant source of anxiety in the minds of all China's statesmen from time immemorial. A permanent safeguard must be effected, once for all, despite the expenses that will be incurred. The whole nation must bear the burden of its expenses. To deepen its mouth, to regulate its embankments and to build extra dykes are only half of the work to prevent flood. The entire reforestation of its watershed to prevent the washing off of loess is another half of the work in the prevention of flood.

The Grand Canal, the former Great Waterway of China between the North and the South for centuries, and now being reconstructed in certain sections, should be wholly reconstructed from end to end, in order to restore the inland waterway traffic from the Yangtze Valley to the North. The reconstruction of this canal will be a great remunerative concern for it runs right along from Tientsin to Hangchow in an extremely rich and populous country.

Another new canal should be constructed from our projected port to Tientsin to link up all the inland waterway systems to the new port. This new canal should be built extra wide and deep, let us say, similar to the present

size of the Peiho, for the use of the coasting and shallow-draft vessels which the Peiho now accommodates for other than the winter seasons. The banks of this canal should be prepared for factory sites so as to enable it to pay not only by its traffic but also from the land on both sides of its banks.

As for planning and estimating these river and canal works, the assistance of technical experts must be solicited.

Part V The Development of the Iron and Coal Fields in Chihli and Shansi, and the Construction of Iron and Steel Works

Since we have in hand in this program the work of the construction of the Great Northern Port, the work of the building of a system of railways from the Great Northern Port to the North Western Extremity of China, the work of the Colonization of Mongolia and Sinkiang, and the work of the construction of canals and improvement of rivers to connect with the Great Northern Port, the demand for materials will be very great. As the iron and coal resources of every industrial country are decreasing rapidly every year, and as all of them are contemplating the conservation of their natural resources for the use of future generations, if all the materials for the great development of China were to be drawn from them, the draining of the natural resources of those countries will be detrimental for their future generations. Besides, the present need of the post-bellum reconstruction of Europe has already absorbed all the iron and coal that the industrial world could supply. Therefore, new resources must be opened up to meet the extraordinary demand of the development of China.

修理黄河费用或极浩大，以获利计，亦难动人。顾防止水灾，斯为全国至重大之一事。黄河之水，实中国数千年愁苦之所寄。水决堤溃，数百万生灵、数十万万财货为之破弃净尽。旷古以来，中国政治家靡不引为深患者。以故一劳永逸之策，不可不立，用费虽巨，亦何所惜，此全国人民应有之担负也。浚渫河口，整理堤防，建筑石坝，仅防灾工事之半而已；他半工事，则植林于全河流域倾斜之地，以防河流之漂卸土壤是也。

千百年来，为中国南北交通枢纽之古大运河，其一部分现在改筑中者，应由首至尾全体整理，使北方、长江间之内地航运得以复通。此河之改筑整理，实为大利所在。盖由天津至杭州，运河所经皆富庶之区也。

另应筑一新运河，由吾人所计划之港，直达天津，以为内地诸河及新港之连锁。此河必深而且广，约与白河相类，俾供国内沿岸及浅水航船之用，如今日冬期以外之所利赖于白河者也。河之两岸，应备地以建

工厂，则生利者不止运输一事，而土地价格之所得，亦其一端也。

至于建筑之计划预算，斯则专门家之责，兹付阙如。

第五部 开发直隶、山西煤铁矿源，设立制铁炼钢工厂

本计划所举诸业，如筑北方大港，建铁路统系由北方大港以达中国西北极端，殖民蒙古、新疆，与夫开浚运河、改良水道以联络北方大港，之四者所需物料当极浩大。夫煤铁矿源，在各实业国中累岁锐减，而各国亟思所以保存天惠，以遗子孙。如使为开发中国故，凡夫物料所需，取给各国，则将竭彼自为之富源，贻彼后代患。且以欧洲战后，各国再造所费，于实业界能供给之煤铁，行将吸收以尽。故开发新富源，以应中国之特别需求者，势则然也。

The unlimited iron and coal fields of Shansi and Chihli should be developed on a large scale. Let us say a capital of from five hundred to a thousand million dollars Mex. should be invested in this project. For as soon as the general development of China is started we would have created a vast market for iron and steel which the present industrial world will be unable to supply. Think of our railway construction, city building, harbor works, and various kinds of machineries and implements that will be needed! In fact, the development of China means the creation of a new need of various kinds of goods, for which, we must undertake to create the supply also, by utilizing the raw materials near by. Thus a great iron and steel works is an urgent necessity as well as a greatly profitable project.

In this First Program, we have followed the four principles set forth at the outset pretty closely. As needs create new needs and profits promote more profits, so our first program will be the forerunner of the other great developments, which we will deal with shortly.

直隶、山西无尽藏之煤铁，应以大规模采取之。今假以五万万或十万万元资本，投诸此事业。当中国一般的开发计划进行之始，钢铁销场立即扩大，殊非现时实业界所能供给。试思铁路、都市、商港等之建筑，与夫各种机械器具之应用，所需果当何若。质而言之，则中国开发，即所以起各种物品之新需要，而同时不得不就附近原料，谋相当之供给。故制铁、炼钢工厂者，实国家之急需，亦厚利之实业也。

此第一计划，皆依据前此所述之四原则而成。果如世论所云，“一需要即以发生更新之需要，一利益即以增进较多之利益”，则此第一计划，可视为其他更大发展中国计划之先导，后当继续论之。

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[1] Chinese Turkestan：指今新疆地区。——编者注
[2] 母财、子利：资本、利息。
[3] 直隶湾：即渤海湾。在渤海西部，北起河北省乐亭县大清河口，南到山东省黄河口。
[4] 宿昔：向来，往日。
[5] 浚渫：疏浚、疏通。
[6] 咪：英里，mile的英译，现已极少使用。——编者注
[7] 襟带：如襟如带，指山川环绕，地势险要。
[8] 生齿：语出《周礼·秋官·司民》，后借指人口、家口。
[9] 费府：即费城，美国东北部大城。
[10] As soon as this first program reached the American Legation in Peking, the former Minister, Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, immediately sent an expert to survey the site which the writer indicated, and found that it is really the best site on the Chihli Coast for a world harbor, excepting that the entrance of the port should be at the west side instead of the east side as the writer proposed. Detailed plans have been made as figures 1 and 2.
[11] 奉天：指今辽宁省。其辖境古今略有不同。
[12] 芮恩诗：今译芮恩施，1869—1923年。美国外交官，1913年任美国驻华公使，1919年辞职后，受聘为北洋政府法律顾问。
[13] 迪化城：指今新疆维吾尔自治区首府乌鲁木齐市。
[14] 伯达：旧多译为报达，今译巴格达，今伊拉克首都。
[15] 达马斯加斯：今译大马士革，叙利亚首都。
[16] 海楼：今译开罗。
[17] Mukden：沈阳，满语音为“穆克敦和屯（mukden hoton）”，意为“兴盛之京”，故称“盛京”，又名奉天。——编者注
[18] 中国本部（China Proper）：指以汉文化为主导、汉族占人口绝大多数的地区，在本书中指清朝的“十八行省”行政区域，不包括东北、新疆、蒙古、青海、西藏等地区。此英文名词为当时的传统用法，今日主要用于历史或地理研究，现代中文已绝少使用。十八行省范围历经元、明两代变迁，最后在清康熙朝时，定为冀、苏、皖、鲁、晋、豫、陕、甘、闽、浙、赣、鄂、湘、川、粤、桂、滇、黔。——编者注
[19] 麕聚：群聚。
[20] 阿尔然丁：今译阿根廷。
[21] 子偿其母：指获利甚多，利息即可偿还所投入资本。
[22] 饿莩：亦作“饿殍”，指饿死的人。
[23] 密西悉比河：今通译为密西西比河。

PROGRAM II

As the Great Northern Port is the center of our first program, so the Great Eastern Port will be the center of our second program. I shall formulate this program as follows:

I. The Great Eastern Port.

II. The Regulating of the Yangtze Channel and Embankments.

III. The Construction of River Ports.

IV. The Improvement of the Existing Waterways and Canals in Connection with the Yangtze.

V. The Establishment of Large Cement Works.

Part I The Great Eastern Port

Although Shanghai is already the largest port in all China, as it stands it will not meet the future needs and demands of a world harbor. Therefore there is a movement at present among the foreign merchants in China to construct a world port in Shanghai. Several plans have been proposed such as to improve the existing arrangement, to build a wet dock by closing the Whangpoo, to construct a closed harbor on the right bank of the Yangtze outside of Whangpoo, and to excavate a new basin just east of Shanghai with a shipping canal to Hangchow Bay. It is estimated that a cost of over one hundred million dollars Mex. must be spent before Shanghai can be made a first-class port.

According to the four principles I set forth in Program I, Shanghai as a world port for Eastern China is not in an ideal position. The best position for a port of that kind is at a point just south of Chapu on the Hangchow Bay. This locality is far superior to Shanghai as an eastern port for China from the standpoint of our four principles as set forth in our first program. Henceforth, in our course of discussion, we shall call this the "Projected Port" so as to distinguish it from Shanghai, the existing port of Eastern China.

The Projected Port

The "Projected Port" will be on the Bay which lies between the Chapu and the Kanpu promontories, a distance of about fifteen miles. A new sea wall should be built from one promontory to the other and a gap should be left at the Chapu end, a few hundred feet from the hill as an entrance to the harbor. The sea wall should be divided into five sections of three miles each. For the present, one section of three miles in length and one and a half miles in width should be built and a harbor of three or more square miles so formed would be sufficient. With the growth of commerce one section after another could be added to meet the needs. The front sea wall should be built of stone or concrete, while the transverse wall between the sea wall and the land side should be built of sand and bush mattress as a temporary structure to be removed in case of the extension of the harbor. Once a harbor is formed there

need be no trouble regarding the future conservancy work, for there is no silt-carrying water in the vicinity by which the harbor and its approaches may be silted up afterwards. The entrance of our harbor is in the deepest part of the Hangchow Bay, and from the entrance to the open sea there is an average depth of six to seven fathoms[1] at low water. The largest ocean liner could therefore come into port at any hour. Thus as a first-class seaport in Central China our Projected Port is superior to Shanghai. See Map III.

贰 第二计划

东方大港之为第二计划中心，犹之北方大港之为第一计划中心也。故第二计划，亦定为五部，即：

一、东方大港。

二、整治扬子江水路及河岸。

三、建设内河商埠。

四、改良扬子江之现存水路及运河。

五、创建大士敏土厂。

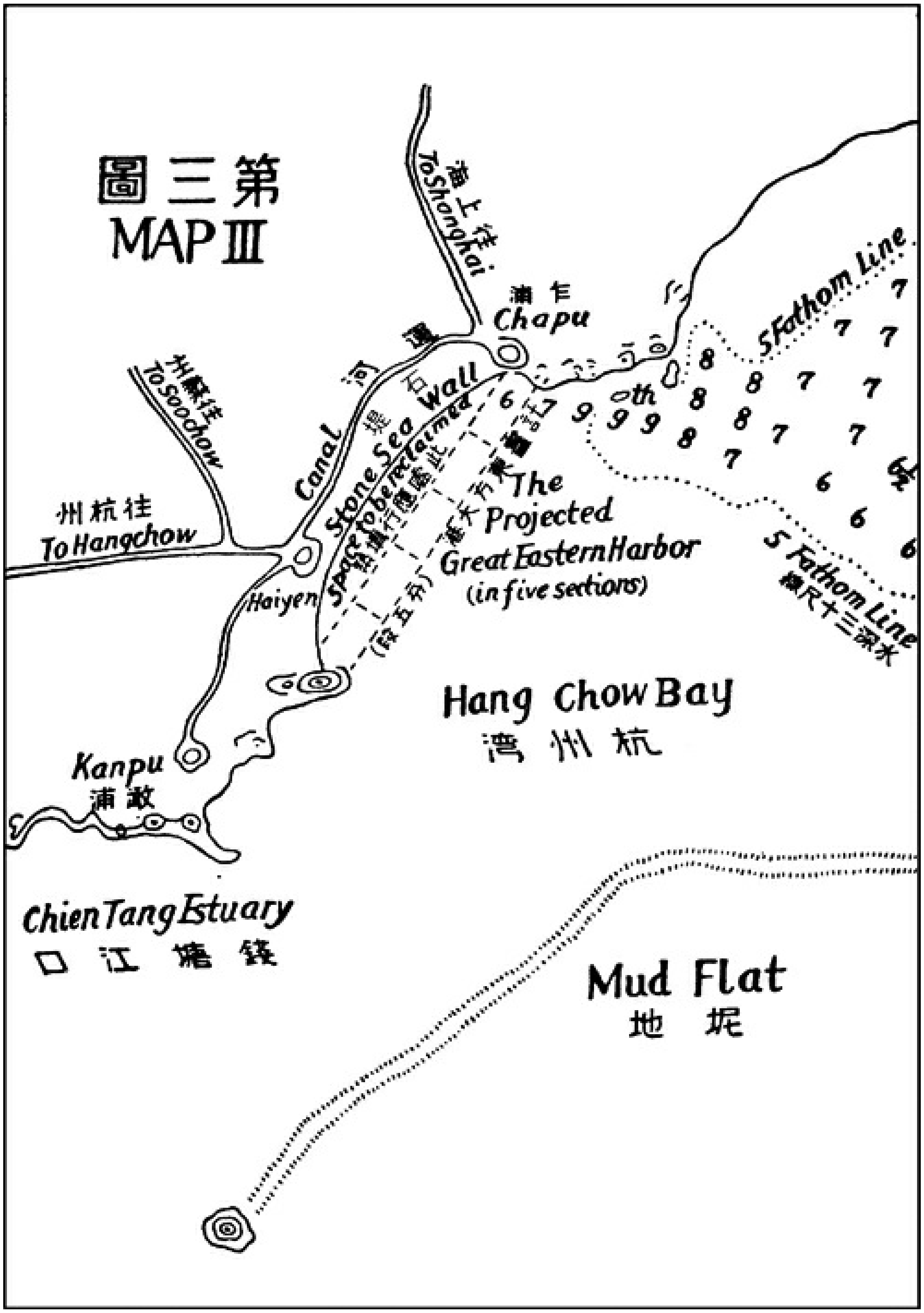
第一部 东方大港

上海现在虽已成为全中国最大之商港，而苟长此不变，则无以适合于将来为世界商港之需用与要求。故今日在华外国商人有一运动，欲于上海建一世界商港。现经有种种计划提出，即如将现在之布置更加改良，堵塞黄浦江口及上游以建一泊船坞，于黄浦口外扬子江右岸建一锁口商港，于上海东方凿一船池，并浚一运河到杭州湾；而预算欲使上海成为一头等商港，必须费去洋银一万万元以上然后可。

据第一计划中吾所举之四原则，则上海之为中国东方世界商港也，实不可谓居于理想的位置。而此种商港最良之位置，当在杭州湾中乍浦正南之地。依上述四原则以为观察，论其为东方商港，则此地位远胜上海。是以吾等于下文将呼之为计划港，以别于现在中国东方已成之商港即上海也。

甲 计划港

计划港当位于乍浦岬与澉浦岬之间，此两点相距约十五英里。应自此岬至彼岬建一海堤，而于乍浦一端离山数百英尺之处，开一缺口，以为港之正门。此种海堤可分为五段，每段各长三英里。因现在先筑一段，长三英里，阔一英里半，已得三四方英里之港面，足供用矣。至于商务长进，则可以逐段加筑，以应其需用。前面海堤，应以石块或士敏土坚结筑之。其横于海堤与陆地间之堤，则可用沙及柴席垒成，作为暂时建造，以备扩张港面时之移动。此港一经作成，永无须为将来浚渫之计。盖此港近旁，并无挟泥之水日后能填满此港面及其通路者也。在杭州湾中，此港正门为最深之部分，由此正门出至公海，平均低潮水深三十六英尺至四十二英尺，故最大之航洋船，可以随时进出口。故以此计划港作为中国中部一等海港，远胜上海也。（参观第三图）



From the viewpoint of the principle of the line of least resistance, our Projected Port will be on new land which will offer absolute freedom for city planning and industrial development. All public utilities and transportation plants can be constructed according to the most up-to-date methods. This point alone is an important factor for a future city like ours which in time is bound to grow as large as New York City. If one hundred years ago human

foresight could have foreseen the present size and population of New York, much of the labor and money spent could have been saved and blunders due to shortsightedness avoided in meeting conditions of the ever growing population and commerce of that city. With this in view a great Eastern Port in China should be started on new ground to insure room for growth proportionate to its needs.

Moreover, all the natural advantages which Shanghai possesses as a central mart and Yangtze Port in Eastern China are also possessed by our Projected Port. Furthermore, our Projected Port in comparison with Shanghai is of shorter distance, by rail communication, to all the large cities south of the Yangtze. And if the existing waterway between this part of the country and Wuhu were improved then the water communication with the upper Yangtze would also be shorter from our Projected Port than from Shanghai. And all the artificial advantages possessed by Shanghai as a large city and a commercial center in this part of China can be easily attained by our Projected Port within a short time.

Comparing Shanghai with our Projected Port from a remunerative point of view in our development scheme, the former is much inferior in position to the latter, for valuable lands have to be bought and costly plants and existing arrangements have to be scrapped the cost of which alone is enough to construct a fine harbor on our projected site. Therefore, it is highly advisable to construct another first-class port for Eastern China like the one I here propose, leaving Shanghai to be an inland mart and manufacturing center as Manchester is in relation to Liverpool, Osaka to Kobe, and Tokyo to Yokohama.

Our Projected Port will be a highly remunerative proposition for the cost of construction will be many times cheaper than Shanghai and the work simpler. The land between Chapu and Kanpu and farther on will not cost more than fifty to one hundred dollars a mow. The State should take up a few hundred square miles of land in this neighborhood for the scheme of our future city development. Let us say two hundred square miles of land at the price of one hundred dollars a mow be taken up. As six mows make an acre and six hundred and forty acres a square mile, two hundred square miles would cost 76,000,000 dollars Mex. An enormous sum for a project indeed! But the land could be fixed at the present price and the State could buy only that part of land which will immediately be taken up and used. The other part

of the land would remain as State land unpaid for and left to the original owners' use without the right to sell. Thus the State only takes up as much land as it could use in the devel- opment scheme at a fixed price which remains permanent. The payment then would be gradual. The State could pay for the land from its unearned increment afterwards. So that only the first allotment of land has to be paid for from the capital fund; the rest will be paid for by its own future value. After the first section of the harbor is completed and the port developed, the price of land then would be bound to rise rapidly, and within ten years the land value within the city limits would rise to various grades from a thousand to a hundred thousand dollars per mow. Thus the land itself would be a source of profit. Besides there would also be the profit from the scheme itself, i.e., the harbor and the city. Because of its commanding position, the harbor has every possibility of becoming a city equal to New York. It would probably be the only deep-water seaport for the Yangtze Valley and beyond, an area peopled by two hundred million inhabitants, twice the population of the whole United States. The rate of growth of such a city would be in proportion to the rate of progress of the working out of the development scheme. If war work methods, that is, gigantic planning and efficient organization, were applied to the construction of the harbor and city, then an Oriental New York City would spring up in a very short time.

以“抵抗最少”之原则言，吾之计划，乃在未开辟地规划城市、发展实业皆有绝对自由，一切公共营造及交通计划均可以最新利之方法建设之。即此一层，已为我等之商港将来必须发展至大如纽约者之最重要之要素矣。如使人之远见，在百年前能预察纽约今日人口之多与其周围之广，则此空费之无数金钱劳力与无远见之失误皆可避去，而恰就此市不绝长进之人口及商务，求其适合矣。吾人既知其如此，则中国东方大港务须经始于未开辟之地，以保其每有需用，随时可以推广也。

且上海所有天然利益，如其为中国东部长江商港，为其中央市场，我之计划港亦复有之。更加以由铁路以与大江以南各大都市相交通，此港较之上海为近。抑且如将该地近旁与芜湖之间水路加以改良，则此港与长江上游水上交通，亦比上海为近。而上海所有一切人为的繁荣，所以成为一大商埠，为中国此方面商务之中心者，不待多年，此港已能追及之矣。

由吾发展计划之观察点，以比较上海与此计划港，则上海较此港遥劣[2] 。因其须购高价之土地，须毁除费用甚多之基址与现存之布置，即此一层所费，已足作成一良好港面，于我所计划之地矣。是以照我所

提，别建一头等港供中国东部之用，而留上海作为内地市场与制造中心，如英国孟遮斯打[3] 之于利物浦、日本大阪之于神户、东京之于横滨，最为得策也。

以其建造将较上海廉数倍，工作亦简单数倍，故此计划港将为可获厚利之规划。乍浦、澉浦间及其附近，土地之价每亩当不过五十元至一百元，国家当划取数百英方里[4] 之地于其邻近，以供吾等将来市街发展之计划所用。假如划定为二百英方里，每亩价值百元，每六亩当一英亩，而六百四十英亩当一英方里，故二百英方里地价当费七千六百万元。以一计划论，此诚为巨额。但政府可以先将地价照现时之额限定，而仅买取所须用之地，其余之地，则作为国有地未给价者留于原主手中，任其使用，但不许转卖耳。如此，国家但于发展计划中需用若干地，即随时取若干地，而其取之，则有永远不变之定价，而其支付地价可以徐徐，国家将来即能以其所增之利益，还付地价。如此，惟第一次所用地区之价须以资本金支付之，其余则可以其本身将来价值付之而已足。至港面第一段完成以后，此港发达，斯时地价急速腾贵，十年之内，在其市街界内地价将起自千元一亩至十万元一亩之高价，故土地自体已发生利益矣，而又益之以计划本来之港面及市街之利益。因其所挟卓越之地位，此港实有种种与纽约媲美之可能。而在扬子江流域，控有倍于美国之二万万人口之一地区，想当以此为唯一之深水海港也。此种都市长进之率，将与实行此发展计划全部之率为正比例。如使用战时工作之伟大规模、完密组织之方法，以助长此港面与市街之建造，则此时将有东方纽约崛起于极短时间之中。于是无须更虑其过度扩展与资本之误投，因有无限之富源与至大之人口，正待此港而用之也。

Shanghai as the Great Eastern Port

If only to provide a deep-water harbor for the future commerce in this part of China is our object then there is no question about the choice between Shanghai and our Projected Port. From every point of view Shanghai is doomed. However, in our scheme of development of China, Shanghai has certain claims for our consideration which may prove its salvation as an important city. The curse of Shanghai as a world port for future commerce is the silt of the Yangtze which fills up all its approaches rapidly every year. This silt, according to the estimation of Mr. Von Heidenstam, Engineer-in-chief of the Whangpoo Conservancy Board, is a hundred million tons a year and is sufficient to cover an area of forty square miles ten feet deep. So before Shanghai can be considered ever likely to become a world port this silt

problem must first be solved. Fortunately, in our program, we have the regulation of the Yangtze Channels and Embankments, which will coöperate in solving the problem of Shanghai. Thus with this scheme in mind we might just as well consider that the silt question of Shanghai has been solved and let us go ahead, while leaving the regulation of the Yangtze Estuary to the next part, to deal with the improvement of the Shanghai Harbor.

乙 以上海为东方大港

如使我之计划，唯欲以一深水港面，供中国此部分将来商务之用，则必取前之计划港，而舍上海无疑。任从何点观察，上海皆为僵死之港，然而在我之中国发展计划，上海有特殊地位。由此审度之，于上海仍可求得一种救济法也。扬子江之沙泥，每年填塞上海通路，迅速异常，此实阻上海为将来商务之世界港之噩神也。据黄浦江浚渫局技师长方希典斯坦君所推算，此种沙泥每年计有一万万吨，此数足以铺积满四十英方里之地面，至十英尺之厚。必首先解决此沙泥问题，然后可视上海为能永成为一世界商港者也。幸而在吾计划中，本有整治扬子江水道及河岸一部，将有助于上海通路之解决。故常以此计划置诸心中，即可将沙泥问题作为已解决者，而将整治长江入海口一事让之次部。现在先商上海港面改良一事。

There are many plans proposed by experts for improving the Shanghai Harbor as stated before, and some of them will necessitate the scrapping of all the work which has been done by the Whangpoo Con- servancy Board for the last twelve years, at the cost of eleven million taels. Here I wish to present a layman's plan for the consideration of specialists and the public.

My project for the construction of a world harbor in Shanghai is to leave the existing arrangement intact from the mouth of the Whangpoo to the junction of Kao Chiao Creek above Gough Island. Thus all the work hitherto done by the Whangpoo Conservancy Board for the last twelve years will be saved. The plan is to cut a new canal from the junction of Kao Chiao Creek right into Pootung to prolong that part of the channel which has been completed by the Conservancy Work, and to enlarge the curve along the right side of the Whangpoo River and join it again, at the second turn above Lunghwa Railway Junction, so as to make the river from that point to a point opposite Yangtzepoo Point almost in a straight line and thence a gentle curve to Woosung. This new canal would encircle nearly thirty square miles of land which would form the civic center and the New Bund of our future Shanghai.

Of course the present crooked Whangpoo right in front of Shanghai would have to be filled up to form boulevards and business lots. It goes without saying that the reclaimed lots from the Whangpoo would become State property and the land between this and the new river and beyond should be taken up by the State and put at the disposal of the International Development Organization. Thus it may be possible for Shanghai to compete with our Projected Port economically in its construction and therefore to attract foreign capital, to the improvement of Shanghai as a future world port. See Map IV.

Below Yangtzepoo Point I propose to build a wet dock. This dock should be laid between the left bank of the present Whangpoo, from Yangtzepoo Point to the turn above Gough Island and the left bank of the new river. The space of the dock should be about six square miles. A lock entrance is to be constructed at the point above Gough Island. The wet dock should be forty feet deep and the new river can also be made the same depth by flushing with the water, not as proposed by experts, from a lock canal between the Yangtze and the Taihu, at Kiangyin, but from our improved waterway between this part of the country and Wuhu so that a much stronger current could be obtained.

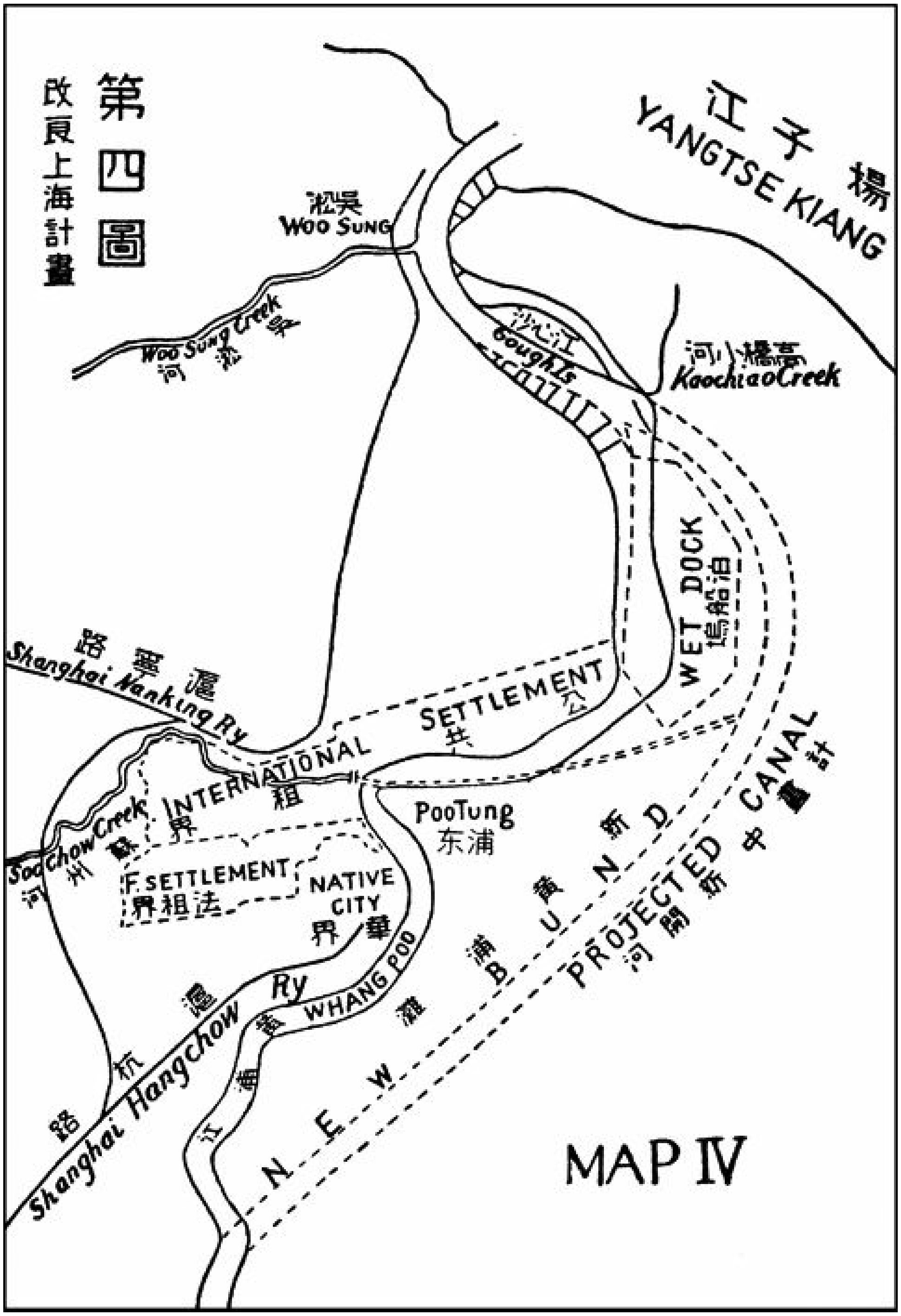
现有诸专门家提出种种计划，以图上海港面改良，如前所述。其中有欲将十二年来黄浦江浚渫局用一千一百万两所作之工程，尽行毁弃者。是以吾欲献一常人之规划，以供专门家及一般公众之研究。

我之设世界港于上海之计划，即仍留存现在自黄浦江口起至江心沙上游高桥河合流点止已成之布置，如此则浚渫局十二年来所作之工程均不虚耗。于是依我计划，当更延长浚渫局所已开成之水道，又扩张黄浦江右岸之湾曲部，由高桥河合流点开一新河，直贯浦东，在龙华铁路接轨处上流第二转湾复与黄浦江正流会。如此，则由此点直到斜对杨树浦之一点，江流直几如绳，由此更以缓曲线达于吴淞。此新河将约三十英方里之地圈入，作为市宅中心，且作成一新黄浦滩；而现在上海前面缭绕潆洄之黄浦江，则填塞之以作广马路及商店地也。此所填塞之地，当然为国家所有，固不待言；且由此线以迄新开河中间之地，暨其附近，亦均当由国家收用，而授诸国际开发之机关所支配。如此，然后上海可以追及前述之计划港，其建造能为经济的，可以引致外国资本也。关于改良上海以为将来世界商港（参观第四图），在杨树浦下游，吾主张建一泊船坞。此坞应就现在黄浦江左岸自杨树浦角起，至江心沙上流转湾处止，跨旧黄浦江面及新开地，而邻于新开河之左岸以建之。坞之面积应有约六英方里，并应于江心沙上游之处建一水闸以通船坞，而坞当凿

至四十英尺深。新开河之深，亦当以河流之冲刷，而使之至四十英尺。惟此冲刷之水，非如专门家所提议于江阴设一长江、太湖间之闭锁运河而引致之，乃由我计划所定之改良此部分地方与芜湖间之水道而引致之，如此乃能得较猛之水力也。

As we see that the present Whangpoo has to be reclaimed from the second turn above Lunghwa Railway Junction to Yangtzepoo Point for city planning, then the question of how to dispose of the Soochow Creek must be answered. I propose that this stream should be led alongside the right bank of the future defunct river and straight on to the upper end of the wet dock, thence joining the new canal. At the point of contact of the Creek and the wet dock a lock entrance may be provided in order to facilitate water traffic from Soochow as well as the inland water system directly with the wet dock.

我辈既已见及现在之黄浦江，须由龙华接轨处上面第二转湾起，填至杨树浦角，以供市街规划，则如何处分苏州河之问题，又须解决。吾意当导此小河，沿黄浦江故道右岸，直注泊船坞之上端，然后合于新开之河；于此小河与泊船坞之间，当设一水闸，所以便于由苏州及内地之水运系统直接与船坞联络也。



As the first principle in our program was remuneration, all our plans must strictly follow this principle. To create Pootung Point, therefore, as a civic center and to build a new Bund farther on along the left bank of the new canal in order to increase the value of the new land which would result from this scheme must be kept in mind. Only by so doing would the construction of Shanghai as a deep harbor be worthwhile. And only by creating some new

and valuable property in this fore-doomed port could Shanghai be saved from the competition of our Projected Port. After all, the most important factor for the salvation of Shanghai is the solution of the silt question of the Yangtze Estuaries. Now let us see what effect and bearing the regulating of the Yangtze Channel and Embankments have upon the question, and this we are going to deal with in the next part.

Part II The Regulating of the Yangtze River

The regulating of the Yangtze River may be divided as follows:

a. From the deep-water line of the sea to Whangpoo Junction.

b. From Whangpoo Junction to Kiangyin.

c. From Kiangyin to Wuhu.

d. From Wuhu to Tungliu.

e. From Tungliu to Wusueh.

f. From Wusueh to Hankow.

a. Regulating of the Estuary from Deep-water Line Up to the Junction of Whangpoo

It is a natural law that the obstruction to navigation in all rivers is begun at their mouths, therefore the improvement of any river for navigation must start from the estuary. The Yangtze River is no exception to this rule, therefore to regulate the Yangtze, we must begin by dealing with its estuaries.

The Yangtze has three estuaries, namely: The North Branch lying between the left bank and the Island of Tsungming, the North Channel lying between the Tsungming Island and the Tungsha Banks and the South Channel lying between the Tungsha Banks and the right bank. Henceforth for the sake of convenience I shall call them the North, Middle, and South Channels.

在我计划，以获利为第一原则，故凡所规划皆当严守之。故创造市宅中心于浦东，又沿新开河左岸建一新黄浦滩，以增加其由此计划圈入上海之新地之价值，皆须特为注意者也。盖惟如此办去，而后上海始值得建为深水海港。亦惟为此垂死之港，新造出有价值之土地，然后上海可以与计划港争胜也。究竟救济上海之最重要要素，为解决扬子江口沙泥问题，故整治扬子江水道及河岸一事于此沙泥问题有何影响、有何意义，吾人将于次部论之。

第二部 整治扬子江

整治扬子江一部，当分六节：

甲 由海上深水线起，至黄浦江合流点。

乙 由黄浦江合流点起，至江阴。

丙 由江阴至芜湖。

丁 由芜湖至东流。

戊 由东流至武穴。

己 由武穴至汉口。

甲 整治扬子江口自海上深水线至黄浦江合流点

凡河流航行之阻塞，必自河口始，此自然原则也。故凡改良河道以利航行，必由其河口发端，扬子江亦不能居于例外也。故吾人欲治扬子江，当先察扬子江口。

扬子江入海有三口：最北为北支流，在左岸与崇明岛间；中间为中水道，在崇明岛与铜沙坦之间；最南为南水道，在铜沙坦与右岸之间。故为便利计，以后当分别称之为北水道、中水道、南水道。

The silting up of a river's mouth is due to the loss of velocity in its current when the water gets into the wide opening at its junction with the sea and causes the silt to deposit there. The remedy is to maintain the velocity of the current by narrowing the mouth of the river so that it equals that of the upper part. In this way the silt is suspended in the water moving on into the deep sea. The narrowing process may be accom- plished by walls or training jetties. And thus the silt may be carried by the water into the deepest part of the open sea and before it settles down upon the bottom a returning tide will carry it from the approach into the shallow parts on both sides of the river's mouth. The mouth of a river can be kept clear from deposit of silt by the action and reaction of the ebb and flow tide. The conservancy of an estuary of any river is accomplished by utilizing these natural forces.

In order to regulate the estuary of the Yangtze we have to study the three channels which form its mouth and to find out which of these channels is to

be selected as the regulated entrance into the sea. In Mr. Von Heidenstam's proposal for the improvement of the approach of Shanghai Harbor, he recommends two alternatives, viz., either to block up the North and Middle Channels and to leave the South Channel only for the mouth of the Yangtze, or to train the South Channel only and leave the other two alone. For the present, he thinks, perhaps for the sake of economy, the latter scheme would be enough. But the training of the South Channel alone as the approach to Shanghai would leave it in a state of perpetual anxiety as has been apprehended by Mr. Von Heidenstam and other experts, for the main volume of the water of the Yangtze may be diverted into either of the other two channels and leave the Southern one to be silted up at any time. Therefore to make the approach of Shanghai once for all safe and permanent, it is necessary to block up two of the three channels, leaving only one as an approach to the port. This is also the only feasible way of regulating the estuary of the Yangtze.

In our scheme of regulating the Yangtze Estuary I should recommend using the North Channel only and to block the other two. Because the North Channel is the shortest way to the deep-sea line and by using it as the only mouth of the Yangtze, we have on both sides of it more shallow banks to be reclaimed by its silt. Thus the expenditure would be less and the results greater. But this would leave Shanghai in the lurch. Therefore in a coöperative scheme like this I would apply the theory of killing two birds with one stone by using the Middle Channel, since it would suit both of our purposes. The reason for this is because the regulating of the Yangtze Estuary and the securing of a Shanghai approach have different purposes, hence we must consider them differently.

凡河口所以被沙泥填塞者，以河水将入海汇流，河口宽阔，湍流减其速力，而沙泥因之沉淀也。救之者，收窄其河口，令与上流无异，以保其湍流之速力；由此道，则沙泥被水裹挟，直抵深海。收窄之工程，当筑海堤以成之，或用一连之石坝。如是，其沙泥为水所混，直至深海广阔之处，未及沉淀，复遇回潮冲击，还填入河口两旁附近浅水之洼地，以潮长、潮退之动力与反动力，遂使河口常无淤积。凡疏浚一河之河口，皆以利用此天然力助成之。

欲治扬子江口，吾辈须将构成其口之三水道一一研究，又择出其一道以为入海之口。在方希典斯坦君所提议改良上海港面通路策，列有二案：其一，闭塞北、中两水道，独留南水道，以为扬子江口；其二，独

修浚南水道，而置余两水道不理。现在彼意以为用第二案已足，此或因经济上目的而然。顾惟修浚南水道，则上海通路将常见不绝提心吊胆之情形，仍如方希典斯坦君暨其他专门家现所忧虑者；因扬子江水流之大部，随时可以改灌入他两水道，而令南水道淤塞也。故为使上海通路永久安全、一劳永逸计，必须于三水道之中，闭塞其二，独留一股，以为上海通路。此又整治扬子江口唯一可得实行之路也。

在我整治扬子江口之计划，本应选用北水道，而闭塞中南二水道。因北水道为入深海最短之线，又用之以为唯一之扬子江口，则其两旁有更多之沙坦洼地，正待沙泥填堵也。故其费用为较少，而收效为较多。但此本不为上海作计故然耳。如其统筹全局，必须以一箭双雕之法行之，而采中水道以为河口，则于治河与筑港两得其便。盖专谋治扬子江口与单谋上海之通路者，各有所志，其考察自有不同也。

In my project of regulating the Yangtze Estuary I have two aims, namely, to secure a deep channel to the open sea and to save as much silt as possible for the purpose of reclamation of land. The Middle Channel provides three ready receptacles for the deposit of the silt for the formation of new land: the Haimen, the Tsungming, and the Tungsha Banks. Besides these banks there are many hundreds of square miles of shallow bottom which in the course of ten or twenty years will also form land. As remuneration is our first principle we must consider it in every step of our progress. The reclamation of about a thousand square miles of land even in forty not to say twenty years would be ample profit. At the lowest estimate the reclaimed land would be worth twenty dollars per mow. If after ten years five hundred square miles would be ready for cultivation purposes then we would gain a profit of 38,000,000 dollars. Whereas to make an approach by the South Channel the receptacle ground will be on one side only, that is, the Tungsha Banks, while on the right of the approach is the deep Hangchow Bay which would take hundreds of years to fill up, and in the meanwhile half of the silt would be wasted. To Shanghai as a seaport the silt is a curse but to the shallow banks the silt would be a blessing.

Since it is a profitable undertaking to reclaim the above mentioned banks and the neighboring shallows, we can quite well afford to build a double stone wall from the shore end of the Yangtze right out into the deep sea far beyond Shaweishan Island which is a distance of about forty miles. A stone wall from one fathom to five fathoms in height at low-water level would likely not exceed an average cost of two hundred thousand dollars a

mile as cheap stone can easily be obtained from the granite islands nearby, in the Chusan Archipelago. A wall of forty miles on each side that is eighty miles in all will cost sixteen million dollars or thereabouts. And considering that 200 or 300 square miles of Haimen, Tsungming, and the Tungsha banks could be converted into arable land within a short time, the expense of building the wall is well justified. Furthermore, the construction of this wall means that there will be a safe and permanent approach for a world port in Shanghai as well as a deep outlet for the Yangtze. See Map V.

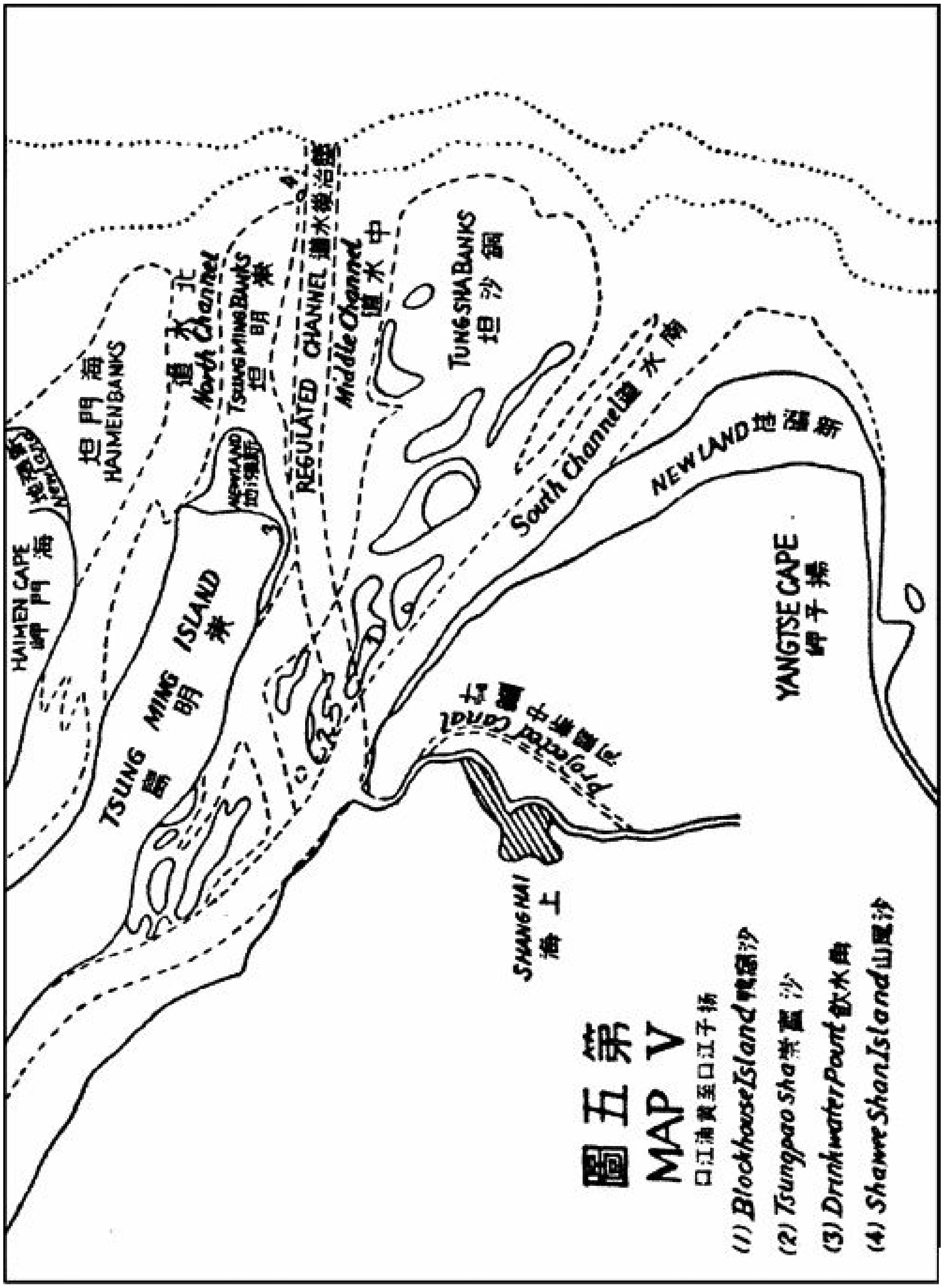
The regulating wall on the right side should be built from the junction of the Whangpoo by prolongation of its right jetty describing a gentle curve into the depths of the South Channel and turning toward the opposite side and cutting through the Blockhouse Island into the Middle Channel, then running eastward right into the five-fathom line southeast of Shaweishan Island. The left wall would be a continuation from that of Tsungming at Tsungpaosha Island parallel with the right wall by a distance of about two miles. This wall should curve to a point at or near Drinkwater Point at Tsungming Island, then project into the five-fathom line at the open sea passing by just at the south side of the Shaweishan Island. A glance at the map here attached would be sufficient to show how the future outlet of the Yangtze as well as the future approach of Shanghai should be. The two regulating submerged walls on both sides would be as high as low-water level so as to give a free passage of the water over the top at flood tide. This will serve the purpose of carrying back the silt from the sea when the tide comes in, thus to reclaim the shallow spaces inclosed behind the walls on both sides of the river more quickly than otherwise. The new channel formed by these two parallel walls would likely be deeper than the present South Channel outside the Whangpoo, which is forty to fifty feet deep because the velocity of the current will be greater than the present one, due to the concentration of three channels into one. Furthermore, the depth would be more uniform and stable than at present. Although the regulating walls end at the five-fathom line, the momentum of the current would continue beyond that point, and so would cut into the deep water outside. This would serve the double purpose of draining the Yangtze Estuary as well as keeping open the approach to Shanghai.

在我治扬子江口之计划，所取者有两端：其一，则求深水道以达海洋；其二，则多收其沙泥，以填海为田，惟力所及。中水道具有三堆积场，以受沙泥而成新陆地，即海门坦、崇明坦、铜沙坦是也。此外尚有

渟水[5] 洼地千数百英方里，循现在之势以往，不过十年至二十年便成陆地。以我之第一原则为获利故，每一举足，不可忘之。即令二十年不能成地，姑倍之为四十年，而所填筑者有约一千英方里之多，其于利益，已不菲矣。以至贱计之，填积之地值二十元一亩，如使十年之后，五百英方里之地可备耕作之用，其所得之利已为三千八百四十万元。如使由南水道以通上海，则接受沙泥之地面只在一偏，即惟有铜沙坦在其左方，而右方则为深水之杭州湾，非数百年不能填满，在此数百年间沙泥之半数归于无用矣。夫以上海为海港，故沙泥为之噩神；至于低地，正欢迎沙泥，而以福星视之也。

此种企业，既有填筑上述海坦洼地为田之利，我等自可建一双石堤，自长江入海之处起，直达深海，至离岸四十英里之沙尾山为止。以舟山列岛附近有花冈石岛，廉价之石，不难运致。故筑一石堤，高六英尺至三十英尺，使刚与低潮面平，其平均所需，当不过每一英里费二十万元；石堤每边长四十英里，统共八十英里，其所费约在一千六百万元左右。而在海门坦、崇明坦暨铜沙坦有二三百英方里地，转瞬之间，可变为农田计之，则建此石堤，已非不值矣。况其建此石堤，实足以为上海世界港得一永久通路，又为扬子江得一深水出路也耶！（参观第五图）

右边之石堤，应从黄浦江合流点起，延长其右边石坝，画一缓曲线，到南水道深处，然后转向对岸，横截鸭窝沙，以至中水道，又折向东方，直筑至沙尾山东南水深三十英尺处。左边之堤，由崇宝沙起，直至崇明角，与右堤平行，两堤中间相距约两英里。此堤当在崇明之饮水角附近，稍作曲线，然后直达深海三十英尺深之线，恰在沙尾山南端经过。试一览附图，当知将来上海通路当何如，扬子江出路当何如矣。此一双水底石堤，断不容高过低潮面，以使潮涨时水流自由通过堤面，如此则潮涨时可将沙泥夹带回两堤之旁，于是填塞两堤旁所括之低地，更迅速矣。现在南水道在黄浦江外面，已有四五十英尺之深，而新水道以两平行石堤夹成，料必比南水道更深，因其聚三水道入于一流，其水流速力必较现在者为多也，而河身之深亦将较现在为确定，且一律。在石堤，虽止于水深三十英尺处，而水流不于是遽停，必过此一点更突入较深之外海而后止。则上海通路常开，与扬子江口无阻之两目的，可得同时俱达矣。



b. From Whangpoo Junction to Kiangyin

This part of the channel of the Yangtze River is most irregular and changeable. The widest part is over ten miles while the Kiangyin Narrow is only but three-quarters of a mile. The depth of the channel at the open part is from five to ten fathoms while that of Kiangyin Narrow is twenty fathoms. Judging by the depth of the water at this point a width of one and a half miles

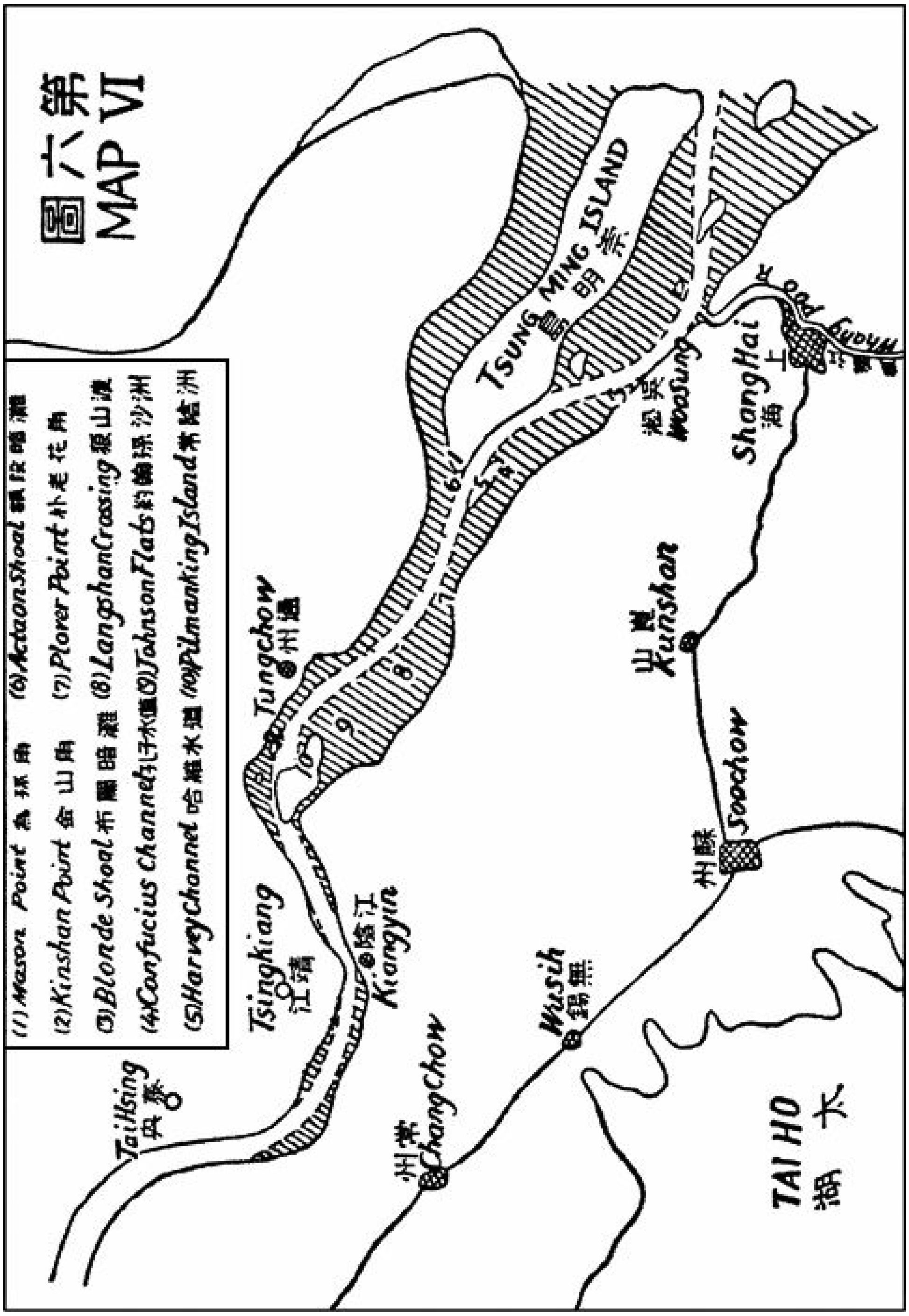
must be provided for the channel in order to slow down the current and to give a uniform velocity right along the river. So the two-mile-wide channel at Whangpoo Junction has to be tabulated into one mile and a half at Kiangyin. See Map VI.

The north or left embankment commencing at Tsungpao Sha continues with the sea wall and makes a convex curve up to Tsungming Island at a point about six miles northwest from Tsungming city. Then it follows along the shore of Tsungming right up to Mason Point and transversing across the north channel parallel to the north shore at a distance of three or four miles right up to Kinshan Point, thence it cuts across the deep channel which was formed in recent years and curves southwestward to join the shore northeast of Tsingkiang and follows the shore line for a distance of about seven or eight miles, then cuts into the land side to give this part of the river a width of one and a half miles from the fort at the Kiangyin side. This embankment from Tsungpao Sha to Tsingkiang Point opposite Kiangyin fort is about one hundred miles in length.

乙 由黄浦江合流点起至江阴

扬子江水道中，此一部分为最不规则，又最转变无常者。其江流广处，在十英里以上；至其狭处，才得四分英里之三，即江阴窄路是也。在此广阔之处，河深不过三十英尺至六十英尺；至于江阴窄路，实有一百二十英尺之深。由江阴窄路之水深以判断之，必须有一英里半阔之河身，以缓和此地方湍流之速力，令全河流速始终如一。于是在黄浦口之二英里阔河身，在江阴应阔一英里半。（参观第六图）

此段左岸即北岸筑河堤，起自崇宝沙，与海堤相连，作一凸曲线，以至崇明岛，在崇明城西北约六英里处，接于滩边。然后沿崇明滩边，直至马孙角（译音），然后转而横过北水道，离北岸约三四英里，作一平行线，直抵金山角（译音）。在此处截断近年新成之深水道，向西南，以与靖江县城东北河岸相接。沿此岸再筑七八英里，又挖开陆地，以增河身之阔。令其自江阴炮台脚下起，算至对岸，常有一英里半之距离。此自崇宝沙至江阴对面之靖江，河堤共长约一百英里。



South of Tsungming Island a part of this embankment and a part of the wall that projects into the sea together inclose a shallow space of about 160 square miles good for reclamation purposes. The other part of the embankment, which runs from Mason Point at the head of Tsungming Island to Tsingkiang shore, incloses another space of about 130 square miles.

The right embankment starts at the end of the left jetty of Whangpoo

Junction and, skirting along the Paoshan shore and passing the Blonde Shoal into the deep, crosses the Confucius Channel on into Actaon Shoal and follows the right side of Harvey Channel on to Plover Point. Then it turns northwest across the deep channel into Langshan Flats, thence recrosses the deep channel at Langshan crossing into Johnson Flats, then joins the Pitman King Island, and thence skirts along the shore right into the foot of the hills at Kiangyin forts. This embankment incloses two shallow spaces: one above and the other below Plover Point, together about 160 square miles. Alongside of both of these embankments there are shallow spaces amounting to about 450 square miles, a great part of which having already formed land and a part already appearing in low water. When these spaces are cut off from the moving current the process of reclamation would be made to work more rapidly so it is not extravagant to hope that within the course of twenty years the whole of these 450 square miles would be completely reclaimed and ready for cultivation. The profits from the new lands thus reclaimed would amount to about $29,760,000 if only taken at $20 per mow. The profits from the new lands would be netted from the beginning of the work and would increase every year up to the completion of the reclamation process.

With a profit of $30,000,000 in the course of twenty years before us, it is a worth-while proposition to take up. Now let us see what amount of capital should be invested before the whole project of our reclamation work could be completed. In order to reclaim this 450 square miles of land two hundred miles of embankments have to be built. Part of these projected embankments will be along the shore line, a greater part will be in midstream, and a small part in deep channel. Those along the shore line need not be bothered with except that the concave surface must be protected with stone or concrete work. Those in midstream should be filled up with stone ten feet or less below low-water level just enough to give a resistance to the undercurrent in order to prevent it from running sideward. Thus the main current would follow the line of least resistance and cut the channel, as directed by the rudimental embankment, by its own force. This rudimental embankment would cost less than the sea wall which I estimated at $200,000 per mile. Except at one point, that is, the junction of the North Channel at Mason Point, which has to be blocked up entirely, the cost for which, as has been estimated by experts, would amount to over a million dollars for a distance of two or three miles. Thus the profits accruing from the reclaimed lands would be quite sufficient to pay for the embankments. So far we see that the regulating

of the Yangtze from the sea to Kiangyin is a self-paying proposition from the reclamation of land alone, aside from the improvement of the navigation of the Yangtze River.

在崇明岛迤南，此河堤之一部及海堤，共围有浅滩约一百六十英方里，可以填为实地。其河堤之他一部，自崇明岛上头马孙角起，至靖江河岸止，另围有浅滩一百三十英方里。

右边河堤，自黄浦江口石坝尽处起，循宝山岸边，过布兰暗滩，直到深处，横过“孔夫子水道”，穿入额段暗滩（译音），随哈维水道（译音）右边，溯流筑至朴老花角（译音）。再在狼山渡，横截深水道，穿过约翰孙沙洲（译音），与常阴洲相接续。再循此岸，直筑至江阴炮台山脚下。此段河堤围有浅滩两处，一在朴老花角上游，他一则在其下游，共约有一百六十英方里。此两边河堤之所围浅滩，共约四百五十英方里，其中大部分已成陆地，亦有一部已于低潮时露出。此等地方，若令不与湍流相遇，则其填塞之进行更速。所以谓二十年之内，此四百五十英方里之地，当完全填成实地，可供耕作，亦非奢望也。如使此种新地每亩仅值二十元，则此新填地所生利益，已约有二千九百七十六万元矣。而此近三千万之利益，固从新地而生。此新地之利益，自起工以后，则每年增长，直至其填塞完成而后已者也。

以后此二十年间可得三千万元利益而论，此种提案，自可采供讨议。今先计须投资本若干，然后我填筑之全计划可以完成。将欲填此四百五十英方里之地，须筑二百英里之河堤。此所计划之河堤，有一部分为沿河岸线者，而大部分须在中流，更有一小部分须筑在深水道之中。沿河岸线者，惟有在凹曲线面之一部须以石建，或用士敏土坚结，以保护堤面，此外无须费力。在中流者，须用石叠起，至离低潮水面下不及十英尺为止，适足以抵抗下层水流，令不轶出正路之外。如此则大股流水，将循此抵抗最少之线，以其自力，从其初级河堤所诱导，开一水道。此种初级河堤所费，比之海堤较廉，而海堤所费，依吾前计算为二十万元一英里而已。惟有在马孙角、北水道分流点一处，须将该水道完全闭塞，其费已经专门家估算，当在百万元以外，方能填筑此二三英里之堤。是故由新填地所生利益，必足以回复其所筑河堤所费。可知即此填新地一节，已足令自海口到江阴两段导江工程不致亏本，而又有改良扬子江航路之益也。

c. From Kiangyin to Wuhu

This part of the river is quite different in nature from that below Kiangyin. Its channel is more stable and only in a few places sharp curves

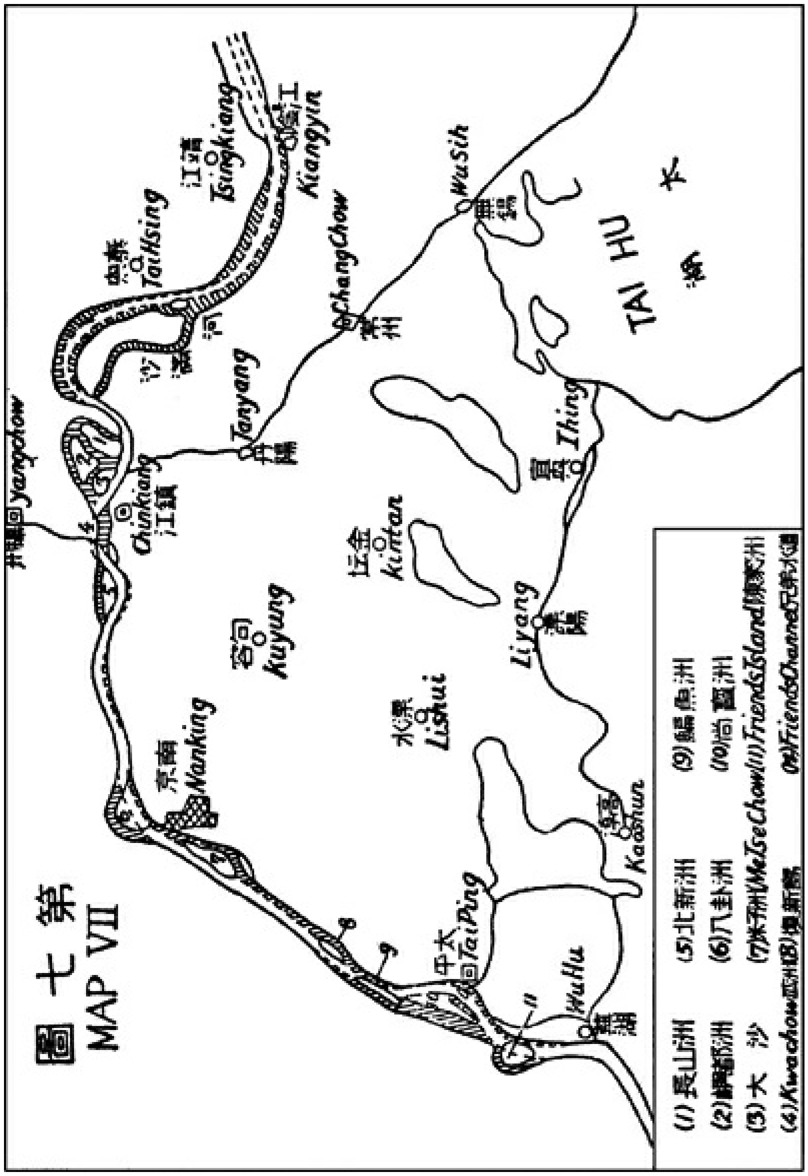
occur and the water has cut into the concave sides of the land, thus occasionally making new channels along the sides of the two shores. This section of the river is about 180 miles in length. See Map VII.

The regulating works here would be more complicated than those below Kiangyin. For besides the dilated parts which have to be reclaimed in the same manner as those of the lower part of the river, the sharp curves have to be straightened and side channels have to be blocked, and midstream islands have to be removed, and narrows have to be widened to give uniform width to the river.

丙 自江阴至芜湖

此段河流，性质与江阴以下全异。其水道较为巩固，惟有三数处现出急曲线，河流蚀入凹曲线方面之陆地，因此时时于两岸另开新水道而已。此段长约一百八十英里。（参观第七图）

此处整治之工，比之江阴以下更为困难。盖其泛滥之地，应填筑者，仍与长江下游景况正同。其急曲线须修之使直，旁支水道应行闭塞，中流小岛应行削去，窄隘水路应行浚广，令全河上下游一律。



However, most of the exist- ing embankments in this part could be left as they are except some of the concave surfaces of the shores have to be protected by either stone or concrete work. The regulating works of the channel and the embankments can be done by artificial means as well as by natural processes so as to economize as much as possible. The cost of the whole works of this part of the river cannot be accurately estimated until a detail survey is made; but in a rough guess $400,000 per mile may not be very far from the mark. Thus 180 miles will cost $72,000,000 exclusive of the expenses for the widening of the point between Nanking and Pukow, in which case valuable properties will have to be removed.

The Kwachow cut is to straighten the three sharp curves in front of and

above Chinkiang by converting them into one. Two and a half miles of the land in the northern shore opposite Chinkiang will have to be cut into in order to form a new channel of a mile or more in width. The part of the river in front of, and above and below Chinkiang has to be reclaimed. The new land thus reclaimed would form the water front of Chinkiang city, the value of which may be sufficient to defray the cost of the work and compensate for the land taken away on the northern shore, to form the new channel. So the works of this part will be at least a self-paying proposition.

The narrow between Pukow and Hsiakwan from pier to pier is barely six cables wide. The depth of the water in this narrow from the shallowest to the deepest is six to twenty-two fathoms. The land of the Hsiakwan side had occasionally sunk away on account of the too rapid current and the depth of the water. This indicates that this part is too narrow for the volume of the Yangtze water to pass. Therefore a wider passage must be provided for. In order to do so, the whole town of Hsiakwan must be sacrificed as the river must be widened right up to the foot of the Lion Hill, so as to provide a passage of a mile wide at this point. What the cost for the compensation of this valuable property of Hsiakwan will be will have to be submitted to the experts for a careful investigation before it can be determined. This will be the most costly part of the whole project for the regulating of the Yangtze. But undoubtedly some equally valuable property can be created along the riverside near by in place of Hsiakwan, so that a balance may be realized by the work itself.

The channel below the Nanking Pukow Narrow will follow the short passage alongside of the foot of the Mofushan to Wulungshan. The loop around the island north of Nanking will have to be blocked up in order to straighten the course of the river.

然而此部分原有河堤，大抵可以听其自然，惟其河岸凹曲线面，有数处应用石或士敏土坚结以保护之耳。以力求省费之故，此段水道及河堤整治工程，可以一面用人为之工作，一面助以自然之力。此一段河流工程全部所费，不能于测量未竣以前精密计出，但粗为计算，则四十万一英里之数，总相去不远。故全段一百八十英里，应费七千二百万元。此外尚有开阔南京、浦口中间河面之费，未计有内；此处有多数高价之产业须全毁去，其费颇多也。

瓜洲开凿一事，所以令镇江前面及上下游三处急曲线改为一处，使河流较直也。此处沿江北岸约二英里半陆地，正对镇江，必须凿开，令

成新水道，阔一英里有余。其旧道在镇江前面及上下游者，则须填塞之。所填之地，即成为镇江城外沿江市街，估其价值，优足以偿购取瓜洲陆地，及开凿工程之费。故此一部分，至少总可认为不亏本之提案。

浦口、下关间窄处，自此码头至彼码头，仅得五分英里之三，即一千二百码而已。而此处水深最浅处为三十六英尺，最深处为一百三十二英尺。下关一边陆地，时时以水流过急、河底过深之故而崩陷，斯即显然为此部分河道太窄，不足以容长江洪流通过也。然则非易以广路不可矣。为此之故，必以下关全市为牺牲，而容河流直洗狮子山脚，然后此处河流有一英里之阔。以赔还下关之高价财产而论，须费几何，必须提交专门家详细调查，乃能决定。要之，此为整治扬子江全计划中最耗费之部分。但亦有附近下关沿岸之地，可以成为高价财产无疑，故此工程或可望得自相弥补也。

南京、浦口间窄路下游之水道，应循其最短线路，沿幕府山脚，以至乌龙山脚。其绕过八卦洲后面之干流，应行填塞，俾水流直下无滞。

The section of the river from Nanking to Wuhu is almost in a straight line with three dilatations along its course one just above Nanking the other two just above and below the East and West pillars. To regulate the first dilatation the channel above Me-tse-chow should be blocked up and the island outside of it should be partly cut to widen the proper channel. To regulate the other two dilatations the river should be made to curve toward Taiping Fu to follow the deep channel on the right bank. The left channel should be blocked up. The islands along this curve should be partly or wholly removed. To regulate the dilatation above the Pillars, the Friends Channel should be blocked up and Friends Island be partly cut away. And the left bank below Wuhu should also be cut to give the channel a uniform width.

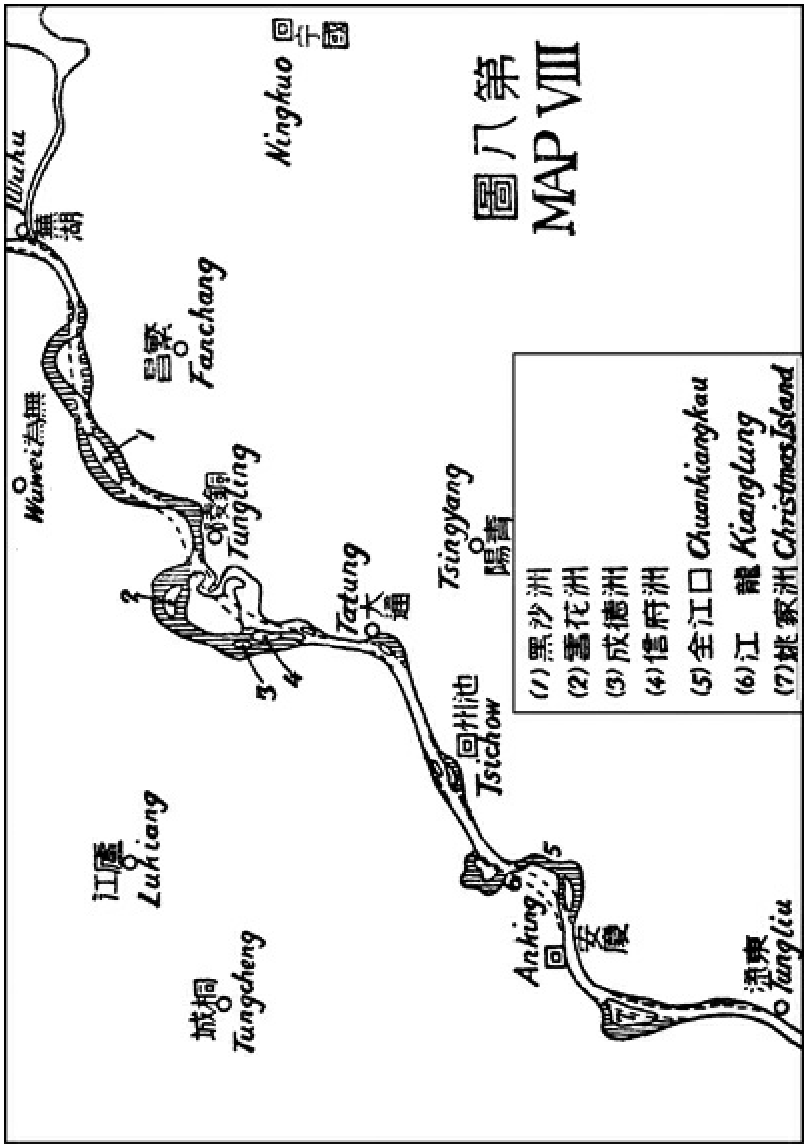
d. From Wuhu to Tungliu

This part of the river is about 130 miles in length. Along its course there are six dilatations, the most prominent of which is the one that lies immediately below Tungling, which extends over ten miles from side to side. In each of these dilatations there are usually two or three channels with newly formed islands between them. The deep passage often changes from one side to the other, and it is not uncommon that all of the channels are filled up at the same time, thus stopping navigation altogether for a considerable period. See Map VIII.

由南京至芜湖一段河流，殆成一直线，其中有泛滥三处，一处刚在南京上游，余二则在东西梁山之上下游。其第一泛滥之米子洲上游支流，应行闭塞，另割该洲外面一幅，使本流河幅足用。至欲整治余二泛滥，则应循其右岸深水道作曲线，向太平府城，而将左边水道锁闭。此曲线所经各沙洲，有须全行削去者，亦有须削其一部者。而在东西梁山上游之泛滥，须将兄弟水道完全闭塞，并将陈家洲削去一部。而芜湖下游左岸，亦须稍加割削，令河流广狭上下一律。

丁 自芜湖至东流

此段大江约长一百三十英里，沿流有泛滥六处。其中最显著者，即在铜陵下之泛滥也。此泛滥，两岸相距在十英里以上。第一泛滥，常分为两三股水道，其间夹有新涨之沙洲。其深水道时时变迁，忽在此股，忽在彼股，有时竟至数股同时淤塞，逼令航行暂时停止，亦非希觏[6] 之事也。（参观第八图）



In regulating the part of the river from ten miles above Wuhu to ten miles below Tatung, I propose to cut a new channel through the midstream islands formed by the three dilatations and the sharp corners of the shore, in order to straighten as well as to shorten the river, as marked by the dotted lines in the map attached here. The cost of the cut could not be estimated until a detail survey is made. But as soon as the embankments are laid out the natural force of the river's own current will do a great part of the dredging work, so that the expenses of the cutting for the new channel will be much less than usual. Above Tatung there are two sharp turns of the left shore to be cut. One is on the left shore at the point where the beacon now stands about twelve miles from Tatung. In this place a few miles of the left shore will have to be cut away. The other cut is just below the city of Anking hence to

Kianglung beacon, a distance of about six miles. By this cut we do away with the sharp turns of the river at Chuan Kiang Kau. These cuttings would cost much more than the piling of stone at the lower reach of the river. It is quite certain that the reclamation of the side channels of this part will not cover the cost of the cuttings. Therefore this part of the regulating work will not be self-paying, but the navigation of the Yangtze, the protection it gives to both sides of the land, and the prevention of floods in the future will amply compensate for such work.

e. From Tungliu to Wusueh

This part of the river is about eighty miles in length. The land along the right bank is generally hilly while that along the left is low. Along its course there are four dilatations. In three of these dilatations the current has cut into the left or northern bank of the river and then turns back into its main course again almost at right angles. At such points the bank is very unstable. Between the channels of these dilatations islands are being formed. See Map IX.

The regulating works of this part are much easier to construct than those of the lower part. The three diverting semicircular channels have to be blocked up at the upper ends, and the lower openings left open for silt to go into at flood seasons in order to reclaim them by the natural process. The other dilatations should be narrowed in from both sides by jetties. A few places will have to be cut, the most important being the Pigeon Island and the turn above Siau Ku Shan. Some of the midstream islands will have to be removed, and a few wide places filled up in order to make the channel uniform, so as to give a regular minimum depth of six fathoms right along the whole course.

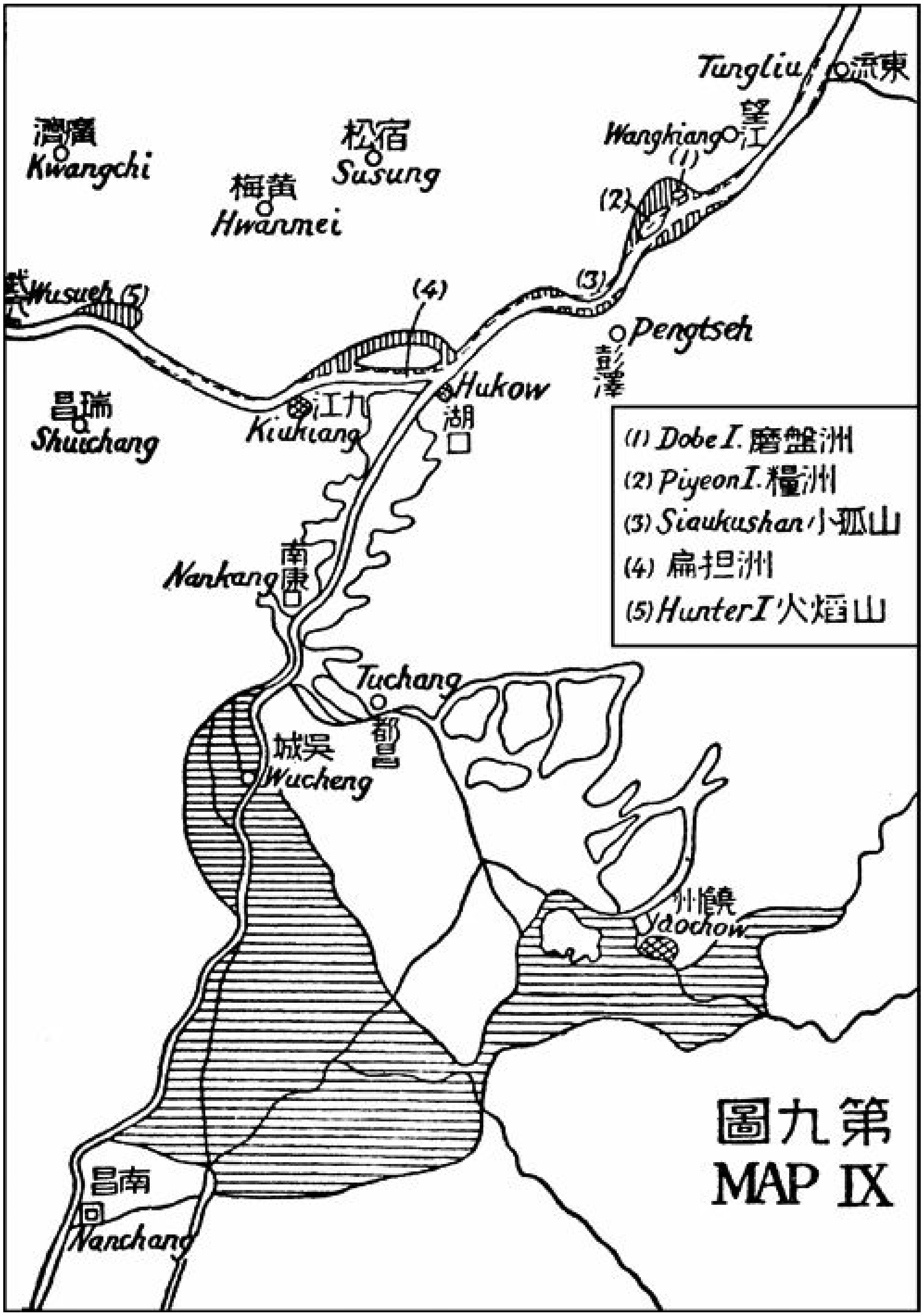
为整治此自芜湖上游十英里至大通下游十英里一段河流，吾拟凿此三泛滥中流之沙洲及岸边之突角，为一新水道，直贯其中，使成一较短较直之河身，即附图中点线所示之路是也。此项费用，亦须详细测量之后，始能算定。但若两边河堤筑定之后，则浚渫工程之大部分，将以河流之自然势力行之，故开凿新河之费，必较寻常大为减少。大通以上，左岸有急度弯曲两处，须行凿开。第一处即大通上游十二英里，现设塔灯水标处之左岸，此处左岸陆地有二三英里，须略加刊削。次一处则应在安庆下游，凿至江龙塔灯水标，计长六英里左右。既凿此河，则免去全江口急度之转湾矣。此项开凿工程，比之下游叠石为堤之费更多。其

旁支水路，虽能填为耕地，究不能补其开凿所费。是以此一部分整治之工程，不免为亏本，但以其通长江航道，与保护两岸陆地，又防止将来洪水为患，则此种工程必为有益明也。

戊 自东流至武穴

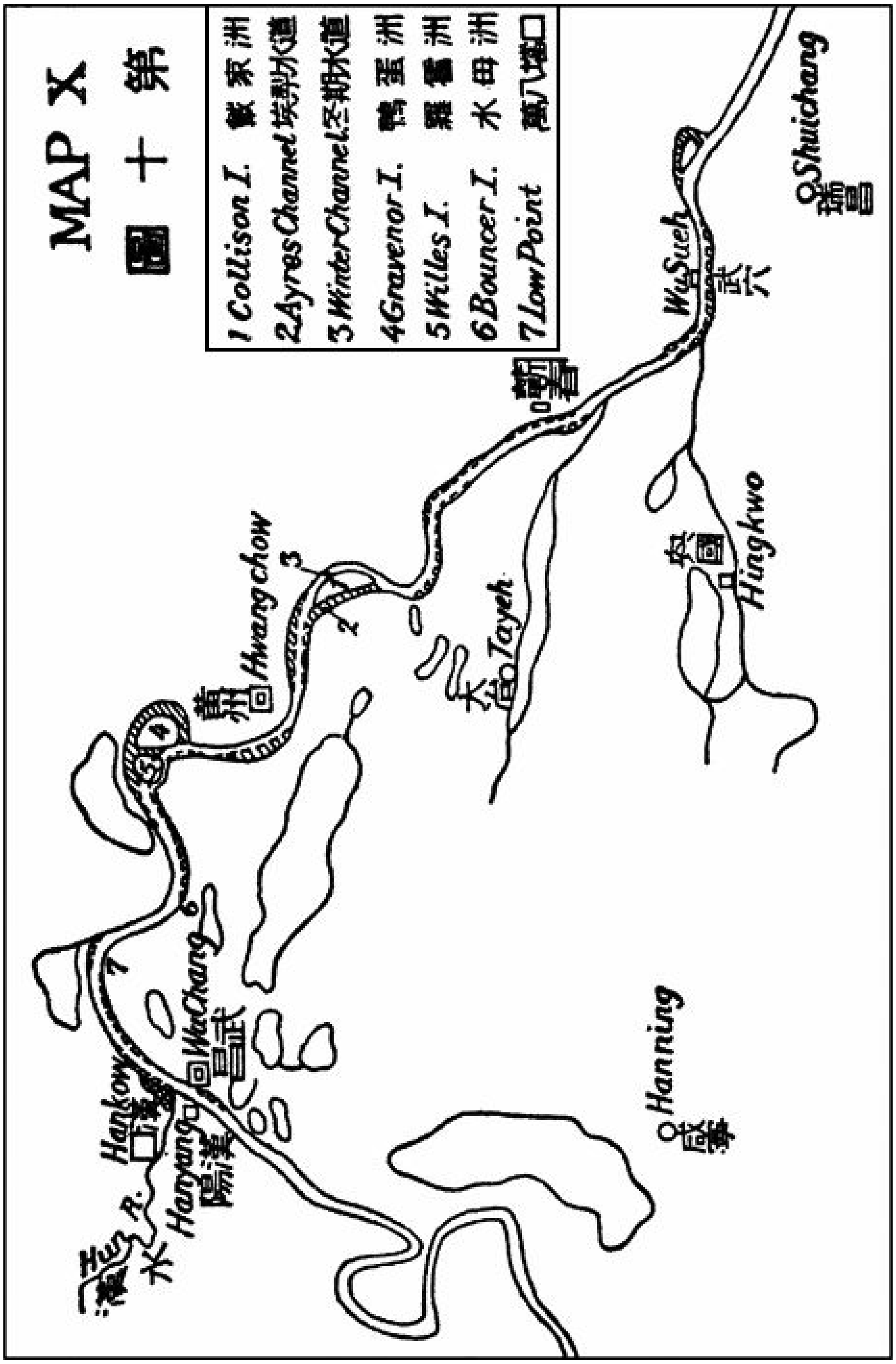
此段长约八十英里，沿右岸皆山地，左岸则大抵低地也。沿流有泛滥四处，此中有三处，以水流之蚀及左岸，成一支流，复至下游，与正流相会，其会合处殆成直角。在此等地方，河岸殊不巩固，而此泛滥各股水道之间，正在堆积，将成沙洲矣。（参观第九图）

此段整治工程，比之下游各段，施工较易。此三处成半圆形时时转变之支流，应从其分支口施以闭塞，仍留其下游会流之口，任令洪水季节之沙泥随水泛入，自然填塞之。其他一处泛滥，则须于两边筑坝，束而窄之。更有数处须行削截，而小孤山上游及粮洲两处尤为重要。江心沙洲有一部分须削去，而河幅阔处亦有须填窄者。总令水道始终一律，期于全航道常有三十六英尺以上之水深也。



Tungliu 東流
Wanghiang 望江
廣濟 Kwangchi
宿松 Susung
黄梅 Hwanmei
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)
武穴 Wusueh (5)
Pengtseh 彭澤
瑞昌 Shuichang
九江 Kiukiang
Hukow 湖口
(1) Dobe I. 磨盤洲
(2) Pigeon I. 糧洲
(3) Siaukushan 小孤山
(4) 扁担洲
(5) Hunter I. 火焰山
南康 Nankang
Tuchang 都昌
吳城 Wucheng
饒州 Yaochow
南昌 Nanchang

第九圖
MAP IX



f. From Wusueh to Hankow

This part of the river is about one hundred miles long. Above Wusueh we enter into the hilly country on both sides. The river here is generally about half a mile wide, with a depth of from five to twelve fathoms or sometimes more in certain places. See Map X.

To regulate this part of the river a few wide spaces have to be reclaimed to give a uniform channel, and the side channels at three or four places closed up. Then we can make a channel with a uniform depth of from six to eight fathoms at all seasons. At Collison Island section of the river the Ayres Channel has to be closed up, leaving the winter channel alone so as to give a gentle curve above and below this island. At Willes Island and Gravenor Island point the Round Channel and the channel between these two islands must be blocked up. The river must be made to cut through Willes Island to make a shorter curve. At Bouncer Island the South channel must be blocked up and above this the Low Point turn must be cut away to form a gentler curve. From this point to Hankow the river should be made narrower first by reclaiming the right side as far as the meeting of the southwest curve with the right bank then the reclamation should start at the opposite side of the left bank and right up along the front of Hankow Settlement until the Han River Mouth is reached. Thus a depth of six to eight fathoms can be secured right up to the Bund of Hankow.

To sum up, the whole length of the regulating course of the river from the deep sea to Hankow is about 630 miles. The embankments will be twice this length; that is, 1,260 miles. I have estimated that the sea wall at the mouth of the river could be built at $200,000 a mile, thus for both sides $400,000 a mile will be sufficient or the 140 miles from the deep sea to Kiangyin. For, in this part we have only the two embankments to deal with, which merely requires the tumbling of stones into the water until the pile is strong enough to hold the current to a directed course. As soon as these stone ridges on both sides of the river are formed, nature will do the rest to make the channel deep. The work for this part, therefore, is simple.

But the work for certain sections of the upper part of the river is more complicated as about fifty or sixty miles of solid land of from ten to twenty feet above water level and thirty to forty feet below have to be cut in order to straighten the river's course. Of this cutting and removing work, how much will have to be done artificially and how much can be done by nature, I leave to the experts to estimate. Excepting this, the other parts of this work, I think, cannot cost much more than $400,000 a mile. So that the whole work from the sea to Hankow, a distance of 630 miles will cost about $252,000,000, or let us say, including the unknown part, $300,000,000 for the completion of the entire project for the regulating of the Yangtze River. By this regulating

of the Yangtze River, we secure an approach of 600 miles inland for ocean-going vessels into the very center of a continent of two hundred millions of people of which half or one hundred million is located immediately along 600 miles of the great water highway. As regards remuneration for the work, this project will be more profitable than either the Suez or Panama Canal.

己 自武穴至汉口

此段约长一百英里，自武穴而上，夹岸皆山地，河幅常为半英里内外。水深自三十英尺至七十二英尺，有数处尚在七十二英尺以上。（参观第十图）

整理此段，须填塞其宽广之河面三数处。令水道整齐，有三四处支流须行闭塞。如此，然后冬季节俱有三十六英尺至四十八英尺水深之水道，可得而成也。在戴家洲一段河流，应将埃梨水道（译音）闭塞，独留冬季水道，则此岛上游下游曲线均较缓徐。在鸭蛋洲及罗霍洲之处，其大弯曲水道及两岛间水道均应闭塞，而另开一新水道，穿过罗霍洲以成为较短之曲线。在水母洲，其南水道务须闭塞，而此洲之上万八墙口曲处，亦须挖成较缓徐之曲线。由此处以至汉口，则须先填右岸，收窄河身，至与右岸向西南曲处相接而止。再从对面左岸填起，直过汉口租界面前，以至汉水口。则汉口堤岸面前，可以常得三十六英尺至四十八英尺深之水道矣。

总计自海中至汉口，治河长约六百三十英里，河堤之长当得其二倍，即一千二百六十英里也。在江口之堤，吾尝约计每英里费二十万元，两堤四十万。此项数目，自深海以迄江阴一百四十英里，均可适用，充足有余。因此部分惟须建两堤，此堤亦惟须于水中堆石，令其坚足以约束河流，使从其所导而行，斯已足矣。此两岸列石既成之后，水道可因于自然之力以成，所以此部工程尚为简单。

然而在上游有数处为困难，其中有五六十英里之实地，水面上有一二十英尺之高，水面下尚有三四十英尺之深，须行削去，以使河身改直。此凿开及削去之工程，有若干须用人工，有若干可借天然之力，仍须待专门家预算。除此不计外，工程全部每一英里所费不过四十万元。故自海面至汉口，相距六百三十英里，所费当不过二万五千二百万元。今姑假定整治扬子江全盘计划并未知之部分算在其内，须费三万万元。由此计划，吾人辟一通路深入内地六百英里，容航洋巨船驶至住居二万万人口之大陆中心，而此中有一万万人住居于此最大水路通衢之两旁。以工程之利益而论，此计划比之苏彝士[7]、巴拿马两河更可获利。

Although we could not find means whereby the works above Kiangyin may be made self-paying as those of the sections below by the reclamation of land, profit from city building along the course of the river can be realized after the regulating work is completed.

In conclusion, I must say that the figures given concerning the harbor works and the Yangtze regulation are merely rough estimates which must be in the nature of the case. As regards the costs of building the rudimental dikes at the estuary of the Yangtze as well as along the dilating parts of the river, the estimation may seem too low. But the data on which I base my estimate are as follows: First, my own observation of the private enterprise of reclamation by building dikes at the Canton delta around my native village; second, the cheap stone that can be obtained at the Chusan Archipelago; third, the estimation of Mr. Tyler, Coast Inspector of the Maritime Customs for the blocking up of the North Channel at the upper end of Tsungming Island, where the narrowest part is about three miles. He says that a million taels or more is necessary for the work. Or, let us say, in round figures, five hundred thousand dollars (Mex.) a mile. This is two and a half times my estimate. Now, let us compare the difference. The three-mile channel at the upper end of Tsungming has an average depth of twenty feet of water, while in my project the sea wall or dikes will be built in water having an average of less than two thirds of this depth. Moreover, the work of blocking up the North Channel entirely at a right angle is many times more costly than that of building a rudimental dike of the same length in a parallel line with the current. Since five hundred thousand dollars are enough to block up cross-wise a mile of river twenty feet deep, two fifths of that sum should be quite sufficient to finance the work that I have projected. While writing this, I came across an article in the *Chicago Railway Review*, May 17, 1919, dealing with the same subject, which states that steel skeleton is a better and cheaper substitute for stone or other materials for building dikes and jetties in a muddy river like ours. Thus, by this new method, we may be able to construct embankments, with cheaper material than I have hitherto known. So, although the estimate which I have made may be somewhat low, yet it is not so far from correct as it seems at first sight.

虽在江阴以上各段，吾人不能发见不亏本之方法，不如江阴下游各段可以新填之地补其所费，但在竣工之后，仍可在沿江建立商埠，由之以得利益也。此建设商埠之计划，将于次部论之。

结 论

当结论此二部，吾更须申言关于筑港及整治扬子江之工程数目，仅为粗略之预算，盖事势上自然如此也。关于在长江出海口及诸泛滥地建筑初步河堤之预算，或者有太低之迹，但吾所据之资料以为计算根源者，在下列各层：第一、为吾所亲见在广东河汊环吾本村筑堤填地之私人企业；第二、为廉价之石，可求之于舟山列岛者；第三、为海关沿岸视察员泰罗君之计算。在崇明岛上端闭塞北水道所费，该水道以此处为最狭，约计有三英里，而泰罗君谓所费约须一百万两有余，然则约五十万元一英里也；比之吾所计算，已为两倍有半，此其差异可得比较而知。盖此崇明岛上端三英里之水道，平均水深二十英尺，而我所计划之海堤江堤，建于水中者，平均比此段少三分之二，且闭塞北水道之工程完全与河流成为直角，则其所费较之建此初步河堤与水流成平行线者，纵使长短相同，所差亦应数倍。而五十万元可以建横截深二十英尺之河，而闭塞之之一英里工程，则其五分之二之经费，亦必足以供吾所规划之工程之用矣。当吾草此文之际，《芝加高[8] 铁路批评》五月十七日所出之报，适有一论文道及此事。彼谓用钢铁骨架以筑河堤及坝，于浊泥河流，如吾辈今所欲治者，比之用石及用其他材料较佳，而又较廉。然则若采此新法，吾等可以用吾前此未知之更廉材料，以建河堤矣。所以吾前所计算或者不免稍低，而仍离正确之数目不远，决不如骤见所觉之过低也。

Part III The Construction of River Ports

The construction of river ports along the Yangtze between Hankow and the sea will be one of the most remunerative propositions in our development scheme. For this part of the Yangtze Valley is richest in agri- cultural and mineral products in China and is very densely populated. With the cheap water transportation provided by the completion of the regulating work both sides of this water highway will surely become industrial beehives. And with cheap labor near by, it will not be a surprise if in the near future both banks will become two continuous cities, as it were, right along the whole extent of the river from Hankow to the sea. In the meantime a few suitable spots should be chosen for profitable city development. For this purpose I will start from the lower part of the river as follows:

a. Chinkiang and North Side.

b. Nanking and Pukow.

c. Wuhu.

d. Anking and South Side.

e. Poyang Port.

f. Wuhan.

a. Chinkiang and North Side

Chinkiang is situated at the junction of the Grand Canal and the Yangtze. It was an important center of inland water traffic between the north and the south before the steam age. But it will resume its former grandeur and become more important when the old inland waterway is improved, and new ones are constructed. For it is the gateway between the Hoangho and Yangtze valleys. Besides, by the southern portion of the Grand Canal, Chinkiang is connected with the Tsientang valley—the richest part of China. Thus, this city is bound to grow into a great commercial center in the near future.

第三部 建设内河商埠

在扬子江此一部建设内河商埠，将为此发展计划中最有利之部分，因此部分在中国为农矿产最富之区，而居民又极稠密也。以整治长江工程完成之后，水路运送，所费极廉，则此水路通衢两旁，定成为实业荟萃之点，而又有此两岸之廉价劳工附翼之。则即谓将来沿江两岸，转瞬之间变为两行相连之市镇，东起海边、西达汉口者，非甚奇异之事也。此际应先选最适宜者数点，以为获利的都市发展。依此目的，吾人将从下游起，溯江逐港论之如下：

甲 镇江及其北岸。

乙 南京及浦口。

丙 芜湖。

丁 安庆及其南岸。

戊 鄱阳港。

己 武汉。

甲 镇江

镇江位于运河与江会之点，在汽机未用以前，为南北内地河运中心重要之地。而若将旧日内地运河浚复，且增浚新运河，则此地必能恢复其昔日之伟观，且更加重要。因镇江为挈合黄河流域与长江流域中间之联锁，而又以运河之南端直通中国最富饶之钱塘江流域。所以此镇江一市，将来欲不成为商业中心，亦不可得也。

In our regulation work of the Yangtze, we shall add a piece of new land, over six square miles, in front of Chinkiang. This land on the south side of the river will be utilized for city-planning for our new Chinkiang. On the north side, land should also be taken up by the state to build another city. The north side will be bound to outgrow that of the south for the whole of Hoangho Valley could only emerge into the Yangtze by waterway through this point. Docks should be built between here and Yangchow for accommodation of inland vessels, and modern facilities should be provided for transhipment between inland vessels and ocean-going steamers. This port

should be made as a distributing center as well as a collecting center for the salt of the eastern coast. This, with the help of modern methods, will reduce transportation expenses. Stone or concrete bunds or quays should be built on both sides of the river and tidal jetties should be provided for train ferries. In time, when commerce grows, tunnels or bridges may be added to facilitate traffic of the two sides. The streets should be wide so as to meet modern demands. The water front and its neighborhood should be planned for industrial and commercial uses and the land beyond should be planned for residential purpose. Every modern public utility should be provided. In regard to the details of planning the city, I must leave them to the expert.

b. Nanking and Pukow

Nanking was the old capital of China before Peking, and is situated in a fine locality which comprises high mountains, deep water and a vast level plain—a rare site to be found in any part of the world. It also lies at the center of a very rich country on both sides of the lower Yangtze. At present, although ruined and desolate, it still has a population of over a quarter of a million. Once it was the home of many industries especially silk and now the finest satin and velvet are still produced here. Nanking has yet a greater future before her when the resources of the lower Yangtze Valley are properly developed.

In the regulation of the Yangtze I propose to cut away the town of Hsiakwan, so that the wharf of Nanking could be removed into the deep channel between Metsechow and the outskirt of Nanking. This channel should be blocked up, thereby a wet dock could be formed to accommodate all ocean-going vessels. This point is much nearer the inhabited parts of the city than Hsiakwan. And the land between this projected wet dock and the city could form a new commercial and industrial quarter which would be many times larger than Hsiakwan.Metsechow in time, when commerce grows, may also be developed into city lots and business quarters. For the future development of Nanking the land within and without the city should be taken up at the present price under the same principle which I have proposed for the Projected Port at Chapu.

依吾整治长江计划，则在镇江前面，吾人既以大幅余地，在六英方里以上者，加入镇江。此项大江南面新填之余地，当利用以为吾人新镇江之都市计划。而江北沿岸之地，亦当由国家收用，以再建一都市。盖

以黄河流域全部，欲以水路与江通，惟恃此一口，故江北此一市当然超越江南之市也。镇江、扬州之间，须建船坞，以便内地船舶；又当加最新设备，以便内地船只与航洋船之间，盘运货物之用。此港既用以为东海岸食盐收集之中心，同时又为其分销之中心，如此则可用新式方法，以省运输之费。江之两岸须以石或士敏土坚结筑成堤岸，而更筑应潮高下之火车渡头，以便联络南北两岸铁路客车、货车之往来。至于商业发达之后，又需建桥梁于江上，且凿地道于江下，以便两岸货物来往。街道须令宽阔，以适合现代之要求。其临江街道及其附近，应预定为工商业所用。此区之后面，即为住宅，各种新式公共营造均应具备。至于此市镇计划详细之点，吾则让之专门家。

乙 南京、浦口

南京为中国古都，在北京之前，而其位置乃在一美善之地区。其地有高山，有深水，有平原，此三种天工，钟毓一处，在世界中之大都市诚难觅如此佳境也。而又恰居长江下游两岸最丰富区域之中心，虽现在已残破荒凉，人口仍有一百万之四分一以上。且曾为多种工业之原产地，其中丝绸特著，即在今日，最上等之绫及天鹅绒尚在此制出。当夫长江流域东区富源得有正当开发之时，南京将来之发达，未可限量也。

在整治扬子江计划内，吾尝提议削去下关全市，如是则南京码头当移至米子洲与南京外郭之间，而米子洲后面水道自应闭塞，如是则可以作成一泊船坞，以容航洋巨舶。此处比之下关，离南京市宅区域更近，而在此计划之泊船坞与南京城间旷地，又可以新设一工商业总汇之区，大于下关数倍。即在米子洲，当商业兴隆之后，亦能成为城市用地，且为商业总汇之区。此城市界内界外之土地，当照吾前在乍浦计划港所述方法，以现在价格收为国有，以备南京将来之发展。

Pukow, opposite Nanking, on the other side of the river, will be the great terminus of all the railways of the great northern plain to the Yangtze. It will be the nearest river port for the rich coal and iron fields of Shansi and Honan, giving access to the lower Yangtze district and hence to the sea. As the great transcontinental trunk line to the sea whether terminating at Shanghai or at our Projected Port, would pass through this point, the construction of a tunnel under the Yangtze to connect Nanking and Pukow by rail at the same time when the cities are being constructed, will not be at all premature. This will at once make possible a through train journey from Shanghai to Peking.

Concrete or stone embankment should be built along the shore above and below the present Pukow point many miles in each direction. Modern

streets should be laid out on the land within the embankment so as to be ready for various building purposes. The land on the north side of the river should be taken up by the state for public uses of this international development scheme on the same basis as at our Projected Ports.

c. Wuhu

Wuhu is a town of 120,000 inhabitants and is the center of the rice trade in the lower part of the Yangtze. It is at this point that I propose to make an intake of the water which will go to flush the Whangpoo River at Shanghai, and which will form the upper end of a canal to the sea at Chapu. In the regulating work of the Yangtze the concave part above the junction of the Yangki Ho has to be filled up and the convex part of the opposite side has to be cut away. The junction of the projected canal and the river will be at about a mile or so below the Lukiang junction. The projected canal will run northeast to a point between the southeast corner of Wuhu city and the foot of the hill. There it joins the Yangki Ho and, following the course as far as Paichiatien, branches off in the northeastern direction. This gives Wuhu a southeast waterfront along the left side of the canal. New bunds should be built along both sides of the canal as well as alongside the Yangtze and at the junction of the canal docks for inland vessels should be constructed with modern plants for transhipment of goods. Wide streets should be laid out from the Bund of the Yangtze far into the inland following the direction of the canal. The bund alongside the Yangtze should be reserved for commercial purposes and those alongside the canal for factories. Wuhu is in the midst of a rich iron and coal field, so it will surely become an industrial center when this iron and coal field is properly developed. Cheap materials, cheap labor, and cheap foodstuffs are abundant at the spot waiting for modern science and machinery to turn them into greater wealth for the benefit of mankind.

南京对岸之浦口，将来为大计划中长江以北一切铁路之大终点。在山西、河南煤铁最富之地，以此地为与长江下游地区交通之最近商埠，即其与海交通亦然。故浦口不能不为长江与北省间铁路载货之大中心，犹之镇江不能不为一内地河运中心也。且彼横贯大陆直达海滨之干线，不论其以上海为终点，抑以我计划港为终点，总须经过浦口。所以当建市之时，同时在长江下面穿一隧道以铁路联结此双联之市，决非躁急之计。如此，则上海、北京间直通之车，立可见矣。

现在浦口上下游之河岸，应以石建或用士敏土坚结，成为河堤，每

边各数英里。河堤之内应划分为新式街道，以备种种目的建筑所需。江之此一岸陆地，应由国家收用，一如前法，以为此国际发展计划中公共之用。

丙 芜湖

芜湖为有居民十二万之市镇，且为长江下游米粮市易之中心，故吾择取此点为引水冲刷上海黄浦江底之接水口，而此口亦为通上海或乍浦之运河之上口。在整治长江工程之内，青弋河合流点上面之凹曲部分应行填塞，而对岸突出之点则应削去。此所计划之运河，起于鲁港合流点下游约一英里之外。此运河应向北东走，至芜湖城东南角，与山脚中间一点，与青弋河相合；更于濮家店，循此河之支流以行。如此，则芜湖东南循此运河左岸，得一临水之地。运河两旁，应建新堤，一如长江两岸。且建船坞于运河通大江之处，以容内地来往船只，加以近代之机械，供盘运货物过船之用。自江岸起，向内地，循运河之方向，规划广阔之街道，其近江者留以供商业之需，其沿运河者则留为制造厂用地。芜湖居丰富铁矿区之中心，此铁矿既得相当开发之时，芜湖必能成为工业中心也。芜湖有廉价材料、廉价人工、廉价食物，且极丰裕，专待现世之学术与机器，变之以为更有价值之财物，以益人类耳。

d. Anking and South Side

Anking, the capital of Anhwei, was once a very important city but since its destruction by the Taiping war it has never recovered its former greatness. Its present population is about 40,000 only. Its immediate neighborhood is very rich in mineral and agricultural products. The great tea district of Liu-an and the rich mineral district in the southeastern corner of Honan province will have to make Anking their shipping port when railways are developed. In the Yangtze Conservancy work, the concave turn of the river in front and west of the city has to be filled up. This reclaimed land should be for the extension of a new city, where modern transportation plants should be built.

Eagle Point, on the south side opposite Anking should be cut away to make the river curve more gently and to give the channel a uniform width. A new city should be laid out at this point, for from here we command the vast tea districts of southern Anhwei and western Chekiang. The rich inland city of Hweichow, with the highly productive country around it, will have to make this port its shipping station. As Wuhu is the center of the rice trade these twin cities of Anking will be the centers of the tea trade. Like Wuhu,

these twin cities are also situated in the midst of rich iron and coal fields which will assist them to become important industrial centers in the near future. So to build twin cities at this point of the river will be a very profitable undertaking.

丁 安庆及南岸

安庆者，安徽之省城，自从经太平天国战争破坏之后，昔日之盛不可复睹矣。现在人口仅有四万。其直接邻近之处，农产、矿产均富。若铁路既成，则六安大产茶区，与河南省之东南角矿区，均当以安庆为其货物出入之港。在治江工程中，安庆城前面及西边之江流曲处，应行填筑。此填筑之地，即为推扩安庆城建新市街之用。所有现代运输机械，均应于此处建之。

在安庆城对面上游江岸最突出之地角，应行削去，使江流曲度更为和缓，而全河之广亦得一律。新市街即当在此处建造，因皖南、浙西之大产茶区，将于此处指挥掌握之也。如以徽州之内地富饶市镇，又有产出极盛之乡土环绕之，则必求此地以为其载货出入之中站明矣。以芜湖为米市中心言，则此安庆之双联市将为茶市中心，而此双联市之介在丰富煤铁矿区中心，又恰与芜湖相等。此又所以助兹港使于短期之间成为重要工业中心者也。故在长江此部建此双联市，必为大有利益之企业。

e. The Poyang Port

I propose to construct a port at a point between the Poyang Lake and the Yangtze River. This will be the sole port of the Kiangsi province. Every city of this province is connected by natural waterways which, if improved, will become a splendid water transportation system. The province of Kiangsi has a population of 30,000,000 and is extremely rich in mineral resources. A modern port acting as a commercial and industrial center for the development of this resourceful province would be a most remunerative proposition in our project.

The site of the port will be on the west side of the entrance to the Poyang Lake and the right bank of the Yangtze. It will be an entirely new city built on new ground, part of which will be reclaimed from the shallow side of the lake. In the regulating work of the Poyang Channel, a training wall should be built from the foot of the Taku Tang Hill to Swain Point opposite to Stone Bell Hill of Hukow. A closed dock should be constructed within this training

wall for the accommodation of inland water vessels. The city should be laid out on the triangular space formed by the right bank of the Yangtze, the left side of the Poyang Lake and the foot hill of the Lushan Mountain. This triangle is about 10 miles on each side, excellent for city development. The porcelain industry should be established here instead of at Kingteh Chen, for great damages often occur owing to the lack of transportation facilities, and to the necessity of transhipment for the export of the finished articles from the latter place. Modern plants on a large scale should be adopted for the manufacturing of cheap wares as well as fine articles in our projected Poyang Port, for here we shall have the greater advantage of collecting raw materials than at Kingteh Chen. Thus the concentrating of the various manufactures in an advantageous center will result in quickening the growth of our new city. This Poyang Port is bound to grow into one of the great commercial and manufacturing centers in China, judging from the possibilities of Kiangsi alone. It will not only be a great shipping port of the Yangtze but will also be a railway center between North and South China. Thus to develop this port on a large scale is quite justifiable from an economic point of view.

f. Wuhan

Wuhan signifies the three cities of Wuchang, Hankow, and Hanyang. This point is the headwater of our projected ocean passage, the pivot of the railway system of China Proper, and will become the most important commercial metropolis in the country. The population of these three cities is over a million and could be easily doubled or trebled if improvements would be made. At present, Hanyang possesses the largest iron works in China, and Hankow, many modern industries, while Wuchang is becoming a great cotton manufacturing city. Besides, Hankow is the trade center of Central and West China, and the greatest tea market we have. The provinces of Hupeh, Hunan, Szechuen, and Kweichow and a part of Honan, Shensi, and Kansu all depend upon Hankow as their only port in the outside world. When railways are developed in China, Wuhan will be still more important and will surely become one of the greatest cities in the world. So in planning the future city of Wuhan we must adopt for its development a scale as large as that of New York or London.

戊 鄱阳港

吾欲于长江与鄱阳湖之间，建设一鄱阳港，此港将成为江西富省之惟一商埠矣。江西省每县均有自然水路联络之，若更加以改良，则必成宏伟之水路运输系统。江西有人民三千万，矿源最富，如有一新式商埠以为之工商业中心，以发展此富源饶裕之省分，则必为吾计划中最获利之一部分矣。

此港位置，应在鄱阳湖入口西端，长江右岸之处。此港应为新地之上所建之新市，其中一部之地，须由填筑湖边低地成之。在鄱阳湖水道整治工程之中，应建一范堤，起自大姑塘山脚，迄于湖口石钟山对面之低沙角。此范堤之内，应建造一有闸船坞，以便内河船舶寄泊。而此港市街则应设在长江右岸、鄱阳湖左侧、庐山山麓，合成之三角地。此三角地，每边约有十英里，以供市街发展，优良已极。景德镇磁器工业应移建之于此地。盖以运输便利缺乏之故，景德之磁常因之大受损坏，而出口换船之际，尤常使制成之磁器碰损也。此地应采用最新大规模之设备，以便一面制造最精良之磁器，一面复制廉价之用具。盖此地收集材料，比之在景德镇更为便宜也。以各种制造业集中于一便利之中心，其结果不特使我计划之港长成迅速，且于所以奉给人者亦可更佳良。但以江西一省观之，鄱阳湖已必为世界商业制造之大中心。鄱阳湖非特长江中一泊船港，又为中国南北铁路之一中心。所以从经济上观之，以大规模发展此港者，全然非不合宜者也。

己 武汉

武汉者，指武昌、汉阳、汉口三市而言。此点实吾人沟通大洋计划之顶水点，中国本部铁路系统之中心，而中国最重要之商业中心也。三市居民数过百万，如其稍有改进，则二三倍之，决非难事。现在汉阳已有中国最大之铁厂，而汉口亦有多数新式工业，武昌则有大纱厂。而此外，汉口更为中国中部、西部之贸易中心，又为中国茶之大市场。湖北、湖南、四川、贵州四省，及河南、陕西、甘肃三省之各一部，均恃汉口以为与世界交通唯一之港。至于中国铁路既经开发之日，则武汉将更形重要，确为世界最大都市中之一矣。所以为武汉将来立计划，必须定一规模，略如纽约、伦敦之大。

In the regulation of the Yangtze embankments, we have to reclaim the front of Hankow from the jetty of Lungwangmiao at the junction of the Han River right along the left bank to the point where the Yangtze turns eastward. This reclaimed space will be at an average of about 500 to 600 yards wide. This will narrow down the river at this part to give a uniform channel of 5 to 6 cables in width and to give the Hankow settlement a strip of valuable land

along its waterfront. This will also help to pay a part of the expenses for city construction. The sharp bend of the Han River just before it joins the Yangtze should be straightened so as to make a gentler curve around Lungwangmiao Point and thus enable the currents of both rivers to flow in the same direction at their junction. The Hanyang embankment will follow pretty closely the present shore line but not beyond the iron works jetty. The wide space of the river above Wuchang city should be walled in to make a closed dock for inland water as well as ocean going vessels. Below Wuchang, an embankment parallel to that of the left side should be built so as to make the future city extend far below the present one. A tunnel should be constructed to connect both embankments at a point where the Kinghan railway makes its first turn when it comes to the Yangtze River. And another tunnel or bridge should be constructed between Hankow and Hanyang on one side and Wuchang on the other at the junction of the Han River and the Yangtze. Additional tunnels or bridges may be constructed at different points when the city grows larger in the future. All the outlying land of these trio-cities should be taken up on the same basis as at our projected seaports, so that private monopoly and speculation in land may be prevented, and that the unearned increment will go to the State to help the payment of capital and interest on the foreign loans which are to be made in this international development scheme.

在整治长江堤岸，吾人须填筑汉口前面，由汉水合流点龙王庙渡头起，迄于长江向东屈折之左岸一点。此所填之地，平均约阔五百码至六百码。如是，所以收窄此部分之河，全河身一律有五六链（每链为一海里十分之一）之阔，又令汉口租界得一长条之高价土地于其临江之处也。此部之价，可以偿还建市所费之一部分。汉水将入江处之急激曲折，应行改直，于是以缓徐曲线绕龙王庙角，且使江汉流水，于其会合处向同一方面流下。汉阳河岸应密接现在之河边，沿岸建筑，毋突过于铁厂渡头之外。武昌上游广阔之空处，当圈为有闸船坞，以供内河外洋船舶之用。武昌下游应建一大堤，与左岸平行，则将来此市可远扩至于现在市之下面。在京汉铁路线，于长江边第一转变处，应穿一隧道过江底，以联络两岸。更于汉水口以桥或隧道，联络武昌、汉口、汉阳三城为一市。至将来此市扩大，则更有数点可以建桥，或穿隧道。凡此三联市外围之地，均当依上述大海港之办法收归国有，然后私人独占土地与土地之投机赌博，可以预防。如是则不劳而获之利，即自然之土地增价，利可尽归之公家，而以之偿还此国际发展计划所求之外债本息也。

Part IV The Improvement of the Existing Waterways and Canals

The existing waterways and canals in connection with the Yangtze may be enumerated as follows:

a. The Grand Canal.

b. The Hweiho.

c. The Kiangnan Waterway System.

d. The Poyang Waterway System.

e. The Han River.

f. The Tungting System.

g. The Upper Yangtze.

a. The Grand Canal

The Grand Canal connects with the Yangtze at a point opposite Chinkiang and runs northward right up to Tientsin, a distance of over 600 miles. We understand that a detailed survey of the Kiangpeh part of the canal has begun and the work of improving it will commence soon. In our project, I propose to substitute the Kiangpeh portion of the Grand Canal by the Yangtze outlet of the Hweiho.

b. The Hweiho

The Hweiho rises in the northwest corner of Honan and runs southeast and east to the north of Anhwei and Kiangsu. Its outlets have been sealed up in recent years so its water has accumulated in the Hungtse Lake and it depends upon evaporation as its only means of disposing the water. Thus in the heavy rainy season, it floods a vast extent of the country surrounding the lake and causes great misery to millions of people. So the conservancy of the Hweiho is a very urgent question of China to-day. Recently many investigations have been made and many plans proposed. Mr. Jameson, chief

engineer for the American Red Cross Society, has proposed two outlets for the Hweiho: one following the old course of the Yellow River to the sea and another through Paoying and Kao-yu Lakes to the Yangtze. In this project I propose to follow Mr. Jameson's plan for the sea outlet only as far as the old Yellow River and for the Yangtze outlet only as far as Yangchow. When the sea outlet or north branch reaches the old Yellow River I will lead it across into the Yenho and follow the Yenho to its northern turn. From there, we cut across the narrow strip of land into the Kuanho which enters the sea at the nearest deep water line. This saves a great deal of work of excavating the old course of the Hoangho. When the southern branch reaches Yangchow, I propose to make the canal pass east of that city instead of west as Mr. Jameson proposed, so that its current will join the Yangtze in the same direction at the new curve below Chinkiang city.

第四部 改良扬子江之现存水路及运河

兹将现存水路运河、扬子江相联络者，列举如下：

甲 北运河。

乙 淮河。

丙 江南水路系统。

丁 鄱阳水路系统。

戊 汉水。

己 洞庭系统。

庚 扬子江上游。

甲 北运河

北运河在镇江对岸一点与扬子江联络，北走直至天津，其长逾六百英里。在江北之一部运河，现已著手为详细之测量，改良工事不久可以起工，此吾人所共知者也。在吾计划，吾将以淮水注江之一段，代江北一段运河之用。

乙 淮河

淮河出河南省西北隅，东南流，又折而东流，至安徽、江苏两省之北部。其通海之口近年已经淤塞，故其水郁积于洪泽湖，全恃蒸发以为消水之路，于是一入大雨期，洪水泛滥于沿湖广大区域，人民受其荼毒者以百万计。所以修浚淮河，为中国今日刻不容缓之问题。近年迭经调查，屡有改良之提案。美国红十字会技师长詹美生君，曾献议为淮河开两出口，其一循黄河旧槽以达海，其一经宝应、高邮两湖以达扬子江。在此计划，吾赞成詹君通海、通江之方法，但于用黄河旧槽及其经过扬州西面一节，有所商榷。在其出海之口，即淮河北支已达黄河旧槽之后，吾将导以横行入于盐河，循盐河而下，至其北折一处，复离盐河过河边狭地，直入灌河，以取入深海最近之路，此可以大省开凿黄河旧路之烦也。其在南支在扬州入江之处，吾意当使运河经过扬州城东，以代詹君经城西入江之计划。盖如此则淮河流水，刚在镇江下面新曲线，以同一方向与大江会流矣。

Both of these outlets or branches of the Hweiho should be made at least twenty feet deep right along, so that coastal vessels from the north to the Yangtze could use them as passage instead of going round the Yangtze estuary, thus shortening the distance by about 300 miles. And with twenty feet depth for both outlets, the Hweiho and the Hungtse Lake would be well drained and the present bottom of the lake, which is sixteen feet above sea level would be converted into agricultural land at once. Thus 6,000,000 mow of land could be reclaimed according to the estimate of Mr. Jameson, from the Hungtse and the neighboring lakes. If twenty dollars a mow be taken for its value, a sum of $120,000,000 could be netted. Besides this direct profit to the Government, there is an area of some 17,000 square miles of occasionally flooded land which would be made flood-proof so that normally we shall have two crops a year instead of two only in five years. That is to say, the 17,000 square miles or 10,880,000 acres will be made to produce five times more than at present. For instance, if the value of the gross production be estimated at fifty dollars an acre, then the total value would be $544,000,000 Mex. and five times this sum would amount to $2,720,000,000 Mex. What an enormous profit to the country!

c. The Kiangnan Waterway System

This system comprises the South Grand Canal, the Whangpoo, the Taihu, and its connections. The most important improvement I intend to make here is to widen and deepen the Wuhu-Ihsing Waterway between the Yangtze and the Taihu, and from there to dredge a deep channel right through the Taihu to a point midway of the Grand Canal between Suchow and Kashing. At Kashing, divide it into two branches:—one following the Kashing Sunkiang Canal to Whangpoo, and the other, to the Projected Port at Chapu. This waterway between the Yangtze and the Whangpoo, before it reaches Shanghai, should be made as wide and deep as possible so as to make it carry sufficient water to flush the Shanghai harbor as well as to provide a shorter passage for inland water vessels between the Yangtze and the seaports. This waterway will act as silt carrier by which the Taihu and the various lakes alongside of it may be reclaimed in the future. Besides the main object for which this canal is assigned, the reclamation scheme and the local traffic would also add profit to it. This makes its remuneration doubly sure. As no accurate surveys of the shallow Taihu and other lakes and swamps could be obtained, the exact number of mow to be reclaimed could not be

given here. But in a rough estimate I should say that the reclaimed space of the Kiangnan Lakes would be about the same in extent as those of Kiangpeh (the North of the Yangtze).

淮河此两支，至少均须得二十英尺深之水流，则沿岸商船自北方赴长江各地，可免绕道经由江口以入，所省航程近三百英里。而两支既各有二十英尺之深，则洪泽与淮河之水流宣畅；而今日高于海面十六英尺之湖底，即时可以变作农田。则以洪泽合之其旁诸湖，依詹美生君之计算，六百万亩之地，咄嗟可致也。如此以二十元为其一亩之价，则此纯粹地价已足一万二千万元，此政府之直接收入也。而又有一万七千英方里地，向苦水潦[9] 之灾者，今既无忧，所以昔日五年而仅两获者，今一年而可再获，是一万七千英里者，得一千零八十八万英亩（七千余万中亩），各得五倍奇收获也。假如总生产额一英亩所值为五十元，则此地所产总额原得五万四千四百万元者，今为二十七万二千万元也。其在国家，岂非超越寻常之利益乎！

丙 江南水路系统

此项系统包含南运河与黄浦江、与太湖、及其与为联络之水路而言。此中吾所欲为最重要之改良，乃在浚广浚深芜湖、宜兴间之水路，以联长江与太湖，而又贯通太湖浚一深水道，以达南运河苏州、嘉兴间之一点。其在嘉兴歧为两支，一支循嘉兴、松江之运河，以达黄浦江；他一支则至乍浦之计划港。此项长江、黄浦间水路，当其未达上海之前，应先行浚令广深至其极限，使能载足流水。一面以洗涤上海港面，不容淤积；一面亦使内河船舶来往于江海之间者经此，大减其路程也。而此水路又可为挟土壤俱来之用，太湖暨其旁诸湖沿水路之各区，将来均可因其填塞，成为耕地。故于建此水路之大目的以外，又有此种填筑计划及本地载货之利益可收，于是其获利之性质，可以加倍确实。现在太湖暨其他诸湖沼地之精确测量尚无可征，则能填筑为田者当有几亩，今亦未可遽言[10] ，但以粗略算之，则填筑江南诸湖所得之地，吾意其亩数必不在江北之田以下。

d. The Poyang Waterway System

This system drains the entire area of Kiangzi province. Every hsien, city, and important town is reached by waterway. Waterways are the only means of communication in this province as well as in all the provinces of Southeastern China, before the advent of railways. The lower part of the Kiangsi waterway system suffers the same irregularities as those of the lower

Yangtze as both are on low land. So, to regulate it, a similar work as that for the Yangtze should be applied. The Poyang Lake should be divided by deep channels from the junction of each river, and these should join together to form larger channels and finally unite into one main channel at a point near Chuki and, running through the narrow part of the lake, join the Yangtze at Hukow. The sides of the deep channels should be lined with submerged stone ridges as high as the shallow part of the lake, whereby the channels would serve the purpose of draining as well as of navigation.

The shallow space beside those channels will be reclaimed into arable land in due time. So the work of regulating the Poyang channels will be well paid by reclamation.

e. The Han River

This river is navigable for small crafts through its main body up to Hanchung in the southwest corner of Shensi; and through its branches up to Nanyang and Shekichen in the southwest corner of Honan. This navigable stream commands quite a large area of watershed. The upper part, that is above Siangyang, is in mountainous country. From Siangyang to Shayang it is in a wide, open valley and below Shayang it runs into the Hupeh swamp.

丁 鄱阳水路系统

此一系统，为江西全省排水之用。每县、每城乃至每一重要市镇，均可由水路达到。全省交通，惟恃水路，此乃未有铁路前，中国东南各省所同者也。江西下游水路系统受不规则之害与长江同，皆以其为低地之故，然则其整治之工亦应与长江相同。鄱阳湖应按各水入湖之路，分为多数水道，然后逐渐汇流，卒至渚溪附近乃合而为一。度此湖狭隘之部，而与长江合于湖口。此深水道两旁应各叠水底石堤为一线，使刚与湖中浅处同高，以是其水道可以于排水之外并作航行之用也。水道以外之浅处，将来于相当时间可填为耕地。于是整治鄱阳湖各水道之计划，可以其填筑而得充足之报酬矣。

戊 汉水

此水以小舟溯其正流，可达陕西西南隅之汉中；又循其旁流，可达河南西南隅之南阳及赊旗店。此可航之水流，支配甚大之分水区域：自襄阳以上，皆为山国；其下以至沙洋，则为广大开豁之谷地；由沙洋以

降，则流注湖北沼地之间，以达于江。

To improve this river dams should be built above Siangyang in order to utilize water power as well as to make locks for larger crafts to ascend to the navigable point now navigable only for small crafts. Below Siangyang, where the river is very wide and shallow, rudimental dikes should be constructed of stones or piles in order to restrict its channel and to reclaim the shallow space on both sides by natural process. In the swamp, the river should be straightened and deepened. A new canal between the Han and the Yangtze at Shasi should be constructed to provide a shorter passage between Hankow and Shasi and beyond. This canal in the swamp should be open to the lakes along its course so as to let the silt-carrying water enter into them in the flood season, thus filling them up quicker.

f. The Tungting System

This system of waterway drains the whole province of Hunan and beyond. The most important branches are the Siangkiang and the Yuankiang. The former runs through Hunan into the northeast corner of Kwangsi province and connects with the Sikiang system by a canal near Kweilin. The latter runs across the west border of Hunan into the eastern part of Kweichow province. Both could be improved for the navigation of large crafts. The canal between the Yangtze and the Sikiang watersheds should be reconstructed and modern locks should be provided in it as well as along the two waterways. Thus, vessels of ten feet draught may freely pass between the Yangtze and the Sikiang. The Tungting Lake should be drained by deep channels in the same manner as the Poyang Lake, and its shallow space reclaimed by natural process.

g. The Upper Yangtze

I include the part from Hankow to Ichang also in the Upper Yangtze, because it is at Hankow that the ocean navigation ends, and the inland water communication begins. So, in dealing with the improvement of the Upper Yangtze, I will begin at Hankow. At present the Upper Yangtze is navigable for shallow draught steamers up to Kiating, a point about 1,100 miles above Hankow by river. If improvement be made farther on, than shallow draught steamers could navigate right up to Chengtu, the capital of Szechuen province, and the center of the richest plain in West China, about sixty miles

up the Min River.

改良此水，应在襄阳上游设水闸。此一面可以利用水力，一面又使巨船可以通航于现在惟通小舟之处也。襄阳以下，河身广而浅，须用木桩或叠石作为初级河堤，以约束其水道，又以自然水力填筑两岸洼地也。及至沼地一节，须将河身改直浚深。其在沙市，须新开一运河，沟通江汉，使由汉口赴沙市以上各地得一捷径。此运河经过沼地之际，对于沿岸各湖，均任其通流，所以使洪水季节挟泥之水溢入渚湖，益速其填塞也。

己 洞庭系统

此项水路系统，为湖南全省及其上游排水之用。此中最重要之两支流，为湘江与沅江。湘江纵贯湖南全省，其源远在广西之东北隅，有一运河[11] 在桂林附近，与西江系统相联络。沅江通布湖南西部，而上流则跨在贵州省之东。两江均可改良，以供大河舶[12] 航行。其湘江、西江分水界上之运河，更须改造。于此运河及湘江、西江各节，均须设新式水闸，如是则吃水十英尺之巨舶，可以自由来往于长江、西江之间。洞庭湖则须照鄱阳湖例，疏为深水道，而依自然之力，以填筑其浅地为田。

庚 长江上游

自汉口至宜昌一段，吾亦括之入于长江上游一语之中。因在汉口为航洋船之终点，而内河航运则自兹始，故说长江上游之改良，吾将发轫于汉口。现在以浅水船航行长江上游，可抵嘉定，此地离汉口约一千一百英里。如使改良更进，则浅水船可以直抵四川首府之成都。斯乃中华西部最富之平原之中心，在岷江之上游，离嘉定仅约六十英里耳。

To improve the Upper Yangtze from Hankow to Yochow, the work is much similar to that of the lower part. The channel should be regulated by rudimental dikes. The concave embankments in sharp bends should be protected by stone or concrete; obstacles in midstream should be removed. The great loop, called the Farmer Bend, above Kinkow, should be cut through at the neck of Paichow, and the sharp point of Hanchin Kwang should be cut away to make the curve of the river more gentle.

The tortuous part of the Yangtze, north of the Tungting Lake, between Kinho Kow and Skipper Point, should be blocked up altogether and a new channel made through Tungting Lake, returning to the Yangtze by the

Yochow Channel. This avoids the crooked passage and shortens the river course considerably. From Skipper Point to Ichang the dilatations should be restricted by dikes of stone or piling, and some sharp points of the shores should be cut away to make the curves more gentle.

The Yangtze River above Ichang enters the Gorges which run about a hundred miles up to the Szechuen depression, known as the Red Basin. This part of the river from Ichang right along to its source is confined by rocky banks, very narrow and deep, having an average depth of six fathoms and at some particular points even thirty fathoms. Many rapids and obstructions occur along its course.

To improve the Upper Yangtze, the rapids should be dammed up to form locks to enable crafts to ascend the river as well as to generate water power. Obstructions should be blasted and boulders removed. Thus, a ten-foot channel right along from Hankow to Chungking could be obtained so that through inland water transportation could be established from Chungking to Peking in the north and to Canton in the south, as well as to all navigable points in China Proper all the year round. In this way, transportation expenses to the richest emporium in West China could be reduced hundredfold. The benefit to the people will be enormous and the encouragement to commerce will indeed be great.

改良自汉口至岳州一段，其工程大类下游各部。当筑初步河堤，以整齐其水道。而急弯曲之凹岸，当护以石堤，或用士敏土坚结。中流洲屿，均应削去。金口上游大湾，所谓簰州曲者，应于簰州地颈开一新河以通航。至后金关之突出地角，则应削除，使河形之曲折较为缓徐。

洞庭之北、长江屈曲之部，自荆河口起以至石首一节，吾意当加闭塞。由石首开新道，通洞庭湖，再由岳州水道归入本流。此所以使河身径直，抑亦缩短航程不少。自石首以至宜昌，中间有泛滥处，当以木石为堤约束之；其河岸有突出点数处，须行削去，而后河形之曲折可更缓也。

自宜昌而上，入峡行，约一百英里而达四川之低地，即地学家所谓红盆地也。此宜昌以上迄于江源一部分河流，两岸岩石束江，使窄且深，平均深有六英寻（三十六英尺），最深有至三十英寻者。急流与滩石，沿流皆是。

改良此上游一段，当以水闸堰其水，使舟得溯流以行，而又可资其水力。其滩石应行爆开除去。于是水深十英尺之航路，下起汉口，上达

重庆，可得而致。而内地直通水路运输，可自重庆北走直达北京，南走直至广东，乃至全国通航之港无不可达。由此之道，则在中华西部商业中心，运输之费当可减至百分之十也。其所以益人民者何等巨大，而其鼓舞商业何等有力耶！

Part V The Establishment of Large Cement Works

Steel and cement are the basis of modern construction, and the most important factors of the material civilization of the present age. In the various projects of our development scheme, the demand for steel and cement will be so enormous that all manufacturing countries combined will not be able to supply the needs. Therefore, in our first program, I have proposed to establish large steel works in the rich iron and coal fields in the provinces of Shansi and Chihli; so in this second program I propose to establish large cement works along the shores of the Yangtze River. The Yangtze Valley is exceptionally rich in materials for cement,—limestone and coal lying side by side at the water edge along the navigable channel from Chinkiang upward. Thus, local supplies could be created for local needs.

At present, there is one cement works at Shihuiyau near Hoangshikang at the upper reach. It is situated between a deep water wharf and a limestone hill. The limestone is so near by that it can be cut and shoveled into the kilns immediately. Between Hankow and Kiukiang there are many places possessing the same advantage. Below Kiukiang, there are also many such advantageous positions as Matang, Wushiki and many others between Kiukiang and Anking. Between Anking and Nanking there are exceptionally good locations for putting up cement works such as Tatung, Tikang, and Tsaishisze, all these places being provided abundantly with limestone and coal and iron, lying side by side.

With the huge harbor works, city building, and embankment construction, the market for cement will be so great that a capital of one to two hundred million dollars should be invested for the supply. This work should be started gradually in accord with the acceleration of the other works of the general development so that one project will further the other, and over-production and waste of capital individually in any of the parts of the general scheme will be guarded against. This will help make each of them a profitable business by itself.

第五部 创建大士敏土厂

钢铁与士敏土为现代建筑之基，且为今兹物质文明之最重要分子。在吾发展计划之种种设计，所需钢铁与士敏土不可胜计，即合世界以制造著名之各国所产，犹恐不足供此所求。所以在吾第一计划，吾提议建一大炼钢厂于煤铁最富之山西、直隶。则在此第二计划，吾拟欲沿扬子江岸建无数士敏土厂。长江谷地特富于士敏土原料，自镇江而上可航之水道，夹岸皆有灰石及煤，是以即为其本地所需要，还于其地得有供给也。今日已有制士敏土之厂在黄石港上游不远之石灰窑，其位置刚在深水码头与灰石山之间。其山既若是近，故直可由山上以锹锄起石，直移之窑中，无须转运。而在汉口、九江之间，与此相类之便利，尚复多有。九江以下，马当、黄石矶以及九江、安庆间诸地，又有极多之便利相同之灰石山。其安庆以下至南京之间，多为极有利于制士敏土之地区，即如大通、荻港、采石矶，均有丰裕之灰石及煤铁矿，夹江相望也。

筑港、建市街、起江河堤岸诸大工程同时并举，士敏土市场既如斯巨大，则应投一二万万之资本，以供给此士敏土厂矣。而此业之进行，即与全盘其他计划相为关连，徐徐俱进，则以一规划奖进其他规划，各无忧于生产过剩与资本误投，而各计划俱能自致其为一有利事业矣。

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[1] fathom：英寻,海洋测量中计算水深的单位，1英寻= 6英尺。——编者注
[2] 遥劣：相差很远。
[3] 孟遮斯打：今译曼彻斯特。
[4] 英方里：平方英里。——编者注
[5] 渟水：在大江大河不远处，因洪水或暴雨而形成的大湖。渟：水停止不流。
[6] 希觏：罕见，少有。觏：遇见。
[7] 苏彝士：今译苏伊士（运河）。
[8] 芝加高：今译芝加哥。
[9] 水潦：因雨水过多而积在田地里的水或流于地面的水。此指洪涝之灾。
[10] 遽言：仓猝作出结论。
[11] 运河：此指灵渠，又称湘桂运河或兴安运河。
[12] 河舶：指专用于内河航运的船舶，与用于航海的海舶相区别。

PROGRAM III

The main feature of the third program will be the construction of a great southern port which will complete the plan for three first-class seaports in China as proposed in the preliminary part of this International Development Scheme. Our Great Southern Port will naturally be Canton, which is not only the center of commerce in South China but also the largest city in all China. Until recent times it was the largest city on the coasts of the Pacific, and the center of commerce of Asia. With the development of China, Canton will surely resume its former importance. Around this southern metropolis I formulate the third program as follows:

I. The Improvement of Canton as a World Port.

II. The Improvement of the Waterway System of Canton

III. The Construction of the Southwestern Railway System of China.

IV. The Construction of Coast Ports and Fishing Harbors.

V. The Establishment of Shipbuilding Yards.

Part I The Improvement of Canton as a World Port

Canton's position as a seaport has been taken away by Hongkong since its cession to England after the Opium War. But as a commercial center of South China, Canton still holds its own, despite the advan- tages of deep-water harbor, the artificial improvements of Hongkong, and the political dominance of England. The loss of its position as a seaport is entirely due to the ignorance of the Chinese people who never made any combined effort to improve the welfare of the country, and also to the corrupt government and officials of the Manchu dynasty. Since the establishment of the Republic, the people have begun to awake very rapidly and many schemes have been suggested to make Canton a seaport. This awakening of the millions of Chinese has caused much apprehension to the Hongkong Government. The authorities of that colony have been doing their utmost to hinder every move to restore Canton as a seaport and try to nip every scheme in the bud. Of course, if Canton is improved and made into a world port, then all the services that Hongkong performs for her as a shipping stage would be dispensed with altogether. But a developed Canton and a prosperous China will recompense Hongkong in various ways a hundred times more than its present position as the monopolized ocean port of a backward and poor China. Just look at the port of Victoria in British Columbia, which was once the only seaport of West Canada as well as the Northwestern region of the United States, but it prospered very little then with an undeveloped hinterland despite its monopolistic character. Whereas as soon as the rival ports arose, Vancouver on its own side, and Seattle and Tacoma on the American side, all within the same distance as Hongkong is to Canton, all of them because of a developed hinterland prospered wonderfully, despite the keen competition between them as seaports. Thus, we see that competitive seaports like Vancouver, Seattle, and Tacoma instead of killing Victoria, as was once supposed by shortsighted people, have made it more prosperous than ever. Then, why doubt that a prosperous Canton and a developed China would not give the same result to Hongkong? This is but a natural outcome. Therefore, there should be no fear that a prosperous Canton and a developed China would be harmful to Hongkong as a free port. So, instead of doing the utmost

as hitherto to hinder the development of Canton as a seaport, the Hongkong authorities should do their utmost to encourage such a project. Besides, the development of Canton and South China will benefit the English as a whole commercially a hundred times more than Hongkong can do at present. Although the local authorities of that crown colony do not see far enough to realize it, however, I believe that the great statesmen and captains of industries in the now mightiest empire of the world would surely see it. With this belief in my mind I feel quite safe in giving publicity to the scheme of my international development of Canton as a world port in South China.

叁 第三计划

第三计划主要之点，为建设一南方大港，以完成《国际发展计划》篇首所称中国之三头等海港。吾人之南方大港，当然为广州。广州不仅中国南部之商业中心，亦为通中国最大之都市。迄于近世，广州实太平洋岸最大都市也，亚洲之商业中心也。中国而得开发者，广州将必恢复其昔时之重要矣。吾以此都会为中心，制定第三计划如下：

一、改良广州为一世界港。

二、改良广州水路系统。

三、建设中国西南铁路系统。

四、建设沿海商埠及渔业港。

五、创立造船厂。

第一部 改良广州为一世界港

广州之海港地位，自鸦片战争结束，香港归英领后，已为所夺。然香港虽有深水港面之利益，有技术之改良，又加以英国政治的优势，而广州尚自不失为中国南方商业中心也。其所以失海港之位置也，全由中国人民之无识，未尝合力以改善一地之公共利益，而又益之以满洲朝代之腐败政府及官僚耳。自民国建立以来，人民忽然觉醒，于是提议使广州成为海港之计划甚多。以此亿兆中国人民之觉醒，使香港政府大为警戒。该地当局，用其全力以阻止一切使广州成为海港之运动；凡诸计划，稍有萌芽，即摧折之。夫广州诚成为一世界港，则香港之为泊船载货站头之一切用处，自然均将归于无有矣。但以此既开发之广州与既繁荣之中国论，必有他途为香港之利，而比之现在仅为一退化贫穷之中国之独占海港，利必百倍可知。试征之英领哥伦比亚域多利港[1] 之例，彼固尝为西坎拿大[2] 与美国西北区之唯一海港矣。然而即使有独占之性质，而当时腹地贫穷，未经开发，其为利益，实乃甚小。乃至一方有温哥华起于同国方面，他方美国又有些路与打金麻并起为其竞争港，[3] 此诸港之距域多利远近恰与香港之距广州相似，而以其腹地开发之故，即使其俱为海港，竞争之切有如是，仍各繁荣非常。所以吾人知竞争海港，有如温哥华、些路、打金麻者，不惟不如短见者所尝推测，以域多利埠置之死地，且又使之繁荣有加于昔。然则何疑于既开发之广东、既繁荣之中国，不能以与此相同之结果与香港耶？实则此本自然之结果而已，不必有虑于广东之开发、中国之繁荣，伤及香港之为自由港矣。如是，香港当局正当以其全力，鼓励此改良广州以为海港一事，不应复如向日以其全力阻止之矣。抑且广州与中国南方之发展，在于商业上所以益英国全体者，不止百倍于香港今日所以益之者。即使此直辖殖民地之地方当局，无此远见以实行之，吾信今日寰球最强之帝国之各大政治家、各实业首领必能见及于此。吾既怀此信念，故吾以为以我国际共同发展广州以为中国南方世界大港之计划，布之公众，绝无碍也。

Canton is situated at the head of the Canton Delta, which is formed by the junction of three rivers—the Sikiang or West River, the Peikiang or North River, and the Tungkiang or East River. The area of this delta is about 3,000 square miles and it has the most fertile alluvial soil known in China. The land yields three crops a year—two crops of rice and one crop of other products such as potatoes or beets. In silk culture, it gives eight crops every year. The

most delicious fruits of many varieties are produced in this delta. This is the most thickly populated district of all China. Within this delta and its immediate neighborhood, more than half of the population of Kwangtung province is found. This is the reason why, despite the great productivity of this fertile delta, large quantities of foods have to be supplied by the surrounding country as well as by foreign imports. Before the age of machinery Canton for centuries was well known as an industrial center of Eastern Asia. The workmanship and handicraft of its people are still unequaled in many parts of the world. If machinery will be introduced in its industries under our international development scheme, Canton will soon recover its former grandeur as a great manufacturing center.

广州位于广州河汊之顶，此河汊由西江、北江、东江三河流会合而成，全面积有三千英方里，而为在中国最肥饶之冲积土壤。此地每年有三次收获，二次为米作，一次为杂粮，如马铃薯或甜菜之类。其在蚕丝每年有八次之收成。此河汊又产最美味之果实多种。在中国，此为住民最密之区域，广东全省人口过半住于此河汊及其附近。此所以纵有河汊沃壤所产出巨额产物，犹须求多数之食料于邻近之地与外国也。在机器时代以前，广州以东亚实业中心著名者几百年矣。其人民之工作手艺，至今在世界中仍有多处不能与匹。若在吾国际共同发展实业计划之下，使用机器，助其工业，则广州不久必复其昔日为大制造中心之繁盛都会矣。

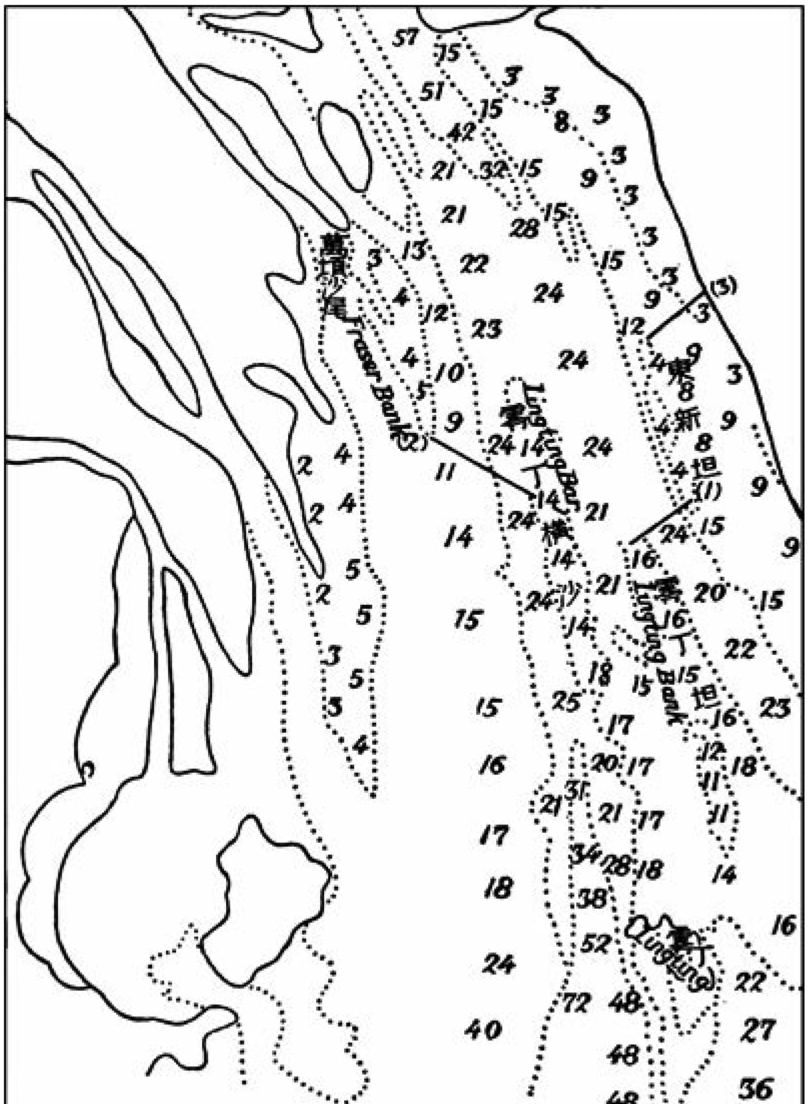
As a world port, Canton is in a most advantageous position. Being situated at the junction of three navigable rivers and at the head of the ocean navigation it is a pivot of inland water as well as ocean communication in South China. If the Southwestern railway system is completed, then Canton will be equal in importance to the two great ports in North and East China, in regard to transportation facilities. The ocean approach of Canton is generally deep excepting at two points which can be easily trained and dredged to enable modern liners to pass in and out at any hour. The deep water line of the ocean reaches up to Lingting Island, where the depth is from 8 to 10 fathoms. Above Lingting, the channel gets shallower (about 3 or 4 fathoms) and runs about 15 miles up to the Fumen Entrance. From this point the water becomes deep again (between 6 and 10 fathoms) right up to the Second Bar—a distance of 20 miles. At the Second Bar, the water is about 18 to 20 feet deep for only a few hundred yards. After crossing the Second Bar, the water becomes deep again for a distance of 10 miles averaging about 30 feet deep

up to the First Bar which will be the city limit of our future Canton.

To improve the Approach to Canton, I suggest that two submerged training walls be built at the left side of Canton Estuary above Lingting Island—one from the shore to the head of the Kongsu Bank, and another from the end of the same bank to the head of the Lingting Bank. The first training wall will be 3 to 4 feet under water just at the same level of the bank. The second wall will be from 4 feet at one end to 16 feet at the other, which are the levels of the respective banks which it connects. (See (1) (3) Map XI.) It will cross a channel of 24 feet deep between them. These two walls together with the four-foot Kongsu Bank will act as one continuous wall and will direct the undercurrent which now runs between the left shore and Lingting Bank, into the middle part of the estuary, thus cutting a channel between the bar and the bank of the same name to meet the deep water on the west side of Lingting Island. On the right side of the Canton Estuary, a training wall should be built from the lower part of Fraser Bank in a southeasterly direction across the 24-foot channel into the Lingting Bar ending at the east edge of that bar. (See (2) Map XI.) Thus, with these submerged walls on both sides of the estuary to confine the undercurrent in the middle, a very deep channel can be formed to connect with the Fumen Entrance at one end and the Lingting trough at the other both of which are about 50 feet deep so that a thoroughfare from deep sea right up to the Second Bar of the Pearl River will be created.

以世界海港论，广州实居于最利便之地位。既已位于此可容航行之三江会流一点，又在海洋航运之起点，所以既为中国南方内河水运之中轴，又为海洋交通之枢纽也。如使西南铁路系统完成，则以其运输便利论，广州之重要将与中国北方、东方两大港相侔[4] 矣。广州通大洋之水路大概甚深，惟有二处较浅，而此二处又甚易范之以堤，且浚渫之，使现代航海最大之船可以随时出入无碍也。海洋深水线，直到零丁岛边，该处水深自八英寻至十英寻。自零丁以上，水道稍浅（其深约三四英寻），以达于虎门，凡十五英里。自虎门起，水乃复深，自六英寻至十英寻。直至莲花山脚之第二闩洲，其长二十英里；在第二闩洲处，仅有数百码水深自十八英尺至二十英尺而已。过第二闩洲后，其水又深，平均得三十英尺者约十英里，以至于第一闩洲，此即吾人所欲定为将来广州港面水界之处也。将改良此通广州之通海路，吾意须在广东河口零丁岛上游左边建两水底范堤：其一，由海岸筑至东新坦头，他一则由该坦尾起筑至零丁坦顶上。此第一范堤之顶，应在水面下三四英尺，约与该坦同高。第二范堤一端低于水面四英尺，一端低十六英尺，各按所联之

坦之高低（参照第十一图之l及3），此堤须横断两坦间深二十四英尺之水道。合此两堤与此四英尺高之东新坦，将成为一连续海堤之功用，可以导引现在冲过左边海岸与零丁岛之间之下层水流，入于河口当中一部。于是可以在零丁横沙与同名之坦中间，开一新水道，而与零丁岛右边深水相接。在广东河口右边须建一范堤，自万顷沙外面沙堤下面起，向东南行，横断二十四英尺深之水道，直穿过零丁横沙至其东头尽处为止（参照第十一图之2）。如是，以此河口两边各水底堤，限制下层水流，使趋中央一路，则可得一甚深之水道。自虎门起，直通零丁口，约五十英尺深。于是可得创造一自深海直达珠江之第二闩洲之通路矣。



圖一十第 MAP XI

These submerged sea walls taken together are about 8 miles in length

and will be built only 6 to 12 feet from the bottom of the sea. The expenses will not be much while the acceleration of the natural reclamation process will be very great. Thus, the lands that will be formed on both sides by these walls will far more than repay the expenses of the work of building these walls.

To regulate the Approach of Canton, in that part of the Pearl River from the Fumen Entrance to Whampoa, I suggest that the East River Estuaries be concentrated in a single outlet by using the uppermost channel which joins the Pearl River at the lower point of Davids Island. The other outlets of the East River, which joins the Pearl River below the Second Bar, should be closed up by dams built to the height of the normal water level so as to permit them to serve as flood channels in the rainy season. By concentrating the whole volume of water of the East River above the Second Bar, a stronger current could be obtained to flush the upper part of this section of the river.

合此各水底堤计之，其长约八英里，而其高只须离海底六英尺至十二英尺而已。其所费者应不甚多，而其使自然填筑进行加速之力则甚大。故因此诸堤两岸新成之地，必能偿还筑此诸堤之工程所费，且大有余裕也。

整治此广州通海之路，自虎门至黄埔一段珠江，吾意须使东江出口集中于一支，即用其最上之水道，于鹿步墟岛下游一点与珠江合流者。其他在第二闩洲以下与珠江会流各支，概须筑与寻常水面同高之堰，以截塞之，至入雨期则仍以供宣泄洪水之水道之用。此集会东江全流于第二闩洲上面，可以得更强之水，以冲洗珠江上部也。

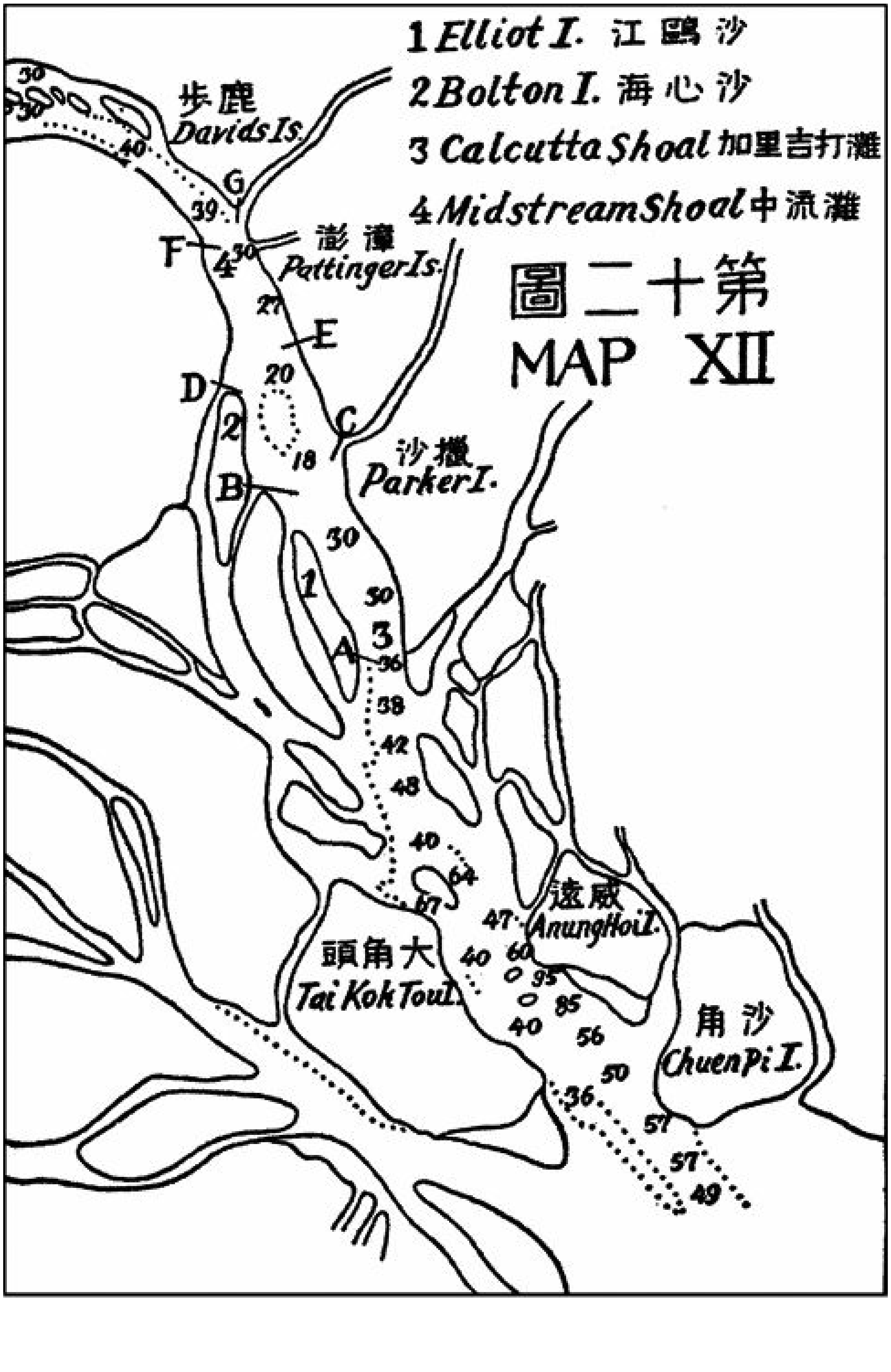
In the training works of this section, I propose that several jetties should be built as follows: First, a jetty from Elliot Island at point (A) to the farther side of Calcutta Shoal opposite the lower point of Parker Island. This will block the current between Elliot Island and Calcutta Shoal and divert it into the present 36-foot channel thus making it deeper by its natural force. Second, another jetty from Bolton Island, at point (B) to midstream terminating at the lower side of the Second Bar, on the right side of the river. Third, a jetty from the lower point of Pattinger Island at (C) to midstream terminating at the lower side of the same bar on the left side of the river. Thus the Second Bar would be flushed by the concentrated current created by these two jetties. The shallow bottom above these jetties should be dredged to the required depth. If a rocky bottom is found at this bar it should be blasted and removed, so as to give a uniform depth to the whole approach. Fourth, the

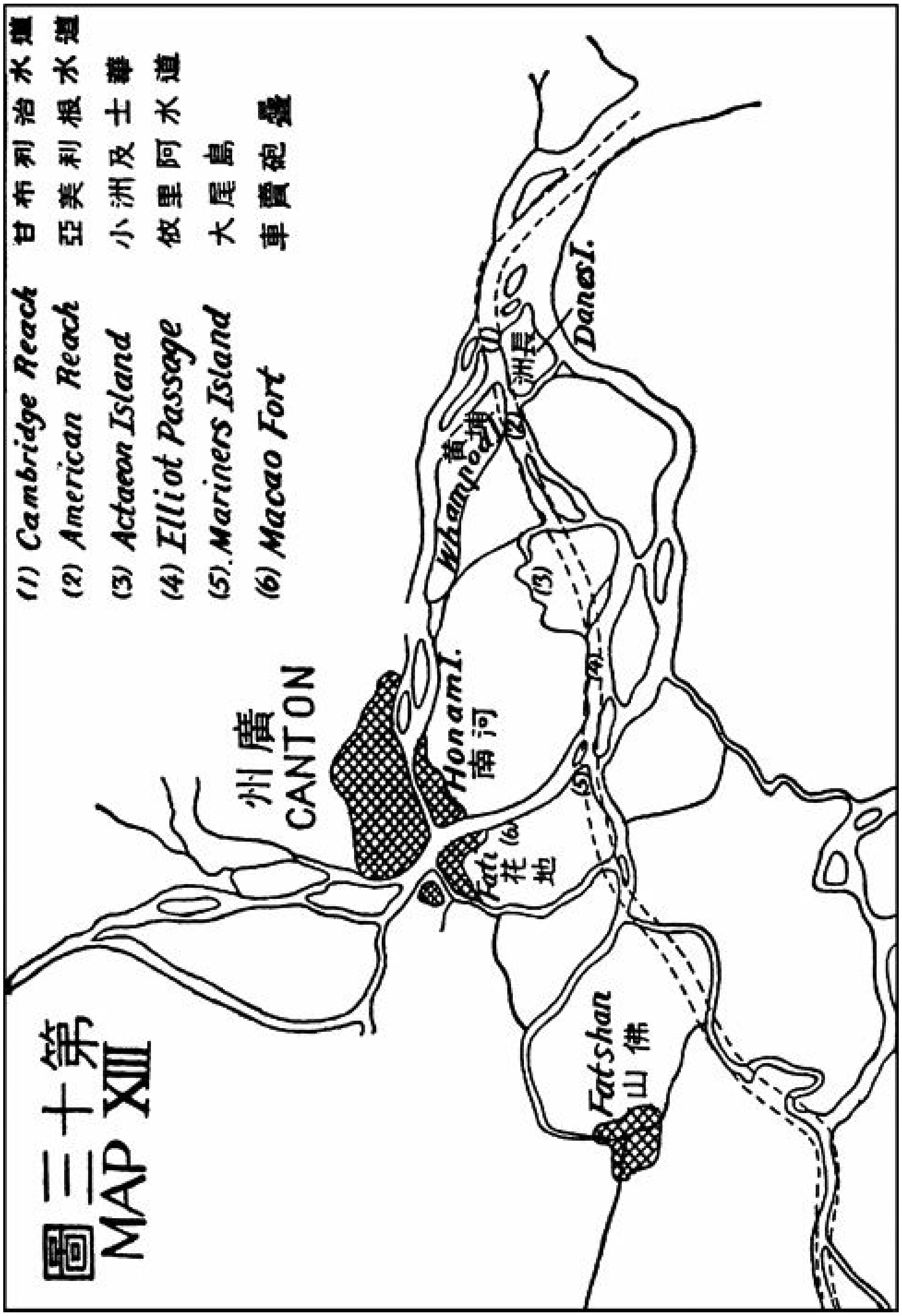
channel between the right bank of the river and Bolton Island should be blocked up at (D). Fifth, a jetty from Pattinger Island at (E) to the head of the Second Bar Bank in midstream so as to cut off the current at the left side of the river and to increase the velocity in the middle channel. Sixth, a jetty from the right shore at (F) about midway between Danes Island and the Second Bar, should be built to the head of the Midstream Shoal so as to cut off the current at the right side of the river. And seventh, another jetty from the lower point of Davids Island at (G) to midstream opposite to the end of jetty (F). Jetties (G) and (F) will concentrate the current of the upper Pearl River while at the same time jetty (G) will also turn the East River current into the same direction as that of the Pearl River. (See Map XII.)

By these seven jetties, the current between Whampoa and Fumen could be controlled and the bottom of the river flushed to a depth of 40 feet or more, thus creating a thoroughfare for ocean-going steamers from the open sea right up to the city of Canton. These jetties taken together will be not more than 5 miles in length and mostly in very shallow water. After the building of these jetties, land will be rapidly formed between jetties along both sides of the channel by natural process. The reclaimed land alone will be quite enough to pay the expenses of constructing these jetties, aside from the fact that the main object of regulating the river and opening up a deep channel for ocean transportation will have been realized.

此一段范水工程，吾意须筑多数之坝如下：第一，自江鸥沙之A点筑一坝，至攤沙岛低端对面加里吉打滩边。此坝所以堵截江鸥沙与加里吉打滩中间之水流，而转之入于现在三十六英尺深之水道，以其自然之力浚使更深。第二，于此河右岸，由海心沙之B点起另筑一坝，至中流第二闩洲下端为终点。第三，于此河左岸，自漳澎尾沙下头C点筑一坝，至中流，亦以第二闩洲下端为终点。以是借此两坝所束集中水流之力，可以刷去第二闩洲，其两坝上面浅处，则可浚之至得所求之深为止。若发现河底有岩石，则应炸而去之，然后全部通路可得一律之水深也。第四，在此河右岸与海心沙中间之水道，须堵塞之于D点（即瑞成围头）。第五，在漳澎常安围上游之E点起筑一坝，至第二闩洲坦之上端中流。如是，则此河左边水流截断，而中央水道之流速可以增加也。第六，在右岸长洲岛与第二闩洲之间适中之处F点起筑一坝，至中流滩之顶上，以截断此河右边之水流。第七，于鹿步墟岛下端G点起筑一坝，至中流，与前述之F坝相对。此EG两坝所以集中珠江上段水流，而G坝同时又导引东江，使其流向与珠江同一也。（参照第十二图）

以此七坝，自黄埔以迄虎门之水流可得有条理，而冲刷河底可致四十英尺以上之深，如是则为航洋巨舶开一通路，自公海直通至广州城矣。合此诸坝，其长当不过五英里，而又大半建于浅水处。自建坝以后，水道两旁各坝之间，以其自然之力，新填地出现必极速。单以所填之地而论，必足以偿还筑坝所费。况又有整治珠江与为海洋运输开一深水道之两大目的，可由此而实现乎！





Having dealt with the approach to Canton, we may now take up the improvement of Canton City itself as a world port. The harbor limit of Canton will be at the First Bar. From there, the harbor will follow the deep water of Cambridge Reach and the water between Whampoa and Danes Island into American Reach. At this point it will cut through Actaeon Island to the south of Honam Island and follow the Elliot Passage to Mariners

Island. From Mariners Island following the Fatshan Creek, a straight channel should be cut in a southwesterly direction to the Tamchow Channel. Thus, a new waterway will be made from the First Bar to Tamchow Channel, a distance of about 25 miles. This waterway will be the main outlet of the North River as well as a thoroughfare for the West River, and will also serve as the harbor of Canton. By conveying all the water of the North River and a part of that of the West River through this waterway, the current will be strong enough to flush the harbor to a depth of 40 feet or more. (See Map XIII.)

The new city of Canton will be extended from Whampoa to Fatshan, separated by the Macao Fort and Shameen Reaches. The section that lies east of this water should be developed into commercial quarters and that west of it into factory quarters. The factory section should be transected by canals connecting with the Fati and Fatshan creeks so as to give cheap transportation facilities to every factory. In the commercial section, tidal wharves with modern plants and warehouses should be provided. A bund should be built from the First Bar Island along the north side of the new waterway, the west side of Honam to connect with the bund of Shameen, and the northwestern side of Canton city. Another bund should be built from above Fati along the east side of Fati Island to Mariners Island thence turning southwest along the left bank of the new waterway. The Front Reach, that is, the river between the present Canton city and Honam Island should be filled up from the upper point of Honam to Whampoa for city building.

In regard to the question of remuneration, the development of Canton as a world port will be the most profitable undertaking of the kind in the International Development Scheme. Because, besides its commanding position as a commercial metropolis and its possession of advantageous facilities as a manufacturing center of South China, a modern residential city is in great demand in this part of the country. The well-to-do people and merchants of this rich delta as well as those retired Chinese merchants and millionaires abroad all over the world are very eager to spend their remaining days at home. But owing to the lack of modern conveniences and comforts they reluctantly remain in foreign countries. Thus to build a new city with modern equipments for residential purposes alone, in Canton, would pay splendidly. The land outside of Canton is at present about 200 dollars a mow. If the land marked off for the future city of Canton should be taken up by the

State on the same basis as elsewhere in this International Development Scheme, immediately after the streets are laid out and improvements made, the price of land would rise from ten to fifty times its original value.

吾人既为广州通海水路作计，则可次及改良广州城以为世界商港一事矣。广州港面水界应至第一闩洲为止。由此处起，港面应循甘布列治水道（乌涌与大吉沙之间），经长洲、黄埔两岛之间，以入亚美利根水道（深井与仓头之间）。于是凿土华、小洲之间，开一新路，以达于河南岛之南端，复循依里阿水道（沥滘[5]、下滘之间），以至大尾岛（三山对面）。于是循佛山旧水道，更凿一新水道，直向西南方，与潭洲水道会流。如是，由第一闩洲起以达潭洲水道，成一新水路矣，其长当有二十五英里。此水路将为北江之主要出口，又以与西江相通连。一面又作为广州港面，以北江水量全部及西江水量一部，经此水路以注于海。故其水流之强，将必足以刷洗此港面，令有四十英尺以上之深也。（参观第十三图）

新建之广州市，应跨有黄埔与佛山，而界之以车卖炮台及沙面水路。此水以东一段地方，应发展之以为商业地段；其西一段，则以为工厂地段。此工厂一区，又应开小运河以与花地及佛山水道通连，则每一工厂均可得有廉价运送之便利也。在商业地段，应副之以应潮高下之码头，与现代设备及仓库，而筑一堤岸。自第一闩洲起，沿新水路北边及河南岛西边，与沙面堤岸联为一起。又另自花地上游起筑一堤岸，沿花地岛东边，至大尾乃转向西南，沿新水路左岸筑之。其现在省城与河南岛中间之水道，所谓省河者，应行填塞。自河南头填起，直至黄埔岛，以供市街之用。从利益问题论之，开发广州以为一世界商港，实为此国际共同发展计划内三大港中最有利润之企业。所以然者，广州占商业中枢之首要地位，又握有利之条件，恰称为中国南方制造中心，更加以此部地方之要求新式住宅地甚大也。此河汉内之殷富商民与华人在外国经商致富暮年退隐者，无不切盼归乡，度其余年；但坐缺乏新式之便宜与享乐之故，彼等不免踌躇，仍留外国。然则建一新市街于广州，加以新式设备，专供住居之用，必能获非常之利矣。广州城附近之地，今日每亩约值二百元，如使划定以为将来广州市用之地，即应用前此所述方法收用之，则划定街道加以改良之后，地价立可升高至原价之十倍至五十倍矣。

The landscape of the environment of Canton is exceptionally beautiful and charming. It is an ideal place for planning a garden city with attractive parks. The location of the city of Canton resembles that of Nanking but is of greater magnitude and beauty. It possesses three natural elements—deep

water, high mountains, and vast extent of level land which furnish facilities for an industrial and commercial center and provide as well natural scenery for the enjoyment of man. The beautiful valleys and hills of the northern shore of the Pearl River could be laid out for ideal winter resorts and the high mountain tops could be utilized for summer resorts.

Within the city limits at the northwest corner, a rich coal field has been found. When the coal is mined and modern plants for generating electricity and producing gas are provided, then cheap electricity and gas could be had for transportation, for manufacturing, for lighting, heating, and cooking purposes. And so the present wasteful methods of transportation, and expensive fuels for manufacturing and cooking for the populous city of Canton can be done away with entirely. Thus great economic wonders could be wrought by such improvements. The present population of Canton is over a million and if our development plan is carried out, this city would grow in leaps and bounds within a very short time. The population will become greater than any other city and the profit of our undertaking will become correspondingly large.

Part II The Improvement of the Waterway System of Canton

The most important waterway system in South China is the Canton system. Besides this the others are not of much importance and will be dealt with elsewhere with their ports. In dealing with the Canton system of waterways, I have to divide it as follows:

a. The Canton Delta.

b. The West River.

广州附近景物，特为美丽动人，若以建一花园都市，加以悦目之林囿，真可谓理想之位置也。广州城之地势，恰似南京，而其伟观与美景，抑又过之。夫自然之原素有三：深水、高山与广大之平地也。此所以利便其为工商业中心，又以供给美景以娱居人也。珠江北岸美丽之陵谷，可以经营之以为理想的避寒地，而高岭之巅，又可利用之以为避暑地也。

在西北隅市街界内，已经发现一丰富之煤矿。若开采之，而加以新式设计，以产出电力及煤气供给市中，则可资其廉价之电力、煤气以为制造、为运输，又使居民得光、得热、得以炊爨也。如是则今日耗费至多之运输，与烦费之用薪炊爨制造，行于此人烟稠密之市中者，可以悉免矣。是此种改良，可得经济上之奇效也。现在广州居民一百万，若行吾计划，则于极短时期之中将见有飞跃之进步，其人口将进至超过一切都市，而吾人企业之利益，亦比例而与之俱增矣。

第二部 改良广州水路系统

中国南部最重要之水路系统，为广州系统。除此以外皆不甚重要，将于论各商埠时附述之。论广州水路系统，吾将分之为下四项：

甲 广州河汉。

乙 西江。

c. The North River.

d. The East River.

a. The Canton Delta

To improve the Canton Delta we have to consider the proposition from three points of view: First, the problem of flood prevention; second, the problem of navigation; and third, the problem of reclamation. Each of these problems affects the others so the solution of one will help that of the others.

First, the problem of flood prevention. The frequent repetition of floods in recent years has wrought great disasters to the people in the neighborhood of Canton. It has destroyed lives by the thousands and property by the millions. The part which suffers most is the country between Canton and Lupao, lying just immediately north of the Canton Delta. This fatal spot is, I think, created by the silting up of the main outlet of the North River immediately below Sainam. On account of this, the North River has to find its outlets through the West River by the short canal at Samshui and through two small streams, one from Sainam, and another from Lupao. The former runs in a northeasterly direction and the latter in a southeasterly direction and they join at Kuanyao. From this point, the river takes a northeasterly course as far as Kumli, thence, turning southeast, passes the west suburb of Canton. Since the North River is silted up below Sainam, its channel above that spot is also getting shallower every year. At present the river above Samshui city is only about four or five feet deep. When the North River rises its water generally finds its way into the West River through the Kongkun Canal. But if the West River should rise at the same time, then there would be no outlet for the North River and its water would accumulate until it overflowed its

dikes above and below Lupao. This would naturally cause the dikes to break at some point and allow the water to rush out and flood the whole country that is meant to be protected by these dikes. The remedy for the North River is to reopen the main outlet below Sainam and have the whole channel dredged deep from Tsingyuen to the sea. Fortunately, in our improvement of the navigation of the Canton Delta, we have to do the same thing; so this one work will serve two purposes.

The remedy for the West River is that the shallow part just at its junction with the sea between Wangkum and Sanchoo Islands should be trained by walls on both sides—a long one on the left, and a short one on the right—so as to concentrate the current to cut the river bed here to a depth of twenty feet or more. In this way, a uniform depth is secured, for after passing the Moto Entrance the West River has an average depth of 20 to 30 feet right along its whole course through this delta. With a uniform depth all the way to the sea, the undercurrent will run quickly and drain off the flood water more rapidly. Besides the deepening process, both shores should be regulated so as to give a uniform width to the channel. Midstream shoals and islands should be removed.

丙 北江。

丁 东江。

甲 广州河汊

吾人论广州河汊之改良，须从三观察点以立议：第一，防止水灾问题；第二，航行问题；第三，填筑新地问题。每一问题皆能加影响于他二者，故解决其一，即亦有裨于其他也。

第一，防止水灾问题。近年水灾频频发生，于广州附近人民实为巨害，其丧失生命以千计，财产以百万计。受害最甚者，为广州与芦包间，其地恰在广州河汊之直北。吾以为此不幸之点，实因西南下游北江正流之淤塞而成。以此之故，北江须经由三水之短河道，以入西江，借为出路；同时又经由两小溪流，一自西南，一自芦包，以得出路。此二溪者，一向东南行，一向东北行，而再合流于官窑。自官窑起，复东北流，至于金利，又折而东南流，经过广州之西关。自北江在西南下游淤塞之后，其淤塞点之上游一段，亦逐年变浅；现在三水县城上游之处，亦仅深四五英尺。当北江水涨之时，常借冈根河（即思贤滘）以泄其水于西江。但若西江同时水涨，则北江之水无从得其出路，惟有停积，至

高过芦包上下游之基围[6] 而后已。如是，自然基围有数处被水冲决，水即横流，而基围所护之地域全区均受水灾矣。欲治北江，须重开西南下面之北江正流，而将自清远至海一段，一律浚深。幸而吾人改良广州河汊之航行时，亦正有事于此项浚深，故一举而可两得也。

救治西江，须于其入海处横琴与三灶两岛之间两岸，各筑一堤，左长右短以范之。如是则将水流集中，以割此河床，使成深二十英尺以上之水道；如是则水深之齐一，可得而致。盖自磨刀门以上，通沿广州河汊之一段，西江平均有二十英尺至三十英尺之深也。如有全段一律之水深，以达于海，则下层水流将愈速，而洪水时泄去其水更速矣。除此浚深之工程以外，两岸务须改归齐整，令全河得一律之河阔；中流之暗礁及沙洲，均应除去。

The East River Valley does not suffer so severely from floods as those of the other two rivers, the West and the North, and its remedy will be provided in the regulation of the river for navigation. This will be dealt with in that connection.

Second, the problem of navigation in the Canton Delta in connection with the three rivers. In dealing with this question we commence with the West River. In former days the traffic between the West River Valley and Canton always passed through Fatshan and Samshui, a distance of about 35 miles. But since the silting up of the Fatshan Channel below Sai- nam, the traffic has to take a great detour by descending the Pearl River southeastward as far as Fumen, then turn northwest into the Shawan Channel, then southeast into the Tamchow Channel, and then west into the Tailiang Channel and south into the Junction Channel and Maning Reach. Here it enters into the West River and runs a northwesterly direction up to Samshui Junction on this river. The whole journey covers a distance of about 95 miles, which compared with the old route is longer by 60 miles. The traffic between Canton and the West River Valley is very great. At present there are many thousands of steam launches plying between Canton City and the outlying districts, and more than half of that number are carrying traffic to and fro on the West River. Every boat has to run 95 miles on each trip whereas if the channel between Samshui and Canton is improved, the distance would be only 35 miles. What a great saving it will be!

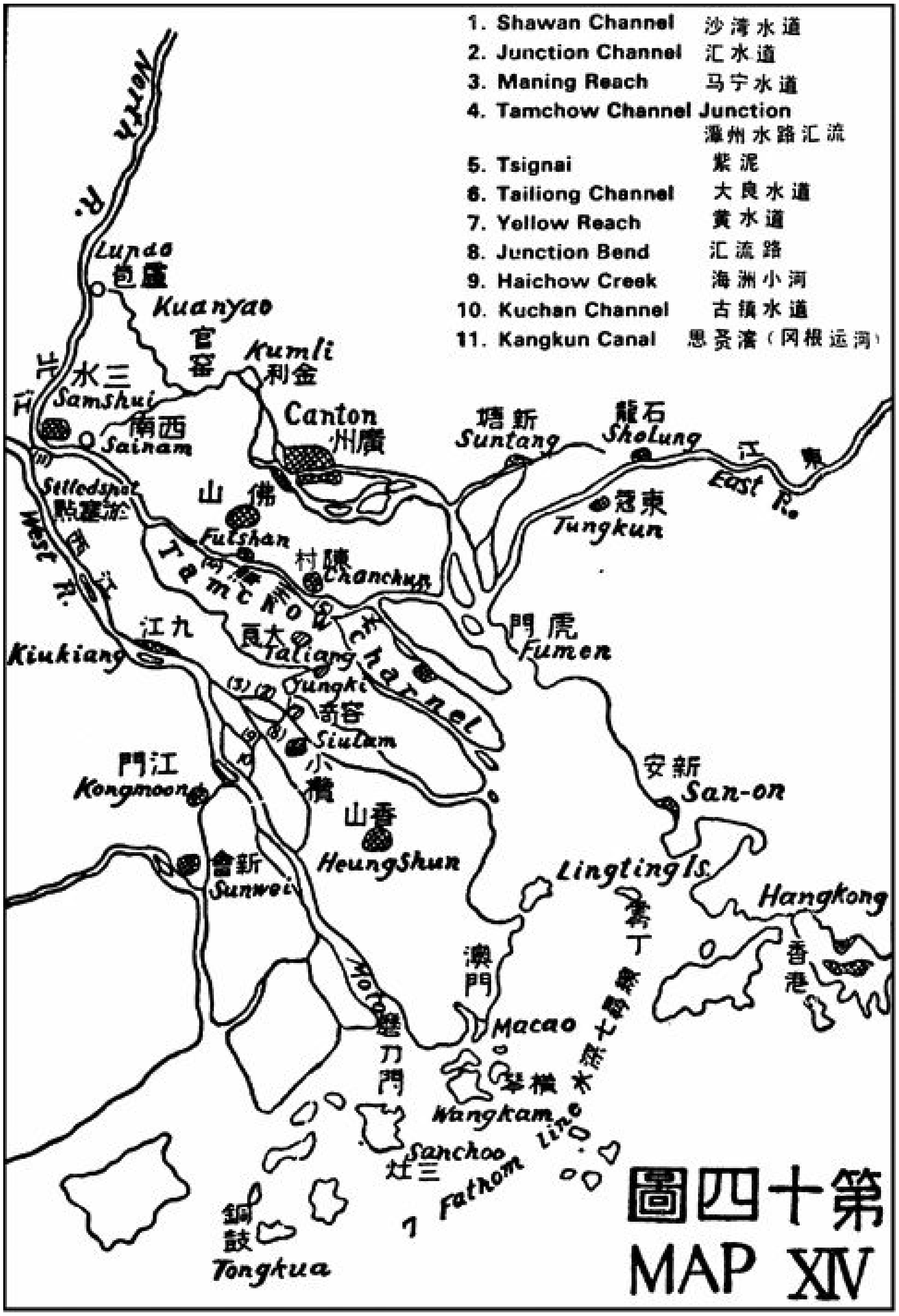
In our project to improve the Canton Approach and Harbor, I suggested the draining of a deep channel from the sea to Whampoa and from Whampoa to Tamchow Channel. We now have to prolong this channel from its

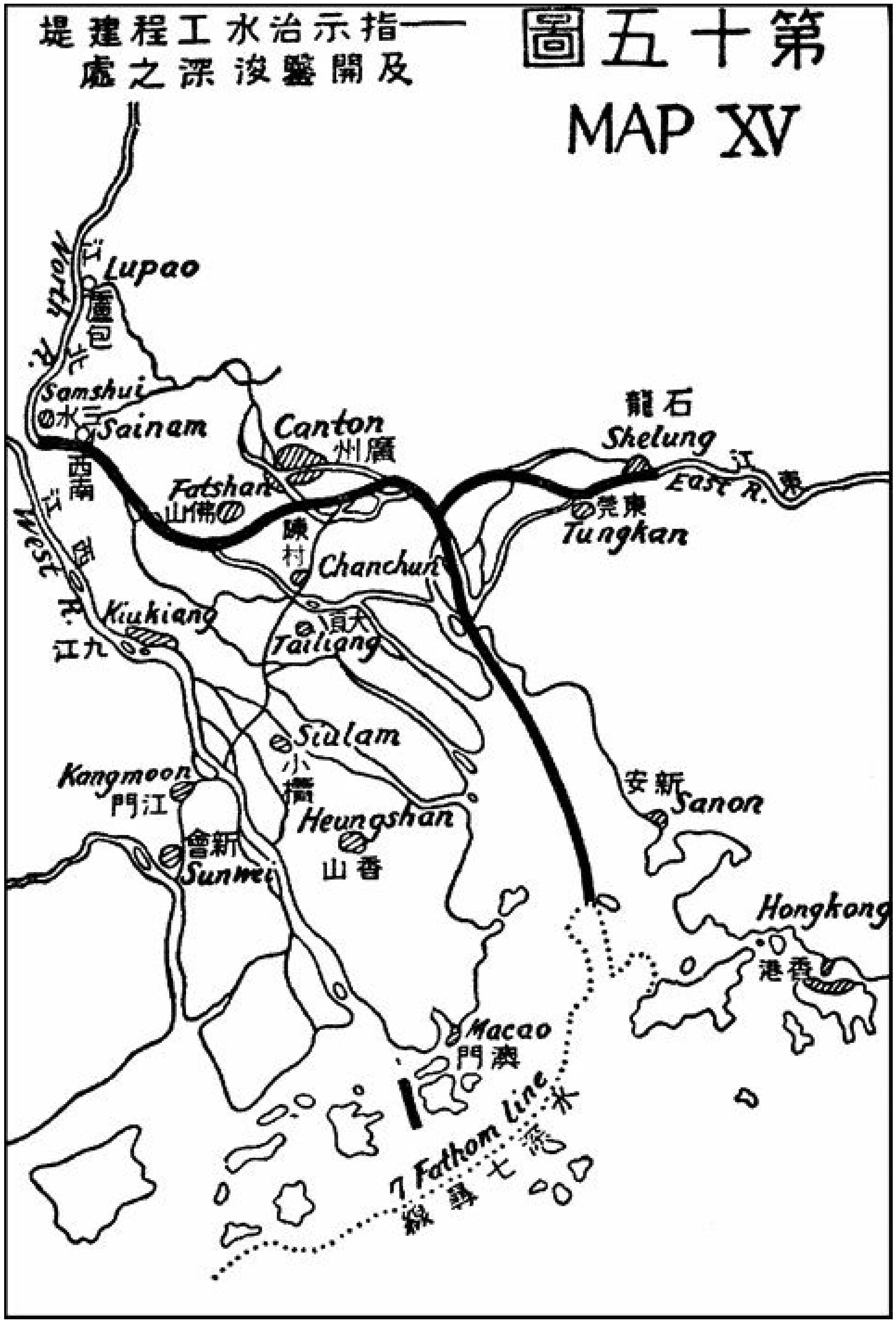
Tamchow Junction up to Samshui Junction on the West River. This Channel should be made at least 20 feet deep so as to join the deeper water of the West River above the Samshui Junction. And the same depth should be maintained in the North River itself some distance above Samshui, so as to give facility for the navigation of larger vessels up the river when the whole waterway is improved.

东江流域之受水灾，不如西、北二江之深重。则整治此河，以供航行，即可得其救治，留俟该项论之。

第二，航行问题。广州河汊之航行问题，与三江相连，论此问题，须自西江始。往日西江流域与广州间往来载货，常经由三水与佛山，此路全长三十五英里。但自佛山水道由西南下游起淤塞之后，载货船只须为大迂回：沿珠江而下以至虎门，转向西北以入沙湾水道，又转向东南入于潭洲水道，西入于大良水路，又南入于黄色水道（自合成围至莺哥嘴）及马宁水路，于此始入西江。西北泝江以至三水西北江合流之处，此路全长九十五英里，比之旧路多六十英里。而广州与西江流域之来往船只，其数甚多，现在广州与近县来往之小火轮有数千艘，其中有大半为载货往来西江者。夫使广州、三水间水道得其改良，则今之每船一往复须行九十五英里者，忽减而为三十五英里也，其所益之大，为何如哉！

在吾改良广州通海路及港面之计划，吾曾提议浚一深水道，自海至于黄埔，又由黄埔以至潭洲水道。今吾人更须将此水道延长，自潭洲水道合流点起，以至三水与西江合流之处。此水道至少须有二十英尺水深，以与西江在三水上游深水处相接。而北江自身，亦须保有与此同一之水深，至于三水上游若干里之处，所以便于该河上流既经改良之后大舶之航行也。


1. Shawan Channel 沙湾水道
2. Junction Channel 汇水道
3. Maning Reach 马宁水道
4. Tamchow Channel Junction 潭州水路汇流
5. Tsignai 紫泥
6. Tailiong Channel 大良水道
7. Yellow Reach 黄水道
8. Junction Bend 汇流路
9. Haichow Creek 海洲小河
10. Kuchan Channel 古镇水道
11. Kangkun Canal
North R.
Lundo
Kuanyao
Kumli
Samshui
Sainam
Canton
Suntang
Sholung
East R.
Tungkun
Stilodshat
West R.
Futshan
Chanchun
Tamchow Channel
Kiukiang
Taliang
Jungki
Siulam
Fumen
San-on
Kongmoon
HeungShun
Sunwei
Lingting Is.
Hangkong
Macao
Wangkam
Sanchoo
7 Fathom Line
Tongkua
第十四圖
MAP XIV



To improve the East River for navigation in the Canton Delta we should concentrate the current of its estuaries into one single outlet by using the right channel which joins the Pearl River at Davids Island, thus deepening the channel as well as shortening the distance between Canton and the East River districts when the upper part of the river is improved.

Another improvement in the Canton Delta for navigation is the opening of a straight canal between Canton City and Kongmoon so as to shorten the passage of the heavy traffic between this metropolis and the Szeyap districts. This canal should begin by straightening the Chanchun Creek south of Canton as far as Tsznai. Then crossing the Tamchow Channel it should enter into the Shuntuck Creek and follow this creek to its end emerging into the Shuntuck Branch at right angles. From there, a new canal must be cut straight to the turn of the Tailiang Channel near Yungki, then the canal should follow this channel through Yellow Reach as far as the Junction Bend. Here another new canal must be cut through to the Hoichow Creek, then it should follow Kuchan Channel to the main channel of the West River, and crossing it enter into the Kongmoon Branch. Thus, a straight canal can be formed between Canton and Kongmoon. In order to understand the improvement of the Canton Delta more clearly see Maps XIV and XV.

Third, the problem of reclamation. A very profitable undertaking in the Canton Delta is the reclamation of new land. This process has been going on for centuries. Many thousands of acres of new land are thus being added to cultivation from year to year. But hitherto all the reclamation has been effected by private enterprise only, and there are no regulations for it. So sometimes this private enterprise causes great detriment to public welfare such as blocking up navigable channels and causing floods. A glaring case is the reclamation work just above the Moto Islands, which blocks more than half of the Main Channel of the West River. In the regulation of the West River, I propose to cut this new land away. In order to protect the public welfare, the reclamation work in this Delta must be taken up by the State and the profits must go to defray the expenses of improving this waterway system for navigation, as well as for the prevention of floods. At present, the area that can be gradually reclaimed is large in extent. On the left side of the Canton Estuary, the available area is about 40 square miles, and on the right side, about 140 square miles. On the estuaries of the West River from Macao to Tongkwa Island, there is an available area of about 200 square miles. Of the 380 square miles, about one fourth would be ready for reclamation within the next ten years. That is to say about 95 square miles could be reclaimed and put to cultivation within a decade. As one square mile contains 640 acres and one acre six mow, so 95 square miles will be equal to 364,800 mow. As cultivated land in this part of China generally costs more than fifty dollars a mow, so, if fifty dollars be taken as the average rate, the value of these

364,800 mow would amount to $18,240,000. This will help a great deal to defray the expenses of improving the waterway for navigation and for preventing floods in this Delta.

为广州河汊之航行以改良东江，吾人应将其出口之水流，集中于鹿步墟岛上面之处与珠江合流之最右之一水道。此所以使水道加深，又使异日上流既经改良之日，广州与东江地区路程更短也。

为航行计，广州河汊更须有一改良，即开一直运河于广州与江门之间，此所以使省城与四邑间之运输得一捷径也。此运河应先将陈村小河改直，达天紫泥，于是横过潭洲水道，以入于顺德小河。循此小河，从直角入于顺德支流。由此处须凿新运河一段，直至大良水道近容奇曲处（竹林）。又循此水道，通过黄水道，至汇流路（南沙、小揽之间起莺哥嘴至冈美之对岸）为止。于此处须更凿一段新运河，以通海洲小河，循古镇水道，以达西江正流，横过之以入于江门支流。此即为广州、江门间直达之运河矣。欲更清晰了解广州河汊之改良，可观附图第十四、第十五。

第三，填筑新地问题。在广州河汊，最有利之企业，为填筑新地。此项进行，已兆始于数百年前。于是其所增新地供农作之用者，岁逾百十顷。但前此所有填筑，仅由私人尽力经营，非有矩矱[7] 。于是有时私人经营，有阻塞航路、诱致洪水等等事情，危及公安；如在磨刀岛上游之填筑工事，闭塞西江正流水路过半，其最著者也。论整治西江，吾意须将此新坦削去。为保护公安计，此河汊之填筑工作，必须归之国家。而其利益，则须以偿因航行及防水灾而改良此水路系统之所费。现在可徐徐填筑之地区，面积极广。在广州河口左岸，可用之地有四十英方里，其右岸有一百四十英方里；在西江河口，东起澳门，西至铜鼓洲，可用之地约二百英方里。此三百八十英方里之中，四分之一可于十年之内填筑成为新坦，即十年之内有九十五英方里之地可以填筑，变为耕地也。以一英方里当六百四十英亩，而一英亩当六亩计，九十五英方里将等于三十六万四千八百亩。而中国此方可耕之地，通常不止值五十元一亩，假以平均五十元一亩算，则此三十六万四千八百亩，已值一千八百二十四万元矣。此大有助于偿还此河汊为航行及防水灾所为改良水路之费也。

b. The West River

The West River is at present navigable for comparatively large river steamers up to Wuchow, a distance of 220 miles by water from Canton, and for small steamers up to Nanning, a distance of 500 miles from Canton, at all

seasons. As for small crafts, the West River is navigable in most of its branches, west to the Yunnan frontier, north to Kweichow, northeast to Hunan and the Yangtze Valley by the Shingan Canal.

In improving the West River for navigation I shall divide the work into subsections as follows:

(1) From Samshui to Wuchow.

(2) From Wuchow to the junction of the Liukiang.

(3) Kweikiang or the North Branch of the West River from Wuchow to Kweilin and beyond.

(4) The South Branch from Shunchow to Nanning.

(1) From Samshui to Wuchow. This part of the West River is generally deep and does not need much improvement for vessels up to ten-foot draught excepting at a few points. The midstream rocks should be blasted and removed and sand banks and dilating parts should be regulated by submerged dikes to secure a uniform channel and to make the velocity of the current even, so that a stable fairway could be maintained all the year round. The traffic of this river would be sufficiently great to pay for all the improvements which we propose to make.

(2) From Wuchow to the Junction of the Liukiang. At this junction, a river port should be built to connect the deep navigation from the sea and the shallow navigation of Hungshui Kiang and the Liukiang which penetrate the rich mineral districts of Northwest Kwangsi and Southwest Kweichow. This port will be about fifty miles from Shunchow which is the junction of the Nanning branch of the river. So here we have only to improve a distance of fifty miles, for the improvement of the river between Shunchow and Wuchow will be included in the plan for the Nanning Port. Dams and locks would be necessary to make this part of the river navigable for ten-foot draught vessels. But these dams at the same time would serve the purpose of producing water power.

乙 西江

现在西江之航行，较大之航河汽船可至距广州二百二十英里之梧州，而较小之汽船则可达距广州五百里之南宁，无间冬夏。至于小船，则可通航于各支流，西至云南边界，北至贵州边界，东北则以兴安运河

通于湖南以及长江流域。

为航行计改良西江，吾将以其工程细分为四：

一、自三水至梧州。

二、自梧州至柳江口。

三、桂江（即西江之北支）由梧州起，溯流至桂林以上。

四、南支自浔州至南宁。

一、自三水至梧州。西江此段，水道常深，除三数处外，为吃水十英尺以下之船航行计，不须多加改良。其中流岩石须行爆去，其沙质之岸及泛滥之部分应以水底堤范之，使水深一律，而流速亦随之。于是有一确实航路，终年保持不替矣。西江所运货载之多，固尽足以偿还吾今所提议改良之一切费用也。

二、自梧州至柳江口。在柳江口应建一商埠，以联红水江及柳江之浅水航运，与通海之航运。此两江实渗入广西之西北部与贵州之东南部丰富之矿产地区者也。此商埠应设于离浔州五十英里之处，浔州即此江与南宁一支合流处也。是故在此项改良，所须着力之处只有五十英里，因梧州至浔州一段，为南宁商埠计划所包括也。为使吃水十英尺以上之船可以航行，必须筑堰，且设水闸于此一部分。而此所设之堰，又同时可借以发生水电也。

(3) Kweikiang or the North Branch of the West River from Wuchow to Kweilin and beyond. As Kweikiang is smaller, shallower and has more rapids along its course, so its improvement will be more difficult than that of the other parts of the waterway. But this will be a very profitable proposition in this Southern waterway project, for this river not only serves the purpose of transportation in this rich territory but will also serve as a passage for through traffic between the Yangtze and the West River valleys. The improvement should commence from the junction at Wuchow up to Kweilin, and thence upward to the Shingan Canal, then downward to the Siang River, and thereby connecting with the Yangtze River. A series of dams and locks should be built for vessels to ascend to the inter-watershed canal and another series should descend on the other side. The expenses of building these two series of dams and locks could not be estimated until accurate surveys are made. But I am sure this project will be a paying one.

(4) From Shunchow to Nanning. This portion of the Yuhkiang is navigable for small steamers up to Nanning, the center of commerce in South

Kwangsi. From Nanning small crafts can navigate through the Yuhkiang as far as the east border of Yunnan, and through Tsokiang as far as the north border of Tongking. If this waterway be improved up to Nanning, then it would be the nearest deep river port for the rich mineral districts of the whole southwest corner of China, which includes the whole province of Yunnan, a greater part of Kweichow and half of Kwangsi. The immediate neighborhood of Nanning is also very rich in minerals, such as antimony, tin, iron, coal and also in agricultural products. So to make Nanning the head of a deep water communication system will be a paying proposition. To improve the waterway up to Nanning, a few dams and locks along its course will have to be built for vessels of ten-foot draught to go up as well as for water power. The expense for this work cannot be estimated without detailed surveys but it would probably be much less than the improvement of Kweikiang from Wuchow to the Shingan Canal.

三、桂江（即西江之北支）由梧州起溯流至桂林以上。桂江较小较浅，而沿江水流又较速，故其改良，比之其他水路更觉困难。然而，此实南方水路规划中，极有利益之案。因此江不特足供此富饶地区运输之目的而已也，又以供扬子江流域与西江流域载货来往孔道[8] 之用。此项改良，应自梧州分歧点起，以迄桂林，由此再溯流至兴安运河，顺流至湘江，因之以达长江。于此当建多数之堰及水闸，使船得升至分水界之运河；他方又须建多数之堰闸，以便其降下。此建堰闸所须之费，非经详细调查，不能为预算也。然而吾有所确信者，则此计划为不亏本之计划也。

四、由浔州至南宁。此右江一部分，上至南宁，可通小轮船。南宁者，广西南部之商业中心也。自南宁起，由右江用小船可通至云南东界，由左江可通至越南东京之北界。如使改良水道，以迄南宁，则南宁将为中国西南隅——云南全省、贵州大半省、广西半省——矿产丰富之全地区之最近深水商埠矣。南宁之直接附近又多产锑、锡、煤、铁等矿物，而同时亦富于农产。则经营南宁，以为深水交通系统之顶点，必不失为有利之计划也。改良迄南宁之水道，沿河稍须设堰及水闸，使吃水十英尺之船可以通航，并资之以生电力。此项工程所费，亦非经详细测量不能预算，但比之改良自梧州至兴安运河一节桂江所费，当必大减矣。

c. The North River

The North River from Samshui to Shiuchow is about 140 miles long.

The greater part of its course is confined in the hilly districts, but after it emerges from the Tsingyuen Gorge it comes into a wide, open country, which connects with the plain of Canton. Here the dangerous floods occur most often. Since the silting up of its proper outlet below Sainam, the North River from that point up to the gorge has become shal- lower every year, so the dikes at the left side, that is, on the side of the plain, often break thus causing the inundation of the whole plain above Canton. Thus the regulation of the river at this part has two aspects to be considered: First, the prevention of floods and second, the improvement for navigation. In dealing with the first aspect nothing could be better than deepening the river by dredging. In the improvement of the Canton Approach and Harbor and also of the Canton Delta, we have to cut a deep channel right from the deep sea up to Sainam. In the improvement of the lower part of the North River, we have simply to continue the cutting process higher up until we have a deep channel, say 15 to 20 feet as far as the Tsingyuen Gorge, either by artificial or natural means. By this deepening of the bottom of the river, the present height of the dikes will be quite enough to protect the plains from being flooded.

In dealing with the second aspect, as we have already deepened the part of the river from Sainam to the Tsingyuen Gorge for flood prevention, we have at the same time solved the navigation question. It has now only the upper part to be dealt with. I propose to make this river navigable up to Shiuchow, the center of commerce as well as the center of the coal and iron fields of Northern Kwangtung. To improve the part above the gorge for navigation, dams and locks should be built in one or two places before a ten-foot draught vessel can ascend up to that point. Although this river is parallel with the Hankow-Canton Railway, yet if the coal and iron fields of Shiuchow are properly developed, a deep waterway will still be needed for cheap transportation of such heavy freight as iron and coal to the coast. So to build dams for water power and to construct locks for navigation in this river will be a profitable undertaking as well as a necessary condition for the development of this part of the country.

d. The East River

The East River is navigable for shallow crafts up to Laolung Sze, a distance of about 170 miles from the estuary at the lower point of Davids Island near Whampoa. Along its upper course, rich iron and coal deposits are

found. Iron has been mined here since time immemorial. At present most of the utensils used in this province are manufactured from the iron mined. So to make a deep navigable waterway up to these iron and coal fields will be most remunerative.

丙 北江

北江自三水至韶州，约长一百四十英里，全河中有大部分为山地所夹。但自出清远峡以后，河流入于广豁之区，其地与广州平原相联，此处危险之水灾常见。自西南下游水道淤塞之后，自峡至西南一段河身逐年变浅，左岸靠平原之基围时时崩决，致广州以上之平原大受水灾。所以整治一部分河流，有二事须加考察：第一，防止洪水；第二，航运改良。关于第一事，无有逾于浚深河身一法者。在改良广州通海路及港面并广州河汊时，吾人应开一深水水路，从深海起，直达西南。在改良北江下段时，吾人只须将此工程加长，溯流直至清远峡，拟使有水深自十五英尺至二十英尺之深水道。其浚此水道，或用人工，或兼用自然之力。既已浚深此河底矣，则即以今日基围之高言，亦足以防卫此平原不使其遭水患矣。

论及此第二事，则既为防止水灾，将西南至清远峡一节之北江浚深，即航行问题同时解决矣。然则今所须商及者，只此上段一部而已。吾欲提议将此北江韶州以下一段改良，令可航行。韶州者，广东省北部之商业中心也，又其煤铁矿之中心也。欲改良此峡上一部令可航行，则须先建堰与水闸于一二处，然后十英尺吃水之船可以航行无碍，直至韶州。虽此江与粤汉铁路平行，然而若此地矿山得有相当开发之后，此等煤铁重货仍须有廉值之运输以达之于海，即此水路为不可缺矣。然则于此河中设堰以生水电，设水闸以利航行，固不失为一有利之企业也，况又为发展此一部分地方之必要条件也。

丁 东江

东江以浅水船航行可达于老龙市，此地离黄埔附近鹿步墟岛东江总出口处约一百七十英里。沿此江上段，所在皆有煤铁矿田。铁矿之开采于此地也，实在于久远之往昔，记忆所不及之年代。在今日全省所用各种铁器之中，实有一大部分，为用此地所出之铁制造之者。是故浚一可航行之深水道，直上至于煤铁矿区中心者，必非无利之业也。

To improve the East River for navigation as well as for flood prevention, I propose to start the work at the lower point of Davids Island as stated in the

improvement of the Canton Approach. From here, a deep channel should be dredged up to Suntang, and a mile above that point a new channel should be opened in the direction of Tungkun city, by connecting the various arms of water between these two places and joining the left branch of the East River immediately above Tungkun city. All other channels leading from this new channel to the Pearl River should be closed up to normal water level so as to make these closed-up channels serve as flood outlets in rainy seasons. Thus by blocking up the rest of the estuaries of the East River, all the water would form one strong current which would dredge the river bottom deeper, and maintain the depth permanently. The body of the river should be trained to a uniform width right along its course up to tidal point, and above this point, the river should be narrowed in proportion to its volume of water. Thus the whole river would dredge itself deep far up above Waichow city. The railway bridge at the south side of Shelung should be made a turning bridge so as to permit large steamers to pass through it. Some sharp turns of the river should be reduced to gentle curves and midstream obstacles should be removed. The portion of the river above Waichow should be provided with dams and locks so as to enable ten-foot draught vessels to ascend as near as possible to the iron and coal fields in the valley.

Part III The Construction of the Southwestern Railway System of China

The southwestern part of China comprises Szechwan, the largest and richest province of China Proper, Yunnan, the second largest province, Kwangsi and Kweichow which are rich in mineral resources, and a part of Hunan and Kwangtung. It has an area of 600,000 square miles, and a population of over 100,000,000. This large and populous part of China is almost untouched by railways, except a French line of narrow gauge from Laokay to Yunnanfu, covering a distance of 290 miles.

改良此东江，一面以防止其水害，一面又便利其航行。吾意欲从鹿步墟岛下游之处着手，于前论广州通海路已述之矣。由此点起，须浚一深水道，上至新塘。自新塘上游约一英里之处，应凿一新水道直达东莞城，而以此悉联东江左边在东莞与新塘间之各支流为一。以此新水道为界，所有自此新水道左岸以迄珠江，中间上述各支流之旧路，悉行闭塞。其闭塞处之高，须约与通常水平相同，而以此已涸之河身，供异日雨期洪水宣流之用。如是，东江之他出口已被一律封闭，则所有之水将汇成强力之水流，此水流即能浚河身使加深，又使全河水深能保其恒久不变也。河身须沿流加以改削，令有一律之河幅，上至潮水能达之处；自此处起，则应按河流之量多寡，以定河身之广狭。如是，则东江将以其自力浚深惠州城以下一段矣。石龙镇南边之铁路桥，应改建为开合铁桥，使大轮船可以往来于其间。东江有急激转弯数处，应改以为缓徐曲线，并将中流沙洲除去。惠州以上一部江流，应加堰与水闸，令吃水十英尺之船，可以上溯至极近于此东江流域煤铁矿田而后已。

第三部 建设中国西南铁路系统

中国西南一部，所包含者：四川，中国本部最大且最富之省分也；云南，次大之省也；广西、贵州，皆矿产最丰之地也；而又有广东、湖南两省之一部。此区面积有六十万英方里，人口过一万万，除由老街至云南府约二百九十英里法国所经营之窄轨铁路外，中国广地众民之此一部，殆全不与铁路相接触也。

There are great possibilities for railway development in this part of the country. A network of lines should radiate fan-like from Canton as pivot to connect every important city and rich mineral field with the Great Southern Port. The construction of railways in this part of China is not only needed for the development of Canton but also is essential for the prosperity of all the southwestern provinces. With the construction of railways rich mines of various kinds could be developed and cities and towns could be built along the lines. Developed lands are still very cheap and undeveloped lands and those with mining possibilities cost almost next to nothing even though not state owned. So if all the future city sites and mining lands be taken up by the government before railway construction is started, the profit would be enormous. Thus no matter how large a sum is invested in railway construction, the payment of its interest and principal will be assured. Besides, the development of Canton as a world port is entirely dependent upon this system of railways. If there be no such network of railway traversing the length and breadth of the southwestern section of China, Canton could not be developed up to our expectations.

The southwestern section of China is very mountainous, except the Canton and Chengtu plains, which have an area of from 3,000 to 4,000 square miles each. The rest of the country is made up almost entirely of hills and valleys with more or less open space here and there. The mountains in the eastern part of this section are seldom over 3,000 feet high but those near the Tibetan frontier generally have an altitude of 10,000 feet or more. The engineering difficulties in building these railways are much greater than those of the northwestern plain. Many tunnels and loops will have to be constructed and so the construction costs of the railway per mile will be greater than in other parts of China.

With Canton as the terminus of this system of railroads, I propose that the following lines be constructed:

a. The Canton-Chungking line via Hunan.

b. The Canton-Chungking line via Hunan and Kweichow.

c. The Canton-Chengtu line via Kweilin and Luchow.

d. The Canton-Chengtu line via Wuchow and Suifu.

e. The Canton-Yunnanfu-Tali-Tengyueh line ending at the Burma border.

f. The Canton-Szemao line.

g. The Canton-Yamchow line ending at Tunghing, on the Annam border.

于此一地区，大有开发铁路之机会。应由广州起，向各重要城市、矿产地引铁路线，成为扇形之铁路网，使各与南方大港相联结。在中国此部建设铁路者，非特为发展广州所必要，抑亦于西南各省全部之繁荣为最有用者也。以建设此项铁路之故，种种丰富之矿产可以开发，而城镇亦可于沿途建之。其既开之地，价尚甚廉，至于未开地及含有矿产之区，虽非现归国有，其价之贱，去不费一钱可得者亦仅一间耳。所以若将来市街用地及矿产地，预由政府收用，然后开始建筑铁路，则其获利必极丰厚。然则不论建筑铁路投资多至若干，可保其偿还本息，必充足有余矣。又况开发广州以为世界大港，亦全赖此铁路系统，如使缺此纵横联属西南广袤之一部之铁路网，则广州亦不能有如吾人所预期之发达矣。

西南地方，除广州及成都两平原地各有三四千英方里之面积外，地皆险峻。此诸地者，非山即谷，其间处处留有多少之隙地。在此区东部，山岳之高，鲜逾三千英尺；至其西部与西藏交界之处，平均高至一万英尺以上。故建此诸铁路之工程上困难，比之西北平原铁路系统，乃至数倍。多数之隧道与凿山路，须行开凿，故建筑之费，此诸路当为中国各路之冠。

吾提议以广州为此铁路系统终点，以建下列之七路：

甲 广州重庆线，经由湖南。

乙 广州重庆线，经由湖南、贵州。

丙 广州成都线，经由桂林、泸州。

丁 广州成都线，经由梧州、叙府。

戊 广州云南大理腾越线，至缅甸边界为止。

己 广州思茅线。

庚 广州钦州线，至安南界东兴为止。

a. The Canton-Chungking Line via Hunan

This line will start from Canton and follow the same direction as the Canton-Hankow line as far as the junction of the Linkiang with the North River. From that point the railroad turns into the valley of Linkiang, and follows the course of the river upward above the city of Linchow. There it crosses the watershed between the Linkiang and the Taokiang and proceeds to Taochow, Hunan. Thence it follows the Taokiang to Yungchow, Paoking, Sinhwa, and Shenchow, and up to Peiho across the boundary of Hunan into Szechwan by Yuyang. From Yuyang the line proceeds across the mountain to Nanchuen, thence to Chungking after crossing the Yangtze. This railway which has a total length of about 900 miles passes through a rich mineral and agricultural country. In the Linchow district north of Kwangtung, rich coal, antimony, and wolfram deposits are found; in southwestern Hunan, tin, antimony, coal, iron, copper and silver; and at Yuyang, east of Szechwan, antimony and quicksilver. Among agricultural products found along this line we may mention sugar, groundnuts, hemp, tung oil, tea, cotton, tobacco, silk, grains, etc. There is also an abundance of timber, bamboo and various kinds of forest products.

b. The Canton-Chungking Line via Hunan and Kweichow

This line is about 800 miles in length, but as it runs in the same track with line (a) from Canton to Taochow, a distance of about 250 miles, it leaves only 550 miles to be accounted for. This line, therefore, actually begins at Taochow, Hunan, and goes through the northeastern corner of Kwangsi passing by Chuanchow, and then through the southwestern corner of Hunan passing by Chengpu and Tsingchow. Thence it enters into Kweichow by Sankiang and Tsingkiang and crosses a range of hill to Chengyuan. From Chengyuan this line has to cross the watershed between Yuan Kiang and Wukiang to Tsunyi. From Tsunyi it will follow the trade route which leads to Kikiang and then crosses the Yangtze by the same

bridge as line (a) to Chungking. This railway will also pass through rich mineral and timber districts.

c. The Canton-Chengtu Line via Kweilin and Luchow

This line is about 1,000 miles long. It runs from Canton directly west to Samshui, where it crosses the North River to the mouth of Suikong. Then, it ascends the valley of the same name to Szewui and Kwongning. Next, it enters into Kwangsi at Waisap, thence to Hohsien and Pinglo. From there it follows the course of the Kweikiang up to Kweilin. Thus the rich iron and coal fields that lie between these two provincial capitals, Canton and Kweilin, will be tapped. From Kweilin the road turns west to Yungning and then proceeds to follow the Liukiang valley into Kweichow province at Kuchow. From Kuchow it goes to Tukiang and Pachai and following the same valley it crosses a range of hills into Pingyueh, thence it goes across the Yuankiang watershed into the Wukiang valley at Wengan and Yosejen. From Yosejen it follows the trade route through Luipien hills to Jenhwai, Chishui, and Nachi. Then it crosses the Yangtzekiang to Luchow. From Luchow, it runs through Lungchang, Neikiang, Tzechow, Tseyang and Kienchow to Chengtu. The last part of the line traverses very rich and populous districts of the famous Red Basin of Szechwan province. The middle portion of this line between Kweilin and Luchow lies in a very rich mineral country which possesses great possibilities for further development. This line will open up a thinly populated part for the crowded districts at both ends of the line.

甲 广州重庆线经由湖南

此线应由广州出发，与粤汉线同方向，直至连江与北江会流之处。自此点起，本路折向连江流域，循连江岸上至连州以上，于此横过连江与道江之分水界，进至湖南之道州。于是随道江以至永州、宝庆、新化、辰州，溯酉水过川、湘之界入于酉阳，由酉阳横过山脉而至南川，从南川渡扬子江而至重庆。此路全长有九百英里，经过富饶之矿区与农区。在广东之北连州之地，已发见丰富之煤矿、铁矿、锑矿、钨矿；于湖南之西南隅，则有锡、锑、煤、铁、铜、银；于四川之酉阳，则有锑与水银。其在沿线之农产物，则吾可举砂糖、花生、大麻、桐油、茶叶、棉花、烟叶、生丝、谷物等等；又复多有竹材、木材及其他一切森林产物。

乙 广州重庆线经由湖南、贵州

此线约长八百英里，但自广州至道州一段即走于甲线之上，凡二百五十英里，故只有五百五十英里计入此线。所以实际从湖南道州起筑，横过广西省东北突出一段，于全州再入湖南西南境，过城步及靖州。于是入贵州界，经三江及清江两地，横过山脉，以至镇远。此线由镇远须横过沅江、乌江之分水界，以至遵义；由遵义则循商人通路，直至綦江，以达重庆。此铁路所经，皆为产出木材、矿物极富之区域。

丙 广州成都线经由桂林、泸州

此线长约一千英里。由广东西行，直至三水在此处之绥江口地点，渡过北江。循绥江流域，经过四会、广宁，次于怀集入广西。经过贺县及平乐，由此处循桂江水流，上达桂林。于是广东、广西两省省城之间，各煤铁矿田可得而开凿矣。自桂林起，路转而西，至于永宁，又循柳江流域，上至贵州边界。越界至古州，由古州过都江及八寨，仍循此河谷而上，逾一段连山至平越。由平越横渡沅江分水界，于瓮安及岳四城，入乌江流域。自岳四城循商人通路逾雷边山至仁怀、赤水、纳溪。于是渡扬子江，以至泸州。自泸州起，经过隆昌、内江、资州、资阳、简州，以达成都。此路最后之一段，横过所谓“四川省之红盆地”，有名富庶之区也。其在桂林、泸州之间，此路中段则富于矿产，为将来开发希望最大者。此路将为其两端人口最密之区，开一土旷人稀之域，以收容之者也。

d. The Canton-Chengtu Line via Wuchow and Suifu

This line is about 1,200 miles in distance. It commences at the west end of the Samshui bridge which crosses the North River at that point for line (c), and following the left bank of the West River enters the Shiuhing Gorge to the Shiuhing city. It passes Takhing, Wuchow, and Tahwang along the same bank. While the river here turns southwestwards the line turns northwestwards to Siangchow and then crosses Liukiang to Liuchow and Kingyuan. Then it goes to Szegenhsien and across the Kwangsi and Kweichow border to Tushan and Tuyun. From Tuyun the line turns more westerly to Kweiyang, the capital of Kweichow Province. Next, it proceeds to Kiensi and Tating and then leaving the Kweichow border at Pichieh it enters Yunnan at Chenhiung. Turning northward to Lohsintu and crossing the Szechwan border at that point, it proceeds to Suifu. From Suifu the road

follows the course of the Minkiang, passes by Kiating and enters the Chengtu plain to Chengtu, the capital of Szechwan. This line runs from one densely populated district to another and passes through a wide strip of thinly populated and undeveloped country in the middle. Along its course many rich iron and coal fields, silver, tin, antimony, and other valuable metal deposits are found.

e. The Canton-Yunnanfu-Tali-Tengyueh Line

This line is about 1,300 miles in length from Canton to the Burma border at Tengyueh. The first 300 miles of the line from Canton to Tahwang will be the same as line (d). From the Tahwang junction this line branches off to Wusuan and following in a general way the course of the Hungshui Kiang passes through Tsienkiang and Tunglan. Then it cuts across the southwestern corner of Kweichow province passing by Sinyihsien and thence enters Yunnan province at Loping and by way of Luliang to Yunnanfu, the capital of the province. From Yunnanfu this line runs through Tsuyung to Tali, then turns southwestwards to Yungchang and Tengyueh ending at the Burma border.

丁 广州成都线经由梧州与叙府

此线长约一千二百英里。自丙线渡北江之三水铁路桥之西端起，循西江之左岸，以入于肇庆峡，至肇庆城。即循此岸，上至德庆、梧州、大湟。在大湟，河身转而走西南，路转而走西北，至象州，渡柳江，至柳州及庆远。于是进至思恩，过桂、黔边界，入贵州，至独山及都匀。自都匀起，此路再折偏西走，至贵州省城之贵阳，次进至黔西及大定。离贵州界于毕节，于镇雄入云南界。北转而至乐新渡，过四川界，入叙府。自叙府起，循岷江而上，至嘉定，渡江，入于成都平原，以至成都。此路起自富庶之区域，迄于富庶之区域，中间经过宽幅之旷土未经开发、人口极稀之地。沿线富有煤、铁矿田，又有银、锡、锑等等贵金属矿。

戊 广州云南大理腾越线

此线长约一千三百英里。起自广州，迄于云南、缅甸边界之腾越。其首段三百英里，自广州至大湟，与丁线相同。自大湟江口分支至武宣，循红水江常道，经迁江及东兰。于是经兴义县，横过贵州省之西南隅入云南省，至罗平，从陆凉一路以至云南省城。自省城经过楚雄，以

至大理。于是折而西南，至永昌，遂至腾越，终于缅甸边界。

At Tunglan, near the Kweichow border in Kwangsi, a branch line of about 400 miles should be projected. This line should follow the Pepan Kiang valley, up to Kotuho, and Weining. Thence it enters Yunnan at Chaotung, and crosses the Yangtze River at Hokeow, where it enters Szechwan. Crossing the Taliang mountain, it goes to Ningyuan. This branch line taps the famous copper field between Chaotung and Ning- yuan, the richest of its kind in China.

The main line running through the length of Kwangsi and Yunnan from east to west, will be of international importance, for at the frontier it will join the Rangoon Bhamo line of the Burmese Railway System. It will be the shortest road from India to China. It will bring the two populous countries nearer to each other than now. By the new way the journey can be made in a few days, whereas by the present sea-route it takes as many weeks.

f. The Canton-Szemao Line

This line to the border of Burma is about 1,100 miles long. It starts from south of Canton, passes Fatshan, Kunshan, and crosses the West River from Taipinghü to Samchowhü. Thence it proceeds to Koming, Sinhing, and Loting. After passing Loting it crosses the Kwangsi border at Pingho, and proceeds to Junghsien and then westward, crossing the Yukiang branch of the West River, to Kweihsien. Thence it runs north of Yukiang to Nanning. At Nanning a branch line of 120 miles should be projected. Following the course of the Tsokiang it goes to Lungchow where it turns southward to Chennankwan on the Tongking border to join the French line at that point. The main line from Nanning proceeds in the same course as the upper Yukiang to Poseh. Then it crosses the border into Yunnan at Poyai, and by way of Pamen, Koukan, Tungtu and Putsitang to Amichow, where it crosses the French Laokay-Yunnan line. From Amichow it proceeds to Linanfu, Shihping and Yuankiang where it crosses the river of the same name. Thence it passes through Talang, Puerhfu and Szemao and finally ends at the border of Burma near the Mekong River. This line taps the rich tin, silver, and antimony deposits of south Yunnan and Kwangsi, while rich iron and coal fields are found right along the whole line. Gold, copper, mercury, and lead are also found in many places. As regards agricultural products, rice and groundnuts are found in great abundance, also camphor, cassia, sugar,

tobacco, and vari- ous kinds of fruits.

在广西之东兰，近贵州边界处，此路应引一支线，约长四百英里。此线应循北盘江流域，上至可渡河与威宁，于昭通入云南，在河口过扬子江。即于此处入四川，横截大凉山，至于宁远。此路所以开昭通、宁远间有名铜矿地之障碍，此项铜矿为中国全国最丰之矿区也。

此路本线，自东至西，贯通桂、滇两省，将来在国际上必见重要。因在此线缅甸界上，当与缅甸铁路系统之仰光、八莫一线相接，将来此即自印度至中国最捷之路也。以此路故，此两人口稠密之大邦，必比现在更为接近。今日由海路，此两地交通须数礼拜者，异时由此新路，则数日而足矣。

己 广州思茅线

此线至缅甸界止，约长一千一百英里。起自广州市西南隅，经佛山、官山，由太平墟渡过西江，至对岸之三洲墟。于是进入高明、新兴、罗定。既守罗定，入广西界，至平河，进至容县。于是西向，渡左江，至于贵县，即循左江之北岸以达南宁。在南宁应设一支线，约长一百二十英里，循上左江水路以至龙州，折而南，至镇南关、安南东京界上止，与法国铁路相接。其本线，由南宁循上右江而上，至于百色。于是过省界入云南，到剥隘，经巴门、高甘、东都、普子塘一路，至阿迷州，截老街、云南铁路而过。由阿迷州进至临安府、石屏、元江。于是渡过元江，通过他郎、普洱及思茅，至缅甸边界近澜沧江处为止。此线穿入云南、广西之南部锡、银、锑三种矿产最富之地，同时沿线又有煤铁矿田至多，复有多地产出金、铜、水银、铅。论其农产，则米与花生均极丰饶，加以樟脑、桂油、蔗糖、烟叶，各种果类。

g. The Canton-Yamchow Line

This line is about 400 miles long measuring from the west end of the Sikiang bridge. Starting from Canton it runs on the tracks of line (f) as far as the farther side of the bridge over the West River. Thence it branches off to the southwest to Hoiping and Yanping, and by way of Yeungchun to Kochow and Fachow. At Fachow, a branch line of 100 miles should be projected to Suikai, Luichow and Haian on the Hainan Straits where, by means of a ferry, it connects with Hainan Island. The mainline continues from Fachow westward to Sheshing, Limchow, Yamchow and ends on the Annam border at Tunghing, where it may connect with a French line to Haiphong. This line

is entirely within the Kwangtung province. It passes through a very populous and productive country. Coal and iron are found along the whole line, while gold and antimony, in some parts. Agricultural products, as sugar, silk, camphor, ramie, indigo, groundnuts, and various kinds of fruits are raised here.

The total length of this system as outlined above is about 6,700 miles. In addition there will be two connecting lines between Chengtu and Chungking; another from east of Tsunyi on line (b) southward to Wengan on line (c); another from Pingyueh on line (c) to Tuyun on line (d); another from the border of Kweichow on line (d) through Nantan and Noti to Tunglan on line (e), thence through Szecheng to Poseh on line (f). These connecting lines total about 600 miles. So the grand total will be about 7,300 miles.

This system will be intersected by three lines. First, the existing French line from Laokay to Yunnanfu with a projected line from Yunnanfu to Chungking crosses line (f) at Amichow, line (e) at Weining, line (d) at Suifu, line (c) at Luchow, and meets lines (a) and (b) at Chungking. Second, the projected British line from Shasi to Sinyi crosses line (a) at Shenchow, line (b) at Chenyuen, line (c) at Pingyueh, line (d) at Kweiyang and a branch of line (e) at a point west of Yungning. Third, the projected American line from Chuchow to Yamchow crosses line (a) at Yungchow, line (b) at Chuanchow, line (c) at Kweilin, line (d) at Liuchow, line (e) at Tsienkiang, line (f) at Nanning, and meets line (g) at Yamchow. Thus, if this system and the three projected French, British, and American lines are completed, Southwestern China would be well provided with railway communications.

庚 广州钦州线

此线从西江铁路桥西首起算，约长四百英里。自广州起，西行至于太平墟之西江铁路，与己线同轨。过江始分支，向开平、恩平，经阳春，至高州及化州。于化州须引一支线，至遂溪、雷州，达于琼州海峡之海安，约长一百英里。于海安再以渡船与琼州岛[9] 联络。其本线，仍自化州西行，过石城、廉州、钦州，达于与安南交界之东兴为止。东兴对面芒街至海防之间，将来有法国铁路可与相接。此线全在广东省范围之内，经过人口多、物产富之区域，线路两旁皆有煤铁矿，有数处产金及锑，农产则有蔗糖、生丝、樟脑、苎麻、靛青、花生及种种果类。

此系统内各线，如上所述，约六千七百英里。此外须加以联络成都、重庆之两线。又须另设一线，起自乙线遵义之东，向南行至瓮安，

与丙线接；又一线自丙线之平越起，至丁线之都匀；又一线由丁线贵州界上一点，经南丹、那地，以至戊线之东兰，再经泗城，以至己线之百色。此联络各线，全长约六百英里。故总计应有七千三百英里。

此系统将于下文所举三线经济上大有关系：一、法国经营之老街、云南府已成线，及云南府、重庆计划线。此线与己线交于阿迷州，与戊线交于威宁，与丁线交于叙府，与丙线交于泸州，而与甲乙两线会于重庆。二、英国经营之沙市、兴义计划线。此线与甲线交于辰州，与乙线交于镇远，与丙线交于平越，与丁线交于贵阳，而于戊线之支线交于永定西方之一点。三、美国经营之株洲、钦州计划线。此线与甲线交于永州，乙线交于全州，丙线交于桂林，丁线交于柳州，戊线交于迁江，己线交于南宁，而与庚线会于钦州。所以此法、英、美三线，与本系统各线，一律完成之后，中国西南各省之铁道交通可无缺少矣。

All these lines will run through the length and breadth of a vast mineral country, in which most of the essential and valuable metals of the world are found. There is no place in the world which possesses as here so many varieties of rare metals, such as wolfram, tin, antimony, silver, gold, and platinum and at the same time so richly provided with the common but essential metals, such as copper, lead, and iron. Furthermore, almost every district in this region is abundantly provided with coal, so much so that there is a common saying: "Mu mei pu lih cheng," that is, "Nobody would build a city where there is no coal underneath." The idea was that in case of a siege those within the city might obtain fuel from under the ground. In Szechwan, petroleum and natural gas are also found in abundance.

Thus, we see that this Southwestern Railway System for the development of mineral resources in the mountainous regions of Southwestern China is just as important as the Northwestern Railway System is for the development of agricultural resources in the vast prairies of Mongolia and Turkestan. These railway systems are a necessity to the Chinese people and a very profitable undertaking to foreign capitalists. They are of about equal length, viz.—about 7,000 miles. The cost per mile of the Southwestern System will be at least twice that of the Northwestern System, but the remuneration from the development of mineral resources will be many times that from the development of agricultural resources.

Part IV The Construction of Coast Ports and Fishing Harbors

After planning the three world ports on the coast of China, it is time for me to go on and deal with the development of second- and third-class seaports and fishing harbors along the whole coast in order to complete a system of seaports for China. Recently, my projected plan of the Great Northern Port was so enthusiastically received by the people of Chihli Province that the Provincial Assembly has approved the project and decided to carry it out at once as a provincial undertaking. For this object, a loan of $40,000,000 has been voted. This is an encouraging sign and doubtless the other projects will be taken up sooner or later by either the provinces or the Central Government, when the people begin to realize their necessity. I propose that four second-class seaports and nine third-class seaports and numerous fishing harbors should be constructed.

此诸线皆经过广大且长之矿产地，其地有世界上有用且高价之多种金属。世界中无有如此地含有丰富之稀有金属者，如钨、如锡、如锑、如银、如金、如白金等等；同时又有虽甚普通而尤有用之金属，如铜、如铁、如铅。抑且每一区之中，均有丰裕之煤。南方俗语有云：“无煤不立城。”盖谓预计城被围时，能于地中取炭，不事薪采，此可见其随在有煤产出也。四川省又有石油矿及自然煤气（火井），极为丰裕。

是故吾人得知，以西南铁路系统开发西南山地之矿产利源，正与以西北铁路系统开发蒙古、新疆大平原之农产利源，同其重要。此两铁路系统，于中国人民为最必要，而于外国投资者又为最有利之事业也。论两系统之长短，大略相同，约七千英里。此西南系统，每英里所费平均须在彼系统两部以上，但以其开发矿产利源之利益言，又视开发农产利源之利益更多数倍也。

第四部 建设沿海商埠及渔业港

既于中国海岸为此三世界大港之计划，今则已至进而说及发展二三等海港及渔业港于沿中国全海岸，以完成中国之海港系统之机会矣。近日以吾北方大港计划为直隶省人民所热心容纳，于是省议会赞同此计划，而决定作为省营事业立即举办，以此目的，经已票决募债四千万元。此为一种猛进之征兆。而其他规划，亦必或早或晚，或由省营，或由国营，随于民心感其必要，次第采用。吾意则须建四个二等海港、九个三等海港及十五个渔业港。

The four second-class seaports will be arranged so as to be placed in the following manner: one on the extreme north, one on the extreme south, and the other two midway between the three great world ports.

I shall deal with them according to the order of their future importance as follows:

a. Yingkow.

b. Haichow.

c. Foochow.

d. Yamchow.

a. Yingkow

Yingkow is situated at the head of the Liaotung Gulf and was once the only seaport of Manchuria. Since the improvement of Talien as a seaport, the trade of Yingkow has dwindled and lost half of its former business. As a seaport, Yingkow has two disadvantages, first, the shallowness of its approach from the sea and second, the blocking up by ice for several months in winter. Its only advantages over Talien is that it is situated at the mouth of the Liaoho and has inland water communication throughout the Liao valley in south Manchuria. The half of the former trade that it still holds at present against Talien is entirely due to the inland water facility. To make Yingkow outmatch Talien again in the future and become first in importance after the three great world ports, we must improve its inland water communication, as well as deepen its approach from the sea. In regard to the improvement of the

approach work similar to the improvement of the Canton Approach should be adopted. Besides the construction of a deep channel, about twenty feet in depth, reclamation work should be carried out at the same time. For, the shallow and extensive swamp at the head of the Liaotung Gulf could be turned into rice-producing land from which great profit could be derived. Regarding the inland water communication, not only the water system in the Liao valley but also the Sungari and the Amur Systems have to be improved. The most important work is the construction of a canal to connect these systems and this I shall now discuss in the next paragraph.

The Liaoho-Sungari Canal is the most important factor in the future prosperity of Yingkow. It is by this canal only that this port can be made the most important of the second-class seaports in China and further the vast forest lands, the virgin soil and the rich mineral resources of North Manchuria can be connected by water communication with Yingkow. So this canal is all important for Yingkow, without which Yingkow as a seaport could at most hold her present position, a town of 60,000 to 70,000 inhabitants and an annual trade of $30,000,000 to $40,000,000 only and could never gain a place as the first of the second-class seaports in China. This canal can be cut either south of Hwaiteh in a line parallel to the South Manchurian Railway between Fan Kia Tun and Sze Tung Shan, a distance of less than ten miles, or north of Hwaiteh in a line between Tsing-shan-pao and Kaw-shan-tun, a distance of about fifteen miles. In the former case the canal is shorter but it makes the waterway as a whole longer, while in the latter case, the canal is about twice as long but it makes the waterway as a whole shorter between the two systems. In either line, there are no impassable physical obstacles. Both lines are on the plain but the elevation of the one may be higher than that of the other, which is the only factor that will determine the choice between the two. If this canal is constructed, then the rich provinces of Kirin and Heilungkiang and a portion of Outer Mongolia will be brought within direct water communication with China Proper. At present, all water traffic has to go by way of the Russian Lower Amur, then round a great detour of the Japan Sea before reaching China Proper. This canal will not only be a great necessity to Yingkow as a seaport, but will also have a great bearing on the whole Chinese nation economically and politically. With the Liaoho-Sungari Canal completed Yingkow will be the grand terminus of the inland waterway system of all Manchuria and Northeastern Mongolia; and with the approach from the sea deepened it will

also be a seaport next in importance only to the three first-class world ports.

此四个二等海港，应以下列之情形配置之，即一在北极端，一在南极端，其他之港则间在此三世界大港之间。

此项港口，按其将来重要之程度排列之如下：

甲 营口。

乙 海州。[10]

丙 福州。

丁 钦州。

甲 营口

营口位于辽东湾之顶上，昔者尝为东三省之唯一海港矣。自改建大连为一海港以后，营口商业大减，昔日之事业殆失其半。以海港论，营口之不利有二：一为其由海入口之通路较浅，二为冬期冰锢至数月之久。而其胜于大连唯一之点，则为位置在辽河之口，拥有内地交通遍及于南满辽河流域之内；其所以仍保有昔时贸易之半与大连抗者，全以其内地水路之便也。欲使营口将来再能凌驾大连而肩随[11] 于前言三世界大港之后，吾人必须一面改良内地水路交通，一面浚深其达海之通路。关于通路改良之工程，当取与改良广州通海路相同的方法，既设一水深约二十英尺之深水道，而又同时行填筑之工程。盖以辽东湾头广而浅之沼地，可以转为种稻之田，借之可得甚丰之利润也。至于内地水路交通，则不独辽河一系，即松花江、黑龙江两系统亦应一并改良。其最重要之工程，则为凿一运河，联此各系统，此则吾当继此有所讨论。

辽河与松花江间之运河，于将来营口之繁荣，实为最要分子。惟有由此运河，此港始能成为中国二等海港中最重要者。而在将来，此北满之伟大森林地及处女壤土丰富矿源，可以以水路交通与营口相衔接也。所以为营口计，此运河为最重要；使其缺此，则营口之为一海港也，最多不过保其现在之位置，人口六、七万，全年贸易三、四千万元，极矣，无由再占中国二等海港首位之益矣。此运河可凿之于怀德以南，范家屯与四童山之间，与南满铁路平行，其长不及十英里；亦可凿之于怀德以北，青山堡与靠山屯之间，其长约十五英里。在前一线，所凿者短，而以全水路计则长；在后一线，运河之长几倍前者，而计此两江系统间之全水路则较短。两线均无不可逾越之物质的障碍，二者俱在平原，但其中一线高于海面上之度或较他一线为多，则将来择用于二者间唯一之取决点也。若此运河既经开竣，则吉林、黑龙江两富省及外蒙古

之一部，皆将因此与中国本部可以水路交通相接，然则此运河不特营口之为海港大有需要焉也，又与中国全国国民政治上、经济上亦大有关系。辽河、松花江运河完成以后，营口将为全满洲与蒙古东北部内地水路系统之大终点。而通海之路既经浚深以后，彼又将为重要仅亚于三大港之海港矣。

b. Haichow

Haichow is situated on the eastern edge of the central plain of China. This plain is one of the most extensive and fertile areas on earth. As a seaport, Haichow is midway between the two great world ports along the coast line, namely the Great Northern and the Great Eastern Ports. It has been made as the terminus of the Hailan railway, the trunk line of central China from east to west. Haichow also possesses the facility of inland water communication. If the Grand Canal and the other waterway systems are improved, it will be connected with the Hoangho Valley in North China, the Yangtze Valley in Central China, and the Sikiang Valley in South China. Its deep sea approach is comparatively good, being the only spot along the 250 miles of the North Kiangsu coast that could be reached by ocean steamers to within a few miles of the shore. To make Haichow a seaport for 20 feet draught vessels, the approach has to be dredged for many miles from the mouth of the river before the four fathom line could be reached. Although possessing better advantages than Yingkow, in being ice free, Haichow, as a second-class seaport, has to be content to take a second place after Yingkow, because she does not have as vast a hinterland as Yingkow, nor such a monopolistic position in regard to inland water communication.

乙 海州

海州位于中国中部平原东陲，此平原者，世界中最广大肥沃之地区之一也。海州以为海港，则刚在北方大港与东方大港二大世界港之间，今已定为东西横贯中国中部大干线海兰铁路之终点。海州又有内地水运交通之利便，如使改良大运河其他水路系统已毕，则将北通黄河流域，南通西江流域，中通扬子江流域。海州之通海深水路，可称较善。在沿江北境二百五十英里海岸之中，只此一点，可以容航洋巨舶逼近岸边数英里内而已。欲使海州成为吃水二十英尺之船海港，须先浚深其通路至离河口数英里外，然后可得四英寻深之水。海州之比营口，少去结冰，大为优越；然仍不能不甘居营口之下者，以其所控腹地不如营口之宏

大，亦不如彼在内地水运上有独占之位置也。

c. Foochow

Foochow, the capital of Fukien Province, ranks third among our second-class seaports. Foochow is already a very large city, its inhabitants being nearly a million. It is situated at the lower reach of the Min River, about 30 miles from the sea. The hinterland of this port is confined to the Min Valley with an area of about 30,000 square miles. The territory beyond this valley will be commanded by other coast or river ports, so the area commanded by this port is much smaller than that by Haichow. Consequently, it could be given only the third place in the category of second-class seaports. The Foochow approach from the Outer Bar to Kinpei Entrance is very shallow. After this Entrance is passed, the river is confined on both sides by high hills and becomes narrow and deep right up to Pagoda Anchorage.

I propose that a new port should be constructed at the lower part of Nantai Island. For here land is cheap and there will be plenty of room for modern improvement. A locked basin for shipping could be constructed at the lower point of Nantai Island, just above Pagoda Anchorage. The left branch of the Min River above Foochow City should be blocked up so as to concentrate the current to flush the harbor at the south side of Nantai. The blocked-up channel on the north side of that island should be left to be reclaimed by natural process or may be used as a tidal basin to flush the channel below Pagoda Anchorage, if it is found necessary. The upper Min River must be improved as far as possible for inland water traffic. Its lower reach from Pagoda Anchorage to the sea must be trained and regulated to secure a through channel of 30 feet or more to the open sea. Thus Foochow could also be made a calling port for ocean liners that ply between the world ports.

d. Yamchow

Yamchow is situated at the head of Tongking Gulf in the extreme south of the China Coast. This city is about 400 miles west of Canton—the Great Southern Port. All the districts lying west of Yamchow will find their way to the sea by this port 400 miles shorter than by Canton. As sea transportation is commonly known to be twenty times cheaper than rail transportation, the shortening of a distance of 400 miles to the sea means a great deal

economically to the provinces of Szechuan, Yunnan, Kweichow, and a part of Kwangsi. Although Nanning, an inland water port, lying northwest of Yamchow, is much nearer to the hinterland than Yamchow, yet it could not serve this hinterland as a seaport. So all the direct import and export trade will find Yamchow the cheapest shipping stage.

丙 福州

福建省城在吾二等海港中居第三位。福州今日已为一大城市，其人口近一百万，位于闽江之下游，离海约三十英里。此港之腹地，以闽江流域为范围，面积约三万方英里。至于此流域以外之地区，将归他内河商埠或他海港所管，故此港所管地区又狭于海州。所以以顺位言，二等海港之中，此港应居第三位。福州通海之路，自外闩洲以至金牌口，水甚浅；自金牌口而上，两岸高山夹之，既窄且深，直至于罗星塔下。

吾拟建此新港于南台岛之下游一部，以此地地价较贱，而施最新改良之余地甚多也。容船舶之锁口水塘，应建设于南台岛下端，近罗星塔处。闽江左边一支，在福州城上游处应行闭塞，以集中水流，为冲刷南台岛南边港面之用。其所闭故道，绕南台岛北边者，应留待自然填塞，或遇有必要，改作蓄潮水塘（收容潮涨时之水，俟潮退时放出，以助冲洗港内浮沙），以冲洗罗星塔以下一节水道。闽江上段，应加改良，人力所能至之处为止，以供内地水运之用。其下一段，自罗星塔以至于海，必须范围整治之，以求一深三十英尺以上之水道，达于公海。于是福州可为两世界大港间航洋汽船之一寄港地矣。

丁 钦州

钦州位于东京湾之顶，中国海岸之最南端。此城在广州即南方大港之西四百英里。凡在钦州以西之地，将择此港以出于海，则比经广州可减四百英里。通常皆知海运比之铁路运价廉二十倍，然则节省四百英里者，在四川、贵州、云南及广西之一部言之，其经济上受益为不小矣。虽其北亦有南宁以为内河商埠，比之钦州更近腹地，然不能有海港之用，所以直接输出入贸易，仍以钦州为最省俭之积载地也。

To improve Yamchow as a seaport the Lungmen River should be regulated in order to secure a deep channel to the city, and the estuary should be deepened by dredging and training to provide a good approach to the port. This port has been selected as the terminus of the Chuchow Yamchow Railway (Chu-Kin line) which will run from Hunan through Kwangsi into

Kwangtung. Although the hinterland of this port is much larger than that of Foochow, yet I still rank it after that city because the area commanded by it is also commanded by Canton, the southern world port, and by Nanning, the river port, and so all internal as well as indirect import and export trade must go to the other two ports. It is only the direct foreign trade that will use Yamchow. Thus, in spite of its extensive hinterland it is very improbable that it could outmatch Foochow in the future as a second-class port.

Besides the three great world ports, and the four second-class ports, I propose to construct nine third-class ports along the China coast, from north to south, as follows:

a. Hulutao.	b. Hoangho Port.	c. Chefoo.
d. Ningpo.	e. Wenchow.	f. Amoy.
g. Swatow.	h. Tienpak.	i. Hoihou.

a. Hulutao

Hulutao is an ice-free and deep-water port, situated on the west side of the head of Liaotung Gulf, about 60 miles from Yingkow. As a winter port for Manchuria, it is in a more advantageous position than Talien for it is about 200 miles shorter by rail to the sea than the latter and is on the edge of a rich coal field. When this coal field and the surrounding mineral resources are developed, Hulutao will become the first of the third-class ports and a good outlet for Jehol and Eastern Mongolia. This port may be projected as an alternative to Yingkow, as the sole port of Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, if a canal could be constructed to connect it with the Liaoho. It is only by inland water communication that Yingkow could be made the important port of Manchuria in the future and it will be the same in the case of Hulutao. So if inland water communication could be secured for Hulutao it will entirely displace Yingkow. If it is found to be economically cheaper in the long run to construct a Hulutao-Liaoho Canal than to construct a deep harbor at Yingkow, the Hulutao harbor will have to be placed on the northwest side of the peninsula instead of on the southwest as at present projected. For the present site has not enough room for anchorage without building an extensive breakwater into the deep sea, which will be a very expensive work. Furthermore, there would not be room enough for city planning on the

narrow peninsula, whereas on the other side, the city could be built on the mainland with unlimited space for its development.

改良钦州以为海港，须先整治龙门江，以得一深水道直达钦州城。其河口当浚深之，且范之以堤，令此港得一良好通路。此港已选定为通过湘、桂入粤之株钦铁路之终点。虽其腹地较之福州为大，而吾尚置之次位者，以其所管地区，同时又为广州世界港、南宁内河港所管，所以一切国内贸易及间接输出入贸易皆将为他二港所占，惟有直接贸易始利用钦州耳。是以腹地虽广，于将来二等港中，欲凌福州而上，恐或不可能也。

此三个世界大港、四个二等港之外，吾拟于中国沿海，建九个三等港，自北至南如下：[12]

甲 葫芦岛。	乙 黄河港。	丙 芝罘。
丁 宁波。	戊 温州。	己 厦门。
庚 汕头。	辛 电白。	壬 海口。

甲 葫芦岛

此岛为不冻深水港，位于辽东湾顶西侧，离营口约六十英里。论东三省之冬期港，此港位置远胜大连，以其到海所经铁路较彼短二百英里，又在丰富煤田之边沿也。当此煤田及其附近矿产既开发之际，葫芦岛将为三等港中之首出者，为热河及东蒙古之良好出路。此港又可计划之，以为东蒙古及满洲全部之商港，以代营口，但须建一运河以与辽河相连耳。将来惟有由内地水路交通可以成一重要商港，而葫芦岛恰亦与之相同，所以葫芦岛若得内地水路交通，自然可代营口而兴。如使确知于此凿长距离运河，以通葫芦岛于辽河，比之建一深水港面于营口，经济上更为廉价，则葫芦岛港面应置之于此半岛之西北边，不如今之计划置之半岛之西南。盖今日之位置，不足以多容船舶碇泊，除非建一广大之防波堤直入深海中，此工程所费又甚多也。且此狭隘之半岛，又不足以容都市规划，若其在他一边，则市街可建于本陆，有无限之空隙容其发展也。

I suggest that a sea wall be built from the northern point of Lienshanwan to the northern point of Hulutao to close up the Lienshan Bay and make it into a closed harbor, and an entrance be opened in the neck of Hulutao to the south side where deep water is found. This closed harbor will be over 10

square miles in extent but only some parts need to be dredged to the required depth at present. On the north side of the harbor, another entrance into the neighboring bay should be left open between the sea wall and the shore, and another breakwater should be built across the next bay. From there, a canal should be constructed either by cutting into the shore or by building a wall parallel with the coast line until it reaches the lowland from where a canal should be cut to connect with the Liaoho. If a canal is thus constructed for Hulutao, then it will at once take the place of Yingkow and become the first of the second-class ports.

b. The Hoangho Port

The Hoangho Port will be situated at the estuary of the Hoangho on the southern side of the Gulf of Pechihli, about 80 miles from our Great Northern Port. When the Hoangho regulation is completed its estuary will be approachable by ocean steamers, and a seaport will naturally spring up there. As it commands a considerable part of the northern plain in the provinces of Shantung, Chihli, and Honan and possesses the facility of inland water communication, this port is bound to become an important third-class port.

吾意须自连山湾之北角起，筑一海堤，至于葫芦岛之北端，以闭塞连山湾，使成为锁口港面。在葫芦岛之颈部，开一口，向南方深水处；此闭塞港面，应有十英方里之广。但此中现在只有一部分须浚至所求之深。在此港面北方，须另留一出口，介于海堤、海岸之间，以通其邻近海湾。并须另建一防波堤，横过第二海湾。由该处起，应建一运河，或凿之于海岸线内，或建一海堤与海岸线平行，至与易凿之低地连接为止。再由该地开凿运河，与辽河相连。如能为葫芦岛凿此运河，则此岛立能取营口而代之，居二等港首位矣。

乙 黄河港

此港将位于黄河河口北直隶湾之南边，离吾人之北方大港约八十英里。当整治黄河工程已完成之日，此河口将得为航洋汽船所经由，自然有一海港萌芽于是。以是所管北方平原在直隶、山东、河南各省有相当之部分，而又益以内地水运交通，所以此港欲不成为重要三等海港，亦不可得矣。

c. Chefoo

Chefoo is an old treaty port situated on the northern side of the Shantung Peninsula. Once it was the only ice-free port in the whole of North China. Since the development of Talien in the north and the development of Tsingtau in the south its trade has dwindled considerably. As a seaport, it will undoubtedly hold its own when the railroads in the Shantung Peninsula are developed, and the artificial harbor is completed.

d. Ningpo

Ningpo is also an old treaty port, situated on a small river, the Yungkiang, in the eastern part of Chekiang province. It has a good approach, deep water reaching right up to the estuary of the river. The harbor can be easily improved by simply training and straightening two bends along its course up to the city. Ningpo commands a very small but rich hinterland. Its people are very enterprising, and are famed for their workmanship and handicrafts second only to those of Canton. Thus Ningpo is bound to become a manufacturing city when China is industrially developed. But owing to the proximity of the Great Eastern Port, Ningpo will not likely have much import and export trade directly with foreign countries. Most of its trade will be carried on with the Great Eastern Port. So a moderate harbor for local and coast-wise traffic will be quite sufficient for Ningpo.

e. Wenchow

Wenchow is situated near the mouth of the Wukiang in south Chekiang. This seaport has a wider hinterland than Ningpo, its surrounding districts being very productive. If railroads are developed it will undoubtedly command considerable local trade. At present the harbor is very shallow, unapproachable by even moderate-sized coastal steamers. I suggest that a new harbor at Panshiwei, north of Wenchow Island be constructed. For this purpose, a dike should be built between the northern bank and the head of Wenchow Island to block up the river entirely on the northern side of that island leaving only a lock entrance. The Wukiang should be led through the channel on the south side of the island for the purpose of reclaiming the vast expanse of the near-by shallows as well as for draining the upper stream. The approach from the southern side of Hutau Island to the port should be dredged. On the right side of the approach, a wall should be built in the shallow between Wenchow Island and Miau Island and in the shallows

between Miau Island and Sanpam Island so as to form a continuous wall to prevent the silt of Wukiang from entering into the approach. Thus a permanent deep channel will be secured for the new port of Wenchow.

丙 芝罘

芝罘为老条约港[13]，位于山东半岛之北侧，尝为全中国北部之惟一不冻港矣。自其北方有大连开发，南方又有青岛兴起，其贸易遂与之俱减。以海港论，如使山东半岛之铁路得其开发，而筑港之工程又已完毕，则此港自有其所长。

丁 宁波

宁波亦一老条约港也，位于浙江省之东方，甬江一小河之口。此地有极良通海路，深水直达此河之口。此港极易改良，只须范之以堤，改直其沿流两曲处，直抵城边。宁波所管腹地极小，然而极富，其人善企业，其以工作手工知名，肩随于广州。中国之于实业上得发展者，宁波固当为一制造之城市也。但以东方大港过近之故，宁波与外国直接之出入口贸易未必能多，此种贸易多数归东方大港。故以宁波计，有一相当港面以为本地及沿岸载货之用，亦已足矣。

戊 温州

温州在浙江省之南，瓯江之口。此港比之宁波，其腹地较广，其周围之地区皆为生产甚富者，如使铁路发展，必管有相当之地方贸易无疑。现在港面极浅，中等沿岸商船已不能进出。吾意须于盘石卫即温州岛之北（温州岛者，瓯江口之小岛，非温州城）建筑新港。由此目的，须建一堰于北岸与温州岛北端之间，使此岛北之河流完全闭塞，单留一闭锁之入口。至于瓯江，应引之循南水道，经温州岛，使其填塞附近浅地之大区，而又以范上段水流也。其自虎头岛南边以至此港之通路，应行浚深。在此通路右，应于温州岛与尾妖岛之间浅处，及尾妖岛与三盘岛各浅处之间建堤。于是成一连堤，可以防瓯江沙泥不令侵入此通路。如此，然后温州新港可以得一恒常深水道也。

f. Amoy

Amoy, an old treaty port, is situated on the island of Siming. It has a great, deep, and fine harbor, commanding a considerable hinterland in southern Fukien and Kiangsi, very rich in coal and iron deposits. This port

carries on a busy trade with the Malay Archipelago and the Southeastern Asian Peninsula. Most of the Chinese residents in the southern islands, Annam, Burma, Siam, and the Malay States are from the neighborhood of Amoy. So the passenger traffic between Amoy and the southern colonies is very great. If railways are developed to tap the rich iron and coal fields in the hinterland, Amoy is bound to develop into a much larger seaport than it is at present. I suggest that a modern port be constructed on the west side of the harbor to act as an outlet for the rich mineral fields of southern Fukien and Kiangsi. This port should be equipped with modern plants in order to connect land and sea transportation.

g. Swatow

Swatow is situated at the mouth of the Hankiang at the extreme east of Kwangtung. In relation to emigration, Swatow is much similar to Amoy, for it also supplies a great number of colonists to southeastern Asia and the Malay Archipelago. So its passenger traffic with the south is just as busy as Amoy. As a seaport Swatow is far inferior to Amoy, on account of its shallow approach. But in regard to inland water communication, Swatow is in a better position as the Hankiang is navigable for many hundreds of miles inland by shallow crafts. The country around Swatow is very productive agriculturally, being second only to the Canton Delta along the Southern seaboard. In the upper reaches of the Hankiang there are very rich iron and coal deposits. The approach to the port of Swatow can be improved easily by a little training and dredging, thus making it a fine local port.

h. Tienpak

Tienpak is situated at a point in the coast of Kwangtung province between the estuary of the West River and the island of Hainan. Its surrounding districts are rich in agricultural products and mineral deposits. So a shipping port in this part is quite necessary. Tienpak can be made into a fine harbor by entirely walling in the bay from its west side and by opening a new entrance into the deep water in the neck of the peninsula southeast of the bay. Thus a good approach could be secured. The harbor is very wide but only a part need be dredged for large vessels and the rest of the space could be used by fishing boats and other shallow crafts.

己 厦门

此亦一老条约港也，在于思明岛。厦门有深广且良好之港面，管有相当之腹地，跨福建、江西两省之南部，富于煤铁矿产。此港经营对马来群岛及南亚细亚半岛之频繁贸易，所有南洋诸岛、安南、缅甸、暹罗、马来各邦之华侨，大抵来自厦门附近，故厦门与南洋之间载客之业极盛。如使铁路已经发展，穿入腹地煤铁矿区，则厦门必开发而为比现在更大之海港。吾意须于此港面之西方建新式商埠，以为江西、福建南部丰富矿区之一出口。此港应施以新式设备，使能联陆海两面之运输以为一气。

庚 汕头

汕头在韩江[14]口，广东省极东之处。以移民海外之关系，汕头与厦门极相类似，以其亦供大量之移民于东南亚细亚及马来群岛也。故其与南洋来往船客之频繁，亦不亚厦门。以海港论，汕头大不如厦门，以其入口通路之浅也。然以内地水运论，则汕头为较胜，以用浅水船则韩江可航行者数百英里地。围汕头之地，农产极盛，在南方海岸能追随广州河汉者，独此地耳。韩江上一段，煤铁矿极富。汕头通海之路，只须少加范围浚渫之功，易成为一地方良港也。

辛 电白

此港在广东省海岸、西江河口与海南岛间当中之点。其周围地区富于农产、矿田，则此地必须有一商港，以供船运之用矣。如使以堤全围绕电白湾之西边，另于湾之东南半岛颈地开一新出入口，以达深海，则电白可成一佳港面，而良好通路亦可获得矣。港面本甚宽阔，但有一部须加浚渫，以容巨船，其余空隙则留供渔船及其他浅水船之用。

i. Hoihou

Hoihou is situated on the north side of Hainan Island on the strait of the same name, opposite Haian on the Luichow Peninsula. Hoihou is a treaty port, similar to Amoy and Swatow, supplying a great number of colonists to the south; Hainan is a very rich but undeveloped island. Only the land along the coast is cultivated, the central part being still covered by thick forests and inhabited by aborigines, and it is very rich in mineral deposits. When the whole island is fully developed, the port of Hoihou will be a busy harbor for export and import traffic. The harbor of Hoihou is very shallow, and so even

small vessels have to anchor miles away in the roadstead outside. This is very inconvenient for passengers and cargoes, so the improvement of the Hoihou harbor is a necessity. Furthermore this harbor will be the ferry point between this island and the mainland for railway traffic when the railway systems of the mainland and the island are completed.

Fishing Harbors

As regards fishing harbors all our first-, second-, and third-class ports must also furnish facilities and accommodations for fishery. Thus all of these, i.e., three first-class ports, four second-class ports, and nine third-class ports, will be fishing harbors as well. But besides these sixteen ports there is still room and need to construct more fishing harbors along the coast of China. I propose, therefore, that five fishing harbors be constructed along the northern coast, that is, along the coast of Fengtien, Chihli, and Shantung, as follows:

(1) Antung, on Yalu River, on the border of Korea.

(2) Haiyangtao, on the Yalu Bay, south of Liaotung Peninsula.

(3) Chinwangtao, on the coast of Chihli, between the Liaotung and Pechihli gulfs, the present ice-free port of Chihli province.

(4) Lungkau, on the northwestern side of Shantung Peninsula.

(5) Shitauwan, at the southeastern point of the Shantung Peninsula.

Six fishing harbors should be constructed along the eastern coast, that is, along the coasts of Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Fukien, as follows:

(6) Shinyangkang, on the eastern coast of Kiangsu, south of the old mouth of the Hoangho.

壬 海口

此港位于海南岛之北端，琼州海峡之边，与雷州半岛之海安相对。海口与厦门、汕头俱为条约港，巨额之移民赴南洋者，皆由此出，而海南固又甚富而未开发之地也。已耕作者仅有沿海一带地方，其中央犹为茂密之森林，黎人所居，其藏矿最富。如使全岛悉已开发，则海口一港，将为出入口货辐辏[15] 之区。海口港面极浅，即行小船，犹须下锚于数英里外之泊船地，此于载客、载货均不大便。所以海口港面必须改良。况此港面，又以供异日本陆及此岛铁路完成之后，两地往来接驳货僦[16] 之联络船码头之用也。

于渔业港一层，吾前所述之头二三等海港均须兼为便利适合渔业之设备，即三个头等港、四个二等港、九个三等港皆同时为渔业港也。然除此十六港以外，中国沿岸仍有多建渔业港之余地，抑且有其必要。故吾意在北方奉天、直隶、山东三省海岸，应设五渔业港如下：

一、安东[17]：在高丽交界之鸭绿江。

二、海洋岛：在鸭绿湾辽东半岛之南。

三、秦皇岛：在直隶海岸辽东湾与直隶湾之间，现在直隶省之独一不冻港也。

四、龙口：在山东半岛之西北方。

五、石岛湾：在山东半岛之东南角。

东部江苏、浙江、福建三省之海岸，应建六渔业港如下：

六、新洋港：在江苏省东陲，旧黄河口南方。

(7) Luszekang, at the northern point of the Yangtze Estuary.

(8) Changtukang, in the midst of Chusan Archipelago.

(9) Shipu, north of Sammen Bay, east of Chekiang.

(10) Funing, between Foochow and Wenchow, east of Fukien.

(11) Meichow Harbor, north of Meichow Island, between Foochow and Amoy.

Four fishing harbors should be constructed on the southern coast, that is, along the seaboard of Kwangtung and Hainan Island, as follows.

(12) Sanmei, on the eastern coast of Kwangtung, between Hongkong and Swatow.

(13) Sikiang Mouth. This harbor should be on the northern side of Wangkum Island. When the Sikiang Mouth is regulated, the Wangkum Island will be connected with the mainland by a sea wall, so a good harbor site could thus be provided.

(14) Haian, situated at the end of the Luichow Peninsula opposite to Hoihou, on the other side of Hainan Strait.

(15) Yulinkang a fine natural harbor at the extreme south of the Hainan Island.

These fifteen fishing harbors with the greater ports, numbering 31 in all,

will link up the whole coast line of China from Antung, on the Korean border to Yamchow, near the Annam border, providing, on an average, a port for every 100 miles of coast line. This completes my project of seaports and fishing harbors for China.

At first sight objections might be raised that too many seaports and fishing harbors are provided for one country. But I must remind my readers that this one country, China, is as big as Europe and has a population larger than that of Europe. If we take a similar length of the coast line of western Europe we would see that there are many more ports in Europe than in China. Besides, the coast line of Europe is many times longer than that of China, and in every hundred miles of the European coast line there are more than one considerable-sized port. Take Holland, for instance. Its whole area is not larger than the hinterland of Swatow, one of our third-class seaports, yet it possesses two first-class ports, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and numerous small fishing ports. Let us also compare our country with the United States of America in regard to seaports. America has only one fourth the population of China yet the number of ports on her Atlantic coast alone is many times more than the number provided in my plan. Thus, this number of ports for China for the future is but a bare necessity. And I have considered only those that will pay from the beginning so as to adhere strictly to the principle of remuneration that was laid down at the outset of my first program. See Map XVI.

七、吕四港：在扬子江口北边一点。

八、长涂港：在舟山列岛之中央。

九、石浦：浙江之东，三门湾之北。

十、福宁：在福建之东，介于福州与温州之间。

十一、湄州港：福州与厦门之间，湄州岛之北方。

南部广东省及海南岛海岸，应建四渔业港如下：

十二、汕尾：在广东之东海岸，香港、汕头之间。

十三、西江口：此港应建于横琴岛之北侧。西江口既经整治以后，横琴岛将借海堤以与本陆相连，而有一良好港面地区出现矣。

十四、海安：此港位于雷州半岛之末端，隔琼州海峡与海南岛之海口相对。

十五、榆林港：海南岛南端之一良好天然港面也。

以此十五渔业港，合之前述各较大之港，总三十有一。可以连合中国全海岸线，起于高丽界之安东，止于近越南界之钦州。平均每海岸线百英里，而得一港。吾之中国海港及渔业港计划，于是始完。

瞥见之下，当有致疑于一国而须如是之多海港与渔业港者。然读者须记此中国一国之大与欧洲等，其人则较欧洲为多。如使吾人取西欧海岸线与中国等长之一节计之，则知欧洲海港之多，远过中国。欧洲海岸线之长过中国数倍，而以每百英里计，尚不止有一与此相当形式之港。例如荷兰，其全地域不较大于吾人三等港中汕头一港之腹地，而尚有安斯得坦与洛得坦两头等海港，[18] 又有多数之小渔业港附随之。又使与北美合众国较其海港，美国人口仅得中国四分之一，而单就其大西洋沿岸海港而论，已数倍于吾计划中所举之数。所以此项海港之数，不过仅敷中国将来必要之用而已。且吾亦仅择其自始有利可图者言之，以坚守第一计划中所标定之“必选有利之途”一原则也。（参照第十六图。）

MAP XVI 第十六圖
First Class Port
頭等港
Second Class Port
二等港
Third class Port
三等港
Fishing Port
漁業港
Foreign Occupied Port
外國占領港
(1) Antung 安東
(2) Haiyangtao 海洋島
(3) Chihwangtao 秦皇島
(4) Lunghau 龍口
(5) Shitauwan 石島灣
(6) Sinyangkang 新洋港
(7) Luszekang 呂四港
(8) Changtukang 長塗港
(9) Shipu 石浦
(10) Funing 福寧
(11) Meichow 湄州
(12) Sanmei 汕尾
(13) Sikiang Mouth 西江口
(14) Haian 海安
(15) Yulinkiang 榆林港
葫蘆島 Hulutao
營口 Yingkow
北方大港 Great Northern P.
大連 Talien
芝罘 Chefoo
黃河口 Hoangho
Tsingtau 青島
海州 Haichow
東方大港 Great Eastern P.
寧波 Ningpo
溫州 Wenchow
福州 Foochow
南方大港 Great Southern P.
Amoy 廈門
Swatow 汕頭
Hongkong 香港
Yamchow 欽州
Tunpak
Hoihou 海口

Part V The Establishment of Shipbuilding Yards

When China is well developed according to my programs, the possession of an oversea mercantile fleet, of ships for coastal and inland water transportation, and of a large fishing fleet will be an urgent necessity. Before the outbreak of the late World War, the world's seagoing tonnage was 45,000,000 tons. If China is equally developed industrially, according to the proportion of her population, she would need at least 10,000,000 tons of oversea and coastal shipping for her transportation service. The building of this tonnage must be a part of our industrial development scheme; for cheap materials and labor can be obtained in the country, and so we could build ships for ourselves much cheaper than any foreign country could do for us. And besides the building of a seagoing fleet, we have to build our inland water crafts and fishing fleets. Foreign shipping yards could not do this service for us on account of the impracticability of transporting such numerous small crafts across the ocean. Thus, in any case, China has to put up her own yards to build her inland water crafts and fishing fleets. So the establishment of ship building yards is a necessary as well as a profitable undertaking from the beginning. The shipping yards should be established at such river and coastal ports that have the facility of supplying materials and labor. All the yards should be under one central management. Large capital should be invested in the project so as to procure a yearly output of 2,000,000 tons of various kinds of vessels.

第五部 创立造船厂

当中国既经按吾计划发展无缺之际，其急要者，当有一航行海外之商船队，亦要多数沿岸及内地之浅水运船，并须有无数之渔船。当此次世界大战未开之际，全世界海船吨数为四千五百万吨；使中国在实业上，按其人口比例，有相等之发达，则至少须有航行海外及沿岸商船一千万吨，然后可敷运输之用。建造此项商船，必须在吾发展实业计划中占一位置。以中国有廉价之劳工与材料，固当比外国为吾人所建所费较廉。且除航海船队以外，吾人尚须建造大队内河浅水船及渔船，以船载此等小船远涉重洋，实际不易，故外国船厂不能为吾建造此等船只，则中国于此际必须自设备其船厂，自建其浅水船、渔船船队矣。然则建立造船厂者，必要之企业，又自始为有利之企业者。此造船厂应建于内河及海岸商埠，便于得材料人工之处。所有船厂应归一处管理，而投大资本于此计划，至年可造各种船只二百万吨之限为止。

All types of vessels should be standardized both in design and equipment. The old and wasteful types of inland water crafts and fishing boats should be replaced by modern efficient designs. The inland water crafts should be designed on the basis of certain standard draughts such as the 2-foot, 5-foot, and 10-foot classes. The fishing trawlers should be standardized into the one-day, the five-day, and the ten-day service class. The coastal transports should be standardized into the 2,000-, the 4,000-, and the 6,000-ton class, and for oversea transports we should have standardized ships of 12,000-, 24,000-, and 36,000-ton classes. Thus, the many thousands of inland water crafts and fishing junks that now ply the rivers, lakes, and coasts of China may be displaced by new and cheaper crafts of a few standard types which could perform better services at less expense.

一切船舶当以其设计及其设备定有基准，所有旧式内河浅水船及渔船，当以新式效力大之设计代之。内河浅水船当以一定之吃水基准为基础设计之，如二英尺级、五英尺级、十英尺级之类。鱼拖船（船旁拖网者）应以行一日、行五日、行十日分级为基准。沿海船可分为二千吨级、四千吨级、六千吨级。而驶赴海外之船，则当设定一万　　二千吨级、二万四千吨级、三万六千吨级为基准。于是今日以万计之内河船及渔艇来往中国各江、各湖、各海岸者，将为基准划一，可使费少、功多、较新、较廉之船只所代矣。

[1] 域多利港：今译维多利亚，加拿大不列颠哥伦比亚省省会，太平洋岸温哥华岛东南端不冻港。
[2] 坎拿大：今译加拿大。
[3] 些路：今译西雅图，美国西北部重要工商业城市、港口。打金麻：今译塔科马，美国华盛顿州西部港口城市。
[4] 相侔：相齐等，同样。亦作“相牟”。
[5] 沥滘：方言，指河道相通处，多用作地名。
[6] 基围：指广东靠近海的田地，为防御水患而在周围修筑的堤围。
[7] 矩矱：规矩，法度。
[8] 孔道：通往某处必经之关口。
[9] 琼州岛：即今海南岛。
[10] 海州：今连云港市海州区，位于江苏省北部。
[11] 肩随：跟上，比得上。
[12] 芝罘：今山东省烟台市。
[13] 条约港：指近代中国依据清政府与各西方资本主义国家签订的不平等条约而开放的通商港口。
[14] 韩江：中国广东省第二大河。古称恶溪，因鳄鱼出没而得名，后纪念韩愈驱鳄而改称韩江。
[15] 辐辏：形容人或物聚集，像车辐集中于车毂一样。也作辐凑。
[16] 接驳货儎：船只往来停泊运输货物。
[17] 安东：即今辽宁省丹东市一带。
[18] 安斯得坦：今译阿姆斯特丹，荷兰首都，现为荷兰第二大港。洛得坦：今译鹿特丹，荷兰第二大城市，世界最大的港口。

PROGRAM IV

In my first and third programs, I have described my plans for the Northwestern Railway System and the Southwestern Railway System. The former is for the purpose of relieving the congestion of population in the coast districts and the Yangtze Valley by opening up for colonization the vast unpopulated territory in Mongolia and Sinkiang, as well as of developing the Great Northern Port. The latter is for the purpose of exploiting the mineral resources of Southwestern China, as well as of developing the Great Southern Port—Canton. More railroads will be needed for the adequate development of the whole country. So in this fourth program, I shall deal entirely with railroads which will complete the 100,000 miles proposed in my introductory part of this International Development Scheme. The program will be as follows:

I. The Central Railway System.

II. The Southeastern Railway System.

III. The Northeastern Railway System.

IV. The Extension of the Northwestern Railway System.

V. The Highland Railway System.

VI. The Establishment of Locomotive and Car Factories.

Part I The Central Railway System

This will be the most important railway system in China. The area which it serves comprises all of China Proper north of the Yangtze and a part of Mongolia and Sinkiang. The economic nature of this vast region is that the southeastern part is densely populated while the northwestern part is thinly populated, and that the southeastern part possesses great mineral wealth while the northwestern part possesses great potential agricultural resources. So every line of this system will surely pay as the Peking-Mukden line has proved.

With the Great Eastern Port and the Great Northern Port as termini of this system of railroads, I propose that, besides the existing and projected lines in this region, the following be constructed, all of which shall constitute the Central Railway System.

a. The Great Eastern Port-Tarbogotai line.

b. The Great Eastern Port-Urga line.

肆 第四计划

在吾第一、第三两计划，吾已详写吾西南铁路系统、西北铁路系统两规划矣。前者以移民于蒙古、新疆之广大无人境地，消纳长江及沿海充盈之人口为目的，而又以开发北方大港；后者则所以开中国西南部之矿产富源，又以开发广州之南方大港也。此外仍须有铁路多条，以使全国得相当之开发。故于此第四计划，吾于《国际共同发展计划》绪论中所拟十万英里之铁路细加说明，其目如下：

一、中央铁路系统。

二、东南铁路系统。

三、东北铁路系统。

四、扩张西北铁路系统。

五、高原铁路系统。

六、创立机关车、客货车制造厂。

第一部 中央铁路系统

此系统将为中国铁路系统中最重要者，其效能所及之地区，遍包长江以北之中国本部，及蒙古、新疆之一部。论此广大地域之经济的性质，则其东南一部人口甚密，西北则疏；东南大有矿产之富，而西北则有潜在地中之农业富源。所以此系统中每一线，皆能保其能有利如京奉路也。

以此北方、东方两大港为此系统诸路之终点故，吾拟除本区现有及已计划各线之外，建筑下列各线，合而成为中央铁路系统：

天 东方大港塔城线。

地 东方大港库伦线。

c. The Great Eastern Port-Uliassutai line.

d. The Nanking-Loyang line.

e. The Nanking-Hankow line.

f. The Sian-Tatung line.

g. The Sian-Ninghsia line.

h. The Sian-Hankow line.

i. The Sian-Chungking line.

j. The Lanchow-Chungking line.

k. The Ansichow-Iden line.

l. The Chochiang-Koria line.

m. The Great Northern Port-Hami line.

n. The Great Northern Port-Sian line.

o. The Great Northern Port-Hankow line.

p. The Hoangho Port-Hankow line.

q. The Chefoo-Hankow line.

r. The Haichow-Tsinan line.

s. The Haichow-Hankow line.

t. The Haichow-Nanking line.

u. The Sinyangkang-Hankow line.

v. The Luszekang-Nanking line.

w. The Coast line.

x. The Hwoshan-Kashing line.

a. The Great Eastern Port-Tarbogotai Line

This line begins at the Great Eastern Port on the seaboard, and runs in a northwesterly direction to Tarbogotai on the Russian frontier, covering a distance of about 3,000 miles. If Shanghai be the Great Eastern Port, the Shanghai-Nanking Railway will form its first section. But if Chapu be chosen, then this line should skirt the Taihu Lake on the southwest through the cities of Huchow, Changhing, and Liyang to Nanking, then crossing the Yangtze at a point south of Nanking, to Chiantsiao and Tingyuen. Thence, the line turns westward to Showchow and Yingshang, and enters Honan province at Sintsai. After crossing the Peking-Hankow line at Kioshan, and passing Piyang, Tanghsien, and Tengchow, it turns northwestward to Sichwan and Kingtsekwan, and enters the province of Shensi. Ascending the Tan Kiang Valley, it passes through Lungkucha and Shangchow, and crosses the Tsinling Pass to Lantien and Sian, the capital of Shensi, formerly the capital of China. From Sian, it goes westward, following the valley of the Weiho. It passes through Chowchih, Meihsien, and Paoki and enters the province of Kansu at Sancha, thence proceed- ing to Tsinchow, Kungchang, Titao, and Lanchow, the capital of Kansu. From Lanchow it follows the old highway which leads into Liangchow, Kanchow, Suchow, Yumen, and Ansichow. Thence it crosses the desert in a northwesterly direction to Hami, where it turns westward to Turfan. At Turfan this line meets the Northwestern Railway System and runs on the latter's track to Urumochi and Manass where it leaves that track and proceeds northwesterly to Tarbogotai on the frontier, crossing the Shair Mountain on the way. This line runs from one end of the country to the other encountering in its entire length of 3,000 miles only four mountain passes, all of which are not impassable for they have been used from time immemorial, as trade highways of Asia.

玄 东方大港乌里雅苏台线

黄 南京洛阳线。

宇 南京汉口线。

宙 西安大同线。

洪 西安宁夏线。

荒 西安汉口线。

日 西安重庆线。

月 兰州重庆线。

盈 安西州于阗线。

昃 婼羌库尔勒线。

辰 北方大港哈密线。

宿 北方大港西安线。

列 北方大港汉口线。

张 黄河港汉口线。

寒 芝罘汉口线。

来 海州济南线。

暑 海州汉口线。

往 海州南京线。

秋 新洋港南京线。

收 吕四港南京线。

冬 海岸线。

藏 霍山嘉兴线。

天 东方大港塔城线

此线起自东方大港之海边，向西北直走，至俄国交界之塔城为止，全长约三千英里。如使以上海为东方大港，则沪宁铁路即成为此路之首一段。但若择用乍浦，则此线应沿太湖之西南岸，经湖州、长兴、溧阳，以至南京。于是在南京之南，渡长江，至全椒及定远。此时线转而西，经寿州及颍上，于新蔡入河南界。在确山，横截京汉线后，过泌

阳、唐县、邓州，转而西北，至淅川及荆紫关，入陕西界。溯丹江谷地而上，通过龙驹寨及商州，度蓝关至蓝田及西安。西安者，陕西之省城，中国之古都也。由西安循渭河而西行，过盩厔、郿县、宝鸡，于三岔入甘肃界。进向秦州、巩昌、狄道，及于甘肃省城之兰州。自兰州从昔日通路，以至凉州、甘州、肃州、玉门及安西州。由此西北行，横绝沙漠以至哈密。自哈密转而西，达土鲁番[1] 。在土鲁番，与西北铁路系统之线会，即用其线路轨，以至迪化及绥来。自绥来与该线分离，直向边界上之塔城，途中切断齐尔山而过。此线自中国之一端至于他一端，全长三千英里，仅经过四山脉。而此四山脉皆非不可逾越者，由其自未有历史以前已成为亚洲贸易路一事，可以知之矣。

b. The Great Eastern Port-Urga Line

This line starts from the Great Eastern Port and uses the same track as line (a) as far as Tingyuen, the second city after crossing the Yangtze River at Nanking. From Tingyuen, its own track begins and the line proceeds in a northwesterly direction to Hwaiyuan, on the Hwai River, thence to Mongcheng, Kwoyang, and Pochow. Turning more northward, it crosses the Anhwei border into Honan, and passing through Kweiteh it crosses the Honan border into Shantung. After passing through Tsaohsien, Tingtao, and Tsaochow, it crosses the Hoangbo and enters Chihli province. Passing through Kaichow it re-enters Honan to Changteh, thence it follows the Tsingchangho valley, in a northwesterly direction, across the Honan border into Shansi. Here the line enters the northeastern corner of the vast iron and coal field of Shansi. After entering Shansi, the line follows the river valley to Liaochow and Yicheng, and crosses the watershed into the Tungkwoshui Valley to Yutse and Taiyuan. From Taiyuan, it proceeds northwestward through another rich iron and coal field of Shansi to Kolan. Thence, it turns westward to Poate, where it crosses the Hoangho to Fuku, in the northeastern corner of Shensi. From Fuku, the line proceeds northward, cuts through the Great Wall into the Suiyuan District and crosses the Hoangho to Saratsi. From Saratsi, the line runs in a northwesterly direction across the vast prairie to Junction A of the Northwestern Trunk Line, where it joins the common track of the Dolon Nor-Urga line to Urga. This line runs from a thickly populated country at one end in Central China to the vast thinly populated but fertile regions of Central Mongolia, having a distance of about 1,300 miles from Tingyuen to Junction A.

地 东方大港库伦线

此线自东方大港起，即用天线路轨迄于定远。定远即在南京渡江后第二城也。自定远起，始自建其路轨，进向西北，达于淮河上之怀远。于是历蒙城、涡阳及亳州，更转迻北，过安徽界，入河南，经归德，又出河南界，入山东界。于是经曹县、定陶、曹州，渡黄河，入直隶界。通过开州，再入河南，至于彰德。自彰德循清漳河谷地西北走，出河南界，入山西界。于是本线通过山西省大煤铁矿田之东北隅矣。既入山西，仍遵此谷地，至辽州及仪城，越分水界，入洞涡水谷地，至榆次及太原。自太原西北进，入山西省之别一煤铁矿区，至于岢岚。又转而西，至保德，于此渡黄河，至府谷，陕西省之东北隅也。此线自府谷北行，截开万里长城，入绥远区，再渡黄河，至萨拉齐。由萨拉齐起西北行，截过此大平原，至西北干路之甲接合点。在此处与多伦诺尔、库伦间之公线合，以至库伦。此线自中国中部人口最密之地，通至中部蒙古土沃人稀之广大地域。其自定远至甲接合点之间，约长一千三百英里。

c. The Great Eastern Port-Uliassutai Line

Starting from the Great Eastern Port, this line follows line (a) as far as Tingyuen, and line (b) as far as Pochow. At Pochow, it branches off on its own track and proceeds westward across the border to Luye, in Honan. Thence it turns northwestward to Taikang, Tungsu, and Chungmow where it meets the Hailan line and runs in the same direction with it to Chengchow, Jungyang, and Szeshui. From Szeshui it crosses the Hoangho to Wenhsien, thence to Hwaiking and over the Honan border into Shansi. It now passes through Yangcheng, Chinshui, and Fowshan to Pingyang where it crosses the Fen River and proceeds to Puhsien and Taning, then westward to the border where it crosses the Hoangho into Shensi. Thence it proceeds to Yenchang, and follows the Yenshui Valley to Yenan, Siaokwan, and Tsingpien. Then running along the south side of the Great Wall, it enters Kansu, and crosses the Hoangho to Ninghsia. From Ninghsia, it proceeds northwestward across the Alashan Mountain to Tingyuanying at the edge of the desert. Thence it proceeds in a straight line northwestward to Junction B of the Northwestern Railway System, where it joins that system and runs to Uliassutai. This part of the line passes through desert and grassland both of which could be improved by irrigation. The distance of this line from Pochow to Junction B is 1,800 miles.

d. The Nanking-Loyang Line

This line runs between two former capitals of China, passes through a very populous and fertile country, and taps a very rich coal field at the Loyang end. It starts from Nanking, running on the common track of lines (a) and (b) and branches off at Hwaiyuan westward to Taiho. After passing Taiho, it crosses the Anhwei border into Honan. Thence it runs alongside the left bank of the Tashaho to Chowkiakow, a large commercial town. From Chowkiakow, it proceeds to Linying where it crosses the Peking-Hankow line thence to Hiangcheng and Yuchow where the rich coal field of Honan lies. After Yuchow it crosses the Sungshan watershed to Loyang where it meets the Hailan line running from east to west. This line is about 300 miles from Hwaiyuan to Loyang.

玄 东方大港乌里雅苏台线

自东方大港，因用天线路轨，至于定远，再用地线路轨，至于亳州。由亳州起，分支自筑路轨，西向行越安徽省界，至河南之鹿邑。自此处转向西北，逾太康、通许，以及中牟。在中牟与海兰线相会，并行至于郑州、荥阳、汜水。在汜水渡过黄河，至温县。又在怀庆出河南界，入山西界。于是乃过阳城、沁水、浮山，以至平阳。在平阳渡汾水，至蒲县、大宁。转而西，至省界，再渡黄河，入陕西境。于是进至延长，遵延水流域，以至于延安、小关、靖边，然后循长城之南边，以入甘肃。又渡黄河，至宁夏。自宁夏而西北，过贺兰山脉，至沙漠缘端之定远营。于此取一直线向西北走，直至西北铁路系统之乙接合点，与此系统合一线以至乌里雅苏台。此线所经之沙漠及草地之部分，均可以以灌溉工事改善之。其自亳州至乙接合点之距离，为一千八百英里。

黄 南京洛阳线

此线走于中国两古都之间，通过烟户[2] 极稠、地质极肥之乡落，又于洛阳一端触及极丰富之矿田。此线自南京起，走于天、地两线公共路轨之上，自怀远起始分支西行，至太和。既过太和，乃逾安徽界，入河南界。又沿大沙河之左岸，至周家口，此一大商业市镇也。自周家口进至于临颖，与京汉线交。更进至襄城、禹州，则河南省大煤矿田所在地也。自禹州而往，过嵩山分水界，以逮洛阳，与自东徂西之海兰线相会。此线自怀远至洛阳，凡三百英里。

e. The Nanking-Hankow Line

This line will run alongside the left bank of the Yangtzekiang, connecting with Kiukiang by a branch line. It starts on the opposite side of Nanking and goes southwest to Hochow, Wuweichow and Anking, the capital of Anwei province. After Anking, it continues in the same direction to Susung and Hwangmei, where a branch should be projected to Siaochikow, thence across the Yangtze River to Kiukiang. After Hwangmei, the line turns westward to Kwangchi, then northwestward to Kishui, and finally westward to Hankow. It covers a distance of about 350 miles through a comparatively level country.

f. The Sian-Tatung Line

This line starts from Sian and runs northward to Sanyuan,Yaochow, Tungkwan, Yichun, Chungpu, Foochow, Kanchuan, and Yenan, where it meets the Great Eastern Port-Uliassutai line. From Yenan, it turns northeastward to Suiteh, Michih, and Kiachow on the right bank of the Hoangho. Thence it runs along the same bank to the junction of the Weifen River with the Hoangho (on the opposite side), where it crosses the Hoaugho to the Weifen Valley and proceeds to Singhsien and Kolan, there crossing the Great Eastern Port-Urga line. From Kolan, it proceeds to Wuchai and Yangfang, where it crosses the Great Wall to Sochow and then Tatung there meeting the Peking-Suiyuan line. This line is about 600 miles long. It passes through the famous oil field in Shensi, and the northern border of the northwestern Shansi coal field. At Tatung, where it ends, it joins the Peking-Suiyuan line and through the section from Tatung to Kalgan it will connect with the future Northwestern System which will link Kalgan and Dolon Nor together.

g. The Sian-Ninghsia Line

This line will start from Sian in a northwesterly direction to Kingyanghsien, Shunhwa, and Sanshui. After Sanshui, it crosses the Shensi border into Kansu at Chengning and then turns west to Ningchow. From Ningchow, it follows the Hwan Valley along the left bank of the river up to Kingyangfu and Hwanhsien, where it leaves the bank and proceeds to Tsingping and Pingyuan, where it meets the Hwan River again and follows

that valley up to the watershed. After crossing the watershed, it proceeds to Lingchow, then across the Hoangho to Ninghsia. This line covers a distance of about 400 miles and passes through a rich mineral and petroleum country.

宇 南京汉口线

此线应循扬子江岸而行，以一支线与九江联络。自南京对岸起西南行，至和州、无为州及安庆。安庆者，安徽者城也。自安庆起，仍循同一方向至宿松、黄梅。自黄梅别开一支线，至小池口，渡扬子江，以达九江。本线则自黄梅转而西至广济，又转而西北至蕲水，卒西向以至汉口，距离约三百五十英里，而所走之路平坦较多。

宙 西安大同线

此线自西安起，北行至于三原、耀州、同官、宜君、中部、甘泉，以至延安，与东方大港乌里雅苏台线相会。自延安起转而东北，至于绥德、米脂及黄河右岸之葭州，即循此岸而行，至蔚汾河与黄河汇流处（在对岸）。渡黄河至蔚汾河谷地，循之以至兴县、岢岚，在岢岚与东方大港库伦线相交。过岢岚，至五寨及羊房。在羊房截长城而过，至朔州，乃至大同，与京绥线相会。此线约长六百英里。经过陕西有名之煤油矿，又过山西西北煤田之北境，其在终点大同与京绥线合。借大同至张家口一段之助，可与将来西北系统中联络张家口与多伦诺尔之一线相属。

洪 西安宁夏线

此线应自西安起，西北向行，至泾阳县、淳化、三水（今改称栒邑）。过三水后，出陕西界，入甘肃界，于正宁转而西，至宁州。自宁州始入环河谷地，循其左岸，上至庆阳府及环县。乃离河岸，经清平、平远后，与环河相会，仍循该谷地，上至分水界。过分水界后，至灵州，渡黄河至宁夏。此线长约四百英里，经过矿产及石油最富之地区。

h. The Sian-Hankow Line

This is a very important line connecting the richest portion of the Hoangho Valley with the richest portion of the central section of the Yangtze Valley. It starts from Sian on the track of line (a), crosses the Tsingling and descends the Tankiang Valley as far as Sichwan. At this point, it branches off southward across the border into Hupeh, and following the left bank of the

Han River, passes Laohokow to Fencheng, opposite Siangyang. After Fencheng, it follows continuously the same bank of the Han River to Anlu, thence proceeding in a direct line southeastward to Hanchwan and Hankow. This line is about 300 miles long.

i. The Sian-Chungking Line

This line starts from Sian almost directly southward, crosses the Tsingling Mountain into the Han Valley, passes through Ningshen, Shihchuan, and Tzeyang, ascends the Jenho Valley across the southern border of Shensi into the province of Szechwan at Tachuho. Then crossing the watershed of the Tapashan into the Tapingho Valley, it follows that valley down to Suiting and Chuhsien. Thence it turns to the left side of the valley to Linshui and follows the trade road to Kiang- peh and Chungking. The entire distance of this line is about 450 miles through a very productive region and rich timber land.

j. The Lanchow-Chungking Line

This line starts from Lanchow southwestward and follows the same route as line (a) as far as Titao. Thence, it branches off and ascends the Taoho Valley across the Minshan watershed into the Heishui Valley following it down to Kiaichow and Pikow. After Pikow, it crosses the Kansu border into Szechwan and proceeds to Chaohwa, where the Heishuiho joins the Kialing. From Chaohwa, it follows the course of the Kialing River down to Paoning, Shunking, Hochow, and Chungking. The line is about 600 miles long, running through a very productive and rich mineral land.

荒 西安汉口线

此线联络黄河流域最富饶一部与中部长江流域最富饶一部之一重要线路。此线自西安起，用天线路轨，过秦岭，进至丹江谷地。直至淅川，始分线南行，过省界，至湖北。循汉水左岸，经老河口，以至襄阳对岸之樊城。由樊城仍循此岸以至安陆，由此以一直线东南至汉川及汉口。全线约长三百英里。

日 西安重庆线

此线自西安起，直向南行，度秦岭，入汉水谷地。经宁陕、石泉、

紫阳，进入任河谷地，逾陕西之南界，于大竹河入四川界。于是逾大巴山之分水界，以入太平河谷地。循此谷地而下，至绥定及渠县，乃转入此谷地之左边，至于邻水。又循商路，以至江北及重庆。此线全长约四百五十英里，经由极多产物之地区及富于材木之地。

月 兰州重庆线

此线从兰州起西南行，用天线之线路，直至狄道为止。由此分支进入洮河谷地，过岷山分水界，入黑水谷地沿之而下，至于阶州及碧口。自碧口而降，出甘肃界，入四川界，进逮昭化黑水河，即在昭化与嘉陵江合。自昭化起，即顺嘉陵江，降至保宁、顺庆、合州以及重庆。此线约长六百英里，经过物产极多、矿山极富之地区。

k. The Ansichow-Iden Line

This line passes through the fertile belt of land between the Gobi Desert and the Altyntagh Mountain. Although this strip of land is well watered by numerous mountain streams yet it is very sparsely populated, owing to the lack of means of communication. When this line is completed, this strip of land will be most valuable to Chinese colonists. The line starts from Ansichow westward to Tunhwang, and skirts the southern edge of the Lobnor Swamp to Chochiang. From Chochiang, it proceeds in the same direction via Cherchen to Iden where it connects with the terminus of the Northwestern System. With this System, it forms a continuous and direct line from the Great Eastern Port to Kashgar at the extreme west end of China. This line from Ansichow to Iden is about 800 miles in length.

l. The Chochiang-Koria Line

This line runs across the desert alongside the lower part of the Tarim River. The land on both sides of the line is well watered and will be valuable for colonization as soon as the railroad is completed. This line is about 250 miles in length and connects with the line that runs along the northern edge of the desert. It is a short cut between fertile lands on the two sides of the desert.

m. The Great Northern Port-Hami Line

This line runs from the Great Northern Port in a northwesterly direction by way of Paoti and Siangho to Peking. From Peking it runs on the same

track with the Peking-Kalgan Railway to Kalgan, where it ascends the Mongolian Plateau. Then it follows the caravan road northwestward to Chintai, Bolutai, Sessy, and Tolibulyk. From Tolibulyk, it takes a straight line westward crossing the prairie and desert of both the Inner and Outer Mongolia to Hami where it connects with the Great Eastern Port-Tarbogotai line which runs almost directly west to Urumochi, the capital of Sinkiang. Thus, it will be the direct line from Urumochi to Peking and the Great Northern Port. This line is about 1,500 miles in length, the greater part of which will run through arable land and so when it is completed it will form one of the most valuable railways for colonization.

盈 安西州于阗线

此线贯通于戈壁沙漠与阿勒腾塔格岭中间一带肥沃之地。虽此一带地方，本为无数山间小河所灌溉，润泽无缺，而人口尚极萧条，则交通方法缺乏之所致也。此线完成之后，此一带地方必为中国殖民最有价值之处。此线起自安西州，西行至敦煌，循罗布泊沼地之南缘端，以至婼羌。自婼羌仍用同一方向，经车城，以至于阗，与西北系统线之终点相接。借此系统之助，得一东方大港与中国极西端之喀什噶尔直接相通之线。自安西州以至于阗，长约八百英里。

昃 婼羌库尔勒线

此线沿塔里木河之下游，截过沙漠，其线路两旁之地给水丰足，铁路一旦完成，即为殖民上最有价值之地。本线长约二百五十英里，与走于沙漠北缘端之线上联属。沙漠两边肥饶土地之间，此为捷径。

辰 北方大港哈密线

此线自北方大港西北行，经宝坻、香河，以至北京。由北京起即用京张路轨，以至张家口，由此以进入蒙古高原。于是循用商队通路，向西北行，以至陈台、布鲁台、哲斯、托里布拉克。自托里布拉克向西，取一直线，横度内外蒙古之平原及沙漠，以至哈密，以与东方大港塔城线相联络。而该线则直通于西方新疆首府之迪化。故此线，即为迪化城与北京及北方大港之直通线。此线长约一千五百英里，其中有大部分走于可耕地之上。然则其完成之后，必为殖民上最有价值之铁路矣。

n. The Great Northern Port-Sian Line

This line will run westward from the Great Northern Port to Tientsin. From here it runs southwestward to Hokien, passing through Tsinghai and Tachen. From Hokien, it runs more westerly to Shentseh, Wuki, and Chengting where it joins the Chengtai line as well as crosses the Kinhan line. From Chengting it takes the same road as the narrow-gauge Chengtai line which has to be reconstructed into standard gauge so as to facilitate through trains to Taiyuan and farther on. From Taiyuan it runs southwestward to Kiaocheng, Wenshui, Fenchow, Sichow, and Taning. After Taning it turns westward and crossing the Hoangho, it turns southwestward to Yichwan, Lochwan, and Chungpu where it joins the Sian-Tatung line and runs on the same tracks to Sian. Its length is about 700 miles over very rich and extensive iron, coal, and petroleum fields, as well as productive agricultural lands.

o. The Great Northern Port-Hankow Line

This line starts from the Great Northern Port skirting the coast to Petang, Taku, and Chikow, thence to Yenshan and crosses the Chihli border into Shantung at Loling. From Loling, it goes to Tehping, Linyi and Yucheng where it crosses the Tientsin-Pukow line, proceeds to Tungchang and Fanhsien, and then crosses the Hoangho to Tsaochow. After Tsaochow it passes the Shantung border into Honan, crossing the Hailan line to Suichow. From Suichow it proceeds to Taikang where it crosses line (c), then to Chenchow and Chowkiakow where it crosses line (d) and thence to Siangcheng, Sintsai, Kwangchow, and Kwangshan. After Kwangshan it crosses the boundary mountain into Hupeh, passing through Hwangan to Hankow. This line is about 700 miles long, running from the Great Northern Port to the commercial center of central China.

p. The Hoangho Port-Hankow Line

This line starts from the Hoangho Port in a southwesterly direction to Pohsing, Sincheng, and Changshan, then across the Kiauchow-Tsinan line to Poshan. Thence it ascends the watershed into the Wen Valley to Taian where it crosses the Tientsin-Pukow line to Ningyang and Tsining. From Tsining it proceeds in a straight line southwestward to Pochow in Anhwei, and Sintsai in Honan. At Sintsai it joins the Great Northern Port-Hankow line to Hankow. The distance of this line from the Hoangho Port to Sintsai is about 400 miles.

宿 北方大港西安线

此线自北方大港西行，至于天津。由该处西行，经过静海、大城，以至河间。由河间更偏西行，至于深泽、无极，又与京汉线交于正定，即于此处与正太线相接。自正定起，即用正太线路。但该线之窄轨，应重新建筑，改为标准轨阔，此所以便于太原以往之通车也。自太原起，此线向西南行，经交城、文水、汾州、隰州，以至大宁。由大宁转而西行，渡黄河。又西南行，至宜川、洛川、中部。在中部，与西安大同线相会，即用其路线以达西安。此线长约七百英里。其所经者，则农产物极多之地区，又煤、铁、石油丰富广大之矿田也。

列 北方大港汉口线

此线自北方大港起，循海岸而行，至北塘、大沽、岐口，又至盐山，出直隶界，入山东界于乐陵。自乐陵而往，经德平、临邑，至禹城，与津浦线相交，进至东昌、范县，于是渡黄河，至曹州。既过曹州，出山东界，入河南界，与海兰线相交，至睢州。由此进至太康，与玄线相交，经陈州及周家口，与黄线相交，又至项城、新蔡、光州及光山。既过光山，逾分界岭，入湖北境，经黄安，至汉口。此线长约七百英里，自北方大港以至中国中部之商业中心。

张 黄河港汉口线

此线自黄河港起，西南行，至于博兴、新城、长山，乃与胶济线相交，至博山。上至分水界，入于汶河谷地，至泰安。与津浦线相交，又至宁阳及济宁。自济宁而进，以一直线向西南，至安徽之亳州、河南之新蔡。自新蔡起，与北方大港汉口线合，以至汉口。自黄河港至新蔡，约四百英里。

q. The Chefoo-Hankow Line

This line starts at Chefoo on the northern side of the Shantung Peninsula and crosses that Peninsula to Tsimo, on the southern side, via Laiyang and Kinkiakow. From Tsimo it proceeds southwestward across the shallow mud flat at the head of Kiauchow Bay in a straight line to Chucheng. After Chucheng it crosses the watershed into the Shuho Valley to Chuchow and Ichow, then proceeds to Hsuchow where it meets the Tientsin-Pukow line and the Hailan line. From Hsuchow it runs on the same track with the Tientsin-Pukow line as far as Suchow in Anhwei, then branches off to

Mongcheng and Yinchow, and crosses the border into Honan at Kwangchow, where it meets the Great Northern Port-Hankow line and proceeds together to Hankow. This line from Chefoo to Kwangchow is about 550 miles in length.

r. The Haichow-Tsinan Line

This line starts from Haichow following the Linhung River to Kwantunpu, then turns westward to Ichow. From Ichow it turns first northward then northwestward, passing by Mongyin and Sintai to Tai-an. At Tai-an it joins the Tsinpu line and proceeds in the same track to Tsinan. This line covers a distance, from Haichow to Tai-an, of about 110 miles, tapping the coal and iron fields of southern Shantung.

s. The Haichow-Hankow Line

This line starts at Haichow in a southwesterly direction, goes to Shuyang and Sutsien, probably in the same route as the projected Hailan line. From Sutsien it proceeds to Szechow and Hwaiyuan, where it crosses the Great Eastern Port Urga and Uliassutai lines. After Hwaiyuan it goes to Showchow and Chenyangkwan, thence continuing in the same direction across the southeastern corner of Honan and the boundary mountain into Hupeh, proceeds to Macheng and Hankow, covering a distance of about 400 miles.

t. The Haichow-Nanking Line

This line goes from Haichow southward to Antung then inclining a little south to Hwaian. After Hwaian it crosses the Paoying Lake (which will be reclaimed according to the regulation of the Hwaiho in Part IV, Program II) to Tienchang and Luho, thence to Nanking. Distance, about 180 miles.

寒 芝罘汉口线

此线起于山东半岛北边之芝罘，即横断此半岛，经过莱阳、金家口，以至于其南边之即墨。由即墨起，向西南，过胶州湾顶之洼泥地，作一直线，至于诸城。既过诸城，越分水界以入沭河谷地，至莒州及沂州，进至徐州，与津浦海兰线相会。自徐州起，即用津浦路轨，直至安徽之宿州。乃分路至蒙城、颍州，过省界，入河南光州，即于此处与北方大港汉口线相会，由之以至汉口。此线自芝罘至光州，长约五百五十英里。

来 海州济南线

此线发海州，循临洪河至欢墩埠，转西向，至临沂。由临沂始转北向，次西北向，经蒙阴、新泰，至泰安。在泰安与津浦线会合，取同一轨道，而至济南。此线自海州至泰安，长约一百一十英里，经过山东南部之煤铁矿场。

暑 海州汉口线

此线自海州出发，西南行，至沭阳与宿迁，或与现在海兰线之预定线路相同。自宿迁而往，经泗州、怀远，与东方大港库伦线及乌里雅苏台线相交。既过怀远，乃向寿州及正阳关，即循同一方向，横过河南省之东南角及湖北之分界岭，过麻城，至汉口。长约四百英里。

往 海州南京线

此线从海州向南至安东，稍南至淮安。既过淮安，渡宝应湖（此湖应按第二计划第四部整治淮河，施以填筑），经天长、六合，以至南京。全长一百八十英里。

u. The Sinyangkang-Hankow Line

This line starts from Sinyangkang to Yencheng, then crossing the Tasung Lake (which will be reclaimed) to Hwaian. From Hwaian it turns southwestward passing over the southeastern corner of the Hungtse Lake (which will also be reclaimed) to Suyi, in Anhwei. After Suyi, it crosses the Tientsin-Pukow line near Mingkwang, to Tingyuen, where it meets lines (b) and (c). After Tingyuen, it proceeds to Liu-an and Hwoshan, then crosses the boundary mountain into Hupeh passing through Lotien to Hankow, a distance of about 420 miles.

v. The Luszekang-Nanking Line

This line starts at Luszekang, a fishing harbor to be constructed at the extremity of the northern point of the Yangtze Estuary. From Luszekang it proceeds westward to Tungchow where it turns northwestward to Jukao, and then westward to Taichow, Yangchow, Luho, and Nanking. This line is about 200 miles long.

w. The Coast Line

This line starts at the Great Northern Port, and follows the Great Northern Port-Hankow line as far as Chikow, where it begins its own line. Keeping along the coast, it crosses the Chihli border to the Hoangho Port, in Shantung, then proceeds to Laichow where it takes a straight cut away from the coast to Chaoyuan and Chefoo, thus avoiding the projected Chefoo-Weihsien line. From Chefoo it proceeds southeastward through Ninghai to Wenteng, where one branch runs to Jungcheng and another to Shihtao. The main line turns southwestward to Haiyang and Kinkiakow, where it joins the Chefoo-Hankow line, and follows it as far as the western side of Kiauchow Bay, thence southward to Lingshanwei. From Lingshanwei the line proceeds southwestward along the coast to Jichao, and crosses the Shantung border into Kiangsu, passing Kanyu to Haichow. Thence it proceeds southeastward to Yencheng, Tungtai, Tungchow, Haimen, and Tsungming Island which will be connected with the mainland by the regulation works of Yangtze embankment. From Tsungming trains can be ferried over to Shanghai. This line from Chikow to Tsungming is about 1,000 miles in length.

秋 新洋港汉口线

此线自新洋港而起，至于盐城，过大纵湖（此亦应填筑），至淮安。自淮安转向西南，渡过洪泽湖之东南角（此湖仍应填筑），至安徽之盱眙。既过盱眙，在明光附近与津浦线相交，又至定远，与地、玄两线相会。过定远后，进至六安、霍山，逾湖北之分界岭，过罗田，以至汉口。全长约四百二十英里。

收 吕四港南京线

此线由吕四港而起。吕四港者，将来于扬子江口北端尽处应建之渔业港也。自吕四港起西行，至于通州，转西北行，至如皋，又西行至泰州、扬州、六合、南京。全长约二百英里。

冬 海岸线

此线自北方大港起，循北方大港汉口线，至于岐口。始自开线路，密接海岸以行，过直隶界，至山东之黄河港，进至于莱州。自莱州离海岸，画一直线，至招远及芝罘，以避烟潍铁路之计划线。由芝罘转而东南，经过宁海及文登。自文登引一支线至荣城，又一线至石岛，其本线

转而西南，至海阳及金家口，与芝罘汉口线合。循之直至于胶州湾之西端，折而南至灵山卫。自灵山卫转而西南，循海岸至日照，过山东界，入江苏省，经赣榆，至海州。于是向西南，进至盐城、东台、通州、海门，以达于崇明岛。此岛以扬子江之治水堤之故，将与大陆联为一气矣。其自崇明赴上海，可用渡船载列车而过。此自岐口迄崇明之线，约长一千英里。

x. The Hwoshan-Wuhu-Soochow-Kashing Line

This line starts from Hwoshan to Shucheng and Wuwei, then across the Yangtze River to Wuhu. After Wuhu it goes to Kaoshun, Liyang, and Ihsing, then crosses over the northern end of Taihu (which will be reclaimed) to Soochow, where it meets the Shanghai-Nanking line. From Soochow it turns southward to Kashing on the Shanghai-Hangchow line. This line runs over very populous and rich districts of Anhwei and Kiangsu provinces, covering a distance of about 300 miles, which will form the greater part of the shortest line from Shanghai to Hankow.

Part II The Southeastern Railway System

This system covers the irregular triangle which is formed by the Coast line between the Great Eastern and the Great Southern Ports, as the base, by the Yangtze River from Chungking to Shanghai, as one side, and by line (a) of the Canton-Chungking Railway as the other side, with Chungking as the apex. This triangle comprises the provinces of Chekiang, Fukien, and Kiangsi, and a part respectively of Kiangsu, Anhwei, Hupeh, Hunan, and Kwangtung. This region is very rich in mineral and agricultural products, especially iron and coal deposits which are found everywhere. And the whole region is thickly populated. So railway construction will be very remunerative.

With the Great Eastern Port and the Great Southern Port and the second- and third-class ports that lie between the two as termini of this system of railroads, I propose that the following lines be constructed:

a. The Great Eastern Port-Chungking Line.

b. The Great Eastern Port-Canton Line.

c. The Foochow-Chinkiang Line.

d. The Foochow-Wuchang Line.

e. The Foochow-Kweilin Line.

f. The Wenchow-Shenchow Line.

g. The Amoy-Kienchang Line.

h. The Amoy-Canton Line.

i. The Swatow-Changteh Line.

藏 霍山芜湖苏州嘉兴线

此线自霍山起，至舒城及无为，乃过扬子江，至芜湖。又过高淳、溧阳、宜兴，过太湖之北端（将来填筑），至苏州，与沪宁线会。过苏州后，转而南，至沪杭线上之嘉兴。此线走过皖、苏两省富庶之区，长三百英里，将成为上海、汉口间之直接路线之大部分。

中央铁路系统各线，全长统共约一万六千六百英里。

第二部 东南铁路系统

本系统纵横布列于一不规则三角形之一。此三角形以东方大港与广州间之海岸线为底，以扬子江重庆至上海一段为一边，更以经由湖南之广州重庆甲线为第二边，而以重庆为之顶点。此三角形全包有浙江、福建、江西三省，并及江苏、安徽、湖北、湖南、广东之各一部。此地富有农矿物产，而煤铁尤多，随在有之，且全区人口甚密，故其建铁路，必获大利。

以东方大港、南方大港及其间之二三等港，为此铁路之终点，可建筑下列之各线：

天 东方大港重庆线。

地 东方大港广州线。

玄 福州镇江线。

黄 福州武昌线。

宇 福州桂林线。

宙 温州辰州线。

洪 厦门建昌线。

荒 厦门广州线。

日 汕头常德线。

j. The Nanking-Siuchow Line.

k. The Nanking-Kaying Line.

l. The Coast Line Between the Great Eastern and Great Southern Ports.

m. The Kienchang-Yuanchow Line.

a. The Great Eastern Port-Chungking Line

This line connects the commercial center of western China—Chungking—with the Great Eastern Port in almost a straight route south of the Yangtze River. It starts from the Great Eastern Port and goes to Hangchow, then through Linan, Ghanghwa, to Hweichow, in Anhwei. From Hweichow it

proceeds to Siuning and Kimen, then crosses the border into Kiangsi and passing Hukow reaches Kiukiang. From Kiukiang it follows the right bank of the Yangtze, crosses the Hupeh border to Hingkwochow and then proceeds to Tungshan and Tsungyang, where it passes over the border to Yochow in Hunan. From Yochow it takes a straight line across the Tungting Lake (which will be reclaimed) to Changteh. From Changteh it proceeds up the Liu Shui Valley, passing through Tzeli, and crossing the Hunan border to Hofeng, in Hupeh and then to Shinan and Lichwan. At Shinan a branch should be projected northeastward to Ichang, and at Lichwan another branch should be projected northwestward to Wanhsien, both on the left side of the Yangtze River. After Lichwan it crosses the Hupeh border into Szechwan, passing Shihchu to Foochow, then passes the Wukiang and proceeds along the right side of the Yangtze River as far as lines (a) and (b) of the Canton-Chungking Railway and then crosses together on the same bridge to Chungking on the other side of the river. The length of this line including branches, is about 1,200 miles.

b. The Great Eastern Port-Canton Line

This is a straight line from one first-class seaport to another. It starts from the Great Eastern Port and goes to Hangchow, then turning southwestward, follows the left bank of the Tsien Tang River through Fuyang, Tunglu to Yenchow and Chuchow. Then it proceeds across the Chekiang-Kiangsi border to Kwangsin. From Kwangsin it goes through Shangtsing and Kinki to Kienchang, then proceeds to Nan-feng, Kwangchang, and Ningtu. After Ningtu it proceeds to Yutu, Sinfeng, Lungnan, and crossing the boundary mountain of Kiangsi and Kwangtung, to Changning. Thence via Tsungfa it goes to Canton, covering a distance of about 900 miles.

月 南京韶州线。

盈 南京嘉应线。

昃 东方南方两大港间海岸线。

辰 建昌沅州线。

天 东方大港重庆线

此线越扬子江以南，殆以一直线联结中国西方商业中心之重庆与东

方大港。此线起于东方大港，至杭州，经临安、昌化，以至安徽省之徽州（歙县）。由徽州进至休宁、祁门，于是越省界，入江西境，过湖口，至九江。自九江起，循扬子江右岸，越湖北界，至兴国州，又进至通山、崇阳。在崇阳逾界至湖南岳州。自岳州起，取一直线，贯洞庭湖（此湖将来进行填塞）至于常德。由常德溯溇水谷地而上，过慈利，再逾省界，入湖北之鹤峰，于是及于施南与利川。在施南应开一支线，向东北界走，至宜昌；在利川应另开一支线，西北行至万县。此宜昌、万县两地，均在长江左岸。自利川而后，入四川界，过石砫，至涪州。遂过乌江，循扬子江右岸而上，至与广州重庆乙线会而后已。此后以同一之桥渡江，至对岸之重庆。连支线，长约一千二百英里。

地 东方大港广州线

此线由一头等海港，以一直线，至他头等海港。自东方大港起，至杭州。折而西南行，遵钱塘江左岸，过富阳、桐卢，至严州及衢州。更进过浙、赣省界，至广信（上饶）。由广信起，经上清、金溪，至建昌，然后进至南丰、广昌、宁都。由宁都而往，至雩都、信丰、龙南。过赣、粤界岭，至长宁（新丰）。于是经从化，以至广州。长约九百英里。

c. The Foochow-Chinkiang Line

This line starts from Foochow, goes by way of Loyuan and Ningteh to Fuan, and then proceeds across the Fukien-Chekiang border to Taishun, Kingning, Yunho, and Chuchow. Thence it proceeds to Wuyi, Yiwu, Chukih, and Hangchow. After Hangchow it goes to Tehtsing and Huchow and then crosses the Chekiang border into Kiangsu. Then it proceeds by way of Ihsing, Kintan, and Tanyang to Chinkiang. This line is about 550 miles in length.

d. The Foochow-Wuchang Line

This line starts from Foochow and following the left bank of the Min River and passing Shuikow and Yenping reaches Shaowu. After Shaowu, it proceeds across the Fukien border into Kiangsi and then passes through Kienchang and Fuchow to Nanchang, the capital of Kiangsi. From Nanchang it proceeds to Hingkwo, in Hupeh, and passes on to Wuchang, the capital of Hupeh. It covers a distance of about 550 miles.

e. The Foochow-Kweilin Line

This line starts from Foochow, crosses the Min River and proceeds by way of Yungfu, Tatien, Ningyang, and Liencheng to Tingchow. Thence it crosses the Fukien-Kiangsi border to Shuikin. From Shuikin it proceeds to Yutu and Kanchow and then to Shangyiu and Chungyi. After Chungyi it crosses the Kiangsi-Hunan border to Kweiyanghsien and Chenchow, where it crosses the Canton-Hankow line to Kweiyangchow. Thence it continues to Sintien, Ningyuan, and Taochow, where it meets lines (a) and (b) of the Canton-Chungking Railway. After Taochow it turns southward following the Taoho Valley to the Kwangsi border and then crossing it, proceeds to Kweilin. This line covers a distance of about 750 miles.

f. The Wenchow-Shenchow Line

This line begins from the new Wenchow Port and follows the left bank of the Wukiang as far as Tsingtien. From Tsingtien it proceeds to Chuchow and Suenping and turns westward across the Chekiang border to Yushan in Kiangsi. After Yushan it goes to Tehsing, Loping, and then skirting the southern shore of Poyang Lake goes through Yukan to Nanchang, the capital of Kiangsi. From Nanchang it proceeds to Juichow, Shangkao, and Wantsai, then crosses the Kiangsi border to Liuyang in Hunan, and Changsha, the capital of Hunan. After Changsha it goes to Ningsiang, Anhwa, and Shenchow where it connects with line (a) of the Canton-Chungking Railway, and with the Shasi-Singyi line. This line covers a distance of about 850 miles.

玄 福州镇江线

此线起自福州，经罗源、宁德，以至福安。于是进而逾闽、浙边界，以至泰顺、景宁、云和、处州。于是进经武义、义乌、诸暨，以达杭州。杭州以后经德清及湖州，逾浙江省界，以入江苏，循宜兴、金坛、丹阳之路而进，以至镇江。此线长五百五十英里。

黄 福州武昌线

此线自福州起，沿闽江左岸，过水口及延平，至于邵武。邵武以后过福建界，入于江西，经建昌及抚州，以至省城南昌。由南昌而入湖北之兴国，过之，以至湖北省城武昌。全长约五百五十英里。

宇 福州桂林线

此线自福州起，渡过闽江，进而取永福（永泰）、大田、宁洋、连城一路，以至汀州（长汀）。于是过闽、赣省界，入于瑞金。由瑞金进至雩都、赣州，又进至上犹及崇义。崇义以后，过赣、湘边界，至桂阳县（汝城）及郴州，与粤汉线交于彬州，遂至桂阳州。又进至于新田、宁远、道州，与广州重庆甲乙两线相遇。道州以后，转而南，循道江谷地而上，至广西边界，过界直至桂林。此线长约七百五十英里。

寅 温州辰州线

此线由温州新港起，循瓯江左岸而上，至于青田。由青田进向处州及宣平，转而西出浙江省界，入江西之玉山。自玉山经过德兴、乐平，乃沿鄱阳湖之南岸，经余干，至于南昌。由南昌经过瑞州（高安）、上高、万载，逾江西省界，入湖南之浏阳，遂至长沙。由长沙经宁乡、安化，以至辰州，与广州重庆甲线及沙市兴义线会合。长约八百五十英里。

g. The Amoy-Kienchang Line

This line starts from the new port of Amoy and goes to Changtai, then following the Kiulungkiang to Changping, Ningyang, Tsingliu, and Kienning. After Kienning it proceeds across the Kiangsi border to Kienchang, where it connects with the Great Eastern Port-Canton line, the Foochow-Wuchang line, and the Kienchang-Yuanchow line. This line covers a distance of about 250 miles.

h. The Amoy-Canton Line

This line starts at the new port of Amoy, and proceeds to Changchow, Nantsing, and Siayang, where it crosses the Fukien border to Tapu, in Kwangtung. From Tapu it goes to Tsungkow, Kaying, Hinning, and Wuhwa. After Wuhwa it crosses the watershed between the Hankiang and the Tungkiang rivers to Lungchan, then following the Tungkiang down to Hoyun, it crosses another watershed to Lungmoon, Tsengshin and Canton. This line covers a distance of about 400 miles.

i. The Swatow-Changteh Line

This line starts from Swatow, proceeds to Chaochow, Kaying, and then crosses the Kwangtung border to Changning in Kiangsi. From Changning it

crosses the watershed into Kungkiang Valley and follows that river down to Hweichang and Kanchow. From Kanchow it proceeds to Lungchuan, Yungning, and Lienhwa, where it crosses the Kiangsi border into Hunan. After that, it proceeds to Chuchow and Changsha, the capital of Hunan. From Changsha it goes to Ningsiang, Yiyang, and Changteh where it ends, connecting with the Great Eastern Port-Chungking line, and the Shasia-Singyi line. This line covers a distance of about 650 miles.

洪 厦门建昌线

此线自厦门新港起，至长泰。溯九龙江而上，至漳平、宁洋、清流及建宁县。自建宁以后，过省界，至江西之建昌，与东方大港广州线、福州武昌线、建昌沅州线相会。此线长约二百五十英里。

荒 厦门广州线

此线自厦门新港起，进至漳州、南靖、下洋，于此出福建界，至广东之大埔。由大埔过松口、嘉应、兴宁、五华。于五华，过韩江及东江之分水界，至龙川。乃遵东江而下，至河源。又过一分水界，至于龙门、增城，以至广州。长约四百英里。

日 汕头常德线

此线自汕头起，进至潮州、嘉应，出广东界，至江西之长宁（寻邬）。自长宁越分水界，入贡江谷地，循之以下，至于会昌、赣州。由赣州以至龙泉（遂川）、永宁（宁冈）、莲花。在莲花逾江西界，入湖南，于是进至株洲及长沙。由长沙经过宁乡、益阳，终于常德与东方大港重庆线及沙市兴义线相会。此线长约六百五十英里。

j. The Nanking-Siuchow Line

This line starts from Nanking and runs along the right bank of the Yangtze to Taiping, Wuhu, Tungling, Chichow, and Tungliu. After Tungliu it passes over the Anhwei border into Kiangsi, at Pengtseh, and goes to Hukow. At Hukow it meets the Great Eastern Port-Chungking line and crosses the bridge together with that line to the projected Poyang Port. From the Poyang Port it runs along the west shore of the Poyang Lake through Nanking and Wucheng to Nanchang, where it meets the Wenchow-Shenchow and Foochow-Wuchang lines. From Nanchang it proceeds up the Kan Kiang

Valley, via Linkiang to Kian, where it crosses the projected Kienchang-Yuanchow line. After Kian, it proceeds to Kanchow where it crosses the Foochow-Kweilin line. Thence it goes to Nankanghsien and Nanan. After Nanan it crosses the boundary mountain, Tayuling, into Kwangtung at Nanyung, thence passes through Chihing to Siuchow, where it meets the Canton-Hankow line. This line covers a distance of about 800 miles.

k. The Nanking-Kaying Line

This line starts from Nanking, proceeds to Lishui and Kaoshun and then crosses the Kiangsu border into Anhwei at Suencheng. From Suencheng it proceeds to Ningkwo and Hweichow. After Hweichow it crosses the Anhwei border into Chekiang, passing through Kaihwa, Changshan, and Kiangshan, and leaving Chekiang enters Fukien at Pucheng. From Pucheng it proceeds via Kienningfu to Yenping where it crosses the Foochow-Wuchang line and then goes through Shahsien and Yungan to Ningyang, where it meets the Foochow-Kweilin and Amoy-Kienchang lines. From Ningyang it proceeds to Lungyen and Yungting, then joining the Amoy-Canton line at Tsungkow proceeds together to Kaying, its terminus. This line runs over a distance of about 750 miles.

l. The Coast Line Between the Great Eastern and the Great Southern Ports

This line starts from the Great Southern Port—Canton—proceeds in the same direction as the Canton-Kowloon line as far as Shelung and then goes its own way following the course of the Tungkiang River to Waichow. From Waichow it proceeds to Samtochuck, Haifung, and Lukfung, then turning northeastward goes to Kityang and Chaochow. After Chaochow it goes to Jaoping, then crossing the Kwangtung-Fukien border to Chaoan. Thence it proceeds to Yunsiao, Changpu, Changchow, and Amoy. From Amoy it proceeds to Chuanchow, Hinghwa, and Foochow, the capital of Fukien. After Foochow it proceeds in the same direction as the Foochow-Chinkiang line, as far as Fuan, then turns eastward to Funing, and northward to Futing. After Futing it crosses the Fukien border into Chekiang and proceeds through Pingyang to Wenchow. At Wenchow it crosses the Wukiang and proceeds to Lotsing, Hwangyen, and Taichow. Thence, it proceeds through Ninghai to Ningpo, its own terminus, where it connects with the Ningpo-Hangchow line,

thus linking it up with the Great Eastern Port via Hangchow. This line covers a distance from Canton to Ningpo of about 1,100 miles.

月 南京韶州线

此线自南京起，循扬子江右岸而上，至于太平、芜湖、铜陵、池州、东流以后，出安徽界，入江西之彭泽，遂至湖口。在湖口与东方大港重庆线会，即用该线之桥，以至鄱阳港。于是沿鄱阳湖之西岸，经过南康（星子）、吴城，以至南昌，与温州辰州线及福州武昌线会于南昌。由南昌溯赣江谷地而上，由临江（江渡）至吉安，与建昌沅州之计划线交于吉安。由吉安至于赣州，复与福州桂林线交焉。于是进向南康县，及南安。南安以后，过大庾岭分界处，入广东之南雄。于是经始兴，至韶州，与粤汉线会。此线长约八百英里。

盈 南京嘉应线

此线自南京起，进至溧水、高淳。于是出江苏界，入安徽之宣城。自宣城进至宁国及徽州（歙县）。徽州以后，出安徽界，入浙江界，经开化、常山及江山。出浙江界，入福建之浦城。自浦城，由建宁（建瓯）以至延平，与福州武昌线交，更过沙县、永安以至宁洋，与福州桂林线及厦门建昌线会。自宁洋复进至龙岩、永定，至松口与厦门广州线合，迄嘉应而止。所经之路约七百五十英里。

昃 东方南方两大港间海岸线

此线自南方大港广州起，与广九铁路采同一方向，行至石龙，乃自择路线，取东江沿岸一路，以至惠州。由惠州经三多祝、海丰、陆丰，转东北行，至揭阳及潮州。潮州以后，经饶平出广东界，入福建之诏安。自诏安经云霄、漳浦、漳州，以及厦门。由厦门，历泉州、兴化，而至福州省城。自福州以后，用与福州镇江线同一之方向抵福安，乃转而东，至福宁，又转而北，至福鼎。过福鼎后，出福建界，入浙江界，经平阳，至温州。于温州渡瓯江，进至乐清、黄岩、台州，又进历宁海，至于宁波，以为终点。即用杭甬铁路，经杭州，以与东方大港相接。此线自广州至宁波，长约一千一百英里。

m. The Kienchang-Yuanchow Line

This line starts from Kienchang and runs through Yihwang, Loan, Yungfeng, and Kishui to Kian, where it crosses the Nanking-Siuchow line.

After Kian it proceeds to Yungsin and Lienhwa where it meets the Swatow-Changteh line. Thence it crosses the Kiangsi border into Hunan, at Chaling, then through Anjen to Hengchow where it crosses the Canton-Hankow line. From Hengchow the line proceeds to Paoking where it crosses line (a) of the Canton-Chungking Railway then westward to Yuanchow, its terminus, where it joins with the Shasi-Singyi line. This line covers a distance of about 550 miles. The total length of this Southeastern Railway System is about 9,000 miles.

Part III The Northeastern Railway System

This system will cover the whole of Manchuria, a part of Mongolia, and a part of Chihli province—an area of nearly 500,000 square miles, with a population of 25,000,000. This region is surrounded by mountains on three sides and opens on the south to the Liaotung Gulf. Amidst these three mountain ranges lies a vast and fertile plain drained by three rivers—the Nonni on the north, the Sungari on the northeast, and the Liaoho on the south. This part of China was once regarded as a desert, but since the completion of the Chinese Eastern Railway it has been found to be the most productive soil in China. It supplies the whole of Japan and a part of China with nitrogenous food in the form of soya bean. This bean, the wonderful properties of which were early discovered by the Chinese, contains the richest nitrogenous substance among vegetables and has been used as a meat substitute for many thousand years. Vegetable milk is extracted from this bean, and from this milk various kinds of preparations are made. The extraction from this bean has been proved by modern chemists to be richer than any kind of meat. The Chinese and the Japanese have used this kind of artificial meat and milk from time immemorial. Recently food administrators in Europe and America have paid great attention to this meat substitute, while the export of soya bean to Europe and America has steadily increased. This Manchu-Mongolian plain is destined to be the source of the world's supply of soya bean. Besides soya bean, this plain also produces a great quantity of various kinds of grains, and supplies the entire Eastern Siberia with wheat. The Manchurian mountains are exceedingly rich in timber and minerals—gold being especially found in great quantities in many localities.

辰 建昌沅州线

此线自建昌起，行经宜黄、乐安、永丰、吉水，以至吉安，即于该地与南京韶州线相交。由吉安进而及永新、莲花，与汕头常德线会。于是出江西界，入湖南之茶陵，乃经安仁，至衡州，遇粤汉线。于是由衡州更进至宝庆，则与广州重庆甲线交焉。由是西行，至于终点沅州（芷江），与沙市兴义线相遇。此线长约五百五十英里。东南铁路系统各线，全长统共约九千英里。

第三部 东北铁路系统

此系统包括满洲之全部，与蒙古及直隶省之各一部分，占有面积约五十万英方里，人口约二千五百万。其地域三面为山所围绕，独于南部则开放，直达至辽东海湾。在此三山脉之中，低落成为一广浩肥美之平原，并为三河流所贯注，嫩江位于北，松花江位于东北，辽河位于南。此之境界，中国前时视之，等于荒漠，但自中东铁路成立后，始知其为中国最肥沃之地。此地能以其所产大豆，供给日本全国与中国一部分为食料之用。此种大豆为奇美物品，在植物中含有最富蛋白质之物，早为中国人所发明；经用以代肉品，不下数千年。由此种大豆可以提出一种豆浆，其质等于牛奶，复由此种豆奶制成各种食品，此种食品为近代化学家所证明，其涵肉质比肉类尤为丰富；而中国人与日本人用之以当肉与奶用者，已不知其始自何时矣。近来欧美各国政府之粮食管理官，对于此项用以代肉之物品，其为注意。所以此种大豆之输出于欧美者，亦日见增加。由此观之，满洲平原确可称为世界供给大豆之产地。除此大豆以外，此平原并产各种谷类极多，就麦一类言之，已足供西伯利亚东部需用。至于满洲之山岭，森林、矿产素称最富，金矿之发见于各地者亦称最旺。

Railway construction in this region has proved to be a most profitable undertaking. At present there are already three railway systems tapping this rich country, viz., the Peking-Mukden line, the best paying railroad in China, the Japanese South-Manchurian Railway, also a very remunerative line, and the Chinese Eastern Railway, the best paying portion of the whole Siberian system. Besides these, there are many lines projected by the Japanese. In order to develop this rich region properly a network of railways should be projected.

Before dealing with the separate lines of this network of railways, I should like to propose a center for them, just as the spider's nest is to a cobweb. I shall name this central city "Tungchin," the Eastern Mart, which should be situated at a point southwest of the junction of the Sungari and Nonni rivers, about 110 miles west by south from Harbin, and will be in a more advantageous position than the latter. This new city will be the center not only of the railway system but also of the inland water communication when the Liaoho-Sungari Canal is completed.

With the projected city of Tungchin as a center, I propose the following lines:

a. The Tungchin-Hulutao line.

b. The Tungchin-Great Northern Port line.

c. The Tungchin-Dolon Nor line.

d. The Tungchin-Kerulen line

e. The Tungchin-Moho line.

f. The Tungchin-Korfen line.

敷设铁路于此境域，经已证明其为最有利益之事业。现已成立铁路贯通于此富饶区域者，已有三干线。如京奉线，为在中国之最旺铁路；日本之南满铁路，亦为获利最厚路线；中东铁路，又为西伯利亚系统之最旺部分。除此以外，尚有数线为日本人所计划经营。如欲依次发展此之富庶区域，即应敷设一网式铁路，乃足敷用也。

在未论及此网式铁路之各支线以前，吾意以为当先设立一铁路中区，犹蜘蛛巢之于蜘蛛网也。吾且名此铁路中区曰“东镇”。此东镇当设立于嫩江与松花江合流处之西南，约距哈尔滨之西南偏一百英里，将来必成为一最有利益之位置。此之新镇，不独可为铁路系统之中心，至当辽河、松花江间之运河成立后，且可成为水陆交通之要地。

既以此计划之新市镇“东镇”为中区，吾拟建筑如下之各线：

天 东镇葫芦岛线。

地 东镇北方大港线。

玄 东镇多伦线。

黄 东镇克鲁伦线。

宇 东镇漠河线。

宙 东镇科尔芬线。

g. The Tungchin-Yaoho line.

h. The Tungchin-Yenchi line.

i. The Tungchin-Changpeh line.

j. The Hulutao-Jehol-Peking line.

k. The Hulutao-Kerulen line.

l. The Hulutao-Hailar line.

m. The Hulutao-Antung line.

n. The Moho-Suiyuan line.

o. The Huma-Chilalin or Shihwei line.

p. The Ussuri-Tumen-Yalu-Coast line.

q. The Linkiang-Dolon Nor line.

r. The Chikatobo-Sansing or Ilan line.

s. The Sansing or Ilan-Kirin line.

t. The Kirin-Dolon Nor line.

a. The Tungchin-Hulutao Line

This is the first line that radiates from this projected Manchurian railway center, and is the shorter of the two direct lines that lead to the ice-free ports on the Liaotung-Chihli Gulf. It runs almost parallel to the South Manchurian Railway, the distance between the two lines being about 80 miles at the northern end, converging to 40 miles at Sinmin, and diverging again after that point. According to the original agreement with the former Russian Government, no parallel line within 100 miles was allowed to be built. But such restriction must be abolished under this new International Development Scheme for the benefit of all concerned. This line starts from Tungchin, and proceeds southward across the vast Manchurian plain by Changling, Shuangshan, Liaoyuan, and Kangping, to Sinmin in a straight line covering a distance of about 270 miles. After Sinmin, the line joins the Peking-Mukden Railway and runs on the same track for a distance of about 130 miles to Hulutao.

b. The Tungchin-Great Northern Port Line

This line is the second that radiates from this railway center direct to a deep water ice-free seaport. It starts from Tungchin, proceeding in a southwesterly direction, passes Kwangan, midway between Tungchin and the West Liaoho, and many other small settlements before it crosses the Liaoho. After crossing the Liaoho, it enters the mountainous regions of the Jehol district by a valley to Fowsin, a hsien city, and crosses the watershed into the

Talingho Valley. After passing through the Talingho Valley, the line crosses another watershed into the Luan Valley by a branch of the same river. Then it penetrates the Great Wall and proceeds to the Great Northern Port by way of Yungping and Loting. The whole length of this line is about 550 miles, the first half of which is on level land and the second half in mountainous country.

洪 东镇饶河线。

荒 东镇延吉线。

日 东镇长白线。

月 葫芦岛热河北京线。

盈 葫芦克鲁伦线。

昃 葫芦岛呼伦线。

辰 葫芦岛安东线。

宿 漠河绥远线。

列 呼玛室韦线。

张 乌苏里图们鸭绿沿海线。

寒 临江多伦线。

来 节克多博依兰线。

暑 依兰吉林线。

往 吉林多伦线。

天 东镇葫芦岛线

此是由计划中之满洲铁路中区分出之第一线。比较其他直达辽东半岛之不冰口岸之二线为短，路线与南满铁路平行。在两线之北部末尾，相距约八十英里。依据与俄前政府所订原约，不能在南满铁路百里以内建筑并行路线，但当施行国际发展计划，为共同利益起见，此等约束必须废除。此线起自东镇，向南延进，经过满洲大平原，由长岭、双山、辽源、康平而至新民，成为一直线，约有二百七十英里之长。过新民后，即与京奉铁路合轨，约行一百三十英里之长，即至葫芦岛。

地 东镇北方大港线

此是由铁路中区直达不冰之深水港之第二线。起自东镇，向西南方延进，经过广安于东镇与西辽河间之中道。在未到西辽河以前，先须经过无数小村落。当经过辽河之后，即进入热河区域之多山境界。经过一谷地至阜新县城，再经过分水界，进入大凌河谷地。当经过大凌河谷地之后，此线即由此河之支流，再经一分水界而入于滦河谷地。然后通过万里长城，取道永平与乐亭，而至北方大港。此线共长约五百五十英里，前半截所经过者是平地，后半截所经过者是山区。

c. The Tungchin-Dolon Nor Line

This is the third line that radiates from the railway center and proceeds nearly in a westerly direction across the plain to Taonan where it crosses the projected Aigun-Jehol line (Japanese), and also meets the termini of two other projected lines, the Changchun-Taonan and the Tsengkiatun-Taonan (Japanese). After Taonan, the line turns more southward by skirting along the foothills of the southeastern side of the Great Khingan range where vast virgin forests and rich minerals are found. Then it passes through the upper Liaoho Valley formed by the Great Khingan Mountain on the north, and the Jehol Mountain on the south and through the towns of Linsi and Kingpang to Dolon Nor, where it meets the trunk line of the Northwestern Railway system. This line covers a distance of about 480 miles, a greater part of which is on level land.

d. The Tungchin-Kerulen Line

This is the fourth line that radiates from the Tungchin Railway center. It runs in a northwesterly direction almost parallel with the Harbin-Manchuli line of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the distance between the two lines varying from 100 to 130 miles. The line starts from Tungchin on the north side of the junction of the Nonni and Sungari rivers and proceeds westward across the Nonni River to Talai, and then turns northwestward across the plain into the valley of the north branch of the Guileli River. After entering the valley, it follows the stream up to its source, then crosses the Great Khingan Mountain watershed into the Mongolian Plain by the Khalka River, and follows the right bank of this river to the north end of Bor Nor Lake. Thence it turns directly westward to the Kerulen River, and follows the south bank of the river to Kerulen. This line covers a distance of about 630 miles.

玄 东镇多伦线

此是由铁路中区分出之第三线。向西方直走，经过平原，至洮南。由此横过日本之计划瑷珲热河线，并与长春洮南及郑家屯洮南两计划路线之终点相合。经过洮南后，此线即沿大兴安岭山脉东南方之山脚转向南走，在此一带山脉，发见有最丰盛之森林与富饶之矿产。然后经过上辽河谷地，此谷地即由在北之大兴安岭与在南之热河山所成。再通过林西与经棚等市镇，至多伦，于是由此处与西北铁路系统之干线相合。此线长约有四百八十英里，大半皆在平地。

黄 东镇克鲁伦线

此由东镇铁路中区分出之第四线。向西北走，几与中东路之哈尔滨满洲里线平行。两线相隔之距离，由一百英里至一百三十英里不等。此线由嫩江与松花江合流处之东镇北部起，复向西渡嫩江，至大赉，转西北向，横过平原，进入奎勒河之北支流谷地。当进入此谷地后，即沿此河流直上至河源处，然后横过大兴安岭分水界，进入蒙古平原。于是从哈尔哈河之右岸至贝尔池北之末端，由彼处转向西走，至克鲁伦河，即循克鲁伦河南岸至克鲁伦。此线约共长六百三十英里。

e. The Tungchin-Moho Line

This is the fifth line that radiates from this railway center. It starts from the north side of the junction of the Nonni and Sungari rivers, and proceeds northwestward across the northern end of the Great Man- churian Plain to Tsitsiha. At Tsitsiha, it joins the projected Kinchow-Aigun line and proceeds together northwestward alongside the left bank of the Nonni River as far as Nunkiang where it separates from the other. Thence it resumes the northwesterly direction and proceeds into the upper Nonni Valley until the headwater is reached. Then it crosses the northern extremity of the Great Khingan Range to Moho, where it joins the terminus of the Dolon Nor-Moho line. This line is about 600 miles long. About a quarter of this length runs on the plain, the second quarter runs along the lower Nonni Valley, the third along the Upper Valley, and the fourth runs in mountainous but gold-bearing regions, where only physical difficulties are to be expected.

f. The Tungchin-Korfen Line

This is the sixth line from the railway center. It also starts on the

northern side of the Nonni-Sungari junction, and proceeds across the plain by the cities Chaotung and Tsingkang. After Tsingkang it crosses the Tungkun River, proceeds to Hailun, and then, ascending the Tungkun Valley, crosses the watershed of the Little Khingan Mountain. Thence it descends into the Korfen Valley and proceeds by Chelu to Korfen on the right bank of the Amur River. This line covers a distance of 350 miles, two thirds of which run on comparatively level land and one third in mountainous district. This is the shortest line from Tungchin to the Amur River and the Russian territory on yonder side.

g. The Tungchin-Yaoho Line

This is the seventh line that radiates from this railway center. It starts from the northern side of the Nonni-Sungari junction and traverses the plain on the left of the Sungari River by Chaochow, then crosses the Chinese Eastern Railway, and the Hulan River to Hulan. After Hulan, it proceeds to Payen, Mulan, and Tungho, then crosses the Sungari River to Sansing, now called Ilan. Thence it proceeds into the Wokan Valley and crosses the watershed by Chihsingshitse and Takokai into the Noloho Valley and passing by various villages and towns along this river to Yaohohsien, ends at the junction of the Noloho and the Ussuri River. This line covers a distance of 500 miles in very fertile country.

宇 东镇漠河线

此是由铁路中区发出之第五线。起自嫩江与松花江合流处之北部，向西北行，横过满洲平原之北端，至齐齐哈尔。在齐齐哈尔与计划之锦瑷线相会，同向西北方，沿嫩江左岸走，至嫩江，而后彼此分路。于是再向西北走，进入嫩江上流谷地，至发源处再横过大兴安岭山脉之北部末尾处至漠河，在漠河与多伦漠河线之末站相会。此线约长六百英里。全线首之四分一行经平源，其次之四分一沿嫩江下流走，第三之四分一行经上流谷地，第四之四分一截经山岭。是为金矿产地，但天然险阻亦意中事也。

宙 东镇科尔芬线

此是由铁路中区分出之第六线。起至嫩江与松花江合流处之北边，向平原前行，经肇东、青冈等城镇。到青冈后，渡通肯河，至海伦。然后上通肯河谷地，横过小兴安岭分水界，由此即向下进入科尔芬谷地。

经车陆前行，至科尔芬，即黑龙江之右岸也。此线共长约三百五十英里，三分二为平地，三分一为山地。此为由东镇至黑龙江之最短线，黑龙江之对岸即俄境也。

洪 东镇饶河线

此是由铁路中区分出之第七线。起自嫩江、松花江合流处之北边，经肇州，绕松花江左岸行经平原，而后再横过中东铁路，渡呼兰河，而至呼兰。过呼兰后，向巴彦、木兰、通河等地方前进，再渡松花江至三姓，即今名依兰地方也。于是向前进入倭肯河谷地，过分水界，经七星碣子与大锅盖等地方，进入饶河谷地。于是沿此河边经过无数村落市镇，始至饶河县，以饶河与乌苏里江合流处为终点。此线之距离约有五百英里，所经之处皆为肥美土地。

h. The Tungchin-Yenchi Line

This is the eighth line that radiates from this railway center. It starts from the eastern side of the Nonni-Sungari junction and proceeds in a southeasterly direction on the right side of the Sungari River to Fuyu or Petunai and various towns along the road on the same side of the river until it comes across the Harbin-Talien Railway, then turns away from the road and proceeds eastward to Yushu and Wuchang. After Wuchang, the line turning more southward, proceeds to Fengtechang and then follows the same direction to Omu. At Omu, it crosses the Mutan River, then proceeds to Liangshuichuan and Shehtauho, where it joins the Japanese Hweining-Kirin line and proceeds together to Yenchi. This line covers a length of about 330 miles through very rich agricultural and mineral country.

i. The Tungchin-Changpeh Line

This is the ninth line that radiates from the Tungchin railway center. It starts from the south side of the Nonni-Sungari junction and proceeds in a southeasterly direction across the plain to Nungan. After Nungan, it crosses the Itung River and proceeds continuously in the same direction across several branches of the same river to Kiudaichan, where it joins the Changchun-Kirin line and proceeds together as far as Kirin. After Kirin, it goes its own way following the right bank of the Sungari River in a southeasterly direction to the junction of Lafaho River and turns southward along the same bank of the Sungari to Huatien. After Huatien, it continues in

the same course up to Toutaokiang, as far as Fusung, then turns southeastward into the Sunghsiangho Valley and proceeds upward to the Changpeh Shan watershed by skirting the south side of the Celestial Lake, then turns southward following the Aikiang River to Changpeh on the Korean frontier. This line covers a distance of about 330 miles. Some great difficulties are to be overcome in the last portion of the line where it crosses the Changpeh watershed.

荒 东镇延吉线

此是第八线，由铁路中区分出。起自嫩江、松花江会流处之东边，循松花江右岸，向东南方前行，至扶余（又名伯都讷），并经过此江边之镇甚多，至横过哈尔滨大连铁路后，即转向东行，至榆树与五常等地方。到五常后，此线转偏南行，向丰德栈前进，而后依同一方向至额穆。于是由额穆渡牡丹江，然后向凉水泉与石头河前行，至此即与日本会宁吉林线合轨，直达于延吉。此线约共长三百三十英里，经过各农产与矿产极丰富之地方。

日 东镇长白线

此是由铁路中区分出之第九线。起自嫩江、松花江相会处之南部，向东南方走，横过平原，至农安。渡伊通河，相继向同一方进行，经过此河之各支流，至九台站。复由此与长春吉林线合轨，直行至吉林。迨至吉林后，则由其本路循松花江右岸，向东南行至拉法河合流处，即沿松花江河岸转南行，至桦甸。即再由此溯流而上，至头道沟，直达抚松。即转东南行，进入松香河谷地。再溯流前行，经长白山分水界，绕天地湖边南部，然后转向循爱江至长白，即近高丽边界地方也。此线之距离约共三百三十英里。最后之一部分，当经过长白分水界时，须历许多困难崎岖之地。

j. The Hulutao-Jehol-Peking Line

With this line I shall begin to deal with a new group of the Northeastern Railway System which will make Hulutao, the ice-free port on the Liaotung Gulf as their center and terminus. This, the first line, starts from Hulutao and proceeds westward up the Shaho Valley to Sintaipienmen. Thence it crosses the mountainous district through Haiting, Mangniuyingtse, and Sanshihkiatse to Pingchuan, and continues in the same direction to Jehol or Chengteh. After Jehol, it proceeds by the old imperial highway to Lwanping, then turns

southwestward to Kupehkow where it penetrates the Great Wall. Thence it follows the same highway through Miyun and Shunyi to Peking. This line covers a distance of about 270 miles.

k. The Hulutao-Kerulen Line

This is the second line of the Hulutao radiation. It starts from this seaport and proceeds northward through the mountainous region of Jehol by Kienping and Chihfeng. Thence, the line follows the highway across the Upper Valley of Liaoho to Chianchang, Sitoo, Takinkou, and Linsi. After Linsi, it proceeds up the Lukiako Valley and crosses the watershed at the southern extremity of the Great Khingan Mountain, through Kanchumiao and Yufuchih. Then it proceeds to Payenbolak, Uniket, and Khombukure where it joins with the Dolon Nor-Kerulen line and proceeds together to Kerulen. This line up to Khombukure covers a distance of about 450 miles, tapping a very rich mineral, timber, and agricultural country.

l. The Hulutao-Hailar Line

This, the third line, starts from Hulutao and proceeds by way of Chinchow along the west side on the Talingho River to Yichow, where it crosses the Talingho to Chinghopienmen and Fowsin. After Fowsin, the line goes northward to Suitung, thence, crossing the Siliaoho to Kailu, it proceeds between the Great and Little Fish Lakes to Kinpan and Tachuan. Then it proceeds across the Great Khingan Mountain into the Oman Valley and follows the same river to Hailar. This line covers a distance of about 600 miles passing through rich mineral and agricultural land and virgin forests.

月 葫芦岛热河北京线

由此吾将从而另为计划东北铁路系统之一新组，此组以辽东半岛之不冰口岸葫芦岛为总站。此第一线起自葫芦岛，向西方走进沙河谷地，至新台边门。于是行过海亭、牤牛营子、三十家子之多山境界，至平泉，复依同一方向直达热河（又名承德）。到热河后，由旧官路至滦平，然后转西南向，至古北口，通过万里长城，由彼处循通路经密云与顺义，至北京。此线之距离约有二百七十英里。

盈 葫芦岛克鲁伦线

此是由葫芦岛分出之第二线。起自葫芦岛口岸，向北直走，经建平与赤峰。行过热河之多山地域后，此线循通道而行，过辽河谷地上部，至间场、西图、大金沟与林西等地方。到林西即进至陆家窝谷地，即由甘珠庙、右府迹，经过大兴安岭极南之水分界。然后再进至巴原布拉克、乌尼克特及欢布库列，由此即与多伦克鲁伦线合轨，直达克鲁伦。此线以达至欢布库列计之，约长四百五十英里，经过丰富之矿产、木材、农业等地方。

昃 葫芦岛呼伦线

此是由葫芦岛分出之第三线。取道锦州，循大凌河右边直走至义州，由此渡大凌河，至清河边门与阜新。到阜新后，此线即向北直行至绥东，由此渡西辽至开鲁，再由大鱼湖与小鱼湖之间直达合板与突泉。然后横过大兴安岭，进入阿满谷地，沿河流直达呼伦。此线长约六百英里，所经过地方皆富于矿产与农业，并有未开发之森林。

m. The Hulutao-Antung Line

This, the fourth line, starts from Hulutao and proceeding northeastward, follows the course of the projected Liaoho-Hulutao Canal, and then goes eastward to Newchwang and Haicheng. From there it proceeds southeastward to Sinmuchen, where it joins the Antung-Mukden line and proceeds together to Antung on the Korean border. This line covers a distance of about 220 miles. This together with the Hulutao-Jehol-Peking line will make the shortest line from Antung and beyond, i. e., Korea, to Peking.

n. The Moho-Suiyuan Line

With this as the first I am going to deal with another group of lines in this system. These will be the circumferential lines which link up the radii from the Tungchin center in two semicircles, the outer and the inner. This Moho-Suiyuan line starts from Moho and proceeds along the right bank of the Amur River to Ussuri, Omurh, Panga, Kaikukang, Anlo, and Woshimen. After this point, the river bends more southward and the line follows the same bend to Ankan, Chahayen, Wanghata, and Huma. From Huma, it proceeds to Sierhkenchi, Chila, Manchutun, Heiho, and Aigun where it meets the terminus of the Chinchow-Aigun line. After Aigun, the line turns more eastward to Homolerhchin, Chilirh, and Korfen where it meets the terminus of the Tungchin-Korfen line. Thence it proceeds to Wuyun, Foshan, and

Lopeh. After Lopeh, it goes to Hokang at the junction of the Amur and Sungari. At this point, the line crosses the Sungari River to Tungkiang and proceeds to Kaitsingkow, Otu, and Suiyuan where it ends. This line covers a distance of 900 miles running all its way through the gold-producing region.

o. The Huma-Chilalin or Shihwei Line

This is merely a branch of the Moho-Suiyuan line. It starts from Huma and follows the Kumara River passing by the Taleitse Gold Mine and Wapalakow Gold Mine. Then it proceeds up the Kumara River in a westerly and southwesterly direction to its southern source and there it crosses the watershed into the Halarh Valley, thence descending the valley to Chilalin or Shihwei. This line covers a distance of about 320 miles running in an extremely rich gold district.

辰 葫芦岛安东线

此第四线，自葫芦岛起，向东北方走，循计划中之辽河葫芦岛运河边直上，而后转东南行至牛庄与海城，由此再转东南行至析木城，于是与安东奉天线合轨，直达近高丽境界之安东。此线约长二百二十英里。此线与葫芦岛热河北京线连合，则成为一由安东以外之高丽至北京之至直捷之线矣。

宿 漠河绥远线

此是别一组铁路系统中之第一线，吾且进而论之。此等为环形线，以东镇中区为轴，成二半圆形，一内一外。此之漠河绥远线，起自漠河，沿黑龙江边前进至乌苏里、额木尔苹果、奎库堪、安罗、倭西们等地。过彼处后，此后转折南流，故此线亦循之至安干、察哈颜、望安达、呼玛等处。于是再由呼玛前行，至锡尔根奇、奇拉、满洲屯、黑河、瑷珲，在瑷珲乃与锦瑷线之终点相会。过瑷珲后，此线即渐转而东向，直达霍尔木勒津、奇克勒与科尔芬等处，在科尔芬与东镇科尔芬线相会。然后由彼处再进至乌云、佛山与萝北，由萝北直至同江，此即黑龙江与松花江会流之点也。此线即由此处渡松花江，抵同江。再由此向街津口额图前行，至绥远，即黑龙江与乌苏里河之合流处也。此线长约九百英里，至所经之地方，皆系金矿产地。

列 呼玛室韦线

此本是漠河绥远线之支线。起自呼玛，循库玛尔河，经过大砬子与瓦巴拉沟等金矿。然后溯库玛尔而上，向西行，又西南偏至此河北源。遂由彼处过分水界，进入哈拉尔谷地，于是由此谷地上达室苇。此线约长三百二十英里，经过极丰富之金矿地方。

p. The Ussuri-Tumen-Yalu-Coast Line

This, the second line of the outer semicircle, starts by continuing the first line at Suiyuan, and proceeds along the left bank of the Ussuri River, passing Kaulan, Fuyeu, and Minkang, to Yaoho, where it meets the terminus of the Tungchin-Yaoho line. From Yaoho, it runs parallel to the Russian Ussuri Railway on the east side of the river as far as Fulin. After Fulin, it parts from the Russian line by turning westward following the Mulingho River to Mishan on the northwestern corner of the Hanka Lake. Thence it goes to Pinganchin, turns southward alongside the boundary line and crosses the Harbin-Vladivostok line at Siusuifen Station to Tungning. After Tungning, it continues the same southward course alongside the boundary line to a point between Szetaukow and Wutaukow, then turns westward to Hunchun, and northwestward to Yenchi where it meets the projected Japanese Hweining-Kirin line. From Yenchi, it follows the Japanese line to Holung, and proceeds southwestward by the left side of the Tumen River across the watershed into the Yalu Valley, where it meets the Tungchin-Changpeh line. After Changpeh it turns westward and northwestward following the right bank of the Yalu to Linkiang, thence southwestward, still following the right bank of the Yalu, to Tsianhsien and then continues in the same direction, along the Yalu bank, to Antung, where it meets the Antung-Mukden Railway. After Antung, it proceeds to Tatungkow at the mouth of the Yalu, thence along the coast to Takushan and Chwangho, then westward through Situn and Pingfangtien to join the South Manchurian Railway at Wukiatun. This line covers a distance of 1,100 miles, which runs from end to end right along the southeastern boundary of Manchuria.

q. The Linkiang-Dolon Nor Line

This is the third line of the outer semicircle of the Tungchin railway center, and connects the radiating lines south of the center. It starts from Linkiang at the southwestward turn of the Yalu River, and proceeds across the mountainous region passing by Tunghwa, Hingking, and Fushun, to

Mukden, where it crosses the South Manchurian Railway. From Mukden, it goes together with the Peking-Mukden line as far as Sinmin, where it crosses the Tungchin-Hulutao line and proceeds northwestward through Sinlihtun to Fowsin. After Fowsin the line enters the hilly district of the upper Liaoho Valley, and proceeds to Chihfeng, after passing through numerous small villages and camping places in this vast pasture. After Chihfeng the line proceeds through the Yinho Valley by Sanchotien, Kungchuling, and Tachientse, to Famuku, thence follows the Tulakanho to Dolon Nor, covering a distance of about 500 miles.

张 乌苏里图们鸭绿沿海线

此是外半圆形之第二线。由绥远起与第一线相续，沿乌苏里江前行，经过高兰、富有、民康等处，至饶河，于是此线与东镇饶河线之末站相会。由饶河起南行，则与在乌苏里江东边之俄乌铁路成平行线，直达虎林而止。到虎林后即离俄罗斯线，转向西方，循穆陵河至兴凯湖之西北角之密山县。由此再至平安镇，转南向，循国界在小绥芬车站横过哈尔滨海参威线，直至东宁。到东宁后相继南向，循国界而行，至五道沟与四道沟间之交点。然后转而西行，至珲春，再西北走至延吉，于是与日本之会宁吉林线相会。由延吉循日本线至和龙，离日本线由图们江左岸向西南走，经过分水界，进入鸭绿谷地，即在此处与东镇长白线相会。过长白后即转西向，又西北偏，沿鸭绿江右岸至临江。彼时又复西南偏，仍沿鸭绿江右岸前行，至辑安县。再相继依同一方向，沿鸭绿江右岸直达安乐，由此即与安东奉天铁路相会。过安东后，向鸭绿江口之大东沟前走，循此海岸线至大孤山与庄河等处。然后转而西向，经平西屯、房店，至吴家屯，与南满铁路相会。此线之距离约有一千一百英里，自头至尾皆依满洲东南之国界而行也。

寒 临江多伦线

此是东镇铁路中区外半圆之第三线。与在中区南部分出之支线相接。此线起自临江，即鸭绿江之西南转弯处也。由此处向多山地域前进，经过通化、兴京与抚顺等地方，至奉天，横过南满铁路。于是此线由奉天与京奉线合轨，直达新民。由此横过东镇葫芦岛线，转向西北走，经过新立屯，至阜新。过阜新后，此线进入辽河谷地上部之山地，直向赤峰前行，经过无数小村落与帐幕地，皆大牧场也。此线由赤峰再前行，经三座店、公主陵、大辗子等处，通过银河谷地至发木谷，然后循吐根河至多伦诺尔。此线长五百英里。

r. The Chikatobo-Sansing or Ilan Line

This is the first line of the inner semicircle which connects the radiating lines from the Tungchin railway center on the northeast. It starts from Chikatobo on the upper reach of the Amur, and proceeds eastward and southeastward through many valleys and mountains of the Great Khingan Range to Nunkiang. After Nunkiang, it goes in a more southerly direction to Keshan, thence to Hailun, and then crosses the Sungari to Sansing or Ilan. This line covers a distance of about 700 miles, passing through an agricultural and gold-producing country.

s. The Sansing or Ilan-Kirin Line

This is the second line of the inner semicircle. It starts from Sansing and proceeds southwestward along the right bank of the Mutan River through Tauchan, Erchan, Sanchan, and Szuchan, to Chengtse where it crosses the Harbin-Vladivostok line. Then it goes to Ninguta, after crossing over the Mutan River from right to the left bank. After Ninguta it proceeds southwestward passing through Wungcheng, Lanchichan, Talachan, and Fungwangtien, to Omu. From Omu it joins the Japanese Hweining-Kirin line and proceeds westward to Kirin. This line covers a distance of about 200 miles, along the fertile Mutan Valley.

t. The Kirin-Dolon Nor Line

This is the third line of the inner semicircle in the Tungchin system. It starts from Kirin and follows the old highway westward to Changchun where it meets the termini of the Chinese Eastern Railway from the north and the Japanese South Manchurian Railway from the south. After Changchun, it proceeds across the plain to Shuangshan where it meets the Tungchin-Hulutao line and the Japanese Szupingkai-Chengkiatun-Taonan line. From Shuangshan, it crosses the Liao River to Liaoyuan, thence it traverses the vast plain, crossing the Tungchin-Great Northern Port line and goes to Suitung where it meets the Hulutao-Hailar line. After Suitung, it proceeds up the Liao Valley where it comes across the Hulutao-Kerulen line and then crosses the watershed to Dolon Nor where it ends. This line covers a distance of 500 miles. This completes the cobweb system of the projected Northeastern Railway. The total length of this entire system is about 9,000 miles.

来 节克多博依兰线

此是内半圆形之第一线。与东镇铁路中区之东北方所分出之各支线相连。起自黑龙江上游之节克多博，向东前行，又东南偏，经过大兴安岭山脉之谷地、山地数处，即至嫩江。过嫩江后，渐转南向，至克山，由彼处再至海伦，然后渡松花江至三姓，即依兰也。此线长约七百英里，经过农业与金矿地方。

暑 依兰吉林线

此是内半圆之第二线。起自依兰，向西南方，沿牡丹江右岸前行，经过头站、二站、三站、四站，到城子，即由此处横过哈尔滨海参威线。于是由牡丹江右岸渡至左岸，直往宁古塔。过宁古塔后，复向西方前行，经过瓮城、蓝旗站、搭拉站与凤凰店，至额穆。于此与日本之会宁吉林线相合，向西前行，至吉林。此线所行之长度线约二百英里，经过牡丹江之肥美谷地。

往 吉林多伦线

此是在东镇铁路系统中内半圆形之第三线。起自吉林，循旧通路西行至长春，于是在此与中东铁路北来之线及日本南满铁路南来之线之两末站相会。过长春后，即横过平原，至双山，又在此与东镇葫芦岛线及日本之四平街郑家屯洮南线相会。再由双山渡辽河，至辽源，复由彼处行经一大平原，经过东镇北方大港线，直达绥东，与葫芦岛呼伦线相会。过绥东后，循辽河谷地上行，先横过葫芦岛克鲁伦线，然后过分水界至多伦，是为终站。此线所经之远度约有五百英里。由以上所举，方能完成吾计划中东北铁路之蜘蛛网系统。就全系统路线之长言之，其总数约有九千英里。

Part IV The Extension of the Northwestern Railway System

The Northwestern Railway System covers the region of Mongolia, Sinkiang, and a part of Kansu, an area of 1,700,000 square miles. This territory exceeds the area of the Argentine Republic by 600,000 square miles. Argentina is now the greatest source of the world's meat supply, while the Mongolian pasture is not yet developed, owing to the lack of transportation facilities. As Argentina has superseded the United States in supplying the world with meat, so the Mongolian pasture will some day take the place of Argentina, when railways are developed and cattle raising is scientifically improved. Thus the construction of railroads in this vast food-producing region is an urgent necessity as a means of relieving the world from food shortage. In the first program of this International Development Scheme, I proposed 7,000 miles of railways for this vast and fertile region, for the purpose of developing the Great Northern Port, and relieving the congested population of southeastern China. But this 7,000 miles of railways form merely a pioneer line. In order to develop this virgin continent properly, more railways have to be constructed. Therefore in this plan, namely, the Extension of the Northwestern Railway System, I propose the following lines:

a. The Dolon Nor-Kiakata line.

b. The Kalgan-Urga-Tannu Ola line.

c. The Suiyuan-Uliassutai-Kobdo line.

d. The Tsingpien-Tannu Ola line.

e. The Suchow-Kobdo line.

f. The Northwestern Frontier line.

g. The Tihwa or Urumochi-Ulankom line.

h. The Gaskhiun-Tannu Ola line.

i. The Uliassutai-Kiakata line.

j. The Chensi or Barkul-Urga line.

第四部 扩张西北铁路系统

西北铁路系统包有蒙古、新疆与甘肃一部分之地域，面积约有一百七十万英方里。此幅土地，大于阿根廷共和国约六十万英方里。阿根廷为供给世界肉类之最大出产地，而蒙古牧场尚未开发，以运输之不便利也。以阿根廷既可代美国而以肉类供给世界，如蒙古地方能得铁路利便，又能以科学之方法改良畜牧，将来必可取阿根廷之地位而代之。此所以在此最大食物之生产地方建筑铁路为最要之图，亦可以救济世界食物之竭乏也。在国际共同发展中国之第一计划中，吾曾提议须敷设七千英里铁路于此境域，以为建筑北方大港之目的，而复可以将中国东南部过密之人民逐渐迁移。但此七千英里之铁路不过为一开拓者，如欲从实际上发展此丰富之境域，铁路必须增筑。故在此扩张西北铁路系统之计划中，吾提议建筑下列之各线：

天 多伦恰克图线。

地 张家口库伦乌梁海线。

玄 绥远乌里雅苏台科布多线。

黄 靖边乌梁海线。

宇 肃州科布多线。

宙 西北边界线。

洪 迪化乌兰固穆线。

荒 戛什温乌梁海线。

日 乌里雅苏台恰克图线。

月 镇西库伦线。

k. The Suchow-Urga line.

1. The Desert Junction-Kerulen line.

m. The Khobor-Kerulen-Chikatobo line.

n. The Wuyuan-Taonan line.

o. The Wuyuan-Dolon Nor line.

p. The Yenki-Ili line.

q. The Ili-Hotien line.

r. The Chensi-Kashgar line and its branches.

a. The Dolon Nor-Kiakata Line

This Line starts from Dolon Nor and proceeds in a northwesterly direction, following the caravan road across the vast pasture to Khorkho, Kuoto, and Suliehto. After Suliehto, it crosses the boundary line into Outer Mongolia by the same road to Khoshentun, Lukuchelu, and Yangto. Thence it crosses the Kerulen River to Otukunkholato, and enters the hilly region where it crosses the Kerulen watershed and the Chikoi watershed. The water from the Kerulen watershed flows into the Amur, and thence into the Pacific Ocean, while the water from the Chikoi watershed flows into Lake Baikal, and thence to the Arctic Ocean. After crossing the Chikoi watershed, it follows a branch of the Chikoi River to Kiakata. This line covers a distance of about 800 miles.

b. The Kalgan-Urga-Tannu Ola Line

This line starts from Kalgan at the Great Wall, and proceeds northwestward up the plateau, crosses a range of hills into the Mongolian prairie, and goes to Mingan, Boroldshi, Ude, and Khobor, where it crosses the Dolon Nor-Urumochi trunk line. After Khobor, it proceeds across the vast and rich pasture of Mubulan, then proceeds in a straight line through Mukata and Nalaiha to Urga. From Urga, it goes into the hilly district crossing Selenga Valley to a point opposite the southern end of Lake Kos Gol, and then turns northward across a range of mountains to Khatkhyl on the southern shore of Kos Gol. After Khatkhyl, it skirts Kos Gol Lake along the western shore for some distance, then turns northwestward and westward, following the course of the Khua Kem River to a point near its exit at the frontier line, then turns southwestward up the Kemtshik Valley to its headwater, passes through Pakuoshwo, and ends at the boundary line beween the Russian and Chinese territories. This line covers a distance of about 1,700 miles.

盈 肃州库伦线。

昃 沙漠联站克鲁伦线。

辰 格合克鲁伦节克多博线。

宿 五原洮南线。

列 五原多伦线。

张 焉耆伊犁线。

寒 伊犁和阗线。

来 镇西喀什噶尔线。

天 多伦恰克图线

此线起自多伦，向西北方前行，循驿路横过大牧场，至喀特尔呼、阔多、苏叠图等处。过苏叠图后，此线即横过界线至外蒙古，依同一路线至霍申屯、鲁库车鲁、杨图等地方。由彼处渡克鲁伦河，至额都根、霍勒阔，进入山地。于是即横过克鲁伦河分水界与赤奎河分水界，克鲁伦分水界之水则流入黑龙江而至太平洋，赤奎河分水界之水则流入贝加尔湖，再由彼处至北冰洋。过克奎河分水界后，此路即循赤奎河之支派，至恰克图。其线长约八百英里。

地 张家口库伦乌梁海线

此线起自万里长城之张家口，向西北前进高原，横过山脉，进入蒙古大草场，走向明安、博罗里治、乌得与格合，即横过多伦迪化干线。过格合后，此线前行经过穆布伦之广大肥沃牧场，然后依直线再前行，经穆克图、那赖哈、库伦。由库伦此线即进入山地，横过色楞格谷地，至一地点，在库苏古尔泊南部末端之对面。然后再转北向，横过山脉，从库苏古尔之南岸之哈特呼尔。过哈特呼尔后，此线绕库苏古尔泊边走约一段距离，即再转西北向，又西偏循乌鲁克穆河岸，至近国界之出口点，复转西南向，直上克穆赤克谷地，至其发源处，通过巴阔洼，直达中俄国境交界处而止。此线之距离约有一千七百英里。

c. The Suiyuan-Uliassutai-Kobdo Line

This line starts from Suiyuan in the northwestern corner of Shansi, and proceeds in a northwesterly direction across the hilly country into the Mongolian pasture to Tolibulyk, where it crosses the Great Northern Port-Hami line, and the Great Eastern Port-Urga line. After Tolibulyk, it proceeds in a straight line in the same direction passing through Barunsudshi to the capital of Tuchetu. Thence it continues in the same straight line northwestward to Gorida. After Gorida, it follows the caravan road to

Kolitikolik where it crosses the Great Northern Port-Urumochi trunk line. From Kolitikolik, the line turns northwestward, then westward and proceeds across many streams and valleys and passes by many small towns to Uliassutai. At Uliassutai, it crosses the B. Junction-Frontier branch of the Great Eastern Port-Urumochi line. After Uliassutai, the line proceeds westward following the trade road, passes through Khuduku, Bogu, Durganor, and Sakhibuluk to Kobdo. Thence the line turns northwestward to Khonga, Ukha, and Clegei, then westward to Beleu and ends at the frontier. This line is about 1,500 miles long.

d. The Tsingpien-Tannu Ola Line

This line starts from Tsingpien at the Great Wall, on the northern border of Shensi, proceeds through the Ordos country by Bonobalgasun, Orto, and Shinchao, and then crosses the Hoangho to Santaoho. From Santaoho, it proceeds across Charanarinula Mountain into Mongolian prairie in a northwesterly direction to Kurbansihata where it crosses the Peking-Hami line, then it goes to Unikuto and Enkin, where it crosses the Great Northern Port-Urumochi line. After Enkin, the line enters into a valley and watered district, proceeds northward to Karakorum, and then turns northwestward across various streams and valleys of the tributary of the Selenga River by Sabokatai and Tsulimiau. After Tsulimiau, it proceeds in the same direction across the Selenga River, follows its branch, the Telgir Morin River, up to its source and crosses the watershed into Lake Teri Nor. Then it follows the outlet of the Teri Nor to the Khua Kem River, where it ends by joining the Kalgan Urga-Tannu Ola line. This line covers a distance of about 1,200 miles.

玄 绥远乌里雅苏台科布多线

此线起自绥远，近于山西省之西北角地方，向西北方前进，经过山地进入蒙古牧场托里布拉克，于是横过北方大港哈密线与北方大港库伦线。过托里布拉克后，此线由同一方向依直线前行，通过匝们苏治，至土谢图省会。由彼处仍依直线向西北走，至霍勒特，再循商路至郭里得果勒。此线即转西向，再西北向前行，通过河流、谷地数处与小市镇，即至乌里雅苏台，于是在乌里雅苏台横过北方大港与乌鲁木齐线之第二联站边界支线。过乌里雅苏台后，此线即依商路向西方前行，通过呼都克卒尔、巴尔淖尔与匝哈布鲁等处，致科布多。彼时此线转西北向，至

欢戛喀图与列盖等处，即复西走至别留，以国界为终点。此线约长一千五百英里。

黄 靖边乌梁海线

此线起自靖边，即在陕西北界与万里长城相接地方也。此线向鄂尔多斯乡落前行，经波罗波勒格孙、鄂托、臣浊等处，然后过黄河至三道河。由三道河再前行，过哈那那林、乌拉岭，即进入在西北方之蒙古大草场，直至古尔斑、昔哈特，在此即经过北京哈密线。然后至乌尼格图、恩京，由恩京即经过北方大港乌鲁木齐线。过恩京后，此线进入谷地与分水界地，向北前进，至西库伦。于是再转西北行，经过色楞格河流域之各支流与谷地，即抵沙布克台与粗里庙等处。至粗里庙后，再向同一方向前行，渡色楞格河，沿其支流帖里吉尔穆连河，至发源处，经过流入帖里淖尔湖之分水界。然后沿此湖之出口，至乌鲁克穆河，即与张家口库伦乌梁海线相合，此即终点也。此线之长约有一千二百英里。

e. The Suchow-Kobdo Line

This line starts from Suchow in a northwesterly direction penetrating the Great Wall at Chiennew, and proceeds to the coal field, about 150 miles from Suchow. Then it goes to Habirhaubuluk and Ilatoli. A short way from this place the line comes across the Peking-Hami line and then proceeds to Balaktai. After this the line passes a bit of pure desert to Timenchi. After entering the hilly and watered country it proceeds to Gaskhiun where it crosses the Great Northern Port-Urumochi trunk line. After Gaskhiun, it proceeds to Wolanhutok, Tabateng, and Tabutu where it joins the Kucheng and Kobdo highway and following it, proceeds to Kobdo, through Batokuntai and Sutai. Here the line ends, covering a distance of about 700 miles.

f. The Northwestern Frontier Line

This line starts from Ili following the Urumochi-Ili line to Santai, on the eastern side of Zairam Lake, then proceeds northeastward by itself to Tuszusai on the west side of Ebi Lake. After Tuszusai it proceeds to Toli where it crosses the Central Trunk line, that is, the Great Eastern Port-Tarbogotai line. Thence it goes to Namukotai and Stolokaitai by passing through a vast forest and a rich coal field. From Stolokaitai, the line follows the highway and proceeds to Chenghwaszu, the capital of Altai province. Thence it crosses a mountain range by the Urmocaitu Pass into the Kobdo

Valley, and follows the course of the Kobdo River to Beleu where it joins the Suiyuan-Kobdo line and proceeds to Clegei. From Clegei, it proceeds by itself to Tabtu via Usungola and Ulamkom. At Tabtu, it joins the other line again and proceeds together to the Khua Kem River in the Tannu Ola district. It then turns eastward ascending the river to the junction of the Bei Kem and Khua Kem rivers, then starts again on its own course, following the former river and proceeds up to its source in a northeasterly direction ending at the frontier. This line covers a distance of about 900 miles.

g. The Tihwa or Urumochi-Ulankora Line

This line starts from Tihwa following the Dolon Nor trunk line to Fowkang, then proceeds by its own route almost northward through Chipichuan to Khorchute. From Khorchute, it turns northeastward and proceeds across a hilly district to Kaiche, then to Turhuta, where it crosses a branch line from Junction C. of the Great Northern Port-Urumochi line. After Turhuta, it turns northward, proceeds up the Pakaningale Valley to Zehoshita, and then crosses the Tilikta Pass. Thence it turns northeastward proceeding across the newly cultivated country to Kobdo. After Kobdo, it proceeds through a fertile plateau, by crossing many rivers and skirting many lakes to Ulankom, where it ends by joining the Northwestern Frontier line. It covers a distance of about 550 miles.

宇 肃州科布多线

此线起自肃州，向西北方走，在尖牛贯通万里长城，向煤矿地方前行，即离肃州二百五十里地方也。由彼处即往哈毕尔罕布鲁克与伊哈托里。离伊哈托里不远，此线即经过北京哈密线，然后前行至伯勒台，过此处后，经过一小块沙漠，即至底门赤鲁。当进此多山与下隰[3]　之乡落，再前行至戛什温，即横过北方大港乌鲁木齐干线。过戛什温，向倭伦呼都克、塔巴腾与塔普图，即由塔普图与古城科布多通道相合。于是循此路经伯多滚台、苏台，前行至科布多，即此线之末站。约共长七百英里。

宙 西北边界线

此线起自伊犁，循乌鲁木齐伊犁线，至三台，即赛里木湖之东边也。此线由此处向东北自行，沿艾比湖西方，至土斯赛。过土斯赛后，向托里前行，横过中央干线，即北方大港塔城线也。由彼处，此线即往

纳木果台与斯托罗盖台，经过最大之森林与最富之煤矿地方。再由斯托罗盖台依通道前行，至承化寺，是阿尔泰省之省会。于是由彼处横过山脉，经乌尔霍盖图山口入至科布多谷地，循科布多河河源至别留，由此与绥远科布多线直达乌列盖。由乌列盖依其本路取道乌松阔勒与乌兰固穆，行至塔布图，于是与他线再合，同行至在唐努乌梁海境内之乌鲁克穆河。然后转东向，沿河流而上，至别开穆与乌鲁河之合流处。即再前行，沿前流依东北方溯源直上至境界，是为终点。此线所经之距离约九百英里。

洪 迪化（又名乌鲁木齐）乌兰固穆线

此线起自迪化，依多伦迪化干线至阜康。然后循其本路向北前进，经自辟川，至霍尔楚台。由此转东北走，经过山地，至开车。然后至土尔扈特，于是横过北方大港乌鲁木齐线之支线第三交点。过土尔扈特尔后，转北行，经巴戛宁格力谷地，至斯和硕特。然后过帖列克特山口，由彼处即转东北向前行，经过一新耕种地方，即至科布多。再前行经过一肥沃草场，渡数河流，沿经数湖，即至乌兰固穆，在此即与西北边界线相会。此线长约五百五十英里。

h. The Gaskhiun-Tannu Ola Line

This line starts from Gaskhiun and proceeds northeastward across a hilly and watered country through Hatonhutuk and Talangjoleu, to Pornulu. After Pornulu, the line proceeds across the Sapkhyn Valley by Huchirtu and Porkho to Uliassutai where it meets the Suiyuan-Kobdo, and the Great Eastern Port-Uliassutai lines. After Uliassutai, the line proceeds northward to a quite new country by first crossing the headwaters of Selenga, then the headwaters of the Tess River. In the Tess Valley the line crosses a vast virgin forest. After emerging from this forest it proceeds northwestward across the watershed into the Khua Kem Valley in Tannu Ola and ends by joining the Northwestern Frontier line. This line covers a distance of about 650 miles.

i. The Uliassutai-Kiakata Line

This line starts from Uliassutai and runs on the track of the Gaskhiun-Tannu Ola line, until it reaches the Eder River, a branch of the Selenga. Then, turning off eastward, it begins its own course and proceeds downward following the course of the Eder River, crossing the Tsingpien-Tannu Ola line, to the junction of this river with the Selenga. There it joins the Kalgan-

Urga-Tannu Ola line and proceeds together eastward in the common track for some distance until the other line turns southeastward, when this line turns northeastward following the Selenga down to Kiakata. This line covers a distance of about 550 miles, running through a fertile valley.

荒 戛什温乌梁海线

此线起自戛什温，向东北前行，横过多山与隰地境界，经哈同呼图克与达兰趣律、博尔努鲁。过博尔努鲁后，此线通过匝盆谷地，经呼志尔图与博尔霍，至乌里雅苏台，在此与绥远科布多线及北方大港乌里雅苏台线相会。于是此线向北方前行于一新境地，先经过色楞格河之正源，然后经过帖斯河之正源，当在帖斯河谷地中，此线经过一极大未辟之森林。过此森林后，即转向西北走，经过分水界，进入在唐努乌梁海地方之乌鲁克穆谷地，与西北边界线相会，是为末站。此线共长六百五十英里。

日 乌里雅苏台恰克图线

此线起自乌里雅苏台，依戛什温乌梁海线前行，至色楞格河支流之鄂叠尔河止。然后转而东向，由其本线循鄂叠尔河流域前行而下，横过靖边乌梁海线，至鄂叠尔河与色楞格河合流处而止，于是与张家口库伦乌梁海线合轨，向东方前行颇远，待至彼线转东南向而止。当此线转东北向时，即循色楞格河下至恰克图。此线包有之距离约五百五十英里，经过一肥美谷地。

j. The Chensi or Barkul-Urga Line

This Line starts from Chensi or Barkul and proceeds northeastward across a cultivated region through Tutaku to Urkesiat. After Urkesiat, it crosses the Suchow-Kobdo line, then traverses the vast pasture on the north side of the Gobi Desert to Suchi and Dalantura. Thence it turns more northward across the Great Eastern Port-Uliassutai line, and the Dolon Nor-Urumochi line to Tashunhutuk. After this point the line crosses the Suiyuan-Uliassutai line at Ologai and proceeds over the watershed into the Selenga Valley where it crosses the Tsingpien-Tannu Ola line at Sabokatai. From here it turns eastward across a hilly and watered region to Urga. This line covers a distance of about 800 miles.

k. The Suchow-Urga Line

This line starts from Suchow and proceeds by Kinta to Maumu, and then follows the Taoho or Edsina River, which waters this strip of oasis, to the lakes. Thence it crosses the Gobi Desert, where it meets the crossing lines of the Peking-Hami and the Great Eastern Port-Uliassutai railways and with them forms a common junction. From this junction it proceeds across desert and pasture lands to another railway crossing which is formed by the Suiyuan-Kobdo and Tsingpien-Tannu Ola lines, also forming a common junction together. Thence it proceeds into pasture land through Hatengtu and Tolik to Sanintalai, where it crosses the Dolon Nor-Urumochi line. After Sanintalai, the line proceeds through Ulanhoshih and many other small towns and encampments to Urga. This line covers a distance of about 700 miles. One third of this length is through the desert and the other two thirds through watered pasture land.

l. The Desert Junction-Kerulen Line

This line starts from the Desert Junction, proceeds northeastward to the pastural land and crosses the Tsingpien-Tannu Ola line south of Ulan Nor Lake. Thence it proceeds to the Tuchetu Capital where it crosses the Suiyuan-Kobdo line. After the Tuchetu Capital it goes across a pasture to Junction A. From Junction A. it proceeds to Ulanhutuk and Chientingche, then crosses the Kalgan-Tannu Ola line to Zesenkhana. From Zesenkhana, the line follows the course of the Kerulen River down in a northeasterly direction to the city of Kerulen, where it crosses the Dolon Nor-Kerulen line, and meets the Kerulen-Tungchin line. This line covers a distance of about 800 miles.

月 镇西库伦线

此线起自镇西，向东北前行，横过一种植地域，道经图塔古，至苓尔格斜特。于是由乌尔格科特行过肃州科布多线，然后行经戈壁沙漠北边之大草场，至苏治与达阑图鲁。由彼处再向北走，横过北方大港乌里雅苏台线与多伦诺尔乌里雅苏台线，至塔顺呼图克。过此处后，此线即在鄂罗盖地方横过绥远乌里雅苏台线，前行过分水界，进入色楞格河谷地。于是在沙布克台行过靖边乌梁海线，从此即转东向，经过一多山水之境域，至库伦。此线所经之距离约八百英里。

盈 肃州库伦线

此线起自肃州，前行经金塔，至毛目。于是随道河（又名额经纳

河）而行，此河可以之灌注沙漠中之沃地。然后乃沿河流域而至一湖，复由彼处行经戈壁沙漠，即与北京哈密线及北方大港乌里雅苏台线之相交处相会，成为一共同联站。过此以后，此线向沙漠与草场前行，经过别一铁路交点，此铁路之交点即由绥远科布多线与靖边乌梁海线所成。于是此线在此处亦成为共同联站，由彼处前行，进入一大草地，经过哈藤与图里克，至三音达赖，于此即横过多伦诺尔乌鲁木齐线。过三音达赖后，此线前行经乌兰和硕与许多市镇营寨，即至库伦。此线包有之距离约七百英里，三分一路经过沙漠，其余三分之二经过低湿草地。

戻 沙漠联站克鲁伦线

此线起自沙漠联站，向东方前行，至一大草地。于是在鄂兰淖尔湖南方横过靖边乌梁海线，由彼处前行，至土谢图汗都会，于此经过绥远科布多线。过土谢图汗都会后，行经大草场，至第一联站。由第一联站即前行至乌兰呼图克与尖顶车，然后横过张家口乌梁海线，至车臣汗。由车臣汗此线向东北循河流域而下，直达克鲁伦城，于此即横过多伦克鲁伦线并与克鲁伦东镇线相会。此线长约八百英里。

m. The Khobor-Kerulen-Chikatobo Line

This line starts from Khobor, the crossing junction of the Dolon Nor-Urumochi, and the Kalgan-Urga-Tannu Ola lines, and proceeds northeastward across a vast pasture to Khoshentun, where it crosses the Dolon Nor-Kiakata line. After Khoshentun, it proceeds in the same direction across a similar pasture to Kerulen, where it crosses the Dolon Nor-Kerulen line. Then it proceeds first along the right bank of the Kerulen River, then crosses to the left side, and passes along the northwestern side of Hulan Lake. After Hulan Lake, the line crosses the Chinese Eastern Railway, and the Arguna River, then proceeds along the right bank of the river to Chikatobo, where the line ends by joining the Dolon Nor-Moho and the Chikatobo-Sansing lines. This line covers a distance of about 600 miles. The first half of it runs on dry land and the second half on watered land.

n. The Wuyuan-Taonan Line

This line starts from Wuyuan at the northwest bend of the Hoangho and proceeds northeastward across the Sheiten Ula Mountain and pasture to Tolibulyk, where it meets the crossing junction of three lines—the Peking-Hami line, the Suiyuan-Kobdo line, and the Great Eastern Port-Urga line.

From Tolibulyk the line proceeds continuously in the same direction across a pasture to Khobor where it meets the crossing junction of the Dolon Nor-Urumochi and the Peking-Urga lines, and also the terminus of the Khobor-Kerulen line. After Khobor the line turns more eastward and runs across the Dolon Nor-Kiakata line midway to Khombukure, where it crosses the Dolon Nor-Kerulen and the Hulutao-Kerulen lines. From Khombukure the line proceeds to Dakmusuma, where it crosses the Dolon Nor-Moho line. Thence it goes eastward across the Great Khingan Mountain to Tuchuan, then turns southeastward to Taonan, where it ends. This line covers a distance of about 900 miles.

辰 格合克鲁伦节克多博线

此线起自格合，此即多伦诺尔乌鲁木齐与张家口库伦乌梁海二线之交点也。由彼处向东北前行，经过大草场，至霍申屯，于是横过多伦恰克图线。过霍申屯后，依同一方向前行，又经过—大草场，至克鲁伦，即由此横过呼伦克鲁伦线。然后依克鲁伦河右岸前行，再渡左岸，经过呼伦池之西北边。过呼伦池后，此线横过中东铁路，渡额尔古纳河。然后沿此河右岸直达节克多博，于是与多伦诺尔漠河与节克多博依兰二线相会，此即此线之末站也。此线包有之距离约六百英里，上半截经过旱地，下半经过湿地。

宿 五原洮南线

此线起自黄河西北边之五原地方，向东北前行，横过晒田、乌拉山与大草地，即抵托里布拉克，于是与北京哈密线、绥远科布多线及北方大港库伦线之三路交点相会。由托里布拉克此线再向同一方向前行，经过草地场，至格合，在此即与多伦乌鲁木齐与北京库伦二线相会，亦即格合克鲁伦线之首站也。过格合后，此线渐转东向，横过多伦恰克图线之中部，至欢布库里，于是在此横过多伦克鲁伦与葫芦岛克鲁伦之二线。由欢布库里此线行经界线之南，即循之行至达克木苏马，于是与多伦漠河线相会。由彼处行向东方，横过兴安岭，至突泉，然后转东南向，至洮南，此即终站也。此线长约九百英里。

o. The Wuyuan-Dolon Nor Line

This line starts from Wuyuan and proceeds northeastward across the Sheiten Ula Mountain to Maomingan, where it crosses the Great Eastern Port-Urga line. Then it proceeds across the vast pasture and the Suiyuan-

Kobdo line to Bombotu, where it passes over the Peking-Hami line. After Bombotu, the line turns eastward and proceeds across the Kalgan-Urga-Tannu Ola line, then goes to Dolon Nor, where it ends by joining the Dolon Nor-Mukden-Linkiang line, which forms a direct route from the upper Hoangho Valley to the rich Liaoho Valley. This line covers a distance of about 500 miles.

p. The Yenki-Ili Line

This line starts from Yenki or Karashar, and proceeds northwestward across the mountain pass into the Ili Valley. It then follows the Kunges River downward, in a westerly direction, traversing a most fertile valley, to Ining and Kuldja or Ili, the principal city of the Ili district near the Russian border, where it joins the Ili-Urumochi line. This line covers a distance of about 400 miles.

q. The Ili-Hotien Line

This line starts from Ili or Kuldja, proceeds southward across the Ili River, then eastward along the left side of the river and then southeastward and southward to Bordai. From here it turns southwestward into Tekes Valley and proceeding upward crosses the Tekes River to Tienchiao and then ascends the mountain pass. After the mountain pass the line turns southeastward, traverses a vast coal field and then turns southwestward to Shamudai, where it crosses the Turfan-Kashgar line. From Shamudai it turns southward across the fertile zone of the north side of the Tarim Valley, to Bastutakelak. Then it proceeds southwestward to Hotien passing by on the way many small settlements in the fertile zone of the Hotien River which flows across the desert. At Hotien the line meets the Kashgar-Iden line. After Hotien the line proceeds upward to the highland south of the city and ends at the frontier. This line covers a distance of about 700 miles.

列 五原多伦线

此线起自五原，向东北前行，横过晒田、乌拉岭，至茂名安旗，即在此经过北方大港库伦线。然后向一大草场前行，经过绥远科布多线，至邦博图，经过北京哈密线。过邦博图后，此线转而东向前行，经过张家口库伦乌梁海线。然后至多伦，与多伦奉天临江线相合为终站。此线由黄河上流谷地，成一直接路线至肥美之辽河谷地，包有距离约五百英

里。

张 焉耆伊犁线

此线起自焉耆（又名喀喇沙），向西北前行，横过山岭，进入伊犁谷地。然后循空吉斯河向西下行，绕极肥美谷地，至伊宁与绥定（即伊犁城）等，此皆在伊犁地方、近俄罗斯边境之主要城镇也。于是在伊犁与伊犁乌鲁木齐线相合。此线长约四百英里。

寒 伊犁和阗线

此线起自伊犁，向南前行，渡伊犁河，然后东向沿此河左岸而行。初向东南，继向南，行至博尔台。由此即转西南向，进入帖克斯谷地。然后溯帖克斯河而上，至天桥，再上山道。过此山道后，此线转东南向行，绕过一极大煤矿地方，然后再转西南，至札木台，于此即经过吐鲁番喀什噶尔线。由札木台即转南向，行过塔里木谷地北边之最肥美区域，至巴斯团搭格拉克。再向西南行，至和阗。此路经过无数小部落，皆在和阗河之肥沃区域中，此河即流入沙漠。此线在和阗与喀什噶尔于阗线相会。过和阗后，即向此城南方上行至高原，以国界为终站。此线包有距离约七百英里。

r. The Chensi-Kashgar Line and Its Branches

This line starts from Chensi and proceeds southwestward along the Tienshan pasture through Yenanpoa, Shihkialoong, and Taolaitse to Chikoching, then along the Tienshan forest through Wutungkwo, Tung-yenchi, Siyenchi, and Olong to Sensien, where it crosses the Central Trunk line. After Sensien it proceeds along the northern edge of the Tarim Desert through Lakesun City and Shehchuan to Hora, where it crosses the Cherchen-Koria line. From Hora the line proceeds along the course of the Tarim River, passing by many new settlements, fertile regions, and virgin forests, to Bastutakelak, where it crosses the Ili-Hotien line. Thence it goes through Pachu to Kashgar where it meets the Urumochi-Iden line. After Kashgar it proceeds northwestward to the frontier where it ends. Attached to this line are two branches. The first branch proceeds from Hora southwestward through many oases to Cherchen. The second proceeds from Pachu southwestward along the Yarkand River to Sache and then westward to Puli near the frontier. This line including the branches covers a distance of about 1,600 miles. The total length of this entire system is about 16,000 miles. See general map.

Part V The Highland Railway System

This, the last part of my railway program, is the most difficult and most expensive undertaking of its kind; consequently, it must be the least remunerative of all the railway enterprises in China. So no work should be attempted in this part until all the other parts are fully developed. But when all the other parts are well equipped with railways then railway construction in this highland region will also be remunerative, despite the difficulties and the highly expensive work in construction.

The highland region consists of Tibet, Kokonor, and a part of Sinkiang, Kansu, Szechwan, and Yunnan, an area of about 1,000,000 square miles. Tibet is known to be the richest country in the world for gold deposits. Furthermore the adjacent territories possess rich agri- cultural and pastural lands. This vast region is little known to the outside world. The Chinese call Tibet "the Western Treasury," for, besides gold, there are other kinds of metals especially copper, in great quantities. Indeed the name of the Western Treasury is most appropriately applied to this unknown region. When the world's supply of precious metals are exhausted, we have to resort to this vast mineral bearing region for supply. So railways will be necessary at least for mining purposes. I therefore propose the following lines:

来 镇西喀什噶尔线与其支线

此线起自镇西，向西南行，循天山草场，经延安堡、薛家陇与陶赖子，至七个井。然后循天山森林，经过桐窝西盐池与阿朗，至鄯善，由此即经过中央干线。过鄯善后，即循塔里木沙漠北边而行，经鲁克沁与石泉，至河拉，于此横过车城库尔勒线。由河拉前行，循塔里木河流域，经过无数新村落肥美地方与未开发之森林，即至巴斯团塔格拉克，在此横过伊犁和阗线。行经巴楚，至喀什噶尔，在此与乌鲁木齐于阗线相会。过喀什噶尔后，此线即向西北前行至国界，是为终站。至与此线有连续关系者，约有二支线：第一支线，由河拉西南方前行，经沙漠中沃地数处至车城；第二支线，则由巴西楚南方循叶尔羌河至莎车，然后西南至蒲犁，即近国界地方也。此线与其各支线合计之，约共长一千六百英里。如就此系统全部言之，约共长一万六千英里。

第五部 高原铁路系统

此是吾铁路计划之最后部分，其工程极为繁难，其费用亦甚巨大，而以之比较其他在中国之一切铁路事业，其报酬亦为至微。故此铁路之工程，当他部分铁路未完全成立后，不能兴筑。但待至他部分铁路完全成立，然后兴筑此高原境域之铁路，即使其工程浩大，亦当有良好报酬也。

此高原之境域包括西藏、青海、新疆之一部，与甘肃、四川、云南等地方，面积约一百万英方里。附近之土地，皆有最富之农产与最美之牧场。但此伟大之境域，外国多有未之知者。而中国人则目西藏为西方宝藏，盖因除金产丰富外，尚有他种金属，黄铜尤其特产；故以宝藏之名。加于此世人罕知之境域，洵[4] 确当也。当世界金属行将用尽时，吾等可于此广大之矿域中求之。故为开矿而建设铁路，为必要之图。吾拟下之各线：

a. The Lhasa-Lanchow line.

b. The Lhasa-Chengtu line.

c. The Lhasa-Tali-Cheli line.

d. The Lhasa-Taklongshong line.

e. The Lhasa-Yatung line.

f. The Lhasa-Laichiyaling line.

g. The Lhasa-Nohho line.

h. The Lhasa-Iden line.

i. The Lanchow-Chochiang line.

j. The Chengtu-Dzunsasak line.

k. The Ningyuan-Cherchen line.

l. The Chengtu-Menkong line.

m. The Chengtu-Yuankiang line.

n. The Suifu-Tali line.

o. The Suifu-Mengting line.

p. The Iden-Gortok line.

a. The Lhasa-Lanchow Line

This is the most important line of this system for it connects the capital city of Tibet—a vast secluded region with several millions of people—with the central trunk line of the country. The route which it passes through is inhabitable and is already slightly inhabited in the region between the ends of the proposed line. So it will probably be a paying line from the beginning. This line starts from Lhasa, following the old imperial highway in a northward direction and proceeds by Talong to Yarh, which lies on the southeastern side of Tengri Nor Lake. After Yarh, the line turns more eastward and proceeds across the watershed from the Sanpo Valley to the Lukiang Valley by the Shuangtsu Pass. Thence turning more eastward the line proceeds across the headwater of the Lukiang to that of the Yangtze by passing many valleys, streams, and mountain passes. Then it crosses the main body of the Upper Yangtze, which is here known as the Kinshakiang, over the Huhusair Bridge. After crossing the bridge, it turns southeastward, then eastward across the Yangtze Valley into the Hoangho Valley, where it passes through many small towns and encampments into the Starry Sea region. At the Starry Sea, the line passes between the lakes of Oring Nor and Tsaring Nor. Thence it turns northeastward across the southeast valley of the Zaidam region, and returns into the Hoangho Valley again. Then it proceeds through Katolapo and various towns to Dangar, now called Hwangyuan, situated near the border between Kansu and Kokonor. After Dangar, the line turns southeastward following the course of the Sining River, proceeds downward through a very rich valley and passes through Sining, Nienpai, and hundreds of small towns and villages to Lanchow. This line covers a distance of 1,100 miles.

天 拉萨兰州线。

地 拉萨成都线。

玄 拉萨大理车里线。

黄 拉萨提郎宗线。

宇 拉萨亚东线。

宙 拉萨来吉雅令及其支线。

洪 拉萨诺和线。

荒 拉萨于阗线。

日 兰州婼羌线。

月 成都宗札萨克线。

盈 宁远车城线。

昃 成都门公线。

辰 成都沅江线。

宿 叙府大理线。

列 叙府孟定线。

张 于阗噶尔渡线。

天 拉萨兰州线

此线与西藏都会相连，为彼境域之中央干线，足称为此系统中之重要路线。沿此线之起点与终点，现已有少数居民，将来可成为一大殖民地，故即当开办之始，或可成为一有价值之路线也。此线起自拉萨，循旧官路向北前行，经达隆，至雅尔，即腾格里池之东南方也。过雅尔后，此线暂转东向，由藏布谷地过分水界，经双竹山口，至潞江谷地。然后转而东向，渡潞江正源，经过数处谷地、河流及山岭，而至扬子江。于是渡扬子江上流正源之金沙江，过苦苦赛尔桥。过此桥后转东南向，又东向通过扬子江谷地，进入黄河谷地。于是由此经过数小村落与帐幕地，进至札陵湖与鄂陵湖间之星宿海。然后东北向，过柴塔木之东南谷地，再转入黄河谷地，即前进经过喀拉普及数小市镇，至丹噶尔（今名湟源，界于甘肃与青海之间）。过丹噶尔后，此线即转东南，循西宁河流之肥美谷地下行，经过西宁、碾伯与数百小市镇、小村落，至兰州。此线行经之距离约一千一百英里。

b. The Lhasa-Chengtu Line

This line starts from Lhasa and proceeds northeastward on the former imperial highway by Teking and Nanmo to Motsukungchia. Thence it turns southeastward and northeastward to Giamda. From Giamda, the line turns northward, then northeastward where it proceeds through the Tolala Pass to Lhari. After Lhari the line goes in an easterly direction and passes Pianpa, Shihtuh, and many small towns to Lo- longchong. Thence it crosses the

Lukiang by the Kayu Bridge and then turns northeastward to Kinda and Chiamdo. After Chiamdo, the line instead of following the imperial highway southeastward to Batang, turns northeastward, following another trade route, and proceeds to Payung at the northwestern corner of Szechwan. From Payung, it proceeds across the Kinshakiang over the bridge near Sawusantusze. The line then turns southeastward, enters the Ichu Valley and proceeds downward to Kantzu on the Yalung River. Thence it proceeds to Chango and Yinker, to Badi on the Great Golden River, and Mongan on the Little Golden River. After Mongan, the line goes through the Balan Pass to Kwanhsien, and entering the Chengtu Plain, reaches Chengtu by Pihsien. This line covers a distance of about 1,000 miles.

c. The Lhasa-Tali-Cheli Line

This line starts from Lhasa by the same track as the Lhasa-Chengtu line as far as Giamda. From Giamda, it proceeds by its own track southeastward, following a branch of the Sanpo River to Yulu, where this branch joins its main stream. After Yulu, it follows the left bank of the Sanpo River passing by Kongposaga to Timchao. From Timchao, the line turns away from the Sanpo River and proceeds in an eastward direction to Timchong city, Ikung, Kuba, and Shuachong. After Shuachong, the line proceeds southeastward to Lima, thence eastward to Menkong on the Lukiang. From Menkong, the line turns southward and goes along the right bank of the Lukiang passing Samotung to Tantau. Then crossing the Lukiang, it proceeds across the watershed through Gaiwa village to the Lantsang (or Mekong) River, and to Hsiaoweisi beyond it. After Hsiaoweisi, it follows the river bank to the Chenghsin Copper Mine, thence it turns away from the river and proceeds by Hosi, Erhyuan, Tengchow, and Shangkwang to Tali. From Tali, the line proceeds to Hsiakwang, Fengyi, Menghwa, and then meets the Lantsang River again at Paotien. Thence it follows the left bank southward right through to Cheli, where it ends. This line covers a distance of 900 miles.

地 拉萨成都线

此线起自拉萨，东北向，依旧官路前行，经德庆、南摩，至墨竹工卡。然后转东南向，又东北向，至江达。于是由江达转北向，又转东北向前行，经过托拉山，至拉里。过拉里后，此线向东行，经边坝硕督与数小市镇，至洛龙宗。然后由嘉裕桥渡潞江，即转东北向，至恩达与察

木多。过察木多后，此线不循东南之官路至巴塘，乃向东北，而循别一商路前行，至四川省西北角之巴戎。由此前行过桥渡金沙江，即札武三土司附近地方也。于是此线转东南向，进入依杵谷地，沿鸦龙江下行至甘孜[5] 。再前进经长葛、英沟，至大金川之倍田，并至小金川之望安。过望安后，此线即横过斑烂山，至灌县，进入成都平原，即由郫县至成都。此线行经之距离约一千英里。

玄 拉萨大理车里线

此线起自拉萨，与拉萨成都线同轨，直行至江达。于是由江达循其本路路轨西南向，沿藏布江[6] 支流至油鲁，即其河支流与正流会合之点也。过油鲁后，即沿藏布江口左岸，经公布什噶城，至底穆昭。由底穆昭离藏布江向东前行，至底穆宗城、遗贡、巴谷、刷宗城。过刷宗城后，此线转东南行至力马，再东行至潞江之门公。于是由门公转南向前行，沿潞江右岸，经菖蒲桶，至丹鄂。然后渡潞江，由崖瓦村谷地过分水界，至澜沧江（又名美江），乃渡江至小维西。过小维西后，即沿河边至诚心铜厂。然后离河前行，经河西、洱源、邓州、上关，至大理。由大理南行至下关、凤仪、蒙化，再行至保甸，与澜沧江再会。于是南行沿江之左岸，至车里，为此线之终点。其路线之长约九百英里。

d. The Lhasa-Taklongshong Line

This line starts from Lhasa and proceeds southward by way of Teking to the Sanpo River where turning eastward it follows the left bank of the river to Sakorshong. After crossing the Sanpo River to Chetang, it proceeds southward by Chikablung, Menchona, Tawang, Dhirangjong to Taklongshong and continues farther on until it reaches the Assam frontier. This line covers a distance of 200 miles.

e. The Lhasa-Yatung Line

This line starts from Lhasa and proceeds southwestward by Chashih following the former imperial highway by Yitang and Kiangli to Chushui. At Chushui, it crosses to Sanpo River over the Mulih Bridge to Chakamo on the south side, thence to Tamalung, Paiti, Tabolung, and Nagartse. After Nagartse, the line turns westward to Jungku, Lhaling, and Shachia. At Shachia, the line leaves the former imperial highway and turns southwestward again and proceeds via Kula to Yatung at the Sikkim border. This line covers a distance of 250 miles.

f. The Lhasa-Laichiyaling Line and Branches

This line starts from Lhasa and proceeds northwestward by Chashih following the former imperial road to Little Taking, and westward to Yangpachin and Sangtolohai. Thence turning southwestward, it proceeds to Namaling and Tangto, and crosses the Sanpo River at Lhaku. After Lhaku, the line turns westward to Shigatse, the second important city in Tibet whence it proceeds in the same direction to Chashihkang, Pangcholing, and Lhatse all on the right side of the Sanpo River. From Lhatse, a branch line starts southwestward via Chayakor and Dingri to Niehlamuh on the Nepal border. The main line, however, crosses to the left side of the Sanpo River and proceeds on the same highway via Nabringtaka to Tadum where another branch line proceeds southwestward to the Nepal border. The main line continues northwestward via Tamusa and Choshan to Gartok, thence turning westward it proceeds to Laichiyaling on the Sutlej River and ends on the Indian border. This line, including the two branches, covers a distance of 850 miles.

黄 拉萨提郎宗线

此线起自拉萨，向南行，道经德庆，至藏布江。再由藏布江转东向，沿河之左岸，至札噶尔总。渡藏布江至泽当，即南向前行，经吹夹坡郎、满楚纳、塔旺，至提郎宗。再接续前行，至印度之亚三边界[7] 。此线长约二百英里。

宇 拉萨亚东线

此线起自拉萨，西南向，由札什循旧官路，经僵里，至曲水。由曲水过末力桥，渡藏布江南之查戛木，然后至塔马隆、白地、达布隆与浪噶子等地方。过浪噶子后，此线转西向，至翁古、拉萨、沙加等地。于是由沙加离官路再转向西南行，道经孤拉，至亚东，是哲孟雄边界[8] 。此线约长二百五十英里。

宙 拉萨来吉雅令及其支线

此线起自拉萨，向西北行，由札什循旧官路前行，至小德庆。再西行至桑驼骆池，转西南行至那马陵与当多汛，即在拉古地方渡藏布江。过拉古后，此线即转西向，至日喀则城，是为西藏之第二重要市镇。由此依同一方向，向沿藏布江边右岸前行，经过札什冈、朋错岭与拉子等

地方。于是由拉子分一支线向西南行，取道胁噶尔、定日，至尼泊尔边界之聂拉木。但其干线则横过藏布江之右边，循官路行，取道那布林格喀，至大屯。由此再分一支线向西南行，至尼泊尔边界。而其干线仍接续西北行，取道塔木札卓山，至噶尔渡。然后向西前行，至萨特来得河之来吉雅令，以印度边界为终点。此线与其二支线合计之，约共长八百五十英里。

g. The Lhasa-Nohho Line

This line starts from Lhasa and runs in the same track as line (f) to Sangtolohai where it proceeds by its own line northwestward to Teching, Sangchashong, and Taktung. Thence, it enters into the richest gold field in Tibet and through Wengpo, Tulakpa, Kwangkwei, and Ikar reaches Nohho, where the line ends. It covers a distance of 700 miles.

h. The Lhasa-Iden Line

This line starts from Lhasa, following the common track of lines (f) and (g) to the southwestern corner of Tengri Lake, whence it proceeds by its own track northwestward by Lungmajing, Tipoktolo and four or five other small places to Sari. After Sari, the line penetrates a vast tract of uninhabited land to Pakar and Suketi. Thence crossing the mountain passes and descending from the highland to the Tarim Basin through Sorkek to Yasulakun, the line joins the Cherchen-Iden railway of the Northwestern System and proceeds on the same track to Iden. This line covers a distance of 700 miles.

i. The Lanchow-Chochiang Line

This line starts from Lanchow, on the same track of the Lhasa-Lanchow line as far as the southeastern corner of the Lake Kokonor. Thence it proceeds on its own track by skirting along the southern shore of Lake Kokonor to Dulankit, where it turns southwestward to Dzunsasak. From Dzunsasak, the line proceeds in a westerly course along the southern side of the Zaidam Swamp, and passes Tunyueh, Halori, and Golmot to Hatikair. After Hatikair, the line turns northwestward by Baipa, Nolinjoha, to Orsinte. Thence turning more northward, it proceeds across the mountain range by Tsesinvitusuik and Tuntunomik to Chochiang, where it ends by joining the Ansi-Iden and Chochiang- Koria lines, covering a distance of 700 miles.

洪 拉萨诺和线

此线起自拉萨，与宙线同转，行至桑驼骆池，始循其本线向西北前行，至得贞、桑札宗及塔克东。于是由此处进入西藏之金矿最富地方，再经过翁波、都拉克巴、光贵与于喀尔，至诺和，为此线之终点。其距离约长七百英里。

荒 拉萨于阗线

此线起自拉萨，循宙、洪两线之轨道，至腾格里池之西南角。于是由其本轨向西北前行，经隆马绒、特布克托罗海与四五处小地方，至萨里。过萨里后，此线即通过一大幅无人居之地，至巴喀尔与苏格特。横过山岭，遂由高原而下，经索尔克，至塔里木河流域之雅苏勒公，在此与西北铁路系统之车尔城于阗线合轨，前行至于阗。此线共长约七百英里。

日 兰州婼羌线

此线起自兰州，循拉萨札州线轨道同行，至青海之东南角。于是由其本轨绕青海南岸，至都兰奇特，即由此转西南走，至宗札萨克。由宗札萨克依柴达木低洼地之南边，向西南行，经过屯月、哈罗里与各尔莫，至哈自格尔。过哈自格尔后，此线即转西北向，经拜把水泉、那林租哈，至阿尔善特水泉。然后暂转北向前行，横过山脉，至婼羌，即与安西于阗线及婼羌库尔勒线联合，是为终站。此线约长七百英里。

j. The Chengtu-Dzunsasak Line

This line starts from Chengtu and proceeds to Kwanhsien on the track of the Lhasa-Chengtu line, thence northward on its own track by Wenchuan, to Mauchow. Then, it proceeds northwestward following the course of the Minkiang to Sungpan. After Sungpan, it ascends the Min Valley passing Tungpi to Shangleyao, where it crosses the watershed from the Yangtze River side to that of the Hoangho. Thence the line proceeds to Orguseri, and following a branch of the Hoangho to the northwestern turn of its main stream, it proceeds along its right bank via Chahuntsin to Peilelachabu. There it crosses the Hoangho to the northwest turn of the old imperial road, where it joins the Lhasa-Lanchow line and proceeds as far as Lanipar. Then turning northwestward, it proceeds by its own line to Dzunsasak, where it ends by joining the Lanchow-Chochiang line. This line covers a distance of 650

miles.

k. The Ningyuan-Cherchen Line

This line starts from Ningyuan and proceeds in a northwestward direction via Hwaiyuanchen to the Yalungkiang. Then it ascends along the left side of that river to Yakiang, and crossing to the right side of that river it proceeds by the old post road to Siolo, where it turns away from the river and follows the same post road to Litang. From Litang it proceeds in the same direction but follows another road to Kangtu, on the left side of the Kinshakiang. Following the same side of the river, it proceeds to Sawusantusze, where it crosses the Lhasa-Chengtu line. After Sawusantusze, the line continues in the same direction and follows the same side of the Kinshakiang via Tashigompa, to the Huhusair Bridge, where it crosses the Lhasa-Lanchow line. Then following a northern branch of the Kinshakiang to its source and crossing the watershed, it proceeds along the caravan road by Hsinszukiang and Olokung to Cherchen, where it ends, covering a distance of about 1,350 miles. This is the longest line of this system.

月 成都宗札萨克线

此线起自成都，循拉萨成都线轨道前行，至灌县。然后由其本轨向北前行，经汶川，至茂州。于是循泯江河流向西北前行，至松潘。过松潘后，即入岷山谷地，经过东丕，至上勒凹。即由此处横过扬子江与黄河间之分水界，再接续前行至鄂尔吉库舍里。于是由黄河支源西北转至其正流，沿河右边，取道察汉津，至布勒拉察布。渡黄河至旧官路，西北转，与拉萨兰州线合轨前行，直达拉尼巴尔。再转西北向，循其本轨前行，至宗札萨克，与兰州婼羌线相会，是为终站。此线行经之距离约六百五十英里。

盈 宁远车城线

此线起自宁远，向西北行，取道怀远镇，至雅江。横过江之右岸，循旧驿路前行，至西俄落，即离江边循驿路至里塘。由里塘仍依同一方向，从别路前行至金沙江左岸之冈沱。再沿此河边前行，至札武三土司，横过拉萨成都线。过札武三土司后，此线仍依同一方向前行，沿金沙江边，取道图登贡巴，至苦苦赛尔桥，即在此横过拉萨兰州线。再循金沙江之北支源至其发源处，过分水界，循骆驼路前行，经沁司坎、阿洛共，至车城，是为终站。其距离约长一千三百五十英里，此线为此系

统之最长路线。

l. The Chengtu-Menkong Line

This line starts from Chengtu and proceeds southwestward by Shuangliu, Hsintsin, Mingshan, to Yachow. From Yachow, it turns northwestward and proceeds to Tienchuan, then westward to Tatsienlu, Tunyolo, and Litang. After Litang, the line proceeds southwestward through Batang and Yakalo, to Menkong, covering a distance of about 400 miles of very mountainous country.

m. The Chengtu-Yuankiang Line

This line starts from Chengtu on the same track of the Chengtu-Menkong line, proceeds to Yachow and thence by its own track in the same direction via Jungching, to Tsingliu. After Tsingliu, the line proceeds southward through Yuehsi to Ningyuan, where it meets the head of the Ningyuan-Cherchen line. After Ningyuan, it goes to Kwaili, then crosses the Kinshakiang to Yunnanfu where it crosses the Canton-Tali line. From Yunnanfu, it proceeds along the west side of the Kunming Lake to Kunyang, and through Hsinshing, Hsingo, to Yuankiang, where the line ends by joining the Canton-Szemo line. It covers a distance of about 600 miles.

n. The Suifu-Tali Line

This line starts from Suifu and proceeds along the left bank of the Yangtze River to Pingshan and Lupo. After Lupo, it turns away from the river in a southwesterly direction and scales the Taliangshan Mountains to Ningyuan, where it crosses the Chengtu-Yuankiang line and meets the termini of the Canton-Ningyuan line and the Ningyuan-Cherchen line. Thence continuing in the same direction, it crosses the Yalungkiang to Yenyuan and Yungpeh. After Yungpeh, the line turns more southward, across the Kinshakiang to Sincheng and thence to Tali, where it ends by meeting the Canton-Tali line and the Lhasa-Tali line. It covers a distance of about 400 miles.

o. The Suifu-Mengting Line

This line starts from Suifu on the same track as the Suifu-Tali line as far

as Lupo. From Lupo, it goes on its own track across the Yangtze River here known as the Kinshakiang, and follows the right side of that river upward to its southward bend where it crosses the Chengtu-Yuankiang line, to Yuanmow. From Yuanmow, it proceeds to Tsuyung, where it crosses the Canton-Tali line, thence to Kingtung. After Kingtung, it proceeds southwestward across the Lantsangkiang or Mekong River, to Yunchow, thence turning southwestward, it follows a branch of the Lukiang River to Mengting and ends on the frontier. This line covers a distance of about 500 miles.

昃 成都门公线

此线起自成都，向西南行，经双流、新津、名山，至雅州。转西北向，前行至天全。复转西行，至打箭炉、东俄落、里塘等地方。过里塘后，此线向西南行，经过巴塘、宴尔喀罗，至门公[9]　。约共长四百英里，所经过地方皆系山岭。

辰 成都沅江线

此线起自成都，循成都门公线路轨，前行至雅州。然后由其本轨依同一方向，取道荥经，至清溪。过清溪后，此线向南行，经越巂，至宁远，即于此与宁远车城线之首站相会。过宁远后，即至会理，然后渡金沙江至云南府，与广州大理线相会。于是由云南府循昆明池西边至昆阳，经过新兴、嶍峨，到沅江，与广州思茅线相会，是为终站。其距离约六百英里。

宿 叙府大理线

此线起自叙府，沿扬子江左岸，前行至屏山、雷波。过雷波后，即离此河向西南行，过大梁山，至宁远，即于此横过成都宁远线，并与广州宁远线及宁远车城线之首站相会。于是再接续依同一方向前行，横过鸦龙江，至盐源、永北。过永北后，此线暂转南向，渡金沙江至宾川，然后至大理，与广州大理线及拉萨大理线相会，是为终站。共长约四百英里。

列 叙府孟定线

此线起自叙府，循叙府大理线路轨，直行至雷波。即由扬子江上流名曰金沙江横过，沿此江之上流左岸，至其湾南处，即横过成都元江

线，至元谋。复由元谋前行，至楚雄。横过广州大理线，至景东。复向西南前行，横过澜沧江，至云州。然后转西南向，循潞江支脉至孟定，以边界为终站。此线共长约五百英里。

p. The Iden-Gartok Line

This line starts from Iden, and proceeds southward along the Keriya River to Polu, thence following the caravan road up the highland to Kuluk. From Kuluk, it proceeds southwestward via Alasa and Tunglong to Nohho, where it meets the terminus of the Lhasa-Nohho line. After Nohho, it skirts around the eastern end of the Noh-tso-Lake to Rudok and proceeds southwestward to Demchok, on the Indus River. From Demchok, it proceeds southeastward following the Indus River up to Gartok, where it ends by joining the Lhasa-Laichiyaling line. This line covers a distance of about 500 miles. This highland system totals about 11,000 miles.

Part VI The Establishment of Locomotive and Car Factories

The railways projected in the Fourth Program will total about 62,000 miles; and those in the First and the Third Programs about 14,000 miles. Besides these, there will be double tracks in the various trunk lines, which will make up a grand total of no less than 100,000 miles, as stated in the preliminary part of these programs. With this 100,000 miles of railways to be constructed in the coming ten years, the demands for locomotives and cars will be tremendous. The factories of the world will be unable to supply them, especially at this juncture of reconstruction after the great world war. So the establishment of locomotive and car factories in China to supply our own demands of railway equipment will be a necessary as well as a profitable undertaking. China possesses unlimited supplies of raw materials and cheap labor. What we need for establishing such factories is foreign capital and experts. What amount of capital should be invested in this project, I have to leave to experts to decide.

张 于阗噶尔渡线

此线起自于阗，沿克利雅河，向南行，至波鲁。由波鲁复转西南行，取道阿拉什东郎，至诺和，即与拉萨诺和线之终站相会。过诺和后，即绕诺和湖之东边，至罗多克。复向西南行，沿印度河至碟木绰克。复由碟木绰克东南向，沿印度河上行，至噶尔渡，即于此与拉萨来吉雅令线相会，是为终站。此线长约五百英里。

此高原铁路系统，全部共长一万一千英里。

第六部 设机关车、客货车制造厂

上部第四计划所预定之路线，约共长六万二千英里。至第一、第三计划所预定者，约一万四千英里。除此以外，并有多数干线当设双轨，故合数计划路线计之，至少当有十万英里。若以此十万英里之铁路，在十年内建筑之，机关车与客货车之需要必当大增。现当此战后改造时期，世界之制造厂将难以供应。此所以在中国建设机关车、客货车之制造厂，以应建筑铁路之需，为必要之图，且其为有利事业尤不可不注意也。中国有无限之原料与低廉之人工，是为建设此等制造厂之基础。但举办此种事业所必需者，为外国资本与专门家耳。至此项之计划应用资本若干，吾当留为对于此种工程有经验者定之。

I suggest that four large factories should be started simultaneously at the beginning—two on the coast and two on the Yangtze. Of those on the coast, one should be at the Great Northern Port, and the other at the Greatern Southern Port—Canton. Of those on the Yangtze, one should be at Nanking and the other at Hankow. All four are in centers of both land and water communication, where skilled labor can easily be obtained. They are also near our iron and coal fields. Besides these four great factories, others should be established at suitable centers of iron and coal fields when our railways will be more developed.

All the factories should be under one central control. The locomotives and cars of our future railways should be standardized so as to make possible the interchange of parts of machinery and equipment. We should also adopt the standard gauge, that is, the 4 feet 8½ inch gauge which has been adopted by most of the railways of the world. In fact, almost all the railways hitherto built in China are of this gauge. The purpose of the proposed standardization is to secure the highest efficiency as well as the greatest economy.

［中文译本中此二段无对应译文——编者注］

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[1] 土鲁番：即吐鲁番。
[2] 烟户：人烟户口，户籍的总称。
[3] 下隰；低湿的地方。
[4] 洵：诚然，实在。
[5] 鸦龙江：今雅砻江，位于四川省西部，金沙江支流。
[6] 藏布江：今雅鲁藏布江，流经今西藏自治区南部，为我国最高的大河之一。

[7] 亚三：今译阿萨姆，位于印度东北部。
[8] 哲孟雄：即锡金。
[9] 门公：即今芒康，位于西藏自治区东南部。

PROGRAM V

In the preceding four programs, I dealt exclusively with the development of the key and basic industries. In this one, I am going to deal with the development of the *main* group of industries which need foreign help. By the main group of industries, I mean those industries which provide every individual and family with the necessaries and comforts of life. Of course, when the key and basic industries are developed, the various other industries will spontaneously spring up all over the country, in a very short time. This had been the case in Europe and America after the industrial revolution. The development of the key and the basic industries will give plenty of work to the people and will raise their wages as well as their standard of living. When wages are high, the price for necessaries and comforts of life will also be increased. So the rise in wages will be accompained by the rise in the cost of living. Therefore, the aim of the development of some of the main group of industries is to help reduce the high cost of living when China is in the process of international development, by giving to the majority of the people plenty of the essentials and comforts of life as well as higher wages.

It is commonly thought that China is the cheapest country to live in. This is a misconception owing to the common notion of measuring everything by the value of money. If we measure the cost of living by the value of labor then it will be found that China is the most expensive country for a common worker to live in. A Chinese coolie, a muscular worker, has to work 14 to 16 hours a day in order to earn a bare subsistence. A clerk in a shop, or a teacher in a village school cannot earn more than a hundred dollars a year. And the farmers after paying their rents and exchanging for a few articles of need with their produce have to live from hand to mouth. Labor is very cheap and plentiful but food and commodities of life are just enough to go round for the great multitude of the four hundred millions in China in an ordinary good year. In a bad year, a great number succumb to want and starvation. This miserable condition among the Chinese proletariat is due to the non-development of the country, the crude methods of production and the

wastefulness of labor. The radical cure for all this is industrial development by foreign capital and experts for the benefit of the whole nation. Europe and America are a hundred years ahead of us in industrial development; so in order to catch up in a very short time we have to use their capital, mainly their machinery. If foreign capital cannot be gotten, we will have to get at least their experts and inventors to make for us our own machinery. In any case, we must use machinery to assist our enormous man-power to develop our unlimited resources.

伍 第五计划

前四种计划既专论关键及根本工业之发达方法，今则进述工业本部之须外力扶助发达者。所谓工业本部者，乃以个人及家族生活所必需，且生活安适所由得。当关键及根本工业既发达，其他多种工业皆自然于全国在甚短时期内同时发生，欧美工业革命之后，既已如是。关键及根本工业发达，人民有许多工事可为，而工资及生活程度皆增高；工资既增多，生活必要品及安适品之价格亦增加。故发达本部工业之目的，乃当中国国际发展进行之时，使多数人民既得较高工资，又得许多生活必要品、安适品而减少其生活费也。世人尝以中国为生活最廉之国，其错误因为寻常见解以金钱之价值衡量百物；若以工作之价值衡量生活费用，则中国为工人生活最贵之国。中国一寻常劳工，每日须工作十四至十六小时，仅能维持其生活。商店之司书[1]，村乡之学究，每年所得恒在百元以下。农人既以所生产价还地租及交换少数必要品之后，所余已无几何。工力多而廉，惟食物及生活货品，虽在寻常丰年亦仅足敷四万万人之用，若值荒年则多数将陷于穷乏死亡。中国平民所以有此悲惨境遇者，由于国内一切事业皆不发达，生产方法不良，工力失去甚多。凡此一切之根本救治，为用外国资本及专门家发达工业以图全国民之福利。欧美二洲之工业发达，早于中国百年，今欲于甚短时期内追及之，须用其资本、用其机器。若外国资本不可得，至少亦须用其专门家、发明家，以为吾国制造机器。无论如何，必须用机器以辅助中国巨大之人工，以发达中国无限之富源也。

In modern civilization, the material essentials of life are five, namely: food, clothing, shelter, means of locomotion, and the printed page. Accordingly I will formulate this program as follows:

I. The Food Industry.

II. The Clothing Industry.

III. The Housing Industry.

IV. The Motoring Industry.

V. The Printing Industry.

Part I The Food Industry

The food industry should be treated under the following headings:

a. The Production of Food.

b. The Storage and Transportation of Food.

c. The Preparation and Preservation of Food.

d. The Distribution and Exportation of Food.

a. The Production of Food

Human foods are derived from three sources: the land, the sea and the air. By far the most important and greatest in quantity consumed is aerial food of which oxygen is the most vital element. But this aerial food is abundantly provided by nature, and no human labor is needed for its production except that which is occasionally needed for the airman and the submariner. So this food is free to all. It is not necessary for us to discuss it here. The production of food from the sea which I have already touched upon when I dealt with the construction of fishing harbors and the building of fishing crafts, will also be left out here. It is the specific industries in the production of food from land, which need foreign help that are to be discussed here.

China is an agricultural country. About four-fifths of its population is occupied in the work of producing food. The Chinese farmer is very skillful in intensive cultivation. He can make the land yield to its utmost capacity. But vast tracts of arable lands are lying waste in thickly populated districts for one cause or other. Some are due to lack of water, some to too much of it and some to the "dog in the manger" system,—the holding up of arable land by speculators and land sharks for higher rents and prices.

据近世文明言，生活之物质原件共有五种，即食、衣、住、行及印刷是也。吾故定此种计划如下：

一、粮食工业。

二、衣服工业。

三、居室工业。
四、行动工业。
五、印刷工业。

第一部 粮食工业

粮食工业又分类如下：

甲 食物之生产。

乙 食物之贮藏及运输。

丙 食物之制造及保存。

丁 食物之分配及输出。

甲 食物之生产

人类食物得自三种来源，即陆地、海水、空气三者。其中最重要、最多量者为空气食物，譬如养气[2] 为此中有力元素，惟自然界本具此甚多，除飞行家及潜艇乘员闲时须特备外，不须人工以为生产，故此种食物人人可自由得之，于此不须详论。吾前此论捕鱼海港之建设及捕鱼船舶之构造，已涉及海水食物，故于此亦不更述。惟陆地食物生产之事须国际扶助者，此下论之。

中国为农业国，其人数过半皆为食物生产之工作。中国农人颇长于深耕农业，能使土地生产至最多量。虽然，人口甚密之区，依诸种原因，仍有可耕之地流为荒废，或则缺水，或则水多，或则因地主投机求得高租善价，故不肯放出也。

The land of the eighteen provinces alone is at present supporting a population of four hundred millions. Yet there is still room for development which can make this same area of land yield more food if the waste land be brought under cultivation, and the already cultivated land be improved by modern machinery and scientific methods. The farmers must be protected and encouraged by liberal land laws by which they can duly reap the fruits of their own labor.

In regard to the production of food in our intemational development scheme, two necessary undertakings should be carried out which will be profitable at the same time.

(1) A scientific survey of the land.

(2) The establishment of factories for manufacturing agricultural

machinery and implements.

(1) A scientific survey of the land. China has never been scientifically surveyed and mapped out. The administration of land is in the most chaotic state and the taxation of land is in great confusion, thus causing great hardships on the poor peasants and farmers. So, under any circumstance, the survey of land is the first duty of the government to execute. But this could not be done without foreign help, owing to lack of funds and experts. Therefore, I suggest that this work be taken up by an international organization. This organization should provide the expenses of the work by a loan, and should carry out the work with the required number of experts and equipment. How much will be the expenses for the survey and what is the amount of time required and how large an organization is sufficient to carry on the work, and whether aerial survey by aeroplanes be practical for this work are questions which I shall leave to experts to decide.

When the topographical survey is going on a geological survey may be carried out at the same time so as to economize expenses. When the survey work is done and the land of each province is minutely mapped out, we shall be able to readjust the taxation of the already cultivated and improved land. As regards the waste and uncultivated lands we shall be able to determine whether they are suitable for agriculture, for pasture, for forestry, or for mining. In this way, we can estimate their value and lease them out to the users for whatever production that is most suitable. The surplus tax of the cultivated land and the proceeds of waste land will be for the payment of the interest and principal of the foreign loan. Besides the eighteen provinces, we have a vast extent of agricultural and pastural lands in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Sinkiang, and a vast extent of pastural land in Tibet and Kokonor. They will have to be developed by extensive cultivation under the colonization scheme, which is alluded to in the first program.

中国十八省之土地，现乃无以养四万万人。如将废地耕种，且将已耕之地依近世机器及科学方法改良，则此同面积之土地，可使其出产更多，故尽有发达之余地。惟须有自由农业法以保护、奖励农民，使其获得己力之结果。

就国际发展食物生产计划言之，须为同时有利益之下列二事：

一、测量农地。

二、设立农器制造厂。

一、测量农地。中国土地向未经科学测量制图，土地管理、征税皆混乱不清，贫家之乡人及农夫皆受其害。故无论如何，农地测量为政府应尽之第一种义务。然因公款及专门家缺乏之故，此事亦须有外力扶助。故吾以为是当以国际机关行之，由此机关募集公债以供给其费用，雇用专门家及诸种设备以实行其工事。测量费用几何，所需时间几何，机关之大小如何，以飞行机测量亦适用于工事否，是须专门家决定之。

地质探验，当与地图测量并行，以省费用。测量工事即毕，各省荒废未耕之地，或宜种植，或宜放牧，或宜造林，或宜开矿，由是可估得其价值，以备使用者租佃，为最合宜之生产。耕地既增加之租税，及荒地新增之租税，将足以偿还外债之本息。除十八省外，满洲、蒙古、新疆有农地牧地极广，西藏、青海有牧地极广，可依移民计划如吾第一计划所述者，以广耕法开发之。

(2) The establishment of factories for manufacturing agricultural machinery and implements. When the waste land is reclaimed, cultivated land improved and waste labor set to work on the land, the demands for agricultural machinery and implements will be very great. As we have cheap labor and plenty of iron and coal, it is better and cheaper for us to manufacture than to import the implements and machinery. For this purpose, much capital should be invested, and factories should be put up in industrial centers or in the neighborhood of iron and coal fields, where labor and material could be easily found.

b. The Storage and Transportation of Food

The most important foodstuff to be stored and transported is grain. Under the present Chinese method, the storage of grain is most wasteful for if kept in large quantities it is often destroyed by insects or damaged by weather. It is only in small quantities and by great and constant care that grains can be preserved for a certain period of time. And the transportation of grains is also most expensive for the work is mostly done on man's shoulders. When the grains reach the waterway it is carried in a most makeshift way, without the least semblance of system. If the method of storing and transporting of grain be improved, a great economic saving could be accomplished. I propose that a chain of grain elevators be built all over the country and a special transport fleet be equipped all along the waterways by this International Development Organization. What will be the capital for this project and where the elevators should be situated have yet to be investigated

by experts.

c. The Preparation and Preservation of Food

Hitherto the preparation of food is entirely by hand with a few primitive implements. The preservation of food is either by salt or sun heat. Mills and cannery method are scarcely known. I suggest that a system of rice mills should be constructed in all the large cities and towns in the Yangtze Valley and South China where rice is the staple food. Flour mills should be put up in all large cities and towns north of the Yangtze Valley, where wheat, oats, and cereals other than rice are the staple food. All these mills should be under one central management so as to produce the best economic results. What amount of capital should be invested in this mill system by this international development scheme should be subjected to detailed investigation.

二、设立农器制造厂。欲开放废地，改良农地，以闲力归于农事，则农器之需要必甚多。中国工价甚廉，煤铁亦富，故须自制造一切农器，不必由外国输入。此需资本甚多。此工场直设于煤铁矿所在之邻地，即工力及物料易得之所。

乙 食物之贮藏及运输

此所言当贮藏及运输之重要食物，即谷类。现在中国贮藏谷类之方法不良，若所藏之量过多，每不免为虫类所蛀损，气候所伤害；故其量甚少，且须非常注意，乃能于一定时期内保存之。又谷类之运输，大半皆以人力，故费用甚巨。及谷类已达水道，则船舶往来，运输漫无定制。若将谷类贮藏及运输方法改良，必省费不少。吾意当由国际开发机关于全国内设谷类运转器，且沿河设特别运船。此事所需资本几何，且谷类运转器当设于何处，应由专门家调查之。

丙 食物之制造及保存

前此中国之食物制造，几全赖手工，而以少数简单器具助之；至于食物保存，则以食盐或日光制造之，至机器及罐头方法，为前此所不知。吾意扬子江及南部中国诸大城镇以米为主食者，当设许多磨米房；扬子江以北以小麦、燕麦及米以外之他谷类为主食者，其诸大城镇当设许多磨麦机房。此种机房，当由中央一处管理，以得最省费之结果。是所需资本几何，当俟详细调查。

In regard to the preservation of food, fruits, meats and fishes should be

preserved by canning or by refrigeration. If the canning industry is developed there will be created a great demand for tinplates. Therefore the establishment of tinplate factories will be necessary and also profitable. Such factories should be situated near the iron and tin fields. There are many localities in South China where tin, iron, and coal are situated near each other, thus providing ready materials for the factories. The tinplate factories and the canneries should be combined into one enterprise so as to secure best economic results.

d. The Distribution and Exportation of Food

In ordinary good years, China never lacks food. There is a common saying in China that "One year's tilling will provide three years' wants." In the richer sections of the country, the people generally reserve three or four years' food supply in order to combat a bad year. But when China is developed and organized as an economic whole, one year's food reserve should be kept in the country for the use of the local people and the surplus should be sent out to the industrial centers. As the storage and transportation of food will be under a central management so the distribution and exportation of food should be under the same charge. All surplus grains of a country district should be sent to the nearest town for storage and each town or city should store one year's food. All the staple food should be sold only at cost price to the inhabitants according to their number, by the distributing department. And the surplus food should be exported to foreign countries where it is wanted and where the highest price can be obtained by the export department under the central management. Thus the surplus food will not be wasted as hitherto under the prohibition law. The proceeds of this export will surely amount to a huge sum which will be used in the payment of the interest and principal of the foreign loan invested in this undertaking.

We cannot complete this part of the food industry without giving special consideration to the Tea and Soya industries. The former, as a beverage, is well known throughout and used by the civilized world and the latter is just beginning to be realized as an important foodstuff by the scientists and food administrators. Tea, the most healthy and delicious beverage of mankind, is produced in China. Its cultivation and preparation form one of the most important industries of the country. Once China was the only country that supplied the world with tea. Now, China's tea trade has been wrested away

from her by India and Japan. But the quality of the Chinese tea is still unequalled. The Indian tea contains too much tannic acid, and the Japanese tea lacks the flavor which the Chinese tea possesses. The best tea is only obtainable in China-the native land of tea. China lost her tea trade owing to the high cost of its production. The high cost of production is caused by the inland tax as well as the export duty and by the old methods of cultivation and preparation. If the tax and duty are done away with and new methods introduced, China can recover her former position in this trade easily. In this International Development Scheme, I suggest that a system of modern factories for the preparation of tea should be established in all the tea districts, so that the tea should be prepared by machinery instead of, as hitherto, by hand. Thus the cost of production can be greatly reduced and the quality improved. As the world's demand for tea is daily increasing and will be more so by a dry United States of America, a project to supply cheaper and better tea will surely be a profitable one.

食物果类、肉类、鱼类之保存，或用锡铁罐，或用冰冷法。若锡铁罐工业发达，则锡铁片之需要必大增，故锡铁片工场之建设为必要，且有利益。此种工场当设于铁矿之近处。中国南部有许多地方皆发见有锡、铁、煤三种，如欲建筑工场，材料最为完备。锡铁片工场及罐工场当合同经营，以得最良之节省结果。

丁 食物之分配及输出

在寻常丰年，中国向不缺乏食物，故中国有常言云：“一年耕，则足三年之食。”国内较富部分之人民，大概有三四年食物之积储以对付荒年。若中国既发达，有生计组织，则当预储一年之食物以为地方人民之用，其余运至工业中枢。食物之分配及运出，亦由中央机关管理，与其贮藏及运输无异。每县余出之谷类，送至近城贮藏；每一城镇须有一年食物之贮积。经理部当按人数依实价售主要食物于其民，更有所余，乃以售之于外国需此宗食物且可得最高价者。以隶中央经理部之输出部司之。于是乃不如前此禁止输出法之下，食物多所废坏。输出所得巨资，以之偿还外债本息，固有余也。

于叙论食物工业之部，不能不特论茶叶及黄豆二种工业，以毕所说。茶为文明国所既知已用之一种饮料，科学家及食物管理部今复初认黄豆为一种重要食料。就茶言之，是为最合卫生、最优美之人类饮料，中国实产出之，其种植及制造，为中国最重要工业之一。前此中国曾为以茶叶供给全世界之唯一国家，今则中国茶叶商业已为印度、日本所

夺。惟中国茶叶之品质，仍非其他各国所能及。印度茶含有丹宁酸太多，日本茶无中国茶所具之香味。最良之茶，惟可自产茶之母国即中国得之。中国之所以失去茶叶商业者，因其生产费过高。生产费过高之故，在厘金[3] 及出口税，又在种植及制造方法太旧。若除厘金及出口税，采用新法，则中国之茶叶商业仍易复旧。在国际发展计划中，吾意当于产茶区域，设立制茶新式工场，以机器代手工，而生产费可大减，品质亦可改良。世界对于茶叶之需要日增，美国又方禁酒[4] ，倘能以更廉、更良之茶叶供给之，是诚有利益之一种计划也。

Soya bean as a meat substitute was discovered by the Chinese and used by the Chinese and the Japanese as a staple food for many thousands of years. As meat shortage has been keenly felt in carnivorous countries at present, a solution must be found to relieve it. For this reason I suggest that in this International Development Scheme we should introduce this artificial meat, milk, butter and cheese to Europe and America, by establishing a system of soya bean factories in all the large cities of those countries, so as to provide cheap nitrogenous food to the western people. Modern factories should also be established in China to replace those old and expensive methods of production by hand, so as to procure better economic results as well as to produce better commodities.

Part II The Clothing Industry

The principal materials for clothes are silk, linen, cotton, wool and animal skins. I shall accordingly deal with them under the following headings:

a. The Silk Industry.

b. The Linen Industry.

c. The Cotton Industry

d. The Woolen Industry.

e. The Leather Industry.

f. The Manufacturing of Clothing Machinery.

以黄豆代肉类，是中国人之发明。中国人、日本人用为主要食料，既历数千年。现今食肉诸国，大患肉类缺乏，是必须有解决方法，故吾意国际发展计划中，当以黄豆所制之肉乳油酪输入欧美，于诸国大城市设立黄豆制品工场，以较廉之蛋白质食料供给西方人民。又于中国设立新式工场，以代手工生产之古法，而其结果可使价值较廉，出品亦较佳矣。

第二部 衣服工业

衣服之主要原料为丝、麻、棉、羊毛、兽皮五种，今分论如下：

甲 丝工业。

乙 麻工业。

丙 棉工业。

丁 羊毛工业。

戊 皮工业。

己 制衣机器工业。

a. The Silk Industy

Silk is a Chinese discovery and was used as a material for clothes for many thousands of years before the Christian Era. It is one of the important national industries of China. Up to recent times, China was the only country that supplied silk to the world. But now this dominant trade has been taken away from China by Japan, Italy and France, because those countries have adopted scientific methods for silk culture and manufacture, while China still uses the same old methods of many thousand years ago. As the world's demand for silk is increasing daily, the improvement of the culture and manufacture of silk will be a very profitable undertaking. In this International Development Scheme, I suggest first that scientific bureaus be established in every silk district to give directions to the farmers and to provide healthy silk-worm eggs. These bureaus should be under central control. At the same time, they will act as collecting stations for cocoons so as to secure a fair price for the farmers. Secondly, silk filiatures with up-to-date machinery should be established in suitable districts to reel the silk for home as well as for foreign consumption. And lastly, modern factories should be put up for manufacturing silk for both home and foreign markets. All silk filiatures and factories should be under a single national control and will be financed with foreign capital and supervised by experts to secure the best economic results and to produce better and cheaper commodities.

b. The Linen Industry

This is an old Chinese industry. In southern China there is produced a kind of very fine linen in the form of ramie, known as China-grass. This fiber if treated by modern methods and machinery becomes almost as fine and glossy as silk. But in China, so far as I know, there is not yet such new method and machinery for the manufacturing of this linen. The famous Chinese grass-cloth is manufactured by the old method of hand- looms. I propose that new methods and machinery be introduced into China by this International Development Organization to manufacture this linen. A system of modern factories should be established all over the ramie-producing districts in South China where raw materials and labor are obtainable.

c. The Cotton Industry

Cotton is a foreign product which was introduced into China centuries ago. It became a very important Chinese industry during the hand-loom age. But after the import of foreign cotton goods into China, this native handicraft industry was gradually killed by the foreign trade. So, great quantities of raw cotton are exported and finished cotton goods are imported in large quantities into China. What an anomaly when we consider the enormous, cheap labor in China. However a few cotton mills have been started recently in treaty ports which have made enormous profits. It is reported that during the last two or three years most of the Shanghai cotton mills declared a dividend of 100 per cent and some even 200 per cent! The demand for cotton goods in China is very great but the supply falls short. It is necessary to put up more mills in China for cotton manufacturing. Therefore, I suggest in this International Development Scheme to put up a system of large cotton mills all over the cotton-producing districts under one central national control. Thus the best economic results will be obtained and cotton goods can be supplied to the people at a lower cost.

甲 蚕丝工业

蚕丝为中国所发明，西历纪元前数千年已用为制衣原料，为中国重要工业之一，直至近日，中国为以蚕丝供给全世界之唯一国家。惟现今日本、意大利、法兰西诸国，已起而与中国争此商业，因此诸国已应用科学方法于养蚕制丝之事，而中国固守数千年以来之同样旧法也。世界

对于蚕丝之需要既逐日增加，则养蚕，制丝之改良，将为甚有利益之事。吾意国际发展计划，应于每一养蚕之县设立科学局所，指导农民，以无病蚕子供给之。此等局所，当受中央机关监督，同时司买收蚕茧之事，使农民可得善价。次乃于适宜地方设缫丝所，采用新式机器，以备国内国外之消费。最后乃设制绸工场，以应国内国外之需求。缫丝及制丝工场皆同受一国家机关之监督，借用外资，受专门家之指挥，而其结果可使该物价廉省，品物亦较良较贱矣。

乙 麻工业

是亦为中国之古工业。惟中国所产苎麻，与欧美所产之亚麻异，若以新法及机器制之，其细滑与蚕丝无异。然中国至今尚无以新法及机器制麻者，有名之中国麻布皆依旧法及手工织造。中国南部之麻原料甚富，人工亦廉，故于此区域宜设立许多新式工场也。

丙 棉工业

棉花本外国产物，其输入中国在数百年前，在手工纺织时代，是为中国一种甚重要之工业。然自外国棉货输入中国之后，此种本国手工业殆渐归灭绝，于是以许多棉花输出，以许多棉货输入。试思中国工力既多且廉，乃不能产出棉货，岂非大可怪之事。近今乃有少数纺纱、织布厂于通商诸埠，获利极巨。或谓：“最近二三年内，上海纺织厂分红百分之百至百分之二百。”皆因中国对于棉货之需要，远过于供给，故中国须设纺织厂甚多。吾意国际发展计划，当于产棉区域设诸大纺织厂，而由中国立中央机关监督之，于是最良节省之结果可得，而可以较廉之棉货供给人民也。

d. The Woolen Industry

Although the whole of Northwestern China—about two-thirds of the entire country is a pastural land yet the woolen industry has never been developed. Every year, plenty of raw materials are exported from China on the one hand and plenty of finished woolen goods imported on the other. Judging by the import and export of the woolen trade the development of woolen industry in China will surely be a profitable business. I suggest that scientific methods be applied to the raising of sheep and to the treatment of wool so as to improve the quality and increase the quantity. Modern factories should be established all over northwestern China for manufacturing all kinds of finished woolen goods. Here we have the raw materials, cheap labor and

unlimited market. What we want for the development of this industry is foreign capital and experts. This will be one of the most remunerative projects in our International Development Scheme, for the industry will be a new one and there will be no private competitors on the field.

e. The Leather Industry

This will also be a new industry in China, despite the fact that there are a few tanneries in the treaty ports. The export of hides from and the import of leather goods into China are increasing every year. So, to establish a system of tanneries and factories for leather goods and foot-gear will be a lucrative undertaking.

丁 羊毛工业

中国西北部占全国面积三分之二用为牧地，而羊毛工业则从未见发达，每年由中国输出羊毛甚多，制为毛货，又复输入中国。自羊毛商业输出输入观之，可知发达羊毛工业，为在中国甚有利之事。吾意当以科学方法养羊、剪毛，以改良其制品，增加其数量。于中国西北全部设立工场以制造一切羊毛货物，原料及工价甚廉，市场复大至无限。此工业之发达，须有外国资本及专门家，是为国际发展计划中最有报酬者，因是属一种新工业，无其他私人竞争也。

戊 皮工业

通商诸埠虽有多少制皮工场，是实为中国之新工业。生皮之输出，熟皮之输入，每年皆有增加。故设立制皮工场及设立制造皮货及靴、鞋类工场，甚为有利益之事。

f. The Manufacturing of Clothing Machinery

The machinery for the manufacturing of various kinds of clothing materials is in great demand in China. It is reported that the orders for cotton mill machinery have heen filled up for the next three years from manufacturers in Europe and America. If China is developed according to my programs, the demand for machinery will be many times greater than at present and the supply in Europe and America will be too short to meet it. Therefore to establish factories for the manufacturing of clothing machinery is a necessary as well as a profitable undertaking. Such factories should be

established in the neighborhood of iron and steel factories, so as to save expenses for transportation of heavy materials. What will be the capital for this undertaking should be decided by experts.

Part III The Housing Industry

Among the four hundred millions in China the poor still live in huts and hovels, and in caves in the loess region of north China while the middle and the rich classes live in temples. All the so-called houses in China, excepting a few after western style and those in treaty ports are built after the model of a temple. When a Chinese builds a house he has more regard for the dead than for the living. The first consideration of the owner is his ancestral shrine. This must be placed at the center of the house, and all the other parts must be complement and secondary to it. The house is planned not for comfort but for ceremonies, that is, for "the red and white affairs," as they are called in China. The "red affair" is the marriage or other felicitous celebrations of any member of the family, and the "white affair" is the funeral ceremonies. Besides the ancestral shrine there are the shrines of the various household gods. All these are of more importance than man and must be considered before him. There is not a home in old China that is planned for the comfort and convenience of man alone. So now when we plan the housing industry in China in our International Development Scheme, we must take the houses of the entire population of China into consideration. "To build houses for four hundred millions, it is impossible!" some may exclaim. This is the largest job ever conceived by man. But if China is going to give up her foolish traditions and useless habits and customs of the last three thousand years and begin to adopt modern civilization, as our industrial development scheme is going to introduce, the remodelling of all the houses according to modern comforts and conveniences is bound to come, either unconsciously by social evolution or consciously by artificial construction. The modern civilization so far attained by western nations is entirely an unconscious progress, for social and economic sciences are but recent discoveries. But henceforth all human progress will be more or less based upon knowledge, that is upon scientific planning. As we can foresee now, within half a century under our industrial development, the houses of all China will be renewed according to modern comfort and convenience. Is it not far better and cheaper to rebuild the houses of all China by a preconceived scientific plan than by none? I have no doubt that if we plan to build a thousand houses at one time it would be ten times

cheaper than to plan and build one at a time, and the more we build the cheaper terms we would get. This is a positive economic law. The only danger in this is over-production. That is the only obstacle for all production on a large scale. Since the industrial revolution in Europe and America, every financial panic before the world war was caused by over-production. In the case of our housing industry in China, there are four hundred million customers. At least fifty million houses will be needed in the coming fifty years. Thus a million houses a year will be the normal demand of the country.

己 制衣机器工业

中国需要各种制衣机器甚多。或谓中国在欧美所定购纺织机器，须此后三年内乃能交清。若依予计划发展中国，则所需机器当较多于现在数倍，欧美且不足供给之。故设立制造制衣机器为必要，且有利之事。此种工场，当设于附近钢铁工场之处，以省粗重原料运输之费。此事所需资本几何，当由专门家决定之。

第三部 居室工业

中国四万万人中，贫者仍居茅屋陋室，北方有居土穴者，而中国上等社会之居室，乃有类于庙宇。除通商口岸有少数居室依西式外，中国一切居室，皆可谓为庙宇式。中国人建筑居室，所以为死者计过于为生者计，屋主先谋祖先神龛之所，是以安置于屋室中央，其他一切部分皆不及。于是重要居室非以图安适，而以合于所谓红白事者。红事者，即家族中任何人嫁娶及其他喜庆之事；白事者，即丧葬之事。除祖先神龛之外，尚须安设许多家神之龛位。凡此一切神事，皆较人事为更重要，须先谋及之。故旧中国之居室，殆无一为人类之安适及方便计者。今于国际发展计划中，为居室工业计划，必须谋及全中国之居室。或谓为四万万人建屋，乃不可能。吾亦认此事过巨。但中国若弃其最近三千年愚蒙之古说及无用之习惯，而适用近世文明，如予国际发展计划之所引导，则改建一切居室以合于近世安适方便之式，乃势所必至。或因社会进化于无意识中达到，或因人工建设于有意识中达到，西方民族达到近世文明，殆全由于无意识的进步，因社会经济科学乃最近发明也。但一切人类进步，皆多少以知识即科学计划为基础，依吾所定国际发展计划，则中国一切居室将于五十年内依近世安适方便新式改造，是予所能预言者。以预定科学计划建筑中国一切居室，必较之毫无计划更佳更廉。若同时建筑居室千间，必较之建筑一间者价廉十倍。建筑愈多，价值愈廉，是为生计学定律。生计学唯一之危险，为生产过多，一切大规模之生产皆受此种阻碍。自欧美工业进化以来，世界之大战争前所有财政恐慌，皆生产过多之所致。就中国之居室工业论，雇主乃有四万万人，未来五十年中至少需新居室者有五千万，每年造屋一百万间，乃普通所需要也。

Houses are a great factor in civilization. They give men more enjoyment and happiness than food and clothes. More than half of the human industries are contributing to household needs. The housing industry will be the greatest undertaking of our International Development Scheme, and also will be the most profitable part of it. My object of the development of the housing industry is to provide cheap houses to the masses. A ten thousand dollar house now built in the treaty port can be produced for less than a thousand dollars and yet a high margin of profit can be made. In order to accomplish this we have to produce transport, and distribute the materials for

construction. After the house is finished, all household equipment must be furnished. Both of these will be comprised in the housing industry which I shall formulate as follows:

a. The Production and Transportation of Building Materials.

b. The Construction of Houses.

c. The Manufacturing of Furniture.

d. The Supply of Household Utilities.

居室为文明一因子，人类由是所得之快乐，较之衣食更多。人类之工业过半数，皆以应居室需要者。故居室工业，为国际计划中之最大企业，且为其最有利益之一部分。吾所定发展居室计划，乃为群众预备廉价居室。通商诸埠所筑之屋，今需万元者，可以千元以下得之，建屋者且有利益可获。为是之故，当谋建筑材料之生产、运输、分配，建屋既毕，尚须谋屋中之家具装置，是皆包括于居室工业之内。今定其分类如下：

甲 建筑材料之生产及运输。

乙 居室之建筑。

丙 家具之制造。

丁 家用物之供给。

a. The Production and Transportation of Building Materials

The building materials are bricks, tiles, timber, skeleton iron, stone, cement and mortar. Each of these materials must be manufactured or cut out from raw materials. So kilns for the manufacture of tiles and bricks must be put up. Mills for timbers must be established, also factories for skeleton irons. Quarries must be opened and factories for cement and mortar must be started. All these establishments must be put up at suitable districts where materials and markets are near one another. All should be under one central control so as to regulate the output of each of these materials in proportion to the demand. After the materials are ready they must be transported to the places where they are wanted by special bottoms on waterways, and by special cars on railways so as to reduce the cost as low as possible. For this purpose special boats and cars must be built by the shipbuilding department and the car factory.

b. The Construction of Houses

The houses to be built in China will comprise public buildings and private residences. As the public buildings are to be built with public funds for public uses which will not be a profitable undertaking, a special Government Department should therefore be created to take charge. The houses that are to be built under this International Development Scheme will be private residences only with the object to provide cheap houses for the people, as well as to make profit for this International concern. The houses will be built on standardized types. In cities and towns the houses should be constructed on two lines: the single family and the group family houses. The former should again be sub-divided into eight-roomed, ten-roomed and twelve-roomed houses, and the latter into ten-family, hundred-family and thousand-family houses, with four or six rooms for each family. In the country districts the houses should be classified according to the occupation of the people, and special annexes such as barns and dairies should be provided for the farmers. All houses should be designed and built according to the needs and comfort of man; so a special architectural department should be established to study the habits, occupations and needs of different people and make improvements from time to time. The construction should be performed as much as possible by labor-saving machinery so as to accelerate work and save expenses.

c. The Manufacturing of Furniture

As all houses in China should be remodelled all furniture should be replaced by up-to-date ones, which are made for the comforts and needs of man. Furniture of the following kinds should be manufactured: the library, the parlor, the bedroom, the kitchen, the bathroom and the toilet. Each kind should be manufactured in a special factory under the management of the International Development Organization.

甲 建筑材料之生产及运输

建筑材料为砖、瓦、木材、铁架、石、塞门土、三合土等，其每一种皆须制造，或与其他原料分离。如制造砖瓦则须建窑，木材须建锯木工场，铁架须建制铁工场，此外须设石工场、塞门土工场、三合土工场等。须择适宜之地，材料与市场相近者为之。且一切须在中央机关监督

之下，使材料之制出与需要成比例。材料既制成，则水路用舟，陆路用车，以运至需要之地，务设法减省一切费用。造船部、造车部于此则造特别之舟、车以应之。

乙 居室之建筑

此项建筑事业，包括一切公私屋宇。公众建筑，以公款为之，以应公有，无利可图，由政府设专部以司其事。其私人居室，为国际发展计划所建筑者，乃以低廉居室供给人民，而司建筑者仍须有利可获。此类居室之建筑，须依一定模范。在城市中所建屋，分为二类：一为一家之居室，一为多家同居室。前者分为八房间、十房间、十二房间诸种，后者分为十家、百家、千家同居者诸种，每家有四房间至六房间。乡村中之居室，依人民之营业而异，为农民所居者当附属谷仓、乳房之类。一切居室设计，皆务使居人得其安适。故须设特别建筑部以考察人民习惯、营业需要，随处加以改良。建造工事，务须以节省人力之机器为之，于是工事可加速、费用可节省也。

丙 家具之制造

中国所有居室既须改造，则一切家具亦须改用新式者，以图国人之安适，而应其需要。食堂、书室、客厅、卧室、厨房、浴室、便所所用家具，皆须制造。每种皆以特别工场制造之，立于国际发展机关管理之下。

d. The Supply of Household Utilities

The household utilities are water, light, heat, fuel and telephones. Except in treaty ports, there is no water-supply system in any of the cities and towns of China. Even many treaty ports possess none as yet. In all the large cities, the people obtain their water from rivers which at the same time act as sewage. The water supply of the large cities and towns in China is most unsanitary. (1) It is an urgent necessity that water supply systems should be installed in all cities and towns in China without delay. Therefore special factories for equipping the water system should be established in order to meet the needs. (2) Lighting plants should be installed in all the cities and towns in China. So factories for the manufacture of the machinery lighting plants should be established. (3) Modern heating plants should be installed in every household, using either electricity, gas, or steam. So the manufacturing of heating equipment is a necessity. Factories should be established for this

purpose. (4) Cooking fuel is one of the most costly items in the daily needs of the Chinese people. In the country the people generally devote ten per cent of their working time to gathering firewoods. In town the people spend about twenty per cent of their living expenses for firewood alone. Thus this firewood question accumulates into a great national waste. The firewood and grass as a cooking fuel must be substituted by coal in the country districts, and by gas or electricity in towns and cities. In order to use coal gas and electricity, proper equipment must be provided. So factories for the manufacturing of coal gas, and electricity, stoves for every family must be established by this International Development Organization. (5) Telephones must also be supplied to every family in the cities as well as in the country. So factories for manufacturing the equipment must be put up in China, in order to render them as cheap as possible.

Part IV The Motoring Industry

The Chinese are a stagnant race. From time immemorial a man is praised for staying at home and caring for his immediate surroundings only. Laotse—a contemporary of Confucius—says: "The good people are those who live in countries so near to each other that they can hear each other's cock crow and dog bark and yet they never have had intercourse with each other during their lifetime." This is often quoted as the Golden Age of the Chinese people. But in modern civilization the condition is entirely changed. Moving about occupies a great part of a man's life time. It is the movement of man that makes civilization progress. China, in order to catch up with modern civilization, must move. And the movement of the individual forms an important part of the national activity. A man must move whenever and wherever he pleases with ease and rapidity. However, China, at present, lacks the means of facility for individual movement, for all the old great highways were ruined and have disappeared, and the automobile has not yet been introduced into the interior of the country. The motor car, a recent invention, is a necessity for rapid movement. If we wish to move quickly and do more work, we must adopt the motor car as a vehicle. But before we can use the motor car, we have to build our roads. In the preliminary part of this International Development Scheme, I proposed to construct one mil- lion miles of roads. These should be apportioned according to the ratio of population in each district for construction. In the eighteen provinces of China Proper, there are nearly 2,000 hsiens. If all parts of China are to adopt the hsien administration, there will be nearly 4,000 hsiens in all. Thus the construction of roads for each hsien will be on an average of 250 miles. But some of the hsiens have more people and some have less. If we divide the million miles of roads by the four hundred million people, we shall have one mile to every four hundred. For four hundred people to build one mile of road is not a very difficult task to accomplish. If my scheme of making road-building as a condition for granting local autonomy is adopted by the nation, we shall see one million miles of road built in a very short time as if by a magic wand.

丁 家用物之供给

家用物为水、光、燃料、电话等。（一）除通商口岸之外，中国诸城市中无自来水，即通商口岸亦多不具此者。许多大城市所食水为河水，而污水皆流至河中，故中国城市中所食水皆不合卫生。今须于一切大城市中设供给自来水之工场，以应急需。（二）于中国一切大城市供给灯光，设立制造机器发光工场。（三）设立电工场、煤气工场、蒸气工场，以供给暖热。（四）厨用燃料在中国为日用者。最贫乡村之人，每费年工十分之一以采集柴薪。城市之人，买柴薪之费占其生活费十分之二。故柴薪问题，为国民最大耗费。今当使乡村中以煤炭代木草，城市用煤气或电力。然欲用煤炭、煤气、电力等，皆须有特别设备，即由国际发展机关制造煤气、电力火炉诸工场。（五）无论城乡各家，皆宜有电话。故当于中国设立制造电话器具工场，以使其价甚廉。

第四部 行动工业

中国人为凝滞民族，自古以来，安居于家，仅烦虑近事者，多为人所赞称。与孔子同时之老子有言曰："邻国相望，鸡犬之声相闻，民至老死不相往来。"中国人民每述此为黄金时代。惟据近世文明，此种状态已全变，人生时期内，行动最多，各人之有行动，故文明得以进步。中国欲得近时文明，必须行动。个人之行动为国民之重要部分，每人必须随时随地行动，甚易甚速。惟中国现在尚无法使个人行动容易，因古时大道既已废毁，内地尚不识自动车即摩托为何物。自动车为近时所发明，乃急速行动所必要。吾侪欲行动敏捷，作工较多，必须以自动车为行具。但欲用自动车，必先建造大路。吾于国际发展计划，提前一部已提议造大路一百万英里。是须按每县人口之比率，以定造路之里数。中国本部十八省约有县二千，若中国全国设县制，将共有四千县，每县平均造路二百五十英里。惟县内人民多少不同，若以大路一百万英里除四万万人数，则四百人乃得大路一英里。以四百人造一英里之大路，决非难事。若用予计划，以造路为允许地方自治条件，则一百万英里之大路将于至短期内制成矣。

As soon as the people of China decide to build roads, this International Development Organization can begin to put up factories for manufacturing motor cars. First start on a small scale and gradually expand the plants to build more and more until they are sufficient to supply the needs of the four hundred million people. The cars should be manufactured to suit different purposes, such as the farmer's car, the artisan's car, the business man's car, the tourist's car, the truck car, etc. All these cars, if turned out on a large scale, can be made much cheaper than at present, so that everybody who wishes it, may have one.

Besides supplying cheap cars, we must also supply cheap fuel, otherwise the people will still be unable to use them. So the development of the oil fields in China should follow the motor car industry. This will be dealt with in more detail under the mining industry.

中国人民既决定建造大路，国际发展机关即可设立制造自动车之工场。最初用小规模，后乃逐渐扩张，以供给四万万人之需要。所造之车当合于各种用途，为农用车、工用车、商用车、旅行用车、运输用车

等。此一切车以大规模制造，实可较今更廉，欲用者皆可得之。

除供给廉价车之外，尚须供给廉价燃料，否则人民不能用之。故于发展自动车工业之后，即须开发中国所有之煤、油矿，是当于矿工业中详论之。

Part V The Printing Industry

This industry provides man with intellectual food. It is a necessity of modern society, without which mankind cannot progress. All human activities are recorded, and all human knowledge is stored in printing. It is a great factor of civilization. The progress and civilization of different nations of the world are measured largely by the quantity of printed matter they turned out annually. China, though the nation that invented printing, is very backward in the development of its printing industry. In our International Development Scheme, the printing industry must also be given a place. If China is developed industrially according to the lines which I suggested, the demand for printed matter by the four hundred millions will be exceedingly great. In order to meet this demand efficiently, a system of large printing houses must be established in all large cities in the country, to undertake printing of all kinds from newspapers to encyclopædia. The best modern books on various subjects in different countries should be translated into Chinese and published in cheap edition form for the general public in China. All the publishing houses should be organized under one common management, so as to secure the best economic results.

In order to make printed matter cheap, other subsidiary industries must be developed at the same time. The most important of these is the paper industry. At present all the paper used by newspapers in China is imported. And the demand for paper is increasing every day. China has plenty of raw materials for making paper, such as the vast virgin forests of the northwestern part of the country, and the wild reeds of the Yangtze and its neighboring swamps which would furnish the best pulps. So, large plants for manufacturing papers should be put up in suitable locations. Besides the paper factories, ink factories, type foundries, printing machine factories, etc., should be established under a central management to produce everything that is needed in the printing industry.

第五部 印刷工业

此项工业为以知识供给人民，是为近世社会一种需要，人类非此无由进步。一切人类大事皆以印刷纪述之，一切人类知识以印刷蓄积之，故此为文明一大因子。世界诸民族文明之进步，每以其每年出版物之多少衡量之。中国民族虽为发明印刷术者，而印刷工业之发达，反甚迟缓。吾所定国际发展计划，亦须兼及印刷工业。若中国依予实业计划发达，则四万万人所需印刷物必甚多。须于一切大城乡中设立大印刷所，印刷一切自报纸以至百科全书。各国所出新书，以中文翻译，廉价售出，以应中国公众之所需。一切书市，由一公设机关管理，结果乃廉。

欲印刷事业低廉，尚须同时设立其他辅助工业。其最重要者为纸工业。现今中国报纸所用纸张，皆自外国输入。中国所有制纸原料不少，如西北部之天然森林，扬子江附近之芦苇，皆可制为最良之纸料。除纸工场之外，如墨胶工场、印模工场、印刷机工场等，皆须次第设立，归中央管理，产出印刷工业所需诸物。

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[1] 司书：指掌管公文、书信及杂事的工作人员。

[2] 养气：今作“氧气”。

[3] 厘金：中国自清代至中华民国初年征收的一种商业税，因其初定税率为1厘（1％），故名厘金，又称厘捐、厘金税。

[4] 美国又方禁酒：指1920年1月美国宪法第十八号修正案，即所谓禁酒法案正式生效。该法令规定，凡是制造、售卖乃至于运输酒精含量超过0.5%以上的饮料，皆属违法。

PROGRAM VI

The Mining Industry

Mining and farming are the two most important means of producing raw materials for industries. As farming is to produce food for man, so mining is to produce food for machinery. Machinery is the tree of modern industries, and the mining industry is the root of machinery. Thus, without the mining industry there would be no machinery, and without machinery there would be no modern industries which have revolutionized the economic conditions of mankind. The mining industry, after all, is the greatest factor of material civilization and economic progress. Although in the fifth part of the first program I suggested the development of the iron and coal fields in Chihli and Shansi as an auxiliary project for the development of the Great Northern Port, still, a special program should be devoted to mining in general. The mineral lands of China belong to the state, and mining in China is still in its infancy. So to develop the mining industry from the outset as a state enterprise would be a sound economic measure. But mining in general is very risky and to enlist foreign capital in its development in a wholesale manner is unadvisable. Therefore, only such mining projects which are sure to be profitable will be brought under the International Development Scheme. I shall formulate this mining program as follows:

I. The Mining of Iron.

II. The Mining of Coal.

III. The Mining of Oil.

IV. The Mining of Copper.

V. The Working of Some Particular Mines.

VI. The Manufacture of Mining Machinery.

VII. The Establishment of Smelting Plants.

Part I The Mining of Iron

Iron is the most important element in modern industries. Its deposits are found in great quantities in certain areas and can be easily mined. The iron mines should be worked absolutely as a state property. Besides the Chihli and Shansi iron mines, the other iron fields must also be developed. There are very rich deposits in the southwestern provinces, the Yangtze Valley and the northwestern provinces in China Proper. Sinkiang, Mongolia, Manchuria, Kokonor, and Tibet also possess large deposits of iron. We have the Han Yeh Ping Iron and Steel Works in the Yangtze Valley and the Pen Chi Hu Iron and Steel Works in South Manchuria, both of which are largely capitalized by Japan and are working very profitably lately. There should be similar works in the vicinity of Canton, the Great Southern Port, and also in Szechuen, and Yunnan, where iron and coal are found side by side. The iron deposits in Sinkiang, Kansu, Mongolia, etc., must also be developed one after the other, according to the needs of the locality. Iron and Steel Works must be put up in each of these regions to supply the local demand for manufactured iron. What amount of capital should be invested in these additional iron and steel works must be thoroughly investigated by experts. But I should say that a sum equal to or double the amount to be invested in the Chihli and Shansi iron and steel works will not be too much, because of the great demand which will result in the development of China.

陆 第六计划

矿业

矿业与农业为工业上供给原料之主要源泉也。矿业产原料以供机器，犹农业产食物以供人类。故机器者实为近代工业之树，而矿业者又为工业之根。如无矿业，则机器无从成立；如无机器，则近代工业之足以转移人类经济之状况者，亦无从发达。总而言之，矿业者为物质文明与经济进步之极大主因也。在吾第一计划之第五部中，曾倡仪开采直隶、山西两省之煤铁矿田，为发展北方大港之补助计划，但矿业为近代之重要事业，有不可不另设专部以研究之者。中国矿业尚属幼稚，惟经营之权素归国有，几成习惯。此所以发展中国实业，当由政府总其成，庶足称为有生气之经济政策。彼通常人对于矿业多以为危险事业，并谓借外资以为开采者亦非得计，其所见或未到也。故在此之矿业计划中，择其决为有利者先行举办，兹分别列于下之各种：

一、铁矿。

二、煤矿。

三、油矿。

四、铜矿。

五、特种矿之采取。

六、矿业机器之制造。

七、冶矿机厂之设立。

第一部 铁矿

在近代工业中，称为最重要之原质者，是为钢铁。钢铁产生于各地者，多见丰富，且易开采。故为国家谋公共利益计，开采铁矿之权，当属之国有。中国除直隶、山西两省经拟开采之铁矿外，其余各地铁矿亦须次第开采。中国内地沿扬子江一带与西北各省皆以铁矿见称丰富，新疆、蒙古、青海、西藏各地亦以铁矿著名。所可惜者，中国经营钢铁事业，现只有汉阳铁厂与南满洲之本溪湖铁厂，其资本又多为日本人所占有，虽云近来获利甚厚，亦不免有利权外溢之叹矣。广州将开为南方大港，应设立一铁厂。其他如四川、云南等地方之铁矿，亦可次第开采。而后多设钢铁工厂于各处内地，使之便利经营钢铁事业者之需要。至增设之铁厂，应用资本若干，可留为有经验者另行察夺。但以吾之见，因发展中国实业之结果，需铁孔亟，即以相等或加倍于直隶、山西铁厂所用之资本经营之，亦不为多也。

Part II The Mining of Coal

China is known to be the country most rich in coal deposits, yet her coal fields are scarcely scratched. The output of coal in the United States is about six hundred million tons a year. If China is equally developed she should, according to the proportion of her population, have an output of four times as much coal as the United States. This will be the possibility of coal mining in China which the International Development Organization is to undertake. As coal deposits are found in great quantities in certain areas so its output can be estimated quite accurately beforehand. Thus, the risk is of no consideration and the profit is sure. But as coal is a necessity of civilized community and the sinews of modern industries, the principal object for mining should not be for profit alone, but for supplying the needs of mankind. After the payment of interest and capital of the foreign loans for its development, and the securing of high wages for the miners, the price of coal should be reduced as low as possible so as to meet the demands of the public as well as to give impetus to the development of various industries. I suggest that besides the mining of coal for the iron and steel works, a plan for producing two hundred million tons of coal a year for other uses should be formed at the start. Mines should be opened along the seaboard and navigable rivers. As Europe is now seeking coal from China this amount will not be over-production from the beginning. A few years later when the industries of China will be more developed more coal will be needed. How much capital will be required and what mines are to be worked, have to be submitted to scientific investigation under expert direction.

第二部 煤矿

中国煤矿素称丰富，而煤田之开掘者，不过仅采及皮毛而已。北美合众国每年所采取之煤约六万万吨，如中国能用同一方法采取之，并依其人口之比例以为衡，则产出之煤应四倍于美国。此当为中国将来煤矿之产额，而国际发展实业机关宜注意经营者也。夫煤矿之产于中国各地既多所发见，而其产额亦可以预定，故开采者不特无失败之虞。而利益之厚可断言者。但煤为文明民族之必需品，为近代工业之主要物，故其采取之目的，不徒纯为利益计，而在供给人类之用。由此言之，开采煤矿之办法，除摊派借用外资之利息外，其次当为矿工增加工资，又其次当使煤价低落，便利人民，而后各种工业易于发展也。吾以为当煤矿开采之始，除为钢铁工厂使用外，开始计划当以产出二万万吨备为他项事业之用。沿海岸、河岸各矿，交通既便，宜先开采，内地次之。况欧洲各国现思取煤于中国，故吾所定煤之产额，虽当开采之始，亦无过多之虑。待至数年后，当中国工业愈加发达，需煤之数必渐增多，可无疑者。至开采需用之资本若干，与何处矿田应先开采，须留以待专门家用科学之眼光考察之。

Besides coal mining, the coal products industry must be developed under the same management. This is a new industry without any competition and has an unlimited market in China. Great profits will be assured on the capital invested.

Part III The Mining of Oil

It is well-known that the richest company in the world is the Standard Oil Company of New York, and that the richest man in the world is Rockefeller, organizer of this company. This proves that oil mining is a most profitable business. China is known to be a very rich oil-bearing country. Oil springs are found in the provinces of Szechuen, Kansu, Sinkiang, and Shensi. How vast is the underground reservoir of oil in China is not yet known. But the already known oil springs have never been worked and made use of, while the import of kerosene, gasoline, and crude oil from abroad is increasing every year. When China is developed as a motoring country, the use of gasoline will be increased a thousand-fold, then the supply from the foreign fields will not be able to meet the demands, as shortage of oil is already felt in Europe and America. The mining of oil in China will soon become a necessity. This enterprise should be taken up by the International Development Organization for the state. Production on a large scale should be started at once. Pipe line systems should be installed between oil districts and populous and industrial centers in the interior and also river and sea ports. What amount of capital should be invested in the project will have to be investigated by experts.

除煤矿以外，其他一切因煤而产出之工业，可用同一方法经理之。此之新工业，既无人与之竞争，且在中国又有无限之市场，故资本之投放，其利益之大可断言者。

第三部 油矿

世界中营业公司之最富者，以纽约三达煤油公司[1] 为著，世界中人之最富者，以该公司之创建者乐极非路为最著，于此可以证明开采煤油矿为最有利益之事业。中国亦以富于煤油出产国见称也，四川、甘肃、新疆、陕西等省已发见有油源，虽其分量之多寡，尚未能确实调查。而中国有此种矿产，不能开采以为自用，以至由外国人口之煤油、汽油等年年增加，未免可惜。如待至中国将来汽车盛行之时，煤汽之需用或增至千倍。当此欧美各国煤油正在日渐减缩，由外国输入之煤油、煤气，断不足以供中国之需要，此所以在中国以开采油矿为必要之图也。此种事业，须由国际发展实业机关为政府经营之，但当经营之始，规模亦当远大。如煤油区域、稠密居民、工业中心以及河岸、海港等地方，皆宜用油管办法互相联络，以使其输送与分配于各地者，更为便利。如此之筹划，须用资本若干方能开办，可留为对于此事业有经验者察夺之。

Part IV The Mining of Copper

The copper deposits, like iron ores, are found in great quantities in different places. So the quantity of ores in each mine can be accurately estimated before it is opened and its working generally runs no risk. Thus, the mining of copper should be taken up as a government enterprise, as was always the case in China, and financed and worked by the International Development Organization. The richest copper deposits in China are found along the border of Szechuen and Yunnan on the Yangtze River. The government copper mine in Chaotung, in the northeastern corner of Yunnan, has been working for many centuries. Cash, the standard currency of China, was made mostly of the copper from Yunnan province. The currency still absorbs an enormous quantity of copper. Owing to the difficulty of transporting the Yunnan copper, most of the metal for currency is being imported from foreign countries. Besides currency, copper is very commonly used for many other purposes and when the industries in China are developed the demand will increase a hundred times. So the demand for this metal will be very great in the market of China alone. I suggest that production on a large scale should be adopted and modern plants should be installed in copper mines. How much capital to be invested in this enterprise should be decided by experts after careful investigation.

第四部 铜矿

中国铜矿亦如铁矿之丰富，经已发见者，已有多处。至其矿产之分量，在未开以前均可预计，故办理可无危险。但开采之权，须依中国惯例，属之国有，而后由国际发展实业机关投资代为经营。四川、云南与扬子江一带，皆中国铜产最盛之区。由政府开采之铜矿在于云南北角之昭通者，经已数世纪之久矣。中国向来通用之钱币，几乎全赖云南铜矿以制造之，现今钱币需用之铜，仍称大宗。但因云南之铜，输运艰难，价格过高，故多购自外国。非中国缺此种金属，是中国对于此种金属之采取未能发达故也。况铜之为物，除用作钱币外，需用为他种目的者尚多。当中国将来之工业发达，用铜之途必增至百倍。故此种金属，即在中国市场，将必成为需要之大宗。此吾之所以为开采铜矿不可不适用近代机器，而冀其有大宗之出产也。此之事业，应投资若干以为之经营，可留为专门家察夺之。

Part V The Working of Some Particular Mines

In regard to the mining of various kinds of metal, some particular mines should be taken up by the International Development Organization. There are many famous mines in China which have been worked for many centuries by hand, such as the Kochui tin mine in Yunnan, the Moho gold mine in Heilungkiang, and the Khotan jade mine in Sinkiang. All these mines are known to have very rich deposits, -the deeper the richer. Hitherto only the surface parts of those mines have been worked and the larger deposits are still untouched, owing to the lack of means of getting rid of the water. Some of the mines are still in the hands of the Government, while others have been given up to private concerns. If modern machinery is adopted the mines should revert to the Government so as to secure economy in working. Many discarded mines of this kind should be thoroughly investigated, and if found profitable, work should be resumed under the International Development Scheme. All future mining, other than government enterprise, should be leased to private concerns on contract, and when the term is up, the government has the option to take them over, if found profitable as a state property. Thus all profitable mines will be socialized in time and the profit will be equally shared by all the people in the country.

第五部 特种矿之采取

国际发展实业机关对于各色特种之矿，有可以经营之者。如云南个旧之锡矿，黑龙江之漠河金矿，新疆之和阗玉矿，皆用人力采取，经已数世纪之久矣。此种之矿产皆以丰厚见称，现已开采者不过是矿中之上层，其余大部分因无法排除泉水，尚多埋藏地中。但向来对于此等特种矿产，有为人民采取者，有为政府采取者。如能行用近代机器，并由政府经营，是为最经济之办法也。其他多有已弃置之矿产。如此类者，须通行考察，如以为实有利益，即须依国际发展计划，再行开采。至于将来一切矿业，除既为政府经营外，应准租与私人立约办理，当期限既满，并知为确有利益者，政府有收回办理之权。如此办法，一切有利益之矿可以从渐收为社会公有，而通国人民亦可以均沾其利益矣。

Part VI The Manufacture of Mining Machinery

Most of the metal deposits of the earth are in small quantities and scattered far and wide in various places. Most of the mining enterprises resemble farming in that it is more profitable to work by individuals and small parties. As such is the case, most of the mining enterprises have to be worked out by private concerns. In order to accelerate the development of mining, more liberal laws should be adopted; education and informa- tion should be given freely by experts employed by the state; and encouragement and financial assistance should be given by the state and private banks. The part that the International Development Organization should take in general mining enterprises is to manufacture all kinds of mining tools and machinery, and to supply them to the miners at low cost, either on cash or on credit. By distributing tools and machinery to the surplus workers in China, the mining industry would be developed by leaps and bounds. And the more the mining industry is developed the more will be the demand for tools and machinery. Thus the profits for the manufacturing concerns would be limitless, so to speak. Of course, the factories should be started on a small scale and be extended gradually according to the ratio of the development of the mining industry. I suggest that the first factory of this kind should be established at Canton, the seaport of the southwestern mining region, where raw materials and skilled labor can be easily obtained. The other factories should be established in Hankow and the Great Northern Port afterwards.

第六部 矿业机械之制造

各种金属之埋藏于独一地域者，不过一小部分，而散产于各地者，广狭亦各有不同，故对于各种矿业之经营，有为政府不能自办，当留为私人办之。譬如农业，私人经营者利益常丰，矿业亦如是也。如欲望矿务之发展，国家必须采用宽大之矿律。政府所雇用之专门技师，应自由予以指导与报告。公司银行应予以经济之帮助。此国际发展机关对于普通矿业，只当为之制造各种矿业器具与机械，以供给业矿者之使用。至此器具与机械之出售者，无论其为现金，或为赊借，必须定以最低廉之价，而后能使之遍为分配于中国之多余工人，矿业自日臻发达。矿业既日臻发达，器具与机械之需要必日多。若依此办理，即制造矿业器具机械之利益，已无可限量矣。但此等工厂，在开始时期只宜至小经营，待从矿业日臻发达而后从渐推广。故吾以为此种之第一工厂须设立于广州，盖因广州为西南矿区之口岸，获取原料、延请技师亦较他处为便易也。至其他之工厂，应设立于汉口与北方大港各地。

Part VII The Establishment of Smelting Plants

Smelting plants for various kinds of metals should be put up in all mining districts to turn ore into metals. These smelting plants should be conducted under the coöperative system. At first, a reasonable price should be paid to the miner when the ore is collected. Afterwards, when the metal is sold, either at home or in foreign markets, the smelting works will take a share of the profit to cover the expenses, the interest, the sinking fund, etc. The surplus profit should be divided among the workers according to their wages, and among the capitalists according to the proportion of ore they contribute to the furnace. In this way we can encourage private mining enterprise which forms the root of other industries. All smelting works should be put up according to local needs and their scale should be determined by experts and managed under a central control.

第七部 冶矿厂之设立

各种金属之冶铸机厂，应遍设于各矿区，使之便于各种金属之化炼。此等冶铸机厂，应仿合作制度组织之。当其始也，生矿之收集，价格必廉。迨后金属之出售，无论其在中国或外国市场，而此种冶铸工夫，可以分享其一分之利益，用以抵偿各种费用、利息与冗费。其他之剩余利益，应按各种工人之工资并各资本家所供给于铸炉之生矿之多寡比例分配之。如此办法，对于私人之经营矿业者，既可以资鼓励，而工业之基础亦可因之以成立。但机厂之设立须依各区之需要，由专门家以定其规模之大小，而设中央机关以管理之。

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[1] 三达煤油公司：今译美孚石油公司。乐极非路：今译洛克菲勒，1839—1937年，美孚石油公司创办人。

CONCLUSION

In this International Development Scheme, I venture to present a practical solution for the three great world questions which are the International War, the Commercial War and the Class War. As it has been discovered by post-Darwin philosophers that the primary force of human evolution is coöperation and not struggle as that of the animal world, so the fighting nature, a residue of the animal instinct in man, must be eliminated from man, the sooner the better.

International war is nothing more than pure and simple organized robbery on a grand scale, which all right-minded people deplore. When the United States of America turned the recent European conflict into a world war by taking part in it, the American people to a man determined to make this war end war forever. And the hope of the peace-loving nations in the world was raised so high that we Chinese thought that the "Tatung" or the Great Harmony Age was at hand. But unfortunately, the United States has completely failed in peace, in spite of her great success in war. Thus, the world has been thrown back to the pre-war condition again. The scrambling for territories, the struggle for food, and the fighting for raw materials will begin anew. So instead of disarmament there is going to be a greater increase in the armies and navies of the once allied powers for the next war. China, the most rich and populous country in the world, will be the prize. Some years ago there was great inclination among the Powers to divide China and Imperial Russia actually took steps to colonize Manchuria. But the then chivalrous Japan went to war with Russia and thus saved China from partition. Now the militaristic policy of Japan is to swallow China alone. So long as China is left to the tender mercy of the militaristic powers she must either succumb to partition by several powers or be swallowed up by one power.

However, the tide of the world seems to be turning. After centuries of sound slumber, the Chinese people at last are waking up and realizing that we

must get up and follow in the world's progress. Now we are at the parting of the ways. Shall we organize for war or shall we organize for peace? Our militarists and reactionaries desire the former, and they are going to Japanize China, so that when the time comes they will start another Boxer Movement once more to defy the civilized world. But as the founder of the Chung Hwa Min Kuo—the Chinese Republic—I desire to have China organized for peace. I, therefore, begin to utilize my pen, which I hope will prove even mightier than the sword that I used to destroy the Manchu Dynasty, to write out these programs for organizing China for peace.

结 论

世界有三大问题，即国际战争、商业战争与阶级战争是也。在此国际发展实业计划中，吾敢为此世界三大问题而贡一实行之解决。即如后达尔文而起之哲学家之所发明人类进化之主动力，在于互助，不在于竞争，如其他之动物者焉。故斗争之性，乃动物性根之遗传于人类者，此种兽性，当以早除之为妙也。

国际战争者，无他，纯然一简直有组织之大强盗行为耳。对此种强盗行为，凡有心人莫不深疾痛恨之。当美国之参加欧战也，遂变欧战而为世界之大战争。美国人民举国一致，皆欲以此战而终结将来之战，为一劳永逸之计焉。世界爱和平之民族之希望，莫不为之兴起，而中国人民为尤甚，一时几咸信大同之世至矣。惜乎美国在战场上所获之大胜利，竟被议席间之失败而完全推翻之。遂至世界再回复欧战以前之状况，为土地而争、为食物而争、为原料而争将再出见。因此之故，前之提倡弭兵[1] 者，今则联军列强又增加海军，以预备再次之战争。中国为世界最多人口之国，将来当为战争赔偿之代价也。

十余年前，列强曾倡瓜分中国，俄罗斯帝国且实行殖民满洲，后因激动日本之义愤，与俄战争[2] ，得以救中国之亡。今则日本之军国政策，又欲以独力并吞中国。如中国不能脱离列强包围，即不为列国瓜分，亦为一国兼并。今日世界之潮流，似有转机矣。中国人经受数世纪之压迫，现已醒觉，将起而随世界之进步，现已在行程中矣。其将为战争而结合乎？抑为和平而结合乎？如前者之说，是吾中国军国主义者与反动者之主张，行将以日本化中国。如其然也，待时之至，拳匪之变或将再见于文明世界[3] 。但中华民国之创造者，其目的本为和平，故吾敢证言曰：为和平而利用吾笔作此计划，其效力当比吾利用兵器以推倒满清为更大也。

During the course of my writing, these programs have been published in various magazines and newspapers time after time and are being spread all over China. They are welcomed everywhere and by everyone in the country. So far there is not a word expressed in disfavor of my proposition. The only anxiety ever expressed regarding my scheme is where can we obtain such

huge sums of money to carry out even a small part of this comprehensive project. Fortunately, however, soon after the preliminary part of my programs had been sent out to the different governments and the Peace Conference, a new Consortium was formed in Paris for the purpose of assisting China in developing her natural resources. This was initiated by the American Government. Thus we need not fear the lack of capital to start work in our industrial development. If the Powers are sincere in their motive to coöperate for mutual benefit, then the military struggle for material gain in China could eventually be averted. For by coöperation, they can secure more benefits and advantages than by struggle. The Japanese militarists still think that war is the most profitable national pursuit, and their General Staff keeps on planning a war once in a decade. This Japanese illusion was encouraged and strengthened by the campaign of 1894 against China, a cheap and short one but rich in remuneration for Japan; also by the campaign of 1904 against Russia which was a great success to the Japanese, and its fruit of victory was no less in value; finally by the campaign of 1914 against Germany which formed her part in the world war Japan took. Although Japan took the smallest part in the world war and expended the least in men and money, yet the fruit of her victory was Shantung, a territory as large as Roumania before the war, with a population as numerous as that of France. With such crowning results in every war during the last thirty years no wonder the Japanese militarists think that the most profitable business in this world is War.

The effect of the last war in Europe proves, however, just the contrary. An aggresive Germany lost entirely her capital and interests, plus something more, while victorious France gained practically nothing. Since China is awake now, the next aggression from Japan will surely be met by a resolute resistance from the Chinese people. Even granted that Japan could conquer China, it would be an impossibility for Japan to govern China profitably for any period of time. The Japanese financiers possess better foresight than their militarists as was proved during the dispute of the Manchurian and the Mongolian reservations when the former prevailed over the latter thus causing the Japanese Government to give up her monopoly of these territories to the new Consortium, in order to coöperate with the other powers. We, the Chinese people, who desire to organize China for peace will welcome heartily this new Consortium provided it will carry out the principles which are outlined in these programs. Thus, coöperation of various nations can be

secured and the military struggle for individual and national gain will cease forever.

吾现所著之《实业计划》，经已登载各报、各杂志流传于中国者不止一次，几于无处无人不欢迎之，并未闻有发言不赞成之者。但彼等所虑者，谓吾所提议之计划过于伟大，难得如此一大宗巨款，以实行之耳。所幸者，当吾计划弁首之部寄到各国政府与欧洲和会之后[4]，巴黎遂有新银行团之成立，思欲协助中国发展天然物产。闻此举之发起人出自美国政府，故吾等即当开办之始，亦不患资本之无着也。在列强之行动如系真实协力为共同之利益计，而彼之主张军国主义者，俗为物质向中国而战争者，自无所施其伎俩，此无他，盖为互助而获之利益，当比因竞争而获之利益更为丰厚也。彼日本之武力派，尚以战争为民族进取之利器，彼参谋本部当时计划十年作一战争。一八九四年以一最短期之中日战争，获最丰之报酬，于是因之而长其欲。一九零四年日俄之役，获大胜利，所得利益亦非轻小。最后以一九一四年大战争，复加入联军以拒德国，而日本以出力最微，费财至少，竟获一领土大如未战前之罗马尼亚、人口众如法国之山东。由此观之，在近三十年间，日本于每一战争之结局即获最厚之报酬，无怪乎日本之军阀以战争为最有利益之事业也。

试以此次欧战最后之结果证之，适得其反。野心之德国，几尽丧其资本与利益与其他难于计算之物。法国虽以战胜称，实亦无所得。今中国已醒觉，日本即欲实行其侵略政策，中国人亦必出而拒绝之。即不幸中国为日本所占领，不论何时何处，亦断非日本所能统治有利。故以吾之见，日本之财政家当比日本之军阀派较有先见之明，此可以满洲、蒙古范围地之争持证之。以财政家得最后之胜利，如是日本即舍弃其垄断蒙古之政策，而与列强相合成立新银团。若此新银团能实行其现所提倡之主义，吾中国人素欲以和平改造中国者，必当诚意欢迎之。故为万国互助者当能实现，为个人或一民族之私利者，自当消灭于无形矣。

Commercial war, or competition, is a struggle between the capitalists themselves. This war has no national distinction. It is fought just as furiously and mercilessly between countries as well as within the country. The method of fighting is to undersell each other, in order to exhaust the weaker rivals so that the victor may control the market alone and dictate terms to the consuming public as long as possible. The result of the commercial war is no less harmful and cruel to the vanquished foes than an armed conflict. This war has become more and more furious every day since the adoption of machinery for production. It was once thought by the economists of the

Adam Smith school that competition was a beneficent factor and a sound economic system, but modern economists discovered that it is a very wasteful and ruinous system. As a matter of fact, modern economic tendencies work in a contrary direction, that is, towards concentration instead of competition. That is the reason why the trusts in America flourish in spite of the anti-trust law and the public opinion which aim at suppressing them. For trusts, by eliminating waste and cutting down expenses can produce much cheaper than individual producers. Whenever a trust enters into a certain field of industry, it always sweeps that field clean of rivals, by supplying cheap articles to the public. This would prove a blessing to the public but for the unfortunate fact that the trust is a private concern, and its object is to make as much profit as possible. As soon as all rivals are swept clean from the field of competition, the trust would raise the price of its articles as high as possible. Thus the public is oppressed by it. The trust is a result of economic evolution, therefore it is out of human power to suppress it. The proper remedy is to have it owned by all the people of the country. In my International Development Scheme, I intend to make all the national industries of China into a Great Trust owned by the Chinese people, and financed with international capital for mutual benefit. Thus once for all, commercial war will be done away with in the largest market of the world.

商业战争，亦战争之一种，是资本家与资本家之战争也。此种战争，无民族之区分，无国界之限制，常不顾人道，互相战斗。而其战斗之方法即减价倾轧，致弱者倒败，而强者则随而垄断市场，占领销路，直至达其能力所及之期限而止。故商业战争之结果，其损失、其残酷亦不亚于铁血竞争之以强力压迫也。此种之战争，自采用机器生产之后，已日见剧烈。彼司密亚丹[5] 派之经济学者，谓竞争为最有利益之主因，为有生气之经济组织；而近代之经济学者，则谓其为浪费，为损害之经济组织。然所可确证者，近代经济之趋势，适造成相反之方向，即以经济集中代自由竞争是也。美国自有大公司出现，即有限制大公司法律，而民意亦以设法限制为然。盖大公司能节省浪费，能产出最廉价物品，非私人所能及。不论何时何地，当有大公司成立，即将其他小制造业扫除净尽，而以廉价物品供给社会，此固为社会之便利。但所不幸者，大公司多属私有，其目的在多获利益，待至一切小制造业皆为其所压倒之后，因无竞争，而后将各物之价值增高，社会上实受无形之压迫也。大公司之出现，系经济进化之结果，非人力所能屈服。如欲救其弊，只有将一切大公司组织归诸通国人民公有之一法。故在吾之国际发展实业计划，拟将一概工业组成一极大公司，归诸中国人民公有，但须得国际资

本家为共同经济利益之协助。若依此办法，商业战争之在于世界市场中者，自可消灭于无形矣。

Class war is a struggle between labor and capital. The war is at present raging at its full height in all the highly developed industrial countries. Labor feels sure of its final victory while capitalists are determined to resist to the bitter end. When will it end and what will be the decision no one dares to predict. China, however, owing to the backwardness of her industrial development, which is a blessing in disguise, in this respect, has not yet entered into the class war. Our laboring class, commonly known as coolies, are living from hand to mouth and will therefore only be too glad to welcome any capitalist who would even put up a sweat shop to exploit them. The capitalist is a rare specimen in China and is only beginning to make his appearance in the treaty ports.

However, China must develop her industries by all means. Shall we follow the old path of western civilization? This old path resembles the sea route of Columbus' first trip to America. He set out from Europe by a southwesterly direction through the Canary Islands to San Salvador, in the Bahama Group. But nowadays navigators take a different direction to America and find that the destination can be reached by a distance many times shorter. The path of western civilization was an unknown one and those who went before groped in the dark as Columbus did on his first voyage to America. As a late comer, China can greatly profit in covering the space by following the direction already charted by western pioneers. Thus we can foresee that the final goal of the westward-ho in the Atlantic is not India but the New World. So is the case in the economic ocean. The goal of material civilization is not private profit but public profit. And the shortest route to it is not competition but co-öperation. In my International Development Scheme, I propose that the profits of this industrial development should go first to pay the interest and principal of foreign capital invested in it; second to give high wages to labor; and third to improve or extend the machinery of production. Besides these provisions the rest of the profit should go to the public in the form of reduced prices in all commodities and public services. Thus, all will enjoy, in the same degree, the fruits of modern civilization. This industrial development scheme which is roughly sketched in the above six programs is a part of my general plan for constructing a New China. In a nutshell, it is my idea to make capitalism create socialism in China so that

these two economic forces of human evolution will work side by side in future civilization.

阶级战争，即工人与资本家之战争也。此种之战争现已发现于各工业国家者，极形剧烈。在工人则自以为得最后之胜利，在资本家则决意以为最苦之压迫，故此种之战争，何时可以终局，如何可以解决，无人敢预言之者。中国因工业进步之迟缓，故就形式上观之，尚未流入阶级战争之中。吾国之所谓工人者，通称为“苦力”，而其生活只以手为饭碗，不论何资本家若能成一小工店予他等以工作者，将必欢迎之。况资本家之在中国，寥若晨星，亦仅见于通商口岸耳。

发展中国工业，不论如何，必须进行，但其进行之方，将随西方文明之旧路径而行乎？然此之旧路径，不啻如哥伦布初由欧至美之海程。考其时之海程，由欧洲起向西南方，经加拿利岛至巴哈马群岛之圣沙路华打[6]，绕程极远，与现行之航线取一直捷方向，路程短于前时数倍者，不可同日而语矣。彼西方文明之路径，是一未辟之路径，即不啻如哥伦布初往美国之海程，犹人行黑夜之景况。中国如一后至之人，可依西方已辟之路径而行之，此所以吾等从大西洋西向而行，皆预知其彼岸为美洲新大陆而非印度矣。经济界之趋势，亦如是也。夫物质文明之标的，非私人之利益，乃公共之利益。而其最直捷之途径，不在竞争，而在互助。故在吾之国际发展计划中，提议以工业发展所生之利益，其一须摊还借用外资之利息，二为增加工人之工资，三为改良与推广机器之生产，除此数种外，其余利益须留存以为节省各种物品及公用事业之价值。如此，人民将一律享受近代文明之乐矣。前之六大计划，为吾欲建设新中国之总计划之一部分耳。简括言之，此乃吾之意见，盖欲使外国之资本主义以造成中国社会主义，而调和此人类进化之两种经济能力，使之互相为用，以促进将来世界之文明也。

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[1] 弭兵：平息战事，停止战争。
[2] 与俄战争：指1904—1905年的日俄战争。这是一场为争夺中国东北和朝鲜的权益而进行的帝国主义侵略战争。
[3] 拳匪之变：指义和团运动。
[4] 欧洲和会：指第一次世界大战结束后，英、法等27国于1919年在巴黎举行的国际和会，也称巴黎和会。会后签订《凡尔赛和约》。
[5] 司密亚丹：今译亚当·斯密，1723—1790年，著有《国富论》、《道德情操论》等。
[6] 圣沙路华打：今译圣萨尔瓦多岛，位于西印度群岛中巴哈马群岛东部大西洋边缘上。

APPENDIX I

Preliminary Agreement Providing for the Financing and Construction of the Railway from Canton to Chungking with Extension to Lanchow

This Agreement is made at Shanghai on the fourth day of the seventh month of the second year of the Republic of China being the fourth day of July, 1913, and the contracting parties are: The Chinese National Railway Corporation (hereinafter termed "the Corporation") duly authorized in virtue of the Presidential Mandate of the ninth day of the ninth month of the Republic of China being the ninth day of September, 1912, and in virtue of the Charter of the Corporation duly promulgated by a Presidential Mandate of the thirty-first day of the third month of the second year of the Republic of China being the thirty-first day of March, 1913, on the one part and Messrs. Pauling and Company, Limited, of 26 Victoria Street, London, S. W. (hereinafter termed "the Contractors") on the other part.

Now it is Hereby Agreed by and between the parties hereto as follows:

ARTICLE I

The Contractors, or their Assigns, agree to issue on behalf of the Government of the Republic of China a sterling Loan, bearing interest at the rate of five per cent per annum, (hereinafter referred to as "the Loan") for such an amount as may be mutually estimated to be necessary for the completion of the Railway from Canton to Chungking.

The Loan shall be of the date on which the first series of Bonds are issued and shall be called "The Chinese National Railways Government five per cent Gold Loan of 1912 for the Canton Chungking Railway."

ARTICLE II

The proceeds of the Loan are designed for the construction and equipment of the Railway from Canton to Chungking (hereinafter called "the

Railway") and for all necessary expenditure appertaining thereto as may be arranged in the Detailed Agreement, referred to in Article 17.

附录一 关于广州至重庆与兰州支线之借款与建筑契约草案

此之契约，经于中华民国二年七月四日即西历一九一三年七月四日成立于上海。关于此契约之双方当事人，一为中国国家铁路公司，一为波令有限公司。中国国家铁路公司经于中华民国元年九月九日即西历一九一二年九月九日由总统命令委任，并于中华民国二年三月三十一日即西历一九一三年三月三十一日经大总统公布公司章程在案，故即以公司定名。波令有限公司现设立于伦敦城维多利亚街第二号，为立契约人等，现经双方当事人同意，议定契约条文如下：

第一条

立契约人承诺借巨款与中华民国，年息五厘，专为兴筑广州至重庆之铁路费用。其总额若干，须经双方预为议定。此借款开始所发行之债券，名曰“一九一三年中国国办广州重庆铁路五厘公债券”。

第二条

此借款之用途，专为由广州至重庆铁路之建筑与器具之费用。至其必要之用具，再详细列于第十七条之详细契约中。

ARTICLE III

The payment of the interest and the redemption of the Capital of the Loan are guaranteed by the Government of the Republic of China and by a special lien upon the Canton Chungking Railway.

This special lien constitutes a first mortgage in favour of the Contractors, acting on behalf of the Bondholders, upon the Railway itself, as and when constructed, and on the revenue of all descriptions derivable therefrom, and upon all materials, rolling stock and buildings of every description purchased or to be purchased for the Railway.

Should there be default in payments on the dates fixed of all or part of the half yearly interest or amortization payments, the Contractors shall have the right to exercise on behalf of the Bondholders all the rights of action which accrue to them from the special mortgage.

ARTICLE IV

During the time of construction of the Railway the interest on the Bonds and on any advances made by the Contractors shall be paid from the proceeds of the Loan. The accruing interest from any proceeds of the Loan not used during the period of construction, and the earnings derived by the Corporation from the working of any sections of the Railway as they are built, are to be used to make up the amount required for the payment of the said interest, and if any deficiency remains it is to be met from the proceeds of the Loan.

When the construction of the Railway is wholly completed, the interest on the Bonds is to be paid from the income or earnings of the Railway received by the Corporation, in such manner and on such dates as may be provided for in the Detailed Agreement provided for in Article 17 of this Agreement.

If, at any time, the earnings of the Railway, together with the funds available from the proceeds of the Loan, are not sufficient to meet the interest on the Bonds and the repayment of the capital in accordance with the Amortization Schedule to be attached to the Detailed Agreement, the Government of the Republic of China, in approving of this Agreement, unconditionally undertakes and promises to pay the principal of the Loan and the interest of the Loan on the due dates to be fixed therefor in the Detailed Agreement provided for in Article 17 of this Agreement.

第三条

对于借款之摊还与利息之交付，则由中华民国政府并以广州重庆铁路之监察权为之担保。

此之监察权，为契约人对于该路为其债券所有者之援助应享有之第一抵押品。此之抵押品，即如当建筑铁路之时，各种费用与铁路材料、车料与屋宇等之买卖是。

如利息应偿还款项全数或一部分，不能有如所订之期限交付时，立

契约人为其债券所有者援助计，有权将该项权利加入于特别抵押品内。

第四条

当铁路尚在建筑时期，凡债券与借款之利息立契约人订定者，应由借款项下支付。凡由借款所加入之利息，若当建筑时期尚未支出者，与铁路公司已成立之一部分铁路之收入，须移用为补偿应摊还利息之总数。若再有不足，则由借款补足。

当铁路全部建筑完工后，其债券之利息可由该铁路公司之铁路入息或其他项收入支付。但对于此项办法之详细契约，另详于此契约之第十七条。

不论何时，若铁路之收入与借入之存款合计之，尚不足偿还债券利息与载在详细契约中所借入期单应偿还之资本，中华民国政府为保证此契约起见，应正式承认将此借款之欠负与载在第十七条详细契约所偿还之利息一并交付。

ARTICLE V

The bonds shall be Bonds of the Government of the Republic of China.

ARTICLE VI

The Loan shall be issued to the public in two or more series of Bonds, the first issue to be made to the amount of from one to two million pounds sterling as soon as possible after the signature of the Detailed Agreement referred to in Article 17 of this Agreement. The issue price of the Bonds shall be fixed by the Corporation and the Contractors sometime before the issue, taking the last price of similar Bonds as a basis for fixing the market price. The price payable to the Corporation shall be the actual rate of issue to the public less a sufficient amount to cover the cost of stamps on the Bonds in the various countries of issue, provided always that at least fifty per cent of the Bonds shall be issued in England, plus floatation charges of four per cent retainable by the Contractors (that is to say, a charge of four pounds for every one hundred pound Bond issued).

After the Detailed Agreement referred to in Article 17 is settled, and pending the issue of the Loan, the Contractors shall deposit the sum of fifty thousand pounds with the issuing Bank to the Canton Chungking Railway account, and this amount can be drawn on by the Corporation for survey and

other necessary expenses authorized by the Managing Director against certificates signed by the Chief Accountant and Chief Engineer. This sum of fifty thousand pounds shall bear interest at the rate of five per cent per annum and shall be refunded out of the proceeds of the Loan.

ARTICLE VII

The proceeds of the Loan shall be deposited with the issuing Bank, to be nominated and guaranteed by the Contractors, to the credit of a Canton Chungking Railway Account on such terms as may be mutually arranged in the Detailed Agreement referred to in Article 17.

When the work of construction is ready to begin a sum equal to the estimated expenditure in China for six months shall be transferred to a Bank in China to be mutually agreed upon and there placed to the credit of a Canton Chungking Railway Account to be operated upon by the Corporation under certificates signed by the Chief Accountant and the Chief Engineer. This amount of estimated expenditure for six months shall be maintained by subsequent monthly transfers so that, as far as possible, there shall always be six months estimated expenditure in China on deposit in a Bank in China to be mutually agreed upon.

第五条

发行之债券，即作为中华民国政府之债券。

第六条

债券应分为二次或二次以上发售。第一次所发出之总额，须在金镑一百万至二百万之间，惟须当此契约第十七条之详细契约双方签名之后，即刻实行。此债券之发行价格。应由铁路公司与立契约人协同依同样债券为基础，以议定市面价格。此之价格，因包含债券发行于各国所需用之印花，故比其原定价格略低。此种债券至少须百分之五十在英伦发行，百分之四为立契约人抽收，即每一百金镑可照债券之发行之价抽收四镑。

当十七条详细契约既定、债券亦将发行时候，立契约人须先存贮五万金镑于银行，入为广州重庆铁路公司数目。此之总数，若经铁路总理之命令并总会计与总工程师之签名，可以随时提取作为测量及各种必需费用。至此五万金镑之总数，订定每年利息五厘，将来由借款项下拨出

归还。

第七条

借款须存贮于银行，由立契约人声明并担保作为广州重庆铁路数目。如此办法，可再由第十七条之详细契约中商酌办理。

当建筑工程经已开始，一相等于在中国足充六个月用度之数额，须交付存贮于设立在中国之银行，入为广州重庆铁路数目，并可由该铁路公司支用。但须得总会计与总工程师会签方为有效。此六个月用度之总额，可接续依月递交，存贮于中国之银行。

ARTICLE VIII

Immediately after the signing of the Detailed Agreement, the Corporation will establish a Head Office at Canton for the Canton Chungking Railway. This Office will be under the direction of a Chinese Managing Director to be appointed by the Corporation, with whom will be associated a British Engineer-in-Chief and a British Firm of Public Accountants, of recognized standing, whose representative shall be Chief Accountant (hereinafter called "the Chief Accountant"). These British Employes shall be nominated by the Corporation and the Contractors, jointly, and shall be appointed by the Corporation. Their dismissal shall take place, only, with the joint approval of the Corporation and the Contractors.

It is understood that the duties to be performed by these employes are intended to promote the mutual interests of the Corporation and the Bondholders respectively, and it is therefore agreed that all cases of difference arising therefrom shall be referred for amicable adjustment between the Corporation and the Representative of the Contractors. The salaries and other terms of Agreement of the Engineer-in-Chief and the Chief Accountant shall be arranged between the Corporation and the Contractors; and the amount of their salaries, etc., shall be paid out of the general accounts of the Railway.

For all important technical appointments for the operation of the Railway, Europeans of experience and ability shall be engaged and wherever competent Chinese are available, they shall be employed. All such appointments shall be made, and their functions defined, by the Managing Director and the Engineer-in-Chief in consultation, and shall be submitted for

the approval of the Corporation; similar procedure shall be followed in the case of Europeans employed in the Chief Accountant's department. In the event of the misconduct, or the incompetency of these European employes, their services may be dispensed with by the Managing Director, after consultation with the Engineer-in-Chief, and subject to the sanction of the Corporation. The form of Agreements made with these European Employes shall conform to the usual practice.

The accounts of the receipts and the disbursements of the Railway's construction and operation, shall be in Chinese and English in the department of the Chief Accountant, whose duty it shall be to organize and supervise the same, and to report thereon for the information of the Corporation through the Managing Director, and of the Contractors as representing the Bondholders. All receipts and payments shall be certified by the Chief Accountant and authorized by the Managing Director.

第八条

当详细契约签押之后，此铁路公司即须于广东省城另设一广州重庆铁路事务所。此之事条所，应设中国总理一人，由铁路公司派委；英国总工程师及英国总会计各一人，由铁路公司与立契约人协同择定，而后由铁路公司任命。但所雇用英国职员，若得铁路公司与立契约人之同意，并可以革除。

此项职工应尽之义务，在增进铁路公司与债券所有者之共同利益，故每当有问题发生，必须有铁路公司与立契约人共同秉公处理。英国总工程师与总会计之薪金及期限，由铁路公司与立契约人订定，即由铁路数目项下支出。

凡关于管理铁路之重要人员，如有有经验、有技能之欧洲人与有能干之中国人，均须一体并用。如此等一切之任用与其权限之规定，须由总理与总工程师会商办理，呈请铁路公司核准。至雇用于总会计部之欧人，均须依同一方法办理。如欧洲职员有失德行为或不称职时，总理与总工程师会商呈请公司核准，可将该职员革除。至雇用欧洲职员所订之契约，须与普通所用者相同。

凡在总会计部之收入数目及铁路建筑与管理之支出数目，须用中英两国文字。总会计须依此办法办理报告，分呈于总理与代表债券所有者之立契约人。但此项数目之收入与支出，必须经总会计承认，并总理核准。

For the general technical staff of the Railway, after completion of construction, the necessary arrangements shall be made by the Managing Director in consultation with the Engineer-in-Chief, and reported to the Corporation in due course.

The duties of the Engineer-in-Chief shall consist in the efficient and economical maintenance of the Railway, and the general supervision thereof in consultation with the Managing Director. The duties of the Chief Engineer during construction shall be set forth in the Detailed Agreement, referred to in Article 17 of this Agreement.

The Engineer-in-Chief shall always give courteous consideration to the wishes and instructions of the Corporation, whether conveyed directly or through the Managing Director, and shall always comply therewith, having at the same time due regard to the efficient construction and maintenance of the Railway.

A school for the education of Chinese in Railway matters shall be established by the Managing Director subject to the approval of the Corporation.

ARTICLE IX

The Contractors shall construct and equip the Railway and shall receive as remuneration a sum equal to seven per cent on the actual cost of the construction and equipment of the Railway. The term "Equip- ment" shall be held to include in its meaning all requirements necessary for the operation of the Railway and shall therefore include Rolling Stock and Locomotives sufficient for operation.

It is clearly understood that the term "Equipment" does not include any purchases made for the Railway after it has been completely constructed and equipped and handed over ready for operation.

It is further clearly understood that the cost of land purchased for the Railway, the salaries of the Managing Director, Chief Accountants, Chief Engineer, and the cost of their offices and staff shall not be included in the meaning of the terms "construction and equipment."

The Contractors shall have the option of constructing on the same terms the proposed extension of the Railway to Lanchow in the Province of Kansu,

or a Railway of similar milage in some other part of China to be mutually agreed upon, and this option shall be for seven years from the commencement of construction.

All other arrangements in connection with the construction and equipment of the Railway shall be settled in the Detailed Agreement referred to in Article 17.

当铁路建筑完工之后，凡关于铁路之通常应办事宜，须由总理与总工程师会商办理，并须随时报告于铁路公司。

总工程师之责任，在使铁路办理妥善，节省经费；至普通事宜，须会商总理进行。副工程师当建筑时期，其责任如何，再详示于本契约中第十七条之详细契约。

总工程师须遵奉铁路公司意思与命令。惟此项意思与命令，不论其为直接授予或经总理转达，均须一体照办。并须对于铁路之建筑与维持随时留心料理。

为养成中国铁路人才起见，总理若得铁路公司之核准，可设一铁路专门学校。

第九条

立契约人担认建造与完成此铁路，并得由该铁路所用之建筑物与器具之确实所值价格抽取百分七之数量。“器具”二字之意思，包含铁路用以驾驶之一切器用，如车料、车头为驾驶而用者皆是。

“器具”之名词，若明白解释之，凡对于铁路已建筑完全、经已购器使用之后，所购入之各物不包含在内。更为详明解释之，凡因建筑铁路买入之地价，与总理、总会计、总工程师及各办事人员之薪俸，不能列入建筑与器用之名词之意思内。

立契约人有权依章建筑支路至甘肃省之兰州。如或得双方之同意，并可建筑同长铁路至中国之他部地方。此种之权限，在由铁路兴工之始七年内有效。

其余一切关于建筑铁路与购办器具之事宜，遵照本契约第十七条之详细契约办理。

ARTICLE X

All land that may be required along the whole course of the Railway

within survey limits, and for the necessary sidings, stations, repairing shops and car sheds, to be provided for in accordance with the detailed plans, shall be acquired by the Corporation at the actual cost of the land, and shall be paid for out of the proceeds of the Loan.

ARTICLE XI

The Contractors shall hand over to the Corporation each section of the Railway, when completed, for operation in accordance with the provisions of the Detailed Agreement.

ARTICLE XII

The Contractors shall be appointed Trustees for the Bondholders and shall receive such remuneration as may be fixed in the Detailed Agreement.

ARTICLE XIII

The Government of the Republic of China, whenever necessary, will provide protection for the Railway while under construction or when in operation, and all the properties of the Railway as well as Chinese and foreigners employed thereon, are to enjoy protection from the local Officials.

The Railway may maintain a force of Chinese Police with Chinese officers, their wages and maintenance to be wholly defrayed as part of the cost of the construction and maintenance of the Railway. In the event of the Railway requiring further protection by the military forces of the Government, the same shall be duly applied for by the Head Office and promptly afforded, it being understood that such military forces shall be maintained at the expense of the Government.

ARTICLE XIV

All materials of any kind that are required for the construction and working of the Railway, whether imported from abroad or from the Provinces to the scene of work, shall be exempted from Likin or other duties so long as such exemption remains in force in respect of other Chinese Railways. The Bonds of the Loan, together with their coupons and the income of the Railway shall be free from imposts of any kind by the Government of the Republic of China.

第十条

一切沿铁路边旁之田地，经测量指定，系依详细计划用为旁路、车站、修理店与车房之用者，可由公司依确定之价值收买，并须由借款内照给。

第十一条

立契约人依照详细契约所规定，须将每段已完工之铁路交出铁路公司，以备使用。

第十二条

立契约人须派董事为债券所有者之代表。至其应领取之薪金，别以详细契约定之。

第十三条

中华民国政府对于现建筑或已驶行之铁路，与属于铁路之一切财产，并将雇用中国或外国人员，皆须饬各地方官极力保护。铁路得设立警察队与警察官，其薪金与费用须由铁路建筑费用项下支给。若铁路遇有事故，须要政府兵力时，须由铁路公司呈明，迅速派人驻守。但此等兵队，须由政府供给费用。

第十四条

凡用以建筑铁路之各种材料，无论其由外国购办抑由本省采取，若为铁路使用，且在免税限内者，须一律免除厘金与关税。凡债券、票据与铁路之入息，须由中华民国政府免除各种征抽。

ARTICLE XV

With a view to encouraging Chinese industries, Chinese materials are to be preferred, provided price and quality are suitable.

At equal rates and qualities, goods of British manufacture shall be given preference over other goods of foreign origin.

ARTICLE XVI

The Contractors may, with the approval of the Corporation, and subject

to all their obligations, transfer or delegate all or any of their rights, powers, and discretions, to their successors or assigns.

ARTICLE XVII

As soon as this Preliminary Agreement is signed it shall be forwarded to the Government of the Republic of China for approval. When it has met with the approval of the Government of the Republic of China, a necessary Detailed Agreement shall be made embodying the principles of this Agreement with such amplifications and additions as may be mutually agreed upon between the parties hereto.

ARTICLE XVIII

On its approval of this Agreement, and acceptance of the obligations set forth herein, the Government of the Republic of China shall officially notify the British Minister at Peking of the fact, and this approval shall be taken as covering the Detailed Agreement referred to in Article 17.

ARTICLE XIX

This Agreement is executed in quadruplicate in English and Chinese, one copy to be retained by the Corporation, one to be forwarded to the Government of the Republic of China, one to be forwarded to the British Minister at Peking, and one to be retained by the Contractors, and should any doubt arise as to the interpretation of the Agreement the English text shall be accepted as the standard.

Signed at Shanghai by the contracting parties on this fourth day of the seventh month of the second year of the Republic of China being the fourth day of July nineteen hundred and thirteen.

第十五条

为奖励中国工业起见，若中国材料之价值与物质均称适宜，须一体効用。英国制造货物与由他国运来之货物比较，若系同物质并同价值者，英国货物有优先权。

第十六条

立契约人得铁路公司之核准与承诺，可将全部或一部之利益、权利与事权转让与承受人或授予人。

第十七条

当此契约经已划押，即须送呈中华民国政府核夺。若经中华民国政府批准，然后将此契约由双方协定，另订详细契约。

第十八条

此契约既经批准与承诺，中华民国政府须将此事实照会驻京英国公使。但此之批准，必须将第十七条之详细契约统括之。

第十九条

此之契约须按照英中两国文字缮写四张，一送呈于中华民国政府，一送呈于驻京英国公使，一留存于立契约人。若对于此契约之解释有疑义发生时，英文底本即作为标准。

中华民国二年七月四日即一九一三年
关于契约双方当事人划押于上海

APPENDIX II

Legation of the United States of Amercia
Peking, March 17, 1919.

Dr. Sun Yat Sen,

29 Rue Molière,

Shanghai, Kiangsu.

DEAR DR. SUN:

I have read with great interest your sketch project for the international development of China as embodied in your letter of February first to me. I congratulate you upon the broad and statesmanlike attitude with which you treat this very important subject. Your suggestion of united international participation in the development of China's resources deserves the support of all friends of China. It would be unfortunate indeed if the old régime of spheres of influence, struggles for concessions and activities flavoring of selfish exploitation should not, with the conclusion of the war, be relegated to the past. You are right in recognizing the necessity of a substitute for the old order and your proposal of a unified policy under international organization with Chinese participation for the larger development in China, naturally assuming that the inalienable rights of the Chinese people are to be amply safeguarded, meets this demand admirably.

We are hopeful that conditions in China may become such that the Chinese people themselves may be encouraged to put their money into productive enterprise and participate in the larger developments. We are hopeful that the day is not far distant when the Chinese Government may be able actively to interest itself in the encouragement of native industry to the end that native capital of which there is a very considerable quantity, may be induced to lend itself to productive enterprises, because of a confidence in constructive policy on the part of the government.

If you will permit a suggestion, I would be inclined to reduce your admirable program to one which would be in closer keeping with the limits of the present world's resources in capital. As we all know devas- tated Europe is calling for capital for rehabilitation and other nations want capital for development programs of considerable proportions. Thus it would seem that China's program of development must of necessity take cognizance of her most immediate and most pressing needs. We are all united in that transportation occupies a prominent place in such a program. 50,000 miles of railway and 100,000 miles of good roads would seem to be sufficient to engage our attention for any plans for the immediate future. This would allow ample opportunity to penetrate the great rich unoccupied regions in the North and West, which should be opened to colonization and development as soon as possible in order to relieve the economic pressure of over population in sections along the coasts and waterways, and to accord opportunities to bring the rich regions of West China into contact with the trade of the rest of China and the world at large.

附录二 驻京美国公使芮恩施复函

孙先生大鉴：

来函经于二月一日收到。函内手著《国际共同发展中国实业计划》，拜读之余，良深钦佩。先生对于此重要问题，能以宏伟精深之政策运用之，可喜可贺。尊意以为发展中国实业，须联合国际共同办理，凡命为中国朋友者，应当竭力赞助。前者列强每当战争告终，即施其所谓势力范围与割让、租借等手段，是不幸事，人皆知之。尊意以为革除彼向来恶习为必要之图，故提倡用一联合政策，由国际机关与中国共同发展中国之实业，所见甚是。若依此办法，中国应享之权利无不可保矣。

吾甚望中国情形有所变更，一切中国人民将利用其钱财为生利之事业，而共襄助此伟大之经营也。吾甚望中国政府奖励其本国工业，使以其本国无限之资本用为生产，其日不远。盖因政府有建设之政策，信用自生也。

若先生许吾进言，吾欲将先生之伟大计划为之介绍，或可使世界原料与资本生一密切之关系。吾人皆知现残余之欧洲亟需资以恢复，而他国又以发展伟大计划而求资，如此之发展中国实业计划，必须认定其最急迫最密切之需要，而后共同联合整顿输运，使在如此之计划中占一永久位置。故为目前计，五万英里之铁路［与十万英里之良好大路］似可最敷需用。如此，可使中国西北部之丰富无人境域，交通利便，移民居住，既可以救济沿海岸一带人居过密之各省不至受经济之压迫，亦可以使中国西、北两部之丰富区域能与中国各部及世界各国有通商之机会也。

Along with transportation, China needs to develop its resources in iron and coal, the two great essentials to modern industrialism. Arrangements should be made whereby foreign capital can come to China's assistance in these two important industries, but care should be exercised so as to preserve to China the iron and coal necessary for its own uses, and prevent China's steel industry being mortgaged to foreign interests, in a way so as to jeopardize China's future in this important industry.

The reform of the currency and reforms in internal tax administrations are questions of immediate importance to China's economic and industrial development.

One of the greatest fields of potentiality in the immediate demands of the New China, is agriculture. The country depends in its final analysis upon the prosperity of its agriculture. At present probably as much as 80% of China's population is agricultural. China's greatest problem is the proper feeding and clothing of its vast population. Improved conditions in agriculture, opening of new lands to cultivation, irrigation and conservancy works, the encouragement of the cattle and sheep industries, the development of the cotton industry and the improvement of tea, silk and the seed crops of China, are timely subjects in any program of developments. There is a vast work to be done in agriculture in China, which will lead to prosperity generally, and make possible developments with native capital in other fields of activity, whereas if agricultural improvements are neglected, it will be difficult to insure prosperity in other directions.

Thus for the present, I hope the main thought may be centered on improvements in transportation, in currency and tax administrations, in the development of coal and iron industries, and in agriculture. Many of the suggested activities included in your very extensive program will follow as a corollary to the above.

In thinking of all these developments, I believe that we should always give thought to the fact that we are not dealing with a new country but with one in which social arrangements are exceedingly intricate and in which a long-tested system of agricultural and industrial organization exists. It is to my mind most important that the transition to new methods of industry and labor should not be sudden but that the old abilities and values should be gradually transmuted. It is important that the artistic ability existing in the silk and porcelain manufacture, etc. should be maintained and fostered, and not superseded by cheaper processes. It is also highly important that no export of food should be permitted, except as to clearly ascertained surpluses of production. It would produce enormous suffering were the food prices in China suddenly to be raised to the world market level. The one factor in modern organization which the Chinese must learn better to understand is the corporation, and the fiduciary relationship which the officers of the corporation ought to occupy with respect to the stockholders. If the Chinese

cannot learn to use the corporation properly, the organization of the national credit cannot be effected. Here, too, it is necessary that the capital of personal honesty which was accumulated under the old system should not be lost but transferred to the new methods of doing business. So at every point where we are planning for a better and more efficient organization, it seems necessary to hold on to the values created in the past and not to disturb the entire balance of society by too sudden changes.

中国对于煤铁矿之发展，尤为要图。煤与铁，近代工业主要之两大原料也。如中国欲发展此两项工业，应设法利用外资，为之援助。但不可不注意者：一面当留存煤铁，为其本国之需；一面当阻止中国之钢铁事业抵押于外人。如此而后不至危及中国此项伟大之事业。

币制之改良与内地税率管理之改良，亦对于中国经济与工业之发展有大关系之问题也。

现在最大出产之土地，而又为中国急迫之需要者，是为农业。此无他，农产，一国之所赖以供养也。就现时计之，中国之人口几百分之八十为农业。中国之大问题在使人民衣食丰足，故改良农业、开辟新地、整顿灌溉与保护工人、奖励畜牧、发展棉业、改良丝茶及改良中国种子等事业，尚须注意者甚多。若从此开始，亦可导中国于繁盛，或可使其国人民投资于各项事业。若舍此不顾，欲保证实业之发达，盖亦难矣。

就现时言之，吾之所切望者，注重于改良输运、币制、税则、煤铁、农工等事业。然在先生大计划中所包括者，亦不外上列之各种具体办法也。

试就此发展实业计划言之，吾信以为吾等所应留意者，不在讨论新国家，而在讨论一社会秩序极错综而又为以农工商业立国久有经验之国家。在吾之意，至要者为工业。但工业变用新法不可过急，只要将旧艺术、旧习惯由渐改进。如制造丝与磁等工业之艺术技能，须设法保存，不可以省工廉价求售。如食物出口，若非确知为生产之剩余者，即须禁止。不然，若食物价格之在中国，起而与世界市场之食物价格相等，中国将必大受恐慌，可无疑者。近代机关之组织，中国人有不可不知者，是对于一公司办事员应用何权限，并该公司与股东有何关系是也。若中国人不知适用公司，国债机关之设立亦断无效果。兹更有进者，中国人素以诚实见称，尤不可因改用新法以经营事业，遂弃置其原有性质也。吾上所述之各点，亦不过欲使中国成一更良善之组织，前日之好习惯固当保当，而社会之秩序亦不至因急速改革而受搅扰也。

I wish again to congratulate you upon the statesmanlike view with which

you consider the whole question of the development of your country, and the very timely suggestions you have to make in regard to a united policy of international participation in these developments. I am glad to note that the minds of the leaders among the Chinese people today are being centered more and more upon the constructive needs of the country and efforts are being made to meet these needs, in full appreciation of China's relations with the people of other nations, to the end that China's developments in the future may work in harmony with the world developments generally.

I should be glad to hear from you further and more in detail concerning development plans.

Believe me, with the highest regard,

Sincerely yours,
(Signed)
Paul S. Reinsch.

先生欲整顿中国，因而利用一最适时宜办法，成一国际共同发展实业计划。高言伟论，当为道贺。此亦足见今日为中国人民领袖之心理，已日渐趋重于国家建设之事业。若奋其能力以成此事业，将来中外人民日相亲密，使将来之发展得与世界之发展共同提携，此为最可喜者也。

先生发展实业计划有更详明者，请赐一纸，不胜铭感。

一九一九年三月十七日芮恩施敬上

APPENDIX III

Department of Commerce Office of the Secretary Washington
May 12, 1919.

Hon. Sun Yat Sen,

29 Rue Molière,

Shanghai, China.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

I have read with the greatest interest the project for the International Development of China enclosed in your letter of March 17th, and agree with you that the economic development of China would be of the greatest advantage, not only to China, but to the whole of mankind.

The plans you propose, however, are so complex and extensive that it will take many years to work them out in detail. You doubtless are fully aware that it would take billions of dollars to carry out even a small portion of your proposals and that most of them would not be able to pay interest charges and expenses of operation for some years. The first question to be decided, therefore, is how the interest charges on the necessary loans could be met. The revenues of the Chinese Republic are already too heavily burdened with the interest charges on existing Government loans to warrant further charges, and hence it would seem necessary for the present to limit the projects for development to those which seem sufficiently remunerative to attract private capital. The government of the United States has consistently endeavored to manifest its disinterested friendship for the people of China and will undoubtedly coöperate in every proper way in proposals to advance their best interests.

Please accept my thanks for your kindness in submitting your proposals.

Respectfully,
(Signed)
William C. Redfield,
Secretary.

附录三 美国商务总长复函一通

孙逸仙大人阁下：

得奉三月十七日赐函，内附《国际共同发展中国计划》，披阅之下，兴味不穷。而阁下之所谓中国之经济发展将为人类全体最大利益，不特中国人食赐，尤所赞成也。以阁下所提计划如此复杂，如此溥遍[1]，即令将其备细之点规划完峻，亦须数年。阁下亦明知书案中一小部分尚须数十万万金元，而其中多数在初期若干年间，不能偿其所投之利息与经费。是故，其必要之债所需利息如何清付，实为第一须决之问题。以中华民国收入负担现在国债，利息太重，难保新增之息必能清付。则今日似必要将此发展计划限制，以期显有利益足引至私人资本者为度。

合众国政府一致努力以表示无私之友谊于中国人民，并愿由各种正当之途径，以参与增进华人最上利益之计划也。

远承赐教，感谢无已，敬颂勋祺。

商务总长 刘飞尔 谨启

一九一九年五月十二日

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[1] 溥遍：普遍，宏大。

APPENDIX IV

Il Ministro Della Guerra
Rome, 17 Maggio, 1919.

Most Honorable

Sun Yat Sen,

29 Rue Molière,

Shanghai, China

HONORABLE SIR:

I thank you for having so kindly communicated to me the interesting project regarding how to employ through an International Organization the exuberant industrial activities created by the war, in order to exploit the great hidden riches of China.

Though aware of the practical difficulties which present themselves in the accomplishment of this project, it meets with my utmost appreciation, I assure you, for the modern spirit by which it is animated and for the depth of its conception.

Accept my best wishes for complete success, in the advantage of your noble country and for the interest of humanity.

Believe Me,
Faithfully yours,
(Signed)
General Caviglia.

附录四 意大利陆军大臣嘉域利亚将军复函

敬启者：蒙惠赐以关于如何以国际共同组织使用战时所产洋溢之制造能力，而开发中国最大宝藏之有兴味之计划，不胜感谢。虽在此计划亦有与相附丽[1] 之实际困难，稍须顾虑，而以其所造之深与其带有现代精神之活气，使我不禁为最高之评价也。

为人道之利益，为贵国之进步，吾愿阁下此计划之完全成功。专此布达悃诚[2] 。

嘉域利亚
一九一九年五月十七日

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[1] 附丽：附着，依附。
[2] 悃诚：至诚，诚恳。

APPENDIX V

Peking, June 17, 1919.

Hon. Sun Yat Sen,

Shanghai.

Dear Sir:

Permit me as a professional railway man to express my pleasure with your article appearing in the Far Eastern Review for June.

I will not at this time express approval or disapproval of the route which you have chosen but the idea of a line to connect up the great agricultural interior with the densely populated coast appeals to me strongly. I feel that you are making a definite contribution to railway economic theory in this respect, whereas the line itself would relieve congestion, open up a production area which would lower food costs, furnish employment to large numbers of soldiers to be disbanded, and put in circulation a large amount of hard money which would go far to correct the currency situation.

I am especially pleased to have your article appear at this time for I had already written one at the request of the publishers of the forthcoming "Trans-Pacific" magazine in which I touched upon the same line of thought. This will not appear until July and your opinions will have done much to prepare the minds of sceptics upon the subject by that time.

I trust that this intrusion of an entire stranger may be pardoned, and that you will continue to support the thought which you have so ably presented.

Very truly yours,
(Signed)
J. E. Baker.

附录五 北京交通部顾问之铁路专门家碧格君投函

孙逸仙先生阁下：

敬启者，得读《远东时报》六月号所载尊著论文，敢以一铁路专门家之资格，敬表喜忭之忱[1] 。在阁下所选定路线，仆在此时虽难遽言赞成、反对，但以一铁路联结广大之农业腹地与人口稠密之海岸之理想，感我实深。窃谓阁下于此已于铁路经济理论上致一具体之贡献。即此路线自身，已能蠲解滞积[2] ，开辟一生产区，使食料价可较贱，以职业授巨额之退伍兵卒，又能使大量之硬币得有流转，而通货之位置将循之以为于正也。在仆尤有庆者，则大著正以此时发表，而仆适亦应《横贯太平洋杂志》社主之求，曾草一论，恰亦触及此种思想径路。此论非至七月不能发表，则阁下之意见，对于现在此点着想，使怀疑我者大足以开悟之矣。

冒昧致书，惟冀鉴原。又信阁下此种启沃思想敏妙之作，必将有继此而宣于世者也。专此敬颂勋祺。

碧格谨启

［一九一九年］六月十七日

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[1] 喜忭：欢喜，喜乐。

[2] 蠲解：除去，解除。

APPENDIX VI

3, Piazza Del PopoloRoma
August 30, 1919.

Dr. Sun Yat Sen,

29 Rue Molière,

Shanghai, China.

MY DEAR DR. SUN YAT SEN:

I thank you for your very kind letter of June 19th which has just been forwarded to me from my office in Rome, also for your kindness in sending me your splendid project "To assist the Re-adjustment of Postbellum Industries," and the program for "The International Development of China."

I assure you I read your proposals and studied the maps in connection with your able and logical argument with the deepest interest. And I beg you to accept my hearty congratulations.

I am entirely convinced that your noble *ideals will be* realised, not only for the benefit of China and the welfare of your own people, but for the benefit and prosperity of the whole human race.

The Nations cannot continue to deny in the future as they have in the past, the unlimited natural resources of your rich fertile country, in foods, minerals, coal and iron, etc.; and your plans for development and activity, as well as your methods of communication for expanding and cultivating almost untouched miles of virgin soil, and bringing these products to the doors of the "World Market" by a practical and economic plan, scientifically studied out, places you at once among the very rare few unselfish humanitarian benefactors, and reveals so clearly your profound international sympathies.

The development of China's natural resources will give a new impetus and vitality to industry and commerce in your country and will not only be of

incalculable benefit to your own people, but offer undeniable and unlimited advantages to all people in all nations. Therefore Governments and foreign financiers should not hesitate in giving your plans their most careful consideration and support, and come to your assistance in the realisation of your grand humanitarian project.

The construction of a great "Northern Port" on the Gulf of Pechihli, and the building of a system of railways from this great Northern Port to the northwestern extremity of China, as well as the construction of canals to connect the inland waterways systems of North and Central China with the great "Northern Port," and the development of coal and iron fields in Shansi which would necessitate the construction of iron and steel works would not only offer employment to millions of your country people, but would open wider, and advantageously, the doors of thousands of well organised industries in many nations.

附录六 美国名士寓居罗马以世界中都计划著名之安得生君复函

逸仙先生足下：

六月十九日赐书，已由罗马敝事务所转到此处，甚谢，甚谢。并承瑰伟之补助战后整顿实业之案与《国际共同发展中国计划》相贻，尤感。

奉读尊著计划，旁擘附图而及于先生所与理则的且有力的论据，觉其兴味深永。谨此布庆悦之忱。

吾完全确信先生之高尚理想必将实现，非惟以为中国国家人民之福利而已，又以为世界各人种之利益与繁荣计也。

以饶富之贵国，粮食、矿产、煤铁等等天然富源素称丰富，从前虽为各国所忽略，今则不然矣。而先生之活动发展计划与其展开培成，在使此全未触及之广大处女地，以最经济最实用之方法运其产物于世界市场之前。是先生绝无私心，专为人道求其利益，是为稀有之人，且明晰显出先生深重之国际同情也。

夫发展中国富源者，不特于贵国实业商务与之新刺激、新能力，且为贵国之人民谋其不可胜计之利路而已，又以不可否认且无限之利益付与一切国家之一切人民。此所以政府及外国财政家，对于先生之计划与以最深细之考查及援助，而襄同先生以实现此最大之人道的计划，不应更有所踌躇也。

凡此在北直隶建筑北方大港，由此港直通中国西北边陲，建一铁路系统，又浚一运河，构成中国北部、中部与此港联络之内地水路统系，且开发山西煤铁矿区，不仅其所需以作制铁炼钢工程者使贵国数百万人得其职役，抑且广开门户，随之以利益，以容多数国家组织完美之无数实业也。

It is very encouraging to me, dear Dr. Sun Yat Sen, to know that you look upon my plans of an "International World Centre of Communication" with favor, and that you will further the idea among your countrymen by

writing about it in your magazine "The Construction."

This city, erected upon neutral grounds would offer at once the practical framework for the essential needs of a League of Nations and could become its dignified "Administrative Centre" crowned by an International Court of Justice.

I have presented the plans and proposals of this World Centre to the Rulers and governments of all nations, and hope to be able to go to Washington in October to exhibit the large original drawings and personally explain the project from a practical and economic point of view before the foreign delegates who may meet there to assist in the formation of a League of Nations, and I have written to President Wilson, who after receiving the volumes containing the proposals and plans, wrote that "he valued them very highly."

I hope that in the very near future this International World Centre of communication may become a reality. It would be the means of clearly defining and bringing into focus the highest natural products as well as the most important industrial achievements of all countries. This accomplishment would be one of the first definite steps toward more friendly social and economic relations, and the practicability of establishing such coöperation cannot be disputed.

This City of Peace should rise and stand as an International Monument, erected by international contribution to commemorate the heroic struggle and noble sacrifice of millions who gave their lives on the battle fields, in the air and on the sea, that justice should triumph and open the ways for humanity to progress in peace, and free from tyranny in the future.

With the assurance, dear Dr. Sun Yat Sen, of my most profound sympathies for your noble project, and with my deep gratitude for your keen interest in my plans,

I beg to remain, with high esteem

Faithfully yours,
(Signed)
Hendrick Christian Andersen.

先生于我世界交通中心之计划辱予赞助，且将以先生所经营之《建设》杂志绍介此思想于贵国人民，使我益加奋厉矣。

此都市如建立于中立地区，则立可以应国际联盟之必然的需要，作为其实际之骨干，而能成为受治于国际司法法庭之下最庄严之行政中心矣。

吾已将此世界中都之图及案送与各国之政府及主权者，并拟于十月一日起赴华盛顿，以展览各图原本，并亲自由纯然实际经济的观察点说明此种计划于各国代表之前。此等代表拟于此处集合，以助国际联盟之组织也。

吾又尝致函威尔逊总统，彼接吾图案之后，答吾谓彼视此计划之价值甚高。吾望此世界交通中心之计划，不久能为实现之中都，将以各国最高自然产物与最重要之实业成功致之于集中点，且使之确定意义，显出此种贡献，乃向于友谊的社会及经注关系为最初决定之一步，而建立此种联合之实用无可批难者也。

将纪念于此海上、空中、陆地战场，为求公道之战胜，为人道扫除榛秽以进于和平[1]，为将来不受暴君压迫之自由而抛其生命之数百万人之英雄奋斗与高尚的牺牲，诸国应各有所献纳，共建造维持此和平都市，以为国际之为丰碑也。

对于先生高尚之计划，吾抱有最深厚之同情；而于先生对于我计划有此深切之兴味，尤吾所引以为庆者也。专布悃忱，藉申敬意。

［一九一九年］八月三十日

轩特力·安得生启于萨丁诺

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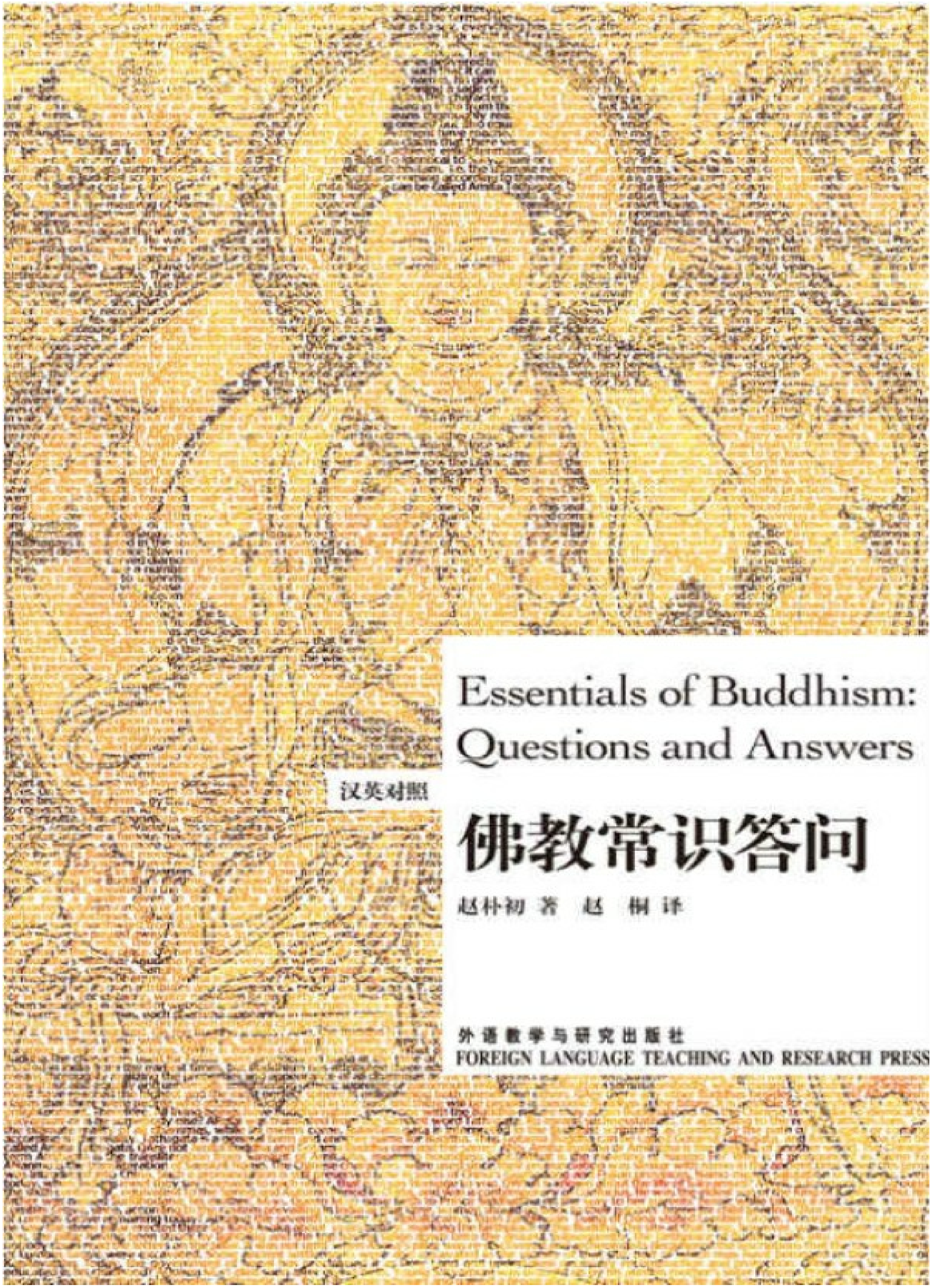
[1] 榛秽：喻邪恶。



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1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社

人文社科出版分社

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Editorial Notes

1. Most Buddhist terms in this book are given in both the original Pāli and English translations. Some Buddhist terms in Pāli or Sanskrit were given in the original Chinese text, and have been rendered into Pāli in this edition in compliance with Mr. Zhao Puchu's own wishes. The reason for this change is that Buddhist texts appeared earlier in Pāli than in Sanskrit. The Pāli language was popularly used in Magadha State in ancient India where the Buddha gave most of his sermons, and some scholars believe that the Buddha taught in Pāli. In the period of Aśoka (3rd century BC), Ven. Mahinda was dispached to Sri Lanka as a missionary by his father, King Aśoka, and he brought the oral Pāli Tripitaka there. This was later recorded in Sinhalese script Pāli in the 1st century BC and handed down to this day. This Pāli Tripitaka has been preserved unaltered during 2,000 years and has become the most complete, systematic and oldest Buddhist canonical treasure in the world.

2. The two abbreviations are used in the text: S. (Sanskrit), and P. (Pāli).

编辑凡例

1. 本书出现的重要佛教术语都给出了对应的巴利文原词。本书的中文版本中原注有一些梵文或巴利文术语，此次出版前，根据赵朴初先生本人的意见，除个别词语外，一律改为巴利文。此项改动是出于佛教巴利语较之佛教梵语应世更早的原因。巴利语原是古印度摩揭陀国一带所使用的大众语，一些专家认为，这一带是佛陀弘法的主要地区，佛陀弘法使用的就是这种语言。在阿育王时期(公元前三世纪)派遣到斯里兰卡弘法的玛亨陀长老把用巴利语记述的三藏带到斯里兰卡，并于公元前一世纪结集为用僧伽罗字母书写的巴利三藏流传下来。这套巴利三藏历两千年而不变，成为当今世界保留得最完整、最系统、最古老的佛教宝典。梵语是古代印度婆罗门经典所使用的语言，或称为雅语，用梵语编定成书的佛教典籍目前已没有完整成套版本留存。

2. 本书译文所使用的缩略语：S.（梵语），P.（巴利语）。

Translator's WORDS

Answers to Common Questions about Buddhism is the fruit of a lifetime of study on Buddhism made by Mr. Zhao Puchu. The first three chapters give respectively a succinct exposition of the Buddhist Three Gems, i.e. Buddha, Dhamma (Buddhist doctrine), and *Sangha* (the Buddhist Order). Chapter One gives a historical, rather than mythological, account of the founder and the founding of Buddhism. Chapter Two gives in simple language a profound explanation of Buddhist doctrine, as well as its spread and the compilation of its canonical literature. Chapter Three gives a vivid account of the formation of the Saṅgha as well as their life and disciplines. The last two chapters are nothing short of a brief history of Indian and Chinese Buddhism. Chapter Four describes the rise and fall and resurgence of Buddhism in its birthplace—India, and Chapter Five is packed with detailed information, and expresses the innermost feelings of the author. By giving a thorough analysis of the spread, the development and evolution of Buddhism in China, and of the relationship between Buddhism and everyday life, the impact of Buddhism on social, intellectual and cultural development, the last chapter contends that we should carry forward the advantages of popular Buddhism, and make it serve contemporary social and cultural life.

In the form of questions and answers, the book addresses and answers practically all the questions raised by Buddhism over the past 2,500 years. The book may be regarded as Zhao Puchu's general survey of Buddhist studies, giving the laymen readers a proper introduction to Buddhism, while giving to the scholars inspiration and points of entry into in-depth study of Buddhism. It also furnishes non-Chinese native speakers wishing to learn about Buddhism, especially Chinese Buddhism, a comprehensive outline of the field.

The language is vivid and colloquial, and answers in an enlightening way even those seemingly incomprehensible and abstruse points of Buddhism. Through the apt wording one detects the wisdom of a great philosopher, the sympathy engendered in one with intimate knowledge, the

serious and magnanimous approach of a true scholar, and the orthodox stand of a true Buddhist, clearly demarcating it from superstition or heresy.

I began the translation in 1996 at the request of the China Institute of Buddhist Culture. At that time, I had no idea what a challenge this work would prove to be to my knowledge of Buddhism, my Chinese skills and my English proficiency. In order that the limitations of the translator do not detract from the splendor of the original work, over the course of translation I consulted a large number of reference books, strove to ensure that translations were made on a sound basis, and for most technical terms, sought out the original Pāli (or Sanskrit) terms, as well as those English forms most sanctioned by usage. For the convenience of the reader wishing to learn English or Pāli Buddhist terms, I compiled a Pāli, English and Chinese glossary (see appendix). When dealing with more complex ideas, I tried through reading works in the original Pāli, English or Chinese to arrive at a clear grasp of the ideas and the intentions of the author before setting pen to paper. The present translation is the culmination of work over three years and many revisions, and while it has been checked by the author, and earned his praise, I am aware that there remain many areas that fall short of total satisfaction. I earnestly beseech readers' indulgence and criticism.

Over the course of translation and revision, I have benefited from the help of many experts. In order that the translation would not lose its original flavour, from the very first I have consulted a range of foreign experts, including some who know neither Chinese nor Buddhism; some who do not know Chinese but know Buddhism, as well as some who know both Chinese and Buddhism. Here I wish particularly to thank Michael Crook, Helen Wiley, and Tissa Kariyawasam. If the translation brings satisfaction, it is they who have helped it do so. At the same time, through the course of translation, I consulted translations of this work, in other languages as well. For the hard work of these translators, I would like to extend my heartfelt respect. And throughout the work, the constant trust, encouragement and support of Mr. Zhao Puchu and the China Institute of Buddhist Culture has made it a learning experience for me. For this, I am sincerely grateful to Mr. Zhao and the Institute of Buddhist Culture, who gave me this opportunity to better myself.

As FLTRP is republishing the book, I take this opportunity to make

some revision to the work. This translation is the fruit of the labour and wisdom of many people. I make no claim to the credit—this is a point I wish to make clear.

Zhao Tong

September, 2012

译者前言

《佛教常识答问》一书是赵朴初先生一生对佛学进行研究的总结之作。本书的前三章按照佛、法、僧三宝的顺序精辟地阐释了何为佛、何为法、何为僧。第一章对佛教的创立及创始人作了历史的而不是神话的阐述；第二章深入浅出地阐释了佛法的基本内容，介绍了佛教典籍的形成及其流布；第三章对僧团的建立、僧侣的生活、戒律与仪轨作了生动的描述。本书的后二章不啻是一部印度佛教、中国佛教小史，第四章叙述了佛教在其发源地——印度的发展、衰灭和复兴；第五章是本书内容最详实、最能体现作者本怀的一章，其中深入论述了佛教在中国的传播、发展和演变，分析了佛教与人们日常生活的关系，佛教对于社会的思想与文化发展所起的作用，从而阐发了发扬人间佛教的优越性，使之服务于当今社会文化与生活的主旨。

本书用答问的方式实际上回答了佛教两千五百年来所涉及到的大多数问题，因此，这本书可以说是朴老提出的佛学大纲，对于一般人想全面了解佛教将起到正确导入的作用，对于学者要深入研究佛教与佛学将起到启发思路，找到切入点的作用，对于外国人想了解佛教，尤其是中国佛教的全貌提供了全方位的素材。

本书用活泼的、通俗易懂的、开启心智的方式回答了那些似乎莫测高深的佛学问题，妙语机锋间透露出一位大家的睿智，一位善知识的亲切，一位学者治学的严肃与公允的态度，以及一位真正的佛教徒对佛教正信的立场，因而与一切迷信、假信和伪信划清了界线。

译者于1996年受中国佛教文化研究所的委托，开始着手翻译此书。受命之时，万没想到这是如此艰巨的任务，是对译者佛学知识、中文修养，尤其是外语水平的全面挑战。为了不使译者的浅陋有损于原作的光辉，在翻译过程中参阅了大量参考书，务求做到言出有据。对于绝大多数佛教术语，尽量找出它们的巴利语 (梵语)原词以及被广泛接受的英文译法，并且，为了方便广大信众、学者掌握佛学英语、巴利语，译者还编辑了《巴、英、汉佛教术语对照表》(附书后)。对于较为复杂的思想、义理，力求在阅读巴利语、英语、汉语原典的基础上理清了思路，领会了作者的意趣之后再遣词运笔。历时三载，数易其稿，方成现在这

个样子。此稿虽得到赵朴初先生亲自审阅，并予以嘉许，然自知还有许多不尽人意之处，祈请方家大德、广大善信施慧赐教。

在反复翻译、修改过程中，得到了各方专家的指教。译稿始成，便邀请了不懂汉语、不懂佛教，不懂汉语、但懂佛教，既懂汉语、又懂佛教的多位外国专家予以审读，听取他们的意见，尽量使译文的风格不失去原作的原汁原味。在此，译者要特别向柯马凯先生、魏海伦女士、提瑟·嘎里奥桑姆先生致以最诚挚的谢意，如果译文尚令人满意，全都有赖于他们使之增色。同时，在翻译过程中还参阅了此书的其他几种译文，对于这些译家所付出的艰辛，译者表示由衷的敬意。在翻译过程中，始终得到了赵朴初先生、中国佛教文化研究所的信任、支持与鼓励，使翻译的过程成为我修习的过程，因此真诚地感谢朴老以及佛教文化研究所给了我这个提高与丰富自己的机会。

这次借外研社对此书进行再版的机会，对原译文进行了修订。这本译作是集中了许多人的智慧的成果，译者决不敢专擅其功，这一点也是要特别加以说明的。

赵桐

2012年9月

Preface

I began to write this book almost forty years ago. Owing to the heavy load of work, I could only write intermittently. In addition to the five chapters as they appear now, I intended to write three more chapters dealing with the history of relations between China and other countries in the Buddhist sphere. Since the Buddhist Association of China has undertaken to compile materials and write on this topic, there is no need to duplicate their work here.

When I finished writing the first chapter, it was published in installments in the *Journal of Modern Buddhism*. I used the pseudonym, "Yin Shui" (drink water), derived from the text *Śūramgama Sūtra* that reads "One perceives whether the water is cold or warm only when one drinks it." A friend of mine asked why I chose such an insignificant title. I replied, "I prefer to make a fuss about trifles rather than underplaying a big issue, not to mention completely ignoring significant subjects." The title of this book is in conformity with my wish.

A few years ago a young monk translated my book into Japanese. In the preface, which I wrote at his request, I referred to a story connected with the subject of this book. In 1957, I accompanied a Cambodian monk on a visit to Chairman Mao Zedong. Before the guest arrived I had the opportunity to chat with the Chairman. He told me, "There is a formula in Buddhism: Zhao Puchu is not Zhao Puchu (in the sense of Paramattha), but Zhao Puchu by name. Is this true?" "Yes." I replied. He added, "Why, then, do you affirm it before negating it?" "It is not affirmation before negation," I said, "but simultaneous affirmation and negation." Then the guest arrived and the conversation was interrupted. Later when I worked on Chapter II of this book, I recalled that unfinished talk. I think the idea of the voidness of nature because of Dependent Origination (Paṭiccasamuppāda) in the book might constitute what I would have said to the Chairman at that time.

I have read a book written by Li Yinqiao, one of Chairman Mao's bodyguards. According to this book, when Chairman Mao was taking a walk

with Li in Yan'an one day, Mao said to him, "Let's go see a Buddhist temple, shall we?" Li said, "What's the point? It is nothing but a symbol of superstition." "One-sided, one-sided your thinking is. It is culture." This also reminds me of a letter to me from Mr. Zhou Jianren after "the Cultural Revolution", in which he told me that in the early period of the turmoil, Mr. Fan Wenlan had sent word to him that he was making up for a missed lesson by reading Buddhist books. Fan said that Buddhism in China has lasted about twenty centuries, and that it had such a profound influence on Chinese culture that one can hardly understand the cultural history of China without some knowledge of Buddhism. Finally, in 1987, I visited a Buddhist historical site in Sichuan Province and found that anti-superstition slogans were visible everywhere. Therefore, on my return, I wrote a report. After reading the report Dr. Qian Xuesen wrote to me, "Religion is a part of culture ".

It is noteworthy that all three of these men, the first, a great revolutionary, the second, a famous historian, and the third, a great contemporary scientist, shared the same view that Buddhism is a part of culture. Yet there are still many people today whose perception remains like that of Li Yinqiao at that time.

At the very beginning, I was impelled to write this book by the desire to help those interpreters who had difficulty in performing their work due to a lack of knowledge in Buddhism. In recent years, however, I have received kindly consideration and encouragement from many people at home as well as friends from abroad. This indicates that this pamphlet has made more than a negligible contribution towards enhancing the public comprehension of Buddhism and helping foreigners understand Chinese Buddhism.

I am indebted to the translator for her arduous endeavors in accomplishing this task. I sincerely look forward to forthcoming comments on the book from friends all over the world.

Zhao Puchu

June, 1998

序

这本书是我近四十年前开始写的，因为事务冗忙，时作时辍。原来计划，除现在的五章外，还有三章是有关中国与外国佛教关系史的，因佛教协会已有这方面资料的编辑和著作，所以不重复了。

我写成第一章后，曾以楞严经“如人饮水，冷暖自知”这句话用“饮水”的笔名陆续在《现代佛学》杂志上发表。有一位朋友问我：“你为什么用这样一个小题目？”我说：“我喜欢‘小题大做’，而不愿‘大题小做’，更害怕‘有题空做’。”这本书名很合我的心意。

几年前，一位青年僧人用日文翻译这本书，我应他的要求写序时，曾记下与本书有关的一件事：1957年我陪一位柬埔寨僧人见毛泽东主席，客人未到之前，我先到了，毛主席便和我漫谈。他问：“佛教有这么一个公式—— 赵朴初，即非赵朴初，是名赵朴初，有没有这个公式呀？”我说：“有。”主席再问：“为什么？先肯定，后否定？”我说：“不是先肯定，后否定，而是同时肯定，同时否定。”谈到这里，客人到了，没有能谈下去。后来，我在写这本书的第二章时，想起这一次未谈完的问答，我想，书中谈到缘起性空的思想，可能补充了当时我在毛主席面前所想讲的话。

我曾看到一本毛主席的勤务员李银桥写的书。有一天，毛主席在延安出门散步，毛主席对李银桥说：“我们去看看佛教寺庙，好不好？”李银桥说：“那有什么看头？都是一些迷信。”毛主席说：“片面片面，那是文化。”我因而想起“文化大革命”结束后，周建人先生写信给我说：“文革”初期范文澜先生向他说，自己正在补课，读佛书。范老说，佛教在中国将近两千年，对中国文化有那么深厚的关系，不懂佛教，就不能懂得中国文化史。1987年，我到四川一个佛教名胜地方看到被人贴迷信标语的事实，回来写了一份报告，钱学森博士看见了，写信给我说：“宗教是文化。”

这三个人，一是伟大的革命家，一是著名的历史学家，一是当代的大科学家，所见相同，都承认佛教是文化，而今天还有不少人的认识水平和当年李银桥的一样。

我最初写这本书的动机只是为了和外国朋友谈话时，翻译人员因缺乏佛教知识而感到困难，想为他们提供一些方便。但这许多年来，得到国内不少人的关怀、鼓励，也得到一些外国朋友的注意。事实说明，这一本小书对于增进人们对佛教的了解，增进国际朋友对中国佛教的了解，不无少许贡献。

我感谢译者为此书所付出的宝贵的心力。我虔诚期待国际朋友对于此书内容给予指教。

赵朴初

1998年6月

1 THE BUDDHA AND THE ORIGIN OF BUDDHISM

[1]Q: What is Buddhism?

A: Buddhism, in a general sense, is a religion with its canonical literature, rites, customs, Saṅgha Order (congregational organization) etc.; more specifically, it is the Buddha's teachings, and with this specific meaning it should be termed the Buddha Dhamma.

[2]Q: What is "Dhamma"?

A: "Dharma" in Sanskrit ("Dhamma" in Pāli) means "retaining one's own nature, so that it can be recognized". That is to say, everything has its own attributes and appearance (S. prakṛti and lakṣaṇa, P. pakati and lakkhaṇa) and maintains its own properties, by which people can perceive it as what it is. For instance, water maintains its property of wetness and acts according to its fixed track, so people recognize it as water when they see it. Conversely, when something is devoid of wetness and obey different rules from water, there then can be no conception of water. Therefore, Buddhism views everything as "dhamma". The terms "all dhammas", "each dhamma" appearing in Buddhist canons indicate "all things" or "universal existence". According to this interpretation, the discourses delivered by the Buddha based on his own empirical comprehension of dhammas are also "Dhamma" since they hold true to the principle of "retaining its own nature, so that it can be recognized."

[3]Q: Is the Buddha a deity?

A: No, the Buddha is not a deity. He was a man who lived in the 6th century BC. He had his own given and family names, his given name being Siddhattha (S. Siddhārtha) and his family name Gotama (S. Gautama). As he belonged to the Sākya clan, people also called him Sākyamuni, meaning a sage of the Sākyas.

[4]Q: Why is the Buddha called "Fo" in Chinese? What does it mean?

A: "Fo" is the abbreviation for "Fotuo" which was used to translate the word "Buddha". (The characters used for "Fotuo" were pronounced "buda" at the time of translation.) Buddha means "an enlightened one" or "an awakened one". The term "Buddha" existed in India from the earliest times, but Buddhism has attributed three additional connotations to the term. They are as follows: (1) enlightenment (Sambodhi, which means thoroughly realizing the properties and appearance of all dhammas as they are); (2) perfect enlightenment (Sammā-sambodhi, which means not only enlightening oneself but also equally and universally enlightening others); (3) supreme or paramount enlightenment (Anuttara sammā-sambodhi, which means one's wisdom and achievement have reached the highest and the most perfect sphere in enlightening both oneself and others).

[5]Q: Are there any other Buddhas besides Sākyamuni?

A: Buddhism claims that there were people who attained Buddhahood in the past, and there will be people to become Buddhas in the future. It is possible for everybody to achieve enlightenment. Therefore, "All living beings have the Buddha-nature, everyone with the Buddha-nature may attain Buddhahood."

[6]Q: Is the Chinese term "Rulai Fo" identical to Sākyamuni or is he somebody else?

A: "Rulai" was translated from the Sanskrit word "Tathāgata". "Ru" means "suchness" (tathatā), or "according to the reality" (Yathābhūtaṃ), i.e. the ultimate reality of all dhammas, while "lai" means "come". "Rulai" (Tathāgata) is interpreted in the Buddhist scriptures as "coming by the path of Tathāgata" or "coming according to the reality". Tathāgata is a general term and another name for "the Buddha". Thus Gotama Buddha can be called Gotama Tathāgata, and Amita Buddha can be called Amita Tathāgata.

[7]Q: Are Amita Buddha and Gotama Buddha not one and the same?

A: No, Amita Buddha or Amitābha is the Buddha of another world. The Chinese term "Amituofo" is the transliteration from Sanskrit of

"Amitābha", meaning "boundless light".

[8]Q: What is the meaning of "Nanmo Fo" (南无佛)? Why is it pronounced as "Namo Fo" (那摩佛)?

A: "Nanmo" is the transliteration of the Sanskrit "Namo". The Chinese characters "南无" were used since their pronunciation was similar with "namo" in ancient times when this term was introduced into China. Such a pronunciation is still preserved now in parts of China's Guangdong and Fujian provinces. "Namo" means salutation or homage. Even today, when Indians meet, they say "Namaste" to each other, that is "Homage to you".

[9]Q: What is known about the life of Sākyamuni?

A: Well, Sākyamuni lived around the 6th century BC, equivalent to the Spring and Autumn Period in China, and was a contemporary of Confucius. He was the eldest son of the King of Kapilavatthu. His father was named Suddhodana; his mother, Māyā. Queen Māyā gave birth to Prince Siddhattha on the way to her parents' home while taking a rest under a tree in Lumbinī Grove, since, according to the custom prevailing in India at that time, women should go back to their parents' home for child bearing.

[10]Q: Are there any vestiges of Lumbinī Grove remaining today?

A: During the 7th century AD, Tipiṭakācariya Xuan Zang (Hsuan Tsang) of China visited Lumbinī Grove. According to his account, he saw the stone pillar erected there by King Aśoka about 800 years before, marking the birthplace of the Buddha. The site at that time, however, was in a state of desolation, the pillar having been struck by lightning and the top having fallen down onto the ground. Subsequently, the birthplace of the Buddha sank into oblivion because nobody could read the letters on the pillar. It was not until 1897 when the Aśoka pillar was re-discovered, archeologists deciphered the inscriptions and the ravaged ruins of Lumbinī Grove were excavated. Some ancient settlements were also excavated in the vicinity of that site, part of which may have belonged to the old city of Kapilavatthu. Today, the government of Nepal has proclaimed it as Holy Land and undertaken necessary reconstruction and protection.

[11]Q: How was Sākyamuni educated in his childhood?

A: Queen Māyā died soon after giving birth. Young Sākyamuni was brought up by his aunt (his mother's sister) Princess Prajāpati. As a child he began to learn literature, philosophy, arithmetic and so on from Brahmin scholars and gained a broad and profound knowledge. He also learned martial arts from warriors and became a master at riding, shooting and fencing. Because of his great intelligence and striking features, his father, king Suddhodana, hoped that he would become a universal ruler (Rāja Cakkavattin, a king who could unify the whole world) and perform meritorious services after he succeeded to the throne.

[12]Q: Why didn't he succeed to the throne later on?

A: Prince Siddhattha in his childhood developed the habit of meditating. Many phenomena he observed touched him strongly and made him think hard: e.g. the hungry, thirsty and exhausted peasants working under the scorching sun, panting and sweating cattle being flogged as they plough, the struggle among snakes, insects, birds and beasts under the law of the jungle, weak and ugly old people, the moaning and suffering sick, the dead in funeral processions with their families and friends weeping behind. All these presented him with a problem: how to deliver the world from suffering. Neither the Veda he had read nor the knowledge he had acquired, nor his future throne and power could solve this problem. Therefore, he harbored the idea of renouncing the world in his early days, and finally he relinquished his throne.

[13]Q: How could his father agree to his renunciation?

A: Having found out what his son had in mind, King Suddhodana tried many ways to detain him, especially by surrounding him with worldly pleasures. When Siddhattha was only 16 years old, King Suddhodana arranged for him to marry Princess Yasodharā from a neighboring state. Yasodharā bore him a son named Rāhula. But all this was in vain. He finally slipped out of the capital city in the still of a night. He entered a forest, took off his princely clothes and, having shaven his head and beard, became a wandering mendicant. Regarding his age at the time of renunciation, there are two different accounts—one says nineteen, and the other twenty-nine.

[14]Q: What about his life after he renounced the world?

A: Having tried in vain to persuade him to return, his father chose five men from his clan to accompany him. They were Kauṇḍinya, Bhadrika, Vāṣpa, Mahānāma, and AŚvajit (P. Koṇḍañña, Bhaddiya, Vappa, Mahānāma, Assaji). Prince Siddhattha and his followers successively paid visits to three famous scholars and learned from them, but none of them could satisfy his quest. When he realized that no real path of deliverance (or absolution) was to be found in the philosophical thought of that time, he left for a forest on the banks of the Nerañjarā river, now the Lilaian, and lived there with other ascetics. In his search for emancipation, he went through suffering and pain for six years. However, since it proved fruitless, he began to understand that austerities were to no avail. So he went to take a bath in the Nerañjarā River, cleaning off all the dirt of six years. Then, after accepting the milk gruel offered by a herdswoman, his strength was restored afresh. When his five followers saw this, they thought he had abandoned his faith and spiritual efforts, so they left him for Benares City (P. Bārāṇasī) to continue their ascetic practices. The Prince then went alone to a Pippala tree and made a seat with auspicious grass (kuśa) under the tree. Sitting down with his legs crossed and facing the east he vowed, "Now should I fail to attain supreme enlightenment, I would rather have my body decompose than rise from this seat." In such a manner, he commenced meditating on absolution, and finally one night defeated the moral affliction and Māra's temptations (kilesa and Māra), achieved complete enlightenment, thereby becoming a Buddha.

[15]Q: Are there any vestiges remaining of the site where Sākyamuni became a Buddha?

A: The site where Sākyamuni attained Buddhahood has been known as the Place of Enlightenment or Buddhagayā ever since. The Pippala tree there, as well as that kind of tree in general later became known as Bodhi tree. Bodhi means enlightenment. Buddhagayā is situated in the southern suburbs of Gayā City in Bihar Pradesh of India today. In the course of more than twenty centuries, the Bodhi tree was twice chopped down and once blown over, but always sprouted again. The present Bodhi tree is a great grandson of the original one. At the plot where the Buddha sat

under the tree is a stone-carved diamond pedestal (Vajrāsana). To the east of the tree is a majestic thūpa (S. stūpa) temple known as Mahābodhi Ārāma with a history of over 18 centuries, and nearby are a number of traces of the Buddha and ancient carved stones and constructions. In 1956, the government of Bihar Pradesh appointed an international advisory committee to supervise the construction and administration of the Holy Land. At its invitation the Buddhist Association of China, sent two delegates to that committee.

[16]Q: Would you please give a brief account regarding his life after Sākyamuni attained Buddhahood?

A: There are different versions regarding the age at which Sākyamuni attained enlightenment, some quote it as thirty and some as thirty-five. For fifty (or forty-five) years after that, until the end of his life at the age of 80, he never stopped preaching his doctrine. He traveled widely, preaching to the public the truth he had perceived. At the outset, he went to Benares (P. Bārāṇasī) to look for his five departed followers and preached the truth to them. The first sermon of the Buddha is called "the initial turning of the wheel of Dhamma" (S. Dharmacakra pravartana, P. Dhammacakkappavattana) in Buddhism.

[17]Q: What does "turning the wheel of Dhamma" (Dhammacakkappavattana) mean?

A: Cakka (wheel) was a wheel-like weapon used in wars in ancient India. There was an old legend in India that the rāja (king) that conquered the world would be the Rajacakkavattin, i.e. "The wheel-turning king". At the time of his birth, a wheel appeared in the sky, prophesying that he would be unconquerable in the future. In Buddhism the wheel is used as a metaphor of the Dhamma preached by the Buddha. Once the Buddha's Dhammacakka emerged, all the wrong thinking and evil things would be smashed and vanish. Hence the preaching of Dhamma is called Dhammacakkappavattana (turning the wheel of Dhamma). The Buddha's initial turning of the wheel of Dhamma took place at Sārnāth Mṛgadāva (Deer Park) in present-day Benares. Through the recent excavations, quite a few valuable relics have been discovered at Sārnāth, including the King Aśoka stone pillar, stone-engraved images of the Buddha's first turning of the wheel of Dhamma dating from the 4th century AD etc.

Even the ruins of the ancient thūpa temple were unearthed. Buddhist temples, museums and a library now standing there were built over the last few decades. There are four places regarded as the holy places of Buddhism: (1) Sārnāth, where the Buddha initially turned the wheel of Dhamma, (2) Lumbinī Grove, where the Buddha was born, (3) Buddhagayā, where the Buddha attained enlightenment, and (4) Kusināra, where the Buddha passed away. It is worthy of note that modern scholars excavated and repaired the holy places and other historical sites mainly on the basis of the records of the ancient Chinese pilgrims like Fa Xian (Fa Hsien) and Xuan Zang (Hsuan Tsang).

18Q: Why is the site of the Buddha's first sermon looked upon as more important than other sermon sites?

A: The Buddha's initial turning of the wheel of Dhamma at Sārnāth was a great event in Buddhism. At that time, Buddhism was established; and after that, the Three Gems (Tiratana) came into existence.

19Q: What are the Three Gems (Tiratana)?

A: The Three Gems are the Gem of the Buddha, the enlightened one, the Gem of Dhamma, the teachings given by the Buddha, and the Gem of Saṅgha, the Order of the Buddha's monastic disciples. These three are called gems (ratana) because they can lead people to stop doing evil and to perform kindness, to free themselves from suffering and to gain happiness. The title of "The Three Gems" also shows the great value placed on them. When the Buddha initially turned the wheel of Dhamma, Koṇḍañña and others, five of them in all, followed the Buddha, renounced lay life and became the Buddha's disciples, thus forming the Saṅgha Order. Therefore, the Three Gems have been cherished since that time.

20Q: What is the meaning of "abiding by the Three Gems" ("Ti-saraṇaṃ gacchāmi")?

A: Ti-saraṇaṃ gacchāmi means that one abides by the Three Gems with one's heart and soul. Those who have gone to and relied on the Three Gems are Buddhists.

21Q: Were there many people who came and followed the Buddha during his

lifetime?

A: Yes. On the way from Sārnāth to Magadha State after the Buddha's first sermon, many people were converted to follow his teachings. Among them were three brothers, Brahmins, by the name of Kassapa. They had been Zoroastrians, but were now converted and brought along with them more than one thousand of their followers to be converted to Buddhism. After the Buddha arrived in Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha, many more people were converted, including some who were to become prominent disciples, like Sāriputta, Mahāmoggallāna and Mahākassapa. Afterwards, when the Buddha returned to his native land, a number of his relatives: his younger half brother Nanda, his cousins Ānanda and Devadatta, his son Rāhula became monastic disciples. Among them, there was a barber named Upãli, who had served the royal family, and later became a famous master of Buddhist disciplines (Vinaya bhānaka). The Buddha's aunt Prajāpati also followed to become the first female monastic disciple of the Buddha. Besides, even more devotees were converted to the faith without renouncing the home life. Therefore, the Buddha's disciples consist of Bhikkhu (monks) and Bhikkhunī (nuns), who form the Buddhist monastic order; and Upāsaka and Upāsikā, who are the male and female lay followers; together they are known as the four groups of disciples.

[22]Q: Where did Sākyamuni travel and preach during his life?

A: According to historical records and excavations, the Buddha's own footprints mainly covered Central India. His disciples, dispersed in all quarters, might have gone further afield. There are also legends in Sri Lanka and Myanmar about the Buddha visiting and leaving his footprints there. During the Buddha's lifetime, he resided for the most part in Rājagaha, in the states of Magadha and Sāvatthī in the state of Kosala. Outside Rājagaha was a bamboo forest, donated to the Buddha and his disciples by King Bimbisāra, which later came to be known as Bamboo Grove Monastery (Veḷuvanārāmaya). In Sāvatthī, there was a garden given to the Buddha jointly by a rich merchant, Sudatta, and Prince Jeta of Kosala. This garden was known later as Jeta Grove Monastery (Jetavanārāmaya or Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍikassa-ārāma). Since the Buddha used to travel between the two places, both became important

sites for the promotion of his doctrines. Gijjhakūṭa Hill, situated south of Rājagaha, was another place frequented by the Buddha and his disciples for preaching. Prior to his death, the Buddha went northward from Rājagaha to Vesālī (Bihar Pradesh in modern India). Then he turned northwest, and finally arrived at Kusināra (now Kasia in Uttar Pradesh, India) where he passed away (Parinibbāna). In modern times, excavations have uncovered the site of his cremation, and discovered a stone-carved image of his nibbāna as well as other relics. In commemoration of the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's Nibbāna (S. Nirvāna), the government of India has done some essential repair and construction in the holy place.

[23]Q: What is "Nibbāna"?

A: This will be fully explained later. It may be simply interpreted as death.

[24]Q: What were the circumstances immediately before and after the Buddha's Nibbāna?

A: The Buddha had been very sick when in Vesālī. After the Rainy Season Retreat (Vassa) in Vesālī he went with his disciples towards the northwest. On the way he had food offered by the blacksmith Cunda and became seriously ill. Finally he reached the bank of a river in Kusiṇāra. After taking a bath he lay on his right side with his head resting on his right hand, on a hammock placed among four pairs of sala trees. Subsequently, all the recumbent (Sleeping) Buddha statues or the statues of the Buddha's Nibbāna have been modeled in this posture. The Buddha informed his disciples of the approach of his Nibbāṇa, and all his disciples watched over him. At night, a Brahmin scholar named Subhadda came to see the Buddha. When Ananda tried to stop him, the Buddha called Subhadda to his bedside and preached a discourse for him, so Subhadda became the last disciple of the Buddha's lifetime. From the time he left Vesālī on the journey, the Buddha preached to his disciples many times and at midnight when he was about to die, he told them for the last time, "You should not think that you no longer have a teacher. Rather you should regard the teachings (Dhamma) as your teacher. Be diligent in striving for salvation. Never be indolent."

After the Buddha's death, his body was cremated. The remains were

divided into eight portions by Magadha, the Sākya, and other states and then enshrined in thūpas constructed in the eight states. By the 3rd century BC a portion of the Buddha's Sarīra enshrined in Buddhagayā in Magadha was taken out by King Aśoka and was divided into many portions to be stored in thūpas in different places. In 1898, archeologists discovered a Sarīra thūpa on the southern border of Nepal when they excavated an ancient location of Kapilavatthu. Inside the thūpa they found stone vases, urns and other articles. One of the vases was kept in an urn made of layers of iron and crystal. In the vase there was a golden flower with the Buddha's bones placed on it. The inscription on the urn indicates that this is the Buddha's Sarīra enshrined by the Sākyas.

[25]Q: What is "sarīra"?

A: "Sarīra" means the remains of the dead, but this term is generally confined to the remains of the Buddha and other virtuous priests only.

[26]Q: What is the function of a thūpa?

A: Thūpa (S. stūpa), rendered into Chinese as "Ta", "Tabo" or "Sudubo", means "tower" or "tomb". Thūpas are usually built for keeping sarīra, though some are for commemorative purposes.

[27]Q: Is there agreement over the year of the Buddha's Parinibbāna?

A: With regard to the year of the Buddha's Parinibbāna, the Buddhists in Southeast Asia generally put it in the year 545 BC, so in 1956 and 1957 many countries ceremoniously observed the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's Parinibbāna. In China, however, there are different opinions about the year of the Buddha's passing away, the generally acknowledged year being 486 BC, 59 years later than the Theravādin calendar of Southeast Asia.

[28]Q: What is the date of the Buddha's Parinibbāna?

A: In China, the 15th of the second month of the lunar calendar is commonly accepted as the Day of the Buddha's Parinibbāna, the 8th of the fourth month as the Buddha's birthday, and the 8th of the twelfth month as the Day of the Buddha's enlightenment. In South and Southeast Asian countries, however, the full moon day of May of the Gregorian calendar

(corresponding to the 15th of the fourth month in the Chinese lunar calendar) is the Buddhist Holy Day called Vesākha (S. Vaiśākya), which is regarded as the Day of the Buddha's birth, enlightenment, as well as Parinibbāna.

[29]Q: From what you have said we have learned the brief outline of the life of Sākyamuni Buddha. Would you now please give some historical background on the origin of Buddhism?

A: This is a rather difficult question, firstly, because there is a lack of materials on Indian history. Secondly, I haven't studied this area very deeply. Yet I would like to share whatever information I have, as well as clues and leads in my mind for your further reference, research and judgment.

[30]Q: Good. I think all religions and ideologies are products of history. For better understanding of Buddhism, it would be helpful to learn something about the social circumstances of that time. I hope you can paint a sketch of its main points.

A: Let us begin with the situation of that time. Do you know there was a region called the Middle Kingdom (Madhya Deśa) in ancient India?

[31]Q: I am afraid I don't. In which part of India was it located?

A: About 3,500-4,000 years ago, with gradual migration from central Asia into the Indus Valley, the Aryans conquered the original inhabitants and settled there. They assimilated the aboriginal civilization and founded a number of states. For a long time afterward, this area was a political and cultural center of Brahmin civilization and of the Aryan people. Thus this region was called the Middle Kingdom (Madhya Deśa). As to the vast areas of the eastern and southern Ganges Valley, these were called uncivilized "frontier" areas. However, by the time of Sākyamuni, a tremendous change had taken place. The states in the original Madhya Deśa began to decline, while those in the south-eastern frontier began to prosper. Among them was Magadha, the newly emerging dominant state where Sākyamuni resided for the longest time and taught most extensively. The center of civilization by this time had shifted to the new cities: Rājagaha in Magadha, Sāvatthī in Kosala and Vesālī in Vajji, among them Rājagaha being particularly important.

[32]Q: Apart from being powerful and prosperous, were there any particular characteristics in respect to social, economic and cultural spheres in these newly emerging states?

A: According to my preliminary study, there are three conditions which are worthy of notice: (1) the increasing ethnic conflicts; (2) the development of social productivity in the economy; and (3) the emergence of a new anti-Brahmanist trend of thought. All these three were reflected in the caste system.

[33]Q: What is the caste system?

A: The caste system was created with the entry of Aryans into India. The word "caste" is used to translate the Sanskrit word "Varṇa" (P. Vaṇṇa). Its original meaning was "color" or "quality". According to their theory, white-skinned Aryans were a superior race; the dark colored Dravidians and other aborigines were inferior races. At first, this system was used to distinguish between Aryan and non-Aryan peoples. Subsequently, with the developing division of trades and occupations, the caste distinction formerly used for separating Aryans from non-Aryans also found reflection among Aryans themselves. Hence the division of four castes: the highest caste was Brāhmaṇa, the class of priests who administered religious rites, and educational and cultural affairs (some of them later became kings). The next was Kṣatriya, the class of kings and warriors who administered military and political affairs; the third was Vaiśya, composed of merchants, artisans and peasants engaged in farm work; and the fourth was Śūdra, composed of farm laborers, herdsmen, servants and slaves. The first three castes were Aryan and the last one non-Aryan. Each caste had its own hereditary occupations and were not permitted to inter-marry, and in particular, any mixing between Śūdras and other castes was strictly prohibited. There were special laws governing the offspring of Śūdra males and females of other castes. For instance, the shameful title of Caṇḍāla was given to the child born of a Śūdra male and a Brahmin female. The status of Caṇḍāla was the most degraded and since they were not allowed physical contact with others, they were known as the "untouchables". From generation to generation, these people took the humblest jobs such as corpse-carriers, butchers, and executioners. The caste system was not only enacted in laws but also

unshakably regulated by religious doctrines and tenets. In Madhya Deśa, the caste system was most strictly enforced under the powerful influence of Brahmanism.

[34]Q: Did the caste system exist in the newly emerging countries too?

A: With the extension of Aryan influence, these states could not but be affected by the Brahmanic culture. Although the caste system entered there, it encountered quite a lot of obstacles. Firstly, the original inhabitants were in the majority in these states. Secondly, miscegenation between Aryan and non-Aryan races was relatively common. Thirdly, in order to consolidate the Aryan domination in those areas, quite a few aboriginal chiefs were inducted into the caste of Kṣatriya through embracing rituals. Under the caste system, there were always rivalries between the ruling castes, Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. This was particularly strong between the non-Aryan Kṣatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas who held the superior position. Research shows that most people of Magadha came from miscegenation of Vaiśyas and Śūdras, therefore, they were regarded as an inferior race—semi-aryan and semi-barbarian—by Brahmanic code. It is said that King Aśoka of Magadha who later on unified India had Śūdra blood. In this environment any theories against the Brahmin ideas of the caste system would easily be accepted and welcomed. The doctrine advocated by Sākyamuni saying that "all four castes are equal," mirrored the resentment of people in the newly emerging states towards the caste system.

[35]Q: Did the Sākyas belong to the Aryan race?

A: Concerning Sākya's ethnic origin, there are different opinions. Some hold the view that it was of the Mongolian race, and others, Aryan. But as far as the geography of that time is concerned, Kapilavatthu was located in a remote area and was a small state (some believe it was a dependency of Kosala). It is less likely that its royal family was of the Aryan race. Besides, in Buddhist scriptures there is more than one reference to Sākyamuni having a golden purple body, thus providing further grounds for arguing that the Sākyas were not a white Aryan race.

[36]Q: Can it be said that caste contradictions at that time were simply a reflection of ethnic contradictions?

A: Not exactly. As I see it, it also reflected the contradictions brought about by the development of social productivity at that time.

[37]Q: Was Indian society at the time of Sākyamuni a slave society?

A: Recent excavations in the Indus Valley show that as early as 3500-2750 BC, the aborigines there (probably the Dravidians) already had a remarkable urban civilization. They had city planning, with sewerage, two or three-storied brick buildings, and public or private baths. Along the streets, there were stalls and shops. A textile industry as well as a ceramics industry existed. This fact strongly refutes the suggestion of Western scholars that the Indian civilization was brought in by Aryans. As a matter of fact, it is the nomadic Aryans who accepted the higher civilization of the original inhabitants. In the light of the excavations, the aboriginal society at that time was a slave society, and it may be concluded that they had already considerably advanced agriculture. As to the period from the settling down of the Aryans, up to the establishment of the caste system (about 1,000 years), we need to study whether it was still a slave society. According to the Brahmanic code, Śūdra did not mean slave, only some members of that caste were slaves who were engaged in odd jobs, taking very little part in production. It is apparent that slaves were not the main labor power. Therefore, it is hard to assert that this was still a slave society.

[38]Q: In your opinion, what was the prevailing social system at that time?

A: It is recorded in the Buddhist scriptures that there was a fixed time each year during which the king presided over a ploughing ceremony in the fields, and the people tilled for him. This agrees with the clause of the Brahmin codes, which stipulates that the Śūdras who lived off their own labor should pay taxes to the king through offering their labor. According to the notes made by the ancient Chinese translators, Kṣatriya originally meant "land owner". It may be inferred from this that by the time the caste system began to be well established, India had entered into a society of serfdom ruled by feudal lords. By the time of Sākyamuni, more changes had occurred in the newly emerging states. The Buddhist literature suggests that commerce at that time was flourishing with large-scale trade caravans and mercantile fleets. Thus merchants had solid economic strength. For instance, a very rich merchant named Sudatta,

who made a gift of a garden to the Buddha, was of such great wealth that he compared riches with the prince of Kosala by paving the whole garden with gold. Handicrafts flourished too, with fine division of labor. Small enterprises of industry and commerce operated freely and played an important role in productive activities. At that time there emerged tax-paying free peasants as well as tenant farmers. It is conceivable that, in the newly emerging states where the majority was of the mixed castes of Vaiśyas and Śūdras, Kṣatriyas might not have been serf-owners, but representatives of a newly emerging landlord class. As early as 1,000 BC ironware appeared in India, and in this period, iron farm tools were widely used, and agricultural productivity was greatly increased. Under these economic circumstances, partitioning by feudal lords was unfavorable to the development of commerce, of handicrafts and of agriculture in particular. History shows that the centralized construction of water conservancy and irrigation works was important in King Aśoka's unification of India. Even during the Buddha's lifetime, 200 years before Aśoka, people had already cherished the ideal of "one world unified by the wheel-turning king" (Rāja Cakkavattin). In his childhood, the Buddha's father and compatriots hoped he would become the wheel-turning king. The Buddha, though forsaking his throne, held the ideal of a wheel-turning king. The idea was indeed a reflection of the people's common aspiration to have a centralized government to replace the state of division by the feudal lords. This desire inevitably came into conflict with the caste system.

[39]Q: What was the relationship between Sākyamuni and Brahmins, and between Sākyamuni and Kṣatriyas?

A: Sākyamuni publicly opposed Brahmanic doctrines, so he was subject to numerous attacks by the Brahmins during his lifetime. Nevertheless, a large number of Brahmin scholars and followers gave up their original beliefs and turned to the Buddha. The Brahmaṇas, in response to Buddhism, issued the Manu Code (Manu-Smṛti), which, while upholding the caste system, made some amendments to it. Although the Manu Code did not overtly attack Buddhism, the subsequent Manuals of Public and Domestic Rites (Sarvadarśana Saṃgraha) expressed an explicitly offensive attitude against Buddhism. As to the relationship between the Buddha and the Kṣatriyas, as you know, the Buddha came from the

Kṣatriya caste. The kings of those states where he traveled and preached, such as Bimbisāra of Magadha, Prasenajit of Kosala and others were his faithful followers and strong supporters. At a later time after the Buddha, King Aśoka more energetically promulgated the Buddha Dhamma. It should be concluded that the Kśatriyas of the newly emerging states had great esteem for and staunch faith in the Buddha. It is worth notice that in the Buddhist texts, whenever mention is made of the four castes, Brahman is put after Kṣatriya. That is contrary to the traditional order in which Brahmin came the first (i.e. Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra). From this break with the tradition, one can see the Buddha's depreciation of the Brahmins' position.

[40]Q: What was the relationship between Sākyamuni and the common people?

A: Sākyamuni's style of teaching was close to the common people. Instead of the elegant language of the Brahmins, he used the vernacular language. As was mentioned earlier, Sākyamuni accepted a Śūdra named Upāli to be his disciple to whom the Buddha's brothers and son had to pay homage since their ranks in the Saṅgha were lower than his. The Buddha and his disciples accepted on equal footing the offerings contributed by the Caṇḍālas, or the untouchables, with whom other people were reluctant to make physical contact. The Buddha contrived to meet a Caṇḍāla and preach to him when he was too shy to come and see the Buddha. In the same way the Buddha treated all the unfortunates. Among his disciples were beggars and prostitutes. The Buddha, on one occasion, rejected an invitation from a king and went to take a dāna offered by an unfortunately degenerated woman. In ancient Indian society, the status of women was akin to that of slaves. The fact that the Buddha admitted women into the Saṅgha Order as his monastic disciples is considered a great revolution in religious history.

[41]Q: Although he had sympathy with the unfortunate and suffering people, isn't it true that the Buddha did not advise them to revolt against their rulers?

A: True. The Buddha did not instruct people what action to take against their rulers, and although on the one hand, it may be said he advocated forbearance in real life since he mainly taught people how to eliminate their inner worries and attain deliverance and said to them that desisting

from evil and doing wholesome deeds in the present world would bring happiness to future life as effect; on the other hand, his thought played a positive role in society at the time because he repudiated the theory of Brahamin theocracy, proclaimed the equal position of all beings and revealed the truth of impermanence of everything (aniccā).

[42]Q: What was the situation in the ideological domain in India at that time?

A: Similar to the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Period in Chinese history, there was a period of "a hundred schools of thought in contention". Generally speaking, there existed two major ideological trends: one was the school of orthodox Brahmanist thought, and the other, various schools of heretical anti-Brahman thought. Buddhism belonged to the latter.

[43]Q: What were the fundamental ideas of Brahmanism?

A: Brahmanism was polytheism with monotheistic leanings. It worshipped various deities of nature, offered sacrifices and prayers for blessings and warding off calamities, but believed in Brahmā as the superior lord who created the entire universe. Brahmā gave birth to Brahmaṇas from his mouth, Kṣatriyas from his shoulder, Vaiśyas from his abdomen and Śūdras from his feet. Thus, the social standing of the four castes, noble or humble, was decided according to this. And thus people had to abide by the will of Brahmā and keep faith in Veda. Ordinary people had to serve Brahmins, and strictly obey the caste system. With the development of Brahmanist doctrines, on one hand Brahmā was recognized as the noumenon of the universe or the ultimate principle of origin of the universe in the abstract sense; on the other hand, viewed from the individual, Atta (S. Ātman, Ego) was considered the dominator and noumenon of the individual, the personal body as well as one's actions. Thus the phenomena of the external world also arise from Atta. Hence an inference: Brahmā and Atta should not be two but one and the same. So what people had to strive to reach was a state of harmony between Atta and Brahmā through self-cultivation. In this way, they could avoid the suffering of saṃsāra and attain ultimate emancipation.

[44]Q: How many anti-Brahmanic schools were there at that time?

A: Buddhist texts mention as many as 96 anti-Brahman schools, six of which

were outstanding and whose founders were known in the texts as the Six Teachers. One among the six was Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, the founding father of Jaina. The other five were Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambala, Pakudha Kaccāyana and Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta. Of all these schools only Jaina still exists and has texts one can research. The others have no proper records, but fragments of information can be gleaned from the books of the rival schools, which challenged their doctrines. Some of them were sceptics denying the relations of cause and effect; some stood for carnal desires; while others advocated ascetic practices; and still others were materialists who believed that human beings were composed of four Mahābhūta (i.e. the four elements of earth, water, fire and air), which would decompose and vanish after death with no prospect of future life.

[45]Q: What was the relationship between Buddhism and other religious schools or sects?

A: Buddhism not only repudiated the creeds of the Brahmanists but also opposed those of the various non-Brahmanic schools. However, Buddhism, Brahmanism and other religions had some common ideological sources. Although it adopted certain ideas from other schools, Buddhism rendered new interpretations according to its own theories of Dependent Origination (Paṭiccasamuppāda) and Kamma. For example, "cause and effect of three periods of time" (Hetu-phala of tayo addhā) teaches that actions in the past life lead to the present affect, and actions in the present life will produce an effect in future life; and the theory of "cycles of rebirth in the six realms", which teaches that on the basis of one's own wholesome or unwholesome deeds one might be reborn in heaven as a deity, or on earth as a human being, or become an asura—a bellicose deity-like creature, or an animal, or a ghost, or be born in hell; all sentient beings circulate perpetually up and down, just like a rolling wheel, through the six realms (gatis) of heaven (deva-gati), human world (manussa-gati), asura realm (asuratta), hell (naraka-gati), ghost realm (peta-gati) and animal world (tiracchāna-yonika), in endlessly repeated cycles of rebirth or reincarnation (saṃsāra); and the theory of the blending components of four elements (cattāri mahābhūta), which are earth, water, fire and air. Buddhism also accepted some traditional notions about astronomy and geography.

With regard to gods of Brahmanism, Buddhism did not deny their existence, but degraded their status to that of sentient beings and believed that they also could not escape the sufferings of saṃsāra. As for Brahmā, Buddhism deemed it a deity in the deva-gati, who might fall into hell. We can return to these questions later.

壹　佛陀和佛教的创立

[1]问：什么是佛教？

答：佛教，广义地说，它是一种宗教，包括它的经典、仪式、习惯、教团的组织等等；狭义地说，它就是佛所说的言教；如果用佛教固有的术语来说，应当叫做佛法（Buddha Dhamma）。

[2]问：“法”是什么意思？

答：“法”字的梵语是达磨（Dharma）。佛教对这个字的解释是：“任持自性、轨生物解。”这就是说，每一事物必然保持它自己特有的性质和相状，有它一定轨则，使人看到便可以了解是何物。例如水，它保持着它的湿性，它有水的一定轨则，使人一见便生起水的了解；反过来说，如果一件东西没有湿性，它的轨则不同于水的轨则，便不能生起水的了解。所以佛教把一切事物都叫做“法”。佛经中常见到的“一切法”、“诸法”字样，就是“一切事物”或“宇宙万有”的意思。照佛教的解释，佛根据自己对一切法如实的了解而宣示出来的言教，它本身也同样具有“任持自性、轨生物解”的作用，所以也叫做法。

[3]问：佛是神吗？

答：不，佛不是神。他是公元前六世纪时代的人，有名有姓，他的名字是悉达多（S. Siddhārtha，P. Siddhattha），他的姓是乔达摩（S. Gautama，P. Gotama）。因为他属于释迦（Sākya）族，人们又称他为释迦牟尼，意思是释迦族的圣人。

[4]问：为什么称他为佛呢？佛的意义是什么？

答：“佛”字是“佛陀”的简称，是Buddha的音译（如果用今天的汉语音译，应当是“布达”），佛陀的意义是“觉者”或“智者”。“佛陀”是印度早就有了的字，但佛教给它加了三种涵义：（1）正觉（对一切法的性质相状，无增无减地、如实地觉了）；（2）等觉或遍觉（不仅自觉，即自己觉悟，而且能平等普遍地觉他，即使别人觉悟）；（3）圆觉或无上觉（自觉觉他的智慧和功行都已达到最高

的、最圆满的境地）。

5问：除释迦牟尼外，有没有另外的佛？

答：佛教认为过去有人成佛，未来也会有人成佛，一切人都有得到觉悟的可能性，所以说："一切众生，皆有佛性，有佛性者，皆得成佛。"

6问：如来佛是不是释迦牟尼？还是另一人？

答："如来"这个名词是从梵语Tathāgata译出来的。"如"字就是"真如"（tathatā），即一切法（事物）的真实状况，它又包含"如实"（Yathābhūtaṃ）的意义。佛经对"如来"的解释是："乘真如之道而来"，又说"如实而来"。"如来"是一个通用名词，它是"佛陀"的异名。如释迦牟尼佛，可以称释迦牟尼如来；阿弥陀佛，可以称阿弥陀如来。

7问：阿弥陀佛和释迦牟尼佛不是一个人吗？

答：不是。阿弥陀佛是另外一个世界上的佛。阿弥陀佛是梵语Amitābha的音译，意义是"无量的光明"。

8问："南无佛"是什么意思？为什么读起来是"那摩佛"？

答："南无"是梵语Namo的音译，念成"那摩"，是保持原来古代的读音。现代广东、福建一部分地区，仍保持这个古音。它的意义是"敬礼"。今天印度人相见，互道"那摩悉对"，就是说："敬礼了"。

9问：释迦牟尼的一生可以简略介绍一下么？

答：可以。释迦牟尼的时代，约当公元前六世纪中叶，正是我国春秋时代，与孔子同时。他是当时迦毗罗国（Kapilavatthu）国王的长子。父亲名净饭（Suddhodana），母亲名摩耶（Māyā）。摩耶夫人生产前，根据当时习俗，回到母家去，路过蓝毗尼花园（Lumbinī），在树下休息的时候，生下了悉达多王子。

10问：蓝毗尼花园现在还有遗址留存下来吗？

答：公元七世纪时，我国玄奘法师曾到过蓝毗尼。根据他的记载，他曾经看到在他之前八百多年阿育王（Aśoka）在那里建立的石柱，标志着佛陀诞生之处，但当时石柱已被雷击破，柱头倒在地下，

已经是衰落的情景了。后来由于没有人能够识得柱上的文字，因此佛陀诞生的地址久已湮没无闻。直到1897年才被人发现了阿育王的石柱，考古家认识出上面的文字，这才发掘出蓝毗尼园的遗址，在附近并且发掘出古代的市镇，其中有些可以相信是属于当时的迦毗罗城的。今天尼泊尔政府已经把这个地方作为圣地加以建设和保护。

11问：释迦牟尼幼年教养情况是怎样？

答：摩耶夫人产后不久就死了。幼年时代的释迦牟尼是由他的姨母波阇波提夫人（Prajāpati）养育的。他自小从婆罗门学者们学习文学、哲学、算学等等，知识很广博。又从武士们学习武术，是一个骑射击剑的能手。他父亲净饭王因为他天资聪慧，相貌奇伟，对他期望很大，希望他继承王位后，建功立业，成为一个“转轮王”（统一天下的君主）。

12问：那么，他后来为什么不继承王位呢？

答：悉达多王子在幼年的时候，就有沉思的习惯，世间许多现象，给他看到，都容易引起他的感触和深思：饥渴困乏、在烈日下耕田的农人，绳索鞭打、口喘汗流拖着犁头耕地的牛，蛇虫鸟兽弱肉强食的情景，衰丑龙钟的老人，辗转呻吟的病人，亲朋哭泣送葬中的死人，这些都促使他思索着一个问题——如何解脱世界的苦痛。他读过的吠陀书（Veda，婆罗门经典）不能解决他的问题。他学到的知识和他未来的王位、权力也都不能解决他的问题。于是他很早就有了出家的念头，后来终于舍弃了王位。

13问：他父亲怎么会让他出家呢？

答：净饭王发觉了他儿子的心思后，曾经想过各种办法防止他，特别是企图从生活的享受上羁縻他。悉达多王子十六岁时，净饭王便为他娶了邻国的王女耶输陀罗（Yasodharā）为妃，生了一个儿子叫罗怙罗（Rāhula）。但是这一切都没有能够阻止他，终于在一天夜深人静的时候，他偷偷地出了国城，进入一个森林中，换去王子的衣服，剃去须发，成为一个修道者。关于他出家时的年龄，有两种不同记载，一说是十九岁，一说是二十九岁。

14问：出家以后的情形怎样？

答：他父亲曾尽力劝他回去无效，只好在亲族中选派五个人随从他一

起，这五个人的名字是：憍陈如（Kauṇḍinya, P. Koṇḍañña），跋提（Bhadrika, P. Bhaddiya），跋波（Vāṣpa, P. Vappa），摩诃男（Mahānāma, P. Mahānāma），阿说示（AŚvajit, P. Assaji）。悉达多王子和他的侍者们先后寻访当时三个有名的学者，从他们学道，但都不能满足他的要求。于是他知道当时哲学思想中没有真正解脱之法，便离开了他们，走到尼连禅河（Nairañjanā，P：Nerañjarā，现在叫做Lilaian）岸边的树林中，和那里的苦行人（极端刻苦修行的人）在一起。为了寻求解脱，他尝够了艰苦辛酸，坚持不懈，经历六年之久。但是结果徒劳无功，方才悟到苦行是无益的。他于是走到尼连禅河里去沐浴，洗去了六年的积垢，随后受了一个牧女供养的牛奶，恢复了气力。当时随从他的五个人见到他的情景，以为他放弃了信心和努力，便离开了他，前往波罗奈城（Benares）去继续他们的苦行。王子于是一个人走到一棵毕钵罗（Pippala）树下，铺上了吉祥草，向着东方盘腿坐着，发誓说："我今如不证到无上大觉，宁可让此身粉碎，终不起此座。" 他便这样在树下思维解脱之道，终于在一个夜里，战胜了最后的烦恼魔障，获得了彻底觉悟而成了佛陀。

15问：释迦牟尼成佛处，现有遗迹留存吗？

答：释迦牟尼成佛处，自古称为菩提场或菩提伽耶（Buddhagayā），那里的毕钵罗树，因为佛坐在树下成道的缘故，得到了菩提树之名。从此，所有毕钵罗树都叫做菩提树。"菩提"就是"觉"的意思。菩提伽耶在今天印度比哈尔省伽耶城（Gayā）的南郊。那棵菩提树在二千数百年中曾两次遭到斫伐，一次遭风拔，但都重生了新芽，现在的菩提树是原来那棵树的曾孙。树下释迦牟尼坐处有石刻的金刚座。树的东面有一座宏伟庄严的塔寺，名叫大菩提寺，至今约有一千八百多年的历史，附近还有许多佛的遗迹和古代石刻与建筑。1956年印度比哈尔省政府为了这个圣地的建设和管理， 设立了一个国际性的咨询委员会。中国佛教协会接受了邀请，指派了两名代表参加该会。

16问：释迦牟尼成佛后的事迹，可以简略地谈一谈吗？

答：释迦牟尼成佛的年龄，也有不同的记载，有的说三十岁，有的说三十五岁。此后五十年（或四十五年）中，直到他八十岁逝世前，他没有间断过他的说法工作。他到处游行，向大众宣示他自己证悟的真理。他最初到波罗奈城去找离开了他的五个侍者，为他们说法。佛教把佛陀第一次说法，叫做"初转法轮"。

[17]问："转法轮"是什么意思？

答："轮"（cakka），是印度古代战争中用的一种武器，它的形状像个轮子。印度古代有一种传说，征服四方的大王叫做转轮王，他出生的时候，空中自然出现此轮，预示他的前途无敌。这里以轮来比喻佛所说的法。佛的法轮出现于世，一切不正确的见解、不善的法都破碎无余，所以把说法叫做转法轮。佛初转法轮处是鹿野苑（Sārnāth），在今天波罗奈城（Benares）。经过近代的发掘，鹿野苑发现了不少有价值的文物。有阿育王的石柱，有公元四世纪石刻的佛初转法轮像等等，并且发掘到古代塔寺的遗址。鹿野苑现有佛寺、博物馆和图书馆，都是近几十年来陆续兴建起来的。佛初转法轮处的鹿野苑，和佛诞生处的蓝毗尼园、佛成道处的菩提伽耶、佛逝世处的拘尸那伽（S. Kuśinagara, P. Kusināra），是佛教四大圣迹。值得指出的是：近代学者们对这些圣迹以及其他一些古迹的发掘和修复，主要都是根据我国古代高僧法显、玄奘等的记载。

[18]问：佛初次说法的地方为什么要比其他说法的地方看得重要呢？

答：佛在鹿野苑初转法轮这件事是佛教的一件大事。从那时起，开始建立了佛教；从那时起，开始具足了三宝。

[19] 问："三宝"是什么？

答：佛陀是佛宝。佛所说的法是法宝。佛的出家弟子的团体——僧伽（Saṅgha）是僧宝。称之为宝，是因为它能够令大众止恶行善、离苦得乐，是极可尊贵的意思。佛初转法轮，憍陈如等五人都归依佛，出家为弟子，于是形成了僧伽。所以说，从那时起开始具足了三宝。

[20]问：什么叫做归依？

答：归依的意思是：身心归向它、依靠它。归依三宝的人是佛教徒。"归依"也可以写成"皈依"，"皈"与"归"的读音和意义相同。

[21]问：佛在世的时候，归依的人多吗？

答：是的，佛初转法轮后从鹿野苑到摩揭陀国（Magadha）去的一路上，受到他的教化而归依的人就很多。其中有拜火教的婆罗门姓迦叶的三兄弟，都改变了原来的信仰，率领他们的弟子一千多人归依了佛教。佛到了摩揭陀国首都王舍城（Rājagaha）后，归依

的人更多。其中最有名的出家弟子有舍利弗（Sāriputta）、摩诃目犍连（Mahāmoggallāna）、摩诃迦叶（Mahākassapa）等人。后来佛回到故乡去，他的异母弟难陀（Nanda）、堂兄弟阿难陀（Ānanda）、提婆达多（Devadatta）和他儿子罗怙罗等都随他出了家。还有宫廷中一个剃发工奴优波离（Upāli）也出家加入了僧团，后来成为有名的佛教戒律学大师。佛的姨母波阇波提也归依了佛，是第一个出家女弟子。至于不出家而归依三宝的弟子则为数更多。佛的出家弟子，男的叫比丘（bhikkhu），女的叫做比丘尼（bhikkhunī）；在家弟子，男的叫做邬波索迦（upāsaka），女的叫做邬波斯迦（upāsikā），合称为四众弟子。

22问：释迦牟尼一生游行教化的区域，是哪些地方？

答：根据记载和发掘的资料，佛自己足迹所到的地方，主要是中印度。他的弟子们分到四方游化，可能更远一些。但是斯里兰卡和缅甸都有佛曾经到过并留下足印的传说。佛居住的地方，以摩揭陀国的王舍城和拘萨罗国（Kosala）的舍卫城（Sāvatthī）的时间为最多。在王舍城外有一个竹林，是频毗娑罗王（Bimbisāra）献给佛和僧众居住的，后人称为竹林精舍。在舍卫城有一个林园是当地一个富商须达多（Sudatta）和拘萨罗国王子祇陀（Jeta）共同献给佛的，后人称为祇园精舍。佛常往来两处，所以竹林、祇园并为说法的重地。王舍城南面的灵鹫山（Gijjhakūṭa）也是佛常和弟子们说法的地方。佛逝世前由王舍城北行到毗舍离（Vesālī）城（今印度比哈尔省境内），又由毗舍离向西北行，最后到了拘尸那伽（今印度联合省伽夏城Kasia），佛是在拘尸那伽逝世的。现在佛逝世处，发掘出佛遗体火化的地方和石刻的佛涅槃像以及其他古迹。印度政府为了纪念佛涅槃二千五百年，曾对这个圣地予以必要的修复和建设。

23问：什么叫做“涅槃”？

答：现在暂不详细解答，这里可简单解释为“逝世”。

24问：佛涅槃前后的情形是怎样？

答：佛在毗舍离城的时候，已经有了重病，在那里度过雨季后，偕弟子们向西北走去，路上受了铁匠纯陀（Cunda）供献的食品，病更加剧。最后走到拘尸那伽一条河边，洗了澡，在一处四方各有两棵娑罗树的中间安置了绳床，枕着右手侧身卧着。后来所有卧佛像（即佛涅槃像）都是这样的姿式。佛告知弟子们将要涅槃，弟

子都守候着。夜间有婆罗门学者须跋陀罗（Subhadda）去见佛，阿难陀想挡住他，佛知道了，唤他到床前为他说法，于是须跋陀罗成了佛的最后的弟子。佛在毗舍离临出发前和在途中为弟子们作了多次的教诲，到了那天半夜逝世前又最后嘱咐弟子不要以为失去了导师，应当以法为师，要努力精进，不要放逸。

佛逝世后，遗体举行火化。摩揭陀国人和释迦族等八国将佛的舍利分为八份，各在他们的本土上建塔安奉。其中摩揭陀国安奉在菩提伽耶的一份，到公元前三世纪，被阿育王取出，分成许多份送到各地建塔。1898年，考古家在尼泊尔南境发掘迦毗罗国故址，发现一舍利塔，塔内藏有石瓶石函等物；有一瓶放在铁和水晶层迭的函内，里面有黄金花，花上安放着佛骨。从函上刻的文字知道这就是释迦族供养的佛的舍利。

[25]问：舍利是什么？

答：舍利（Sarīra）就是遗体，但这个名称一般只用于佛和有德行的出家人的遗体。

[26]问：塔是作什么用的？

答：“塔”又称“塔波”，是梵语Stūpa（P. Thūpa）省略的音译，完整的音译是“窣堵波”，意义是“高显”或“坟”。塔一般是藏舍利的，也有不藏舍利而作为标志纪念之用的。

[27]问：佛涅槃的年代，有没有不同的计算？

答：关于佛涅槃的年代，东南亚佛教徒一般认为是公元前545年，所以1956年和1957年各国都举行佛涅槃二千五百年盛大纪念。我国关于佛涅槃年代有很多不同的说法，一般公认的年代是公元前486年，与南传佛历相差59年。

[28]问：佛的涅槃日是哪一天？

答：我国一般认为农历二月十五日是佛涅槃日，四月初八日是佛诞生日，十二月初八日是佛成道日。南方各国则以公历五月月圆日（相当于我国农历四月十五日）为佛节日（Vesākha），认为佛诞生、成道、涅槃都在这一天。

[29]问：听了上面的谈话，对释迦牟尼佛的一生事迹已经有了轮廓的了解。现在想请你谈一谈当时佛教创立的历史背景。

答：这是一个较难的问题，因为第一关于印度古代历史资料缺乏，第二我自己在这方面少研究。但是我仍然愿意将一些我所知道的材料和所想到的线索，提供你参考、研究和判断。

30问：很好。我认为，任何宗教和思想都是历史的产物，能够了解一些当时社会的情况，是有助于对佛教的了解的。希望你就几个主要的问题谈一谈，能说明一个大概就行了。

答：先从当时的形势谈起吧。你知道古代印度曾经有一个区域叫做“中国”吗？

31问：这倒不知道。那是在印度的什么地区？

答：大约三千五百年到四千年前，雅利安（Ārya）人逐渐由中亚细亚进入印度河流域，征服了那里的土著民族，并且吸收了他们的文明，在那里定居下来，建立了好些国家。因为长期成为雅利安人政治文化的中心（也就是婆罗门文明的中心），当时那个地区被称为“中国”（Madhya Deśa）。至于东方和南方的恒河流域的广大地区，则被称为是化外的“边地”。但是到了释迦牟尼时代，形势有了很大的改变。原来“中国”地方的国家已经开始衰落，而东南边地的国家则勃然兴起。释迦牟尼居住最久、教化最盛的摩揭陀国就是当时新兴的霸国。这时候，文明的中心已经转移到摩揭陀国的王舍城，拘萨罗国的舍卫城，跋耆国的毗舍离城等新都市，其中王舍城尤为重要。

32问：这些新兴国家除了实力强盛之外，在社会、经济、文化方面有没有什么特点？

答：据我初步地研究，有三种情况值得一提：（1）在种族问题上，矛盾的增多；（2）在经济问题上，社会生产力的发展；（3）在思想上，反婆罗门教义的新思想的兴起。这三种情况都反映在“种姓制度”问题上。

33问：什么是种姓制度？

答：种姓制度是雅利安人进入印度之后创立的。“种姓”这个词儿是从梵语“Varṇa”（P. Vaṇṇa）翻译过来的，它的原来的字义是“颜色”或“品质”。照他们的说法，肤色白的雅利安人是品质高贵的种族，深色皮肤的达罗毗荼（Dravida）族和其他土著民族是品质低贱的种族。这种制度原来是用以划分雅利安人和非雅利安人的界

限的。后来随着工作和职业的分化的发展，本来用以划分雅利安人和非雅利安人的种姓差别，也在雅利安人自己中间起了反映，于是有四姓（四个种姓）的划分。最高的种姓是婆罗门（Brāhmaṇa），是掌握祭祀文教的僧侣阶级（到后来婆罗门也可以当国王）；其次是刹帝利（Kṣatriya），是掌握军政的国王和武士阶级；其次是吠舍（Vaiśya），是商人、手工业者，也有从事农耕的农民阶级；最下的种姓是首陀罗（Śūdra），是农人、牧人、仆役和奴隶。前三者是雅利安人，后者是非雅利安人。各种姓有它的世袭的职业，不许被婚姻混乱，尤其严禁首陀罗和别的种姓混乱。对首陀罗男子和别的种姓女子结合所生的混血种，特别订有法律，给予一种贱名，如首陀罗男子与婆罗门女子的混血种名为旃陀罗（Caṇḍāla）。他们的地位最低贱，不能与一般人接触，被称为“不可触者”。这种人世世代代操着当时认为下贱的职业，如抬死尸、屠宰、当刽子手之类。种姓制度不仅订在法律里面，而且神圣不可动摇地规定在宗教教义和教条中。在婆罗门教势力强盛的“中国”地方，种姓制度最严格。

34问：在新兴国家地方也有种姓制度吗？

答：随着雅利安人势力的扩展，这些国家都不能不受到婆罗门文化的影响，当然也都存在着种姓制度，但种姓制度所遇到的困难就比较多得多。第一，在这些国家里，土著人民占的比率大；第二，雅利安与非雅利安种族混合情况比较普遍；第三，为了巩固雅利安人在那些地方的统治，有不少土著部族的首领通过入教仪式被安排在刹帝利种姓之列。在种姓制度下，统治阶层的婆罗门和刹帝利之间一向存在着矛盾，尤其是非雅利安人的刹帝利对婆罗门的优越地位的反抗，更加显著。据研究，摩揭陀国的人多半是吠舍和首陀罗的混血种，婆罗门法典认为他们是半雅利安、半野蛮的下等种族。后来统一印度的摩揭陀国阿育王，据说就是首陀罗的血统。在这种环境中，反对婆罗门种姓制度教义的学说，容易为大众所接受和欢迎，而释迦牟尼倡导的“四姓平等”之说，事实上反映着当时那些新兴国家的人民对种姓制度的不满。

35问：释迦是不是雅利安种？

答：关于释迦的种族问题，有不同的说法，有的说是蒙古种，有的说是雅利安种。但是从当时的地理看，迦毗罗国地处僻远，又是小国（有人研究，认为它当时是拘萨罗国的附庸国），因此它的王族不是雅利安种的可能性较大，而且佛经上不只一次说释迦牟尼的

身体是紫金色，这可以为释迦族不属于白色的雅利安种的一个论据。

36问：能不能说当时种姓制度问题上的矛盾纯粹是种族的矛盾？

答：不能那么说。据我看，它还反映着当时社会生产力的发展所带来的矛盾。

37问：释迦牟尼时代印度的社会是不是奴隶社会？

答：近代在印度河流域的发掘，证明在公元前3500—公元前2750年之间，那里的土著民族（可能就是达罗毗荼族），早已有了惊人的城市文明。他们有城市规划，有下水道，有两三层砖建楼房，有公私浴室。街道上有货摊和店铺，有纺织业和陶业。这个事实推翻了西方学者们一向认定印度文明是雅利安人带来的说法。事实上是游牧民族的雅利安人接受了土著的高级文明。根据发掘的材料来看，当时土著民族已经进入了奴隶社会，而且可以断定他们有了相当发达的农业。至于雅利安人定居下来很长时期（约一千年）以后，到了种姓制度确立了的时期，那里的社会是否仍然是奴隶社会，值得研究。从婆罗门的法典看来，首陀罗并不是奴隶，只是有一部分人当奴隶，而奴隶只是从事杂役劳动，在生产部门很少参加，显然奴隶不是主要生产者，因此很难断定当时是奴隶社会。

38问：据你看当时是什么制度的社会呢？

答：佛经中的资料记载，当时国王每年有一固定的日期，在自己的田地里举行亲耕仪式，人民都在替他耕田。这与婆罗门的法典规定的靠自己劳动为生的首陀罗人要以劳动向国王纳税的条文相合。根据我国古代译师的注释，“刹帝利”的原来字义是“田主”。从这个线索来推断，似乎“种姓”制度开始完备地确立的时期，印度已经进入了封建领主统治的农奴社会。而到了释迦牟尼时代，在新兴的国家里，情形又有所演变。根据佛经的资料，当时的商业很发达，有相当规模的陆运和航运的商队，商人掌握着雄厚的经济力量，例如把一座林园送给佛的大富商须达多，他有力量以黄金布地和拘萨罗的王子比富。手工业也很发达，有细密的分工，自由经营的小工商业在生产上占重要地位。当时有了纳税的自由农民，有佃农。可以设想，在吠舍人和首陀罗人混合种族的新兴国家里，刹帝利可能不是领主，而是新兴地主阶级的代表。印度在公元前一千年间已经有了铁器，到这时期，铁制农业器具更已普

遍使用，农业上生产力有了很大的发展。在当时的经济情况下，封建领主的割据，是不利于商业、手工业、特别是农业的发展的。历史证明，统一兴修水利和灌溉系统是促成阿育王统一印度的重要原因。虽然阿育王是佛逝世二百年以后的人，但是佛在世时，人们就有“转轮王统一天下”的理想。佛幼年时，他的父王和国人曾期望他做转轮王。佛虽然舍弃了王位，但是他也推崇转轮王这样的理想人物。“转轮王”思想，实际是反映着当时一般人要求有一个中央集权政府来代替领主割据的愿望，这个要求和愿望必然和种姓制度发生冲突。

39问：释迦牟尼和婆罗门、刹帝利的关系怎样？

答：释迦牟尼是公开宣布反对婆罗门教义的，所以一生遭到婆罗门攻击的事很多。但是也有不少婆罗门教徒和学者改变了原来的信仰而归依了他。婆罗门人受了佛教的刺激，就有了《摩奴法典》的出现。这部法典一方面固然是为了维护种姓制度，一方面也可能作了一些修正。在《摩奴法典》里攻击佛教的文句虽不明显，但后出的《述记氏法论》则把攻击佛教的态度明白地表示出来。至于佛和刹帝利的关系，你知道，佛是出身于刹帝利种姓的。当时佛所游化的那些国家的国王们，如摩揭陀国的频毗娑罗王，拘萨罗国的波斯匿王等，都是他的信徒和有力的支持者。后来阿育王更大弘佛法。应当说，新兴国家的刹帝利对佛是极其尊重信仰的。值得注意的是，佛经中提到四姓时，改变了原来以婆罗门为首的次序（即婆罗门、刹帝利、吠舍、首陀罗），而把婆罗门放在刹帝利之后，这是违反传统习惯的，由此也可以看出他贬抑婆罗门地位的态度。

40问：释迦牟尼和平民的关系怎样？

答：释迦牟尼教化的方式是接近平民的。他说法不用婆罗门的雅语，而用当时平民的俗语，就是一个例子。前面说过释迦牟尼曾经接受一个首陀罗人优波离为弟子，佛的兄弟和儿子在僧团内行次在他之下，他们都得向优波离礼拜。对一般人不肯接触的旃陀罗人，佛和弟子们平等接受他们的供养。佛曾经设法和一个不敢见他的旃陀罗人相见，并为他说法。佛对待所有不幸的人都是这样。他的弟子中有乞丐，也有妓女，有一次，佛谢绝了国王的邀请，而到一个不幸的堕落的女人那里去应供。在古代印度社会里，妇女的地位和奴隶差不多。佛接受妇女为出家弟子，让她们参加僧团的事实，被认为是宗教史上一个很大的革命举动。

41问：佛虽然对不幸的人们表示同情，但是他没有教他们向统治者进行反抗，不是吗？

答：诚然，佛没有教他们以怎样的实际行动反抗统治者。佛主要教导人们断除内心的烦恼，以求解脱，同时又说现世止恶行善的因，会获得来世安乐的果，在这方面可以说，佛对现实生活问题，是抱着容忍的态度的。但是，他在思想上推倒了婆罗门的神权，宣布众生平等，说出“诸法无常”的真理，对当时的社会起了进步的作用。

42问：当时思想界的情况怎样？

答：和我国春秋战国时代相仿佛，当时印度思想界也正处在一个“百家争鸣”的时期。总的说来，当时思想界有两大潮流，一个是正统的婆罗门教思想的潮流，一个是异端的反婆罗门教思想的潮流，佛教属于后者。

43问：婆罗门教的基本思想是什么？

答：婆罗门教是多神教而又带着一神教的色彩，崇拜各种自然的神祇，盛行祭祀祈祷以招福禳灾，而以梵（Brahmā）为创造宇宙万物的主宰。梵从口生出婆罗门，从肩部生出刹帝利，从腹部生出吠舍，从足部生出首陀罗，以此定四姓的贵贱，这就成为种姓制度的根据。人应当服从梵天的意旨，因此应当信奉《吠陀经》，奉事婆罗门，严格遵守种姓制度。后来婆罗门教义有所发展，它把“梵”抽象起来做为宇宙的本体，或宇宙生起的最高原理，一方面又从个人观察，认为“我”是个人的主宰和本体，人的身体由“我”而生，人的活动由“我”而起，外界万物也都因“我”而存在，由此推论出“我”与“梵”本来不二，人所应当努力的就是经过修行以达到梵我一致的境地，这样才能免去轮回之苦而得到大自在。

44问：当时反婆罗门教的思想有多少派别？

答：根据佛经所说有九十六种之多，最特出的有六个教派，佛经称这些教派的创立者为六师。其中一个就是耆那教（Jaina）的始祖尼乾子（Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta），其余五人是富兰那迦叶（Purāṇa Kassapa）、末迦梨（Makkhali Gosāla）、阿耆多（Ajita Kesakambala）、婆鸠多（Pakudha Kaccāyana）、散若夷（Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta）。除耆那教现还存在、有典籍可考外，

其余五人都没有正式记载，现在只能从反驳他们学说的其他教派典籍中看到一鳞一爪。他们有的是否认因果关系的怀疑论者；有的主张纵欲；有的主张苦行；有的认为人由四大（地、水、火、风四个元素）组合而成，死后四大分散，归于断灭，否认来世，是唯物论者。

45问：佛教和各教派的关系怎样？

答：佛教一方面批判婆罗门教义，同时也反对非婆罗门教的各教派。但是佛教和婆罗门教以及各教派的思想都有渊源，佛教接受了他们的某些思想，而根据“缘起”和“业”的理论，予以另一种解释。如“三世因果”（前世造因，今世受果，今世造因，来世受果）、“六道轮回”（随着自己善恶行为，或生天界而为天人，或生人界而为人，或为阿修罗——一种和天人差不多的好战斗的神，或为畜生，或为鬼，或堕地狱。一切众生永远升沉于天、人、阿修罗、地狱、鬼、畜生六道中，犹如车轮没有始终地转着，所以叫做轮回）、“四大和合”（地、水、火、风四元素）等等，并接受了关于天文地理的某些传统说法。

对婆罗门教的神祇，佛教也没有否定他们的存在，只是贬抑他们的地位，当作一种众生看待，认为他们也不免轮回生死之苦，如对于梵天，认为只是天界中的天人，将来也会堕地狱。关于这些，以后还可以谈。

2 THE ESSENCE OF THE BUDDHA DHAMMA AND THE BUDDHIST CANONICAL LITERATURE

[1]Q: What are the essentials of the Buddha Dhamma?

A: As was mentioned before, the purpose of Sākyamuni's renouncing the world was to strive for a way of deliverance from the sufferings of birth, old age, illness and death. Many contemporaneous religious schools in India also strove for the ideal of final deliverance. Simply put, the essentials of Buddhist doctrines may be summarized as the Four Noble Truths (Cattāri-ariya-saccāni): the Suffering of All Existence (Dukkha-sacca), the Cause of Suffering (Samudaya-sacca), the Extinction of Suffering (Nirodha-sacca) and the Path Leading to the Cessation of Suffering (Magga-sacca). In fact, all the numerous and voluminous Buddhist texts do not go beyond the Four Noble Truths. However, the fundamental principle on which the Four Noble Truths are based is the Theory of Dependent Origination (Paṭiccasamuppāda). All Buddhist doctrines flow from this fountainhead—the Theory of Dependent Origination.

[2]Q: What is the meaning of Dependent Origination?

A: Dependent Origination means that all dhammas arise through causes or conditions (hetu or paccaya). In brief, all things or phenomena arise out of mutually dependent relationship and conditions. Nothing exists without interdependent relationship and condition. Hetu and paccaya, generally speaking, are cause and condition. The Buddha defined "Dependent Origination" as follows:

> When this exists, that exists.
>
> Because this arises, that arises.

When this does not exist, that does not exist.

When this ceases, that ceases too.

These four sentences express the coexistent relationship, both simultaneous and non-simultaneous (sequential).

[3]Q: What is a simultaneously interdependent relationship?

A: Let me illustrate this with a plain example, the relationship between teacher and student: If there are teachers, there must be students, and if there are students, there must be teachers; without teachers, there are no students, and without students, there are no teachers. This is a simultaneously interdependent relationship.

[4]Q: What is a non-simultaneously interdependent relationship?

A: Take, for example, the relationship between seed and sprout: With the previous existence of seeds, sprouts can come into existence as a consequence; likewise, the coming into existence of the sprouts depends on the previous state known as seeds. This is a non-simultaneously interdependent relationship. From another perspective, the cessation of the state of being seeds coincides with the coming into being of the sprouts. Here the phenomena of the birth of the sprout and the extinction of the seed also form a simultaneously interdependent relationship. In conclusion, all phenomena (dhammas) exist necessarily in certain interdependent relations, whether simultaneous or non-simultaneous. Nothing can be said to exist in the absolute or of itself.

[5]Q: Is a non-simultaneous interdependent relationship identical to causality?

A: According to Buddhist doctrine, all interdependent relations are causality. In the case of non-simultaneous interdependent relationship, the seed is the cause, and the shoot the effect. This is non-simultaneous causality. In the case of simultaneously interdependent relationship, if the teacher is the subject, then the teacher is the cause and the student the effect; if the student is the subject, then the student is the cause and the teacher the effect; this is simultaneous causality. Of course, these are simple examples. In fact, causality is extremely complicated. From one point of view, a certain cause produces a certain effect, while from another angle,

the very same cause may lead to a different effect. For instance, A may be B's teacher in terms of teacher-student relationship; at the same time, he may be C's father in terms of father-son relationship; then he may be D's husband in terms of husband-wife relationship. So if A is taken as the cause, then B, C, D and all others are the effects. From this, we see one cause with a multitude of effects. If all the others are causes, then A is the effect. From this we see a multitude of causes with one effect. In reality, there is no absolute cause, nor absolute effect. The universe is thus a boundless net knitted by uncountable sequential causalities in terms of time, and mutually dependent relations in terms of space.

[6]Q: It is said that on the Pagoda (Sarīrika-thūpa) of the Buddha's Tooth Relic in the Western Hills of Beijing, Buddhist texts pertaining to the doctrine of causality were inscribed on the bricks and water-dish crest. Is this true?

A: Yes, that thūpa was first built in the Liao Dynasty. On its walls are carved the Gāthā (verse or ode) of Dependent Origination which reads: "All dhammas proceed from causes and conditions (Hetu-paccaya), they will cease with the cessation of their conditions, my teacher, the Great Samaṇa, thus teaches frequently." On its water-dish crest (kalasa) was the Sanskrit version of this Gāthā inscribed:

Ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā

hutuṃ teṣaṃ Tathāgato hy avadat,

teṣaṃ ca yo nirodho

evaṃ vādī mahā-śramaṇaḥ.

In fact, this Gāthā was generally inscribed not only on this pagoda, but on all ancient Buddhist pagodas, as a tribute to the Sarīra. Thus this Gāthā is called the Dhammakāya Sarīra Gāthā, since the Buddha said: "Those who see Dependent Origination, see the Dhamma; those who see the Dhamma, see the Buddha." Hence the importance of the doctrine of Dependent Origination (Paṭiccasamuppāda) in Buddhism. In recent years, when an ancient thūpa was renovated in Myanmar, the Pāli version of this Gāthā was also found inscribed on bricks:

Ye dhammā hetu-ppabhavā

tesaṃ hetuṃ Tathāgato āha,

tesaṃ ca yo nirodho

evaṃ vādī mahāsamaṇo.

[7]Q: Who was the author of the Gāthā of Dependent Origination?

A: It was uttered by the Buddha's disciple Assaji. (Assaji, meaning "Victory of Horse", was one of the first five Bhikkhus.) One day, when Bhikkhu Assaji was begging with his alms-bowl, he ran into Sāriputta, the great Brahmanic scholar. The latter was attracted by his venerable countenance which was out of the common run, so he inquired of Assaji who was his teacher and what doctrine he was professing. Thereupon, Bhikkhu Assaji uttered this Gāthā. Sāriputta was delighted to hear this and went to tell Moggallāna on his return. Then both of them became followers of the Buddha. There are several Chinese translations of this Gāthā. "My teacher, the great Samaṇa" refers to Sākyamuni. In general, Samaṇa may be simply rendered as ascetics (or mendicant friars) who renounced the family life. At that time, all ascetics regardless of religious sects (except in Brahmanism) were called samaṇas.

[8]Q: Was the Theory of Dependent Origination (Paṭiccasamuppāda) confined to Buddhism and exclusive of other religions at that time?

A: Yes. Buddhist scriptures elaborate eleven implications of Dependent Origination. They say that all things come into being

(1) without a creator,

(2) from causes,

(3) free from sentient beings,

(4) dependent upon other conditions,

(5) without an actor,

(6) with the nature of impermanence,

(7) extinguishing in every instant (khaṇa),

(8) with causes and effects continuously connected without interruption,

(9) with various causes and effects falling into different types,

(10) with cause and effect leading into each other in harmony and in compliance with each other, and

(11) with cause and effect functioning in order without confusion.

All these are different from the doctrines of other religions.

[9]Q: Would you please explain briefly the eleven implications?

A: The eleven meanings may be summed up into four cardinal points:

(1) There is no god-creator,

(2) There is no ego,

(3) Everything is impermanent,

(4) Causes and effects proceed continuously.

[10]Q: What does "no god-creator" mean?

A: It means to deny that there is a lord of creation who created the entire universe. This is the first of the eleven doctrines above. If it is accepted that "All dhammas arise from hetu-paccaya", it would be inconsistent to recognize the existence of a separate creator. Every cause (hetu) is generated by other causes, and every condition (paccaya) is generated by other conditions. Each cause has its own preceding cause, and each condition has its own conditions. Viewed vertically, there is neither beginning nor end, and viewed horizontally, there is neither boundary nor limit. Thus one comes to the conclusion that there is no absolute cause. Believers of the theory of Dependent Origination (Paṭiccasamuppāda) should deny not only the personified creator who gave birth to Brahmins from its mouth, but also the existence of any rationally conceived creator of the cosmos. On the other hand, though believers of Paṭiccasamuppāda deny the existence of any absolute initial cause, they also oppose the point of view that everything is fortuitous. They maintain that no phenomenon emerges without cause, it is subject to inevitable laws—the laws of causation. This is what is meant by

"Everything arises from causes".

[11]Q: From what you have said, Buddhism seems to be atheist, but why are there so many gods enshrined in Buddhist temples?

A: As I have said earlier, Buddhism does not deny the deities of Brahmanism, but regards them as some kinds of sentient beings. Some deities were afterwards adopted into Buddhism as guardians of Dhamma. On the other hand, we must acknowledge the fact that the Buddha was deified later. However, according to Buddhist doctrine, the Buddha is not a creator, nor can he decide weal or woe, joy or suffering of human beings, though he has superhuman wisdom and ability. The Buddha is also subject to the law of causality.

[12]Q: What is meant by "there is no ego", or "egolessness" (anattā)?

A: "Free from sentient beings", "dependent upon other conditions" and "without an actor", all elaborate the theory of Egolessness. "Sentient being" is "Satta" in Pāli, which includes human beings and all other sentient creatures. Brahmanism and other schools maintain that every satta possesses an immortal and determinant Ego or soul (atta). The theory of Dependent Origination holds that sattas are nothing but the aggregation of various material and spiritual elements. As far as the constitution of body is concerned, satta is composed of the Six Great Elements (cha dhātuyo), namely: earth (pathavī), water (āpo), fire or heat (tejo), air (vāyo), space (ākāsa) and consciousness (viññāṇa). The first five elements are responsible for the mechanism and functions of the body—with earth as bones and flesh, water as blood, heat as warmth, air as breath, space as all sorts of body cavities. With the last element, consciousness, various mental activities become manifest. If we look at psychological constituents, satta are composed of five aggregates (khandhas), that is, corporeality (rūpa), feeling or sensation (vedanā), perception (saññā), mental formations (saṅkhāra) and consciousness (viññāṇa). The word "Khandha" means heap or group. All phenomena are classified into different groups, which are named khandhas. In brief, rūpa refers to all parts of corporeality, which includes the Five Roots (Pañc' indriyāni) or five physical sense organs of human beings, namely, eye, ear, nose, tongue and body; and the five objective sources of sensation (Pañcāyatana)—Visible objects, sound, odor, taste and tangible

objects. The remaining four khandhas—Vedanā, Saññā, Saṅkhāra and Viññāṇa constitute important spiritual factors. Vedanā is feeling or sensation (feeling sad, happy, or neither; P. dukkha, sukha, or adukkha-m-asukha). Saññā means perception (to perceive the appearance of things, e.g. blue, yellow, red or white; long or short; square or round; suffering or happy). Saṅkhāra means mental formations (it is so called because it is seen as the driving force of physical and mental activities). Viññāṇa means the ability of judgment and inference. According to the analysis above, Buddhism holds that satta is not a fixed single (independent) entity, but a composition of various factors which arise and cease with their hetu-paccaya every instant (khaṇa). Hence there is nowhere an independent and permanent "Satta" or Ego, dominating body and mind. This is a simple explanation of Egolessness.

[13]Q: Excuse me, another question here. According to your explanation, is the Buddhist notion of the constitution of satta a form of dualism?

A: On the whole, Buddhism divides the constituents of satta into two categories, spiritual and material. Combination of the two brings about satta, which, in Buddhist terminology, is called "Nāmarūpa" (name and form). Nāma refers to the mental factors, i.e. vedanā, saññā, saṅkhāra and viññāṇa of the five khandhas, or in other words, the viññāṇa dhātu (mind) of the six Mahā-bhūta (great elements). Rūpa refers to the material factors consisting of earth, water, fire, wind and space, all of which can not arise independently, but must change and integrate with each other. In brief, nāmarūpa is the combination of body and mind. From this respect, some regard it as dualism, some as parallelism (i.e. spiritual-physical parallelism). While some others say nāmarūpa is neither dualism nor parallelism since Buddhism maintains that all spiritual and material elements can not exist as independently. Thus, how this matter should be viewed remains to be studied. What is evident is that it is by no means materialism.

[14]Q: What is the meaning of "no actor"?

A: "No actor" means that there is nothing coming and going between a cause (hetu) and its effect (phala). Believers of the theory of Dependent Origination hold that cause gives rise to effect but deny that cause turns into effect. Take, for example, the passing of light or fire from one

lantern to another. The flame of lantern B is engendered by that of lantern A. It is not that, the flame of A transferred to B. Thus, though Buddhism holds to the doctrine of reincarnation within the six-fold path (saṃsāra), Buddhism denies that there is a soul moving or transferring from one animate being to the seed of another. This idea is an extension of the principle of Anattā (egolessness) and will be elaborated later.

[15]Q: What is "Impermanence" (Anicca)?

A: All phenomena in the universe exist in mutually dependent interrelationships, so that when this arises, that arises; when this ceases, that ceases. There is no permanent existence at all. Therefore, all phenomena are impermanent in nature, arising and ceasing from instant (khaṇa) to instant. This is what is meant by the "nature of impermanence" and "extinction in every Khaṇa" mentioned in the eleven implications of Paṭiccasamppāda, and also meant by the canonical saying: "Impermanent are all component things; subject are they to birth, and then decay." ("Aniccā vata saṅkhāra, Uppādavaya dhammino"). "All Saṅkhāra" denotes all things or phenomena. The word "Saṅkhāra" means flux and change. Since all phenomena are in fluid and changing, they are named "Saṅkhāra". The term itself implies the meaning of impermanence. The words "birth" and "cessation" actually cover three meanings: origination, destruction and cessation, or four meanings: origination or arising (uppāda or jāti), maintenance or existence (ṭhitika), destruction or decay (jarā or aññathatta) and cessation (nirodha). Each of the four denotes a characteristic or a state of a phenomenon: the birth of a phenomenon is called origination, the moment when it exists and functions is called maintenance, the moment when it functions but begins to decay is called destruction and the perishing of a phenomenon is called cessation. A khaṇa is a very short moment. According to the description in Buddhist texts, the flicking of a finger spans 60 khaṇas. "Extinguishing in every khaṇa" means that origination, maintenance, destruction and cessation are all completed within one khaṇa. Some people ask "why do we speak of 'instantaneously arising and ceasing' when the life-span of a person is usually about a few decades?" The Buddhist answer is that a human being's life from birth to death is a process consisting of a succession of khaṇas. A human life-span, on the whole, also goes through origination, existence, decay and extinction, i.e.

birth, ageing, sickness and death; but each constituent part consists of continuous arising, existence, destruction and cessation, khaṇa by khaṇa. Buddhist scriptures hold that the human body is completely renewed every 12 years. An entity's arising, existing, decay and ceasing or a world's origination, maintenance, destruction and cessation actually consist of instantaneous originations and cessations. Buddhist theory holds that all phenomena, without exception, originate and cease in every Khaṇa, and that any admission of permanent or unchanging entity, which is called the eternity belief (sassata diṭṭhi), is wrong.

[16]Q: Then may I ask this question: Is Buddhism itself also subject to the law of "impermanence"?

A: Yes. According to the Buddha, the Buddha Dhamma covers three successive periods: First, the Period of True Dhamma (Saddhamma), i.e. the period of arising and flourishing of Buddhism; Second, the Period of Image Dhamma (Saddhamma-paṭirūpaka), i.e. the evolution period, in which the Buddha's images began to appear; Third, the Period of Termination (Saddhamma-vippalujjati) or the period of decay. The Buddha even discussed the circumstances of Dhamma extinguishing in future. "All dhammas are impermanent", Buddhism itself is no exception.

[17]Q: What is meant by "cause and effect continuously connected without interruption"?

A: All dhammas are produced by Hetu-paccaya. Though impermanent, constantly arising and ceasing, they are continuously connected without interruption, just like flowing water. The preceding one, passing away, is followed by the succeeding one, causes producing effects in continuous series without interruption. This is looking at dhammas in a vertical sense in time. Horizontally, there are infinite differences among the varied types of causes and effects. Despite the complicated relationships between various types of causalities, they are bound by orderly rules without the least confusion. Each category of causes produces effects of the same type. For instance, a good cause leads to a good effect. Causes give rise to concordant effects, and effects correspond to causes. One type of cause can not give rise to another type of effect. For instance, if one sows melon seeds, one reaps the fruit of melons, and not beans. Buddhism believes that the law of causality is determined and

unalterable even by the Buddhas of the successive epochs (past, present and future). This is the simple explanation of "causes and effects continuously connected without interruption", "various causes and effects falling into different categories", "cause and effect transferring in harmony and in compliance with each other" and "cause and effect functioning in order without confusion". Again, Buddhism also opposes the view that after its cessation, a phenomenon can not arise again, and terms this "the Annihilation-view" (Uccheda-diṭṭhi). As to Buddhist analyses of cause, condition and effect, there are theories such as Six Causes, Four Conditions and Five Effects, which I shall not discuss in detail here.

[18]Q: Regarding the Theory of Dependent Origination mentioned above, is there any sutta or treatises available for further study?

A: There are many suttas and abhidhamma texts which discuss the Theory of Dependent Origination. For example, the fore-mentioned Eleven Meanings of Paṭiccasamuppāda were quoted from *Fenbie Yuanqi Chusheng Famen Jing*", which is worth reading. Also, relevant parts of *Abhidharmakośa-śāstra* (Abhidharma Storehouse Treatise), which is translated into Chinese by Xuanzang, and the *Mahāprajñāpāramita-śāstra* (Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom) translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva, are also instructive.

[19]Q: After your explanation of the Eleven Meanings of Dependent Origination, based upon the four cardinal points of "no creator, egolessness, impermanence and succession of cause and effect", a basic understanding of the theory of Dependent Origination is achieved. Can this be said to be the Buddhist interpretation of universal existence or the Buddhist cosmology?

A: The four cardinal points are virtually summed up in two points —"Impermanence" and "Egolessness". "Impermanence" means the continuity of arising and ceasing, which includes the notion of "arising and ceasing from instant to instant", as well as "continuity of cause and effect". "Egolessness" means no dominating power either inside oneself or of the universe. So the meaning of "no creator" is virtually included in the concept of "Egolessness". "All phenomena are impermanent, all dhammas are devoid of self" (sabbe saṅkhārā aniccā, sabbe dhammā

anattā) sum up the Buddhist interpretation of universal existence. It can also be called the general law of all dhammas. That is the reason why the doctrines of "Impermanence" and "Egolessness" are referred to as the Seals of Dhamma (Dhamma-lakkhaṇa).

[20]Q: What is the meaning of Dhamma-lakkhaṇa?

A: Lakkhaṇa means mark or seal. An imperial seal certifies the authenticity of documents, allowing for passage without hindrance. Here, it is used in analogy for the principal doctrines of Buddhism. If any doctrine is in line with the "Seals of Dhamma", it can be regarded as authentic teaching of the Buddha. (If it has been mastered, all Dhammas will be grasped without obstruction.) That is why they are called the "Seals of Dhamma". If, after "All phenomena are impermanent, all dhammas are devoid of self", we add "Nibbāna is serene", we have what are called the Three Seals of the Dhamma. With the addition of "All defiled (sāsava) dhammas lead to suffering", we have the Four Seals of Dhamma.

[21]Q: Could you please explain the meaning of "All sāsava dhammas lead to suffering"?

A: Āsava means distress or mental affliction (kilesa). The Buddhist belief is that, because ordinary beings do not understand the truth that all dhammas arise and cease conditionally, with the nature of impermanence and egolessness, they greedily cling to things which are impermanent, and persistently seek for "me" or "mine", in spite of the dhammas of egolessness. This is called illusion, which leads to mental affliction (kilesa), so it is also named mental affliction (kilesa). There are many kinds of afflictions, such as lust or greed (rāga), anger or hate (dosa), and delusion (moha or avijjā, ignorance of the truth of Impermanence and Egolessness). These three are regarded as the three poisons. Together with arrogance (māna), skepticism or doubt (vicikicchā), and wrong views (micchā-diṭṭhi, such as the belief in permanence or sassata-diṭṭhi, the belief in discontinuity or uccheda-diṭṭhi), they make up the six fundamental afflictions (kilesa). Kilesas give rise to various kammas. Kamma denotes actions of the body (kāya-kamma), speech (Vacī-kamma) and mind (mano-kamma). Kilesa and kamma lead to future rebirth of the body and mind (nāma-rūpa) either as a deity, or a human being, or a being in hell, or a ghost or an animal. There, again, afflictions

arise, kammas are recreated, and body and mind are regenerated. This cycle of life and death (saṃsāra) is endless, and constitutes suffering. In terms of human life, there are, it is generally believed, eight kinds of sufferings (duhkha)—sufferings of birth (the pain suffered in the womb as well as during birth), old age, illness, death, separation from loved ones, association with hated ones, inability to obtain what one desires, and clinging to the five aggregates (Khandhas). (Clinging to the five khandhas is affliction which gives rise to corporeal things, feeling, perception, mental formation and consciousness, the five aggregates in turn give rise to kilesa, and thus are called grasping khandhas. The five khandhas are in the instantly changing fluid which is filled with the sufferings of birth, old age, illness and death. So the five khandhas are suffering.) In sum, as the Buddha says that there is infinite suffering in the world, which is neither self-generated, nor dispensed by some god-creator, nor does it arise by chance. The suffering arises out of causes and conditions. As was stated above, kilesas give rise to kammas, kammas give rise to sufferings of birth and death. This is the Buddhist explanation of the Dependent Origination of suffering. For a comprehensive analysis, there are "Twelve Links of Dependent Origination".

[22]Q: Please give a brief account of the "Twelve Links of Dependent Origination".

A: The Buddhist theory of Dependent Origination is centered around the problem of human life. There are, it is generally believed, ten or twelve Links of Dependent Origination. The twelve Links are: Ignorance (Avijjā), Mental Formation (Saṅkhāra), Consciousness (Viññāṇa), Name and Form (or corporeality and mentality, Nāma-rūpa), Six Sense Organs (Saḷāyatana), Contact between sense organs and sense objects (Phassa), Sensations (Vedanā), Desire (Taṇhā), Clinging (Upādāna), Coming into Existence (Bhava), Birth (Jāti), and Old Age and Death (Jarā-maraṇa). Let me explain them briefly:

(1) Old Age and Death: This is the starting point from which to observe an individual's life. Old age, death, worrying, and sorrow are inevitable in a person's life. What is the origin of aging, death, sorrow and worrying? It is (2) Birth (Jāti). If a person is not born there are no old age and death,

nor sorrow and worrying. Though the conditions for birth are numerous, the most important one is (3) Process of coming into existence (Bhava, meaning existence). In brief, bhava is a kind of latent force created by the wholesome and unwholesome kammas of one's body, speech and mind which determines one's future. Given the force of kamma, birth and death are the inevitable outcome. What is the condition for Bhava's arising? It is (4) Grasping or Clinging (Upādāna). Upādāna means craving and clinging, craving for visible objects, for sounds, odors, tastes, and tangible objects, clinging to the possession of lovely things. This is grasping. Because of this self-centered grasping and clinging, activities of body, speech and mind are produced. Grasping arises from (5) Desire (Taṇhā). Taṇhā can be simply explained as the desire for existence or survival. It is the driving force of the activities of life. It is this desire for life that leads to grasping and clinging, which bring about the activities of body, speech and mind, which form the force of kamma that results in birth and death. Therefore, Taṇhā, Upādāna and Bhava together are said to be the causes of birth and death. The above explains the cause-and-effect relationship between illusion, kamma and suffering. In order to further investigate the origin of the desire for life, it is necessary to explain the relationship between (6) Sensation (Vedanā), (7) Contact (Phassa) and (8) Six Sense Organs (Saḷāyatana). Sensation refers to the feelings associated with the objective existence which can be classified into three groups: pleasant (sukha vedanā), unpleasant (dukkha vedanā) and neither pleasant nor unpleasant (upekkhā vedanā). When pleasant and unpleasant sensations are experienced, the desire for existence is stimulated and given impetus. Sensation is the response to the stimuli of the outside world. Thus it depends on contact (phassa) between the sense organs and sense objects. Contact is thus the starting point of the mental coordination of sense organs, sense objects and consciousness. Take, for example, the eye (eye-indriya) contact with the red color (object). When the red color stimulates the eye, the eye-consciousness, which is in charge of vision, comes into play. With the interaction of organ, object and consciousness, contact with (reaction to) red color occurs. In this way, contact depends upon the six sense organs (Saḷāyatana). The six sense organs are eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind, which have the functions of perceiving the six sense objects, namely, visible objects, sound, odor, taste, tangible objects and dhamma (Dhamma here refers to

the impression left from the first five elements, or the object of the mental organ).

Furthermore, when investigation is made concerning the origin of the six sense organs, we come to (9) Name and Form (Nāma-rūpa). The meaning of nāma-rūpa, as mentioned above, is the composition of body and mind (or the five aggregates). The existence of the six sense organs is dependent upon the whole body and mind, or in other words, nāma-rūpa is the basis of the six organs. What condition does nāma-rūpa depend upon? It depends upon (10) Consciousness (Viññāṇa). Consciousness is a part of nāma-rūpa. But when the nāma-rūpa is taken as the object of comprehension, consciousness becomes the kernel of the nāma-rūpa. Consciousness has the functions of recognition and judgment with relation to the objects, which thus make the objects more distinctive, and enhance the abilities of the organs, so that the sensations, perceptions and speculation are governed. Therefore, the unity of body and mind depends upon consciousness, consciousness in turn depends on body and mind. Consciousness can not stand alone without the functioning nāma-rūpa because its occurrence is based on the stimuli of the objects to the sense organs and the help of sensations, perceptions and speculations. In conclusion, nāma-rūpa and viññāṇa have a relation of mutual dependence.

The foregoing discussion was of the ten links of Dependent Origination. With regard to the present activities of human beings, the ten links of Dependent Origination would be quite comprehensive. However, to explain the endless cycles of birth and death, two more links, Mental formation (Saṅkhāra) and Ignorance (Avijjā) must be added. Together with the above ten, they constitute the twelve Links of Dependent Origination.

(11) Mental formation (Saṅkhāra) has the same meaning as (3) Existence (Bhava). When considering the Kamma created by body, speech and mind in the present, it has a potential power to lead to the future fruit that is known as "Bhava" ("coming into existence"). Whereas, when considering the ripe fruit (result) of today, what was formed by past kamma (or actions) is known as "Saṅkhāra" ("formation"). Consciousness and the name and form are the ripe fruits of today,

depending upon the past formations. Owing to the cycles of past "formations" with its beginning unknown, habit becomes second nature. Just as there is a latent power governing human beings' actions, so the phenomena of birth and death, suffering and worrying occur endlessly. Saṅkhāra in turn depends on (12) Ignorance (Avijjā). Ignorance refers to being unable to see things as they actually are, or unable to see the reality of impermanent and selfless dhammas which arise when the conditions arise and cease when the conditions cease. An ignorant person especially does not understand the fact that one's own body and mind are merely formed by causes and conditions, while he holds the idea that there is an eternal, unique and dominant self. Because of the affirmation of "self" (atta-abhinivesa), he feels the sensations of pleasant, unpleasant and neutral, and thus has the afflictions of greed, hatred and ignorance, which result in various wholesome and unwholesome kammas. Therefore, the root cause of the sufferings of birth and death of human beings lies in Ignorance (Avijjā).

To sum up, the twelve Links of Dependent Origination are no more than the relationships between illusion, kamma and suffering. Ignorance and mental formations are the result of the illusions and kammas from the endless past, which have incurred the present bitter fruits of consciousness, name and form, six sense organs, contact, and sensation. Desire, grasping and becoming existence are the present illusions and kammas, which will lead to the future bitter fruits of birth, aging and death. All these mentioned above are implied in the sentence "All āsavas are suffering", which also covers "the Truth of Suffering" (Dukkha-sacca) and "the Truth of the origin of Suffering" (Samudaya-sacca)—two of the four "Noble Truths" (Ariya-sacca).

[23]Q: Could you now please explain the meaning of "Nibbāna is serene"?

A: "Nibbāna is serene" is the opposite to "All āsavas are suffering". The term Nibbāna means no flux or no-defilement (anāsava), which is the elimination of the cause and effect of suffering, and the cessation of the Twelve Links of Dependent Origination. The basis of the Twelve Links is the principle of "When this exists, that exists. Because this comes into being, that comes into being." The cessation of the twelve links follows from the principle. "If this does not exist, that does not exist, if this

ceases, that ceases." Sufferings of old age, death, worrying, and sorrow are dependent upon the condition of birth (jāti), so the cessation of birth can result in the cessation of the sufferings of old age, death, worrying and sorrow. Likewise, the cessation of desire, grasping and becoming existence results in the cessation of old age and death. And so, ultimately, the cessation of ignorance results in the cessation of mental formations or the cause of all bitter fruits. When the cessation of ignorance, mental formations, consciousness and so on finally result in the cessation of old age and death, then Nibbāna has been attained. To be more explicit, as soon as the complete cessation of impure and defiled causes and conditions has been completed, ignorance will be turned into undefiled and pure wisdom (suddha-ñāna), through which the truth and reality of all dhammas can be seen. This is Nibbāna, which is also called Nibbāna with corporal remainder (Sopadhi-sesa-nibbāna). The meaning of Nibbāna is perfect peace or tranquility, or an eternally happy and joyous state in which wisdom, happiness and virtue are perfectly achieved. Buddhists view this state as attainable only by holy ones, and thus can not be judged by experienced conceptions like existence, non-existence, coming and going. It is an inconceivable state of emancipation. As I mentioned above, Nibbāna can be interpreted as passing away. Actually, Sākyamuni attained Nibbāna and became a Buddha at the age of 30, yet his corporal body remained as the residual fruit of his former illusion and kamma. This is Nibbāna with remainder. It was not until his death at the age of 80, that he entered Nibbāna without remainder (Nirupadhi-sesa-nibbāna).

[24]Q: How can the realm of Nibbāna be reached?

A: The Nibbāna discussed above is the Truth of the Extinction of Suffering (Nirodha-sacca). Your question on how to reach the realm of Nibbāna falls under the category of the Truth of the Path Leading to the Extinction of Suffering (Magga-sacca). Magga-sacca takes Nibbāna as its goal, the elimination of the basic distresses of birth and death as its objective and uses as its method the Threefold Learning (Ti-sikkhā), which consists of morality or moral precepts (Sīla), concentration (Samādhi) and wisdom (Paññā).

(1) Morality aims at preventing faults in the three kammas of body, speech

and mind. There are three levels of moral precepts to follow: the five precepts, the ten precepts and the complete precepts for the higher ordained (upasampadā). The five precepts are followed by both lay believers and monastic disciples, that is, abstinence from taking life, from stealing, from illicit sexual conduct, from false speech and from intoxicants. The ten precepts are followed by novices (sāmaṇeras) who have just renounced lay life. (Novices are usually under the age of 20 and will get higher ordination to become monks or nuns at the age of 20.) The complete precepts are followed by monks and nuns (bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs). At the beginning of the establishment of the Saṅgha Order, there were no fixed rules set for the whole Order. Afterwards, precepts were laid whenever problems arose. By the time of the Buddha's Parinibbāna, there were more than 200 rules. The Bhikkhu precepts now number 227 in Theravadin countries, 253 in Tibet and 250 in Han-inhabited regions of China. They are mostly the same, with slight differences in grouping of certain items. There are 348 rules for bhikkhunīs in the Han regions.

(2) Meditation or concentration (Samādhi) is a peaceful and tranquil state of mind neither drowsy nor perturbed. It is a necessary practice for general religious practitioners in India, especially for Buddhists in their cultivation. With concentration, the practitioner can distance himself from coarse distinctions of rapture and joy in the body and mind, depart from sense desire (kāma), and gradually develop ease and peace of body and mind, and finally place mind or thought in any chosen state, tranquil, stable and undisturbed. Such meditation can lead to the acquisition of a pure and correct wisdom. Regarding meditation, there are four stages of trance (cattāri jhānāni) and four higher stages of non-material trance (cattāro arūpa-samādhi) within this world; and there are nine stages of meditation (nava anupubbavihāra samāpattiyo) and three kinds of meditation (tayo samādhī) beyond this world. Through meditation or concentration, wisdom can be acquired.

(3) Wisdom enables one to distinguish the self-nature (sabhāva) of all dhammas from their common characteristics (samañña), to fully understand the theory of the Four Noble Truths, and thus has the function of dispelling illusions (pahīna-kilesa) and attaining truth (adhigama).

The Threefold Learning of morality, concentration and wisdom are emphasized in the practice of the thirty-seven ways to enlightenment (Bodhipakkhiya-dhamma), which are the four Foundations of Mindfulness (satipaṭṭhāna), the four Right Efforts (padhāna), the four Roads to Power (iddhi-pāda), the five Spiritual Faculties (indriya), the five Mental Powers (bala), the seven Factors of Enlightenment (bojjhanga) and the eight-fold Path (magga). I will not discuss each in detail here, but I will say something about the eight-fold Path:

(1) Right View (sammā-diṭṭhi) is to see manifest in every dhamma the theories of Impermanence, Egolessness, Dependent Origination and the Four Noble Truths and make them as one's own knowledge;

(2) Right Thought (sammā sankappa);

(3) Right Speech (sammā vācā);

(4) Right Bodily Action (sammā kammanta) means to be guided by the right view in daily life and behavior, so the body, speech and mind are in a conformity with the law of Dhamma;

(5) Right Livelihood (sammā ājiva) means to make one's living in proper ways and oppose the vicious life of supporting oneself by swindling and defrauding others of their properties;

(6) Right Effort (sammā vāyāma) is to strive after the goal shown by the right view without let-up in actions of body, mouth and mind;

(7) Right Mindfulness (sammā sati) is to always keep the Right View in mind, bring it to mind frequently and never forget it;

(8) Right Concentration (sammā samādhi) is to practice under the guidance of the Right View, to enter the state of pure and undefiled meditation.

[25]Q: According to the Four Noble Truths described above, it seems that Buddhism has no positive ideal and takes no positive measures towards the world, can we say Buddhism is a world-weary philosophy?

A: Concerning the attitude of Buddhism towards the tainted world, one can say that Buddhism is world-weary. But still, Buddhism, which originated

from dissatisfaction with the temporal life, cherishes a kind of ideal for the human world. It is recorded in the *Ekottarikāgama* that when talking about the social life under the rule of the wheel-turning King (Rāja cakkavattin), the Buddha says that, at that time, the land will be level and bright as a mirror, the crops abundant; trees hanging with sweet and delicious fruits will grow everywhere; the weather will be fine and seasons favorable; the people, healthy and happy without much sickness and worry, will be rich and satisfied, having abundant food to eat; when they go to relieve their bowels, the ground will open automatically and close afterwards; gold, silver and treasures scattering everywhere like tiles and stones; people, old and young, will be on an equal footing and hold the same opinions; they will greet each other cheerfully and in kind words, speaking the same language without difference. From this passage, one can see a kind of ideal similar to that of the Great Harmony dreamed of by the Chinese people in ancient times. Efforts made to realize this ideal society are aimed at "glorifying the country and benefiting the sentient beings." Such an idea was particularly developed by Mahāyāna Buddhism. But due to the limitations of circumstances at the time, there was no political or social measure advanced by Buddhism.

[26]Q: What is Mahāyāna Buddhism?

A: Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna are the two major sects of Buddhism.

[27]Q: What are the differences between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna?

A: The major difference is that Mahāyāna stresses altruism (conduct for benefit of others), whereas Hīnayāna stresses salvation for oneself. Mahāyāna has scriptures different from those of Hīnayāna, and has augmented and developed Buddhist doctrines as well. Here are a few points:

Firstly, in the Truth of Extinction of Suffering, Mahāyāna further maintains the possibility of "active nibbāna" (apratiṣṭhita-nirvāṇa). According to this theory, with the extinction of the Twelve Links of Origination, it is not the dhammas arising and ceasing based on causes and conditions that cease, but only the ignorance and moral afflictions not in conformity with Dependent Origination that are eliminated. Since "between nibbāna and the temporal world, there is little difference", upon

reaching the realm of the Buddha's perfect enlightenment, one can live beyond the cycles of birth and death and never enter extinction, so one can always work ceaselessly for the cause of "glorifying the country and benefiting the sentient beings" in the conditional world, while abiding peacefully in the nibbāna state anywhere at any time.

Secondly, the Theory of Dependent Origination expounds the theory that one dhamma arises with all other dhammas as its conditions, and in reverse, is itself a cause for others. Thus a single person stands in relationship of homogeneity with other beings, just like the homogeneous relationship between one drop of water and the ocean. Hence the saying "All beings are my parents", and "regard all beings as one's only son". This produces a heart of great loving-kindness (mettā) and compassion (karuṇā). Mettā means identifying oneself with all others' joy and happiness, and Karuṇā means sympathy with others' grief and sorrow. With such a heart, one should indefatigably serve all beings. Mahāyāna Buddhism especially advocates this "pusa" (Bodhisatta) outlook of life, and particularly encourages the conduct of "Six Perfections" (Pāramitā) and "Four all-embracing virtues" (cattāri saṃgaha-vatthūni).

[28]Q: What is "Pusa" (S. Bodhisattva, P. Bodhisatta)?

A: "Pusa" is short for "putisaduo", the Chinese transliteration of Bodhisatta. Briefly, any one who cherishes the lofty aspiration to deliver oneself and all beings from misery and sufferings, and attain ultimate happiness (salvation of oneself and of others), and to release oneself and all beings from ignorance into perfect enlightenment (self-enlightenment and enlightenment of others) is called in Chinese "Pusa", i.e. Bodhisatta.

[29]Q: What are the Six Perfections (Pāramitā)?

A: The Sanskrit (or Pāli) word "Pāramitā" literally means "gone to the other shore", that is to cross from this shore of moral affliction to the other shore of enlightenment. Six Pāramitā are six ways to the other shore. The first Pāramitā is Liberality or Charity (Dāna), which is of three kinds: (1) giving material things to others including worldly possessions, even one's own head, eyes, hands, feet and life, known as material Dāna; (2) giving protection to all beings and to free them from terror, called the free-from-fear givings (abhaya Dāna); (3) giving all beings the truth, is the

Dhamma Dāna. The second Pāramitā is morality or abiding by the precepts (Sīla), This also consists of three categories, (namely,) to avoid evils, to cultivate and accumulate wholesomeness and to benefit sentient beings. The most fundamental sīla for Boddhisattas is to benefit sentient beings, i.e. all being done is for the public interest, while the other precepts are subordinate to it. The third Pāramitā is Patience (Khanti), which means that in service of sentient beings one should be able to endure slander, abuse, attack, the sufferings of hunger and cold etc., "Do what is hard to do, bear what is hard to bear", and never give up the vow to save beings. The fourth Pāramitā, Effort or Energy (Viriya), is to make every effort and strive constantly for salvation not only for oneself but for all other beings and enlightenment not only for oneself but for all other beings. The fifth is Meditation or Contemplation (Samādhi). The sixth, Wisdom (Paññā), is to practice meditation and to gain knowledge for the sake of enlightening oneself and other beings.

[30]Q: What are the four All-embracing Virtues (cattāri saṃgaha-vatthūni)?

A: Saṃgaha-vatthu are the qualities that ensure public unity. The first is liberality or charity (Dāna). The second, kindly speech (Peyyavajja), is to speak kind words in a kind manner. The third, beneficial conduct (Atthacariyā), means to serve the public welfare. The fourth, equality (Samānattatā), is to live the same life as the ordinary people. These four are the means whereby Bodhisattas carry out their work among human beings.

[31]Q: In order to benefit the public welfare and to identify with others, is it necessary for a bodhisatta to acquire various kinds of worldly knowledge?

A: For the interest of human beings, it is necessary for a bodhisatta to study extensively and to be well informed. Buddhism requires bodhisatta aspirants to learn the Five Vidyā (S. Vidyā or P. vijja, meaning knowledge), these are:

(1) Śabda-vidyā, viz. phonology and philology;

(2) Śilpakarma-vidyā, viz. all technology, techniques, crafts, arithmetic, calendar, etc.;

(3) Cikitsā-vidyā, viz. medical science and pharmacology;

(4) Hetu-vidyā, viz. logic;

(5) Adhyātma-vidyā, viz. Buddhist studies.

The five vidyās must be mastered by scholars. "To be broadly erudite, and sincerely compassionate" is the requirement for bodhisattahood. Mahāyāna Buddhism particularly calls for learning whatever is difficult to learn, and all that should be learned.

[32]Q: Please tell us more of the features of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

A: Next, I will talk about the theory of the empty nature (suññatā) of all dhammas, which follows from the notion of Dependent Origination. It holds that all dhammas are simply the cooperation of relative causes and conditions. Therefore, there is no substance in them. In other words, all dhammas are nothing but the phenomena of cooperation of causes and conditions. Apart from phenomena there is no noumenon as their dominator. When I said previously that "There is no ego within all dhammas", I was speaking of the absence of "self" (atta) of human beings. And now I add the absence of self of all dhammas. The former is to deny self in human beings, and prove "non-substantiality in beings", while the latter is to deny the self in dhammas, and prove "non-substantiality in dhammas".

[33]Q: Somewhere in the Buddhist scriptures, it says "Rūpa (matter) is none other than suññatā (emptiness). Suññatā is none other than rūpa." What does this mean?

A: It just means that all dhammas are suññatā by nature according to Dependent Origination. "Rūpa", meaning matter or substance, is one of the five aggregates, namely, rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhāra and viññāṇa. Every material phenomenon is a product of the combination of causes and conditions. Though it has its own form and functions, it has no perpetual and unchangeable entity inside as its dominator. Hence it is empty. This emptiness does not refer to the empty space beyond matter (or the emptiness outside an object), nor does it refer to the emptiness after existence (or the emptiness after the extinction of an object). In other words, emptiness is not apart from matter, but "the object itself is

empty." Now since matter arises according to the law of Dependent Origination, it can't possess an unchangeable material existence in each material object. Hence "matter is no different from emptiness". And since dhammas have no material existence, it can arise upon the meeting of adequate conditions. Therefore, "emptiness is no different from matter". This is a simple interpretation of the phrase "Rūpa is none other than suññatā, and vice versa".

Likewise, spiritual phenomena such as vedanā, saññā, saṅkhāra and viññāna are also emptiness by nature, for they also arise from Dependent Origination. Emptiness, on the basis of Dependent Origination is the true nature (lakkhaṇa) of all that exists in the universe, i.e. the reality of all dhammas. In Mahāyāna Buddhism this reality is regarded as the impress or seal of truth. This doctrine is called the "One Seal of Dhamma". All Mahāyāna doctrines are corroborated with this "One Seal". The aforesaid Buddhist doctrines—"active nibbāna" (appaṇihita-vihāra-nibbāna) and Bodhisattas' "Six Perfections" (Pāramitā) and "Four all-embracing virtues"—are all on the basis of the theory of Emptiness by nature in terms of Dependent Origination.

[34]Q: What else can you tell us about Mahāyāna Buddhism?

A: I have mentioned some of the common features of the various sects of Mahāyāna Buddhism. There are still differences between them, since each sect has its own speciality. However, I will not go into the details here.

[35]Q: Were the Buddhist texts written by Sākyamuni himself?

A: No, they were recited and recorded by his disciples after the Buddha's death. In the year of the Buddha's Parinibbāna, his five hundred disciples headed by Ven. Mahākassapa held an assembly at Saptaparṇa Cave (P. Sattapaṇṇī-guhā) near Rājagaha to compile and edit the Buddha's teachings for posterity. At the assembly Ven. Ānanda recited the Suttas preached by the Buddha, Ven. Upāli recited the Vinaya established by the Buddha, and Ven. Mahākassapa recited, and later supplemented, the Abhidamma which is an exposition and study of the Buddhist creeds. The Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidamma comprise Tipiṭaka. The word Piṭaka originally meant basket for containing things. The compilation of Sutta,

Vinaya and Abhidamma into Tipiṭaka is something like the designation of Jing (classics), Shi (history), Zi (academic schools) and Ji (miscellany) as the "Four Treasures" in China. This Buddhist council was termed the First Saṃgīti. Saṃgīti is generally rendered as "Jieji" in Chinese, while its original meaning in Sanskrit or Pāli is "saṅgha meeting". The ancient Chinese translators used the word "Jieji" to mean "recital", which implies both the collection of Dhamma, and the assembly of people. The Tipiṭaka was not written down at that time, so it was passed on by oral recital.

[36]Q: Were there any more assemblies besides the first one?

A: Yes. At that time, besides the five hundred bhikkhus who gathered at Saptaparṇa Cave (P. Sattapaṇṇa guhā), there were a number of bhikkhus who did not join the Mahākassapa group. Some bhikkhus, headed by Vappa (one of the first five Bhikkhus), assembled at another place not far from the Cave. So the Rājagaha Saṃgīti is composed of two parts, one compiled inside the cave and the other outside the cave, the two compilations together forming the Hīnayāna Tipiṭaka. Tradition has it that the Mahāyāna Tripiṭaka was compiled at Cakkavāḷa-pabbata by Bodhisattas including Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, and Ānanda. Hīnayāna Buddhists, however, deny that the Mahāyāna scriptures are authentic Dhamma imparted by the Buddha.

[37]Q: What about the Sixth Buddhist Council (Saṃgīti) held in Myanmar a few years ago?

A: 110 years after the Buddha's death, there was a controversy over some of the Buddhist precepts among the monks in Vaiśāli. Thereupon Ven. Yasa Thero (elder priest) summoned 700 learned and virtuous elders and they determined that 10 of the issues involved were violations of the Vinaya. This council was known as the Second Saṃgīti.

According to the records of the Southern Buddhist canon, 235 years after the Buddha's death, in the Aśoka Era, many heretics infiltrated into the Buddhist Order and confused Buddhist doctrines. Thereupon, Ven. Moggaliputta Tissa, with the support of King Aśoka, convened a Buddhist council with 1,000 participants in Pāṭaliputta (now Patna, Capital of Bihar Pradesh, India) to recite the Tipiṭaka for the purpose of clearing out the heretical adulterations. This was known as the Third

Saṃgīti.

According to the Northern Buddhist records, around 400 years after the Buddha's death, at the time when King Kaniṣka of Kuṣāṇa ruled in west India, 500 bhikkhus under Ven. Vasumitta composed commentaries for the Tipiṭaka. These commentaries totaled some three hundred thousand gāthas, more than nine million words. One of these was the *Mahāvibhāsā*, a very important commentary work (aṭṭhakathā). This was generally known as the Fourth Saṃgīti.

About 80 years ago, King Mindon of Myanmar invited numerous bhikkhus to collate the Pāli Tipiṭaka and engrave the full texts and an account of the collations on stone tablets which are still kept in Mandalay today. This was called the Fifth Saṃgīti.

From 1954 to 1956, the federal government of Myanmar, in commemoration of the 2,500th anniversary of Sākyamuni's Parinibbāna, sponsored the Sixth Saṃgīti, and invited 2,500 bhikkhus from Myanmar, Cambodia, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, Laos, Nepal, Pakistan and Thailand to participate. They worked for two years and meticulously collated various editions from different countries as well as the collation of Pāli Tipiṭaka from King Mindon's Fifth Saṃgīti and finally they produced the most complete edition of Pāli Tipiṭaka in print. This is called the Sixth Saṃgīti.

[38]Q: What is Pāli?

A: Pāli is a language used in ancient India. To be more specific, it was a popular dialect in Magadha at the time of the Buddha. The Buddha was said to have preached his sermons in this language, so his disciples used this language to memorize and recite his teachings. Although it is no longer a living language now, Pāli has been preserved through the Buddhist scriptures. The word "Pāli" means "classics". The ancient Indians were in the habit of reciting and passing on canonical texts orally instead of in writing. According to *The History of the Island of Ceylon* (Dīpavaṃsa), Buddhist texts began to be written down during the 1st century BC in Ceylon. By the 5th century AD, Ven. Buddhaghośa, Tipiṭakācariya from Magadha, came to Ceylon and made a copy of the whole Pāli Tipiṭaka in the Sinhalese script. (According to another

account, when Buddhaghośa was in Ceylon, he translated a great many Sinhalese commentaries of Tipiṭaka to Pāli.) As the original Pāli alphabet is no longer in existence, the current Pāli Tipiṭaka of Myanmar, Cambodia and Thailand are all recorded in the indigenous alphabets. Recently India too has been engaged in recording and publishing the Pāli Tipiṭaka in the Hindi alphabet.

[39]Q: Are there Buddhist scriptures recorded in other languages besides Pāli?

A: Yes, there is another system in Sanskrit. Buddhism falls into Southern and Northern traditions. The canon of the Southern tradition was recorded in Pāli, and belongs to Hīnayāna Buddhism, while the texts of the Northern tradition were in Sanskrit, mostly being of the Mahāyāna Schools, with a few being Hīnayāna. Pāli was a popular spoken language in ancient India, while Sanskrit a refined one.

[40]Q: Were Chinese Buddhist canons and Tibetan ones translated from Pāli or from Sanskrit?

A: The Chinese Buddhist canon was mostly translated from Sanskrit, with a few texts from Pāli. The Tibetan texts seem to have been translated all from Sanskrit.

[41]Q: In how many languages do the Buddhist texts appear at present?

A: Many countries have been translating Buddhist texts to their own languages. In Europe, there are texts in Russian, German, English, French, Italian, Finnish, etc., but none of them is complete. Most of these texts are translated from three source languages: (1) Pāli, (2) Chinese and (3) Tibetan. Besides a small part preserved in Nepal and Tibet of China, very few of the Sanskrit canonical texts remain. Thus Buddhist scriptures of the Northern tradition are mostly preserved in China in the Chinese and Tibetan languages.

[42]Q: Can the Buddhist canons be classified into three systems according to the languages employed?

A: Yes, the division into three groups conforms to the actual situation. Buddhist circles today all acknowledge the division into three systems. Generally speaking, Buddhism in the southern countries—Sri Lanka,

Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos, India, Pakistan and Thailand as well as in the minorities of China's Yunnan Province such as Dai, Benglong (now De'ang) and Bulang—falls under the Pāli system, of Hīnayāna Buddhism, or more precisely, Theravāda Buddhism, as they refer to themselves. There used to be sectarian disputes between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, but the tendency to blend is increasingly apparent at present. Many people advocate that the terms, Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, be dropped with a view to strengthening the unity and mutual respect among the Buddhists and peoples of different countries. Hence it is more appropriate to call Southern Buddhism Theravāda Buddhism. The Buddhism of the Hans in China, as well as of Korea, Japan and Vietnam belongs to the Chinese system. The Buddhism of Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Tujia, Qiang, and Yugu and other nationalities of China, as well as that of Mongolia, Siberia and northern India, belongs to the Tibetan system. The latter two systems belong to Mahāyāna Buddhism.

[43]Q: How many volumes, or fasciculi, are there in the Chinese Tipiṭaka?

A: There are 1,692 books, totaling 6,241 volumes. Besides, over 1000 volumes composed by Chinese scholars are collected in the Chinese Tipiṭaka. In the Ming Dynasty, the Jiaxing edition of the Chinese Tipiṭaka collected some 5,600 volumes of Chinese scholars' writings to add to the Tipiṭaka as a sequel. In modern times, sequels have also been compiled in Japan, which are all drawn from Chinese writings. These total 1,750 books, 7,140 volumes.

[44]Q: How many editions are there of the Chinese Tipiṭaka?

A: The first block-printed edition of the Tipitaka in Chinese appeared in 971 AD or the 4th year of the Kaibao Era of the Song Dynasty. In the following 1,000 years, through the dynasties of Song, Liao, Jin, Yuan, Ming and Qing, more than 20 block-printed editions were published. In 1936, a block-printed edition of the Tipitaka from the Jin Dynasty (12th century) was discovered at Guangsheng Temple in Zhaocheng County, Shanxi Province, so it was named the Zhaocheng Tipitaka. When the Japanese imperialists invaded China, they attempted to rob China of this treasure, but thanks to the Eighth Route Army troops, at the cost of the lives of eight soldiers, it was saved and is now kept in the National Library. In the Kaiyuan and Wolong Temples in Xi'an, there is a block-

printed Qisha edition from the Song Dynasty (12th century), of which a photolithograph has been published recently. In addition, there are the Southern edition (block-printed in Nanjing in 1372) and the Northern edition (block-printed in Beijing from 1410) as well as the thread-bound edition of Tipitaka (commonly known as the Jiaxing edition) block-printed in the Wanli Era, all of which were commissioned by the government of the Ming Dynasty. Printing blocks of the Tipitaka made during the Yongzheng and Qianlong Eras of the Qing Dynasty (1735-1738) (commonly known as Dragon Collection) are still in existence.

Hand-written copies of the scriptures made in the Jin, Wei, Sui, and Tang Dynasties which are preserved in the Dunhuang Grottoes of China are valuable Buddhist treasures discovered in the early 20th century, but a great portion of them have been stolen (by foreigners) and taken abroad. About 8,000 volumes are now preserved in the National Library. There are also many stone-engraved Buddhist texts in our country. The most important among them are those stored in the caves of Shijingshan (Stone-carved Scriptures Hill) in Fangshan, Beijing. The engraving of these texts was started by Ven. Jing Wan during the 7th century AD in the Sui Dynasty, and was kept up for about 1,000 years. The blocks are all stored in 9 caves, or buried beneath thūpa. In 1956, the Chinese Buddhist Association, with the support of the government, took all of the blocks out and made seven sets of rubbings in two years. These are being catalogued and studied. In total, there are more than 1,000 Suttas, nearly 3,500 volumes engraved, and the texts carved in the Liao Dynasty are found by textual research to be based upon the Qidan (Khitan) edition which was long lost. The Fangshan stone-carved scriptures are very rare Dhamma treasures.

[45]Q: Could you please tell me about the Tibetan Tipiṭaka?

A: The Tibetan Tipiṭaka consists of two parts: (1) The Proper Collection, called "Bkaḥ-ḥgyur". Bkaḥ means teachings and Ḥgyur means translation. So it is a translation of the Buddha's teachings, including the Sutta and Vinaya preached by the Buddha. (2) The Appended Collection, called "Bstan-ḥgyur". Bstan means śāstra or commentary. So it is a translation of śāstras. Bkaḥ-ḥgyur consists of 1,108 suttas and Bstan-ḥgyur of 3,459 śāstras.

[46]Q: Are there any block-print editions of the Tibetan Tipiṭaka?

A: Yes, there are. Early in the 12th century AD the first block-print of the Tipiṭaka was made in Naitang and is thus known as the Naitang edition. In the 15th and 16th centuries, during the Ming Dynasty, two block-print editions were made. In Kangxi and Yongzheng Eras of the Qing Dynasty (17th century), another block-print was made in Beijing, called the Beijing edition. In the meantime, other blocks known as the Dege edition, Zhuoni edition, etc. were made in Xikang and elsewhere. In Tibet, a new Naitang edition was prepared between the 8th and 10th year of the Yongzheng Era, about the same as the Beijing edition, but with certain supplements to overcome its imperfections. Around 1921, the 13th Dalai Lama had another edition of the Tipiṭaka made in Lhasa, known as the Lhasa edition. Recently, a photo-offset reprint of the Beijing edition of the Tibetan Tipiṭaka has appeared in Japan.

[47]Q: What are the contents of the Pāli Tipiṭaka?

A: The Pāli Sutta-piṭaka (the "Basket of the Buddha's Discourses") consists of five parts:

(1) Dīgha-nikāya (the Long Discourses), corresponding to the Dīghāgama in Chinese Tipiṭaka;

(2) Majjhima-nikāya (the Middle Length Discourses), corresponding to the Madhyamāgama in the Chinese Tipiṭaka;

(3) Saṃyutta-nikāya (the Discourses Organized according to Content), corresponding to the Saṃyukktāgama in Chinese;

(4) Aṅguttara-nikāya (the Discourse Collection in Numerical Order), corresponding to the Ekottarikāgama in the Chinese Tripiṭaka;

(5) Khuddaka-nikāya (Minor Anthologies), without complete translation in Chinese.

There are only four Āgamas of Hīnayāna Sutta Piṭaka translated to Chinese (Āgama literally means collection, or collection of the Buddha's Discourses).

The Pāli Vinaya-piṭaka (the "Basket of Disciplines") consists of 3 parts:

(1) Sutta vibhaṅga (all of the Precepts);

(2) Khandhaka (Procedures for Assemblies and Rules for Daily Life in the Saṅgha);

(3) Parivāra (Interpretation of the Rules or Appendix).

The Pāli Abhidamma-piṭaka (the Basket of Commentaries) consists of 7 parts:

(1) Dhammasaṅgaṇi (Enumeration of Dhammas or Buddhist Psychological Ethics);

(2) Vibhaṅga (The Book of Analysis);

(3) Dhātukathā (Discourse on Elements);

(4) Yamaka (Book of Pairs);

(5) Paṭṭhāna (Book of Causality);

(6) Puggalapaññatti (Description of Human Types);

(7) Kathāvatthu (Points of Controversy).

These 7 Śāstras are important works dealing with the states of mind, analysis of the universal existence, the theory of cause and effect, etc.

[48]Q: We have taken up much of your time. You have explained to us the fundamentals of the Buddha's Teachings and the Buddhist canonical works. That is enough for the time being, we will surely consult you again later.

A: I may not have satisfied your requirements. I have just provided some basic materials.

贰　佛法的基本内容和佛教经籍

1问：佛法的基本内容是什么？

答：我前面说过释迦牟尼当初出家的目的是为了寻求解脱生老病死等痛苦之道。当时印度许多教派都是有最后解脱的理想的。佛教教义的基本内容简单地说来，就是说世间的苦（苦谛Dukkha-sacca）和苦的原因（因谛或称集谛Samudaya-sacca），说苦的消灭（灭谛Nirodha-sacca）和灭苦的方法（道谛Magga-sacca）。佛教经籍非常繁多，其实不超出这四圣谛（Cattāri-ariya-saccāni，谛的意义就是真理），而四谛所依据的根本原理则是缘起论（Paṭiccasamuppāda）。佛教的所有教义都是从缘起论这个源泉流出来的。

2问：缘起是什么意思？

答："缘起"即"诸法由因缘而起"。简单地说，就是一切事物或一切现象的生起，都是相待（相对）的互存关系和条件，离开关系和条件，就不能生起任何一个事物或现象。因（Hetu）、缘（Paccaya），一般地解释，就是关系和条件。佛曾给"缘起"下了这样的定义：

若此有则彼有，若此生则彼生；

若此无则彼无，若此灭则彼灭。

这四句就是表示同时的或者异时的互存关系。

3问：什么是同时的互存关系？

答：举一个简单例子来说明。如师生关系：有老师则有学生，有学生则有老师，无老师则不成其为学生，无学生则不成其为老师。这是同时的互相依存的关系。

4问：什么是异时的互存关系？

答：如种子和芽的关系：因为过去先有了种子，所以今天才能有芽生；

也因为今天有芽生，过去的种子才名叫种子，这是异时的互相依存的关系。从另一方面看，种子灭的时候也正是芽生的时候，芽生的时候也正是种子灭的时候，在这里，芽和种子的生与灭现象又是同时的互存关系。总之，无论其为同时或异时，一切现象（法）必然是在某种互相依存的关系中存在的。没有任何一个现象可以说是绝待（绝对）的存在。

5问：异时的互存关系是否就是因果关系？

答：照佛教的说法，所谓互存关系，都是因果关系。从异时的互存关系来说，种子是因，芽是果，这是异时因果。从同时的互存关系来说，如以老师为主，则老师是因，学生是果；如以学生为主，则学生是因，老师是果，这是同时因果。这当然是简单地举例，其实因果关系是极其错综复杂的。从这一个角度看，这样的因产生这样的果；从另一个角度看，同是这个因会产生另外的果。如某甲，从师生关系看，他是乙的老师；从父子关系看，他是丙的父亲；从夫妻关系看，他是丁的丈夫。以甲为因，则乙丙丁和其余一切都是果，由此而看出一因多果；以其余一切为因，则甲是果，由此而看出多因一果。实际上，没有绝待的因，也就没有绝待的果。世界就是这样由时间上无数的异时连续的因果关系，与空间上无数的互相依存关系组织的无限的网。

6问：听说北京西山佛牙舍利塔，砖上和露盘上刻有经文，都是讲缘起的教义的，是吗？

答：是的。那是辽代建的塔。砖上刻着一首缘起偈（偈，是偈陀Gāthā的简称，意思就是诗或颂）：

诸法因缘生，缘谢法还灭，

吾师大沙门，常作如是说。

露盘上刻的是这首偈的梵文。其实，不只是这座塔，古代佛塔一般都刻着这首偈当作舍利供奉。因为佛说过“见缘起即见法，见法即见佛”。所以这首偈被称为法身舍利偈，这也是说明缘起教义在佛教中的重要地位。缅甸近年拆修一座古塔，砖上也刻着这首偈的巴利文：

Ye dhammā hetu-ppabhavā

tesaṃ hetuṃ Tathāgato āha,

tesaṃ ca yo nirodho

evaṃ vādī mahāsamaṇo.

[7]问：缘起偈是谁作的？

答：是佛的弟子阿说示（Assaji，最初五比丘之一，意译是“马胜”）说出的。有一天马胜比丘在托钵行乞的时候，遇见了婆罗门大学者舍利弗。舍利弗看见他容貌威仪，不同常人，便问他向谁学道，教义如何。马胜比丘便说出了这首偈，舍利弗听了很欢喜，回去向目犍连说了，两个人便一起归依了佛。这首偈我国有几种译文，偈中“吾师大沙门”，是指释迦牟尼，沙门（Samaṇa），简单地意译就是出家修道者。当时婆罗门教之外各教派的出家修道者都称为沙门。

[8]问：在当时各教派中，缘起论是不是佛教特有的教义？

答：是的。佛经中说缘起有十一个意义：

（1）无作者义，

（2）有因生义，

（3）离有情义，

（4）依他起义，

（5）无动作义，

（6）性无常义，

（7）刹那灭义，

（8）因果相续无间断义，

（9）种种因果品类别义，

（10）因果更互相符顺义，

（11）因果决定无杂乱义。

这些意义都是不同于其他教派的教义的。

[9]问：可否请你把这十一义简单解释一下？

答：十一义归纳起来，有四个重要的论点：

（一）无造物主，

（二）无我，

（三）无常，

（四）因果相续。

10问：无造物主是什么意思？

答：是否定创造宇宙万物的主宰，即十一义中的“无作者义”。因为既承认“诸法因缘生”，就不能承认有个独立的造作者。任何一个因都是因生的，任何一个缘都是缘起的，因又有因，缘又有缘，从竖的方面推，无始无终，从横的方面推，无边无际。由此而得出结论：没有绝待的一个因。缘起论者，不仅应当否认“从口生出婆罗门”的人格化的造物主，而且也应当否认作为宇宙本源的理性化的存在。从另一方面说，缘起论者固然不承认有一个绝待的第一个因，但同时又反对认为一切出自偶然的观点。他主张任何现象的生起，都不是无因的，而是受必然的因果律支配的，这便是“有因生义”。

11问：照你这样说，佛教很像是无神论，但是何以佛教寺庙中又供有很多的神呢？

答：我前面说过，佛教并没有否定婆罗门教的神祇，只是看做是一种众生，后来有些神祇被吸收到佛教中来成为护法神，这是一方面情况。另一方面，也应当承认到后来佛陀被神化了的事实。但是根据佛教教义，佛不是造物主，他虽然有超人的智慧和能力，但不能主宰人的吉凶祸福，佛也是受因果律支配的。

12问：什么是“无我”？

答：“离有情义”、“依他起义”和“无动作义”，都是说明无我的道理的。“有情”的巴利语是“萨埵”（Satta），人和一切有情感的生物都叫做有情。婆罗门教和其他各派主张一切有情都有一个常住的（固定不变地存在的）、起主宰作用的自我（Atta，意义与“灵魂”相当）。缘起论则认为所谓“有情”，无非是种种物质和精神的要素的聚合体。从身体的组织来说，有情是由地、水、火、风、空、识六大（六种元素）所构成的，依借前五大而有身体的机关

及其作用——地为骨肉，水为血液，火为暖气，风为呼吸，空为种种的空隙；依借后一大（识）而表现种种的精神活动。再从心理的要素来说，有情的组织分为色（Rūpa）、受（Vedanā）、想（Saññā）、行（Saṅkhāra）、识（Viññāṇa）五蕴。蕴（Khandha）就是堆，把种种不同的现象分类，每类做为一堆，这就是蕴。简单地解释，“色”就是各种物质，眼、耳、鼻、舌、身五根（根就是人的感觉器官）和色、声、香、味、触五境（境就是感觉对象）等都属于色。受、想、行、识四蕴包括重要的精神要素：受是感觉（感觉苦、乐或不苦不乐等）；想是印象（摄取事物的相貌，知道是青、黄、赤、白，是长、短、方、圆，是苦是乐等）；行是思维（思维是推动身心活动的力量，所以叫做行）；识是了别（对于所认识的对象，予以判断和推理）。佛教根据以上两方面的分析，说明有情不是固定的单一独立体，而是种种要素的聚合体，而任何要素又是刹那刹那依缘而生灭着的，所以找不到一个固定的独立的“有情”在支配着身心，也就是找不到“我”的存在。这便是无我的简单解释。

[13]问：请允许我插一句。照你所说佛教关于有情的组成要素的说法，它是不是二元论？

答：大体来说，佛教把组成有情的要素分为精神和物质两类，两者结合便是有情的成立。佛教对此有一个专门术语叫做“名色（Nāmarūpa）”。名，是精神的要素，即五蕴中受、想、行、识四蕴，也就是六大中的识大；色，就是地、水、火、风、空物质的要素。地水火风空诸要素，都不能单独生起，而必须是互相结合变化的。简单地说，“名色”就是身心合成的存在。从这方面看，有人说它是二元论，有人说它是一种平行论（即心理生理平行），也有人说佛教认为精神物质诸要素都没有独立的单元，所以与二元论和平行论都有所不同。究竟应当怎样看，可以研究，但是它不是唯物论则是明显的。

[14]问：“无动作义”如何解释？

答：“无动作义”，就是不承认因果之间有来去。缘起论者承认由因生果，而反对因变成果的说法。譬如以灯传灯，是乙灯的火由甲灯焰生，而不是甲灯的火跑到乙灯去。根据这个道理，佛教虽然也讲六道轮回，但是不承认有个灵魂从这个有情的身体投入另一个有情的胎里去。这个道理是从无我的教义引伸出来的，以后还可以谈。

[15]问：什么是“无常”？

答：宇宙一切现象，都是此生彼生、此灭彼灭的相待的互存关系，其间没有恒常的存在。所以任何现象，它的性质是无常的，表现为刹那（Khaṇa）刹那生灭的。这就是十一义中“性无常义”和“刹那灭义”。佛经中说：“诸行无常，是生灭法”，就是这个意思。“诸行”，就是指一切事物或一切现象。“行”是迁流变动的意思，一切现象都是迁流变动的，所以叫做“行”。这个字的本身就包含了无常的意义。“生灭”二字，实际上包括着“生、异、灭”三字或“生、住、异、灭”四字。这里每个字表示着一种相状：一个现象的生起叫做“生”；当它存在着作用的时候叫做“住”；虽有作用而同时在变异叫做“异”；现象的消灭叫做“灭”。刹那是极短的时间，佛经中说弹一下指头的时间有六十刹那。刹那生灭，就是一刹那中具足生、住、异、灭。有人问，一个人的寿命一般有几十年，怎么是刹那生灭呢？佛教把人的一生从生到死叫做一期，一期是由刹那刹那相续而有的。对一个人的整体来说，他有一期的生住异灭，即生、老、病、死；但从他的组成各部分来说，则是刹那刹那的生住异灭。佛经说人的身体每十二年全部换过一次。一个物体的生住异灭，一个世界的成住坏空，实际都是刹那生灭相续的存在。照佛教的教义，一切现象没有不是刹那生灭的。佛教把主张“有常恒不变的事物”的见解叫做“常见”，认为是错误的。

[16]问：请允许我插一句，佛教本身是不是也受“无常”法则的支配？

答：是的。根据佛说，佛法分三个时期：一是正法时期，即佛教兴起时期；二是像法时期，即演变时期，这时期开始有佛像，所以称像法；三是末法时期，即衰坏时期。佛并且曾经说过将来法灭时的情况。“诸行无常”，佛教也不例外。

[17]问：什么是“因果相续”？

答：因缘所生的一切法，固然是生灭无常的，而又是相续不断的，如流水一般，前前逝去，后后生起，因因果果，没有间断，这是就竖的方面来说的。从横的方面看，因果的品类有种种无量的差别。种种品类差别的因果关系固然错综复杂，但其间又有井然的法则，一丝不乱。一类的因产生一类的果，如善因得善果，因与果相符，果与因相顺；一类的因不能生另一类的果，如种瓜只能得瓜，不能得豆。佛教认为因果的法则是决定的，虽三世（过去、现在、未来）诸佛也不能加以改变的。这就是“因果相续无间断

义”、“种种因果品类别义”、“因果更互相符顺义”和“因果决定无杂乱义”的简单解释。佛教把主张“现象灭了就不再生起”的见解叫做“断见”，也是反对的。关于因、缘、果的分析，佛教有六因、四缘、五果等说法，这里不一一介绍了。

18问：关于上面所说的有关缘起的理论有什么经论可供研究？

答：佛教经论谈缘起道理的地方很多，如上面所说的十一义，出自《分别缘起初胜法门经》（玄奘译），可以一看。又玄奘译的《俱舍论》和鸠摩罗什译的《大智度论》里有关部分，也可以一看。

19问：听了你根据“无造物主、无我、无常、因果相续”四个论点来说明缘起十一义之后，对于缘起的理论，大致有所了解。是否可以说这就是佛教对于宇宙万有的解释？

答：四个论点实际只是两个论点——“无常”和“无我”。“无常”就是生灭相续，它不仅包括“刹那生灭”的意义，而且包括“因果相续”的意义。“无我”就是没有主宰，没有一身之内的主宰，也没有宇宙万有的主宰，所以无造物主的意义，实际包含在“无我”里面。“诸行无常、诸法无我”，是佛教对宇宙万有的总的解释，也可以说，是一切法的总法则。所以“无常”和“无我”的教义被称为“法印”。

20问：“法印”是什么？

答：印就是印玺。国王的印玺可以证明文件的真实（有通行无阻的作用）。借以比喻佛教的主要教义，也以符合“法印”而证明其为真正佛法（掌握了它，便能对一切法通达无碍），所以称为法印。“诸行无常，诸法无我，涅槃寂静”，并称三法印，或者加上“有漏皆苦”，亦称四法印。

21问：请解释一下，“有漏皆苦”的意义。

答：“漏”就是烦恼。佛教认为众生不明白一切法缘生缘灭，无常无我的道理，而在无常的法上贪爱追求，在无我的法上执着为“我”，或为“我所有”，这叫做惑，惑使人烦恼，所以又叫做烦恼。烦恼种类极多，贪（贪欲）、嗔（嗔恨）、痴（不知无常无我之理等等叫做痴）是三毒，加上慢（傲慢）、疑（犹疑）、恶见（不正确的见解如常见、断见等）为六根本烦恼。由于烦恼而造种种业（Kamma），业就是行为（身业）、言语（口业）、思想（意业）的活动。烦恼和业引生未来或为天人，或为人，或为地狱、

鬼、畜生的身心；于是又起烦恼，又造业，又生身心，这样的生死轮回（Saṃsāra），没有休歇。而生死轮回是苦的。以人生而论，一般地说有八苦：生苦（婴儿在胎出胎时苦）、老苦、病苦、死苦、爱别离苦（与所爱的分离）、怨憎会苦（与所怨憎的聚会）、所求不得苦、五取蕴苦（五取蕴即五蕴，取就是烦恼，人的色受想行识以烦恼为因而生，又能生烦恼，所以叫取蕴。五蕴刹那迁流变坏，为生老病死等苦所集，所以是苦）。总之，佛说世间有无量的苦，苦不是孤立的自己生起来的，也不是造物主给予的，也不是偶然的，而是有因缘的。上面所说因惑而造业，因业而有生死苦，就是佛教对苦的缘起解释。全面分析起来有“十二缘起”。

22问：请简单谈一谈“十二缘起”。

答：佛教的缘起论主要是以人生问题为中心来谈的。对人生问题一般说十缘起或十二缘起。十二缘起是：无明缘、行缘、识缘、名色缘、六入缘、触缘、受缘、爱缘、取缘、有缘、生缘、老死缘。现在简单地解释一下：

（1）老死（Jarā-maraṇa），这是观察人生的起点，老死忧悲苦恼是人生不可避免的。缘何而有老死忧悲苦恼呢？是由于有（2）生（Jāti）。如果没有生，则没有老死，也没有忧悲苦恼。生的条件虽有种种，但是最重要的条件是（3）有（Bhava）。“有”就是存在的意思。简单地说，身口意所造的善业恶业对招引自己的后果潜伏着一种力量叫做“有”。有了业力为缘，必然有后果的生与死。“有”又是缘什么而起的呢？有的缘是（4）取（Upādāna）。取是追求执着的意思，追求色、声、香、味、触五欲，执着可爱事物为我所有，这叫做取。由于以自我为中心追求执着，就能引发身口意三业的活动。取又以（5）爱（Taṇhā）为缘。爱的简单解释就是生命欲，它是生命活动的本源力。有生命欲才有追求执着，有追求执着才有种种身口意的活动而有业力的存在，招引生死之果。所以爱、取、有同是生死的因。说到这里，已经说明了惑、业、苦的因果关系。为了进一步考察生命欲（爱）之所以发生，则必须说明（6）受Vedanā、（7）触Phassa、（8）六入Saḷāyatana的关系。受是感觉，即对客观境物所起的快感（乐受）、不快感（苦受）或不苦不乐感（舍受）。由于苦乐的感觉，激发和冲动着生命的欲求。感觉来自外界事物刺激的反应，所以依存于触。触是根、境、识三者会合而有的心理活动的开

始。如眼（根）对红色（境）时，红色刺激眼根，因而司掌视觉的眼识生起活动。根境识三者会合，才发生红色的触（反应），所以触依存于六入。六入，就是眼、耳、鼻、舌、身、意的六根，是传递色、声、香、味、触、法（法，即前五种事物遗存下来的印象，是意根的对象）六境的机能。

再进一步考察六入依何存在的问题，因而说到（9）名色Nāma-rūpa。名色的意义前面已经讲过，即身心（色、受、想、行、识五蕴）合成的组织。六根是依存于身心全体组织的东西，有名色所以有六入。名色又以何为缘呢？名色又依存于（10）识Viññāṇa。识虽是名色中一部分，但是如果把名色当作认识体来看，识乃是它的中心的东西。识对境（认识对象）有总了别作用，使境增加明显，使根增长功能，使受、想、思有所领导。所以名色全体的成立，依存于识，但是识又依存于名色。因为有境对根的刺激，和受、想、思的帮助发生，才有识的现起，识不能离开名色而独立。所以识与名色的关系，是互相依存的关系。

以上所说是十缘起，如果就人们现实的活动的条件来观察，十缘起已经全面了，但如果说明生死何以无穷的原由，则又有行和无明二缘，共十二缘起。

（11）行Saṅkhāra,“行”的意义与“有”相同。从现在身口意造作的业来看它潜伏着引生后果的力量叫做“有”，从现在已经成熟的果来看过去所造的业叫做“行”。识与名色，是现在已熟的果，是依存过去的行而生起的。由于过去无始以来“行”的反复，积习成性，隐然有种力量支配着行为，所以生死苦恼现象联绵不断。行又依存于（12）无明Avijjā。无明是对一切法缘生故生、缘灭故灭、无常、无我的真实相不认识，特别对自己身心只是因缘所生的道理不能自觉，以为其中有常住的、唯一的、作主宰的我。由于“我”的执着，所以对境而有乐受、苦受、舍受，而起贪嗔痴等烦恼，而造种种善恶业。所以人们的生死痛苦的本源毕竟在于无明。

十二缘起归纳起来仍不外乎上面所说的惑、业、苦的关系。无明、行是过去无始以来的惑和业，招致现在识、名色、六入、触、受的苦果；爱、取、有是现在的惑和业，招致未来的生、老死的苦果。这些都是“有漏皆苦”一句所包括的内容，也就是四谛中苦谛和集谛的内容。

[23]问：现在请解释一下“涅槃寂静”的意义。

答：“涅槃寂静”和“有漏皆苦”相反。涅槃是无漏，是苦果苦因的消灭，也就是十二缘起法的止灭。十二缘起是根据“此有则彼有、此生则彼生”的道理。十二缘起法的止灭则是根据“此无则彼无、此灭则彼灭”的道理。老死忧悲苦恼，既是由于生缘，消灭生缘则生死忧悲苦恼灭；消灭爱、取、有缘，则生死苦灭。这样推上去直到最后，消灭无明缘则苦果之因“行”灭。无明灭、行灭、识灭，乃至生老死灭，就是涅槃。更明确的来说：凡是属于不清净的污染的缘尽灭，无明转成为不污染的清净智慧，一切法上为清净智慧所照见的实相谛理，这就是涅槃，也叫做“现法涅槃”。涅槃Nibbāna的意义是圆寂，就是说：智慧福德圆满成就的，永恒寂静的最安乐的境界。佛教认为这种境界“唯圣者所知”，不能以经验上有、无、来、去等概念来测度，是不可思议的解脱境界。我前面说过可以把涅槃解释为逝世，其实释迦牟尼三十岁的时候，便已经证得涅槃而成佛，不过当时他的肉体还是过去惑、业之果的剩余，所以称为“有余涅槃”。直到他八十岁逝世，方是入“无余涅槃”。

[24]问：如何能达到涅槃的境界呢？

答：上面所说关于涅槃的道理属于灭谛。现在你提的如何达到涅槃的境界的问题属于道谛。道谛以涅槃为目的，以生死根本的烦恼为消灭对象，以戒（Sīla）、定（Samādhi）、慧（Paññā）三学为方法。

（1）戒，是防止身口意三业的过失，有五戒、十戒、具足戒三级。五戒（Pañca Sīla）是不杀、不偷盗、不邪淫、不妄语、不饮酒类。这是出家在家弟子共持的戒。十戒是沙弥（Sāmaṇera）持的戒（出家男子受十戒的叫做沙弥，一般是不满二十岁的人，满二十岁才能受具足戒为比丘）。具足戒是比丘、比丘尼持的戒。当初僧伽成立时，没有约制团体的一定规律。其后随着问题的发生而随时制戒，到佛逝世前，已制定了二百多条。南方国家所传比丘戒二百二十七条，我国西藏二百五十三条，汉地二百五十条，大体相同，仅有某些条款分开和合并的不同，汉地比丘尼戒三百四十八条。

（2）定，是精神上既不昏沉（即不瞌睡），又不纷驰的安和状态。这是印度一般宗教徒所必习的，尤其是佛教徒修持的必要条件。由于定，身心远离爱欲乐触等的粗分别，逐步发得身心轻

安，终于能够把心——精神思想集中于任何一境之上，宁静安稳不受扰乱，进而引发一种无漏的智慧。定有世间的四禅和四无色定，有出世间的九次第定、三三昧等。从定而后能引发慧。

（3）慧，是分别一切法的自相（特殊性）与共相（一般性），通达四谛的道理而有断除迷惑证悟真理的作用。

戒、定、慧三学包括四念住、四正勤、四神足、五根、五力、七觉支、八正道等修行法门，共称三十七道品。这里不一一介绍，仅简略介绍一下八正道：

（1）正见，就是于一切法上见到无常无我缘起四谛之理而明确认识它，使成为自己的知见；

（2）正思维；

（3）正语；

（4）正业，是使自己的生活行动受正见的指导，使身口意合于法的法则；

（5）正命，是正当的生活方法，反对诈欺仗势骗夺他财以养自己的邪命生活；

（6）正精进，使身口意毫不松懈地努力向正见所指的目的前进；

（7）正念，经常忆念着正见，使正见不忘失而经常现前；

（8）正定，在正见指导下修习进入无漏清净的禅定。

25问：根据上面所介绍的四谛内容，可不可以说佛教是厌世主义，因为看不出它对世界有任何积极的理想和采取任何积极的手段？

答：从对待有漏的世界来说，可以说是厌世主义，但是佛教当时的创立，反映着对现实生活的不满，它对人间世界也是有一种理想的。例如《增一阿含经》记载，佛陀谈到转轮王统治的社会情况时，他说：那时候世界上土地平整，如镜清明；谷物丰饶，遍地皆生甘美果树；时气和适，四时顺节，人身康乐，少病少恼；富足如意，食不患苦；欲大小便时，地自然开，事已复合；金银珍宝，散在各地，与瓦石同流；人民大小平等，皆同一意，相见欢欣，善言相向；言辞一类，而无差别。从这段话里面，看出一种类似我国古人大同的理想。为实现这种理想社会的各种努力，就

是“庄严国土、利乐有情”。这方面的理论在大乘佛教中特别得到发挥，但为当时各种条件所局限，佛教没有提出政治的和社会的措施。

26问：什么是大乘佛教？

答：大乘Mahāyāna和小乘Hīnayāna是佛教的两大宗派。

27问：大乘小乘有什么分别？

答：大小乘的分别，主要在于大乘着重利他（利益大众的行为），小乘着重自己解脱。大乘有不同的经典，在教义上有所发挥和发展。这里可以举几个特点：

首先大乘在灭谛上进一步说“无住涅槃”。从理论上说，十二因缘灭，灭的只是不合缘生缘灭真理的无明烦恼，而不是缘生缘灭的法。“涅槃与世间，无有少分别”。所以到了佛的圆满觉悟的境界，就能不住生死，不住涅槃，就能在因缘生灭的世界中，永无休歇地做“庄严国土、利乐有情”的事，而随时随处安住在涅槃的境界。

其次根据缘起的道理，说明一法以一切法为缘而生起，同时又是生起一切法之缘，所以任何人与一切众生都有同体的关系，好像海里面一个小水泡和整个大海水是同体关系一样。所以说，“一切众生是我父母”，又说“视众生如一子”（独子），这样地兴起大慈悲心（慈是同情人之喜乐，悲是同情人之忧苦），“无有疲厌”地“为众生供给使”。大乘佛教特别发扬这种菩萨行的人生观，并且特别鼓励“六度”和“四摄”的行为。

28问：什么是菩萨？

答：菩萨是菩提萨埵（Bodhisatta）的简称。简单地解释，凡是抱着广大的志愿，要将自己和一切众生一齐从苦恼中救度出来，而得到究竟安乐（自度度他），要将自己和一切众生一齐从愚痴中解脱出来，而得到彻底的觉悟（自觉觉他）——这种人便叫做菩萨。

29问：什么叫做六度？

答：“度”的梵语是“波罗蜜多（Pāramitā）”，字义是“到彼岸”，就是从烦恼的此岸度到觉悟的彼岸的意思。六度是六个到彼岸的方法。第一是布施（Dāna），有三种：凡以物质利益施与大众的叫

做“财施”，包括身外的财物和自身的头目手足和生命；凡保护大众的安全使他们没有怖畏的叫做“无畏施”；凡以真理告知大众的叫做“法施”。第二是持戒（Sīla），戒也有三种，即防止一切恶行，修集一切善行和饶益有情。菩萨最根本的戒是饶益有情戒，就是一切为了利益大众，其余所有戒条都要服从这一条。第三是忍（Khanti），即为利益有情故，忍受毁骂打击，以及饥寒等苦，所谓“难行能行、难忍能忍”，终不放弃救度众生的志愿。第四是精进（Viriya），即不懈息地努力于自度度他、自觉觉他的事业。第五是禅定（Samādhi），第六是般若（Paññā即智慧），为自觉觉他而修禅定和智慧。

30问：什么是四摄？

答：摄（Saṃgaha-vatthu）的意义就是大众团结的条件。第一是布施；第二是爱语（Peyyavajja），慈爱的言语和态度；第三是利行（Atthacariyā），为大众利益服务；第四是同事（Samānattatā），使自己在生活和活动方面同于大众。四摄法是菩萨在众生中进行工作的方法。

31问：菩萨为了利行同事，是否应当学习世间各种学问？

答：菩萨为了利益众生，必须广学多闻。佛教要求菩萨行者学习五明（Vidyā就是“学”）：

（1）声明，即声韵学和语文学；

（2）工巧明，即一切工艺、技术、算学、历数等；

（3）医方明，即医药学；

（4）因明，即逻辑学；

（5）内明，即佛学。

五明是学者必须学习之处。“学处广大，悲心恳切”是菩萨的条件。大乘佛教号召难学能学，尽一切学。

32问：请再讲一讲大乘佛教的其他特点。

答：其次是根据缘起的道理而说法性空。这就是说，一切法既是因缘和合而起，所以都没有实体；换句话说，一切法都只是因缘和合的现象，在现象上找不到作为主宰的本体。前面所说的“诸法无

我”是指人的“我”，现在进一步说法的“我”也没有。前面是破“人我执”，说“人空”；现在是破“法我执”，说“法”空。

33问：佛经中有两句话，“色不异空，空不异色”是什么意思？

答：这就是说一切法“缘起性空”。“色”，就是色、受、想、行、识五蕴中的色，是指物质。任何物质现象都是缘起，它有相状，它有功用，但是它的相状和功用里面没有常恒不变的指挥它的主宰，所以说是空。所谓空，不是指的色外空（物体之外的空），也不是指的色后空（物体灭了之后的空），换句话说，并不是离开色而另外有一个空，而是“当体即空”。色是缘起所起，色法上不能有个不变的实性，所以说“色即是空”；唯其没有实性，所以能遇缘即起，所以说“空即是色”。这也就是“色不异空，空不异色”的简单解释。

受、想、行、识等精神现象也同样地是缘起性空。“缘起性空”是宇宙万有的真实相状，即所谓“诸法实相”。大乘佛教以实相为法印，称为“一法印”，一切大乘经教，都以实相的道理来印证。如前面所说“无住涅槃”和“菩萨六度四摄”等教义，都是以缘起性空的理论为基础的。

34问：关于大乘佛教的特点还有什么可以介绍的吗？

答：上面所说的是大乘佛教各宗派的几个共同的特点。各宗派又有其特点，这里就不谈了。

35问：佛经是释迦牟尼亲自写的吗？

答：不是，是佛逝世后，他的弟子记诵出来的。佛逝世的那一年，佛的弟子，以摩诃迦叶为首的五百人集会在王舍城外的七叶窟，将佛一生所说的言教结集起来，以传后世。当时由阿难陀诵出佛所说的经（Sutta）；由优波离诵出佛所制的僧团戒律（Vinaya）；由摩诃迦叶当时诵出，后来又补充结集的关于教理的解释和研究的论著（Abhidhamma）。经、律、论为三藏Tipiṭaka。藏的原语Piṭaka，是一种可以盛放东西的竹箧。把经、律、论分为三藏，同我国把经、史、子、集分为四库有差不多的意思。这一次结集称为第一结集。照我国通常解释，结集两个字含有编辑的意义。但这个字的梵文Saṃgīti（巴利语同）却是僧众大会的意思。古代译师用结集二字是含有“会诵”的意思，一方面固然着重在法的结集，同时也包含着人的结集的意思在内。这时还没有用文字记

录，只凭口头传诵。

[36]问：第一次结集之外，还有其他结集吗？

答：当时除在七叶窟的五百比丘外，还有未加入摩诃迦叶团体的许多比丘，以跋波（Vappa最初五比丘之一）为上首，在窟外不远的地方另行结集。所以王舍城结集分窟内窟外二部。所结集的都是小乘三藏。大乘三藏相传是文殊师利（Mañjuśrī）、弥勒（Maitreya）等菩萨和阿难陀等在铁围山结集的。小乘佛教则不承认大乘经典是佛所说。

[37]问：缅甸前几年举行第六次结集，是怎么一回事？

答：佛逝世一百十年后，在毗舍离国僧团中有关于戒律上的争论，于是长老（僧龄高的称长老）耶舍（Yasa）召集七百位学德兼优的僧众，依据律藏，断定当时争论问题中有十件事为非法，这是第二次结集。

根据南方佛典记载，佛逝世二百三十五年后，阿育王时代，有很多外道（佛教之外的教派）的人混入佛教徒中，混乱了教义，于是在阿育王支持下，以国师目犍连子帝须（Moggaliputta Tissa）为首的一千比丘在波吒利弗城（Pāṭaliputta，即今天印度比哈尔省省城八纳Patna）诵出三藏，以清除外道掺杂进去的东西，这是第三次结集。

根据北方佛教记载，佛逝世后四百年左右，在大月氏国迦腻色迦（Kaniṣka）统治西印度时代，以世友菩萨（Vasumitta）为首的五百比丘造论解释三藏，共三十万颂，九百多万言，其中一部就是《大毗婆沙》（Mahāvibhāṣā），是一部重要的论。这是第四次结集。

距今八十多年前，缅甸明顿王邀集众多比丘校勘巴利文三藏，并将三藏全文和校勘记刻在石碑上，现仍保存在曼德勒城。他们称为第五次结集。

1954—1956年缅甸联邦政府为了纪念释迦牟尼佛涅槃二千五百年，发起第六次结集，邀请缅甸、柬埔寨、锡兰、印度、老挝、尼泊尔、巴基斯坦、泰国等国的比丘二千五百人参加。他们进行了两年工作，根据各国的各种版本和明顿王第五次结集的校勘记，对巴利文三藏进行严密的校勘，印成了最完善版本的巴利文三藏。

被称为“第六次结集”。

38问：什么是巴利文？

答：巴利（Pāli）是古代印度一种语言，是佛陀时代摩揭陀国一带的大众语。据说佛就是用这种语言说法的，所以弟子们也用这种语言记诵他的经教。巴利语虽然早已不通用了，但是靠了佛经而保存了下来。巴利就是经典的意思。古代印度人民有一种传统习惯，就是把典籍用口口相传的方式背诵下来，而不重视书写。根据《锡兰岛史》记载，公元前一世纪时候，才在锡兰开始传写。到公元五世纪，摩揭陀国三藏法师（通达三藏学者的称号）觉音（Buddhaghośa）到锡兰，重新用锡兰的僧伽罗文字母把巴利文三藏全部记录下来（一说觉音在锡兰时将当时保存很多的用僧伽罗文写的注疏译成巴利文）。原来的巴利文字母已经不存在，现在缅甸、柬埔寨、泰国的巴利文三藏也都是用他们本国字母记录的。最近印度也正在从事用印地文字母记录并印行巴利文三藏的工作。

39问：除巴利文之外，还有哪几种文字记录的佛经？

答：还有梵文（Sanskrit）。佛教分南传和北传，传到南方去的用巴利文，是小乘佛教经典；传到北方去的用梵文，多数是大乘佛教经典，也有小乘经典。巴利语是古代俗语，梵文则是古代雅语。

40问：中国汉译、藏译佛教经典是从巴利文翻译的，还是从梵文翻译的？

答：汉译佛经，从梵文翻译的居多，也有从巴利文翻译的。藏译佛经则似乎全是从梵文翻译的。

41问：现在佛经一般有几种文字？

答：许多国家都用他们自己的文字翻译了佛经。欧洲有俄文、德文、英文、法文、意大利文、芬兰文等，但是都不齐全，其来源不外乎三大系：（1）巴利文，（2）汉文和（3）藏文。梵文经典现在残存的已很少，尼泊尔和我国西藏还有部分古梵文本留存。北传佛教经籍，大部分保存在我国汉文和藏文藏经里。

42问：世界佛经是否可以按照语文分为三大系？

答：三大系的划分，是合乎实际情况的。现在佛教界都承认三大系的说

法。一般说来，南方国家斯里兰卡、缅甸、柬埔寨、老挝、印度、巴基斯坦、泰国和我国云南省傣、崩龙 [1] 、布朗等民族的佛教属于巴利语系，是小乘佛教，比较精确的说，应当称为上座部佛教（Theravāda他们自称的派名）。大小乘过去一直有宗派争执，近来渐有融合的倾向。为了加强各国佛教徒和人民的团结和互相尊重，有许多人主张不再用大小乘的名称，因此称南传佛教为上座部佛教较为合适。我国汉族和朝鲜、日本、越南的佛教属于汉语系。我国藏、蒙、土、羌，裕固等民族以及蒙古、苏联西北利亚 [2] 地方和印度北部地方的佛教属于藏语系。这两系都属于大乘佛教。

43问：汉译三藏有多少卷？

答：有1,692部，共6,241卷，此外中国学者撰述收入藏内的有一千多卷。明代嘉兴版大藏经又收集中国学者撰述5,600卷编为续藏。近代日本也编印续藏，收集的也都是中国撰述的，共1,750部，7,140卷。

44问：汉文大藏经有多少版本？

答：我国第一次刻本汉文大藏经是公元971年宋开宝四年刻本。在此以后，历宋、辽、金、元、明、清几个朝代，一千年之间先后有二十余次刻本。1936年在山西赵城县广胜寺发现金代（公元十二世纪）刻本大藏经，因此称为赵城藏。日本帝国主义侵略中国时，企图劫走这部法宝，为八路军抢救，牺牲了八位战士，才保护下来。这部经现藏在北京图书馆。西安开元、卧龙寺藏有宋刻（公元十二世纪）碛砂版藏经，近代有影印本。明代政府刻的南本大藏经（1372年开始在南京刻的）和北本大藏经（1410年开始在北京刻的），还有万历年间刻的方册大藏经（通称嘉兴藏）现在还有留存。清代雍正、乾隆年间（1735-1738）刻的大藏经（通称龙藏），尚有经板留存。

我国敦煌石窟所藏晋、魏、隋、唐人的写经，自二十世纪初被发现后，很大部分被盗劫到国外，都是贵重的法宝，北京图书馆还藏有八千多卷。我国还有很多石刻佛经，最重要的是房山县石经山上的石经。那是公元七世纪初我国隋代静琬法师开始刻的，一直继续了千年之久。所刻经板，封存在九个石洞里和埋藏在塔下。1956年，中国佛教协会在政府支持下，费了两年时间，将那里的经板全部取出拓印了七份，现正在整理和研究中，计刻经一千余

部，近三千五百卷；并考证发现辽刻石经是以《契丹藏》为底本，也就是久已失传的《契丹藏》的复刻。房山石经是一部稀有的法宝。

45问：藏文大藏经内容请介绍一下。

答：藏文大藏经分两部分：（1）正藏，名“甘珠尔”，“甘”的意思是“言教”，“珠尔”是翻译，就是言教的翻译，包括经和律，因为经和律都是佛的言教；（2）副藏，名“丹珠尔”，“丹”的意思是论著，就是论著的翻译。甘珠尔共1,108部；丹珠尔共3,459部。

46问：藏文大藏经有无刻本？

答：公元十三世纪初年在奈塘刻的大藏，称为奈塘版，是第一次刻本。十五、六世纪明代曾翻刻过两次。十七世纪清康熙、雍正年间在北京翻刻一次，称为北京版，同时西康等地又各翻刻为德格版、卓尼版等。西藏在雍正八年到十年重刻奈塘新版，大体与北京版一致而增订其未尽善之处。约在1921年间十三世达赖喇嘛重刻大藏经，称拉萨版。最近日本印行的西藏大藏经，就是北京版的影印本。

47问：巴利文三藏内容是什么？

答：巴利文经藏分五部：

（1）长部（Dīgha-nikāya），相当于我国长阿含经；

（2）中部（Majjhima-nikāya），相当于我国中阿含经；

（3）相应部（Saṃyutta-nikāya），相当于我国杂阿含经；

（4）增支部（Aṅguttara-nikāya），相当于我国增一阿含经；

（5）小部（Khuddaka-nikāya），我国缺。

我国小乘经藏只有四阿含（Āgama的字义是集，就是佛的言教集）。

巴利文律藏分三部：

（1）分别部（Sutta-vibhaṅga），是戒的条文；

（2）犍度（Khandhaka），是僧团中一切生活制度；

（3）附篇（Parivāra），是戒条的解释。

巴利文论藏有七部论；

（1）法聚论，

（2）分别论，

（3）界论，

（4）双论，

（5）发趣论，

（6）人施设论，

（7）论事。

这七部论是关于心理状态，宇宙万有的分析，因果论等重要著作。

48问：费了你很多时间。关于佛法基本内容和关于佛教经籍的一些主要情况都承你作了介绍，现在就谈这一些，以后再请教。

答：不见得能够满足你的要求，只能说是提供一些初步材料罢了。

[1] 崩龙族（Benglongzu），德昂族的旧称。

[2] 西北利亚（Siberia），现通用译名为“西伯利亚”。

3 THE SAṄGHA AND THE BUDDHA'S DISCIPLES

[1]Q: Why do some Buddhists need to renounce the lay life?

A: Before answering this question, it is necessary to explain the Buddhist doctrine of Pañca-yāna (Five Vehicles). Yāna means a vehicle which can carry passengers to their destinations, far or near. It is used here as a metaphor of the Buddha's teachings. The doctrine of Pañca-sīla (Five Pre-cepts: abstaining from taking life from sentient beings, taking things not given, sexual misconduct, false speech, the use of intoxicants) enables the practitioners to be reborn in the human world, so it is called Manussa-yāna (human-vehicle). The doctrine of Dasa-kusalānī (Ten meritorious acts—avoidance of the ten evils: 1. killing, 2. taking things not given, 3. sexual misconduct, 4. irresponsible speech, 5. speech inciting discord, 6. harsh speech, 7. licentious talk, 8. covetousness, 9. anger and 10. heterodoxy, i.e. denial of the doctrine of cause-effect) enables the practitioners to be reborn in heaven, so it is called Deva-yāna (heavenly vehicle). The doctrine of Four Noble Truths (ariya-sacca, namely, the truth of Suffering, of the Origin of suffering, of the Extinction of suffering, and of the Eight-fold Path leading to the extinction of suffering) enables the people to discard wrong views (diṭṭhānusaya or micchā-diṭṭhi) such as ego-illusion (atta-diṭṭhi), eternity-belief (sassata-diṭṭhi), annihilation-belief (uccheda-diṭṭhi), etc., and defiled thought (micchā-saṅkappa) such as greed (lobha), hatred (dosa) and delusion (moha), finally, to attain nibbāna(enlightenment). So it is called sāvaka-yāna (voice-hearer vehicle). Voice means the Buddha's teachings. Those who hear the Buddha's teachings, realize the Four Noble Truths and are free from sufferings are called sāvakā. Before the advent of the Buddha-Dhamma, people who independently came to the realization of the Theory of Paṭiccasamupāda (Dependent Origination) and obtained emancipation, but were unable to speak out their self-enlightened truth were called Pacceka-Buddha (Independently

Enlightened One). That is why the Dhamma of Dependent Origination is called the vehicle of self-enlightenment (pacceka-yāna). The doctrine of Six Perfections (cha pāramitā) enables the practitioners to act in the way of Bodhisatta, to undergo the countless difficulties and hardships in cycles of birth and death, and to finally attain Buddhahood. So this teaching is called the vehicle of Bodhisatta (Bodhisatta-yāna).

[2]Q: What is the relation between the doctrine of Five Vehicles (Pañcayāna) and renunciation of the world (pabbajjā)?

A: The Human Vehicle and Heavenly Vehicle do not require leaving home. The Pacceka Buddhas (self-enlightened ones), living in the absence of the Buddha Dhamma, led lives of hermits in the mountains and forests, but went through no ceremony of renunciation. As for Budhisattas, some lived at home, and some did not. In their case, it is not necessary to leave home. Whether or not they leave home depends upon the conditions (hetu-paccaya) of their maintaining the Buddha Dhamma and benefiting all living beings. For example, at the time of Sākyamuni Buddha, both Bodhisattas Mañjuśrī and Maitreya (P. Metteyya) were Bhikkhus, whereas Vimalakīrti, though a great Bodhisatta, was a layman (a scholar studying Buddhism at home). So it is only in sāvakayāna those who seek to achieve Nibbāna by becoming Arahats need to leave home and lead a homeless life.

[3]Q: What does Arahat mean?

A: Arahat is the status attained by a Buddhist practitioner upon enlightenment. There are four stages to reach this goal: The first stage is to dispel wrong views. That is called Sotāpanna (the fruition of stream winning), i.e. the initial fruition. The second stage, Sakadāgāmi (the second fruition of once return), and the third, Anāgāmi (the third fruition of non-return) are gradually reached by casting off erroneous thought according to their different dimensions and subtleties. When the fourth stage of Arahat is reached, both wrong views and erroneous thought have been completely wiped out and Nibbāna attained. Such an Arahat is worthy of receiving offerings from man and deity alike. So, one of the meanings of Arahat is "deserving offerings". It is the highest status attained by Sāvakas.

[4]Q: Why does the Voice-hearer Vehicle (sāvaka-yāna) require renunciation?

A: According to the doctrine of Voice-hearer Vehicle, due to numerous obstacles, it is more difficult to cultivate oneself intently and purely at home. Such a practitioner can only achieve the initial fruition of casting off wrong views theoretically, or at most, achieve the third fruition by casting off misleading thoughts of the sensuous world (kāmaloka), and he can never achieve Nibbāna in this life. A homeless life is free and detached. It is easier to concentrate one's mind and energy on self-cultivation to achieve the state of egolessness (anattā) and desirelessness. So it is impossible to attain the status of Arahat without renunciation of the home life.

[5]Q: Was the institution of renunciation initiated by Buddhism?

A: No, it was not initiated by Buddhism. By the time of the Buddha, religious mendicancy (paribbājaka) had become common practice in India. But as a prince, the Buddha's renunciation set an example to inspire his followers to discard the attachment to home life. Therefore, there are those who renounce home life and become itinerant or monastic disciples, both male and female, as well as lay followers, both male and female among Buddhists. The itinerant or monastic Buddhists are generally called Buddhist monks or nuns (Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunīs).

[6]Q: Do Buddhist monks and nuns constitute a clergy?

A: Buddhist monks and nuns are merely those who renounce the world to cultivate themselves only for the sake of emancipation. They are not intermediaries between deities and human beings. As a Buddhist monk, he should not and can not bless, or prevent disaster befalling human beings, nor can he grant blessing or exemption from punishment on behalf of any deity.

[7]Q: What style of life should a Buddhist monk (or nun) maintain?

A: According to the Buddha's rules, a Bhikkhu should lead a pure and frugal life, and strictly observe the precepts of abstaining from killing, stealing, sex (including sex with his former wife), irresponsible speech, speech inciting discord, harsh speech, lewd talk, alcoholic drinks, taking untimely food (i.e., taking food after noon), the use of perfumes and

adornments, singing, dancing and watching others sing and dance, sitting or sleeping on high luxurious seats or beds, accepting treasures like gold, silver, elephants, horses, etc. He should not own private property except robes, alms bowl, razor, water-filter, needle, and thread and such necessary articles, nor should he do business, fortune-telling, displaying of magic wonders. He must not confine, plunder or threaten others and must observe some other prescriptions as well. During the six daily periods (three for day, i.e. morning, noon, dusk; and three for night, i.e. nightfall, midnight and dawn) he should devote all his time to the zealous pursuit of study and cultivation after allowing time for sleeping, alms begging, eating, drinking, sweeping and cleaning, and water carrying.

[8]Q: What are the contents of the study and cultivation?

A: The contents of the study of Dhamma and the practice of meditation (bhāvanā) are simply the 37 requisites for enlightenment (Bodhipakkhiya-dhamma). The basic practice among the 37 is the "Four Stations of Mindfulness" (cattāro satipaṭṭhānā), i.e. contemplation of the four views: the body is impure, feelings are suffering, mind and mind-objects are impermanent, every dhamma is without self. Prior to the practice of contemplation of the Four Stations of Mindfulness, the beginners should first learn the five systems of meditation, namely, contemplation of impurity (asubhā-bhāvanā), contemplation of mercy (mettā-bhāvanā), contemplation of cause and effect (nidāna-bhāvanā), contemplation of distinction (vibhaṇga-bhāvanā), and contemplation of breath (ānāpāna-sati). In sum, there are many ways to practice concentration and wisdom (samādhi and paññā), which need not be expanded upon here.

[9]Q: Are Buddhist monks (or nuns) obligated to serve the lay Buddhists in any way?

A: Generally speaking, the Buddhist monks and nuns serve as models of moral virtue for the laity; advise them to do good and to avoid evil; preach the Buddha Dhamma to them; console the sick and the poor and if necessary, participate in the relief work for people in calamities; be merciful and benevolent to promote the welfare of all beings.

[10]Q: As you have said, the practice of renunciation was encouraged in

Buddhist circles. Is it then the Buddhist ideal to call for everybody to do the same?

A: In terms of Buddhist doctrine and institutions, renunciation should be only for a minority of Buddhists. Firstly, their motives for renunciation and cultivation must be pure and genuine, seeking for deliverance and forsaking worldly craving (tanhā) with determination. Secondly, after renouncing the world, they are required to live up to the standard both in doctrines and in conduct. If they have the desire to get married, they should go back to laity voluntarily. Once they break the four fundamental rules (Pārājika) against murder of a human being or abetting a murder, theft, sexual intercourse and exaggeration of one's supernatural power, they should be ostracized from the Saṅgha Order. Thirdly, there are many restrictions for renunciation. The candidates, for instance, should have their parents' permission, should be over 20 years of age (for ordination of Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī), should not be deformed or mentally deficient, should not be escaping criminal penalty or debt liabilities, etc. Fourthly, higher ordination (Upasampadā) must be recommended, certified and approved by a council of more than ten elder Bhikkhus (Theras), each with 10 years or more of Upasampadā. On the other hand, it is much easier to return to laity, one needs only inform another monk or nun. The Buddhist community is composed of four groups: male and female monastic orders with the responsibility of maintaining the Buddha Dhamma, and male and female laity with the duty of protecting and bolstering the Buddha Dhamma. Together, they form a dual congregation. Therefore, Buddhism does not require everybody to renounce his lay life. Many of the Buddhist scriptures, particularly those of Mahāyāna, such as *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* and *Upāsaka-sīla-sutta* are eulogies of laymen who undertake Buddhist practice at home.

[11]Q: What are the prerequisites for the followers to practice Buddhism?

A: The prerequisites for lay followers are to take refuge in the Three Gems (Tiratana), being firmly convinced that the Three Gems, namely, Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, are the only resort to turn to and rely on physically and mentally. Nor should they turn to other religions or gods as their refuge. Next, they should observe the Five Precepts (Pañca-sīla)

and Eight Precepts of Uposatha. Uposatha means fasting or abstinence on certain days every month, that is, refraining from: eating after midday; using perfume and wearing adornments; singing, dancing and watching entertainment shows; and sitting or sleeping on high comfortable beds. The dates of fasting are generally set on the 1st, the 8th, the 14th, the 15th, the 23rd and the 29th of the lunar calendar. Taking refuge in the Three Gems (Tiratana), observing the Five Precepts (Pañca-sīla), practicing Uposatha, striving to do good for others and keeping one's own body and mind pure—all of these are the demands for self-cultivation for lay Buddhists. In reality, some fall below the above standards and some surpass them. The Buddha taught a lot of worldly laws (loka-dhamma) to the lay followers. For instance, he explained in detail to Siṅgālaka (in Siṅgālovāda Sutta) how to properly deal with relations between parents and children, between mentor and disciple, between husband and wife, between friends, between master and servant and between Saṅgha and laity. He also talked to a young man Dīghajāṇu (or Ujjaya) about the four ways of seeking comfort and balance (Cattāro Dhammā), namely, Uṭṭhānasampadā (perfection of professional training), Ārakkhasampadā (protection of one's own property, frugality without waste), Kalyāṇamittatā (making worthy friends), and Samajīvitā (leading a decent life). He also talked to the kings (rājas) of his time about how to deal with problems of domestic politics and good-neighborly relations. The Mahāyāna codes, on the other hand, discourse generally on how lay Bodhisattas should practice the Six Perfections (cha-pāramitā), Four Embracing Dhamma (Cattāri saṃgaha vatthūni), and so forth.

[12]Q: Admission to the Saṅgha Order actually is not always as strict as you described above, is it?

A: In fact, in certain periods and in certain regions, there has been excessive acceptance of disciples and indiscriminate ordination of Saṅgha. This has long caused apprehension in the Buddhist circles of China. History shows that the most flourishing periods of Buddhism have not been the times with the largest number of monks. On the contrary, periods with too many monks were usually times of the decline of Buddhism. For instance, in the early Tang Dynasty a large number of monks were dismissed. At the time of Dhammācariya Xuanzang, the conditions for renunciation and ordination were very strict. Candidates were required to

pass examinations. Even Xuanzang himself had to undergo difficult procedures to fulfill the qualifications to be a monk. Yet it was precisely at that time, Buddhism came into its most splendid era. The same was true not only in China, but also in other countries. In the 15th century, for instance, there was a high monk named Dhammasiddhi in Myanmar who later returned to lay society and became a king. In view of the excessive number of monks, he issued an edict ordering that all monks of the country should be reordained. Owing to his rigorous reformation, the number of Buddhist monks in Myanmar was reduced from a few hundred thousand to ten thousand or so. All the rest, unable or unwilling to meet the requisite qualifications for being reordained, were forced to leave the Saṅgha. Buddhism in Myanmar thus came to a renascence. This instance indicates that Saṅgha should not be developed unrealistically.

[13]Q: It is said that in some countries, every one is obliged to experience monastic life once in his lifetime. Is that true?

A: Yes, it is a custom prevailing in Myanmar, Thailand and some other countries. So it was formerly in the Dai-inhabited region in China. But it is not a regulation laid down by Buddhism. In these regions, children of seven or eight years of age are usually sent by their parents to temples where they learn to read Buddhist scriptures and lead a monastic life. After a certain period, they can return to the lay life. The duration of their stay in the temple varies from only a few days to a few months, or even a few years. One who has not undergone monasticism during childhood is required to do so for some period during adult life. Unlike the volunteers who determine to renounce the lay life for a long time, these temporary practitioners do not receive pabbajjā (junior ordination) as sāmaṇeras (novices).

[14]Q: Is it true that Japanese monks may get married?

A: Originally, Japanese monks did not have wives and children. In 12th century, Shinran (亲鸾), the founder of Jodo Shinshū (the True Sect of Pure Land)—a branch of the Pure Land Sect, advocated that people could take up Buddhist practice along with their wives. This initiated a way of life among monks of getting married and having children. But for centuries, this custom was confined to this sect alone. After the Meiji Reformation (1868), the custom of marriage became popular among

other sects of the day. Today with the exception of a few monks of minor sects, who keep celibacy, the overwhelming majority of monks get married, their Buddhist profession passing on to their offspring. Thus the institution of popularizing the Buddhist cause by lay Buddhists came into existence. However, this state of affairs applies to male priests only, while the nuns in Japan today continue to lead monastic life with abstinence as before.

[15]Q: Why are the Buddhist monks termed "Heshang" in China? What does it mean?

A: The word "Heshang" was derived from the Sanskrit Upādhyāya,(P. Upajjhāya), meaning teacher or mentor. The word was pronounced as Pwājjhaw or Khosha in the regions to the West of China. From there to the Han-inhabited area it was changed into Heshang. Originally it was an honorable title only for those who were capable to be masters, and not to anybody else. This title at first had not been confined to Buddhist monks but might equally be applied to qualified Buddhist nuns. Later on, this word came to be used to address any male who is leading a monastic life. It is not in conformity to the original meaning.

[16]Q: What is the meaning of "Lama"?

A: "Lama" is a Tibetan word, with the same meaning as "Heshang". This word was misused too since it, in its original sense, was not applicable to everyone leading a monastic life. Properly speaking, the title for those who have received ten precepts (pabbajjā) is Sāmaṇera, while for those who have been given the higher ordination (upasampadā) it is Bhikkhu; in the same way, the title for female acceptors of ten precepts is Sāmaṇerī and for the female acceptors of the higher ordination it is Bhikkhunī.

[17]Q: In the Han regions, monks are usually called "Seng", and nuns "Ni". Are they correct titles?

A: "Seng" is an abbreviated form of Saṅgha meaning community. Saṅgha is a congregation of Buddhist monks and nuns, with at least four members. So an individual can not be entitled Saṅgha, but only a Saṅgha member, just as a single soldier can not form an army, but only be a military man. Both monks and nuns are included in the Saṅgha, they are Saṅgha

members. It is a mistake to distinguish between monks and nuns in terms of "Seng" and "Ni". As to the term Ni (nun), it derived from the suffix of Bhikkhunī, being an abbreviation for the Buddhist nuns by the Han people of China. Another common term for them is "Ni-gu".

[18]Q: What is a Dhammācariya?

A: Dhammācariya was originally the title of an academic degree, conferred on those with a comprehensive knowledge of the Buddha Dhamma and capable of preaching it. It should not be applied to any one else. There are other high degrees: Suttācariya for those who have mastered Sutta-piṭaka, Vinayācariya for those with mastery of Vinaya-piṭaka, and Abhidhammācariya for those with a thorough knowledge of Abhidhamma-piṭaka. Even higher is the Tipiṭakācariya—the title for those with a comprehensive mastery of the knowledge of all the three piṭakas (Tipiṭaka). Both Xuanzang and Yijing in the Tang Dynasty were awarded the title.

[19]Q: What is a Living Buddha?

A: In Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhism, those who achieve exceptional cultivation and are able to reincarnate (get rebirth) according to their own will are called "ḥpbrulsku" (Tibetan) or "Hobilghan" (Mongolian) meaning reincarnater or incarnation. In the Han-inhabited regions, however, they are commonly called Living Buddhas. The title probably has something to do with the fact that the emperors of the Ming Dynasty conferred the title of "Western Buddha of Great Goodness and Freedom" on Dhammarāja (religious leader) of the Bkah-brgyud-pa Sect who was the ruler of Tibet at that time, and that the same title was conferred on the Dalais by the emperors of the Qing Dynasty. In fact such titles do not make sense according to Buddhist doctrine. Besides, there is no such term as Living Buddha in Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism. Similarly, the Buddhist Bhikkhus of Dai nationality are called by Han people "Foye" (Buddha). This is a misnomer and is not used by the people of Dai nationality themselves.

[20]Q: What is Saṅgha-rāja?

A: In certain countries such as Thailand, the Saṅgha leader elected by the nation is called King of Saṅgha (Saṅgha-rāja). In Sri Lanka, a Mahā-

nāyaka is elected from each Buddhist sect, and a Nāyaka from each province or municipality. The Saṅgha-rājas or Mahā-nāyakas administer national Buddhist affairs, while the Nāyakas administer local Buddhist affairs.

[21]Q: Why is it necessary for monastic Buddhists to have congregations of Saṅgha?

A: For an individual monk or nun, it is necessary to lead a collective life in the Saṅgha in order to learn from and help each other. Buddhism, as a whole, also needs congregations to undertake the responsibility of "maintaining the Buddha Dhamma". The Saṅgha has been playing such an important role in the Buddhist cause that it is called one of the Three Gems (Tiratana).

[22]Q: Are there any principles and systems in the organization of the Saṅgha?

A: There are six principles known as "the six points of harmony (or unity)", i.e., harmony or unity among disciplines, harmony of views, of interests, in bodily actions, in speech and in mind. To explain briefly, the six points mean: (the Saṅgha as a whole is) to observe identical commandments, to hold same views when studying side by side, to share equally in the community's goods, to help each other in daily life, to mutually advise to do good and to avoid mistakes, to fraternally love and respect each other in matters of faith. Through these six, the harmony and unity of the whole Saṅgha can be reached. In order to carry out the above six principles, the Buddha devised a number of rules or regulations for the Saṅgha.

[23]Q: What are some of the important rules?

A: The most important is the Vinaya rules of Kamma. Kamma originally meant action. Since among Saṅgha, everything is settled through Saṅgha meetings, so its complete meaning is "action (or settlement of things) through Saṅgha assembly". For example, if there is something to be done, all the monks in a certain area should gather together to discuss and make a decision. Those who are unable to attend the meeting due to illness or other engagements have to send word through others to ask to be excused and signify willingness to accept the decision of the meeting. Prior to the meeting, presiding chairman (master of Kamma) inquires if

all monks have come and if any novice or non-ordained (who is not supposed to attend the meeting) are present. The meeting can not be opened until all the monks are present and outsiders excluded. Then the opening address is made, and purpose and proposals of the meeting are tabled for the participants to discuss and decisions are finally made by voting. Voting is generally by oral consent. Those in agreement would remain silent, while those in dissent would speak out their opinions. If all remain silent, the proposal is passed. On some matters, decisions are made by going through the procedure just once. For more important issues, the procedure must be repeated twice for a decision to be made. As to even more important issues (such as ordination or punishment), the procedure must be gone through three times for a decision to be made. Finally the presiding chairman says: "Inasmuch as all monks remain silent, the resolution is passed." Another way of voting is to cast chips (using differently colored bamboo chips to signify for or against, equal to casting ballots). Some Buddhist Canons, with full descriptions of these regulations, are the oldest laws on conference in the world, and are an important creation and contribution of Buddhism.

[24]Q: Are there regular meetings of the Saṅgha?

A: A recitation assembly (Uposatha Kamma) is held every half-month. The monks assemble to recite the text of precepts (Pātimokkha), and to examine, according to Vinaya, everyone's conducts in the past fortnight. The procedure is through confession and exposure by others. At the end of the annual rainy season retreat, a ceremony known as Pavārana is held. Pavārana means satisfaction with self-criticism and others' exposure. By this means, each expresses repentance for his own faults. It is, in fact, also a meeting for reviewing the monastic life. As to consultation on other matters, meetings are called whenever necessary.

[25]Q: Is it correct to say that Sākyamuni adopted certain institutional aspects of the primitive commune into the Saṅgha community?

A: It is a tenable position given its democratic system and the system of financial distribution (equally sharing community property without personal possession). During the early days of the Saṅgha, Bhikkhus were not engaged in production. However, in the Han-inhabited regions of China monks are used to being engaged in farm work, and advocate a

combination of farm work with Buddhist practice. This is an excellent feature of the Chinese Saṅgha.

[26]Q: Is the kamma system still in operation now?

A: Both Uposatha and Pavārana systems are still in practice in the southern Buddhist nations. So are other kammic ceremonies, such as the Ordination Kamma. Yet it seems that, for the most part, they are preserved as religious rites. Today in China, there are also some temples which still maintain the systems of Uposatha and Pavārana. But the democratic spirit of the kamma has long been lost owing to the fact that a number of feudalistic systems were introduced into the monasteries during the long period of feudalism, particularly owing to the fact that the monastery rules (Conglin Qinggui) were revised and enforced by the feudal court in accordance with their needs.

[27]Q: What is the meaning of "Conglin Qinggui"?

A: The original meaning of "Conglin" is grove or forest. A thickly populated monastery is just like a forest with plenty of trees, so it is called "conglin", meaning great monastery (Mahāvihāra). "Qinggui" means the rules or regulations daily observed by the monks or nuns in monasteries, which are laid down according to the Vinaya enacted by the Buddha and adapted to prevailing conditions, including climate, geography, social customs, laws and regulations of the state, as well as sectarian characteristics, etc. The earliest monastery rules in China were initiated by Dao'an of the Eastern Jin Dynasty in the 4th century. After that each sect in subsequent dynasties created its own monastery institutions. For example, in the Tang Dynasty a set of codes for monks of the Zen School was created by Master Baizhang. Then it was lost. Later on, a "Royal Revised Baizhang Code" was created by an emperor of the Yuan Dynasty. This was actually in conformity with the need of feudal rulers, and had nothing to do with Baizhang himself. Subsequently this code was enforced by imperial orders through the Hongwu and Yongle Eras of the Ming Dynasty, and became a universal system observed by all monks and nuns throughout China, in place of all sorts of original monastic regulations and codes.

[28]Q: Would you please give some account of the etiquette and life style of a

monastic community?

A: These were stipulated in detail in the Vinaya text. Many stipulations have been preserved intact by Buddhist communities in the southern countries, while in the northern countries, owing to climatic, conventional and other differences as well as historical transitions, the monastic life has undergone a lot of changes. Details are not easy to list here. If you have specific questions, we can talk about them briefly.

[29]Q: What is the etiquette between senior and junior monks?

A: In the monastic community, senior or junior does not refer to older or younger in age, but the number of years since ordination. The title "Thera" (Elder) is conferred on Bhikkhus 10 years after ordination, and "MahāThera" 20 years after ordination. Juniors should salute seniors. Seniors precede juniors while walking along. As to sitting, the upper seats are given to the seniors and the lower seats to the juniors, and juniors should not sit unless asked to sit by seniors. So in the southern Buddhist countries, the inquiries about ordination time are necessary for monks when they meet each other. Normally when ordinary bhikkhus meet a MahāThera, they are required to take off their shoes, and expose their right shoulders, and then make salutation.

[30]Q: What is the etiquette of lay Buddhists towards monks and nuns?

A: In the southern countries, when a lay Buddhist enters a monastery or a monk's room he should take off his shoes before worshipping bhikkhus. At the bhikkhu's request to sit down, he should take a lower seat or sit on the ground, and he must not sit on the bhikkhu's bed. He should not eat together with bhikkhus at the same table. If a bhikkhu comes to a layman's home, the host should place a piece of clean cloth over the chair, and invite the former to sit down before salutation. Even if a son becomes a bhikkhu, his own parents should salute him likewise. According to the Southern Buddhist customs, whatever the occasion, when a lay Buddhist comes to visit or enters the meeting hall, the bhikkhus never stand up, nor do they return the greetings, or sometimes they merely say "good luck". When offerings are given to them, they do the same. Likewise, senior bhikkhus do not return the greetings from junior bhikkhus and sāmaṇeras. In China, bhikkhus may return the

greetings from lay Buddhists or junior bhikkhus and sāmaṇeras by bringing their palms together in courtesy, and ranking of seats is not strictly observed, except during formal religious ceremonies.

[31]Q: Would you please say something about dietary habits, such as abstaining from taking food after midday and vegetarianism?

A: There are two reasons for monastic Buddhists not to eat after midday according to Buddhist regulations, they are: 1. Abstaining from taking food afternoon reduces the burden on the laity since they provide the food; 2. It is conducive to practicing contemplation (bhāvanā). In the southern countries, this institution is still in common practice today. The strictest adherents only drink water, without taking milk, tea, coconut juice or anything else, while others may drink tea, soda water or fruit juice, as well as take candies after midday. In China, the Han monks of the Zen Sect have been used to doing farm work since ancient times, and due to their physical work, they have to eat something in the evening. So in most monasteries, this regulation is relaxed, but supper is regarded as part of a "medicinal diet". Even so, many monks continue to observe the rule of abstention from eating after midday.

[32]Q: Can the rules (sīla) ever be broken?

A: Among the precepts in Pātimokkha, apart from the four fundamentals of no killing, no stealing, no sexual conduct and no lying on spiritual attainment, all the rest should be maintained in general, but can be relaxed under certain circumstances. According to the Bodhisatta Rules, all must serve the needs of benefiting sentient beings (Sattvārtha-kriyā sīla). Thus for lay Bodhisattas, even the four fundamentals may be relaxed as required for benefiting sentient beings. "Maintain" and "relax" are the terminology used in Vinaya texts. For instance, abstention from eating after midday must be observed in normal times, yet in case of illness, it can be broken if the afflicted need to take food after midday. The Chinese monks have to relax the precept of not eating after midday because they take part in farm work. In the temples of the Zen Sect, supper is called "chamber meal", since it was originally provided to the laborers in their rooms instead of in the dining hall. However, in later times, those who did not take part in labor also began to have supper.

[33]Q: The monks of southern countries eat meat. Do they break the Vinaya rules?

A: The food of monks in the southern countries is obtained by begging from door to door with alms bowls or provided by nearby families in turn, so they eat whatever is offered to them, regardless whether it is vegetarian. In the Bhikkhu's Vinaya, there is no rule prohibiting meat-eating. While in Chinese Mahāyāna scriptures there are clauses against meat-eating. The Chinese Han monastics, keeping faith in Mahāyāna Buddhism, accept not only Bhikkhu's precepts but also Bodhisatta sīlas, so Han monks, nuns and even many lay followers abstain from eating meat. Historically, the custom of vegetarianism among the Han Buddhists became popular with the advocacy of Emperor Wu of Liang (the Southern and Northern Dynasties). As for the Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhists, though they follow Mahāyāna Buddhism, they can't live without eating meat since there is a great shortage of vegetables in their regions. Nevertheless, all the Buddhists in the southern countries as well as in Mongolia and Tibet highly praise the habit of vegetarianism of Han Buddhists. As to the Chinese word "hun", it refers to things with strong and pungent smells like garlic and onion. They are proscribed by both Mahāyāna and Theravāda Vinayas, which is observed by both Southern and Northern Buddhists. It is a mistake to confuse the term "hun" with simply eating meat.

[34]Q: It is said that in the southern countries, when the dāyakas (lay-Buddhists) offer food to the monks they have to put the bowls into the hand of the latter, otherwise the monks can't take it. Is it true?

A: Yes. Because the monks should observe the rule of "abstaining from taking what is not given" (i.e. the rule against stealing). Not only in the case of alms-giving, whatever is offered by laity must be put into the hands of monks. Or they can't take it.

[35]Q: It is also said that some monks never touch or hold money with their hands. Is that true?

A: Yes. There is indeed such a clause among the precepts for monks, which is to prevent them from keeping private property and giving rise to greed. Today it is still observed by some monks. In the southern countries when

such monks travel, they are accompanied by a lay follower who can handle money for them. Owing to certain inconveniences, however, this rule is not very strictly observed today even in the southern countries.

[36]Q: Could you please say something about the clothing of monks?

A: According to the Buddhist rules, monks should possess three robes: a large, a medium and a small. The small one, made of five strips of cloth, known as Five-strip Robe in China, is for doing manual and cleaning work. The medium one, made of seven pieces of cloth, commonly called Seven-strip Robe in China, is the normal form of dress. The large one, usually made of nine to twenty five strips of cloth, commonly called "ancestral robe" in China, is the ceremonial dress for traveling or visiting elders. The three suits are collectively called *jiasha* (kasāya). Kasāya originally was the name of a tincture used to dye robes, because the Buddhist monks had to dress in dyed robes of mixed color, or Kasāya color, to avoid five pure colors of indigo, yellow, red, white and black. The kasāya color, which was said to be reddish in ancient Chinese translations, and saffron in the southern Buddhist canons, is presumably a mixed color of red and yellow. The Chinese Buddhist scriptures record that, with the division of Buddhist sects in India, the colors of robes of different sects varied from each other, some being red, some yellow, and some indigo. However, according to the Buddhist master, Ven. Paramattha, who came to China in the 6th century from India, the robe colors of different sects were basically red with minute differences. Today in Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, India and Nepal the robes of monks are all yellow in color, with slightly different shades. As to the robes worn by the Han monastics in China, the ceremonial robe is red, the five-strip and seven strip robes are generally yellow. Of the Mongolian and Tibetan ones, the large robe is yellow and the medium, worn at ordinary times, is close to red. Because of the cold climate in the north, the three robes are not warm enough, so monks in China wear an additional suit underneath the kasāya called common garb, which is simply ancient Chinese layman's clothing with a slight variation. The color of common garb was stipulated by an emperor of the Ming Dynasty, that is, for monks who were practicing meditation, it should be teabrown; for the Dhamma-preaching monks, it should be blue, and for the monks of the Vinaya Sect, it should be black. After the

Qing Dynasty, there were no official regulations. Yet, with the restoration of the temples of the Vinaya School in the early Qing Dynasty by the Vinaya master, Ven. Jianyue, the common garb of the rank and file monks of this sect were yellow. Burmese monks particularly avoid wearing black since a group of heretic monastics in ancient Myanmar who dressed in black committed many crimes, were later strictly banned. Mongolian and Tibetan monks also avoid black clothes.

[37]Q: What about the practice of tonsure for Buddhist monks?

A: According to Buddhist regulations, a shaved head, dyed garments, and ordination are the prerequisites for gaining the monkhood. The purpose of the tonsure and dyeing of garments is to signify giving up beautification and leading a frugal and austere life. The monks generally do not wear beards, except some monks in China who shave their beards upon ordination, but believe that beards can be kept afterwards. No monks in the southern countries grow beards. Regarding burning dot-scars on the top of head at the time of ordination, the monastics of other nationalities do not have such regulations. It is only the Han monks who do. This tradition may be related with *Brahmajāla Sutta-Bodhisatta Sīla* which mentions burning one's own body (or parts of body) in dedication to the Buddha. In the Tang Dynasty there was already a custom of scarring the top of the head with moxa cone. This was said to have become common practice during the Yuan Dynasty, when the Yuan rulers tried to distinguish the false monastics from the genuine ones in an attempt to prevent the law-breaking people from fleeing into the Saṅgha. This explanation remains to be verified.

[38]Q: Now that you have told us about the monastic lifestyle, could you please tell us about some of the chief figures in the Saṅgha at the time of the Buddha? Who were the most distinguished disciples of Sākyamuni?

A: There were ten distinguished disciples: Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Mahākassapa, Subhūti, Puṇṇa, Mahākaccāna, Anuruddha, Upāli, Rāhula and Ānanda. Each of them had a special distinction. For example, Sāriputta was known as the chief in wisdom; Moggallāna, the chief in psychic power (abhiññā); Upāli, the first in observing vinaya rules, and Ānanda, the chief of learning (bahu-Śruta). Sāriputta and Moggallāna,

the two foremost disciples in the Saṅgha, were most highly regarded by the Buddha. They died before the Buddha's passing away. After the Buddha's Parinibbāna, it was Mahākassapa who acted as the leader of the Saṅgha, and then Ānanda.

[39]Q: There generally are two images standing at each side of the Buddha's statue in the Buddhist monasteries. Who are they?

A: If the images are one old and one young, the old is Mahākassapa, and the young Ānanda. If they look about the same age, one is Sāriputta and the other Moggallāna. However, these images exist only in Han Buddhist temples, while in temples of the southern tradition, the Buddha's image is enshrined alone, unaccompanied by any of his disciples.

[40]Q: Are there any relics of the Buddha's disciples remaining today?

A: Sir Alexander Cunningham, an Englishman, (Director of the Indian Archeological Bureau) excavated several ancient thūpas in 1851 at a locality named Sanchi, 549 miles northeast from Bombay, India. In one of the thūpas, they found two large stone caskets with the names of Sāriputta and Moggallāna engraved respectively on the covers and their divine skeletons inside. The skeletons were stolen by the British and preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. After the independence of India, through negotiations with Britain, they were returned and once again enshrined at Sanchi. In Sanchi, not a well-known place then, a wealth of Buddhist relics have been discovered in modern times. A big thūpa built under King Aśoka's edict in the 3rd century BC still exists today in good condition, and is said to be the only one surviving among the 84,000 thūpas Aśoka built. On the four sides of the thūpa are exquisitely engraved stone gates. Owing to the discovery of numerous valuable relics, particularly of the sarīras of the two great arahats, Sanchi has become one of the most important Buddhist holy sites in India today.

[41]Q: In the Han Buddhist temples, usually the images of eighteen Arahats can be seen. Who are they?

A: In fact, there should be sixteen arahats, or sixteen āyasmas (Arahat is transliterated into Chinese as Aluohan, or simply Luohan). According to the Buddhist canons, under the Buddha's instructions, sixteen of his

disciples would not enter into Nibbāna. In *Nandimittāvadāna* written by Āyasma Nandimitra of Siharatta (now Sri Lanka) in the 2nd century AD, the names of the sixteen arahats and localities of their residences were recorded. After the book was translated into Chinese by Dhammācāriya Xuan Zang, the sixteen Arahats were held in universal esteem by the Chinese Buddhists. By the time of the Five Dynasties, with the growing popularity of paintings and sculptures, representation of sixteen arahats was gradually superseded by representations of eighteen arahats. Presumably the painters intended to add Nandimitra and Xuan Zang, the writer and the translator of *Nandimittāvadāna* into the list. However, when later generations put the names of Arahats on the paintings, Nandimitra was mistakenly listed as the seventeenth resident Luohan, and the name of the first Arahat was repeated as the eighteenth. Though this mistake was already found out in the Song Dynasty, the formulation of the Eighteen Luohans became widespread in China, probably because of the many inscriptions and paintings made by famous calligraphers and painters as well as men of letters such as Guan Xiu, Su Dongpo, and Zhao Songxue.

[42]Q: In many Chinese Buddhist temples, there are images of 500 Luohans. Who are they?

A: In ancient India, the figures "500", "84,000", etc. were often used to indicate multitudes, just as the ancient Chinese were in the habit of using 3 or 9 to denote large numbers. 500 bhikkhus, 500 disciples and 500 arahats frequently appeared in the Buddhist canons. Frequent as they were, they do not mean definite figures. Along with the veneration to the Sixteen Arahats, however, the images of 500 Luohans, too, began to appear in paintings and sculptures during the period of the Five Dynasties, and before long Halls of 500 Luohans were built in a number of temples. Subsequently, the 500 Luohans were given names without any basis. With regard to the statues of 500 Luohans appearing in many temples in recent times, many of them were created out of craftsmen's imagination, or adapted from fairy tales. So they appeared grotesque, and inconsistent with the dignified posture requested by Vinaya, which should be duly upheld by the Buddha's disciples.

[43]Q: In Buddhist temples, there are many images of Bodhisattas. Who are

they?

A: In Han Buddhist temples, the Bodhisatta images enshrined are mainly Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, Avalokiteśvara (or Guanyin), and Kṣitigarbha.

44Q: You have said before, any one who aspires to deliver himself and others and to awaken himself and others can be called Bodhisatta. Why then are the four worshipped like deities?

A: The ideal of releasing not only oneself but also others and of awakening not only oneself but also others is known as the lofty aspiration, or "bodhicitta". All men who begin to be imbued with bodhicitta may be called Bodhisattas, but they remain as worldly men until they acquired certain attainments. This involves many steps from making the great vow to gaining Buddhahood, there are the Three Virtuous States, the Ten Excellent Positions or stages (dasa-bhūmi) and the Fifty-two Stages. From the day of arising of bodhicitta, one should practice the Three Studies (Tisikkhā) of discipline (sīla), concentration (samādhi), and wisdom (paññā), carry out the Six Perfections (pāramitā) and the Four Fundamental Virtues (cattāri sangaha-vatthūni), and go through countless cycles of birth and death until finally achieving Buddhahood. Mañjuśrī and the others have reached the highest state of being Bodhisatta, or Sammā-sambodhi Bodhisatta. The Mahāyāna scriptures particularly eulogize the great wisdom of Mañjuśrī, the great conduct of Samantabhadra, the infinite compassion and pity of Avalokiteśvara and the great vow of Kṣitigarbha. Therefore, the four Great Bodhisattas command particular veneration of Buddhists. In China, the Wutai Mountains is regarded as the sermon place of Mañjuśrī, the Emei Mountains as that of Samantabhadra, the Putuo Mountains as that of Avalokiteśvara and the Jiuhua Mountains as that of Kṣitigarbha. They are known collectively as the Four Famous Holy Mountains, an indication of the significant positions of the four Bodhisattas in the hearts of Chinese Buddhists.

45Q: Are the Four Holy Mountains also well-known in the world?

A: The Wutai Mountains as the preaching place of Mañjuśrī was recorded in Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures, so in ancient times, it was worshipped by quite a few eminent monks from India and Central Asia. There was even

an old legend in Nepal saying that the Kathmandu Valley (where the capital of Nepal is located) used to be a large lake. It was Mañjuśrī, after he arrived there from the Wutai Mountains, China, who cleaved apart a mountain, drained off the lake water, and settled down with his followers, thus founding the State of Nepal. That is why the Nepalese people hold Mañjuśrī and the Wutai Mountains in particular affection. As to how the Putuo Mountains became the preaching place of Avalokiteśvara and how the Jiuhua Mountains became that of Kṣitigarbha, they are said to be related with the Buddhist monks from Japan and Korea.

[46]Q: In the front hall of the Han Buddhist temples, there is usually a statue of a monk with a smiling face enshrined. Who is he?

A: He is Maitreya Bodhisatta. According to Buddhist prediction, long after the extinction of the teachings of Sākyamuni Buddha in the far future, Maitreya Bodhisatta would become the Buddha and preach in the world. For this reason, he has been held in universal esteem as well. In Chinese history, there were instances in which peasants were called to rebel under the pretext that Maitreya was born, for example, the Maitreya Cult of the Yuan Dynasty. As to the statue of the smiling monk, however, it is not the true image of Maitreya, but the image of a monk named Qici of the Five Dynasties. He usually carried a bag made of a piece of cloth on his shoulder, so he was known as the Cloth-bag Monk. He was said to be an embodiment of Maitreya. That is why later people chose his form to be enshrined as Maitreya. Some believe that this tradition may have developed under the influence of the Maitreya Cult, which originated in Fenghua, Zhejiang Province, since this area was the home town of the Cloth-bag Monk. So it is logical to infer that the image of the Cloth-bag Monk spread under the influence of the Maitreya Cult.

叁　僧伽和佛的弟子

[1]问：为什么一部分佛教徒要出家？

答：要说明这个问题，先要谈一谈佛教的五乘教法。乘就是车子，能运载行人到远近不同的目的地，借以比喻教法。五戒的教法（戒杀、盗、淫、妄、酒的五条戒）能令修持者得生人间，叫做人乘。十善的教法（不犯十恶即是十善。十恶是指：一、杀；二、盗；三、淫；四、妄语；五、两舌，即挑拨离间；六、恶口，即粗恶伤人的言语；七、绮语，即邪淫言语；八、贪；九、嗔；十、邪见，即否认因果的见解。）能令修持者得生天界，叫做天乘。四谛的教法，能令人断除见惑（我见、常见、断见等错误见解）和思惑（对世间事物而起的贪嗔痴等迷情），证得涅槃，叫做声闻乘。“声”是言教的意思，听闻佛的言教，悟四谛之理而得到解脱的人叫做声闻。在没有佛法的时代，有人独自悟到缘起之理而得到解脱，但他不能把自己悟到的真理说出来，这种人叫做独觉，因此十二因缘法叫做独觉乘。六度的教法，能令修持者行菩萨道，经过无数世的难行苦行，最后达到佛的果位，叫做菩萨乘。

[2]问：五乘教法与出家有何关系？

答：人乘、天乘不要求出家；独觉生在没有佛法之世，虽是山林隐逸而没有出家的仪式；菩萨包括出家的和在家的人，不一定要出家，看住持佛法的因缘和利益众生的因缘可以出家，可以在家。如佛陀时代，文殊师利菩萨和弥勒菩萨都是出家的比丘，维摩诘也是大菩萨，则是居士（在家学佛之士）。只是声闻乘中为了证得现法涅槃，成阿罗汉的目的，要求修行者出家。

[3]问：阿罗汉是什么意思？

答：阿罗汉（Arahat）是修行者得到证悟的果位。到达这个果位有四个阶段：断除了见惑的叫做须陀洹果，即初果；进而断除思惑，按照其浅深粗细不同而有斯陀含果（二果）和阿那含果（三果）；到了阿罗汉的果位（四果），见惑思惑都已断尽，证得涅槃，堪

受人天供养。所以阿罗汉的意义之一就是“应供”，这是声闻乘中的终极地位。

[4]问：声闻乘为什么要求出家？

答：根据声闻乘教法，在家修行障碍多，心意难以专纯，只能在理论上断除见惑证得初果，至多断除欲界思惑证得三果，不能证得现法涅槃。出家生活自由无累，容易集注精力从事于无我无欲的修养，所以要证得阿罗汉果，非出家人做不到。

[5]问：出家的制度是佛教创始的吗？

答：出家制度不是佛教创始的。在佛陀的时代，出家修道在印度已成为风气，但是佛陀本人以王子出家的榜样，使出家风气在佛教中得到了鼓励。因此佛教徒中便有出家男女二众和在家男女二众。出家佛教徒一般称为僧人或僧侣。

[6]问：佛教僧侣是不是神职人员？

答：佛教僧侣仅仅是为求得解脱而出家修行的人，不是担任什么神与人之间的神职。他不应当，也不可能代人祈福禳灾，或代神降福免罪。

[7]问：佛教僧侣平时生活应当是怎样的呢？

答：根据佛的制度，一个比丘应当过着清净而俭约的生活，严格遵守不杀、不盗、不淫（包括在俗家的妻子）、不妄语、不两舌、不恶口、不绮语、不饮酒及不非时食（过午不食）、不涂香装饰、不自歌舞也不观听歌舞、不坐卧高广床位、不接受金银象马等财宝，除衣、钵、剃刀、滤水囊、缝衣针等必须用品外不蓄私财，不做买卖，不算命看相，不诈示神奇，不禁闭、掠夺和威吓他人等等及其他戒律。平日昼夜六时中（晨朝、日中、日没为昼三时，初夜、中夜、后夜为夜三时）除一定时间睡眠、托钵、饮食、洒扫、挑水外，其余时间都应当精勤地用在学修方面。

[8]问：学修的内容是什么？

答：教理的研究和禅定的修习，内容不外乎前面说过的三十七道品。三十七道品中基本修习的是四念处观（观身不净、观受是苦、观心无常、观法无我），在修四念处观之前，初入道者先学五停心观，即不净观、慈悲观、因缘观、界分别观和数息观。总之，修

定修慧的方法很多，这里不一一列举了。

9问：佛教僧侣对在家佛徒有什么义务吗？

答：一般说来，在德行上为他们树立模范；教导他们，劝善止恶；为他们讲说佛法；安慰病苦，必要时得参加社会灾难的救济；慈悲柔和，促进众生的福利。

10问：照你所说出家风气在佛教中得到鼓励，那么，佛教的理想是不是要求人人都出家呢？

答：根据佛教教义和它的制度来说，出家应当是佛教徒中少数人的事。第一、出家的动机要求真纯——即确是为求解脱，决心舍弃世间贪爱而出家修道。第二、出家后要求对教理及行持都够标准，如果有室家的欲望，应当自动还俗；如果犯杀盗淫妄四根本戒，则应当摈斥在僧伽之外。第三、出家有许多限制，例如：要得父母允许，要年满二十（求比丘戒、比丘尼戒的），不是肢体不全或精神上有缺陷的，不是逃避刑法、债累的等等。第四、出家受戒要得戒龄满十年的僧侣十人以上介绍、证明和会议通过，舍戒还俗则很容易，只须告知一个人便行。佛教徒本有四众，有出家男女二众，有在家男女二众。出家二众负住持佛法的责任，在家二众负护持佛法的责任，合成为双重的教团，所以佛教并不是要求人人都出家。很多佛教经典，特别是大乘经典如《维摩诘经》、《优婆塞戒经》都是称赞在家学佛的。

11问：在家佛教徒修道的条件是怎样？

答：皈依三宝，确信佛法僧三宝为身心归向依靠之处，更不皈依佛教以外的其它宗教与神庙，这是在家佛教徒的必要条件。其次是奉行五戒和持斋。持斋是在每月一定的日子里实行一种克己的生活，即过午不食，不涂香装饰和歌舞观剧，不坐卧高广床座。持斋的日子一般是阴历朔日、初八、十四、望日、二十三、二十九（晦日）。遵守三归、五戒和持斋，对人努力行善，对自己清净身心，这就是佛教在家信徒修持的标准。实际上有不及这个标准的，也有超过这个标准的。佛陀对在家信徒有许多世间法的教导，如对善生童子详细讲了父母子女之间、师弟之间、夫妇之间、朋友之间、主从之间、僧人与居士之间的关系如何善处的问题；对青年跋阇迦谈到方便具足（职业修养的完备），守护具足（节约不浪费财物），善知识具足（交结善友），正命具足（正当的生活）四种安乐法；对当时的国王们讲到如何处理国内政治

与睦邻问题。大乘经典则广说在家菩萨应当怎样修六度、四摄等等。

12问：事实上出家不是像你前面所说的那样严格吧？

答：事实上在某些时期、某些地区，僧伽中存在着滥收徒众、滥传戒的现象。这种现象，在我国久已引起佛教界的忧虑。从历史的情况来看，佛教最兴盛的时代，并不是僧众最众多的时代；相反的，僧徒太多的时代，往往是佛教衰坏的时代。如唐代初年曾大量淘汰僧众，玄奘法师时代出家很严格，要经过考试，当时玄奘为取得出家资格，还曾经过了困难的手续，但是佛教当时最为灿烂。这不仅我国如此，其他国家也是如此。例如，十五世纪缅甸有一位本来是高僧后来还俗做了国王的达磨悉提，他鉴于当时僧众之滥，曾经通令全国僧众重新受戒加入僧伽。由于他的严格整理，当时缅甸僧侣人数从数十万人减到一万多人，其余不够资格和不愿再度受戒的，均勒令还俗，缅甸佛教因此得到复兴。这件事说明僧伽是不应当盲目发展的。

13问：听说有些国家的人民，人人都要出一次家，是吗？

答：缅甸、泰国等都有这个风俗，我国傣族地区过去也是如此。这并不是佛教规定的制度。这些地方一般儿童到七八岁时候，父母便送他们到寺庙出家，在寺庙中识字学经，过僧团生活，过了一定时期可以还俗。出家时期最短的只有几天，有的几个月，有的几年。如果儿童时未出过家的，长大后总要有一个时期出一次家。这种临时出家的人并不受沙弥戒，与发愿长期出家的不同。

14问：听说日本僧人都有家室，是吗？

答：原来日本僧人都是没有家室的。公元十二世纪时期，净土宗的一派——净土真宗的创始者亲鸾倡导带妻修行，开始娶妻生子。其后几百年中这个制度只限于这一宗派。到明治维新后，僧人结婚的风气便在其它各宗派中流行起来。现在除少数宗派的少数僧人仍然过独身生活外，绝大多数僧人都有家室。他们的子孙世袭僧人的职业。这便形成了以在家佛教徒担任弘传佛教事业的制度。但是这种情况只是属于男僧人，今天日本的尼众还是出家如律持戒的。

15问：出家男子为什么称为和尚？和尚是什么意思？

答：“和尚”原来是从梵文Upādhyāya（P. Upajjhāya）这个字出来的，这个字到了西域被读成“乌阇”，到了汉地又读成“和尚”，它的意思就是“师”。和尚本是一个尊称，要有一定资格堪为人师的才能够称和尚，不是任何人都能称的。这个称呼并不限于男子，出家女众有资格的也可以称和尚。但是后来习俗上这个字被用为对一般出家人的称呼，而且一般当作是男众专用的名词，这是和原来的字义不合的。

16问：喇嘛是什么意思？

答：喇嘛是藏语，它和“和尚”是一样的意思。这个字也被滥用了，本来并不是每个出家人都能称为喇嘛的。正确的称呼是：出家的男人受十戒的称沙弥，受具足戒的称比丘；出家的女人受十戒的称沙弥尼，受具足戒的称比丘尼。

17问：汉族地区习惯地称出家的男子为“僧”，出家女子为“尼”，这是否是正确的称呼？

答：僧是僧伽的简称，它的字义就是“大众”。僧伽是出家佛教徒的团体，至少要有四个人以上才能组成僧伽。所以一个人不能称僧伽，只能称僧人，正如一个兵士不能称军，只能称军人一样。出家男女二众都在僧伽之内，都能称僧人。把“僧”和“尼”作为男女的区别，是错误的。至于“尼”字是从沙弥尼、比丘尼的字尾而来的，是汉族对出家女众的简称。还有在尼字下加上姑字的，则是习俗的称呼。

18问：什么叫做法师？

答：法师（Dhammācariya）本是一种学位的称号，要通达佛法能为人讲说的人才能称法师，不是任何人都可以称的。还有较高的学位，精通经藏的称为经师（Suttācariya），精通律藏的称为律师（Vinayācariya），精通论藏的称为论师（Abhidhammācariya）。更高的是三藏法师（Tipiṭakācariya），是遍通经律论三藏者的学位，如唐代玄奘、义净都受到这个称号。

19问：什么叫活佛？

答：蒙藏佛教对修行有成就，能够根据自己的意愿而转世的人称为“朱毕古”（藏语）或“呼毕勒罕”（蒙语）。这个字的意义就是“转世者”或“化身”。“活佛”乃是汉族地区的人对他们习俗的称呼，这可

能与明朝皇帝封当时西藏地方掌政的噶举派法王为“西天大善自在佛”和清朝皇帝给达赖的封号也沿用了这一头衔多少有些关系，这种封号和称号在佛教教义上都是说不通的，其实蒙藏佛教中并没有“活佛”这个名词。又傣族佛教比丘被称为“佛爷”，这也是汉人习俗上错叫出来的，他们自己并没有这种称呼。

[20]问：什么叫做僧王？

答：有些国家如泰国等，全国选出一位僧伽的领袖叫做僧王（Saṅgha-rāja）。在斯里兰卡则每一僧派选出一位“大导师”（Mahā-nāyaka），每一省或一市选出一位导师（Nāyaka）。僧王或大导师管理全国的僧务，导师管理地方的僧务。

[21]问：为什么出家佛教徒要有僧伽这样的教团？

答：对个人来说，为了在学修上和生活上互相切磋、互相帮助，出家人必须过僧伽的团体生活。对整个佛教来说，要有出家佛教徒组织的教团来担负起“住持佛法”的责任。僧伽所以被称为三宝之一，就是因为它在佛教事业中的重要性。

[22]问：僧伽的组织有没有什么原则和制度？

答：有六项原则，就是“六和”：戒和、见和、利和、身和、口和、意和。简单地解释一下：和就是和谐一致的意思，遵守共同的戒律（戒和），见解一致的共同修学（见和），平等受用合法的财物（利和），生活上互相照顾（身和），言语上互相劝善止过（口和），思想上彼此友爱敬重（意和），通过这六项来达到僧伽中的和谐一致。为了实现六和的原则，佛陀曾经为僧伽制定了许多制度。

[23]问：有哪些重要的制度？

答：最重要的是“羯磨”（Kamma）制度。羯磨本是办事的意思，但僧伽中办事的方法是通过会议，所以它的完整的意思就是“会议办事”。比方有什么事情要办，要一定地界内全体僧众集会讨论决定，因事因病不能参加的人必须委托别人代为请假，并表示愿意接受大众的决定。会议开始前，执行主席（羯磨师）询问僧众是否已经齐集，是否有未受戒的人在场，知道僧众已经到齐，外人已经出场后，然后开会。首先报告开会目的，提出议案，大众讨论，做出决定。表决的方式，一般是口头问答，征求同意，同意

的不说话，不同意的表示意见，如果大家都不说话，便是通过。有一种事经过这样一次征问，便作决定；有一种较重要的事要经过两次征问，才作决定；有一种更重要的事（如授戒，或给某人以处分）要经过三次征问，才作决定。最后执行主席说："僧人默然故，是事如是持"（既然大众都没有意见发表，这件事就是这样办了）。另外还有一种表决方式，就是投筹（用颜色的竹筹表示可否，等于投票）。关于这些，佛教典籍中有详细规定。这是世界上最古老的会议法，可以说是佛教的一个重要的创造和贡献。

[24]问：僧伽中有没有定期的会议？

答：每半个月举行一次布萨羯磨（诵戒的集会）。僧众齐集念诵戒本，根据戒律，检查每个人半月中的生活。方式是自己发露（坦白说出过失），别人举过。每年雨季安居期满后，举行集会。这个集会名叫"自恣"，"自"的意思是自己发露，"恣"的意思是恣别人举出自己的罪过，从而忏悔，这仍然是检查生活的集会。至于商办事情是临时召集会议。

[25]问：可不可以说释迦牟尼在僧伽组织中采用了某些原始公社的制度？

答：从它的民主制度和财务分配制度（平均分配、个人不蓄私财）来看，可以这样设想。但是在原始僧伽中，比丘是不事生产的。我国汉族僧人有从事农耕的习惯，提倡农禅生活，这是我国僧伽一个优良的特点。

[26]问：羯磨制度，现在还实行吗？

答：布萨和自恣的制度在南方佛教国家中仍然实行，其他宗教性的如传戒羯磨也仍然实行，但是似乎大部分是作为宗教仪式保存着。今天我国也还有寺庙保存着布萨和自恣制度的。至于羯磨的民主精神，由于在长期封建社会中许多封建制度被引用到佛寺中来，特别是由于丛林清规被封建朝廷按照自己的意图加以修改推行，因而久已失去了本来面目。

[27]问：什么叫做丛林清规？

答：丛林就是大寺庙。僧众集合在一处，好像树木丛集成为森林一样，所以叫做丛林。清规就是丛林的僧众日常遵行的规制。这种规制是依据佛所定的戒律结合当时当地的实际情况，包括天时、地理、社会风习、国家法令以及宗派特点等等而定的。中国最古的

清规创自四世纪东晋时代的道安，后来各代各派都定有僧制。唐代百丈禅师创立禅宗僧众的清规，久已失传。后来元代皇帝《敕修百丈清规》，那是根据封建统治者的需要而假托百丈之名修出来的东西，与百丈并无关系。后来这个清规经过明洪武、永乐先后下旨推行，于是代替了原来的各种僧制和清规而成为全国僧众遵行的规制。

[28]问：关于僧众的礼节和生活习惯，可否请你谈一谈？

答：戒律中对于这些都有详细的规定，这许多规定南方国家的僧众保持得比较完整。北方佛教僧侣，由于气候、风土等等的差别以及历史的变迁，生活上有了许多改变，这里不能详细列举。请你提出所需要了解的问题，我们可以简单地谈一谈。

[29]问：关于礼节问题，僧众中长幼之间的礼节怎样？

答：僧众的长幼是依受戒的年龄分别的。受比丘戒十年以上的称上座或长老（Thera），二十年以上的称大上座或大长老（MahāThera）。戒龄小的应当礼拜戒龄高的。行路时长者先行，幼者后行；坐时长者坐上座，幼者坐下座，或长者不教坐不坐。所以南方国家僧人相见，必须问戒龄。一般比丘见大长老，必须脱鞋，偏袒右肩，然后礼拜。

[30]问：在家佛教徒对僧人的礼节如何？

答：南方国家，在家佛教徒进入佛寺僧房，首先要脱鞋，见比丘礼拜。比丘教坐时，坐低座或席地坐，不能坐比丘的床位，不能和比丘同桌吃饭。如果比丘到居士家，主人应当以干净的布铺在座椅上，请比丘坐下，然后礼拜。如果自己的儿子当比丘，父母也要礼拜。根据南方佛教习惯，在任何场合，比丘见到居士来访问或入会场，他们从不起立，居士向他们礼拜时，也不回礼，有时仅说一句："愿你吉祥。"向他们送供品时，也是如此。小比丘和沙弥礼拜大比丘时，大比丘也不答礼。在我国比丘受居士或小比丘、沙弥礼拜时，可合掌答礼，座位高下除正式宗教仪式外不甚严格。

[31]问：请你谈一谈关于饮食问题，如过午不食问题，吃素吃荤问题。

答：按照佛制，比丘午后不吃食物。原因有两个：1、比丘的饭食是由居士供养，每天只托一次钵，日中时吃一顿，可以减少居士的负

担；2、过午不食，有助于修定。这个制度，今天南方国家仍普遍实行。最严格的只喝白水，连牛奶、茶、椰子水都不喝。但一般的僧人午后可以喝茶、汽水、果汁，也可以吃糖。我国汉族禅宗僧人从古有自己耕种的习惯，由于劳动的缘故，晚上非吃东西不行。所以在多数寺庙中开了过午不食的戒，但是被视为“药食”，持过午不食戒的僧人为数也仍不少。

32问：戒条是可以开的吗？

答：比丘戒中除了不杀不盗不淫不妄四根本戒外，其余戒条平时应当“遮护”，在一定的情况下可以“开”（菩萨戒，一切服从“饶益有情戒”，在家菩萨为饶益有情故，四根本戒也可以开）。“开”与“遮”是戒律上的术语。如以过午不食为例，平时应当遮，但遇有某种疾病，必须午后进食的人则可以开。我国僧人因劳动的缘故必须开过午不食的戒。禅宗寺庙把吃晚饭叫做房餐，本来是给参加劳动者在房里吃的，而不是在斋堂中大家吃的，但是后来不劳动的人也吃起晚饭来了。

33问：南方国家的僧人吃“荤”，是否也是开戒？

答：南方国家僧人的饭食，或是到别人家托钵乞食，或是由附近人家轮流送饭，所以他们有什么吃什么，不论素食或肉食。比丘戒律中并没有不许吃肉的规定。我国大乘经典中有反对食肉的条文，我国汉族僧人是信奉大乘佛教的，他们受比丘戒外，并且受菩萨戒，所以汉族僧人乃至很多居士都不吃肉。从历史来看，汉族佛教吃素的风习，是由梁武帝的提倡而普遍起来的。蒙藏族僧人虽然也信奉大乘，但是他们的地方蔬菜极少，不食肉不能生活，所以一般都吃肉。但他们和南方国家佛教徒一样，对汉族佛教吃素的习惯，都是很赞叹的。至于“吃荤”的“荤”字，是专指大蒜、葱这些气味浓烈、富于刺激的东西，是大小乘戒律所同遮禁，南北佛教徒所共同遵守的。我们把“吃荤”和“吃肉”混同起来说，那是错误的。

34问：听说南方国家居士们供饭，必须将盘碗送到比丘手上，不这样，比丘就不能吃，是吗？

答：是的。因为比丘要守“不与不取戒”（即不偷盗戒），不仅是饭菜，供养任何东西都是这样，不交到他们手上，他们便不能取。

35问：听说还有比丘手不捉持银钱的，是吗？

答：是的。比丘戒中本有这一条，这是为了防止蓄私财，起贪念。现在还有人遵行。南方比丘旅行时须带俗人随从替他管银钱的事。但是为了种种不便，这个戒条在南方国家中现在也不太严格了。

[36]问：请谈一谈僧人的衣服问题。

答：根据佛教的制度，比丘衣服有大中小三件：一是用五条布缝成的小衣，我国俗称为五衣，是打扫劳作时穿的；一是七条布缝成的中衣，我国俗称七衣，是平时穿的；一是九条乃至二十五条布缝成的大衣，我国俗称祖衣，是礼服，出门或见尊长时穿的。三衣总称为袈裟（Kasāya）。袈裟本是一种颜色的名称，因为佛制僧人必须穿染衣，避用青黄赤白黑五正色，而用一种杂色，即袈裟色。我国旧译袈裟色是赤色，南方佛教典籍则说是一种橙黄色，可能是一种赤黄混合色。根据我国佛典记载，佛教在印度分了部派后，各部派衣色便有了区别，有的是赤色，有的是黄色，有的是青黑木兰色。但据六世纪印度来华高僧真谛法师说，各部派衣色实际都是赤色，所谓青黑木兰，仅是些微的差别。现在缅甸、斯里兰卡、泰国、柬埔寨、老挝、印度、尼泊尔诸国的僧服都是黄色，仅有深浅的不同。我国汉族僧人的袈裟，祖衣是赤色，五衣七衣一般都是黄色。蒙藏僧人的袈裟，大衣是黄色，平时所披的中衣近赤色。北方气候寒冷，僧众三衣不够，所以我国僧众在袈裟里面另穿一种常服，这种常服是就古代俗人的服装略加改变的。常服的颜色，明代皇帝曾作过规定，修禅僧人常服为茶褐色，讲经僧人蓝色，律宗僧人黑色。清代以后，没有什么官方规定，但律宗寺院自清初见月律师重兴后，一般僧人常服均为黄色。缅甸佛教徒特别忌穿黑衣，因为在缅甸古代曾有一种邪教僧人穿黑衣，多行非法之事，后来严行禁绝。蒙藏教徒也忌穿黑色衣服。

[37]问：请谈一谈关于僧人剃发的问题。

答：根据佛制，剃发、染衣、受戒是取得僧人资格的必要条件。剃发染衣的用意是为了舍弃美好装饰，实行朴素无华的生活。一般出家人也不留胡须，但我国有一部分僧人留须，他们认为出家时应剃须，此后可以留。南方国家的僧人则一律不留须。至于受戒并不需要在头顶上烧戒疤。除汉族外，其他民族僧人都没有烧戒疤的规矩。这可能与《梵网经菩萨戒本》燃身供养之说有关。唐朝已有炼顶（以艾燃顶）的习俗，这个习俗形成普遍的制度，据说是在元代。当时异族统治者想借以识别真假，防止抗拒法令的人民

逃到僧众里面去。这话尚待查考。

38问：关于僧人生活习惯的问题，已经知道了一些了。现在想请你谈一谈佛陀时代僧伽中一些主要的人物。请问释迦牟尼的弟子中最著名的有哪些人？

答：有十大弟子：舍利弗（Sāriputta），目犍连（Moggallāna）、摩诃迦叶（Mahākassapa）、须菩提（Subhūti）、富楼那（Purāṇa）、摩诃迦旃延（Mahākaccāna）、阿那律（Anuruddha）、优波离（Upāli）、罗怙罗（Rāhula）和阿难陀（Ānanda）。这十大弟子各有特长，其中如舍利弗被称为智慧第一，目犍连神通第一，优波离持戒第一，阿难陀多闻第一。舍利弗、目犍连二人最为佛所器重，是僧众的上首，他们都在佛涅槃前逝世。佛涅槃后，代佛统率大众的是摩诃迦叶，其后是阿难陀。

39问：一般佛寺中，立在释迦牟尼像两旁有两位比丘像，他们是谁？

答：有一老一少的像，老的摩诃迦叶，少的是阿难陀。也有两比丘像是年龄相若的，则是舍利弗和目犍连。这种像只是我国汉族佛寺中有的，南方国家的佛寺一般只供释迦牟尼佛像，供弟子像的很少。

40问：佛的弟子中有什么遗迹留存吗？

答：1851年英国人孔宁汉（当时的印度考古局长）在印度孟买东北五百四十九英里一个名叫山奇（Sanchi）的地方，对那里的几座古塔进行发掘。在一座塔里面，掘得两个大石函，函盖上分别刻着舍利弗和目犍连的名字，里面藏着他们两位的灵骨。这两份灵骨被英国人劫走，存置在伦敦维多利亚爱尔保博物馆。印度独立后，才向英国交涉取回，现仍供在山奇。山奇这个地方过去不甚知名，但是近代发现很丰富的佛教文物。公元前三世纪阿育王所造的大塔仍然完整的存在，据说是他所造的八万四千塔中唯一留存的一座。塔的四面各有雕刻的石门，极为精美。由于许多宝贵的古迹，特别是由于两位大阿罗汉舍利的发现，山奇现在已经成为印度重要的佛教圣地之一。

41问：汉族佛寺中常见到十八罗汉像，那是什么人？

答：应当是十六罗汉（罗汉即阿罗汉的简称，又称十六尊者）。据经典说，有十六位佛的弟子受了佛的付嘱，不入涅槃。公元二世纪时

师子国（今斯里兰卡）庆友尊者作的《法住记》中，更记载了十六阿罗汉的名字和他们所住的地区。这部书由玄奘法师译出之后，十六罗汉便普遍受到我国佛教徒的尊敬。到五代时，绘图雕刻日益普遍起来。后来画家画成了十八罗汉。推测画家原意可能是把《法住记》的作者庆友和译者玄奘也画在一起。但后人标出罗汉名字时，误将庆友列为第十七位住世罗汉，又重复了第一位阿罗汉的名字成为第十八位。虽然宋代已经有人指出了错误，但因为绘画题赞的人有的是名书画家和文学家，如贯休、苏东坡、赵松雪等人，所以十八罗汉便很容易地在我国流传开来。

42问：我国许多佛寺中有五百罗汉像，他们是什么人？

答：印度古代惯用“五百”、“八万四千”等来形容众多的意思，和我国古人用“三”或“九”来表示多数很相像。五百比丘、五百弟子、五百阿罗汉，在佛教经典中固然是常见的，但并不意味着是固定的数字。可是随着十六罗汉的崇奉，五百罗汉像也便在五代时期见于绘画和雕塑，不久便有许多寺庙建立了五百罗汉堂。后人又附会地列举五百罗汉的名字，其实都是没有根据的。至于近代某些寺院中塑造的五百罗汉像，许多形象都是出自匠人的臆造，或者采自神话小说，以至流于怪诞，失去了佛的出家弟子应有的合乎戒律的威仪。

43问：佛教寺庙中有许多菩萨像，他们是什么人？

答：汉族寺庙中供的菩萨像，主要的是文殊师利（Mañjuśrī）、普贤（Samantabhadra）、观世音（Avalokiteśvara）、地藏（Kṣitigarbha）。

44问：你前面不是说过，任何志愿自度度他、自觉觉他的人都可称为菩萨，为什么这些菩萨被当做神一般地崇拜呢？

答：志愿自度度他、自觉觉他，叫做发大心，又叫做发菩提心。初发大心的人固然也可以称为菩萨，但没有得到实证以前仍然是在凡夫的地位。发了大心，依照戒定慧三学修习，实行六度四摄，经过无数生死，最后才能成就佛果，其间有三贤十地五十二位等阶梯。文殊师利等是居于菩萨的极地的，是等觉位菩萨。大乘经典特别称道文殊师利的大智、普贤的大行、观世音的大悲、地藏的大愿，所以这四大菩萨特别受到教徒的崇敬。我国五台山被认为是文殊师利的道场，峨嵋山是普贤的道场，普陀山是观世音的道场，九华山是地藏的道场，称为四大名山。由此可以看出四大菩

萨在我国佛教徒心目中的重要地位。

45问：四大名山国际上也知名吗？

答：五台山是文殊师利道场，这是见于大乘经典的，所以古代有不少从印度和西域来的高僧来朝拜。尼泊尔并且有这么一个古老的传说：加德满都（尼泊尔首都所在地）山谷地区，原来是一个大湖，文殊师利由中国五台山到那里去，劈开了一座山岭，将湖水排去，让随他同去的人们安居下来，这才建立了尼泊尔国。所以尼泊尔人民对文殊师利和五台山特别有亲切的感情。至于普陀山之成为观世音道场、九华山之成为地藏道场，则和日本、朝鲜佛教僧人有关系。

46问：汉族寺庙的前殿一般供着一个笑面和尚像，他是谁？

答：是弥勒菩萨。佛教预言，将来释迦牟尼佛的教法灭尽了之后，经过很久远时期，弥勒菩萨将在这个世界上成佛说法。由于这个原因，弥勒菩萨也受到普遍的崇敬。中国历史上常有假托弥勒降生以号召农民起义的事，如元代弥勒教之类。至于笑面和尚像，并不是弥勒像，而是五代一个和尚名叫“契此”的像，这个和尚经常背着一个布袋，人称为“布袋和尚”，相传是弥勒化身，所以后人塑他的像作为弥勒来供奉。有人认为，汉族寺庙供奉布袋和尚像，可能受了弥勒教的影响，因为弥勒教的产生地就是布袋和尚的家乡，浙江奉化，所以有理由推断布袋和尚的形象是因弥勒教而普遍流行开来的。

4 THE DEVELOPMENT, DECLINE AND RESURGENCE OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

1Q: Please give me a general introduction to the history of Buddhism in India.

A: During the 1,600-odd years after the Buddha's passing away, Buddhism in India underwent a process of schism, development and decline in organization and thinking. Finally it vanished from India in the 12th century AD.

2Q: Buddhism still exists in India today, doesn't it?

A: Yes, it does. But the Buddhism of India today was re-transmitted from Sri Lanka in the late 19th century. About 700 years before this, Buddhism disappeared from India.

3Q: What were the important stages in the 1,600-odd-year history of Indian Buddhism?

A: In the development of its doctrines, Indian Buddhism can be divided into 5 periods: first, the primitive period of Buddhism—the first 100 years or so after the Buddha's Parinibbāna; second, the period of Nikāyas' Schism—about 400 years following the first; third, for about 4 centuries after that—the period when the Mādhyamika School of Mahāyāna flourished; fourth, for another 4 centuries after that—the period when the Mahāyāna Yogācāra School flourished (in the later part of this period, the Tantric School became popular); fifth, for the final 3 centuries roughly—the period of the prevalence of the Tantric School.

4Q: What was the primitive period of Buddhism like?

A: In this period, the Buddha's disciples generally maintained the facilities and conventions of Saṅgha life as they were in the Buddha's lifetime, and practiced the fundamental creeds of the Four Noble Truths and the Eight-fold Path on self-cultivation with little dissension. Thus this period was,

in Buddhist terms, the period of harmonious unity. But the "harmonious unity" was merely a general consensus which did not mean there were no differences in thought and opinions. Take the First Buddhist Council for example, which was held at the beginning of this period, in which there were disagreements over what the "lesser and minor precepts" (khuddānukhuddaka sikkhāpada) were and whether or not they should be abolished. As a matter of fact, most Bhikkhus were unable to take part in the Saṃgīti, and even some of the chief disciples scattered everywhere were unable to attend because of time and distance, and they were sure to have had proposals for additions or revisions to the Dhamma, which resulted from the Council. For example, Pūrna (P. Puṇṇa, one of the ten eminent Disciples) declared, "The Dhamma I had heard from the Buddha in person must be upheld too", though he had agreed with the Vinaya and the Dhamma recited at the Saṃgīti. When he discussed the disciplines with Mahā-kassapa, they differed on eight rules, for example, the precept against "keeping food in a monastic bedroom".He thought that the rules were enacted by the Buddha first and then were loosened; while the latter thought that the rules were reinstituted after being broken. Eventually each of them followed his own way.

In the Buddhist archives, there were also records about Vappa (one of the first five bhikkhus) holding another Saṃgīti outside the Cave. These facts show the discrepancy in the unity at that time. The Buddha, during his lifetime, preached different teachings to different people at different times. It is conceivable that his disciples might have had different understanding due to their different occasions of listening and had different comprehension owing to the differences of their nature, specialties and methods of self-cultivation.

After the First Council, the Mahātheras (senior monks) led their followers to do missionary work separately in different areas. With the disciples succeeding their own masters, each group eventually formed its own lineage of succession. The Dhamma and Vinaya passed on by each group, thus, had differences as well as similarities. Each tradition naturally gained its own sphere of influence according to geographical divisions, and its own distinctive features relevant to the local circumstances in the course of time. In the area of theory and doctrines, some tended to be liberal and progressive, adopting the general ideas of

the Buddha's teachings and being elastic in observance of disciplines; while some were obstinate and conservative, strictly abiding by dogmas without even slight deviation; and some were between the two. The situation was going on and inevitably led to Nikāyas' schism.

[5]Q: What was the situation like in the period of Nikāyas' Schism?

A: The Buddhist community was initially divided into two major sects: Theravāda and Mahā-saṃghika. This happened about 100 or more years after the Buddha's passing away. The direct cause of the schism was the controversy over the issue of sīla among monks. It is said that there was a bhikkhu from Bārāṇasī (Kasi) named Yasa, who traveled to Vesālī in the east and saw the Vajjian monks inducing the laity to donate money to the Saṅgha so that they could buy their necessities. Considering the acceptance of gold and silver a violation of the rules in the Vinaya, Yasa raised an objection, but as a result he was excommunicated by the Vajjians. Thereupon, he went to various places in the west and appealed to orthodox bhikkhus to assemble at Vesālī. As a result, the verdict of the assembly declared the conduct of Vajjian monks to be unlawful. (According to Theravāda records, apart from receiving alms of gold and silver, they committed another nine offenses.) This was the Second Saṃgīti or the Council of the Seven Hundred, since there were 700 participants in the assembly. Most of the Vajjian bhikkhus refused to obey the decision and held another Saṃgīti, which was attended by ten thousand monks. This contributed to the schism in the Buddhist Order.

[6]Q: Why was this sort of assembly, which passed judgment, also called saṃgīti?

A: Because both assemblies engaged in the recital of Sutta (Piṭaka) and Vinaya (Pāli). The Saṃgīti of 700 lasted for about eight months, the duration of the "Saṃgīti of 10,000" was presumably not very short, though there is no record. It can be seen that the parties sought not only to resolve the issue of acceptance of gold and silver, but to validate their ideas by revising the Sutta and Vinaya. Comparative study of the two vinayas of these two sects shows that the Mahāsaṃghika-vinaya was simpler and more accommodating, whereas the Sabbatthivāda-vinaya was more comprehensive and strict; the Mahāsaṃghika-vinaya cut out some of the minor precepts and loosened some rules (including alms

begging for gold and silver), whereas the Sabbatthivāda-vinaya took a diametrically opposite position. Obviously, the second Saṃgīti was the inevitable outcome of the development of the contradictions inside the Buddhist Community in the 100 years after the First Saṃgīti. As most of the participants of the Saṃgīti of 700 were orthodox Theras, the sect formed by them was named Theravāda. Today, Buddhists in southern countries call themselves Theravādins for they inherited their teachings from this tradition. Since the Vajjian Bhikkhus held the assembly of 10,000, the sect of this majority was known as Mahāsaṃghika.

[7]Q: Was the dispute between the two sects confined to the matter of discipline?

A: At first, the dispute was confined to discipline, but its chief cause was the different approach to the cultivation and study between the two sects. The Theravādins strictly observed and maintained the Vinaya precepts, engaging themselves in study and practice bhāvanā, and paying much attention to their own spiritual cultivation, while the Mahāsaṃghikas sought for large-scale learning, and engaging in propagating the Buddha Dhamma and guiding the masses. These two different orientations not only led to the dispute over the commandments but also impelled subsequent variant developments in Buddhist doctrines and philosophy at different times.

[8]Q: Were there any other schisms after the Second Saṃgīti?

A: The first split resulted in Theravāda and Mahāsaṃghika. These were known as the two basic sects. Later on, as Buddhism spread far and wide in the course of time, there were different traditions in different localities. Thus changes in propagation and institutions inevitably occurred to meet the needs of the local conditions and customs. This gradually resulted in the emergence of various schools of Buddhism. From the Second Saṃgīti to about four centuries after the Buddha's passing away, the two basic sects of Theravāda and Mahāsaṃghika were successively divided into 18 or 20 subgroups. There are different traditions regarding the sequence, time, and names of each schism. The largest branch directly split from Theravāda was Sabbatthivāda (S. Sarvāstivāda), the other rather important subsects were Vajjiputtaka and Mahiṃsāsaka. According to Mahāsaṃghika tradition, the Vibhajjavāda was the first to split from

Theravāda. It adopted some Mahāsaṃghika ideas and became an independent sect, standing apart from both Theravāda and Mahāsaṃghika. However, according to Theravāda tradition, the Vibhajjavāda was a variation of Theravāda. The three sects which broke away from the Mahāsaṃghika in earlier times were Ekavyohārika, Lokottaravāda and Gokulika. Afterwards, the Cetiyavāda was the largest sect that split away from Mahāsaṃghika.

[9]Q: Were there significant differences in the doctrines of various sects?

A: There were considerable differences between the doctrines of Theravāda and Mahāsaṃghika. As to the subgroups, they generally had only minor differences from their basic sect. The doctrine of Theravāda could be represented by Sarvāstivāda's as it was the earliest and largest sect among Theravādins, and bequeathed a wealth of canons of Abhidhamma Piṭaka. Of the Mahāsaṃghika, on the other hand, few works were preserved, only some of its doctrines being known through historical accounts.

[10]Q: Would you please explain some of the doctrines of Theravāda and Mahāsaṃghika?

A: Let me cite a number of issues for discussion.

First, pertaining to the interpretation of dhammā (all things). Before dealing with the issue, two terms should be defined. (1) Conditioned Dhamma (Saṅkhata Dhamma): Anything that comes into being, or ceases from being, by causes and conditions (hetu-paccaya) is called Conditioned Dhamma. (2) Unconditioned Dhamma (Asaṅkhata Dhamma): Items that do not depend on other causes and conditions for their existence, which exist in and of themselves without arising and cessation are Unconditioned Dhammas, such as Nibbāna and Space (Ākāsa). (Everything arises and ceases within space, while space itself exists bearing the nature of infinity, free from hetu-paccaya.) Both Sarvāstivāda and Mahāsaṃghika held that Unconditioned Dhammas exist. As to the Conditioned Dhammas, Mahāsaṃghika believed that the Conditioned Dhammas arise and cease depending on causes and conditions that the past has no real existence since it has ceased, nor has the future, as it is yet to be born, and that only the present dhammas existing in an instant (Khaṇa) have real existence and function.

Sarvāstivāda believed that all Conditioned Dhammas, if they have not arisen and existed, can not arise at all even given necessary conditions, just as the tortoise can not grow hair and the rabbit can not grow horns. Therefore, the ultimate essence of every Dhamma constantly exists, and only the manifestations vary: those functions which have not yet manifested are called the future, those functions which have already manifested are the past, those which are functioning are the present. So this sect holds that the essence of the dhammas exists at all times (past, present and future), the dhammas of the three times really exist. Although the essence of dhamma is there, the arising of its function depends on the aggregation of various dhammas as well as their causal relations (hetu-paccaya), and it is by no means able to function independently. Inasmuch as the self-essence of dhammas can not function by itself, there is no "ego" (atta) as a permanent dominator. This is the theory of non-substantiality of ego and substantiality of dhamma, while the Mahāsaṃghikas held a theory close to non-substantiality of both ego and dhamma.

Secondly, pertaining to the conception of the Buddha, the Mahāsaṃghika held the view that what was born, lived and died in the human world was Sākyamuni Buddha's phenomenal body (Nimmāna-kāya) rather than his noumenal body (Saṃbhoga-kāya), the Buddha's noumenal body came into being with the accumulation of merits over a very prolonged period; that the Buddha's body (rūpa-kāya), length of life and power were boundless, the Buddha tirelessly teaches and rescues all beings, all of his words are teachings in a modified form, by the Buddha' every utterance is a sermon covering all dhammas. The Sarvāstivāda, on the other hand, denied the thesis that Sākyamuni was the temporal body of the eternal Buddha, asserting that not all words of the Buddha were teachings and that the Buddha didn't preach all dhammas with every utterance.

Thirdly, in their conceptions of the Sāvaka and the Bodhisatta, the Mahāsaṃghika stressed the Bodhisatta's power of metta-karuṇā to enlighten sentient beings, and attached less importance to the Sāvakas. The Sarvāstivāda did not believe there was any difference between the liberation attained through the Buddha and that attained through Sāvakas and the Pacceka-buddhas, though they admitted the differences in the capability and path of cultivation among them.

Besides the above, there were differences in their perceptions of certain problems and on the method of cultivation, which I shall not enumerate here.

[11]Q: Did any other important events take place during the period of schisms in Buddhism?

A: One of the most important events in the history of Buddhism took place in this period, namely, King AŚoka's promulgation of the Buddha Dhamma. Prior to King AŚoka, the spread of Buddhism had been confined to the Ganges Valley in Central India. Owing to King AŚoka's efforts, Buddhism became a world-wide religion, not only spreading over the five parts of India (Eastern, Western, Southern, Northern and Central India) but also extending to many countries in Asia, North Africa and Greece.

[12]Q: What kind of man was King AŚoka?

A: AŚoka (meaning Sorrow-free) was the King of Magadha in the 3rd century BC. His grandfather, Chandragupta, was a national hero in ancient India (on the basis of his name, some suggest that he was of the Chandra Caste. King AŚoka was also known as Chandrasoka). Chandragupta, who lived in Magadha in the 3rd century BC, was exiled to Northwest India. At that time, Alexander the Great invaded India, occupied the region of the Five Rivers (Punjab), and threatened the Ganges plain. Chandragupta rose in opposition, rallying the northwestern people to drive the Greek invaders out. Returning to magadha he overthrew the Nanda Dynasty to become the first monarch of the Maurya Dynasty of Magadha. During his reign he unified Central, West and North India, and made Magadha a mighty empire. In 273 BC, the talented and bold strategist AŚoka succeeded his father Bindusāra to the throne. He carried forward his ancestors' aspirations and feats, and accomplished the unification of the whole of India for the first time in Indian history. Yet, when he witnessed the tragic scenes of the war in his conquest of the Kāliṅga Kingdom he repented greatly and decided to undertake no further military campaigns, becoming a staunch follower of Buddhism. On the one hand, he carried out the political ideal of Rāja Cakkavattin (universal king), set up huge irrigation projects, built the international road from Magadha to Iran, and developed the domestic

economy and international trade. On the other hand, he vigorously disseminated Buddhism. He established a high official post, entitled "Saddhamma Minister", to be in charge of religious affairs and charity. He dispatched these officials together with missionaries to propagate Buddhism in various places. Both his son Mahinda and daughter Saṅghamittā (Buddhist bhikkhu and bhikkhunī respectively) were sent in turn to the State of Lion (now Sri Lanka). In his lifetime Buddhism expanded as far as Myanmar in the east, Sri Lanka in the south, and Syria, Egypt and Greece in the west.

[13]Q: An ancient Chinese tradition holds that at the time of the First Emperor of Qin, known as Qinshihuang, 18 Indian monks, headed by Shilifang, came to China on a mission. Is that true?

A: It is not recorded in the official Chinese history, but it is possible that King AŚoka dispatched a group of missionaries to China, as Qinshihuang and King AŚoka were contemporaries. At the time of AŚoka's grandfather, a document had already mentioned Chinese silk products (in Sanskrit, words relating to silk, such as Cīnapaṭṭa, meaning bundle of silk, and Cīnasukka, meaning silk clothes, bear the root "cīna" as their component). Thus it can be seen that even before Qinshihuang there had been intercourse between China and India.

[14]Q: What was the reason for King AŚoka's promulgation of Buddhism?

A: Magadha was the base area where Sākyamuni proclaimed Buddhist teachings. From the outset, Buddhism was supported by the kings of Magadha and its neighboring countries, AŚoka's grand-father Chandragupta being one of them. This was a reflection of the conflict between the Kṣatriyas (P. Khattiya) (kings) and Brāhmaṇas (priests) in India at that time. In my opinion, it also reflected the confrontation of the newly emerging landlords and merchants with the rule of the local lords in the new-born nations of the Ganges Valley at the time. Some schdars suggest that the kings of the Maurya Dynasty were themselves great merchants skilled in the conduct of business. The rule of the hereditary local lords supported by the Brahmin theocracy and the caste system seriously hindered the construction of the irrigation system in agricultural areas and the smooth running of domestic and foreign trade. Therefore, Buddhism which stood against theocracy and the caste system and stood

for the equality of all sentient beings was supported by the masses of people, and especially favorably received by the newly-emerging landlords and merchants. On the other hand, the rulers of the Magadha Empire viewed the Buddhist tenets of compassion and forbearance as helpful, not harmful, to the consolidation of unity at home and the development of friendly relations with other nations. When he saw the consequences of Alexander's militarism and the stubborn resistance he experienced during his conquests, King AŚoka learned that he had to change his military campaign into a more moderate one, so he decided on the Wheel of Dhamma (Dhammacakka) as his political weapon.

[15]Q: What was the impact on learning and culture of King AŚoka's propagation of Buddhism?

A: The spread of Buddhism at that time played a far-reaching role in the cultural exchange among Asian countries and between the Orient and Greece, Syria, Egypt, etc. In the course of his pilgrimages to the Buddhist holy places, King AŚoka had many stone pillars engraved and had people inscribed on mountain cliffs many decrees of Dhamma (decreeing policies and teachings according to the Buddha Dhamma). Many remain even today and more are discovered from time to time, providing very important information about ancient history.

[16]Q: Did King AŚoka's promulgation of Buddhism have an effect on the emergence of the Buddhist sects?

A: At the time of AŚoka, Buddhism was probably already divided into four sects. Since each of the sects sent missions to various places and were, therefore, influenced by different circumstances, variations in forms and in doctrines appeared in each of them. Such a variety in turn gave rise to further growth of sects.

[17]Q: Would you please say more about the Third Council (Saṃgīti) held at the time of King AŚoka?

A: As to the proceedings of the Third Saṃgīti, I have already mentioned it while talking about the Buddhist Canons. According to the southern Buddhist accounts, King AŚoka's spread of Buddhism took place immediately after that saṃgīti. Recently, the ruins of a magnificent monastery commissioned by King AŚoka have been excavated at

Pāṭaliputta (King AŚoka's capital, Patna of today). Inside the monastery was an auditorium (pāsāda) with 100 stone pillars as well as many monastic chambers and pools. Some believe that this was the very site where the 3rd Saṃgīti was held. However, there was nothing recorded about the 3rd Saṃgīti in the northern Buddhist classics.

[18]Q: What great events took place after King AŚoka's time?

A: For more than 300 years after King AŚoka's propagation of the Buddha Dhamma, Buddhism took a firm hold in all nations in Central Asia and extended eastward to China, spreading in increasingly wider areas. However, within India itself, Buddhism met adversity. In less than half a century after King AŚoka's death, the Maurya Dynasty was replaced by the Śuṅga Dynasty. King Puṣyamitra, who usurped the throne with the aid of a Brahmin Imperial preceptor, upheld Brahmanism and rigorously suppressed Buddhism by destroying stūpas and vihāras, slaughtering Buddhist monks and finally plunged Indian Buddhism into a dark age. Fortunately, the reign of the Śuṅga Dynasty was confined to Central India only, so its anti-Buddhist movement didn't spread to South and Northwest India. At that time, most of the Buddhists took refuge in the Northwest, and some to the South. Thus they promoted the flourishing of Buddhism in the North as well as its development in the South. The ruler of that time in North India was King Milinda (a Greek) of Bactria, who was converted to Buddhism by Bhikkhu Nāgasena. The dialogues on Buddhism between Milinda and Nāgasena have been preserved to this day, the Chinese translation being entitled *Nāgasena Bhikkhu Sutta* and its Pāli version *Milinda Pañhā*. The well-known Buddhist art of Gandhāra also began at that time and gradually flourished.

[19]Q: What was southern Buddhism like at that time?

A: References to southern Buddhism at that time are scarce. What we have learned is that the mission sent to South India by King AŚoka was of Mahāsaṃghika, so the doctrines of Mahāsaṃghika prevailed in the South and were accepted by the local Dravidians, who were emerging there. In 28 BC, the Andhra (P. Andhaka) Kingdom founded by the Dravidians overthrew the Kaṇva Dynasty (the successor of the Śuṅga Dynasty) in Central India, and occupied its territory. Consequently, Buddhism picked up slightly in Central India. At the same time that the Andhakas gained

dominance in Central India, the Kuṣāṇas overthrew the Bactria Dynasty in Northwest India, and founded the Kṣāṇa Dynasty. After that the history of India entered into a period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties until its reunification by the Gupta Dynasty in the 4th century AD. Scarcely any detail is known about Buddhism in the South in that period. On the other hand, Buddhism in the North reached its peak in the 2nd century AD under the reign of King Kaniṣka.

[20]Q: Who was King Kaniṣka?

A: Historical records about King Kaniṣka are few, but he was known as "the Second King AŚoka" for his patronage and upholding of Buddhism. It was said that his early life resembled that of King AŚoka, with widespread bloodshed, and that later he was converted to Buddhism by the Bhikkhu Pārśva. Architectural ruins show that, in Kaniṣka's era, many stūpas, vihāras and sculptures of the Buddha were built and magnificent progress made in the arts. For example, the form of the stūpa evolved from the traditional Indian domed style (like an inverted alms-bowl) to the 5-storied terraced tower, while in sculpture the Greek and Indian styles were blended to form a new distinct style that brought the Gandhāra Buddhist arts to a climax. King Kaniṣka also invited the great Buddhist writer Assaghosa from Central India to Kasmīra, which helped bring about a brilliant development of Buddhist literature. The flourishing of Buddhism at the time is evidenced by a number of facts. One of King Kaniṣka's greatest contributions to Buddhism was the convocation and support of an important council. It was said that he inquired of a number of people about the Dhamma and received different answers. Considering the varied opinions and being unable to come to a conclusion, he followed Bhikkhu Pārśva's advice to summon 500 learned bhikkhus headed by Vasumitta to Kasmīra to compile and edit the Tipiṭaka with commentaries, which resulted in 300,000 stanzas totaling more than 9,000,000 words, and took 12 years to complete. Among these works was the *Mahāvibhāsā-śāstra*, an important work of Sarvāstivāda which has two versions, new and old, in Chinese translation.

[21]Q: What about the development of other Buddhist sects in this period besides the Sarvāstivāda?

A: At that time, in the Kasmīra area, the Sarvāstivāda Sect was the most

flourishing one, while other sects also developed considerably. The Mahāyāna doctrine, which was related to the Mahāsaṃghika and opposed to the Sarvāstivāda, prevailed in various parts of India and had extensive influence in intellectual circles. Assaghosa, who was held in esteem by King Kaniṣka, was imbued with Mahāyāna ideas. This period may be the era in which the Mahāyāna doctrines came into maturity after a protracted incubation. However, the high point of Mahāyāna Buddhism was not reached before the appearance of the great master Nāgārjuna, who came shortly afterwards.

[22]Q: Who was Nāgārjuna?

A: Nāgārjuna, a South Indian who lived in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, was at first a Brahmanic scholar and later converted to Buddhism and became a monk. He received the Mahāyāna sūtras from an old bhikkhu in the Himālaya Mountains, after which his wisdom was boundless. His eloquence persuaded many philosophers at the time. He thought that although the Buddhist scriptures he had read were profound, they left much to be expounded. So he got more Mahāyāna texts to read and wrote quite a number of theoretical treatises to elaborate upon the meanings of the scriptures. His philosophy quickly spread over all parts of India. Thus the flourishing era of Mahāyāna Buddhism came into being.

[23]Q: What are the main elements of Nāgārjuna's philosophy?

A: What Nāgārjuna argued for was "the ultimate reality of all dhammas". As was mentioned before, with regard to the cognition of the existence of all things, the Sarvāstivādins believed that the self-nature (sabhāva) of all dhammas exists eternally, with their functions arising dependent upon causes and conditions (hetu-paccaya). Nāgārjuna held the contrary view that all conditioned dhammas are nothing but phenomena originating out of the concordance of causes and conditions, without perpetual, unchangeable and independent self-essence. For instance, a forest, being composed of many trees, has no identity of itself apart from the many trees, and "forest" is only a term without self-substance or self-nature. Therefore, Nāgārjuna said: "All dhammas arising out of hetu-paccaya, I regard as Suñña (emptiness), or a false name, or the meaning of the Middle Path (P. Majjhima-paṭipadā, S. Madhyamā-pratipad). There is no dhamma which does not arise from hetu-paccaya, so all dhammas are

nothing but Suññatā." "Suññatā" is the ultimate reality of all dhammas.

[24]Q: Is this theory a kind of skepticism negating everything?

A: In order to make a judgment, further explanations are needed: (1) The theory that all dhammas are suñña is based on the interdependent causality of all dhammas. Therefore it does not refute the law of causation. (2) The above-mentioned emptiness (suñña) is not in the sense of nothingness. It is considered, in the ultimate sense, as neither existent nor non-existent, neither arising nor ceasing. All empirical conceptions such as existence and non-existence, arising and ceasing, coming and going etc. are irrelevant, since to see the reality is beyond the power of our sensation and differentiation. It is said to be neither existing nor empty, neither arising nor ceasing, and all dhammas are suñña (emptiness), and therefore "suñña means unobtainable". (3) In regard to the understanding of worldly things, Nāgārjuna propounded the double Truth, or Two Levels of Truth, referring to the two aspects of everything: the phenomenon is referred to as "conventional truth" (relative truth) and the noumenon (essence) is referred to as the first truth (absolute truth). In terms of the Conventional Truth (Sammuti-sacca), there exist countless phenomena in the universe, which present the multitude of differences, the variety of appearances, all kinds of functions, all manifestations arising and ceasing, coming and going, identity and diversity, right and wrong, gain and loss, etc., all kinds of phenomena and causalities can be distinguished, hence exist. However, in terms of the First Truth (Paramattha-sacca), despite the multitude of manifestations, the entity itself is empty and unobtainable. Existence and non-existence (bhava and suñña) are united in terms of dhammas which arise out of causes and conditions (hetu-paccaya), so the Conventional Truth and the First Truth are "different, yet not different". This is the theory of "yielding the ultimate reality (paramattha) without breaking with the empirical concepts (paññatti)", and is Nāgārjuna's meaning of the Middle Path.

[25]Q: What development was made in Mahāyāna Buddhism after Nāgārjuna?

A: Nāgārjuna's disciple Deva was a competent successor and propagator of this theory, who also wrote many books, chiefly refuting heresies (Buddhism termed all non-Buddhist religions and philosophies heresies). For this he was murdered. Yet, the Mahāyāna doctrine flourished all the

more. In the meantime Sarvāstivāda, Sautrāntika and the other sects, which were all along in opposition to Mahāyāna also made headway. Mahāyāna Buddhism and the other sects, due to their debates and mutual challenges, all developed their own doctrines. By the Gupta Dynasty in the 4th to 5th centuries AD, another new Mahāyāna school—Yogācāra came into being. Together with the original school—Mādhyamika, they made up the two main trends of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhist thought.

[26]Q: Could you please give a brief overview of the Gupta Dynasty?

A: The Gupta Dynasty was founded by Candra Gupta in Central India around 320 AD, and can be compared to the glorious Maurya Dynasty in Indian history. His son, King Samudra Gupta, the second monarch in the lineage, unified five Indian states, making the country a very strong power. The third ruler of the Gupta Dynasty, Candra Gupta II, further expanded westward, and developed overseas trade and communications as far as Egypt. Along with the flourishing of politics and economy, culture and scholarship in India also displayed dazzling brilliance. The sculptures of the Buddha images of this period are regarded as the consummation of Indian sculpture. Remarkable achievements were also made in the spheres of arts and literature. It was during the reign of Candra Gupta II that the Chinese monk, Ven. Fa Xian, visited India in the early 5th century. In his work *Records of the Buddhist Countries*, he gave an account of the grand spectacles he saw and heard in person. Meanwhile, in respect of religious philosophy, Brahmanic theology showed a great development, and other schools like Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣika (P. Visesikā), etc. thrived too. Buddhism in this time also made important advances with the emergence of many great scholars, the two brothers Asanga and Vasubandhu who created Yogācāra system being the most eminent among them.

[27]Q: Who were Asanga and Vasubandhu?

A: Asanga, born in North India, was originally a Sarvāstivādin monk. According to a legend, being dissatisfied with Sarvāstivādin doctrine, he ascended to the Tusita Heaven (where Bodhisattva Maitreya resided), to consult Maitreya about the Suññatā theory of Mahāyāna and gained a thorough comprehension of it. (Another story says that Maitreya descended from Heaven to preach Dhamma to him.) He then brought out

Maitreya's Five Śāstras, and wrote many works to expound the Mahāyāna thought. Some scholars hold that the Maitreya who instructed Asanga was probably a Mahāyāna scholar from the Yogācāriyas (those Sarvāstivādins who engaged in jhāna were known as "Yogācāriyas" or "Jhāyins") rather than the Maitreya of the Tusita Heaven. Vasubandhu, a younger brother of Asanga, was also a Sarvāstivādin scholar at first and later converted to Mahāyāna under Asanga's influence. He advocated Asanga's doctrine enthusiastically and was honored with the title of Thousand-volume Ābhidhammika due to his great many works.

[28]Q: What are the main points of Yogācāra doctrine?

A: Yogācāra doctrines have a very comprehensive content, encompassing a wide range of spheres. Here I shall only say a little about its cosmology. On this question, Yogācāra School built up and developed the Theory of the Reality of All Dhammas. It holds the view that the reality of dhammas has two sides: on the one hand, self-nature (sabhāva) can not be said to exist. Yet on the other hand, all is not nothingness. Only with such a conception can one realise a detachment from existence and non-existence, and arrive at the Middle Path. Yogācāra maintains that the nature of all dhammas falls into three levels ("Trisvabhāva"): that all dhammas arise from causes and conditions is the Paratantra-svabhāva (the nature of being dependent in origin); that ordinary beings attribute to the dhammas produced by cause and conditions all kinds of illusory imaginations and judgments (false imaginations in their minds which do not correspond to reality), is the Parikalpita-svabhāva (the nature of regarding the seeming as real); that the completely true nature, or tathatā (the absolute reality) can be attained by eliminating the illusory inventions is the Parinișpanna-svabhāva (the absolutely true nature). The above three can be illustrated with a metaphor: Parikalpita is like one walking at night and mistaking a rope by the road for a snake.There seems to be a snake but actually there is not. Paratantra is like the rope with its substance arising from causes and conditions, which is only the hypothetical existence. The perfectly true reality resembles the jute, the substance of the rope, which is real in an ultimate sense. Further observation through the three natures shows that there are another three natures presenting non-existence (Trividhā-niḥsvabhāvatā): 1. The parikalpita inventions are not real. This is the nature of non-existence in

form (lakṣaṇa-niḥsvabhāvatā); 2. The worldly things that ordinary beings take to exist are just produced by causes and conditions. This is the nature of non-origination (utpatti-niḥsvabhāvatā); 3. The reality of all dhammas is empty and unattainable. This is the nature of emptiness in the highest sense (paramārtha-niḥsvabhāvatā).

[29]Q: How does the Theory of Trisvabhāva and Trividhā-niḥsvabhāvatā compare with Nāgārjuna's Double Truth?

A: The theory of Trividhā-niḥsvabhāvatā and Trisvabhāva is also based on the theories of Dependent-origination and the nature of emptiness. However, Nāgārjuna's theory that all is nothing but emptiness explains only one side in terms of Trividhā-niḥsvabhāvatā, while Yogācāra simultaneously stands for trisvābhāva as well and elaborates this in detail. Yogācāras adopted a great deal of Sarvāstivādin terminology and fit them together to analyze and explain the classification and relation of all dhammas, pointing out in particular that all dhammas are mere transformations of consciousness and should be understood through the investigation of the Dependent-origination. This is what is meant by "All dhammas are nothing but consciousness" (Vijñapti-mātratā), which is not mentioned in Mādhyamika System.

[30]Q: Since Buddhism believes that consciousness arises from the combination of sense organs (indriya: e.g. eye, ear) and sense objects (visaya: e.g. colors, sound), how can the theory of Vijñapti-mātratā hold true?

A: The Yogācāras believe that the color seen by the eye, the sound heard by the ear, the scent smelt by the nose, the flavor tasted by the tongue, and the hardness, wetness, warmth and action felt by touch do not constitute the things themselves, but are the mirror images of the five forms of consciousness transformed on the basis of the interaction between five faculties and external substance. Thus consciousness (viññāṇa) has two functions: the objective function which gives rise to changing images entitled "the conception of objects", and the other, the subjective function which discerns the images called "the capability of signifying". All our sensations are simply our differentiation of the subjective function from the objective one within consciousness itself.

[31]Q: This can only explain our subjective reflection of the objective world,

but not the principle of consciousness-only (Viññāṇavāda). Because, according to Yogācāras, the object of perception must be preceded by the existence of external matter, and the subject of perception must be preceded by the existence of the object of perception. In other words, it is true that consciousness originates from the combination of the sense organs and the environment, both of which exist independently of consciousness. Conversely, it is impossible for consciousness to exist without the faculties and the environment.

A: Besides the six consciousnesses, the Yogācāras developed another two consciousnesses: the seventh, manas and the eighth, Ālaya-viññāṇa. Manas translates as "mental consciousness" and is the root on which the sixth consciousness depends. It has the single function of maintaining a constant presence of the ego-sense, which gives rise to varied mental activities in people, including love and hate, distinguishing of good and bad, right and wrong, this and that, etc., when they come into contact with external matter. Ālaya-viññāna means "storehouse consciousness", which can preserve the "seeds" of all dhammas from loss and deterioration. "Seed" used here is a metaphor which, in its true sense, refers to ability or latent force. There are two types of seeds in Ālaya. One is the conceptual type of seeds or what we call "concepts" in modern terms. The objects perceived by the seven senses leave traces in Ālaya-viññāna, in the way that clothes perfumed with incense retain a fragrance. So this is called, in a Yogācārin term, Vāsanā, meaning perfuming, the result of which is seeds in the form of latent forces. The other type is the Karmic Seeds accumulated through the former kusala and akusala kammas possessed from mental volition. These two types of seeds in Ālaya give rise (pariṇāma) to the five sense faculties (indriya), the external world (bhājana-loka) and the preceding seven forms of consciousness. (Thus, as the perceived Ālaya, both the five organs and the external world arise from Ālaya-viññāna.) Such a genesis of sense-faculties, mind and universe is known as Abhisamskāra (presenting activity). The Abhisamskāra again perfumes the conceptual and karmic seeds to reach the future maturity (vipāka) of the faculties, mind and universe. This is the Yogācārin theory of genesis from Ālaya-viññāṇa.

[32]Q: Buddhism does not acknowledge the existence of soul. But is it right to say that Ālaya is a soul in another guise?

A: There is controversy over this question in the Buddhist circles. Even certain Yogācārin scholars in later times only referred to the six forms of consciousness while omitting the 7th and 8th ones. However, those who stand for Dependent Origination on Ālaya believe that Ālaya-viññāna is not eternally unchangeable but an ever-changing flux. It is thus different from the general meaning of soul. It would be wrong to regard the Ālaya-viññāna flux with its rapid and subtle changes as indicating the existence of an eternal ego or soul, just as it would be wrong to take a waterfall for a piece of white cloth hanging down when seen from a distance. Actually, this misconception is Manas (ego-centered mind). The Yogācārin theory also aims to eliminate the ego-grasping (P. atta-gāha, S. ātma-grāha) and to turn the defiled consciousness (sāsava-viññāna) into pure wisdom (anāsava-paññā).

[33]Q: What else did the Yogācāra School accomplish apart from establishing a complete idealist system of thought?

A: The Buddhist science of logic—Hetu-vidyā—had also made considerable achievement by the Gupta Era (5th century AD). Special contributions were made by the Yogācārin scholars in this area. The further developments were attributed to Dinnāga in the 6th century and Dharmmakīrti in the 7th century, both of whom were great Yogācārin scholars.

[34]Q: Are there any other Mahāyāna schools of thought in India besides Mādhyamika and Yogācāra?

A: Mādhyamika and Yogācāra are the two that evolved into full-fledged academic schools of thought in main-stream Mahāyāna doctrine in India, though there were controversies pertaining to doctrines between the two sects and new trends of development within each of them. Besides, there were also doctrinal substreams different from the two major ones and this remains to be discussed later.

[35]Q: What happened after the Gupta Dynasty?

A: In the later period of the Gupta Dynasty (end of the 5th century) the Ephtalites (Some take the Ephtalites to have been Huns, but this may not be correct. The Ephtalites were also known as the White Huns, but were not the same as the Huns) came down to the south from Amu Daria

River, occupied the northwestern part of India and set up a kingdom. Buddhism in this area was severely disrupted. Eventually, with the collapse of the Gupta Dynasty and many invasions by other races, India was plunged into a phase of disunion or disintegration. In the meantime, an eastern Indian kingdom invaded Central India and also disrupted Buddhism in this part. Thus it was not until later, when King Śīlāditya of the Vardhana Dynasty in Central India defeated his enemies and unified Central India, that Buddhism made a slight revival. The Nālandā-saṅghārāma which had been in construction in the Gupta Era was further expanded, becoming increasingly larger in scale during the Vardhana Dynasty. Mahāyānin scholars used to assemble there for lectures and studies, making it the highest educational institution of that time in India. The one hundred years from the mid-6th century to the mid-7th century was the Golden age in the history of Nālandā. When Dhammācariya Xuan Zang from China went there to study (in the 30's of the 7th century AD), Ābhidhammika Sīlabhadra of the Yogācāra School and Ābhidhammika Jñānaprabhā of the Mādhyamika School were both teaching there. King Śīlāditya used to hold Pañca-vārṣikamaha (mass meeting) in his capital Kanyakubja (P. Kaṇṇakujja, today's Kannauj) to debate philosophical doctrines. Such was the splendid atmosphere of Buddhist teaching at that time.

[36]Q: What happened after that?

A: With the death of King Śīlāditya, Central India once again fell into a chaotic situation. The kingdoms in all parts of India turned to Brahmanism, and Buddhism gradually declined. However, in Eastern India, the rulers of the Pāla Dynasty, which arose in the mid-7th century, and lasted till the end of the 11th century believed in and patronized Buddhism. They ruled over the territory to the east of Magadha, with Nālandā-saṅghārāma in their domain. They built a larger temple, Vikramaśīla, near Nālandā. During this period, Tantric Buddhism developed gradually and flourished after the 9th century, while Buddhism in general declined in the academic sphere.

[37]Q: How did Tantric Buddhism arise?

A: Tantric Buddhism, or the Mantra-dhāraṇī Sect, or Tantrayāna (meaning Esoteric Buddhism, in contrast to other Mahāyāna sects which are termed

Exoteric Buddhism or Pakāsaniyayāna), is said to have been founded by Nāgārjuna after he obtained secret scriptures when he opened up the Iron Pagoda in south India. In fact, ever since the time of Nāgārjuna, elements of Tantrayāna (dhāraṇī) have been creeping into the Mahāyānin classics, but it was not until long after Nāgārjuna that independent Esoteric Buddhism came into being.

[38]Q: What is Mantra-dhāraṇī?

A: Mantra-dhāraṇī means mystical incantation. According to the Tantrayāna theory, these are words of wisdom demonstrating the Buddha's own grasp of the truth, as well the genuine language capable of demonstrating the reality of dhammas. Therefore, this language is named Mantra, meaning "true language". Dhāraṇī means "keep holding". Each word or sound of the secret incantation always contains the infinite truth of Dhamma, and possesses infinite might and wisdom. Through reciting the incantation, one can achieve far quicker and greater results than through the practice of the Exoteric sects. The Esoteric School emphasizes the practicing of rites. According to certain rituals, the practitioners set up maṇḍala, offer sacrifice, assume postures (mudrā) with hands or body, recite mantras and meditate etc., so as to unite their own physical, oral and mental kammas with those of the Buddha (whose functions are so subtle as to be unimaginable, and therefore called the three Mysteries), thereby quickly attaining wisdom (ñāṇa) and psychic power (abhiññā), or even sudden enlightenment. To practice Mantra-dhāraṇī also helps avert calamities, enhance happiness, overpower one's opponents, etc.

[39]Q: Why is it that many statues of the Esoteric School take the form of multi-headed and multi-handed figures, some of them having horrible appearances, even inhuman in form?

A: All statues of the Esoteric School denote definite meanings. For example, the image of Avalokiteśvara's four or six arms denotes the Bodhisatta's Four All Embracing Virtues (catu-saṃgaha-vatthūni) and Six Transcendent Virtues (cha-pāramitā) and the Almighty Virtuous Vajra's 34 arms plus body, tongue and mind represent the 37 conditions (Bodhipakkhiya-dhamma) leading to enlightenment. Again, the lotus on the Buddha's pedestal stands for nekkhamma-citta, the crescent (moon) for Bodhi-citta, the sun's disk for the wisdom leading to suññatā-ñāṇa

(the awareness that all is emptiness). The various kinds of instruments held in their hands represent different vows, merits, etc. of Buddhas and Bodhisattas. The fierce-faced ones are generally the images of Vajra deities with tremendous might representing their ability to overpower demonic forces. Besides these, there are many other images of deities.

[40]Q: Did the Esoteric School assimilate much from the content and forms of Brahmanism?

A: Yes, historically, Buddhism was at first opposed to Brahmanic doctrines and sacrificial ceremonies. When Buddhism became the national religion of the Maurya Dynasty, it was the exclusive teaching of the day. However, with the changes of dynasties it soon met with rejection. In the subsequent years, despite the support rendered by certain local dynasties, it continually suffered from adversity. For the sake of accommodating itself to prevailing circumstances and customs, Buddhism was obliged to take certain "expedient measures" to facilitate the propagation of its doctrine. In the meantime, Brahmanism, in spite of its political superiority, could not but be affected by the development of Buddhist philosophy and called for a reform of its theory. Therefore, it became a natural tendency that the two adversaries were affected by each other even while repelling each other. By the time of the Gupta Dynasty, with the creation of the Theory of Brahma-ātma Identity, Brahmanism expanded and augmented its influence. In the late 7th century, the Brahmanic scholars, Kumārila and Śaṅkara, absorbed Buddhist theories to develop its theology tremendously, so Brahmanism began to flourish with a new face (Western scholars refer to Brahmanism after this period as Hinduism). In contrast, owing to a shortage of intelligent apologists, Buddhism fell into an inferior position and became increasingly marginalized. Meantime, it is true that the Esoteric School, which emerged in response to these conditions, took many "expedient measures" in its ceremonies and assimilated a lot of Brahmanic elements, and endowed them with its own interpretations. Nevertheless, its doctrine continued to be based upon the theory of Emptiness and Selflessness.

[41]Q: What happened to Buddhism in India finally?

A: Beginning from the mid-7th century, Turks following another religion invaded Northwestern India from Central Asia. By the 2nd half of the

10th century they gradually advanced to the Pañjāb area, and began aggression to the central areas. Wherever they went, indigenous religions of India were devastated. By the 11th century, during the Pāla Dynasty and the following Sena Dynasty, the invaders' forces gradually reached all parts of Eastern India. The Buddhist high priests dispersed and took refuge in Tibet of China via places like Nepal and Kasmīra. Finally, the royal family of the Sena Dynasty also changed their creed and important education institutions like Vikramasīlavihāra were demolished one after another, with very few monks remaining. Buddhism disappeared from Indian soil soon thereafter. This took place at about the end of the 12th century.

[42]Q: Would you say something about the revival of Indian Buddhism in modern times?

A: At the end of the 19th century, a lay Buddhist of Sri Lanka named Dhammpāla visited the Buddhist holy-land in India on pilgrimage. Witnessing the spectacle of desolation in those places, he embarked himself on the task of rehabilitating Indian Buddhism. Buddhist organizations with their activities were started anew in India. In recent decades Buddhists from China, Myanmar and Japan have successively built a few monasteries in various holy places in India, such as Buddhagayā (Bodhimaṇḍa), Mṛgadāva (Sārnāth), and Kusināra. Some Indian people gradually converted to Buddhism and some even went to Sri Lanka to take monasticism and receive ordination, but only in limited numbers. In 1956, all of a sudden, a large-scale movement to convert to Buddhism sprang up among the "untouchable" masses, and it was a great event in the modern history of Buddhism. It was made possible by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, leader of India's untouchables, who at a mass meeting held at Nagpur in Oct. 1956 announced his conversion to Buddhism, and proclaimed the Buddhist doctrine that "human beings are not created by God" and that "all living beings are equal". Half a million untouchables taking part in the meeting responded to his call, and at the same time announced their conversion to Buddhism by giving up their Hindu faith. Ambedkar died abruptly in Dec. 1956. Yet the movement to convert to Buddhism did not come to an end, but conversely brought forth a towering and tumultuous wave spreading all over India, with tens of thousands of people converted to Buddhism en masse. According to the

World Buddhism magazine of May 1962, 20 million out of 70 million untouchables in India have converted to Buddhism, and the movement is still keeping its momentum today.

肆　佛教在印度的发展、衰灭和复兴

1问：请简略地介绍一下佛教在印度的历史概况。

答：佛陀逝世后一千六百余年中，印度佛教在组织上和思想上经过分化、发展和衰坏的过程，最后消灭于公元十二世纪时代。

2问：印度今天不是还有佛教吗？

答：印度今天的佛教是公元十九世纪后期才由斯里兰卡重新传入的。在此之前七百年中，印度没有佛教。

3问：印度佛教在它的一千六百多年历史中有哪些重要的阶段？

答：从学说的思想发展来看，可以把印度佛教分为五个时期：第一，佛逝世后约一百年之间为原始佛教时期；第二，在这之后约四百年之间为部派分裂时期；第三，此后约四百年为大乘中观学派兴盛时期；第四，此后又约四百年为大乘瑜伽学派兴盛时期，这一时期的后期，密宗颇为流行；第五，最后约三百年为密宗盛行时期。

4问：所谓原始佛教时期的情况是怎样？

答：在这一时期中，佛弟子们在教团生活上一般维持着佛在世时一向的设施和惯例，在学修上奉行着四谛、八正道的根本教义，没有什么重大的争论。这一时期，用佛教的话说，是“和合一味”的时期。但是所谓和合一味，仅能说是大体上的一致，不是没有见解上和主张上的歧异。即以这一时期开始时的第一结集为例，在结集中就曾有关于“小小戒”（微细的戒律）是什么和要不要废除的不同意见。另一方面，由于时间和地点的条件，多数僧众没有能够参加结集，分散在各地的大弟子们也有未能参加的，他们不会没有认为需要补充或修正的意见。如富楼那（十大弟子之一）除在事后承认结集的佛法外，又声明：“我从佛得闻之法，亦当受持”。他和摩诃迦叶讨论戒律时，对“内宿”（僧人住处留藏食物）等八条戒条，他认为那是佛制定之后又开了的，迦叶则认为是开了之后又重制定的，终于各行其是。

典籍中又有跋波（最初五比丘之一）在窟外另行结集的记载。这些事实说明当时的统一之中存在着差异。佛在世时，于不同的时机，对不同的人，说不同的教法。弟子们或因佛说法的时机不同而有听受的不同，或因各人的根性、专长和学修方法的不同而有了解和悟入的不同，这也是可以想见其然的。

在第一结集之后，长老们分别率领僧众在各方弘化，师弟相承，渐渐各自形成传承的系统。他们传授的教法和戒律互有异同。各个传承系统很自然地按照地域划分其势力范围，日久之后，不能不受到各地环境的影响而具有各自的特色。在学说思想方面，有的态度偏于自由进取，对佛所说的教法，但取大意，对戒律的受持，也有所通融；有的偏于固执保守，拘泥教条，不敢出入；有的介乎二者之间。这种情形，发展下去，势必引起后来部派的分裂。

5问：部派分裂时期的情况怎样？

答：佛教教团最初分裂为上座部和大众部两大派，这是佛陀逝世后约一百或一百余年的事。当时直接引起分裂的原因是由于僧众们在戒律问题上的争执。据说有一位西方波利族比丘名叫耶舍的，游化到东方的毗舍离城，看见跋祇族比丘们劝令在家信徒布施金钱作僧众购买所需之用。耶舍认为比丘乞受金银不合戒律，于是提出异议，遭受到跋祇僧众的摈斥。耶舍便往西方各地邀请上座比丘们到毗舍离集会，结果判决跋祇比丘们为非法（根据上座记载，除乞受金银外，尚有其他九事非法）。这便是第二结集，因为集合的有七百人，所以又称“七百结集”。跋祇比丘们大多数不承认这个判决，他们另外召集了一万比丘举行结集。这便造成了教团的分裂。

6问：为什么这种判断是非的集会也称为结集呢？

答：两个集会都进行了经律的结集。七百比丘的结集，费时八个月之久。万人结集的时间虽未见记载，想也不会很短。可见两派要求解决的不只是关于乞受金银这一问题，而是要求通过经律的再一次编定来贯彻自己一派的主张。拿两派的戒律两相比较，大众部的僧祇律较简略而多通融，上座部的十诵律则繁密而严格；僧祇律对微细戒条多有舍弃，对于开戒（包括乞受金银在内）多有方便，十诵律则与此相反。显然，第二结集是第一结集之后百年间教团内部矛盾发展的必然结果。七百结集的参与者多数是上座长

老，所以这一派被称为上座部（Theravāda）。今天南方国家的佛教徒自称为上座部，因为他们出自上座部的传承。跋祇族比丘举行万人大会，这一派人数众多，所以称为大众部（Mahāsaṃghika）。

[7]问：两派的矛盾是否仅是戒律问题？

答：最初主要是戒律问题上的争论，但是两派为学的精神不同是其主导原因。上座部严格持守戒律，致力于修习禅定，注重自己内心的修持。大众部则广学多闻，致力于弘传教法，注重接引群众。这两种不同的精神，不仅引起了戒律问题的争论，而且促使后来佛教在教理上、学说上在各个时期不同的发展。

[8]问：在第二结集之后，还有没有部派分裂的事？

答：最初分立的上座、大众二部称为根本二部。后来由于佛教流传地区日广，各地的传承既有不同，而各地风土人情的不同又必然要求说法和制度的改变，因之学派渐渐繁多起来。从第二结集到佛陀逝世后约四百年之间，上座、大众的根本二部又先后分裂为十八部或二十部。关于诸部派分裂的次第、年代乃至名称有不同的传说。由上座部直接分出的最大的一部是说一切有部（Sabbatthivāda），此外较重要的是跋子部（Vajjiputtaka或称犊子部）和化地部（Mahiṃsāsaka）。据大众部传说，上座部最初分出分别说部（Vibhajjavāda），它采取大众部的一些学说，成为独立的部派，与上座、大众成鼎足之势。但根据上座部的说法，分别说部乃是上座部的异名。大众部早期分出的三部是一说部（Ekavyohārika）、说出世部（Lokottaravāda）和鸡胤部（Gokulika或称牛王部）。大众部后期分出的制多山部（Cetiyavāda）是最大的一个部派。

[9]问：各部派的学说有很大的不同吗？

答：上座、大众根本两部在教义上有较大的差别，至于支末部派，一般地说，与根本部差别不大。上座部学说可以拿说一切有部为代表，因为说一切有部是上座部中最早的和最大的一个部派，它传下来丰富的论藏典籍。大众部没有什么论著留传下来，只是从某些史籍记载中看到它的一些论点。

[10]问：可否把上座部和大众部的学说简略地介绍一下？

答：可以举几个问题来谈。

第一、对于事物（法）的认识问题。在未谈之前，先要介绍两个术语：（1）有为法，一切依借因缘而有造作生灭的事物都叫做有为法；（2）无为法，不依借因缘，本来不生灭的事物是无为法，如涅槃、虚空（万物都在虚空中生灭，而虚空的无碍性则不依借因缘而本自存在）等，都是属于无为法。说一切有部和大众部都认为无为法是实在的。至于对有为法的看法，大众部认为一切有为法依借因缘而生灭，过去的已经灭了，没有实体，未来的没有生起，也没有实体，仅仅现在一刹那中有体和用（作用）。说一切有部认为一切有为法，如果本来没有，即使具备了条件，也不能生起，如龟不能生毛，兔不能生角，所以任何一法，它的体都是永恒存在的，只是作用没有生起的名为未来，作用已经生起的名为过去，作用正在生起名为现在。因此这个部派的主张是三世（过去、未来、现在）实有与法体恒有。法体虽有，但是它的作用的生起要依借于诸法的集合以及前后的关系（因缘），决没有单独能起作用的。既然各各法的自体没有作用，所以没有常一主宰的我。这一种说法是我空法有论，而大众部说法接近于我法两空论。

第二，对于佛陀的认识问题。大众部认为生灭于人间的释迦牟尼佛是化身而不是实身，佛陀的实身是积累极长时期的修行而成的；佛陀的色身、寿命和威力都是无边际的，佛陀永远化度众生无有疲厌；佛所说的一切语言都是随机说法，佛以一音说一切法。说一切有部不承认释迦牟尼是化身佛之说，认为佛所说的语言并不全部都是经教，佛并不是以一音说一切法。

第三、对于声闻和菩萨的认识问题。大众部强调菩萨广度众生的慈悲愿力，轻声闻而贵菩萨。说一切有部虽承认声闻、缘觉、菩萨能修行的根性和所修行的道路有差别，但认为佛与二乘（声闻与缘觉）所得的解脱是没有差异的。

此外，在其他一些问题的认识上和修行实践的方法上都有不同之处，这里不列举了。

11问：在部派分裂时期中还有什么其他重大的事件发生吗？

答：佛教史上一件关系极为重大的事发生在这个时期，那便是阿育王大弘佛法。在阿育王之前佛教的传播只局限于中印度恒河流域一带，由于阿育王的努力，佛教不仅传遍五印度（东、西、南、

北、中印度），而且传到亚洲、北非、希腊许多国家，一跃而成为世界性的宗教。

[12]问：阿育王是怎样的一个人物？

答：阿育王（AŚoka，或译为阿输迦王，或意译为无忧王）是公元前三世纪摩揭陀国的国王。他的祖父是印度古代著名的民族英雄旃陀罗笈多（有人根据他的名字而考证他是有旃陀罗种姓的血统的，阿育王也曾被称为旃陀罗阿输迦）。旃陀罗笈多是公元前四世纪摩揭陀国人，被国王放逐流徙在西北印度。当时亚历山大侵入印度，占领五河一带，威胁恒河平原。旃陀罗笈多举起义旗，聚合西北民众赶走了希腊驻军，然后回到摩揭陀国，推翻了难陀王朝，成为摩揭陀国孔雀王朝第一代君主。他统一中、西、北印度，使摩揭陀国成为强大的帝国。公元前273年，雄才大略的阿育王继承他父亲宾头沙罗登了王位。他发扬光大了先人志业，在历史上第一次实现了全印度的统一。他征服南印度羯陵伽国的时候，看到了战争的惨状，大动悔悟之心，从此放弃了由武力征服的办法，而归依了佛教。他一方面实行转轮王理想的政治，兴办巨大的水利灌溉工程，修筑从摩揭陀国到伊朗的国际大道，发展国内经济和国际贸易；一方面大力传播佛教。他设置一种司掌宗教工作和慈善事业的官职，名叫“正法大官”，派遣他们和传教师们到各地宣传佛教，他的儿子摩晒陀（Mahinda）、女儿僧伽密陀（Saṅghamittā）（两人都出了家为比丘、比丘尼），也先后被派往师子国（斯里兰卡）。当时东至缅甸，南到斯里兰卡，西到叙利亚、埃及、希腊等地，都有佛教的传播。

[13]问：我国旧时传说，秦始皇时代曾有印度僧人室利房等十八人来华传教，有没有这件事？

答：这件事不见我国的正史纪载，但是秦始皇和阿育王是同时代的人，当时阿育王派遣一批传教师来到中国也是可能的事。阿育王的祖父时代一部文献中曾提到中国丝织品（梵文里有关丝的字，如Cīnapaṭṭa即成捆的丝，Cīnasukka即丝织衣服等，都有Cīna“支那”这个字作组成部分），可见秦始皇之前，中国与印度已经有了往来。

[14]问：阿育王弘扬佛教的原因是什么？

答：摩揭陀原来是释迦牟尼教化的根据地。佛教最初就得到摩揭陀国及其邻国国王们的支持，阿育王的祖父笈多王也是一位佛教的护持

者。这个事实反映着当时印度的刹帝利（国王）和婆罗门（僧侣）的冲突，而且，据我看，也反映着当时恒河流域的新兴国家中新兴地主们和商主们对领主割据势力的冲突。历史事实证明，孔雀王朝的国王们本身就是善于经营的大商主。婆罗门神权和种姓制度所支持的领主割据势力严重阻碍着农业上灌溉系统的兴建和商业上国内外贸易的畅通，因此，反对神权及种姓制度、主张众生平等的佛教受到当时民众的拥护，尤其是受到新兴地主阶级和商人们的欢迎。另一方面，佛教慈悲安忍的教义，在摩揭陀帝国统治者看来，对国内统一事业的巩固和国际友好关系的发展，是有利无害的。当阿育王从亚历山大穷兵黩武的后果中，从他自己征伐时遭到顽强抵抗的经验中，认识到必须改变武力政策而采用怀柔政策的时候，他便选择了“法轮”作为他的政治武器。

15问：阿育王弘扬佛教在学术文化上起了一些什么影响？

答：当时佛教的传播对亚洲各国以及东方和希腊、叙利亚、埃及等国家的文化交流，起了深远巨大的作用。阿育王生前巡礼各地佛迹时铭刻了许多石柱，他又在各地崖壁上刻了许多法诰（根据佛法而颁布的各种教诰），这些遗物至今还有留存和陆续发现的，对古代历史提供了极为重要的资料。

16问：阿育王传布佛教之举对当时部派的兴起有没有影响？

答：阿育王时代，佛教大约已经分为四个部派。各部派分往各地传教后，受到了各地不同环境的影响，在形式上和学说上有了不同的发展，这便促成了更多部派的产生。

17问：关于阿育王时代举行的第三次结集的情况可否再谈一些？

答：关于第三次结集的经过，我在前面谈到佛教经籍时，已经讲过了。根据南方佛教记载，阿育王大弘佛教之事，就在结集之后。最近在八纳（阿育王故都）发掘出阿育王建筑的一座宏大寺院的遗址，里面有一百根石柱的大讲堂，并有许多僧房和水池。有人说这可能就是第三结集的处所。但是关于第三结集的事，北方所传典籍中没有记载。

18问：阿育王之后又有什么大事发生？

答：阿育王大弘佛法后，三百年中，佛教在中亚各国获得坚固的根据地，更向东发展而传来中国，流布地域日见推广。但是在印度境

内，佛教却遭遇了厄运。阿育王逝世后不到五十年，孔雀王朝为巽伽王朝所代替。受到婆罗门国师的助力而篡得王位的富奢蜜多罗王崇拜婆罗门而严厉地排斥佛教，毁坏塔寺，杀戮僧众，使印度佛教一时陷于黑暗的时代。幸而巽伽王朝的统治权力仅限于中印度，他的排佛运动没有波及到南印度与西北印度。当时佛教徒多避难于西北，也有逃到南方的，因而促进了北方佛教的兴盛和南方佛教的发展。当时统治北印度的是大夏国弥兰陀王（希腊族），弥兰陀受了那先比丘的教化归依了佛教。至今传存着他和那先比丘关于佛教的问答，汉文译本称《那先比丘经》，巴利文本称为《弥兰陀问经》。大家都知道的犍陀罗佛教美术，就是从这时候开始逐渐兴起的。

[19]问：当时南方佛教的情况怎样？

答：关于当时南方佛教情况，缺乏资料。可以知道的是：由于阿育王派到南印度去传教的是大众部僧众，所以大众部学说在南方盛行而为兴起于南方的达罗维荼民族所接受。达罗维荼人建立的案达罗国在公元前28年灭了中印度的康发王朝（巽伽王朝的后一朝代）而并有其土地。此后，中印度的佛教似乎稍稍有了起色。与案达罗人入主中印度同时，大月氏人灭了西北印度的大夏王朝而创立贵霜王朝，印度历史自此进入南北朝时代，直到公元四世纪笈多王朝时才再统一。在此时期中，南朝佛教情况很难知道其详，北朝佛教则在公元二世纪迦腻色迦王（Kaniṣka）时期最为兴盛。

[20]问：迦腻色迦是怎样的人物？

答：关于迦腻色迦的事迹很少有纪载，但是在护持佛教方面，他有阿育王第二之称。据说他从前也像阿育王初期那样多所杀伐，后来得到胁比丘（Pārśva）的教化，归依佛教。从遗迹看来，迦腻色迦时代建造的塔寺和佛像很多，而且在艺术上有很大发展。如在佛塔的形式方面，改变了印度向来的复钵式，而创建了五层楼阁式的佛塔；在造像艺术方面，参酌希腊、印度两地不同形式而自成风格，使犍陀罗佛教美术发展到高峰。迦腻色迦王又由中印度罗致当时佛教大文学家马鸣（Assaghosa）到迦湿弥罗（Kasmīra），使佛教文学获得辉煌的发达。从这些事实中可以想见佛教在这时代兴盛的情况。迦腻色迦王对佛教贡献最大的就是在他发起和护持下举行了一次重要的结集。相传他曾向一些人询问教理，所得到的解答各有不同。他感到学说纷纭，莫衷一是，于是依从胁比丘的指导，招集世友（Vasumitta）以下的硕学比丘

五百人在迦湿弥罗纂辑三藏，并加以编述注释，共三十万颂，九百多万言，历时十二年方始完成。其中一部分就是《大毗婆沙论》，是属于说一切有部的一部重要的巨著，我国有新旧两种译本。

[21]问：这时期，除了有部得到提倡弘扬之外，其他部派的情况怎样？

答：当时迦湿弥罗地区，有部最为兴盛，但其他各部派也都很发达。与大众部有关而和有部对立的大乘思想这时流行于印度各地，在思想界中有着广泛的影响。迦腻色迦王所尊事的马鸣就是一个具有大乘思想的人。这时期可以说是大乘学说经过长期酝酿而趋于成熟的时期，但是大乘佛教的大兴，还有待于稍后一个时期的龙树大师。

[22]问：龙树是怎样一个人？

答：龙树（Nāgārjuna）是公元二、三世纪间的南印度人，原来是一个婆罗门学者，后来归依佛教，出家受戒，在雪山从一位老比丘受到大乘经典，由此智慧无碍。当时许多哲学家们都被他的雄辩所折服。他感到所读到的佛经虽然深妙，但是道理还有未尽发挥的，随后又从别处得到许多大乘经典，他便造了许多论著以阐明发挥经义。他的学说迅速地流布印度各地，从此大乘佛教便大为兴盛起来。

[23]问：龙树学说的主要内容是什么？

答：龙树主张的是“诸法实相论”。前面说过，在对于事物的认识问题上，有部认为一切法的自体是永恒存在的，只是它的作用的生起，要依借于因缘。龙树则与此相反，认为一切有为法只是因缘和合所生的现象，没有常住不变、单独存在的自体。譬如众木聚生而为林，林只是个假名，除众木外，别无自体（无自体也叫做“无自性”）。所以龙树说：“因缘所生法，我说即是空，亦为是假名，亦是中道义。未曾有一法，不从因缘生，是故一切法，无不是空者。”“空”乃是一切法的真实相状。

[24]问：这是不是一种否定一切的怀疑论？

答：为了便于判断，需要再作些说明：（1）一切法空的理论是建立在一切法互相依存的因果律的基础之上的，所以它不是否认因果律的。（2）这里所说的空，不是空无之空，它是绝待的，不能认为

是有，也不能认为是无，不能认为是生，不能认为是灭，一切经验上有无、生灭、来去等等概念都说不上，不是我们的觉知分别所能得其实际，所谓非有非无，非生非灭，一切皆空，所以说是“空不可得”。（3）对于事物的认识，龙树说有二谛，这是就一件事物的两面来说的：从现象来说为世俗谛（相待的世间真理），从本质来说为第一义谛（绝待的真理）。从世俗谛来看，宇宙万有，无量差别，种种相状，种种功用，种种生灭、来去、同异、是非、得失等现象和因果关系，历历分明而有；从第一义谛来看，虽有万象差别，而当体空不可得。空与有在因缘所生法上是统一的，因此世俗谛与第一义谛是二而不二的，这便是“不坏假名，而说实相”的道理，这也便是龙树的“中道义”。

[25]问：龙树之后，大乘有什么发展？

答：龙树之弟子提婆是龙树的得力的继承者和弘扬者。提婆也有许多著作，着重于破斥外道（佛教对非佛教的宗教和哲学，均称为外道），因此遭到杀害，但是大乘学说更为发达，同时，有部、经量部和其他部派始终与大乘相抗行，也都很发达。大乘佛教和部派在互相争论辩难中，都在思想上有所发展。到了公元四、五世纪的笈多王朝，大乘佛教产生了一个新的学派——瑜伽系（Yogācāra）与原来龙树的学派——中观系（Mādhyamika）并称为印度大乘佛教的二大思潮。

[26]问：请简略介绍一些笈多王朝的情况。

答：笈多王朝在印度史上是与孔雀王朝媲美的一个王朝。它是公元320年左右在中印度兴建起来的，月护王是这个王朝的创始者。第二代海护王统一了五印度，国势大盛。第三代月护二世王更向西方扩展，并发展了海外贸易交通，远及埃及诸地。随着政治与经济的兴隆，当时印度的文化学术也呈现着灿烂的光彩。笈多时代的佛像雕刻被认为是印度历代雕刻中很完美的作品。其它艺术、文学方面都有很高的成就。我国法显法师五世纪初西游印度时，正是月护二世王在位时期，他的《佛国记》中曾记载他当时见闻的盛况。至于宗教哲学方面，当时婆罗门教神学有很大发展，其他学派如数论、胜论等颇为兴盛；佛教在这时期也有了重要的建树，出了不少大学者，其中无着（Asanga）和世亲（Vasubandhu）两兄弟是最为特出的人物，他们就是瑜伽系的创立者。

27问：无着和世亲是怎样的人物？

答：无着是北印度人，原来是有部的僧人。传说，他因为对有部教理感到不满足，乃上升兜率天（弥勒菩萨所居住的天上），向弥勒菩萨请问大乘空义（一说弥勒下降为他说法），于是大得悟解。他传出了弥勒的五大部论，并且写了许多著作，以阐明大乘教义。有人考证，无着所师事的弥勒，大概是一位属于瑜伽师（有部中专修禅定的人，称瑜伽师，即禅师）的大乘学者，而不是兜率天的弥勒。世亲是无着之弟，原来也是有部的学者，后来听从无着的劝导，改学大乘，大弘无着的学说。世亲著作极多，被称为千部论师。

28问：瑜伽系学说的主要内容是什么？

答：瑜伽系的学说，内容极为繁博，包括方面甚广，现在只就宇宙观问题简略地介绍一些。在这个问题上，瑜伽系继承诸法实相论而加以补充和发展。它认为实相应该有两方面，既不是有自性，又不是一切都无所有，这样的认识才是离开有与无的执着，才是中道。瑜伽系说诸法自性有三种：一切法都是依众缘而起，这便是“依他起性”；依他起的万物由于凡夫的种种虚妄思量分别（周遍计度），而有种种虚构的体相在心上现出来，其实这种种体相完全是没有的，这便是“遍计所执性”；在依他起上离开虚妄分别，便证到圆满成就的真实，或叫做“真如”，或叫做“实相”，这便是“圆成实性”。这三性可以用一个比喻来说明，遍计所执好像是夜间行路看见一条绳而误认为蛇，其实蛇没有而似有；依他起好比是绳，绳的体由因缘所生，只是假有；圆成实比如绳体的麻，则是真有。从三性的里面来观察，又有三无性：第一，遍计所执的相是没有的，这便是相无性；第二，凡夫认为自然而有的事物，只是因缘所生而已，这便是生无性；第三，诸法的实相，是空不可得，这便是胜义无性。

29问：“三性三无性”的说法，与龙树的二谛有什么不同？

答：“三性三无性”的说法仍然是以缘起性空论为基础的，但以前龙树的“一切皆空”论只是就三无性的一边说的，瑜伽系则同时主张三性，而且详于阐说三性一边的道理，它大量采用了有部的“名相”（即术语）而加以组织来分析说明一切法的类别和关系，特别指出在依他起中应当认识一切法都是识所变现，所谓“万法唯识”的道理，这是中观系所没有的。

[30]问：佛教既认为根（眼、耳等）境（色、声等）相合，才有识的发生，如何又说万法唯识呢？

答：唯识家认为我们眼识所见的色，耳识所听的声，鼻识所嗅的香，舌识所尝的味，身识所触的坚、湿、暖、动等，都不是事物的本身，而是五识依着五根托外界事物为“本质”而变起的“影像”。所以识有两种功能：一种就是能够变起影像的功能，叫做“相分”；一种是能够了别影像的功能，叫做“见分”。我们的一切知觉无非是自己识上的见分对相分的了别而已。

[31]问：这种说法，只能说明我们主观对客观世界的反映，并不能说明唯识的道理，因为照唯识家的说法，也必须先有外界事物才有相分，有了相分，才有见分，换句话说，仍然是根境相合才有识的发生，根与境都是离开识而存在的，倒是识不能离开根境而存在。

答：唯识家主张六识之外，还有两个识——第七末那识（mana）和第八阿赖耶识（ālaya）。末那意译为“意”，是第六意识所依之根，它有一个单纯的作用，就是恒常不断地执持“我”的思想。由于“我”的思想，人们在接触外界事物时，便有爱憎、好坏、是非、彼此种种意识活动。阿赖耶意译为“藏识”，它能保藏一切事物的“种子”不使失坏。“种子”在这里是一个借用的名词，它的实际意义是能力，或者是潜势力。阿赖耶藏的种子有两类：一是名言种子，“名言”用现代语说，就是概念。我们前七识所见闻觉知的东西留着印迹于阿赖耶识上面，用唯识家的术语，这叫做“薰习”，好像用香薰衣服，衣服便留着香气那样。薰习所成的便是作为潜势力而存在的种子。二是业种子，就是我们的意识所造的善业、恶业熏在阿赖耶识上的种子。由阿赖耶所藏的二类种子变起现在的五官（根身），外界（器界）以及现起前七识（所以根身、器界都是阿赖耶识所变现，它们是阿赖耶的相分）。这身心宇宙的变起，叫做“现行”（现在的活动）。于是再由现行薰习名言种子和业种子而有未来的身心宇宙的变现。这就是瑜伽系的“阿赖耶缘起论”。

[32]问：佛教是不承认灵魂的，但是阿赖耶识可否说是变相的灵魂？

答：佛教内部对这个问题也有争论，甚至后来瑜伽系的学者也有删去第七、第八识而只谈六识的。但主张阿赖耶缘起论的人认为阿赖耶不是一个常住不灭的东西，而是永远在迁流变化着的，这与一般

灵魂的意义不同。好像远望中的瀑布，看上去以为是一片白布下垂那样，把极其急速而微细的迁流变化的阿赖耶识，认作是一个常住不变的“我”（或叫做灵魂）的存在，这是错觉。这个错觉，就是末那识。唯识家的目的仍然是破除我执，把有漏（烦恼）之识，转成为无漏之智。

33问：瑜伽系除建立了一套完整的唯心论体系之外，还有什么其他建树？

答：佛教的逻辑学——因明，到笈多时代有了很大成就。瑜伽系学者在这方面的贡献特别多。到了六世纪的陈那（Dinnāga）和七世纪的法称（Dharmmakīrti），因明更为发展。这两人都是瑜伽系的大学者。

34问：印度大乘思想除中观、瑜伽两系外，还有其他派系没有？

答：正式形成学派的是中观、瑜伽两系，它们是印度大乘思想的主流。两系之间固然有学说上的诤论，两系内部也各有不同流派的发展。此外，也还有不同于两系的思想上的支流，将来有机会再谈。

35问：笈多王朝以后的情况怎样？

答：笈多王朝后期（五世纪末）呎哒族（一说是匈奴族，未确。呎哒族又称白匈奴，但与匈奴不是一族。）由阿姆河南下，占领印度西北部，建立王国。西北印佛教受到严重的破坏。印度终因异族的继续入侵，笈多王朝的覆灭，而陷于分裂割据的局面。其时，东印度一个王国西侵中印度，中印度佛教又一度受到破坏。后来中印伐弹那王朝的戒日王（Śīlāditya）战胜了敌人，并统一了中印度，佛教始稍稍复兴。笈多时代已经开始兴建的那烂陀寺，在伐弹那王朝继续得到增建，规模日益宏大，大乘学者们集中在那里讲学研习，蔚为当时印度最高学府。大约六世纪中叶至七世纪中叶，这一百年左右是那烂陀寺的最盛时期。我国玄奘法师在这里留学时（公元七世纪三十年代），瑜伽系的大论师戒贤（Sīlabhadra）和中观系的大论师智光（Jñānaprabhā）都在那烂陀寺讲学。戒日王曾在他的首都曲女城（Kanyakubja,今名

Kannauj）开群众大会召集学者们辩论哲理，可见当时佛教讲学风气之盛。

[36]问：这以后的情况如何？

答：戒日王死后，中印度又陷于混乱局面。当时印度分据各地的王国都崇奉婆罗门教，佛教日益削弱。独有东印度的波罗王朝历代崇信佛教。这个王朝起于七世纪中叶，延续到十一世纪末。它统治着摩揭陀以东的地方，那烂陀寺在它的境内，它又在那烂陀附近另建一超戒寺，规模更大。这一时期，密宗逐渐兴盛起来，九世纪以后，更为盛行，但佛教在学术思想方面则逐渐衰落下去。

[37]问：密宗是怎样创立的？

答：密宗，或称为真言陀罗尼宗，或称为密乘（大乘其他宗派相对而称显宗或显乘），传说是龙树开南天竺铁塔，取出秘密经典而传出来的。事实上，自龙树以来，流行的大乘经典中，就杂有密乘的成分（密咒），但独立而成立所谓密宗，则是远在龙树之后的事。

[38]问：真言陀罗尼是什么意思？

答：真言陀罗尼就是密咒。根据密宗的说法，密咒是佛内证的智慧的语言，是能够显示诸法实相的真实语言，所以叫做真言。陀罗尼（dhāraṇī）的意义是“总持”。密咒的一字一声，总含着无量教法义理，持有着无量威力和智慧，凭仗念诵密咒的威力，可以获得远比显宗迅速而伟大的成就。密宗着重在修习仪轨，按照一定的仪轨，结坛，设供，身结手印，口诵真言，意作观想等等，以求将自己的身口意三业，转成佛的身口意三密（佛的身口意作用微妙不可思议，所以称为三密），这样便可以迅速得到智慧、神通，乃至即身成佛。修习密法还有息灾、增福、降伏等作用。

[39]问：密宗佛像有许多是多头多手，有的是面貌狰狞，甚至不是人的形状，这是什么道理？

答：密宗的像都是表示一定的意义的，如观音像的四臂六臂表示菩萨行的四摄六度，大威德金刚的三十四臂加上身、口、意表示三十七道品，又如佛座上的莲花表示出离心，月轮表示菩提心，日轮表示空慧（通达一切皆空的智慧），又如手中执持的种种器具也都是表示佛菩萨的种种誓愿、智慧、功德等。面貌凶猛的一般是金

刚（有大威力的神）像，表示降伏魔军的威力和作用。此外，还有其他许多天神的像。

40问：密宗是否吸收了许多婆罗门教的内容和形式？

答：是的。从历史来看，佛教最初是反对婆罗门的教义和祭祀仪式的。佛教一度在孔雀王朝成为国教，大行其道，但不久即随王朝的更易而遭到排斥，其后虽得到某些地方王朝的护持，但一般说来是不断受到种种障难的。为了随顺时势与世俗，佛教不得不采取一些“方便”，以推行其教化。同时婆罗门教虽在政治地位上居优势，但由于佛教哲学的发扬，不能不受到刺激而要求改进它的理论。因此双方在互相排斥中的互相影响，便成为自然的趋势。到笈多王朝，婆罗门教梵我论的建立，扩大和增强了它的影响。公元七世纪后期，婆罗门教学者鸠摩梨罗（Kumārila）和商羯罗（Śaṅkara）更吸收佛教的理论而大大发展它的神学，于是婆罗门教便以新的姿态大为兴盛起来（西方学者把这以后的婆罗门教称为印度教），而佛教当时则以人才廖落，相形见绌日见陵逼。适应这样时节因缘而兴起的密宗，在仪式上大量采取“方便”，吸收了婆罗门教的许多东西而加以不同的解释，确是事实。但是在教义上仍是以空、无我的理论为根本的。

41问：佛教在印度的最后情况是怎样？

答：从七世纪中叶开始，便有信奉异教的突厥族由中亚细亚侵入印度的西北部。到十世纪后半期，他们逐渐进展到五河地区，并向内地侵略，所到之处，印度原有宗教均受到破坏。到十一世纪波罗王朝末期和继起的斯那王朝时期，侵略势力渐达东印各地。佛教上师们星散避难，多经历尼泊尔、迦湿弥罗等地来到中国西藏。最后斯那朝王室也改变了信仰，超戒寺等重要学府先后被毁，留存的僧人寥寥无几。于是佛教残余不久便绝迹于印度本土，这大约是在十二世纪末叶的时候。

42问：近代印度佛教复兴的情况，可否介绍一些？

答：十九世纪末期，斯里兰卡一位达摩波罗（Dhammapāla）居士到印度瞻礼佛教圣地，看到那些地方的荒凉景象，他便努力从事复兴印度佛教的事业，于是印度又开始有了佛教的团体和活动。近几十年来，中国、缅甸、日本等国佛教徒也陆续在印度各佛教圣地——菩提伽耶、鹿野苑、拘尸那等处建立了一些佛寺。印度人民渐有归依佛教，而且也有到斯里兰卡出家受戒的，但是为数不

多。直到1956年，突然有一个大规模的改宗佛教运动在“不可触种姓”的群众中发生起来，这是近代佛教史上一件大事。原来，有一位安贝德卡尔（B. R. Ambedkar）博士，是印度“不可触种姓”人民的领袖人物，1956年10月，他在那伽浦尔一次群众大会上宣布他改信了佛教，并宣传“人不是神创造的”和“一切众生平等”的佛教教义。参加大会的五十万“不可触者”响应他的号召，同时宣布放弃印度教信仰而归依佛教。安贝德卡尔于1956年12月突然逝世，但是改宗佛教运动不但没有停止，反而掀起了澎湃浪潮，向印度全国各地发展，成千成万的人相率归依佛教。据1962年5月《世界佛教》杂志报道，印度七千万不可触种姓人民中已经有二千万人改宗佛教。这个运动目前还在继续发展。

5 THE SPREAD, DEVELOPMENT AND EVOLUTION OF BUDDHISM IN CHINA

(I) The Introduction of Buddhism into China and the Translation of Buddhist Scriptures

[1]Q: When was Buddhism first introduced into China?

A: It is difficult to ascertain the exact time of the introduction of Buddhism into China. In the early years of its introduction, its followers were few and may not have been noticed by the upper bureaucracy and historians. In the year 2 BC, Yi Cun, the envoy of the king of Great Kuṣāṇa (a kingdom established by a powerful minority ethnic group after its migration from Gansu, China, to Central Asia), arrived in Chang'an (present-day Xi'an), capital of the Han Dynasty. He recited Buddhist teachings to a high-ranking scholar-administrator named Jing Lu. This is the earliest record of the introduction of Buddhism into China. We may presume that 120 years before this, with the opening up of communication with the Western Regions by Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, Buddhism, which had spread from India to Central Asia, was probably already being carried eastward by travelers. According to another tradition, at the time of Qin Shihuang (who reigned during 246-210 BC, contemporaneously with AŚoka in India, who reigned during 272-226 BC), 18 Indian samaṇas—Sri Fang and others—came to Xianyang (near present-day Xi'an). After the Third Buddhist Council, held in about 250 BC during the reign of AŚoka, Buddhist missions were sent to various countries, so it is quite possible that a mission came to China. Besides, some identify the word "Xianmen" which appears in Song Yu's *Ode of Gao Tang* and the *Biography of Qin Shi Huang* in the *Annals of History* with the word "Samaṇa". Yet this is hard to verify since there are no extant translations or other books on the matter.

[2]Q: If there are so many views concerning the first introduction of Buddhism

into China, why is it widely held to have been at the time of the Emperor Ming of the Han Dynasty and his search for Dhamma?

A: According to historical records, in the 7th year of the Yongping Era (64 AD), the Emperor Ming of the Han Dynasty sent twelve emissaries to the Western Regions in search of the Buddha Dhamma. In 67 AD, they returned to Luoyang together with two Indian monks, Kāśyapa-mātaṅga and Dharmaranya and also brought scriptures and statues of the Buddha back with them. They began to translate parts of Buddhist scriptures. One of these tranlations is believed to be the existing *Sutta of Forty-two Chapters,* an abridged version of the *Āgama*. At the same time, the first Buddhist temple in China was built in the capital, that is the Baima (White Horse) Temple, which is still standing today. It was named after the white horse that carried the scriptures and statues of the Buddha to China at that time. In view of this tradition, even if the introduction of Buddhism into China predates the Emperor Ming of the Han Dynasty, it can be said that Buddhism as a religion was first accepted and upheld by the royal court and began to lay its foundations in scale in China during the Emperor Ming's reign. In 73 AD, Ban Chao was sent as an envoy to the Western Regions, afterwards 36 kingdoms of this area were subjugated and communication with the Western Regions was made easy. Zhang Heng (78-139 AD), the famous scientist and writer at that time, mentioned "Sangmen" (samaṇa) in his work *Ode to the Western Capital*, which shows that the presence of Buddhist monks had already become a social phenomenon, attracting the attention of men of letters and learned scholars.

[3]Q: Is it possible that Buddhism spread to China not only by land route from the West to Central China, but also by sea to Wu and Chu (middle and lower Yangtze) area? This is suggested by the fact that the Prince of Chu, Liu Ying, who was the Emperor Ming's brother, was a believer of Buddhism.

A: I agree with this view. According to historical records, it seems that Buddhism was more widespread in the Chu area than in Central China.

[4]Q: When did native Chinese monks first appear in China?

A: Native Chinese monks appeared quite early in China. The earliest on

record was Liu Jun, Marquis of Yangcheng, who got Emperor Ming's permission to adopt monasticism. However, the monks in the early days merely adopted monasticism by following their masters, shaving their beards and hair, and abiding by certain rules, there was yet no ordination system according to the Vinaya rules. Not until 250 AD, when Dhammakāla from Central India established a regular ordination altar at Baima Temple in Luoyang to transmit the precepts, did China have genuine bhikkhus. Owing to the absence of foreign bhikkhunīs in China, women who renounced the world at first merely shaved their hair. Later on, their ordination was presided over by senior monks. A full system of ordination was not in place until 429 AD, when nineteen bhikkhunīs headed by Devasara (or Tissara) came from Sri Lanka. It was then that fully ordained bhikkhunīs came into existence in China.

[5]Q: When did the translation of Buddhist scriptures begin in China?

A: The propagation of Buddhism in China was closely associated with the translation of Buddhist scriptures. As was mentioned before, Kāśyapa-mātaṅga and Dharmaranya began the translation of the "Sutta of Forty-two Chapters" at the time of the Emperor Ming of the Han Dynasty, together with some other suttas. These were the earliest translations.

[6]Q: Were there other famous translators later in the Han Dynasty?

A: Among the translators at the initial stage (2nd-3rd centuries AD), we must not omit such names as An Shigao of Parthia (around present day Iran), Lokasema of Kuṣāṇa, Saṃghavarman and Saṃgīti of Semeg-kand Kingdom (in today's Kirghizstan), as well as Dharmarakṣa, a Chinese monk of Kuṣāṇa extraction, who was one of the earliest monks to go to the West in search of Dhamma. In addition, Zhu Shixing also went to the Western Regions in 260 AD to search for Dhamma. Owing to their endeavors, a large number of Sāvaka-yāna and Mahāyāna scriptures were translated to Chinese.

[7]Q: Were there any differences in the scriptures translated by these translators?

A: The translations fall into two main systems: one was the Hīnayāna School represented by An Shigao, primarily focusing on the *Āgama* and *Dhyāna* teachings; and the other was the Mahāyāna School represented by

Lokasema, concentrating mainly on the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* and the Sukhāvatī creed. The two schools existed side by side.

[8]Q: What was the effect of these early translations on the later development of Buddhism in China?

A: Translation at that time was in the initial stage. Due to various limitations, it was not yet possible to carry out well-planned and systematic translations. As a result, only a few of the scriptures were translated completely, and a consistent style of translation was yet to be formulated. Nevertheless, they rendered a valuable service as pioneers, helped to establish Buddhism in the Chinese intellectual circles and extend its influence.

[9]Q: Since the introduction of Buddhism into China, a great number of people have been engaged in the study and propagation of Buddhism. Who were some of the important figures in the Chinese Buddhist circles that contributed to the development of Buddhism in China?

A: The popularization of Buddhism in China dates from the 4th century AD. Ven. Dao An, a leader in the Chinese Buddhist circles, was an important figure playing a very active role at that time. He was one of the earliest zealous propagators who sent his followers to various parts of the country to preach the Buddha Dhamma, and was the founding father of the first Saṅgha institution in China. He made every effort in search of precepts to supply the deficiency in Vinaya Piṭaka, and regularized rules and rites for monks and nuns to follow throughout the country. (For example, upon taking up monasticism, Chinese monks and nuns adopt the surname "Shi" (Sākya) in place of their former surnames. This was first advocated by Ven. Dao An himself.) He collected and collated the texts already translated, and made the first bibliography of Chinese Buddhism— *Jinglu (Bibliography of the Suttas)*. He energetically promoted and rewarded translation work and for the first time summarized the experience of translation. Under his guidance, many important scriptures were translated and quite a number of scholars and translators were gathered and trained, which provided favorable conditions for the subsequent large-scale translation work of Kumārajīva.

[10]Q: The establishment of Buddhism primarily rests upon Vinaya rules. What

other texts of Vinaya were translated after Dao An?

A: The earnestness which Dao An and his disciples exhibited in search of disciplinary rules gave great impetus to the enrichment of the Vinaya Piṭaka. In his lifetime, Dao An collected a large number of books of disciplinary code (Pātimokkha) and translated some of them. Unfortunately these have been lost. Afterwards, with the help of Puṇyatāra and Dharmaruci from Kasmīra, Kumārajīva translated the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya which was widely disseminated by Kumārajīva's teacher Vimalākṣa in the Jiangxi region. Buddhayasas (another Kashmiri) translated the Dharmagupta Vinaya in 410 AD. Saṃghabhadra, who came to China from Sri Lanka with a mission sent by Ven. Buddhaghoṣa, translated *Samantapāsādikā* (the Vinaya commentary). Also in order to search for Vinaya rules, Ven. Faxian (Fahsien) travelled throughout India in the early 5th century and became a great Dhamma-seeker and traveler of ancient China. His immortal travelogue and other achievements might overshadow his initial motive of seeking Vinaya as well as his other accomplishments in this respect. He brought back, in addition to many other books, the *Mahāsamghika Vinaya* and *Mahīśāsaka Vinaya*. The former was translated to Chinese by Faxian himself with help from Buddhabhadra of Kapilavastu (a part of Nepal today), the latter, by Buddhajīva (from Kashmir) after Faxian's death. Another great Dhamma-seeker, Yijing, of the 7th century also traveled abroad with the same aspiration of studying the Vinaya texts. He brought back and translated 11 works of the Sarvāstivāda School, thereby completing the Vinaya-piṭaka to a great extent. Thus, the Vinaya-piṭaka translated to Chinese includes the *Dharmagupta Vinaya* in 61 volumes, the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* in 157 volumes, another version of *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* of 61 volumes, together with the texts of Kamma, Pātimokkha as well as commentaries on the various Vinayas, a total of about 500 volumes now exist. In addition, Chinese high monks wrote more than 500 volumes of treatises about Vinaya, which are also extant. As to the lineage of Bhikkhu precepts in China, during the period of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (3rd—4th centuries AD) *Dharmagupta Vinaya* prevailed in the North, *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* in the South. When the Sui Dynasty united the whole of China, the North dominated over the South in politics and also in Buddhist disciplines. Thus the *Dharmagupta*

Vinaya of the North has dominated since the Sui Dynasty. In the Tibetan Buddhist areas, the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* has always been in practice, while in the Dai-inhabited areas the Theravāda Vinaya spreads. This is of the same origin as *the Dharmagupta Vinaya*, and identical with that of Sri Lanka, Myanmar and other Theravādin countries.

[11]Q: Your talk above gives a clear picture of the translation and spread of Vinaya Piṭaka. Could you please talk about the large-scale and systematic translation of the Sutta Piṭaka and Abhidhamma Piṭaka? When and with whom did the work begin?

A: The large-scale systematic translations of Sutta and Abhidhamma texts of Buddhism should date back to Kumārajīva in the early 5th century.

[12]Q: What were the special characteristics of Kumārajīva's translations when compared with previous attempts? What effect did they have on Buddhism and on Chinese thought and culture subsequently?

A: Kumārajīva's translation work enjoyed unprecedented favorable conditions, being supported by the government (the Kingdom of Yaoqin) and assisted by a large group of volunteer monks with high learning under the influence of Dao An. However, his great achievements were mainly owing to his profound knowledge and perseverance. This brilliant master, who was born in Northwest China (Kucha in Xinjiang), of mixed Chinese and Indian blood, is the pride of both Chinese and Indian peoples. He and the later Dhammācariya Xuanzang were the two giants in the cause of translation. The 300-odd volumes of canonical works translated by Kumārajīva are not only the treasure of Buddhism but also an important literary heritage, having tremendous influence on the philosophical thought and literature of China. Under his teaching and guidance, thousands of intellects were fostered, enabling the enormous leap forward of Buddhism at the time.

[13]Q: You have said Kumārajīva's translations were systematic. Would you tell me about his system?

A: In the area of Buddhist studies, the most important contribution of Kumārajīva was his introduction of the books of the Mādhyamika School founded by Nāgārjuna. Owing to his effort, the Sutta and Abhidhamma texts of this school, such as the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, the *Śataśāstra*,

the *Dvādaśamukha-śāstra*, the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, the *Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra*, the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra,* the *Cūlaprajñāpārāmitā-sūtra* and the *Vajraccedikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* etc., as well as the *Mahāprajñāpāramita-śāstra* (the commentary on the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra)* were introduced into China, thus laying a solid foundation for the Dhammatā School in China. Secondly, Kumārajīva translated the *Satyasiddhi-śāstra*, an important book of the Sāvakayāna, which was initially spread along with the three śāstras of the Mādhyamika School (or four śāstras if we include the *Mahāprajñāpāramita-śāstra*). Later this evolved into an independent school, known to posterity as the Satyasiddhi masters, which reached its climax during the period of Northern and Southern Dynasties. This sect of the Sāvakayāna was closer to the Mahāyāna tradition.

[14]Q: Were there any other famous translators after Kumārajīva? What schools did they belong to?

A: Kumārajīva's translation work,which took place between 401-413 AD, mainly covered the doctrines of the Mahāyānin Suñña Sect as advocated by Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva in a comprehensive and systematic manner. After Kumārajīva, many important translators came to China in a continuous stream, and major Suttas and Abhidhamma texts were translated one after another. For instance, Buddhabhadra translated the *Buddhāvatamsaka-mahāvaipulya-sūtra* in 418-421 AD, Dharmarakṣa translated the *Mahā-parinirvana-sūtra* in 421 AD, Guṇabhadra translated the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* in 443 AD, etc. The introduction of these canons produced a significant effect on the development of Chinese Buddhism. In the early 6th century (508 AD) Bodhiruci came to China and initiated the translation of Asanga and Vasubandhu's commentaries on the Yogācāra. Among their translations the *Daśabhūmika-śāstra* was particularly influential, and its students formed a school called the Daśabūmika School with Southern and Northern branches. Later on, Tipiṭakācariya Paramattha (498-569 AD) came to China in 546 AD. He translated Asanga's *Mahāyāna-samparigraha-sāstra* and Vasubandhu's *Mahāyāna-samgraha-bhāsya* in 563 AD, as well as the *Abhidhammakosa-śāstra* in 564 AD, which was retranslated between 566 and 567 AD. Paramattha was not only a great translator but also a master of Buddhist philosophy, and with his long sojourn in China, acquired an

excellent command of the Chinese language. He could explain the sūtras and śāstras as he was translating them. His explanations were taken down by his students and resulted in good commentary books. The propagators and students of these texts were known as masters of the *Samparigraha-sāstra*, or masters of Kosa. Though Paramattha suffered hardships of war for more than 20 years after his coming to China he still managed to translate more than 100 volumes of important sūtras and commentary works, which formed an important sect of Chinese Buddhism. He was one of the translators who made the greatest contributions during the 200-odd years between Kumārajīva and Xuanzang.

[15]Q: Xuanzang of the Tang Dynasty translated works of the Yogācāra School, so did Paramattha. Are there any differences between their translations of Yogācāra doctrines?

A: According to Xuanzang, Sīlabhadra was born in 528 AD, from which it may be inferred that Dhammapāla was born in about 530 AD. Paramattha was born in 498 AD, so Paramattha was 30-odd years older than Dhammapāla. Paramattha translated Dinnāga's *Ālambanaparīksā* (which was also translated by Xuanzang) and *Hastavālaprakarana* (also translated by Yijing) into Chinese. Dinnāga was one of Vasubandhu's students and Dharmapāla's teachers. This suggests that Paramattha was a master of Yogācāra who lived between Dinnāga and Dharmapāla, while Xuanzang mainly dealt with Dharmapāla's theory. So Xuanzang's disciples regarded Paramattha's translation and scholars of the Bhūmiśāstra School as the old theory or the old translation, while regarding Xuanzang's as the new translation. The differences between them were summed up by Lingren of the Tang Dynasty (698-907 AD) into 14 points. For example, the former maintained that all beings possess the Buddha-nature, whereas according to the latter, there is a part of living creatures without the Buddha-nature (a-gotra); the former holds that the doctrines and wisdom (understanding and mind) of the fruit of Bodhi are identical, whereas according to the new theory they are different in that they result in momentary and permanent fruit respectively; according to the old theory, among the Three Characteristics, the parikalpita (illusory) and the paratantra (empirical) are relative truths, whereas according to the new, parikalpita alone is relative; the old holds that the root of Dependent Origination lies in the

eighth consciousnesses, whereas the new holds that all eight consciousness and the corresponding cetasika (constituents of consciousness) form the basis of Dependent Origination. In Paramattha's translation of *Trimśikā-vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi* (or *Pravrtti-vijñāna-śāstra*), Ādānavijñāna was made the 7th consciousness, while in Xuanzang's the eighth. In addition, the Mahāyāna-saṃparigraha-sāstra School founded by Paramattha created the 9th consciousness, which was absent from the new translation.

In a nutshell, both new and old translations came from the same source—Yogācāra School, so they had similar basic principles. However, it is natural that there were slight discrepancies in interpretation due to the separation in time and later they each developed individual distinct doctrines. Paramattha's translation caused a great stir in the Chinese Buddhist circles during Sui and Tang and this motivated Xuanzang to go to India to make more profound studies. In the 80-odd years (546-627 AD) between Paramattha's arrival in China and Xuanzang's travel to India, Indian Buddhism also underwent radical changes. First, there arose the controversies between Dharmapāla and Bhāvaviveka over Suñña (emptiness) of Mādhyamika and Bhava (existence) of Viññāṇavāda. After that, strife between Buddhapālita (supported by Candrakīrti) and Bhāvaviveka led to the split of Suññatāvāda into two factions—Svātantrika (independent reasoning) and Prāsaṅgika (depending on opponent position). And then, Candrakīrti and Candragomin waged protracted polemics. Afterwards, Dharmakīrti, a disciple of Dhammapāla, also made revisions to the founding master Dinnāga's logic (Hetuvidyā). As former theories are usually improved and surpassed by later ones through differentiation and analysis, the doctrines inherited by Xuanzang were in general more circumspect and accurate than the previous translations.

[16]Q: Ven. Xuanzang, who went to India for further studies of the doctrines of Yogācāra, of whom you speak—was he identical to the well-known figure of "Tang Seng" (Tang monk) or "Tang Sanzang" (Tripiṭakācariya of Tang) who went to "Western Heaven" in search of Buddhist scriptures (as described in the novel *Pilgrimage to the West*)?

A: Yes. But it's a mistake to apply the terms "Tang Seng" and "Tang

Sanzang" to a single person. Tang was the title of the reigning dynasty of China at that time. So these two in modern Chinese mean, simply, "Chinese monk" and "Chinese Tripiṭakācārya". This is common knowledge among Buddhists, but I feel I need to explain since too many people in China have misunderstood the terms.

[17]Q: Then, could you please say something about his life?

A: Actually, it's not necessary to go into much detail about such a well-known figure as Dharmācārya Xuanzang. The great traveler who made a pilgrimage of 17 years single-handed, traveling 50,000 li all on foot, traversing 130 countries throughout the Western Regions and India, and left behind an immortal travelogue, *The Journey to the Western Regions of Great Tang*. A great Buddhist scholar who had a marvelous command of both Chinese and Indian languages, who thoroughly mastered the Tripiṭaka doctrines and elevated himself from a foreign student to the presiding lecturer in Nālandā—the highest seat of learning in India at the time. He was warmly and reverently received and respected by kings and common people alike, by the monastics and lay people of India and other countries of the Western Regions. He devoted his whole life to cultural exchange between China and India, and translated as many as 1,335 volumes (about half a million odes) of sūtras and śāstras. For his large scale and systematic translation, rigorous scholarship and tremendous achievements, he holds a place forever unsurpassed in the history of translation in China. His achievements and contributions are great and significant not only in the sphere of Buddhism, but also in the academic world in general. He translated not only comprehensively and systematically the sūtras and śāstras of the Yogācāra School of Mahāyāna Buddhism, but also the cardinal sūtra of Suññatāvāda, the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* with its 200,000 odes (or ślokas, each śloka consists of 32 syllables) into Chinese. In addition, he translated almost all important śāstras of the Sarvāstivāda School. Besides, he had exclusive possession of the esoteric works written and handed down secretly by Bodhisatta Dhammapāla, an unusually gifted Buddhist genius of India, such as the works of *Catuhśatakavrtti* which synthesizes the theories of Suññatāvāda and Bhavavāda, and *Vijñapti-mātratāsiddhi-śāstra*, which was edited by Xuanzang based on Dharmapāla's view. Both original texts were lost in India. It is thus evident that Xuanzang, who brought the

Indian Buddhist studies to their highest development, was second to none. Therefore, nobody could speak out and challenge him when he sat aloft on the Lion Pedestal to proclaim his tenets, and present his views at the 18-day assembly (pañca-vārṣikamaha), which was convoked in honor of Ven. Xuanzang by Śīlāditya (Harṣa). He was haled as the Mahāyānadeva (meaning the Deity of Mahāyāna) by Mahāyāna scholars, earning the highest academic honor of two ancient civilizations.

About a century later, a Japanese monk named Vajrasamādhi (who visited China about 818 AD), during his tour in India, found that in Buddhist monasteries in central India, the jute sandals worn by Xuanzang as well as the spoon and chopsticks he used were painted against the background of colorful clouds, and were worshipped on occasions of fast days (Uposatha) (see Vol. III of Part I and Vol. II of Part II of *The Anecdotes of You Yang*, by Duan Chengshi). Apparently Xuanzang's jute sandals were already honored and worshipped as venerably as the Buddha's footprints in India at the time. There is scarcely a parallel in history that a scholar enjoyed such high respect abroad except for the founders of various religions. Even today, the Japanese Buddhist scholars still assert that such a genius as Dharmācārya Xuanzang could only be produced by a great nation like China. Indeed, the great master Xuanzang is the pride and glory of the Chinese people.

[18]Q: Can you tell us about some other historical figures similar to Dharmācārya Xuanzang?

A: Yes, Dharmācāryas Faxian and Yijing may be cited. As was mentioned before, Ven. Faxian set forth on his pilgrimage from Chang'an in 399 AD at the advanced age of 65. He traveled on foot over tens of thousands of kilometers, across deserts, trekking through the Hindu Kush mountains, left his footprints throughout North India, visiting holy places, studying Sanskrit and copying Buddhist scriptures for many years. Then he embarked for Ceylon (Sri Lanka of today), and returned to China via Java (now Indonesia). At the age of 80, he continued to translate the Buddhist scriptures with perseverance. His masterwork *Records of Buddhist Kingdoms* became an important historical document. Soon after Ven. Xuanzang, Ven. Yijing made his pilgrimage for the Buddha Dhamma by sea to India. In the course of 25 years, he visited more than

30 countries, searching for Vinaya-piṭaka and paying homage to the holy places. After returning home he translated more than 50 texts of Sūtra and Vinaya texts totaling more than 200 volumes, and wrote two books, namely *A record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago* (another version is titled *A Journey to the South Seas and Back*) and *Biography of Eminent Monks of Great Tang Who Went to the Western Regions in Search of Dhamma.* Both Faxian and Yijing were like Ven. Xuanzang in indefatigably searching for truth with no thought of themselves, taking chances and risking death. Therefore, Lu Xun did not exaggerate when he eulogized them as the backbone of the Chinese nation. They have brought high honors for our great nation, added bright color to the magnificent oriental culture and scored unparalleled feats for the promotion of Buddhism. They are immortal translators, thinkers and travelers who left indelible marks on the development and enhancement of Chinese culture.

[19]Q: There were a lot of people in history engaged in the translation and propagation of Buddhist scriptures aside from those mentioned above. Could you name a few more prominent figures?

A: The course of translating Buddhist scriptures into Chinese lasted 10 centuries (from the 2nd to the 11th century), and resulted in over 1,690 texts of Tripiṭaka being translated, totaling more than 6,420 volumes, with no less than 200 famous Chinese and foreign translators involved. In addition to the above-mentioned characters, well-known are Dharmarakṣa, Buddhabhadra, Bodhiruci of India, Jñānagupta and Dānapāla of Pakistan, Paññā of Afghanistan, Mandra and Saṅghapāla of Cambodia, as well as Tripiṭakācārya, Amoghavajra from Sri Lanka, who propagated Tantric Buddhism. Through the persevering, industrious efforts of so many people, the Buddhist theories of the Sāvakayāna, Dhammatā, Lakṣaṇa, Exoteric and Esoteric Schools were introduced into China, thereby forming the enormous treasures of Chinese Buddhism. In 1954, Mao Dun, Chairman of the Chinese Writers' Association, in his address to the All-China Conference of Literary Translation Workers, said, "The translation work of our country has a long history and a glorious heritage.The conscientious scientific approach of translation created by our predecessors in translating the Buddhist scriptures and their outstanding achievements are worthy of our pride and should be

acknowledged as our models." Undoubtedly, the translation work of ancient China created a great spiritual heritage in the magnificent culture of the Chinese people which is beyond compare in the whole world. It is one of the splendid cultural traditions of which we are proud.

However, one very important aspect, which is often neglected and must not go unnoticed, is that China has been a multi-national community from ancient times, and each nationality has made significant and remarkable contributions to the creation of the culture of the nation as a whole, particularly in the sphere of Buddhism. During the period of the Tibetan kingdom, thanks to King Sroṅ-bstan-sgam-po's marriage with the two Princesses, Wen Cheng and Jin Cheng of Tang, the culture of the great Tang Dynasty and the Buddhist faith were introduced into Tibet, and Tibetan writing, in use to this day, was created. During the reign of Khri-sroṅ Ide-btsan, the most eminent exoteric scholars Śānta-rakṣita and Kamalaśīla, and Tantric master Padma saṃbhava and others were invited to Tibet from India to build monasteries, establish the Saṅgha Order, and make systematic translations. At the same time, monks of the Han nationality were invited from Sha Zhou of the Tang Dynasty to teach Zen Buddhism and the sūtras. During the reign of Khri-Ral Pa-can (815-836 AD), a number of Indian high priests (Bhadantas) were invited to standardize the nomenclature, revise the old translations and add new ones of sūtras and śāstras, with the help of Tibetan scholars. After the 10th century there was another period of Buddhist promulgation in Tibet. Great monks came and went in succession propagating or seeking Dhamma between India and Tibet. This continued for 3 or 4 centuries until the year 1203 AD when the Vikramasīlavihāra and all other large monasteries in India were destroyed by invading troops.

Take, for example, an outstanding monk among them, Ven. Ārya Atīśa (982-1053 AD). Born in Bengal, he was a master with the highest learning and moral integrity in India at that time. He went to Tibet in 1042 AD on invitation and founded the Bkah-gdam-pa Sect. His doctrine was later carried on by Master Tsoṅ-kha-pa(1357-1419AD) who founded the Dge-lugs-pa Sect (or the Yellow Sect), which spread over wide areas inhabited by Tibetans, Hans and Mongolians. Then there was Mar-pa of Tibet, who went to India three times to study the Buddha Dhamma and founded the Bkah-brgyud-pa Sect (or White Sect), which ruled Tibet for

a long time during the Ming Dynasty. The world-famous Tibetan sage Mi-la Ras-pa was the second patriarch of this Sect. Other Bhadantas engaged in translating the scriptures and preaching the Buddha Dhamma are too numerous to mention. In the 500 years from mid-8th to mid-13th century, the Tripiṭaka scriptures translated into Tibetan, which are collected in Bkah-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur, number more than 5,900 texts, consisting of approximately 3,000,000 lines, roughly equivalent to 10,000 volumes in the Chinese version. Since there are very few duplicate translations of the same text in Tibetan Tripiṭaka, the total contents must be far more than that in Chinese version. In particular, the śāstras of Suññatāvāda and Bhavavāda as well as books on Hetu-vidyā (logic), Cikitsā-vidyā (medicine) and Śabda-vidyā (linguistics), and Esoteric sūtras and śāstras which were popular in the late period of Indian Buddhism, are numerous in Tibetan but absent from the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Because it takes into account the inflectional endings and syntactic structures of Sanskrit grammar, the Tibetan version is easier to convert back into the original Sanskrit version. Therefore, contemporary Buddhist scholars attach great importance to Tibetan translations.

In addition, the translation of Tripiṭaka into the Manchurian language was carried out in the Qing Dynasty. In modern times, remnants of the Tripiṭaka in the Xixia language and in the ancient Uighur language have been discovered. Furthermore, the culture of the Dai nationality of China was not known to the outside world for a long time, not until after liberation was Dai found to have a very rich literature of its own, including the Dai translation of the Pāli Tripiṭaka of the Southern tradition. Thus it can be seen that the Tripiṭakas in the various minority languages in China are very lofty monuments in the cultural history of mankind, presenting the wisdom and toil of people of generations, embodying the perseverance and grandeur of our nation. This is an invaluable spiritual treasure worth our pride. Now, China has decided to collate and republish the Tripiṭaka as one of the important projects in re-editing the classical works. This is an event worth celebrating, not only by Chinese Buddhists, but also in the international cultural and academic circles, which have been eagerly awaiting the event for so long.

(II) The Emergence of Various Buddhist Schools

[20]Q: Over the long course of propagation of Buddhism after its introduction into China, what developments and transformations have taken place? And what academic achievements have been made?

A: With the introduction of numerous canonical works into China, the doctrines of various schools of Indian Buddhism came into contact with the national culture of China, and after a long period of assimilation and digestion, gave rise to creative development. In the Sui and Tang Dynasties from the end of the 6th century to the mid-9th century, Chinese Buddhism underwent a period of florescence in which new developments took place in doctrine and theory and various schools emerged one after another, displaying a spectacle of a hundred flowers in blossoming.

[21]Q: How many schools or sects are there in Chinese Buddhism? Could you give a brief description?

A: In the past many schools existed within Chinese Buddhism. Nowadays there are 8 main schools:

(1) the Three Śāstras School (Mādhyamika School), also called the Dhamma Pakati School,

(2) the Yogācāra School or the Dhamma Lakkhaṇa School,

(3) the Tiantai School,

(4) the Xian Shou (or Hua Yan) School, the Avataṃsaka School,

(5) the Chan School (the Zen or Dhyāna School),

(6) the Pure Land School (the Sukhāvatīvyūha School),

(7) the Disciplinary School (the Vinaya School), and

(8) the Esoteric School (the Tantra School), also called the Mantrayāna School.

These eight major schools are commonly referred to in Chinese as: Xing, Xiang, Tai, Xian, Chan, Jing, Lü and Mi.

[22]Q: Would you briefly describe what major distinctive theories each of them upholds? May the first question be why the Three Śāstras School is so named? What are its main doctrines?

A: This school was formed primarily on the basis of studying and transmitting the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, the *Śata-śāstra*, and the *Dvādaśamukha-śāstra* translated by Kumārajīva. Because its basis is the Three Treatises (śāstras) of the Mādhyamika Sect, it is called the Three Śāstras School. The general principle of its doctrines is the double truth —the Ultimate Truth (P. Paramattha-sacca, S. Paramārtha-satya) and the Conventional Truth (P. Sammuti-sacca, S. Saṃvṛti-satya). The ultimate end is to perceive the reality of the Middle Path (P. Majjhima-paṭipadā, S. Madhyamā-pratipad).

[23]Q: What is meant by the two truths—Ultimate Truth and Conventional Truth? What is the reality of the Middle Path?

A: The Chinese here use the word "di" to mean truth. The truth that refers to the nature of reality is called the Ultimate Truth (Paramattha-sacca), and the truth that refers to worldly phenomena originated according to the Paṭiccasamupāda is the Conventional Truth (Sammuti-sacca). According to the Conventional Truth, all things exist (bhava), and in terms of the Ultimate Truth, all dhammas are empty (suññatā). Thus the two kinds of truth, ultimate and conventional, are equated with that of existence and non-existence. Matter (Rūpa) is Emptiness (suññā) and Emptiness is Matter. They are identical. Seeing the two truths as one is the Middle Path or the reality of all dhammas. This is the core of the theory of this school. According to the ultimate emptiness of reality, this school lays stress on revealing that all dhammas, worldly or transcendental, defiled or pure, have no self-nature because of Dependent Origination, that the Five Aggregates (Pañca-khandha), the Twelve Spheres or bases (āyatana) etc., are nothing but illusions. Accordingly, one can thoroughly break with confusion, build up the view of the Middle Path on the base of nothing obtainable, and finally reach the goal of deliverance without obstacle. This school is in fact the direct succession of the Mādhyamika doctrine advocated by Nāgārjuna and Deva in India.

[24]Q: Why is the Yogācāra School so called? What are the main doctrines of this school?

A: The Yogācāra School was founded by Maitreya, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu of India. The main bases of this school are the *Samdhinirmocana-sūtra*, the *Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra* and the *Vijñapitmātratā-siddhi-śāstra*, it is so called on account of its basic text of *Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra* dictated by Maitreya and recorded and compiled by Asaṅga. The Chinese Dharmācārya Xuanzang translated and propagated its doctrine and made an abstract of the theories of ten masters and compiled it as one book, the *Vijñāptimātratā-siddhi-śāstra*. It is also called the Dharma Lakṣaṇa Vijñānavāda School or Ci En Zong. The general program of its doctrine is of Five Categories of Dhammas, Three Natures (Tri-svabhāva), Eight Kinds of Consciousness and Two-fold Egolessness, and the purpose is to convert consciousness into wisdom (āśraya-parivṛtti).

25Q: What are the Five Categories of Dhammas, Triple-nature Doctrine, Eight Kinds of Consciousness and Two-fold Egolessness?

A: The Five Categories of Dhammas (Pañca-dhammā) are: (1) Name (Nāma) (2) Form (lakkhaṇa) (3) Discrimination (vikalpa) (4) Right Wisdom (sammā-ñāna) (5) Ultimate Reality or Suchness (Tathā). The Triple-nature (tri-svabhāvatā) consists of: the illusory (parikalpita), the dependent (paratantra) and the perfected (parinișpanna) aspect. The eight consciousnesses consist of visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, mental, manas, and ālaya forms (or eye vijñāna, ear vijñāna, nose vijñāna, tongue vijñāna, body vijñāna, mind vijñāna, the 7th manas and the 8th ālaya). The two-fold egolessness is the non-existence of self (pudgala-nairātmya) and the non-existence of dhammas (dharma-nairātmya). The Pañca-dhamma includes all dhammas, both of this world and other worlds. Name and form refer to the fact that all worldly conditioned dhammas (Saṅkhata-dhamma) have their names and forms, and are thus called "dhammas bearing names and forms". Discrimination explains how people as subjects can differentiate and recognize objects. Right Wisdom refers to the pure (anāsava) and genuine wisdom of the saints. Suchness implies the intuitive wisdom towards the true reality. Therefore, the Pañcadhamma is the general catalogue of all dhammas, pure or impure (āsava), subjective or objective.

The Three Self-natures (Tri-svabhāva) are the following:

The first one indicates the two kinds of grasp (abhinivesa) of subjective

and objective things (grāhaka and grāhya), the false attribution of existence to the non-existent and the fact that illusion produces kamma. So this is called Illusory Obsession (parikalpita).

The second refers to the dhammas of three spheres (kāma-loka, rūpa-loka and arūpa-loka), which originate from causes and conditions. So this is named the Dependence upon Others.

The third is the perfect wisdom corresponding to reality which is achieved by getting rid of the two kinds of grasp and by understanding of the emptiness of ultimate reality with the view of Dependence upon Others.

The nature of all things falls into the above three categories. Therefore, they are called the Three Self-natures.

The eight forms of consciousness:

Consciousness (viññāna) means conception and recognition, and is also called mind (mano or citta). Every sentient being possesses a perceptive mind or consciousness, displaying eight kinds of consciousness as mentioned above.

The two-fold egolessness (anattā) means that neither individual sentient beings, nor the whole mass has any unchangeable or eternal entity (commonly known as ego or soul). This is called non-existence of self. Nor do objective things have perpetual entity as self-nature or absolute reality. This is called non-existence of dhamma. The two-fold egolessness is also known as emptiness of both human beings and things. The theories of this school analyze the inherent nature and form of all dhammas in depth to expound the cooperation of mind, consciousness and causality. This school practices meditation on Consciousness (Viññāna-vipassanā) in order to convert consciousness into wisdom and attain the fruits of liberation and enlightenment (bodhi). This school was founded by Dhammācārya Xuanzang with his translation and transmission, and is the direct successor of the doctrines of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu of India.

[26]Q: What are the main doctrines of the Tiantai School?

A: The basis of this school is the *Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra* (Lotus Sūtra),

the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* and the *Mādhyamika-śāstra* translated by Kumārajīva. Its doctrines were formed through the assimilation of the ideas of various schools introduced from India and developed in China by systematic reorganization. Since the founder of the school, Zhi Yi, lived in the Tiantai Mountains, Zhejiang Province, it was called Tiantai School. It takes the theory of Five Periods and Eight Teachings as its main creeds, and the Three-fold Contemplation with one's mind and the Perfect Harmony of Three Truths as its central idea.

[27]Q: What are the Five Periods?

A: This school divides the preaching time of Sākyamuni Tathāgata into five different periods, and speaks of the "Teachings of Five Periods": the Avataṃsaka Period, the Āgama Period, the Vaipulya Period, the Prajñā Period, the Saddharmapuṇḍrīka and Nirvāna Period. The name of each period corresponds to a Buddhist text. They assert that all sermons preached by the Buddha fall within the categories of these five periods. Hence the term "Five Periods".

[28]Q: What are the Eight Teachings?

A: This school divides the Buddha's Teachings into four different grades according to the profundity or simplicity of the contents: the Tripiṭaka Teaching, the Intermediate Teaching, the Differentiated Teaching and the Highest Perfect Teaching. These four are collectively known as the "Fourfold Converting Teaching". The Tripiṭaka Teaching is the Hīnayāna teaching for sāvakas; the Intermediate Teaching is the medium interconnecting the earlier Hīnayāna with later Mahāyāna, and contains doctrines of Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna or the elementary Mahāyāna, hence the name; the Differentiated Teaching is the pure Mahāyāna doctrine with different approaches to various dhammas as its name shows; and the Highest Perfect Teaching is the Mahāyāna doctrine, tactful without impediment, consummated without imperfection. These four grades of teaching are arranged in order from simple to profound. Then, on the basis of the Buddha's techniques of instruction, it differentiates between four modes of instruction: Direct Teaching, Gradual Teaching, Esoteric Teaching and Indeterminate Teaching. These are called the "Four Modes of Instruction".

[29]Q: What are the Three-fold Contemplation with One Mind and the Perfect Harmony of Three Truths?

A: The Threefold Contemplation (Ti-vipassanā) is a system of meditation practice, consisting of the contemplation of Emptiness, Illusion and the Middle Path. These three contemplation can be attained within one mind. Hence the term "Three-fold Contemplation within One Mind". The three Truths are the truths of Paramattha, Sammuti and Majjhima-paṭipadā (ultimate, conventional and middle path), which are in perfect harmony. Though they are three, they are three in one, so, saying three or saying one means the same, Thus they are regarded as the Perfectly Harmonious Threefold Truth. The Three-fold Contemplation within One Mind and the Perfect Harmony of Threefold Truth are the tenets of the Highest Perfect Teaching, which holds the view that all dhammas are basically the same, and the truths are consummated without impediment. The Tiantai School identifies its own doctrine with the Highest Perfect Teaching and regards other schools' as affiliations to the former three teachings. This School sums up the theories of all previous schools, makes an elaborate arrangement of Buddhist doctrines, and creates the Mahāyāna theory of Highest Perfect Teaching, which exemplifies the indigenous development of the Mahāyāna doctrine in China.

[30]Q: What is the main doctrine of the Xian Shou Sect (Avataṃsaka School)? Why is it so called?

A: This School takes the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* as its foundation and makes a comprehensive study and a penetrating elaboration of it. Its ideological system is formed on the basis of the development of the theories of previous scholars and schools (such as the Three Śāstras School's, the Tiantai's, the Viññānavāda's, the Masters of Daśabhūmika-śāstra School and Masters of Mahāyāna-saṃparigraha School, etc.). Its founder was the Imperial Preceptor, Xian Shou (Fazang) in the late 7th century, so it was named Xian Shou School, or Hua Yan (Avataṃsaka) School. This school asserts that the whole of Buddhism has Five Components of Teachings, the gist of which is the Six Features, Ten Metaphysical Entrances (doors) of thought and Three Contemplations.

[31]Q: What are the Five Components of Teachings?

A: The first is the Small Teachings, i.e. the Hīnayāna Teachings for Sāvakas.

The second is the Initial Teachings, i.e. the Teachings of the initial stage of Mahāyāna.

The third, the Terminal Teachings, i.e. the Teachings of the Terminal Stage of Mahāyāna.

The fourth is the Teachings for Immediate Comprehension, applied in Mahāyāna as the key to sudden enlightenment.

The fifth is the All-round Teachings, which means the Perfect Teachings, harmony without impediment, consummated without imperfection.

This School classifies the Buddhist doctrine into five parts from simple to profound with one more level than Tiantai School, i.e. the Teaching for Immediate Comprehension. Hence the term "Five Components of Teachings".

[32]Q: What are the Six Features?

A: The Six Features are: whole and part, unity and diversity, entirety and individuality (individuation). These six are manifest in all things simultaneously, as well as in each single thing simultaneously. Whether in all things or in a single one, they always oppose each other and also complement each other, are present at the same time, with harmony and mutual penetration without mutual disruption. In this way, the principle of Dependent Origination of the dhamma world is revealed.

[33]Q: What are the Ten Metaphysical Entrances of thought?

A: The Ten Entrances are:

(1) All phenomena are present simultaneously and correlate with each other.

(2) The relationship between them is like the endless Indra Net.

(3) The visible and the invisible phenomena exist within one unit.

(4) Even the smallest particles retain their own nature while mutually penetrating.

(5) Dhammas in ten epochs are manifest without separation.

(6) Dhammas in all traditions have virtues, whether pure or impure.

(7) Each thing and all other things inter-penetrate, but do not lose their own character.

(8) Various Dhammas exhibit phenomenal identity, free from resistance.

(9) All Dhammas exist as the reflection of the Tathāgata's mind.

(10) Profound theory can be illustrated and perceived with things.

The general significance of the Ten Metaphysical Entrances is to demonstrate Hua Yan's theory, demonstrated by all phenomena, that all things are present simultaneously, with endless mutual interaction, regardless of whether things are pure or impure, one or many, of the past, present, or future.

[34]Q: What are the Three meditations?

A: The first is the meditation on the ultimate reality of voidness. The second is the meditation on the unity of forms and substance without separation and hindrances. The third is the meditation on the universal harmony in which all dhammas abide. The establishment of the theories of the Six Features, Ten Metaphysical Entrances, and Three Meditations expounds the gist of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* such as the Dependent Origination of the dhamma world, the unity of phenomena and truth without hindrance, no separation and hindrances among things or forms, all in infinite harmony. The Six Features and the Ten Metaphysical Entrances are used in meditation on the basis of dhamma world, while the Three All-round Meditations are used in the insight gained through wisdom. This view that the dhamma world is endlessly multi-meshed and in infinite harmony is in fact a unique creation of China despite its source from the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*. Its doctrine of the Dependent Origination of the dhamma world without hindrances is an enormous development on the Mahāyāna doctrines introduced from India.

[35]Q: What are the doctrines of the Chan (or Zen) School? What is the meaning of "Chan"?

A: "Chan" is short for "Channa", the Chinese transliteration of Jhāna (S. Dhyāna), meaning meditation or contemplation in tranquillity, also known as Chanding (Samādhi practice). This practice is to make the mind concentrate on one point of an object, and keep contemplating in order to become aware of the true nature of one's own mind. It is known as "Can Chan" in Chinese, so this school is called the Chan School, or Jhāna School. There are a number of types of "Chan", including Sāvaka Jhāna, Bodhisatta Jhāna, Step by Step Jhāna and Jhāna of Immediate Enlightenment. In Jhāna studies, there is a special Chinese subsect different from others, that is the Chan Sect, which claim "transmission of Dhamma without recourse to the scriptures". It is not the traditional gradual Jhāna, but the Jhāna of the Patriarch, which emphasizes "Direct pointing at the mind of the man, and the attainment of immediate enlightenment".

36Q: Does this school have some specific suttas as its theoretical basis?

A: It is believed that the meditation practice of this school was introduced into China by Bodhidharma from India in the early 6th century. It used to be said that the Chan School (Dhyāna School) was passed on through mind to mind and transmission one by one, without recourse of language, speech and writing. Thus it was known as "a special transmission without use of the scriptures". However, the first Patriarch of the School, Bodhidharma, handed down the 4-volume *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* to the second Patriarch Hui Ke as the criterion of its seal or essential idea. Besides, Hong Ren and Hui Neng taught their followers to uphold and preach the *Vajracchedika-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. Thus the *Vajracchedika* and the *Lankāvatāra* sūtras became the canonical basis of the School, and subsequent to this, appeared the *Platform Sūtra* of the 6th Patriarch and many other recorded quotations. So it is impossible to say that the Chan School is without canonical basis.

37Q: I have seen quite a few temples named such and such Chan monastery. Does it indicate that the Chan School has been flourishing in China?

A: Yes, it does. In the 8th century the School was divided into two subsects, named the Northern Sect and the Southern Sect. The Northern Sect headed by Shen Xiu (c. 606-706), which advocated gradual cultivation, was in fashion for a time, but declined before long. While the Southern

Sect headed by Hui Neng (638-713), who advocated Immediate Enlightenment and was venerated as the 6th Patriarch by later generations, became prosperous and carried on. From the Tang Dynasty to the Song Dynasty, masters in the lineage of the Southern Sect succeeded one after another. Over the course of 3-4 centuries, it further branched into 5 subsects and 7 subgroups, which gives some indication of how the school flourished. This school, like the Pure Land (Sukhāvatī) School, has flourished long and wide in China.

38Q: What were the later five subsects and seven subgroups of the Southern School?

A: Among the disciples of Hui Neng, the 6th Patriarch of the Southern School, were the two branches led respectively by Huai Rang (667-744) in Nan Yue, and Xing Si (?-740) in Qing Yuan, which gave rise to the five subsects and the seven subgroups. From the Nan Yue Branch first emerged the Wei Yang Subsect and then the Lin Ji Subsect. From the lineage of Qing Yuan, three subsects evolved: Cao Dong, Yun Men and Fa Yan. These are the five subsects from the two branches. Later on, the Huang Long and Yang Qi subgroups emerged from Lin Ji. These two together with the previous five subsects formed the seven subgroups. All of them thrived for a time but some waned and became extinct after a period. Only the Lin Ji and Cao Dong subsects have survived, with the former more flourishing. All descendants of the Chan School in modern times are the offspring of Lin Ji and Cao Dong.

39Q: Some believe that Dhyāna practice (Can Chan or Da Zuo in Chinese) has the effect of helping people keep in good health, avert illness and attain longevity. Is it true?

A: In Buddhist meditation, there are certain ways to adjust posture and breath, to rest the mind and sit down in tranquillity which have the positive effect of promoting good health, averting illness and attaining longevity. However, this is not the purpose of Buddhist Dhyāna practice. Buddhist meditation (including contemplation of various schools) is aimed at concentration of the mind on one point, thoroughly understanding the truth, and finally manifesting wisdom (paññā) and perceiving the nature of Dhammas. This is known as illuminating the mind (citta), revealing the true nature and obtaining freedom. As to

sitting in quiet and Qigong, these are merely the form or base for practicing meditation, while keeping from illness and attaining longevity are merely the byproduct of dhyāna practice. Buddhism does not particularly encourage these effects or set them as its goal. Nevertheless, it is necessary for the beginners of meditation to know these basic methods of adjusting postures and breath in order to keep the body and mind in a proper state and to avoid ailments arising from meditation practice. Only then can the smooth approach of the dhyāna-contemplation be safeguarded.

40 Q: Could you please summarize the theories of the Pure Land (Sukhāvatīvyūha) School?

A: This school was formed on the basis of the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha (Amitāyus-sūtra)* and other texts, with the aim of advocating a practice of meditating and intoning Amita Buddha so as to gain rebirth in the Western Pure Land where Amita Buddha resides. Hence the name Pure Land School. This school divides the Buddha's methods into two courses, the difficult course and the easy course. They point out that those schools who observe the Six Perfections (cha-pāramitā) and practise numerous exercises requiring discipline (sīla), concentration (samādhi) and wisdom (paññā) over three long periods of time (asaṅkhya), belong to the difficult course; that the Pure Land School practice, on the other hand, is to devote one's heart and soul to recitation of the Buddha's name, and in this way one can go to the peaceful Pure Land at the moment of death by the power of Amita Buddha's vow, so it falls under the category of easy course. Therefore, this school advises people to recite Amita Buddha's name in order to attain rebirth in the Western Pure Land.

41 Q: What are the characteristics of this school?

A: This school is characterized by its simplicity in practice and its strong appeal to the broad masses. According to this school it is necessary neither to master the Buddhist scriptures and study the doctrines extensively, nor to adopt meditation and special cultivation, but to keep reciting "Namo Amita Buddha" while walking, standing, sitting or lying down. With sufficient faith and devotion to recite the Buddha's name whole-heartedly and unremittingly, one can be reborn in the Pure Land shortly after death. Of course one should, too, observe the precepts, chant

the suttas, and widely do good in daily life, so as to assist one in reaching the goal. Since the manipulation is so simple and thus easy to popularize, even scholars of other schools practice this method, thereby enabling the Pure Land School to command particular popularity in China.

[42]Q: Judging by its name, one would say the Vinaya School is a school placing emphasis on learning and research of the Vinaya Piṭaka. Is that right?

A: Yes, the Vinaya School mainly pays attention to Vinaya studies. Due to the popularity of this School, Chinese monks, in the course of their learning and practice of Mahāyāna's Three Categories of Studies (tisso sikkhā)—discipline, contemplation, and wisdom (adhisīla, adhicitta and adhipaññā), also attach importance to the Vinaya Piṭaka of Sāvakayāna.

[43]Q: What are the contents of the Vinaya rules?

A: In brief, Vinaya rules consist of Sāvaka-vinaya and Bodhisatta-vinaya. The Vinaya School mentioned here refers to the lineage founded by Vinayācārya Dao Xuan of the Zhongnan Mountains on the basis of Dharmagupta Vinaya of Sāvakayāna. In terms of the precepts and features of discipline, there are respectively the Five Precepts, the Ten Precepts and the Full Commandments (upasaṃpadā). The Five Precepts are observed by both monastic and lay Buddhists, while the Ten and the Full Commandments are observed by monastic disciples. These have been mentioned before and need not be repeated. The Vinaya Piṭaka of each sect does not merely include the precepts and the reasons for their being laid down, (or enacted), but also, in greater portion, the regulations (kamma, or the procedures of meeting) for the Saṅgha Order, such as the institution of renunciation, ordination, rainy retreat (Vassa), fortnightly assembly (Uposatha), robes and alms begging as well as other daily routines, each in detail. With the lapse of time and the change of circumstances, many rules of the Vinaya have long fallen into laxity. The Bodhisatta Vinaya consists of precepts for lay followers and for monks and nuns respectively. The monastic Bodhisatta Vinaya stipulates, as in *Brahmajāla-sīla-sutta*, 10 major and 48 minor precepts, while that for lay followers stipulates 6 major and 28 minor rules as contained in the *Upāsaka-sīla-sutta*. Again, the Bodhisatta-vinaya is generally summed up into Three Aggregates or three categories of purifying sīla. They are:

first, Saṃvara-sīla which refers to the moral precepts, meaning "the Avoidance of all evils"; second, Kusala-dhamma-saṃgrāhaka-śīla, meaning "the acquisition of all good"; and third, Sattvārtha-kriyā-śīla, meaning "benefiting all sentient beings". Since China essentially belongs to Mahāyāna Buddhism, the Bodhisatta Vinaya has to be briefly referred to here. The aforesaid are the contents of the Vinayas of both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna.

[44]Q: Since the Dharmagupta Vinaya belongs to Sāvakayāna, why is this Hīnayāna School listed among the eight major schools of China?

A: Though it belongs to Sāvakayāna, the essence of Dharmagupta Vinaya is in common with Mahāyāna; as the old saying goes, "There is something applicable also to Mahāyāna". With the prevalence of Mahāyāna in China, the Vinaya-piṭaka can be explained in terms of Mahāyāna and the "small vehicle" can be included as a constituent part of "great vehicle", so the Dharmagupta Vinaya forms part of Mahāyāna Vinaya. It is on the basis of Sāvaka Vinaya that the Restraint of Senses (Saṃvara-sīla) in the three aggregates of purifying sīla of monastic Bodhisatta Vinaya was established. As to the four most fundamental precepts (Pārājika), abstaining from killing, stealing, improper sex, and lying about one's spiritual achievements, these are followed by both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. The most important thing in the study of Vinaya rules is to distinguish the purview of flexibility and constancy, abidance or deviation. Flexibility means that certain Vinaya precepts, being inviolable in normal times, may be breached under certain circumstances, while constancy refers to those that can not be violated at any time. In certain circumstances, one may not be certain oneself whether a rule has been violated, so it is necessary to consult the Vinaya rules. Then the Vinaya masters can determine the demarcation line between flexibility and constancy, abidance or violation. Of the sāvaka precepts, the four fundamental rules (to abstain from taking life of people, stealing, sexual misconduct and lying about one's spiritual achievements), plus the thirteen rules of saṅghādisesa (Bhikkhunī pātimokkha includes 8 fundamentals and 17 Saṅghādisesa rules), must be strictly followed without infringement, while most of the rest are permitted to be relaxed under special and necessary circumstances. Take the precept of "abstaining from eating at an inappropriate time" for example, it is

observed in normal times. Yet eating after physical labor is permissible. However, the flexibility is determined according to the Vinaya. It can be seen that Buddhist Vinaya precepts are not rigid, but are flexible except for the fundamentals.

[45]Q: What is the doctrine of the Esoteric School (the Tantra School)?

A: In the 8th century, Esoteric Buddhism of India was introduced into China by Śubhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, and Amoghavajra, among others. After that it gradually grew into the Esoteric School in China along with practice and dissemination. Based on the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* and the *Vajraśikhara-sūtra,* this school established the Three Secret Yoga, performing contemplation to culminate in the four peaks of view and cultivation in order to achieve integration with a specific Buddha or master (guru-yoga). This school, in order to preserve its secret nature, does not permit those who have not undergone the ceremony of pouring water on the head (abhiṣeka) from freely displaying and passing down to others the instruction. Hence the name Esoteric School.

[46]Q: What are the Three Secret Yoga? What does Guru-yoga mean?

A: A Guru, or Satyadevatā, is a most venerable and honored Buddha or Bodhisatta or wise spirit (vijjā-rāja) chosen by a practitioner as an object or a model to learn from to enable his own attainment. In order to integrate himself with the merits, virtues and wisdom of the Honored One, the practitioner has to study and practice the Three Secret Yoga which means the union of the three kammas. The "Three Secret" are physical, oral and mental kammas, and "yoga" means connected and identical in each of the three. Connected and identical with whom? That is to say the practitioner's actions of body, speech and mind should connect and identify with the Honored One's. To practice this method, the practitioner should embrace the Guru's postures, hand signs (mudra) and recite the Honored One's spell (mantra), keep contemplating on his own Guru or bīja (seed) words, ensure that his own three kammas correspond to that of the Guru. That is called yoga practice. If this practice proves a success, the practitioner's own body would become one with the body of the Guru. There are many methods of practice in Esoteric Buddhism. This is but one example. The ultimate principle of this school is still based on the theory of the emptiness (Suññatā) of

nature and formlessness of Dhamma; just as this school claims, "There is no origination of 'A' at all" (akāra-ādyanutpādaḥ), no origination is the same as emptiness.

[47]Q: From your discussion I've got a preliminary understanding of the eight schools of Chinese Buddhism. Are there any other schools besides these eight? Since they are called eight major schools, are there any minor schools?

A: Besides the eight, there are the Abhidharma-kośa School, mainly upholding the *Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra*, and the Satyasiddhi School, specifically dealing with the *Satyasiddhi-śāstra*. Both of them belonged to Hīnayāna Buddhism and waned after the Tang Dynasty. With the addition of these two schools, there are a total of ten schools. In addition, there are masters, called Nibbāna Teachers, who propagated the *Mahāpari-nibbāna-sutta*, masters who taught the *Mahāyāna-samparigraha-śāstra*, and Masters of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra*. These schools flourished for a time and soon lost followers or merged into other schools.

[48]Q: Were there any twists and turns or evolution among the schools in the course of their spread after inception?

A: The developments of different schools were uneven, as were their variations. Some schools waxed upon their inception and waned afterwards. This was the case with the Three Śāstras School. This school, through energetic propagation by Fa Lang of Xinghuang Temple and Ji Zang of Jia Xiang Temple in the Chen and Sui Dynasties respectively, spread widely over nearly the entire nation until the early Tang Dynasty, but gradually declined afterwards. Some schools, such as the Tiantai School, were not initially popular, but thrived later. This School was founded by Zhi Zhe and Zhang An in the Tiantai mountains and was just confined to southeastern Zhejiang province, lingering on like a thread from teacher to disciple. But 100 years later, at the time of Zhan Ran of Jing Xi, it blossomed. And some schools kept on flourishing and disseminating without decline. This was the case with the Chan School. Many masters of this school who made great achievements were recluses residing in forests or mountains and subsisting alone without much reliance on the outside world. Nor did they need many canonical books.

That is why this School could survive the Hui Chang Extermination of Buddhism and carry on with significant developments. Some other schools seemed to die out and then revive. Prior to the attempted Extermination of Buddhism during the Hui Chang era, various schools had successively arisen and flourished, though attaining different levels in prosperity. During the Hui Chang years (845 AD), the Emperor Wuzong of the Tang Dynasty attempted to exterminate Buddhism. Nearly all Buddhist scriptures and statues were demolished and most of the canonical works of each school were lost. By the 10th century, the works of the Tiantai School were regained from Korea, as were parts of the works of the Xianshou Sect (or Avataṃsaka School). This was considered the revival of the two schools after the Five Dynasties. Many works of the remaining schools, like Mādhyamika, Yogācāra and Esoteric Schools, were scattered abroad. Not until the end of the Qing Dynasty, were certain texts of the Dhammapakati and Dhammalakkhaṇa Schools brought back to China from Japan. In the last half century, all the eight schools have been revived with their doctrines being studied and preached. To sum up the history of Buddhist schools in China, the Sui and Tang Dynasties saw the heyday of all schools, following the Hui Chang Persecution came the period of their decline and extinction, with the exception of the Chan School. Not long afterwards, the revival of the Tiantai and Xianshou Schools and the momentous development of Chan School brought about a period of Buddhist revival, but still it never regained its grandeur of the early and middle Tang Dynasty. After the Yuan Dynasty, Tibetan Buddhism spread over central China, and was favorably accepted by the imperial court, but was not popular among the people there. The original Buddhism in the Han-inhabited area was not as prevalent as in the Song Dynasty. During the Qing Dynasty, Buddhism in the Han region showed no sign of increase, but was able to maintain itself.

[49]Q: From the end of the Tang Dynasty till the Qing Dynasty, Buddhism declined gradually. After the Qing Dynasty, Buddhism appeared to revive with the emergence of many Buddhist talents. Could you name a few distinguished personalities in recent times?

A: One of the most distinguished advocates of Buddhism in modern times was Yang Renshan (1837-1911), who, in order to nurture Buddhist

scholars and facilitate the circulation and study of Buddhist texts, dedicated decades of his time to lecturing on and printing Buddhist scriptures. He was the founding father of the Jinling Scripture Publishing House which published many important works of the Dhammapakati and Dhammalakkhaṇa Schools which had long been missing in China and were brought back from Japan. This enabled the revival of these two schools. At the same time, the Jinling Scripture Publishing House was also an educational center where Tan Sitong, Zhang Taiyan and others used to go to hear Yang Renshan's lectures. Among the Buddhist scholars he nurtured, the most outstanding personality was Ouyang Jingwu, a lay Buddhist, who devoted his life to the study of Dhamma-lakkhaṇa or Viññānavāda and established the China Buddhist College in Nanjing which became an important research center of Viññānavāda studies at that time. Another promoter of the study of Dhamma-lakkhaṇa was the lay Buddhist Han Qingjing of the San Shi Society in Beijing who enjoyed a reputation equal with that of Ouyang Jingwu.

50Q: From your description, I understand why these highly-acclaimed lay Buddhists who have made very significant contributions to modern Buddhism deserve eulogy and emulation by succeeding generations. Besides this, were there famous monks who have contributed to the spread of Buddhism? Could you please give a few examples?

A: Famous monks in contemporary times include Ven. Yuexia, Dixian, Yinguang, Hongyi, Xuyun, etc. who propagated the doctrines of the Xianshou (Avataṃsaka), Tiantai, Pure Land (Sukhāvatī), Vinaya and Chan schools respectively. Then, there were the powerful propagators, Masters Yuanying and Taixu, who energetically set about consolidating the Sangha Order, promoting Saṅgha education, demonstrating the Mahāyāna tenets and uplifting Buddhist culture. Ven. Yuanying was a paragon with profound learning in the *Śūramgama-mahā-sūtra* and the practice of both the Chan and Pure Land schools, who, throughout his life, did his utmost to preach Dhamma, build monasteries, start all kinds of welfare services and encourage and promote the coming generations with his deep love for his country and Buddhism. Ven. Taixu was an erudite Buddhist scholar with vast knowledge comparable to abysses and oceans and a noted activist in propagating Buddhism. Under his advocacy and guidance emerged a large number of Saṅgha talents for the

promulgation of Buddhism who made indelible contributions to the development of contemporary Buddhist cause in China. In the past 10-odd centuries since the Emperor Wuzong's attempted Extermination of Buddhism in the Tang Dynasty (844 AD), Buddhist learning has been at low ebb. So it is a matter for rejoicing that there have been some signs of restoration owing to the efforts of both lay and monastic Buddhists in the past 100 years. However, compared with the vigorous growth of Buddhist academic research outside China at present, much work awaits our prompt action. How can we restore the magnificence and glorious position occupied by Chinese Buddhism in the Tang Dynasty and keep the pace of Buddhism with the great contemporary development of our country? It invites the far-sighted aspirants in Buddhist circles to carry on the unfinished work of the pioneers and to exert their utmost endeavors with zeal.

So much for a brief summary of the origin, dissemination, and vicissitudes of various Buddhist Schools of the Han nationality in China.

(III) Buddhism in Minority-inhabited Regions of China

[51]Q: After your explanation, I have got a rough outline of Buddhism in the Han regions. Could you tell me when Buddhism was introduced into Tibet and who were the propagators?

A: The Tibetan Buddhist tradition dates back to the mid-7th century. The Tibetan ruler at that time, Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, was converted to Buddhism under the influence of his two wives, Princess Wencheng of Tang and Princess Bhṛkuṭi (or Khri-btsun in Tibetan) of Nepal. He dispatched his Minister Thonmi sambhoṭa to lead a 16-person envoy to India to learn Sanskrit and Buddhist scriptures. On their return they created the Tibetan writing system and began to translate Buddhist texts. In the mid-8th century, the Tibetan Ruler Khri-sroṅ Ide-btsan invited Padmasaṃbhava to come to Tibet from India. The indigenous religion—Bon was subdued and Buddhism, thereupon, spread in Tibet.

[52]Q: What about subsequent developments?

A: After his arrival in Tibet, Padmasaṃbhava first built the Bsam-yas Temple, ordained monks and then established the Saṅgha Order there. He also invited masters to translate many Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit, as well as some from Chinese. According to the existing catalogue of translated Buddhist works called Ldan-dkar-ma in Tibet (compiled in the royal house of Khri-sroṅ Ide-btsan, according to Bu-ston), works of all kinds—Mahāyāna, Hīnayāna, Esoteric and Exoteric—translated at that time totaled 738, (including 32 translated from Chinese). Such was the prevalence of Buddhism at the time. However, in the mid-9th century, Tibetan Buddhism suffered a setback, which was known as Glaṅdar-ma Persecution of Buddhism. Thus for a while (828-978 AD), Buddhism subsided. Later on, with the reintroduction of Buddhism from Xikang region Tibetan Buddhism revived. In the 11th century (1042 AD), a Bengali Buddhist, Mahānāyaka Atīśa, came to Tibet and energetically promulgated the Buddha Dhamma. Meanwhile, the Tibetan Bhikkhu Rin-chen Bzaṇ-po (Bao Xian) and others translated numerous sūtras and śāstras. Students of Tibetan history take the Glaṅdar-ma Persecution as the dividing line, referring to the period before as the Early Spreading Period, and the period after the restoration of Buddhism as the Later Spreading Period.

Afterwards, Indian Buddhist scholars, especially those of Nālandā, Vikramaśīla and other great monasteries came to Tibet in large numbers, especially at the time of turbulence (all great Buddhist temples in Bihar Pradesh in India were completely demolished by the invading troops in 1203). The translation work grew rapidly as a consequence. Most of the 6,000 volumes of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka were directly translated from Sanskrit and a small portion were translated from Chinese. Therefore, a very rich collection of later works of Indian Buddhism are preserved in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, particularly those of Logic (Hetu-vidyā), Linguistics (Śabda-vidyā), Medicine (Cikitsā-vidyā) are great both in number and importance. It is well-known that the most popular and salient feature of Tibetan Buddhism is Esoteric Buddhism. As for Exoteric Buddhism, all large monasteries of the Dge-lugs-pa School (Yellow Hat) in Tibet adopted an educational system centered on the 5 subjects of Buddhist studies: Hetu-vidyā, Abhidhammakośa, Vinaya, Mādhyamika and Yoga, which, to judge by the accounts of Xuanzang

and Yijing, may be the academic standards and style handed down from Nālandā.

53Q: As you have mentioned before, there exists in China, too, a Pāli tradition of Buddhism. What about its development?

A: The Pāli tradition of Buddhism (Theravāda Buddhism) prevails in the areas inhabited by the Dai and Bulang nationalities in Yunnan Province, where the traditional Buddhist belief among the people is similar to that in the Southern Buddhist countries. All of them belong to the Pāli system of Buddhism. As they can directly read the scriptures in Pāli, there is no necessity to labor on translation. It is worthy of delight and praise that the good tradition of primordial Buddhism—practice with effort according to Dhamma and Vinaya—has been preserved in this area for centuries.

54Q: Are there different schools of Tibetan Buddhism as there are different schools of Buddhism in the Han-inhabited areas?

A: Within Tibetan Buddhism, too, there emerged different schools at different times. Due to the diversity in evolution, translation, and sūtras preached or favored, there gradually appeared a number of schools, large or small, such as the Rñiṅ-ma-pa Sect, which survived from the Early Spreading Period; the Bkaḥ-gdam-pa Sect, which was passed down from Atīśa to Ston-pa; the Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa Sect, handed down from the translator Mar-pa to Mi-la ras-pa; the Sa-skya-pa Sect passed down from Master Ḥbrog-mi to Dkon-mchog rgyal-po; and the Dge-lugs-pa Sect established by Tsoṅ-kha-pa (1357—1419) during his religious reform. In addition, there were minor sects that were not widespread and had limited influence, such as Jo-naṅ-pa, Shi-byed-pa, Good-yul-pa, and Sa-ru-pa. Each of them upheld its own peculiar doctrine and method of cultivation. A particularly note-worthy sect, the Dge-lugs-pa, was founded by Master Tsoṅ-kha-pa in the late 14th century on the basis of an earlier tradition, along with his further elucidation of doctrine, and congregational reform in the Saṅgha system. This School is known as the Yellow Sect, and is widespread among Mongolians and Tibetans.

55Q: Are there different sects, too, within the Pāli system of Buddhism in China?

A: There are different sects within the Pāli Buddhist system in China, but the differences are only in the requirements of discipline and rituals, rather than differences in theories and doctrines.

(IV) The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Thought and Culture

[56]Q: Buddhism has had a presence in China of nearly twenty centuries, developed 10-odd schools and has made significant, even splendid academic achievements. How has it influenced and affected Chinese thought and culture?

A: The theories of various Buddhist schools, through long-term research and widespread propagation, have had lasting influence on Chinese thinking. For instance, it is commonly acknowledged in philosophical circles that the Neo-Confucianism of the Song and Ming Dynasties was obviously generated, to a great extent, by the impetus and impact of the doctrines of Avataṃsaka, Chan, as well as other Buddhist schools. In the late Qing Dynasty, the study of Buddhism became fashionable among Chinese intellectuals. A number of leading scholars and pioneers of democratic movements, such as Tan Sitong, Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, and Zhang Taiyan made good use of some Buddhist ideas. Buddhist theories of love and compassion (Mettā-Karuṇā), equanimity (Upekkhā or samānatta), impermanence (Anicca) and egolessness (Anattā) inspired and encouraged the intellectuals at that time.

[57]Q: What is the impact of Buddhism on culture and the arts? In particular, what role has it played in Chinese literature?

A: Thousands of volumes of Buddhist scriptures translated from Sanskrit are themselves magnificent literary works. Among them, such works as *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, *Saddharma pundarīka-sūtra* and *Śūramgama-mahā-sūtra* have been particularly attractive to literature lovers through the dynasties. They read and study them specifically out of literary interest. Lu Xun, the great writer of modern China, donated funds to the Jinling Scripture Publishing House for carving and publishing *Sata-upamā-sutta*,

the admonitory stories which are still often translated into modern Chinese, published and enjoyed as literary works today. Buddhism has brought to Chinese literature numerous entirely new things unknown before—new spheres of meaning, new writing styles and new rhetorical methods. Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddha carita* set a model for long narrative poetry. The *Saddharmapundrīka-sūtra*, the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* and the *Sata-upamā-sutta* inspired the writing of novels in the Jin and Tang Dynasties. The thought of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* and of the Chan School influenced the poetry writing of Tao Yuanming, Wang Wei, Bai Juyi and Su Shi.

58Q: While Buddhism has exerted influence on the development of Chinese literature as mentioned above, what effects has it had on the development of Chinese literary styles?

A: To meet the need to extensively spread Buddhism, a peculiar style of literature, "Bianwen", evolved. It actually springs from a style of songs and odes popular in ancient times. Bianwen is the expression of Buddhist scriptures in common words for easily narrating and singing. Various Bianwen discovered inside the Dunhuang Caves are popular literary works whose ease, verve and richness of imagination contributed to the subsequent popular forms of Chinese literature such as Pinghua, novels and plays. Besides, another special style named Recorded Utterance, arose out of the records of conversations and inculcations of the Chan masters. This simple and lively oral style was later followed by the Neo-Confucianist scholars in the Song and Ming Dynasties and many such works were produced. In addition, in the field of Chinese Phonology, a system of phonetic letters known as "Fanqie" developed under the influence of the Sanskrit alphabet. This was popularly used in the old Chinese dictionaries. Generally speaking, the Buddhist manifestations in Chinese literary sphere are varied and colorful.

59Q: As is well known, the construction of pagodas and statues in China mostly originated from Buddhism. The achievements of Buddhist arts in this respect are world famous. Could you give a brief account?

A: With the introduction of Buddhism into China, the arts of pagoda construction and statue-making rapidly spread over every part of China. Early in the Three Kingdoms Period (2nd century AD) the pagodas

standing in the Longhua Temple in Shanghai and in the Baoen Temple in Suzhou were erected and rebuilt later. From the 4th to the 6th century, magnificent pagodas and temples appeared all over the country. The world-famous Buddhist grottos of Dunhuang, Yungang, Longmen and others that are equally important, are a treasure trove of ancient sculpture and murals. Ranging from Xinjiang in the west to Liaoning in the east, to the south beyond the Yangtze, these grottos were also begun during this period and the work lasted for centuries. In China, there are numerous forms of pagodas, but they largely fall into two categories: one is the Indian style with many variations, and the other is the Chinese style, adapted from the traditional style of pavilion. The study of temples and pagodas is a major part of the study of Chinese architecture. As for Buddhist images, they are made from many types of materials and with many techniques, including carved and engraved images of wood, stone, jade and ivory, statues cast in gold, silver, bronze and iron, clay sculptures, beaten metal plate statues, ramee tapestries, brick statues, ceramic statues, as well as embroidered and painted images. With the assimilation of Gandhāra and other Indian styles, the Buddhist art of sculpture has become a great cultural legacy that is distinctly Chinese.

[60]Q: Buddhist painting is world-famous. How many types are there?

A: Buddhist paintings are mainly murals. The mural paintings preserved in the Dunhuang Grottos furnish us with a wealth of information about the arts and their history. It is worth noting that the paintings of the Buddha's Jātaka story prevailing at the initial period gradually gave rise to the "Jingbian" paintings of the Tang Dynasty. Like Bianwen, its counterpart in literature, "Jingbian", was a representation of Buddhist stories and metaphors in paintings. the "Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Jingbian" and the "Sukhāvatī-sūtra Jingbian", in the Dunhuang Caves for examples, are splendid and vivid works. "Jingbian" paintings greatly enriched the contents of murals and mural art reached a climax in the Tang Dynasty (618—906 AD). Famous painters came forth in large numbers. Among the dozens whose names have come down to us, Yan Liben, Wu Daozi and others, were mostly engaged in Buddhist paintings, which shows the role Buddhism played with painting at the time. The development of Chinese paintings from scholar-painters' works represented by Wang Wei's group to freehand brush works prevailing from the Song and Yuan

Dynasties is closely associated with the thought of the Paññā and Chan schools. Buddhist etchings also came into existence very early, along with the printing of Buddhist texts. The oldest etchings existing today in China are illustrations seen in Tripiṭaka texts. Buddhist images engraved in stone, dating from the Tang Dynasty, can be seen in the stone-carved scriptures in Fangshan county today. Besides, since the Song and Yuan Dynasties, paintings of Avalokiteśvara, Arahats as well as landscape paintings have also been very popular.

61Q: Does Buddhism also have its own tradition in such areas as music, astronomy, medicine, etc.?

A: Yes. Along with Buddhism there came a tradition of astronomy, music and medicine. Ven. Yixing, an ancient astronomer who was commemorated in 1955 with the special issue of stamps in his honor, was a Buddhist monk in the early 8th century. He was a disciple of Śubhakarasiṃha, who came to China from India to propagate Esoteric Buddhism. Yixing made remarkable contributions to astronomy by writing the famous Astronomic book *Da Yan Calendar*, and determining the meridian, etc. While in the field of medicine, according to the records of the Sui and Tang Dynasties, more than ten Indian works on medicine and pharmacology were translated. The Tibetan Buddhist canon includes Cikitsā-vidyā (science of medicine). With respect to music, Buddhist singing—Bhāṣā—was already current in China as early as the 2nd century. At the beginning of the 7th century, the Piao Kingdom (located in the present-day Myanmar) presented to China 10 pieces of Buddhist bhāṣās, together with a troupe of 32 players. Chinese music in the Tang Dynasty absorbed elements from Buddhist countries including India, Kucīna (today's Kucha), Kasmīra, Samarkand, Piao and Champa. Some Tang music is still preserved in Buddhist temples today.

62Q: Buddhism advocates the benefit of all sentient beings, What kinds of social welfare are Buddhists engaged in? And what achievements have been made?

A: Buddhists are engaged in a wide range of social welfare work. Some monks took up the medical profession and distributed medicine; some built bridges and roads, some dug wells voluntarily and established free schools; some planted trees—all these are frequently mentioned in

records made by the ancients. Planting of trees, especially, was a remarkable success. Take a look at places throughout our country where Buddhist pagodas and temples stand. Always there are green trees and grassy meadows presenting a tranquil and exquisite environment and attractive scenery. Red walls and green tiles, magnificent monasteries and pavilions against the luxuriant-green background add to the beauty of our splendid land. The natural beauty of many tourist resorts in China is enhanced by the exquisite architecture and verdure of these monasteries.

These facts show that Buddhism has not only come, itself, to blossom in China, but has contributed bountifully to all spheres of our culture. We Buddhists should all feel proud of the glorious achievements and contributions made by our predecessors. They advanced not only the cause of Buddhism, but also the cause of human culture, as well as friendship among mankind. They not only translated thousands of volumes of sūtras and śāstras, and wrote numerous immortal works, preserving the very precious common cultural legacy of China, India and other peoples, but also enthusiastically spread and exchanged the fruits of the labor and wisdom of different nations, thereby enriching the culture of their respective nations. Today, particularly with the ever-increasing development of friendly cooperation among the Asian nations, the historic achievements resulting from the arduous endeavors of the Buddhist predecessors, not only have revived their splendor, but are constantly playing new positive roles.

(V) Carrying Forward the Advantage of Popular Buddhism

[63]Q: Buddhist theory is broad and profound, and its metaphysical philosophy is difficult for those who have an average education and comprehension to learn and understand. So how can we combine the Buddha Dhamma with the realities of people's daily life and benefit the construction of social morals and spiritual civilization?

A: Though the Buddha Dhamma is too extensive and profound to be fully understood and accepted by ordinary people, it can be comprehended on

different levels. Just as the early Buddhist scriptures proclaimed: the Mahāyāna doctrines were not to convince and be mastered by average people. The Buddha Dhamma has different levels of approach and numerous modes of practice which can be adapted to suit different gifts. Thus it is reasonable and practical for various yānas, schools and sects to have their own ways of teaching to meet the needs of the ordinary people.

64Q: What is the Five-vehicle (Pañca-yāna) Buddha Dhamma? What are the Worldly Conditions or things (Loka-dhamma) and the Super-mundane Conditions or things (Lokuttara-dhamma)?

A: The Five Vehicles (Pañca-yāna) consist of Human Vehicle, Heavenly Vehicle, Sāvaka Vehicle, Pacceka-buddha Vehicle and Bodhisatta Vehicle. The last three are referred to as the Super-mundane conditions or Lokuttara-dhamma, its doctrines are comparatively profound and difficult to learn; the former two, Human and Heavenly Vehicles, are the Worldly conditions or Loka-dhamma. The Worldly Conditions or theories are easy to study and should be followed by the common people. So it was named Popular Buddhism by the predecessors. The main contents of the Popular Buddhism are the Five Precepts (Pañca-sīlā) and Ten Good Acts or Ten Virtuous Deeds (Dasa-Kusalāni). The former involves abstaining from killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, lying and drinking intoxicants. Buddhism holds that these immoral conducts must be strictly prohibited. Hence the term Five Precepts. The Ten Good Acts, based on the Five Precepts, regulate the Three Kammas (body, speech and mind) in a total of ten ways. Pertaining to the body kamma, there are three items: avoidance of killing, stealing, sexual misconduct; pertaining to the verbal kamma are four items: avoidance of lying, slandering, rude speech and foolish babble; and to the mental kamma are three items: avoidance of covetousness, hatred and ignorance. These are Ten Good Acts, and the opposite is known as the Ten Bad Acts or Ten Unwholesome Deeds.

65Q: The precept of abstaining from killing sentient beings should be understood to mean that one should not kill good people. If there are felons who have committed atrocious crimes such as murder and arson, by law these are capital offenses. Should they be exempted from the

punishment?

A: Felons who commit murder or other atrocious crimes should be brought to justice for sure, because anyone who violates the law of the state must be punished according to law. This is nothing to do with any personal will. While the judge holds the power to pronounce sentences, he merely acts according to law, it is nothing personal. When Sākyamuni decreed that his followers abstain from taking life of beings he did it in terms of individuals. It was also intended to keep them from breaking the laws of the state. The Buddha never argued that the state should not punish criminals, but always admonished his disciples to abide by laws of the state. Here are two things of different nature, which must not be confused. When referring to the law of causality (hetu-phala), Buddhism often claims that good yields good returns while evil yields bad returns and that any debt of murder should be paid off. This shows that Buddhism does not run counter to temporal laws, but recognizes them. Such a spiritual principle applies to abstention not only from killing sentient beings, but also from covetousness and hatred. As to making wealth for the whole country and do good for the people, it is a great merit for the interest of mankind. However, it would be against the precepts for one to thirst for personal gain or do harm to others to revenge personal grudge. In brief, if everybody conducts himself according to the codes of the Five Precepts and the Ten Good Acts, people would live in peace and health, society would be stable and united, and the nation would prosper and thrive, leading to a world of peace and happiness with high spiritual civilization. This is the goal pursued by popular Buddhism.

66Q: It is said that according to the Mahāyāna doctrine, every sentient being is able to attain Buddhahood. Is there any connection between Popular Buddhism and the attainment of Buddhahood?

A: Mahāyāna Buddhism, indeed, believes that every sentient being is able to attain Buddhahood, but first, one must be a good and pure person. Only on the basis of being a good person, can one learn from Buddhas and attain Buddhahood. Just as Sākyamuni puts it,

Do no evil,

Do all that is good,

Purify your own mind,

This is all Buddhas' teaching.

What is meant by learning from Buddhas? It means to follow the Bodhisatta code of conduct. This is how preceding Buddhas attained their Buddhahood. For us too, to learn from Buddhas is just to follow the Bodhisatta code of conduct.

[67]Q: What is the Bodhisatta code of conduct?

A: The Bodhisatta code of conduct is to take the deliverance of all living beings as one's own responsibility, so, generally speaking, it is to learn the way of the Buddha above, and to convert all beings below. The practitioners of the Bodhisatta Code are required not only to vow their willingness to save all living beings, but also to see through and realize the impermanence and egolessness of everything in the world, to see that the whole world, particularly the history of human society, is an ever-flowing, changing and developing current without end. Nobody can stop or control this swift current in its torrential advance. Bodhisattas are aware that nothing can be done while drifting along this torrential tide of impermanent changes, but to do no evils, uphold all good, glorify the land and benefit sentient beings. Only thus can one take one's own destiny in hand, liberating oneself as well as others without being drowned in the ever-changing current of life and death, and finally leave the ocean of boundless suffering by the boat of Bodhisatta's Six Perfections (cha pāramitā). The *Avatamsaka-sūtra* reads that the Bodhisattas "compare all living beings to the root of a tree, all Buddhas and Bodhisattas to its flowers and fruits, they benefit all beings with the water of compassion (Karunā), and thus they attain the flowers and fruits of wisdom as Buddhas and Bodhisattas". It adds, "therefore, Bodhisattas belong among living beings, and without the latter all Bodhisattas would be unable to attain perfect Enlightenment (anuttara sammā-sambodhi)." So, only through benefit to others can one benefit oneself. This is the Bodhisatta's goal, in a dialectical point of view, of delivering all living beings for the sake of self-deliverance. This is also the concrete practice of the Buddhist world outlook of impermanence (anicca) and life outlook

of the Bodhisatta code. This is the theoretical basis for Popular Buddhism.

[68]Q: What are the Six Perfections (cha pāramitā)?

A: Charity (Dāna), Morality, or Abiding by discipline (sīla), Forbearance (Khanti), Effort, or energy (viriya), Contemplation (bhāvanā) and Wisdom (paññā) are known as the Six Perfections or the Six Ferries. They form the guidelines for the entire Bodhisatta code of conduct.

[69]Q: Please explain briefly the contents and significance of the Six Pāramitās.

A: Following the Buddha's teachings, the Buddhist disciples practising Bodhisatta Conduct not only have no desire for extra property, but give their own wealth to others—this is called Charity; all immoral behavior detrimental to others is strictly prohibited—this is Morality, or Abiding by the Precepts; bearing no malice to others, yet enduring malice or hatred directed against oneself with patience or necessary explanations—this is called Forbearance; work with energy on what should be done—this is called Effort; to banish all wrong views, to train one's mind to the state of whole-heartedly benefiting living beings is Contemplation; broadly learning and studying all knowledge and technology within or beyond the world is called Wisdom. These Six gate-ways are also known as the Six Ferries. When all these six are perfectly accomplished, it is called Pāramitā, meaning ultimate perfection, or reaching the other shore. Hence the ancient translation Ferry. The Buddha admonished his disciples to act according to the codes of the Six Perfections so as to benefit others as well as oneself, i.e. Bodhisatta Conduct. Bodhisattas take the Six Perfections as a ferryboat to deliver themselves and others across the ever-changing ocean of sufferings of birth and death, to reach the other shore of nibbāna with meritorious service. This is known as attaining Buddhahood, or the attainment of great salvation, great freedom, and eternally unchangeable enlightenment, happiness, ease and purification. This is the final outcome of the Bodhisatta Conduct of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Prior to attainment of Buddhahood, Bodhisattas learn from the Buddha to liberate living beings, which is the cardinal practice for the attainment of Buddhahood. After attaining Buddhahood one's task is to continue to deliver living beings. This is the focal point of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The significance of Bodhisatta Conduct of

Mahāyāna Buddhism lies in that, if everybody learns from the Bodhisatta code of conduct and walks along the Bodhisatta's way, no matter whether or not it will result in Buddhahood later, it certainly will be good for the nation and human society as it enables the people to consciously build up lofty moral virtues and actively build a spiritual civilization in which to serve the people is a pleasure. Let it serve to purify the human world, and build the Pure Land in it.

[70]Q: How do you see the prospects of Buddhism in the future?

A: Chinese Buddhism, with its history of nearly 2,000 years is a rich and splendid cultural heritage. In terms of its canonical culture, its achievements and experience and its international influence, Chinese Buddhism occupies a position that can hardly be ignored in the history of cultural development and progress of the civilization of mankind as a whole, whether in the religious or academic field. However, on the other hand, it has quite a few shortcomings and limitations due to the prolonged period of decline in the past. To overcome the contamination and difficulties it has inherited from history and actively develop its own fine traditions requires mainly the endeavors of Chinese Buddhists themselves. Training up successors, taking good care of key temples, promoting academic research and international exchange, all these are areas where urgent work needs to be done. Ours is a socialist country led by the Communist Party where the policy of freedom of religious belief, pursued by both the Party and government, is unchangeable, steadfast and unambiguous. After liberation, Chinese Buddhism has revived and developed from the verge of extinction to the present, with its mirror of the Dhamma shining once again, its torch rekindled, the image of Buddhas repainted, presenting all its majesty. Especially after the fall of the "Gang of Four", all work of restoration and consolidation is running smoothly, achieving great success within a short span of time. All this is inseparable from the correct implementation of the Party's policy of religious freedom, from the deep concern and strong support of the Party and the government.

Reflecting on the past in the light of present, I rejoice for Chinese Buddhism as well as Chinese Buddhists. I am firmly convinced that, as a beautiful flower of the classical Chinese culture and as a magnificent

monument to the time-honored spiritual civilization of the Orient, Chinese Buddhism will certainly keep pace with the reconstruction of our motherland, and will contribute a great deal to glorifying the land, benefiting the people, and peace on earth, progress and happiness for all mankind. Looking ahead, I see a splendid future with millions of flowers contending in beauty in the warmth of spring. The future of Buddhism is infinitely bright.

伍　佛教在中国的传播、发展和演变

（一）佛教的传入和经典的翻译

1问：佛教是什么时候传入中国的？

答：佛教传入中国的具体时间和年代，现在很难考定。最初传入时，不过在少数人中奉行，未必为上层官府和史官之流所注意。公元前2年，大月氏国（原居我国甘肃的一个强盛的少数民族西迁中亚后建立的国家）国王的使者伊存到了当时中国的首都长安（即今西安），他口授佛经给一个名叫景卢的博士弟子，这是中国史书上关于佛教传入中国的最早的记录。我们可推断，由于在此一百二十年前汉武帝开辟西域交通的结果，当时由印度传布到中亚细亚的佛教很可能早已通过行旅往来而向东方渐进。也有传说：在与印度阿育王（约公元前272—公元前226在位[1]）同时的秦始皇（公元前246—公元前210在位）时代，已有印度的沙门室利房等十八人来到我国咸阳。阿育王时举行第三次结集约在公元前250年，会后派大德赴各国传教，前来中国很有可能。另外，也有认为宋玉《高唐赋》和《史记·始皇本纪》[2]中的“羡门”即沙门的，但因无译述学说传世，无从确考。

2问：佛教最初传入的年代既是传说纷纭，很难考定，为什么一般公认是开始于汉明帝的求法呢？

答：史籍记载，汉明帝永平七年（公元64）派遣使者十二人前往西域访求佛法。公元67年他们同了两位印度的僧人迦叶摩腾和竺法兰回到洛阳，带回经书和佛像，开始翻译了一部分佛经，相传就是现存的《四十二章经》，是《阿含经》的节要译本。同时在首都建造了中国第一个佛教寺院，就是今天还存在的白马寺。这个寺据说也是以当时驮载经书佛像的白马而得名。根据这个传说来看，佛教的传入中国虽不始于汉明帝，而佛教作为一个宗教，得到了政府的承认崇信，在中国初步建立了它的基础和规模，可以说是始于汉明帝年代。公元73年班超使西域，以后三十六国内属，西域道路畅通，当时著名科学家和文学家张衡（78—139）写的《西

京赋》就提到“桑门”（即沙门），可见那时佛教僧徒的存在已开始成为引起文人学士注意的社会现象了。

[3]问：佛教传入中国的途径除了最初由陆路从西域而到关中之外，有无经由海路到达吴楚的可能？根据汉明帝的弟弟楚王刘英信奉佛教的情况来看，可以证明这一点。

答：我同意这个看法。据史籍的记载看来，当时楚地佛教的传播比起中原，似乎更盛一些。

[4]问：中国佛教什么时候开始有自己的出家佛教徒的？

答：中国很早就有了本国出家佛教徒，汉明帝听许阳成侯刘峻出家是最早的记载。但最初那些僧人仅是从师出家，剃除须发，照戒律生活，还没有受戒的制度；到公元250年来自中印度的昙柯迦罗在洛阳白马寺正式建立戒坛传戒，中国才开始有了如法的比丘。由于没有外国比丘尼到来，最初女人出家为尼的也只是剃发罢了；稍后从大僧受戒，还不具备完全的受戒制度。到公元429年，由斯里兰卡先后来了以铁萨罗为首的十九位比丘尼，才使她们的受戒具备完全的条件；从此，中国才有了如法如律的比丘尼。

[5]问：佛经的翻译始于何时？

答：佛教在中国的弘传是和佛经的翻译事业分不开的。最早的翻译，前面已经提到，摩腾、竺法兰在汉明帝时开始翻译过《四十二章经》，据说还有一些别的经。这就是最早的翻译。

[6]问：以后，汉代还有哪些著名的翻译家？

答：在初期（公元二、三世纪）的译师中，我们不能不提到安息国（在今伊朗一带地方）的安世高，月氏国的支娄迦谶，康居国（在今苏联吉尔吉斯地区）的康僧铠、康僧会，和一位有月氏人血统的最早西行求法者之一的中国僧人竺法护，同时还有朱士行于公元260年西行求法。由于他们的努力，不少声闻乘的和大乘的经藉被翻译为汉文。

[7]问：这些译师所传译的经典有什么不同？

答：他们中间主要有两个系统：一是小乘学派，以《阿含经》和“禅数”之学为主，可以安世高为代表；二是大乘学派，以《般若经》和净土信仰为主，可以支娄迦谶为代表。两派同时并行。

8问：那时的翻译对后来的佛教有什么影响或作用？

答：当时翻译事业还在初创时期，限于各种条件，还未能进行有计划有系统的翻译，所译的经书很少是全译本，而翻译文体也还没有能够确立，但是他们已经出色地做到了开辟园地的工作，为佛教在中国思想界树立了地位，并且扩大了影响。

9问：佛教传入后有不少人研习弘传，中国僧界出现过什么样的重要人物曾促进佛教的发展？

答：佛教在中国的广大流行，开始于四世纪，当时中国僧界道安法师是一位重要人物，是起了很大积极作用的佛教领袖。他是我国最早的热心传教者，曾经派遣徒众到各地大弘佛教。他又是我国第一个僧伽制度建立者。他努力寻求戒律，以补当时律藏不齐全的缺陷，并制定了当时全国风从的僧尼轨范（中国僧人出家后，废除原有姓氏，一律以“释”为姓，是由道安提倡并从他开始的）。他整理了已译出的经典，撰成了中国第一部“经录”；他极力奖励翻译事业，并第一次总结了翻译的经验。在他的主持下，翻出了许多重要经论，集中和培养了许多学者和翻译人才，为后来鸠摩罗什的大规模翻译事业准备了有利条件。

10问：佛教的确立，首先在于戒律，经过道安的努力，以后还有哪些律部的传译？

答：道安和他的弟子们寻求戒律的热心，对于律藏的充实起了很大的推动作用。道安在世时，已经得到大量的戒本，并且翻译了其中的一部分，可惜那些书已经失传了。之后不久，来自克什米尔的弗若多罗和昙摩流支，先后帮助鸠摩罗什译出了萨婆多部《十诵律》，这部律得到鸠摩罗什的老师卑摩罗叉在江西大为弘扬；佛陀耶舍（也是克什米尔人）在公元410年又译出了昙无德部《四分律》；奉佛音尊者之命，由斯里兰卡来到中国的僧伽跋陀罗译出了《善见律毗婆沙》。五世纪初法显法师游历天竺，主要也是为寻求戒律而去的。法显法师是大家都知道的中国古代伟大的求法者和旅行家，他的不朽的“游记”和其它方面的成就，可能容易令人忽视他最初求律的动机和这方面的成就。他除带回许多书籍外，并且带回了《摩诃僧祇律》和弥沙塞部《五分律》，前者已由他自已和迦毗罗卫国（今尼泊尔）的佛驮跋陀罗译为汉文，后者则在他逝世后由佛陀什（克什米尔人）翻译了出来。另一位伟大的求法者，七世纪的义净，也是抱着学律的志愿而远游的。他

带回了而且译出了一切有部的十一种著作，从而使律藏大为完备。因此汉文译出的律藏有《四分律》六十一卷，《一切有部律》一百五十七卷，《十诵律》六十一卷，连同各部的羯磨文和戒本及解释律文的诸论，先后译出而现存的约五百卷。后世中国高僧们关于律部的著作，现存的也有五百卷以上。至于中国比丘戒的传承，在南北朝时代，北方传《四分律》，南朝是《十诵律》，及隋朝统一中国，政治上以北统南，佛教戒律也是这样，从隋代起，一直只传北方昙无德部的《四分律》。藏语系佛教地区向来是传一切有部律，傣族地区则流传着与斯里兰卡、缅甸等国相同的上座部律，与《四分律》（法藏部律）同一源流。

11问：关于律藏翻译流传的历史和情况，听到上面所谈，已经知道大概了，请再谈一谈经藏和论藏大规模有系统的翻译是从什么时代什么人开始的？

答：佛教经论大规模有系统的翻译，应该说是开始于五世纪初的鸠摩罗什。

12问：鸠摩罗什的翻译事业比以前有哪些特点？对后来的佛教和中国思想文化起了什么样的作用？

答：鸠摩罗什的翻译事业，有着前人所未有的优越条件，那就是当时政府（姚秦）的大力支持和有在道安影响下产生的具有高度文化修养的一大批义学僧人的辅助。但是他的伟大成就是由于他有丰富的学识和持久的努力。这一位有印度血统在今天中国西北（新疆库车）出生的智慧卓越的大师，是中印两大民族共同的光荣。他和后来的玄奘法师是翻译事业中两大巨匠，他所译出的三百多卷典籍，不仅是佛教的宝藏，而且也是文学的重要遗产，它对中国的哲学思想和文学上的影响非常巨大。在他的讲授和指导下，造就了成千的人才，使当时的佛教得到大大的提高和发展。

13问：前面说过，罗什的翻译是有系统的，不知是属于哪一个系统？

答：就佛学方面来说，鸠摩罗什最重要的贡献是在于对由龙树创立的中观系统典籍的介绍。由于他的努力，这一系的经论著作，如《中论》、《百论》、《十二门论》、《维摩经》、《法华经》、《大品般若经》、《小品般若经》、《金刚经》等，以及《大品般若经》的解释——《大智度论》，都传到中国来，为中国法性宗开辟了广大的基地。其次，鸠摩罗什还译有声闻乘中的一部重要论著——《成实论》，起初与中观三论（或“四论”，加《大智

度论》）相辅流行，之后逐渐形成了独立学派，在南北朝期间盛极一时，后人称为成实师。这一学派在声闻乘中是比较接近大乘的一系。

[14]问：鸠摩罗什之后还有哪些著名的翻译大家，又是属于什么系统？

答：鸠摩罗什的译业进行于公元401—413年间，主要是全面系统地介绍了大乘空宗龙树、提婆的学说。罗什之后，重要译师来者相继，主要经论不断译出。如觉贤于公元418—421年译出《华严经》，昙无谶于421年译出《大般涅槃经》，求那跋陀罗于443年译出《楞伽经》等。这些经典的译出对中国佛教义学的发展产生了重大的影响。公元六世纪初菩提流支来华（508）创译大乘有宗无著、世亲一系的论典，其中 《十地经论》影响尤大，传习者形成地论师一派（分南北两道）。以后真谛三藏（498—569）于公元546年来华，563年译出无著的《摄大乘论》和世亲的《释论》，564年译出世亲的《俱舍论》，566年到567年又重译《俱舍论》。真谛不仅是翻译大家，而且也是一位义学大师，来华日久，擅长中国语言，所译经论，随翻随讲，弟子记述成为义疏，传习之者称为摄论师及俱舍师。真谛到中国后二十余年遭逢兵乱，于颠沛流离中仍能译出一百数十卷重要经论，形成中国佛教的重要义学派别，是罗什以后玄奘以前二百余年中贡献最大的译师。

[15]问：唐代玄奘是传译瑜伽学派的，真谛也是传译瑜伽学派的，对比之下，他们译传瑜伽学有什么不同？

答：据玄奘所传，戒贤生于公元528年，可以推定护法约生于530年。而真谛生于498年，故真谛长于护法三十余岁。又真谛译有陈那著的《无相思尘论》（即玄奘译的《观所缘缘论》）和《解拳论》（即义净译的《掌中论》）。陈那是世亲的弟子而为护法之师，可见真谛是介于陈那、护法之间的佛教有宗大师。玄奘所传以护法的学说为正义，其门下传述以真谛之学及地论师之说为旧说或旧译，而称玄奘所传为新译，古人（唐灵润）归纳有十四义不同。如旧译认为一切众生悉有佛性，新译则认为有一分无性（佛性）有情；旧译认为佛果理智不二，新译则认为理智各别（即分断、智二果）；旧译于三性中遍计所执及依他起二性俱遮，新译唯遮遍计所执；旧译以缘起之本唯在第八识，新译则八个识及相应心所皆为缘起之本。又真谛译之《转识论》以阿陀那为第七识，新译则以为第八识。真谛所传之摄论宗更立第九识，新译则无此说。

总之，新旧两译同属有宗，宗旨相同，因时代先后，各成一家之言，义解稍有差异，也很自然。但真谛所译传之学在隋唐之际的中国佛教界曾激起很大波澜，因而引起了后来玄奘法师到印度去深入研究的动机。真谛来华后至玄奘赴印前的八十余年中（546—627），印度佛学也经历了剧烈的变化。最初护法和清辨兴起了空有之争，接着月称和清辨又同室操戈而使空宗分成为自续、应成两派，月称又和月官进行了长期的论战。护法的弟子法称也对祖师陈那的因明进行新的改革。学说总归是辨析日精后胜于前的，玄奘所承之学大体说来是较旧译更为精审的。

16问：你说到印度去深入研究法相瑜伽学的玄奘法师，是不是为大家所知道的那位到西天取经的“唐僧”或“唐三藏”？

答：是的。但“唐僧”、“唐三藏”用在一个人身上却是错误的。唐是当时我国的国号，这两个名词现代语来说就是中国僧人，中国的三藏法师。对佛教中人，这本来是常识问题，但社会上误解的人太多了，不能不解释一下。

17问：那么他的大概事迹请介绍一下好吗？

答：对于人人都知道的玄奘法师，是用不着详细介绍的了。这一位孤征十七载、独行五万里、足迹遍于西域、印度百三十国而且留下一部不朽的游记——《大唐西域记》的伟大旅行家，这一位通达中印文字、洞晓三藏教理、由留学僧而最后主持当时印度最高学府——那烂陀寺的讲席，受到了印度及西域各国国王和僧俗人民欢迎敬重的伟大的佛教学者，他以毕生精力致力于中印文化交流事业，译出经论一千三百三十五卷（约五十万颂），他的系统的翻译规模、严谨的翻译作风和巨大的翻译成果，在中国翻译史上留下了超前绝后的光辉典范。他的成就和贡献不仅在佛教方面，而且在学术方面，都是非常重大的。他不仅比较全面地系统地译传了大乘瑜伽有宗一系的经论，而且把空宗的根本大经——《大般若经》二十万颂也完全翻译过来；又把小乘说一切有部的重要论典几乎全译过来。另外，他又独得印度一位罕有的佛教天才大师护法菩萨的秘传之作，如和会空有两宗的《广百论释》和编入《成唯识论》的护法正义，印度都无传本。由此可见，他实际上已成为印度佛学发展到最高峰的首屈一指的集大成者。故在戒日王为他举行的十八日无遮大会上，他高踞狮座，陈义立宗，无人敢出而与他对场争锋。因此，大乘学者共尊他为“大乘天”（Mahāyānadeva，即“大乘的神”），为祖国赢得了当时两大文

明古国间学术上最高的荣誉。

百余年后，日本僧人金刚三昧（公元818年前后在华）游印时看见中印的僧寺中都画有玄奘所着的麻履（即麻鞋）及所用的匙、筯，以彩云烘托，“每至斋日辄膜拜焉”（见段成式《酉阳杂俎·前集》卷三及《续集》卷二）。可知印度当时佛教界已把玄奘的麻鞋当作佛的足迹一样敬重、供养了。一个学者在外国享到这样高的尊敬，除了各大宗教的教主，历史上尚无第二人。直到现在日本佛教学者仍然认为玄奘法师这样的人才，只有中国这个伟大民族才能产生出来，玄奘法师确实是我们民族的光荣和骄傲。

18问：历史上像玄奘法师这类人物，可否再介绍一、二？

答：再举法显和义净法师。前面提到，法显法师于公元399年，以六十五岁高龄发迹长安，涉流沙、逾葱岭，徒步数万里，遍游北印，广参圣迹，学习梵文，抄录经典，历时多年，复泛海至师子国（今斯里兰卡），经耶婆提（今印度尼西亚）而后返国。时年已八十岁，仍从事佛经翻译。他著有《佛国记》，成为重要的历史文献。义净法师稍晚于玄奘，取道南海去印度求法，经时二十五载，凡历三十余国，寻求律藏，遍礼圣迹。回国后翻译经律五十多部二百多卷，撰有《南海寄归传》及《大唐西域求法高僧传》。法显、义净和玄奘法师一样，都是以大无畏的精神，为法忘身，冒九死一生的艰险，为求真理而百折不挠，鲁迅称赞他们为中华民族的脊梁确非过誉。他们为我们伟大民族争得了荣誉，为灿烂的东方文化增添了异彩，为佛教的发扬光大建立了不世出的奇勋。他们是不朽的翻译家、思想家和旅行家，他们对祖国文化的发展和提高都有不可磨灭的贡献。

19问：除前面所讲的几点之外，历史上曾有许多人从事佛典的翻译弘传，还有哪些著名的代表人物？

答：中国汉语系佛教翻译事业持续了十个世纪（二至十一世纪），翻译过来的经律论三藏共有一千六百九十余部，六千四百二十余卷，著名的本国和外国来的译师不下二百人。除前面提到的诸人之外，如印度的昙无谶、佛驮跋陀罗、菩提流支，巴基斯坦的阇那崛多和施护，阿富汗的般若，柬埔寨的曼陀罗仙和僧伽婆罗，以及斯里兰卡的弘传密教的不空三藏等都是大家所熟悉的。通过这样多的人持久不懈的辛勤努力，把佛教的声闻乘、性、相、显、密各系统的学说都介绍到中国来，从而形成了中国佛教的巨大宝

藏。1954年中国全国文学翻译工作者会议上，作家协会主席茅盾在他的报告中说：“我国的翻译事业，是有悠久历史和光荣传统的。我们的先辈在翻译佛经方面所树立严谨的科学翻译方法，及其所达到的卓越成就，值得我们引以为骄傲，并且奉以为典范。”毫无疑问，中国古代的翻译事业，给灿烂的汉民族文化创造了巨大的精神财富，在世界上是无可匹敌的。它是我们足以自豪的优秀文化传统之一。

但是，我们还必须指出常常容易忽略然而非常重要的另外一面。我国自古以来就是一个多民族的大家庭，各个兄弟民族在创造全民族的文化中都做出了重大的贡献和出色的成绩，在佛教方面尤其如此。西藏在吐番王朝时期，由于文成和金城两公主的下嫁，引进了盛唐文化和佛教的信仰，并创制了通用至今的文字。到持松德赞时期，迎请了印度当时最著名的显教学者寂护、莲花戒和密宗大师莲华生等建寺立僧，从事系统的翻译；同时又由沙州和向唐朝请去汉僧传授禅宗，讲经说法；到赤热巴中（即巴黎可足或彝泰赞普，815—836在位）时，又迎请印度大德多人和西藏学者一起厘定译名，校正旧有译文，补译大量经论。公元十世纪以后西藏开始了佛教后弘期。直到1203年印度超戒寺及各大寺被入侵军破坏，三四百年间印度和西藏两地传法求法的大德往来不断。

举其最著名者，如出生于孟加拉的阿底峡尊者（982—1053），是印度当时学德最高的大师，于1042年应请至藏，创立迦当派。其学说为后来宗喀巴大师（1357—1419）所继承，创立了格鲁派（即黄教），遍传藏、汉、蒙广大地区。又西藏的玛尔巴曾三度赴印学法，创立了迦举派（即白教），此派在明代曾长期掌握西藏地方政权。世界知名的西藏圣人弥拉日巴即此派的第二代祖师。其余译经传法的大德难以备举。自公元八世纪中叶至十三世纪中叶五百年间，西藏译出的三藏经籍就已收入甘珠、丹珠两藏计算，部数五千九百余种，分量约合三百万颂，约当汉译一万卷。在藏译藏经中重译甚少，故实际内容大大超过汉译藏经。其中尤以空有两宗的论典以及因明、医方、声明的著作和印度晚期流行的密教经论，数量庞大，为汉译所未有。由于藏文翻译照顾到梵语语法的词尾变化和句法结构，因而极易还原为梵语原文，所以受到现代佛学研究者的高度重视。

另外，在清代曾进行满文大藏经的翻译。近代还发现西夏文大藏经以及回鹘文佛经的残卷。还有，我国的傣族文化一向不为人所

知，解放后才发现傣族有非常丰富的傣文著作，其中即包含有南传巴利三藏的傣文译本。由此可见，我国各族文字的大藏经是人类文化史上极为罕有的巍峨丰碑，其中凝聚了多少世代人的聪明智慧和辛勤劳动，体现了我们民族的坚韧精神和伟大气魄，这是我们可引以自豪的无价的精神宝藏。现在我国决定校勘出版《大藏经》作为整理古籍的重要项目之一。这是我们佛教界值得引以为庆的大喜事，也是国际文化学术界所衷心仰望、企盼已久的大喜事。

（二）佛教各宗派的兴起

20问：佛教传入中国，经过长期的弘扬和传播，有哪些发展变化，又有哪些学术成就？

答：随着大量经论的传来，印度佛教各部派思想与我国民族文化相接触，经过长时期的吸收和消化，获得了创造性的发展。公元六世纪末至九世纪中叶的隋唐时期，是中国佛教极盛时期，在这时期，思想理论有着新的发展，各个宗派先后兴起，呈现百花争艳的景象。

21问：中国佛教有哪些宗派，可否请简单介绍一下？

答：过去中国佛教出现过许多派别，现在流行的主要有八宗：

一是三论宗又名法性宗，

二是瑜伽宗又名法相宗，

三是天台宗，

四是贤首宗又名华严宗，

五是禅宗，

六是净土宗，

七是律宗，

八是密宗又名真言宗。

这就是通常所说的性、相、台、贤、禅、净、律、密八大宗派。

22问：这八宗各有哪些不同的主要宗义，想请您简略地分别介绍一下。首先请问，三论宗为什么要叫“三论”宗，它的主要教义是什么？

答：此宗主要依据鸠摩罗什译的《中观论》、《百论》、《十二门论》研究传习而形成的宗派，因为是依据中观派三《论》立的宗，所以叫做三论宗。它的教义以真俗二谛为总纲，以彻悟中道实相为究竟。

23问：什么是真俗二谛？什么叫中道实相？

答：二谛的“谛”字是真实的意思，从法性理体边说的叫真谛，从缘起现象边说的叫世俗谛。从俗谛说事物是有，就真谛说诸法是空，所以真俗二谛也叫空有二谛。色即是空，空即是色，色空不二，真俗不二就是中道，也叫诸法实相，这就是此宗的中心思想。此宗着重从真空理体方面揭破一切世出世间染净诸法缘起无自性，五阴十二处等虚妄不实，彻底破除迷惑，从而建立起无所得的中道观，以求实现其无碍解脱的宗旨。这一宗，实际就是印度龙树、提婆中观学说的直接继承者。

24问：瑜伽宗为什么叫瑜伽宗，它的主要教义是什么？

答：瑜伽宗是由印度弥勒、无著、世亲创立的宗派。此宗主要依据有《解深密经》、《瑜伽师地论》、《成唯识论》等，因为是依弥勒说、无著记录整理的《瑜伽师地论》为根本教典而立的宗，所以叫瑜伽宗。我国玄奘法师译传此宗并糅译十师之说为《成唯识论》，故此宗又称法相唯识宗，亦称慈恩宗。它的教义以五法三自性，八识二无我为总纲，以转识成智（转依）为宗旨。

25问：什么叫五法三自性、八识二无我？

答：五法是：一名、二相、三分别、四正智、五如如；三自性是：遍计所执性，依他起性，圆成实性；八识是：眼识、耳识、鼻识、舌识、身识、意识、第七末那识、第八阿赖耶识；二无我是人无我和法无我。“五法”是对世出世间一切法的概括，“名”和“相”指世间有为法皆有名有相，称为名相之法；“分别”指人们的主观能对事物分别认识；“正智”指圣人清净（无漏）实智；“如如”指如实智所对真如理境。“五法”不出染净和主客观，是以总括诸法。

三自性：

一是二取执着，无而谓有，起惑造业，名遍计所执；

二是三界心法，依他缘生，名依他起；

三是依他起上除遣二取所显二空真如为圆成实。

事物的性质不出此三种，所以叫三自性。

八识：

“识”是了别认识的意思，又叫心或意，每个有情都有这种心意识的认识作用，共有八种，就是前面列举的八种识。

二无我：每个有情或众生都没有永恒不变的实体（即一般所说的自我或灵魂）叫人无我；客观事物也没有恒常不变的实体（即自性或绝对的真实）叫法无我。二无我也叫作我、法二空。此宗教义深入分析诸法性相，阐明心识因缘体用，修习唯识观行，以期转识成智，成就解脱、菩提二果。此宗由玄奘法师译传而成立，是印度无著、世亲学说的直接继承者。

[26]问：天台宗的主要教义是什么？

答：此宗是以罗什译的《法华经》、《大智度论》、《中论》等为依据，吸收了印度传来的和中国发展的各派思想，重新加以系统地组织而形成的思想体系，因为创始人智毅，住在浙江天台山，所以叫天台宗。它的宗义以五时八教为总纲，以一心三观、三谛圆融为中心思想。

[27]问：什么叫五时？

答：此宗把释迦如来所说的经教，划分为五个不同的时期，称为五时教，就是华严时、阿含时、方等时、般若时、法华涅槃时。五时的名称都是佛经的名称，主张佛陀所说的经教不出这五个时期的范畴，所以叫五时。

[28]问：什么是八教？

答：此宗从教理的内容上把佛教分为浅深不同的四个级别，就是藏教、通教、别教、圆教，称为“化法四教”。藏教是声闻小乘教；通教，通前小乘，通后大乘，通大小乘的大乘初级名为通教；别教是纯大乘教，但分别诸法各别有碍名为别教；圆教是大乘圆融无碍、圆满无缺的法门称为圆教。藏、通、别、圆就是以从浅至深

为次第的四教。此宗又从佛陀说法的机感不同，将佛的教法分为顿、渐、秘密、不定四种，称为“化仪四教”。

[29]问：什么叫一心三观和三谛圆融？

答：三观是修行的观法，即空观、假观、中道观。此三观可以于一心中获得，名为一心三观。三谛圆融：真谛、俗谛、中道谛叫做三谛。此三谛举一即三，虽三而常一，说三说一是圆融无碍的，所以叫圆融三谛。一心三观，三谛圆融是圆教的教义，说明诸法无碍，事理圆融。天台宗以自宗为圆教，别的宗属前三教。此宗总结了以前各派的思想，将佛教教义加以精密的调整，发展了大乘圆教理论，展示了中国独创的大乘思想。

[30]问：贤首宗的主要教义是什么，为什么名为贤首宗？

答：此宗以《华严经》为根据，对《华严经》有深入的研究和精辟的阐发，是在前人（三论、天台、慈恩、地论师，摄论师等）学说发展的基础上形成的一个思想体系。创始人是七世纪末的贤首国师（法藏），所以叫贤首宗，又名华严宗。此宗以五教来判摄整个佛教，以六相、十玄、三观为它的中心思想。

[31]问：五教是哪五教？

答：一是小教，即声闻小乘教；

二是始教，即大乘开始初级阶段的教义；

三是终教，即大乘终极阶段的教义；

四是顿教，即大乘中顿超顿悟的法门；

五是圆教，即圆满无缺，圆融无碍的理论。

此宗把佛教分作浅深不同的五种教义，比前天台宗多加一种顿教，所以称为五教。

[32]问：什么是六相？

答：六相是：总相、别相、同相、异相、成相、坏相。这六相既同时表现在一切事物中，也同时表现在一个事物中；无论在一切事物中或在一个事物中，都是相反相成、同时具足、互融互涉、彼此无碍的，从此可以揭示出法界缘起的道理。

33问：什么叫十玄门？

答：十玄门是：

一、同时具足相应门，

二、因陀罗网境界门，

三、秘密隐显俱成门，

四、微细相容安立门，

五、十世隔法异成门，

六、诸藏纯杂具德门，

七、一多相容不同门，

八、诸法相即自在门，

九、唯心回转善成门，

十、托事显法生解门。

这十玄门总的意义是显示华严大教关于一切事物纯杂（染净）无碍、一多无碍、三世无碍、同时具足、互涉互入、重重无尽的道理。

34问：什么叫三观？

答：一是真空绝相观，二是事理无碍观，三是周遍含融观。六相、十玄、三观的建立，阐发了《华严经》的法界缘起、理事无碍、事事无碍、无尽圆融的教义。六相、十玄是就所观的法界之境说的，圆融三观是约能观之智说的。这种重重无尽、法界圆融的思想，虽说导源于《华严经》，而实际为中国所独创，它的法界缘起、一切无碍的学说大大发展了印度传来的大乘思想。

35问：禅宗的教义是什么？禅是什么意思？

答：禅是禅那（Jhāna）的简称，汉译为静虑，是静中思虑的意思，一般叫做禅定。此法是将心专注在一法境上一心参究，以期证悟本自心性，这叫参禅，所以名为禅宗。禅的种类很多，有声闻禅、有菩萨禅、有次第禅、有顿超禅。禅学方面，在中国有一支异军特起，那就是所谓“教外别传”的禅宗。这个宗所传习的，不是古

来传习的次第禅，而是直指心性的顿修顿悟的祖师禅。

36问：此宗是否也有典籍依据？

答：相传此宗的禅法是在六世纪初由印度的菩提达摩传来的。过去说：禅宗单传心印，不立文字，称为“教外别传”。但初祖达摩以四卷《楞伽经》传于二祖慧可作为印心的准绳，弘仁、慧能又教人诵持《金刚般若》，这样，《楞伽》、《般若》便是此宗的经典依据。以后更有《六祖坛经》和许多“语录”的出现，不能说禅宗没有经典依据。

37问：我曾见到过一些寺庙，都叫作某某禅寺，是不是禅宗在中国很兴盛？

答：是的，禅宗在中国是很兴盛的。在八世纪间，此派曾分为南北两宗，北宗神秀（约606—706）一派主张渐修，盛极一时，但不久便衰歇；南宗慧能（638—713）主张顿悟，后世尊为六祖，弘传甚盛。从唐到宋，南宗的禅师辈出，在此三、四百年中又分为五家七派，可想见其兴旺的景象。此宗和净土宗一样，一直是中国流传最广的宗派。

38问：南宗后来的五家七派是哪五家七派？

答：南宗六祖慧能弟子中，有南岳怀让（667—744）和青原行思（？—740）两大支系，由这两大支系又分成五宗七派。从南岳先分出一派外沩仰宗，次又分临济宗。青原行思一系分出三派：曹洞宗、云门宗、法眼宗。由两系分为五宗，以后又从临济宗分出黄龙、杨岐两派，合前五宗名为七派，都曾兴盛一时，经过一段时期有的就衰绝不传了。后来的禅宗只有临济、曹洞两派流传不绝，临济宗更是兴旺。近代所有的禅宗子孙，都是临济、曹洞两家后代。

39问：听说参禅打坐可以健康身体，却病延年，是这样的吗？

答：佛教在修习禅定的过程中，有一些调身调气、息心静坐的方法，是有强健身体、却病延年的作用的，但这不是佛教参禅静坐的目的。佛教修习禅观（包括各宗的修观），是为的制心一处，参究真理，以期显发智慧，彻见法性，此即所谓明心见性，解脱自在。至于静坐气功，只是修禅的形式或基础，却病延寿，也不过是修习禅观实践中的副产品，佛教并不专门提倡这些并以之为目

的。但初学静坐的人必须懂得这些调身调气的基本方法，使身心保持健康状态，避免禅病的发生，才能保证修习禅观的顺利进行。

40问：净土宗的宗旨教义是什么？

答：此宗是依《无量寿经》等提倡观佛、念佛以求生西方阿弥陀佛极乐净土为宗旨而形成的宗派，所以名为净土宗。此宗分佛陀说的法门为二道，即难行道和易行道，并说别的宗依戒定慧修六度万行，需经三大阿僧祇劫为难行道，说修净土法门一生至诚念佛，临命终时，仗承阿弥陀佛的愿力往生安养净土永不退转为易行道。因此，此宗主张劝人念佛求生西方净土极乐世界。

41问：此宗有哪些特点？

答：此宗的特点，简单易行，普能摄受广大群众。修学此宗不一定要通达佛经，广研教乘，也不一定要静坐专修，行住坐卧皆可称念“南无阿弥陀佛”，只要信愿具足，一心念佛，始终不怠，临命终时，就可往生净土。当然平时也要持戒诵经，广行众善以作助行。由于法门简便，所以最易普及。别宗的学者，也多兼修此法，因而使净土法门在中国得到特殊广泛的流行。

42问：律宗，顾名思义是着重学习和研究戒律的宗派吧？

答：是的，律宗主要是学习和研究戒律的。由于此一宗的盛行，中国僧人们在修学大乘的戒定慧三学中，仍然重视出家声闻乘的戒律。

43问：戒律都有哪些内容？

答：简单的说：戒律有声闻戒、有菩萨戒，这里所讲的律宗，是依声闻律部中的《四分律》，由终南山道宣律师一系所立的律宗。就戒条戒相说，有五戒、十戒、具足戒之分。五戒是出家，在家佛弟子共持的戒；十戒、具足戒是出家弟子的戒，这些在前面已经叙述，这里不多重复。各部律藏不只是戒相和制戒因缘，更大的部分是僧团法规、各种羯磨法（会议办事）、出家法、授戒法、安居法、布萨法、衣食法，以及日常生活小事，都有详细规定。因为时代的关系，环境的不同，许多戒律的规定，早已废弛不行了。菩萨戒有在家菩萨戒，出家菩萨戒。出家菩萨戒如《梵网戒经》有十重四十八轻戒，在家菩萨戒如《优婆塞戒经》有六重二十八轻戒。又总摄菩萨戒为三聚，三聚是三类的意思，称为三聚

净戒。一是摄律仪戒，是戒相，是“诸恶莫作”；二是摄善法戒，是“众善奉行”；三是饶益有情戒，是“利益一切众生”。中国主要是大乘佛教，所以这里也简单提一提菩萨戒律。以上是大小乘戒律的内容。

44问：《四分律》是声闻戒，八大宗里为什么有小乘宗？

答：《四分律》虽属小乘戒，但其文义通于大乘，自古就有“分通大乘”的说法。中国盛行大乘，以大乘教义解释律藏，摄小入大，就是大乘戒的组成部分，出家菩萨三聚净戒中的摄律仪戒就是以声闻戒为基础的。如杀、盗、淫、妄四根本戒，是大小乘共同遵守的。对于律学的研究，最重要的是善于分辨开、遮、持、犯，就是在出家戒条中，本来是不得触犯的，但在某种情况下可以开许，这叫开；在通常情况下又不得违犯的，就叫遮。在某种情况下，本人也不知是持戒还是犯戒，这就需要研究律学。律师根据律藏分辨清楚确定开、遮、持、犯的界限。在声闻戒中除四根本戒（杀、盗、淫，妄），或者还加十三僧残（尼戒是八根本十七僧残）必须严格遵守，不得违犯外，其它绝大部分的戒条，在特殊情况和必要情况下是可以开许的。例如“非时食”这一条戒，即通常过午就不许吃东西，而在劳作以后就允许吃东西。但如何开许，要依戒律来判定。可见佛教戒律不是死板的，除根本性戒外，都是具有灵活性的。

45问：密宗的教义是什么？

答：八世纪时印度的密教，由善无畏、金刚智、不空等传入中国，从此修习传授形成密宗。此宗依《大日经》、《金刚顶经》建立三密瑜伽，事理观行，修本尊法。此宗以密法奥秘，不经灌顶，不经传授不得任意传习及显示别人，因此称为密宗。

46问：什么叫三密瑜伽？什么叫本尊法？

答：本尊（S. Satyadevatā, P. Saccidevatā）是学者选择自己最敬爱最尊崇的一尊佛、一位菩萨或者一位明王，作为学习成就的对象或榜样，就叫本尊。要成就本尊的所有功德智慧，就要修习三密瑜伽法。三密就是身、口、意三业，瑜伽（yoga）译为相应。三密瑜伽，就是三业相应。与谁相应？就是修行者自己的身口意与本尊的身口意三业相应。修法时，修行者要身作本尊的姿态，手结印契，口诵本尊真言，意作本尊观想或种子字，务使自己的三业与本尊的三密相应，名为瑜伽修法。此法如果修成，可以即身成就

本尊之身。密教的修法很多，这只是举一个例证。此宗最高理论还是以性空无相的法性理体为基础，所谓阿字本不生，不生就是空义。

47问：听了您的介绍，我对佛教八宗有了一点简单的了解。八宗以外，还有哪些别的学派？这既称为八大宗派，是不是还有什么小宗派？

答：八宗以外还有以《俱舍论》为主的学派叫俱舍宗；专讲《成实论》的学派称成实宗。成实、俱舍都属小乘教，唐以后不甚流行。八宗之外若加这两派便成十宗。此外，还有弘扬《涅槃经》的涅槃师，专讲《摄大乘论》的摄论师，专讲《十地经论》的地论师。这些学派初兴都曾盛极一时，但为时不久便失去传承，或者汇入其它宗派。

48问：各宗派兴起后，在弘传的过程中有些什么样的曲折变化？

答：各宗的发展情况是不平衡的，发展变化也不一样。有的宗派初兴起时流传很盛，而后来渐衰，这就是三论宗。此宗经过陈隋兴皇法朗和嘉祥吉藏的大力弘扬，在隋、陈、初唐时，流传之广，几乎遍及全国，但以后便逐渐衰落。有的起初流传不广，后来却很盛行，如天台宗。此宗在天台智者和章安成宗之后，流传地区仅限于浙江东南一带，师资传承不绝如缕，一百多年后到荆溪湛然始号称中兴。有的宗派一直在发展流传，从未有衰歇过，这便是禅宗。此宗有大成就的人多住在山林中，自耕自食，对于社会的依赖性不大，也不需要太多的典籍，所以虽遭会昌之难，影响不大，一直传承下来，并有很大的发展。有的宗派绝而复苏，很多的宗派都是这样，在会昌灭法之前，各宗先后都已兴起，相比之下，虽各有兴衰的不同，但都同时流行于世。到九世纪后期唐武宗会昌（845）年间灭法，所有的经书佛像毁坏殆尽，各宗的章疏典籍大都丢失无存。十世纪时天台宗的著作又从朝鲜传回来，贤首宗的典籍也恢复一部分。所以从五代以来，天台、贤首二家又算复兴。其余中观、瑜伽以及密宗的许多著作流传域外，到了清末，性相二宗的章疏才由日本重返故国。近半个多世纪以来，上述八宗都有人研究讲说，有复苏的趋势。总观诸宗历史，隋唐是各宗兴起和极盛时代，会昌法难后，除禅宗外，是诸宗衰亡时代。稍后有天台、贤首的复兴和禅宗的大发展，这可算是佛教复兴的时代，但也没有初唐中唐那样的盛况。自元代起西藏佛教传入内地，很受朝廷的崇奉，但未普及民间，而汉地原有佛教则不

及宋时兴盛。有清一代，汉地佛教没有什么起色，仅可保持原有的余绪。

49问：唐末以来，佛教逐渐衰落，直到清代还是如此，但从清以来，佛教似乎有复兴之势，出了不少人才，不知近代佛教有哪些著名人物？

答：近代的佛学提倡者首推杨仁山（1837—1911）。为了培养人才和扩大佛典流通，便利佛学研究，他用了几十年的光阴，致力于讲学和刻经事业。他所创办的金陵刻经处曾经刊印了由日本取回的我国已经遗失的性、相诸宗的重要著作，因而使性、相两宗的教义得以复兴。金陵刻经处同时又是讲学场所，谭嗣同、章太炎等都在那里听过他的讲，在他的培育影响下产生了一些佛教学者，其中特出的是欧阳竟无居士，专治法相唯识之学，他在南京举办的支那内学院，成为当时法相学的重要研究场所。与欧阳齐名的法相研究的提倡者有北京三时学会的韩清净居士。

50问：听了上面的介绍，了解这几位德高望重的居家大士对于近代佛教的贡献确实巨大，是值得后学称赞学习的。但同时在出家菩萨中有哪些著名高僧弘传佛教？请略为介绍。

答：近代高僧中著名人物有月霞、谛闲、印光、弘一、虚云等，他们分别弘扬贤首、天台、净土、律宗、禅宗。还有积极从事整理僧伽制度，提倡僧伽教育，宣扬大乘精义，发扬佛教文化事业最有力的圆瑛法师和太虚法师。圆瑛是一位宗说兼通、禅净双修、精研《楞严》的大德，他热爱祖国、热爱佛教，一生讲经、建寺、兴办各种福利事业，奖掖引导后学，不遗余力。太虚是一位教海渊深的佛学通家和弘扬佛教的积极活动家，在他的倡导带领下，涌现了一大批弘法的僧伽人才。他们对我国近代佛教事业的发展做出了不可磨灭的贡献。我国佛教自唐武宗毁法（844）以来义学凋敝，达千余年，经过近百年中僧俗大德学者的努力而渐有起色，这是值得庆幸的。但是，和目前国外的佛教学术研究事业的兴旺情况相比，我们还有很多工作亟待进行。如何恢复我国佛教在盛唐时期波澜壮阔声华腾蔚的光荣地位，以与祖国当前的伟大时代相适应，还需要佛教界有识有志之士发大愿心，继承先德未竟之业，作出艰苦卓绝的努力。

以上就是中国汉族佛教各宗的兴起、弘传和盛衰变化的大概情况。

（三）少数民族地区的佛教

51问：听了您的介绍，知道了汉地佛教的大概轮廓，不知我国西藏佛教是什么时期传入的，是经什么人弘扬起来的？

答：我国藏语系佛教开始于七世纪中叶。当时的西藏松赞干布（Sroṅ-bstan sgam-po）藏王，在他的两个妻子，唐文成公主和尼泊尔毗俱胝（Bhṛkuṭi，藏名尺尊khri-btsun）公主共同的影响下皈依了佛教。他派遣大臣端美三菩提（Thonmi sambhoṭa）等十六人到印度学习梵文和佛经，回来后创造了藏语文字并开始翻译了一些佛经，到了八世纪中叶藏王持松德赞（Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan）迎请莲华生（Padmasaṃbhava）由印度入藏，折服了原来盛行的本教（Bon-po），佛教于是得到了弘扬。

52问：后来发展的情况怎样？

答：莲华生入藏之后，首先建立了桑耶寺，度僧出家，成立僧伽，并请译师从梵文翻译大批佛典，同时也从汉文翻译一些佛经。据现在的登嘎尔目录（布敦认为是持松德赞王府所编），当时译出的大小显密经律论有738种（内从汉文转译的32种），故当时佛教流传是很兴盛的。但在九世纪中叶，西藏佛教曾一度遭到破坏，即所谓朗达玛灭法，曾有一段时间（842—978）佛教沉寂了。后来由原西康地区再度传入，西藏佛教又得复苏。十一世纪时有孟加拉佛教大师阿底峡（Atīśa）入藏（1042），又大弘佛法，同时藏族比丘仁钦桑波（rin-chen bzaṇ-po，宝贤）等翻译了很多的经论。西藏史上称朗达玛灭法之前为前弘期，之后重兴的佛教为后弘期。

此后印度的佛教学者，特别是遭遇变乱时期（1203年印度比哈尔省的佛教各大寺庙被入侵军全部毁坏）的那烂陀寺、超戒寺等的学者，来到西藏的很多，传译事业因而很盛，藏文大藏经近六千部中绝大多数是直接由梵文翻译的，少数是从汉文转译的。因此，印度后期佛教的论著保存在藏文藏经里的，极为丰富。尤其是因明、声明、医方明等论著数量庞大，非常重要。西藏的佛法以密教最为普遍，最为突出，这是大家所熟知的。在显教方面，西藏格鲁派（黄教）各大寺都推行以因明、俱舍、戒律、中观、

瑜伽（现观）五科佛学为中心的教学制度，从玄奘、义净的记载来看，可以说这是继承了当初印度那烂陀寺遗留的学风和规范。

53问：前面提到过，我国还有巴利语系佛教，其弘传情况怎样？

答：巴利语系佛教（上座部佛教）流传于我国云南省傣族、布朗族等地区，那里人民的佛教传统信仰与南方佛教国家（泰国、缅甸等）大致相同，属巴利语系佛教。因为他们直接读诵巴利语文经典，所以用不着有翻译之劳。那里，若干世纪来能保持如法如律精进修学的原始佛教的优良传统，还是值得欣喜赞叹的。

54问：汉语系佛教有许多宗派建立，藏语系佛教是否也有不同的宗派？

答：藏语系佛教先后也有不同的宗派产生。由于传承、传译、讲说和依据的不同，也逐渐形成了若干大小的教派。有从前弘期传承下来的宁玛派，有阿底峡传给敦巴一系的迦当派，有玛巴译师传给弥拉日巴一系的迦举派，有卓弥译师传给昆宝王一系的萨迦派，有由宗喀巴改革创建的格鲁派（又名嘎登派）。此外还有些传布不广，影响不大的派别，如觉囊派、希结派、觉宇派、霞鲁派等。这些教派，各有他们自己特殊的学说和修持方法。尤其是格鲁派，是十四世纪末宗喀巴大师（1357—1419）继承上代的传承，在学说上加以整理和发扬，在僧伽制度上加以整顿和改革而创立的教派——黄教，在当前蒙藏族地区最为盛行。

55问：巴利语系佛教在我国是否也有派别的不同？

答：中国巴利语系的佛教也有几个不同的派别，但这些派别只是在持戒律仪方面要求有所不同，而不是学说教义上的派别。

（四）佛教对中国思想文化的影响

56问：佛教传来中国将近两千年，思想体系发展演变成十多个派别，可说是学术成果灿烂辉煌，这对中国的思想文化起过什么样的影响和作用？

答：佛教各宗派学说，经过长期的研究和广泛的弘扬，对中国思想界曾起了不可磨灭的影响。举宋明理学为例，很明显，它是在很大程度上受了华严、禅宗和另一部分佛教理论的刺激和影响而产生

的，这是思想界公认的历史事实。在晚清时期，中国知识界研究佛学成为一时普遍的风气。一些民主思想启蒙运动者，如谭嗣同、康有为、梁启超、章太炎等学术名流，都采取了佛教中一部分教理来作他们的思想武器。佛教的慈悲、平等、无常、无我的思想，在当时的知识界中起了启发和鼓舞的作用。

57问：佛教对文化艺术有什么样的影响，比如说，对中国文学起过什么样的作用？

答：数千卷由梵文翻译过来的经典，本身就是伟大、富丽的文学作品。其中如《维摩诘经》、《法华经》、《楞严经》特别为历代文人们所喜爱，被纯粹地为着文学目的而研读着。我国近代文豪鲁迅曾捐款给金陵刻经处，刻印了一部《百喻经》。这部经所叙的譬喻故事，常常被译为语体文发表在今天的报刊上，作为文学作品来欣赏。佛教为中国的文学带来了许多从来未有的、完全新的东西——新的意境、新的文体、新的命意遣词方法。马鸣的《佛所行赞》带来了长篇叙事诗的典范，《法华》、《维摩》、 《百喻》诸经鼓舞了晋唐小说的创作，《般若》和禅宗的思想影响了陶渊明、王维、白居易、苏轼的诗歌创作。

58问：佛教对我国文学的发展有所影响已如上说，但不知对中国文体的变化起了哪些作用？

答：为佛化普及的目的而盛行于古代的歌呗产生一种特殊的文学——变文，这就是把佛经内容演为便于讲唱的通俗文词。敦煌石窟发现的各种变文，都是文词酣畅想像力都非常丰富的大众化的文艺作品。从这些作品中，可以看出后来的平话、小说、戏曲等中国俗文学的渊源所自。此外还有由禅师们的谈话和开示的记录而产生的一种特殊文体——语录体。这种朴素而活泼自由的口语文体，后来被宋明理学家仿效而产生了各种语录。此外还有音韵学，如过去中国字典上通行的反切，就是受梵文拼音的影响而发展起来的。总之，佛教在中国文学领域中的表现是丰富多彩的。

59问：建塔造像，大家知道，多数来源于佛教，佛教在这方面的艺术成就是举世闻名的，可否请重点介绍一下？

答：随着佛教的传入，建塔造像的艺术很快地便风行于中国各地。现存的上海龙华寺塔和苏州报恩寺塔，都是在公元二世纪三国时代创建而经后人重修的。四世纪到六世纪，全国各地都有壮丽的塔寺建筑。世界闻名的佛教石窟寺，如敦煌、云冈、龙门以及其它同

等重要的石窟寺——这些古代雕塑壁画艺术的宝库，西至新疆，东到辽宁，南到江南，都是在这一时期开始动工的，随后继续了数世纪之久。在中国，塔的形式很多，大致可归纳为两类：一类是印度式的，但也有许多变化；一类是中国式的，主要是采用中国原有的楼阁形式而建筑的。研究中国建筑艺术，寺塔是其中主要部分。至于佛教造像，在取材与造法上种类也很多，有石窟造像，有木、石、玉、牙的雕刻像，有金、银、铜、铁的铸像，有泥塑像，有锤鍱像，有夹紵像，有砖像，有瓷像，有绣像，有画像。它吸收了犍陀罗和印度的作风而发展成为具有中国民族风格的造像艺术，是我国伟大的文化遗产。

60问：佛画艺术也很著名，都有哪些类别？

答：佛教绘画主要是壁画。现存于敦煌石窟中的壁画，供给我们非常丰富的艺术和历史的资料。值得注意的是，最初盛行的佛陀本生故事画，发展到唐代，逐渐为“经变”画所代替。正如文学中有变文一样，佛画中的“经变”，也就是将佛经中的故事譬喻演绘成图，如敦煌石窟中的演绘《维摩经》的“维摩变”，演绘净土经的“净土变”等，都是十分精彩生动的伟大作品。经变画的兴起，使壁画内容大为丰富起来，因而唐代佛寺壁画之盛，达到极点。当时名画家辈出，在姓名有记载的数十人中，如阎立本、吴道子等，大多是从事于佛画的。由此可见佛教对当时绘画艺术所起的作用。中国画学中由王维一派的文人画而发展到宋元以后盛行的写意画，则与般若和禅宗的思想很有关系。佛教版画，随着佛经的刊印而很早就产生了，现在所看到的中国最早的版画是在大藏经上面的佛画。房山石经中有唐代的石刻线条佛画。宋元以来的观音画、罗汉画以及水陆画等都是很流行的。

61问：佛教是否也有音乐、天文、医药等技艺的传习？

答：伴随佛教俱来的也有天文、音乐、医药等的传习。1955年我国发行邮票纪念的古代天文学者一行，就是八世纪初的一位高僧，是由印度来华弘传密教的善无畏的弟子。他在天文学方面著有《大衍历》和测定子午线等，对天文学有着卓越的贡献。至于医药，隋唐史书上记载由印度翻译过来的医书和药方就有十余种，藏语系佛教中并且有医方明之学。再说音乐，公元二世纪时，中国已有梵呗的流行。七世纪初，在今缅甸境内的骠国赠送给中国佛曲十种，并派来乐工三十二人。中国唐代的音乐中吸收了天竺乐、龟兹乐、安国乐、康国乐、骠国乐、林邑乐等来自佛教国家的音

乐，唐代音乐至今还有少部分保存在某些佛教寺庙中。

62问：佛教主张利益众生，不知在社会公益事业中从事哪些种类？有过哪些成就？

答：佛教徒从事公益事业的面是很广泛的，也是多种多样的，如有的僧人行医施药，有的造桥修路，有的掘义井、设义学，有的植树造林，这在古人记载中是屡见不鲜的。特别是植树造林，成就卓越。试看我国各地，凡有佛教塔寺之处，无不翠枝如黛，碧草如茵，环境清幽，景色宜人。一片郁郁葱葱之中，掩映着红墙青瓦，宝殿琼阁，为万里锦绣江山平添了无限春色。我国许多旅游胜地，其风景自然之美与寺僧的精巧建筑和植树造林显然是分不开的。

这些事实说明佛教在中国不仅其本身发扬光大开出灿烂的花朵，而且延伸到民族文化的各个领域结出丰硕的果实。我们佛教徒应该为我们的先辈的卓越成就和贡献感到光荣和自豪。他们不仅在佛教事业上，而且在人类文化事业上，人类友好事业上都建立了不可磨灭的功绩。他们不仅翻译了几千卷的经论和写下了许多不朽的著作，为中国和印度及其他民族留下了宝贵的共同遗产，而且热心地相互传播了各自民族的劳动和智慧的花果，从而丰富了各自民族的文化宝藏。特别是在亚洲各国的友好合作日益恢复发展的今天，我们佛教先辈们辛勤努力所做出的许多历史业绩，不但重新显发了它的光辉，并且继续起着新的积极作用。

（五）发扬人间佛教的优越性

63问：佛法教理，博大精深，义理幽玄，文化不高和悟解力差的人很难学习领会，怎样才能使佛法结合人们生活实际，有补于社会道德，精神文明的建设？

答：诚然，佛法博大渊深，不易为人们所了解接受，但也不能一概而论。佛经早已明言，大乘教理不是一般人都能信解的。佛法有浅深程度不同的各种法门，有适应各种根基的修持方法，各乘、各宗、各派都有引摄世间的教法适合一般人的需要，是合理契机的。

64问：什么是五乘佛法？什么是世间法和出世间法？

答：人乘、天乘、声闻乘、缘觉乘、菩萨乘这叫五乘。其中后三种叫出世间法，教理深奥，比较难学；前二人天乘教是世间法。世间法是世人易学而能够做到的也是应该做到的，前人名之为人间佛教。人间佛教主要内容就是：五戒、十善。五戒是：不杀生、不偷盗、不邪淫、不妄语、不饮酒。佛教认为，这类不道德的行为应该严格禁止，所以称为五戒。十善是在五戒的基础上建立的，约身、口、意三业分为十种。身业有三种：不杀、不盗、不邪淫；口业有四种：不妄语欺骗，不是非两舌，不恶口伤人，不说无益绮语；意业有三种：不贪、不嗔、不愚痴。这就叫十善，反之就叫十恶。

65问：不杀生戒，应不许杀好人，假使有杀人放火，罪大恶极，负有命债的坏人，这种人依法应当抵命，难道这种恶人也不许杀他吗？

答：对罪大恶极，负有命债的杀人犯，应当绳之以法。这是因为触犯国家法律，应按法律制裁，而不是哪个人要杀他。法官虽有判决权，那是依法判决，不是法官个人的事。释迦牟尼为弟子制戒，不许弟子们杀生害命，这是就个人说的，同时也是为了避免触犯国家法律。佛陀从来没有说过国家法律对坏人的制裁有什么不对，总是教诫弟子遵守所在国的法律的。这是根本不同的两回事，不能混为一谈。佛教讲因果律时常说：善有善报，恶有恶报，杀人一定要偿命。这就说明了佛教是不会违反世间法律的，而是承认世间法律的。不杀生是这样，不贪、不嗔也是这种精神，若是为国家生财，为人民谋利，这是利益众生的事，是大好事。若是为个人贪财，为私人泄忿而害人，那就为戒律所不许。总之，假使人人依照五戒十善的准则行事，那么，人民就会和平康乐，社会就会安定团结，国家就会繁荣昌盛，这样就会出现一种和平安乐的世界，一种具有高度精神文明的世界。这就是人间佛教所要达到的目的。

66问：据闻，大乘佛法说一切众生都能成佛，这种人间佛教，和成佛有什么关系？

答：大乘佛教是说一切众生都能成佛，但成佛必需先要做个好人，做个清白正直的人，要在做好人的基础上才能学佛成佛。这就是释迦佛说的，

“诸恶莫作，

众善奉行，

自净其意，

是诸佛教。”

怎样叫学佛？学佛就是要学菩萨行，过去诸佛是修菩萨行成佛的，我今学佛也要修学菩萨行。

67问：什么是菩萨行？

答：菩萨行总的来说是上求佛道，下化众生，是以救度众生为己任的。修学菩萨行的人不仅要发愿救度一切众生，还要观察、认识世间一切都是无常无我的，要认识到整个世间，主要是人类社会的历史，是种不断发生发展、无常变化、无尽无休的洪流。这种迅猛前进的滚滚洪流谁也阻挡不了，谁也把握不住。菩萨觉悟到，在这种无常变化的汹涌波涛中顺流而下没有别的可做，只有诸恶莫作，众善奉行，庄严国土，利乐有情，这样才能把握自己，自度度人，不被无常变幻的生死洪流所淹没，依靠菩萨六波罗蜜的航船，出离这种无尽无边的苦海。　《华严经》说，菩萨以“一切众生而为树根，诸佛菩萨而为花果，以大悲水饶益众生，则能成就诸佛菩萨智慧花果”。又说，“是故菩提属于众生，若无众生一切菩萨终不能成无上正觉。”所以，只有利他才能自利，这就是菩萨以救度众生为自救的辩证目的，这就是佛教无常观的世界观和菩萨行的人生观的具体实践，这也是人间佛教的理论基础。

68问：什么是六波罗蜜？

答：布施、持戒、忍辱、精进、静虑、智慧六种就叫六波罗蜜，也叫六度。这六度是菩萨万行的纲领。

69问：请略解说六波罗蜜的内容和意义。

答：根据佛陀的教导，修学菩萨行的佛弟子，不但不贪求分外的财物，还要以自己的财法施给别人，这叫布施；一切损害别人不道德的行为严禁去作，这叫持戒；不对他人起嗔害心，有人前来嗔害恼我，应说明情况，要忍辱原谅，这叫忍辱；应该作的事情要精勤努力去作，这叫精进；排除杂念，锻练意志，一心利益众生，就叫静虑；广泛研习世出世间一切学问和技术，就叫智慧。这六种法门通常也叫作六度。这六件事做到究竟圆满就叫波罗蜜，波罗蜜意为事究竟，也叫到彼岸，古译为度。佛陀叫弟子依这六波罗

蜜为行动准则以自利利人，就叫菩萨行。菩萨以此六波罗蜜作为舟航，在无常变化的生死苦海中自度度人，功行圆满，直达涅槃彼岸，名为成佛。菩萨成佛即是得大解脱、得大自在，永远常乐我净。这就是大乘佛教菩萨行的最后结果。菩萨成佛之前，学佛度众生，以度众生为修行佛道的中心课题，成佛之后还是永远地在度众生，这就是大乘佛教的中心思想。菩萨行的人间佛教的意义在于：果真人人能够学菩萨行，行菩萨道，且不说今后成佛不成佛，就是在当前使人们能够自觉地建立起高尚的道德品行，积极地建设起助人为乐的精神文明，也是有益于国家社会的，何况以此净化世间，建设人间净土！

70问：你对今后佛教前途的发展是怎样看的？

答：存在了将近两千年的中国佛教，是拥有内容丰富绚丽多采的文化遗产的。论它的典籍文化，论它的成绩经验，论它的国际影响，无论作为宗教或学术来看待，中国佛教在全人类的文化发展和文明进步的历史中都有不容忽视的地位。但是另一方面，由于过去长期的衰落，中国佛教也存在着不少的缺点和局限。如何克服历史所给予的污染和困难，积极发扬自己的优良传统，主要在于当前中国佛教徒本身的努力。如培养传灯人才，管好重点寺庙，开展学术研究和国际交流等等都是要立即抓好的大事。我们是共产党领导的社会主义国家，党和政府保护宗教信仰自由政策是长期不变的，坚定不移的，毫不含糊的。解放以后全国佛教从奄奄一息的状态中得到复苏和发展，宝镜重光，法炬复燃，像设严饰，气象万千。尤其是粉碎“四人帮”以来，一切恢复整顿工作顺利进行，短短数年之中取得了有目共睹的巨大成绩。所有这一切都是和党的宗教信仰自由政策的正确贯彻，党和政府的亲切关怀和大力支持分不开的。

抚今思昔，我深为中国佛教庆，深为中国佛教徒庆。我深信，作为灿烂的民族古典文化的绚丽花朵，作为悠久的东方精神文明的巍峨丰碑，中国佛教必将随祖国建设事业的发展而发展，并在这一伟大事业中，为庄严国土，为利乐有情，为世界人类的和平、进步和幸福作出应有的贡献。瞻望未来，前程似锦，春回大地，万卉争妍，佛教的前途是无限光明的。

[1] 阿育王（公元前272—公元前226　在位），根据目前通行的说法，阿育王在位时间为公元前272—公元前232 年。

[2] 《史记·始皇本纪》，应为《史记·秦始皇本纪》。

Appendix: Buddhist terms in Pāli, English and Chinese

附录：巴、英、汉佛教术语对照表

(By chapter and question number 按章排列。章内按问题排列)

	Pāli	English	汉语
1	佛陀和佛教的创立		
1	Saṅgha	Monastic Order	僧团
	Buddha	Enlightened One	佛
	Dhamma	Dharma, Buddhist Doctrine	佛法
2	dhamma	every thing	法
	pakati	attribute	性质
	lakkhaṇa	appearance	相状

	Pāli	Pali language	巴利语
3	Siddhattha	Siddhartha (person's name)	悉达多
	Gotama	Gautama (family name)	乔达摩
	Sākya	the Sākya clan	释迦族
	Sākyamuni	sage of the Sākya	释迦牟尼
4	Sambodhi	enlightenment	正觉
	Sammā-sambodhi	Perfect enlightenment	等觉或遍觉
	anuttara Sammā-Sambodhi	Supreme enlightenment	圆觉或无上觉
6	tathatā	suchness	真如
	Yathābhūtaṃ	according to the reality	如实
	Tathāgata	coming according to the reality	如来
7	Amita	Boundless	无量
	Amitābha (S.)	boundless light	无量光

8	namo	salutation or homage	敬礼，顶礼
9	Kapilavatthu	Kapilavastu (Kingdom)	迦毗罗卫国
	Suddhodana	Suddhodana (person)	净饭
	Māyā	(mother of the Buddha)	摩耶（佛的生母）
	Lumbinī	Lumbini Grove (birthplace of the Buddha)	蓝毗尼花园
10	Tipiṭakācariya	Triple-Text Master	三藏法师
	Asoka	King Aśoka	阿育王
11	Prajāpati (S.)	Princess Prajapati	波阇波提夫人
	Rāja Cakkavattin	a king who can unify the world, or a "wheel-turning king"	转轮王
12	Veda	Veda (scriptures)	吠陀书
13	Yasodharā	Princess Yasodhara	王女耶输陀罗
	Rāhula	(the Buddha's son)	罗怙罗

14 Koṇḍañña	Kauṇḍinya (S.) (person)	憍陈如
Bhaddiya	Bhadrika (S.) (person)	跋提
Vappa	Vāṣpa (S.) (person)	跋波
Mahānāma	Mahānāma (S.) (person)	摩诃男，大名
Assaji	Aśvajit (S.) (person)	阿说示，马胜
Nerañjarā	Lilaian River	尼连禅河
Bārāṇasī	Benares City (Varanasi)	波罗奈城
pippala	pippala tree	毕钵罗树
kusa	auspicious grass	吉祥草，香茅草
Kilesa	moral affliction	烦恼
Māra	the evil one	魔障
15 Buddhagayā	(the place of Buddha's enlightenment)	菩提伽耶
Bodhi (tree)	Bo-tree	菩提树
Gayā	Gaya City	伽耶城

	Vajrāsana	diamond pedestal	金刚座
	thūpa	pagoda	塔
	Mahābodhi Ārāma	Mahabodhi Monastery	大菩提寺
16	Dhammacakkappavattana	turning the wheel of Dharma	转法轮
17	cakka	wheel	轮
	Rāja	king	国王
	Rajacakkavattin	the Wheel-turning King	转轮王
	Dhammacakka	the wheel of Dharma	法轮
	Sārnāth Mṛgadāva	Deer Park (place)	鹿野苑
	Kusināra	place where the Buddha passed away	拘尸那伽
18	Tiratana	the Three Gems	三宝
19	ratana	gem	宝
	saṅgha	buddhist order	僧团

20	Tisaraṇa	the Three Refuges	三归依处
	Saraṇaṃ gacchāmi	abiding	归依
21	Magadha	Magadha Kingdom	摩揭陀国
	Kassapa	Kāśyapa (S.) (person)	迦叶
	Rājagaha	Rājagṛha (S.) (place)	王舍城
	Sāriputta	Śāriputra (S.) (person)	舍利弗
	Mahāmoggallāna	Mahāmaudgalyāyana (S.) (person)	摩诃目犍连
	Mahākassapa	Mahākāśyapa (S.) (person)	摩诃迦叶
	Nanda	Nanda (person)	难陀
	Ānanda	Ānanda (person)	阿难陀
	Devadatta	Devadatta (person)	提婆达多
	Rāhula	Rāhula (person)	罗怙罗
	Upāli	Upāli (person)	优波离
	Vinaya bhānaka	master of Buddhist disciplines (title)	佛教戒律学大师

Prajāpati	(person)	波阇波提
bhikkhu	monk	比丘
bhikkhunī	nun	比丘尼
upāsaka	male lay follower	邬波索迦（信男）
upāsikā	female lay follower	邬波斯迦（信女）
22 Sāvatthī	Śrāvastī (S.) (place)	舍卫城
Kosala	Kośala (ancient State)	拘萨罗国
Bimbisāra	King Bimbisāra	频毗娑罗王
Veḷuvanārāmaya	Bamboo Grove Monastery	竹林精舍
Sudatta	Sudatta (person)	须达多
Jeta	Prince Jeta	祇陀王子
Jetavanārāmaya	Jeta Grove Monastery	祇园精舍
Gijjhakūṭa	Gṛdhrakūṭa Hill	灵鹫山
Vesālī	Vesali (place)	毗舍离城
Kusiṇāra	Kuśinagara (S.) (place)	拘尸那伽

	Parinibbāna	(Buddha's) passing away	涅槃
	nibbāna	nirvana	涅槃
24	Vassa	the Rainy Season Retreat	雨安居
	Cunda	Cunda (person)	纯陀
	sala	sala tree	娑罗树
	Subhadda	Subhadra (person)	须跋陀罗
	sarīra	the remains of the dead after cremation	舍利
27	Theravãdin	Elders'	上座部佛教的
28	Vesākha (S. Vaiśākha)	the Buddhist Holy Day	佛教节日 （三吉祥日）
30	Madhya Deśa (S.)	the Middle Kingdom of ancient India	中国（古印度一国家）
31	Vajji	Vṛji (Kingdom)	跋耆国
33	varṇa (S.) (P. vaṇṇa)	caste	种姓

	Brāhmaṇa (S.)	Brahmin (caste)	婆罗门
	Kṣatriya (S.)	Ksatriya (caste)	刹帝利
	Vaiśya (S.)	Vaisya (caste)	吠舍
	Śūdra (S.)	Sudra (caste)	首陀罗
	Caṇḍāla	Candala (caste)	旃陀罗
39	Manu-Smṛti (S.)	Manu Code	《摩奴法典》
	Sarvadarśana Saṃgraha (S.)	Manuals of Public and Domestic Rites	述记氏法论
	Prasenajit	(person)	波斯匿王
40	dāna	offering	供，布施
41	aniccā	impermanence	无常
43	Veda	Veda (scriptures)	吠陀经
	Atta	Ego	我

saṃsāra	rebirth	轮回
44 Nigaṇṭḥa Nātaputta(S.)	(person's name)	尼乾子
Jaina (S.)	Jainism	耆那教
Purāṇa Kassapa	(person's name)	富兰那迦叶
Makkhali Gosāla	(person's name)	末迦梨
Ajita Kesakambala	(person's name)	阿耆多
Pakudha Kaccāyana	(person's name)	婆鸠多
Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta	(person's name)	散若夷
Mahābhūta	great elements	大种
45 paṭiccasamuppāda	dependent origination	缘起
kamma	karma	业
Hetu-phala	Cause and effect	因果
Tayo addhā	Three periods of time (past, present, future)	三世
Gati	realm, world	道、界

Deva-gati	the realm of deities	天界
Manussa-gati	human realm	人界
Asuratta	asura realm	阿修罗界
Naraka-gati	hell	地狱
Peta-gati	ghost realm	饿鬼道
Tiracchāna-yoni	animal world	畜生道
Cattāri mahābhūta	the blending components of four elements	四大
Brahmā	Brahma	梵天

2 佛法的基本内容和佛教经籍

1 Dhamma	Doctrine	法
Cattāri-ariya-saccāni	Four Noble Truths	四圣谛
Dukkha-sacca	The Truth of Suffering	苦谛
Samudaya-sacca	The Cause of Suffering	集谛
Nirodha-sacca	The Extinction of Suffering	灭谛
Magga-sacca	The Path Leading to the Cessation of Suffering	道谛

	Paṭiccasamuppāda	Dependent origination	缘起
2	Hetu	Cause	因
	Paccaya	Condition	缘
4	dhamma	phenomenon	现象
6	sarīrika-thūpa	relic pagoda	舍利塔
	gāthā	verse or ode	偈颂
	kalasa	water-dish crest	露盘
	Dhammakāya-sarīra Gāthā	Ode of Sarīra	法身舍利偈
7	Assaji	Aśvajit, one of Buddha's first five disciples (The name literally means "victory of horse")	阿说示，最初五比丘之一，意译是“马胜”
	bhikkhu	monk	僧
	Sāriputta	Sāriputra (person)	舍利弗
	Moggallāna	Maudgalyāyana (person)	目犍连

	Samaṇa		沙门
8	Khaṇa	an instant—a brief unit of time	刹那
12	Anattā	Egolessness	无我
	Satta	Sentient being	有情
	Atta	Ego, equivalent to "soul"	自我，灵魂
	cha dhātuyo	the Six Great Elements	六大
	Paṭhavī	Earth	地
	Āpo	Water	水
	Tejo	Fire or heat	火
	Vāyo	Air	风
	Ākāsa	Space	空
	Viññāṇa	Consciousness	识
	Khandha	Heap or group	蕴
	Rūpa	Corporeality	色

Vedanā	Feeling or sensation	受
Saññā	Perception	想
Saṅkhāra	Mental formation	行
Pañc' indriyāni	The Five Roots	五根
Pañcāyatana	The Five Objective Sources of Sensation	五境
Dukkha	Pain	苦
Sukha	Happiness	乐
Adukkha-m-asukha	Neutral feelings	不苦不乐
13 Nāmarūpa	name and form	名色
Dhātu	sphere, realm	界
Mahā-bhūta	great element	要素
14 Phala	effect, fruit	果
Saṃsāra	cycle of birth and death	轮回
15 Anicca	Impermanence	无常

	Aniccā vata saṅkhāra	All things are impermanent	诸行无常
	Uppādavaya dhammino	They are subject to birth and death	是生灭法
	Uppāda (or jāti)	Origination	生
	Ṭhitika	Maintenance	住
	Jarā (or aññathatta)	Destruction	异
	Nirodha	Cessation	灭
	Sāssata diṭṭhi	Belief in eternity	常见
16	Saddhamma	The Period of True Dhamma	正法时期
	Saddhamma-paṭirūpaka	The Period of lmage Dhamma	像法时期
	Saddhamma-vippalujjati	The Period of Termination	末法时期
18	Abhidhammakośa-śāstra	Commentary of Abhidhamma	阿毗达磨俱舍论
	Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra	Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom	大智度论
	Kumārajīva	(person)	鸠摩罗什
19	Sabbe saṅkhārā aniccā	All phenomena are impermanent	诸行无常

	Sabbe dhammā anatta	All dhammas are devoid of self	诸法无我
	Lakkhaṇa	Characteristics of Dhamma	法印
20	Sāsava	Defiled dhammas	有漏
21	Āsava	Taint or canker	漏
	Kilesa	Affliction	烦恼
	Rāga	Greed	贪
	Dosa	Anger or hate	嗔
	Moha	Delusion	痴
	Avijjā	Ignorance	无明
	Māna	Arrogance	慢
	Vicikicchā	doubt	疑
	Micchā-diṭṭhi	Wrong views	恶见
	Uccheda-diṭṭhi	Annihilation-view	断见
	Kāya-kamma	Actions of the body	身业
	Vacī-kamma	Actions of speech	语业，口业

Mano-kamma	Actions of the mind	意业
Kamma	Actions	业
22 Saṅkhāra	Mental formation	行
Saḷāyatana	Six sense bases	六入
Phassa	Contact between sense organs and sense objects	触
Taṇhã	Desire	爱
Upādāna	Grasping	取
Bhava	Coming into existence	有
Jāti	Birth	生
Jarā-maraṇa	Old age and death	老死
Upekkhā	Neither pleasant nor unpleasant	不苦不乐
Atta-abhinivesa	Affirmation of self	我执
23 Anāsava	No flux, no-defilement	无漏
Suddha-ñāna	Undefiled, pure wisdom	不染污的清净智

Sopadhi-sesa-nibbāna	Nirvana with corporal remainder	有余涅槃
Nirupadhi-sesa-nibbāna	Nirvana without remainder	无余涅槃
24 Ti-sikkhā	The Threefold Learning	三学
Sīla	Morality	戒
Samādhi	Concentration	定
Paññā	Wisdom	慧
Upasampadā	the higher ordination	具足戒
Sāmaṇera	Novice	沙弥
Bhikkhunī	Nun	比丘尼
Saṅgha	Congregation of Monks and Nuns	僧团
Parinibbāna	pass away	大般涅槃
Kāma	Sense-desire	爱、欲
Cattāri jhānāni	Four stages of trance	四禅
Cattāro arūpa-samādhi	Four higher stages of non-material trance	四无色定

Nava anupubbavihāra Samāpattiyo	Nine stages of meditation	九次第定
Tayo samādhi	Three kinds of meditation	三昧
Sabhāva lakkhaṇa	Self nature	自相
Samañña	Common characteristics	共相
Pahīna-kilesa	Dispelling illusions	断除迷惑
Adhigama	Attaining truth	证悟真理
Bodhipakkhiya-dhamma	ways to enlightenment	三十七道品
Satipaṭṭhāna	Mindfulness	念住
Padhāna	Right efforts	勤
Iddhi-pāda	Roads to power	神足
Indriya	faculties	根
bala	Mental powers	力
Bojjhanga	Factors of Enlightenment	觉支
magga	Path	道
Sammā diṭṭhi	Right view	正见

	Sammā sankappa	Right thought	正思
	Sammā vācā	Right speech	正语
	Sammā kammanta	Right bodily action	正业
	Sammā ājiva	Right livelihood	正命
	Sammā vāyāma	Right effort	正精进
	Sammā sati	Right mindfulness	正念
	Sammā samādhi	Right concentration	正定
25	Ekottarikāgama	(name of scripture)	增一阿含
	Rāja cakkavattin	Wheel turning king	转轮圣王
27	apratiṣṭhita-nirvāṇa (S.)	active nirvana	无住涅槃
	Mettā	Great loving-kindness	慈
	Karuṇā	Compassion	悲
	Pāramitā	Perfection	度
	Cattāri Saṃgaha-vatthūni	Four all-embracing virtues	四摄

28	Bodhisatta	Bodhisattva	菩萨
29	Dāna	charity	布施
	Abhaya dāna	Givings that free one from fear	无畏施
	Khanti	Patience	忍
	Viriya	Effort and progress	精进
30	Peyyavajja	Kindly speech	爱语
	Atthacariyā	Beneficial conduct	利行
	Samānattatā	Equality	同事
31	vidyā (S.)	knowledge	明（知识）
	Śabda-vidyā	Phonology and philology	声明
	Śilpakarma-vidyā	All technology, techniques, arithmetic, etc.	工巧明
	Cikitsā-vidyā	Medical science and pharmacology	医方明
	Hetu-vidyā	Logic	因明
	Adhyātma-vidyā	Buddhist studies	内明

32	Suññatā	Emptiness	空
	Atta	Self	我
35	Mahākassapa	(person)	摩诃迦叶
	Sattapaṇṇi-guhā (P.) Sapta-parṇa-guhā (S.)	(place)	七叶窟
	Rājagaha	(place)	王舍城
	Tipiṭakā	Three baskets	三藏
	Ānanda	(person)	阿难陀
	Upāli	(person)	优婆离
	Saṃgīti	Buddhist Council	结集
36	Mañjuśrī	(a Boddhisattva)	文殊师利（菩萨）
	Maitreya	(a Boddhisattva)	弥勒（菩萨）
37	Vesālī	vaiśāli (place)	毗舍离
	Yasa Thero	Elder priest	耶舍长老

aṭṭhakathā	commentary	注释
Moggaliputta Tissa	(person)	目犍连子帝须
Pāṭaliputta	Patna (city)	波吒利弗城，华氏城
Kuṣāṇa	(kingdom)	大月氏国
Vasumitta	(person)	世友
Mahāvibhāsā	(a commentary)	大毗婆沙
38 Dīpavaṃsa	The History of the Island of Ceylon	锡兰岛史
Magadha	(kingdom)	摩揭陀国
Buddhaghośa	(person)	觉音
47 Sutta-piṭaka	The Basket of Buddha's Discourses	经藏
Dīgha-nikāya	Long Discourses	长部
Dīghāgama	(")	长阿含
Majjhima-nikāya	Middle Length Discourses	中部
Saṃyukktāgama	The Discourses Organized according to Content	杂阿含

Saṃyutta-nikāya	(")	相应部
Aṅguttara-nikāya	The Discourses Collection in Numerical Order	增支部
Ekottarikāgama	(")	增一阿含
Khuddaka-nikāya	Minor Anthologies	小部
Vinaya-piṭaka	The Basket of Disciplines	律藏
Sutta-vibhaṅga	All of the Precepts	经分别
Khandhaka	Procedures for Assemblies and Rules for Daily Life	犍度（律藏）
Parivāra	Interpretation of Rules or Appendix	附随
Abhidamma-piṭaka	The basket of Commentaries	论藏
Dhammasaṅgaṇi	Enumeration of Dhammas or Buddhist Psychological Ethics	法聚论
Vibhaṅga	The Book of Analysis	分别论
Dhātukathā	Discourse on Elements	界论
Yamaka	Book of Pairs	双论
Paṭṭhāna	Book of Causality	发趣论
Puggalapaññatti	Description of Human Types	人施设论

Kathāvatthu	Points of Controversy	论事

3 僧伽和佛的弟子

1	Pañca-yāna	Five Vehicles	五乘
	yāna	vehicle	乘
	Pañca-sīla	Five Precepts	五戒
	Manussa-yāna	Human vehicle	人乘
	Dasa-kusalānī	Ten Meritorious Acts	十善
	hetu-phala	cause-effect	因果
	Deva-yāna	Heavenly vehicle	天乘
	Ariya-sacca	Noble Truths	圣谛
	Micchā-diṭṭhi	Wrong views	邪见
	Diṭṭhānusaya	Wrong views	见惑
	Atta-diṭṭhi	Ego-illusion	我见
	Sassata-diṭṭhi	Eternity-belief	常见
	Uccheda-diṭṭhi	Annihilation-belief	断见

Micchā-saṅkappa	Defiled thought	思惑
Lobha	Greed	贪
Dosa	Hatred	嗔
Moha	Delusion	痴
Nibbāna	Nirvana	涅槃
Sāvaka-yāna	Voice-hearer vehicle	声闻乘
Buddha	Buddha	佛
Sāvaka	Voice-hearer	声闻
Buddha-Dhamma	Buddha's teaching	佛法
Paṭiccasamupāda	Dependent Origination	缘起
Pacceka-Buddha	Independently Enlightened One	独觉佛
Pacceka-yāna	The vehicle of self-en-lightenment	独觉乘
Cha-pāramitā	The Six Virtuous Acts	六度
Bodhisatta	Bodhisattva	菩萨
Bodhisatta-yāna	The vehicle of Bodhisattva	菩萨乘

2	pabbajjā	Renunciation of the world, becoming a junior monk.	出家
	hetu-paccaya	cause and condition	因缘
	Sākyamuni	Sakyamuni (person)	释迦牟尼
	Mañjuśrī (S.)	Manjusri (a Bodhisattva)	文殊师利
	Maitreya (S.)	Maitreya (future Buddha)	弥勒
	Bhikkhu	Monk	比丘
	Vimalakīrti	Vimalakirti (person)	维摩诘
	Arahat	Arahant (enlightened person)	阿罗汉
3	Sotāpanna	The fruition of stream winning	须陀洹果（初果,予流）
	Sakadāgāmi	The second fruition of once return	斯陀含果（二果，一来）
	Anāgāmi	The third fruition of non-return	阿那含果（三果，不还）
4	Kāmaloka	the sensuous world	欲界
	anattā	egolessness	无我

5	paribbājaka	religious mendicancy	出家修道
8	bhāvanā	meditation	禅定
	bodhipakkhiya-dhamma	requisites for enlightenment	道品, 觉支; 菩提分
	Cattāro satipaṭṭhānā	Four Stations of Mindfulness	四念处
	Asubhābhāvanā	Contemplation of impurity	不净观
	Mettābhāvanā	Contemplation of mercy	慈悲观
	Nidānabhāvanā	Contemplation of cause and effect	因缘观
	Vibhaṇgabhāvanā	Contemplation of distinction	界分别观
	Ānāpānasati	Contemplation of breath	数息观
	Samādhi	Concentration	定
	Paññā	Wisdom	慧
10	tanhā	craving	贪爱
	Saṅgha	Monastic Order	僧伽
	Pārājika	Fundamental Rules	重罪戒，波罗夷

bhikkhunī	Nun	比丘尼
Upasampadā	Higher ordination	受具戒
thera	elder	长老
Mahāyāna	Great Vehicle	大乘
Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa (S.)	(a book)	《维摩诘经》
Upāsaka-sīla-sutta	Disciplines for Laity Sutta (a book)	《优婆塞戒经》
11 Tiratana	The Three Gems	三宝
Uposatha	fast (a fortnightly event)	持斋，半月说戒
loka-dhamma	worldly laws	世间法
Siṅgālaka	(a person)	善生
Siṅgālovāda Sutta	Singalovada Sutta (a book)	善生经
Dīghajāṇu (or Ujjaya)	(a person)	跋阇迦
Cattāro Dhammā	The Four Ways of Seeking Comfort and Balance	四种安乐法
Uṭṭhānasampadā	Perfection of professional training	方便具足（职业修养的完备）

	Ārakkhasampadā	Protection of one's own property, frugality without waste	守护具足（节约不浪费财物）
	Kalyāṇamittatā	Making worthy friends	善知识具足（交结善友）
	Sammā-ājīva	Leading a decent life	正命具足（正当的生活）
	Rāja	King	国王
	Cha-pāramitā	The Six Transcendent Virtuous Acts	六度
	Cattāri saṃgaha vatthūni	Four Embracing Dhamma	四摄
12	Dhammācariya	Doctrine master	法师
	Dhammasiddhi	(a person)	达摩悉提
13	sāmaṇera	Junior monk	沙弥
15	Upajjhāya	Master	受戒师，依止师
16	Upasampadā	the higher ordination	具足戒
	Sāmaṇerī	Nun, female acceptor of the ten precepts	沙弥尼

18 Suttācariya	Scripture Master	经师
Sutta-piṭaka	Scripture Texts	经藏
Vinayācariya	Discipline Master	律师
Vinaya-piṭaka	Discipline Texts	律藏
Abhidhammācariya	Commentary Master	论师
Abhidhamma-piṭaka	Commentary Texts	论藏
Tipiṭakācariya	Triple-Text Master	三藏法师
Tipiṭaka	Triple-Text	三藏
19 Dhammarāja	religious leader, lit. "king of Doctrine"	法王
20 Saṅgha-rāja	King of Monastic Order	僧王
Mahā-Nāyaka	Great leader of Saṅgha	大导师
Nāyaka	Leader of Saṅgha	导师
23 Kamma	Action	羯磨（会议办事）
Uposatha kamma	Recitation assembly	布萨羯磨（诵戒的集

24			会）
	Pātimokkha (P.)	Prātimokṣa (S.), book of precepts	戒本，波罗提木叉
	Pavārana	Satisfaction with self-criticism and other's exposure	自恣
27	Mahāvihāra	Great monastery	大寺（丛林）
29	Thera	Elder (monks, 10 or more years after ordination)	上座或长老
	MahāThera	Great Elder (senior monks, 20 or more years after ordination)	大上座或大长老
32	Sattvārtha-krīya-sīla (S.)	The Rule that all must serve the needs of sentient beings	饶益有情戒
33	Bodhisatta sīla	The precepts of Bodhisattva	菩萨戒
	Theravāda	A Buddhist sect	上座部，小乘
34	dāyaka	lay Buddhist donor	施主
36	Kasāya	monks' robe	袈裟

Paramattha	truth	真谛
37 Brahmajāla Sutta	(a scripture)	梵网经
38 Sāriputta	(person)	舍利弗
Moggallāna	(")	目犍连
Mahākassapa	(")	摩诃迦叶
Subhūti	(")	须菩提
Puṇṇa	(")	富楼那
Mahākaccāna	(")	摩诃迦旃延
Anuruddha	(")	阿那律
Upāli	(")	优波离
Rāhula	(")	罗怙罗
Ānanda	(")	阿难陀
abhiññā	psychic power	神通
Parinibbāna	Passing away	大般涅槃

40 Sanchi	Sanchi (place)	山奇
41 Nandimittāvadāna	Nandimitravadana (book)	《法住记》
Āyasma Nandimitra	(person)	庆友尊者
Siharatta	(present day Sri Lanka)	狮子国（今斯里兰卡）
43 Mañjuśrī (S.)	(a Bodhisattva)	文殊师利
Samantabhadra (S.)	(")	普贤
Avalokiteśvara (S.)	Guanyin (a Bodhisattva)	观世音
Kṣitigarbha (S.)	(a Bodhisattva)	地藏
44 Bodhicitta	Awakened mind	菩提心
Tisikkhā	Three Studies	三学
Sīla	precepts	戒
Samādhi	concentration	定
Paññā	wisdom	慧

	Sammā-sambodhi	perfect enlightenment	等觉
45	Kathmandu	Kathmandu, Capital of Nepal	加德满都
46	Maitreya	Maitreya Buddhisattva, (the future Buddha)	弥勒菩萨

4 佛教在印度的发展、衰灭和复兴

1	Buddha	Buddha	佛陀
3	Parinibbāna	passing away	佛陀逝世，即大般涅槃
	Mādhyamika	the Middle-way School	中观学派
	Mahāyāna	Great Vehicle	大乘
	Yogācāra	the Yoga School	瑜伽学派
	Tantrayāna	the Esoteric School	密宗
4	Khuddānukhuddaka-sikkhāpada	Lesser and minor precepts	小小戒
	Bhikkhu	monk	比丘

Saṃgīti	Buddhist Council	结集
Dhamma	Buddha's teaching	佛法
Puṇṇa	Pūrṇa (person)	富楼那
Vinaya	Discipline	戒律
Mahā-kassapa	(person)	摩诃迦叶
Vappa	(")	跋波
Mahāthera	senior monk	长老
Nikāya	sect	部派
5 Theravāda	Theravada Sect	上座部
Mahāsaṃghika	Mahasamghika Sect	大众部
Bārāṇasī	Baranasi (Kasi) (ethnic group)	波利族
Yasa	Yasa (person)	耶舍
Vesālī	Vaisali (place)	毗舍离城
Vajji	Vajjian nationality	跋祇族

6	Mahāsaṃghika-vinaya	precepts of the Mahā saṃghika sect	僧祇律
	Sabbatthivāda-vinaya	precepts of the Sabbatthivāda sect	十诵律
	Thera	Senior monk	长老
7	bhāvanā	meditation	禅定，修习
8	Vajjiputtaka	(a Buddhist sect)	跋祇子部或犊子部
	Mahiṃsāsaka	(")	化地部
	Vibhajjavāda	(")	分别说部
	Ekavyohārika	(")	一说部
	Lokottaravāda	(")	说出世部
	Gokulika	(")	鸡胤部或牛王部
	Cetiyavāda	(")	制多山部
9	Abhidhamma Piṭaka	Commentary Texts	论藏
10	Saṅkhata Dhamma	Conditioned Phenomena	有为法

hetu-paccaya	causes and conditions	因缘
Asaṅkhata Dhamma	Unconditioned Phenomena	无为法
Nibbāna	Nirvana	涅槃
Ākāsa	Space	虚空
Khaṇa	an instant	一刹那
Atta	ego	我
Nimmāna-kāya	phenomenal body	化身
Saṃbhoga-kāya	noumenal body	实身
rūpa-kāya	body	色身
Sāvaka	Hearer Vehicle	声闻乘
Bodhisatta	Bodhisattva (enlightened one)	菩萨
metta-karuṇā	vow of mercy	慈悲愿心
Pacceka-buddha	Self-enlightened one	缘觉佛
11 Asoka	King Aśoka (Sorrow-free King)	阿育王，阿输迦王，无忧王
Magadha	Magadha (kingdom)	摩揭陀国

12

	Chandragupta	King Chandragupta	旃陀罗笈多
	Chandra	Chandra Caste	旃陀罗种姓
	Chandrasoka	(person)	旃陀罗阿输迦
	Punjab	the Punjab, (a place called "Five Rivers")	五河
	Gaṅgā	the Ganges River	恒河
	Nanda	Nanda Dynasty	难陀王朝
	Maurya	Maurya Dynasty	孔雀王朝
	Bindusāra	king Bindusāra	宾头沙罗
	Kāliṅga	Kāliṅga Kingdom	羯陵伽国
	Sadhamma	the ultimate doctrine	正法
	Mahinda	(person)	摩晒陀
	Saṇghamittā	(person)	僧伽密陀
13	Cīnapaṭṭa	bundle of silk	成捆的丝
	Cīnasukka	silk clothes	丝织衣物

	Cīna	China	支那
14	Chandragupta	Chandragupta (person)	旃陀罗笈多
	khattiya (S. kṣatriya)	king	刹帝利
	Brahmin (S. Brāhmaṇa)	priest	婆罗门
	Dhammacakka	the Wheel of Doctrine	法轮
17	Pāṭaliputta	King Aśoka's capital, present day Patna	八纳(华氏城)
	Pāsāda	auditorium	大讲堂
18	Śuṅga (S.)	Śuṅga Dynasty	巽伽王朝
	Puṣyamitra (S.)	King Puṣyamitra	富奢蜜多罗王
	thūpa	pagoda	塔
	Vihāra	monastery	寺
	Milinda	King Milinda	弥兰陀王
	Bactria	Bactria (Kingdom)	大夏国
	Nāgasena	Nāgasena (a monk)	那先

	Nāgasena Bhikkhu Sutta	The Book of Monk Nagasena	那先比丘经
	Milinda Pañhā	(a scripture)	弥兰陀问经
	Pāli	Pali language	巴利文
	Gandhāra	Gandhara (place)	犍陀罗
19	Dravidians	Dravidian Nationality	达罗维荼民族
	Andhaka	Andhra Kingdom	案达罗国
	Kaṇva	Kaṇva Dynasty	康发王朝
	kuṣāṇa	(a kingdom)	大月氏
	Kṣāṇa	Kushān Dynasty	贵霜王朝
	Gupta	Gupta Dynasty	笈多王朝
	Kaniṣka	King Kaniṣka	迦腻色迦王
20	Pārśva (S.)	(person)	胁比丘
	Assaghosa	(")	马鸣
	Kasmīra	(akingdom)	迦湿弥罗
	Vasumitta	(person)	世友

	Mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra (S.)	(a commentary)	大毗婆沙论
21	Nāgārjuna	(person)	龙树
23	sabhāva	self-nature	自性
	Hetu-paccaya	causes and conditions	因缘
	Suññatā	emptiness	空
	Majjhimā-paṭipadā	the Middle Path	中道
24	Sammuti-sacca	the Conventional Truth	俗谛
	Paramattha-sacca	the First Truth or the Ultimate Truth	第一义谛，圣谛，真谛
	Bhava	Existence	有、存在
	Paramattha	the ultimate reality	实相
	paññatti	empirical concepts	假名(假施设)
25	Deva	Deva (person)	提婆
	Sautrāntika	(a Buddhist Sect)	经量部

	Yogācāra	the Yoga School	瑜伽系
26	Candra Gupta	King Chandra Gupta	月护王
	Samudra Gupta	King Samudra Gupta	海护王
	Sāṃkhya	(school)	数论
	Visesikā	Vaiśeṣika (school)	胜论
	Asaṅga	Asanga (person)	无着
	Vasubandhu	Vasubandhu (person)	世亲
27	Tusita	Tusita Heaven	兜率天
	Bodhisatta	Bodhisattva (being)	菩萨
	Maitreya	Maitreya (")	弥勒
	Yogācariya	Yoga master	瑜伽师
	Jhāna	meditation	禅
	Jhāyin	Meditation master	禅师
	Ābhidhammika	Commentary master	论师

28	Trisvabhāva (S.)	three levels of Nature	三种自性
	Paratantra-svabhāva (S.)	the nature of being dependent in origin	依他起性
	Parikalpita-svabhāva (S.)	the nature of regarding the seeming as real	遍计所执性
	Tathatā	absolute reality	真如，实相
	Parinișpanna-svabhāva (S.)	the absolutely true nature	圆成实性
	Trividhā-niḥsvabhāvatā (S.)	three natures presenting non-existence	三无性
	lakṣaṇa-niḥsvabhāvatā (S.)	the nature of non-existence in form	相无性
	Utpatti-niḥsvabhāvatā (S.)	the nature of non-origination	生无性
	Paramārtha-niḥsvabhāvatā	the nature of emptiness in the highest sense	胜义无性
29	Vijñapti-mātratā (S.)	all dhammas are nothing but consciousness	万法唯识
30	indriya	sense organs	根
	Visaya	sense objects	境
	viññāṇa	consciousness	识

31	Viññāṇavāda	consciousness-only	唯识
	Mana	the seventh, mana-consciousness	第七末那识
	Ālaya-viññāṇa	the eighth, Alaya-consciousness	第八阿赖耶识
	Vāsanā	perfuming	薰习，习气
	Kusala	wholesome deeds	善
	Akusala	unwholesome deeds	恶
	Kamma	karma (acts)	业
	Pariṇāma	give rise	变起
	Bhājana-loka	the external world	外界（器界）
	Vipāka	future maturity	异熟
32	Ālaya-viññāṇa	Alaya-consciousness	阿赖耶
	Sāsava-viññāṇa	defiled consciousness	有漏之识
	atta-gāha (S. Ātma-grāha)	ego-grasping	我执
	Anāsavā-paññā	pure wisdom	无漏之智

33	Hetu-vidyā	Buddhist science of logic	因明（逻辑学）
	Dinnāga	(person)	陈那
	Dharmakīrti	(")	法称
35	Amu Daria	Amu Daria River	阿姆河
	Śīlāditya	King Siladitya	戒日王
	Vardhana	Varadhana Dynasty	伐弹那王朝
	Nālandā-saṅghārāma	Nālandā Monastery	那烂陀寺
	Ābhidhammika	Commentary Master	大论师
	Sīlabhadra	(person)	戒贤
	Jñānaprabhā	(")	智光
	Pañca-vārṣikamaha (S.)	mass meeting	无遮大会
36	Pāla	Pala Dynasty	波罗王朝
	Vikramaśīla	a monastery	超戒寺

37 Mantra-dhāraṇī	a Tantric sect	真言陀罗尼宗
Tantrayāna	Esoteric Vehicle	密乘
Pakāsaniyayāna	Exoteric Vehicle	显乘
Dhāraṇī	mystical incantation	密咒
38 Mantra	True language	真言
Maṇḍala	round platform	结坛 (蔓荼罗)
Mudrā	hand postures	手印
abhiññā	psychic power	神通
39 Avalokiteśvara (S.)	Guanyin (Goddess of Mercy)	观音
catu-saṃgaha-vatthūni	Four All Embracing Virtues	四摄
cha-pāramitā	Six Transcendent Virtues	六度
Vajra	Diamond	金刚
Bodhipakkhiya-dhamma	condition leading to enlightenment	道品
Nekkhamma-citta	renunciation	出离心

	Bodhi-citta	enlightenment	菩提心
	suññatā-ñāṇa	the awareness that all is emptiness	空慧
	Deva	deity	天神
40	Kumārila	(person)	鸠摩梨罗
	Śaṅkara	(a Brahmin scholar)	商羯罗
41	Sena	Sena Dynasty	斯那王朝
42	Dhammapāla	(person)	达摩波罗
	Buddhagayā Bodhimaṇḍan	(place)	菩提伽耶，菩提道场
	Mṛgadāva (S.) (Sarnāth)	Deer park	鹿野苑
	Kusinārā	the place of Buddha's Parinibbāna	拘尸那

5 佛教在中国的传播、发展和演变

1	Asoka	King Aśoka	阿育王

	samaṇa	monk, mendicant	沙门
2	Dhamma	Buddhist Doctrine	法
	Kāśyapa-mātaṅga (S.)	(person)	迦叶摩腾
	Dharmaranya (S.)	(person)	竺法兰
	Sutta	Scripture	经
	Āgama	Scripture	阿含经
4	Vinaya	Discipline	戒律
	Dhammakāla	(person)	昙柯迦罗
	Devasara (or Tissara)	(person)	铁萨罗
6	Parthia	(kingdom)	波斯国
	Lokasema	(person)	支娄迦谶
	Saṃghavarman	(")	康僧铠
	Saṃgīti	(")	康僧会
	Semeg-kand	(kingdom)	康居国

	Dharmarakṣa (S.)	(person)	竺法护
	Sāvaka-yāna	Hearer vehicle	声闻乘
	Mahāyāna	Great vehicle	大乘
7	Hīnayāna	Small vehicle	小乘
	Āgama	Āgama texts	阿含经
	Dhyāna (S.)	Meditation	禅那
	Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra (S.)	(a scripture)	般若经
	Sukhāvatī	Pure Land	净土
9	Vinaya Piṭaka	Discipline Texts	律藏
	Sākya	Shi (surname taken by Chinese monks)	释
	Kumārajīva	(person)	鸠摩罗什
10	Pātimokkha	disciplinary code	戒本
	Puṇyatāra	(person)	弗若多罗

Dharmaruci	(")	昙摩流支
Kasmīra	Kashmir (place)	克什米尔
Sarvāstivāda Vinaya	Discipline of Sarvastivāda	萨婆多部十诵律
Vimalākṣa	(person)	卑摩罗叉
Buddhayasas	(")	佛陀耶舍
Dharmagupta Vinaya	Discipline texts of Dharmagupta	昙无德部四分律
Saṃghabhadra	Saṅghabhadra (person)	僧伽跋陀
Buddhaghosa	Buddhaghoṣa (")	佛音尊者
Samantapāsādikā	the Discipline Commentary	善见律毗婆沙
Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya	Discipline texts	摩诃僧祇律
Mahīśāsaka Vinaya	Discipline texts	弥沙塞部五分律
Buddhabhadra	(person)	佛驮跋陀罗
Kapilavatthu	Kapilavastu (kingdom)	迦毗罗卫国
Buddhajīva	(person)	佛陀什
Kamma	Karma	羯磨
Theravāda Vinaya	Theravada discipline	上座部律

11	Sutta Piṭaka	Scripture texts	经藏
	Abhidhamma Piṭaka	Commentary texts	论藏
13	Mādhyamika	Middle way	中观
	Nāgārjuna	(person)	龙树
	Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā	(a scripture)	中论
	Śataśāstra (S.)	(")	百论
	Dvādaśamukha-śāstra (S.)	(")	十二门论
	Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa	(")	维摩经
	Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra	(")	法华经
	Cūḍḷaprajñāpāramitā-sūtra	(")	小品般若经
	Vajracchedikāprajñā-pāramitā-sūtra	(")	金刚经
	Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra	(")	大智度论
	Dhammatā	Dhamma-nature school	法性宗

Satyasiddhi-śāstra	a book	成实论
14 Mahāyāna-Suññatāvāda	Emptiness School of great vehicle (a sect)	大乘空宗
Āryadeva	(person)	提婆
Buddhabhadra	(")	觉贤
Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaipulya-sūtra	(a scripture)	华严经
Dharmarakṣa	(person)	昙无谶
Mahāparinibbāna-sutta	(a scripture)	大般涅槃经
Guṇabhadra	(person)	求那跋陀罗
Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra	(a scripture)	楞伽经
Bodhiruci	(person)	菩提流支
Vasubandhu	(")	世亲
Yogācāra	yoga	瑜伽
Daśabhūmika-śāstra	(a scripture)	十地经论
Mahāyāna-saṃparigraha-śāstra	(")	摄大乘论

Mahāyāna-saṃgraha-bhāṣya	(")	释论
Abhidhammakosa-śāstra	(")	俱舍论
Paramattha	(person)	真谛
15 Sīlabhadra	(person)	戒贤
Dhammapāla	(")	法护
Dinnāga	(person)	陈那
Ālambanapārīksā	(a scripture)	无相思尘论
Hastavālaprakaraṇa	(")	解拳论
a-gotra	without Buddha-nature	无佛性
Parikalpita	illusory	遍计所执
paratantra	empirical	依他起
Cetasika	constituents of consciousness	心所
Pravṛtti-vijñāna-śāstra	(a scripture)	转识论
Ādānavijñāna	(consciousness)	阿陀那

Bhāvaviveka	(person)	清辨
Suññа	emptiness	空
Bhava	existence	有
Buddhapālita	(person)	佛护
Suññatāvāda	emptiness school	空宗
Svātantrika	Independent reasoning	自续
Prāsaṅgika	Depending on opponent	应成
Candrakīrti	(person)	月称
Candragomin	(")	月官
Dharmakīrti	(")	法称
Hetuvidyā	logic	因明

17 Nālandā	Nalanda monastery	那烂陀寺
śloka	line (32 syllables)	颂（32节为一颂）
Catuhśatakavrtti	(a book)	广百论释
Bhavavāda	Existence Sect	有宗

Vijñapti-mātratāsiddhi-śāstra	(")	成唯识论
pañca-vārṣikamaha	assembly	无遮大会
Śīlāditya	King Harṣa	戒日王
Mahāyānadeva	Deity of Great Vehicle	大乘天
Vajrasamādhi	(person)	金刚三昧
Uposatha	fast day	斋日
19 Jñānagupta	(person)	阇那崛多
Dānapāla	(")	施护
Paññā	(")	般若
Mandra	(")	曼陀罗仙
Saṅghapāla	(")	僧伽婆罗
Amoghavajra	(")	不空(金刚)
Dhammatā	Dhamma Nature School	法性宗
lakṣaṇa	Phenomena, appearance	相
Śānta-rakṣita	(person)	寂护

Kamalaśīla	(")	莲花戒
Padma-saṃbhava	(")	莲华生
Bhadanta	high priest	大德
Vikramasīlavihāra	Vikramasīla Monastery	超戒寺
Ārya Atīśa	(person)	阿底峡尊者
Cikitsā-vidyā	medical science	医方明
Śabda-vidyā	linguistics	声明
21 Dhamma Pakati	Dhamma-nature	法性
Dhamma-Lakkhaṇa	Phenomena	法相
Avataṃsaka	Avataṃsaka School	华严宗
Jhāna	Meditation School	禅宗
Sukhāvatīvyūha	Pure Land School	净土宗
Tantra	Esoteric School	密宗
Mantrayāna	Mantrayana School	真言宗

22	Śata-śāstta	(a doctrine)	百论
	Dvādaśamukha-śāstra	(a doctrine)	十二门论
	Paramattha-sacca	the ultimate truth	真谛
	Sammuti-sacca	the conventional truth	俗谛
	Majjhima-paṭipadā	the Middle Path	中道
23	Paṭiccasamupāda	Dependent Origination	缘起
	Bhava	exist	有
	Rūpa	matter	色
	pañca-khandha	the five aggregates	五阴，五蕴
	dvādasa-āyatanāni	the twelve Spheres (or bases)	十二处
24	Maitreya	(person)	弥勒
	Asaṅga	(")	无著
	Vasubandhu	(")	世亲
	Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra	(a scripture)	解深密经

Yogacāra-bhūmi-śāstra	(a scripture)	瑜伽师地论
Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi-śāstta	(")	成唯识论
Dharma Lakṣaṇa Vijñānavāda	Viññāṇavāda School	法相唯识宗
āśraya-parivṛtti	convert consciousness into wisdom	转识成智（转依）
25 pañca-dhamma	the five categories of dhammas	五法
Nāma	name	名
Lakkhaṇa	form or appearance	相
vikalpa	discrimination	分别、妄想
Sammā-ñāna	Right wisdom	正智
Tri-svabhāvatā	Triple-nature	三自性
Parikalpita	the illusory aspect	遍计所执性
Paratantra	the dependent aspect	依他起性
Parinișpanna	the perfected aspect	圆成实性
Pudgala-nairātmya	the non-existence of self	人无我
Dharma-nairātmya	the non-existence of dhamma	法无我

Saṅkhata-dhamma	conditioned dhamma	有为法
anāsava	pure	清净
āsava	impure	染
abhinivesa	grasp	执取
grāhaka	subjective things	主观事物，能取
grāhya	objective things	客观事物，所取
kamma	karma	业
kāma-loka	Sensuous world	欲界
rūpa-loka	Fine-material world	色界
arūpa-loka	Immaterial world	无色界
mano	mind	心
citta	mind	意
anattā	egolessness	无我
Viññāṇa-vipassanā	meditation on consciousness	唯识观行
26 Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-	Lotus Scripture	法华经

	sūtra		
	Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra	(a scripture)	大智度论
27	Sākyamuni Tathāgata	(a title of Buddha)	释迦如来
	Vaipulya	(a period)	方等
	Prajñā (Paññā)	(wisdom)	般若
29	Ti-vipassanā	the Threefold Contemplation	三观
35	Samādhi	meditation practice	定，三摩地
36	Bodhidhamma	(person)	菩提达摩
	Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra	(a scripture)	楞伽经
	Vajracchedika-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra	(")	金刚般若婆罗密多经
37	Sukhāvatīvyūha	the Pure Land School	净土宗
40	Amitāyus-sūtra	(a scripture)	无量寿经

Amita Buddha	Amita Buddha	阿弥陀佛
asaṅkhya	a long period of time	阿僧祇劫
42 Tisso sikkhā	Three categories of Studies	三学
adhisīla	discipline	戒学，增戒学
adhicitta	contemplation	定学，增心学
adhipaññā	wisdom	慧学，增慧学
43 Dharmagupta Vinaya	(a set of precepts)	四分律
upasaṃpadā	the Full Commandments	具足戒
Vassa	the institution of rainy season retreat	安居法
Uposatha	the institution of fort-nightly assembly	布萨法
Brahmajāla-sīla-sutta	(a scripture)	梵网戒经
Upāsaka-sīla-sutta	(")	优婆塞戒经
Saṃvara-sīla	the moral precepts	摄律仪戒
Kusala-dhamma-saṃgrāhaka -sīla	the precepts of the acquisition of all good	摄善法戒

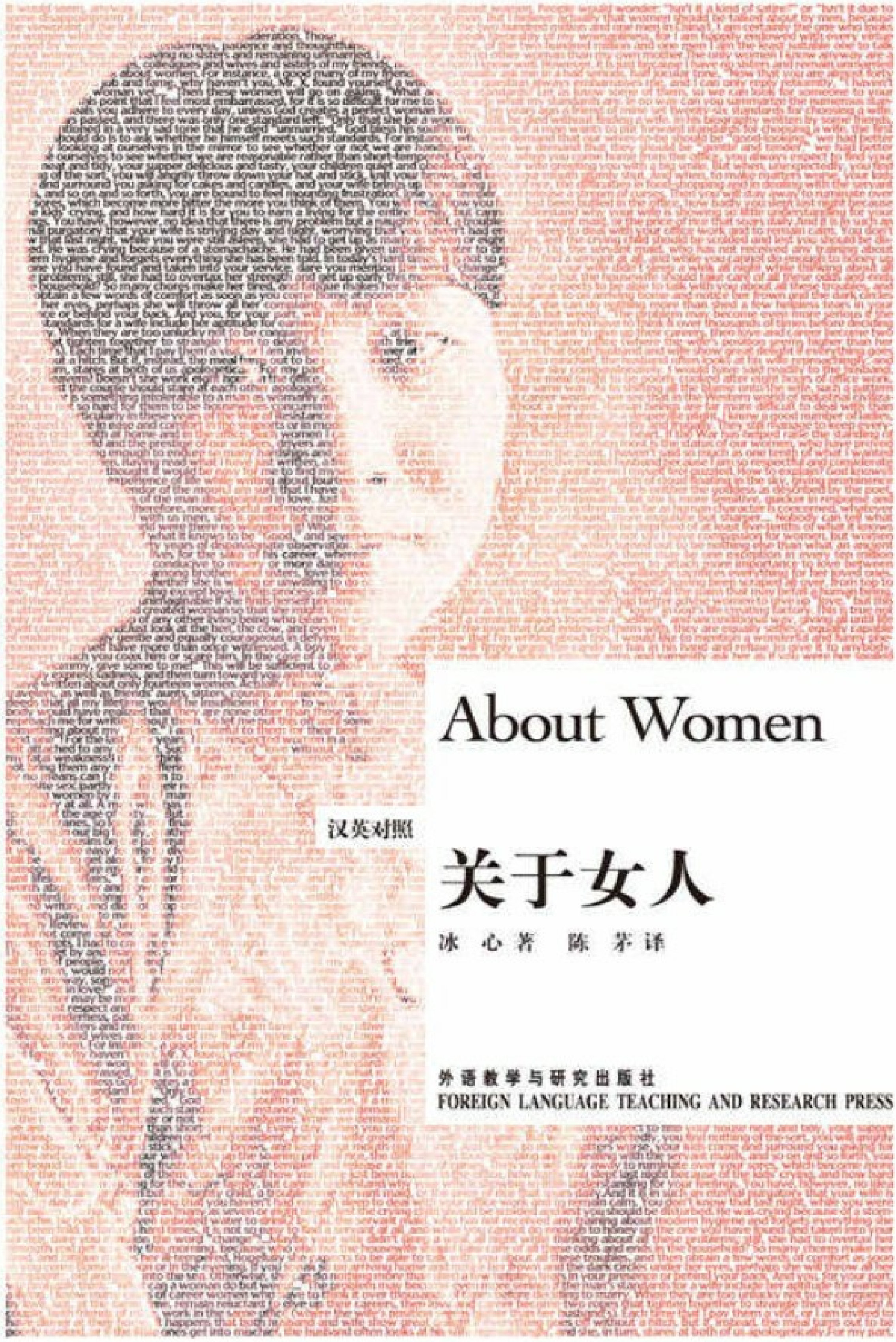
	Sattvārtha-kriyā-sīla	the precepts of benefi-ting all sentient beings	饶益有情戒
44	Pārājika	the most fundamental precepts	根本戒
	Saṅghādisesa	precepts	僧残
	Bhikkhunī	precepts	尼戒
	Pātimokkha		
45	Śubhakarasiṃha	(person)	善无畏
	Vajrabodhi	(person)	金刚智
	Amoghavajra	(")	不空
	Mahāvairocana-sūtra	(a scripture)	大日经
	Vajraśikhara-sūtra	(")	金刚顶经
	guruyogā	specific Buddha or master	本尊法
	abhiṣeka	pour water on the head,anoint	灌顶
46	guru	the specific Buddha or master	本尊

	vijjā-rāja	(a wise king)	明王
	mudra	hand signs	手印
	mantra	the Honored One's spell	真言
	bīja	seed	种子
	akāra-ādyanutpādaḥ	no origination	不生
47	Abhidhamma-kosa (school)	the Kosa School	俱舍宗
	Abhidhamma-kosa-śāstra	(a commentary)	俱舍论
	Satyasiddhi (School)	the Satyasiddhi School	成实宗
	Satyasiddhi-śāstra	(a doctrine)	成实论
	Mahāpari-nibbāna-sutta	(a scripture)	大般涅槃经
	Mahāyāna-saṃparigraha-śāstra	(a doctrine)	摄大乘论
	Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra	(")	十地经论
48	Dhammapakati	the Nature School	法性宗
	Dhammalakkhaṇa	the Appearance School	法相宗

50	Sūraṃgama-mahā-sūtra	(a scripture)	楞严经
51	Padmasaṃbhava	(person)	莲华生
52	Mahānayāka Atīśa	(person)	阿底峡尊者
56	Mettā-karuṇā	love and compassion	慈悲
	Upekkhā (or samānatta)	equanimity	平等心
57	Sata-upamā-sutta	(a scripture)	百喻经
	Aśvaghoṣa (S.)	(")	马鸣
	Buddhacarita	(")	佛所行赞
59	Gandhāra	(place)	犍陀罗
60	Jātaka	(a scripture)	本生
	Avalokiteśvara	Guanyin (Goddess of Mercy)	观音

	Arahat	Arahant (")	罗汉
61	Bhāśā	chanting and singing	梵呗
64	Loka-dhamma	Worldly Conditions	世间法
	Lokuttara-dhamma	Supermundane Conditions	出世间法
	Dasa-kusalānī	Ten Good Acts	十善
65	hetu-phala	the law of causality	因果律
67	anuttara sammā-sambodhi	perfect Enlightenment	无上正觉
68	Dāna	charity	布施
	Khanti	Forbearance	忍辱
	Viriya	Effort or energy	精进
	bhāvanā	Contemplation	静虑

以男人的视角审视女人，「[illegible]式」叙述身边十四个平凡女人的故事。「世界上若没有女人，这世界至少要失去十分之五的「真」，十分之六的「善」，十分之七的「美」。」



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汉英对照

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“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch’ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高

人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

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TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION[1]

Bing Xin (1900-1999) stands as a unique and important figure among the many Chinese women writers of the twentieth century. Her early involvement in the May Fourth Movement, which began in 1919, has placed her among the generation of writers that challenged tradition and advocated the reappraisal of Chinese culture. Like many May Fourth authors, Bing Xin assumed the task of "revealing the problems of society to the reader" in her literary works. Her so-called "issue stories" (*wenti xiaoshuo*), dealing with social injustice, family conflicts and feminism, caused considerable debate among the critics of her time. Her unique style, dubbed the "Bing Xin Style" (*Bing Xin ti*), combines poetic expression that is prominent in the classical Chinese lyric with narrative realism in a lucid and provocative synthesis.

Hu Shih's commentary on Bing Xin's works has been cited by Charlotte Boynton: "Most writers in *Baihua* were searching for a style suitable to the new form, and many of them were crude; some were vulgar. Miss Icy Heart (Bing Xin), he understood, had been given a good grounding in the great Chinese poets. She had brought to the new medium a delicacy and refinement which made her writing fresh and direct" (cited in Bing Xin 1989: 93). On the other hand, her treatment of protagonists in many short stories has sometimes been criticized for supporting a "pessimistic" and even "self-indulgent" outlook. This common assessment needs to be qualified in view of the writer's historical commitments.

As some critics have suggested, the element of "lyric" in modern Chinese literature has its origin in classical poetry. This quality contributed in important ways to the modern epoch in Chinese writing. And yet, modern Chinese literature is always more than an expression of the author's private feelings and sensitivities. Bing Xin's writing follows the dominant ethos of May Fourth literature when it exemplifies the progressive writer's interest in influencing, and in some cases articulating, the attitudes of the engaged reader, rather than in expressing private attitudes. Her feminist commitments, which need to be presented to the Western reader as unique to this particular writer, as well as her political commitments to Chinese nationalism, especially during the period leading up to the War of Resistance against

Japan, were crucial to the reception of her writings in her own time and placed an indelible stamp on the form and content of her fiction.

The first story in *About Women* initially appeared in *Weekly Review*, Volume 8, in Chongqing on January 5, 1941. From that moment until the end of the year, Bing Xin had published eight more pieces in this journal. Later on, Bing Xin wrote seven additional stories, and the entire collection of sixteen stories was published by the Tiandi Publishing House in September, 1943. The second edition was published by the Kaiming Bookstore in February 1945. In August 1980, the third edition was published by the Ningxia People's Press. The fourth edition was issued in December 1992 by the Kaiming Press in Beijing. The People's Literature Publishing House in 1993 published a new collection, *About Women and Men*, which includes all sixteen pieces as well as several new ones. A glance at the editorial history of *About Women* suggests the consistent popularity of this evolving work.

There are three compelling reasons for returning to Bing Xin's work today, particularly to her remarkable collection, *About Women*. First, Bing Xin was a talented writer whose use of narrative voice constitutes a subtle challenge to conventions of gender construction that have been important to most traditional and much modern literature. As a woman writer, Bing Xin contributes to the *modernist* tradition in her precise and ironic style, which enables her to challenge male authority. Second, Bing Xin enables the contemporary reader, but especially the woman reader, to envision a broader political struggle that lies beyond the horizon of gender disputes. Hence, without ceasing to be a feminist, Bing Xin offers us a view of Chinese *modernity* that reflects the social and political realities of twentieth-century China. Finally, Bing Xin is a Chinese writer who offers her own interpretation of feminism that is neither a clear expression of her modernist style nor reducible to her historical commitments. Let us examine each of these reasons for reading Bing Xin today in more detail.

I

About Women demonstrates that Bing Xin's feminism can be considered in terms of her use of narrative voice as an ironic ploy. The sophisticated male narrator that disguises the gender of the author functions subtly to undermine male authority and its appearance of total mastery. In the preface

to the second edition, written in 1945, Bing Xin expressed the opinion that "gentlemen" would be more likely to read her book than women. At the same time, she also maintained that the "inspiration" for this collection came from her female friends, who sometimes even provided suggestions for the characters themselves (1980: iv). Perhaps Bing Xin intended to reach her male readers by describing various women, and decided on the title "About Women" in order to create the impression that she had not assembled a purely literary work. The sixteen stories which form the collection as a whole offer different images of women. The first two stories are especially important in terms of the issues raised as well as the viewpoint on women in general.

The first essay raises the question of whether a man or a woman is more qualified to talk about the problems of modern women. In "Women Deserve My Utmost Respect and Consideration," the narrator reinforces Bing Xin's opening remarks by asserting his own male authority, just as he contends that the entire collection was inspired by female acquaintances (1980: 1). Since the only woman in his life is his mother, the narrator has never sustained a serious relationship with female schoolmates or colleagues. As a successful man who expresses an interest in marriage, however, he makes us wonder why he is still single at nearly forty years of age. The narrator argues that if a man wants to talk about the ideal qualities of a woman, he should first try to discover such qualities in himself. At the end of this story, Bing Xin alludes to the dilemma of the career woman who is caught between her career and housework, her role in society and her role at home.

The second essay, "My Standards for Choosing a Wife," exhibits the standards that a man commonly imposes on the woman of his choice. The male narrator lists as many as twenty-six qualities that he believes are important when judging a woman (1982: 5-8). These qualities range from age, looks and clothes to hobbies and personal interests. It is obvious that the narrator is caught up in a conventional game that belies a stereotypical masculine point of view. The Chinese reader would not know for sure that the author of this essay is a woman, but ambiguity with respect to gender would create enough suspicion to cast a shadow on the male narrator's urbane attitudes. The ironic tone of this story reaches its climax when a friend challenges the narrator's better judgment. The narrator then states that it might be possible for him to bargain for what he wants, thus revealing the utterly contrived nature of his preferences:

> "…instead of making presumptuous demands I am just bargaining on the capital I already own. Even though this doesn't mean ‘casting jade to attract jade,' what I'm doing is at least ‘casting a brick to attract another brick.' There is nothing wrong with setting any number of standards. However, while I do object to some details as far as tastes and habits are concerned, I generally prefer to accept things as they are rather than become excessively preoccupied with my wife's appearance, disposition and aptitude for earning a living."[2] (Bing Xin, 1980: 8)

Instead of directly presenting images of women, the first two essays set the tone for the whole collection. Problems about women are introduced through what is considered to be the "ideal" type of wife by the male narrator. The problem of the woman's vocation is presented in terms of a conflict between the role of wife and that of a more completely social being. This conflict is dramatized when idealizations are carried to such an extreme that they lose credibility. The character who emerges in the stories on the basis of the narrative voice must ultimately confront the truth of women in various circumstances. Hence, while the voice of the male narrator plays an important role in traditional Chinese literature, Bing Xin's use of this voice becomes particularly ironic when it suggests the speaker's limitations, and, in this way, questions received ideas about masculinity. Instead of reproducing the author's standpoint in a direct manner, this voice introduces irony into the representation of everyday life and encourages the reader to view male/female relationships innew ways.

Bing Xin's stories, therefore, cannot be interpreted from the stand-point of a purely omniscient narrator. The narrative voice that she most commonly employs is easier to interpret as symbolic and ambiguous than would have been the case if the role of the voice were restricted to the limitations that tradition might impose on it. Moreover, within the broader framework of *About Women*, Bing Xin's use of the male narrator combines objective narration with destabilization of gender in literary representation. The social world that emerges as a consequence of this special use is clearly depicted, but the kinds of voices that can be heard in this world are practically limitless. The convention of the sophisticated male narrator might seem to restrict the potential range of voices, or even to subordinate them to some hierarchical conception of an allegedly appropriate tone of authority. At the same time, Bing Xin prevents this restriction from occurring and therefore produces what Julia Kristeva, strongly influenced by Lacan and Bakhtin, has called *polyphony* in connection with the modern novel (1980: 159-200). Bing Xin's fiction is polyphonic in multiplying a variety of female voices in a

manner that does not involve personal identification with a single female character.

II

Bing Xin's reputation as a Chinese writer is largely based on her ability to represent the condition of ordinary women in enduring narratives that are socially complex and emotionally convincing. As a May Fourth participant who came to write in an increasingly political atmosphere, however, she was often compelled to relate her own version of feminism to the pressing demands of Chinese nationalism. Bing Xin rejected the suggestion that she was producing a specifically "women's literature," since this term in Chinese applies more readily to literary works that are intended for women alone. During the War of Resistance against Japan, she would not have been able to advocate a variety of feminism that ignored the concerns of men and women alike. The social situation for Chinese women during the 1940s was largely unfavorable to feminist modes of address. In her work as a writer, Bing Xin reveals that women faced numerous obstacles both in society and at home. Most women were compelled to place marriage and family before their careers and their work was rarely viewed as important or politically necessary. Bing Xin's response to this situation was not to abandon her feminist position but to integrate it into a nationalist stance that created a new role for women in solidarity with others.

About Women contains many characters whose nobility and pathos are directly related to the author's belief that national unity can be projected among men and women in diverse circumstances. The early stories in this collection employ the male persona ironically, whereas the latter stories depict the hardships of everyday life and greatly reduce the reader's aesthetic detachment. From this broad standpoint, Bing Xin's use of voice not only challenges male/female gender construction, but also immerses the reader in a process of decentering that occurs in the space of history. Like many of her Western counterparts, such as Joyce and Faulkner, Conrad and Woolf, Bing Xin ultimately employs her modernist breakthroughs to express a more comprehensive view of a specific moment in historical time. In a manner that evokes a literary pattern that would be familiar to Western readers, Bing Xin employs a sophisticated male narrator who functions in an aesthetic mode and thus destabilizes a text that cannot be fully understood apart from history.

The conflict between gender and historical objectivity is what prevents the reader from accepting the narrator's point of view as unambiguous.

In destabilizing narrative and carrying the reader beyond the confusions inherent in the so-called point of view, *About Women* succeeds as fiction just as it bespeaks an underlying commitment to social change. This means that the world of Bing Xin is only superficially the world of a male observer who adopts an ironic stance on women in general. The false standards of normativity that the narrator offers at the outset of this work are not simply degrading to women; they also parody formalistic approaches to literature. Thus, Bing Xin moves beyond formalism in creating a stereotypical male persona, and in showing the reader how actual men and women constitute the historical struggle of their time.

The patient reader of *About Women* is therefore drawn into a world in which the voice of the narrator becomes increasingly marginal to various actions that possess diverse meanings. Relations between women of unequal social standing emerge as crucially important once the defense of China becomes an urgent concern. Nonetheless, Bing Xin's espousal of nationalism only occasionally assumes propagandistic overtones. The movement beyond aesthetic formalism that occurs in her early works is a literary event, rather than a strictly political one. The ironic use of humor and the satiric deflation of vanity and pretense continue to provide her stories with a literary texture, even when the theme of national unity acquires decisive importance.

Hence, Bing Xin's inability to separate feminism from politics is ultimately an affair of literature, since it enables the reader to gain access to a turbulent period on the basis of written texts that challenge the conventions of gender as well as the tendency of many modern writers to oppose the autonomy of literature to the possibility of personal commitment. The lessons of Bing Xin will not be forgotten in a time when feminists the world over have become aware of the need to contribute their skills and capacities to the attainment of broader political goals that are central to the survival of the human community as a whole.

III

What lies at the core of Bing Xin's feminism? This question is not related in obvious ways to either the author's modernist style or to her

political commitments. Her literary modernism does not prepare us for the semiotic approach that she employs in her portrayal of Chinese women. By adopting the sophisticated male narrator as a foil that cannot fully conceal her own perspective on the world, Bing Xin demonstrates how the male/female opposition only possesses relative significance in an open economy of signs. In truth, Bing Xin's special form of feminism is inseparable from a pre-modernist concern for human qualities that are often misleadingly labeled as traditionalist. While occasionally demonstrating the "hard-edge" style that Western readers easily identify with High Modernism, her fiction can also be read as an exploration of gender that opens up many questions that cannot be resolved within the framework of contemporary feminism.

An enduring aspect of Bing Xin's feminism is elaborated in "My Mother," the third story in the collection. This story might be interpreted autobiographically as an account of the author's own mother, but it also can be read to argue that certain personal qualities, sometimes considered to be feminine, are consistent with a form of autonomy that may or may not be overtly political. In this story, the mother is not only "open-minded" but also a woman who believes in the social importance of the family. The male narrator is in this case the son who portrays his own mother in a convincing way:

> "Open-minded, she was consistently and impartially accepting of everything proper to modern times. She loved the ‘family' ardently in the belief that a perfect family is the source of all happiness and strength. She hoped that I would soon marry because she wanted to see me settle down as soon as possible, both physically and mentally, in the warmth and happiness of a family."[3] (Bing Xin, 1980: 11)

This mother also took a keen interest in political affairs: "Mother became interested in the May Fourth Movement of 1919 soon after it began. She read books and newspapers, refusing to allow herself to be left behind the times" (1980: 13). Bing Xin's conception of independence has been questioned by feminists who believe that a woman should adopt overt strategies to obtain power and that the responsibilities of a wife and mother can only interfere with this political project.

Simone de Beauvoir has argued that a realistic conception of the woman, rather than an implicitly mythic one, lies at the heart of some of the best modern literature (1980: 253-263). The woman that Bing Xin evokes in the Epilogue to her collection of short stories is compounded of traits that are

largely familiar: "She is neither the goddess as described by the poet, nor the devil in the eyes of the man disappointed in love." From this standpoint, a woman should possess "feeling and rationality" but would also be "more sensitive, quicker in response and livelier in action" (1982: 111). Bing Xin's work in fiction both confirms the author's deeply held convictions on what women can become and provides hope for a more humane tomorrow.

[1] I would like to thank Amsterdam University Press for allowing me to reuse material for this Introduction that first appeared as, "In and Out of Home: Bing Xin Recontextualized," in *Asian Literary Voices: From Marginal to Mainstream*, edited by Philip F. Williams (Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 63-70.

[2] This passage is a typical example of Bing Xin's ironic use of narrative voice. All translations from the text are my own.

[3] In my translation of this passage, I have tried to communicate the combination of emotional sensitivity and personal dignity that Bing Xin associated with her own mother.

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

What I wrote in my epilogue to the first edition of *About Women* and in my preface to the second edition was all true, but it appeared as though written by a *gentleman*, in a tone suitable to the status of such an author. But now, I have no alternative but to "drop my veil and show who I am."

What happened is that the Ningxia People's Press had someone pass on to me a message asking for something to publish, a demand I found myself unable to meet other than to send them *About Women*, a book of mine long since out of print. By the way, in early September, 1966, all the books I had written were impounded by the Red Guards for "investigation," and up to now what happened to my books is still unknown! I now have at hand only this one copy of *About Women*, which, fortunately, Comrade Ba Jin happened to find in a second-hand bookstore in Shanghai. Since I have a special liking for this book, I often leaf through it in my leisure moments. I do this not only because I feel like meeting the characters I'm fond of in this book, but also because the reasons why I wrote the book are quite interesting. First, in that period of 1940-1943, I was really somewhat short of money and had need to sell some literary work (having just received the payment for the first one of the essays in *About Women*, which allowed us to afford our New Year's Eve supper of 1940 at the Three-Six-Nine Snack Bar in Chongqing). Second, being able to refrain from using my pen name Bing Xin in writing these essays, I could remain "free of any responsibility" and enjoy more freedom in joking.

The second edition of *About Women* was handed over to the Kaiming Bookstore in care of Comrade Ba Jin. Now, the text for its third edition is being handed over, care of Comrade Caichen, Ba Jin's younger brother. What I have done appears similar to the behavior of a child who, having done behind the backs of the grown-ups something mischievous to his own profit but at nobody's expense, feels very happy and satisfied at his exploit, but can only whisper this story to his closest chums.

Bing Xin

August 31, 1980

三版自序

《关于女人》的初版后记和再版自序，说的都是实话，不过那都是用“男士”的口吻和身份写的，如今这“三版自序”，我就只好“打开天窗说亮话”了！

宁夏人民出版社托人来向我索稿，我无以应命，只好以久已绝版的《关于女人》送给他们——一九六六年九月初，我写的几本书都让红卫兵拿去“审查”，至今没有下落！我手里的这本《关于女人》还是巴金同志替我在上海的旧书摊上寻来的——我对这本书有点偏爱，没事就翻来看看，不但是要和书中的我所喜爱的人物晤面，而且因为我写这本书的来由，很有意思：一来我那时——1940—1943年——经济上的确有些困难，有卖稿的必要（我们就是拿《关于女人》的第一篇稿酬，在重庆市上“三六九”点心店吃的一九四○年的年夜饭的）。二来，这几篇东西不是用“冰心”的笔名来写，我可以“不负责任”，开点玩笑时也可以自由一些。

《关于女人》的再版，是巴金同志拿去交给开明书店的。如今这本书的三版，又是交给巴金的弟弟采臣同志的。这就好像一个孩子，背着大人做了一件利己而不损人的淘气事儿，自己虽然很高兴，很痛快，但也只能对最知心的好朋友，悄悄地说说！

冰心

1980年8月31日

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

On entrusting the second edition of my book *About Women* to the Kaiming Bookstore, I find it necessary to write an author's preface.

It was in September 1943, that the Tiandi Publishing House published the first edition of *About Women*. As soon as it came out, many friends asked me to send them copies as gifts. But the number of requests was so large that I found myself "in a fix." I had to make it clear to everyone that my male friends would receive no copies from me, because I supposed them to be so interested in such a book that they would buy a copy even if they received none as a present. As for my female friends, however, I had no excuse at all! First, because I had always respectfully cherished their friendship, and second, because it was only to them that I owed my "inspiration" in writing this book. Thus, I must, in all respects, send them respectfully my offerings as a token of my gratitude.

I found, however, that in no way could I decently send my friends copies of the first edition of *About Women*, since the misprints that flawed it were not only countless but also so outrageous that I didn't know whether to laugh or cry. For example, instead of "I have been fond of a lot of women," what was printed was "I have treated a lot of women in a filial way," and what should have been "Men are more likely to be idle...when living together," appeared as "Men feel more happy...when living together." Worse still, and too numerous to count, were misprints such as "you" instead of "I" and "he" instead of "you." The Tiandi Publishing House once told me that the book was selling so well that publishers were thinking about a second edition after hardly three months had passed since the first one came out. Then I made haste to correct the misprints and turned over the better version to my publishers. But after that I received no further news whatsoever! Although *About Women* is being sold in bookstores in Chongqing, Guilin, Kunming...and even in Qujiang, Xi'an..., up to now only its "first edition" can be found. The "second edition," copies of which I promised to offer as gifts to my female friends, hasn't appeared yet, and I've even been bitterly called down by my brothers' wives!

I couldn't keep waiting. I wrote to the Tiandi Publishing House and asked for an explanation. In their reply, my publishers said that out of the five thousand copies of the first edition, one or two hundred remained unsold, in addition to those damaged by rainwater or gnawed by mice. They finally apologized for "not having made enough effort to promote the sale." I felt ashamed and could say nothing, although *About Women* was being played up in the "Literary News Columns" of various Chinese newspapers as "selling extremely well." Even quotations in American literary journals, which I received from some American women friends who asked me for copies of the book, also spoke highly of it and called it "the Best Seller in Chungking."

It is for this reason that I am delivering the already corrected version of this book to the Kaiming Bookstore for a second edition, in order to pay the debt I have long owed to my female friends. At the same time, I hope to add a few more stories of women to a possible second edition of this "second edition," for it is to women that I will always feel indebted for what is most superb and pure in my "inspiration."

One night in February 1945

The Lingyin Mountain Villa, Mt. Da Huang

再版自序

我把这本《关于女人》交给开明书店再版，我觉得有写篇自序的必要。

《关于女人》在天地出版社初版，是在三十二年九月。出版以后，就有许多朋友，向我索赠。我的朋友不少，真是有点“穷于应命”！我便向朋辈宣言，我这本书是不送给男朋友的，因为我估计男人对于这本书，一定会感很大的兴趣，我不送，他们也会自己去买了看的。而对于女朋友们，我却是无法推脱！一来因为我素来尊重她们的友情；二来因为这本书本是借着她们的“灵感”，才写得出来。无论从哪一方面说，我都得恭恭敬敬的奉赠，以表示我的谢意。

但第一版《关于女人》，我实在无法送人，错字太多了，而且错得使人啼笑皆非！例如“喜欢过许多女人”，变成“孝敬过许多女人”。“男人在共营生活上……是更偷懒”，变成“……是更愉快”，至于“我”变成“你”，“你”变成“他”，更是指不胜屈。天地社原说是这本书销路很好，出版后不到三个月，便准备再版，我就赶紧将改正本交给他们，此后却杳无消息！虽然在重庆、桂林、昆明……甚至于曲江、西安……的坊间，都有《关于女人》出售，而却仍是“初版”。我答应送给那些女朋友的“再版”，至今不曾出现，连我那几个弟妇，都把我骂得不亦乐乎！

我等不得了，写信到天地社去问，回信说那“初版”五千册，除了雨渍鼠咬之外，还有一二百本没有售出，最后他们引咎自己的“推销不力”，向我道歉。我觉得很惭愧，没有话说。虽然国内各报的“文坛消息”上，都在鼓吹着“关于女人，销路极畅”，而在美国的女朋友，向我索书的时候，还摘录美国的文艺杂志，称誉《关于女人》为：“The Best Seller in Chungking”。

因此，我便把这本小书，改正了交给开明书店，准备把这再版书来偿还我对于女朋友的夙欠。同时我也希望这“再版”再版的时候，我还能再添上几个女人——女人永远是我的最高超圣洁的“灵感”！

一九四五年二月之夜，大荒山，灵音山馆。

A QUOTATION IN LIEU OF A PREFACE

"...In this busy, dusty world, having accomplished nothing, I suddenly recalled all the girls I had known, considering each in turn, and it dawned on me that all of them surpassed me in behavior and understanding; that I, shameful to say, for all my masculine dignity, fell short of the gentler sex. But since this could never be remedied, it was no use regretting it. There was really nothing to be done.

"I decided then to make known to all how I, although dressed in silks and delicately nurtured thanks to the Imperial favor and my ancestors' virtue, had nevertheless ignored the kindly guidance of my elders as well as the good advice of teachers and friends, with the result that I had wasted half my life and not acquired a single skill. But no matter how unforgivable my crimes, I must not let all the lovely girls I have known pass into oblivion through my wickedness or my desire to hide my shortcomings.

"Although my home is now a thatched cottage with matting windows, earthen stove and rope bed, this shall not stop me from laying bare my heart. Indeed, the morning breeze, the dew of night, the willows by my steps and the flowers in my courtyard inspire me to wield my brush. While I have little learning or literary talent, what does it matter if I tell a tale in rustic language to leave a record of those lovely girls? This should divert readers too and help distract them from their cares. That is why I use the other name, Jia Yucun...."

From *The Dream of the Red Chamber* by Cao Xueqin

抄书代序

“……风尘碌碌，一事无成。忽念及当日所有之女子，一一细考较去，觉其行止识见，皆出我之上。我堂堂须眉，诚不若彼裙钗，我愧则有余，悔又无益，大无可如何之日也！当此日欲将以往所赖天恩祖德，锦衣绣袴之时，饫甘餍肥之日，背父母教育之恩，负师友规训之德，以致今日一技无成，半生潦倒之罪，编述一集，以告天下。知我之负罪固多，然闺阁中历历有人，万不可因我之不肖，自护己短，一并使其泯灭也。故当此蓬牖茅椽，绳床瓦灶，未足妨我襟怀；况对着晨风夕月，阶柳庭花，更觉润人笔墨；我虽不学无文，又何妨用假语村言，敷衍出来，亦可使闺阁昭传，复可破一时之闷，醒同人之目，不亦宜乎？……”

——曹雪芹《红楼梦》

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1 WOMEN DESERVE MY UTMOST RESPECT AND CONSIDERATION

It would seem, anyway, somewhat awkward for a gentleman to write something about women. People would wonder: "Isn't it a kind of satire?" or "Isn't it due to some disappointment in love?" as if only women were justified in talking about women. But I believe actually that women should be talked about by men, because the viewpoint of the latter may be more objective and their attitude more polite.

Of the two hundred million and one men in China[1], I am certainly the one who looks on women with the utmost respect and consideration. Those who know me often speak favorably of my womanliness, for I am happily endowed with every virtue owned by women, such as tenderness, patience and thoughtfulness. At the same time, of the two hundred million and one men I am the least suitable one to talk about women, because, having no sisters and remaining unmarried, I am familiar with no other woman than my own mother.

The only women I know anyway are a few former schoolmates, colleagues and wives and sisters of my friends, none of whom I know well. However, it is just because I have no sisters and remain unmarried that very often I talk about women. For instance, a good many of my friends' wives usually ask me in a half serious, half jocular tone, "Now that you are almost forty and have a good job and fame, why haven't you, Mr. X, found yourself a wife?" Such a question always embarrasses me, and I can only reply reticently, "I haven't found the right woman yet...." Then these women will go on asking, "What are your standards? Let us know some of them, so we can look for someone to your liking."

It is at this point that I feel most embarrassed, for it is so difficult for me to say clearly what my standards are. In no way can you summarize the numerous standards and ideals you adhere to every day, unless God creates a perfect woman for you. Ten years ago a friend of mine set twenty-six standards for choosing a wife. But ten years passed, and there was only one

standard left: "Only that she be a woman." Still, he died without finding a wife. In his biography written by some friends, it was mentioned in a very sad tone that he died "unmarried." God bless his soul!

In my opinion, if a man wants to put forward standards for choosing a wife, the first thing he should do is to ask whether he himself meets such standards. For instance, when we demand that our wives-to-be should be "good-looking," we had better begin by looking at ourselves in the mirror to see whether or not we are handsome. When we demand that they should be "gentle and tender," we had better examine ourselves to see whether we are reasonable rather than short-tempered. Every day, when you come home from the office, you always expect to find your house neat and tidy, your supper delicious and tasty, your children quiet and obedient, and your wife greeting you with a big smile. But when, unexpectedly, you find nothing of the sort, you will angrily throw down your hat and stick, knit your brows, and keep your mouth glumly shut. And when, to make matters worse, your kids come and surround you asking for cakes and candies, and your wife brings up the soaring price of rice, the difficulties in food-shopping and in dealing with the maids, and so on and so forth, you are bound to feel mounting frustration, lose your temper, and release a stream of curses. Then you will stay away to ruminate over your sores, which become more bitter the more you think of them. You will recall how you have just been bullied in the office, how badly you slept last night because of the kids' crying, and how hard it is for you to earn a living for the entire family, but cannot understand why your wife is showing so little understanding for your feelings. You have, however, no idea that there is any problem but a naughty child, a troublesome maid, or the price of rice that soars daily.

And it is in such an eternal purgatory that your wife is striving day and night, worrying that you haven't had enough sleep to deal with your office work and to remain calm. You don't know that last night, while you were still asleep, she had to get up as many as seven or eight times, lest the crying child should be scolded and lest you should be disturbed. He was crying because of a stomachache. He had been given unboiled water to drink[2] by Liu, the maid, who has not received any training about modern hygiene and forgets everything she has been told. In today's hard times, it is not so easy to find a servant at all, and while you cannot do enough to honey up the one you have found and taken into your service, dare you mention the word "change"!...

Maybe your wife didn't sleep a wink all night while thinking about all these problems; still, she had to overtax her strength and get up early this morning, because who else but the housewife should take care of all these odds and ends in the household? So many chores make her tired, and fatigue makes her ill-tempered. Hopefully she expects to be able to talk with you about all these troubles, and then obtain a few words of comfort as soon as you come home at noon or in the evening. If you speak so on arriving home and notice her frown and the dark circles under her eyes, perhaps she will throw all her complaints, old and new, into the sea. Otherwise, she can do nothing more than shed a few helpless tears in your presence or behind your back. And you, for your part, will probably think: "What can a woman do but weep!..."

The problem may become even more serious if the man's standards for a wife include her aptitude for earning a living. I know many cases of career women who have to think it over thousands of times before deciding to marry. When they are too unlucky not to be conquered by love, but, at the same time, remain reluctant to give up their careers, then love and career become two ropes that tighten together to strangle them to death! A couple, both friends of mine, work in the same office (where the wife's position seems higher than her husband's). Each time that I pay them a visit, or I am invited to have dinner at their home, it happens that both husband and wife show great delight if everything goes off without a hitch. But if, instead, the meal turns out to be poorly cooked, or if the little ones get into mischief, the husband often looks at his wife reproachingly, and she, in turn, stares at both of us apologetically.

For my part, I can do nothing other than gaze at the sky compassionately. I would have said readily to the husband, "Good Heavens! Doesn't she work eight hours in the office, no less than you?" I don't mean that the meal ought to be poorly cooked after eight hours of office work, but at least the couple should stare at each other apologetically, or both should stare at me in the same way. As to shifting all the blame onto the wife, such a pattern of behavior is something intolerable to a man as womanly as me.

Now that we are talking about career women, we see that in the Western world of industrial civilization, it is not so hard for them to be housewives concurrently. But in China, you cannot do without a servant. Human beings

are far more difficult to deal with than machines, particularly in these years of the War of Resistance against Japan, when people have to wander about in a desperate plight. I know a good number of ladies, who used to live in ease and comfort in the seaports or in modern Chinese cities, but are now toiling and living diligently and frugally. They still manage to keep everything in order both at home and in the office. Such women I cannot but admire and respect from the bottom of my heart. If the War has helped raise the standing of China in the world and the prestige of our soldiers, drivers and even our common workers, I believe what has risen most is the status of our women, who have proved themselves strong enough to endure so many hardships and sufferings.

But I am now wandering from the point. I haven't said so much as one tenth of what I wanted to say about women. Having read what I have just written, a friend of mine even took me for a prospective model husband because I am so respectful and considerate of women, and he thought it would be easy for me to find myself an ideal woman for a wife. But on this point even I myself feel puzzled. How to explain? God knows!

[1] At the time when this article was written, China was supposed to have four hundred million inhabitants.

[2] In China, only boiled water is drinkable.

壹 我最尊敬体贴她们

以一个男士而写关于女人的题目，似乎总觉有些不大“那个”，人们会想“内容莫不是讥讽吧？”“莫不是单恋吧？”仿佛女人的问题，只应该由女人来谈似的。其实，我以为女人的问题，应该是由男人来谈，因为男人在立场上，可以比较客观，男人的态度，可以比较客气。

在二万万零一个男人之中，我相信我是一个最尊敬体贴女性的男子。认得我的人，且多称誉我是很女性的，因为我有女性种种的优点，如温柔、忍耐、细心等等，这些我都觉得很荣幸。同时我是二万万零一个人之中，最不配谈女人的，因为除了母亲以外，我既无姊妹，又未娶妻。我所认得的只是一些女同学，几个女同事，以及朋友们的妻女姊妹，没有什么深切的了解与认识。但是因为既无姊妹又未娶妻的缘故，谈到女人的时候就特别多。比如说有许多朋友的太太，总是半带好意半开玩笑的说：“╳ 先生，你是将近四十岁的人，做着很好的事，又颇有点名气，为什么还不娶个太太？”这时我总觉得很惶恐，只得讷讷的说：“还没有碰到合适的人……”于是那些太太们说：“您的条件怎么样？请略说一二，我们好替您物色物色。”这时我最窘了，这条件真不容易说出，要归纳你平日的许多标准，许多理想，除非上帝特意为你创造这么一个十全十美的女人。我有一个朋友，年纪比我还轻，十年以前，就有二十六个择偶的条件。到了十年之末，他只剩了一个条件——“只要是一个女人就行”。结果是一个女人也没有得到。他死了，朋友替他写传记，中有很惨的四个字：“尚未娶妻”。上帝祝福他的灵魂！

我以为男子要谈条件，第一件事就得问问自己是否也具有那些条件。比如我们要求对方“容貌美丽”，就得先去照照镜子，看看自己是不是一个漂亮的男子。我们要求对方“性情温柔”，就得反躬自省，自己是否一个绝不暴躁而又讲理的人。我们从办公室里回来，总希望家里美观清洁，饭菜甘香可口，孩子们安静听话，太太笑脸相迎，嘘寒问暖。万一上面的条件没有具备，我们就会气腾腾的把帽子一摔，棍子一扔，皱起眉头，一语不发。倘若孩子再围上来要糖要饼，太太再来和你谈米又涨价，菜不好买，佣人闹脾气等等……你简直就会头痛，就会发狂，就会破口大骂。骂完，自己跑到一旁，越想越伤心起来——想到今天在办公室里所受的种种的气，想到昨夜因为孩子哭闹，没有睡好，这一家穿的是谁，吃的是谁，你的太太竟不体恤你一点——可是你总根本没有想到孩子没有一个不淘气，佣人没有一个没有问题，米也没有一天不涨价

的！你的温柔的太太，整天整夜的在这炼狱中间，怕你不得好睡，办事没有精神，脾气也会变坏，而她自己昨夜则于你蒙眬之中，起来了七八次之多，既怕孩子挨骂，又怕你受委屈。孩子哭是因为肚子痛，肚子痛是因为刘妈给他生水喝。而刘妈则是没有受过近代训练的佣人，跟她怎样说都不会记得。这年头，连个帮工都不容易请，奉承她还来不及，哪还敢说一个“换”字……她也许思前想后，一夜无眠，今早起来，她还得依旧支撑。家长里短的事，女人不管，谁来管呀？她一忙就累，一累就也有气，满心只想望你中午或晚上回来，凡事有你商量，有你安慰。倘若你回来了，看见她的愁眉，看见她的黑眼圈，你说一两句安慰的话，她也许就把旧恨新愁，全付汪洋大海，否则她只有在你的面前或背后，掉下一两滴可怜无告的眼泪。你也许还觉得“女人，除了哭，还会什么！……”

男子的条件中，有时还要对方具有经济生产的能力，这个问题就更大了。我知道有许多职业妇女，在结婚之前，总要百转千回的考虑。倘若她或不幸而被恋爱征服，同时又对事业不忍放弃，那这两股绳索就会把她绞死！我有一对朋友，是夫妇同在一个机关里面办事的（妻的地位似乎比丈夫还高）。每次我到他们家里去拜访，或是他们请我吃饭，假如一切顺利，做丈夫和做妻子的就都兴高采烈。假如饭生菜不熟，或小孩子喧哗吵闹，做丈夫的就会以责备的眼光看太太，太太却以抱歉的眼光来看我们两个，我只好以悲悯的眼光看天。我心里真想同那做丈夫的说：“天哪，她不是和你一样，一天坐八小时的办公室吗？”——我不是说一天坐了八小时的办公室，请客时就应当饭生菜不熟，不过至少他们应当以抱歉的眼光对看，或且同以抱歉的眼光看我。至于把这责任完全推给太太的办法，则连我这一个女性的男子，也看不过了。

谈到职业妇女，在西洋的机器文明世界，兼主妇还不感到十分困难。在中国则一切须靠佣人。人比机器难弄得多，尤其是在散离流亡的抗战时代。我看见过多少从前在沿海口岸、摩登城市，养尊处优的妇女们，现在内地，都是荆钗布裙栉风沐雨的工作，不论家里或办公室里，都能弄得井井有条。对于这种女人，我只有五体投地。假如抗战提高了中国的地位，提高了军人、司机，乃至一般工人的地位，则我以为提得最高的，还是我们那些忍得住痛耐得住苦的妇女。

话又说得远了，我所要说的关于女人的话，还未说到十分之一。有一个朋友看到了这一段，以为像我这样尊敬体贴女人的人，可以做个模范丈夫，必不难找个合式的太太。连我自己也纳闷，这是怎么说的呢？天晓得！

2 MY STANDARDS FOR CHOOSING A WIFE

I recently moved my house, and, surprisingly enough, went from a single room shared by as many as five persons to a flat consisting of a bedroom and a chamber serving as both a study and a sitting room. Although I still have to share it with a housemate, my new lodging is something difficult to secure in Chongqing. After they were slightly furnished, the two rooms turned out to be rather tidy and elegant, all things considered. The bright windows and clean tables encouraged many friends to come and chat with me. All of my visitors maintained that anyone who had such a tidy and elegant house should have a wife as well. Soon the conversation turned to standards for choosing a wife. During our discussion, over twenty standards were composed and read as follows:

1. Since I am a Southerner brought up in the North, I would not want her to be a "Northerner with Southern looks"—this itemis negotiable.

2. Since I am devoted to literature, I would like her at least to be able to appreciate art as well as literature.

3. Since I am nearly forty years old, I would not want her to be under twenty-five.

4. Since I am a thin man, I would not want her to be stout.

5. Since I don't use facial creams and cosmetics, I would not want her to use too much rouge, powder and lipstick.

6. Since I have never worn Western-style clothes, I would not want her to wear them—such clothes make oriental women look ugly in nine and a half out of ten cases!

7. Since I have a few foreign friends, I would like her to know something about foreign languages.

8. Since I am a hospitable man, I would not want her to be a woman

who always stands speechless in the presence of strangers.

9. Since I am discerning in my choice of guests, I would not want her to invite over many frivolous male and female friends, given to humming foreign ditties, chewing melon seeds and scattering orange peels all over the floor.

10. Since I am addicted to cleanliness, I would like her to be rather clean and tidy—at least not to mess up my books or soil my clothes and hats.

11. Since I loathe the smell of fragrant flowers, I would not want her to wear white magnolias or furnish the rooms with lilac, false spinae or anything of the sort.

12. Since I'm fond of quiet elegance, I would not want her to be dressed garishly or to use bad color combinations. I will never forget the two lines written by Mr. Huang Xintian[1]: "Whatever fits her figure will be all right, / For dark and quiet colors will enhance her natural and tasteful style."

13. I have enjoyed the great comforts of daily life (in clothing, food, housing and travel), but, as long as the War of Resistance against Japan continues, I won't say a single word about what made my life easy in the past. I think that, since we are forced to wander about and suffer various hardships, we should willingly accept the need for sacrifice. I would not want her, therefore, to moan and groan all day long, talking about "the good days when we were in Beijing," asking "When will there be an end to the War?" or other nonsense of this sort.

14. Since I like to travel, I would not want traveling to be painful to her.

15. Since I like the sea, I would like her to be fond of swimming, too, and not to fear the winds from the sea.

16. Since I enjoy living in the mountains, I would not want her to dislike loneliness in the mountains.

17. Without going often to the theater, I like Beijing Opera; so I would not want her to regard our traditional theater as good-for-nothing.

18. Since I like to stare at beautiful women, whether in the flesh or in paintings, I hope that she will understand me on that score. Surely I will be

understanding as well if she likes to "observe" good-looking men.

19. Being a man who is "imperturbable in the face of major events" (except when I find or touch one or two bedbugs, but this is by no means a major event), I would not want her to scream in the manner of a film star when something provokes minor alarmor fright.

20. I am rather critical in choosing posters for room decoration, and would not want her to hang vulgar pictures such as nudes or portraits of film stars on the walls above tables or beds.

21. I love the faint light that glows in the fireplace or the candle. I feel extremely happy while chatting idly by a dim light. I hope that she will be able to appreciate this sentiment and at least will not prefer strong and direct floodlight.

22. I like the sensation of tipsiness, and I find even more pleasure in chatting or writing when tipsy. Therefore, I would not want her to oppose moderate drinking. But whenever I go beyond two cups of cider, apple cider for example, five cups of white spirits or ten cups of yellow rice wine, please stop me, darling!

23. Since I grew up in the North, I am used to the odors of garlic and green Chinese onion. For this reason, I would not want her to hate such odors, even though she might not share my tastes.

24. Since I love music, I would not want her either to talk and laugh loudly or to doze off in the concert hall.

25. Since I am fond of animals, I would not want her to oppose my keeping of dogs or pigeons.

26. ...

As I continued this narrative, a friend cut me short, saying, "You once made fun of a late friend who set twenty-six standards for choosing a wife. But now you yourself are going to break his record." My reply is that my standards are in fact different from his, because instead of making presumptuous demands I am just bargaining on the capital I already own. Even though this doesn't mean "casting jade to attract jade," what I'm doing is at least "casting a brick to attract another brick."[2] There is nothing wrong

with setting any number of standards. However, while I do object to some details as far as tastes and habits are concerned, I generally prefer to accept things as they are rather than become excessively preoccupied with my wife's appearance, disposition and aptitude for earning a living.

Well now, another friend said, "Too much similarity in tastes and habits prevents men and women from attracting one another and from living a fascinating life together. Besides, you are haggling over details in such a hairsplitting way that the only possible solution is for you to be changed into a woman so that you can become your own wife." But good heavens! If I were a woman, I probably would have married long ago and would have two or three children already!

[1] Huang Ren (1683-1768), also known as Huang Xintian, was a Chinese poet from Fujian province. Huang's works, reminiscent of late Tang poetry, were collected in a volume entitled *The Autumn River*.

[2] This figure of speech parodies the Chinese expression, "casting a brick to attract jade," which is often used as a self-deprecating reference to one's own commonplace remarks, and means that these remarks are offered as an introduction so that those who hear them may come up with more valuable opinions.

贰 我的择偶条件

新近搬了一次“家”，居然能从五个人合住的一间屋子，搬到一间卧室，一间书房连客厅的房子里来，虽然仍有一个“屋伴”，在重庆算是不容易的了。这两间屋子，略加布置，尚属雅洁。窗明几净，常有不少的朋友来陪我闲谈；大家总觉得既有这么雅洁的屋子，更应当有个太太了，于是谈锋又转到了择偶的条件。随谈随写，居然也有二十几条，如下：

一　因为我自己是在北方长大的南方人，所以我希望对方不是“北人南相”——此条可以商量。

二 因为我是学文学的，所以希望对方至少能够欣赏文艺。

三 因为我是将近四十岁的人，所以希望对方不在二十五岁以下。

四 因为我自己是个瘦子，所以希望对方不是一个胖子。

五　　因为我自己不搽润面油、司丹康，所以希望对方也不浓施脂粉，厚抹口红。

六　因为我自己从未穿过西装，所以希望对方也不穿着洋服——东方女子穿西服，十个有九个半难看！

七 因为我有几个外国朋友，所以希望对方懂得几句外国语言。

八　因为我自己好客，所以希望对方不是一个见了生人说不出话的女子。

九　因为我很择客，所以希望对方也不招致许多无聊的男女朋友，哼哼洋歌，嚼嚼瓜子，把橘子皮扔得满地。

十　因为我颇有洁癖，所以希望对方也相当的整齐清洁——至少不会翻乱我的书籍，弄脏我的衣冠。

十一　因为我怕香花，所以希望对方不戴白玉兰，不在屋子里插些丁香、真珠梅之类。

十二　因为我喜欢雅淡，所以希望对方不穿浓艳及颜色不调和的衣服，我总忘不了黄莘田先生的两句诗：“颜色上伊身便好，带些黯淡大

家风。”

十三　我自己曾经享受过很舒服的衣食住行，而在抗战期内，绝口不提从前的幸福！我觉得流离痛苦是该受的。因此，我希望对方不是整天的叹气着说“从前在北平的时候呀”，“这仗打到什么时候才完呀”一类的废话。

十四 因为我喜欢旅行，所以希望对方也不以旅行为苦。

十五 因为我喜欢海，所以我希望对方也爱泅水，不怕海风。

十六 因为我喜欢山居，所以希望对方不怕山居的寂寞。

十七　因为我喜听京戏——虽然并不常去，所以希望对方不把国剧看得一钱不值。

十八　我喜欢看美人，无论是真人或图画，希望对方能够谅解。我只是赞叹而已。倘若她也和我一样，也只爱“看”美男子，我决予以鼓励。

十九 因为我自觉是个“每逢大事有静气”的汉子，（看见或摸着个把臭虫时除外，但此不是大事），所以希望对方遇有小惊小怕时，不作电影明星式的捧心高叫。

二十　我对于屋内的挂幅，选择颇严，希望对方不在案侧或床头，挂些低级趣味的裸体画，或明星照片。

二十一　我很喜欢炉中的微火和烛火，以为在柔软的光影中清谈，是最惬心的事，希望对方也能欣赏，至少不至喜欢强烈直射的灯光。

二十二　我喜欢微醺的情境；在微醉后谈话作文，都更觉有兴致。因此，我希望对方不反对人喝“一点”酒。但若甜酒——如杂果酒，喝到两杯以上，白酒五杯以上，黄酒十杯以上，亲爱的，请你阻止我！

二十三　因为我在北方长大，能吃大葱大蒜，所以希望对方虽不与我同嗜，至少也不厌恶这种气味。

二十四　因为我喜听音乐，所以希望对方不在音乐会场内，高声谈笑或睡觉。

二十五 因为我喜欢生物，所以希望对方不反对我养狗或养鸽。

二十六 ……

一个朋友把我叫住了，说：“你曾笑你那位死去的朋友，提出了二十六个择偶的条件，如今你竟快要打破他的纪录了。”我说我的条件实和他的不同，都是就我已有的本钱来讨代价，并不曾作过分的要求，纵不能抛玉引玉，也还是抛砖引砖，条件再多些谅也无妨。而且我注意的只是嗜好与习惯上的小节，至于她的容貌性情以及经济生产能力等等，我都可以随遇而安，不加苛求的。另一个朋友说，“嗜好习惯太相同了，反无互相吸引之力，生活在一起没有兴趣。而且像你这样的斤斤于小节，只有让你自己再变成为一个女人，来配你自己吧。”天哪，假如我真是个女人，恐怕早已结婚，而且是已有了两三个孩子了！

3 MY MOTHER

Whenever I talk about women, the first image that emerges in my mind is that of my mother, because she was the first woman in my life to feel disappointed in me.

My two brothers born before me both died only a few days after birth. A fortune-teller told my mother, "My dear lady, you are fated to blossom before bearing fruit. It is best that you have a girl first, for she will serve as a shield to your sons coming later." For this reason, while carrying me, she always kept cherishing the hope that I would be a girl. She preferred her first baby to be a girl because a daughter would be more helpful to her in looking after the younger ones and would share her cares and worries tenderly and considerately. Contrary to her wishes, however, I was born a boy. Amidst the jubilance of the whole family, Mother kept lying glumly in bed. My grandfather said to one of my aunts, "There's something queer with your sister-in-law. Fancy her feeling unhappy after giving birth to a boy!"

After all, a mother can be nothing but a mother. She did love me without falling short in anything, except that she often murmured to me, "You are my son and also my daughter, and you should have what is good in a daughter." Three days after my birth, my grandfather asked a fortune-teller to predict my future according to Eight Characters[1]. The fortune-teller affirmed categorically that my fate must be that of a girl and went on with a sign: "What a pity it's a girl. Otherwise the baby would certainly become a member of the Imperial Academy." Since then, Mother often made fun of me: "Now that you are a boy, you must really become a member of the Imperial Academy." Luckily I was born in a new era when the old Imperial Examination System had long been abolished; were it not so, could I have had any certainty of passing this examination with flying colors and thus bringing honor to my ancestors, given the poverty of my talent?

After me, three younger brothers were born in succession, which brought Mother even greater disappointment. All three survived. Whenever she complained of the fortune-teller's failure, we used to say jokingly that we were "figs," that is, fruits borne in abundance without having blossomed.

The second thing that disappointed my mother in my case was my consistent refusal to marry. Up to her death, she had been satisfied with me in everything, except for the fact that I hadn't married a woman not only virtuous and talented but also beautiful enough to be her daughter-in-law.In this matter, I actually felt even more anxious than her, only I had no luck and could do nothing about it. This being the case, I had to boost with all my might how good it would be for my younger brothers to get married ahead of me, and I began to help them by introducing lady "friends" to them in order that they might have the chance. As a result, my second younger brother married at the age of twenty-one, upon graduating from the university. Thus Mother was able to enjoy the presence of a gentle and virtuous woman as her daughter-in-law, and before long she acquired a granddaughter. In this way, she departed quite satisfied from the world.

Now, all my three younger brothers are married and each one seems to enjoy a rather happy family life. Their wives all treat me, their oldest brother-in-law, with great respect and solicitude. Only my second younger brother's wife often says to me jokingly, "My dear brother-in-law, you know my husband and I are assuming the role of accepting your burden. You see, having as many as five daughters in these times of war, what else can we do with so much turmoil and chaos and so high a cost of living? You ought to take charge of one or two of them." While speaking in this way, she tenderly fondles the little heads of her daughters, whose hair is as black as crow's plumage. How would she really be willing to part with them for me to bring them up? At the moment when the five girls run to my knees and raise their little heads all at once, the dazzling splendor of their faces gathering together reminds me of a cluster of red roses brilliant with early morning dew.

Ten whole years have passed since Mother died. Last year Father also passed away. Leading a wandering life here and there, I am still a single man. My younger brothers' homes are also mine. There I can find joyful smiles, tender feelings and someone to take care of my daily life, to sew clothes and darn socks for me. Whenever I go out and return, I usually bring back some candy purchased in shops, because I am sure to be awaited by a few little heads leaning out of the railing. Last year, just on my arrival in Chongqing, I had an attack of the unavoidable flu. As a consequence, my head ached so badly that I couldn't even open my eyes for seven or eight days. I forgot everything. One morning, I received an airmail parcel. It contained smaller

parcels which, having been sent from different places by several children, had been put together in Hong Kong. On the parcel, there was a card written as follows: "Dear Uncle, we haven't received letters from you for some time. Maybe you forgot us at Christmas. But we didn't forget you!" At once, my headache went away, and in front of my bed, a Christmas tree seemed to rise in the dark, ablaze with candlelight!

Let me return to my mother. It is natural that at least seventy percent of all sons believe their own mother to be the best one in the world. For my part, I think that my own mother was the *very* best among the best mothers in the world. Not only do I think so, but also many of my friends say so. She was not only my mother, but also my bosom friend. I dared to say to her much of what I could not dare to say to my father or even to my friends. Open-minded, she was consistently and impartially accepting of everything proper to modern times. She loved the "family" ardently in the belief that a perfect family is the source of all happiness and strength. She hoped that I would soon marry because she wanted to see me settle down as soon as possible, both physically and mentally, in the warmth and happiness of a family. But, oh, my dearest mother, I have lost nothing proper to "family," except for the fact that up to now I still remain "unmarried"!

Ours was really a quiet, warm and happy family. Father was fond of growing flowers and keeping dogs, whereas Mother used to read or sew whenever she wasn't busy managing household affairs, and she did all of these things in so quiet a way that no sound was heard at all. For this reason, our schoolmates would lower their own voices as soon as they came to our home. But my mother used to do everything she could to encourage us to play games and practice sports. In the yard outside our house, there was always sports equipment such as a swing set or bars.

We learned the martial arts and music (and, unlike me, all my brothers did very well in these areas). Mother always received Father's friends as well as our own with great pleasure. All of them had a good time playing and eating whenever they came, and always went home with great satisfaction. Someone, however, went away with tears, either because the memory of his late mother came to mind, or because his own mother did not have such affectionate ties with him.

My father was the third son born into a big family. He had several sisters

and brothers, most of them far from brilliant, so that their children's education fell on my father's shoulders. In this respect, Mother did all she could to lend Father a hand. While Father bore the financial expenses for this purpose, Mother contributed all of her energies. Often seven or eight children lived together in our house, and the number would be even larger on holidays. Despite her poor health, Mother managed to cope with all this and make things go the proper way. No matter how busy she was and how jumbled things were, her smile never disappeared from the corners of her mouth. I will never forget how an elder cousin of mine, an armyman, fainted at the bedside of my mother on the night she died!

Mother had keen insight into the human personality. She needed no more than a glance to make out a person's character. This ability allowed her to be extremely helpful to my father and all of us in choosing friends. She had, moreover, excellent taste, and whatever she took in hand would become new, original and elegant, be it house furnishings, garden and pavilion arrangements, or the choice of color and fashion in our clothing. I still remember one day when one of my cousins, before attending a tea party, came to our home dressed and made up gorgeously. My mother observed her carefully and smiled: "My dear Yuanyuan, you are dressed and made up in a way too much like that of the other girls. By using red lipstick and red enamel just as they do, are you doing anything more than working against your own desire by letting yourself be overlooked? Keep in mind that ‘Among thousands of red lotus flowers the single white one is the best appreciated.'" All of us burst out into laughter and agreed with Mother. My cousin began at once to wash out her makeup at my mother's dressing table and change her clothes. Later on, we heard that she was appreciated as the most beautiful girl at the tea party.

Mother had also a very keen interest in politics. Thirty years ago, her three brothers were members of Tong Meng Hui[2]. My mother was usually in charge of passing over information for them as well as sending and receiving their mail under her own name. I still remember that snowy night when I was only eight years old and helped Mother roll dozens of copies of the pamphlet, *Heaven's Condemnations*. I put them one by one in tube-shaped cardboard boxes for dried meat, and sealed them one by one with red paper, before sending them in the mail. In a short time, letters from different places told us, "The dried meat has been received. After all, nothing can be more delicious

than homemade food." "They mean those pamphlets, don't they?..." I asked. Mother pinched me softly and said to me in a whisper, "Don't tell anybody."

We were staying in a hotel at the foreign Concessions in Shanghai when the 1911 Revolution broke out. It fell then to my lot to await the arrival of the newspapers at the door every early morning, and Mother would explain to us what she had read in them. She even sold the only jewelry still left for money, which was donated to the revolutionary army. I was at that time ten years old. I also contributed all the ten yuan I had saved from the money received from grown-ups as New Year gifts. I went to the office of the newspaper *Shen Bao*[3] by myself and handed in the money. I was careful and kept the two receipts given to me in return, but they were lost after the breakout of the War of Resistance against Japan.

Mother became interested in the May Fourth Movement of 1919 soon after it began. She read books and newspapers, refusing to allow herself to be left behind the times. She didn't oppose freedom in choosing one's spouse, but nonetheless highly valued constancy in love. When a girl schoolmate of mine eloped, her mother came to our home in tears and told us about what had happened. My father showed great indignation, but my mother remained silent. After the visitor was gone, she remarked, "Elopement isn't as serious as it seems. The wedding ceremony means very little. What counts is constancy in love."

And so on and so forth. Everything she said and did became a sort of compass for her sons. She never said anything directly about the way my brothers should choose their wives. All she said was: "I'll love whomever you love." But we already had been so definitely nurtured in our character and taste that it would have been impossible for us to love anybody or anything that Mother didn't love.

Ten years have passed since Mother's death. Were she still alive in these years of the War, I wonder what she would be doing, but I imagine that, in this situation, I would at least be able to catch sight of her everlasting smiling face, her graceful bearing and calm look. She still would roll the timid and weak heart of each of her sons with the same hands she had once used to roll the copies of *Heaven's Condemnations*!

She was a typical good wife and mother. She believed a good wife and

mother should be the guardian of her husband and her children. Such was her opinion when she explained to us what this expression meant.

I agree with all the propositions of the Women's Movement, but the slogan, "Down with good wives and mothers!" sounds and looks somewhat harsh to my ears and eyes. Of course, "wife" and "mother" mean different things in the minds of different people, and everyone understands this. But I hope that those who are wanted "no more" should only be those pathetic creatures resigned to being weak and dependent, rather than women like my mother.

[1] This refers to a kind of fortune telling in China based upon four pairs of characters indicating the year, month, day and hour of a person's birth, each pair consisting of one Heavenly Stem (*Tian Gan*) and one Earthly Branch (*Di Zhi*).

[2] Tong Meng Hui, the United League of China, was a revolutionary organization founded in 1905 in Tokyo by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, aimed at overthrowing the monarchy and establishing a republic of China. The Kuomintang later grew out of it.

[3]**Shen Bao** was an occasional supplement to the revolutionary Chinese Newspaper *Min Bao*, published in Tokyo in 1905.

叁 我的母亲

谈到女人，第一个涌上我的心头的，就是我的母亲，因在我的生命中，她是第一个对我失望的女人。

在我以前，我有两个哥哥，都是生下几天就夭折的，算命的对她说："太太，你的命里是要先开花后结果的，最好能先生下一个姑娘，庇护以后的少爷。"因此，在她怀我的时候，她总希望是一个女儿。她喜欢头生的是一个姑娘，会帮妈妈看顾弟妹、温柔、体贴、分担忧愁。不料生下我来，又是一个儿子。在合家欢腾之中，母亲只是默然的躺在床上。祖父同我的姑母说："三嫂真怪，生个儿子还不高兴！"

母亲究竟是母亲，她仍然是不折不扣的爱我，只是常常念道："你是儿子兼女儿的，你应当有女儿的好处才行。"我生后三天，祖父拿着我的八字去算命。算命的还一口咬定这是女孩的命，叹息着说："可惜是个女孩子，否则准作翰林。"母亲也常常拿我取笑说："如今你是一个男子，就应当真作个翰林了。"幸而我是生在科举久废的新时代，否则，以我的才具而论，哪有三元及第荣宗耀祖的把握呢？

在我底下，一连串的又来了三个弟弟，这使母亲更加失望。然而这三个弟弟倒是个个留住了。当她抱怨那个算命的不灵的时候，我们总笑着说，我们是"无花果"，不必开花而即累累结实的。

母亲对于我的第二个失望，就是我总不想娶亲。直至去世时为止，她总认为我的一切，都能使她满意，所差的就是我竟没有替她娶回一位有德有才而又有貌的媳妇。其实，关于这点，我更比她着急，只是时运不济，没有法子。在此情形之下，我只有竭力鼓励我的弟弟们先我而娶，替他们介绍"朋友"，造就机会。结果，我的二弟，在二十一岁大学刚毕业时就结了婚。母亲跟前，居然有了一个温柔贤淑的媳妇，不久又看见了一个孙女的诞生，于是她才相当满足的离开了人世。

如今我的三个弟弟都已结过婚了，他们的小家庭生活，似乎都很快乐。我的三个弟妇，对于我这老兄，也都极其关切与恭敬。只有我的二弟妇常常笑着同我说："大哥，我们做了你的替死鬼，你看在这兵荒马乱米珠薪桂的年头，我们这五个女孩子怎么办？你要代替我们养一两个才行。"她怜惜的抚摩着那些黑如鸦羽的小头。她哪里舍得给我养呢！那五个女孩子围在我的膝头，一齐抬首的时候，明艳得如同一束朝露下

的红玫瑰花。

母亲死去整整十年了。去年父亲又已逝世。我在各地飘泊，依然是个孤身汉子。弟弟们的家，就是我的家，那里有欢笑，有温情，有人照应我的起居饮食，有人给我缝衣服补袜子。我出去的时候，回来总在店里买些糖果，因为我知道在那栏杆上，有几个小头伸着望我。去年我刚到重庆，就犯了那不可避免的伤风，头痛得七八天睁不开眼，把一切都忘了。一天早晨，航空公司给我送来一个包裹，是几个小孩子寄来的，其中的小包裹是从各地方送到，在香港集中的。上面有一个卡片，写着："大伯伯，好些日子不见信了，圣诞节你也许忘了我们，但是我们没有忘了你！"我的头痛立刻好了，漆黑的床前，似乎竖起了一棵烛光辉煌的圣诞树！

回来再说我的母亲吧。自然，天下的儿子，至少有百分之七十，认为他的母亲乃是世界上最好的母亲。我则以为我的母亲，乃是世界上最好的母亲中最好的一个。不但我如此想，我的许多朋友也如此说。她不但是我的母亲，而且是我的知友。我有许多话不敢同父亲说的，敢同她说；不能对朋友提的，能对她提。她有现代的头脑，稳静公平的接受现代的一切。她热烈的爱着"家"，以为一个美好的家庭，乃是一切幸福和力量的根源。她希望我早点娶亲，目的就在愿意看见我把自己的身心，早点安置在一个温暖快乐的家庭里面。然而，我的至爱的母亲，我现在除了"尚未娶妻"之外，并没有失却了"家"之一切！

我们的家，确是一个安静温暖而又快乐的家。父亲喜欢栽花养狗；母亲则整天除了治家之外，不是看书，就是做活，静悄悄的没有一点声息。学伴们到了我们家里，自然而然的就会低下声来说话。然而她最鼓励我们运动游戏，外院里总有秋千、杠子等等设备。我们学武术，学音乐（除了我以外，弟弟们都有很好的成就）。母亲总是高高兴兴的，接待父亲和我们的朋友。朋友们来了，玩得好，吃得好，总是欢喜满足的回去。却也有人带着眼泪回家，因为他想起了自己死去的母亲，或是他的母亲，同他不曾发生什么情感的关系。

我的父亲是大家庭中的第三个儿子。他的兄弟姊妹很多，多半是不成材的，于是他们的子女的教养，就都堆在父亲的肩上。对于这些，母亲充分的帮了父亲的忙，父亲付与了一份的财力，母亲贴上了全副的精神。我们家里总有七八个孩子同住，放假的时候孩子就更多。母亲以孱弱的身体，来应付支持这一切，无论多忙多乱，微笑没有离开过她的嘴角。我永远忘不了母亲逝世的那晚，她的床侧，昏倒了我的一个身为军人的堂哥哥！

母亲又有知人之明，看到了一个人，就能知道这人的性格。故对于父亲和我们的朋友的选择，她都有极大的帮助。她又有极高的鉴赏力，无论屋内的陈设，园亭的布置，或是衣饰的颜色和式样等，经她一调动，就显得新异不俗。我记得有一位表妹，在赴茶会之前，打扮得花枝招展的，到了我们的家里；母亲把她浑身上下看了一遍，笑说："元元，你打扮得太和别人一样了。人家抹红嘴唇，你也抹红嘴唇，人家涂红指甲，你也涂红指甲，这岂非反不引起他人的注意？ 你要懂得'万朵红莲礼白莲'的道理。"我们都笑了，赞同母亲的意见。表妹立刻在母亲妆台前洗净铅华，换了衣饰出去；后来听说她是那晚茶会中，被人称为最漂亮的一个。

母亲对于政治也极关心。三十年前，我的几个舅舅，都是同盟会的会员，平常传递消息，收发信件，都由母亲出名经手。我还记得在我八岁的时候，一个大雪夜里，帮着母亲把几十本《天讨》，一卷一卷的装在肉松筒里，又用红纸条将筒口封了起来，寄了出去。不久收到各地的来信说："肉松收到了，到底是家制的，美味无穷。"我说："那些不是书吗？……"母亲轻轻的捏了我一把，附在我的耳朵上说："你不要说出去。"

辛亥革命时，我们正在上海，住在租界旅馆里。我的职务，就是天天清早在门口等报，母亲看完了报就给我们讲。她还将她所仅有的一点首饰，换成洋钱，捐款劳军。我那时才十岁，也将我所仅有的十块压岁钱捐了出去，是我自己走到申报馆去交付的。那两纸收条，我曾珍重的藏着，抗战起来以后不知丢在哪里了。

五四以后，她对新文化运动又感了兴趣。她看书看报，不让时代把她丢下。她不反对自由恋爱，但也注重爱情的专一。我的一个女同学，同人"私奔"了，当她的母亲走到我们家里"垂涕而道"的时候，父亲还很气愤，母亲却不做声。客人去后，她说："私奔也不要紧，本来仪式算不了什么，只要他们始终如一就行。"

诸如此类，她的一言一动，成了她的儿子们的南针。她对我的弟弟们的择偶，从不直接说什么话，总说："只要你们喜爱的，妈妈也就喜爱。"但是我们的性格品味已经造成了，妈妈不喜爱的，我们也决不会喜爱。

她已死去十年了。抗战期间，母亲若还健在，我不知道她将做些什么事情，但我至少还能看见她那永远微笑的面容，她那沉静温柔的态度，她将以卷《天讨》的手，卷起她的每一个儿子的畏惧懦弱的心！

她是一个典型的贤妻良母，至少母亲对于我们解释贤妻良母的时候，她以为贤妻良母，应该是丈夫和子女的匡护者。

关于妇女运动的各种标语，我都同意，只有看到或听到“打倒贤妻良母”的口号时，我总觉得有点逆耳刺眼。当然，人们心目中“妻”与“母”是不同的，观念亦因之而异。我希望她们所要打倒的，是一些怯弱依赖的软体动物，而不是像我的母亲那样的女人。

4 MY TEACHER

The second woman I will never forget was Miss T, my teacher.

In my early childhood, I lived in a remote village. I had no chance of attending primary school, and, instead, had to study at home under the guidance of a private tutor. I learned a lot about the written Chinese language and literature and also somehow got by in history and geography. I recited poetry and wrote compositions, each one containing up to one or two thousand characters. Only in arithmetic did I lag behind. No matter how hard and persistently I studied, I could never learn anything beyond addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, because my tutor's knowledge of arithmetic didn't allow me to go any further.

I went to Beijing when I was twelve, and, unexpectedly, passed the entrance examination for a middle school and gained admission. I performed so well because the only examination paper set by the principal was a composition to be written under the title, "The More One Learns, the Less Knowledgeable One Finds Oneself," and I had already written a composition under the same title while studying at home. I was able to finish the composition at one stroke, writing thousands of words in a stream, with ease and grace. The principal, amazed at my performance, allowed me to attend class with the students of the first year in junior high.

During the first two weeks of study, I found myself quite at ease in coping with all the subjects other than mathematics, and I was even sent to a higher grade for literary composition. Only mathematics largely baffled me. In the middle school, mathematics began with algebra. Since I had a very poor grounding in arithmetic, I felt that I couldn't stand my ground. I often attended mathematics class in a daze, as if I were stepping on clouds and fogs.

It was amidst these clouds and fogs that Miss T floated into my life. She was our algebra and history teacher, in her twenties at that time, I believe. The idioms "cicada-like beautiful face and moth-like delicate eyebrows"[1] and "neatly lined teeth like pearl-white shells strung together"[2] applied

perfectly to her countenance. A native of the North, she had white, soft skin and a very slender figure. She was also prone to blush. Whenever embarrassed or angry, she would blush immediately and completely. In fact, as her student, what I was most afraid of was her blush.

Of course, I wasn't the only student who loved and respected her, for she was the most beautiful, mild and adept of all the teachers at our school. She was serious but amiable. She explained the lessons in very simple and clear terms. She was so good at using fascinating metaphors that we often found it easy to retain the most basic principles.

In the first monthly examination, I earned 99 marks in history, but in algebra I only earned 52 and thus failed! While I cried alone in a corner after class, I felt a warm hand patting me on the shoulder. I raised my head and saw Miss T standing by my side with the textbook under her arm. I hastened to wipe away my tears and stood up. "Why are you weeping?" she asked gently, "Is it because I gave you the wrong marks?" "Not at all," I replied, "I'm just angry with myself for my inadequate preparation in mathematics. Out of ten exam questions, I only understood one half." She sat down mildly and began to ask me about my past. When I told her I only had been educated at home without attending school, she said earnestly to me, "You aren't to be blamed. By missing school, you have skipped over a large part of your education. I find that you are rather intelligent, so that it won't be difficult for us to make up what you missed. From now on, go home a bit later every day, and I will give you supplementary arithmetic lessons."

Her offer was indeed a special favor to me, since I was in danger of being excluded from class due to having failed to learn arithmetic. Besides, in view of her busy life, she was particularly kind to set aside an hour for me every day. I accepted her offer at once and thanked her repeatedly. When I told Mother at home what had happened, she felt all the more thankful to Miss T and asked me for more details about her. She had found Miss T a very good teacher.

From then on, I would go to her office every day after class to have a supplementary arithmetic lesson. In half a year, I succeeded in finishing the lessons in the arithmetic text that was used for the last three years of primary school. Whenever talking to anybody, Miss T spoke highly of my intelligence and rapid progress. What she didn't know was how hard I had to work every

day, far into the night, and also how much I cried whenever I found myself desperate in the face of complicated and difficult questions. Under my lamplight, through the blur of my tears, I could dimly see Miss T's beautiful and sympathetic face. Then, as if I had received inspiration from what I observed, I wiped away my tears and continued studying.

During that period, I lived in my mother's inner room. In the winter, I sat cross-legged at the small table on the *kang*[3], while reading and doing exercises in arithmetic. Late at night, Mother would order candied haws on a stick or radishes with a pear-like flavor to be sent to me as a midnight snack. Even now, whenever I see children doing arithmetic, I imagine myself looking at Miss T's smiling face, my feet warm on a brick bed, and my mouth full of the fresh and sweet flavor of radish!

Once the supplementary arithmetic lessons had been completed, all the difficult problems could easily be solved. Algebra and geometry scarcely required any effort. Much admired, I became the center of attention among my classmates. Whenever they had any difficult questions, they would come and ask me for help. Because of what Miss T had done for me, I really became absorbed in mathematics, so much so that I could solve a good many difficult problems in dreams after racking my brains at night.

After the lessons were over, it occurred to Mother that we ought to express our gratitude to Miss T. She went to the Fu Long Department Store, bought a piece of high-quality dress material and told me to take it to Miss T as a gift. But Miss T returned the gift and told my Mother, "I'm not used to giving my students extra lessons. I cannot accept any reward. I helped your son because I found him strong in all subjects except mathematics. It would have been unjust to have had him go down to the lower grade. I feel very happy that he hasn't fallen ill while having to speed up his studies." Mother found it inconvenient to insist and had to give up.

One day, in the *Dong An Market*, I saw Miss T shopping. Attracted by a red hollowed-out radish with a fresh wheat sprout inside, she continually praised its wonderful and delicate workmanship as well as its gay colors. But she was already carrying too many things in her hands to be able to take the radish home, and had to give it up reluctantly. When she was gone, I hastened to buy it without bargaining, and took it home. On the next morning, with my heart thumping, I carried the radish to her office and knocked at the door.

Although she was about to leave for class, she offered me a winsome smile when she opened the door and saw me holding my gift. She took it over immediately, hung it on her lamp and said to me, "Thank you for being so thoughtful." I came out blushing and went back to my classroom, hopping along and singing unwittingly. For the whole day, I felt rather complacent with self-satisfaction.

During the supplementary lessons for arithmetic, I used to sit opposite her, face to face. While I was solving my arithmetic problems, she was correcting homework papers, with her head bowed down. Whenever I raised my eyes with thoughts fixed on figures, I often noticed her cloud-like hair, her snow-white neck and long, lowered eyelashes. I also observed the gray cotton blouse and black skirt that she wore naturally and perfectly. Her lovely appearance aroused my deep admiration and affection. Sometimes, when my shy glances met her eyes, her smile revealed smooth white teeth. I blushed and bowed my head, feeling utterly confused for a while, unable to tell whether I was happy or sad.

Nobody, from the principal to all of us students, would like to hear about anybody proposing marriage to Miss T, because the principal was unwilling to lose a good colleague, and we, for our part, were unwilling to lose a good teacher. In addition, we could not sincerely believe that any man in the world deserved to be Miss T's husband. Nevertheless, at any given time, more than ten men were proposing marriage to her. Among them were our teachers and a few men outside the school. We treated all the men who courted her with the same kind of sneer and disdain. We dared not do anything to offend our teachers, but we secretly gave them various nicknames, such as "toad" or "super-toad."[4] Toward the outsiders, however, we behaved more boldly. Whenever we saw them sitting in the reception room or pacing up and down at the school gate, we would often cough loudly or throw behind them very tiny stones, and as soon as they turned around to see what was happening, we, in threes and fours, would burst into laughter and then pass by, upright and unafraid.

For her part, Miss T always behaved in a poised and dignified way to her wooers. Whenever courted by a man she quite disliked, she would put a red cross on his love letter and send it back to him. If she didn't dislike the man so much, her response was also far from positive and suggested a lack of

interest in marriage. A very kind-hearted daughter, she lived with her father and took care of him, for she had no brothers. After school, she could often be seen taking the old man for a walk outside—her pretty young face and his white hair made a fine contrast.

Here I must relate a very funny incident, which was, however, by no means funny at the time. We were studying "The Song of Solomon" in our Bible class. I wrote on the reverse side of my English exercise book some verses imitating the style of the Song in praise of Miss T. I wrote page by page and then compiled what I had written, arriving at over ten pages of poetry. I dared not show my poetry to others, nor could I be hardhearted enough to destroy it. During that period, we used to have our books covered with thick kraft paper, and so I folded those dozen pages of verse and hid them between two book covers. But one day, they were discovered by a classmate of mine, who read them aloud in front of everybody. My classmates laughed at me, believing that I had fallen in love with a student at the girls' school next door. Unable to tell the truth, I could only blush, snatch the sheets from his hands and tear them up at once. From then on, I dared write nothing like that any more. I was fifteen that year.

In the year I graduated from middle school, Miss T left, too, going elsewhere for another job. Still, we had chances to meet frequently. Whenever she saw me, she said something to encourage and comfort me, and sometimes asked me for help, such as in translating some short texts. I paid great attention to whatever she asked me to do, and did it without delay, even if such assistance might hold up my studies at the university.

Devoting herself to her very meaningful and magnificent career, she remained unmarried for her entire life. Six years ago, she died of dental disease in Shanghai. Tens of thousands of people were present to mourn her passing away. I received the grievous news while traveling by train from Boston to New York. Maple trees in a vast forest, with their once fresh red leaves, scuttled by and vanished outside the train window. All of a sudden, I began to cry for the first time since the death of my mother.

[1] This phrase comes from the "Wei Ballads" (*Wei Feng*) in the *Book of Songs* (*Shi Jing*), the most ancient collection of Chinese poems dating from the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.). These metaphors, which sound somewhat bizarre nowadays, were used in ancient China to describe the beauty of women.

[2] This expression is from the section "Biography of Dongfang Shuo" in the *Chronicles of the Han*

Dynasty **(***Han Shu***).**

[3]*Kang* is a kind of bed widely used in the Northern Chinese countryside. Hollow inside and often connected to the kitchen, it is heatable in winter by burning straw or coal.

[4] This phrase is from the Chinese idiomatic expression, "a toad lusting after a swan's flesh," which refers to those who long for something that they do not deserve.

肆 我的教师

第二个女人，我永远忘不掉的，是 T 女士，我的教师。

我从小住在偏僻的乡村里，没有机会进小学，所以只在家塾里读书，国文读得很多，历史地理也还将就得过，吟诗作文都学会了，且还能写一两千字的文章。只是算术很落后，翻来覆去，只做到加减乘除，因为塾师自己的算学程度，也只到此为止。

十二岁到了北平，我居然考上了一个中学，因为考试的时候，校长只出一个“学然后知不足”的论说题目。这题目是我在家塾里做过的，当时下笔千言，一挥而就，校长先生大为惊奇赞赏，一下子便让我和中学一年生同班上课。上课两星期以后，别的功课我都能应付裕如，作文还升了一班，只是算术把我难坏了。中学的算术是从代数做起的，我的算学底子太坏，脚跟站不牢，昏头眩脑，踏着云雾似的上课，T 女士便在这云雾之中，飘进了我的生命中来。

她是我们的代数和历史教员，那时也不过二十多岁吧。“螓首蛾眉，齿如编贝”这八个字，就恰恰的可以形容她。她是北方人，皮肤很白嫩，身材很窈窕，又很容易红脸，难为情或是生气，就立刻连耳带颈都红了起来，我最怕的是她红脸的时候。

同学中敬爱她的，当然不止我一人，因为她是我们的女教师中间最美丽、最和平、最善诱的一位。她的态度，严肃而又和蔼，讲述时简单而又清晰。她善用譬喻；我们每每因着譬喻的有趣，而连带的牢记了原理。

第一个月考，我的历史得九十九分，而代数却只得了五十二分，不及格！当我下堂自己躲在屋角流泪的时候，觉得有只温暖的手，抚着我的肩膀，抬头却见 T 女士挟着课本，站在我的身旁。我赶紧擦了眼泪，站了起来。她温和的问我道：“你为什么哭？难道是我的分数打错了？”我说：“不是的，我是气我自己的数学底子太差。你出的十道题目，我只明白一半。”她就软款温柔的坐下，仔细问我的过去。知道了我的家塾教育以后，她就恳切的对我说：“这不能怪你。你中间跳过了一大段！我看你还聪明：补习一定不难，以后你每天晚一点回家，我替你补习算术吧。”

这当然是她对我格外的爱护，因为算术不曾学过的，很有退班的可能；而且她很忙，每天匀出一个钟头给我，是额外的恩惠。我当时连忙答允，又再三的道谢。回家去同母亲一说，母亲尤其感激，又仔细的询问 T 女士的一切，她觉得 T 女士是一位很好的教师。

从此我每天下课后，就到她的办公室，补习一个钟头的算术，把高小三年的课本，在半年以内赶完了。T 女士逢人便称道我的神速聪明。但她不知道我每天回家以后，用功直到半夜，因着习题的烦难，我曾流过许多焦急的眼泪，在泪眼模糊之中，灯影下往往涌现着 T 女士美丽慈和的脸，我就仿佛得了灵感似的，擦去眼泪，又赶紧往下做。那时我住在母亲的套间里，冬天的夜里，烧热了砖炕，点起一盏煤油灯，盘着两腿坐在炕桌边上，读书习算。到了夜深，母亲往往叫人送冰糖葫芦，或是赛梨的萝卜，来给我消夜。直到现在，每逢看见孩子做算术，我就会看见 T 女士的笑脸，脚下觉得热烘烘的，嘴里也充满了萝卜的清甜气味！

算术补习完毕，一切难题，迎刃而解，代数同几何，我全是不费功夫的做着；我成了同学们崇拜的中心，有什么难题，他们都来请教我。因着 T 女士的关系，我对于算学真是心神贯注，竟有几个困难的习题，是在夜中苦想，梦里做出来的。我补完算术以后，母亲觉得对于 T 女士应有一点表示，她自己跑到福隆公司，买了一件很贵重的衣料，叫我送去。T 女士却把礼物退了回来，她对我母亲说："我不是常替学生补习的，我不能要报酬。我因为觉得令郎别样功课都很好，只有算学差些，退一班未免太委屈他。他这样的赶，没有赶出毛病来，我已经是很高兴的了。"母亲不敢勉强她，只得作罢。有一天我在东安市场，碰见 T 女士也在那里买东西。看见摊上挂着的挖空的红萝卜里面种着新麦秧，她不住的夸赞那东西的巧雅，颜色的鲜明，可是因为手里东西太多，不能再拿，割爱了。等她走后，我不曾还价，赶紧买了一只萝卜，挑在手里回家。第二天一早又挑着那只红萝卜，按着狂跳的心，到她办公室去叩门。她正预备上课，开门看见了我和我的礼物，不觉嫣然的笑了，立刻接了过去，挂在灯上，一面说："谢谢你，你真是细心。"我红着脸出来，三步两跳跑到课室里，嘴里不自觉的唱着歌，那一整天我颇觉得有些飘飘然之感。

因着补习算术，我和她对面坐的时候很多，我做着算题，她也低头改卷子。在我抬头凝思的时候，往往注意到她的如云的头发，雪白的脖子，很长的低垂的睫毛，和穿在她身上稳称大方的灰布衫、青裙子，心里渐渐生了说不出的敬慕和爱恋。在我偷看她的时候，有时她的眼光正

和我的相值，出神的露着润白的牙齿向我一笑，我就要红起脸，低下头，心里乱半天，又喜欢，又难过，自己莫名其妙。

从校长到同学，没有一个愿意听到有人向 T 女士求婚的消息。校长固不愿意失去一位好同事，我们也不愿意失去一位好教师，同时我们还有一种私意，以为世界上根本就没有一个男子，配作 T 女士的丈夫，然而向 T 女士求婚的男子，那时总在十个以上，有的是我们的男教师，有的是校外的人士。我们对于 T 女士的追求者，一律的取一种讥笑鄙夷的态度。对于男教师们，我们不敢怎么样，只在背地里替他们起上种种的绰号，如“癞蛤蟆”、“双料癞蛤蟆”之类。对于校外的人士，我们的胆子就大一些，看见他们坐在会议室里或是在校门口徘徊，我们总是大声咳嗽，或是从他们背后投些很小的石子，他们回头看时，我们就三五成群的哄哄笑着，昂然走过。

T 女士自己对于追求者的态度，总是很庄重很大方。对于讨厌一点的人，就在他们的情书上，打红叉子退了回去。对于不大讨厌的，她也不取积极的态度，仿佛对于婚姻问题不感着兴趣。她很孝，因为没有弟兄，她便和她的父亲守在一起，下课后常常看见她扶着老人，出来散步，白发红颜，相映如画。

在这里，我要供招一件很可笑的事实，虽然在当时并不可笑。那时我们在圣经班里，正读着“所罗门雅歌”，我便模仿雅歌的格调，写了些赞美 T 女士的句子，在英文练习簿的后面，一页一页的写下叠起。积了有十几篇，既不敢给人看，又不忍毁去。那时我们都用很厚的牛皮纸包书面，我便把这十几篇尊贵的作品，折存在两层书皮之间。有一天被一位同学翻了出来，当众诵读，大家都以为我是对于隔壁女校的女生，发生了恋爱，大家哄笑。我又不便说出实话，只好涨红着脸，赶过去抢来撕掉。从此连雅歌也不敢写了，那年我是十五岁。

我从中学毕业的那一年，T 女士也离开了那学校，到别地方作事去了，但我们仍常有见面的机会。每次看见我，她总有勉励安慰的话，也常有些事要我帮忙，如翻译些短篇文字之类，我总是谨慎将事，宁可将大学里功课挪后，不肯耽误她的事情。

她做着很好的事业，很大的事业，至死未结婚。六年以前，以牙疾死于上海，追悼哀殓她的，有几万人。我是在从波士顿到纽约的火车上，得到了这个消息，车窗外飞掠过去的一大片的枫林秋叶，尽消失了艳红的颜色，我忽然流下泪来，这是母亲死后第一次的流泪。

5 MY BROTHER'S WIFE WHO CALLS ME “OLD MAN”

The third woman that I am writing about should have been my wet nurse. I was preparing to write when a letter from the distinguished editor arrived, asking me to discuss "my younger brother's wife." This was all right, of course. But as I have three younger brothers' wives, all of them worthy and fine, which one should I write about? So let me say a little about each one, lest they should suspect that I am partial!

More than once I said to my father, "If other families are lucky on account of the sons, ours is lucky on account of the daughters-in-law. How delighted one feels to have our three young ladies in view!" Smiling, my father asked me in reply, "And you? Why then haven't you, too, found me one more daughter-in-law who is equally delightful?" Then all of my brothers and their wives looked at me and smiled. "I don't follow," I said, "I am as good as my brothers in any way. But only God knows why I haven't been able to find myself a wife after living in this world for such a long time." And my brothers smiled, a bit self-conceited, and said, "Only a Chinese parasol tree can be good enough to attract a phoenix to come and dwell on it. You haven't been able to attract a phoenix just because you aren't a tree of this kind!" Since that might very well be true, I had to endure their mockery in silence.

One of these conversations occurred in June 1937. At that time, my second younger brother, newly-married, had just come to Beijing with his wife to visit my parents. On that occasion, since everybody was present, he suggested that a photo be taken of the whole family in happy reunion. However, I sternly rejected his proposal, for in no way could I bear so many complacent expressions, and still less could I bear to find myself in the photo unaccompanied by a wife. Thus the matter had to be dropped. Now, in retrospect, I deeply regret my noncompliance, because, less than a month later, the Lugou Bridge Incident[1] broke out and all of us scattered far and wide. Since then, Father passed away and my brothers and I have come to live far apart from one another. "Brethren scattered here and there by the

storms; / Far apart and alone, I can only let my tears flow down."[2] I don't even have a single copy of their group photo!

My first younger brother's wife is also my cousin, daughter of my mother's brother and the sixth child of our extended family,[3] only one month younger than my brother. I have witnessed both of them grow up as innocent playmates. They must recall a great many sweet and innocent stories. If only they were willing to tell me some of these stories, I'm sure that I would be able to write a good novel. When I suggested that they do so, they replied jokingly, "We won't tell anything to you, of all people, for everything will come out altered by your pen. We don't want to form the basis for your literary productions!"

At their parents' insistence, they were engaged at the age of seven or eight. After their engagement, the fiancée's mother thought that as long as they remained unmarried, they ought to be able to get along with one another in a discreet way that would avoid arousing gossip, and thus they rarely met. Nevertheless, my home was located next door to the fiancée's, and members of both families saw one another every day when going out or coming home. Nor could meeting be avoided whenever family dinner parties were held to celebrate festivals. I noticed how the young lovers exchanged glances and smiled furtively. In private, however, I made fun of my brother and I didn't say a word about my observations in the presence of the grown-ups, lest the fiancée's mother should intervene and spoil the amusement.

During one of those years, my brother was studying in Tangshan while his fiancée was studying in Tianjin. On a spring morning, I received an unexpected letter, "To Mr. Gentleman, personally." It was from my brother. I opened it in haste and read: "My dear brother, I want to correspond with her...and I have sent her three letters without receiving any reply. Please be so kind as to mediate between us. I cannot thank you enough." I smiled and realized that spring was coming to the hearts of these two fifteen-year-olds! The first thing that I did was to show the letter to my Mother. She smiled but said nothing.

I was aware that the key person was, after all, my aunt, the girl's mother. Then I went to pay her a visit. After the exchange of conventional greetings, I told her in a seemingly casual manner that my younger brother often suffered from loneliness in school, and that all of us wrote to him on many occasions,

feeling sorry that he had to live so far away from home at such an early age, and that, hopefully, my aunt and her daughter would write to him frequently as well, giving him comfort and encouragement. She prepared to speak, after a moment's hesitation. I hastened to add, "My mother has already agreed. Our own time is quite unlike the past. If you hope to find these two young people as an affectionate couple in the future, they must be allowed to exchange ideas and feelings today as much as possible. They both know what ought to be done and have a good sense of propriety, and I can guarantee that everything will work out." She thought for a while and replied with a pleasant sigh, "Who would have thought it! All right! Anyway, you are the eldest brother and you have assumed responsibility." I myself didn't know what my responsibility was, but, after all, I had succeeded in completing my mission. I told Mother about the result of my talk with my aunt, and, at the same time, wrote letters to my brother and his fiancée, telling them: "Now please correspond. All obstacles have been removed. Don't bother me any more unless you have new troubles!"

When they were twenty-one, I returned from abroad. My brother, who already had graduated from the university, held a very good job and was an accomplished violinist. Having grown up to be tall and handsome, he contrasted sharply with me in appearance, and made me feel like an old man lacking in youthful vigor. His fiancée had also grown a great deal and was very much a young lady. At the family dinner party that was given to welcome me home, both of them were present and spoke cheerfully. Guests did not begin to leave until late at night. I sat with my parents, and we began to chat warmly. They told me that the two youngsters were becoming more and more affectionate. Although they still maintained a certain distance instead of becoming inseparable like lovers in the West, they nonetheless showed consideration and support for each other. Whenever Mother was ill, the girl came to our home to help my brother take care of her. I learned that she even helped Mother with some household chores.

At this point in the conversation, Mother asked, "By the way, how about your marriage? Your father will be sixty this December. I have always hoped that you would come home with a wife so that she might host the party on my behalf. But I have heard nothing about this possibility. Your first younger brother is going abroad next summer, and the other two are still too young to marry. When can I become a mother-in-law?" After a moment's silence, I

replied while smiling, "Impatience is inappropriate in such matters. However, it will be easy for you to become a mother-in-law. Your second son, my first younger brother, is likely to marry before going abroad. I noticed just now how his fiancée was conducting herself here in our home. She is in every way a capable little housewife, and she is already twenty-one, which is not too young. But I will have to convince her mother." As if this idea had never occurred to her before, Mother turned around and said to Father in a pleasant way, "That might be a solution as well."

The next day, I told my brother about this exchange. He just smiled without raising any objections. A few days later, I talked to my aunt. "For my part," she said, "I don't mind that at all. But my daughter needs one more year to finish her studies at the university. So you should ask her whether or not she agrees." I went to see the girl as a consequence. She was knitting in the corridor when I arrived. On seeing me, she drew up a stool and asked me to sit down. Then I began: "My dear cousin, there is something that I want to discuss with you, and I would like to ask you to do me a favor, please."

She gazed at me with wide eyes, and I went on, "On the occasion of my father's birthday this year, my mother would like to have someone host the dinner party on her behalf, and so she wants me to marry. Tell me, should I obey or not?" She stood up joyfully. "You? Marry? In such a matter, you should obey, of course. When will the wedding ceremony be held? Who is the bride-to-be? What can I do to help you?" Then I burst into laughter: "Now the major premise has been established—‘In such a matter, you should obey,' just as you said. But I don't know when I will be able to marry, because there is still nobody I can marry. So I have passed the responsibility onto my brother, and now I ask you to help him."

In a flash, she realized what I meant. She blushed, turned around and tried to go away, saying, "You are always joking!" I stopped her and said seriously, "I'm not joking with you. My idea, which has been agreed upon by my mother, your mother and my brother, depends on your opinion alone." She paused, and assuming a serious expression, remarked, "Isn't it true that your brother is going abroad next year?" "We have already discussed this matter as well," I replied, "Since he is going abroad and I won't always be at home, my mother will need a capable person to help her manage things. We expect you to accommodate yourself to such an inconvenient situation."

She lowered her head and thought for a while, and once again slowly smiled. I understood that I had succeeded this time, too, and said, "All right, I will make all the preparations for this wedding. You only have to prepare to be the bride!" She uttered a "Bah!" and went into the house. At that moment, her mother came out and said pleasantly, "Although you soon may be her brother-in-law, you are too fond of joking. There are only three or four months left. We can do very little at our age to prepare for the ceremony. We will rely on you for everything."

Snow fell heavily on the morning of Father's birthday. I returned home to the city in haste from the western suburbs. That day my brother and his fiancée were married in a hall of the Western Returned Scholars Association. At the ceremony, the bride dazzled everybody with her bright beauty, reminiscent of the full moon in mid-autumn! When the wedding banquet was over, our noisy crowd made its way to our home where another banquet, the birthday dinner, was offered. When the felicitations were over, most of the elderly people went away. There remained only a group of the groom's friends, who insisted on staging horseplay in the bridal chamber.[4] My parents seemed unable to stop them. My two other younger brothers even preferred to watch the fun. Everyone else rushed in all at once.

For my part, I felt rather tired and went back to my rooms on the east side of the house to relax and smoke for a while. I used to rest there for a quiet weekend in three rooms, which were fairly clean and tidy. All the articles of furniture, including the beds and chairs, were made of rattan or bamboo. The racks contained two pots of *Calycanthaceae* flowers,[5] while the desk displayed some narcissus. A warm, sweet smell greeted me upon my arrival as I raised the curtain suspended from the door. After sitting idly for a short period, I picked up a book and began to read. After traveling in the mind through once-familiar but now extremely remote places, I suddenly raised my head and looked at the clock. It was half past twelve already, but the hubbub of voices could still be heard from the bridal chamber on the south side of the house.

I went over there and found that the horseplay had reached its climax. The bride had done everything she had been expected to do to enhance the scene, but her excited companions were not yet satisfied. They refused to leave the chamber unless the bride smiled, as a sign that everyone could

depart. But the bride, either tired or annoyed, pulled a long face and refused to comply. In the ensuing deadlock, the bridegroom did not know what to say and could only glance about while adopting a cheerful expression.

I quickly took up a pencil, wrote a brief note and asked the bridesmaid to hand it over to the bride, without creating a stir. I wrote: "Dear sister-in-law, please look cheerful. This sign will offer these little bandits a way out, so that I can drive them into my lodgings." Amidst the pandemonium, she received the note and read it, nodded to me through the crowd and began to smile. Everybody burst into laughter and felt satisfied. I seized the opportunity and made everybody enter my study. That night, the horde of "little bandits" stayed inside, drinking, singing, eating and playing cards until daybreak. As a consequence, my study became messier than it had ever been before.

In a few days, once the bride "usurped" all the household chores, great and small, my mother was in a position to fold her arms and "govern by doing nothing,"[6] while displaying a broad grin typical of a mother-in-law. Every weekend, when I came back from the western suburbs, I was greeted by the young housewife with all the signs of hospitality, as if I were a guest. By now, her place in the family was so natural and appropriate that it seemed as if she had been with us ever since creation and the beginning of time. During the following summer, my newly-married younger brother went abroad. My other two younger brothers and I, all busy teaching or studying, were unable to remain with our parents on a regular basis. In this unstable time, she was my parents' only companion, a comfort to them from morning to night.

Ten years and more have passed, and now she is a mother of five. Nevertheless, she is still more than willing to joke with me. For example, in this new period, she calls me "old man" instead of "elder brother-in-law."

[1] This incident occurred near the Lugou Bridge to the south of Beijing on July 7, 1937, when the Japanese invaders were conducting their campaign of annexation, and marked an official outbreak of their war against China.

[2] These lines are from an ancient Chinese poem.

[3] Children in China are numbered according to the dates of their birth, usually in what Westerners call a nuclear family, but sometimes in an extended one when children of brothers and sisters are all taken into account, and cousins call one another brothers and sisters.

[4] This refers to a customary practice, very popular in China, where the guests invited to a wedding

ceremony happily gather in the bridal chamber, chat excitedly and have fun with the newlyweds to enhance the joyful atmosphere of the occasion.

[5] This is a plant of the plum family, whose flowers have a wax-like appearance.

[6] This is one of the major principles of Laozi's (c. 571-c. 471 B.C.) political doctrine, which consists in avoiding government control in society, something similar to Western laissez-faire policy.

伍 叫我老头子的弟妇

第三个女人，我要写的，本是我的奶娘。刚要下笔，编辑先生忽然来了一封信，特烦我写“我的弟妇”。这当然可以，只是我有三个弟妇，个个都好，叫我写哪一个呢？把每个人都写一点吧，省得她们说我偏心！

我常对我的父亲说：“别人家走的都是儿子的运，我们家走的却是儿媳妇的运，您看您这三位少奶奶，看着叫人心里多么痛快！”父亲一面笑眯眯的看着她们，一面说：“你为什么不也替我找一位痛快的少奶奶来呢？”于是我的弟弟和弟妇们都笑着看我。我说：“我也看不出我是哪点儿不如他们，然而我混了这些年，竟混不着一位太太。”弟弟们就都得意的笑着说：“没有梧桐树，招不了凤凰来。只因你不是一棵梧桐树，所以你得不着一只凤凰！”这也许是事实，我只好忍气吞声的接受了他们的讥诮。那是廿六年六月，正值三弟新婚后到北平省亲，人口齐全，他提议照一张合家欢的相片，却被我严词拒绝了。我不能看他们得意忘形的样子，更不甘看相片上我自己旁边没有一个女人，这提议就此作罢。时至今日，我颇悔恨，因为不到一个月，芦沟桥事变起，我们都星散了。父亲死去，弟弟们天南地北，“海内风尘诸弟隔，天涯涕泪一身遥”是我常诵的句子，而他们的集合相片，我竟没有一张！

我的二弟妇，原是我的表妹，我的舅舅的女儿，大排行第六，只比我的二弟小一个月。我看着他们长大，真是青梅竹马，两小无猜。在他们的回忆里，有许多甜蜜天真的故事，倘若他们肯把一切事情都告诉我，一定可以写一本很好的小说。我曾向他们提议，他们笑说：“偏不告诉你，什么话到你嘴里，都改了样，我们不能让你编排！”

他们在七八岁上，便由父母之命定了婚；定婚以后，舅母以为未婚男女应当避嫌，他们的踪迹便疏远了。然而我们同舅家隔院而居，早晚出入，总看得见，岁时节序，家宴席上，也不能避免。他们那种忍笑相视的神情，我都看在眼里，我只背地里同二弟取笑，从来不在大人面前提过一句，恐怕舅母又来干涉，太煞风景。

有一年，正是二弟在唐山读书，六妹在天津上学，一个春天的早晨，我忽然接到“男士先生亲启”的一封信，是二弟发的，赶紧拆来一看，里面说：“大哥，我想和六妹通信，……已经去了三封信，但她未曾复我，请你帮忙疏通一下，感谢不尽。”我笑了，这两个十五岁的孩

子，春天来到他们的心里了！我拿着这封信，先去给母亲看，母亲只笑了一笑，没说什么。我知道最重要的关键还是舅母，于是我又去看舅母。寒暄以后，轻闲的提起，说二弟在校有时感到寂寞，难为他小小的年纪，孤身在外，我们都常给他写信，希望舅母和六妹也常和他通信，给他一点安慰和鼓励。舅母迟疑了一下，正要说话，我连忙说："母亲已经同意了。这个年头，不比从前，您若是愿意他们小夫妻将来和好，现在应当让他们多多交换意见，联络感情。他俩都是很懂事有分寸的孩子，一切有我来写包票。" 舅母思索了一会，笑着叹口气说："这是哪儿来的事！也罢，横竖一切有你做哥哥的负责。"我也不知道我负的是什么责任，但这交涉总算办得成功，我便一面报告了母亲，一面分函他们两个，说："通信吧，一切障碍都扫除了，没事别再来麻烦我！"

他们廿一岁的那年，我从国外回来，二弟已从大学里毕业，做着很好的事，拉得一手的好提琴，身材比我还高，翩翩年少，相形之下，我觉得自己真是老气横秋了。六妹也长大了许多，俨然是一个大姑娘了。在接风的家宴席上，她也和二弟同席，谈笑自如。夜阑人散，父母和我亲热的谈着，说到二弟和六妹的感情，日有进步，虽不像西洋情人之形影相随，在相当的矜持之下，他们是互相体贴，互相勉励；母亲有病的时候，六妹是常在我们家里，和弟弟们一同侍奉汤药，也能替母亲料理一点家事。谈到这里，母亲就说："真的，你自己的终身大事怎样了？今年腊月是你父亲的六十大寿，我总希望你能带一个媳妇回来，替我做做主人。如今你一点动静都没有，二弟明夏又要出国，三弟四弟还小，我几时才做得上婆婆？"我默然一会，笑着说："这种事情着急不来。您要做个婆婆却容易；二弟尽可于结婚之后再出国。刚才我看见六妹在这里的情形，俨然是个很能干的小主妇，照说廿一岁了也不算小了，这事还得我同舅母去说。"母亲仿佛没有想到似的，回头笑对父亲说："这倒也是一个办法。"

第二天同二弟提起，他笑着没有异议。过几天同舅母提起，舅母说："我倒是无所谓，不过六妹还有一年才能毕业大学，你问她自己愿意不愿意。"我笑着去找六妹。她正在廊下织活，看见我走来，便拉一张凳子，让我坐下。我说："六妹，有一件事和你商量，请你务必帮一下忙。"她睁着大眼看着我。我说："今年父亲大寿的日子，母亲要一个人帮她作主人，她要我结婚，你说我应当不应当听话？"她高兴得站了起来，"你？结婚？这事当然应当听话。几时结婚？对方是谁？要我帮什么忙？"我笑说："大前提已经定了，你自己说的，这事当然应当听话。我不知道我在什么时候才可以结婚，因为我还没有对象，我已把这责任推在二弟身上了，我请你帮他的忙。"她猛然明白了过来，红着脸

回头就走，嘴里说：“你总是爱开玩笑！”我拦住了她，正色说：“我不是同你开玩笑，这事母亲舅母和二弟都同意了，只等候你的意见。”她站住了，也严肃了起来，说：“二哥明年不是要出国吗？”我说：“这事我们也讨论过，正因为他要出国，我又不能常在家，而母亲身边又必须有一个得力的人，所以只好委屈你一下。”她低头思索了一会，脸上渐有笑容。我知道这个交涉又办成功了，便说：“好了，一切由我去备办，你只预备作新娘子吧！”她啐了一口，跑进屋去。舅母却走了出来，笑说：“你这大伯子老没正经——不过只有三四个月的工夫了，我们这些人老了，没有用，一切都拜托你了。”

父亲生日的那天，早晨下了一场大雪，我从西郊赶进城来。当天，他们在欧美同学会举行婚礼，新娘明艳得如同中秋的月！吃完喜酒，闹哄哄的回到家里来，摆上寿筵。拜完寿，前辈客人散了大半，只有二弟一班朋友，一定要闹新房，父母亲不好拦阻，三弟四弟乐得看热闹，大家一哄而进。我有点乏了，自己回东屋去吸烟休息。我那三间屋子是周末养静之所，收拾得相当整齐，一色的藤床竹椅，花架上供养着两盆腊梅，书案上还有水仙，掀起帘来，暖香扑面。我坐了一会，翻起书本来看，正神往于万里外旧游之地，猛抬头看钟，已到十二时半，南屋新房里还是人声鼎沸。我走进去一看，原来新房正闹到最热烈的阶段，他们请新娘做的事情，新娘都一一遵从了，而他们还不满意，最后还要求新娘向大家一笑，表示逐客的意思，大家才肯散去。新娘大概是乏了，也许是生气了，只是绷着脸不肯笑，两下里僵着，二弟也不好说什么，只是没主意的笑着四顾。我赶紧找支铅笔，写了个纸条，叫伴娘偷偷的送了过去，上面是：“六妹，请你笑一笑，让这群小土匪下了台，我把他们赶到我屋里去！”忙乱中新娘看了纸条，在人丛中向我点头一笑，大家哄笑了起来，认为满意。我就趁势把他们都让到我的书室里。那夜，我的书室是空前的凌乱，这群“小土匪”在那里喝酒、唱歌、吃东西、打纸牌，直到天明。

不到几天，新娘子就喧宾夺主，事无巨细，都接收了过去，母亲高高在上，无为而治，脸上常充满着“做婆婆”的笑容。我每周末从西郊回来，做客似的，受尽了小主妇的招待。她生活在我们中间，仿佛是从开天辟地就在我们家里似的，那种自然，那种合适。第二年夏天，二弟出国，我和三四弟教书的教书，读书的读书，都不能常在左右，只有她是父母亲朝夕的慰安。

十几年过去了，她如今已是五个孩子的母亲，不过对于“大哥”，她还喜欢开点玩笑，例如：她近来不叫我“大哥”，而叫我“老头子”了！

6 MY BROTHER'S WIFE WHO TELLS ME TO WORK IT OUT FOR MYSELF

My second younger brother and I are somewhat alike, both in appearance and disposition. It is with him that I get along the best. While I was teaching at University X in the western outskirts of Beijing, he was there as a student. After class, we used to walk and have heart-to-heart talks in the open fields. His interest in women, like mine, was prudently limited, and he hardly made any specific plans in this respect. So, even later on, while he was studying abroad after his graduation from the university, or working in a factory upon his return, he never had a lover.

Six years ago, on my way abroad for the second time, I passed by Nanjing where I briefly stayed for a week. My brother would come over every day from his factory on the opposite side of the Yangtze River to accompany me in my sight-seeing. One Sunday, a foreign friend of mine drove us to visit a scenic spot, the Great Steles,[1] for a picnic. We had planned to be back at four o'clock in the afternoon, but the car broke down on the way, so we didn't enter the city gate until six in the evening. My brother seemed very fretful, and as soon as we arrived at my residence, he took a bath hastily, changed clothes, put on a very nice Western-style suit, and then hurried off. At the time, I was too busy to ask him what he was up to.

It was not until spring of the next year while in Paris that I received a letter from him saying: "My dear brother, I must tell you that I am now engaged and that I will soon marry.... I suppose you still recall that day of our outing at the Great Steles last year. In the evening of that very day, I met her for the first time.... We are preparing to marry in mid-June; afterwards we will go to the North. If you come back at the end of June via Siberia, we'll be able to meet you at the Beijing railway station. How do things stand in Paris? Is there any good news? All right, see you in Beijing!" I fixed my eyes on the photo enclosed in the letter where he appeared with his fiancée, and then wrote in haste on a card: "I envy your having found a final destination for your heart! I feel quite lonely here in Paris, just as in Beijing. I would like you to help me work out a solution." I quickly put on my overcoat, went to a

big department store and bought a set of silverware. I put the card into the silverware box and mailed it to Nanjing.

At the Beijing railway station, I distinguished my second brother's wife from other members of my family. She shook hands with me very affectionately, as if we were old friends, and walked shoulder to shoulder with me. When I turned around, I saw everybody smiling. My second brother was especially happy. I clasped his hand and said to him in a whisper, "Good for you!"

After the dinner party held downtown, everyone came over to the western suburbs to take a rest. All the dwellers in our building were single male professors. Their very presence conveyed the set expression, "No Admittance for Ladies." For this reason, I took the couple to the house of my friend X, who had gone with his wife to the summer resort of Mt. Gu of the Lushan Mountains, and whose house, left vacant, was only a stone's throw from my lodging. My brother and his wife came over every day to take meals with me. After eating, I often sent them to the Western Mountains to enjoy themselves. She said, "Oh, my elder brother-in-law, join us and let's go together." I shook my head and replied, "I've been there too often and now those places bore me. Besides, I am no fool." My brother smiled and said to his wife, "Leave him alone. The older he gets, the more eccentric he becomes. Let's go ourselves!"

Having done enough sightseeing in the Western Mountains, he began to complain incessantly of abdominal pain and then refrained from social exchange. God knows whether he was really sick or just pretending—but anyway, I had to treat him as an invalid. For each of the three daily meals, I ordered the cook to toast bread and prepare rice porridge to be taken to his place. He would often recline on a sofa in the sitting room, listening to his wife play the piano. When I wasn't busy, I would go and sit with them, but would watch the couple with the eyes of a bystander. I found them a perfect match, both so steady, quiet and pure. They were fond of talking about high ideals and religion. They believed in the actual existence of something absolutely true, good and beautiful. While showing the mutual tenderness and closeness typical of newlyweds, they usually spoke and acted in a proper and solemn way. I felt very well disposed towards them.

One day, while talking about how their new home should be furnished

with as many China-made goods as possible, my brother's wife mentioned the carpets manufactured by the Beijing Ren Li Co. and remarked that they were made of very good material and had ornate designs. At the time, I had plenty of money, and told the couple that I would like to buy them one or two pieces. We agreed on a date to go together and buy the carpets. But they had to go downtown one or two days ahead of me to keep Father company.

I still remember that I went downtown early in the morning, just one day before the outbreak of the Lugou Bridge Incident. On arriving home, I found everything in a state of disarray. My first younger brother and his wife were busy helping the newlyweds pack their luggage. Their young children were pulling the new bride by the dress. Father, water pipe in hand, stood with a worried frown. What had happened was that a relative of ours, the station master of the Zhengyang Gate Station, had told them on the phone that morning that the situation outside was becoming tense. The Beijing-Pukou Railway[2] was in danger of being cut off at any time. He advised them to leave Beijing as soon as possible and told them he had already booked a compartment for them in the departing train.

I was struck by the news and remained speechless for a while, and then remarked, "It would be better for you to go now while there is still a chance. You have your job and your home in Nanjing. It isn't proper for you to stay longer here in the North. Come again next year." I immediately sent for a taxi and went with them to the railway station. I put the banknotes that I had planned to use to pay for the carpets into my sister-in-law's purse. I saw them squeeze onto the train before it squirmed out of the station. I felt as if I had been in a confusing dream.

After their arrival in Nanjing, they spent several months of their newly-married life in an air-raid shelter belonging to a factory. Before long, they left the city together with the retreating troops, going up the Yangtze River, carrying nothing but a small suitcase with them. The silverware set that I had given them as a present was lost with the downfall of the capital.[3] Luckily we hadn't bought the carpets! In all the letters that I received from them, they invariably showed steadiness, contentment and optimism.

They always referred in a humorous way to the hardships of their uncertain livelihood. Some of my friends, describing in their letters to me how my brother and his wife were getting along in the interior province of

our country, expressed surprise that so delicate a girl would be able to endure such hard work. They were living near a factory in a rented thatched cottage with only a single room, used for all purposes. In the intense heat of summer, my sister-in-law cooked and washed inside this small room, but still kept singing! When advised to stop singing and save energy, she replied with a smile, "More exhalation may save more perspiration!" Here it is, the great spirit of China's sons and daughters! I must raise my hat to her!

Recently a son was born to them. I sent them a letter of congratulation and told them: "Your baby should become my adopted son, for I'm the eldest!" They replied in their letter: "Give up your vain hope! If you want to have a son, work it out for yourself!" Well, they don't believe that I will work anything out whatsoever. All right, let's wait and see!

[1] This is a scenic spot near Nanjing.

[2] Pukou is situated on the north side of the Yangtze River, just opposite Nanjing.

[3] Nanjing was at that time the capital of the Republic of China.

陆 请我自己想法子的弟妇

三弟和我很有点相像，长的相像，性情也相像，我们最谈得来。我在北平西郊某大学教书的时候，他正在那里读书，课余，我们常常同到野外去散步谈心。他对于女人的兴趣，也像我似的，适可而止，很少作进一步的打算。所以直到他大学毕业，出了国，又回来在工厂里做事，还没有一个情人。

六年以前，我第二次出国，道经南京，小驻一星期，三弟天天从隔江工厂里过来陪我游玩。有一个星期日，一位外国朋友自驾汽车，带我们去看大石碑，并在那里野餐。原定是下午四点回来，汽车中途抛了锚，直到六点才进得城门。三弟在车上就非常烦躁不安，到了我的住处，他匆匆的洗了澡，换了一身很漂亮的西装，匆匆的又出去。我那时正忙，也不曾追问。直到第二年的春天，我在巴黎，忽然得他一封信，说："大哥，告诉你一件事，我已经订了婚。不久要结婚了。……记得我们去年逛大石碑的一天吧，就在那夜，我和她初次会面。……我们准备六月中旬结婚，婚后就北上。你若是在六月底从西伯利亚回来，我们可在北平车站接你。……巴黎如何？有好消息否？好了，北平见！"我仔细的看了他信中附来的两人合照的相片，匆匆的写了一张卡片，说："我妒羡你，居然也有了心灵的归宿！巴黎寂寞得很，和北平一样，还是你替我想想法子吧。"我又匆匆的披上大衣，直走到一家大百货商店，买了一套银器，将卡片放在匣里，寄回南京去。

在北平车站上，家人丛中，看见了我的三弟妇，极其亲热的和我握手，仿佛是很熟的朋友，她和我并肩走着。回头看见大家的笑容，三弟尤其高兴，我紧紧的捏着他的手，低声说："有你的！"

他们先在城里请过了客，便到西郊来休息。我们那座楼上，住的都是单身的男教授，"女宾止步"；我便介绍他们到我的朋友 ╳ 家里去住。╳ 夫妇到牯岭避暑去了，那房子空着，和我们相隔只一箭之遥。他们天天走过来吃饭，饭后我便送他们到西山去玩。三弟妇常说："大哥，你和我们一起去吧。"我摇头说："这些都是我玩腻了的地方，怪热的，我不想去。而且我也不是一个傻子！"三弟就笑说："别理他，他越老越怪。我们自己走吧！"

逛够了西山，三弟就常常说他肚子不好，拒绝一切的应酬，天晓得他是真病假病——我只好以病人待他，每日三餐，叫厨子烤点面包，煮

点稀饭，送了过去。他总是躺在客厅沙发上，听三弟妇弹琴。我没事时也过去坐坐，冷眼看他们两个，倒是合适得很，都很稳静，很纯洁，喜欢谈理想，谈宗教，以为世界上确有绝对的真、善、美。虽然也有新婚时代之爱娇与偎倚，而言谈举止之间，总是庄肃的时候居多，我觉得很喜欢他们。

有一次，三弟妇谈起他们的新家庭，一切的设备，都尽量的用国货，因而谈到北平仁立公司的国货地毯，她认为材料很好，花样也颇精致，那时我有的是钱，便说要去买一两张送给他们。我们定好了日子，一同去挑选。他们先进城去陪父亲，我过一两天再去。我还记得，那是芦沟桥事变之前一天，我一早进城去，到了家里，看见一切乱哄哄的，二弟和二弟妇正帮忙这一对新夫妇收拾行李，小孩子们拉着新娘子的衣服，父亲捧着水烟袋，愁眉不展的。原来正阳门车站站长——是我们的亲戚——早上打电话来，说外面风声不稳，平浦路随时有切断的可能，劝他们两个赶紧走，并且已代定了房间。我愣了一会，便说："有机会走还是先走好，你的事情在南京，不便长在北方逗留，明年再来玩吧。"我立刻叫了一部汽车，送他们到车站，我把预备买地毯的一卷钞票，塞在三弟妇的皮包里，看着他们挤上了火车，火车又蠕蠕的离开了车站，心里如同做了一场乱梦。

他们到了南京，在工厂的防空洞里，过了新婚后的几个月。此后又随军撤退，溯江而上，两个人只带一只小皮箱。我送给他们的一套银器，也随首都沦陷了，地毯幸亏未买！而每封他们给我的信，总是很稳定，很满足，很乐观，种种的辛苦和流离，都以诙谐的笔意出之。友人来信，提到三弟和他的太太在内地的生活，都说看不出三弟妇那么一个娇女儿，竟会那样的劳作。他们在工厂旁边租到一间草房，这一间草房包括了一切的居室。炎暑的天气中，三弟妇在斗室里煮饭洗衣服，汗流如雨，嘴里还能唱歌。大家劝她省点力气，不必唱了，她笑说："多出一点气，可以少出一点汗。"这才是伟大的中华儿女的精神，我向她脱帽！

他们新近得了一个儿子，我写信去道贺，并且说："你们这个孩子应当过继给我，我是长兄！"他们回信说："别妄想了，你要儿子，自己去想法子吧！"他们以为我自己就没有法子了。"好，走着瞧吧！"

7 MY BROTHER'S WIFE WHO CAPTIVATESMY TENDERNESS AND MAKES MY HEAD ACHE

At the mere mention of my third younger brother and his wife, I cannot but feel tenderness and headache at the same time. The two of them have brought me many troubles and also the greatest joy. My younger brother is the most nervous of the four of us, wistful, sensitive, impulsive and sprightly. Being the youngest, he was brought up as wayward and spoiled. But he always obeyed his parents and elder brothers. He had special confidence in me, telling me whatever he thought. I was already a teacher while he was still a high school student. He enjoyed keeping pets like goldfish, pigeons and crickets, assuring one hundred and eight for each kind and naming them after the one hundred and eight heroes of Liangshan.[1] For example, two of his most ferocious crickets, each kept in an exquisite earthen jar, were called "Lin Chong, the Leopard Head" and "Wu Song, the Buddhist Monk." Whenever he supposed Father wouldn't give him enough money to buy the living creatures he wanted, he would ask me for some and wouldn't stop pestering me until I agreed.

He had a close friend named H, a young girl from a family of our distant relatives. She was born on the same day, one year later, as my brother. During that period, our home was in Shanghai. My second and third younger brothers and I used to go home during the summer and New Year holidays to visit our parents. H's home was also in Shanghai. At the request of her father, who believed that the middle schools in Beijing were better than those in Shanghai, I arranged her entrance into a Beijing girls' school, so we used to travel together during the summer and New Year holidays. We preferred traveling by sea, and none of us suffered seasickness, so we would walk on board and have a good time on the deck in the morning and the evening. My third younger brother got acquainted with her at that time. For my part, I perceived only that they treated each other very amiably, and I did not consider that things could be otherwise.

Half a year later, my third younger brother suddenly became quiet and began to speak in a tone of sadness. He also became negligent in his studies. Most of his teachers were my former schoolmates. Some of them came and told me, "Your brother has recently become rather muddle-headed. Is he ill?" On hearing this, I visited his school and found him absent from class but lying in bed in his dormitory, humming poems from the volume, *Among Flowers*.[2] When asked what the matter with him was, he said he had a headache. I found him emaciated, but he could not tell me what his illness was. Assuming that he suffered from malnutrition, I bought him cod-liver oil, condensed milk and other health products, and told him to take them regularly. Then I went back quite worried.

The spring holidays were soon upon us. I invited my second and third brothers as well as H to come with me on an excursion to the Jade Fountain Mountains. Now there seemed to be "something" special between my third younger brother and H, for they smiled bashfully and spoke with an unnatural intonation in their voices. For instance, when we went up the steps of a stoop, H would thank me or my second younger brother if either of us helped her along, but if my third younger brother helped out, she would blush and sometimes tried to break free from him. While drinking tea and chatting by the fountain, my second younger brother and I would ask my third younger brother about his health. He would gesture, making pessimistic remarks, and from time to time cast a furtive glance at H. Then H would blush and stare into the distance, as if she did not hear anything he was saying. This way of acting was quite different from her usual vivacious and polite manner and generally helped me understand what this was all about.

Back from the Jade Fountain Mountains, I interrogated my brother in detail after seeing H off. At first he hemmed and hawed, but went on to acknowledge frankly that he had fallen deeply in love with H, and then asked me for help. I told him seriously, "Love is not play. You are still too young to understand what love is. Besides, H is an extremely lofty and aggressive girl. You'll get nowhere if—for the sake of your obsession—you neglect your education and stop making progress in your studies!" He fell silent. Soothed by the evening breeze, I accompanied him to school. We barely spoke to each other on the way.

Soon my brother began to move ahead in his studies, but his health

worsened. It occurred to me by chance that it might be good for him to drop out of school for a year. That would make it possible for him to distance himself from H and to think over his preoccupation, while enjoying a restful stay with Mother. Thus I wrote a long letter to my parents, telling them only that my third younger brother was not in good health and that I would send him home for a year of rest. At the same time, I sent him back hurriedly.

When I went home during the next summer vacation, I found him healthier and stronger, just as I had expected. One day, Mother told me in private, "Your brother seems to be on very good terms with H. They have been corresponding with each other frequently in recent days." What she said surprised me somewhat, for I had supposed that he was suffering merely from one-sided lovesickness. So I told Mother all that had happened so far. She was very happy and said, "H is the nicest girl among all our relatives. Your brother is very lucky that she has taken a fancy to him." I responded, "But he should give a good account of himself, otherwise he will be unworthy of so nice a girl." Mother changed countenance and said, "I don't see anything unworthy in my little son!" I could only tacitly agree.

A navigation school in Liverpool, England, was meanwhile enrolling new students. My father, entitled to recommend a student for admission, discussed the matter at dinner. Hearing about the offer, my third younger brother felt quite excited and said that he wanted to go. Father said, "Nautical studies are very demanding, and working on board is very harsh. Two of the three students sent there last year have given up and come back. Surely I would allow you to leave us, but I'm afraid that, unable to endure the hardships, you will give up halfway and embarrass me." Mother remained silent.

After dinner, my third younger brother drew my second younger brother into my room and asked me to intercede for him so that Father would allow him to go to England. I replied, "Father has made it very clear that he is not reluctant to let you leave him. If I guarantee I will intercede for you, you on your part should guarantee that you will not abandon your studies halfway." He told me in a sad voice, "Only if all of you have confidence in me and H doesn't look upon me as a decadent, will I pluck up my courage. Since all of us were born by the same parents, I'm sure I won't lag too far behind provided I exert myself!" Finding him head-strong and pathetic, I talked things over

with my second younger brother, and then tried to persuade Father.

Availing myself of the occasion, I talked to H, "My third younger brother is going abroad. He is still young and there's hard work ahead. He told me that it is just for your sake that he has steeled his heart once and for all. In case it is possible for you to love him, please encourage him, and in case this is impossible, please tell him clearly so that he may leave without illusions." H blushed, offering no reply. I found it improper to plead with her anymore and went no further. But my brother looked very happy and dauntless when he began his journey, and I was sure that already he had been encouraged.

Love is really incomprehensible. It is remarkable that, once on board, my brother became quite another man, hard-working, painstaking, active and courageous. Among his schoolmates, there were not only Englishmen, but also boys from Scandinavian countries such as Norway and Denmark, all burly and strong, tough and direct. He got along with these naughty boys for five years, traveling all over the seaports of the world and weathering the inclemency of the high seas. Five years later, he came home with a ruddy complexion, a grown body, a cheerful spirit and a certificate of graduation with honors.

Meanwhile, during his absence, H had entered the university and become one of my students, so we had more chances to meet. I often secretly admired my brother's good judgment, since he had chosen a girlfriend as lofty and exquisite as anything he chose for food, clothing, dwelling and traveling. H was the nicest girl I had ever known, so natural, steady, tender and amiable that she had become the center of admiration both in the university and at home, to the complete satisfaction of my mother.

However, separated for five years, H and my brother quarreled on several occasions. Each time such an incident occurred, my brother would send a letter in haste asking me to save him from some misunderstanding. I found it improper to say too much in most cases, so I often adopted a neutral and impartial stand. Anyway, quarrels between lovers do not last long. Once the pretended vexation was over and the tears were shed, everything returned to normal as if nothing amiss had happened between them, while others were still worrying about their relationship. Successive incidents made me wiser, too. No matter how tense the situation could become, I always took it easy,

except for one occasion when H left my brother's letters unanswered for more than half a year and, in spite of my inquiries, my brother did not explain why. Every week I received a very long letter from my brother. It was pasted with all kinds of postal stamps from various countries, each time from a different corner of the world. He always complained about life's meaninglessness and hinted that he would rather drown himself in the sea than go on. At that point, I was overcome with fear.

Back in Beijing, my brother stayed less than an hour at home before he came to see me in the western outskirts. Hardly had he stayed with me for an hour when he went to the girls' dormitory in pursuit of H. From then on, the two lovers would chat in my drawing room. The day before he left for Shanghai to begin his job, the three of us returned from downtown. But our car broke down just as we drove beyond the city gate. The driver got out, and while he was fixing the car, the two young people suddenly reached out and held my hands, telling me that they were already engaged. Although this had been taken for granted, I was still immensely delighted.

During the summer vacation of the following year, my brother traveled northward to congratulate H upon her graduation. Soon they were married in Beijing. My second younger brother had just come back from the United States in time to be the groom's best man. The young couple stayed a few days with Father before they went back to Shanghai. Together with my second younger brother, I saw them off at the railway station. We still saw them waving good-bye to us from the train as it faded in the distance.

On leaving the station, we walked into the snack bar of the Zhongyuan Co. We took off our hats and sat down. The waiter came up and asked, "Would you gentlemen care for some ice cream?" Feeling quite cool, I replied, "Two bowls of hot noodles, please." After eating the noodles, we went to the building of the Western Returned Scholars Association to attend the dancing tea party held to celebrate the engagement of Yuanyuan, our cousin. While my second younger brother was dancing with quite a few pretty girls, I went into the reading room, found a piece of writing paper and composed a letter to the newlyweds: "Dear H and dear brother, with both of you gone, we feel terribly lonely. Since we have become more temperate, the weather no longer enflames us. As genuine Chinese, we ordered two bowls of hot noodles instead of ice cream at the snack bar of the Zhongyuan Co.!"

For five or six years, the small and exquisite home of my youngest brother and his wife served me as my "temporary dwelling palace." Whenever I traveled southward or northward or spent my summer vacation, I stayed in their home. During the daytime we busied ourselves with our respective activities, and in the evening we would sit together and listen to radio music by candlelight. Sometimes the two of them would quarrel or scuffle in the candlelight, and complained to me as their elder. Sometimes we gathered in the roof garden of a restaurant and they would introduce to me some young girls who were their friends. To me, such events were indeed very interesting and gently provided variations to my calm and stern life.

Last week I received another letter from them, saying, "Our ships have all been taken over for use by the British government. From now on, we can no longer pursue and attack the Japanese smuggling ships with our small guns. What a pity! But, dear old man, we may possibly be transferred to work there in Chongqing. Would this make your head ache?"

I really have a headache. But it is not because I feel worried!

[1] This is a mountain chain in Shandong province which appears in Shi Nai'an's novel, *Outlaws of the Marsh*, written at the end of the Yuan Dynasty (1206-1368) and the beginning of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), as the hideout of a group of one hundred and eight rebels.

[2]*Among Flowers* is a collection of some five hundred poems, most of them based upon love themes, edited by Zhao Chongzuo during the Five Dynasties (907-960 A.D.).

柒 使我心疼头痛的弟妇

提到四弟和四弟妇，真使我又心疼，又头痛。这一对孩子给我不少的麻烦，也给我最大的快乐。四弟是我们四个兄弟中最神经质的一个，善怀、多感、急躁、好动。因为他最小，便养得很任性，很娇惯。虽然如此，他对于父母和哥哥的话总是听从的，对我更是无话不说。我教书的时候，他还是在中学。他喜欢养生物，如金鱼、鸽子、蟋蟀之类，每种必要养满一百零八只，给它们取上梁山泊好汉的绰号。例如他的两只最好勇斗狠的蟋蟀，养在最讲究的瓦罐里的，便是“豹子头林冲”和“行者武松”。他料到父亲不肯多给他钱买生物的时候，便来跟我要钱；定要磨到我答允了为止。

他的恋爱的对象是 H，我们远亲家里的一个小姑娘。他们是同日生的，她只小四弟一岁。那几年我们住在上海，我和三弟四弟，每逢年暑假必回家省亲。H 的家也在上海，她的父亲认为北平的中学比上海的好，就托我送她入北平的女子中学，年暑假必结伴同行。我们都喜欢海行，又都不晕船，在船上早晚都在舱面散步、游戏。四弟就在那时同她熟识了起来。我只觉得他们很和气，决不想到别的。

过了半年，四弟忽然沉默起来，说话总带一点忧悒，功课上也不用心。他的教师多半是我的同学，有的便来告诉我说：“你们老四近来糊涂得很，莫不是有病吧？”我得到这消息，便特地跑进城去，到他校里，发见他没有去上课，躺在宿舍床上，哼哼唧唧的念《花间集》。问他怎么了，他说是头痛。看他的确是瘦了，又说不出病源。我以为是营养不足，便给他买一点鱼肝油，和罐头牛奶之类，叫他按时服用，自己又很忧虑的回来。

不久就是春假了，我约三四弟和 H 同游玉泉山。我发现四弟和 H 中间仿佛有点“什么”，笑得那么羞涩，谈话也不自然。例如上台阶的时候，若是我或三弟搀 H，她就很客气的道谢；四弟搀她的时候，她必定脸红，有时竟摔开手。坐在泉边吃茶闲谈的时候，我和三弟问起四弟的身体，四弟叹息着说些悲观的话，而且常常偷眼看 H。H 却红着脸，望着别处，仿佛没有听见似的。这与她平常活泼客气的态度大不相同，我心里就明白了一大半。从玉泉山回来，送 H 走后，我便细细的盘问四弟，他始而吞吐支吾，继而坦白的承认他在热爱着 H，求我帮忙。我正色的对他说：“恋爱不是一件游戏，你年纪太小，还不懂得什么叫做恋

爱。再说，H 是个极高尚极要强的姑娘，你因着爱她，而致荒废学业，不图上进，这真是缘木求鱼，毫无用处！”四弟默然，晚风中我送他回校，路上我们都不大说话。

四弟功课略有进步，而身体却更坏了。我忽然想起叫他停学一年，一来叫他离 H 远点，可有时间思索；二来他在母亲身旁，可以休息得好。因此便写一封长信报告父母，只说老四身体不大好，送他回去休息一年，一面匆匆的把他送走。

暑假回家去，看他果然壮健了一些。有一天，母亲背地和我说：“老四和 H 仿佛很好，这些日子常常通信。”这却有点出我意外，我总以为他是在单恋着！于是我便把过去一切都对母亲说了，母亲很高兴，说：“H 是我们亲戚中最好的姑娘，她能看上老四，是老四的福气。”我说：“老四也得自己争气才行，否则岂不辱没了人家的姑娘！”母亲怫然说：“我们老四也没有什么太不好处！”我也只好笑了一笑。

那时英国利物浦一个海上学校，正招航海学生，父亲可以保送一名，回家来在饭桌上偶然谈起，四弟非常兴奋，便想要去。父亲说：“航海课程难得很，工作也极辛苦，去年送去三个学生，有两个跑了回来，我不是舍不得你去，是怕你吃不了苦，中途辍学，丢我的脸。”母亲也没有言语。饭后四弟拉着三弟到我屋里来，要我替他向父亲请求，准他到英国去。我说：“父亲说的很明白，不是舍不得你。我担保替你去说，你也得担保不中途辍学。”四弟很难过的说：“只要你们大家都信任我，同时 H 也不当我作一个颓废的人，我就有这一股勇气。我和你们本是同父一母生的，我相信我若努力，也决不会太落后！”我看他说得坚决可怜，便和三弟商量，一面在父亲面前替他说项，一面找个机会和 H 谈话，说：“四弟要出国去了，他年纪小，工作烦难，据说他憋下这一股横劲，为的是你。假如你能爱他，就请予以鼓励，假如你没有爱他的可能，请你明白告诉他，好让他死心离去。”H 红着脸没有回答，我也不便追问，只好算了。然而四弟是很高兴，很有勇气的走的，我相信他已得了鼓励了。

爱情真是一件奇怪的东西，四弟到了船上，竟变了一个人，刻苦、耐劳、活泼、勇敢。他的学伴，除了英国人之外，还有北欧的挪威、丹麦等国的孩子，个个都是魁梧慓悍，粗鲁爽直，他在这群玩童中间混了五年，走遍了世界上的海口，历尽了海上的风波。五年之末，他带着满面的风尘，满身的筋骨，满心的喜乐，和一张荣誉毕业证书回来。

这几年中，H 也入了大学，做了我的学生，见面的机会很多。我常常暗地夸奖四弟的眼光不错，他挑恋爱的对手，也和他平时挑衣食住行的对象一样，那么高贵精致。H 是我眼中所看到的最好的小姑娘，稳静大方，温柔活泼，在校里家中，都做了她周围人们爱慕的对象，这一点是母亲认为万分满意的。五年分别之中，她和四弟也有过几次吵架，几次误会，每次出了事故，四弟必立刻飞函给我，托我解围。我也不便十分劝说，常常只取中立严正的态度。情人的吵架是不会长久的，撒过了娇，流过了眼泪，旁人还在着急的时候，他们自己却早已是没事人了。经过了几次风波，我也学了乖，无论情势如何紧张，我总不放在心上。只有一次，H 有大半年不回四弟的信，我问他也问不出理由，同时每星期得到四弟的万言书，贴着种种不同的邮票，走遍天涯给我写些人生无味的话，似乎有投海的趋势，那时我倒有点恐慌！

四弟回国来，到北平家里不到一个钟头，就到西郊来找我，在我那里又不到一个钟头，就到女生宿舍去找 H，从此这一对小情人，常常在我客厅里谈话。在四弟到上海去就事的前一天，我们三个人从城里坐小汽车回来，刚到城外，汽车抛了锚，在司机下车修理机件之顷，他们忽然一个人拉着我的一只手，告诉我，他们已经订婚了。这似乎是必然的事，然而我当时也有无限的欢悦。

第二年暑假，H 毕业于研究院，四弟北上道贺，就在北平结婚。三弟刚从美国回来，正赶上做了伴郎。他们在父亲那里住了几天，就又回到上海去。我同三弟到车站送行，看火车开出多远，他们还在车窗里挥手。出了车站，我们信步行来，进入中原公司小吃部，脱帽坐下，茶房过来，笑问："两位先生要冰淇淋吧？"我似乎觉得很凉快，就说："来两碗热汤面吧。"吃完了面，我们又到欧美同学会，赴表妹元元订婚的跳舞茶会。在三弟同许多漂亮女郎跳舞的时候，我却走到图书室，拿起一张信纸来，给这一对新夫妇写了一封信，我说："阿 H 同四弟，你们走后，老三和我感到无限的寂寞，心里一凉，天气也不热了。我们是道地中国人，在中原小吃部没吃冰淇淋，却吃了两碗热汤面！"

五六年来，他们小巧精致的家，做了我的行宫，南下北上，或是夏天避暑，总在他们那里小驻。白天各人做各人的事，晚上常是点起蜡烛来听无线电音乐。有时他们也在烛影中撒娇打架，向大哥诉苦，更有时在餐馆屋顶花园，介绍些年轻女友，来同大哥认识。这些事也很有趣，在我冷静严肃的生活之中，是个很温柔的变换。

上星期又得他们一封信说："我们的船全被英国政府征用了，从此不能开着小炮，追击日本的走私船只，如何可惜！但是，老头子，我们

也许要调到重庆来，你头痛不头痛？”

我真的头痛了，但这头痛不是急出来的！

8 MY WET NURSE

My wet nurse is another woman who inspires deep feelings in me. Whenever I recall her, all my precious childhood trifles rise before my eyes.

She was a country woman from our native place. Her feet were never bound. She had a round face, a pair of smiling eyes which closed lightly like two threads when smiling, a swarthy complexion and a very snub nose. As an extremely fat baby, I was told that I was like her, and I found that was far from flattering. After giving birth to me, Mother fell sick and had no breast milk to nurse me. My grandfather, very worried, began to search all around for wet nurses. After a few were tried for this job without satisfactory results, she came to us and was accepted. It was said that she had left home after quarreling with her mother-in-law. Her three-month-old baby daughter had died not long before, and she had a lot of breast milk. According to Grandfather, as soon as I settled in her lap, I burst out laughing, and after sucking a bit, I quietly fell asleep. Grandfather told her with satisfaction, "Mrs. Hu, please stay. It must be fate that brought Rongguan and you together." And then she stayed with satisfactions, too.

There are only two people in the world who called me Rongguan: my Grandfather and my wet nurse. I still remember what she used to say to me, "Little Rongguan, study diligently and you will pass with honors the imperial examination, become a high-ranking official, make plenty of money, marry a good wife, and have a great number of sons and grandsons. But at that moment don't forget who nursed you to make you grow up!" I was playing each time when she said that to me, and I could feel her work-soiled hand touching me on the neck, itching where she scratched me. As her smiling eyes gazed at me, I readily promised her that I would do as she told me. But thinking back now, I find that I haven't kept my word except for the fact that I haven't forgotten "who nursed me to make me grow up." I have failed to become a high-ranking official and make plenty of money. As to "marrying a good wife," I am afraid I will have to postpone that until the next life.

Everybody in our home, except the servants, liked her. Grandfather was especially fond of her because he was so fond of me. Wet nurses should be

well nourished so that they have enough breast milk for the baby. They should be dressed in new clothes so that they can keep clean and tidy. Father seldom came home, but each time he did, he found me fat and pleasant and was thus favorably impressed with her. Mother, kind to everybody, was even kinder to her. My wet nurse often told me, "Your mother is as kind as the Buddha. Nobody who is kind will go unrewarded. She has been rewarded with a good husband and a good son. There's only one thing wrong. She has spoiled all these servants to such an extent that each one of them is perpetrating outrages to his or her own profit. The day will come when Heaven takes notice and gives them what they deserve!"

At that time it was my mother who was in charge of a large household of over thirty people, family members and servants all told. Because my wet nurse played the role of somebody like a mistress and because she was considerate of mother, she was hated by the maids and servants. She used to go to the kitchen, steelyard in hand, to check the weight of the meat and vegetables our cook had recently purchased. At night, after lulling me to sleep, she would make her rounds to make sure that all the lights were off and the doors were barred. Mother often told her tactfully, "You have only to take care of Rongguan and wash your hands of everything else. Why bring other people's hatred on yourself?" My wet nurse would smile in the way of a reply and become impatient as my mother went on speaking. I remember that once she burst into tears and said, "I do all this for your good, don't I? You, madam, are as kind as the Buddha, and you have never talked in a loud voice. Very soon you will find all the wealth of this household taken away by other people. But I can't bear to see such things happen, and that's why I've come to your aid, only to earn your reproach." She wiped her tears while she spoke. Mother, however, smiled and said nothing. Suppressing his laughter, Father said seriously to my wet nurse, "We're aware that you have the best of intentions. But while talking to your mistress, you needn't be so impatient and argumentative!" I thought she was really arguing with my mother, and pounded her with all my might on the leg from behind. She turned around, lifted me up suddenly and, carrying me on her back, went away.

Strange to say, it was she who instilled in me the idea of opposing Japanese aggression. When I was eight or nine, a cousin of mine took me out to stroll the streets. Passing by a Japanese restaurant he invited me to go in with him to try the *sukiyaki* dish. I agreed with pleasure, and we took off our

shoes and went in. The floor was so slippery that we could have lost our balance, so we walked hand in hand. I was very happy about it. While dining, the two of us were sitting in a kneeling position opposite each other over a low table. On their knees at the other two opposite sides of the table were two Japanese waitresses with oddly powdered faces and necks. They wore their hair in high buns giving off a redolent scent. Busy roasting and seasoning the chicken and persuading us solicitously to eat, they also continued talking and joking with us. Back home from the restaurant, I still remained deeply impressed by the dinner and told everything to my wet nurse. Usually she took a great interest in what I told her about my amusements. But this time she fixed her eyes on me, put on a grave expression and said, "Your cousin must be an unworthy man to have taken you to such a place! If you go there again I will tell your father and he will punish you!" I was so scared that I no longer had any courage to talk about it. Much later, when I told Mother accidentally what happened that day, she didn't find anything wrong in it, and tried to explain to my wet nurse, saying, "My nephew is no rake. He went with Rongguan to a Japanese restaurant, where it is a tradition for waitresses to sit together with the guests." My wet nurse turned her head aside and replied, "They are all shameless! Madam, you have never left the house, so how can you know what this is all about? I can tell you that none of the Japanese is decent. Of those who run restaurants, run commercial firms and sell Jintan pills, none has good intentions.[1] Even their consul is one of their gang. He is their chieftain. The waitresses in their restaurants are simply whores, and those who go there once have to go twice. The drugs for stomach troubles their firms are selling make one addicted to them. Those who sell Jintan pills are spies. They often went, to our village, once, twice, three times. The first time they went, they drew a map. The second time they went and examined the place. The third time, they erected their big Jintan advertising placards. While they were drawing their maps, someone peeped from behind and saw they were marking clearly where there was a tree and where a well.... Remember what I'm saying: I'll accept whatever forfeit you may imagine if the Japanese don't wreak havoc here in the future!" Listening to her speech, my father nodded again and again, saying, "She is right. We are bound to suffer even more in the future on account of the Japanese." Finding her supported by my father, my wet nurse got even more excited and said, "Yes, you see? Even Master knows this. Weren't the Japanese those who forcibly took over our small stretch of land and our small grocery? My husband went

to law against them and the case was handled by the Japanese consul, so after losing the lawsuit, he died from anger. Before he died, he shouted a whole day, ‘Kill the Japanese! Kill the Japanese devils!' You see, I would not have got into such a plight if..." Her face was red with excitement and her lips were shivering; she was all in tears. Mother's eyes were also red with sorrow. Father stood up and said to me, "Rongguan, go with your wet nurse to rest in your room." All I felt at that moment was indignation and shame. On hearing my father's request, I hurried to pull her out and we went back to my room. As I had never heard any of this from her before, I asked her to tell me more once she had calmed down. She heaved a sigh and, caressing me on the head, said, "You see how unfortunate I am. I gave birth only to a daughter and she didn't survive. I have no son, and my mother-in-law kept weeping all day long for her son's death. She cursed me, saying that we would never have anybody to avenge in a fit of rage for feeling wronged. So I left her and my home and came out to work as a wet nurse. I hope I can nurse and bring up a young master of a well-off family so that, once grown up, he could fight his way eastward across the sea and defeat the enemy in the manner of Xue Rengui.[2] Then my mother-in-law would be rendered speechless and my dead husband would be avenged. When you grow up..." I instinctively embraced her and replied, "You can rest assured that when I grow up I will fight my way eastward across the sea to struggle against the Japanese invaders!" She hugged me and swayed me gently as she cried, saying, "Only so can you be my precious child!"

It was from then on that I began to harbor animosity against the Japanese invaders. Each time she walked with me on the street, we would hold each other's hand tightly while running into Japanese or passing by Japanese stores. I no longer bought any Japanese toys or accepted any gifts made in Japan. On the pages of a picture book about the Russian-Japanese War given by a friend, I pierced with a knife all the Japanese flags. As I grew up a little more, I began to read carefully books on Japanese geography and maps of Japan, for I was aware that what my wet nurse was expecting earnestly from me included my future "expedition eastward across the sea," in addition to my "becoming a high-ranking official, making a good living and marrying a nice woman."

As she suffered from asthma and was not used to the climate in the North, she did not come with us when we moved to Beijing. Nevertheless,

Grandfather often told us something about her in his letters, and she went frequently to visit him and help him with household chores. She had a few letters to us, written by others on behalf of her, and in all these letters she inquired how I was doing with my studies and whether I was engaged to get married. She also asked if our household helpers in the North did well for us and advised my mother to treat them with both kindness and strictness, instead of simply conniving at them. Mother would tell me in a very pleased tone, "Your wet nurse is still taking care of me, and even more in detail than your grandfather does."

Every month my mother mailed some money to her for incidental expenses, and I took over this responsibility on myself after I became economically independent. At home we thought of her and talked about her often. Above all, at moments of national calamity, her expression of animosity against invaders as well as her image with tears remained in my mind. During the year when Japan imposed on China its Twenty-One Demands[3] and the year of the May Fourth Movement, while my schoolmates were shouting "Down with Japanese Imperialism!" in the demonstrations, I was echoing in my heart: "Eliminate the Japanese invaders!" as if my wet nurse were holding my hand, walking side by side and shouting with me.

Two years before the outbreak of the War of Resistance against Japan, a student of mine made a trip to my hometown on a field work project, and I asked him to bring some funds to my wet nurse, to pay her a visit and take a picture of her for me. On his return, my student brought me a letter, a photograph and a 14-karat gold ring. In the photograph my wet nurse looked much more aged, though her eyes were still as before—narrowly open with a smile. In her letter she expressed her discontent with me, saying that while all my younger brothers were married, the fact that I remained single near the age of forty meant that I was unworthy as the eldest son. She sent me the ring as a gift to my future wife. This ring and a wrist watch from my mother were the only valuables that I had kept. I sometimes wore the ring so as to give myself a sensation of "getting married."

In the War, families were separated and many lost their lives; and there was no news about my wet nurse. Perhaps she is no longer living now. No matter how much I tried, I was unable to find her whereabouts. Our hometown fell into enemy's hands two months ago, and it is said that the

invaders launched a massacre and burned down many buildings. I wonder if my kind-hearted wet nurse was among the numerous victims. I would rather wish she had left this world before the Japanese occupied our hometown. If she was alive, she would have had to witness the "war crime by Japanese invaders" instead of the "expedition eastward across the sea" by her beloved Rongguan. In such a case I cannot imagine the desperate and furious look that would have appeared on her face....

May she rest in peace, so good a soul! The War has reached a triumphant phase. All the young people of the Chinese nation who are capable of fighting in the front are your sons. The day is not far away when they will set out on the "expedition eastward across the sea"!

[1] Jintan pills were a kind of Japanese medicine widely advertised and sold in China before and during the War of Resistance against Japan (1937-1945).

[2] Xue Rengui (614-683) was a military commander of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.), well known in a series of novels in which he was said to have been in charge of several victorious expeditions to the west and east of China.

[3] Twenty-One Demands was imposed on China by Japan in 1915 and was accepted by Yuan Shikai, the dictator and President of the Republic of China who was seeking Japanese support in order to proclaim himself Emperor of China and establish a new imperial dynasty. This event gave rise to a nationwide movement of protest which led to the final downfall of the dictator.

捌 我的奶娘

我的奶娘也是我常常怀念的一个女人，一想到她，我童年时代最亲切的琐事，都活跃到眼前来了。

奶娘是我们故乡的乡下人，大脚，圆脸，一对笑眼（一笑眼睛便闭成两道缝），皮肤微黑，鼻子很扁。记得我小的时候很胖，人家说我长的像奶娘，我已觉得那不是句恭维的话。母亲生我之后，病了一场，没有乳水，祖父很着急的四处寻找奶妈，试了几个，都不合式，最后她来了，据说是和她的婆婆呕气出来的，她新死了一个三个月的女儿，乳汁很好。祖父说我一到她的怀里就笑，吃了奶便安稳睡着。祖父很欢喜说：“胡嫂，你住下吧，荣官和你有缘。”她也就很高兴的住下了。

世上叫我“荣官”的只有两个人，一个是我的祖父，一个便是我的奶娘。我总记得她说：“荣官呀，你要好好读书，大了中举人，中进士，作大官，挣大钱，娶个好媳妇，儿孙满堂，那时你别忘了你是吃了谁的奶长大的！”她说这话的时候，我总是在玩着，觉得她粗糙的手，摸在我脖子上，怪解痒的，她一双笑眼看着我，我便满口答允了。如今回想，除了我还没有忘记“是吃了谁的奶长大的”之外，既未作大官，又未挣大钱，至于“娶个好媳妇”这一段，更恐怕是下辈子的事了！

我们一家人，除了佣人之外，都欢喜她，祖父因为宠我，更是宠她。奶娘一定要吃好的，为的是使乳水充足；要穿新的，为的是要干净。父亲不常回来，回来时看见我肥胖有趣，也觉得这奶妈不错。母亲对谁都好，对她更是格外的宽厚。奶娘常和我说：“你妈妈是个菩萨，做好人没有错处，修了个好丈夫，好儿子。就是一样，这班下人都让她惯坏了，个个作恶营私，这些没良心的人，老天爷总有一天睁开眼！”

那时我母亲主持一个大家庭，上下有三十多口，奶娘既以半主自居，又非常的爱护我母亲，便成了一般婢仆所憎畏的人。她常常拿着秤，到厨房里去称厨师父买的菜和肉，夜里拍我睡了以后，就出去巡视灯火，察看门户。母亲常常婉告她说：“你只看管荣官好了，这些事用不着你操心，何苦来叫人家讨厌你。”她起先也只笑笑，说多了就发急。记得有一次，她哭了，说：“这些还不是都为你！你是一位菩萨，连高声说话都没说过，眼看这一场家私都让人搬空了，我看不过，才来帮你一点忙，你还怪我。”她一边数落，一边擦眼泪。母亲反而笑了，不说什么。父亲忍着笑，正色说：“我们知道你是好心，不过你和太太

说话，不必这样发急，‘你’呀‘我’的，没了规矩！”我只以为她是同我母亲拌嘴，便在后面使劲的搥她的腿，她回头看看，一把拉起我来，背着就走。

说也奇怪，我的抗日思想，还是我的奶娘给培养起来的。大约是在八九岁的时候，有一位堂哥哥带我出去逛街，看见一家日本的御料理，他说要请我吃“鸡素烧”，我欣然答应。脱鞋进门，地板光滑，我们两人拉着手溜走，我已是很高兴。等到吃饭的时候，我和堂哥对跪在矮几的两边，上下首跪着两个日本侍女，搽着满脸满脖子的怪粉，梳着高高的髻，油香逼人。她们手忙脚乱，烧鸡调味，殷勤劝进，还不住的和我们说笑。吃完饭回来，我觉得印象很深，一进门便一五一十的告诉了我的奶娘。她素来是爱听我的游玩报告的，这次却睁大了眼睛，沉着脸，说：“你哥哥就不是好人，单拉你往那些地方跑！下次再去，我就告诉你的父亲打你！”我吓得不敢再说。过了许多日子，偶然同母亲提起，母亲倒不觉得这是一件坏事，还向奶娘解释，说：“侄少爷不是一个荒唐人，他带荣官去的地方是日本饭馆子；日本的规矩，是侍女和客人坐在一起的。”奶娘扭过头去说：“这班不要脸的东西！太太，您大门不出，二门不迈的，哪里知道这些事呀！告诉您听吧，东洋人就没有一个好的：开馆子的、开洋行的、卖仁丹的，没有一个安着好心，连他们的领事都是他们一伙，而且就是贼头。他们的饭馆侍女，就是窑姐，客人去吃一次，下次还要去。洋行里卖胃药，一吃就上瘾。卖仁丹的，就是眼线，往常到我们村里，一次、两次、三次，头一次画下了图，第二次再来察看，第三次就竖起了仁丹的大板牌子。他们画图的时候，有人在后面偷偷看过，那地方有树，那地方有井……都记得清清楚楚。您记着我的话，将来我们这里，要没有东洋人造反，您怎样罚我都行！”父亲在旁边听着，连连点头，说：“她这话有道理，我们将来一定还要吃日本人的亏。”奶娘因为父亲赞成她，更加高兴了，说：“是不是？老爷也知道，我们那几亩地，那一间杂货铺，还不是让日本人强占去的？到东洋领事那里打了一场官司，我们孩子的爸爸回来就气死了，临死还叫了一夜：‘打死日本人，打死东洋鬼。’您看，若不是……我还不至于……”她兴奋得脸也红了，嘴唇哆嗦着，眼里也充满了泪光。母亲眼眶也红了。父亲站了起来，说：“荣官，你带奶娘回屋歇一歇吧。”我那时只觉得又愤激又抱愧，听见父亲的话，连忙拉她回到屋里。这一段话，从来没听见她说过，等她安静下来，我又问她一番。她叹口气抚摩着我说：“你看我的命多苦，只生了一个女儿，还长不大。只因我没有儿子，我的婆婆整天哭她的儿子，还诅咒我，说她儿子的仇，一辈子没人报了。我一赌气，便出来当奶娘。我想奶一个大人家的少爷，将来像薛仁贵似的跨海

征东，堵了我婆婆的嘴，出了我那死鬼男人的气。你大了……”我赶紧搂着她的脖子说：“你放心，我大了一定去跨海征东，打死日本人，打死东洋鬼！”眼泪滚下了她的笑脸，她也紧紧的搂着我，轻轻的摇晃着，说：“这才是我的好宝贝！”

从此我恨了日本人，每次奶娘带我到街上去，遇见日本人，或经过日本人的铺子，我们互搀着的手，都不由的捏紧了起来。我从来不肯买日本玩具，也不肯接受日货的礼物。朋友们送给我的日俄战争图画，我把上面的日本旗帜，都用小刀刺穿。稍大以后，我很用心的读日本地理，看东洋地图，因为我知道奶娘所厚望于我的，除了“作大官，挣大钱，娶个好媳妇”以外，还有“跨海征东”这一件事。

我的奶娘，有气喘的病，不服北方的水土，所以我们搬到北平的时候，她没有跟去。不过从祖父的信里，常常听到她的消息，她常来看祖父，也有时在祖父那里做些短工。她自己也常常请人写信来，每信都问荣官功课如何，定婚了没有。也问北方的佣人勤谨否。又劝我母亲驭下要恩威并济，不要太容纵了他们。母亲常常对我笑说：“你奶娘到如今还管着我，比你祖父还仔细。”

母亲按月寄钱给她零用，到了我经济独立以后，便由我来供给她。我们在家里，常常要想到她，提到她，尤其是在国难期间，她的恨声和眼泪，总悬在我的眼前。在日本提出二十一条和五四那年，学生游行示威的时候，同学们在高呼“打倒日本帝国主义”，我却心里在喊“打死东洋鬼”。仿佛我的奶娘在牵着我的手，和我一同走，和我一同喊似的。

抗战的前两年，我有一个学生到故乡去做调查工作，我托他带一笔款子送给我的奶娘，并托他去访问，替她照一张相片。学生回来时，带来一封书信，一张相片，和一只九成金的戒指。相片上的奶娘是老得多了，那一双老眼却还是笑成两道缝。信上是些不满意于我的话，她觉得弟弟们都结婚了，而我将近四十岁还是单身，不是一个孝顺的长子。因此她寄来一只戒指，是预备送给我将来的太太的。这只戒指和一只母亲送给我的手表，是我仅有的贵重物品，我有时也带上它，希望可以做一个“娶媳妇”的灵感！

抗战后，死生流转，奶娘的消息便隔绝了。也许是已死去了吧，我辗转都得不到一点信息。我的故乡在两月以前沦陷了，听说焚杀得很惨，不知那许多牺牲者之中，有没有我那良善的奶娘？我倒希望她在故乡沦陷以前死去。否则她没有看得见她的荣官“跨海征东”，却赶上了“东洋人造反”，我不能想象我的亲爱的奶娘那种深悲狂怒的神情……

安息吧，这良善的灵魂。抗战已进入了胜利阶段，能执干戈的中华民族的青年，都是你的儿子，跨海征东之期，不在远了！

9 MY CLASSMATE

Among all our classmates, male and female, Miss L was the most respected. Everyone called her "Elder Sister L." For us boys it was improper to inquire about the age of our girl classmates, but we supposed that she was only a little older than the rest of us. However, she never wore makeup and always kept her hair high. She dressed in quiet colors and her clothes were out of fashion. Whenever she spoke to us, she used both our family and given names in a way that sounded unceremonious, affectionate and elder-sister-like. So all of us, as if by a prior agreement, called her "elder sister" with heartfelt admiration.

A native of Fujian province in the south, Miss L had a swarthy complexion and big eyes. She was quick and concise both in speech and action. She used to mediate among classmates to quell their disputes and help them solve their troublesome problems. She only needed to step forward as a sponsor at any gathering or recreational activity to earn everyone's favorable response and support. She demonstrated frankness and impartiality in judgment, instead of timidity and reserve of most girl students. You might argue or even quarrel with her, but if your stance was reasonable, she was always willing to admit defeat. Furthermore, she showed no partiality to her fellow girl classmates, since she believed that favoritism of that sort would imply male supremacy. Why do women, who are also human beings, need special allowance? Once our principal spoke of her, saying that she "had the same train of thought as men," which we all believed to be the highest compliment for her. She was our class monitor for three years running. During those years, our class experienced neither fraction based on sex nor political parties. Everybody in our preparatory class for medical studies led a very busy and happy life under the banner of "Supporting the Leader."

One day in my last year in the pre-med class, I was called unexpect-edly by our tutor for a talk in his office. He asked me very politely to sit down and told me tactfully that I was unsuitable for this course of study because the school doctor had found something wrong with my lungs, and he advised me to pass to another department. That was really a bolt from the blue for me! I had chosen medicine as my specialty before the age of ten, because my sickly

mother had taken herbal prescriptions to little effect and was reluctant to allow an auscultation of her heart and lungs by Western-style doctors. I made up my mind to study medicine, in order to treat my mother's illnesses myself. I did quite well during the first three years of pre-med studies. I was looking forward to the beginning of regular curriculum in the medical college, but had to give up my ambitions while moving toward the brink of success! I could hardly stand as I left the tutor's office.

The next class that afternoon was experimental physiology. Dumbstruck, I was sitting at the desk watching how Miss L, with her sleeves rolled up and her head bending low, was moving her scalpel with great swiftness and dexterity in dissecting a dead cat to examine its nervous system. The other classmates were also too busy to pay any attention to me. Miss L raised her head as I called her in a soft voice, "Elder Sister L, I can no longer stay with you. The tutor has advised me not to go on studying medicine, because the school doctor says there is something wrong with my lungs...." She laid down her scalpel, astounded, and asked, "Is it tuberculosis?" I shook my head, "No, it isn't. I have been told that it is a serious lung disease.... Anyway, I will have to transfer to another department. What a pity!" Elder Sister L was silent for a while and came up to comfort me: "It's really a pity. A young man as gentle and careful as you are would surely become an excellent doctor. But if you aren't in very good health yourself, medical studies will do harm to you, and even to other people. I am sure you will still be successful if you switch to another discipline. Life goes on a winding road. A loss is sometimes a gain."

After class, the news got around. All my classmates came up to express how sorry they felt for me and tried to comfort me. However, Elder Sister L's response was rather realistic: she was thinking about which department would be the most suitable for me to transfer into now. She told me, "There's only one year left for you to enter the regular college courses, and you still haven't fulfilled enough credits to place in another field. I think that it would be easier for you to go into the Department of Literature." She hastened to add, "You've always shown great interest in literature. I often thought that it was a loss for you to study medicine."

Following Elder Sister's advice, I went into the Department of Literature. What I had been reading as a pastime now became the discipline

of my academic endeavor. It was just like "hitting the mark by a fluke." Literature became more and more interesting to me. I not only read, but also wrote. After reading and writing I usually dropped in at dusk to chat with my former classmates in their laboratories, while Elder Sister L was giving orders to them and discussing their upcoming graduation.

She used to inquire earnestly as to how I was getting along in my studies and asked me to let her read my writings, which she always praised highly, advising me to read and write as much as possible. Guided and encouraged by Elder Sister, I was recovering more and more from the sadness caused by the forced change in disciplines and acquiring more and more courage in my writing. Recalling today what had happened at that time, I find that, but for the encouragement and advice she gave me at that juncture of change, I would have become a despondent man and given up my life as hopeless.

Elder Sister was already a well-known obstetrician when I began teaching. As the center of respect and admiration for most doctors and nurses, she kept her leadership intact in the hospital, just as she had done at college. Many of my former classmates worked in that big hospital, and each time I went downtown, I would drop in to see them dressed in white, carrying stethoscopes and walking hurriedly up and down the clean and tidy corridor. The fresh smell of medicine always gave rise to some indescribable feeling as if I were a wounded and dismissed soldier, covered in bandages and sitting on the top of a hill where I watched with a mixed sensation of envy and sadness how my fellow soldiers were drilling on the ground, in spite of my developing interest in my new career.

My former classmates often invited me to dine in their hospital and chat while smoking with them in the lounge. They told me many things about some difficult and complicated diseases. One of them, specialized in mental diseases, told me a lot about such cases. Elder Sister L would say to me in laughter, "X, all of this is good source material for writing stories. Carefully take note of it!"

A little over a month before the beginning of the War of Resistance against Japan, I came back from Europe just in time for a gathering of alumni on the old campus. That evening we had a large meeting of former classmates, with a big and distinguished attendance! Over the last ten years or so, almost all of my one hundred odd classmates had achieved success in

their careers and had given birth to a great many sons and daughters. (I was, of course, the only one who failed to accomplish these things.) Attending the gathering with their families, my classmates filled the large hall. Amidst the endless toasts among them and the joyful cheers of their children, Elder Sister was sitting at the right side of the chairman, glancing right and left with great satisfaction. She said that ninety-five percent of these children had been born under her care as an obstetrician. Warm with wine, we began to talk about the funny events of our college years, and the atmosphere became increasingly ardent. Suddenly the chairman stood up and, knocking at the table, made the following suggestion: "I now suggest that each one of us tell in turn what kind of a person he or she would like to become if reincarnation into another human being in the next life were possible." All of us burst into laughter. Then someone said he would like to be a general, and another a millionaire.... When it was my turn, Elder Sister giggled abruptly and said, "I'm sure you would like to be a woman in your next life." On hearing that, everyone rocked backwards and forwards with laughter. Feeling somewhat ill at ease in the presence of so many ladies, I launched a smiling counter-attack, "Dear Dr. L, I'm sure you would like to be a man in your next life." She replied, "No, I wouldn't. I would like to remain a woman, but a beautiful woman, a social butterfly, admired by and attached to every man!" She said this laughing. The ladies stood up one after another and, roaring with laughter, said to her, "Elder Sister L, you are wrong in saying this. Look, which one of our classmates is not looking upon you with admiration and affection? Come on, you ought to drink a cup as a concession." We all applauded these words to liven things up. What Elder Sister L had said so audaciously in the knowledge of her seniority had turned out to be to her own disadvantage! And then the small children brought cups and the grown-ups poured her wine, which she tried to decline, but in vain. Everyone split his or her sides with laugher. And our well-known Dr. L, who had never before sipped a single drop of wine, ended up getting a bit drunk.

But happy gatherings are not held every day and happy hours rarely come again. It is still melancholy to recall that day's joyful reunion of former classmates, who came from different corners of the earth. After the Lugou Bridge Incident of July 7, 1937, while still staying in Beijing and feeling rather vexed, I would drop in to pay Elder Sister L a visit in her hospital whenever I passed by. I always found her knitting her brows and speaking

thoughtfully, "I can't stay here any longer. Here we merely ‘exist' rather than live a human life! Let's go, go to Free China[1]. There people do everything they can. You could use your pen, and we our hands. I'm sure that people like us are needed there since we can do our part!" We all nodded in agreement. I said, "You doctors are the most needed these days. But what can people like me do with a mere pen? If it had not been for..." Elder Sister cut me short and said seriously, "X, I don't allow you to say nonsense any more. You yourself are well aware of what you can do. Fancy a man specialized in literature needing encouragement and enlightenment from people like us!"

Within a year, we all silently left the ancient capital[2] occupied by the Japanese. Since then, I haven't seen our Elder Sister L. But this respectable name was often mentioned by some people who said that she was in a city in Southwest China, wearing a military uniform and with her gray hair cut short. She was striving happily and unremittingly against the harsh conditions of those remote miasmic areas, delivering hundreds and thousands of Chinese children with her brisk and nimble hands. She not only ushered them into life, but also guided their parents to derive unlimited nourishment from a limited food supply. She was bringing up innumerable future fighters for our nation.

I hope that in the near future, when all of us meet in another gathering of former classmates, I may tell her: "Elder Sister L, I wish I could become a woman in my next life, but I must be a woman like you!"

[1] Those were the areas inside China unoccupied by Japan.

[2] This refers to Beijing.

玖 我的同班

L 女士是我们全班男女同学所最敬爱的一个人。大家都称呼她“L 大姐”。我们男同学不大好意思打听女同学的岁数，惟据推测，她不会比我们大到多少。但她从不打扮，梳着高高的头，穿着黯淡不入时的衣服，称呼我们的时候，总是连名带姓，以不客气的、亲热的、大姐姐的态度处之。我们也就不约而同，心诚悦服的叫她大姐了。

L 女士是闽南人，皮肤很黑，眼睛很大，说话做事，敏捷了当。在同学中间，疏通调停，排难解纷，无论是什么集会，什么娱乐，只要是 L 大姐登高一呼，大家都是拥护响应的。她的好处是态度坦白，判断公允，没有一般女同学的羞怯和隐藏。你可和她辩论，甚至吵架，只要你的理长，她是没有不认输的。同时她对女同学也并不偏袒，她认为偏袒女生，就是重男轻女；女子也是人，为什么要人家特别容让呢？我们的校长有一次说她“有和男人一样的思路”，我们都以为这是对她最高的奖辞。她一连做了三年的班长，在我们中间，没有男女之分，党派之别，大家都在“拥护领袖”的旗帜之下，过了三年医预科的忙碌而快乐的生活。

在医预科的末一年，有一天，我们的班导师忽然叫我去见他。在办公室里，他很客气的叫我坐下，婉转的对我说，校医发现我的肺部有些毛病，学医于我不宜，劝我转系。这真是一个晴天霹雳！我要学医，是十岁以前就决定的。因我的母亲多病，服中医的药不大见效，西医诊病的时候，总要听听心部肺部，母亲又不愿意，因此，我就立下志愿要学医，学成了好替我的母亲医病。在医预科三年，成绩还不算坏，眼看将要升入本科了，如今竟然功亏一篑！从班导师的办公室里走出来的时候，我几乎是连路都走不动了。

午后这一堂是生理学实验。我只呆坐在桌边，看着对面的 L 大姐卷着袖子，低着头，按着一只死猫，在解剖神经，那刀子下得又利又快！其余的同学也都忙着，没有人注意到我。我轻轻的叫了一声，L 大姐便抬起头来，我说：“L 大姐，我不能同你们在一起了，导师不让我继续学医，因为校医说我肺有毛病……”L 大姐愕然，刀也放下了，说：“不是肺痨吧？”我摇头说：“不是，据说是肺气枝涨大……无论如何，我要转系了，你看！”L 大姐沉默了一会，便走过来安慰我说：“可惜的很，像你这么一个温和细心的人，将来一定可以做个很好的医生，不过假如你自

己身体不好，学医不但要耽误自己，也要耽误别人。同时我相信你若改学别科，也会有成就的。人生的路线，曲折得很，塞翁失马，安知非福？”

下了课，这消息便传遍了，同班们都来向我表示惋惜，也加以劝慰，L　大姐却很实际的替我决定要转哪一个系。她说：“你转大学本科，只剩一年了，学分都不大够，恐怕还是文学系容易些。”她赶紧又加上一句，“你素来对文学就极感兴趣，我常常觉得你学医是太可惜了。”

我听了大姐的话，转入了文学系。从前拿来消遣的东西，现在却当功课读了。正是“歪打正着”，我对于文学，起了更大的兴趣，不但读，而且写。读写之余，在傍晚的时候，我仍常常跑到他们的实验室里去闲谈，听 L 大姐发号施令，商量他们毕业的事情。

大姐常常殷勤的查问我的功课，又索读我的作品。她对我的作品，总是十分叹赏，鼓励我要多读多写。在她的指导鼓励之下，我渐渐的消灭了被逼改行的伤心，而增加了写作的勇气。至今回想，当时若没有大姐的勉励和劝导，恐怕在那转变的关键之中，我要做了一个颓废而不振作的人吧！

在我教书的时候，L　大姐已是一个很有名的产科医生了。在医院里，和在学校里一样，她仍是保持着领袖的地位，作一班大夫和护士们敬爱的中心。在那个大医院里，我的同学很多，我每次进城去，必到那里走走，看他们个个穿着白衣，挂着听诊器，在那整洁的甬道里，忙忙的走来走去。闻着一股清爽的药香，我心中常有一种说不出来的感觉，如同一个受伤退伍的兵士，裹着绷带，坐在山头，看他的伙伴们在广场上操练一样，也许是羡慕，也许是伤心，虽然我对于我的职业，仍是抱着与时俱增的兴趣。

同学们常常留我在医院里吃饭，在他们的休息室里吸烟闲谈，也告诉我许多疑难的病症。一个研究精神病的同学，还告诉我许多关于精神病的故事。L 大姐常常笑说：“╳ ╳ ╳，这都是你写作的材料，快好好的记下吧！”

抗战前一个多月，我从欧洲回来，正赶上校友返校日。那天晚上，我们的同级有个联欢大会，真是济济多士！十余年中，我们一百多个同级，差不多个个名成业就，儿女成行（当然我是一个例外！），大家携眷莅临，很大的一个厅堂都坐满了。觥筹交错，童稚欢呼，大姐坐在主席的右边，很高兴的左顾右盼，说这几十个孩子之中，有百分之九十五

是她接引降生的。酒酣耳热，大家谈起做学生时代的笑话，情况愈加热烈了。主席忽然起立，敲着桌子提议："现在请求大家轮流述说，假如下一辈子再托生，还能做一个人的时候，你愿意做一个什么样的人？"大家哄然大笑。于是有人说他愿意做一个大元帅，有人说愿做个百万富翁……轮到我的时候，大姐忽然大笑起来，说："╳╳╳教授，我知道你下一辈子一定愿意做一个女人。"大家听了都笑得前仰后合；当着许多太太们，我觉得有点不好意思，我也笑着反攻说："L　大夫，我知道你下一辈子，一定愿意做一个男人。"L　大姐说："不，我仍愿意做一个女人，不过要做一个漂亮的女人，我做交际明星，做一切男人们恋慕的对象……"她一边说一边笑，那些太太们听了纷纷起立，哄笑着说："L　大姐，您这话就不对，您看您这一班同学，哪一个不恋慕您？来，来，我们要罚您一杯酒。"我们大家立刻鼓掌助兴。L　大姐倚老卖老的话，害了她自己了！于是小孩们捧杯，太太们斟酒，L　大姐固辞不获，大家笑成一团。结果是滴酒不入的　L　大医生，那晚上也有些醉意了。

盛会不常，佳时难再，那次欢乐的集会，同班们三三两两的天涯重聚，提起来都有些怅惘，事变后，我还在北平，心里烦闷得很，到医院里去的时候，L　大姐常常深思的皱着眉对我们说："我呆不下去了。在这里不是'生'着，只是'活'着！我们都走吧，走到自由中国去，大家各尽所能，你用你的一支笔，我们用我们的一双手，我相信大后方还用得着我们这样的人！"大家都点点头。我说："你们医生是当今第一等人材，我这拿笔杆的人，做得了什么事？假若当初……"大姐正色拦住我说："╳╳╳，我不许你再说这些无益的话。你自己知道你能做些什么事，学文学的人还要我们来替你打气，真是！"

一年内，我们都悄然的离开了沦陷的故都，我从那时起，便没有看见过我们的 L 大姐，不过这个可敬的名字，常常在人们口里传说着，说 L　大姐在西南的一个城市里，换上军装，灰白的头发也已经剪短了。她正在和她的环境，快乐的、不断的奋斗，在蛮烟瘴雨里，她的敏捷矫健的双手，又接下了成千累百的中华民族的孩童。她不但接引他们出世，还指导他们的父母，在有限的食物里，找出无限的滋养料。她正在造就无数的将来的民族斗士！

我希望在不久的将来，我们回到故都重开级会的时候，我能对她说："L　大姐，下一辈子我情愿做一个女人，不过我一定要做像你这样的女人！"

10 MY SCHOOLMATE

I wonder whether women usually like talking about men when they are together. As for us men, we often talk about women when we are together in college. We especially like to talk about the way women look.

What we can put forward as an excuse is that we don't talk about a particular woman, making critical remarks about her appearance. What we discuss are the abstract criteria of women's attractiveness or homeliness. For instance, we believe there are three kinds of women as far as attractiveness is concerned. Women of the first kind look pretty at first sight but become less so the more you look at them. Those of the second kind do not look pretty at first sight, but you will find them prettier the more you look at them. And those of the third kind are so pretty that they astound you from the very first glance and you find them prettier the more you look at them!

Of the first kind are mainly women of slender figure and soft white complexion. At first sight, a woman in this category seems quite attractive. But you need no more than exchange a few conventional greetings with her and sit down and chat with her for a while to find her eyebrows drawn too thin with the pencil, her lips too thick with lipstick, her voice too coarse and her manners too frivolous. After meeting her several times, you will even feel that she is dull and empty in speech and repulsive in appearance.

Of the second kind are often women decked out in a simple way and plain in features. At first sight, a woman in this category makes no particular impression on you. But after talking to her and doing business with her on a few occasions, you will find her natural and poised in manners, easy-going about affairs, noble and unsullied in her personal taste. She wears quietly elegant clothing, while her frequent smile appears gentle and mild on a face that is free of any cosmetics. Once you have made her acquaintance you can hardly forget her.

The third kind of woman reminds you of a divine crane standing out among a flock of fowls, emerging as a single red visage in the midst of thick green foliage. You can single out such a woman among the vast ocean of countless people without the slightest hesitation. Actually, what happens is

that she suddenly deprives you of all hesitation and perplexity as soon as she emerges from the crowd to impress you visually. A woman of this kind has a body often "appropriately tallish, svelte in the right measure, ... needing no perfume whatsoever nor any kind of cosmetics,"[1] enshrining a crystal-pure and delicate soul. In every word, smile and gesture, she radiates a glow and grace charming and dignified, possessing the elegance of a white lotus flower that looms in the water of a quiet pond.

If you have more chances to meet her, you will probably find her serene in style, eloquent and fluent in speech, and neither too cold nor too ardent while talking. Throughout your life, it will be possible for you to come across such a woman at most once or twice, or not even once!

As for me, I have met such a woman only once!

Miss C was a schoolmate of mine at college, two grades my senior. On the first day that I entered the university, one hour before the opening ceremony, I caught sight of her in the long corridor in front of the Auditorium.

All girl students at that time used to wear school uniforms: the same white linen blouse and the same black silk skirt. Over one hundred of them on that occasion formed a long queue. Such a blouse and skirt amidst the crowd seemed to set off the curve of Miss C's slender figure. She didn't speak loud, nor did she laugh. Once or twice I noticed her talking in whispers with her companions. When she bent her head or turned it to one side, I found her eyes big and extremely dark, dancing and lighting up the hair on her temples.

We took our seats in the Auditorium—each one had his or her seat fixed according to his or her grade—and I found her seated three rows in front of me, at my right side, a little inclined leisurely to the right, showing me an extremely beautiful profile: thick and black hair on the temple, a shapely ear, a snow-white neck, and the lovely corner of an eye beneath the delicate tip of an eyebrow. Whenever the speaker on the rostrum said something humorous, I saw that she would bend her head slightly and raise her left hand gently to support her cheek with tender, white fingers, in what should have been an apparent or suppressed smile. This scene made an extremely clear and profound impression on me. During the next two years, until her graduation, I always kept the same seat whenever there was a meeting in the Auditorium.

This enabled me to catch sight of her beautiful profile.

Although we were in different grades, we met on many occasions, such as during the activities of the college chorus, the editorial board of the college journal and the various societies. As a popular senior, she held very responsible posts in every organization she joined. Her presence was sufficient for any gathering to be fully attended and to be held in a harmonious and solemn atmosphere. To say nothing of the boy students, whose admiration and respect for her was beyond question, the girl students, too, admired and respected her very highly. I never heard a single remark expressing discontent with her on the part of any of my schoolmates.

A native of Guangdong province, Miss C had grown up, however, in the North, and spoke very pure Beijing Mandarin. Playing an unimportant role in these gatherings, I used to take my seat quietly in the last row, appreciating her calm and steady way of handling things and listening to her plain and simple words. Not only was she on intimate and amiable terms with her girl schoolmates, but she also treated the boy schoolmates with modesty and poise. Her gentle smiles would free us from the inexplicable discomfort and shyness that used to come over us in her presence. I don't believe that I was apt to blush, but I noticed that many of my male schoolmates with glib tongues also used to stand speechless in front of Miss C, for she was like the bright sun nobody dared observe squarely.

I was told that a good many college friends had sent her love letters. She never replied, but she didn't feel offended either. We didn't hear that she had any lover outside the campus. As for me? Younger in age and lower in grade, I never dared to think of writing her love letters. But during those years, she was always enshrined in my heart. Even now, whenever I recall my college years in my dreams, she emerges before my eyes, playing ball or delivering a speech, gleaming and dancing like a sparkle in the mist of my fascinating reveries. Maybe this is just the "poetic mood" referred to by Mr. Lao She[2] in his novels! I know that I am worthy, after all, of my ideals, for these have been the only occasions in my whole life when some "poetic mood" has flashed in my mind.

During the year when Miss C was to graduate from college, I had a chance to perform with her in a play. We played the two leading roles in one act, an event that I will never forget! It was an act from Maeterlinck's *Blue*

Bird. The performance was part of the university's program for raising funds that year to relieve the people of the drought-stricken areas of Northern China. I was chosen as the chief of the theatrical section of the program, responsible for choosing and translating the script and selecting actors and actresses. I assigned myself the role of the little hero and invited Miss C to play the part of the "Goddess of Light."

That evening, when the act of the "Temple of Light" began, I walked out of the dark shade and stopped in front of her. When I raised my head, I saw the dazzling spotlights shining upon Miss C, all wrapped in a fine gauze garment speckled with silvery flakes, and holding a silver wand in her hand. The makeup afforded her beautiful eyes still greater gleam and depth. Her cheeks were rosy and her fresh cherry-like lips glistened and reminded me of the falling dew. When we began our dialogue, her silvery voice at first seemed to quiver a bit, but soon became louder and clearer. And I, as if enlightened by a certain inspiration, found myself in very high spirits, and remained so until the end of the play. I think that if I had been a composer, I would have composed a symphony that evening, and had I been a poet, I would have written a long poem. But what a pity I was neither the one nor the other, and all I could do was to dream half a night's confused, ethereal dreams!

After my own graduation from the university, I met her several times in the United States. Later on, while teaching in my Alma Mater after returning to China, I learned that she had married a certain Doctor L and was living in Tianjin. Exchanging information with former schoolmates at frequent get-togethers, I was told that her husband was a very good doctor and that her children were pretty and smart like her.

The last time I heard about her was ten days before the outbreak of the War of Resistance against Japan. Just after my return from Europe, I was dining in the home of an elderly American professor. He told me that he had given a lecture in Tianjin one week before. An extremely pretty lady came up and shook hands with him at the tea party held afterwards. Scratching his head, he asked me, "Who do you think it was? None other than our pretty Miss C! I hadn't seen her for eight or nine years, but, it's hard to believe—she looked as attractive and young as before.... Do you remember her?" I replied, "How can I forget her? I've been to Tokyo, New York, London, Paris, Rome,

Berlin and Moscow..., but nowhere have I seen a more attractive woman!"

Another six years have passed without any news about her, but I am sure that her dignified personality and her beautiful features always turn everything around her into a paradise of light. May she enjoy all the good things that come from her radiance, may her husband be virtuous forever, and may her children be lovable forever, for blessed is her husband and so are her children.

[1] This is from "Goddess Luo Rhapsody" (*Luo Shen Fu*) by Cao Zhi (192-232).

[2] Lao She (1899-1966) was a well-known Chinese writer and playwright. He committed suicide at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.

拾 我的同学

不知女人在一起的时间，是常谈到男人不是？我们一班朋友在一起的时候，的确常谈着女人，而且常常评论到女人的美丑。

我们所引以自恕的，是我们不是提起某个女人，来品头论足；我们是抽象的谈到女人美丑的标准。比如说，我们认为女人的美可分为三种：第一种是乍看是美，越看越不美；第二种是乍看不美，越看越觉出美来；第三种是一看就美，越看越美！

第一种多半是身段窈窕，皮肤洁白的女人，瞥见时似乎很动人，但寒暄过后，坐下一谈，就觉得她眉画得太细，唇涂得太红，声音太粗糙，态度太轻浮，见过几次之后，你简直觉得她言语无味，面目可憎。

第二种往往是装束素朴，面目平凡的女人，乍见时不给人以特别的印象。但在谈过几次话，同办过几次事以后，你会渐渐的觉得她态度大方，办事稳健，雅淡的衣饰，显出她高洁的品味；不施铅华的脸上，常常含着柔静的微笑，这种女人，认识了之后，很不易使人忘掉。

第三种女人，是鸡群中的仙鹤，万绿丛里的一点红光！在万人如海之中，你会毫不迟疑的把她拣拔了出来。事实上，是在不容你迟疑之顷，她自己从人丛中浮跃了出来，打击在你的眼帘上。这种女人，往往是在“修短合度，秾纤适中……芳泽无加，铅华弗御”的躯壳里，投进了一个玲珑高洁的灵魂。她的一言一笑，一举一动，都流露着一种神情，一种风韵，既流丽，又端庄，好像白莲出水，玉立亭亭。

假如有机会多认识她，你也许会发现她态度从容，辩才无碍，言谈之际，意暖神寒。这种女人，你一生至多遇见一两次，也许一次都遇不见！

我也就遇见过一次！

C 女士是我在大学时的同学，她比我高两班。我入大学的第一天，在举行开学典礼之前一小时，在大礼堂前的长廊上，瞥见了她。

那时的女同学，都还穿着制服，一色的月白布衫，黑绸裙儿，长蛇般的队伍，总有一二百个。在人群中，那竹布衫子，黑绸裙子，似乎特别的衬托出 C 女士那夭矫的游龙般的身段。她并没有大声说话，也不曾

笑，偶然看见她和近旁的女伴耳语，一低头，一侧面，只觉得她眼睛很大，极黑，横波入鬓，转盼流光。

及至进入礼堂坐下——我们是按着班次坐的，每人有一定的座位——她正坐在我右方前三排的位子上，从从容容略向右倚。我正看一个极其美丽潇洒的侧影：浓黑的鬓发，一个润厚的耳廓，洁白的颈子，美丽的眼角和眉梢。台上讲话的人，偶然有引人发笑之处，总看见她微微的低下头，轻轻的举起左手，那润白的手指，托在腮边，似乎在微笑，又似乎在忍着笑。这印象我极其清楚，也很深。以后的两年中，直到她毕业时为止，在集会的时候，我总在同一座位上，看到这美丽的侧影。

我们虽不同班，而见面的时候很多，如同歌咏队，校刊编辑部，以及什么学会等等。她是大班的学生，人望又好，在每一团体，总是负着重要的责任。任何集会，只要有 C 女士在内，人数到的总是齐全，空气也十分融和静穆，男同学们对她固然敬慕，女同学们对她也是极其爱戴，我没有听见一个同学，对她有过不满的批评。

C 女士是广东人，却在北方生长，一口清脆的北平官话。在集会中，我总是下级干部，在末座静静的领略她稳静的风度，听取她简洁的谈话。她对女同学固然亲密和气，对男同学也很谦逊大方，她的温和的笑，解除了我们莫名其妙的局促和羞涩，我觉得我并不是常常红脸的人，对别的女同学，我从不觉得埳坼。但我看不只我一个人如此，许多口能舌辩的男同学，在 C 女士面前，也往往说不出话来，她是一轮明丽的太阳，没有人敢向她正视。

我知道有许多大班的男同学，给她写过情书，她不曾答复，也不存芥蒂，我们也不曾听说她在校外有什么爱人。我呢？年少班低，连写情书的思念也不敢有过，但那几年里，心目中总是供养着她。直至现在，梦中若重过学生生活，梦境中还常常有着 C 女士，她或在打球，或在讲演，一朵火花似的，在我迷离的梦雾中燃烧跳跃。这也许就是老舍先生小说中所谓之“诗意”吧！我算对得起自己的理想，我一辈子只有这么一次“诗意”！

在 C 女士将要毕业的一年，我同她演过一次戏，在某一幕中，我们两人是主角，这一幕剧我永远忘不了！那是梅德林克的《青鸟》中之一幕。那年是华北旱灾，学校里筹款赈济，其中有一项是演剧募捐，我被选为戏剧股主任。剧本是我选的，我译的，演员也是我请的。我自己担任了小主角，请了 C 女士担任“光明之神”。上演之夕，到了进入“光明殿”之一幕，我从黑暗里走到她的脚前，抬头一望，在强烈的灯光照射

之下，C 女士散披着洒满银花的轻纱之衣，扶着银杖。经过一番化装，她那对秀眼，更显得光耀深大，双颊绯红，樱唇欲滴。及至我们开始对话，她那银铃似的声音，虽然起始有点颤动，以后却愈来愈清爽，愈嘹亮，我也如同得了灵感似的，精神焕发，直到终剧。我想，那夜如果我是个音乐家，一定会写出一部交响曲，我如果是一个诗人，一定会作出一首长诗。可怜我什么都不是，我只作了半夜光明的乱梦！

等到我自己毕业以后，在美国还遇见她几次，等到我回国在母校教书，听说她已和一位姓L的医生结婚，住在天津。同学们聚在一起，常常互相报告消息，说她的丈夫是个很好的医生，她的儿女也像她那样聪明美丽。

我最后听到她的消息，是在抗战前十天，我刚从欧洲归来，在一位美国老教授家里吃晚饭。他提起一星期以前，他到天津演讲，演讲后的茶会中，有位极漂亮的太太，过来和他握手，他搔着头说："你猜是谁？就是我们美丽的 C！我们有八九年没有见面了，真是使人难以相信，她还是和从前一样的好看，一样的年轻，……你记得 C 吧？"我说："我哪能不记得？我游遍了东京、纽约、伦敦、巴黎、罗马、柏林、莫斯科……我还没有遇见过比她还美丽的女人！"

又六年没有消息了，我相信以她的人格和容貌的美丽，她的周围随处都可以变成光明的天国。愿她享受她自己光明中之一切，愿她的丈夫永远是个好丈夫，她的儿女永远是些好的儿女。因为她的丈夫是有福的，她的儿女也是有福的！

11 MY FRIEND'S WIFE

There were three men living on the upper floor assigned to single professors only: L, T and myself. My colleagues were professors at the Faculty of Science and used to spend most of their time in the laboratories. Besides, they were already engaged. Returning after class, they sat down to write their love letters by the light of the desk lamp as soon as they finished their supper. Whenever their doors were shut, I would always abstain from bothering them. People immersed in the happiness of love are seldom aware of the loneliness of others. For this reason, I had to stay in my sitting room where, by the light of the lamp near the sofa, I read eighteenth-century sonnets that helped me indulge in amorous fantasies.

I felt closer to L than to T. He often invited me to chat with him in his room. The photo on his desk provided a glimpse of his fiancée, whose oval face smiled tenderly through her glasses. He told me that, while abroad, they had gotten to know one other and then became engaged. The scene of their romance was a biology laboratory at a university on the east coast of the United States. As schoolmates and colleagues in the same discipline, they became spiritual companions and, later on, after becoming intimate, ended up in what they believed to be a happy and lifelong relationship. It was so that... At this point L blushed and, stammering and timid as he was, stopped, wondering how to go on. I hastened to follow: "The two of you will become another Curie couple. Congratulations! When shall we be invited to your wedding?"

Later on, one summer, L went home to Shanghai and returned to Beijing with his new wife to settle down in a house recently built for the professors.

Just a week after they moved in, we were invited to dinner at their home. The four small rooms had been furnished very comfortably. The bedroom, light pink with its window curtains, table clothes, bed sheets and carpets of the same color matched with its simple white furniture, looked warm and mild. In the reading room there were two large desks opposite each other, and a bright desk lamp between them. There was a bookshelf filled with books along the wall as well as still more bottles containing frogs, flies and all sorts

of unknown insects. The furniture in this room was light gray. The window curtains and other things were green. The large room outside was blue and it consisted of two rooms: the sitting room and the dining room. In spite of the differences between the darker and lighter tones of the colors, everything was well matched and looked pleasant.

After looking around the flat, we sat down in the sitting room just as the new housewife came out from the kitchen. Dressed in light pink and in a quietly elegant style, she wore no jewelry. Other than the fact that she did not wear glasses, she appeared much as she did in the photo. Although it was hard to regard her as beautiful, she possessed a dignified and amiable manner. She showed natural poise and spoke fluently while shaking hands with us. Thus all of the light-hearted horseplay that we had prepared for the bridal chamber vanished like mist and smoke.

At dinner, she talked to each one of us, and nobody felt left out in the cold. Although far from being talkative, L looked at us with a very happy face. We all said to Mrs. L, "It seems that you had better give your husband a little home education by teaching him to talk more." She replied jokingly, "Perhaps I have talked too much to give him a chance to come forward." When dinner was over, some of us began to play *weiqi*[1]; others preferred playing cards. Mrs. L promptly organized her guests into the right groups. I was not keen about playing any of these games, so I chose to enjoy the moonlight while talking with the newlyweds. I said, "Mrs. L, I believe you won't take offense if I say that to me you are a woman of letters and well-cultivated in aesthetics, judging from how your home is furnished." She made a few modest remarks and then smiled, "I have a few female friends majoring in the fine arts and literature. They do pretty well in their own careers. However, once you enter the doors of their houses, you have the sensation, just as you suggested, Mr. X, of going into the home of a scientist." Feeling somewhat ill at ease, I was about to reply when she hastened to continue, "I understand what you mean. My opinion is that aesthetic taste is in my case something bordering on the congenital. This doesn't mean that I really have such good taste. What I mean is that one's specialty sometimes differs from what one makes use of in life." From this we changed the subject to literature, my own specialty, but I found Mrs. L had ample knowledge of this subject and was able to appreciate works of literature as well. Our conversation lasted until the cards and *weiqi* were over. We had some ice cream before we

left.

Mrs. L used to go to the laboratory together with her husband every afternoon. The couple would often pass by our dormitory after class, and then they would invite me to have supper with them. Dishes cooked in the collective dining hall were of course not so good as those prepared at home, so I never declined their invitation, but at times I brought with me some dried meat, wine-steeped crabs, sweets and biscuits, although they often said that I was too generous in this regard.

In the winter evenings, they used to light the fireplace and we would have a fireside chat. I suggested that they should drink some quality wine and smoke some good cigarettes. They didn't say no, but showed little interest. Mrs. L even ascribed my drinking and smoking to the fact that I was still unmarried, and then urged me to tell her why I remained so. I replied, "You are too much of a puritan, Mrs. L. You haven't seen any genuine drinker or smoker. Men who only drink one glass of wine before the meal and smoke one cigarette after meal, just as I do, can be said to inadequately enjoy their rights. As for marriage, I must repeat what I have said often enough: he who writes worse than others should have a better wife than others. And it just so happens that each one of my friends' wives is as good as the other. Where can I find a better one than they? I staggered around in my day and wasted a lot of time, but I'm not to blame...." Mrs. L shook with laughter, almost out of breath, and her husband broke in, "Leave him alone. He is so eccentric. How could he fail to find a wife should he be a bit more serious? I guess that what he really means is that his writings are too good to allow him to find an equally good wife."

Actually, Mrs. L is nothing less than a puritan. Not only with respect to drinking and smoking, but also, added to everything else, as the most human and feminine woman I had ever known, she held on to excessively unworldly and largely impractical ideals. She often praised men who never remarried after their wives' deaths on the assumption that their refusal represented the highest loyalty to conjugal love. More than once I heard her illustrate her opinion with examples. Once on New Year's Eve when everybody had gone home for the holiday, I stayed in the outskirts of Beijing, since my parents remained in Shanghai and I did not feel like going downtown. The L couple, aware that I was alone, called me by telephone and invited me to have a tasty

dish at their home. Warm with wine, we sat down after dinner by the light of the lamps and by the fireside. Sighing with emotion, Mrs. L talked about an elderly gentleman. She said that he must feel very lonely on New Year's Eve as a widower for thirty years, having his late wife's photo day and night as his only company. How lovable and respectable this old man was!

I stood up, threw the cigarette stub into the fireplace and said, "I'm sorry, Mrs. L, but I can't agree with you on this point. If I were a woman and enjoyed a happy married life, I would like my husband to get married again after my death. I should add the following in my will: ‘Darling, for the sake of the integrity of our home and the breeding and education of our children, and for the sake of everything else, I earnestly ask you to marry another kind and capable wife as soon as possible....'" At this moment, not only did she stare at me with raised eyebrows, but her husband laid down his book.

I lit another cigarette and sat down again. I said, "Women often regard remarriage after the death of a wife as a token of infidelity and insincerity. But I dare say, without fearing to offend such women, that this view reveals obvious vanity. What is more, as a matter of fact, a man who feels happy and satisfied with his married life usually marries again after his wife's death sooner than men who are not so happy with their marriages. A man used to a happy family who loses his wife feels as miserable and distressed as a stray dog. Heartbroken all day long, he feels as if the sky has fallen down. Finding himself deprived of anything to fall back on, he looks at the crying children, the loafing servants and the neglected household duties. Particularly in the still of the night, when he sees his children's tear-stained, pale and emaciated faces, he feels as if a knife were piercing his heart and wished that he could regain his paradise which has been lost at once...." On hearing this, Mrs. L fell silent and blew her nose with a handkerchief.

I continued, "On the contrary, he who was unhappy in his married life will feel free as a bird, footloose and fancy-free once his wife is dead. At least for the time being, he will prefer to remain unbridled by marriage. Soon he will put the matter aside to enjoy a few years of liberty in carefree leisure. It follows that the early remarriage of a widower demonstrates his faith in married life and attachment to the warmth of home. In other words, it shows that he appraises his first wife very highly indeed. What is more, if you do love your husband, what role should vanity or jealousy play in life when you

have turned into withered wood or cold ashes? Are you hard-hearted enough to inflict him with the boundless sorrow of loneliness in a miserable life that lacks all consolation? Moreover, if your husband loves you, he will by no means cast you into oblivion merely because he takes on a new wife. In *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, the actress Ou-guan[2] understands this completely. When asked if she had forgotten her late lover after she had taken on a new one, she replied, ‘No, but there's a very good reason for this. I'm like a widower who marries again. If he doesn't forget his first wife, he's still true to her.' Therefore, although feeling inseparable from Rui-guan once they began to act together, she also dared to defy the prohibitions of the Grand View Garden, and burned paper coins under the shade of an apricot tree to mourn her dead lover, with her face stained with tears. This story provides a very realistic example of what is quite normal in the human world. Believe me or not, all I can say is that, if I were a woman, I would never underestimate a man's moral quality simply because he remarries after his wife's death. Furthermore, I would never contend that men who remarried are unworthy...."

Perhaps a little warm with wine, I talked on and on in a flow of eloquence. That was the first time I had argued bluntly with Mrs. L. Since then, she never brought up this topic again, and I am aware that for a long time she did not fully agree with me.

But she was finally persuaded by an event which occurred one year later.

Mr. T had dwelled with us in the same dormitory for singles and married in the same year as L. The couple lived very near to the L couple. Mrs. T, also a very mild and amiable woman, got along very well with Mrs. L. It goes without saying that the T couple was very devoted. One year later, Mrs. T died of dystocia in the hospital. Mr. T cried his heart out. Mrs. L, in tears, helped him with all the funeral services and even with his household chores. She had given birth not long before to her son Baodi and now, busy looking after the baby, she also had to take charge of Mr. T's household. She thus found herself in a state of utter exhaustion. Finally, acting as a go-between, she introduced Mrs. T's younger sister to Mr. T and pushed him to become engaged and remarry. As a bystander, I found all of this very amusing. After the wedding banquet of T's second marriage, I slowly returned with the L

couple and spoke to Mrs. L jokingly, "You should not have bogged down T in conjugal unfaithfulness if you believe the supreme standard of a man's moral quality is to remain single after his wife's death." On the verge of tears, she replied, "Don't bring that up any more, please, Mr. X." Her tears were something unexpected to me, and from then on I never mentioned this topic again.

However, she still maintained her firm objection to my remaining single. Maybe it was out of revenge, but in no way could I change her mind in this respect. No sooner did their little son Baodi begin to babble than she taught him to call me "father-in-law." As late as the year when the War of Resistance against Japan erupted, when I was leaving Beijing, Baodi, then nine years old, shook hands with me, saying good-bye, "Dear father-in-law, when you come back here, bring with you your daughter, my wife!"

He was asking me for a daughter. To say nothing of one daughter, it would be easy for me even to have two. But as for my wife, I cannot catch a single glimpse of her shadow, even now!

[1]*weiqi*: or Go game, which has been popular for many centuries in China, Japan and other East Asian countries. It is played with black and white pieces on a board of 361 crosses.

[2] Ou-guan: One of the twelve actresses of the private opera troupe of the aristocratic Jia family, who had the fantastic notion that, as she always played young gentlemen, while another actress, Di-guan, played young ladies, and as they were often cast as husband and wife, they should act this make-believe part every day as if they were really in love. They became so crazy about each other that, even offstage, they were always together. In the end, they were so devoted that when Di-guan died, Ou-guan nearly cried her heart out, just like a man who had lost his beloved wife. Later, when a third actress, Rui-guan, took Di-guan's place, Ou-guan was just as attached to her, without forgetting the dead one. Thus, on the day of the Clear and Bright Festival, Ou-guan, violating the prohibitions imposed by the Jia family, burned paper coins as offerings for Di-guan. See Cao Xueqin: *The Dream of the Red Chamber,* chapter 58.

拾壹 我的朋友的太太

在单身教授的楼上，住着三个人，L，T，和我。他们二位都是理学院教授，在实验室的时候多，又都是订过婚的人，下课回来，吃过晚饭，就在灯下写起情书，只要是他们掩着屋门，我总不去打搅。沉浸在爱的幸福中的人们，是不会意识到旁人的寂寞的，我只好自己在客厅里，开起沙发旁的电灯，从十八世纪的十四行诗中，来寻找我自己“神光离合”的爱人。

L 和我又比较熟识一些，常常邀我到他屋里去坐。在他的书桌上，看到了他的未婚夫人的照片，长圆的脸，戴着眼镜，一副温柔的笑容。L 告诉我，他们是在国外认识而订婚的，这浪漫史的背景，是美国东部一个大学生物学的实验室里，他们因着同学，同行而同志，同情，最后认为终身同工，是友情的最美满的归宿，于是就…… L 说到这里，脸上一红，他是一个木讷腼腆的人，以下就不知说什么好。我赶紧接着说：“将来，你们又是一对居里夫妇，恭喜恭喜，何时请我们吃喜酒呢？”

于是在一年的夏天，L 回到上海去，回来的时候，就带着他的新妇，住在一所新盖好的教授住宅里。

我们被邀去吃晚饭的那一晚，不过是他们搬入的一星期之后，那小小的四间屋子，已经布置得十分美观妥贴了。卧室是浅红色的，浅红色的窗帘、台布、床单、地毯，配起简单的白色家具，显得柔静温暖。书房是两张大书桌子相对，中间一盏明亮的桌灯，墙上一排的书架，放着许多的书，以及更多的瓶子，里面是青蛙苍蝇，还有各色各种不知名的昆虫。这屋子里，家具是浅灰色的，窗帘等等是绿色的，外面是客厅和饭厅打通的一大间，一切都是蓝色的，色调虽然有深浅，而调和起来，觉得十分悦目。

客人参观完毕，在客厅坐下之后，新娘子才从厨房后面走出来，穿着一件浅红色的衣服，装束雅淡，也未戴任何首饰，面庞和相片上差不多，只是没有戴眼镜，说不上美丽，但自有一种凝重和蔼的风度。她和我们一一握手寒暄，态度自然，口齿流利，把我们一班单身汉，预先排练好的一套闹新房的话，都吓到爪哇国里去了。

席上新娘子和每一个人谈话，大家都不觉得空闲。L 本来话少，只

看着我们笑。我们都说："L 太太，您应当给 L 一点家庭教育，教他多说一点话。"她笑说："恐怕是我说的话太多，他就没有机会出头了。"——席散大家有的下围棋，有的玩纸牌，L 太太很快的就把客人组织起来，我是不大会玩的，就和这一对新夫妇，在廊上看月闲谈。我说："L 太太，不怕你恼，我看你的家庭布置，简直像个学文学的人，有过审美训练的。"她谦逊了几句，又笑说："我有几个学美术、文学的女友，在本行上造诣都很好，但一进入她们的家门屋门，╳ 先生，真是如你所说的，像个学科学的人的家庭……"我觉得不好意思，才要说话，她赶紧笑说："我知道你的意思，我是说，审美观念，有时近乎天生，这当然也不是说我真有审美的观念，我只是说所学的与所用的，有时也不一致。"从此又谈到文学，这是我的本行，但 L 太太所知道的真是不少，欣赏力也很高，我们直谈到牌局棋局散后，又吃了点冰淇淋才走。

L 太太每天下午，同 L 先生到实验室，下课后，他们二位常常路过我们的宿舍，就邀我去晚饭。大厨房里的菜，自然不及家庭里的烹调，我也就不推却，只有时送去点肉松、醉蟹、糖果饼干之类，他们还说我客气。

冬夜，他们常常生起壁炉，饭后就在炉边闲谈。我教给他们喝一点好酒，抽一点好烟，他们虽不拒绝，却都不发生兴趣。L 太太甚至于说我的吃酒抽烟，都是因为没有娶亲的原故，因而就追问我为什么不娶亲，我说："L 太太，你真是太清教徒了，你真没有见过抽烟喝酒的人，像我这样饭前一杯酒，饭后一支烟，在男人里面，就算是不充分享受我们的权利的了。至于娶亲，我还是那一句老话，文章既比人坏，老婆就得比人家好，而我的朋友的老婆，一个赛似一个的好，叫我哪里去找更好的？一来二去，就耽误了下来，这不能怪我……"L 太太笑得喘不过气来，L 就说："别理他，他是个怪人！只要他态度稍微严肃一些，还怕娶不到老婆？恐怕真正的理由，还是因为他文章太好的缘故。"

L 太太真是个清教徒，不但对于烟酒，对于其他一切，也都有着太高而有时不近人情的理想，虽然她是我所见到的，最人性最女性的女人。比如说，她常常赞美那些太太死后绝不再娶的男人，认为那是爱情最贞坚的表现，我听她举例不止一次。有一次是除夕，大家都回去过年——我的家那时还在上海，也不想进城去玩——L 夫妇知道我独在，就打电话来请我吃火锅。饭后酒酣耳热，灯光柔软，在炉边她又感慨似的，提起某位老先生，在除夕不知多么寂寞，他鳏居了三十年，朝夕只和太太的照片相伴，是多么可爱可敬的一个老头子啊！

我站了起来，把烟尾扔在壁炉里，说："对不起，L 太太，这点我不和你同意！假如我是个女人，而且结婚生活美满，我死后，一定欢喜我的丈夫再娶。我在我的遗嘱上，一定加上几句，说：亲爱的，为着家庭的完整，为着儿女的教养，为着其他一切，我恳切的请你在最短期内，再娶一位既贤且能的夫人……"这时不但 L 太太睁着两只大眼看我，连 L 也把手里的书放下了。

我重新点起一支烟，一面坐下，说，"女人总觉得丈夫的再娶，是对自己不忠诚，不真挚的反映，我说一句不怕女人生气的话，这就是虚荣心充分的暴露；而且就事实上说，凡是对于结婚生活，觉得幸福美满的人，他的再婚，总比其他的人，来得早些。习惯于美满家庭的人，太太一死，就如同丧家之犬，出入伤心，天地异色，看着儿女啼哭，婢仆怠惰，家务荒弛，他就完全失了依据。夜深人静，看着儿女泪痕狼藉，苍白瘦弱的脸，他心里就针扎似的，恨不得一时能够追回那失去的乐园……"这时 L 太太不言语了，拿手绢擤了擤鼻子。

我说："反过来，结婚生活不美满的人，太太死了，他就如同漏网之鱼，一溜千里，他就暂时不要再受结婚生活的束缚，先悠游自在的过几年自由光阴再说。所以，鳏夫的早日再婚，是对于结婚生活之信任，是对于温暖家庭的热恋，换句话说，也就是对于第一位夫人最高的颂赞。再一说，假如你真爱你的丈夫，在自己已成槁木死灰之时，还有什么虚荣，什么忌妒，你难道忍心使他受尽孤单悲苦，无人安慰的生活？而且，假如你的丈夫真爱你，也不会因为眼前有了一个新人，就把你完全忘掉。《红楼梦》里的藕官，就非常的透彻这道理，人家问她，为什么得了新的，就把旧的忘了。她说：'不是忘了，比如人家男人，死了女人，也有再娶的，不过不把死的丢过不提，就是有情分了。'所以她虽然一和蕊官碰在一起，就谈得'热剌剌的丢不下'，而一面还肯冒大观园之不韪，'满面泪痕'的在杏子荫中，给死了的药官烧纸，这一段故事，实在表现了最正常的人情物理！听不听由你，我只能说，假如我是个女人，我对于一个男人的品评，决不因为他妻死再娶，就压低了他的人格。假如我是个女人，我决不在我生前，强调再婚男人之不足取……"

大概是有了点酒意，我滔滔不绝的说下去，这是我和 L 太太不客气的辩论之第一次。她虽然不再提起，但我知道她并不和我完全同意。

一年以后，有件事实，却把她说服了。

从前和我们同住的 T，也是和 L 同年结婚的，他们两家住的极近。T 太太也是一位极其温柔和蔼的女人，和 L 太太很合得来。T 夫妇的情

好自不必说。一年以后，T 太太因着难产，死在医院里，T 是哭得死去活来。L 太太一边哭，一边帮他收拾，帮他装殓，帮他料理丧事，还帮他管家。那时 L 太太的儿子宝弟诞生不久，她也很忙，再兼管 T 的家事，弄得劳瘁不堪。最后她到底把 T 太太的妹妹介绍给 T 先生，促他订婚，促他成礼，我在旁边看着，觉得十分有趣，因此在 T 二次结婚的婚筵后，我同 L 夫妇缓步归来，我笑着同 L 太太说："假如你觉得男人人格的最高标准，是妻死不娶，你就不应当陷 T 于不义。"她却眼圈红了，说："╳ 先生，请你不要再说了吧！"她的下泪，很出我意外，我从此就不再提。

但对于我之不娶，她仍是坚决的反对，这也许是她的报复，因为我不能反驳她。他们的儿子宝弟刚会说话，她就教他叫我"老丈人"。直至抗战那年，我离开北平，九岁的宝弟，和我握别的时候，还说："老丈人，你回来的时候，千万要把你的女儿，我的太太带了回来！"

他问我要女儿，别说一个，要两个也容易，但我的太太还没有影子呢。

12 MY STUDENT

S grew up in Australia. Since her father was a diplomat assigned to that country, she did not return to China until she was seventeen. Her grandfather, a schoolmate of my father, came with her to visit me the day after her admission to our university. He asked me to take care of her. She had performed very well on the entrance examination. After her enrollment, as an overseas student coming back to China, she needed further lessons in Chinese language and literature, as was stipulated for overseas students coming back to China.

They came on one early autumn afternoon. I invited S and her grandfather to have some refreshments in our home. While I was talking with her grandfather, she joined our chat, talking and laughing without inhibition. She was a European girl in her clothing and manners, but she still had black hair and dark eyes. She talked to me in fluent English about Chinese studies, "I've learned Chinese language and literature, but my teacher was a Cantonese, whose pronunciation was incorrect...." While making these comments, she winked and smiled in an extremely mischievous way. "For example, he would say, ‘*Xidi, xidi, satian changchang sayu*.' What do you suppose that he wanted to say? He wanted to say, ‘*Shidi, shidi, xiatian changchang xiayu*' (Yes, yes, it often rains in the summer). Now you see!" And so she burst into laughter, and her grandfather laughed as well.

I responded, "At college, Chinese literature is not the same as Chinese language, which is rather easy as long as you are not afraid to speak. As for Chinese literature, you should listen directly to your professor when he lectures on literature. It would be better if your professor could explain this subject to you in English. Put more efforts into the class on your own, and things will go well." Her grandfather broke in, "Among all the professors in the Department, you are perhaps the only one who can explain Chinese literature in English. So please assign her to your group and take good care of her!" I had no alternative but to agree.

After attending one week's lessons, she came to see me. She told me that she found all the other courses very easy and that everyone in class was going

along very well with her. Only she could not quite understand what I said in my Chinese literature lessons. Then I told her, "Of course, it is impossible for me to slow down my explanations in class for your sake alone. But after class, you might as well come to my office. I will explain the lessons to you once again and in more detail." She agreed. She then visited me four times a week for special instruction. I had never seen anybody so intelligent. She was making unbelievable progress at lightning speed. One month passed, and she only needed to visit twice a week; already she could talk to me in pure and fluent Mandarin. When the second term began, she was able to compose in Chinese. She wrote an "autobiography" in no less than nine thousand Chinese characters. Her writing was not only coherent and smooth, but her descriptions were vivid. She had become at that moment a popular person who was widely discussed among the teachers and students of our university.

Majoring in science in her second year, she took no more lessons from me. But she would often visit me due to the ties between the two families. Now she was dressed completely in the Chinese style and no longer spoke English. But she remained as lively and naughty as any girl from the West. She often imitated the Hunan accent of her chemistry professor or the Shandong accent of her physics professor, making everybody in the sitting room shake with laughter. Sometimes she would say to me unexpectedly, "Uncle X, my grandfather says that you must have a girlfriend in the United States; otherwise, why is there nobody here in Beijing who has ever seen you go out with a girl?" Sometimes she would say, "Attention, dear professors! Uncle X took a walk yesterday evening in the campus with a woman professor. Who do you suppose she was?" Her jokes were taken seriously at the beginning, but, later on, she was discovered to be playing monkey tricks, and then no one paid attention. Concurrently, she was making more and more friends. After class, she was always busy attending meetings, taking part in ball games, riding her bicycle, strolling, skating, delivering speeches, rehearsing plays, and never had time to come to my home for refreshments.

During the following three years, she constantly moved like a lion playing with a ball made of silk strips, always exerting herself to the utmost. Work to her was play and play was work. Soon after you saw her on the way to class and with books under arms, wearing a blue cotton gown and a pair of plain-soled shoes, you would suddenly spot her in a white blouse and black shorts playing tennis with three boy schoolmates, her hair wrapped in a red

silk scarf. Just a moment later, you would find her flying by on her bicycle, already wearing a short-sleeved, light-blue flannel shirt and blue cotton slacks. In the afternoon she appeared in the Chemistry Building wearing her white laboratory gown. In the evening, her style of dress would be even less predictable. Whenever the Auditorium was ablaze with lights, you might enter to find her on stage, singing or acting. On weekend evenings, she could be found downtown in the Beijing Hotel or the Grand Hotel des WagonLits,[1] in her full-length suit and high-heeled shoes. You might observe her long earrings, darkened eyebrows and her nails painted with red enamel as she dined and danced with Chinese officials from government circles or foreign diplomats.

None of these activities, however, seemed to have interfered with her studies. She graduated with high honors, to the great satisfaction of her grandfather, who invited my father to attend the commencement, after which we had lunch in our building. Once she and her grandfather had gone, my father, very pleased, said, "Don't you think S is as restless as a kitty? She is also as witty as a kitty, bouncing and vivacious, but not in the least disagreeable. I believe that she is bound to marry a diplomat. Do you know if she has a lover at the college?" I replied, "She has plenty of boy friends, but none is really intimate with her. You are right: she won't choose a husband from among her schoolmates; she is bound to marry a diplomat instead. Anyway, she won't marry a bookworm!"

Unexpectedly, during the summer vacation, she declared her engagement to a certain Mr. P, a classmate of hers, majoring in geology and soil science. I had never heard of the man! When I asked P's teachers about him, they said that he was an excellent student, quite hard-working and very peaceful in temperament, who did little but study. No one could see how he had become S's date and fiancé, and the whole relationship took everyone by surprise.

One year later, they were married and decided to reside next to her grandfather. Sometimes my father, brothers and I would visit them. The spirit of their house was completely Western. Everyone, even their servants and maids, understood English, and there was nothing Chinese about their food and clothing. S appeared as an accomplished, Western-style housewife, often managing to snatch a little leisure from her busy life to dress up. My father

often said to her jokingly, "Whenever I am in your home, I feel as if I were in the Chinese legation in Australia."

Nevertheless, Mr. P, owner as he was of this "Chinese legation in Australia," reminded me of an old monk living deep in an ancient monastery, utterly indifferent to the noisy singing and dancing around him. As soon as he came home after work, he would hide himself in his study and wouldn't come out until dinner was ready. Then he exchanged greetings with the guests and, bending his head, picked up his chopsticks to begin eating. S often tried to induce him to join the conversation and help entertain the guests. After dinner, I sometimes went with him into his study, where he talked more than elsewhere. Although I was a closed book to his specialty, he very patiently informed me about the latest discoveries in geology and soil science, showing me a lot of pictures, photos and specimens. Sometimes my father walked in, tobacco pipe in hand, and joined our discussions. He had an excellent impression of P, and often said to me, "P is geology itself, a very solid rock. S must have been bored at this point with following people addicted to false glamour and have finally learned that her lifelong happiness should be entrusted to such a solid fellow. What a wise girl, after all!"

Before I left Beijing, I went to her grandfather's home to say good-bye, and dropped in along the way to see P and his family. At that time S was already mother of three children. Their yard contained a sand box, a swing and similar play things. Their house held many more people than before: a nurse for looking after the children, a maid for washing and sewing, a cook, a gardener, a chauffeur, an attendant for sundry duties, etc. "See you in the Great Rear,"[2] S said to me. I replied merely with a smile, "I'm single and only need to move my feet to begin my journey. But you, how can you manage to move such a ‘legation' as yours?" P laughed and said, "Mr. X, please send me any up-to-date information on geology that you happen to acquire after you arrive."

Since then another three years had passed....

It happened unexpectedly one day during my journey in a remote county of Yunnan province. I had lost my way on horseback. It was nearly twilight. I was riding along a stream flowing between the mountains. I asked everybody I met about the way. A cowherd boy pointed vaguely in the distance, "There, on the other side of the mountain, lives a family by the river. They are from

downstream area, like you. Go there and ask them. Maybe you will find a place to stay for the night." Leading my horse, I went on foot. Soon I came across a woman, head bent, who was doing her wash by the stream in the light of the setting sun. She raised her head at once, answering my call. I could hardly believe what I saw. Whose big dark eyes but those of S could now be gazing at me, shielded by a pair of plump wrists?

I ran towards her at once. She jumped with joy, throwing her wash into the water and saying, "Shake hands with me if you don't mind that my hands are wet. Go along upward and you will find our home in the cottage on the edge of the hill. P is at home. He will give you some drinking water. I will be back later after I finish my work."

Three children were playing on the meadow in front of the door. P was milking a ewe. He stared at me blankly for a while and then shouted for joy. The four of them surrounded me, took me into the cottage and made me sit down. They offered me tea and cigarettes and asked me all sorts of questions. The eldest of the children, then nine years of age, slipped out to feed my horse.

S came up with a tub of wash. A maidservant with bound feet emerged from the kitchen, took over the wash and hung it out on a rope to dry. Wiping her hands, S came in, smiling profusely. And then we began our exciting if disorderly conversation, talking about how we had been getting on during the last years. She said that they had come here two years before. I asked her about her grandfather, and she asked me about my father. While speaking, she was always busy doing this or that, so we followed her wherever she went, to keep up the conversation. After supper was over and the kids went to bed, we managed to sit down quietly near a rapeseed oil lamp. While S was darning socks, P and I smoked cigarettes made in Liuzhou and sipped "Victory" brand black tea while talking.

Jokingly she said, "This is a mountain outpost of our ‘legation.' Whatever we do should be done up to the mark. Uncle X, this cottage was built by workers under P's guidance. At first they built it in such a way that all the doors opened outwards and none of the windows could shut! We had to pull them down and put them in again, dozens of times. P and I made the desks, bookshelves and armchairs out of seventy-eight wooden boxes that had been used for kerosene drums. The beds are our masterpieces. We put

low cupboards beneath them for shoes. It has been great fun. Just as we played in our childhood, we built our house, made our furniture, and brought up our little ones. We cook our meals, do our wash, raise our chickens, and grow our vegetables, keeping busy all day long. But it's great fun! Our children have acquired abilities, and even I have learned a lot from the household chores. Together we lead a camping life, full of good humor. We often speak proudly of our shrewdness and our ability to cope with everything. Tomorrow I will show you our henhouse, sheepfold, honeycomb, and toilet... In a word, it's great fun!"

I stared at her silently. "It's great fun"—these words summarized her outlook on life and her way of dealing with the world. What other women regarded as terribly bad luck, she would get over by taking it easy with her vibrant levity. She kept herself busy, working, experimenting, gasping in admiration, and telling herself that it was all great fun. She did not feel she was doing something behind the frontline for the War of Resistance against Japan, but she was one of those wonderful artists who, as Bernard Shaw put it, could do everything in the area of Resistance besides the work of Resistance!

That night they put up a camp cot—which they had made from a piece of cattle hide fixed with nails—so I could sleep in P's study, the largest of the three rooms which was used as a sitting room, storage room and general utility room. Pictures and photos were hung on the walls, the shelves were piled heavily with books, and hoes, shovels, saws, shoulder poles[3] and other implements stood in the corners. After the lights were out, the windows were flooded with moonbeams. For quite a long time, I could not fall asleep. I recalled the "legation in Australia" located in Beijing and also thought of my father, wondering what impressions he would have if he were to observe this mountain outpost.

Sunlight shone on my face. A scent of boiling tea blew my way. Opening my eyes, I saw the sea-blue sky typical of Yunnan province outside the window. Everything around was so silent. I got up quietly, put on my clothes and, coming out of the room, glimpsed S on tiptoes laying the table for breakfast. She raised her head and saw me, and then a smile came over her face, "Did you have a good sleep? We supposed that you must be very tired after a whole day on horseback, so we didn't wake you up. P has gone to

work and the kids have gone to school. I have been waiting for you to have porridge with me." She spoke and hurried into the kitchen.

While washing my face and rinsing my mouth, I looked around a house that was flooded with sunshine. The "legation" had a lower material status than that in the old days, but its spirit of tidiness and artistic beauty remained unchanged and had been enhanced by a kind of wild exotic flavor. The table was covered with a hand-woven, red and white patterned cloth. Wild flowers, also red and white, were leaning out crisscross from a pot-bellied ceramic jar. On the table, there was a plate of "Guangdong oranges" as they were called in Sichuan, and opposite them were two red-hilted knives, two pairs of red chopsticks, two red bakelite washing bowls, two red and white napkins.... I was glancing over all these things when S came in with a plate full of steamed bread slices, soaked in beaten egg and fried in oil. She asked me to sit down across from her. We began to chat while peeling the oranges.

Looking at S in broad daylight, I found her much thinner than three years before, but still in very high spirits. She was wearing a white-patterned shirt made of blue home-woven fabric, with socks and cloth shoes. She wore a small amount of makeup and her nails were painted bright red. I laughed, "You've brought with you all your cosmetics, haven't you?" She also laughed, "Yes, I have. But what I use nowadays are goose egg powder and rough cotton balls. Besides, garden balsam petals pounded together with alum in a mortar can be used instead of nail polish."

We ate salted duck eggs and pickles made by S herself, as well as porridge and tea. Then we sat for a while before she invited me to have a look at the surroundings. Outside the door was a vegetable garden where the chili peppers and tomatoes were red, the beans green, the squashes yellow and eggplants purple. Around the vegetables were beds and beds of flowers glistening with dazzling brightness. In the sunshine, bees were buzzing and butterflies whirling around. What I found behind the vegetable garden was little less than a zoo! A dozen white Italian hens were pecking on the sandy ground. There were also three black sheep, and two wolfhounds—next to them was my own horse!—as well as some squirrels and rabbits kept by the small children. An exceedingly fat, blue-eyed Siamese cat jumped in and out through the crevices of the fence.

I saw a lot of houses on turning to the other side of the hill. S explained

to me that I was observing the town, with its food market, its small post agency and its primary school. The Institute of Geological Survey, where P worked, was located in the highest and most splendid building in the area. It had brick walls and a tile roof, and the police post could be found at its gate. While we were strolling down the main avenue, everybody, old and young, rustic and cosmopolitan, greeted S and talked to her about all sorts of matters. A woman even came out from inside the doorway and showed S her sick baby, carrying the child in her arms. As we proceeded on our journey, I said to S, "Instead of the wife of a minister of state, you're now that of a religious minister!" She just smiled.

Five or six cottages similar to the one where S lived with her family stood at the end of the street. They were houses of the working staff of the Institute of Geological Survey. She went in with me to pay members of the staff visits. The housewives, most of them from other provinces, showed affection towards me, inviting me to join them for tea. Their rooms were similar to that of S, but were furnished in a disorderly and vulgar way. The women themselves were unkempt, while their children cried and made noises. They apologized to me again and again for not being in a position to receive guests in the worthy manner of a host in Beijing and Shanghai. Their rooms were so small and their servants so clumsy that nothing could go smoothly. Feeling bored, I only stayed for a little while and then said good-bye to them.

On our way back, S asked me to return alone, since she had to go to the primary school to teach a class. But instead of going to her home, I dropped in to see P in his Institute of Geological Survey, and observed them at work. We came out together when P finished his work. At the gate, we found the three little ones waiting cheerfully for us, saying, "Mother has prepared stewed chicken, roast meat and steamed egg custard. She is waiting for our guest to come home with us and eat the big buns she has steamed with all her dishes."

After lunch I had a long nap. Waking up, I said that I must be going. But S and P would not let me go for anything in the world. They said that they would invite a few friends to come in the evening to meet me. S added with a smile that there would be several pretty ladies among them. I said, "If you have pity on me, forget all that. I really feel awkward in front of strangers.

What is more, if I stay, it will become impossible for you to put the scene of the ‘legation' on stage!" P said, "All right, but please stay here one day more; we will invite no other guests." S thought for a while and said with a delighted look, "I will have something to do before supper. Could you both go with the little ones to play at the far side of the mountain and bring back some azalea flowers at about six o'clock?" We agreed, and the children, cheering, ran ahead of us.

Lying on our backs and enjoying the sunshine on the meadow at the hillside, P and I chatted for a while. I said, "You and your wife make a nice couple! You yourself remain as calm and steady as before. She remains as lively and vivacious as before, but has become more experienced and capable. How lucky you are!" He kept silent for a moment and then said, "Mr. X, you've taken notice of her liveliness and vivacity, but you fail to see her seriousness. She always strives for perfection and maintains high aspirations. However, in the last two years, her health has worsened considerably. Nevertheless, she strives to do the work of six or seven people, without ever calling attention to her delicate constitution. As you know, she likes to use Chinese idioms—English is, after all, her mother tongue, and she often murmurs in English in dreams—but sometimes she uses those idioms in the wrong contexts; it sounds terribly funny. "One day, back home after work, I found her lying in bed. She tried to get up on seeing me. I stopped her, asking her what was wrong. She said that nothing was wrong, but that she felt a little dizzy. I sat on the edge of the bed. She said abruptly, ‘Oh, P, I'm a woman with "a mind that aims as high as the sky but a fate as thin as paper[4]"!' A feeling of sorrow came over me all of a sudden. I forced a smile, ‘Don't speak any more nonsense. You know what "thin fate" means in Chinese.' With tears trickling down her cheeks, she turned around, facing inside. Mr. X, how do you find..."

He could not go on. I was also taken aback and then said, "Of course, I have perceived her seriousness in dealing with things. If she had not been serious-minded, she wouldn't have gotten to know you, nor would she have come here to the inland. Her health is not so good now as before. You must take care of her at all times. But don't be too concerned with the two metaphors she used, since she didn't clearly understand what they mean in Chinese." While saying nothing, he was on the verge of tears.

The children ran in at just that moment, bringing in handfuls of red azalea flowers, saying, "It's time for us to go home. We have to change our clothes before supper."

As soon as we strode indoors, Mrs. Li, the maidservant, wearing black silk trousers and a shirt covered by a snow-white apron, came out to meet us, saying, "Please make yourselves at home in the sitting room." On entering, we found the table covered by a pale tablecloth, ablaze with four red candles. At the center of the table lay a large plate full of red azalea flowers. All the dinner plates and chopsticks were of the same silver set, matched with white napkins.

We were still amazed when Mrs. Li raised the cloth curtain opening onto the bedroom and said, "Madam, the guests have come." Then, beaming with smiles, S emerged from the room in a long red flannel gown. Large ruby earrings hung from her ears. She wore silk stockings and golden high-heeled shoes. Her eyebrows had been drawn and darkened, her lips were bright red and her eyelids were covered with light yellow powder, serving as a foil to bright, intelligent eyes which were brimming with pride and mischief. She stretched her hand to me, and said, "Good evening, Mr. X. How long have you been here? Do you feel comfortable with everything here?" We all burst into laughter. The children hurried to embrace their mother by the legs and cried out, "Mother, how pretty!" They turned round and, clapping their hands, giggled, "Look, even Mrs. Li is so dressed up!" Mrs. Li suppressed her laughter and went into the kitchen.

Hastily we washed our hands and took our seats. Since there were no more guests, the children also sat at the table with the grown-ups. Everybody was in high spirits. After dinner, the little ones had some fruit and cakes, and then went to bed, one after another. While S made coffee, we sat in the corridor enjoying the moonlight. Observing how S's high-heeled shoes glistened in the moonlight, I remarked, "You don't have much time to dance or play cards now, do you?" She smiled, "It would be strange if I never had time for fun! It was here that P himself learned to dance and play cards. When we were free after supper, I taught him to play ‘Honey Moon' cards and asked him to dance. It's quite hard for him to work all day long. From time to time, he should give his mind a rest." Her husband also smiled, "I'm above that sort of thing. In Beijing I never gave my mind a rest. I would

prefer you to go to bed early so that I could do some relaxing reading." I asked her, "Can you drive?" She replied, "Yes, I can. But since we came here, I have had no chance to drive." I spoke to her deliberately, "Since you can drive, you must be aware that, no matter how nice and solid your car may be, you can't make it run twenty-four hours a day when you are driving along a rugged mountain path. You know that material resources, let alone human energies, should be used sparingly. You are no longer living a life with ‘electric refrigerator and flush toilet,' so it is quite essential that you preserve your physical strength, instead of treating yourself as a mere machine and working incessantly...." She hurried to reply, "That's just the point! It was assumed that I was only able to live on ‘electric refrigerators and flush toilets'...." I stopped her and said, "There you go again. You are still as eager as ever to do well in everything! But you should listen to what I say if you look upon me as your uncle." She smiled silently, and raised her head to look at the moon.

Early the next morning, I left this tiny town on horseback. The couple and their three children stood on the highway to watch me depart. I suddenly felt grateful yet grieved as I turned back my head and saw their lovely faces.

On the third day after my arrival at my dwelling place, it was unexpectedly decided that I should move to Chongqing. Before boarding the airplane, I hastily wrote my friends a short letter, expressing my gratitude for their hospitality and telling them about my whereabouts. I promised to write them again as soon as I settled down in Chongqing. But, without warning, on my arrival in the wartime capital[5], I fell sick from a very bad cold, and afterwards, moving here and there, I no longer had a fixed address. Two months later, I wrote my friends a rather long letter, but did not receive a reply for quite some time. Another two months passed. I opened a letter from P by the window of a room in the dormitory intended for single professors at my university:

Dear Mr. X,

How big a misfortune I have suffered! S passed away yesterday morning! What happened was as follows: While one of my colleagues was absent on a business trip, his wife suddenly fell sick of acute appendicitis. On learning this, S immediately borrowed a motorcar and drove her to the capital of the province. When I came home after work and found the note she had left me, I hurried there too, on horseback.... The patient was already in the hospital, but the affected part of her body had begun to fester. Fortunately, the operation went well, only she needed a transfusion because of excessive blood loss. At that time blood was very expensive, and the

patient, with little money, refused categorically any transfusion. Then S found that she was of the same blood group as the patient and donated 200cc of her blood.... When I was preparing to leave for home, I insisted on her coming with me. S said, however, that the patient had to be taken care of but couldn't afford to pay for a special nurse, so she had to stay with her until the patient's husband arrived. Unable to dissuade her from staying and urged by my work at the Institute, I had to leave her there alone.... Three weeks later, S came home terribly emaciated, for during this period she had donated 400cc of blood to the patient. Then she remained confined to bed. Sometimes she could only get up with great effort, and later she could not even walk. The doctors discovered that she was suffering from military tuberculosis, which meant that all her blood vessels were infected by tubercular bacillus, which was the most violent and incurable variety of tuberculosis. It was due to excessive loss of blood, too much hard work and malnutrition.... The last three months were months of anxiety for her, months of suffering for the children, months of fatigue for me, and we took on all these hardships only to discover that we could not avoid such a disaster!... Born in Shanghai, raised in Australia and married in Beijing, she died in Yunnan, at the age of thirty-two...!

I was shocked as if struck by lightning. In my mind's eye, I saw S's calm and sad face looking upward at the moon! I could not help recalling her tidy and pleasant home, her peaceful and silent husband, her bright and lively children....

All of a sudden, a clarion call for flag-lowering issued from the drill ground. Unconsciously, I dropped the letter from my hand and drew myself up to my full height. With my hands at my sides, I stared at the radiant and waving flag slowly descending down the pole. Amidst the lingering sound of the horn, I faintly sat down, my face covered with tears that had come to my eyes at some unknown moment.

[1] These were the two most important public places for social contact among people of high position in Beijing at that time.

[2] "Great Rear" refers to the western areas of China unoccupied by the Japanese during the War of Resistance against Japan.

[3] These are poles made of wood or bamboo, used in China to carry loads at both ends, with the middle supported by one shoulder.

[4] In Chinese, the idiom "*bo ming*" (thin fate) refers to women who are believed to have been born under an unlucky star and to be predestined to go through hardships and die early.

[5] Chongqing was the wartime capital of China during the War of Resistance against Japan, since Nanjing, the official capital, was under Japanese occupation.

拾贰 我的学生

S 是在澳洲长大的——她的父亲是驻澳的外交官——十七岁那年才回到祖国来。她的祖父和我的父亲同学，在她考上大学的第二天，她祖父就带她来看我，托我照应。她考的很好，只国文一科是援海外学生之例，要入学以后另行补习的。

那时正是一个初秋的下午，我留她的祖父和她，在我们家里吃茶点。我陪着她的祖父谈天，她也一点不拘束的，和我们随便谈笑。我觉得她除了黑发黑睛之外，她的衣着、表情，完全像一个欧洲的少女。她用极其流利的英语，和我谈到国文，她说："我曾经读过国文，但是一位广东教师教的，口音不正确……"说到这里，她极其淘气的挤着眼睛笑了，"比如说，他说：'系的，系的，萨天常常萨雨。'你猜是什么意思？他是说：'是的，是的，夏天常常下雨。'你看！"她说着大笑起来，她的祖父也笑了。

我说："大学里的国文又不比国语，学国语容易，只要你不怕说话就行。至于国文，要能直接听讲，最好你的国文教授，能用英语替你解说国文，你在班里再一用心，就行了。"她的祖父就说："在国文系里，恐怕只有你能用英语解说国文，就把她分在你的组里吧，一切拜托了！"我只得答应了。

上了一星期的课，她来看我，说别的功课都非常容易，同学们也都和她好，只是国文仍是听不懂。我说："当然我不能为你的缘故，特别的慢说慢讲，但你下课以后，不妨到我的办公室里，我再替你细讲一遍。"她也答应了。从此她每星期来四次，要我替她讲解。真没看见过这样聪明的孩子，进步像风一样的快。一个月以后，她每星期只消来两次，而且每次都是用纯粹的流利的官话，和我交谈。等到第二学期，她竟能以中文写文章，她在我班里写的"自传"长至九千字，不但字句通顺，而且描写得非常生动。这时她已成了全校师生嘴里所常提到的人物了。

她学的是理科，第二年就没有我的功课，但因为世交的关系，她还常常来看我。现在她已完全换了中服，一句英语不说，但还是同欧美的小女孩儿一样的活泼淘气。她常常对我学她们化学教授的湖南腔，物理教授的山东话，常常使全客厅的人们，笑得喘不过气来。她有时忽然说："╳ 叔叔，我祖父说你在美国一定有位女朋友，否则为什么在北平

总不看见你同女友出去？”或说：“众位教授听着！我的 ╳ 叔叔昨天黄昏在校园里，同某女教授散步，你们猜那位女教授是谁？”她的笑话，起初还有人肯信，后来大家都知道她的淘气，也就不理她。同时，她的朋友越来越多，课余忙于开会、赛球、骑车、散步、溜冰、演讲、排戏，也没有工夫来吃茶点了。

以后的三年里，她如同狮子滚绣球一般，无一时不活动，无一时不是使出浑身解数的在活动。在她，工作就是游戏，游戏就是工作。早晨看见她穿着蓝布衫、平底皮鞋，夹着书去上课；忽然又在球场上，看见她用红丝巾包起头，穿着白衬衣、黑短裤，同三个男同学打网球；一转眼，又看见她骑着车，飞也似的掠过去，身上已换了短袖的浅蓝绒衣和蓝布长裤；下午她又穿着实验白衣服，在化学楼前出现；到了晚上，更摸不定了，只要大礼堂灯火辉煌，进去一看，台上总有她，不是唱歌，就是演戏；在周末的晚上，会遇见她在城里北京饭店或六国饭店，穿起曳地的长衣，踏着高跟鞋，带着长耳坠，画眉，涂指甲，和外交界或使馆界的人们，吃饭，跳舞。

她的一切活动，似乎没有影响到她的功课，她以很高的荣誉毕了业。她的祖父非常高兴，并邀了我的父亲来赴毕业会，会后就在我们楼里午餐。她们祖孙走后，我的父亲笑着说：“你看 S 像不像一只小猫，没有一刻消停安静！她也像猫一样的机警聪明，虽然跳荡，却一点不讨厌。我想她将来一定会嫁给外交人员，你知道她在校里有爱人吧？”我说：“她的男朋友很多，却没听说过有哪一个特别好的，您说的对，她不会在同学中选对象，她一定会嫁给外交人员。但无论如何，不会嫁给一个书虫子！”

出乎意外的，在暑期中，她和一位 P 先生宣布定婚，P 就是她的同班，学地质土壤的。我根本没听说过这个人！问起 P 的业师们，他们都称他是个绝好的学生，很用功，性情也沉静，除读书外很少活动。但如何会同 S 恋爱订婚，大家都没看出，也绝对想不到。

一年以后，他们结了婚，住在 S 祖父的隔壁，我的父亲有时带我们几个弟兄，去拜访他们。他们家里简直是“全盘西化”，家人仆妇都会听英语，饮食服用，更不必说。S 是地道的欧美主妇，忙里偷闲，花枝招展。我的父亲常常笑对 S 说：“到了你家，就如同到澳洲中国公使馆一般！”

但是住在“澳洲中国公使馆”的 P 先生，却如同古寺里的老僧似的，外面狂舞酣歌，他却是不闻不问，下了班就躲在他自己的书室里，到了

吃饭时候才出来，同客人略一招呼，就低头举箸。倒是 S 常来招他说话，欢笑承迎。饭后我常常同他进入书室，在那里，他的话就比较的多。虽然我是外行，他也不惮烦的告诉许多关于地质土壤的最近发现，给我看了许多图画、照片和标本。父亲也有时捧了烟袋，踱了进来，参加我们的谈话。他对 P 的印象非常之好，常常对我说：“ P 就是地质本身，他是一块最坚固的磐石。S 和一般爱玩漂亮的人玩腻了，她知道终身之托，只有这块磐石最好，她究竟是一个聪明人！”

我离开北平的时候，到她祖父那里辞行，顺便也到 P 家走走。那时 S 已是三个孩子的母亲，院子里又添上了沙土池子、秋千架之类。家里人口添了不少，有保姆、浆洗缝做的女仆、厨子、园丁、司机，以及打杂的工人等等。所以当 S 笑着说“后方见”的时候，我也只笑着说：“我这单身汉是拿起脚来就走，你这一个‘公使馆’如何搬法？” P 也只笑了笑，说：“╳ 先生，你到那边若见有地质方面新奇的材料，在可能的范围内，寄一点来我看看。”

从此又是三年——

忽然有一天，我在云南一个偏僻的县治旅行，骑马迷路。那时已近黄昏，左右皆山，顺着一道溪水行来，逢人便问，一个牧童指给我说：“水边山后有一个人家，也是你们下江人，你到那边问问看，也许可以找个住处。”我牵着马走了过去，斜阳里一个女人低着头，在溪边洗着衣裳，我叫了一声，她猛然抬起头来，我几乎不能相信我的眼睛，那用圆润的手腕，遮着太阳，一对黑大的眼睛，向我注视的，不是 S 是谁？

我赶了过去，她喜欢的跳了起来，把洗的衣服也扔在水里，嘴里说：“你不嫌我手湿，就同我拉手！你一直走上去，山边茅屋，就是我们的家。P 在家里，他会给你一杯水喝，我把衣裳洗好就来。”

三个孩子在门口草地上玩，P 在一边挤着羊奶，看见我，呆了一会，才欢呼了起来。四个人把我围拥到屋里，推我坐下，递烟献茶，问长问短。那最大的九岁的孩子，却溜了出去，替我喂马。

S 提着一桶湿衣服回来，有一个小脚的女工，从厨房里出来，接过，晾在绳子上。S 一边擦着手笑着走了进来，我们就开始了兴奋而杂乱的谈话，彼此互说着近况，从谈话里知道他们是两年前来的，我问起她的祖父，她也问起我的父亲。S 是一刻不停的做这个那个，她走到哪里，我们就跟到哪里谈着。直到吃过晚饭，孩子们都睡下了，才大家安静的，在一盏菜油灯周围坐了下来。S 补着袜子，P 同我抽着柳州烟，

喝着胜利红茶谈话。

S 笑着说：“这是‘公使馆’的‘山站’，我们做什么就是得像什么！╳叔叔！这座茅屋，就是 P 指点着工人盖的，门都向外开，窗户一扇都关不上！拆了又安，安了又拆，折腾了几十回。这书桌、书架、‘沙发’椅子都是 P 同我自己钉的，我们用了七十八个装煤油桶的木箱。还有我们的床，那是杰作，床下还有放鞋的矮柜子。好玩的很，就同我们小时玩‘过家家’似的，盖房子、造家具、抱娃娃、做饭、洗衣服、养鸡、种菜，一天忙个不停，但是，真好玩，孩子们都长了能耐，连 P 也会做些家务事。我们一家子过着露营的生活，笑话甚多，但是，我们也时常赞叹自己的聪明，凡事都能应付得开。明天再带你去看我们的鸡棚、羊圈、蜂房，还有厕所，……总而言之，真好玩！”

我凝视着她，“真好玩”三字就是她的人生观，她的处世态度，别的女人觉得痛苦冤抑的工作，她以“真好玩”的精神，“举重若轻”的应付了过去。她忙忙的自己工作，自己试验，自己赞叹，真好玩！她不觉得她是在做着大后方抗战的工作，她就是萧伯纳所说的：“在抗战时代，除了抗战工作之外，什么都可以做”的大艺术家！

当夜他们支了一张行军床——也是他们自己用牛皮钉的——把我安放在 P 的书室里，这是三间屋子里最大的一间，兼做了客室、储藏室等等。墙上仍是满钉着照片图画，书架上摞着满满的书，墙角还立着许多锄头、铁铲、锯子、扁担之类。灭灯后月色满窗，我许久睡不着，我想起北平的“澳洲公使馆”，想起我的父亲，不知父亲若看了这个山站，要如何想法！

阳光射在我的脸上，一阵煎茶香味，侵入鼻管。我一睁眼，窗外是典型的云南的海蓝的天，门外悄无声息。我轻轻的穿起衣服，走了出来，看见 S 蹑手蹑脚的在摆着早饭，抬头看见我，便笑说：“睡得好吧？你骑了一天马，一定累了，我们没有叫你。P 上班去了，孩子们也都上学了，我等着你一块儿吃粥。”说着忙忙的又到厨房里去了。

我在外间屋里，一面漱洗，一面在充满阳光的屋子里，四周审视。“公使馆”的物质方面，都已降低，而“公使馆”的整洁美观的精神，尽还存在，还添上一些野趣。饭桌上蒙着一块白底红花土布，一只大肚的陶罐里，乱插着红白的野花。桌上是一盘黄果，——四川人叫做广柑——对面摆着两只白盘子，旁边是两把红柄的刀子，两双红筷子，两个红的电木的洗手碗，两块白底红花的饭巾……正看着，S 端了一盘鸡蛋炸馒头片进来，让我坐下，她自己坐在对面。我们一面剥黄果，一面谈

话。

白天看 S ，觉得她比三年前瘦了许多，但精神仍旧是很好，身上穿着蓝底印白花的土布衫子、短袜子、布鞋；脸上薄施脂粉，指甲也染得很红。我笑说：“你的化装品都带来了吧？”她也笑说：“都带来了，可是我现在用的是鹅蛋粉，和胭脂棉。凤仙花瓣和白矾捣了也可以染指甲。”

我们吃着 S 自制的咸鸭蛋和泡菜，吃过稀饭，又喝了煎茶。坐了一会，S 就邀我去参观她的环境。出到门外，菜园里红的是辣椒、西红柿，绿的是豆子，黄的是黄瓜，紫的是茄子，周围是一片一片的花畦，阳光下光艳夺目，蜂喧蝶闹。菜园的后面，简直像个动物园！十几只意大利的大白鸡，在沙地上吃食，三只黑羊，两只狼犬——我的那匹马也拴在旁边——还有小孩子养的松鼠和白兔。一只极胖的蓝睛的暹罗猫，在篱隙出入跳跃。

转到山后，便看见许多人家，S 说这便是市中心，有菜场，有邮政代办所，有中心小学校。P 的“地质调查所”是全市最漂亮高大的房子，砖墙瓦顶，警察岗亭就设在门边。我们穿过这条“大街”的时候，男女老幼，村的俏的，都向 S 招呼，说长道短。有个妇人还把一个病孩子，从门洞里抱出来给 S 看。当我们离开这人家的时候，我笑说：“ S，如今你不是公使夫人，而是牧师太太了！”她笑了一笑。

大街尽头，便是五六幢和 S 的相似的房子，那是地质调查所同人的住宅。S 也带我进去访问。那些太太们大都是外省人，看见我去都很亲热，让坐让茶。她们的房间和 S 的一样，而陈设就很乱很俗，自己是乱头粗服，孩子们也啼哭喧闹。这些太太们不住的向我道歉，说是房间又小，佣人又笨，什么都不趁手，哪能像北平、上海那样的可以待客呢？我无聊的坐了一会，也就告辞了出来。

回来的路上，S 请我先走，说她还要到小学里去教一堂课。我也便不回来，却走到“地质调查所”去找 P ，参观了他们的工作。等到 P 下班，我们一同走出来，三个孩子十分高兴的在门口等着，说是“妈妈炖了鸡，烤了肉，蒸了蛋羹，请客人回去吃大馒头去！”

午后我睡了一大觉，醒起便要走路，S 和 P 一定不肯，说今晚要约几个朋友来和我谈谈。S 笑说还有几位漂亮的太太。我说：“假如你们可怜我，就免了这一套吧，我实在怕见生人；还有，你也扮演不出‘公使馆’那一出！”P 说：“也好，你再住一天，我们不请客人好了。”S 想了一会，笑了，说：“晚饭以前，我还有事，你们带这几个孩子到对山

去玩去，六时左右，带些红杜鹃花回来。”我们答应了，孩子们欢呼着都跑在前面去了。

我和 P 对躺在山头草地上，晒着太阳。我说：“你们这一对儿真好，你从前是那样稳静，现在也是那样稳静。S 从前是那样活泼，现在也是那样活泼，不过比从前更老练能干了，真是难得。” P 沉默了一会，说：“╳ 先生，你只知道 S 活泼的一方面，还没有看她严肃的一方面。她处处求全，事事好胜，这一二年来，身体也大不如从前了！她一个人做着六七个人的事，却从不肯承认自己的软弱。你知道她欢喜引用中文成语——英文究竟是她的方言，她睡梦中常说英语——有时文不对题的使人发笑。有一天，我下班回来，发现她躺在床上，看见我就要起来。我按住她，问她怎么了，她说没有什么，只觉得有一点头晕。我在床边坐了一会，她忽然说：‘ P ，我这个人真是“心比天高，命比纸薄”。’我心里忽然一阵难过，勉强笑说：‘别胡说了，你知道“薄命”这两个字，是什么意思。’她却流下泪来，转身向里躺着去了。╳ 先生，你觉得……”

P 说不下去了，我也不觉愣住，便说：“我自然看出 S 严肃的一方面，她如果不严肃，她不会认得你，她如果不严肃，她不会到内地来。她的身体是不如从前了，你要时时防护着她！至于她所说的那两句话你倒不必存在心里，她对于汉文是半懂不懂的。” P 不言语，眼圈却红了。

这时候孩子们已抱着满怀的红杜鹃花，跑了上来，说：“我们该回去了，晚饭以前，我们还要换衣服呢。”

一进家门，那“帮工”的李嫂，穿着一身黑绸的衣裤，系着雪白的围裙，迎了出来，嘴里笑着说：“客人们请客厅坐。”我们进到中间屋里，看着餐桌上铺着雪白的桌布，点着辉煌的四支红烛，中间一大盘的红杜鹃花，桌上一色的银盘银箸，雪白的饭巾。我们正在诧愕，李嫂笑着打起卧房的布帘子，说：“太太！客人来了。” S 从屋里笑盈盈的走了出来，身上穿着红丝绒的长衣，大红宝石的耳坠子，脚上是丝袜，金色高跟鞋，画着长长的眉，涂上红红的嘴唇，眼圈边也抹上淡淡的黄粉，更显得那一双水汪汪的俊眼——这一双俊眼里充满着得意的淘气的笑——她伸出手来，和我把握，笑说：“╳ 先生晚安！到敝地多久了？对于敝处一切还看得惯吧？”我们都大笑了起来，孩子们却跑过去抱着 S 的腿，欢呼着说：“妈妈，真好看！”回头又拍手笑说：“看！李嫂也打扮起来了！”李嫂忍着笑，走到厨房里去了。

我们连忙洗手就座。因为没有别的客人，孩子们便也上席，大家都兴高采烈。饭后，孩子们吃过果点，陆续的都去睡了。S 又煮起咖啡，我们就在廊上看月闲谈。看着 S 的高跟鞋在月下闪闪发光，我就说："你现在没有机会跳舞玩牌了吧？" S 笑说："才怪！ P 的跳舞和玩牌都是到了这里以后才学会的。晚饭后没事，我就教给 P 打'蜜月'纸牌，也拉他跳舞。他一天工作怪累的，应当换一换脑筋。" P 笑说："我倒不在乎这些个，我在北平的时候，就不换脑筋。我宁可你在一天忙累之后，早点休息睡觉，我自己再看一点轻松的书。"我说："S，你会开汽车吧？" S 说："会的，但到这里以后，没有机会开了。"我笑说："你既会开车，就知道无论多好多结实的车子，也不能一天开到二十四小时，尤其在这个崎岖的山路上。物力还应当爱惜，何况人力？你如今不是过着'电气冰箱，抽水马桶'的生活了，一切以保存元气为主，不能一天到晚的把自己当做一架机器，不停的开着……" S 连忙说："正是这话！人家以为我只过'电气冰箱，抽水马桶'的生活……"我拦住她，"你又来，总是好胜要强的脾气！你如果把我当做叔叔，就应当听我的话。" S 笑了一笑，抬头向月，再不言语。

第二天一早，我就骑着马离开这小小的镇市。P 和 S，和三个小孩子都送我到大路上，我回望这一群可爱的影子，心中忽然感激，难过。

回到我住处的第三天，忽然决定到重庆来。在上飞机之前，匆匆的给他们写一封短信，谢谢他们的招待，报告了我的行踪。并说等我到了重庆以后，安定下来，再给他们写信——谁知我一到陪都，就患了一个月的重伤风，此后东迁西移，没有一定的住址。直到两月以后，才给他们写了一封很长的信，许久没有得到回音。又在两月以后，我在一个大学里，单身教授的宿舍窗前，拆开了 P 的一封信！

"╳先生：

我何等的不幸，S 已于昨天早晨弃我而逝！原因是一位同事出差去了，他的太太忽然得了急性盲肠炎。S 发现了，立刻借了一部车子，自己开着，送她到省城。等到我下班，看见了她的字条，立刻也骑马赶了去……那位太太已入了医院，患处已经溃烂，幸而开刀经过良好，只是失血太多，需要输血。那时买血很贵，那位太太因经济关系，坚持不肯。S 又发现她们的血是同一类型，她就输给那太太二百 C C 的血。……我要她同我回来，她说那太太需要人照料，而又请不起特别护士，她必须留在那里，等到她的先生来了再走。我拗她不过，所中公务又忙，只得自己先走……三星期之后，S 回来了，瘦得不成样子！原来在三星期之内，她输给那太太四百 C C 的血。从此便躺了下去，有时还挣扎着起来，以后就走不动了。医生发现她是得了黍形结核症，那是周身血管，都有了结核细菌，是结核症中最猛烈最无可救药的一种！病原是失血太多，操劳过度，营养不足，……这三个月中，急坏了 S，苦坏了孩子，累坏了我，然而这一切苦痛，都不曾挽回我们悲惨的命运！……她生在上海，长在澳洲，嫁在北平，死在云南，享年三十二岁……"

如同雷轰电掣一般，我呆住了，眼前涌现了 S 的冷静而含着悲哀的、抬头望月的脸！想到她那美丽整洁的家，她的安详静默的丈夫，她的聪明活泼的孩子……

忽然广场上一声降旗的号角，我不由自主的，扔了手里的信，笔直的站了起来。我垂着两臂，凝望着那一幅光彩飘扬的国旗，从高杆上慢慢的降落了下来，在号角的余音里，我无力的坐了下去，我的眼泪，不知从哪里来的，流满了我的脸上了！

13 MY LANDLADY

On February 8, 1937, I arrived at noon in Paris from Geneva. Mr. L, a friend of mine at the Chinese Embassy in France, met me at the railway station. Smiling profusely, he took my small leather suitcase from my hand, and we walked out of the station together. He said, "I received your letter from Rome quite a few days ago. I've been busy running about to arrange what you asked for. I didn't achieve anything until the day before yesterday. An unexpected opportunity indeed! But let me tell you later in detail at the dinner table."

L was also a bachelor, so he had no "home" to take me to when we walked out of the station. We took a taxi and headed directly for the Beijing Restaurant in the Latin Quarter. We chose a table, sat down face to face and ordered the dishes.

Wiping off his chopsticks, L said, "You are quite choosy. Is this any way on earth to choose a dwelling place? You want a good location, a nice landlord, as few tenants as possible, and a landlord who speaks English! Anyway, once I agreed to help you—although I was already aware of how difficult you were to please—I could only do my best. Who would have thought that, when I brought up this matter while talking with our ambassador, he would recommend me to contact a certain lady. She has an aristocratic background and lives in the most quiet and exclusive part of the city, the seventh *arrondissement*. Going to see her the day before yesterday, I had a look at the house...." He scratched his head and giggled, "'Though born a thousand miles apart, souls which are one shall meet,' as the saying goes. This lady is extremely beautiful and intelligent. She is a perfect match for you. Well, you'll see for yourself in just a moment." I could not help laughing, "I didn't ask you to find me a wife. Why talk about 'souls which are one' and 'perfect match'? Instead, tell me something about the house."

At that moment our food arrived, and L ordered some wine. He raised his glass, saying, "Cheers! I can tell you the place is on the seventh floor of a building on an avenue facing Hôtel Royal des Invalides. It is of course charming and quiet. There's only one landlady. You will be her one and only

tenant! Since her family fortunes have recently declined, she wants to take in a renter to help with expenses. The room and board are a little expensive, but I know that a well-off man like you won't care too much about that. Let's go and see as soon as lunch is over."

We chatted idly for a while, and after finishing an elegant meal, L paid the bill. Just as I was about to pick up my suitcase to leave, L stopped me and said, "Don't hurry to pick up your suitcase. The question is not whether you want to be her tenant or not, but whether she wants you or not! It will be a disgrace for us to be driven out with the luggage that we have rashly carried there if no agreement has been reached in advance. You'd better leave the suitcase here. We can pick it up after we come to an agreement with her." I smiled and complied.

Our motorcar raced along broad and smooth avenues, turning left and right, before it lurched to a stop in front of a large building. We entered the corridor, took the elevator and arrived at the door of the top floor. L took off his hat and rang the bell. A very young maid opened the door, and L asked, smiling, "Is Mademoiselle R in? Please let her know that Mr. L from the Chinese Embassy has come with a guest to pay her a visit." The maid, smiling, took his business card and said, "Please take your seats in the sitting room." Then she led us in.

I was viewing and admiring the furnishings and tones of the sitting and dining room when I suddenly saw L rise to his feet. I rose, too. A white-haired old woman came in through the door. L cheerfully introduced me, "I would like you to meet Mr. X, of whom I've spoken earlier." He turned round and said to me, "This is Mademoiselle R."

Smiling, Mademoiselle R shook my hand. We all sat down in front of the fireplace. While talking to L, Mademoiselle R looked me up and down. I was doing the same in return. How beautiful a woman! Her hair was soft and white, and she wore a silver gray gown with small crimson flowers embroidered around the neck and sleeves. She had a white velvet scarf draped on her shoulders. Her eyes were bright and attractive, her eyebrows were long, her beautiful face was enhanced by a whisper of makeup and a slight touch of lipstick on her lips. It was utterly impossible to guess her age. She reminded me of my mother in a large part of her bearing and movements.

Mademoiselle R began to talk with me, speaking perfect and fluent English. We talked about London, Rome, Switzerland.... When we came to the sculptures in the museums of Rome and the paintings in the museums of Florence, she suddenly stopped and said with a smile, "Mr. X must be tired from his trip. Anyway, we'll have plenty of time to talk about these things. We'd better go look at the room." Saying that, she got to her feet and began to lead the way. Following her, L said to me in a whisper with a smile, "It's yours."

My room was just behind the sitting room and was attached to the bathroom. It had a window overlooking the street. The furniture was simple yet elegant. On the desk beside the window there was a vase with dried brown roses as well as a few stationery articles. Opposite the desk was a bookcase, with its bottom shelves empty but its upper ones filled with hard-covered books by famous English, French and German writers. There was a lamp with a dark reddish brown shade on the small table beside the bed. Finally, the room contained a large wardrobe and a rocking chair. The room seemed quite bright and rather spacious.

We looked around. I smiled and said, "The room is perfect, just what I need." Mademoiselle R also smiled and said, "Here it's a little too quiet and peaceful. Maria, who does rather good housework, cooks quite delicious meals. Whenever you want to eat outside, please let her know beforehand. And if you want to invite one or two guests for dinner, please tell her in advance. We have our clothes washed every week...." We walked back into the sitting room while she was speaking. L picked up his hat and said with a smile, "So it is settled. I'm sure that all of you will get along very well with each other. Now we must be going. Mr. X will return here after dinner: he hasn't paid his visit to our ambassador yet!"

L and I strolled merrily side by side down the sidewalk under the tall trees. Putting his hand on my shoulder, he smiled and said, "I told you the truth, didn't I? Except for the fact that she is a little too old! Our ambassador says her age is probably over sixty. She is fairly well-known as a novelist and often writes poetry as well. She is quite fussy about choosing her tenant, and so she keeps the room vacant more often than not. She likes to rent it to ‘outsiders,' in order, I think, to get to know people apt to become characters in her novels. Who knows if some day you will appear in one of her novels!"

I laughed, "I'll suffer no loss at all in renting the place. Only it is a shame that I'm neither a romantic nor a heroic person lucky enough to be captured by her pen."

I did not return to my newly rented room until midnight. I went to bed after washing up. The white bed sheets were soft and warm. Gazing at the dark brown window curtains and lampshade, I suddenly recovered from my fatigue in the dim light. I got up and in bare feet walked to the bookcase, taking out a collection of Goethe's poetry. Soon I began to read in bed, but gradually fell asleep. The next morning it was drizzling. I didn't wake up until Maria knocked at the door, bringing in some hot water for my shave.

Thus I began to live as a tenant at Mademoiselle R's home. Breakfasts were simple, consisting of bread, butter and coffee, which I ate in my room more often than not. After breakfast I would sit for a while in the sitting room so that Maria might tidy up my room. A new comer in Paris, I had so many places to see and so many people to visit that I rarely took my lunch in that house. I would leave early in the morning and come back at midnight. Luckily I had been given a key, so I could come and go without disturbing anyone anytime I pleased. Sometimes, when gently pushing open the door on a cold night, I was assailed by a soft fragrance, and then, stepping on the thick, soft carpet, I would quietly return to my room. There I would always find letters and flowers on the desk, and sometimes even hot coffee or tea with a small dish of pastry. Reading the letters, I would enjoy the tea and pastry—and this would always remind me of my mother.

One day, while at lunch, I saw Mademoiselle R. Before I could thank her for the late-night refreshments, she said with a smile, "Mr. X, I will have to return your payment for this fortnight's meals. You have never taken your meals here!" Smiling, I sat down and said, "From today on, I will rarely go out. I have seen all the places and visited all the people that interest me. It is now time for me to settle down and write some letters, read and rest quietly." Mademoiselle R laughed, "And don't forget your study of French," she said, "Mr. L told me you wanted to practice your French."

Indeed, my French was terrible. I could read with some difficulty, but nobody could understand my spoken French! Mademoiselle R suggested that we speak French during the meals, but it turned out that our conversation covered so many topics that what I tried to say in French often failed to

convey what I intended to say, so much so that I had to pause for a long time, smiling, in order to find the right word or expression. This occurred so repeatedly that both of us felt rather awkward and, as if by prior agreement, burst out laughing. "Forget it!" one of us would say. "No use kicking a dead horse!" From then on, we would become absorbed in discussing various topics, banishing the French language wholly from our minds.

Since winter was quite cold and damp in Paris, we both liked the warmth of the fireplace. We often sat after dinner in Mademoiselle R's study, warming ourselves, smoking and chatting idly. The study was the largest room in the apartment. Its walls were bookshelves from floor to ceiling, filled with literary works. There were a few oriental antiques on the mantelpiece. I learned from her conversation that her father had served as French Ambassador to Britain—she had lived in England for fifteen years—and that he also had been a high-ranking official in the French Far East colonies, where she had lived for another eight years. None of her three brothers was still living. Her two nephews had been killed in the last European War. She had one niece, married with two children, living in the countryside. Her mother, whom she often mentioned, had been a frail yet talented and virtuous woman. A picture of her mother reminded me of my own mother, especially when I noticed her eyes and eyebrows.

Although I did not learn French, I did learn much about French art and literature. We would often go together to museums and historic sites, listen to the opera, watch dances, buy books and paintings.... As Mademoiselle R was a well-known lady around Paris and we went together for outings nearly every day, people who hadn't seen her personally began spreading the rumor that Mr. X kept company in Paris all day long with a certain beautiful French woman, and that the two of them went to the theater and opera and danced together. The rumor even reached my father, who wrote me a letter from Beijing in which he asked me whether this was true. I replied in my letter, "Yes, it is true. But I am unfortunate to have been born thirty years too late. She is a woman over sixty! Father, if only you could see her with your own eyes, you, too, would feel attracted. She really looks like Mother!"

I could have gone to Berlin, but I was not yet interested in going, as I was enjoying such a beautiful spring in Paris....

One cool spring morning, I received a letter from China written by my

second younger brother that announced the news of his engagement. At the time of afternoon tea, I carried the photographs of the newlyweds and the letter into Mademoiselle R's study and told her the good news. I casually pulled from my wallet the pictures of my parents and my first and third younger brothers with their wives. Looking them over, Mademoiselle R made some polite remarks of praise before saying to me, "Mr. X, may I ask you a question? Don't you oriental people maintain that ‘Men and women should marry when grown up'? Then why are you still unmarried, let alone the eldest son in your family?"

I laughed, put the pictures back in my wallet, pulled up an ottoman close to the fireplace and sat down on it. Poking the fire with a copper rod, I said, "A great deal of people have asked me this question before, so you are not the first one. Well, the reason is this: My parents were rather modern in their thinking. Since my youth they had never forced me to become engaged or to marry. For my own part, after I grew up, I have been so choosy that I have never come across a single woman who meets my standards, nor have I resigned myself to accept one who doesn't measure up. Finally I simply stopped looking...."

Mademoiselle R gazed fixedly at me and said, "Don't you feel something missing in your life?" I replied, "You never can tell. I am not looking at all. I believe marriage without love is not only meaningless, but even immoral. Once you talk of love, the problem is even bigger, for love is not something you can search for with a lantern. We oriental people believe in what we call ‘predestined relationships.' ‘Born a thousand miles apart, souls which are one shall meet,' as the saying goes. By the same token, souls that are disunited shall *not* meet even if they happen to come across each other...." At this point, I suddenly recalled what L had said in this respect. I unwittingly looked up at Mademoiselle R and saw her reclining leisurely in the armchair, dressed in a light purple dress with several violets pinned to her chest. The glistening glow of the fireplace, set against the darkness outside the window, made the fireside corner even cozier and sweeter.

Holding a cup of coffee in her hand, she continued looking at me. I added, "Speaking frankly, I don't find life empty yet. Sometimes a single man enjoys more leisure, more calm, more freedom.... I don't find that you lack anything either, do you?" She gently placed her cup down and said with a

faint smile, "Me? I am a woman. That makes things quite different...." As she spoke, her soft white fingers reached up and gently pushed some hair behind her ears. While glancing towards me, she picked up her knitting and began working on it again.

I said, "Now I'm sorry I don't understand what you mean. I always thought women were born builders of families. Unlike men, they always care about children and home life. Why then would any woman not want to marry?" Mademoiselle R looked at me and said very gently, "I am one of those most ‘human' and most ‘womanly' women. I would love to have a husband capable of taking care of me, showing tenderness and consideration towards me. I love children and I would like to have a perfect home. I'm aware that if I had all of this, I would happily vanish into it. But it is because I know myself all too well that I preferred not to marry and have remained unmarried up to now!"

I stared at her, hugging my knees. She smiled and said, "You find that strange, don't you? Let me explain in detail. There's a problem with me—I like writing!" At that point I hastened to say, "Oh, I know! My French is too poor for me to appreciate good literature, but our ambassador often talks about your work and I have tried to read some of it myself. I never brought it up with you because you never mentioned it, and I was afraid..." Mademoiselle R interrupted me and said, "Now you're straying from the point. I mentioned the fact simply to say that family life is disadvantageous to a woman writer." I said, "But if she can..."

Mademoiselle R laughed at once and went on, "But if she is of delicate constitution... Listen. When a man gets married, he gives up nothing. But when an unhealthy woman marries, she must give up one of the three: her career, if she has one, her health or her household duties. If I had been married, I first would have had to sacrifice my career, second my health and only third my household duties...."

As I put down her words at this moment, I suddenly remember a novel, written last year by one of my female students, entitled *Lost on All Three Sides*. But let me return to the topic of my chat with Mademoiselle R. As she carried on her knitting with bent head, she said, "I am a strong-willed woman, proud, obsessed with quiet and cleanliness. To make matters worse, I am extremely sensitive and thoughtful whenever sentiments are at stake. All

these are my fatal weaknesses! Such a mental disposition costs me in everything I undertake ten times the attention and energy required of other people. In these modern times, raising a family is by no means easy.

"Take my mother, for example. As wife of a diplomat and Governor General of Annam, she had a host of servants and maids waiting on her, yet she...could spare no time taking care of her painting and her own health. All her time was centered around her husband's career and health, her children's upbringing, education and... She toiled at it for fifty years! Even now, I feel sad each time I look at her preliminary sketches. Oh, my poor mother...." She stopped, choked with emotion. Then she cleared her throat softly twice and forced an uneasy smile, "About my mother a whole book can be written. Have you ever read the novel *All Passion Spent* written by the English woman writer, V. Sackville-West?"

I nodded with vague recollection, "Yes, I have. It's well written.... But, Mademoiselle R, a married woman at least has love." She suddenly burst into laughter and said, "Love? That is what I find most difficult to define. What a man regards as love and what a woman regards as love are two essentially different things. Listen. A man lives for his career—and God knows whether he means career or merely occupation! Only a woman lives for love. She sacrifices everything for it. Instead, the husband says to his wife, ‘In order to be worthy of your love, I promise to exert myself even more in my career!' Thus he gains both fame and fortune!" At this point she laughed again, and her laughter exuded a tremendous sense of coolness.

I had never seen Mademoiselle so choked with emotion, so I didn't dare to say anything more, although I wanted to say something in favor of men. I believed that I at least was not the kind of man she had in mind.

She seemed to know my thoughts and said, smiling, "Every man before marriage thinks his case is an exception. And I don't think that he is dishonest. But a conjugal relationship is the most delicate and troublesome of all relationships, and time is more inexorable and actual than anything else. Once you share a bed with a man, the relationship will be everlasting.... Oh, everlasting and day after day! And yet, even the hardest sparkling diamond can be ground into opaque sand grains, to say nothing of a soft blood-red human heart!

"So don't take me for a person indulging all day long in romantic reveries. I see through everything clearly. True, ‘career' is important to a man, and he should not give it up for love's sake; besides, love cannot consistently pervade his entire life. But, even more emphatically, a woman is after all a woman; she cannot throughout *her* life merely rely upon ideals of marriage and transcendental goals to prop up a weary mind and body. At the very moments when she is most sad, weak and in need of sympathy and gentle solicitude, if she only receives indifferent words, absent-minded gazes or even acrimonious satire or reproach, what do you think she will feel in her heart? I've seen and heard too much. This is a fast knot you can never undo in a married life. Since I was so aware and clearly conscious of this, I had to decide for myself whether or not it was worthwhile to marry!"

She bent down, picked up a twig and threw it into the fire, saying, "My mother often stared at me with sad eyes and said ‘Delicia! Take care of your health! Who will look after you in the future if you don't marry?' I would say nothing. I only stared at her in turn and said to her in my mind, ‘You'd better take care of your own health! It has cost you more than your health to care for the five of us, to care about Father's enteritis and relapsing fever...as well as the various rare diseases we children often came down with.... You haven't found enough for yourself in the last thirty years, have you?' But I never told her what I thought."

She smiled faintly and gazed fixedly at the fire. "After all, I wasn't bad-looking when I was young. I had a moderate position in society and a little fame in the world of letters. I believe that I was subject to temptation on more occasions than other girls. Several times I was even about to succumb to temptation..., but I managed to escape in the end. I have been too selfish to imagine putting down my pen. For the sake of my writing, I have had to save my health, and so..."

She went on. "You say I lack love? Perhaps. But there are still two or three men in love with me; they all say I am their one and only woman. They will always know love. I don't question their sincerity. But, in every case, isn't it because we have never lived together? They are, of course, already married, and I know their gentle and capable wives. Sometimes I am invited to their homes for tea or dinner. Still I by no means envy them their family life. Their wives have also become good friends of mine and occasionally

even complain to me about their husbands. While consoling them, if I may touch on the matter lightly, I ask myself whether I would have the courage to complain to anyone else were I to suffer such wrongs. Sometimes during tea or after dinner, I notice their husbands frowning at them, and such a scene makes me shudder! If I had become the wife of one of these gentlemen, and he now frowned at me and showed boredom with me, for me it would be too..."

At that moment, I laughed and very gently patted her on the knee. I said, "But if you were his wife, he would never frown at you. I don't believe there can be any man in the world lucky enough to be your husband yet capable of frowning at you or showing boredom toward you." She smiled, shook her head and said with a sigh, "Thank you, good young man, for what you say about me. But you are too young to understand.... For the last twenty to thirty years, I have been living alone. This has made me feel a little lonely, yet quite comfortable at the same time. Over these years I have written a dozen novels and seven or eight volumes of poetry, I have traveled frequently and made friends with many people.

"My niece has taken my first name, Delicia, god bless her! Little Delicia is a healthy and vivacious young woman, married in her early twenties. She has made love her career and married life her occupation. She is happy all day long, always with her mind free from any contradiction or conflict. Her two children are very much like her. I often go to stay with them in the summer, and she often brings her children to see me whenever she comes to Paris. All I own will be hers when I pass away. My body will be donated to the national hospital for anatomical research before cremation, and the ashes will be cast upon the waters of the Seine. That's how I will end...."

I stood up and was about to speak when Maria came in quietly and, standing at the door, said with her hands by her sides, "Mademoiselle, dinner is ready." Mademoiselle R, seemingly surprised, rose to her feet and said, smiling, "Well, our chat has made me forget about the time. Mr. X, please go ahead."

At dinner, she brought out some fine champagne and I, for my part, contributed some of my best English cigarettes that a friend in the embassy had given me. We had a relaxing chat about everything, but avoided our previous topic. That evening, Mademoiselle R talked with particular

eloquence; her rosy red cheeks communicated excitement and fatigue. Shortly after dinner, I urged her to retire for the night. Standing by the door of the sitting room, I stared blankly from behind at her delicate and slowly receding figure. What a beautiful and intelligent lady! Too beautiful, too intelligent, sad to say!

Ten days later, I left Paris. L saw me off at the station. On the train, I stood by the window till lunchtime, and then entered my stateroom and opened up the basket Mademoiselle R had prepared for me. I found some exquisitely prepared lunch food, a bottle of fine wine and a paperback edition of the English novel, *All Passion Spent*.

Less than one month after I returned to China, Beijing fell into the hands of the Japanese invaders. The French Consulate sent me a short letter from Mademoiselle R:

> *Dear Mr. X,*
>
> I have heard that Beijing has been bombed, and I am constantly con-cerned for you and your family's safety. Take courage! A noble people will after all be able to raise their heads. Please let me know about your safety whenever convenient.
>
> Your friend,
>
> Delicia

I wrote a letter and sent it to her via the French Consulate. From then on, no more correspondence passed between us.

Three years later, it was my turn to be concerned for her: the Germans had occupied Paris. When I heard that no fuel was available in Paris during the winter and that only those homes lodging German officers could have coal, I hoped Mademoiselle R had fled that beautiful city. In no way could I imagine this gentle and lovely lady sitting in front of the fireplace with a German officer!

"Take courage! A noble people will after all be able to raise their heads."

拾叁 我的房东

一九三七年二月八日近午，我从日内瓦到了巴黎。我的朋友中国驻法大使馆的 L 先生，到车站来接我。他笑嘻嘻的接过了我的一只小皮箱，我们一同向站外走着。他说：“你从罗马来的信，早收到了。你吩咐我的事，我为你奔走了两星期，前天才有了眉目，真是意外之缘！吃饭时再细细的告诉你吧。”

L 也是一个单身汉，我们走出站来，无“家”可归，叫了一辆汽车，直奔拉丁区的北京饭店。我们挑了个座位，对面坐下，叫好了菜。L 一面擦着筷子，一面说：“你的条件太苛，挑房子哪有这么挑法？地点要好，房东要好，房客要少，又要房东会英语！我知道你难伺候，谁叫我答应了你呢，只好努力吧。谁知我偶然和我们的大使谈起，他给我介绍了一位女士，她是贵族遗裔，住在最清静高贵的贵族区——第七区。我前天去见了她，也看了房子……”他搔着头，笑说：“真是‘有缘千里来相会’，这位小姐，绝等漂亮，绝等聪明，温柔雅澹，堪配你的为人，一会儿你自己一见就知道了。”我不觉笑了起来，说：“我又没有托你做媒，何必说那些‘有缘’‘相配’的话！倒是把房子情形说一说吧。”这时菜已来了，L 还叫了酒，他举起杯来，说：“请！我告诉你，这房子是在第七层楼上，正临着拿破仑殡宫那条大街，美丽幽静，自不必说。只有一个房东，也只有你一个房客！这位小姐因为近来家道中落，才招个房客来帮贴用度，房租伙食是略贵一点，我知道你这个大爷，也不在乎这些。我们吃过饭就去看吧。”

我们又谈了些闲话，酒足饭饱，L 会过了帐，我提起箱子就要走。L 拦住我，笑说：“先别忙提箱子，现在不是你要不要住那房子的问题，是人家要不要你作房客的问题。如今七手八脚都搬了去，回头一语不合，叫人家撵了出来，够多没意思！还是先寄存在这里，等下说定了再来拿吧。”我也笑着依从了他。

一辆汽车，驰过宽阔光滑的街道，转弯抹角，停在一座大楼的前面。进了甬道，上了电梯，我们便站在最高层的门边。L 脱了帽，按了铃，一个很年轻的女佣出来开门，L 笑着问：“R 小姐在家吗？请你转报一声，中国大使馆的 L 先生，带一位客人来拜访她。”那女佣微笑着，接过片子，说：“请先生们客厅里坐。”便把我们带了进去。

我正在欣赏这一间客厅连饭厅的陈设和色调，忽然看见 L 站了起

来，我也连忙站起。从门外走进了一位白发盈颠的老妇人。L 笑着替我介绍说：“这位就是我同您提过的 ╳ 先生。”转身又向我说：“这位是 R 小姐。”

R 小姐微笑着同我握手，我们都靠近壁炉坐下。R 小姐一面同 L 谈着话，一面不住的打量我，我也打量她。她真是一个美人！一头柔亮的白发。身上穿着银灰色的衣裙，领边袖边绣着几朵深红色的小花。肩上披着白绒的围巾。长眉妙目，脸上薄施脂粉，也淡淡的抹着一点口红。岁数简直看不出来，她的举止顾盼，有许多地方十分的像我的母亲！

R 小姐又和我攀谈，用的是极流利的英语。谈起伦敦，谈起罗马，谈起瑞士……当我们谈到罗马博物馆的雕刻，和佛劳伦斯博物馆的绘画时，她忽然停住了，笑说：“╳ 先生刚刚来到，一定乏了，横竖将来我们谈话的机会多得很，还是先带你看看你的屋子吧。”她说着便站起引路，L 在后面笑着在我耳边低声说：“成了。”

我的那间屋子，就在客厅的后面，紧连着浴室，窗户也是临街开的。陈设很简单，却很幽雅，临窗一张大书桌子，桌上一瓶茶色玫瑰花，还疏疏落落的摆着几件文具。对面一个书架子，下面空着，上层放着精装的英法德各大文豪的名著。床边一张小几，放着个小桌灯，也是茶红色的灯罩。此外就是一架大衣柜，一张摇椅，屋子显得很亮，很宽。

我们四围看了一看，我笑说：“这屋子真好，正合我的用处……” R 小姐也笑说：“我们就是这里太静一些，马利亚的手艺不坏，饭食也还可口。哪一天，你要出去用饭，请告诉她一声。或若你要请一两个客人，到家里来吃，也早和她说。衣服是每星期有人来洗……”一面说着，我们又已回到客厅里。L 拿起帽子，笑说：“这样我们就说定了，我相信你们宾主一定会很相得的。现在我们先走了。晚饭后 ╳ 先生再回来——他还没去拜望我们的大使呢！”

我们很高兴的在大树下、人行道上并肩的走着。L 把着我的臂儿笑说：“我的话不假吧，除了她的岁数稍微大一点之外！大使说，推算起来，恐怕她已在六旬以外了。她是个颇有名的小说家，也常写诗。她挑房客也很苛，所以她那客房，常常空着，她喜欢租给‘外路人’，我看她是在招致可描写的小说中人物，说不定哪一天，你就会在她的小说中出现！”我笑说：“这个本钱，我倒是捞得回来。只怕我这个人，既非儿女，又不英雄，没有福气到得她的笔下。”

午夜，我才回到我的新屋子里，洗漱后上床，衾枕雪白温软，我望

着茶红色的窗帘、茶红色的灯罩，在一圈微晕的灯影下，忽然忘记了旅途的乏倦。我赤足起来，从书架上拿了一本歌德诗集来看，不知何时，蒙眬睡去——直等第二天微雨的早晨，马利亚敲门，送进刮胡子的热水来，才又醒来。

从此我便在 R 家住下了，早饭很简单，只是面包牛油咖啡，多半是自己在屋里吃。早饭后就到客厅坐坐，让马利亚收拾我的屋子。初到巴黎，逛街访友，在家吃饭的时候不多，我总是早晨出去，午夜回来。好在我领了一把门钥，独往独来，什么人也不惊动。有时我在寒夜中轻轻推门，只觉得温香扑面，踏着厚软的地毡，悄悄的走回自己屋里，桌上总有信件鲜花，有时还有热咖啡或茶，和一盘小点心。我一面看着信，一面吃点心喝茶——这些事总使我想起我的母亲。

第二天午饭时，见着 R 女士，我正要谢谢她给我预备的“消夜”，她却先笑着说：“╳ 先生，这半月的饭钱，我应该退还你，你成天的不在家！”我笑着坐下，说：“从今天起，我要少出去了，该看的人和该看的地方，都看过了。现在倒要写点信，看点书，养养静了。”R 小姐笑说：“别忘了还有你的法文，L 先生告诉我，你是要练习法语的。”

真的，我的法文太糟了，书还可以猜着看，话却是无人能懂！R 小姐提议，我们在吃饭的时候说法语。结果是我们谈话的范围太广，一用法文说，我就词不达意，笑着想着，停了半天。次数多了，我们都觉得不方便，不约而同的笑了出来，说：“算了吧，别扭死人！”从此我只顾谈话，把法语丢在脑后了！

巴黎的春天，相当阴冷，我们又都喜欢炉火，晚饭后常在 R 小姐的书房里，向火抽烟，闲谈。这书房是全房子里最大的一间，满墙都是书架，书架上满是文学书。壁炉架上，摆着几件东方古董。从她的谈话里，知道她的父亲做过驻英大使——她在英国住过十五年——也做过法国远东殖民地长官——她在远东住过八年。她有三个哥哥，都不在了。两个侄子，也都在上次欧战时阵亡。一个侄女，嫁了，有两个孩子，住在乡下。她的母亲，是她所常提到的，是一位身体单薄、多才有德的夫人，从相片上看去，眉目间尤其像我的母亲。

我虽没有学到法语，却把法国的文学艺术，懂了一半。我们常常一块儿参观博物院，逛古迹，听歌剧，看跳舞，买书画……她是巴黎一代的名闺，我和她朝夕相从，没看过 R 小姐的，便传布着一种谣言，说是╳╳╳ 在巴黎，整天陪着一位极漂亮的法国小姐，听戏，跳舞。这风声甚至传到国内我父亲的耳朵里，他还从北平写信来问。我回信

说："是的，一点不假，可惜我无福，晚生了三十年，她已是一位六旬以上的老姑娘了！父亲，假如您看见她，您也会动心呢，她长得真像母亲！"

我早可以到柏林去，但是我还不想去，我在巴黎过着极明媚的春天——

在一个春寒的早晨，我得到国内三弟报告订婚的信。下午吃茶的时候，我便将他们的相片和信，带到R小姐的书房里。我告诉了她这好消息，因此我又把皮夹里我父亲、母亲，以及二弟、四弟两对夫妇的相片，都给她看了。她一面看着，很客气的称赞了几句，忽然笑说："╳先生，让我问你一句话，你们东方人不是主张'男大当婚，女大当嫁'的吗？为何你竟然没有结婚，而且你还是个长子？"我笑了起来，一面把相片收起，挪过一个锦墩，坐在炉前，拿起铜条来，拨着炉火，一面说："问我这话的人多得很，你不是第一个。原因是，我的父母很摩登，从小，他们没有强迫我订婚或结婚。到自己大了，挑来挑去的，高不成，低不就，也就算了……"R 女士凝视着我，说："你不觉得生命里缺少什么？"我说："这个，倒也难说，根本我就没有去找。我认为婚姻若没有恋爱，不但无意义，而且不道德。但一提起恋爱来，问题就大了，你不能提着灯笼去找！我们东方人信'夙缘'，有缘千里来相会，若无缘呢？就是遇见了，也到不了一处……"这时我忽然忆起 L 君的话，不觉抬头看她，她正很自然的靠坐在一张大软椅里，身上穿着一件浅紫色的衣服，胸前带几朵紫罗兰。闪闪的炉火光中，窗外阴暗，更显得这炉边一角，温静，甜柔……

她举着咖啡杯儿，仍在望着我。我接下去说，"说实话，我还没有感觉到空虚，有的时候，单身人更安逸，更宁静，更自由……我看你就不缺少什么，是不是？"她轻轻的放下杯子，微微的笑说："我嘛，我是一个女人，就另是一种说法了……"说着，她用雪白的手指，挑着鬓发，轻轻的向耳后一掠，从椅旁小几上，拿起绒线活来，一面织着，一面看着我。

我说："我又不懂了，我总觉得女人天生的是家庭建造者。男人倒不怎样，而女人却是爱小孩子，喜欢家庭生活的，为何女人倒不一定要结婚呢？"R 小姐看着我，极温柔软款的说："我是'人性'中最'人性'、'女性'中最'女性'的一个女人。我愿意有一个能爱护我的、温柔体贴的丈夫，我喜爱小孩子，我喜欢有个完美的家庭。我知道我若有了这一切，我就会很快乐的消失在里面去——但正因为，我知道自己太清楚了，我就不愿结婚，而至今没有结婚！"

我抱膝看着她。她笑说：“你觉得奇怪吧，待我慢慢的告诉你——我还有一个毛病，我喜欢写作！”我连忙说：“我知道，我的法文太浅了，但我们的大使常常提起你的作品，我已试着看过，因为你从来没提起，我也就不敢……”R 小姐拦住我，说：“你又离了题了，我的意思是一个女作家，家庭生活于她不利。”我说：“假如她能够——”她立刻笑说：“假如她身体不好……告诉你，一个男人结了婚，他并不牺牲什么。一个不健康的女人结了婚，事业——假如她有事业、健康、家务，必须牺牲其一！我若是结了婚，第一牺牲的是事业，第二是健康，第三是家务……”

——写到这里，我忽然忆起去年我一个女学生写的一篇小说，叫做《三败俱伤》——她低头织着活计，说：“我是一个要强，顾面子，好静，有洁癖的人；在情感上我又非常的细腻，体贴；这些都是我的致命伤！为了这性格，别人用了十分心思，我就得用上百分心思；别人用了十分精力，我就得用上百分精力。一个家庭，在现代，真是谈何容易，当初我的母亲，她做一个外交官夫人，安南总督太太，真是仆婢成群，然而她……她的绘画，她的健康，她一点没有想到顾到。她一天所想的是丈夫的事业，丈夫的健康，儿女的教养，儿女的……她忙忙碌碌的活了五十年！至今我拿起她的画稿来，我就难过。嗳，我的母亲……”她停住了，似乎很激动，轻轻的咳嗽了两声，勉强的微笑说：“我母亲的事情，真够写一本小说的。你看见过英国女作家，V. Sackville-West 写的 All Passion Spent（七情俱净）吧？”

我仿佛记得看过这本书，就点头说：“看过了，写的真不错……不过，R 小姐，一个结婚的女人，她至少有了爱情。”她忽然大声的笑了起来，说：“爱情？这就是一件我所最拿不稳的东西，男人和女人心里所了解的爱情，根本就不一样。告诉你，男人活着是为事业——天晓得他说的是事业还是职业！女人活着才为着爱情；女人为爱情而牺牲了自己的一切，而男人却说：‘亲爱的，为了不敢辜负你的爱，我才更要努力我的事业’！这真是名利双收！”她说着又笑了起来，笑声中含着无限的凉意。

我不敢言语，我从来没有看见 R 小姐这样激动过，我虽然想替男人辩护，而且我想我也许不是那样的男人。

她似乎看出了我的心绪，她笑着说：“每一个男人在结婚以前，都说自己是个例外，我相信他们也不说假话。但是夫妻关系，是种最娇嫩最伤脑筋的关系，而时光又是一件最无情最实际的东西。等到你一做了他的同衾共枕之人，天长地久……呵！天长地久！任是最坚硬晶莹的钻石

也磨成了光彩模糊的沙颗，何况是血淋淋的人心？你不要以为我是生活在浪漫的幻想里的人，我一切都透彻，都清楚。男人的‘事业’当然要紧，讲爱情当然是不应该抛弃了事业，爱情的浓度当然不能终身一致。但是更实际的是，女人终究是女人，她也不能一辈子以结婚的理想、人生的大义，来支持她困乏的心身。在她最悲哀、最柔弱、最需要同情与温存的一刹那顷，假如她所得到的只是漠然的言语、心不在焉的眼光，甚至于尖刻的讥讽和责备，你想，一个女人要如何想法？我看的太多了，听的也太多了。这都是婚姻生活里解不开的死结！只为我太知道，太明白了，在决定牺牲的时候，我就要估量轻重了！”

她俯下身去，拣起一根柴，放在炉火里，又说：“我母亲常常用忧愁的眼光看着我说：‘德利莎！你看你的身体！你不结婚，将来有谁来看护你？’我没有说话，我只注视着她，我的心里向她叫着说：‘你看你的身体吧，你一个人的病，抵不住我们五个人的病。父亲的肠炎、回归热……以及我们兄妹的种种希奇古怪的病……三十年来，还不够你受的？’但我终究没有言语。”

她微微的笑了，注视着炉火：“总之我年轻时还不算难看，地位也好，也有点才名，因此我所受的试探，我相信也比别的女孩子多一点。我也曾有过几次的心软……但我都终于逃过了。我是太自私了，我扔不下这支笔，因着这支笔，我也要保持我的健康，因此——

“你说我缺少恋爱吗？也许，但，现在还有两三个男人爱慕着我，他们都说我是他们唯一终身的恋爱。这话我也不否认，但这还不是因为我们没有到得一处的缘故？他们当然都已结过了婚，我也认得他们温柔能干的夫人。我有时到他们家里去吃饭喝茶，但是我并不羡慕他们的家庭生活！他们的太太也成了我的好朋友，有时还向我抱怨她们的丈夫。我一面轻描淡写的劝慰着她们，我一面心里也在想，假如是我自己受到这些委曲，我也许还不会有向人诉说的勇气！有时在茶余酒后，我也看见这些先生们，向着太太皱起眉头，我就会感觉到一阵颤栗，假如我做了他的太太，他也对我皱眉，对我厌倦，那我就太……”

我笑了，极恳挚的轻轻拍着她的膝头，说：“假如你做了他的太太，他就不会皱眉了。我不相信世界上有任何男子，有福气做了你的丈夫，还会对你皱眉，对你厌倦。”她笑着摇了摇头，微微的叹一口气，说：“好孩子，谢谢你，你说得好！但是你太年轻了，不懂得——这二三十年来，我自己住着，略为寂寞一点，却也舒服。这些年里，我写了十几本小说、七八本诗，旅行了许多地方，认识了许多朋友。我的侄女，承袭了我的名字，也叫德利莎，上帝祝福她！小德利莎是个活泼健

康的孩子，廿几岁便结了婚。她以恋爱为事业，以结婚为职业。整天高高兴兴的，心灵里，永远没有矛盾，没有冲突。她的两个孩子，也很像她。在夏天，我常常到她家里去住。她进城时，也常带着孩子来看我。我身后，这些书籍古董，就都归她们了。我的遗体，送到国家医院去解剖，以后再行火化，余灰撒在塞纳河里，我的一生大事也就完了……”

我站了起来，正要说话，马利亚已经轻轻的进来，站在门边，垂手说：“小姐，晚饭开齐了。”R　小姐吃惊似的，笑着站了起来，说：“真是，说话便忘了时候，╳ 先生，请吧。”

饭时，她取出上好的香槟酒来，我也去拿了大使馆朋友送的名贵的英国纸烟，我们很高兴的谈天说地，把刚才的话一句不提。那晚 R 小姐的谈锋特别隽妙，双颊飞红，我觉得这是一种兴奋、疲乏的表示。饭后不多一会，我便催她去休息。我在客厅门口望着她迟缓秀削的背影，呆立了一会。她真是美丽，真是聪明！可惜她是太美丽，太聪明了！

十天后我离开了巴黎，L　送我到了车站。在车上，我临窗站到近午，才进来打开了 R 小姐替我预备的筐子，里面是一顿很精美的午餐，此外还有一瓶好酒，一本平装的英文小说，是 All Passion Spent。

我回国不到一月，北平便沦陷了。我还得到北平法国使馆转来的 R 小姐的一封信，短短的几行字：

“╳先生：

听说北平受了轰炸，我无时不在关心着你和你一家人的安全！振奋起来吧，一个高贵的民族，终久是要抬头的。有机会请让我知道你平安的消息。

你的朋友 德利莎。”

我写了回信，仍托法国使馆转去，但从此便不相通问了。

三年以后，轮到了我为她关心的时节，德军进占了巴黎，当我听到巴黎冬天缺乏燃料，要家里住有德国军官才能领到煤炭的时候，我希望她已经逃出了这美丽的城市。我不能想象这静妙的老姑娘，带着一脸愁容，同着德国军官，沉默向火！

“振奋起来吧，一个高贵的民族，终久是要抬头的！”

14 MY NEIGHBOR

My colleague's daughter, Mrs. M, has been my student and later my neighbor.

The first time I saw her was in her father's home. That year, I had just come to the university as a teacher and, following the usual practice, I paid visits to a few elder colleagues in my department. During my visit to her father, he proudly introduced her to me, "Mr. X, this is my eldest daughter. She is fifteen this year. She is passably talented and likes reading. She is particularly interested in foreign literature. Please offer her guidance from now on."

She was at that time only a young girl, thin and pale, wearing two thick, short braids that were hanging behind her neck. She spoke shyly but laughed quite sweetly, using her fingers from time to time to lift up her lowered glasses.

I spoke with her for a short while. When we came to the topic of English literature, I learned to my great surprise that she had read, for instance, the majority of Hardy's novels and could recite several long poems from the nineteenth century.... Her father, showing delight, fetched a small hand-written book and handed it to me. I saw its title: *Dewdrops*. This was a volume of over two hundred short poems in which she imitated Bing Xin's "Star" style. I turned pages at random and read a couple of them. I found her poems very pure and fresh, with a crystalline transparency like the dewdrops of a spring morning.

I offered a few comments of praise, and her father went on, smiling, "She has even written novels. Go and fetch that novel of yours for Mr. X!" She blushed and said, "There you go again, Daddy. I haven't finished writing it yet." After speaking, she raised the door curtain, ran out, and did not return. Her father said to me, laughing, "You see, she is too spoiled to behave herself. Of all my children, she is the one who has some talent. It's a pity that she has a delicate constitution."

One year later, she became my student. The classes for freshmen were

so large that I rarely met her. But from her literary exercises, I could see that she was very promising in creative writing. Her well-conceived writings and minute descriptions place her at a much higher level than her classmates.

Later on, we had many opportunities to talk to each other. I was appointed advisor to the Publication Section of the Student Union, in which she exercised a position of leadership. During her college years, she made great progress in all areas. Her writings often appeared on the pages of literary magazines outside college, where her fairly mature technique and ideas gradually brought her some renown in the world of letters.

After her graduation from college, she married a certain Mr. M, also a writer, and once married, the couple moved to Nanjing. I didn't hear directly from them for seven or eight years.

The next year after the outbreak of the War of Resistance against Japan, I arrived in Kunming. My friends set out to look for a dwelling place for me. They told me there was a house where I could rent a room on an upper floor above a certain Professor M's home. The house was well located with my college nearby. We went there to have a look, and found out that Mrs. M was the daughter of my former colleague. Our meeting gave us great pleasure. The house was quite small and had poor day lighting. But the emerald-green Western mountains could be seen outside the high windows. At M's home there lived an old lady and four children, one following another in age, the youngest one being only two years old. Mrs. M looked paler than before, and her thinness made her look so old that she seemed to be over thirty.

Once agreement about the rent was negotiated, I moved onto the upper floor above M's home carrying my handy luggage and my small box full of books. That evening I met Mr. M and found him much thinner than before, and more irascible as well. His manner suggested that everything was offensive to his eyes. He was having supper with three older children by the dim light of a kerosene lamp. The old lady was busy doing something in the kitchen. And Mrs. M, holding the youngest child in her arms, walked in and out serving the meal. Everybody was silent. Feeling ill at ease, I sat only for a while by the table and then went upstairs.

Hardly had half a month passed before the idea of moving away occurred to me. The home downstairs was indeed anything but calm and

quiet. Furthermore, it was terribly gloomy. Whether because of malnutrition or some other reason, the children often cried and made noise. The old lady didn't stop nagging. She often complained to me of Mrs. M's helplessness in everything. Only when Mr. M came home in the evening did this hubbub of crying and complaining begin to subside, but this was followed by another uproar of his voice scolding the kids, reproaching his wife and complaining of the injustices of the world. Their bedroom was just beneath me. The floorboard was broken, and the tenon had not yet fitted into the mortise. I was alone and always kept silent, but the noises coming up from downstairs, on the contrary, could always be faintly heard. Late at night I often heard a racket as if someone were "weeping and sobbing." Sounds were mingled with sudden clashes of something furiously thrown down by Mr. M and his angry bellow. Whenever this happened, the children began to cry at once, making it impossible for me to fall asleep for a long while.

One morning, when I was thinking about moving out, I went downstairs and found the children's rooms completely quiet, with nobody in. I uttered a call and saw Mrs. M come out from the kitchen with her hands dangling at her sides. Brushing aside the few matted snarls of hair falling on her face, she asked, "What can I do for you, Mr. X? They are all out." I understood that by "they" she meant the old lady and Mr. M. Then I asked, "And the children?" She replied, "So are they, too. I failed in preparing the breakfast for them, and we had just run out of pickles. They said they had to go out to have something for breakfast." With her lips shivering, she forced a sad smile, "How helpless I am! I haven't learned to do any of these things from childhood. My mother used to say, ‘Now the tailors only charge a few dozen cents for making a dress, and a pair of shoes only costs two *yuan*. In such an era girls need not learn such skills. They are better off exerting themselves academically, for after school they can earn money. To think that in my early days there were no schools for me no matter how eager I was to attend!' My father was even more tolerant of me. At home I never stepped into the kitchen.... Now, you see, instead of succeeding in setting fire to the stove, I have filled the entire kitchen with smoke!"

After saying this, she again raised her blackened hand to wipe her eyes. Never had she talked so much to me in the past days since I moved in. Finding her eyes reddened and swollen, and her voice coarse, I realized she must have been weeping. Then I said, "Since they are out for breakfast, you

no longer need to light the stove. Wash your hands at once. I have some cakes upstairs. Canned milk should be added to the warm water in the thermos bottle. Now I'll go and fetch them." Without waiting for her answer, I went upstairs and found her by the staircase staring blankly at me, with tears in her eyes.

Bending her head forward, she silently mixed the milk and ate the cakes with an absent-minded look on her face. It was quite a while before I said, "How nice it is in Kunming! The sky is always as blue as the sea! Do you still remember Elizabeth Browning's verses...?" At this moment, allof a sudden, we heard a long and pathetic siren blare outside. It was followed by the noise of sirens everywhere, and then the scamper of people running beyond our door. Mrs. M stood up and said with a shivering voice, "Air raid alarm! Oh, I wonder where on earth my children are at this moment!" I also stood up in a hurry and said, "Don't worry. They must be nearby. Let me go and look for them." Just as we were going towards the door, the old lady appeared with the four children, all of them doddering along. We were told that Mr. M had rushed to the office of his school to salvage some manuscripts and therefore had sent the five of them to come home first.

I helped Mrs. M so that we each took one of the two youngest children in our arms. Staring at me in fright, she asked, "Mr. X, should we hide ourselves somewhere?" I said, "All right, let's go, then the children won't be frightened." We packed up some of our belongings in a hurry and, draggling the little ones along with us, rushed outdoors. All of a sudden, the old lady came out from the house, carrying in her lap a large bundle wrapped in blue cloth and running towards us, flustered and exasperated, saying, "Don't run so fast, wait for me!" At just this moment, the heavy rumble of flying airplanes could be heard overhead. I looked up and saw nine silver-gray planes flying steadily above us in disciplined formation. After a blast of machine-gun shooting, what followed were a few earthshaking booms, so strong that even the doors and windows began to falter. The children burst out crying, and the old lady fell weak and limp at the door. All of us quickly squeezed into the doorway. Mrs. M hugged her children tightly in her arms and whispered, "Don't be afraid. Mr. X is here with us!" Propping up the old woman, I said, "It doesn't matter, the planes are gone." On saying this, I heard human voices in the street. People had rushed out from every household and were talking, panic-stricken. Mrs. M stood up, patted her clothes and dragged her children

outside the door. Standing on our feet, we strained our ears for a while and heard nothing more in the sky. Then I said, "Let's go in and have a rest. The enemy planes are gone." Mrs. M nodded, and then I helped her carry her children into their house. I myself went upstairs. No sooner had I sat down than I heard Mr. M coming home. On striding through the door, he shouted at the top of his voice, "Well, now there isn't a single inch of safe land remaining. Now they have come after us even here in Kunming. I had just rushed out with my bundle of books when the house was bombed. Goddamned devils!"

From that day on, there was an air raid alarm nearly every day. Mr. M, however, always left home before the alarm and only came back after all was clear, complaining besides about not finding supper ready at home. Mrs. M did not say a word, but simply kept on moving with head bent and eyelids swollen. Sometimes in the morning, on seeing me go downstairs to wash my face, she would smile in a timid and wry way, and ask, "Mr. X, you don't go out today, do you?" And I always replied, "I'll never go out unless I have lessons to teach. Call me whenever you have need for me."

The old woman refused to go to the open country, for fear that it would not be safe to stay in the open air. She preferred invariably to hide herself inside an air-raid shelter at the foot of the city wall. I used to go with Mrs. M and her children outside the city. We chose a trench-like place beneath a big tree, shielded at three sides by adobe walls. The little ones, now used to staying outdoors because of the air raids, began to set up a small mud shack in the trench, reinforcing it with tree branches. They kept on working this way day after day. The youngest of them often fell asleep in his mother's arms. I sometimes carried books for reading. If the signal that all was clear didn't sound before noon, we would have some cakes outdoors for lunch.

We chatted whenever we felt bored sitting idly in the trench. I could guess many of Mrs. M's grievances from fragments of her conversation. She never complained about anything, nor did she even show dissat-isfaction with the hardly likable children. She rarely brought up her family affairs, but judging from their food and clothing, I knew that they were having a hard time. Finding her increasingly wan and sallow with every passing day, I decided to lend her a hand. On one occasion, I asked if she would be willing to teach lessons or write something for money. As for the household chores, I

said, the old woman might take charge, and things could be kept in order if a servant could be hired. Why didn't she assert her special strengths if such sundry duties were the last thing she was willing to assume?

Sitting cross-legged on the ground and gently rocking her child in her arms, Mrs. M listened silently to me. She was quiet for a long while before she raised her head and said, "Thank you for your good will, Mr. X. I've already thought over all that. When I first came here, I did give lessons, and the school where I taught was even more satisfied with me than with my husband." At this she smiled, the first time I had seen her do so! After a short pause, she continued, "Later on, I didn't know why, he said he was against my giving lessons outside.... His mother, besides, said she couldn't manage to take care of so many children. I had to give up and stay home again. Some time later, a few friends and colleagues of mine suggested that I should write something. You know, Mr. X, I've liked writing ever since I was a child. Particularly nowadays, as soon as I take up my pen, what my mind...what my mind is filled with begins to flow out in a stream. Then what I see around myself becomes dim and blurred, for while writing one can escape from lots of things existing in reality...." Playing head downwards with the buttons of her child's shirt, she heaved a soft sigh, "But reality is reality. Just a peal of children's cry, a visitor's coming, the murmurs of the old woman or the endless inquiries of the servant are sufficient to startle me and interrupt my train of thought in writing, so much so that after that, I find myself unable to take up my pen for a long while. Furthermore, you indeed need a calm state of mind, although not necessarily a joyful one, for writing. But how am I today? To say nothing of joy, it is very, very difficult for me even to live in peace!

"After I wrote two articles," she went on, "my husband found at first that to write for money is to lose more than to gain! Payment for writing increases almost only one hundredth as quickly as wages, to say nothing of the increase of the tailor's fee and the price of shoes. Indeed it is vain to hope that writing can earn money for children's clothing. I cannot imagine writing a story in five thousand characters in exchange for a small pair of shoes. When I found that there was neither encouragement nor hope for writing, and that writing would do no more than evoke one's own sorrows and incur reproaches from other family members, I dismissed the maidservant. In fact, she had long wanted to go away—our family was so poor, with so many children and ill-

tempered members, in short, without anything that she could not bear to part with—unlike me...for I cannot be dismissed!"

And she went on, "While lighting the stove, cleaning the rice and the vegetables for cooking, sewing shoes and darning socks for the children, I feel my mind as empty and numb as a withered tree. In fact, in these years of the War, who can enjoy an easy life? Such a life is only possible for those who aren't human beings. I don't seek an easy life. I'm sure I can make do with my household chores although I haven't learned to do them, for labor also brings its joy, if only I could get some comfort and warmth in my heart....

"I haven't said a single word about this to anybody." She added, "I myself already have enough to suffer, and then why should I add to other people's sufferings in these times when everybody is in distress? Still less could I let my parents know anything about this. Writing from the North, my father often remarks, ‘Surely the exuberant and radiant Southern landscapes have instilled in you a rich poetic mood! But why haven't you sent some of your short poems for me to read?' Recently, somebody unknown told them the truth of our life out here, and my mother, very worried and sad, wrote to me, saying, ‘I didn't know you had got into such a plight! But your husband's mother, anyway, must be of some help, isn't she? If I had only known beforehand what would happen today, I would have tried to prevent your health from breaking down in reading and writing, and would have encouraged you to learn something about household chores.'

"The letter made me heartbroken. It would not have mattered for me to suffer alone, but now I have done harm to my parents, disappointing my father and bringing grief to my mother. Mr. X, this is just like what Cai Yong[1] said in the play, *The Story of a Pipa*: ‘Academic studies have destroyed me, and I, in turn, have destroyed my parents.'"

Saying that, she couldn't help pushing her child aside as she burst out crying, while covering her face with the front of her blouse. The children, perhaps already used to their mother's crying, stood by for a while and then finally went away to continue playing. And I? I did not know how to comfort her, and I thought, on the other hand, that here, in this vast open country, out of the miserable and stifling atmosphere she had to endure all day long at home, she might find an outlet to give full vent to her sorrows. So I quietly

stepped aside....

Indeed I did not want to go on living there any longer. At that time my school was in summer vacation. It happened that the air-raid shelter at the foot of the city wall collapsed and many people were injured. Fortunately, the old woman was safe and sound. Then I managed to persuade them to evacuate to the countryside. On my part, I moved to the ancestral temple of a village far, far away. And there I came across another woman!

[1] Cai Yong (132-192 A.D.) was a high-ranking official of the Han Dynasty (202 B.C.-220 A.D.), who was distinguished in literature, calligraphy and painting. He appears as the protagonist of the play *The Story of a Pipa* (*pipa* is a traditional Chinese plucked string instrument with a fretted finger-board), written by Gao Zecheng in the fourteenth century. In this play, Cai Yong leaves his wife and parents at home and goes to the capital to sit for the imperial examination. After success in the examination, he is forced to marry the daughter of the prime minister. But his parents die of hunger in his famine-stricken homeland, and his first wife becomes a beggar and comes to the capital to look for him. She finally reunites with her husband thanks to the help of the prime minister's daughter.

拾肆 我的邻居

M 太太是我的同事的女儿，也做过我的学生，现在又是我的邻居。

我头一次看见她，是在她父亲的家里——那年我初到某大学任教，照例拜访了几位本系里的前辈同事——她父亲很骄傲的将她介绍给我，说：“╳　先生，这是我的大女儿，今年十五岁了。资质还好，也肯看书，她最喜欢外国文学，请你指教指教她。”

那时 M 太太还是个小姑娘，身材瘦小，面色苍白，两条很粗的短发辫，垂在脑后。说起话来很腼腆，笑的时候却很“甜”，不时的用手指去托她的眼镜。

我同她略谈了几句，提起她所已看过的英国文学，使我大大的吃惊！例如：哈代的全部小说集，她已看了大半；她还会背诵好几首英国十九世纪的长诗……，她父亲又很高兴的去取了一个小纸本来，递给我看，上面题着“露珠”，是她写的仿冰心繁星体的短篇诗集，大约有二百多首。我略翻了翻，念了一两首，觉得词句很清新，很莹洁，很像一颗颗春晨的露珠。

我称赞了几句，她父亲笑说：“她还写小说呢——你去把那本小说拿来给 ╳ 先生看！”她脸红了说：“爸爸总是这样！我还没写完呢。”一面掀开帘子，跑了出去，再不进来。她父亲笑对我说：“你看她惯的一点规矩都没有了！我的这几个孩子，也就是她还聪明一点，可惜的是她身体不大好。”

一年以后，她又做了我的学生。大学一年级的班很大，我同她接触的机会不多，但从她做的文课里，看出她对于文学创作，极有前途；她思想缜密，描写细腻，比其他的同学，高出许多。

此后因为我做了学生会出版组的顾问，她是出版组的重要负责人员，倒是常有机会谈话。几年来她的一切进步都很快，她的文章也常常在校外的文学刊物上出现，技术和思想又都比较成熟，在文学界上渐渐的露了头角。

大学毕业后，她便同一位 M 先生结了婚。M 先生也是一位作家——他们婚后就到南京去，有七八年我没有得到直接的消息。

抗战后一年，我到了昆明。朋友们替我找房子，说是有一位 M 教授的楼上，有一间房子可以分租，地点也好，离学校很近。我们同去一看，那位 M 太太原来就是那位我的同事的女儿！相见之下，十分欢喜。那房子很小，光线也不大好，只是从高高的窗口，可以望见青翠的西山。M 家还有一位老太太，四个孩子，一个挨一个的，最小的不过有两岁左右。M 太太比从前更苍白了，一瘦就显得老，她仿佛是三十以外的人了。

说定了以后，我拿了简单的行李，一小箱书，便住到 M 家的楼上。那天晚上，便见着 M 先生，他也比从前瘦了，性情更显得急躁，仿佛对于一切都觉得不顺眼。他带着三个大点的孩子，在一盏阴暗的煤油灯下，吃着晚饭。老太太在厨房里不知忙些什么。M 太太抱着最小的孩子，出出进进，替他们端菜盛饭，大家都不大说话。我在饭桌旁边。勉强坐了一会，就上楼去了。

住了不到半个月，我便想搬家，这家庭实在太不安静了，而且阴沉得可怕！这几个孩子，不知道是因为营养不足，还是其他的缘故，常常哭闹。老太太总是叨叨唠唠的，常对我抱怨 M 太太什么都不会。M 先生晚上回来，才把那些哭声怨声压低了下去，但顿时楼下又震荡着他的骂孩子，怪太太，以及愤时忧世的怨怒的声音。他们的卧室，正在我的底下，地板坏了，逗不上笋来。我一个人，总是静悄悄的，而楼下的声音，却是隐约上腾，半夜总听见喳喳嘁嘁的，“如哭如诉”，有时忽然听见 M 先生使劲的摔了一件东西，生气的嚷着，小孩子忽然都哭了起来，我就半天睡不着觉！

正在我想搬家的那一天早晨，走到楼下，发现屋里静悄悄的，没有一个人。我叫了一声，看见 M 太太扎煞着手，从厨房里出来。她一面用手背掠开了垂拂在脸上的乱发，一面问：“╳ 先生有事吗？他们都出去了。”我知道这“他们”就是老太太同 M 先生了，我就问：“孩子们呢？”她说：“也出去了，早饭没弄得好，小菜又没有了，他们说是出去吃点东西。”她嘴唇颤动着惨笑了一下，说：“我这个人真不中用，从小就没学过这些事情。母亲总是说：‘几毛钱一件的衣工，一两块钱一双皮鞋，这年头女孩子真不必学做活了，还是念书要紧，念出书来好挣钱，我那时候想念书，还没有学校呢。’父亲更是由着我，我在家里简直没有进过厨房……您看我生火总是生不着，反弄了一厨房的烟！”说着又用乌黑的手背去擦眼睛。我来了这么几天，她也没有跟我说过这么多的话。我看她的眼睛又红又肿，声音也哑着，我知道她一定又哭过，便说：“他们既然出去吃了，你就别生火吧。你赶紧洗了手，我楼上有些

点心，还有罐头牛奶，用暖壶里的水冲了就可吃，等我去取了来。”我不等她回答便向楼上走，她含着泪站在楼梯边呆望着我。

M 太太一声不言语的，呆呆的低头调着牛奶，吃着点心。过了半天，我就说：“昆明就是这样好，天空总是海一样的青！你记得卜朗宁夫人的诗吧……” 正说着，忽然一声悠长的汽笛，惨厉的叫了起来，接着四方八面似乎都有汽笛在叫，门外便听见人跑。M 太太倏的站了起来，颤声说：“这是警报！孩子们不知都在哪里？”我也连忙站起来，说：“你不要怕，他们一定就在附近，等我去找。”我们正往门外走，老太太已经带着四个孩子，连爬带跌的到了门前，原来 M 先生说是学校办公室里还有文稿，他去抢救稿子去了，却把老的小的打发回家来！

我帮着 M 太太把小的两个抱起，M 太太看着我，惊慌的说：“╳先生，我们要躲一躲吧？”我说：“也好，省得小孩子们害怕。”我们胡乱收拾点东西，拉起孩子，向外就走。忽然老太太从屋里抱着一个大蓝布包袱，气急败坏的一步一跌的出来，嘴里说：“别走，等等我！”这时头上已来了一阵极沉重的隆隆飞机声音。我抬头一看，蔚蓝的天空里，白光闪烁，九架银灰色的飞机，排列着极整齐的队伍，稳稳的飞过。一阵机关枪响之后，紧接着就是天塌地陷似的几阵大声，门窗震动。小孩子哇的一声，哭了起来，老太太已瘫倒在门边。这时我们都挤在门洞里，M 太太面色惨白，紧紧的抱着几个孩子，低声说：“莫怕莫怕。╳先生在这里！”我一面扶起老太太，说：“不要紧了，飞机已经过去了。”正说着街上已有了人声，家家门口有人涌了出来，纷纷的惊惶的说话。M 太太站起拍拍衣服，拉着孩子也出到门口。我们站着听了一会，天上已经没有一点声息。我说：“我们进去歇歇吧，敌机已经去了。”M 太太点了点头，我又帮她把孩子抱回屋去，自己上得楼来；刚刚坐定，便听见 M 先生回来；他一进门就大声嚷着：“好，没有一片干净土了，还会追到昆明来！我刚抱出书包来，那边就炸了，这班鬼东西！”

从那天起，差不多就天天有警报。M 先生却总是警报前出去，解除后才回来，还抱怨家里没有早预备饭。M 太太一声儿不言语，肿着眼泡，低头出入。有时早晨她在厨房里，看见我下楼打脸水，就怯怯的苦笑问：“╳ 先生今天不出去吧？”我总说：“不到上课的时候，我是不会走的，你有事叫我好了。”

老太太不肯到野外去，怕露天不安全，她总躲在城墙边一个防空洞里。我同 M 太太就带着孩子跑到城外去。我们选定了一片大树下，壕沟式的一块地方，三面还有破土墙挡着。孩子们逃警报也逃惯了，他们

就在那壕沟里盖起小泥瓦房子，插起树枝，天天继续着工作。最小的一个，往往就睡在母亲的手臂上，我有时也带着书去看。午时警报若未解除，我们就在野地里吃些干点充饥。

坐在壕沟里无聊，就闲谈。从 M 太太零碎的谈话里，我猜出她的许多委屈。她从来不曾抱怨过任何人，连对那几个不甚讨人喜欢的孩子，她也不曾表示过不满。她很少提起家里的事，可是从她们的衣服饮食上，我知道她们是很穷困的。眼看着她一天一天的憔悴下去，我就想帮她一点忙。有一次我就问她愿不愿去教书，或是写几篇文章，拿点稿费。家务事有老太太照管，再雇个佣人，也就可以做得开了，她本来不喜欢做那些杂务，何必不就“用其所长”？

M 太太盘着腿坐在地上，抱着孩子，轻轻的摇动，静静的听着，过了半天才抬起头来，说：“╳ 先生，谢谢你的关怀，这些事我都早已想过了，我刚来的时候，也教过书，学校里对于我，比对我的先生还满意。”说到这里，她微笑了，这是我近来第一次见到的笑容！她停了一会说：“后来不知如何，他就反对我出去教书……老太太也说那几个孩子，她弄不了，我就又回到家里来。以后就有几个朋友同事，来叫我写稿子。╳ 先生，你知道我从小喜欢写文章，尤其是现在，我一拿起笔，一肚子的……一肚子的事，就奔涌了出来。眼前一切就都模糊恍惚，在写作里真可以逃避了许多现实……”她低头玩弄着孩子襟上的纽扣，微微的叹了一口气，说：“但是现实还是现实，一声孩子哭，一个客人来，老太太说东说西，老妈子问长问短，把我的文思常常忽然惊断，许久许久不能再拿起笔来。而且——写文章实在要心境平静，虽然不一定要快乐，而我现在呢？不用说快乐，要平静也就很难很难的了！

“写了两篇文章，我的先生最先发现写文章卖钱，是得不偿失！稿费增加和工资增加的速度，几乎是一与百之比，衣工，鞋价，更不必说。靠稿费来添置孩子衣服，固然是梦想，写五千字的小说，来换一双小鞋子，也是不可能。没有了鼓励，没有了希望，而写文章只引起自己伤心，家人责难的时候，我便把女工辞退了。其实她早就要走——我们家钱少，孩子多，上人脾气又不大好，没有什么事使她留恋的，不像我……我是走不脱的！

“我生着火，拣着米，洗着菜，缝着鞋子，补着袜子，心里就像枯树一般的空洞、麻木。本来，抗战时代，有谁安逸？能安逸的就不是人；我不求安逸，我相信我虽没有学过家务，我也能将就的做，而且我也不怕做，劳作有劳作的快乐，只要心里能得到一点慰安，温暖……

“我没有对任何人说过任何言语，自己苦够了，这万方多难的年头，何必又增加别人的痛苦？对我的父母，我是更不说的。父亲从北方来信，总是说：‘南国浓郁明艳的风光，不知又添了你多少诗料，为何不寄点短诗给爸爸看？’最近不知是谁，向他们报告了这里的实况，母亲很忧苦的写了信来，说：‘我不知道你们那里竟是这个样子！老太太总该可以帮帮忙吧？早知如此，我当初不该由着你读书写字，把身体弄坏了，家事也一点不会。’她把自己抱怨了一顿，我看了信，真是心如刀割。我自己痛苦不要紧，还害得父亲为我失望，母亲为我伤心，╳先生，这真是《琵琶记》里蔡中郎所说的‘文章误我，我误爹娘’了！”她说着忍不住把孩子推在一边，用衣襟掩着脸大哭了起来。孩子们也许看惯了妈妈的啼哭，呆立了一会，便慢慢走开，仍去玩耍。我呢，不知道怎样劝她，也想她在家里整天的凄凉掩抑，在这朗阔的野外，让她恣情的一恸，倒也是一种发泄，我也便悄悄的走向一边……

我真不想再住下去了，那时学校里已放了暑假。城墙边的防空洞曾震塌了一次，压伤了许多人，M 老太太幸而无恙。我便撺掇他们疏散到乡下去。我自己也远远的搬到另一乡村里的祠堂里住下——在那里，我又遇到了一个女人！

15 ZHANG, THE MAID

It is a pity that I cannot precede the name "Mrs. Zhang" with the word "my," because she cannot be addressed so to relate to me! Neither neighbor nor servant, she would still less acknowledge herself to be my friend. She was merely the wife of Mr. Zhang, the doorkeeper of the ancestral temple.

I lived upstairs in this temple, and downstairs lived old Mr. and Mrs. Li. The Zhang couple occupied a small room by the gate of the temple.

The young owner of the temple, one of my students, kindly showed me around the building, saying, "It's very calm and quiet here, Mr. X. This is a good place for you to do your writing. Life is not so convenient here up on the hill, but fortunately we have the Zhang couple with us, and you may count on them whenever necessary." On hearing his own name mentioned, Mr. Zhang stood up from the threshold where he was sitting and smiled at me, revealing his yellow teeth. He was about forty, quite short and rather well-behaved. My student asked, "Where is Mrs. Zhang?" He replied, "She's gone to fetch water with her shoulder pole." My student led me upstairs while speaking, "Mrs. Zhang is very capable, much cleverer than her husband. She is also a person of great physical strength. You better talk to her if you are in need of something."

For convenience, I arranged to board with the Li couple, so that I didn't need to go downhill all the time, which would have been very hard on days of wind or rain. Moreover, the canteen in the village swarmed with flies that were very annoying, particularly in the summer. The Li couple, natives of Shanxi province, was extremely kind and affable. Mrs. Li cooked by herself and the meals were delicious. Every morning, after getting up, I went to their kitchen and took water from the jar to wash my face. Then I tidied up my room. Before the meals were ready, I rarely saw them. Mr. And Mrs. Li got up and went to bed early, and during the daytime they did not make the slightest noise. Everything was always peaceful and silent in the yard, in sharp contrast to the house downtown where Mrs. M's family had been living. I felt very comfortable.

On the third day after I moved in, I approached Mrs. Zhang and asked

her to do some washing for me. She emerged from her small, dark room, and her features grew clear in the sunlight. Her sparse, sallow hair was worn in a small bun high above the back of her neck. Her complexion was quite swarthy, whereas her eyes and brows were surrounded by many wrinkles that came from exposure to harsh weather. Her lips were big yet thin, and her eyes bright and piercing. She was short and slender, but her scant stature gave her a strong and capable appearance. She stepped forward to meet me and, smiling profusely, asked, "Is there anything you want me to do for you?" I replied, "Please wash a few of my clothes. They are white, so please be a bit careful." She said, "Oh, I see, you are particular about what you wear. Well, give me a bar of soap."

Mrs. L, leaning against the door and watching what was going on, motioned me to enter and then said in a whisper, "When you need to have anything washed, you better go downhill and have it done there by others. This woman is quite shrewd. Each time she is asked to wash something, she demands invariably a whole bar of soap, and then keeps what is left unused and sells it. We do all our washing ourselves." I thought for a while and smiled, "Let it pass this time. I'll see what to do next time."

Early next morning, Mrs. Zhang brought my clothes and bed sheets upstairs. She had washed them very clean and white and folded them up very neatly. Placing them in a pile on my bed, she said, "Mr. X, here's your laundry. Now please take back the leftover soap." I thanked her and felt pleasantly surprised. She had made a good impression on me.

After we became more familiar with each other, she would come upstairs to sweep the floor, bring me letters, take my laundry and empty my wastepaper basket. My belongings were quite simple, so she knew where each of them was placed. I never locked my door when I went out, but I never found anything missing: money, clothing, books, and so on. As to matches, pastries, towels and soap, I never worried about how much was available. Although Mrs. Li had warned me more than once to take care, I found it too annoying for anybody to keep constant watch over such trifles, much more so when these things were of too little value for me to be concerned about their possible loss. To my delight, Mrs. Zhang tidied up my room so well that everything else seemed of little importance.

Mrs. Zhang was very kind to me, but rather unkind to the Li couple.

Take, for instance, the water she used to fetch for them from the foot of the hill in two pails at both ends of a shoulder pole. For such a service she would demand a higher price almost every other day. She did not demand it directly, but would exact her price by slowing down the water supply. Sometimes she remained unseen for one or two days and the water jar in the kitchen became empty. Then Mrs. Li, worried, approached Mr. Zhang and asked, "Where's your wife?" He would reply with a smile, "She's working in the fields, hired by other people." Then Mrs. Li would ask Mr. Zhang, "You, too, can help us with some water, can't you?" He agreed, but remained motionless. It was necessary for me to come downstairs and hurry him up again and again before he raised the pole sluggishly, laid it on his shoulder and set out. Looking downwards from behind the railing, I saw Mrs. Zhang come up from the fields and talk for a while with her husband at the foot of the hill. Then, after fetching two pails of water, he lay down and complained of abdominal pain. On the next day he would no longer appear. Mr. Li murmured angrily, "These people know quite well how to put pressure on us. They think nobody else will fetch water for us. I'll go downhill and find someone else for this job!" Then he sat long hours in the village teahouse and asked the peasants in the area if they would assume this job. As soon as they learned that the water had to be carried uphill, they all shook their heads and laughed, "Uphill? What a steep path! You should pay more money for this job." When told the price they demanded, Mr. Li shook his head in anger and came back uphill, for they had demanded even a higher price than Mrs. Zhang did.

Then I went downhill during a quiet moment and found Mrs. Zhang in the fields. I said, "Go back and fetch us water, please. We've run out of water even for drinking." She replied with a smile, "I'm busy now." I smiled, too, and said, "Don't talk nonsense! I understand what you mean. From now on I'll pay for the water you fetch. Anyway, I also need water for drinking and other uses." Smiling broadly, she put the basket on her back and came uphill with me. From then on, even during the busy seasons in farming, we never ran out of water, except for the few days when she gave birth to a child and her husband did the job instead.

Before this happened, I had never noticed anything different in Mrs. Zhang's figure. Her clothes were already too baggy to reveal any change in her body. One day, however, Mrs. Li told me, "Mrs. Zhang is on the verge of giving birth. Before it is too late, you better approach her husband and talk

with him about fetching water, in case he refuses to do it at the time when things happen." But I didn't find the way to bring the matter up. Furthermore, as I had just seen Mrs. Zhang coming uphill carrying a large basket of beans on her back, I thought that the moment of childbirth was very much in the future. So I did not discuss the matter that day.

The next morning, Mrs. Zhang did not appear to sweep the floor. While having breakfast, I saw her husband come in carrying a small basket of eggs. I asked him why his wife was absent. He replied, smiling triumphantly, "She gave birth to a baby last night!" We hastened to congratulate him and asked whether the baby was a boy or a girl. Mr. Li said, "People like her are so capable that they can deal with their childbirth by themselves. What is more, although this is the first baby she has had, she managed to get on without making a sound, with even more facility than the way a hen lays eggs." I hurried upstairs, wrapped fifty *yuan* in a piece of red paper[1] and then went downstairs, handing it over to Mr. Zhang, and saying, "This is for buying some brown suger[2] for Mrs. Zhang." Mrs. Li also came out of her room with a red envelope. Mr. Zhang accepted all these gifts with delight and said, "Thank you all. Would you, Mrs. Li, like to have a look at the baby?" Mrs. Li went into the dark room with great pleasure.

I was chatting idly with Mr. Li in the central room when his wife came in, shaking her head and laughing, "What a big boy! How strong and full of life! But what do you guess Mrs. Zhang is doing just now? She is knitting fishnets in bed. The baby was born just before dawn. Only a little time has passed, but she is now working again, without feeling fatigue and weakness. Isn't she a woman made of iron?" With that as an introduction, she told the story of how Mrs. Zhang had become a child bride[3] at the age of twelve and had married when she was fifteen. Her mother-in-law, while alive, often beat her so ruthlessly that she could only hide in a cavern and weep for her misfortune. After the old woman died, she has been able to live quietly for the past year with her flabby husband. This means that she was now only twenty-five.

That was another thing that surprised me, for I had supposed that she was already between thirty and forty. Hard labor had washed away the brightness of her person without leaving behind the slightest vestige of youth! But she never inquired, never doubted, never complained. She began her

everyday toil early at sunrise and did not retire until sunset—fetching water, cutting firewood, doing the wash and tilling the land, turning around all day like a windmill, going and coming, downhill and uphill. Whenever the sun glistened upon her, she could be seen engaged in doing some activity. When there was moonlight, she worked through the darkness threshing beans!

Afterwards, it rained continuously for five or six days. As the weather cleared up on the seventh day, we saw Mrs. Zhang going out again with a basket on her back and a sickle in her hand. From then on, Mr. Zhang was often observed sitting in the doorway, holding the baby in his arms and babbling. Sometimes, when Mrs. Zhang was late coming home and the baby cried ceaselessly from hunger, Mr. Zhang would walk up and down anxiously at the gate. At that point, we said to him, laughing, "It would be better for you to work in the fields, and let her hold the baby. How much easier it would be! It is exhausting for her to cook in a hurry and breast-feed the baby as soon as she comes back from the fields." But Mr. Zhang shook his head and said with a smile, "It's she who works well in the fields and they want her. I am of no use!" He looked self-assured and justified as he spoke, but I felt ashamed to hear him speak in that way.

Each time when I, leisurely and carefree, sat in front of the building, while reading a good book, I saw Mrs. Zhang come up and go out, always in a hurry, and always with something on her back, on her shoulders, in her hands or at her waist. Then I realized she was doing real, hard and productive work in the rear. And I? In each letter written to friends, I revealed ambiguous signs of fatigue, misery and low spirits, whereas in reality I was a man sitting leisurely and carefree, surrounded by a beautiful landscape of bright mountains and shadowy pine trees, but still moaning and groaning without being ill! Confronted with the high spirits, diligence, and conscientiousness I found in Mrs. Zhang, who bound herself to her tasks and exerted herself completely, I often put aside my book suddenly and stood up....

One day, my student and his schoolmates, organized in a propaganda team, came to the front gate of the ancestral temple and put up some posters. On one of these posters appeared the words: "Fight the enemy relentlessly on the front, and step up production in the rear!" Mrs. Zhang, standing behind the crowd, gazed in amazement at the poster. Turning around, she caught

sight of me and asked, smiling, "What is written there?" I replied, "The first half refers to your fellow villagers who are fighting on the front, and the second half refers to you." Quite surprised, she asked, "And you, Mr. X?" I could not help bending my head low and said, ashamed, "And I? There's no place for me there!"

[1] In China, it is customary, when giving money as a present of congratulation, to wrap it in a red envelope.

[2] Brown sugar ("red sugar" as is literally translated from Chinese) is traditionally believed to be a blood tonic, good for women after childbirth.

[3] According to a traditional practice in rural China, some young girls, still in childhood, were taken into the families of their husbands-to-be and were raised by their future parents-in-law, awaiting marriage at a later day, and there they had to work as simple maidservants.

拾伍 张嫂

可怜，在“张嫂”上面，我竟不能冠以“我的”两个字，因为她不是我的任何人！她既不是我的邻居，也不算我的佣人，她更不承认她是我的朋友，她只是看祠堂的老张的媳妇儿。

我住在这祠堂的楼上，楼下住着李老先生夫妇，老张他们就住在大门边的一间小屋里。

祠堂的小主人，是我的学生，他很殷勤的带着我周视祠堂前后，说：“这里很静，╳ 先生正好多写文章。山上不大方便，好在有老张他们在，重活叫他做。”老张听见说到他，便从门槛上站了起来，露着一口黄牙向我笑。他大约四十上下年纪，个子很矮，很老实的样子。我的学生问：“张嫂呢？”他说：“挑水去了。”那学生又陪我上了楼，一边说：“张嫂是个能干人，比她老板伶俐得多，力气也大，有话宁可同她讲。”

为着方便，我就把伙食包在李老太太那里，风雨时节，省得下山，而且村店里苍蝇太多，夏天尤其难受。李老夫妇是山西人，为人极其慈祥和蔼。老太太自己烹调，饭菜十分可口。我早晨起来，自己下厨房打水洗脸，收拾房间，不到饭时，也少和他们见面。这一对老人，早起早睡，白天也没有一点声音，院子里总是静悄悄的，同城内 M 家比起来，真有天渊之别，我觉得十分舒适。

住到第三天，我便去找张嫂，请她替我洗衣服。张嫂从黑暗的小屋里，钻了出来，阳光下我看得清楚：稀疏焦黄的头发，高高的在脑后挽一个小髻，面色很黑，眉目间布满了风吹日晒的裂纹；嘴唇又大又薄，眼光很锐利；个子不高，身材也瘦，却有一种短小精悍之气。她迎着我，笑嘻嘻的问：“你家有事吗？”我说：“烦你洗几件衣服，这是白的，请你仔细一点。”她说：“是了，你们的衣服是讲究的——给我一块洋碱！”

李老太太倚在门边看，招手叫我进去，悄悄的说：“有衣服宁可到山下找人洗，这个女人厉害得很，每洗一次衣服，必要一块胰皂，使剩的她都收起来卖——我们衣服都是自己洗。”我想了一想，笑说：“这次算了，下次再说吧。”

第二天清早，张嫂已把洗好的衣服被单，送了上来——洗的很洁白，叠的也很平整——一摞的都放在我的床上，说：“╳ 先生，衣服在这里，还有剩下的洋碱。”我谢了她，很觉得“喜出望外”，因此我对她的印象很好。

熟了以后，她常常上楼来扫地、送信、取衣服、倒纸篓。我的东西本来简单，什么东西放在哪里她都知道。我出去从不锁门，却不曾丢失过任何物件，如银钱、衣服、书籍等等。至于火柴、点心、毛巾、胰皂，我素来不知数目，虽然李老太太说过几次，叫我小心，我想谁耐烦看守那些东西呢？拿去也不值什么，张嫂收拾屋子，干净得使我喜欢，别的也无所谓了。

张嫂对我很好，对李家两老，就不大客气。比方说挑水，过了三天两天就要涨价，她并不明说，只以怠工方式处之。有一两天忽然看不见张嫂，水缸里空了，老太太就着急，问老张：“你家里呢？”他笑说：“田里帮工去了。”叫老张，“帮忙挑一下水吧。”他答应着总不动身。我从楼上下来，催促了几遍，他才慢腾腾的挑起桶儿出去。在楼栏边，我望见张嫂从田里上来，和老张在山脚下站着说了一会话。老张挑了两桶水，便躺了下去，说是肚子痛。第二天他就不出来。老先生气了，说：“他们真会拿捏人，他以为这里就没有人挑水了！我自己下山去找！”老先生在茶馆里坐了半天，同乡下人一说起来，听说是在山上，都摇头笑说：“山上呢，好大的坡儿，你家多出几个钱吧！”等他们一说出价钱，老先生又气得摇着头，走上山来，原来比张嫂的价目还大。

我悄悄的走下山去，在田里找到了张嫂，我说：“你回去挑桶水吧，喝的水都没有了。”她笑说：“我没有空。”我也笑说：“你别胡说！我懂得你的意思，以后挑水工钱跟我要好了，反正我也要喝要用的。”她笑着背起筐子，就跟我上山——从此，就是她真农忙，我们也没有缺过水，——除了她生产那几天，是老张挑的。

我从不觉得张嫂有什么异样，她穿的衣服本来宽大，更显不出什么。只有一天，李老太太说：“张嫂的身子重了，关于挑水的事，您倒是早和老张说一声，省得他临时不干。”我也不知道应当如何开口，刚才还看见张嫂背着一大筐的豆子上山，我想一时不见得会分娩，也就没提。

第二天早起，张嫂没有上来扫地。我们吃早饭的时候，看见老张提着一小篮鸡蛋进门。我问张嫂如何不见？他笑嘻嘻的说：“昨晚上养了

一个娃儿！”我们连忙给他道贺，又问他是男是女。李老太太就说：“他们这些人真有本事，自己会拾孩子。这还是头一胎呢，不声不响的就生下来了，比下个蛋还容易！”我连忙上楼去，用红纸包了五十块钱的票子，交给老张，说：“给张嫂买点红糖吃。”李老太太也从屋里拿了一个红纸包出去，老张笑嘻嘻的都接了，嘴里说：“谢谢你家了——老太太去看看娃儿吗？”李老太太很高兴的就进到那间黑屋里去。

我同李老先生坐在堂屋里闲谈。老太太一边摇着头，一边笑着，进门就说：“好大的一个男孩子，傻大黑粗的！你们猜张嫂在那里做什么？她坐在床板上织渔网呢，今早五更天生的，这么一会儿的工夫，她又做起活来了。她也不乏不累，你说这女人是铁打的不是！”因此就提到张嫂从十二岁，就到张家来做童养媳，十五岁圆的房。她婆婆在的时候，常常把她打的躲在山洞里去哭。去年婆婆死了，才同她良懦的丈夫，过了一年安静的日子，算起来，她今年才廿五岁。

这又是一件出乎我意外的事，我以为她已是三四十岁的人，“劳作”竟把她的青春，洗刷得不留一丝痕迹！但她永远不发问，不怀疑，不怨望。日出而作，日入而息——挑水，砍柴，洗衣，种地，一天里风车儿似的，山上山下的跑——只要有光明照在她的身上，总是看见她在光影里做点什么。有月亮的夜里，她还打了一夜的豆子！

从那天起，一连下了五六天的雨。第七天，天晴了，我们又看见张嫂背着筐子，拿着镰刀出去。从此我们常常看见老张抱着孩子，哼哼唧唧的坐在门洞里。有时张嫂回来晚了，孩子饿得不住的哭，老张就急得在门口转磨。我们都笑说：“不如你下地去，叫她抱着孩子，多省事。她回来又得现做饭，奶孩子，不要累死人。”老张摇着头笑说：“她做得好，人家要她，我不中用！”老张倒很坦然的，我却常常觉得惭愧。每逢我拿着一本闲书，悠然的坐在楼前，看见张嫂匆匆的进来，忙忙的出去，背上、肩上、手里、腰里，总不空着，她不知道她正在做着最实在、最艰巨的后方生产的工作。我呢，每逢给朋友写信，字里行间，总要流露出劳乏，流露出困穷，流露出萎靡，而实际的我，却悠然的坐在山光松影之间，无病而呻！看着张嫂高兴勤恳的、鞠躬尽瘁的样儿，我常常猛然的扔下书站了起来——

那一天，我的学生和他一班宣传队的同学，来到祠堂门口贴些标语，上面有“前方努力杀敌，后方努力生产”等字样。张嫂站在人群后面，也在呆呆望着。回头看见我，便笑嘻嘻的问：“这上面说的是谁？”我说：“上半段说的是你们在前线打仗的老乡，下半段说的是你。”她惊讶的问：“╳ 先生，你呢？”我不觉低下头去，惭愧的说：“我

吗？这上面没有我的地位！”

16 MY FRIEND'S MOTHER

In the spring of this year, while I was ill with flu, Mrs. K, that is, K's mother, came to see me.

It was about three in the afternoon. My high fever had only begun to abate. While half asleep, I felt somebody standing in front of my bed. I tried hard to open my eyes and saw Mrs. K grinning from ear to ear and gesturing to restrain me. She pulled up a stool and sat down at my bedside. While untying a bundle wrapped in a handkerchief, she said with a smile, "I heard K say that you had been ill for a few days and that he had taken over a couple of classes for you during your absence. Today I made a steamed corn cake and I found it quite delicious. So I have brought it here all the way for you to have a taste." Saying that, she placed beside my pillow a plate with savory slices of bright yellow steamed corn cake crowned with a few red jujubes. I hastened to half rise from my bed and thanked her, saying, "It's too kind of you." At the same time, I tried to call the janitor to bring tea for her. But she stood up and said, "Don't trouble yourself. On my way up, I found the corridor quiet and empty, without anybody. At such an hour, everybody was in class, and you were in bed with your illness. Then they took advantage of the moment, left their jobs and snuck away. I'll help myself with tea if I need to!" She stepped towards the desk, took up the thermos bottle, gave it a few shakes and said in laughter, "No water. I had tea myself just now at home, but I'm afraid you'll be thirsty. Let me go and fetch some water for you." Before I could stop her, she went out with the thermos bottle.

I sat up in a hurry and roughly made my bed. I tried to put on my clothes, but a sudden fit of dizziness forced me to lie down again. At this moment, Mrs. K came in again, poured out a cup of hot tea and put it on my bedside stool. I smiled and thanked her, "It's too much for me to be served by an elderly lady...." Mrs. K sat down and said, also smiling, "It's nothing. I feel obligated. You single men are living too hard. On falling ill, you cannot afford to have even a cup of warm water. Among them, you are one of those who live less hard. I see this from the tidiness of your room. But K is another kind of man. He always needs to be taken care of by others: his mother, his sister or his wife...." I said, "K has been a lucky man since childhood. Has he

received any letter from his wife recently?"

The old woman shook her head. Suddenly, she gazed at me and said, "Miss F has joined the army. I saw her off this morning...."

Unwittingly, I raised my head and stared at her.

She smiled and heaved a sigh, then spread the handkerchief smoothly on her knee and began to stroke it ceaselessly. She raised her head, looked at me and said, "As a good friend of K's, you must be aware of what has been going on. As to Miss F, she is really a very gentle and lovable girl, kind in disposition and versatile in music, chess, calligraphy, painting and everything else. She might be regarded as a natural match for K. But I think I would have been unfair to my daughter-in-law in Beijing and my three grandchildren if I had let them go on this way."

I remained speechless and simply gazed at her.

A grave and quiet look came over her face, "I am aware K doesn't hide any truth from you, and therefore I might as well talk to you in detail about this matter, if you are not too tired to listen. K is quite upset these days. After your recovery, please talk to him and give him some comfort."

I nodded assent at once and said, "Of course, I will. K is too serious to take anything easy."

The old lady said, "Exactly! He fell in love with a girl in France but they broke up and this made him quite heart-broken. After he returned to China, he kept on pledging celibacy. Then I tried to persuade him, saying, ‘Your father passed away and left me long ago. I had to endure all kinds of hardships for many years to raise you and your sister. Now that you have finished your studies abroad and come back home, I hope nothing more than to see you marry and start your career. This will not only bring me satisfaction, but also will comfort the soul of your late father. Fancy you having been always so good a son in the past but now showing no consideration at all for your family only because of a foreign girl! Marriage itself is not one's own business. Your wife will be your parents' daughter-in-law and your children's mother. Even though you don't want a wife, I do want grandchildren! To say nothing of you being our only son!' He replied, ‘Then choose a woman for me, who is to your liking.' It was in this way that he got

married. You were also present at his wedding that day, weren't you?"

I nodded assent again, and I recalled many, many things about K....

"As to my daughter-in-law, it is true that she isn't an outstanding person, but, after all, she did graduate from a normal college. She is calm and quiet. She manages to get along in home life and takes care of the children. She is quite acceptable in everything, so I am fairly satisfied with her. To say nothing of the three chubby grandchildren of mine she has given birth to!"

There was a pleasant smile on her face, full of kind tenderness. It was as if in her fixed gaze she could see K's round-faced children dancing and skipping.

"K dearly loves his children. After they were born, he got along very well with his wife. They often chatted and laughed together. Do you still remember our house in East Jingshan Street in Beijing? There in the courtyard we had ‘awning, fish bowl and pomegranate tree.'[1] Every day, coming home after school, K used to water the flowers, view and admire the fish, draw pictures, practice calligraphy, read, hold the children in his arms, thus fully enjoying the pleasures of life. Watching all this as an onlooker, I naturally felt even more pleased. Ten years passed in this way. As a matter of fact, Miss F was then already his teaching assistant, but there was nothing special between them...."

"Later on," she went on, "with the advent of war, his colleagues went southward one after another, some of them even with their families. It was my fault to refuse to go away. I couldn't bear to abandon our house in Beijing and to part with the children. I told K, ‘It seems to me that this war will last one or two years at most. You have your job, and it's all right for you to leave Beijing for the time being. The children and their mother might as well stay here with me. Anyway, we are a group of either old people or little ones, and I don't think the Japanese will dare to be too hard on us.' K himself was already planning to go alone and leave behind his wife and children, and then he followed my advice and hurried away. But who could know he would be absent for as long as eight years?"

"Then," she went on, "we stayed there with our doors shut and remained indifferent to what was happening outside, waiting all day long for nothing but K's letters. In this way, three or four years passed. At first, we could still

receive some letters and some money from K. But afterwards, letters came less and less frequently and it became very difficult for us to receive money. My daughter-in-law, however, was able to keep things going, looking after the children and me steadily and surely. I still had some savings to make ends meet. But three years ago, I received in Beijing a telegram sent from Hong Kong by K's elder sister's husband, telling me that his wife, my daughter, was critically ill. He urged me to go to Hong Kong, and I started my journey in a hurry, but who would have thought my daughter would die less than ten days after my arrival in Hong Kong...."

The old woman was on the verge of tears. She pressed her handker-chief to her eyes. I silently moved the cup of tea a little closer to her. Forcing an uneasy smile, she picked up the cup, took a sip and then laidit down.

"And who would have thought Hong Kong would fall into the hands of the Japanese only ten days after my daughter's death? Then my son-in-law made haste to leave Hong Kong for Chongqing. He asked me whether I wanted to go back to Beijing. If I did, he would ask someone to take care of me during my trip to Shanghai. At that time my mind was in utter turmoil. My daughter was dead, and for a long time nothing certain had been heard about my son, except for some news obtained from people in and out of Chongqing who told me that he was leading a hard life in the city and often fell ill. Now that there was an opportunity for me to meet him, I found it hard to give it up.

"Then I said to my son-in-law, ‘Well, I will go with you. Life is hard in the rear, but there I can live together with K. As to Beijing, my daughter-in-law is a capable woman and there's no harm in leaving her and the children there for one or two years.' It was in this way that I came here after traveling a long way by way of Shaoguan, Guilin and Guiyang...."

"When I met K," she went on, "I could hardly help bursting into tears. Who would have thought my son would become so wan, sallow and shabbily dressed in a few years! He was overjoyed by my arrival, but cried bitterly when he learned the sad news of his sister's death. Afterwards, he asked about his children, but very little about his wife. I was the one who told him something about her. When I inquired about how he had been living here, he said he was living just like all the others. Life was much harder than before with regard to clothing, food and lodging, but he felt quite gratified in his

heart. When expressing gratitude, he pointed to Miss F, who was there by his side, and said, ‘You should thank Miss F for taking care of me for so many years.' Only then did I realize that she had been standing near."

"Miss F also looked thinner than before," the old woman went on, "but seemed more beautiful for just this reason. Showing some shyness, she greeted me and asked me about her parents, who were still in Beijing. I told her that I had often seen them there. They were older, but they had managed to get along in their livelihood.... After we talked a while, Miss F said to K, ‘Would Mrs. K like to have dinner with us?' K nodded, and we went together to Miss F's dwelling place."

"Then," she went on, "I stayed there with Miss F before I found my own dwelling place. She occupied two rooms and had maid service.It was there that K took his meals and had his clothes washed. During the days of my stay, K, of course, was together both with Miss F and me all day before he went back alone to his dormitory at night. Watching how things were going on, I found that K and Miss F were on congenial terms as they talked and read about art. As to Miss F, she took care of K in such a considerate way that not even the smallest details were overlooked. Both of them often told me how hard and dangerous it had been for them to trek their way up here. They ran away together during the air raids and more than once they were nearly killed in the bombing. K fell ill on several occasions and once he almost died of scarlet fever. He mentioned none of this in his letters to us. Talking about all of this with excitement and nervousness, K often cast glances of gratitude and tenderness towards Miss F. For my part, I listened to them with nervousness and gratitude, too, but, at the same time, began to experience a vague feeling of unease...."

"After I moved out from there," she continued, "the wives of K's colleagues paid me visits and, hemming and hawing, asked me why K's wife hadn't come with me. I told them that at first I had only planned to go to Hong Kong and therefore had not thought of taking her and the children with me. Then these women said, ‘Now things can go better since you are here. Otherwise it would be quite pitiful for Mr. K to live here alone. Nowadays it is hard for single men to stay far away from home. Life is hard for them, to say nothing of...the gossip people so enjoy!' Then they asked me whether Miss F was a relative of ours and what was her family background. I read too

much into their words and I replied ambiguously, saying that our friendship could be traced to older generations, that upon graduation Miss F had begun to work as K's teaching assistant, that she had a kind, warm heart, and that I was very grateful to her for helping and taking care of my son...."

"Nevertheless," she went on, "my feeling of unease never left me. I was always thinking about the children in Beijing. It was more than I could stand to hold back my worries and not to express them before my son. The opportunity finally came when the maid had gone and K suggested, ‘Mother, we better have our meals together with Miss F. Even when someday we find a new maid, you needn't trouble yourself with cooking. To dine together is the most rational solution.' Then I replied, ‘Is it possible that I don't dislike all these troubles? Of course, I'm getting on in years and I haven't done such heavy household chores before. I feel quite tired. But I still prefer to toil myself, so that people won't gossip about you and Miss F because we dine together!' K stared at me with open eyes. Then I tactfully let him know other people's criticism, and added, ‘I'm sure that you had no special intentions towards each other. The War of Resistance against Japan has united you, and your feeling for each other has been enhanced through the sharing of painful experiences. Your suffering will cease when everything is over, because you already have your family and your children. But you will have led such a gifted girl as Miss F to waste her time, won't you?' K remained speechless and lowered his head, keeping silent for four or five days."

"On the night of the sixth day," she went on, "I was already in bed when he stepped into my room in the darkness, sat at the edge of my bed and took my hand, saying, ‘Mother, I have thought it over for four or five days, and I don't think I ought to make her waste her time. I believe she and I will never be happy if we part company with each other. So I want...I want to divorce my wife in Beijing....' I did not say a word. He stopped for quite a while before he bowed his head and shook me, asking desperately, ‘What's the matter, Mother? Are you weeping?' I couldn't help bursting into tears, and then I said, ‘I'm weeping for everyone. You are unfortunate, and so is Miss F, but the most unfortunate ones are your wife and your three children in Beijing. They haven't hurt anyone. They are keeping things going at home in spite of all the hardships, waiting for nothing but the day of reunion. It doesn't matter if I pass away, for I have already lived my years, no matter how bitter my life has been. If you...you better let me go back and keep

company with them!' Upon hearing this, K also burst into tears. He firmly grasped my hand, turned around and stepped outside."

Her voice broke off. I quietly hastened to say, "I wonder if I might have a cup of water? The steamed corn cake you brought here is so sweet-smelling that I would like to have a slice." With tears in her eyes, she stood up and smiled, pouring two cups of tea. We both picked up slices of steamed corn cake and began to eat them in silence.

The old woman coughed, wiped her mouth with her handkerchief and said, "I thought the matter over carefully throughout that night. Early in the morning, I went to see Miss F. She was about to leave for lessons. On seeing me, she seemed quite surprised, perhaps because I looked rather queer. I said, ‘Excuse me, but I would like to take a moment of your time to talk with you about a certain matter.' Her face turned pale at once. She turned around immediately and invited me into her inner room. She locked the door and sat by my side, waiting quietly for me to begin. I kept silent for quite a while, but then I could not help weeping. I said, ‘Miss F, I don't know how to talk in a roundabout way. I have heard that K wants to marry you, doesn't he?' Miss F blushed noticeably. Before she could speak, I pressed her hand and said, ‘Don't be nervous. This is of course K's fond dream. I'm not a mother who likes to speak highly of her son, but I must say that K is by nature a good match for you. It is a pity he already has a wife and children....' Miss F remained speechless and stared at me. I went on, ‘Of course, there are lots of cases of divorce among people who have wives and children. But, as you must know, K loves his children intensely. Besides, his wife has never done anything unworthy of him.' Miss F bent her head low, and I added, ‘Miss F, I have been fond of you and admired you since your childhood. If you were my own daughter, I would never like to see you marry a divorced man. Such a marriage would make him a lucky fellow, but would be far from worthwhile for you.'

"I stroked her hand and said, ‘Think about how things went when we were in Beijing. At that time you often came to our house, didn't you? But did you feel any love towards him at that time? I'm sure your ideal man in those days was not one like him. But the war brought both of you together and allowed you to help each other in times of hardship and sickness. Sharing your troubles in this way and feeling increasingly grateful to each other, you

cultivated a deep friendship. At the same time, both of you were homesick and felt lonely, and lonely hearts can easily come together. The war has dragged on for seven or eight years so that returning home seemed quite unlikely. With each passing day, everything relating to your place of origin has become more and more remote, and everything visible to your eyes has become more and more real. Things can end up such that what was in itself untrue becomes true. People caught in the clouds and mists become content with temporary ease and comfort, but the day will come when the clouds will melt and the mists will disperse under the sunlight. Then, with the sun shining over them, people will discover that they lost their normal sobriety and ability to judge in those days of bewilderment.'"

"I went on," she said, "'Have you seen people traveling together on a long journey by train? The passengers are confined to a small world but the journey will take a long time. In such a situation, even perfect strangers will introduce themselves solicitously to one another, chat affectionately, sing together, play cards, eat and drink, as if they were already lifelong friends. However, as the final destination draws nearer and nearer, everybody will stand up, pack their luggage and, leaning on the windowsill, wait for their dear ones and friends to meet them at the station. As soon as the train pulls in, they will wave to those standing on the platform and, even before the train stops, they will hurry down. At such a moment, the few, if any, passengers who remember to turn around and say goodbye to those who remain on board must be regarded as especially polite. The majority of the passengers will go their way without glancing backward. No matter how long the war is to last, the day of peace is bound to come sooner or later. And when the day of victory comes and this wonderful occasion uplifts the hearts of so many people, "the birds will part company, each one flying to its own forest," and nothing will be left but a vast expanse of blank wilderness.'"

"And I went on," she said, "'Suppose you both will succeed in getting married. Will you go back or not? What if you do? As your parents' only daughter, you must go to see them. Perhaps K may grudge going to see his wife, but he won't be able to bear parting with his children. I don't believe you and he can live with a good conscience and remain light-hearted if you stay in the same place as before. A married couple that lives on a desert island would be bored in a few days, months or years, and would yearn for the world outside. You don't understand K so well as I do. Like his father, he

is sentimental, susceptible to change, and always inclined to melancholy. He never feels totally happy and satisfied, but always wants something. He is in fact most happy precisely when he finds himself in an unsatisfactory and depressing environment. Maybe you don't understand what I have said, because you never lived with such a man.'"

She continued, "I said, ‘Therefore, considering your interests and for the sake of your happiness, I advise you to part with K. Out of sight, out of mind. You are still very young. You are of excellent character and great learning. You indeed have a very promising future. Before I left Beijing, your mother came to see me. She said that, since correspondence between Hong Kong and Chongqing was easy, she would like me to write to you on her behalf. She wanted me to tell you that your parents were already old and could not predict when the war would finish, and that they wondered whether they would ever see you again. They had no other message than to express the desire to see you entrust your life to a man capable of protecting you, endowed with talent and virtue.'

"‘I've just mentioned all this in order to remind you that K throughout his life has been a mere boy, always needing help from others, instead of knowing how to take care of others. He has his own way of doing things! That's all I had to tell you. Please think it over!' At this moment, she was already in tears...."

"I tried to comfort her," she continued, "but suddenly I heard K calling me from outside. Then I hastened to go out, shut the door behind me and headed for home. K followed me in silence."

"From then on," she added, "I kept my mouth shut about this matter. But, strange to say, K seemed to be in a more calm and unruffled mood. I did not know whether he had talked it over with Miss F, so I only continued to quietly await their decision. Finally, the night before the previous day, K told me that Miss F had decided to join the army and would go away the next day. She hoped I would go to see her off. While speaking, K did not sound melancholy, whereas I felt quite sad. What a smart and resolute girl! Not that I am hard-hearted, but I believe that life and training in the army will be beneficial to her. At least it will give her a chance to find a sound and lofty outlet for her prolonged sense of solitude and sorrow. When I saw her off this morning, she did not shed a tear, but instead got on the truck with her chin up

and chest out.... Oh Heavens! It's war that has made a mess of human relations...."

The old woman stopped. Her story had saddened and shocked me. Then I smiled, "Don't feel sad any more. After all, the matter has come to an end, and I'm sure both of them will be grateful to you in the future. You really deserve my highest admiration. No wonder my friends always speak highly of your ageless learning. You use literary and philosophical terms with great care and accuracy." Then she laughed and said, "True, I am lagging quite behind you young people. To you young people it may seem ridiculous, but I was a student in a modern school for a few days when I was young. By now I have forgotten all my English, but I can still read K's Chinese books and magazines. But now I think I must be going, for you must be tired and I have been outside for quite a while. Whenever you want anything to eat, don't hesitate to let me know, and I will prepare whatever you like and bring it to you." Saying that, she stood up and proceeded to leave.

I half rose from my bed and said, "I'm sorry I cannot walk you to the door. But your visit and what you explained have sobered me a great deal. If you don't mind the shabbiness of this dormitory for single men, please drop in whenever you like." The old woman stopped and smiled, "By the way, I have heard that someone tried to make a match of you and Miss F. Why didn't you agree? How good it would have been and how much trouble could have been saved if you had agreed!" Then I smiled, "It was not that I didn't agree, but I dared not ask. She is too versatile for me to be worthy of her!" The old woman shook her head and smiled, "Not at all. The fact is that you are too choosy. I'm far from mocking you, but I must say, ‘One gets the more dim-sighted the more he chooses.'..."

The sound of her steps gradually faded away in the corridor. Gazing at the ceiling, I continued ruminating on the words: "The birds will part company, each one flying to its own forest!"

At that moment the shades of dusk were spreading into my room through the windows!

[1] This is a typical description of a traditional Beijing "*siheyuan*," or compound with houses around a courtyard. It was the residence of one household in the past, but it was usually occupied by several households since the late 1950s and early 1960s.

拾陆 我的朋友的母亲

今年春天，正在我犯着流行性感冒的时候，K 的母亲—— K 老太太来看我。

那是下午三时左右，我的高热度还未退清、蒙蒙眬眬的觉得有人站在我床前，我挣扎着睁开眼睛， K 老太太含着满脸的微笑，摇手叫我别动，她自己拉过一张凳子，就坐在床边，一面打开一个手绢包儿，一面微笑说："我听见 K 说你病了好几天了，他代了你好几堂课，我今天新蒸了一块丝糕，味儿还可口，特地送来给你尝尝。"她说着就把一碟子切成片儿嫩黄喷香上面嵌着红枣的丝糕，送到我枕畔。我连忙欠身起来道谢，说："难得伯母费心。"一面又喊工友倒茶。K 老太太站起来笑说："你别忙了，我刚才来的时候，甬道里静悄悄的没有一个人。这时候大家都上着课，你再一病倒睡着，他们可不就都偷懒出去了？我要茶自己会倒！"她走向桌边，拿起热水壶来，摇了摇，笑说："没有开水了，我在家里刚喝了茶来的，倒是你恐怕渴了，我出去找点水你喝。"我还没有来得及拦住她，她已经拿着热水壶出去了。

我赶紧坐起，把衾枕整理了一下，想披衣下床，一阵头昏，只得又躺下去。K 老太太又已经进来，倒了一杯热茶，放在我床前凳子上，我笑着谢说："这真是太罪过了，叫老太太来服侍我——" K 老太太一面坐下，也笑着说："哪里的话，这是我应该做的事。你们单身汉真太苦了，病了连一杯热水都喝不到！你还算好，看你这屋子弄得多么干净整齐，K 就不行，他一辈子需要人照应，母亲、姐姐、太太——"我说："K 从小是个有福气的人——他太太近来有信吗？"

老太太摇了摇头，忽然看着我说："F 小姐从军去了，今早我去送她的……"

我不觉抬头看着 K 老太太。

K 老太太微笑着叹了一口气，把那块手绢平铺在膝上，不住的摩抚着，又抬头看着我说："你和 K 这样要好，这件事你一定也知道了。说起 F 小姐，真是一个温柔的女子，性格又好，模样儿也不错，琴棋书画，样样都来得，和 K 倒是天生一对！——不过我觉得假若由他们那样做了，我对不起我北平那个媳妇，和三个孙儿。"

我没有言语，只看着老太太。

老太太面容沉寂了下来，“我知道 K 什么事都不瞒你，我倒不妨同你细谈——假如你不太累。K 这两天也不大开心呢，你好了请你从旁安慰安慰他。”

我连忙点了点头，说：“那是一定。K 真是一个实心的人，什么事都不大看得开！”

老太太说：“可不是！他从前不是在法国同一个女孩子要好，没有成功，伤心的了不得，回国来口口声声说是不娶了，我就劝他，我说：‘你父亲早撇下我走了，我辛苦半生，好容易把你和你姊姊抚养大了，你如今学成归国，我满心希望你成家立业，不但我看着高兴，就是你父亲在天之灵，也会安慰的。你为着一个异种外邦的女人，就连家庭也不顾了，亏得你平常还那样孝顺！本来结婚就不是一个人的事，你的妻子也就是你父母的儿媳，你孩子的母亲。你不要媳妇我还要孙子呢，而且你还是个独子！’他就说：‘那么您就替我挑一个吧，只要您高兴就行。’这样他就结了婚，那天你不是还在座？”

我又点一点头，想起了许多 K 的事情——

“提起我的媳妇，虽不是什么大出色的人物，也还是个师范毕业生，稳稳静静的一个人，过日子，管孩子，也还过得去。我对她是满意的，何况她还替我生了三个白白胖胖的孙儿？”

老太太微笑了，满面的慈祥，凝望的眼光中似乎看见了 K 的那几个圆头圆脸、欢蹦乱跳的孩子。

“K 也是真疼他那几个孩子，有了孩子以后，他对太太也常是有说有笑的。你记得我们北平景山东街那所房子吧？真是‘天棚鱼缸石榴树’，K 每天下课回来，浇浇花、看看鱼、画画、写字、看看书、抱抱孩子，真是很自得的，我在一旁看着，自然更高兴，这样过了十年——其实那时候，F 小姐就已经是他的助教了，他们并没有怎么样……

“后来呢，就打起仗来了，学校里同事们都纷纷南下，也有带着家眷走的。那时也怪我不好，我不想走，我抛不下北平那个家，我又不愿意他们走，我舍不得那几个孩子。我对 K 说：‘我看这仗至多打到一两年，你是有职分的人，暂时走开也好，至于孩子们和他们的母亲，不妨留着陪我，反正是一门老幼，日本人不会把我们怎么样。’K 本来也不想带家眷，听了我的话，就匆匆的自己走了，谁知道一离开就是八年。

“我们就关起门来，和外面不闻不问，整天只盼着 K 的来信，这样的过了三四年。起先还能接到 K 的信和钱，后来不但信稀了，连拨款也十分困难。我那媳妇倒是把持得住，仍旧是稳稳静静的服侍着我，看着孩子过日子，我手里还有些积蓄，家用也应付得开。三年前我在北平得到 K 的姐夫从香港打来的电报，说是我的女儿病重，叫我就去，我就匆匆的离开了北平，谁想到香港不到十天，我的女儿就去世了……”

老太太眼圈红了，折起那块手绢来，在眼边轻轻的按了一按，我默默的将那杯茶推到她的面前。

老太太勉强笑了笑，端起茶杯来，呷了一口就又放下。

“谁又知道我女儿死后不过十天，日本人又占领了香港，我的女婿便赶忙着要退到重庆来，他问我要不要回北平？若是要回去呢，他就托人带我到上海。我那时方寸已乱，女儿死了，儿子许久没有确实消息，只听过往的人说他在重庆生活很苦，也常生病，如今既有了见面的可能，我就压制不住了。我对我女婿说：‘我还是跟你走吧，后方虽苦，可是能同 K 在一起。北平那方面，你弟妇还能干，丢下他们一两年也不妨。’这样，我又从韶关、桂林、贵阳，一路跋涉到了这里——

“看见了 K，我几乎哭了出来，谁晓得这几年的工夫，把我的儿子折磨得形容也憔悴了，衣履也褴褛了！他看见我，意外的欢喜，听到他姐姐死去的消息，也哭了一场。过后才问起他的孩子，对于他的太太却淡淡的不提，倒是我先说了几句。问起他这边的生活，他说和大家一样，衣食住都比从前苦得多，不过心理上倒还痛快。说到这里，他指着旁边的 F 小姐，说：‘您应当谢谢 F 小姐，这几年来，多亏得她照应我。’我这时才发觉她一直站在我们旁边。

“F 小姐也比从前瘦了，而似乎出落得更俊俏一些，她略带羞涩的和我招呼，问起她在北平的父母。我说我在北平的时候，常和他们来往，他们都老了一点，生活上还过得去……说了一会，F 小姐便对 K 说：‘请老太太和我们一块儿用饭吧？’K 点头说好，我们就一同到 F 小姐住处去。

“在我找到房子以前，就住在 F 小姐那里，她住着两间屋子，用着一个女工，K 一向是在那里用饭的，衣服也在那边洗。我在那边的时候，K 自然是整天同我们在一起，到晚上才回到宿舍去。我在一旁看着，觉得他们很亲密，很投机，一块儿读书说画，F 小姐对于 K 的照应体贴，更是无微不至。他们常常同我说起，当初他们一路出来，怎样的辛苦，危险；他们怎样的一块逃警报，有好几次几乎炸死；K 病了好几

场，有一次患很重的猩红热，几乎送了命。这些都是 K 的家信中从来不提的，他们说起这些经历的时候，都显着很兴奋，很紧张，K 也总以感激温存的眼光，望着 F 小姐。我自然也觉得紧张、感激，而同时又起一种说不上来的不安的情绪——

“等到我搬了出来，便有许多 K 的同事的太太，来访问我，吞吞吐吐的问我 K 的太太为何不跟我一同出来？我说本来是只到香港的，因此也没想到带着他们。这些太太们就说：‘如今老太太来了就好了，否则 K 先生一个人在这里真怪可怜的——这年头一个单身人在外面真不容易，生活太苦，而且……而且人们也爱说闲话！’她们又问 F 小姐和我们有没有亲戚关系？她的身世如何？我就知道话中有因，也就含含糊糊的应答，说 F 家同我们是世交，F 小姐从一毕业就做着 K 的助教，她对人真好，真热心。她对于 K 的照应帮忙，我是十分感激的——

“不过我不安的情绪，始终没有离开我，我总惦记着北平那些孩子，我总憋着想同 K 说开了，所以就趁着有一天，我们的女工走掉了，K 向我提议说：‘妈妈不必自己辛苦了，我们还是和 F 小姐一块儿吃去吧，就是找到了女工，以后也不必为饭食麻烦，合起来吃饭，是最合理的事。’我就说：‘我难道不怕麻烦，而且我岁数大了，又历来没有做过粗活，也觉得十分劳瘁，不过我宁可自己操劳些，省得在一起让人说你们的闲话！’K 睁着大眼看着我，我便委婉的将人们的批评告诉了他，又说：‘我深知你们两个心里都没有什么，抗战把你们拉在一起，多同一次患难，多添一层情感。你是有家有孩子的人，散了就完了，人家 F 小姐一个多才多艺的女子，岂不就被你耽误了？’K 低着头没有说什么，从那时起，一直沉默了四五天。

“到了第六天的夜里，我已经睡下了，他摸着黑进来，坐在我的床沿上，拉着我的手，说：‘妈妈，我考虑了四五天，我不能白白的耽误人家。我相信我们分开了，是永远不会快乐的，我想——我想同北平那个离了婚……’我没有言语，他也不往下说，过了半天，他俯下来摇我，急着说：‘怎么，妈妈，您在哭？’我忍不住哭了出来，说：‘我哭的是可怜你们这一班苦命的人，你命苦，F 小姐也命苦，最苦命的还是北平你那个媳妇和三个孩子。他们没有对不起任何人，他们辛辛苦苦的在北平守着，等待着团圆的一天。我走了，算不了什么，就是苦命，也过了一辈子了，你若是……还是我回去守着他们吧！’这时 K 也哭了，紧紧握了我的手一下，就转身出去。

老太太咽住了，又从袖口里掏手绢，我赶紧笑说：“对不起，伯母，请您给我一杯水，这丝糕放在这里怪香的，我想吃一块。”老太太

含着泪笑着站起，倒了两杯茶来，我们都拈起丝糕来吃着，暂时不言语。

老太太咳嗽了一声，用手绢擦一擦嘴，说：“我想了一夜，第二天一早，我就去看 F 小姐。她正要上课去，看见了我，脸上显出十分惊讶，我想我的神色一定很不好，我说：‘对不住，我想耽误你半天工夫，来同你谈一件事，’她的面色倏然苍白了，连忙回身邀我进到内屋去，把门扣上，自己就坐在我的旁边，静静的等着。我停了半天，忍不住又哭了，我说：‘F 小姐，我不会绕弯儿说话，听说 K 想同你结婚？’F 小姐把脸飞红了，正要说话，我按住她的手，说：‘你别着急，这自然是 K 一方面的痴心妄想，不是我做母亲的夸自己的儿子，K 和你倒是天生的一对，可惜的是他已经是有妻有子的人了……’F 小姐没有说话，只看着我。我说：‘自然现在有妻有子的人离婚的还多得很，不过，K 你是晓得的，极其疼爱他的孩子，同时他太太也没有对不起他的地方。’F 小姐低下头去，我又说：‘F 小姐，你从小我就疼你，佩服你，假如你是我的亲女儿，我决不愿你和一个离过婚的人结婚，在他是一个幸福，在你却太不值得了。’我抚摩着她的手，说：‘你想想，从前在北平的时候，你还不是常常到我们家里来？你对他发生过感情没有？我准知道那时你的理想，也不是像他那样的人。只因打了仗，你们一同出来，患难相救护，疾病相扶持，这种同甘苦、相感激的情感的积聚，便发生了一种很坚固的友情——同时大家想家，大家寂寞，这孤寂的心，就容易拉到一起。战争延长到七八年，还家似乎是不可能的事，家里一切，一天一天的模糊，眼前一切，一天一天的实在。弄到后来，大家弄假成真的，在云雾中过着苟安昏乐的日子——等到有一天，雨过天晴，太阳冲散了云雾，日影下，大家才发现在糊里糊涂之中，丧失了清明正常的自己！

“‘你看见过坐长途火车的没有？世界小，旅途长，素不相识的人也殷勤的互相自己介绍，亲热的叙谈，一同唱歌，一同玩牌，一同吃喝，似乎他们已经有过终身的友谊。等到目的地将到，大家纷纷站起，收拾箱笼，倚窗等望来接他们的亲友，车一开入站，他们就向月台上的人招手欢呼，还不等到车停，就赶忙跳了下去。能想起回头向你招呼的，就算是客气的人，差不多的都是头也不回的就走散了，战事虽长，也终有和平的一天，有一天，胜利来到，惊喜袭击了各个人的心，那时真是“飞鸟各投林”，所剩下的只是一片白茫茫的大地——

“‘假如你们成功了呢，你们是回去不回去？假如是回去了呢？你是个独女，不能不见你的父母。K 也许可以不看他的太太，而那几个孩

子，他是舍不得丢开的。你们仍旧生活在从前环境中间，我不相信你们能够心安理得，能够快乐，能够自然。人们结婚后不是两个人生活在孤岛上，就是在孤岛上，过了几天、几月、几年以后，也会厌倦腻烦，而渴望孤岛外的一切。你对 K 的认识，没有我清楚，他就像他的父亲，善感，易变，而且总倾向于忧郁，他永没有完全满足快乐的时候，总是追求着什么。在他不满足、忧郁的情境之中，他实在是最快乐的，你也许不懂得我的话，因为你没有同这样的一个人，共同生活过。

"'所以我替你想，为你的幸福起见，我劝你同 K 分开，"眼不见为净"，你年纪轻轻的，人品又好，学问又好，前途实在光明得很——我离开北平之前，你母亲还来找我，说香港和重庆通讯容易，要我替她写信给你，说他们老了，这战事不知几时才完，他们不知道将来能不能见着你，他们别无所嘱，只希望你谨慎将事，把终身托付给一个能爱护你、有才德的人。我提到这些，就是提醒你，K 一辈子是个大孩子，他永远需要别人的爱护，而永远不懂得爱护别人，换句话说，就是他有他自己爱护的方法！我把话都说尽了，你自己考虑考虑看。'这时 F 小姐已哭得泪人儿一般……

"我正在劝慰她，忽然听见 K 在外面叫我，我赶紧把门反掩上，出来便往家走，K 一声不响的跟着我回来。

"此后我绝口不提这件事，K 的情绪反而稳定了下来。我不知道他同 F 小姐又说过没有，我只静候着他们的决定。终于在前天夜里，K 告诉我说 F 小姐决定从军去了，明天便走，她希望我能去送她。K 说着并没有显出特别的悲伤，我反而觉得难过。这女孩子真是聪明，有决断！不是我心硬，我相信军队的环境和训练，是对她好的，至少她的积压的寂寞忧伤，有个健全高尚的发泄。今早我去送她，她没有掉下一滴泪，昂着头，挺着胸，就上了车……咳，都是这战争搅得人乱七八糟的……"

老太太停住了。这一篇话听得我凄然而又悚然，我便笑说："伯母也不必再难过了，这件事总算告一段落，我想他们将来都会感激您的。伯母！我真是佩服您，怪不得朋友们都夸您通今博古，您说起文哲名词来，都是一串一串的！"老太太笑了，说："别叫你们年轻人笑话，我小的时候，也进过几天的'洋学堂'，如今英文差不多都忘光了，不过 K 的中文杂志书籍，我还看得懂——我看我该走了，你也乏了，我也出来了半天。你想吃什么，只管打发人去告诉我，我就做了送来。"她说着一面站起要走。

我欠起身来，说："对不起，我不能送了。您来这么一说，我倒觉

得清醒了许多。您若不嫌单身汉屋里少茶没水的，就请常过来坐坐。”老太太站住了，笑说：“真的，听说从前有人同你提过 F 小姐，你为什么不答应，你答应了多好，省去许多麻烦。”我笑说：“不是我不答应，我是不敢答应，她太多才多艺了，我不配！”老太太笑着摇头说：“哪里的话，你是太眼高了，不是我说你，‘越挑越眼花’——”

老太太的脚声，渐渐的在甬道中消失了。我凝望着屋顶，反复咀嚼着“飞鸟各投林”这一句话！

这时窗外的暮色，已经压到屋里来了！

EPILOGUE

I have revealed my experience of life while writing about fourteen women. My life is nothing but a thin and hazy patch of cloud floating in the sky, giving prominence to the crystal-clear splendor of the moon.

I am sure that I have a very plain, prudent and sound opinion of women. She is neither the goddess as described by the poet, nor the devil in the eyes of the man disappointed in love. Just like all of us, she is a being of feeling and rationality. But she is more sensitive, quicker in response and livelier in action. She is, therefore, more colorful and more expressive than man. She is more likely to go to extremes as far as human character is concerned, whatever that may be. Compared with us men, she is gentler but more courageous, more vivacious but more profound, more exquisite but sharper.... Nobody can tell what would become of the world were there no women in it! What I can imagine is that a world without women would be deprived of at least five-tenths of what it knows to be "Pure," six-tenths of what it knows to be "Good," and seven-tenths of what it knows to be "Beautiful."

I dare not say I have compassion for women, but women are indeed very pitiful. Forty years of dispassionate observation have enabled me to discover a principle, which turned out to be nothing else than what an ancient man said long ago: "Man lives for the sake of his career, whereas woman lives for the sake of love"—although there may be one exception in every ten million cases—but nothing is more conducive to misery or more dangerous than to persist in living for love!

A woman seems to attach more importance to love between parents and children, love among brothers and sisters, love between husband and wife, love among friends.... She willingly sacrifices everything for her loved ones. Actually, the matter isn't whether she is willing or unwilling to do so. She opts for such a sacrifice unconditionally, "despite having been scraped all over, from top to toe,"[1] and puts off everything except love. In this process of "being scraped all over, from top to toe," she willingly suffers all the pains that may befall a human being, and these pains become unimaginable if she finds herself uncompensated for her sacrifices.

You might say that we had better advise women to give up "love," but this is utterly impossible! God created woman so that she might love and keep this world just as it is. She is a machine of "love" in God's life-creating factory. This is true not only of woman, but also of any other living being who bears the word "female": such a creature always loves in a "selfless" and unconditional way, giving all until life itself comes to an end!

Just look at the hen, the cow, and even the lioness. In terms of the love that God endowed them with, they are equally selfless, equally capable of enduring, equally gentle and equally courageous in defying their own danger.

Now that I'm writing about this, I would like to mention a wonderful and funny phenomenon I myself have more than once witnessed. A boy three or four years old will firmly grasp the candy he has in his hand and refuse to give it to anybody, however much you coax him or scare him. In the case of a little girl, however, you may fall headlong into her arms and earnestly ask her as if you were her spoiled child, "Mommy, give some to me!" This will be sufficient to allow her maternal instinct to bud in her heart! She will stare at you in amazement, and, after a while, lovingly express sadness, and then turn toward you and say, "You greedy child! Mommy will share with you!"

My goodness! Thank God, I am not a woman!

In this book, I have written about only fourteen women. Actually I know at least over one thousand: aunts, cousins and nieces, schoolmates, colleagues, students, neighbors, fellow travelers, as well as friends' aunts, sisters, cousins and nieces, many of whom are so talented or so beautiful or have accomplished such magnificent exploits or heroic deeds that all my lifetime would be insufficient for me to write about them all. They are, however, "known far and wide" so that if I had written about them, everybody would have realized that they are none other than those well-known women. As I have always cherished my friendship with women, I am afraid that they will reproach me for writing about them. So let me put this off until some other day.

Many of my friends hoped that, as I continued writing and writing, I would end up with something about my "bride." I am grateful to them for their best wishes, but my fate in this respect is "already irremediable in this life and still unpredictable in the next one"! For the last forty years, I have

respected women in a universal way, I have been fond of a lot of women and have fallen in love with two or three. But I never felt attached to any of them. Such a psyche of "love without attachment," which has earned me the criticism of a few friends concerning my style of love, is indeed my fatal weakness!

I do not think I deserve to be any woman's husband. Just because I look on women with the utmost respect and consideration, I think that I must not bring them any more suffering. I have brought suffering to a woman whom I profoundly respected and loved—my own mother, but this I did "in spite of myself." By no means can I bear again to make another woman suffer for me. Men are by nature more selfish, more likely to be idle and irresponsible while living with the opposite sex—partly due to their not knowing how to exert themselves—and I am afraid that I may be no exception. Although unable to actively prevent men from ill-treating women by means of marriage, I'm at least in a position to forbid myself from doing so.

Shi Nai'an[2] once said, "A man still unmarried at the age of thirty should not marry at all. A man who has not yet taken up an official post at the age of forty should not do so at all. One should not stay home at the age of fifty, nor go out touring at the age of sixty...." But as a man still unmarried at the age of forty, I, for my part, prefer from now on to go touring everywhere, like the floating clouds and the wild cranes, so long as my financial resources permit. My brothers and friends are worrying about my future days "after the age of sixty," but I feel quite sure I can get along.

In our big family, a rather strong feminist atmosphere prevails. I now count seven nieces who are daughters of my own brothers. Countless others are daughters of my cousins on the paternal and maternal sides. As long as these little women continue loving this "uncle" of theirs twenty years from now, just as they do today, it will be quite easy for me to divide the three hundred and sixty five days of the year among their homes, with ten days each. Even if all of this fails to happen, I will still be able to get along, for by then it will be highly probable that I shall have a son or two daughters of my own to ensure the continuity of our lineage and to have someone to share my cares and sorrows. The only thing to worry about is: What if I cannot manage to live to be sixty?

Having arranged in good order all these "important lifelong affairs," the

author is now feeling at ease, and the reader no longer needs "to fret over the worries of long-departed people."

So now let me say a few words about why and how I wrote this book. In the winter of 1940, when I had just come to Chongqing, the *Weekly Review* asked me for something to publish, and I, prompted by a moment's enthusiasm, wrote an article, entitled *About Women*, to make do with the demands of the editors. But once I started, I could not stop. I continued writing and did not stop until the *Weekly Review* ceased its publication. In the spring of this year, when the Tiandi Publishing House had one of my female students pass on to me the message that they wanted to publish *About Women* in book form, I sent them, for the time being, the nine essays already published in the *Weekly Review*. But, unexpectedly, I was ill in late spring and early summer. The first half of this book meanwhile had been typeset three months before, yet the book could not come out because its second half was still missing.

So I was showered with letters from the Tiandi Publishing House, urging me to send them the required manuscripts. I had to continue writing although I had not yet recovered completely from my illness. I had many visitors in the mountains, so during those three weeks I had to get by and managed somehow to put an end to my work, after writing, off and on, a total of some thirty thousand characters amidst chats and meetings with all sorts of people, couth and uncouth.

Here I must express my gratitude to a little woman, my niece Xuan, but for whose help in my numerous "house chores," I, a single man, would not have been able to finish the last seven articles even if I had "worked my heart out."

Midnight, August 30, 1943

Mt. Da Huang, Sichuan.

[1] This phrase comes from an expression used by Mencius to describe Mozi's self-sacrifice in doing good for mankind.

[2] Shi Nai'an was a famous Chinese writer in the last years of the Yuan Dynasty and the first years of the Ming Dynasty. He is supposed to be the author of the novel *Heroes of the Water Margin*.

后记

写了十四个女人的事，连带着也呈露了我的一生，我这一生只是一片淡薄的云，烘托着这一天的晶莹的月！

我对于女人的看法，自己相信是很平淡，很稳静，很健全。她既不是诗人笔下的天仙，也不是失恋人心中的魔鬼，她只是和我们一样的，有感情有理性的动物。不过她感觉得更锐敏，反应得更迅速，表现得也更活跃。因此，她比男人多些颜色，也多些声音。在各种性格上，她也容易走向极端。她比我们更温柔，也更勇敢；更活泼，也更深沉；更细腻，也更尖刻……世界若没有女人，真不知这世界要变成怎么样子！我所能想象得到的是：世界上若没有女人，这世界至少要失去十分之五的“真”、十分之六的“善”、十分之七的“美”。

我并不敢说怜悯女人，但女人的确很可怜。四十年来，我冷眼旁观，发现了一条真理，其实也就是古人所早已说过的话，就是：“男人活着是为事业，女人活着是为爱情。”——这虽然也有千万分之一的例外——靠爱情来维持生活，真是一件可怜而且危险不过的事情！

女人似乎更重视亲子的爱，弟兄姊妹的爱，夫妻的爱，朋友的爱……她愿意为她所爱的对象牺牲了一切。实际上，还不是她愿意不愿意的问题，她是无条件的、“摩顶放踵”的牺牲了，爱了再说！在这“摩顶放踵”的过程之中，她受尽人间的痛苦，假如牺牲而又得不到代价，那她的痛苦，更不可想象了。

你说，叫女人不“爱”了吧，那是不可能的！上帝创造她，就是叫她来爱，来维持这个世界。她是上帝的化生工厂里，一架“爱”的机器。不必说人，就是任何生物，只要一带上个“女”字，她就这样“无我”的、无条件的爱着，鞠躬尽瘁，死而后已！

你看母鸡、母牛、甚至于母狮，在上帝所赋予的爱里，她们是一样的不自私，一样的忍耐，一样的温柔，也一样的奋不顾身的勇敢。

说到这里，还有一件很可爱很可笑的现象，我就遇到过好几次；平常三四岁的孩子，手里拿着糖果，无论怎样的诓哄，怎样的恐吓，是拿不过来的；但如它是个小女孩子，你可以一头滚到她怀里去，撒娇的说：“妈妈！给你孩子一点吃吧！”这萌芽的母性，就会在她小小的心坎

里作怪！她十分惊讶的注视着你，过了一会，她就会欣然的，爱娇的撅着小嘴，搂过你的头来，说："馋孩子，妈妈给你一点吃吧！"

真要命！感谢天，我不是一个女人！

这本书里只写了十四个女人，其实我所认识的女性，往少里说，也有一千个以上：我的姑姨妗婶，姊妹甥侄，我的女同学，我的女朋友，我的女同事，我的女学生，我的邻居，我的旅伴；还有我的朋友的姑姨妗婶，姊妹甥侄……这其中还有不少的惊才绝艳，丰功伟烈，我真要写起来，一辈子也写不完。但是这些女人，一提起来，真是"大大的有名"！人人知晓，个个熟认，我一生宝贵女人的友情，我怕她们骂我——以后再说吧——

许多朋友，希望我写来写去，会以"我的新妇"结束。感谢他们的祝福，这对于我，真是"他生未卜此生休"的事情了！这四十年里，我普遍的尊敬着一般女人，喜欢过许多女人，也爱过两三个女人，却没有恋过任何女人。这"爱而不恋"的心理——这是几个朋友，对于我用情的批评——就是我的致命伤！

我觉得我不配作任何女人的丈夫；惟其我是最尊敬体贴她们，我不能再由自己予她们以痛苦。我已经苦了一个我最敬爱的女人——我的母亲，但那是"身不由己"，我决不忍使另一个女人再为我痛苦。男子在共营生活上，天生是更自私、更偷懒、更不负责的——自然一半也因为他们不知从何下手——我恐怕也不能例外。我不能积极的防止男子以婚姻方式来摧残女人，至少我能消极的禁止我自己也这样做！

施耐庵云："人生三十而未娶，不应更娶；四十而未仕，不应更仕；五十不应在家，六十不应出游……"我以三十未娶、四十未仕之身，从今起只要经济条件允许，我倒要闲云野鹤似的，到处漫游。我的弟兄朋友，就为我"六十以后"的日子发愁，但我还觉得很有把握。我们大家庭里女权很盛；我的亲侄女，截至今日止，已有七个之多。堂的、表的，更是不计其数。只要这些小妇人，二十年后，仍是像今天这样的爱她们的"大伯伯"，则我在每家住上十天，一年三百六十天，也还容易度过。再不然，我去弄一个儿子、两个女儿，来接代传宗，分忧解愠，也是一件极可能的事——只愁我活不到六十岁！

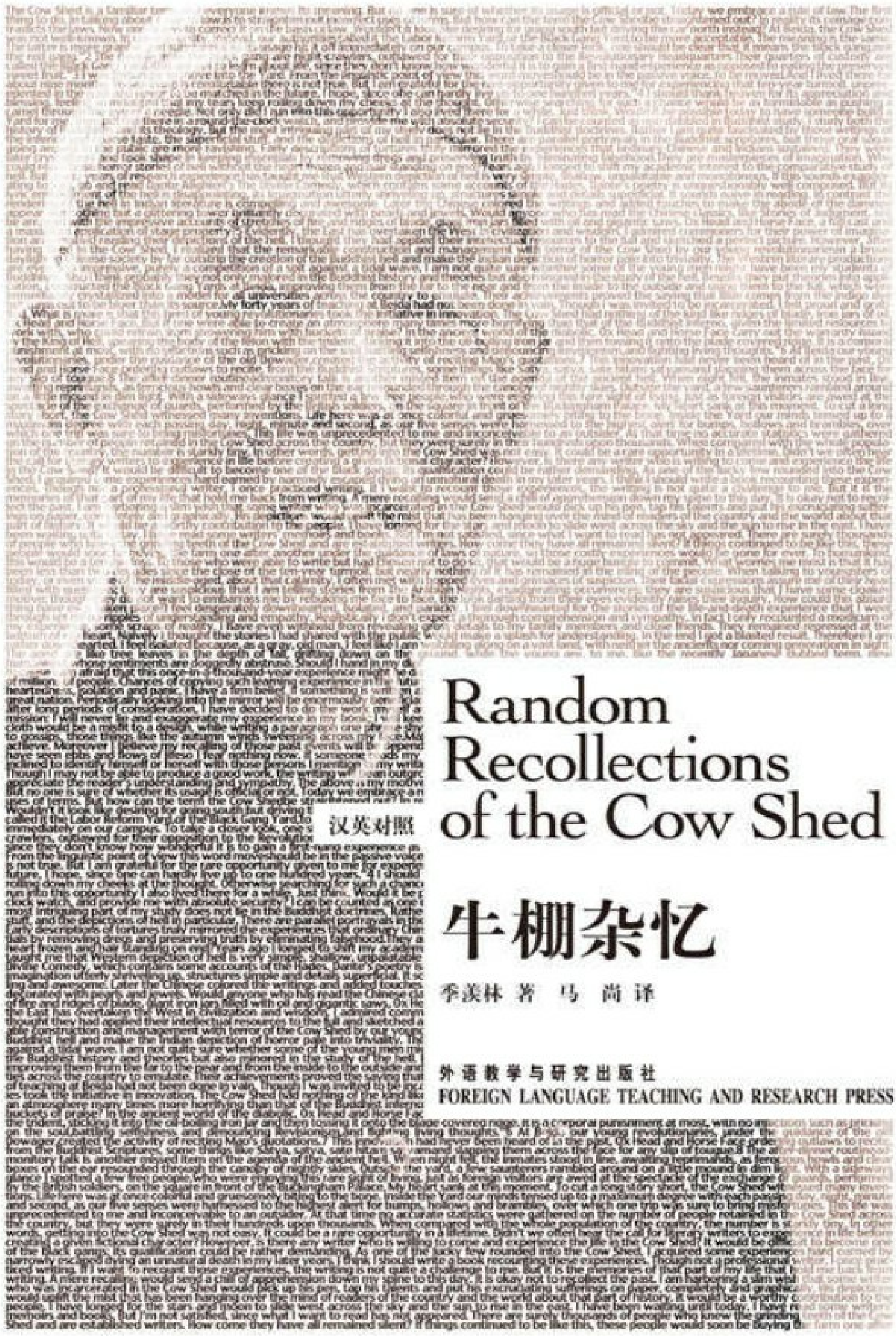
以上把我"终身大事"，安排完毕，作者心安理得，读者也不必"替古人担忧"——如今再说我写这本小书的经过：廿九年冬，我初到重庆，《星期评论》向我索稿，我一时高兴，写了一篇《关于女人》来对付朋友，后来写滑了手，便连续写了下去，到了《星期评论》停刊，就

没有再写。今年春天，“天地出版社”托我的一个女学生来说，要刊行《关于女人》，我便把在《星期评论》上已经印行的九段，交给他们。春夏之交，病了一场，本书的上半本，排好已经三月，不能出版，“天地社”催稿的函件，雪片般的飞来，我只好以新愈之身，继续工作。山上客人不少，这三个星期之中，我在鸿儒谈笑、白丁往来之间，断断续续的又写了三万字，勉强结束。

这里，我还要感谢一个小女人，我的侄女，萱。若没有她替去了我这单身汉的许多“家务”，则后面的七段，我纵然“呕尽心血”，也是写不出来的！

一九四三年，八月三十午夜，四川大荒山。

作者写这本关于“文化大革命”的回忆录，希望总结教训，唤醒更多人对历史的反思，让更多知情者出来说话，让历史的悲剧不再重演。



Random Recollections of the Cow Shed

汉英对照

牛棚杂忆

季羡林 著　马　尚 译

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“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch’ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高

人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社

人文社科出版分社

My Wishes

In blood the pages of this book were soaked red,
And in tears I dipped my pen to write.
But able to complete it before my demise,
I found it the highest joy of my life,
The best gift to the offspring I could bequeath.
Let it come into being,
Radiating all my blessings.
No hatred and revenge it spreads,
But a mirror it should look like,
Evil and virtue, ugliness and beauty all reflected
And despair and hope also to be sighted.
It is bringing my loyalty and sincerity
To our great country and people far and wide.

祝 词

这一本小书是用血换来的，
是和泪写成的。
我能够活着把它写出来，
是我毕生的最大幸福，
是我留给后代的最佳礼品。
愿它带着我的祝福
走向人间吧。
它带去的不是仇恨和报复，
而是一面镜子，
从中可以照见恶和善，丑和美，
照见绝望和希望。
它带去的是对我们伟大祖国和人民的
一片赤诚。

INTRODUCTION

When I first read Random Recollections of the Cow Shed thirteen years ago, I was stunned by its haunting depictions of brutality, torment, injustice and agony. That was in 1998, a few years after I finished my graduate program in the U.S. and started to teach English at Beida or Peking University. I immediately expressed my desire to translate it from Chinese into English. Dr. Ji Xianlin, retired and living in his Langrunyuan home at Peking University, called me one afternoon in my Yandongyuan home.[1] He told me that seventy-two faculty members of Peking University were persecuted to death during the Cultural Revolution. "Chapter 8: On the Edge of 'Taking My Own Life Against the People' " of his book catches one of the heart-wrenching moments. But that death ratio still shocked me, given the rough figures of 1,000 faculty members and 11,000 students of the university at that time. I told him that my grandfather did not survive the disaster. He was formerly an undergraduate physics major at Peking University from 1916-1921, the period of the May 4th Movement, and went on for graduate study at the University of Leeds, U.K., on a competitive state-funded student program. Later he returned to teach as professor of physics and electrical engineering and department head at Hebei University. He committed suicide in early September, 1966, the following day after our home, where I grew up and lived with him, was raided and confiscated by the Red Guards. Dr. Ji expressed his compassion and regret. Later he granted my request with his authorization for my translation. Today my years of effort has brought down the curtain on the translation. It is regretful that Dr. Ji did not live to see the day. I wish my translation could be dedicated to the memory of Dr. Ji and my grandfather for their commitment to sciences and seeking truth.

In the reading of Random Recollections of the Cow Shed, I think a few points deserve notice in terms of the significance of its writing and publication, a unique arrangement of the materials, the author's relentless lashing of his persecutors, a contrast between his humanistic concern with his fellow Cow Shed victims and an absence of account for his family, and the breezing literary style.

First, the significance of the book's writing and publication lies in its

courageous and substantial recounting of the victimization of Chinese intellectuals at the institution of higher education during the Cultural Revolution. Dr. Ji started to write this memoir in 1992 and published it in 1998. Before that he had "waited twelve years" as he states in his "Preface," keeping hoping that many other Cow Shed inmates across the country like him, with some of the most horrifying experiences, would write and publish on their suffering. But his hope was shattered as no one had written anything in recounting his or her stories of that history. He decided to pick up his pen and write his own. The reason that no one had written anything even though almost two decades had passed since the end of the ten-year turmoil is that some of the persecutors, instead of being brought to justice, had come to power at that time, as the author states in his book. Many victims were refrained from airing their mind and writing. However, one writer, Ba Jin, a well-known, Shanghai-based freelance literary writer, published his Random Thoughts in 1978. In this collection of essays, Ba Jin recounts his suffering in the Cultural Revolution and reveals his dull-mindedness and cowardice in the face of savageness and injustice. In comparison, Dr. Ji's memoir has produced the first detailed narration of this kind of experience from a professor's perspective of the most prestigious and politically clamped university in modern China. His writing represents the historical moments and displays courage and a sense of duty.

Second, the arrangement of the materials of the book is unique for its free flow of thoughts and careful classification of the periods. Though the book is called "random recollections," the author blends recalls with reflections and gives an unrestrained release of rationale and emotion. The "Preface" and chapters 20-21 provide compelling accounts of the author's Cow Shed life and reexamine his reactions. The accounts of his Cultural Revolution experience are clearly divided into three sections: his life before being detained in the Cow Shed (chapters 1-11), his life in the Cow Shed (chapters 12-17), and his life after being released from the Cow Shed (chapters 18-19). "The Autobiography of Ji Xianlin," offers a brief look at the author's life in his early and later years. The book can be read as a memoir with a focus on the author's personal experience in the Cultural Revolution against the backdrop of collisions between social changes and individual aspirations in twentieth-century China.

Third, the author's relentless lashing on his persecutors unveils the heart

of darkness and sings an ode to the triumph of justice. His narration truly represents the willful trampling of laws, savage torment, blatantly lying, and unashamed ungratefulness, such as the raiding of his home, repeated torture sessions, inhumane conditions of the Cow Shed, fabricated big-character-poster accusations and ridiculous speeches at the session of denouncement, his favorite student turning into a ferocious tormentor, etc. The author laments at places that the legacy of Chinese history and culture only lends itself to a disguised brutality, as he depicts the concoctions and brush arts of big-character posters, and the laying out of the "Regulations for Reform Persons" and the "evening forewarning speech" in the Cow Shed. His frequent castigating of the "Old Dowager" can hardly be deemed as personal. All his accounts raise a question, "Why can young students and friendly colleagues turn overnight into fierce, treacherous, bloodthirsty factionalists and foes?" But the triumph of justice is something to be celebrated as he was restored to work and power in the later years of the upheaval. Though he frankly states he is not vengeful, the tone strikes a clear note that the human folly of ignorance and selfishness is lethal and an infliction of injustice is ephemeral.

Fourth, the reader may also be impressed by a contrast in the memoir between the author's compassion for others and an odd absence of narration about his own family. The author tells stories with understanding and sympathy about the leading figures of the university at the torture session, such as Lu Ping and Peng Peiyun, Professor Wang of history and Party general secretary Cheng of the Department of Chinese who committed suicide, and the faculty and students perishing in the Cow Shed, such as the professor from the library, the professor of law, the female teacher from the Department of Eastern Languages, Party general secretary of the Department of Biology, the female teacher from the affiliated primary school, the "rightist" student, and the professor of physics. Indebtedness is not forgotten as he mentions his Cow Shed fellow Ma Shiyi who offered him a cart ride on his painful walk to the clinic for his swollen testes; the same gratitude is expressed to his "reactionary" fellows Zhang Xueshu and Wang Enyong who supported him back home after the university torture session on May 4, 1968 and to a few workers who humanitarianly treated him, the author spares no space in expressing his appreciation.

However, the memoir feels short of narrating his own family. A scanty

account is given to his only two family members, his wife and aunt, and no further information is found in his "Autobiography" either. The author got married during his college period at Tsinghua University from 1930 to 1934 when in his early twenties. His wife, Peng Dehua, was from his home village, four years his senior and illiterate. She bore him one girl, Ji Wanru, and one boy, Ji Cheng. But the author did not return home and see them very often at that time. The following ten years continued to see a split family when the author went to Germany for graduate study and was stranded there due to the Second World War before returning to Beijing in 1946. But his reunification with his wife did not come until 1962 when she moved to Beijing to join him. His son later came to study Russian in Beijing and worked in China's Academy of Sciences. It was said that the author was originally disappointed with his marriage. It might be due to a family marriage intervention, or the discrepancy in education, or a difference of national character and writing style. However, his reservation in writing and sharing information about his family, particularly his children, during the Cultural Revolution has left some food for thought with the reader, especially one from the West. In front of us is a personality with a glittering integrity and career with an incomplete family life.

Finally, Random Recollections of the Cow Shed is written in a breezy, matter-of-fact manner. His command of the language with a solid grounding in both Western and Chinese classics is remarkable. His doctorate is in Hindu study with focuses on Sanskrit, Balinese, the language of Tukhara, Russian, Slavic and Arabic. He is a prolific essayist and translator, particularly with his work A Trace of Cultural Exchange: A Chinese History of Cane Sugar and translation of the Hindu epic Ramayana. The writing of his memoir certainly reflects this established and assured style, unrestrained, informal, and studded with classical references, historical anecdotes, poetic lines, quotations, bitter jokes, mocks, and self-mockeries. The writing is colloquially rippling and graphically substantial. A Western reader may find awkward repetition and modesty at places in the book such as his reassuring of refusing to revenge and repeated stating of his ordinary social status and academic lack of luster. Modesty might be an ethnic trait of the East. But the political environment plays a major role that self-depreciation was encouraged or even required in the society when the Cultural Revolution was over. In the 1990s the country was still grappling with the ideological

residues of the past political moments, when the author wrote the book. The author's cautious steps in writing could be understood.

During the Cultural Revolution the Cow Shed was a household word in China. Those, locked up in Cow Sheds, guarded quarters for torture and forced physical labor, joined the dubbed herd of "cattle, ghost, snake and demon," most of them government officials, reputed intellectuals and celebrities. Dr. Ji wrote a memoir in his late years of his suffering during the national political and social tsunami. His courage, frankness and dedication to seeking truth helped produce this book, as "a mirror" in his words, so that a lesson should be learned and the "tuition" will not be paid in vain. Today rising generations of youth are privileged with chic products of the economic reform, from Apple computers to HDTV, from the Internet to smart phones, Facebook and Twitter. But Dr. Ji's book will remain readable if we believe that in the equation of life human nature is a constant and time and place are variables.

In translating the book, I tried to accommodate the needs of both Chinese and Western readers. I did my best to put in clear, contemporary and edited American English. The notes I supply may appear tedious at places to a Chinese reader but would be helpful to a Western one.

I want to thank Dr. Deanna Robinson, emeritus professor of journalism from the University of Oregon for her proofreading of chapters 9-20 of the draft and valuable suggestions for revision. My thanks also go to Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press editors Duan Huixiang and Yi Lu for their editing and checking of the complete manuscript to eliminate many errors. Without these helps and contributions the publication of this work would not have been possible.

All the errors and lapses will remain to be mine.

Perry W. Ma
September 1, 2012

[1] Beida, the short term for Peking University in Chinese.

PREFACE

Why did Random Recollections of the Cow Shed not appear until 1998, though it was written six years earlier? It looks a little unusual with respect to a normal publication process. The reader may be curious about the reason that caused the delay.

This curiosity is truly understandable. Admittedly there is indeed a reason. The reason is not foggy. It is nothing but a selfish concern that can be thought of as "gauging the heart of a gentleman with a small man's mean measure." [1] I was already struck down on the ground by the "young revolutionaries," some of them not young at all, with one thousand feet stamped on my body and never allowed to be a man of his own fate.[2] But the wheel has turned in full circle and that part of nature is irresistible. After that catastrophe was over I have not only survived and stood up to helm my boat of life again but I have been flying high in my career and government tenure, snatching one position after another and sending shivers down the spines of those "young revolutionaries." If I had been vengeful, I would have been able to work out one thousand ways of punishment, as easily as blowing off dust, just to settle the score.

But I've not done anything of this kind. I've not retaliated for the wrong I had received, given someone tight shoes to wear and wielding a club to hit someone. Am I a respectful, benevolent and forgiving gentleman? No, I am not in the least. I love and hate. I can be envious and vengeful. I am not more forgiving than anyone else. But whenever the idea of revenge arises in my mind, I believe that, during that period, everyone, no matter what ideological faction or affiliation he or she had, was metamorphosed into a non-human. Today one person may call another "swine." I think that is an insult to cattle. A wild beast eats humans because it is hungry. But it does not lie, nor is it atrocious. Never does it first elaborate on the raison d'être of carnivorousness, profusely citing sources and documenting, before opening its mouth and devouring a human. But humans are different. Here I am using a term "non-human" to refer to a particular group of people instead of cattle. At one time even when I was flogged to death, the skin torn and the flesh gaping with the whole body dripping with blood, my faith in the correctness of the "Cultural

Revolution" scarcely waned. How could I have pointed my finger to someone for his or her fault? The tormentor and the victim are both victimized. They differ only in the position they each hold. Because of these thoughts I have not revenged myself.

But this explanation only shows one facade of my inner world. I also have the heart of selfishness.

Those people, who went through the "Cultural Revolution," know very well that it was a time when factional clashes ran rampant. Each of the institutions, schools, government offices, plants, enterprises, and even some military units, split into two combating factions, each claiming itself as "the most leftist" and "being extremely conceited." From today's point of view they all committed beating, smashing, looting and even homicide and arson. Two birds of one feather, they are no better than one another. Today if a debate had been ignited on who was right and who was wrong it would have looked senseless. But at that time there was something called "factional tendency," which was not tangible and visible. It was at once baseless and illogical but was treacherous and malicious with no rationale at all. If you happened to get hooked on it you would behave as if you were bewitched by sorcery and consequently dismantled your family, an otherwise lovely, closely knitted family miserably split into two factions. This clash might end up in a divorce, or a disaccord between a father and his son, or a feud between brothers, as endless brawls dragged on each day. I have read a lot in the last eighty years, but never heard of this kind of mindset. It truly opens up a new area of research for sociological and psychological scholars.

Of course, I was no exception, nor was I less fervent on the factional tendency. But to my mind I obtained my factional tendency at the risk of losing my life, something that was not an easy haul. When the Revolution was first rolled out, I was a department head at Beida and did not qualify for joining "the revolutionary masses" in making revolution. "Making revolution is nothing wrong, and making havoc is justified," the chant resounded across the country. But it had nothing to do with me. In the beginning I was merely one of the targets in "making the revolution" and "making havoc." In the past, before the founding of new China, I hated politics the most and had no connection with the Kuomintang (KMT) on any level, thus steering clear of political charges.[3] Now it was only natural and reasonable that I was labeled

as a "capitalist roader" and an "influential counter-revolutionary scholar."[4] After the two gusts lashed over, I retrieved my original shape, a free man again who could submerge among revolutionary masses and pass myself for one of them.

Frankly speaking, if I had lain low I undoubtedly could have been a free and unfettered man, enjoying a couple of leisurely and carefree years. Would that be a blessing or not? Heaven imparted stubbornness to me and made me air my mind from a sense of justice. In fact, if some part of my personality is worth touting, it is my stubbornness. No matter how many weaknesses I have, I would feel proud with this part of my personality and believe I have not lived a life in vain. During my periods of repose I watched with a cold eye but found something outrageous: that powerful "Old Dowager" of Beida ran amok, took all administrative and financial powers into her hands, relentlessly repressed the weak factions and even ordered power cutoffs and connived with her followers in killing the high school students coming on campus.[5] How could a decent person be able to tolerate her tyranny? By that time I did not quite understand what this political line or that political line meant. But as my stubbornness flared up, I jumped to my feet and joined the revolutionary faction opposing the "Old Dowager." The "Old Dowager" was noted for her wickedness and cruelty. For this decision I would have paid with my life in my late years. For details to be listed in the rest of the book, I will stop here.

Without being affiliated in factionalism, my life ran uneventful. However, the moment I signed up, the factional tendency, like a huge venomous snake, tightly wound my body, ridding me of abilities to act and speak in my senses. After the ten years of turmoil was over, the sky was clear and the sun came through. But the factional tendency has left the imprint of varying degrees on the minds of the people and periodically surfaces whenever caution is not exercised. More than half of my colleagues were on the opposite side of me during the Revolution, publically denouncing me, slandering me, interrogating me, and kicking and beating me. Many of them now appear regretful. I think they are all good comrades, just like myself who temporarily became crazy with the heart seized by impulses of foolishness and acted irrationally. Obviously no one is immune from making mistakes in the world, the universally acknowledged truth. If some of these people, originally good-willed, learned I had hidden a book, called Random

Recollections of the Cow Shed, in the desk drawer of my room, they would certainly think I was revengeful, keeping these notes and setting up a black list for retaliation when chances arose in the future. Despite the absence of those names in my book which I deliberately kept from being revealed, those parties concerned should immediately understand their respective identities in reading the stories. If they were disturbed with that sort of apprehension how could I be able to work with them on a daily basis? Therefore I wrote this book but did not share it with my colleagues to avoid the embarrassment.

Then you may ask, "Why didn't you simply give up the idea of writing such a book?" It is a good question hammering home the point that is widely concerned.

Originally, I did not intend to write the book. Otherwise, what is the point of letting so many years intervene between the close of the ten-year chaos in 1976 and the publication of my book sixteen years later in 1992? These sixteen years is my period of reflection, observation, confusion and waiting. I repent that I was such a donkey in politics.[6] The so-called proletarian Cultural Revolution, with all its barbarism and upheaval, defamed our great Chinese nation and brought the economy to the verge of collapse. It was unprecedented in history and will not happen in the future, which is my hope. It is a tragedy about which no comprehensive, genuine accounts have been given so far. Quite a few people were able to understand its nature long ago. But unfortunately I dallied in its mists until the fall of the "Gang." What a shame on me!

Once clear-headed, I started to feel something wrong with the way that someone in charge handled the assessment of this disaster. One saying is that it is good to overlook things rather than nail them down. But I believe we have overreached in overlooking things. As mentioned before, most of the participants of the Cultural Revolution were misled. But, given that they were misled, a lesson should be learned from this occurrence, this rare occurrence in our history of thousands of years, for the benefit of improving our people's ability to perceive things and avoid relapsing into the same kind of stupidity in the future. Frankly, such a learning opportunity will hardly be likely to arise in the future. Moreover, among those beating, smashing and looting people are doubtlessly thugs, worse than wild beasts but craftier than ordinary people. In the Cultural Revolution, a term that got widely circulated

was "chameleon." Those people are exactly chameleons. As soon as they see a change in the way the wind blows they immediately adjust their color for a new identity; some pass as decent gentlemen; some quickly win the hand of the daughter of a certain military commander or a high-ranking government official, taking refuge in the political umbrella; some move heaven and earth with a deceitful tongue, concealing their identity and lying low until opportunities arise in the future so they can regain power and lord it over others again. Ambitious and full of viciousness, they are versed at mobster codes and excel at bootlicking. In reality they are cancer cells of our society, which will sooner or later run uncontrollable. We spared them then but left behind the roots of future troubles. Today our country and society generally look secure and stable, full of promise. But I have been always concerned with unethical issues in daily life, numerous government corruptions, and misconducts by quite a few people. If we take a closer look, the origins of these occurrences can be traced to the ten-year turmoil and are tied with the role that these previously mentioned people play.

What I have said so far is my reflections and observations that have constantly perplexed me. But what am I expecting now?

I am expecting someone will write and recount his or her own experiences of suffering. In our country, many marshals and veteran generals dedicated more than half their life to the military career, fighting with an utter tenacity and fidelity; their awesome deeds put all people in their debt. Some government leaders, too, are heroes, making revolution throughout their whole life. The majority of well-known intellectuals, writers, actors and actresses, are hard-working and loyal to the Party. All these good people were dumped on with sludge, slandered with false charges and willful exaggerations, for no reason at all except for their destruction so as to content their victimizers. What heinous motive their victimizers have! An old Chinese saying goes, "With all birds killed, the bow has to be put aside; with all hares captured, the hound has to be cooked for dinner." But these deeds are committed by the emperors and lords of feudal societies, whereas ours is a socialist country with all its pretensions. Thus feudal rulers pale into inadequacy. In addition, no historical records have been made on such a broad range of torturing. Could the victims have no grievances? Why don't they pour out their heart? I have awaited day and night, year in and year out. But I am quite disappointed now, for no one is willing to set pen to paper or

even give an oral account and let someone else write. I am baffled and worried. If nothing is recorded of this horrible disaster, our offspring will not learn a due lesson and some rascals will seize an opportunity and commit atrocities of the same kind in the future. What a nightmare! When talking to youngsters of today about the ten years of turmoil, I usually find them astonished, staring in suspicion, with an obvious disbelief that something like this could have ever happened. They must have thought I have lied and told them the story of the three Penglai mountains, "the imaginary mountains."[7] It is true that the "Traumatic Literature" became popular for a short period of time right after the Revolution.[8] But, to my understanding, that literary description of the havoc is just the depiction of a bruise that will heal soon with the application of the liquid healing medicine mercurochrome. But the major wound is inflicted on the heart of many people and has not been depicted. I hope the victims will come forward and give accounts in the future.

Furthermore, I have another expectation which may sound quite impractical. The expectation that I mentioned earlier refers to those who suffered in the calamity. But those "rebels," the tormentors or even killers but actually a bunch of beaters, smashers and looters, why should they also stand out and recall and recount their torturing mentality and process in an article or a book? They should be in their forties and fifties now, some of them holding key government positions. Even if the victims did not come and square accounts with them or if these people still retained a sense of integrity and shame, would they be able to withdraw at night, after a day's feast and revelry, and sleep soundly? If these people, quite a number of them by my calculation, also put something down on paper so that the public can read in comparison with the writings by those victims, our people, our coming generations in particular, would learn a great deal. I do not ask them to plead guilty and repent. This is not my main concern. I am simply expecting them to give true accounts. With their writing they would render an awesome service to our nation; their writing would undoubtedly be highly acclaimed, and they will never be condemned. I am positive in this regard.

Therefore I waited for people to write the accounts from both sides, terribly longing as stars rose and fell and the moon sailed across the sky. Twelve years had passed. My hopes had been dashed though the sun continued to rise in the east.

However, time raced by to 1992. Many of the victims in the Revolution were aging rapidly like tree leaves swept away in the fall. When suffering at that time most of them were not young, but life and death is an irresistible law of nature. My days were numbered too. An old saying goes, "To wait for the water of the Yellow River to become clear is impractical." In terms of the first of my two expectations, I am not in a position to force any victimizer to write a memoir. In terms of the second on the victim, I, one of many, can surely contribute my share. Why should I be so dumb and slothful, awaiting others to complete something, like "the fool waiting at a tree for a hare to commit suicide by dashing its head into the trunk," instead of taking the initiative myself? It is better to place hopes on oneself rather than on others. Let me assume the mission. This is my motive for writing Random Recollections of the Cow Shed. I have never lied in writing. Now I am presenting the accounts of my experiences in a true fashion, hoping that the reader will find something useful. Nevertheless, though I have fulfilled my own expectation, I will not give up my two other expectations on others. In such a state of mind, I am concluding this preface, hoping my remaining expectations will be materialized too.

March 9, 1998

[1] A popular saying, derivative from *The Analects* of Confucius. Confucius (551-479 BC) classifies two kinds of people, noble men (or gentlemen) and little men.

[2] "Young revolutionaries," a popular phrase used in the Cultural Revolution for the "Red Guards"; "with one thousand feet stamped on my body and never allowed to be a man of his own fate," a popular slogan used in the Cultural Revolution.

[3] The Kuomintang (KMT), also Romanized as Guomindang.

[4] The "capitalist roader" and the "counter-revolutionary scholar" were two major labels made during the Cultural Revolution.

[5] The "Old Dowager," refers to Nie Yuanzi, a woman in her early forties when the Cultural Revolution started in 1966. Nie used to be Party general secretary of the Department of Philosophy at Peking University. In China, it is a despising term for any cruel and tyrannical old lady with the reference to Dowager Cixi toward the end of the Qing Dynasty (1616-1911). The author uses this term in the book for contempt and avoidance of political sensitivity.

[6] A donkey means a stupid person in Chinese culture.

[7] The three Penglai mountains, three fairytale mountains in ancient China, which are located in the East Sea off Shangdong, China.

[8] Traumatic Literature, a literary tendency that became popular in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution in the late 1970s and early 1980s. It is generally in the form of reportage, short story and poetry focusing on the description of the suffering of intellectuals, particularly the young middle and high school students, who left cities for the country and settled down there for farming, during the

Cultural Revolution, in answering Mao Zedong's call for the education of the young generation by the poor and lower-middle farmers.

自序

《牛棚杂忆》写于1992年，为什么时隔六年，到了现在1998年才拿出来出版。这有点违反了写书的常规。读者会怀疑，其中必有个说法。

读者的怀疑是对的，其中确有一个说法，而这个说法并不神秘，它仅仅出于个人的“以小人之心度君子之腹”的一点私心而已。我本来已经被“革命”小将——其实并不一定都小——在身上踏上了一千只脚，永世不得翻身了。可否极泰来，人间正道，浩劫一过，我不但翻身起来，而且飞黄腾达，“官”运亨通，颇让一些痛打过我、折磨过我的小将们胆战心惊。如果我真想报复的话，我会有一千种手段，得心应手，不费吹灰之力，就能够进行报复的。

可是我并没有这样做，我对任何人都没有打击、报复，穿小鞋，耍大棒。难道我是一个了不起的、宽容大度的正人君子吗？否，否，决不是的。我有爱，有恨，会妒忌，想报复，我的宽容心肠不比任何人高。可是，一动报复之念，我立即想到，在当时那种情况下，那种气氛中，每个人，不管他是哪一个山头，哪一个派别，都像喝了迷魂汤一样，异化为非人。现在人们有时候骂人为“畜生”，我觉得这是对畜生的污蔑。畜生吃人，因为它饿。它不会说谎，不会耍刁，决不会先讲上一大篇必须吃人的道理，旁征博引，洋洋洒洒，然后才张嘴吃人。而人则不然。我这里所谓“非人”，决不是指畜生，只称他为“非人”而已。我自己在被打得“一佛出世，二佛升天”的时候还虔信“文化大革命”的正确性，我焉敢苛求于别人呢？打人者和被打者，同是被害者，只是所处的地位不同而已。就由于这些想法，我才没有进行报复。

但是，这只是冠冕堂皇的一面，这还不是一切，还有我私心的一面。

了解“十年浩劫”的人们都知道，当年打派仗的时候，所有的学校、机关、工厂、企业，甚至某一些部队，都分成了对立的两派，每一派都是“唯我独左”、“唯我独尊”。现在看起来两派都搞打、砸、抢，甚至杀人、放火，都是一丘之貉，谁也不比谁强。现在再来讨论或者辩论谁是谁非，实在毫无意义。可是在当时，有一种叫做“派性”的东西，摸不着，看不见，既无根据，又无理由，却是阴狠、毒辣，一点理性也没有。谁要是中了它，就像是中了邪一样，一个原来是亲爱和睦好端端的家庭，如果不幸而分属两派，则夫妇离婚者有之，父子反目者有之，至

少也是“兄弟阋于墙”，天天在家里吵架。我读书七八十年，在古今中外的书中还从未发现过这种心理状况，实在很值得社会学家和心理学家认真探究。

我自己也并非例外。我的派性也并非不严重。但是，我自己认为，我的派性来之不易，是拼着性命换来的。运动一开始，作为一系之主，我是没有资格同“革命群众”一起参加闹革命的。“革命无罪，造反有理”，这呼声响彻神州大地，与我却无任何正面的关系，最初我是处在“革命”和“造反”的对象的地位上的。但是，解放前，我最厌恶政治，同国民党没有任何沾连。大罪名加不到我头上来。被打成“走资派”和“资产阶级反动学术权威”，是应有之义，不可避免的。这两阵狂风一过，我又恢复了原形，成了自由民，可以混迹于革命群众之中了。

如果我安分守己、老老实实的话，我本可以成为一个逍遥自在的逍遥派，痛痛快快地混上几年的。然而，幸乎？不幸乎？天老爷赋予了我一个犟劲，我敢于仗义执言。如果我身上还有点什么值得称扬的东西的话，那就是这一点犟劲。不管我身上有多少毛病，有这点犟劲，就颇值得自慰了，我这一生也就算是没有白生了。我在逍遥中，冷眼旁观，越看越觉得北大那一位炙手可热的“老佛爷”倒行逆施，执掌全校财政大权，对力量微弱的对立派疯狂镇压，甚至断水断电，纵容手下喽啰用长矛刺杀校外来的中学生。是可忍，孰不可忍？我并不真懂什么这路线、那路线，然而牛劲一发，拍案而起，毅然决然参加了“老佛爷”对立面的那一派“革命组织”。“老佛爷”有名的心狠手毒。我几乎把自己一条老命赔上。详情书中都有叙述，我在这里就不再啰唆了。

不加入一派则已，一旦加入，则派性就如大毒蛇，把我缠得紧紧的，说话行事都失去了理性。“十年浩劫”一过，天日重明；但是，人们心中的派性仍然留下了或浓或淡的痕迹，稍不留意，就会显露出来。同我一起工作的同事一多半是“十年浩劫”中的对立面，批斗过我，诬蔑过我，审讯过我，踢打过我。他们中的许多人好像有点愧悔之意。我认为，这些人都是好同志，同我一样，一时糊涂油蒙了心，干出了一些不太合乎理性的勾当。世界上没有不犯错误的人，这是大家都承认的一个真理。如果让这些本来是好人的人知道了，我抽屉里面藏着一部《牛棚杂忆》，他们一定会认为我是秋后算账派，私立黑账，准备日后打击报复。我的书中虽然没有写出名字——我是有意这样做的——但是，当事人一看就知道是谁，对号入座，易如反掌。怀着这样惴惴不安的心理，我们怎么能同桌共事呢？为了避免这种尴尬局面，所以我才虽把书写出却秘而不宣。

那么，你为什么不干脆不写这样一部书呢？这话问得对，问得正中要害。

实际上，我最初确实没有写这样一部书的打算。否则，“十年浩劫”正式结束于1976年，我的书十六年以后到了1992年才写，中间隔了这样许多年，所为何来？这十六年是我反思、观察、困惑、期待的期间。我痛恨自己在政治上形同一条蠢驴，对所谓“无产阶级文化大革命”这一场残暴、混乱、使我们伟大的中华民族蒙羞忍耻、把我们国家的经济推向绝境、空前、绝后——这是我的希望——至今还没人能给一个全面合理的解释的悲剧，有不少人早就认识了它的实质，我却是在“四人帮”垮台以后脑筋才开了窍。我实在感到羞耻。

我的脑筋一旦开了窍，我就感到当事人处理这一场灾难的方式有问题。粗一点比细一点好，此话未必毫无道理。但是，我认为，我们粗过了头。我在上面已经说到，绝大多数的人都是受蒙蔽的。就算是受蒙蔽吧，也应该在这个千载难遇的机会中受到足够的教训，提高自己的水平，免得以后再重蹈覆辙。这样的机会恐怕以后再难碰到了。何况在那些打砸抢分子中，确有一些禽兽不如的坏人。这些坏人比好人有本领，“文革”中有一个常用的词儿：变色龙，这一批坏人就正是变色龙。他们一看风头不对，立即改变颜色。有的伪装成正人君子，有的变为某将军、某领导的东床快婿，在这一张大伞下躲避了起来。有的鼓其如簧之舌，施展出纵横捭阖的伎俩，暂时韬晦，窥探时机，有朝一日风雷动，他们又成了人上人。此等人野心大，点子多，深通厚黑之学，擅长拍马之术。他们实际上是我们社会主义社会潜在的癌细胞，迟早必将扩张的。我们当时放过了这些人，实在是埋藏了后患。我甚至怀疑，今天我们的国家和社会，总起来看，是安定团结的，大有希望的。但是社会上道德水平有问题，许多地方的政府中风气不正，有不少人素质不高，若仔细追踪其根源，恐怕同“十年浩劫”的余毒有关，同上面提到的这些人有关。

上面是我反思和观察的结果，是我困惑不解的原因。可我又期待什么呢？

我期待着有人会把自己亲身受的灾难写出来。一些元帅、许多老将军，出生入死，戎马半生，可以说是为人民立了功。一些国家领导人，也是一生革命，是人民的功臣。绝大部分的高级知识分子、著名作家和演员，大都是勤奋工作，赤诚护党。所有这一些好人，都被莫名其妙地泼了一身污水，罗织罪名，无限上纲，必欲置之死地而后快。真不知是何居心。中国古来有“飞鸟尽，良弓藏；狡兔死，走狗烹”的说法。但干

这种事情的是封建帝王，我们却是堂堂正正的社会主义国家。所作所为之残暴无情，连封建帝王也会为之自惭形秽的。而且涉及面之广，前无古人。受害者心里难道会没有愤懑吗？为什么不抒一抒呢？我日日盼，月月盼，年年盼；然而到头来却是失望，没有人肯动笔写一写，或者口述让别人写。我心里十分不解，万分担忧。这场空前的灾难，若不留下点记述，则我们的子孙将不会从中吸取应有的教训，将来气候一旦适合，还会有人发疯，干出同样残暴的蠢事。这是多么可怕的事情啊！今天的青年人，你若同他们谈"十年浩劫"的灾难，他们往往吃惊地又疑惑地瞪大了眼睛，样子是不相信，天底下竟能有这样匪夷所思的事情。他们大概认为我在说谎，我在谈海上蓬莱三山，"山在虚无缥缈间"。虽然有一段时间流行过一阵所谓"伤痕"文学,然而，根据我的看法，那不过是碰伤了一块皮肤，只要用红药水一擦，就万事大吉了。真正的伤痕还深深埋在许多人的心中，没有表露出来。我期待着当事人有朝一日会表露出来。

此外，我还有一个十分不切实际的期待。上面的期待是对在浩劫中遭受痛苦折磨的人们而说的。折磨人甚至把人折磨至死的当时的"造反派"实际上是打砸抢分子的人，为什么不能够把自己折磨人的心理状态和折磨过程也站出来表露一下，写成一篇文章或一本书呢？这一类人现在已经四五十岁了，有的官据要津。即使别人不找他们算账，他们自己如果还有点良心、有点理智的话，在灯红酒绿之余，清夜扪心自问，你能够睡得安稳吗？如果这一类人——据估算，人数是不老少的——也写点什么东西的话，拿来与被折磨者和被迫害者写的东西对照一读，对我们人民的教育意义，特别是我们后世子孙的教育意义，会是极大极大的。我并不要求他们检讨和忏悔，这些都不是本质的东西，我只期待他们秉笔直书。这样做，他们可以说是为我们民族立了大功，只会得到褒扬，不会受到谴责，这一点我是敢肯定的。

就这样，我怀着对两方面的期待，盼星星，盼月亮，一盼盼了十二年。东方太阳出来了，然而我的期待却落了空。

可是，时间已经到了1992年。许多当年被迫害的人已经如深秋的树叶，渐趋凋零；因为这一批人年纪老的多，宇宙间生生死死的规律是无法抗御的。而我自己也已垂垂老矣。古人说："俟河之清，人寿几何。"在我的两个期待中，其中一个我无能为力，而对另一个，也就是对被迫害者的那一个，我却是大有可为的。我自己就是一个被害者嘛。我为什么竟傻到守株待兔、专期待别人行动而自己却不肯动手呢？期待人不如期待自己，还是让我自己来吧。这就是《牛棚杂忆》的产生经

过。我写文章从来不说谎话，我现在把事情的原委和盘托出，希望对读者会有点帮助。但是，我虽然自己已经实现了一个期待，对别人的那两个期待，我还并没有放弃。在期待的心情下，我写了这一篇序，期望我的期待能够实现。

1998年3月9日

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1 MY WRITING MOTIVE

The Cow Shed is a familiar term and everyone knows its meaning. But no one is sure of whether its usage is official or not. Today we embrace "a rule of law." The first thing to do, in talking about "a rule of law," is to straighten out incorrect uses of terms. But how can the term "the Cow Shed" be straightened out? In reality its coinage contradicts the laws. Now one wants to correct it on the basis of law. Wouldn't it look like desiring for going south but driving the car north instead?[1]

At Beida, the Cow Shed was not well-known. In our university, instead, our "authorities" called it the "Labor Reform Yard," or the "Black Gang Yard," to be more acceptable. The meaning is the same. The latter is more graphic and substantial so its usage hit it off immediately on our campus. To take a closer look, one should be clear that it means the "black gang," not the "red gang."[2] The people from the black gang are night-crawlers, outlawed for their opposition to the "Revolutionary Headquarters." Their quarters of custody are called the "Black Gang Yard."

"Kids are yet to learn about life, since they don't know how wonderful it is to gain a first-hand experience as opposed to eating the preserved sweet fruit."[3] I was fortunate to move into the Yard. From the linguistic point of view this word "move" should be in the passive voice, "to be moved." And I lived there for about nine months. To say living is comfortable there is not true. But I am grateful for the rare opportunity given to me for experiencing that ten-year turmoil, unprecedented in the past and never to be matched in the future, I hope, since "one can hardly live up to one hundred years."[4] I should thank heaven for its appreciation and blessing, feeling so indebted that my tears keep rolling down my cheeks at the thought. Otherwise searching for such a chance would be as formidable as pushing a camel through the eye of a needle. Not only did I run into this opportunity I also lived there for a while. Just think. Would it be possible today to have someone build a Yard for me, then put me there in a round-the-clock watch, and provide me with absolute security?

I can be counted as one dabbled in Buddhist study. I study both the

history of Buddhism and its theology. But the most intriguing part of my study does not lie in the Buddhist doctrines. Rather I am quite fascinated by those writings of the inferior and coarse taste, the superficial stuff, and the depictions of hell in particular. There are parallel portrayals in the Buddhist scriptures, but those oral sagas going around in the public are more ravishing. Early descriptions of tortures truly mirrored the experiences that ordinary Chinese and Indians sustained. They were later crystallized and took shape in "keeping essentials by removing dregs and preserving truth by eliminating falsehood." They are masterpieces of imagination. Who could read those horror stories of hell without the heart frozen and hair standing on end?

Years ago I longed to shift my academic interest to the comparative study of hell. But many years of research experience has taught me that Western depiction of hell is very simple, shallow, unpalatable and monotonous. If this sounds exaggerating to you, go and read Dante Alighieri's *The Divine Comedy*, which contains some accounts of the Hades. Dante's poetry is unquestionably well composed. But its lyric embodiment of the hell is disappointing, its imagination utterly shriveling up, structures simple and details superficial. It sounds naive in reading. In contrast the rendering of the hell in Indian literature is compelling and awesome. Later the Chinese colored the writings and added touches to make the abode of the damned appear like nothing but a glittering tower brilliantly decorated with pearls and jewels. Would anyone who has read the Chinese classics, like *Stories of Judgment*, not be amazed with the impressive accounts of stretches of fire and ridges of blade, giant iron jars filled with oil and gigantic saws, Ox Head and Horse Face, a full cast and a maximum application of stage property?[5] Evidently, the East has overtaken the West in civilization and wisdom.

I admired commoners for their power of imagination and relished reading their depictions of the hell. I thought they had applied their intellectual resources to the full and sketched a perfect picture. However, after having lived in the Cow Shed, I realized that the remarkable construction and management with terror of the Cow Shed by our "young revolutionaries" in a broad daylight in Chinese society by far outstrip the creation of the Buddhist hell and make the Indian depiction of horror pale into triviality. The Western literary productions are even less impressive, purely a competition of a spit against a tidal wave.

I am not quite sure whether some of the young men might have been my students of Buddhism. Also I think probably they not only majored in the Buddhist history and theories but also minored in the study of the hell. Besides they put theories into application, constructed the Black Gang Yards at Beida, improving them from the far to the near and from the inside to the outside and using them to the full, which were immediately crystallized into a model for all universities across the country to emulate. Their achievements proved the saying that "Blue comes from the indigo dye but turns out to be bluer than its source." My forty years of teaching at Beida had not been done in vain. Though I was invited to be incarcerated, I felt proud and gratified.

What is more is that this herd of young revolutionaries took the initiative in innovation. The Cow Shed had nothing of the kind like ridges of blade, iron jars of oil, Ox Head and Horse Face. But if one were able to create an atmosphere many times more horrifying than that of the Buddhist inferno, given the limited resources to work with, who could refrain from showering him with buckets of praise? In the ancient world of the diabolic, Ox Head and Horse Face carry out the warranty issued by the King of Hell, spearing the body of the felon with the trident, sticking it into the oil-boiling iron jar and then tossing it onto the blade covered ridge. It is a corporal punishment at most, with no inflictions such as "pricking on the soul," "battling selfishness and denouncing Revisionism," and "fighting living thoughts."[6] At Beida our young revolutionaries, under the guidance of the "Old Dowager," created the activity of reciting Mao's quotations.[7] This innovation had never been heard of in the past, Ox Head and Horse Face ordering outlaws to recite, from the Buddhist Scriptures, some things like "Satya, satya, sate hitam satyam" and slapping them across the face for any slip of tongue.[8] The after-dinner routine admonitory talk is another missed item on the agenda of the ancient hell. When night fell, the inmates stood in line, awaiting reprimands, as ferocious howls and clear boxes on the ear resounded through the canopy of nightly skies. Outside the yard, a few saunterers rambled around on a little mound in dim light. With a sideways glance I spotted a few "free people," who were enjoying this rare sight of living, just as foreign visitors are awed at the spectacle of the exchange of guards, performed by the British soldiers, on the square in front of the Buckingham Palace. My heart sank at this moment.

To cut a long story short, the Cow Shed witnessed many inventions. Life here was at once colorful and gruesomely biting to the bone. Inside the Yard

our minds tensed up to a maximum degree with each passing day, night, minute and second, as our five senses were harnessed to the highest alert for bumps, hollows and brambles, over which one trip was sure to bring misfortunes. This life was unprecedented to me and inconceivable to an outsider. At that time no accurate statistics were gathered on the number of people retained in the Cow Shed across the country, but they were surely in their hundreds upon thousands. When compared with the whole population of the country, the number is starkly tiny. In other words, getting into the Cow Shed was not easy. It could be a rare opportunity in a lifetime. Didn't we often hear the call for literary writers to experience in life before creating a given fictional character? However, is there any writer who is willing to come and experience the life in the Cow Shed? It would be difficult to become one of the black gangs; its qualification could be rather demanding.

As one of the lucky few rounded into the Cow Shed, I acquired some experiences hard earned by narrowly escaped dying an unnatural death in my later years. I think I should write a book recounting these experiences. Though not a professional writer, I once practiced writing. If I want to recount those experiences, the writing is not quite a challenge to me. But it is the memories of that part of my life that hold me back from writing. A mere recalling would send a chill of apprehension down my spine to this day. It is okay not to recollect the past. I am harboring a slim wish that some writer who was incarcerated in the Cow Shed would pick up his pen, tap his talents and put his excruciating sufferings on paper, completely and graphically. His depictions would uplift the mist that has been hanging over the mind of readers of the country and the world about that part of history. It would be a worthy contribution to the people.

I have longed for the stars and moon to slide west across the sky and the sun to rise in the east. I have been waiting until today. I have read some writers' memoirs and books. But I'm not satisfied, since what I want to read has not appeared. There are surely thousands of people who knew the grinding teeth of the Cow Shed and are established writers. How come they have all remained silent? If things continued to be like this, these people would soon be buying the farm one after another under the guidance of laws of nature, so those costly experiences would be gone for ever. To humankind, this would be a terrible loss. To those who were able to write but had chosen not to do so, that would be a huge bungle to commit. What worries me most

is that it has been less than two decades since the close of the ten-year turmoil, but nearly nothing of it has remained in the mind of the people. When talking to youngsters of today, or even some of the middle-aged, about that calamity, I often met with popped eyes and grimaces of suspicion. Their facial expressions assure me of their head filled with questions; they are suspicious that I am telling stories from *The Arabian Nights*, exaggerating occurrences; they are suspicious that I have some cloaked motive; though they do not want to embarrass me by rebuking me face to face, the look darting from their eyes evidently raises their inquiry, "How could this absurd thing have ever taken place?" I feel desperately downhearted, isolated, and panicky.

I feel downhearted for the stories of the life-and-death experience that I went through set off no ripples of understanding and empathy. Realistically I don't expect a thorough comprehension and sympathy. In fact I only recounted a modicum of my experience, some scraps of reality. I have even withheld from revealing gross details to my family members and close friends. They remained repressed at the bottom of my heart. Naively I thought the stories I had shared with the public would make a splash for understanding. In the end I got a blasted result. Therefore I am rather downhearted.

I feel isolated because, as a gray, old man, I feel like I am wobbling along on a vast land, with neither the ancients nor coming generations in sight. The aged are like tree leaves in the depth of fall, drifting down on the ground, while the young are, to me, like the recently Japanese dubbed term, "new humankind," whose sentiments are doggedly abstruse. Should I hand in my dinner pail this way, carrying all these secrets along with me? So I feel isolated.

I feel panicky because I am afraid that this once-in-a-thousand-year experience might be down the toilet without producing "social returns," an utter waste at the cost of the suffering of millions of people. Chances of copying such learning experience in the future would be most likely next to zero. So I feel panicky.

On top of having feelings of downheartedness, isolation and panic, I have a firm belief. If something is written about those heart-wrenching occurrences, that will become a mirror in the history of our great nation.

Periodically looking into the mirror will be enormously beneficial, reminding us what should be done and what should not, with no bad effects at all.

Thus, after long periods of consideration, I have decided to do the work myself and write a memoir. First, I am making a solemn announcement before I set about the mission: I will never lie and exaggerate my experience in my book; I will keep my accounts accurate of the events as I went through; "cutting one additional inch of cloth would be a misfit to a design, while writing a paragraph one phrase shy of the reality would be a distortion." Sticking to my goal, I will not offer an attentive ear to gossips, those things like "the autumn winds sweeping across my face." Making a name by lying is unethical; it is not my way of life, nor is a goal that I desire to achieve. Moreover I believe my recalling of those past events will be dependable. With the temperament of the so-called Cultural Revolution's fire and brimstone, I "have seen ebbs and flows of life" so I fear nothing now. If someone reads my memoir and feels uncomfortable as if his or her wound were pricked, or if someone is inclined to identify himself or herself with those persons I mention in my writing, I would like to notify that person here that I will not care whatever he or she will do. Though I may not be able to produce a good work, the writing will be an outgrowth watered in blood and tear. My memoir will not be fictional either. Therefore I would appreciate the reader's understanding and sympathy.

The above is my motive for writing this book.

[1] The set phrase in the Chinese original is "going south by driving north."

[2] Ji uses the "black gang" and the "white gang" in his text; the translation of the latter into the "red gang" is for clarity.

[3] An old Chinese saying.

[4] Another old Chinese saying.

[5]*Stories of Judgment*, a popular book, published in the late Qing Dynasty, with solicit persuasions on ethics and penalty; Ox Head and Horse Face, two demon attendants of the King of Hell, according to the Chinese popular culture.

[6] "Pricking on the soul," "battling selfishness and denouncing Revisionism," and "fighting living thoughts," popular sayings in the Cultural Revolution.

[7] Reciting the quotations of Mao Zedong, a daily activity conducted at all levels of work and institution.

[8] Ji uses the Sanskrit words which loosely mean "truth" in English.

壹　缘起

“牛棚”这个词儿，大家一听就知道是什么意思。但是，它是否就是法定名称，却谁也说不清楚。我们现在一切讲“法治”。讲“法治”，必先正名。但是“牛棚”的名怎么正呢？牛棚的创建本身就是同法“对着干的”。现在想用法来正名，岂不是南辕而北辙吗？

在北大，牛棚这个词儿并不流行。我们这里的“官方”叫做“劳改大院”，有时通俗化称之为“黑帮大院”，含义完全是一样的。但是后者更生动，更具体，因而在老百姓嘴里就流行了起来。顾名思义，“黑帮”不是“白帮”。他们是专在暗中干“坏事”的，是同“革命司令部”唱反调的。这一帮家伙被关押的地方就叫做“黑帮大院”。

“童子何知，躬逢胜饯”！我三生有幸，也住进了大院——从语言学上来讲，这里的“住”字应该作被动式——而且一住就是八九个月。要说里面很舒服，那不是事实。但是，像“十年浩劫”这样的现象，在人类历史上绝对是空前的——我但愿它也绝后——“人生不满百”，我居然躬与其盛，这真是千载难逢的机会，我不得不感谢苍天，特别对我垂青、加佑，以至于感激涕零了。不然的话，想找这样的机会，真比骆驼穿过针眼还要难。我不但赶上这个时机，而且能住进大院。试想，现在还会有人为我建院，派人日夜守护，使我得到绝对的安全吗？

我也算是一个研究佛教的人。我既研究佛教的历史，也搞点佛教的义理。但是最使我感兴趣的却不是这些堂而皇之的佛教理论，而是不登大雅之堂的一些迷信玩意儿，特别是对地狱的描绘。这在正经的佛典中可以找到，在老百姓的口头传说中更是说得活灵活现。这是中印两国老百姓集中了他们从官儿们那里受到的折磨与酷刑，经过提炼，“去粗取精，去伪存真”然后形成的，是人类幻想不可多得的杰作。谁听了地狱的故事不感到毛骨悚然、毛发直竖呢？

我曾有志于研究比较地狱学久矣。积几十载寒暑探讨的经验，深知西方地狱实在有点太简单、太幼稚、太单调、太没有水平。不信你去读一读但丁的《神曲》。那里有对地狱的描绘。但丁的诗句如黄钟大吕；但是诗句所描绘的地狱，却实在不敢恭维，一点想象力都没有，过于简单，过于表面。读了只能让人觉得好笑。回观印度的地狱则真正是博大精深。再加上中国人的扩大与渲染，地狱简直如七宝楼台，令人目眩神驰。读过中国《玉历至宝钞》一类描写地狱的书籍的人，看到里面的刀

山火海、油锅大锯，再配上一个牛头、一个马面，角色齐全，道具无缺，谁能不五体投地地钦佩呢？东方文明超过西方文明，东方人民的智慧超过西方人民的智慧，于斯可见。

我非常佩服老百姓的幻想力，非常欣赏他们对地狱的描绘。我原以为这些幻想力和这些描绘已经是至矣尽矣，蔑以复加矣。然而，我在牛棚里呆过以后，才恍然大悟，“革命小将”在东胜神州大地上，在光天化日之下建造起来的牛棚，以及对牛棚的管理措施，还有在牛棚里制造的恐怖气氛，同佛教的地狱比较起来，远远超过印度的原版。西方的地狱更是瞠乎后矣，有如小巫见大巫了。

我怀疑，造牛棚的小将中有跟我学习佛教的学生。我怀疑，他们不但学习了佛教史和佛教教义，也学习了地狱学。而且理论联系实际，他们在建造北大的黑帮大院时，由远及近，由里及表，加以应用，一时成为全国各大学学习的样板。他们真正是青出于蓝而胜于蓝。仅此一点，就足以证明，我在北大四十年的教学活动，没有白费力量。我虽然自己被请入瓮中，但衷心欣慰，不能自已了。

犹有进者，这一群革命小将还充分发挥了创新能力。在这个牛棚里确实没有刀山、油锅、牛头、马面等等。可是，在没有这样的必需的道具下而能制造出远远超过佛教地狱的恐怖气氛，谁还能吝惜自己的赞赏呢？在旧地狱里，牛头马面不过根据阎罗王的命令把罪犯用钢叉叉入油锅、叉上刀山而已。这最多只能折磨犯人的肉体，决没有“触及灵魂”的措施，决没有“斗私批修”、“狠斗活思想”等等的办法。我们北大的革命（？）小将，却在他们的“老佛爷”的领导下在大院中开展了背语录的活动。这是崭新的创造，从来也没有听说牛头马面会让犯人背诵什么佛典，什么“揭谛，揭谛，波罗揭谛”，背错一个字，立即一记耳光。在每天晚上的训话，也是旧地狱中决不会有的。每当夜幕降临，犯人们列队候训。恶狠狠的训斥声，清脆的耳光声，互相应答，融入夜空。院外小土山上，在薄暗中，人影晃动。我低头斜眼一瞥，知道是“自由人”在欣赏院内这难得的景观，宛如英国白金汉宫前面广场上欣赏御林军换岗的盛况。此时我的心情实在不足为外人道也。

简短截说，牛棚中有很多新的创造发明。里面的生活既丰富多彩，又阴森刺骨。我们住在里面的人，日日夜夜，分分秒秒，都让神经紧张到最高限度，让五官的本能发挥到最高限度，处处有荆棘坑坎，时时有横祸飞来。这种生活，对我来说，是绝对空前的。对门外人来说，是无法想象的。当时在全国进入牛棚的人虽然没有确切统计，但一定是成千累万。可是同全国人口一比，仍然相形见绌，只不过是小数一端而已。

换句话说，能进入牛棚并不容易，是一个非常难得的机会。人们不是常常号召作家在创作之前要深入生活吗？但是有哪一个作家心甘情愿地到黑帮大院里来呢？成为黑帮一员，也并不容易，需要具备的条件还是非常苛刻的。

我是有幸进入牛棚的少数人之一，几乎把老命搭上才取得了一些难得的经验。我认为，这些经验实在应该写出来的。我自己虽非作家，却也有一些舞笔弄墨的经验。自己要写，非不可能。但是，我实在不愿意再回忆那一段生活，一回忆一直到今天我还是不寒而栗，不去回忆也罢。我有一个渺渺茫茫的希望，希望有哪一位蹲过牛棚的作家，提起如椽大笔，把自己不堪回首的经历，淋漓尽致地写出来，一定会开阔全国、全世界读者的眼界，为人民立一大功。

可是我盼星星，盼月亮，盼着东天出太阳，一直盼到今天，虽然读到了个别人写的文章或书，总还觉得很不过瘾，我想要看到的东西始终没有出现。蹲过牛棚、有这种经验而又能提笔写的人无虑百千，为什么竟都沉默不语呢？这样下去，等这一批人一个个遵照自然规律离开这个世界的时候，那些极可宝贵的、转瞬即逝的经验，也将会随之而消泯得无影无踪。对人类全体来说，这是一个莫大的损失。对有这种经验而没有写出来的人来说，这是犯了一个极大的错误。最可怕的是，我逐渐发现，“十年浩劫”过去还不到二十年，人们已经快要把它完全遗忘了。我同今天的青年，甚至某一些中年人谈起这一场灾难来，他们往往瞪大了眼睛，满脸疑云，表示出不理解的样子。从他们的眼神中可以看出来，他们的脑袋里装满了疑问号。他们怀疑，我是在讲“天方夜谭”，我是故意夸大其辞。他们怀疑，我别有用心。他们不好意思当面驳斥我，但是他们的眼神却流露出：“天下哪里可能有这样的事情呢？”我感到非常悲哀、孤独与恐惧。

我感到悲哀，是因为我九死一生经历了这一场巨变，到头来竟然得不到一点了解，得不到一点同情。我并不要别人会全面理解，整体同情。事实上我对他们讲的只不过是零零碎碎、片片段段。有一些细节我甚至对家人好友都没有讲过，至今还闷在我的心中。然而，我主观认为，就是那些片段就足以唤起别人的同情了。结果却是适得其反。于是我悲哀。

我孤独，是因为我感到，自己已届耄耋之年，在茫茫大地上，我一个人踽踽独行，前不见古人，后不见来者。年老的像三秋的树叶，逐渐飘零。年轻的对我来说像日本人所说的“新人类”那样互不理解。难道我就怀着这些秘密离开这个世界吗？于是我孤独。

我恐惧，是因为我怕这些千载难得的经验一旦泯灭，以千万人遭受难言的苦难为代价而换来的经验教训就难以发挥它的“社会效益”了。想再获得这样的教训恐怕是难之又难了。于是我恐惧。

在悲哀、孤独、恐惧之余，我还有一个牢固的信念。如果把这一场灾难的经过如实地写了出来，它将成为我们这个伟大民族的一面镜子。常在这一面镜子里照一照，会有无限的好处的。它会告诉我们，什么事情应当干，什么事情又不应当干，决没有任何坏处。

就这样，在反反复复考虑之后，我下定决心，自己来写。我在这里先郑重声明：我决不说半句谎言，决不添油加醋。我的经历是什么样子，我就写成什么样子。增之一分则太多，减之一分则太少。不管别人说什么，我都坦然处之，“只等秋风过耳边”。谎言取宠是一个品质问题，非我所能为，亦非我所愿为。我对自己的记忆力还是有信心的。经过了所谓“文化大革命”炼狱的洗礼，“曾经沧海难为水”，我现在什么都不怕。如果有人读了我写的东西感到不舒服，感到好像是揭了自己的疮疤；如果有人想对号入座，那我在这里先说上一声：悉听尊便。尽管我不一定能写出什么好文章，但是这文章是用血和泪换来的，我写的不是小说。这一点想能得到读者的谅解与同情。

以上算是缘起。

2 STARTING FROM THE SOCIALIST EDUCATION MOVEMENT1

In the first half of the 1960s, another political movement was launched across the country that made one's teeth clatter. It was called the "Socialist Education Movement" (SEM).[1] Beida had to experience another round of helter-skelter. But this course slid into the familiar groove that if you made me suffer in the last movement I would get even with you for this in the next. After a period of commotion died down everyone was sent to the countryside to promote the SEM there.

In the fall of 1965, after the "Symposium at the International Hotel," I was sent to Nankou, a village on the outskirts of Beijing.[2] There I worked as deputy team leader leading the SEM of the village in charge of Strengthening the Party. This was a small mountain village but a key traffic point overlooking a main highway before the completion of the construction of a railroad. The locals told me the village used to be a bustling commercial hub in the past with stores strung out along roads. Each day, hundreds of camels crouched on the street at night, as the sound of finger-guessing game roared in inns nearby until dawn. But the village took on a new face immediately after the completion of a railroad. Now with all those things gone that it once knew the village hung on languidly with shattered walls and deserted alleys. The past prosperity only lingered in receding memories of the elderly.

Here I will not talk about the proceeding of the SEM in the village. Instead, I will focus on some occurrences concerned with the Cultural Revolution. This so-called "unprecedented" Revolution erupted with some hidden scheme, which became well-known. I don't need to ramble on it. In fact, it started in the winter of 1965, the time when I worked at Nankou. By that time, Yao Wenyuan had just published his article "On the Newly-revised Historical Play *Hai Rui Removed from Office*," which ignited the bonfire of the "Revolution."[3] This writing stirred up troubles and tried to wring truth from nonsense and make false charges. It was known that the publication of the article was in the control of a big hand behind the scene. Yao was nothing but a pawn "brandishing a chicken feather as the arrow-shaped stick of order"

and performing at the forestage.[4] It was at Nankou that I read the article. I was never politically sensitive. Though I had never missed any daily session of ideological education since the founding of new China, I overlooked the class struggle, dull-headed as I had always been in campaigns. I did not smell out any class struggle from it, not aware of the signal that foreboded another imminent crushing political tornado, just as "the wind blows as a storm looms large upon the tower."[5] I thought the article was no more than any ordinary one. Besides my tongue was hanging out for anything in my mind, a weakness (or advantage?) of mine. After reading it, I started prating, endlessly and heedlessly. I remarked everywhere, "I don't see *Hai Rui Removed from Office* has anything to do with Peng Dehuai." I also said, "I know all the three village leaders of 'the Village of Three Families,' one or two of them even my friends.[6] Wu Han and I were classmates at Tsinghua University in the early 1930s. In 1946 when I returned to Peking, I delivered a speech to the students of Tsinghua at his invitation and stayed in his home that night." I jabbered away, unaware of some observant listener being around. One of my favorite students worked with me now at Nankou during the SEM. The son of a poor farmer, he came from the poor-peasant and family-member-of-a-revolutionary-martyr stock. In the past he was reverent and respectful and I intended to train him as my "academic successor." It is this "sworn follower" of mine that kept my remarks in mind. With courtesy and smile he was biding his time for an assault in the future. Later when the Cultural Revolution was at full throttle, I stuck my neck out and went against that notorious "Old Dowager" of Beida, who sent me into the Cow Shed. This "good" student of mine knew the time was ripe to drop a stone after I fell into a well so as to obtain a small "black gauze cap."[7] Now he made public what I said about Yao, as he "poured beans out of a bamboo tube." He rained down attacks on me with distortions, calling me a "little lackey of 'the Village of Three Families!' " By the way, I would like to add an update that this poor farmer's son and a family member of revolutionary martyr, who was one hundred times more eligible for being chosen as a proletarian successor, has immigrated to a small European country and become a footman of his new foreign master. Alas, time is cruel, letting one see an image of his own identity in a mirror he himself manufactured.

Getting back to Yao Wenyuan's article, I found him formulating abstruse deductions and cooking up fallacies on things of which he got wind or got a

sniff, thus setting up a notorious prototype for making false charges in the rest periods of the Revolution. Frankly speaking, I am skeptical that he could claim that he had invented these preposterous scams. In all likelihood he at most plagiarized them from that very influential high ranking figure. But anyway this despicable practice has inflicted devastating and boundless impact and generated countless wrongs. It dethroned the ethical rein in the mind of youth, and its influence is persistent even today.

There is another occurrence that deserves mention here. We were from different workplaces and came to Nankou to work together in the socialist education team. Besides those of us coming from Beida, some were from the National Central Broadcast Station and Beijing's General Brigade of Police. According to the regulations that we received, we were all to be attired in plain clothing, without revealing our respective work units, and keep our identity and updates only among our colleagues. However, though we did not know each other before, we got on good terms soon, and the initial alienation quickly gave way to a form of cooperation, mutual understanding and trust. One man, called Comrade Chen, who was from Beijing's Public Security Corps, was quite young but a veteran with a ten-year seniority of Party membership. He had a rich experience of working in the police department and was easy to get along with. We two maintained close relationship, sharing everything between us. Yet, one thing caught my attention: he burned all the mail right after he had received and read it. It was completely contrary to what I usually did. I had a habit, hard to determinate its merit: I carefully kept not only the letters I received but also those purchase receipts of no significance. Why did I do it? I had no idea, nor did I ever think about it seriously. Now Chen's behavior puzzled me. On the New Year's Day by the lunar calendar of that year, he received a letterpress New Year card from his workplace, Beijing's General Department of Police. Evidently, it was of red tape, nothing serious. But Chen would not simply trash this card. He made sure he burned it completely to ashes instead of tearing it into pieces. I could hardly repress a cry of curiosity so I started the following conversation,

"Why did you burn the card?"

"I don't want to leave any trace of it behind."

"You might have torn it into pieces and cast it into the latrine as well?"

"No! It would still be possible to leave some trace behind."

"You're overcautious."

"No. Doing the kind of work I've been doing, I understand pretty well the terrible consequences that would arise out of any single reckless act. You'll never know why you should end up with a sting in the tail at a certain time of your life in the future. When caught with it, you can never clean yourself up."

A stunning remark that I had never heard of! I pondered: I may run into a sting in the tail, too; I have many shortcomings with a handful of pigtails, which are easy to get caught, if someone is nit-picking.[8] But I was very confident that I had never opposed the Party and socialism, nor did I join any counter-revolutionary organization; so there was no reason at all to label me a "counter-revolutionary." I felt smug and relaxed, giving no further thought. However, Chen's words turned out to be a crystallized motto which had repeatedly been proved true in reality. Before long I stuck my neck out and opposed that "Old Dowager" of Beida and therefore had the cap of "counter-revolution" placed on my head.[9] I once tinkered with poetry and turned out a couple of lines: "As twenty years of staying at Beida flew by in a doze, I've earned the reputation of opposing the Party and socialism, much to my surprise." I'll quit here and pick up this topic later in the book.

[1] The Socialist Education Movement, a political movement launched in 1964 across the country for about two years, with the aim to remove bourgeois and capitalist practices. Advising teams were sent across the country in helping carry out this campaign.

[2] The "Symposium at the International Hotel," a conference held in Beijing in the fields of arts, sciences and education in the political campaign of attacking the history *Hai Rui Removed from Office*, written by historian and government official Wu Han.

[3] "On the Newly-revised History *Hai Rui Removed from Office*," an article written by Yao Wenyuan, a member of the Gang of Four, and published in the Shanghai-based newspaper *Wenhui Daily* on November 10, 1965.

[4] "Brandishing a chicken feather as the arrow-shaped stick of order," a popular Chinese saying, which shows scorn on those people who are extremely submissive in serving their superiors.

[5] "The wind blows as a storm looms large upon the tower," a line of poetry by Xu Hun, a poet of the Tang Dynasty, in his poem "The East Tower of Xianyang City."

[6] "The Village of Three Families," the pseudonym used in writing essays by Wu Han and Liao Mosha before the Cultural Revolution. Before the Cultural Revolution, Liao was president of the Beijing Committee of the United Front, a sub-committee of the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee. Wu and Liao wrote their serialized work "Reading Notes of the Village of Three

Families," which was published in *Frontline*, a periodical under the control of the Beijing Committee of the CPC, and *Beijing Daily*.

[7] "Black gauze cap," a popular Chinese metaphor used to mean the government position. The "black gauze cap" is originally a cap worn by the government official in ancient Chinese society.

[8] Pigtails, a popular term used in the Cultural Revolution, meaning one's shortcomings or weaknesses, which are caught by others for criticism.

[9] Cap, a popular Chinese term used in the Cultural Revolution, meaning a label.

贰　从社教运动谈起

60年代前半，在全国范围内又掀起了一场惊心动魄的叫做“社会主义教育运动”的运动。北大又大大地折腾了一番。规律仍然是：这场运动你整我，下次运动我整你。混战了一阵，然后平静下来，又都奉命到农村去搞社会主义教育运动。

我于1965年秋天，开完了“国际饭店会议”以后，奉命到了京郊南口村，担任这个村的社教队的副队长，分工管整党工作。这是一个小小的山村。在铁道修建以前，是口内外的交通要道。据当地的老百姓告诉我，当年这里十分繁华，大街上店铺林立，每天晚上卧在大街上的骆驼多达几百头，酒馆里面划拳行令之声通宵达旦。铁路一修，情况立变，现在已是今非昔比。全村到处可见断壁颓垣，一片荒凉寂寞，当年盛况只残留在老年人的记忆中了。

村里社教运动进行的情况，我不想在这里谈。我只谈与“文化大革命”有关的一些情况。这一场“史无前例的”所谓“革命”，来头是很大很大的。这是尽人皆知的事实，用不着我再去细说。它实际上是在1965年冬天开始的，正是我在南口村的时候。这时候，姚文元写了一篇文章：《评新编历史剧〈海瑞罢官〉》，点起了“革命”的烽火。这一篇文章鼓其如簧之舌，歪曲事实，满篇邪理。它据说也是颇有来头的。姚文元不过是拿着鸡毛当令箭出台献艺的小丑而已。我读到这篇文章就是在南口村。我脑袋里一向缺少政治细胞，虽然解放后几乎天天学习政治，怎奈我天生愚钝，时时刻刻讲阶级斗争，然而我却偏偏忽略阶级斗争。我从文章中一点也没有体会出阶级斗争的味道。我一点也没有感觉出这就是“山雨欲来风满楼”，这就是大风暴将要来临的信号。我只把它当做一篇平常的文章来看待。兼之我又有肚子里藏不住话的缺点（优点？）。看完了以后，我就信口开河，大发议论，毫无顾忌。我到处扬言：我根本看不出《海瑞罢官》会同彭德怀有什么瓜葛。我还说，“三家村”里的三位“村长”我都认识，有的还可以说是朋友。我同吴晗30年代初在清华是同学。1946年，我回到北平以后，还曾应他的邀请到清华向学生做过一次报告，在他家里住过一宿。如此等等，说个没完。我哪里知道，说者无心，听者有意。同我一起来南口村搞社教运动的有我的一位“高足”，出身贫农兼烈属，平常对我毕恭毕敬，我内定他为我的“接班人”。就是这一个我的“心腹”，把我说的话都记在心中，等待秋后算账，脸上依然是笑眯眯的。后来，到了“文化大革命”中，我自己跳出来

反对北大那一位臭名远扬的“老佛爷”，被关进牛棚。我的这一位高足看到时机已到，正好落井下石，图得自己捞上一顶小小的乌纱帽，把此时记住的我说的话，竹筒倒豆子，再加上一点歪曲，倾盆倒到了我的头上，把我“打”成了“三家村的小伙计”！我顺便说一句，这一位有一百个理由能成为无产阶级接班人的贫农兼烈属的子弟，已经溜到欧洲一个小国当洋奴去了。时间是毫不留情的，它真使人在自己制造的镜子里照见自己的真相！

闲言少叙，书归正传。我仍然谈姚文元的文章。姚文元在这篇文章中使用的深文周纳的逻辑，捕风捉影莫须有的推理，给以后在整个“文化大革命”中给人罗织罪名，树立了一个极坏的样板。这一套荒谬绝伦的东西是否就是姚文元个人的发明创造，我看未必。他可能也是从来头很大的人那里剽窃来的。无论如何，这一种歪风影响之恶劣，流毒之深远，实在是罄竹难“数”。它把青年一代的逻辑思维完全搞混乱了。流风所及，至今未息。

还有一件小事，我必须在这里讲一讲。我们在南口村的社教工作队，不是来自一个单位。除了北大以外，还有人来自中央广播电台，来自警察总队等单位。根据上面的规定，我们一律便衣，不对人讲自己的单位。内部情况只有我们自己明白。我们这一伙来自四面八方的杂牌军队，尽管过去并不认识；但是萍水相逢，大家都能够团结协作，感情异常融洽。公安总队来了一位姓陈的同志，他是老公安，年纪还不大，但已有十年的党龄。他有丰富的公安经验，人也非常随和。我们相处得非常好，几乎是无话不谈。但是，有一件小事却引起了我的注意：他收到无论什么信，看完之后，总是以火焚之。这同我的习惯正相反。我有一个好坏难明的习惯：我不但保留了所有的来信，而且连一张小小的收条等等微末不足道的东西，都精心保留起来。我这个习惯的心理基础是什么呢？我说不清楚，从来也没有去研究过。看了陈的行径，我自然大惑不解。特别是过旧历年的时候，公安总队给他寄来了一张铅印的贺年卡片。这本是官样文章，没有什么重要意义。但是陈连这样一张贺年卡片也不放过，而且一定要用火烧掉，不是撕掉。我实在沉不住气了，便开始了这样的谈话：

“你为什么要烧掉呢？”

“不留痕迹。”

“撕掉丢在茅坑里不就行了吗？”

“不行！仍然可能留下痕迹。”

“你过分小心了。”

“不是，干我们这一行的深知其中的利害。一个人说不定什么时候就会碰到点子上。一碰上，你就吃不了的兜着走。”

我大吃一惊，这真是闻所未闻。我自己心里估量：我也会碰到点子上的。我身上毛病不少，小辫子也有的是。有人来抓，并不困难。但是，我自信，我从不反党、反社会主义；我也没有加入任何反动组织，“反革命”这一顶帽子无论如何也是扣不到我头上来的。心里乐滋滋的，没有再想下去。岂知陈的话真是经验之谈，是从无数事实中提炼出来的真理。过了没有多久，我自己一跳出来反对北大那一位“老佛爷”，就被扣上了“反革命”的帽子。我曾胡诌了两句诗：“廿年一觉燕园梦，赢得反党反社名。”这是后话，这里就先不谈了。

3 THE FOURTH OF JUNE 1966

Despite the village's remoteness and isolation, Nankou was a scenic spot and the villagers were friendly. But it was in no sense a tiny Utopia.[1] We were here to carry out the class struggle. Personally I didn't like the "left" idea of carrying on the daily ideological formality which stressed the necessity of making class struggle. It was true that, like any other place, Nankou had some problems of its own, and carrying out a little "class struggle" there was not absolutely unnecessary. But it caught us off balance that, as we were busy with class struggle there, a tornado of class struggle swept through the whole country. This tornado originated in Beijing, while Beida was the center of attention in Beijing.

We were unaware of this forthcoming storm in the beginning. Working in the SEM on the suburb of Beijing, we felt as though we were away from the hassle of the world but close to nature. The spring of 1966 arrived late as usual, which was normal for this mountain village. But, finally, those trees of peaches, apricots and pears gradually blossomed, forming delightful pink and snow-white patches in the spring that brought liveliness and joy to the secluded place. It seemed things were uneventful as had been with us. But, in reality, word got around from outside that a large-scale movement was looming large on us. The political movement always first hit Peking University. This time, not on campus, we were not well-informed. But we were all conscious of the advent of something perilous in the making, as thick gloomy clouds began to outline the shape of an oncoming thunderstorm. Staying out of town only left us with an incalculable instant of peace.

As May drew near, word kept reaching us from outside and became more and more disturbing. The Central Committee of the Party issued one directive after another, something like the "5.16 Memo."[2] What the situation meant was quite clear. But, as I said before, my head was woefully void of political cells and, in particular, lacked the "string" of class struggle for the friction of the bow to strike. Thus I took it easy as if nothing had happened. Bathed in the balmy weather of Nankou with the exuberance of fruit trees, I, like the frog sitting at the bottom of a well, never thought about the connection between this political thunderstorm and my destiny.

At this moment the campus of the university must have taken on a new look. People returning from the city told us that the university exploded with emotion. Two factions (or numerous factions according to rumors) were locked in a daily brawl against one another, and the violence began to appear. It was said that some influential figure, sent by the Central Committee to Beida, summoned a meeting one night with a view to stop the law-breaking outrages. It was said that this move was effective only for a short period of time. On May 25, a few days later, a big-character poster, written by a couple of people from the Department of Philosophy under the directive of the "Old Dowager," appeared on campus, entitled, "What do Song Shuo, Lu Ping and Peng Peiyun want to do?"[3] Heated debates with pros and cons blew up immediately. I learned that, outside the main student cafeteria, everyday crowds of debaters stood in circle howling against each other through the night. No one knew how many circles of crowd were formed there and how many participants were present. As a result, Beida was hurled into chaos, just as a serene pond no longer knew its peace after a boulder had been dropped in.

We were not quite sure about the message that the big-character poster carried. But we felt at once it was a continuation of the SEM on campus. At the "Symposium at the International Hotel," mentioned earlier, the faction opposing Lu Ping lost this round of strife and had to take some heat of reproach. According to the patterns of the political movements we had experienced for many years, this time would be the turn for those persecuted last time to persecute others.

On June 1, I heard the news, from the National Central Broadcast Station, that the big-character poster was touted, by the one in power, as a "Marxist-Leninist big-character poster." I had not read the poster, because, by that time, I was swamped with my work and I also lacked the political perspective to figure out why a common big-character poster could be rated as a "Marxist-Leninist" writing. Today I still have had to grapple with its "profound" meaning. In any case, its Marxist-Leninist nature had to be accepted unconditionally and unquestionably at that time as it was so said. It was as decisive as the nail was driven into the wooden board. We people at Nankou, of course, discussed the big-character poster, too, but only perfunctorily and without splitting into two antagonizing factions. Then the news from the campus kept reaching us in succession, but we were still

undisturbed. Indeed, we were not certain of what was going on, as if "one hears the rumble of distant thunder and is not worried about the coming rain at the moment." Our SEM continued as we continued to indulge in our privilege of leisure and freedom.

The Department of Eastern Languages of Beida had about seven or eight faculty members participating in the SEM at Nankou, including the Party general secretary and myself as department head. We were targets of chastisement in light of the intention of the high-ranking authority in the Revolution, because we were all "capitalist roaders." Almost all those in power, except a few privileged ones on top of the power, were officials embracing capitalism (the expression is shortened as "*zouzipai*" in the powerful and inconceivably-rich Chinese language). At Nankou, the "capitalist roaders" of the Department of Eastern Languages were on good terms with the faculty and students. Thus we, the two "capitalist roaders," were dumb for good in our own right, totally unaware that we walked to the edge of the precipice and might fall any time, with a sneak push from behind, into the deep valley below. And some of those that would push us in the near future were now just around us in reverence and treated as a lovable pug.

We should have been on our guard at the sniffs of trouble, if we had had some political sense. Unexpectedly on June 4, we received an order sent by one unknown source from the university: "Return to the university immediately and participate in the movement." We did not bring there with us a lot of belongings, having neither books nor jewelry and other valuables; the only personal possessions that our hands could lay on were a couple of quilts and a washbasin, which were quickly bundled up into a roll before we flocked onto the bus dispatched from the university. We were ready to say bye to Nankou where we stayed for about eight months. "A short residence in a strange place makes one feel as attached to it as to his hometown." My tenderness was unmistakable, and a sorrow of parting arose from my heart. Nevertheless, the rush of departure felt like the chaos of war and left me with no moment for emotional lingering. I had no idea how others felt. Our Party general secretary was more politically mature and experienced. He said nothing, as if he had a presentiment of foreboding. But no one was sure of what was to befall himself or herself in the future. So was I, uncertain and a little panicky, with no time to ponder over the situation. Each time I returned home on leave from Nankou in the past, I was in high spirits. This time I felt

like I were heading for an unknown land (*terra incognita*).[4]

One hour later we arrived at the campus. Before the arrival I had a faint feeling that the faculty and students of our department would all come and meet us, shaking hands and chatting with us, as we, two leaders, were not stripped yet of our positions as Party general secretary and head of department. But as I walked into the university I was shocked by the sight: how one could be able to tell this was the campus Peking University once knew! It became a huge bazaar. The campus' tree-lined, shaded boulevards were littered with cars and trucks parked in disorder. Countless bikes, like schools of fish in the Yangtze, filled every space around the buildings and under the trees. It was an impressive view of a bike ocean. In terms of the number of people, they were numerous, either from inside the university or from outside, heads bobbing around and sounds in a hubbub. Centering around the main student cafeteria, crowds pushed and pulled, packed like sardines. Right after entering the gate of the university our bus had to inch ahead and eventually rolled to a stop. We all alighted to foot it. But we were just a few drops of water melting into waves of the ocean and making no splash at all, as those fantasies of mine about the welcome etiquette of hand-shaking and chatting totally vanished into thin air.

It was said that the gathering became a way of life after June 1. Pilgrims flocked to Beida like surging waves to pay homage to the first "Marxist-Leninist big-character poster." In the eye of the "Marxist" disciples, Beida was a holy place, more sacred than Mecca, Jerusalem and the Leiyin Temple on Mount Lingjiu in India.[5] One visit in pilgrimage could purge the body and soul of impurities and sinful ideas. Visitors poured in each day in seventy to eighty thousands, or even hundreds of thousands. At first people arrived from nearby schools and universities. Gradually, the sources stretched farther away. And finally, the passionate exodus to Beida spread out across the country to institutions of education thousands, or tens of thousands, of *li* away.[6] Residents from Beijing, of course, would not want to miss the opportunity. Their participation fueled the chaos, since a day-trip to Beida delighted them more than going to Tianqiao on holiday.[7] In addition to the crowds, big- and small-character posters were posted on the walls, ground and trees with a unanimous support of the "first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster." It was a sea of people and posters bustling with various colors and incessant roars.

At this sight, I was tongue-tied. Then I edged my way into the throngs. Though there was no welcome ceremony, there were no reprimands, denouncements, slaps, fists and kicks either. As a free man I sneaked into the multitudes, sauntering around. Our Party general secretary coming back with me was not as fortunate. Stepping down from the bus, he was "taken away," or "kidnapped," by the young revolutionaries to somewhere no one knew.[8] He was labeled a "capitalist roader," an authentic target to be punished. From then on, I did not see him in the following few years. On the walls of the Building of Foreign Languages, I saw many big-character posters charging him with being "the shepherd Party secretary" and showering on him all slanders and insults. He was called a "member of Lu Ping's capitalist university black clique," "defender of the de facto university authorities" and "staunch supporter and vanguard of capitalism." As for Lu Ping himself, the day and night, of course, became painfully long. His name was listed on the "Marxist-Leninist big-character poster"; he was the leading felon, aimed to be first brought down by some authorities. I had little idea about him; I only learned that he was singled out by the "revolutionaries" and chastised in the sessions of crowd torture around the clock. The denouncement would go on for forty-eight hours a day. The torture session was held right in his residence. He was forced to stand on the low yard-wall, surrounded by participants chanting slogans and hurling gibes, as the host of the session spoke about his crimes irresponsibly amidst the riotous "incitation" and "rage." Condemning Lu Ping became the most popular treat of sightseeing. No matter who you were, watching him stoop was a must for all visitors to Beida. And every one was entitled to pull Lu Ping out of his room for a round of torture, just like the audience picking up a theatrical item, which was to be played by a well-known Peking opera actor, in the theater before the founding of new China.

How about myself? Though I was aware of the portentous circumstances, in which I was landed like a clay figure of Bodhisattva crossing a river and being able to worry about nobody else but itself. But no one came to "take" me away so I could still stay at home and move around freely. Some people put up a few big-character posters against me. That was understandable, since people had to do it in order to fulfill their quota of revolutionary mission. Fortunately, I did not draw quite a lot of criticism from big-character posters. One day I went to student dormitory Building 40,

in which students from the Department of Eastern Languages lived, to read those big-character posters. One writing berated me for one of my popular essays, entitled "Beida's Campus Bathed in the Spring." To the mind of the "young revolutionaries," the spring symbolized capitalism, and to sing praises of the spring was to champion capitalism. I was confused: "Why does the beautiful spring, symbolizing the rebirth of life and honored by Chinese and foreigners of all ages, become a symbol of capitalism?" I failed to straighten out the confusion in the ten years that followed. Even today the issue still puzzles me. I'm just a woodenhead and, in all likelihood, will not turn wiser for the rest of my life. As is said above, Yao Wenyuan wrote his stinky article on *Hai Rui Removed from Office*, quoting writers from the classics, distorting reality and braiding allegations with fallacies. His initiation of making false charges was further developed later in his writings condemning the work *Evening Chats at Mount Yan* written by one of "the Village of Three Families."[9] It is quite obvious that his diabolism was approved by some influential figure behind the scene. Later on, it gained epidemic proportion and prevailed over the country, with a series of "theories" such as "opposing the Party with novels." I was not politically savvy; and I piously believed in God. But for one thing I am quite sure: the spring I talked about in my article had nothing to do with capitalism, and I was sincerely praising the spring of my country. When reading this big-character poster, I felt a rage surging inside me and blurted out a groan. This groan took me less than half a second. But someone sneaking behind me picked it up and made a note, exactly as in the case of Nankou in which my discontent of Yao Wenyuan's article was overheard by someone (there was no cassette recorder by that time, but it was recorded in someone's mind). Later it was used as a heavy shell fired at me after I jumped out to oppose the "Old Dowager."

By that time I still could be able to go around freely. The Beida campus was now a lot messier than on the fourth of June that year. At that time many pilgrims, due to long distances from their home towns in remote and border areas to Beijing, were held up or delayed in their homage paying journey to the holy place of Beida. Now they all made it here. In the past, the university had a rather spacious campus. But with this "congregation of believers" from every corner of the country, the university was tightly packed and hopelessly cramped. People gathered on hillsides, in bushes and in every nook and cranny. An ordinary man, I looked like nothing in the multitude but a drop of

water in the ocean and a grain of rice in a huge granary.

To my understanding, the spearhead of the Revolution at this stage pointed to the so-called capitalist roader. What's the capitalist roader? Each workplace, no matter whether it was up in the central government of the country or down to a department office of an institution, at least had a leader to be labeled a capitalist roader, thus resulting in a sudden creation of numerous capitalist roaders in all workplaces. My political zeal was extremely low. At that time and in the subsequent long periods, a hearty God-worshipper, I welcome the Cultural Revolution with open arms. I just couldn't be convinced of the assessment that there must be one capitalist roader in each workplace. If it had been true, how could we have achieved great success in the past? The thought lingered in my mind, and I was unable to speak of it anywhere or to anyone. Since it was the will of some higher-ups and in agreement with the desire of "young revolutionaries," I had to accept this belief. "Making revolution was not as genteel as treating people to dinner."[10] What else could I say? It was shame that we had learned materialism and dialectics for more than ten years but never put them to use. A materialist should seek truth. What kind of truth seeking did our action indicate at this moment? I was confused.

The young revolutionaries were not to be looked down on. They had inexhaustible originality, as they forced the capitalist roaders to walk with a big board dangling around their neck, which carried their own names on it. It was an innovation by Beida's talented young revolutionaries. As Paris set the pace in dress fashion in the world, Beida of that time, in fact, led the country in making the Cultural Revolution. Hanging the wooden board on the neck of a man emerged as a brand-new practice and immediately spread nationwide. In some places, the iron wire became thinner, the wooden board bigger and heavier. Gravity caused the iron wire to bite into the flesh and the blood to ooze out. In this regard Beida fell behind, since I did not see any bloody scene. But I witnessed quite a few torture sessions. If it were run inside a room, the capitalist roader would have to stand on the podium, lowering his head and holding the board with his neck, while the "revolutionary people" sat on the chairs; if it happened outside, the capitalist roader would stand on the chair, or the wall, or a rock, anything that could lift him up a little from the ground to give a better view of himself, unmistakably head hung and neck suspending the wooden board. I did not have the opportunity to see the

procedure of a "torture session." But it would be conducted in a standardized fashion: first, the quotations of Chairman Mao were read; then the host yelled, "Bring so-and-so the capitalist roader up to the front"; and then the man was marched by two or more young students, the red armband worn on the arm, up to the front, his arms bent up high from behind and head pressed down; this was immediately followed by passionate chants of the participants, chants like "Long live so-and-so"; the next step was the delivering of the speech by the keynote speaker, who marched to the front and started to denounce the man by listing the crimes that he had committed, close to 100 percent made up stories; finally the speaker routinely wound up his address with a terrifying false charge: the capitalist roader had been against the Party, socialism and the great leader. Whatever the speaker said was true; whatever he uttered was law; the revolutionary masses held a bunch of caps in their hands and would willfully place any of them on the head of the "criminal." Besides, they would force the man to plead guilty. A slight hesitation to the order would ensure blows and kicks until the man was black-and-blue all over his body. What were they up to in conducting this kind of torture? I had no idea. To intimidate the "criminal"? I was not sure either. Among participants and visitors, some were serious and rapt with a brimming look of justice; others came for fun, chatting and laughing; still others, who arrived in their pilgrimage from all parts of the country, took advantage of this opportunity in venting their desire of torture. Everybody was satisfied. A day of revelry for the masses! This "advanced" model was learned and soon snowballed across the country. By that time Beida was yet to see the "jet riding," a later popularized new standing pose of torture. Who created it? Nobody has studied it. As long as I know so far no one has stood out and applied for its patent.

In the Department of Eastern Languages, two men were the target of persecution at this time: the Party general secretary who I mentioned previously, with the ready-made cap of capitalist roader, and the other being one of my colleagues, whose cap was also ready-made, an "influential counter-revolutionary scholar," plus the cap of historical counter-revolutionary. They were both condemned in many big-character posters and brutally tormented at torture sessions. Once I happened to see one of these sessions for the Party general secretary, which was held in front of a long straw-matted palisade, specifically designed for putting up the big-character

posters. Those posters listed his "offenses," disparaging him as "the shepherd Party secretary." He stooped, the head lowered. I don't remember if he had a board hanging around the neck, but a piece of white paper, pasted on his chest, carried his name, on which a red cross was printed. This was something that might have been learned from the judiciary, or read off ancient fictions that describe the convict being marched to the execution ground, carrying a wooden board tied on his back with his name and the red cross printed on it. Now the Party general secretary received the same treatment. In the course of the session, the emotion ran high and the chanting was deafening. When it was over, he was sent away, upon a stern shout, "Go back home," with a big-character poster glued onto his back. The big-character poster was not supposed to be taken down even when he got back home. Otherwise he would be assumed to ask for more punishment for his newly-committed offense.

The first torture session against that professor was held in the conference room of the Building of Foreign Languages. Inside the building the walls were pasted with big-character posters from the first floor all the way up to the second floor. Among them there were quite a few cartoons showing the professor holding a sword in his hand, with his red canine teeth sticking out and blood dripping from the sword, which symbolized he had killed a lot of people. Bloodiness and terror filled the building. In such atmosphere, in which the old man, deprived of the right to defense, was to be "denounced," his suffering could be imaginable. Understandably the participants, the young students, uttered truth mingled with lies, spit flying and swear words hurled, the air full of gunpowder. At one time, a wastepaper basket was placed on the head of the professor. And the next, someone poured a whole bottle of blue ink on his clothes, which at once became colorful, patch-dotted American army fatigues. Then, hearing shouts of "Get out," the old man, debased as he was, walked back home.

Later on June 18 of that year, an extraordinary idea hit a certain "talented" person that one grand session of "torturing devils" should be held. The venue was chosen to be the high platform east of the student dormitory Building 29. I was afraid of going there to watch, because I knew the score about myself, a clay figure of Bodhisattva, which needed to take care of itself, and had better tuck my tail between my legs. I sat at home, listening to the uproars and deafening chants outside in the south. Later on, I learned all

the "devils," those that had already been labeled so far as the capitalist roader, had to go through this round of torture for the purpose of demonstrating the will and confidence of the people and embracing the Revolution. Each "devil" was marched onto the platform and then waited until the finish of a few chants of revolutionary slogans. He finally got kicked and tumbled from the platform. The "devil" got up from the muddy ground, dizzy and tippy, and reeled back home. This night of castigation spared no one, as all the professors, who were labeled the "devil," some even in their sixties and seventies or bed-ridden, were dragged all the way up there on the platform. Some of them were too weak to walk so a large bamboo basket was used for carrying them to the site. These sick and crippled people had to lie on the "devil-punishing platform," endure an outburst of swearing, get finished off with the kick that sent them dropping on the ground, and were then carried home in the same bamboo basket. It was said that the beating and swearing were heard everywhere on Beida's campus that night. But I think those, who called others "ox, monster, snake and devil" at the time of chaos are exactly satanic beasts themselves, contemptible, barbarous and brutal, for whatever disguise they assumed.

From then on, the eighteenth of June had become an annual ritual, the day of "devil chastisement." I never knew, by that day, that I was yet to join the troop of "devils" in two years to the day. I would be one of the "devils," condemned and skinned alive, too, a rare experience in a millennium. This is another topic that I will put in reserve for the moment.

[1] Utopia, Ji uses "*Shiwaitaoyuan*" in the original Chinese text, meaning a remote village away from the city's frenetic activity. The metaphor comes from the writing "A Story of the Peach Village," written by Tao Qian, a poet of the Jin Dynasty (265-420), which describes a remote place for living away from the devastation of war.

[2] The "5.16 Memo," a short form for "The Memo of the CCCPC on May 16, 1966," which was issued to the country to declare the Party's "left" theory as its guiding platform in leading the country in carrying out class struggle as the priority mission in the socialist period. Though it came as a direct criticism on the "Platform of February 1966," laid down by Peng Zhen, mayor of Beijing in 1966, the memo later became the guiding line of the Party for making the Cultural Revolution. See p. 90, *A Brief History of the Cultural Revolution* by Xi Xuan and Jin Chunming. Beijing: CPC Party's History Press, 1996.

[3] Song Shuo, Party secretary of the Peking University Committee of the CPC; Lu Ping, president of Peking University; Peng Peiyun, deputy Party secretary of the Peking University Committee of the CPC.

[4] "Terra incognita," unknown territory, a phrase of Latin origin, which Ji uses in his text.

[5] Mount Lingjiu, a mountain with its top looking like a vulture's head and supposedly the sacred place in ancient India, on which Buddha used to preach.

[6]*Li*, a traditional Chinese unit of length, equivalent to 0.5 kilometer or 0.311 mile.

[7] Tianqiao, a place in Beijing, which served as a bazaar as well as an entertaining center before 1949 and has remained as a source of local cultural tradition and tourist spot.

[8] "Taken away" and "kidnapped," a pun that Ji uses in the original text, both pronounced "jie" in Chinese.

[9]*Evening Chats at Mount Yan*, a five-volume collection of short articles written by Deng Tuo, chair and editor-in-chief of the *People's Daily*; Deng wrote for the column "Evening Chats at Mount Yan" of the newspaper *Beijing Evening News* from 1961-1966 under the pseudonym of Ma Nancun. Deng was persecuted in early 1966 and committed suicide on May 18 of that year.

[10] "Making revolution was not as genteel as treating people to dinner," a quotation from Mao Zedong's work.

叁　1966年6月4日

南口村虽然是一个僻远的山村，风景秀丽，居民和善，但是也决非世外桃源。我们来这里是搞阶级斗争的。虽然极“左”的那一套年年讲、月月讲、念念不忘阶级斗争，我并不同意。但是，南口村，正如别的地方一样，决不是没有问题的，搞一点“阶级斗争”看来也是必要的。我们哪里想到，在我们在这里搞阶级斗争的同时，全国范围内已经涌起了一场阶级斗争的狂风暴雨。这一场风暴的中心是北京，而北京的中心是北京大学。

这一点我们最初是不知道的。我们僻处京郊，埋头社教，对世事距离好像比较远，对大自然好像是更为接近。1966年的春天，同过去任何一个春天一样，姗姗来迟。山村春来迟，是正常的现象。但是，桃花、杏花、梨花都终于陆续绽开了菁荧一片粉红雪白，相映成趣，春意盎然了。我们的活动，从表面上来看，一切照常，一切平静。然而从报纸上来的消息，从外面传进来的消息，知道一场大的运动正逼近我们。北京大学一向是政治运动的得风气之先的地方。此时我们虽然不在学校，情形不十分清楚；但是那里正像暴风骤雨前浓云密布那样，也正在酝酿着什么，我们心里是有底的。只不过是因为身居郊外，暂时还能得到一点宁静而已。

5月来临，外面的风声越来越紧。中央接二连三地发出一些文件，什么“五·一六通知”之类。事情本来已经十分清楚；但是，我上面已经说到，我脑袋里最缺少政治细胞，缺少阶级斗争那一根弦。我仍然我行我素，在南口村和煦的阳光中，在繁花如锦的环境里，懵然成为井中之蛙，从来没有把这一场暴风雨同自己的命运联系起来。

此时城里的燕园恐怕完全是另一番景象。从城里回来的人中得知学校里已经开了锅。两派（或者说不清多少派）之间争辩不休，开始出现了打人的现象。据说中央派某某大员到北大去，连夜召开大会，想煞住这一股不讲法制、胡作非为的歪风。听说，在短时间内起了一些作用。但是，过了没有几天，到了5月25日，那位“老佛爷”纠集了哲学系的几个人，贴出了一张大字报：“宋硕、陆平、彭珮云要干什么？”（编者注：大字报的名称应为“宋硕、陆平、彭珮云在文化革命中究竟干些什么？”）立即引起了两派人的辩论，有的人赞成，有的人反对。听说在大饭厅附近，争辩的人围成了圈子，高声嚷嚷，通宵达旦。不知道有多

少圈子，也说不清有多少人参加。好像是一块巨石击破了北大这块水中天，这里乱了套了。

这一张大字报的详细内容，我们不清楚。但是，我们立刻就感觉到，这是校内社教运动的继续和发展。在我上面提到的所谓“国际饭店会议”上，反陆平的一派打了一个败仗，挨了点整。按照我们最近多少年来的运动规律，这一次是被整者又崛起，准备整别人了。

到了6月1日，忽然听到中央广播电台播出了那一张大字报，还附上了什么人的赞美之辞，说这是一张什么“马列主义大字报”。我没有时间，也没有水平去推敲研究：为什么一张大字报竟会是“马列主义的”？一直到今天，我仍然没能进化到能理解其中的奥义。反正马列主义就是马列主义，这好像钉子钉在案板上，铁定无疑了。我们南口村的人当然也议论这一张大字报；可是并没有形成壁垒森严的两派，只不过泛泛一谈而已。此时校园内的消息不断地陆陆续续地传了过来，对我们的心情似乎没有产生多大干扰，我们实在是不了解真实情况，身处山中，好像听到从远处传来的轻雷，不见雨点，与己无干，仍然“社教”不已，心中还颇有一点怡然自得的情趣。

北大东语系在南口村参加社教的师生有七八人之多，其中有总支书记，有系主任，那就是我。按照上面的规定，我们都是被整的对象，因为我们都是“当权派”。所有的当权派，除了最高层的少数几个天之骄子以外，几乎都是走资本主义道路的（神秘莫测的中国语言把它缩简为“走资派”）。在南口村，东语系的走资派和一般教员和学生，相处得非常融洽。因此，我们这两位走资派“难得糊涂”，宛如睡在甜甜蜜蜜的梦中，一点也没有意识到，自己正走在悬崖边上，下临无地，只等有人从背后一推，立即能堕入深涧。而个别推我们的人此时正毕恭毕敬地围绕在我们身边，摇着秀美的小尾巴，活像一只哈巴狗。

没有想到——其实，如果我们政治嗅觉灵敏的话，是应该想到的——6月4日，我们忽然接到学校里不知什么人的命令：立即返校，参加革命。我们带的东西本来不多，一无书籍，二无细软，几床被褥，一个脸盆，顺手一卷，立即成行，挤上了学校派去的大汽车。住了七八个月的南口村，现在要拜拜了。“客树回看成故乡”，要说一点留恋都没有，那不是实情。心头也确实漾起了一缕离情别绪。但是，此时有点兵荒马乱的味道，顾不得细细咀嚼了。别人心里想什么，我不清楚。我们那一位总支书记，政治细胞比我多，阶级斗争的经验比我丰富。他沉默不语，也许有点什么预感。但是此时谁也不知道自己的前途是什么样子。我虽然心里也有点没底儿，有点嘀咕，我也没有时间考虑太多太多。以

前从南口村请假回家时，心里总是兴高采烈的；但是这一次回家，却好像是走向一个*terra incognita*（未知的土地）了。

一个多小时以后，我们到了燕园。我原来下意识地期望，会有东语系的教员和学生来迎接我们，热烈地握手，深情地寒暄，我们毕竟还是总支书记和系主任，还没有什么人罢我们的官嘛。然而，一进校门，我就大吃一惊：这哪里还是我们前不久才离开的燕园呀！这简直是一个大庙会。校内林阴大道上，横七竖八，停满了大小汽车。自行车更是多如过江之鲫。房前树下，角角落落，只要有点空隙，就要挤满了自行车。真是洋洋大观，宛如自行车的海洋。至于校内的人和外面来的人，更是不计其数。万头攒动，人声鼎沸。以大饭厅为中心，人们成队成团，拥拥挤挤，真好像是针插不进，水泼不入。我们的车一进校门，就寸步难行。我们只好下车步行，好像是几点水珠汇入大海的波涛中，连一点水花都泛不起来了。什么迎接，什么握手，什么寒暄，简直都是想入非非，都到爪哇国去了。

据说从6月1日起，天天如此。到北大来朝拜“第一张马列主义大字报”的人，像潮水般涌进燕园。在“马列主义”信徒们眼中，北大是极其神圣、极其令人向往的圣地，超过了麦加，超过了耶路撒冷，超过了西天灵鹫峰雷音寺。一次朝拜，可以涤除身体上和灵魂中的一切污浊、一切罪孽。来的人每天有七八万、十几万甚至几十万。先是附近学校里的人来，然后是远一点的学校里的人来，最后是外地许多大学里的人，不远千里，不远万里，风尘仆仆地赶了来。本地的市民当然是当仁不让，也挤了进来凑热闹，夹在里面起哄。这比逛天桥要开心多了。除了人以外，墙上，地上，树上，还布满了大小字报，内容是一边倒，都是拥护“第一张马列主义的大字报”的。人的海洋，大字报的海洋，五光十色，喧声直上九天。

我在目瞪口呆之余，也挤进了人群。虽然没有迎接，没有欢迎；但也没有怒斥，没有批斗，没有拳打，没有脚踢。我以一个自由人的身份，混入人海中，暂且逍遥一番。一同回来的那一位总支书记，处境却不美妙。一下车，他就被革命小将“接”走，或者“劫”走，接到不知道什么地方去了。他是钦定的“走资派”，罪有应得。从此以后，在长达几年的时间内，我就没有再见到他。我在外文楼外的大墙上，看到了一大批给他贴的大字报，称他为“牧羊书记”，极尽诬蔑、造谣、无中生有、人身攻击之能事。说他是“陆平的黑班底”，“保皇派”，“走资本主义道路的骁将、急先锋”。陆平的日子当然更为难过。他是马列主义大字报上点了名的人，是祸首罪魁，是钦犯。他的详细情况，我不清楚。我只知

道，他被“革命”群众揪了出来，日夜不停地批斗，每天能斗上48个小时。批斗的场所一般就在他住的地方。他被簇拥着站在短墙头上，下面群众高呼口号，高声谩骂。主持批斗的人罗织罪名，信口开河。此时群情“激昂”，“义愤”填膺。对陆平的批斗一时成为北大最吸引人的景观。不管什么人，只要到北大来，必然来参观一番。而且每个人都有权把陆平从屋子里揪出来批斗，好像旧日戏园子里点名角的戏一样。

我自己怎样呢？我虽然已经意识到，自己是泥菩萨过江，自身难保；但是还没有人来“接”我，我还能住在家里，我还有行动自由。有人给我贴了大字报，这是应有之义，毫不足怪。幸而大字报也还不多。有一天，我到东语系学生住的四十楼去看大字报。有一张是给我贴的，内容是批判我的一篇相当流行的散文：《春满燕园》。在贴大字报的“小将”们心中，春天就象征资本主义；歌颂春天，就是歌颂资本主义。我当时实在是大惑不解：为什么古今中外的人士无不欢迎的象征生命昭苏的明媚的春天会单单是资本主义的象征呢？以后十几年中，我仍然不解；一直到今天，这对我仍然是一团迷雾。我的木脑袋不开窍，看来今生无望了。我上面说到，姚文元的那一篇批判《海瑞罢官》的臭文，深文周纳，说了许多歪理。后来批判“三家村”的《燕山夜话》等著作，在原来的基础上又有了发展。看来这一套手法是有来头的，至少是经过什么人批准了的。后来流毒无穷，什么“利用小说反党”等等一系列的“理论”依次出笼，滔滔者天下皆是矣。（编者注：“利用小说反党”的理论在1962年批判小说《刘志丹》时已有。）我的政治水平，并不比别人高。我也是虔诚信“神”的人。但是，有一点我是清楚的：我文章里的春天同资本主义毫不相干。我是真心实意地歌颂祖国的春天的。因此，我看了那一张大字报，心里真是觉得憋气，不由自主地哼了一声。这一哼连半秒钟都没有用上，孰料这一哼竟像我在南口村谈姚文元的文章一样，被什么隐藏在我身后的人录了下来（当时还没有录音机，是用心眼录下来的）。到了后来，我一跳出来反对他们那一位“老佛爷”，就成了打向我的一颗重型炮弹。

反正我此时还是一个自由人，可以到处逍遥。这时的燕园比起6月4日来，其热闹程度又大大地增加了。那时候，许多边远的省份，受到了千山万水的阻隔，没有能赶到北京来，朝拜北大这一块“圣地”。现在都赶来了。燕园在平常日子看上去还是比较辽阔的。但是，在这“八方风雨会燕园”的日子里，却显得极其窄狭，极其渺小。山边树丛，角角落落，到处都挤满了人。我这渺小的人，更像是大海中一滴水、太仓中一粒米了。

据我的观察，这一阶段，斗争的矛头是指向所谓“走资派”的。什么叫“走资派”呢？上至中央人民政府，下至一个小小的科室，只要有一个头头，他必然就是“走资派”。于是走资派无所不在，滔滔者天下皆是矣。我政治觉悟奇低，我在当时一直到以后相当长的时间内，我总是虔心敬神，拥护“文化大革命”的。但是，每一个单位必有一个走资派，我却无论如何也不能理解。每一个大小头头都成了走资派，我们工作中的成绩是怎样来的呢？反正我这个道理没有地方可讲，没有人可讲。既然上头认为是这样，“革命小将”也认为是这样，那就只有这样了。革命不是请客吃饭嘛，我还有什么话可说呢？可怜我们虔诚地学习了十几年唯物论和辩证法，到头来成了泡影。唯物主义者应该讲实事求是，当前的所作所为，是哪一门的实事求是呢？我迷惑不解。

革命小将也决不可轻视，他们有用之不竭的创造力。北大的走资派在脖子上被挂上了大木牌，上面写着这个走资派的名字。这个天才的发明就出自北大小将们之手。就像巴黎领导世界时装的新潮流一样，当时的北大确实是领导着全国“文化大革命”的新潮流。脖子上挂木牌这一个新生事物一经出现，立即传遍了全国。而且在某一些地方还有了新的发展。挂木牌的钢丝愈来愈细，木牌的面积则愈来愈大，分量愈来愈重。地心吸力把钢丝吸入“犯人”的肉中，以致鲜血直流。在这方面北大落后了，流血的场面我还没有看到过。但是“批斗”的场面我却看了不少。如果是在屋中，则走资派站在讲台上，低头挂牌，“革命”群众坐在椅子上。如果是在室外，则走资派站在椅子上，墙头上，石头上，反正是高一点的地方，以便示众，当然是要低头挂牌，我没有见到过批斗程序，但批斗程序看来还是有的。首先总是先念语录，然后大喊一声：“把某某走资派押上来！”于是走资派就被两个或多个戴红袖章的青年学生把手臂扭到背后，按住脑袋，押上了审判台。此时群众口号震天，还连呼“什么万岁！”。主要发言人走上前去发言进行批斗。发言历数被批斗者的罪状，几乎是百分之百的造谣诬蔑，最后一定要上纲上到惊人的高度：反党，反社会主义，反伟大领袖。反正他说什么都是真理，说什么都是法律。“革命”群众手中的帽子一大摞，愿意给“犯人”戴什么，就戴什么，还要问“犯人”承认不承认，稍一迟疑，立即拳打脚踢，必至“犯人”鼻青脸肿而后已。这种批斗起什么作用呢？我说不清。是想震慑“犯人”吗？我说不清。参加或参观批斗的人，有的认真严肃，满脸正义。有的也嘻嘻哈哈。来自五湖四海的到北大来取经朝圣的人们，有的也乘机发泄一下迫害狂，结果皆大欢喜，人民大众开心之日果然来到了。这种“先进”的经验被取走，转瞬之间，流溢全国。至于后来流行的坐喷气式，当时还没有见到。这是谁的发明创造呢？没有人研究过，好像至今

也还没有人站出来申请专利。

在北大东语系，此时的批斗对象，一个是我上面谈到的总支书记。帽子是现成的：走资派。一个是和我同行的老教授。帽子也是现成的：反动学术权威，另外还加上了一顶：历史反革命。给他们二人贴的大字报都很多，批斗也激烈而且野蛮。对总支书记的批斗我只见过一次，是在一个专门为贴大字报而搭起的席棚前面。席棚上贴的都是关于他的大字报，历数“罪状”，什么“牧羊书记”之类的人身攻击。他站在棚前，低头弯腰。我不记得他脖子上挂着木牌，只在胸前糊上了一张白纸，上面写着他的名字，上面用朱笔画了一个叉。这是从司法部门学来的，也许是从旧小说中学来的。一个犯人被绑赴刑场砍头时，背上就插着一个木牌，写着犯人的名字，上面画着红叉。此时书记也享受了这种待遇。批斗当然是激烈的，口号也是响亮的。批斗仪式结束以后，给他背上贴上一张大字报，勒令：“滚回家去！”大字报不许撕下来，否则就要罪上加罪。

对那位教授的首次批斗是在外文楼上大会议室中。楼道里，从一层起直到二层，都贴满了大字报。还有不少幅漫画，画着这位教授手执钢刀，朱齿獠牙，点点鲜血从刀口上流了下来，想借此说明他杀人之多。一霎时，楼内血光闪闪，杀气腾腾。这样的气氛对一个根本不准发言的老人进行所谓“批斗”，其激烈程度概可想见了。结果是参加批斗的青年学生群情激昂，真话与假话并举，吐沫与骂声齐飞，空气中溢满了火药味。一只字纸篓扣到了老教授头上。不知道是哪一位小将把整瓶蓝墨水泼到了他的身上，他的衣服变成了斑驳陆离的美国军服。老先生就是在这样的情况下被勒令“滚蛋”走回家中去的。

到了6月18日，不知道是哪一位“天才”忽发奇想，要在这一天大规模地“斗鬼”。地址选在学生宿舍二十九楼东侧一个颇高的台阶上。这一天我没有敢去参观。因为我还是有一点自知之明的。我这样一座泥菩萨最好是少出头露面，把尾巴夹紧一点。我坐在家中，听到南边人声鼎沸，口号震天。后来听人说，截止到那时被揪出来的“鬼”，要一一斗上一遍，扬人民之雄风，振革命之天声。每一个“鬼”被押上高台，喊上一阵口号，然后一脚把“鬼”踹下台去。“鬼”们被摔得晕头转向，从地上泥土中爬起来，一瘸一拐，逃回家去。连六七十岁的老教授和躺在床上的病人，只要被戴上“鬼”的帽子，也毫无例外地被拖去批斗。他们无法走路，就用抬筐抬去，躺在斗“鬼”台上，挨上一顿臭骂，临了也是一脚踹下高台，再用抬筐抬回家去。听说那一夜，整个燕园里到处打人，到处骂人，称别人为牛鬼蛇神的真正的牛鬼蛇神疯狂肆虐，灭绝人性。

从此以后，每年到了6月18日，必然要斗“鬼”。我可万万没有想到，两年后的这一天，我也成了“鬼”，被大斗而特斗。躬与其盛，千载难遇。此是外话，这里暂且不表了。

4 CHECK THE NUMBER AND SIT IN THE RIGHT SEAT

The short period of peace and quiet delighted me. But I did not believe it was going to be long. I was pretty sure I should have a label of one kind or another. How could I be able to slip through this bout of raid, since I had been department head in the Department of Eastern Languages for twenty years?

I mused: I need to check the number and sit in the right seat with respect to the evaluation of the performance. At that time caps were produced at will and ticketed numbers were given everywhere. Two caps or two numbers, I felt, were quite fit for me, the capitalist roader and the influential counter-revolutionary scholar. The two caps fit my head well, not large nor small.

What is a capitalist roader? First, he had to be one in power; one who was not in command was not eligible for this cap. I was department head, a bottom rung administrative position, many times lower than Rank Seven.[1] However, it was a position anyway, and then I was undoubtedly a capitalist roader. Did I travel along the capitalist road? I was not quite clear. What could I have been rated otherwise, if all ranking officials of the country had become capitalist roaders? Hence, I quite fit the slot.

What is an influential counter-revolutionary scholar? I was a Professor of Rank One, even if my academic achievements might be cheesy, and a member of the division of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.[2] I could not avert being labeled as influential either. Was I a capitalist? The essence of capitalism is the focus on selfishness. I had learned about politics for almost twenty years and was quite certain of the meaning of capitalism. I had my personal concerns, quite a lot. They were definitely capitalist thoughts. I had these thoughts and then I was a capitalist. All capitalists are counter-revolutionary. In addition to the scholarly authority, what could I have been if I had not been an influential counter-revolutionary scholar? These few factors put together, the image of a confirmed counter-revolutionary scholarly authority was cut. If this cap was withheld from me, I would feel unfair and

uncomfortable. At the bottom of my heart, I felt guilty and had no complaint. "The emperor rules with providential wisdom, and I, a humble subject, deserve death for my crime."[3]

Meanwhile things were not as simple as were reckoned. What worried me most was: of which contradiction was my behavior?[4]

In the middle 1950s, political study sessions were conducted across the country, concerning the doctrine of two contradictions of different nature. Without exception I was a participant. The more I studied, the more I felt admiration, totally overwhelmed by the theory. At many study sessions, I prattled away irrationally, sharing my interpretations of the documents. I was emotional and spit in all directions. When the Cultural Revolution came, however, I realized that my past understandings were the ivory tower of bookishness, isolated from reality. Now I had to be down-to-earth and relate to my experience. What I wanted to know was what kind of nature these two caps were in terms of the two contradictions.

As is well-known, the masses are unquestionably better off in new China. But, if one were forced to wear the cap of the contradiction between the people and the enemy, due to whatever reason, he would lead a hard life, as if he was treading on thin ice and sitting on a bed of nails; tucking his tail between the legs, he still would periodically bring some misfortune to himself from nowhere. The day of revelry for the masses is the day of soreness for counter-revolutionaries. In the past I only understood this statement intuitively and was not really concerned. Now that the Cultural Revolution arose, the issue loomed large on me, making me aware of its portentous nature. I should check my number and sit in the right seat. I would be willing to put on those two caps, not because I had a particular fancy for running a cap store. I had no alternative. But what kind of contradiction was of the nature of these two caps? This issue was extremely crucial to me, not a theoretical topic any more but a concern of life and death. I was starting to search for clues in resolving the puzzle.

Newspaper and magazines all stressed it was necessary to make a clear-cut distinction between the two contradictions in judging the individual conduct. In reality the line was particularly hard to draw, harder than splitting a hair of one centi-millimeter. In other words, something plausibly existed but appeared indistinctly, difficult to pin it down. Under certain

circumstances, any specialist in the world, either in the quantitative analysis or in the qualitative analysis, would find himself impotent with the issue. I became even more disoriented: "Is this issue of distinguishing between the two contradictions one of philosophy or that of law?" If it was philosophical, what pragmatic problem did it deal with? If it was legal, why was it not specified in any legal documents? I was law-illiterate. But during my five years of working in the highest legislature of the country in the past, I had never seen any words about the two contradictions in legal documents. What were the reasons? I was baffled.

It was not true that I was fascinated by some theory. I loathed, rather than appreciated, the opportunistic practice of talking about white today and switching to red tomorrow. Now the problem pertaining to me was not theoretical. In the course of checking my number and sitting in the right seat, I was on tenterhooks. Obviously, I was concerned with a very pragmatic matter. I hung in the middle between the enemy camp and that of the people, anxious about where I belonged. My days passed in apprehension, though I moved about freely, a mix of freedom and anxiety.

In the past, when talking about setting a political cap on someone's head, no one had the empathy. "One does not care if it is none of his business."[5] After the founding of new China, numerous political movements were rolled out one after another, and caps were created, too, in colorful designs. Because all caps were placed on others' heads I was not concerned. I had led a free and quiet life of almost twenty years and never been distressed. I saw those cap-wearing people humble and obedient; "the emperor rules with providential wisdom, and I, a humble subject, deserve death for my crime." I never thought of going into their feelings of wearing a cap. Nor had I had ever seen one take the initiative in asking for one. But now I kept pondering, feeling that I would never be content and at ease until I had one cap placed on my head, as if I were about to go out in a freezing, windy day. Given the fact that the caps were manufactured everywhere, I was just wondering who was in charge of their distribution. Was there a division of work in the divinity between God and deputy God with the latter being responsible for stocking caps?

I had no idea how I was assessed in the eye of revolutionary people. Up to this point one thing was certain: no one had ever berated me, let alone

beating me. I had not been officially removed from my position as department head. But the rubber stamp of the department had mysteriously slipped through my hand on some day which I did not know. Moreover, a few occurrences raised my angst, causing a flurry of activity for quite a while. One day, for instance, I went to the Building of Foreign Languages and saw a notice, put on the bulletin board, saying: "Ji Xianlin is ordered to hand in 3000 *yuan*!" I was addressed without using any title like the capitalist roader or influential counter-revolutionary scholar. "The bare-headed king rules without crowning." I was rather disappointed. Meanwhile, the order must be obeyed in promptness and respect. Therefore I at once withdrew 3000 *yuan* from my bank account and sent the money to the designated room in the student dorm. Forcing a smile, I handed over the money to the students sitting there. They looked weird, motionless and stern, which terrified me. To my surprise, they refused to accept it and uttered, "Take it back home!" I obeyed without delay, deferentially of course.

Another time, I was reading a book at home when someone violently pounded on the door and then a few young students broke in, saying they wanted to "destroy the Four Olds."[6] What is "the Four Olds"? I had no idea how to define it, nor did I have time to do research. I had to let these Red Guards have my belongings at their disposition.[7] I had a plethora of trinkets hung on the walls and set on the tables, glittering with colors. They caught the eye of these youth for destroying; if they pointed their finger at one article, then it was one of the "Four Olds" and I immediately removed or smashed it. I obeyed the orders with no objection, because the current standardized mantra of the time was that the Red Guards stood for the mainstream of the Revolution. Within half an hour, I "destroyed" a few of my favorites. In retrospect, one of the things that still remains fresh in my memory is a Huishan clay figure of a chubby smiling boy made very lovely, which I brought back from Wuxi.[8] Then a whimsical idea suddenly hit the Red Guards, when they saw the picture of the great leader, which I put on the wall, free of dust. Assuming I put it up only moments earlier, they started bawling me out for my disloyalty to the great leader. Frankly speaking, they were accurate in their denouncement. But I tried to cover up my fault with an excuse by saying, "It is because of my loyalty that I have kept dusting it off all the time." The admiration arose in me for the young revolutionaries' faithfulness and prudence. In fact I had an antipathetic feeling at that time

when I was in the grip of piety: "To talk about doing away with the Four Olds, the oldest thing would be the earth itself. So the earth should be first smashed. Why didn't they destroy the earth first?" From then on word came in succession about the occurrences of destroying the Four Olds across the country. One professor told me that he had kept two paintings, one by Qi Baishi and another by Wang Xuetao, and they were both wiped out as the Four Olds.[9] Their annihilation amounted to nothing in comparison. The statistics would probably never come to light on how many national treasures were destroyed at that time. If the policy of ridding the country of the Four Olds had been implemented thoroughly at that time, what would have been left of the precious relics of the country? What legacy would we have been able to preserve for coming generations, even if we had wanted to? This thought has sent shivers down my spine.

Let me get back to the issue of the cap, memories of which still linger on and are hard to be eliminated from my mind. What cap did the revolutionary people or those in power want to place on my head? To figure out the answer was beyond me. As the Cultural Revolution ran in full throttle, I gradually had the intuition that they would make me wear the cap of counter-revolutionary scholarly authority. As mentioned above, it was the cap I wanted to wear. My prediction and their intention happened to coincide. How wonderful! At face value, my misconduct was of the nature of the contradiction between the enemy and the people. But some higher-ups said the problem of the contradiction between the enemy and the people could be treated as that of the contradiction among the people. Probably my case fell into this category.

The revolutionary people kept my name in mind. From time to time, they summoned me for a meeting of criticism. Please note here, it was the session of criticism, not the session of crowd torture. One character in difference could be poles apart in reality. Basically they criticized me for my pedagogic emphasis on Learning First. They called it "revisionism." What a remarkable connection! It was said that I embraced revisionism, too, in my writing "Beida's Campus Bathed in the Spring," and, because of it, the reputation of the Department of Eastern Languages was affected. It was also said that the major problem related to the department was Learning First. I agreed on this allegation. If it was revisionism, I would be satisfied in receiving this terror-striking cap of revisionism. In the political movements

since 1949, I had repeatedly made self-criticism, either for myself or on behalf of the Department of Eastern Languages. Each time I focused on my revisionist misconduct of stressing Learning First and each time I survived. The Cultural Revolution was not exceptional. But I was always a "pig-headed" man. As soon as the self-criticism was over and the approval was granted to me, I renewed my revisionism. As I recall today, something has dawned on me. If I had not implemented some revisionism in the past forty years of my life, I would, most probably, have come to naught in career and my seven-to-eight-million-word work of translation would have not appeared.[10] Indeed, I should appreciate my hopeless pig-headedness. In any case I was quite content that I was treated as a capitalist scholarly authority deviating on research with the nature of the contradiction among the people. I clearly understood my condition was not secure at best and I might be tortured at will and at any time, like a bird flying in the air, subjected to calamity by snares, gun shots and stone hits. However, there were moments free of assault, so I would take advantage of them and enjoy myself for the moment.

[1] Rank Seven, one of the nine ranks classified in the government of ancient Chinese society. Rank Seven is a low position, and a popular phrase is "the position of rank seven as tiny as sesame."

[2] Professor of Rank One, the top of the five ranks for professorship categorized by China's Ministry of Education before the Cultural Revolution.

[3] "The emperor…for my crime," a phrase Ji uses scornfully to refer to the traditional belief in ancient China that the imperial edict is providentially revealing and must be abided by completely.

[4] "Of which contradiction was my behavior," Ji means the two kinds of contradiction, the contradiction among the people and the contradiction between the people and the enemy, a doctrinal classification posited by Mao Zedong in 1957 in his article "Correctly Handle Contradiction Among the People."

[5] "One does not care if it is none of his business," a quotation from the treatise "Opposing Liberalism" of Mao Zedong, published in 1937.

[6] To "destroy the Four Olds," to remove old ideas, old culture, old custom and old habits, a slogan popularized at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, which immediately triggered the raiding of homes of those considered as counter-revolutionaries across the country.

[7] The Red Guards, college or middle and high school students, exclusively selected with the revolutionary family background, who raided homes and cleaned up the Four Olds in the second half of 1966.

[8] Wuxi, a city in Southern Jiangsu province in East China.

[9] Qi Baishi and Wang Xuetao, two well-known painters of Chinese painting in the first half of the twentieth century in China.

[10] Ji's translation of *Ramayana* into Chinese.

肆　对号入座

暂时的逍遥，当然颇为惬意。但是我心里并不踏实。我清楚地意识到，我的头上也是应该戴上帽子的。我在东语系当了二十年的系主任，难道就能这样蒙混过关吗？

我苦思苦想：自己也应该对号入座。当时帽子满天飞，号也很多。我觉得有两顶帽子，两个号对我是现成的：一个是走资派，一个是反动学术权威。这两顶帽子对我都非常合适，不大不小，恰如其分。

什么叫走资本主义道路的当权派呢？首先他应该是一个当权派；不是当权派就没有资格戴这顶帽子。我是一系之主，一个比七品芝麻官还要小好多倍的小不点官儿。但这也毕竟是一个官儿。我是当权派无疑了。我走没有走资本主义道路呢？我说不清楚。既然全国几乎所有的当权派都走了资本主义，我能不走吗？因此，我认为这一顶帽子蛮合适。

什么叫资产阶级学术权威呢？不管我的学问怎样，反正我是一级教授、中国科学院的学部委员，“权威”二字要推也是推不掉的。我是不是资产阶级呢？资产阶级的核心是个人主义。我学习了将近二十年的政治，这一点深信不疑。我有个人考虑，而且还不老少。这当然就是资产阶级思想。我有这样的思想，当然就是资产阶级。资产阶级就反动。再加上学术权威，我不是反动的资产阶级学术权威又是什么呢？几个因素一拼凑，一个活脱脱的反动权威的形象就树立了起来。不给我戴这顶帽子，我反而会觉得不公平、不舒服。我是心悦诚服，“天王圣明，臣罪当死”。

但是问题还不就这样简单。我最关心的是：这是什么性质的矛盾？

从50年代中期起，全国都在学习两类不同性质的矛盾。我当然也不例外。我越学习越佩服，简直是打心眼儿里五体投地地佩服。在无数次的学习会上，我也大放厥词，谈自己的学习体会，眉飞色舞，吐沫飞扬。然而，到了“无产阶级文化大革命”，我才发现，以前都是纸上谈兵，没有联系自己的实际。现在我必须联系自己的实际了。我想知道，这样两顶帽子究竟是什么性质的矛盾？

大家都知道，在新社会，对广大人民群众来说，生活当然是好的。但是，不管出于什么原因，如果被扣上敌我矛盾的帽子，日子却会非常

不舒服，简直是如履薄冰，如坐针毡；夹起尾巴，还会随时招来横祸。人民大众开心之日，就是反革命分子难受之时嘛。过去我对于这一点只有理性认识，从来也不十分关心。“文化大革命”一起，问题就要发生在自己身上了。我才知道，这是万分重要的问题。我自己对号入座，甘愿戴上那两顶帽子。非我喜开帽子铺，势不得不尔也。但是，这两顶帽子是什么性质的矛盾呢？这个问题对我来说万分关键。到了此时，这已经不是一个纯理论问题，而是一个现实问题，我努力想找一个定性的根据了。

所有的报刊杂志都强调，要正确区分和处理这两类矛盾。但是其间界限却万分微妙，简直连一根头发丝的十万分之一都不到。换句话说就是若无实有，却又难以捉摸。在某一些情况下，世界上任何定性分析专家和任何定量分析专家都无能为力。我自己也是越弄越糊涂。两类不同性质的矛盾的理论是一个哲学问题呢，还是一个法律问题？如果是一个哲学问题，它究竟有什么实际意义？如果是一个法律问题，为什么法律条文中又没有表露出来？我对法律完全是门外汉。但是我在制定法律的最高权力机构呆过五年，从来没在法律条文中见到什么“两类不同性质的矛盾”这样的词儿。原因何在呢？我迷惑不解。

我不是对理论有了兴趣。我对今天说白、明天说红的完全看风使舵的理论，只有厌恶之感，没有同情之意。但是，现在对我来说，这却不是一个理论问题。我在对号入座的过程中，忧心忡忡，完全是为了这一个非常现实的问题。我是身处敌我之间，心悬两类之外，形迹自由，内心矛盾，过着有忧有虑的日子。

我们平常讲到戴政治帽子，往往觉得这是非常简单的事情。“事不关己，高高挂起”嘛。解放以后，政治运动形形色色，戴的帽子五花八门。给别人戴什么帽子，都与己无关。我就这样顺利地度过了将近二十年，从来没有切肤之感。我看被戴上帽子的人都是毕恭毕敬，“天王圣明，臣罪当死”。他们内心里的感受，我从来没想去了解过。我也从来没有见过一个人主动争取戴帽子的。可我现在左思右想，前瞻后顾，总觉得或者预感到，自己被戴上一顶帽子，心里才踏实，好像是寒天大风要出门那样。现在帽子满天飞，可是不知道究竟掌握在谁的手中。难道正副上帝分工还有一个掌管帽子的上帝吗？

在革命群众眼中，我不知道自己的地位如何。反正还没有人公开训斥我，更不用说动手打我。我这个系主任还没有明令免职，可是印把子却不知道是从什么时候起从我手中滑掉了。也有几次小小的突然袭击，让我忙上一阵子，紧张一阵子。比如，有一天我到外文楼去，在布告栏

里贴着一张告示："勒令季羡林交出人民币三千元！"我的姓名前面没有任何字眼，既无"走资派"，也没有"反动学术权威"，"秃头无字并肩王"。我觉得颇为失望。但是，既有成命，当然要诚惶诚恐地加以执行。于是立即取出三千元，送到学生宿舍指定的房间。我满脸堆笑，把钱呈上。几个学生脸上都有点怪物相，不动不笑，令我毛骨悚然。但是，完全出乎我的意料，他们拒绝接受，"你拿回去吧！"他们说。我当然敬谨遵命了。

又有一次，我正在家里看书，忽然随着极其激烈的敲门声，闯进来了几个青年学生，声称是来"破四旧"的。什么叫"四旧"呢？我说不清楚，要考证也没有时间，只好由这一群红卫兵裁决。我的桌子上、墙上、床上摆着或挂着许多小摆设，琳琅满目。这些就成了他们破的主要对象。他们说什么是四旧，我就拿掉或者砸掉。我敬谨遵命，心里头连半点反抗的意思都没有。因为经典性的说法是，他们代表了革命的大方向。在半小时以内，我"破"了不少我心爱的东西。我回忆最清楚的是一个我从无锡带回来的惠山泥人大阿福，是一个胖胖的满面含笑的孩子，非常逗人欢喜。他们不知道怎样灵机一动，发现我挂在墙上的领袖像上没有灰尘，说我是刚挂上的，痛斥我敬神不虔诚。事实上，确实是我刚挂上的；但我敬谨对曰："正是由于我敬神虔诚，'时时勤拂拭'，所以才没有灰尘。"革命小将的虔诚和细心，我不由得由衷地敬佩。但是，我在当时虔诚达到顶峰的时期，心里就有一个叛逆的想法：要想破四旧，地球上最旧的东西无疑是地球本身，被破的对象地球应当首当其冲。顺理成章地讲，为什么不先把地球破掉呢？从那以后，我陆陆续续地听到了许多关于全国破四旧的消息。一位教授告诉我，他藏有一幅齐白石的画、一幅王雪涛的画，都被当做四旧破掉了。这只是戋戋小者。全国究竟破掉了多少国宝，恐怕永远无法统计了。如果当时全国真正完完全全贯彻破四旧的方针的话，我们祖国的宝贵文物岂不一扫而光了吗？即使我们今天想发扬，还留下什么东西值得发扬的呢？我真是不寒而栗。

我还是回头来谈戴帽子的问题，这是我念念不忘、念念难忘的一件事。革命群众或者上头什么人究竟要给我戴哪一顶帽子？这不是我能决定的一个问题。随着革命的前进，我渐渐感觉到，他们大概给我戴资产阶级反动学术权威这一顶帽子。我上面已经说过，我自己想戴的也正是这样一顶帽子。双方不谋而合，快何如之！按字面来讲，这是敌我矛盾。但是，上头又说，敌我矛盾也可以按人民内部矛盾来处理。我大概就属于这个范畴吧。

革命群众没有把我忘掉，时不时地还找我开个批判会什么的——要

注意，是批判会，而不是批斗会；一字之别，差以千里——主要批判我的智育第一、业务至上，他们管这个叫做“修正主义”，多么奇妙的联系啊！据说我在《春满燕园》中所宣扬的也是修正主义。连东语系也受到了我的牵连。据说东语系最突出的问题就是智育第一、业务至上。对于这一点，我心悦诚服地接受。如果这就是修正主义的话，我乐于接受修正主义这一顶颇为吓人的帽子。解放后历届政治运动，只要我自己检查或者代表东语系检查能够检查这一点，检查到自己智育第一、业务至上的修正主义思想，必然能顺利过关。“文化大革命”也不例外。但我是一个“死不改悔”者。检查完了，关一过，我仍然照旧搞我的修正主义。到了今天，回首前尘，我恍然若有所悟。如果我在过去四十年中没有搞点这样的修正主义的话，我今天恐怕是一事无成，那七八百万字的著译也决不会出现。我真要感谢自己那一种死不改悔的牛劲了。不管怎样，给我戴上与业务挂帅有一些联系的资产阶级反动学术权威的帽子而又当做人民内部矛盾来处理，我真是十分满意。虽然我自己也清晰地意识到，自己的处境也并非就是完全美妙，自己还是像一只空中的飞鸟，处处有网罗，人人可以用鸟枪打，用石头砸；但是毕竟还有不打不砸的时候，我乐得先快活一阵子吧。

5 HALF A YEAR OF QUIET

As is well-known, there is "A Three-*li* Trail of Cheerfulness" on Mount Tai.[1] It means a three-*li* easy ascent after a long strenuous climb to the top of the mountain, which demands little effort and is rather enjoyable, providing the mountaineer with a recess. So it is dubbed "A Three-*li* Tail of Cheerfulness."

The Cultural Revolution is unmistakably a hard mountain hike, immensely harder than the climbing to the Nantianmen on Mount Tai.[2] Consequently I became a climber too in this Revolution. But there was a period of more than half a year, from somewhere in the second half of 1966 to the end of the first half of 1967, when I found the road, on which I trekked, little taxing, if not completely smooth. Though the university, along with the country, was being wrecked by a crushing hurricane, a clear sky hung over my head. After the first stormy spell, I settled in an interlude of recess. I was delighted and sauntered along my three-*li* trail of cheerfulness.

In the past, I only knew some philosophers were interested in researching a human being's position in the cosmos and a related issue is the individual human being's position in society. But I had never thought about my own social position. Since the founding of new China, great changes had taken place, as political movements broke out one after another. In each of these movements, everyone had to face the challenge of locating his or her position accordingly. Roughly speaking there were two categories of people: those who persecuted others and those who were persecuted. Certainly a further classification would be very complicated, and one's position was not invariant. The proceeding of each political movement redefined and reshaped the rank and file. The persecutor could become the persecuted, and vice versa. One was persecuted in this movement and would become a persecutor of others in the next. The variation of the individual's social status was infinite. Like Prime Minister Zhuge Liang's Eight Trigrams Tactics, it dazzled and baffled me.

In the Cultural Revolution, I was surely worried about the assessment of me. The issue of "cap" as I talked about previously was primarily a concern

of assessment. But it hung long in the air; the suspension had made me fret and unable to eat and sleep well. Later I gradually learned I was not considered as the enemy and felt at ease. I was still one of the "people," which was of life and death to me. Thus, I assumed my early buoyant deportment. It should be noted that at that time a huge valley lay between the people-enemy contradiction and the contradiction among the people and between the people and the so-called counter-revolutionaries. If a person was placed on the side of the people, things would not get out of control, and his reckless action, or a slip of the tongue, would be considered as committed due to carelessness, nothing serious. However, to be classified as the enemy on the other side of the valley, one would have endless trouble, no matter what caution one took, tucking one's tail between the legs and trying never to talk and act in a wholly irresponsible way. Once in a while when one stumbled in talking and acting, for example, uttering a wrong word like "socialism" in the place of "capitalism" or vice versa, then this behavior would be definitely classified as being counter-revolutionary, and the transgressor would be labeled an active counter-revolutionary and have to go through sessions of denouncement and torture.[3]

Who had the power over categorizing people between the enemy and the people? I had no idea. I was simple-minded; I pondered a hundred times and still remained perplexed. Though I was on this side of the valley for the moment, I felt like walking on a tight cable and a single slip would send me plummeting down into the other side of the valley. That would be a landing in the hell condemned to eternal suffering.

I had been the department head until now. Was I relieved of the post or was I removed from it? Nobody knew. Nevertheless it was unnecessary to clear it up. "Making revolution is nothing wrong, and making havoc is absolutely correct," which was the grounds for all action of the day.[4] As for what was making revolution and what was making havoc, no one cared. Even the state leader, the president of the country, was pulled out for criticism and torture. A department head like me was even more a trash like a sesame seed or a mung bean. What gave me moments of relief was the fact that I was pardoned with the withholding of the "cap" from being placed on my head, though that black gauze cap of mine, almost worthless to me, was taken away.[5]

By this time a PLA team of Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda (MTP) had been dispatched to our university for assisting the revolutionary faction, and each department had a few soldiers and military officers stationed.[6] Accordingly "the havoc-making people" of our department also had a leading body formed.[7] How did those become "the havoc-making people"? In terms of the situation of the Department of Eastern Languages, things generally evolved in the following pattern: some of the faculty members and students assumed they had a revolutionary family background so that they were dependable in implementing the "class line" rigorously.[8] Then they formed the "havoc-making people," starting to wear an armband made of red cloth, a sign of making revolution. The so-called revolutionary family background included the origins of poor-and-lower-middle peasants, family members of revolutionary martyrs, government officials and mill workers. These people issued from the qualifying stock with the revolutionary makings and, unquestionably and irreparably, became leaders in the Revolution. Another part of these people was made up of those who opposed Lu Ping during the SEM. They showed a good understanding of the Revolution and were entitled to leading the Revolution now. I remember only the first group of them qualified for wearing the red armband. With the red armband pinned on their left arm, they radiated red, face glowing with health, and stalked along in an imposing manner, breast thrown ahead and eying high, as if they were the conquering hero of the world. I had no idea why the second group of them were denied the privilege of wearing the red armband. This was the business of the revolutionaries, restrained from me, so I did not bother to think about it. What surprised me was that no one seemed to pass off himself as a revolutionary like Ah Q does, with a badge pinned on his cloth.[9] Obviously it indicated what high revolutionary consciousness these revolutionaries had. It is only the destiny of the sons and daughters of ranking revolutionary officials that was enigmatic. Their armbands were made of silk as opposed to the cloth-made ones that the rest wore. But their future was rather unfathomable. Today they stood head and shoulders above others and swaggered around because their parents, brothers and sisters were in power. The following day when their family members fell from power, a common occurrence like that happening everyday at that time, their sons and daughters immediately became "the whelp of counter-revolutionary beasts" and had to marginalize themselves in humiliation.

The so-called opposition to Lu Ping traces back to the Socialist Education Movement, in which most of the University's faculty, staff members and students, influenced by the "leftist" ideology, viewed Lu Ping, the secretary of the Party Committee and president of the university, as an official carrying out a capitalist restoration line, which was a revisionist line. So they rose in disclosing his misconduct, turning the campus into chaos, foul and rotten. Because I was as dull as dishwater in political understanding, the "leftist" ideology hit me right away and I went into the movement with all my heart. The more was disclosed, the more I was shocked, thinking Beida had gone to the dogs. I did these dumb things wholly out of my delusion of defending the so-called revolutionary line. I was naive but sincere, absolutely without any personal concerns and ends. In fact, I maintained a good personal relationship with Lu Ping, to whom I was indebted and against whom I held no grudges. Haunted by some heretic ideas, I was bent on criticizing him, ignoring my debt to him, for the goals of socialism. That is the genuine thought of mine at that time. Later Lu Ping's case was redressed at the Symposium at the International Hotel held by the Party's central committee in a call for a unity of the whole university. Those who had criticized him were not hurt at all. I examined my doings, admitted the mistakes I committed and made self-criticism. Before long I went to Nankou in the participation in the Socialist Education Movement in the late fall of 1965.

When the Cultural Revolution started, as I mentioned previously, I rode out its initial waves, the stage of condemning counter-revolutionary capitalist scholars. These events were followed by the entering of the PLA team of MTP into the university and the reshaping of the leading body of the Department of Eastern Languages. As one former Lu Ping opponent, I should have fallen into the category of "revolutionary ranking officials." But word had it that I eventually surrendered to Lu Ping, which showed my frail revolutionary conviction, so I should be removed from the revolutionary rank. In contrast, those people, who stood in their ground, believing they had never been wrong for denouncing Lu Ping at the Symposium at the International Hotel, turned out to be heroes. Some of them were promoted to leaders of the Revolutionary Committee of the Department of Eastern Languages and some even to leaders of the Revolutionary Committee of the university.[10] I had no objection to their promotion. I was concerned with my own fate. One of the young revolutionaries, who was on good terms with me,

secretly told me that he saw my name listed under the category of "the critical group" on the PLA team's confidential document. What is "the critical group"? It means I was placed on the side of the people along the line of contradiction between the enemy and the people. A push further would send me down to the side of enemy. At this news, I was at once astonished and overjoyed. I was astonished that I still held my footing at the edge of the precipice. I was overjoyed as if I were on the safe side of the Yin-Yang demarcation on Mount Tai and one step inched further would plunge me down into the bottomless Black Dragon Pond.

In the meantime, the "nationwide revolutionary notes-comparing trip" erupted.[11] The free train travel provided the opportunity for people of various kinds to make extensive trips across the land in the name of "making revolution." Train stations nationwide were dramatically jam-packed with young travelers on their way to desired destinations, and some people, more aggressive and rough than others, crawled into carriages through windows. Someone from the top authority said in incitation that it was revolution and exactly the torch lighting. As a result, the country was tossed into hurly-burly. Again someone called it "the right way to disorient the enemy." What sheer nonsense! A shocking baloney! In reality the revolutionary camp itself was first ripped in chaos. The enemy would have relaxed and enjoyed itself if there had been such enemy. But, politically muddle-headed, I never questioned the absurd occurrences then.

The Cultural Revolution started in Peking University. By now the campus had become the holy place of the Revolution, into which each day hordes of visitors, many times the number at the beginning of the huge havoc, flooded in pilgrimage, people coming from every corner of the country on the "nationwide revolutionary notes-comparing trip." They were said to be invited here by someone as guests, to be accommodated not just for their sightseeing but also for their room and board. How could Beida dare to give the slightest cold shoulder to them! All departments set about warm welcomes and shared responsibilities for receiving those "guests" who quickly brimmed a dormitory building. As a man in the "critical group," I was anxious to show my gratitude and faithfulness. I worked hard day and night, taking my share of duty; the "guests" needed quilts so I, with a few others from our department, took quilts from home and brought them to the "guests"; we pushed the water cart and brought hot water to the "guests"

every day; after learning they needed washbowls, I paid from my own pocket to purchase twenty washbowls; seeing them using the brand-new washbowls, I was complacent.

But I had been smug with no reason and gone too far, as testified by the old saying that a lifetime is eighty to ninety percent full of misfortune. The young revolutionaries and, of course, some middle-aged revolutionaries, did not appreciate my dedication. Used for only a few days, the new quilts took on a completely new look, with the torn-out exterior layer of fabric revealing the interior cotton. Turning around to look at the washbowls that had been used by them for only a few days, I was even more frustrated; their worn-out appearance, with dents and scars, was unmistakably a heartbreaking sight. Originally I was sincere and treated these "guests" with awe and respect. The "guests," however, behaved this way in return. It seemed as if I were hit by a sledge-hammer on the head, as a mix of feelings, sour, sweet, bitter and spicy, all sprang up in me, hard to be described.

A period of time later, the country would be swerving to a terrible crisis, if no steps were taken to stop the continued damaging inflow of visitors into Beijing and renew production in some plants, where production ceased and workers went on pleasure tours. Some unknown leading institution made a decision that the fun-seeking visitors to Beijing should be persuaded to leave for home to "make revolution and increase production." Beida's PLA team of MTP assumed this mission. Our department took the responsibility, too, and sent people to the temporary quarters that housed most visitors and talked them into leaving Beijing. Led by the PLA team of MTP, we first went to Xiyi Hotel to talk to those visitors. Why would those pleasure-seeking people listen to us? Hence talking was followed by argument and, sometimes, even heated debate. I grew thirsty, as my voice ran hoarse, and had to swallow humiliation. Finally, our effort paid off, when they gradually started to leave for home.

Then we moved from Xiyi Hotel to the National Bureau of Meteorology, where another round of talk, argument and debate ensued exactly as in Xiyi Hotel. But the experience here broadened my vision. First the big-character posters put out over here excelled in quality. Contrary to the thousands of uniform and vapid big-character posters I had seen previously, the big-character posters and slogans here at the National Bureau of

Meteorology emerged with accurate, clear-cut and graphic presentation. Admittedly, some of them were still in the general formality. But some did have the eye popping, stunning expressions, such as "chop so-and-so to pieces" and "deep-fry so-and-so." What a vivid expression the word "deep-fry" is! It gave one an enduring memory. Were these expressions learned from the infernal world as I mentioned at the beginning of this memoir? The most unforgettable was a session of mass torture I attended against a capitalist roader. A car slowly pulled up and, as the door swung open, a neatly suit-clad (or costly woolen tunic clothed) capitalist roader stepped down from the car, probably an official of a government bureau.[12] He carefully picked up, from the back seat of the car, a paper-made bizarrely shaped hat, painted with colors and hung with some trinkets, and set it on his head. One of the little things was a small turtle, particularly eye-catching and dangling as the man walked along. When he walked into the room, thundering chants of slogans shot up immediately and echoed through the building. Then speeches of criticism were delivered one after another. When the procedure was over, the capitalist roader was sent out of the room. He stopped before the door of the car and took off the precious headgear; I saw the small turtle still dangling there; and then he carefully put it on the back seat of the car, probably for the sake of using it next time. He smiled all the time. I was totally bewildered. Where did the smile come from? Think about it that he could smile after all the humiliation of "chopping him to pieces" and "deep-frying him." His smile was more puzzling than that of the well-known painting *Mona Lisa*. Anyway the experience uplifted my knowledge to a higher level.

After the mission at the National Bureau of Meteorology was finished, we continued with our work, but, this time, trekked to an institute way from Beida. It was now the winter of 1966. Each day I set off from the university by bike and rode more than one hour before arriving at the destination. Occasionally in the freezing snowy weather when the road was slippery, it would take two hours to get there. We stayed there for lunch but there was no room provided to us. So a shed was set up in the yard as our lunch room. The shed let in winds. How could it shield us from cold air? The food was not warm and turned icy when it was ladled into the bowl. An instant of procrastination in devouring and speedily dumping it into the stomach would turn it into frozen chunks. I imagined Su Wu probably ate this kind of icy

food when tending his sheep near the North Sea.[13] Was it hard life? It is not sincere to deny the fact. But I was in high spirits and joyful. During the first wave of the Revolution, I narrowly missed being labeled a capitalist roader. Now I was particularly blessed to blend in with the people and make revolution. I should have no complaint.

Some weeks passed this way before the national travel frenzy to Beijing died down and "revolutionaries" gradually took off for home. We successfully completed the mission of persuasion and returned on campus.

In the days that followed, there were some events that delighted me and repeatedly came back to my memory. The first thing was the election of the deputies to the National People's Congress (NPC) of the Haidian district, Beijing. In China, the National People's Congress is composed of three levels of administration. The lowest level is the general meeting of deputies to the NPC from the county or district, who are elected by voters in the local area. Next, they elect deputies to the NPC at the level of the province and municipality. Finally, the National People's Congress, the top level of the legislature, is formed by election of these deputies. The election at the level of county and district is primary but competitive, as voters freely cast their ballots in favor of their own choice, reflecting true democracy. Before the Cultural Revolution I was elected a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference for a few terms and people's representative of Beijing for one term. Besides, I took part in the election of people's representatives of the Haidian district, Beijing, a couple of times. Now it came as a complete surprise that casting one's ballot was a hard earned right! This election took place after the initial thunderstorm of the Cultural Revolution, in which many former representatives were unable to participate, because they were labeled capitalist roaders and thrown out of the ranks of the "people." Fortunately, I was allowed to stay among the people so I maintained my right to vote. Seeing my name on the list of representatives thrilled me as if the glittering three characters of my name were about to jump off the red paper. The joy, I guessed, would eclipse the excitement of the candidate in ancient times of Chinese history, who successfully passed the imperial examination and saw his name on top of the list of the announcement. At the moment, I had the feeling that some personal possessions, earlier taken for granted, were actually hard earned. On the voting day, I dressed up and stood among the "people," the ballot clutched in

my hand, feeling like it weighed one thousand kilograms. My bliss went beyond description. I did not become, I understood, one of those Indian untouchables, and no one was afraid of my stepping on his shadow.[14] The ripple of excitement ran through me for days on end.

Another occurrence, also delightful, was stone carved in my memory. In a wheat harvesting summer, the "revolutionary" faculty members and students were sent to help reap the crops, under the leadership of the PLA team of MTP, in a village close to Nanyuan in the suburbs of Beijing. It was, I remember, a year of abundant rainfall, and it rained daily during our stay of more than ten days there. The shower hit and then stopped in a blink of an eye, leaving damages behind. During the day, we carried home bundles of wheat on our backs from the fields and spread them over the threshing ground to dry before threshing. When a shower struck, we were flurried, spreading sheets of oilcloth over the wheat. Right after the shower ceased and the sun came through, we pulled off the sheets. Sometimes we had to do this a few times a day. What bothered us more was the rain at night when we had to leap from sleep and rush to the threshing ground to cover the wheat with sheets of oilcloth. We were dripping with sweat and rain. However, no villager showed up throughout the rescue. At that time, the peasants enjoyed eating from the "Iron Rice Bowl" in the People's Commune, which was supposed to bring them to paradise, instead of pushing ahead on farming.[15] As a "Stinking Number Nine" that was supposed to be educated by poor and lower middle peasants, I was just unable to make any sense out of it.[16] In what sense did people like them qualify for educating us? Their conduct was completely contradictory to the portrayal of peasants' admirable moral character, presented in some popular full-length novels of the day. I began to see through those writers' opportunistic and sinister nature. From then on I stopped reading any novel of this kind.

Passing myself off as "people," I was highly motivated. Each day, I carried on my shoulder bundles of wheat in the wheat field. "General Han Xin commands troops as many as he can in war."[17] So I would carry as much as I could and never let young men beat me in work. Back in the university after the labor, I was commended in the department. I was proud of myself. Life at Nanyuan was, frankly speaking, rather rough. The daily work wore me down. A big warehouse was our lodging at night, which was jammed with the makeshift beds on the floor, providing each sleeper with

only room for lying down. In the countryside, mosquitoes were rampant. I was the only one who did not bring the mosquito net and mosquito repellent lotion with me. When the time came for bed at night, others rolled into the net, protecting themselves from mosquito bites. But I offered myself for stings. So the blood-suckers swarmed around me, humming around annoyingly. I became the dutiful son, in the traditional folktale, who draws the mosquitoes to himself to free his parents of the bites. The following morning, I woke up with the mosquito bites all over my body. But I swallowed my discomfort. On the other hand, life there was not monotonous, as we were often gladdened by occasional amusing episodes. One day, for example, a hare suddenly sprang into our sight, when we were carrying the wheat-bundles. Immediately setting down the bundles, we started to chase the hare. It leaped and scampered but we were many, trying to close in. Finally, the hare was caught, one leg broken. In addition, some one liked eating snakes. One day we caught one. Immediately we brought the snake back to the village, found a place, barbecued it, quickly chowed it down, lock, stock and barrel, right on the spot. Didn't these trivial episodes light up those days of monotony and give us some joys?

Half a year of my life flew away in ease and comfort.

[1] Mount Tai, one of the five famous mountains in China, which is located in Shandong, north China.

[2] The Nantianmen, the South Celestial Entrance, a pass and gateway of Mount Tai.

[3] "Active counter-revolutionary," a term used to refer to those who commit counter-revolutionary crimes at recent times, particularly after the founding of new China. The term is usually used to distinguish from the "counter-revolutionary in history," who committed counter-revolutionary crimes before the founding of new China.

[4] "Making revolution is nothing wrong, and making havoc is absolutely correct," a quotation from Mao Zedong's writing.

[5] The black gauze cap, a cap worn by the government official in ancient China and a figurative usage for government position in new China.

[6] The PLA team of Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda (MTP), groups of the Liberation Army soldiers sent to the colleges by the Central Committee of the CPC, the State Council, the Central Military Commission and the Central Leading Board of the Cultural Revolution issued on January 23, 1967, to give total support to the "left" factions of revolutionary people during the Cultural Revolution.

[7]"The havoc-making people," a popular term used positively during the Cultural Revolution, refer to those revolutionaries actively engaged in attacking the targets of the Revolution but later became a despising term for those who were ambitious for power and committed atrocities in the Revolution.

[8]The "class line," a "left" fundamentalist policy, used in political movements, employment, particularly in the Cultural Revolution, which emphasizes one's family background, or specially the

revolutionary family background, as a primary consideration for employment, college admission, the Party and Communist Youth League membership, etc.

[9] Ah Q, the protagonist in Lu Xun's novel *A Biograph of Ah Q*, who is inspired by lofty and impractical ideas and never admits defeat.

[10] The Revolutionary Committee, Ji refers to the board of administration of Beida that replaced the original administration during the early stage of the Cultural Revolution; the first Revolutionary Committee was Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee established on February 23, 1967.

[11] The "nationwide revolutionary notes-comparing trip," a large-scale student activity, in which college and middle school students from all parts of the country, from September to the middle of November of 1966, took trips to destinations of their own choice by train or bus free of charge and were provided with the accommodations at discount or free of charge. During this period, 11 million of Red Guards and revolutionary students came to Beijing and received the review of Mao Zedong in eight separate times in Tian'anmen Square.

[12] An official of a government bureau, an administrative government position right below the minister or provincial governor.

[13] Su Wu (140–60 B.C.), a messenger sent by Emperor Wudi of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220)in 100 B.C. to the country of the Huns north of China, but arrested and exiled by the Huns for nineteen years.

[14] Indian untouchables, meaning the Shudras in the Indian caste.

[15]The "Iron Rice Bowl" and the People's Commune, a form of the planned system, carried out in the years of 1958 and 1959, in which Chinese peasants worked in the collective fields and had free meals in the dining hall of the People's Commune, eventually causing catastrophe to the agricultural production.

[16] "Stinking Number Nine," a contemptuous term used to refer to intellectuals during the Cultural Revolution, who were ranked at the bottom of the nine most despised categories of people—landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists, traitors, spies, capitalist roaders, and intellectuals.

[17] Han Xin (c. 231–196 B.C.), a general in the Han Dynasty, during the reign of Liu Bang (256-195 B.C.). Once he talks with Liu Bang about the number of troops a general can command, saying, "In terms of my commanding of troops, the more, the better."

伍　快活半年

大家都知道，泰山上有一个“快活三里”。意思是在艰苦的攀登中，忽然有长达三里的山路，平平整整，走上去异常容易，也就异常快活，让爬山者疲惫的身体顿时轻松下来，因此名为“快活三里”。

“文化大革命”无疑是一场艰苦的攀登，其艰苦惊险的程度远远超过攀登泰山南天门。我也不可避免地成为这一场“革命”的攀登者。可是从1966年下半年至1967年上半年，大约有半年多的一段时间，我却觉得，脚下的路虽然还不能说是完全平坦，可走上去比较轻松了。尽管全国和全校正为一场惊天动地、巨大无比的风暴所席卷，我头上却暂时还是晴天。在经过了第一阵艰险的风暴以后，我得到了一个喘息的机会，心里异常喜悦，我在走自己的“快活三里”了。

我从前只知道，有一些哲学家喜欢探讨人在宇宙中的地位问题，与此有牵连的是人在社会中的地位问题。我可从来没有关心过我自己在社会中的地位如何。解放以后，情况变了。政治运动一个接一个。在每一次政治运动中，每一个人都有一个在运动中的地位问题。粗略地说，地位可以分为两大类：整人者与被整者。细分起来，那就复杂得多了，而且这个地位也不是一成不变的。随着运动的进展，队伍不断地分化，重新组合。整人者可以变为被整者，而被整者也可以变为整人者。有的在这次运动中整人或者被整，到了下一次运动，地位正倒转过来。人们的地位千变万化，简直像诸葛武侯的八阵图，令人眼花缭乱，迷惑不解。

在“文化大革命”中，我当然非常关心自己的地位。我在上面谈到的帽子问题，实际上也就是地位问题。我的地位长期悬在空中，心里老是嘀嘀咕咕，坐卧不宁。后来我逐渐发现，自己还没有被划归敌我矛盾。有这一点，我就放心了。我仍然是“人民”，这对我来说是天大的事情。我于是打着人民的招牌，逍遥起来了。要知道，在当时，在敌我矛盾与人民内部矛盾之间，在人民与所谓“反革命分子”之间，横着一条其宽无比、其深无比的鸿沟。如果处在鸿沟这一边，在人民的这一边，许多事情都很好办，即使办错一件事，说错一句话，这都算是一时不小心所犯的错误，没有什么了不起。但是，如果被划到对岸去，成为敌人，那就会有无限的麻烦，即使夹起尾巴，处处谨小慎微，决不敢乱说乱动；可是一时不慎，办错一件事，说错一句话，比如把“资本主义”说成“社会主义”或者倒转过来，那就必然被上纲到反革命的高度，成为现行反革

命，遭到批斗。

但是划分敌我、划分两类不同性质的矛盾，这个权力掌握在谁手里呢？我真有点说不清楚。我的脑筋简单，百思不得其解。虽然我暂时处在鸿沟的这一岸，但是却感觉到，自己像是在走钢丝，一不小心，就能跌落下去，跌落到鸿沟的对岸。那就等于跌落到地狱里，永世不得翻身了。

我原来是东语系的系主任。这时当然已经不再是了。是免职？是撤职？谁也搞不清楚，反正也用不着搞清楚。“革命无罪，造反有理”，这就是当时的行动方针。至于什么叫“革命”，什么又叫“造反”，也没有人去追问。连堂堂的国家主席，也不用经过任何法律就能够拉出来批斗，我这个小小的系主任，不过等于一粒芝麻、绿豆，当然更不在话下了。但是，我虽然失掉了那一顶不值几文钱的小小的乌纱帽，头上却还没有被戴上其他的帽子，这就可以聊以自慰了。

这时候，学校里已经派来了支“左”的军宣队。每一个系都有几个解放军战士和军官。系里的“造反派”也组成了一个领导班子。造反派是怎样产生出来的呢？专就东语系而言，情况大概是这个样子：一些自命为出身好的教员和学生，坚决贯彻“阶级路线”，组成了造反派，在自己胳臂上缠上一块红布，这就算是革命者的标志。所谓出身好，指的是贫下中农、革命烈属、革命干部、工人。这些人根子正，一身红，领导革命，义不容辞。再一部分人就是在社教运动中反对过陆平的人。他们觉悟高，现在来领导革命，也是顺理成章。我记得，戴红臂章的人似乎只限于第一种人。臂章一戴，浑身红透，脸上更是红光满面，走起路来，高视阔步，威风凛凛，不可一世。为什么第二种人不能戴红臂章，我不清楚。这是他们革命家内部的事，与我无干，我也就不再伤脑筋了。我奇怪的是，好像还没有人像当年的阿Q那样，别上徽章，冒充革命。由此也可见，这些革命家的觉悟有多么高了。只有革命干部的子弟有点玄乎，虽然他们比别人更自命不凡，臂章一定要红绸子来做，别人只能带红布的；但是他们的地位却不够稳定。今天他们父母兄姐仍在当权，他们就能鹤立鸡群，耀武扬威；明天这些人一倒台——当时倒台是非常容易的——他们的子弟立刻就成为“黑帮的狗崽子”，灰溜溜地靠边站了。

所谓反对陆平，是指1964年在社教运动中，北大一部分教职员工和学生，在极“左”思想的影响下，认为当时的党委书记兼校长陆平同志有严重问题，执行了一条资本主义复辟的路线，是修正主义的路线。于是群起揭发，一时闹得满园风雨，乌烟瘴气。我的水平奇低，也中了极“左”思想的毒，全心全意地参加到运动中来。越揭发越觉得可怕，认

为北大已经完全烂掉了。我是以十分虔诚的心情来干这些蠢事的，幻想这样来保卫所谓的革命路线。我是幼稚的，但是诚实的，确实没有存在着什么个人考虑、个人打算。专就个人来讲，我同陆平相处关系颇为融洽，他对我有恩而无怨。但是，我一时糊涂蒙了心，为了保卫社会主义的前途，我必须置个人恩怨于度外，起来反对他。这就是我当时的真实的思想。后来中央出面召开了国际饭店会议，为陆平平反，号召全校大团结，对反对过陆平的人，连一根毫毛也没有碰。我经过反思，承认了自己的错误，做了自我批评。到了1965年的深秋，我就到了京郊南口村，参加农村的社教运动。

到了“文化大革命”，正如我在上面已经谈过的那样，我经过了首次冲击，比较顺利地度过了资产阶级反动学术权威这个阶段。后来军宣队进了校，东语系干部队伍重新组合。我曾经是反过陆平的人，按理说也应该归入“革命干部”队伍内；但是，据说我向陆平投降了，阶级立场不稳，必须排除在外。那几个在国际饭店坚持立场，坚决不承认自己有任何错误的人，此时成了真正的英雄。有的当了东语系革命委员会的头头，有的甚至晋升到校革命委员会中，当了领导。我对此并无意见。但是，我仍然关心自己的地位。一位同我比较要好的革命小将偷偷告诉我，他看到军宣队的内部文件，我是被排在“临界线”上的人。什么叫“临界线”呢？意思就是，我被排在敌我矛盾与人民内部矛盾中间那一条界线的人民这一边。再往前走一步，就堕入敌我矛盾了。我心里又惊又喜。惊的是自己的处境真是危险呀，喜的是，我现在就像是站在泰山上阴阳界那一条白线这一边，向前走上一寸，就堕入万丈悬崖下的黑龙潭中去了。

此时，全国革命大串联已经开始。反正坐火车不花钱。于是全国各地的各类人物，都打着“革命”的旗子，到处旅游。所有的车站上都是人山人海。只要有劲，再耍上一点野蛮，就能从车窗子里爬过人墙，爬进车厢，走到愿意到的地方去。上面有人号召说，这就是革命，这就是点燃火炬。结果全国一团混乱，到处天翻地覆。有人说，这叫做“乱了敌人”。一派胡言乱语，骇人听闻。是自己乱起来了。如果真有敌人的话，他们只会弹冠相庆。我觉悟低，对于这一套都深信不疑。

北京大学本来就是“文化大革命”的发源地。到了此时，更成了革命圣地。每天通过大串联到燕园来朝圣的，比“文化大革命”初起时，更多了不知多少倍。来的这一批人据说是什么人的客人。不但来看，而且还要来住，来吃。北大人怎敢怠慢！各系都竭诚招待，分工负责一座住满了“客人”的楼。我自己既然被恩准呆在临界线的这一边，为了感恩图

报，表示自己的忠诚，更加振奋精神，昼夜值班。“客人”没有棉被，我同系里的其他人，从家里抱去棉被。每天推着水车，为“客人”打开水。我看到“客人”缺少脸盆，便自己掏腰包，一买就是二十个。看着崭新的脸盆，自己心里乐得开了花。

但是，正如俗话所说的，天下不如意事常八九。我快活得太早了，太过分了。革命小将，当然也有一些中将，好像并不领情。新被子，只要他们盖上几夜，总被弄得面目全非，棉花绽了出来，被面被撕破。回头再看脸盆，更让人气短。用了才不过几天，盆上已经是疮痍满目，惨不忍睹。最初我真是出自内心地、毕恭毕敬地招待这些“客人”，然而“客人”竟是这样，我的头上仿佛狠狠地给人打了一巴掌，心里酸甜苦辣，简直说不出是什么味道了。

过了一段时间，大概到北京来的人实在太多了，有的地方甚至停产旅游，再不抓，就会出现极大的危机了。上头不知道是哪一个机构做出决定，劝说盲流到北京来的人回自己的原地区、原单位去，在那里“抓革命，促生产”。北大的军宣队也接受了这一项任务。东语系当然也分工负一部分责，到校外外地人住得最多的地方去说服。我们在军宣队的带领下，先到离学校最近的西颐宾馆去劝说。那些尝到甜头的外地人哪里会自动离开呢？于是劝说，辩论，有时候甚至有极其激烈的辩论。弄得我口干舌燥，还要忍气吞声。终于取得了一些成果，外地人渐渐离开这里，打道回府了。

从西颐宾馆转移到稍稍远一点的国家气象局。在这里仍然劝说、辩论，展开激烈的辩论，一切同在西颐宾馆差不多。但是，我在这里却大开了眼界。首先是这里的大字报真有水平。大字报我已经看了成千累万，看来看去，觉得都非常一般化，我的神经已经麻木，再也感不到什么新鲜味了。这里的大字报，大标语却真是准确、鲜明、生动。那些一般化的大字报当然也有，可也有异军突起、石破天惊的，比如“切碎某某某”、“油炸某某某”等等。“油炸”这个词儿多么生动有力！令人看了永世难忘。难道这也是同我在本书开头时讲的那样从阴曹地府里学来的吗？最难忘的一件事情就是，我亲眼目睹了一次批斗走资派的会。一辆小轿车慢慢地开了过来。车门开处，一个西装（或者是高级毛料制服）笔挺的走资派——大概是局长之类——从车上走了下来，小心翼翼地从车的后座上取出来一顶纸帽子，五颜六色，奇形怪状，戴到了自己头上。上面挂满了累累垂垂的小玩意儿，其中特别惹人注目的是一个小王八，随着主人的步伐，在空中摇摆着。他走进了会场，立即涌起了一阵口号声，山呼海啸，震天动地。接着是发言批判。所有的仪式都进行完

毕了以后，走资派走出会场，走到车前，把头上的桂冠摘下来——我注意到小王八还在摆动——小心翼翼地放到后座上，大概是以备再用。他脸上始终是笑眯眯的。这真让我大惑不解。这笑意是从哪里来的呢？在“切碎”、“油炸”了一通之后，居然还能笑得出来！这点笑容真比蒙娜丽莎脸上著名的笑容，还更令人难解。我的见识又提高到了一个新的高度。

气象局的任务完成了，我们又挥师远征，到离开北大相当远的一个机关，去干同样的工作。此时已是1966年的冬天，天气冷起来了。我每天从学校骑车到现场去，长途跋涉，一个多小时才能到达。遇上雪天，天寒地滑，要走两个小时。中午就在那里吃饭。那里根本没有我们呆的房间。在院子里搭了一个天棚，吃饭就在这里。这个天棚连风都遮不住，遑论寒气！饭菜本来就不够热，一盛到冰冷的碗里，如果不用最快的速度狼吞虎咽地把饭菜扒拉到肚子里，饭碗周围就会结成冰碴。想当年苏武在北海牧羊，吃的恐怕就是这样带冰碴的饭。这样的生活苦不苦呢？说不苦，是违心之谈。但是，我的精神还是很振奋的，很愉快的。在第一次革命浪潮中，我没有被划为走资派，而今依然浪迹革命之内，滥竽人民之中，这真是天大的幸福，我应该感到满足了。

这样过了一些日子，外地来京串联的高潮渐渐过去，外地来京的“革命群众”渐渐都离开了北京。我们劝说的任务可以说是胜利完成，于是班师回校。

回到学校以后，仍然有让我忆念难忘，也颇值得高兴的事情。首先是海淀区人民代表的选举。在中国，人民代表大会是三级制，最下一级是区、县的人民代表大会，是由选民直接选举代表而组成的。再由区、县人民代表大会选出省、市人民代表大会的代表。最后由省、市人民代表大会选出代表，组成最高一级的全国人民代表大会。区、县代表名义上虽低，但是真正由选民选出的，最能体现真正的民主，竞争也最激烈。在“文化大革命”以前，我担任过几届全国政协委员，一届北京市人大代表。海淀区人大代表选举也参加过几次。当时我可真是万万没有想到，能投上一票也并不容易！这一次选举是在“文化大革命”初期风暴过后举行的。很多以前有选举权的“人民”，现在成了走资派，相应被挤出“人民”的范围，丢掉了选票。我幸而还留在人民内部，从而保住了选举权。当我在红榜上看到自己的名字时，那三个字简直是熠熠生光，仿佛凸了出来一样。当年在帝王时代“金榜题名时”的快乐，恐怕也不会超过我现在的快乐，我现在才体会到，原来认为唾手可得的东西，也是来之不易啊！投票的那一天，我换上了新衣服，站在“人民”中，手里的红

红的选票像千斤一般重。我真是欢喜欲狂了。我知道，自己还没有变成像印度的不可接触者那样。还没有人害怕我踩了他的影子。幸福的滋味溢满我的心中，供我仔细品尝，有好多天之久。

还有一件事情也带给我了极大的快乐，给我留下的回忆永世难忘。在一个麦收季节，东语系的"革命"师生奉派在军宣队率领下到南苑附近的一个村庄里去协助麦收。记得那一年雨比较多。在那里住了十多天，几乎天天下雨。雨下不长，几乎是转眼就过。可也制造了不少麻烦。我们白天从麦田里把捆好的麦子背回村里，摊在麦场上，等候晒干，再把麦粒打出来。一阵雨一来，我们就着了慌，用油布把麦子盖上。雨一过，太阳一出，再把油布掀掉。有时候一天忙活好几阵子。特别是夜里下雨，我们立即起身，跑到场里盖油布，忙得浑身大汗，再被雨水一浇，全身成了落汤鸡，然而农民却没有一个出来的。那时他们正在通向天堂的人民公社里吃大锅饭，谁也不肯卖力。像我这样准备随时接受贫下中农再教育的"老九"，实在有点想不通。这样一些人拿什么来教育我们呢？再想到那些风行一时的、把农民的觉悟程度拔到惊人高度的长篇小说，便觉得作者看风使舵，别有用心。从那时起，再也不读这样的小说了。

我混迹"人民"之中，积极性特别高。白天到麦田里去背捆好了的麦子，我是"韩信将兵，多多益善"，我背的捆数决不低于年轻的小伙子。因此回校以后，受到系里的当众表扬，心里美滋滋的。但是，在南苑的生活却不能说是舒服的。白天劳动一天，身体十分疲惫。晚上睡在一间大仓库里。地上密密麻麻地布满了地铺，一个人所占的面积仅能容身。农村蚊子特多，别人都带了蚊帐，外加驱蚊油。我是孑然一身，什么都没有带。夜里别人都放下帐子，蚊子不得其门而入。独独我这里却是完全开放的，于是所有的蚊子都拥挤到我这里来，蚊声如雷，下袭如雨。我就成了旧故事中的孝子，代父母挨咬。早晨起来，伤痕遍体，我毫无怨言。而且生活并不单调，也时有兴味盎然的小插曲。比如有一天，正当我们在麦田里背麦捆时，忽然发现了一只小野兔。于是大家都放下自己手中的活，纷纷追赶兔子。不管兔子跳得多快，我们人多势众，终于把小兔的一条腿砸断，小兔束手被擒。另外，有的人喜欢吃蛇。一天捉住了一条，立即跑回村内，找了一个有火的地方，把蛇一烧，就地解决，吞下肚中。这样一些再小不过的小事，难道不也能给平板的生活涂上一点彩色，带来一点快乐吗？

我就是这样度过了快活半年。

6 STICKING MY NECK OUT

My good time did not last long.

I enjoyed myself until the end of the summer in 1967.

At this time of the Revolution, Beida's young revolutionaries, joined by some middle-aged and old ones, divided into a few factions. As it follows the law of nature, a true statement from *Three Kingdoms* goes like this, "The law of alternation between unity and separation prevails in the evolution of human existence."[1] Now it was time for separation.

During a short period of time before the breakup, the university was united and there was only one grass-roots revolutionary organization, called "New Beida Commune." One of the leaders of this organization was the notorious "Old Dowager," one of the authors of the so-called "first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster." It was said that this person was a capitalist roader of "Sanba Type," conventionally considered as a revolutionary veteran.[2] But she did not behave well after being assigned to work at Beida. An old lady, she dressed up bewitchingly. She first worked as deputy head of the Department of Economics and was then transferred to the Department of Philosophy, where she worked as Party general secretary. With a stroke of luck, she became the center of attention overnight and stood a chance of rising in power, just thanks to her signing on the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster, endorsed by some higher-ups in the central government and the Party, and her contribution as an informer. I met this woman a couple of times and knew quite well she was worthless, dumb, cunning, bull-headed and vain. She would make a mess and ridicule herself each time she delivered a speech. Hence during her speech each time, the heart of her faithful followers was in their mouth until it was over. It was weird that a person of this kind found her way up the University's hierarchy of Party and administration, unscrupulous as she was in riding roughshod over others.

It is universally true in history that oppression leads to rebellion. Gradually some students could not tolerate her domineering, and a bunch of big and small organizations came into being parallel to the "New Beida Commune" as the Revolution proceeded. These organizations defined

themselves as the combat brigade and almost all named themselves after the phrases from Mao Zedong's poetry, things like the "Grey-Dragon-Catching Brigade," the "Ninth Heaven Moon-Clasping Brigade" and "Over-Leaping Brigade."[3] The poetry was exhausted of its phrases for the naming and the newly established brigades found themselves lacking an appropriate name. The brigades varied in size considerably, big ones each having tens or hundreds of people and small ones with any number between more than a dozen and less than half of it. It was said that there were even some single-person brigades, each of which contained just one person. The paper work for registering such a brigade was exceptionally simple, just putting out a big-character poster, scribbling a few words on it like "The east wind raging and the beat of drums roaring, let us go to the war and see who wins and who loses," and then yelling a couple of slogans, "Long live so-and-so." That was done. There was no such thing as registration and approval by a higher-level administration, nor did any person ever come to check on the legal proceedings. It defied any tallying how many combat brigades had eventually been set up at that time. Even if Mr. Hu Shih had risen from his tomb, he would probably have found himself oafish, given all his erudite research capabilities.[4]

Meanwhile the big-character posters mushroomed. The walls and mat-covered makeshift bulletin boards were long in shortage. So another large group of mat-covered makeshift bulletin boards were erected for use. In addition to most big-character posters announcing the establishment of the new combat brigades, some writings denounced capitalist academic authorities. Some of the big-character posters ran on about four or five pieces of paper; others expanded to nine or ten pieces and even to a hundred, with the tendency of getting longer and longer. Some nearby residents made a living by collecting and selling the paper. It was said that some students practiced calligraphy in writing big-character posters. On the basis of my observation, the handwriting on the big-character posters, unquestionably, improved drastically, as time went on. It is a by-product of the Cultural Revolution, which many have probably failed to take into account in assessment.

Taking advantage of the big-character posters, combat brigades emerged one after another in various splendid forms. After the initial contention for individual identity, they started to merge with each other. Their numbers

grew and then settled down to two big factions: the original, formally authorized "New Beida Commune" and its antagonistic conglomerated "Jinggangshan." The first ran like the majority party and the second like the minority party, just like the Conservative Party and Labor Party in Great Britain. Between the two factions, power struggle was inevitable and, in most cases, was reflected in the form of the big-character poster. I am not well-informed about the politics of the two parties in Great Britain. But it is said that they generally stick to the rule of "fair play." In China, fair play, that foreign stuff, was primarily ignored. In this country, the ends were pursued with no consideration of means. It was quite common to hurt others with rumor, slander and personal attack. This practice gave rise to a new "material" called "faction strife." As soon as this new thing was produced, its force immediately took on an epidemic dimension. Anyone who picked up this bug would become hostile to those holding a different political stand; friends became foes and a family ended up in a divorce. I was absolutely perplexed. Why didn't people show such hostility in resistance to foreign invasion? Someone even put up a big-character poster claiming, "I'll devote my whole life to the defense of Nie and Sun and never regret!"[5] What an extraordinary resolution! If they had made such considerable effort in realizing the four modernizations, China would have become the large industrial dragon in Asia to stun the "Four Little Dragons."

Many years have passed. How are these two major factions evaluated? At that time when the factional strife rampaged, it was impossible to make an objective assessment. I think such work can be done now. The two factions are basically made up of young faculty members and students. For various reasons, the elderly were not very interested in joining in these organizations. Naturally each faction had its own platform, but I don't think any of them was very clear about what its platform meant. In terms of their political tendency, they all followed the line of fundamental "leftism," to the same extent, by committing crimes of beating, smashing, looting and home raiding. Sometimes when a professor, or an administrative official, was falsely charged with misconduct, each of the two factions would subject the person to criticism and torture. In the meantime the way the torture sessions were conducted was exactly the same. It seemed that the people of both factions suffered from the same acute mania of persecution and brutality. As the condemned person got bruises and cuts, head blooding, the people from

either faction just found lots of pleasure in watching, chatting and laughing. The tool for torture also showed the persecutor's originality, the bike chain wrapped up with a piece of rubber. It had the effect of imposing severe pain but causing no bleeding during the beating and leaving no evidence for accusation. To intimidate others that "Old Dowager" often brandished her legitimate power in terms of her connections with Jiang Qing, to terrify her opponents. "Jinggangshan" displayed no submissiveness and claimed its access to Jiang Qing, too. However, neither of the two factions was able to justify its claim with evidence that it was Jiang Qing's closest follower. Indeed, they were quite different in one way: the "New Beida Commune" was in power at Beida and swaggered around; "Jinggangshan," in contrast, was always oppressed, which usually resulted in ordinary people's sympathy.

From my observations, the two factions rivaled for power, since their respective platforms were just six of one and half a dozen of the other. "Have the power and then have everything," an aphorism that both truly believed. To grab the power and rule the university, the opposing faction must be crushed. Accordingly, they both painstakingly solicited and persuaded faculty and staff members to win them over to their respective sides and enlarge their ranks. At this time, each side controlled parts of the property with the "New Beida Commune" possessing the lion's share of the campus, "All lands under the Heaven are in the reign of the king."[6] "Jinggangshan" took only a few student dormitory buildings in the residential area. Each building was gradually turned into a fort and heavily guarded. Later each faction developed some hand-made weapons. Financially better off, the power-holding "New Beida Commune" made a spear out of the costly steel tube by cutting off one end and sharpening it to a point. This weapon was rather primitive, but it was quite a threat to those empty-handed fighters from "Jinggangshan." Not content with its inferior equipment, "Jinggangshan" scraped together some weapons for use, too. It was said that each side had some people working on the production of bombs. The hostility eventually led to a few skirmishes, and one high school student, an outsider happening to come on campus one day, was speared to death by the "New Beida Commune" members.

It was a war of life and death. But it was periodically peppered with amusing occurrences. The backbone of the battling forces from both sides was the young students; they were green and frivolous. For example, one day the two factions held a debate session in the main student cafeteria. During

the heated and tense debate, emotion ran high on both sides and supporters chanted slogans for their respective sides. Suddenly a bunch of worn-out shoes, strung through with the rope, were lowered down from the ceiling of the cafeteria. The meaning of "the worn-out shoe" was very clear to the Chinese, particularly to people from northern China.[7] … In such a tense atmosphere, each side focused on how to rout the other in deep hatred, when the unexpected appearance of the shoes at once caught the attention of all present. The first reaction from the crowds was surprise, which was quickly followed by a burst of laughter. But how could a serious debate be carried on? Later on strings of worn-out shoes also dangled out of the windows of a student dorm occupied by "Jinggangshan." The intention was the same. Were these events not entertaining interludes?

I attended another debate session in the cafeteria. The leaders of the two sides were seated on the platform, and their supporters took seat in the audience. The titles of these leaders were changed. They were called "orderly" (probably only used by "Jinggangshan") instead of the dean or department head. The change felt as fundamentally revolutionary as the French Revolution, during which the leaders were addressed as ordinary people. Among the leaders of "Jinggangshan" sitting on the platform was an old man who was a famous scholar on fluid dynamics and relativity and a man of integrity. He enjoyed widespread respect from faculty members and students and was one of a few scholars who the Central Party Committee specified for protecting from harassment in the Cultural Revolution. I have no idea how he joined the unofficial faction organization. Later I picked up scraps of information that he was discontented with the behavior of the "Old Dowager" and became gradually sympathetic with the "Jinggangshan." Then, the "New Beida Commune" sent its members to harass him; some pestered him at home; some taunted and intimidated him by phone. The old man was rather disturbed. Originally he did not intend to join "Jinggangshan." Forced into a corner now, he resolved to throw his lot together with that of the organization. At once, he was elected one of the general "orderlies" of the "Jinggangshan." Now participating in the debate in the main student cafeteria, he was the oldest among those sitting around him on the platform. The cafeteria was packed to capacity with people of both sides present. The topics ranged over many issues, and the speeches filled with nothing but boasts about one's own side and taunts against the other, quite reminiscent to me of

the face-to-face presidential debates televised live in the United States. A climax usually occurred when the crowds applauded and cheered at witty remarks uttered by speakers. Then the sword drawn and bows bent hostility mixed with boisterous conviviality, a rowdy scene rocking the student cafeteria.

Meanwhile the whole university was hardly different either (as well as the whole country). That well-known saying, "the right way to disorient the enemy," was simply out of whack. Who knew who was the enemy? At that time, the country as a whole underwent a reshaping of factional organizations, dividing and merging, before two large antagonistic factions were formed in each area. In Beijing the two factions were called the "Sky Party" and the "Earth Party." Each party considered itself revolutionary and the opposing party as the enemy. The PLA teams were sent to colleges and universities in support of the "left" factions but found it hard to distinguish the "left" from the right. Eventually the military men, in some local places, took sides too. Actually, the revolutionaries deranged themselves. If there had been some real enemies, they would have stood by in silence, clapping and cheering in secret.

How did I fare at this moment?

Well, I appreciated my hard gained opportunity for passing myself off as one of the people. Therefore I decided never to join any factional group. To be a man of non-affiliation was my only choice but also a rather broad road to take. In the chaos of the university, taking this road would allow me to be free of concern and anxiety and live in a place of quiet like Utopia. As "classes were suspended for making revolution," I had no teaching responsibilities, nor did I need to write for publication. Once in a while when I was in good mood I would venture out and explore the big-character posters and attend the sessions of debate. I was carefree and enjoyed myself, like a living immortal. I couldn't help smiling, occasionally, at the thought.

However, there was neither Utopia in the world, nor at Beida. I was rocked by the occurrences that took place every day around me. I had feeling and emotion and could scarcely remain numb. I had to respond. At Beida, I had been department head for twenty years and worked as president of the Trade Union of the University and held a few important social positions in the past, including those as the member of the Chinese People's Political

Consultative Conference and representative of the Reople's Congress of Beijing. One old saying goes like this, "A tall tree catches the wind." I was not a very tall tree but certainly tall enough to catch some wind. Besides, I have some unique personal features. It is the sense of justice, if put in good terms. To view its flip side, it is my inborn obstinacy. Even if Beida had had a sanctuary could I have been able to get inside? I was destined to weather storms.

What should I do if I did not seek the sanctuary? Gradually, I discovered that the woman leader of the "New Beida Commune" was disgusting. What she did contradicted the revolutionary line discussed previously. What was the revolutionary line? I didn't quite understand it. I had attended the political study more than ten years, listening to those discussions every day. Bit by bit, I slowly shook off my slow-wittedness and understood that good work could not be completed unless there was a close relationship with the masses. I believed the way a leader responds to criticisms of the people was a fundamental rubric for evaluating his conduct and an important standard for judging whether or not he carried out the supremely upheld revolutionary line. In this regard I thought, in my personal view, that the woman veered off the correct course. She was an empress leading the "New Beida Commune," which was in power at the university. At this point, the university's "Revolutionary Committee" was established on the instructions of the higher authorities. "The Revolutionary Committee is good," the quotation, from the supreme leader, immediately resounded through the country after it was issued. Certainly Beida would not content itself with being left behind so that woman "legitimately" became the chieftain of the new power, director of the Revolutionary Committee of Peking University. What good luck she had! It only puffed her up with arrogance, who was, from top to toe, a loafer with a low Intelligence Quotient and nothing useful to brag about except cunning gimmicks; then she grew more arrogant and bossy, flattered by her subordinates. A slight discontent toward her would surely ensure severe penalties in terms of removal from office, salary suspension and a stab in the back, occurrences settling into daily rituals. A harsher treatment would be the declaration of "down with so-and-so" immediately turning one into the enemy and subjecting him to death at will. She was, indeed, responsible for a few persons' lives, such as the high school student who was killed with the spear by the people of the "New Beida Commune," whom I talked about

previously. Her behavior toward common people enraged me, so I believed she acted against the revolutionary line. I just could not sit tight on a fishing boat when the wind was rising and waves were surging.

But I knew of this woman chieftain quite well. A bonehead, she was wicked, treacherous and cruel. I would rather avoid confronting her directly. Therefore, I had to be low profiled, straddling the issue of faction as a fence sitter.

Meanwhile, a few events call for attention at this point. First, a rally was held in front of the Indonesian Embassy to China in Beijing, probably to retaliate the incident of setting fire to the Chinese Embassy to Indonesia in Djakarta. It was a widely acclaimed patriotic action. Neither of the two factions of Beida would like to miss this opportunity to assert influence and win more masses unto their sides. They sent all their members on the trip to the rally. Lined along the avenue leading to the south gate were tens of rented trucks awaiting the rally participants from both factions. As people walked to the trucks of their respective sides, I had problem deciding on which side's truck I should board. Seeing me hesitating, a few major leaders from both sides rushed over and courteously tried to talk me into getting onto their trucks. One woman, on the side of "Jinggangshan," was from the Department of Eastern Languages. She was particularly solicitous in doing so. Frankly, I wanted to go with them. But I was a little worried and did not want to run risks. The "New Beida Commune" was no less eager to bring me onto its bandwagon. After quite a while of hesitation over the choices, I got on the Commune's truck. It was a boisterous ride with the flags flying on the truck. Over there in front of the Indonesian Embassy, we chanted slogans before riding through the city back home, everyone in high spirits.

Another event is the trip to the home of a high-ranking PLA officer to "make revolution" or "single him out for condemnation." He lived somewhere in the area of Yuquanshan.[8] I forgot the reason why we should go to his place and harass him. But it was quite ordinary at that time that any combat brigade, backed up by a certain ranking official, had the legitimate right to do away politically with whoever it wanted to. I was not sure of his exact address. Since it was a short trip, no truck was needed, so the majority of us walked there. I was one of "the bike class" people and so I rode my bike. This time I did not have the predicament of identifying with any faction

as I did on the previous trip to the Indonesian Embassy. No people vied with one another for pulling me over onto their side. As an independent party, I merged into the stream of bicyclists, not knowing which faction they were from. As we rode past Qinglongqiao, I saw some people riding toward the Western Hills.[9] Then I followed them all the way to the Wan'an Cemetery on the other side of Yuquanshan. Knowing I was lost, I turned around and got back to Qinglongqiao. Then I heard some people talking loudly that "the revolution was done." So I followed the group back to the university. Even at this point, I had no idea where that high-ranking PLA officer lived and what his gate looked like. I think this is the way that the revolution was "made" at that time.

Another important happening deserves mention. The two factions of Beida both ran faculty and staff study programs in order to rope in members for their respective ranks. Some university officials, who were denounced and tortured as capitalist roaders, were now, for some undeclared reasons, left alone and free of condemnation. They became targets of being won over by the two factions. I was one of them. Many faculty members of the Department of Eastern Languages encouraged me to join in their study program. "Jinggangshan" tried to talk me into going with it, while its opposing side did the same. After a long time of observation and hesitation, I thought I should take a cautious step. If I made my debut in the study program run by "Jinggangshan," my life would be at stake. Obviously the "New Beida Commune" reigned and swayed the university with its overwhelming strength of membership as well as that narrow-minded partisan leader. If I offended them, I could no doubt incur unimaginable retaliations upon me. I pondered long before making the final decision of attending the program of the "New Beida Commune," for the sake of my security. On the surface, the two sides did not differ from each other in achieving their objectives, both declaring their loyalty to the great leader, and his wife in particular. Their unchecked demonstration of loyalty to the latter was inconceivable in one sense that innumerable big-character posters were put up, showering her with flatteries as if she were the Virgin Mary incarnate. I was politically crack-brained and therefore credulous whole-heartedly. Though later I overheard some speculations against her, I didn't change my views.

With the lapse of time I could not keep the lid on my thought any longer

thanks to my inborn candidness. I had to speak out and then I would feel relieved. My frank avowal of perception toward the two sides would soon land me in a quagmire. Followers of each faction, particularly students, took turns in coming and persuading me into joining them. Students from the "New Beida Commune" came to my home and office. How could I maintain my office by then? But I remember, though I'm not quite sure, I did meet them in my office. I may bring back the memory of it later on. They made their requirement clearly to me by saying, "You can't join Jing's side," meaning "Jinggangshan." Obviously, it was a courteous expression. A direct and rude utterance would be a warning like this, "Watch your head!" At the same time, someone called me at home, talking and admonishing me; some used polite and complementary words, while others gave me stern rebukes. Such talks came in various ways and steadily. Now I found myself in the same circumstance as that of the professor I talked about before. I could not sit tight any more. But, obstinate as I was, the more you press on me, the more I won't go for it. After turning it over and over in my mind, I resolved to have a showdown, though pretty sure of the risk I would be taking. In one entry in my diary, I wrote, "To defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, I'll risk my life and never regret!" It is a true display of my state of mind at that time.

Thus I climbed the mountain, "Jinggangshan."

Students from "Jinggangshan" were delighted. Immediately they elected me the orderly of the 9th army of the Department of Eastern Languages of "Jinggangshan," which was rather rare.

Now I had gone to the ocean and climbed the mountain. It was a double-edged sword. On the positive side, it brought peace to my mind, a psychological balance which ridded me of the worry on the joining of the factional organization. On the flip side, it fostered factionalism in me. In effect, I originally had factional inclination. In the past, however, this partisan tendency had to be covered up in one way or another. Now, setting the tune with one beat of the gong, I needed not to be wary of my behavior. I went with my fellow members of the faction, young students, putting up big-character posters and delivering speeches against the "New Beida Commune." Admittedly, my words were not completely true and free of swear.

Admittedly I took a chance on doing this. I thought, even if I lacked an understanding of the Communist Party, I didn't join the KMT or any other reactionary organizations in the past. I had a clean record. I believed the "New Beida Commune" might not be that unscrupulous to lay its hands on me.

Surely it was my personal wish. At this point that woman boss of the "New Beida Commune" must have considered me a thorn in her side. I was aware of her cruelty. In addition, she was at the zenith of her political career, an alternative member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and a deputy president of the Beijing's Revolutionary Committee. She was really riding high. If I dared to infuriate her, how would she spare me? Moreover metaphysics ran rampant, in which fragments of oral and written expression, if caught by the opposing side, could be distorted, exaggerated and used as evidence for willful false charges so as to label one a counter-revolutionary or an active counter-revolutionary. For instance, the words, "capitalism" and "socialism," were two cards stored together in one of the language drawers of one's brain and might be picked by mistake. A slip of tongue would allow the opposite side a handgrip on the speaker's weakness and the "cap" of active counter-revolutionary would be set on his or her head. That female doltish ringleader often committed such mistakes and made her followers constantly worried for her. This sort of metaphysics, plus partisanship, could undoubtedly condemn one to death, about which I was quite clear.

Therefore, it was rather risky for me to take chances. With this mindset, I was walking on a tightrope and could fall into a deep gorge any time. I was clear-minded about this too. From the summer to the autumn of 1967, I had been an apprehensive tightrope walker, as if I had fifteen young stags in my heart. At this point, rumors were flying everywhere all the time; one said that I would be soon singled out; moments later another said that my home would be raided. I did not know who I should listen to. In my diary, I would make an entry each week, "Heavy clouds are hanging over my head." The storm would strike any time and crush me. Probably other faculty members from "Jinggangshan" all had the same concern about themselves. I was the eldest of them all. I was restless as the long, hot summer and gloomy, golden autumn were ticking away.

[1]*Three Kingdoms*: A historical novel written by Luo Guanzhong (c. 1330-c. 1400) and first printed in

1522 and translated by Moss Roberts (Beijing, China: Foreign Languages Press, 1991).

[2] "Sanba Type," a popular saying in China, particularly before and during the Cultural Revolution, refers to the type of revolutionary veteran who joined the revolution around 1938, a period marking the end of the First Chinese Civil War (1927-1937) and the beginning of the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-1945). "*Sanba*" is the *pinyin* for the Chinese characters of "thirty-eight."

[3] "Grey-Dragon-catching Brigade," "Ninth Heaven Moon Clasping Brigade" and "Over-leaping Brigade," from Mao Zedong's poems, "Mount Liupan: To the Tune of *Qing Ping Yue*," "Reascending Jinggangshang: To the Tune of *Shui Diao Ge Tou*," and "Ascent of Lushan." See p. 43, p. 97, and p. 73, *Mao Zedong Poems*. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2007.

[4]Dr. Hu Shih (1891-1962), Chinese scholar, poet, historian and philosopher; he was president of Peking University from 1946-1949.

[5] Nie and Sun, Nie Yuanzi and Sun Pengyi, one of her leading follower.

[6] "All lands under the Heaven are in the reign of the king," a line from "North Mountain," Section Xiaoya, *The Book of Songs*.

[7] "The worn-out shoe" means a lewd woman in China.

[8] Yuquanshan, a place and summer resort in the northwest suburbs of Beijing.

[9] Qinglongqiao, a place on the way to Yuquanshan.

陆　自己跳出来

好景从来不长。

我快活到了1967年的夏秋之交。

此时北大的革命小将，加上一些中将和老将，早已分了派。这是完全符合事物发展规律的。《三国演义》上说得好：“夫天下大事，分久必合，合久必分。”现在是到了分的时候了。

在分裂之前的一个短时期之内，北大曾有过一个大一统的局面。此时群众革命组织只有一个，这就是新北大公社。公社的头子就是那位臭名昭著的所谓“第一张马列主义大字报”的作者之一的“老佛爷”。此人据说是“三八式”，也算是一个老干部、老革命了。但是，调到北大来以后，却表现得并不怎么样。已经是一个老太婆了，却打扮得妖里妖气。她先在经济系担任副系主任。后来又调到哲学系，担任总支书记。她夤缘时会，在第一张马列主义大字报上签了一个名，得到了中央某一些人的大力支持，兼之又通风报信，这一个女人就飞黄腾达起来，一时成为全国的中心人物，炙手可热。但是，我同这个人有过来往，深知她是一点水平都没有的，蠢而诈，冥顽而又自大。每次讲话，多少总会出点漏子，闹点笑话。在每次开会前，她的忠实信徒都为她捏一把汗。可就是这样一个人，一时竟成了燕园的霸主，集党政大权于一身，为所欲为，骄横恣纵。

有压迫就有反抗，古今中外，概莫能外。对于这样一个女人，有的学生逐渐感到不能忍受。于是在新北大公社之外，风起云涌，出现了大大小小的革命组织。大都自称为某某战斗队，命名几乎全取自毛泽东的诗词，什么“缚苍龙”战斗队，什么“九天揽月”战斗队，又是什么“跃上葱茏”战斗队，诗词中可以用来起名的词句，几乎都用光了，弄到新组成的战斗队没法起名的地步。至于战斗队的人数，则极为参差不齐，大的几十人、几百人；小的十几人、四五人；据说还有一个人组成的战斗队。成立手续异常简单，只要贴出一张大字报，写上几句“东风吹，战鼓擂，看看究竟谁战胜谁”，再喊上几句“万岁”，就算是成立了。不用登记，不用批准，决没有人来挑剔法律程序。当时究竟成立了多少战斗队，谁也不清楚。即使起有考据癖的胡适之先生于九原，恐怕他也只能认输了。

这时学校里大字报的数目有增无减。原来有的墙壁和搭的席棚早已不敷应用。于是又有一大批席棚被搭了起来，专供贴大字报之用。大字报的内容，除了宣布某某战斗队成立之外，还有批判资产阶级学术权威的。有的大字报只有四五张、五六张；有的则扩大到九十张，甚至百张，大有越来越长之势。附近的居民有的靠捡揭下来的大字报卖钱为生。据说有的学生则靠写大字报练习书法。据我个人的观察，大字报的书法水平确是越来越高，日新月异。这一个“文化大革命”的副产品，恐怕很多人会想不到吧。

用大字报来亮相的战斗队，五花八门，五光十色。最初各占山头，后来又逐渐合并。从由少变多，变为由多变少。终于汇成了两大流派：一个是正宗的、老牌的、掌权的新北大公社，一个是汇集众流、反抗新北大公社的井冈山。可以说是一个在朝，一个在野，有如英国的保守党和工党。两派当然要互相斗争，这斗争也多半利用大字报表现出来。英国的保守党和工党怎样斗争，我不大清楚。据说他们是颇为讲究“费厄泼赖”的。在中国，则不大管那一套洋玩意儿。只管目的，不择手段；造谣诬蔑，人身攻击；平平常常，司空见惯。因此就产生了一种新的“物质”，叫做“派性”。这种新东西，一经产生，便表现出来了无比强大的力量。谁要是中了它的毒，则朋友割席，夫妻反目。一个和好美满的家庭，会因此搞得分崩离析。我实在不能理解，为什么对抗外敌时都没有这么大的劲头，而在两派之间会产生这样巨大的对抗力量？有人贴出大字报：“老子铁了心，誓死保聂孙！”这是何等地惊人的决心！如果在建设四化中有这个劲头，我们中国早就成了亚洲第一条大龙，后来的四小龙瞠乎后矣。

现在时过境迁，怎样来评价这两大派呢？在当时，在派性猖狂的时候，客观评价根本上不可能的。现在我觉得可以了。两派基本上都由年轻的教员和学生组成。由于种种原因，老头参加的是不多的。两派当然都有各自的政纲。但是，具体的内容我看谁也说不清楚。论路线，两派执行的都是一条极“左”的路线，打、砸、抢、抄，大家都干，不分彼此，难定高下。有时候，一个被诬蔑成有问题的教员或干部，两派都抓去批斗。批斗的方式也一模一样。两派都有点患迫害狂的样子，以打人为乐事。被打者头破血流，打人者则嘻嘻哈哈。打人的武器颇具匠心。自行车链条，外面包上胶皮，打得再重，也不会把皮肉打破，不给人留下口实。那一位“老佛爷”经常打出江青的旗号，拉大旗，作虎皮，藉以吓唬别人。对立面井冈山也不示弱，他们照样打出江青的招牌。究竟谁是江青的最忠实的信徒，更是谁也说不清楚了。但是，两派之间有一个极大的区别：新北大公社掌握北大的大权，作威作福，不可一世；而井

冈山则始终处在被压迫的地位。这很容易引起一般人的同情。

根据我个人的观察，两派的政纲既然是半斤八两，斗争的焦点只能是争夺领导权。“有了权，就有了一切”，这是两派共同的信条。为了争权，为了独霸天下，就必须搞垮对方。两派都努力拉拢教员和干部，特别是那一些在群众中有影响的教员和干部，以壮大自己的声势。这时两派都各自占领了一些地盘。当权派的新北大公社占有整个北大，“率土之滨，莫非王土”。井冈山只在学生宿舍区占领了几座楼。每一座楼房都逐渐成为一个堡垒，守卫森严。两派逐渐自己制造一些土武器。掌权的新北大公社财大气粗，把昂贵钢管锯断，把一头磨尖，变成长矛。这种原始的武器虽“土”，但对付手无寸铁的井冈山，还是绰有余裕。井冈山当然不肯示弱，也拼凑了一些武器。据说两边都有研究炸药的人。在这剑拔弩张的情况下，两派交过几次手，械斗过几次。一名外边来的中学生就无缘无故地惨死在新北大公社长矛之下。

这真正是你死我活的搏斗，但中间也不缺少令人解颐的插曲。主斗者都是青年学生，他们还没有完全脱离孩子气。他们的一些举动迹近儿戏。比如有一次，两派正在大饭厅里召开大会进行辩论。唇枪舌剑，充满了火药气味。两派群众高呼助威，气氛十分紧张、严肃。正当辩论到紧急关头，忽然从大饭厅支撑住屋顶的大木梁上，嘭地一声，掉下来了一串破鞋。“破鞋”是什么意思，我国人民，至少是北方人民，都明白的。……然而正在这样一个十分严重的关键时刻，两派群众都瞪红了眼睛，恨不能喷出火焰焚毁对方。然而从天上降下来这样一个插曲来，群众先是惊愕，立刻转为哈哈大笑。这一场激烈无比的辩论还能继续下去吗？同样成串的破鞋，还出现在井冈山占领的学生宿舍的窗子外面。其用意完全相同。这些小小的插曲难道不能令人解颐吗？

我还在大饭厅参加了另一场两派的大辩论。两派的主要领导人坐在台上，群众坐在台下。领导人的官衔也全都改变了，不叫什么长、什么主任，而叫（也许只有井冈山这样叫）“勤务员”。真正让人感到一股革命的气氛，就好像法国大革命的那样，领导人的头衔也都平民化了。坐在台上的井冈山领导人中居然有一位老人。他是著名的流体力学专家、相对论专家，是一个富有正义感的人，在群众中有相当高的威信，是党中央明令要保护的少数几个人中之一。他是怎样参加群众性的革命组织井冈山的，我不十分清楚。只是从别人嘴中断断续续地听说，他不满那位“老佛爷”的所作所为，逐渐流露出偏袒井冈山的情绪。于是新北大公社就组织群众，向他围攻；有的找上门去，有的打电话谩骂、恫吓。弄得这一位老先生心烦意乱。原来他并没有参加井冈山的意思。但是，到

了此时，实逼处此，他于是横下了一条心，干脆下海，立即被井冈山群众选为总勤务员之一。现在他也到大饭厅来，坐在台上，参加这一场大辩论，成为坐在主席台上年龄最大的人。这时大饭厅里挤得水泄不通，两派群众都有。辩论的题目很多，无非是自以为是，而对方为非。这让我立即想到美国总统选举的两派候选人在电视上面对面辩论的情况。辩论精彩时，台下的群众鼓掌欢呼。一时大饭厅中剑拔弩张而又逸趣横生，热闹非凡。

当时整个学校的情况就是这样闹嚷嚷，乱哄哄（全国的情况也是这样）。那一句“乱了敌人”的名言，在这里无论如何也对不上号。谁能知道谁是敌人呢？当时全北京，全国的群众组织在分分合合了一阵以后，基本上形成了两大派，在北京这叫做天派与地派。每一派都认为对方是敌人，唯我独革，军队被派出来支“左”，也搞不清楚谁是“左”。结果有的地方连军队也分了派。这实际上是乱了自己。如果真有敌人的话，他们会站在旁边，站在暗中，拍手称快。

在这样的情况下，我自己怎样呢？

我滥竽人民之中，深知这实在是来之不易。所以我最初下定决心，不参加任何一派，做一个逍遥派是我唯一可选择的道路，这也是一条阳关大道。在全校乱糟糟的情况下，走这样一条路，可以不用操心，不用激动，简直是乱世的桃花源。反正学校里已经“停课闹革命”，我不用教书，不用写文章，有兴趣就看一看大字报，听一听辩论会，逍遥自在，无忧无虑，简直像一个活神仙。想到快意处，不禁一个人发出会心的微笑。

但是，人世间决没有世外桃源，燕园自不能例外。燕园天天发生的事情时时刻刻地刺激着我，我是一个有知觉有感情的人，故作麻木状对我来说是办不到的。我必须做出反应。我在北大当了二十年的系主任，担任过全校的工会主席，担任过一些比较重要的社会职务，其中有全国政协委员、北京市人大代表等等。俗话说：“树大招风。”我这棵树虽然还不算大，但也达到了招风的高度。我这个人还有一些特点，说好听的就是，心还没有全死，还有一点正义感。说不好听的就是，我是天生的犟种，很不识相。在这样主客观的配合下，即使北大有一个避风港，我能钻得进去吗？我命定了必须站在暴风雨中。

不钻避风港，我究竟应该怎样做呢？我逐渐发现，那一位新北大公社的女头领有点不对头。她的所作所为违背了上面的革命路线。什么叫革命路线？我也并不全懂。学习了十多年的政治理论，天天听那一套东

西，积之既久，我这冥顽的脑袋瓜似乎有点开了窍，知道干一切工作都必须走群众路线。我觉得，对待群众的态度如何，是判断一个领导人的重要的尺度，是判断他执行不执行上面的革命路线的重要标准。而偏偏在这个问题上，我认为——只是我认为——那个女人背离了正确道路。新北大公社是在北大执掌大权的机构，那个女人是北大的女皇。此时已经成立了“革命委员会”，这是完全遵照上面的指示的结果。“革命委员会好”，这个“最高指示”一经发出，全国风靡。北大自不能落后，于是那个女人摇身一变成了北大“合法”政权的头子，北京大学革命委员会主任。这真是锦上添花，岂不猗欤休哉！然而这更增加了这一位不学有术、智商实际上是低能的“老佛爷”的气焰。她更加目空一切，在一些“小李子”抬的轿子上舒舒服服，发号施令，对于胆敢反对她的人则采取残酷镇压的手段，停职停薪，给小鞋穿，是家常便饭。严重则任意宣布“打倒”，使对方立即成为敌人，可以格杀勿论。她也确实杀了几个无辜的人，那一个校外来的惨死在新北大公社长矛下的中学生，我在上面已经谈到。看了这一些情况，看了她对待群众的态度，我心里愤愤难平。我认为她违反了上面的革命路线。我有点坐不稳钓鱼船了。

但是，我是深知这一位女首领的。她愚而多诈，心狠手辣。我不愿意冒同她为敌的风险。我只好暂时韬晦，依违两派之间，做出一个中立的态度。

在这期间，有几个重大的事件值得一提。第一件是到印尼驻华大使馆去游行示威。大概是因为印尼方面烧了我们驻雅加达的大使馆，为了报复，就去示威。这是一个深得人心的爱国行动。北大的两大派哪一个也不想丢掉这个机会来显示自己的力量，争取更多的群众。两派都可以说是“倾巢”出动。在学校南门里的林荫大道上，排上了几十辆租来的大汽车，供游行示威者乘坐之用。两派的群众当然分乘自己的车。可我哪一派都不是，想乘车就成了问题。两派认识我的几个干将看到有机可乘，都到我跟前来献殷勤，拉我上他们的车，井冈山的一位东语系的女干将，拉我特别积极。从内心里来说，我是愿意上他们的车的。但是，我还有顾虑，不愿意或者不敢贸然从事。新北大公社派来拉我的人也很积极。最后，经过了一阵不大不小的思想斗争，我还是上了公社的车。一路上，人声鼎沸，红旗招展。到了印尼大使馆，喊了一阵口号，又浩浩荡荡地回到燕园来，皆大欢喜。

另一件事情是到解放军一位高级将领家中去“闹革命”，或者是去“揪”他。他的家是在玉泉山的一个什么地方。我并没有听清楚，为什么单单到他家去“闹”。反正当时任何一个战斗队，可能在某某后台的支

持下，都有权宣布打倒什么人，“揪”什么人。我连他住的确切地方都不知道。这一次因为路近，没有乘坐大车，绝大部分人是步行前往。我因为属于“有车阶级”，于是便骑车去了。由于两派群众混杂在一起，我没有像到印尼使馆去示威时那样受窘。没有人来拉我参加哪一派的游行。我成了骑车单干户。在分不清是哪一派的车队中随大流骑向前去。过了青龙桥，我看还有人骑车向西山奔去，我也就盲从起来，跟着那些车骑向前去。一直到了万安公墓，是玉泉山背后了。知道不对头，忙回转车头，又来到了青龙桥，却听群众中有人大声嚷嚷，说是已经“闹过革命”了。我只好随人流回到燕园。到底我也不知道，那一位将军究竟住在什么地方，我连大门都没有看到。我想，当时很多人闹革命就是这样闹法。

还有一件事情比较重要，必须提一提。北大两派为了拉拢干部，壮大声势，都组织了干部学习班。有一些在前一阶段被打成走资派的干部，批斗了一阵之后，不知是由于什么原因，虽然靠边站了，却也不再批斗，这些人有的也成了两派争取的对象。我也是被争取的对象之一。有不少东语系的教员动员我参加学习班，井冈山的人动员我参加他们的班，新北大公社的人动员我参加自己的学习班。虽然我经过长期的观察和考虑，决心慎重行事。我要是到井冈山学习班去“亮相”，其中隐含着极大的危险性。新北大公社毕竟是大权在握，人多势众，兵强马壮，而且又有那样一个心胸狭隘、派性十足的领袖。我得罪了他们，后患不堪设想。迟疑了很久，为了个人的安全，我还是参加了新北大公社的学习班。两派学习班的宗旨，从表面上来看，看不出什么差别，都拥护伟大领袖，都竭尽全力向领袖夫人表忠心。对后一位的吹捧，达到了惊人的程度。两派各自贴了不知道多少大字报，把她捧得像圣母一样。我水平低，对于这一点完全赞同。虽然我也曾通过小道消息听了不少对她十分不利的话；但我依然不改初衷。

随着时间的推移，由于我这个人不善于掩蔽自己的想法，有话必须说出来，心里才痛快，我对于两派的看法，大家一清二楚，这就给我招来了麻烦。两派的信徒，特别是学生，采用了车轮战术来拉我。新北大公社的学生找到我家，找到我的办公室（我怎能还有什么办公室呢？但是，在我记忆中，确实是在办公室中会见了她们。我现在一时还想不清楚，以后或许能回忆起来）来，明白无误地告诉我说：“你不能参加0派（井冈山）！”这还是比较客气的。不客气的就直截了当地对我提出警告：“当心你的脑袋！”有的也向我家打电话，劝说我，警告我；有甜言蜜语，也有大声怒斥，花样繁多，频率很高。我发现，我现在的处境几乎同我上面提到的那一位老教授完全一样。我有点不耐烦了。我曾说

过，我是天生的犟种，有点牛脾气。你越来逼我，我就越不买账。经过了激烈的思想斗争，我决心干脆下海。其中的危险性我是知道的。我在日记中写道："为了保卫毛主席的革命路线，虽粉身碎骨，在所不辞！"可见我当时心情之一斑。

我就这样上了山（井冈山）。

反公社派的学生高兴了，立即选我为井冈山九纵（东语系）的勤务员。这在当时还是非常少见的。

海下了，山上了。这个举动有双重性。好处是，它给我的内心带来了宁静，带来了平衡，不必再为参加或不参加这样的问题而大伤脑筋了。坏处是，它给我带来了恶性发作的派性。派性我本来就有的。但过去必需加以隐蔽。现在既然一锤定音，再也用不着躲躲闪闪了。我于是同一些同派的青年学生贴大字报，发表演说，攻击新北大公社，讲的也不可能全是真话，谩骂成分也是不可避免的。

我心中也不是没有侥幸心理。我自恃即使自己过去对共产党不了解，但我从来没有参加过国民党或任何其他反动组织，我的历史是清白的。新北大公社不一定敢"揪"我。

但这只是我的想法的一面。此时，新北大公社那位女头领肯定已视我如眼中钉。她心狠手辣，我所深知。况且她此时正如日中天，成为中共中央候补委员、北京市革命委员会的副主任，趾高气扬，炙手可热。我季某竟敢在太岁头上动土，她能善罢干休、饶过我吗？而且此时形而上学猖獗，在对立面成员的言谈中、文章中，抓住片言只语，加以曲解，诬陷罗织，无限上纲，就可以把对方打成反革命或现行反革命。比如"资本主义"与"社会主义"在大脑中管语言的那一部分里可能是放在一个卡片柜里面的，稍一不慎，就容易拿错。一旦拿错，让对方抓住小辫儿，"现行反革命"的帽子必能戴上。那一位弱智的女头领就常常出现这个问题，她的徒子徒孙经常为此而为她捏一把汗。这样的形而上学再加上派性，就能杀人而且绰有余裕。这一点我是清清楚楚的。

因此，我自己的侥幸心理并不可靠。我怀着这种侥幸心理，在走钢丝，随时都能够跌下来，跌入深渊。这一点我也是清清楚楚的。在1967年的夏天到秋天，我都在走钢丝。我心里像揣着十五只小鹿，七上八下，惴惴不安。此时，流言极多。一会儿说要揪我了；一会儿又说要抄我的家了。我听也不是，不听也不是。在我的日记里，我几乎每一周都要写上一句："暴风雨在我头上盘旋。"这暴风雨说不定什么时候就会压了下来，把我压垮、压碎。这时候反公社的北大教员恐怕都有我这种感

觉，而我最老。炎炎的长夏，惨淡的金秋，我就是在这种惴惴不安中度过的。

7 HOME RAIDING

As it was getting cold the situation was becoming tense. Dark clouds gathered over my head: that woman chieftain, Old Dowager, was about to batter me.

Did I still take a chance now?

Yes, but only to a certain degree. I don't have braids of hair and grow a tail so I don't think you can easily find fault with my conduct.[1]

But I was wrong.

On the night of November 30, 1967, I was in sound sleep after taking sleeping pills. Suddenly I was woken up by the honk of car horn outside, followed by the bangs on the door. Slipping into the garment, I opened the door. In came a group of six or seven sturdy men, who were students from my department, all deep-dyed followers of the woman chieftain. Wooden clubs in hands, they looked threatening. I understood something had happened. But I was psychologically ready and not surprised. An old saying goes, "A great man sizes up an adverse situation and avoids rash action and unnecessary suffering." I was not a great man but would not want to face the odds head-on and suffer. I showed no sign of resistance so they had no use for their clubs. Their action was so-called "revolutionary action," which derived from the popular slogan chanted every day, "Making revolution is nothing wrong, and making havoc is absolutely correct." I knew this was a quotation by some weighty figure. But it sounded absurd. "Making revolution" and "making havoc" seemed quite straightforward in meaning, but no one understood their true meaning. Under the shield of the brilliant terms "making revolution" and "making havoc," misdemeanors and atrocities of all kinds were committed in broad daylight. I was a person with some rather eccentric behaviors and went out of my way to advocate someone's "revolutionary line." Now the revolution spearheaded its attack on me, but I, thick-headed, still hung on to the "revolutionary line."

I didn't have chance to put on my coat before being rounded up to the kitchen, where I joined my aunt and wife. Old as they were, three of us

became the criminals under arrest. During the late hours of the night, piercing gusts blew through the kitchen and the whole family huddled there, everyone shivering in cold. I could not figure out what the two old ladies were thinking about at the moment. We were not allowed to talk to each other, as big clubs were constantly brandished about in front of us. Right now I knew what I should do. The thought of humanitarianism did not come to my mind, since humanitarianism had long been rejected as trash and whoever mentioned it would be "a revisionist." Today, I'm still wrestling with the confusion why a revealing of humanitarianism, or a touching upon it, was denied to ordinary people. In the Chinese history of philosophy of thousands of years, the origin of kind-heartedness versus evil in human nature has been a topic of discussion and people still argue about it today. In the past I believed in kind-heartedness and thought compassion was universally innate. But, on the day of the raiding of my home, I adopted the view of evil as prevailing human nature. "Human beings are evil at birth and kind-heartedness is a result of cultivation." With regard to the storming of my home, would you say these people were kind-hearted? Can you deny their beastly quality? Today a person of integrity can be but concerned with the deteriorating social morality. Who on earth is to blame for the corruptions in the society? And where on earth did these depravations originate?

I've digressed too far. Some of my thoughts did not occur to me at that time; they only formed gradually in later time. In that circumstance, I did not dare to disobey orders, nor was I willing to beg for better treatment. Dealing with savage species, one could never speak in human terms and show feelings. Therefore I huddled on the ice-cold cement floor, watching and listening silently. I was curious: Why do you use an ox cleaver to kill a chicken, and why do you fuss about handling three feeble, helpless old persons? Just send one young guy and that is enough to complete the task. Meanwhile I saw two burly men standing by the kitchen door, one of them being a student of mine with the last name of Gu. My student and I, a professor, now turned the bitter foes. I knew our life was on their hands. One could beat a person to death and get away with it at that time. The spears and clubs, held in their hands, were laws.

I couldn't see what was happening outside but could hear the sounds. These young revolutionaries were inexperienced, ignorant of the process of kidnapping in old China, in which kidnappers taped the victim's eyes with the

healing plaster and filled his ears with the deposited oil from the kitchen range. As a teacher I failed to fulfill my teaching responsibility in giving them these lessons. But my past neglect of teaching duty now benefited me. I heard something going on outside, something gruesome. A clamor of cracks and snaps in the two rooms of mine, one big and the other small, came to me steadily. It seemed I had obtained the "clairvoyant telescope," which is depicted in the Buddhist scriptures and able to see through the walls, and seen the "young revolutionaries" rummaging through the bed and chests. The students destroyed whatever they wanted by smashing and kicking. If something was locked inside a container, no matter whether it was a wooden chest or an iron box, they simplified the way of unlocking it by knocking down the lock with an ax. I had some antiques and trinkets, which I had collected over many years of frugal living. These objects, difficult to come by and worth keeping in commemoration, embodied care, effort and hardship of my life. In a flash, however, they were shattered to pieces. Undoubtedly, these young people were quite experienced in raiding a home, after a vigorous round of practicing in the early months of the Revolution, agile and dexterous as "rolling back the enemy as we would a mat."[2] But my heart was bleeding.

After they completed playing havoc with my properties upstairs, one student of the Thai language, whose surname was Wang, asked me for the keys to downstairs rooms. It turned out that he came to my home once before so he knew my books were all stored downstairs. Since I moved into this building, I had lived on the second floor. The officials from a certain administrative department of the university once suggested I move my books down to the garage, concerned with the heavy weight that would damage the floor. The garage was originally used to house bikes used by residents of the building, when bikes were a few, and did provide roomy space for the purpose. As the number of bikes increased quickly later, the garage could no longer function as expected but was left empty. Then, with the approval of the other residents of the building, I moved the books down into it. The young revolutionaries, heedful and sharp-sighted, would leave no stone unturned. As he came over to me, I could do nothing but submit the key, understanding I was dealing with a sophisticated hand. Over there downstairs, those books I had highly treasured were ruthlessly ravaged. But I couldn't see or hear what was going on. However, again it seemed as if I was

endowed with the "clairvoyant telescope" and hearing aid, observing with my mental eyes the wrecking in detail. My heart was bleeding.

These young revolutionaries might not have studied Eastern literatures with flying colors later. But they were unmistakably knowledgeable of various cases of vilification and false charge in Chinese history. In ancient China, a prevailing way of penalty, called "reaching for the watermelon through its vines," was to trace relatives and close friends of the accused by way of raiding the home and then execute them all. They forced me to hand in my address book containing my friends' addresses so as to locate them. Now I had to worry about them. Those innocent relatives and friends of mine would never know that their casual contacts with me would place them in hot water, for I had kept their addresses on my notebook. My heart was bleeding.

I huddled in the kitchen, torn by a surge of apprehension like tidal waves. How did I feel at this point? "I was simply at a loss what to do." I don't know how to describe my state of mind. Generally I had a blend of feelings as if I had knocked over the cooking rack, mixing up seasonings of sour, sweet, bitter and hot, which were hard to be distinguished from one another. Was I distressed? Yes, but not in the absolute sense. Was I enraged? Yes, but not in the absolute sense. Was I terrified? Yes, but not in the absolute sense. Was I at ease? Yes, but certainly in a narrow sense. Basically, I was at once sober-minded and confused. It was the time when the lives of us three old persons were at the hands of others. Like a few ants, we could be crashed to powder with a wipe of finger at any moment. We cried and groaned to heaven and earth but no one came to our rescue. We were perplexed at our whereabouts. Were we still in an abode of this world? Or were we dropped into the infernal regions? Or were we herded to a jungle of beasts? Life, once dear and precious to us three elderly persons, suddenly turned so hostile that we were begrudged the mere existence. "Banging on my chest in desperation, I can only count on my mother for help." I wished I could be Shagongdaluo, the female protagonist in the ancient well-known Hindu opera *Abhijnanasakuntala*, in which Shagongdaluo's angel mother suddenly descends from heaven at the moment of the daughter's plight and carted her off back to the celestial sphere.[3] It was only a fairytale and a Utopian fantasy in daily life. Then, where was my way out?

Night sauntered by outside the windows. Nature turned a blind eye to

what was going on in human society, tragic or comic as it might be, as if nothing had happened. The revolution made, the "heroes" let out a mania to their heart's content, as the "birds fluttered off upon a bout of twitter." Instantly the voice faded out in the yard and the two stout men I saw moments ago vanished. Outside the building the truck engine started grumbling as the heroes withdrew themselves in triumph. The vast darkness echoed with the boom of the truck receding into distance before hush gradually regained its reign at night. It was the first day of a new month by the Chinese lunar calendar, when this blow of fate struck me. As I pulled myself together, looking around in undisturbed wonder, it seemed nothing had taken place, with the three of us elderly souls left behind in a deserted horror of the club-brandishing heroes' foray into the revolutionary battlefield.

Now my home was a sight of dumpster. Tables, chairs, and everything that was movable were turned over. Those trinkets, little antique and anything that was fragile, were smashed to pieces. The floor was littered with books, tumbled off the book-shelves, and papers, scattered from the drawers. Half of the research materials I had collected for tens of years of study were taken away, the other half scattered around on the floor. My bedding was searched and the sturdy hot-water bag, originally tucked under the quilt, was stamped broken by someone, discharging water onto the bed. We gaped in motionless silence. What could we say now? At this point we could only leave our misfortune with heaven for judgment. How could we renew sleep in such a state of mind? We all turned clay figures, having lost vocal and emotional properties. Alas, we were vegetables!

However, I had consciousness and I was thinking. I recalled a popular saying of the time, "When a good person beats a good person, it results from misunderstanding; when a bad person beats a good person, the latter should take the suffering as a valuable experience; when a good person beats a bad person, the latter deserves the treatment; when two bad persons beat each other, they should be left alone in internal strife." If the populace was classified on children's dichotomy between good and bad persons, where did I stand? I was pretty sure I fell into the category of good persons, no matter how many weaknesses I had and how many blunders I had committed. I cared about others, though I was concerned with myself in many cases. I was not Cao Mengde, who believed "One should always make sure that he owes others something instead of being owed."[4] I met the standards for a good

person. What about those young revolutionaries who raided my home? Certainly some of them were good persons, who were deceived for misconduct, and should not be to blame. But most of them, probably, took advantage of our predicament to enjoy brutally torturing others for baleful ends. If they were not condemned as bad persons, would there be any bad person at all in the world? They committed crimes unscrupulously under the shield of those words mentioned above. Isn't everything self-evident? I once held those sentences in blind admiration. From my perspective of today, those are nothing but the most worthless quibbles of metaphysics blending right and wrong, confusing black with white, and rejecting morals and justice. Unfortunately the harmful impact was huge, as tens of thousands, later millions, of young people were deceived. Among them, who are in their 40s and 50s now, are some upstarts who have become son-in-laws of wealthy families through marriage and others who have made their fortune themselves and obtained high social positions. But it is weird that some of them don't feel guilty at all for what they did in the past! Are they truly that forgetful? Are they really rid of conscience, the primary human faculty?

The night roved at a snail's pace before the day broke. "At what time will it dawn as if the night inches into infinity?" It is the longest night I have ever known in life, a night to be remembered, too, for which I feel short of expression. Once it was morning, I rode my bike to the headquarters of "Jinggangshan". I had a pipe-dream, expecting to seek assistance from "my own faction." On my way I heard the repeated chants, "Down with Ji Xianlin," and the listing of my "crimes" blasted from campus loud-speakers. Maybe I was somewhat influential so that the "New Beida Commune" went to great lengths to defame me. Now Ji Xianlin, a nobody, rode into the resounding frenzy of "Down with Ji Xianlin." I was caught in a hallucination that I landed in a fairyland, a realm of devils. Today as I recall my state of mind then, the experience was, I think, at once a mock and a fear. From then on I became a bird, a game that everyone could snare and dispose of at will.

When I arrived at the headquarters of "Jingganshan" and talked about what had happened to me the night before, those people in charge said they learned about it earlier. Now they were sending a photographer to my home to take pictures of the scene. At the meantime, they started to investigate my history, with a view to dumping me as a burden, as I was now likely to cause harm rather than provide help to them, in the factional strife against the "New

Beida Commune". I learned of their intention later. At that time I was still confident of my dependence upon my factional organization. Stepping out of the gate, I saw the bike, which I left leaning on the tree, now locked with the tree. Obviously it was what someone from the "New Beida Commune" did. Frustrated, I said bye-bye to the bike, parting it for ever, which had kept my company for twenty years, and shuffled back home.

Back at home, I saw the photographer, sent from the headquarters of "Jinggangshan", rummaging through a pile of trash. I knew he was certainly not looking for something of aesthetic originality. Behind this scenario, there was a political motive. The photographer was searching for a sign of irreverence those home-raiding people left behind, such as a smeared picture, or a stamped newspaper photo, of the great leader, which could be used as a handle for turning the tables on their foes. If he picked up something expected and photographed it, then it could be used to accuse the opposing side of committing the terrifying crime of showing disrespect toward the great leader. But the "New Beida commune," well-versed in political rivalry, showed no loophole in their home raiding and committed no "mistake" or "crime" of that kind. Having combing through the rooms, the photographer beat a retreat, wondering at his opponents' seamless work.

The leaders of "Jinggangshan" showed perfunctory sympathy with me. I had one idea when there with them, but that idea later on sent shivers down my spine; I wanted to stay inside the headquarters of "Jinggangshan," because I feared the opposing side would send people to catch me at any time and lock me up somewhere, which was then a common practice. The headquarters of Jinggangshan were a sanctuary for me, and the building almost became an armored stronghold. But I hesitated. Though I had no idea that the "Jinggangshan" people would soon send someone on a nationwide investigation tour on my background as "New Beida Commune" had done, I learned a couple of days earlier that "Jinggangshan" did send someone to investigate the background of another old professor I mentioned before, who used to work as chief orderly in its headquarters.[5] Those faction leaders thought elderly professors, those returnees from abroad in particular, usually had a complex political background. So they had better scrutinize their credentials themselves and take protective measures, if necessary, before its opponents took the upper hand. Since that professor was treated this way, why shouldn't they do the same to me? I was rather disillusioned at that time.

I was now denounced as the enemy of the people. What would my faction do in order to reject a bummer like me? I had a clear record, I was sure. But both trapped in the delirium of metaphysics and factionalism, the two factions could do things like killing people. Could the investigation, conducted in light of metaphysics, be accurate? Could it be just? I would rather subject myself to whatever treatment might befall me and let my body be the meat on their chopping block than set my face against my fate. With my mind made up, I went straight home. Now my home became my jail. As I mentioned above, I felt, at each moment in the summer and fall of that year, dark clouds were gathering over my head as a storm was about to strike me any time. Now it seemed I was lying on the guillotine waiting for the drop of the blade. Originally I believed the sky was boundless and the land vast. But they looked so cramped and infinitesimal that I, skinny and light, was denied room for existence. I remember I once read a piece of writing by Jin Shengtan before he was executed, "It's a painful experience to be executed. I didn't know I would end up this way, so I may feel delighted in going through it as well!"[6] I didn't work to attain the "counter-revolutionary" cap, either. But I would never say, "I feel delighted!" What I could say is "What's to be done! What's to be done!"

Anyway I turned "counter-revolutionary" overnight from being of "people," a transformation between the two positions poles apart. Without any paper work, I became an outlaw simply because of one cry, "Down," uttered by the "New Beida Commune". The branch section of the Commune in the Department of Eastern Languages ordered me, "Stay at home! Behave yourself. Don't talk about what you shouldn't. Don't stir around! Wait for summons!" But I waited and waited before a few days passed and no one came to bother me. What had happened? After the ten-year turmoil was over, someone told me the Commune took me as a thorn in its side and resolved to pull me out. However, those people were short of substantial evidence for my "crime." Therefore they decided to condemn me first and then started searching for proof, hoping to come by some "solid" testimony in ravaging my home, so as to prove what they did was correct. Eventually their scheme "worked." Distorting facts, belittling me severely and fabricating false charges, they achieved their goal. About three or four days after the raiding of my home, two Red Guards wearing red armbands forced their way into my house, blustering and swaggering. They marched me to the Building of

Foreign Languages. I used to walk into the building as department head. Now I was led inside as a prisoner. It was a shame that I ended up in such distress after more than twenty years of service as the department head, assiduously, painstakingly, and through thick and thin. What a total freak of humanity!

I was allowed to sit in the first session of interrogation, in which I didn't appreciate their courtesy and my attitude was rather "uncooperative." I felt injured, pretty sure that I had left no "braid" and "tail" as a handle for attack, and wrangled with the interrogators. I thought, "One old saying goes like this, 'It's easier to catch a tiger than set it free.' Let's wait and see how you're going to release me later." I spoke loudly, emotions running high on me. As expected, the interrogation ended in no result. Then the second and third sessions followed. A few of the interrogators, who were my former students, were a little embarrassed in the beginning but their air grew harsh as the process went on. They might have secured more materials against me, the "backup evidence" that raised their confidence. In retrospect, I would like to make an inquiry here, "Those friends of mine who interrogated me at that time, how did you view the 'backup evidence' you procured? Did you really believe all the charges against me were true?"

I have digressed too far. Let me get back to their "backup evidence." The first piece of evidence was a basket, which contained a bunch of letters halfway burned to ashes. They said it was the testimony to my destroying the letters in order to avoid being charged. The letters, they claimed, were all of paramount importance, containing strict confidential information. The truth is, however, that I originally lived in a four-bedroom condo. Later when the Cultural Revolution broke out, I turned in two large rooms to the university to show my revolutionary inclination, after seeing the movement progressing more and more menacingly. I asked one of my old friends, who lived downstairs, to move upstairs and live with me. Then I was further shanghaied into yielding the two downstairs rooms to one female staff member of the Department of Western Languages, a "Jinggangshan" member who missed no chance to gain advantage by trickery and shamelessly flaunted her "revolutionary family origin." With the living space cut in half, I had piles of letters in need of storage. Thinking some of the letters could be rid of so as to have more space, I burned them in broad daylight, with no other motive at all. When one young revolutionary stopped me, I put the half-burned letters into a bamboo basket. Now it was the "proof of my crime." I recounted the event

to the interrogators, who said my attitude was extremely dishonest and crafty. The second piece of "backup evidence" was a kitchen knife. It was found under the pillow of my aunt during the raiding of my home. The truth is that, as the Cultural Revolution raged on, public security went down. It was said that burglars usually went to the kitchen, took the kitchen knife and mugged the host at knifepoint. My aunt was old and timid. Each night she would tuck the kitchen knife under her pillow in case that it was snatched off by a burglar. Now the interrogators said the knife was discovered under my pillow and I intended to use it for killing the Red Guards. When I presented the story, the interrogators, again, said my attitude was increasingly uncooperative. The third piece of "backup evidence" came from a lithographic print of Chiang Kai-shek and his wife Soong May-ling. It was given to me as a gift, when I was in Gottingen, Germany, by a Chinese "student" surnamed Zhang, who was probably a member of the Youth League of Three Principles of the People or the Blue Shirts Society.[7] My impression of Chiang, except a short period of time of confusion, has never been good since our petition tour to Nanjing in 1932. I thought he was a ruffian and never believed he would be successful in regaining the rule over the mainland of China. The law of history is that once a bad ruler is removed from power by the people, his chances are extremely slim to make a comeback. However, I had a bad habit that I kept all things given to me by others, even scraps of paper. It was quite contrary to the practice of Comrade Chen from Beijing's General Department of Police that I mentioned previously, who burned all his letters to ashes. Therefore, this print now brought me into trouble. The interrogators made a peremptory claim that I wanted to keep it until the time when the Chinese nationalists regained the control of the mainland of China, so I would rise and claim rewards with it for my loyalty to the KMT. They were not so straightforward to label me a "disguised KMT spy," from which I knew I made a hairbreadth escape. Once again I explained my reason for keeping the print, but, again, they rejected me as being extremely deceitful.

Even if I had grown a hundred mouths, I could not have been able to clear up the case. What else could I do?

[1] Here Ji figuratively combines the two sayings popularized in the Cultural Revolution, "Seize one's braid of hair worn at the back" and "Clutch one's tail" to mean he leaves no shortcomings and loopholes for others or his fault-finding enemies to their advantage.

[2] A line from Mao Zedong's poem "Against the Second Encirclement Campaign: To the Tune of *Yu Jia Ao*,"

The very clouds foam atop White Cloud Mountain,

At its base the roar of battle quickens.

Withered trees and rotten stumps join in the fray.

A forest of rifles presses,

As the Flying General descends from the skies.

In fifteen days we have marched seven hundred *li*

Crossing misty Gan waters and green Fujian hills,

Rolling back the enemy as we would a mat.

A voice is heard wailing;

His "Bastion at every step" avails him nought!

See pp. 24-25, *Mao Zedong Poems*. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2007.

[3]*Abhijnanasakuntala*, an ancient Hindu opera written by Kalidasa, a major Hindu playwright and poet living in the fourth and fifth centuries. His other two well-known plays are *Shengman and Huotianyou* and *Vikramorvasiya*. His works are unique for their description of the character's inner world and national character.

[4] Cao Mengde, or Cao Cao, styled Mengde, a politician and strategist in the late Han Dynasty and a major character in the Chinese classical fiction about the same period of time, *Three Kingdoms: A Historical Novel* written by Luo Guanzhong. In the fiction, Luo Guanzhong creates a stereotype out of the description of Cao Cao as an ambitious, crafty and evil person.

[5] In the Cultural Revolution, the organizations of Red Guards, at the early stage of its development, and the factions, at the middle stage of its development, often sent people to various places in the country to investigate, or fabricate in fact, the family and working background of a person, who was, or about to be, denounced as counter-revolutionary, for the purpose of persecution.

[6] Jin Shengtan (1608-1661), Chinese literary writer and critic in the late Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and early Qing Dynasty, well known for his literary criticism on *The Outlaws of the Marsh*, authored by Shi Nai'an, and other Chinese classics.

[7] The Youth League of Three Principles of the People, a youth organization under the leadership of the KMT, which was founded in 1938 with Chiang Kai-shek as its first head and dismissed in 1947; the Blue-Shirts Society, also known as the Society of Practice of the Three Principles of the People, which, founded in 1932 and dismissed in 1946, was a secret clique and a secret police or para-military force in the KMT under the direction of Chiang Kai-shek.

柒　抄家

随着天气的转凉，风声越来越紧。我头上的风暴已经凝聚了起来：那一位女头领要对我下手了。

此时，我是否还有侥幸心理呢？

还是有的。我自恃头上没有辫子，屁股上没有尾巴，不怕你抓。

然而我错了。

1967年11月30日深夜。我服了安眠药正在沉睡，忽然听到门外有汽车声，接着是一阵异常激烈的打门声。连忙披衣起来，门开处闯进来大汉六七条，都是东语系的学生，都是女头领的铁杆信徒，人人手持大木棒，威风凛凛，面如寒霜。我知道发生了什么事，我早有思想准备，因此我并不吃惊。俗话说："英雄不吃眼前亏。"我决非英雄，眼前亏却是不愿意吃的。我毫无抵抗之意，他们的大棒可惜无用武之地了。这叫做"革命行动"，我天天听到叫嚷："革命无罪，造反有理！"我知道这话是有来头的。我只感到，这实在是一桩非常离奇古怪的事情。什么"革命"，什么"造反"，谁一听都明白；但是却没有人真正懂得是什么意思。什么样的坏事，什么样的罪恶行为，都能在"革命"、"造反"等堂而皇之的伟大的名词掩护下，在光天化日之下公然去干。我自己也是一个非常离奇古怪的人物，我要拼命维护什么人的"革命路线"，现在革命革到自己头上来了。然而我却丝毫也不清醒，仍然要维护这一条革命路线。

我没有来得及穿衣服，就被赶到厨房里去。我那年近古稀的婶母和我的老伴，也被赶到那里，一家三人作了楚囚。此时正是深夜风寒，厨房里吹着刺骨的过堂风，"全家都在风声里"，人人浑身打战。两位老妇人心里想些什么，我不得而知。我们被禁止说话，大棒的影子就在我们眼前晃。我此时脑筋还是清楚的。我并没有想到什么人道主义，因为人道主义早已批倒批臭，谁提人道主义，谁就是"修正主义分子"。一直到今天，我还是不明白，难道人就不许有一点人性，讲一点人道吗？中国几千年的哲学史上有性善、性恶之争，迄今仍是众说纷纭，莫衷一是。我原来是相信性善说的，我相信，恻隐之心人皆有之的。从被抄家的一刻起，我改变了信仰，改宗性恶说。"人性本恶，其善者人为也。"从抄家的行动来看，你能说这些人的性还是善的吗？你能说他们所具有的不

是兽性吗？今天社会风气，稍有良知者都不能不为之担忧。始作俑者究竟是谁呢？这种不良的社会风气究竟是从什么时候开始的呢？

这话扯得太远了。有些想法决不是被抄家时有的，而是后来陆续出现的。我当时既不敢顽强抵抗，也不卑躬屈膝请求高抬贵手。同禽兽打交道是不能讲人话谈人情的。我只是蜷缩在厨房里冰冷的洋灰地上，冷眼旁观，倾耳细听。我很奇怪，杀鸡焉用牛刀？对付三个手无寸铁的老人，何必这样惊师动众！只派一个小伙子来，就绰绰有余了。然而只是站厨房门口的就是两个彪形大汉，其中一个是姓谷的朝鲜语科的学生。过去师生，今朝敌我。我知道，我们的性命就掌握在他们手中，当时打死人是可以不受法律制裁的。他们的木棒中，他们的长矛中，就出法律。

我的眼睛看不到外面的情况，但耳朵是能听到的。这些小将究竟年纪还小，旧社会土匪绑票时，是把被绑的人眼睛上贴上膏药，耳朵里灌上灶油的。我这为师的没有把这一套东西教给自己的学生，是我的失职。由于失职，今天我得到了点好处：我还能听到外面的情况。外面的情况并不美妙。只听到我一大一小两间屋子里乒乓作响，声震屋瓦。我此时仿佛得到了佛经上所说的天眼通，透过几层墙壁，就能看到小将们正在挪动床桌，翻箱倒柜。他们所向无前，顺我者昌，逆我者亡。他们愿意砸烂什么，就砸烂什么；他们愿意踢碎什么，就踢碎什么。遇到锁着的东西，他们把开启的手段一律简化，不用钥匙，而用斧凿。管你书箱衣箱，管你木柜铁柜，喀嚓一声，铁断木飞。我多年来省吃俭用，积累了一些小古董、小摆设，都灌注着我的心血；来之不易，又多有纪念意义。在他们眼中，却视若草芥；手下无情，顷刻被毁。看来对抄家这一行，他们已经非常熟练，这是“文化大革命”中集中强化实践的结果。他们手足麻利，“横扫千军如卷席”。然而我的心在流血。

楼上横扫完毕，一位姓王的学泰语的学生找我来要楼下的钥匙。原来他到我家来过，知道我书都藏在楼下。我搬过来以后，住在楼上。学校有关单位，怕书籍过多过重，可能把楼压坏，劝我把书移到楼下车库里去。车库原来准备放自行车的。如果全楼只有几辆车的话，车库是够用的。但是自行车激剧增加，车库反而失去作用，空在那里。于是征求全楼同意，我把楼上的书搬了进去。小将们深谋远虑，涓滴不漏。他伸手向我要钥匙，我知道他是内行，敬谨从命。车库里我心爱的书籍遭殃的情况，我既看不见，也听不到。然而此时我既得了天眼通，又得了天耳通。库里一切破坏情况，朗朗如在眼前。我的心在流血。

这一批小将，东方语文学得不一定怎样有成绩，对中国历史上那一

套诬陷罗织却是了解的。古代有所谓“瓜蔓抄”的做法，就是顺藤摸瓜，把与被抄家者的三亲六友有关的线索都摸清楚，然后再夷九族。他们逼我交出记载着朋友们地址的小本本，以便进行“瓜蔓抄”。我此时又多了一层担心：我那些无辜的亲戚朋友不幸同我有了关系，把足迹留在我的小本本上。他们哪里知道，自己也都要跟着我倒霉了。我的心在流血。

我蜷曲在厨房里，心里面思潮翻滚，宛如大海波涛。我心里是什么滋味呢？“只是当时已惘然”，现在更说不清楚了，好像是打翻了酱缸，酸甜苦辣，一时俱陈。说我悲哀吗？是的，但不全是。说我愤怒吗？是的，但不全是。说我恐惧吗？是的，也不全是。说我坦然吗？是的，更不全是。总之，我是又清楚，又糊涂；又清醒，又迷离。此时我们全家三位老人的性命，掌握在别人手中。我们像是几只蚂蚁，别人手指一动，我们立即变为齑粉。我们呼天天不应，呼地地不答。我不知道，我们是置身于人的世界，还是鬼的世界，抑或是牲畜的世界。茫茫大地，竟无三个老人的容身之地了。“椎胸直欲依坤母”。我真想像印度古典名剧《沙恭达罗》中的沙恭达罗那样，在走投无路的情况下，生母天上仙女突然下凡，把女儿接回天宫去了。我知道，这只是神话中的故事，人世间是不会有的。那么，我的出路在什么地方呢？

暗夜在窗外流逝。大自然根本不管人间有喜剧，还是有悲剧，或是既喜且悲的剧。对于这些，它是无动于衷的，我行我素，照常运行。“英雄”们在革过命以后，“兴阑啼鸟尽”，他们的兴已经“阑”了。我听到门外忽然静了下来，两个手持大棒的彪形大汉，一转瞬间消逝不见。楼外响起了一阵汽车开动的声音：英雄们得胜回朝了。汽车声音刺破夜空，越响越远。此时正值朔日，天昏地暗。一片宁静弥漫天地之间，仿佛刚才什么事情也没有发生，只留下三个孤苦无告的老人，从棒影下解脱出来，呆对英雄们革过命的战场。

屋子里成了一堆垃圾。桌子、椅子，只要能打翻的东西，都打翻了。那一些小摆设、小古董，只要能打碎的，都打碎了。地面堆满了书架子上掉下来的书和从抽屉里丢出来的文件。我辛辛苦苦几十年积累起来的科研资料，一半被掳走，一半散落在地上。睡觉的床被彻底翻过，被子里非常结实的暖水袋，被什么人踏破，水流满了一床。看着这样被洗劫的情况，我们三个人谁都不说话——我们还有什么话可说呢？人生到此，天道宁论！我们哪里还能有一丝一毫的睡意呢？我们都变成了木雕泥塑，我们变成了失去语言、失去情感的人，我们都变成了植物人！

但是，我的潜意识还能活动，还在活动。我想到当时极为流行的一种说法：好人打好人是误会；坏人打好人是锻炼；好人打坏人是应该；

坏人打坏人是内讧。如果把芸芸众生按照小孩子的逻辑分为好人与坏人两大类的话，我自己属于哪一类呢？不管我自己有多少缺点，也不管我干过多少错事，我坚决认为自己应该归入好人一类。我除了考虑自己以外，也还考虑别人，我不是“宁教我负天下人，不能教天下人负我”的曹孟德。这就是天公地道的好人的标准。来到我家抄家打砸抢的小将们是什么人呢？他们之中肯定有好人，一时受到蒙蔽干了坏事，这是可以原谅的。但是，大部分人恐怕都是乘人之危，藉此发泄兽性的迫害狂，以达到不可告人的目的。如果说这样的人不是坏人，世界上还有坏人吗？他们在上面那种说法的掩护下，放心大胆地作起恶来。事情不是很明显吗？那几句话，我曾五体投地地崇拜过。及今视之，那不过是不讲是非、不分皂白、不讲原则、不讲正义的最低级的形而上学的诡辩。可惜受它毒害的年轻人上十万，上百万，到了今天，他们已经是四五十岁的成年人了，有的飞黄腾达；有的找到一个阔丈人，成了东床快婿；有的发了大财，官居高品，他们竟没有一个人对自己过去的所作所为感到一点悔恨，岂非咄咄怪事！难道这些人都那么健忘？难道这一些人连人类起码的良知都泯灭净尽了吗？

好不容易才熬到了天明。“长夜漫漫何时旦”？这一夜是我毕生最长的一夜，也是最难忘的一夜，用任何语言也无法形容的一夜。天一明，我就骑上了自行车到井冈山总部去。我痴心妄想，要从“自己的组织”这里来捞一根稻草。走在路上，北大所有的高音喇叭都放开了，一遍又一遍地高呼“打倒季羡林”！历数我的“罪行”。我这个人大概还有一点影响，所以新北大公社才这样兴师动众，大张旗鼓。一个渺小的季羡林骑在自行车上，天空弥漫着“打倒季羡林”的声音。我此时几疑置身于神话世界、妖魅之国。这种滋味连今天回忆起来，都觉得又是可笑，又是可怕。从今天起，我已经变成了一只飞鸟，人人可以得而诛之了。

到了井冈山总部，说明了情况。他们早已知道了。一方面派摄影师到我家进行现场拍摄；另一方面——多可怕呀！——他们已经决定调查我的历史，必要时把我抛出来，甩掉这个包袱，免得受到连累，不利于同新北大公社的斗争。这是后来才知道的，当时我还是一片痴心。走出大门，我那辆倚在树上的自行车已经被人——当然是新北大公社的——用锁锁死。没有别的办法，我只好步行回家。从此便同那辆伴随我将近二十年的车永远“拜拜”了。

回到家中，那一位井冈山的摄影师，在一堆垃圾中左看右看，寻找什么。我知道，在这里有决定意义的不是美，而是政治。他主要寻找公社抄家时在对待伟大领袖方面有没有留下可抓的小辫子，比如说领袖

像，他们撕了或者污染了没有？有领袖像的报纸，他们用脚踩了没有？如此等等。如果有一条被他抓住，拍摄下来，这就是对领袖的大不敬，可以上纲上到骇人的高度，是对敌斗争的一颗重型炮弹。但是，要知道新北大公社的抄家专家也是有水平的，是训练有素的，那样的“错误”或者“罪行”他们是决不会犯的。摄影师找了半天，发现公社的抄家术真正是无懈可击，嗒然离去。

我的处境，井冈山领导表面上表示同情。我当时有一个后来想起来令我感到后怕的想法：我想留在井冈山总部里。我害怕，公社随时都可能派人来，把我抓走，关在什么秘密的地方。这是当时屡次出现过的事，并不新鲜。井冈山总部是比较安全的，那里几乎是一个武装堡垒。可是我有点迟疑。我虽然还不知道他们准备同公社一样派人到处去调查我的历史。但是，在几天前我在井冈山总部里听到派人调查我在上面提到的那一位身为井冈山总勤务员之一的老教授的历史。他们认为，老知识分子，特别是留过洋的老知识分子的历史复杂；不如自己先下手调查，然后采取措施，以免被动。既然他们能调查那位老教授的历史，为什么就不能调查我的历史呢？我当时确曾感到寒心。现在我已经被公社“打倒”了。为了摆脱我这个包袱，他们会采取什么措施呢？我的历史，我最清楚。但是，那种两派共有的可怕的形而上学和派性，确实是能杀人的。用那种形而上学的方式调查出来的东西能准确吗？能公正吗？与其将来陷入极端尴尬的境地，被“自己人”抛了出去，还不如索性横下一条心，任敌人宰割吧。我毅然离开那里，回到自己家中。现在的家就成了我的囚笼。我在上面谈到，那年夏秋两季我时时感到有风暴在我头上凝聚，随时可以劈了下来。现在我仿佛成了躺在砍头架下的死囚，时时刻刻等待利刃从架上砍向我的脖颈。原来我认为天地是又宽又大的。现在才觉得，天地是极小极小的，小得容不下我这一身单薄的躯体。从前读一篇笔记文章，记载金圣叹临刑时说的话：“杀头，至痛也。我于无意得之，不亦快哉！”我这个“反革命”帽子，也是于无意中得之，我却无论如何也说不出：“不亦快哉！”我只能说：“奈何！奈何！”

不管怎样，一夜之间，我身上发生了质变：由人民变成了“反革命分子”。没有任何手续，公社一声“打倒！”我就被打倒了。东语系的公社命令我：必须呆在家里！只许规规矩矩，不许乱说乱动！要随时听候传讯！但是，在最初几天，我等呀，等呀；然而没有人来。原因何在呢？“十年浩劫”过了以后，有人告诉我：当时公社视我如眼中钉，必欲拔之而后快。但是，他们也感到“罪证”尚嫌不足。于是便采用了先打倒、后取证的战略，希望从抄家抄出的材料中取得“可靠的”证据，证明

打倒是正确的。结果他们“胜利”了。他们用诬陷罗织的手段，深文周纳，移花接木，加深了我的罪名。到了抄家后的第三天或第四天，来了，来了，两个臂缠红袖章的公社红卫兵，雄赳赳，气昂昂，闯进我家，把我押解到外文楼去受审。以前我走进外文楼是以主人的身份，今天则是阶下囚了。可怜我在外文楼当了二十多年的系主任，晨晨昏昏，风风雨雨，呕心沥血，努力工作，今天竟落到这般地步。世事真如白云苍狗了！

第一次审讯，还让我坐下。我有点不识抬举，态度非常“恶劣”。我憋了一肚子气，又自恃没有辫子和尾巴，同审讯者硬顶。我心里还在想：俗话说，捉虎容易放虎难，我看你们将来怎样放我？我说话有时候声音很大，极为激烈。结果审讯不出什么。如是一次，两次，三次。最初审讯我的人——其中有几个就是我的学生——有时候还微露窘相。可是他们的态度变得强硬了。可能是由于他们掌握的关于我的材料多起来了，他们心中有“底”了——我禁不住要在这里提出一个问题：当年审讯我的朋友们，你们当时对这些“底”是怎样想的呀？你们是不是真相信，这一切全是真的呢？

这话扯远了，还是回来谈他们的“底”。第一个“底”是一只竹篮子，里面装着烧掉一半的一些信件。他们说这是我想焚信灭迹的铁证。说我烧的全是一些极端重要的、含有重大机密的信件。事实是，我原来住四间房子，“文革”起来后，我看形势不对，赶忙退出两大间，让楼下住的我的一位老友上来住，楼下的房子被迫交给一个无巧不沾的自命“出身”很好的西语系公社的一位女职员。房子减了一多半，积存的信件太多，因此想烧掉一些，减轻空间的负担。我在光天化日之下公然焚烧，心中并没有鬼。然而被一个革命小将劝阻，把没有烧完的装在一只竹篮中。今天竟成了我的“罪证”。我对审讯我的人说明真相，结果对方说我态度极端恶劣。第二个“罪证”是一把菜刀，是抄家时从住在另一间小房间里我婶母枕头下搜出来的。原来在“文革”兴起以后，社会治安极坏，传说坏人闯入人家抢劫，进门先奔厨房搜寻菜刀，威胁主人。我婶母年老胆小，每夜都把菜刀藏在自己枕下，以免被坏人搜到。现在审讯者却说是在我的房里我的枕头下搜出来的，是准备杀红卫兵的，我把真相说明，结果对方又说我态度更加极端恶劣。第三个“罪证”是一张石印的蒋介石和宋美龄的照片。这是我在德国哥廷根时一个可能是三青团员或蓝衣社分子的姓张的“留学生”送给我的。我对蒋介石的态度，除了一段时间不明真相以外，从1932年南京请愿一直到今天，从来没有好过。我认为他是一个流氓。我也从来没有幻想过他真会反攻大陆。历史的规律是，一个坏统治者，一旦被人民赶走，决不可能再复辟成功的。可是我

有一个坏毛病，别人给我的信件，甚至片纸只字，我都保留起来，同我在上面提到的那一位公安总队的陈同志正相反，他是把所有的收到的信件都烧掉的。结果我果然由这一张照片而碰到点子上了。审讯者硬说，我保留这一张照片是想在国民党反攻大陆成功后邀功请赏的。他们还没有好意思给我戴上“国民党潜伏特务”的帽子，但已间不容发了。我向他们解释，结果是对方认为我的态度更加极端恶劣。

我百喙莫明。我还有什么办法呢？

8 ON THE EDGE OF "TAKING MY OWN LIFE AGAINST THE PEOPLE"

Now I was in hypertension. In the past I believed I had not committed any political mistake. But the "revolutionaries" grabbed a bunch of my braids and tails, none of which looked less severe, some being "evidence of heinous crime." Despite the fact that I was still confident of my future, nothing could be done on my part when the hackles of the "revolutionaries" were raised. How could I be able to persuade them now caught in swings of factionalism and metaphysics?

Absolutely not.

In the few days that followed I suffered insomnia. During the day, I was high-strung to the maximum. At night I kept rolling from one side to another, head on the pillow and eyes riveted on the ceiling, awaiting the dawn. I had no mood for tea or appetite for food, a stretch of pitch-darkness before my eyes with a nagging concern about when the night would be over and whether I could survive it. Moreover I lost my faith in my future. It seemed I was in dream even during the day. At night one nightmare cut into another. At one time I saw that kitchen knife of mine, feeling that a man was brandishing it and hacking down at me rather than I was chopping someone else. I was suddenly roused in a cold sweat over all my body. The next moment I saw that basket containing those half burned letters, from which flames sprang all of a sudden, raging their way toward me. Another cold sweat broke, tossing me back to reality. A while later I saw the lithographic print of Chiang Kai-shek and Soong May-ling. The former bore down on me, his bloody mouth open and sharp teeth sticking out, while the latter wiggled in front of me in the figure that had the head of a beauty and the body of a cobra. I was startled out of sleep in a bigger cold of sweat.

Should one live this way?

These experiences were not the most horrible.

The most horrible came when I meditated on my current state and

future.

My present situation was obviously dangerous. I fell into a snare filled with prickly bushes and sharpened iron sticks, unable to maneuver. Due to my opposition to that "Old Dowager," I incurred trouble for myself just as I stirred up the hornet's nest. Of the adversaries of mine, I believe, the majority of people were of good will, though some were evil. Good or bad as they were, however, they were faction frenetic and could do anything unimaginable. They wanted to be content with nothing but my destruction. I thought I had more than twenty years of working experience as department head, building up the Department of Eastern Languages by hiring, among my friends and colleagues or through my connections, professors and teachers of all ages. Admittedly, I had weaknesses. But I treated people sincerely and fairly rather than bossed them around. Now the faculty and students split in two antagonistic sides, which was absurd and totally perplexed me. I originally thought the faction that I belonged to should treat me differently but it turned out to behave exactly as our opposing faction. Once I was denounced as political enemy, "Jinggangshan," adding insult to injury, lost no time sending its own Red Guards to fetch me for an interrogation in an unknown place. They were two factions of the same feather, two siblings of racket. At this point, human follies suddenly dawned on me, which was only belated.

The most undecipherable and intolerable of all were the two "disciples of mine." One of them, from the origin of poor-and-lower-middle peasants and a family member of the revolutionary martyr, was really riding high in the movement. His academic performance was hardly emblematic of mediocrity. To implement the so-called "class line," I risked the danger of being disgraced in offering him the position as my teaching assistant upon his graduation.[1] Another student paired him off in being so feather-headed as the "Chinese jujube tree" that he could barely read anything of Sanskrit when he graduated. He, too, had a sparkling revolutionary background. To "keep all proletarian brothers and sisters from falling behind," I used to treat him specially in class such as asking him more questions.[2] "A teacher's heart toward the student can be hardly repayable."[3] Now I became "a class revenger."[4] It was these two students, also members of "Jinggangshan," that grabbed me and marched me over for interrogation. Yelling and taunting at me was not a harsh treatment. They even tormented me physically, tweaking

my ears. Alas, laughing out of the other side of my mouth, I had to gulp down the bitter ale I had brewed for myself. What alternative did I have? This Mr. Ma, the family member of the revolutionary martyr, said a few times in public that "he would never be one of the Golden Boys and Jade Maidens of bourgeois intellectuals."[5] To the contrary, this most faithful revolutionary betrayed his country later by immigrating to a small European country and becoming a Chinese European, an impostor who had not been able to conceal his true nature long as a fox can't hide its tail. "The criminal can't remain at large long." "The spit that one spat onto someone else has dropped on his own face!" Influenced by the feudal system of belief in one way or another, I think a student ought to be reverent to his teacher in token of his gratitude for the debt he owes, though I don't quite believe in the old saying, "One day of school starts a life relationship between the student and teacher, for which the student should treat his teacher as father for the rest of his life."

In short, both mentally and in reality, I found myself stranded in a gorge, unable to turn left and right or move forward and backward. Lying ahead were a mountain of swords and a sea of flames. Where should I go?

Over one year and more, I had witnessed countless mass torture sessions, in which the great leader's quotations were yelled in deafening volume, fist blows and kicks coupled slaps in the face, and swear words and insults were hurled about at will, all aimed at the pitiful who bent his back through the ordeal. Once the torture was over, the poor guy was sent rolling down with a kick amidst the shout "Get away!" Sweat running down the face, the man often lay on the ground, unable to prop himself up. Each time I encountered a scene like this, shudders ran down my spine. One old Chinese saying goes, "The scholar can be executed rather than humiliated." What was happening now was far beyond the limit of humiliation! It was inconceivable to see some people degraded to such a state of wretchedness. What shame for a nation like ours with a long history of civilization! Originally I thought I might stay idle and out of harm's way. But at this moment I found myself like an encased turtle or an encaged lion, ready to be slaughtered. The horrible experience many others had gone through might befall me any time! I even more deserved such treatment with the most outrageous crime of having a basket of half-burned letters and keeping a kitchen knife and a photo of Chiang Kai-shek at home. With ten thousand mouths grown all over my body in self-defense and plea of not guilty, I would have been unable to clear the

name of myself. I had already become one who "had committed abominable crimes with no probation." However, I would never kowtow in a plea for mercy that "the almighty authority is omniscient, and I, as a subject, deserve punishment." I knew I had even bleaker prospects in comparison with the fate of those capitalist roaders. The sight of bloody scenes haunted me, as my mind turned blank….

What should I do?

I must make a choice.

Evidently two alternatives lay in front of me, bear the suffering, or take my own life. I would never go for the former. Then I was left with the latter.

This was a very difficult decision to make. It is often said that "ants know their life is precious." What would a human being do in such a circumstance? Even if the odds for survival were ten thousand times slimmer, one would choose life. In addition, one would be further accused of "choosing to become the enemy of the people," a terrifying label like the "Golden Hoop," for whatever reason to take the step.[6] When cornered with no way out, one could muster the last ounce of courage left to take his own life. If the action was regarded as "opposing the people through to the end," I would rather take it. Why should one have something to be afraid of if he feared no death? How could I care the consequence arising hereafter? I would close my eyes and die, leaving the world behind for gossip.

My mind made up, I felt clear-headed and at ease.

Calmly and thoroughly I thought about the next steps I should take, those details regarding ending my life.

The first thing that came into my mind was those members of Beida's faculty and cadre who had committed suicide since the start of the Cultural Revolution. The first name was Mr. Wang, a professor of history, who was interrogated by the young revolutionaries at his home a few days after the start of the Revolution. Did they torture him? I had no idea. But I doubted they did, because it took those torturers some time to reach the stage of the savage tormenting of their victims. I had a general impression that the revolutionaries were suddenly rushed into the Revolution. Still conscious of the gentility of conventional social conduct, they slowly picked up the

revolutionary frenzy of violence. Professor Wang, however, cared about cared his reputation very much, sticking to the idea that "the scholar can be executed rather than humiliated." Driven beyond forbearance, he committed suicide by taking plenty of sleeping pills. Right after his death, he was labeled a "counter-revolutionary" and the big-character posters carrying the words "Down with the Counter-revolutionary Wang" appeared on the east-side wall of the main student cafeteria, stirring up the campus. I knew Professor Wang pretty well. Before the founding of new China, he risked his life in secretly joining the Communist Party of China. His teaching and behavior were commendable. Now he became "counter-revolutionary" overnight. I was perplexed and sympathetic with him.

Another person's name that pricked my conscience was Mr. Cheng, Party general secretary of the Department of Chinese, another old acquaintance of mine. On the eve of the liberation, he was one of the underground student movement leaders and later became president of the Student Association of Peking University. Though still in his prime, he was a revolutionary veteran. He took his own life, too. According to his status, he should have been charged with being a "capitalist roader," less serious than being an "influential counter-revolutionary scholar." He was once denounced. At the June 18 session of condemning "devils," he was among the "devils"; he also had to participate in the forced campus physical labor with the humiliating board hanging around the neck. Probably these "special treatments" drove him beyond the limit. It was said that one night he left home with a bottle of liquor and a bottle of DDT and ran to a wood in the West Hills. He might have drunk the liquor to numb himself before downing the toxicant. Thinking he must have rolled on the ground and felt burned in his stomach after the fatal gulp, I shuddered with fear.

I also thought of suicides committed by other people, such as jumping off the high-rise building to death and lying on the rails to let the train run over. I picked up these stories on streets but never ran into any of the happenings. Stories of this sort were numerous and I did not have time recalling them all. One thing was for sure that each victim had a crisis before death, a frightful state of mind. I just could not go on with the thought but had to drop the matter.

My mind, nevertheless, digressed and wandered to the days of the

1950s, when two professors drowned themselves in the Weiming Lake (lake with no name) on Beida's campus. How did they succeed in doing so, since the water was shallow, only waist deep? The only answer to the puzzle seemed to be their resolve to die. Did they bury the head in the water and smother themselves to death? Almost in the same period, a professor of philosophy, surnamed Fang, severed his arteries and bled profusely. People tried everything in vain to stop the bleeding. He was watched to die a slow agonizing death.

Then the stray of my thought took me way back in history to the death of Qu Yuan, who drowned himself in a river.[7] Years later Xiang Yu died by cutting his own throat in finding himself besieged on all sides.[8] I was scared of cutting the throat. How much courage and effort did it take to accomplish this act? It was much more primitive and barbarous an act to take than using a pistol. Xiang Yu would, to my mind, have picked up a shotgun instead of using a sword, if he had had access to it.

After I scanned the Chinese history of thousands of years, my mind also reached across borders in a journey of thousands of *li*. I thought of Adolf Hitler and his Nazi leading figures. It was said that they, aware of the forthcoming grave consequences due to their atrocities, each got some potassium cyanide ready in case it was needed to have a bite of it before going to heaven or hell. The German chemical industry was advanced, and its application of the development of chemistry in suicide was remarkable in the world. The Japanese were well-known for committing harakiri, definitely their patent. Rarely had it been heard that they were followed in the way to die by people of other nations. But a single person couldn't complete this process, because one did not die immediately after ripping open the abdomen. An assistant was needed to behead him. I also heard some young Japanese lovers plunged together into the crater at the peak of their love. This practice was absolutely impossible where the volcano was not available.

Thus my mind kept on wandering. Sometimes things appeared tangible and graphic, as if the dead body was in front of me as I saw the blood stream all over it. The sight was at once terrifying and appealing. I knew this indulgent wandering could only discomfit me. But I could not pull out of the rut. Could heaven really leave me with no way out?

I had never researched on suicide. Now it was time to take it into

consideration, something that used to be far away and has nothing to do with me. But now it was close up. I never thought of creating a new "marginal academic area," called suicide or comparative suicide. At this time, this new area of learning must be established. A new area was always developed on the theoretical basis. My learning, in the past, was theoretically sketchy in many dimensions. Similarly I now lacked a well-developed theory for comparative suicide. But I had some ideas about it, which I did not consider as remarkable, and would like here to present them in public.

It is unnecessary to gather all the materials in history for a study of suicide. The above-mentioned cases are quite substantial for drawing conclusions. On the basis of the historical materialism, I can classify the forms of suicide according to its development. The most primitive but also sustained are hanging oneself from a beam and plunging into a well, which originated in the primitive society and were used in the feudal society and capitalist society. The application of these suicides with a history of thousands of years still goes on in the world today. Potassium cyanide was produced specially for Nazi chiefs; harakiri and plunging into the crater are probably solely practiced in Japan, two forms that are commonly seen in both feudal and capitalist societies. Cutting the artery, meanwhile, needs some understanding of physiology, which the educated people, as opposed to the general public, tend to possess. Taking sleeping pills is a typical capitalist way of suicide, quite popular in the world now and easy to execute no matter whether you were "branded as Capitalist or Socialist." But I think intellectuals may be the exclusive group of people, who often suffer from insomnia thanks to mental overwork, and are inclined to take sleeping pills, while farmers working manually every day in fields are seldom aware of the effects. Why do I say taking sleeping pills is a capitalist form of suicide? The tranquilizer is used in traditional Chinese medicine, too, but it has mild effects. It is fit for sleeping, not strong enough for terminating life. Most sleeping drugs are produced in capitalist countries, and therefore I say it is a capitalist way of ending life. Taking sleeping pills is most effective and least painful and can be regarded as one of the advantages that capitalism has produced.

That is generally what I can postulate here about my theory.

Theory should be put into application. What form did I choose to end

my life? It should be obvious to the reader, the capitalist one. As a "counter-revolutionary," denounced and condemned, I didn't care anything about the nature of the way of ending my life.

The crucial step in the process of committing suicide, after making the decision to end one's life, was the way of carrying it out. Now that I'd made up my mind on how I should do it, the rest would trail off. I should move on to schedule the time and place. The time was not a problem, to act immediately and as soon as possible. But it took me quite a while in deciding on the location. I had to decided on the "major point on an issue," a popular phrase at that time. The major point concerning me now was the choice of the location, at home or some place away from home. It was certainly a lot easier to implement my plan at home. But I was worried. We had only two rooms in my apartment, a large one and a small one. If I took sleeping pills at night and was found lying cold on the bed the next morning, the two old ladies would be frightened to death, or faint at least. What a terrifying sight it would be! I had been concerned about others and so was I at this moment. How could they be comfortable staying in the room where their closest family member had just died and the body had been removed out? What could they do then if they feared to stay inside? Who would dare to come to their help at this terrible time of maintaining relations solely on the basis of one's social status? Now I had two counter-revolutionary labels, one obtained from the "New Beida Commune" and the other due to my committing suicide as an act of "opposing the people through to the end." Thus I ruled out dying at home.

Then I had to die away from home. The issue that I had to choose an appropriate location arose, a thornier problem to solve. At first, I thought of the Western Hills, inspired by the death of that Party general secretary of the Department of Chinese, a scenic spot with dense woods and bushes as creeks splashed and gurgled on. What a lyric my death would look like, if I ended my life, lying on my back and facing the blue sky with the head on pine needles! It would be the most beautiful poem I had ever written in life. But the place was way out in the west. If I was caught by the Red Guards on the way there with inexplicable purposes, horrible misfortune would ensue. I rejected this idea. Then the Summer Palace hit my mind. Many celebrities brought their life journey to an end in the lake of the imperial park, among whom Wang Guowei was the most famous.[9] I didn't want to follow suit. I might go to a secluded cave on the far side of the hill in the park and carry

out my plan. I was, however, worried that young lovers who usually strolled in the park might be frightened. It was not a good idea either. After racking my brains, I thought of Yuanmingyuan, another imperial park across the street north of the campus. It was early winter in which exuberant reeds covered large areas in the park. If I waded into the reedy marsh, it would take no effort to achieve my goal. What a wonderful idea! I was overjoyed that I had finally solved the problem. I thought it would be the last time and the most glitteringly that my talent sparkled. After that I would sing my "Guanglingsan."[10]

I felt at ease, so completely that I was a little scared. I didn't study the state of mind of those people, in history and at present, who knew they were at the doorway to death. When Qu Yuan rambled along the bank of the Miluo river, composing poems, right before his suicide, his thoughts could be read in his works, but only sketchily. Logically, taking one's own life was an extremely difficult decision to make, since one had to go through a grueling derangement. Close to being crazy, one might cry, be restless during the day and unable to fall into sleep at night, before reaching the determination. The poet Jiang Yan said, "From ancient times death has been a way of life. Many died, swallowing their grievances and uttering no word of sorrow." I did not swallow my grievances nor did I keep my mouth shut. My mind was very calm, so calm that I felt like something was amiss and it baffled me.

In fact, I was not completely free of anxiety. At times, I was assailed with the thought that, by this time the following day, I would be lying cold and stiff in the quiet reedy marsh of Yuanmingyuan, a secluded place devoid of human trail. No one knew how long it would have been before someone discovered my remains, which might have been rotten, probably one arm or one leg missing, bitten off by a vulture or an animal; maybe my belly was ripped open, my internal organs devoured and the body badly marred. A sickening sight! I was now still a man of life and limb. But what would become of me by then? Quivering, I stopped thinking. It seemed as if I heard the blare of the loudspeaker of the "New Beida Commune," "Counter-revolutionary Ji Xianlin opposed the people through to the end by committing suicide. He deserves a cruel death!" Eager to show more revolutionary zeal, "Jinggangshan" would vie with its antagonist for campus radio reprobation of me.

Given those horrifying images that I had conjured up, no spasm of hope for life was kindled. Once the decision was made, I would not change my mind. In tranquil wait, I was thinking of what I ought to do in the final hours of my life of more than fifty years. I felt sorry for my elderly aunt who had been terrified in living with me, my wife who had gone through the ebbs and flows of forty years with me, my children and grandchildren, and a few relatives and friends of mine, who remained faithful to me. Probably, I was indebted to many more. To all of them, I would say, "See you in nether world." Casually, I handed the two elderly ladies my savings book and a few certificates of deposit from my bank, trying to hold back the tears from dropping onto them. The message I wanted to get across in silence was, "Poor old ladies! You're left with the little amount of money to live on in the future! I'm not cruel, nor am I selfish. There are many ways in the world to cross a river, but I'm left with only one choice to go through this single-log bridge. What could I do?" They must have understood me, with emotions under control, shedding no tears. I didn't draw up a will, because I thought it was useless. As time ran out, I had no chance to worry about those precious books I had kept all my life. In the last moment of my life, I was frightened with the alarming tranquility which my mind was in.

I suffered insomnia for about half of my life and took heavy doses of Chinese and Western sleeping medication, already quite a specialist in this area. I kept quite a lot, both the bolus and liquid, a blend of Chinese and western medicine, which I had accumulated through medical services I had received. Now I gathered them together, thinking I would first place boluses inside my mouth and then wash them down with the liquid. What a perfect pair, the combination of strings of pearls and girdles of jade! Slipping the medicine into a cloth sack, I was ready to sneak out of my apartment building, climb over the wall and cross a brook and a street before entering Yuanmingyuan.

All done, I was about to step out of the door...

[1] See the note 7, Chapter 5.

[2] "Keep all…out of school," a sign of carrying out the class line, often at the expense of the student's academic performance.

[3] "A teacher's heart toward the student can be hardly repayable," Ji derives this sentence from a well-known Chinese saying, "Parents' heart toward their children can be hardly repayable," which originates in the writing of the Dowager Empress Cixi (1835-1908) dedicated at her mother's seventieth

anniversary of birthday.

[4] "A class revenger," one of those who were the target of the class line but rebellious in one way or another during the Cultural Revolution.

[5] "The Golden Boys and Jade Maidens," young followers.

[6] In the Chinese classic *Journey to the West*, the "Golden Hoop" is placed on the head of Monkey, who follows Monk Xuanzang on his way to the West for the Buddhist scriptures. In a case of need, the monk chants the incantation of the "Golden Hoop" to tighten the hoop so as to bring Monkey under control.

[7] Qu Yuan (340-278 B.C.), a high-ranking official of the State of Chu in the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 B.C.), who committed suicide after he failed to carry out his reform plans for ridding the country of corruption and strengthening its power.

[8] Xiang Yu, a warlord and a descendent of a noble family in the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 25), who committed suicide after being defeated by Liu Bang, another warlord and Xiang Yu's only enemy in their rivalry for the reign of the country.

[9] Wang Guowei (1877-1927), Chinese philosopher, writer and dramatist, who taught at Tsinghua University, Beijing, in the 1920s. Among his most well-known works are *The Jing'an Collection of Essays* and *A Study of the Plays in the Song and Yuan Dynasties*.

[10] "Guanglingsan," one of the ten well-known ancient Chinese songs, which, also known as "Nie Zheng Assassinating the King of Han" (a Warring States event of assassination) is sung by Ji Kang, a guqin player, before his execution in the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317-420) due to his opposition to the king Sima Zhao. The song embodies a feeling of dedication and unyieldingness.

捌　在“自绝于人民”的边缘上

现在我真正紧张了。我原以为自己既无辫子也无尾巴。可人家“革命家”一抓就是一大把，而且看上去都是十分可怕的，有的简直是鲜血淋淋的“铁证”。尽管我对自己没有失去信心，但是对这些“革命家”我却是完全没有办法了。在派性加形而上学的控制之下，我能有什么办法说服他们呢？

这是决不可能的。

我于是连夜失眠。白天神经紧张到最高限度，恭候提审，晚上躺在枕头上，辗转反侧，睁大眼睛，等候天明。我茶不思，饭不想，眼前一片漆黑，而且也不知道，什么时候黑暗才会过去。能不能过去？我也完全失掉了信心。我白天好像都在做梦。夜里，在乱梦迷离中，我一会儿看到那一把菜刀，觉得有什么人正用那一把刀砍我，而不是我砍别人。我不禁出一身冷汗，蓦然醒来。我一会儿又看到那一只装满了烧掉一半的信件的篮子。那篮子忽然着起火来，火光熊熊，正在燃向我的身边。我又出了一身冷汗，蓦地醒来。我一会儿又看见了蒋介石和宋美龄的照片，蒋介石张开血盆大口，露出了满嘴的朱齿獠牙，正想咬我，宋美龄则变成了一个美女蛇。我又出了一身更大的冷汗，霍地从梦中跳了出来。

这难道是一个人过的日子吗？

最可怕的还不是这一些东西。

最可怕的是环顾眼前，瞻望未来。

环顾眼前，我已经坠入陷阱，地上布满了蒺藜和铁刺，让我寸步难挪。我反对那一位“老佛爷”，这一下子可真捅了马蜂窝。站在我对立面的不都是坏人，我相信绝大部分是好人。可是一旦中了派毒，则不可以理喻。他们必欲置我于死地而后快。我自惟二十多年以来，担任东语系的系主任，所有的教员，不管老中青，都是直接或间接由我聘请的。我虽有不少缺点，但从不敢作威作福，总以诚待人。如今一旦分派，就视若仇人，怒目相向，我无论如何也难以理解。原来我认为是自己的一派，态度与敌对的一派毫无二致。我被公社“打倒”了，井冈山的人也争先恐后，落井下石。他们也派自己的红卫兵到我家来，押解我到属于井

冈山的什么地方去审讯。他们是一丘之貉，难兄难弟。到了此时，我恍如大梦初觉，彻底悟透了人生。然而晚矣。

最让我难以理解也难以忍受的是我的两个“及门弟子”。其中之一是贫下中农出身又是“烈属”的人，简直红得不能再红了。学习得并不怎样，我为了贯彻所谓“阶级路线”，硬是把他留下当了我的助教。还有一个同他像是“枣木球一对”的资质低劣，一直到毕业也没有进入梵文之门。他也是出身非常好的。为了“不让一个阶级弟兄掉队”，我在课堂上给他吃偏饭，多向他提问。“可怜天下老师心”，到了此时，我成了“阶级报复”者。就是这两个在山（井冈山）上的人，把我揪去审讯，口出恶言，还在其次。他们竟动手动脚，拧我的耳朵。我真是哭笑不得，自己酿的苦酒只能自己喝，奈之何哉！这一位姓马的“烈属”屡次扬言：“不做资产阶级知识分子的金童玉女！”然而狐狸尾巴是不能够永远掩盖的。到了今天，这一位最理想的革命接班人，已经背叛了祖国，跑到欧洲的一个小国，当“白华”去了。“天网恢恢，疏而不漏”，自己吐出的吐沫最后还是落在自己脸上！我脑袋里还有不少封建思想，虽然我不相信“一日师徒，终身父子”这样的说法，但是对自己有恩无怨的老师，至少还应该有那么一点敬意吧！

总之，我在思想感情中，也在实际上，完全陷入一条深沟之内，左右无路，后退不能，向前进又是刀山火海。我何去何从呢？

一年多以来，我看够了斗争走资派的场面：语录盈耳，口号震天；拳打脚踢，耳光相间；谩骂凌辱，背曲腰弯；批斗完了，一声“滚蛋！”踢下斗台，汗流满面。到了此时，被批斗者往往是躺在地上，站不起来。我作为旁观者，胆战心颤。古人说：“士可杀，不可辱。”现在岂但辱而已哉！早已超过了这个界限。我们中华古国，礼义之邦，竟有一些人沦落到这种程度，岂不大可哀哉！原来我还可以逍遥旁观，而今自己已成瓮中之鳖，阱中之兽，任人宰割，那些惊心动魄的场面就要降临到自己头上了！何况还有别人都没有的装满半焚信件的篮子、一把菜刀和蒋介石的照片。我就是长出一万张嘴，也是说不清了，我已是“罪大恶极，罪在不赦”。但是要我承认“天王圣明，臣罪当诛”，那是绝对办不到的。我知道，我的前途要比我看到的被批斗的走资派更无希望。血淋淋的斗争场面，摆在我眼前，我眼前一片漆黑……

我何去何从呢？

我必须做出抉择。

抉择的道路只有两条：一是忍受一切，一是离开这一切，离开这个

世界。第一条我是绝对办不到的；看来只有走第二条道路一途了。

这是一个万分难做的决定。人们常说：蝼蚁尚且贪生，何况人乎？倘有万分之一的生机，一个人是决不会做出这样的决定的。况且还有一个紧箍咒：谁要走这一条路，不管出于什么原因，都是“自绝于人民”。一个人被逼得走投无路，手中还剩下唯一的一点权力，就是取掉自己的性命。如果这是“自绝于人民”的话，我就自绝于人民一下吧。一个人到了死都不怕的地步，还怕什么呢？“身后是非谁管得”？我眼睛一闭，让世人去说三道四吧。

决定一旦做出，我的心情倒平静下来了，而且异常地平静，异常地清醒。

我平静地、清醒地、科学地考虑实现这个决定的手段和步骤。我想了很多，我想得很细致，很具体，很周到，很全面。

我首先想到的是“文化大革命”开始以来北大自杀的教授和干部。第一个就是历史系教授汪某人。“文革”开始没有几天，革命小将大概找上门去，问了他若干问题，不知道是否动手动脚了。我猜想，这还不大可能。因为“造反”经验是逐步总结、完善起来的。折磨人的手段也是逐步“去粗取精”地“完善”起来的。我总的印象是，开始时“革命者”的思想还没有完全开放，一般是比较温和的。然而我们这一位汪教授脸皮太薄，太遵守“士可杀，不可辱”的教条，连温和的手段也不能忍受，服安眠药，离开人间了。他一死就被定为“反革命分子”。“打倒反革命分子汪某”的大标语，赫然贴在大饭厅的东墙上，引起了极大震惊和震动。汪教授我是非常熟悉的。他在解放前夕冒着生命危险加入了地下党，为人治学都是好的。然而一下子就成了“反革命”。我实在不理解。但是我同情他。

第二个我想到的人是中文系总支书记程某某。对他我也是非常熟悉的。他是解放前夕地下学生运动的领导人之一，后来担任过北大学生会的主席。年纪虽不大，也算是一个老革命了。然而他也自杀了。他的罪名按逻辑推断应该是“走资派”，他够不上“反动学术权威”这个杠杠。他挨过批斗，“六·一八”斗“鬼”时当过“鬼”，在校园里颈悬木牌劳动也有他的份。大概所有这些“待遇”他实在无法忍受，一时想不开，听说是带着一瓶白酒和一瓶敌敌畏，离家到了西山一个树林子里。恐怕是先喝了白酒，麻痹了一下自己的神智，然后再把敌敌畏灌下去，结束了自己的一生。我一想到他喝了毒药以后，胃内像火烧一般，一定是满地乱滚的情况，浑身就汗毛直竖，不寒而栗。

我还想到了一些别的人，他们有的从很高的楼上跳下来，粉身碎骨而死；有的到铁道上去卧轨，身首异处而死。这都是听说的，没有亲眼见到。类似的事情还听到不少，人数太多，我无法一一想到了。每个人在自杀前，都会有极其剧烈的思想斗争，这是血淋淋的思想斗争，我无法想下去了。

我的思绪在时间上又转了回去。我想到了很多年前的50年代，当时有两位教授投未名湖自尽。湖水是并不深的。他们是怎样淹死的呢？现在想来，莫非是他们志在必死，在水深只达到腰部的水中，把自己的头硬埋入水里生生地憋死的吗？差不多同时，一位哲学系姓方的教授用刮胡刀切断了自己的动脉，血流如注，无论怎样抢救也无济于事，人们只能眼睁睁地看着他慢慢地痛苦地死去。

我的思绪在时间上更向后回转，一转转到了古代，我想到了屈原，他是投水死的。比屈原稍晚一点的是项羽，他是在四面楚歌声中自刎死的。对自刎这玩意儿我实在非常担心。一个人能有多大劲能把自己的首级砍下来呢？这比用手枪自杀原始得多了。我想，如果当年项羽有一把手枪的话，他决不会选择刀剑。

我的思绪不但上下数千年，而且纵横几万里，我想到了以希特勒为首的德国法西斯头子们。据说，他们自知罪恶多端，每个人都准备了一点氰化钾，必要时只要用牙齿一咬，便可以上天堂或入地狱了。德国化学工业名震寰宇，他们便把化学技术应用到自杀上，非其他国家所能望其项背。日本人则以剖腹自杀闻名于世，这是日本人的专利，没听说其他国家向日本学习的。不过这种方式一个人还实行不了，因为剖了腹一个人也是不会立即死去的，必须有一个助手在旁，自杀者一经剖腹，助手立刻砍下他的脑袋，日文叫做“介错”。我还听说，日本青年男女在热恋最高潮时往往双双跳入火山口中。这也不能普遍实行，没有火山的地方，就绝对行不通的。

就这样，我浮想联翩，想入非非。有时候，我想得非常具体，非常生动，我把死人想象得就像在自己眼前一样。我仿佛看到了鲜红的血流满尸体，可怕而又具有吸引力。我知道，这决不会给我带来愉快，然而却是欲罢不能，难道上苍就真不给我留一条活路了吗？

我从来没有研究过自杀学，可现在非考虑不行了。我原以为离开自己很远很远、与自己毫不相干的事情，现在就出现在自己眼前了。我决无意于创建一门新的“边缘科学”，自杀学或比较自杀学。现在是箭在弦上，非创建不行了。凡是一门新兴学科，必有自己的理论基础。我在别

的方面理论水平也很低，对于这一门新兴的比较自杀学，我更没有高深的理论，但是想法当然是有一点的。我不敢敝帚自珍，现在就公开出来。

我用不着把历史上和当前的自杀案例一一都搜集齐全，然后再从中抽绎出理论来。仅就我上面提到的一些案例，就能抽绎出不少的理论来了。使用历史唯物主义阶级分析的方法，我能够把历史上出现的自杀方式按社会发展的程序分成不同的类型。悬梁、跳井，大概是最古老的方式，也是生命力最强的方式，从原始社会，经过封建社会和资本主义社会，都能使用。今天也还没有绝迹。可谓数千年一贯制了。氰化钾是科学发达国家法西斯头子的专用品。剖腹和跳入火山口恐怕只限于日本，别国人是学不来的。这方式在封建社会和资本主义社会都同样可以使用。至于切开动脉仅限于懂点生理学的知识分子，一般老百姓是不懂得的。服安眠药则是典型的资本主义方式，是世界上颇为流行的方式，无论姓“资”还是姓“社”，都能懂得的。不过，我想，这也恐怕仅限于由于脑力劳动过度而患神经衰弱的知识分子，终日锄地的农民是不懂得服安眠药的。我为什么说它是资本主义方式呢？中药也有镇静剂；但药力微弱，催眠则可，自杀不行。现在世界上流行的安眠药多半出自资本主义国家，所以我说它是资本主义方式。服安眠药自杀最保险，最无痛苦，这可以说是资本主义优越性表现之一吧。

我的理论基础大抵如此。

理论必须联系实际：我究竟要采用什么方式呢？不用细说，大家一定都能猜到：资本主义方式。好在我已经被打倒，成了“反革命分子”，这一点嫌疑我也无须避讳了。

在自杀行动中，决心下定以后，最重要的问题就是决定用什么方式。现在我的方式既已选定，大功告成就在眼前，我可以考虑行动的时间和地点了。时间问题很容易解决：立即实行，越快越好。至于地点问题则颇费周折。解决这个问题，首先——恕我借用一个当时极为流行的词儿——要考虑大方向。大方向无非是有两个：一近一远。近是就在家里，远则要走出家门。最方便当然是在家里。但我顾虑重重。我们家里只有一大间一小间房子。如果在家里实施我的计划，夜里服下安眠药，早晨一起床，两个老太太看到我直挺挺地躺在床上，她们即使不被吓死，也必然被吓昏。这是多么可怕的情景呀！我一生为别人考虑过多，此时更是不得不尔。把我的尸体抬出去以后，死过人而且是死过自己亲人的房间，她们敢住下去吗？不敢，又待如何？值此世态炎凉、人情如纸的时代，谁肯谁又敢向这两位孤苦无告的老太婆伸出援助之手呢？我

现在已成为双料的“反革命分子”：新北大公社已经给我戴上了这样一顶帽子，如今又“自绝于人民”，是在反革命之上又加反革命了。总之，在家里不行。

那就在外面吧。在外面也有一个方向问题，而且方向的头绪更多。我首先是受了我上面提到的中文系那一位总支书记的启发，想到了西山。西山山深林密，风光秀丽。倘我能来到此处，猎猎松涛，淙淙泉声，头枕松针，仰视碧空，自己亲手消灭掉一生最可宝贵的生命，多么惬意，又是多么有诗意呀！简直是我一生中最后的一首最美妙的诗。但是，那地方太远，路上倘被红卫兵截获，那就要吃不了的兜着走了。我否定掉这个想法，又想到颐和园。过去有不少名人到这里来寻短见，王国维是最著名的例子。可我不想学王老先生投水自尽。在山后找一个洞穴，吞下安眠药，把花花世界丢在身后，自己一走了之。但是我又怕惊吓了游兴正浓的游园的仕女君子。这个主意也不妥。我想来想去，想到了后面只有一条马路之隔的圆明园。这里有极大的苇坑。时值初冬，芦花正茂。我倘能走到芦苇深处，只须往地上一躺，把安眠药一服，自己的目的立即达到。何等干净，又何等利索！想到这里，我对自己非常满意，我高兴得简直想手之舞之，足之蹈之。我认为，这简直是我的天才的火花的最后而又最光辉的一次闪烁，过此则广陵散矣。

我的心情异常地平静，平静得让自己都感到害怕。我没有研究过古今自杀人的死前心理学。屈原在泽畔行吟时的心情，从他的作品中得知一二，但也不够具体。按道理，一个人决定死是非常困难的，感情应该有极其剧烈的波动，甚至痛哭流涕，坐卧不宁，达到半疯的地步；然后横下一条心，慷慨死去。江淹说：“自古皆有死，莫不强思怨恨哭泣而不敢出声。”我一没有饮恨，二没有吞声。我的心情很平静，平静得让我自己都感到异样，感到不可解。

但是，平静中也有不平静。我想到明天此时，我直挺挺地躺在圆明园荒凉寂寞的大苇坑中。那里几乎是人迹不至的地方，不知道会隔多少时候才会有人发现了我的尸体。此时我的尸体也许已经腐烂了，也许已经被什么鸟兽咬掉一只胳臂或一条腿；肚子也许已经被咬开，肠子、五脏都已被吃掉；浑身血肉模糊，惨不忍睹。眼下还是一个完整的我，到了那时候会变成什么样子呢？我浑身颤抖，我想不下去了。我仿佛能听到那时候新北大公社的广播台声嘶力竭地一遍又一遍播放：“反革命分子季羡林自绝于人民，畏罪自杀，罪该万死！”井冈山的广播台也决不会自甘落伍，同新北大公社展开“打倒季羡林”的竞赛。

但是，不管这些幻想多么可怕，它仍然阻挡不住我那自杀的决心。

决心一下，决不回头。我心情平静，我考虑我这五十多年的一生最后几个钟头必须做的事情。我有点对不起陪我担惊受怕的我那年迈的婶母，对不起风风雨雨、坎坎坷坷、伴我度过了四十年的老伴，对不起我那些儿女孙辈，对不起那恐怕数目不多的对我仍怀有深情厚谊的亲戚和朋友。我对不起的人恐怕还有很多很多，我只能说一句："到那边再会了。"我把仅有的几张存款单，平平淡淡地递给婶母和老伴，强抑制住自己，没有让眼泪滴在存款单上。我无言地说："可怜的老人！今后你们就靠这一点钱生活下去吧！不是我狠心，也不是我自私，茫茫宇宙，就只给我留下这样一条独木桥了，我有什么办法呢？"她们一定明白我的意思的，她们的感情也没有激动，眼泪也没有流下。我没有考虑立什么遗嘱，那毫无用处。伴我一生的那些珍贵的书籍，我现在管不了啦，这就是我生离死别的一幕。一切都平静得平淡得令我害怕。

我半生患神经衰弱失眠症，中西安眠药服用的成箩成筐，我深通安眠药之学。平日省吃俭用，节约下来不少，丸与水都有，中与西兼备。这时我搜集在一起，以丸打头，以水冲下，真可谓珠联璧合，相辅相成。我找了一个布袋子，把安眠药统统装在里面，准备走出门去，在楼后爬过墙头，再过一条小河和一条马路，前面就是圆明园。

一切都准备就绪，只等我迈步出门——

9 AT THE CRITICAL JUNCTURE

But knocks on the door went bang. Obviously, it was the Red Guards. Three students strode into the room, haughtily displaying the red armbands they wore. They were here to march me somewhere for a torture session.

I understood I was not allowed any inquires or arguments at this moment. I was just like one head of cattle being driven to the slaughter house. At once I secretly dropped my sack of sleeping medicine and followed them quietly. The two old ladies were speechless too, helplessly seeing their family member being taken away. Obviously we were the meat on somebody else's chopping block. On the way, I walked with one Red Guard on each side and another one following behind. They reprimanded me loudly, saying I was so recalcitrant in responding to criticism of me that I talked back at times. Thus they planned to trim me to the required behavior this time. I said nothing, aware of a tsunami being surging toward me. The disaster that had struck many others befell me today. A once spectator of the play now became its protagonist. It was not true to say I was not afraid. But what else could one do? I felt dizzy one moment and sober the next. Then, amid the confusion, a hazy illusion drifted into my mind that I was being marched to the execution ground. I have never been there. Was I going to have an experience of that kind now? I couldn't tell. Admittedly, I would like to be beheaded or shot to death. With a chop of sword or a shot of the gun, my crisis would be over. But I did not know how long the session would take and what kind of torment they would use.

On the way I was afraid to raise my head and look around. I didn't know how others viewed me. I thought of Lu Xun's fiction *Displayed in Public*.[1] Now I was the book's main character, displayed in public. I must have been followed around by a crowd of people, talking about me. In my case, however, I was worried more about myself than their gossip.

A while later I was brought to a strange place. Judging from the floor I saw, I knew I was in the main student cafeteria, the largest assembly hall on campus. Stepping into a tiny room from the back door, I spotted a few more "convicts" there, all standing motionless facing the wall. They looked like the

lifeless clay figures of Buddha. Daring not to look up, I had no idea who they were. I was ordered to stand facing the wall, too. The only body part I could use was my ears. I heard people talking and some familiar voices in the commotion caught my attention. I only saw a bedlam of figures and heard a clatter of voices. I thought the people were from the "New Beida Commune," instead of from "Jinggangshan." The next moment, as I stood quietly, a clear slap on the face rang out. Feeling I was not hurt, I knew someone else had got the hit. My relief lasted a few seconds before I heard another but more severe slap. This time the sound was closer to me. My cheek now burned. Unmistakably, I realized I was the receiver. I was terrified. Immediately after the first blow I received another on the back and a kick on the leg. It was understandable that they vented their hostility at me because of my outrageous opposition against their woman chief as if I had eaten the guts of a tiger and leopard. I stewed in my own juice. Was that straightly clear? On the flip side of the experience, I learned something more: some people enjoyed torturing others. In classical Chinese philosophy, a difference is made between human beings and wild beasts, and the former, the analytical species, are definitely considered as superior to the latter. But, in this regard, I agree with Lu Xun who says that the latter are superior to the former because wild beasts do not go through the formality of dwelling on the rationale why a certain prey should be eaten and why the predator is absolutely entitled to the dinner as their human counterparts do when carrying out the victimization of a fellow creature. I believe this ritual sets human beings apart from wild beasts. In other words, a wild beast is straightforward, devouring whatever animal that can satiate its hunger. Therefore the beast is better than the human being. What conclusion can be drawn if I compare the "human beings" of the "New Beida Commune" with wild beasts?

These ideas are realizations to which I gradually came later. At the moment of incarceration, however, I was like a head of cattle ready to be slaughtered for dinner, anxious and frightened, clear-minded and stupefied. I stood looking straight at the wall, straining my ears attentively and getting ready for blows and kicks on any part of my body. I was pretty sure this was the prelude and the complete proceedings would follow.

I was right. All of a sudden, I heard a cry, "March Ji Xianlin over there!" Two Red Guards raced up. Each of them grabbed one of my arms and twisted

it up on my back, while putting another hand on my neck to keep my head down. I was shoved first to the front and then to the left. "Bend!" Okay, I bent my back. "Lower your head!" Okay, I did accordingly. Another heavy blow came down on my back, "Bend further!" Okay, I would surely do that. The next moment my leg got a hard kick, "Bend still further!" Alas, I had to do as told. I could not keep balance so I tried to support my body by putting my hands on my knees, which incurred another fist blow and a kick along with the yell, "Hands off your knees!" With two hands hanging on the sides, I felt my legs shaking. The "young revolutionaries" wanted me to stand in the posture as a jet plane. They were very strict about implementing their plan, taking minutes to adjust my posture. My legs felt sore and hurt. I wished I could drop on the ground; but that, I was pretty sure, would bring me another round of beating. I could do nothing now but put up with all this and hang on.

I was taken aback by an abrupt voice of someone from behind me at the rostrum. But I had no idea how many people were over there, nor did I know how many of us were standing together for the ordeal and how large the crowd was in the audience. I was afraid to raise my head for a look. The deafening uproar and chant of the crowd assured me of its size. As I was unable to focus my attention, the speaker's words went unheard. Gradually, I figured out I was not the major target of today's torture. I was brought here as a token of intimidation in company with the vice president, surnamed Ge, of the university and deputy Party secretary of the University's CPC Committee, who was on the crosshairs for today. Ge joined in the Chinese revolution in the late 1930s and once worked as president of Hebei University, a true revolutionary veteran. His crime was opposing the "Old Dowager," for which he was rejected as a heretic for chastisement by the "New Beida Commune." As I understood the role I was going to play today, my anxiety began to ease up a little. On my right-hand side, probably at the center of the platform was the designated spot for that old comrade. I was not sure whether he was standing or sitting or kneeling. Maybe he had to take the jet plane posture. I could only hear clear face-slap cracks, pounding kicks and thumps, repeatedly and incessantly. I knew he was in the soup. I guessed he was being burned on the skin by someone using a burning cigarette. But I had to worry about myself first, like the clay figure of Bodhisattva crossing a river. Furthermore, my legs were so shatteringly sore that I was on the verge of collapse. I saw stars, sweat streaming down my cheeks. But, gritting my

teeth, I warned myself, "Hold on! You can't collapse. Otherwise the consequence would be inconceivable!" Suddenly, a spit of thick phlegm hit the left side of my face. Certainly I had no idea where it came from. Daring not to wipe it off, I held myself steady, letting it dry gradually. With my teeth clenched even harder, I started to count numbers silently, wishing time could pass before I knew it. The next moment, however, I felt the large hall suddenly turn hushed as if I were the only person left in it, on campus, in Beijing, in China, and in the universe.

Silence lasted no time before clamor resumed reign, as the hall echoed with waves of ear-splitting chanting. It turned out that the torture session was over. Before getting a chance to pull myself together, I was marched out of the room to a truck, my hands twisted back up and my neck clutched fast from behind. I realized I was about to be carried away for the street show. The "heroes" had me stand in the middle, flanked by one on each side holding my arm tight. I could not raise my head or look around, nor did I dare to try. It seemed the campus road was lined with crowds. Some people threw stones at me, which hit me on the head, face and body. I felt as if one thousand hands were waving over my head, one thousand feet kicking me on the legs, and one thousand mouths spitting at me. I could not fend off the attacks, nor did I dare to. I lost track of the direction, as the truck rolled forward. I had lived here for nearly twenty years, familiar with each inch of the property. But now it looked strange to me. I was like a small boat tossing in the rough sea, a hare or fox closed in on by a few hounds, a willow catkin carried away in the wind, a stray bird trying to locate a tree branch for perching. Raging chants and yells shot up along the road ceaselessly, echoing in the air like a thrilling cantata. I felt dizzy. Knowing my life was in the hands of others, I wrote off my security, letting things take their own course.

I could not tell how long the truck moved and in which direction it rolled. Finally, it pulled up suddenly. A student, or a mill worker if it was not a student, kicked me off the truck. I tumbled and rolled over on the ground. Barely had I lifted myself from the ground when an old mill worker stepped up to me and dealt a heavy fist blow to my face. Immediately, my nose and mouth began to bleed. I knew who he was. Later, as a representative of Beida's working class, he even emerged, when Division 8341 of the PLA entered the campus, to welcome their arrival.[2] I felt rather bad. Did he qualify for being a worker? That is what I thought later, so no more of it now.

At that time both my mouth and nose were bleeding, as I was terrified and lost for what to do. "Beat it!" I heard a mill worker shout. I reckoned it was time for me to leave. Like the convict in an old Chinese fiction who, when waiting on an execution ground, was suddenly set free at the command "Stop the execution," I regained control of my senses. I found my hat and one of my shoes gone. When I limped back home, the two old ladies were shocked at the sight, but, instantly, became joyful: I was back alive.

It was the first time in my life of more than fifty years that I went through a round of torture, hair-raising life experience. Such event is a display of the cruel part of human nature. On the other hand, it pulled me back from death at the last moment. "It was unthinkable that I could bear such torment," I murmured to myself. "Why should I worry since I have survived the first torture and learned something about inhuman practice? I'd better live," I thought. In retrospect, I quivered with fear that I could have been dead at this point, after climbing over the low rear-yard wall of my residence, going to Yuanmingyuan and taking the sleeping pills, if the Red Guards had arrived half an hour later. If I had behaved a little obediently, I would not have been singled out by the leaders of the branch of the Department of Eastern Languages of the "New Beida Commune" for this round of brutality. My body could have turned cold by now in the weedy marsh of Yuanmingyuan. Could there be something more frightful than this? I reached a conclusion, a lesson learned for the rest of my life that sometimes one should treat bad people badly. Because I was defiant in the past, my life was saved now. I also could take this experience as a test of the extent of my endurance in times of brutality. I survived anyway. These were my mental wanderings. This time I narrowly escaped the claws of death. In recapitulating the happening of the events, should I celebrate my survival or regret the suffering that my stupidity had incurred? I'm still baffled to this day.

Since I decided to live on, I should be ready for more brutal and crushing torture sessions. I was psychologically ready.

Now let me digress a little to elaborate on the issue of conducting the torture session. I wonder who invented this form of savageness. Probably it is a product of collective originality passed through many years of evolution and revision. Its talented inventor, or inventors, should be granted a patent

and awarded a prize if the legitimacy of this invention is formally approved. But, to my mind, it is a stupid talent. This form of physical and mental abuse looks vigorous and impressive, but it resolves no problem at all. In old China, a "criminal," at the command of the county magistrate or the judge, was flogged on the buttocks, his body or a limb was pressed between two boards, and even his fingernails were pierced through with sharpened bamboo sticks. The punishment was used to force a confession to a false charge. What result was expected of today's public torture of us? Was it for the purpose of forcing a person to accept his or her label as a capitalist roader or a counter-revolutionary scholar? The conviction was already made, in fact, through public criticism via campus broadcasts and big-character posters. What was the point of forcing a "criminal" to confess? This inventor, or this group of inventors, might have been influenced by the Western concept of the "art for art's sake" in coming up with their idea of the torture for torture's sake. Worse than that, their motive lay in the basic instinct of enjoying the tormenting of others. By and large, holding these rounds of torture was useless. However, I must show my admiration and respect for the inventor's remarkable learning of science and technology, in terms of the creation and practical use of the jet plane posture for the purposes of today. This creation is beyond the capabilities of beasts. What a high species human beings are!

To return to my story, I was happy that I survived the torture. But now I lived to be tortured. A few days later, another torture session was held, this time by the Department of Eastern Languages. At the previous session, I was a subordinate character in the play. This time I was going to be in the spotlight. The same procedure was followed. The violent bangs on the door ushered in two Red Guards (one less than in the previous time), who strutted into the room, the eye-catching armband of "Red Guard" sending shivers down my spine. I was quickly brought into the Building of Foreign Languages. There I was ordered to stand in the hall facing the wall and behaving in absolute submission. It was boisterous in the building. Standing with me were two men, who I understood were brought along with me as victims to be terrorized. I had worked in the department for more than twenty years and cultivated an earnest and rigorous working style among the faculty and students. I was impressive that this style was still maintained. My mind was brought back to the present situation by the shout from inside the room, "March Ji Xianlin up here!" From where I stood outside the door to the

teaching platform, it was a ten-step walking distance. But now it took forever to get there! Four hands held my arms up from behind, while another few hands clenched the back of my neck. I was clamped with at least seven or eight hands, not matching up to a one-thousand-hand and one-thousand- eyed Buddha, but quite close. Meanwhile, more hands, numerous as they were, were stuck in through those hands, trying to punch and pound on me. Thus I was dragged and jostled onto the platform. It was the place, a location of reverence, in which I had stood, fulfilling my duties as a teacher and department head in the past twenty years. Today I was a "counter-revolutionary," a despised convict. Life is just a bowl of cherries full of unpredictable events. The moment I entered the classroom, loud chants of slogans sprang up. A woman took the lead, "Down with Ji Xianlin the element of…," as the crowd followed her in chanting. The omission of the label or blank "…" in the sentence could be filled up with anything they desired. For example, the "influencial counter-revolutionary capitalist scholar" could be replaced with the "capitalist roader" next time and replaced again with the "ruffian left behind by the KMT" in the following chant. I have to make an announcement here: I never joined the KMT in my life. The verbal substitution went on, but I don't remember what other labels they used. Each time the replacement was made, the crowd followed the leader in repeating the chant of slogan. It seemed I had collected all the caps produced in the Cultural Revolution and become a king of caps at Peking University.

Looking sideways, I saw three items on the table on the platform: a gleaming cleaver, a bamboo basket containing scotched old letters, and a red-ink crossed photo of Chiang Kai-shek and Soong May-ling. My heart missed a beat. I almost fainted, thinking, "My goodness! I'm going to be killed today!" To the people present at the gathering, any one of the three items would trigger a series of images about my crime and I would definitely be devoured by the hatred whipped up thereafter. I could tell that my day would be fraught with danger. An old saying is quite right, "Take things as they come." I could not find a crack on the floor for taking refuge. So I'd better "take things."

After the chanting, the host read aloud the quotations of Mao Zedong, something like "making revolution is not something like throwing a party" and "the evil thing does not automatically disappear until removed." I didn't understand why the reading of the quotations had something to do with the

denouncement. Did it inspire and encourage the revolutionary crowd? Or did it frighten the "convict"? Anyway, one quotation after another was read. Finally, the reading was over, and the assigned speaker, who seemed to be Wang studying the Thai language in the past and raiding my home with others days before, delivered an address in make-believe rage and listed my "crimes." I could only concentrate one fourth of my hearing on his speech, since I was now performing the jet plane posture, trying hard to hang on with my uncontrollable sore legs. Ninety-nine percent of his speech was false charges, fabrications and lies. But I was clear-headed and remained emotionally detached, since I was used to insults. When he came to the points he meant to stress, the emotional chant rose again, as if the audience was the only representatives of justice in the world. Now people started to gather around me as blows and kicks rained down on my body until I collapsed on the floor. In the torture session that took place in the main student cafeteria previously, I only heard blows and kicks that fell on other "criminals." This time, however, it was I that bore the brunt of pain. I had no way to check whether I became black and blue. The next moment, someone lifted me up from the floor for a new round of pounding, but more violent. Now, I even lost the privilege of taking the jet plane posture and keeping myself out of the blows. I identified a few students in the frenzied crowd, Zheng, a major in Hindi, Gu in Korean, and Wang in Vietnamese. The first one had the gift of gab, nicknamed "electric switch," who was one of the faithful followers of the "Old Dowager." The last two were burly and rough, each with "two arms capable of lifting thirty thousand *jin*."[3] Then the idea that I had when my home was raided suddenly came back to me: to knock down an elderly man like me and strike fear into him, who was too feeble to clutch a chicken, a loyal female member of the Commune would be enough. Why did the revolutionaries bother to send these men of muscular physique, who could be more useful for more violent street fights, for this simple task? These giants, however, did not slight their assignment and all their strength went into the pummeling. The reader can imagine how easily I was handled as "a chicken slaughtered with an ox-cleaver."

I didn't know how long the torture lasted. But I was sure it came to an end when its full scale was reached as I "performed" (passively) satisfactorily. I thought everyone present shared the enjoyment. "Take Ji Xianlin away!" the shout awoke me. Then, in a shower of fists and kicks and

loud chants, I was shoved out of the building, as my hands were folded back up. But, because their emotion was not completely released, the revolutionary crowds chased me, battering and kicking. I tried, in vain, to fend them off and escape. Probably because a certain Luo, a professor of Arabic, said something, the chasers calmed down a little. By the time I almost raced to the Building of Democracy, I turned around and saw no sign of my pursuers. With a sigh of relief I felt as if my heart were retrieved. Now my body began to ache all over, something sticky oozing out around my nose, mouth and forehead. I guessed it was blood and sweat. I hobbled back home.

I survived another round of bloody torture.

[1] Lu Xun (1881-1936), Chinese contemporary writer; among his most well-known collections of essays are *call to Arms* and *Wandering*.

[2] Division 8341 of the PLA, the Beijing garrison troop during the Cultural Revolution.

[3]*Jin*, a Chinese unit of mass equal to half a kilogram.

玖　千钧一发

然而门上响起了十分激烈的敲门声。我知道，红卫兵又光临了。果然，一开门便闯进来了三个学生，雄赳赳，气昂昂，臂章闪着耀眼的红光。他们是来押解我到什么地方去进行批斗的。

在这样的情况下，我深知自己毫无发言的权力。我只是一头被赶赴屠宰场的牲畜，任人宰割，任人驱使。我立即偷偷地放下那只装着安眠药的袋子，俯首帖耳，跟着出去。家里的两位老太太眼睁睁地看着自己的亲人被押走。她们也同我一样一言不发。当前是人为刀俎，我为鱼肉，生杀大权操在别人手中的时刻。走在路上，我被夹在中间，一边一个红卫兵，后面还有一个，像是后卫。他们边走边大声训斥，说我的态度恶劣至极，竟敢反唇相讥。今天要给我一点颜色看，煞煞我的威风。我只有洗耳恭听，一声不吭。我意识到，一场特大的风暴正在我头上盘旋。我以前看过的那一些残酷斗争的场面，不意今天竟临到自己头上了。原来只是一个旁观者，今天成了主角了。说心里不害怕，那不是真话。但是害怕又有什么用处呢？我脑袋里懵懵懂懂，又似清楚，又似糊涂，乱成一团。我想到被绑赴刑场的场面，我还没有被绑赴刑场去杀头或者枪毙的经验。我现在心里的滋味是不是同那件事有点相似呢？我说不清楚。事实上，我认为还不如杀头或者枪毙，那只是一秒钟的事儿，刀光一闪，枪声一响，我就度过难关了。现在我却不知道，批斗要延长多久，也不知道，有些什么折磨人的花样……

一路之上，我不敢抬头，不敢看别人。我不知道，别人怎样看我。我想到鲁迅的小说：《示众》。我现在就是那个被示众者。我周围必然有一大群像小说中所说的观众。他们大概也是指指点点，议论纷纷。可惜我不可能也无心去聆听他们的议论了。

不知道是怎样一来，我就被押解到一个地方。我低头看到地面，我知道这是大饭厅，这是全校最大的室内聚会场所。我从后门走进去，走到一间小屋子里，那里已经有几个“囚犯”，都成了达摩老祖，面壁而立。我不敢看任何人，我不知道他们是谁。我也被命令面壁而立。我的耳朵还没有堵上，我还能听到说话的声音，有的声音我是熟悉的。我只觉得人影纷乱，我只听得人声嘈杂。到场的人一定都是新北大公社的，井冈山的人是不会来的。我屏心静气地站在那里，蓦地听到一声清脆的耳光声，而自己脸上并没有什么感觉，知道是响在别的“囚犯”的脸上

的。我心里得到了一点安慰。但是立刻又听到了一声更为清脆的耳光声，声音近在眼前，我脸上有点火辣辣的。我意识到，这一声是发生在自己脸上了。我心里有点紧张了。可是我的背上又是重重的一拳，腿上重重的一脚。我吃了老虎胆、豹子心，胆敢起来反对他们那一位女主人。他们把仇恨集中到我身上，这是很自然的。我自作自受，又何怪哉？除此以外，我想还有别的根由：有的人确实是从折磨别人中得到快感享受的。中国古代的哲人强调人禽之辨。他们的意见当然是，人高于禽兽。可是在这方面，我还是同意鲁迅的意见的。他说，动物在吃人或其他动物时，张嘴就吃，决不会像人这样，先讲上一通大道理，反复解释你为什么必须被吃，而吃人者又有多少伟大的道理，必须吃人。人禽之辨，也就是禽兽与人的区别，就在这里；换句话说，禽兽比人要好，它们爽直，肚子饿了就吃人或别的动物。新北大公社的“人”，同禽兽比一比，究竟怎样呢？

这些想法是后来才有的。当时我只是一头就要被吃的牲畜，我既紧张，又恐惧；既清醒，又糊涂。我面壁而立，浑身的神经都集到耳朵上，身体上的一切部位，随时都在准备着，承受拳打，承受脚踢。我知道，这些都只能算是序曲，大轴戏还在后面哩。

果然，大轴戏终于来了。我蓦地听到空中一声断喝，像一声霹雳：“把季羡林押上来！”于是走上来了两个红卫兵。一个抓住我的右臂，拧在我的背上。一个抓住左臂，也拧在背上。同时，一个人腾出来一只手，重重地压在我的脖颈上，不让我抬头。我就这样被押上了批斗台，又踉踉跄跄地被推搡到台的左前方。“弯腰！”好，我就弯腰。“低头！”好，我就低头。但是脊梁上又重重挨了拳：“往下弯！”好，我就往下弯。可腿上又凶猛地被踢了一脚：“再往下弯！”好，我就再往下弯。我站不住了，双手扶在膝盖上。立刻又挨了一拳，还被踢了一脚：“不许用手扶膝盖！”此时双手悬在空中，全身的重力都压到了双腿上，腿真有点承受不了啦。“革命小将”按照喷气式飞机的构造情况，要我变成那个样子。他们工作作风谨严至极，光是调整我的姿式，就用去了几分钟，可我的双腿已经又酸又痛。我真想索性跪在地上。但是，我知道那样一定会招来一阵拳打脚踢。我现在唯一的出路只有咬紧牙关忍受一切了。

忽然听到身后主席台上有人讲话了。台上究竟有多少人，我不清楚。有多少批斗者，又有多少被批斗者，我更不清楚。至于台下的情况，我当然不敢睁眼去看，只听得人声鼎沸，口号之声震天动地。那个讲话的人究竟讲了些什么，我根本没有心思去听。我影影绰绰地知道

了，今天我不是主角，我只是押来“陪斗”的。被斗的主角是一个姓戈的老同志。论革命资历，他早于三八式。论行政经历，他担任过河北大学校长和北大副校长、党委副书记。这样一位老革命，只因反对了那一位“老佛爷”，也被新北大公社“打倒”，今天抓来批斗。我弄清楚了自己在这一次空前的大批斗中的地位，心里稍感安慰。在我的右面，大概是主席台的正中，是那位老同志呆的地方。他是站着？是坐着？是跪着？还是坐喷气式？我都不清楚。我只听得清脆的耳光声，剧烈的脚踢声，沉重的拳头声，声声不绝。我知道他正在受难。也许有人（？）正用点着的香烟烧他的皮肤。可我自己正是泥菩萨过江，自身难保。况且我的双腿已经再没有力量支撑我的身体了，酸痛得简直无法形容。我眼前冒金星，满脸流汗。我咬紧了牙根，自己警告自己：“要忍住！要忍住！你可无论如何也不能倒下去呀！否则那后果就不堪设想了！”忽然，完全出我意料，一口浓痰啪地一声吐在我的左脸上。我当然不知道是从哪里来的。我也只能“唾面自干”。想用手去擦，是绝对不可能的。我牙根咬了再咬，心里默默地数着数，希望时光赶快过去。此时闹哄哄的大饭厅里好像突然静了下来，好像整个大饭厅，整个北大，整个北京，整个中国，整个宇宙，只剩下了我一个人。

突然间，大饭厅里沸腾起来，一片震天的口号声，此伏彼起，如大海波涛：批斗大会原来结束了。我还没有来得及松一口气，又被人卡住脖子，反剪双手，押出了会场，押上了一辆敞篷车。我意识到我的戏还没演完，现在是要出去“示众”了。英雄们让我站在正中间，仍然是一边一个人，扭住我的胳臂。我什么也看不见，什么也不敢看，只觉得马路两旁挤满了人。有人用石头向我投掷，打到我的头上，打到我的脸上，打到我的身上。我觉得有一千只手挥动在我的头顶上，有一千只脚踢在我的腿上，有一千张嘴向我吐着吐沫。我招架不住，也不能招架。汽车只是向前开动。开到什么地方去？我完全不知道。我在这里住了将近二十年，每一寸土地我都是稔熟的。可我现在完全糊涂了。我现在像一只颠簸在惊涛骇浪中的小船，像一只四周被猎犬包围住的兔子或狐狸，像随风飘动的柳絮，像无家可归的飞鸟。路旁的喊叫声惊天动地，口号声震撼山岳，形成了雄壮无比的大合唱。我脑袋里糊里糊涂，昏昏沉沉。我知道，现在是生命掌握在别人手中，横下了一条心，听天由命吧。

过了不知多久，也不知道车开到了什么地方。车猛然停了。一个人——不是学生，就是工人——一脚把我踹下了汽车。我跌了一个筋斗，躺在地上，拼命爬了起来。一个老工人走上前来，对着我的脸，猛击一掌，我的鼻子和嘴里立即流出了鲜血。这个老工人，我是认识的。后来，当8341进校时，他居然代表北大的工人阶级举着牌子欢迎解放军。

我心里真不是滋味。他够得上当一个工人吗？这是后话，暂且不提。我当时嘴里和鼻子里鲜血都往下滴，我仓皇不知所措。忽然听到头顶上工人阶级一声断喝："滚蛋！"我知道是放我回家了。我真好像是旧小说中在"刀下留人"的高呼声中被释放了的死囚。此时我的灵魂仿佛才回到自己身上。我发现，头上的帽子早已经丢了，脚上的鞋也只剩下一只。我就这样一瘸一拐，走回家来。我的狼狈情况让家里的两位老太太大吃一惊，然而立即转惊为喜：我总算是活着回来了。

这是我活了五十多年第一次受到的批斗，它确实能令人惊心动魄，毕生难忘。它把人的残酷的本性暴露无遗。然而它却在千钧一发之际救了我一条命，"这样残酷的批斗原来也是可以忍受得住的呀！"我心里想。"有此一斗，以后还有什么可怕的呢？还是活下去吧！"我心里又想。可我心里真是充满了后怕。如果押解我的红卫兵晚来半个小时的话，我早就爬过了楼后的短墙，到了圆明园，服安眠药自尽了。如果我的态度稍微好一点的话，东语系新北大公社的头领们决不会想到要煞一煞我的威风，不让我来陪斗，我也早已横尸圆明园大苇塘中了。还能有比这更可怕的事情吗？我还得到了一个结论，一条人生经验：对待坏人有时候还是态度坏一点好。我因为态度坏，才拣了一条命。这次批斗又仿佛是做了一次实验，确定一个人在残酷的折磨下能够忍受程度的最低线，我所遭受的显然还是在这一条线上的。这些都是胡思乱想，反正性命是拣到了。可是拣到了性命，我是应该庆幸呢？还是应该后悔？我至今也还没有弄清楚。

既然决心活下去了，那就要准备迎接更残酷、更激烈的批斗。这个思想准备我是有的。

我在这里想先研究一个问题：批斗问题。我不知道，这种形式是什么人发明的。大概也是集中了群众的智慧，去粗取精，去伪存真才发明出来的吧。如果对这种发明创造也有专利权的话，这个发明者是一个天才，他应当获得头等大奖。但是我认为他却是一个愚蠢的天才。这种批斗在形式上轰轰烈烈，声势浩大，实则什么问题也不能解决。在旧社会，县太爷或者什么法官，下令打屁股，上夹板，甚至用竹签刺入"犯人"的指甲中，目的是想屈打成招。现在的批斗想达到什么目的呢？如果只想让被批斗者承认自己是走资派，是资产阶级反动学术权威，罪名你不是已经用大喇叭、大字报昭告天下了吗？承认不承认又有什么用处呢？这个或这些发明者或许受了西方为艺术而艺术的影响，他或他们是为批斗而批斗。再想得坏一点，他或他们是为了满足人类折磨别人以取乐的劣根性而批斗。总之，我认为，批斗毫无用处。但是，在这里，我

必须向发明者奉献出我最大的敬意，他们精通科学技术，懂得喷气式飞机的构造原理，才发明了喷气式批斗法。这种方法禽兽们是想不出来的。人为万物之灵，信矣夫！

闲言少叙，书归正传。命拣到了，很好。但是拣来是为了批斗的。隔了几天，东语系批斗开始了。原来只让我做配角，今天升级成了主角了。批斗程式，一切如仪。激烈的敲门声响过之后，进来了两个（比上次少了一个）红卫兵，雄赳赳，气昂昂，臂章闪着耀眼的红光，押解着我到了外文楼。进门先在楼道里面壁而立。我仍然是什么都不敢看。耳旁只听得人声嘈杂。我身旁站着两个面壁的人。我明白，这是陪斗者。我在东语系工作了二十多年，现在培养出来的教员和学生，工作起来，有条不紊，滴水不漏，心里暗暗地佩服。还没有等我思想转回到现场来，只听得屋里一声大喊："把季羡林押上来！"从门口到讲台也不过十几步。然而这十几步可真难走呀！四只手扭住了我的胳臂，反转到背上，还有几只手卡住脖子。我身上起码有七八只手，距离千手千眼佛虽还有一段差距，然而已经够可观的了。可是在这些手的缝里还不知伸进了多少手，要打我的什么地方。我就这样被推推搡搡押上了讲台。此处是我二十年来经常站的地方，那时候我是系主任，一系之长，是座上宾；今天我是"反革命分子"，是阶下囚。人生变幻不测，无以复加矣。此时，整个大教室里喊声震天。一位女士领唱。她喊一声："打倒××分子季羡林！"于是群声和之。这××是可以变换的，比如从"资产阶级反动学术权威"变为"走资派"，再变为"国民党残渣余孽"——我先声明一句：我从来没有参加过国民党——再变为什么，我记不清了。每变换一次，"革命群众"就跟着大喊一次。大概"文化大革命"所有的帽子都给我戴遍了。我成了北京大学集戴帽子之大成的显赫人物！

我斜眼看了看主席台的桌子上摆着三件东西：一是明晃晃一把菜刀；一是装着烧焦的旧信件的竹篮子；一是画了红×的蒋介石和宋美龄的照片。我心里一愣，几乎吓昏了过去。我想："糟了！我今天性命休矣！"对不明真相的群众来说，三件东西的每一件都能形象地激发起群众的极大的仇恨，都能置我于死地。今天我这个挂头牌的主角看来是凶多吉少了。古人说过："既来之，则安之。"地上没有缝，我是钻不进去的。我就"安之"吧。

"打倒"的口号喊过以后，主席恭读语录，什么"革命不是请客吃饭"，什么"你不打他就不倒"之类。我也不知道，读语录会起什么作用。是对"革命群众"的鼓励呢？还是对"囚犯"的震慑？反正语录是读了，而且一条一条地读个没完。终于语录结束了。什么人作主旨发言

——好像就是到我家去抄过家的学泰语的王某某——历数我的“罪状”，慷慨激昂，义形于色。我此时正坐着喷气式，两腿酸痛得要命。我全身精力都集中到腿上，只能腾出四分之一的耳朵聆听发言。发言百分之九十九是诬蔑、捏造、罗织、说谎。我的头脑还是清楚的，但是没有感到什么忿忿不平——惯了。他说到激昂处，“打倒”之声震动屋瓦，宇宙间真仿佛充满了正气。这时逐渐有人围了过来，对我拳打脚踢，一直把我打倒在地。我在大饭厅陪斗时，只听到拳打脚踢的声音，这声音是发生在别人身上的。这次却发生在自己身上。我是否已经鼻青脸肿，没有镜子，我自己看不到。不久有人把我从地上拖了起来，是更激烈的拳打脚踢。此时我想坐喷气式也不可能了。围攻者中我看清楚的有学印地语的郑某，学朝鲜语的谷某某，还有学越南语（？）的王某某。前一个能说会道，有“电门”之称，是“老佛爷”麾下的铁杆。后二者则都是彪形大汉，“两臂有千钧之力”。我忽然又有了被抄家时的想法：我这样一个糟老头子，手无缚鸡之力，你们只须出一个女的铁杆社员，就足能把我打倒在地，并且踏上一千只脚了。何必动用你们武斗时的大将来对付我呢？你别说，这些巨无霸还真恪尽厥职，决不吝惜自己的力量。他们用牛刀来杀我这一只鸡。结果如何，读者自己可以想象了。

我不知道，批斗总共进行了多长的时间。真正批得淋漓尽致。我这个主角大概也“表演”（被动地表演）得不错。恐怕群众每个人都得到了自己那一份享受，满意了。我忽听得大喊一声：“把季羡林押下去！”我又被反剪双手，在拳头之林中，在高呼的口号声中，被押出了外文楼。然而革命热情特高的群众，革命义愤还没有完全发泄出来，追在我的身后，仍然是拳打脚踢，我想抱头鼠窜，落荒而逃；然而却办不到，前后左右，都是追兵。好像一个姓罗的阿拉伯语教员说了几句话，追兵同仇敌忾的劲头稍有所缓和。这时候我已经快逃到了民主楼。回头一看，后头没了追兵，心仿佛才回到自己的腔子里，喘了一口气。这时才觉得浑身上下又酸又痛，鼻下、嘴角、额上，有点黏糊糊的，大概是血和汗。我就这样走回了家。

我又经过了一场血的洗礼。

10 THE EARLY PERIOD OF FORCED PHYSICAL LABOR

The following period saw the mass torture in full swing.

From the winter of 1967 to the spring of 1968, I was taken out at a few day intervals, so I became accustomed to sessions of physical abuse. Like "the man who thinks little of the river and lake because he has seen the ocean," I was rather experienced in enduring torment and disgrace. At this moment, I, with a different state of mind, valued my life, so hardly retrieved as one pushes a camel through the eye of a needle, and gave up the idea of going to Yuanmingyuan.

The peak of torture split into two periods. The first period ran from late 1967 to early 1968, mainly for torture and interrogation. The second period followed the first period until May 3, 1968, focusing on torture and interrogation and forced physical labor.

During the first period, I was under attack by many administrative departments of the university for various allegations. I once worked at the Trade Union of Peking University and won, for the first time in my life, the title of "Advanced Worker," that is, "an advanced worker of the Union." My working affiliation with this organization can be traced back to the early years after the liberation of Beijing.[1] At that time, I took part in the work and leadership of Peking University's Faculty Association, which later was reorganized into the Association of Faculty and Staff of Peking University and, finally, was transformed into today's Trade Union of Peking University. At first, workers were said to be proud of their working-class identity but find themselves humiliated in being with faculty members. Later, they were talked to by someone and reluctantly agreed to form a union with the faculty. After the founding of the Union, I worked successively as head of its Personnel Department and Chair of the Shatan Department.[2] At Shatan, I conducted campaign tours to compete for the leading position in the Union, a tactic learned from American political system. I went from the University's branch campuses of engineering, agriculture and medicine to the University Press at

Guohui Avenue. I delivered campaign speeches and was very excited. In the early years of the new China everything was seen as rosy. I enjoyed working with a few young men around the clock on days when we decorated the campaign room. At that time I was puzzled by one question: what was the relationship between intellectuals like me and the working class, the leading class of the country? The question kept coming up in my mind. Later, I heard an influential source explain that intellectuals were not workers but fell into the category of the working class. I was not good at political theory and did not understand why that reasoning was true. I took the idea as a compromise designed to reduce conflict between the faculty and campus workers, though the confusion was never completely resolved. Nevertheless, I set about working industriously in the Union. In the years after Beida was moved out of town in 1952, I was still an active member of the Union. Later, I was elected Chair of the Union, an extraordinary honor that had been enjoyed only by three or four professors.

But this part of experience became a great crime in the Cultural Revolution. The logic of Beida's working class went like this: the fact that a contemptible intellectual, educated in old China, could become a member of the working class (akin to fishing in troubled waters) showed the liberalism of the working class. However, it was definitely absurd and monstrously offensive that such a person should work his way up to the position of a leader of the Union, a working class organization. Frankly, I understood the sentiment underlying this logic, and, in some sense, even accepted it. As discussed above, I absolutely agreed that I was a bourgeois intellectual because I sought personal ends at times. But I never questioned the assumption that campus workers were entirely free of selfish thoughts and worked in the interest of the collective and others. During the Cultural Revolution, a popular saying was that the control of our universities by bourgeois intellectuals could no longer be tolerated. The idea confounded me. We bourgeois intellectuals became professors and department heads, or even vice presidents and chairs of the Union. But we did not bring universities under our command. Universities were under the leadership of revolutionary veterans appointed by higher authorities. On the basis of my experience these appointees loyally worked and implemented the policies laid down by higher leaders. They proved themselves good government officials. In the Cultural Revolution, they were labeled capitalist roaders. I thought they were

wronged. Now we faculty members were regarded as "rulers" of the universities, an absurd theory that sounded like the situation described in an old Chinese saying: "A fire on the city gate brings disaster to the fish in the moat."

I'll set this issue aside and talk about my work as Chair of the Union. After I was labeled a counter-revolutionary, the campus workers did not want to miss an opportunity to demonstrate their revolutionary zeal. They joined in the torture of me. As manual workers, they had quite different ideas and behaviors from the faculty and students. They had greater physical strength and were more "revolutionary" in violence. They enjoyed watching performances of folk art such as local operas of north and northeast China and cross talks at leisure times. During the Cultural Revolution workers probably found torture more enjoyable than folk arts, so they became passionate and quickly adopted this new pastime. Why would they want to miss such an opportunity to torture me? So one day two workers came to my home by bike and violently banged on the door. They broke in and took me out to some place. Because I had lost my bike, I walked in the middle with one man pushing his bike on each side, just like a visiting head of state in a foreign country rides in a limousine protected by a motorcade on each side. Of course, this was not my state of mind then, when I was deeply worried and definitely in no mood for frivolity or the vainglory of Ah Q.[3]

Word went around that the workers would round up all of the three professors who had worked as Chair of the Union in different periods of time for a torture session. What a wonderful Peking Opera performance for the workers! It would be more fun than the performance of Yang Xiaolou and Mei Lanfang.[4] Unfortunately, one professor had been transferred to work at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and another one was not found either, leaving only myself available. A greater part of the fun was gone. But, the workers believed, "We workers are powerful." Thus, they would not allow any enemy to escape punishment. On the contrary, they carried out the procedure of torture to the letter instead of slighting the work or doing a perfunctory joy. In addition, they were rather original. They turned the indoor frenzy into a "tour show" by holding a marching torture around the campus. This new sort of flagellation at once drew larger crowds, interested in picking up street diversions, plus satisfying the curiosity, or desire, of some people. Having lost directions, I dared not to look up or talk but was simply worried

about the forthcoming battering and insult from along the road. I had no idea how many people were "sightseeing." The commotion down the streets assured me that there were large crowds. The chants rose one after another, peppered with laughter. Truly, the performance was a hit. The working class had its unique personality, with less rhetoric but more fist blows, louder chanting and more stone throwing. I was used to slaps on the face and kicks. I felt quite indebted that this time they spared me the jet plane posture.

Hardly had the Union storm stopped before the "revolutionary crowd" of Beida's Institute of Asian and African Studies came over to fetch me. People tended to swarm round a spot and join in the fun: either no one got down to work or people vied with one another in completing a mission. Before the Cultural Revolution, Beida's Institute of Asian and African Studies was founded at the suggestion of the Chinese Ministry of Education. Lu Ping, president and the secretary of the Party Committee of the university, talked to me and appointed me its head. In fact, I held the position only in name. I maintained a generally good relationship with my colleagues. Once I was in deep water, those former friends of mine in the Institute took advantage of the good chance to victimize me in order to show their "revolutionary stand" or some other stand. Is it the practice that "one adds insult to injury to someone in plight"? I leave this question for the reader to answer. Then I was taken to Yannanyuan, where the Institute was located.[5] This session of crowd abuse was conducted in a small room and the participants were fewer than before. I felt like Monkey King, who emerged from the furnace of the Eight Trigrams of Most Exalted Lord Lao after undergoing hardship and adversity.[6] Having seen worse things, I turned my nose up at this small-sized torture, in which chanting was sporadic, beating was spared, and my taking of the jet plane posture not strictly required. The whole process was "a short item of performance," which I simply dismissed as unpalatable. I felt disappointed. In terms of the speech delivered, ninety percent of it was, as always, sheer nonsense and nine percent was fabrication and false charges, leaving the remaining one percent to come close to the point. In general, my torturers did a lousy job. When the session was over, I sauntered back home. If I were asked to grade this round of torture, it, at most, deserved thirty points, far from a passing grade.

At one session of torture run by the Department of Eastern Languages, which, by the way, only one of the numerous, I cannot remember clearly for

all its details due to my biological and psychological incompetence of holding those receding memories of events, I caught glimpses of some faces from the opposing "Jinggangshan", in addition to those of "New Beida Commune." Despite their savagely clashes, fueled even with spears and other home-made weapons, as if they were sworn enemies ready to lay down their lives, they were jackals from the same lair, both committed to that stuff of fundamentalism, the ideological basis of metaphysics and the competition for showing loyalty to the "Red Empress."[7] Now, in fighting against a common enemy, which was me, they joined forces. It was understandable. One time, I remember, they found a sentence in my diary: "After Jiang Qing gave the 'New Beida Commune' an injection of morphine, they were aroused again to commit all kinds of outrages." It was a challenge to a strict taboo and a preposterous show of irreverence. My persecutors were people who were far from educated; in fact they had never been formally educated; and they never spoke logically. When I was taking the jet plane posture, a feeling of contempt arose in me. It is obvious that I, now much more experienced in attending the torture sessions, was carefree, taking time off to evaluate their speeches. Meanwhile, I thought of the factional tendency I wrote about in that diary entry in the early periods of the Revolution. But I was rewarded for my loyalty to that group by its collaboration with its opposing side in crushing me, the common enemy. Bending down now in the jet plane posture, I felt betrayed.

This sort of torture went on ceaselessly for some time. Occasionally, I was lost in thought, a wave of emotion surging up. I took a stroll down memory lane. If I had stayed in my village in my early years, I would have lived with survival literacy at best. My family had only a two-*mu* plot, on which I had to work in the field every day.[8] If my life had remained unchanged like that, I later would have been classified as a poor farmer at that time of the liberation and privileged to educate intellectuals. Life might have been hard. But I could have been carefree, since "worry comes with learning." How happy I would have been in life! Now, as a professor of the university, I had won a good reputation and honors for my successful career. Once I became a "counter-revolutionary scholar," however, I was terror-stricken every day at sessions of torture, with the numerous caps placed on my head, which doomed me. How painfully I regretted my choice of life! What a despicable mean trick of heaven!

Such regret did not help, I was sure. I stopped thinking of the past and got down to worrying about things at present. It was more practical. I thought it was crucial to build up my body. It was a special physical exercise, different from the physical exercise in general terms. To be specific, it was exercising my legs. I realized the essential part of my endurance with the jet plane posture came from enough leg strength to sustain a two-to-three-hour stance. As mentioned above, if I fell down on the floor because of the pain, the ensuring grave consequence was inconceivable. The tormentors would think I faked physical collapse. Thus, I would receive blows as well as other types of torture because they would believe I had committed a new crime. Therefore, I must hang on. But it was no easy job. Just half an hour into taking the jet plane posture, my back and legs started to ache, and I sweated all over my body. Later on, I felt my body rock, my mind swim, figures become blurred, and things rumble in the ears. At the critical junctures I had to grit my teeth. Sometimes I recited silently a quotation from Mao Zedong, "Resolve, fear no death and overcome difficulty of all kinds to achieve success!" What I actually meant was, "Resolve, fear no death and overcome difficulty of all kinds to prevent myself from collapse!" Believe it or not, this tactic was quite effective sometimes. As I kept pushing myself to hold on, the speeches of the speakers and slogans shouted by the crowds, no matter how thundering and passionate they were, seemed empty and faded into the distance.

Having gone through such experiences for some time, I found the fundamental problem unsolved. To be physically ready for long-term tortures I had to exercise my legs. I made up my mind and started training every day on the balcony of my home, bending double without my hands propped on my knees. I practiced the jet plane posture, counting in silence to calculate the amount of time that I could endure until I sweated and felt dizzy. Such physical exercise had never been heard of at home or abroad since time immemorial. Probably these experiences would have sounded untrue without my accounts. It would be all Greek to any listeners. Today, the mere thought of that part of my life breaks my heart.

Exercising on the balcony had another function. I could see the Red Guards walking toward my home to take me away for interrogation or mass torture. I was an impetuous man and strictly punctual in doing things. When it came to torture sessions, I also wanted to get started on time. Certainly, I

could not control the time to bring it to an end.

In the meantime, the balcony exercise sometimes brought me some unexpected discoveries. One day, right after the "exercise," I looked around and suddenly saw a few sparrows perched on the nearby bamboo twigs. It was winter and the trees were stripped of leaves except for the pines, cypresses and bamboos. I was as delighted as if I were seeing the Song Dynasty (960-1279) painting "Sparrows in the Winter," providentially bestowed upon me by heaven. It was good tidings in hard times. But, immediately, I hit upon the idea that it was absurd to enjoy myself at this point. If this presumptuous trespass was discovered, I would be denounced as a hardened criminal. How could I deny the charge by then?

Moreover, I had other bizarre ideas. Each time I was marched along the lake to the Building of Foreign Languages, or other places, for a torture session, the forthcoming torture would panic me. How fortunate if I could flee the scene! But where could I run, given the vast area of the country? Walking along the side of the lake, I thought of a pastime when I came here to watch tortoises dry their shells on a withered tree trunk. The creeping creatures, hearing the sound of steps, slipped into a run and rolled into the water in a blink of an eye, leaving no sign at all except some ripples. Why shouldn't I change into a tortoise? I saw ants flitting about and pondered how I could assume their form. As an ant, I could crawl into the grass and disappear. Then, why shouldn't I become a bird, when I saw it glide into the air so freely? The bird soared in the broad sky and no one would lay hands on it. Finally, I concluded I was unfortunately endowed with an enormous human body, of which I had felt proud in the past but now wanted to shake it off.

It was all useless fantasy. Did I hit on any useful idea? Yes, it was the idea of escape. I considered it seriously. The key part of it was where I could go. Running to my hometown in Shandong was the most stupid idea. Some people fled to their hometown. But the "New Beida Commune" considered such flights outrageous violations of law and sent people to bring the escapees back. The following torture was many times crueler and more brutal. This idea was a dead end. Then where else could I go? I thought of many places and then got more ideas from other people about the possibilities of going to my friends and relatives. I tried hard to save and gather national

food coupons so as to avoid starving on my way out into the country.[9] But, I was still restless, turning the idea over in my mind again and again. In the end, I gave it up, thinking it was unpractical and risky, and decided to stay on in Beida. This choice was most realistic but also most discomfiting and unendurable. I would be agitated each day, waiting to be taken away by Red Guards to a place. My sorrows could hardly be expressed in words.

One day, I received an abrupt order from the leaders of the Department of Eastern Languages branch of the Commune, "Go to work." The assignment was called "reform through forced physical labor," or "labor reform" in short. Without physical labor, how could one go through reform? It would make a change to my predicament of daily waiting at home. I was somewhat at ease.

From then on, I would go out and labor with that elderly professor I talked about previously, the one who was among the first to be tortured in the Revolution. When misfortune hit him, I was pleased with my placement in the rank of the people. Only one year later, we now were "comrades." Such unpredictable vicissitudes are a fact of life and often catch one unprepared.

Two fellow victims who used to work together in founding the department, we reported at the specified place at eight every morning and did odd jobs under the supervision of one worker. We stopped working at twelve and went home for lunch, resumed working at two in the afternoon and were off work at six in the evening. We had many working locations and the job varied from time to time. Occasionally we were assigned a different working site each day. We two were like thinking and talking livestock, working on whatever was assigned, being whipped by workers, and not daring to say or question anything. To my mind, Beida's maintenance workers became the new white-collar class from then on. They were also like jail officers, who guarded convicted inmates, like "gentlemen" spending all day just giving orders instead of working. I had complaints. But they were the leading class, while I was an outlaw. In no way would I dare to make that kind of audacious comment even if I ate the heart of a tiger and the guts of a leopard. According to my understanding, the so-called Cultural Revolution, in light of its proceedings at Peking University, was a political movement designed for workers to persecute intellectuals. In old China a huge social status and income discrepancy existed between professors and workers. Some

professors were arrogant about their social superiority. Workers were not treated very respectfully, so complaints and resentments were common. That was a time when workers had to bury their humiliations and pains. Things changed after the liberation. When the Cultural Revolution began, opportunities finally arrived. Those pent-up grievances exploded under the incitation of some people. Volleys of clear slaps were hit by a number of workers across faces of the professors standing in front of the wall of the main student cafeteria for their condemnation and torture. These words of mine may sound unacceptable to some workers. But we, as materialists, should seek truth from facts. Call a spade a spade. Reality denies any attempt for unwillingness to accept its existence.

Now I worked under the supervision of such a worker. I had to do whatever job he wanted me to do. As soon as he uttered anything, I must rush to the assignment, no matter how hard and filthy it was. He was arrogant and bossy, standing there doing nothing. His action perfectly exemplified the "leading" role that the working class played.

Did I have a sense of security while working this way? Not in the least. I did not care whether I had to labor or not. But such labor, except depriving me of exercising my legs, positioned me in the readiness for being dragged off at any time for torture sessions by some chiefs, either from the Department of Eastern Languages or any other department of Beida, those who, seized by whims, were able to send people and easily take me away from my work site no matter how far and remote it was. Sometimes, I had to resume work after the torture session. After experiencing the taking of the jet plane position for a while, I found, in comparison, a lot of joys in physical labor. Alas, I was degraded to such a low status as a rotten piece of wood that could not be carved.[10]

On my way to work or going back home, I was afraid to take the main street because walking on that path was dangerous. I could bump into Red Guards strolling haughtily in threes and fours or in groups of tens, red bands on arms and spears in hands, sensing "they were the most highly privileged and respected people in the world." My attire and appearance would immediately reveal my identity as "reactionary." A person like me would look self-abased, dull-eyed, in dusty ragged clothes, undoubtedly a beggar. Besides, we were the game birds subject to hunt. A fist blow or a face slap

was a display of staunch revolutionary belief evoking respect, instead of a violation of law. Young teenagers all knew we were "wicked" and could be subjected to humiliation at will. They were tacitly encouraged to hit us with rubble and spit at us, acts which would be entered into a record of "honor." Some youngsters spread lime over our eyes. We could be blinded with the chemical. In such a case, we were not supposed to say anything to stop their misbehavior, let alone strike back. The only method of self-protection was "running away in humiliation." One time, a seven-year-old held a fragment of brick in his hand and said to me, "Come here! I want to smack you!" I had to avoid it by quickening my steps. But I could not run away too fast. Otherwise the "flowers of our country" would be frightened, which would add up to another serious crime to my criminal record.[11] At times of repose, I shuddered with the thought that I might be blinded, kicked about, and trampled on by "one thousand feet." That would be my doomsday, condemning me to everlasting, infernal suffering.

To avoid public notice, I picked reclusive paths. In the decade of turmoil, there were a lot more such paths than now, usually behind old and rundown houses and along filthy ditches. Such a path often was overgrown with weeds and littered with piles of garbage and excrement, squalid and stinking. Nobody would wander around there. But now it was the place in which I took refuge. Though the stench was hard to bear, the path was quiet. Once in a while I ran into wild dogs and cats. These animals were "politically unenlightened," ignorant of "class struggle." They did not know I was "reactionary." To them, I was a human and a human had to be dodged. Meandering on the winding path, I often raised my head and looked at the blue sky, feeling extremely joyful as I could do what I dared not at other places. Instead of avoiding the foul smell by covering my nose, I would slow down and dawdle to have more fun in the paradise of the humans like me.

It is a common occurrence that catastrophe hits in succession, and paradise does not hold bliss for long. One day I was required to dismantle a mat railing. Accidentally, I stepped on a one-inch-long nail sticking out from a board on the ground. With a thinly soled shoe, the arch of my foot was pierced through. I felt a sharp pain. As I pulled up my foot, it started to bleed profusely. My supervisor was right on the spot. He was not concerned about what had happened to me. Instead, he flared up, saying, "You people are idiots!" The reference of "idiots" to professors was quite clear to both of us. I

was ready for a couple of face slaps. To my surprise, he was rather merciful this time and said, "Go away!" I went away accordingly. Too painful to walk, I hobbled toward my home, using one foot only. I was afraid to go to the University's health center because the doctors and nurses took the side of the Commune. Their fierce looks of hate would frighten me. Why should I bite the hook and offer myself as a sacrifice? Back at home, the two old ladies were shocked to see my state. Desperate, they had to use the traditional method of submerging my foot in hot water for a while and then applying mercurochrome on the wound before binding it up with a white cloth bandage. However, I had to work in the afternoon. Otherwise if the leaders at higher levels found something awry, not only would I be in trouble, but that worker would be held responsible as well. I didn't expect to be treated humanely at this time. Captured KMT troops were treated as human beings. But, I certainly was not one of them. I was dismissed as non-human, so humanitarianism did not apply to me.

In the meantime, strife broke out between the two factions of the university. Both sides set up their own arsenals and combat brigades. Previously I talked about the weapons they used in the previous discussion. The Commune was in power and undoubtedly extravagant. Its members cut costly steel tubes to make long spears with sharpened points. These weapons in hand, they had an awesome bearing. "Jinggangshan" affiliates were less privileged but managed to be equipped, too, with their best weapons. Each side was stationed in a few buildings all heavily guarded. I was not allowed to watch any violence. I was naive and imagined factional strife to be serious because it was a life and death business. But one day when summoned by my supervisor to clean up a battleground right after a fierce battle, I saw a ravaged area of student dorms with all its windows smashed, the ground covered with stones and brick detritus, which were used as arms in the fight between the two sides. But when I looked up, to my surprise, a few strings of worn-out shoes hung outside the windows. I sneered silently. … I found these young students rather lovely in their immature and frivolous conduct. They turned bloody combat into a short melodrama. The last time that I laughed had already dropped into oblivion. Today, I seemed to have retrieved my property of laughing. I took it as a refreshing anecdote in the nadir of my life.

But I did my best, if possible, to keep away from all faction battles. This was a knowing smile I snatched unexpectedly, not fit for a model. I was

beyond redemption like "the Pig that looks into a mirror and sees an image as ugly and disgusting as its appearance in life."[12] As an enemy of both sides, I could be victimized by each if caught in the violence. If I was caught by them, why should they let go of this hate releasing opportunity? Since I've survived the first crisis, I'd better protect myself. I conducted a comparative study of suicide. But I did not want to commit suicide now, nor was I willing to be killed by anyone. I wanted to live.

This is the early period of my "labor reform."

[1] The liberation of Beijing, the period in early 1949, right before the founding of the People's Republic of China.

[2] Shatan, the original location of the main campus of Peking University in its early years of development in 1898-1952, before the university was moved to the present location in northwest Beijing in 1952.

[3] See note 8, Chapter 5.

[4] Yang Xiaolou (1878-1938) and Mei Lanfang (1894-1961), both well-known Peking Opera artists, the former for his playing of the male role portraying military heroes and the latter for his playing of female roles.

[5] Yannanyuan, the southern part of the main campus of Peking University.

[6] The Eight Trigrams, eight combinations of three lines joined in pairs to form sixty-four hexagrams; the lines are either all broken, or all solid, or a combination of solid and broken lines. It is mainly discussed in *The Book of Changes* in ancient China. In *Journey to the West*, Monkey King is thrown into the Furnace of Most Exalted Lord Lao and burned for forty-nine days as a punishment for making havoc in heaven. But he is not killed. Instead he emerges from the furnace, after the tempering, with greater strength and more powerful properties to achieve whatever he wants. Most Exalted Lord Lao is the deified ancient Chinese philosopher Lao Tze, reputed founder of Taoism.

[7] Jiang Qing, who claimed to be the "Red Empress."

[8]*Mu*, a traditional Chinese unit of area equivalent to 6.667 ares or 0.165 acres.

[9] Food coupons started to be issued a few years after the founding of the People's Republic of China by the central and provincial governments because of food shortages until this food rationing system phased out in the late 1970s when China turned to the economic reform.

[10]**Ji refers to the quotation from Section Gongye Chang,** *The Analects*, **written by Confucius, "One cannot carve on the rotten wood and trowel a wall of dried dung."**

[11] Children, as they grow, are regarded as the "flowers of the country" and a symbol for the bright future of the country.

[12] Pig, ugly, greedy and foolish, is the second disciple of Monk Xuanzang in the Chinese classical fiction *Journey to the West.*

拾　劳改的初级阶段

跟着来的是一个批斗的高潮期。

从1967年冬天到1968年春天，隔上几天，总有一次批斗。对此我已经颇能习以为常，“曾经沧海难为水”，我是在批斗方面见过大世面的人，我又珍惜我这一条像骆驼钻针眼似的拣来的性命，我再不想到圆明园了。

这一个高潮期大体上可以分成两个阶段：从开始直到次年的春初为批斗和审讯阶段；从春初到1968年5月3日为批斗、审讯加劳动阶段。

在第一个阶段中，批斗的单位很多，批斗的借口也不少。我曾长期在北大工会工作。我生平获得的第一个“积极分子”称号，就是“工会积极分子”。北京刚一解放，我就参加了教授会的组织和领导工作。后来进一步发展，组成了教职员联合会，最后才组成了工会。风闻北大工人认为自己已是领导阶级，羞与知识分子为伍组成工会。后经不知什么人解释、疏通，才勉强答应。工会组成后，我先后担任了北大工会组织部长、沙滩分会主席。在沙滩时，曾经学习过美国竞选的办法，到工、农、医学院和国会街北大出版社各分会，去做竞选演说，精神极为振奋。当时初经解放，看一切东西都是玫瑰色的。为了开会布置会场，我曾彻夜不眠，同几个年轻人共同劳动，并且以此为乐。当时我有一个问题，怎么也弄不清楚：我们这些知识分子同中华人民共和国的领导阶级工人阶级是什么关系呢？这个问题常常萦绕在我脑海中。后来听说一个权威人士解释说：知识分子不是工人，而是工人阶级。我的政治理论水平非常低。我不明白：为什么不是工人而能属于工人阶级？为了调和教授与工人之间的矛盾，我接受了这个说法，但是心里始终是糊里糊涂的。不管怎样，我仍然兴高采烈地参加工会的工作。1952年，北大迁到城外以后，我仍然是工会积极分子。我被选为北京大学工会主席。北大教授中，只有三四人得到了这个殊荣。

然而到了“文化大革命”中，这却成了我的特殊罪状。北大“工人阶级”的逻辑大概是：一个从旧社会过来的臭知识分子，得以滥竽工人阶级，已经证明了工人阶级的宽洪大量，现在竟成了工人阶级组织的头儿，实在是大逆不道，罪在不赦矣。对北大“工人阶级”的这种逻辑，我是能够理解的，有时甚至是同意的。我在上面已经谈到，我心悦诚服地

承认自己是资产阶级知识分子，因为我有个人考虑。至于北大“工人阶级”是否都是大公无私，毫不利己，专门利人，我当时还没有考虑。但是对当时一个流行的说法“资产阶级知识分子统治我们学校的现象，再也不能继续下去了”，我却大惑不解。我们资产阶级知识分子，虽然当了教授，当了系主任，甚至当了副校长和工会主席，可并没有真正统治学校呀！真正统治学校的是上级派来的久经考验的老革命。据我个人的观察，这些老革命个个都兢兢业业地执行上级的方针政策，勤勤恳恳地工作。他们不愧是国家的好干部。“文化大革命”中，他们都成了“走资派”，我觉得很不公平。现在又把我们这些知识分子拉进了“统治”学校的圈子。这简直是“城门失火，殃及池鱼”。

这个问题现在暂且不谈，先谈我这个工会主席。我被“打倒”批斗以后，北大的工人不甘落后。在对我大批斗的高潮中，他们也挤了进来。他们是工人，想法和做法都同教员和学生有所不同。他们之间的区别是颇为明显的：工人比学生力气更大，行动更“革命”（野蛮）。他们平常多欣赏评剧，喜欢相声等等民间艺术。在“文化大革命”中，他们大概发现了大批斗比评剧和相声要好看、好听得多，批斗的积极性也就更高涨。批斗我的机会他们怎能放过呢？于是在一阵激烈的砸门声之后，闯进来了两个工人，要押解我到什么地方去批斗。他们是骑自行车来的，我早已无车可骑。这样我就走在中间，一边一个人推车“护驾”，大有国宾乘车左右有摩托车卫护之威风。可惜我此时心里正在打鼓，没有闲情逸致去装阿Q了。

听说，北大工人今天本来打算把当过北大工会主席的三位教授揪出来，一起批斗。如果真弄成的话，这是多么难得的一出戏呀！这要比杨小楼和梅兰芳合演什么戏还要好看得多。可惜三位中的一位已经调往中国社会科学院，另一位不知为什么也没有揪着，只剩下我孤身一人，实在是大煞风景。但是，“我们工人有力量”，来一个就先斗一个吧。就这样，他们仍然一丝不苟；并没有因为只剩下一个人，就像平常劳动那样，偷工减料，敷衍了事。他们决不率由旧章，而是大大地发挥了创造性：把在室内斗争，改为“游斗”，也就是在室外大马路上，边游边斗。这样可以供更多的人观赏，满足自己的好奇心或者别的什么心。我糊里糊涂，不敢抬头，不敢说话，任人摆布，任人撮弄。我不知道沿途“观礼”者有多少人，从闹哄哄的声音来推测，大概人数不少。口号声上彻云霄，中间掺杂着哈哈大笑声。可见这一出戏是演得成功了。工人阶级有工人阶级的脾气：理论讲得少，拳头打得重，口号喊得响，石块投得多。耳光和脚踢，我已经习以为常，不以为忤。这一次不让我坐喷气式，这就是对我最大的安慰，我真是感恩戴德了。

工会的风暴还没有完全过去，北大亚非所的“革命群众”又来揪斗我了。人们干事总喜欢一窝蜂的方式，要么都不干，要么都抢着干。我现在又碰到了这一窝蜂。在“文革”以前，北大根据教委（当时还叫教育部或者高教部）的意见，成立了亚非研究所。校长兼党委书记陆平亲自找我，要我担任所长。其实是挂名，我什么事情都不管。因此我同所里的工作人员没有任何利害冲突，我觉得关系还不错。可是一旦我被“打倒”，所里的人也要显示一下自己的“革命性”或者别的什么性，决不能放过批斗我的机会。这算不算“落井下石”呢？大家可以商量研究。总之我被揪到了燕南园的所里，进行批斗。批斗是在室内进行的，屋子不大，参加的人数也不多。我现在在被批斗方面好比在老君八卦炉中锻炼过的孙大圣，大世面见得多了，小小不然的我还真看不上眼。这次批斗就是如此。规模不大，口号声不够响，也没有拳打脚踢，只坐了半个喷气式。对我来说，这简直只能算是一个“小品”，很不过瘾，我颇有失望之感。至于批斗发言，则依然是百分之九十是胡说八道，百分之九是罗织诬陷，大约只有百分之一说到点子上。总起来看水平不高。批斗完了以后，我轻轻松松地走回家来。如果要我给这次批斗打一个分数的话，我只能给打二三十分，离开及格还有一大截子。

在一次东语系的批斗会上——顺便说一句，这样的批斗会还是比较多的；但是，根据生理和心理的原则，事情太多了，印象就逐渐淡化，我不能都一一记住了——我瞥见主斗的人物中，除了新北大公社的熟悉的面孔以外，又有了对立面井冈山的面孔。这两派虽然斗争极其激烈，甚至动用了长矛和其他自制的武器，大有你死我活不共戴天之势。然而，从本质上来看，二者并没有区别，都搞那一套极“左”的东西，都以形而上学为思想基础，都争着向那一位“红色女皇”表忠心。现在是对“敌”斗争了——这个“敌”就是我——大家同仇敌忾，联合起来对我进行批斗，这是完全可以理解的。有一次斗争的主题是从我被抄走的日记上找出的一句话：“江青给新北大公社扎了一针吗啡，他们的气焰又高涨起来了。”这就犯了大忌，简直是大不敬。批斗者的理论水平极低——他们从来也没有高过——说话简直是语无伦次。我坐在喷气式上，心里无端产生出鄙夷之感。可见我被批斗的水平已经猛增，甚至能有闲情逸致来评断发言的水平了。从两派合流我想到了自己的派性。日记中关于江青的那一句话，证明我的派性有多么顽固。然而时过境迁，我认为对之忠贞不二的那一派早已同对立面携起手来对付我了。我边坐喷气式，边有点忿忿不平了。

这样的批斗接二连三，我心中思潮起伏，片刻也不能平静。我想得很多，很多；很远，很远。我想到我的幼年。如果我留在乡下的话，我

的文化水平至多也只是一个半文盲。我们家里大约只有一两亩地。我天天下地劳动。解放以后还能捞到一个贫农的地位，可以教育知识分子了。生活当然是清苦的，“人生识字忧患始”，我可以无忧无患，多么舒服惬意呀！如今自己成了大学教授，可谓风光已极。然而一旦转为“反动权威”，则天天挨批挨斗，胆战心惊，头顶上还不知道戴上了多少顶帽子，前途未卜。我真是多么后悔呀！造化小儿实在可恶之至！

这样的后悔药没有什么用处，这一点我自己知道。我下定决心，不再去想，还是专心致志地考虑眼前的处境为佳，这样可能有点实际的效益。我觉得，我在当时的首要任务是锻炼身体。这种锻炼不是一般的体育锻炼，而是特殊的锻炼。说明白一点就是专门锻炼双腿。我分析了当时的种种矛盾，认为最主要的矛盾是善于坐喷气式，能够坐上两三小时而仍然能坚持不倒。我在上面已经谈到过，倘若在批斗时坐喷气式受不住倒在地上，其后患简直是不堪设想。批斗者一定会认为我是故意捣乱，罪上加罪，拳打脚踢之外，还不知道用什么方法来惩罚我哩。我必须坚持下来，但是坚持下来又是万分不容易的。坐喷气式坐到半个小时以后，就感到腰酸腿痛，浑身出汗；到了后来，身子直晃悠，脑袋在发晕，眼前发黑，耳朵轰鸣。此时我只能咬紧牙关。我有时也背语录：“下定决心，不怕牺牲，排除万难，去争取胜利！”我的潜台词是：“下定决心，不怕苦痛，排除万难，去争取不要倒下！”你别说，有时还真有效。我坚持再坚持。到了此时，台上批斗者发言不管多么激昂慷慨，不管声音多么高，“打倒，打倒”的呼声不管多么惊天动地，在我听起来，只如隔山的轻雷，微弱悠远而已。

这样的经验，有过多次。自己觉得，并不保险。为了彻底解决、根本解决这个主要矛盾，我必须有点长久之计。我于是就想到锻炼双腿。我下定决心，每天站在阳台上进行锻炼。我低头弯腰，手不扶膝盖，完全是自觉自愿地坐喷气式。我心里数着数，来计算时间，必至眼花流汗而后止。这样的体育锻炼是古今中外所未有。如果我不讲出来，决不会有人相信，他们一定认为这是海外奇谈。今日回想起来，我真是欲哭无泪呀！

站在阳台上，还有另外一个作用。我能从远处看到来我家押解我去批斗或审讯的红卫兵。我脾气急，干什么事我都从来不晚到。对待批斗，我仍然如此。我希望批斗也能正点开始，至于何时结束，那就不是我的事了。

站在阳台上，还有意想不到的发现。有一天，我在“锻炼”之余，猛然抬头看到楼下小园内竹枝上坐着的麻雀。此时已是冬天，除了松柏翠

竹外，万木枯黄，叶子掉得精光。几杆翠竹更显得苍翠欲滴。坐在竹杆上的几只小麻雀一动也不动。我的眼前一亮，立刻仿佛看到一幅宋画“寒雀图”之类。我大为吃惊，好像天老爷在显圣，送给我了一幅画，在苦难中得到点喜悦。但是，我稍一定神，顿时想到，这是什么时候我还有这样的闲情逸致。我的资产阶级修正主义思想真可谓顽固至极，说我“死不改悔”，我还有什么办法不承认呢？

类似这样的奇思怪想，我还有一些。每一次红卫兵押着我沿着湖边走向外文楼或其他批斗场所时，我一想到自己面临的局面，就不寒而栗。我是多么想逃避呀！但是茫茫天地，我可是往哪里逃呢？现在走在湖边上，想到过去自己常在这里看到湖中枯木上王八晒盖。一听到人声，通常是行动迟缓的王八，此时却异常麻利，身子一滚，坠入湖中，除了几圈水纹以外，什么痕迹都没有了。我自己为什么不能变成一只王八呢？我看到脚下乱爬的蚂蚁，自己又想到，我自己为什么不能变成一只蚂蚁呢？只要往草丛里一钻，任何人都找不到了。我看到天空中飞的小鸟，自己又想到，我自己为什么不能变成一只小鸟呢？天高任鸟飞，翅膀一展，立刻飞走，任何人都捉不到了。总之，是嫌自己身躯太大。堂堂五尺之躯，过去也曾骄傲过，到了现在，它却成了累赘，欲丢之而后快了。

这一些幻想毫无用处，自己知道。有用处的办法有没有呢？有的，那就是逃跑。我确实认真考虑过这一件事。关键是逃到什么地方去。逃到自己的家乡，这是最蠢的办法。听说有一些人这样做了。新北大公社认为这是犯了王法，大逆不道，派人到他的家乡，把他揪了回来，批斗得加倍地野蛮残酷。这一条路决不能走。那么逃到哪里去呢？我曾考虑过很多地方，别人也给我出过很多点子，或到朋友那里，或到亲戚那里。我确曾认真搜集过全国粮票，以免出门挨饿。最后，考虑来，考虑去，认为那些都只是幻想，有很大的危险，还是留在北大吧。这是一条最切实可走的路，然而也是最不舒服、最难忍受的路，天天时时提心吊胆，等候红卫兵来抓，押到什么地方去批斗。其中滋味，实不足为外人道也。

然而，忽然有一天，东语系公社的领导派人来下达命令：每天出去劳动。这才叫做“劳动改造”，简称“劳改”，没有劳动怎么能改造呢？这改变了我天天在家等的窘境，心中暂时略有喜意。

从今以后，我就同我在上面谈到的首先被批斗的老教授一起，天天出去劳动。仅在一年多以前“十年浩劫”初起时，在外文楼批斗这一位老教授，我当时还滥竽人民之内，曾几何时，我们竟成了“同志”。人世沧

桑，风云变幻，往往有出人意料者，可不警惕哉！

我们这一对难兄难弟，东语系的创办人，今天同为阶下囚。每天8点到指定的地方去集合，在一个工人监督下去干杂活。12点回家，下午2点再去，晚上6点回家。劳动的地方很多，工种也有变换，有时候一天换一个地方。我们二人就像是一对能思考、会说话的牛马，在工人的鞭子下，让干什么干什么，半句话也不敢说，不敢问。据我从旁观察，从那时起，北大工人就变成了白领阶级，又好像是押解犯人的牢头禁子，自己什么活都不干，成了只动嘴不动手的“君子”。我颇有点腹诽之意。然而，工人是领导一切的阶级，我自己只不过一个阶下囚，我吃了老虎心豹子胆也不敢说三道四了。据我看，专就北京大学而论，这一场所谓“文化大革命”，实际上是工人整知识分子的运动。在旧社会，教授与工人地位悬殊，经济收入差距也极大。有一些教授自命不凡，颇有些“教授架子”，对工人不够尊重。工人心中难免蕴藏着那么一点怨气。在那时候他们也只能忍气吞声。解放以后，情况变了。到了“十年浩劫”，对某一些工人来说，机会终于来了。那一股潜伏的怨气，在某一些人鼓励煽动下，一古脑儿爆发出来了。在大饭厅批斗面壁而立时，许多响亮的耳光声，就来自某一些工人的巴掌与某一些教授的脸相接触中。我这些话，有一些工人师傅可能不肯接受。但我们是唯物主义者，要实事求是，事情是什么样子，就应该说它是什么样子。不接受也否认不了事实的存在。

我现在就是在一个工人监督下进行劳改。多脏多累的活，只要他的嘴一动，我就必须去干。这位工人站在旁边颐指气使。他横草不动，竖草不拈，就这样来“领导一切”。

这样劳动，我心里有安全感了没有？一点也没有。我并不怕劳动。但是这样的劳动，除了让我失掉锻炼双腿的机会而感到遗憾外，仍然要随时准备着，被揪去批斗，东语系或北大的某一个部门的头领们，一旦心血来潮，就会派人到我劳动的地方，不管这个地方多么远，多么偏僻，总能把我手到擒来。有时候，在批斗完了以后，仍然要回原地劳动。坐过一阵喷气式以后，劳动反而给我带来了乐趣，看来我真已成了不可雕的朽木了。

无论是走去劳动，还是劳动后回家，我决不敢，也不愿意走阳关大道。在大道上最不安全。戴红袖章、手持长矛的红卫兵，三五成群，或者几十成群，雄赳赳气昂昂地走在路上，大有“天上天下，唯我独尊”之概。像我这样的人，一看打扮，一看面色，就知道是“黑帮”分子。我们满脸晦气，目光呆滞，身上鹑衣百结，满是尘土，同叫花子差不多。况

且此时我们早已成了空中飞鸟，任何人皆可得而打之。打我们一拳或一个耳光，不但不犯法，而且是“革命行动”，这能表现“革命”的义愤，会受到尊敬的。连十几岁的小孩都知道我们是“坏人”，是可以任意污辱的。丢一块石头，吐几口吐沫，可以列入“优胜纪略”中的。有的小孩甚至拿着石灰向我们眼里撒。如果任其撒入，眼睛是能够瞎的。在这样的情况下，我们也不敢还口，更不敢还手。只有“夹着尾巴逃跑”一途。有一次，一个七八岁的小男孩手里拿着一块砖头，命令我：“过来！我拍拍你！”我也只能快走几步，逃跑。我还不敢跑得太快，否则吓坏了我们“祖国的花朵”，我们的罪孽就更大了。我有时候想，如果我真成了瞎子，身上再被“踏上一千只脚”，那可真是如堕入十九层地狱，“永世不得翻身”了。

不敢走阳关大道怎么办呢？那就专拣偏僻的小路走。在“十年浩劫”期间，北大这样的小路要比现在多得多。这样的小路大都在老旧房屋的背后，阴沟旁边。这里垃圾成堆，粪便遍地，杂草丛生，臭气熏天。平常是绝对没有人来的。现在却成了我的天堂。这里气味虽然有点难闻，但是非常安静，野猫野狗是经常能够碰到的。猫狗的“政治觉悟”很低，完全不懂“阶级斗争，一抓就灵”。它们不知道我是“黑帮”，只知道我是人，对人它们还是怕的。到了这个环境里，平常不敢抬的头敢抬起来了，平常不敢出的气现在敢出了，也还敢抬头看蔚蓝色的天空，心中异常地快乐。对这里的臭气，我不但不想掩鼻而过，还想尽量多留一会。这里真是我这类人的天堂。

但是，人生总是祸不单行的，天堂也决非能久留之地。有一天，我被押解着去拆席棚，倒在地上的木板上还有残留的钉子。我一不小心，脚踏到上面，一寸长的钉子直刺脚心，鞋底太薄，阻挡不住钉子。我只觉脚底下一阵剧痛，一拔脚，立即血流如注。此时，我们那个牢头禁子，不但对此毫不关心，而且勃然大怒，说：“你们这些人简直是没用的废物！”所谓“无用的废物”，指的就是教授。这我和他心里都是明白的。我正准备着挨上几个耳光，他却出我意料大发慈悲，说了声：“滚蛋吧！”我就乘机滚了蛋。我脚痛得无法走路，但又不能不走。我只能用一只脚正式走路，另一只是被拖着走的。就这样一瘸一拐地走回家来。我不敢进校医院，那里管事的都是公社派，见了我都会怒目而视，我哪里还敢自投罗网呢？看到我这一副狼狈相，家里的两位老太太大吃一惊，也是一筹莫展，只能采用祖传的老办法，用开水把伤口烫上一烫，抹点红药水，用纱布包了起来。下午还要去劳动。否则上边怪罪下来，不但我吃不消，连那位工人也会受到牵连。我现在不期望有什么人对我讲革命的人道主义，对国民党俘虏是可以讲的，对我则不行，我已

经被开除了“人籍”，人道主义与我无干了。

此时，北大的两派早已开始了武斗。两派都创建了自己的兵工厂，都有自己的武斗队。兵器我在上面已经提到一点。掌权的公社派当然会阔气非凡。他们把好好的价值昂贵的钢管锯断、磨尖，形成了长矛，拿在手里，威风凛凛。井冈山物质条件差一点，但也拼凑了一些武器。每一派各据几座楼，相互斗争。每一座楼都像一座堡垒，警卫森严。我没有资格亲眼看到两派的武斗场面。我想，武斗之事性命交关，似乎应该十分严肃。但是，我被监工头领到学生宿舍区去清理一场激烈的武斗留下的战场。附近楼上的玻璃全被打碎，地上堆满了砖头石块，是两派交战时所使用的武器。我们的任务就是来清除这些垃圾。但是，我猛一抬头，瞥见一座楼的窗子外面挂满了成串的破鞋。我大吃一惊，继而在心里莞尔一笑。……我真觉得这些年轻的大孩子顽皮到可爱的程度，把这兵戎大事变成一幕小小的喜剧。我脸上没有笑意已经很久很久，笑这个本能我好像已经忘掉了，不意今天竟有了想笑的意思。这在囚徒生活中是一个轻松的插曲。

但是，真正的武斗，只要有可能，我还是尽量躲开的。这种会心的微笑于无意中得之，不足为训。我现在是“猪八戒照镜子，里外不是人”。两派中哪一派都把我看做敌人。我若遇到武斗而躲不开的话，谁不想拿我来撒气呢？我既然凭空捡了一条命，我现在想尽力保护它。我虽然研究过比较自杀学，但是，我现在既不想自杀，也不想他杀。我还想活下去哩。

劳改初级阶段的情况，大体如此。

11 THE GRAND SESSION OF TORTURE

Thus days passed uneventfully.

But my mind never eased up. Each day I was on twenty-four-hour alert. No matter whether at home or at work, I was ready to be taken away by the Red Guards, exactly as in the period before the forced physical labor. Consequently, even when working in a less busy place, I could spot a "Red Guard" armband in the distance as it sprang toward me and I knew my disaster was coming. I became an animal, speechless and dumb, and was tamely led to some unknown place. The torture was stereotyped, exactly in the same pattern as before. Now I was skilled at taking the jet plane posture, without the Red Guards' ferocious corrections of kick and blow. My graceful performance left no room to be desired. I was happy that my painstaking balcony exercise eventually paid off. Though my legs were still a little uncomfortable, I didn't feel sore and hurt unendurably. While bending down over there, I turned a deaf ear to the speeches delivered, which were routinely full of lies and worse than the eight-part essay.[1] The discourses were pieces of trash like "the wind blowing past in the autumn." On the other hand, I was satisfied that each session of torture took one part of labor off my working schedule and gave me a recess. As I experienced the ordeal of mass torture, I moved through the course of torture sessions and was close to graduation with a bachelor's degree in this field of learning.

Sometimes, I was taken away for interrogation instead. The location was the same, the Building of Foreign Languages, though the rooms varied from time to time. I didn't know the reason. Once marched inside, I saw the branch leaders of the Commune in our department; I apologize here for not knowing about their positions at that time; they sat seriously in a row as judges at a trial. I thought I had to take the jet plane posture, but, thank goodness, this time they spared me, asking me to stand there and permitting me to look up. I felt uncomfortable, like Jia Gui of *The Famen Temple*.[2] In the early period of the Revolution, I behaved badly in circumstances of this kind. Since the survival of my crisis, I had been quite cooperative. I realized resistance would bring me no good. The interrogation usually focused on the diaries with millions of characters that they confiscated from my home, pointing to some

minor details or sentences in order to make false charges and slurs. While listening to their hoots of nonsense, I felt infuriated sometimes, thinking they had gone too far. Aware of the danger of offending them, I tried to check my emotion. At that time, when willful vilification raged, it was quite easy to find faults in the tons of diaries and papers. On top of that I was required to answer their questions. But answering their questions would fuel my discontent, which, by all means, should be brought under control. How distressed I felt! Occasionally I would rather prefer forming the jet plane posture during the torture session, a less emotionally depressed state in which I could ignore the speaker's ridiculous address at the cost of receiving a couple of slaps on the face. One old saying goes, "It's always the other mountain that looks higher." Was I so bedeviled that taking the jet plane posture felt more desirable?

The interrogators were either some former students of mine or faculty members I had hired in the past. At this point it never occurred to me that they were "ungrateful." In fact the thought was very unrealistic. I could forgive most of them. Like myself, they were victims of the factional frenzy that stripped them of the reasoning. But a few of them stuck out for their behavior. For example, a young professor of Korean, who was a firm supporter of the Commune, displayed extreme hostility toward me in the interrogation. Did he hope to claim a reward and promotion from the "Empress" by torturing his victims? Another faculty member of Indonesian, who used to be extremely deferential in front of me, now treated me in a shockingly rude manner. It turned out that he was not revolutionary before the liberation, when he worked against revolutionary students and attended the anti-Soviet rally. Later, when the disgraceful part of his history was revealed by someone, he took his own life, using the capitalist life-ending method.

But what most disturbed and frustrated me was the conduct of a teacher of Arabic. Before the Revolution he was honest and decent and we got along well. Now he joined the branch section of the Commune in our department, but not as a leading member. He was assigned the work of reading the diaries and papers confiscated from my home. With a pile of papers more than one meter high, I knew it was a mammoth and monotonous task for him to read and detect evidence of my "counter-revolutionary behavior." On the one hand, it was easy to pick up a few sentences from the papers and concoct a

false charge based on them. On the other hand, it would take a great amount of patience, eye-strain and mental power to finish this job. If I were asked to read them once again myself, I would hardly be able to accomplish the mission. But this gentleman, whom I was not in a position to call "comrade" by that time, worked day and night and finally succeeded in reading all the papers gathered together and providing plenty of evidence for denouncing me. It is amazing that he spent a great deal of time reading the papers written by an unknown man like me. It would have been a worthwhile project to study my works if I had been a noted scholar or he had been really interested in the "Study of Ji Xianlin." Didn't he squander his life? From another perspective he undoubtedly would have been able to write a good research paper if he had spent the same amount of time and energy reading works of Arabic language and literature. Securing his master's degree and getting a promotion would have been down the road. I felt sorry for him that he failed to achieve academic success due to the involvement in my case. But what could I have done for him given the circumstances I was in?

The Commune members of our department were fairly polite while interrogating me, though emotion ran high occasionally. Certainly no one slapped me, for which I was profoundly indebted to them.

Given the fact that I became accustomed to the daily routine, I grew tired of a life going to work, torture and interrogation. Again my mind wandered aimlessly. I wished the country could have a savior, benevolent and sympathetic, to end this catastrophe and free innocent people like me from the shackles of agony. I was never a believer in anything, any religious deity, God, Heaven, Buddha or Bodhisattva, nor did I say any prayers for something. I counted on the leaders of my country. One woman, my next-door neighbor, had long treated me as "an enemy" and "a counter-revolutionary." She never looked at me directly. Instead she urged the two old ladies of my family to do the same as a token of expressing their firm revolutionary belief. The two ladies frankly rejected her by saying, "We depend on him as a bread earner!" When off work, I started to write letters to our state leaders, sitting in my dimly lighted room in such an unfriendly atmosphere, wanting to express my wishes for a dignified life. But it was only a pipedream. How could a miracle of that sort happen? A popular saying was that "the Cultural Revolution should be made at seven-to-eight-year intervals and last for seven to eight years each time."[3] I was fighting a losing

battle as "a blind man wastes his material by lighting a candle in darkness." In my illusion I longed for a sudden turn in my life for the better when, one morning, I would wake up to see the close of the Cultural Revolution and feel myself lifted back to earth from the infernal world. By that time I would be thousands of times more zealous in eulogizing our "Great Savior of the People." How wonderful it would be! In the pitch-dark universe I seemed to see a pale beam of light flickering from the "Highest Building" (Mr. Chen Yinque has a line of poetry, "It is difficult to enjoy the beauty of the highest building at near sight").[4] Such a happy result, however, was nothing but a distant mirage on the political horizon. My daily routine continued to alternate between going to work, torture sessions and interrogations.

Even at home, free of outside disturbance, I was not relaxed. The next-door harsh lady, whom I had talked about just now, went out of her way to pester me by requiring that I move out of her room a mahogany square-pieced table and a couch, two pieces of furniture, which I had stored there thanks to a lack of space. The table was said to be the only one left in history in Beijing. I was hard put. I only had two rooms, one large and one small, which the Red Guards left with me after raiding my home. They now were full of things. How could I squeeze the big furniture into my rooms? The garage downstairs, which was used to store books, became almost a disgusting dumpster after the home-raiding. To add fuel to fire, a female member living downstairs put up a small- character poster requiring me to move my books out of the garage. Now I lost all my friends. Like a virus carrier, to whom could I turn for help? Would I be courageous enough to go outside? I was like Xiang Yu, who was besieged on all sides in front of the river Wujiang. As I had made a comparative study of suicide earlier, I would not take my own life by cutting my throat as Xiang Yu did. I wanted to live on. But what kind of life would I want to lead? I was desperate.

What was in store for me was not the light at the end of the tunnel but the light from an on-coming train.

The manual labor dragged on for the whole spring of 1968. It was a time of sunshine and glee again. Nature ran in its own cycle; it showed no damage from the Cultural Revolution and, instead, turned the campus into a garden of colorful blossoms. Spring was a lovely season for all and I had particular affection for plants. However, my pitiful state of mind color-blinded me to

the sublimity of nature.

On the other hand, the "revolutionaries" were aroused by the balmy weather and unfolded new "revolutionary enthusiasm." The leaders of the Commune believed in the old Chinese saying that "a bumper harvest in the fall depends on timely plowing in the spring." They hoped to improve their endeavors and avoid resting on their laurels by outlining a set of creations. Of course, these creations were to be applied to the nearly one hundred identified criminals. I am not sure whether each of the revolutionaries was serious about "making the revolution." However, I can say that the majority of them enjoyed torturing others. The evil side of humanity had been restrained in the past. But now it was unleashed. By the way, I should make it clear that, among a few thousand campus workers and more than ten thousand students in the university, only a tiny population participated in the torture. These activists were born rascals, disobedient, riotous, cunning, greedy, lazy and lustful for private gains. Now they were provided with a rare opportunity for giving full play to their despicable instincts.

On May 4, 1968, the anniversary of the May 4th Movement and the Festival for Chinese Youth, we were picked up from home and marched to the coal yard.[5] This place was notorious. As the name suggests, it was used for storing coal and run by a group of workers. During the Revolution, it happened that all those who worked there supported the "Old Dowager." These men were heavily-built and their profession with coal required great physical strength. Dealing with us weakly-set scholars hardly did justice to their physique. A slap on the face or a kick to the body was as powerful as that given by Li Kui and Lu Zhishen in *The Outlaws of the Marsh*.[6] Such experience was personal to us and beyond description. To those "capitalist roaders," who once labored in the coal yard during the first persecution stage of the Revolution, the place sounded horrifying, just like descriptions of Zhazi Cave run by the KMT.[7]

This time we were taken there. Now I noticed that only some of us were singled out and sent to the coal yard. The decision was made by "going through a careful selection" and "regrouping for a desired result," because we were the "chief culprits."[8] Among us were Lu Ping and Peng Peiyun, who were condemned by the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster. Each of us carried a heavy board of more than ten *jin*, which hung from the neck and

bore our name on it. Ordered to sit on the ground, we fearfully kept quiet. I guessed this session would take a long time, so I asked to go to the restroom. It was a tedious trip and I tottered along with the board dangling about. I managed to get back soon and sat down on the ground as required. I was nervous, trying to figure out what disaster would befall me.

The suspense resembled that when the convict waited for his execution in ancient Chinese society. But finally it was the time. We heard a loud shout, "March them away!" A number of stout men came up, two grabbing each of us. As usual, our arms were twisted back up and two hands pressed hard against the neck from behind. The walking took forever until I saw No. 3 Student Cafeteria. We filed in from the left door and then stood in a line, taking the jet plane posture. There was no platform in the hall, so the host and speakers all stood behind a long table. A sideways glance told me Peng Peiyun was on my right side. But I couldn't see further to know about the positions of the rest of the troop. The routine proceeded as expected. Noisy chants of "down with so-and-so," probably the names of us being substituted one after another, were followed by a worshipful reading of Mao Zedong's quotations, for example, "Making revolution is not something like throwing a party." Then the speeches began. I didn't hear any of the words uttered. Frankly I didn't want to. I was tired of and loathed the nonsense. What I heard was the speaker's expressions to demonstrate loyalty to someone, sheer hoarse and exhausted howls. The repetitions of derision had long benumbed me. What I was most concerned about was that at what time this round of hell would finish. There was no way of checking my watch. I don't remember carrying my watch with me that day. I silently counted one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, and eight and kept counting all the way up to three thousand. But the howls did not abate. I started to waver on my long-exercised legs and became dizzy with blurred vision. I had to stop counting. I took a glance and saw Peng Peiyun with a puddle of sweat on the floor in front of her. Whether I had a similar puddle in front of me, however, I didn't notice. The board grew heavier, as the iron wire gashed its way into my skin. I almost lost consciousness.

I had no idea how long had elapsed before I heard another shout, "Get them out!" I knew the affliction was over but not quite in the same way as last time. "When pulling a wooden winnowing spade, the mouse carries the small end, leaving the big end behind." I was then marched out of No. 3

Student Cafeteria, with the "assistance" of at least three students or workers. Hands back up and the neck clenched from behind, I kept my head low and my body bent down. I was dragged to the street. I had no idea how big the crowd waiting there to "enjoy the show" was, certainly bigger than that in the main student cafeteria, I guessed. The hubbub ran on like the mosquito buzz on a summer night. It was another street show but ran faster than last time. With the load on me and the exhaustion I had after taking the jet plane posture, I didn't feel up to walking fast. So the young men beside me hauled me forward as if they were dragging a dead dog. My shoes kept rubbing on the ground. Then the front parts of the shoes were torn and came off. As the socks could not stand the tearing, my toes stuck out after losing their protection. The consequence could be imagined. I had no way knowing whether my toes bled or not. I didn't even feel the pain. Now and then, rubble hit my head, causing no pain at all. I was lost about my existence between reality and dream. Vaguely I remember I was hauled along some road to some place, probably the main student cafeteria. But, a moment later, I was lugged back for no reason. Suddenly I found myself back outside the coal yard.

This extensive torture was an extraordinary violence, much crueler than any of the previous ones. I was left completely exhausted, lying on the ground, feeling dizzy and light-headed, my eyes blurred, ears ringing and heart beating fast. In half consciousness I felt a shocking pain caused by my toes which were bleeding. I collapsed. Now the place at once hushed, the tormentors were gone, and the audience, satisfied with the spectacle, left for dinner somewhere. Only the two men were with me now, Zhang Xueshu and Wang Enyong, as if we were the only humans left in the universe. They were younger and stronger than I, so they propped me up from the ground and helped me back home. The compassion they showed toward me at that moment left an indelible mark in my memory.

[1] The eight-part essay, a prescribed literary writing in ancient China, designed for the imperial civil service examination, known for its rigidity of form and poverty of ideas.

[2]Jia Gui, a subordinate character in the Peking Opera, *The Famen Temple*, who is a court eunuch, submissive to his superior Liu Jin but tyrannical to his inferiors. In the opera, Liu Jin asks Jia Gui to sit down and talk to him, but the latter would rather stand, subserviently replying, "I, your humble servant, have been accustomed to standing and would not like to be seated." Today Jia Gui is widely referred to one who is lack of self-esteem and confidence.

[3] The saying is a variation of Mao Zedong's quotation.

[4] Chen Yinqque (1890-1969), contemporary Chinese writer, poet and scholar, who was persecuted to death during the Cultural Revolution.

[5] The May 4th Movement, a democratic student movement that took place on May 4, 1919, in Beijing, when college students gathered in Tian'anmen Square and took to the streets, calling for an introduction of science and democracy and the building of a strong China.

[6] Li Kui and Lu Zhishen, two major characters in the Chinese classical fiction *The Outlaws of the Marsh* by Shi Nai'an, who are burly and rough but also courageous and faithful to their cause of advocating equality and eliminating injustice.

[7] Zhazi Cave, a prison, also named the Sino-American Institution of Cooperation, located on the outskirts of Chongqing and run by the KMT during the third civil war period of 1946-1949.

[8] "Going through a careful selection" and "regrouping for a desired result," two popular phrases used in the area of education in China during the Cultural Revolution.

拾壹　大批斗

日子就这样一天天地过去，时光流逝得平平静静。

但是我却一点平静都没有。我一天二十四小时都在提心吊胆中。不管是什么时候，也不管是什么地方，在家里，在劳动的地方，红卫兵一到，我立刻就被押解着到什么地方去接受批斗，同劳改前一模一样。因此，即使在一个非常僻远几乎是人迹不到的地方，只要远处红卫兵的红袖章红光一闪，我就知道，自己的灾星又到了。我现在已经变成了不会说话的牲畜，一言不发，一句不问，乖乖地被押解着走。走到什么地方去，只有天晓得。这种批斗同劳改前没有任何差别，都是“行礼如仪”，没有任何的花样翻新。喷气式我已经坐得非常熟练，再也不劳红卫兵用拳打脚踹来纠正我的姿式了。我在阳台上争分夺秒的锻炼也已取得出乎意料的成功，我坐喷气式姿势优美，无懈可击；双腿微感不适，再也没有酸痛得难忍难受之感了。对那些比八股都不如的老一套胡说八道、谎话连篇的所谓批判发言，我过去听得就不多，现在更是根本不去听，“只等秋风过耳边”了。总之，批斗一次，减少劳动一次，等于休息一次。我在批斗的炼狱中已经接近毕业，应该拿到批斗实践学的学士证书了。

可是，有时候红卫兵押着我不是去批斗，而是去审讯，地方都在外文楼，但不总是在一间屋子里。其中奥秘我不得而知。一进屋子，东语系公社的领导——恕我不知道他们是什么官职——一排坐在那里，面色严肃，不露一丝笑容，像法庭上的法官。我走进去，以为也要坐喷气式，但是，天恩高厚，只让我站在那里，而且允许抬头看人。我实在感到异常别扭，我现在已经成为《法门寺》的贾桂了。原来我在这种场合，态度很不好。自从由于态度不好而拣回一条命以后，我的态度好多了。我觉得，态度不好，一点用处也没有。他们审讯的主题往往是在抄走了我的几百万字的日记中，捕风捉影，挖出几句话，断章取义，有时还难免有点歪曲。我在洗耳恭听之余，有时候觉得他们罗织得过于荒谬，心中未免有点发火。这当然会影响我的态度，但是我尽量把心中的火压下去。在被抄走的几百万字的手稿和日记中，想用当时十分流行的形而上学的诬陷的方法挖出片言只字，进行歪曲是非常容易的。他们还一定要强迫我回答，不说不行，说又憋着一肚子气，而这气又必须硬压下去。这种滋味真难受呀！有时候我想，还不如坐在喷气式上，发言者的胡说八道可以不听，即使挨上几个耳光，也比现在这样憋气强。俗话

说："这山望着那山高。"我难道说也是望着被批斗的那一座山高吗？

审讯我的人，不是东语系原来的学生，就是我亲手请进来的教员。我此时根本没有什么"忘恩负义"的想法。这想法太陈腐了。我能原谅他们中的大部分。他们同我一样，也是受了派性的毒害，以致失去评断是非的理智。但是，其中个别的人，比如一位朝鲜语教员，是公社的铁杆，对审讯我表现出反常的积极性，难道是想用别人的血染红自己的顶子，期望他的"女皇"对他格外垂青，飞黄腾达吗？还有一位印尼语教员，平常对我毕恭毕敬，此时也一反常态，积极得令人吃惊。原来他的屁股并不干净，解放前同进步学生为敌，参加过反苏游行，想以此来掩盖自己的过去。但狐狸尾巴是掩藏不住的，后来终于被人揭发，用资本主义的自杀方式去见上帝去了。

最令我感到不安，甚至感到非常遗憾的是一位阿拉伯语教员。这是一位很老实很正派的人，我们平常无恩无怨，关系还算是过得去的。现在他大概在东语系公社中并不是什么主要人物，被分配来仔细阅读我被抄的那一些日记和手稿。我比谁知道得都清楚，这是一件万分困难、万分无聊的工作。在摞起来可以高到一米多的日记和手稿中，寻求我的"反革命"的罪证，一方面很容易，可以任意摘出几句话来，就有了足够批斗我一次的资料。但在另一方面，如果一个字一个字地细读，那就需要有极大的耐心，既伤眼力，又伤脑筋。让我再读一遍，我都难以做到。然而这一位先生——我没有资格称他为"同志"——却竟然焚膏继晷，把全部资料都读完了，提供了不少批斗的资料。如果我是大人物，值得研究；如果他真有兴趣来研究"季羡林学"，那还值得。但我只是一个很平凡的人。读了那样多的资料，费了那么大的力量，对他来说不是白白浪费自己的生命吗？反过来说，如果他用同样大的力量和同样多的时间，读点阿拉伯语言、文学或文化的资料，他至少能写成一篇像样的论文，说不定还能拿到硕士学位，被提升一级哩。因此，我从内心深处同情他，觉得对他不起。可这是我能力以外的事，我有什么办法呢？

东语系对我的审讯，并不总是心平气和的，有时候也难免有点剑拔弩张。但是没有人打我耳光，我实在是非常感恩戴德了。

即使是这样，这种劳改、批斗和审讯三结合的生活，确也让我感到厌烦。我又有了幻想。我幻想能有一个救世主，大慈大悲，忽然大发善心，结束这一场浩劫，至少对像我这样无辜的人加恩，把我解放。我从来没有相信过任何教门，上帝、天老爷、佛爷、菩萨，我都不去祈祷。我想到的是我们国家领导人。在劳改、批斗之余，夜里在暗淡的灯光下，在十分不友好的气氛中——同一个单元住的一位太太早已把我看

做“敌人、反革命分子”，不但不正眼看我一眼，而且还鼓动我们家两位老太太，同我划清界限。我们的老祖直截了当地告诉她说：“我们还靠他吃饭哩！”——我伏案给我们的国家领导人写信，妄想世间真会出现奇迹。但是世间怎会出现奇迹呢？世间流传的是：“‘文化大革命’七八年一次，一次七八年。”我写这些信，等于瞎子点灯，白费一支蜡。我却一厢情愿，痴心妄想，妄想有一天一睁眼，“文革”结束，我这个鬼再转变成人，那时我真要更加用万倍的激情来歌颂我们“人民的大救星”。那够有多么好呀！在弥漫宇宙仿佛凝固起来的黑暗中我隐隐约约从“最高楼”（陈寅恪先生有诗曰：“看花愁近最高楼”）上看到流出来的一线光明。然而最终证明，这只是一片海市蜃楼，转瞬即逝。我每天仍然是劳改、批斗、审讯。

就是在家里，不劳改，不批斗，不审讯，日子也过得不得安生。同住一单元的要同我划清界限的那一位太太，我在上面已经谈过几句了。但是麻烦还不止这一些，她逼我把存在他们屋中的据说北京只有一张的红木七巧桌和大沙发搬出来。我真是进退两难。我现在只剩下堆满了东西的一大间和一小间房子。这些大家伙往哪里放呢？楼下存书的车库，抄家之后，一片狼藉，成了垃圾堆，我看都不忍看。沙发和七巧桌无论如何也是搬不进去的。火上加油，楼下住的一位女教员还贴出小字报，要我把书搬出车库。我此时一个朋友也没有，谁都视我如瘟神，我向谁求援呢？我敢走出去吗？我好像是乌江边上四面楚歌的项羽。幸亏我已经研究过比较自杀学，我决不自刎。我还要活下去。但是活下去又怎样呢？我真已经走到了山穷水尽了。

但是来的却不是“柳暗花明又一村”，而是更大的灾难。

我劳改了整整1968年的一个春天。此时大地重又回春。大自然根本不理会什么“文化大革命”，依旧繁花似锦，姹紫嫣红，燕园成了一片花海。人人都喜欢春天，而我又爱花如命。但是，到了此时，我却变成了一个色盲，红红绿绿，在我眼睛里统统都成了灰色。

但是，在另一方面，烂漫的春光却唤醒了“革命家”的“革命”热情。新北大公社的头子们谨遵“一年之计在于春”的古训，决定使自己的工作水平再提高一步，着重发明创造，避免固步自封，想出了一套崭新的花样。对象当然还是这百十口子囚徒。他们之中是否有真正想“革命”的，我说不准。但是，绝大多数，如果不是全体的话，却绝对是以虐待别人来取乐的。人类的劣根性，过去被掩盖住，现在完全“解放”了。他们可以为所欲为了。我在这里顺便声明几句：在北大几千名工人中，在北大上万名学生中，参加这个活动的只是极少数。他们平常就是一些调皮捣

蛋、要奸卖滑、好吃懒做、无巧不沾的类似地痞流氓的人物。现在天赐良缘，得到了空前的千金难买的好机会，可以施展自己的本领了。

1968年5月4日，五四运动的纪念日，中国规定的青年节，我们这一批囚徒一个个从家中被押解到了煤厂。提起煤厂，真正是大大地有名。顾名思义，这里是贮存煤炭的地方，由一群工人管理。在“文化大革命”分派时期，里面的工人碰巧都是拥护“老佛爷”的。运煤工人当然个个都是身强体壮的彪形大汉，对付煤块他们有劲；对付我们这一批文弱书生，他们的劲有极大的剩余。他们打一个耳光或踢上一脚，少说也抵得上《水浒传》里的黑旋风和花和尚。具体的感受不可言宣，只有我们这些人的骨肉才说得清楚。特别是浩劫第一阶段（重点在批走资派的那一阶段）在煤厂劳改过的“走资派”，一提到煤厂，无不不寒而栗，谈虎色变，简直像谈到国民党的渣滓洞一样。

现在我们这一批囚徒又被押到这里来了。我仔细看了一下，不是所有的囚徒，而是“择优录取”，或是“优化组合”，选了一批特别“罪大恶极”的。其中有“第一张马列主义大字报”点了名的陆平和彭珮云等等。我们每一个人的脖子上都被带上了一块十几斤重的大木板，上面写着自己的名字。我们被命令坐在地上，谁也不敢出声。我估计批斗的时间不会短的。为了保险起见，先请求允许到便所去一趟。路颇远，我仍然挂着木牌，嘀里当啷，踉踉跄跄，艰难跋涉，到了目的地，赶快用超人的速度完成任务，回去坐在地上待命。我心里直打鼓，谁知道，这是一阵什么样的风暴呢？

时间终于到了，虽然不是午时三刻，然而滋味也差不多。只听到远处一声大喝：“把他们押走！”于是上来了一大堆壮士，每两个对付一个囚犯，方式没有改变，双臂被拧到背后，脖子上还有两只粗壮的手。走了很长的路，才到了我依稀认出的当时的学三食堂。从左边的门进去，排成一行，坐上了喷气式。这里没有讲台，主持人和发言者也都站在平地上一张桌子的后面。我只瞥见我的右手是彭珮云。其余的人的排列顺序就看不清了。行礼一切如仪。先是声震屋瓦的“打倒”声，大概每一个囚犯都打倒一遍。然后恭读语录，反正仍然是那一套“革命不是请客吃饭”等等。接着是批判发言。说老实话，我一个字都没有听见，我一个字也不想听到，那一套胡说八道，我已经听够了，听腻了。我只听到发言者为了对什么人表示忠诚，发言时声嘶力竭，简直成了嚎叫。这对我毫无影响，对这些东西我的神经已经麻木了。我最关心的是希望批斗赶快结束。我无法看表，大概当时手表是没有戴的。我在心里默默地数着数：一二三四五六七八，一直数下去，数到了二三千了，耳边狼嚎之声

仍然不断。可我这双经过锻炼的腿实在有点吃不消了，眼里也冒出了金星，脑袋里昏昏沉沉，数也数不下去了。斜眼一看，彭珮云面前的地上已经被头上流下来的汗水滴湿。我自己面前怎样，我反而没有注意。此时只觉得脖子上的木牌越来越重，挂牌子的铁丝越来越往肉里面扎。我处于半昏迷的状态之中。

又过了不知多久，耳边只听得一声断喝："把他们都押出去！"我知道，仪式结束了。但是同上一次大饭厅的批斗一样，仪式并没有完全结束。"老鼠拉木锨，大头还在后面"。我被押出了学三食堂，至少有三个学生或工人在"服事"我。双臂被弯到背上，脖子上不知道有几只手在卡住，头当然抬不起，连身子也站不直。就这样被拖到马路上。两旁有多少人在"欣赏"，我说不出来，至少比在大饭厅批斗时还要多。只听得人声嘈杂，如夏夜的蚊声。这又是一次游斗；但是比上次的速度可要快多了。我身上有那么多累赘，又刚坐过喷气式。要让我自己走路，我是走不这么快的。于是我身旁的年轻人就拖着我走，不是架着，好像拖一只死狗。我的鞋在水泥马路和石头上同地面磨擦。鞋的前头已经磨破、磨透，保护脚趾的袜子当然更不值得一磨，于是脚趾只好自己出马。这样一来，其结果如何，概可想见。当时是否流了血，自己根本无法知道，连痛的感觉都一点也没有。小石块又经常打在头上。我好像已经失去知觉，不知道自己是在人间，还是在梦中。自己被拖到什么地方，走的哪一条路，根本不知道。看样子好像已经拖到了大饭厅。不知道怎样一来，又被拖了回来。几个人把我往地上一丢。我稍一清醒，才知道自己躺在煤厂门外。

这一次行动真是非同小可。比上几次的批斗和游斗都不一样。我已经完全筋疲力尽，躺在地上再也爬不起来。头脑发昏，眼睛发花，耳朵里嗡嗡作响，心里砰砰直跳。在蒙眬中感觉到脚趾头流出了血，刺心地痛。我完全垮了。此时周围一下子静了下来，批斗的人走了，欣赏者也兴尽到什么地方去吃饭了。抬眼看到身旁还有两个人：一个是张学书，一个是王恩涌。宇宙间好像只剩下我们三个被批斗者。他俩比我年轻，身体也结实。是他们俩把我扶了起来，把我扶回了家。这种在苦难中相濡以沫的行动，我三生难忘。

12 THE TAIPING VILLAGE

I thought, or probably I should say I hoped, that we might be offered a few days off after the grand session of torture. I could hardly bear it any more.

But the "rebels" thought otherwise.[1]

They wanted "to strike while the iron is still hot."

The day following the grand session of torture, we, more than one hundred "reactionaries," were told to gather in the coal yard, bringing with us the bedding and clothing. I believed a new way of torture had been cooked up, unknowing of the whereabouts they would take us. Depressed and panicked, I shambled along a trail, which wound its way by the lake and mounds, carrying a roll of bedding on my shoulder. Then I saw a man walking along. He was Professor Hu of economics, who was tortured as a "capitalist roader" earlier in the Revolution. Though not "liberated," he was dismayed.[2] But to me he looked like a man on holiday, because he was spared this summon to the coal yard.

I entered the coal yard, an infernal region that struck horror into all of us "counter-revolutionaries." Memories of what happened the day before were still fresh, chilling my blood with increasing intensity. I was led to a bulletin board outside the yard and told to stand there and bend double. This seemed like intimidation. I was ready to take a couple of slaps, fist punches and kicks on any part of my body. To my surprise, nothing of this kind occurred. I was puzzled and uncomfortable, believing that a lack of action was a bad omen. I dared not, however, make a sincere request for a couple of slaps across the face, which would appear normal and soothe me. I had to bury this discomfort at the bottom of my heart.

Moments later we were required to line up in two columns. A student-like man came forward to the front, holding a steel-tube spear in his right hand, and began to admonish us. Spared the jet plane posture, I could focus my attention. His speech was nothing but absurd utterances. Admittedly he did produce some aphorisms, as in the sentence, "Listen, you sons of bitches!

You committed unpardonable crimes, and we had irrefutable evidence. Don't attempt to clear yourselves of charges!" Several times he shook the spear in his hand and raised his voice, "You sons of bitches should be clear about it that my spear is not made for show!" I understood and believed what he meant. Revolutionary spears had pierced the flesh of a number of people, including a middle school student. I prayed that I should not be the next target. At that time of insanity, killing a counter-revolutionary was like killing a fly. It was not only widely acceptable—the laws all abolished by then—but regarded as a "revolutionary deed." As he blustered away, some of us were pulled out. They received slaps or kicks and were struck to the ground. Then a brutal thrashing came, leaving them with bloody noses and swollen faces. The victims uttered no groans before getting back into the line. This selective violence was "a trick of killing the chicken to frighten the monkey," I knew. The problem was that I didn't know on what basis they made the choices for the punishment. I was terrified anyway. Fortunately I was only a watching monkey this time.

When the game of intimidation had been played out, we were led to mount a few trucks under the threat of the spear and headed for a branch campus of the university, nicknamed Number 200, near the Ming Tombs.[3] An hour's ride brought us there. But our final destination was Taiping Village, about four or five *li* away, where we were supposed to do manual labor. For some reason only one truck was allowed to go all the way there. This meant the majority of us had to foot it. As we lined up again for the trek, a few of us elderly people were called out. This time our tormentors were not planning to play the chicken-and-monkey game. Instead, we were treated better by being allowed to ride, while the rest walked, to the destination. This treatment came as a shocking surprise and was the greatest debt I owed to my abusers. How can you say that they showed no signs of humanitarianism?

Upon arriving at Taiping Village, we settled into a few one-story rooms. I didn't know what the rooms were originally used for. But they had remained unused for a long time, the windows and doors shattered and thick dust covering the floor and wooden beds. Because we were not humans anymore, we should not be concerned about sanitary conditions. Four of us stayed in one room. I was with that old professor from my department and Professor Zhao from the Department of Political Science, who, familiar to me, had been suffering from the beginning, first as a "capitalist roader" and then as a

bourgeois scholar, and never missed one round of torture. We were friends but were afraid to chat and laugh; instead we resembled clay or wood-cut figures with our frozen appearance and were transformed into "inhuman forms," probably some products of "metamorphosis."

In fact I was not in a mood to ponder philosophical issues. Water was what I needed most right now. Since early in the morning, I hadn't drunk any water. The sweltering heat and exhaustion after the trip drove me to the limit of endurance. Sitting on the bed, I had only one idea in mind, water, water and water.

If I had seen some water in front of me now, no matter whether it was from a river, lake, ocean, even a puddle or a cesspool, I would have drunk it to my heart's content. At the moment the most luxurious thing in life was water. I dreamed that, one day when "things took a drastic change" and I was "liberated," the first thing I would do was to find water and drink until satisfied. If I had a cool beer, that would be my mellow wine.

"Water, water, and water," I prayed.

But not a single drop of water was in sight.

Suddenly the line of the poem "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" by the British romantic poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge sprang into my mind, which I read when I was a college student,

"Water, water, everywhere."[4]

The poet talked about sea water, which was abundant but salty and not drinkable. In a worse circumstance, I didn't see any water. It was only brown earth in front of me. Contrary to what Coleridge describes, I had one line of my poetry in mind,

"Water, water, nowhere."

I sat there, maniacally thinking about water, in an unknown span of stupor.

Located at the foot of the Yan Mountains, this place leaned on mountains to the north and overlooked a crisscrossed network of crop fields to the south, a rather distance from the living centers of Taiping Village. In the wilderness, actually, it was crouched in the middle of nowhere. Yet such

a shut-off scenic spot gave the young revolutionaries no peace of mind. Probably they feared that the counter-revolutionaries, far more than the revolutionaries in number, would stage a riot. Therefore our enemies would not set down their spears anywhere at any time. Actually they had no reason to be intimidated, because we were old and ailing. How could we have had our nerve and physical strength to launch a revolt? The only concern we had was about our safety, as we kept praying to be spared of the spear. Their suspicion and fear were ridiculous.

When night fell, security was tightened. I guessed they were concerned that we would escape. How could it have been possible for us to make an escape, given our physical and psychological wretchedness? Maybe the men on sentry were indeed frightened, so an order was issued, "No one is allowed to go out at night, and otherwise watch the spears. If someone really needs to go to the latrine, say loudly 'Reporting' for permission." One night I happened to have this need and went out. It was pitch dark and quiet, the moon hanging high in the sky. Seeing no soul around, I shouted to the distance, "Reporting!" To my surprise a response shot up from the darkness, "Okay." I was sure this man had a spear in his hand.

We were here to be reformed through physical labor, which was the primary mission for us. The following morning, we went half way up a hill to plant sweet potato vines. Frankly it was not hard. But I hadn't recovered from the wound I got recently. So the planting gave me no easy time, as I knelt in the field planting vines with my hands. I tried to do my best and dared not to slack up on the job. Suddenly I got a hard club hit on the head. Looking up, I saw a man holding a spear in one hand, a club in the other, crying sternly, "Ji Xianlin! Do you care for a beating?" No, I definitely would not. Turning back I worked harder as the scratches caused my finger to bleed.

It was truly a beautiful place. It was early summer, when peach and apricot blossoms fell. The trees radiated light green everywhere and the ground was covered with a variety of flowers, the hills rising high into the sky. What a spectacle! The beauty of nature would have overjoyed me. However, I was not the least cheerful for sightseeing now. Instead I was particularly cautious for fear of being struck with the club. Alas, I was hopelessly irredeemable. With sweat streaming down my body and clothes smudged with mud, I hit upon a line of poetry when I spotted the green

woods,

"When, in the Yan Mountains, we planted sweet potato vines,

Surprised and shamed I saw the nearby woods green."

In history Tao Yuanming wrote the line, "I am relaxed in seeing the Southern Hills."[5] I could only be surprised and shamed instead of being relaxed. Nature ignored class struggle in human society, no matter how relentless and devastating, and displayed earthly excellence as usual. What else could I do?

After a few days of labor I was struck down by mental stress, fatigue and the wound inflicted on me in the university. I suddenly found my testes swollen to the size of a rubber ball, sharply hurting and leaving my legs apart all the time. I could not stand steadily, let alone walking. I could not work anymore; even walking to dinner was impossible. The man watching me showed inconceivable kindness. He let the old professor of our department, who lived with me, fetch the dinner for me. I was permitted to stay at home. But I could not remain idle. So I was asked to pick up rubble and fragments of brick and throw them out of the yard. Then I crawled around on the ground with my legs apart to gather the stuff and throw it out with excruciating pain. The rest of the people in the yard were all gone for work on the hill, leaving only a few guards behind. A deathly hush reigned in the yard over the vast area outside, at the foot of the hill, in the woods, and in the fields and village. The hush bore down on the vicinity, in which a conversation was clearly heard a few *li* away. People who were used to the hullabaloo of the city would find the atmosphere depressing and uncomfortable. It seemed as if I were creeping about in a universe of deadly stillness. I could hardly refrain from "being awed by the broadness of the heavens and vastness of the earth and shedding tears in sorrow for myself."

Two more days passed, and my supervisors saw that I was scarcely able to manage my daily life with my testes remaining swollen. They permitted me to go to the PLA clinic located at Number 200, a few *li* away, for medical treatment. They sternly told me that I had to make sure to let the clinic doctor know I was a "reactionary." Keeping this order in mind, I crawled like a snail, carrying my ball-like testes between my legs. On the way I encountered Ma Shiyi, a fellow reactionary, who pushed a two-wheeled cart on his way to Changping to purchase vegetables.[6] He insisted I get on his cart and take a

ride to Number 200. How brazen I would have been to accept his offer! Of course I turned it down. But the compassion he showed in my time of adversity would live forever in my memory.

I crawled two hours before reaching the destination. There was indeed a PLA clinic. I saw a doctor in the military uniform sitting in the room. Jumping to his feet, he came over to help me with a smile, the red badge on his collar shining brilliantly. The red color represented hope and brightness. It was what I needed. But I had to behave as told and shouted, "Reporting, here I am, a reactionary!" Alas, things took a drastic turn for the worse. The doctor's sunny face suddenly plunged into a gloom of pitch-blackness, without even an interval of cloudiness. To him, I became a man who was tested HIV positive. Letting down his hands, he stammered, "Get away! Get away!" Originally I thought I would be able to have my testes checked and get some pain reliever. Now my hope was dashed, as the brightness I saw earlier turned gray. I set out on the hard journey back.

Human endurance of hardship and agony is mysterious and unfathomable. I continued to work for a few more days, taking no medication at all. But the welling testes were gone. At this time the planting of sweet potato vines was finished. I was told to smooth out bumps and hollows under some peach trees in a plot of land together with another old professor from our department. In my estimation we two formed a working team under the watch of one man, who was a teacher of Arabic. In terms of seniority the man should be among our students. Now he was our boss and we were his captives, as if we were a world apart in social status. In front of us two aged and fragile men, our boss displayed the usual arrogance and intimidation, like one of the Four Heavenly Generals holding a spear in his hand.[7] Even though this working site was quieter and more beautiful than the sweet potato plot, I was not light-hearted for sightseeing here, either.

Our life, if still called life for all its pretensions, was reduced to mere survival. We had dinner at the foot of a hill, separated from our one-story dwelling place by a stretch of sand and earth. The rooms here were tidy and clean. They were taken care of by the residents. Our kitchen was set up here. Our jailers ate inside the rooms, sitting on chairs at the table. Their menu also differed from ours. We were fed outside in the air, on the grass, or under the trees. Of course we were not entitled to chairs and tables. Our food was

coarse rice and steamed cornbread, which went down with cabbage and hot water. A taste of the deep fried cake dough would be a luxury.[8] Eating was for survival. Our sleeping alternated between working and eating with no other activities.

But we had our sense of joy; we didn't need to worry about sessions of torture over here. Those torture-running organizations and departments were back on campus. Here we might be struck with a club or receive verbal abuse. There was no jet plane posture taken and no ridiculous speech delivered. This was the most pleasant time we could relish.

I wished I could stay on in this place.

[1] The "rebels," the "revolutionary rebels," refer to the activist participants in the Cultural Revolution.

[2] Not "liberated," not relieved of the accusation placed on a condemned person as counter-revolutionary in the Cultural Revolution.

[3] The Ming Tombs, or the Thirteen Tombs, located on the north outskirts of Beijing, where thirteen or sixteen emperors of the Ming Dynasty lie buried with their empresses and concubines.

[4] From Line 119, "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" by Samuel Coleridge.

[5] Tao Yuanming (376-427), Chinese poet in the Eastern Jin Dynasty.

[6] Changping, a town thirty miles north of Beijing.

[7] The Four Heavenly Generals, four fierce-looking heavenly guardians in ancient Hindu myth, whose gigantic statues stand inside the entrances to Buddhist temples, two on each side.

[8] The deep fried cake dough, a popular northern Chinese food.

拾贰　太平庄

我原以为，或者毋宁说是希望，在大批斗以后，能恩赐两天的休息时间。我实在支持不住了。

然而“造反派”的脾气却不是这样。

他们要趁热打铁。

就在大批斗的第二天，我们一百多号“黑帮分子”接到命令，到煤厂去集合，而且要带上行李。我知道又出了新花样，还不晓得要把我们带到什么地方去哩。我心里真不是滋味，觉得非常凄凉。当我扛着行李走在那一条倚山傍湖的曲径上时，迎面遇到前一阵被当做走资派批斗过的姓胡的经济系教授。他虽然还没有“解放”，仍然是一脸晦气；但他毕竟用不着到煤厂去集合了。在我当时的眼中，他已是神仙中人，真让我羡煞。

我战战兢兢地走进了煤厂。对我们“反革命分子”来说，这里是非常令人发怵的地方，无异于阎王殿。昨天的记忆犹新，更增加了我的恐怖感。我走了进去，先被领到一个墙外的木牌子下面，低头弯腰，站在那里。这是第一个下马威。我随时准备着脸上、头上、肩上、背上、脚上，被打上几个耳光，挨上几拳，被踢上几脚。然而，这些都没有发生。我觉得这十分反常，心里很不踏实，很不舒服。觉得这不一定是吉兆，其中暗藏着杀机。然而我又不能虔心请求，恩赐几个耳光，那样我才会觉得正常，觉得舒服。我只有把这痛苦的不安埋在自己心中。

过了一会儿，我们这一群“黑帮”被命令排成两列纵队。一个新北大公社学生模样的人，大模大样，右手执钢管制成的长矛一根。开口训话，讲了一大篇歪理。我们现在没有坐喷气式，能够清清楚楚地听懂他说的话。其中警句颇为不少，比如：“你们这一群王八蛋，你们的罪恶，铁证如山，谁也别梦想翻案！”他几次抖动手里的长矛，提高声音说：“老子的长矛是不吃素的！”这一点我最清楚，而且完全相信。因为他们的长矛确实曾吃过几次人肉了，其中包括校外一个中学生的肉。我现在只希望，他们这吃肉的长矛不要吃到我身上来。当时杀死一个“黑帮”等于杀死一只苍蝇，不但不会受到法律制裁——哪里还有什么法律！——反而会成为“革命行动”。在训话的同时，有人就从我们黑帮队伍中拖出几个人去，一个耳光或用脚一踹，打倒在地，然后几个人上去

猛揍一顿，鼻青脸肿，一声不敢吭，再回到队伍中。这是杀鸡给猴看的把戏，我是懂得的。我只是不知道他们拖人的原则，生怕自己也被拖出去，心里吓得直打哆嗦。我幸而只是猴子，没有成鸡。

杀鸡的把戏耍完，“黑帮”们在长矛队的押解下，排队登上了几辆敞篷车，开往十三陵附近的北大分校，俗称二百号。路上大约走了一个小时。到了以后，又下车整队，只能有一辆车开往我们此行的目的地，也就是我们劳改的地方太平庄。从二百号到太平庄，还有四五里路是要步行的。可是在列队时，我们几个年老的黑帮被叫出队列。这次不是要杀鸡给猴看了，而是对我们加以优待。我们可以乘车到太平庄，其余的人都要步行。这次天恩高厚，实在出我意外。你能说人家一点人道主义也没有吗？我实在真是受宠若惊了。

到了太平庄以后，我们被安排在一些平房里住下。我不知道，这些平房是干嘛用的。现在早已荒废不用。门窗几乎没有一扇是完整的。屋里到处布满尘土，木板床上也积了很厚的土。好在我们此时已经不再像人。什么卫生不卫生，已经同我们无关了。每屋住四个黑帮，与我同屋的有东语系那一位老教授，还有我非常熟悉的国政系的一位姓赵的教授。他好像是从走资派起一直到资产阶级反动学术权威，“全程陪同”，一步没缺。我们都是熟人；但没有一个人敢吭上一声，敢笑上一笑。我们都变成了失掉笑容不会表情的木雕泥塑。我们都从“人”变成了“非人”。这也算是一种“异化”吧。

我此时关心的决不是这样的哲学问题，就只是想喝一点水。我从早晨到现在滴水没有入口。天气又热，又经过长途跋涉，渴得难以忍受。我木然坐在床板上，心里想的只是：水、水、水。

如果我眼前有一点水的话，不管是河水、湖水，还是海里的水、坑里的水，甚至臭沟里的水，我一定会埋头狂饮。我感觉到，人生最大的幸福就是能有水喝。我梦想，“时来运转风雷动”，我一旦被“解放”，首先要痛痛快快地喝一通水。如果能有一瓶冰镇啤酒，那就会赛过玉液琼浆了。

“水，水，水，”我心里想。

但是一滴水也看不到。

我忽然想到在大学念书时读过的英国浪漫诗人柯勒律治（Coleridge）的《古舟子咏》（*Ancient Mariner*），其中有一行是：

Water, water, everywhere（水，水，到处都有）。

这里指的是海水。到处有水，却是咸的，根本没法子喝。我此时连咸水也看不到，我眼前只有一片干黄的尘土。同古舟子正相反，我是：

Water, water, nowhere（水，水，无处有水）。

我坐在那里，患了思水狂。恍恍惚惚，不知呆了多久。

此地处在燕山脚下，北倚大山，南面是纵横交错的田畴。距离居民聚居的太平庄，还有一段路。实际上它孤立在旷野之中。然而押解我们到这里来的革命小将和中将，对于这个风景宜人宛如世外桃源的地方，却怕得要命。他们大概害怕，人数远远超过他们的黑帮会团结起来举行暴动。所以在任何时候，在任何地方，他们都是手持长矛。他们内心是胆怯的。其实我们这一群手无缚鸡之力的中老年知识分子，哪里还能有什么暴动的能力和勇气呢？我们只是虔心默祷上苍，愿不吃素的长矛不要刺到我们身上，我们别无所求，别无所图。看了他们这种战战兢兢的神气，心里觉得非常可笑。

到了夜里，更是戒备森严，大概是怕我们逃跑，试问在旷野荒郊中我们有逃跑的能力和勇气吗？也许是押解人员真正心慌。他们传下命令：夜里谁也不许出门，否则小心长矛！如果非到厕所去不行，则必须大声喊：“报告！”得到允许，才能行动。有一天夜里，我要小便，走出门来，万籁俱寂，皓月当空。我什么人都看不到，只好对空高呼：“报告！”在黑影里果然有了人声：“去吧！”此人必然是长矛在手，但是我没有见到人影。

我们是来劳动改造的。劳动是我们的主课。第二天早晨，我们就上了半山，课程是栽白薯秧。按说这不是什么累活。可是我拖着带伤的身体，跪在地上，用手栽秧，感到并不轻松。但是我仍然卖劲地干，一点不敢懈怠。可是我头上猛然挨了一棒，抬头看到一个一手执长矛一手执棒的押解人员，他厉声高喊：“季羡林！你想挨揍吗？！”我不想挨揍，只好低下头，用出吃奶的力气来干活，手指头磨出了血。

此地风光真是秀美。当时是初夏，桃花、杏花早已零落；但是周围全是树林，绿树成阴，地上开满了各种颜色的小花，如锦绣一般。再往上看，是高耸入云的山峰。在平常时候，这样美妙的大自然风光，必然会引起我的兴趣，大大地欣赏一番。但是此时，我只防备头上的棒子，欣赏山水的闲情逸致连影儿都没有了。也许真是积习难除，在满身泥污、汗流浃背的情况下，我偶一斜眼，瞥见苍翠欲滴的树林，心里涌起

了两句诗：

栽秧燕山下，

慊然见绿林。

当年陶渊明是“悠然见南山”。我此时却是“悠然”不起来的，我只能“慊然”。大自然不关心人间的阶级斗争，不管人间怎样“黄钟毁弃，瓦釜雷鸣”，它依然显示自己的美妙。我不“慊然”能行吗？

我干了几天活以后，心理的负担，身体的疲劳，再加上在学校大批斗时的伤痕，我身心完全垮了。睾丸忽然肿了起来，而且来势迅猛，直肿得像小皮球那样大，两腿不能并拢起来，连站都困难，更不用说走路。我不但不能劳动，连走出去吃饭都不行了。押解人员大发慈悲，命令与我同住的那一位东语系的老教授给我打饭，不让我去栽秧，但是不干活是不行的，安排我在院子里拣砖头石块，扔到院子外面去。我就裂开双腿，爬在地上，把砖石拣到一起，然后再爬着扔到院子外面。此时，大队人马都上了山，只有个别的押解人员留下。不但院子里寂静无声，连院子外面，山脚下，树林边，田畴上，小村中也都是一片静寂。静寂铺天盖地压了下来，连几里外两人说话的声音都能听到。久住城市的人无法领会这种情景。我在仿佛凝结了起来的大寂静中，一个人孤独地在地上爬来爬去。我不禁“念天地之悠悠，独怆然而泪下”了。

又过了两天，押解人员看到我实在难熬，睾丸的肿始终不消，便命令我到几里外的二百号去找大夫。那里驻有部队，部队里有医生。但是郑重告诫我：到了那里一定要声明自己是“黑帮”。我敬谨遵命，裂开两腿，夹着一个像小球似的睾丸，蜗牛一般地爬了出去。路上碰到黑帮难友马士沂。他推着小车到昌平县去买菜。他看到我的情况，再三诚恳地要我上车，他想把我推到二百号。我吃了豹子心老虎胆也不敢上车呀！但是，他这一番在苦难中的真挚情意，我无论如何也是忘不了的。

我爬了两个小时，才爬到二百号。那里确实有一个解放军诊所。里面坐着一个穿军服的医生。他看到了我，连忙站起来，满面春风地要搀扶我。我看到他军服上的红领章，这红色特别鲜艳耀眼，闪出了异样的光彩。这红色就是希望，就是光明，就是我要求的一切。可是我必须执行押解人员的命令。我高声说：“报告！我是黑帮！”这一下子坏了。医生脸上立刻晴转阴，连多云这个阶段都没有。我在他眼中仿佛是一个带艾滋病毒的人，连碰我一下都不敢，慌不迭地连声说：“走吧！走吧！”我本来希望至少能把我的睾丸看上一眼，给我一点止痛药什么的。现在一切都完了，我眼前的红色也突然暗淡下来。我又爬上了艰难

的回程。

人类忍受灾难和痛苦的能力，简直是没有底儿的，简直是神秘莫测的。过了几天，我一没有停止劳动，二没有服任何药，睾丸的肿竟然消了。我又能够上山干活了。此时，白薯秧已经栽完。押解人员命令我同东语系那一位老教授上山去平整桃树下的畦。我们俩大概算是一个劳动小分队，由一名押解人员率领，并加以监督。他是东语系阿拉伯语教员。论资排辈，他算是我们的学生。但现在是押解人员，我们是阶下囚，地位有天壤之别了。就我们这两个瘦老头子，他还要严加戒备，手执长矛，威风凛凛，宛如四大天王中的一个天王。这地方比下面栽白薯秧的地方，更为幽静，更为秀美。但是我哪里有心去欣赏呢？

我们的生活——如果还能算是“生”，还能算是“活”的话——简单到不能再简单。吃饭的地方在山脚下，同我们住的平房群隔一个干涸的沙滩。这里房子整洁，平常是有人住的。厨房就设在这里。押解人员吃饭坐在屋子里，有桌有椅，吃的东西也不一样。我们吃饭的地方是在房外的草地上，树根下；当然没有什么桌椅。吃的东西极为粗糙，粗米或窝头，开水煮白菜，炸油饼等算是珍馐，与我们绝对无缘。我们吃饭不过是为了维持性命。除了干活和吃饭睡觉外，别的任何活动都没有。

但是，我们也有特殊的幸福之感：这里用不着随时担心被批斗。批斗我们的单位都留在校内了。在这里除了偶尔挨上一棒或一顿骂之外，没有喷气式可坐，没有胡说八道的批斗发言。这对我们来说已是最大的幸福。

我们真希望长期呆下去。

13 BUILDING THE COW SHED

Our hope again was shattered.

The behavior of the revolutionary rebels was still obscure to us.

One day an order was issued, "Go back to campus." So our stay at Taiping Village was cut short to less than one month.

I didn't care where we went. Our circumstances were just like that of "a lame person who falls into a well and does not care whether someone comes to help him out or not, because things will not change and sitting is the only position he can take." I had no idea how important our more-than-twenty-day stay in the small village was in their project of torturing us and what new forms of abuse were being formulated after we returned to the university.

We got off the truck in front of the horrifying coal yard. The leader of the Commune, who had reprimanded us before leaving for Taiping Village, delivered another gross speech, waving his spear. The following day we were led to three rows of one-story dwellings behind both the Buildings of Foreign Languages and Democracy. We were required to construct a Cow Shed as our living quarters.

I knew the existing dwellings pretty well. Each day in the past I passed them on my way to work in the Building of Foreign Languages. Sometimes I also taught inside them. Old and dilapidated, the rooms there were simply structured with thin roofs that could not shield the inside from scorching sunshine in the summer and broken windows that did not shut out freezing air in the winter. No heating system was installed. Instead a coal stove was used, which barely provided enough heating for living. The floor was paved with brick, damp and cold. My experience of teaching there told me these buildings were unfit for living.

Now the leaders of the Commune picked this location to build our new living quarters. With the Building of Democracy to the east and the Building of Foreign Languages to the south, a fence of weedy mat, the construction material, would be erected in the open area along the west and north sides. In

the area between the two buildings, another new fence would form the gate to the Cow Shed. We were grouped and assigned rooms, twenty in a room, into the one-story dwellings divided between men and women. Each room was so cramped that we were sardine packed when lying down for the night. Long unused, the floor was mildewed. One man in charge made a special announcement, "By the kindly permission of 'Old Dowager,' a number of boards were shipped here for keeping off the damp." His intention was evident that we should feel indebted. Our guards would never live in such accommodations. They had their headquarters and offices in the Building of Democracy, where some of them probably lived. As usual they feared us, a group of the weak and aged. A door, which led to our place, was opened at the back of the building. Inside and outside the door, something like a fence of barbed wire was set up. Certainly security was strengthened by use of spears. When evening came, the door was shut tightly for protection against a riot we might stage, a calculation both ridiculous and deplorable. Close by the women's lodgings on the west, a mat shed, called the investigation room, was set up. Later it was renamed the interrogation room to sound more "revolutionary." In the days to come, many people were interrogated and tortured there. Outside the Building of Foreign Languages, a large mat shed was built as the eating place for the inmates.

These components constituted the Cow Shed's form. Because the old rooms had long fallen into disrepair and the ground was bumpy and hollow as well as overgrown with weeds and bushes, a lot of work needed to be done. We were "special" new hosts living in these rooms, and it was our job to uproot the weeds and pave the yard. Our leaders were intelligent and confident. They selected a small number of us, young and strong, to form a platoon for this hard mission. The rest of us, weak and aged, along with the women, went to do other jobs. The yard was immediately turned into a bustling working site. Different from before, however, it was a place devoid of human aspiration. Here panicked and depressed men and women worked in silence in a labor environment that had never been seen in any place and at any time before.

Originally I was assigned the job of planting posts and building the mat shed in front of the one-story dwellings, located east of the Building of Archaeology. Those dwellings were dismantled later. We first dug holes and placed the wooden posts. Then wooden sticks were fixed between the posts to

make a framework. Finally we nailed the weedy-mat ten feet high on the framework. It was high enough to prevent people from climbing over. A path that once went through the place was now blocked with heavy and awesome structures to keep walkers away.

This work done, I was called to the interrogation room to solidify and smooth out the ground with a spade and a cudgel. We were worried and cautious so the work was done with all our might, not because we were more revolutionary than before but because we feared a new round of disaster would befall us any time. Our guards behaved differently this time, too; they were not brandishing their spears. I guessed that here in the headquarters of the Commune, not a wilderness area like Taiping Village, they felt a lot more secure. But we knew very well that, though they held clubs in their hands instead of spears, they could pick up and use the weapons that were stored inside the Building of Democracy any time they wished. Furthermore their spears were able to pierce the human body, and their clubs could be no less fatal.

My worry was later justified in the case of a fairly old professor of French from the Department of Western Languages. He seemed to have some eye problems and to be a little dull-headed. I was not sure whether he was in his right mind or not. It seemed he had not suffered in a place like Taiping Village. Consequently, having been curtained off from this world, he had little idea of what torture looked like and how the spear was not manufactured for show. Now he was sent here to work with us. Without any reason he stopped working for a moment with the spade in his hand. To his surprise he was hit on the back with a heavy blow by a guard who, with a club in his hand, had been standing right behind him. The professor woke up and resumed work. This was just an interlude. After it was over, work resumed. The pounding of the spade on the ground echoed in the interrogation room, at once lustily and harmoniously, like a symphonic masterpiece.

Thus the Cow Shed was constructed.

The construction's finishing touch was very impressive. Eight big characters written in white announced: "Wipe Out All Monsters and Demons." Higher than human height, the characters, written with elegance and liveliness, showed the writer's accomplishment in calligraphy and

completely changed the face of the yard. But the writing struck us with fear and awe, an effect more powerful than one hundred deliveries of smearing speeches accompanied by threatening spears. Personally, I admired these characters and liked to watch them, thinking the writer should be entered in the Chinese copybook of calligraphy. In this regard I concluded that the Cultural Revolution provided opportunities for practicing calligraphy through writing big-character posters, increasing wrist strength by beating people, improving rhetorical skills in the delivering of speeches at torture sessions, and promoting courage during factional fighting. One should learn to perceive things in both ways. How can you say the decade of turmoil was fruitless?

In addition I thought what Lu Xun said was absolutely correct that China was a country of characters, not only with a tradition of playing with characters throughout history but also with the intention to further their development in modern times. One phrase originated in the Song Dynasty, "At night one scholar dreams of being robbed by highwaymen but wakes up for a blessing day," which can be translated into simple language, "One has a nightmare at night but sets out for a pleasant journey the following day." As long as these characters were written on the gate of one's home, fortune would arrive. Later this game of characters took on a variety of forms, such as the popular sayings, "A visit to the home of a friend will bring good luck," and "May good luck be yours as you desire." In China even ghosts were afraid of characters, a predilection best exemplified in "Mount Tai's Shigandang."[1] As the country entered its stage of socialist development in the 1950s, this practice of playing with characters continued. For example, the five characters *wei renmin fuwu* for "Serving the People" were ubiquitous. Chinese people were interested in what was said rather than what was done, as if putting the idea into practice was completed once the characters were expressed in one way or another. Now the eight characters for "Wipe Out All Monsters and Demons" added another instance of utilization of writing. It seemed that, once the eight characters were written, we, the monsters and demons, would be eliminated automatically. What a simple and direct way of doing things! What a blank vent of emotion!

From then on we "prisoners" were to live in terror of these eight characters.

[1] "Mount Tai's Shigandang," a stone tablet set up in Mount Tai, in Shandong, China, carrying the

characters "*shigandan*" to keep off the evil spirits.

拾叁　自己亲手搭起牛棚

但是，我们的希望又落了空。

造反派的脾气我们还没有摸着。

有一天，接到命令：回到学校去。我们在太平庄呆的时间并不长，反正不到一个月。

返校就返校吧。反正我们已是“瘸子掉在井里，扶起来也是坐”，到什么地方去都一样。太平庄这二十来天，我不知道，在虐待折磨计划中占什么地位。回来以后，我也不知道，他们还会想出什么花样来继续虐待和折磨我们。

到了学校，下车的地点仍然是渣滓洞阎罗殿煤厂。临走时给我们训话的那一个学生模样的公社头子，又手执长矛，大声训了一顿话。第二天，我们这一群黑帮就被召到外文楼和民主楼后面的三排平房那里去，自己动手，修建牛棚，然后再请君入瓮，自己住进去。

这几排平房我是非常熟悉的。我从家里到外文楼办公室去，天天经过这里。我也曾在这里上过课。房子都是简陋到不能再简陋的程度。屋顶极薄，挡不住夏天的炎阳。窗子破旧，有的又缺少玻璃，阻不住冬天的寒风。根本没有暖气。安上一个炉子，也只能起“望梅止渴”的作用。地上是砖铺地，潮湿阴冷。总之，根据我在这里上课的经验，这个地方毫无可取之处。

然而今天北大公社的头子们却偏偏选中了这块地方当做牛棚，把我们关在这里。牛棚的规模是，东面以民主楼为屏障，南面以外文楼为屏障，西面空阔的地方，北面没有建筑的地方，都用苇席搭成墙壁，遮了起来。在外文楼与民主楼之间的空阔处，也用苇席围起，建成牛棚的大门。我们这一群“牛”们，被分配住在平房里，男女分居，每屋二十人左右，每个人只有躺下能容身之地。因为久已荒废，地上湿气霉味直冲鼻官。监改者们特别宣布：“老佛爷”天恩，运来一批木板，可以铺在地上挡住潮气。意思是让我们感恩戴德。这样的地方监改者们当然是不能住的。他们在民主楼设了总部，办公室设在里面，有的人大概也住在那里。同过去一样，他们非常惧怕我们这一群多半是老弱的残兵。他们打开了民主楼的后门，直接通牛棚。后门内外设置了很多防护设施，还有

铁蒺藜之类的东西，长矛当然也不会缺少。夜里重门紧闭，害怕我们这群黑帮会起来暴动。这情况令人感到又可笑又可叹。在西边紧靠女牢房的地方搭了一座席棚，原名叫外调室。后来他们觉得这不够“革命”，改名为审讯室。在这里确审讯过不少人，把受审者打得鼻青脸肿的事情，也经常发生。在外文楼后面搭了一座大席棚，后来供囚犯们吃饭之用。

黑帮大院的建筑规模大体上就是这样。这里由于年久失修，院子里坑坑洼洼，杂草丛生，荒芜不堪。现在既然有我们这一批“特殊”的新主人要迁入，必须大力清扫，斩草铺地。这工作当然要由我们自己来做。监改人员很有韬略，指挥若定。他们把我们中少数年富力强者调了出来，组成了类似修建队的小分队，专门负责这项工作。其余的老弱残兵以及一些女囚徒则被分配去干其他的活。工地上一派生气勃勃的劳动气氛。同任何工地不同之处则是，这里没有一个人敢说说笑笑，都是囚首丧面，是过去在任何时候、任何地方都没有见过的劳动大军。

我原来奉命在今天考古楼东侧的一排平房（平房现在已经拆掉）的前面埋柱子，搭席棚。先用铁锹挖土成坑，栽上木桩，再在桩与桩之间架上木柱，搭成架子，最后在架子上钉上苇席，有一丈多高，人们是无法爬出来的。原来是毫无阻拦的通道，现在则俨然成了铁壁铜墙，没有人胆敢跨越一步了。

席棚搭完，我又被调到审讯室去，用铁锹和木棍把地面捣固，使之平整。我们被调去的人，谁也不敢偷懒耍滑。我们都是鼓足干劲，力争上游。并不是因为我们的觉悟特别高。我们只害怕有意外的横祸飞临自己头上。这时候，监改人员手里都不拿着长矛了，同在太平庄时完全不同。也许是因为太平庄地处荒郊野外，而此处则是公社的大本营，用不着担心了。我们心里也清楚：虽然他们手里没有长矛，但大批的长矛就堆在他们在民主楼内的武器库中，不费吹灰之力就可以拿到手的。而且他们现在手中都执有木棒。他们的长矛是不吃素的，他们的木棒也不会忌荤的。

我的担心并没有错。西语系教法语的一位老教授，当时岁数总在古稀以上。他眼睛似乎有点毛病，神志好像也不那么清醒，平常时候就给我以痴呆的印象。他大概是没有到太平庄去经受大的洗礼；在被批斗方面，他也没有上过大的场面，有点闭目塞听，不知道天高地厚，没有长矛不吃素的感性认识。现在也被调来用铁锹捣地。在干活的时候，手中的铁锹停止活动了一会儿。他哪里知道，监改人员就手执木棒站在他身后。等到背上重重挨了一棒，他才如梦方醒，手里的铁锹又运转起来了。这可能算是一个小小的插曲。插曲一过，天下太平，小小的审讯室

里响彻铁锹砸地的声音，激昂而又和谐，宛如某一个大师的交响乐了。

劳改大院终于就这样建成了。

落成之后，又画龙点睛，在大院子向南的一排平房子的墙上，用白色的颜料写上了八个大字：横扫一切牛鬼蛇神。每一个字比人还高，龙飞凤舞，极见功力，顿使满院生辉，而且对我们这一群牛鬼蛇神极有威慑力量，这比一百次手执长矛的训话威力还要大。我个人却非常欣赏这几个字，看了就心里高兴，窃以为此人可以入中国书谱的。我因此想到，在“文化大革命”中，写大字报锻炼了书法，打人锻炼了腕力，批斗发言锻炼了诡辩说谎，武斗锻炼了勇气。对什么事情都要一分为二。你能说“十年浩劫”一点好处都没有吗？

此外，我还想到，鲁迅先生的话是万分正确的，他说中国是文字之国。这种做法古已有之，于今为烈。宋朝有“宵寐匪祯，札闼洪庥”，翻成明白的话就是“夜梦不祥，题门大吉”[1]。只要把这几个字往门上一写，事情就“大吉”了。后来这种文字游戏花样繁多，用途极广，什么“进门见喜”、“吉祥如意”等等，到处可见。连中国的鬼都害怕文字，“泰山石敢当”是最好的例子。中国进入社会主义阶段以后，此风未息。“为人民服务”五个字，很多地方都能看到。好像只要写上这五个字，为人民服务的工作就已完成。至于服不服务，那是极其次要的事情了。现在我们面临的“横扫一切牛鬼蛇神”，也属于这种情况。八个字一写，我们这一群牛鬼蛇神，就仿佛都被横扫了。何其简洁！何其痛快！

从此以后，我们这一群囚徒就生活在这八个大字的威慑之下。

[1]　（此事最早见于宋人编《锦绣万花谷》前集卷二○，为北宋欧阳修与宋祁同修《新唐书》之轶事。后世亦多转述，较清晰者如明彭大翼《山堂肆考》卷一二○《嘲文艰深》一则云："宋景文修《唐史》，好以艰深之辞，文浅易之说，欧阳公思有以训之。一日大书其壁曰：'宵寐匪祯，札闼洪庥。'宋见之曰：'非"夜梦不祥，题门大吉"耶？何必求异如此？'欧公曰：'《李靖传》云"震霆无暇掩聪"，亦是此类也。'景文惭而改之。按宋祁，谥景文，尝与欧公同修《唐书》，《李靖传》乃景文所作也。"）

14 LIVING IN THE COW SHED (PART ONE)

As the construction of the Cow Shed was finished, we were "invited as guests" to live inside.

Living in it was not totally without value. Didn't some writers believe each fabric of life provides inspiration?

But my days in the Cow Shed are not easy to describe. "With an enormous collection of the seventeen history books, one finds it hard to get started on a review."[1] I thought a long time, and then an idea suddenly came to me. I should use the method called "discussing history by first introducing theory," which, considered almost as a fundamental law, had long been popular in China. Admittedly my theory could not be presented as a theory because I did not formally study this area, nor did I use classical sources. My theory was, in fact, an account of my experiences and observations together with some thoughtful analyses. I am sure my account is all based on facts, though it can hardly be called a piece of academic work. I think it is good to share it with the reader here. My writing may cause some suspicion and be dismissed as deceptive and shameless talk, but I can do nothing but ignore the risk.

What is my theory? In short it is the "theory of torture." I think what the "young revolutionaries" did in the Cultural Revolution boils down to one simple, fundamental guiding principle of torture. All the rhetoric they used was sheer hogwash, no matter what words they uttered in an effort to show their loyalty to someone or some revolutionary line. From the period of "condemnation and raiding homes" to the period of "reform through physical labor," this guiding principle prevailed everywhere and every minute. I will not talk about its psychological and ideological bases, as those have been discussed previously. The young revolutionaries' ways of torture were various and inconceivable, yet unmistakably effective. Of course the torture went through a process of evolution. In the beginning, though its perpetrators never departed from their resolve to persecute victims, they found themselves

short of experience. They got over this dilemma by emulating what they learned from ancient novels of Chinese history. The book *Stories of Judgment* is a case in point, which I mentioned at the beginning of this book. At this time torture was developmentally primitive: simple, crude, direct and fragmented forms of slapping faces and kicking bodies, which its deliverers knew by instinct. But these youngsters were quick to learn from books and each other. Like the swift development of arms in wars, their methods of torture improved and expanded rapidly as the Revolution went along. More often than not, a new way to torture people was first invented in a university and then traveled nationwide at the speed of light. For example, hanging a board on a victim's neck was first invented at Beida, with which its creator should have applied for a patent. As a result, all "revolutionary rebels" joined forces, contributing respective shares, gathering ideas of the masses, refining from raw materials, and proceeding from the outside to the inside, the near to the far, and the few to the multitudes, and finally formulated a template of torture, illuminating and electrolyzing the universe. When a need for use arose next time, it would be very handy.

This is my so-called "theory."

So, what will follow in terms of the "history"?

This history is a jumble of things. Actually I talked a little about it earlier in this book. Now I will focus on this topic in relationship to Beida's Cow Shed. To me the building of the Cow Shed is a good example of putting theory into practice.

Here is the story in detail.

(1) Renaming

Confucius says, "Action should be justified by a cause. Without declaring the cause, the action cannot be carried out without dispute and opposition." What should we call a host of criminals whose families were attacked and their homes raided? It was a paramount task in the Revolution to label us. Originally we were called "black gangsters," the term that the masses used to refer to us. But the term was not elegant. For some time we were addressed as "sons of bitches." But in comparison that label also was vulgar. We were once named "counter-revolutionaries." It was indeed a

"legalized term." But for some unknown reason it was not widely adopted either. A few more terms suffered the same fate. So "labeling" was a knotty issue yet to be tackled. Once the Cow Shed was built, management required some standard procedure to be specified to us. The first day we moved into the Cow Shed, we saw a poster on the wall of each room entitled "Regulations for Labor-reform Persons." It listed in stern detail the rules we should obey. The poster seemed to have been written by a learned person. At that time no one had guts to propose for a rule of law. Our young "revolutionaries" were truly pacesetters who worked out impressive legal terms. I have to say that their initiative not only regulated our behavior but drew admiration from us as well.

An old saying goes like, "The wisest man may outline one thousand schemes but at least one of them must be flawed." "Regulations for Labor-reform Persons" was replaced, only two days after we moved into the rooms, with a new list, "Regulations for Labor-reform Criminals." The revision of two characters hammered the point home. What a clear and uncompromising usage of "criminals"! The sight of this term immediately reminded us of our social position that we were dismissed as social dregs and condemned to eternal torment and suffering. From now on we scholars, who had never had the nerve to rise in rebellion, would reform ourselves through physical labor, bear the label of criminal, and be extremely cautious about our behavior day and night as though treading on thin ice.

In reference to the reform, here are four lines of self-ridicule that I wrote,

"The building of the Cow Shed is complete,

Everything is arranged nice and neat,

The choice of name is finally decided on,

And the whole world rests in peace."

(2) Our Living Quarters

Now I'm going to talk a little more about our living quarters, though I touched upon this topic earlier.

The "criminals" were arranged to fit into rooms in three rows of the one-

story dwellings.

These dwellings were very simple in structure. A little better than thatched sheds, they might have been meant for temporary shelters at the time of construction. At a time when the university was short of classrooms, they were used to meet that need. Now classes had been suspended in universities across the country for nearly two years. At Beida many regular classrooms were left unused. Who would care for these shabby dwellings? Thus they were covered with heaps of earth on the floor and cobwebs on the walls. With low roofs and damp floors, the rooms smelt of mildew and were full of mice, geckoes, probably scorpions too, as well as other creatures. In other words the rooms contained all living creatures that depended on dark, moist environment for living. They were totally unfit for humans to live in. But we were not humans anymore. We were criminals. Any lodgings, no matter how rotten they were, should be accepted with gratitude. How could we raise unreasonable demands?

During the first days of our stay there, we slept on straw mats, which were spread over brick-paved floors, covered with an additional thin layer of straw that could not keep the moisture out. During the day the rooms swarmed with flies, and at night the constant drone of mosquitoes kept us awake. Each of us got mosquito bites all over the body and felt terribly itchy. Later we were provided some planks of wood, which we stuck under the straw mats; on top of that strips of cloth, dipped with DDT, were hung in each room for the purpose of keeping mosquitoes away. We were touched to tears by this "humanitarian concern."

Meanwhile our labor troop was greatly expanded, almost doubled in fact. We didn't know what caused the enlargement, nor did we want to know. What was the point of knowing the reason? I noticed a few "important" criminals joined us, such as Lu Ping. They had been housed in another place before, probably a small Cow Shed. Why they were sent here to be with us was unclear to me. Certainly a few new faces emerged in our rank, while others were familiar ones I had encountered at some torture sessions months earlier. Probably the "class struggle" rolled up new targets as its attack intensified. In fact I should say that our group grew larger and larger as we were steadily joined by new "criminals" from the time of the completion of the Cow Shed to that of its dismantling.

(3) Our Daily Life

From the time the "Regulations for Labor-reform Criminals" was enforced in the Cow Shed, inmates seemed to have a definite law laid down for them. Occasionally amendments were made, but basically they were uttered casually and never added in written form. Here we didn't have the "Congress of Labor Reform," so there was no voting procedure. The avoidance of such legislative red tape benefited the compound's administration, as the truth and law were the words, no matter what rolled off the tongue of those "reform guards," a term that I'm not sure whether is the official terminology or not.

Thus our life became standardized and strict with the enforcement of the "constitution" and verbal amendments. At six every day we had to get up, not earlier or later. As the bell rang, we slipped into clothes and raced out of the rooms. The first task was to run along the yard with the reform guards standing at the center and giving orders. I remember, by that time, the guards rarely held spears in their hands. Probably they felt secure in this place. Is jogging a beneficial exercise? Yes, it is, according to common sense. But we, a bunch of "labor-reform criminals," actually had plenty of physical exercise as we were asked to do manual labor from dawn to dusk and were denied any time for reading. What was the point of jogging? In addition we were "sons of bitches" who had been warned that the accusation that we had committed crimes was irrefutable because of the solid evidence: to redress any of our cases was absolutely impossible. We deserved a wretched death without redemption, so the daily physical exercise was perfunctory. The only rationale I found was the "theory of torture," which posited that the morning jog was a way of "tormenting," exhausting us physically before a whole day's work load was imposed upon us.

The jogging done, we first washed up at the running water faucet in the yard and then went to the Second Staff Cafeteria for breakfast. On our way there, more than one hundred of us generated quite a sight, our long line stretching along the road, our heads dangling in front of us as if we were mourning the deaths of our parents. According to the "verbal law," we were not allowed to walk with our heads held high. A violation would ensure us a bunch of fives on the back or a kick. Inside the cafeteria we were supposed to purchase the specified food, cone-shaped steamed buns of cornmeal and

pickles. Things like deep-fried cake dough were "high-end luxuries" and totally forbidden to eat. By that time we had a monthly income of sixteen and a half *yuan* and a subsidy of twelve and a half *yuan* for dependents.[2] Even if we had permission to purchase the "luxuries," how would we have been able to afford them? How could we survive and live on this meager salary? As everywhere else, there were tables and wooden benches in the cafeteria. But they were supplied to "humans," not to us. We had to squat down under trees or on the steps outside the building to have our "meal." To dine on meat dishes, which were available at lunch and supper, was completely inconceivable for us. What we ate was salty cucumber or plainly stewed vegetables. After a whole day's hard labor, the non-meat meal could barely satisfy our appetite, so we filled our stomachs with cornmeal buns. Where could we manage to obtain additional food coupons at a time when the country had a food rationing system? It was the third time I had suffered from starvation. The first occurred in Germany while the second happened in the so-called "three-year hard time."[3] However, I had to make a distinction among the three times of hunger. During the first two I was only starved. But today's craving for food was aggravated by physical fatigue and threats of beating. Now those past hard years looked like paradise in the beyond and were remembered with a sense of jealousy.

After breakfast we went out and waited for work assignments. We all became draft horses. At that time campus maintenance crews had long given up work. They were now supervisors and jailers. When they were given work assignments, particularly heavy and filthy ones, they came to the Cow Shed and took some of us, the "labor-reform criminals," off for the tasks. As brigade leaders in the countryside who managed draft animals, the workers now became supervisors, bossing us around and doing nothing themselves. The Beida working class was really riding high after the founding of new China.

Another important thing will always stay in my mind. Each day when we left for work, we were supposed to write on a board hung on a tree trunk the "supreme directive" that we had learned to recite. This directive often came as a long discourse. Each "criminal," no matter what kind of work or where to work for the day, was supposed to be able to recite the directive free of errors. Any reform guard could stop one of us in any place and ask him to recite. If an error was committed, the "criminal" would at least receive a slap

on the face or a harsher punishment for the unfortunate day. Occasionally we were called into the office. According to the regulation, we then had to say loudly, "Reporting," and stand firmly with the head lowered. Then the reform guard usually picked the first sentence from a paragraph of Mao Zedong's quotations and read it, while we were supposed to complete the rest in recitation. If we blurted out a wrong character, a punishment as described above would unquestionably ensue. A professor of geophysics was quite old. He could memorize all mathematical equations but seemed unable to add anything else to his brain, even the holy "supreme directive." Many a time I saw him beaten black and blue with two swellings right below his eyes. I felt sorry for him, as I did for myself.

What was the purpose of reciting the quotations? Some people might have thought we were hardened criminals, whose reactionary nature would deny reform of any sort. Accordingly the "revolutionaries" came up with a method similar to studying the Scriptures that Jesus Christ used in teaching his disciples. It was said that the method was powerful. Unfortunately I felt ashamed that the method did not have any effect on me. But I unflinchingly believe in the "theory of torture," my scholarly contribution, as the best explanation for the forced recitations of quotations that has been produced so far. Actually the reform guards, themselves, were skeptical of the reforming power of reciting the "supreme directives." Revolutionary as our supervisors were, they could barely recite the quotations without an error themselves. One of them often blurted out a lead-in sentence wrongly but without realizing the error. In completing the quotation, I sometimes committed slips of the tongue because of being nervous. Aware of the fact that the guard was unable to detect the problem, I got away with errors by not being stupid enough to make a correction. If I had been dumb enough to confess to the mistake, wouldn't the reform guard have felt hurt in his pride? The consequence would have been inconceivable.

Since that time we had started reciting quotations while working, which pushed our already intensified physicality and psyche to the brink of collapse.

In terms of the nature of the work I did a colossal number of jobs. I remember a couple of work sites in which I worked the longest. The place that first comes to my mind is the Northern Material Mill, a work unit controlled by the "New Beida Commune" with all of its workers being

diehard supporters of the "Old Dowager." We "labor-reform criminals" were treated differently on the basis of our original factional inclinations. I had a double identification, a "labor-reform criminal" and a former member of "Jinggangshan". For the second background, I received some "special treatments," which means more verbal abuse. Here we carried wayward bricks from one spot to the side of a little pool in the mill and then stacked them neatly to keep them from tumbling down. These bricks were heavy and could kill you if you got hit by them. So we were particularly cautious in handling them. After the work was finished, we were sent to pull nails out of old boards. In doing this work, a lot lighter job, we were allowed to sit on stools, which gave us tremendous pleasure and struck us as good fortune. When we completed the work inside the mill, the next assignment was to carry sand from a large mound outside the mill, prepared for construction, to another place. At the Northern Material Mill I worked for a few weeks. Here I should make a note. Those who worked there were only a small fraction of the convicted population working here. Because I have no idea about what assignments other people had, I will keep the discussion to our group.

One summer I was sent to carry coal in the dormitory area. Trucks carried coal from somewhere to the campus and dumped it all over the ground. When the trucks were gone, our jobs started, as we swept up, carried baskets of coal to a nearby place, and heaped the coal into a mound in order to save space. This work was rather demanding, both physically wearying and filthy. For the two elders, carrying a basketful of coal chunks or powder weighing more than one hundred *jin* and sometimes going up the coal mounds were, by all estimates, extremely demanding tasks. When the wind started to blow, we were covered with coal ash all over the body. In the past we had never walked into a place like this. Now things had changed. We felt quite comfortable about the situation because nothing offended our sense of personal hygiene. One old Muslim, who shouldered a basket with me, was a former underground Communist veteran who risked his life doing revolutionary work at Yenching University in Beijing before 1949.[4] When the reform guards were not around, he whispered in my ear, "Our doom is set now. Chances are that we will be sent to a remote area to labor for reform for the rest of our life." This was a prevailing concern. What could I have thought otherwise?

Later I did other jobs. For a time I worked along with our group in the

rice fields, which later became the Shaoyuan Guest Compound of today, carrying rocks and digging up the soil. One day one old professor from the Department of Western Languages and I were sent to fix an underground water pipe outside the eastern wall of student dormitory Building 35. This time a worker joined us. He did the major part of the work while we two old men were only his "teaching assistants," helping him by carrying cement bags around and handing him spades. This worker did not utter any word of hostility, though he pulled a long face throughout the time. I felt deeply indebted. After the decade of turmoil I often saw him ride his bike through the campus. Each time I would pause and gaze at him in gratitude as his figure faded into distance.

At other times I was sent to do a variety of things such as repairing houses and pulling up weeds, which I will not talk about in detail.

Because this part of our life was dubbed "labor reform," our primary occupation was manual labor. Of course we could not avoid meeting reform guards at work as well as in performing other daily routines. Wherever an encounter happened we had to follow the head-lowering rule strictly. Usually we did not know whomever we met. But the first few words tossed out toward us from the opposite direction were invariably those of swearing, which were used as customarily as Americans say "hello" in greeting. However, the difference was that the "greeting" we received here was supposed to be replied in silence. The vocabulary they used was rich. Beside the four-letter words frequently used there were colorful varieties of slur like "you bastard" and "you son of a bitch." If a reform guard had not started his hailing to me with a derogative remark, I would have felt skewed and disquieted.

(4) The Evening Admonishment Speech

I shall make a formal note here: the evening admonishment speech was the greatest and most brilliant innovation that the reform guards had designed.

I talked previously about the routine life of our reform and also touched upon many inventions reform guards developed in supervising us. Except for a few staff members and workers, the majority of our bosses were students. I had no idea about these students' academic progress. But their performance in

managing the Cow Shed would certainly have pulled an A for the course they took from me as their teacher. In the past our teaching was basically separated from reality. As the University's pedagogies should take the brunt of the blame, we faculty members were hardly free of responsibility either. In the Cow Shed the students put theory into practice and displayed a myriad of talents, leadership skills, administrative strategies, forewarning-speech rhetorical proficiencies, quibbling, fact-distortion and false charges competences, and many more. In addition our young leaders were rather determined and courageous in conducting violence and especially quick with their fists and feet when flogging and kicking us. Their expertise stunned and eclipsed us teachers.

The evening admonishment speech showcased their gifts.

What was the "evening admonishment speech"? Each day after dinner all the "criminals" gathered between the two rows of the single-story houses in the Cow Shed and listened to a man deliver a speech. This man, probably one of those Commune chiefs, was seldom around in the yard during the day. But the speaker was repeatedly replaced with a new one at a few day intervals. I had no idea about the rationale behind the substitution. The speaker usually addressed a different topic each day, because the purpose of the presentation was not for teaching us some revolutionary doctrines, which otherwise would have been repetitive in the following evening. Structurally each speech focused on the "study of torture," the application of this subject of learning. The speaker prattled on, catching short braids or fault-finding on us, literally. We all had many "braids" on the head. Even if we didn't, they could make us wear some. Primarily the braid usually came in two kinds, the trifling error that was made during the day and the so-called "problem" that was detected in the report we wrote about our thoughts after one day's work. We all worked hard, not because we were "fundamentally revolutionary" but because we were afraid of our supervisors' fists and feet. When one is bent on nit-picking, false charges can be ready made. Each day one unfortunate Cow Shed "mate" of us was picked up by the reform guards and reprimanded during the evening admonishment speech. Meanwhile, our reports of thoughts were also placed, as a top priority, on the daily agenda. In a country like China, in which learning is both respected and taken advantage of, turning a word game into a way of life and finding an error in documents like our reports were as easy as turning one's hand over. In Chinese history well-

known cases of being wronged by false charges are plentiful. The Qing emperor Yongzheng once had a minister executed on the charge of the fact that the official had reversed the word order when writing the phrase "Your Majesty is cautious and conscientious about your work from night till morning" instead of following the original order "Your Majesty is cautious and conscientious about your work from morning till night." In fact the stylistic uniqueness did not weaken the feeling of respect the original phrase carried. But the minister's imprudence enraged the emperor and cost the official his head. Our reform guards had much higher IQs than ancient emperors. The error picking on our reports was carried out strictly to make sure one victim was singled out for the evening admonishment speech of the day. Whoever unluckily caught the searching eye of the reform guards could expect an evening of hell.

The speech was usually delivered this way. We stood silently in four rows in the small yard. Then the roll was called. I have gone through thick and thin in life and nothing in particular has left a print on my mind as indelible as the event that happened on every of those evenings. I won't forget it for the rest of my life. One professor had returned home from overseas. He was over sixty and plagued with a sustained sickness. Though bedridden he was carried to the Cow Shed in some way. He was at death's door, having flat lost the ability to work. He even could not get up for his meals. So he was permitted to "reform" in bed. The place for our evening gathering was outside his room. Each time his name was called, a feeble, hoarse, trembling voice drifted out of his room, "Yes, here I am." Shaken to the soul each time, I was on the edge of tears.

Standing outside his room, the rest of us were nervous. Usually the speaker called the name of one of us aloud. Before the man stepped out of the line, two sturdy young men walked up and pulled him out with his arms twisted high on his back and a fist pressed on the back of his neck, exactly the way used at torture sessions. Smacks on the face and kicks followed as the piercing sounds of beating soared across the nightly sky. But a heavier punishment included a blow that knocked a man to the ground and a foot that stomped on his back. Certainly the revolutionaries' popular saying of "stepping one thousand feet on the back" exaggerates the case. Such episodes are also part of my study of the "theory of torture."

Such a spectacular event could only be seen during the Cultural Revolution. Aren't our people interested in talking about things for which China ranks first in the world? I should say some of those past claims deserve further debate. However, what happened in the Cow Shed could definitely rank first with respect to sightseeing.

The evening admonishment speech in the Cow Shed became hot news, spreading quickly overnight and attracting large crowds on campus. The gathering was as grandiose as the change of imperial guards at Great Britain's Buckingham Palace. Every day when standing in line at this moment, I was very scared of being singled out as the target. Occasionally I stole glances sideways and saw, outside the mat fences, a few small mounds covered with human figures in the dim light of the road's electric poles. In the bushes and under small trees surrounding the yard, crowds by the hundreds stood silent. They came to groove with the exciting scene, an opportunity even more difficult to obtain than witnessing the change of British imperial guards riding on impressive horses with tall hats on their heads, a tradition maintained for hundreds of years. It was a shame that this splendid campus view at the top university in Beijing, the capital city of China, existed for only a few months. Otherwise it would have brought in huge tourism revenues for the country.

Another sight also was worth looking at, but our visitors unfortunately didn't have the patience to wait until the wee hours. Otherwise they would have been fascinated with the more terrifying occurrence. This spectacle was occasional and not every one of us living in the Cow Shed was lucky enough for a view. One night I went out to relieve myself and saw some figures in the yard, each standing under a tree with the arms stretched out as if trying to embrace something. Actually they were embracing the air, nothing else. I had no idea how long our Cow Shed mates had stood there sustaining that position. I have never tried that position myself. But I thought it was somewhat like the jet plane posture. If I had been ordered to perform it, I probably could have held it hardly for a quarter of an hour. I wondered how many hours they had stood that way and at what late hour they would be released. The residents in the Cow Shed knew well that, at this moment, nothing could be said and these miserable guys should be left alone. I rushed back into my room. But the images of those victims repeatedly came back to me in dream for the rest of the night.

(5) Strange Regulations

In the Cow Shed we had the "Regulations for Labor-reform Criminals" as the constitution plus some other rules, laid down by word of mouth, as I said before. Now I'd like to cite two examples for further explanation.

Here are two of the rules, "Walk with the head held down and sit with no legs crossed."

I'm not a scholar of law. But I've lived in many countries and read some articles about laws. I have never seen or heard any rule that prohibits pedestrians from holding the head up. Except for a person with a crooked neck, the ordinary human is sure to walk with his head held straight up.

But here in the Cow Shed at Beida, our supervisors denied us the normal way of walking. I wonder how they made up that extremely bizarre rule. Did they pick it up from an ancient text secretly handed down from ancestors? Or from some inscription on a stone tablet like those mentioned in *The Outlaws of the Marsh*? Or was it a spark of talent? I was not able to figure out the answer. Anyway, it was the law and had to be strictly obeyed.

Walking with the head held down was complied with not only in our rooms but anywhere in and outside the Cow Shed. We had to take particular caution when talking to a reform guard. If someone defied the rule, the consequence would be inconceivable. A smack in the face would be considered a lenient treatment. Probably a sound flogging, or even a knocking-down on the ground, should be assessed as an appropriate response. With this risk in mind, I always fixed eyes on the ground or the feet of a reform guard when standing in front of him. Therefore I could tell exactly what shoes he wore that day but had only a vague idea about his face. At work, for example, when I carried the coal basket, the head could be held up. Otherwise the work could not be done. One day we were in line for dinner. For one reason or another, which I did not know for sure, I looked up, probably for one tenth of a second at most. Immediately the man marching us to the cafeteria shouted at me, "Behave yourself, Ji Xianlin!" Instinctively I expected to receive a slap in the face or a kick. Fortunately I was spared the strike this time. From that day on I was particularly cautious and never failed to "behave myself."

In terms of the second rule, almost everyone sits with his legs crossed. It

is the normal sitting position. People prefer it because it releases one from weariness. But it was prohibited in the Cow Shed. I remember I read a book which said Yuan Shikai never sat with his legs crossed.[5] He always sat straight, legs closed up, in a dignified manner. Probably, as a military man, he had got into that habit. We were "labor-reform criminals," a group of ordinary people, not like him, the Hongxian emperor.[6] How could we be able to do that?

There is another event that is also noteworthy. As I said earlier, we were deprived of the human faculty of laughing. How could that happen? It did not result from implementing the "reform constitution," nor was it the consequence of complying with a paramount order of the reform guards. It utterly grew out of our own desire. Let me put it in another way. Can a person be able to laugh when his security is threatened with the possibility of sustaining tortures at any time? In the Cow Shed laughter was not heard. If somebody laughed, the sound came from a reform guard. Occasionally laughter shot up from the silence of the Cow Shed, which was dead as an ancient tomb, and sounded as clear as a melody, striking note of liveliness. But how did we find a laughter in such circumstances? I had no idea about others' feelings. Like an owl hoot at deep night, a laughter usually sent shivers down my spine.

[1] The seventeen history books, a collection of history books of Chinese ancient history written by Wang Mingsheng (1722-1797): *The Records of the Historian*, *The History of the Han Dynasty*, *A Sequel to the History of the Han Dynasty*, *Records of the Three Kingdoms*, *The History of Jin Dynasty*, *The History of the Song State*, *The History of the Southern Qi State*, *The History of the Liang State*, *The History of the Chen State*, *The History of the Wei State*, *The History of the Northern Qi State*, *The History of the Zhou State*, *The History of the Sui Dynasty*, *The History of the Southern Dynasty*, *The History of the Northern Dynasty*, *The New History of the Tang Dynasty*, and *The History of the Five Dynasties*.

[2] Sixteen and a half *yuan* could only maintain a living of survival on food by that time, in which an ordinary factory worker had a monthly income of about 40 *yuan*. Ji received the monthly income of 340 *yuan* as a Professor of Rank One before the Cultural Revolution.

[3] The "three-year hard time," a severe famine, as has been documented officially, across the country during the period from 1959-1961.

[4] Yenching University, the first American missionary university in China, founded in 1919 and located in the western suburb of Beijing; in 1952 it merged into Peking University, when the latter moved to the former's location from downtown Beijing; one of the founders of Yenching University and its first president was John Leighton Stuart.

[5] Yuan Shikai (1859-1916), an important Chinese general and politician, who abdicated the last Qing Emperor of China, came to power as the second president of the Republic of China following Sun

Yatsen, and proclaimed himself as the "Great Emperor of China" on January 1, 1916 under the era of Hongxian or literally "Abundant Constitution."

[6] See the previous note.

拾肆　牛棚生活（一）

我们亲手把牛棚建成了，我们被“请君入瓮”了。

牛棚里面也是有生活的。有一些文学家不是宣传过“到处有生活”吗？

但是，现在要来谈牛棚生活，却还非常不容易，“一部十七史，不知从何处说起”。我考虑了好久，忽然灵机一动，我想学一学过去很长时间内在中国史学界最受欢迎，几乎被认为是金科玉律的“以论带史”的办法，先讲一点理论。但是我这一套理论，一无经可引，二无典可据，完全是我自己通过亲身体验，亲眼观察，又经过深思熟虑，从众多的事实中抽绎出来的。难登大雅之堂，是可以肯定的。但我自己则深信不疑。现在我不敢自秘，公之于众，这难免厚黑之诮、老王卖瓜之讽，也在所不顾了。

我的理论是什么呢？一言以蔽之，可名之为“折磨论”。我觉得，“革命小将”在“文化大革命”中自始至终所搞的一切活动，不管他们表面上怎样表白，忠于什么什么人呀，维护什么什么路线呀，这些都是鬼话。要提纲挈领的话，纲只有一条，那就是：折磨人。这一条纲贯彻始终，无所不在，无时不在，左右一切。至于这一条纲的心理基础，思想基础，我在上面几个地方都有所涉及，这里不再谈了。从“打倒”抄家开始，一直到劳改，花样繁多，令人目迷五色，但是其精华所在则是折磨人。在这方面，他们也有一个进化的过程。最初对于折磨人，虽有志于斯，但经验很少，办法不多。主要是从中国过去的小说杂书中学到了一点。我在本书开头时讲到的《玉历至宝钞》，就是一个例子。此时折磨人的方式比较简单、原始、生硬、粗糙，并不精美、完整。比如打耳光、用脚踹之类，大概在原始社会就已有了，他们不学自通。但是，这一批年轻人勤奋好学，接受力强，他们广采博取，互相学习，互相促进。正如在战争中武器改良迅速，在“文化大革命”中，折磨人的方式也是时新日异，无时不在改进、丰富中。往往是一个学校发明了什么折磨人的办法，比电光还快，立即流布全国，比如北大挂木牌的办法，就应该申请专利。结果是，全国的“革命造反派”共同努力，各尽所能，又集中了群众的智慧，由粗至精，由表及里，由近及远，由寡及众，折磨人的办法就成了体系，光被寰宇了。如果有机会下一次再使用时，那就方便多了。

我的“论”大体如此。

这个“论”“带”出了什么样的“史”呢？

这个“史”头绪繁多。上面其实已经讲了一些。现在结合北大的“牛棚”再来分别谈上一谈。据我看，北大黑帮大院的创建就是理论联系实践的结果。

下面分门别类来谈。

（一）正名

孔子曰：“必也正名乎。”“名不正则言不顺。”我们这一群被抄家被“打倒”的罪犯应该怎样命名呢？这是“革命”的首要任务。我们曾被命名为“黑帮”。但是，这是老百姓的说法，其名不雅驯。我们曾被叫做“王八蛋”；但是，此名较之“黑帮”，更是“斯下矣”。我们曾被命名为“反革命分子”。这确实是一个“法律语言”；不知为什么，也没有被普遍采用。此外还有几个名，也都没有流行起来。看来这个正名的问题，一直没有妥善地解决。现在黑帮大院已经建成了，算是正规化了，正名便成了当务之急。我们初搬进大院来的时候，每一间屋的墙上都贴着一则告示，名曰“劳改人员守则”。里面详细规定了我们必须遵守的规矩，具体而又严厉。样子是出自一个很有水平的秀才之手。当时还没有人敢提倡法治。我们的“革命”小将真正是得风气之先，居然订立出来了类似法律的条款，真不能不让我们这些被这种条款管制的人肃然起敬了。

但是，俗话说：“智者千虑，必有一失。”我们这些小智者也有了“一失”，失就失在正名问题上。《劳改人员守则》贴出来大概只有一两天就不见了，换成了《劳改罪犯守则》。把“人员”改为“罪犯”，只更换了两个字，然而却是点铁成金。“罪犯”二字何等明确，又何等义正辞严！让我们这些人一看到“罪犯”二字，就能明确自己的法律地位，明确自己已被打倒，等待我们的只是身上被踏上一千只脚，永世不得翻身了。我们这一群从来也不敢造反的秀才们，从此以后，就戴着罪犯的帽子，小心翼翼，日日夜夜，都如临深渊，如履薄冰，把我们全身，特别是脑袋里的细胞，都万分紧张地调动到最高水平，这样来实行劳改。

我有四句歪诗：

大院建成，

乾坤底定。

言顺名正，

天下太平。

（二）我们的住处

关于我们的住处，我在上面已经有所涉及。现在再简略地谈一谈。

“罪犯们”被分配到三排平房中去住。

这些平房，建筑十分潦草，大概当时是临时性的建筑，其规模比临时搭起的棚子略胜一筹。学校教室紧张的时候，这里曾用作临时教室。现在全国大学都停课闹革命已经快两年了。北大连富丽堂皇的大教室都投闲置散，何况这简陋的小屋？所以里面尘土累积，蛛网密集，而且低矮潮湿，霉气扑鼻。此地有老鼠、壁虎，大概也有蝎子。地上爬着多足之虫，还有土鳖，以及其他许许多多的小动物，总之，低矮潮湿之处所有的动物，这里应有尽有。实际上是无法住人的。但是我们此时已经被剥夺了“人”籍，我们是“罪犯”。让我们在任何地方住，都是天恩高厚。我们还敢有什么奢望！

最初几天，我们就在湿砖地上铺上席子，晚上睡在上面，席子下面薄薄一层草实在挡不住湿气。白天苍蝇成群，夜里蚊子成堆。每个人都被咬得遍体鳞伤，奇痒难忍。后来，运来了木头，席子可以铺在木头上了。夜里每间房子里还发给几个蘸着敌敌畏的布条，悬挂在屋内，据说可以防蚊。对于这一些“人道”措施，我们几乎要感激涕零了。

这时候，比起太平庄来，劳动“罪犯”的队伍大大地扩大了，至少扩大了一倍。其中原因我们不清楚，也不想清楚，这同我们有什么关系呢？我观察了一下，陆平等几个“钦犯”，最初并没有关在这里，大概旁处还有“劳改小院”之类，这事我就更不清楚了。有一些新面孔，有的过去在某个批斗会上见过面，有一些则从没有见过面，大概是随着“阶级斗争”的深入发展，新“揪”出来的。事实上，从入院一直到大院解散，经常不断地有新“罪犯”参加进来。我们这个大家庭在不断扩大。

（三）日常生活

牛棚里有了《劳改罪犯守则》，就等于有了宪法。以后虽然也时常有所补充，但大都是口头的，没有形诸文字。这里没有“劳改罪犯”大会，用不着什么人通过。好在监改人员——我不知道这是不是官方的称呼？——出口成法，说什么都是真理。

在“宪法”和口头补充法律条文的约束下，我们的牛棚生活井然有序。早晨6点起床，早了晚了都不允许。一声铃响，穿衣出屋，第一件事情就是绕着院子跑步。监改人员站在院子正中，发号施令。在我的记忆中，他们很少手执长矛，大概是觉得此地安全了。跑步算不算体育锻炼呢？按常理说，是的。但是实际上我们这一群“劳改罪犯”，每天除了干体力活以外，谁也不允许看一点书，我们的体育锻炼已经够充分的了，何必再多此一举？再说我们“这一群王八蛋”已经被警告过，我们是铁案如山，谁也别想翻案。我们已经罪该万死，死有余辜，身体锻炼不锻炼完全是无所谓的。唯一的合理解释就是我发现的“折磨论”。早晨跑步也是折磨“罪犯”的一种办法。让我们在整天体力劳动之前，先把体力消耗净尽。

跑完步，到院子里的自来水龙头那里去洗脸漱口。洗漱完，排队到员二食堂去吃早饭。走在路上，一百多人的浩浩荡荡的队伍，个个垂头丧气，如丧考妣。根据口头法律，谁也不许抬头走路，谁也不敢抬头走路。有违反者，背上立刻就是一拳，或者踹上一脚。到了食堂，只许买窝头和咸菜，油饼一类的“奢侈品”，是绝对禁止买的。当时“劳动罪犯”的生活费是每月十六元五角，家属十二元五角。即使让我买，我能买得起吗？靠这一点钱，我们又怎样“生”，怎样“活”呢？餐厅里当然有桌有凳；但那是为“人”准备的，我们无份。我们只能在楼外树底下、台阶上，或蹲在地上“进膳”。中午和晚上的肉菜更与我们无关，只能吃点盐水拌黄瓜、清水煮青菜之类。整天剧烈的劳动，而肚子里却滴油没有。我们只能同窝头拼命，可是我们又哪里去弄粮票呢？这是我继在德国挨饿和所谓“三年困难时期”之后的第三次堕入饥饿地狱。但是，其间也有根本性的区别：前两次我只是饿肚子而已，这次却是在饿肚之外增加了劳动和随时会有皮肉之苦。回思前两次的挨饿，宛如天堂乐园可望而不可即了。

早饭以后，回到牛棚，等候分配劳动任务。此时我们都成了牛马。全校的工人没有哪个再干活了，他们都变成了监工和牢头禁子。他们有了活，不管是多脏多累，一律到劳改大院来，要求分配“劳改罪犯”。这就好比是农村生产队队长分配牛马一样。分配完了以后，工人们就成了甩手大掌柜的，在旁边颐指气使。解放后的北大工人阶级，此时真是踌躇满志了。

还有一件最最重要的事情，无论如何也是不能忘记的。在出发劳动之前，我们必须到树干上悬挂的黑板下，抄录今天要背诵的“最高指示”。这指示往往相当长。每一个“罪犯”，今天不管是干什么活，到哪

里去干活，都必须背得滚瓜烂熟。任何监改人员，不管在什么场合，都可能让你背诵。倘若背错一个字，轻则一个耳光，重则更严厉的惩罚。现在，如果我们被叫到办公室去，先喊一声："报告！"然后垂首肃立。监改人员提一段语录的第一句，你必须接下去把整段背完。倘若背错一个字，则惩罚如上。有一位地球物理老教授，由于年纪实在太老了，而且脑袋里除了数学公式之外，似乎什么东西也挤不进去。连据说有无限威力的"最高指示"也不例外。我经常看到他被打得鼻青脸肿，双眼下鼓起两个肿泡。我颇有兔死狐悲之感。

背语录有什么用处呢？也许有人认为，我们这些"罪犯"都是花岗岩的脑袋瓜，用平常的办法来改造，几乎是不可能的。"革命家"于是就借用了耶稣教查经的办法，据说神力无穷。但是，我很惭愧，我实在没有感觉出来。我有自己的解释，这解释仍然是我发明创造的"折磨论"。我一直到今天还认为，这是唯一合理的解释。监改人员自己也不相信，"最高指示"会有这样的威力，他们自己也并背不熟几条语录。连向"罪犯"提头时，也往往出现错误。有时候他提了一个头，我接着背下去，由于神经紧张，也曾背错过一两个字；但监改人员并没有发现。我此时还没有愚蠢到"自首"的地步，蒙混过了关。我如真愚蠢到起来"自首"，那么监改人员面子不是受到损害了吗？那后果就不堪设想了。

从此，我们就边干活，边背语录。身体和精神都紧张到要爆炸的程度。

至于我参加的劳动工种，那还是非常多的。劳动时间最长的有几个地方。根据我现在的回忆，首先是北材料厂。这里面的工人都属于新北大公社一派，都是拥护"老佛爷"的。在"劳改罪犯"中，也还是有派别区分的。同是"罪犯"，而待遇有时候会有不同。我在这里，有两重身份，一是"劳改罪犯"，二是原井冈山成员。因此颇受到一些"特殊待遇"，被训斥的机会多了一点。我们在这里干的活，先是搬运耐火砖，从厂内一个地方搬到小池旁边，码了起来。一定要码整整齐齐，否则会塌落下来。耐火砖非常重，砸到人身上，会把人砸死的。我们"罪犯们"都知道这一点，干起活来都万分小心谨慎。耐火砖搬完，又被分配来拔掉旧柱子和旧木板上的钉子。干这活，允许坐在木墩子上，而且活也不累，我们简直是享受天福了。厂内的活干完了后，又来到厂外堆建房用的沙堆旁边，去搬运沙子，从一堆运到另一堆上。在北材料厂我大概干了几个星期。我在这里还要补充说明几句，在这里干活的只是"罪犯"的一小部分。其余的人都各有安排，情况我不清楚，我只好略而不谈了。

我从北材料厂又被调到学生宿舍区去运煤。现在是夏天，大汽车把

煤从什么地方运到学校，卸在地上，就算完成任务。我们的任务是把散堆在地上的煤，用筐抬着，堆成煤山，以减少占地的面积。这个活并不轻松，一是累，二是脏。两个老人抬一筐重达百斤以上的煤块或煤末，有时还要爬上煤山，是非常困难的。大风一起，我们满脸满身全是煤灰。在平常时候这种地方我们连走进都不会的。然而此时情况变了。我们已能安之若素。什么卫生不卫生，更不在话下了。同我长时间抬一个筐的是解放前在燕京大学冒着生命的危险参加地下工作的穆斯林老同志，趁着监督劳动的工人不在眼前的时候，低声对我说："我们的命运看来已经定了。我们将来的出路，不外是到什么边远地区劳改终生了。"这种想法是有些代表性的。我自己何尝不是这样想呢？

以后，我的工种有过多次变化。我曾随大队人马到今天勺园大楼的原址稻田的地方去搬过石头，挖过稻田。有一次同西语系的一位老教授被分配跟着一个工人，到学生宿舍三十五楼东墙外面去修理地下水管。这次工人师傅亲自下了手，我们两个老头只能算是"助教"，帮助他抬抬洋灰包，递递铁锹。这位工人虽然也绷着脸，一言不发，但是对我们一句训斥的话都没有说过。我心里实在是铭感五内。"十年浩劫"以后，我在校园里还常见到他骑车而过，我总是用感激的眼光注视着他的背影渐渐消逝。

此外，我还被分配到一些地方去干活，比如修房子、拔草之类，这里不一一叙述了。

既然叫做"劳改"，劳动当然就是我们主要的生活内容。不管是在劳动中，还是在其他活动中，总难避开同监改人员打交道。见了他们，同在任何地方一样，我们从不许抬头，这已经是金科玉律。往往我们不知道，站在面前谈话的是什么人。但是对方则一张口就用上一句"国骂"，这同美国人见面时说"hello!"一样，不过我们只许对面的人说而已。监改人员用的词汇很丰富，除了说"妈的"以外，还说"你这混蛋"、"你这王八蛋"等等，词彩丰富多了。如果哪个监改人员不用"国骂"开端，我反而觉得非常反常，非常不舒服了。

（四）晚间训话

我先郑重声明一句：这是劳改监改人员最伟大的最富有天才的发明创造。

在我上面谈"劳改罪犯"的日常生活时，曾谈过监改人员在管理"劳改罪犯"时的许多发明创造。这些监改人员，除了个别职员和一些工人

以外，有一多半是学生。这些学生平常学习成绩怎样，我说不清楚。但在管理劳改大院时的表现，我作为一个老师，却不能不给他们打很高的分数。过去我们的教学颇多脱离实际的地方。这主要由教学制度负责，我们当教员的也不能辞其咎。在劳改大院里，他们是完全联系实际的，他们表现出来的才能是多方面的：组织的才能，管理的才能，训话的才能，说歪理诡辩的才能，株连罗织的才能，等等，简直说也说不完。再加上他们表现出来的果断和勇气，说打人伸手就打，抬脚就踢，丝毫也不游移迟疑，我辈老师实在是望尘莫及。

但是，他们发明创造的天才表现得最最突出的地方，却是晚间训话。

什么叫“晚间训话”呢？每天晚上，吃过晚饭，照例要全体“罪犯”集合，地点在两排平房之间的小院子里。每天总有一个监改人员站在队列前面训话，这个人好像是上边来的，不是我们在大院里常碰到的那些人，他大概是学校公社的头子之一。这个训话者常换人，个中详情我说不清楚。训话的内容，每天不同。因为它的目的不在讲大道理，而大道理是没有多少的，讲大道理必然每天重复。他们的训话是属于“折磨学”的，是这一门学问的实践。训话者每天主要做法是抓小辫子，而小辫子我们满头都是，如果真正没有，他们还可以栽在你头上嘛。小辫的来源大体上有两个：一个是白天劳动时一些芝麻绿豆大的小事；一个是我们每天的书面思想汇报中一些所谓“问题”。我们劳动都是非常兢兢业业的，并不是由于我们“觉悟”高，而是由于害怕拳打脚踢。但是，欲加之罪，何患无辞，说不定哪一个“棚友”今天要倒霉，让监改人员看中了。到了晚间训话时，就给你来算账。至于写书面的思想汇报，那更是每天的重要工作。不管我们怎样苦思苦想，细心推敲，在中国这个文字之国，这个刀笔师爷之国，挑点小毛病是易如反掌的。中国历史上这类著名的例子多如牛毛。清朝雍正皇帝就杀过一个大臣，原因是他把“朝乾夕惕”，为了使文章别开生面，写成了“夕惕朝乾”。这二者其实是一样的，都是“颂圣”之句。然而“龙颜大怒”，结果丢掉了脑袋。我们监改人员的智商要比封建皇帝高多了。他们反正每天必须从某个“罪犯”的书面汇报中挑点小毛病。不管是谁，只要被他们选中，晚间训话时就倒了大霉。

晚间训话的程序大体上是这样的。“罪犯”们先列队肃立，因为院子不大，排成四行。监改人员先点名。这种事情我一生经历多了，没有留下什么深刻的记忆。只有一件极小极小的小事，却给我留下了毕生难忘的回忆，就是我将来见了阎王爷，也不会忘记的。有一位西语系的归国

华侨教授，年龄早过了花甲，而且有重病在身，躺在床上起不来。不知道是用什么东西把他也弄到黑帮大院里来。他行将就木，根本不能劳动，连吃饭都起不来。就让他躺在床上“改造”。他住的房子门外就是晚间训话“罪犯”们排队的地方。每次点名，他都能听到自己的名字。此时就从屋中木板上传出来一声：“到！”声音微弱、颤抖、苍老、凄凉。我每次都想哭上一场。这声音震动了我的灵魂！

其他“罪犯”站在这一间房子的门外，个个心里打鼓。说不定训话者高声点到了谁的名字，还没有等他自己出队，就有两个年轻力壮的监改人员，走上前去，用批斗会上常用的方式，倒剪双臂，拳头按在脖子上，押出队列，上面是耳光，下面是脚踢。清脆的耳光声响彻夜空。更厉害的措施是打倒在地，身上踏上一两只脚——一千只脚是踏不上的，这只不过是修辞学的夸大而已，用不着推敲，这也属于我所发现的“折磨论”之列的。

这样的景观大概只有在“十年浩劫”中才能看到。我们不是非常爱“中国之最”吗？有一些“最”是颇有争议的；但是，我相信，这里决无任何争议。因此，劳改大院的晚间训话的英名不胫而走，不久就吸引了大量的观众，成为北大最著名的、最有看头的景观。简直可以同英国的白金汉宫前每天御林军换岗的仪式媲美了。每天，到了这个时候，站在队列之中，我一方面心里紧张到万分，生怕自己的名字被点到；另一方面在低头中偶一斜眼，便能看到席棚外小土堆上，影影绰绰地，隐隐约约地，在暗淡的电灯光下，在小树和灌木的丛中，站满了人。数目当然是数不清的。反正是里三层外三层地人不在少数。这都是赶来欣赏这极为难得又极富刺激性的景观的。这恐怕要比英国戴着极高的黑帽子、骑在高头大马上的御林军的换岗难得的多。这仪式在英国已经持续了几百年，而在中国首都的最高学府中只持续了几个月。这未免太煞风景了，否则将会给我们旅游业带来极大的经济效益。

还有一点十分值得惋惜的是，我们晚间训话的棚外欣赏者们，没有耐性站到深夜。如果他们有这个耐性的话，他们一定能够看到比晚间训话更为阴森森的景象。这个景象连我们这个大院里的居民都不一定每个人都能看到。偶尔有一夜，我出来小解，我在黑暗中看到院子里一些树下都有一个人影，笔直地站在那里，抬起两只胳臂，向前作拥抱状。实际上拥抱的只是空气，什么东西都没有。我不知道，我们这几个棚友已经站在那拥抱空虚有多久了。对此我没有感性认识，我只觉得，这玩意儿大概同喷气式差不多。让我站的话，站上一刻钟恐怕都难以撑住。棚友们却不知道已经站了多久了，更不知道将站到何时。我们棚里的居民

都知道，在这时候，什么话也别说，什么声也别出。我连忙回到屋里，在梦里还看到一些拥抱空虚的人。

（五）离奇的规定

在黑帮大院里面，除了有《劳改罪犯守则》这一部宪法以外，还有一些不成文法或者口头的法规。这我在上面已经说过几句。现在再选出两个典型的例证来说上一说。

这两个例证：一是走路不许抬头，二是坐着不许翘二郎腿。

我虽不是研究法律的学者，但是在许多国家呆过，也翻过一些法律条文；可是无论在什么地方也没有看到或者听到一个人走路不许抬头的规定。除了生理上的歪脖子以外，头总是要抬起来的。

但是，在北京大学的劳改大院里，牢头禁子们却规定“罪犯”走路不许抬头。我不知道，他们是怎样想出这个极为离奇的规定来的。难道说他们读到过什么祖传的秘典？或者他们得到了像《水浒》中说的那种石碣文？抑或是他们天才的火花闪耀的结果？这些问题我研究不出来。反正走路不许抬头，这就是法律，我们必须遵守。

除了在个人的牢房里以外，在任何地方，不管是在院内，还是在院外，抬头是禁止的。特别在同牢头禁子谈话的时候，绝对不允许抬头看他一眼的。如果哪一个“罪犯”敢于这样干，那后果真是不堪设想。轻则一个耳光，重则拳打脚踢，甚至被打翻在地。因此，我站在牢头禁子面前，眼光总是落在地上，或者他的脚上，再往上就会有危险。他们穿的鞋，我观察得一清二楚，面孔则是模糊一团。在干活时，比如说抬煤筐，抬头是可以的。因为此时再不允许抬头，活就没法干了。有一次，我们排队去吃饭，不知道由于什么原因，我稍稍抬了一下头，时间最多十分之一秒。然而押送我们到食堂的监改人员立即作狮子吼：“季羡林！你老实点！”我本能地期望着脸上挨一耳光，或者脚上挨一脚。幸而都没有，我从此以后再也不敢不“老实”了。

至于翘二郎腿，那几乎是人人都有的一个习惯。因为这种姿势确实能够解除疲乏。但是在劳改大院里却是被严厉禁止的。记得在什么书上看到有关袁世凯的记载，说他一生从来不翘二郎腿，坐的时候总是双腿并拢，威仪俨然。这也许是由于他是军人，才能一生保持这样坐的姿势。我们这一群“劳改罪犯”都是平常的人，不是洪宪皇帝，怎么能做得到呢？

还有一件不大不小的事情，我想在这里提一提。我在上面已经说到过，我们“罪犯”们已经丢掉了笑的本领。笑本来是人的本能，怎么竟能丢掉了呢？这个“丢掉”，不是来自“劳改宪法”，也不是出自劳改监督人员的金口玉言，而是完全“自觉自愿”。试问，在打骂随时威胁着自己的时候，谁还能笑得起来呢？劳改大院里也不是没有一点笑声的，有的话，就是来自牢头禁子的口中的。在寂静如古墓般的大院中，偶尔有一点笑声，清脆如音乐，使大院顿时有了生气。然而，这笑声会在我们心中引起什么感觉呢？别人我不知道，在我耳中心中，这笑声就如鸱鸮在夜深人静时的狞笑，听了我浑身发抖。

15 LIVING IN THE COW SHED (PART TWO)

(6) Developing Secret Agents

Even without formal education, our young jailers were quick to learn about and to emulate the Gestapo and KGB abroad as well as KMT's Bureau of the Investigation and Statistics of the Central Executive Committee and Bureau of the Investigation of Statistics of the Military Council at home. They learned to rule via a system of secret agents. Obviously, they didn't call them secret agents. Instead these chosen men were called "reporters." Each room in the Cow Shed had a person assigned as the "reporter." What kind of person among us prisoners qualified for this special mission? How did these fortunate men receive assignments from the jailers? These things were extremely confidential in respect to us "non-reporters." On the basis of my observation, designated reporters enjoyed special privileges. For example, they were allowed to go home each Sunday and usually stayed longer at home than we "non-reporters." Here I have to make one point. Some of us were never allowed to go home during our stay in the Cow Shed; some of us could go home at longer intervals, while others went home weekly. This so-called "different treatment" was decided absolutely by the reform guards. "A gentleman only works for the master under whose leadership the talent is treasured and put into full use."[1] To repay his master for such rewards, a reporter strove to be productive in his "reports." He took trifles into account and was quick to submit findings to his boss. Some of the reporters certainly knew what they were doing. When observing that a "criminal" was becoming "out of favor" with the jailers, a reporter would be rather picky and harsh in telling on him in an attempt to attain more privileges. One day I saw a reporter in a room, bending his back and saying something in front of a jailer. Immediately one of his roommates was pulled into a room specially used for torture. I had no way of peeping in the room. But what was going on there was beyond doubt.

(7) Coping with the Dossier Investigation

The "dossier investigation" was a special term for an examination of someone's file of political background. Such an analysis usually was conducted by a person sent to the Cow Shed by a work unit outside Beida because the person under scrutiny used to work in that unit. Whether or not he had been called a "criminal" in his original work unit was not known. Probably the coinage of this term was claimed as Beida's intellectual property. At that time numerous persons were sent at high costs to conduct dossier investigations in all parts of the country, even some of the most remote and poorest villages. The detectives gathered evidence in support of false charges against former employees of the original work unit; as a result the "criminals" would be politically outlawed forever. Take me for example. I indiscreetly offended that tyrannical "Old Dowager." So her followers regarded me as a thorn in the side and went out of their way to gather evidence around the country about my "crimes." One of my childhood friends told me that probably two investigators from Beida came to my home village and wanted to label me a "landlord." My friend rebuked them by saying, "If you want to find who was poor or rich before the liberation, Ji Xianlin should rank first in poverty and suffered the most!" So the investigators slunk off. From the context of my friend's conversation, I knew they later made a second tour there. As I said before, when my home at Beida was raided, the Red Guards made sure to take away my book of correspondence in order to use it for "dossier investigations" according to the addresses I listed in it. In conducting an investigation of this kind, other work units did not differ from Beida. For a period of time, great numbers of investigating persons ran everywhere around the country.

Since I was detained in the Cow Shed, I had got involved with the investigators. These people raised different requirements. Some of them only gave me the name of the man to be examined and required me to write something on whatever I knew before my written response was forwarded by a reform guard. Others requested a face-to-face talk with me, which usually proceeded with a certain degree of courtesy and respect. But some of the investigators were rather rude. One morning two men came from Shandong University and wanted to see me personally. I was sent into the interrogation room to meet these men from my home province. They wanted to check the relations between a Shandong University professor of Classical Chinese, who grew up in Beijing, and me. I knew then that this friend of mine was in

trouble, too. I might have been of some help to him, if I had not been a counter-revolutionary gangster. Unfortunately I had to be worried about myself at this time and could not give him a hand. Suddenly I found myself, a former "convict" to the "New Beida Commune," also a "convict" to Shandong University. The two fellow native men banged on the table and looked daggers at me. They plucked my hair, struck and kicked me. They spoke in the typical Jinan accent, which reminded me of a line by Wu Mi, "Such language uttered in the native accent sounds so terrible."[2] With such rough yells in the familiar accent blaring in my ears and ferocious expressions glaring at me, I was grimly disgusted. Different from that of Beijing, the vulgar Jinan verbal expression comes in three characters, "Fuck your mother!" With the language peppered with such expression, the two men forced me to confess my "reactionary" relations with that professor and my own crimes. Their overbearing manners made me shudder with revulsion, sweat streaming down my body, even though I was a "hardened criminal." The interrogation went on for two hours and well passed the lunch time. Even our reform guards thought the visitors had gone too far, so they stopped them. My fellow native men had to beat a retreat, their enjoyment nipped in the bud. Their torture left me physically and mentally paralyzed. But what came to my mind first, then, was the concern for my friend's safety instead of my own, "At the hands of these brutes, you will have little chance to come off well!"

(8) Ceaseless Torture Sessions

During those days we were led away each morning to our labor sites by reform guards or workers that came to the Cow Shed to take us for assignments. Past experiences sprang to my mind. During the late 1950s when the cooperative transformation of agriculture, or People's Commune, was in full swing, brigade leaders assigned farm cattle to peasants before work started each morning. We were not far removed from the cattle now. The cow, unable to speak and think, was led away by the person that wanted to use it. Yet we, with speaking ability, feared to utter any thoughts.

Physical labor, however, was not the sole item on our routine agenda. In other words, it was not the only way of "reforming us." Didn't we often say, "Reforming through physical labor"? Now many years have passed, but I still have not come to terms with the validity of this theory, despite the fact that I

have had many years of experiencing this practice under my belt. Reform through physical labor could only hurt the body but failed to encourage ideological transformation. It inflicted suffering on the bodies of "criminals" such as swelling, bleeding and scars. It definitely infuriated the "criminals." What else could be done, if physical labor failed to achieve its purpose? The torture session was an alternative. Before physical labor was adopted, reform depended upon torture session alone. Later after physical labor came into being, overall reform was strengthened by an incorporation of the two dimensions. As I remarked earlier, torture sessions imposed harsher and more violent agonies even though, in comparison to the physical aspect of labor reform, it may have been only six of one and half a dozen of the other.

The difference between the labor reform and the torture session could not be ignored. If we had been allowed to make a choice, we would have picked the former. Unfortunately, we were left with no choice. Therefore we were very apprehensive during our confinement in the Cow Shed. In the morning, whenever we followed the workers to some labor site for the day's assignment, we feared that one of us would be taken away for a torture session at a certain hour by a certain work unit for a certain reason, probably out of someone's desire to enjoy himself. When such a need arose, the Red Guards of the Commune, wearing their red armbands, haughty and swaggering, rushed over to the "office" of the Cow Shed. The one in charge of the "office" granted the request for the designated man. The duration of the torture session varied. But the victim, when brought back, was invariably downcast, with rumpled hair like weeds and, occasionally, badly battered.

I had no way of calculating the total number of us marched off for daily torture sessions, but things like this happened all the time. Among my fellow inmates in the Cow Shed, I was an "important criminal." Due to the fact that I, an orderly of "Jinggangshan", committed unpardonable crimes of opposing the "Old Dowager," I was a lot more likely to be chosen for torture sessions. Each morning when breakfast was over, I started to worry about whether I was to be the one to be taken away and not allowed to work for the day. I was on tenterhooks, as seconds ticked by like years. Each time when left waiting in a room from which I would be marched off, I thought of my fellow Cow Shed men who were then working somewhere, comfortable and carefree, as if they were elevated to the existence of paradise. I tried to imagine what kind of calamity was lying ahead of me. Soon Red Guards arrived to get me as the

reform guards called me to the front of something like a reed mat screen, which bore many characters I could not remember. I bent double, listening to the instruction, "Behave yourself, Ji Xianlin, at the session of denouncement!" It sounded like what a parent says to a child on leaving, "Behave, sweetie." My stay in the Cow Shed saw me taken away to many places for torture sessions. I will not talk about these experiences in detail because their procedures ran exactly the same way; the chants of "Down with Ji Xianlin" roared up first, followed by speeches full of slander and nonsense as the major part of the mission. Once in a while emotions ran high and I was given a couple of slaps in the face. The sessions wound up with the shout, "March Ji Xianlin away!" Then I got back to the Cow Shed, my home to some extent, depressed with disheveled hair.

(9) The Grand Torture Session of June 18, 1968

I reviewed the history of the Cultural Revolution at Peking University earlier in this book. The first grand session of "torturing devils" took place in the university on June 18, 1966. At that time I did not qualify for being a "devil." So on that day I lay in bed at home, listening to the shrieks and hubbubs in the distance. One year later, June 18 was marked as the first "anniversary" of the activity, when the second "devil" torturing session took place. This time I still did not qualify as a "devil" so I narrowly missed the hit.

When June 18, 1968 arrived, I was a member of the Cow Shed, having stayed there more than one month. I was now a qualified "devil" for the occasion. The day came as a heavy blow to me, a disaster I hadn't had for a long time. Early in the morning our reform guards busily sorted us out on the basis of some so-called guidelines of "careful selection." Not every one of us was considered fit for this rare opportunity. As we lined up and got ready to leave, I noticed only a few of us were chosen this time, among whom the old professor and I were singled out as representatives of the Department of Eastern Languages. Instead of a reform guard, the man marching us off was surnamed Zhang, who used to be in charge of the Instructional Media Center of the department. This change in formality indicated that the list of chosen targets for this grand torture session was decided jointly by individual departments and research institutions. This old colleague of mine, Zhang, upon seeing us, uttered no insults like "son of a bitch." He was even cordial

and courteous. I felt uneasy. We were used to inhuman treatment; at least I felt that way. Once we were treated a little better, it felt "abnormal." Zhang's sympathy will live in my memory for the rest of my life.

But the devil victimizers behaved quite differently. Who were they? I had no idea. I dared not raise my head to take a look at the crowds standing by the road, nor did I know which road I took. I vaguely traced the path out of the Cow Shed and around the Lake-overlooking Pavilion and Russian Buidling up the slope.[3] At that time the University's main library was not built yet. There was only one route leading to the southern Beida campus and Philosophy Building. Probably we went along the foliage-shaded path to a place near that building. I had no idea at which place I eventually arrived, nor did I know how I was treated at that day's torture session before I was brought back "home." That day, it seemed, I was not forced to take the jet plane posture long and no criticism was pointed particularly toward me. I got the impression that it was a tumultuous gathering, with uproars around me and occasional chants rising and falling. Maybe we were dealt with by the individual departments or institutions to which we belonged. I seemed to be sleep-walking forward, hanging the head and bending the back. I glanced at the men and women who flocked around, not only in front and at the back of me but by my sides as well. At times I found myself closed in on by the throngs from above and below. What I saw was only shoes and pant legs. On my way back "home" it seemed that I was drawing more spectators about me, hearing louder noises and being hit by more rubble. Meanwhile, I was numbed, feeling little pain when struck by fists. Back in the Cow Shed, I took off my shirt and found a big turtle drawn on it with the shirt's corner tied up with a leafy willow twig. I guessed it symbolized a dog tail. The Cow Shed, which used to seem fearsome, like a satanic abode, now appeared as extremely tranquil and neat, an incredible pleasant dwelling place.

I calmed down and tried to recall the day's occurrences. Why was the torture session administered on such a large and boisterous scale? Small-scale sessions took place every day and were quite enough for the purpose. According to psychological theory, curiosity fades from repetition while exception sparks interest. Those small-scale sessions became flat to most people. So the anniversary of the grand session became a day of celebration and attraction on the campus.

(10) A Few Scraps of Tabloid News of the Cow Shed

I call these stories "scraps of tabloid news" because they were different from the news people read in the newspaper. Because I can't think of a better term off the top of my head, let me use it for the moment. What I want to tell you about are some unusual experiences that my Cow Shed mates went through, some insignificant events that left deep impressions on me. Though these happenings look routine, they are rather illustrative and suggestive of life in the Cow Shed. Because most readers are interested in stories, I will remove those names concerned. But those involved would identify them immediately without a scholarly index to this book.

1. A Professor of Library Science

This professor was once head of the Beijing Library and a well-known scholar on library science and the Dunhuang Caves.[4] We got to know each other and became close friends long before the Cultural Revolution. The fact that he was in trouble during that terrible period is no surprise. For a while I did not learn of the false charges imposed on him and the way he was tormented at torture sessions. Even when we met in the Cow Shed I could not ask about his recent experiences because we were rendered mute. Luckily, not struck blind, I was able to see.

Writing a report of thought was required every day. One day, when the routine evening admonishment speech was going on, my friend received a clear slap across his face, followed by fist blows and kicks, until he was punched to the ground and forced on his knees. This punishment happened because he wrote his report of thought on coarse toilet paper and turned it in. In those months of terror I was never delighted by any event. But this occurrence cheered me up for some time. I wondered whether this professor was confused at the moment of emergency when he needed appropriate paper for writing or if he purposely challenged the arrogant reform guards by courageously performing this act of ridicule. If the latter was true, he certainly insulted, as dregs of society, those men who held power over his life. In old China his legendary deed, in the form of written notes, would have gone down in history. I at once was worried about him and deeply admired his audacity. He was the hero who released us from long repressed rage.

2. A Professor of Law

This professor was a veteran revolutionary official, who joined the revolution before the Anti-Japanese War. I was not clear about his biographical background. He came to see me soon after he was transferred to Beida and asked me to translate a famous ancient Hindu code. Then we struck up an acquaintance. In the years that followed we saw each other a lot at conferences on and outside campus. He was kind and congenial with a noble personality that a revolutionary veteran should possess. We shared a great deal in chats. Who knew that we would end up as Cow Shed mates during this political turmoil?

During the Cow Shed days, unless particularly necessary, we were not allowed to talk to each other. Encounters among us fellow men took place as we rushed by each other silently without raising our heads. What happened between the law professor and me was no exception.

One Sunday afternoon, those of us who had received permission to go home returned on time successively. Sitting in my room, I suddenly saw this professor brought inside by a reform guard. Holding a board bearing his name on it, he toured around each room and said loudly, on entering, "I'm so-and-so. I was late in getting back on time. I'm being sent here to make self-criticism and ask for punishment!" I did not know how others felt. I was frightened and perplexed.

3. A Female Instructor from the Department of Eastern Languages

She was an instructor of Mongolian from the Department of Eastern Languages, frank and honest. At the beginning of the Revolution, someone tattled on her, saying that she used to be a competent member of the Youth League of Three Principles of the People of the KMT. It was sheer fabrication. Probably, because she was not reverent toward that female political climber, false charges rained down on her, bringing her to the verge of being accused of the "crimes." For a period of time, another professor from her department and I gathered rubble together, under the supervision of a single worker, in an out-of-the-way place outside the eastern gate of the university. One day the female instructor of Mongolian joined us. I was puzzled and asked her whether she was sent by the Revolutionary Committee of her department. She answered, "No." "If not, why do you come here?" "Because people say I have committed crimes. I think I'm guilty, so I'm

coming of my own accord to reform." What a weird mind! "The stupidity is beyond comparison." Theidea flashed across my mind that Christian orthodoxy about "original sin" is very peculiar and puzzling. But the event showed her personality. As an object of the dictatorship and a person who tried to get out of harm's way, I had to follow the directive, "Be humble and subservient. Don't talk and move around without permission." What could I say to her then?

Things went on like this for a while. When we were sent to Taiping Village to work, of course, she was not with us as a "criminal." An old saying goes like this, "One is struck by blows of evil fortune in succession." Later, after coming back from Taiping Village, we moved into the Cow Shed that we had built for ourselves. I didn't see her there either. I thought her absence was reasonable. One evening, a new Cow Shed fellow was suddenly jostled into our compound. A sidelong glance told me it was she. I was stunned. I thought she had been left out of the trouble and would keep out of misfortune instead of "getting mixed up with us counter-revolutionary gangsters." Now she had come! What was on her mind that she wanted to be in the infernal plot? However, I could tell that, this time, she was marched here instead of coming on her own accord. I said nothing to her, as if I had not seen her, though I searched for an answer.

A reform guard asked her, "What's your first name?"

"Hua."

"Which Hua?"

"The Hua as in *Zhong Hua Min Guo* (the Republic of China)."

The candid answer exploded! A "counter-revolutionary criminal" dared to flaunt the name of the Republic of China, ruled by the KMT, in public, in the Cow Shed, a place run by the holy and untouchable Beida Revolutionary Committee? It was absolutely offensive and outrageous! She certainly deserved harsh punishment. The immediate consequence was that she was labeled an "active counter-revolutionary," knocked down on the ground and pounded soundly. Then a smart reform guard hit upon an idea, so she was led to a tree. This tree was in a peculiar shape, one branch slanting from the trunk. She was first ordered to stand below the branch, her head touching it. The reform guard said,

"March forward!"

As she stepped forward, she had to incline her head backward. Another order came,

"Move forward one more step!"

Now the trunk bent lower, making her head turn backward further and forcing her body to incline as well in order to keep her balance. Yet a third order followed,

"Move forward one more step!"

Now the crooked trunk came very low. She had not been trained in acrobatics and couldn't perform the feat of bending backward to that degree. No further order was given. She stood there, bending her back backward. She was barely able to hold that position for one minute before collapsing to the ground, sweat all over her body. Here, I don't need talk about what happened next. To my mind, the Cow Shed rascals reached a new level of torturing their victims. Her suffering left me deeply disturbed.

I was certainly ignorant of the other tortures she went through that night. The next morning I saw her with a swollen face, black and blue below her eyes.

4. The Party General Secretary of the Department of Biology

I worked as an administrator for decades at Beida and attended many meetings at various levels. Therefore I knew the Party general secretary of the Department of Biology from the beginning of my career at the university; we were old friends.

Unsurprisingly he became a target of torture at the outset of the Cultural Revolution in the first rounding-up of capitalist roaders; thus, he was at the grand session on June 18, 1966. He was no doubt a veteran of victimization.

I was always puzzled about why many supporters of the "Old Dowager" and most of our reform guards were from the Department of Biology. After the construction of the Cow Shed, many denounced "capitalist roaders" were not thrown into the Cow Shed to be with us "devils" of "bourgeois reactionary scholars." Thus, I was shocked to see this Party general secretary

show up there.

Probably, because many reform guards were students of biology, the secretary was "privileged" in some fashion. I can't tell exactly why. But I will present one example for you, which is truly frightening.

One day in August, the hottest month in Beijing, right after lunch hour, the sunshine scorched the earth; it was "burning," to use a local Shandong expression. I saw a man standing in the center of the yard as I walked across. Looking up, he was staring at the dazzling sun. Nor far away, in the shade of trees, a reform guard, a student from the Department of Biology, sat idly. I was perplexed. Later I was told that the Party general secretary was being punished; he was required to stare at the sun without a blink, or he would invite a round of beating. I shuddered. In the history of China and the world, from the slavery society down to the capitalist society, did the ruler of any country in any dynasty punish a criminal this way? If someone is interested in having a try for personal experience, I'm sure he won't be able to hang on for even a second. Could he survive it without being struck blind?

I heard another story. It is about two professors of biology, who offended their students one way or another in the past. The students, now being reform guards, first made the two professors stand in the center of the yard, head against head, and then start to move their feet backward gradually. In other words, the weight of their bodies lay on the pushing of their heads against each other.

There are more stories of this kind. I will stop here. The "art" of torture improved rather rapidly. It is a shame that I haven't seen a scholarly book written on this subject. It will be a tremendous loss if the legacy is not handed down in history.

5. An Instructor from the Elementary School Affiliated with Beida

Originally I did not know who she was and where she worked. I had no idea why she was put with us either.

On the basis of my observations during a few months in the Cow Shed, I learned there probably was a division of the torture work, according to the "expertise" of each person, among the reform guards. This division was carried out strictly. The man who beat this elementary school teacher was

never replaced by others.

One morning I saw the teacher with her arm wrapped up in a bandage and hung on a strip of white cloth over her shoulder. I heard the story that she had been badly flogged in the torture room one night; one of her arms had been broken. But she was ordered to work in the following day. I did not know about other details and what happened to her later. At that time, we "black gangsters" all followed the rule, "Don't snoop in personal affairs of others." I have stayed away from that sort of business so far.

6. A "Long-term Rightist" Student

This student was surnamed Zhou. I did not know him before and had not heard of him either. Now he suddenly came to the Cow Shed.

Certainly there was a story about him, as he was called a "long-term Rightist" student. In China, the Anti-Rightist Movement broke out in 1957.[5] Was this student labeled a Rightist that year? By the time he was brought to the Cow Shed, he had suffered for nearly ten years as a Rightist. How did he survive that ordeal? I had no idea. When I met him, he looked like a sick elder, with a sallow complexion, a swollen face, and a lot of missing hair. It was said that he was once an intelligent student. But now he appeared dull-witted and slow in action. Obviously, this mental change resulted from the torture inflicted on his body and mind, definitely a tragic life experience. It was true that I was in such a plight myself, with my life so endangered that I could be killed casually any time by a spear of a reform guard. But, at the sight of this "long-term Rightist," this partially insane young man, I was profoundly touched and sympathetic. I shed tears in secret.

However, in the eye of the reform guards, he was an object for casual beating and humiliation, a toy to be played with for fun. Could they find a two-legged animal somewhere else? According to the victimizers' division of work, a young worker, smart as he looked, was assigned the job of torturing the Rightist. I never saw this young worker beat any other "criminal." However, he randomly beat and kicked the man anytime he wanted. Many times, on the way to the cafeteria for dinner, the worker, with loud taunts and swearwords leaping out of his mouth, drove the hapless man forward. At night, much of the lashing and yelling in the torture room also involved this partially insane man. I took vows that I would never swear in my memoir.

However, I have to break my vow here. I'm swearing at that young worker and his fellow men, "What sons of bitches you are! You're trash, more worthless than swine!"

One day I saw a big white turtle drawn on the back of this mad man. It seemed he did not have a family and no one cared about him. He wore his greasy-all-over jacket without change throughout his Cow Shed days. Thus, the big white turtle was rather eye-catching. The sign, visible even in the distance, made people laugh, those "free people" who had the right to laugh. Deprived of such a right we "criminals" were simply sorry for the man and deplored his sad state, while trying to hold back our tears.

7. An Instructor of Physics

A physics instructor was the son of a Beida psychology professor, probably his sole son. For some unknown reason, one of his legs was shorter than the other, and he walked as if he was lame.

Originally I did not know him. I did not see him in the early days of the Cow Shed, nor in Taiping Village. Instead I first encountered him one afternoon right after lunch. By that time we had been "physically reformed" for a period of time. At this point I think I have to add something for clarification. We were not allowed to take a break after lunch; that professor from the Department of Eastern Languages had been forced at noon to stand in the scorching heat and stare at the sun, simply because of his offense of sitting down and dozing off after lunch. On the day in question I suddenly heard someone being beaten outside the Cow Shed gate. The noise sounded like the person's body was being struck with clubs or bike chains wrapped in inner rubber tubes. Things like this were normal in our place and usually would not arouse our attention. But our numbed conscience was awakened this time by the high pitch and the sound that lasted longer than usual. Because these irregularities triggered my curiosity, I moved close to the window and saw the crippled instructor knocked to the ground by a few "heroes" who waved their weapons and showed no sign of stopping. What I saw was one man trampled by many as he rolled over in the mud with something like blood running down his cheeks.

Why was he brought back late? What crime had he committed? Was he "convicted" recently? I was completely in the dark. Today I still have no idea

about what happened to him at that time. Even though I am usually interested in getting to the bottom of a research question like Chinese scholar Dr. Hu Shih, I would not like to show off my academic knowledge here.

From then on, one lame "Cow Shed mate," conspicuous and incongruous in the formation, was added to our neat line as we waited for dinner in the cafeteria every day.

I can write many more "scraps of tabloid news," if necessary, but now I'm not in the mood for expansion. It is painful to bring these stories back from memory and commit them to paper. I will leave the reader with these tales described above, which, I hope, will provide enough material to perceive the magnitude of our suffering.

[1] A popular saying.

[2] Wu Mi (1894-1978), a contemporary Chinese poet and scholar, who went to America in 1917 and earned an undergraduate degree in English from the University of Virginia and a Master in comparative literature from Harvard University; he returned to China in 1921 to teach in a few universities including National Southeastern University, Tsinghua University, National Southwestern Associated University and Wuhan University. He was persecuted during the Cultural Revolution.

[3] Lake-overlooking Pavilion, the residence of the first president of Yenching University, John Leighton Stuart, and a historical spot at Peking University.

[4] The Dunhuang Caves, caves discovered in 1900 in western Gansu, which contain Buddhist statues, frescoes and valuable manuscripts dating from A.D. 366.

[5] The Anti-Rightist Movement, a political movement launched in China in 1957, in which about half a million people, most of them well educated and artistically established, were labeled Rightists and sent to labor camps.

拾伍　牛棚生活（二）

（六）设置特务

这一群年轻的牢头禁子们，无师自通，或者学习外国的“盖世太保”或克格勃，以及国民党的“中统”或“军统”，也学会了利用特务，来巩固自己的统治。他们当然决不会径名之为“特务”，而称之为“汇报人”。每一间牢房里都由牢头禁子们任命一个“汇报人”。这个“汇报人”是根据什么条件被选中的？他们是怎样从牢头禁子那里接受任务？对我们这些非“汇报人”的“罪犯”来说，都是极大的秘密。据我的观察，“汇报人”是有一些特权的。比如每星期日都能够回家，而且在家里呆的时间也长一点。我顺便在这里补充几句。“罪犯”们中有的根本不允许回家。有的隔一段比较长的时间可以回家，有的每个星期日都能够回家。这叫做“区别对待”。决定的权力当然都在牢头禁子手中。“汇报人”既然享受特权，“士为知己者用”，他们必思有以报效，这就是勤于“汇报”。鸡毛蒜皮，都要“汇报”，越勤越好。有的“汇报人”还能看风使舵。哪一个“罪犯”“失宠”于牢头禁子，他就连忙落井下石，以期得到更大的好处。我还观察到，有一天，某一间屋子里的“汇报人”在一个牢头禁子面前，低头弯腰，“汇报”了一通，同房的某一个“罪犯”立刻被叫了出去，拖到一间专供打人用的房间里去了。其结果我无法亲眼看到，但是完全可以想象了。

（七）应付外调

所谓“外调”，是一个专用名词，意思就是从外地外单位向劳改大院的某一个“罪犯”调查本地本单位某一个人——他们那里是不是也叫“罪犯”？这个称呼也许是北大的专利——的“罪行”。当时外调人员满天飞。哪一个单位也不惜工本，派人到全国各地，直至天涯海角，深入穷乡僻壤，调查搜罗本单位有问题人员的罪证，以便罗织罪名，把他打倒在地，让他永世不得翻身。拿我自己来讲，我斗胆开罪了那一位“老佛爷”，她的亲信们就把我看做“眼中钉”，大卖力气，四出调查我的“罪行”。后来我回老家，同村的儿童时的朋友告诉我说，北大派去的人一定要把我打成地主。他把他们（大概是两个人）狠狠地教训了一顿，说：“如果讲苦大仇深要诉苦的话，季羡林应是第一名！”第一次夹着尾巴跑了。听口气，好像还去过第二次。我上面已经说到，在抄家时，他们专把我的通信簿抄走，好按照上面的地址去“外调”。北大如此，别的

单位也不会两样。于是天下滔滔者皆外调人员矣。

我被关进“劳改大院”以后，经常要应付外调人员。这些人也是三六九等，很不相同。有的只留下被调查人的姓名，我写完后，交给监改人员转走。有的要当面面谈，但态度也还温文尔雅，并不吹胡子瞪眼。不过也有非常野蛮粗鲁的。有一天，山东大学派来了两个外调人员，一定要面谈。于是我就被带进审讯室，接受我家乡来人的审讯了。他们调查的是我同山大一位北京籍的国文系教授的关系。我由此知道，我这位朋友也遭了难。如果我此时不是黑帮的话，对他也许能有一点帮助。但我是自身难保，对他是爱莫能助了。我这个新北大公社的“罪犯”，忽然摇身一变，成了山东大学的“罪犯”。这两位仁兄拍桌子瞪眼，甚至动手扯头发，打人；用脚踹我。满口山东腔，“如此乡音真逆耳”，我想到吴宓先生的诗句。我耳听粗蛮重浊而又有点油滑的济南腔，眼观残忍蛮横的面部表情，我真恶心到了极点。山东济南的“国骂”同北京略有不同，是用三个字：“我日妈！”这两个汉子满嘴使用着山东“国骂”，迫我交待，不但交待我同那位教授的“黑”关系，而且还要交待我自己的“罪行”。来势之迅猛，让我这久经疆场的老“罪犯”也不知所措，浑身上下流满了汗。一直审讯了两个钟头，看来还是兴犹未尽。早已过了吃午饭的时间，连北大的监改人员都看不下去了，觉得他们实在有点过分，干脆出面干涉。这两位山东老乡才勉强收兵，悻悻然走掉了。我在被折磨得筋疲力尽之余，想到的还不是我自己，而是我的那位朋友：“碰到这样蛮横粗野没有一点人味的家伙，你的日子真够呛呀！”

（八）连续批斗

被囚禁在牛棚里，每天在监改人员或每天到这里要人的工人押解下到什么地方去劳动。我一下子就想到农村中合作化或人民公社时期生产队长每天向农民分配耕牛的情景。我们现在同牛的差别不大。牛只是任人牵走，不会说话，不会思想；而我们也是任人牵走，会说话而一声不敢吭而已。

但是劳动并不是我们现在唯一的生活内容，换句话说，并不是唯一的“改造”手段。我们不总是说“劳动改造”吗？我一直到现在，虽然经过了多年的极为难得的实践，我却仍然认为，这种“劳动改造”只能改造“犯人”的身体，而不能改造思想，改造灵魂。它只能让“犯人”身上起包，让平滑的皮肤上流血，长疤；却不能让“犯人”灵魂中不怒气冲冲。劳动不行怎么办呢？济之以批斗。在劳动改造以前，是批斗单轨制。劳动改造以后，则与批斗并行，成了双轨制。批斗我在上面已经谈到，它

也只能用更猛烈、更残酷的手段把“犯人”的身体来改造，与劳改伯仲之间而已。

但是劳改与批斗二者之间还是有区别的。如果让我辈“罪犯”选择的话，我们都宁愿选取前者。可惜我们选择的权力一点都没有。因此，我们虽然身居劳改大院，仍然必须随时做好两手准备。即使我们已经被分配好跟着工人到什么地方去干活了，心里也并不踏实。说不定什么时候，也说不定哪一个单位，由于某一个原因——其中并不排除消遣取乐的原因——要批斗我们“罪犯”中的某一个人了。戴红袖章的公社红卫兵立即奉命来“黑帮大院”中押人，照例是雄赳赳气昂昂地，找到大院的“办公厅”，由负责人批准批斗。过了或长或短的时间，被批斗者回来了。无人不是垂头丧气，头发像乱草一般。间或也有人被打得鼻青脸肿。

至于有多少人这样被押出去批斗，我没有法子统计。反正每天都有。我自己在大院中，从某种意义上来讲，是“要犯”。我作为一个原井冈山的勤务员，反对了那一位“老佛爷”，这就罪在不赦。从大院中被押出去批斗的机会也就特别多。我每天早饭之后，都在提心吊胆，怕被留下，不让出去劳动。我此时简直是如坐针毡，度秒如年，在牢房里，坐立不安。想到“棚友”们此时正在某处干活，自由自在，简直如天上人。等待着自己的却是一场说不定是什么样的风暴。押解我的红卫兵一走进大院，监改人员就把我叫到对着劳改大院门口的一座苇席搭成的屏风似的东西前面——屏风上有许多字，我现在记不清是什么了——低头弯腰，听候训示：“季羡林！好好地去接受批斗！”好像临行时父母嘱咐孩子：“乖乖的不要淘气！”在这期间，我被押去批斗的地方很多，详细情形我不讲了。每次反正都是“行礼如仪”。先是震天的“打倒”的口号，接着是胡说八道、胡诌八扯的所谓批斗发言。紧张的时候，也挨上两个耳光。最后又在“打倒”声中一声断喝：“把季羡林押下去！”完了，礼仪结束了。我回到大院，等于回到自己家里，大概也是垂头丧气，头发像乱草一般。

（九）**1968**年**6**月**18**日大批斗

我在上面谈到过北京大学“文化大革命”的历史。1966年6月18日，第一次斗“鬼”。因为我当时还不是“鬼”，没有资格上斗鬼台，只是躺在家中，听到遥远处闹声喧天而已。1967年6月18日，此时这个日期已经被规定为“纪念日”，又大规模地斗了一次“鬼”。因为我仍然没能争取到“鬼”的资格，幸免于难。

到了1968年6月18日，我已经被打成了“鬼”，并已在黑帮大院中住了一个多月。今年我有资格了，可以被当“鬼”来斗了。但是，这也是一个沉重的灾难，是好久没有过的了。一大早，本院的牢头禁子们就忙碌上了。也不知道是根据什么原则来进行“优化组合”。并不是每一个“棚友”都能得到这个一年一度极为难得的机会。在列队出发的时候，我发现只有少数人参加。东语系的“代表”只有二人：我和那一位老教授。押解我们的人，不是本院的监改人员，而是东语系派来的一位管电化教育的姓张的老工作人员。由此也许可以推断，这次斗鬼的出席人员是由各系所单位确定的。这一位姓张的老同事，见了我们，不但不像其他同等地位人员那样，先“妈的”“混蛋”骂上一通，而且甚至和颜悦色。我简直有点毛骨悚然，非常不习惯。我们这一伙“罪犯”，至少是我，早已觉得自己不是人了。一旦被人当人来看待，反而觉得“反常”。这位姓张的老同事使我终生难忘。

但是，那些“斗鬼者”却完全不是这个样子。这些人是谁，我不知道。我不敢抬头，不但路旁的人我看不清，也不敢看，连走什么道路也看不清。只是影影绰绰地被押出黑帮大院，看到眼前的路是走过临湖轩和俄文楼，沿斜坡走上去的。当时现在的大图书馆还根本没有，只有一条路通向燕南园和哲学楼。我们大概就是顺着这一条林阴马路，被押解到哲学楼一带地方。不知道在什么地方，也不清楚是用什么方式，批斗了一番之后，就押解回“府”。我没有记得坐很久的喷气式，也不记得有人针对我作什么批斗发言。我的印象是，混乱一团。我只听到人声鼎沸，间以“打倒”之声。也许是各个系所单位分头批斗的。我自己好像梦中的游魂，稀里糊涂地低头弯腰，向前走去，“前不见古人，后不见来者”，我只感觉到，不但前后有人，而且左右也有人，好像连上下都有人，弥天盖地，到处都是人。我能够看到的却只有鞋和裤子。在“打道回府”的路上，我感觉到周围的人似乎更多了，人声也更嘈杂了，砖头瓦块打到身上的更多了。我现在已经麻木，拳头打在身上，也没有多少感觉。回到黑帮大院以后，脱下衬衣，才发现自己背上画上了一个大王八，衣襟被捆了起来，绑上了一根带叶的柳条。根据我的考证，这大概就算是狗尾巴吧。平常像阎罗王殿一样的黑帮大院，现在却显得异常宁静、清爽，简直有点可爱了。

痛定思痛，我回忆了一下今天大批斗的过程。为什么会这样热闹而又隆重呢？小小的批斗，天天都有，到处都有。根据心理学的原理，越是看惯的东西，就越不能引起兴趣。那些小批斗已经是“司空见惯浑闲事”了。今天的大批斗却是一年才一次的大典，所以就轰动燕园了。

（十）棚中花絮

这里的所谓“花絮”，同平常报纸上所见到的大异其趣。因为我一时想不出更恰当的名称，所以姑先借用一下。我的“花絮”指的是同棚难友们的一些比较特殊的遭遇，以及一些琐琐碎碎的事情，都是留给我印象比较深的。虽是小事，却小中见大，颇能从中窥探出牛棚生活的一些特点。又由于大家都能了解的原因，我把人名一律隐去。知情者一看就知道是谁，用不着学者们再写作《〈牛棚杂忆〉索隐》这样的书。

1.图书馆学系一教授

这位教授做过北京图书馆的馆长，是国内外知名的图书馆学家和敦煌学家。我们早就相识，也算是老朋友了。这样的人在“十年浩劫”中难以幸免，是意中事。我不清楚加在他头上的是些什么莫须有的罪名。他被批斗的情况，我也不清楚。不知道是怎样一来，我们竟在牛棚中相会了。反正我们现在早已都变成了哑巴，谁也不同谁说话。幸而我还没有变成瞎子，我还能用眼睛观察。

在牛棚里，我辈“罪犯”每天都要写思想汇报。有一天，在著名的晚间训话时，完全出我意料，这位老教授被叫出队外，一记清脆响亮的耳光声在他脸上响起，接着就是拳打脚踢，一直把他打倒在地，跪在那里。原来是他竟用粗糙的手纸来写思想汇报，递到牢头禁子手中。在当时那种阴森森的环境中，我一点开心的事情都没有。这样一件事却真大大地让我开心了一通。我不知道，这位教授是出于一时糊涂，手边没有别的纸，只有使用手纸呢？还是他吃了豹子心老虎胆，有意嘲弄这一帮趾高气扬、天上天下、唯我独尊的牢头禁子？如果是后者的话，他简直是视这一班手操生杀大权的丑类如草芥。可以载入在旧社会流行的笔记中去了。我替他捏一把汗，又暗暗地佩服。他是牛棚中的英雄，为我们这一批阶下囚出了一口气。

2.法律系一教授

这位教授是一个老革命干部，在抗日战争以前就参加了革命。他的生平我不清楚。他初调到北大来时，曾专门找我，请我翻译印度古代著名的法典《摩奴法论》。从那时起，我们就算是认识了。以后在校内外开会，经常会面。他为人随和、善良，具有一个老干部应有的优秀品质。我们很谈得来。谁又能料得到，在“十年浩劫”中，我们竟有了“同棚之谊”。

在黑帮大院里，除非非常必要时，黑帮们之间是从来不互相说话的。在院子里遇到熟人，也是各走各的路，各低各的头，连眼皮都不抬一抬。我同这位教授之间的情况，也并不例外。

有一天，是一个礼拜天，下午被牢头禁子批准回家的“罪犯”，各个按照批准回棚的时间先后回来了。我正在牢房里坐着，忽然看到这一位老教授，在一个牢头禁子的押解下，手中举着一个写着他自己名字的牌子，走遍所有的一间间的牢房，一进门就高声说：“我叫某某某，今天回来超过了批准的时间，奉命检讨，请罪！”别的人怎么样，我不知道。我却是毛骨悚然，站在那里，不知所措。

3.东语系一个女教员

她是东语系教蒙古语的教员。为人耿直，里表如一，不会虚伪。“文化大革命”一起，不知道是什么人告密，说她是国民党三青团的骨干分子。这完全是捕风捉影的无稽之谈，根本缺乏可靠的材料，也根本没有旁证。大概是因为她对北大那一位女野心家不够尊敬，莫须有的“罪名”浸浸乎大有变成“罪行”之势。当我同东语系那一位老教授被勒令劳动的时候，最初只有我们两个人，在学校东门外的一个颇为偏僻的地方，拣地上的砖头石块，有一个工人看管着我们。有一天，忽然这一位女教员也去了。我有点困惑不解。我问她，是不是系革委会命令她去的？她回答说：“不是。”“既然不是，你为什么自己来呢？”“人家说我有罪，我就有了有罪的感觉。因此自动自愿地来参加劳动改造了。”她这种逻辑真是匪夷所思。“其愚不可及也”，这是我心中的一闪念。我对于这种类似耶稣教所谓“原罪”的想法，觉得十分奇怪，十分不理解。由此完全可以看出她这个人的为人。但是，在我当时的处境中，自己是专政的对象，“只准规规矩矩，不准乱说乱动”，我敢说什么呢？

如此过了一些时候，等我们被押解到太平庄去劳动的时候，“罪犯”队伍里没有她。这是理所当然的。焉知祸不单行，古有明训。等我们从太平庄回来自建牛棚自己进驻以后，最初也没有看到她。这也是理所当然的，我自己心里想。但是，忽然有一天，已经是傍晚时分，从黑帮大院门外连推带搡地推进一个新的“棚友”来，我低头斜眼一看：正是那一位女教员。我这一惊可真不小。我原以为她已经平安过了关。用不着再自投罗网，“鱼目混珠”了。现在，“胡为乎来哉”！她怎么到这阎王殿来了呢？这次看样子决不是自动自愿的，而是被押解了来的。尽管我心里胡思乱想，然而却一言不发，视而不见。

有一个牢头禁子问她：

“你叫什么名字？”

“××华。”

“哪一个‘华’呀？”

“中华民国的‘华’。”

这一下子可了不得了！一个“反革命罪犯”竟敢在威严神圣的、代表“聂”记北大革委会权威的劳改大院中，在光天化日众目睽睽下为“中华民国”张目，是可忍，孰不可忍！简直是胆大包天，狂妄至极！非严惩不可！立即给戴上了“现行反革命分子”的帽子，拳足交加，打倒在地。不知道是哪一个有天才的牢头禁子，忽然异想天开，把她带到一棵树下。这棵树长得有点奇特：有一枝从主干上长出来的支干，是歪着长的。她被命令站在这个支干下面，最初头顶碰到树干。牢头禁子下令：

“向前一步走！”

她遵令向前走了一步。此时她的头必须向后仰。又下了一个口令：

“向前一步走！”

此时树干越来越低，不但头必须向后仰，连身子也必须仰了。但是，又来了一个口令：

“向前一步走！”

此时树干已极低。她没有练过马戏，腰仰着弯不下去。这时口令停了。她就仰着身子，向后弯着站在那里。这个姿势她连一分钟也保持不了。在浑身大汗淋漓之余，软瘫在地上。结果如何，用不着我讲了。我觉得，牢头禁子把折磨人的手段提高到一个新的水平。然而，这一位女教员却是苦矣。

一夜折磨的情况，我不清楚。第二天早晨起来，我看到她面部浮肿，两只眼睛下面全是青的。

4.生物系党总支书记

我在北大搞了几十年的行政工作，校内会很多。因此，我早就认识这一位总支书记。我们可以算是老朋友了。

“文革”一开始，他在劫难逃，是天然的“走资派”。所以在第一阵批走资派的大风暴中，他就被揪了出来。第一个“六·一八”斗鬼，他必然

是参加者之一。在这一方面，他算是老前辈了。

不知道是什么缘故，拥护那位“老佛爷”的“造反派”，生物系特别多。在黑帮大院的牢头禁子中，生物系学生也因而占绝对优势。我可是万没有想到，劳改大院建成后，许多“走资派”在被激烈地冲击过一阵之后，没有再同我们这一批多数是“资产阶级反动学术权威”的“牛鬼蛇神”一起被关进来。这一位生物系总支书记却出现在我们中间。

大概是因为牢头禁子中生物系学生多，他就“沾”了光，受到一些“特殊待遇”。详情我不清楚，不敢乱说。我只看到一个例子，就足以让人毛发直竖了。

有一天，中午，时间大概是七八月，正是北京最炎热，太阳光照得最——用一句山东土话——“毒”的时候，我走过黑帮大院的大院子，在太阳照射的地方，站着一个人：是那位总支书记。双眼圆睁，看着天空里像火团般的太阳。旁边树阴中悠然地坐着一个生物系学生的牢头禁子。我实在莫名其妙。后来听说，这是牢头禁子对这位总支书记惩罚：两眼睁着，看准太阳；不许眨眼，否则就是拳打脚踢。我听了打了一个寒战：古今中外，从奴隶社会一直到资本主义社会，试问哪一个时代，哪一个国家有这样的惩罚？谁要是想实践一下，管保你半秒钟也撑不下来。这样难道不会把人的眼睛活生生地弄瞎吗？

此外，我还听说，没有亲眼看到，也是生物系教员中的两位牛鬼蛇神，不知怎样开罪了自己的学生。作为牢头禁子的学生命令这两位老师，站在大院子中间，两个人头顶住头，身子却尽管往后退；换句话说，他们之所以能够站着，就全靠双方彼此头顶头的力量。

类似的小例子，还有一些，不再细谈了。总之，折磨人的“艺术”在突飞猛进地提高。可惜到现在我还没有看到这方面的专著。如果年久失传，实在是太可惜了。

5.附小一位女教员

这个女教员是哪个单位的，我说不清楚了。我原来并不认识她。她是由于什么原因被关进牛棚的，我也并不清楚。

根据我在牛棚里几个月的观察，牢头禁子们在打人或折磨人方面，似乎有所分工。各有各的专业，还似乎有点有条不紊，泾渭分明。专门打这位女教员的人就是固定不变的。

有一天早上，我看到这位女教员胳臂上缠着绷带，用一条白布挂在

脖子上。隐隐约约地听说，她在前几天一个夜里，在刑讯室受过毒打，以致把胳臂打断。但仍然受命参加劳动。详细情况，当时我就不清楚，后来更不清楚。当时，黑帮们的原则是，事不干己，高高挂起。我就一直挂到现在。

6.西语系的一个**“**老右派**”**学生

这个学生姓周，我不认识他，平常也没有听说过。到了黑帮大院，他突然出现在我的眼前。

既然叫“右派”，而且还“老”，可见这件事有比较长久的历史渊源了。在中国，划右派最集中的时期是1957年。难道这一位姓周的学生也是那时候被划为右派的吗？到了进入牛棚时，他已经戴了将近十年的右派帽子了。这个期间他是怎样活下来的，我完全不清楚。等我见到他的时候，他满面蜡黄，还有点浮肿，头发已经脱落了不少，像是一个年老的病人。据说他原是一个聪明机灵的学生。此时却已经显得像半个傻子，行动不很正常了。我们只能说，这一切都是在身体上和精神上受到十分严重的折磨的结果。这无疑是一个人生悲剧。我自己虽然身处危难，性命操在别人手中，随时小心谨慎，怕被不吃素的长矛给吃掉；然而看到这一位“老右派”，我不禁有泪偷弹，对这一位半疯半傻的人怀有无量的同情！

可是在那一批毫无心肝的牢头禁子眼中，这位傻子却是一个可以随意打骂、任意污辱、十分开心的玩物。这样两只腿的动物到哪里去找呀！按照他们的分工原则，一个很年轻的看上去很聪明伶俐的工人，是分工折磨这个傻子的。我从没有见过这个年轻工人打过别的“罪犯”。独独对于这个傻子，他随时都能手打脚踢。排队到食堂去吃饭的路上，他嘴里吆喝着又打又骂的也是这个傻子。每到晚上，刑讯室里传出来的打人的声音以及被打者叫唤的声音，也与这个傻子有关。我写回忆录，有一个戒条，就是：决不去骂人。我在这里，只能作一个例外，我要骂这个年轻的工人以及他的同伙：“万恶的畜类！猪狗不如的东西！”

有一天，我在这个傻子的背上看到一个用白色画着的大王八。他好像是根本没有家，没有人管他。他身上穿的衣服，满是油污，至少进院来就没洗过，鹑衣百结。但是这一只白色的大王八却显得异常耀眼，从远处就能看得清清楚楚。别人见了，有笑的权利的“自由民”会哈哈大笑，我辈失掉笑的权利的“罪犯”，则只有兔死狐悲，眼泪往肚子里流。

7.物理系的一个教员

这个教员是北大心理系一位老教授的儿子，好像还是独生子。不知道是由于什么原因，他的一条腿短一截，走起路来像个瘸子。

我从前并不认识他。初进牛棚时，甚至在太平庄时，都没有见到过他。我们在牛棚里已经被“改造”了一段时间。有一天，是中午过后不久——我在这里补充几句，牛棚里是根本没有什么午休的。东语系那位老教授，就因为午饭后坐着打了一个盹儿，被牢头禁子发现，叫到院子里在太阳下晒了一个钟头，好像也是眼睛对着太阳——我在牢房里忽然听牛棚门口有打人的声音，是棍棒或者用胶皮裹起来的自行车链条同皮肉接触的声音。这种事情在黑帮大院里是司空见惯的事，一天能有许多起。我们的神经都已经麻木了，引不起什么感觉。但是，这一次声音特别高，时间也特别长。我那麻木的神经动了一下，透过玻璃窗向棚口看了看。我看到这一位残伤的教员，已经被打倒在地，有几个“英雄”还用手里拿着的兵器，继续抽打。他身上是不是已经踏上了一千只脚，我看不清楚。我只看到这一位腿脚本来就不灵便的人，躺在地上的泥土中，脸上还好像流着血。

他为什么这样晚才到牛棚里来？他是由于什么原因才来的？他是不是才被“揪”出来的？这些事情我都不清楚。一直到今天也不清楚。我虽然也像胡适之博士那样有点考据癖，但是我不想在这里施展本领了。

从此以后，我们每次排队到食堂去吃饭时，整齐的队伍里就多了走起路来很不协调的瘸腿的“棚友”。

关于牛棚中个别人的“花絮”，如果认真写起来的话，还可以延长几倍。我现在没有再写的兴致，我也不忍再写下去了。举一隅可以三隅反。希望读者自己慢慢地去体会吧。

16 LIVING IN THE COW SHED (PART THREE)

(11) A Private Seat

I knew I was thrown into hell. But for lack of innate moral properties and potentials for Buddhist acceptability I did not know the inferno was hierarchically run. Aren't there the eighteen floors of hell in Buddhism?

It is a long story for which I have to recount from the beginning. One well-known student from the Department of Biology was called Zhang Guoxiang. When the construction of the Cow Shed was completed, I did not see him. He arrived later. I had no idea why and how he was sent there. Those things were classified by the Nie's Beida Revolutionary Committee, none of our business. Meanwhile, we "criminals" dared not make an inquiry. Upon his arrival Zhang put on an air of difference like a crane towering over chickens. But to my mind he was just an ordinary follower rather than a leader. But he went out his way to assume as many responsibilities as possible. Often I saw him on a bike, which he previously had taken from a home-raiding of a "criminal," riding around the Cow Shed yard for fun. The property of any "criminal," even his life, automatically became a possession of the reform guards once the "criminal" was rounded up to the Cow Shed. Guards could go to any "criminal's" home and take whatever personal belongings they needed. Nevertheless, this man's bike-riding pastime appeared conspicuous against the hush of terror that hung over our penitentiary.

For a couple of days, after the evening admonishment speech and, sometimes, even after ten at night, the time at which the "prisoners" were supposed to turn in, this jailer Zhang sat on a chair, in bright lamplight, under the big elm tree in the yard. With one foot lying on the seat of the chair, he kept rubbing and scratching, with his fingers, between his toes, while asking questions or ferociously yelling at a "criminal" standing in front of him with the head lowered. I was accustomed to this sort of thing. But the way he sat was strange to me and struck me profoundly. What disturbed me more was

that one evening I noticed the man standing in front of him was Lu Ping, president and secretary of the Party Committee of Beida. Lu was one of the leaders in the "December 9th Movement" and, after the founding of new China, worked as deputy minister of Railway Transportation.[1] As one of the few "major criminals" especially attacked by the "Old Dowager" in her big-character poster, Lu was originally housed somewhere else, not with us in the inferno. Now he suddenly showed up here. I had no idea for how long or what kinds of questions Zhang Guoxiang had asked him or what had happened to him later. But the whole event looked peculiar to me.

At that time I never thought such mishap would befall me a few days later. One night, a while later after the bedtime bell rang, I heard a sudden shout, "Ji Xianlin," shooting from behind the Building of Democracy. By that time we were all hyper-tense in "combat readiness." Then I raced as fast as my legs could carry me to the front yard. I saw Zhang Guoxiang sitting there as described previously, his right-hand fingers stroking between his toes. He tossed a question toward me,

"How did you contact the secret agency of the enemy?"

"I have never had such contact."

"Why did you say Jiang Qing gave a morphine injection to the 'New Beida Commune'?"

"I used a figure of speech."

"How many wives do you have?"

I was shocked and replied cautiously,

"I don't have many."

After a "chat" like this, he said,

"I'm pretty merciful toward you tonight!"

Yes, I should admit his words were true. I was not beaten, kicked and humiliated with "Chinese swearing remarks." Wasn't he very merciful to me? I should be grateful for the "imperial favors" bestowed unto me.

But I certainly missed the undertone of "threat" in his voice. "I'm pretty

merciful toward you tonight." How about tomorrow?

The following night, after the ringing of the bell for bedtime, I was ready to retire. Suddenly a cry struck like a thunderbolt, "Ji Xianlin!" I rushed out of the room faster than yesterday and saw Mr. Zhang standing in rage around the corner of the two rows of one-story houses rather than in the center of the yard,

"Didn't you hear me calling you? Are you deaf?"

Now I knew I was in trouble. Before I had a chance to think a little more, I felt hot on my face and head, as a rubber-wrapped bicycle chain struck me like a shower of lightning bolts. It hit the upper half rather than the lower half of my body, the vital part of my head. My head swam as I saw stars. Not daring to dodge, I stood upright and motionless. For the first few moments there was a little pain. Gradually my senses were gone as I felt pangs of feeling searing my top of head, eyes, nose, mouth and ears, not really painful but more unbearable than pain. I almost fainted and tumbled. But I instinctively held on. More bike-chain strikes leaped in front of my eyes as verbal abuses, which I was unable to hear clearly (if they were uttered at all), resounded in my ears. I was dazed and did not know how long the flogging lasted. Actually it was quite long, according to what some yard mates living near the corner told me later. They were terrified by the happening and still felt uneasy when talking to me after the event. In contrast I nearly turned into a log or rock at the time, passing out and feeling less horrible than the spectators. A while later I heard, as if in a dream, a shout, "Beat it!" I started to regain consciousness, understanding that this fiend was showing "mercy" to me. So I staggered back to my room in terror.

When I came to, my body hurt severely all over. The first thing I wanted to do was to run a "physical exam," on my own, of all the wounds on me. I first looked at my limbs, which did not fall apart. Then I checked my facial features. My eyes were swollen. I tried to open them and found both of them all right. I was set at ease. A further look showed my face, nose, mouth and ears were all bleeding. Opening my mouth, I ascertained that none of my teeth was gone. I ignored the bleeding from other parts of my body, because it was not fatal. Then I bore the agony.

You can imagine. Would I be able to go to sleep that night? I lay on the

board, rolling over and over and feeling hurt. Blood oozed from the cuts and I had to sustain the pain. I did not have a mirror, so I was unable to take a look at my "impressive appearance." In the past I had shuddered at the sight of people who got tortured for a night and came back black and blue, such as the old professor from the Department of Geophysics and the woman instructor from the Department of Eastern Languages. Tonight my cheeks not only were swollen but blue as well. I was not very much concerned because I couldn't see what I looked like.

The following morning, work resumed and the quotations were read aloud as usual. I was assigned the work of sifting sand on the roadside outside the northern mill of building materials. How was I? How did I feel? I became muddled. My body was numbed. I even forgot that committing suicide was a way of relief.

Misfortune never comes singly as the old saying goes. Before this suffering was over, Mr. Zhang broke into my room one noon, telling me to move. Having rolled up my bedding, which included most of my personal belongings, I moved to the room in which I had been tortured previously. The room did not come to mind as something special during the day. However, that night it dawned on me that it was a "private room" for imprisoning important convicts. Throughout the night lights were not allowed to be turned off, and inmates were required to take turns in being a guard instead of sleeping. What should we "guard"? I had no idea. Was the guarding for preventing inmates from escaping? That was absolutely impossible. Intellectuals had the least guts and dared not escape. Then, most probably, the procedure was to guard against suicides committed by inmates, such as hanging oneself. I gradually realized my status had been elevated in the hellish place, after cruel torture, to a higher level. The "most important criminal," Lu Ping, was housed here. I was condemned to imprisonment in a place like the Buddhists' Avici Hell or the jail for convicts awaiting execution.

But it was not the end of my purgatory. It was Mr. Zhang again who told me, along with a professor of Chinese surnamed Wang, to push a tank cart and fetch hot water three times each day for all inmates housed there. I wondered why Professor Wang qualified for being with me. So far as I knew, he did not join "Jinggangshan," nor did he commit heinous crimes. Why

should he be punished so cruelly? Fetching water was no easy job. Three times a day we did it, in addition to the daily quota of labor and loud reading of Mao's quotations. At dinner I watched others eat as I took care of the water. In times of rain I battled with the tank cart until my clothes were soaked through. Even if a downpour brought down daggers, I could not risk being perceived as late in bringing back hot water. The suffering would be inconceivable. To my surprise, Professor Wang took advantage of the job; secretly he made a cup of tea at the boiler and smoked a pipe of tobacco. I could tell he was grooving.

(12) A Special Program

Our reform guards certainly knew what they were doing in terms of their mission. After more than half a year of reforming us through a blend of physical labor, preaching, and torturing of slaps in the face and clubs, they probably thought we had gone through enough physical and ideological discipline, it was time to treat us differently.

Therefore the special program came into being.

I had no idea by what standards our reform guards singled out some of us "reform criminals" for this special program.

This program was run in the Building of Foreign Languages. But the building's entrance was not to be used, while the rear door was locked. Therefore one window served as its passageway, with one long wooden board placed inside the window and another outside as footsteps. One could enter the building through the window which led to a small classroom. What did this classroom look like? Was there any furniture inside? I had no idea. In my eyes, it was close at hand but seemed worlds apart from me.

I craved this program. I thought we would be able to hang on in enduring days of beating, insults, starvation and thirst. But we could not remain unconcerned about our future. When would our suffering come to a close? In my mind I saw myself facing a vast ocean with no way of crossing it because of the lack of a boat and no island in sight. I longed for a break in the course of my life. What a hard time I had to endure in hoping against hope! Now they would run a special program, which I saw as a boat for crossing the ocean.

Those of us chosen for the special program had some enviable privileges. They had the right to bear a badge of the great leader, conduct the morning reading of quotations, make the evening report in front of the portrait of the great leader, and so forth. While staying in the Cow Shed, Party members were stripped of their right to pay membership dues. As a Party member myself I wonder whether members in the special program regained this right or not. Often, I heard melodious singing drifting out of the special program room; there were either songs worshipping the great leader or sounds of reading the great leader's quotations. Each time the singing filled me with admiration. Some of us started to enjoy privileges. I wondered whether the privileges were granted or obtained automatically, for example, sitting cross-legged in a room and walking with the head held a little higher. I envied those people acting the way I dared not to. How I wished I could be able to step onto that long wooden board and get into the Building of Foreign Languages!

Later on, for some unknown reasons, until the dismantlement of the "Black Gang Yard," its attendants never had a chance to transform themselves into a dragon, rip through a cage and soar into freedom.

(13) The Instructor of Indonesian from the Department of Eastern Languages

This instructor used to be a student of Indonesian; he transferred to Beida, before the founding of new China, from a program of Eastern languages at a college in southern China. After graduation he was appointed to a teaching position at Beida. He was a very intelligent and hard-working scholar. He used to produce high-quality papers. He was, indeed, a competent instructor. When he got a chance to study in Indonesia, I gave him some financial help to get over his tight budget due to his family problems. Therefore we got along well while he treated me with respect.

But people change. The Cultural Revolution split Beida into two factions when he joined the "New Beida Commune." Admittedly each person is entitled to the road he takes. But now this instructor became exceptionally hostile toward me, regarding me as a "political heretic." After I was "singled out" for condemnation, he attended all interrogations held in the Building of Foreign Languages. He raged with glaring eyes, striking tables and stools,

and his emotion ran higher than that of others. It was obvious that he wanted to show his loyalty to the "Old Dowager." Did he intend to make amends for his Anti-Soviet Union and Anti-Communism background by appearing politically firm? This question repeatedly came back to my mind. Otherwise, accounting for his abnormal behavior in terms of being simply opportunistic and adding insult to injury to me was far from convincing.

Political strife left no room for personal relationship.

One morning I went out of the Cow Shed yard with my head lowered. My eyes happened to hit the characters written on the road,

"Down with the counter-revolutionary so-and-so," which was the instructor's name.

I was astonished. Not long before, he was the "extremely active man" at my small-sized interrogation sessions, quite a revolutionary full of promises. How could he become a "counter-revolutionary" overnight? It turned out that his snaky political background was revealed by someone, and he then took his own life one night by using the "capitalist way of suicide" and "alienated himself from the people for ever."

I was not delighted by his death. I understood that human life is complicated and unpredictable.

(14) Giving Up on Myself

After a period of time of staying in the Cow Shed, I was getting more and more mentally confounded and emotionally indifferent. This place was not hell but more miserable than hell. I was not a hungry ghost but, in effect, more starved than it. If I retained any feelings, I felt I was neither a human nor a ghost but a hybrid of human and ghost. Others saw me this way, so did I myself, neither fish nor fowl but mysteriously similar to either kind. Here I use a common philosophical term to describe my state, I was already "metamorphosed."

In the past when people regarded me as human, I took if for granted. I knew I was not perfect and had never been arrogant. Small children usually split people into two categories, the good and the bad. In light of their principle I certainly set myself in the former category. Take money for

example. I was not stingy, nor did I worship money. In this regard I felt "more meritorious than others, notwithstanding my weakness." One day, still a teenager in Jinan many years ago, I went to purchase medicine in a drug store. The store assistant made a calculation error and gave me an extra silver dollar in change. In the eye of a small kid like me, one silver dollar meant a fortune. But I returned it to him immediately. He blushed. Later, I gradually learned about the honor of honesty. In 1946 I returned home from abroad. I sold my gold watch in order to send money back to my family in Shandong. Then I exchanged the leftover cash into the KMT's gold currency. The bank teller also made a calculation error and gave me one more ounce of gold. At that time one ounce of gold was quite a sum. Again I returned it to him. For a well-known man, these common things are not worth mentioning. But, as an ordinary man, I don't think they are absolutely insignificant.

Now I turned ghost overnight. In the beginning I was ill-adjusted and rather rebellious. But as time went on, I grew used to my new life. The line between man and ghost, good and bad, kindness and evil, and beauty and ugliness gradually blurred for me. One appropriate common phrase for describing my state of mind at that time is "writing off my life and acting recklessly." My future became bleak and hopeless. Because I chose not to commit suicide, I let things take their own course, no matter whether my status ran worse or better and what gossip circulated about me.

Meanwhile, I was in a financial predicament. The Nie's Beida Revolutionary Committee gave me a "monthly income" that could hardly support a family of three, the two old ladies and me. Even cutting our budget so that we lived only on steamed cones of cornmeal would cost more than my salary. Because of hard work and lack of greasy food, I often went hungry and tried to find something to eat to abate my appetite. A few times I followed the reform guard and asked him to give me the leftover soup in a jar of pickled bean curd, so that I could eat my steamed cone of cornmeal with it. For one period of time I was dispatched to work near student dormitory buildings 28 and 29. Our job was to clean rooms that had been wrecked in faction fighting and pick up the rubble. I remember a big room, at the southern end of Building 28, that was filled with miscellaneous things with tons of trash littered all over the place. Suddenly I spotted a few chunks of dried, moldy steamed bun on a worn-out wooden steaming rack. The food looked like a treasure to me. I snatched it up and slipped it into my pocket.

Later, when I found myself alone, I devoured the rotten bun, ignoring concerns about food hygiene. For a "ghost" it was meaningless to be worried about such matters.

Another accomplishment I attained, in the meantime, was lying. Upon going out to work in the morning, I sometimes found my hunger unbearable. So I told the worker in charge that I wanted to visit the doctor in the campus clinic. After being granted the request, I made my way home timidly like a mouse by picking out the least traveled path. Once home, I grabbed two steamed buns sandwiched with sesame paste and gulped them down. Then I went back to work, feigning my return from the clinic. In doing so I risked being caught by reform guards or reporters. If that happened, the consequence was imaginable.

One day I saw a few bank notes, ten and twenty cents, on the road. Being delighted, I picked them up and stuck them in my pocket. Later I often took advantage of walking with head lowered in order to find things that "free men" were unable to see. Occasionally I picked up some coins, another profit reaped. Then I discovered the hang of making such haul. The restroom of the Cow Shed was the best place to go, where I would collect some coins left on the ground. From then on I frequented restrooms to which others would shun unless out of necessity.

The stories I have told are about some insignificant occurrences that displayed indecent deeds. If I did not tell them, probably no one would think I did them. If I had not gone through those experiences, I would never have credited their existence. But they are totally true. Actually they are the most execrated doings of all. As I lost sense of sin at that time, I did not feel embarrassment about behaving that way. Now, in retrospect, I tremble with fear and shame. Early in my life I was interested in understanding a person's psychological process of moral deterioration and vaguely attributed such happenings to hereditary factors. Now, my experiences show that my original idea is incorrect.

But who is to blame for such evil doing?

(15) The Conclusion on the "Theory of Torture"

Life in the Cow Shed was varied. What I told before constitutes only

major occurrences that I chose from many. At the beginning of my narration I posited the "theory of torture" in order to "review history from a theoretical point of view." Many readers at first might have been skeptical about my theory. Having read the stories I have recounted from quite different perspectives about life in the Cow Shed, probably readers are now convinced of my theory.

What objective did those "young revolutionaries" want to achieve by virtue of torture? They would never want to reveal their "heart of darkness," nor would they be willing to have someone do the job on their behalf. A high-sounding reply to the question, which is most likely to be produced on their part, was "reform through physical labor." As I mentioned previously, physical labor was an excuse used to shield the real motive behind the torture. Actually physical labor produced effects on the body but would never change one's thinking. If the enforced physical labor did yield some fruit, it was the desire to give up on myself and let things take their own course. Torture works for a fall, instead of a rise, in one's morality.

This is the conclusion I have drawn about the "theory of torture."

[1] The "December 9th Movement, a student patriotic demonstration of anti-Japanese aggression, which took place in Beijing in 1935.

拾陆　牛棚生活（三）

（十一）特别雅座

我自己已经堕入地狱。但是，由于根器浅，我很久很久都不知道，地狱中还是有不同层次的。佛教不是就有十八层地狱吗？

这话要从头讲起，需要说得长一点。生物系有一个学生，大名叫张国祥。牛棚初建时，我好像还没有看到他。他是后来才来的。至于他为什么到这里来，又是怎样来的，那是聂记北大革委会的事情，我辈“罪犯”实无权过问，也不敢过问。他到了大院以后，立即表现出鹤立鸡群之势。看样子，他不是一个大头子，只是一般的小卒子之类。但管的事特别多，手伸得特别长。我经常看到他骑着自行车——这自行车是从“罪犯”家中收缴来的。“罪犯”们所有的财务都归这一批牢头禁子掌握，他们愿意到“罪犯”家中去拿什么，就拿什么。连“罪犯”的性命自己也没有所有权了——在大院子里兜圈子，以资消遣。这在那一所阴森恐怖寂静无声的“牛棚”中，是非常突出的惹人注目的举动。

有几天晚上，在晚间训话之后，甚至在10点钟规定的“犯人”就寝之后，院子里大榆树下面，灯光依然很辉煌，这一位张老爷，坐在一把椅子上，抬起右腿，把脚放到椅子上，用手在脚趾头缝里抠个不停。他面前垂首站着一个“罪犯”。他问着什么问题，间或对“罪犯”大声训斥、怒骂。这种训斥和怒骂，我已经看惯了。但是他这坐的姿势，我觉得极为新鲜，在我脑海里留下的影像，永世难忘。更让我难忘的是，有一天晚上，他眼前垂头站立的竟是原北大校长兼党委书记，一二·九运动的领导人之一，当过铁道部副部长的陆平。他是那位“老佛爷”贴大字报点名攻击的主要人物。黑帮大院初建时，他是首要“钦犯”，囚禁在另外什么地方，还不是“棚友”。不知道什么时候，他竟也乔迁到棚中来了。张国祥问陆平什么问题，问了多久，后果如何，我一概不知。只是觉得这件事儿很蹊跷而已。

可是我哪里会想到，过了不几天，这个噩运竟飞临到我头上来了。有一天晚上，已经响过熄灯睡觉的铃，我忽然听到从民主楼后面拐角的地方高喊：“季羡林！”那时我们的神经每时每刻都处在最高“战备状态”中。我听了以后，连忙用上四条腿的力量，超常发挥的速度，跑到前面大院子里，看到张国祥用上面描绘的那种姿态，坐在那里，右手抠着脚丫子，开口问道：

“你怎么同特务机关有联系呀？”

“我没有联系。”

“你怎么说江青同志给新北大公社扎吗啡针呀？”

“那只是一个形象的说法。”

“你有几个老婆呀？”

我大为吃惊，敬谨回禀：

“我没有几个老婆。”

这样一问一答，“交谈”了几句。他说：

“我今天晚上对你很仁慈！”

是的，我承认他说的是实话。我一没有被拳打脚踢；二没有被“国骂”痛击。这难道不就是极大的“仁慈”吗？我真应该感谢“皇恩浩荡”了。

我可是万万没有想到，他最后这一句话里面含着极危险的“杀机”。“我今天晚上对你很仁慈”，明天晚上怎样呢？

第二天晚上，也是在熄灯铃响了以后，我正准备睡觉，忽然像晴空霹雳一般，听到了一声：“季羡林！”我用比昨晚还要快的速度，走出牢房的门，看到这位张先生不是在大院子里，而是在两排平房的拐角处，怒气冲冲地站在那里：

“喊你为什么不出来？你耳朵聋了吗？”

我知道事情有点不妙。还没有等我再想下去，我脸上、头上蓦地一热，一阵用胶皮裹着的自行车链条作武器打下来的暴风骤雨，铺天盖地地落到我的身上，不是下半身，而是最关要害的头部。我脑袋里嗡嗡地响，眼前直冒金星。但是，我不敢躲闪，笔直地站在那里。最初还有痛的感觉，后来逐渐麻木起来，只觉得头顶上、眼睛上、鼻子上、嘴上、耳朵上，一阵阵火辣辣的滋味，不是痛，而是比痛更难忍受的感觉。我好像要失掉知觉，我好像要倒在地上。但是，我本能地坚持下来。眼前鞭影乱闪，叱骂声——如果有的话——也根本听不到了。我处在一片迷茫、浑沌之中。我不知道，他究竟打了多久。据后来住在拐角上那间牢房里的“棚友”告诉我，打的时间相当长。他们都觉得十分可怕，大有谈虎色变的样子。我自己则几乎变成了一块木头，一块石头，成为没有知

觉的东西，反而没有感到像旁观者感到的那样可怕了。不知到了什么时候，我隐隐约约地仿佛是在梦中，听到了一声："滚蛋！"我的知觉恢复了一点，知道这位凶神恶煞又对我"仁慈"了。我连忙夹着尾巴逃回了牢房。

但是，知觉一恢复，浑身上下立即痛了起来。我的首要任务是"查体"，这一次"查体"全是"外科"，我先查一查自己的五官四肢还是否完整。眼睛被打肿了，但是试着睁一睁：两眼都还能睁开。足证眼睛是完整的。脸上、鼻子里、嘴里、耳朵上都流着血。但是张了张嘴，里面的牙没有被打掉。至于其他地方流血，不至于性命交关，只好忍住疼痛了。

试想，这一夜我还能睡得着吗？我躺在木板上，辗转反侧，浑身难受。流血的地方黏糊糊的，只好让它流。痛的地方，也只好让它去痛。我没有镜子，没法照一照我的"尊容"。过去我的难友，比如地球物理系那一位老教授，东语系那一位女教员等等，被折磨了一夜之后，脸上浮肿，眼圈发青。我看了以后，心里有点颤抖。今天我的脸上就不止浮肿、发青了。我反正自己看不到，由它去吧。

第二天早晨，照样派活，照样要背语录。我现在干的是在北材料厂外面马路两旁筛沙子的活。我身上是什么滋味？我心里是什么滋味？我一概说不清楚，我完全迷糊了，迷糊到连自杀的念头都没有了。

正如俗话所说的：祸不单行。我这一个灾难插曲还没有结束。这一天中午，还是那一位张先生走进牢房，命令我搬家。我这"家"没有什么东西，把铺盖一卷，立即搬到我在门外受刑的那一间屋子里。白天没有什么感觉，到了夜里，我才恍然大悟：这里是"特别雅座"，是囚禁重囚的地方。整夜不许关灯，屋里的囚犯轮流值班看守。不许睡觉。"看守"什么呢？我不清楚。是怕犯人逃跑吗？这是根本不可能的。知识分子犯人是最胆小的，不会逃跑。看来是怕犯人寻短见，比如上吊之类。现在我才知道，受过重刑之后，我在黑帮大院里的地位提高了，我升级了，升入一个更高的层次。"钦犯"陆平就住在这间屋里。打一个比方说，我在佛教地狱里进入了阿鼻地狱，相当人间的死囚牢吧。

但是，问题还没有完。仍然是那一位张先生，命令我同中文系一位姓王的教授，每天推着水车，到茶炉上去打三次开水，供全体囚犯饮用。我不知道为什么这一位王教授会同我并列。据我所知，他并没有参加"井冈山"，也并没有犯过什么弥天大罪，为什么竟受到这样的惩罚呢？打开水这个活并不轻，每天三次，其他的活照干，语录照背。别人

吃饭，我看着。天下大雨，我淋着。就是天上下刀，我也必须把开水打来，真是苦不堪言。但是，那一位姓王的教授却能苦中寻乐：偷偷地在茶炉那里泡上一杯茶，抽上一烟斗烟。好像是乐在其中矣。

（十二）特别班

这一批牢头禁子们，是很懂政策的。把我们这“劳改罪犯”集中到一起，实行了半年多的劳动改造。念经、说教与耳光棍棒并举。他们大概认为，我们已经达到了一定的水平。现在是采取分化瓦解的时候了。

“特别班”于是乎出。

牢头禁子们不知道是根据什么标准，从“劳改罪犯”中挑选出来了一些，进这个班。

这个班的班址设在外文楼内。但是，前门不能走，后门不能开，于是就利用一扇窗子当作通道，窗内外各摆上了一条长木板，可以借以登窗入楼，然后走入一间小教室。这间教室内是什么样子？有什么摆设？我不清楚。在我眼中，虽然近在咫尺，却如蓬山万里了。

我是非常羡慕这个班的。我觉得，对我们“劳改罪犯”来说，眼前的苦日子，挨打，受骂，忍饥，忍渴，咬一咬牙，就能够过去了。但是，瞻望将来，却不能无动于衷。什么时候是我们的出头之日呢？我眼前好像是一片白茫茫的大海，却没有舟楫，也看不到前面有任何岛屿。我盼望着出现点什么。这种望穿秋水的日子真是度日如年啊！现在出现了特别班，我认为，这正是渡过大海的轻舟。

特别班的学员有一些让人羡煞的特权。他们有权利佩戴领袖像章，他们有权利早请示、晚汇报，等等。在牛棚里，党员是剥夺了交党费的权利的。特别班学员是否有了权利？我不知道。我每次听到从特别班的教室里传出来歌颂领袖的歌声或者语录歌的歌声时，那种悠扬的歌声真使我神往。看到了学员们一些——是否被批准的，我不清楚——奇特的特权，我也是羡慕得要命。比如他们敢在牢房里翘二郎腿，我就不敢。他们走路头抬得似乎高一点了，我也不敢。我真是多么想也能够踏着那一块长木板走到外文楼里面去呀！

后来，不知是由于什么原因，一直到“黑帮大院”解散，特别班的学员也没能真正变成龙跳过了龙门。

（十三）东语系一个印尼语的教员

这一位教员原是从解放前南京东方语专业转来的学印尼语的学生，毕业后留校任教。人非常聪明，读书十分勤奋，写出来的学术论文极有水平，是一个不可多得的人才。他留学印尼时，家里经济比较困难，我也曾尽了点绵薄之力。因此我们关系很好。他对我毕恭毕敬。

然而人是会变的。“文化大革命”北大一分派，他加入了掌权的新北大公社。人各有志，这也未可厚非。但是，对我这一个“异教徒”，他却表现出超常的敌意。我被“揪”出来以后，几次在外文楼的审讯，他都参加了，而且吹胡子瞪眼，拍桌子砸板凳，胜过其他一些参加者。看样子是唯恐表现不出自己对“老佛爷”的忠诚来。难道是因为自己曾反苏反共现在故作积极状以洗刷自己吗？我曾多次有过这样的想法。否则，一般的世态炎凉、落井下石的解释，还是不够的。

然而政治斗争是不讲情面的。

有一天早晨我走出“黑帮大院”，钦赐低头，正好看到写在马路上的大字标语：

打倒反革命分子某某某！

我大吃一惊。就在不久前，在一次审讯我的小会上，他还是“超积极分子”。革命正气溢满眉宇。怎么一下子变成了“反革命分子”了呢？原来有人揭了他的老底。他在夜间就采用了资本主义的自杀方式，“自绝于人民”了。

对于此事，我一不幸灾，二不乐祸。我只是觉得人生实在太复杂、太可怕而已。

（十四）自暴自弃

在牛棚里已经呆了一段时间。自己脑筋越来越糊涂，心情越来越麻木。这个地方，不是地狱，胜似地狱；自己不是饿鬼，胜似饿鬼。如果还有感觉的话，我的自我感觉是：非人非鬼，亦人亦鬼。别人看自己是这样，自己看自己也是这样。不伦不类地而又亦伦亦类地套用一个现成的哲学名词：自己已经“异化”了。

过去被认为是人的时候，我自己当然以人待已。我这个人从来不敢狂妄，我是颇有自知之明的。如果按照小孩子的办法把人分为好人和坏人的话，我毫不迟疑地把自己归入“好人”一类。就拿金钱问题来说吧。我一不吝啬，二不拜金。在这方面，我颇有一些“优胜纪略”。十几岁在济南时，有一天到药店去打药。伙计算错了账，多找给我了一块大洋。

当时在小孩子眼中，一块大洋是一个巨大的财富。但是我立即退还给他，惹得伙计的脸一下子红了起来。这种心理我以后才懂得。1946年，我从海外回到祖国。卖了一只金表，寄钱给家里。把剩下的“法币”换成黄金。伙计也算错了账，多给了一两黄金。在当时一两黄金也算是一笔不小的财富。但是我也立即退还给他。在大人物名下，这些都是不足挂齿的小事。然而对一个像我这样平凡的人，也不能说一点意义都没有的。

到了现在，自己一下子变成了鬼。最初还极不舒服，颇想有所反抗。但是久而久之，自己已习以为常。人鬼界限，好坏界限，善恶界限，美丑界限，自己逐渐模糊起来。用一句最恰当的成语，就是“破罐子破摔”。自己已经没有了前途，既然不想自杀，是人是鬼，由它去吧。别人说短论长，也由它去吧。

而且自己也确有实际困难。聂记革委会赐给我和家里两位老太太的“生活费”，我靠它既不能“生”，也不能“活”。就是天天吃窝头就咸菜，也还是不够用的。天天劳动强度大，肚子里又没有油水，总是饥肠辘辘，想找点吃的。我曾几次跟在牢头禁子身后，想讨一点盛酱豆腐罐子里的汤，蘸窝头吃。有一段时间，我被分配到学生宿舍区二十八楼、二十九楼一带去劳动，任务是打扫两派武斗时破坏的房屋，捡地上的砖石。我记得在二十八楼南头的一间大房子里，堆满了杂物，乱七八糟，破破烂烂，什么都有。我忽然发现，在一个破旧的蒸馒头用的笼屉上有几块已经发了霉的干馒头。我简直是如获至宝，拿来装在口袋里，在僻静地方，背着监改的工人，一个人偷偷地吃。什么卫生不卫生，什么有没有细菌，对一个“鬼”来说，这些都是毫无意义的了。

我也学会了说谎。离开大院，出来劳动，肚子饿得不行的时候，就对带队的工人说，自己要到医院里去瞧病。得到允许，就专拣没有人走的小路，像老鼠似的回到家里，吃上两个夹芝麻酱的馒头，狼吞虎咽之后，再去干活，就算瞧了病。这行动有极大的危险性，倘若在路上邂逅碰上监改人员或汇报人员，那结果将是什么，用不着我说了。

有一次我在路上拣到了几张钞票，都是一毛两毛的。我大喜过望，赶快揣在口袋里。以后我便利用只许低头走路的有利条件，看到那些昂首走路的“自由民”决不会看到的东西，曾拣到过一些钢镚儿。这又是意外的收获。我发现了一条重要的规律：在“黑帮大院”的厕所里，掉在地上的钢镚儿最多。从此别人不愿意进的厕所，反而成了我喜爱的地方了。

上面说的这一些极其猥琐的事情，如果我不说，决不会有人想到。如果我自己不亲身经历，我也决不会想到。但是，这些都是事实，应该说是极其丑恶的事实。当时我已经完全失掉了羞恶之心，并没有感到有什么不对。现在回想起来，真是不寒而栗。我从前对一个人堕落的心理过程发生过兴趣，潜意识里似乎有点认为这是天生的。现在拿我自己来现身说法，那种想法是不正确的。

然而谁来负这个责任呢？

（十五）“折磨论”的小结

牛棚生活，千头万绪。我在上面仅仅择其荦荦大者，简略地叙述了一下。我根据“以论带史”的原则，先提出了一个理论：折磨论。最初恐怕有很多怀疑者。现在看了我从非常不同的方面对“黑帮大院”情况的叙述，我想再不会有人怀疑我的理论的正确性了。

“革命小将”们的折磨想达到什么目的呢？他们决不会暴露自己心里的肮脏东西，别人也不便代为答复。冠冕堂皇的说法是“劳动改造”。我在上面已经说过，这种打着劳动的旗号折磨人的办法，只是改造人的身体，而决不会改造人的灵魂。如果还能达到什么目的的话，我的自暴自弃就是一个最好的例证。折磨的结果只能使人堕落，而不能使人升高。

这就是我对“折磨论”的小结。

17 MOVING THE COW SHED

Winter came. A briquette stove was installed in our room and a fire made. Though the fire was kept at moderate intensity because of a shortage of coal, it was quite warm inside as opposed to the outside cold.

Our reform troop started to shrink. As the number of us dwindled, we were asked to moved into one large room. I did not know the reason, nor did I dare to ask. I had already reached the nadir of my suffering so a minor change in classification and living quarters would not lift me out of the cachet of devil.

The room looked spacious. Probably thanks to the reduced number of people the mice were audacious. They rambled around the room during the day. Their first assaults, a few bites, were on a dried steamed bun I brought from home. I wanted to scatter them. They even gazed at me boldly and played hide-and-seek with me. Probably they, too, came to understand that the residents of this room were not human but "counter-revolutionaries," not species of a higher caliber. So bullying us would not be an act of the culprit.

We dared not feel free to talk and exchange information, but gossip went around fast as an old saying has it, "No wall can shield the wind." Gradually I learned the Nie's Beida Revolutionary Committee altered its policy on "reform criminals." We were no longer to be housed in one place. Instead we were to be sent back to our individual departments. The Department of Eastern Languages was late in sending for its group. Thus the Cow Shed was "moved," so I was back in the Building of Foreign Languages.

A few days earlier I was dying to get into this building. Now here I was, but nothing special took place. A few of us were ordered to live in the classroom for teaching Burmese in the northern part on the second floor. We made the makeshift bed on the floor and slept on it, while our reform guard slept on a big table near the window, supposedly watching us from above. He had a nickname, "Tinker (*xiaolujiang*)," probably a pun based on this young student's family name, Lu.[1] To my surprise we were joined by a few more men, who had never lived in the Cow Shed. I wondered, "Were they 'criminals,' too?" Though some things needed to be clarified, it was good to

mind my own business and live with them in peace.

Life was slower and easier here. Earlier, in the Cow Shed, we were in highly tense circumstances, alert for the calling of our names in case a late response incurred calamity. Now a reform guard was living with us in the room so we could come to his call promptly. His presence made me feel better.

But the days did not pass uneventfully, nor were they intended to. I was still a "reform criminal." There were many offices and classrooms for various programs on this floor. Before my "fall," I had been department head for twenty years and worked in these rooms every day. I had been in charge here and felt comfortable. As time went by, I became a prisoner because of my "rebellion" (I was asking for trouble). "Paradise is lost as flowers fall and the water runs down the river." I had been a "counter-revolutionary" for over one year. I did not lament the loss of that past time when I was flushed with success. It was crystal clear to me that I was "toppled" and would never be redressed. I only hoped to survive any worsening conditions.

Now there were only three places that I was allowed to go, the room in which I was confined, the restroom and the interrogation room. The last one was not fixed, depending on what room was available. The restroom was shared between "black gangsters" and "white gangsters" ("revolutionaries") because, even though the "black gangsters" were devils, they had to urinate and defecate. Probably a real devil does not have those needs, things I should look into in the future.

Another matter was rather embarrassing. The "black gangsters" were mixed up with the "white gangsters," which ensured unavoidable encounters with each other. China is a nation of courtesy; the Chinese greet each other customarily. But we didn't traditionally greet one another with expressions like those in English, "good morning," "how are you," or simply "hello." The popular Chinese expression, "*zao'an* (good morning)," is borrowed from abroad and has been popularized only recently. In the past we often greeted each other by asking, "Did you eat your meal?" I would define this expression as the "national greeting." Now, when seeing old friends inside the Building of Foreign Languages, I was afraid to use either the borrowed expression or the "national greeting." The best way to smooth over the embarrassment was to lower my head and race away. How did the "white

gangsters" think? I had no idea. But it was certainly an awkward situation to go past and glance at each other without saying a word. Once in a while the "whites" gathered together in one room, chattering excitedly on some topics of common concern. The sentiment was quite "revolutionary" and filled the space. I was never inspired by this revolutionary spirit. We were in an environment in which we listened to the talking and laughing of others but did not join in the conversation. We listened because others talked. However, we were not allowed to utter a sound. We were moving shadows. Shadows shifted in silence.

But life was not wholly tedious because of a lack of exciting news and thrilling experience. Bits of interesting information surfaced not from my talking with someone, which I would never dare to, but from hallway chats that I overheard. One of the most noted stories was about the woman instructor of Mongolian whom I mentioned earlier in the book. Apparently she was the only female "criminal" from the Department of Eastern Languages. Back in the Cow Shed, some rooms were for female inmates. But when we were housed in the Building of Foreign Languages, female rooms were not provided. Due to the gender difference, another room was earmarked for her. The two women guarding her were a student of Korean and a department librarian, but the latter, with the family name of Ye and an unknown first name, was mean, brutal and fascinated with trouble stirring-up. The library where Ye worked was a hotbed of rumor and lurid stories. When the Cultural Revolution hit, she quickly pledged allegiance to the branch committee of the Nie's Beida Commune. She might be grouped with those who "resolved to live and die for Nie Yuanzi and Sun Pengyi." I remember one night she stormed into my home, yelled and marched me to the Building of Foreign Languages for a torture session. It was quite noticeable when a woman reform guard walked a male "criminal" on campus at Beida. A woman with such a personality would never let a female victim get off easy. One night Ye, along with a group of men, carried out an intense interrogation and beat her female victim severely. Whether the woman convict was battered as excessively as she once was in the Cow Shed was unclear to me. I can't say anything exactly about what happened because I didn't personally witness the event. But after learning of her suffering, I was not surprised because I felt numb by then.

Certainly I never thought that the second story, which caused a flurry

among the people, had something to do with me.

Since our entering the Building of Foreign Languages, I had not been beaten. Admittedly the torture of the Cow Shed had not subdued me. Climbing out of purgatory I was still as rebellious as ever. Probably I had an in-bred, dull brain coupled with some cantankerousness, both of which were cemented into me. One day I was called by a PLA officer, maybe a battalion commander, who had been sent to work in the Department of Eastern Languages as part of the military team "supporting the leftists" in the Revolution. His name was Zhao Liangshan, who died later, so far as I know. He asked me to come to his office and then asked me a question, which rather infuriated as well as disappointed me. I thought PLA soldiers should behave in a civilized and decent fashion. But I was incorrect. I replied discontentedly, "You took away all my diaries. They must have been put in one of the rooms in the Building of Foreign Languages. You can simply send someone over there to fetch them. It won't take you five minutes to check it out." I didn't think my answer would explode the tinderbox. He flared up, remarking that I was fairly hostile. To his rebuke I made no response. He was the supreme ruler now.

After dinner I returned to my room. A female instructor, who used to oppose Nie, led a bunch of people into my room, holding in hands some strips of red and green paper full of slogans and posted them on the wall. Immediately the drab white wall took on a lively air, making the room burst with energy. The slogans were nothing new, lifelessly those like "Ji Xianlin intends to go against the Revolution. Down with him," "Be lenient to those who confess their crimes and severe to those who refuse to," and "Behave yourselves but never act without permission," so on and so forth. As "a common occurrence causes no stir," these threats did not disturb my mental state of peace. I slept well that night as usual, getting ready for the advent of another political storm.

As expected, the "revolutionaries" went into action the following day. The troop of the "Red Guards" from the Department of Eastern Languages, probably comprising both factions of the university, walked me toward student dormitory Building 40. Again I felt like I was a convict sent to a distant place for penal servitude, shambling forward with the head held low. In the historical Peking Opera, the convict was allowed to walk with his head

raised. But in new China I was deprived of this right. Alas, I would forget about my misfortune and make the best of it.

At first I did not know where I was going. Close to Building 40, I figured it out by judging the environment. I got a faint impression that the building's walls were posted all over with big-character posters and slogans. Unable to look up I guessed that those posters bore those irreversibly banal words, "Down with the obstinate and rebellious Ji Xianlin" and "Be lenient to those who confess their crimes and severe to those who refuse to," as well as false charges, slanders and smears. Amid the deafening howls, I detected nothing special in their cries in light of the nature of my crime except for the accusation that I was guilty of "reversing the revolutionary verdict."

With my neck gripped from behind and my arms twisted high up on my back, I was dragged into the building. While I went down the narrow hall, students yelled, chanted and struck me on the head and body. As if sailing through clouds and fog, I identified no one before being carried to the second floor as if on a magic carpet. Here the situation duplicated that on the first floor from one end to the other. The hubbub and shouting roared on as I was jostled up to the third floor. Here I saw nothing new, the formality being flat, monotonous and unsatisfactory. The "ceremony" done, I was marched back to the Building of Foreign Languages.

Later I learned that this new way of physical abuse was called the "torture through the hall." Was this a creation of the Eastern languages students? If so, they should be credited when *A History of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution* is written by someone in the future. Probably, one chapter can be devoted to the discussion of their contribution. As for me, I had gone through hard times in life and was not particularly agonized bodily and mentally. I just thought it was a little "fun."

Meanwhile, the matter by no means would drop. That battalion commander, Zhao, made up his mind to plan another round of torture. The following day a student came to me after breakfast and required me to go to a classroom for a torture session. This time I was allowed to raise my head. I saw one instructor from my old instructional section and a few students present. I was ready to assume the jet plane posture. To my surprise I was offered a seat. I was tied in knots. I thought I almost became Jia Gui of *The Famen Temple*, who is more comfortable with being domineered than with

being respected.[2] Given this treatment, can you imagine what result they possibly could achieve this time? I found the speeches rather hackneyed, so I chose not to listen to what they said; as a poetic line describes, "Ignoring the rocking waves in a windy day, I am sitting calmly on the fishing boat." Suddenly I was woken up by a shout, "March Ji Xianlin away!" I knew this performance was over.

Before returning to my room, I was taken to the office of another instructional section. The same "formal ceremony" was run through. Then the third and fourth instructional sections followed with similar proceedings. I did not count the number of offices I toured that day. I thought I went to all the offices of the department in succession, more than ten of them in all. When the faculty sessions were finished, the student sessions just commenced. I could not figure out how many student classes our department had by that time. Each class ran one session of criticism (probably some of them held joint sessions). I was not sure about the number of sessions I attended. It should be around the neighborhood of twenty something. If each session took one hour, the total was about thirty hours. Some of the classes "slighted their work by cutting back on time." Therefore the number of hours actually wound up shorter than I calculated. Anyway, for about four days I was busier than "moonlighters." One class after another, the students relayed the sessions, running about nine rounds daily and leaving me only with time for meals. The ordeal was time-wasting and demanding.

What effects did the criticism have on me? I felt only a little tired. "Too many head lice make no itch at all." I even became interested in attending torture sessions. I loved them and found fun in them. As "solemn denouncing speeches" clattered in my ears, I shut my mind and rested. I would "wait at my ease for an exhausted enemy."

The mundane world is complex. I started with a "rebellious attitude" and ended up with it, too. This attitude first saved my life and then enriched me with tranquility. The benefit I reaped might have been inconceivable to the revolutionaries, no matter whether they truly deserved the title or not.

[1] The pun comes from both the pronunciation of the Chinese character "lu" and the name of a negative character "*xiaolujiang*" in one of the "eight model revolutionary theatrical performances" in the Cultural Revolution, *Taking Mount Tiger by Strategy*.

[2] See note 2, Chapter 11.

拾柒　牛棚转移

时令已经进入了冬季，牢房里也装上了炉子，生上了火。虽然配给的煤不多，炉火当然不能很旺。但是，比起外面来，屋子里已经是温暖如春了。

可是劳改的队伍却逐渐缩小了起来。一来二去，剩下的人不多了，就都受命搬到一间大屋子里来。什么原因呢？我不清楚，当然也不敢问。我此时反正已经堕入阿鼻地狱，再升上一级两级，是鬼总是鬼，对我无所谓了。

屋子里显得空荡荡的。大概是因为人少了，连老鼠的胆子也大了起来，大白天里，竟敢到处乱窜。我从家里带回来的一个干馒头首当其冲，被老鼠咬掉了一些。我想赶走它们，它们竟敢瞪着小眼睛，在窗台上跟我玩捉迷藏。也许老鼠们也意识到，屋子里住的不是人，而是"黑帮"，等级不比老鼠高，欺负他们一下，谅他们也不敢奈自己何。

大家虽然不大敢随便说话，不能互通信息，但是正如俗话所说的"没有不透风的墙"，我逐渐知道了，聂记革委会改变了对待"劳改罪犯"的"政策"，不再集中，而要实行分散，把各系所处的"罪犯"分回各自的单位。姗姗来迟，东语系也把我们几个"罪犯"提回系里。我们的"牛棚"转移了。转移到外文楼去。

前些日子，"特别班"还在外文楼时，我是多么希望能进外文楼来呀！现在果然进来了；却是依然故我。我们几个"罪犯"被分配住在二楼北面的缅甸语教研室里，都在地上搭地铺。靠窗子有一张大桌子，我们的牢头禁子睡在上面，居高临下，监督我们。他外号叫"小炉匠"，大概是姓卢的青年学生。最使我吃惊的是，"我们"又增加了新人，是"黑帮大院"中没有见过的。他们也是"罪犯"吗？我心里纳闷。反正现在是同我们一锅煮了，彼此相安无事。

在这里，生活比较平静了。不像在"黑帮大院"里那样，时时刻刻都要把神经绷得紧紧的，把耳朵伸得长长的，唯恐牢头禁子喊自己的名字时答应晚了，招致灾难。现在牢头禁子就高踞在同一间小屋的桌子上，用不着把神经弄得那样紧张了。

但是，日子也并不好过，也不可能好过。我仍然是"劳改罪犯"。这

楼上有许多办公室，大多是各专业的教研室。在我被“打倒”以前，我当了二十年的系主任。这些办公室我都是熟悉的。周围的气氛当然是非常好的。我是这里的主人。而今时移世迁，我一“跳”（自己跳出来也）而成为阶下囚了。“流水落花春去也，天上人间”，我当“反革命”已经有一年多了。我并不是留恋当年的“威风”，我深知自己已被“打倒在地”，永无翻身之日了，我只求苟延残喘而已。

现在，在整个大楼里，我只有三个地方能进：一是牢房，二是厕所，三是审讯我的屋子，最后这一项是并不固定的。至于第二项则是“黑帮”同“白帮”（“革命者”）共同享用的，因为“黑帮”虽然是鬼，也总得大小便呀——真鬼大概是不大小便的，待查。

此外，这里也颇有令人难堪之处。“黑”“白”杂居，抬头不见低头见。中国是礼义之邦，见了面，总得说点什么。可我们又缺少英美人见面说的Good morning! How do you do?或者单纯一声Hello! 现在习用的“早安”之类，是地道的舶来品。我们过去常用的“你吃饭了吗？”是举国通用的问候语，我想缩为“国候”。现在，在外文楼，见到了以前很熟很熟的人，舶来品不敢用，“国候”也不敢用。只有低头，望望然而去之。“白帮”怎么想？我不得而知。似我“黑帮”却实在觉得非常别扭。有时“白人”在某一间屋子里，讨论什么问题，逸兴遄飞，欢笑之声中溢满了“革命气”，在楼道里往复回荡。这革命气却一点也没有熏到我身上。我们现在是“谈笑之声能闻，而老死不相往来”。“能闻”者，能听到也，这是别人的声音，我们是不能有声音的。我们都像影子似的活动着，影子是没有声音的。

但是，这里也并不缺少新闻，缺少有刺激性的东西。这新闻并不是哪一个人告诉我的，现在没有人敢干、肯干这种事。这是我自己从楼道中嘁嘁喳喳的声音中听出来的。最重要的一条新闻是关于我在上面提到过的那一位蒙古语女教员的。原来东语系“罪犯”中只有她一个女性。在“黑帮大院”时有女囚牢。到了外文楼以后，女囚牢没有了，又不能同我辈男士一起睡在地铺上。所以就把她关在另外一间屋子里。据我的推测，管理她的大概是一个学朝鲜语的女学生和一个系图书室女管理员。后者姓叶，大名暂缺。此人是一个女光棍似的人物，泼辣、粗暴，最擅长惹是生非，兴风作浪。她所在的图书室是东语系小沙龙，谣言由此处产生，小道消息在这里集散。“文革”一分派，她就成了聂记公社在东语系的女干将，大概也属于那一种“老子铁了心，誓死保聂孙”类型的人物。有一次是她到我家来，大声叱骂，押解着我到外文楼去接受批斗。女牢头禁子押解男“犯人”，在北大恐怕是罕见的新鲜事儿。这样一个人

物，对唯一的女囚绝对不会放过。在一天夜里，她和其他几个人对这位女囚大肆审讯、殴打。这位女囚是不是像在“黑帮大院”里那样被折磨得眼圈发青，我没有看见，不敢瞎说。我听到这个消息以后，心里没有引起什么波动，我的神经现在已经完全麻木了。

可是我却万万没有想到，第二条引起人们震动的新闻竟然出在我身上。

到了外文楼以后，我没有再挨揍。大概我天生就是一个不识抬举的家伙，一个有着花岗岩脑袋瓜死不改悔的家伙。虽然经过了炼狱的锻炼，我并没有低头认罪。有一天，解放军派来支“左”的常驻东语系的一个大概是营长的军官，大名叫赵良山（此人后来听说已经故去），把我叫到他的办公室里，问我一个问题。我当时心里非常火，非常失望。我想，解放军水平总应该是高的，现在看来也不尽然。我粗声粗气地说道：“我的全部日记已经都被抄来了。一定会放在外文楼某一间屋子里。你派一个人去查一查那一天的日记。最多只用五分钟，问题就可以全部弄明白了。”万没有想到，这一下子又捅了马蜂窝。他勃然变色，说我态度极端恶劣。他现在是太上皇，我哪里还敢吭气儿呢？

晚饭以后，回到牢房。原先反聂的一位女教员，率领着几个人，手里拿着红红绿绿的大标语，把小屋墙上贴满。原来一片白色，非常单调寡味。现在增添了大红大绿，顿觉斗室生光，一片勃勃的生机。标语内容，没有什么创新，仍然是“季羡林要翻天，就打倒他！”“坦白从宽，抗拒从严！”“只许规规矩矩，不许乱说乱动！”等等，等等。“司空见惯浑闲事”，这些东西已经对于我的神经不能产生任何作用了。我夜里照睡不误，等候着暴风雨的来临。

果然，“革命家”们第二天就开始行动了。首先由东语系的“红卫兵”——现在恐怕是两派的都有了——押解着我，走向东语系学生住的四十楼。我自己又像一个被发配的囚犯，俯首帖耳，只能看到地上，踉跄前进。旧剧中，囚犯是允许抬头的。我这个新社会的囚犯却没有这个特权。既来之，则安之，由它去吧。

我原来并不知道把我押向何方。走近四十楼，凭我的本能，我恍然大悟。此时隐隐约约地看到楼外贴满了大字报和大标语，内容不外是那一套。我猜想——因为我不能看——不过是“打倒老保翻天的季羡林！”“坦白从宽，抗拒从严！”此外再加上造谣、诬蔑、人身攻击。从震耳欲聋的口号声中，听到的也不过是那些东西。我顿时明白了：我现在成了“翻天”的代表人物。

我被卡住脖子，拧住胳臂，推推搡搡，押进楼去，先走过一楼楼道。楼道本来很狭，现在又挤满了学生。我耳朵里听的是口号，头上、身上，挨的是拳头。我一个人也看不到，仿佛腾云驾雾一般，我飞上了二楼。同在一楼一样，从楼道这一头，走（按语法来讲，应该是被动式）到那一头。仍然是震天的口号声。在嘈杂混乱中，我又走（同前）上了三楼。在这里也没有什么新花样，心里颇有点不满足，觉得太单调，不够味。“仪式”完了以后，我又被押解着回到了外文楼。

后来听说，这叫做“楼内游斗”。这是不是东语系学生的发明创造？如果是的话，将来有朝一日编写《无产阶级文化大革命史》时，应该着重提上一笔，说不定还要另立专章的。至于我自己，我是经过了大风大浪的人，身体上，精神上，都没有受到什么痛苦，只觉得有点“好玩”而已。

事情当然不能就这样结束。看来那位赵营长下定了决心，连夜召开会议，制订了斗争方案。第二天，刚吃过早饭，立即有学生来找我，到一间教研室里去批斗。这次准我抬头了，看到的是一个教研室的成员，加上个别的学生。我已摆好了架子坐喷气式。然而有人却推给我一把椅子。我大惊失色，我现在已经成了《法门寺》的贾桂了。在这样的情况下，你想这个批斗会，还能批出什么，又斗出什么呢？我觉得十分平淡寡味。我于是把两个耳朵都关闭了起来，“任凭风浪打，稳坐钓鱼船”，蒙眬中，听到一声：“把季羡林押出去！”我知道，这一出戏算是结束了。

我正准备回自己的牢房，又有人来把我拉到另一个教研室去，“行礼如仪”。然后是第三个教研室、第四个教研室。我没有记录，也无法统计。估计是每一个教研室都批斗一次。东语系十几个教研室，共批斗了十几次。接着来的是学生，我不知道，东语系学生共有多少个班。每班批斗一次（也许有的班是联合批斗），我记不清楚，加起来，总有二十来次。以每次批斗一个小时计算，共有三十来个小时。我看有的班“偷工减料”，质量大有问题。实际上怕用不了这样多的时间。反正在三四天以内，我比出去“走穴”的人还要忙。这个班刚批完，下一个班接着干。每天批斗八九场，只给我留出了吃饭的时间。可谓紧张之至了。

对我产生了什么结果呢？除了感觉到有点疲倦之外，“虱子多了不痒”，我“被批斗的积极性”反而调动起来了。我爱上了这种批斗。我觉得非常开心。你那里“义正词严”，我这里关上耳朵，镇定养神，我反而是“以逸待劳”了。

世间事真是复杂的。我以“态度恶劣”始，又以“态度恶劣”终。第一个“恶劣”救了我的命，第二个“恶劣”养了我的神。当时的真假革命家们，大概是万万想不到的吧。

18 PARTIAL LIBERATION

What is "partial liberation"? It has no precise definition. It is a personal feeling of mine.

Intense torture lasted until the end of 1968. On the eve of the Spring Festival in 1969 by the Chinese lunar calendar, I received a surprise notice from the revolutionary committee of my department, granting me permission to go home. The person who sent me back home (this time I'd better not use the word "marched") was "Tinker," the one I mentioned earlier. The large living room of my apartment remained sealed. The whole family lived in a nine-square-meter room. The two old ladies of my family told me that, during the time I was away, a male student came with the key to the living room, which had been taken away from me. He and a woman, whom he brought with him, hung around with each other for a long time. They slept in my bed and used my gas stove for cooking. They intimidated the two old ladies, "Don't say anything about us!" Acting otherwise would incur grave consequences. "Tinker" brought back that key to the door. Now I could live inside. Nine months had passed since I quit my bed.

I was delighted. But worry soon crept back on me. I was not released from counter-revolutionary labels and the prospects of my future were as bleak as ever. My meager salary hardly allowed us to survive. I remember I got a raise later but can't recall the amount and the date. I still felt pressure bearing on me. One day I inadvertently overheard a speech given by an old man, whose wife held some leading position in the community committee (the old man, himself, used to be a thug in the KMT's military troops), to all the residents of the building.[1] He shouted, "Ji Xianlin is back home now. Keep a close watch on him, everyone!" The old man probably was acting according to the will of "higher-ups." At first I was undisturbed by his words. This sort of thing was quite normal. But, later, I did feel a little uneasy that "people were supposed to keep tabs on me," as if I had become a god of plague or a carrier of HIV that everyone tried to keep away.

Even though no one called my attention to the way I behaved, I found myself somewhat eccentric. I felt uncomfortable walking with the head held

straight. Entering the store, I looked like an idiot who was often at a loss for words. I did not dare to address store assistants as "comrade." How dared I do that? If they were not addressed as "comrade," what else should I call them? The use of "miss" and "mister" was not suitable. But it was certainly discourteous to avoid this formality in shopping. As a result I stumbled, dumb-stricken, nonplussed and unable to control my limbs. It was rather embarrassing. I became an old man suffering from dementia.

Before long I was told to attend a "study session" in Building 40. It was the first time that I walked alone from home to the building. The day was freezing, the earth covered with snow. It was quite a long trip, at least three *li*, and would take half an hour usually even to walk fast. I left home and wandered a distance, before I detoured to walk across the ice-covered lake, so as to avoid bumping into people. An ancient saying suddenly hit me, "It is as dangerous as to stand at the edge of the precipice and to walk on thin ice." The expression was an analogy. But didn't it graphically portray my present circumstance? I had no idea what would happen to me in the future. Now I was quite uncomfortable interacting with others. Should I loudly say "reporting" when I arrived at Building 40 and met with the young revolutionaries? Would I still need to hang my head and hands to the sides in front of them? Those were urgent questions, but I had no answers so my walking slowed down to a shuffle.

I walked slower and slower until finally I reached the building. The sight of it reminded me of the past. Not long before it was here that I had attended the "torture through the hall." Today I was back again. What was I now? My mind was not clear. "The ugly bride is afraid of meeting her parents-in-law." Fear didn't help. Plucking up courage, I stepped in to report my arrival. Fortunately there was no crying, chanting and beating. I was met with reserved coldness. This attitude dispersed my anxiety. Then I was assigned to study with a group of students of Hindi. In the days to follow I attended their study sessions and worked with them without clarification of my identity. Other Cow Shed fellows of my department also were assigned work there but were treated differently. Some were asked to sweep the hall. One was sent to clean restrooms because he was labeled a landlord for no reason. I thought I would be asked to do the dirtiest and hardest job. But I was unexpectedly spared this time.

Feeling restrained and uncomfortable, I was not yet accustomed to being with revolutionary people. Whether I was a human or a devil had not been declared. Without a clear sense about my identity, I often hesitated to act. Students were young, vigorous and active. At the recess they sang songs and played musical instruments. One student was good at playing the two-stringed, bowed Chinese instrument. I enjoyed his performance but dared not show my excitement. The young men chatted, laughed and made fun of each other, while I sat quietly in the corner like a clay idol, a square peg in a round hole.

Even in this comparatively peaceful life, some events popped up from time to time. One of them, as I remember, involved paying the Party membership dues. As mentioned previously, paying dues was forbidden to us in the Cow Shed. At that time I was not allowed to pick up the monthly subsidy granted to my family of three, a sum of forty *yuan* and more. Therefore my aged aunt made a trip each month to the Department of Eastern Languages in the Building of Foreign Languages and picked it up on my behalf. As a dependent of a "counter-revolutionary," she often was humiliated and insulted, particularly when she was looked upon as a dependent of one of "Jinggangshan's" members. The old lady could do nothing but put up with the derogation. However, even in such circumstances, my aunt was worried that her nephew would lose his Party membership and, therefore, paid the monthly dues on time. The official of the Party organization, I wondered who he was, ignored the risk, accepted them and did not notify the Cow Shed. Otherwise I should have expected another round of beating. For that I have been deeply indebted. My aunt also told me that one old comrade surnamed Yuan did not taunt her but also told her in a low voice, "Be careful about the money and watch your steps on your way home." Each time the old lady recalled occurrences like this, beams of warmth received in a snowy and icy winter, she was filled with gratitude.

After I came to Building 40, I thought I should pay my Party membership dues personally. Conscious of my situation, however, I was too shamefaced to do that. Besides, the Party organization was not active anymore at that time, and I did not know who I should contact in this regard. Consequently I did nothing about it until some time later when a department leader talked to me, "Why didn't you pay the Party membership dues on time?" I answered frankly, "At the time the Party branch decides to expel me

from the Party, I will pay the total dues I owe." Clearly I believed my purge from the Party was only a matter of time.

In addition to my trouble with the Party, some other less significant, but deeply impressive, events concerned my stay in Building 40. I was too familiar with this building. By 1966 I had worked as head of the Department of Eastern Languages for twenty years. Because our male students lived in Building 40 for quite a long time, I certainly had chances to make many trips there. This dormitory saw my time of honor as well as that of infamy. As a result I experienced both hospitable and antagonistic treatment there. I don't want to complain about the fact that "human relationship runs like a roller-coaster along the track of one's rise and fall." Such ups and downs have characterized life since time immemorial. Exceptional times occur, but they are rare. Therefore complaints are meaningless.

But I'm easily touched. I know I will never be able to become a hero given my limitations. Nor have I ever desired to be one. A hero is made of special material. I'm by no means that kind of person. I'm an ordinary man, who can be disturbed easily by insignificant events. That decade of turmoil was not an insignificant experience in my lifetime, nor was the suffering it caused me a minor setback. The degree of hardship I experienced and the perseverance I displayed in surviving this catastrophe, despite my weak will and sensitivity, are inconceivable. When I started to live in Building 40, my situation changed for the better. But the prospects of my future remained murky. Thus the sight of the familiar place triggered a train of thoughts.

Let me focus on the events that happened in the first two years of the Cultural Revolution. Those events relate to Building 40 and always evoke a variety of feelings in me. In June, 1966, when I returned to the university from Nankou, I grumbled on the spot about a big-character poster on Building 40 that criticized me for my writing "Beida's Campus Bathed in the Spring." Also in that building I was required to hand in a "black sum" of three thousand *yuan*, but it was not accepted and was returned to me. Here, at the outset of the Cultural Revolution, I saw for the first time and with my own eyes a grand torture session held against the Department of Eastern Languages "capitalist roaders" and heard with my own ears loud, terrifying chants of slogans. Building 40 was the place in which I tried to "check the number and sit in the right seat" when medicating on possibilities of my fate.

Here I also offended a PLA officer by the manners in which I responded to his question and resultantly brought a "torture through the hall" down upon myself.

Alas, Building 40! You were the building that I tried not to think about but just could not avoid.

Now I was back to you, for the second time, as a fake among "revolutionary people."

At Xinhuaying in the Yanqing County

This time I did not stay in Building 40 long. The period probably lasted from the middle of that winter to the middle of the autumn of the following year. One important event transpired in the course of this time, the deployment of the 8341 military troop of the PLA to Beida. In fact only a small number of PLA officers and soldiers arrived on campus to "support the leftists." The 8341 military troop had a shining revolutionary tradition. Its garrison at Beida filled the majority of us faculty and staff members with confidence in our future. We hope it would set wrongs to rights and restore order to the university. In the heat of the factionalism and chaos, we began to see glimmers of resolve and vigor.

But, according to the order of some level of higher authority, which no one knew for sure, most of the University's faculty and staff members, led by the PLA men, were sent to Liyuzhou, Jiangxi, a long distance from Beijing, to be reformed. The weather was scorching down there and the place was relentlessly plagued with schistosomes. One PLA officer said it was called "thermal treatment," which was actually a new way of persecuting intellectuals. I knew very well that I was one of the persons deserving "thermal treatment." So I got ready, both physically and mentally, to be sent to Poyang Lake in Jiangxi. It turned out that I was left in Beijing. I had no idea about the reasons. Then I was sent to the village of Xinhuaying in the Yanqing County together with students of Hindi and Thai to be educated by poor and lower-middle-class peasants. Before I had a chance to express my gratitude, I discovered that this time I was specially treated for "another purpose."

Someone delivered the directive that harsh criticism should apply to a

specific "live target," rather than being vague and hollow, in order to make the attack meaningful, severe and most effective. Now I became a "live target." Suddenly the thought leapt to my mind that, when I had stayed in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region years earlier, I often saw pleasure-seeking people driving a truck that carried a live sheep. They went to a scenic spot with beautiful mountains and lakes and had a good time before taking out a knife and slaughtering the sheep. Then an eat-with-your-hands barbecued mutton dinner was cooked and consumed before returning home. At Xinhuaying I was required to rearrange Chinese cabbage in a cellar according to the northern Chinese tradition of storing vegetables for the winter. I was taken out once for a torture session. I knew I lived up to the "expectations" of me and fulfilled my assigned mission as a live target.

On the first day of the Spring Festival in 1970 I was sent back to Beijing.

[1] The community committee, an unofficial neighborhood organization, made up of housewives and retirees, who mediated disputes between families. It played a significant role in carrying out policies during the Cultural Revolution.

拾捌　半解放

什么叫“半解放”呢？没有什么科学的定义。只是我个人的感觉而已。

集中批斗之后，时令已经走过了1968年，进入了1969年。在这一年的旧历元旦前，系革委会突然通知我，可以回家了。送我（这次恐怕不好再说“押解”了）回家的，就是上面提到的那一个“小炉匠”。此时我家的那一间大房间久已被封了门。全家挤住在一间九平米的小屋里。据家里两位老太太告诉我，其间曾有一个学生拿着抄走了的房门钥匙，带着一个女人，在那间被查封了的大屋子里，鬼混了相当长一段时间，睡在我的床上，用我们的煤气做饭。他们威胁两位老太太说：“不许声扬！”否则将有极其严重的后果。现在“小炉匠”就拿着那一把钥匙，开了门，让我睡在里面。我离开自己的床已经有八九个月了。

我此时在高兴之中又满怀忧虑。我头上还顶着一摞帽子，自己的前途仍然渺茫。每月只能拿到那一点钱，吃饭也不够。我记得后来增加了点钱，数目和时间都想不起来了。外来的压力还是有的。有一天我无意中听到楼下一个家属委员会的什么“连长”的老头子（他自己据说是国民党的兵痞）高声昭告全楼：“季羡林放回来了。大家都要注意他呀！”这大概是“上面”打的招呼。我听了没有吃惊，这种事情对我可以说是习以为常了。但是，心里仍然难免有点别扭，知道自己被判“群众监督”了。我仿佛成了瘟神或艾滋病的患者，没有人敢接触了。

即使没有人告诉我，毋宁说是提醒我这种情况，我这人已经有点反常。走路抬头，仍不习惯。进商店买东西，像是一个白痴，不知道说什么好。我不敢叫售货员“同志”，我怎么敢是他们的“同志”呢？不叫“同志”又叫什么呢？叫“小姐”，称“先生”，实有所不妥。什么都不叫，更有所不安。结果是口嗫嚅而欲言，足趑趄而不前，一副六神无主、四体失灵的狼狈相，我自己都觉得十分难堪。我已经成了一个老年痴呆症的患者了。

过了没有多久，我被指令到四十楼去参加“学习”。我第一次从家里走向四十楼的时候，正是千里冰封、万里雪飘的时候。这一段路相当长，总有三四里路；走快了，也得用半小时。我走出门去，走了一段路，立即避开大路，从湖中的冰上走过去。我忽然想到古人“如临深渊，如履薄冰”的说法，这只是形象的比喻，可我今天的处境不正是这

个样子吗？我不知道将来会发生什么事情。我现在已经很不习惯同人打交道。我到了四十楼，见了革命小将，是不是还要高喊“报告”呢？是不是还要低头垂手站在他们面前呢？这都是非常现实的问题。我得不到答复，走起路来，就磨磨蹭蹭。

我越走越慢，好不容易才走到四十楼。我见景生情，思绪万端。前不久我还在这里被“楼中游斗”，曾几何时，我又回到这里来了。这回是以什么身份？我说不清。“丑媳妇怕见公婆的面”，怕也不行。我一鼓勇气，进去报了到。幸而没有口号的喊声，没有手打脚踹，而是不冷不热的待遇。我心头一块石头落了地，被分派了小组，组员都是学印地语的学生。从此以后，我就以一个莫名其妙的身份，参加了他们的学习和活动。原来东语系的“棚友”都被召唤到那里。可是待遇却不知为什么显然不同了。有的被分配打扫楼道。有一个印地语教员被无端扣上了地主的帽子，被分配打扫厕所。我原来是有思想准备来干最脏最累的活。然而竟然没有，实出我的意外了。

同革命群众在一起，我还非常不习惯，有点拘谨，有点不舒服。我现在是人是鬼，还没有定性。游离于人鬼之间，不知何以自处。学生们是青年人，活泼爱动。学习休息时，他们就吹拉弹唱。有一个同学擅长拉二胡，我非常欣赏；但又不敢忘形。年轻人说说笑笑，打打闹闹，我则呆坐一旁，宛然泥塑木雕。自己也觉得气氛很不协调。

但是，在相对平静的生活中，也不是没有一些波澜。我回忆所及，首先就是党费问题。我上面已经谈过，在“黑帮大院”中，交党费是犯忌讳的。我当时自己不能领每月的生活费，都是我的年迈的婶母代劳。她每月到外文楼东语系办公室去领全家三口人四十多元的生活费。作为“黑帮”的家属，她没少听到闲话。特别是井冈山“黑帮”的家属，更会直接或间接受到奚落。老人没有办法，只有忍气吞声。在这个情况下，她居然还怕自己的孩子丢掉党票，仍然按月交纳党费。东语系不知道哪一位党组织干部居然敢收下，而没有向“黑帮大院”通报。否则我一定会多挨上一顿打。我至今感激不尽。我婶母还告诉我，一位姓袁的老同志，不但对她没有奚落，而且还偷偷地小声对她说：“把钱收好！走路要小心！”她老人家每次谈到这种雪地冰天中的一星温暖，也总是感激不尽。

但是，到了四十楼以后，应该我自己交党费了。我这种非人非鬼的处境，却使我不敢厚着脸皮去交党费。此时党组织好像已经不再活动。我也不知道向谁交。如此就耽误了一些时间。系里的领导找我谈话，问我：“为什么不按时交党费？”我十分坦诚地告诉他：“等到支部决定开

除我出党的时候，我一定会把所有拖欠的党费一文不少地交上，然后离开。”由此可见，我认为，留在党内已经完全不可能了。

除了党费问题，我在四十楼颇有一些小小的无关大局的感慨。这一座楼对我来说实在是太太熟悉了。我在东语系，截止到1966年，已经当了二十年的系主任。东语系的男学生在四十楼也住了极长的时间了。我必然要经常到这里来的。我在这里走过阳关大道，也走过独木小桥。我受到过热烈的欢迎，也遭受过无情的凌辱。我不想发那些什么“世态炎凉，人情如纸”一类的牢骚。因为世态自古以来就是这样，不这样的人与事，只能算是例外。因此这种事情已经不值得再发牢骚了。

但是，我在感情上是异常脆弱的。我不能成为英雄，我有自知之明。我从来也不想成为英雄。英雄是用特种材料造成的，而我实非其俦。我是一个极其平凡的人，小小的个人悲欢，经常来打扰我。何况“十年浩劫”决非小事，我在其中的遭受，也决非小事。以我这个脆弱的心灵来承受这空前的灾难，来承受这一件极大极大的事，其艰难程度完全可以想见了。到了四十楼以后，我的处境应该说是已经有所改变。但是前途仍然笼罩在一片迷雾之中。触景生情，心里就难免有所波动了。

远的不必讲了。专就“文化大革命”开始以来的两年多来说，四十楼就能唤起我很多不同的回忆，激起我很多不同的感慨。1966年6月我从南口村回校，看到批判我的《春满燕园》的大字报，鼻子里不由自主地哼了一声，是在四十楼；我被勒令交出“黑钱”三千元，又被拒绝接受，是在四十楼；亲眼看到“文革”初期批斗东语系“走资派”，口号之声惊天动地，我自己也颇想“对号入座”，是在四十楼；自己顶撞了支“左”的解放军军官而被判处“楼内游斗”，是在四十楼。

啊，四十楼！我本不愿意想但又不能不想的四十楼！

我现在又到你里面来了，第二次滥竽“革命群众”之中。

- 在延庆新华营

这一次我在四十楼呆的时间不算很长，大概是半个冬天，一个夏天，半个秋天。在这期间有一件大事，就是8341部队的进驻。只派不多的军官和士兵，也算是来支“左”吧。这是一支有悠久革命传统的部队，因此，他们的到来引起了绝大多数人，包括我在内的北大师生员工的极大的希望，希望他们能够拨乱反正，整理好北大这个烂摊子。在全校派性严重、一团乱糟糟的情况下，似乎出现了一派生气勃勃的生机。

不知道是出于哪一级的决定，北大绝大多数的教职员工，在支“左”部队的率领下，到远离北京的江西鲤鱼洲去接受改造。此地天气炎热，血吸虫遍地皆是。这个部队的一个头子说，这叫做“热处理”，是对知识分子的又一次迫害。我有自知之明，像我这样的“人”（？）当然在“热处理”之列。我做好了充分的精神和物质准备，准备发配到鄱阳湖去。可是，最初我不知道是出于什么考虑，让我留在北京，同印地语、泰语的学生到京郊长城以外的延庆新华营去，接受贫下中农的再教育。我没有来得及表露感激之情，我就发现，原来我是“另有任用”。

根据什么人的指示，大批判不能空对空，需要有人做“活靶子”，这样批起来才能有生气，有声势，效果才能最好。现在我就是这样一个“活靶子”。我忽然想到，在新疆时我曾看到郊游时汽车上总载着一只活羊。到了山明水秀的目的地，游玩够了，就拿出刀子，把羊杀掉，做成羊肉抓饭，吃饱了回家。我在新华营，在菜窖里搬菜。曾拉出来，被批斗过一次。我知道，我不辱使命，完成了任务。

1970年旧历元旦，奉召回京。

19 COMPLETE LIBERATION

The last chapter is titled "Partial Liberation" while this chapter is called "Complete Liberation." I have chosen these terms for no specific reason. They are imprecise in meaning and not related to law. In addition the line between the "partial" and "complete" is arbitrarily drawn. I will leave the confusion to scholars of law and philosophy for clarification.

Let me get back to my story. Upon returning to campus, I had feelings of excitement and zeal. With these emotions I settled down to work, along with others, in Building 35. I speculated that this might be someone's new idea or a new regulation to be implemented, that is, each department's office being set up in a student dormitory probably in an effort to embrace the doctrine that students should "attend, run and reform colleges." Its essence was to let students control and reform professors and old intellectuals. One practice, formulated on the basis of this concept, was that freshmen and sophomores should be encouraged to write textbooks for juniors and seniors. There were other examples which I will not elaborate here.

Building 35 was a four-story dormitory building, in which female students lived on the third and fourth floors and male students on the first and second. A few rooms on the second floor were used as offices for the department and the Party's branch committee, with which I had nothing to do. I was assigned to work in an extremely cramped room on the left-hand side of the entrance to the building; the room had a large window facing outside. It was the door-keeper's room. I was supposed to be the doorkeeper, whose responsibilities were, first, to watch the building, then, to deliver telephone calls, and, last, to receive and deliver the mail.

The first job was both difficult and easy. My leaders told me to keep people who had no business to do inside from entering the building. I knew the faculty and staff members of the department, who had worked there for many years, pretty well and most of the juniors and seniors. The freshmen were new to me. How could I recognize those who came with no business to do inside? For this reason I'd better turn blind to those strange faces. So, wasn't this job both thorny and effortless?

The second job was like the first one. The easy part of it lay in that when the telephone rang I answered it. For the rest of the time I sat idle. What was difficult then? I gradually learned that the majority of the phone calls were directed to female students. Each time I delivered a call, I had to run upstairs to the third or fourth floor. It was good "upstairs-climbing exercise," which many athletic pros suggest. But the problem was the large number of times that I rushed up to deliver messages, ten to twenty times a day. Athletic training experts would find it demanding to complete such task. After I tried a few times, I was exhausted. Then I would stand outside the building and yell toward the upstairs. The method worked only partially. But my voice usually failed to reach the north parts of the building where some girl students boarded. This consequence did generate some trouble. However, I had to ignore the issue, for any alternative would physically push me to the limit.

The third job was quite easy. When newspapers arrived, I sent them up to the offices. When letters arrived, I stood them on the windowsills and let the receivers glance and pick them up.

Time flew like the river running its course, as I observed my three duties. At eight each morning I sauntered from Building 13 to Building 35 and returned home at twelve. At two in the afternoon I made the same trip and got back at six. I worked a full eight hours and walked ten-odd *li*. It was extraordinary physical exercise. I was not apprehensive about anything and was in good condition. I can't remember at what time my reduced salary had resumed the full amount that I originally received before the Cultural Revolution. At any rate I no longer feared about the living of my family. Now I did not have any teaching load, nor did I do any research. No one was audacious to write letters to me and call on me. I was free of distractions. I was overjoyed with the life of "the untouchable" (Indians of the lower social status). Life was then quite delightful.

- **Translating** ***Ramayana***

I was used to writing and uncomfortable with idling away time and accomplishing nothing. As a doorkeeper I was not engaged except for answering the telephone and receiving mail as I sat there alone, watching people coming in and going out. Gradually I got bored. "Without a business

unprofitable to do, how can one while away a finite life?" I thought of these two lines by an ancient poet. Why couldn't I engage in some business "unprofitable" too? There were actually numerous choices to make in this regard. Of course some of them were forbidden practices to me such as playing mahjong. However, I had been living by the pen. After turning this issue over in my mind, I concluded that I just could not discard my old trade. In such circumstances writing was something that could be done. However, I was not at all in the mood for creative writing. Then the idea of translating flashed across my mind. It was feasible to translate something. I did not want to translate a short and easy text. I felt that door-keeping would probably be my "iron rice bowl."[1] Therefore, a long, abstruse text that could not be rendered easily was what I needed most. It would save the trouble of selecting texts from time to time. Even if the load of selecting a text could not be avoided once and for all, I could at least be favored with some sustained engagement. Why did I say translating was "something unprofitable"? It was because my translated work would never be accepted by a publisher. Could the translation be called something meaningful if the translator knew his work would never be accepted for publication? On the basis of these thoughts, I decided to translate *Ramayana*, one of the two famous Hindu epics in the world literature. It was a long work containing about twenty thousand odes in the clothbound edition. If one ode was translated into four lines, some of them being longer, the final work would contain at least eighty thousand lines, which was a fairly large undertaking that would keep me occupied for years.

I had a stroke of luck. I didn't expect much when I asked the librarian of the Department of Eastern Languages to order a clothbound Sanskrit copy of *Ramayana* from the International Bookstore. As was well-known, it was very difficult to order foreign edition books in China at that time. To my astonishment, my order arrived in less than two months. The eight large, impressive volumes of the original text in Sanskrit were now in front of me. I couldn't believe the brand-new books were for me. It was my happiest moment during the Cultural Revolution. The garden plot of my heart, long parched, now seemed to turn bright green. The grin my face knew long ago now made a comeback.

However, I had to stay in the gate room and watch the door. How could I dare to bring the books from my home to the room? I still remained one of

the "despised," though I did not know exactly to which scummy group I belonged. I still had "hats" on my head but did not exactly identify the sort of "hats" they were. But I felt I was wearing quite heavy ones. However, "one can always figure out a way out." Finally I thought of a "workable" alternative. To my mind, *Ramayana*, a long poem, should be translated into poetic language. But its Chinese version should not be in the ancient poetic form, nor in vernacular either. I always thought a poem should be written in rhyme, so I should translate it into rhyme. But it should be rhymed in current vernacular instead of the ancient form of rhyme. In sum, the translated text could be called "a rhymed poetic burlesque." Picking an appropriate rhymed word to end a line was challenging. I began spending the evening at home reading the original text carefully and translating it into a vernacular version in prose style. The following day on my way to Building 35 in the morning and at work when not doing the door-keeping and receiving phone calls and mail, I translated the vernacular version into a rhymed poem with lines of the same length. I usually scribbled the prose version on scraps of paper and left home for work, carrying them in my pockets. When my official business was slow, I took the scraps out, pondered on meanings and revised the early drafts. I looked dazed while mulling over the translating in silence. No one, except for the gods, could tell what I was doing. I found translating delightful, forgetting that I was an outcast and forced to be a door-keeper. Occasionally I looked up and saw, outside the door of the building, Chinese crab apples in full blossom on each side and other plants flourishing with a riot of color. They looked spectacular to me.

- **An Interlude**

A warm and beautiful spring arrived, but my situation did not change for better. I tried to shake off disturbing thoughts and concentrate on my work assignment as a doorkeeper so that I could "hole up at home to engage in my own business."[2] But things did not happen as I expected. One thing or another kept popping up to unsettle my mind.

One day, when I looked out for no reason in particular, I suddenly saw a big-character poster written on the yellow paper and posted on a makeshift mat shed. The poster was a critical comment on the "May 16" members and bore the signatures of dozens of Department of Eastern Languages faculty members, some of them still staying in Liyuzhou, Jiangxi. Such criticism was

not something new to me. So, at first, I did not want to read it. But, out of curiosity, I sauntered out of the narrow door of my room and went to the poster for a look. To my surprise, the poster leveled its attack at me; I had become a suspect involved with the "May 16" organization! Anyone with minimal Cultural Revolution experience is familiar with this notorious entity, an organization purely made up of a group of young people with revolutionary family backgrounds. I was not a young man, nor did I come from a revolutionary family. I was not a worker, or a poor and lower-middle-class peasant or a revolutionary government official. How could I possibly qualify for the "May 16" membership? I had nothing to do with the organization. The denouncement was totally off the mark. Indeed I could have ignored it with a scornful grin. But this time I simply could not remain detached. A few years earlier when I saw a big-character poster criticizing me for my writing "Beida's Campus Bathed in the Spring," I defied it with a derisive scowl. Now the nonsense did not deserve even a frown. I wondered whether such a fantastic lie would be seriously considered by the Revolutionary Committee of the Department of Eastern Languages and the PLA and Workers' Teams of the MTP. But the lie was not all that concerned me. Something even more ridiculous was yet to come. Amid the national clamor for uncovering the "May 16" members early in the Cultural Revolution, a leader of "Jinggangshan" made the shocking announcement that he was one of them. Then the dust quickly died down. It turned out that the so-called "May 16" organization had never existed at all. It was as absurd as Don Qixote fighting the windmill. It was the biggest of all jokes during the Cultural Revolution.

- **A Ludicrous Show**

No matter how long the world was tossed about by the political and social roller-coaster and how violent the storm of the Cultural Revolution was in wrecking the nation, time never slowed down its firm, irrevocable ticks ahead. Soon, it seemed that the Cultural Revolution had run out of gas and rolled to a stop. Theoretically, the Revolution "thwarted the enemy," but, in truth, it basically played havoc with revolutionaries themselves.[3] To my mind, it would have been a lot better not to launch it at all. Now it was time to restore order. The top priority was to reorganize the Party. However, a member of the Workers' Team of the MTP, who was not a Party member, was chosen to be in charge of the Party's branch committee in the department.

It was utterly preposterous.

In order to renew activities of the Party's organizations, reestablish-ment of the administration of Party members was of paramount importance. I don't know since what time and on what regulations that all Party members (except the Gang of Four) had lost their Party membership. To be reinstated, each Party member had to go through a certain kind of procedure, something like a review and discussion by non-Party members and approved by leading authorities. This certainly was a significant matter. Probably the PLA and Workers' Teams of the MTP of the Department of Eastern Languages (of course, including that non-Party-member worker) decided that one Party member from the department should be chosen as a model so that the procedure could be followed for all Party members. Apparently such a candidate would have huge obligation. For what qualifications should the model Party member be selected? First, he had to have a revolutionary family background. Second, he needed to be faithful to the Party. With these two conditions, a Party member, surnamed Ma, whom I mentioned before as having a poor, lower-middle-peasant family background, was selected after careful consideration and discussion. Ma originally was the person I meticulously chose, when I was the department head and academic advisor, to be my teaching assistant and successor. Now that I had become a "counter-revolutionary bourgeois scholar," I was a hard-to-come-by touchstone for testing his loyalty to the Party. In the Department of Eastern Languages, no one, except for him, was qualified as well or favored by such an opportunity for the "showing." Who could not regard his selection as the best choice?

One afternoon, I remember, I was told to go to the No.1 Student Cafeteria for a meeting, along with other faculty colleagues of our department. We brought out little wooden stools with us. The hall of the cafeteria was empty after the dinning tables were moved away and set along the walls. We put down our wooden stools on the spacious floor and were seated. At the front of the hall stood a few large tables loaded with a bunch of miscellaneous things. I took a look and saw some wool coats and pants, a radio (at that time radio sets were rare and precious, not as widely available as today) and other odd things. Like other "revolutionary people," I was trying to figure out what was going to happen. But I did not feel like browsing the items. The whole situation seemed to be like a flea-market. Beside those things was a pack of mimeographed teaching notes written on

coarse paper. At first I did not know what kind of teaching notes they were. Nor did I understand why items of such inferior quality were put side by side with fancy suit pants. I was ignorant about the role the objects would play at this first meeting for the resumption of Party functions. Seated there, I was perplexed and anxious about what would happen.

After all the people arrived, the host declared the beginning of the meeting. He first talked about the purposes and procedures of the meeting and then asked the selected model Party member to address the audience or to make "self-criticism," which actually meant the same thing. Ma stood up and walked to the front, stern and resolute. Then he began to talk about how he had refused to be the Golden Boy and Jade Maiden under the guidance of a bourgeois scholar. To clarify the confusion, by the way, the Golden Boy and the Jade Maiden were paper-made human figures to be burned at funerals in old China. Obvious to all present, the bourgeois scholar was meant to be me. It dawned on me that the performance was aimed at me. I was at once surprised and at ease because I had experienced things of this kind many times. Ma, my former "favorite student" and "successor," angrily denounced the evil bourgeois thoughts which I, the bourgeois scholar, wanted to instill in him in the disguise of academic instruction; he, also, deplored his moral deterioration in seeking a comfortable life thereafter. When condemning himself for almost forsaking his own class origin, he appeared eyes tearing and voice quivering. Pointing at the items displayed on the table, he wanted everyone to believe the evidence was undeniable. When his emotion hit a peak, he snatched up the pack of teaching notes; it turned out that they were in Sanskrit; he tore them to pieces in rage. The scraps of paper drifted like butterflies down on the floor. In my mind the next to be shredded would be the gaudy woolen suit pants and the radio! In a flash of mind, he was abruptly balked, his hand not stretched out. The suit pants and radio were still lying there, motionless and glittering with beauty. I was shocked, so were all those present, I believed. His ripping violence was presumably the climax of that day's drama, worthy of a standing ovation, which, certainly, did not occur. I was at loss to laugh or cry, so were, probably, all present, when a hush fell over the crowd.

A farce thus ended.

On the way back to Building 35, a discussion started among the

participants in the meeting, "Why didn't he tear the suit pants, which best symbolized bourgeois thoughts of comfort and ease, instead of the Sanskrit teaching notes, which could hardly be described as representative of evil thought?" I, too, reflected for a long time on this event. Ma, an "artist," had been at Beida for more than ten years. When with me in the past, he was as meek as a sheep. Earlier in this book, I described his performance during the Cultural Revolution. But that demonstration insufficiently displayed his considerable talent. Only two people had made known their identity by signing their names on the big-character posters that expressed the writers' political opinion at Beida. Both signees, including this young man, were from the Department of Eastern Languages. His remarkable behavior at the meeting quickly became a "delightful" topic for gossip and the butt of jokes. These reactions reminded me that I once had criticized him at a group meeting, when I first "messed around" in a faction organization as a "revolutionary person," by saying he did not look like the family member of a revolutionary martyr, nor resemble a poor peasant. Maybe he took my remarks to heart. Could anyone deny that what later transpired was relevant to his desire for revenge?

After the staging of the "model" farce, the Party members of the Department of Eastern Languages gradually resumed their regular activities in their individual Party branches. I was not interested in what they did, because such involvement still was none of my business, and today I just cannot recall it either.

- **The Resumption of My Party Membership**

A long time went by, and its exact length was not calculated until the resumption of Party membership for all Beida members was almost completed. The work left only three cases unsettled, one of them mine. If a list of the three was posted, my name would certainly be at its bottom, or as the popular saying goes, "I am behind Sun Shan, who comes last on the list of the scores of the examinations."[4]

One day the men in charge of my department's Party organization suddenly decided to talk to me. I knew I now had to take my turn with respect to the issue of Party membership. By then I had worked a long time in the Hindi Teaching Section, instead of doing the door-keeping job. The

department leaders, a PLA officer and the Party general secretary, told me that the department would not only restore my full salary but also give me all my back pay that had been withheld for years. Of course the news filled me with gratitude. I decided to pay the Party membership dues with this returned money. Then a thick wad of banknotes worth 1500 *yuan* was handed to me by a comrade, a man of integrity, from our department. I immediately gave it to the Party general secretary of our department without counting it. That comrade told me another sum of 4000 to 5000 *yuan* would be returned to me later.

I can't remember whether the Party's branch committee of the department held a meeting to discuss the resumption of my Party membership. One day the leader of the PLA Team of MTP and the Party general secretary for the department summoned me to their office. The latter asked me, "Have you ever considered the nature of your problem?" Taken aback, I was tongue-tied. In terms of ideological faithfulness, I was weak in many aspects. In reference to my political background, I did not join any KMT or reactionary organizations in the past. So I should have said I had a clean record. At that point I was at a loss, before the PLA officer quickly switched to another topic to smooth over the embarrassment and wind up the talk. A little while later, an official in charge of the political propaganda or organization of the Party's branch committee, who just had been transferred from the Department of Chinese, told me the branch committee had decided to renew my Party membership but also to punish me with a two-year probation within the Party. I flared up. Just because I was against the tyrannical "empress," a temporary ruler of Beida, I was falsely charged, persecuted, put in custody, tormented at torture sessions and narrowly survived in my late years. When nothing offensive was found in my background, they disposed of me through a charge that had no evidence at all to back it up. How integrity was trampled upon! How justice was ignored! How disappointing this Party organization was! Seeing my rage, the official suddenly turned stern, remarking, "Would you like to delay the discussion of this issue until the next branch committee meeting?" To be frank, I was extremely disillusioned. I had endured hard times, waited and hoped against hope, expecting the sun to rise again in my political life. When finally the day arrived, it was such a hope-dashing result. I was utterly tired of this business. Enough was enough. But it would never be possible for me to sign the "I

have no objection" paper right after the decision of the Party's branch committee. If I put "objection" on it, I would ask for tons of trouble to come. I turned the issue over and over in my mind and finally told the official, "It's unnecessary to hold another meeting!" I picked up the pen and wrote with my signature "Basically, I have no objection!" I said to the official, "My word 'basically' should be clear to you." Then I thought, if I was on a two-year probation within the Party there would be no point of turning in the amount of 4000 to 5000 *yuan* yet to be returned to me as my Party's membership dues. Consequently I later got back the sum and kept it for myself.

Now I have told the story of the resumption of my Party membership.

Was I completely liberated?

I think I have to stop here in this chapter about "Complete Liberation."

My experience in the Cultural Revolution had come to an end, too.

Random Recollections of the Cow Shed is by and large over.

[1] The "iron rice bowl," a popular phrase for the planned economic system that was implemented in China from 1949 to 1978.

[2] A popular saying, meaning concentrating on one's own work.

[3] It "thwarted the enemy," a quotation of Mao Zedong popularly used in the Cultural Revolution; originally the quotation goes, "The Revolution plays havoc with the world, but it thwarts the enemy and train the people."

[4] "I am behind Sun Shan, who comes last on the list of the scores of the examinations," a popular saying that comes from *Guoting Notes,* written by Fan Gongcheng of the Song Dynasty. In the story Sun Shan leaves home to take the imperial examinations. He is entrusted with the son of one of his native villagers, who is also an examinee. When Sun Shan comes back home and is asked by the father of his fellow examinee about the son's performance, Sun Shan answers, "Sun Shan bottoms the list of the examinees, but your son is behind Sun Shan."

拾玖　完全解放

上一节的标题是“半解放”，这一节是“完全解放”。我这样写都是毫无根据的。这两个词儿都不是科学的或法律的用语，其间界限也不分明。这都让法学家或哲学家去探索吧。

仍然谈我的情况。回校以后，我有一股振奋的情绪。就在这一阵振奋中，我们都住进三十五楼。似乎是根据一种新精神，也许是一种新规定，每个系的办公室都设在学生宿舍中，大概是想接近学生，以利于学生的“上（大学）、管（理大学）、改（造大学）”吧。上、管、改的精义就是把老师、老知识分子置于学生的管理和改造之下，提倡初年级的学生编高年级的教材。如此等等，不一而足。

三十五楼共有四层。三四层住女生，一二层住男生。在二层中腾出若干间屋子，是系的党政办公室。这一些办公室与我无干。我被分配在一楼进口处左边的朝外有大玻璃窗子的极小的一间房子里，这里就是本楼的门房，我的差使就是当门房，第一个任务是看守门户，第二个任务是传呼电话，第三个任务是收发信件和报纸。第一个任务又难又不难。领导嘱咐我说：不要让闲杂人员进入楼内。本系的教职员都是“老同志”了，我都认识。高年级学生也认个八九不离十。新学生则并不清楚。我知道谁是闲杂人员呢？既然不认识，我无能为力，索性一概不管，听之任之。这不是又难又不难吗？

第二个任务，也是又难又不难。不难在于有电话我就接；没有电话，我就闲坐着。难在什么地方呢？据我统计，似乎女生的电话特别多，要我每次传呼都爬上三四楼，这倒是很好的许多专家都介绍过的“爬楼运动”；无奈一天爬上十次二十次，是任何体育锻炼专家也难以做到的。我爬了几次，觉得不行，就改为到门外楼下向上高呼。这办法有一定的效果。但是住在朝北房间里的女同学就不大容易听到。也颇引起一点麻烦。我的能力如此，有麻烦就让它有麻烦吧。

至于第三个任务，那是非常容易的。来了报纸，我就上楼送到办公室。来了信，我就收下，放在玻璃窗外的窗台上，让接信者自己挑取。

就在完成这三项任务的情况下，日子像流水似的过去。我每天8点从十三公寓走到三十五楼，12点回家；下午2点再去，6点回家，每天十足八个小时，步行十几里路。这是很好的体育锻炼。我无忧无虑，身体

健康。忘记了从什么时候起，又恢复了我的原工资。吃饭再也不用发愁了。此时，我既无教学工作，也没有科研任务。没有哪一个人敢给我写信，没有哪个人敢来拜访我。外来的干扰一点都没有，我真是十分欣赏这种“不可接触者”（印度的贱民）的生活，其乐也陶陶。

- 翻译《罗摩衍那》

但是，我是一个舞笔弄墨惯了的人，这种不动脑筋其乐陶陶的日子，我过不惯。当个门房，除了有电话有信件时外，也无事可干。一个人孤独地呆坐在大玻璃窗子内，瞪眼瞅着出出进进的人，久了也觉得无聊。“不为无益之事，何以遣有涯之生？”我想到了古人这两句话。我何不也找点“无益之事”来干一干呢？世上“无益之事”多得很。有的是在我处境中没有法子干的，比如打麻将等等。我习惯于舞笔弄墨久矣，想来想去，还是出不了这个圈子。在这个环境中，写文章倒是可以，但是无奈丝毫也没有写文章的心情何。最后我想到翻译。这一件事倒是可行的。我不想翻译原文短而容易的；因为看来门房这个职业可能成为“铁饭碗”，短时间是摆脱不掉的，原文长而又难的最好，这样可以避免经常要考虑挑选原文的麻烦。即使不会是一劳永逸，也可以一劳久逸。怎么能说翻译是“无益之事”呢？因为我想到，像我这种人的译品永远也不会有出版社肯出版的。翻译了而又不能出版，难道能说是有益吗？就根据我这一些考虑，最后我决定了翻译蜚声世界文坛的印度两大史诗之一的《罗摩衍那》。这一部史诗够长的了，精校本还有约两万颂，每颂译为四行（有一些颂更长），至少有八万多诗行。够我几年忙活的了。

我还真有点运气。我抱着有一搭无一搭的心情，向东语系图书室的管理员提出了请求，请他通过国际书店向印度去订购梵文精校本《罗摩衍那》。大家都知道，订购外国书本来是十分困难的事情。可我万万没有想到，过了不到两个月，八大本精装的梵文原著居然摆在我的眼前了。我真觉得这几本大书熠熠生光，这算是“文革”以来几年中我最大的喜事。我那早已干涸了的心灵，似乎又充满了绿色的生命。我那早已失掉了的笑容，此时又浮现在我脸上。

可是我当时的任务是看门，当门房。我哪里敢公然把原书拿到我的门房里去呢？我当时还是“分子”——不知道是什么“分子”——我头上还戴着“帽子”——也不知是些什么“帽子”——反正沉甸甸的，我能感觉得到。但是，“天无绝人之路”，我终于想出来了一个“妥善”的办法。《罗摩衍那》原文是诗体，我坚持要把它译成诗，不是古体诗，但也不完全是白话诗。我一向认为诗必须有韵，我也要押韵。但也不是旧韵，而是

今天口语的韵。归纳起来，我的译诗可以称之为“押韵的顺口溜”。就是“顺口溜”吧，有时候想找一个恰当的韵脚，也是不容易的。我于是就用晚上在家的时间，仔细阅读原文，把梵文诗句译成白话散文。第二天早晨，在到三十五楼去上班的路上，在上班以后看门、传呼电话、收发信件的间隙中，把散文改成诗，改成押韵而每句字数基本相同的诗。我往往把散文译文潦潦草草地写在纸片上，揣在口袋里。闲坐无事，就拿了出来，推敲、琢磨。我眼瞪虚空，心悬诗中。决不会有任何人——除非他是神仙——知道我是在干什么。自谓乐在其中，不知身在门房、头戴重冠了。偶一抬头向门外张望一眼——门两旁的海棠花正在怒放，其他的花也在盛开，姹紫嫣红，好一派大好春光。

- 一个小插曲

春光虽好，我自己的境遇却并没有多少改进。我安心当门房，“躲进门房成一统”；然而事实上却是办不到的。仍然有意想不到的干扰。

有一天，我正在向门外张望，忽然看到在门外专门供贴大字报之用临时搭起的席棚上贴出了很多张用黄纸写成的大字报，下面有几十位东语系教员签的名，有的教员还在江西鲤鱼洲没有回来。内容是批判“五·一六”分子的。这样的批判一点也不新奇，我原来想不去管它。但是为好奇心所驱使，我走出了我那“成一统”的窄狭的门房，到门外去看了看大字报。我真是万万没有想到，这张大字报竟是对我来的：我成了“五·一六”的嫌疑分子。这真是从何说起呀！稍微对所谓“文化大革命”有常识的人，都会知道，当时盛传一时的所谓“五·一六”组织，是出身好的青年人所组成的。我一非青年，二又出身不好，既非工人，也非贫下中农或“革命干部”，我哪里有资格参加这样的“革命”组织呢？我同“五·一六”是完全风马牛不相及，是驴唇对不上马嘴。这样的事情，我本来可以一笑置之的。但是这一次我却笑不起来。几年前我看到批判我的《春满燕园》时，我曾不自觉地哼了一声。这次我连哼都哼不起来了。这样滑天下之大稽的事情，我不知道，东语系的革委会和军工宣队是怎样考虑的。滑稽的事情还没有完，更滑稽的还在后面哩。全国上下大声嚷嚷了一阵“五·一六”，北大井冈山的一位头领公然承认自己是“五·一六”分子；可是最后却忽然销声匿迹——原来天地间根本没有一个什么“五·一六”组织。这真像是堂吉诃德大战风车，成为“文革”中众多笑话中最可笑的一个。

- 一幕闹剧

不管人世风云如何变幻，“文革”浪涛怎样激荡，时间还是慢慢地或

者迅速地向前流驶。转瞬之间，“文革”好像高潮已过，有要结束的样子了。虽然说“乱是乱了敌人”，实际上主要是乱了自己，还是以不乱为好。现在是要拨乱恢复正常的秩序了，首先是要恢复党的组织。一个非党的工宣队员，居然主持党支部的工作，实在有点太“那个”了。

要想恢复党组织的活动，首先要恢复党员的组织生活。我不知道，是从什么时候起，又是根据什么法令，所有的党员（“四人帮”等当然除外）都失去了组织。现在每一个党员都要经过一定的手续，好像是要经过群众讨论和领导批准，才能恢复组织生活。这当然是一件大事。东语系大概是经过军工宣队的讨论（那一位非党的工宣队员当然会参加的），决定从全系党员中挑选出一个，当做标兵，演一出恢复组织生活的开场戏，期在一举通过，马到成功，为以后的人树立一个榜样。这样一个人选责任之大可以想见。用什么标准来挑选呢？首先要出身好，其次要党性强。具此二标准者，庶乎近之。大概是经过了周详的考虑，谨慎的筛选，我上面提到的那一位烈属兼贫下中农的姓马的党员中了标，他是我作为系主任兼导师精心选择留下当我的助教和接班人的。现在，我成了“资产阶级反动学术权威”，这正好成了他的党性的试金石。具备这两个条件，又有这样“亮相”的机会的，东语系并无第二人。谁敢说这不是天生的“佳选”呢？

记得有一天下午，我同东语系全系的留校师生被召到学一食堂里去开会，每人自带木板小凳。空荡荡的食堂里，饭桌被推到旁边去，腾出来的空地上，摆满了小木板凳子，我们就坐在上面。前面有几张大桌子，上面摆了不少的东西。我仔细一瞧，有毛料衣服和裤子，有收音机（当时收音机还不像今天这样多，算是珍贵稀有的东西），还有一些零零碎碎的东西。我跟在“革命群众”的后面，还摸不清是怎么一回事，没有闲心去一件件地仔细瞅。我只觉得，这颇像一个旧品展销义卖会。可是在这些东西旁边，有几本用很粗糙的纸张油印成本的讲义，我最初还不知道是什么讲义；也不知道这样粗糙的道具为什么竟能同颇为漂亮的西装裤子摆在一起。对所有的这一些道具，我都不知道它们在今天第一个恢复党员组织生活的会上会起什么作用。我满腹疑团坐在那里，不知道葫芦里究竟要卖什么药。

人到齐了，时间到了。主席宣布开会。他先说明了开会的目的和做法，然后就让这位选中的标兵发言，或讲话，或“检讨”，反正是一个意思。这位标兵站起来，走到前面，威仪俨然，义形于色，开始说话。说话的中心主题是：不做资产阶级学术权威的金童玉女。这里要解释一句：金童玉女是旧社会出殡时扎的殉葬的纸人。所谓“资产阶级学术权

威”谁一听都知道指的就是我。此时，我恍然大悟：原来今天这一出戏是针对着我来的。我有点吃惊，但又不太吃惊——惯了。只听我这位前“高足”、前“接班人”怒气冲冲地控诉起来，表情严肃，声调激昂，诉说自己中了资产阶级学术权威的糖衣炮弹，中了资产阶级思想的毒，在生活上追求享受，等等，等等。说到自己几乎要背叛了自己出身的阶级时，简直是声泪俱下。他用手指着桌子上陈列的东西，意思是说，这些东西就是无可辩驳的证据。于是怒从心上起，顺手拿起了桌子上摆的那一摞讲义——原来是梵文讲义——三下五除二，用两手撕了个粉碎，碎纸片蝴蝶般地飞落到地上。我心里想：下一个被撕的应该轮到那漂亮的毛料西服裤或者收音机了！想时迟，那时快，他竟戛然而止，没有再伸出手去，料子西装裤和收音机安全地躺在原地，依旧闪出了美丽的光彩。我吃了一惊，恐怕全场的人都吃了一惊。这个撕东西的行动，应该是今天大会的高潮，应该得到满屋的掌声，然而这些全落了空。我哭笑不得，全体与会者大概也是哭笑不得。全场是一片惊愕的寂静。

这一幕闹剧以失败收场了。

在散会后回三十五楼的路上，大家纷纷议论：为什么不撕可能最透露资产阶级享乐思想的西装裤子，而偏偏撕很难说就是代表资产阶级思想的梵文讲义呢？我自己也想了很多。这一位表演家到北大来已经十年多了，当学生时对我温顺如绵羊，在“文化大革命”中的所作所为，我在上面已经说了一点，那是远远不够的，他还有一些非常精彩、匪夷所思的表演。在一般政治性表态性的大标语上，按惯例从来没有人署名的。有之自北大始，北大有两个人是这样干的，恰恰都出在东语系，其中之一就是我说的这一位。这一个惊人的举动，在北大一时传为“美”谈或者笑谈。在我第一次混迹“革命群众”中参加学习的小组会上，我曾对他坦率地提过意见，我说，他既不像一个烈属，也不像一个贫农。他大概为此事耿耿于怀。以后发生的这一些事情，难道与此没有联系吗？

这一幕闹剧以后东语系的党员是怎样逐渐恢复党组织生活的，因为与我基本无关，我没有去注意，今天更回忆不起来了。

- 我的恢复组织生活

时序推移，不知经过了多长的时间，北京大学恢复党组织生活的工作已经要结束了。剩下的大概还只有两三个人了，我是其中之一。写一个榜的话，我不是孙山，就是还在孙山之下，俗话说“名落孙山”了。

忽然有一天，东语系的党组织找我谈话，我知道，这一下轮到我

了。我此时早已调离了那个门房，参加印地语教研室的活动。系领导一个解放军的军官和总支书记告诉我，领导上决定不但发给我整个的工资，而且以前扣发的工资全部补给。我当然非常感动。我决意把补发的工资全部作为党费上缴给国家。东语系的一个非常正派的同志先递给我了一千五百元。我立即原封不动地交给了系总支。这位同志告诉我，还有四五千元以后给我。

我现在已经记不清楚，是否开过支部大会讨论我的恢复组织生活的问题。突然有一天，系里军宣队的头儿和系总支书记找我。总支书记问我：“你考虑过没有，自己的问题究竟何在？”我愕然不知所对。要说思想问题，我有不少的毛病。要说政治问题，我没有参加过国民党和任何反动组织，我只能说没有。但是，我一时很窘，半天没有说话。那个解放军颇为机灵，连忙用话岔开，结束了这一场不愉快的谈话。不久，总支的宣委或组委一个由中文系调来的干部来找我，告诉我，支部决议：恢复我的组织生活，但给我留党察看二年的处分。我勃然大怒。由于我反对了那位一度统治北大的“女皇”，我被诬陷，被迫害，被关押，被批斗；几乎把一条老命葬送上，临了仍然给扣上了莫须有的罪名。世界上可还有公道可讲！世界上可还有正义可说！这样的组织难道还不令人寒心！这位干部看到了我的表情，他脸上一下子也严肃起来：“我们总支再讨论一下，行不行？”他说。说老实话，我已经失望到了极点。我盼星星，盼月亮，盼着东天出太阳。太阳出来了，却是这样一个太阳。我不想再在这个问题上伤脑筋了，够了，够了，已经足够了。如果我在支部后面签上“同意”二字，那是绝对办不到的。如果我签上“不同意”三字，还有不知多少麻烦要找。我想来想去，告诉那位干部：“不必再开会了！”我提笔签上了“基本同意”四个字。我着重告诉他说：“你明白，‘基本’二字是什么意思！”继而又一想：“我戴着留党察看二年的帽子，我有什么资格把补发的工资上缴给国家呢？”结果预备上缴的那四五千块钱，我就自己留下。

我恢复组织生活的故事结束了。

我算不算是“完全解放”了呢？

“完全解放”这一节我只能写到这里了。

我的“文化大革命”到此结束了。

我的《牛棚杂忆》也就算是写完了。

20 ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS

But I must add something to my memoir.

I can't stop yet.

For the last seventeen years, since the end of the Cultural Revolution, I have been thinking about this so-called "Revolution." In the course of writing this book, I was able to think more carefully and continuously about some of the key issues. As a result, here are some additional thoughts and reflections.

What have I thought about?

First, have we learned any lesson from this disaster?

People, both at home and abroad, unanimously agree that the so-called "Proletarian Cultural Revolution" was not about "culture," nor was it a "revolution." It unmistakably was a "ten-year turmoil." All the Chinese people unquestionably agree on this conclusion. This unprecedented catastrophe (and, hopefully, the last one in history) caused tremendous economic and psychological disruption. The loss is immeasurable. Perhaps we can ignore the amount of pain engendered. Don't we often say knowledge, experience or lessons are not obtained without paying tuition? I absolutely agree. But, while our payment of tuition has been a fortune, what lesson have we learned?

Here's my answer: no, not in the least.

Personally, I have always thought that the Cultural Revolution, as a valuable "negative teacher," provides an extraordinarily good instructional opportunity. Many precious lessons can be drawn from this "negative teacher." The experiences during the Cultural Revolution can serve as points of departure for success in the future. They can help make a strong China.

Unfortunately, we have failed to take advantage of this remarkable educational opportunity. People say, "The Cultural Revolution is over. We don't need to worry about it."

As a result, my concern raised an additional issue, "Is the Cultural

Revolution over?"

We are materialists. The soul of materialism is seeking truth from fact. If we believe in and pursue that doctrine, we have to admit that the Cultural Revolution is not completely over. In terms of its process, we may define it as being over. But a closer look shows that, psychologically, the opposite is true. If you ask people who experienced the Cultural Revolution to speak candidly about the tragedy, particularly middle-aged and old intellectuals who were persecuted during that chaos, you will see them nursing grievances. In contrast youngsters of today have different perspectives. They are ignorant about the decade-long destruction; stories about it sound like exotic fairytales to them. These divergent perspectives worry me. Who can rest assured that these youngsters will not behave as "young revolutionaries" in a second Cultural Revolution, given their ignorance of the criminal deeds committed by those young men and women from the recent past? If you bring up this topic to the middle-aged and old intellectuals who were persecuted during those years of chaos, they, unmistakably, will become infuriated by memories of their victimization and vociferously voice their complaints. I cannot meet and talk to every one of these intellectuals, but I can be sure that an overwhelming majority of them share the same pent-up emotion.

Revolutionary veterans, who made great contributions to the founding of new China and, later, were persecuted in the Cultural Revolution, may have a different perspective and behave accordingly, given their broad-mindedness and tempered revolutionary will. I have little contact with government officials, so I can't give you any reliable account of their reaction. But this topic reminds me of one occurrence, which, insignificant but thought-provoking, deserves a mention. In Beijing's Friendship Hotel in 1978 (after the Chinese National Political Consultative Conference resumed its function), I stumbled across a government official who had joined the revolution in his earlier years and now was well-known in the field of literature and arts. We both had been members of CNPCC's Department of Social Science before the Cultural Revolution and had not seen each other for more than ten years. The first sentences he uttered upon meeting me again were, "The ancient people say, 'A gentleman would rather die in honor than live in infamy.' But the Cultural Revolution has proved that 'a gentleman can both live and die in infamy.' " Then he laughed. I wondered whether he was laughing or weeping. Anyway, I could not laugh at all. Isn't his long-suppressed sadness crystal-

clear?

He is not alone in worrying about how to preserve one's reputation. I'm with him in this regard. And I believe most Chinese intellectuals, the "gentlemen" in ancient terms, also share the same view. This adage, "A gentleman would rather die in honor than live in infamy," genuinely embodies a long sustained value system in Chinese history, which we Chinese intellectuals have embraced with a keener sentiment in comparison with our foreign counterparts.

I'm reminiscent of the Chinese intellectuals, a demographic population hardly defined as a class or a stratum, and of their history and present situation. In feudal society Chinese intellectuals ranked above farmers, workers and businessmen in social status, holding a rather privileged position that enjoyed high respect in the country. I do not live in the time of *The Scholars*, so I have no understanding of those intellectuals.[1] But I have lived in contemporary China and observed intellectuals during the warlord wars and, later, the KMT's rule. Apart from other privileges, professors in those periods had handsome salaries and a high social position. So they all were proud and behaved conceitedly. Their attitude was understandable, of course, because personal behavior is associated with financial well-being. Most professors were arrogant. That is how the expression of "the professor's haughty manner" came about. By the time I became a professor, things had changed considerably; the KMT's rule had ended and inflation had skyrocketed to an alarming height. Professors' income plummeted. Nevertheless, a professor still wore the Kong Yiji's unlined long gown and his social position was not lowered.[2]

Right after the founding of new China, I was very excited, like most professors, believing I really was free of oppression and that a new page of life had turned. We were like small children, happy and naive. We thought "The Sky of the Liberated Area Is Clear and Shiny" and saw everything as rose-red and bright like the sun.[3]

But the delightful circumstance soon was ruined when the first large political-and-ideology-reforming movement, the movements against the three evils and five evils, broke out.[4] I was thrown into a "medium-sized basin," bathed and washed so that my body was cleaned of amounts of dirt. Then I felt my body was now spry and healthy. It was my first acquaintance with the

benefits of ideological reform. In the years to follow, political movements came one after another, crushing me in desperate gasping for breath. I went through the movements of criticizing Wu Xun, *Early Spring*, Hu Feng and Hu Shih and purging counter-revolutionaries.[5] The campaigns arrived in such close succession that I found it hard to adjust myself. This round of political developments culminated in the Anti-Rightist Movement in 1957. Those days, though I was not involved in the activities nor charged with any offense, were spent with nerves from morning till night. Personally, I did not object to those political movements at that time. During the Anti-Rightist Movement, I was busy attending sessions of criticism and reading critical papers. By the way, the "jet plane posture" had not been invented yet and sessions of criticism were a lot less tormenting than those torture sessions held during the Cultural Revolution. On the other hand, I was more and more skeptical of what was going on; why did people's actions contradict the "supreme directives" delivered in those days? Despite my doubts my belief in that most famous statement that the movement was based on "a sincere motive" rather than "a scheme" did not waiver.[6]

After the Anti-Rightist Movement, the country continued to be politically convulsed by events like the "removing the rightist ideology of focusing on learning" campaign. After the Lushan Conference, the "left" leaning ran rampant around the country and a campaign was launched opposing rightist deviation.[7] During the "three-year hard time," I, like other old intellectuals, though starving every day, never nursed resentment, let alone uttering cynical remarks. The whole country generally displayed a fair amount of tolerance and obedience. Who could deny the fact that the Chinese and the intellectuals are the finest in the world?

The Cultural Revolution broke out in 1966 as an inevitable outgrowth of the political environments. Later, one instructor in my department who used to be a member of the "New Beida Commune," told me that I could have escaped from this disaster. But I was to blame for my folly for sticking my neck out. Consequently I suffered home-raid, beating, insult and torture, and was sent into the Cow Shed, from which I narrowly escaped the throttleholds of death. For a period of time I mused and regretted for my folly. But now I have gained an insight. The Cultural Revolution is a very rare "grand occasion" that happened only once in thousands of years. If, like a peacock, I had not voluntarily stepped into the spotlight, I would not have experienced

the "feel" of the so-called "Revolution" and would not have understood the dimensions of the insanity it inflicted on the nation. That would be a shame that could hardly be scrubbed off.

In the Cow Shed I observed and mused a lot about what I witnessed. Gradually I got down to the question, "Why were so many intellectuals persecuted?" Undeniably, intellectuals have shortcomings and make mistakes. But who is flawless? At that time my political perception was minimal and shallow. I did not find fault with anybody, not even the one who launched the "Revolution." I simply turned my radar screen to myself in search for the sources of evil. Using a popular term of today, mine was a feeling of "original sin." The concept has been used in Christianity. Now, I have borrowed and used it here.

I have no idea whether other old intellectuals came to the same conclusion. I should admit this feeling of repentance was quite deep-seated in me. Before the liberation of 1949 I believed politics was dirty despite all its pretensions, so I resolved to keep away from it. I had little understanding of the CPC, but I realized that the KMT was short on promise and would be doomed sooner or later. As I explained earlier, after the founding of new China, I began to be politically enlightened by the campaign for ideological reform. One of my hauls was realizing that all politics is not dirty. The politics of the CPC is a case in point. In the meantime, I judged myself as particularly selfish for living in reclusion, while learning and researching for the sake of gaining scholarly reputation, as the rest of the Chinese fought a bloody war against the Japanese invasion. I realized that the learning I acquired, if it could be called "learning," was despicable. For a long time I regarded myself as "a peach picker," who did not grow the peach tree but came to pluck peaches when they were ripe.

But what should I do?

I had many strange ideas. I even hoped that a new War of Resistance Against Japan would break out so I could have a second chance to perform meritorious deeds. I would surely plunge into battlefields and dedicate my efforts and even my life. I read many novels about the War of Resistance Against Japan and about revolutionary wars. I deeply admired the Communists and revolutionaries for their dedication in the face of death. I made a pledge to learn from them. Of course these were illusions, naive and

ridiculous. But they were true reflections from the bottom of my heart at that time.

In terms of allegiance to the leader, I had firmly opposed such fealty in the past. In my early years, I witnessed KMT members' worship of their "leader" but abhorred it. After the September 18 Incident in 1931, I went to Nanjing, as a student of Tsinghua University, and saw this "leader," Chiang Kai-shek. He shamelessly lied to us again and again. As a result I became more and more disillusioned. Mr. Chen Yinque, one of my professors, also did not favor Chiang and wrote the line, "It is difficult to enjoy the beauty of the highest building at near sight," which demonstrated his disgust for this "leader." Later, when I went to Germany at the peak of the fascist rampage, I saw the Germans, a small population of them at least, greeting each other on streets with "Long live Hitler!" I thought it was ridiculous and mind-boggling. I used to know a German girl, less than twenty years old and stunningly good-looking. She once said to me, "It would be my most glorious life achievement if I were able to give birth to a child with Hitler!" I was shocked, finding the occurrence totally inconceivable. A thought lying in the back of my mind was that we Chinese were intelligent and would not do stupid things like this!

I came back to China. Three years later new China was founded. In those early years I was very excited and joyous like many other old intellectuals, as I said previously. Each year we attended two grand rallies, the celebration of International Labor Day on May 1 and the National Day on October 1, both of which were held in Tian'anmen Square. On each celebration day we were up long before dawn and went and gathered at Shatan in downtown. Then we walked to the alleys around Dongdan and waited there for hours. The grand celebrations began at ten. We marched along in front of the Tian'anmen towers so the leader could review us.[8] At that time the three decorated archways on the boulevard were not yet dismantled. East of those archways we could not see the leader on the tower. As soon as the parade passed the archways and the leader was in sight, loud chants of "long live" exploded from thousands of marching crowds. At first I was not used to chanting, no matter how excited I was. But, probably because I had a high IQ, I soon joined and chanted the slogan, too, loudly and fervently as if the words aired the feeling from the depths of my heart. I was totally trapped into worship for the leader.

I have narrated the process of my ideological transition, briefly but genuinely. Through one drop of water you can visualize the ocean, while one grain of sand can conjure up the cosmos. Other old intellectuals may have had the same experience as I, at least for major parts of it despite minor differences. The preceding examples show how they, and the young intellectuals even more, love our great country. For thousands of years, Chinese intellectuals traditionally have been patriots. In comparison with those of other nations, this characteristic of Chinese intellectuals is striking.

"Someone wakes up to a new understanding and foresees happenings in the future." But I am a slow foreseer and seldom benefit from hints in dreams. By the time I was confined to the Cow Shed during the Cultural Revolution, I still believed in the legitimacy of that tragedy. A Western saying goes, "All that glisters is not gold." In the time of trouble I got to know some PLA men and workers who came to campus in order to "support the leftists." They were my idols. I staunchly embraced slogans like "The people of the whole country should learn from the PLA" and "The working class must come to power in all walks of life."[9] I behaved strictly as I was instructed. But reality showed me that a number of military men and workers abused laws and rode roughshod over others. Some of these men were downright corrupt. I felt very disappointed, as if a basin of cold water had been dumped over my head, washing away the heat of my body. I woke up. The old saying "All gold is not pure and no man is perfect" made a comeback with a fresh meaning. But what puzzled me was that ignominious deeds were done by people I had admired. We believers in materialism should seek truth and reality and be honest. We should never curry favor with expressions of flattery and cover-ups of errors. Despite the fact that we intellectuals were far from perfect in comparison with people in other professions, should we have been dismissed as the "Stinking Number 9"?[10]

I have rambled a great deal, but I mean to state clearly, first, that the persecution of intellectuals in the "Cultural Revolution" was absolutely unjustified and, second, that the sinister motive behind the practice is apparent, despite efforts and explanations to cover it up. For most intellectuals who suffered in the calamity, the "Cultural Revolution" is not over. Take another example of mine. On the one hand, I highly value the rare experience I happened to acquire in the Cow Shed. On the other hand, a contrary view occasionally comes to mind, when I'm now at the "prime of my

career" and heaped with honors and praises, that "I should have committed suicide at the abyss of my life." The fact that I did not take my own life shows I'm not a man of integrity. Now I'm grappling with a guilty conscience and living a life eclipsed in infamy. It is a shame that I have this feeling. Here, I present it frankly to the reader as a true manifestation of my mind. But I can't help raising the question, "Do I, Ji Xianlin, stand alone with this thought?"

That question brings me to a third issue, "Have Cultural Revolution victims vented their grievances?"

This question is not difficult to answer. On the basis of the stories I recounted before, the answer is definitely "no"!

To obtain a thorough understanding of the issue, I have to review history by adding something to my narrative about the students and scholars who returned from abroad in the early years of new China. At that time I resembled many other intellectuals whose stories I have told in some fashion previously. The overseas Chinese witnessed their social position taking a drastic turn for the better after the rebirth of the country and understood that their future was tightly locked in the national independence. Patriotic as they had always been, overseas Chinese were elated by events at home and wholly allegiant to the country. Risking dangers of all kinds, many young students returned home. Like most intellectuals already there, they saw everything as rosy, shining and full of promise; they resolved to throw themselves into the cause for the prosperity of China. Consequently some Chinese, who had been working or visiting as scholars in foreign countries, gave up their comfortable living and academic superiority and returned home, including Lao She, who eventually drowned himself in a lake during the Cultural Revolution.[11] But when Lao She and other scholars returned, they all were high-spirited and strongly motivated by the bright prospects of a rejuvenated country and their own successful career. They were confident about their future.

However, China's politics soon reversed when "leftist fundamentalism" took sway. "Overseas relations" became excuses for false charges. Wasn't it normal that returned students and scholars had some "overseas contacts"? Even a little child knows this is self-evident. But those "leftist zealots" never let go of this part of returnees' dossiers. They conjured up wanton and groundless charges that returnees were secret agents and spies for foreigners,

leaving the victims horrified and in despair. This situation deteriorated during the Cultural Revolution when countless patriotic and innocent people were persecuted. Those who were killed or died of grief were, of course, the most victimized. But those who were alive also desperately searched for ways of fleeing the country. In the past they had gone out of their way to return home. Now they had to abandon the new lives they had set up. What a striking contrast! I personally know many cases of this sort. Anyone with integrity realizes that the country experienced an immeasurable loss. Enduring tremendous grief and parting with sorrow from their dear ones, these intellectuals took wing from the country. How could sons and daughters be willing to part from their parents? But they have been gone.

Have any of those who took their leave or those who stayed vented their grievances?

Years ago a sort of literature, "scar literature," emerged. But I think most of the writers of this literary genre are young people, who do not have many scars. But those with "scars" have not written anything about their suffering for one reason or the other, depending on individual circumstances. This reality is rather depressing. It conceals, I think, something harmful that jeopardizes the growth of the nation.

Don't we often hear calls for efforts to stabilize and unify the country? I'm totally for it. Without a stable and unified environment the country's economy will not grow steadily and the government will not function as it should. But we need stability and unity in genuine terms. Given the fact that many intellectuals, the old intellectuals in particular, are reluctant to speak about their grievances, real stability and unity are unlikely to be realized.

According to my observation, many intellectuals complain at times. Our grievances have not been vented and our living standards are quite low. Our dissatisfaction is understandable. But we are no less patriotic. We are best described by the saying, "A good farm animal does not need driving." Another phrase portraying us as "a good product with high and enduring quality and a low price" does not exaggerate the reality. But some people are not happy with these statements. Recently I learned that one well-known person said, in comparison to the collapse of the former Soviet Union, "Chinese intellectuals are basically hair adhering to the skin of imperialism." This statement was believed to be gossip. But the existence of such a view

among the people is not out of the question. Does the man who expressed this thought still maintain the capability of distinguishing right from wrong? Wasn't he conscience-stricken when he said these words? Occurrences like this disturb me all the time.

If people of this sort came to power in the future, intellectuals would be sure to buy the farm.

Here is the last issue I have been considering, "How could the Cultural Revolution happen?"

It is a complicated question which I'm unable to answer. Are there people that are capable of answering it? Yes, there are some. But they don't want to, nor do they seem happy to have the question answered by others. In my humble opinion, a true believer of materialism should not have this attitude. If a candid answer is presented to this key question, the people of the whole country, including intellectuals, will feel deeply indebted. They will be rid of their worries and able to let go of their grievances. They will join forces and be wholly devoted to the building-up of stability and unity and the construction of the socialist society in China. What a wonderful thing it would be!

Meanwhile if we do not explore this topic, foreigners will, as the ancient saying goes, "If the Confucian ethical code is not maintained at home, help will be enlisted from alien countries." Surely some foreign scholars are sincere in their scholarship. They have engaged in research, sought truth from reality and produced some serious scholarship. Clearly, no matter whether their research keeps to the point or not, it is much better to tell the truth than to lie. Nevertheless, some foreigners are malice-intended, distorting facts, cooking up rumors and slandering, so as to muddy the waters. They distort facts and engage in slander, creating a big mess. Though "it is ridiculous for an ant to topple a giant tree," such happenings are certainly disappointing.

What should we do then? I think that answer should be obvious to all.

These are all the additional thoughts I have had so far.

So it is time for me to stop jabbering.

[1]*The Scholars*, a satirical fiction written by Wu Jingzi (1701-1754), a fiction writer during the Qing Dynasty, in which scholars of ancient Chinese society are relentlessly satirized for their dishonesty and

depravity.

[2] Kong Yiji, the protagonist, the "scholar of scholars" for lack of practical skills, in Lu Xun's short story "Kong Yiji," the first story in *Call to Arms*, a collection of short stories published in 1923.

[3] "The Sky of the Liberated Area Is Clear and Shiny," the lyrics from a revolutionary song popularized in northwest areas of China controlled by the CPC during World War II.

[4] "The movement against the three evils and five evils," precisely the "Movement Against the Three Evils" (1951-1952) and the "Movement Against the Five Evils" (1952); the former attacked corruption, waste and bureaucracy within the Party, government, the military and grass-root organizations; the latter dealt with bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing of economic information, as practiced by owners of private industrial and commercial enterprises.

[5] Wu Xun, the protagonist in the movie of *The Life of Wu Xun* produced in 1951. Mao Zedong published an essay entitled "Attention Should Be Paid to the Discussion on *The Life of Wu Xun*" on May 20, 1951; Wu Xun (1838-1896), a poor farmer in Tangyi, Shangdong, dedicated his whole life to the establishing of schools by making money through beggary and suffering hardship and humiliation; Hu Feng (1902-1985), Chinese poet, literary theorist, writer and translator, was criticized for his writing "On the Literary Developments of Recent Years" published in 1954 and was arrested in 1955 and sentenced to 14 years in prison; in 1980 his wrong was redressed; Hu Shih, see note 4, Chapter 6.

[6] "A sincere motive" and "a scheme," Ji refers to Mao Zedong's well-known statement about the nature of the Anti-Rightist Movement during the time of its evolvement.

[7] The Lushan Conference, a conference held by the Political Bureau of the CPC in Lushan, Jiangxi, a summer resort, in the summer of 1959 with the agenda of discussing the economic developments of the country.

[8] Ji means Mao Zedong.

[9] "The people of the whole country should learn from the PLA" and "The working class must come to power in all walks of life," two quotations of Mao Zedong widely cited in the Cultural Revolution.

[10] For "Stinking Number 9," see note 15, Chapter 5.

[11] Lao She (1899-1966), the penname of Shu Qingchun, styled Sheyu, a noted Chinese writer who graduated from Beijing Normal School in 1918 and went to London in 1924. He taught at the College of the Orient in London. In 1930 he returned to China. After 1949 he became vice president of China's Association of Literature and Arts. During the Cultural Revolution he was persecuted and committed suicide by drowning himself in Lake Taiping in central Beijing. His masterpieces include the novel *The Rickshaw Boy* and the play *Teahouse*.

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但是，我必须还要啰唆上一阵子。

我不能就到此住笔。

“文化大革命”结束后十六七年以来，我一直在思考有关这一次所谓“革命”的一些问题。特别在我撰写《牛棚杂忆》的过程中，我考虑得更为集中，更为认真。这可以算是我自己的“余思”或者“反思”吧。

我思考了一些什么问题呢？

首先是：吸取了教训没有？

世人都认为，所谓“无产阶级文化大革命”，既无“文化”，也无“革命”，是一场不折不扣的货真价实的“十年浩劫”。这是全中国人民的共识，决没有再争论的必要。在这一场空前绝后（我但愿如此）的浩劫中，我们人民在精神和物质两个方面所受的损失可谓大矣。这一笔账实在没有法子算了。不算也罢。我们不是常说，寻求知识，得到经验或教训，都要付出学费吗？我完全同意这个看法。可是，我们付出的学费已经大到不能再大的程度，我们求得的知识，得到的经验或教训在哪里呢？

我的回答是：没有，一点也没有。

我个人一向认为，“十年浩劫”是总结教训的千载一时的好机会，是亿金难买的“反面教员”。从这一个“教员”那里，我们能够获得非常非常多的反面的教训；把教训一转化，就能成为正面的经验。无论是教训还是经验，对我们进一步建设我们伟大的祖国，都是非常有用的。

可是，我们没有这样干，空空错过了这一个恐怕难以再来的绝好机会。有什么人说：“文革”已经过去了，可以不必再管它了。

因此，我思考的其次一个问题是：“文革”过去了没有？

我们是唯物主义者，唯物主义的真髓是实事求是。如果真想实事求是的话，那就必须承认，“文革”并没有过去。虽然从表面上来看，似乎已经过去了；但是，如果细致地观察一下，情况恰恰相反。你问一问参加过“文革”，特别是在“文革”中受过迫害的中老年知识分子，如要他们

肯而且敢讲实话的话，你就会知道，他们还有一肚子气没有发泄出来。今天的青年人情况可能不同。他们对“文革”不了解，听讲“文革”，如听海外奇谈。我觉得值得忧虑的正是这一点。他们昧于前车之鉴，谁能保证，他们将来不会干出类似的事情来呢？至于中老年受过迫害的知识分子，一提“文革”，无不余怒未息，牢骚满腹。我不可能会见百分之百的这样的知识分子，但我敢保证，至少绝大部分人是这样子。

至于为创建新中国立过功而在“文革”中遭受迫害的老干部，他们觉悟高，又能宽洪大度，可能同知识分子不同。我接触的老干部不多，不敢乱说。但是，我想起了一件小而含义深远的事儿，不妨说上一说。记得是在1978年，全国政协恢复活动后，我在友谊宾馆碰到一位参加革命很久的、在文艺界极负盛名的老干部，“文革”前，我们同是全国政协社会科学组的成员，十多年不见，他见了我劈头第一句话就是：“古人说：‘士可杀，不可辱。’‘文革’证明了：‘士可杀亦可辱。’”说罢，哈哈大笑。他是笑呢，还是哭？我却一点也笑不起来。在这位老干部心中，有多少郁积的痛苦，不是一清二楚了吗？

有这种想法的，决不止这个老干部一人。我个人就有这样的想法。而且，我相信，中国的知识分子，也就是古代的所谓“士”，绝大部分人都会有这种想法。“士可杀，不可辱”，这一句话表明了中国自古以来就有这种传统。我们比起外国知识分子来，在这方面更为敏感。

我不禁想起了中国知识分子这一类人，既不是阶级，也不是阶层，想起了他们的历史和现状。在封建社会里，士列在士农工商之首，一向是进可以攻，退可以守，在社会上有崇高的地位。予生也晚，《儒林外史》中那样的知识分子，我没有见到过。军阀混战时期和国民党统治时期的知识分子，我是见到过的。不说别的，专就当时的大学教授而言，薪俸优厚，社会地位高。他们无形中养成了一种高人一等的优越感。存在决定意识，这是必然的。他们一般都颇为神气，所谓“教授架子”者便是。到了我当教授的时候，情况大大改变。国民党统治已到末日，通货膨胀达到了惊人的程度。教授实际的收入少得可怜。但是，身上那一件孔乙己的大褂还是披着的，社会地位还是有的。

刚一解放，我同大部分教授一样，兴奋异常，觉得自己真是站起来了，自己获得了新生了。我们高兴得像小孩，幼稚得也像小孩。我们觉得“解放区的天是明朗的天”，我们看什么东西都红艳似玫瑰，光辉如太阳。

但是，好景不长。在第一个大型的政治运动三反五反思想改造运动

中，我在“中盆”里洗了一个澡，真好像是洗下来了不少污浊的东西，觉得身轻体健，尝到了思想改造的甜头。可是后面跟着来的政治运动，一个紧接一个，好像是有点喘不过气来。批判武训，批判《早春二月》[1]，批判胡风，批判胡适，再加上肃反等等，马不停蹄，应接不暇。到了1957年的反右斗争，达到了一个空前的高潮。我虽然没有被裹进去，没有戴什么帽子；但是时时处处，自己的精神都处在极度紧张的状态中，日子过得并不愉快。从我的思想深处来看，我当时是赞成这些运动的，丝毫也没有否定的意思。在反右期间，我天天忙于参加批判会——我顺便说一句，当时还没有发明“喷气式”，批判会不像“文革”中那么“好看”——忙于阅读批判的材料。但是，在我心里却逐渐升起了一片疑云：为什么人们的所作所为同在那前后发表的几篇“最高指示”，有些地方显得极不合拍呢？即使是这样，我对那一句最有名的话“是阳谋，不是阴谋”，并没有产生怀疑。

反右以后，仍然是马不停蹄，一个劲地搞运动，什么“拔白旗”等等。庐山会议以后，极“左”思想已经达到了顶点，却偏偏要来一个反右倾。三年困难时期，我自己同其他老知识分子一样，尽管天天饿肠辘辘，连半点不满意的想法都没有，更不用说说怪话了。连全国人民的精神面貌都是非常正常的，向上的。谁能说这样的人民、这样的知识分子不是世界上最优秀的呢？

1966年开始的所谓“无产阶级文化大革命”是形势发展的必然结果。事后连原新北大公社的东语系一个教员都告诉我说，我本来能够躲过这一场灾难的。但是，我偏偏发了牛劲，自己跳了出来，终于得到了报应：被抄家，被打，被骂，被批斗，被关进了牛棚，差一点连命都赔上。我当时确曾自怨自艾过。但是现在我却有了另一个想法。“文革”是一个千载难逢的“盛事”。如果我自己不跳出来，就决不可能亲自尝一尝这一场“革命”的滋味，决不可能了解这一场灾难究竟是什么样子。那将是绝对无法挽回的极大的憾事。

关在牛棚里的时候，我看了很多，也想了很多。我逐渐感到其中有问题：为什么一定要这样折磨知识分子？知识分子身上毛病不少，缺点很多，但是十全十美的人又在哪里呢？我当时认识不高，思考问题肤浅片面。我没有责怪任何人，连对发动这一场“革命”的人也毫无责怪之意。我只是一个劲地深挖自己的灵魂，用现在间或用的一个词儿来说，就是“原罪感”。这是用在基督教徒身上的一个词儿，这里不过借用一下而已。

别的老知识分子有没有这个感觉，我不知道，它表现在我身上却是

很具体的。解放前，我认为一切政治都是肮脏的，决心不介入。我并不了解共产党，只是觉得国民党有点糟糕，非垮台不行。解放以后，我上面说到我在思想改造运动中的收获，其中心就是知道了并不是所有的政治都是肮脏的，共产党就不是。同时又觉得自己非常自私自利：中国人民浴血抗战，我自己却躲在万里之外，搞自己的名山事业。我认为自己那一点“学问”，那一点知识，是非常可耻的，如果还算得上“学问”和知识的话。有很长一段时间，我称自己为“摘桃派”，坐享胜利的果实。

那么，怎么办呢？

我有很多奇思怪想。我甚至希望能再发生一次抗日战争，给我一个机会，让我来表现一下。我一定能奋力参战，连牺牲自己的性命，我都能做得到。我读了很多描绘抗日战争或革命战争的小说，对其中那一些共产党员和革命战士不怕牺牲的精神，我崇拜得五体投地。我自己发誓向他们学习。这些当然都是幻想，即使难免有点幼稚可笑，然而却是真诚的。这能够表现出我当时的精神状态。

谈到对领袖的崇拜，我从前是坚决反对的。我在国内时，看到国民党人对他们的“领袖”的崇拜，我总是嗤之以鼻。这位“领袖”，“九·一八”事件后我作为清华大学的学生到南京请愿时见过，他满口谎言，欺骗了我们。后来越想越不是味儿。我的老师陈寅恪先生对此公也不感兴趣。他的诗句“看花愁近最高楼”，可以为证。后来到了德国，正是法西斯猖獗之日。我看到德国人，至少是一部分人，见面时竟对喊：“希特勒万岁！”觉得异常可笑，难以理解。我认识的一位不到二十岁的德国姑娘，美貌非凡。有一次她竟对我说：“如果我能同希特勒生一个孩子，那将是我毕生最大的光荣！”我听了真是大吃一惊，觉得实在是匪夷所思。我有一个潜台词：我们中国人聪明，决不会干这样的蠢事。

回国以后，仅仅隔了三年，中国就解放了。解放初期，我同其他一些老知识分子心情相同，我们那种兴奋、愉快，上面已经讲了一点。当时每年要举行两次游行庆祝，五一和十一，地点都在天安门。每次都是凌晨即起，从沙滩整队步行到东单一带的小胡同里等候，往往要等上几个小时。10点整，大会开始。我们的队伍也要走过天安门前，接受领袖的检阅。当时三座门还没有拆掉。在三座门东边时，根本看不到天安门城楼上的领导人。一转过三座门，看到领袖了，于是在数千人的队伍中立即爆发出震天动地的“万岁”声。最初，不管我多么兴奋，但是“万岁”却是喊不惯，喊不出来的。但是，大概因为我在这方面智商特高，过了没有多久，我就喊得高昂、热情，仿佛是发自灵魂深处的最强音。我完完全全拜倒在领袖脚下了。

我在上面简短地但是真诚地讲了我自己思想转变的过程。一滴水中可以见大海，一粒沙中可以见宇宙。别的老知识分子可能同我差不多，至少是大同而小异。这充分证明了，中国老知识分子，年轻的更不必说了，是热爱我们伟大的祖国的。爱国主义是几千年来中国知识分子的传统。同其他国家的知识分子比较起来，这是中国知识分子的一个突出的特点。

“大梦谁先觉，平生我自知”，我在梦觉方面智商是相当低的。一直到了“十年浩劫”，我身陷囹圄，仍然是拥护这一场浩劫的。西谚说：“一切闪光的东西不都是金子。”在这期间，我接触到派到学校来支“左”的解放军和工人。原来这都是我膜拜的对象。“全国人民学习解放军”，“工人阶级必须领导一切”，我深信不疑，奉行唯谨。可是现在一经接触，逐渐发现他们中有的人政策观念奇低，而且作风霸道，个别的人甚至违法乱纪。我头上仿佛泼上了一盆凉水，顿时清醒过来。“金无足赤，人无完人”的道理，我是明白的。可是这样的作风竟然发生在我素所崇拜的人身上，我无论如何也没有想到。我们唯物主义者应该实事求是，光明磊落；花言巧语，文过饰非，是绝对不可取的。尽管我们知识分子身上毛病极多，同别人对比一下，难道我真就算是“臭老九”吗？

我在上面啰哩啰唆讲了一大篇，无非想说，“文革”整知识分子，是完全没有道理的，是怎样花言巧语也掩盖不了的。对广大的受过迫害的知识分子来说，“文革”并没有过去。再拿我自己来做个例子。我一方面“庆幸”我参加了“文化大革命”，被关进了牛棚，得以得到了极为难得的经验。但在另一方面，在我现在“飞黄腾达”到处听到的都是赞誉溢美之词之余，我心里还偶尔闪过一个念头：我当时应该自杀；没有自杀，说明我的人格不过硬，我现在是忍辱负重，苟且偷生。这种想法是非常不妙的。既然我有，我就直白地说了出来。可是我要问：有这种想法的难道就只有我季羡林一人吗？

这就联系到我思考的第三个问题：受害者舒愤懑了没有？

这个问题十分容易回答。根据我上面的叙述，回答只有两个字：没有！

要谈清楚这个问题，还要从回顾过去谈起。解放初期我和其他老知识分子的情况，我在上面已经写了一点，现在再补充一下。补充的主要是从海外归来的游子。远居海外的华侨，亲身感受到解放前后自己处境的剧烈变化。他们深知这一切都与祖国的解放有密不可分的联系，一向

爱国的华侨，现在爱国热情蓬勃激荡，为此前所未有。华侨中青年人纷纷冒万难回到了祖国。他们同国内的知识分子一样，看一切都是红艳如玫瑰，光辉似太阳，愿意为祖国的建设事业贡献自己的一切。此外，一些在国外工作和讲学的中国学人，也纷纷放弃了海外一切优厚的生活和研究条件，万里归来，其中就有后来在“文革”中自沉的老舍先生。他们个个意气风发，斗志昂扬，认为祖国前程似锦，自己的前途也布满了玫瑰花朵。

然而，曾几何时，情况变了，极“左”思潮笼罩一切，而“海外关系”竟成诬陷罗织的主要借口。海外归来的人，哪里能没有“海外关系”呢？这是三岁小儿都明白的常识。然而我们的一群“左老爷”，却抓住这一点不放，什么特务，什么间谍，这种极为可怕的帽子满天飞舞。弄得人人自危，个个心惊。到了“文化大革命”，更是恶性发展。多少爱国善良的人遭受了不白之冤！被迫害而死的不必说了。活着的也争先恐后地出走。前一个争先恐后地回国，后一个争先恐后地离开，对比何等地鲜明！我亲眼目睹的这种情况可谓多矣。这对我们祖国有多么大的危害，脑筋稍微清醒一点的人都会知道的。被迫出国的人，哪一个不是满腔悲愤，再加上满腔离愁，哪一个儿女愿意离开自己的父母！然而他们离开了。

留在国内的知识分子和被迫离开的知识分子，哪一个人舒过愤懑呀？

若干年前，出现了一些所谓“伤痕文学”。然而据我看，写作者多半是年轻人。他们并没有多少“伤痕”。真正有“伤痕”的人，由于种种原因，由于每个人都不同的原因，并没有把自己的愤懑舒发出来。我认为，这不是一个正常的现象，而是其中蕴含着一些危险的东西，不利于我们祖国的胜利前进。

我们不是十分强调安定团结吗？我十分拥护这个提法。没有安定团结，我们的经济很难搞上去，我们的政治也很难发挥应有的作用。然而我们需要的是真正的安定团结，而不是虚假的安定团结。在许多知识分子，特别是老知识分子还有一肚子气的情况下，真正的安定团结从何而来呢？

根据我个人的观察，尽管许多知识分子的愤懑未舒，物质待遇还只能说是非常菲薄，有时难免说些怪话；但是他们的爱国之心未减，“不用扬鞭自奋蹄”。说这样的人是“物美价廉，经久耐用”，完全是符合实际情况的。然而却听说有人听了很不舒服。我最近还听说，有一位颇为

著名的人物，根据苏联解体的教训，说什么：中国知识分子至今还是帝国主义皮上的毛。这话只是从道听途说中得来的。但是，可能性并非没有。说这种话的人，还有一点是非之心吗？还有一点“良知”吗？我深深感到忧虑。

如果这样的人再当政，知识分子无噍类矣。

我思考的最后一个问题是：“无产阶级文化大革命”为什么能发生？

兹事体大，我没有能力回答。有没有能回答的人呢？我认为，有的。可他们又偏偏不回答，好像也不喜欢别人回答。窃以为，这不是一个唯物主义者应抱的态度。如果把这个至关紧要的问题坦诚地、实事求是地回答出来，全国人民，其中当然包括知识分子，会衷心地感谢，他们会放下心中的包袱，轻装前进，表现出真正的安定团结，同心一志，共同戮力建设我们的社会主义社会，岂不猗欤休哉！

我们既不研究，“礼失而求诸野”，外国人就来研究。其中有善意的，抱着科学的实事求是的态度，说一些真话。不管是否说到点子上，反正真话总比谎话强。其中有恶意的，怀着其他的目的，歪曲事实，造谣诬蔑，把一池清水搅混。虽然说“蚍蜉撼大树，可笑不自量”，但是毕竟不是好事。

何去何从？我认为是非常清楚的。

我的思考到此为止。

我要啰唆的也啰唆完了。

[1] 《早春二月》由谢铁骊执导，根据柔石同名小说1964年拍成电影。公映后即与《北国江南》等影片被视为"宣扬资产阶级人性论"，遭到全国性批判。"文革"后恢复名誉。作者此处将《早春二月》与50年代初批判电影《武训传》并提，可能记忆有误。

21 AFTERWORD

From March 4, 1988, to April 5, 1989, my writing of this book was off and on until I finally finished the first draft. Early this spring I was seized by a whim and decided to transcribe it for a final draft. By June 3, three months later, the work was done. But the final draft is quite different from the first, almost totally rewritten.

Originally I laid down a rule for myself; in the course of writing, I would avoid making scathing remarks, suppress my anger and try to provide an objective account of reality. However, I am an emotional human being. As the writing went on, rage surged inside me and gradually ran out of control; tears welled up in my eyes and biting words kept appearing on the paper. I was not in a position to check my feelings. So I let the rest of the writing take its own course. Otherwise I would have told lies. Eventually I revised the writing and came up with a final draft that was studded with fewer harsh remarks and characterized by subdued fury. In fact I acted against my will by making such changes. But, to avoid stirring up trouble and offending some people, moderation was the only alternative left with me.

In the book I have mentioned many people. A careful reader will notice three different methods that I have used to narrate their stories. In some cases I did not give the names of the persons concerned. In others I only gave the last names of the persons, dropping the first names. In the rest I listed the whole names. Thus I protected some people's identities in one way or another. In the case of those whom I thought were considerably harmful to a socialist society, I revealed the full names so that the scum would be disgraced in history, in an effort to ring warning bells to forthcoming generations.

However, I do not mean to deliberately hurt any category of people. I vow that my accounts are presented with honesty. After the Cultural Revolution, I was restored to the position of department head. Later I was promoted and "rode high" in the national institutions of power. Therefore I do no lack avenues for revenge.

I hope the people whom I touched upon directly or inadvertently in my

memoir will understand that I have written with a good intention to present a true chapter of history. My friendship with them, established either before the Cultural Revolution or strengthened after it, should be maintained.

I calculate that the academic works I have produced in my life total about eight million words, including both original writings and translations; eighty percent of them were written after the Cultural Revolution. If I had "taken my own life against the people" by committing suicide in the Revolution, I would have been unable to be so academically fruitful.

Is this result something that deserves honor or contempt? I can't figure out the answer now. I will let this concern drop.

Completed on June 3, 1992

贰壹　后记

我从1988年3月4日起至1989年4月5日止，断断续续，写写停停，用了一年多的时间，为本书写了一本草稿。到了今年春天，我忽然心血来潮，决意把它抄出来。到今年6月3日，用了大约三个月的时间抄成定稿。草稿与定稿之间差别极大，几乎等于重写。

我原来为自己定下了一条守则：写的时候不要带刺儿，也不要带气儿，只是实事求是地完全客观地加以叙述。但是，我是一个有感情的活人，写着写着，不禁怒从心上起，泪自眼中流，刺儿也来了，气儿也来了。我没有办法，就这样吧。否则，我只能说谎了。定稿与草稿之间最大的差别就在于，定稿中的刺儿少了一点，气儿也减了一些。我实际上是不愿意这样干的，为了息事宁人，不得不尔。

我在书中提到的人物很不少的。细心的读者可以看出有三种情况：不提姓名，只提姓不提名，姓名皆提。前两种目的是为当事人讳，后一种只有一两个人，我认为这种人对社会主义社会危害极大，全名提出，让他永垂不朽，以警来者。

无论对哪一种人我都没有进行报复，事实俱在，此心可质天日！“文革”后，我恢复了系主任，后来又“升了官”，在国家权力机构中也“飞黄腾达”过。我并不缺少报复的能力。

我只希望被我有形无形提到的人对我加以谅解。我写的是历史事实。我们“文革”前的友谊，以及“文革”后的友谊，我们都要加以爱护。

现在统计了一下，我平生著译的约有八百万字，其中百分之七八十是“文革”以后的产品。如果“文革”中我真遂了“自绝于人民”的愿，这些东西当然产生不出来。

这对我是一件大幸呢？还是不幸？我现在真还回答不上来——由它去吧。

1992年6月3日写完

APPENDIX THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JI XIANLIN

I was born on August 6, 1911, in the village of Guanzhuang, Qingping county (the city of Linqing today), Shandong, China. Our family was probably better off for some periods of time. But by the time when I was born, my grandparents died and my family was impoverished and reduced to the poor class. My father and his two brothers lived an orphaned, helpless life; later one of the brothers was given to a strange family and my father, along with the other brother, struggled to get by with scanty food and clothing and often found themselves gathering dry dates fallen from the trees to relieve hunger.

Before I turned six I had a tutor, Mr. Ma Jinggong. I can't remember what he taught me, probably a dozen of characters. At six I left home for Jinan to live with my uncle; my uncle went there to make a living earlier, driven in desperation, and finally established himself after going through tons of difficulties and setbacks. From then on I started to go to school formally. I first studied in a private tutor school and learned to read the classics like *A List of One Hundred Surnames*, *The Thousand- Character Essay*, *The Three-Character Classic*, and "The Four Books."[1] When I started my primary school I impressed the teacher by knowing the character "mule" and was permitted to skip the first three grades.

At Xinyu Primary School I once won a third place in the top category of learning and a first place in the second category of learning. I was not among the best students and did not work hard with mediocre academic performances in the last three years of primary schooling. One thing deserves a note. I began learning English then. At that time the primary school did not offer English classes, so I learned English in the evening in my leisure time. I did not take English classes for long, so I only learned a smattering of grammar and vocabulary. I was often baffled with the question, "Why are the words 'be' and 'have' both called verbs though neither of them means action?" Gradually I got to know it was due to a sloppy translation into Chinese.

I never thought, with this smattering of English, that I would benefit later by skipping half a grade of the middle school when applying to it. I knew the score about my capabilities and someone said I was too knowledgeable of myself. No matter what others' opinions are, one thing is for sure that I had no lofty ideals in my early years. At that time Shandong Provincial Number One Middle School was ranked the top in the province. Considering myself as dumb as a toad which should reject the desire for a taste of a swan, I didn't have the guts to apply to it. Instead I applied to the "poor" Zhengyi School. But this school gave an English entrance examination by requiring the applying students to translate the Chinese sentences into English, "Recently I've got a new book and already read a few pages. But I do not understand the meaning of some of the words." Though I did the complete translation, I pondered long over the word "already." As a result I was admitted, not into the first grade but the first and a half grade.

At the Zhengyi Middle School I was not a diligent student either, and my academic performance stuck around the last few places of the top category and the first few places of the second category, ranking in the upper middle tier. Located near Lake Daming of the city, our school was scenic. After school I would run to the lake shore behind, shrimping and angling for frogs, never bothering about what learning held in stock. But my uncle placed high expectations on me and had strict requirements. He personally taught me and let me read *The Kezhi Reader*, a collection of essays on the Confucian philosophy. He was not well educated but extremely intelligent and became knowledgeable through self-schooling on classics. He was good at composing poems and writing essays. He was also able to engrave seals. He had no son, so he treated me as his son with all his aspirations. He showered both discipline and affection on me and exerted great influence on the path I took. All that I have learned stemmed from his guidance and care, which I will never forget. According to his requirements, in the afternoon right after school, I went to participate in an extracurricular study program of classical Chinese and learned to read *Zuo's Spring and Autumn*, *Intrigues of the Warring States*, *Records of the Grand Historian*, etc.[2] Certainly we paid a separate payment to the tutors. In the evening I also had to learn English at the Shangshi English Society until ten before going home. Such life lasted for eight years. I did not feel any pressure, nor was I aware of any long-term significance from it. My main interest was still catching fish and shrimp.

Now as I recall today, what a solid learning foundation I laid in those years!

In terms of our courses at the middle school, the curriculum includes Chinese, English, mathematics, physics, biology, geography, and history. In the course of Chinese we read books such as *Guwenguanzhi* and had to recite the essays from it.[3] For English classes we read *Fifty Famous Stories Retold*, *One Thousand and One Nights*, *Tales from Shakespeare*, *Nesfield's English Grammar*, etc. In Chinese composition classes we wrote essays in classical Chinese. In English classes we also wrote essays. Out of school I read many old-style novels on my own, in addition to taking classes in the extracurricular learning programs, such as *Three Kingdoms*, *Journey to the West*, *The Creation of the Gods*, *Tales of the Tang Kingdoms*, *Stories of Yue Fei*, *The Legend of Ji Gong*, *Tales of Peng Gong*, *Three Heroes and Five Gallants*, etc.[4] *The Story of the Stone* feels particularly flat on me. I also read other fictions, such as *The Western Chamber* and *The Plum in the Golden Vase*.[5] I had no idea of what influence I had drawn from these books, but I was certainly not spurred to engage in robbing and womanizing.

After middle school I went on at Zhengyi for half a year of high school and then transferred in 1926 to the newly founded High School Affiliated with Shandong University. The president of Shandong University, Wang Shoupeng, once won the title of Number One of the Highest Imperial Examination in the early Qing Dynasty (1616-1911) and was currently head of the provincial department of education. He advocated reading Confucian classics. I had two high school teachers who taught Confucian classics; one of them used to be a member of the Imperial Academy or a successful candidate in the Highest Imperial Examination, and another was styled "Big Qing Country," an old diehard. I have forgotten the names of both teachers. They did not bring textbooks to class but could thoroughly memorize them as well as the notes, whey they taught *The Book of History* and *The Book of Changes*. It was even said that they could recite them backwards. My teacher of Chinese was Mr. Wang Kunyu, a classical literary writer of the School of Tongcheng who published a collection of essays and later taught as instructor at Shandong University.[6] I was immensely influenced by him. I remember the assigned topic for my first essay was "A Response to *A Biography of Xu Wenchang*."[7] To my surprise my composition won kudos from him as he noted, "Direct, precise, expressive and clear." Immediately I took a fancy to the Chinese classical prose. I managed to get and read *A Collection of Essays*

of Han Changli, *A Collection of Essays by Liu Zongyuan*, as well as writings by Ouyang Xiu and Three Su's, etc.[8] Speaking about English I had the language background obtained from the Shangshi English Society, so I was unrivaled by other students. Another point to make is that I took German lessons too.

As mentioned previously I took the final examinations in the first semester and won the first place of the top category with an average score of more than 95. So I got a prize from Number One Wang. He wrote me a couplet and gave me a fan as prizes, which definitely overwhelmed me with surprise. From then on I started to study hard. My motive, if it is an issue of concern, was not high-sounding, nothing more than saving my face. I simply wanted to keep myself from falling to the second place of the top category. That's it. In all three years of my high school I won six first places of the top category in all six examinations, a "Six-time Champion," which absolutely sated my vainglory.

Did my success change me from a person with no great aspirations? Not necessarily. I remained near-sighted and worldly inclined and never resolved to accomplish meritorious deeds, achieve high ideals, engage in a lifelong scientific career and become somebody as a scholar. What I longed for was graduating from college and landing a dependable job, in the harsh circumstance of living, and leading a mediocre, eventless life through to my last day.

In 1929 I went to the Shandong Provincial Jinan High School, in which I studied for one year. This one year turns out to be a crucial stage in my life, particularly in terms of Chinese. There are a few nationally known writers, Hu Yepin, Dong Qiufang, Xia Laidi, Dong Meikan, etc. The former two used to be teachers of the courses I took. Mr. Hu fervently promoted modern literature and arts, that is, the proletarian literature and arts. Inadvertently I got to read some writings of Marxist theories on literature and arts, which were translated from Japanese. I once wrote an article "The Mission of Modern Literature and Arts," which, I remember, was completed by gathering notes from various writings. To my surprise Mr. Hu loved it and wanted to publish it in the journal that he edited. However, before my proletarian literature and arts dream was turned into reality, he was listed as a wanted man by the KMT reactionaries. He fled to Shanghai and was executed

soon. His teaching successor was Mr. Dong Qiufang (with Dong Fen used as his pen name). By this time I shifted to the writing style of the vernacular, which received high praise from Mr. Dong. He considered me, along with another student Wang Lianbang, as the "Top Writers of the School." I was tremendously inspired. I've kept writing for fifty years and even would not put down my pen at an advanced age now. All the inspiration and encourage came from Mr. Dong, which I will never forget.

By now I had finished all courses of Confucian classics, and the Chinese class was also primarily in the vernacular. But I did not slight my learning of classical literary works. I continued to read extensively on a wide range of genres. I read many works by poets and tuned poem writers, Tao Yuanming, Du Fu, Li Bai, Wang Wei, Li Shangyin, Li Yu, Su Shi, Lu You, Jiang Kui and so on, which positively impacted my later works.

In 1930 I graduated from high school and went to Peking for college. Due to the reasons I discussed above, I was completely rid of the low self-esteem and became rather conceited. At that time getting enrolled into a prestigious university was very difficult since the admission rates were low. In order to increase the admission opportunity, my class of over eighty students each applied to seven to eight colleges. But I only applied to Tsinghua University and Peking University, which both admitted me. After a serious consideration I chose Tsinghua because I believed it offered more opportunities for going overseas for further studies. In deciding on the major I decided on the Department of Western Literature. This department had three specialized directions, English, German and French. A chosen language required four years of undergraduate study, which would be in the major of the student. In fact it was formality because students learned English from the primary school but learning German and French started from scratch, the alphabet. Most of the professors were foreigners, and, no matter which country the professor was from, every one spoke English in class. Even Chinese professors spoke English for most of the time. Most of the courses were also on English literature and all the texts were in English, such as *A European History of Literature*, *Classical European Literature*, *The Literature of the Middle Ages*, *Renaissance Literature*, *Literary Criticism*, *Shakespeare*, *British Romantic Poets*, *Contemporary Fictions*, *Introduction to Literature*, *The Literary and Artistic Psychology* (*Aesthetics*), *A Western History*, *Freshman Chinese*, *Freshman and Sophomore English*, etc.

With a major in German I had three professors in four years, two Germen and one Chinese. Despite my gratitude toward them I have to be frank that they lacked passion for teaching. During this course of four years the Chinese professor only spoke Chinese in class, while the German professors spoke English, so German was never a language for instruction. Consequently, my four years of learning German left me with the limited language competence of reading as opposed to that of listening and speaking. My senior thesis was entitled "The Early Poems of HÖlderlin" under the advice of Professor Ecke.

Among all courses I took, I benefited the most, not from those core courses, but from one elective and one audited course: "The Literary and Artistic Psychology" taught by Zhu Guangqian, and "Translated Works from Buddhist Classics" taught by Chen Yinque. These two courses have greatly impacted my later academic career. My research in comparative literature and theories of literature and arts are influenced by Professor Zhu, and my inspirations for studies in the history of Buddhism, Sanskrit and central Asian language of ancient times are certainly derivative of Professor Chen's instructions.

Moreover, I did not give up on my writing of essays at leisure time and continued to publish a few articles in some of the influential journals of the time. Those publications, to my surprise, brought me unexpected offshoots. In 1934 when I graduated from Tsinghua and applied for jobs, I was first not successful. Then I received the invitation with a job offer from Song Huanwu, principal of my alma mater, the Shandong Provincial Jinan High School, to return to the school and teach Chinese. Those few essays I had published turned me into a writer, and an unstated assumption by then was that a writer was able to teach Chinese. I felt on edge thinking, "How could I teach Chinese?" As the autumn was around the corner and there was still no sign of landing a job in sight, I decided to hack it through at all risks with the thought that "you trust me and then I would not turn you down." A college graduate of Western literature, I became a high school instructor of Chinese. With *A Comprehensive Chinese Dictionary* and a smattering of knowledge of the classics I started to teach. At the age of 23 I had a few students in my class, who were three or four years my senior, and had a background of private tutor schooling in my hometown. I was walking on thin ice.

I taught one year until 1935 when heaven gave me a good opportunity. Tsinghua University signed an agreement with Germany on a student exchange program. After I applied and took the examinations I was accepted. In the depths of the autumn that year I went to the University of Gottingen, Germany, and began my graduate study overseas. I majored in the study of India with a minor in English linguistics and Slavic languages. I studied Sanskrit, Balinese, Russian, Slavic, Arabic, etc. I also took many other courses. The professors who taught me include Sieg, Waldschmidt and Braun.

It was in the deadlock of World War II. Germany was blockaded and no food could be transported into it with alarming shortages of food and clothing. About four or five years I sustained unbearable hunger, as my stomach groaned and airplanes rumbled overhead in bombing raids. I missed my country and family. "As the war has raged for six years, a letter from home is more valuable than hundreds of millions of *liang* of gold."[9] In fact I had not received any letter from my family. In such adverse circumstances I pressed forward with my learning. In 1941 I passed my oral examination and dissertation defense and earned my Ph.D. with honor. The title of my dissertation is "The Grammatical Gender of Prescriptive Verbs Used in the Rhapsody of Praise in *Grand Events*."

During these hard times I was deeply touched by my German teachers' dedication to their teaching and their attitude toward Chinese students. Not only did they show no shade of discrimination against me, a foreign student with no local connections at all, but they loved and protected me with all their heart and guided me through my learning. When Professor Waldschmidt was enlisted in the military, Professor Sieg, in his advanced years, took over the teaching. Actually I was the only Ph.D. candidate that he needed to teach. He withheld nothing of his specialty in lecturing to me. He taught me *Rig Veda, Panini's Grammar*, Patanjali's *Mahabhasya* and *The Adventures of the Ten Princes*. In addition he insisted that he teach me the language of Tukhara, on which he was the top authority in the world, and he was a master of this abstruse language. At that time I was up to my neck in working and also suffered from the obsessive-compulsive disorder, both physically and mentally weary. But seeing the old man so warm-hearted I agreed to learn the language from him. Along with me in the study was a Belgian student, Dr. W. Couvreur, who later became a famous professor.

In the light of their work my German teachers are all models of passion, seriousness, meticulousness and rigorousness. When writing articles they would repeatedly go through considerations, revisions and peer reviews before publication. German scholars are well-known for their "thoroughness" (Grundlichkeit), which profoundly impressed me. I have paled by comparison in my later work, due to the working circumstances, for which I feel ashamed as one of their students.

From 1937 I began teaching as an adjunct instructor of Chinese in the Department of Chinese at the University of Gottingen. The department was located on the second floor of an instructional building, a quiet place where nobody ventured around. The department library, famous in Europe, held a large collection of books, and many Sinologists came to do research. I had bumped into some of them, such as the well-known British scholar Arthur Waley and others. In this library I read a great deal of Chinese books, particularly in the areas of fictions and Buddhist Tripitaka, broadening my horizon of learning.

I had stayed at the University of Gottingen for ten years, until at the turn of the winter of 1945 I left there for Switzerland, in which I hung around for half a year. Toward the end of the spring of 1946, after almost a decade of living abroad, I returned to my country in the summer via France, Vietnam and Hong Kong.

My overseas graduate study, as well as the complete student life of mine, came to a close. I was thirty-five years old that year.

In the autumn of 1946 I came to Peking University, started to teach as professor and, at the same time, assumed the position of department head of Eastern Languages. I was recommended, by my teacher Chen Yinque, to Hu Shih, Fu Sinian and Tang Yongtong, for this position. By that time Peking University had regulations that returned Ph.D. holders from abroad should be granted the position of associate professor. Certainly I was not exceptional. Probably thanks to the articles I published in the journal of the Gottingen Institute of Sciences, I was soon notified by Mr. Tang that I was promoted to the position of professor. Since then it's been forty-two years and I have never left the university. During this period I worked thirty years as department head and five years as deputy president of the university. In 1956 I was elected member of the China's Academy of Sciences. In the Cultural

Revolution I was whisked away and denounced at torture sessions, which was certainly "complying with the current trend." Now at my late years I'm going on with teaching, researching and participating in social work, moving closer to but not quite there at the Babaoshan Cemetery. I have talked about some uneventful experiences of mine in the previous sections, which are not some heroic deeds to be touted about. Then I should stop here.

To my mind a few magazines and newspapers have solicited for my memoir for the purpose of letting me write about my experiences of teaching and research. What kinds of experience do I have to offer about my sixty years of learning and research? In general terms there are tons of them; but a specific recall gives no ghost of them to me. In a nutshell I may have some pedestrian discoveries to offer, but certainly not up to a caliber of a groundbreaker. No matter what pair of the mandarin ducks I have embroidered, I have done my best in accomplishing my mission, even though the tools of embroidery that I used for my work were far less phenomenal, those bronze and iron embroidery needles instead of the golden ones.

I remember a joke told by Lu Xun in one of his writings. A man loudly hawked his bedbug-eliminating formula in a fair. One buyer purchased from the seller a thickly wrapped wad of paper with the formula written inside. When he opened it, he found the formula written in two words, "Keep catching." Don't you claim the formula is wrong? Yes, it is correct. But it says nothing. My experience has asked me to condense the gist to two words, "Work hard." If you want to be more specific, I would say, "Seize the minute and seize the second and never slack up." It is true that inspiration strikes from time to time, but it is not inbred. Perspiration breeds inspiration.

The previous section highlights a generalization. In the following I will elaborate a few specific issues. I believe scientific research requires four accomplishments: (1) theory, (2) broad knowledge, (3) foreign languages, and (4) Chinese. Liu Zhiji (661-721) of the Tang Dynasty (618-907) postulates that a historian should have talent, learning, and knowledge. Drawing on his idea I am blending it into my topic that theory relates to knowledge, broad knowledge to learning, and foreign languages and Chinese to talent. I will discuss them in detail in the following.

(1) Theory

Today speaking of theory often leads to a topic of Marxist theories. Such consideration is by no means incorrect. But a few notes must be relevant. First, Marxism is developing through history and should not be taken as the dogma. Second, Marxism should not be prescribed as something mysterious and daunting; it can be criticized and rebutted. Personally I believe the quintessence of Marxism is materialism and dialectics. The approach of materialism is based on the seeking of truth from facts. Seeing yellow as yellow is a materialist perspective; seeing yellow as black instead of yellow is an approach of metaphysics. Things are so simple and straightforward. Philosophers have their legitimate rights to explore and elaborate theories. We laymen should not necessarily feel bound with the same mission. With respect to dialectics a new perspective can be helpful. Issues should not be viewed in an isolated, stereotyped fashion; inter-relations of the multi-facets should be taken into account and laws of evolution should be analyzed. Such understanding of the developments of things, as elementary as that of kindergarteners, probably paints a picture closer to reality.

Apart from Marxism it is beneficial to read works written by philosophers, as well as their approaches of perceiving things, of the frequently derogated metaphysics of ancient times in the history of China and other countries. I have a strange idea that there is no pure materialistic philosopher to a one hundred percent degree, nor such a metaphysical philosopher, in society. It is like the impossibility of obtaining a vacuum because an absolute vacuum does not exist on the earth. One ancient Chinese saying goes like this, "The wisest man may outline one thousand schemes but at least one of them must be flawed," which just keeps to the point. Therefore the often disparaged metaphysical philosophers have quite a few worthy ideas that we should study. We should never take the same simplistic and dogmatic approach as we did in the past and tag them with the label "metaphysics," without purification.

(2) Broad Knowledge

Probably no one is opposed to the idea of broad knowledge. It is because your research area can be very narrow and specific, but you cannot be far-sighted and your research cannot go to the depth of discovery unless you have laid a foundation with broad knowledge. It is common knowledge, unnecessary to be elaborated with proof. Here what I want to say is that we,

workers of liberal arts and social sciences, should also be acquainted with science and technology and it would even be better to excel in one area of them. The current academic development is increasingly blurring the watersheds among disciplines, and marginal and cross disciplines are mushrooming. The conventional closing-up and keeping confined to one's own subject, as "Close neighbors do not contact each other though their cocks' crowing and dogs' barking can be heard," will certainly bring one to a dead end. In addition an open-arms embrace should be maintained in learning and research toward different schools of thought being currently popularized in the West, no matter how odd and absurd they appear to you, at least to keep contact and attain a general understanding, instead of indiscriminately accepting or rejecting them.

(3) Foreign Languages

The importance of foreign languages can never be over-emphasized. If a research note were presented here, I would be doing something like drawing a snake and then adding feet to it. I'm only stressing one point. Today's world situation has shown English is the most important foreign language and has become de facto a language of the world. We mush have a good command of it, not only able to read and translate but also able to listen, speak and write. Today if one is only capable of writing papers in Chinese he or she will not be able to go abroad and communicate with scholars of other countries. The inability to listen and speak English deprives one of opportunities for attending international conferences. With this urgent situation pressing on us we cannot but seriously take the issue into account.

(4) Chinese

Bringing up this topic may give rise to some considerations of the intention as invalid or absurd. "Am I unable to speak Chinese?" "Am I unable to write in Chinese?" Yes, you're able to speak and write in Chinese. But when looking closely you must admit the public command of Chinese is quite unsatisfactory. A glance over any newspapers of any day and magazines published will surely show misspelled words and faulty sentences. I more and more feel that it is not an easy job to write a correct, clear-cut and vivid essay. To achieve this goal will definitely take some painstaking commitment. I even believe it will be more difficult to take one step forward

upon mastering the intermediate Chinese than to learn a new foreign language. Only when we see this reality can our command of Chinese be improved and our writing gradually be cleared of misspelling and erroneous sentence structures.

The four issues I talked about above are rehashed topics, hackneyed and unoriginal old sayings. However, doesn't greatness often stem from mediocrity? My ideas, pretty much like the joke of "keeping catching" in Lu Xun's writing that I mentioned earlier, look bland but are actually at once practical and feasible. I thought I should share my humble opinions with the reader instead of keeping a hoard of thoughts to myself. So I'm writing about it like no more than an old country loggerhead showing himself off.

In the following I will talk about guidelines for scientific research. Seventy years ago Hu Shih proposed, "Liberally postulate theories but rigorously proceed with evidence." I believe it is an irrefutable and universally correct idea, which holds up in the history of both sciences and social sciences. In the past prevailing periods of dogma and metaphysics, this guideline underwent years of endless denouncement. I was totally confounded. Can any scholar get rid of postulating and proving with evidence? To be liberal means overstepping the boundary of the predecessor, challenging the authority, casting views beyond, sweeping stretched out waters of concern, seeing with the vision of innovation, hacking through untraveled paths, proposing one's own postulates, or even necessarily fantasizing and producing bizarre thoughts. Without such grit one would only slip into a conventional groove, be stuck in a rut, see in the eye of the near-sighted mouse, and rehash others' sentences, with no chance of breaking fresh ground and making advances in research. Isn't this point self-evident and does it need a further backup of evidence?

In a nutshell I would like to hammer home the message: (1) postulate ideas, and (2) be courageous. Success cannot be achieved without taking either of the two actions.

But, in postulating audacious theories it is also recommended to prove them with rigorous evidence. A postulate, once put forth by anyone, can never completely fit into real circumstances; it usually needs a process of revision. We all have such experience that we suddenly hit upon an idea, believably "a divine stroke" and "a spark of talent," and are overjoyed.

However, it may not be reliable. Its validity counts on the backup of evidence. Searching for evidence is done with care and objectivity, and impatience is not to be accepted and rashness is even more a greasy mark to be wiped off. Efforts should be made in multi-dimensions and from different approaches so as to test the soundness of the postulate or examinate the degree to which it is valid or the parts of it that are true while the rest is untrue. In achieving these goals one must seek truth from facts and eliminate any flare of selfishness and vestige of deviation from reality. Once one postulate is falsified by the evidence, it must be immediately discarded without delay no matter how wonderful and stimulating it first appears; if one part is incorrect, then that part should be discarded; if all parts are incorrect, then all of them should be discarded. This issue is concerned with academic integrity and should be treated with sincerity. Unfortunately there are still people who hang on to their "wonderful" postulates with fabricated evidence and clipped papers; they retain those sections they consider useful to their purpose and ignore, or hide, those parts they find useless and unfavorable in their interest. All of the behaviors are "immoral" and, to my mind, should be eliminated. Meanwhile plagiarizing others' ideas and information without citation is the doing of a pickpocket and even more contemptible.

In summary I'm highlighting my points, (1) prove the postulate with evidence and (2) proceed with care. Work cannot be completed without either of them.

I just expounded the idea of "academic integrity," a phrase borrowed from Zhang Xuecheng.[10] He explained that "academic integrity" was the "heart's thought." What I have talked also relates the "heart's thought" but is a little different from Zhang Xuecheng's definition, for an extension. The main thrust of my idea is not to deceive oneself and the reader. Behaving this way is upholding integrity, while behaving oppositely is lacking integrity. A writer should count on one's own writing. If one does not believe one's own writing as true but expects the reader to believe in it, isn't that behavior one of immorality? What I have said is not concocted and delivered at random. I have proof of the facts. I'm writing about these issues from an old man's perspective in an attempt to share them with young scholars.

Now I would like to turn to the topic of data collecting. In doing scientific research date collecting is a necessary step to take. It is obvious.

But date collecting can be completed in a variety of ways. The most common one is to use index cards and write notes on them and then sort them out in categories and keep them in a file. This is not the only way. Mr. Chen Yinque wrote his notes at the top of a page of the book; he wrote a few of them today and the following day; the data was gathered to a huge amount until one day he could write one article, moving those notes from the book to his paper. One typical example is that his annotated notes on the book pages of *Biographies of the Eminent Monks: the Biography of Kumarajiva* are a few times longer than the original writing. I myself have seldom used index cards and never written notes on the margin of the book. Instead I write my notes on a regular piece of paper. Sometimes I stumble into some useful material; I would pick up something at hand and write on it, such as a note of announcement, invitation card, an envelope, or a scrap of paper; I write on them and keep them in a classified file. I have noticed that some others also gather data this way. Mr. Xiang Da used to write notes on the cigarette box. Writing on a larger piece of paper has an advantage of recording all information needed, equivalent to Mr. Chen's use of the book page. The index card has limited space and cannot hold much note. After the data are gathered caution should be used in keeping them. The best way to do is to sort them out and place them into folders or manila envelopes. Otherwise something may be lost, even if it is a slip of paper, due to carelessness, which may be the most important information you need, and your writing will be impaired and you will have to scratch out your writing once again. It is needless to say that nothing should be brushed off, big or small, and efforts should not be spared even to drain the pond to get the fish. Nevertheless it is impossible to be one hundred percent complete in gathering materials. We should guard against the temptation of setting to write a long essay with a smidgen of data. Such writings obviously tend to produce unreliable conclusions. Another relevant concern is that attention should focus on the currency of the scholarship, keeping close track of the most recent publications and heatedly debated topics. Otherwise when one theory has already been published and you are still keeping your nose to the grindstone in formulating it, it will surely look ridiculous. We should be on the alert.

In the meantime I would like to talk about the usefulness of materials. In strict terms none of the materials is useless. It matters only to the kind of person and time concerned. The usefulness varies from time to time even to

the same person. Probably we all have such experience. On the one hand, with one particular research topic in mind, you may think all materials applicable, such as critical points noted in books, archaeological findings from unearthed artifacts, and discoveries drawn from social investigations. To amass these materials is not difficult, and periodically they leap into your eye. On the other hand, if you do not have this particular research topic at hand, all related materials appear like junk. But a person usually is not sure of what the next research topic is and at what time he or she will start to work on that topic. One ponders on numerous issues in a life; when topic A is on the agenda, one material relevant to topic B is useless to you; but the time may arise in the future for considering topic B, when you know you had run into that material in the past; but now you find yourself lost in mist and it is impossible to locate it. I've gone through the kind of vexation for countless times in life and have the empathy to understand others' too.

Then what should we do? The best way to do is not to confine yourself to one concern; consider a few at the same time and keep thinking about them and never let your mind grind to a halt; always turn something over in your mind. In this way you will have a large circumference of contacting and gathering useful materials and have fewer fishes slipping through your net. You will surely be able to collect a bountiful amount of data. Maintain an army for one thousand days in peace only to use it for one hour in the war. By the time of composing your essay you will do the job with ease.

Finally I will discuss the allocation of time. Time is life, which is a cliche, and time is a constant, equivalent to everyone. No one lives one second or two extra in a day. To us scholars, time is extremely precious. But circumstances vary from person to person. For some people it becomes an issue of utilizing "leftover bits." I have coined this strange term. Time is not seeable and touchable but comes as a whole. How can it be cut into "leftover bits"? This is a graphical expression. In an ordinary day of work we are not disturbed by visitors or distracting businesses. You can concentrate on your work and take it easy. If you want to relax more you may take sips on a cup of the Dragon Well tea and smoke three "Clouds" cigarettes, [11]grooving like a celestial being. You have all the time at your disposal with no concern over the issue of "leftover bits." But how many of us could have such working serendipity of life? Doltish and undistinguished as I am, I've never been favored with such a stroke of fortune. Since the founding of new China I have

had incalculable social activities and attended innumerous meetings; each day countless visitors came to see me, distracting and dismaying, leaving me with not knowing whether to laugh or cry. In retrospection I became one of the untouchable during the Cultural Revolution and, except being destined in the Cow Shed, scared away visitors at home too. However, the eight-volume translation of *Ramayana* was completed in this period. Is it true that one has to be untouchable or a Rightist in order to read and write? Once the upheaval was over my courtyard was switched back to a marketplace thronged with visitors. I had to attend meetings of all sorts, unable to free myself for a single minute from daily routines. I once read Mayakovsky's "A Meeting Addict" and Zhang Tianyi's *Mr. Hua Wei* and found the characters very amusing but did not expect myself to turn into one of them now.[12] What a shame! However, one can figure out ways of wringing out time from a desperate situation. Since I do not have large chunks of time for research I will do my best to utilize the "leftover bits" of the time before and after meeting or even at the meeting by laying out the structure of or composing the essay. At meetings, speakers more often than not rambled away with tedious government slogans and banal, unrelated talks and gave no useful information. The speaker was not down to the earth and businesslike, disrespecting the audience and demoralizing himself; he did not mean what he spoke and repeatedly uttered hogwash like "this," "that," "ah," "oh," etc. It was a sheer waste of time on the audience. At this time I usually listened with one ear, or half an ear, to catch whatever useful information can be gleaned, while focusing my attention on composing my essay. Of course, I took advantage of traveling by air, train and bus and even riding my bicycle and strolling in cranking out the message and style of my essay. This is what I mean by using the "leftover bits" of time. As time went on I fell into a "pernicious habit"; whenever my bottom hit the seat in a meeting room and whiffs of hollow talk assailed me, I was delighted as thoughts of my paper topics started to gush out of my head, "flares of talent" glittering continuously; streams of creativity sprang up and quickly delineated a layout in my mind shortly before a brief essay was whipped out amid the closing applause of the meeting. It even didn't hinder me from honoring the speaker with my share of applauding. It even didn't hinder me from honoring the speaker with my share of applauding. If, for days without a meeting, my brain would wind down almost to a standstill, a "gifted writer" presumably drained of "all talent." Then I would sigh with regret, wishing a meeting

would soon be convened. What an incurable character!

I have talked and strayed on my autobiography of the past seventy years. Generally it is an uneventful one of an ordinary man without clashes and quakes. I have gained a haul of research experience from the idea of "keeping catching," matte and cheesy. Presumably if you see some pricy stuff it is the crazy commentary. An ancient saying goes like "Write with honesty." I have not lied, which puts my mind at rest and does not let others down.

Completed on October 26, 1988

The previous writing was completed in 1988. Now it's been ten years. In a life of one hundred years a decade is not a short period. Time strides ahead and tides shift. Today I'm not the one I used to be. The Press of the Party School of the Central Committee of CPC contacted me for the publication of my *Random Recollections of the Cow Shed* and requested I add an autobiography so that the reader can have an understanding of Ji Xianlin as a person. It suggested I submit the previous version of autobiography and expand a little. So I did accordingly and have finished it. I thought it was a good idea and accepted it.

With hindsight, I found a problem. The previous autobiography is written with introduction and conclusion. If a cut is made at the end of a wretched writing and replaced with a tacky addition, it will look like neither fish nor good red herring, not a complete work at all. After long musing I decided to keep the original but add the following. The combination of the two will also appear complete.

What did the year 1988 look like? By then the policy of reform and opening up had been implemented for ten years and remarkable success had been achieved, the economy robust and people happy. The intellectuals, as a social population who had suffered in each political movement since the liberation, were particularly jubilant after the shackles binding their body were broken; they were rejuvenated; the academia and literature and arts were prosperous. I myself also felt breezes of the spring. Though I was already over the age of retirement, the university let me stay and I felt proud of myself and full of vigor, forgetting about my age and ambitious to achieve more on borrowed time. Despite the fact that I had quit from all administrative positions, my social work and activities showed no sign of decreasing; I was elected president or honorary president to lead seven or

eight national academic organizations. As for becoming a member of a society or association, it was uncountable; I was chosen as advisor, in fact having never contributed any advice, to a hundred organizations or book writing committees; I was editor-in-chief of three or four series of up to a few thousand books; I was frequently interviewed by TV stations, photographed and type-recorded, which brought in visitors to pack my afternoon schedule to the full; every day I received letters of various kinds, raising surprisingly odd questions. Some young boy and girl students from border regions of the country wrote me letters that gave me a lot of joy, and, deep down inside, I truly appreciate their trust in me. A noted writer said in his article that I replied to each of his letters written to me. That caused me disaster. How could I reply to each letter? Even if I hadn't had any other business I could not have been able to do that. I had to let my assistant and students write my replies on my behalf. His overstatement later disappointed many male and female teenagers. I felt guilty but found myself not in a position to do otherwise.

Why am I writing about all of this? I've only one purpose, that is, letting readers know about my current life and work. If I have done anything inappropriate I would appreciate their consideration and understanding.

Speaking about my academic contributions some people say I have treated myself cruelly. It's true that I'm close to ninety; though I still have a strong physique, I am losing my eyesight and hearing and walking a little haltingly. But I make sure that I wake up before dawn, switch on the first electric light in Langrunyuan and get down to my unfinished writing assignment, continuously and assiduously.[13] Don't I know that taking a stroll to Yuanmingyuan or Summer Place or, even further away, hiking in the Fragrance Hills, is a more enjoyable experience? Do I have ambitions for more material gains and reputation? No, these are not what I desire. I know strolling is enjoyable. But I understand I do not live for taking a few more strolls. That should not be a goal to achieve in life. As for material gains and reputation they are rolling in each day unexpectedly; with a mediocre fame for writing, my royalties give me another steady income. In other words I enjoy an abundance of material gains and reputation, and a glut of them would load the dice against me. Then why am I persisting in reading and writing? I would not like to lie and preach at readers with the merits of serving the country and people. I'm doing what I want to do in an effort to

obtain an inner tranquility; a one-day lapse without reading and writing would pummel me with twinges of guilt at night that I have lived one day in vain. Habit makes comfortable. I'm addicted to work and will not be able to rid of the habit until the next life.

According to my calculation, each of the past few years has seen far more of my production than any of my earlier years. The two longest and most arduous works were completed in my late years. One of them is the 0.8 million-word *A Trace of Cultural Exchange: A Chinese History of Cane Sugar*. The other one, also about hundreds of thousands of words long (it is hard to count due to some parts of it written in English), is *A Translation of a Play of the Smiling Bodhisattva's Conference*, which is originally written in the language of Qarasahr, Dialect A of Tukhara. As a writer of all subjects I write and publish in my areas of academic interest. Unfortunately some readers are confused in this regard, thanks to some reasons, and have sent their letters for me to various departments, such as the Department of Chinese, History, Philosophy, Western Languages, or even Sociology, indicating their understanding of me. After the two major works of mine are published, I believe the confusion will be declining. But to me I've never been confused about my academic directions.

The above sweeping account is about my last ten years' life and can be considered as an "autobiography."

How have I reflected on the ten years of turmoil during this period? In reality I haven't forgotten about it since the day when I got to tear off its extremely delicate and graceful veil and view its extremely cruel and tragic nature. But I waited and kept waiting until in 1992 when I decided to write *Random Recollections of the Cow Shed*. In this year, 1998, the book has finally appeared. I'm at last satisfied and complacent, which I recounted in "Preface" and will not reiterate. I think I have finally done something worthy for the offspring of the Chinese nation. Now I have another expectation, hoping there will be some people interested in it as well.

Written on March 11, 1998

[1]*A List of One Hundred Surnames*, a classical rhyming poem composed in the early Song Dynasty; *The Thousand-Character Essay*, a literary text written by Zhou Xingsi (?-521) in the reign of Liang of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (420-589); *The Three-Character Classic*, a children's reading and rhyming poem believed to be written in the thirteenth century; "The Four Books," referring to *The Analects* of Confucius, *The Book of Mencius*, *The Doctrine of the Mean* and *The Great Learning*.

[2]*Intrigues of the Warring States*, a collection of essays collected and edited by Liu Xiang in the late Western Han Dynasty.

[3]*Guwenguanzhi*, an anthology of classical Chinese literary writings first published in 1695.

[4]*The Creation of the Gods*, a Chinese epic fantasy novel written by Xu Zhonglin in the Ming Dynasty; *Tales of the Tang Kingdoms*, a Chinese novel of the wars and warlords in the late Sui (581-618) and early Tang (618-907) Dynasties, written by unknown author and published in the Qing Dynasty; *Stories of Yue Fei*, a Chinese novel about Yue Fei (1103-1142), military general and patriotic hero in the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279), in his fighting against the north invasion of the state of Jin; *The Legend of Ji Gong*, a Chinese fiction about Ji Gong (1130-1209), a Buddhist formally named Li Xiuyuan in the Southern Song Dynasty, who redresses the wrongs of the weak and brings outlaws to justice; *Tales of Peng Gong*, a Chinese novel, written by Yang Yidian and published in 1892 in the Qing Dynasty, about the protagonist Peng Gong or Peng Peng's deeds of getting rid of bullies and bringing peace to people; *Three Heroes and Five Gallants*, a Chinese fiction, written by Shi Yukun (1810-1871) and published in 1879 in the Qing Dynasty, about a plot in the Song Dynasty.

[5]*The Western Chamber*, a Chinese novel, written by the Yuan Dynasty (1206-1368) playwright Wang Shifu (1260-1316) on a Tang Dynasty lover story; *The Plum in the Golden Vase*, a Chinese novel, written by Lanling Xiaoxiao Sheng in the late Ming Dynasty.

[6] The School of Tongcheng, a group of writers from Tongcheng, Anhui, developing their particular literary style in the Qianlong's reign (1736-1796) of the Qing Dynasty.

[7] Xu Wenchang (1521-1593), named Wei, a literary writer in the Ming Dynasty.

[8]*A Collection of Essays of Han Changli*, essays written by Han Yu (768-824), with courtesy name of Tuizhi and publicly styled Han Changli, Chinese classical essayist and literary writer in the Tang Dynasty; Liu Zongyuan (773-819), with courtesy name of Zihou, Chinese literary writer and thinker in the Tang Dynasty; Ouyang Xiu (1007-1073), Chinese literary writer and historian in the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127); Three Su's, referring to Su Xun (1009-1066), with courtesy name of Mingyun, and his two sons, Su Shi (1037-1101), with courtesy name of Zizhan and also called Dongpo, and Su Zhe (1039-1112), with courtesy name of Ziyou, all three of them being Chinese literary writers in the Northern Song Dynasty.

[9]*Liang*, a Chinese unit of weight, equivalent to 1.7637 ounces. The author writes this line of poem on the basis of the line of the poem, "The Spring of Hope," by Du Fu, Chinese poet of the Tang Dynasty (712-770), which goes, "As the war has raged for three months, a letter from home is more valuable than ten thousands *liang* of gold."

[10] Zhang Xuecheng (1738-1801), Chinese historian and literary writer in the Qing Dynasty.

[11] Dragon Well Tea, famous Chinese green tea produced in Zhejiang, China; "Clouds," a famous Chinese brand of tobacco.

[12] Zhang Tianyi (1906-1985), contemporary Chinese fiction writer. His short fiction *Mr. Hua Wei* was published in 1938.

[13] Langrunyuan, one of the faculty residential areas on campus at Peking University.

附录　自传

我于1911年8月6日生于山东省清平县（现并临清市）官庄。我们家大概也小康过。可是到了我出生的时候，祖父母双亡，家道中落，形同贫农。父亲亲兄弟三人，无怙无恃，孤苦伶仃，一个送了人，剩下的两个也是食不果腹，衣不蔽体，饿得到枣林里去拣落到地上的干枣来吃。

六岁以前，我有一个老师马景恭先生。他究竟教了我些什么，现在完全忘掉了，大概只不过几个字罢了。六岁离家，到济南去投奔叔父。他是在万般无奈的情况下逃到济南去谋生的，经过不知多少艰难险阻，终于立定了脚跟。从那时起，我才算开始上学。曾在私塾里念过一些时候，念的不外是《百家姓》、《千字文》、《三字经》、《四书》之类。以后接着上小学。转学的时候，因为认识一个“骡”字，老师垂青，从高小开始念起。

我在新育小学考过甲等第三名、乙等第一名，不是拔尖的学生，也不怎样努力念书。三年高小，平平常常。有一件事值得提出来谈一谈：我开始学英语。当时正规小学并没有英语课。我学英语是利用业余时间，上课是在晚上。学的时间不长，只不过学了一点语法、一些单词而已。我当时有一个怪问题：“有”和“是”都没有“动”的意思，为什么叫“动词”呢？后来才逐渐了解到，这只不过是一个译名不妥的问题。

我万万没有想到，就由于这一点英语知识，我在报考中学时沾了半年光。我这个人颇有点自知之明，有人说，我自知过了头。不管怎样，我幼无大志，却是肯定无疑的。当时山东中学的“拿摩温”是山东省立第一中学。我这个癞蛤蟆不敢吃天鹅肉，我连去报名的勇气都没有，我只报了一个“破”正谊。可这个学校考试时居然考了英语。出的题目是汉译英：“我新得了一本书，已经读了几页，可是有些字我不认得。”我翻出来了，只是为了不知道“已经”这个词儿的英文译法而苦恼了很长时间。结果我被录取，不是一年级，而是一年半级。

在正谊中学学习期间，我也并不努力，成绩徘徊在甲等后几名、乙等前几名之间，属于上中水平。我们的学校濒临大明湖，风景绝美。一下课，我就跑到校后湖畔去钓虾、钓蛤蟆，不知用功为何物。但是，叔父却对我期望极大，要求极严。他自己亲自给我讲课，选了一本《课侄选文》，大都是些理学的文章。他并没有受过什么系统教育，但是他绝顶聪明，完全靠自学，经史子集都读了不少，能诗，善书，还能刻图

章。他没有男孩子，一切希望都寄托在我身上。他严而慈，对我影响极大。我今天勉强学得了一些东西，都出于他之赐，我永远不会忘掉。根据他的要求，我在正谊下课以后，参加了一个古文学习班，读了《左传》、《战国策》、《史记》等书，当然对老师另给报酬。晚上，又要到尚实英文学社去学英文，一直到10点才回家。这样的日子，大概过了八年。我当时并没有感觉到有什么负担；但也不了解其深远意义，依然顽皮如故，摸鱼钓虾而已。现在回想起来，我今天这一点不管多么单薄的基础不是那时打下的吗？

至于我们的正式课程，国文、英、数、理、生、地、史都有。国文念《古文观止》一类的书，要求背诵。英文念《泰西五十轶事》、《天方夜谭》、《莎氏乐府本事》、《纳氏文法》等等。写国文作文全用文言，英文也写作文。课外，除了上补习班外，我读了大量的旧小说，什么《三国》、《西游》、《封神演义》、《说唐》、《说岳》、《济公传》、《彭公案》、《三侠五义》等等无不阅读。《红楼梦》我最不喜欢。连《西厢记》、《金瓶梅》一类的书，我也阅读。这些书对我有什么影响，我说不出，反正我并没有想去当强盗或偷女人。

初中毕业以后，在正谊念了半年高中。1926年转入新成立的山东大学附设高中。山东大学的校长是前清状元、当时的教育厅长王寿彭。他提倡读经。在高中教读经的有两位老师，一位是前清翰林或者进士，一位绰号“大清国”，是一个顽固的遗老。两位老师的姓名我都忘记了，只记住了绰号。他们上课，都不带课本，教《书经》和《易经》，都背得滚瓜烂熟，连注疏都在内，据说还能倒背。教国文的老师是王崑玉先生，是一位桐城派的古文作家，有自己的文集。后来到山东大学去当讲师了。他对我的影响极大。记得第一篇作文题目是《读〈徐文长传〉书后》。完全出我意料，这篇作文受到他的高度赞扬，批语是“亦简劲，亦畅达”。我在吃惊之余，对古文产生了浓厚的兴趣，弄到了《韩昌黎集》、《柳宗元集》，以及欧阳修、三苏等的文集，想认真钻研一番。谈到英文，由于有尚实英文学社的底子，别的同学很难同我竞争。还有一件值得一提的事情是，我也学了德文。

由于上面提到的那些，我在第一学期考了一个甲等第一名，而且平均分数超过九十五分，因此受到了王状元的嘉奖。他亲笔写了一副对联和一个扇面奖给我，这当然更出我意料。我从此才有意识地努力学习。要追究动机，那并不堂皇，无非是想保持自己的面子，决不能从甲等第一名落到第二名，如此而已。反正我在高中学习三年中，六次考试，考了六个甲等第一名，成了“六连贯”，自己的虚荣心得到了充分的满足。

这是不是就改变了我那幼无大志的情况呢？也并没有。我照样是鼠目寸光，胸无大志，我根本没有发下宏愿，立下大志，终身从事科学研究，成为什么学者。我梦寐以求的只不过是毕业后考上大学，在当时谋生极为困难的条件下，抢到一只饭碗，无灾无难，平平庸庸地度过一生而已。

1929年，我转入新成立的山东省立济南高中，学习了一年，这在我一生中是一个重要的阶段。特别是国文方面，这里有几个全国闻名的作家：胡也频、董秋芳、夏莱蒂、董每戡等等。前两位是我的业师。胡先生不遗余力地宣传现代文艺，也就是普罗文学。我也迷离模糊，读了一些从日文译过来的马克思主义文艺理论。我曾写过一篇《现代文艺的使命》，大概是东抄西抄，勉强成篇。不意竟受到胡先生垂青，想在他筹办的杂志上发表。不幸他被国民党反动派通缉，仓促逃往上海，不久遇难。我的普罗文学梦也随之消逝。接他工作的是董秋芳（冬芬）先生。我此时改用白话写作文，大得董先生赞扬，认为我同王联榜是“全校之冠”。这当然给了我极大的鼓励。我之所以五十年来舞笔弄墨不辍，至今将近耄耋之年，仍然不能放下笔，全出于董老师之赐，我毕生难忘。

在这里，虽然已经没有经学课程，国文课本也以白话为主。我自己却没有放松对中国旧籍的钻研。我阅读的范围仍然很广，方面仍然很杂。陶渊明、杜甫、李白、王维、李义山、李后主、苏轼、陆游、姜白石等等诗人、词人的作品，我都读了不少。这对我以后的工作起了积极的影响。

1930年，我高中毕业，到北平来考大学。由于上面说过的一些原因，当年报考中学时那种自卑心理一扫而光，有点接近狂傲了。当时考一个名牌大学，十分困难，录取的百分比很低。为了得到更多的录取机会，我那八十多位同班毕业生，每人几乎都报七八个大学。我却只报了北大和清华。结果我两个大学都考上了。经过一番深思熟虑，我选了清华，因为，我想，清华出国机会多。选系时，我选了西洋系。这个系分三个专修方向（specialized）：英文、德文、法文。只要选某种语言一至四年，就算是专修某种语言。其实这只是一个形式，因为英文是从小学就学起的，而德文和法文则是从字母学起。教授中外籍人士居多，不管是哪国人，上课都讲英语，连中国教授也多半讲英语。课程也以英国文学为主，课本都是英文的，有“欧洲文学史”、“欧洲古典文学”、“中世纪文学”、“文艺复兴文学”、“文艺批评”、“莎士比亚”、“英国浪漫诗人”、“近代长篇小说”、“文学概论”、“文艺心理学（美学）”、“西洋通史”、“大一国文”、“一二年级英语”等等。

我的专修方向是德文。四年之内，共有三个教授授课，两位德国人，一位中国人。尽管我对这些老师都怀念而且感激，但是，我仍然要说，他们授课相当马虎。四年之内，在课堂上，中国老师只说汉语，德国老师只说英语，从来不用德语讲课。结果是，学了四年德文，我们只能看书，而不能听和说。我的学士论文是*The Early Poems of Hölderlin*，指导教授是Ecke（艾克）。

在所有的课程中，我受益最大的不是正课，而是一门选修课——朱光潜先生的“文艺心理学”和一门旁听课：陈寅恪先生的“佛经翻译文学”。这两门课对我以后的发展有深远影响，可以说是一直影响到现在。我搞一点比较文学和文艺理论，显然是受了朱先生的熏陶。而搞佛教史、佛教梵语和中亚古代语言，则同陈先生的影响是分不开的。

顺便说一句，我在大学在课余仍然继续写作散文，发表在当时颇有权威性的报刊上。我可万万没有想到，那样几篇散文竟给我带来了好处。1934年，清华毕业，找工作碰了钉子。母校山东济南高中的校长宋还吾先生邀我回母校任国文教员。我那几篇散文就把我制成了作家，而当时的逻辑是，只要是作家就能教国文。我可是在心里直打鼓：我怎么能教国文呢？但是，快到秋天了，饭碗还没有拿到手，我于是横下了一条心：你敢请我，我就敢去！我这个西洋文学系的毕业生一变而为国文教员。我就靠一部《辞源》和过去读的那一些旧书，堂而皇之当起国文教员来。我只有二十三岁，班上有不少学生比我年龄大三四岁，而且在家乡读过私塾。我实在是如履薄冰。

教了一年书，到了1935年，上天又赐给一个良机。清华大学与德国签订了交换研究生的协定。我报名应考，被录取。这一年的深秋，我到了德国哥廷根大学，开始了国外的学习生活。我选的主系是印度学，两个副系是英国语言学和斯拉夫语言学。我学习了梵文、巴利文、俄文、南斯拉夫文、阿拉伯文等等，还选了不少的课。教授是Sieg、Waldschmidt、Braun等等。

这时第二次世界大战正在剧烈进行。德国被封锁，什么东西也输入不进来，要吃没吃，要穿没穿。大概有四五年的时间，我忍受了空前的饥饿，终日饥肠辘辘，天上还有飞机轰炸。我怀念祖国和家庭。“烽火连六年，家书抵亿金。”实际上我一封家书都收不到。就在这样十分艰难困苦的条件下，我苦读不辍。1941年，通过论文答辩和口试，以全优成绩，获得哲学博士学位。我的博士论文是：《〈大事〉中伽陀部分限定动词的变化》。

在这一段异常困苦的期间，最使我感动的是德国老师的工作态度和对待中国学生的态度。我是一个素昧平生的异邦青年。他们不但没有丝毫歧视之意，而且爱护备至，循循善诱。Waldschmidt教授被征从军。Sieg教授以耄耋之年，毅然出来代课。其实我是唯一的博士生，他教的对象也几乎就是我一个人。他把他的看家本领都毫无保留地要传给我。他给我讲了《梨俱吠陀》、《波你尼语法》、Patanjali的《大疏》、《十王子传》等。他还一定坚持要教我吐火罗文。他是这个语言的最高权威，是他把这本天书读通了的。我当时工作极多，又患神经衰弱，身心负担都很重。可是看到这位老人那样热心，我无论如何不能让老人伤心，便遵命学了起来。同学的还有比利时W.　Couvreur博士，后来成了名教授。

谈到工作态度，我的德国老师都是楷模。他们的学风都是异常地认真、细致、谨严。他们写文章，都是再三斟酌，多方讨论，然后才发表。德国学者的“彻底性”（Grundlichkeit）是名震寰宇的。对此我有深切的感受。可惜后来由于环境关系，我没能完全做到，真有点愧对我的德国老师了。

从1937年起，我兼任哥廷根大学汉学系讲师。这个系设在一座大楼的二层上，几乎没有人到这座大楼来，因此非常清静。系的图书室规模相当大，在欧洲颇有一些名气。许多著名的汉学家到这里来看书，我就碰到不少，其中最著名的有英国的Arthur　Waley等。我在这里也读了不少的中国书，特别是笔记小说以及佛教大藏经，扩大了我在这方面的知识面。

我在哥廷根呆了整整十个年头。1945年秋冬之交，我离开这里到瑞士去，住了将近半年。1946年春末，取道法国、越南、香港，夏天回到了别离将近十一年的祖国。

我的留学生活，也可以说是我的整个学生生活就这样结束了。这一年我三十五岁。

1946年秋天，我到北京大学来任教授，兼东方语言文学系主任。是我的老师陈寅恪先生把我介绍给胡适、傅斯年、汤用彤三位先生的。按当时北大的规定：在国外获得博士学位回国的，只能任副教授。对我当然也要照此办理。也许是我那几篇在哥廷根科学院院刊上发表的论文起了作用。我到校后没有多久，汤先生就通知我，我已定为教授。从那时到现在时光已经过去了四十二年，我一直没有离开北大过。期间我担任系主任三十来年，担任副校长五年。1956年，我当选中国科学院学部委

员。“十年浩劫”中靠边站，挨批斗，符合当时的“潮流”。现在年近耄耋，仍然搞教学、科研工作，从事社会活动，看来离八宝山还有一段距离。以上这一切都是平平常常的经历，没有什么英雄业绩，我就不再啰唆了。

我体会，一些报刊之所以要我写自传的原因，是想让我写点什么治学经验之类的东西。那么，在长达六十年的学习和科研活动中，我究竟有些什么经验可谈呢？粗粗一想，好像很多；仔细考虑，无影无踪。总之是卑之无甚高论。不管好坏，鸳鸯我总算绣了一些，至于金针则确乎没有，至多是铜针、铁针而已。

我记得，鲁迅先生在一篇文章中讲了一个笑话：一个江湖郎中在市集上大声吆喝，叫卖治臭虫的妙方。有人出钱买了一个纸卷，层层用纸严密裹住。打开一看，妙方只有两个字：勤捉。你说它不对吗？不行，它是完全对的。但是说了等于不说。我的经验压缩成两个字是勤奋。再多说两句就是：争分夺秒，念念不忘。灵感这东西不能说没有，但是，它不是从天上掉下来的，而是勤奋出灵感。

上面讲的是精神方面的东西，现在谈一点具体的东西。我认为，要想从事科学研究工作，应该在四个方面下工夫：一，理论；二，知识面；三，外语；四，汉语。唐代刘知几主张，治史学要有才、学、识。我现在勉强套用一下，理论属识，知识面属学，外语和汉语属才，我在下面分别谈一谈。

一、理论

现在一讲理论，我们往往想到马克思主义。这样想，不能说不正确。但是，必须注意几点。一，马克思主义随时代而发展，决非僵化不变的教条。二，不要把马克思主义说得太神妙，令人望而生畏，对它可以批评，也可以反驳。我个人认为，马克思主义的精髓就是唯物主义和辩证法。唯物主义就是实事求是。把黄的说成是黄的，是唯物主义。把黄的说成是黑的，是唯心主义。事情就是如此简单明了。哲学家们有权力去作深奥的阐述，我辈外行，大可不必。至于辩证法，也可以作如是观。看问题不要孤立，不要僵死，要注意多方面的联系，在事物运动中把握规律，如此而已。我这种幼儿园水平的理解，也许更接近事实真相。

除了马克思主义以外，古今中外一些所谓唯心主义哲学家的著作，他们的思维方式和推理方式，也要认真学习。我有一个奇怪的想法：百

分之百的唯物主义哲学家和百分之百的唯心主义哲学家，都是没有的。这就是和真空一样，绝对的真空在地球上是没有的。中国古话说：“智者千虑，必有一失。”就是这个意思。因此，所谓唯心主义哲学家也有不少东西值得我们学习的。我们千万不要像过去那样把十分复杂的问题简单化和教条化，把唯心主义的标签一贴，就“奥伏赫变”。

二、知识面

要求知识面广，大概没有人反对。因为，不管你探究的范围多么窄狭，多么专门，只有在知识广博的基础上，你的眼光才能放远，你的研究才能深入。这样说已经近于常识，不必再做过多的论证了。我想在这里强调一点，这就是，我们从事人文科学和社会科学研究的人，应该学一点科学技术知识，能够精通一门自然科学，那就更好。今天学术发展的总趋势是，学科界限越来越混同起来，边缘学科和交叉学科越来越多。再像过去那样，死守学科阵地，鸡犬之声相闻，老死不相往来，已经完全不合时宜了。此外，对西方当前流行的各种学术流派，不管你认为多么离奇荒诞，也必须加以研究，至少也应该了解其轮廓，不能简单地盲从或拒绝。

三、外语

外语的重要性，尽人皆知。若再详细论证，恐成蛇足。我在这里只想强调一点：从今天的世界情势来看，外语中最重要的是英语，它已经成为名副其实的世界语。这种语言，我们必须熟练掌握，不但要能读，能译，而且要能听，能说，能写。今天写学术论文，如只用汉语，则不能出国门一步，不能同世界各国的同行交流。如不能听说英语，则无法参加国际学术会议。情况就是如此地咄咄逼人，我们不能不认真严肃地加以考虑。

四、汉语

我在这里提出汉语来，也许有人认为是非常异议可怪之论。“我还不能说汉语吗？”“我还不能写汉文吗？”是的，你能说，也能写。然而仔细一观察，我们就不能不承认，我们今天的汉语水平是非常成问题的。每天出版的报章杂志，只要稍一注意，就能发现别字、病句。我现在越来越感到，真要想写一篇准确、鲜明、生动的文章，决非轻而易举。要能做到这一步，还必须认真下点工夫。我甚至想到，汉语掌握到一定程度，想再前进一步，比学习外语还难。只有承认这一个事实，我们的汉语水平才能提高，别字、病句才能减少。

我在上面讲了四个方面的要求。其实这些话都属于老生常谈，都平淡无奇。然而真理不往往就寓于平淡无奇之中吗？这同我在上面引鲁迅先生讲的笑话中的“勤捉”一样，看似平淡，实则最切实可行，而且立竿见影。我想到这样平凡的真理，不敢自秘，便写了出来，其意不过如野叟献曝而已。

我现在想谈一点关于进行科学研究指导方针的想法。六七十年前胡适先生提出来的“大胆的假设，小心的求证”，我认为是不刊之论，是放之四海而皆准的方针。古今中外，无论是社会科学，还是自然科学，概莫能外。在那一段教条主义猖獗、形而上学飞扬跋扈的时期内，这个方针曾受到多年连续不断的批判。我当时就百思不得其解。试问哪一个学者能离开假设与求证呢？所谓大胆，就是不为过去的先人之见所限，不为权威所囿，能够放开眼光，敞开胸怀，独具只眼，另辟蹊径，提出自己的假设，甚至胡思乱想，想入非非，亦无不可。如果连这一点胆量都不敢有，那只有循规蹈矩，墨守成法，鼠目寸光，拾人牙慧，个人决不会有创造，学术决不会进步。这一点难道还不明白，还要进行烦琐的论证吗？

总之，我要说，一要假设，二要大胆，缺一不可。

但是，在提倡大胆的假设的同时，必须大力提倡小心的求证。一个人的假设，决不会一提出来就完全符合实际情况，有一个随时修改的过程。我们都有这样一个经验：在想到一个假设时，自己往往诧为“神来之笔”，是“天才火花”的闪烁，而狂欢不已。可是这一切都并不是完全可靠的。假设能不能成立，完全依靠求证。求证要小心，要客观，决不允许厌烦，更不允许马虎。要从多层次、多角度上来求证，从而考验自己的假设是否正确，或者正确到什么程度，哪一部分正确，哪一部分又不正确。所有这一切都必须实事求是，容不得丝毫私心杂念，一以证据为准。证据否定掉的，不管当时显得多么神奇，多么动人，都必须毅然毫不吝惜地加以扬弃。部分不正确的，扬弃部分。全部不正确的，扬弃全部。事关学术良心，决不能含糊。可惜到现在还有某一些人，为了维护自己“奇妙”的假设，不惜歪曲证据，剪裁证据。对自己的假设有用的材料，他就用；没有用的、不利的，他就视而不见，或者见而掩盖。这都是“缺德”（史德也）的行为，我期期以为不可。至于剽窃别人的看法或者资料，而不加以说明，那是小偷行为，斯下矣。

总之，我要说，一要求证，二要小心，缺一不可。

我刚才讲的“史德”，是借用章学诚的说法。他把“史德”解释成“心

术”。我在这里讲的也与“心术”有关，但与章学诚的“心术”又略有所不同，有点引申的意味。我的中心想法是不要骗自己，不要骗读者。做到这一步，是有德，否则就是缺德。写什么东西，自己首先要相信。自己不相信而写出来要读者相信，不是缺德又是什么呢？自己不懂而写出来要读者懂，不是缺德又是什么呢？我这些话决非无中生有，无的放矢。我都有事实根据。我以垂暮之年，写了出来，愿与青年学者们共勉之。

现在再谈一谈关于搜集资料的问题。进行科学研究，必须搜集资料，这是不易之理。但是，搜集资料并没有什么一定之规。最常见的办法是使用卡片，把自己认为有用的资料抄在上面，然后分门别类，加以排比。可这也不是唯一的办法。陈寅恪先生把有关资料用眉批的办法，今天写上一点，明天写上一点，积之既久，资料多到能够写成一篇了，就从眉批移到纸上，就是一篇完整的文章。比如，他对《高僧传·鸠摩罗什传》的眉批，竟比原文还要多几倍，是一个典型的例子。我自己既很少写卡片，也从来不用眉批，而是用比较大张的纸，把材料写上。有时候随便看书，忽然发现有用的材料，往往顺手拿一些手边能拿到的东西，比如通知、请柬、信封、小纸片之类，把材料写上，再分类保存。我看到别人也有这个情况，向达先生有时就把材料写在香烟盒上。用比较大张的纸有一个好处，能把有关的材料都写在上面，约略等于陈先生的眉批。卡片面积太小，这样做是办不到的。材料抄好以后，要十分认真细心地加以保存，最好分门别类装入纸夹或纸袋。否则，如果一时粗心大意丢上张把小纸片，上面记的可能是最关重要的材料，这样会影响你整篇文章的质量，不得不黾勉从事。至于搜集资料要巨细无遗，要有竭泽而渔的精神，这是不言自喻的。但是，要达到百分之百的完整的程度，那也是做不到的。不过我们千万要警惕，不能随便搜集到一点资料，就动手写长篇论文。这样写成的文章，其结论之不可靠是显而易见的。与此有联系的就是要注意文献目录，只要与你要写的文章有关的论文和专著的目录，你必须清楚。否则，人家已经有了结论，而你还在卖劲地论证，必然贻笑方家，不可不慎。

我想顺便谈一谈材料有用无用的问题。严格讲起来，天下没有无用的材料，问题是对谁来说，在什么时候说。就是对同一个人，也有个时机问题。大概我们都有这样的经验：只要你脑海里有某一个问题，一切资料，书本上的、考古发掘的、社会调查的等等，都能对你有用。搜集这样的资料也并不困难，有时候资料简直是自己跃入你的眼中。反之，如果你脑海里没有这个问题，则所有这样的资料对你都是无用的。但是，一个人脑海里思考什么问题，什么时候思考什么问题，有时候自己也掌握不了。一个人一生中不知要思考多少问题。当你思考甲问题时，

乙问题的资料对你没有用。可是说不定什么时候你会思考起乙问题来。你可能回忆起以前看书时曾碰到过这方面的资料，现在再想去查找，可就“云深不知处”了。这样的经验我一生不知碰到多少次了，想别人也必然相同。

那么怎么办呢？最好脑海里思考问题，不要单打一，同时要思考几个，而且要念念不忘，永远不让自己的脑子停摆，永远在思考着什么。这样一来，你搜集面就会大得多，漏网之鱼也就少得多。材料当然也就积累得多，养兵千日，用兵一时；一旦用起来，你就左右逢源了。

最后还要谈一谈时间的利用问题。时间就是生命，这是大家都知道的道理。而且时间是一个常数，对谁都一样，谁每天也不会多出一秒半秒。对我们研究学问的人来说，时间尤其珍贵，更要争分夺秒。但是各人的处境不同，对某一些人来说就有一个怎样利用时间的“边角废料”的问题。这个怪名词是我杜撰出来的。时间摸不着看不见，但确实是一个整体，哪里会有什么“边角废料”呢？这只是一个形象的说法。平常我们做工作，如果一整天没有人和事来干扰，你可以从容濡笔，悠然怡然，再佐以龙井一杯、云烟三支，神情宛如神仙，整个时间都是你的，那就根本不存在什么“边角废料”问题。但是有多少人能有这种神仙福气呢？鲁钝如不佞者几十年来就做不到。建国以来，我搞了不知多少社会活动，参加了不知多少会，每天不知有多少人来找，心烦意乱，啼笑皆非。回想“十年浩劫”期间，我成了“不可接触者”，除了蹲牛棚外，在家里也是门可罗雀。《罗摩衍那》译文八巨册就是那时候的产物。难道为了读书写文章就非变成“不可接触者”或者右派不行吗？浩劫一过，我又是门庭若市，而且参加各种各样的会，终日马不停蹄。我从前读过马雅可夫斯基的《开会迷》和张天翼的《华威先生》，觉得异常可笑，岂意自己现在就成了那一类人物，岂不大可哀哉！但是，人在无可奈何的情况下是能够想出办法来的。现在我既然没有完整的时间，就挖空心思利用时间的“边角废料”。在会前、会后，甚至在会中，构思或动笔写文章。有不少会，讲话空话废话居多，传递的信息量却不大，态度欠端，话风不正，哼哼哈哈，不知所云，又佐之以“这个”、“那个”，间之以“喃”、“啊”，白白浪费精力，效果却是很少。在这时候，我往往只用一个耳朵或半个耳朵去听，就能兜住发言的全部信息量，而把剩下的一个耳朵或一个半耳朵全部关闭，把精力集中到脑海里，构思，写文章。当然，在飞机上、火车上、汽车上，甚至自行车上，特别是在步行的时候，我脑海里更是思考不停。这就是我所说的利用时间的“边角废料”。积之既久，养成“恶”习，只要在会场一坐，一闻会味，心花怒放，奇思妙想，联翩飞来；“天才火花”，闪烁不停；此时文思如万斛泉涌，在鼓

掌声中，一篇短文即可写成，还耽误不了鼓掌。倘多日不开会，则脑海活动，似将停止，“江郎”仿佛“才尽”。此时我反而期望开会了。这真叫做没有法子。

我在上面拉杂地写了自己七十年的自传。总起来看，没有大激荡，没有大震动，是一个平凡人的平凡的经历。我谈的治学经验，也都属于“勤捉”之类，卑之无甚高论。比较有点价值的也许是那些近乎怪话的意见。古人云：“修辞立其诚。”我没有说谎话，只有这一点是可以告慰自己，也算是对得起别人的。

1988年10月26日写完

上面的自传是1988年写成的，到现在已经整整十年了。在人生百年中，十年是一个不短的期间。时移世异，人事沧桑，今天的我已经非复当年之我了。现在中央党校出版社要出版我的《牛棚杂忆》，希望能附上我的一篇自传，使读者能了解牛棚里的季羡林究竟是何许人，并且建议就用上面这一篇，再加上点延续，一直写到今天。这个建议是合情合理的，我准备采纳。

但是，仔细一琢磨，却有了困难。上面这一篇是有头有尾的。如果在尾巴砍上一刀，狗尾续貂，难免不伦不类，不像是一篇完整的文章。考虑再三，决定保留上篇的完整性，再补上一个下篇，看上去，同样是完整的。

1988年是一个什么样的年头呢？改革开放的政策已经实行了十年，取得了异乎寻常的成功。经济繁荣，人民欢乐，知识分子这一个解放后历届政治运动都处在挨整的地位上的社会群体，现在身上的枷锁砸掉了，身心都感到异常的欢悦，精神又振奋了起来，学术界和文艺界真是一派大好形势。我自己当然也感觉到了这种盎然的春意。虽然早已过了退休的年龄；但是，学校决定我不退休，我感到很光荣，干劲倍增。不似少年，胜似少年，怡怡然忘记了老之已至。我虽然已经没有正式的行政工作，但是社会工作和社会活动，却是有增无减。全国性的学术团体中我被选为主席、会长或名誉主席、会长的有七八个之多。至于理事之类，数目更多。不顾不问的顾问，一个团体的或一部书的，总有几十上百个，确实数目，只有天老爷知道，我个人是搞不清楚的。大型丛书，上千册的，上百册的，由我担任主编的，也有三四部。至于电视采访，照像录音，也是常事。几乎每天下午都是宾客盈门。每天接到各式各样的来信也有多封。里面的请求千奇百怪。一些僻远省份青年学生的来信，确实给我带来很大的快乐。我从内心里感谢这一些天真无邪的青年男女学生对我的信任。一位著名的作家，在自己的文章里提到我，说我

每信必复。这却给我带来了灾难。我哪里能做到每信必复呢？即使我什么事情都不干，也是做不到的。我只能让我的助手和学生代复，这难免给一些男女大孩子带来了失望。我内疚于心，然而却无能为力。

我写这些事情干什么呢？目的只有一个，那就是，告诉读者我现在生活和工作的真实的情况；如果我有不周到的地方，请他们体贴原谅。

在学术工作方面，有人说，我对自己太残酷。已经到了望九之年，虽然大体上说来，我的身体还算是硬朗的，但是眼睛和耳朵都已不太灵光，走路有点“飘”；可我仍然是不明即起，亮起了朗润园里的第一盏灯，伏案读写，孜孜不倦。难道我不知道，到圆明园或颐和园去溜弯，再远一点，到香山去爬山，不比现在这样更轻松愉快吗？难道我在名利方面还有什么野心吗？都不是的。我知道溜弯舒服；但我认为人活着不是为了多溜几年弯。那不是追求的目的。至于名利，我现在不虞之誉纷至沓来；利的方面，爬格子爬出了点名堂，稿费也是纷至沓来。可以说，在名利两个方面我都够用了，再多了，反而会成为累赘。那么，我这样干的目的究竟是为了什么呢？我不愿说谎话，讲些为国为民的大道理。我只能说，这样做能使自己心里平静。如果有一天我没能读写文章，清夜自思，便感内疚，认为是白白浪费一天。习惯成自然，工作对我来说已经成了痼疾，想要改正，只有等待来生了。

计算一下，最近几年来，我每年写的文章，数目远远超过过去的任何一年。我平生最长最艰巨的两部书，都是在耄耋之年完成的。一部是长达八十万字的《糖史》，一部是也长达数十万字（因为部分用英文写成的，字数难以准确统计）的吐火罗文A方言（焉耆文）的《弥勒会见记剧本》的译释。我虽然是个杂家，但是杂中还是有重点的。可惜，由于一些原因，不明真相的人往往不明白我干的究竟是哪一行。外面来的信，有的寄到中文系，有的寄到历史系，有的寄到哲学系，有的寄到西语系，有的甚至寄到社会学系。从中可以看出人们对我的了解。两部大书一出，估计可以减少点混乱。对我来说，这种混乱一点影响也没有的。

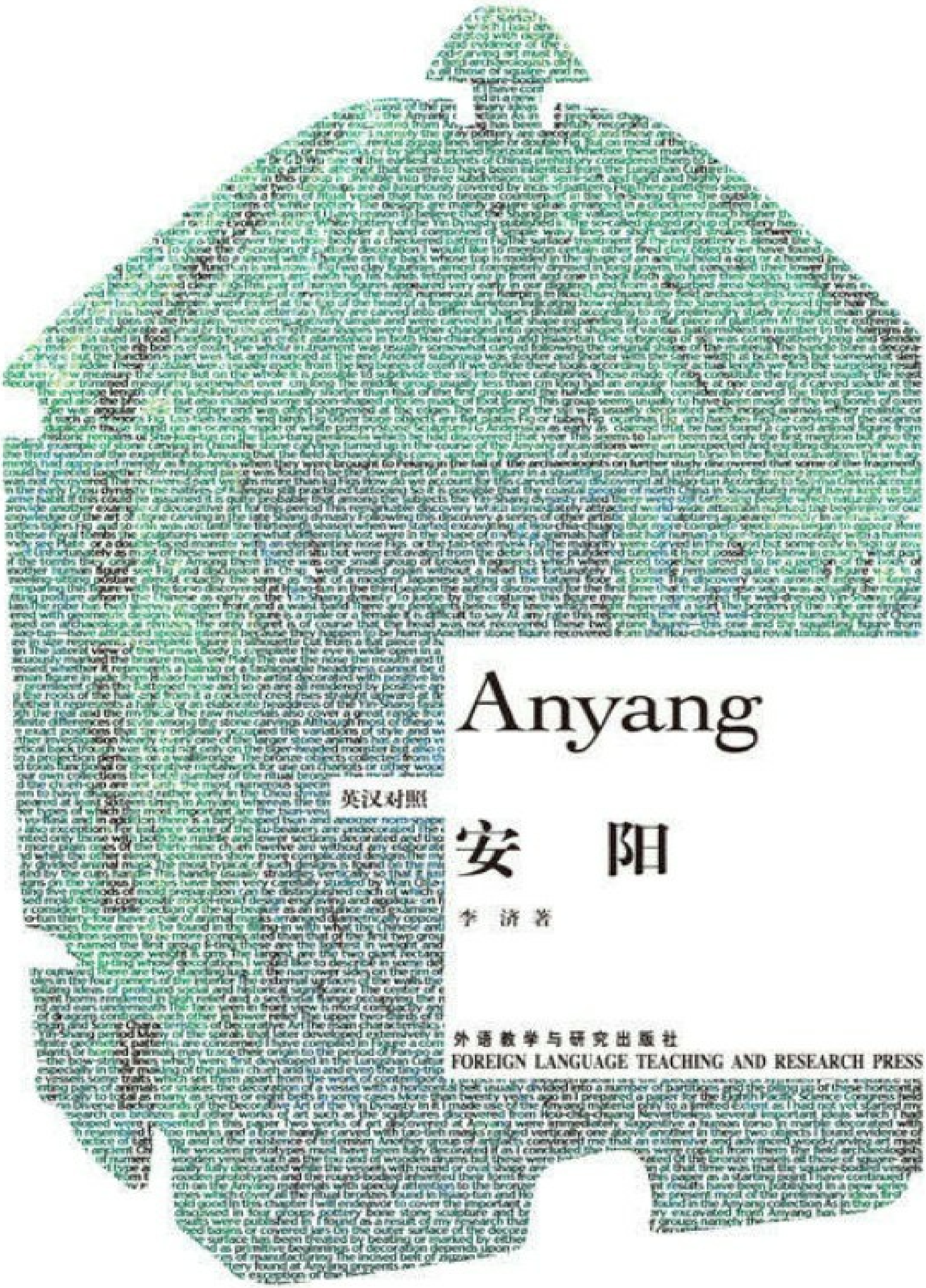
以上是我最近十年来生活的综述，也可以算是“自传”吧。

在这期间，我是怎样考虑“十年浩劫”的呢？实际上，从我脑筋开了窍认识到这一场在极端绚丽的面纱下蒙着的极端残酷的悲剧那一天起，我就没有把它忘记。但是，我期待着，期待着，一直到1992年《牛棚杂忆》产生，我的期待结束。到了今年1998年，《牛棚杂忆》终于出版问世。我的心情才比较得到了点宁静。这一切我已经在“自序”中比较详尽

地介绍了，这里不再重复。我觉得，我总算为中华民族的后世子孙做了一件好事。我又有了新的期待，我期待还能有问津者。

1998年3月11日

1928年至1937年，李济主持了震惊世界的河南安阳殷墟发掘，这使殷商文化由传说变为信史，重新构建了中国古代早期历史的框架，并由此将中国的历史向前推移了数百年。



英汉对照

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“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在

古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社

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Foreword

The Anyang excavation was, from its inception, directed toward the recovery of the early written history of China. It was never conceived as a search for works of art or buried treasure. Hence the story of Anyang properly begins with the discovery that "dragon bones" were inscribed with archaic Chinese characters. Dr. Li Chi therefore describes the various accounts of how this discovery was made and introduces us to the principal characters of the drama. Once it was recognized that the so-called "dragon bones" were the shells of tortoises, or occasionally the scapula of cattle, on which diviners had written questions directed to the gods, these precious objects became known as "oracle bones" and there was a great rush to find more inscribed specimens and translate their inscriptions into modern Chinese.

For centuries Chinese scholarship had concentrated on subtle analysis of ancient texts; thus a number of specialists were eager to learn the questions asked on the oracle bones so that they could speculate about the possible answers. Proper interpretation of these inscriptions required that the bones be discovered in association with the total archaeological record of ancient sites by qualified scholars. This raised a serious problem because the Chinese scholar's proper domain was his study and to engage in manual labor was considered an activity unworthy of his learning. The social and physical adjustments necessary to make the Anyang expedition a possibility demanded a revolution in Chinese society as well as in scholarship. Fortunately China was ready for such a revolution for there was a new atmosphere of social and intellectual change without which the investigation at Anyang would not have been possible. Thus the Anyang project was born of social revolution and was to its very end dependent on the ever-changing political situation.

Dr. Li, the key figure throughout the Anyang adventure, was well prepared for this heroic task. Having acquired a classical Chinese education, Dr. Li went to Harvard where he earned his Ph.D. in archaeology.[1]

Meanwhile, foreign archaeologists had been very active in China but their energies were directed mainly toward the discovery of early man and the study of Chinese culture from the paleolithic through the neolithic periods. On returning to China, Dr. Li became acquainted with these eminent foreign scholars who were already busily at work unraveling the record of China's past. Although Dr. Li's earliest field work was also in search of neolithic materials, he soon became involved in the activities of the Academia Sinica's Institute of History and Philology which took a characteristically Chinese approach, that is, the search for, and the decipherment of, the early written records of China.

From the beginning the task of the Institute of History and Philology was the blending of Chinese literary scholarship with the careful field methods of archaeology. The institute chose wisely when they selected Dr. Li to lead the Anyang excavation, for he was trained in both techniques. This was the proper combination to investigate the still-legendary early Bronze Age of China and place it in its proper perspective within the realm of Chinese written history. Today Dr. Li is the person best qualified to record the events that led up to the Anyang excavation, describe the work at Anyang, and finally summarize the knowledge obtained by a team of scholars from the wealth of material recovered from the "Waste of Yin," in the general area of Anyang.

In the first two chapters, Dr. Li sets the stage by introducing us to the principle characters involved in first part of this modern archaeological drama, explaining in considerable detail the role of each from the first recognition that "dragon bones" used in Chinese medicine were actually documents that would illuminate the early Bronze Age and bring the Shang dynasty into the realm of written history.

In the third and fourth chapters Dr. Li explains the situation in Chinese archaeology during the early years of the twentieth century and describes the contributions of the prominent foreigners. This leads into the planning of the Anyang expedition, the troubles of financing the work, the early association with the Freer Gallery, and the ultimate divergence between the Gallery and the Institute.

With the fifth chapter he begins the narrative of the excavations and describes the principal finds. The work at Anyang is traced year by year until

all work in the field was brought to a halt in 1937 by the Japanese invasion. The succeeding chapters deal with the flight of the Institute of History and Philology before the advancing armies of the Japanese. They made the long, difficult trip to west China with their precious excavated material and such parts of their library and technical apparatus as could be moved at that time. Even in west China they were not able to establish a permanent base, for they had to move again with the tide of war. These seemingly insurmountable difficulties did not dampen the general enthusiasm for research because, as soon as the institute set up a temporary base, they resumed their analysis of the material and even succeeded in publishing some preliminary results. With the end of World War II the institute returned to its original quarters in east China, but, while the end of World War II brought peace to much of the world, it did not bring peace to China. The revolution, intellectual and physical, that had made Anyang possible continued to escalate, and so the institute was soon…in Taiwan where a new base was set up, new recruits were gathered, and work was resumed.

The final chapters present a summary of the findings of the Anyang expedition with a description of some of the major publications that have come out of this monumental project. From the very beginning the Anyang project, like all archaeology in China, was closely related to politics and the political situation. It is very much to the credit of Dr. Li that he has never permitted political considerations either to permanently halt the project, or to color his findings as a scholar. As the pioneer Bronze Age excavation in China, Anyang has served as a model and inspiration to those who have continued Chinese archaeological exploration.

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序言

安阳发掘从一开始，其目的就是重新发现古代中国有文字记载的历史，而不是寻找艺术珍品或宝藏。因而安阳的故事也就是从发现“龙骨”上刻有中国古文字真正开始的。由此李济博士叙述了此发现如何获致的种种方面，并介绍了参与此事的一些主要人物。这些所谓的“龙骨”一旦被认定是由占卜者刻写了问卜于神的卜辞的龟壳或牛肩胛骨，这些珍品就以“甲骨”闻名，一股寻求更多的有字甲骨、将刻字译成现代文的热潮也随之兴起。

几个世纪以来，中国的学问一直专注于对古典著作的精细考证，因此，许多学者渴望了解甲骨卜问的内容，推测可能的答案。要恰当地解释这些字的含义，需要将甲骨的发现与合格的学者所作的古代遗址考古发掘的全部记录联系起来。这就提出了一个严肃的问题，因为中国学者应该是呆在书斋中的，从事体力劳动被视为与做学问不相称。因此，要使安阳考察成为可能，社会和物质都必须作出调整，这要求中国学术界和社会来一次革命。有幸的是，中国已为此作好了准备，若无这种社会和思想变革的新风气，安阳发掘是不可能实现的。因此，安阳考察计划产生于社会变革，亦自始至终受制于不断变化的政治形势。

贯穿安阳发掘始终的关键人物李济博士为完成这项光荣任务作好了准备。李先生在中国接受古典式教育后，又到哈佛大学深造并获人类学博士。[1]当时外国考古学者在中国很活跃，但他们的精力主要集中在寻找远古人类和研究从旧石器到新石器时代的中国文化上。李济回国后，结识了这些正忙于破解中国历史档案的杰出外国学者。李先生从事田野工作之初也是在探寻新石器时代的资料，但他很快就投入到中央研究院历史语言研究所的活动中。后者走的是一条典型的中国式的道路，即寻找、考释中国早期的文字记录。

历史语言研究所的任务从一开始就是把中国文献研究和细致的田野考古方法结合起来。史语所选择李济指导安阳发掘是明智的，因为他同时受过这两方面的训练。这两种方法的结合，不管是对研究仍处于传说中的中国早期青铜时代，还是为确立其在信史中的适当地位，都是恰如其分的。如今，要记录安阳发掘的起因、描述安阳考古发掘的过程，并最终对考古学者从安阳殷墟发现的宝贵资料中所获的知识进行总结，李济是最合适的人。

在前两章中，李济向我们介绍了现代考古故事第一幕中的主要角色，设定了故事的开场，翔实地记叙了每个人的作用——是他们最早识得，中医里用的“龙骨”其实是照亮早期青铜时代、将商朝引入信史的文献。

三、四章中，李先生说明了20世纪初期中国考古学的情况，记叙了几位著名的外国人的贡献。接下来是安阳发掘计划的制订，财政上的困难，史语所与弗利尔艺术馆的最初合作以及最后的分道扬镳。

自第五章起，李济开始记叙安阳的历次发掘及主要的发掘成果。作者对安阳的工作作了逐年回顾，直至发掘于1937年因日本侵略而被迫停止。后续的几章介绍了史语所面对日军的进犯不断撤退的窘境。他们携带着发掘的珍贵资料以及当时能搬运的图书和技术器械，向中国西部进行了漫长而艰难的跋涉。甚至于此也不能安身，随战争形势的发展，他们还得搬迁。这些看似不可克服的困难并未挫伤他们对学术研究的热情。史语所临时住址一经安顿，他们又立刻开始对资料的分析研究，甚至还成功地出版了一些初步的研究成果。随着第二次世界大战的结束，史语所返回了华东地区的原址。然而，二战的结束虽然给世界许多地方带去了和平，但未将和平带给中国。曾促使安阳发掘成为可能的那场思想和物质的革命继续升级，史语所很快迁往台湾，并在那里建立了新址，吸收了人员，恢复了工作。

最后几章概述了安阳考察的种种成果，并介绍了一些诞生于这一里程碑式的项目的主要著作。同中国一切考古活动一样，安阳发掘从一开始就是与政治和政治形势紧密相连的。但李济从未允许因政治顾虑永远停止这个项目，或因此影响他作为一个学者的种种发现，这是非常值得称赞的。作为中国青铜时代发掘的先行者，安阳为那些继续从事中国考古探索的人树立了典范，并给他们以鼓舞。

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Preface

The archaeological materials recovered from the Anyang excavations by the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, in the period between 1928 and 1937, published in several series of Archaeologia Sinica since wartime, have laid a new foundation for the study of ancient China. They are important for a number of reasons; the following three may be considered primary.

In the first place, when oracle bone inscriptions became known to the antiquarians at the end of last century, they were considered as mere curiosities and left in the hands of peddlers and curio-dealers. The learned world at large was more or less skeptical about the academic value of these written inscriptions. In fact one of the leading paleographers in the early Republican era openly charged that these new curiosities were mere forgeries, in spite of the publication of many scholarly investigations and inquiries about the nature and contents of the inscriptions by a few serious students. When the Archaeological Section of the Institute of History and Philology started digging at Hsiao-t'un (known as the Waste of Yin, or Yin-hsü) in Anyang in 1928, and found the inscribed oracle bones through scientific excavation, the fact that oracle bone inscriptions actually existed in the Yin-Shang time was settled beyond dispute. From then on, Chinese paleography advanced on a new basis. Hsü Shen, the compiler of the *Shuo-wen* dictionary during the Eastern Han dynasty, was no longer considered as the final authority in the definition of all Chinese written characters as he had been for almost two millennia.

Second, what was totally new to historians of the old school was the discovery of many prehistoric sites through modern archaeology. Field archaeologists digging the Hsiao-t'un site systematically recorded, season after season, all the artifacts whether associated with the inscribed oracle bones or not, including of course all the potteries and the pot-sherds. From a total of nearly a quarter million sherds, nearly fifteen hundred complete specimens could be restored. From this group of ceramic materials the author has been able to compile a corpus of the Yin-hsü pottery on the basis of their shapes and stratified typology. And this pottery corpus, completed during

wartime and published in Archaeologia Sinica in 1954, has provided the most substantial link of the earliest written history with newly discovered prehistoric cultures—both the Lungshan and the Yangshao types. The turning point occurred in the course of the Anyang excavations, when the field archaeologists working on the site of Hsiao-t'un discovered that beneath the main cultural stratum of Yin-Shang period, as dated by inscribed oracle bones, there is another cultural deposit of prehistorical remains, similar in contents to the prehistoric Lungshan culture widely distributed in Shantung and the eastern seacoast.

Equally significant is the fact that the pottery corpus has provided important background material for the study of ritual bronzes in many burials at Hsiao-t'un and the royal tombs of Hou-chia-chuang. Two characteristics of the ritual bronzes from the various tombs deserve special notice. On the one hand, most of these ritual vessels are obviously the forerunners of what were used in the early Chou dynasty, such as the *ting, li, ku, chia, chüeh, yü, p'an,* and so on. The other aspect is perhaps even more interesting, namely, most of the shapes of these ritual bronzes find their prototypes in the pottery either contemporary with the bronzes or in the prehistorical deposit underneath. So these metallic finds from the burials in these two localities actually have provided definite ancestral types of the better-known Chou vessels; and in addition the establishment of a strong linkage with possible prehistorical utensils for ritual purposes may be clearly shown in the external forms of the neolithic pottery which the Anyang ritual bronzes closely followed.

The Anyang discoveries are important in many other respects, cultural and social as well as geographical. This book covers the contents of these discoveries only in a general way. In preparing the text of this book, the author has been assisted by many friends. He must mention first and foremost the debt he owes to his colleagues and fellow workers of the institute; all of them have assisted him in one way or another, in checking source materials, re-examining the archaeological finds, and tracing bibliographical sources. Among his American friends, Mrs. Wilma Fairbank, who has for more than ten years read all his English texts published in the new series of Archaeologia Sinica, has once more given her time to read the manuscripts of this book with many valuable suggestions for making the language more readable. Professor Millard Rogers, an old friend of the author, has not only improved the text but has also contributed a Foreword which the author

deeply appreciates.

Miss Shih-heng Chia has assisted the author in more than one way; from the beginning she helped him gather the source materials, compile the bibliography, type the notes and the text, and finally read with care all the galley proofs; to her patient and skillful assistance, he is particularly grateful. The author's thanks are also due to Mr. Y. N. Kung who helped to secure all the photographical works. The author is also grateful to the authority of the Institute of History and Philology for giving him special permission to make use of a number of unpublished photographs.

LI CHI

自序

1928年至1937年间由中央研究院历史语言研究所从安阳发掘中获得的考古资料，自抗战以来便结集成《中国考古报告集》出版了几期，为研究中国古代史奠定了新的基础。这批材料之所以重要有许多原因，以下三点或可认为是最重要的：

第一，当上个世纪末古物家开始知晓甲骨文时，刻字甲骨只被当作古董在小贩和古董商手中流传。学术界普遍对这些契刻文字的学术价值有些怀疑。实际上民国初期最著名的一位古文字学家就公开宣称这些古玩是伪造的，尽管一些严肃的学者已对甲骨文的性质及内容作了诸多调查和探究，并发表了相关文章。1928年，史语所考古组在安阳小屯（人们熟知的殷墟）展开发掘，并通过科学发掘发现了刻字甲骨，甲骨文确实存在于殷商时期这一事实也就无可置疑了。自此，中国古文字研究发展有了新的基础。东汉时期编纂《说文》的许慎近两千年来在中国文字解释方面的权威性开始发生动摇。

第二，现代考古发现的许多史前遗址，对旧派史学家而言，是全新的。田野考古工作者逐次系统记录了所有的出土物品，无论其是否与刻字甲骨有关。这其中当然包括了全部陶器和陶片。基于近25万片陶片，约可复原1500件完整的标本。笔者依据这批陶器资料、按器形及出土地层的类型所编纂的《殷墟陶器图录》，脱稿于战时，于1954年在《中国考古报告集》上发表。这一批陶器将新发现的史前仰韶、龙山文化与最早有文字记载的历史有力地联系起来。这一转折点出现在安阳发掘过程中，在小屯遗址工作的考古学者发现，在根据甲骨文推测出年代的殷商文化层下面，有另一史前文化遗迹，其包涵的内容与广泛分布于山东及东部沿海一带的史前龙山文化极为相似。

同样重要的是，这一陶器群为研究小屯墓葬和侯家庄王墓群出土的青铜礼器提供了重要的背景资料。墓葬中出土的青铜礼器呈现出两个特别值得注意的特征：其一，大部分礼器的器形明显为西周初期使用的礼器所承袭，如鼎、鬲、觚、斝、爵、盂、盘等；其二，更有趣的是，大部分器形在其同时代的或位于其下的史前文化层的陶器中找到了原型。所以，两处墓葬出土的这批青铜器实际上是更为人熟知的周朝器皿的祖型。此外，出现于安阳青铜礼器之前的新石器时代陶器的器形，清楚地显示了这些青铜器与可能在史前用于祭祀的陶器大有关联。

安阳发掘在文化、社会、地理等许多其他方面也有重要意义。本书只将这些内容作概括介绍。本书撰写过程中，笔者曾得许多朋友鼎力协助。首先我应感谢史语所的同事们，无论在核对原始材料、复查出土物，还是在查找文献出处方面，他们都给予过我许多帮助。在美国朋友中，费正清夫人费慰梅十多年来一直坚持阅读笔者在《中国考古报告集新编》上发表的所有英文文章，她再次抽出时间来阅读了本书全部原稿，并为使本书语言晓畅易读提出了许多宝贵意见。笔者的老朋友米勒德·罗杰斯教授不仅对原文加以润色，还为本书贡献了一篇序言。对此，笔者深表感谢。

贾士蘅女士也给予了笔者多方面的帮助，开始曾帮助笔者搜集原始资料，编纂参考书目，录入正文和注释，最后又仔细审核全部校样。笔者非常感谢她耐心而又熟练的帮助。对摄制全部图片的宫雁南先生也应致以感谢。史语所的领导特许我使用了不少尚未发表的照片。对此，笔者也深表感谢。

李　济

1. Oracle Bone Inscriptions

Their First Appearance and Initial Reception in the Learned World

The oracle bone inscriptions of the Shang dynasty were known to learned circles in China and to a few European and American scholars for almost thirty years before scientific digging was started at Anyang by the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica in 1927.[2] How did it happen that the learned world in old China came to recognize the importance of this new discovery, which revolutionized Chinese paleography and paved the way to the development of archaeological science in the land of Cathay?

It is definitely known to field archaeologists that the "Waste of Yin" was used as a graveyard at least as early as the Sui dynasty,[3] if not earlier. There is evidence indicating that when the Sui people dug holes in this place for burying their dead, they frequently found inscribed oracle bones hidden underneath. If at that time some scholars, as cultivated as the paleographers of the nineteenth century, had come upon this hidden treasure, oracle bone inscriptions might have become known to Chinese scholars thirteen centuries earlier! This assumption is based on the fact that modern excavations of Sui tombs have uncovered more than once, in the stratum overlying these tombs, many fragments of inscribed oracle bones. I mention this interesting underground stratification to show only one fundamental point: that is, in intellectual development there are definite stages which follow each other in a certain order. That the oracle bone inscriptions were recognized at the end of the nineteenth century as a significant discovery which academicians continue to cultivate was not merely accidental. There was a long intellectual history preparatory for what took place in 1899 (1898?). It is important to take into consideration the intellectual history of the Manchu (Ch'ing) dynasty, which provided and nourished scholars to a mature stage ready to appreciate and acknowledge the importance of oracle bone inscriptions.

Two branches of classical learning cultivated in the Manchu dynasty are closely related to the maturity of this intellectual stage. I should first like to mention the intense cultivation of textual criticism. Its origin can be traced back to a period as early as the Northern Sung dynasty, but its full development did not take place until the beginning of the seventeenth century. Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682) was the first master of this particular branch of learning. He was followed in the early period of the Manchu dynasty by a school of other eminent scholars who developed the spirit of pursuing knowledge for its own sake—a spirit that Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, one of the leaders of the Kuang Hsü Reform Movement and a pioneer in the literary revolution of modern China, succinctly summarized by saying, "The current motifs and chief elements of learning of the Ch'ing dynasty in the main are similar to the Renaissance Movement in Europe during the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries."[4] Besides Ku Yen-wu, Liang also mentioned as the co-founder of this movement Yen Jo-chü (1636-1704), the man who successfully proved that a large portion of the *Shu-ching* (Book of Documents), which had been regarded for more than a thousand years as sacred as the Old Testament in the West, is a forgery fabricated by later pretentious classicists. The success of Yen Jo-chü helped to promote *k'ao chü hsüeh* (or classic textual criticism) as the main stem of classical scholarship. Subsequently we find Tai Chen (1723-1777)[5] as the leader of this school; he was followed by a long list of illustrious scholars such as Tuan Yü-ts'ai (1735-1815), Wang Nien-sun (1744-1832), Wang Yin-chih (1766-1834), and Wu Ta-ch'eng (1835-1902). The trend of this new movement was directed in the main to the re-examination of all the other classics. Gradually this scholastic initiative was extended to all the important ancient texts, reaching its climax in the Ch'ien Lung to the Tao Kuang eras.

An accompanying development in this period took place in antiquarianism or the science of paleography (*chin shih hsüeh*) which, as everybody knows, was in China initiated as early as the Northern Sung dynasty. Although it was almost completely neglected during the following dynasties, Yüan and Ming, toward the beginning of the seventeenth century, in China's Renaissance Movement, this branch of learning was also reborn. The study of ancient bronze and stone inscriptions constituted a necessary discipline in the training of *chiao k'an hsüeh* (a more advanced branch of textual criticism) that required not only a close familiarity with all ancient

classical texts, but also a profound knowledge of the history of all the ancient Chinese characters. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, in the monograph cited above, said regarding the significance of the paleographers' study of ancient bronze and stone inscriptions: "What they achieved represents the opinion of collective scholastic efforts. … These achievements started a revolution in the ancient learning of Chinese paleography." Previously, Liang said in addition, Chinese paleography started and ended with Hsü Shen's *Shuo-wen* dictionary, which, like the ancient classics, had been taken by all educated men as the only authoritative interpretation of the origins and meanings of Chinese written words. With the beginning investigations of ancient bronze inscriptions, paleographers started to cast doubt on *Shuo-wen*'s authority. And many antiquarians discovered that *chin shih hsüeh* could provide a more correct interpretation of many ancient texts.

According to Yung Keng, the catalogue of studies of inscriptions that Yeh Ming compiled in 1910 listed 492 titles.[6] Although the catalogue is considered to be full of mistakes, nevertheless it indicates the enormous amount of intellectual effort that scholars of the Ch'ing dynasty applied to this particular field of learning. As to what these scholars have contributed to the advancement of paleography, one example may be sufficient to illustrate their distinguished service.

The name of Wu Ta-ch'eng is well known as his antiquarian investigations attracted the attention of Western Sinologues very early. Among his numerous contributions, his studies of antique jades are especially famous. When Berthold Laufer, one of the pioneers devoted to the pursuit of Chinese learning in North America, published his well-known monograph on jade in 1912, he said in the introductory chapter: "I was forced to reproduce the material of Wu almost in its entirety, owing to its great archaeological importance." Laufer continued: "Wu Ta-ch'eng is not bound by the fetters of the past and not hampered by the accepted school traditions. With fair and open mind, he criticized the errors of the commentators to the *Chou-li*, the *Ku-yü t'u-p'u*, and many others, and his common sense leads him to new and remarkable results not anticipated by any of his predecessors. ..."[7]

Wu Ta-ch'eng's *Ku-yü t'u-k'ao* (Studies of Ancient Jade) was first published in 1889. Five years earlier Wu published an even more important work, *Shuo-wen ku-chou pu* (Supplements to the Ancient Seal Characters of

the Shuo-wen Dictionary), which may be said to be the first systematic effort made by a Chinese classical scholar of the Ch'ing dynasty to point out, on the basis of his study of ancient bronze and stone inscriptions, the errors of Hsü Shen's dictionary. An appendix volume, *Tzŭ-shuo* (Ancient Chinese Characters), published together with *Shuo-wen ku-chou pu*, studies about three dozen written characters, found mainly in the bronze inscriptions, which the author shows to be definitely different from, and even contradictory to, the definitions and interpretations of the *Shuo-wen* dictionary. These differences were mainly attributed to erroneous interpretations or wrong identifications of pre-Ch'in scripts. In other words, the evidence provided by bronze inscriptions proved definitely that Hsü Shen's *Shuo-wen* dictionary was by no means a faultless authority. Detailed instances seem unnecessary here; those who are interested may consult Wu's original work. What I wish to note here is the general tendency of scholarly work in academic circles toward the end of the nineteenth century. At this time, on the basis of the accumulated achievements of textual criticism and the study of stone and bronze inscriptions, cultivated in general among the intellectuals and the literati and encouraged by imperial sanctions of the Ch'ien Lung and Chia Ch'ing eras (1736-1820), Chinese epigraphy had already advanced to a stage ready for new source materials and new ideas which were eagerly looked for and studied. The fetters and shackles on Chinese literati set by the *Shuo-wen* dictionary for more than a millennium were at this moment completely loosened and even shattered.

So, when the oracle bone inscriptions were accidentally noticed by scholars nourished in this tradition, such as Wang I-yung (Fig. 1), the Dean of Hanlin College, whose attention was at once attracted, steps were immediately taken to collect the strange, previously unknown inscriptions. The exact circumstances in which Wang I-yung, an eminent scholar and statesman, discovered inscribed oracle bones still remain obscure. Even the exact year of his discovery cannot be stated definitely.[8] What is not disputed is that he started his collection of inscriptions before the climax of the Boxer Movement, which took place in 1900. A widely circulated story concerning Wang I-yung's epoch-making discovery begins with a case of malaria which occurred among his family. The medical prescription of the attending physician included an ingredient of "decayed tortoise shell." The master of the family was evidently also a medical connoisseur, so, when the medicines

were brought back from the store, he examined all the ingredients personally. To his great astonishment, he found on the decayed tortoise shells ancient Chinese characters, which, although unknown to him, he found fascinating. He immediately ordered his servant to purchase all the decayed tortoise shells in the store where the original dosage had been purchased.

To what extent this story is true nobody has so far been able to confirm. What is generally known is that Wang I-yung was the first scholar to collect inscribed oracle bones.

1 Wang I-yung 王懿荣

Our main source of information concerning the earliest discoveries of

oracle bones is Tung Tso-pin, whose subsequent role in the Anyang excavations will be narrated in the following chapters. In 1928 when Tung was sent to the Hsiao-t'un area to investigate Anyang as a possible archaeological site, he took extensive notes, based primarily upon conversations with Hsiao-t'un villagers, concerning the early history of the oracle bone discoveries. From his report to the sponsoring Institute of History and Philology, he extracted a condensed chronological account, listing events concerning the discovery, collection, and study of oracle bone inscriptions, which was published in 1930 as *Chia-ku nien-piao* (Oracle Bone Chronicles). In the course of the ensuing excavations, Tung continued his investigations of the previous history of oracle bone discoveries, studying written accounts and interviewing early participants. In his revised edition of *Chia-ku nien-piao*, published in 1937, Tung included these new data, even though diverse in origin and sometimes contradictory.[9] As the earliest entries listed in Tung's Chronicles have implications for subsequent events in oracle bone scholarship, and for the relationships (often obscure) among the various participants, I would like here to translate or summarize, and briefly comment upon, Tung's five entries for the first year, 1899. The following account is based upon the 1937 edition of Tung's Chronicles.

1. Tung's first entry for 1899 is as follows:

> Formerly, long before this year [1899], in the farming land on the bank of the Huan River, north of the village of Hsiao-t'un, located in the Anyang district of Honan province, oracle bones (*chia ku*) were frequently found. The villagers treated them as things of medical value, so collected them and sold them to drugstores; they were generally known as dragon bones (*lung ku*). Li Ch'eng, a barber and a native of the village, made a business of dealing in dragon bones; he is now dead. The so-called dragon bones, are, in fact, largely oracle bones; and according to the folklore prevailing in Hsiao-t'un village, the majority of these bones bear inscriptions. The villagers sold them either retail or wholesale. In retail dealings, the dragon bones were first ground into a powder known by its native name as "knife points medicine" (*tao chien yo*), which Chinese medical practitioners considered effective in healing cuts and surgical wounds. The buyers in the wholesale market were usually managers of Chinese drugstores. The price charged was six cash per catty. The inscribed pieces at that time had no market value, and were considered worthless; so it was the usual practice among the sellers to polish off those inscriptions, before the dragon bones were brought to the market.

2. The second entry for 1899 is based upon an article by an author with the pen-name Hsi Weng, whose account, according to Tung Tso-pin, is incorrect in dating the event as happening one year earlier. The second entry:

> In this year, Liu T'ieh-yün of Tan-t'u was visiting in the capital [Peking] as a house guest of Wang I-yung. The host of Liu T'ieh-yün was attacked by malarial fever. The doctor's

> prescriptions included an ingredient of decayed tortoise shell purchased at the drugstore Ta-jen-t'ang [name of the store] in Ts'ai-shih-k'ou [street name]. On the tortoise shells Liu T'ieh-yün saw seal characters (*chuan wen*), which he picked out and showed to his host; both of them were somewhat astonished at this discovery. Wang, a student of bronze inscriptions, immediately realized that these tortoise shells must be ancient. He went to the drugstore, to inquire about the source of supply of these ingredients. The manager told him that they came from T'ang-yin and Anyang of Honan province. ... They were sold at a very low price. ... Liu T'ieh-yün went to the drugstores in the city and purchased them all.

This account differs in some detail from the previously mentioned episode concerning malaria in Wang I-yung's family. Tung includes it in his Chronicles since nobody is certain about what happened at the very beginning. This is the first mention of Liu T'ieh-yün (Fig. 2) whose subsequent importance to oracle bone scholarship will be discussed further on.

3. A third event, also recorded for 1899 in the revised Chronicles, is more or less general in nature, and is based upon Tung's conversations with Hsiao-t'un villagers. The Chronicles merely mention that a curio dealer by the name of Fan Wei-ch'ing traveled for the great collector Tuan Fang, a Manchu mandarin of culture and of experience in European contact. Fan roamed about with eyes wide open for any antiquity that might interest his lord. He stopped at Changte (Anyang) and found pieces of inscribed oracle bones, which Fan's sharp eyes realized as a source of great fortune. The story is still current that Viceroy Tuan Fang was so pleased with these new curiosities that he paid the dealer two and a half taels of silver per character for the inscribed bones. These rich rewards encouraged dealer Fan to take more field trips. Like the first two episodes, this story cannot be either confirmed or denied. At any rate Tuan Fang's collection, the story of which circulated only among curio dealers and peddlers, had no actual academic influence.

2 Liu T'ieh-yün 刘铁云

4. According to Tung's fourth entry for this year, this same dealer, Fan Wei-ch'ing sold twelve tortoise shells to Wang I-yung, at a price of two taels per piece. Tung Tso-pin obtained this information from the unpublished

lecture notes of James M. Menzies, a Presbyterian missionary, whose activity in collecting oracle bones during the 1920s will be discussed further. Menzies' own source for the information was the dealer Fan himself.

5. The final entry for 1899 in Tung's Chronicles is based upon two sources. The first is Liu T'ieh-yün.[10] The second is Lo Chên-yü's diary of a trip he made in 1914-1915,[11] which included a visit to the village of Hsiao-t'un. Tung's brief statement of his fifth entry for the year is as follows:

> According to Liu Tieh-yün's Preface to *T'ieh-yün ts'ang-kuei* [1903], tortoise shells were taken out of the soil in the year Chi Hai [1899] in the T'ang-yin district of Honan from the site of the ancient Yu-li. [...] Fan, a dealer [...], wanted to monopolize the trade, so he kept the real provenance as a trade secret, on which Lo commented in his diary: "Thus was Liu cheated by the dealer as to the place of origin of these inscribed shells."

Lo Chên-yü (Fig. 3), as will be discussed below, is known as the man who discovered the provenance of the oracle bones and as the author of numerous distinguished paleographic studies.

The above five entries concerning the first knowledge of oracle bone inscriptions in Chinese learned circles represent the studied summary of Tung Tso-pin, who devoted his life to advancing scientific knowledge of the nature of these ancient inscriptions.

Although many points remain obscure, it is clear that Wang I-yung must be considered as the first man to recognize the scholarly value of the ancient characters inscribed on tortoise shells known as oracle bones. The biographical note on Wang I-yung in the *History of the Ch'ing Dynasty* includes the following comments: "I-yung's learning is wide; he is fond of bronze and stone inscriptions. Both Weng T'ung-ho and P'an Tsu-yin were profoundly impressed by the scope and depth of his classical and paleographical knowledge."[12] When the Boxer Movement reached its critical year, 1900, Wang I-yung committed suicide. It is generally accepted that the larger part of his collection of inscribed oracle bones passed into the hands of Liu T'ieh-yün, who had also, according to most specialists, purchased inscribed bones from the dealer Fan.

3 Lo Chên-yü 罗振玉

Liu Tieh-yün's diary, published in 1936, contains some additional information, probably not available to Tung Tso-pin when he revised his Chronicles, concerning both Liu's own early collecting activity and that of Wang I-yung.[13] One entry in the diary, for the twentieth day of the tenth month in the year Hsin Ch'ou (1901), reads as follows: "The dealer Chao

Chih-chai sent me tortoise shells; there are some larger ones. In the evening I counted them; they amount to 1,300 pieces. What a rich collection!" From this entry Ch'en Meng-chia deduced that Liu Tieh-yün had his own collection as early as 1901.[14]

If Wang I-yung may be taken as the Charles Darwin of the new branch of Chinese paleography, Liu T'ieh-yün must rank, by common consent, as the Thomas Huxley. Liu is Wang I-yung's most important successor for two reasons. He not only continued the effort to collect the oracle bones (Ch'en Meng-chia estimated that his collection numbered 5,588 pieces as a minimum),[15] but he was actually the first man with the foresight to lithograph and publish the ink-squeezes of these totally unknown inscriptions.[16]In his six volumes, published in 1903, Liu reproduced 1,058 fragments of tortoise shell inscriptions, with Forewords and Preface by Lo Chên-yü, Wu Ch'ang-shou, and Liu T'ieh-yün himself—the earliest published documents discussing the nature and contents of the inscribed oracle bones.

One year later, the thirtieth year of the Kuang Hsü era, another eminent scholar, Sun I-jang, completed his first study of the inscriptions, but the manuscripts were not published till 1917.[17] This scholar was perhaps one of the most learned men of the final period of the Manchu dynasty. He was the distinguished editor of the last of the thirteen classics, *Chou-li*, about which he compiled and critically edited all the past comments, notes, and annotations, a gigantic task completed in 1899. When he first read Liu's *T'ieh-yün ts'ang-kuei* and saw the reproduced ink-squeezes, he remarked: "Unexpectedly, in my declining years, I am able to see these marvelous antique traces of ancient inscriptions which have fascinated me so much that I could not stop reading and studying uninterruptedly for two months, with notes and comments from time to time, till at last, I found some way to understand the meanings of these ancient documents!"

壹．甲骨文：最初的发现及学术界的初步接触

中央研究院历史语言研究所于1928年[2]在安阳开始科学发掘，在此前的近三十年间，商朝的甲骨文已为中国的学术圈和一些欧美学者所知晓。这项新发现革新了中国古文字学，在华夏大地上为发展考古科学铺平了道路，而它的重要性又是如何为旧中国的读书人所认识的呢？

田野考古学者确知，至少早在隋朝，“殷墟”就已被作为墓地使用。[3]证据表明，当隋朝人在此掘坑埋葬死者时，他们就常发现埋藏在地下的刻字甲骨。如果那时候是一批受到过19世纪的古文字学家那样熏陶的学者发现了这些埋藏的珍品，甲骨文可能早在13个世纪前就已为中国学界所知了！这一假设是基于一个事实提出的：现代发掘隋墓的过程中，不止一次在覆盖这些隋墓的土层中发现许多刻字甲骨的碎片。我提及这一有趣的地层，仅想表明一个基本观点：在思想的发展历程中，必定存在着遵循某种前后次序出现的不同阶段。19世纪末，甲骨文被公认为一个重大发现，如今学术界仍在继续研究。这一地位的确立并非偶然。此前漫长的思想发展的历史为1899年（或是1898年）发生的事作好了准备。将清朝的思想史纳入考虑很重要，正是这样一段历史创造并培养成熟了一批能够理解并肯定甲骨文重要性的学者。

清朝经学的两个学派与这一阶段思想的成熟密切相关。我想首先谈谈考据学的精进。这种研究早在北宋时就开始了，但直到17世纪初才得以全面发展。顾炎武（1613—1682）是这个学派的第一位大师。在他之后，清朝初年出现了一个由其他杰出学者组成的学派，他们发扬了为求知而求知的精神。戊戌变法的领导人之一、近代中国文学革命的先驱梁启超把这种精神简要地总结为：“‘清代思潮’……其动机及其内容，皆与欧洲之‘文艺复兴’绝相类”[4]。除顾炎武外，梁还提到了这一运动的另一奠基人阎若璩（1636—1704）。阎成功证明了，一千多年里在人们看来像西方人眼中的《圣经·旧约》一样神圣的《书经》，大部分是后世自命不凡的经学家伪造的。阎若璩的成功推动了考据学作为经学主要分支地位的确立。后来，戴震（1723—1777）[5]成为这一学派的领导人，其后又涌现出一大批杰出的学者，如段玉裁（1735—1815）、王念孙（1744—1832）、王引之（1766—1834）和吴大澂（1835—1902）。新运动的主要目的是重新审视其他一切经典。这一学术活动逐步扩大到涉

及所有重要的古代文献，在乾隆至道光年间发展到顶峰。

与考证学同时发展起来的是古物研究或古文字学（金石学）。众所周知，金石学早在北宋时就开始了，虽然在之后的元明两朝几乎完全被忽略，但到17世纪初中国的“文艺复兴”时期，这门学问又得到了重生。金石学是学习校勘学——考据学中更高深的一支——的必修课。校勘学要求研究者非常熟悉所有古代典籍，同时还要有渊博的中国古文字史的知识。梁启超在上面援引的《清代学术概论》一书中对古文字学家金石研究的意义作了如下评价：“其所考证，多一时师友互相赏析所得……自金文学兴而小学起一革命。”此前，梁启超还说过，中国的古文字学和许慎的《说文》相始终。同古代经籍一样，《说文》曾一直被所有读书人奉为解释汉字起源和意义的唯一权威。随着金文研究的出现，古文字学家开始对《说文》的权威性产生了怀疑。而且，许多古器物学家发现，金石学能对许多古代文献作出更准确的解释。

据容庚说，1910年叶铭在其编纂的铭文研究目录中列出了492部著作。[6]尽管该目录被认为错误百出，但它表明清朝学者在这门学问上付出了极大努力。至于这些学者对古文字研究发展的贡献，仅举一例就足以说明他们功劳卓著。

吴大澂的名字已为大家熟知，因为他对古物的研究很早就引起了西方汉学家的注意。他学术贡献无数，其中以对古玉的研究甚为著名。伯特霍尔德·劳佛是北美研究中国学术的一位先行者，于1912年出版了一部著名的玉石研究专著，他在序言中说：“由于吴的材料具有巨大的考古价值，我不得不全部加以复述。”他接着说：“吴大澂没有被旧的桎梏所束缚，也没有被他接受过的学术传统所阻碍。他以公正、开放的态度，批判了《周礼》、《古玉图谱》和许多其他著作的注解谬误。他依赖自己的直觉判断力获得了他的先辈们预想不到的新的非凡成就……”[7]

吴大澂的《古玉图考》于1889年首次出版。在这五年之前，吴还出版了一部更为重要的著作——《说文古籀补》。这部专著可谓是第一部由清代经学家在金石文字研究的基础上系统指出《说文》错误的著作。附卷《字说》也和《说文古籀补》同时出版。《字说》研究了主要在金文中发现的约36个字，作者对这些字的看法与《说文》上的定义与解读全然不同，有的甚至截然相反。这两者的分歧主要是由于对先秦文献的误读或误勘引起的。换句话说，金文提供的证据无疑证明，许慎的《说文》绝非一部完美无缺的权威著作。此处具体实例不必详叙，有兴趣者可参读吴的原著。在此我讨论的是19世纪末学术界中学者研究的普遍倾向。此时，在考据学和金石文字研究的基础上，由于当时文风的影响和

乾嘉时期（1736—1820）皇室的支持，中国古文字学已发展到了一个急需寻找和研究新资料、新观点的阶段。千余年来《说文》加在中国文人身上的桎梏至此已完全松弛乃至碎裂。

所以，受此传统浸淫的翰林院编修王懿荣（图1）偶然发现甲骨文时，其注意力马上就被吸引了，他立刻采取行动，开始收集这种奇异的、从前无人知道的文字。关于这位杰出的学者和政治家发现刻字甲骨的确切情况仍不清楚，甚至他发现甲骨的确切年代也说不准。[8]但无可争议的是，他的收集活动开始于1900年义和团运动发展到高潮以前。一个广为流传的故事是，王懿荣这一划时代的发现始于家中发生的一场疟疾。大夫开出的药方中有味药叫“陈龟版”，这位一家之主显然也是位中医内行，药买回去后，他亲自察看了每一味药。让他十分惊异的是，他发现“陈龟版”上竟然还有古字。这些字他虽不认识，但立刻被吸引住了，便立即命仆人去原来抓药的铺子买下所有的“陈龟版”。

这个故事的真实程度如何，至今已无人能确定。但人们都知道，王懿荣是第一个收集刻字甲骨的学者。

我们关于甲骨文的最早发现的资料主要来源于董作宾。后来他在安阳发掘中所起的作用将在后几章中叙述。1928年，董作宾被派往可能作为考古遗址的安阳小屯进行调查，他主要根据与小屯村村民的谈话，记录了大量关于甲骨发现早期的史料。他根据写给主持单位历史语言研究所的报告，按年代顺序简要地把甲骨文发现、收集和研究的相关事件罗列成表，于1930年以《甲骨年表》为名出版。在随后的安阳发掘过程中，董作宾继续调查甲骨早期发现的情况，研究文字记载，并采访了早期的参与者。在1937年出版的《甲骨年表》修订本中，董把一些与原来有本质不同，甚至截然相反的新资料都补充进去了。[9]因列入董作宾《年表》的最早几条记事已涉及甲骨学上的后续事件以及各参与者之间的关系——虽然通常很模糊，在这里我拟翻译或者说概述董《年表》中第一年，即1899年的五条记事，并加以简评。下面的叙述依据董1937年版的《年表》。

1. 董写的1899第一条记事为：

> 先是，远在本年以前，河南省安阳县小屯村北地滨洹河之农田中，即常有甲骨发现，小屯村人以为药材，捡拾之，售于药店谓之“龙骨”。村人有李成者，终其身，即以售“龙骨”为业，今已老死。所谓“龙骨”，多半皆为甲骨文字。售法有零有整，零售粉骨为细面，名曰“刀尖药”，可以医治创伤，每年赶“春会”出售。整批则售于药材店，每斤价制钱六文。有字者，多被刮去。

2. 1899年的第二条记事是根据一位笔名“汐翁”的作者所著的一篇文

章写成的。董作宾指出，该文中所叙事件的年代有误，实际时间应比记录的晚一年。第二条记事为：

> 是年，丹徒刘鹗铁云客游京师，寓福山王懿荣正儒私第。正儒病痁，服药用龟版，购自菜市口达仁堂。铁云见龟版有契刻篆文，以示正儒，相与惊讶。正儒故治金文，知为古物，至药肆询其来历，言河南汤阴安阳，……取价至廉，……铁云遍历诸肆，择其文字较明者购以归。

这条记事与前面提到的王懿荣家闹疟疾一事的细节有些不同。董作宾把此事也记入《年表》中，因为无人能断定最初的情况。这是第一次提到刘铁云（图2）。他后来对甲骨学的重要贡献后面还将进一步介绍。

3.　修订版《年表》中记录的1899年的第三条记事并无多少特别之处，它是根据董作宾与小屯村民的谈话记录的。《年表》中仅提到一个名叫范维卿的古玩商人为大收藏家端方游走。端方是一个有文化修养并与欧洲人有交往的清朝大臣。范四处游走，寻找可能取悦主人的任何古玩。他在彰德（安阳）停留时发现了几块刻字甲骨，于是他敏锐地意识到这是一条财源。现在仍流传着这样的故事：总督端方对这批新的古玩极为满意，以至按每字二两半银子的高价从这位古玩商那里购买。如此优厚的报酬刺激范更频繁地走访田间。与前两段记事一样，这个故事既不能得到证实，也不能加以否定。总之，关于端方收集甲骨的故事只在古董商和小贩中流传，没有实际的学术影响。

4. 董作宾关于这一年的第四条记事记载，这位古董商范维卿又以每块二两银子的价格卖给王懿荣12块龟甲。董是从明义士未出版的讲稿中获得这一消息的。明义士是一名长老会的传教士，关于20世纪20年代他在中国收集甲骨的活动下面将会谈到。明义士的消息则来自范维卿本人。

5. 董作宾的《年表》中1899年的最后一条记事有两个来源：一是刘铁云[10]；二是罗振玉1914—1915年的旅行日记[11]，其中有他亲访小屯的记录。董对这一年的第五条记事可简述如下：

> 刘鹗《铁云藏龟》自序云："龟版己亥岁出土，在河南汤阴县属之古牖里城。……"盖范等估人，……希图专利，不肯告人以真实出土之地，刘氏所记，乃受其欺。上虞罗振玉叔言《五十日梦痕录》言之甚详。

罗振玉（图3）以考证出甲骨的出土地点和撰写多部古文字研究的杰出著作而闻名，后面将对其进行介绍。

上面关于中国学术界初识甲骨文的五条记事是董作宾研究的一个概

述。他终其一生都致力于推进对这些古代文字性质的科学认识。

尽管尚存若干有待查明之处，但可以明确的是，王懿荣应算是第一个认识到这些刻于以甲骨著称的龟甲之上的古代文字具有学术价值的人。《清史稿》对王懿荣的介绍中有这样一段评介：“懿荣泛涉书史，嗜金石，翁同龢、潘祖荫并称其博学。”[12]在义和团运动最激烈的1900年，王懿荣自尽。人们普遍认为他收集的刻字甲骨大部分转入刘铁云之手。不少专家认为，刘铁云也从古董商人范维卿那里买过刻字甲骨。

1936年出版的刘铁云日记中有一些关于他自己和王懿荣早期收集甲骨的补充资料。[13]这部分资料董作宾在校订年表时可能未及得见。辛丑年（1901）十月二十刘氏日记记古董商人赵执斋送龟版来，云：“龟版颇有大者，晚点龟骨共千三百件，可谓富矣！”陈梦家据此推论刘铁云早在1901年已有自己的收藏。[14]

如果可以把王懿荣比作中国古文字学这个新学科中的达尔文，那么大家应会同意将刘铁云比作托马斯·赫胥黎。刘铁云是继王懿荣之后最重要的收藏者，原因有二。他不仅继续努力搜集甲骨（陈梦家估计他的收藏量至少有5588块）[15]，而且他还是第一个有远见将这些完全不为人知的古字进行墨拓印刷并交付出版的人。[16]1903年出版的六卷集《铁云藏龟》共翻印了1058块甲骨片，并附有罗振玉、吴昌绶及刘本人撰写的前言及序。这是第一部讨论刻字甲骨性质及内容的出版物。

一年后，即光绪三十年，另一位杰出的学者孙诒让完成了他的第一本甲骨文研究著作，但书稿直到1917年才得出版。[17]孙恐怕是清末最有学问的人之一。他是“十三经”之《周礼》的出色注疏者。他对过去的所有注疏和评语进行了批判性的校订并加以汇编，终于1899年完成这一宏大工程。他第一次读到刘的《铁云藏龟》、看到复制的拓片时，说：“不意衰年睹兹奇迹，爱玩不已。辄穷两月力校读之，以前后复重者参互采绎，乃略通其文字。”

2. Exploratory Period

Collection, Deciphering, and Paleographic Studies of the Inscribed Oracle Bones

I have, in the introductory chapter, summarized in a general way the circumstances in which the inscribed oracle bones first caught the attention of learned circles, especially among those who had attained a profound knowledge of paleography. The three scholars whose contributions were fundamental in building up this new branch of learning were, first, Wang I-yung, almost unanimously acknowledged as the man who initially recognized the importance of these newly discovered inscriptions; second, Liu T'ieh-yün, who not only continued the collection work of Wang, but, equally important, was the first man within the narrow pioneering circle who had the courage to lithograph and publish the ink-squeezes of those inscriptions, which spread the knowledge of these ancient and unknown inscriptions to a large group of scholars; and third, the eminent scholar Sun I-jang, whose *Ch'i-wen chü-li* represents the pioneering effort to make a scholarly inquiry into the structure and meanings of these inscriptions. The works of these three pioneers substantially supplemented one another, and together they laid a firm foundation for this new branch of Chinese paleography.

If these three had had no fellow workers or successors, the foundation they laid could have simply disappeared, like many early Chinese inventions and discoveries, being regarded as something occult, undeserving of serious attention in academic circles, a viewpoint to which some schools of Chinese epigraphy still held fast up to the time when scientific excavations had already started.[18] Fortunately both for the learned world in general and for Chinese paleography in particular, the publication of *T'ieh-yün ts'ang-kuei* successfully awakened classical scholars.

There followed a period of widespread efforts by many scholars to collect, to decipher, and to interpret these inscribed characters on the oracle bones. Here I think it is appropriate to give a general account of the various

activities that took place between 1900 and 1928, when official excavations began. These can be considered under the following headings: (1) diggings; (2) collecting activities; and (3) publications and epigraphical works.

● Private Diggings up to 1928

Our primary source of information here, as for so much of what took place in this period, is Tung Tso-pin, who both in his *Fifty Years of Studies in Oracle Inscriptions*[19] and especially in the revised edition of his Chronicles has given a detailed summary of these events.

Information gathered in Anyang convinced Tung that there had been at least nine private diggings for *tzŭ-ku-t'ou* (a local term for inscribed oracle bones) by the natives in and around Hsiao-t'un village, beginning with the twenty-fifth year of the Kuang Hsü era (1899-1900), the year when this worthless dragon bone gained a high value in the curio market. But the details of what Tung termed "the first digging" were however not given. The account merely mentions that after Wang I-yung's discovery, Fan Wei-ch'ing, a curio dealer from Shantung, went to Anyang searching for oracle bones and he paid two and one-half taels of silver per inscribed character, which according to the villagers was the prize Tuan Fang offered. Concerning the second private digging, which took place in 1904, Tung's account gives more details. As the demand for *tzŭ-ku-t'ou* suddenly increased after Liu T'ieh-yün's lithographic reproduction of the ink-squeezes of the inscriptions, to meet the pressing market the villagers started digging in the northern part of a farm along the bank of the Huan River in 1904. The villagers still remembered, when scientific excavations started, that Chu K'un, one of the landlords who owned a portion of the village farms, had organized a big digging team and all the diggers stayed in a temporary camp specially erected for the participants. They kept on with this activity until a fight for the right of treasure hunting broke out between them and a rival party also organized by the villagers. A suit followed the fight, and the magistrate of the district stopped it by forbidding further digging.

It is impossible to say how many pieces of the inscribed bones were found during the second digging. Tung's memoir merely mentions that these new-found treasures were sold to a number of collectors, including Lo Chên-yü, Huang Chün, Hsü Fang, Frank H. Chalfant, Samuel Couling, and L. C. Hopkins.

Five years later, in 1909, the first year of the last emperor of the Manchu dynasty, the Hsüan T'ung era, when Chang Hsüeh-hsien, a rich villager who owned a great deal of land, was digging for sweet potatoes on his own farm right in front of the village, he discovered fragments of scapula in the shape of a horseshoe[20], which also bore inscriptions. It is said Chang reaped a rich harvest of oracle bones by digging potatoes.

The fourth digging did not take place till eleven years later, when in 1920 drought covered five provinces in north China and the villagers, pressed by hunger, were again forced to dig oracle bones. A large crowd, many participants being from neighboring villages, concentrated at the northern part of Hsiao-t'un, beside the Huan River, which the villagers knew to be the most productive site for hidden treasures.

The fifth digging occurred in 1923; it also took place on Chang Hsüeh-hsien's farm. Tung's memoir simply mentions the fact that two large inscribed bone plates (scapula?) were obtained from this digging. In the following year, 1924, some villagers were building a wall of stamped earth, which required digging the needed material from the loess soils. In these diggings the villagers once more uncovered some *tzŭ-ku-t'ou*, which, according to village oral traditions, included some huge pieces. Most of the diggings of this year and the preceding year were sold to Mr. James M. Menzies who was stationed at Changte as a missionary.

Tung records that the seventh private digging took place in 1925. No name of any villager is mentioned. He simply records that the villagers were gathered in a large crowd and were engaged to dig in front of the village settlement by the side of the village road. Several baskets of *chia ku* were obtained. Some scapula (Tung's term) seemed to be more than a foot (?) long. It is thought that all of these were sold to curio dealers from Shanghai.

The eighth private digging, which took place in 1926, is of some social and political interest for the early Republican era. The story is that Chang Hsüeh-hsien, being a landowner and considered rich, was captured, kept a prisoner, and held by bandits for ransom. The villagers took this opportunity to negotiate with his family on the proposition of digging in Chang's vegetable garden. It was agreed that any worthy treasures uncovered were to be equally divided between the diggers and the owner. When the digging started, participants, numbered by several tens, were divided into three teams,

all working in the same place and at the same time, each occupying an angle of a triangular piece of the same lot. They proceeded without any definite plan; naturally each team was eager to touch upon the hidden treasure first. But the search came to a dramatic end when the three parties reached a considerable depth, all concentrated toward the same hidden spot, so that they came in contact with one another. Suddenly the overlapping soil lumps collapsed, as occasionally happens in a mining shaft. The collapsed lumps buried alive four diggers, who were, however, rescued by members of the digging party. Thus the digging stopped. According to the oral tradition of this village, their findings were quite abundant; they were all bought by Mr. Menzies.

The ninth and the last private digging, before scientific archaeology started, took place in the spring of 1928 at the time of the northern expedition of the Nationalist army. There was some fighting in the Anyang area. One army was stationed on the southern bank of the Huan River. In the fighting period, the Hsiao-t'un village people could not till their land, and so, when the battle stopped in April, the villagers again gathered together to dig *tzŭ-ku-t'ou*. The crowd was a large one; they concentrated their effort by the roadside in front of the village threshing floor. The inscribed oracle bones dug out in this season were all sold to merchants from Shanghai and K'aifeng as recorded in Tung's Chronicles.

● Collecting Activities

As has been discussed in chapter 1, the principal early collectors of inscribed oracle bones were Liu T'ieh-yün, who took over the major part of Wang I-yung's collection; Tuan Fang, the well-known collector of ancient bronzes, whose collection, whatever its origin or extent, was of no real scholarly influence; and Lo Chên-yü, who discovered the true provenance of these ancient scripts at Changte Fu.

In the years following the publication of *Tieh-yün ts'ang-kuei* there were probably dozens of collectors, both Chinese and foreign, who actively supported, and keenly competed in, the business of collecting the inscribed oracle bones. According to James M. Menzies, foreign scholars started collecting the oracle bone inscriptions as early as 1904.[21] The Reverend Frank H. Chalfant was probably the first foreign scholar to be involved in this activity, purchasing four hundred pieces for the Royal Asiatic Society in

Shanghai. He was followed by the Reverend Samuel Couling and the Reverend Paul Bergen. Their purchases were later sold to several museums: the Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh, the Royal Scottish Museum of Edinburgh, and the British Museum of London. Later, Mr. L. C. Hopkins of Great Britain also joined the collecting team; and soon afterwards Dr. Wilhelm of Ts'ingtao also participated, according to Tung's Chronicles. Meanwhile, in Japan, there developed an even greater enthusiasm for the collection and study of oracle bone inscriptions.[22] Concerning the various collections of this period, it is obvious that Tung's Chronicles are not as all-inclusive as his reports on private diggings. This is understandable since actual dealings were mostly in the hands of curio dealers, who, like most museum curators, prefer secret transactions. Still in Tung's Chronicles we do find quite a few important items relating to oracle bone collections on record. They are:

A. 1904-1905. Dealer Fan sold more than one thousand pieces to Tuan Fang, six hundred pieces to Huang Chün, and one thousand pieces to Hsü Fang. In the same year, Samuel Couling purchased many fragments, and Paul Bergen got more than seventy pieces which he presented to the White Wright Institute of Tsinan, but most of these latter are forgeries. L. C. Hopkins also collected eight hundred pieces this year. Dr. Wilhelm of Ts'ingtao gathered about seventy pieces and the Museum für Völkerkunde obtained more than seven hundred pieces. It is also recorded that the Anglo-Chinese College in Tientsin received a number of these inscribed bones as a gift from Wang I-yung's family.

B. 1909-1910. Japanese scholars also started collecting, led by Mr. Taisuke Hayashi who bought six hundred pieces this year; other Japanese collectors obtained more than three thousand pieces.

C. 1910-1911. Liu T'ieh-yün died in exile; his collection, according to Tung's Chronicles, passed into a number of hands: including Lo Chên-yü, Mrs. Hardoon, Yeh Yü-sheng, Central University, and Ch'en Chung-fan. The collection was evidently sold out or given away in piecemeal fashion since the Chronicles record that as late as 1926 Shang Ch'eng-tzu obtained twenty-five hundred pieces from Liu T'ieh-yün's original collection.

D. 1914. James M. Menzies started collecting.

E. 1918. The Japanese pioneer working on oracle bone inscriptions, Mr. Taisuke Hayashi, arrived at Anyang and purchased twenty pieces.

F. 1919. Imitation pieces of oracle bone inscriptions appeared in great quantity in the curio market.

G. 1922. Peking Government University received a gift of 463 fragments of oracle bone inscriptions from Ta-ku-chai, a curio shop in Peking.

H. 1927. James M. Menzies purchased a large collection.

This collecting activity encouraged intense competition in the curio market in Peking, Shanghai, and Wei Hsien in Shantung province as well as Changte Fu in Honan. Since most dealings were secretive in nature, and in the hands of avaricious dealers and rich but ignorant collectors, the result was the appearance of an enormous quantity of imitation pieces. These spurious antiquities were produced in many places. Anyang, Peking, Wei Hsien, Shanghai, and so on. These forgeries, in the beginning at any rate, did probably earn the dealers quite a fortune. The author himself, in the years since the excavation started, has personally observed some of the forgeries in a number of well-known museums in both Europe and America.[23] And Tung Tso-pin, who made a special investigation of such forgery, actually made an effort to cultivate friendship with this talented group of men, and succeeded in winning an intimate acquaintance with one of the forgers, Lan Pao-kuang of Anyang, who, Tung said, was a real genius. He was an opium smoker, and only in the inspired moment would he show his craftsmanship by taking some uninscribed pieces found at Hsiao-t'un and producing a duplicate in exact detail. Tung told me further that Lan was a forger because he really enjoyed such work. As a matter of fact, he was a poor businessman. He sold all those imitation pieces for very small sums of money.

The appearance of the forgeries greatly disturbed the curio market, with two important results. On the one hand, the conservative school, who observed the authority of Hsü Shen's *Shuo-wen* dictionary with reverence and religious faith based upon a tradition of over a millennium, naturally took these forgeries as definite evidence to prove that all the so-called *chia ku wen* (oracle bone inscriptions) were pseudo-classic inscriptions, fabricated by a number of pretenders to scholarship to deceive the public at large. On the

other hand, a few far-sighted scholars who were better informed and had examined the genuine pieces were pushed to work harder in order to find criteria by which to differentiate the genuine inscriptions from the forgeries. A pioneer in this field was the author of "Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin," Mr. James Mellon Menzies, the Canadian missionary. Menzies was first sent to Changte Fu in 1914, and, after World War I, was again stationed there from 1921 to 1927. He was thus in a position to learn, *in situ*, about the unearthing of oracle bones by the native diggers on his frequent visits to Hsiao-t'un.[24] This fortunate combination of an appropriate appointment and an inborn instinct for archaeology prepared the way for his special contribution to the oracle bone studies among the small community of foreign scholars.

At the same time, Chinese collectors developed a more discriminating and critical power to differentiate genuine pieces from the fabricated inscriptions.

To conclude our discussion of collecting activities, it can be said that from a commercial point of view, European and American collectors were more archaeologically conscious, and so were willing to pay a relatively high price for these new curiosities.[25] The Chinese scholars, however, were the ones who first became aware of the cultural value of these inscriptions; the second generation of *chia ku hsüeh*, as we will see in the following discussion, includes a number of scholars whose works have won international academic admiration because of their high standards of scholarship and erudition.

● Publications and Epigraphical Works

Regarding books and articles, ink-squeeze reproductions, copying of original characters, and research works on the oracle bone inscriptions, Tung's Chronicles list 110 titles in Chinese, Japanese, and European languages published up to September 1928. These titles included 36 books: 30 by Chinese authors, 4 by Japanese, and the remaining 2 by an American and a Canadian, respectively. Among the 74 articles published, 41 were by Chinese and 9 by Japanese Sinologues, while in English no less than 19 articles appeared. There were 3 articles in German periodicals and 2 in French, of which one was a Chinese contribution, and the other was from the hand of the great French Sinologue Edouard Chavannes, who in 1911 wrote a

summary review of Lo Chên-yü's *Yin-shang chên-pu wen-tzŭ k'ao*, published in Peking in the previous year. This lengthy note introduced both the book and the author to Western students of Sinology.[26] The Reverend Frank H. Chalfant's "Early Chinese Writings," published in 1906-1907, was the earliest foreign-language study of the ancient inscriptions.[27]

The other articles in English, which were published mostly in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, were contributed by one single author, L. C. Hopkins, whose "Pictographic Reconnaissance," ran seven articles in this journal up to 1927. Meanwhile, in America, Germany, and Japan, Sinologues of this period also showed considerable interest in the studies as well as in collections of these newly discovered Chinese written records.

It was, however, in Japan that the new interest in the study developed most rapidly and intensively, although the published articles were not numerous. The work of Japanese scholars, including Taisuke Hayashi and Naito Torajiro, also had a great influence upon Chinese epigraphical studies. Tung's Chronicles record that in 1910 Taisuke mailed Lo Chên-yü his essay on *chia ku wen*. This penetrating essay, Lo remarked in a number of places, helped to make up what he had neglected in his Foreword to Liu's *T'ieh-yün ts'ang-kuei*. It must be noted that both Lo Chên-yü and Wang Kuo-wei—the two most distinguished Chinese figures of this period who contributed abundantly to and exerted the widest influence in the Chinese world of learning—both stayed in Japan for some time. Lo went to Japan soon after the revolution of 1911, while Wang was there for only a short stay. The Japanese contact, it seems to me, must have given to both men a tremendous stimulus, stirring up in them new ideas of approach, awakening in them an interest, historical as well as archaeological, hitherto deeply hidden in their subconscious. I do not pretend to give this as the underlying motive for their devotion to this study, which had been developed into an established branch of Chinese paleography; in their time there might have been other factors that served as a driving power to make these two scholars spend their lifetimes in this way.

Before turning to the research of these two pioneers, I would like to begin our summary of work by Chinese scholars with a more detailed discussion of the previously mentioned contributions of Sun I-jang. Sun first

became acquainted with the oracle bone inscriptions by reading Liu T'ieh-yün's *T'ieh-yün ts'ang-kuei*. As early as 1904, only a year after the publication of Liu's work, Sun started examining, on the basis of his profound knowledge of bronze inscriptions, the individual characters of the oracle bone inscriptions. He labored continuously for two months, and his accumulated notes resulted in his study *Ch'i-wen chü-li* (Examples of Oracle Bone Inscriptions), although this study was not published until 1917. This pioneering effort to make a scholarly inquiry into the structure and meanings of the oracle bone inscriptions was organized according to the functional implications of individual characters: the calendar system, methods of divinatory queries, events divined for, ghosts and spirits, and so on. There is one section on officialdom, another on various states. The section on, *wen-tzŭ* (written words) is the longest, constituting almost 50 percent of the complete work.[28]

In 1905-1906 Sun I-jang wrote another book, *Ming yüan* (Origin, or Evolution, of Names), which he published at his own expense in 1906.[29] In this book Sun announced that his task was to trace the ancient Chinese scripts as they appeared in bronze inscriptions, oracle bone records, on stone drums of the Chou dynasty and petroglyphs of Kueichou province (considered at his time to be the Miao people's ancient scripts) and to compare them with the basic characters of *ku chou wen* which Hsü Shen found still current at his time. By these comparative studies, Sun aimed at finding out the origins and evolutionary changes of the more important words among nine thousand characters in Hsü Shen's dictionary.

It is remarkable to note that he dwelt specially on the origin of the numerals and traced with a great deal of accuracy the various numbers as they appeared and were still used in Chinese languages. Then he proceeded to discuss the original meaning of *hsiang hsing* characters, illustrated by a long list of names of animals and plants classified within the *hsiang hsing* category, such as the Chinese characters for horse (*ma*), ox (*niu*), sheep (*yang*), and so on. In discussing each example, the author usually cited bronze inscriptions and others from pre-Ch'in scripts together with any that had been found in the oracle bone inscriptions. In concluding each discussion he only commented whether it agreed with or differed from what was said in Hsü Shen's dictionary.

We shall have occasion to refer again to the works of Sun I-jang, but I would now like to turn to the next important scholar, Lo Chên-yü. Tung Tso-pin's revised Chronicles record that in 1902-1903 Lo first came into contact with the inscribed oracle bones at the home of Liu T'ieh-yün.[30] The ink-squeezes of the oracle bone inscriptions impressed him so much that he remarked, at his first sight of these scripts: "Since the time of the Han dynasty, the most eminent epigraphers like Chang Ch'ang, Tu Yeh, Yang Hsung, and Hsü Shen never had such an opportunity to see these!"[31] So, it is clear that he was first introduced by Liu T'ieh-yün to this new learning.

Lo was so impressed by this discovery that he considered himself bound to circulate it, publicize it, and make it a permanent addition to the knowledge of ancient Chinese languages. The Chinese written language, he realized, after three millennia of history, had suffered too many changes, mutations, and erroneous interpretations. The language had in fact changed beyond any possible recognition of its original nature and of those characteristics that were in usage before the time of Ch'in Shih-huang-ti (the first emperor), who, as everybody knows, burned all the books in the thirty-fourth year of his reign (217 B.C.), only six years (221 B.C.)[32] after the first unification of China. It is also a well-known historical fact that the first emperor issued the imperial command to standardize units of measurements, means of communication, and above all the written language in the first year of the unification. This command was soon followed by the famous imperial edict to bury alive all men of letters of this Confucian school (*ju*), and to burn all written documents except books dealing with magical practice, medical art, and tree plantings. It is also well known that the efforts to revive ancient learning in the earlier part of the following Han dynasty were in the beginning mixed in character; an effective search for ancient books started only after Han Wu-ti (140-86 B.C.) ascended the imperial throne. Emperor Wu issued an imperial edict to search for old books. At this time Chinese written characters, for a number of reasons, had already changed so much that they were radically different from what had been current in pre-Ch'in times.

There is no need to go further into the history of such changes, but it is important to bear in mind that these changes did take place in order to appreciate the importance of scholarly contributions after the recovery of the oracle bone inscriptions, especially those following the pioneering efforts of

Wang I-yung, Liu T'ieh-yün, and Sun I-jang.

Inspired by the above-mentioned essay by Taisuke Hayashi, Lo Chên-yü decided to devote his leisure time to going over all the ink-squeezes of the oracle bone inscriptions in his keeping, and also those from the dealers who had been in Honan. He succeeded in seeing thousands of fragments of the inscribed tortoise shells and bones. Out of these collections he selected some seven hundred pieces distinguished by special characteristics, and with tireless efforts he devoted himself to the minute examination of the genuine specimens as well as the ink-squeezes. Finally he achieved two important results.

First, he was able to locate the exact place, namely the village Hsiao-t'un, on the outskirts of Anyang, where the oracle bones were being unearthed. Before Lo's time the curio dealers all kept the provenance a trade secret, but after diligent inquiry, cross-examination, and systematic searches, Lo finally discovered the place of origin of the ancient scripts. As mentioned in chapter 1, Lo visited Changte Fu in 1915, keeping a diary account of his trip.

Second, by studying the genuine records, he also succeeded in discovering a list of names of the royal ancestors of the Shang dynasty, and thus began to understand that all these records were relics from the Yin-Shang dynasty. With these newly reached basic ideas in mind, he devoted three months' time to write the article *Yin-shang chên-pu wen-tzŭ k'ao* (On the Oracle Bone Inscriptions of the Yin-Shang Period), with a threefold purpose: "to correct historian's errors," "to trace the source of ancient Chinese written characters," and "to find out the methods of divination of the ancient Chinese," a statement which he made with some justifiable pride. In this article, Lo concludes: "I have solved the questions and doubts, which Taisuke's original contribution raised and left unanswered." This article, completed in 1910, was published under the imprint of Yü-chien-chai in the same year. In Tung's Chronicles, the subtitles of Lo's important paper are as follows:

I. Historical Studies (K'ao Shih)

1. Capital city of the Yin

2. Names and post-mortem honorific titles of the kings

II. Correcting Names (Chêng Ming)

1. Identification of seal characters (*chou wen*) and ancient characters (*ku wen*)

2. Pictographic characters (*hsiang hsing tzŭ*) are not limited by the number of strokes

3. Comparative studies with bronze inscriptions

4. Correcting errors of the *Shuo-wen* dictionary

III. Methods of Divination (Pu Fa)

1. On making a query (*chên*)

2. On inscription or incision (*ch'i*)

3. On burning or scorching (*cho)*

4. On applying ink (*chih mo*)

5. On omens or crack signs (*chao ch'e*)

6. On divination records (*pu-tz'ŭ*)

7. On storage by burying (*mai ts'ang*)

8. On scapulimancy (*ku pu*)

IV. Additional Discussions (Yü Lun)[33]

The essay is published with a Preface and a Postscript.

It is to be noted that in Lo's Preface to this, his first important article on oracle bone inscriptions, he acknowledged several facts which are of historical importance in tracing the complicated early development of this branch of Chinese paleography, especially the mutual relations among Liu T'ieh-yün, Sun I-jang, and Lo Chên-yü. Lo's introductory remarks include some definite admissions: "My dear friend Sun I-jang (Sun Chung-yung) also investigated these inscriptions; his manuscripts were sent to me. It is regrettable to have to say that, in his study, he is unable to penetrate the mystery of these inscriptions. ..." In the same Preface, Lo also admitted that the Foreword he wrote for Liu T'ieh-yün's *T'ieh-yün ts'ang-kuei* was hasty and by no means thorough. It is rather amusing to note that Lo found only shortcomings in Sun's original work, manuscripts of which, according to Lo's own statement, he had received from Sun I-jang before the latter's death. Further, Lo does not even mention Sun I-jang's second important work, the above-cited *Ming yüan*, which traced the evolution of a number of Chinese characters. Lo must have been familiar with this remarkable and original

treatise.

It is therefore at least interesting to compare the contents of Lo's *Yin-shang chên-pu wen-tz*ŭ *k'ao* with Sun's two earlier writings. There is hardly any doubt that, as far as the method of approach is concerned, Lo differs very little from his senior worker, who, for comparative purposes, made extensive use of his profound knowledge of bronze inscriptions, with which he compared the oracle bone inscriptions in great detail, and naturally not without fruitful results. After the example of Sun, Lo Chên-yü also took up some concrete examples of pictographs which represented animals to illustrate the *hsiang hsing tz*ŭ in various stages, found in both bronze inscriptions and the oracle bone inscriptions. The examples given by Lo include the pictographs for sheep, horse, deer, pig, dog, and dragon. It is important to remember that in Sun's *Ming yüan* the list of pictographs chosen for special study also included horse, ox, sheep, pig, dog, tiger, deer, *k'uei* dragon, etc. It may be true that Lo approached the problem from a different angle; he aimed to show that the oracle bone pictographs were in a rapidly changing period and the pictorial stages were by no means standardized in a fixed form. But the examples he chose for illustrations clearly indicate that if Lo in his essay does show some new ideas and cover some new ground, it only means that he was taking advantage of his senior's unpublished materials as well as benefiting from the methods Sun I-jang developed in his pioneer study, *Ming yüan*.[34]

Lo Chên-yü, nevertheless, is a very important man, considering the various contributions he made to reinforce the firm foundation first laid by the three pioneers. He enjoyed good luck in the early days of collecting and studying the newly discovered epigraphical source materials. Through this opportunity as well as through his devotion to continuous research in the comparative studies of pre-Ch'in inscrip-tions, he came to a better understanding of oracle bone inscriptions, and produced the monumental publication, *Yin-hsü shu-ch'i ch'ien-pien* (Yin-hsü Oracle Bone Inscriptions, First Part) in the second year after the 1911 revolution. The four volumes of this work consisted of 2,229 ink-squeezes of oracle bone inscriptions, carefully selected by Lo himself out of his total collection of tens of thousands of fragments which included many new purchases in addition to Liu T'ieh-yün's major portion. These volumes were printed in collotype and published in Japan, on the finest paper. Three years later (1915) two volumes

were added, known as *Yin-hsü shu-ch'i hou-pien*; these also were printed and published in Japan. One year before the publication of the *hou-pien*, Lo also completed and published an annotating volume with the title *Yin-hsü shu-ch'i k'ao-shih*, which was a translation of the inscriptions reproduced in *ch'ien-pien* into modern versions with explanatory notes. The manuscripts of this annotating volume were hand-copied by Lo's junior colleague, Professor Wang Kuo-wei, whose copy was lithographed and published. The annotating volume was divided into eight sections: (1) Capital Cities, (2) Kings, (3) Personal Names, (4) Geographical Terms, (5) Written Words, (6) Divination Records, (7) Ritual System, (8) Methods of Divination. It is prefaced by Lo Chên-yü, the author himself, with a Postscript by Wang Kuo-wei.[35] After another twelve years, a revised edition of the annotatory volume was published by the Oriental Society but without mention of the publisher or the place of publication. This new edition was one of the most noteworthy books on the oracle bone studies of this period. In this edition the annotation included a great many new investigations, of which the most valuable contributions were from Professor Wang Kuo-wei, who, as noted already, hand-copied Lo Chên-yü's first edition of annotations and transcriptions.

The contributions of Wang Kuo-wei, from a purely epigraphical viewpoint, are unanimously considered much more important for this period than Lo Chên-yü's summary notes, although Wang probably, in the early stage, received substantial help from Lo, his senior worker. Wang's work, however, depended upon the original materials which were collotyped in *Yin-hsü shu-ch'i ch'ien-pien*, which faithfully reproduced ink-squeezes of the oracle bone inscriptions from Lo's own collection.

Lo's own investigations and intelligent annotations of these carefully chosen materials were widely commented on by men of learning including some of the foremost Sinologues, and naturally exercised tremendous influence among the epigraphists of both the conservative and the liberal schools in the author's home land. The first edition of the annotatory volume included a list of deciphered characters, amounting to 485 individual words. In the revised edition of this volume, the list, according to Tung Tso-pin, expanded to 570.[36] This number constituted nearly 50 percent of the total number of individual characters inscribed in the oracle bones known at that time. Most of the deciphered characters on Lo's list included words referring to numerals, celestial stems, earthly branches, directions, animals, plants,

geographical terms, utensils, and general terms concerning daily behavior, such as "come and go," "up and down," "'walk and travel," "hunting and fishing," and so on. So they have tentatively served the basic needs of reading intelligently the contents of these ancient inscriptions. In the last section of his annotatory volume, Lo transcribed 707 items of the actual inscriptions, which according to Lo's standard, are intact and intelligible.[37] Lo organized these contents according to the types of events for which queries were made through divination. Lo's eight divisions are as follows:

Types of Events	**Number of Queries**
(a) Sacrifice (*ch'i*)	304
(b) Pray (*kao*)	15
(c) Sacrifice (*hsiang*)	4
(d) Going and Coming	123
(e) Hunting and Fishing	128
(f) War Expeditions	35
(g) Harvesting	21
(h) Weather	77
Total entries	707

The 707 entries that Lo in his *K'ao-shih* rendered into modern readings were originally sectioned on types of events recorded in these readable inscriptions. It is obvious that these events were concerned mainly with sacrifice (a-c), king's journey (d), hunting and fishing, weather and harvesting; and also, warfare. These entries can be regrouped and calculated on a percentage basis:

Regrouped Categories	Original Classification	No. of Entries	Percent
I. Sacrificial Offerings	(a-c)	323	45.80
II. King's Journey	(d)	123	17.39
III. Hunting and Fishing	(e)	128	18.10
IV. Weather and Harvesting	(g-h)	98	13.80
V. War Expeditions	(f)	35	4.91
Total entries		707	

The new edition of *K'ao-shih* published in 1927 considerably enlarged the list of deciphered vocabulary; it also augmented the number of readable items of inscribed records from *Yin-hsü shu-ch'i*. The number of deciphered words reached 671, while readable records amounted to 1,094 items which Lo divided into nine groups; the added group was named "Miscellaneous," while the other eight groups retained their original names. If they are calculated according to the above regroupings on a percentage basis, the following table shows the results:

	No. of Items	Percent of Total Entries
I. Sacrificial Offerings (a-c)	575	47.63
II. King's Journey (d)	177	14.66
III. Hunting and Fishing (e)	197	16.32

IV. Weather and Harvesting (g-h)	146	12.09
V. War Expeditions (f)	65	5.38
VI. Miscellaneous (i)	47	3.89
Total entries	1,207	99.97

Although the two percentage lists of events do show some differences, the extent of variation is relatively limited. The performance of sacrificial offerings to ancestors and other spirits no doubt constituted the major state event about which the Shang people had to consult the oracles and find an answer, while the other three groups—royal travels, hunting and fishing, harvesting and weather forecasts—were undoubtedly of equal importance; these four groups were probably the main occupations of a king's daily life. The war records, which constituted more than 5 percent of the readable records, represented state events also doubtlessly equal in importance to sacrificial performance; but their occurrences were naturally less frequent. There will be occasions later to discuss this group of records in more detail.

What has to be pointed out here particularly is the fact that Lo Chên-yü, with the help of Wang Kuo-wei, in these published volumes had succeeded in strengthening the foundation for a renewed study of Chinese epigraphy by demonstrating the evolutionary stages of Chinese written characters from the Yin-Shang period down to the late Han dynasty when Hsü Shen produced his *Shuo-wen* dictionary. In this gigantic task, they also accomplished some other important archaeological achievements in their study of the methods of divination, identification of the locations of the various capitals which the Shang dynasty occupied, and, above all, reconstruction of the genealogical tree of the royal family way back to the predynastic time. The re-establishment of the succession of dynastic kings and predynastic royal ancestors was mainly the work of Wang Kuo-wei, whose research covered readings of all the related records as well as the readable oracle bone entries. He was also the first scholar to succeed in piecing together the fragmentary ink-squeezes published in various reproductions into some complete documents, in which the ancestors were mentioned according to the order of

succession when occasion for joint worship of all ancestors was to take place. Professor Wang, in two special articles published in 1917, built the genealogical tree of the Shang rulers, which he compared with three other important documents relating to the same matter.[38] Wang concluded:

> According to Ssŭ-Ma Ch'ien's account, the Shang dynasty has thirty-one emperors (*ti*), ranking in seventeen generations. ... What the oracle bone records have shown and proved is that the number of emperors as well as the generations in Ssŭ-Ma Ch'ien's record are the nearest to the correct list. The other two documents have both misrecorded the number of generations.

The articles mentioned above represent the cream of his applied effort in his ingenious paleographic work in the course of his historical as well as epigraphical researches. To this day, his classical contributions have remained without any fundamental change. When Tung Tso-pin wrote his *Chia-ku-hsüeh wu-shih-nien*[39] in 1944, thirty-seven years later, Tung's list of Shang kings and their ancestors remained almost the same as those Wang first identified in 1917.

Wang's contributions to this new study started in 1915 and continued more than ten years till the time, after the example of Wang I-yung in 1900, that he terminated his life by drowning in the artificial lake of the Summer Palace built by the Empress Dowager Tz'ŭ-hsi. At that time, 1926, he had been teaching in the Research Institute of National Learning at Ts'inghua College.

Contemporaneously, there were at least half a dozen Chinese epigraphists who contributed to the advancement of this study. Among the Chinese contributions, two dictionaries deserve special notice. Wang Hsiang's *Fu-shih yin-ch'i lei-ts'uan*, published in 1921, included 873 deciphered characters; Shang Ch'eng-tzu's *Yin-hsü wen-tz*ŭ *lei-pien*, published in 1923, included 789 deciphered characters. These dictionaries served an important purpose, not only in teaching beginners to approach ancient scripts but also in spreading this new knowledge to an enlarged circle among the Chinese intelligentsia.

Before concluding this chapter, something should be said about the attitude of Chang T'ai-yen (Ping-lin). Tung gives a vivid account of what he called the archenemy who stood in the way of developing the study of these newly discovered materials. And Chang T'ai-yen is important, because he was considered the most prominent epigraphist of his time and he was

politically a revolutionary. Tung's account of Chang T'ai-yen's attitude toward the oracle bone inscriptions reads:

> Chang T'ai-yen was one of those scholars who were skeptical of the oracle inscriptions and criticized any study of them. He maintained oracle inscriptions were not mentioned in the old documents and therefore the inscribed bones must be products of forgers of much later periods. It is most improbable, he argued, that shells and bones could have remained in the earth for three thousand years without decaying. Therefore Chang maintained that Lo Chên-yü who believed in those inscriptions, must be thoroughly condemned.[40]

It is said that Chang's idea remained unchanged even after scientific excavation at Anyang confirmed the existence of these newly discovered precious documents. There is a graceful note on Chang T'ai-yen's innermost feeling toward these ancient relics which bear the Yin inscription related in this anecdote: "On one of Chang's birthdays, his chief disciple Huang Chi-kang sent him a birthday gift, oblong in shape and wrapped in red paper, which appeared to be box of edible delicacies; afterwards, when the old man tore off the wrappings, he found the four volumes of *Yin-hsü shu-ch'i ch'ien-pien* by Lo Chên-yü. ..."

The anecdote ends by merely mentioning that this birthday gift from his beloved disciple was not cast away; but the volumes found a place on the old man's bed, beside his pillow—evidently he actually read some of these condemned pseudo-inscriptions!

贰．探索阶段：甲骨文的搜集、考释和古文字学研究

我已在开篇的章节里概述了有字甲骨最初在学术界，尤其是在那些有精深的古文字知识的学者中间，引起注意的情况。有三位学者为这一新学科的创立作出了根本性的贡献。第一个是王懿荣，大家一致认为是他最早认识到这些新发现的刻字甲骨的重要性。第二个是刘铁云，他不仅继续了王的搜集工作，同样重要的是，在少有的几个先行者中，他第一个勇敢地将甲骨文拓印成书出版，使这些不为人知的古文字的知识得以在学者中广泛传播。第三个是经学大师孙诒让，他的《契文举例》是对刻字的结构和意义进行学术探讨的开创性著作。这三位开拓者的成果互为补充，共同为中国古文字学这一新学科奠定了坚实的基础。

若这三个人没有同行和继承者，那么他们奠定的基础可能会像中国古代不少创造发现一样，被学术界看作玄奥而得不到真正的重视，最后销声匿迹。中国金石学的一些学派在科学发掘已开始之时仍固执地坚持着这种看法。[18]幸运的是，不论对中国学术界还是对古文字学而言，《铁云藏龟》的出版成功地唤醒了经学学者。

随后迎来了一个众多学者广泛搜集、辨认、考释甲骨文字的时期。在此，我想应当对1900年至1928年间正式发掘前的各种活动作一概述。这些活动可归为以下几类：(1) 私人挖掘，(2) 搜集活动，(3) 著录及出版。

● 1928年以前的私人挖掘

关于这段时间里的挖掘活动，此处我们主要的信息来源是董作宾。他在《甲骨学五十年》[19]，特别是在《甲骨年表》修订本中，都对这些事件作了详细的总结。

从安阳收集到的资料使董作宾相信，小屯及其附近村庄的人至少挖掘过九次“字骨头”（当地对刻字甲骨的称呼）。这种活动开始于光绪二十五年（1899—1900）。也就在这一年，原本分文不值的“龙骨”在古玩市场上身价倍涨。但董作宾并没有记载所谓的首次挖掘的细节。书中仅提到，在王懿荣发现甲骨后，山东古董商人范维卿到安阳搜集甲骨，并

以每字二两半银子的高价收买。据小屯村民讲，这是端方开出的价格。第二次私人挖掘发生在1904年，董对这次活动记述较详。刘铁云的《铁云藏龟》拓印出版后，对字骨头的需求陡然增加。为满足市场上的急需，1904年村民们开始在洹河岸边一块农田的北部进行挖掘。村民们仍记得，在科学发掘开始前，一个拥有本村部分土地的名叫朱坤的地主已组织起了一个庞大的挖掘队，所有队员都住在专门搭建的临时帐篷里。直到他们与另一支由村民组织的挖掘队之间爆发了一场争夺挖宝权的争斗，这次挖掘才停止。争斗引发了一场官司，县令随即下令禁止进一步发掘，此案才得以了结。

第二次挖掘究竟获得了多少块字骨无法确定。董的报告中只提到，这些新发掘的珍品卖给了包括罗振玉、黄濬、徐枋、方法敛、库寿龄和金璋在内的许多收藏家。

五年以后，即1909年，宣统（清朝最后一个皇帝）元年，小屯村一位田产富裕的村民张学献在自家门口挖红薯，发现了很多刻字的“马蹄儿”和“骨条”[20]。据说，张学献通过挖红薯收获了一大批有字甲骨。

第四次挖掘发生在11年后的1920年。这一年，华北五省大旱成灾，村民们迫于饥荒再次挖掘甲骨。大批挖掘者，包括许多邻村村民，都聚集到小屯村北的洹河河畔，因为他们已知这里是藏有宝藏最多的地方。

第五次挖掘是在1923年，地点在张学献家菜园内。董只简单记述了此次挖掘得两块刻字大骨版（牛肩胛骨？）。在随后的1924年，小屯村人为筑墙取土时，再次挖出一些字骨头。据村民口传，其中有大片的字骨。这两年挖掘出的大部分字骨都卖给了以传教士身份驻在安阳的明义士。

董作宾记载，第七次挖掘发生在1925年，但他未提及任何具体村民，只简要记述了一大批村民聚集在小屯村前大路旁挖掘，得甲骨数筐。其中有的胛骨（董的叫法）长至一英尺有余（？）。他猜测这些甲骨全卖给了来自上海的古董商人。

第八次私人挖掘发生在1926年。这次挖掘与民国早期这一地区的社会和政治因素有关。据说是富有的地主张学献被土匪绑票囚禁起来，索要大量赎金。村人乘机与张家商谈，提议在张家菜园进行挖掘。经协商双方同意：凡挖出有价值的珍宝由挖掘者和地主平分。于是，挖掘就此开始了。几十人分成三组，成鼎足状；每组各占据一个角同时开始挖掘同一块地。挖掘并无确定的计划。自然每组都急于先挖到宝藏。但这次寻宝却以非常戏剧化的方式结束：三组人挖到了一定深度，并开始朝着

同一个藏宝地点进发，于是三组之间已能在地下相互联系。突然，像矿井里偶有发生的塌方一样，上层虚土下陷，埋住四人。幸而同伴急救，四人保住了住命。此次挖掘也因此停止了。据小屯村民相传，此次挖掘收获颇丰，所得的甲骨都被明义士买走。

科学发掘殷墟前的第九次，即最后一次私人挖掘，是在1928年春。此时正值北伐时期。安阳地区亦受战火波及。一支军队驻扎在洹水南岸。战时小屯村民无法耕种土地，因此到4月战事结束时，村民又聚集在一起挖掘字骨头。此次参与者甚众，都集中在路旁的打谷场进行挖掘。据董作宾的《年表》记载，这次挖出的有字甲骨全部卖给了上海、开封的商人。

● 搜集活动

第一章已谈到，早期有字甲骨的主要搜集者有：刘铁云，他接收了王懿荣搜集的大部分甲骨；著名的青铜器收藏者端方，他搜集的甲骨，不论其来源或范围，都没有真正的学术影响；罗振玉，他发现了这些古文字真正出土地在彰德府。

在《铁云藏龟》出版后的几年里，有中外搜集者约几十人积极支持、竞相参与有字甲骨的搜集。据明义士讲，早在1904年已有外国学者开始甲骨搜集。[21]牧师方法敛大概是第一个参与甲骨搜集活动的外国人，他为上海皇家亚洲文会的博物馆购买了400片甲骨。在他之后有牧师库寿龄和伯根。尔后，他们将购得的甲骨卖给了几家博物馆：美国匹兹堡的卡内基博物馆、爱丁堡的皇家苏格兰博物馆和伦敦的大英博物馆。后来，英国的金璋也加入了搜集甲骨的行列。据董的《年表》记载，不久青岛的卫礼贤也参与了甲骨的搜集。同时，在日本甚至掀起了一场更大规模的搜集和研究甲骨文的热潮。[22]关于这期间各方面的搜集活动，显然董的《年表》并未像记载私人挖掘活动一样，全部加以囊括。这可以理解，因为实际买卖甲骨的交易多经古董商之手进行，这些人像大部分博物馆馆长一样，更喜欢秘密交易。虽然如此，在董的《年表》中，我们仍然能见到若干条关于甲骨搜集的重要记录，如：

A. 1904—1905年，范售卖与端方甲骨1000余片、黄濬600片、徐枋1000片。同年，库寿龄也购买了许多甲骨残片；柏根买到70多片，并转赠济南广智院，但其中大部分是赝品。这一年，金璋搜集甲骨800片，青岛卫礼贤得70余片，德国柏林民俗博物院得700余片。另外还记载了天津新学书院接受王懿荣后代馈赠甲骨若干。

B. 1909—1910年，在林泰辅购买600多片甲骨的影响下，日本学者也开始争相收集。其他日本学者获得甲骨共达3000余片之多。

C. 1910—1911年，刘铁云在流放中死去。据董的《年表》记载，刘所收集的甲骨散落在多人手中，其中包括罗振玉、哈同夫人、叶玉森、陈钟凡及中央大学。显然，刘所收集的甲骨都是零星地被卖掉或送掉的。董的《年表》还记载，直到1926年商承祚还从刘氏的原初收藏中获得了2500片。

D. 1914年，明义士开始搜集甲骨。

E. 1918年，日本研究甲骨文的先行者林泰辅亲赴安阳购得甲骨20片。

F. 1919年，古董市场上出现大量甲骨赝品。

G. 1922年，北京达古斋古玩商店以所藏甲骨赠与国立北京大学（研究所国学门），共463片。

H. 1927年，明义士购买了一大批甲骨。

搜集活动使北京、上海、山东潍县、河南彰德府的古玩市场上出现了疯狂的抢购。因为大部分交易都是秘而不宣的，且又都是在贪婪的古董商与财大气粗但却愚昧无知的收藏者之间进行的，其结果就是，大量的赝品流入市场。这些赝品是在安阳、北京、潍县、上海等地生产的。不管怎样，一开始确有古董商人靠贩卖这些伪造品赚了大笔钱。在科学发掘开始以后的几年中，笔者就在欧美很多有名的博物馆里看到一些这样的赝品。[23]董作宾对甲骨造假进行了专门调查，还为跟这群很有天赋的人交上朋友颇费了些工夫。后来，他成功地结识了一个伪造者，即安阳人蓝葆光。董说他是个“真正的天才”。他吸食鸦片，而且只在吸过鸦片兴奋时才表演他的技艺；他在小屯找到的无字骨头上刻字，遂得与真品几无二致的甲骨。董曾告诉笔者，蓝葆光成为伪造者是因为他确实喜欢做这件事。实际上，他是个穷商人，出售这些伪造品也只得很少的钱。

伪造甲骨的出现极大地扰乱了古玩市场，引起了两个重要后果。一方面，由于保守派沿袭千多年来的传统，对许慎《说文》的权威性怀有极虔诚的尊崇，便自然而然地以这些伪造品为确证，认定这些所谓的甲骨文全都是冒牌学者为欺骗大众仿古制作出来的。另一方面，一些学者远见卓识，信息掌握丰富，并研究过真正的甲骨片，他们受到了激发，

为探明真伪甲骨的区分标准而更加发奋工作。这方面的一位先行者是《甲骨研究》一文的作者加拿大传教士明义士。1914年，明义士第一次被派往彰德府，一战后，他再次留驻彰德，从1921年一直到1927年。他常常到小屯去探访，因此能够就地了解当地人挖掘甲骨的情况。[24]职务带来的地利与考古的天赋幸运地结合在一起，为明义士创造了极好的条件，最终，在为数不多的外国学者中，他为甲骨研究作出了特殊贡献。

同时，中国的收藏家们也增长了对甲骨片真伪的区分和鉴别能力。

总结以上关于甲骨搜集活动的讨论，可以说，从商业角度讲，欧美搜集者更具考古意识，因此愿支付较高的价钱来购买这些新奇古董。[25]但最先意识到这些甲骨文的文化价值的是中国学者。第二代甲骨学研究者中包括一大批优秀学者，他们的著作以高水平的学术研究和广博的学识赢得了国际学术界的尊敬。我们将在下面加以介绍。

● 甲骨的著录和出版

董的《年表》列举了截止1928年9月用汉文、日文和西文所著的甲骨文字的墨拓摹本及甲骨研究的文章、书籍共110种。其中书籍36本，30本是中国学者写的，4本是日本学者写的，其余两本分别为美国人和加拿大人所著。在发表的74篇论文中，41篇出自中国学者之手，9篇出自日本汉学家，还有至少19篇是用英文写成的。刊登在德文杂志上的有三篇；法文杂志上有两篇，其中一篇是中国人写的，另一篇是法国著名汉学家沙畹写的。沙畹于1911年为罗振玉的《殷商贞卜文字考》一书撰写了书评简介，该书于此前一年在北京出版。这一长篇书评向西方汉学界介绍了这本书的内容和作者。[26]牧师方法敛的《中国原始文字考》于1906—1907年间出版，是最早用外文写的研究中国古文字的著作。[27]

用英文写的其余文章，大部分在《英国皇家亚洲文会》杂志上发表，这些文章为同一个作者——金璋所著。他撰写的《象形文字的研究》，到1927年止，已在这本杂志上连载了七篇。同时，这一时期美国、德国、日本的汉学家也对这种新发现的中国古文字的搜集和研究表现出了浓厚的兴趣。

然而，对这项研究的兴趣发展得最迅速最浓厚的是在日本，虽然发表的论文并不多。包括林泰辅和内藤虎次郎在内的日本学者的著作同样对中国铭文研究产生了很大影响。据董的《年表》记载，1910年林泰辅将自己一篇研究甲骨文的论文寄给了罗振玉。罗评价这篇洞见深刻的文章在很多地方都“足以补向序之疏略”，即罗为《铁云藏龟》写的序。应

该注意到，罗振玉和王国维，这一时期两位最顶尖的、对中国学术作出重大贡献并产生广泛影响的中国学者，都在日本侨居过一段时间。辛亥革命后不久，罗就到了日本，而王仅在日本住过很短一段时间。在我看来，同日本人的接触对他们二人启发极大，激发了他们探讨新观点的热情，唤醒了一直深埋在他们潜意识中对历史和考古的兴趣。我不能妄称这就是他们献身于该研究的根本动力——甲骨文字研究当时已成为了中国古文字学的一个分支。他们还可能受到所处时代其他因素的驱使，从而选择终生从事甲骨研究。

在专论罗、王两位先行者的研究之前，我想详细谈谈前面提到的孙诒让作出的贡献，并以此为开端对中国学者的工作作一总结。孙是通过读刘鹗的《铁云藏龟》首次知晓甲骨文的。早在1904年，即刘的著作出版一年后，孙便凭借他对金文的渊博知识对甲骨文字进行逐个考察。他连续研读了两个月，积累了许多研究笔记。这便是《契文举例》一书的底稿，但该书直到1917年才出版。这部最早探讨甲骨文字结构和意义的学术著作，是以单个字的功能含义来组织的。该书分历法、贞卜、卜事、鬼神、卜人、官氏、方国等篇。其中关于文字的部分最长，几乎占到全书篇幅的50％。[28]

1905年至1906年，孙诒让完成了另一部著作《名原》，并于1906年自费出版。[29]书中孙说明了他的目的是探源以金文、甲骨文、周朝石鼓文和贵州省岩刻文（当时推测为苗族的古代文字）的形式出现的古代汉字，并将它们与许慎时期仍通用的古籀文相比较。通过比较研究，孙旨在探明《说文》九千余字中较重要者的起源及演变。

值得注意的是，孙特别详述了数字的起源，并十分精确地追溯了在中国语言里出现过并仍继续使用的各类数字。他继而论证了象形字的本义，并列举了一长串表示动植物名称的象形字，如马、牛、羊等，加以图示说明。在对每个字进行考释时，除了依据在甲骨文中能找到的字之外，他还常常引证金文和其他先秦古文字，最后还评注这与《说文》的解释是否相符。

我们以后还会提到孙诒让的著作，但现在要介绍另一个重要的学者罗振玉。据董的修订版《年表》记载，1902年至1903年，罗在刘铁云家中首次接触有字甲骨。[30]第一次见到墨拓版的甲骨文时，罗振玉就对这种文字惊叹不已，他说："自汉以来小学家若张（张敞）、杜（杜业）、扬（扬雄）、许（许慎）诸儒所不得见。"[31]因此，他显然是通过刘铁云的介绍才第一次知道这门新学问的。

这一发现给罗极大震撼，他认为自己有义务去传播、普及它，使之成为中国古文字的新知，永久留存下来。他认识到，中国文字在三千多年的历史中，经历了许多变化，也遭受了种种误读。实际上这门语言较先秦时代使用的文字而言，其原初的性质及特征已变得不复辨认。众所周知，中国历史上第一位皇帝秦始皇在他统治的第三十四年（公元前213年），即他统一六国（公元前221）后的第八年[32]，焚毁了所有书籍。同样著名的是，在完成大一统的第一年他即下诏要“一法度衡石丈尺”、“车同轨”，最重要的是，“书同文字”。随之而来的是臭名昭著的焚书坑儒的诏令，焚烧除卜筮、医药、种树以外的其他所有书籍。紧接着，汉朝初年兴起了复兴古学的运动，它一开始带有混合的性质，也同样著名。对古籍进行卓有成效的搜集始于汉武帝（公元前140—前86年）即位后。汉武帝颁布了搜集古籍的诏令。此时，由于种种原因，汉字已发生了巨大变化，完全不同于先秦时通用的文字了。

对上述变化的历史不必再作进一步探讨，重要的是，要记住这些变化的确发生了，由此才能认识在甲骨文发现后，特别是继先驱者王懿荣、刘铁云、孙诒让之后，这些学术贡献的重要性。

之前提到，林泰辅寄来的《以所作甲骨论著》给予罗振玉极大激励，罗“乃以退食余晷，尽发所藏墨拓，又从估人之来自中州者，博观龟甲兽骨数千枚，选其尤殊者七百”，孜孜不倦地对甲骨和拓片进行了仔细的研究，最后取得了两项重要成果。

第一，他确定了甲骨的确切出土地，即安阳市郊小屯村。此前，古董商把甲骨真正出土处当作商业秘密而隐瞒着。但罗振玉经过细致调查、仔细询问和系统研究后，终于找到了甲骨原初的埋藏地。第一章中已讲到，1915年罗振玉走访了彰德府，并记录了旅行日记。

第二，通过研究真正的甲骨文，罗振玉“又于刻辞中得殷帝王名谥十余，乃恍然悟此卜辞者，实为殷室王朝之遗物”。以这些新观点为基础，他用了三个月的时间写成了《殷商贞卜文字考》。他自豪地声称写此书目的有三：“正史家之违失”、“考小学之源流”、“求古代之卜法”，他的自豪不无道理。他在文中总结道：“凡林君之所未达，至是乃一一剖析明白。”此文成于1910年，同年由玉简斋石印出版。据董《年表》记载，罗振玉这部重要著作的目次如下：

考史第一

一 殷之都城

二 殷帝王之名谥

正名第二

一 籀文即古文

二 古象形字因形示意不拘笔画

三 与金文相发明

四 纠正许书之违失

卜法第三

一曰贞

二曰契

三曰灼

四曰致墨

五曰兆坼

六曰卜辞

七曰埋藏

八曰骨卜

余说第四[33]

此文刊印时还附《自序》和《又识》。

值得注意的是，罗在他的第一部关于甲骨文的重要著述的序言中，在追溯中国古文字的这一学科早期复杂的发展历程时，指出了几个具有重要历史意义的事实，特别是刘铁云、孙诒让和罗振玉之间的相互关系。罗在评介中也明确承认："亡友孙仲容征君亦考究其文字，以手稿见寄，惜亦未能洞析奥隐……"同样是在这篇序言中，罗还承认他为刘的《铁云藏龟》撰的序言为匆忙写就，并不全面。十分有意思的是，罗从孙的原作中发现的仅仅是其缺陷，而据罗称，孙诒让的手稿还是孙去世前寄给他的。而且，罗对于孙诒让的第二部重要著作，上面提到的、追溯了许多汉字演变的《名原》，只字未提。但罗一定对这部极具原创性的惊世之作非常熟悉。

因此，将罗振玉的《殷商贞卜文字考》的内容与孙的两部早期著作作一比较至少是有趣的。就研究方法而论，罗与他前辈无甚差别，这一点几无疑议。孙以比较研究为目的，充分利用他渊博的金文知识，与甲骨文进行了仔细比较，自然获得了丰硕的成果。罗振玉效仿孙诒让的做法，以代表动物的象形文字为实例，分析了金文和甲骨文中发现的各阶段的象形字。罗列举了表示羊、马、鹿、猪、狗、龙等的象形字。不要

忘了，孙在《名原》中选取加以专门研究的象形字也有马、牛、羊、猪、狗、虎、鹿和夔龙等。或许罗是从不同角度探讨的，意欲说明甲骨文中的象形文字曾经历过一个快速变化的时期，也绝没有一个定式加以规范。但罗选择的例证清楚表明，即使罗在自己的文章中的确说明了一些新观点，涉及到一些新领域，那也只能说明他利用了前辈未出版的材料，并受益于孙诒让的早期著作《名原》的研究方法。[34]

尽管如此，罗振玉仍是位非常重要的人物，他为夯实三位先驱者奠定的基础作出了多方面的贡献。在早期收集和研究新发现的契刻文字的原始资料方面，他是非常幸运的。他充分利用这个良机，潜心研读，将其与先秦文字进行对比，对甲骨文有了更深的理解。在辛亥革命的次年，他出版了具有里程碑意义的名作《殷虚书契前编》。这部四卷本的著作包含2229幅甲骨拓片，全都是罗从他收藏的数万片的甲骨中亲自精选的。这几万片甲骨中大部分是从刘铁云处得到的，还有部分是他新购得的。这部著作以珂罗版用最好的纸在日本出版。三年后，1915年，又在日本印刷、出版了《殷虚书契后编》两卷。此一年前，注释卷《殷虚书契考释》完稿并出版。该书将《前编》中复制的甲骨文译成了现代文，并加以注解。其原稿是罗的年轻同事王国维教授手抄的，抄写本石印出版。全书分八章：(1) 都邑；(2) 帝王；(3) 人名；(4) 地名；(5) 文字；(6) 卜辞；(7) 礼制；(8) 卜法。前有罗振玉的自序，后附王国维的后记。[35]十二年以后，该书修订本由东方学会出版，但未署出版者及出版地名。修订本是这一时期甲骨文研究最引人注目的著作之一。该书的注解中包括了许多新的研究，其中最有价值的出自王国维，上面已提到，他手抄了罗振玉第一版的注解和转录。

从纯文字学的角度看，大家公认这时期王国维所作贡献比罗振玉的概要注释要重要得多，虽然王一开始很可能从这位年长的同事处得到过许多实质性的帮助。然而，王国维的工作所依据的是珂罗版的《殷虚书契前编》这一原始材料，而该书忠实地墨拓复制了罗收藏的甲骨文字。

罗本人对精选材料的研究和高明的考释，在学者中间广为讨论，其中还包括一些一流的汉学家，当然这对中国保守派和开明派的金石学者都产生了巨大影响。《考释》的第一版共考释了485个字。在修订本中，据董作宾讲，考释的字增到571个[36]，几乎占此时期已知的甲骨文字总数的50％。罗考释的文字大部分为数字、天干地支、方位、动植物、地名、用具和关于日常生活的一般字，如入、出、上、下、步、行、狩、渔等等。因此，这暂时满足了读懂这些古文的基本需要。《考释》的最后一部分刊印了707条卜辞，以罗振玉的标准看，卜辞完整且

清淅。[37]罗根据卜问内容的类别将其组织起来。卦辞共分八类：

分类	卜问辞条
a 祭	304
b 告	15
c 享	4
d 出和入	123
e 打猎和捕鱼	128
f 征伐	35
g 收获	21
h 天气	77
总数	707

《考释》中由罗译成现代文的这707条卜辞原本是按可判读的文字所记录的事件类别分节的。显然，其中大部分与祭祀(a-c)、王的旅行(d)、渔猎、天气和收获及战争有关。这些条目可以重新分类，得各类占百分比如下：

重新分类	原分类	条目数	百分比
1.祭祀	a-c	323	45.80
2.王的旅行	d	123	17.39
3.打猎和捕鱼	e	128	18.10

4.天气和收获	g-h	98	13.80
5.征伐	f	35	4.91
总数		707	

1927年出版的《考释》增订本大大增加了考释文字的数量，扩大了《殷虚书契》中著录的可辨读的卜辞条目。考释的字数达671个，同时可判读的卦辞条数达1094条。罗振玉将后者分成九组，增加一组为“杂类”，其余八组仍保留原名称。若按上面的重新分类计算，所得各项占百分比的结果见下表：

	条目数	百分比
1. 祭祀（a-c）	575	47.63
2. 王的旅行（d）	177	14.66
3. 打猎和捕鱼（e）	197	16.32
4. 天气和收获（g-h）	146	12.09
5. 征伐（f）	65	5.38
6. 杂类（i）	47	3.89
总数	1207	99.97

虽两组事件显示的百分比有些不同，但差别不大。祭祀祖先和神灵的活动无疑是国家的头等大事，商人须问卜以求其答案。其他三组——王的旅行、打猎和捕鱼、收成和天气预测——无疑也同样重要。大概这四组活动占据了商王的日常生活。占可读记录的5％多的战争，无疑也是和祭祀活动同等重要的国家大事，只是战事当然不像祭祀那么频繁。

这类记载后面还有机会更详细论述。

这里特别需要指出的是，罗振玉在王国维的协助下出版了这些著作，说明了从殷商直到后汉许慎的《说文》问世前这个时期中国文字的发展变化，成功地巩固了新的中国金石学研究的基础。在这部巨著中，他们还在探究占卜方法和商朝都城所在地等方面取得了重大的考古成就；最重要的是，他们将商王室世系图谱的重建追溯到了前商时代。重建商王及其前商时代祖先的即位顺序主要是王国维的功劳。王对所有可判读的卜辞及相关记录都悉数加以研读。他还是将不同出版物上的墨拓甲骨片成功“缀合”成完整文献的第一人。在描写祭祀列位先王的仪式时，文献便会按他们的即位顺序加以罗列。王国维教授在1917年发表的两篇专论性的文章中建立了商王世系图，并以此与关于这一主题的另外三部重要著作作了比较。[38]王总结道：

> 据《殷本纪》则商三十一帝，共十七世。……今由卜辞证之，则以《殷本纪》所记为近。

其他两种文献记载的世数都不准确。

上面提到的论著代表了王国维在历史学和金石学的研究过程中为古文字研究作出的最重要的独创性的贡献。直到现在，他的经典贡献根本上还未曾有改变。37年后的1954年，董作宾在写作《甲骨学五十年》[39]时，列出的商朝先公先王的名称、世系几乎仍和王国维1917年第一次考订的一模一样。

王国维于1915年开始投身这门新学问的研究，并持续了十多年。后来他仿效1900年死去的王懿荣，自沉于慈禧太后建造的颐和园昆明湖中。这一年是1926年，此时他正在清华大学国学研究院任教。

同一时代至少有五、六位中国金石学家对这门学问的进步作出了贡献。在中国学者的贡献中，有两本字典值得特别注意：王襄的《簠室殷契类纂》（1921）收录已识别文字873个；商承祚的《殷虚文字类编》（1923）收录已识别文字789个。这些字典意义重大，既把初学者引人甲骨学之门，又使这门新学问在中国知识界得到了更广泛的传播。

在结束这一章前，应谈谈章太炎（炳麟）的态度。董作宾生动地记述了这位被他称为阻碍这些新发现资料研究发展的“大敌”。章太炎是一位非常重要的人物，因为他被认为是当时最卓越的金石学家，同时在政治上是个革命派。关于章太炎对甲骨文的态度董记述如下：

> 章太炎是我国学术界惟一不相信而且反对研究甲骨文的人。他的证据是流传之人不可信，因为罗振玉“非贞信之人”。第二是龟甲刻文不见于经史。第三是龟甲乃“速朽之

物”，不能长久。第四是龟甲文容易作伪。[40]

据说，在安阳科学发掘证实这些新发现的珍贵文献确实存在后，章仍然固执己见。有一桩轶事颇有风度地记述了章太炎对这种刻有殷代文字的古代遗存的内心感受：据说，章太炎作44岁生日时，学生黄季刚送来一包礼物，呈长方形，外用红纸包扎，很像一盒子点心。后来，老先生拆开红纸，发现里面是罗振玉的四卷本《殷虚书契前编》……

故事仅在结尾处提到，这份得意门生送来的礼物并没被扔掉，而是放在了老人的床头枕边——看来他还真是看了那些伪造的文字。

3. Field Method

As Demonstrated by Western Geologists, Paleontologists, and Archaeologists in China in the Early Twentieth Century

This chapter is designed to give a general explanation of how Western learning in conjunction with traditional Chinese cultivation of antiquarian study confluently gave birth to archaeology in modern China.

It has often been questioned why, in the long tradition of Chinese culture, in which learning in general and antiquity as a special branch of study have enjoyed such a long history, investigation of the past never extended beyond the limits of book reading and treasure hunting. This pointed question undoubtedly deserves a certain amount of discussion. But if we go into the query at length, we may have to say a great deal about the traditional methods of learning, involving epistemology, philosophy, problems of value, and so on. This is definitely not the place to deal with all these big questions, although they are certainly in one way or another related to the query raised above. There is, however, a relatively simple answer, which can at least summarize Chinese traditional attitudes toward what is considered learning, and which may be helpful to those looking for a detailed explanation of the nature of the problem. Let us quote Mencius, in *T'eng-wen-kung:* "There is the saying, 'Some labour with their minds, and some labour with their strength. Those who labour with their minds govern others; those who labour with their strength are governed by others. ...'"[41] Adherence to this maxim, and others like it, led to the following results:

1. Beginning with the Sung dynasty, every schoolboy's mentality had been molded by the sayings of Confucius and Mencius, which he has committed himself to memorize.

2. Once patternized, it becomes difficult to deviate from the standard.

3. There is a certain amount of self-satisfaction which all mental workers

find in these sayings of Mencius quoted above—an egoism, that only modern psychology could adequately explain.

The general result of this education, as might be expected, is not only to accept the saying of Mencius as a general truth with regard to all social arrangements, but also to accept it as a standard for intellectual pursuits. To labor with the mind was gradually limited to book readings, especially after the invention of printing (which, as everybody knows, took place at least earlier than the Northern Sung dynasty).

On the other hand, if we take a look at the development of archaeology in the West, we find that at the close of the nineteenth century, anthropology had already developed into a special department of research, and archaeology under its influence also had gained status in the highly specialized prehistoric research inaugurated by the French prehistorian Jacques Boucher de Perthes (1788-1868), who started his search for evidences of human industry on the banks of the Somme as early as 1830,[42] nearly thirty years before the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*. Yet as late as 1899, when D. G. Hogarth, director of the British School at Athens, still held the belief that archaeology of material evidences alone was the "Lesser Archaeology," the prevailing opinion was that only those finds which could be illuminated by literary documents, for example, those of Mariette, Layard, Newton, or Schliemann, constructed the "Greater Archaeology."[43]

From the beginning of this century, field workers in geology, paleontology, and archaeology spread across the world and field data gained importance by leaps and bounds. Old China, for centuries a hunting spot for European imperialism, was forced to open her door widely for whatever the "superior white power" liked to do, including field work in science. Geologists, geographers, and paleontologists as well as fortune hunters rushed to the Far East, particularly China. Among them were, as always, some real workers, a number of them true scientists, but, like political adventurers, they came and went freely without leaving the slightest trace on Chinese soil. Neither did they care, except, perhaps, for some missionary workers.

It was only after the revolution of 1911 that educated Chinese began to wake up. As it had in Europe, the "field method" as a way of learning established its influence on the Chinese mentality. The dual division of

human labor set up by Mencius was "gone with the wind," together with the required reading of the "Four Books."[44]

The revolution gave rise to fundamental changes not only in the politics and social structure of Eastern Asia, but, even more importantly, in the mentality of the educated class, who gradually changed their outlook on life.

It was in the early Republican era, in 1916, that the Geological Survey under government order was first organized in Peking, as an agency of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. This institution in its initial stage was fortunately in the hands of a well-known geologist educated in England, who combined mental vigor with a genius for scientific organization. Above all, he was dedicated to the promotion of Western science in his country; his name in English was V. K. Ting.[45]

With the Geological Survey as a center of his scientific activity, naturally Ting's first task was, as a matter of government policy and also for practical needs, to find mining deposits—of iron, coal, and other important minerals. To fulfill this official function, the newly established official organ certainly had plenty to do. Even more important to mention for our purposes, the surveying work was gradually extended to paleontology and still later to prehistoric archaeology. By this time university curricula already included departments of geology and paleontology so that university students also got acquainted with "field work" as a method of acquiring first-hand scientific knowledge. When Professor Wang Kuo-wei was asked (1925-1926) to give a course on Chinese paleography in the Ts'inghua Research Institute of National Learning, he divided the course data into two major groups, which he called "book data" and "underground data." This may be taken as definite evidence that the influence of the field method of geological research had already reached the traditional scholars.

Since field method in Western science developed almost a century before its influence reached China, both the nature of problems investigated and techniques of operation had undergone, during the century, evolutionary changes. In fact the idea of "Evolution" itself, in scientific terms, became definite only within that century even in the West. But historically speaking, this basic idea, through the famous translation of Yen Fu, reached China earlier than other scientific conceptions and made a deeper impression on Chinese mentality than did any missionary attempts to introduce the West to

China.[46]

So by the time the Geological Survey was first set up, the psychological attitude of the Chinese intelligentsia had already encompassed the idea of science in general, and the theory of evolution was already deep in their consciousness. Whatever difficulties the Geological Survey had to face were more or less matters of practical politics rather than ideology.

The Geological Survey in its early history achieved several important administrative results. The most important of these was the training of a number of field surveyors, who, in addition to the fundamental knowledge of geology and related sciences, had also to acquire the modern method of land surveying. Each surveyor had to possess the physical capacity to carry his own instruments and to walk on foot no matter how long the journey might be. This was of course a definite break with the traditional training of "scholars" in old China, who labored with their minds only.

It took quite a few years for V. K. Ting, the founder of the Survey, to accomplish the initial program. When the training of the first batch of surveyors was completed, he began to send them to the field for practical work. The author knew personally several of these first surveyors. They were all well-disciplined and hard workers; later on, each of them was assigned to a definite region for specialization. In surveying, as well as in geology and paleontology, most of them have rendered useful national service. To this group of pioneers, the field of not only geology but Western science in general in modern China owes a great debt indeed.

In the execution of this initial program, V. K. Ting was able to gain substantial support from a number of foreign scientists; some of them actually came to China and worked. The author would like to mention five whose reputation is international and who worked in north China and helped the Geological Survey directly or indirectly, in the formative stage: A. W. Grabau (American), J. G. Andersson (Swedish), Davidson Black (Canadian), J. F. Weidenreich (German), and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (French).

The first two, A. W. Grabau and J. G. Andersson, are directly associated with the scientific work of the Survey; the next two, Davidson Black and J. F. Weidenreich, were directors of the Cenozoic Laboratory, also connected with the Survey. The last, Father Teilhard de Chardin, when he was in China, was

working in a Catholic mission which was concerned more with science than with religion; so Pierre Teilhard is better known to the Chinese people as a paleontologist and archaeologist than as a priest.

In the early Republican era, especially between, say, 1915 and 1925, Peking was a city of new ideas, political and social as well as intellectual. Most of the scientists in the above list were in Peking and doing actual scientific research. Among them, Professor A. W. Grabau was commonly acknowledged to be the leader of the group by both leading Chinese scientists and the learned in the foreign community. His special task was to help the Survey publish scientific papers, especially Paleontologia Sinica. His official position was Professor of Geology at the National Peking Government University, and also, at the same time, he served as chief paleontologist of the Survey.[47]

The publication of Paleontologia Sinica helped to provide the capital of China with both a new branch of knowledge and a new method to acquire such knowledge. In this respect, it can be considered an altogether new feature as compared with traditional Chinese culture.

Most of these volumes were published in European languages, mainly English. The elementary idea of this publication, under the auspices of the Survey, was to bring scientific knowledge about its various finds to the attention of specialists and the scientific public. As far as educated circles in China were concerned, only a few specially trained individuals could be benefited. But there is another aspect of the influence of these serial publications to be taken into consideration. They provided a model for the presentation of scientific data, as well as for methods of collection and preservation, in addition to accurate descriptions and cautious deductions—all these are of course familiar to scientific readers. In the course of time, when the younger generation of Chinese had mastered a European language and been initiated into modern science, they gradually looked toward these publications as a standard and a yardstick for measuring the value of various scientific activities in many branches of related research, especially in the fields of biology and archaeology. From a historical viewpoint, this development is important in the sense that there is no such model in traditional China. But it has remained a problem how to translate this model into the Chinese language, so that the average man in China, if he were

interested, could easily understand and locate the source materials.

Let us take up the problem in a practical way. I propose to illustrate the nature of the problem by some analysis of the influence of the achievements of the five eminent scientists mentioned above.

Foremost among the five was A. W. Grabau, who worked the longest time and ended his life in Peking. He was the man who did the teaching in the university as well as editing the serial publications of Paleontologia Sinica.

It would be rather pretentious for me to comment upon Grabau's contributions to the science of geology and paleontology. Still, it may be said that his well-known theory of the polar drift, and the uplift of the Himalayan Mountains and the Tibetan Plateau in the Miocene period, which Grabau considered a phenomenon of crustal movement important and critical for the development of human origins, although it is now almost forgotten by the public, created a deep impression in scientific circles. The Natural History Museum of New York City sent several expeditions to Central Asia and Mongolia to hunt for man's ancestors on the basis of this theory. Although these expeditions did not achieve what they aimed at, there were many lateral results that were unexpected but nevertheless interesting and important, for instance, the discovery of dinosaur's eggs. Meantime, parallel endeavors undertaken by other groups of natural scientists made the amazing discovery of Sinanthropus Pekinensis near the ancient capital of China.

Grabau's scientific influence in educational circles, it seems to me, was much more important in his lifetime. He possessed a charming and fascinating personality, agreeable and attractive to all scientists gathered at that time in the city of Peking. Whether one liked his theories or not, it seemed to everybody a pleasure and a privilege to talk with the Grand Old Man. The first generation of Chinese geologists attached themselves to him affectionately, and the younger generation, most of whom were his disciples, loved and respected him. The author, merely an anthropologist by training and an archaeologist through opportunity, met Dr. Grabau only about a dozen times at most, yet the personality of this old man remains to this day an unforgettable impression. This point is important, because it is closely related to the growth of scientific mentality in the formative period of Chinese science, and his influence was naturally carried by his Chinese friends and Chinese pupils to a large learning circle(s), at a time when science was

becoming immensely popular.

Dr. J. G. Andersson came to China in the early Republican era; he was engaged by the government to give practical advice on surveying China's mineral deposits. The story is still told that at that time all the big powers who had extraterritorial interests in China wanted to send their scientists to China with the idea of getting first-hand knowledge of China's mineral resources—especially coal and iron. The competition among the big powers for this job was very keen. The Chinese government, however, decided to choose an expert adviser from none of them, but gave the job to J. G. Andersson, a Swede, from a nation considered one of the few European countries without any imperialistic ambitions. The choice was made probably at the suggestion of Dr. V. K. Ting, director of the Geological Survey.

This was indeed a fortunate choice. J. G. Andersson came to China before A. W. Grabau. In the beginning, his work was entirely in the field, traveling in north China where mineral deposits were prospective. J. G. Andersson was however, not a narrow-minded technical expert. He had a broad intellectual background, and during his travels he always kept his eye open for anything of scientific interest. For this reason, his discoveries in his early wandering journey were numerous and of various natures. In *Children of the Yellow Earth*, a book for popular consumption in 1934, he had this to say in the Foreword:

> By a series of fortunate circumstances I was on several occasions the pioneer. In 1914 I was the first to stumble upon the organic origin of a stromatolite ore. In 1918 I discovered collenia nodules and recognized their connection with similar "fossils" in the pre-Cambrian area of North America. In the same year we discovered the first Hipparion field in China made known to science. In 1919 we found the beaver fauna at Ertemte in Mongolia. 1921 was a red-letter year: the Neolithic dwelling-site at Yang Shao Ts'un, the Eocene mammals on the Yellow River, the Sha Kuo T'un cave deposit in Fengtien and still the more remarkable cave discovery at Chou K'ou Tien, which became world famous by the work of those who followed after us.[48]

Andersson's discoveries included many other items. Although most of these were geological and paleontological, what attracted him most seems to have been archaeological findings.

These archaeological discoveries are no doubt of great importance. What the author wishes to point out here is that Dr. Andersson was in fact the first Western scientist to demonstrate, by actual achievements, the effectiveness of the field method in the investigation of Chinese antiquity. As he stated

himself, in these scientific travels he was frequently accompanied by well-trained junior assistants and a troop of untrained but intelligent workers. All his disciples followed the master faithfully and naturally also learned his method of working.

J. G. Andersson's scientific work started before the formal establishment of the Geological Survey in 1916. After this new, official organization began its field work under the able direction of Dr. V. K. Ting, Andersson's field collections were naturally encouraged and gained more publicity in scientific circles. He also received more substantial help financially, and obtained more trained assistants. An increasingly larger team of specialists could appreciate the merits of his various discoveries and evaluate the more abstract theoretical problems which Andersson had always kept in mind.

Among the various scientific achievements of this distinguished Swedish geologist, his archaeological discoveries in north China are perhaps best known to the general public. There are a number of reasons for the special reputation which he gained, and which he certainly deserved. The prehistoric site he excavated at Yangshao in 1921 is remarkable because it is historically the first one uncovered in China. Before this discovery, only speculations about ancient China flourished, derived either from legendary accounts or from fantastic imagination. Second, the excavated materials of Yangshao Culture indicated an advanced agricultural society, containing elements related not only to the traditional legendary accounts but, what is altogether novel, to central and western Asiatic prehistory. Third, the location of the Yangshao site is almost in the center of the Yellow River plain where the early history of China developed. So, this discovery immediately attracted worldwide attention, including that of many conservative Chinese historians. The title of Andersson's first paper in Chinese and English, "An Early Chinese Culture," of course induced even the archaeologically uninitiated to pay some attention.[49] A further reason for the popular attention attached to this discovery was that similar to the appearance of oracle bone inscriptions in 1898-1899: the time and the learning atmosphere in Peking in 1921 were just ready to accept such a discovery. Although there was no archaeological curriculum in the university, traditional antiquarian study under the influence of the May 4th Movement of 1919, the student movement which initiated the intellectual modernization of China, had already advanced to a stage where scholars had full cognizance of the need for field work in the investigation of

China's ancient past.

The detailed story of this first discovery of Chinese prehistory has already been told by Dr. Andersson himself in his *Children of the Yellow Earth*, in which a complete chapter is devoted to "We Discover the First Prehistoric Villages" (1934). Certain essential points in this chapter relate especially to the development of field methods in China's study of antiquity:

1. In 1920, Andersson sent his collector Liu Chang-shan to Loyang and the adjacent region to collect fossil vertebrates. Liu returned in December with a collection which included, in addition to the fossils, a large package of stone implements, consisting of several hundreds of stone axes, knives, and other artifacts. Liu told Andersson that all the stone artifacts were purchased from "the inhabitants of a single village," namely, Yangshao Ts'un. This led Andersson to investigate the site personally.

2. Yangshao Ts'un is a village in Mien-ch'ih Hsien. In 1921 Andersson went to Mien-ch'ih Hsien to further his investigation. He arrived on April 18, and then went to Yangshao Ts'un, six miles north of the district. The following account is Andersson's description of the site discovered in the village of Yangshao Ts'un.

> About a km. south of village of Yang Shao Ts'un I had to traverse a great ravine, a real miniature canyon, which was subsequently a very notable feature of our topographical survey of the district. When I had reached the northern side of the ravine I saw in the side of a gully a very interesting section. At the bottom, the red Tertiary clay was exposed and it is with a distinct contact overlaid by a peculiar loose soil, full of ashes and containing fragments of pottery. It seemed not improbable that this might be the deposit from which the stone age implements had been derived. After some minutes' search, I found at the very bottom of the deposit a small piece of fine red ware with black painting on a beautifully polished surface... it therefore seemed to me inconceivable that such clay vessels could be found together with stone implements.
>
> Somewhat dejected I felt that I had followed a track which would only lead me astray, and I thought it safer to return to my geological-paleontological research. ...
>
> Meanwhile I lay in the evenings and reflected on the Yang Shao Ts'un riddle. ...
>
> I decided to devote a whole day to a search in these ravine walls. ... After a few hours' search, I extracted from the untouched ashy soil a fine example of the stone adze... "*pen*." ... During the course of the day I made other interesting discoveries and it soon became clear that we here had to do with a deposit of unusual magnitude, rich in artifacts, especially fragments of pots, including the fine, polished polychrome ware to which I have referred above. ...[50]

3. Andersson, when by a lucky chance he stumbled across the Yangshao prehistoric site, could not at the time of discovery recognize its real

significance. This recognition came only on a subsequent trip to Peking where in the library of the Geological Survey he found the report by R. Pumpelly of the American geologist's 1903-1904 expedition to Anau in Russian Turkestan.[51] From these reports, Andersson began to realize that painted pottery could have existed in protohistoric time. Then his enthusiasm for the puzzling discovery was greatly enhanced and he was able, with the enlightened encouragement of the director of the Geological Survey, to get the permission of the Chinese government, and the assistance of some trained geologists, to organize a digging party in the autumn of the same year (1921); the field work started toward the end of October. The results of the excavation are very well known through various reports, both technical and popular.

This epoch-making scientific endeavor in China marked the beginning of field archaeology in one of the oldest countries in Eurasia; it was almost half a century after French anthropologists had revealed painted pottery in Susa of Mesopotamia. But in Eastern Asia, which Western historians usually considered as an outskirt of Indo-European civilization, these findings once more reminded historians that East and West were not as separated as most people believed.

To return to the actual findings of Andersson's excavation at the prehistoric site of Yangshao Ts'un, the artifacts excavated were divisible into several groups. It was, however, the ceramic finds that excited world-wide interest. In this group of pot-sherds, the most striking ones are the painted pots as pointed out above. Later, these finds were sent to Sweden for special investigation, on which Dr. T. G. Arne issued a monographic report published by the Survey in 1925.[52] In Dr. Arne's report, all the painted pot-sherds are beautifully illustrated by color plates; some are reconstructed and the painted designs and other technical details are all given careful analysis; and when possible the sherds are compared with similar finds from other regions, especially those of Anau in Russian Turkestan. It is perhaps unnecessary to remind the reader that by this time, M. de Morgan's well-known discovery of Susa had been known to Western archaeologists for over thirty years. [53]

As far as archaeology in China is concerned the other type of Yangshao ceramics were even more interesting, and no less exciting in the light of the

ancient history of China. I mean, of course, what is considered the more common type, known as the coarse gray ware. In this group, it was found that many kinds of tripods could be reconstructed, which have been classified as the *ting* or *li* type, corresponding in shape and structure to ancient Chinese bronzes of these shapes that had been recorded and described in the literature from the Chou dynasty onward for over two thousand years. The unearthing of clay-made *ting* and *li* convinced the conservative school among Chinese historians and antiquarians that field archaeology indeed held a key to the study of Chinese antiquities. In due course, I shall discuss the Yangshao discovery and its influence again. Here, however, it is more important to go on with the beneficial influence of some other foreign scientists who also worked in China at this time.

Next I should like to discuss Professor Davidson Black, who was a Canadian and was appointed Professor of Anatomy when the Peking Union Medical College (P.U.M.C.) was founded by the Rockefeller Foundation. Black's scientific work was mainly concerned with the investigation of the physical characteristics of the Chinese people. The anatomy department of P.U.M.C., like all other medical schools, started to accumulate skeletal materials of all dissected bodies as soon as the teaching of anatomy began such dissection, and the skeletal materials were deposited in the department in storage. When J. G. Andersson obtained permission to excavate at Yangshao Ts'un, he assigned the task of grave-digging to another geologist and paleontogist, Dr. Otto Zdansky, and at the same time he also invited Professor Davidson Black to visit the dig. According to Andersson, Black in "most important respects assisted in the investigation of the burial ground."

Later on, Andersson asked Professor Black to prepare a monographic study of these skeletal materials on which the latter cooperated enthusiastically.[54] Dr. Black compared in his professional way the prehistoric skeletons with the department's collection of those of the north China population, and also with some non-Chinese human bones; he applied extensively the biometric techniques developed in Karl Pearson's laboratory in London. After a thorough analysis of the available and related materials, he came to the important conclusion that these prehistoric inhabitants of neolithic time showed an assemblage of physical characteristics in no respect markedly different from those of the present-day northern Chinese, except that some of the Kansu skeletons of the prehistoric period seemed to indicate

some slight deviation.

Black's study of the physical traits of the northern Chinese remains, up to the present day, one of most frequently quoted papers on the physical anthropology of the Chinese, both because its quality is high, and because, as so often happens, anthropologists interested in this problem are comparatively rare.

Black's reputation, however, does not rest on this monograph alone. As is well known, he was the first scientist to study the remains of *Sinanthropus*, and he died in his laboratory while working on the Chou-k'ou-tien fossil man on March 15, 1934.

Peking man, the popular name of *Sinanthropus*, was discovered in the neighborhood of the city of Peking at Chou-k'ou-tien, also as a result of Dr. J. G. Andersson's wide interest in fossil collecting. Let us again read what Andersson says about the early part of the Chou-k'ou-tien exploration:

> One day in February 1918 I met in Peking, J. McGregor Gibb, Professor of Chemistry at the mission university which at that time bore the somewhat pretentious title of Peking University[55]. He knew that I was interested in fossils and consequently he told me that he had just been out at Chou K'ou Tien, about 50 km. southwest of Peking, a place which I have already described on a couple of occasions during my story.
>
> ...Professor Gibb had himself visited the place and had brought back to Peking various fragments of the bone-bearing clay. ...
>
> Gibb's description was so alluring that I visited the spot on the 22nd-23rd March in the same year.[56]

After he visited Chou-k'ou-tien, Andersson planned a systematic exploration. Eight years later in 1926, when the grandfather of the present King of Sweden, as Crown Prince, paid a visit to the capital of China, the discovery of the first indication of *Sinanthropus* was announced. At an academic reception for the royal visit, a number of eminent scholars gathered and read their learned papers—chiefly on archaeology. The well-known scholar Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was among them, but the remaining members of the audience were either foreign scholars or English-speaking Chinese professors. It was on this day that J. G. Andersson, on behalf of Professor C. Wiman, announced the latest result of the research work on the fossils collected at Chou-k'ou-tien by Zdansky as "the most important result of the whole of the Swedish work in China,"[57] namely some hominid teeth.

The day of this meeting was October 22, 1926.

What followed was an internationally known scientific enterprise. Most important for China was the fact that, when scientists agree to cooperate, fruitful results seem to be a matter of course. The excavation at Chou-k'ou-tien was an example of truly international cooperation. Included were a number of distinguished scientists from America, Canada, Sweden, France, Great Britain, and Germany as well as the native Chinese. The organization was under the guiding hand of Dr. V. K. Ting who, with his experience and ingenuity, served as the honorary director of the Cenozoic Laboratory, of which the director was Professor Davidson Black. Dr. Black's scientific work was assisted by a Swedish scientist, Dr. Birger Bohlin, who was invited to start excavation at Chou-k'ou-tien, mainly with the aim of looking for fossil Hominidae. The Rockefeller Foundation financed the projected undertaking.

The scientific work carried at Chou-k'ou-tien lasted a long time. This gigantic task taught the budding generation of scientists in China several lessons of practical importance. While Dr. V. K. Ting helped to complete the initial stage of the Cenozoic Laboratory, it was the genius of its director, Professor Davidson Black, that guided the operation both in the difficult task of excavating rocky caves at Chou-k'ou-tien, and in systematically distributing the collection to competent scientists for specific studies. Above all, Professor Black himself took up the heavy task of investigating the fossil Hominidae among the accumulated fossils from the limestone cave deposits at Chou-k'ou-tien.

After hewing and moving three thousand cubic meters of the cave deposits, Dr. Bohlin, a disciple trained by Professor C. Wiman from Sweden, on October 16, 1927, found a hominid tooth and personally handed this precious discovery to Dr. Black in P.U.M.C. three days later. This tooth was identified as the lower molar on the left side; although somewhat worn, it was well preserved and complete with root. On the basis of this study, Davidson Black not only confirmed Wiman's identification; he went a step further in his ingenious speculation, and created a new hominid genus by naming it *Sinanthropus*, with the name of the species as *Pekinensis*.[58]

Continuing the field work, Bohlin was assisted in the next season by Dr. C. C. Young and W. C. Pei, both of whom played an important role in the Chou-k'ou-tien excavation.

To sum up, the scientific work carried out at Chou-k'ou-tien and in the Cenozoic Laboratory in Peking provided a tremendous stimulus to the younger generation of Chinese scientific researchers. Soon after, Young and Pei took up the field work at Chou-k'ou-tien following the departure of Dr. Bohlin. They were the discoverers of the first Peking Man's skull on December 2, 1929; this discovery was considered by many as the crowning achievement, fully justifying the enormous amount of money the Rockefeller Foundation had invested.

Dr. Black, after working continuously on the important discovery for half a dozen years, died of hard work in his own laboratory in P.U.M.C. as stated above. The necessity of finding a successor created a difficult problem. I have been informed that through V. K. Ting's recommendation, an international committee was organized, with Professor Elliot Smith as chairman, to select Black's successor. Dr. Franz Weidenreich was unanimously agreed upon by members of the selection committee, and received the appointment as director of the Cenozoic Laboratory to continue the important research.

If Davidson Black showed by his brilliant achievements his penetrating power in analyzing the fossil remains of Chou-k'ou-tien, Weidenreich, who succeeded him so competently, demonstrated a German thoroughness, which, in the eyes of the trained scientists of Oriental circles, had seldom been equaled by scientists of other nations. The successive volumes published in series D, Paleontologia Sinica, have fully proved these characteristics of German science. Weidenreich's scientific reports on *Sinanthropus* were not only masterpieces of anthropological reporting, they were also exemplary models of clarity and of minute, detailed examination both exhaustive and pointed. For Chinese workers, there is nothing in any European language concerning studies of human fossils comparable to these monographic reports on *Sinanthropus*.

As everybody knows, the valuable collection of Peking Man fossils were lost during World War II, and various efforts made to recover these important scientific specimens have all failed. Fortunately for the study of the early history of Hominidae, the complete reports by Davidson Black and Franz Weidenreich are available in most libraries all over the world.

The influence of the Chou-k'ou-tien excavation in China can hardly be

exaggerated. In spite of many political changes, Chou-k'ou-tien has remained important to scientific workers to the present day.

Last, but certainly not least, the scientific work of the French paleontologist Pierre Teilhard de Chardin illustrated, for the budding generation of Western trained scientists in China, a number of characteristics typical of French mentality. It has been commonly agreed that the highly specialized study of man's remote past is a French science, in which French archaeologists have led the world for nearly a century. Father Teilhard, when he arrived at China in the early 1930s, had already acquired considerable experience in Western Europe. He was in fact associated with the ill-fated work on the notorious *Eoanthropus*, which was proved to be a forgery.[59] I believe it was for this reason that on October 22, 1926, when J. G. Andersson announced the discovery of the hominid tooth at Chou-k'ou-tien, Teilhard was the only person in the audience who cast some doubt and thought that the fossil specimen as illustrated by the lantern slides might prove to be the tooth of "a beast of prey." He wrote a note to Dr. Andersson stating his skepticism of Wiman's identification.

If later finds proved that Teilhard had misjudged—as he himself of course agreed—it only serves to indicate how open-minded a first rate scientist can and should be!

Teilhard's main scientific work in China was widespread both in subject and in geographic region. His field work and studies covered many kinds of scientific tasks, including paleontology, pre-historic archaeology, geological stratification, glaciology, and so on.

Pierre Teilhard came to the Far East at the invitation of Father Emile Licent, founder of the Huang-Ho-Pai-Ho Museum in Tientsin. Father Licent in 1920, through his exploration in northwestern China, had discovered at Ch'ing-yang Fu in eastern Kansu province a rich deposit of the Hipparion Fauna. Removing the loess which covered the Hipparion clay, Licent found at the bottom of the loess formation pieces of quartz which appeared to him to have been modified by human hand. In 1922 Licent, acting on information from other Catholic priests working in Mongolia, went to Sjara-Osso-Gol. There he found another bone deposit which looked so promising that he decided to invite Teilhard de Chardin from Paris to join the scientific investigation of these deposits in northwestern China and the Ordos region of

Inner Mongolia.

The archaeological explorations of the two Catholic fathers—at Ninghsia Fu, Shui-tung-kou, and Sjara-Osso-Gol, where they discovered old stone cultural deposits including many hundreds of kgs. of stone implements, mixed with charcoal—are well known to European prehistorians, as the results of their diggings were published in French. The stone implements from these paleolithic sites at Sjara-Osso-Gol are mostly made of red quartzite and silicious limestone, which are said to be commonly found in the rubble deposited in gravels of the cultural stratum. Some of the implements—scrapers, drills, and blades—are of considerable size, reaching 17cm. in length.

The main conclusion of their study of these important discoveries and associated fauna was that this culture belongs to the Pleistocene period, during which the loess deposits were formed.

These French scientists worked in splendid isolation, communicating only with their fellow workers in Paris, and their publications appeared only in French. The author had the fortune to meet Teilhard de Chardin in 1924-1925 at the home of Dr. V. K. Ting. Later on, when the Catholic scientist joined the newly organized Geological Society of China, we met more frequently. At that time Pierre Teilhard became known to geological and paleontological circles in Peking and Tientsin, and came to be considered the "youngest and the most brilliant 'paleontologist' " in north China, a comment made by A. W. Grabau when Teilhard received the Grabau Medal.

Pierre Teilhard was invited to be a regular member of the Cenozoic Laboratory and frequently visited Chou-k'ou-tien when the excavation was in progress. Dr. C. C. Young was his closest co-worker in China. For instance, they jointly made a study of the fauna discovered from the Anyang excavations. Teilhard's whole interest seemed to be concentrated on "Early Man in China," which he investigated from both a geological and a paleontological angle in addition to his excellent research on prehistoric artifacts. While he was still in Peking, he wrote a memoir with this title, published by the Institute de Géobiologie (Peking), in 1941.

Teilhard's influence on the spread of science in China was indeed many-sided. He seldom talked. What was exemplary was the manner in which he

did his scientific research. When the author was in charge of the Anyang excavation, Pierre Teilhard and Dr. C. C. Young paid us a visit. They spent a few hours on the spot, carefully examining our method of working and recording. While he was there, he happened to pick up a fragment of animal tooth tinged with green color, and commented, "This is a tiger tooth, evidently buried together with some bronze." Then he examined the stone implements recovered from the excavation. He took a long look at the sample of "what is called a green stone axe" without saying a word. When his opinion was asked, he remarked: "This kind of stone axe seems to be very widely spread in north China. Wherever it is found in north China, it is petrologically the same and of the same shape!" Pierre Teilhard was a field scientist; although a man of few words he was both charming and dignified; whenever he did speak, his words indicated a profound knowledge. He had a quick mind, and, above all, he was always inspiring and could on occasion be witty and full of humor.

His personality touched Chinese men of science deeply, although only a few had the privilege of knowing him. His *Early Man in China* was indeed a classic among all the popular books of science published in this period in China.

I have given a somewhat detailed description of five eminent men of science and some of their closest associates. This does not mean that there were no other scientific visitors working in this area when China began to take Western learning, particularly science, seriously, and to demonstrate a conscious wish to incorporate the teaching of science into the Chinese educational system. In geological science, there were men like Otto Zdansky and Walter Granger; in geography, Sven Hedin; in archaeology, N. C. Nelson, Henri Breuil, and so on, who all made contributions to the building up of modern science in China. But the service of Grabau, Andersson, Black, Weidenrich, and Teilhard de Chardin is distinguished from that of others by their close contact with Chinese minds. This contact was naturally much more contagious than written reports; consequently the cumulative effects soon become overwhelming and irresistible.

叁．20世纪初期在中国的西方地质学家、古生物学家和考古学家演示的田野方法

本章旨在简要介绍西学怎样与传统的中国古物研究思想相结合从而催生了现代中国考古学。

人们常提出这样一个问题：中国文化传统悠久，不论是一般的学问还是研究古物的专门学问都有一段很长的历史，但为什么对古代的研究从未超出研读典籍和猎奇古玩的范畴呢？这的确值得讨论。但要详尽地探讨这一问题，我们可能要谈许多关于传统的治学方法，包括认识论、哲学、价值观等问题。它们虽在某些方面和上面提出的问题有这样那样的联系，但在这里显然不适合讨论这些重大问题。然而，有一个较简单的答案，不仅能概括中国人对待学问的传统态度，对那些想要对这一问题的本质作出详细解释的人也会有所裨益。让我们引用《孟子·滕文公》中的一段话："故曰：'或劳心，或劳力，劳心者治人，劳力者治于人……'"[41]信奉这条格言或类似说法便会导致以下后果：

1. 从宋朝开始，每个学童的心智都被必须要牢记的孔孟说教所束缚。

2. 一旦定型，越出旧轨是极难的。

3. 所有的脑力劳动者在上引的孟子的格言中找到了一定程度的自我满足，这种自我主义只有现代心理学家才能充分解释。

可以想见，这种教育的普遍结果是，人们不仅把孟子的话当成了一切社会分工的普遍真理，还将它作为智力追求的唯一标准。脑力劳动逐渐地局限在啃书本上，尤其是印刷术发明之后——众所周知，印刷术的发明至少是在北宋前。

另一方面，如果我们看一看西方考古学的发展，就会发现19世纪末人类学已发展成为一门专门的学科；在其影响下，考古学也在由法国学者布歇（1788—1868）开创的高度专门化的史前研究中占有了一定地位。早在1830年，布歇就开始在索姆河畔寻找人类使用工具进行加工的证据，[42]这比达尔文的《物种起源》的出版早了近30年。然而直到1899年，雅典的不列颠学院主任霍格思仍坚信物质证据的考古仅是"小考古学"；当时普遍的看法是，只有那些被文献所阐明的发现，如马瑞特、

莱亚德、牛顿或施利曼的发现，才是“大考古学”。[43]

从20世纪初开始，地质学、古生物学、考古学的田野工作者足迹遍布世界各地，田野数据的重要性迅速提高。几个世纪以来，作为欧洲帝国主义逐鹿场的旧中国，被迫大开门户，任“高等白人势力”为所欲为，其中也包括科学田野工作。地质学家、地理学家、古生物学家和淘金者一起涌向远东，尤其是中国。他们中间也不乏一些真正的工作者，还有不少严肃的科学家，但是，这些人像政治冒险家一样来去自由，未在中国大地上留下任何痕迹。除了一些传教士外，其他人对此也并不在乎。

直到辛亥革命后，中国的知识分子才开始觉醒。就像欧洲曾经发生的情况一样，“田野方法”作为一种治学方法在中国人的思想中确立了影响。孟子的“劳心者”与“劳力者”之分也同必读物“四书”一起“随风而去”了。[44]

革命不仅引起了东亚政治和社会结构的根本变化，更重要的是，它革新了知识分子的思想，逐渐改变了他们的人生观。

就在民国初期，1916年，农商部奉政府之命在北京组建了地质调查所。幸运的是，在起步阶段带领地质调查所的是一位在英国受过教育的著名地质学家，他思想活跃又有科学组织天才，更重要的是，他一心一意在祖国提倡西方科学。他就是丁文江。[45]

以地质调查所为科学活动中心，丁的首要任务是寻找铁、煤及其他矿物的矿藏。这既是政策要求，也是出于实际的需要。为履行这项公职，这个新立的机构自然有许多事情要做。但对我们来说，更重要的是，调查工作逐渐扩大到古生物学，继而扩展到了史前考古领域。此时，大学的课程中已涵盖了地理学和古生物学，学生们也由此了解到“田野工作”是获取第一手科学知识的一种方法。1925至1926年，王国维教授应邀到清华国学研究院教授中国古文字学，他把讲授的内容分为“书本资料”和“地下资料”两大部分。这无疑证明地质研究采用的田野方法已影响到了传统学者。

西方科学中的田野方法在影响到中国之前，已经历了约一个世纪的发展，而在此期间待研究问题的本质及操作方法都有进化。实际上，即使是在西方，“进化”作为一个科学术语，其本身涵义也是在这个世纪才得以明确。但从历史的角度看，基本的进化思想通过严复的翻译比其他科学概念更早传入中国，并对中国人的思想产生了比任何企图向中国介绍西方的传教活动更深刻的影响。[46]

所以，当地质调查所初建时，中国知识分子已普遍接受了科学的观念，进化的理论也已深入人心。因此，地质调查要面临的所有问题几乎都是现实的政治方面的，而不是意识形态方面的。

地质调查所在早期取得了几项重要的行政成果。其中最主要的是培养了一大批田野调查人员。除了地质学及相关学科的基本知识外，他们还需掌握现代的土地调查方法。每个调查人员必须有足够体力，无论多远路程都需要携带仪器徒步行走。当然，这与旧中国只对学者进行脑力训练的传统方法完全决裂了。

地质调查所的创始人丁文江用了好几年的时间才完成这项初期任务。第一批调查者的训练完成后，他开始将这些人派往田野开展实际工作。笔者认识几个首批的调查人员，他们都是训练有素且工作勤奋的人，后来他们都被分配到特定地区进行专门的调查研究。在地质学和古生物学的调查方面，大部分成员都为国家作出了有益的贡献。不仅是地质学界，整个现代中国从事西方科学研究的学者都应感谢这一批先行者。

在执行这项初期任务过程中，丁文江获得了一批外国科学家的实际帮助。其中一些还来到中国进行实地工作。笔者打算谈谈五位享誉国际的科学家,他们曾在华北工作，并在地质调查所成型时期提供过直接或间接的帮助，他们是：葛利普（美）、安特生（瑞典）、步达生（加）、魏敦瑞（德）和德日进（法）。

前两位，葛利普和安特生，直接参加了调查所的科学工作，接下来的两位，步达生和魏敦瑞，曾任新生代研究室的主任，也与调查所有交往。最后一位，德日进神甫，在华期间在一个天主教会工作。这一机构比起宗教来更关心科学。所以，德日进对中国人而言更多的是以古生物学家和考古学家，而不是以传教士著称。

民国初期，特别是1915至1925年期间，北京成为了一个新的政治、社会和学术观念的汇集地。上面提到的科学家大部分在北京从事科学研究。其中，葛利普教授无论是在中国的顶级科学家中间，还是外国学术团体中间，都是公认的领导者。他的专门职责是协助地质调查所出版科学论著，尤其是《中国古生物志》。他的正式职务是国立北京大学地质学教授，同时他兼任地质调查所的首席古生物学家。[47]

《中国古生物志》的出版为首都带来了一个新学科，也提供了一种获得这种知识的新方法。就这方面而言，这与中国传统文化相比是个全新的事物。

《中国古生物志》大部分文章用欧洲语言，主要是英文，出版。这部由地质调查所主办的刊物的基本理念是，向专家和科学界传播各种发现相关的科学知识。就中国的知识界而言，只有少数受过专门训练的个人才能从中获益。然而，也应从另一角度看该系列刊物的影响。除精确描述和慎重推论外，它还为科学资料的呈现及其收集和保存方法提供了一个范式。以上这些对于科学著作的读者来说都很熟悉。这期间，中国青年一代掌握了一门欧洲语言、初步接受了现代科学教育，他们逐渐把这些出版物当作衡量相关学科各种科研活动价值的标准，在生物学和考古学方面尤其如此。从历史观点看，这种发展的重要意义在于中国的传统教育中从来没有这种样板。但仍然存在一个问题：怎样将这些文章译成汉语，使对此感兴趣的普通中国人能够轻易读懂并找到原始资料出处。

让我们具体地讨论一下这个问题。我想通过分析上述五位杰出科学家取得成就的影响，来说明这个问题的实质。

五人中最重要的是葛利普，他在中国工作的时间最长，最后在北京离世。他任教于大学，并编纂了《中国古生物志》。

我没有资格评论葛利普对地质学和古生物学的贡献。但我们仍可以说，他著名的极地漂移理论、中新世时期喜马拉雅山和西藏高原隆起的论断——在他看来这一地壳运动现象对人类的起源具有重要的决定性意义，虽然几乎已被人们遗忘了，但都曾在科学界产生过深刻的影响。基于这一理论，纽约市自然历史博物馆曾派出多支探险队到中亚和蒙古寻找人类的祖先。探险行动虽未达到预期目的，但却获得了不少出乎意料而又富有趣味的重要附带成果，如恐龙蛋的发现。与此同时，另几批自然科学家也在行动，并在这座中国古都附近发现了举世震惊的北京人。

在我看来，葛利普一生中在教育界所发挥的科学影响更为重要。他极富个人魅力，当时聚集在北京的所有科学家都喜欢他，被他吸引。不论是否赞成他的理论，对每个人来说，与这位前辈交谈都是一种愉快和荣幸。中国第一代地质学家和他有着非常亲密的联系，年轻一代多是他的学生，都爱戴他、尊敬他。笔者本人原是接受人类学训练的，通过偶然的机会才成为考古学者，与葛利普博士最多见过十几次面，但这位老人的性格给我的印象至今不能忘怀。这点很重要，因为它与中国科学形成时期知识分子的成长有密切关联。在科学思想在中国广泛普及的时代，他的影响通过他的中国朋友和学生在更大的学术圈中传播开来。

安特生于民国初年来到中国。他受政府聘请来担任中国矿藏调查的

顾问。据说，当时凡在中国有治外法权的大国都力图把他们的科学家派到中国，以获取中国矿藏资源，特别是煤矿和铁矿方面的，第一手资料。列强之间对这一职位的竞争很激烈。但中国政府决定不从他们中间选择专家顾问，而任用了瑞典人安特生。瑞典被认为是欧洲少数几个没有帝国主义野心的国家之一。这个决策大概是根据地质调查所所长丁文江的建议作出的。

这真是个幸运的决定。安特生比葛利普先到中国。开始，他的工作完全是在华北地区可能有矿藏的地方进行野外考察。但安特生不是一个目光狭窄的专家，他知识渊博，旅行时留意观察一切有科学价值的事物。因此，他在四处漫游初期就有大量性质各异的发现。他在《黄土的儿女》这部风靡1934年的著作前言中写道：

> 一系列幸运的外部条件使我在多个方面成为了开拓者。1914年，我第一个偶然发现了叠层石矿石的有机起源。1918年，我发现了聚环藻团块，并认定它与北美前寒武纪地区类似的“化石”有联系。同年，我们在中国发现了在科学界很有名的第一个三趾马区。1919年，我们在蒙古的二登图发现了海狸群。1921年是尤为重要的一年，这一年，发现了仰韶村新石器时代居民遗址、黄河边的始新世哺乳动物、奉天沙锅屯洞穴堆积和更为惊人的周口店洞穴，后者由于后继者的工作变得举世闻名。[48]

安特生还有许多其他发现。虽然其中大部分是地质学和古生物学方面的，但最吸引他的似乎是考古学的发现。

这些考古发现无疑意义重大。笔者在此想要指出的是，实际上，安特生是第一位通过切实的成就证明在中国古物调查中田野方法的有效性的西方科学家。正如他自己所说，在这些科学旅行中，伴随他的常是训练有素的青年助手和一批虽未经过训练但很有才智的工人。他的学生都忠实地追随着他，自然也学到了他的工作方法。

安特生的科学工作开始于1916年地质调查所正式成立前。这个新的官方机构在丁文江的有力领导下开始田野工作后，安特生的田野收集自然受到了鼓励，也引起了科学界的更多关注。在经费上他也得到了更多的帮助，并有了更多受过训练的助手。这支日渐壮大的专业团队能够理解他的各类发现的意义，并能认识到安特生一直思考的抽象理论问题的价值。

这位杰出的瑞典地质学家科学成就众多，其中他在华北的考古发现或许对公众而言最为著名。他获得这份殊荣有许多原因，当然也是实至名归。1921年他在仰韶村发掘的史前遗址非同寻常，因为它是在中国发现的第一个史前遗址。在此以前，四处流传的只有对上古中国的推测，它们或出自传说的记载，或出自怪诞的想象。第二，仰韶文化出土的物

品表明这是一个先进的农业社会，其中不仅包含了与传说记载相关的元素，新奇的是，它还包括了与中亚和西亚史前史相关的元素。第三，仰韶村遗址的位置几乎位于黄河平原的中心，这里正是中国历史萌芽的地方。因此，这一发现立刻引起了世界的关注，也包括许多保守的中国史学家。安特生的第一篇论文《中华远古之文化》[49]，是用中英文写成的。这部著作甚至引起了对考古学没有研究的人的注意。这一发现广受关注的另一个原因与1898至1899年间甲骨文的出现类似：1921年的北京在时间上和学术环境上都为接受这一发现作好了准备。虽然当时大学里没有考古学这门课，但1919年五四运动开启了中国思想的现代化进程。受这一学生运动影响，传统的古物研究已发展到了一个新的阶段，学者们已充分认识到，要研究远古中国，田野工作必不可少。

中国史前史首次发现的详细情况，安特生在《黄土的儿女》（1934）一书中用了一整章“我们发现了第一个史前村落”作了专门叙述。这一章中，有几个要点特别涉及用田野方法研究中国古物：

1. 1920年，安特生派采集员刘长山去洛阳一带收集脊椎动物化石。刘于12月返回，带回的收集物除化石外，还有一大包石器，包括几百个石斧、石刀和其他石器。刘告诉安特生，这些石器都是从“一个村的居民”那里买来的，此村即仰韶村。这促使安特生亲自到现场进行调查。

2. 仰韶村在渑池县。1921年，安特生前往渑池县进一步调查。他于4月18日抵达县城后，随即去了城北六英里的仰韶村。下面是安特生对仰韶村遗址发现的描述：

> 往村南走了约一公里，要过一道沟，一个真正的小峡谷。这种沟是我们在后来对该区域的地形调查中发现的一个显著特征。我到沟北面后，在一条沟渠壁上看到了非常有意思的一段。沟底红色的第三纪泥土显露着，上面清晰地覆盖着一层满是灰土和陶片的特殊松土。可以肯定这是石器时代的土层。搜索了几分钟后，我在土层的最底层发现了一小块红陶片，在它精美打磨的表面上有黑色的彩绘……这类陶器与石器竟在一起发现了，在我看来真是不可思议。
>
> 我感到我走上了一条歧途，这让人有些沮丧，我想还是回到我的地质古生物研究上较为稳妥……
>
> 同时，我夜里躺在床上还思考着仰韶村之谜……
>
> 我决定用一天的时间去探索这些沟壁……考查了几个小时后，我从没有动过的灰土中取出一件精致的石斧，……。……这天我还有一些其他有趣的发现。很快，我就意识到我们在这里看到的是一个非同寻常的土层，其中有丰富的遗物，尤其是容器碎片，包括我上面提到的精美的磨光彩陶……[50]

3. 安特生在偶然中幸运地发现仰韶史前遗址时，并未立即认识到其真正的意义。直到后来他到了北京，在地质调查所图书馆读到彭北莱就

1903至1904年美国地质学家在俄属土耳其斯坦安诺的考察所写的报告[51]后，安特生才认识到其重要性。从这些报告中，安特生意识到，彩陶可能存在于原史时代，于是对这个令人迷惘的发现热情大增。在地质调查所所长开明的鼓励下，他得到了中国政府的允许和一些训练有素的地质学家的帮助，得以在同年（1921年）秋组织起一支发掘队，于10月底开始田野发掘。发掘成果通过各种专业性和通俗性的报道，得到了广泛传播。

在中国实施的这一划时代的科学行动，标志着田野考古在欧亚大陆上这个最古老的国家开始了。这比法国人类学家在美索不达米亚苏萨地区发现彩陶大约晚了半个世纪。西方历史学家通常认为东亚处于印欧文明的边缘，这些发现物再次提醒他们，东西方并不像大多数人想的那样是割裂开的。

回到安特生在仰韶村史前遗址发掘出的遗物上。出土的遗物有好几类，但引起全世界关注的是陶器类。这组陶片中最引人注目的是上面提到的彩陶。后来，这些物品被送到瑞典进行专门研究。1925年，地质调查所出版了阿尔纳编纂的关于这方面研究的专题报告。[52]在阿尔纳的报告中，所有的彩陶片都以漂亮的彩色图版展现；一些器物得以复原，彩绘图案和其他技术细节都经过精心的分析。必要时，这些陶片还与其他地区的类似出土物相比，特别是俄属土耳其斯坦安诺的陶片。也许无需再提醒读者，摩尔冈在苏萨的著名发现为西方考古学家所知已有三十余年了。[53]

就中国考古学来说，另一类仰韶陶片还更有趣；并且从中国古代史的角度来看，也同样激动人心。当然我指的是那些被认为更加普通的灰色粗陶。我们发现，这一组里不少鼎、鬲类的三足陶器可以复原，其形制和结构与自周朝以来两千多年中文献记载和描述的中国古代青铜器一致。陶鼎、陶鬲的出土，使中国历史学家和古物学家中的守旧派认识到，田野考古确是研究中国古物的关键。我将在适当的时候再讨论仰韶发现物及其影响。在这里，更重要的是继续介绍这一时期在中国工作的其他几位外国科学家的积极影响。

下面我谈谈步达生教授。步达生是加拿大人，在洛克菲勒基金会建立北京协和医学院时，被聘为解剖学教授。步达生主要的科学工作是研究中国人的体质特征。协和的解剖系与其他医学院一样，在最初设立解剖课程的时候，就开始积累解剖的人体骸骨资料，并存放在系属的仓库里。当安特生得到仰韶村发掘的许可时，他把掘墓的工作交给另一位地质学家兼古生物学家师丹斯基，同时他邀请步达生参观发掘。据安特生

说，步达生“为墓葬调查提供了很多重要的帮助”。

后来安特生请步达生教授基于这些骸骨资料研究准备一篇专题报告，得到了步达生的热情配合。[54]步达生用专业的方法将史前的骨架不仅与系里收集的华北人的骨架加以比较，还与一些非中国人的骨架作了比较。他广泛地应用了伦敦卡尔·皮尔逊实验室创造的生物统计学技术。在对可用的有关材料进行全面仔细的分析后，他得出了一个重要的结论：这些新石器时代史前居民的总体体质特征与现代华北人的特征基本相同，只是一些史前甘肃人骨架与整体显示出微小差别。

步达生关于华北人遗骸体质特征的研究，至今仍是中国人的体质人类学研究方面被引用得最频繁的论文之一，一方面因为它的质量高，另一方面，还因为通常对此问题感兴趣的人类学家较少。

步达生的声誉不仅仅是靠这篇专论赢得的。大家都知道，他还是第一位研究中国猿人遗骸的科学家。他于1934年3月15日离世，当时他正在实验室研究周口店的人类化石。

北京市附近的周口店北京人（中国猿人的俗称）的发现，也得益于安特生对化石收集的广泛兴趣。让我们再读一下安特生关于周口店早期考察的记载：

> 1918年2月的一天，我在北京遇见来自一所当时矫称首都大学的教会学校[55]的化学教授吉布。他知道我对化石感兴趣，就对我讲他刚从位于北京西南50公里的周口店回来。这个地方我在书中已作过几次描述。
>
> ……吉布教授曾亲往周口店，并将各种带骨头的土块带回北京……
>
> 吉布的叙述太诱人了，因此，我在同年的3月22日、23日探访了这个地方。[56]

探访过周口店后，安特生拟定了一个系统的考察计划。八年后的1926年，当现任的瑞典国王的祖父以王储的身份访问中国首都时，公布了中国首次发现猿人遗迹的消息。在为王室来访举办的学者招待会上，众多杰出的学者济济一堂，宣读了他们撰写的论文——主要是关于考古的。著名的学者梁启超也出席了这个会，其余的不是外国学者，就是懂英语的中国教授。就在这一天，安特生代表韦曼教授宣布，对师丹斯基在周口店收集的化石（即几颗荷谟形牙齿）研究的最新结果是“瑞典人在中国的全部工作中最重要的成果”[57]。

这个招待会是1926年10月22日举行的。

接下来开展了一项举世闻名的科学事业。实际上，对中国而言最重要的是，只要科学家们同意合作，取得丰硕成果似乎是水到渠成的事。

周口店发掘是一例真正的国际合作项目。参加发掘的除中国人外，还有来自美国、加拿大、瑞典、法国、英国和德国的许多著名科学家。这个组织在既有经验又富创造力的丁文江的领导下工作。丁文江是新生代研究室的名誉主任，主任是步达生教授。协助步达生科学工作的是一位瑞典籍科学家，步林博士。周口店开始发掘时步林受邀参加，他的主要目的是寻找荷谟形科——人形科——的化石。洛克菲勒基金会资助了这项筹划中的事业。

在周口店进行的科学工作持续了很长时间。这项巨大的工程为中国的年轻一代科学家上了几堂颇具现实意义的课。虽然初期是丁文江协力建立了新生代研究室，但其运行管理全仗这位实验室主任步达生教授的才智，他一方面指导周口店洞穴发掘的艰巨工作，一方面系统地把收集物分配给有能力的科学家进行专门研究。最重要的是，在周口店石灰岩洞穴里沉积的化石群中，步达生教授亲自担起了原始人类化石研究的重任。

1927年10月16日，受教于瑞典人韦曼教授的步林博士凿开洞穴内三千立方米的沉积物，移开后发现了一颗荷谟形牙齿，并在三天后将这一珍贵的发现物亲手交给了协和医学院的步达生教授。这枚牙齿被鉴定为左侧下臼齿，虽有所磨损，但仍保存完好，并带有牙根。在这一研究的基础上，步达生不仅确证了韦曼的鉴定，而且进一步作出了独创性的推论，提出了一个新的人属，并将它命名为中国猿人，类名北京人。[58]

步林继续进行田野工作，协助他的是杨钟健和裴文中，他们二人在周口店的发掘中起了重要作用。

总之，在周口店和北京新生代实验室进行的科学工作，给中国年轻一代的科研者极大的鼓舞。不久，在步林离开后，杨和裴承担起周口店的田野工作。他们是1929年12月2日第一具北京人头盖骨的发现者。许多人认为这个发现代表了田野发掘的最高成就，也充分证明洛克菲勒基金会巨额投资的价值。

步达生对这一重要发现的研究持续了六年，如前所述，他后来因劳累过度在协和医学院他自已的实验室里去世。必须要选出一名接替者，这一时成了难题。据我所知，经丁文江建议，一个国际性的委员会成立了，艾略特·史密斯教授任主席，目的是选出步达生的接替者。最后选拔委员会成员一致同意任命魏敦瑞为新生代研究室主任，继续这项重要的研究。

如果说步达生在周口店人类化石的研究中，通过其卓越的成就显示

了他非凡的洞察力；那么，他有力的继承者魏敦瑞则显示出了德国人一丝不苟的精神。在受到训练的东方学科学家看来，别国的科学家在这方面很少能与德国人相媲美。《中国古生物志》丁种相继出版的各卷充分证明了德国科学的这些品质。魏敦瑞关于北京人的科学报告不仅是人类学论著的杰作，而且其条理之清晰、论证之精确、调查之详尽敏锐，堪称典范。对中国学者来说，用欧洲语言写的关于人类化石的研究报告没有哪部可与这些关于北京人的专著相媲美。

众所周知，珍贵的北京人化石收藏在第二次世界大战中遗失，为寻回这些重要的科学标本所作的努力都失败了。幸运的是，步达生和魏敦瑞撰写的完整报告在世界上大多数图书馆里都可读到，可供研究荷谟形科的早期历史之用。

周口店发掘在中国的影响之大，再怎么强调都不为过。尽管经过了许多政治变化，但对现在的科学工作者来说，周口店的发掘仍具有重要意义。

最后，同样重要的是法国古生物学家德日进。他的科学工作向受过西方训练的年轻一代中国科学家展现了许多法国知识分子的典型特征。世所公认，远古人类历史的专门研究就是一门法国人的学问。在近一个世纪里，法国考古学家在这方面的研究一直处于世界领先地位。当20世纪30年代初德日进神甫来中国时，他在西欧已有了不少经验。实际上他和被证明为伪造的声名狼藉的晓人的倒霉工作有些牵连。[59]我相信正是由于这个原因，当1926年10月22日安特生宣布周口店的荷谟形牙齿的发现时，德日进是听众中唯一提出质疑并认为幻灯片显示的化石标本可能是某种“食肉类动物”牙齿的人。他给安特生写了张便条，说明了他对韦曼的鉴定结果的怀疑。

尽管后来的发现证实德日进的判断错了——他自己当然也表示自己错了，但这只能表明一位顶级科学家胸怀可以也应该多么宽广！

德日进在中国主要的科学工作涉及的学科和地区都很广。他的田野工作和科学研究，涵盖古生物学、史前考古学、地质层、冰川学等许多学科。

德日进应天津北疆博物馆创始人桑志华神甫的邀请来到远东。1920年，桑志华在中国西北考察时于甘肃省东部庆阳府发现了三趾马属动物群的丰富堆积。清理了覆盖在上面的黄土后，桑志华在黄土层底部发现了经人类加工过的石英片。1922年，桑志华接到在蒙古工作的其他天主教会牧师的通知，前往萨拉乌苏河，在那里发现了另一个骨骸堆积。他

认为这很有研究价值，于是决定邀请巴黎的德日进前来参与中国西北和内蒙古河套地区堆积的科学调查。

这两位天主教神甫在宁夏水洞沟和萨拉乌苏河进行考古调查，在此他们发现了旧石器文化堆积，其中含有与炭屑混合的几百公斤石器。欧洲的史前学家对此很熟悉，因为发掘的成果是用法文发表的。在萨拉乌苏河旧石器时代遗址出土的石器大部分是由红色石英岩和含有硅的石灰石制成的。据说在该文化层的碎石堆中这些遗物很常见。一些石器，如刮削器、钻、石片，都相当大，有的长达17厘米。

他们对这些重要发现及有关动物遗骸的主要研究结论是，这种文化属于黄土堆积形成时的更新世。

这些法国科学家在高度与世隔绝的状态下工作，仅与在巴黎的同事联系，他们的论著也仅以法文出版。笔者有幸于1924年至1925年间在丁文江家里结识了德日进。后来，这位天主教科学家加入了新组织起来的中国地质学会后，我们时常见面。那时，德日进在京津地质学和古生物学界已经闻名，并被称为华北地区“最年轻最有才干的‘古生物学家’”——这是德日进接受葛利普奖章时，葛利普对他的评语。

德日进应邀成为新生代研究室的正式成员，在周口店发掘中还经常去到现场。杨钟健是他在中国最密切的合作者。他们曾合作研究安阳发掘出土的动物遗骸。除对史前遗物的出色研究外，德日进的主要兴趣似乎集中在“中国原人”上，并从地质学和古生物学的角度加以调查。他在北京时还以此为题写了一部研究专集，于1941年由北京的地质生物学研究所出版。

德日进对科学在中国的传播的确产生了多方面的影响。他不喜言谈，但他对待科学研究的态度堪为楷模。笔者负责安阳发掘时，德日进和杨钟健曾来看望我们。他们在工地上待了几个小时，仔细查看了我们的工作方法和记录。他来访时碰巧拾到一块泛绿的动物牙齿，他说：“这是颗虎牙，明显是和青铜器埋在一起的。”接着，他又查看了出土的石器，默默地对着“被称作绿石斧”的标本注视了好大一会儿。当问及他对此的看法时，他说：“这类石斧好像在华北分布很广，但不论具体发现于何处，其岩石类型及其形状都是相同的。”德日进是位田野科学家。他虽然沉默寡言，但却不失魅力与威严。他每次开口，言语中总是蕴涵着渊博的知识。他思路敏捷，最重要的是，他总能给人以启发，还不时表现出机智幽默的一面。

虽然有幸结识他的只有少数几个人，但他的品格深深地打动着中国

的科学工作者。他的《中国原人》确实是这期间中国出版的所有科学名著中的一部经典之作。

我已较为详细地叙述了五位杰出的科学家和他们的亲密助手。这并不是说当中国开始接受西方学术，特别是西方科学时，开始表现出将科学教育融入中国教育制度这一意愿时，没有其他远道而来的科学家从事该领域的工作了。在地质学方面，有师丹斯基、谷兰阶等人；在地理学方面，有斯文赫定等人；在考古学方面，有尼尔逊、步日耶等人。他们也都为建立中国现代科学作出了贡献。但因为葛利普、安特生、步达生、魏敦端和德日进与中国知识界有更多的接触，他们的工作便在众人中间脱颖而出。这种接触当然比书面报告更具感染力，长此以往，自然造成了势不可挡的强大影响。

4. Early Period

of Planned Digging in Anyang

In the first three chapters, the historical background that led to the development of modern archaeology in China has been related, with special reference to the discovery of the oracle bone inscriptions by antiquarians educated in China's traditional disciplines and to the exemplary influence exerted by European scientists who did actual field work in China. At the time that these two sets of research activities converged, the new generation of the Chinese renaissance found modern archaeology quite acceptable.

Fu Ssŭ-nien was appointed acting director of the Institute of History and Philology of the National Academy in May 1928, when he was also dean of the School of Arts of Chungshan University in Canton. Fu had been one of the leading spirits in the May 4th Movement, deeply learned in all the Chinese classical studies, but alertly critical, and revolutionary against the old educational system. After the May 4th Movement he went to Europe (1919-1926), studying in both England and Germany, not aiming at a degree, but devouring and absorbing Western ideas that interested him. He returned to China in 1927, the year that the Nationalists established Nanking as the capital of China. Chungshan University was at that time a center of learning which attracted all the younger men with new ideas.

When Fu was given the task of creating a research institute in history and philology, his quick-witted mind created a slogan frequently quoted by contemporary scholars. A free translation would be:

> Up to the very top of the blue heaven
>
> Down to the bottom of the yellow spring,
>
> Move (your) hands, move (your) feet,
>
> Search for source materials!

This slogan in the original Chinese is couched in two phrases of seven characters each, like a poetic couplet. The first phrase is a quotation from the

well-known poem of Po Chü-i, "The Ever Lasting Wrong," and the second was coined to lay emphasis on "Labor with Strength," that is, "walking and moving to search for source materials." Fu's long study in Western Europe had shown him that what was deficient in Chinese traditional education was the artificial division between body and mind. He was convinced that unless this barrier was torn down, there was no hope of achieving a new way to obtain scientific knowledge. In his early days in Europe, he had registered in a department of psychology, but he did not stay with it to become a specialist. This introductory training, however, was evidently sufficient to provide him with an understanding of the intricate relationship between man's body and man's mind, and impressed on his adolescent consciousness the basic idea that the root of the human soul is deeply buried in the whole frame of his bodily structure which modern medical science is devoted to examining in detail, while modern psychology specializes in studying the mental aspect.

Fu was a noted man of letters before he went to Europe. After the European contact in the period following World War I, he exemplified those Chinese scholars who had considered the problem of cultural differences between the East and the West and had made concrete recommendations to amalgamate the twin systems. He created his slogan and expounded it in detail in the Foreword to the first issue of the *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*, published while he was still in Canton and the institute was still in a preparatory stage.[60] The slogan worked, for Fu possessed, in addition to his profound classical learning, a penetrating knowledge of Western science. He was also one of the ablest administrators among scholars of his generation.

Fu's slogan, it must be emphasized, did not stop with words. It has actually been the fundamental policy governing the research work carried on for over forty years by the institute he founded.

While the institute was still in the preparatory stage, the acting director sent Tung Tso-pin to Anyang for a preliminary investigation of the site long noted for its production of the inscribed oracle bones. At this time (1928), many epigraphists, among whom Lo Chên-yü was the leader, believed that thirty years' continued search for the *chia-ku-wen* had recovered all the buried treasure. Further searches were bound to fail and it would be foolish to attempt them.

Fu, one of the few gifted with an understanding of modern archaeology and scientific technology, did not take that current notion for granted. Tung Tso-pin was not a university graduate; he was, in 1928, just over thirty years old and a natural follower of the May 4th Movement, full of new ideas and eager to search for materials for his own study. Director Fu sent him to Anyang for a preliminary investigation for two simple reasons: Tung was a native of Honan, which would facilitate his work in a number of ways, and he was intellectually alert, although not an antiquarian even in the traditional sense.

In fact, neither of the two scholars—Director Fu, who initiated the idea of field operations at Anyang, nor Tung Tso-pin, who was sent there because he was a native of Honan with an inborn intelligence and receptive mind—had any experience in modern archaeology. Tung stated in his report that his job had been to look at the site and find out whether there were still some oracle bones worth digging, or whether the site was really exhausted as Lo Chên-yü and his cohorts believed.

For this purpose, prior to his first official visit to the site, Tung made an unofficial, personal visit to reconnoiter conditions there. After he arrived at Anyang on August 12, 1928, he first visited a number of the local gentry, among whom were the director of the middle school of Changte, the owners of several antiquities shops, and the man noted for his forgeries of the unknown inscriptions—Lan Pao-kuang. In these visits, Tung obtained a great deal of information about general conditions and about local opinions current in the city concerning the oracle bones. On the next day, he paid a personal visit to the village of Hsiao-t'un, accompanied by a guide. There, many villagers showed him tiny fragments of inscribed bones for sale; he purchased more than one hundred such broken fragments at the price of three silver dollars. The villagers told Tung that in the past when curio dealers came to the village to buy they did not care for these small fragments which the local folk, however, picked up and stored at home. So at the time of Tung's first visit to Hsiao-t'un, almost every home in the village had some "*tzŭ-ku-t'ou*" in its keeping. Occasionally there appeared some larger pieces for which the owner would ask a price of four to five dollars per piece, which Tung then considered exorbitant.

Meanwhile Tung hired a young boy from the village who guided him to

a place where oracle bones had been dug out. The place located by the youthful guide was a mound of heaped-up sand which at first impressed Tung as contradictory to what Lo Chên-yü had described in his 1915 visit. Both Lo's diary account and the information Tung got from the director of the middle school in the city agreed that the localities where oracle bones might be hidden were to be found on the cultivated cotton farms. The sandy mound by the side of the Huan River was nonproductive land for farming. But while examining a particular spot on the western side of the sandy mound and near the cotton field, Tung discovered several newly refilled holes which had obviously been dug recently, and by the side of one of the three refilled pits, he picked up a fragment of oracle bone without inscriptions. This piece of evidence gathered at the spot, together with what the villagers had offered for sale and the information Tung had collected in the city, led him to the important conclusion that the hidden treasure of inscribed oracle bones at Hsiao-t'un had not, as Lo Chên-yü and his followers maintained, been completely exhausted. Tung believed, after his first preparatory visit to Hsiao-t'un, that the site was still worth digging. So he reported, and he also planned a preliminary excavation.

After reading the report of Tung's first preparatory Anyang trip, Director Fu Ssŭ-nien, without the least hesitation, took the immediate steps needed to begin a preliminary digging at Hsiao-t'un. This new venture, although not enormously expensive, had no budget. After considerable negotiation with the headquarters of the National Academy, Fu Ssŭ-nien succeeded in getting the necessary support: a sum of one thousand dollars in Chinese National Currency, at that time by no means a small sum. Even with this amount of money, the field workers had to pay for all their equipment, including surveying and photographic instruments and other necessary materials. In due time Tung was able to organize a band of workers, partly voluntary and partly paid, including six principal members who in one capacity or another cooperated with him in accomplishing the first official season (October 7-31, 1928).[61] This preliminary digging conducted by Tung Tso-pin in October 1928 has always been referred to as the first season of the Anyang excavations.

Tung arrived at Anyang on October 7, 1928, armed with the necessary official documents from the central government in Nanking and the provincial government at K'aifeng. The provincial government of Honan had

selected two officials to accompany Tung Tso-pin to the Anyang district in order to facilitate his work. The full report of Tung's first official trip to Anyang was printed by lithograph in K'aifeng in the winter and later reprinted as the first article in the four issues of *Preliminary Reports of Excavations at Anyang* (1929 Dec.-1933 June).[62] Tung's report after the first official trip not only concluded the antiquarian period of armchair studies of old curiosities, but, what is more important, paved the way for systematic excavation of these famous ruins.

It is of great interest and historical importance to note some of the concrete results of this first trial digging and also some of the opinions expressed by the participants. Let us see first what was done in the experimental exploration of this famous site. The main points are:

1. The party carried out the first surveying work.

2. Three locations were selected for actual digging. Two (Sections I and II) were on a farm northeast of the village of Hsiao-t'un, near the west bank of the Huan River which partly surrounds the farming area of this village. Another locality (Section III) was within the village itself. (see Fig. 4)

3. Of the 784 pieces of inscribed oracle bones dug out, 555 were tortoise shells and 229 were scapular bones of cattle. In addition, there were more than a thousand fragments of uninscribed bones.

4. Besides the oracle bones, the other finds included:

Bored bone implements	56
Animal bones	62
Human skeletons	3
Shell and cowry fragments	96
Stones or jades	42
Bronze fragments	11

Iron fragments	10
Potteries	49

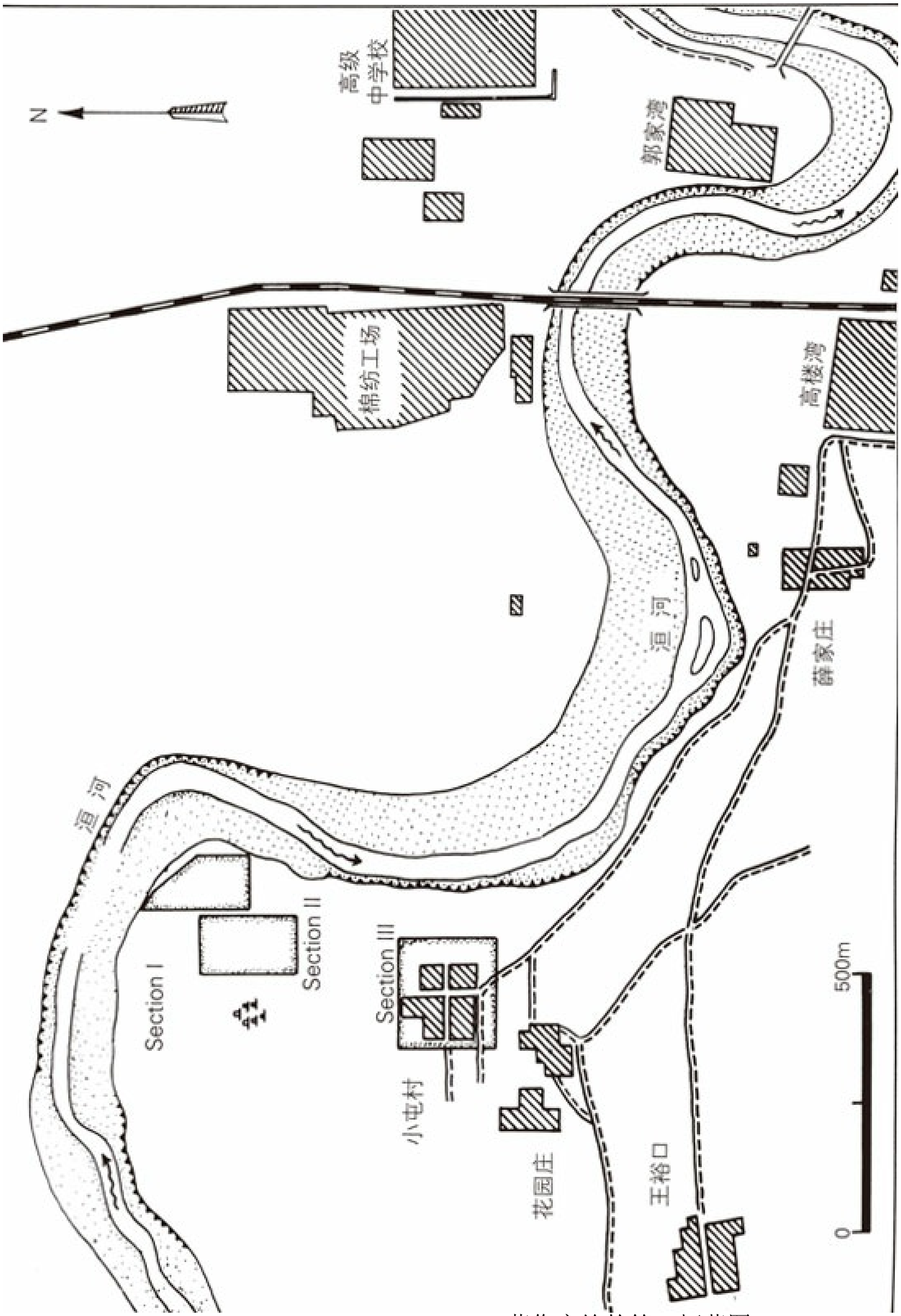
5. The scope and extension of the excavation, according to the preliminary surveying work, might cover the whole area of the farmland north and northeast of the village and the village site itself; it might be extended far to the south.

6. The Waste of Yin seemed to have been formed after the region suffered some big flood, originating, according to Tung's interpretation, from the Yellow River, which at that time followed a course quite close to Hsiao-t'un.

7. The inscribed oracle bones were excavated from the following pits in the three localities where trial diggings were made:

Section I	Pit 9
Section II	Pits 26, 33
Section III	Pits 35, 36, 37

Tung hand-copied the 392 pieces of oracle bones with inscriptions: he also made a number of comments, which were reprinted with his general report in the *Preliminary Reports of Excavations at Anyang.*



4 First sketch map by Tung Tso-pin 董作宾绘的第一幅草图

After the preliminary diggings led by Tung Tso-pin, the author played

the leading role in the Anyang excavations, which lasted in the field for nearly nine years. Accordingly, the following account must be partly autobiographical.

I did not meet Fu Ssŭ-nien until 1928, when he had already made a national reputation after the May 4th Movement. I was studying in the United States between 1918 and 1923, and was deeply absorbed in several branches of social science—psychology, sociology, and anthropology. Returning home after five years of study, I accepted a teaching position at the newly established Nankai University in Tientsin where I worked for two years (1923-1925).

As I had lived in Peking since the Manchu days, when I taught in Tientsin I constantly traveled between the two cities—Peking and Tientsin. Since anthropology was quite a novel subject at that time in the university curriculum, a number of men of learning in these two cities became somewhat curious about me, and I was frequently invited to attend learned meetings and social occasions in both cities. After a short period of initiation, I gained the friendship of many specialists whom I had admired for a long time. I was soon introduced to Dr. V. K. Ting (Ting Wen-chiang), Dr. W. H. Weng (Weng Wen-hao), and Dr. Hu Shih, and was also inducted into membership in the Geological Society of China. As a member of this learned society, I naturally had every opportunity to get acquainted not only with many geologists but also with a number of visiting scientists—geographers, paleontologists, archaeologists, and so forth.

V. K. Ting, no longer heading the Geological Survey at this time, was managing a coal mining company with headquarters in Tientsin. His keen interest in anthropology led him to interest himself in my work and he advised me to miss no opportunity to go to the field for data collecting. When the discovery of the Hsin-cheng bronzes was reported in the newspapers, he urged me to go to Hsin-cheng to dig, and obtained two hundred dollars in China National Currency for field expenses.[63]

So I did; but the results of the dig were not very encouraging, and I recovered only some human skeletal materials, since the bronzes and jades had all been plundered previously. This initial experience did not draw me seriously to the science of archaeology; however, it taught me the lesson that in doing such works, one certainly has to pay a great deal of attention to

current political and social conditions.

In 1924-1925, my second year of teaching in Nankai, I met Mr. Carl Whiting Bishop in Peking, who represented the Freer Gallery of Art there, and was looking for an opportunity to do some scientific excavations in China. Soon we became friends. Mr. Bishop wrote to me in this academic year and inquired whether I might consider joining his field team to do some archaeological excavation. After careful consideration and advice from friends, I responded to Mr. Bishop's offer by suggesting two conditions that seemed to me important: first, that field excavations, if I were to engage in them without misgivings, should be done in cooperation with a Chinese learned body and under its auspices; and second, that I be excused from any obligation to export the artifacts from such digging—my hint being that studies of such finds should be done in China.[64]

For a long time I had no answer from Mr. Bishop. Later, when I happened to meet him again on a social occasion, he was very cordial and approached me courteously to talk again about his proposition. In this informal conversation he told me that the Freer Gallery of Art would not ask me to do anything I might consider unpatriotic. Since political and social conditions were changing so rapidly, why not work together on an experimental basis? Mr. Bishop was one of the few Americans in Peking who impressed me as friendly and sincere. Since his offer fitted in with my idea of academic research, I agreed to take up the job "on an experimental basis." This happened in the spring of 1925, when J. G. Andersson's prehistoric discoveries were already the talk of the academic circles in Peking and Tientsin.

Earlier in the same year, Ts'inghua College founded a research center for what was known at that time as "national learning," a term for which the modern English equivalent is "Chinese Studies." I had the honor to be invited by the newly established Ts'inghua Research Institute of National Learning to serve as an instructor, in company with a faculty composed of such eminent scholars as Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Wang Kuo-wei, Chen Yin-k'o, and Chao Yüan-ren. My specific duty was to teach anthropology. It was about this same time that the Freer Gallery of Art, through its field representative Mr. Bishop, also agreed to employ me as a member of its field team in China with the understanding mentioned above.

In the winter of 1925, the Freer Gallery of Art and the Ts'inghua Research Institute jointly dispatched me to do some field work, giving me the power to choose whatever place I wished. The senior member of the Ts'inghua faculty, Professor Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, was a great enthusiast for field archaeology and offered to introduce me to Yen Hsi-shan, the model governor of Shansi province, where the political administration was the best known, and peace and order had long prevailed. I chose Shansi for my first archaeological trip after careful consultation with friends familiar with China's current political and social conditions.

It was indeed a great fortune for me when the geologist F. L. Yüan (Yüan Fu-li), who had accompanied J. G. Andersson in his Yangshao diggings, on hearing about my proposed archaeological trip to Shansi, volunteered to accompany me. Both the Geological Survey and the Freer Gallery of Art consented. Yüan and I left for Shansi in the winter of 1925-1926. We settled our course of reconnaissance on the way. At that time, neither the politicians nor the general public knew anything about science, not to mention scientific archaeology. So, on this first trip, I had to spend much time negotiating with administrators and local people. Whatever social and political advantages I enjoyed were, in most cases, given to me either by my senior colleague or by sheer personal luck.

Yüan and I decided, after reaching Taiyüan, to go south and explore the archaeological possibilities mainly along the Fên River valley north to the Yellow River, which serves as the southern border of Shansi province. There was already a paved road, and mules, camel-chairs, rickshas, and mule-carts were the available means of transportation. We decided to start the detailed reconnaissance from P'ing-yang Fu (or Lin-fên Hsien) southward. At this place, a mule for each of us was hired to transport the luggage, the surveying and photographic equipment, as well as the human burden. Shansi pack mules are famous for their endurance; they can keep up a steady rate of traveling twenty-five miles a day carrying over three hundred pounds even if the journey covers the ascent and descent of mountainous regions. This was exactly what we needed.

On mule-back, Yüan and I wandered from Lin-fên southward for about a month's time. In the course of our daily observations, the chief discoveries were three prehistoric sites with painted pottery, in addition to many historic

sites of great archaeological value. Having reported the details and especially the new discoveries to the Ts'inghua Research Institute and the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., I was asked to return to Shansi again for some digging. Both the Freer and Ts'inghua agreed to let me choose the first site for excavation. As Mr. Yüan's service was greatly appreciated by the two cooperating institutions, the two of us again went to Shansi in the autumn of 1926. After the necessary official papers and letters of introduction had been obtained, F. L. Yüan and I agreed to choose for our first dig Hsi-yin Ts'un, located at Hsia Hsien, one of the three prehistoric sites with painted pottery discovered during our reconnaissance trip. We made this choice for the following reasons:

1. A prehistoric site contains nothing metallic, so suspicions of treasure-hunting might be avoided.

2. Any burials that might be uncovered would relate to unknown tombs of the past, and therefore attract little attention, so that public opinion against grave digging would be reduced to the minimum.

3. The discovery of Yangshao Culture had already demonstrated beyond a doubt the importance of this prehistoric culture.

In addition, my fellow worker, Mr. Yüan, the geologist, had acquired a great deal of field experience in the excavation of the Yangshao site, which he had surveyed.

There is no need for me to go any further with the story of my first excavation of the prehistoric site at Hsi-yin Ts'un, since the work has been reported in both Chinese and English. Of the artifacts collected at this site, the best known is an artificially cut silk cocoon which was identified by a specialist at the Smithsonian Institution as *Bombyx Mori*.[65]

The excavation of the Hsi-yin Ts'un prehistoric site, although it attracted little attention at a time when political revolution was in progress in China, achieved for me a personal reputation as the first archaeologist in China whose method of working was modern, and whose scope of interest extended far beyond historical time. The director of the Freer Gallery of Art, after learning what I had done, indicated through Mr. Bishop his wish to have an interview with me and invited me to Washington, D.C.

I went to Washington in the summer of 1928 and had a very pleasant interview with Director John E. Lodge. After some talk, he promised to continue his support of further cooperative efforts between a Chinese institute of learning and the Freer Gallery of Art in any new project in Chinese archaeology.

I returned to China via Europe, Egypt, and India. When I arrived at Hong Kong for the first time in my life, I was very anxious to pay a visit to the city of Canton, where I had never been before. In 1928 this city was the center of all sorts of revolutionary activities. According to the sailing schedule of the P. and O. boat which I was taking to Shanghai, the stop at Hong Kong harbor was to last three days, so I figured that I could easily pay a short visit to Canton within the time limit. This I did.

Once in Canton, I was soon taken to see Fu Ssŭ-nien, who was, at the time, looking forward to meeting me. The first thing he asked was whether I would like to take charge of the Archaeological Section in the Institute of History and Philology, which he was organizing. He told me what Tung Tso-pin had found in Anyang; I also informed him of my engagement with the Freer. There seemed to exist little difference of opinion, since the director of the Freer Gallery of Art had just approved such cooperation on an experimental basis.

So I started planning for the program of the Archaeological Section of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica in the winter of 1928-1929. Naturally, this necessitated that I learn as much as possible about the site of the Waste of Yin in Anyang. My immediate task, after returning home to Peking, was to take a trip to K'aifeng to confer with Tung Tso-pin, whom I had never met before. He had, of course, already been informed by Director Fu Ssŭ-nien of my appointment. In K'aifeng I learned all that Tung could tell me about the current conditions of Hsiao-t'un site, and the results of his trial digging. My impression remains vivid to this day of my first conference with this charming and admirable colleague. He possessed an alert and witty mind, full of practical wisdom. His main academic interest and recent success both seemed to have convinced him that there were still hidden oracle bones worth digging.

After the informal K'aifeng conference, Tung and I agreed to go to Anyang after the Chinese New Year for another trial digging. We also

reached an understanding that Tung was to study the written records while I was to take care of all other artifacts. This understanding has proved, in the course of time, important for our personal relationship as well as for teamwork. For Tung, as the first pioneer to explore this site, deserved the opportunity to study the most important group of scientific discoveries and the inscribed oracle bones were the key-finds of the collections from the Anyang excavations. Furthermore, Tung's qualifications for the epigraphic investigation was beyond any question.

On the basis of my personal contact with Tung Tso-pin and his written reports, I was provided with a general knowledge of the current condition of the site. And, on the basis of this general understanding, it seemed to me that:

1. The site at Hsiao-t'un was evidently the last capital of the Yin-Shang dynasty.

2. Although the size and scope of the remains were uncertain, an area where inscribed oracle bones were unearthed must have been an important center of the capital site.

3. Together with the inscribed oracle bones, there might well be many other kinds of artifacts found in the underground deposits. These might have coexisted with the inscribed oracle bones, or be even earlier, or possibly later, depending of course upon a number of depository conditions.

I planned the program for the spring of 1929, the second season at Hsiao-t'un and the first time that I took charge of the field work in Anyang, with these three hypotheses in mind. Since the Freer Gallery of Art had agreed to support my field work under the auspices of a Chinese institute of learning, there was no financial problem. The concrete work which I, after consultation with Tung Tso-pin, decided to adopt consisted of the following procedures:

1. To employ a competent surveyor to survey the site, so that a detailed topographical map with Hsiao-t'un Ts'un as the center might be accurately drawn.

2. To continue trial diggings by means of trenching at a number of localities within the site, the main purpose being to obtain a clear understanding of the stratification under the surface, and find out the true

nature of the deposit where oracle bones might remain still intact.

3. To keep systematic records and registration of every artifact which might be dug out, with its exact location, nature of the surrounding deposit and stratification, and also the exact time of its appearance.

4. To have every participant in charge keep a personal diary of what he observed and what occurred in the field.

In the spring season of 1929, the excavation was carried through as planned. In Hsiao-t'un village more oracle bones (685 fragments) were found. The investigation of the underground conditions was made in three different localities: (1) south of the village; (2) in the village yard; and (3) in a wheat and cotton farm north of the village settlement. We concluded the season by packing a great number of excavated artifacts in cases and transporting them to Peking for study. At this time the Institute of History and Philology had already moved its headquarters to Peking. Director Fu Ssŭ-nien decided to issue a preliminary report for the general public; the first paper I contributed was an analysis of underground conditions.[66] In this paper I drew one important conclusion, based upon the observations and excavations made during the spring diggings, namely that the underground deposits are divisible into three main strata: (1) the main cultural deposits from the Yin-Shang period, overlaid by (2) the scattered but nevertheless numerous tombs of the Sui-T'ang dynasties (A.D. 589-906)[67]; these cemeteries being again covered by (3) a surface layer of modern deposits. We also discovered a number of underground caves and caches, filled mostly with remains of the Yin-Shang time composed of pot-sherds, stone implements, and animal bones, occasionally some broken pieces or even fragments of jade, and so on. These finds were duly registered and were all carried back to the headquarters in Peking for study. Still the most important group among the artifacts uncovered during this season are the inscribed oracle bones, which were found in the locality within the village settlements, very near the place where Tung Tso-pin had found similar relics during the previous season.

During this second expedition to Anyang a topographical survey of this important site, with Hsiao-t'un as the center, was begun. As nobody could say anything definite about the size of the site, we temporarily limited the surveying work to the region within which oracle bones had either been found by excavation or were said to have been turned up according to village

tradition. This first topographical map, surveyed by Mr. Chang Wei-jan, was completed in the autumn of 1929, during the third season of the Anyang expedition (see Fig. 5). Another item of the field work, which I initiated in the second season, was to keep a systematic record of the ceramic collection, an arduous task that was continued uninterruptedly for the ensuing fourteen seasons of the Anyang excavations, but, as might be expected, with several revolutionary changes in both the method of recording and the criteria of classifications.

5 Topographical map of Hsiao-t'un and its immediate vicinity 小屯及邻近地区地形图

To what extent the present surface condition of the cotton and wheat

farm northeast of Hsiao-t'un village represented what had appeared in the Yin-Shang dynasty, nobody could guess. But the present surface topography was the task of the field worker to map out accurately.

After my party started its field work, we had the first impression that the village was located on a more or less flat piece of land, with the wheat and cotton farms to its northeast, about 180,000 square meters in size, rising gradually toward the north and the east. An accurate survey revealed that the surface rose some 3-4 meters higher. The highest points were in one place near the bank of the Huan River to the east. Near the river bank to the north, there is another raised area, which is also 2-3 meters higher than the village settlement; but it is separated from the eastern higher surface by a strip of depression. This depressed surface may have served, during the rainy season, to convey flood waters toward the Huan River. West of the northern mounds, there existed in 1929 an elongated, deep-sunken channel. This channel like depression from Hua-yüan-chuang runs almost directly to the Huan River on the north and serves as a boundary line of the cotton and wheat farms of Hsiao-t'un village. The villagers called it a "water ditch." This water ditch seemed also to have been a western boundary line of the oracle treasure deposits according to the village tradition. All tzŭ-ku-t'ou, according to those who knew the locations of the deposits, were found in localities east of the "water ditch." After the survey we found that the lowest level of the ditch depression was in fact not much lower than the ground level of the village settlement at Hsiao-t'un.

The two mounds which rose nearly two or three meters above the village settlement and the water ditch on the western border of the wheat and cotton farm at the northwest were the general surface appearance at the time of my first visit. These preliminary observations helped me also in planning the third season's work, which started October 1929. Another digging party, organized and backed by the Honan provincial government under the inspiration of the old treasure-hunting tradition, interfered with our third season's works for three weeks. This political interference was soon settled, but the treasure-hunting tradition dies hard. For this reason some of us moved actively to request the central government to pass an Antiquities Protection Law with provisions for the protection of sites and monuments of historical value, including rules regulating export of national treasures and conditions governing scientific excavations. The first article of the law, proposed and

later adopted, was for the government to declare that all underground antiquities are national treasures, which no private individual or party, has any right to dig. After several years of general discussion, the law was finally passed by the Legislative Yüan (June, 1930). Included in this law were rules regulating official excavations, which were however supplemented much later. It is interesting to note that certificate number one with official permission to excavate was issued jointly by the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Education in the spring of 1935 to Academia Sinica, when the Anyang excavation was in its eleventh season.[68]

The implications of this law had an important bearing on the progress of the field work in Anyang, for the field archaeologist had to face, in addition to complicated technological problems, certain formidable nontechnical, social and political barriers in a tradition-bound country such as China during the period of our excavation.

Having pacified the rival party from the provincial government by means of administrative arguments as well as rapprochement, we resumed excavation on November 15, 1929. In the beginning of the season, my plan for the field had been to scrape the entire surface of the site by what I termed "carpet rolling" method. But when I was interrupted by the rival party organized with local official backing, I was forced to adopt a method of approach that would be more adjustable as circumstances might require. So I started anew and planned more systematic trenchings over the wheat and cotton farmland northeast of Hsiao-t'un village.

Near the western half of this land, I planned one long vertical trench, running N.S., and six parallel horizontal trenches running E.W., in order to explore the distribution of the main deposits in the whole site underneath the farmland. As for the portion within the village, the underground conditions had already been examined on a preliminary basis in the preceding spring season.

The findings of the third season, despite the interruption of the field work for more than three weeks, were more encouraging than originally expected. The results fully justified the basic idea that the important centers of the Yin-Shang cultural remains lay somewhere underneath the cotton-wheat farms northeast of the village between the water ditch northwest of the village and the Huan River valley on the eastern and northern border.

While the vertical trenches in the north-south direction had exposed important underground sections of general deposits, the six parallel trenchings, fifteen meters apart cut across mainly from the vertical trenching eastward, had definitely hit the core. Between trench H13 and trench H13.5, near the vertical north-south cut, we discovered an almost intact deposit, which in fact turned out to be the most important deposit of the Yin-Shang Culture. Later on, this locality was known as the Ta-lien-k'eng, or "Ta-lien pit."

The details of the first discovery and of the gradual extension of this dig were reported in a special article in *PREA.*[69] Let me summarize the important new discoveries and also their bearings on the course of the field events in our archaeological work on the site. It must be understood clearly that the accomplishment of the third season's work was by no means limited to the discovery of the Ta-lien-k'eng alone. The following summary therefore includes the fruitful results of the whole season.

What to the working team seemed to be of primary importance was the exposure of a definite stratification series portraying the underground condition. This became significant after a study comparing a stratified section over a burial of the Sui dynasty with the intact layers of the Ta-lien-k'eng revealed these main points: above the Yin-Shang cultural deposit there was a sort of protective layer, brownish to black in color, hard to break, and sometimes varying in thickness from one to two meters thick. This protective layer was usually barren of any cultural content, containing not even fragmentary pot-sherds. In the case of the Sui-T'ang burials, however, which were sometimes found at a depth of more than three meters, the overlying soil usually showed a stratification completely deficient in the protective layer as described above.

Even more interesting were, of course, the objects and artifacts discovered during this season. Since I personally supervised the digging of the Ta-lien-k'eng, I am able to describe from my own experience the various stages of the gradual exposure of this important deposit.

The Ta-lien-k'eng was located about fifty meters southwest of the raised mound near the west bank of the Huan River; its exposure was the result of the trenching of horizontal trench thirteen (H13) and its extension northwards, immediately after the underground stratum, indicated signs of an

intact deposit. The following field records (registered from the surface layer downward) serve as an example to illustrate the method of field registration:

1. The top layer, 0-0.40m.; soil mixed; one net sinker found.

2. Second layer, 0.40-0.87m.; soil yellowish-black; a stone knife the only find.

3. Third layer, 0.87-1.40m.; soil turned brown; no artifacts.

4. Fourth layer, 1.40-1.85m.; soil color same as above, but more compact and hard to break; mixed with rubbish of casting, and a specimen of one cowry shell.

5. Fifth layer, 1.85-2.10m.; soil gradually blackened, very hard; a few pot-sherds, some casting rubbish, a piece of carved sandstone.

6. Sixth layer, 2.10-2.40m.; soil very black and harder; in northeast corner, mixed with patches of yellow sand and sediments containing many fragments of burned clay and casting rubbish.

7. Seventh layer, 2.40-2.65m.; soil condition continued as (6), but below 2.65m., the northeast corner, changed to grayish ashy color and became less hard; more pot-sherds, and fragments of inscribed oracle bones began to appear; fragments of human skull also found.

8. Eighth layer, 2.65-2.80m.; soil color grayish-yellow, with deeper chrome at northeast corner; many kinds of pot-sherds, string-impressed in red and black; also some with square shaped relief in black and red; and other varieties of pottery sherds. Many of the sherds carried incised ornaments. Other artifacts: inscribed bones, shells, stone knives and pebbles, deer horns, human skeleton fragments, casting molds, also stone axes and other fragments of stone mixed within the remains.

9. Ninth layer, 2.80-2.95m.; soil completely gray in color; pot-sherds as above; in addition, inscribed oracle bones, carved bone artifacts, carved stone artifacts, carved ivories—many specimens.

10. Tenth layer, 2.95-3.20m.; soil color still grayish-yellow, but near the bottom of this layer at the depth of 3.10m. the yellow soil appeared; and south of this loessic soil, a heap of black charcoal was found, mixed with pot-

sherds of the gray, red, and black varieties, bearing incised and string impressions; also skulls, casting molds, pebbles, bone awls, stone implements, oracle bones with or without inscriptions and lapis lazuli, etc.

11. Eleventh layer, 3.20-3.30m.; mixed yellow and black soil, artifacts rare. Below the depth of 3.30m., the floor of the upper portion seemed to have been reached except in the southeastern corner[70] where a semicircle of black soil remained.

It is a critical observation that below the eleventh layer, at a depth of 3.30 meters below the present surface, a floor space covered by a layer of black earth over clean sandy yellow soil seemed to be untouched by any later intrusion. This floor space evidently might have served as the floor of a dwelling place, or of a storage pit. What was more exciting was the fact that below this floor, at the 3.30 meter level, still another underground deposit appeared in a deeper circular pit that went down more than three meters further below the bottom of the Ta-lien-k'eng. At the bottom of this lower circular pit—whose diameter was nearly two meters—were found heaps of oracle bones, and some nearly complete inscribed shells whose importance was set forth by Tung Tso-pin later in a special article.[71]

From this circular pit and another rectangular pit near its western side—these twin pits constituting the subterranean cache underneath the superlayer of the Ta-lien-k'eng—we discovered hidden treasures which were the richest harvest of the season's work. Most of the discoveries had been unknown before. These new discoveries at the Ta-lien-k'eng together with the deposits of the twin lower pits proved one definitive point: that is, that the following artifacts were definitely contemporaneous with the inscribed oracle bones: (1) uninscribed oracle bones as well as nearly complete specimens of inscribed tortoise shells; (2) many kinds of animal bones; (3) many types of pottery: white, glazed, red, and gray; (4) carved bones and stones; (5) carved ivories; (6) deep storage pits which might sink down below the surface more than ten meters; (7) coexistence of stone and bronze tools; (8) molds for casting bronzes; and (9) other associated finds.

The importance of these associated finds, individually and as a group, was widely realized as soon as the underground conditions were made known. This recognition was advantageous to our continuing efforts in the Anyang excavations.

Among these new discoveries, the glazed pottery, white pottery, and bronze molds attracted international attention and gave rise to worldwide discussion. But it was the unique find of painted pottery sherds, never duplicated in later diggings, which aroused a hot debate among Chinese historians and archaeologists. The point at issue, to be brief, was the relationship between the neolithic Yangshao Culture and the Bronze Age Yin-Shang Culture as revealed in the deposit at Hsiao-t'un. The discussion lasted a number of years, since it involved the fundamental question concerning the origin of early Chinese culture.[72]

The Anyang excavation stopped for a year in 1930, when the Archaeological Section of the Institute of History and Philology extended its field activity to the Shantung province. At a place near the provincial capital Tsinan, a new phase of neolithic culture—the Black Pottery Lungshan Culture—had been discovered by Gin-ding Wu (Wu Chin-ting), a graduate student of mine from the Ts'inghua Research Institute of National Learning. The field staff of the Archaeological Section was sent to Tsinan and excavated the site of Ch'êng-tzŭ-yai for a season. The Black Pottery Culture here discovered for the first time in north China stirred deeply not only those scholars whose special interest was in ancient China but also the new generation of field archaeologists, especially those who had been paying close attention to the discoveries and circumstances of excavation at Anyang.

Meanwhile, there were other occurrences in 1930 that affected both the organization of the field work and the program of planned digging of the Hsiao-t'un site. What concerned me particularly was the failure of the Institute of History and Philology and the Freer Gallery of Art to reach an agreement on continuing archaeological excavation in north China. When this regrettable cessation of the cooperative undertaking happened, my position became obviously untenable. So I resigned my Freer Gallery job, after the completion of all the field work assigned to me. I had worked, from 1925 to 1930, for five continuous years with the understanding described above and in the hope that some agreement might be reached between a national institute of China with the Freer Gallery of Art of Washington, D.C., to promote archaeological science as well as Sino-American friendship in academic works. This failure naturally disheartened me greatly.

A number of friends who appreciated my field work extended their help

by asking the China Foundation for some financial assistance for the Anyang excavation, which was soon achieved. Beginning in the autumn of 1930, I received the China Foundation appointment as Research Professor in Chinese Archaeology, a chair endowed specially to the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica. In addition, an annual sum of ten thousand silver dollars for three years was granted to the institute for field expenses.

So the fourth season of the Anyang excavation opened in the spring of 1931; it was already more than a year after the Archaeological Section had stopped field work at Hsiao-t'un in the winter of 1929. The field party for the fourth season of digging was organized on a new basis and included a larger number of archaeologists. I went to the field also with a more advanced understanding of the nature of the site as well as a number of new ideas; and many new and better-trained assistants were on my staff.

Beginning in this fourth season, the site, which we had surveyed in 1929, was divided into five subareas, each of which was excavated under the supervision of a trained and experienced archaeologist who was assisted by a number of junior assistants and many trained diggers. Most of the staff members had greatly benefited from their participation in the excavation of Ch'êng-tzŭ-yai, where the uncovered artifacts had included interesting specimens of oracle bones which had been used in scapulimancy, but bore no inscriptions. Surrounding the site at Ch'êng-tzŭ-yai, a ruined wall had been found, which was built of pounded earth. A careful examination of the pounded earth reminded those with experience in the Anyang diggings of the amazing similarity to strata found at Hsiao-t'un in the first three seasons, which at the time had been interpreted both by Tung Tso-pin and Chang Wei-jan as layers of flood sediments.

So the excavation of the Ch'êng-tzŭ-yai site provided some radical new ideas for major reinterpretations of our past problems at Anyang, thus making a very important contribution to the advancement of the field work there. I had been personally greatly encouraged both by the China Foundation appointment and by the discovery of the Lungshan Culture at Ch'êng-tzŭ-yai, for whose excavation I had been mainly responsible.

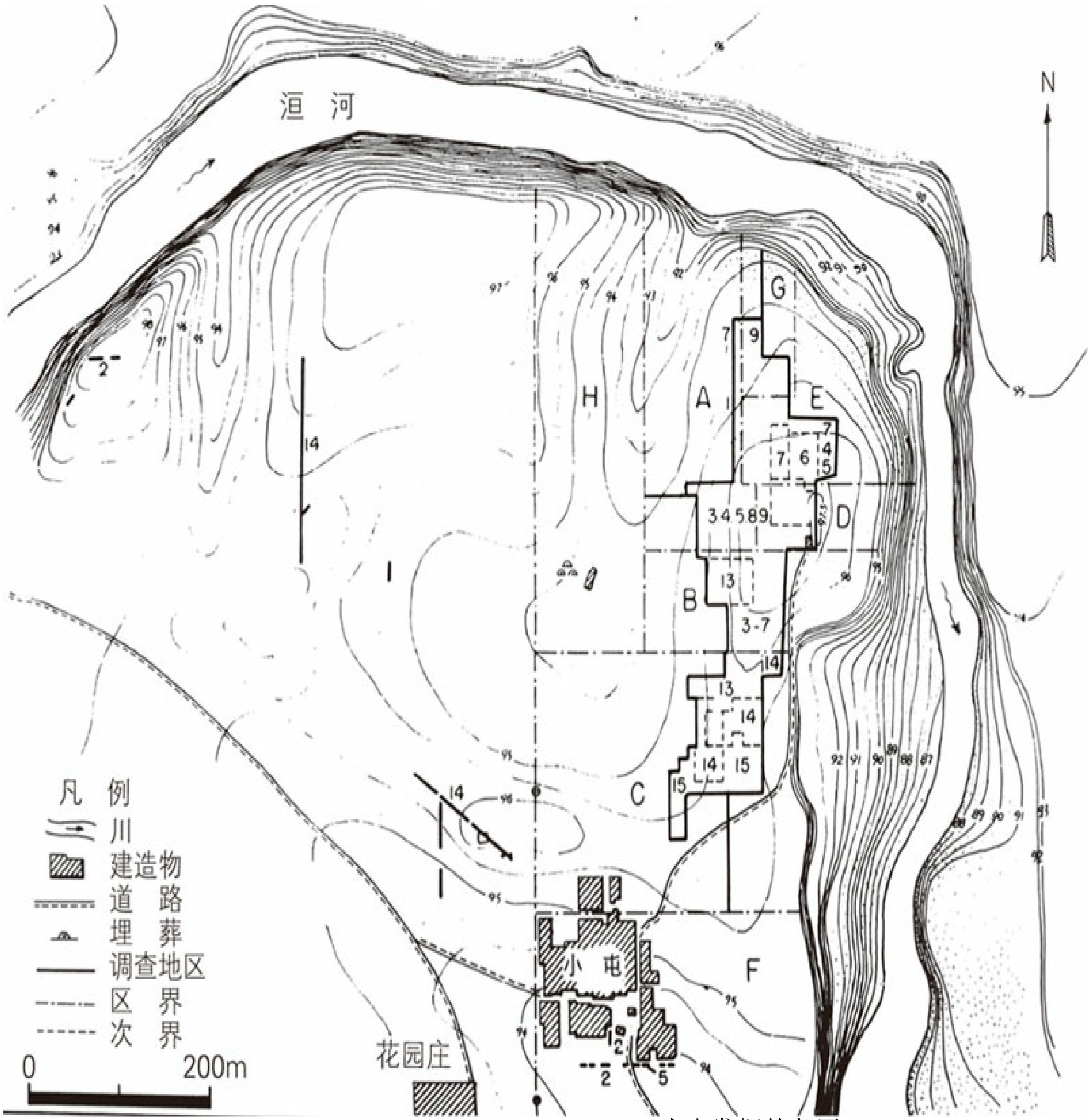
With the additional knowledge gained in the Shantung field work, I began to speculate that scapulimancy not only existed in north China in prehistoric times but was also widespread. And, since legendary accounts

about the early history of the Shang dynasty do mention the fact that the dynasty moved its capital five times after the founding—the locations of these capitals had been a favorite theme for students of the ancient history of China—it seemed possible to me that the newly discovered Lungshan Culture might have been the immediate predecessor of the Shang civilization. At least, scapulimancy definitely provided a link between the Shang civilization and that of the preceding prehistoric culture in north China.

With all these new ideas in my mind and a reinforced staff, I was encouraged to plan expanded field work in Anyang for the fourth season. The important decision, taken after detailed discussion with members of the Archaeological Section and the director, was to excavate the Hsiao-t'un site in its totality by the carpet-rolling method. I felt confident that we had found the key and by mapping the pounded earth areas would be able to trace the architectural foundations of the Yin-Shang dynasty in the Waste of Yin.

The field staff included the old staff members (those who had participated in the first three seasons)—Tung Tso-pin, Kuo Pao-chün, Wang Hsiang, and Li Chi—as well as new members—Liang Ssŭ-yung, Li Kuang-yü, Wu Gin-ding (Chin-ting), and Liu Yü-hsia. Beginning in this season, Mr. Shih Chang-ju and Mr. Liu Yao also joined the Anyang field work as student workers.

One method of tackling the site (looking particularly for undisturbed pounded earth area) in the fourth season was outlined by Shih Chang-ju in his Archaeological Chronology published in 1952 (see also Fig. 6).[73]



6 Subareas of excavation in Hsiao-t'un 小屯发掘的各区

In this season, the site was redivided into five subareas, A, B, C, D, E.

The locations of the five subareas are as follows:

Subarea A, west of the vertical trench of 1929 (3rd season),

Subarea B, east of the vertical trench between horizontal trenches 11 and 14,

Subarea C, south of horizontal trench 11,

Subarea D, east of the Ta-lien-k'eng,

Subarea E, north of the horizontal trench 14.

At the conclusion of the season's work, it was found out that Subarea A had been disturbed the most; between H13 and H14 frequent diggings had been carried out in the past. Subarea B, by contrast, had reserved a great deal of pounded earth surface, which had not been found in the Subarea A. Experience in excavating this subarea convinced all field workers that our earlier interpretation of the pounded earth as flood sediments had been wrong. In Subarea C, a location which villagers in the past had never cared to dig, we also found extensive evidence of pounded earth, similar to what had been found in the Subarea B; the same was true of the Subarea D.

Subarea E was somewhat different. In this locality two untouched, under-ground storage caves were uncovered, which we denominated respectively as E16 and E10. E16 was filled with both bronze weapons and inscribed oracle bones, while in E10 heaps of large animal bones were stored. A whale's scapula and vertebrae and, even more interesting, the lower jaw of an elephant, were found in this group of remains. Shih's summary for this season stated:

> The excavated area is more than fourteen hundred square meters. … With the exception of the exposure of a large area of pounded earth, the discoveries included a large number of circular caches, twenty-five huge underground dwelling spaces, eighteen burials. The storage pits were carved out and reshaped with plastered walls; in the building corners of these sunken pits, there were foothold cavities in the vertical rows. In the storage cells of E16 were found some very valuable artifacts: bronze spearheads, bronze halberts, molds for bronze casting, carved bones, together with pot-sherds and a great number of inscribed oracle bones (781 pieces). There was also a number of burials of the Sui-T'ang dynasties... found in this season all over the excavated area.

The new planning introduced in the fourth season proved not only workable but also successful in that both the findings and the carpet-rolling method proved their soundness by the substantial results of two months' hard work. At the end of this season, my colleagues and I decided that whatever financial difficulties we might have to meet with, the new idea of tracing architectural foundations of the Yin-Shang dynasty should be followed till we could gain some solid basis for a reconstruction of the architecture of this almost forgotten dynasty. The guideline of this basic work, already proved sound, was to make a thorough study of the extensive areas of pounded earth already discovered and to continue to trace this extension. This new procedure, that is, the tracing of the pounded earth, proved to be time-consuming: it needed not only patience and technical experience, but also a great deal of imaginative power to appreciate the significance of this

protracted project, which, after a long period of work, proved its lasting value.

Meanwhile, the fourth season field party, besides conducting the excavations at the Hsiao-t'un village site, found excess energy to explore other promising sites nearby in the Huan River valley. Liang Ssŭ-yung and Wu Gin-ding together with Liu Yao started digging at Hou-kang, a mound very near to the railway. Wu and Li Kuang-yü also carried some field work in Ssŭ-p'an-mo, west of Hsiao-t'un. The excavation at Hou-kang under Liang continued during several seasons and proved to be very important; it showed for the first time a stratified series of the painted pottery, black pottery, and the Anyang Culture deposits laid down in definite sequence. In succeeding seasons, the exploratory digs were made as far west as T'ung-lo-chai, where a pure Black Pottery Culture site was discovered. But more important findings —important in being more closely related to the Hsiao-t'un Yin-Shang Culture—were made in the ninth season (1934) of our Anyang digging in the village of Hou-chia-chuang. Here, on the other (north) bank of the Huan River from Hsiao-t'un, for the first time in the course of the Anyang excavations inscribed oracle bones were found elsewhere than Hsiao-t'un.

However, in the immediate ensuing seasons of the Anyang field work—from the fifth to the ninth—the main excavations were still concentrated at Hsiao-t'un, with tracing the architectural foundations of the Yin-Shang dynasty as the main purpose of our project. The five successive seasons were carried through between October 1931 and March 1934; the personnel of the field party and the man in charge also changed from time to time:

Season	Period	Leader	Field Staff
Fifth	Nov. 7-Dec. 19, 1931	Tung Tso-pin	Kuo Pao-chün Liu Yü-hsiaWang Hsiang
Sixth	Apr. 1-May 31, 1932	Li Chi	Tung Tso-pin Wu Gin-ding Liu Yü-hsia Wang Hsiang Chou Yin-hsüeh Li Kuang-yü

Seventh	Oct. 19-Dec. 15, 1932	Tung Tso-pin	Shih Chang-ju Li Kuang-yü
Eighth	Oct. 20-Dec. 25, 1933	Kuo Pao-chün	Li Chin-tan Liu Yao Shih Chang-ju Li Kuang-yü
Ninth	March 9-Apr. 1, 1934	Tung Tso-pin	Li Chin-tan Shih Chang-ju

In the fifth season, a more definite area with pounded earth appeared in Subareas B and E. A terrace, composed of more or less pure clean yellow soil, was uncovered in the E. The discovery of this terrace, square in cross-section and oriented to magnetic north but undercut by later intrusion, seemed to me at that time very important, so I went to the field to take charge in the ensuing sixth season. In that season, a further important discovery concerning architectural engineering was made, namely that rows of untrimmed boulder-stone of moderate size were regularly arranged along the borders of the regular-shaped foundation surfaces, occurred very frequently. [74]

This discovery made us realize that similar boulders varying in size, which had been frequently met with in past seasons, might also have served some architectural purpose. In this way, the tracing work naturally grew more and more meaningful.

From the seventh season to the ninth season, the field work was led alternatively by Tung Tso-pin and Kuo Pao-chün. The main purpose of the field operation was still to continue tracing the architectural foundations, and also to investigate other underground structures. Efforts in these seasons were more concentrated on an intensive study of the various stages of development of the "pounded earth methods," since it was evident that mastery of the technique was the basic training for civil engineers of the Yin-Shang period. In this study, our field men learned a good deal of the technology of the civil engineer, as practiced in China more than three thousand years ago.

肆．安阳有计划发掘的初期

前三章记叙了促使中国现代考古学发展的历史背景，并特别提及了受中国传统方法教育的古物家之发现甲骨文，和在中国实际从事田野工作的欧洲科学家之模范性作用。此时，这两种研究活动交汇在一起，现代考古学在中国的革新一代中间应运而生。

1928年5月，傅斯年被任命为中央研究院历史语言研究所代理所长，当时他还是广州中山大学文学院院长。傅曾是五四运动领导人之一。他在中国古籍研究方面造诣极深，但同时又对旧的教育制度持警觉的批判和革新态度。五四运动后，他于1919年至1926年间远赴欧洲，到英德求学，不为获得学位，只是尽情地汲取感兴趣的西方思想。1927年，他回到中国。这一年，国民党在南京建都。彼时的中山大学是以新思想吸引青年人的学术中心。

当傅斯年接到创建一个历史语言研究机构的任务时，他那敏捷机智的头脑提出了一个后来常被同时代学者引用的口号：

上穷碧落下黄泉，

动手动脚找东西。

这一口号是一个七言古诗的对句。第一句引自白居易的名诗《长恨歌》，第二句是强调体力劳动，即四处走动去寻找资料。在西欧的长期学习使他认识到，中国传统教育的不足就在于人为地把身体与头脑区分开。他确信，若不把这种障碍扫除，就无望得到获取科学知识的新方法。初到欧洲时，他在心理学系注册了，但并没有一直攻读成为心理学专家。然而，初步的训练显然足以使他理解身体与头脑之间的复杂关系，在他年轻的头脑中烙下了一个基本观点——人类灵魂的根源深埋于整个人体结构内。现代医学致力于细致考察人的身体，而现代心理学则专门研究人的精神。

傅斯年去欧洲前是位著名文人。第一次世界大战后，他在欧洲有一段短暂的留学时光。由此，他认识到东西方文化间的不同，提出具体建议将这两种文化体系结合起来，在中国学者中树立起典范。他提出了上面的口号，并在《历史语言研究所集刊》创刊号的前言中对此作了详细解释。此刊出版时，他仍在广州，研究所也尚处在筹建阶段。[60]傅的口号起了作用，因为他不仅有深厚的国学功底，还具备深入的西方科学知

识。在同时代的学者中，他还是最有行政管理能力的人之一。

必须强调的是，傅的口号不是停留在言语上，它实际上是指导这个由他创建的研究所的研究工作的基本方针。

当研究所尚处于筹备阶段时，这位代理所长就派董作宾到安阳对这一早已闻名的刻字甲骨出土地进行初步调查。此时（1928年），以罗振玉为首的大部分金石学家认为，经过三十年对甲骨文的连续搜集，埋藏的珍品已发掘殆尽，进一步的搜寻必是徒劳，这样的尝试也是愚蠢的。

傅斯年是为数不多的了解现代考古学和科学技术的天才之一。他并不盲从当时流行的看法。董作宾不是大学毕业生。1928年，他三十岁刚出头，自然是五四运动的追随者。他富有新思想，并急切地想为自己的研究搜集资料。傅所长派董赴安阳进行初步调查有两个简单原因：董是河南本地人，这在许多方面都有利于他的工作；他虽然算不上传统意义上的古物学家，但却头脑灵活。

实际上这两位学者——无论是倡导在安阳进行田野工作的傅所长，还是因籍贯以及天生的才智和开放的头脑被派往安阳的董作宾——对现代考古学都没有任何经验。董在他的报告中说，他的工作是考察遗址以查明是有一些甲骨还值得发掘，还是像罗振玉及其追随者说的那样已被挖尽。

为此，在第一次正式去遗址之前，董作宾作了一个非正式的个人访问，对那里的情况进行了摸底。1928年8月12日到达安阳后，他先拜访了一些本地士绅，他们中间有彰德府中学的校长、几个古玩店的老板、和以伪造这种情况不详的文字而出名的蓝葆光。通过访问，董获得了大量关于甲骨的一般情况和本地对甲骨的时兴看法的信息。第二天，在一个向导陪同下，董亲访小屯村。在那里许多村民给他看了欲出售的小块有字甲骨，他用三个银元买了100多块。村民告诉董作宾说，过去古董商到村里收购时看不上这些小碎片，于是他们就捡起来存放在家里。所以，当董第一次访问时，村中几乎每家都保存着一些“字骨头”。偶尔见到一些大块甲骨，卖主索价每块四至五个银元，董作宾认为价格过高。

与此同时，董在小屯村里雇了一个青年人为向导，领着他到了一个挖出甲骨的地方。这个青年人指的是一块凸起的沙堆。董的第一个印象是，这个沙堆与罗振玉1915年访问时描述的相反。罗日记中写的和董从市中学校长那里得到的情报都一致指向，甲骨可能埋藏在棉花地里。洹河边的沙堆并不适宜农耕生产。但在对沙堆西边靠近棉田的某处进行考察时，董发现了几个新填上的坑，很显然是最近挖的。在其中一个新填

的坑旁边，他捡到一片无字甲骨。基于在此处捡到这片甲骨的证据，综合村民们售卖的小片甲骨以及从城里收集来的情况，董得出一个重要结论：小屯埋藏的有字甲骨不像罗振玉及其追随者讲的那样已被挖尽。第一次初访小屯后，董作宾相信此遗址仍值得发掘。所以，他立即写了报告，并拟定了试发掘计划。

读了董作宾初访安阳的报告后，傅所长毫不犹豫，马上采取必要措施，准备在小屯进行初步发掘。这项新的计划虽不用花大量经费，但没有预算。经过和中央研究院总办事处多次磋商，傅斯年终于获得了必要的支持：1000银元。这在当时绝不是个小数目。虽然有了这笔经费，野外工作者还得自行购置全部设备，包括测量仪器和摄影工具及其他必需材料。董及时组建起一支工作队，队员有的是志愿人员，有的是雇佣的。组中有六个主要成员，他们各有所长，协助董共同完成了第一次正式发掘的任务（1928年10月7日—31日）[61]。 1928年10月董作宾主持的这次试发掘，通常被称为安阳的第一次发掘。

1928年10月7日，董作宾带着南京中央政府和开封省政府的官方证件到达安阳。河南省政府为便利董的工作，选派两名公职人员随同他到安阳。董的第一次安阳正式调查的完整报告于当年冬季在开封石印出版，后又在四卷本的《安阳发掘报告》（1929年12月—1933年6月）上作为第一篇文章重新刊载。[62]董第一次的正式调查报告不仅结束了安乐椅上研究古玩的古物学时代，更重要的是，它为系统发掘这一著名遗址铺平了道路。

摘录一些第一次试发掘的实际成果以及一些参加者的看法是极有益的，而且具有历史意义。首先，我们看一看在这座著名遗址的试验性考察中做了些什么。主要有：

1. 发掘团开展了第一次测量工作；

2. 选择了三个实际发掘地点，两个（第I、II区）在小屯村东北洹河西岸的一块农田里——洹河有一段围绕着该村的农田，另一处（第III区）就在村子里。（图4）

3. 出土了共784片有字甲骨，其中555片是龟壳，229片为牛肩胛骨。此外还有千余片无字骨头。

4. 除了甲骨，其他出土物包括：

穿孔骨器	56

动物骨骸	62
人骨架	3
蚌片和贝的碎片	96
石或玉	42
青铜碎片	11
铁片	10
陶片	49

5. 根据初步调查工作显示，实际发掘区域和涉及到的范围，可能覆盖了村北和村东北的整片农田和村址本身，也可能延伸至村南。

6. 殷墟似形成于这个地区遭遇了几次大洪水之后。根据董作宾的解释，洪水源于黄河，那时黄河河道离小屯还很近。

7. 从以下三个试掘地点的坑里出土了刻字甲骨：

I区	9号坑
II区	26、33号坑
III区	35、36、37号坑

董手抄有字甲骨392片，并作了不少考释，这与他的总体报告一起发表于《安阳发掘报告》上。

在董作宾领导的试发掘后，笔者担起了安阳发掘中的领导工作，这一田野发掘一直持续了九年。因此，下面的叙述有些带有自传性。

我直到1928年才见到傅斯年，彼时他已因五四运动成了国内的名

人。1918年至1923年，我在美国留学，潜心攻读几门社会科学——心理学、社会学和人类学。五年后，我回国接受了天津新成立的南开大学的教职，并在那里工作了两年（1923—1925）。

因清朝年间以来我就住在北京，所以在天津任教时，经常来往于京津两地。在那时的大学所设课程中，人类学是个十分新颖的学科，因而这两个城市的一些学术界人士对我产生了几分好奇，常邀请我参加两市的一些学术会议和社交活动。不久以后，我就与许多我仰慕已久的专家建立了友谊。很快，我就被介绍给丁文江、翁文灏和胡适，并成为了中国地质学会的成员。作为这个学会的一员，我自然有充分的机会认识许多地质学家和包括地理学家、古生物学家和考古学家在内的许多外国科学家。

丁文江这时已不在地质调查所担任领导，他在管理一个总部设在天津的煤矿公司。他对人类学的浓厚兴趣使他对我的工作很关心，他建议我不要错失任何到田野收集资料的机会。当新郑发现青铜器的消息在报纸上公布后，他鼓励我去新郑发掘，并资助200银元作田野考察之用。[63]

于是我亲赴新郑发掘，但发掘的结果并不怎么令人满意。我仅发现一些人骨，青铜器和玉器早已被全部掠走。这最初的发掘经历没能真正把我吸引到考古科学上去，但它却给了我一个教训：做这种工作一定要非常注意现时的政治和社会状况。

1924年至1925年是我在南开教学的第二年，我在北京见到了代表弗利尔艺术馆驻京的毕士博，他正在寻找机会在中国搞些科学发掘。很快我们成了朋友。在这一学年，毕士博写信问我是否愿意参加他们的田野队从事考古发掘。经认真考虑和征求朋友的意见后，我答应了他的要求，并提出两个我认为非常重要的条件：第一，如果我决意加入田野发掘活动，该活动应与一个中国学术团体合作，并在它的主持下进行工作；第二，我没有任何义务向国外输出发掘所得的遗物，即暗示这些发现物应在中国研究。[64]

很长时间我没有得到答复。后来，我在一个社交场合与毕士博巧遇，他很热情，礼貌地走过来再次谈起他的意见。在这次非正式的交谈中，他告诉我弗利尔艺术馆不会要求我做我认为是不爱国的任何事。政治和社会状况如此瞬息万变，为什么不试着合作看看呢？毕士博在我印象中是北京为数不多的几个友好真诚的美国人之一。因为他的建议与我对学术研究的看法相契合，我同意“试着”接受这项工作。这件事发生在

1925年春天，此时安特生的史前发现已成为北京、天津学术界的热点话题。

同年年初，清华学校设立了一个研究“国学”的中心。“国学”相当于现代英语中的“汉学研究”。我荣幸地被新创立的清华国学研究院聘请为讲师，与梁启超、王国维、陈寅恪、赵元任等著名学者一起工作。我专门讲授人类学。大约与此同时，弗利尔艺术馆通过它的田野发掘代表毕士博表示，理解我上面提到的条件，并同意聘任我为他们在中国的田野发掘队队员。

1925年冬，弗利尔艺术馆和清华研究院共同派遣我搞些田野发掘，并让我自主选择发掘地点。清华大学的资深教授梁启超对田野考古非常热心，他主动把我推荐给“模范省”山西的省长阎锡山，那里的政治管理最为闻名，社会长治久安。我和熟悉中国当下政治和社会状况的朋友认真商量后，选择了山西省为第一个考古发掘地点。

曾参与安特生在仰韶发掘的地质学家袁复礼，听到我打算去山西考古时，主动提出与我同行，这对我来说真是莫大的幸运。地质调查所和弗利尔艺术馆也都赞同。袁和我在1925年与1926年相交的冬天离开北京去山西。我们在途中拟定了考察的路线。在那时，政治家和一般民众都还不了解科学，更不要说科学考古了。所以，在第一次旅行中，我不得不花大量时间与行政官员和当地居民协商。我享有的任何有利的社会或政治条件，几乎都是通过我的前辈同事或全凭幸运获得的。

我和袁决定，到太原后便南下，主要在山西省南边界黄河以北沿汾河流域探寻进行考古发掘的可能性。这里已有一条铺平的公路，可利用的交通工具有骡子、骆驼椅、人力车和骡车等。我们从平阳府（临汾县）折向南，开始仔细勘查。在这里，我们一人雇了一头骡子驮运行李、测量照相仪器和人。山西运输的骡子以耐力著称，能负重300多磅以每天25英里的稳定速度行走，即使在有上下坡的山区行走也不在话下。这正是我们所需要的。

我和袁骑骡子从临汾出发，向南漫行约一个月。在日常观察中，主要发现三个有彩陶的史前遗址，另有许多有重大考古价值的历史遗址。我把考察的详细情况，特别是新的发现，向清华研究院及华盛顿弗利尔艺术馆作了汇报后，又奉命到山西搞发掘工作。清华研究院和弗利尔艺术馆都同意由我选择第一个发掘地点。因两个合作机构都很满意袁先生的帮助，所以我们于1926年秋再次前往山西。拿到必要的官方证件和介绍信后，我和袁都同意选择西阴村作为第一个发掘点。西阴村位于夏

县，是我们考察时发现的三个有彩陶的史前遗址之一。我们选择这里有以下几个原因：

1. 史前遗址不含任何金属品，可以避免挖宝的怀疑。

2. 发掘的是过去不知名的埋葬，所以几乎不会引人注意，可以将公众反对挖墓的意见降到最低。

3. 仰韶文化的发现无疑已证明了史前文化的重要性。

另外，我的同事地质学家袁先生已在他调查过的仰韶遗址中获得了许多田野发掘经验。

第一次发掘西阴村史前遗址的情况不必再进一步介绍，因为这已用英文和中文报道过了。在该遗址收集的遗物中，最著名的是一只人工切割的蚕茧，经史密森研究院一位专家鉴定为家蚕的茧。[65]

西阴村史前遗址的发掘，在政治革命席卷的中国虽未引起特别注意，却成就了我个人的名声——使用现代工作方法、兴趣超越历史时代界限的第一个中国考古学家。弗利尔艺术馆馆长知道了我的事迹后，通过毕士博表示希望会见我，并邀请我去华盛顿。

1928年夏我去华盛顿，与洛奇馆长进行了一次愉快的会面。交谈后，他答应继续支持中国学术机构与弗利尔艺术馆之间更进一步合作开展新的考古项目。

我经欧洲、埃及和印度返回中国。我有生第一次来到香港，又急于游览过去从未到过的广州。1928年的广州是各种革命活动的中心。根据我要搭乘去上海的半岛—东方公司邮轮的船期表，我在香港要停留三天，因此我想，利用这段时间观光一下广州应该不是难事。于是，我就去了。

一到广州，我就被领去见傅斯年，那时他也正期望能与我一见。见面后他问我的第一件事就是，是否愿意担任他正在筹建的历史语言研究所考古组的负责人。他告诉我董作宾在安阳的发现，我也对他讲了我与弗利尔艺术馆的协定。看来没有多大的意见分歧，因为弗利尔艺术馆馆长刚同意了尝试性地进行这类合作。

这样，1928年至1929年冬我就开始拟定中央研究院历史语言研究所考古组的计划。这自然要求我尽量多地去了解安阳殷墟遗址。回到北京后，我的当务之急就是赴开封与从未见过面的董作宾商谈。关于任命我

的事，傅斯年所长当然已通知了他。在开封，董作宾将他所获知的所有关于小屯遗址现状的信息以及他试掘的结果都告诉了我。直到现在，与这位既富有魅力又令人敬佩的同事第一次会面时的情景仍历历在目。他不仅头脑敏锐机智，同时富有现实的智慧。他的主要学术兴趣和最近的成就似乎都在向他证明，这里仍有埋藏的甲骨值得发掘。

在开封与董作宾简单地会面后，我俩都同意春节后到安阳再搞一次试掘。我们还达成一项共识：董研究契刻文字，而我负责所有其他遗物。实践证明，这一共识对我们的个人关系与团队工作都非常重要。作为考察该遗址的第一人，董作宾应该得到研究最重要的科学发现物的机会，而有字甲骨则是安阳发掘的珍品。另外，董研究铭文的能力是毋庸置疑的。

基于与董作宾的个人接触以及他的书面报告，我获得了有关遗址现状的大致情况。基于这种大致的了解，我认为：

1. 小屯遗址明显是殷商的最后一个都城。

2. 虽遗址的面积和范围未确定，但有字甲骨出土的地方一定是都城遗址的一个重要中心。

3. 在地下堆积中，可能会发现与有字甲骨埋藏在一起的其他类遗物。这些遗物存在的时代可能与有字甲骨相同，也可能较甲骨的存在早一些或晚一些，这当然要视埋藏处的各种情况而定。

根据这三个假设，我制定了1929年春的第二次小屯发掘，也是首次由我负责的安阳田野工作的计划。因为弗利尔艺术馆已经同意支持我在中国学术机构领导下的田野工作，所以没有经费方面的问题。与董作宾商量后，我决定具体工作采取以下步骤：

1. 聘用一个得力的测量员对遗址进行测绘，以便准确绘出以小屯为中心的详细精准的地形图。

2. 继续在遗址内若干地点以挖探沟的方法进行试掘，主要目的是了解清楚地表下的地层情况，以探明可能藏有未被触动过的甲骨的堆积的真正特征。

3. 系统地记录和登记发掘出的每件遗物及其确切出土地点、时间和周围堆积的特征和分层。

4. 每个参加发掘的工作人员每天记日记，记录个人观察到的及田野

工作中发生的情况。

1929年春，发掘按计划进行。在小屯村发现了更多的甲骨（685片）。分别对以下三地进行了地下情况的调查：(1)村南；(2)村中院子；(3)村北麦地和棉田。这次发掘结束后，我们把大量出土物装箱运往北京研究。此时，历史语言研究所已将所址迁至北京。傅斯年所长决定向公众发布初步发掘报告。我写的第一篇文章是《小屯地面下情形分析初步》。[66]在这篇论文中，我根据春天的发掘和观察得出一条重要结论，即地下堆积可分三层：(1) 殷商时期的主要文化堆积；(2) 覆盖其上的是分散但数目众多的隋唐时期（公元589—906年）的墓葬[67]； (3) 覆盖这些墓葬的是现代堆积层。我们还发现许多地下窖穴，其中填塞的主要是殷商遗物，有陶片、石器、动物骨骸，偶有些断裂的玉块或玉片等。这些遗物及时登记后便全数运回北京所址进行研究。在这次发现的遗物中，最重要的一批仍是有字甲骨。这是在村内发掘点出土的，距董作宾前一次发现甲骨残片的地点很近。

在第二次考察安阳期间，这一处以小屯为中心的重要遗址的地形测绘工作开始了。因为无人确知遗址的大小，所以我们暂时将测量工作局限在发掘出甲骨或传说过去挖出过甲骨的区域内。第一张地形图是由张蔚然测绘的，完成于1929年秋季第三次安阳发掘时（图5）。我领导的第二次田野发掘的另一项任务是系统记录收集到的陶器。在连续十四次安阳发掘中，这一艰巨任务从未间断地坚持了下来，但正如预料中的那样，记录方法和分类标准都经历了革命性的变化。

没人能推测出小屯村东北麦地棉田现在的表面情况在多大程度上反映了殷商时期的面貌。然而，准确地绘出现在的地表图是田野工作者的任务。

发掘团开展田野工作后，我们的第一印象是小屯村坐落于一块相对平坦的土地上，村东北有片面积约为180,000平方米的麦棉田，向北向东逐渐抬高。精确的测量表明，地面升高了约三四米。最高处是东边靠近洹河岸的一个地方。北边临洹河岸处，有一块比村子高出两三米的台地，但一块凹地把它与东边的高地分开了。这块凹地的作用可能是雨季时把洪水泄入洹河。北岗西面在1929年有条长长的深沟，此沟从花园庄几乎直通北面的洹河，同时也像是小屯村麦棉田的分界线。村民称之为“水沟”。根据小屯村民的传说，此沟似乎也是甲骨珍品堆积的西部界线。据了解堆积地点的人说，所有字骨头都是在水沟以东发现的。测量以后，我们发现水沟最低处实际上并不比小屯村的地面低多少。

比村子地面约高出两三米的两个土岗和村东北麦棉地西部边界的水沟是我初访小屯村时地表大体的景象。这些初步观察对我制定1929年10月开始的第三次发掘计划也很有帮助。受到挖宝的旧风气的影响，河南省政府组织支持了另一支发掘队，使我们第三次发掘中断了三个星期。虽然这场政治干扰很快就解决了，但挖宝的传统观念顽固得很。为此我们当中一些人积极奔走，请求中央政府制定一个《古物保存法》，用法律条款来保护有历史价值的遗址和遗迹，并约束国家文物出口的行为和管理科学发掘。这部法律中第一条被提议并采纳的规定是：政府明确宣布所有地下古物都是国家的财产，任何个人和私家团体无权发掘。经过几年的广泛讨论，立法院终于在1930年6月通过了这部法。《古物保护法》中还包括管理正式发掘的规则，不过是在很长一段时间后才补充的。有趣的是，内务部和教育部到1935年春才向中央研究院联合发布了批准发掘的第一号许可，而当时安阳发掘已进行到第十一次了。[68]

这个保护法的影响对安阳田野工作的进展有重大意义，因为在我们发掘期间，在中国这样一个受传统束缚的国家，田野考古工作者面临的除了复杂的技术问题外，还有一些非技术性的、社会和政治方面的艰难障碍。

通过行政磋商和建立友好关系，我们平息了省政府的对抗发掘，并于1929年11月15日恢复发掘。这一次发掘开始时，我的田野计划原本是采用我称之为“卷地毯”的方法，对整个遗址的地表情况进行全面揭露。由于省政府支持的发掘队的干扰，我只好采用可以根据环境要求加以调整的方法。于是，我又重新开始制定了更系统的发掘计划，在小屯村东北麦棉田里开“探沟”。

在这块地的西半部，我计划挖一条南北向的长纵沟和六条平行的东西向的横沟，以探索农田下整个遗址主要堆积的分布情况。至于村中的地下情况，在春季发掘时已进行了初步考察。

尽管第三次田野工作中断了三个多星期，但这次的发现比原预想的更鼓舞人心。结果充分证明了一个基本思想，殷商文化遗迹的重要中心区在村东北麦棉地下某处，位于村西北的深沟与东、北部的洹河河谷边界之间。

南北向的纵沟揭露了地下一般堆积的重要剖面，六条平行探沟相距各15米，从西向东而开与纵沟交叉，必定经过了核心区域。在沟H13和H13.5之间，靠近纵沟处，我们发现一个几乎未曾动过的堆积，这后来被证明是殷商文化最重要的堆积。此处就是后来有名的“大连坑”。

此次发掘的首次发现和逐步推进的细节，已有专论在《安阳发掘报告》上发表。[69]我在这里总结一下在这处遗址上的考古工作的重要新发现及其对田野工作的影响。必须明确，第三次发掘的成就绝不只是发现了“大连坑”。下面的总结涵盖了整个这次发掘的丰硕成果。

对我们工作队来说，头等重要的是弄清楚地下的分层顺序。在比较隋墓之上的地层断面和“大连坑”的未触动的地层得出以下主要结论后，这就显得很重要。殷商文化堆积之上有一保护层，土色从褐到黑，质坚固，厚度一到两米不等。这一层中常常是没有任何文化遗物的，甚至连陶片也没有。至于说在三米多深处发现的隋唐墓，其上的回填土层次中则完全没有保护层的存在。

更为有趣的当然是这次发现的物品和器物。因我亲自指导“大连坑”的发掘，所以我能以亲身经历来叙述依次揭露这一重要堆积各阶段的情况。

“大连坑”位于洹河西岸高地西南约50米处。它是由于开凿横沟H13暴露出来的。其向北扩展的部分表土一揭去，即表明此处的堆积未被扰过。以下的田野记录（从表层依次向下）可作为示例，说明田野登记的方法：

1. 表层，0—0.40米，混合土，内有一网硾。

2. 第二层，0.40—0.87米，黄黑色土，仅出土一石刀。

3. 第三层，0.87—1.40米，土色变褐，无任何器物。

4. 第四层，1.40—1.85米，土色同上，但土质坚硬较难挖，夹杂炼渣和贝一枚。

5. 第五层，1.85—2.10米，土色渐黑，质坚硬，发现几块陶片、一些炼渣和一块雕刻花纹的砂石。

6. 第六层，2.10—2.40米，土色深黑，质地越发坚硬，在东北角有夹杂黄沙的淤土、许多烧土块，并有炼渣。

7. 第七层，2.40—2.65米，土色、质同上；但在东北角2.65米深以下，土色变浅灰，质稍松软；开始发现较多陶片和有字甲骨碎片，以及人头盖骨碎片。

8. 第八层，2.65—2.80米，土色灰黄，东北角的土呈深黄色；有红、黑色绳纹陶，带黑、红色浮雕方格及其他多种类型的陶片。许多陶

片上刻有纹饰。其他遗物包括：刻字甲骨、蚌片、石刀、砾石、鹿角、人骨碎片、陶范、石斧、碎石等。

9. 第九层，2.80—2.95米，土色全灰，陶片同上；另有刻字甲骨、刻纹骨器石器、象牙雕器等，出土物极多。

10. 第十层，2.95—3.20米，土色仍呈灰黄，但在接近该层底部3.10米处出现黄土；黄土南边发现一堆黑炭，混有灰陶、红陶和黑陶等陶片，陶片上有刻纹和绳纹；另发现人头盖骨、陶范、砾石、骨锥、石制工具、有字或无字的卜骨及绿松石等。

11. 第十一层，3.20—3.30米，黑土与黄土混合在一起，出土物很少。3.3米深处以下，除西南角[70]有半圆形黑土遗迹外，其余部分的上半部似已到底。

第十一层以下，即距现在地面3.30米以下，有一个位于干净的黄色沙土之上的、被一层黑土覆盖着的层面，看来未受后来的侵扰，这一观察结果甚为关键。这显然曾是居住址或贮藏穴的地面。更加振奋人心的是，在这一层面以下3.30米处，一个深陷的圆穴中，还发现了一处地下堆积。这个圆穴比“大连坑”底部还要深3米多。在这直径近2米的圆穴底部，发现了成堆的甲骨，其中有些是完整的刻字甲骨，后来董作宾在一篇专论中阐明了它们的重要性。[71]

在这个圆穴及其西侧的另一长方形窖——“大连坑”下的一对地下窖穴——中，我们发现了这次发掘最丰富的埋藏珍品。其中多数过去无人知晓。“大连坑”及其下面两个窖穴中堆积的新发现共同确凿地证明了一点，下列出土的遗物和有字甲骨显然是同一时代的：(1) 无字甲骨和几乎完整的刻字龟版；(2) 各类动物骨头；(3) 多种类型的陶器：白陶、釉陶、红陶和灰陶；(4) 雕刻的骨器和石器；(5) 象牙雕刻；(6) 距地面约10余米深的储藏窖；(7) 石制工具和青铜工具共存；(8) 铸青铜器的范；(9) 其他相关出土物。

地下情况一弄清，这些单件或成批的相关出土物的重要性立即得到了广泛认识。这对我们继续在安阳发掘是有益的。

在这些新发现中，釉陶、白陶和铜范引起了国际上的注意和世界范围内的讨论。然而，在中国的历史学家和考古学家中引起激烈争论的是彩陶片，它的发现是独一无二的，尔后的发掘中再未见到与此相同的。简言之，争论的焦点是在小屯堆积中揭露的新石器时代仰韶文化与青铜时代殷商文化之间的关系。讨论持续了多年，因它涉及中国早期文化起

源这一基本问题。[72]

1930年，历史语言研究所考古组的田野考古延伸至山东省，安阳发掘停止了一年。在靠近山东省城济南的一个地方，我在清华国学研究院指导的毕业生吴金鼎发现了一处新的新石器文化——黑陶龙山文化。考古组的田野工作人员被派往济南，对城子崖遗址进行了一次发掘。华北首次发现的黑陶文化，不仅深深地激励了对古代中国有浓厚兴趣的学者，也鼓舞了新一代的田野考古学家，特别是那些一直密切关注安阳出土物及发掘情况的人。

同时，1930年也发生了另一些影响田野工作的组织和小屯遗址发掘原定计划的事。使我尤感忧虑的是历史语言研究所和弗利尔艺术馆未能就在华北继续进行考古发掘这一问题上达成协议。当这项合作事业不幸停滞时，很明显我的立场也站不住脚了。所以，在完成了分派给我的所有田野工作后，我辞去了弗利尔艺术馆的工作。从1925年至1930年，基于前面叙述的条件，我连续工作了五年，并希望在中国的国家级研究机构和华盛顿弗利尔艺术馆之间可以达成一种共识，以促进考古科学的发展，增强中美在学术研究中的友谊。这次失败自然使我非常沮丧。

一些肯定我田野工作的朋友向我伸出援助之手，积极请求中华教育文化基金会给予经费资助安阳发掘。这不久就实现了。1930年秋，中华教育文化基金会聘任我为中国考古学研究教授，这是一个特意为历史语言研究所设置的讲席。另外，基金会连续三年每年拨一万银元作为研究所的田野工作费用。

于是，1931年春开始了第四次安阳发掘，距考古组1929年冬停止在小屯的田野工作已经一年多了。第四次田野发掘队是在新的基础上组织起来的，包括了很多的考古工作者。带着一些新观点和对遗址性质更进一步的了解，我又走向田野，而且我们还有了许多经过良好训练的新助手。

第四次发掘一开始，我们就在1929年测量的遗址上分了五个区，每区由一个受过训练的、有经验的考古工作者指导进行发掘，协助他的是几名年轻的助手和受过训练的发掘工人。大多数队员在参加城子崖发掘中收获很大，那里出土的遗物包括有趣的卜骨标本，这些卜骨是用肩胛骨做的，但没刻字。城子崖遗址周围有一圈已坍塌的墙，此墙是用夯土建的。仔细察看夯土后，大家回忆起，前三次在小屯发掘中也出现了与之惊人相似的地层，当时董作宾和张蔚然把它解释为洪水沉淀层。

所以，城子崖遗址的发掘为重新解释过去我们在安阳遇到的问题提

供了一些全新的观念，由此对安阳田野工作的推进作出了非常重要的贡献。就我个人而言，中华教育文化基金会的聘任和城子崖龙山文化的发现使我受到极大的鼓励，城子崖的发掘也是我主要负责的。

在山东田野工作中获得的新经验使我开始设想，用肩胛骨占卜不仅存在于史前时期的华北，其范围更为广泛。关于商朝早期历史的传说，确实提到过商朝建立后曾五次迁都，这些都城的具体位置是研究中国古史的学者非常感兴趣的问题。我认为新发现的龙山文化有可能是商文明的直接前身。至少，用肩胛骨占卜明确说明了商文明与早于它的华北史前文化之间的关系。

有了这些新的认识，又有了加强的队伍，使我更有信心安排更大规模的第四次安阳田野发掘。我与考古组的成员及所长认真商议后，决定采用“卷地毯”的方法全面发掘小屯遗址。我确信已找到了关键所在，通过绘制夯土地区图的方法，可以探索到殷墟中殷商王朝的建筑基础。

田野工作人员有老队员（前三次发掘参加者）——董作宾、郭宝钧、王湘和李济，还有新队员——梁思永、李光宇、吴金鼎和刘屿霞。从这次发掘开始，石璋如和刘燿作为学员也参与了安阳田野工作。

这次探寻遗址（特别是寻找未被扰动过的夯土地区）的方法之一，石璋如已在他1952年出版的《考古年表》中作了介绍（也可参看图6）。[73]

这次发掘将遗址分为五个区，即A、B、C、D、E。

五个区的具体位置如下：

A区，在1929年（第三次发掘时）挖的纵沟的西面；

B区，在纵沟东面，横沟十一与十四之间；

C区，位于横沟十一的南面；

D区，在“大连坑”的东面；

E区，位于横沟十四的北面。

这次发掘结束时，发现A区被扰乱得最为厉害，横沟H13与H14之间的地区过去多次被挖掘。相比起来，B区却保存了大量夯土面，这在A区不曾见到。该区的发掘经历使所有田野工作者相信，我们早期把夯土解释为洪水沉积层是错误的。C区是过去村民从不屑去挖掘的，我们在

这里也发现了大量夯土的痕迹，与B区发现的相同；D区也是如此。

E区有所不同，在此我们发现了两个未被扰动过的地下贮藏窖，我们将其分别命名为E16和E10。E16中填满了青铜武器和有字卜骨。E10中有大量动物骨头，包括一头鲸的肩胛骨和脊椎骨，更有意思的是，在这批遗物中还发现一块象的下颚骨。石璋如在总结这次发掘时写道：

> 占地约1400余平方米。……有版筑土多处，长方窖、圆窖、大灰坑等二十五处；墓葬等十八处。窖壁不但整齐光滑，而且有相对之脚窝。E16圆井为本次的重要发现。遗物有戈、矛、铜范、花骨、白陶……及有字甲骨781片。亦发现隋唐墓葬遍布发掘区域。

第四次发掘的新方法被证明不仅可行而且是成功的。两个月的艰苦工作取得的丰硕成果证明，出土的物品和“卷地毯”的方法都是可靠的。这次发掘结束时，我与同事们下定决心：无论在经费上遇到什么困难，探寻殷商王朝建筑基础的新念头一定要坚持下去，直到为这个几乎被人们遗忘的朝代的建筑复原奠定坚实的基础。这项基础工作的指导方针是，对已发现的大面积夯土区进行全面研究，并继续探寻其扩展部分。这一基本方针被证明是正确的。探寻夯土这一新过程是非常耗时的：这不仅需要耐心和一定的技术经验，而且也要有极丰富的想象力来认识这项长期计划的意义——长期的努力证明了它的不朽价值。

这次除在小屯村进行发掘外，同时，发掘团还派人去考察洹河河谷其他有望进行考古发掘的遗址。梁思永、吴金鼎和刘燿共同在后岗——紧邻铁路的一个土丘——开始了发掘。吴和李仍负责小屯以西四盘磨的田野发掘。在梁思永领导下，后岗发掘持续了多次，并证明是非常重要的。它第一次揭露了彩陶、黑陶和安阳文化的土层是以一定的顺序叠压着的。在以后几次发掘中，试掘曾远至西边的同乐寨，并在那里发现了纯粹的黑陶文化遗址。更重要的发现是在第九次发掘（1934年）期间对安阳侯家庄的发掘中出现的，其重要性在于它与小屯殷商文化关系密切。它位于小屯对岸的洹河北面。在安阳发掘的过程中，这里是小屯村以外第一次发现刻字甲骨的地方。

然而，接下来的第五至九次发掘仍主要集中在小屯，发掘的宗旨仍是探寻殷商王朝的建筑基础。这五次连续发掘从1931年10月持续到1934年3月底；田野工作队的成员和领导人也经常变动：

次	日　期	领导人	田野队员
5	1931年11月7日至12月19日	董作宾	郭宝钧　刘屿霞　王湘

6	1932年4月1日至5月31日	李　济	董作宾　吴金鼎　刘屿霞 王　湘　周英学　李光宇
7	1932年10月19日至12月15日	董作宾	石璋如　李光宇
8	1933年10月20日至12月25日	郭宝钧	李景聃　刘燿　石璋如 李光宇
9	1934年3月9日至4月1日	董作宾	李景聃　石璋如

第五次发掘时在B区和E区发现了更明显的夯土层。E区发现的一个夯土层是由纯黄土垒成的台基。这个台基横断面呈方形，朝向极北，但下方遭到后来的破坏。当时我认为这很重要，所以我到田野里主持了随后的第六次发掘。这次发掘中又一个重要发现是有关建筑工程的，即发现几排未加工的大小适度的孤石沿夯土边缘规则地排列着。这种遗迹经常发现。[74]

这一发现使我们意识到，在前几次发掘中常遇到类似的大小不同的孤石可能也是建筑上用的。这样看来，探寻工作自然越来越有意义。

从第七至第九次，董作宾与郭宝钧两人轮流领导田野发掘。田野工作的主要目的仍是继续探寻建筑基础，同时也考察其他地下构造。这几次发掘更专注于对“版筑法”（即夯土筑法）不同发展阶段的深入研究。很明显，掌握这门技术对殷商时期土木工程师来说是最基本的要求。在研究中，我们的田野人员学到了许多3000余年前中国已应用的土木工程技术。

5. The Royal Tombs

Their Discovery and Systematic Excavation

There seems to be little question that the custom of elaborate burial of the rich and powerful was universal all over the ancient world, and that it was based on the belief in another world where man could continue to live on after his death in a way not altogether different from his life on earth. Though this practice was shaped in many different ways according to the mores and folkways that happened to dominate a particular region, its foundation remained the same: namely, the persistent human desire for and faith in a post-mortem existence.

As to when the idea of burying the dead started, it seems that no archaeologist has yet been able to provide a definite answer. It is definite, however, that in the neolithic period, interment was already commonplace, as was the custom of entombing burial goods with the dead body to accompany it to the other world.

Prehistoric investigations also indicate that the practice of elaborate burials certainly developed after man's exploitation of metals and the development of the caste system and of slavery. Of course the stages of social and political organization differed in various regions at various times, but the basic idea persisted: it was the duty of the heir to provide those luxuries and necessities which the deceased might need in his existence as a spirit or ghost or whatever other shape he might assume.

In the case of China, J. G. Andersson's discovery of neolithic burials has already been referred to in chapter 3. Nils Palmgren, in his monograph on Kansu mortuary urns, has given a detailed description of all the buried painted pottery vessels found in the prehistoric graves in Kansu province.[75] These potteries, whether excavated or purchased, provided the earliest evidence found by archaeologists that the neolithic Chinese, like neolithic peoples in other parts of world, believed in the dual existence of man. Later investigations have fully confirmed the dualistic faith of neolithic China.

Neolithic sites in Honan, Shansi, and Kansu, more scientifically excavated, have exposed both a living quarter and a separate quarter for a cemetery among the ruins.[76] The burial goods from these neolithic sites are mainly pottery, animal bones, and stone implements. They vary a great deal from grave to grave in both quality and quantity. Whether the variation is an indication of wealth or power or both is not at all clear. But it is significant that such differentiation already existed in prehistoric China; the range of such variation widens in the course of time till the Bronze Age, when huge tombs, palatial in size and luxury, began to be built.

The custom of elaborate burials was criticized as early as pre-Ch'in China, and vehemently condemned and ridiculed by many schools of philosophy, especially by the Moists and Taoists. Mo-tzŭ and Chuang-tzŭ's attacks on elaborate burials are both well known. This tradition, however, was preserved by Confucian emphasis on "Li," translated as "ritualism" by some, "propriety" by others. In the original Chinese sense, the term "Li" connotes, of course, a great deal more than either "ritualism" or "propriety." It is a sort of Confucian canonization of the current moral code about manners and customs prevailing in ancient China. The origin of "Li" as a code is usually attributed to Chou Kung, the famous brother of the founder of the Chou dynasty, Chou Wu Wang, an idol of the Confucian school and worshiped as one of the saints in traditional Confucianism.

In the first nine seasons of excavation of the Anyang sites, none of the burials located in Hsiao-t'un could in any respect be considered "elaborate," although a number of them, untouched by tomb robbers, contained beautiful bronzes, especially of the *ku* and *chüeh* types. It was in the adjacent regions of the Waste of Yin that the field teams first came upon tombs of huge size—when in the eighth season (1933) they were doing some further excavation at Hou-kang, where Liang Ssŭ-yung discovered a stratified sequence of the Yangshao, the Lungshan, and the historical Yin-Shang cultures.[77] The first big tomb found in Hou-kang had been almost completely sacked when our archaeologists reopened it. This work, nevertheless, served as the earliest evidence to indicate that systematic searches might locate tombs of large size, even royal cemeteries. The field workers in Anyang after 1931 were all well acquainted with the textures and appearance of "the pounded earth," which they came across frequently. When the opening of the Hou-kang tomb confirmed that the same technique of pisé (pounded earth) engineering was

used in building large tombs, naturally a guideline was provided. The Anyang field team, therefore, by hard labor and accumulated experience, found a key for their search for cemetery sites of the Yin-Shang dynasty in the neighboring regions.

Meanwhile, the treasure-hunting tradition persisted in spite of the promulgation of the Antiquities Protection Law by the central government. In Anyang, although the Academia Sinica excavations under the legal protection provided by the local government progressed without hindrance, illegal treasure-hunting and tomb-robbings took place whenever possible. This treasure-hunting tradition is shared by the East and West alike regardless of religion or law; so wherever buried treasure was located, hunters rushed like a crowd rushing for gold.

Anyang had been noted for ancient bronzes as early as the Northern Sung dynasty.[78] Once the scientific digging started, several foreign newspapers became interested; among them, the *Illustrated London News* gave much space to our Anyang discoveries, which immediately attracted worldwide attention.[79] One of the evil effects of such publicity was the encouragement of private diggings, which immediately became contagious even among the missionaries in China. Lawless plundering activities flourished everywhere in north China, and in Anyang as soon as the season for our official excavations closed, illegal treasure-hunting immediately became active. It was through these plundering activities that the royal cemetery at Hou-chia-chuang was first made known. The details of this discovery were of course entirely lost. Every visitor to the Nezu Art Museum in Tokyo must have been deeply impressed by three huge strangely shaped *ho* wine ewers, with heights of 71.2cm., 72.1cm., and 73.2cm., respectively. They are all said to come from Anyang, although Seiichi Mizuno did not mention them in his catalogue of Yin-hsü bronzes.[80] The story circulated in Anyang amounts to this:

The time may have been as early as 1933; private diggings near the village Hou-chia-chuang resulted in a rich harvest of huge bronzes and other treasures. Especially notorious were the three bronzes—of unknown shape but unusual size—that were immediately sold in the curio market, which of course made the chief digger suddenly rich. Although the definite conditions were unknown, those who shared the spoils naturally could not keep their

mouths as closed as the chief plunderer. So, news of his ill-gotten wealth very soon became widely known not only in the adjacent villages, but also circulated in Anyang city. Some of the Academia Sinica employees within a short period learned a great deal about this "lucky digging." The younger archaeologists of our expedition immediately got busy and naturally reported to the leader in charge of the excavation. The time was October 1934, when the tenth expedition to Anyang was just getting ready to start work under the leadership of Liang Ssŭ-yung.

In the tenth season, the original plan had been to continue tracing the building foundations of the Yin-Shang period, as in the previous three seasons, with further explorations of adjacent regions in the Huan River valley. When Liang Ssŭ-yung heard the story of the recent plundering of a Bronze Age tomb and learned the approximate location near the village of Hou-chia-chuang, he took immediate steps to move his men, and to concentrate all the efforts of the field team under his command to find out whether a real cemetery site might be discovered. This was indeed a momentous decision!

In this season, Liang was assisted by five experienced younger archaeologists: Shih Chang-ju, Liu Yao, Ch'i Yen-p'ei, Hu Fu-lin, and Yin Huan-chang—all well trained in field techniques, and full of enthusiasm for trying to find the exact location of the cemetery. They successfully located the cemetery site and, choosing a slightly raised mound northwest of the village settlement of Hou-chia-chuang, known locally as Hsi-pei-kang (meaning "northwest mound"), the field team started a trial digging, and exposed a number of huge tombs. This encouraging revelation induced Liang to concentrate all the available money and manpower to explore the entire dimension of this remarkable site. In three months' time (Oct. 3-Dec. 30), the excavated area covered more than three thousand square meters of land surface. A modern village road divided the site into two sections more than one hundred meters apart. The subarea on the west side of the road was named the western section, and that on the eastern side of the road the eastern section. Later on, the underground distribution of the excavated burials proved to fall handily into this dual division.

At the close of the first season's work at the Hou-chia-chuang cemetery, the results were more encouraging than had been expected. The important

discoveries were these: (1) four huge tombs, all located in the western section; sixty-three burials of ordinary size, all located in the eastern section; (2) buried bodies, in a number of different postures (prone, face-up, contracted, skulls only, etc.); (3) many well-preserved bronzes from the small graves; (4) carved stone artifacts from huge tombs, some as high as 36cm.; and (5) numerous jade ornaments, carved bones, and white potteries. The artifacts, as a whole, were better made and better preserved than those from Hsiao-t'un; but all were clearly part of the Yin-Shang Culture, corresponding in time with the inscribed oracle bone period; there existed little doubt in the mind of the excavators that the huge tombs of the western section, which were only partly uncovered at the close of the tenth season, were unquestionably some royal burials of the most powerful group of the ruling Yin-Shang dynasty.

In planning for the second season's field work at the Hsi-pei-kang cemetery of Hou-chia-chuang (the eleventh season of our Anyang excavation), Liang showed his unusual farsightedness and perspective, as well as a powerful grasp of practical details. I fully supported his project for the Hou-chia-chuang field work, but it also created some financial difficulties. The budget requested a sum between twenty thousand and thirty thousand silver dollars, which was far beyond the limit of the regular allowance to the research institute. At that time, I was also acting for Director Fu Ssŭ-nien, besides my duty as Chief of the Archaeological Section. Luckily, however, Dr. V. K. Ting was the Director General of the Academia Sinica. Ting, with his broad learning, had in the past always shown a great deal of interest in field archaeology and was now in a position to help by practical means the realization of Liang's brilliant project. He made the timely proposal of inviting the National Central Museum to participate in this undertaking. The idea was that the National Central Museum would share a part of the field expense of the Hou-chia-chuang excavation with the understanding that the artifacts, after the completion of our studies, were to be permanently deposited in the museum, which was at that time erecting its building in the capital on a magnificent scale with an endowment from the British Indemnity Fund.

This eleventh Anyang expedition, in the spring of 1935, can be taken in retrospect as the climax of our field work. The financial costs were great, but, more impressive, the results were the richest. The expedition represented the

best-organized team work and also the highest executive efficiency. More important for the general public, the achievements successfully confirmed the truth that scientific archaeology not only promotes verifiable knowledge, but also provides an assured means to find buried treasures and give them legal protection.

The eleventh season lasted ninety-seven days (March 10-June 15, 1935). Liang had seven assistants from the Archaeological Section. In addition, Ts'inghua University sent a graduate student, Hsia Nai, to Anyang to learn field archaeology, before sending him to England.

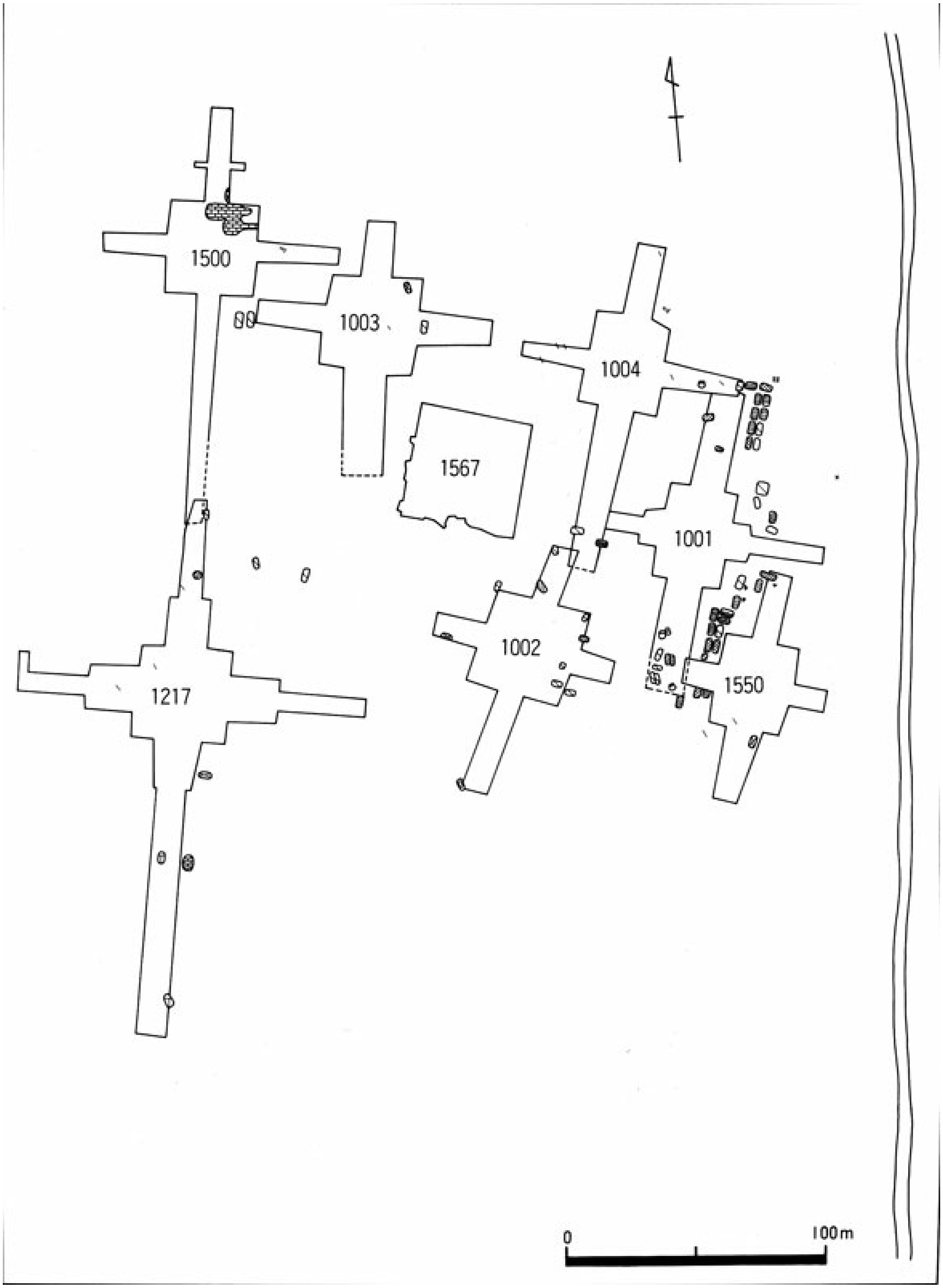
The field work of the second excavation at the Hsi-pei-kang cemetery site covered about eight thousand square meters. Four huge tombs of the western section were completely cleared, and 411 small burials in the eastern were opened. The depth of the huge tombs is between twelve and thirteen meters. It was definitely established that the smaller burials were sacrificial in nature; many of these sacrificial tombs contained merely skulls or headless skeletons, which provide, of course, definite evidence of human sacrifices. In excavating the huge tombs, it gradually became clear that these tombs had been ransacked more than once in the past, so before the clearance reached the bottom, everybody in the field was already aware that no intact hidden treasure could be expected. Nevertheless, discoveries made in nooks and corners, which had escaped the attention of the earlier plunderers, were already astonishing. Especially precious were those findings of delicate impressions left by perishable materials like bamboo, wood fibers, and so on, which only trained archaeologists could trace. More substantial artifacts like marble carvings and many bronze articles of unusual size, as well as delicate and fine jade work and so forth, though not *in situ*, were frequently recovered in the refilled earth of the earlier robbed tunnels.

The excavation of this season attracted a number of eminent visitors. Among them, Professor Paul Pelliot, accompanied by Director Fu Ssŭ-nien, was guest of honor at Hou-chia-chuang for a special visit (see Fig. 7).

7 Fu Ssŭ-nien, Paul Pelliot, and Liang Ssŭ-yung at one of the Hou-chia-chuang tombs
傅斯年、伯希和、梁思永在侯家庄大墓工地上

The work was continued for another season (autumn 1935), at Hsi-pei-kang, on an even larger scale than that of the second season. The workmen engaged reached five hundred per day, the largest number ever employed in the history of Chinese field archaeology up to that time. The excavated area covered 9,600 square meters. More huge tombs in the western sections were opened; altogether there are seven regular tombs in the western section besides an unfinished huge pit (see Fig. 8). In addition, nearly eight hundred small burials in the eastern section were cleared. At the close of this season's work, the results once more indicated that all the huge tombs, like those opened in the first two seasons, had more than once been plundered. The earliest sacking started probably as early as the Chou dynasty; at least, it took place before the Eastern Han period, since a tomb of Eastern Han was discovered on the top of the refilled plundered tomb. As in the previous seasons, artifacts discovered were nevertheless rich, and in many cases unexpected. So, in addition to a great deal of detailed knowledge of the structure of the gigantic tombs and the engineering skill of the Yin-Shang dynasty, the exposure of the material culture of this dynasty constituted a real

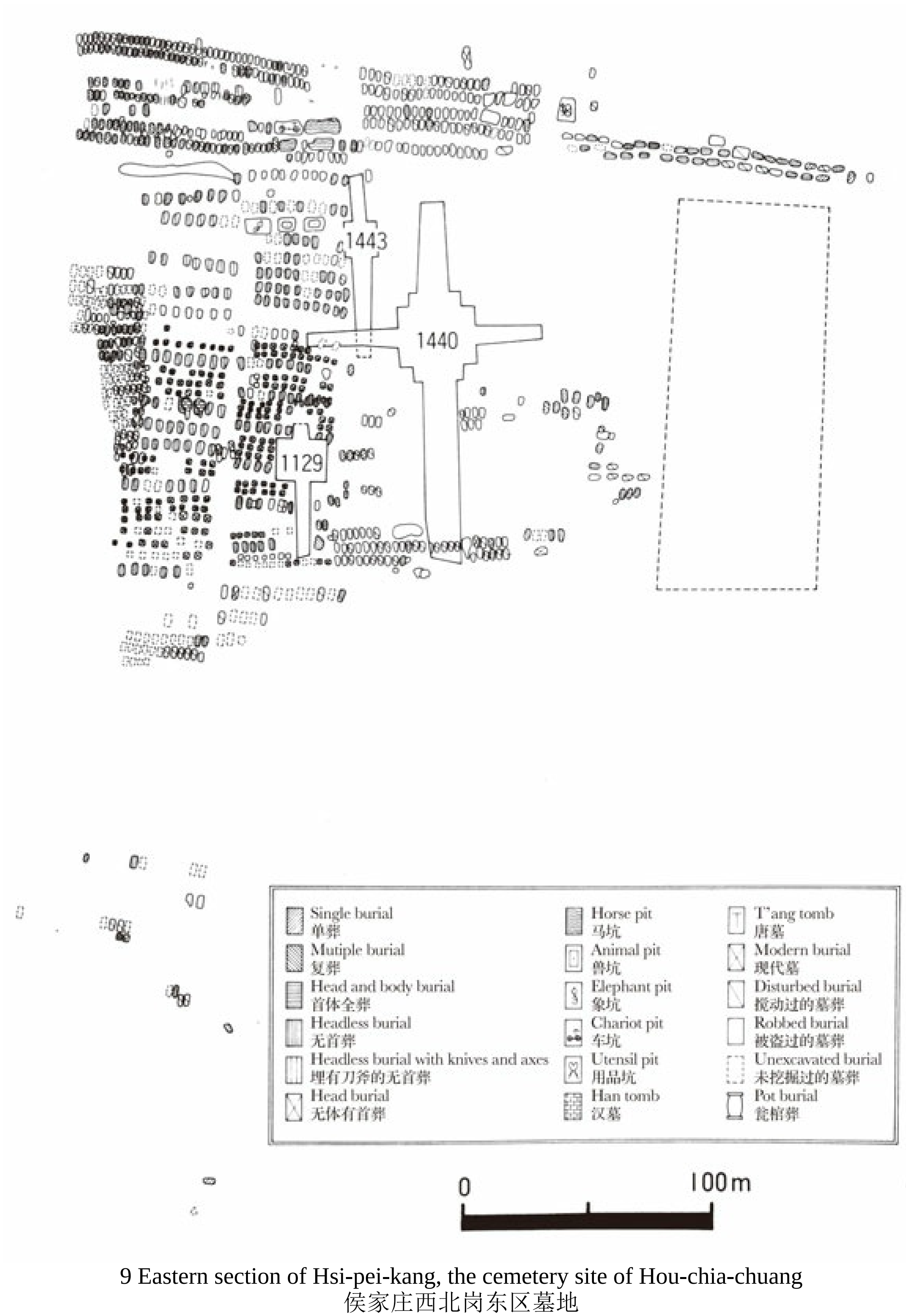
revelation.



8 Seven big tombs and one pit in the western section of Hou-chia-chuang (see legend for Fig. 9)
侯家庄西区7座大墓和1个坑（图例见图9）

Professor Kao Ch'ü-hsün summarized the three seasons' diggings at the Hsi-pei-kang of Hou-chia-chuang in the following terms: [81]

> During the three seasons of the excavations of the cemetery site at Hsi-pei-kang, north of Hou-chia-chuang, 1,267 tombs were opened. Of these opened tombs, ...1,232 tombs are of the Yin-Shang dynasty. [Kao later pointed out that some of the small tombs might belong to a later age, although they culturally pertained to the Shang dynasty.] These Yin-Shang tombs are distributed underground in a very orderly fashion; but no mounds or other conspicuous marks above the ground surface are visible or could have existed! ...
>
> Of the 1,232 Yin-Shang tombs, 10 are large-scale big underground structures, one of which is obviously an unfinished tomb—without any passage like the other nine. ... All the rest—1,221 in exact number—of the opened burials are small graves but evidently related to the 10 big tombs in one way or another.
>
> Of the 10 large tombs, 7 are located in the western section of Hsi-pei- kang cemetery, 3 in the eastern section...They are all N.S. oriented with the northern passage inclining towards the east a few degrees. In the case of the minor burials—the 1,221 small tombs, only 104 of them are found in the western section, while all the others, 1,117 in number, are all located in the eastern section of the cemetery. ...[See Fig. 9]



9 Eastern section of Hsi-pei-kang, the cemetery site of Hou-chia-chuang
侯家庄西北岗东区墓地

Liang's idea, after the third season's excavation of the Hou-chia-chuang cemetery, was to pause for a short period to examine the amazing new discoveries and unusual finds, so that there might be sufficient deliberation for further planning to continue the excavation. But, alas! Who could predict that this promising enterprise should suddenly be ended by the Japanese invasion of 1937!

It is certainly important and necessary to give a general account of the scientific contributions from these excavations to our knowledge of ancient Chinese culture and the early history of China. In my Preface to Volume 2 of the Hou-chia-chuang series, I have pointed out the more salient features in the following remarks:

> I should mention in this short Preface the more important contributions from these excavations to our knowledge of the history of Ancient China. It is obviously impossible to itemize these contributions in any numerical order. If I should arrange the following features in an order, it could only represent the sequence of our gradual recognition of the historical value of these various features, which are:
>
> 1. The planking method of earth pounding (*pan-chu*) as the main technical skill of the civil engineer in the Yin-Shang dynasty; neither bricks nor stones were used as building materials.
>
> 2. The building of the huge tomb (Esp. HPKM 1004) as an illustration of the burial custom of the privileged class and of the large-scale control of man power of the dead man's heir.
>
> 3. Definite evidence of the practice of human sacrifice.
>
> 4. Artifacts, which have survived many sackings, serve as material evidence of the stage of economic development and artistic achievement attained by ancient China in the later part of the second millennium B.C.
>
> 5. Various examples of stone carving from the big tombs, although moderate in size, are amazing in the sense that they were totally unknown previously.
>
> 6. The numerous specimens of weapons and ritual vessels provide a starting point for a scientific study of metallurgical craftsmanship in Yin-Shang China.[82]

I also mentioned, in this Preface, that the knowledge and importance of some of the features listed above were germinated in the group mind of the field team, long before the cemetery site was first discovered. But these hypotheses did not develop into assured knowledge until they were confirmed by the Hsi-pei-kang excavations.

I would like to expound these items with some concrete illustrations.

Perhaps the best starting point is to outline the main features of one of the huge tombs excavated in the western section of the cemetery site, where

seven of these gigantic, complete tomb structures were successively opened in these seasons. Four of these in the eastern part of this section and two in the western part show definite structural sequence in the crosscutting of the passage corridors attached to each tomb. The one in the middle-west portion, HPKM 1003, together with an unfinished pit in this section, shows no structural relationship with any of the other six tombs.

HPKM 1004, which is located in the eastern part of the western section of the cemetery, may be taken here as a sample to illustrate the size and general structure of the royal tombs discovered in Hou-chia-chuang. The detailed report of the excavation of this huge tomb was published in the third series of Archaeologia Sinica, based on the original manuscripts of Liang Ssŭ-yung, edited and supplemented by Professor Kao Ch'ü-hsün.[83]

Let us first see the essential features of the tomb's structure.

Location, Size and Structure HPKM 1004 is located on the eastern portion of the western section of the cemetery; its exact location is northwest of HPKM 1001; its eastern passage corridor cuts the northern corridor of HPKM 1001, while its southern passage corridor is cut by the northern passage corridor of HPKM 1002. These two crosscutting definitely indicate that HPKM 1004 was built after HPKM 1001, and before HPKM 1002.

As for the size, the various midline measurements are shown in the following table:

Main Pit at the Center		At the Mouth	At the Bottom
Measured areas		284.61m.2	142.52m.2
Midline measurements	N.S.	17.90m.	13.20m.
	E.W.	15.90m.	10.80m.
Depth of the central pit (at the center)		12.00-12.20m.	
Midline of southern corridor			31.40m.

Midline of northern corridor	14.10m.
Midline of eastern corridor	15.00m.
Midline of western corridor	13.80m.

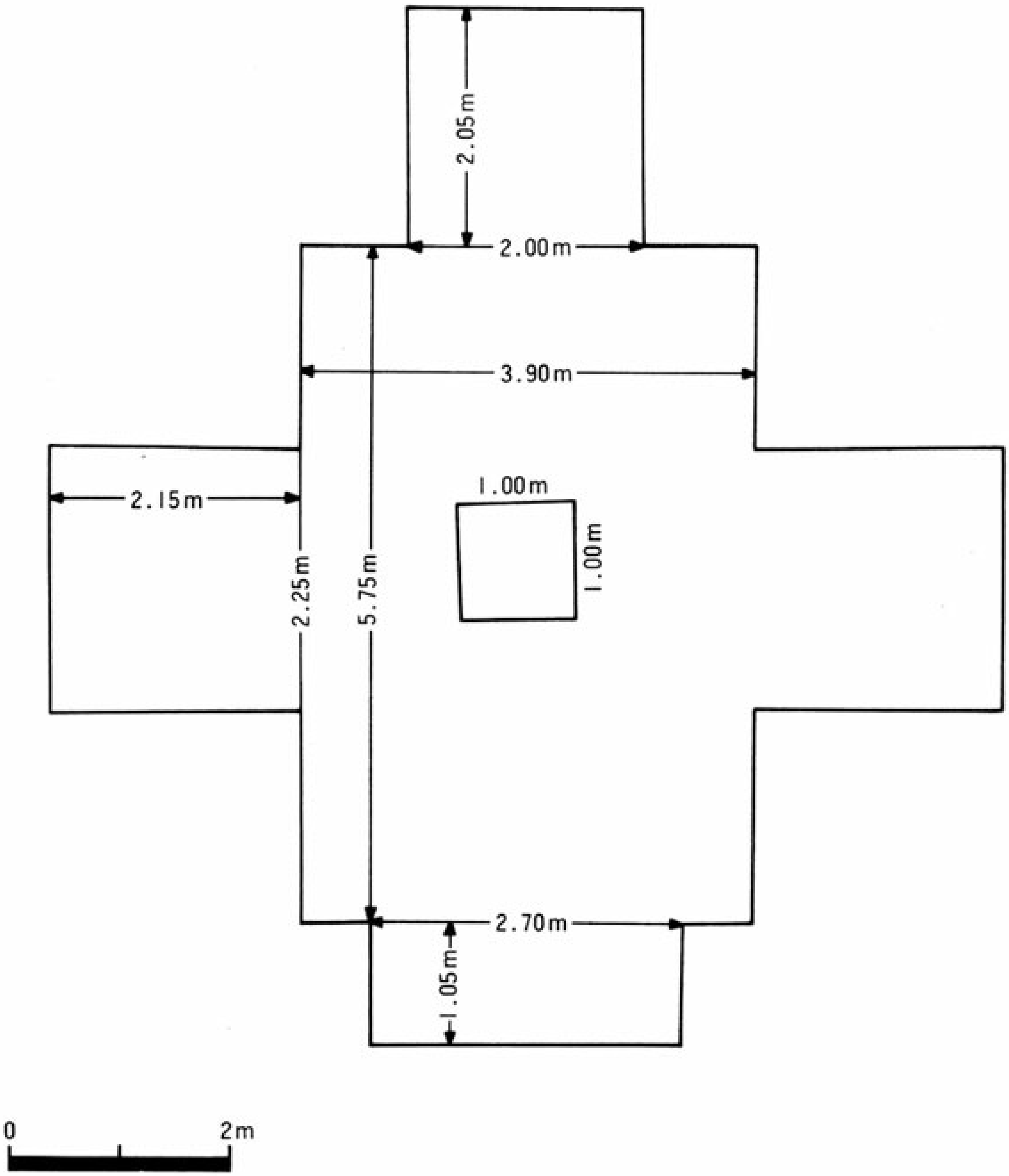
The central pit alone, according to the measurements above, contains nearly two thousand cubic meters of compact soil, which had to be dug out in the course of clearing. It was soon found, when the excavation was in progress, that all the huge tombs had been sacked more than once, before modern tomb robbers intruded. The past sackings were so thorough that at least the earliest plunderers clearly reached the wooden chamber and took away all the buried treasures they could find; however, they did not care for the buried goods in the corridors. Those stored in the passage corridors were stolen later, some of them perhaps only recently. For modern archaeological purposes, cleaning up the refilled huge tombs proved to be a burdensome business, but not entirely unrewarding. In the first place, the tomb structure is itself an important study and, second, refilled tombs frequently included precious artifacts that the earlier tomb robbers were too ignorant to appreciate. It is true also that, as a general rule, no tomb robbers, past or present, are in the mood to do a 100 percent clean job; so there are always nooks and corners that have been neglected. The Hou-chia-chuang excavations have once more proved this generalization.

In the case of HPKM 1004, the outline of structure of the central pit at the cross-section is nearly square, but somewhat longer in the north-south direction than in the dimension from east to west. So, as the pit goes down, the dimension of the pit gradually shrinks in size, and at the bottom, which appeared at the depth of 12.00-12.20 meters from the surface, the size shrinks to 15.20m. × 16.30m.; thus the whole huge pit, when drawn on scale, looks like a Chinese square peck for measuring rice and wheat. At the bottom of this deep-sunken pit is a wooden chamber. The wooden chamber of tomb HPKM 1004 was still preserved sufficiently for a reconstruction of the original. Leading to the wooden chamber at the bottom of the central pit are the four sloping passage corridors from the four directions; some of these are stepped, others merely sloping. The one from the south, which measures

31.40m. long from the upper end near the surface soil down to the southern entrance at the central pit at the bottom, is the longest of the four, while the other three passages to the east, west, and north are all less than half the distance of the southern corridor; they are naturally also more steep.

The Wooden Chamber The floors of the wooden chambers, some of which still leave visible traces, are clearly composed of long wooden beams, 20-30cm. in dimension; and the side walls are nearly three meters high. Whether these chambers were also roofed by timbers is however not very clear. But there is no question that these chambers must have been roofed. And, also, there must have been an entrance door facing the south, which passed directly into the southern passage corridor. Evidence also shows that inside the wooden chamber, the walls might have been elaborately decorated by painting, carving, or inlaying, or even stucco, presumably as extravagant as the inside of a palace. As the side walls of the central pit have been found usually smooth and well plastered, while the wooden chamber is much smaller than the bottom size of the hollowed pit, there obviously existed a distance between the wall of the pit and the wall of the wooden chamber, which was filled in by layers of pounded earth.

Professor Kao Ch'ü-hsün illustrates the wooden chamber of HPKM 1004 as reconstructed in Figure 10. The measured dimensions at the bottom of the pit are 13.20m. × 10.00m.; the reconstructed wooden chamber at the bottom occupies the maximum dimension of 9.00m. × 8.50m. only, including all the side chamber, so there is an average of more than one meter's distance between the wall of the central pit and the wall of the wooden chamber. The empty space that separated the wooden chamber from the pit wall, before the tomb was closed up, had to be filled in by pounding the soil up to the top of the roof, layer after layer, with the exception of the southern entrance. There is scarcely any doubt that this pisé work definitely took place long before the final closure of the tomb. There is also reason to believe that this part of filling-in engineering might have been the final phase of the construction of the tomb, a finishing touch after the completion of the building of the wooden chamber. When the filling-in was completed, the regular burial, that is, the conveyance of the royal coffin into the wooden chamber, may have taken place, although the means are still uncertain. The method of transportation for the dead body might have been a specially constructed carriage, or an ox-drawn cart.



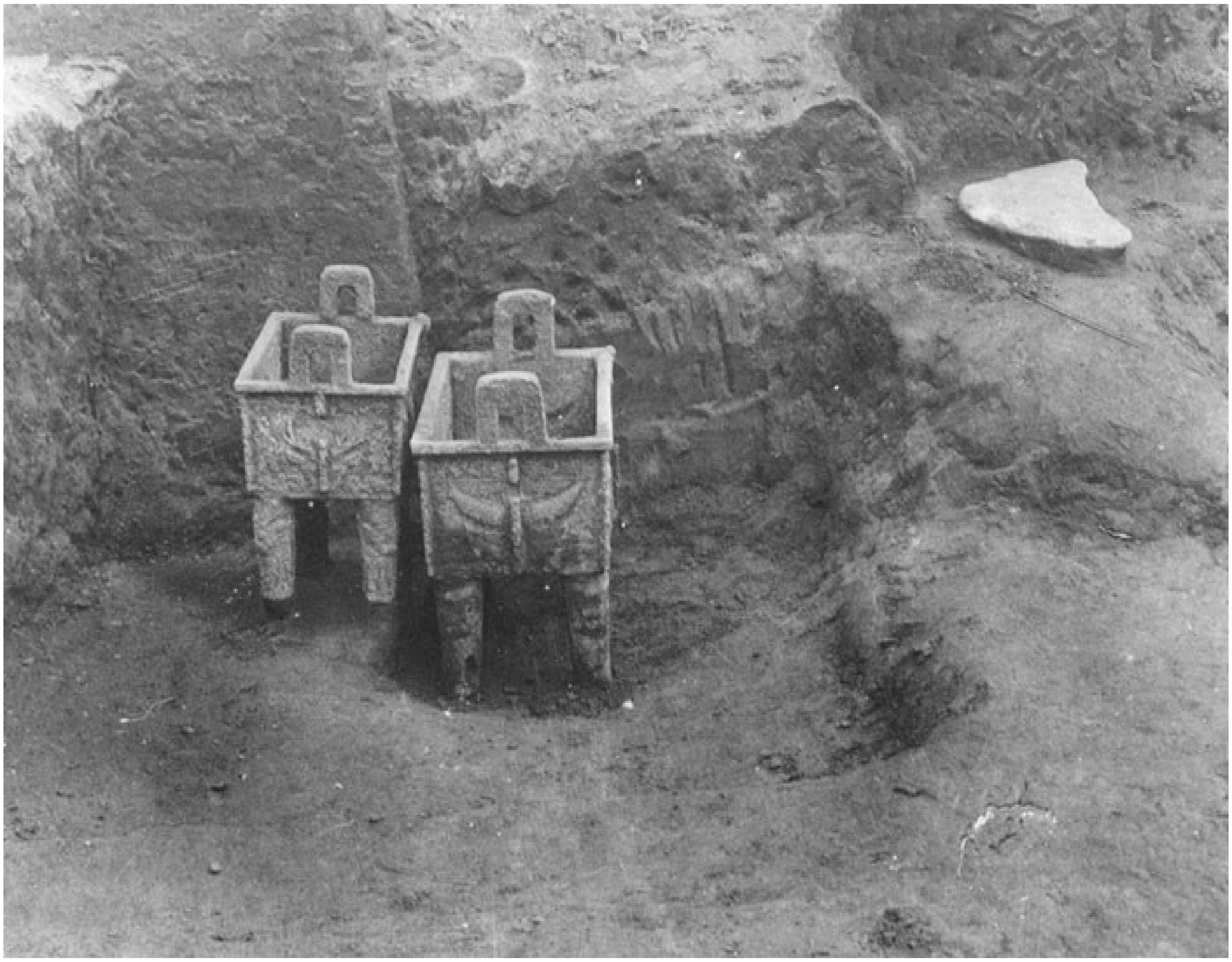
10 The floor of the wooden chamber of HPKM 1004
HPKM1004大墓木椁图

There seems to be no question that once the dead body was placed within the wooden chamber, a sacrificial ceremony started. The ritual procedure may have taken a long time; it must have been a time-consuming business, judging by the extraordinary number of burial treasures and the total number of human sacrifices. Also, according to pre-Ch'in tradition, the

custom of three years' mourning by the heir started in the Yin-Shang dynasty, although many historians may still be skeptical on this point.

Early Plunderings In opening HPKM 1004, the archaeologists observed that long before modern treasure hunters cast their eyes on this group of royal tombs, they were plundered in early periods more than once—in the case of HPKM 1004, definitely twice. In the previous tomb-robbings, diggings were evidently carried out in a systematic manner; traces of the early diggings reach down to 12 meters deep, much lower than the present water level. The plunderers obviously knew the exact location where the buried treasures were hidden underneath, as they drilled their tunnels almost exactly on the top of the wooden chamber—slightly deviating northward in the case of HPKM 1004. So the first sacking—if we take HPKM 1004 as instance—scooped out nearly 90 percent of the buried treasures, leaving what they believed to be only trifles.

The refilled robbing tunnels are in a way also interesting for a modern archaeologist to trace. By careful examination of the traces of the previous plunderings and the refilled caves one can learn the technique of the robbers' procedure. More important, one might also acquire some information by which to judge approximately when the plunderings occurred. In the case of tomb HPKM 1004, the drilling by the early plunderers for some reason ran a little toward the north; as a consequence, a small part near the southern wall of the pit was left untouched. The result was that the two magnificent bronze tetrapods were left buried there till our field team reopened the tomb in 1934 (see Fig. 11).

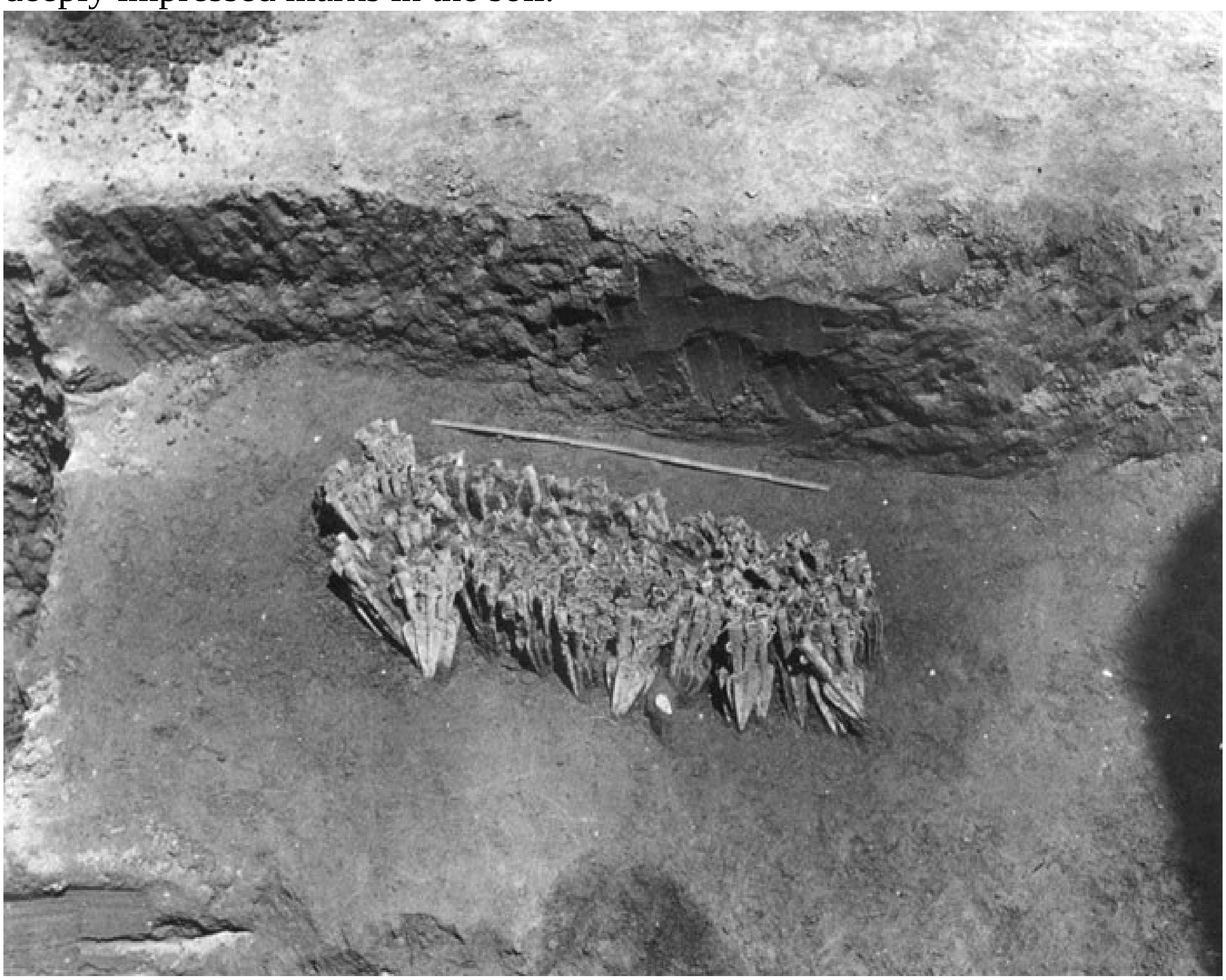


11 Two of the big bronzes *in situ*, HPKM 1004
HPKM1004大墓中在原处发现的两个方形大鼎

Offerings and Human Sacrifices From the refilled tunnels in all the big tombs in both the western and eastern sections, many important artifacts have been recovered; but as they were not found *in situ*, it is impossible to say whether they originally belonged to the tomb where they were found. Fortunately, as mentioned above, there are nooks and corners which early plunderers overlooked, and in these intact and usually out of the way places, occasionally some lucky finds, like the two huge bronze tetrapods in HPKM 1004, were occasionally found *in situ*.

The original report on HPKM 1004 describes the exact location of these two bronze tetrapods in the southern side of the central pit of this tomb near the entrance of the southern passage corridor at a depth from the modern surface of 8.1 meters, a little less than 2 meters above the roof of the wooden chamber. They constitute the fourth intact layer of depository furniture found

in this untouched portion. Below this layer, our archaeologists discovered a bundle of 360 bronze spearheads at the depth of 9.60-9.85m. (see Fig. 12); the second layer of deposit below was bronze helmets, which according to later accounting were as many as 141, and mixed with the helmets in the deposit were also spearheads and halberts. The bottom layer, that is, the first layer, was located near the bottom of the pit at almost 12m. below the modern surface. In this layer were found articles originally made of perishable materials, which had almost completely disappeared at the time of discovery. Still our field archaeologists were able to trace out four individual artifacts; they apparently were parts of a carriage, judging by the decorative trace left on the soil, in which the pigments and the copper rust had left deeply impressed marks in the soil.



12 A large number of spearheads discovered *in situ*, HPKM 1004
HPKM1004大墓中在原处发现的大量矛头

Finds as given above are comparatively rare; still they occur here and there in almost every big tomb in both sections. And in the case of the small

sacrificial tombs, there were many which remained intact when our field team started systematic excavation.

Among the minor tombs, located mainly in the eastern section of the HPKM cemetery, 439 were undisturbed by early grave robbers, and 419 were partly destroyed; all the rest had been completely destroyed by tomb thieves. Of this total number of small tombs only 104 were located in the western section; the majority of them, 1,117 in number, were found in the eastern section.

Among the opened small tombs—1,046 in number—643 can be classified according to their contents and other features, namely:[84]

Type I. Human Bones	Number
a. Single complete skeleton	131
b. Multiple complete skeletons	57
c. Skull and skeletal part separated	52
d. Skulls only	209
e. Post-cranial skeleton only	192
f. Infants in urns	9
TYPE II. Animals	Number
a. Horse burials	20
b. Elephant burials	2
c. Other animals (including birds)	?
Type III. Miscellaneous	Number

a. Carriage	2
b. Vessels	1

A casual examination of the above list is sufficient to show that these minor burials are in fact the pits for sacrificial offerings. Among the human burials alone, the over four hundred which have been exposed in which the dead bodies were definitely mutilated before burial (the c., d., and e. subtypes according to the above classification), certainly proves the existence of the practice of human sacrifice in the Yin-Shang dynasty. It may be justifiably deduced, as our archaeologists have done, that all the small tombs are sacrificial tombs.

One of the most incontestable confirmations of this barbarous custom was found in the very bottom of the deep sunken pit, far below the floor of the wooden chamber in HPKM 1001, where no less than nine under floor sacrificial human pits had remained intact for our archaeologists to clear in 1935. The wooden ground floor was sufficiently well preserved to indicate that early plunderings did not reach deeper than this floor. When they discovered the nine burial pits underneath the floor, located in the center and four corners, the field archaeologists concluded that these were the skeletons of the guards placed there to protect the dead master against subterranean evil spirits. Even more interesting to an archaeologist is that all the nine pits indicate: (1) a definite position—one at the center, two at each of four corners of the wooden chamber floor, (2) the bodies were all contracted, either prone or on the side, (3) each was accompanied by a dog skeleton, and (4) each burial had a halbert weapon—the *ko*—a standard Chinese weapon. Most noticeable is the fact that while the halberts uncovered in all the four corner pits were all made of bronze, the central pit alone contained a stone halbert. [85]

Even more astonishing were the disclosures that in all the large tombs, both in the central pit above the level of the wooden chambers and in the passage corridors, the mutilated skeletons and skulls were found in groups, layer after layer, repeated in the accumulated strata of the pounded earth that filled up the central pit as well as the various passages. It is almost impossible

to make an account of the number of victims slaughtered for each of the royal tombs, as all the tombs were sacked more than once before our team started the clearing; many of skeletal remains of the victims must have been already destroyed.

Important Finds Among the various and abundant artifacts recovered from the Hou-chia-chuang cemetery site, the group that commanded the most attention and was considered unique and unexpected was a series of stone carvings of both realistic and mythical types, such as turtles, frogs, human figures, and tiger-headed, eagle-headed, and double-faced monsters. Most of these relatively large stone carvings were excavated from HPKM 1001, but unfortunately only from the refilled sacked pockets, so that it was impossible to say exactly what their positions had been *in situ* in the original tomb. It is even difficult to judge whether these artistic stone artifacts were originally buried in these big tombs where they were uncovered, as there is reason to believe that these sacked areas were refilled from mixed dumps of soils from a number of graves plundered at the same time. In the special reports on these tombs, a number of instances show that fragments of one article, which had been broken into several pieces, had been deposited in the refills of several different tombs.[86]

While the finds from the refilling of HPKM 1001 exhibit a long list of stone sculptures, the most interesting example to professional archaeologists is the one found in the filling-in deposit of the plundering tunnels from HPKM 1004. This is a fragment of a human figure in the kneeling-sitting posture, exactly resembling the formal posture of a modern Japanese sitting at home on the *tatami* (see Fig. 13).

13 Reconstruction of a human figure in the kneeling-sitting posture 出土的跪坐姿势的人体残部复原图

I personally made a special study of this particular figure years later and found out that the posture represented by this stone figure was historically known as *seiza* in the Japanese language; but the original Chinese term for it is *cheng-tso*, meaning "correct seating," especially on Chinese ceremonial occasions, as during the emperor's reception of an official audience. Ancient China kept this "correct seating" posture up to the end of the Han dynasty, while the Japanese *seiza* can be traced only to the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. through the Korean influence.

Another group of important artifacts is a series of beautifully impressed traces left on the soil in brilliant red and other colors, sometimes inlaid by colored stone and shells; these are from articles made of perishable materials like fabrics of hemp and silk in wooden and bamboo frames, especially lacquered wooden utensils, and so on. These articles were probably painted in brilliant mineral pigments that were better preserved in the buried soil than the major substance of the original articles. The field men referred to these "traces" as "decorated clay." In HPKM 1001, findings of decorated clay were very extensive; they also appeared in other big tombs. Our field men cut off these clay lumps with great care and packed them in specially made boxes sent to headquarters for study. Some of the designs left on the impressed clay remain clear and vivid; they have provided a rich source of materials for investigating the development of decorative art of this period.

In this connection, mention should also be made about an intact group, discovered in the western corridor of HPKM 1217, the original traces of a drum and a musical stone *in situ* (see Figs. 56 and 57).[87] The decayed and disintegrated drum still kept its original shape as well as the marks of snake skin as the drum head; the musical stone (*ch*'*in*) was well preserved, although somewhat imperfectly made.

The bronze vessels and weapons, which appeared abundantly, were on the whole much better preserved and were originally certainly better made. If we remember that all the finds made during our excavations were only the relatively few lucky survivals of past systematic and thorough-going plunderings, we can imagine how extravagant these elaborate burials must have been, not to mention the enormous amount of human labor commandeered to build these excessively huge mausoleums.

伍．王墓群的发现及系统发掘

在古代，有钱有势的人举行厚葬的习俗无疑在世界各地都是一样的。人们相信人死后会到另一个世界以一种与生前几无二致的方式继续生活，厚葬的习俗就是建立在这种思想基础上的。虽然这种做法会因主导某一地区的社会风俗及道德规范的不同，发展成不同的形式，但其基本思想却是一致的：人们一直渴望并相信人死后还继续存在。

至于埋葬死者的观念始于何时，似乎尚无考古学家能给出确切的回答。但可以肯定，在新石器时代，埋葬尸体及将随葬品与死者一同埋葬陪伴死者到另一个世界的习俗已很普遍了。

史前史的研究也证明了，在人类开始使用金属和等级制、奴隶制发展起来以后，厚葬习俗便兴起了。当然，在不同时代的不同地区，社会和政治组织所处的阶段也不相同，但这种基本思想却一直存在：向灵魂或亡灵或不论以何种形式存在的死者供奉享乐品和必需品，是后人的义务。

就中国来说，本书第三章中已谈过安特生发现的新石器时代的墓葬。巴尔姆格伦在关于甘肃瓮棺葬的专论中，对甘肃史前墓中发现的随葬彩陶容器已予以详细描述。[75]这些彩陶，无论是发掘的或收购的，都从考古学方面提供了最早的证据，证明新石器时代的中国人与世界上其他地区新石器时代的人类一样，相信人的存在是二元的。尔后的调查也充分证明了新石器时代中国人的二元论信仰。河南、山西、甘肃的新石器时代遗址，经过科学发掘后，也显示出，遗址中既有居住区，还有一个单独的墓藏区。[76]这些新石器遗址出土的随葬品主要有陶器、动物骨骼和石制用具。就质与量而言，墓与墓之间差别很大。这种差别是否代表财富上或权力上或二者兼而有之的差距尚不可知。但这种差别在史前时期的中国就已存在，这一点很重要。随着时间的推移，差别的程度逐渐扩大，到青铜时代，宫殿式的大型奢华陵墓已开始营建。

早在中国先秦时，厚葬之风就受到谴责，许多哲学家特别是墨家和道家对此进行猛烈抨击和嘲弄。墨子和庄子反对厚葬的言论非常著名。但这种传统被儒家称之为“礼”而保存下来。“礼”被某些人解释为“仪式”，被另一些人说成是“礼节”。但这个“礼”字的本义比“仪式”或“礼节”广泛得多。它是盛行于上古中国的举止和风俗的道德规范，后被儒家奉为圣典。一般认为，作为道德规范的“礼”始于周公，他是周朝创建

者周武王之弟，儒家学派的偶像，传统儒学中崇拜的圣人之一。

在前九次安阳发掘中，无论从哪一方面讲，小屯的墓葬都不能认为是“厚葬”，尽管在一些未被盗墓者掘过的墓中发现了精致的青铜器，尤其是觚形器和爵形器。1933年第八次发掘时，发掘团在殷墟附近的后岗进行进一步挖掘时首次发现大墓。梁思永在此地发现了仰韶、龙山和殷商文化相叠压的堆积。[77]第一个后岗大墓被掘开后，发现此墓几乎已被盗掘一空。然而，这一工作也首次证明，通过系统的调查可以找到大墓，甚至王陵。1931年以后，安阳田野考古工作者对他们常遇到的“夯土”的结构与外观都很熟悉了。后岗大墓揭开后证实，在营建大墓时也使用了“夯土”工程技术，这自然就提供了一个指示线索。因此，安阳考古队通过艰苦工作和积累的经验，找到了在附近地区探索殷商墓遗址的钥匙。

同时，尽管中央政府颁布了《古物保存法》，但盗宝之风仍未消戢。在安阳，虽然中央研究院的发掘由于当地政府的保护顺利地进行着，但非法猎宝和盗墓也是防不胜防。猎宝之风东西方皆有，无关法律和宗教。只要哪里埋有珍宝，猎宝者就会像淘金者一样闻风而至。

早在北宋时，安阳就以古代青铜器闻名。[78]科学发掘一开始，立即吸引了一些外国报纸的关注。《伦敦图画新闻》大篇幅地刊载了安阳的发掘情况，立即引起了世界范围内的广泛关注。[79]这种宣传的负面影响之一就是激励了私人挖宝，这股风气甚至很快蔓延到在中国的传教士中。非法的猎宝活动遍布华北各地。在安阳，每当我们的正式发掘一结束，非法的猎宝者立即活跃起来。侯家庄王陵正是由于这种猎宝活动首次为人所知的。这一发现的细节资料当然已完全失落。每个到过东京根津艺术博物馆的人，都会对三个高分别为71.2厘米、72.1厘米、73.2厘米的器形奇特的盉印象深刻。尽管水野清一在他的殷墟青铜器编目[80]中没有提到它们，但所有人都说这是安阳出土的器物。安阳流传着这样一个故事：

大约早在1933年，侯家庄附近由私人挖掘出了大量青铜器和其他珍品。众人皆知的是，有三件形制不明、体积很大的青铜器随即在古玩市场上被售出，主要挖掘者也因此一夜暴富。虽不知确切情况，但分赃者当然不像赃主那样守口如瓶。因而，发不义之财的消息不胫而走，不仅附近村庄妇孺皆知，而且安阳市里也纷纷传说。中研院的一些工作人员在很短时间内就了解到不少关于这次“幸运发掘”的情况。考察队中的年轻考古学家立即忙碌起来，自然也把这一消息向发掘的负责人作了汇报。时值1934年10月，梁思永领导的第十次安阳发掘正待开始。

第十次发掘的最初计划原是同前三次一样，想继续寻找殷商时期的建筑基础，并对洹河河谷一带进行进一步考察。当梁思永听到近来青铜时代墓葬被盗的事，并得知墓葬的大概位置靠近侯家庄，他便立即采取措施，调集手下的人员，集中掌握的一切力量，以查清是否真有墓地可供发掘。这确实是一个重大决定！

在这次发掘中，协助梁的是五位富有经验的年轻考古学家：石璋如、刘燿、祁延霈、胡福林和尹焕章。这几位在田野技术上经过良好的训练，对寻找墓地的确切地点满怀热情。他们成功地找到了墓地的位置，并选择在侯家庄西北一处微凸的土岗（本地人称“西北岗”）上开始了试掘，揭开了许多座大墓。这一令人欣喜的发现促使梁集中一切可利用的人力财力对这一特殊遗址进行全方位的考察。从10月3日至12月30日近三个月的时间里，发掘面积达3000多平方米。一条乡村公路把遗址分成了相距百余米的两部分，路西为西区，路东为东区。后来证明，发掘出的墓葬的地下分布刚好与此二分法吻合。

侯家庄墓地第一次发掘结束时，所获成果比预期的更使人兴奋。重要的发现包括：(1) 4座大墓全分布在西区，63座小墓全在东区；(2) 埋葬的躯体呈多种不同姿势（俯身、仰面、屈肢、仅有头骨等）；(3) 小墓中出土了许多保存完好的青铜器；(4) 大墓中出土的刻纹石器，有的高达36厘米；(5) 还有大量的玉饰品、花骨和白陶等。总的来说，这些器物较小屯出土的更精致，保存得也更完好；但很显然，它们是与有字甲骨同时代的，是殷商文化的一部分。虽然第十次发掘临近结束时才揭开部分西区大墓，但发掘者们几乎已经可以断定这些是统治殷商王朝的最有权势的王室的墓葬。

在制定侯家庄西北岗的第二次（即安阳第十一次）田野发掘计划时，梁思永表现了非凡的远见卓识和对实践细节的掌握能力。在侯家庄的田野工作上，我全力支持他的计划，但这也带来了一些经济困难。开支预算总数达两到三万银圆，这大大超过了拨给研究所的常规经费的限额。这时，我既负责考古组的工作，又代理傅斯年的所长职务。然而，幸运的是，这时担任中研院总干事的是丁文江博士。丁是个知识渊博的人，过去就一直对田野考古表现了极大的热忱，现在他有能力采取实际办法帮助实现梁的卓越计划。丁及时地建议邀请国立中央博物院参加这项事业。双方达成的协定是：博物院分担侯家庄田野发掘的部分经费，出土的器物待我们研究结束后，由博物院永久保存。当时的博物院得到了一笔英“庚款”基金，正在首都兴建一座大楼。

回头来看，1935年春的第十一次安阳发掘是我们田野工作的高潮。

虽然经费开支大，但重要的是收获丰富。这次发掘代表了组织最完善的团队工作和最高效的执行力。对一般公众来说，更重要的是，这些成就有力地证实了一个道理：科学发掘不仅能进一步对知识进行验证，而且能提供一个寻找埋葬的珍品的可靠方法，并给以法律保护。

第十一次发掘持续了97天（1935年3月10日至6月15日）。梁有七位来自考古组的助手。另外，清华大学还派了一名研究生夏鼐在去英国留学前到安阳见习田野考古。

西北岗墓地的第二次发掘面积约达8000平方米。西区4座大墓全部清理出来了，东区有411座小墓被掘开。大墓深12至13米不等。可以肯定的是，小墓是埋葬牺牲用的；不少小墓中只有头骨或无头躯干，这显然为“人牲”提供了确凿证据。在大墓的发掘过程中，我们逐渐明确，这些墓过去不止一次被盗，所以还没清理到墓底，我们就知道不用指望找到完整的珍品了。然而，我们在隐蔽的角落里发掘出的以前盗墓者没注意的遗物，就很令人震惊了。特别珍贵的是那些易腐烂的竹、木纤维等留下的精细痕迹，只有受过训练的考古学家才能描绘出它的轮廓。更为实在的遗物，如大理石雕、大型青铜器和精致的玉器等，虽不是在原处发现的，也常常在被盗后墓道的填土中发现。

这次发掘吸引了不少著名学者来访，其中包括由傅斯年所长陪同来侯家庄特访的尊贵客人伯希和教授（图7）。

西北岗的发掘又进行了一次（1935年秋），规模比第二次还大。每天雇用500名工人，这是到那时为止中国田野考古史上雇人最多的一次。发掘面积达9600平方米。在西区有更多的大墓被掘开；除一个未建成的大坑外，共发掘7座正规的大墓（图8）。另外，东区共清理了近800座小墓。这次发掘的工作结束时，其结果再次表明，与前两次揭开的墓一样，这些大墓不止一次被盗。最早的盗墓可能早至周朝时，起码在东汉以前，因在回填的被盗墓的顶端发现了一座东汉墓。不过，也正如前几次发掘一样，发现的遗物还是颇为丰富的，还有不少出乎意料的发现。所以，除了关于巨型陵墓的构造和殷商工程技术的大量详细知识外，这个朝代的物质文化的出土乃是真正的新发现。

高去寻教授用下面的话总结了侯家庄西北岗的三次发掘工作：[81]

> 在侯家庄北西北岗王陵的三次发掘中，揭开1267座墓……在这些揭开的墓中……有1232个为殷商时期的墓［高后来指出一些小墓可能属于稍晚时期，虽然它们在文化上是属于商］，这些殷商墓有秩序地埋在地下，但地面上看不到土丘或其他明显的标志，或者这样的标志从来没有存在过！……
>
> 在1232个殷商墓中，有10个的地下建筑结构规模宏大，而这10个之中有1个明显是未

建成的，因为墓中没有任何像前9个那样的墓道……其余的1221个小墓明显是以这种或那种方式与大墓有联系。

10个大墓中，7个在西北岗王陵的西区，3个在东区……它们都是南北向的，北部带一个向东倾斜了几度的通道……至于1221个小墓，在西区发现的仅104个，其余1117个都在东区…… (图9)

梁的计划是在侯家庄王陵的三次发掘后，田野发掘暂停一段时间，来研究一下这些惊人的新发现和不寻常的出土物，以便能从容考虑下一步发掘计划的制定。但是谁曾料到，这项颇有希望的事业却突然被1937年日本的侵略终结了！

这些发掘对我们认识古代中国的文化和早期中国历史作出了重要的科学贡献，对此作一总括性说明当然是重要的，也是必要的。在《侯家庄报告集》第二本的序中，我曾对这一发掘中最显著的几个特点作了以下说明：

序文中应该介绍的为侯家庄发掘所得对于中国上古史的几点重要贡献。这似乎是不能用数目字估计的一件事；以下排列的顺序只能代表我们对于这一工作成绩各方面的认识之先后而已。……可以概括地列举如下：

1. 版筑在殷商建筑中所占的地位。

2. 由一个“陵墓”的经营(如本报告所描写的HPKM1001)所看出的殷商时代的埋葬制度及对于人工组织的力量。

3. 杀人殉葬的真实性与它的规模。

4. 物质文化之发展阶段及统治阶级之享受程度。

5. 石雕的发现及装饰艺术的成就。

6. 青铜业的代表产品。[82]

我在序言中还写道，对以上所列特征及其重要性的认识早在王陵被首次发现前就已被我们的田野工作者们认识到了，但直到西北岗被发掘，这些假说才成为确定的知识。

现在我想用一些切实的例证来详细阐述这些特征。

也许最好是先在这几次在王陵西区先后揭开的七座完整大墓中选取某一座，概述一下其主要特征。西区东部的四座与西部的两座，每个墓的墓道相互交叉关系，明确地显示了它们之间的建造顺序。HPKM1003在西区中部，它与一个未建成的墓坑在一起，和其他六座墓间未显示出任何结构上的联系。

西区墓葬东部的HPKM1004可作一个例子来说明侯家庄发现的王陵的规模及一般结构。关于这一大墓发掘的详细报告已发表在《中国考古

报告集·之三》上，是高去寻教授根据梁思永的原稿编辑增补的。[83]

让我们先看看此墓结构的基本特征。

位置、规模和构造　HPKM1004位于墓地西区东部，确切位置在HPKM1001的西北，它的东墓道穿过HPKM1001的北墓道；它的南墓道则被HPKM1002的北墓道贯穿。这种相互交叉的关系明显表明HPKM1004的建造晚于HPKM1001，早于HPKM1002。

其规模及中线的量度值见下表：

墓　室		口	底
面　积		284.61平方米	142.52平方米
中线尺寸	南 北	17.90米	13.20米
	东 西	15.90米	10.80米
墓室深度（中心）		12.00—12.20米	
南墓道的中线			31.40米
北墓道的中线			14.10米
东墓道的中线			15.00米
西墓道的中线			13.80米

根据上面的测量，仅墓坑内就有近2000立方米的实土需在清理时挖出。发掘过程中，很快发现所有大墓在现代盗墓者闯入之前就已不止一次遭到盗掘。过去的盗掘是如此彻底，很明显最早的盗掘者就已进入木椁，并掠走了他们能找到的一切随葬珍品，但他们没有把墓道里的随葬品放在心上。墓道中的随葬品被盗较晚，有些可能是最近才被盗的。出于现代考古学的目的，清理回填的大墓确实是件艰苦的工作，但并不是一无所获。第一，研究墓的结构本身就很重要。第二，盗坑回填土中常有一些珍品，只是较早的无知盗墓者并未认识其价值。事实上，一般说

来，无论现在还是过去的盗墓者，都没有心情去做彻底的清理工作，所以常有一些偏僻的角落被忽略。侯家庄的发掘再次证明了这一通则。

HPKM1004墓坑的横剖面近似方形，只是南北比东西略长。随着墓室深度的增加，墓坑逐渐收缩，在地表向下深12.00至12.20米的底部，其尺寸收缩到15.20米×16.30米。若按比例绘出图，整个大坑看起来像中国人用来量米和麦的方斗。深陷的墓坑底部有一木椁。HPKM1004的木椁保存完好，可以复原。四条倾斜的墓道从四个不同方向通到墓室底部的木椁。这四条墓道有的有台阶，有的仅是斜坡。南墓道长31.40米，由地面直达墓室底部的南口，是四条墓道中最长的。东、西、北三条墓道都不足南墓道的一半长，自然都比南墓道更陡。

木椁　木椁的地板仍有部分可见的痕迹，明显是由直径约20—30厘米的长木材构成。四壁约3米高。木椁的顶端是否也用木料覆盖并不十分清楚，但毫无疑问木椁原来一定有顶，而且一定还有一面朝南开的直通南墓道的门。有证据表明，木椁的内壁曾经用彩绘、雕刻或镶嵌、甚至粉刷等工艺精心装饰，可能与宫殿的内壁一样华丽。墓室的四壁一般较光滑，而且涂有灰泥，而木椁比墓室底部的尺寸小得多，显然，墓室壁与木椁壁之间有一段距离，之间由层层夯土填实。

高去寻教授曾绘制了一幅HPKM1004木椁的复原图（图10）。墓室底面为13.20米×10.00米。复原的木椁底部最大面积只有9.00米×8.50米（包括木椁的各边），因此，墓室壁与木椁壁之间有平均1米多宽的间距。在封墓之前，除木椁的南门外，整个空间要用层层土夯实直至木椁的顶端。无疑夯土一定是在墓封闭很久之前就开筑的。同时，也有理由确信这一部分填充工程可能是造墓的最后阶段，也是木椁竣工后的最后一道工序。填土结束后，按照葬例应该会将王棺运进木椁，虽然具体方法还不肯定。运送死者遗体的可能是特制的马车或牛车。

将遗体安放进木椁后，杀牲仪式遂即开始，这一点似无疑问。仪式可能会持续很长一段时间。从惊人的随葬品数量和“人牲”的总数来判断，这一定是件非常耗时的作业。此外，根据先秦的传说，后嗣服丧三年的习俗始于殷商朝代，尽管不少史学家可能对此仍有所怀疑。

早期盗掘　在HPKM1004墓打开时，考古学家发现早在现代挖宝者把目光投向这群王墓很久之前，这些墓在早期就已不止一次被盗掘——HPKM1004肯定两次被盗。早期的盗墓，其挖掘很明显是系统地进行的。早期盗掘的痕迹达12米深，比现在的水平线低得多。盗墓者清楚地知道埋葬珍品的确切位置，他们把盗坑几乎正好挖在木椁的顶端——在

HPKM1004中挖的盗坑稍偏北。所以第一次盗掘时——以HPKM1004为例，随葬珍品就有近90%被掠走，剩下的只是他们认为没有价值的东西。

对现代考古学家来说，探寻回填的盗坑在某种意义上也是有趣的。认真考察早期盗掘的痕迹和回填的盗坑，可以了解盗墓者的盗掘技术；更重要的是，可获得一些资料，判断盗掘发生的大致时间。就HPKM1004而言，盗掘者由于某些原因挖的盗坑稍偏北，故靠墓坑南壁有一小块地方未被扰动。结果是两件大型青铜方鼎仍埋于土中，直到1934年我们考古队重开此墓时才发现（图11）。

祭品和“人牲” 在东、西区所有大墓被回填的墓道中，我们发现了不少重要遗物。但因它们不是在原处被发现的，所以不能肯定它们原来是否属于被发现时所在的这座墓。所幸的是，如上所述，在一些早期盗掘者忽视的偏僻处和未被扰动的边远地方，偶尔仍有像HPKM1004中的两件青铜方鼎一样的遗物在原处被发现。

据HPKM1004原始报告描述，这两件青铜鼎的准确位置是在此墓墓室南侧，靠近南墓道的入口处，距现在地面8.1米，比木椁顶端高出近2米。这两件青铜方鼎处于这块未扰动过的包含有随葬品的土层内的第四层。在其下一层，我们的考古学家在9.60—9.85米深处发现一捆青铜矛头，共360只（图12）；此层下的第二层内出土了青铜盔，据后来统计有141个，并混有矛头和戟。底层，即第一层，位于距现在地面近12米深处。这一层中发现了原先由易朽材料制成的物品，在发掘时几乎已完全消失了。但我们的田野考古工作者仍清理出四件遗物。从留在土里的花纹痕迹——颜料和铜锈在土上留下的深深的印记——来判断，它们显然是一辆马车的零件。

像这样的发现物还是较稀少，不过不管在东区还是西区，几乎每座大墓掘开都会有发现。至于小的埋“牺牲”的墓，当我们考古队开始有组织发掘时，许多还未曾动过。

主要分布在西北岗墓地东区的小墓中有439个未被早期盗墓者染指，419个被部分破坏，其余的全被盗墓者损毁。全部小墓中仅有104座在西区，绝大多数——1117座在东区。

在揭开的1046座小墓中，643座可以据其内容及其他特征分类如下：[84]

I类人骨	数目
a. 单具完整骨架	131
b. 多具完整骨架	57
c. 身首异处的头骨和躯干	52
d. 仅头骨	209
e. 无头骨架	192
f. 瓮罐葬幼儿	9
II类动物	数目
a. 马葬	20
b. 象葬	2
c. 其他动物（包括鸟）	?
III类杂类	数目
a. 马车	2
b. 容器	1

粗略查看以上所列项目便足以看出，这些小墓实际上是牺牲坑。仅在埋葬死者的墓穴中，就有400多座已掘开的坟墓中的死者葬前肯定已被砍头（上列分类的I类c、d、e项）。这确定地证明了早在殷商王朝已存在“人牲”的习俗。或可展开合理推论——我们的考古学家也是这样做的，这些小墓都是牺牲墓。

1935年我们在清理HPKM1001时，在距木椁地板之下很深的地方，

即深陷的墓坑底部，发现了多达九个未被扰动的人牲坑，这是这一残暴习俗的铁证之一。木地板保存得很好，这足以说明早期的盗掘者没有触及地板以下。田野考古学家发现地板下的九个坑分布在中间和四角，因此推断，这些都是卫士的骨架，他们在这里守卫着死去的主人，防止他被地下的鬼怪侵扰。在考古学者看来，更有趣的是这九个坑都表现出以下特征：(1)　特定的位置——一个坑位于木椁地板下的中央，四角上分别各有两个坑；(2) 所有躯干都是屈体的，或俯身，或侧身；(3) 每具躯干旁都有一具狗骨架；(4)　每个坑里各有一只戈——标准的中国武器。最值得注意的是，四角的坑里发现的都是青铜戈，唯独中央坑中的是石戈。[85]

更加使人惊异的发现是，在所有大墓的木椁上面的墓室内和墓道中，都有一组组砍掉头的骨架和头骨埋葬在层层积压的夯土中。这样的夯土层填充着墓室和墓道。要弄清每座王陵中被屠杀的受害者数目几乎是不可能的。因为在我们清理前，这些墓已不止一次遭盗掘，不少牺牲者的骨架已被毁坏。

重要发现物　侯家庄墓葬区出土了大量各式各样的遗物，其中有一组造型奇特、出人意料，最受人关注。这是一组既有写实成分，又有神话色彩的石刻，包括龟、蛙、人像、虎头、鹰头和两面兽等。较大的石刻多出自HPKM1001，但遗憾的是，它们都出自盗坑的填土中，所以不可能准确判断它们在墓中的原位置。甚至这些精巧的石刻最初是否葬于发掘出的大墓中，也难以判断。因为有理由相信，许多墓是在同一时间内被盗，各墓的土混在一起，又回填于墓中。这些墓的专题报告中有许多实例表明，一件物品的碎片可存积在几个不同墓的回填土中。[86]

虽然HPKM1001中出土了大量石刻，但对职业考古学者来说，最有趣的一例是从HPKM1004的盗坑回填土中发现的一个跪坐着的人像残部，酷似现代日本人坐在家中“榻榻米”上的标准姿势（图13）。

几年后，我亲自对这尊特殊的人像进行了专门研究，发现这具石人残体的姿势在日语中历史上被称为“正座”，它原先在汉语中被称为“正坐”，意为“正确的坐姿”，尤其是指在中国的礼仪场合，如帝王接见官员时，采用的坐姿。“正坐”姿势从中国古代一直持续到汉末，而日本的“正座”则仅能追溯到公元14世纪中期，当时是受了朝鲜的影响。

另一组重要的遗物是一系列印在土上呈鲜红及其他颜色的压痕，有的还嵌有有色石子和贝壳。原物品由易腐的材料制成，麻、丝等织物镶嵌在竹、木，特别是漆过的木器上。它们大概是用鲜艳的矿物颜料彩绘

而成，所以在墓葬土里颜料比原器物的主体物质保存得更好。田野工作者把这些痕迹称“花土”。HPKM1001中，花土的分布很广，其他大墓中也有发现。田野工作人员小心地切下这些土块，并将其装在特制的木箱里运回所里研究。一些印在土上的图案仍清晰、鲜艳，为研究这一时期装饰艺术的发展提供了丰富的原始资料。

在此，还应提一下未被触动过的一面鼓和一块石磬，它们是在其原位置——HPKM1217的西墓道中发现的（图56、57）。[87]腐朽分解了的鼓原形仍在，蛇皮鼓面的痕迹也保留着原来的样子。石磬虽然制作得不太完美，但保存完好。

总的说来，大量出土的青铜容器和武器保存得更好，当然原初的制造也更精致。如果我们还记得这些出土物只是过去有组织的、彻底的盗掘后留下的少数幸存物，我们便可想象这些精美的墓葬曾经是多么奢华，更不论为营建这些巨型陵墓曾强征了多少人力。

6. Last Three Seasons of Field Work

in Hsiao-t'un before World War II

The Japanese invasion of China in the summer of 1937 suspended the excavations which had been planned in 1928 by trained archaeologists under the able leadership of Director Fu Ssŭ-nien of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, and which had continued thereafter for nine years with only occasional interruptions. This Japanese invasion was the prelude to the worldwide conflict known as World War II. Western historians are still in the habit of dating the outbreak of World War II from Hitler's challenge to Western Europe, neglecting altogether the early phase of this global warfare in the Far Eastern theater. As a matter of historical truth, it seems almost impossible to divide this tragic story.

Since the Anyang excavation was a scientific enterprise undertaken by the Academia Sinica under the aegis of the National Government in Nanking, it was forced to discontinue active field work in Anyang after the Japanese invaded north China.

Before this happened in 1937, the Anyang expedition had worked for another three seasons following Liang Ssŭ-yung's decision to stop the field operation at the Hsi-pei-kang royal cemetery of Hou-chia-chuang in the winter of 1935. The field work of these three seasons, known respectively as the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth seasons of the Anyang expedition, was concentrated at the Hsiao-t'un site, carrying out in a systematic manner the carpet-rolling method of tracing the building foundations in the last capital of the Yin-Shang dynasty. The schedules of the field operations and the varying composition of the working staffs are tabulated on the following page.

In carrying out this method of digging during the last three seasons, there were naturally places to which special efforts were more intensively applied, namely where pounded earth was found to be more extensive and where past plunderings were comparatively rare, relative to the finds of the

past nine seasons. So the field labor of these three seasons was almost all concentrated in Subareas B and C. Each of these two subareas was again, by surveying instruments, redivided into a number of parts of the same size, 40m. × 40m. with a surface area of 1,600 square meters. In the map, these parts were further divided into sections; each section measured 100 square meters (10m. × 10m.), which constituted the smallest unit of the more detailed surveying area, all of which were given a serial number in a definite order, such as C126, etc., which means Section 126 in Subarea C.

Season	Period	Leaders	Field Staff	Digging Activities
Thirteenth	March 18- June 24, 1936	Kuo Pao-chün Shih Chang-ju	Li Chin-tan Wang Hsiang Ch'i Yen-p'ei Kao Ch'ü-hsün Yin Huan-chang P'an Ch'üeh	14 Chinese acres exca-vated; 127 caves and caches; 181 burials. Foundations without border, but with pillar stones. Water ditches under the foundations. H127 discovered.
Fourteenth	Sept. 20- Dec. 31,	Liang Ssŭ-yung Shih	Wang Hsiang Kao Ch'ü-	60 trenchings; exca-vating an area of 3590m.2; 26 foun-dations; 122 caves and caches, 132 burials; underground ditches.

	1936	Chang-ju	hsün Yin Huan-chang Four others	
Fifteenth	March 16- June 19, 1937	Shih Chang-ju	Wang Hsiang Kao Ch'ü-hsün P'an Ch'üeh Four others	37 trenchings; exca-vating 3,700m.2; foun-dations units 20, caves and caches 220; under-ground ditches 120m. long, gates located with human sacri-fices in kneeling position, many artifacts.

Also beginning with the thirteenth season, serial numbers were given to the underground pits and burial sites, with the English capital letter "H" (*hui-k'eng*, "pits") to signify the former and "M" (*mu*, "burials") for the latter, such as H127, or M164.

Our main purpose during the last three seasons of field operation was to complete the excavation of the architectural foundations built during the period of the oracle bone inscriptions. The detailed procedures, however, naturally varied in accordance with the progress of the excavations and the underground conditions, which differed from place to place. For instance, the technique and appearance of the "pounded earth" were found to be by no means uniform. Some sections had been pounded merely for the purpose of leveling up a depressed area, others for building independent walls; the most common remains were those designed as foundations of surface buildings. For wall building, planning would be needed before starting to pound the earth. In foundation building, there evidently was some sort of architectural "blueprint" to follow, for the ground first had to be leveled by filling in any underground pits or caches wherever they might occur, and also by scraping

down to the level all raised areas. Ever since the field party had discovered the main function of the pisé technique during the fourth season, the technology of earth-pounding had been studied with great care. The field workers were all aware of the fact that some pisé areas might be several meters deep, whereas others were so thin that only one layer of stamped earth measuring less than 20cm. in thickness remained on the surface. Further, they concluded that this technology was developed probably only after the Shang dynasty moved the capital to Anyang. In the course of field operations, they discovered that the pisé layer, no matter how deep it might be, was frequently underlaid by other architectural features—subterranean dwellings, cache pits, and channeled water ditches, or by burials and other prehistoric remains. Such subterranean constructions, according to Professor Shih Chang-ju, were part of the early Shang dynasty culture; they were built before King P'an Keng moved the capital here.

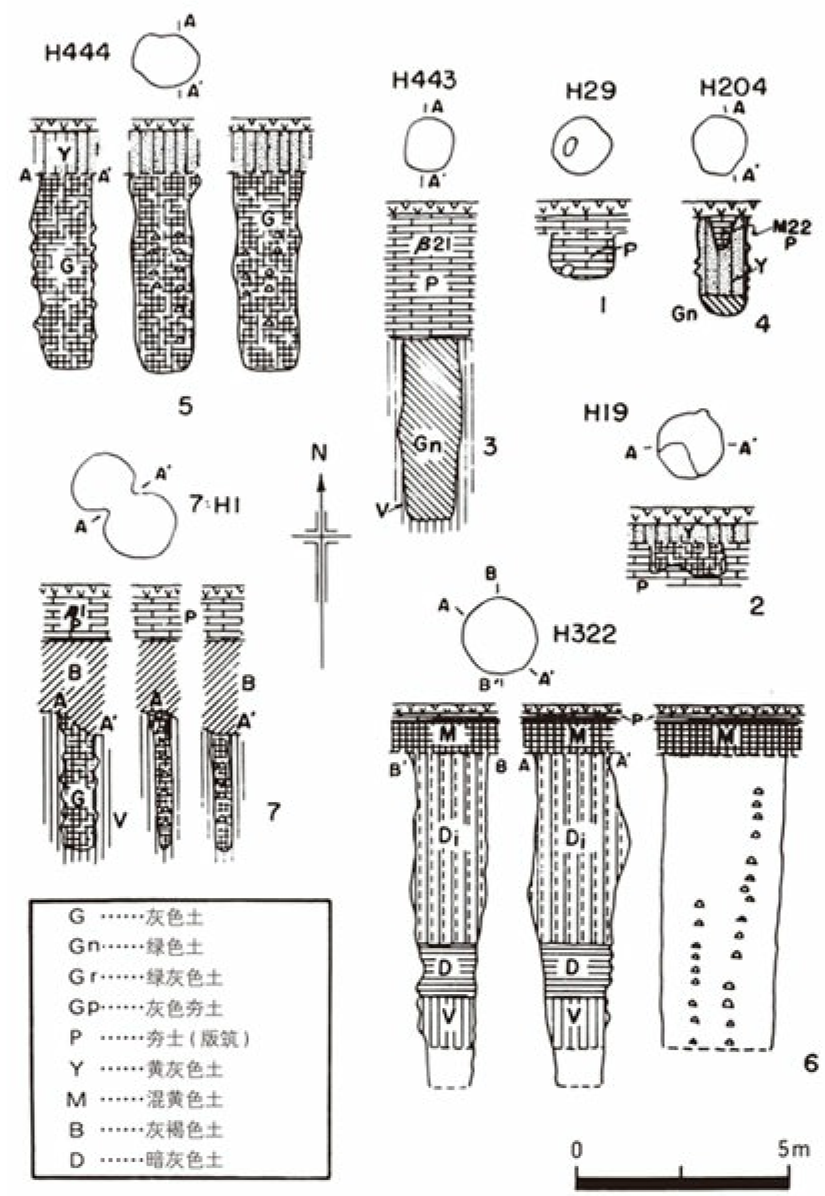
Let us examine some of these pre-Yin architectural features which were found under the pounded earth area (see also more extended discussion in chap. 10).

● Underground Dwellings and Cache Pits for Storage Purposes

In the last three seasons of our expeditions to Anyang before World War II, a larger area was excavated than in all the diggings of the previous nine seasons. The total area uncovered amounted to more than twelve thousand square meters, while the area dug in the first nine seasons had been just a little over eight thousand square meters. If we compare the number of underground cache-pits or dwellings, the total number discovered in the first nine seasons was only 123, but in the last three seasons 479 of these underground structures were cleared. Seemingly of even greater importance were the disclosures of a regular system of water-ditches, strengthened by wooden piles on both banks of the channel, definitely built in the pre-pisé period of the Shang dynasty. These ditch-channels were no doubt designed when subterranean pits and semiunderground dwellings were the general habitations of the population.

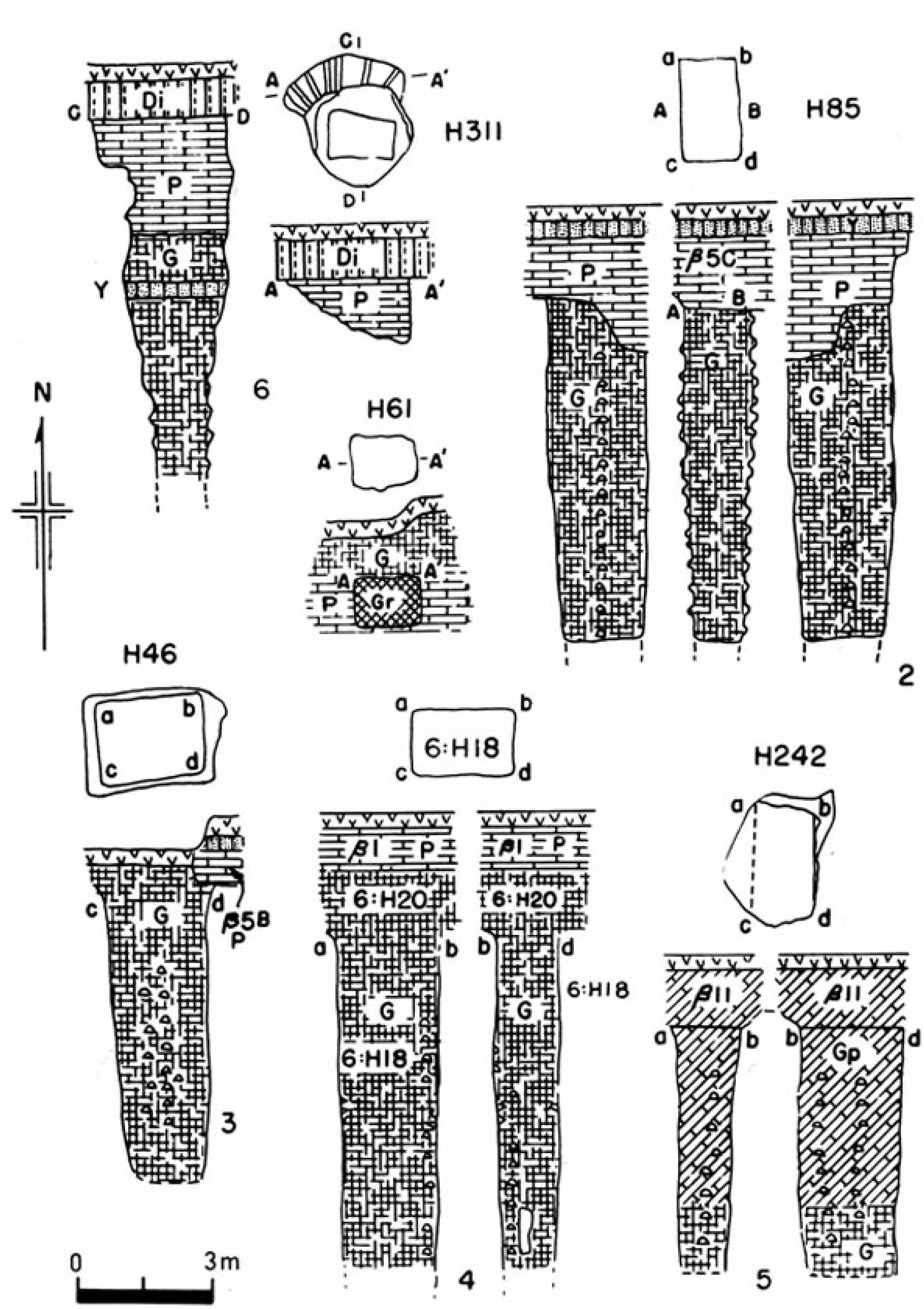
These cache-pits and subterranean dwellings, according to Professor Shih Chang-ju, were divisible into several classes of which the main categories are as follows:

Round or Oval *Tou*-Pits (Fig. 14) These subterranean holes were sometimes paired like joined double rooms. Some of the pits were very shallow, not more than 1 meter deep below the modern surface. But the deeper pits might go down from 7 to 10 meters and even deeper. The latter pits usually had vertical rows of foothold niches on the side walls, either opposite each other or on the same side. Professor Shih divided this group into six subtypes. The first two subtypes with flat bottoms or irregular bases were all shallow, their diameter being about 1½ meters, usually found above the pisé foundation. But the more deeply cut pits—usually more than 3 meters in depth—were in most cases built below the pisé and therefore antedated the stamped earth period. Shih redivided the deeper *tou*-pits into four subtypes, according to the arrangement of the foothold niches. These pits were usually designed for storage purposes. And, according to Professor Shih, most of these *tou* storage pits uncovered during our diggings were located on the western side of the Hsiao-t'un site.

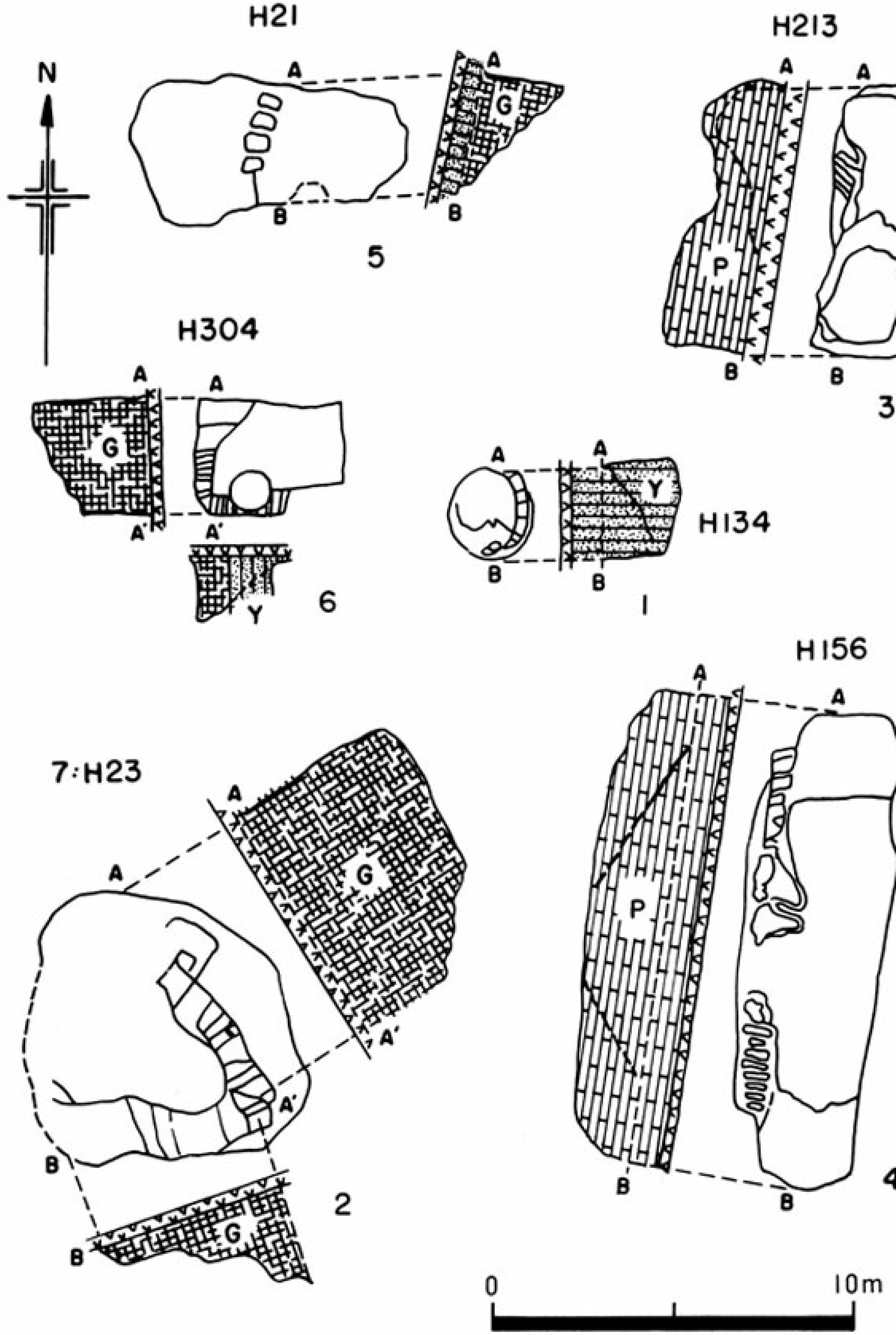


14 *Tou*-pits 窦

Rectangular or Square *Chiao*-Cellars (Fig. 15) The depth of these underground structures varied from 1.10 meters to more than 10 meters; and for ascent and descent there were foothold niches cut in the walls as in the previous group. Similarly, most of the deep *chiao*-cellars were built earlier than the period of pounded earth, but the shallower ones were evidently, constructed later. The majority of these *chiao*-cellars were like the round pits, deep and evidently also used for storage purposes as they were comparatively narrow—the total area of the surface at the base being seldom larger than 4 square meters.



15 *Chiao*-cellars (see legend for Fig. 14) 窖（凡例参见图14）


H21
N
A
A
G
B
B
5
H213
A
A
P
B
B
3
H304
A
A
G
A'
A'
Y
6
A
A
Y
H134
B
B
1
H156
A
A
P
B
B
4
7:H23
A
A
G
A'
A'
B
B
G
2
0
10m

16 *Hsüeh*-pits (see legend for Fig. 14) 穴（凡例参见图14）

The *Hsüeh*-Pits (Fig. 16) This group consisted of a number of large, but usually shallow, subterranean pit dwellings. Many of these underground dwellings still retained a flight of steps, either along the pit walls or at the center. The floors were often flat, and in some cases divided into two parts. The ground plan of the entire dwelling might be round, oval, or rectangular (see discussion on pp. 320-327). Most of the pits had a floor size larger than 10 square meters, the size of the largest might exceed 30 square meters. The average underground depth was between 2 and 3 meters but in one rare instance (7:H23) it went down to almost 6 meters with a stairway of seventeen steps.

Professor Shih remarked that this group of underground pit dwellings had been found, in the majority of cases, underneath the foundations built by the pounded earth method. This obviously indicated that they were the earlier habitations of the local peoples. Further, Shih remarked that judging by the average depth of these *hsüeh*-pits, which was only about 2 meters, the walls of these dwellings must have extended above the ground surface and consequently the roofs would have been well above ground.

Semiunderground Dwellings Finally Shih also added another group of what he called "semisubterranean dwellings," of which the underground portions were less than 1 meter deep, and round, oval, square, or rectangular in cross-section. The diameter of this group of structures, if round-shaped, was usually more than 3 meters. If rectangular or square, the floor areas varied between 20 and 30 square meters. A peculiarity of these semisubterranean dwellings was the fact that postholes were usually found on the margin of the bases of these underground pits, indicating that wooden pillars were provided for wall-building and supporting the roof of the house above the land surface.

The fact that many of these four groups of underground structures were located under the pisé foundations led Shih to conclude in a special article that as noted above the majority were remains left here by the earlier inhabitants before King P'an Keng moved the Shang capital to this locality.[88] There were, however, exceptions; in the course of continued excavations, many deep-sunken pits and cellars were found to be contemporaneous with the pisé foundations; these pits or cellars were built either for storage or, as I

interpreted them in an early article, for sacrificial purposes.[89] Very few subterranean dwellings *per se* were found after the introduction of the pisé. It seems quite clear that most of the living quarters were built above the ground surface once this place became the capital of the Empire. Except for sacrificial burials, it is almost certain that no temples or palaces were ever built underground after King P'an Keng developed the city into a capital.

In the final three seasons, field excavations on a large scale systematically exposed the extensive architectural foundations of the altars, temples, palaces, workshops, and dwelling houses all over the areas northeast of Hsiao-t'un village, which were reported in *PREA*[90]. Chapter 10 will cover all these discoveries and discuss possible reconstructions, since they constitute one of the major archaeological contributions to our knowledge of Shang history.

Certain other important field observations should first, however, be related. What I have in mind is the definite establishment of the cultural sequences of the underground deposits at Hsiao-t'un, determined through the accumulated evidence gathered by the field workers throughout the expeditions from 1928 through 1937, culminating in the final seasons. These established archaeological sequences can be noted briefly in the following order:

1. The most basic depository remains indicated that the earliest inhabitants of the Hsiao-t'un site were the prehistoric folk who lived in subterranean dwellings and who had already developed the Lungshan or Black Pottery Culture.

2. Succeeding the Lungshan Culture were a large series of under-ground pits, cellars, and subterranean dwellings of the early Shang period before this place was chosen as the capital of the kingdom in King P'an Keng's period.

3. The period of Yin-Shang with Anyang as capital was the time when the pisé method of construction was introduced and extensive surface buildings became abundant.

4. After the downfall of the Yin-Shang dynasty, the remains were mainly burials.

● **Significant Discoveries in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth**

Seasons of the Anyang Expeditions

The number of findings and unexpected discoveries in the last three seasons at Hsiao-t'un exceeded the expectations of every experienced participant in the field work, including all the old-timers among the diggers. Let me itemize the more important groups of these findings made in the final phase of the Anyang expedition from the summer season of 1936 to the end of June of 1937. Of these groups, I shall choose those which were not only in themselves significant, but which also provided new data for the solution of some older historical problems:

Group A. Important and unexpected discoveries in the last three seasons

1. Chariot burials
2. Underground deposit of archives of inscribed oracle bone documents (H127)

Group B. Problems solved by the accumulation of observations and material evidence

1. Human sacrifice
2. Fauna and flora
3. Ceramic collections
4. Evolutionary stages of the subterranean pits and dwellings
5. Orientations and sizes of foundations of surface buildings

Group A lists finds made by chance whereas those listed under Group B were the result of planned scientific recording and gradual accumulations of collected data. In this chapter, I shall go into some detail about the surprise findings, namely Group A. The items in the second category will be for the most part discussed later, but let me first make brief mention of their chief characteristics, the methods of their collection, and the circumstances of their discoveries.

I have listed "Human sacrifice" as number one in Group B for a special reason. Chapter 5 above refers to evidence that this barbarian practice existed all over the Old and New World in the Bronze Age. The account in that chapter concerning human sacrifice could be taken to imply that this practice was confined to sacrificial rituals connected with funerals. As a matter of fact this was what the field archaeologists believed at the beginning. But evidence unearthed in the last three seasons at Hsiao-t'un definitely proved that human

sacrifices were also customary for other purposes: they were made in connection with such activities as laying building foundations, and the annual worship of various spirits, whether abstract, such as river gods, or concrete idols. This deserves some description: for example, such instances were found in tracing the foundations in Subarea B7.

Only the left side of the Subarea B7 foundation was traced out; the right side had already been submerged by the Huan River, which bounded the Hsiao-t'un farm on the east. The part of the pounded foundation that was traced out measured no less than forty meters in the east-west direction and over thirty meters north-south. Within this portion of the foundation in section B7 were discovered a series of sacrificial pits, arranged apparently in some order, on the southern side of the pounded earth. Each of these pits was given an individual name-symbol according to Shih's report, as follows:

Sacrificial pits	**Contents**
M230	5 oxen
M229	1 dog, 2 sheep
M96	3 oxen
M106	11 dogs
M141	2 dogs, 1 sheep
M94	3 dogs
M105	3 dogs, 3 sheep
M140	3 oxen
M168	1 kneeling man, facing north

Summarizing the above list, Shih said that altogether ten oxen[91], six sheep, twenty dogs, and one human being were found in this row of sacrificial pits. Even more surprising was evidence disclosed near the door of the building where Shih found more pits, which he described as sacrificial pits connected with "earth-breaking rituals" when the erection of the front gate or door was to take place. According to Shih's account, three more human beings were sacrificed and buried here. These additional pits were located on the right, left, and at the center where the foundations for the doorposts were to be laid. Each of these three sacrificial victims was found in a special burial and in a kneeling posture, accompanied in every case by a halbert. A fourth victim was found further south, right in front of the gate. This front guard, so to speak, was equipped with both a shield and a spear; he was also buried in a kneeling posture, facing north.

Professor Chang Ping-chüan, in an article based upon oracle bone records, classified the sacrificial offerings recorded in these inscriptions according to the kind of victims and the number used on each occasion.[92] Each of these accounts is related to the sacrificial offering to a particular ancestral spirit, or other idol, like a river god, mountain spirit and so on. Chang found in these accounts that the victims offered might be ox, sheep, pig, dog, human being, deer, elephant, tortoise, and even rhinoceros. He found out also that the ox, sheep, pig, and dog were evidently domesticated and perhaps some of them were specially reserved for this particular purpose. As for human beings, Chang cited a special record to show that at least some of the human victims were captives. Even more interesting as recorded in these inscriptions is the number of victims employed, which varied considerably. Chang collated in his article the number of oxen cited as being offered as sacrifices with the number of citations as follows:

Number of Oxen Used	**Number of Times Recorded in Oracle Bone Inscriptions**
用牛数	甲骨文中记录次数
Indefinite（不确定）	33

1	23
2	23
3	17
4	6
5	13
6	3
7	2
8	1
9	8
10	21
15	1
20	3
30	10
42	2
50	5
100	6
300	2

1,000	1

The number of sheep, dogs, and pigs employed for sacrificial purposes also varied a great deal but none of these victims exceeded one hundred in a single offering. As for tortoises, deer, and elephants or rhinoceroses, all were comparatively rare. In the case of human victims, however, according to Chang, there is at least one record that gives the number as three hundred, and another records the number as one thousand, but generally the number varies like the list of oxen above. Whether the isolated instances of three hundred and one thousand human victims could be interpreted in any other way remains a problem that can be solved only by new data.

The other four items of field data under category B are all of fundamental archaeological significance, as each of them—fauna and flora, ceramic collections, various stages of underground construction, and different orientations of surface buildings—has provided basic materials which illustrate concretely the ways of life during the initial historical period in the last quarter of the second millennium B.C., when Chinese civilization was still in the making.

Special monographs and articles devoted to studies of fauna and of ceramic materials from this site were issued many years ago; let me mention some of the results briefly here.

In a special monograph on mammalian remains, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and C. C. Young identified no less than twenty-four species from the mammalian collections made by the various Anyang expeditions in the early period, which had been sent to the Cenozoic Laboratory for special investigations.[93] The twenty-four species identified by Teilhard and Young are divisible into almost twenty genera: namely, *Canis* (dog), *Ursus* (bear), *Meles* (badger), *Felis* (tiger), *Catacea* (whale), *Epimys* (rat), *Rhizomys* (bamboo rats), *Lepus* (hare), *Tapirus* (tapir), *Equus* (horse), *Sus* (pig), *Hydropotes* (water deer), *Pseudaxis* (Sika deer), *Elaphurus* (David deer), *Ovis* (goat), *Capra* (domesticated goat), *Bos* (ox), *Bubalus* (water buffalo), *Elephas* (elephant), *Macacus* (monkey).

One of the most interesting conclusions drawn by these two eminent paleontologists was that "the Anyang citizens [of the Yin-Shang period] were

industrious commercial and agricultural people, working to the bone extensively for economic purposes, and that in addition, they regarded the hunting of big game as a royal achievement. These conditions explain why the faunistical remains recovered from the ruins of the city are so abundant, so various, and so heterogeneous."

The two authors also recognized three distinct groups among the examined mammals: (1) the wild indigenous group, (2) the domesticated local group, and (3) the foreign imported groups. The raccoon-dog, the bear, the badger, the tiger, the panther, the common rat, the bamboo rat, the hare, the water deer, and the Sika deer are examples of the indigenous wild animals. For the domesticated group, the authors named the dog, the sheep, and the goat; the *Elaphurus* (deer), the *Bos* (ox), the water buffalo, and the *Macacus* (monkey) were also included in this group.

For the definitely foreign, imported group, only a small list is given, which includes the whale, the elephant, the tapir, and a small bear. Regarding this last group, the authors had this to say:

> Bones of whale could easily be collected anywhere along the closest seashore. Elephant and Tapir, on the contrary, seem to have been imported alive from the south. An extensive trade between Anyang and southern China is proven by the discovery in the ruins of the city of ingots of tin and also of an enormous quantity of *Lamprotula* shells. This thick *Unicnid* (used for its mother-of-pearl) has become rare ever since the Upper Pleistocene in N. China. It was therefore probably brought to Anyang from the Yangtze valley. ... [p. 56]

The authors discussed with great erudition the history of mammalian fauna in north China and, at the end, drew the further conclusion that the water-buffalo was possibly domesticated in China in early prehistoric times, as the ancestral type of buffaloes was traceable to the Pleistocene Age. At any rate, buffaloes were found to be as abundant as oxen in the later excavations at Anyang. Whether they were offered in sacrificial rites is, however, not yet definitely determined.

New data resulting from investigations in subsequent seasons have added to the list of mammals found in Anyang. Especially interesting is the bone of a peacock, which was evidently an immigrant from the south. It should also be noted that horses were found in great number in later excavations.

Our attempt to study the flora was, unavoidably, a miserable failure. We

had made a collection of wood charcoal from the excavations, amounting to thousands of test tubes. This precious collection, if it had been duly investigated by authorities like Father Teilhard, might have provided the fundamental data for our knowledge of Yin-Shang botany in the neighborhood of Anyang and would certainly have given us some ideas about the climatic environment of this period. But these data disappeared and were irrecoverably lost to science during the war.

We were, however, more fortunate with our ceramic collections, which I myself took great pains to register, classify, and catalogue, and finally brought together into a corpus. My monograph on Anyang pottery was published in 1956 and includes the entire corpus of Yin-hsü pottery.[94] Although I will go into more detail on the technological and decorative aspects of these ceramics in chapters 11 and 12, here I would like to briefly mention some of the main characteristics of this collection.

The total number of registered pot-sherds was nearly a quarter of a million. Of this enormous amount, nearly 80 percent were collected during the last three seasons at Hsiao-t'un when, through accumulated experience, all members of the field staff were familiar with the up-to-date criteria of classification and registration. Mr. Wang Hsiang, who had been from the very beginning of the Anyang excavation assigned to the special task of pottery collection, was able, before his departure for wartime service, to give a full report containing a classified list of the total collection in the field. The field team, after returning from the thrilling experience of excavating the royal tombs at Hou-chia-chuang and enriched by the great quantity of precious white potteries they had found there in the royal cemetery, had gained a deeper insight into the craftsmanship and technology of the ceramic industry of the Yin-Shang era. It may be said that all the members of the field staff had a full knowledge of the typical Yin-Shang ceramics, divisible into the following four classes by their outside appearance alone:

Class 1 Gray pottery, nearly 90% of the total collection

Class 2 Red pottery, about 6.86% of the total collection

Class 3 White pottery, about 0.27% of the total collection

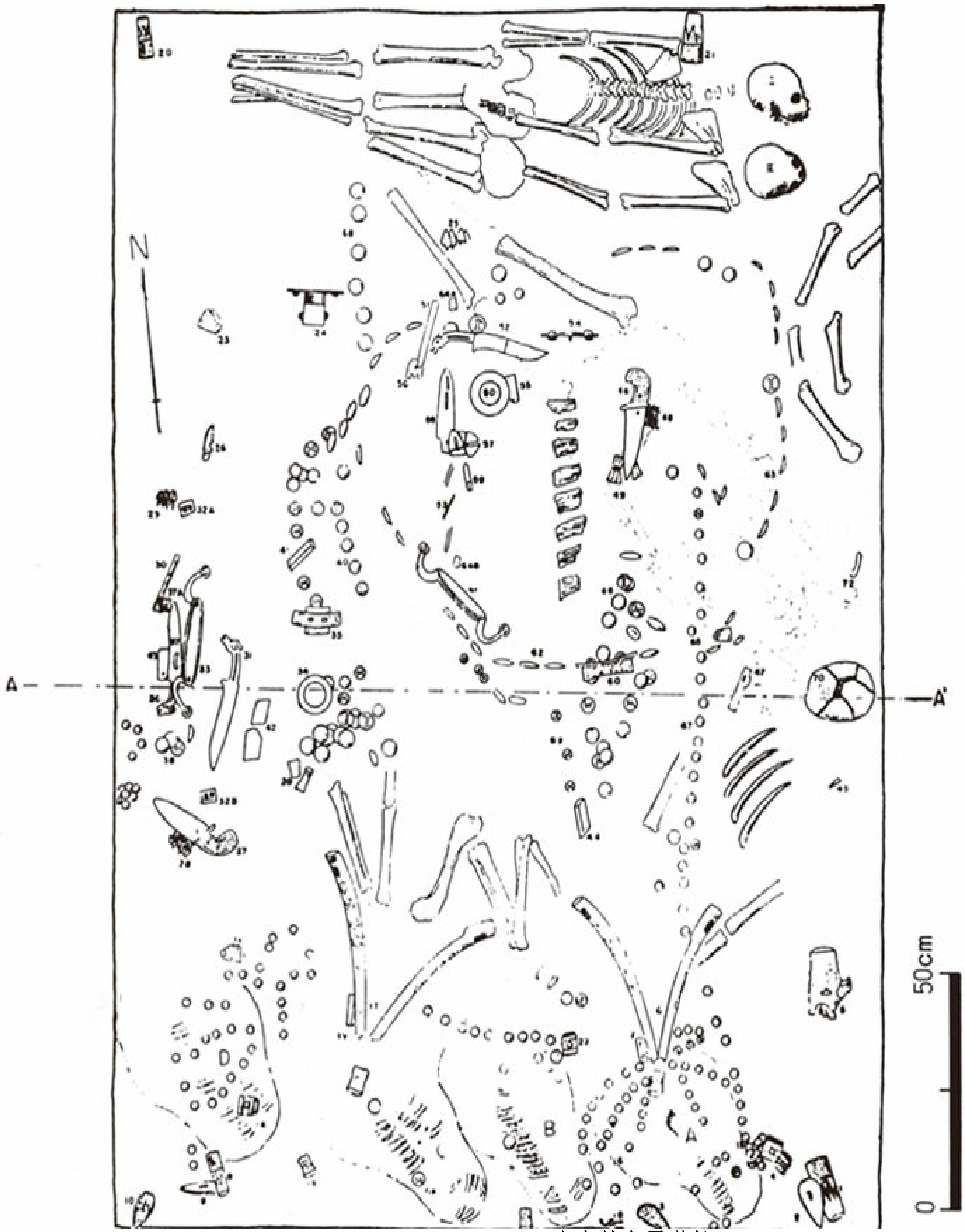
Class 4 Hard wares, about 1.73% of the total collection

In addition to these four typical Yin-Shang products, there were also a fifth and a sixth group: black pottery and painted pottery. Although the white pottery of Yin-Shang period, which has long been considered typical of the ceramic products of this epoch, was highly valued by collectors, from a purely technological viewpoint, however, the hard wares, many of which were covered with a thin layer of primitive glaze, were really a great discovery, totally, unknown before. When this was first announced in the newspapers, the veteran British Sinologue and antiquarian, Professor Perceval Yetts, immediately wrote to me and announced it to the Royal Asiatic Society in London. Our archaeological collection included several nearly complete specimens of both the white pottery and the glazed hard wares. Many of the archaeologists of this institute have always cherished the idea that these specimens are even more valuable than the more spectacular field collection of bronzes, including the huge tetrapods from the royal tombs.

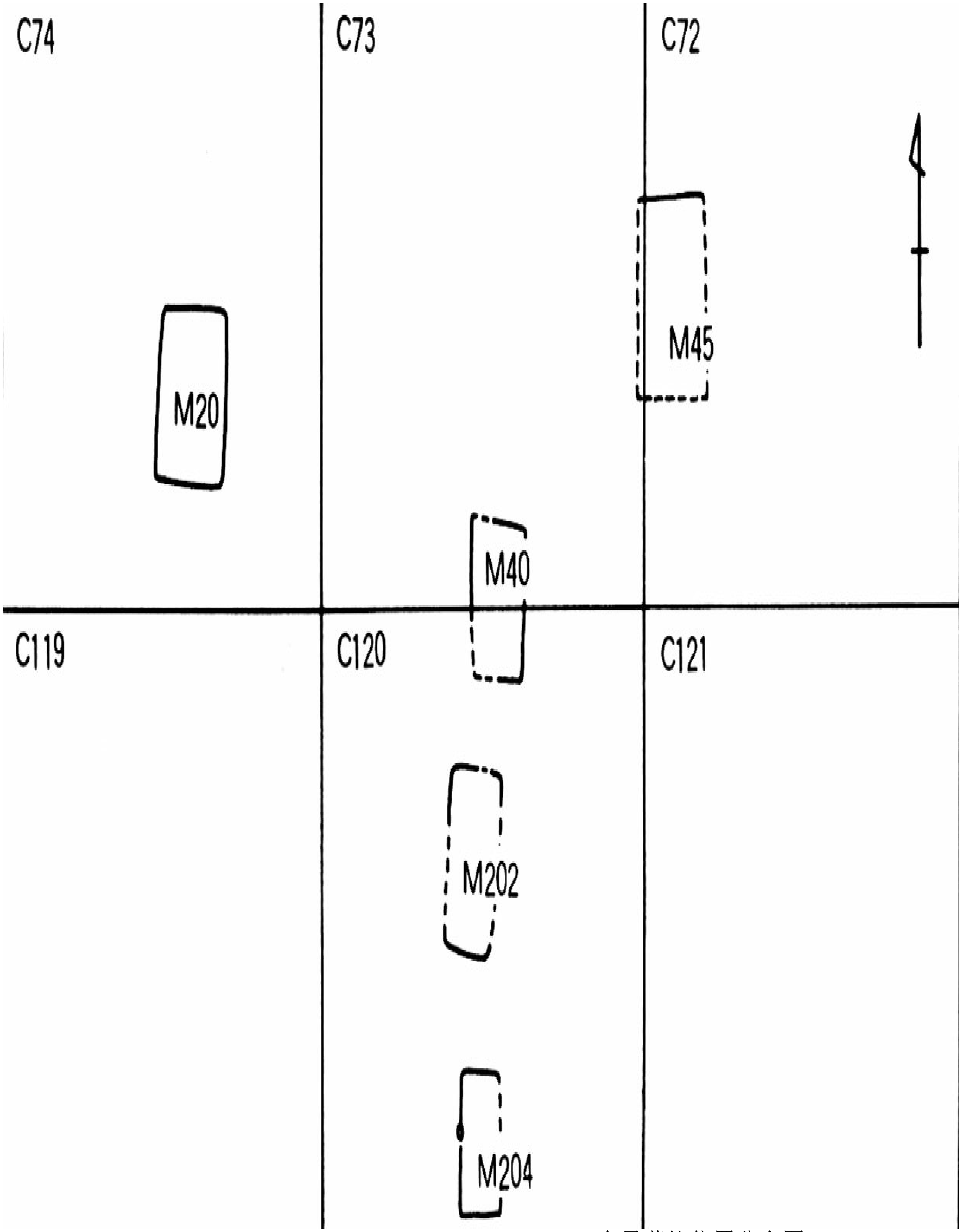
Leaving Group B, subgroups 4 and 5 for later chapters, I shall devote the remaining portion of this chapter to some descriptions of what I consider the two major unexpected discoveries of Group A, all made in the last three seasons of the Anyang excavation. Let me relate them in order.

Chariot Burials Paleographers knew long ago that wheeled vehicles had existed in the Shang dynasty. During the Anyang excavations, decorative pieces made of bronze and apparently intended for some parts of chariots were found frequently in early diggings at Hsiao-t'un, and disassembled carts had been discovered in the royal tombs at Hou-chia-chuang more than once. All these findings were important indications of the existence of wheeled vehicles during the Shang dynasty, but they could hardly serve for any systematic reconstruction of the original model of this important means of transportation. It was not until the thirteenth season, and on the thirteenth day of April in 1936, that Professor Kao Ch'ü-hsün, in charge of clearing Subarea C in Hsiao-t'un, first discovered underneath a layer of pounded earth a distinct boundary line marked by traces of brilliant red lacquer. This led to the discovery of M20. This particular subsection was known as C74; here the

boundary line was found at about 0.80-1.00m. below the existing surface. When the surface pisé layer was scraped away, an elongated pit 2.90m. × 1.80m. appeared. This was the famous chariot pit, M20, of Hsiao-t'un, in which some complete chariots with four horses had been buried and were found almost intact (Fig. 17).



17 M20, the chariot pit of Hsiao-t'un 小屯的车马葬坑M20



18 Distribution and locations of the chariot pits 车马葬坑位置分布图

M20 of Hsiao-t'un, discovered at C74, proved to be only one of the five

chariot burials in this section: the other four were located respectively at C72, C73, and C120 as Figure 18 shows. These five chariot burials were found very close to one another and apparently in some kind of order, which led Shih to recognize in later studies that they were sacrificial burials offered for a definite purpose. But the other four pits had been disturbed either by later intrusion or by subsequent construction. Only M20 remained more or less intact. Still, when it was opened, it was found that the overlying pounded earth and the underground moisture had damaged the skeletal remains of both animals and men, and that such perishable materials as wooden frames and leather bindings had already decayed to such a degree that only traces of outlines could be perceived. The metallic gadgets and stone pieces and some bones had survived the centuries intact. Nevertheless it was possible for the field men to get approximately accurate records by means of photographing and sketching *in situ*. To this day, M20 remains one of the few assemblages of the earliest field data on which could be based a study of the history of the "wheeled?" vehicle in ancient China.

I have put a question mark following the term "wheeled," because actually when this pit, M20, was opened, there were found four horses, three human bodies, and traces of chariots but not the slightest indication of a wheel. The field records, fortunately, were taken and kept in good order, and after years of continuous studies, a number of archaeologists and antiquarians concluded that M20 contained two-wheeled chariots from which the wheels had been taken and probably buried somewhere else, analogous to the custom of burying the human head and body separately.

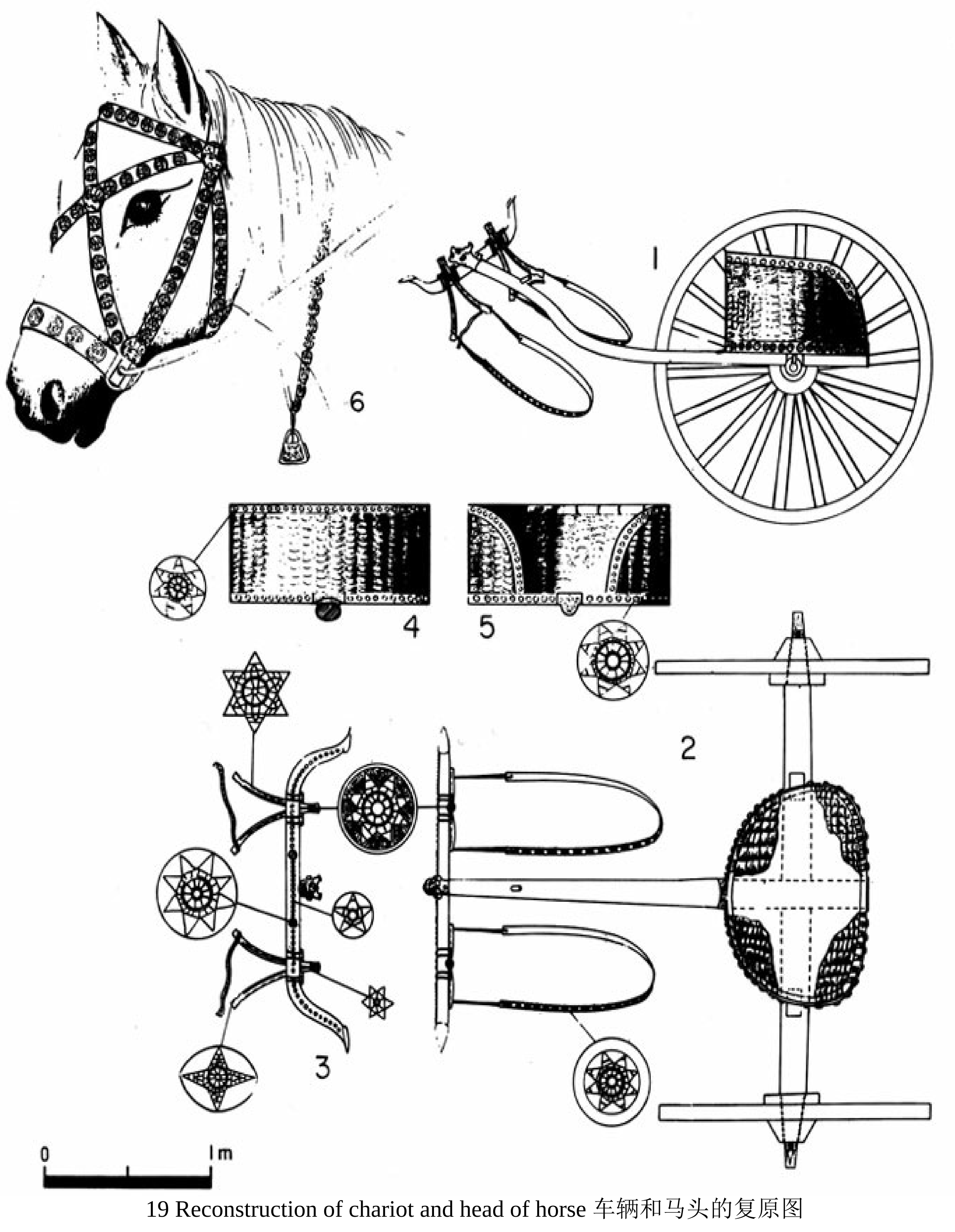
Still the painstaking excavation of M20 helped to preserve together the essential parts of the main structure of the chariot body which could serve as basic data for later reconstruction. In this pit, the field workers found the following in order: (1) three human skeletons; (2) four horse skeletons; (3) decorated pieces for horse heads and bodies; (4) bronze devices from the chariot body: bronze terminals for both the shaft and axles; (5) weapons: three sets of halberts, small swords, and arrowheads; (6) bells for horses; (7) whips; (8) traces of wooden frames and leather bindings of shafts and axles; (9) yokes and crossbars; and (10) a stone *pi*-disc and other miscellany. The remains and artifacts recovered from M20 were studied by half a dozen specialists during the war and long after. But it was not until 1970 that Professor Shih Chang-ju was able to publish his reconstruction, based on his

continuous study of these original data, which, with his permission, I reproduce in this summary.[95]

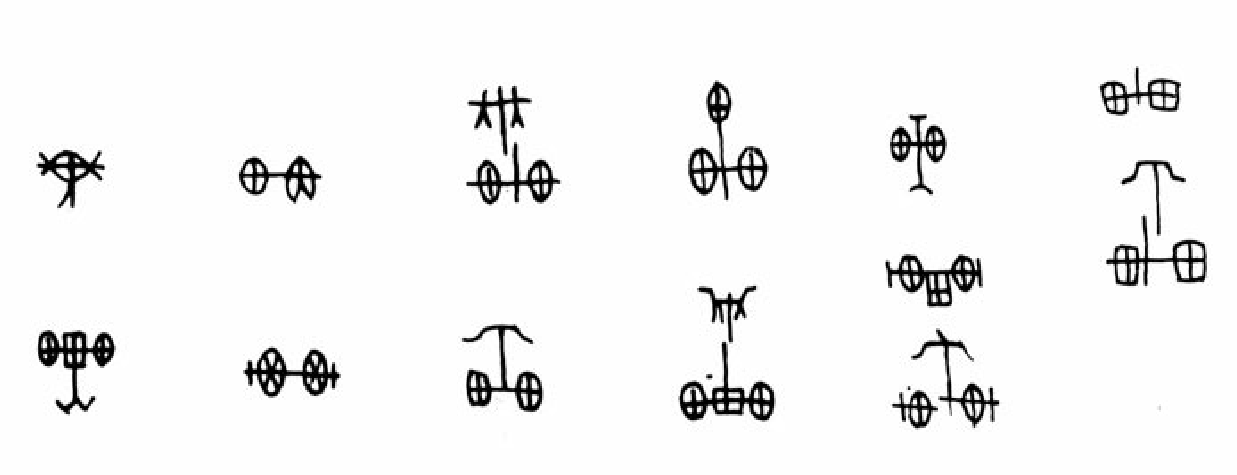
I have no intention of going into details about Professor Shih's reconstruction of this important vehicle and its significance in the study of the history of early Chinese culture. I am aware of recent discoveries, similar in nature to M20 of Hsiao-t'un. Whether detailed comparisons will confirm Shih's reconstruction is an interesting speculation. Be that as it may, the excavation and research of M20 constitute a historical landmark signaling the beginning of the study of the "wheeled vehicle" in ancient China.

Shih's reconstruction (Fig. 19) shows one of the chariots buried in M20, with a single shaft and a bow-shaped crosspiece suspended from it near its front end. Attached to the crosspiece on either side were found the two forked bronze yokes for the two horses harnessed on the right and left of the shaft-tree. The pieces that decorated the terminals of the axle, the shaft, and the yokes were cast in bronze. These bronzes, although all dismantled when found, were apparently in their correct positions relative to the original structure of a chariot drawn by two horses. It is of course important to note that although wheels were not found, the axle was definitely buried together with the under-carriage. This would mean that the axle did not turn with the wheels but was constructed as an integral unit of the under-carriage.

Further interesting evidence is supplied by the contemporary pictographs for wheeled vehicle. Of the fourteen sample specimens of this character in the oracle bone inscriptions, *ch*'*ê* (车), given in Professor Li Hsiao-ting's Dictionary,[96] eleven varieties are presented (Fig. 20). It is possible that the form of the pictograph character for wheeled vehicle was undergoing rapid changes, parallel with the progress of the actual structural designs in this period. Shih holds that there are at least two different types of wheeled chariots which can be reconstructed on the archaeological evidence collected from Hsiao-t'un.



19 Reconstruction of chariot and head of horse 车辆和马头的复原图


20 Oracle bone characters for "chariot" 甲骨文中的“车”字

Underground Deposit of Archives (H127) The crowning achievement and, popularly considered, the greatest success of fifteen seasons' excavations in Anyang under the auspices of Academia Sinica was the discovery of H127, an underground storage pit at Hsiao-t'un filled with thousands of inscribed tortoise shells. This discovery was made on June 12, 1936, the day when the season's work was to have closed according to the original schedule. It was in the thirteenth season, which had followed three successful expeditions to excavate the royal tombs at Hou-chia-chuang. In the middle of June, the Anyang summer is hot and the noon heat is sometimes unbearable, so the usual schedule is to stop the field work in summer. The following is a translation of the account of what happened on that day:

> According to the pre-arranged schedule, June 12 was to be the last day of this season. But, at 4 P.M. on June 12, numerous tortoise shells suddenly appeared in H127. When we ended the day at 5:30 P.M., the digging party had cleared in one hour and a half only half a cubic meter of closely packed tortoise shells which, according to a rough counting, already amounted to no less than 3,760 fragments of tortoise shells. Indeed, this is a respectable number, in view of past experience! Naturally we postponed the work for one more day, anticipating that the extra time would be sufficient for the completion and clearance of the contents of this amazing archive! But, indeed, facts are stranger than fiction. The actual pleasure of discovery far exceeded our anticipations! The contents of H127 were, unlike the other underground deposits, found to be by no means mixed and disorderly; on the contrary they had been accumulated in an orderly fashion, so it became obvious that a new method of excavation and recording was needed. ...[97]

Very fortunately the archaeologist in charge of H127 was Mr. Wang Hsiang, who, in addition to his long experience with the Anyang diggings, was also one of the most ingenious field workers. Wang spent the whole extra day extended to him cutting the hidden documents loose from the burying soil. When the sun declined again the next day the whole day's labor

had apparently only succeeded in scratching the surface of the hidden treasure. It became immediately clear that trying to take out the oracle bones piece by piece was not the right procedure. Unanimously all the archaeologists in the field agreed to scoop out the whole mass in one big lump.

Once decided, the new method was immediately closely followed. The labor of cutting loose the complete mass of those hidden documents from the soil took four days and four nights, all the members of the field staff working continuously without a moment's interruption. Meanwhile the news was communicated to the Nanking headquarters; and I, as chief of the Archaeological Section, immediately went to Anyang to conduct the final operation to the finish.

As there was no modern equipment in Anyang to handle such a heavy weight, how to move this hidden archive mass, which weighed over three tons, became the next difficult problem for the field workers. The huge mass was packed in heavy wooden planks and fastened firmly by iron straps. But to lift one single box weighing over three tons proved to be extremely difficult by local methods, not to mention moving it to the railway station although the distance was only a few miles. At that time, there was no modern road to speak of, nor any motor transportation.

Nevertheless the combined ingenuity of our field archaeologists and the local diggers finally solved the problem of transportation, still mainly by means of local tools plus a great deal of human labor. The heavy box was finally transported to the railway station on July 4. It took another eight days before this mass of buried documents from H127 was finally safely delivered to the headquarters of the Institute of History and Philology in Nanking for more detailed studies and investigations; the day of arrival was July 12, 1936.

Hu Hou-hsüan, assistant to Tung Tso-pin, was given the task of disassembling the mass of inscribed tortoise shells, which were closely stuck to one another after their three millennia of underground deposit. After many months of hard labor, Hu pointed out what he called the ten "Characteristics of the H127 Inscribed Oracle Bones," as follows:[98]

1. Most of the records are datable to the times of King P'an Keng and King Wu Ting, especially the latter. Hu inferred that this archive must have

been closed and stored away in Wu Ting's time.

2. Quite a number of the tortoise shells still retain the original writing in vermilion, indicating definitely that oracle bone inscriptions were first written by brush, and only later incised.

3. Many inscriptions are filled with vermilion or black pigments in the incised marks.

4. Oracle crack signs, signifying luck or evil, are often trimmed artificially.

5. Carapaces of tortoises are frequently bisected for divinatory purposes; these fragments, when they are complete, are usually punctuated with a perforation at the end of the piece.

6. The sources of the tortoises are frequently noted on a selected portion of the tortoise shell.

7. Shells of a number of extra large tortoises, probably imported from the south, occur among this accumulated mass.

8. The total number of inscribed pieces in the mass is 17,096; of this enormous number of inscribed oracle bones only 8 fragments are from ox scapula, all the others (17,088) are from tortoise shells.

9. The burying of these documents, Hu inferred, was intentional.

10. Hu further figured that, in previous diggings, only four shells from Ta-lien-k'eng in the third season, and nine tortoise shells from Hou-chia-chuang in the ninth season, had been recovered. But, this time, from H127 alone, over three hundred inscribed tortoise shells were restorable! It was indeed an unprecedented achievement.[99]

Tung Tso-pin, in the prefatory note to the second volume on Anyang inscriptions, had this to say: "Truly this event [the H127 discovery] should be written with large characters and deserves particular notice! It is indeed a miracle among achievements, taking all the fifteen seasons' work into consideration."[100] Tung further quoted Shih's following passage from the article cited above:

> The field number for the pit is H127 [at C113]…the upper and surface layer is a huge but

shallow cavity [H117]: underneath pit H117 was found...H127. The uppermost part of H127 pit appeared 1.70 meters below the modern surface; which showed signs of having been somewhat intruded, but not obviously. The diameter of H127 at the upper opening is 1.80m., the depth of the pit is six meters from the surface. … The upper deposit was filled with greyish soil, the bottom layer was greenish soil, and between these two layers were the accumulated inscribed oracle bones and shells, …which constitute the middle layer with a thickness of 1.60 meters. A human skeleton was also found accompanying these documented antiquities…[101]

Shih's account was written five years after the discovery, when the Institute of History and Philology had moved its headquarters to Kunming, Yünnan province, during the Japanese invasion; the exact date of Shih's article is March 1940. It was a time, in the middle of Japan's invasion of China, when the whole nation was engaged in a life and death struggle. Shih was able to put on record this memorable event not only as an eye-witness but also as the man in charge of the field operations. So even Tung Tso-pin had to rely upon this information for his detailed studies.

If I conclude this chapter with this account, it is understandable. When Director Fu Ssŭ-nien originated the idea of taking Anyang as the first site to test the theory and methods of modern archaeology, he was mainly inspired by the well-known fact that in this region, the earliest written Chinese records had already been found. In other words, the main purpose of Fu's decision was to find out whether inscribed oracle bones still existed in the soil. And, indeed, the H127 shell-archive was discovered in the summer of 1936 after more than eight years of persistent labor guided by means of scientific method; it crowned an enterprise based on reasoning and on accumulated field experience! It was not luck that gave us the findings of H127. They were definitely the fruit of planned and accumulated scientific labor.

From a purely archaeological viewpoint, the discovery of the H127 archive was only one among a number of amazing achievements in the various Anyang expeditions which I have briefly described. In fact, the thirteenth, the fourteenth, and the fifteenth expeditions resulted in a large number of accumulated field records as well as material discoveries and field data of the highest value by any scientific standard, and these have provided the basic materials for the understanding of the true nature of the Anyang culture up to the present time!

Still, H127 stands out conspicuously as one of the climaxes which seems to have given us a kind of spiritual satisfaction beyond all others! So,

speaking not just from a purely scientific viewpoint but with the memory of our elation, I consider it a fitting and proper subject to close this chapter on the field operations in the last three seasons.

陆．二战前小屯的最后三次田野发掘

1937年夏，日本的侵略打断了安阳发掘的计划。这一计划是在历史语言研究所所长傅斯年有力领导下，由受过训练的考古学家们在1928年制定的，除间或的中断外，共持续了九年。日本侵华是第二次世界大战这一世界性冲突的序幕。西方历史学家仍习惯于把希特勒进攻西欧的日子当作二战爆发的开始，完全忽视了这次全球性战争在远东舞台上的早期一幕。就历史事实而言，这段悲剧性的历史是不可割裂开来看的。

安阳发掘是在南京国民政府支持下由中央研究院承担的一项科学事业，因此，日本入侵华北后，活跃的安阳田野工作就不得不停止了。

1937年日本入侵华北前，安阳发掘在1935年冬梁思永决定暂停侯家庄西北岗王陵的发掘后，又进行了三次。它们分别称为安阳发掘的第十三、十四、十五次，集中在小屯遗址，运用了一套系统的"卷地毯"的方法，探寻殷商王朝最后一个都城的建筑基础。田野工作日程表与工作人员的组成及其变换可以参见下页的表。

在采用这种方法进行最后三次发掘时，我们自然偏重那些与前九次的遗迹有联系的地方，即夯土较多、过去又很少被盗的地方。因而这三次的田野工作几乎全集中于B区和C区。这两区又用测量仪器分为若干同样大小，即面积为1600平方米（40米×40米）的工作单位。在地图上，每个单位又分为面积为100平方米（10米×10米）的探方。探方是需仔细考察的地段中的最小单位，全都按特定顺序用连续数字编号，如C126，意为C区的第126号探方。

次	日期	领导人	田野队员	发掘活动
13	1936年3月18日至6月24日	郭宝钧 石璋	李景聃 王湘 祁延	发掘面积14亩；127个窖穴，181个墓葬。无轮廓但有柱石的基址。基址下有水沟；发现H 127。

		如	霈 高去寻 尹焕章 潘慤	
14	1936年9月20日至 12月31日	梁思永 石璋如	王湘 高去寻 尹焕章 另有四人	60条探沟；发掘面积3590平方米；26个基址；122个窖穴；132个墓葬；地下沟。
15	1937年3月16日至 6月19日	石璋如	王湘 高去寻 潘慤 另有四人	37条探沟；发掘面积3700平方米：基址20个；窖穴220个；地下沟120米长；有跪葬人牲的门，许多遗物。

从第十三次发掘开始，窖穴和墓葬也用序号标出，英文大写字母H（灰坑）表示前者，M（墓）表示后者，如H127或M164。

最后三次田野发掘主要目的是完成与甲骨文同时的建筑基址的考查，但具体程序自然依发掘的进展和地下各处的情况而有所不同。这些情况在每个地方都不相同。例如，夯土的技术与外观就没发现有相同的。有的夯土是为了填平低洼地方，有的是为了建筑独立的墙壁，最常见的是用作地面建筑物的基础。以筑墙而论，打夯土前就需拟好计划。为建筑物打基础的时候定然要按照一种建筑"蓝图"来展开，因为首先要平整地面，凡是有坑或穴的地方都要填上，高的地方要铲平。自田野队在第四次发掘时发现了夯土技术的主要作用后，就对它进行了认真研究。田野工作者都知道，有的地方夯土深达几米，而有的地方则很浅，地面上只留有一层不到20厘米厚的压过的土。他们进一步推论，这种技术或许是在商朝迁都到安阳后才发展起来的。在发掘过程中还发现，无论夯土层厚度如何，它下面常常有其他建筑遗迹——地下居住所、窖穴、水沟，或有墓葬及其他史前遗迹。石璋如教授认为，这些地下建筑是商朝早期文化的一部分，它们建于盘庚迁都到这里之前。

让我们看一看在夯土层下发现的殷以前的一些建筑遗迹（详见第10章）。

● 地下居所和供贮藏用的窖穴

第二次世界大战前我们在安阳的最后三次发掘的面积，比前九次发掘的面积总和还要大。这三次发掘的总面积达12000平方米，而前九次总的发掘面积仅为8000多平方米。比较地下住所和窖穴的数目，前九次发掘的总数仅为123个，而最后三次清理的这类建筑有479个。更重要的是，发现了规则的地下排水沟体系，水沟的两壁用木桩加固。这必定是建于商代夯土时期以前。毫无疑问，水沟是居民普遍居住在地下窖穴和半地下住所时设计的。

据石璋如教授的研究，这些地下窖穴和住所可主要分以下几类：

圆形或椭圆形的窦（图14）　这些地下洞穴有时是像两个相连的房间一样成对出现。有些窦很浅，距现今地表不到1米，有的向下达7至10米，乃至更深。这种深窦的壁上常挖有供脚蹬的竖排脚窝；它们有的是相对排列的，有的则位于同一侧。石教授把这种窦又分为六类，前两类为平底或底部不规则，较浅，直径约为1.5米，这些窦常在夯筑基址的上面。但较深的窦常达3米多深，大多数是在夯筑之下，故它应先于夯土时期。石根据脚窝的排列方式把较深的窦再分为四类，这些窦多是为贮藏东西而设计的。据石教授说，这贮藏用的窦大部分是在小屯遗址西边

发掘到的。

长方形或正方形的窖（图15）　这类地下建筑的深度从1.10米到10多米不等。像上一组一样，窖壁上有供上下用的脚窝。同样，大多数深窖建筑要早于夯土时期。但较浅的窖明显是后来建的。大多数窖也像窦那样深，显然也是用于贮藏的，因为它们都较窄，底部面积少有超过4平方米的。

穴形坑（图16）　这类地下建筑包括一些宽而浅的地下居所。这种地下居所多数仍保留着一段台阶；有的台阶靠着居所墙壁，有的位于穴室中间。居所地面多是平的，有的分为两部分。整个地面呈现出圆形、椭圆形或长方形（参看本书第320-327页讨论）。大多数穴室地面的面积有10多平方米，最大的可能超过30平方米。其深度一般在地下2至3米之间，但在罕见的一例中（7:　H23），这种坑几乎向下深至6米，并有一段17级的台阶。

石教授说，这类地下居所绝大多数是在夯土基础下发现的。这显然表明它们是早期当地人的住所。石教授还认为，从两米的平均深度判断，墙必定会高出地面，所以屋顶也会完全位于地面之上。

半地下居所　最后石璋如还补充了另外一组，他称之为“半地下居所”。这些半地下居所的地下部分不到1米深，横截面为圆形、椭圆形、方形或长方形。其中，圆形的直径一般为3米多，方形或长方形的居住面积在20至30平方米之间。这些半地下居室有一个特点，居所底部边缘常有柱洞，这表明曾经有木桩用来筑墙和支撑地面上的房顶。

根据这四组地下建筑多数位于夯土基础之下的事实，石璋如在一篇专论中发表了如前所述的结论：大多数地下建筑遗址是盘庚迁都到此之前的早期居民留下的。[88]但也有例外，在继续发掘的过程中发现许多深陷的坑和窖与夯土基础是同时期的。这些坑和窖或为贮藏而建，或像我在早先的一篇文章中所说的那样，为埋葬牺牲而建。[89]事实上，几乎没有发现在夯筑技术应用后建造的地下居所。此地成为都城后，大部分居所就盖在地面上了，这一点似乎已十分清楚了。几乎可以肯定，盘庚在此定都后，除埋葬牺牲外，没有建过地下的宗庙和宫殿。

最后三次有组织的大规模田野发掘，在小屯的东北揭露出大量祭坛、宗庙、宫殿、作坊和住宅的建筑基础，这已在《中国考古学报》[90]上发表了。本书第十章将论及所有这些发现物，并介绍其复原的可能，它们将成为借以认识商史的主要考古贡献之一。

然而，应该首先谈谈其他重要的田野发现。我一直在思考，通过研究田野工作者1928年到1937年，尤其是在最后几次考察中积累的证据，确立小屯地下堆积的文化顺序。已确立的考古学的顺序可扼要摘录如次：

1. 最下层的堆积遗迹表明，小屯遗址最早的居民是住在地下居所、并已创造了龙山或黑陶文化的史前人。

2. 继龙山文化之后的是数目众多的地下坑、窖和地下居所，它们属于盘庚迁都到此以前的商代早期。

3. 以安阳作为都城的殷商时期，夯土建筑方法已被采用，地面建筑广泛发展。

4. 商灭亡后的遗迹主要是墓葬。

● 十三、十四、十五次安阳发掘的重大发现

小屯最后三次发掘的出土物数量和未预料到的发现，超出了包括所有老手在内的每个有田野工作经验的参加者的预料。我将逐条列出从1936年夏到1937年6月底安阳发掘最后阶段所获得的几组较重要的发现物。我选取的类别不仅本身有价值，而且可以为解答一些老的历史问题提供新的资料。

A组　最后三次中重要而又未预料到的发现：

1. 车马葬

2. 刻字甲骨的地下档案库（H127）

B组　由观察和物证的积累而解决的问题：

1. 人牲

2. 动植物

3. 陶器收集

4. 地下坑穴和居所的演进阶段

5. 地面建筑基址的朝向和规模

A组所列的是偶然获得的发现物，而B组的是有计划的科学记录和

逐步搜集积累资料所得的结果。在本章里，我将深入论述出人意料的A组发现物。B组中的大部分项目将在以后讨论，但我要先扼要地提一下它们的主要特征、搜集方法和发现的环境。

我把“人牲”列为B组的第一项有其特殊原因。此前第五章中曾论及这种野蛮的习俗遍及青铜时代的新旧大陆。那一章关于“人牲”的叙述可用以说明，这种习俗仅限于与丧葬有关的牺牲仪式。实际上，这是田野考古工作者一开始的看法。但最后三次在小屯出土的证据确定地表明“人牲”这一习俗还有其他目的：它与建筑的奠基或每年祭祀各种神灵有关。这类神灵可能是抽象的，如河神；也可能是具体的偶像。这一点值得一叙：例如，在探寻B7区的基址时就发现了这类情况。

B7基址仅发现了左边部分，右边部分已被从东面围绕小屯农田的洹河淹没。已发现的部分夯筑基址东西长度不少于40米，南北超过30米。在B7夯筑基址仅存部分中发现一系列牺牲坑，很明显地表示它们是按一定规则排列在夯筑基址南边的。在石璋如的报告中，每个坑用一符号表示，见下表：

牺牲坑代号	包含物
M230	五头牛
M229	一条狗、两只羊
M96	三头牛
M106	十一条狗
M141	两条狗、一只羊
M94	三条狗
M105	三条狗、三只羊
M140	三头牛

M168　　　一个面北跪着的人

石根据上表总结道，在这排牺牲坑中，共发现十一头牛[91]、六只羊、二十条狗和一个人。更使人惊异的是，石璋如在建筑物门边发现了另外的坑，他认为这些牺牲坑和架起前门时的“破土仪式”有关。根据石的记录，还有三个人献祭并葬于此地。这些坑在基址的左、右与中央，即要放门柱础石的地方。三个人牲分别见于这三个坑中，呈跪姿，旁边各放一戈。再向南，在门的正前方发现第四个人牲。可以说他是守门的卫士，手持矛和盾，同样呈跪姿被埋葬，朝向北面。

张秉权教授在根据甲骨记录写成的一篇文章中，把甲骨文中记载的牺牲供奉条目，按每次活动用的牺牲品的种类和数量分类。[92]每一条目都与一个特定的祖先或其他偶像，如河神、山神的祭祀有关。张在记录中发现，用以祭祀的牺牲可能有牛、羊、猪、狗、人、鹿、象、龟，甚至还有犀牛。他还认识到，牛、羊、猪、狗明显是驯养的，也许有一些还是专为这种目的而饲养的。至于人牲，张引用了一条特殊的记录证明，至少部分人牲是俘虏。更有趣的是，甲骨文中记载的使用牺牲品的数量差别很大。张在文中核对了甲骨文中记录的用作牺牲的牛的数量及各自被提及的次数，结果如下：

为牺牲用的羊、狗和猪的数目也有很大变化，但是这些牺牲品没有一种在单次祭祀中的数目过百的。龟、鹿、象或犀牛则较为罕见。至于人牲的数量，据张秉权教授说，至少有一次记录了300人，另一次记录了1000人，但通常这个数字像上面所列的牛的数目一样是变化的。300和1000个人牲的孤例是否能用其他任何理由来说明，仍是一个有待新资料来解决的问题。

B组中的其余四项田野资料都具有根本性的考古意义，因为动植物、陶器收集、地下建筑的不同阶段、地上建筑的朝向，每一项都为具体说明公元前第二个千年最后二百五十年这段最初历史时期中人们的生活方式，提供了基本的材料，当时中国文明仍在成形期。

研究这个遗址出土的动物和陶器资料的专著和论文多年前已发表。在这里我简要地介绍一些研究成果。

最初几次安阳发掘收集到的哺乳动物遗骸被送往新生代实验室进行专门研究。德日进和杨钟健在研究哺乳动物遗骨的专著中鉴定出了其中24种。[93]这24种动物大致可归为二十个属：狗、熊、獾、虎、鲸、鼠、

竹鼠、兔、貘、马、猪、獐、鹿（梅花鹿）、四不像（麋鹿）、殷羊（羊）、羊（驯养山羊）、牛、圣水牛、象和猴。

这两位杰出的古生物学家得出的最有趣的一个结论是：（殷商时期的）安阳人是勤劳的商人和农人，他们为了经济目的奋力工作。另外，他们把捕获大型猎物视为皇室的成就。这可以解释为什么从殷墟发现的各类动物的遗骸数量如此庞大，种类如此多样。

两位作者在研究的哺乳动物中也分出了三个明显的类别：(1)　本地野生动物，(2)　本地驯养的动物；(3)　外地引进的动物。狸、熊、獾、虎、豹、鼠、竹鼠、兔、獐、鹿是本地野生动物的代表。关于驯养的，作者指出有狗、羊、殷羊，还包括四不像、牛、圣水牛和猴。

> 明显是外地引进来的动物，作者罗列的不多，其中包括鲸、象、貘和一只小熊。关于这一类，作者有如下描述：
>
> 鲸骨在附近海岸到处都可很容易地采集到，而象和貘看来是从南方引入的活物。安阳和中国南方之间贸易频繁已为殷墟发现的锡锭和大量的蚌壳所证实。这种厚实的珠蚌（用作母贝）在华北地区自上更新世以来即已罕见，因而它可能是从长江流域带到安阳来的……（第56页）

两位作者旁征博引，讨论了华北哺乳动物群的历史，结尾时进一步推断，圣水牛可能是中国史前早期驯养的，因圣水牛的祖先可以上溯到更新纪。不管怎样，安阳最后三次发掘发现的圣水牛的数量与牛一样多，但它们是否用作牺牲仪式中的祭品还不能确定。

后几次发掘研究所得的新资料也加入了安阳的动物名单。尤为有趣的是孔雀骨，很明显这是从南方引进的。还需注意的是，在最后几次发掘中发现了许多马的遗骸。

我们研究植物群的计划无奈地遭遇了不幸的失败。在发掘中我们收集的木炭达几千试管。这批珍贵的收集，如果能得到德日进神甫那样权威的专家的及时研究，可为我们了解殷商时代安阳附近的植物提供根本性的资料，当然也会使我们对这一时期的气候环境有一些认识。但这些资料在战争期间丢失了，对科学来说这是无可挽回的损失。

然而，我们的陶器收集比较幸运，我费了很大工夫对它们进行登记、分类和编目，最后整理成集。我的关于安阳陶器的专论在1956年发表，其中囊括了整个殷墟陶器群。[94]虽然在第十一、十二章我会更详细地论述这些陶器的技术和纹饰，但在这里我想简要谈谈这些陶器的几个主要特征。

登记的陶片总数近25万片。在这么大的数目中，几乎80%是最后三

次发掘在小屯出土的。有了经验的积累，田野工作的全体队员都熟悉了最新的分类和记录标准。安阳发掘一开始，王湘先生就被委以收集陶制品的专门任务，他在离开这一工作去参加抗日战争之前，已完成了一份包括田野收集的全部陶器分类表的详细报告。田野考古队在经历了令人兴奋的侯家庄王陵发掘，见识了在那里发现的大量珍贵白陶后，对殷商时期的制陶技术和工艺有了更深刻的认识。可以说，全体考古队员关于典型殷商陶器已有足够的知识。这些陶器仅从外观来看可以分成以下四类：

I类　　灰陶，占总数的近90%

II类　　红陶，约占总数的6.86%

III类　　白陶，约占总数的0.27%

IV类　　硬陶，约占总数的1.73%

除上述四类典型的殷商陶器制品外，还有第五类黑陶和第六类彩陶。虽然，一直以来被认为是殷商时期典型陶器的白陶曾得到收藏者的极高评价，但从纯技术观点出发，真正的重大发现是从前完全不为人知晓的硬陶。这种陶器的表面大多覆有一层薄薄的原始釉。这一消息首次在报纸上公开发表时，经验丰富的英国汉学家和古物学家叶慈教授就立刻给我写了一封信，并把此事通报给伦敦的皇家亚洲文会。我们的考古收集中有几件近于完整的白陶器皿和上釉硬陶标本。研究所的许多考古工作者认为，这些标本比在田野收集到更壮观的青铜器，包括王陵出土的巨大青铜方鼎，更有价值。

B组的四、五两项将留待后面的章节专门叙述。在本章余下的部分中，我想谈谈A组下面两个出人意料的重要发现，它们都是最后三次安阳发掘中出土的。下面我来依次介绍。

车马葬　古文字研究者早就知道商代已有带轮的车。在安阳发掘期间，明显用作战车部件的青铜装饰碎片在小屯发掘早期时有发现，而在侯家庄王陵发掘中也多次发现已散架的马车。所有这些都是商代存在带轮车的重要迹象，但要对这种重要的交通工具的原型进行任何系统的复原，依靠它们几乎是不可能的。直到第十三次发掘时，1936年4月13日，在小屯负责清理C区的高去寻教授才第一次发现一层夯土下有鲜红漆痕标

示的清晰界线。这导致了M20的发现。这部分以C74著称，这条界线就是在这里距现今地面0.80—1.00米处发现的。当地表夯土层被挖开后，出现了一个2.90米×1.80米的长方形坑。这就是小屯著名的M20车马葬坑，坑中埋有完整的马车和四匹马，几乎从未被扰动过（图17）。

C74内发现的M20被证明仅是此区五个车马葬坑中的一个，另外四个坑分别位于如图18所示的C72、C73、C120内。这五个车马坑距离相近，明显是按某种顺序埋入的，由此石璋如在后来的研究中认识到，它们是供有特殊目的的祭祀使用的牺牲埋葬。另外四个坑或被后来的盗墓者干扰过，或被后期的建筑破坏，仅M20保存较完好。不过，当它被揭开时，仍旧发现上层的夯土和地下的潮湿已损坏了人和动物的骨骸，而像木架、皮带这些不耐久的材料则已经腐烂，只能辨别出其轮廓的痕迹。金属零件、石块和一些骨头完好地保存了许多个世纪。然而，田野队员仍有可能通过就地素描和照相的方法进行较确切的记录。直到现在，M20仍是为数不多的可据以研究古代中国“带轮（？）”车辆历史最早的田野资料之一。

我在“带轮”两个字后加上问号，是因为M20揭开时，虽已发现四匹马、三个人的残骸和车辆的残迹，但丝毫没有轮子的迹象。幸好田野记录得到了妥善保存。继续研究了几年后，许多考古学者和古物学家推论出，M20中含有双轮马车，但轮已被卸下，大概葬在别处，这与身首异处埋葬的习俗类似。

然而，依靠对M20的辛劳发掘，车身主体结构的关键部件全都得以保存，可作为后来复原的基本资料。在这个坑中，田野工作者依次发现了：(1) 三具人骨架；(2) 四具马骨架；(3) 马头、马身上的装饰品碎片；(4) 车身上的青铜装置：车辕和车轴的青铜制末端；(5) 武器：三套戈、削和箭头；(6) 马铃；(7) 鞭；(8) 车辕和车轴上木架和皮带的痕迹；(9) 轭和衡；(10) 一块石璧和其他杂物。在抗战期间及战后很长一段时间，有五六位专家对M20出土的遗迹和遗物做了研究，但直到1970年，石璋如教授基于对原始资料的不断研究，才出版了他的复原著作。经允许，我在此简要介绍。[95]

我不打算详叙关于石璋如教授对车辆的复原以及它在中国早期文化史研究中的意义。我意识到，近期有些发现在性质上与小屯M20相似。详细的比较能否证实石教授的复原，思考这一问题很有意思。不论如何，M20的发掘和研究是一个历史的里程碑，标志着古代中国“有轮车”研究的开始。

石的复原图（图19）中展现了M20中埋葬的一辆车，包括一个车辕和一个在靠近其前端的地方悬吊的弓形车衡。车衡两边有叉状青铜轭，供在车辕的左右两侧套马匹之用。车轴、车辕和轭末端的装饰物是青铜铸造的。虽然这些青铜车器发现时已全部散架，但它们明显仍处在两匹马拉的车的原结构的相应位置。需要注意的是，虽未发现车轮，但车轴肯定是和车座埋在一起的。这表明车轴不随车轮转，而是作为车座的一个内部单位。

更有趣的证据是由同时代轮车的象形字提供的。在甲骨文中有14个“车”字。李孝定教授的字典[96]中列出了11个车字的字样（图20）。车的象形字字形可能一直经历着快速的变化，这与此间车的实际结构的设计发展同步。石认为，根据小屯收集的考古证据，至少可以复原出两种不同的轮车。

地下档案库（**H127**）　一般认为，中央研究院主持的前后十五次安阳发掘取得的最高成就和最大成果是H127的发现。在小屯发现的这个地下贮藏坑里堆积着数以千计的刻字龟甲。H127是在1936年6月12日发现的。根据既定的日程，要在这天结束这次发掘工作。这是第十三次发掘，紧接在三次成功探索发掘侯家庄王陵之后。6月中旬安阳的夏季炎热，有时中午酷暑难当，所以一般安排是夏季停止田野工作。下面是6月12日发生的情况的记载：

> 本来预定的计划，是6月12日结束。但12日的下午4时，在H127坑中发现了许多龟版。我们是5时半收工的，在一个半钟头的时间内，不过半立方米的土中，出了3760块龟版，在量上说也很可观了。单为这一个坑，展限了一日工作，预于次日，竭竟日之力把它肃清，谁知事实遮没了我们的想象，愉慰超过了我们的希冀。坑中包含的埋葬物，并不是像平常那样的简单，遗物的排列，并不是像平常那样的乱杂，不能以普通的方法，来处理这特殊的现象……[97]

非常幸运的是，负责H127发掘的是王湘先生。他不仅有长期从事安阳发掘的经验，还是位最有独创性的田野工作者。王用多出来的这一天来挖取埋在土中的龟版。第二天太阳下山时，一天的工作也只取出了埋藏珍品的皮毛。他很快意识到，试图一块块取出卜骨的方法行不通。全体田野考古工作者一致认为应把它整块挖出来。

一经决定，就立即采用新的方法。全体队员一刻不停地工作，用了四昼夜的时间，将这一整块埋藏资料挖出来了。同时这一消息也报告给了南京的研究所。我作为考古组的负责人，即刻奔赴安阳指导最后阶段的操作。

因为当时安阳没有处理这么重的物品的现代设备，所以田野工作者

面临的第二个难题就是如何把这三吨多重的埋藏档案块运走。这个大土块被装在厚木板做成的箱子里，又用铁条牢牢加固。但要用当地的办法移动一个重三吨多的木箱都极为困难，更不用说把它运到火车站了，虽然车站就在几英里开外。那时根本没有现代的公路，也没有用动力牵引的运输工具。

然而，依靠我们田野考古工作者与当地发掘工人的集体智慧，最后还是用本地工具加大量人力的方式解决了搬运的问题。那只沉重的大木箱于7月4日被运到了火车站。又经过了8天时间， 出自H127的这件埋藏档案的土块才安全运到了南京历史语言研究所所址，供更细致的研究和调查之用。它抵达的日期是1936年7月12日。

这些刻字龟壳在地下堆积了三千年以后互相紧密地粘在一起，董作宾的助手胡厚宣承担了剥离它们的任务。经过几个月的辛勤劳动，胡厚宣指出他所谓的“H127字甲的特点”有以下十个：[98]

1. 此坑甲骨文的时代多可追溯到盘庚和武丁时期，尤以后者居多。胡推断这坑甲骨可能是武丁时贮藏后封闭的。

2. 很大一部分字甲仍保留原来用朱色书写的痕迹，这明显地表明甲骨文是先用毛笔写成，然后才刻字。

3. 刻纹中涂朱或涂墨的情况很多。

4. 表示吉或凶的龟甲卜兆，常有人工修整的痕迹。

5. 为了占卜，龟背甲常由中间锯开成两部分。龟甲断片在完好时常在一头打孔以备贯穿。

6. 龟的来源常记录在龟甲特定的部位。

7. 此坑中有不少特大龟甲，大概是从南方进来的。

8. 此坑共出土有字甲骨17,096片，其中仅有8块是牛肩胛骨，其余17,088片都是龟甲。

9. 胡推断这些甲骨档案是有意识窖藏的。

10. 胡还进一步指出，第三次发掘时在“大连坑”中仅出土4版龟甲，第九次发掘从侯家庄出土9版龟甲。但这次仅从H127内就可复原三百多版！这的确是前所未有的成就。[99]

董作宾在《殷虚文字乙编·序》中这样说：“这真是应该大书特书的

一件事，也是十五次发掘殷墟一个破记录的奇迹。”[100]董在文中引用了石璋如的一段话：

> 窖的田野号数，叫做H127［位于C113］……上层……是一个大而浅的灰土坑［H117］，在H117下发现了……H127。［H117］曾破坏了H127坑东边的一部分。……［H127］上口距地面一公尺四寸，H127的口径约一公尺八寸，深距地面约六公尺……窖内的堆积，……上层为灰土，下层绿灰土，中间一层是堆积灰土与龟甲，……所占的空间高约一公尺六寸。还发现一个人骨架伴着这些古代档案……[101]

石的文章是H127发现五年后写的，当时正值日本侵略中国期间，历史语言研究所已把所址搬到了云南省昆明。石写文章的确切时间是1940年3月，正是日本侵略中国的中期，中华民族正进行生死搏斗。石能把这件难忘的事写出来，不仅因为他是个见证者，而且因为他还是负责此次田野工作的人。所以，董作宾在他的细致研究中也要依靠这个材料。

以这段叙述来结束这一章，是可以理解的。当傅斯年所长选择安阳为第一个遗址，以此检验现代考古学的理论和方法时，他主要是被在该地区已经发现最早的汉字书面记录这一广为人知的事实所鼓舞。换句话说，傅作出这个决定的主要目的是要确认有字甲骨是否仍存在于地下。果然，在科学方法的指导下，经过八年多坚持不懈的工作之后，于1936年夏季发现了H127龟甲档案库。它把这项建立在推理和田野经验积累上的事业推向了顶峰！H127的发现并非侥幸，这定然是有计划的长期科学工作的结果。

单从考古学上看，H127档案库的发现仅是安阳多次发掘获得的众多惊人成就之一。前面我已将这些成就简要地介绍过了。实际上，最后三次探索获得了大量田野记录、物质发现和田野资料，无论用哪种科学标准衡量，这些都可算是体现了最高的价值。而且，它们为今天了解安阳文化的真实性质提供了基本材料。

然而，H127作为一个发掘中的高潮卓然而立，似乎给了我们一种无可超越的精神满足！所以，不仅从单纯科学的观点来看，同时伴着我们欢欣鼓舞的回忆，我认为以此来结束关于最后三次田野发掘的这一章，是再合适不过的了。

7. Wartime Efforts

to Continue the Anyang Research

By the summer of 1937, it became inevitable that the Japanese militarists, encouraged by their political and military successes since the Meiji era, would continue their expansion and their aggressive policy toward China until...they had swallowed the whole territory of Southeastern and Eastern Asia. Although the revolutionary government established in Nanking by the followers of Dr. Sun Yat-sen was militarily still far inferior to the Japanese army and navy, and therefore unable to engage the Japanese on a large scale, the policy makers of the Nanking government nevertheless decided to resist the Japanese invasion, and adopted the tactics of a small-scale but long-drawn-out war of resistance.

The eight-year resistance war is now recognized as an important initial phase of World War II with which modern historians are at least not totally unacquainted. This chapter will give a general outline of what happened in this period to the important archaeological collections from the fifteen expeditions of field work in Anyang, considered by many to represent one of the most distinguished scientific achievements sponsored by the Nationalist Government in Nanking.

When the elder statesmen of the Nationalists had originated the idea of establishing a national research academy, they had laid emphasis first of all upon physical and natural sciences; so the physics, chemistry, engineering, geology, and meteorology institutes were the first five to be established in Nanking and Shanghai. The Institute of History and Philology was inaugurated later, chiefly through the efforts of its founder, Fu Ssŭ-nien, as already described in chapter 4.

Less than ten years after the establishment of the Nanking government, the Japanese invasion of China actually started, following the failure of repeated negotiations. The policy of long resistance, announced in Nanking, was unanimously supported by the whole nation.

Despite the chaos of wartime, the policy of scientific education was still maintained though it naturally suffered reduction and many changes. Active research could not be promoted. Still, in spite of all difficulties, the government gave full consideration to individual and collective efforts in this direction.

First of all, while engaged in military mobilization, the government still managed to assign a certain amount of transport to move national treasures and scientific equipment to inland China, mainly to the west and southwest but also to the northwest—Szechwan, Yünnan, Kwangsi provinces, and so on, via the Yangtze River, the Lunghai Railway, and public highways in various regions.

The main portion of the collections and the library, of the Institute of History and Philology were, through the energy and historical insight of a few leaders, for the most part successfully transported to several destinations: Chungking, Kunming, and finally Li-chuang, a town in the western part of Szechwan province, on the southern bank of the Yangtze River. Before it settled at Li-chuang, the institute first migrated to Kunming and stayed in or near that capital city of Yünnan province for more than a year (1938-1940). Needless to say, in the course of moving these national treasures, which included scientific records and equipment, there were overwhelming difficulties to overcome and inevitable losses suffered due to chaotic wartime conditions despite the efforts of the organization and of its individual members who were carrying out their assigned duties as best they could. All these difficulties and losses have been recorded in one way or another, either privately or in official documents.

A serious loss I should not omit to mention was the dispersal of our talented younger archaeologists, trained by more than half a dozen years in the field. Some time in November 1937, when almost all the members of the Archaeological Section of the Institute of History and Philology were gathered at Ch'angsha in a wayside inn, each member declared what he would like to do during the war. The result of this gathering was that some left the institute for war work, and some went to wander around; but the majority, including all the senior members, decided to follow the migration of the institute wherever it might lead, according to the drift of the time.

When the institute first settled in Kunming in the early part of the war,

the members were actually able to resume some research work. During the latter part of the Kunming days, the headquarters of the institute was moved from the city to a nearby suburban village, known as Lung-ch'üen Cheng, where most of the archaeological collections and the books were actually set out on shelves. The three senior archaeologists took the lead in working on the Anyang finds: Liang Ssŭ-yung was engaged in a preliminary survey of the Hou-chia-chuang digging records; Tung Tso-pin devoted himself to the continued study of the oracle bone inscriptions, assisted by Hu Hou-hsüan; I myself undertook a detailed study of the shapes and decorations of the Anyang ceramics and examined all the types of specimens with the able assistance of Dr. Wu Gin-ding, who returned from London to join us and was appointed a curator of the National Central Museum, of which I was still in charge during wartime. At the same time, the human skeletal materials were handed to Dr. Woo Ting-liang, chief of the Anthropological Section of the institute. Dr. Woo, as a well-trained biometrician, was regarded as the specialist best qualified to handle the precious collection of skeletal materials from the Anyang excavations. The major portion of these materials had also been taken to Yünnan for further study.

Research on the Hsiao-t'un and Hou-chia-chuang archaeological collections continued for about a year and a half—from September 1938 to June 1940, when the institute had to move again. During this period there was a great deal of concentrated labor on the Anyang materials, and a firm basis was laid for the official publication of these scientific records. These academic achievements, although not directly related to actual warfare, were indicative of the kind of scientific accomplishment that trained individuals were capable of attaining even in a time of national crisis. I should therefore like to give a brief account of the kinds of research carried out in the days when the headquarters of the institute was located at Lung-ch'üen Cheng.

Tung Tso-pin, assisted by Hu Hou-hsüan, continued his research on the inscriptions of the oracle bone records. The staff members under Tung's direction kept on making ink-squeezes of the inscribed shells from H127, despite interruptions for lack of supplies, especially the thin paper necessary for ink-squeezing, a difficulty that was bound to happen in wartime. Such difficulties were always overcome, however, so the progress of the rubbing was never stopped for long. Hu Hou-hsüan was also assigned to continue the registration of the specimens and to keep a catalogue specially designed for

this collection. Tung Tso-pin occupied himself with a more arduous task, namely, tackling the highly technical problem of reconstructing the Yin-Shang calendar system on the basis of the inscribed records. Tung's interest in this particular research was first inspired, as mentioned before, by the Ta-lien-k'eng discovery of the four more or less complete inscribed plastra. During his careful investigation of these pieces, he conceived the idea of expanding the investigation to embrace the whole problem of the Yin-Shang calendar.

Liang Ssŭ-yung, who enjoyed normal health in the first two years of wartime when the institute was in Kunming, completed in this time his first draft of the reports on the royal tombs which he had excavated in 1934-1935 at Hsi-pei-kang of Hou-chia-chuang. This enormous labor was almost finished before the institute received the new order to move again to Li-chuang in western Szechwan in 1940. The manuscripts of these important drafts consisted of a number of chapters, the main parts of which were handwritten by the author himself and were deposited with the Archaeological Section. On the basis of Liang's manuscripts Professor Kao Ch'ü-hsün edited, annotated, and amended with many plates and figures the various reports on HPKM 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, and 1217 published in Taiwan in the Hou-chia-chuang series of the Archaeologia Sinica volumes long after Liang's death on April 2, 1954.[102]

Liang's manuscripts preserved in the Archaeological Section were composed of the following important items:

Contents of MSS Reports	**Number of Paces of Liang's MSS**
HPKM 1001	28
HPKM 1002	12
HPKM 1003	16
HPKM 1004	17
HPKM 1129	1

HPKM 1217	12
HPKM 1400	9
HPKM 1443	9
HPKM 1500	17
HPKM 1550	14
Small tombs (collective)	63
Small tombs (individual)	not written
Location	5
Discovery	4
Excavations	34

This brilliant archaeologist's handwritten draft reports on the royal tombs of Hou-chia-chuang are among the treasures preserved by the Archaeological Section. Without these drafts, which not only provided the basic data but also set a model for scientific reporting in the Chinese language, it would have been impossible for Professor Kao Ch'ü-hsün to carry out the gigantic task of describing the royal tombs at Hsi-pei-kang of Hou-chia-chuang.

Liang's original draft manuscripts also include a list of projected chapter headings, as follows:

Chapter I. Geography, Location, and General Environment of the Hsi-pei-kang Cemetery

Chapter II. The Story of Its Discovery

Chapter III. Excavations

Chapter IV. Cultural Deposits of the Hsi-pei-kang of Hou-chia-chuang and the Position of the Yin Tombs in the Stratified Deposit

Chapter V. Large Tombs: A General Description

Chapter VI. Individual Large Tombs, (1)-(10): HPKM 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1129, 1217, 1400, 1500, 1443, 1550

Chapter VII. General Description of Small Tombs

Chapter VIII. Individual Description of Small Tombs

Chapter IX. Artifacts: Classified Descriptions (not written)

1. Bronzes and Other Metals

2. Stones and Jades, etc.

3. Bones, Ivories, and Tortoise Shells

4. Shells

5. Potteries

6. Traces of Ritual Tools (no MSS)

Chapter X. Analysis of Decorative Potteries (no MSS)

Chapter XI. Human Bones (no MSS)

Chapter XII. Animal Bones (including Birds, no MSS)

Chapter XIII. Later Tombs (no MSS)

Chapter XIV. Analysis of Small Tombs (no MSS)

Chapter XV. Position of Yin Tombs in the Stratifications: A Tabular Analysis (8 pages)

Chapter XVI. Registered List of Excavated Objects (no MSS)

So far, Professor Kao Ch'ü-hsün has been able to complete the editorial work on Liang's written materials through those classified above under

chapter VI.

Liang's research on the later chapters which he originally designed was tragically cut short. When he first arrived at Li-chuang, he had immediately started on chapter IX and pursued in minute detail his research on the bronzes and stone carvings discovered from the royal tombs. Unfortunately, he contracted tuberculosis in Li-chuang, and a sudden attack of pneumonia harmed his health almost beyond recovery and compelled him to stay in his sickbed most of the time. Naturally he could not do any writing according to his original schedule.

The investigation of the ceramic materials under my guidance was pursued on an analytic basis; namely, to study and examine the different aspects of the whole problem one after another. In the Kunming days, I first, with the expert assistance of Dr. Wu Gin-ding, worked on a general examination of the various sample specimens that we had been able to bring with us and made a careful survey of their textures, outside appearances, and decorative compositions. We started with the help of *A Dictionary of Color* by Aloys John Maerz[103] to reclassify the various outside appearances of all the individual specimens and also experimented on the absorption power of different types of specimens classified on the basis of the color scale: gray, red, black, white, and the hard and glazed wares.

The absorption tests were carried out with only a specific gravity balance (August Sauter, Ebingen), which could give the weight accurate to 1/2,000th of a gram. With the balance to measure weight, and with steamed, clean water, I was able to measure the absorption power of twenty-two black pottery sherds, twenty-two gray sherds, twenty white sherds, and twenty pieces of the hard ware, including some with glaze. The result of these various tests showed that while the differences among the gray, the black, and the white wares were noticeable, the variation in the amount of water-absorbing power between the above three groups and the hard ware was sharply different. Of all the hard ware specimens tested, almost every piece showed less than 1.00 percent in the test, while the specimens of the other three groups gave an average absorption power between 15.50 and 21.50 percent.

It should be mentioned, however, that in these various series of tests we were unable to measure the true specific gravity, so only apparent specific

gravity was measured and used in the calculation. These provisional data, nevertheless, gave me a relatively firm basis for my further investigations of the ceramic materials.

I also made further attempts to carry out more chemical analyses, a work that had been started in Nanking with the cooperation of the Institute of Geology, where there was a chemical laboratory well equipped for analytic purposes. But in wartime Kunming, owing to the lack of certain chemicals, the Institute of Geology was unable to help us even on a small scale in this project, and we had to give up the idea of investigating the clay composition of the Anyang pottery on a chemical basis.

Kunming was a new environment to practically all the members of our institute, for none among us was a native Yünnanese, and the general mode of life in this southwestern province was almost completely different from both north China and the Yangtze Valley from which most of us came. Thus a new opportunity was offered to those of us whose observations and studies had been for years channeled and disciplined in the anthropological and archaeological fields. The attention of the archaeologists was first attracted by the discovery that, in building a new house in Lung-ch'üen Cheng where our temporary headquarters was located, the people still made use of sundried bricks, and of planked earth-pounding for laying foundations and building up walls. The method of earth-pounding seemed to be simpler than that still in common practice in north China at that time, but the use of sundried bricks rather thrilled those of us born in the Yangtze and the Yellow River regions, where kiln-firing of bricks had long ago replaced the sundried process. Shih Chang-ju realized the opportunity of deepening our archaeological understanding by examining the indigenous industry and art still current in Kunming; he studied the native ceramics, the irrigation system on the farms, and also the bronze industry—all of which were worthy ethnological research topics in themselves. But, since our collective interests were concentrated on the Anyang materials, naturally such side research was also promoted for a better understanding of the archaeological data gathered in the Anyang excavations. Let me give one practical instance.

The irrigation system in the vicinity of Kunming city was well developed. The remarkable fact was that in most of the irrigation canals the banks were strengthened by wooden piles—an observation that immediately

reminded the Anyang archaeologists of their findings in the underground ditches discovered in Hsiao-t'un, which were arranged similarly in a network fashion of interrelated channels and also strengthened on both banks apparently by wooden piles.

While in Lung-ch'üen Cheng, some of us actually built temporary living quarters in the village. In watching the erection of these new buildings, many of us observed with both surprised amusement and historical interest how much attention the native architect paid to the accustomed rituals, offering a sacrifice when the soil was first "broken" to lay the foundation, when the first pillar was to be erected, and so forth. The most important ritual seemed to be reserved for the day when the main beam of the roof was to be set and the whole building was completed. On such occasions, celebrations took place marked by killing a cock and a goat and the performance of rituals appropriate for these great events. All the laborers were to be entertained with meat and drink on the day when the new building was completed.

These observations and a number of others, familiar to ethnographers and anthropologists in general, proved especially helpful to the archaeologists who had excavated in north China where certain ancient practices had been replaced by new technology long ago, but were still surviving in southwestern China in the thirties and forties of the present century. So during the two years' sojourn in Yünnan in the early wartime, our archaeologists exploited to the utmost the opportunity to collect materials on these ancient survivals to promote our understanding of the Anyang collections.

When we moved to Li-chuang, Szechwan, in 1940, we were again in a different environment, but not altogether as new to us as the natural and social conditions in Kunming. It took half a year for the institute to complete the mass migration from the southwestern province of Yünnan to Li-chuang on an upper reach of the Yangtze River, at a time when means of transportation were extremely limited and oil was as precious as diamonds. By the time the members of the institute were resettled in Li-chuang, it was near the end of 1940. Beginning with the year 1941, the research work of the institute once more returned to normal.

The new headquarters of the institute were located in a hilly place, where an old family with the surname of Chang possessed extensive

farmland. The Changs, over the generations, had built a number of large houses, including a special theatre. When the war started, the old family's fortunes had already declined and the household was divided into a number of subfamilies. The institute succeeded in negotiating with the elders in charge of the family property to use their empty houses for a nominal rent. These houses constituted an isolated hamlet in a hilly region. At the foot of this hilly region, the Yangtze River flows down from I-pin to Lu-chou, where the mighty river is joined by another large stream. There were daily sailings of a small steamer between I-pin and Lu-chou, both of which were well-known prosperous district cities in the western part of Szechwan province. Li-chuang was at that time under the jurisdiction of Nan-ch'i district, the administrative city of which was located just a little distance below Li-chuang, on the northern bank of the Yangtze.

For more than four years during World War II, Li-chuang was a considerable center of learning. The Institute of Social Sciences of Academia Sinica, the Tungchi University from Shanghai, the National Central Museum, and the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture also found their asylum here. Eminent scholars, both foreign and Chinese, like the British biochemist Joseph Needham, and the logician Professor Chin Yüeh-lin, paid visits to Li-chuang; some of them came quite frequently. Thus, in spite of war fever all over China, Li-chuang was one of the few places in free China where scholars could meet and discuss academic problems. Joseph Needham, for instance, gave a talk at Li-chuang, discussing the historic reasons why science did not develop in China as it had in Europe.

This general atmosphere was at least congenial to the specialists who had some highly technical research topics to pursue, and there were quite a number of such professional men gathered at Li-chuang in the latter part of the Chinese Resistance War against Japanese Militarism. A large number of them worked in the Institute of History and Philology. The research done in this period by members of the Archaeological Section and their contributions to the study of the Yin-Shang collection from Anyang deserve special mention.

The best-known and the most distinguished achievement was the completion and publication of *Yin-li-p'u* by Tung Tso-pin, whose hand-written manuscripts were lithographed at Li-chuang in 1945, and published

the same year.

Director Fu Ssŭ-nien, writing an introductory note (dated February 15, 1945) for this monumental wartime publication, made the following main points regarding Tung's important contributions:

1. Tung's synthesizing power was the main source of the fruitful results in this publication. In the study of oracle bone inscriptions, many eminent scholars have participated. There have been, however, only four pre-eminent stages, each marked by the distinguished contribution of an authority, which have brought scholarship a step forward in this progressive journey. And all these scholarly works have been synthetic in nature. These four milestone works are: (1) Wang Kuo-wei's "Yin-pu-tz'ŭ-chung so-chien hsien-kung hsien-wang k'ao"; (2) Tung Tso-pin's "Chia-ku-wen tuan-tai yen-chiu li"; (3) Kuo Mo-jo's *Pu-tz'ŭ tung-ch'uan*; and (4) Tung Tso-pin's *Yin-li-p'u*.[104] Of the four monumental contributions, Tung was the author of two. What above all distinguished his contributions from other writings was the fact that he had at his command the newly discovered archaeological materials to provide a new basis for his research.

2. Tung Tso-pin, according to Fu, was the first Chinese scholar to make extensive use of a new technique in his study of the calendar system by checking it with modern astronomer's records of eclipses of the moon and sun. This checking no doubt helped him to make better use of the related data found in the oracle bone inscriptions.

3. Finally, Fu paid special tribute to Tung's ability to clarify the difficult problem of the total period sequence of the ruling Shang dynasty which had been, owing to many different traditions and confused opinions, in a chaotic state. Fu believed that Tung in this new work had reduced this difficult historical and technical problem to order and had actually solved it.

Fu's laudatory Preface placed *Yin-li-p'u* on an extraordinary level among learned publications. He added finally: "Anyone who wants to pass critical comments on these learned volumes must, first of all, besides carefully reading this publication, qualify himself with both a competent knowledge of the ancient scripts of the Yin-Shang dynasty, and an expert acquaintance with the technology of calendar calculations, ancient and modern."

As a matter of historical truth, Fu's prediction made thirty years ago, has,

in the course of these ensuing decades, proved to be almost prophetic in every word. Since the Japanese surrender, there has been almost complete neglect of this important publication in academic circles. It seems to me that this neglect is, however, mainly due to a change of interest on the part of the present generation rather than to a lack of talented successors. It is true that there were a number of questions raised, and comments made, and discussions hotly debated immediately after the publication of *Yin-li-p'u*; but even then, none of these notes or discussions touched the more essential contents of *Yin-li-p'u* as a whole, as Fu had foretold in his Preface. The problem that received the most attention was that of determining the actual ruling period of the Shang and Yin-Shang dynasty; and in particular, the exact year of conquest of Yin-Shang by the succeeding Chou dynasty. This highly technical and important historical problem did arouse some hot debate and passionate discussion which, however, stopped with no decisive conclusion. Before we go further in evaluating Tung's monumental contribution, let me first briefly give the important points set forth in the *Yin-li-p'u*. The following notes are based mainly on certain of Tung's own statements found scattered here and there in the book.

First, Tung said in his own Preface that the plan for this book started in 1934 and it was completed in 1943; the working time required was, then, nearly ten years, mainly during wartime, in both Kunming and Li-chuang. It took another two years to put the drafts into manuscript form for lithographic printing.

Second, the author's interest in the study of the Yin calendar went further back than the first planning of this book. He said that as early as 1930 he had made notes on "Calendric Data in the Oracle Bone Records," and in 1934 he wrote an article on "Some Important Problems of the Yin Calendar." [105] By this time he had already been attracted by this group of important written materials, which obviously had chronological significance. He said: "At that time I knew very little about the astronomical basis needed for a general understanding of the calculation of any old calendar system. When in 1935, I compiled the inscribed records of oracle bones of the fifth period according to my own standard of periodization, I discovered the chronological order of the five basic types of sacrificial offering to early kings and ancestors in the era of King Ti I and also that of King Ti Hsin." In these records the year, the month, and the day when the sacrifices were to be

made are sometimes registered together; the day of occurrence is usually given by one of the permutated two symbols—characters used in the sexagenary cycle, similar to the ancient Babylonian system. The twin-symbols for the sixty names in the Chinese sexagesimal system are derived from what are commonly known in China as the heavenly stems (*t'ien-kan*) and the earthly branches (*ti-chih*), the former composed of ten characters (Chia, I, Ping, Ting, Wu, Chi, Keng, Hsin, Jen, Kuei), and the latter, twelve characters (Tzǔ, Ch'ou, Yin, Mao, Ch'en, Ssǔ, Wu, Wei, Shen, Yu, Hsü, Hai). By per mutating the ten characters of the heavenly stems and the twelve characters of the earthly branches, sixty combined twin-symbols are produced and were used by the ancient Chinese to register the day, at least as early as the time of the oracle bone inscriptions and probably much earlier. It is now well known that almost every complete oracle record includes one of the sexagesimal twin-characters, such as Chia-tzǔ—which only means the name of a particular day when the recorded event took place or occurred. When the deciphered characters in the oracle bone inscriptions became better understood through the accumulated efforts of paleographers, it also became absolutely clear that such was the general way of recording any divinatory event.

When Tung found, in the course of his continued study of newly discovered oracle bone inscriptions, some could be grouped within a definite period and assigned to a definite king, and bore, in addition, the name of the day occurring together with a definite month, occasionally also with the year, given in a definite number—these discoveries, Tung said, heightened sky-high his enthusiasm to study the Yin calendar system and helped him to concentrate his academic efforts on this promising research project. He started by writing to ask a number of astronomers to tutor him about the basic astrological and astronomical ideas on which past calendar systems had depended for their calculations. Professor Kao P'ing-tsǔ, a well-known authority on the development of Chinese calendars, soon became Tung's intimate friend. These two scholars worked cooperatively to attack the various problems arising from the abundance of calendrical data discovered in the oracle records. All this happened before the Japanese invasion.

Once he had determined to go into the details of this difficult task of investigating of the Yin calendar system, Tung pursued the work for ten years with a steadfastness and concentrated energy that astonished all his friends.

He began the work in the Kunming days when he asked Mr. Kao Ch'ü-hsün to assist him in the laborious calculations involved. At the suggestion of his astronomer friends, he made use of Josephus Justus Scaliger's table of day-counting by starting with January 1 of 4713 B.C. as the zero day, and followed it by continuous numerals to number the days which succeed each other indefinitely. It is well known that Scaliger's counting is based on the Gregorian calendar, so Tung, following the terminology of Professor Chu Wen-hsin, named the serial numbers of day-counting as the "Julian day number" (Ju-lüeh-chou-jih).[106] These serial numbers constituted the fundamental basis of Tung's other calculations, which resulted, by checking with the sexagesimal days found in the oracle records, in the final compilations of the thirty-five calendar tables published in *Yin-li-p'u*.

These thirty-five tables are, according to Tung's original scheme, divided into ten subdivisions, namely:

I.Annual Calendar Table (*Nien-li-p'u*)

II.Calendar Tables of Sacrificial Offerings (*Ssŭ-p'u*)

III.Tables of Recorded Eclipses of the Moon and Sun (*Chiao-shih-p'u*)

IV.Tables of Recorded Solstices (*Jih-chih-p'u*)

V.Tables of Recorded Leap Years (*Jun-p'u*)

VI.Tables of Recorded First Days of a Month (*Shuo-p'u*)

VII.Tables of Recorded Decades (*Hsün-p'u*)

VIII.Tables of Recorded Months (*Yüeh-p'u*)

IX.Tables of Recorded Days (*Jih-p'u*)

X.Tables of Recorded Nights (*Hsi-p'u*)

A number of the ten subdivisions, because of the abundant amount of new inscribed data, were again divided into a number of sections; for instance, in subdivision II, the author found it necessary to treat the accumulated data in three sections: (A) on the records relating to King Tsu Chia, (B) another group relating to King Ti I, and (C) a third group relating to King Ti Hsin—all amply illustrated by hand copies of the original ink-

squeezed records.

Tung, in his first edition of *Yin-li-p'u*, said that of the thirty-five calendar tables published in his book, he considered subtables III-4, III-6, IV-2, VI-1, and IX-3 as the most important. On these five groups of tabulated data, one could build a firm foundation for the calculation of dating the ruling period of the Shang dynasty and the various epochs of the ruling kings.

In his early article[107] Tung had divided the oracle bone periods into five successive eras, namely:

Period 1:

(a) from King P'an KENG to King Hsiao I

(b) King Wu TING's reign

Period 2: King Tsu KENG and King Tsu CHIA

Period 3: King Lin HSIN and King K'ang TING

Period 4: King Wu I and King Wen-wu TING (also known as T'ai TING)

Period 5: King Ti I, King Ti HSIN

The durations of the various rulers from King P'an KENG onward are given in *Yin-li-p'u* (Vol. 1, p. 8), as follows:

P'an KENG	28 years [108]	1398-1371 B.C.(?)
Hsiao HSIN	21 years	1370-1350 B.C.
Hsiao I	10 years	1349-1340 B.C.
Wu TING	59 years	1339-1281 B.C.
Tsu KENG	7 years	1280-1274 B.C.
Tsu CHIA	33 years	1273-1241 B.C.
Ling HSIN	6 years	1240-1235 B.C.

K'ang TING	8 years	1234-1227 B.C.
Wu I	4 years	1226-1223 B.C.
Wen-wu TING	13 years	1222-1210 B.C.
Ti I	35 years	1209-1175 B.C.
Ti HSIN	64 years	1174-1112 B.C.

The total number of years amounts to 287, from which 14 years should be subtracted for the time when King P'an Keng was still ruling in the old capital; that is, King P'an Keng made his decision to move the capital to Yin in the fourteenth year of his reign and actually accomplished it in the fifteenth year; so the total duration of the Yin-Shang period is 273 years according to Tung's estimate.

What Tung Tso-pin had done was to equate and fix the sexagesimal days found in the oracle bone inscriptions to the exact day numbers of Scaliger's Julian calendar days. For instance, Tung was able to fix through a series of complicated calculations, and conclude definitely that the first day of the first month in the fifteenth year of King P'an Keng's reign, according to the Yin calendar, corresponds with January 14, 1384 B.C., in terms of the Julian calendar; and the numeral of that Julian day in the estimate of Scaliger is: 1215931.[109] Tung also identified the sexagesimal day symbol for that day as Chia-shen. These two calculated reference points provided the basis for the computations of all the other tables. Tung's attempt to link the amazing amount of oracle bone materials with modern dating by means of scientific methodology, and the pains-taking efforts he put into it, represented an important phase of Chinese intellectual modernization at its best during the war period.

The classified data from the oracle bone inscriptions in Tung's *Yin-li-p'u*, have, besides their basic contributions to chronology, also provided abundant source materials for other historical investigations. Tables under subdivision II, for instance, which gathered and classified records of sacrificial offerings to ancestors and other spirits on certain days, not only give the reader a bird's-

eye-view of deep-rooted superstitions—"belief in the ghost," as Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien put it more than two thousand years ago—but also revealed the nature of the performance of these ceremonial rituals. The five most important types of ceremonial rituals in ancestor worship as set forth in *Yin-li-p'u* are: (1) Yung; (2) I; (3) Chi; (4) Kuan; (5) Hsieh.

Tung's studies concerning the various rituals practiced in the Yin-Shang period were a laborious program. In *Yin-li-p'u* he concluded that the sacrificial rituals in the early days were multifarious, but that in King Tsu Chia's time they were reformed and reduced to an indispensable minimum. Only the five essential types were preserved in chronological order. It would have taken nearly a year's time, according to Tung's calculation, to complete a cycle of the various types of worship. That is the reason, he concluded, that during the reigns of the last two Kings (Ti I, Ti Hsin), a *nien* (year) was also recorded as *ss*ŭ (sacrifices to the dead). It is amazing to realize that it took a whole year to perform all the ritualistic offerings to the various ancestors even after Tsu Chia's reform!

As is well known, the names of the ruling sovereigns in the Shang dynasty each included one of the ten symbols of the heavenly stems. And in terms of the Yin calendar, as mentioned above, every day was named by a twin-symbol in the sexagenarian order, each of which also included one of the heavenly stem terms. A traditional and annual court event was devoted to making offerings to an individual ancestor whose name in terms of heavenly stems corresponded with the day's heavenly stem: for instance, on the day Chia-tzŭ all those past sovereigns whose names had a "Chia" stem—such as T'ai Chia, Hsiao Chia, Ho-t'an Chia, Wo Chia, Yang Chia, Tsu Chia—were to receive offerings from the ruling king. It is clear that every dead sovereign on the ancestral roll was to receive some kind of offering every ten days at least. Besides, there were times when all the ancestors were to be worshiped in a united service which was known in oracle bone terminology as "Ho-chi." This festival was evidently a heavily ritualistic occasion; its nature, however, still remains to be clarified.

As *Yin-li-p'u* is packed with data from the original written records, Tung's classified groups, important as they are, could be intelligible only to a few specialists. The data relating to the two well-known war expeditions—Wu Ting's battle in the northwest and Ti Hsin's expedition to fight the Tung I

(eastern barbarian) are of great historical importance. They have been only briefly mentioned in past records, and may, one hopes, be better studied by more competent scholars in the future. There are other classified data which also deserve more attention, but I believe I have given a sufficient account of the wartime work of this paleographer.

Meanwhile, I myself pursued my investigation of the Anyang ceramic collection. Although like Liang, I also suffered some personal misfortunes in both Kunming and Li-chuang, I could still keep on working when there was time. I say this, because I had other administrative duties to attend to and half a dozen trained persons to take care of as chief of the Archaeological Section, and also as director of the National Central Museum. In these capacities, I organized and sent several small research expeditions to Ta-li, to Cheng-tu, and one as far as Tunhuang in the northwest. I myself even participated in some digging parties. All these of course took time. I was not as fortunate as Tung Tso-pin in being able to concentrate all my energy and time on the study of the precious Anyang collections.

My interest in the Anyang collections was naturally manifold. But there is one principle which I have always observed, namely, to give my colleagues the first opportunity to study the field data in which they have a special interest. I have found in my past experience that this is a fundamental principle for leaders of scientific research to follow, if such cooperative works are to be successfully accomplished at all. Judging from my personal experience, there are always problems and collected data for one to handle and get busy with, no matter how many participants are in the party.

After our move to Li-chuang, I once more involved myself with the huge mass of Anyang ceramics of which I had with me specimens of all the important types and a complete set of field records. In this new headquarters, I determined to complete a corpus for the total ceramic collection.

My own interest in doing this was by no means accidental. As early as 1924, when I happened to read, in J. G. Andersson's "Early Chinese Culture," his preliminary report on his excavation of Yangshao Ts'un, the first prehistoric site in north China, I was deeply impressed by his emphasis on the discovery of the *li*-tripod and *ting*-tripod in the course of his digging there. I was also familiar with H. Frankfort's studies in early pottery of the Near East.[110] So when I settled in Li-chuang, with all the field records on hand and

sample specimens ready for detailed examination, I decided to work on the shapes first, as other technical studies were almost impossible to carry on in the Li-chuang community, learned as it might be.

In the library of the institute and my own limited supply of books, I could find only a copy of Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie's *Prehistoric Egypt* corpus for my reference. My aim was to complete a corpus of the ceramics collected from our digging in Hsiao-t'un and Hou-chia-chuang, and naturally Petrie's book became important for me. As I found Petrie's principles of classification, however, rather inadequate for my purpose, I started discussing with my colleagues of the Archaeological Section what principles I should follow in the corpus arrangement. This discussion took a long time and, with Tung Tso-pin's oracle bone inscriptions, constituted one of the main topics of our professional talks in the Li-chuang days.

Meanwhile, I decided, with the technical assistance of Mr. P'an Ch'üeh and Li Lien-ch'un, to draw figures of all the sample specimens on a uniform scale and also to photograph all the complete specimens available. It took quite a long time—several years—for P'an and Li to complete all the drawings on a uniform scale (one-quarter the size of the original), each specimen portrayed half in cross-section, the other half according to its external shape. It also took several years to complete the photographic work.

Comparative studies of the shapes of the various sample specimens also led me to investigate the methods of pottery manufacture and of course to speculate on the nature of the clay, and to undertake some serious study of the outside decoration. Though all these problems appeared to me important in themselves, my principal focus of attention did not deviate from study of the evolution of every individual type specimen that possessed a complete shape, whether original or restored.

The related shapes fell into a few groups, among which the tripods attracted my personal interest first and foremost. There was a historical reason for this as I recollected that, in the excavation of the first prehistoric Black Pottery site at Ch'êng-tzŭ-yai, many subtypes of tripods had been found, in contrast to the limited type-forms—*li*-tripod and *ting*-tripod—discovered by J. G. Andersson at Yangshao Ts'un. Among the Anyang ceramics, the field team had been long accustomed to encountering various subtypes of the *li*-tripods. They were so numerous that in fifteen seasons' time

the accumulated pot-sherds classified as from *li*-tripods though varying in both size and shape amounted to several ten thousands, making this largest of all the groups.

In these comparative studies, I was finally led to formulate two fundamental ideas regarding the corpus arrangement.

First, I decided to include all the Yin-Shang and pre-Yin-Shang potteries excavated in both Hsiao-t'un and Hou-chia-chuang. This decision was important and for a definite reason. When I studied the field records in detail and examined the contents and history of the underground deposits in all the subterranean caches, pits, and caves, I soon found out that Hsiao-t'un was populated in prehistoric times by the Lungshan Culture. Consequently it became obvious to me that, with the exception of the post-Yin burials, practically all the pot-sherds and complete pots found from our diggings would have been produced in one or another of three subperiods: (1) prehistoric, (2) early Shang, and (3) Yin-Shang. The last of these three subperiods was of course the most important because it represented the period which we study. At the same time, it was clear to me that it would be impossible to divide these subperiods since they were all continuous and stratigraphically impossible to differentiate, so the best solution was to analyze the collection as a whole.

Second, I decided to give up the fundamental idea of following the Egyptologist's framework of corpus-making, namely, the simple procedure of beginning with the most open (and shallow) and advancing to the most closed. A set of new rules for arranging the pottery shapes was devised and found not only workable but also suitable for the Anyang ceramics, of which more than one thousand restorable complete specimens were on hand. These rules or principles were as follows:

A. To divide the pottery group into ten classes, including one for the covers.

B. To make use of the morphological features of the lowest part of each complete pot as the standard for class-division, namely: (1) round-bottom; (2) flat-base; (3) ring-foot; (4) tripods; (5) tetrapods; (6-9) reserved for new types; and (10) covers. Within each class, I still followed Petrie's practice of arranging the most open and shallow pots first and specimens with tall bodies

and small openings at the end.

These class-divisions when put on printed sheets (16 leaves) showed a natural sequence that amazed all the members of the Archaeological Section. Liang Ssŭ-yung, lying in his sickbed at Li-chuang, was the first to congratulate me for completing this task, with which he was as satisfied as I myself.

This corpus was published in my study of *Pottery of the Yin and pre-Yin Period* in 1956.[111]

Before the unconditional surrender of Japan in 1945, I also found time to write a few articles with the Anyang data as basic materials. The one on pre-Yin cultural deposits that I contributed to *Hsüeh-shu hui-k'an*, a wartime publication of Academia Sinica issued in Szechwan, had provided the basic reference data for all the stratigraphical discussions of the underground cultural sequences of the Waste of Yin Site.[112] This article was published in 1944, very near the end of China's resistance war.

柒．战时继续安阳研究

至1937年夏，由于受到明治时期以来本国政治和军事胜利的鼓动，日本军国主义者继续对中国实行扩张和侵略政策已不可避免，直至其将东南亚和东亚全部吞并。虽然孙中山的追随者在南京建立的革命政府在军事实力上与日本的陆军和海军相比还差得很远，无法与日本大规模交战，但南京政府的决策者还是决定抵抗日本侵略，并采用了小规模的持久战的战术。

现在，八年抗战已被公认为是第二次世界大战的一个重要的开始阶段，对于二战，现代史学家起码不会完全陌生。本章将对影响安阳十五次田野发掘所得重要考古材料命运的事件作一概述。许多人认为，这些材料代表了南京国民政府扶持的成就最卓著的一项科学工作。

国民党的元老们最初设想建立一个国家研究机构时，首先把重点放在了自然科学上。因此，物理、化学、工程、地质和气象研究所是在南京和上海最先建立的五个研究所。历史语言研究所是后来建立的，主要是由于创建者傅斯年的努力，这在第四章已谈过了。

南京政府成立不到十年，日本侵略中国实际上就开始了，接着是谈判屡遭失败。南京政府宣布的长期抗战政策得到了全国的支持。

尽管战时时局混乱，但实行科学教育这个政策仍坚持着，当然这也遭遇了缩减和许多变化。科研活动不能全面开展。然而，尽管面临这些困难，政府仍充分重视个人和集体在这方面的努力。

首先，政府一方面进行军事动员，另一方面也设法动用一定的运输力量把国家珍品和科学设备，经长江、陇海铁路和各地公路运往中国内地，主要运往西部和西南的四川、云南、广西等省，也有运往西北的。

由于几个领导人的努力和历史远见，绝大部分安阳发掘品和史语所的藏书都成功运抵指定地点：重庆、昆明和最后的四川西部长江南岸的小镇李庄。在李庄落脚前，研究所先在云南省会昆明市及郊区停留了一年多（1938—1940）。在搬运这些包括科学记录和设备的国家珍品的过程中，由于战时时局混乱，虽然负责运输的组织和负有运送责任的个体成员已竭尽所能，途中仍要克服巨大的困难，承受无法避免的损失。所有这些困难和损失已通过各种或个人或官方的方式记录下来了。

我无法避而不谈的一大损失是经过了七八年田野训练的十多个年轻有为的青年考古工作者的离散。1937年11月的一天，几乎史语所考古组的全体成员都聚集在长沙路旁的一个小客店里，每人都说了自己在战时的打算。此次聚会的结果是，一些人离开研究所参加了抗战工作，一些人到别处去看看；但多数人，包括所有高年资的成员，决定无论研究所随时局转移到哪里，他们都会追随。

战争初期，研究所在昆明安顿下来后，恢复了一些研究工作。在昆明的后期，研究所所址从城里搬到近郊一个叫龙泉镇的地方。在那儿，大部分考古收集物和图书实际上都在架子上归置好了。三位资深的考古学者领导着安阳发现物的研究：梁思永初步审核侯家庄的发掘记录；董作宾在胡厚宣的协助下继续潜心研究甲骨文；我则对安阳陶器的形制和纹饰进行详细研究，并在吴金鼎博士的有力协助下，对全部典型标本进行了审查。吴博士从伦敦回国加入了我们的研究工作，又被任命为国立中央博物院的专门委员。抗战时，我仍是该院的负责人。与此同时，人骨材料也交给研究所人类学组的负责人吴定良博士。吴是受过良好训练的生物统计学家，是公认的最有资格研究安阳发掘收集的珍贵人骨资料的专家。这些材料大部分也带到了云南作进一步研究。

对小屯和侯家庄的考古收集物的研究从1938年9月至1940年6月，延续了约一年半的时间，研究所又要迁移了。这一时期，安阳的资料得到了大量集中的研究，这为正式出版这些科学记录奠定了坚实基础。这些学术成就虽与实际战争无直接关系，但这显示了即使在民族危机之时受过训练的个人也能取得这样的科学成就。所以我想扼要地谈谈研究所在龙泉镇时我们从事的各项研究工作。

董作宾在胡厚宣的协助下继续研究甲骨文。同事们在董的指导下墨拓了H127出土的有字龟甲，尽管因供应缺乏时有中断，特别是墨拓需要的宣纸，但战时这样的困难是不可避免的。无论如何，这些困难最终都被克服了，所以墨拓的工作中断时间不长。胡厚宣还负责对这些出土的甲骨进行登记，并按照专门设计的格式进行编目。董作宾埋头于更艰巨的工作，即根据甲骨文的记载整理复原殷商历法制度的深奥问题。过去说过，董对这项研究产生兴趣是因为“大连坑”中四版近于完整的刻字龟甲的发现。他在细心研究这些甲骨片的过程中，萌生了一个念头，要扩展这项研究，将整个殷商历法的问题包含在内。

战争头两年研究所在昆明时，梁思永的身体还很健康。此时他完成了1934—1935年侯家庄西北岗王陵发掘报告的初稿。1940年，当他将要完成这一项浩大的工程时，研究所又接到了搬迁到四川省西部李庄的新

通知。这些重要的初稿由许多章组成，主要部分是作者亲手写的，存放在考古组。后来高去寻教授在梁的手稿的基础上，编辑、注释并用许多图版和插图辑补关于HPKM1001、HPKM1002、HPKM1003、HPKM1004、HPKM1217各墓的报告，以《中国考古报告集·之三·侯家庄》为系列在台湾出版——这距梁思永1954年4月2日病逝已经很久了。[102]

保存在考古组的梁的手稿由下列重要部分组成：

报告手稿内容	梁所写的手稿页数
HPKM1001	28
HPKM1002	12
HPKM1003	16
HPKM1004	17
HPKM1129	1
HPKM1217	12
HPKM1400	9
HPKM1443	9
HPKM1500	17
HPKM1550	14
（集体）小墓	63
（单个）小墓	未写

位置　　　　　　　5

发现　　　　　　　4

发掘　　　　　　　34

这位天才考古学家关于侯家庄王陵的报告手稿是保存在考古组的珍品之一。这些手稿不仅提供了基本资料，而且为用汉语写作科学报告树立了榜样，如果没有这些手稿，高去寻教授就不可能完成编辑侯家庄西北岗王陵报告的艰巨任务。

梁的手稿还包括一个初步拟定的分章目录：

第一章　西北岗墓地之地理情况、位置和一般环境

第二章　发现记事

第三章　发掘

第四章　侯家庄西北岗的文化层和殷墓在地层堆积中的位置

第五章　大墓：总述

第六章　大墓分述，(1)—(10)：HPKM1001、HPKM1002、HPKM1003、HPKM1004、HPKM1129、HPKM1217、HPKM1400、HPKM1500、HPKM1443、HPKM1550

第七章　小墓：总述

第八章　小墓分述

第九章　遗物：分类叙述（未写）

1．青铜和其他金属

2．石与玉等

3．骨、象牙和龟壳

4．蚌、贝类

5．陶器

6．礼器的探索（无手稿）

第十章　装饰陶器的分析（无手稿）

第十一章　人骨（无手稿)

第十二章　动物骨头（包括鸟骨，无手稿）

第十三章　晚期墓（无手稿)

第十四章　小墓分析（无手稿）

第十五章　殷墓在地层中的位置：列表分析（8页）

第十六章　出土物登记表（无手稿）

到目前为止，高去寻教授已能根据梁手稿中第六章以下的分类完成辑补工作。

梁原计划的后几章的研究不幸中断。他到李庄之初就立即着手写第九章，并细致研究王陵出土的青铜器和石刻。不幸的是，他在李庄得了肺结核，一次突发的肺炎损害了他的健康，他自此再难痊愈，大部分时间都不得不卧病在床，自然也不能按原拟定的进度撰写任何材料了。

我指导的陶器研究是根据分析原则进行的，即对一个问题的不同方面进行逐一研究探索。在昆明，在吴金鼎的专业协助下，我首先对带来的各种标本的样品进行了全面考察，并仔细研究它们的质地、外观和纹饰构图。参照梅尔兹的《颜色辞典》[103]，我们对全部单个标本的不同外观进行了重新分类，并对按色度表分类的典型标本，即灰陶、红陶、黑陶、白陶、硬陶和釉陶的吸水力进行了试验。

吸水试验仅依靠一个可精确到1/2000克的比重天平（埃宾根生产，品牌：奥古斯特·索特）进行。有了可以称重的天平和洁净的蒸馏水，就可以测出22块黑陶片、22块灰陶片、20块白陶片和20块硬陶片（其中包括一些釉陶片）的吸水率。各种试验的结果表明，灰陶、黑陶和白陶之间的差别是可见的，但上述三种陶和硬陶之间的吸水能力的差别尤为显著。所有硬陶标本中，几乎每片都显示吸水率不到1.00%，但其他三种陶的吸水率平均都在15.50％与20.50％之间。

但需要指出，在各种试验中不能量出真正的比重，只能量出外显的比重并用于测算。不过，这些临时数据也为进一步研究陶器奠定了相对可靠的基础。

我也试图进行进一步的化学分析。我在南京就曾与地质调查所合作开始搞这项工作。地质所里有一个装备良好的化学实验室。但处于战时的昆明，由于某些化学品的缺乏，地质调查所在这个项目中连小规模的帮助也不能提供。因此，我们只好放弃了借助化学分析研究安阳陶器陶土成分的计划。

对我们研究所的全体成员来说，昆明实在是一个新环境。我们当中没有一个云南人，这里的一般生活习惯和华北及长江流域几乎完全不同，而我们当中大部分人来自这两个地区。这为我们当中那些在人类学和考古学领域里受过多年观察和研究训练的人提供了新的机会。考古学

者首先被一种发现吸引了。在我们临时所址所在地龙泉镇上，人们在修建新房时，仍用土坯砌墙和夯土垫地基。夯筑的方法似乎比那时华北仍广泛使用的方法更简单，但用土坯砌墙使我们这些来自黄河、长江流域的人惊奇不已，在那些地方用窑烧砖的方法早就代替了太阳晒干法。石璋如意识到，加深对昆明仍流行的本地手工技艺的考古学理解，这是一个好机会。他考察了本地的陶器、农田灌溉系统和青铜业，所有这些都是值得探讨的民族学课题。但因我们的共同兴趣集中在安阳的材料上，这种观察自然也是出于更好地理解安阳发掘中收集的考古资料发起的。我举一例说明。

昆明市附近灌溉系统建设得很好，它的非凡之处在于，许多灌渠两边都用木桩加固。这立刻使安阳的考古学者们回忆起在小屯发现的地下沟遗迹：这些地下沟也是用类似的方式以网状联结，显然也用了木桩加固两壁。

在龙泉镇时，我们当中一些人在村里盖了临时住所。我们又惊又喜且充满历史兴趣地观察到，土建筑师们在盖新房的时候非常注重传统仪式。当“破土”奠基或立第一根柱子这样的时刻，要祭献一只牺牲。最隆重的仪式似是在主梁上顶和整个建筑落成那天进行，在这样的时刻，往往以杀一只公鸡或一只羊和举行相应的仪式表示庆祝。在整个建筑完工之日，要用酒肉招待所有参加建房的劳动者。

这些观察到的资料和其他许多资料，是普通民族学者和人类学者所熟悉的，对在华北搞过考古发掘的考古学者也是非常有益的。在华北，古代某些老方法早已被新技术所取代，但这些老方法在20世纪的三四十年代仍存在于中国的西南部。所以在抗战初期旅居云南的两年里，我们的考古工作者利用一切机会收集这些古代遗留的资料，以提高我们对安阳发现的认识。

1940年迁到四川李庄，我们又处于另一个新的环境中，但这里的自然和社会条件都不像昆明那样是全新的了。用了半年的时间，研究所才完成从云南到长江上游李庄的搬迁任务；当时交通工具缺乏，汽油像珠宝一样昂贵。研究所人员在李庄再度安定下来时已是1940年底了。次年初，研究所的工作又转向正规。

研究所的新所址设在山区，那里居住着一户古老的、田产颇广的张姓家族。张家上几代建了不少大房子，还有一个戏楼。战争初期，这个家族已衰落并分了家。研究所与这家管房产的长者商妥，使用他们的空房，付给微薄的房租。这些房子在山区里形成了一个独立的村庄。山区

脚下，长江从宜宾而下流向泸州，在泸州有另一条大河汇入长江。每天都有小汽轮航行于宜宾与泸州之间。两地皆为四川西部有名的繁华城市。当时，李庄归南溪县管辖，县政府设在距李庄下游不远的长江北岸。

在第二次世界大战期间，有四年多的时间里，李庄曾是一个重要的学术中心。中央研究院社会科学研究所、上海同济大学、国立中央博物院、中国营造学社也都在此找到了避难所。中外闻名的学者，像英国的生物化学家李约瑟和逻辑学教授金岳霖，都到李庄访问过。有些学者的到访还很频繁。尽管战火烧遍了中国大地，但李庄是中国学者可以相聚讨论学术的少数自由地之一。例如，李约瑟就曾在李庄作过讲演，谈论科学在中国为什么没有像在欧洲那样发展的历史原因。

对那些探讨高深问题的专家来说，这里的总体环境至少是相宜的。在反抗日本军国主义的抗战后期，相当一批这样的专业人员聚集到李庄。他们中不少人在历史语言研究所工作。这期间考古组成员从事的研究工作以及他们对安阳殷商收集物研究的贡献，值得着重介绍一下。

最知名、最突出的成就是董作宾《殷历谱》的脱稿与出版。这部巨著于1945年在李庄以手写本石印问世，并于同年出版。

1945年2月15日，傅斯年所长为这部里程碑式的战时出版物写了序言，指出了董作宾的主要贡献：

1. 这部著作的丰硕成果主要源于董作宾的综合能力。许多杰出学者参与了甲骨文的研究。然而，成绩卓著的阶段只有四个，每一阶段以一位贡献卓著的权威专家为代表，正是他们的研究推动了甲骨文的学术研究的发展。实际上，这方面的学术著作本质上都是综合性的。这四部里程碑式的著作是：王国维的《殷卜辞中所见先公先王考》、董作宾的《甲骨文断代研究例》、郭沫若的《卜辞通纂》和董作宾的《殷历谱》。[104]四部巨著中，董是其中两部的作者。他的贡献与其他著作的主要区别在于，他掌握的新考古资料为他的研究奠定了新的基础。

2.　用傅斯年的话说，董作宾是第一个在历法研究中广泛应用新技术、并用现代天文学关于日月食的记录对其加以检验的中国学者。无疑这种检验有助于他更好地应用甲骨文中发现的有关资料。

3. 最后，傅斯年特别称赞了董作宾澄清商朝统治时期的继位顺序这个难题的能力。由于有一些不同的传说和不一致的看法，这个问题一直处于混沌之中。傅相信董作宾在这本新著中已把这个历史的和技术的难

题理出了头绪，并已实际解决了这个难题。

傅斯年充满褒奖的序言把《殷历谱》在学术著作中提到了异常的高度。最后他又说："必评论此书之全，则有先决之条件：其人必通习甲骨如彦堂，其人必默识历法如彦堂，必下几年工夫。"

诚如历史事实所证明的那样，傅斯年三十年前的预言，在后来的岁月中几乎全都应验了。自从日本投降后，学术界几乎完全忽略了这部巨著。可是我认为，这种忽略主要因为当今一代在这方面兴趣的改变，而不是缺乏有才能的后继者。诚然，《殷历谱》出版后立即引起了许多疑问、评论以及热烈的讨论。但即使在那时，总的来看，评论和讨论都未触及《殷历谱》作为一个整体的基本内容，正如傅在序言中曾预言的那样。最引人注目的问题是确定商和殷商的实际统治年数，尤其是周灭商的确切年代。这个既高深又重大的历史问题的确引发了激烈争论和热烈讨论，但到最后也没有明确的结论。在我们进一步评估董的重大贡献之前，先简单谈谈《殷历谱》中提出的几个要点。下面几点主要根据董在书中的某些论述归纳。

第一，董在自序中说，此书于1934年开始动笔，1943年完成，几乎用了十年时间，主要是在战时的昆明和李庄写的。又花两年时间将初稿修改整理成手抄稿以供石印出版。

第二，作者研究殷历法的兴趣，还要早于最初计划写这本书。他说，早在1930年他就对《甲骨记录中的历法资料》作了评注。1934年，他写了《殷历中几个重要问题》[105]一文。这时他已被这些明显具有年代意义的重要文字资料所吸引。他说："民国十九年九月，余作《甲骨文中所见之殷历》，及二十三年五月余作《殷历中几个重要问题》时，对于天文历法之知识犹极浅薄。二十四年辑录第五期卜辞，得帝乙、帝辛时五种祀典之统系。"这些记录有时会同时记录举行祭祀的年、月、日。举行祭祀的日子用同古巴比伦制度相似的六十干支表中的一个二字名词表示。这六十个用作名词的双合符号源于中国人普遍熟知的天干地支，前一个天干有十个字（甲、乙、丙、丁、戊、己、庚、辛、壬、癸），后一个地支有十二个字（子、丑、寅、卯、辰、巳、午、未、申、酉、戌、亥）。十天干与十二地支排列组合产生了六十个双合符号，被中国古人用来记日，这种方法早在甲骨文时期就已存在，甚至会更早。大家知道，几乎每一完整的甲骨卜辞都含有六十个干支符号之一，如"甲子"。这表示所记录的事件举行或发生的那一天的名字。通过古文字学家考释的积累，甲骨文已变得比较容易理解，同时，大家也已十分清楚以上就是记录占卜事件的一般方法。

在继续研究新发现的甲骨文的过程中，董发现，某些刻辞可归于某特定时期，列于某帝王名下。另外，有些甲骨上除了有事件发生的日期外，还有确切的月份，有时还有以特定数字表示的年份。董说，这些发现大大提高了他研究殷历法的热情，并激励他致力这一大有前途的学术研究。于是，他开始写信给许多天文学家请教关于过去历法计算所依赖的天文学和占星学的基本知识。研究中同历法发展的著名学者高平子教授与董很快成为了亲密的朋友。这两位学者合作研究，解决了在研究甲骨文中丰富的历法资料时发现的各种问题。所有这一切都发生在日本侵略中国之前。

在决定深入研究殷历法这个难题的各个细节后，董先生即以惊人的坚强意志集中精力从事这项工作达十年之久。他在昆明时就开始了这项工作，并请高去寻先生协助进行相关的复杂计算。他采纳了天文学家的建议，使用了约瑟法斯·加斯特斯·斯卡利格的以公元前4713年1月1日为零日开始计算的计日表，以连续的数字表示接连不断、无尽延续的日期。大家知道，斯卡利格的计算是以格里高利历法为依据的，因而，董作宾沿用朱文鑫教授的术语，将这套计日的数字系命名为“儒略周日”[106]。这些连续的数字成为董的各种计算的基础：董通过对甲骨记录中的六十干支表示的日期的查验，最后编成了发表在《殷历谱》上的35个历法表。

据董的最初计划，这35个表分十部分：

Ⅰ. 年历谱

Ⅱ. 祀谱

Ⅲ. 交食谱

Ⅳ. 日至谱

Ⅴ. 闰谱

Ⅵ. 朔谱

Ⅶ. 旬谱

Ⅷ. 月谱

Ⅸ. 日谱

Ⅹ. 夕谱

因为新发现的甲骨资料繁多，所以许多部分又分为若干组。例如，作者发现有必要把第二部分积累的材料分为祖甲、帝乙和帝辛三项。所有这些都由原墨拓的手抄本充分展示。

在《殷历谱》的第一版中，董指出，书中的35个历法表中，其中Ⅲ-4、Ⅲ-6、Ⅳ-2、Ⅵ-1和Ⅸ-3最重要。依这五组列表数据，可为计算商王朝统治时间及各王在位年代奠定牢固基础。

董在早期的文章中[107]把甲骨时代分为相续的五期：

一期：

(a)盘庚到小乙

(b)武丁

二期：祖庚、祖甲

三期：廪辛、康丁

四期：武乙、文武丁(太丁)

五期：帝乙、帝辛

《殷历谱》第一卷第8页给出了从盘庚起各王在位时间：

盘 庚	28年[108]	公元前1398—前1371年（?）
小 辛	21年	公元前1370—前1350年
小 乙	10年	公元前1349—前1340年
武 丁	59年	公元前1339—前1281年
祖 庚	7年	公元前1280—前1274年
祖 甲	33年	公元前1273—前1241年
廪 辛	6年	公元前1240—前1235年
康 丁	8年	公元前1234—前1227年
武 乙	4年	公元前1226—前1223年

文武 丁	13年	公元前1222—前1210年
帝 乙	35年	公元前1209—前1175年
帝 辛	64年	公元前1174—前1112年

从总年数287年中减去盘庚在原来都城统治的14年——盘庚在位第十四年决定迁都于殷，实际完成于在位的第十五年。所以，据董作宾的计算，殷商共统治了273年。

董作宾所做的就是把甲骨文中六十干支的天数与斯卡利格的“儒略周日”中的日数相对照，并在后者中确定下来。例如，董通过一系列复杂计算，推定盘庚在位的第十五年的1月1日，即为儒略历法的公元前1384年1月14日，相当于斯卡利格的计算中儒略日数的1215931。[109]董还识别出这天是六十干支中的甲申。这两个参照点为所有其他表的计算奠定了基础。董试图用科学方法把数量惊人的甲骨材料和现代日期联系起来，为此他下了很大工夫，这突出地体现了抗战时期中国思想现代化的一个重要阶段。

董在《殷历谱》中归类的甲骨文资料，不仅为确立年表作出了根本性的贡献，还为其他历史研究提供了丰富的原始资料。例如，历法表第二部分收集并分类的在特定日期给祖先和其他神灵供奉牺牲的各种记录，不仅使读者对这种根深蒂固的迷信（正如司马迁在两千多年前所说的“信鬼”）有了一个大略的了解，而且揭露了举行这些祭祀仪式的本质。《殷历谱》指出，祭祀祖先有五种最重要的仪式，即彡、翌、祭、壴、𠭯。

董关于殷商时期上述各种仪式活动的研究是项艰巨工作。在《殷历谱》中，他推断，初期的牺牲祭祀是多种多样的。祖甲时进行了改革，使祭祀减少到一个不可缺的最小量。年代表的顺序中仅保留了五种必要的仪式。董还计算出完成各种祭祀的周期约为一年。因而，他得出结论，这就是在最后两个国王(帝乙、帝辛)在位时“年”又被记作“祀”的原因。让人惊讶的是，即使在祖甲改革后，完成一轮对祖先的祭祀还要花一整年的时间!

大家知道，商代每个王的名字中都含有天干中的一个字。在殷历法的记日中，如上所述，每天用六十干支中的一个双合词命名，也含天干

中的一个字。祭祀那些名字与当天记日的天干相符的祖先是每年都要进行的传统宫廷大事。例如，在甲子这天，所有名字中含有“甲”字的先公先王，像太甲、小甲、河亶甲、沃甲、阳甲、祖甲，都要受在位王的供奉。十分清楚，祖先名册上的每个死去的王至少每十天就会接受一次在位帝王的祭祀。另外，有时还会举行一次联合的仪式来拜祭所有的先王，这在甲骨文中称为“合祭”。合祭当然是一个非常隆重的节日，但它的性质还有待探讨。

《殷历谱》汇集的材料源于原始的写本，因此，尽管董的分类很重要，却仅能被少数专家理解。两次著名征伐的资料，即武丁在西北方的征战和帝辛讨伐东夷的战事，具有重大的历史意义。在过去的记载中，对此只简单提及；期望将来有更多有能力的学者来进一步研究。当然此书还有值得特别注意的其他分类资料，但我想对这位古文字学家在战争期间的研究工作已叙述得不少了。

与此同时，我对安阳收集的陶器进行了研究。与梁思永一样，在昆明和李庄我也遭受了一些个人的不幸，但一有时间我就坚持研究。我之所以这样讲，是因为我另有行政工作要做，作为考古组的领导，还要带五六个受过训练的考古人员，而且我还是中央博物院的筹备主任。处在这种职位上，我组织并派遣了一些小型考察队赴大理、成都，甚至远至西北敦煌。有时我也参加考古队的一些发掘。所有这些都要花费时间。我不如董作宾那样幸运，能集中全部精力和时间从事珍贵的安阳收集品的研究。

我对安阳收集品的兴趣自然是多方面的。但我始终遵循一个原则，就是给同事们优先研究他们特别感兴趣的田野资料的机会。从过去的经验中，我发现这是领导科学研究工作必须奉行的基本原则；只有遵循这样的原则，合作工作才能顺利地完成。我还体会到，无论队里有多少参加者，总得有人去处理某些问题和整理资料。

到李庄后，我又一次投身于安阳出土的大量陶器的研究中。我当时有所有重要的典型标本和整套田野记录。在这个新所址里，我决定完成一本陶器收集品的汇集。

我在这方面的兴趣绝不是偶然的。早在1924年，我在读安特生的《中华远古之文化》——关于华北第一个史前遗址仰韶村的初步发掘报告——时，他对在仰韶村发掘的鬲和鼎的重视给我留下了非常深刻的印象。我也非常熟悉法兰克复关于近东远古陶器的研究。[110]因此，在李庄安定下来后，有了所有的全部田野记录和可供详细审核的标本样品，

我决定先研究陶器的器形，因为尽管当时的李庄学术氛围浓厚，但要进行其他技术性的研究几乎是不可能的。

在研究所图书馆和我自己有限的书籍中，仅能找到彼特里的一本《史前埃及》作为参考资料。我打算写一本关于在小屯和侯家庄发掘出土的陶器的著作，自然彼特里的书对我非常重要。但我发现彼特里的分类原则并不适于我的目的，于是我和考古组的同事一起商讨全书的组织应遵循什么原则。这个讨论持续了很长时间，并与董作宾的甲骨文一起成为当时我们在李庄谈到的关于工作的主要话题之一。

这时，有了潘懿和李连春的技术支持，我决定用统一的比例为所有标本绘图，并为所有完整的标本拍照。这项工作花了好几年的时间。潘李二人以原件的四分之一的统一比例完成了全部标本的绘图，每件标本图的一半为剖面图，一半为外形图。拍照工作也用了几年时间才得以完成。

对各种标本样品外形的比较研究，又引发我去研究陶器的制作方法，当然还去探讨了制陶粘土的特性，并认真考察了陶器的表面纹饰。这些问题在我看来本身也很重要，但我的焦点仍然是研究具有完整器形的——无论原本就是完整的，还是修复的——各典型标本的演进。

相关的形制可分几组，最先同时也是最使我感兴趣的就是三足器。这有其历史原因。我回想起在第一个史前黑陶遗址城子崖的发掘中，出土了多种类型的三足器，这与安特生在仰韶村仅发现鬲和鼎两种类型的三足器形成了鲜明对照。在安阳陶器中，田野队一直以来也常遇到各式各样的鬲型三足器。它们数量众多，十五次发掘出土的大小形状各异的鬲的碎片总数达几万片，是各类中最多的。

通过这些比较研究，最后我确立了组织全部陶器的两个基本思想。

第一，我决定把在小屯和侯家庄发掘的所有殷商及前殷商的陶器都包括在内。这一决定是重要的，也是有一定原因的。我详细研究了田野记录，又细查了所有地下窖穴、坑中堆积的包含物及其历史，很快发现在龙山文化之前的史前时期小屯已有人居住。因此，我清楚地认识到，除殷商以后的埋葬外，实际上我们发掘时出土的全部陶片和完整的容器，只可能是以下三个时期之一制造的：(1)史前时期；(2)早商期；(3)殷商时期。当然，最后一个时期最重要；它代表了我们研究的时期。同时，我清楚地知道，把这些时期分割开是不可能的，因为它们是连续发展的，在地层上也无法细分，所以最好的解决办法是把全部收集品作为一个整体进行分析。

第二，我决心放弃参考埃及古物学者文集编写架构的基本思想，即从最敞口的（和浅的）一直推展到最小口的这种简单程序。我设计了安排陶器器形的一套新方法，并发现这方法不仅可操作，而且适合于手中一千多件可复原的安阳陶器的完整标本。这种方法（或原则）如下：

A．分陶器为十类，器盖单列一类；

B．以每件完整容器底部的形状特征为分类标准，即：(1)圜底，(2)平底，(3)圈足，(4)三足，(5)四足，(6—9)为新类型保留的型号；(10)器盖。在每类中，我仍按彼特里的安排法把口最大的、最浅的放在前边，把身高口小的放到最后。

这样的陶器分类一经绘成16张图纸印出后，就清楚地显示出自然顺序，使考古组的全体成员惊奇不已。在李庄患病卧床的梁思永首先祝贺我完成了这项任务，他和我一样高兴。

这部图集于1956年发表在我的《殷墟器物·陶器》中。[111]

1945年日本无条件投降前，我还抽时间以安阳资料为依据写了几篇文章。一篇是关于先殷文化的堆积，投给《学术汇刊》，这是中央研究院战时在四川出版发行的一个学术刊物。这篇文章为从地层角度讨论殷墟地下文化顺序提供了基本的参考资料。[112]这篇文章于1944年发表，此时中国的抗日战争已接近尾声。

8. Postwar Academic Working Conditions

and Studies of the Anyang Finds

The immediate result of the unconditional surrender of the Japanese was naturally a general feeling of relief among the hard-pressed Chinese. But politically, it was by no means a simple change. It brought forth all sorts of social and international problems that the government found extremely difficult to handle.

So far as our Anyang collections were concerned, we were able to transport them quietly from Szechwan back to our headquarters in Nanking, which the Japanese had turned into an exhibition room during their military occupation. The National Central Museum building, which was not completed when the war started, had been occupied by the invading army as their Nanking command center. Returning to Nanking after the Japanese surrender we found the capital altogether a different city.

Nearly all those who had worked in Li-chuang during the war, but none of those who had left the institute earlier, returned to the institute at Nanking. Postwar conditions changed rapidly in the next few years, and the personnel of the Institute of History and Philology suffered many changes. Tung Tso-pin received an invitation to visit Chicago; I myself was commissioned to oversee postwar conditions in many places in China and Japan. But I was one of those who decided at last to concentrate my efforts on the investigation of the Anyang collections which, on the whole, still remained in a more or less well-preserved state. Other colleagues made their decisions according to their personal needs.

It was at this time that I initiated a series of programs for the detailed investigation of ancient Chinese bronzes, with the Anyang collection naturally as my starting point. In order to lose no time, I gave up all outside engagements, including the directorship of the National Central Museum, which I had held for almost ten years.[113]

Liang Ssŭ-yung, who had never recovered his health since the beginning of the Li-chuang days, did not return to Nanking after the war; he requested a leave of absence so that he could return to Peiping for a number of reasons. The climate is drier there and was considered by friends to suit him better. Also, the fact that he had spent his childhood and adolescence in Peiping and Tientsin led them to favor his recuperation in Peiping.

In Nanking with the departure of Tung Tso-pin for the United States and Liang Ssŭ-yung for Peiping, only I among the seniors remained, and I made up my mind to continue working on the Anyang collection. I had the good fortune to be assisted by a number of junior workers, including Shih Chang-ju, Kao Ch'ü-hsün, and Hsia Nai, who had joined the institute during wartime when the headquarters was still located at Li-chuang.

I was able to edit and publish the *Chinese Journal of Archaeology* and issue further numbers of the Anyang Series of Archaeologia Sinica. Three numbers of the Journal were edited, two of which were actually published in Nanking. The first number of the ink-squeezes of oracle bone inscriptions were compiled once more and sent again for publication.[114]

Postwar Nanking, immediately after the Japanese surrender, was busily occupied with all sorts of restoration and reconstruction. Both the Institute of History and Philology and the National Central Museum were repaired and brought back more or less to their prewar condition, becoming in the course of time suitable for carrying on research work. From the collections that we had not taken west during wartime we were able to recover much of the fauna and abundant pot-sherds as well as a number of other duplicates. The "painted earth blocks" collected from the Hou-chia-chuang royal tombs were still well preserved; the Japanese archaeologists had treasured and made detailed studies of them. When I was in Kyoto during my first postwar visit to Japan, Professor Sueji Umehara presented me with a colored print of these "painted earth blocks."

My research work on Anyang had continued in Nanking less than two years. … In the winter of 1948 I was commissioned by the director of the Institute of History and Philology to assist Mr. Hsü Shen-yü, an old scholar renowned for his versatile knowledge of Chinese antiquities and Chinese bibliography, who had been appointed by the government to transport the Palace Museum treasures to Taiwan for safety. Director Fu asked me to act as

Hsü's associate and to take special charge of moving the collections of the Institute of History and Philology to Taiwan for the same purpose. A navy transport was assigned. My senior, Hsü Shen-yü, saw me off and told me he would follow with the other boats, a promise which, however, he never fulfilled although a number of other treasure-carrying boats followed.

When we first arrived at Taiwan in the winter of 1948-1949, the institute was installed in a place known as Yang-mei Cheng, about half way between Taipei and Hsin-chu. With the help of the provincial government, the institute was loaned some storage buildings near the railway station at Yang-mei. There the Institute of History and Philology established a temporary headquarters and its members and staff found living quarters rented from the local inhabitants. Here those who followed the new migration of the institute worked for five years (1949-1954).

Meanwhile, Fu Ssŭ-nien received a new appointment to the important post of president of Taiwan University, which he fully reorganized. Unfortunately President Fu, who was also still taking care of the Institute of History and Philology, passed away while attending a meeting of the Taiwan Provincial Assembly. This occurred in December 1950, about a year and a half after his appointment. In his capacity as president of the university, he had engaged a number of research fellows of the "Academia Sinica" to take up teaching positions left vacant by the departure of the Japanese faculty. Through his initiative, I was engaged to take up the post of chairman of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology in the School of Arts of his university. This new job seemed rather congenial to me, for more reasons than one. I was of course glad to assist my old colleague and, besides, there was the fact that the Department of Anthropology had in the Japanese days been headed by Professor Uturigawa Menozo, who had been trained in the Peabody Museum at Harvard University. When he organized the department in Taiwan, he had followed closely the Harvard model familiar to me. In fact he had studied under Professor Roland B. Dixon, the same professor who had directed my Ph.D. thesis on "The Formation of the Chinese People."

So for a number of years, I spent much of my time in organizing the department, while Tung Tso-pin succeeded as director of the Instituteof History and Philology. For the first few years in Taiwan, I actually carried on my Anyang investigations in the department's building at the university. …

[T]he university progressed slowly but steadily under the new president, Ch'ien Ssŭ-liang, who succeeded Fu Ssŭ-nien after his death. Many of the research fellows of the Institute of History and Philology, at the invitation of the university, taught in several departments in the School of Arts—Chinese, History, Anthropology, Archaeology, Paleography, and so on. So the academic standard of the university was commensurate with the average level of achievement of the research institute. Nearly all the articles in the first number of the *Journal of Literature, History, and Philosophy* issued by the School of Arts of "N.T.U." were contributed by faculty members working in the Institute of History and Philology.

In 1954, owing to economic pressure, Tung Tso-pin decided to give up the directorship of the institute and to accept an invitation from Hong Kong University. He left for Hong Kong without finding a successor and without, in fact, resigning. After Tung Tso-pin's sudden departure, the president of the "National Academy," Dr. Chu Chia-hua, sent some friends to negotiate with me about succeeding Tung. It was a difficult and also a delicate situation, difficult since there was only a limited budget for "Academia Sinica," and delicate because Tung had departed without resigning the post.

Whatever the difficulties Tung's successor had to face, I myself had to look at the problem from my own angle, namely the absolute necessity of completing the Anyang report as soon as possible; and I had the temerity to believe that I was the only man to carry it out. So I mustered my courage to take up the challenge without any assurance of help from anybody. I accepted the task mainly because I felt it was my academic duty "to fight to the finish" in the completion of a piece of scientific work developed under my guidance.

Soon it became clear that Tung's departure for Hong Kong had been mainly for personal reasons. As far as the Institute of History and Philology was concerned, Tung had been gaining all the support that was available. Dr. Hu Shih, who was residing in New York City at that time, had been the first man to extend a helping hand and, as early as 1951, he had already approached the Rockefeller Foundation for some assistance in erecting a building to house the precious Anyang collection and the library collection of this institute, the only research unit which had up to that time migrated to the island of Taiwan. Dr. Hu succeeded after some delay in gaining the support of the Rockefeller Foundation, which promised to give some financial

assistance on condition that the China Foundation would do the same. Dr. Hu proceeded to negotiate with the officials of the China Foundation and accomplished his end in due time. By the time of Tung's sudden departure for Hong Kong, the storehouse built by funds from the two foundations had already been completed in Nankang and the headquarters had actually moved to the new building. As the new headquarters, it was to become the seat of three different functions: storage, research, and administration.

My appointment became effective in August 1955. On my initiative the "Academia Sinica" invited Professors Shen Kang-po, Li Tsung-t'ung, Liu Ch'ung-hung, and Yao Ts'ung-wu to be corresponding fellows of the academy; all were teaching in the history department of the Taiwan University. In reorganizing the research work of the institute, I also made a number of changes. Since Ch'en Yin-ko had been unable to come to Taiwan, and the plan for an Institute of Ethnology had matured, I requested Mr. Ch'en P'an to take up temporarily the position of acting chief of the History Section, and Ruey Yih-fu to be chief of the Anthropological Section, while Dr. Chao Yüan-ren was persuaded to direct the Philological Section as usual.

The new headquarters at Nankang was a quiet place, suitable for the pursuit of academic work. Those who had been working near the noisy railroad station at Yang-mei for years found in the new headquarters a much more peaceful and congenial atmosphere.

Living quarters had been built for those who resided in Yang-mei; but a number of the senior members, who had teaching jobs at "N.T.U." and had enjoyed the privilege of staying in the university living quarters, consequently kept on living there.

My assumption of the directorship of the Institute of History and Philology was soon followed by a number of events that directly or indirectly contributed to the advancement of our research work. The China Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, [and] the Harvard-Yenching Institute...have, in the course of time, all contributed funds to the institute to help its research program. A quite unexpected event was Dr. Hu Shih's decision to return to Taipei from his long sojourn in New York City. He was soon elected and appointed to succeed Dr. Chu Chia-hua as president of "Academia Sinica," a post which he accepted against the advice of a number of his most intimate friends residing in New York.

Dr. Hu's appointment, whatever its political significance, was a fortunate choice in the eyes of those working in the Institute of History and Philology, of which he had been a corresponding member ever since its establishment.

As the essential reason that I accepted the directorship of the institute was to complete the report on the Anyang materials, I had to do the best I could to reapportion the collective labor among the available research members who were qualified and competent in this field. One of the great problems was of course Tung's departure and his subsequent gradual loss of interest in any project of theoretical importance. While in Hong Kong he spent his time in the compilation of a reconstructed historical calendar of ancient China, making use of all available data, regardless of the nature of their sources. His energy seemed to have declined and his synthetic power to have ceased to be creative. After he returned from his Hong Kong sojourn in 1958, Tung requested that the institute add one more research unit—to be devoted to the study of paleography with oracle bone inscriptions as the main source material—a request immediately granted by "Academia Sinica" in November 1958.

But Tung's health deteriorated rapidly and on November 23, 1963, this talented researcher, pioneer of the Anyang field work, passed away in the University Hospital of Taita; he was later buried right in front of the Nankang compound.

While Tung was still living, the senior members of the institute had agreed on the division of labor on the final report of the Anyang collection. Since his death, the program has been strictly followed at Nankang. Let me give a summary of the general division and a brief account of the progress of this work as well as of the publications.

The collective work was divided among members of the Archaeological Section as follows: Tung Tso-pin, Ch'ü Wan-li, Chang Ping-ch'üan, and Li Hsiao-ting were to study oracle bone inscriptions. Shih Chang-ju was to review the Hsiao-t'un field notes; he was to have a number of junior assistants to help summarize the field data of the Hsiao-t'un excavations. Kao Ch'ü-hsün was to take up the editing of Liang Ssŭ-yung's manuscripts on the Hou-chia-chuang royal cemetery and put them into final form. Li Chi was to serve as editor-in-chief of Archaeologia Sinica and to supervise both the research and publications of the final report, in addition to his own research.

Mr. Young Hsi-mei of the Anthropological Section was persuaded to take up the investigation of the human skeletal material which had remained without expert examination ever since Woo Ting-liang had given up the work. This collection had again migrated thousands of miles from Szechwan...to Taiwan after Woo's departure.

The oracle bone collection of the institute naturally remained the one group that more than any other attracted public notice. Let me first give an account of the publications of the ink-squeezes and other related publications. In the early days, before the war started, it had already been agreed by the director and the editor of Archaeologia Sinica to publish, in one volume, rubbings of all the registered fragments with inscriptions found in the first nine seasons. Notes, decipherments, and interpretations would follow. The main idea was to publish registered new data as soon as possible so that paleographers everywhere might be able to make use of them.

This basic idea was however interrupted by the Japanese invasion, which made printing of the first volume impossible. So the first volume of rubbings was not published until 1948, when Tung Tso-pin was in Chicago where he wrote an introductory note.[115] This volume contains only the rubbings of the inscribed oracle bones found in the first nine expeditions, which constitute, as mentioned before, only a minor portion of the institute's total collection.

Tung was naturally eager to follow it by publishing all the rest of the rubbings that had been completed before the war terminated. But postwar conditions in Nanking and Shanghai deteriorated so rapidly that publication was not as easy as one might have imagined. Only after another five years, by which time the institute had migrated to Taiwan, could this next group of ink-squeezes of the oracle bone inscriptions be issued.[116]

To publish the ink-squeezes of the inscribed oracle bones was only the first stage of the original plan. It was to be followed by a volume of annotations to accompany each of the ink-squeeze publications. While the migratory upheavals scattered the various experts widely, still, among those who came to Taiwan there were a number of paleographers who wanted to continue work along this line. I was fortunate enough to convince Professor Ch'ü Wan-li to take up the work of annotating Volume 1 of the ink-squeeze publications, which he completed and published in 1961.[117]

Long before Chang Ping-ch'üan succeeded to the post of chief of the oracle bone inscription unit, I convinced him without much difficulty to undertake the systematic work of piecing together the fragments of the broken pieces of oracle bones in our collection. By this time the pioneer paleographers had already developed two distinct criteria for this kind of highly specialized research. The first was to follow the anatomical guide, for if investigators are lucky enough to handle original specimens, it is comparatively easy to recognize to which part of the tortoise shell the inscribed fragment belongs anatomically unless it is too tiny. The second criterion was the one worked out long ago by Professor Wang Kuo-wei, that is, to decipher correctly the contents of the inscriptions. Since Chang Ping-ch'üan had at his command all the original specimens from Hsiao-t'un, he could naturally pursue the piecing together almost routinely. From 1954 Chang worked on the project for more than ten years. The institute also decided to publish a third series in Archaeologia Sinica[118], to print the restored shells. The following volumes have already been published:

Archaeologia Sinica, Sub-series C; Vol. 2; Fasc. 3	Date of Publication	No. of Restored Shells with Inscriptions
Pt. 1 (i)	1957	54
Pt. 1 (ii)	1959	56
Pt. 2 (i)	1962	57
Pt. 2 (ii)	1965	60
Pt. 3 (i)	1967	55
Pt. 3 (ii)	1972	67
[Total]		349

So, up to the present time, 349 restored shells have been reconstructed;

these more or less complete tortoise shells with inscriptions constitute, at present, the majority of documents available which were originally, for some reason or other, written together on the same plate. These restored documents certainly provide the most reliable source materials for researching a number of important historical problems, much more valuable than information extracted or entirely based upon inscriptions of fragmentary oracle bones. It is true that among inscribed records on the same plate there may be a number of independent queries and answers that may or may not be related to each other. Still the very fact that these records are found on the same plate indicates at least the order of occurrence of such events—a sort of time relation of various queries made.

Chang Ping-ch'üan, in one of his articles, mentioned that by studying the records on these specimens which he had pieced together he had discovered the important custom of making a single query a number of times—sometimes as many as ten times.[119] If the query, for example, was about the forecast of the weather in a certain month and the answer was "rain," the same event might be recorded ten times. Anyone who studied weather conditions using fragmentary records as his source materials would probably conclude that these records constituted definite evidence that it rained ten times in a certain month in the Yin-Shang period, but Chang's discovery indicates that he would have been very much misguided. We know that a number of scholars in the past did attempt to study climatic conditions on the basis of the oracle bone records before these specimens were restored. Chang has himself written an article on "Agriculture and Climate," in which, of course, he paid considerable attention to the repeated records of the same event.[120]

A great deal more may be said about the work of restoration, but the above reference is sufficient to show the importance of this somewhat time-consuming task, whose results will benefit future epigraphists.

Before I stop this narrative about publications concerning oracle bone studies, I must mention one more book, published in 1965, which is widely used and much appreciated: Li Hsiao-ting's *Chia-ku wen-tz*ŭ *chi-shih*. This dictionary of oracle bone characters in the style of the *Shuo-wen* dictionary was one of the few publications of the institute which soon had to be reprinted by popular demand. In compiling it, Li made a systematic effort to

include all the studies and decipherments of every individual character. The book therefore provides the source materials for any scholar who would like to get acquainted with the views of past masters, besides serving as a handbook to introduce the uninitiated to the earliest Chinese writing discovered so far.

The project to publish the royal tombs excavated at Hou-chia-chuang under the leadership of Liang Ssŭ-yung was placed in the hands of Professor Kao Ch'ü-hsün as soon as we had settled at Nankang. Although Liang's original manuscripts had already examined and presented the principal tomb contents, they were not illustrated. What Kao had to do was in fact more laborious than was at first thought. He had to proceed in accordance with the following steps: (1) to go carefully over Liang's manuscript as well as the original field notes; (2) to check all the field photographs and take pictures of every individual find from the different tombs; (3) to draw accurate figures of all the finds to demonstrate both (a) tomb structure and structures of important finds, and (b) the relative position of every individual tomb in the group; (4) to describe the structure of every tomb and the important finds from it in concise and technical terms; (5) to check the registered field numbers of all tomb contents against field records, and also against Liang's manuscripts and the sketches made in the field; and (6) to pay attention to records of early plunderings and diggings and illustrate the amount of damage done to the original tombs through such early plunderings as well as through recent pilferages.

Kao was one of those who had been privileged to follow Liang in the field and had learned from him the technology of his field operations. He had also learned to respect the master and worked on his manuscripts with dedication. He has been able to annotate and illustrate the manuscripts in a truly professional way; HPKM 1001 was published in 1962 in two volumes: one being text, the other composed of 270 plates, with an extra appending volume of colored plates printed specially in Japan to present the extraordinary records of Yin-Shang painted designs preserved in the "colored clay blocks," which Professor Umehara had worked out and printed in Japan during wartime.

Since we came to Taiwan, Professor Umehara has paid the Institute of History and Philology frequent visits, and thus become better acquainted not

only with the Anyang finds, but also with the archaeologists of the Archaeological Section personally. His devotion to and genuine interest in the study of Anyang artifacts really touched most of us; so when the HPKM 1001 report was ready for publication, I approached Professor Umehara for some help to have the "colored clay" illustrations printed in Japan and issued together with the two volumes which had already taken Kao Ch'ü-hsün many years to complete. This request was soon complied with. I mention this cooperation between the learned men of China and Japan just to show how in academic work cooperation can find expression in a number of ways.

The Hou-chia-chuang series of publications is still going on. Up to 1973, reports on HPKM 1002, 1003, 1004, and 1217 have all been published. Kao has practically completed the reports of all the other huge tombs: these are to be issued like the first five volumes already in print. Only the necessary illustrations in plates and figures remain to be done and, also, the necessary publication funds to be found. It is expected that Professor Kao will be able to complete this work in due time.[121]

The task of reporting Hsiao-t'un differs from the Hou-chia-chuang series in two important respects: in the first place, the diggings at Hsiao-t'un, in twelve seasons which lasted nine years (1928-1937), underwent a great many changes—changes in command and personalities, in fundamental ideas, and in methodology. Consequently the field records are more mixed in nature than the Hou-chia-chuang field data, which were collected under one leader and are therefore of a much more uniform standard. The field records, the field photographs, and the field sketches of Hsiao-t'un differed as seasons changed and as needs arose. When Shih Chang-ju took charge of the Hsiao-t'un field report after the Archaeological Section settled in Nankang, he found the task initially much more arduous than reporting the royal cemetery of Hsi-pei-kang at Hou-chia-chuang.

In the second respect the Hsiao-t'un data, being concerned mainly with dwelling sites, are much more complicated in nature; they are composed of all sorts of materials requiring architectural, social, political, religious, ornamental, etc., interpretation. The purpose and significance of some finds are revealed in the materials themselves; others have to be deduced from the mutual relationship among the discovered art-objects. Thus the deposits found in those underground caves and caches may have been formed for

purposes quite different from each other, while in the case of tomb finds, the archaeologists are at least sure of what the buried goods were meant for.

Still, when Shih took up the work he also had certain advantages, including his own field experience and his wartime efforts in various related investigations. One of the most useful of these preliminary works, initiated during the Kunming days, was the project to piece together all the detailed sketch maps surveyed and drawn in the twelve seasons, and match all of them on one sheet of drawing paper, thus integrating them into one complete map to show the location of every trenching, underground pit, dwelling cave, burial, foundation unit—all the structural remains ever disclosed during the excavations. This consolidated map was designed on a scale of one to five hundred, a scale large enough for the smallest structural remains to find a place. It was intended to serve as a sort of index-map, and also a historical atlas of the Hsiao-t'un diggings from 1928 to 1937.

This elaborate project was accomplished by collective efforts in the space of a year. All the field men who were in Kunming provided the data, but the man in charge of this task was Shih Chang-ju; the actual map was made by P'an Ch'üeh who, in the field, had also done much surveying in addition to other duties. This huge atlas was completed in color, to indicate different types of underground structures, such as dwelling foundations, altars, pits or burials, and so on.

It should be noted in this connection that all the surveying work done in the field, from the fourth season on, started from a point about fifty meters southwest of Hsiao-t'un village, where a block of reinforced concrete was buried to mark a permanent reference point.

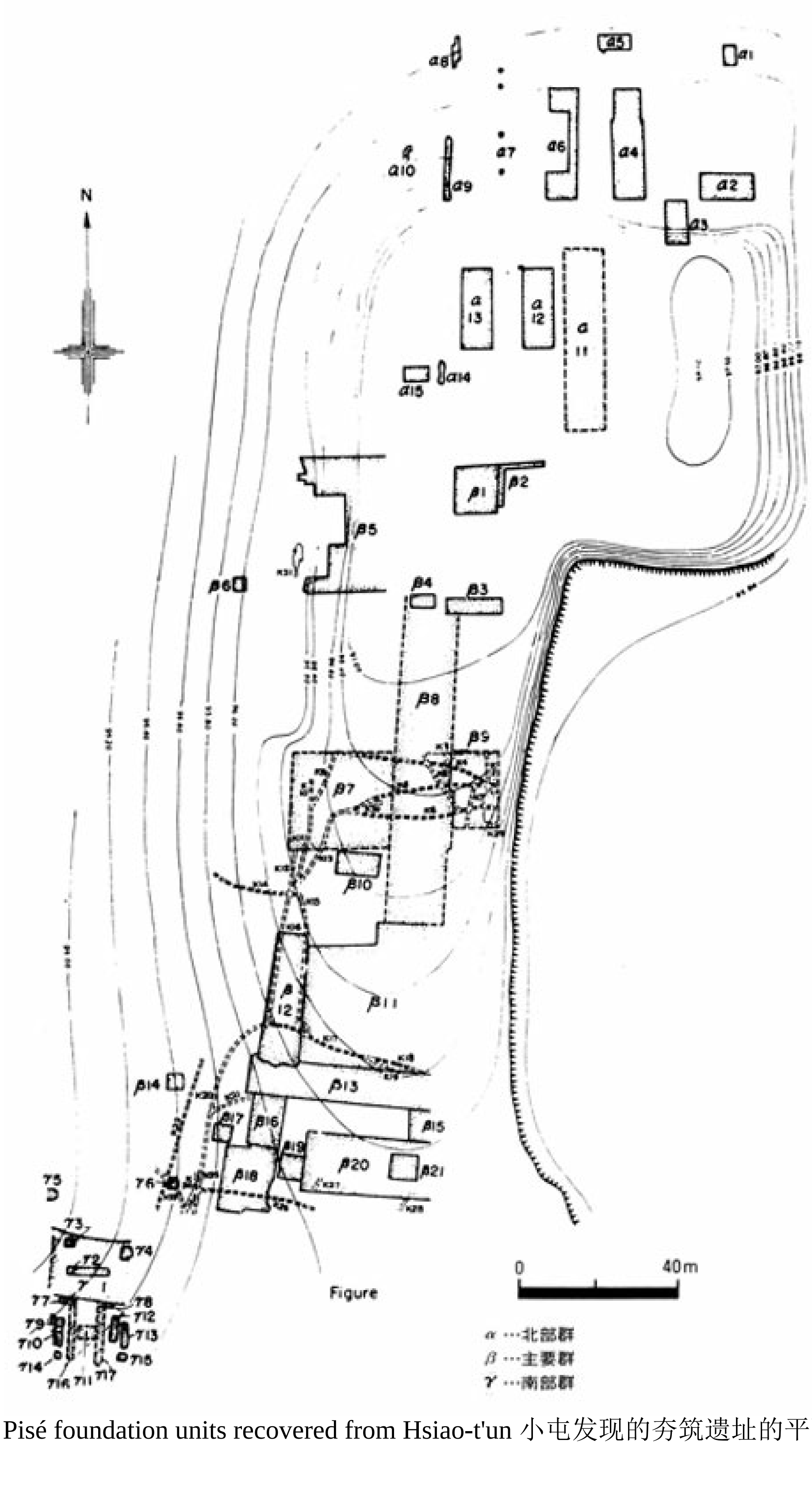
This atlas guide was occasionally referred to in Li-chuang days. By the time the Archaeological Section settled in Nankang, the line drawings made more than a decade earlier had already become faint, and the color pigments had decayed. So we decided to repair and redraw the map.

It was repaired by P'an Ch'üeh, who had originally drawn it in Kunming, and now copied it again on the same scale. This guidance map served hereafter, as before, many different research programs. It served as a geographical guide for all reports concerning Hsiao-t'un excavations and was particularly useful for Shih's final report; in addition, for example, my own

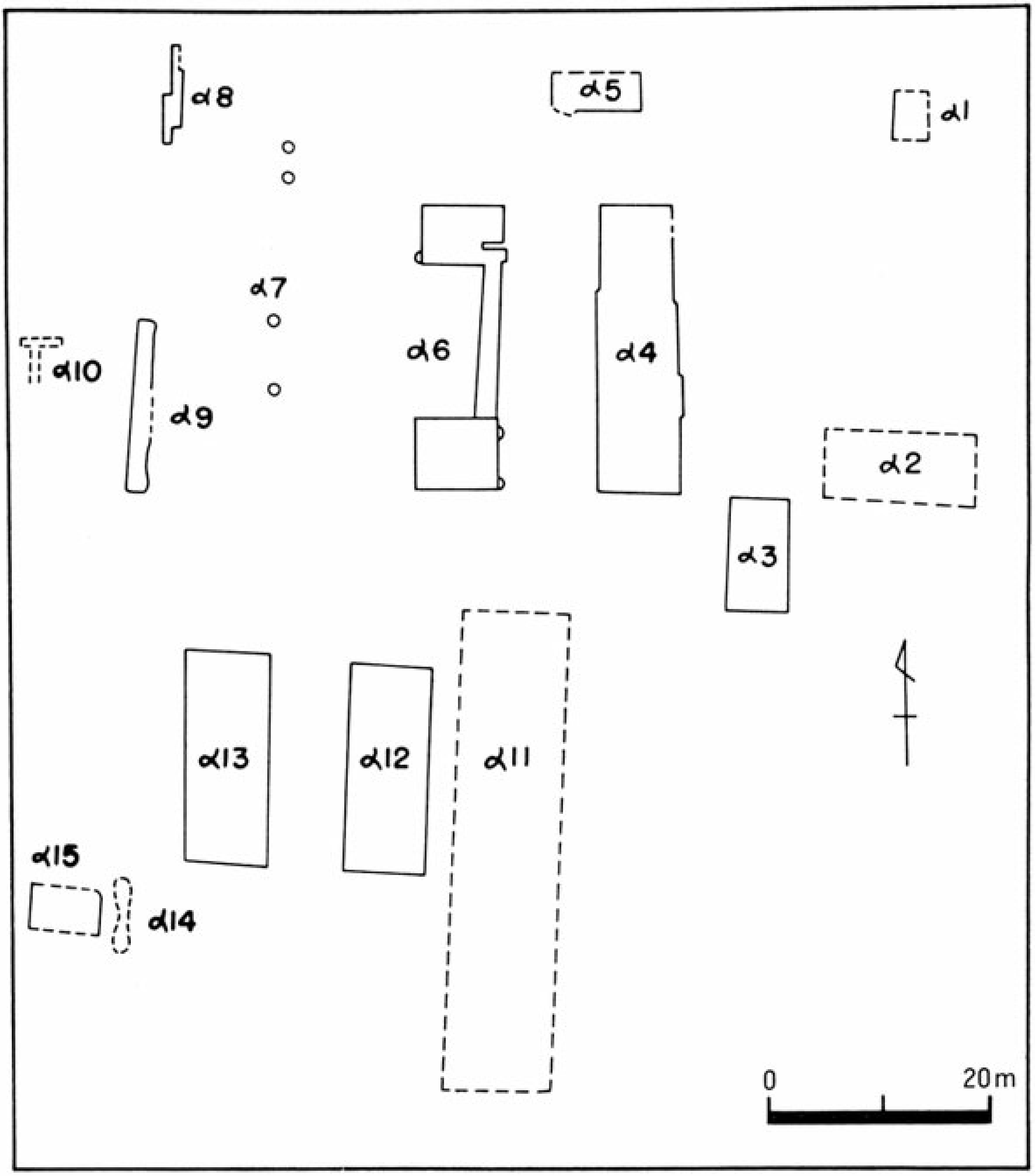
final report on the pottery could not have been completed without frequent reference to this map, for, in my description of different types of ceramics and their distributions as well as their depository sequences, I had to take into consideration their locations.

Shih Chang-ju's first work after settling at Nankang was a report on the architectural remains of Hsiao-t'un, published in 1959.[122] This important publication was the result of nearly twenty-two years' hard labor; the work clarified the confused data about pounded earth, the "pisé" method of building, accumulated in nine years of field operation. Turning to the principal contents of this monographic report, I shall in the following account use the term "pisé" as a technical term for all the structural remains of pounded earth discovered and described in Shih's account.

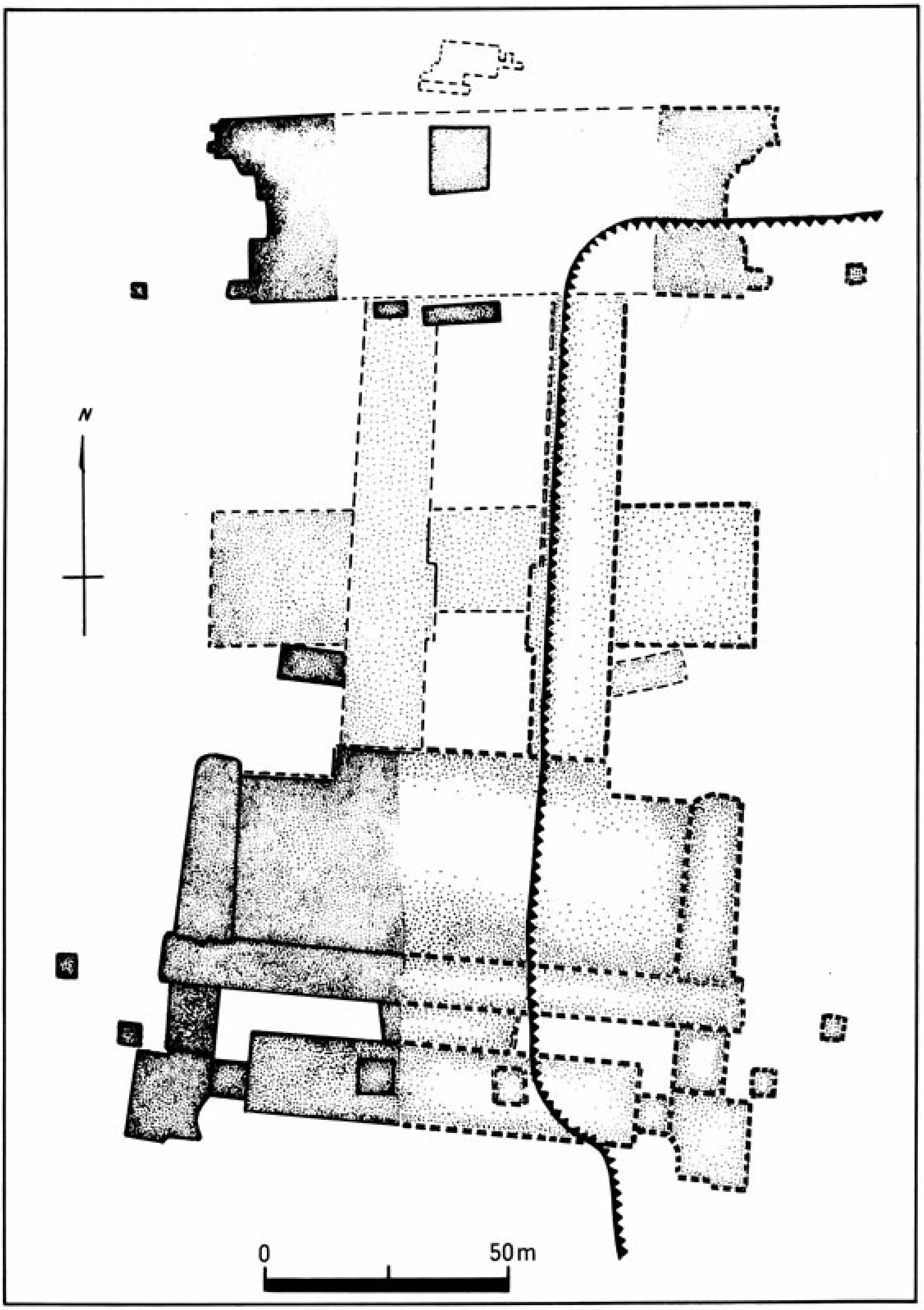
In this report Shih divided the architectural remains found at Hsiao-t'un into three geographical groups, designated *Chia*, *I*, *Ping* (which I intend to render in the first three letters of the Greek alphabet: *α*, *β*, *γ*), and located on the site as the northern group, the main group, and the southwestern group (Fig. 21). The *alpha* group was found mainly in the northern portion of the farmland, right beside the bend of the Huan River, corresponding to Subareas E and D of the early seasons' excavations. Within this area of nine thousand square meters (N.S. 100m. × E.W. 90m.), nearly fifteen units of pisé foundations were traced. Most of these pisé foundation units are rectangular in shape (Fig. 22). The larger ones apparently were oriented E.W., while the smaller units may have been oriented southward. It is difficult to say whether these units were related to one another in any way.



21 Pisé foundation units recovered from Hsiao-t'un 小屯发现的夯筑遗址的平面图



22 The fifteen pisé foundations of *alpha* area α区的15个夯筑遗址



23 Reconstruction of *beta* area (fine broken lines indicate traced boundaries of pounded earth; heavy broken lines indicate reconstructed boundaries of pounded earth)
β地区复原图（细虚线表示描绘的夯土边界，粗虚线表示复原的夯土边界）

The *beta* group (β), which seems to have been the main portion of the Yin-Shang architectural remains recovered by our excavations, is located directly south of the *alpha* group, corresponding closely to our Subareas B and C. Shih estimated the size of this area as it still survived during the time of our excavation to be nearly two hundred meters from north to south, and more than one hundred meters in the E.W. dimension. But as the Huan River had eroded much of the eastern bank (Fig. 23) and destroyed an extensive part of the pisé foundations of this portion, it is impossible to say how far eastward the pisé area may originally have reached. Judging by general observation, Shih characterized the peculiarities of the pisé remains here as (1) all large-sized foundation units oriented southward; (2) some foundation surfaces covered by white lime powder; (3) indications of regular arrangements with terrace (nearly square) of purely yellow earth on the north (β 1), and remnants of three relatively large-sized foundations apparently in front of the altar, that is, south of the terrace. These three pisé units (β 7-9) of large size may have been the foundations of some large halls which were attached to five gates. The arrangement of these rooms was probably somewhat symmetrical but unfortunately this portion of the foundation is located right beside the present Huan River bank, so it had been more than half eroded away and submerged by flood long ago. Two-thirds of the twenty-one units of pisé foundations recovered in this portion still preserve the pillar foundation stones in order, which of course helped greatly in Shih's attempt to reconstruct these remains. The most essential feature in this group is the fact that all the twenty-one units of pisé remains were apparently linked in one way or another; they seem to have originally constituted a planned and unified building.

Since the Huan River cuts into the farm here most intrusively, it is quite possible that in the past, for some reason or other, this part of the Waste of Yin may have suffered some kind of catastrophe, natural or human, which damaged the foundations of the main buildings in particular, so that in later times the Huan River was easily able to undermine them.

The *gamma* group is comparatively small in size, and located at the southwestern corner of the *beta* group. Shih described this group of pisé remains in the following terms.

1. The area occupied by the *gamma* group measures (N.S. 50m. × E.W.

35m.), a little less than 2,000 square meters (1,750 $m.^2$).

2. Fifteen units of pisé remains were found, apparently related to one another; the orientation is southward.

3. There is one large square pisé foundation, surrounded by other smaller squares.

4. Pillar foundations are not well preserved.

5. Burials discovered in and near this area were found in regular arrangements; human burials on the left side according to southern orientation, beasts on the right side. The burials included cremated remains.

As to the date of construction of the pisé buildings, Shih's main conclusion is that this new method of building was introduced in the reign of King Wu Ting and followed afterwards. Shih's report gives an estimate of the approximate construction periods of the three groups of architectural remains.

I shall have occasion to refer to Shih's reconstruction in some detail later.

Following this important publication, Shih has in recent years brought forth three more volumes in the Hsiao-t'un series of Archaeologia Sinica: two more volumes on the burials of the northern section (*alpha* group) and one on the main section (*beta* group).[123] These reports include detailed descriptions about burials both natural and sacrificial, of both human beings and beasts. I am confident that in the course of time he will be able to complete his Hsiao-t'un report, as he is still working on it actively in spite of his advanced age.

Finally I wish to mention briefly another series of research under my direct guidance. Through the generosity of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, the Archaeological Section has received substantial help in financing a laboratory for the study of our bronze collection from Anyang. I was able to secure the services of Wan Chia-pao, trained and graduated in the School of Engineering, "N.T.U.," and with experience in industrial molding of plastics. A man full of curiosity, he became interested in the technology of Anyang bronzes after examining our collection of molds as well as the bronzes in Nankang. He joined the Archaeological Section in 1962 to cooperate with me in investigating the various problems from both a technical and a historical

viewpoint.

Many clay molds in our collection could be easily identified as the negatives for the bronze *ku*-beaker, so we started with detailed studies of examples of this particular type of bronze, which is represented by more specimens than most other bronzes from the Anyang excavations. The results of these cooperative studies were published in the new series of Archaeologia Sinica; up to 1972 five volumes of this new series have been published. They are respectively: New Series no. 1, *Studies of the Bronze* Ku-*Beaker*, 1964; no. 2, *Studies of the Bronze* Chüeh-*Cup*, 1966; no. 3, *Studies of the Bronze* Chia-*Vessel*, 1968; no. 4, *Studies of the Bronze* Ting-*Cauldron*, 1970; no. 5, *Studies of Fifty-three Ritual Bronzes*, 1972.[124] These five volumes in the new series cover all the ritual bronzes excavated by our archaeologists in the fifteen seasons in Hsiao-t'un and Hou-chia-chuang. In these studies Wan studied the detailed processes of casting by means of piece-molds and, testing the process in the laboratory, succeeded in producing duplicate bronzes exactly like the original. My main task was to study, all the other aspects of the bronzes—shape, ornament, function, inscriptions, and so on. The completion of this series still leaves two groups of bronze artifacts untouched, namely, the weapons and the decorative pieces, mainly from chariots. I have written in my early investigations several times on both the halbert *ko* and the spearhead *mao* and am convinced that the spearhead probably was imported into China together with chariots and at the same time. As for the chariot, it is a topic which has already been covered by Mr. Shih for Anyang and also by several non-Chinese scholars on a comparative basis. So there is little left for me to add.

Up to now, the mid-seventies, we have not done all we should. I feel particularly sad at the loss of my charcoal collection, which would be particularly valuable now in view of recent developments in scientific analysis for acquiring new archaeological data. The skeletal materials, to which I have paid so much attention in collecting and studying, are still fruitless. Let me hope that in addition to our hard work over the long years to date miracles may yet happen.

捌．战后的学术工作情况及安阳发现物的研究

日本无条件投降的直接结果是，中国人民普遍感到从重压下获得了解救。但在政治上这绝不是一个简单的变化，它带来了种种政府极难处理的社会和国际问题。

至于安阳的出土物，我们已经从四川悄然运回在日本军事占领期间被辟成展室的南京所址。战争初期尚未竣工的国立中央博物院大楼，也曾为侵略军占据，成为他们在南京的指挥中心。日本投降后我们返回了南京，发现这个都城完全成了陌生的城市。

除早期离开研究所的人外，战争期间那些在李庄工作过的人，几乎都回到了南京的所里。战后几年形势变化很快，历史语言研究所的人员也经历了不少变换。董作宾应邀赴芝加哥访问。我本人也被任命在中国和日本的一些地方视察战后的形势。但我是最后决定集中精力研究安阳出土物的人之一。总的来说，它们仍算是保存完好。其他同事都依个人的需要作出了决定。

此时，我正着手拟定一系列详细研究古代中国青铜器的计划，当然安阳出土物是我研究的起点。为了不浪费时间，我拒绝了外部所有的聘用，包括我任职十多年[113]的国立中央博物院筹备主任的职务。

梁思永到李庄不久就染病了，后来一直未恢复健康，战后他也没回南京。由于各种原因，他请了假回北平。北方的气候较干燥，朋友们认为更适合他。他童年和青少年都是在北平和天津度过的，因此朋友们也赞成他回北平养病。

董作宾赴美国，梁思永回北平，在南京的高年资成员中只有我了，于是我决心继续研究安阳出土物。幸运的是，有多位年轻人协助我工作，包括石璋如、高去寻和战时在李庄加入研究所的夏鼐。

我得以编辑出版《中国考古学报》，并继续出版《中国考古报告集》的安阳系列。《中国考古学报》出版了三期，其中两期在南京出版。甲骨文拓本的第一辑再次汇编成册重新出版。[114]

日本投降后，南京百废待兴。历史语言研究所和国立中央博物院经

过整修，大致恢复到了战前的状况，适于进行一些研究工作。我们从战时未携带到西部的收集品中找到了很多动物骨骼和丰富的陶片，以及不少其他复品。从侯家庄王陵收集的“花土块”仍保存完好。日本考古学家珍藏并详细研究了这些收集物。战后我第一次访问日本京都时，梅原末治教授赠给我一套这些“花土块”的彩色图片。

安阳出土物的研究持续了不到两年。1948年冬，我受历史语言研究所所长的委托协助徐森玉先生。他是一位著名的具有古物和文献目录学多方面知识的老学者。政府令他负责把故宫的珍品运往台湾妥藏。出于同样的目的，傅斯年所长让我做徐的副手，负责把历史语言研究所的收集物运到台湾。为此给我们派了海军舰船运输。徐森玉前辈送我先走，并告诉我他与其他船只随后走。然而，这个许诺他终未实现，虽然好几艘运载珍品的船只都接着来了。

1948年与1949年之交的冬天，我们首次抵达台湾，研究所安置在台北和新竹之间的杨梅镇。在省政府的支持下，研究所借用了靠近杨梅车站的几间仓库。历史语言研究所在这里建了临时所址，所里的研究人员和职员也向当地居民租赁了住处。随研究所迁来的人员在这里工作了五年（1949—1954）。

这时，傅斯年接受任命，担任台湾大学校长要职，并对台大进行了全面改组。不幸的是，仍为历史语言研究所负责人的傅校长，在参加台湾省议会的一次会议时与世长辞了。这发生在1950年12月，大约在他被任命为校长一年半后。他任校长期间，聘用了不少史语所的研究员，填补日本教员离开后的空缺。由于他的推荐，我受聘担任台湾大学文学院考古人类学系主任。由于种种原因，这项新工作对我好像很合适，我当然也很愿意协助我的老同事工作。另外，在日本人占领时，人类学系负责人是移川子之藏教授，他在哈佛大学皮博迪博物馆受过训练。他在台湾大学筹建此系时，完全遵循了我熟悉的哈佛模式。实际上，他曾师从狄克森教授，而狄刚好也是指导我的博士论文《中国民族的形成》的老师。

我花去好几年的时间组建这个系。与此同时，董作宾接任历史语言研究所的所长。在台湾的头几年，我在台大考古人类学系的大楼里继续研究安阳收集物。傅斯年离世后，在新校长钱思亮的领导下，大学稳健地发展着。历史语言研究所的许多研究员接受大学聘请，在文学院的几个系教授中文、历史、人类学、考古学、古文字学等课程。所以，台大的学术标准与该研究所是同一水平的。台湾大学文学院出版的《文史哲学报》的第一期的论文，几乎都是在历史语言研究所工作的教员提供

的。

1954年，由于经济压力，董作宾决定离开研究所所长岗位，接受香港大学的邀请。他去香港时，没有找后继人，事实上也未辞职。董作宾突然离去后，研究院的院长朱家骅派一些朋友与我协商关于继任董的职务问题。情况既困难又微妙：困难的是因为研究院经费拮据，微妙的是董离开时并未辞职。

不管董的后继者面临什么样的困难，我必须从个人的角度来考虑这个问题，即尽快完成安阳的报告。我不揣冒昧地认为，我是唯一能完成它的人。于是在无任何人保证协助的情况下，我鼓起勇气接受了挑战。我接受这个任务主要是认为这是我的学术责任——为完成曾在我指导下发展起来的一项科学事业“战斗到底”。

不久事情就清楚了，董离台赴港主要是由于个人原因。在历史语言研究所，董作宾一直得到了全力的支持。住在纽约的胡适博士首先伸出援助之手。早在1951年，为了替这个当时搬到台湾的唯一研究所建一座保管安阳收集珍品的库房和图书馆，他就与洛克菲勒基金会主动联系。经过一段时间，他成功得到了洛氏基金会的支持，对方答应给予一些经济援助，条件是中华教育文化基金会也要这样做。于是，胡适又与中华教育文化基金会的官员商谈，并及时达到了目的。董作宾突然去香港时，用两个基金会援助的资金在南港修建的贮藏楼已经落成，实际上所址已搬至新楼。新楼成为执行贮藏、研究和管理三套职能的所在地。

1955年8月，我被正式任命。在我的发起下，研究院邀请沈刚伯、李宗侗、刘崇纮、姚从吾教授为研究所的通信研究员，他们都在台湾大学历史系任教。在重组研究所的研究工作时，我也作了一些变动。因为陈寅恪没有来台湾，而建立民族学研究所的计划已经成熟，所以我就请陈槃暂任历史组的代理主任，芮逸夫为人类学组主任，并说服赵元任照旧负责领导语言组。

南港的新所址是一处僻静的地方，适于搞学术研究。在喧闹的杨梅镇火车站附近工作过几年的人，都认为新所址环境幽静适宜。

同时，为原住在杨梅镇的人建了住宅区。但一些在台湾大学任教又有条件住在学校生活区的高年资研究员，仍住在那里。

我任历史语言研究所所长后，许多直接或间接有利于研究工作进展的事件接踵而来。中华教育文化基金会、洛克菲勒基金会、哈佛燕京学社等，都先后向研究所捐赠经费以资助研究项目。尤其出乎预料的是，

胡适决定离开他长期居住的纽约回台北。他不顾在纽约的不少密友的劝阻接受了接替朱家骅为研究院院长的任命。

胡的任职，不管它有什么政治意义，在历史语言研究所工作的人看来，这是最好的选择。从史语所建所以来，他就一直是所里的通信研究员。

如前所述，我接受研究所所长职务的主要原因是为完成安阳发掘的报告。因此，我必须尽量对我们所有在这一学科中合格的、有能力的研究人员进行重新分工。最大的问题当然是董作宾的离去和此后他对任何有理论价值的科研项目兴趣的逐渐丧失。在香港，他利用一切能到手的资料，花时间去重建中国古代历法，而不管资料来源的性质。这时他的精力似已衰退，综合能力也差了。1958年他从香港回到研究所，尔后提出了在所内增设一个以甲骨文为主要资料专门研究古文字的机构，这一申请于11月在“中央研究院”立即得到了批准。

但董的健康状况急剧恶化。1963年11月23日，这位天才的研究者、安阳田野工作的开拓者，在台湾大学医院逝世，后被安葬于南港大院的正前方。

董作宾在世时，研究所的高年资成员已同意分工整理安阳发掘报告的定稿。他去世后，南港研究所仍严格执行这一计划。下面我简单叙述一下大体分工、工作的进展及出版情况。

考古组成员的具体分工是：董作宾、屈万里、张秉权和李孝定研究甲骨文。石璋如审核小屯田野记录，还有一批年轻的助手协助他总结小屯发掘的田野资料。高去寻负责编纂梁思永关于侯家庄王陵的初稿，并最终定稿。李济除个人的研究外，还任《中国考古报告集》的总编辑，并管理整体的研究并审核最后报告定稿的出版。

人类学组的杨希枚先生接受建议担负起了研究人骨资料的工作。自吴定良放弃此项工作后，这些资料还未进行专门审查。吴离开后，这些收集物从四川辗转迁徙，运到台湾。

研究所的甲骨藏品自然仍是最吸引公众注意的。我先介绍一下拓片的出版和其他有关出版物。研究初期，战前，研究所所长和《中国考古报告集》的总编辑已商定出版一卷在前九次发掘中出土的所有登记的有字甲骨的拓本，随后出版考证和释文。主要是想尽快地将已编号的新资料公诸于世，以便各地的古文字学家能充分利用。

但这一基本计划被日本侵略打断，第一卷未能出版。因此，这卷拓本的出版直到1948年才实现。当时董作宾在芝加哥，为它写了序言。[115]如前所述，这卷仅包括前九次发掘中出土的有字甲骨的拓片，只是研究所收藏总数的一小部分。

董作宾自然急于在《甲编》之后继续出版战争结束前已完成的其余拓片。但战后南京、上海等地形势恶化得如此迅速，出版并不是想象的那么容易。又过了五年，到研究所迁至台湾时，甲骨文拓本的乙编才出齐。[116]

出版有字甲骨拓本仅是原计划的第一步，随后还应为每一卷拓片出版一部相应的考释。迁移的动乱使许多专家分散各处，但到台湾的一些古文字学者中不少人仍主张按原计划搞下去。幸运的是，我说服了屈万里教授承担《甲编》的考释工作。1961年，这卷考释完成并出版。[117]

在张秉权继任甲骨文研究室领导人之前很久，我未费多少力气便说服他从事甲骨缀合的系统工作。到这时，古文字研究者的先驱已发展出两种不同的标准进行这种非常专门的研究。其一是遵循解剖学的指导。如研究者有幸处理原标本，从解剖学的角度很容易识别有字碎片是属于龟壳的哪一部分，除非小到无法辨认。第二种标准是很早以前王国维教授设计出的，即确切地考释文字内容。张秉权自掌握了小屯出土的全部原标本后，自然按照常规进行缀合工作。从1954年开始，他一直进行了十余年。研究所决定出版《中国考古报告集·之三》[118]，刊载缀合的龟甲。下面几卷已出版：

中国考古报告集·之二（第二本丙编）	出版日期	缀合字甲数
上辑（一）	1957年	54
上辑（二）	1959年	56
中辑（一）	1962年	57
中辑（二）	1965年	60
下辑（一）	1967年	55

下辑（二）	1972年	67
总数		349

到现在已缀合了349版。这些相对完整的龟甲目前占到了我们所有的材料的大多数，这些材料出于某种原因原本就是写在同一块龟版上的。这些复原的记载，为研究许多重要的历史问题提供了更加可靠的原始资料，这比完全依靠甲骨碎片上的刻字直接或间接得出的信息要有价值得多。实际上，同一版有字甲骨上可能有不少独立的卜问和答案，它们或互相联系，或互不相关。但它们记于同一版上的事实至少表明了这些事件发生的顺序，即各条卜问之间的时间关系。

张秉权在一篇文章中提到，通过研究缀合的甲骨，他发现多次卜问一事的文例，有时多达十次。[119]例如，卜问某一月天气的预测，验辞是“雨”；这同一件事可能记录十次。利用断片记述为资料研究天气变化的人，很可能会推断这是殷商时期某月降了十次雨的确凿证据。但张的发现说明他们可能被误导了。大家知道，甲骨缀合前，就有许多学者试图根据甲骨记录的资料研究天气情况。张亲自写了《殷代的农业和气象》一文，文中他对同一件事的反复记述给予了很大关注。[120]

关于缀合工作还有许多问题可讲，但上面的情况足以说明这一耗费时间的工作之重要，它的成果将惠及未来的古文字学者。

在结束关于甲骨文研究的出版物介绍前，我还必须谈谈1965年出版的另一著作。这就是已广泛应用并深受欢迎的李孝定的《甲骨文字集释》。这部《说文》式的甲骨文字典在研究所出版物中是为数不多的几本应大众需求很快再版的书之一。在这本书的编纂中，李做了系统性的工作，对每个字所有的研究和考释都被包括在内。因此，这本书除作为手册向未入门者介绍迄今已发现的最早的中国文字外，还为欲了解过去各家观点的某些学者提供了原始资料。

我们在南港一安定下来，就把出版梁思永领导下的侯家庄王陵发掘报告的任务交给了高去寻教授。梁的原稿虽已审核且介绍了墓内主要内容，但未有插图说明。高要做的工作实际上比最初设想的费劲许多。他必须要依照下列程序：(1)认真阅读梁的手稿和原始田野记录；(2)核对所有田野发掘的照片，并给不同墓中的每一发现物照相；(3)绘制全部出土物的精确图，以说明：(a)墓的结构和重要出土物的各部分；(b)每座

墓在墓葬群中的相对位置；(4)用简明的术语描述每座墓的结构及其重要出土物；(5)把每座墓在野外发掘时的出土物田野登记号与田野记录、梁的原稿和田野草图相对照；(6)留意早期盗掘的记录并用图说明这些墓由于经过早期和近期的盗掘而遭到损坏的情况。

高是曾经有幸在田野跟随梁并向他学习田野操作技术的人之一。他懂得尊重老师，并投身于他的手稿研究，能以真正专业的方式对初稿进行注解和说明。HPKM1001的报告于1962年分两本出版：一本为正文，一本是270个图版，还有一个彩版附卷——此卷是专门在日本印刷的，介绍了保存在“花土块”中的殷商时期不同寻常的彩绘设计，这是在战时由梅原末治教授研究并在日本出版的。

自从我们到台湾后，梅原末治教授常来历史语言研究所访问，这不仅使他更加了解安阳出土物，而且也认识了考古组的考古工作者。他对研究安阳遗物的热心及浓厚兴趣使我们中的不少人深受感动。所以当HPKM1001的报告准备出版时，我向梅原末治教授提出了协助在日本印刷“花土”图版的要求，与高去寻用多年时间完成的两本书一同出版。他很快就同意了。我谈中日两国学者间的这项合作，正是为了说明在学术研究中，合作精神可以怎样通过多种方式表达。

侯家庄这个报告集系列仍在出版中。截止到1973年，HPKM1002、HPKM1003、HPKM1004、HPKM1217才全部出版。实际上高已完成了所有其他大墓的报告。这些与前五本已经付印的报告一样也将出版，但书中的图版和插图尚待完成，出版所需资金也要筹措。高去寻教授有望能够如期完成这项任务。[121]

整理小屯报告集系列的任务与侯家庄系列有两个重要方面的不同：第一，小屯进行了九年十二次发掘，经历了不少变化，从指挥、人员到根本思想和方法。因此，其田野记录比在一个人领导下整理的、标准相当一致的侯家庄田野资料性质更加驳杂。小屯的田野记录、田野照片和田野草图因发掘次数变化和需要增长而不同。考古组定居南港后，石璋如负责小屯田野报告，他一开始就发现此任务比整理侯家庄西北岗王陵的任务要艰巨得多。

第二，关于小屯（主要是住所）的资料，性质更加复杂。它由各种材料组成，需从建筑、社会、政治、宗教和装饰等多方面去解释。一些出土物的用途和意义从资料本身就能看出来，而另一些必须从出土艺术品间的相互关系去推测。因此，在地下窖穴中发现的堆积的形成可能是出于不同的目的，而墓中出土物，考古学者起码能确定它的用途。

然而，石璋如承担这项任务，还是具有一定的有利条件，这包括他个人的田野经验和战时从事各种相关的研究。在昆明开始的这些初步研究中，最有用的是绘制小屯遗址发掘平面示意图，即把十二次发掘中测量及绘制的全部详细的草图拼到一块，再绘在一张纸上，使之成为一张完整的地图。图上标出每条沟、地下坑、居住穴、墓葬和基址的位置，凡发掘到的遗迹，都在图中标出。此图用1:500的比例绘制，这足以标出最小的遗迹。它可以用作一种索引图，也可作为1928年到1937年小屯发掘的历史地图。

由于大家共同的努力，这项精细的工程在一年内完成了。在昆明的所有田野工作人员都提供了资料，而负责这项工作的是石璋如。实际绘图的是潘慤，他在田野时除其他任务外，也做了不少测绘工作。这幅巨图完成后用颜色标明各种地下建筑，如居住基址、祭坛、坑或墓葬等等。

在这点上应说明的是，从第四次发掘开始，在田野所进行的测量工作，都以小屯村西南约50米处埋的一块钢筋混凝土为永久性坐标。

这个指示图在李庄时常被参考。考古组到南港后，图上十多年前的画线已模糊不清，图又褪色了。所以，我们决定修整、重绘此图。

原来在昆明绘制的图现在由潘慤修整并以同样的比例重制。之后，这指示图与从前一样，被用于许多不同研究项目。它成为所有关于小屯发掘报告的地理指南，对石璋如的最后报告尤其有用。此外，我撰写的关于陶器的最后报告，若不经常参考此图，也断然不能完成。因为在叙述不同类型的陶器及其分布和层位时，必须考虑它们的位置。

到南港后，石璋如的首要任务是撰写关于小屯建筑遗址的报告。这一报告于1959年出版。[122]这部重要的著作是他近22年艰苦劳动的结晶。这本著作理清了在九年田野工作中积累的关于夯土、建筑物的夯筑方法的混乱资料。说到这本专题性报告的主要内容，我在下面的叙述中将以“夯筑”这个专业术语指代石璋如的记叙中发现和描述的所有夯土建筑遗迹。

石璋如在报告中把在小屯发现的建筑遗址从位置上分三组，用甲、乙、丙表示（在英文中，我打算用希腊字母中的前三个α、β、γ表示），按分布定为北组、主组和西南组（图21）。α组主要在农田北部发现，位于洹河湾附近，与最初几次发掘的E区和D区相当。在这9000平方米的范围内（南北100米×东西90米），发现了15个夯筑基址，其中大部分为长方形（图22）。较大的夯筑基址显然为东西向，小的可能朝

南。很难说这些基址是否以某种方式互相联系着。

β组似是我们发掘的殷商建筑遗迹的主要部分，位于α组正南，与B、C区相当吻合。石璋如估计，在我们发掘时此区仍残存的面积为南北近200米，东西为100多米。但洹河严重侵蚀西岸（图23），损坏了这部分的大片夯筑基址，因此，说不准原夯筑基址向东伸延了多远。石璋如通过大体观察判断，总结了这一组的夯筑遗迹的特点：(1)所有大的基址都朝南；(2)一些基址表层覆盖了白灰面；(3)北边的纯黄土平台β1，近方形，是个祭台，其南面为三个较大基址的残迹，显示出有规律的布局。这三个大型夯筑基址（β7—9）可能是几座有五个门的大厅的基础。这些房间的安排可能近似对称，但遗憾的是，这部分基址恰好位于现在的洹河岸边，所以它的大部分已被河水侵蚀而且早已被河水淹没。在这一组发现的21座夯筑基址中，有三分之二仍保存着排列规则的柱础石，当然这些给石璋如复原遗迹的尝试很大帮助。这一组最基本的特征是：21个夯筑基址残迹显然是以某种方式联系着的，它们似是原来有计划建造的统一整体。

因洹河严重侵蚀这里的农田，所以很可能过去由于种种原因，殷墟这部分地区遭到了自然或人为的灾祸，主要建筑物的基础遭到的破坏尤甚，以至后来洹河水能易于侵蚀它们。

γ组范围较小，位于β组西南。关于这组的夯筑遗迹，石璋如是这样描述的：

1. γ组的面积（南北50米×东西35米）近2000平方米（1750平方米）。

2. 发现了15个夯筑基址，看来它们彼此之间有联系；面朝南。

3. 在一个大的方形夯筑基址周围有一些小的方形夯筑基址。

4. 柱础保存得不好。

5. 这组内及附近发现的埋葬排列整齐：左边葬人，方位朝南；右边葬兽。埋葬中有火焚的遗物。

关于夯筑建筑物的时代，石璋如的主要结论是，这种新的建筑技术在武丁时引入，后来沿用。石璋如的报告对这三组建筑遗迹的建造时代作了一个约略的估计。

后面还会有机会详谈石的复原工作。

继这一重要出版物后，近几年石璋如又写了另外三卷著作在《中国考古报告集》小屯系列中结集出版。其中两卷关于北组墓葬（α组），一卷关于主组（β组）。[123]这些报告所详细描述的既有正规墓葬又有献祭墓葬，后者包括人牲和动物牺牲。我相信不久的将来他就能完成小屯的报告，尽管年事已高，但他仍在积极地从事这项工作。

最后我简单谈谈由我直接指导的另一系列研究。考古组在筹建研究安阳青铜器的实验室时，得到了哈佛燕京学社的慷慨资助。我还得到了万家保的协助。他受训且毕业于台湾大学工学院，而且有工业制模的经验。这个充满好奇心的人，在南港看了我们收集的铸范和青铜器后，对安阳青铜技术产生了兴趣。1962年，他到考古组与我合作，从技术和历史的角度研究各种问题。

我们收集的许多陶范很容易识别出是青铜觚的外范。所以我们从详细研究这一特殊型的青铜器样本开始，它比其他安阳出土的青铜器有更多的标本。合作研究的结果在《中国考古报告集新编》上发表。到1972年，新编共出版了五本，分别是：第一本，《青铜觚形器之研究》，1964年；第二本，《青铜爵形器之研究》，1966年；第三本，《青铜斝形器之研究》，1968年；第四本，《青铜鼎形器之研究》，1970年；第五本，《伍拾叁件青铜容器之研究》，1972年。[124]这五本包含我们在小屯和侯家庄十五次发掘中出土的全部青铜礼器。在研究中，万家保利用修复的模型全面研究了铸造程序，并通过在实验室里试验制作过程，成功地制出与原样完全相同的复制品。我的主要任务是研究青铜器的其余方面——器形、纹饰、功能和铭文等。这一系列专题完成后还留下两组青铜制品未触及，即武器和兵马车上的装饰品。在我早期研究中已不止一次写过关于戈和矛的报告，我相信矛大概是和兵马车同时传入中国的。关于兵马车，这是石关于安阳叙述过的一个题目，而且几个外国学者也在比较的基础上讨论过。因此，我要说的就很少了。

直到现在——七十年代中期，我们还未完成应完成的全部任务。木炭收集的遗失让我尤为痛心。从用科学分析方法获得新考古资料的最近发展来看，那批木炭十分有价值。我一直非常注意收集和研究人骨资料，但仍没有什么成果。我相信，有了我们这么多年辛勤的工作，奇迹总有一天会出现。

9. Prehistoric Remains

and Traditional Accounts of Ancient China

The remaining chapters of this book will give a brief summary of the various special studies of the Anyang finds up to the present time. It may be useful here to start with some account of Chinese prehistory as it has been discovered mainly in the last sixty years or so. To refer briefly to the earliest human traces, *Sinanthropus Pekinensis* and *Lantienensis*, certain scholars still persist in tracing the origin of the Mongoloid race of Homo sapiens to Peking Man. This theory is based principally on the morphological characteristics, especially the shovel-shaped incisors, which are shared by the majority of the present-day Mongoloid people and also by Peking Man in Chou-k'ou-tien, who lived nearly a million years ago and whose teeth have been studied by experts. It does not matter whether these fossil finds constitute a new genus, a subgenus, or a species; these solid physical characteristics seem to have impressed the anthropologists most deeply. And recent discoveries of Hominidae in many places in southern and southwestern China, fragmentary as they are, on the whole tend to confirm the idea that the Mongoloid branch of modern humanity has been evolved in Eastern Asia. Personally the author is not yet convinced that the evidence gathered so far has proved the case. Determining these origins is not only in itself a problem of great magnitude but is definitely related to the formation of the Chinese people, whose racial history undoubtedly bears the most intimate relation to the early history of the migration of the Mongoloid race as a whole.

As far as Chinese civilization is concerned, recent investigations have revealed that its early foundations do not appear much earlier than the neolithic age culture, whose remains have been found to spread all over China. It is true that pre-dating neolithic times, mesolithic relics and also paleolithic sites have been occasionally found; but their cultural relationship to Chinese history is still obscure. So it is perhaps more profitable to examine the historical background of the Yin-Shang civilization beginning with neolithic culture.

If we confine our efforts first to the region of the Huan River valley, archaeological diggings there have revealed ancient remains from mesolithic times onward successively, in seemingly close progression. But since the discoveries of those remains have been made in a reverse sequence—historic, neolithic, mesolithic—there is a possibility that even earlier remains may yet be discovered in this region in the future.

For our present purpose, however, even the mesolithic remains discovered a few years ago on the upper course of the Huan River seem to be only remotely related to historical events. There is hardly any doubt that as soon as agriculture began, Chinese cultural development made a leap forward. Whether the domestication of animals and plants in China was due to foreign contact or was an autonomous development is still a moot point. By the time of the Yangshao Culture, agriculture was no longer in a primitive stage. It is quite definite that by then millet of several varieties was the common staple food in the Yellow River valley; and rice may have been occasionally cultivated. Some have suggested that even kaoliang and soya beans were common in Yangshao times. This is by no means impossible. The list of domesticated animals, besides dogs and pigs, consisted of cattle, chickens, and sheep, and possibly also horses. Bone-made tools and pottery constituted the main handicrafts. Ceramic industry was already highly developed and the products are divisible into at least two classes: those for ordinary use and those made probably for decorative or religious purposes only. The latter class was what has been described as "Painted Pottery." This class of pottery has been widely collected and, in a number of cases, intensively studied. The author, as a young archaeologist, had the good fortune to do his first digging at a painted pottery site known as Hsi-yin Ts'un, as already described. One thing impressed me deeply when I studied specimens of the painted ceramics: it immediately occurred to me that the painting must have been done with a pen-brush, not much different from what every Chinese schoolboy learns to use when he starts writing characters. It was particularly noticeable that the ends of the various strokes on the Hsi-yin painted pottery still retained the hairline ink-traces of the brush. Though this observation was made in 1926 when I was preparing a report for the Ts'inghua Research Institute and the Freer Gallery of Art, it was not mentioned in the report, which was limited to the description of artifacts only.[125]

Dr. G. D. Wu, in his *Prehistoric Pottery in China*, pointed out that incision as a technique of pottery decoration was first found in the Black Pottery Culture, which he discovered at Ch'êng-tzŭ-yai in Shantung.[126] In the earlier prehistoric sites when painted pottery was the fashion, incised pottery did not seem to have existed although technically speaking it should be easier to mark soft clay by incision than by painting. Nevertheless, archaeological research has established that as far as the surface decoration of Chinese prehistoric potteries are concerned the technique of painting appeared earlier than that of incision. While painting dominated the Yangshao pottery and constituted its most conspicuous feature, in the case of the Lungshan Culture, commonly known as the Black Pottery Culture, cultural elements other than ceramic decoration seem to have been more important, for instance, scapulimancy. But the fact that incision gradually took the place of painting as a technique of ceramic decoration seems to be more significant than was at first thought. We shall come back to this point for more detailed discussion in the latter part of this chapter.

In terms of scientific archaeology, Lungshan seems to be the last phase of China's prehistoric culture. The Anyang field archaeologists in fact found a stratum of Black Pottery Culture just below the Yin-Shang remains, although it is still a matter of interpretation whether the time span between these two stratified cultures was long or short.

According to traditional accounts, however, before the Shang dynasty there was only the Hsia dynasty, but, preceding it, were the early legendary rulers who made all the cultural contributions to the formative stage of early Chinese civilization. When modern archaeologists testify to the existence of several different paleolithic and neolithic cultures in north China as well as other Chinese areas, is it possible to correlate some of these early traditions with these new archaeological finds?

Let us turn to some of the traditional accounts about the predynastic legendary figures to whom past historians attributed the origin of the more important elements of Chinese culture. Among these legendary figures there are at least four who deserve brief mention here:

1. Huang-ti (the Yellow Emperor), according to tradition, fought two famous battles at Pan-ch'üan and Cho-lu, one located to the northwest of Peking, in Chahar[127], and the other near Pao-ting in Hopei, in order to unify

his kingdom. His territory was estimated by Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien to have extended toward the sea in the east, the Yangtze River in the south, and on the west as far as modern Kansu. In the north he drove away the barbarian Hun-chu, presumably one of the ancestral tribes of the Hsiung-nu of the Han dynasty. He is traditionally important not only because he heads the list of emperors in the *Shih-chi* account, but also because up to the present the Chinese people have considered themselves to be the descendants of the Yellow Emperor.

2. To Huang-ti's first wife, Lei-chu, the invention of sericulture is usually attributed.

3. Ch'i, the ancestor of the royal house of the Chou, served as an agricultural specialist in the court of Emperor Shun, one of two emperors in the Chinese golden age. He has been traditionally considered the man who first taught the Chinese people how to plough the soil and cultivate grain and hemp. His descendants are supposed to have founded the famous Chou dynasty.

4. The Great Yü, the founder of the Hsia dynasty, has been regarded as the first Chinese hydraulic engineer; he is supposed to have succeeded in bringing under control the Yellow River and also other rivers in ancient Chinese territory.

In connection with the legends, it is remarkable to note that modern archaeology has confirmed that both sericulture and agriculture were carried on in north China far back in the neolithic age. As for prehistoric hydraulic engineering, it was closely related to the development of agriculture and the need for farmland as domesticated plants promoted the growth of population. If we accept the tradition that the cradle of agriculture is near southern Shensi, as assumed by some modern archaeologists, then agriculture must have spread first toward the east along the lower course of the Yellow River. So the reclamation of land flooded by the lower course of the Yellow River no doubt needed a great deal of engineering skill. That at this stage there should have emerged a giant figure of Great Yü's stature would be no surprise.

Yü, according to legendary accounts and also according to Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, was not only a great engineer but also the founder of dynastic China. His accession to the royal throne and the way he passed the royal power to

his own son almost constituted a revolution. It is interesting to note how Mencius defended him during the period of the Warring States:

> Wan Chang asked Mencius, saying, "People say, 'When the disposal of the kingdom came to Yü, his virtue was inferior to that of Yao and Shun, and he transmitted not to the worthiest but to his son.' Was it so?" Mencius replied, "No, it was not so. When Heaven gave the kingdom to the worthiest, it was given to the worthiest. When Heaven gave it to the son of the preceding sovereign, it was given to him. ..."[128]

Then Mencius proceeded to give the details of the events, whatever their source, to prove his points. Although it is evident that the true story, from a modern viewpoint, can never be recovered unless there are still hidden documents not yet discovered by archaeologists, the existence of the Hsia dynasty as a historical fact was recognized by both Mencius and Confucius.

In the traditional edition of the *Book of Documents* (*Shu-ching*), there are about half a dozen chapters classified as "Hsia-Book"; but, after later critical examination, it has been proved definitely that the majority of these so-called Hsia documents were later forgeries with the possible exception of "Yü-kung," which was transmitted by Fu Shen in early Western Han. Even this chapter was considered to be a later Chou compilation, but that it was a pre-Han text seems to be beyond question. While this chapter gives a great many details about the hydraulic works of the Great Yü, it teaches us nothing about the founding of the Hsia dynasty, not to mention the subsequent dynastic history. So during the May 4th Movement, when there was a great revival of study of ancient Chinese history, the more liberal school denied the existence of Yü and the Hsia dynasty altogether. At that time even a well-known moderate scholar like Dr. Hu Shih agreed that the whole period of the Shang (Yin) should be probably assigned to prehistory. All this happened of course before modern archaeological field work was started.

Ssǔ-ma Ch'ien's chapter on the Hsia, though brief, agreed on the whole with what Mencius said. On the other hand, according to the genuine texts of the *Bamboo Annals* as edited by Wang Kuo-wei,[129] the dynasty lasted 471 years. Further, contrary to the common traditional account, when Yü's successor Ch'i ascended his father's throne, he was interfered with by Yi, to whom the Great Yü was said to have intended to pass the throne and who, Mencius said, had been presented to Heaven by the Great Yü originally. According to the *Bamboo Annals*, however, King Ch'i finally punished Yi with the death penalty. This anecdote contradicts directly the saying of

Mencius and the record of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien. Traditional historians in the past paid scant attention to these particular items of the *Bamboo Annals*, which in later editions were omitted altogether.

The *Bamboo Annals*, like the *Shih-chi* of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, listed the ruling sovereigns of the Hsia and recorded briefly the disturbances and revolutions that took place while the dynasty ruled. The last of the kings of the Hsia dynasty was the notorious Chieh, who has been ranked with Tsou, the last ruler of the Yin dynasty, in both cruelty and maladministration, from the time of Confucius. Historians have usually equally regarded these two rulers to be among the worst sovereigns who ever ascended the throne. In their extreme cruelties, their love of luxury, women, and wine, their fondness for listening to the small talk of small men, and their dislike of righteous ministers, they were exactly the same. That is why, according to the teaching of the Confucian school, their dynasties fell to more worthy rulers, like the founders of the Shang and Chou dynasties.

At this juncture, a crucial point of this chapter is reached. The gist of the problem to be faced is how to draw the line of demarcation between prehistory and history—a subject which, since the discovery of the oracle bone inscriptions at the end of the nineteenth century, has been hotly debated. More than seventy years' accumulation of scholarly labors has at least clarified certain paleographic and historical aspects. The most important of these has been to establish the ancestral roll of the house of Shang considerably earlier than T'ang, the founder of the dynasty; it is, however, still not quite definite whether the name of the founder of the house, namely the traditional Ch'i, can be identified in the oracle bone scripts, although some scholars have made such an effort.

Wang Kuo-wei in two essays has tried to trace the migrations of the royal house of Shang—eight times from Ch'i to T'ang and five removals of the capitals after the dynasty was established.[130] Wang even identified the capital sites on the basis of classical materials and historical references. All this has been done since the oracle bone inscriptions were first made known to the learned world by Liu T'ieh-yün and Lo Chên-yü.

It was no doubt a step forward in the history of Chinese archaeology. But it is obvious that some of the problems could not be solved even on this basis. As for determining the line of demarcation between prehistory and

history, this involves a fundamental knowledge of modern archaeology.

Even at the present time, this problem still remains in a debatable stage for a number of reasons:

1. Inscriptions on oracle bones are by no means primitive, so there was undoubtedly a long history before this stage of development was reached.

2. The records cannot all be read; the contents of some are still obscure.

3. The readable oracle records confirm a great deal of traditional history, which compels a number of scholars to reconsider the traditional accounts.

Let us therefore turn to a significant traditional account of Shang history, a long quotation from the chapter entitled "Pwan-Kang [P'an Keng]" in the *Book of Documents*:

> Pwan-Kang wished to remove to Yin, but the people would not go to dwell there. He therefore appealed to all the discontented, and made the following protestations.
>
> He said, "Our king came, and fixed on this settlement. He did so from a deep concern for our people, and not because he would have them all die, where they can not now help each other to preserve their lives. I have examined the matter by divination, and obtained the reply—'This is no place for us.' When the former kings had any business, they reverently obeyed the commands of Heaven. In a case like this especially they did not indulge a constant repose,—they did not abide ever in the same city. Up to this time, the capital has been in five regions. If we do not now follow the practice of the ancients, we shall be refusing to acknowledge that Heaven is making an end of our dynasty here. …"[131]

The above quotations, composed probably near the end of the second millennium B.C., constitute some of the few sections in the *Book of Documents* which have been considered genuine after the most critical examination of such an annotator as Yen Jo-chü. Modern researchers who have gone into more detail concerning the textual content, its grammar, and vocabulary, have, on the whole, confirmed Yen's opinions. But even so, these documents would hardly be taken to be contemporaneous with King P'an Keng. The author's colleague, Ch'ü Wan-li, and a few others are inclined to consider that the text of these particular documents of P'an Keng date from the latter part of the Yin or even as late as the early part of the Western Chou dynasty.

The chapter on P'an Keng is usually divided into three sections, only the last of which deals with what happened after the removal of the capital. The first two sections were persuasions or warnings issued by King P'an Keng to

the general public, who were unwilling to follow his commands and created trouble and even disobedience.

P'an Keng made it abundantly clear that the old capital was no longer inhabitable, and without removal the people could no longer make a living. The definite reasons why the old capital had to be abandoned for living purposes were, however, not given in the text; the record simply indicated that "they cannot help each other to preserve their lives."

Legge's nineteenth-century English translation, while comprehensible to most English-speaking readers, was hardly adequate for an exact translation of authentic documents handed down from ancient China over three thousand years. So, like most Chinese commentators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, he decided for the sake of clarity to insert words of his own. For instance, in the first sentence of section I of the passage, "Pwan-Kang [P'an Keng] wished to remove to Yin," the words "wished to" were added by the translator in order to make the document readable and logical. The Chinese original as transcribed even in the modern version does not include "wished to" in any expressed form. But as most annotators agree that the first section deals with P'an Keng's attempt to persuade the public, who were discontented and unwilling to move the capital to Yin, it is only fair to Legge to say that in adding "wished to," words not found in the original text, he was doing so on the basis of Chinese commentary.

Such an addition is understandable. There are many obscure passages and vocabularies, including mistranscriptions, which Chinese scholars have worked over for many hundred years without reaching any definite conclusions, yet Legge has had the courage to render them into readable English. It was certainly a daring attempt but it does not mean that he solved all the paleographic problems that have confused and puzzled Chinese scholars from the Han dynasty down to the present.

It may be useful to quote what James Legge, during the time of his translation, considered the main contents of this important document to be. He wrote:

> The whole Book centres round the removal of the capital from the north of the Ho to Yin on the south of it. The emperor saw that the removal was necessary, but he was met by the unwillingness of the people and the opposition of the great families. The first Part relates how he endeavoured to justify the measure. It contains two addresses, to the people and to those in high places respectively, designed to secure their cordial cooperation. The second Part brings before

us the removal in progress. They have crossed the river, but there continues to be dissatisfaction, which the emperor endeavours to remove by a long and earnest vindication of his policy.

The third Part opens with the removal accomplished. The new city has been founded, and the plan of it laid out. The emperor makes a third appeal to the people and chiefs to forget all their heart-burnings and cooperate with him in building up in the new capital a great destiny for the dynasty.[132]

The above summary shows the shortcomings in geographical knowledge that Legge shared with contemporary Chinese classicists. For instance, they were unable to locate Yin in a modern district; and they were ignorant of whether the locality was north or south of Ho (the Yellow River).

However, there were certain historical facts which the translator was able to make clear to Western readers. These are important for a number of reasons, because they not only are based on a legendary account other than the *Book of Documents*, but also are of great modern archaeological value.

More than eighty years later, Professor Bernhard Karlgren published his "Glosses on the *Book of Documents*."[133] These glosses covered merely the up-to-date research results in Chinese phonology and other branches of paleography which the author, as one of the foremost linguists studying the Chinese language, had thoroughly researched from his own point of view. But, like his predecessor, he did not touch on certain fundamental problems related to the important classics as a whole. For instance, how early might these classical documents be? How many were later forgeries mixed with pre-Ch'in texts? It is understandable that Karlgren did not wish to bring up subjects that might arouse historical debates. Still, in the text of P'an Keng, the main theme was concerned with the fact that he wanted to move from an old capital to a new capital known as Yin. This gives rise to at least three problems of geographical importance.

1. Where was the old capital from which P'an Keng wished to move and where was the new capital located?

2. The text mentions: "Up to this time, the capital has been in five locations," and the names of these "five capitals" were identified by serious classicists. Are their locations identifiable?

3. A further geographical problem is presented by the statement that P'an Keng "arose, and crossed the river with the people, moving them to the new capital"; the document does not indicate the direction. It has usually been

taken for granted that the "river" crossed was the Yellow River; perhaps so, but in what direction? It could have been crossed from either side to the other, since the locations of these two capital cities are uncertain.

Commentators in the past have devoted a great deal of time to these questions. One of the most notable scholars who participated in this discussion was Professor Wang Kuo-wei. After the discovery of the oracle bone inscriptions, he was able to clarify both the terms "Yin" and "Shang" according to ancient usage and, as mentioned previously, he successfully re-established the ancestral roll of the ruling dynasty far further back than the founder of the dynasty. But there is an important gap in the documents discovered from Anyang—namely, the earliest written materials seem to be limited to the period of King Wu Ting. As there were three kings in the new capital—including P'an Keng—earlier than Wu Ting's time, the question is why, if it was an old practice to keep records on oracle bones, should the inscribed oracles have started long after P'an Keng's time at the new capital?

Recent research carried on in Nankang and other places has taken a new approach to the old problem, namely, by studying the evolution of the method of scapulimancy—the firing marks, the shapes of drilled cavities and of the carvings left by the diviners. It is a well-known fact that scapulimancy was already practiced in the time of the Lungshan Culture—the late neolithic age of north China—and bones used for this purpose were discovered at Ch'êng-tzŭ-yai by the author himself. But, for decades, the older generation of archaeologists have confined their attention to written documents, neglecting almost entirely the method of scapulimancy itself. Only a few years ago, one of the oldest assistants in the Oracle Section of the institute, Mr. Liu Yüan-lin, who has ink-rubbed the oracle bone inscriptions for nearly twenty years, began to propose a systematic study of this group of neglected data. Already several points are obvious:

1. The method of firing changed greatly in the course of time.

2. The method of carving and drilling cavities varied considerably.

3. Scapula were apparently used earlier than tortoise shells even at Hsiao-t'un.

Mr. Liu in his preliminary study[134] has been able to demonstrate all the above points and, further, he has been able to link certain types of drilled

cavities of oracle bones with those first discovered at Ch'êng-tzŭ-yai which were made by a similar method of drilling, before the application of fire. Liu has been able to find one scapula with a definitely early type of carved cavities and also inscribed with one character. This character, strange to say, is readable as "P'an," inscribed with two vertical strokes and linked by two horizontal bars in between (like the letter H in the English alphabet with an extra horizontal bar); it is exactly the oracle bone character for the first word of P'an Keng's name.

Where this research will lead, it is difficult to say; the recent discovery of an early Shang site at Chêng-chou, which has been identified by some authorities as Ao or Hsiao, with its center located at Erh-li-kang, has provided rich comparative materials. But among the relics recovered from the Chêng-chou site inscribed oracle bones are comparatively scarce; so far only three pieces are said to have been discovered. Nobody seems to have made a comparative study of these pieces from a technological viewpoint.

Recent archaeological discoveries, which have been extensive, have frequently referred to sites as those of early Shang capitals, especially when large areas of pounded earth were discovered in southern and western Honan, Shantung, and southern Hopei; in all these regions it is said that more than ten localities could be dated to the time of the Shang dynasty. But with the exception of those in Chêng-chou and a few sites near Yen-shih like Erh-li-t'ou in western Honan, none has been much studied. So the exact locations of the five capitals of early Shang remain for the most part still unidentified. Even the identification of the sites in Chêng-chou as Ao or Hsiao, seems to be somewhat inconclusive. If this identification were to be accepted, the obscure passages in P'an Keng, such as "this settlement" and "crossed the river with the people," would also become clear, and the reason which impelled King P'an Keng to move the capital could also be conjectured. One would suppose that it was the overflooding Yellow River, which invaded Chêng-chou and its neighborhood almost every year, that would have induced P'an Keng to choose another place as the center of administration.

It seems probable that soon Chinese archaeologists will be able to clarify such geographical questions and other problems related to the ethnology of ancient China which led to the stage of Yin-Shang civilization. But there still remain certain problems related to legendary history.

Traditional history gives great weight to the "three dynasties" (San-tai), which start with the Hsia dynasty and include the Shang and Chou. Modern archaeology has confirmed both Shang and Chou as historic facts. According to tradition, the Hsia, which started the hereditary monarchy, was also the first of the trio in the ancient golden age to create a dynasty. Up to the present time, however, archaeology has still been unable to identify definitely its locality.

From the writings of Ssǔ-ma Ch'ien, the *Bamboo Annals*, and the *Book of Documents*, the list of kings of the Hsia dynasty is almost entirely known, although only the last and the first kings are invested with rich biographic accounts. About the other rulers very little is told.

Nearly half a century ago, when modern archaeological knowledge was first attracting the attention of Chinese historians, there was an attempt to identify the Yangshao Culture, discovered by J. G. Andersson, with the traditional Hsia dynasty. The discussion was induced by the author's announcement of a piece of painted pottery discovered at Hsiao-t'un. In a 1931 article on the relationship between Hsiao-t'un and Yangshao, Professor Hsü Chung-shu went into detail about the locations of the Hsia dynasty as given in past records and recognized that the distribution of the newly discovered Painted Pottery Culture corresponded with what had been traditionally considered the center of the Hsia dynasty.[135] According to Hsü, the *I-chou-shu* recorded that the ancient capital of the Great Yü, founder of the Hsia dynasty, was near the River I and the River Lo, both well known near modern Loyang.

When I took a reconnaissance trip in southern Shansi for archaeo-logical purposes in 1926, I passed through a district known as Hsia Hsien, exactly the same name as the "Hsia" dynasty. There I discovered not only the painted pottery site of Hsi-yin Ts'un, but also a group of tombs known by local tradition as those of the kings of Hsia. While the excavation of the painted pottery site followed one year later, there has been no opportunity since for me to revisit Hsia Hsien to have another look at those tombs. I mention these facts here in the belief that they may offer some archaeological possibilities for future investigation of the problems concerning this important period.

In sum, it seems to me that although a historical basis for the tradition of the Hsia dynasty has not been verified substantially as in the case of the

Shang dynasty, yet to negate its existence would be premature. There are several reasons for this.

In the first place, although many sections of the *Book of Documents*, especially those attributed to what Karlgren called P-k'ung (i.e., Pseudo-k'ung), the so-called *Ku-wen* documents, have been proved to be post-Han fabrications, there still remain the chapter of "Yü-kung" and a few others that may have been based on some historical events of the Hsia dynasty. More tangible evidence than the traditional accounts has been proposed in the recent attempts by Professor Hsü Chung-shu and others to identify the Yangshao Culture with the Hsia dynasty. While these are still deficient in documentary proofs, they nevertheless suggest possibilities that may help in the solution of other problems of the ancient history of China.

It has been mentioned quite frequently in early reports that, among the thousands of literary documents discovered from the Anyang excavations, occasionally there have appeared inscriptions written in black ink—on bones, and even on pottery and stone. In other words, we have found in the Waste of Yin remains of brush writings just like those found on the wooden or bamboo slips in the Han dynasty.

Ink-writing on wood and bamboo and on paper can be preserved for a long time in suitable conditions, especially when the climate is dry, as in a desert. But ink-writings on other substances—like stone or bone or ivory—do not last long. Most of the surviving specimens of ink-writing on bone, even those which still keep the characters clear, show serious fading of the ink. This is an important consideration, and reminds us how fortunate the archaeologists were to find the oracle bone records which were legible mainly because the bones and tortoise shells were incised. If they had been merely inscribed with an ink-brush without incision, it would be quite uncertain whether these records could have survived in the soil in such great abundance.

Our discovery of documents written in black ink on bone, stone, and even pottery immediately suggested to the field archaeologists that possibly we could find, if we were lucky, other documents unrelated to scapulimancy in ink-writings on other such substances. But in this direction, our field workers were not as successful as in the case of oracle bone hunting.

This failure, however, does not mean that documents of the ink-writing type did not exist. They may be hidden elsewhere, or they may have entirely disintegrated or been destroyed. Whatever the possibilities, the problem remains that the Chinese written characters which appear in the oracle bone writings of the Yin-Shang period must have had a long previous evolution. It seems to me that to account for this long background, there is a possible new approach.

Both archaeologists and paleographers are reported to have paid a great deal of attention to the discovery, at the painted pottery site of Pan-p'o, of what are claimed to be primitive symbolic characters incised on the rims of pot-sherds in a number of cases. Some, it is said, could be identified as primitive Chinese characters, among which are symbols for numerals incised almost like the oracle bone records. It is noteworthy that both the archaeologists and the paleographers limited their attention to incised marks even on the painted pottery.

A re-reading of Professor Hsü's article on the relationship between Hsiao-t'un and Yangshao (see note 11, above) inspired me with the idea that if ink-writing survived in Yin-Shang, it may ultimately have dated back to the time of painted pottery. The fundamental ideas that germinated in my mind are these:

1. Obviously, the pieces of painted pottery were all painted; this has been taken for granted in the past half century. But how were they painted? A careful examination would show that the artist who painted the pottery must have used a sort of brush—somewhat like a Chinese pen for writing Chinese characters.

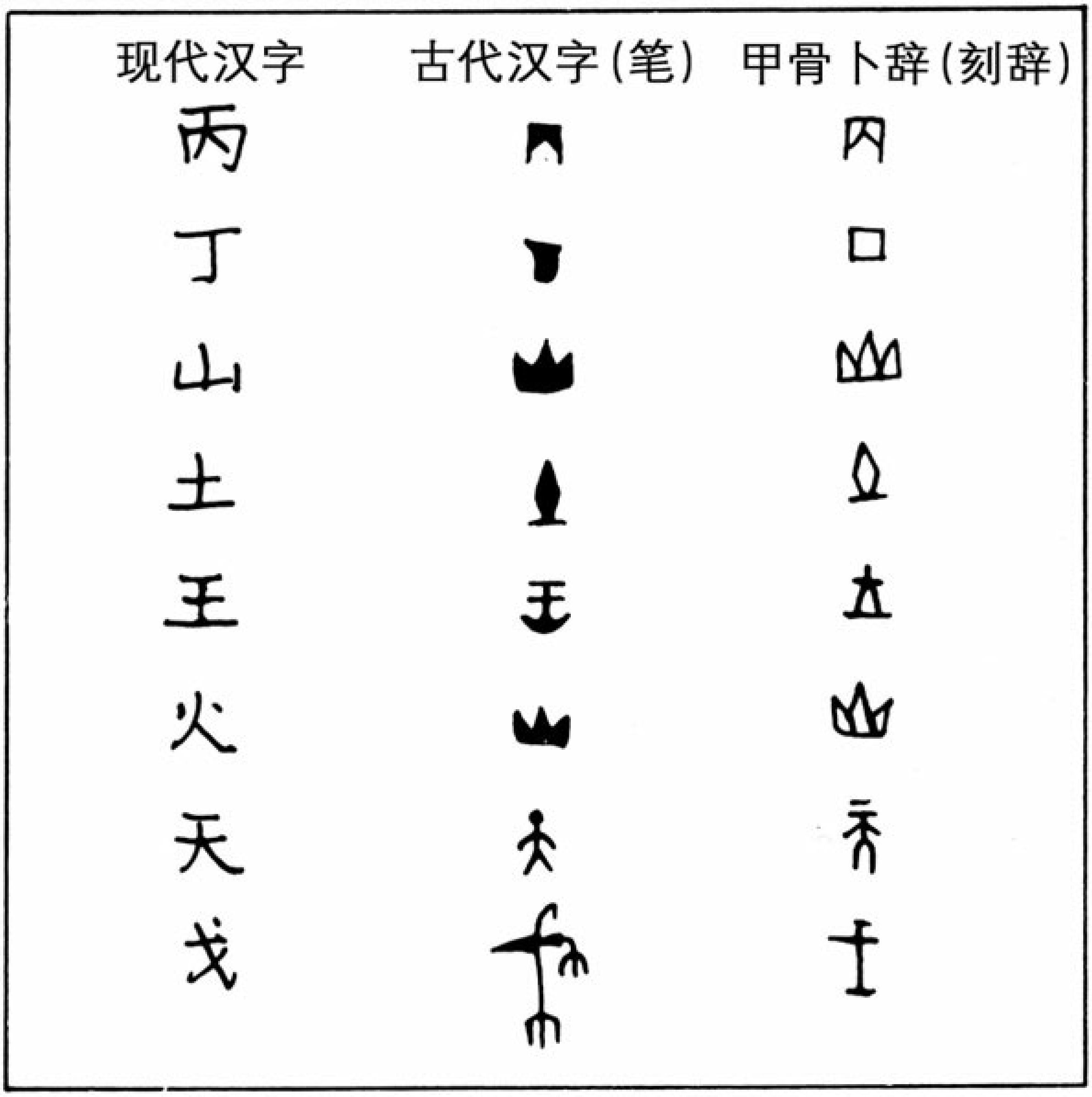
2. The artists who painted pottery were also able to draw or paint other figures, such as animals, fish, and birds, as already demonstrated by specimens from Pan-p'o and Miao-ti-kou and other sites.

3. The discovery of oracle bones bearing characters written in ink definitely shows that the art of writing by a brush-pen was current in the Yin-Shang dynasty.

4. Even more interesting is the fact that quite a number of the incised characters of the oracle bone records show evidence that the incised lines may have originated from copying the outlines of painted strokes: the

examples in Figure 24 are sufficient to prove the case.

The early epigraphists considered these differences to be accidental variations; the examples in Figure 24 seem to indicate that the changing shapes were necessitated by a change of technique. Writing with a brush and ink, whether black or red, it is simply a matter of individual style whether to render the individual strokes fine or "fat"; but once the characters were to be incised on bones or other substances, the cutting edge of the fine tool would naturally make the fat stroke much more difficult or almost impossible, with the result that all the strokes would be cut in fine lines. Thus in order to copy characters developed with fat strokes, such as the vertical strokes of *shan* (mountain) and the lower part of *wang* (king), the masters of the new technique found it necessary either to trace with fine lines the outlines of the fat strokes, or, in other cases, just to substitute the fine incised line for the various strokes developed originally by the brush.



24 Some Chinese characters, ancient and modern. Characters, from top to bottom, signify "Ping" (third *t'ien-kan*); "Ting" (fourth *t'ien-kan*); "mountain"; "soil"; "king"; "fire"; "heaven"; and "halbert."
古代、现代的汉字和甲骨文，自上而下分别为：丙（天干之三）、丁（天干之四）、山、土、王、火、天和戈。

If there is anything in this idea, it may account for the early evolution of Chinese writing preceding the incised oracle bone records. It could also explain why there existed some brush-written documents in Yin times; and why from the reigns of the first three ruling kings of Yin, no incised records are preserved. Most important of all, it would account for the changes of shapes of certain characters. Still it could not explain adequately how it happens that, up to the present, earlier brush-written documents have never

been found! Maybe they were written on more perishable materials—wooden slips, shells, or even stones. Ink characters written on these, unlike the incised ones, could be easily rubbed off, or the materials themselves may have disappeared altogether!

What has puzzled paleographers for almost half a century is the fact, already mentioned, that though "Yin" was presumably built as a capital at the time of P'an Keng, no written inscriptions earlier than Wu Ting's time have been found there. So far there seems to have been no successful attempt to explain this.

But if we accept the theory that early Chinese records were brush-written, the above puzzle may also be solved. It is possible that incising inscriptions as an official method was adopted only in Wu Ting's time. Before this period, probably the major portion of written records were in ink-writings made by means of the ink-brush. Since we have been able to recover examples of such documents from the Waste of Yin and since painted pottery was commonly found in the pre-Yin-Shang period, this hypothesis may be said to have a substantial basis.

玖．史前遗物和有关古代中国的传说

本书的后几章将对迄今为止关于安阳出土物的各种专门研究作个简要叙述。从中国史前的一些资料（主要是近六十年左右发现的）开始谈起可能是有益的。先简单提一下最早的人类遗迹北京猿人和蓝田猿人，一些学者仍坚持将蒙古人种的缘起追溯至北京人。这种理论主要根据形态特征，尤其是箕形门齿；现在绝大部分蒙古人种都具有这种牙齿。经专家研究，生活在约一百万年前的周口店北京人也有这种牙齿。不管这些化石是否构成一个新属、一个亚属或一个类，这些实在的体质特征似乎给人类学家留下了深刻的印象。近年在中国南部和西南部的许多地方发现的荷谟形科化石，尽管并不完整，但总的来说它证实了现代人类的蒙古人种这一支曾在东亚进化的观点。笔者个人仍不相信迄今为止积累的材料已确证了这一事实。确定这些化石的来源本身就极其重要，而且肯定还关系到中国人的形成。中国人的种族历史无疑与整个蒙古人种迁徙的早期历史有非常密切的关系。

近年的研究表明，中国文明的早期根基并不比已发现的散布于中国各地的新石器文化早多少。早于新石器时代的中石器时期和旧石器时代的遗址确实偶有发现，但它们与中国历史在文化上的关系仍不清楚。所以，从新石器时代文化开始考查殷商文明的历史背景也许更有成效。

我们首先把着眼点放在洹河流域一带，考古发掘在那里发现了从中石器时代起似是连续发展的古代遗迹。那些遗迹是按相反的顺序发现的——历史时期、新石器时代、中石器时代，所以将来还有可能在这里发现更早的遗迹。

然而，按我们目前的看法，即便是几年前在洹河上游地区发现的中石器时代的遗迹，与历史事件似乎也只有很疏远的关系。无可置疑的是，一旦进入农业时代，中国文化就出现了一个跳跃式的发展。中国的动物驯养与植物栽培是由于外部的影响还是自身的发展，仍是悬而未决的问题。到仰韶文化时期农业已不再处于初级阶段。十分确定的是，那时在黄河流域一带几种粟已是普遍的主食，稻米也偶有种植。有些人甚至认为仰韶时期高粱、大豆也普遍食用，这也不是不可能。驯养动物除狗和猪外，还有牛、鸡、羊，可能还有马。骨器和陶器是主要的手工业品。制陶业已高度发展，其产品至少可分两类：日常生活用具和有可能专用于装饰或宗教的器具。后一类即所谓的“彩陶”。这类陶器被广泛收

集，并有大量的深入研究。前面说过，笔者当年作为一个年轻的考古工作者，曾有机会在一个名为西阴村的彩陶遗址进行首次发掘。在研究彩陶标本时，我印象最深的是：我立即想到彩色是用毛笔绘上的，这种笔与每个中国孩子学习写字时使用的笔没有多大区别。尤为显眼的是，西阴村彩陶上各种笔画末端仍保留着毛笔细毛的墨迹。虽然，这是在1926年观察到的，彼时我正在为清华研究院和弗利尔艺术馆准备一份报告，但该报告仅限于手工制品的介绍，并未提及此事。[125]

吴金鼎在《中国史前陶器》一书中指出，刻纹作为陶器的纹饰技术第一次发现于山东城子崖的黑陶文化中。[126]在较早的彩陶盛行的史前遗址中，似乎没有刻纹的陶器，虽从技术上讲，在软泥上刻划要比彩绘容易。然而考古研究已证实，就中国史前陶器的表面纹饰而言，彩绘技术较刻划出现为早。彩绘在仰韶陶器中占主导地位，且构成了其最显著的特征，但就通常以黑陶文化著称的龙山文化来说，似乎有着比陶器纹饰更重要的文化因素，如骨卜。但陶器刻划作为一种纹饰技术逐渐代替彩绘这一事实，似乎比最初想来更有意义。在本章的后一部分，我会更详细论述这个问题。

从科学考古学的观点看，龙山似是中国史前文化的最后阶段。安阳考古的田野工作者实际上就在紧靠殷商遗物下面发现了黑陶文化层，但这两个文化层相距的时间是长还是短，仍有待说明。

据传统文献记载，商朝前仅有个夏朝。但在夏之前，是传说中对早期中国文明的形成作出文化贡献的早期统治者们。既然现代考古工作者证实了几个不同的旧石器时代和新石器时代文化在华北及其他地区存在，那么，在早期的传说与这些考古发现间可能建立联系吗？

让我们看看有关王朝建立以前的传说人物的传统记载。过去的史家把中国文化中一些最重要成分的起源都归功于这些人物。在这些传说人物中，至少有四个人要在这里简单谈一下。

1. 黄帝。据传说，他为了统一疆土曾在阪泉和涿鹿打了两次著名的战役。此二地一在北京西北的察哈尔[127]，一在河北省的保定一带。司马迁推测黄帝的领土东临大海，南迄长江，西至现在的甘肃。在北方，他赶走了荤粥，后者可能是汉朝时期的匈奴的祖先部落之一。黄帝是传说中的重要人物，这不仅是因他在《史记》中居于“五帝”之首；更重要的是，直到现在，中国人都认为自己是黄帝的子孙。

2. 黄帝的第一个妻子，嫘祖，通常人们将养蚕的发明归功于她。

3. 周王室的祖先弃，在中国黄金时代的两帝之一舜的朝中专司农事。传说他是第一个教中国人耕种土地、栽培谷物和大麻的人。人们认为他的后裔建立了著名的周朝。

4. 夏朝的创建者大禹被视为中国第一个水利工程师。传说他成功地治理了古代中国的黄河与其他河流。

关于这些传说，值得注意的是，现代考古学已证实：养蚕和农业早在新石器时代就已在华北地区发展。而史前水利工程与农业发展密切相关，培育作物的耕地需要又促进了人口的增长。如果我们接受农业起源于陕西省南部这一传统观点——正如一些现代考古学家所假设的，那么农业必定首先沿黄河下游一带向东发展。所以，抢救黄河下游被洪水淹没的土地无疑需要大量工程技术。在这个阶段出现一个伟人大禹的形象就不足为奇了。

根据传说和司马迁的记载，禹不仅是个伟大的工程师，也是中国王朝历史的开创者。他的即位和传位于子的做法几乎酿成了一场革命。看看战国时孟子怎样为他辩护是很有趣的：

万章问曰："人有言，'至于禹而德衰，不传于贤，而传于子。'有诸？"

孟子曰："否，不然也；天与贤，则与贤；天与子，则与子。……"[128]

接着，孟子详述三帝传位的细节以证明自己的观点，不顾其材料源于何处。尽管，很显然，从现代观点看，除非还有埋藏在地下未被考古学家发现的资料，否则真实情况永远也弄不清楚，但夏朝的存在已被孔子和孟子认作是历史事实。

《书经》的传统版本中约有六章为《夏书》。但经后来考证，可以确证，除西汉初伏生传的《禹贡》外，所谓《夏书》中的大部分记载很有可能都是后世的伪造。甚至这一篇也被认为是东周时编纂的，不过它属汉以前这一点似是无疑。这一篇对大禹治水予以极详细的叙述，但丝毫未谈及夏朝的建立，遑论后来王朝的历史。所以在五四运动期间古代中国历史研究复兴时，自由派完全否认禹和夏朝的存在。当时甚至像胡适那样著名的稳健学者也同意整个殷商时期应属史前。当然这些都发生在现代田野考古工作开始以前。

司马迁关于夏朝的记述，虽简略，但大体上与孟子说的一样。另外，根据王国维编的《古本竹书纪年辑校》[129]，夏朝历471年。此外，与一般传统记载相反，当禹的继承人启即王位时，益起而反对。据说禹欲将王位传给益，孟子也说大禹原来曾"荐益于天"。按《竹书纪年》记

载，启最后处死了益。这与孟子的话和司马迁的记载相矛盾。过去传统的历史学家不注意《竹书纪年》中的这些细节，后来的今本则完全把这些略去了。

与司马迁的《史记》一样，《竹书纪年》罗列了夏朝的统治君王，并扼要记述了夏王朝发生的动乱和革命。夏朝的末世君王是臭名昭著的桀。从孔子开始，他就与商朝最后一个统治者纣以残酷和暴政并称于世。历史学家通常把此二人看作是所有登上王位的统治者中最坏的。在残忍冷血、穷奢极欲、迷恋酒色、听信小人谗言、排斥忠良等方面，二人简直不相上下。儒家学派认为，这就是他们的王朝为什么会落到像商周的开国国君这样更贤明的君主手中。

现在，该谈谈这一章的关键了。问题的要点是如何划分史前和历史之间的界线。从19世纪末甲骨文发现以来围绕这一问题就进行了激烈的争论。七十多年学者研究成果的积累，至少澄清了某些古文字和历史学方面的问题。其中最重要的成果就是，确立了比商朝开国君主汤早得多的王室祖先世系；不过，商的始祖——传说中的契——的名字在甲骨文中能否确定现在仍没有十分把握，虽然一些学者作过这方面的努力。

王国维曾在两篇文章中试图探讨商王室的迁徙，即从契到汤之间的八迁及汤建国以后的都城五迁[130]。王甚至还根据经史材料考证出了都城的所在。这些工作都是在刘铁云和罗振玉首次把甲骨文介绍给学术界后开展的。

这无疑是在中国考古史上的一大进步。但很显然，在此基础上一些问题仍未能得到解决。确定史前与历史二者间的界线，要有现代考古学的基本知识。

甚至到现在，由于以下种种原因，对这个问题仍有争论：

1. 甲骨文字决不是一种原始文字，因此毫无疑问它在发展到这一阶段之前已有很长一段历史。

2. 甲骨文字不能全部辨认，一些内容仍模糊不清。

3. 可识的甲骨记述证实了大量历史传说，这促使不少学者重新考虑传统记述。

那么，让我们看一段有关商朝历史的重要传统记载，这段较长的记述引自《书经·盘庚》。

盘庚［欲］迁于殷，民不适有居，率吁众戚出矢言，曰我王来，既爰宅于兹，重我

> 民，无尽刘。不能胥匡以生，卜稽曰，其如台？先王有服，恪谨天命，兹犹不常宁。不常厥邑，于今五邦。今不承千古，罔知天之断命……[131]

上面的引文，约写于公元前2000年，经阎若璩等注释者严格考证后，被认定为《书经》中为数不多的真实篇目。现代学者较全面研究了原文的内容、语法和词汇后，总体上确证了阎的结论。即便如此，这些材料也很难视为写于盘庚同时代。笔者的同事屈万里和其他几个人倾向认为《盘庚篇》的原文写于殷商后期或晚至西周早期。

《盘庚》通常分为三篇，仅下篇论及迁都后发生的事。上、中篇是盘庚对那些不遵从他的命令、制造障碍、甚至违抗命令的普通大众的劝说或警告。

盘庚讲得很清楚，旧都已不适于居住，不迁徙人民就无法生存下去。然而，为了生存而必须放弃旧都的具体原因，原文中没有提及，只简单说“不能胥匡以生”。

理雅各的19世纪的英译本，尽管多数的英文读者能理解，但很难看作是对于三千多年前古代中国传下来的真实材料作出的确切翻译。同大多数17和18世纪的中国的注疏者一样，为了使意思更清楚他会插入自己的话。例如，上篇第一句“盘庚[欲]迁于殷”中，“欲”是译者为使原文易懂又有逻辑性而加的。中文的原本甚至现代的版本中，都没有任何表达“欲”这个意思的字眼儿出现。但由于大多数注释者认为，上篇是叙述盘庚试图劝说那些对迁都于殷不满的公众，所以在叙述中加入原文中没有的“欲”的含义对理雅各来说是合理的，他这样做也是基于中文的注释。

增加这层含义可以理解。全篇有不少难解的段落词汇，还有误勘，中国学者研究了几百年也没有任何确切的结论；然而理雅各有勇气把它译成易懂的英文，这当然是大胆的尝试，但也不是说他解决了从汉朝到现在一直困扰中国学者的所有古文字问题。

此处或可引用理雅各在翻译时对这段重要文献主要内容的思考。他写道：

> 全书围绕从河之北迁都到河之南殷这一问题展开。王认为迁都是必要的，但他面临着民众的不情愿及大族的反对。上篇记叙了他如何为自己的措施申述。其中包括两段讲话，分别面向普通民众和居高位者，旨在得到他们的积极配合。中篇展现了迁都的过程，人们虽渡过了河，但仍心怀不满。盘庚通过长篇诚挚的讲话竭力为他的迁都政策辩护，以消除这种情绪。
>
> 下篇开篇，迁都已完成，新城建立，规划确立。王对民众和首领们作了第三次动员，请他们摒弃一切个人的不满，齐心协力在新都上建立起一个伟大的王朝。[132]

从上面的叙述可以看出，理雅各和他同时代的中国经学家一样缺乏地理知识。例如，他们无法确定殷在当下所属的区域，也不清楚它位于河（黄河）南面还是北面。

但是，译者可以向西方读者说明一些历史事实。这些事实的重要性在于，它们不像《书经》一样仅仅依据传说记载，而是具有极大的现代考古学价值。

八十多年后，高本汉教授出版了他的《书经注释》[133]。这些注释仅包括了这位研究汉语的顶级语言学家从个人视角全面研究汉语音韵学及古文字学其他分支的最新研究成果。然而，与他的前辈一样，他没触到与这些重要典籍整体相关的某些基本问题。例如，这些典籍最早可至何时？有多少后来的伪作与先秦的文本混杂在一起？高本汉不想提及可能引发历史争论的问题，是可以理解的。不过，《盘庚》一文的主题是盘庚想从旧都迁到以“殷”为名的新都。这至少提出了三个重要的地理问题：

1. 盘庚的旧都和欲迁至的新都分别位于何处？

2. 文中说“于今五邦”，研究古籍的学者认真考证了这五个都城的名称，其具体位置确定了吗？

3. 盘庚“惟涉河以民迁”这句进一步提出了一个地理问题：原文没有指明迁移的方向。人们不假思索地认为他们渡过的就是黄河；或许是，但是从哪个方向渡的河呢？因为两座都城的位置都不确定，所以从任意一侧渡河都是有可能的。

过去的注疏者在这些问题上花费了不少时间。王国维教授就是参与探讨这类问题的著名学者之一。甲骨文发现后，他根据古代的用法辨析了“殷”字和“商”字；而且，如前所述，他还成功地重建了商朝建立很久以前的王室系谱。然而，安阳发现的资料中存在一个重大的断档——最早的甲骨文资料似乎限于武丁时期。迁入新都后，早于武丁的商王包括盘庚在内有三个，因此问题在于：既然在甲骨上保存记录是一个古老的传统，为什么契刻卜骨在盘庚迁到新都后很长时间才开始？

南港和其他地方又另辟新路来研究这一老问题，即研究卜骨整治方法——占卜者留下的灼痕及钻、挖的凹窝的形状——的演变。众所周知，骨卜在龙山文化时期，即华北新石器时代的晚期，已使用，笔者自己就在城子崖发现过这种占卜用的骨头。但几十年来，老一代考古学家的注意力都局限于卜辞上，几乎完全忽略了卜骨的制作方法本身。直到

几年前，研究所甲骨室的一位老资格的助理员、墨拓甲骨近二十年的刘渊临先生才提出了系统研究这套被忽视的资料的建议。现已得出几点明确的结论：

1. 灼法随着时间推移发生了巨大变化。

2. 钻挖凹窝的方法千差万别。

3. 即使在小屯，肩胛骨的使用也明显比龟壳更早。

刘先生在其初期的研究[134]中已能证明以上各点。此外，他还能将卜骨的钻窝的某些类型与城子崖首次发现的通过类似的打钻的方法（在用火灼以前）形成的钻窝联系起来。刘发现，在一块肩胛骨上面有早期的挖窝，并刻有一字。这个字说来也奇怪，可看作是“盘”字，两竖道中间刻着两道横线——像英文字母中的H再加一横道，与甲骨文中“盘庚”名字中的第一个字一模一样。

这类研究将会得出什么结论，还很难说。最近郑州发现的一处以二里岗为中心的早商遗址，据一些权威人士考证，是隞或嚣的遗址，这为对比研究提供了丰富的材料。但此地出土的文物中有字甲骨极少，迄今据说仅发现三片。似乎也没有人从技术层面对这些甲骨进行比较研究。

最近大面积的考古发现也不时证明某些遗址就是早商都城，特别是那些在河南西部和南部、河北南部和山东发现的大面积的夯土遗址。据说位于这些地区的遗址有十多处可以追溯到商朝。但除位于郑州和像河南西部偃师附近的二里头之类的遗址外，其他并未进行多少研究。所以早商的五个都城的确切地点还有待确定。就连郑州遗址是否是隞或嚣，也还没有定论。若这种结论能成立，那么《盘庚》中难解之处如“既爰宅于兹”和“惟涉河以民迁”也就清楚了，而且迫使盘庚迁都的原因也可推测出，即可能是黄河泛滥。洪水几乎每年都要淹没郑州及其附近土地，于是盘庚不得不另选一处作为行政中心。

看来中国考古学者很快就会弄清这些地理问题和其他有关殷商文明之前的古代中国的人种学问题，但有关传说的历史，仍存在一些问题。

传统历史非常重视从夏开始包括商、周的“三代”。现代考古学已证明了商、周的历史真实性。传说最早实行世袭君主制的夏属三代之首，是萌芽于远古黄金时代的王朝。但直到现在，考古学仍不能明确指出夏王朝的位置。

从司马迁的著作、《竹书纪年》和《书经》看，夏代各王的名字几

乎悉数为人知晓，但仅开国君王和末代君王有较多生平记载，其他统治者几乎没有记载。

约半个世纪前现代考古学知识开始引起中国史学家的注意时，曾有人试图考证安特生发现的仰韶文化和传说的夏朝之间的关系。笔者在小屯发现的一片彩陶公布后引起了讨论。徐中舒教授在1931年发表的关于小屯与仰韶的关系的文章中，在过去记载的基础上详细研究了夏朝的区域，认为新发现的彩陶文化的分布与传说的夏朝的中心地区相一致。[135]徐认为，《逸周书》记载了夏朝创建者大禹的都城靠近伊河和洛河。这两条著名的河流位于现在的洛阳附近。

1926年我在山西南部一路进行考古勘察，途经一个与夏朝同名的县城——夏县。在那里我不仅发现了西阴村彩陶遗址，而且也发现当地传说中的夏后氏陵。一年后彩陶遗址发掘时，我没有机会重访夏县去看这组墓群。我在此简要提及，是因为它们可能为将来探讨这一重要时期的相关问题提供一些考古线索。

总之，我认为关于夏朝的传说的历史根据虽然还没像商朝一样得到充分证实，但否定它的存在还为时过早。其原因有多个。

首先，虽然《书经》中的许多部分，特别是那些高本汉所说的“伪孔”——所谓的《古文尚书》，已证明是汉朝之后伪造的，但《禹贡》及少数其他篇仍有可能是基于夏朝的一些历史事件。徐中舒教授等在近来的研究中提出了比传统记载更确凿的证据，他们考证仰韶文化即为夏朝。虽然证据仍然不足，但他们的推测可能有助于解决中国古代史上的其他问题。

早期的一些报告中常提到，安阳出土的成千上万的文字资料中，有时会发现在骨头上甚至在陶器和石头上有用墨写的字。也就是说，我们在殷墟发现了毛笔书写的遗迹，和汉朝书写在木简或竹简上的字一样。

笔墨在木、竹和纸上书写的字在适宜的条件下可以保存很长时间，特别是在气候干燥的条件下，比如在沙漠中。但墨写在其他材料——如石、骨和象牙等上面的，保存的时间不会长。大部分保留下来的写在骨头上的字，即使笔迹清楚，也已严重褪色。这一点很重要，它提醒我们，考古工作者能发现甲骨记载是多么幸运，这些字还可辨认主要是因为它们刻在龟壳和骨头上。若仅用毛笔书写而没有刻，这些文字记录能否这样大量保留在土里流传下来，就很难说了。

骨、石甚至陶器上文字记载的发现，直接向田野考古工作者暗示

了，如果走运的话，有可能会发现用墨写在其他材料上与骨卜无关的文字记载。但我们田野考古工作者在这方面还没有获得像探寻甲骨那样的成功。

但这并不意味着墨写形式的记载不存在。它们也许埋藏在其他地方，或者已经全部腐烂或者被毁了。无论存在何种可能，问题仍在于，在殷商时期卜骨刻字出现以前，汉字必定已经历了长期的演进。我认为重视这个长期的背景过程，就可能有新的路子。

从发掘报告中得知，考古学家和古文字学家都对半坡彩陶遗址发现的不少陶片边缘上号称原始汉字的原始文字符号给予了极大关注。据说，有一些可确定为原始汉字，其中还有几个很像刻在卜骨上的数字符号。而值得注意的是，即使是研究彩陶，考古学者和古文字学家也还是把注意力局限在刻划符号上。

重读徐教授关于小屯和仰韶之间关系的文章（见前文注释11），使我灵感突现，既然墨写的字存在于殷商时期，那么它还可能远溯到彩陶时期。我心中萌生了以下几点基本思想：

1. 很明显，彩陶片都是绘的，这在过去半个世纪中已被认为是理所当然的，但它是怎样绘成的呢？仔细考察表明，给彩陶绘彩的画师必定使用了类似书写汉字的毛笔的画笔。

2. 给陶器绘彩的画师也可能绘别的形象，如走兽、鱼和鸟等，这已被半坡、庙底沟及其他地方出土的标本所证明。

3. 墨写卜骨的发现，明确表示殷商时期毛笔书写的艺术已流行。

4. 更有趣的是，相当多卜骨上的刻字都证明，刻划的线条可能最初源于描摹彩绘笔划的轮廓。图24的例子就足以说明这点。

早期的金石学者认为造成这些字形差异的原因只是偶然的。而图24的例子似表明，字形的变化是技术革新带来的必然结果。用毛笔和墨写的字，不论红黑，不论笔道粗细，只是个人风格问题；一旦将字刻在骨头或其他材料上，要用精巧的工具尖锐的刃刻出肥笔，自然非常困难，几乎不可能，其结果是所有刻出的笔划都是细线。为了刻画肥笔，如“山”的竖划及王字的底部，掌握新技术的工匠发现需要用细线先勾出肥笔的轮廓，或直接用细笔代替原来用毛笔写成的肥笔。

如若说这一想法还有些价值的话，那就是，它或可以说明契刻甲骨文字以前，汉字的早期的演进情况，也能解释殷商时期为什么存在毛笔

字，以及为什么在殷的前三个王统治时期，没有刻字记录保存下来。最重要的是，它可说明一些字形变化的原因。然而，这仍无法充分解释为什么迄今为止尚未发现较早的毛笔书写文字。可能它们写在易腐坏的物质上，比如木简、贝壳，甚至石头上。这些材料上的墨写字，不同于刻字，易被磨损，或与材料本身一起消失了！

困扰古文字学家几乎半个世纪之久的问题在前面已谈过：尽管殷大概在盘庚时就建为都城，但此处尚未发现比武丁时期更早的文字。到现在为止，这一问题似乎还没有得到满意的解释。

如果接受早期的汉字记载是用毛笔写的理论，上面的迷惑也可迎刃而解。可能契刻文字的方法只到武丁时期才被采用为官方的记录方式。在此之前，或许绝大部分文字记载是用毛笔写成的墨字。既然我们在殷墟发现了这种文字记载的样例，并普遍认同彩陶存在于殷商时期之前，因此这一假说可以说具有可靠的根据。

10. Architecture

Structural Remains and Suggested Reconstructions of Surface Buildings

Although some of the structural remains found at Anyang—the "royal tombs" of Hou-chia-chuang and the pisé foundation units of Hsiao-t'un—have been described in previous chapters according to the order of their discovery, no attempt has been made to discuss this group of data as a whole. Here, in order to give the reader a general idea of what a Chinese capital might have been like in the last quarter of the second millennium B.C., I would like to bring together and analyze these various discoveries, scattered through a period of nearly a decade.

Pisé, a basic foundation and wall-building technique, was not an architectural invention of the Yin-Shang period. Recent archaeological excavations on the mainland have shown that construction by earth-pounding existed long before the Shang dynasty moved its capital to Anyang. It was found to have been used both in the Shang sites at Chêng-chou and in earlier sites in western Honan and elsewhere.

The structural remains exposed at the Hsiao-t'un site can easily be grouped into two main divisions: the underground structures and the surface buildings. The underground structures are again divisible into a number of minor categories, some for dwellings, some for storage, and others for burying sacrificial victims or for regular burials. Ditches and water-storage ponds were also found. All these, no doubt, were planned and probably administered by some responsible unit of the government.

Let us examine the underground group first.

● **Underground Structures**

Shih Chang-ju divides the underground structures into two sub-divisions, one group for dwelling purposes, the other for storage. According

to him, underground dwellings disclosed by excavation are much less numerous than pits for storage purposes. Most of the examples of subterranean habitats which have survived are comparatively large and shallow; the depth is usually smaller in dimension than the horizontal cross-section. The extant underground houses usually include stepped passages for ascending and descending. In this connection, it is interesting that in the common vocabulary of the Shang and Chou period, as noted by some specialists, the everyday term for "come and go" is "ascend and descend." The usage of this particular term is no doubt closely connected with the habit of living in underground habitations.

Shih Chang-ju in his 1955 paper describes no less than six of these underground dwelling caves, half of which were overlaid by one or more layers of pounded earth.[136] It is obvious that when a later pisé foundation was laid, if subterranean pits, whether for dwelling or storage, were in the way, they had to be wiped out or filled in before the surface buildings could be erected. Several questions immediately arose when these striking stratifications were first noticed: (1) Were these underground habitats built in the Yin-Shang time? (2) If they were, what is the evidence? (3) If they were not, when were they built?

These questions could only be satisfactorily answered by a detailed examination of the dwelling remains. There are various types of surviving examples, indicating that there was by no means a uniform style for the underground dwellings. The following examples are those given by Professor Shih.

Type I, Circular A good example for this type is H134, located underneath *beta* 12 on its western margin. The upper entrance began to appear at 1.14m. below the present surface, overlaid by nearly 5cm. of pounded earth. Steps were found along the circular wall; the diameters of the upper entrance were between 2.00 and 2.27m. The depth of this cave was only 2 meters, with a flat bottom. The flight of the ascending and descending passage consisted of seven steps unequal in height and terminated at its lower part in a slope. Pot-sherds, animal bones and copper rust accumulated on the floor were the principal contents of this cave; near the middle of the floor lay a boulder, relatively large in size (40cm. × 20cm.), which had apparently served as a pillar base (Fig. 25a).

Another example of this type given by Shih was 7:H23 located underneath *beta* 7, which though classified as circular looks somewhat irregular at the entrance. The upper entrance seemed to be regular, only 7 meters in diameter, but the internal structure was quite complicated. The uppermost entrance began to appear at 40cm. below the present pisé foundation, but the cave itself reached a depth of 5.85m. with seventeen steps in between. The flight of steps was built in the middle of the cave, thus dividing the interior into two parts. The western portion was much shallower, only 4.70m. in depth, while the eastern portion was 1 meter deeper. One piece of inscribed oracle bone was found in the cave, which according to our paleographers belonged to the fourth period (Fig. 25b).

Type II, Oval Examples of this type were also located in the *beta* area. Shih gives H213 as the first instance of this type. The uppermost part appeared at the depth of 58cm. below the modern surface; it was overlaid by the pisé unit, *beta* 18. The underground cave itself measured 7.02m. in length by a width of 2.28m.; from top to bottom it measured a little over 2 meters (2.02-2.32m.). The northern portion was narrower and also shallower; traces of a stepped passage started at the north, and, as it sloped down along the western side, it measured 80cm. wide. As it descended to the depth of 1.50m., there appeared a sort of wall from the bottom that partitioned the southern part of the cave from the northern part. The floor of the southern part was smooth and could be entered only by first descending to the northern portion, then turning to the south along the smooth separating wall (Fig. 25c).

The cave was filled with pounded earth, obviously preparatory to laying the *beta* 18 unit foundation.

The second example given by Shih to illustrate the oval-shaped underground dwelling cave is H156, the most spacious dwelling cave which has survived. This underground cave measured 12.40m. × 3.80m. in cross dimensions, whereas the depth of the cave reached a dimension of only 2.25m. Its upper entrance began to appear at the depth of 1 meter below the present surface. Like the others, it was overlaid by pounded earth which constituted the foundation unit of *beta* 11. This particular cave had two flights of stepped slopes for ascending and descending, reaching all along the western wall; the southern flight descended from south to north and the northern flight descended from north to south, both of these meeting at the

bottom in the middle of the western side. The southern flight was composed of nine steps, and the northern of ten steps (Fig. 25d).

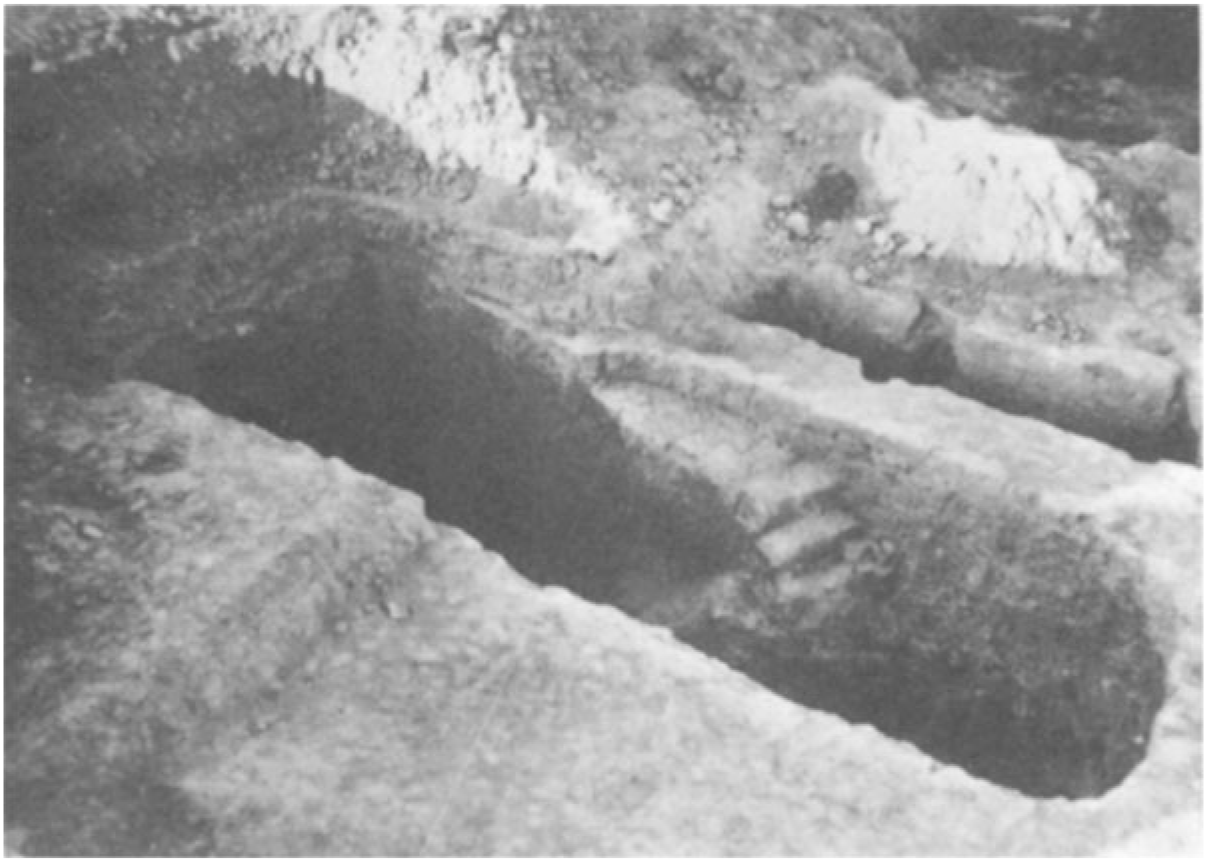
A third example given by Shih is H21 which measured 7.30m. × 2.30m. in cross diameter. It was discovered underneath *beta* 5 within the area of B133. The cave began to appear at a depth of 1.30m., partly under *beta* 5. The depth of the cave was only 2.30m., but it was divided by a stepped passage in the middle which ran from south to north about 60cm. wide and the last step was located at 1.80m. from the entrance. Since many bronze fragments and pieces of molds for bronze-casting were discovered in this cave, it may very possibly have been used as a bronze-casting workshop (Fig. 25e).

Type III, Rectangular There is only one illustration of an example of this type, located in the *gamma* area. The exact location was on the northern side of *gamma* 1, which was itself a huge unit of pounded earth. According to Shih's account (see note 1, above), this dwelling cave had already been partly destroyed by a Yin tomb (M334) and further disturbed by a modern well. The entrance cave appeared at 37cm. below the present surface. It measured 4.05m. × 3.05m. in cross dimensions, and in depth 3.55m., with a flat smooth floor surface. Its flight of steps started at the eastern end of the southern wall and ran down to its western end, and then turned northward along the western wall, but stopped in the middle of this wall without again turning. The whole flight measured 3.60m. with eleven steps, six along the southern wall and five along the western wall. Although a number of these steps were partly damaged by later burial and well-digging, enough remnants were preserved at the time of discovery for a study of the original structure (Fig. 25f).

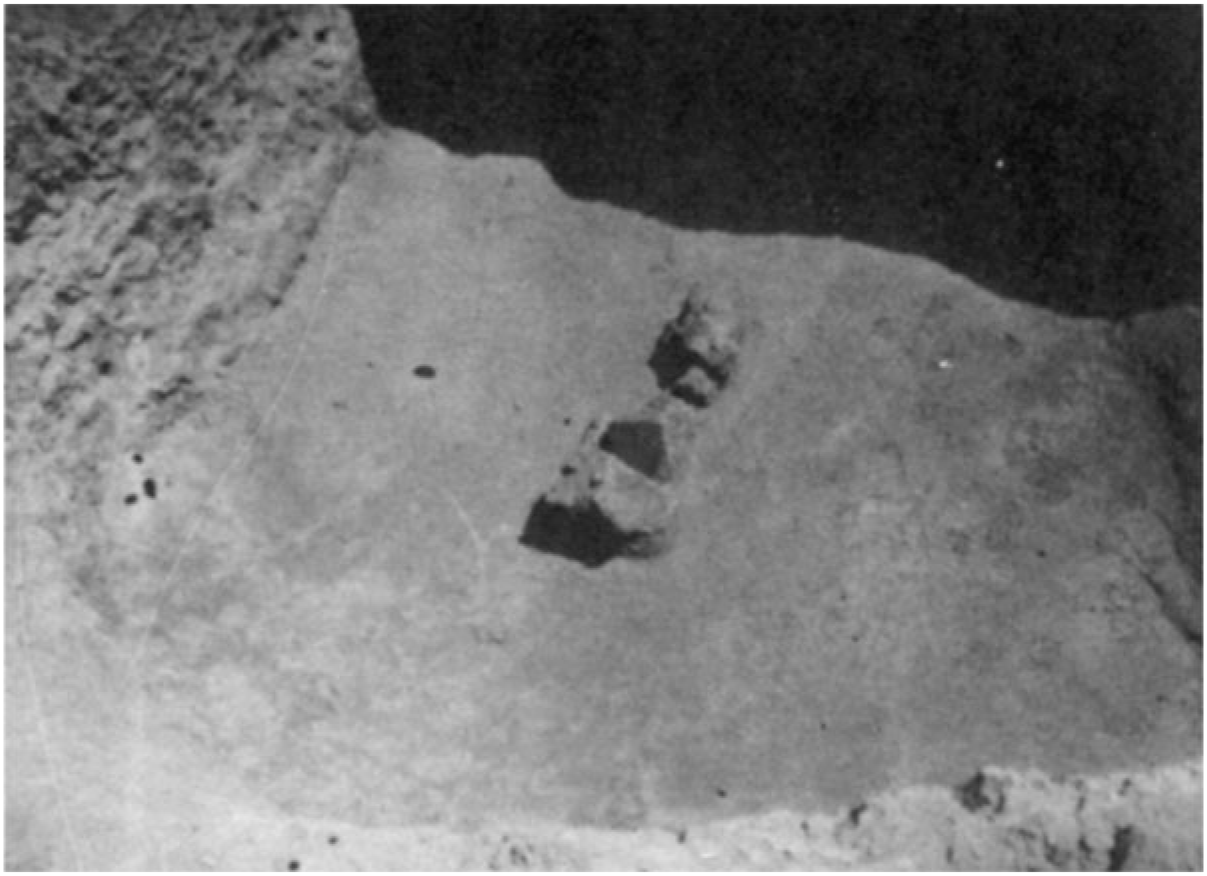
25 Underground structures 地下建筑

a H134

b H23


c H213

d H156



e H21

f H304

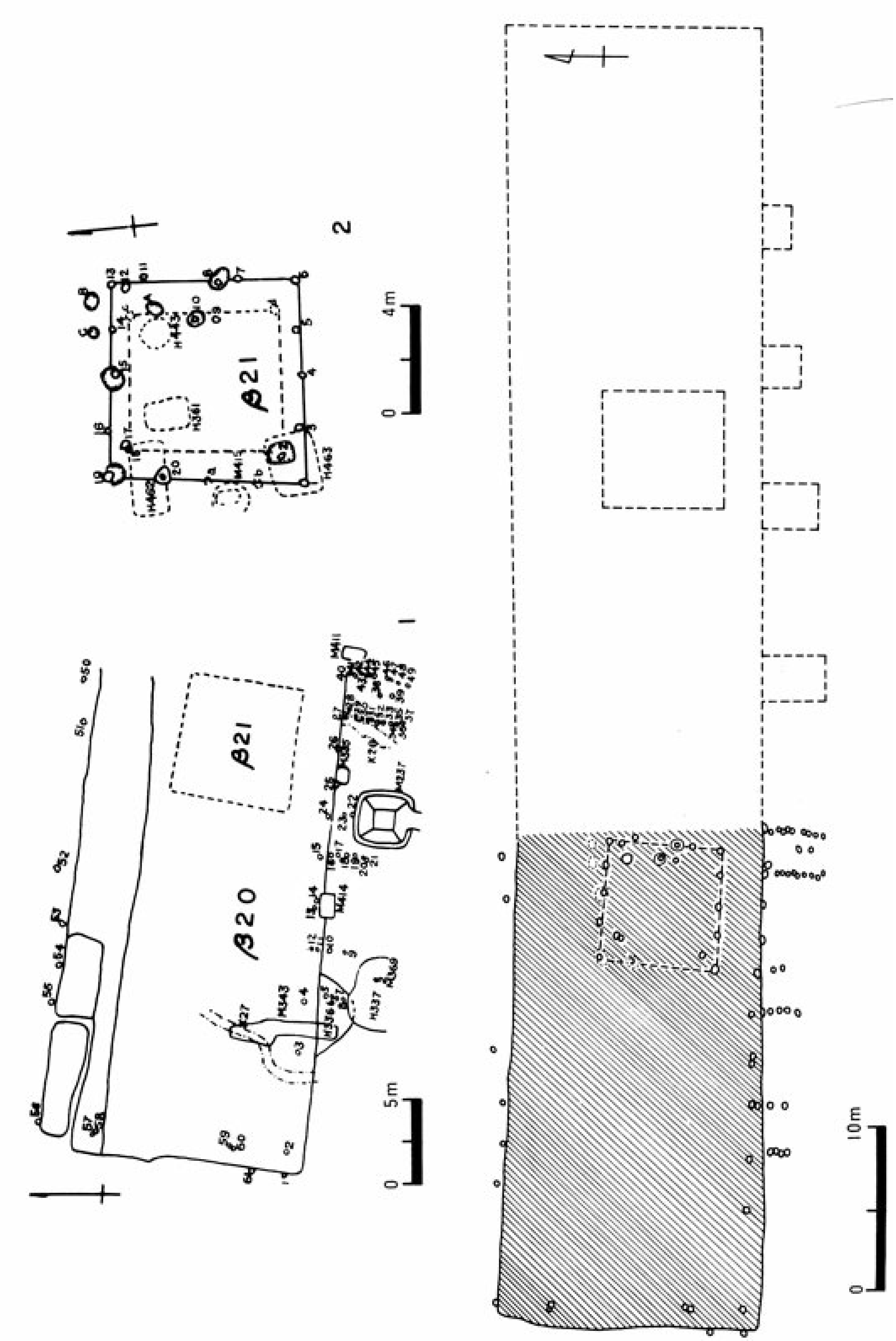
Each of the above six examples of spacious underground dwelling caves provides one kind of evidence or another indicating that they were used in the Yin-Shang period. But some of them were abandoned when the surface buildings with pisé foundations were planned. The important question is, when did this revolution take place? At the time when King P'an Keng first moved his capital here or later? It is also abundantly clear that in the Yin-

Shang period, that is, after King P'an Keng made this place a capital, underground caves and pits were still extensively used at least for storage purposes—for examples, H127, H251, E16, which stored thousands of inscribed tortoise shells. Might this indicate that some of the underground dwelling caves may still have been inhabited in the Yin-Shang era? This problem needs further study.

Turning to underground caves or pits which were definitely and exclusively devoted to storage purposes, there are more than six hundred of these recorded. Some of them may have been survivals of the Black Pottery Culture when Hsiao-t'un was still inhabited by the Lungshan folk. During the wartime the author, in a paper discussing such remains, mentioned H131, H93, and H340 as three examples from Hsiao-t'un that definitely preserved cultural remains of the Black Pottery people.[137] Each of these three underground pits was covered by later pits containing Yin-Shang cultural deposits. Here we are more concerned of course with the culture of the Shang and Yin-Shang periods, so examples in this category have to be chosen from those in which the artifacts indicate some serial development of dynastic Shang. Those immediately beneath the pisé foundation may be taken as prime examples, as many of them were filled in just when the surface building on a large scale was planned.

In a 1970 paper Shih Chang-ju provided further examples of reconstructions.[138] The general rule he observed in these reconstructive efforts was this: "The heavier the structure, the thicker the foundation." It can be definitely shown that the pounded earth at Hsiao-t'un varied considerably in thickness—from 20cm. to 600cm. in different localities; and, in fact, each unit of these pisé foundations, while not exactly uniform in its horizontal dimensions, actually showed a great variation in the thickness of the pounded earth.

Shih described one pisé unit of particular interest: namely, *beta* 21, which is located right on *beta* 20. The surface of the larger unit, *beta* 20, is nearly 1 meter below the modern surface. Shih calculated that its eastern side had been eroded away and disappeared long ago. The original size of the foundation surface of *beta* 20, he estimated, must have been nearly 80 meters (E.W.), and its width (N.S.), according to what has survived on the western portion, over 15 meters (Fig. 26).



26 Possible original plan of *beta* 20 and *beta* 21
*β*20和*β*21的原位置推测

On this elongated platform, there seem to have been built two square buildings, one of which, the foundation of *beta* 21, was still preserved at the time of excavation. For reasons given by Shih, the superstructure for which this particular foundation was designed must have been a heavy and probably a tall unit intended for storage. The pisé foundation of *beta* 21 itself measures 3 meters thick, deep down into the earth; and its composition, according to Shih's description, was the most compact and hardest to break in the experience of the most muscular diggers in the labor gang. Shih inferred, from this unique quality alone, that it could be reasonably deduced that the foundation must have supported an extraordinarily heavy and complicated superstructure on the surface. Before we go into the architectural nature of the superstructure, it is interesting to examine to some extent what underlay this unit of pisé foundation, in which structural remains were still preserved.

Shih describes no less than four deep-sunken storage pits underneath *beta* 21, which measures approximately 7 meters on each side with an area of nearly 50 square meters. Within the bounds of this area, our archaeologists disclosed H361, H462, H463, and H443—the first three rectangular, and the last one more or less circular. Each of these storage pits had an upper entrance under the pisé foundation (β 21) and was more than 2.50 meters in depth. There is no question about the depository nature of these pits, since they were all comparatively small-sized and deep, with their entrances far below the surface. The contents of the pits were composed mainly of pot-sherds of the Yin-Shang period, articles of bone, and fragments of piece-molds for bronze-casting. Almost every pit contained among the ceramic fragments some remains of typical *li*-tripods of the Yin-Shang era.

Summarizing the description of these underground depository pits, Shih says:

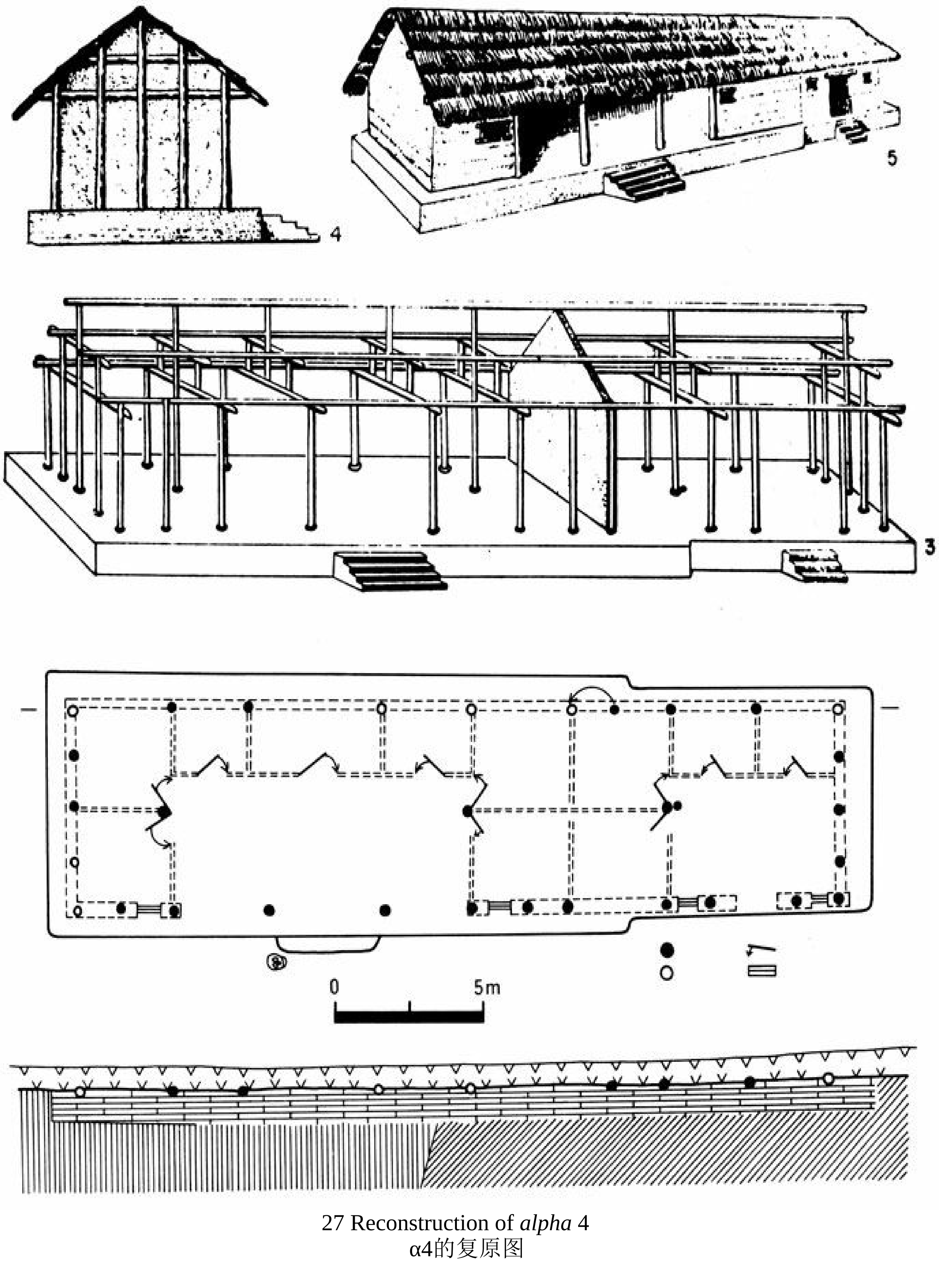
> These underground deep-sunken pits bear no direct relationship with the strongly built pisé unit. Their existence here serves as evidence indicating that before this place was chosen for foundation building, it was already pitted with storage units. Although their contents as disclosed in the excavation were not the original storage, they represented typical trash of the middle Yin-Shang era. Among the pot-sherds one can easily identify the *li*-tripod, the *tou*-dish, the *yü*-basin, the *hu*-pot and the *p'an*-pot all typical potteries of this period, and in H361, even piece moulds have made their appearance. Taking into consideration the pisé building foundation of *beta* 20 as a whole, I should say that this part of the *beta* area, was built comparatively late.[139]

The underground pits beneath β 21 show evidence that they were probably used till a later Yin-Shang period.

● **Reconstruction of Surface Buildings**

Shih Chang-ju has published four important papers on his studies of the architectural remains of the Hsiao-t'un site, besides his monumental work in Archaeologia Sinica (1959).[140] These papers are: (1) "One Example of Restored Yin Surface Building" (1954);[141] (2) "Architectural Remains of the Yin Period" (1955) (see note 1, above); (3) "Hung-t'u [Earth pounding], Pan-chu [Pisé], and Building in General" (1969);[142] and (4) "Further Example of the Reconstruction of Architectures of the Shang Dynasty" (1970) (see note 3, above). The first two papers were published before the monographic report, the third and the fourth were written later. In the first two papers, the author details the bases of reconstructions, which are of some interest to the general reader. For instance, in the second paper he states that the restoration is based on the foundation units built of pounded earth and the boulders, found resting on the surfaces of the various units which were obviously used to support the columns, pillars, or rails. The superstructures, however, had all vanished, so Shih had to depend for these on other resources, namely (1) the pictorial characters in the oracle bone scripts related to houses; (2) classic records like *Ta-tai-li* and *K'ao-kung-chi*[143]; and (3) survivals of simple structural forms and methods still current in Yünnan and Szechwan where Shih had the opportunity to see them during wartime.

On the above bases Shih had been able to reconstruct several buildings which, with his permission, the author is reproducing in this chapter to illustrate the types of houses that might have been built during the time when the Yin-Shang kings were ruling in the capital. Let us follow the reconstructions of Shih according to the geographical distribution of the pisé units given in chapter 6.



27 Reconstruction of *alpha* 4
α4的复原图

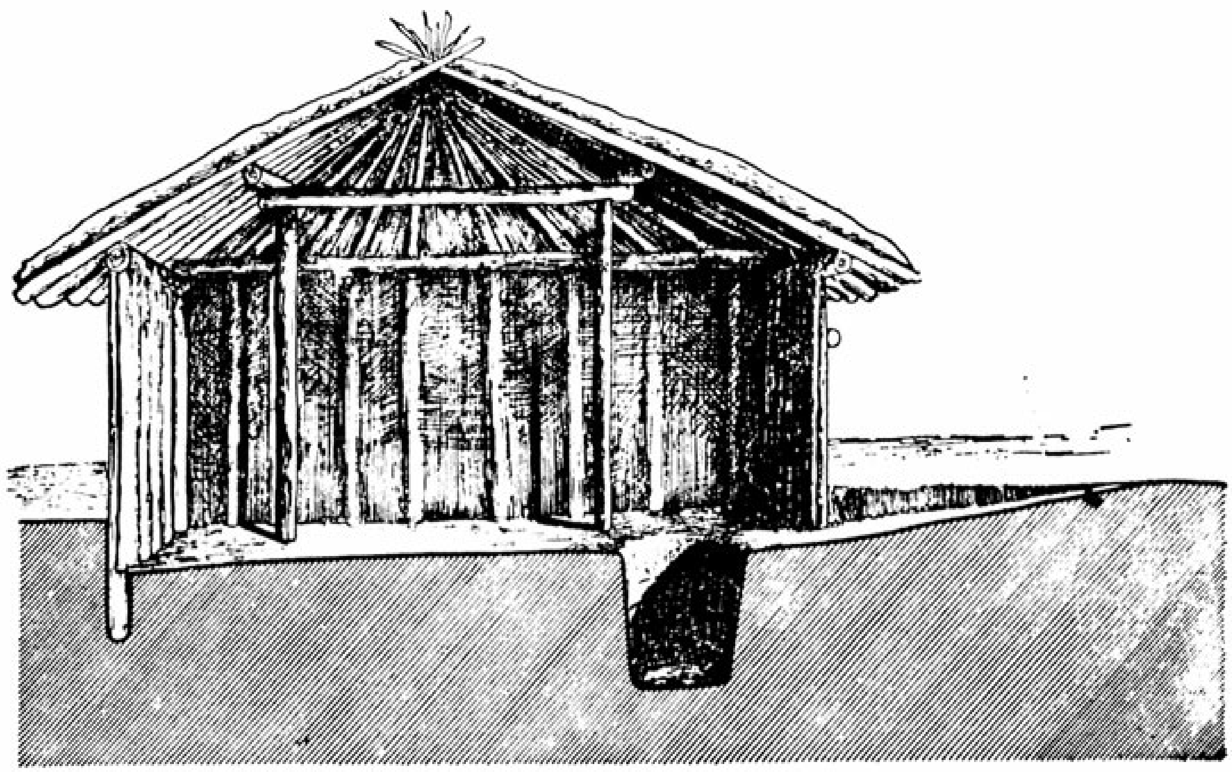
Those on the north (*alpha* area) were discovered earliest in accordance with the archaeological calendar of the institute. It has been noted that in this area fifteen pisé units were uncovered. Of these fifteen units *alpha* 11 is the largest, *alpha* 4 next in size. Shih, for various reasons, chose *alpha* 4 for his experiment in reconstruction. The result is shown in Figure 27.

Shih summarized the general features of *alpha* area building in a recent paper in these terms:

> Although the fifteen pisé units in their distribution appear loose and unorganized [see Fig. 22] they are still separable into two sections: the northern and southern. The southern section is composed of five units (*alpha* 11-15), while the northern section is composed of ten units (*alpha* 1-10). The majority of those in the southern section—three units—are large-sized, while in the northern section, the pisé units are in most cases small-sized and center on *α* 4, *α* 6. Whether they were linked with each other, it is still difficult to say. But *α* 4 provides us a complete base, and also all the pillar boulders in their original positions so I have chosen it for an experimental restoration. As this is a rectangular-shaped unit, the starting point of my reconstruction is that the roof follows this shape likewise, and that we have here the prototype of the typical rectangular house so common in China. Like the modern Chinese house, it is to be constructed with a ridgepole along the middle supporting two roof slopes to facilitate the flow of rain water. As for the materials of the roof, sufficient evidence was recovered to show that it was composed of a mixture of grass, thatch, rushes, bamboo and wooden-splits strengthened by some plaster. The art of plastering seems to have been highly developed in the Yin-Shang time, as the good appearance of many deep-sunken pits testify. Shell-lime was definitely used also for building purposes. I should add that in the case of pisé *alpha* 4 there was found a row of boulders along the middle of the foundation unit, arranged just like those found along the borders. This row of boulders along the middle evidently served the purpose of supporting the ridgepole.[144]

The above statement is not an exact translation of *alpha* 4 of Shih's text, but since the author has had the privilege of talking with Shih almost weekly, he has tried to note Shih's most recent ideas in addition to presenting his written opinions.

One might say that the reconstructed house of *alpha* 4 is almost the kind of farm village house still to be found in modern China in an old-fashioned village. Compared with the underground dwelling caves, however, it was undoubtedly an improvement. But this type of surface building, according to recent archaeological discoveries, was already in existence in the neolithic period as the finds in Pan-p'o and Miao-ti-kou, where both round and rectangular huts were found and restored, may testify. So the thatched rectangular surface building not only agrees with traditional accounts, but also is confirmable by neolithic discoveries (Fig. 28).


28 House #301 of Miao-ti-kou, a vertical cross-section 庙底沟301号屋断面图

One may perhaps feel disappointed from this example that the capital of a kingdom with an extensive territory should have left behind no more impressive ruins in architecture. But let us see what Shih has accomplished in his further restoration of a far more imposing complex situated in the *beta* area.

As pointed out before, the *beta* area is located south of the *alpha* area and its eastern side follows the brink of the Huan River which, as mentioned several times in early chapters, has eroded much of the pisé foundations during the past more than three thousand years. Shih's estimate is that the eroded area of *beta* is at least half of the original foundation area, maybe as large as two-thirds.

The existing remaining portion of the pisé foundation of β 20 measured 31 meters from the western end to the very brink of the river and 15 meters from north to south. On the border of this surviving area were found groups of small boulders—sixty-one in number—the arrangements of which appeared quite distinct from those serving as bases for pillars. Shih interprets

them as foundation stones for the short columns of some balustrades, especially those found along the edges of *beta* 20; there are seven of these stones on the northern border edge, nine on the southern border edge, and four on the western border edge. On both the south and north, the balustrade pillars were evidently arranged regularly about 2.50 meters apart. On the western side, the arrangement is somewhat different. The four stones here are found in two pairs, separated by a distance of 8 meters.

Another group of boulders, found mainly south of the marginal area of the pisé foundation of β 20, are what Shih has named "door foundation stones"; Shih gives the boulders the following classifications and lists the numbers in each category thus:

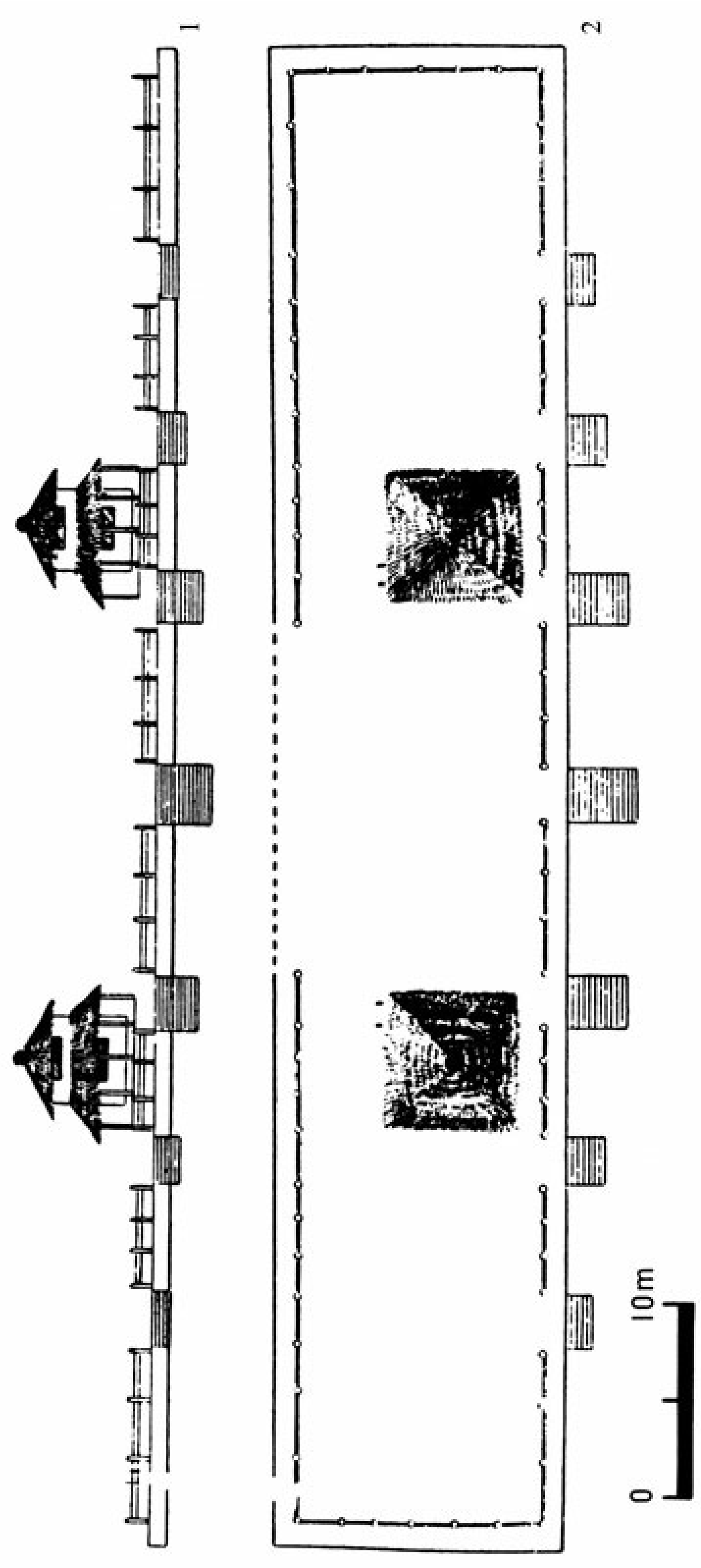
1. Southwestern door: 2 boulders
2. Southern door (no. 1): 8 boulders
3. Southern door (no. 2): 9 boulders
4. Southern door (no. 3): 22 boulders

Shih noted further that these door foundation stones were buried at an average depth of 0.70m. beneath the soil surface, shallower by about 15cm. than the foundation stones of the railings of the balustrades on the south and north of the pisé unit β 20.

Shih's reconstruction of the whole area of this pisé unit (β 20)measures more than 80 meters long (E.W.) and more than 15 meters wide (N.S.), so the oblong-shaped size of this large unit of pounded earth covers at least 1,200 square meters with a firm foundation more than 2 meters deep sunken in the soil. And on top of it, if we are to be guided by the distribution of the regularly arranged boulders, this big unit seems to have been an open platform fenced by railings that may have constituted balustrades on both the north and the south. On this huge platform, there are reasons to believe that a pair of storied buildings were constructed as shown in the complete reconstruction published by Shih Chang-ju in 1970 (see note 3, above), one of the latest efforts of this aging archaeologist.

Of the two storied buildings reconstructed on the platform β 20, the one of which material evidence survives is what has been referred to as β 21, an

extra pisé unit built on top of β 20, with a foundation as hard and solid as rock, as has been mentioned previously. This unit measures about 7 meters on each side and is oriented almost to the magnetic north, just like the more or less square terraced platform on the northernmost side of the *beta* area, namely, the Huang-t'u-t'ai (β 1) (see Fig. 23). It is Shih's belief that on this square foundation of the hard pisé unit, there must have been a heavy structure, as the boulders found on the top of β 21 *in situ* show apparently two parallel rows (each with five stones) on the external margin, while for the inner square, according to Shih's reconstruction, only one boulder stone at each corner was originally laid, some of which were mislocated due to later disturbance and burials. Working from these arrangements of the pillar base stones, Shih experimented to arrive at a possible restoration of the originals, for which he tried various plans. At his fourth attempt, he felt satisfied. In 1970, after a long period of experimental restoration, he settled on a two storied construction which he published in the article cited in note 3. Shih believes that there were a pair of these storied buildings, standing symmetrically on the platform of β 20. As restored, they look very much like a pair of drum and bell towers of the sort built everywhere since the Han dynasty (Fig. 29).



29 Reconstruction of surface building on *beta* 20
β20地面上的建筑的复原

Shih assumes that these restored buildings functioned as watch towers and also probably to house guards, for the following reasons:

1. These two buildings were the southernmost buildings of the β area, and since their orientation was toward the south, they occupied the frontal, entrance position.

2. Along the south front of β 20, there are remains indicating the original existence of seven flights of stairs, the longest and main one being in the middle, flanked by three minor staircases on each side. This presents a magnificent frontage and reminds the reader not only of the drum and bell towers in historical times, but even of a prototype of the altar for the most sacred worship dedicated to the supreme deity: Heaven or T'ien. We shall come back to this subject in a later chapter.

3. Finally, Shih said the door of the second story of this storied building opened toward the north, for the reason that all the main buildings are located on the north as the restored sketch of the geographical distributions of the β area shows. But the door of the first floor opened eastward so that the guards might watch the entrance directly.

I must say that I am inclined to agree with most of Shih's opinions, especially the parts dealing with the reconstruction based mainly on the distribution of the pillar-supporting boulders. However, as to some of the interpretations which Professor Shih has taken so many pains to make plain, I still entertain some different opinions, particularly as to his interpretation of the post-pisé sacrificial burials, which he believes to have been all closely related to different stages of the surface construction—foundation laying, pillar erection, gate or door building, completion of the structures, and so on. No doubt some of the sacrificial burials are related to these architectural works but one has to keep in mind, as Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien wrote nearly two thousand years ago, that the Yin-Shang people were noted for their belief in ghosts, and the oracle bone records are full of evidences of sacrifices both to ancestors and to other spirits. If the reconstructed section of the surface building was a temple or an altar, it would have been a matter of religious duty for the kings to make sacrificial offerings there at regular intervals.

When we examine the restored surface buildings as a whole, the foundation units in the *beta* area definitely give the imposing appearance of

an ancestral temple, especially, the square altars, the northernmost of which, composed of clean yellow soil (*huang-t'u*), was discovered by the author personally in the fourth season. This platform, so to speak, was impressive and distinguished from the very beginning by its appearance. As its soil composition was pure yellow, the workmen as well as the archaeologist in charge called it in the field "Huang-t'u-t'ai." Its dimensions were 11.30m. (N.S.) × 11.80m. (E.W.). No boulders were found on the top surface. The southern, eastern, and western sides were all bounded by pounded earth somewhat different in color.

The top of the pure yellow earth appeared about 30 centimeters below the present surface; this soil distinguished by its yellow color measured nearly 1 meter deep. So, taking Huang-t'u-t'ai as an independent unit, its total dimensions were 11.30m. × 11.80m. × 1.00m.

This unique platform or altar was not only damaged by later burials of the Sui-T'ang period, but before it was built this very spot was occupied by many underground caves, mainly for depository purposes.

Although along the northern side of the *beta* area there exists no pisé foundation, it was here that the well-known "Ta-lien-k'eng" was located, where we found a large number of oracle bones and the unique piece of painted pottery.

To return to the Huang-t'u-t'ai itself, what surprised the field archaeologists in the beginning was not only its soil composition but also the orientation of this nearly square altar exactly to the magnetic south.[145] In later excavations we uncovered a large part of the *beta* area and traced out most of the building units; at the southern end of the surface buildings were found to be also oriented toward the south but not necessarily in the magnetic direction—their position seemed to be guided simply by the sun. This difference made the yellow earth platform appear even more unique.

In conclusion, the evidence indicated that all the buildings of the *beta* area were intended for a sacred purpose. To perform rituals to Heaven and other spirits, and to offer sacrifices to various ancestors, were the most sacred duties of the reigning sovereigns. The excavated architectural remains, when reconstructed, seemed to be suited for this supreme duty.

It is regrettable that nothing more on this subject can be said on the basis

of our field records. These proposed reconstructions, fragmentary though they be, may nevertheless serve as a starting point for other discussions.

拾．建筑：建筑遗迹和地上建筑物复原之设想

虽然安阳发现的一些建筑遗迹，如侯家庄的王陵和小屯的夯筑基址等，在前几章中按它们发现的先后已经介绍过了，但还没有将它们作为一个整体加以讨论。在此，为了让读者了解在公元前第二个千年的最后250年中国首都的大体景象，我要将过去近十年各种相关的零散发现集中起来进行分析。

夯筑，一种基址和筑墙技术，并不是殷商时期的发明。大陆近期考古发掘证明，夯土建筑在商朝迁都到安阳前就存在已久。它见于郑州的商代遗址、河南西部及其他地方更早的遗址中。

小屯发现的建筑遗迹可分两大部分：地下建筑和地上建筑。地下建筑遗迹又可分为住所、窖穴、祭祀坑和正规的墓葬等类。沟渠和蓄水池亦有发现。毫无疑问，所有这些都是有计划建造的，并且可能是由政府的某个部门负责管理。

让我们首先介绍地下建筑群。

● 地下建筑

石璋如把地下建筑分为两组：一组是居住用的，另一组为存储用。据石先生言，发掘呈露出的地下居所比贮藏窖少得多。大部分残留下来的地下住室都较大而浅，其深度一般小于宽度，多有供上下的台阶。关于这一点，一些专家注意到一个有趣的现象，商周时期常用词汇中表示“来”和“去”的日常用语是 “上”和“下”。这一特定词语的用法无疑与当时人们居住在地下居室这一习惯有密切联系。

石璋如1955年的论文中介绍了至少六个地下住所，其中半数上面覆盖着一层或多层夯土。[136]显而易见的是，如果要在原有的地下窖穴——无论是用于居住或者存贮的——上再次垒筑夯土，这些窖穴必须清理或填实，地面建筑才能开始动工。在第一次看到这些惊人的夯土层时，我立即产生几个问题：(1) 这些地下居所是殷商时期建的吗？(2) 如果是，证据呢？(3) 若不是，它们又建于何时呢？

这些问题只能通过仔细研究住所遗迹，才能得到圆满回答。留存下来的各种类型的实例表明，地下住所有许多式样。石教授列举了以下实例。

类型一，圆形　H134是一个极好的例子。它位于β12基址下的西端。其上口距现地面1.14米，上面叠压着约5厘米厚的夯土层。沿着圆坑壁而下有台阶。此坑的上口直径在2—2.27米之间，深仅2米，底部平坦。供上下用的通道由七级不同高度的台阶组成，最下面一级连着一个斜坡。坑底的主要堆积物为陶片、动物骸骨和铜渣。居住层约当中心的位置有一块较大的石头（占地约为40厘米×20厘米），很明显，这是曾经的柱础（图25a）。

石先生举的另一例子是7：H23，它位于β7基址之下，此坑虽归为圆形类型但上口看起来并不太规整。上口似乎较整齐，直径仅7米，但内部结构复杂。此坑上口见于现有夯筑基址下40厘米处，本身深度达5.85米，坑内有一段17级的阶梯。阶梯建在居住穴中间，将居室一分为二。西部较浅，只有4.7米深，而东部比西部深1米。在穴内发现一块字骨，经古文字学家鉴定属于第四期（图25b）。

类型二，椭圆形　这一类型的几个实例也位于β 区。石先生首先举的是H213的例子。此坑上口距现在的地面58厘米，上面叠压着β18基址的夯土层。居住穴长7.02米，宽2.28米，深2米多一点（2.02—2.32米）。坑北部较窄浅。一段阶梯式通道的痕迹始于北部，沿西墙向下，宽80厘米。阶梯下到距坑口1.50米处时，与立在坑底的一条土坎相接；此土坎把居住穴分为南北两部分。南部地面平坦。要进入南部必须先下到北部，再沿隔坎转入南部（图25c）。

居住穴内填满夯土，很明显是为建β18基址作准备。

石用以说明椭圆形穴的第二个例子是H156，它是现存的最宽敞的地下居住穴，其横断面尺寸为12.40米×3.80米，深仅2.25米。坑口距现在的地面1米。像其他居住穴一样，其上叠压着β11夯土基址。这个地下居住穴有两段沿西墙供上下用的阶梯。南部的阶梯从南向北而下，北边的则从北向南而下，两条阶梯在坑底西墙中间会合。南部的阶梯有9级，北部的有10级（图25d）。

石举的第三个例子是H21，其横断面尺寸为7.30米×2.30米。它是在β5基址下发现的，位于B133探方内。H21部分在β5基址下，口深1.30米，坑本身深度仅为2.30米。此坑被一南北向的宽约60厘米的阶梯从中间分开，最底部的一级台阶在坑口下1.80米处。穴中发现许多青铜器碎

片和铜范，所以，这里很可能是一处青铜铸造作坊（图25e）。

类型三，长方形　这一类型的例子只有一个，它位于γ　区基址北部，确切地说，在γ1的北部。γ1本身就是个较大的夯土基址。据石先生所述（见上文注释1），居住穴已被一殷墓（M334）部分损毁，又再次被一现代水井扰动。居住穴的上口位于现在地面下37厘米深处，穴长4.05米，宽3.05米，深3.55米，地面面平坦光滑。坑内的台阶由南墙东头开始，沿南墙向西，下到此墙的西头再折向北，沿西墙而下到此墙中部止。此阶梯通长3.60米，有11级，其中沿南墙的6级，沿西墙的5级。尽管一些台阶被后来的墓葬和水井部分损毁，但在我们发掘时，保留下来的残余部分亦足以供研究其原初结构之用（图25f）。

以上六个宽敞的地下窖穴，每个都提供了这样或那样的证据，说明它们在殷商时期曾被使用过。但其中一部分在建造有夯筑基址的地上建筑时被弃用了。重要的是，这种变更开始于何时？是在盘庚迁都于此地时吗？还是更晚一些？十分清楚的是，殷商时期，即盘庚迁都于此后，至少地下窖穴作贮藏之用仍非常常见，H127、H251、E16中就藏有数千块有字龟甲。但这是否表明还有一部分地下住所在殷商时期仍有人居住呢？这个问题还需进一步研究。

下面谈谈专为贮藏用的窖穴。据发掘记录，这类窖穴有600多个。其中一些可能是龙山黑陶文化时期在小屯居住的人们留下来的遗迹。抗战期间，笔者在一篇探讨这种遗物的文章中，曾以H131、H93和H340为确凿例证论及小屯出土的黑陶文化遗物。[137]这三个地下坑穴都为后来的包含殷商堆积物的坑穴所覆盖。这里我们当然更关注商的和殷商时期的文化，所以必须从那些表明商朝连续发展的遗物中选取实例加以分析。为此，我们举了那些直接压在夯筑基址下的坑作为首选的例子，它们当中有许多坑正是在准备大规模建造地面建筑时被填的。

石璋如在1970年的一篇论文中进一步提供了复原的实例。[138]在复原时，他观察到一个普遍的规律是：建筑物越重，基址越厚。这一点在小屯各处的夯土厚度不一——从20厘米到600厘米——这一事实中得到了充分说明。而且，每一块夯筑基址不仅水平尺寸不尽相同，实际厚度也呈现出了极大的差异。

石描绘了一处特别有意思的夯筑基址，即建在β20基址右边的β21基址。较大的β20基址在现代地面下约1米处。石推算它的东边因被侵蚀早已消失。石估计，β20基址表面的最初尺寸，东西长约80米，据西部残存的部分来推测南北宽超过15米（图26）。

在这个长条形的台基上，似曾建有两个方形的建筑物，其中之一的β21基址在发掘时仍存在。石先生推论，建在这一基址上的上层建筑一定很沉很高，应该是作仓储用。β21基址的厚度有3米，深夯在土内。据石的叙述，它非常致密坚固，体力最好的发掘工人也难以打破它。石先生指出，仅从这一特征就可推知，它支撑的地面建筑必定高大且结构复杂。在我们研究这一地上建筑的建筑特征之前，了解这一夯筑基址下仍然保留着的一些建筑遗迹的情况是很有意义的。

石先生描述了β21基址下面的四个深凹的贮藏坑。β21基址各边约长7米，面积近50平方米。在这个范围内发现了H361、H462、H463和H443四个坑，前三个为长方形，后一个近似圆形。坑的上口都在β21基址之下，坑深超过2.50米。坑深而口小，坑口又在地面下较深处，无疑说明了它们供贮藏用的性质。坑内的遗物，主要是殷商时期的陶片、骨器和铸铜器的型范的碎片。几乎每个坑里都有殷商时期的典型三足礼器鬲的残片与陶片一并出土。

对这几个贮藏坑，石先生作了扼要说明，他说：

> 以上四个深凹的窦窖与夯筑基址的本身没有直接的关系，但它们的存在可证明，在没有建筑基址之前，这个地带也是窦窖密布之区。虽然其中的堆积物已不是最初的那些，但它们代表了殷商中期的典型物品。从陶片中，可轻易辨认出有鬲、豆、盂、壶、盆等，这些都是这一时期的典型器物。H361中甚至还出现了铜范。如果将β20基址作为一个整体来考虑，我认为这部分基址建造的时期较晚。[139]

有证据表明，β21基址下面的窖穴直到殷商后期或仍在使用。

● 地上建筑复原

石璋如除了发表在《中国考古报告集》上的巨著（1959）外[140]，还写了四篇关于小屯建筑遗址的重要论文。即：(1) 《殷代地上建筑复原之一例》（1954）[141]；(2) 《小屯殷代的建筑遗迹》（1955，参见上文注释1）；(3) 《殷代的夯土、版筑与一般建筑》（1969）[142]；(4) 《殷代地上建筑复原的第二例》（1970，参见上文注释3）。前两篇是在1959年的专著报告之前发表的，后两篇是后来写的。在前两篇文章中，作者详述了读者普遍关心的复原的基础。例如，他在第二篇文章中说，复原是根据夯筑基址和残留在各基址上的砾石进行的，后者显然曾被用来支撑廊柱、柱或栏杆等。但是，基址的上层建筑已全部消失，所以石先生不得不依靠其他资料，即：(1) 甲骨文中有关房子的象形字；(2) 《大戴礼记》和《考工记》[143]等文献记载；(3) 作者于抗战时亲自看到仍流行于云南、四川等地的普通房屋的外形和建筑方法。

根据上述各种资料，他复原了几个建筑物。经他同意，笔者把复原后房子的样式图附上，以再现或属殷商帝王在这座都城统治时期建造的房屋。让我们依据本书第六章介绍的夯筑基址的分布，看看石先生的复原。

据研究所的考古日历，在北组（α区）的建筑是发现最早的。记录显示，这个地区共发现15座夯筑基址，其中α11基址最大，α4次之。由于种种原因，石先生选择α4基址进行复原试验，结果如图27所示。

在最近发表的一篇论文中，石概述了α区建筑的一般特征。他说：

> 虽然15座基址的分布呈松散无组织状态［图22］，但仍可分为南、北两部分。南部有5座（α11—15），北部有10座（α1—10）。南部的大部分——有三座——面积较大，而北部的大多面积较小，且以α4和α6为中心。它们彼此之间是否有联系还很难说。α4保存完好，所有的柱础石还在原来的位置上，因此，我选择它作试验性的复原。这是一个长方形的基址，我的第一个想法就是，屋顶的形状也该类似基址，而在中国目前还普遍存在这种长方形房屋的原型。现在中国的房子一样，α4应是沿中间的屋脊而建，屋脊支撑起两个斜坡的房顶，便于雨水流下。发掘出的证据已足以证明，建筑房顶的材料是用杂草、茅草、灯芯草、竹子或木片等以胶泥加固形成的。看来，殷商时期抹泥技术已有高度发展，许多深窖的精美外观就可证明这一点。贝壳烧的石灰肯定也已在建筑上使用。我要补充的是，在α4基址中部有一排砾石，其排列法与此基址边缘发现的砾石相似，很明显这是为支撑屋脊的。[144]

上面的话不是石的原文，但因笔者几乎每星期都有机会和石先生交谈，所以我除了叙述石先生写下的观点外，还加上了他最新的观点作为补充。

人们可能会说，α4基址上复原的房屋与现代中国的老式农村里仍可看到的那种房子几乎一样。但是，与地下居住穴比较，它无疑是个进步。据最近的考古发掘证明，这类地上建筑在新石器时代就已存在，半坡和庙底沟的遗存中圆形和长方形茅屋的发现和复原即可为证。所以，用茅草盖顶的长方形房子不仅与传统文献记载一致，而且也被新石器时代的考古发掘所证实（图28）。

上面的复原例子也许会让人们感到失望，偌大一个王国的都城里，竟然没有留下更让人印象深刻的建筑遗迹。下面让我们看看石璋如复原的位于β区内一组更加壮观的建筑群。

如前所述，β区位于α区的南面，它的东边沿洹河边缘。前几章里已多次提到，在过去的三千多年里，洹河冲蚀了大部分的夯筑台基。石估计β区的至少有一半，甚至三分之二的基址都已被冲蚀。

β20基址夯筑台残存部分从其西端到洹河岸边共31米，南北长15

米。在残存的基址边上发现了几组砾石——共61块，其排列大不同于房屋柱子的础石。石璋如认为这是一些矮栏杆柱的柱础石，尤其是在β20边缘发现的那些。北边边缘有7块，南边有9块，西边有4块。南北两排栏杆柱明显是以2.5米的间距整齐排列。西边的排列有些不同，4块础石分为两对，其间相距8米。

另一组砾石在β20的夯筑基址南边缘之外，石称之为“门础石”。石璋如把这些础石分成几类，并罗列了每一类的数量，如下：

1. 西南门：2块

2. 南门（1号）：8块

3. 南门（2号）：9块

4. 南门（3号）：22块

石还进一步注意到，这些门础石一般埋进土里0.7米，比β20基址南北边的栏杆础石约浅15厘米。

石璋如复原的β20的夯筑基址东西长80多米，南北宽15米多，因此，这块长方形的夯筑基址的面积至少为1200平方米，其坚固的基础深入地下2米多。如果从它上部的砾石有规律的排列情况看，这像是一个无顶的大平台，南北两边用栏杆构成的栅栏围着。完全有理由相信，在这个大平台上曾建有一对楼房，正如石璋如于1970年（参见上文注释3）发表的完整复原图中显示的那样。这部作品是这位高龄的考古学家的最新力作之一。

在β20平台上复原的两个楼房，从残存的资料看其中一个属β21，它是建在β20上的另一个基址，前面说过，它坚如岩石，边长约7米，几乎正对磁北方向，就像β区最北端的近方形平台——黄土台（β1）一样（图23）。石认为，在这个坚固的夯土方形台基上，曾经一定有个特别大的建筑物，因为β21基址顶部边缘处明显有两排平行的砾石，每排各有5块石头。据石先生复原，此方形基址内部每个角上原本只有一块砾石，有些是由于后来的墓葬和其他扰乱挪动了位置。依据这些柱础石的排列，石先生试着尽可能地复原其整个建筑的原形，为此他进行了多次尝试，直到第四次他才满意。1970年，经过长期的试验性复原，他确定了这是个两层的楼房建筑——他将这一成果发表在注释3援引的论文中。石认为，这里曾有两座这样的楼房，对称地建在β20平台上。复原后，它很像汉代以来各处可见的钟鼓楼（图29）。

石推断，这两栋复原建筑是当瞭望塔用的，也可能是门卫室，理由如下：

1. 这两座楼是建在β区的最南部，并且坐北朝南，所以它们处在该区正前方的入口处；

2. 在β20基址南侧，残存的遗迹表明原有七座台阶，最长的主阶梯居中，两侧各有三段较短的。台基前呈现的宽广空地，不仅让人联想到历史上的钟鼓楼，更让人想到祭祀至高无上的天神这一神圣仪式的祭坛原形。我们在后面的章节中还会回到这个话题上来。

3. 最后，石璋如认为，这座楼第二层的门朝北开，理由是所有的主要建筑物都在北面，如β区复原建筑分布图所示。但第一层的门是朝东开的，便于守卫者直接监视入口处。

必须声明，我和石先生的看法大部分一致，特别是根据柱础石分布进行复原这部分。然而，对于石先生煞费苦心作出的一些解释，我还存有不同意见，尤其是对夯筑后的牺牲埋葬的看法。他认为，这与地面建筑的不同阶段如奠基、支件、安门及落成等有密切关系。毫无疑问，有些牺牲埋葬和建筑工事相关，但不应忘记，正如近两千年前司马迁所说，殷商人以好信鬼神闻名，而且甲骨文中有很多用牺牲品祭祀祖先和鬼神的记载。如果复原的那座地上建筑是一座庙或一座祭坛，则每隔一定时间在那里进行祭祀是帝王的宗教职责。

如果把复原的地上建筑物作为一个整体考虑，β区的夯筑基址无疑展现了一座祖庙的庄严外观，特别是最北部的纯黄土夯打成的方形祭坛。这是笔者在第四次发掘时亲自发现的。可以说，只要看一眼这个平台，都会过目不忘，印象非凡。因为它的筑土是纯黄色的，所以工地上的发掘工人及负责此处发掘工作的考古工作者都叫它“黄土台”。其南北长11.30米，东西长11.80米。台基的表面未发现砾石。南、东和西边缘被颜色略有不同的夯土包围着。

黄土台的顶部低于现在地表约30厘米，厚约1米，土质呈显著的纯黄色。黄土台作为一个独立的单元，其体积为11.30米×11.80米×1.00米。

这个独特的平台或祭台不仅被后来的隋唐时期的墓葬破坏，而且在它建造以前，下面就有很多地下穴，其中大部分是贮物用的。

虽然沿β区的北边没有夯筑基址，但著名的“大连坑”就位于这里，

也就是我们发现大量卜骨和唯一一片彩陶的地方。

再回过来说黄土台本身，它在发掘之初即令田野考古工作者大为吃惊，不仅是由于它的土色，还因这个近正方形的祭台是磁南向的。[145]后来，我们发掘了β区的大部分地区，并探寻出了许多建筑遗迹，发现南端地上建筑群也是南向的，但不一定是磁南——它们的位置似乎是仅靠太阳来测定的。这一区别更显示出黄土台的与众不同。

综上所述，证据表明，β区的所有建筑物都是以祭祀为目的设计的。祭祀天和神灵，以及供奉祖先，是君主最神圣的义务。发掘出来的建筑遗迹，复原后看似非常契合这一至高无上的义务。

遗憾的是，根据我们的田野考古记录，关于这个问题没有更多可说的了。这些推测出的复原建筑，虽不完整，但也可以作为讨论其他问题的起点。

11. The Economy

Agriculture and Artifacts

● Agriculture and Other Natural Resources of the Yin-Shang Dynasty

When King P'an Keng moved the capital to Yin, the district of modern Anyang, from Ao (or Hsiao), presumably an earlier Shang capital discovered near modern Chêng-chou, there seems to be no question that most of the populace over whom this dynasty ruled were already farmers accustomed to cultivation of the soil for thousands of years. So, naturally, agriculture was the fundamental resource for the wealth of the kingdom. Several important papers, dealing with the development of agriculture and based chiefly on the oracle bone records, have been published since the Anyang excavation. The authors of these papers are all well-known paleographers specializing in the study of these early Chinese scripts. The following three papers may be cited as examples to show successive stages of improvement in understanding Yin-Shang agriculture with the advancement of paleographic research and increased knowledge of the science of agriculture.

Stage 1 can be represented by Woo Ch'i-ch'ang's paper published in 1937 in the *festschrift* volume honoring the well-known chief editor of the Commercial Press, Mr. Chang Chü-sheng, on his seventieth birthday.[146] The paper is full of opinionated interpretations of the day, and is incapable of standing a more severe test.

Stage 2 is represented by a significant paper written by Mr. Hu Hou-hsüan, who was originally an assistant to Tung Tso-pin. Just after the Sino-Japanese War[147], in 1945, he joined Cheeloo University, which had moved during the wartime to Ch'eng-tu and had invited the well-known historian Ku Chieh-kang to take charge of the Department of Chinese Studies. Hu, unable to bear the hardship which the members of Academia Sinica suffered during the wartime days in Kunming, gave up his work at the institute. After he moved to Ch'eng-tu he made use of his first-hand knowledge of the excavated oracle bone inscriptions, which he had copied and studied during his

apprenticeship under Tung Tso-pin, to write an important paper on agricultural problems.[148] This paper marked the beginning of some real understanding and unprejudiced interpretations of the genuine oracle bone records from the Waste of Yin.

More recently, in what can be considered Stage 3, agriculture of the Yin-Shang period has been studied from several different angles, especially as prehistoric remains have provided abundant comparative materials. Mr. Chang Ping-ch'üan's paper on agriculture and climate, published in 1970 in *festschrift* dedicated to Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, ex-president of "Academia Sinica," can be considered representative of the present stage.[149]

It is still difficult to make a definite statement about the approximate size of the territory of the Yin-Shang kingdom. But since modern Anyang was the last capital of this ruling dynasty, it can be considered as the definite locus to start with. Whether the dynasty actually stayed there 273 years may remain debatable, but that the locality and its adjacent region (Yin, namely Anyang) served as an important cultural and political center of the kingdom for nearly three hundred years seems to be almost certain.

If we take a look at the Anyang district in modern times, what kind of environment do we find? To examine its agricultural products first: those of us who have worked in the field there for a number of years naturally know that wheat and cotton are the two main cultivated farm crops. But the most important cultivated plant is still millet, which remains the staple food of north China, although rice and wheat are also considered food for general consumption. In Honan province, while wheat is generally raised on the farms, rice is not. Potatoes and Indian corn, which are comparatively rare, are also cultivated by farmers of this region.

Of the above-mentioned agricultural products, everybody knows that cotton, potatoes, and Indian corn were imported to China in later historical times, within the last millennium. Among those that can be traced to the Yin-Shang period are wheat, rice, and millet. As far as food plants are concerned, millet (*hsiao-mi*) has been discovered in quantity in neolithic sites where specialists have identified two distinct varieties, *Panicum milliaceum* and *Setarise italica*. In Chinese terminology there are also several different terms, the connotations of which, however, cannot be defined on a scientific basis. For instances, the term *shu* is generally translated as "glutinous panicled

millet," or simply as "varieties of millet," while the term *chi* is translated as "panicled millet." Among the northern Chinese, *shu*-millet has provided the daily food of the agricultural community up to the middle of the twentieth century.

Wheat and rice were evidently generally cultivated in the Yin-Shang period and all the evidence indicates that both were among the common crops although it is not known to what degree they were consumed by the people at large. Some specialists would perhaps insist on raising some technical problems concerning both the cultivation of rice and the spread of wheat. This is hardly the place to go into details, but in so far as they relate to the economic foundations of the kingdom of this period, a few lines may be devoted to the nature of these problems.

One frequent inquiry concerns the water supply of the Anyang region and its immediate neighborhood. At present, Anyang does not grow rice because there is not a sufficient supply of water. Was the water supply more abundant three thousand years ago? The answer, in the opinion of many archaeologists, is "Yes," for two reasons. There is much evidence indicating that the climate of Anyang in the time of Yin-Shang was wetter and warmer, because not only did elephants and rhinoceroses exist in the neighborhood, but also quantitative analyses of the Anyang fauna by Dr. C. C. Young show that buffaloes were among the most numerous domesticated animals, almost equal in number to domesticated pigs.[150] A more direct evidence, although somewhat inferential in nature, is of primary importance. This relates to the lower course of the Yellow River, which, according to the historic geographers, took a northern course and flowed into the sea at the Gulf of Pohai near Ta-ku. According to the research work of the classicist Hu Wei, the Yellow River followed this course to the sea until 602 B.C., which is the fifth year of Chou Ting Wang.[151] In the opinion of this well-known scholar, whose *Yü-kung chuei-chih* has been considered a model of Ching scholarship for nearly three centuries, the lower reaches of the Yellow River followed this northern course over one thousand years from the time of the Great Yü to the fifth year of Chou Ting Wang. Since 602 B.C. historical documents have recorded major changes in the lower course of the Yellow River five more times. They occurred:

1. The second year of the usurper Wang Mang A.D. 10

2. The first year of Chia-yu of the Sung dynasty	A.D. 1056
3. The fifth year of the Ching Chang-tsung	A.D. 1194
4. The twenty-sixth year of Kublai Khan	A.D. 1289
5. The third year of Hsiao-tsung of the Ming dynasty	A.D. 1502 [152]

The author has cited these various changes of the lower course of the Yellow River—they are all well known from historical records—just to show that the research of Hu Wei, made before accurate modern geographic knowledge, may not be far from what did really take place.

Among the Anyang fauna, what surprised the field archaeologists most was a huge piece of the whale's scapula, measuring more than one meter in its upper margin, and also a number of vertebra from this same sea monster. These finds obviously indicate that three thousand years ago Anyang must at least have had some easy means of communication with the seacoast. They also lend support to the conjectural route of the lower course of the Yellow River as reconstructed by Hu Wei for the period before 602 B.C. These geographic reconstructions also seem to have received support from most map makers of historical atlases such as the *Herrmann Atlas* published by the Harvard-Yenching Institute in 1935.

Before entering into a more detailed discussion of agriculture of the Yin period as revealed in oracle bone records, I would like to say something about the economic resources of the Yin-Shang kingdom in general, especially the natural environment and the climatic conditions of north China during this period at least three millennia ago.

Climate and Natural Environment of the Yin-Shang Period According to both modern geological research and the studies of the oracle bone records, there are at least two different opinions about the climate of Anyang three millennia ago. One school of opinion is that the weather of Anyang in the Yin-Shang time was about the same as the present day. This opinion was sponsored especially by the leading paleographer Tung Tso-pin, who

reviewed all the oracle bone materials to support his thesis.[153] Tung's own pupil, Hu Hou-hsüan, thought differently. He hypothesizes that the Anyang of three thousand years ago was warmer and wetter.[154] In addition to data from the oracle bone records, he cites other archaeological evidence such as the presence of rhinoceroses and so on. On the whole, Hu Hou-hsüan's opinion is quite defensible although a number of scholars still follow Tung Tso-pin. At any rate one set of evidence that has not received much attention is the quantitative analysis of the Anyang fauna by C. C. Young and his colleagues.[155] As already noted, Young found to his great surprise that among the fauna of Anyang, buffalo was one of the three animals that have left more skeletons than other groups. According to his estimate, buffalo bones numbered more than one thousand, at least three times as many as ox bones. These unique finds could point to the fact that the weather of Anyang was quite suitable to buffalo life, namely, much damper than at present.

These occurrences, together with the fact that the Yellow River was at this time taking a course that could provide plenty of water, seem to indicate that Anyang and its neighborhood did not lack a water supply. This does not necessarily mean that, as Hu Hou-hsüan argued, the climate at that time was wetter and warmer. But geologists have provided some evidence to show that the north China coast was probably frequently flooded during the Pleistocene and the early part of Holocene, mainly by the lower course of the Yellow River which was not yet well channeled. The result of this was, of course, that all of southern Hopei, northern Shantung, and eastern Honan, that is, the general area east of the Taihang Mountains, was filled with great numbers of lakes and pools and small rivers directly or indirectly related to the Yellow River. The geologists have developed a theory that, since the main sources of the water of the Yellow River were from the melting of glaciers in the Himalayan Mountains which had accumulated during the Pleistocene Age, summer flooding was an almost annual event regardless of whether or not there was rain, even in historical times. This may have been the case in northern China ever since the end of the Pleistocene. If this geological interpretation is accepted, the fact that big herds of buffaloes were kept by the Yin-Shang people is adequately explained. Here we probably can go a step further by a discussion of rice as a domesticated plant in this region.

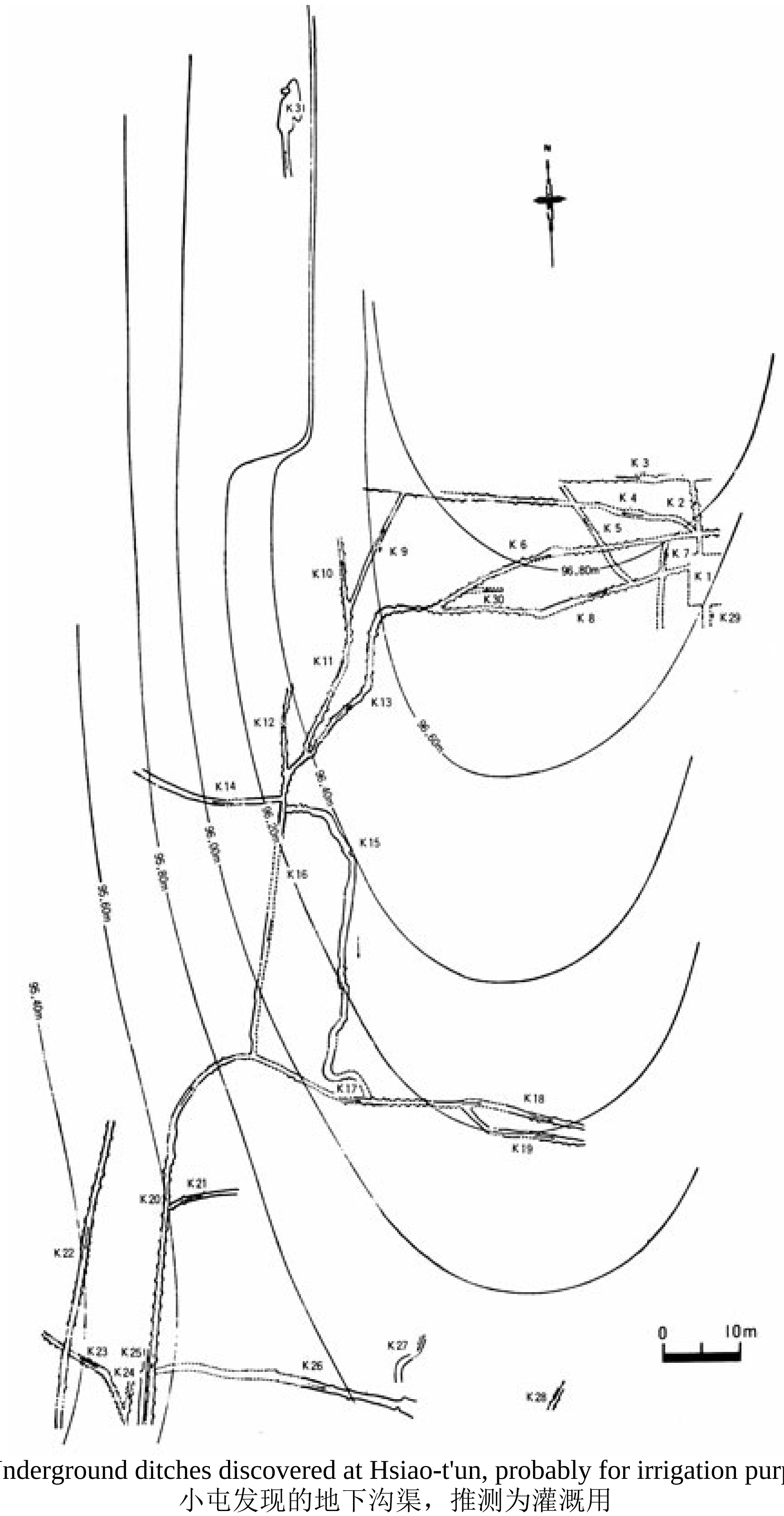
It should be recalled that, in the early days of oracle bone studies, even the most eminent paleographers such as Lo Chên-yü and Wang Kuo-wei

were unable to decipher in the oracle bone texts the character *tao*, which means rice. It was not until 1934 that the brilliant T'ang Lan, who followed the suggestion of a number of some others, first gave a coherent interpretation of this character in the oracle bone record.[156] T'ang Lan's decipherment was accepted by a number of others, except for Ch'en Meng-chia who thought that *tao* represented some other kind of grain quite different from rice.

Recent archaeology has more than once identified the cultivation of rice in ancient times all along the Yangtze River from Chekiang to Hupei, and, of course, traces of rice were also found in the fabrics of the Yangshao pot-sherds which the archaeologists recognized as the earliest indications of rice cultivation in north China. As far as the Anyang region is concerned, however, no such detailed examination has been undertaken. But since 1934, paleographers have given the closest attention to the newly recognized character *tao*, which appears quite frequently in the oracle bones. The Japanese paleographer Kunio Shima took great pains to classify the data from the oracle bone records and published his classification in 1967.[157] According to his estimate, there were 111 items about the crop year for the plant *shu* (glutinous millet), and, according to his statistical count, at least 19 entries of the crop year for rice. But there seems to have been no record for "wheat." These comparative figures must be judged with the understanding that millet had not only a longer history of cultivation, but also a wider distribution than rice, whose origin is not yet clear to modern archaeology. Rice was first cultivated in south China as shown by recent archaeological discoveries, while wheat was presumably a foreign import. Thus, even in the provinces of Hopei, Shantung, and Honan, the domain of the Yin-Shang dynasty, where rice was grown it must have been more limited in geographical area than millet, glutinous or not. But when we find in the oracle bone records that the crop yield for rice was nearly one-fifth as much as recorded for the crop yield of millet, it seems to indicate that with regard to wheat and rice the Yin-Shang people must have exerted greater efforts in promoting the latter, a relatively more recently cultivated grain from the Yangtze region.

It is possible that the early ancestors of the Shang were in intimate contact with the native inhabitants of the Yangtze area where rice was first cultivated. This theory may be further supported by the fact that the

predynastic Shang people were apparently intimately related to folk of the Lungshan Culture. In our excavation of Anyang, we found that the underground ditches were among the most remarkable of the underground structures that have puzzled archaeologists for several generations. Parallels for these structures have recently been found in an earlier site at Chêng-chou. Our careful workers have never put forth any systematic interpretation of these ditches found in Anyang. It seems to the author now that, since rice cultivation in Yin-Shang times has been established on the basis of various studies, we have a safe basis for identifying the network of underground ditches as traces of irrigation canals developed in the Yin-Shang dynasty. This interpretation would harmonize with the geographical distribution of the various rivers and ponds in this area. Furthermore, the ditches found in Anyang were probably the work of early Shang people in this area before King P'an Keng moved there (Fig. 30).



30 Underground ditches discovered at Hsiao-t'un, probably for irrigation purposes
小屯发现的地下沟渠，推测为灌溉用

If we take rice cultivation as one of the main progressive steps in the agricultural development of this area during this dynasty, it provides a link between the early ancestors of the Yin-Shang people and the inhabitants of southeastern China, especially of the Huai River and the Yangtze River areas. This important link, as we shall see later, will also help us interpret a number of other archaeological features found in Anyang and hitherto not made clear. One of these, for instance, is glazed pottery, which originally appeared in the Anyang ceramic collection as altogether unique and strange in regard to both its technique and its shape. Recent archaeology, however, has made it quite clear that the earliest glazed pottery was probably related to the Ts'ing-lien-kang Culture located to the southeast in the northern part of Kiangsu.

Another instance is the problem of sericulture. Although silk itself as found on the remains of Anyang bronzes and other articles has not yet received scientific examination, the term silkworm does appear in one of the oracle bone records and was given some kind of sacrifice, mulberry trees seem to have been well cultivated, and recently definite traces of silk were found by archaeologists at the site Ch'ien-shan-yang on the Yangtze River. So, taking together all the fragmentary evidence of the findings of sericultural remains, it is possible that although the earliest appearance of silk is datable to the Yangshao age, it is nevertheless more reasonable to deduce that it was a part of early Yangtze culture. From a place like Ch'ien-shan-yang, silk may have been transported together with rice and glazed pottery northward during early protohistorical times and developed a step further in the Yin-Shang period.

Before we turn our attention from agricultural resources, something must be said about wheat, which was evidently also one of the main grain products in the Yin-Shang period. Certain paleographers long ago concluded that wheat was an imported crop; their reasoning, however, was mainly epigraphical. The earliest character for "wheat" (麦) found in the oracle bone records was also deciphered as meaning "coming" (来); from this they deduced that this double meaning for the same character must be due to the fact that wheat in north China was a crop that came from other places. This deduction seems to the author to be far-fetched and hardly conclusive. Still, no archaeological evidence has been found either to support or to refute this deduction.

At any rate, the fact that wheat was first cultivated in Mesopotamia as early as the third millennium B.C. or possibly even earlier seems to be an established fact. If the wheat in north China mentioned in the oracle bone records had been imported from the west or other quarters, it would not be surprising. According to Professor Chang Ping-ch'üan's study, wheat was cultivated in China at least before its earliest record on the oracle bones.[158] Whether wheat was as commonly cultivated as millet, it is difficult to say. Judging by the mention of these various grains in the agricultural rituals, including those praying for rain, for crops, for harvest, and a number of others, wheat no doubt constituted one of the important crops of the time.

To sum up, as a result of various research works of scholars of the last fifty years, we have a very substantial account of the agricultural resources of the Yin-Shang dynasty. There is hardly any question that the grain for the common folk was millet, which could be used for wine-making and for staple food. Both wheat and rice were probably the food of the more privileged classes.

Chang Ping-ch'üan has, in his study, estimated the distribution of agricultural land in this period by identifying the various geographical names mentioned in the oracle bone records in connection with agricultural produce. According to his estimates, it spread to the north as far as southern Shansi, to the west to the eastern border of Shensi, to the east as far as Lintze in Shantung, to the south covering the land of both Kiangsu and Anhui; but the northeast border he could not define. This farming territory may be said to have covered the major portion of what later historians have called the central plain, which no doubt constituted also the heartland of the Yin-Shang kingdom.

It has always been a great historical problem whether the people of the Shang dynasty were 100 percent sedentary. Many have thought that some of the Yin-Shang folk remained pastoral or even in the hunting stage. Judging by the fact that sheep and oxen were so frequently used for sacrificial offerings, part of the Yin-Shang people were still nomads who lived in the steppes within the territorial limit of the kingdom.

Let us speculate further on natural resources. Archaeological finds bear strong witness to the high craftsmanship attained by fishermen and hunters of the Yin-Shang time. The Shang people seem to have been fond of making

amulets by carving small fish on stones, shells, and bones. Also, the deer was found to be one of the three most numerous of the Anyang fauna. This, together with the hunting records in the oracle bones, is sufficient to show that the pursuit of wild animals was at least one of the royal sports. So we have sufficient reason to believe that near and around Anyang, perhaps in the west near the foot of the Taihang Range, there were heavy forests plentifully, inhabited by wild animals and that along the lower course of the Yellow River there were numerous lakes and streams teeming with fish.

● Handicrafts, Industry, and Trade

Although the crafts of the Yin-Shang era will be discussed in another context in the following chapter on decorative arts, a bird's-eye view here will enhance our understanding of the economic basis of this civilization. Our knowledge of these matters was greatly increased by the artifacts discovered during the archaeological excavations at Anyang. In view of their abundance, it seems easier for general understanding to divide these artifacts on the basis of their material. Consequently, the author has found it convenient to classify them into the following major groups: (1) lithic industry, including all the artifacts made of stone whether for ornament or for actual use; (2) clay industry, including all ceramics; (3) bone industry; (4) bronze industry; (5) other important industries, including textiles, architectural engineering, transportation, and so on. It is necessary to realize that certain artifacts discovered at Anyang cannot be classified in any of these groups, for instance, the perforated cowrie shells which were probably imported. But, on the whole, the industries classified above cover the most essential aspects of the material civilization of this period. The following briefly summarizes the main results of the investigations regarding each of the four major industries.

Lithic Industry Of all man-made tools, those of stone probably have the oldest tradition, at least as far as archaeologists can testify. In the twentieth century, of course, stone is still used for a variety of purposes. In the case of the Anyang finds, the author has paid special attention to this lithic group, for a very simple reason. During the May 4th Movement many of the new historians thought that Yin-Shang was still in the Stone Age. So, when in 1928 the Academia Sinica started excavating this historical site, Tung Tso-pin particularly noticed, besides the inscribed oracle bones, a number of stone objects,[159] and in 1952 the author made a systematic study of all the edged

stone tools collected from Anyang—about 444 specimens.[160] This number is insignificant compared with the number of bronze tools from the same site, indicating that such tools served only limited purposes and that most of them were probably survivals of an earlier culture. But the fact must be recognized that the Yin-Shang people in the Bronze Age were still using stone tools, especially stone axes and stone knives as my studies have shown.

Products of the lithic industry found at Anyang are generally classifiable into the following categories: (1) weapons, (2) tools, (3) decorative pieces, and (4) ritual objects. Of the four groups, most of the stone weapons, especially arrowheads, had already been replaced by bronze, so whatever stone arrowheads we collected from Anyang were with a few exceptions survivals of an earlier age. But stone tools were much used at that time. Edged tools such as axes, knives, shovels and digging tools, and so on, were evidently still in common use in the Yin-Shang period as testified by hundreds of specimens found in the excavation. At the same time, stone receptacles such as bowls, dishes, mortars, and other artifacts such as hammer stones, grinding stones, and so on, were commonly found in the Waste of Yin. Among the decorative pieces we found a most unique development in the stone industry: a series of sculptures. Some of these were for architectural attachment, including several marble figures of owls and tiger-headed monsters. There were also comparatively small carvings of birds, pigs, and turtles. Some of the larger sculptures have a vertical trough on the back indicating that they were originally fitted into angular protrusions, presumably from the wall of a house. Besides decorative pieces, there was also a group of stone objects that were used probably only on ceremonial occasions, such as the well-known *pi*-discs and *tsung*-square tubes. In later periods these ritual objects were mostly made of jade, but in the Yin-Shang time very few were actually made of this precious stone. In this connection, it may also be mentioned that a number of Shang halbert blades were made of precious stones with the appearance of jade but, when the substance was carefully examined, very few proved to be genuine jade in the technical sense. They were either onyx, opal, or chalcedony, or other stones of similar quality. Occasionally true jade was found, but only very rarely.

If we grade these lithic objects according to their method of preparation, we find that the Yin-Shang artifacts range from the most crude and primitive

way of attacking stone to the most refined and technologically advanced stage of preparatory work. For instance, stone boulders were used to support pillars for building purposes without any preliminary trimming or flaking. Stone weapons such as arrowheads were made by pressure flaking or even simple chipping. For larger tools like hammers, axes, or shovels, the method of preparation depended on the nature of the stone. In the case of soft material, simple chipping or trimming were sufficient, but for hard materials, the general methods used were either hammering or pecking. For the more precious stones with great hardness, polishing was usually employed at least for finishing. The technology of stone-polishing, as judged by the objects we found in Anyang, is divisible into several grades. In the case of genuine jade, the finished article certainly required a very high skill, but most of the "precious stones" which appeared in Anyang were highly polished whether they were jades or not.

Clay Industry The main features in this category are divisible into three groups: (1) clay figures, (2) pottery, and (3) miscellaneous articles. The clay figures found were relatively few, but of great importance. Two of these clay figures have attracted a great deal of attention from the learned world because they were fully clad, and they evidently represented prisoners as their hands are bound (see Figs. 36-37 and further description in chap. 12). It is curious that in our fifteen seasons of excavations such figures were never found in great number.

Pottery constituted the bulk of the clay work of this period.[161] In chapter 6 I have already given a brief account of the main groups that made up this important collection, but here I would like to go into more detail about the significant characteristics of this industry. The typical Yin-Shang ceramics were divisible into the following five classes:

Class 1	Gray pottery, nearly 90% of the total collection
Class 2	Red pottery, about 6.86% of the total collection
Class 3	White pottery, about 0.27% of the total collection
Class 4	Hard wares, about 1.73% of the total collection

Class 5 Black pottery, about 1.07% of the total collection

The number of pot-sherds classified as "black ware" amounted to 2,655, much more than Class 3, the white pottery. In addition to these there was one piece of painted pottery.

Some characteristics of the major pottery group, namely Class 1, the gray wares, deserve special notice. As mentioned above they constitute nearly 90 percent of the quarter million sherds registered and catalogued in the fifteen seasons of field work. This majority group is, however, not uniform in nature. Although most of the pieces were corded, the cord marks were by no means evenly distributed on the surfaces, and they varied not only in their impressions but also in their structures. Firing of the work was also not even; some of the light gray wares appeared to be fired quite uniformly, but others not.

The term *gray* is given to this group mainly because for years it was the common field terminology with which every digger was familiar. When the collection was assembled on various occasions for more careful analysis and comparison, it was soon discovered that the gray wares not only varied considerably in texture, hardness, and outside decoration, but the specimens were also different in the depth of their color tone, which I finally differentiated into four grades: (1) light gray, (2) normal gray, (3) deep gray, and (4) dark gray. What is remarkable about these four grades of gray color is that the deeper the tone, the more it varied in the appearances of a single ware, while the light gray was a much more uniform color evenly distributed over the whole body of a complete article, no matter how complicated the shape might be. Wu Gin-ding, who had devoted much time to the study of the prehistoric pottery of north China, considered that the light gray wares represented a subsequent advance in technology. They were probably a development made at Hsiao-t'un in the Yin-Shang time.

The other groups seem to be much more uniform in their appearance, but they also are not quite homogeneous. The white wares, for example, which have attracted more attention than any of the other groups, are obviously of two different shades: some are snow white, others are tinged with a yellowish color. This ware has been analyzed a number of times both

in Japan and in China and its chemical composition shows amazing similarities to kaolin clay, which is normally used to manufacture modern porcelain. One characteristic that marks the white pottery of Anyang is that these wares are usually elaborately decorated, very much like the bronzes of the same locality. But typologically most of the white wares belong to a special kind of *tou*-dish group—the high pedestal dish. There are also tripods and ring-footed wares made of white pottery; apparently most of them are decorated like bronzes. It should be noted, however, that besides these decorated white wares, there is another group of white sherds which appear softer and are left plain. These plain and soft pot-sherds are important in the study of Anyang ceramics for tracing the origin of the white vase to its ultimate sources, as they seem to be more primitive in shape and design as well as in clay mixture.

Besides the white wares, something must be said of the extraordinary group of glazed hard wares. Most of the glazed wares were jar like bottles, each with a band of incised decoration. The cover was large and bowl-like, covering the entire shoulder.

As already stated in the author's monographic study of pottery the complete corpus is divided into the ten following classes: (1) round bottomed; (2) flat-based; (3) ring-footed; (4) tripods; (5) tetrapods; (6-9) reserved for new types; (10) covers. This corpus has served a useful purpose, especially when the shapes of other vessels, such as bronzes or stoneware or pottery of different localities and ages are brought together for comparative purposes. The Anyang corpus has served as a standard for such comparative investigations.

The third group—miscellaneous—includes a great number of minor articles of clay, such as marble clay rings, net-sinkers, spindle-whorls, and other objects of unknown use.

Bone Industry Bone tools may be as old, traditionally speaking, as stone implements. We know definitely that in Chou-k'ou-tien, Peking Man used bone extensively for scraping, digging, and so on. In the Yin-Shang time, this industry reached a very high stage of development, almost as refined as the stone industry. In the course of the Anyang excavations, many of the storage pits were found to be half-filled with raw materials of bone, collected evidently for workshop purposes. In the archaeological collection of Anyang,

it is possible to subdivide this industry into two subgroups. First and foremost I should mention the scapula bones collected for divinatory purposes. In this period, bones used for divination seem to have been limited to the scapula of oxen and to tortoise shells. These must have been collected by special agents and also prepared by specialists with the required amount of technical knowledge and skill. It can almost be safely assumed that those who participated in this type of work must have belonged to a privileged class.

There are also other works of bone that required a considerable amount of training. First of all, we should mention bone arrowheads, which show a variety of shapes. Most of the arrowheads were used for hunting. Remains of bone arrowheads are quite abundant in the Anyang collection. For ordinary use, there were such tools as pins, awls, scrapers, and so on.

Two articles will receive further attention in the following chapter. One of these is the *ss*ŭ (spatula), which appeared in the Anyang collection in several shapes. Antiquarians have usually considered that this group of implements was intended for food purposes, but exactly how they were used remains to be investigated. The other article is the hairpin. The Shang ladies seem to have been particularly fond of elaborate hair dressing, ornamented mainly by bone or jade hairpins with carved tops. In times of abundance, some hairpins were carved of ivory and precious stones, but those that have survived are comparatively rare.

Bronze Industry Bronzes excavated from Anyang are divisible into four groups: ritual bronzes, weapons, tools, and miniature objects specially made for the dead. Of these, the ritual bronzes and weapons have from an early period attracted the most attention from the archaeologists. Very few ordinary tools, such as knives, cutting implements, axes, and so on, have survived. What amazed the field archaeologists were those miniature objects that were apparently made to accompany the dead who could not afford anything better for their burial. Perhaps we should add a fifth group, which consisted of the decorative pieces that may have been parts of, or belonged to, a composite instrument such as a chariot or other means of transportation, or wooden furniture. The various bronzes recovered from Anyang total a great number; they have been recently studied jointly by the author and Mr. Wan Chia-pao, each investigating a specific group of problems. As Wan had had some metallurgical and engineering training, he went into the problem of casting

and tried a series of casting experiments to discover the production methods of Shang bronzes according to the materials collected by the field workers. The author, on the other hand, was specially engaged in the investigation of the various shapes of the different bronzes and their evolution, as well as the method of decoration and the motifs. As a result of continuous labor by both for a number of years, five volumes on ritual bronzes have already been published in a new series of Archaeologia Sinica, each devoted to a specific group of these ritual bronzes.[162]

Some of the results from these studies are of general interest and deserve summary here. First of all, technically speaking, the authors have proved both by actual finds and by experiment that the Shang bronze workers cast the bronzes by means of the piece-mold method. In Anyang, the field archaeologists collected several thousand fragments of these molds. These included a few fragments that could be pieced together and their original shape restored. With these findings as a basis, the Institute of History and Philology, with a special fund from the Harvard-Yenching Institute, built a small laboratory to experiment on the technique of the Anyang bronzes. The experiment started with the making of piece-molds based on the Shang prototypes, which were actually the negatives of a model to be cast. The clay molds were imprinted on the model and then baked somewhat like pottery. When these piece-molds were assembled together, the inner face of the assemblage would serve as a negative of the outside appearance of the bronze article to be cast. The technical details are much more intricate than can be described here; those who are interested can be referred to the original article in the new series of Archaeologia Sinica.[163] The second stage of the experiment involved studying how to pour liquid bronze into the assembled molds; the detailed description of the procedures has been given in both English and Chinese in the original report. It is sufficient to say that the bronze articles cast by means of this process bear the special marks of the Shang articles. This proves that this experiment has accomplished its original purpose, to determine that Shang ritual bronzes were all cast by the piece-mold method. The laboratory experiment has so far been limited to the study of ritual bronzes. Since the other groups have not been subjected to experiment in the laboratory, it is still too early to say whether the weapons, tools, and other bronze articles were all cast by the piece-mold method. We must not omit to mention the important proof we are able to provide that the

cire-perdu method never existed in Shang times as far as our experiments could show. This statement is important because many students before our time have thought that such a method did exist in that period.

The shapes of various bronze articles collected from Anyang excavations indicate quite diverse origins. Many of these were doubtless indigenous and their origins could be traced to prehistoric times, such as the halbert group among the weapons and the *ku* (beakers) among the ritual bronzes as well as some of the bronze knives among the tools. At the same time, quite a number of the objects of this group originated through outside contact and some in fact could definitely be identified with foreign origins, for example, the spearhead among the weapons and socketed axes among the tools.

The author has devoted a great deal of attention to the evolution of the ritual bronzes represented in the Anyang collections. The origins and evolutionary changes of the *ku* and the *chüeh*, the two ritual bronze vessels most commonly found in the tombs of the Yin-Shang dynasty, have been definitely traced and show the most genuine native Chinese development. Other specifically indigenous Chinese types include the tripod and tetrapod *ting*, the *hsien* (tripod steamer) and also the *chia* (tripod vessel), all of which also occur frequently among the bronze objects found in the various Yin-Shang tombs. Still other types of bronze ritual vessels are the *lei*-urn, the *hu*-pot, the *kuei*-bowl, the *pien*-jug, the *chih*-goblet, the *yu*-flask, and so on. For those whose shapes have been traced, all indications are that they were evolved from the neolithic type of pottery vessels in north China. The same cannot be said about the various tools and weapons. In the case of tools, the socketed celts or axes, for instance, can hardly find a Chinese ancestral origin, so these have been taken as definite evidence of Western influence on China in the Bronze Age, long before the Anyang period. Recent investigations by the members of the Institute of History and Philology lead one to believe that the appearance of certain types of tools and weapons and probably the wheeled carriages resulted from external contact. But the fact remains impressive that practically all the ritual bronzes have shown a completely indigenous character. So there remains the important question, as far as the bronze culture as a whole is concerned, whether the weapons and tools were developed before the ritual vessels or vice versa.

Other Industries In addition to the four Shang-Yin industries mentioned above, one should note that there are others which are perhaps equally important, but because of the paucity of archaeological remains our understanding of them is quite limited. Nevertheless, something should be said about them here. First of all, there is no doubt that a wood industry existed in view of the high development of cutting implements such as hatchets, axes, celts, and so on. Some of the wood carving was probably even of high artistic value. Shih Chang-ju found at Hsiao-t'un evidence of a wooden lacquered *tou* that had almost completely disintegrated. Many of the remains in the huge Hou-chia-chuang tombs strongly reminded us of disintegrated parts of elaborate wooden furniture. The horse chariots, of course, whose bronze elements were found in such great number, must have been made of wood. Above all, the houses whether underground or on the surface, could hardly have been made without some use of timber. Unfortunately, details of these are all lost to us.

In addition to the wood industry, textiles should be mentioned. Remains of woven cloth probably originally used for wrapping have occasionally been found on bronzes and other materials. So far, no detailed examination has been done. It is possible that the fibers were silk. Shang people perhaps made use of fur and hemp as well as silk for clothing, but the archaeologists have not been able to find any tools related to the weaving industry, except the spinning whorls.

拾壹．经济：农业和制造业

● 殷商王朝的农业和其他自然资源

盘庚从现郑州附近发现的可能为较早商都的隞（或嚣）迁都至今安阳的殷时，这个王朝统治下的大多数臣民极有可能已是耕种了数千年土地的农民。因而，农业自然是这个王朝财富的主要来源。自安阳发掘以来，已发表了数篇主要依据甲骨刻辞写的关于农业发展的重要文章，其作者都是专门研究这种早期汉字的著名古文字学家。下面三篇文章可作为例子来说明，随着古文字研究的进展和农业科学知识的积累，我们对殷商农业的认识是如何逐次增进的。

吴其昌在1937年纪念商务印书馆著名总编辑张菊生先生七十寿辰的专集上发表的论文代表了第一个阶段。[146]这篇文章充满了当时固执己见的解释，也经不住严格的检验。

第二阶段以胡厚宣的一篇重要论文为代表。胡原为董作宾的助手，1945年抗日战争[147]结束后，他到了齐鲁大学。这所学校战时迁到成都，并邀著名史学家顾颉刚负责国学研究所。胡不堪忍受中央研究院成员在战时昆明所过的艰苦生活，辞去了研究所的工作。到成都后，他利用为董做见习生时摹写和研究出土甲骨刻辞获得的第一手资料，写了一篇关于殷代农业的重要文章。[148]这篇论文标志着客观地理解及无偏见地解释殷墟出土的原片甲骨刻辞的开始。

最近，也可称为第三个阶段，主要是由于史前遗物提供了丰富的比较资料，殷商时期的农业得到了多角度的研究。张秉权在1970年出版的纪念前院长王世杰的专集上发表了关于殷代农业与气象的文章，成为这一阶段的代表作。[149]

要确切说出殷商王朝领土的大致范围仍很困难。但既然现代安阳是这个王朝最后的首都，我们可以把它作为一个确定的地点开始研究。殷商王朝在此地是否统治了273年仍有争论，但这里及其邻近地区（殷，即安阳）在大约300年的时间里是王国重要的文化和政治中心，这一点几已确定。

我们看看现代安阳地区，这环境是什么样的呢？先看它的农产品。我们这些多年在此进行田野工作的人自然知道小麦和棉花是这里主要种植的两种农作物，但最重要的作物仍是小米，这也仍是华北的主食，虽

然稻米和小麦也是日常食物。河南省普遍种植小麦，稻米却并不普遍。这个地区的农民也种土豆和玉米，但较少。

大家知道，上面提到的农作物中，棉花、土豆和玉米都是较晚的历史时期，在最近的一千年内从外国引进的。可追溯到殷商时期的农作物有小麦、稻米和小米。其中在新石器时代遗址中发现了大量小米，经专家鉴定属两种不同的品种：*Panicum milliaceum*和*Setarise italica*。在汉语中对小米也有不同的称呼，但这些涵义不是根据科学下的定义。如“黍”一般译为“圆锥花序的粘小米”或简称“变种小米”；而“稷”被译为“圆锥花序小米”。在华北，直到20世纪中期黍米仍是农民每天的食物。

显然，殷商时期小麦和稻米已普遍种植。所有证据都表明，小麦、稻米是常见的作物，虽然尚不知民众对其消费程度如何。一些专家可能要提出关于稻的培育和小麦传播的技术问题，这不是我们在这里要详加论述的。但由于关系到当时的经济基础，就这些问题的实质，可以简要说几句。

一个常常被问到的问题是安阳及其附近地区的供水量。现在，安阳地区不种水稻，是因没有充足的水量。那么，三千年前供水量会更充足吗？许多考古学者认为，答案是肯定的。原因有两个。不少资料表明殷商时期安阳的气候更加潮湿温暖，这附近不仅有象、犀牛存在，而且，杨钟健博士对安阳动物群的数量分析也表明，在大量驯养的动物中，水牛与猪的数量不相上下。[150]有一个更直接的证据，虽带有推论性质，但却十分重要，即关于黄河下游的流向问题。根据历史地理学者的说法，黄河的下游取道北面并在靠近大沽的渤海湾入海。据经学家胡渭研究，在公元前602年（即周定王五年）之前，黄河一直是从这个方向入海的。[151]这位著名学者认为，从大禹时期到周定王五年间的一千多年里，黄河下游一直沿北面的河道流淌。他的《禹贡锥指》被认为是近三百年来清朝学术的楷模。从公元前602年以来，历史文献记载黄河下游有五次大的改道，分别发生在：

1. 王莽篡位的第二年	公元10年
2. 宋嘉祐元年	公元1056年
3. 金章宗五年	公元1194年

4. 忽必烈二十六年　　公元1289年

5. 明孝宗三年　　　　公元1502年[152]

作者引证的黄河下游的这几次改道，在历史记载上是很有名的；它表明，胡渭在有精确的现代地理知识可依据前所作的研究，离实际情况可能并不太远。

在安阳发掘的动物骨骼中，让田野考古工作者最为惊奇的是一大块鲸肩胛骨，它的上缘长1米多，同时发现了这只海兽的若干椎骨。这些发现物清楚表明，三千年以前安阳至少已有某种与海滨地区相往来的便利方式。这些也为胡渭复原的公元前602年以前黄河下游河道提供了证据。这种地理的复原似乎也获得了大多数历史地图集绘制者的认同，例如1935年哈佛燕京学社出版的《中国历史地图集》。

在对甲骨记录中披露的殷代农业进行更详细讨论之前，我想先概述一下殷商王国的经济资源，特别是三千多年前这一时期华北的自然环境和气候条件。

殷商时代的气候和自然环境　据现代地质学和甲骨文的研究，关于三千年前安阳的气候至少有两种不同的看法。一种认为，殷商时安阳的气候与现在大致一样。这一意见以杰出的古文字学家董作宾为倡导者，他查阅了甲骨文中所有的资料来支持这种看法。[153]董的学生胡厚宣有不同看法，他推测三千年前安阳的气候较现在温暖湿润。[154]除卜辞的记述外，他还引证了其他考古资料，如犀牛的存在等。总之，虽有一些人同意董的看法，但胡厚宣的论述是相当有说服力的。无论怎么说，杨钟健及其同事对安阳动物群的数量分析[155]的这套证据，没有引起人们太多注意。如上所述，杨惊奇地发现，安阳动物群中，水牛是留下骨架最多的三种动物之一。据他估算，水牛骨有1000余块，至少相当于黄牛骨的3倍。这些特殊发现充分证明安阳的气候适于水牛生长的事实，就是说比现在潮湿得多。

这些情况，以及此时黄河的流向可提供充足水源的事实，似能证明安阳及其附近地区不缺乏水的供应。但这并不一定就表示，像胡厚宣所主张的那样，那时安阳的气候更加潮湿温暖。但地质学家提供的一些证据表明，在更新世和全新世早期华北沿海地区，主要是黄河下游尚未很好地开凿水道的地方，可能常遭水灾。这就使河北南部、山东北部、河南东部，即太行山以东广大地区，布满了许多与黄河直接或间接相连的

湖泊和小河。地质学家持有一种理论，黄河水主要来源于喜马拉雅山在更新世时堆积起来的冰川的溶化，因此，无论降雨与否，几乎每年夏季黄河都会泛滥，进入历史时期后也是如此。这可能是从更新世结束以来中国北方的情况。如果接受地质学家这种解释，那么殷人驯养大群水牛也就有了足够的理由。此时我们可以对这一地区种植稻米作进一步探讨了。

大家应该记得，在甲骨文研究初期，即使像罗振玉和王国维那样杰出的古文字学家也未能破译甲骨文中的“稻”字。直到1934年，才华横溢的唐兰在综合多人的研究成果后才首次给甲骨文中这个汉字一个合理的解读。[156]唐兰的考释被许多人接受，只有陈梦家例外，他认为此“稻”字代表与稻米完全不同的另一种谷物。

现代考古学多次证明，古代在长江流域，从浙江到湖北，都有水稻种植。稻的遗迹也在仰韶文化的陶片上发现，考古学者认为这是最早的华北种稻的标志。至于安阳地区，尚未进行过这样详细的考查。但自1934年以来，古文字研究者对甲骨文中常出现的新辨认出的“稻”字给予了密切关注。日本古文字学者岛邦男花费了很大力气将甲骨文中的资料加以分类，并于1967年出版了他的专著。[157]据他统计，有111条卜辞记载了“黍年”，至少19条记载“稻年”，但似乎没有关于“小麦”的记载。在依据这些对比数据作出判断的同时还应该认识到，小米有更长的种植历史，其分布也比水稻要广。现代考古学还不清楚稻米的起源。新近的考古发现显示，水稻可能首先在中国南方种植，而小麦可能是外来的。因而，即使在殷商统治下的河北、山东和河南这些省份，水稻的种植面积也比小米（无论粘小米还是非粘小米）小。然而在甲骨文中发现的稻米产量几乎为小米的五分之一的记录，似乎表明，殷商人必定曾大力倡导过水稻——这种相对较晚才从长江流域引入的谷物——的种植。

商朝的远祖可能与首先种稻的长江流域土著居民有密切交往。商人在建立自己的王朝之前显然曾与龙山文化居民有密切联系，这进一步证实了上面的假说。在安阳发掘时，地下水渠是我们发现的最引人注目的地下结构之一，这一发现困惑了好几代考古学人。与这种地下建筑类似的结构最近在郑州附近一处更早的遗址中也发现了。我们谨慎的田野工作者从未对安阳发现的地下水沟给出过任何系统的解释。笔者现在认为，既然殷商的水稻种植基于各种研究已得到证实，那么我们可以认为这种地下沟网是殷商灌溉渠的遗迹。这种解释也与该地区各种河流、湖泊的地理分布相吻合。另外，安阳发现的沟似是盘庚迁都到此之前早商居民开挖的（图30）。

如果我们把水稻种植作为这时期该地区农业发展中的一大进步，那么它显示了殷商人的远祖与中国东南部——尤其是淮河、长江流域——的居民之间存在联系。这一重要联系稍后还会谈到，它将有助于我们理解许多在安阳发现的、但至今仍还令人迷惑的其他考古现象，如釉陶即是其中之一。这种陶器最早出现在安阳陶器群中，其制造技术和器形完全是独特而新奇的。但是最近的考古发现已清楚表明，最早的釉陶大概与位于安阳东南、江苏北部的青莲岗文化有关。

另一例是养蚕。虽然在安阳的青铜器和其他手工制品遗迹上发现的“丝”字本身还未接受过科学的检验，但“蚕”字确在一片甲骨刻辞中出现，并受到了某种献祭，而且殷商人似已掌握了栽种桑树的方法，最近考古工作者还在长江流域的钱山漾遗址发现了确定的丝的遗迹。若把所有关于桑蚕文化遗物的零星发现的证据汇总到一起，可以看出，虽然蚕丝的最早出现可能追溯到仰韶时代，但我们更有理由推断它是早期长江文化的一部分。在遥远的原史时期，蚕丝有可能从钱山漾这样的地方随稻米和釉陶一起运送到北方，并在殷商时期得到了进一步发展。

在我们结束农业资源的讨论前，还要说一说小麦。显然它也是殷商的一种主要谷物。很早前古文字学者论断小麦是引进的，这主要是依据金石研究得出的。最早甲骨文中的“麦”字也被释为“来”；他们推论，一字双义正是因为华北的小麦是从其他地方引进的。笔者认为这一推论过于牵强，难以成立，也没有考古学上的证据支持或反驳这一推论。

无论如何，几乎可以确定：在公元前三千年或更早以前，小麦首先在美索不达米亚种植。若甲骨文中记载的华北的小麦是从西方或其他地方引进的，这也不奇怪。据张秉权教授研究，小麦在中国种植，再晚也在最早的甲骨记录之前。[158]小麦的种植是否像小米那样普遍，这很难说。根据在祈雨、祈谷、祈年等农事祭祀中提及的各种谷物判断，小麦无疑是当时主要农作物之一。

总之，学者们近五十年来的研究成果，为我们详实地说明了殷商时期的农业资源。毫无疑问，一般平民以小米为主食并用它来酿酒，而小麦和稻米似为特权阶级享用。

张秉权根据甲骨记录中提到的与农产有关的各种地名推测了农田的分布。据他推测，农田分布北至山西南部，西迄陕西东部，东至山东的临淄，南及苏皖地区，但其东北边界在哪里未能确定。这大片的良田沃土可以说遍及后代史学家称为中原的大部分地区，无疑这也是殷商王朝的心脏地带。

商代人是否百分之百地过定居生活，一直是个重要的历史问题。不少人认为部分殷商居民仍过着放牧生活，甚至处于游猎阶段。羊和牛作牺牲屡见不鲜，据此可判断部分殷商人仍是王朝统治下的草原牧民。

不妨再推测一下当时的自然资源。考古发现有力地证明殷商渔民和猎人有着高超的手工技艺。商代人似乎很喜欢在石、蚌、骨上雕刻小鱼做成护身符。鹿也是安阳数量最多的三种动物之一。这连同甲骨卜辞中的田猎记述足以说明，逐捕野兽是一项王室运动。因此我们有充足的理由相信，安阳及附近地区，也许西至太行山麓，曾有大量野生动物栖息的茂密森林，黄河下游一带也有不少产鱼的湖和溪。

● 手工艺、制造业和贸易

殷商的工艺技术将在下一章装饰艺术中论及，但在这里作一个概述，可增进我们对殷商文明经济基础的了解。安阳考古发掘期间出土的手工制品大大加深了我们在这方面的认识。由于出土的手工制品异常丰富，按一般的理解，将它们按材质分类较容易。所以，笔者认为分以下几组为宜：(1) 石业，包括所有的石制品，既有装饰品，也有实用器物；(2) 陶业，包括所有陶器；(3) 制骨业；(4) 青铜业；(5) 其他重要产业，包括纺织、建筑工程、交通运输等。还需注意到，安阳出土的某些手工制品不能归入上面任何一组，例如，可能是从外地输入的穿孔贝。但总的来说，上面的几组产业已囊括这一时期物质文明最基本的方面。下面分别简要归纳这四大产业的主要研究成果。

石业　在所有人造工具中，石器有着最古老的传统，至少据考古学家证实如此。当然在20世纪，石头仍有各种用途。在安阳的出土物中，笔者由于一个简单原因特别注意到了石制品。不少五四时期的新史学家认为殷商仍处于石器时代。所以，1928年中央研究院开始发掘这处历史遗址时，除有字甲骨外，董作宾还特别注意到石器。[159] 1952年，笔者对过去在安阳收集的全部有刃石器作了系统研究，约涉及444件标本。[160]这个数目与同一遗址出土的青铜工具的数量相比微不足道，这说明石制工具用途有限，且多数可能是早期文化的遗留物。然而，必须承认，正如笔者研究所示，处于青铜时代的殷商人仍使用石器，尤其是石斧、石刀。

安阳出土的石制品大体可分为：(1) 武器；(2) 工具；(3) 装饰物件；(4) 祭祀用品。在这四组中，大部分石制武器，特别是箭头，已被青铜器代替，所以在安阳收集的石箭头，除少数外，都是更早时期的遗留物。但那时石制工具仍广为应用。有刃工具，如斧、刀、铲和挖掘工

具等，显然仍在普遍使用，这已被出土的数以百计的标本所证实。同时，碗、碟、臼之类的石制容器和硾石、磨盘等其他石制品在殷墟也常发现。在装饰品中，我们发现了石制品中最奇特的一类，雕刻品系列。其中一些是建筑上的附加物，包括几个大理石猫头鹰和虎头怪兽像，也有较小的雕刻物，如鸟、猪和龟。一些大的雕刻物背部有长条形凹槽，表明它们原来可能与房屋墙上的角形隆起物相契合。除装饰物件外，还有一组大概仅在祭祀场合使用的石器，即大家熟悉的璧和琮。后来这些物件大都以玉为质料，但在殷商，几乎没有器物是用这种贵重石头制成的。在这方面值得一提的是，商代有些戈的援部似乎是由外观像玉的贵重石头制成的，但仔细研究发现，从成分上看它们并不是真正的玉。它们不是缟玛瑙、蛋白石，就是玉髓或其他质地相似的石头。真正的玉也偶有发现，但极少。

如果我们根据制作方法将其分等，就会发现，殷商石制品既有直接用敲击的这种最粗糙的原始方法制成的，也有靠最精细、技术最先进的工艺制成的。例如，砾石用作柱础之前就未经修整和打磨。制造箭头之类的石制武器用的是压或打下落片的方法。至于硾、斧、铲之类的大型工具，其制作方法则取决于石料的自然性状。对于质地软的材料，简单地敲下小片修理一下即可；对硬的材料，一般采用硾击或凿的方法。对较珍贵又坚硬的石料，至少最后一道工序会用磨光法。磨光工艺，从安阳出土物看，可分不同等级。真正的玉的制成品当然需要很高的技术，但安阳出土的大部分“美石”，不管是否是真玉，都被精细地打磨过。

陶业　这一类依其主要特征可分三组：(1) 陶人像；(2) 陶器；(3) 杂类。陶人像发现较少，但很重要。其中有两个曾引起学术界极大关注，因为他们都穿衣服，并且双手被绑，显然是囚犯（见图36和37及第12章的进一步叙述）。奇怪的是，在十五次发掘中，这种人像一直很少发现。

陶器是这一时期主要的陶土制品。[161]第六章中我已对收集物中主要的几类作了简要介绍，但在这里我要更详细地探究这一产业的重要特征。殷商时典型陶器可分为下列五类：

第一类灰陶 约占收集总数的90%

第二类红陶 约占收集总数的6.86%

第三类白陶 约占收集总数的0.27%

第四类硬陶 约占收集总数的1.73%

第五类黑陶 约占收集总数的1.07%

被归为“黑陶”的陶片总数达2655片，比第三类白陶要多很多。此外，还有一片彩陶。

最主要的一类，即第一类灰陶，有一些特征值得特别注意。正如上面所说，它们占到十五次田野发掘期间登记和编录的25万片陶片的90%。然而，这一组灰陶性质大多也不尽相同。虽大部分陶片有绳纹，但并不是均匀地分布在表面，压痕和结构也有变化。火候也不均匀，有些浅灰陶片看来烧得一致，但其他都不是。

将这组称为“灰陶”，主要因为这是多年来发掘者都熟悉的通行的田野术语。如果把各次发掘的出土物集中到一起作更详细的分析比较，就会立刻发现这些灰陶不仅质地、硬度、表面纹饰不同，色调也深浅不一。最后，我将它们分为四等：(1) 浅灰色；(2) 标准灰色；(3) 深灰色；(4) 暗灰色。最值得注意的是，色调越深的，同一陶器上的陶色越不一致，浅灰色的陶器就算器形再复杂，整个器表颜色仍是均匀的。吴金鼎下了很大工夫研究华北的史前陶器，他认为浅灰陶反映了技术的进步。这大概是殷商时代小屯制陶业的一大发展。

其他组的陶器表面看来很一致，但也并非完全纯一。例如，比其他组更使人注目的白陶就有两种明显不同的色度，雪白和稍发黄。在中国和日本对这种陶器作过多次分析，显示其化学成分与制作现代瓷器的高岭土惊人地相似。安阳白陶的一大特征是，这些陶器有精致的纹饰，这与同一地点出土的青铜器极为相似。从器形学上来说，大多数白陶属特殊的豆形器——高座盘，也有三足和圈足的，很明显大多都像青铜器一样带有纹饰。应注意的还有一些硬度低而无装饰的白陶片。在安阳陶器研究中，这些素面的软陶片对于探寻这种白色器皿最早的起源非常重要，因为它们无论在器形、图案，还是在泥土混合方面，似乎都更原始。

除了白陶，还要说说另一组不寻常的上釉硬陶。这一类大多数是瓿形器，器上有一刻纹装饰带。盖大，呈碗形，盖至肩部。

前面讲过，笔者在《殷墟器物》一书中将陶器分为十类：(1) 圈

底；(2) 平底；(3) 圈足：(4) 三足；(5) 四足；(6—9) 为新的类型保留的型号；(10) 盖。这个分类很有实用意义，特别是把其他容器的器形，如青铜器、石制容器或不同地区不同时期的陶器放在一起比较时，它可为这种比较研究提供一个标准。

第三组杂器包括大量的小器物，像大理石纹的陶环、陶网坠、纺轮和其他用途不明的器物。

制骨业　按传统说法，骨器与石器一样古老。我们可以肯定，周口店的北京人已使用骨器进行刮削、挖掘等。殷商时期，这一产业已进入高度发展阶段，几乎与石业一样精密。安阳发掘中，发现不少贮藏坑中有一半填的是未加工的骨料，很明显这是为制骨作坊收集的。安阳出土的考古收集物中，骨器又可复分为两组。我先谈一谈占卜用的肩胛骨。在这个时期，占卜用的骨几乎仅限于牛肩胛骨和龟壳。这些应是由专门机构收集，并由具有相当技术知识和技能的专门人员整治。完全可以这样假设，参与这项工作的人必定属于特权阶层。

还有一些骨制品，其制作也需要经过一定的训练。首先应提到的是不同形状的骨箭头，它们多数用于打猎。安阳收集物中这种遗物很丰富。日常使用的骨器有针、锥、削等。

下一章中将继续关注两件器物。一种是柶（刮刀），在安阳收集的柶有几种不同形状。古物家通常认为这类是食具，但究竟是如何使用的仍需进一步研究。另一种是笄，商代妇女似乎尤其喜欢精美发式，多饰以顶端雕花的骨笄或玉笄。在丰足的年头，有些笄是用象牙和宝石雕刻而成的，但保存下来的相对稀少。

青铜业　安阳发掘的青铜器可分四组：礼器、武器、工具和供奉死者的小件器物。其中礼器和武器一开始就最受考古工作者关注。日常使用的刀、切割器、斧等工具保存下来的极少。使田野考古者颇感惊奇的是那些小型器物，它们显然是给那些无力置办更好葬器的死者陪葬用的。也许应增加一个第五组，即装饰片组，这些装饰片可能是双轮马车或其他交通工具或木制家具等组合物的一部分或附件。安阳发现的青铜器数量极多，最近笔者和万家保先生共同研究了这些青铜器，每人研究特定的一组问题。因为万家保具有冶金学和工程学方面的知识，所以他研究铸造问题。他根据田野工作者收集的资料，进行了一系列的铸造实验，来探究商代青铜器的生产方法。笔者则专门研究不同青铜器的器形及其演变、纹饰方法和纹饰母题。我们二人持续研究多年，出了五本关于青铜礼器的专著，每部研究一类器物，已在《中国考古报告集新编》上发

表。[162]

这些研究的某些结果具有普遍意义，应该在此谈一谈。首先在技术上，笔者通过实物和实验证实，商代工人用块范法铸造青铜器。安阳田野考古工作者收集到几千片陶范，其中一些经拼合能复原。以此为基础，历史语言研究所用哈佛燕京学社资助的一笔专款，建了一个研究安阳青铜铸造技术的小型实验室。实验从模仿商代青铜器原型制作块范开始，事实上是用范来铸造一个模型的反面。将泥范印在模型上，然后像陶器一样焙烧。块范组合在一起后，组合的内面即是要铸造的青铜器外表的反面。技术细节比这里讲的复杂得多，对此感兴趣者可参看《中国考古报告集新编》上的原文。[163]实验的第二步是探讨怎样将熔化的液态青铜浇铸在组合陶范内。此过程的详细情况已在原报告中用中英文分别介绍。只需要说用这种方法铸造的青铜器具有商代器物的独特标志就够了。这表明，实验达到了最初的目的，确定了商代青铜礼器都是用块范法铸造的。实验迄今为止只限于青铜礼器。因为其他类器物未做实验，所以武器、工具和其他青铜器物是否都用块范法铸造还不能肯定。必须提及的一点是，据实验所示，我们能提供火蜡法在商代不存在的重要证据。这一说明也很重要，因在这之前许多学者认为这种方法的确存在于这一时期。

安阳出土的各种青铜器物的器形显示了不同的起源。其中许多无疑是土生土长的，其来源可上溯到史前时期，如武器中的戈、青铜礼器中的觚和工具中的刀等。同时，也有相当数量的物品起源于与外部的交往，事实上已可以确定有一些起源于国外，如武器中的矛和工具中的銎斧等。

笔者对安阳收集的青铜礼器的演变给予了极大关注。在殷商墓中最常见的爵和觚这两种容器的起源和演变已探明，这展现了最真实的中国本土器物的发展。其他明显为中国本地的三足和四足器物——包括鼎、甗、斝等，也都常在各殷商墓中出土的青铜器物中发现。其他青铜礼器还包括罍、壶、簋、瓿、觯和卣等。对于这些已探明器形的礼器，所有迹象都表明，它们是从华北新石器时代的陶器器形演变而来的。但对各种工具和武器却不能这样说。工具中，如銎和锛，几乎不能在中国找到祖型，因而曾被当作在安阳时期前西方影响中国青铜时代的确凿证据。史语所成员的最新研究成果使人们相信，某些工具、武器，可能还有双轮车的出现，是与外界交往的结果。但令人印象深刻的是，事实上所有青铜礼器显示了地道的本土特征。所以存在的一个重要问题是，就青铜文化的整体来说，武器和工具的发展究竟是在礼器之前还是之后。

其他产业　除上面介绍的四种殷商产业外，还应注意到，还有其他产业可能同样重要，但因考古遗物太少，所以对它们的了解非常有限。然而，在此必须谈谈它们的情况。首先，由于砍伐工具，如短柄斧、斧、锛等的高度发展，一定会存在木器业，甚至可能有一些颇具艺术价值的木雕。石璋如在小屯发现了一个几乎完全腐朽了的木质漆豆的痕迹。侯家庄大墓中的许多遗物使我们联想到精致的木制器具的腐朽部分。在发掘中发现了大量双轮马车上的青铜零件，可以肯定马车是木制的。最重要的是，无论地面上或地下的房屋，如果没有木料的话，几乎不能营建。遗憾的是其详情已完全不可知了。

除木器业外，还应提一提纺织业。原来可能用于包裹的织布遗物，在青铜器和其他质料的器物上偶有发现。但到目前为止，尚未得到详细研究。纤维可能是丝质的。除了丝之外，商代人可能还用毛和麻做衣服，但考古学者除了纺轮外，未发现任何与纺织业有关的工具。

12. Decorative Art

of the Yin-Shang Dynasty

More than twenty years ago, in 1953, I prepared a paper for the Eighth Pacific Science Congress held in Manila on "Diverse Backgrounds of the Decorative Art of the Yin Dynasty."[164] In it, I made use of the Anyang material only to a limited extent as I had not yet started my intensive research on bronzes and other works of art such as the sculptures discovered from Hou-chia-chuang. Nevertheless, several important ideas which I had already developed were presented in this paper.

Two works of art discovered at Anyang were immediately suggestive: a human torso in marble decorated with designs which resembled tattoo marks, and a bone handle carved with *t'ao-t'ieh* masks, ranged vertically one above another. In these two objects I found evidence of the ancient practice of tattooing and of the existence of totemism. Another group of artifacts convinced me that an extensive and advanced wood-carving art must have existed in ancient China. The wooden prototypes must have been fully decorated if, as I concluded, the bronzes were copied from them. The field archaeologists did find vestiges of numerous wooden vessels such as the *tou* and of wooden drums, but these were totally disintegrated. Of the bronze vessels, all those of square- and rectangular-bodied type are usually fully decorated while the vessels with round or oval shape are not. My assumption at that time was that the square-bodied vessels copied their shapes from the wooden prototypes and the round-bodied inherited their form from the ceramics.

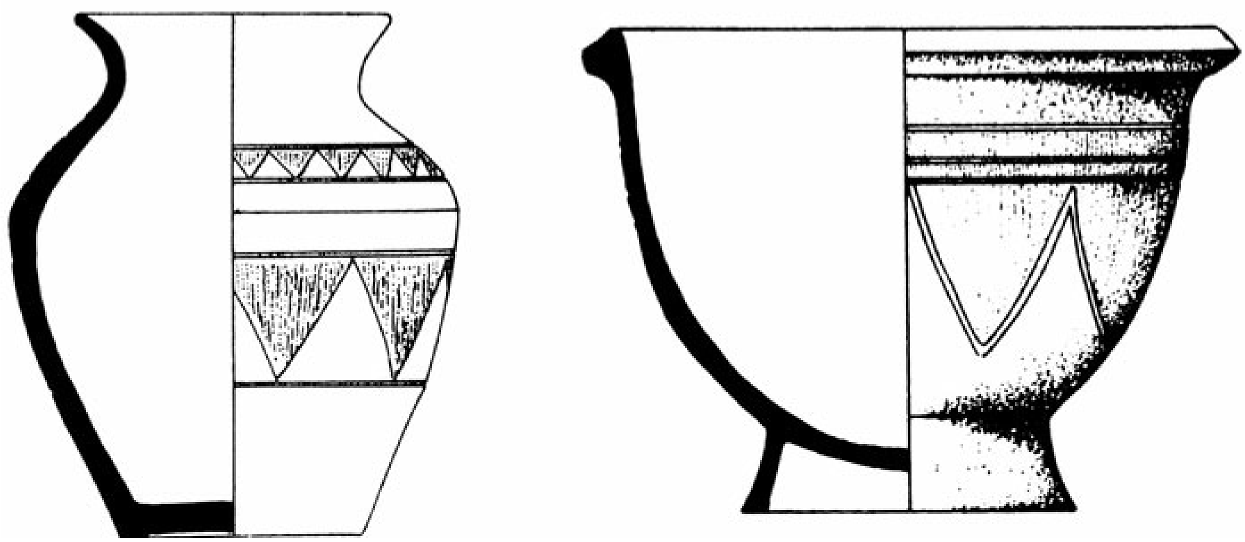
With this paper as a starting point, I have continued for nearly twenty years my research on the Anyang materials with special attention to the bronzes. Most of the important results have been published in a new series of Archaeologia Sinica in five volumes which cover all the ritual bronzes found in Hsiao-t'un and Hou-chia-chuang. Up to the present, most of the preliminary ideas first set forth in the 1953 paper seem still to hold good. In this chapter, I will endeavor to cover the important aspects of the art work

found in the Anyang collection. As in the previous chapter, the materials will be discussed in four groups: pottery, bone, stone sculpture, and bronze.

● Pottery

The pottery excavated from Anyang has been carefully recorded and studied and the results were published in 1956.[165] I found as a result of my research that very few of the major groups, namely, the gray pottery, are decorated, and these are either open-mouthed basins or covered jars. On the outer surface of the decorated vessels are incised circumferential zigzag lines, single or double (Fig. 31). But on most of the gray pottery the surface has been treated by beating, or marked by either coarse or fine strings or networks, or by simple incised horizontal lines. Whether these markings are regarded as primitive beginnings of decoration depends upon one's point of view. Dr. G. D. Wu, one of the earliest students of China's prehistory, considered them to be simply traces of manufacturing. The incised belt of zigzag lines was, however, a definite artistic attempt that seems to have been inherited from the Lungshan Culture.

The white pottery found at Anyang presents an altogether different case. Pottery in this group is divisible into three subdivisions: soft; semi-soft; and hard and highly polished. With the exception of the highly polished subgroup, examples of the other two subgroups are all luxuriously covered by incised patterns (Fig. 32). These patterns seem to be copied from bronze with, however, one exception, namely the *tou*-dish, a form of ritual vessel that has no bronze counterpart in the Yin-Shang time. The outside of the *tou* is also decorated somewhat differently from the other patterns of white pottery. The designs are mainly square spirals arranged in a checkered pattern. I am of the opinion that white pottery of this carved subgroup was a later development. I have reason to believe that the Shang people valued white pottery much higher than the bronzes, a theme that I fully expanded in my paper on the "Evolution of the White Pottery of the Yin Dynasty" published in 1957.[166]



31 Incised gray pottery
带刻纹的灰陶器皿

32 Carved designs of white pottery 白陶上刻划的图案

The so-called glazed group of pottery has very simple ornamentation; almost without exception, every jar has near its shoulder a band composed of simple wavy lines or short slanted strokes between circumferential lines. Occasionally, there are even designs that cover the whole body in a checkered pattern (Fig. 33). The surface treatment of the red pottery is almost the same as that of the gray, with string impressions. To close the discussion of pottery decoration, I would like to mention certain other fired clay objects we have found. Among these are some specimens very similar in shape to a shovel, with a handle on the back whose top is molded in the shape of an animal head, a dog, or a horned beast. These may be tools of some kind, but, if so, their function is unknown (Fig. 34). Two clay figurines almost completely dressed in long gowns that concealed their lower limbs constituted another puzzling find. Both are evidently prisoners, and each has his hands fettered, one in front and one in back. Both also have their necks banded by some kind of shackles and their heads shaved clean (Figs. 35). This pair of human figures appeared very early in our diggings, and from a disturbed area. Nothing similar was ever found afterwards.

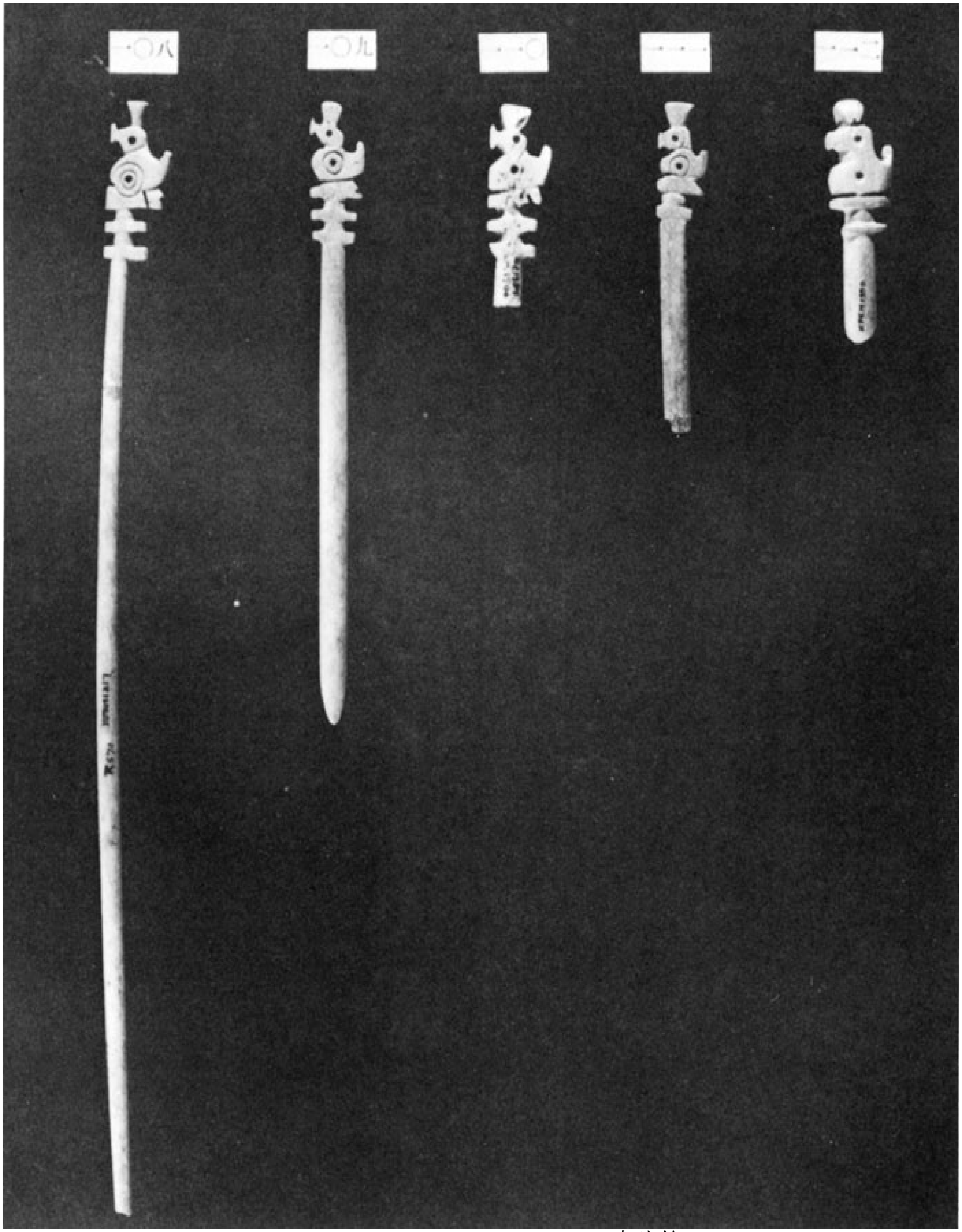
33 Glazed pottery with incised or imprinted décor
带刻纹或印纹的釉陶片

34 Pottery article of unknown use with animal-head handle
带兽头把手的用途不明的陶器

35 Clay human figures 陶人俑

● Carved Bone

Of the several subgroups of carved bone, the most numerous are hairpins. In Hou-chia-chuang the field archaeologists once discovered a tomb in which nearly one hundred hairpins were found at the top of the head of a female skeleton, indicating how elaborately the Shang ladies dressed their hair. The ornamental tops of the pins have attracted special attention. They are carved into different shapes, divisible, according to my preliminary study, into eight main groups.[167] In the early period the tops of the hairpins were comparatively simple and were carved in a flat shape expanding into a flat piece of platform. At the other extreme are those carved into elaborate animal or bird shapes (Fig. 36). These shapes were further changed into geometric shapes of various patterns.



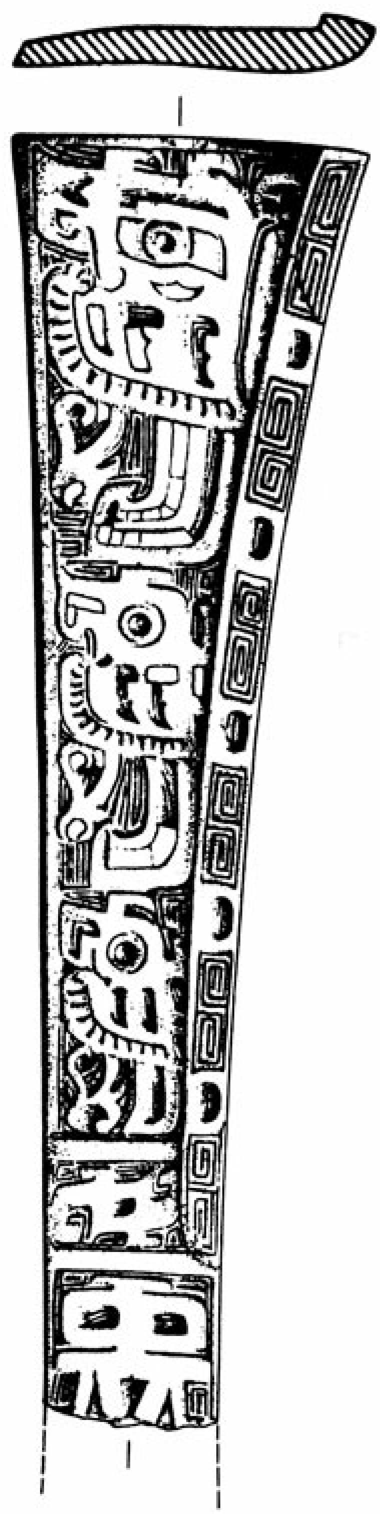
36 Hairpins with bird-shaped heads 鸟头笄

Next in number to the hairpins are the *ssŭ*, a spatula used in food

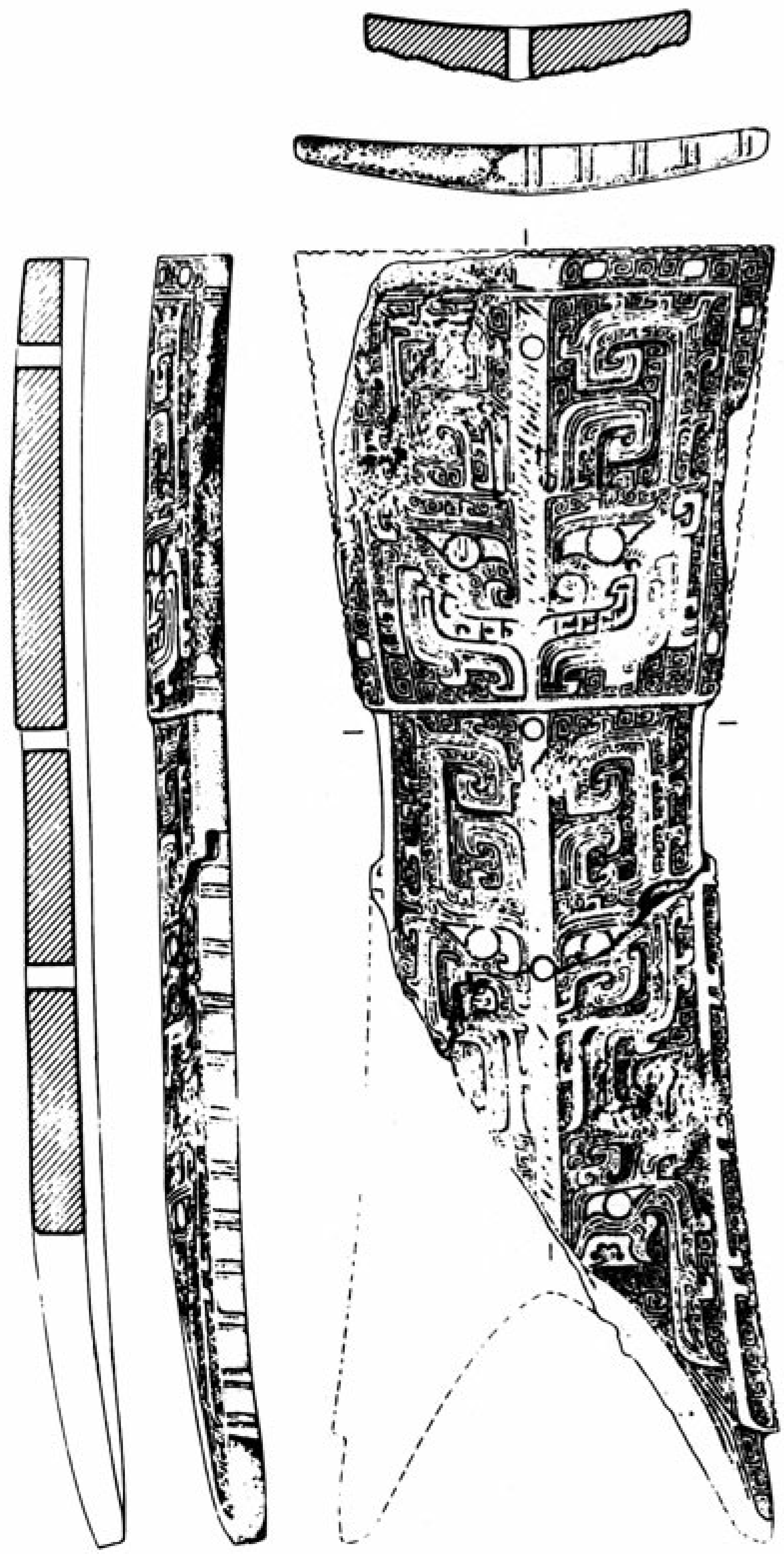
handling, found in great abundance in both Hou-chia-chuang and Hsiao-t'un. One subgroup of *ss*ŭ was comparatively long and slender, usually made from the rib bones of oxen. The whole instrument was usually somewhat curved, following the original shape of the material. The handle bore a decorative carving, but the functional part was flat and rounded at the end. Another subgroup was stouter and shorter, with the same width at both ends but somewhat slenderer in the middle. These spatulas were usually made from the leg bones of oxen. If we divide these tools according to their actual length, we find the surprising result that very few measure the same. But on the whole, it is possible to subdivide the *ss*ŭ into three categories. Those made of ribs constitute the longest, usually the least decorated or trimmed, measuring somewhat over 40cm. long. The middle group, usually less than 30cm. long, had an angular handle at one end and a carved spade at the other. The average length of this subdivision was usually shorter than that of the first group and the handle was usually considerably carved. The third group was the shortest and also the broadest, but also included some spoon-shaped articles made of foot bones. This group seems usually to have been made of the leg bones of oxen; the handle was angular while the other end was often sharpened at the edges. The handle of the *ss*ŭ was usually decorated with incised animals, either realistic or mythical, such as dragons (Fig. 37), *t'ao-t'ieh* heads, and birds (Fig. 38).

Other bone objects are flat plates (Fig. 39) or tubes (Fig. 40), ocarinas (Fig. 41), and handles (Fig. 42). The carvings of the ocarina almost duplicate those found on an ocarina made of white pottery.

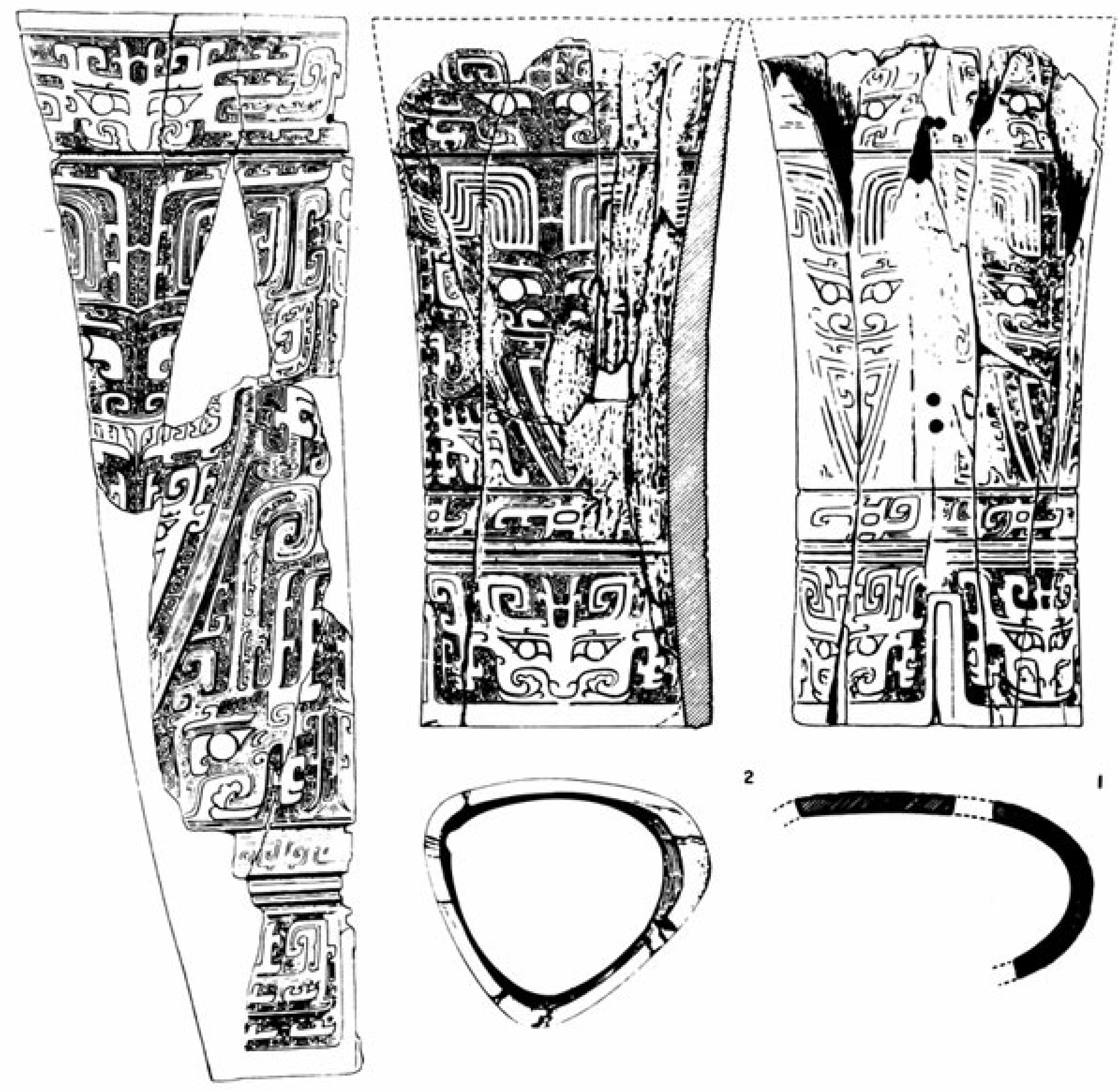
37 *Ssu* handle with carving of dragon
刻龙纹的柶柄



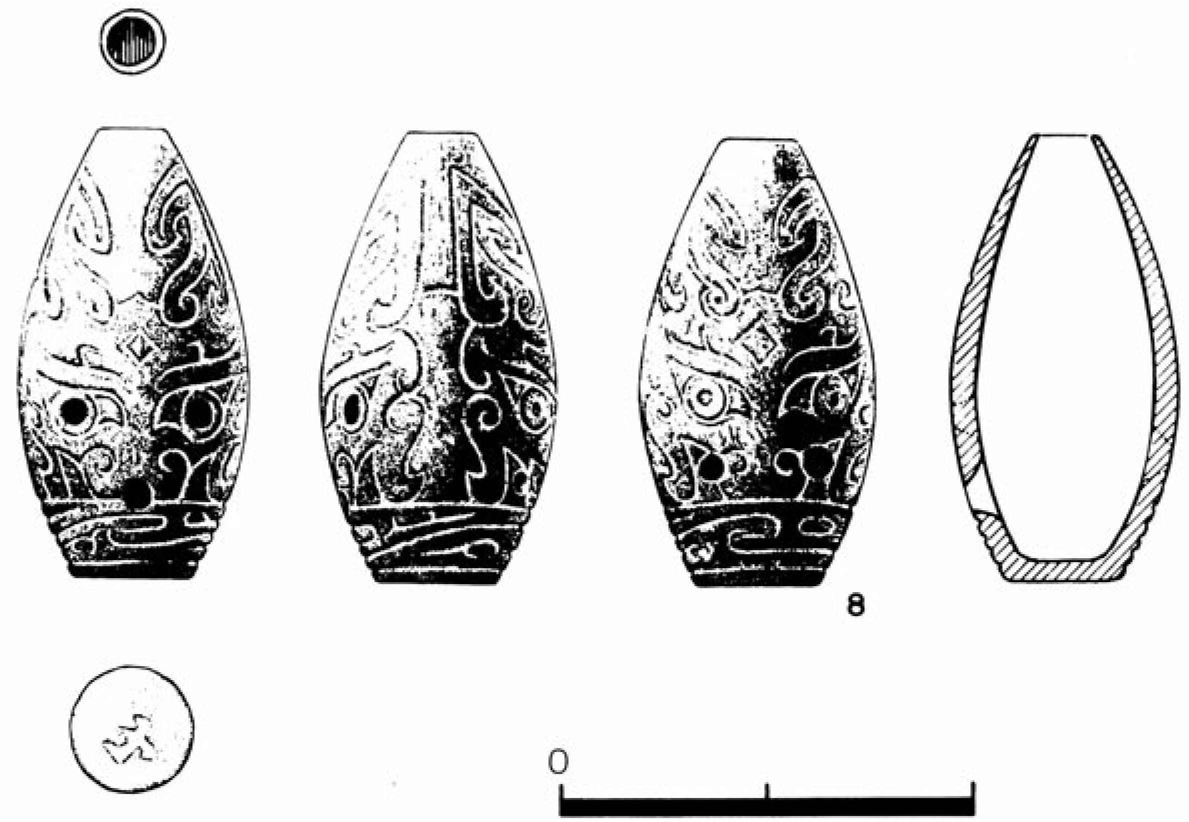
38 *Ssu* handle with carvings of three birds on top of each other
三鸟重叠纹的柶柄



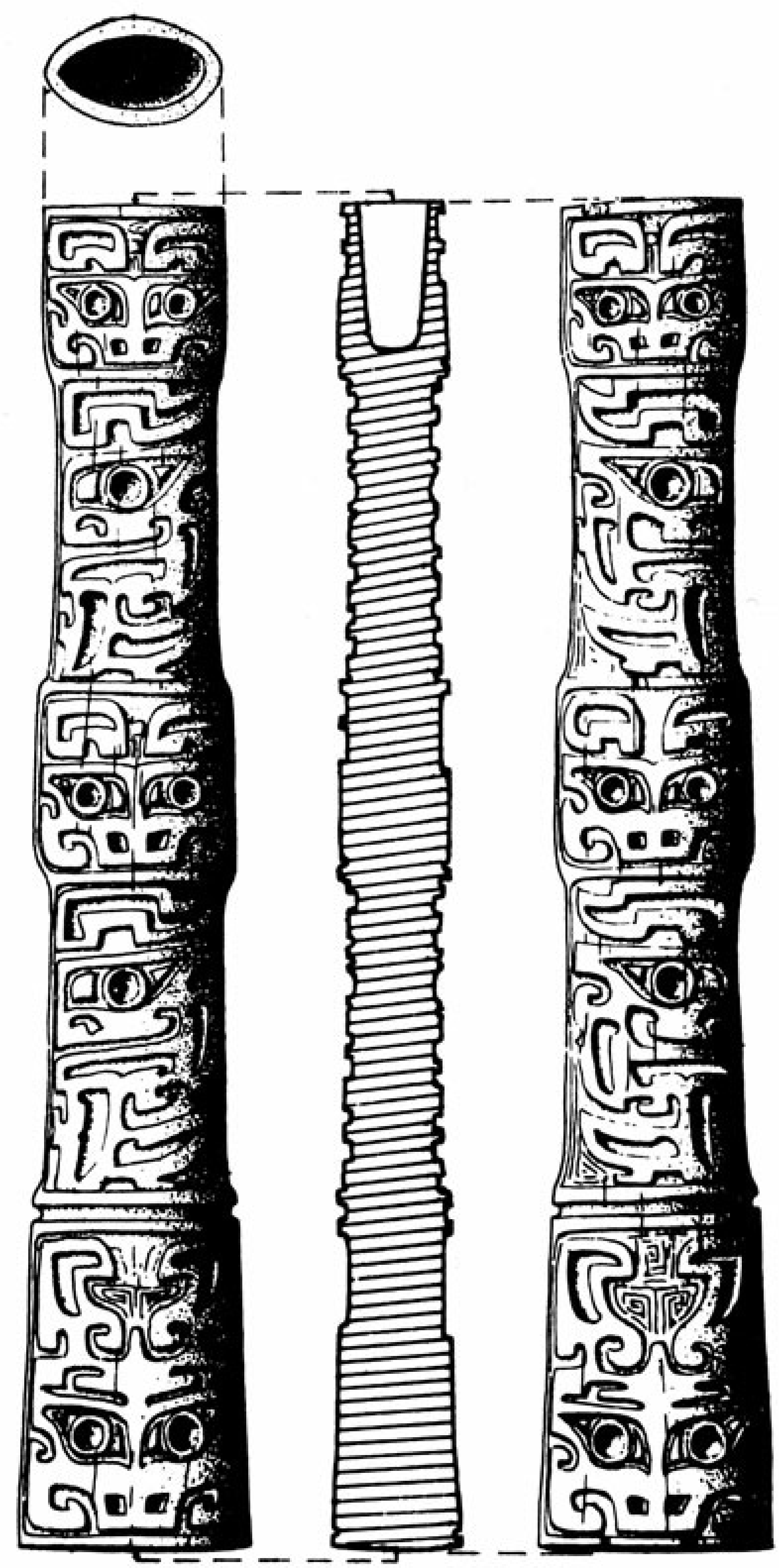
39 Carved bone plates
刻纹的骨版



40 Carved bone tubes 刻纹的骨管



41 Carved bone ocarina, three faces
刻纹的骨埙，三面



42 Carved bone handle with five animal masks on top of each other
刻有五个连续兽面的骨器柄

● **Stone Sculpture**

J. G. Andersson, as early as 1923, claimed that he had found a carved animal figure from the prehistoric remains of Sha-kuo-t'un on the Liao-tung peninsula, which he had discovered that year.[168] This seems to have been not only the first mention but also the earliest example of stone carving in China.

The stone carvings turned up in the course of the Anyang excavations were an unexpected and exciting discovery.

It was in the third season of the expedition to Anyang that the field archaeologists came upon the fragments of a stone-carved human torso. In the field excavations, these fragments had appeared merely as fragments; when they were brought to Peking in the fall of 1929, the archaeologists on further study discovered that some of the fragments could be pieced together. One restored piece was found to be the lower part of a human figure in a squatting posture, but unfortunately the more important upper half was not recovered. The recovered part weighs more than 15.4kg. (Figs. 43, 44). How do we account for this carved torso discovered at Hsiao-t'un? According to Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's account, in the early Chou dynasty the natives of Kiangsu still practiced tattooing. So it is possible that the coastal people of north China in Shantung might have kept up the same habit. If this could be assumed, it is quite probable that among the subjects the Yin-Shang dynasty ruled there were still tattooing people, which naturally would provide another example of decorative art for this period.[169]

43 Stone torso from Hsiao-t'un: front view
小屯出土的石雕人体残像（正面）

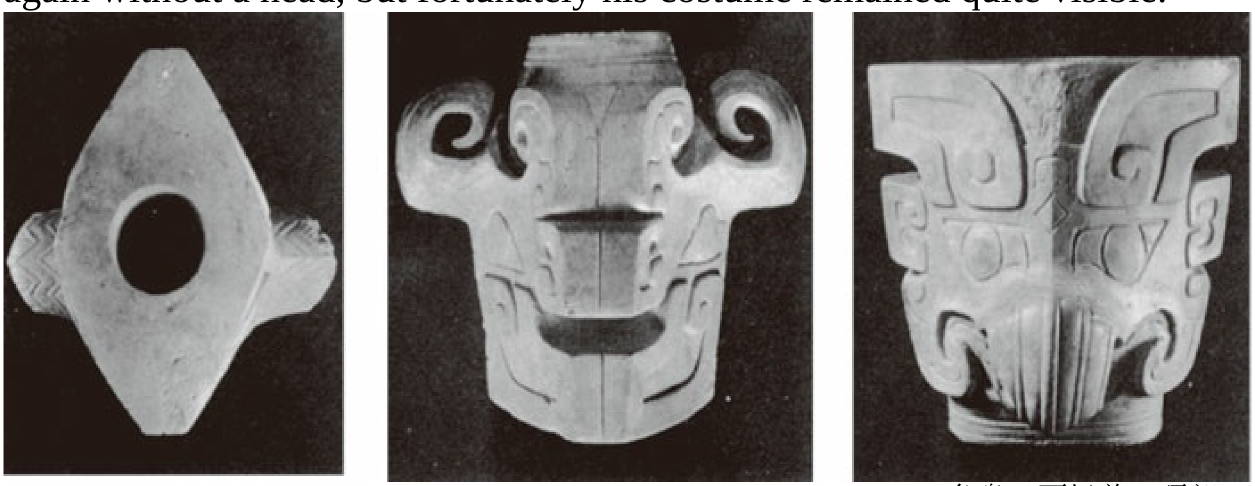
44 Stone torso from Hsiao-t'un: side views
小屯出土的石雕人体残像（侧面）

This remarkable discovery, which immediately attracted world-wide attention, marked the beginning of our knowledge of the art of stone carving in the late Shang dynasty. Following this discovery, a series of other artistic stone sculptures appeared, mostly in animal forms—turtles, tigers (Fig. 45), and so on.

45 Carved stone tigers 石刻虎形

It was not until the thirteenth season[170], when we started excavating at

Hou-chia-chuang, that more complete specimens began to appear. Here in these royal tombs, the sculptures were somewhat different. Most were in the shape of mythical animals, half beast, half human: a tiger-headed monster with a human body (see Plate 5); or a double-faced monster with an elephantine nose (Figs. 46) or the *t'ao-t'ieh* mask (Fig. 47). The majority were carved in the round, but some only in high or low relief. Unfortunately, as most of these were not found *in situ* but were excavated from the debris in the plundered tunnels, it is not possible to know in exactly what part of the tombs they originally lay. Among them, there was one small group of broken fragments, which, when pieced together, proved to be a portion of the body of another human figure (see Fig. 13 and discussion in chap. 5), well dressed, again without a head, but fortunately his costume remained quite visible.



46 Double-faced monster with elephantine nose: top, lateral and frontal views 象鼻双面怪兽：顶部、侧面、正面

47 The so-called *t'ao-t'ieh* mask carved in stone
石刻饕餮面形

This figure was in a kneeling-sitting posture almost exactly the same as that of a modern Japanese sitting on the *tatami* floor at home. This discovery soon aroused intense interest. Comparing this figure with the torso discovered at Hsiao-t'un in the third season, the author discovered for the first time that

the Japanese *seiza* was actually the regular sitting posture among the Chinese as early as the Yin-Shang dynasty. To judge by the costume, this figure may have represented the well-dressed Yin-Shang ruling class.

The robe has two sleeves, an open front, and a waist band. There are pennants below the knee which might represent a skirt. The borders of the robe are embroidered with geometric designs. Whether this figure is a male or a female, it is difficult to say. At any rate, this represents the earliest well-dressed human figure of China based on archaeological remains; the only regret is, of course, that the head was not recovered. These two stone figures—this one and the squatting figure from Hsiao-t'un—have attracted special interest because they happen to be human.

Another stone figure recovered from the Hou-chia-chuang royal tombs, although miniature in size, represents a complete figure in silhouette. Cut from a flat piece of hard stone, it depicts a figure in squatting posture with the hand curved underneath the chin. The lateral view of the human body is complete, the eye is wide open in a horizontal position, and there seems to be no trace of the epicanthus fold that so conspicuously marked the bronze mask (see Plate 21). The ear, the nose, the mouth, and the chin are all in good proportion, but there is no foot. The top of the head is elaborately dressed; whether it represents a hairdo or a fashionable headdress cannot be definitely said (see the bottom of Plate 8).

Paired with the Hou-chia-chuang miniature figure is a carved human figure in jade from Hsiao-t'un, which the artist decorated with positive lines in relief, representing the head of a human figure. The eye, the ear, the lower jaw and the prominent chin, the flattened nose, and so on, are all rendered by positive and graceful lines. On the top of the forehead, there is a distinct horizontal band, surrounding the roots of the hair, and from it a cockerel crest rises straight upward at first and then bends backward above the occipital region. Here, again, it is difficult to say whether it represents a hairdo or an elaborate headdress of the Yin-Shang fashion (Fig. 48).

48 Carved human figure in jade 玉刻人头形

Stone carvings of this period cover a very wide range of animal figures,

including both the real and the mythical. The raw materials also cover a great range, from semiprecious stones like serpentine to common marble. In certain cases, we noticed definite differences of style among the stone carvings. Although most of these were found in fragmentary condition and scattered so that it is impossible to determine the exact positions that they originally occupied, the variations of style and workmanship in the finished products are important archaeological features that need further investigation. Nearly every one of the larger stone animals has a deep, vertical trough cut in its back, like the torso first discovered at Hsiao-t'un. For instance, this vertical back trough was found not only on the tiger-headed monster, but also on the marble owl (see Plate 4). It seems obvious that these vertical channels were cut to fit into a projection, perhaps on a wall.

● Bronze

The bronze objects collected from the Anyang excavation are classified in the following categories: (1) ritual bronzes, (2) weapons and tools, (3) functional or decorative metal work for use on chariots, or other wooden structures, and so on, and (4) the *ming-ch'i* group made purely to accompany the dead.

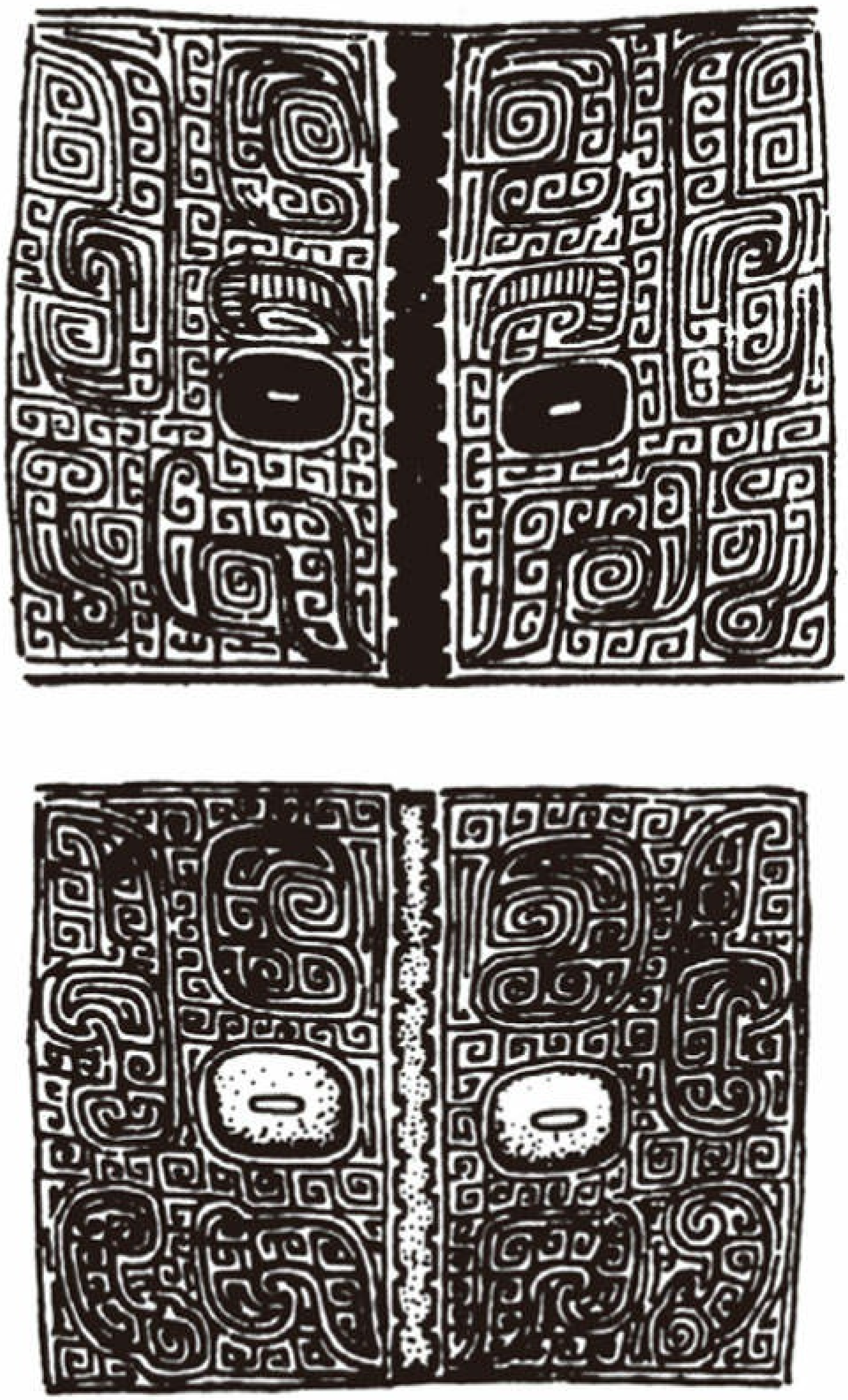
In our own collections, the total number of the ritual bronzes, the most abundant group, was 171, including a number of incomplete pieces. Within this class, the *ku*-beaker and the *chüeh*-cup are not only the most numerous specimens—forty *ku* and thirty-nine *chüeh*—they are also typical of the bronzes of the Yin-Shang period as they seem to have disappeared rather early in the Chou dynasty.

Among the other ritual bronzes, the *chia*-vessel, although fewer in number than the two just mentioned, appeared at least sixteen times in Anyang, whereas the *ting*, in both the tripod and tetrapod forms, appeared altogether twenty-three times. There are also fifty or so other types, of which the most important are the *ts'un*-vessel, the *fang-i* casket, the *p'an*-plate, the *yü*-basin, the *chih*-goblet, the *hu*-pot, the *kuei*-bowl, the *hsien*-steamer, the *yu*-flask, and in addition there is a bird-shaped *ts'un* and another horn-shaped vessel.

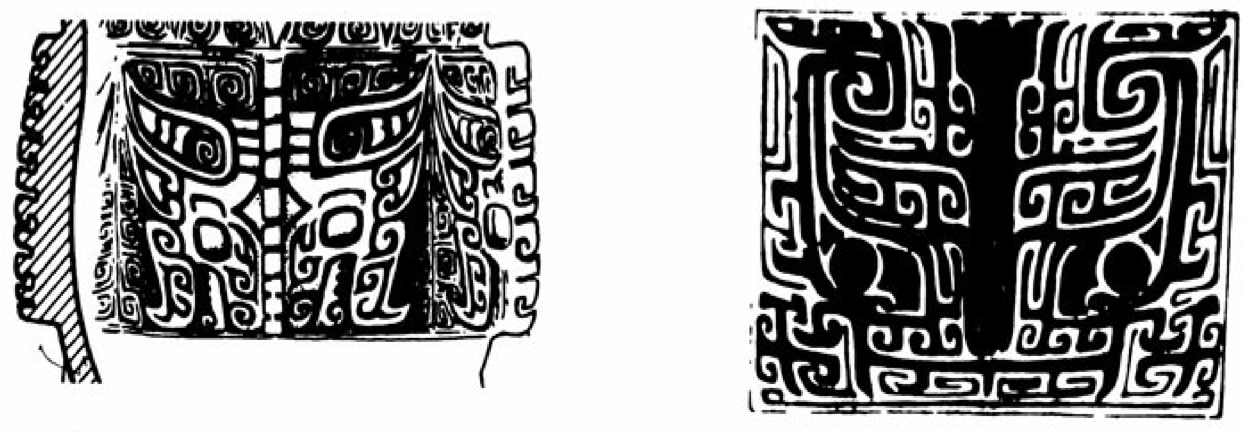
Although most of these bronzes are ornamented, some of them heavily, there are also exceptions. For instance, some of the *ku*-beakers are

undecorated. The decorated *ku* can be divided into three subgroups: (1) those with the middle section ornamented only, (2) those with both the middle and lower sections decorated, and (3) those which are fully decorated. The same holds true for the *chüeh*-cups, except that there are more plain ones. Of the thirty-nine *chüeh*, twelve are without any elaborate ornament. Of the other twenty-seven, sixteen are ornamented by a single horizontal band, while the other eleven specimens show more complicated designs.

The main decorative band in both the *ku* (Fig. 49) and the *chüeh* (Fig. 50) groups is composed of a centrally divided animal mask. The most typical of such designs is found on the middle section of the *ku*. The decorative band surrounding the *chüeh* is sometimes interrupted by the cup's handle. This handle usually straddles vertically so that it just interrupts the decorative field.



49 Animal masks found on *ku*-beaker
觚上的动物纹饰



50 Animal masks found on *chüeh*-cup
爵上的动物纹饰

The methods employed for executing the ornamental designs on the various bronzes have been very carefully studied by Wan Chia-pao on the basis of laboratory experiments. He has concluded that, in the technique of casting, five methods of mold preparation can be distinguished, each of which gives rise to a different result in the ornamental designs. These five methods are: (1) simple incised mold design, (2) composite model-mold design, (3) engraving and appliqué on model, (4) relief on model, and (5) deep incision in the mold.[171]

As to the contents of the décor, we may consider the middle section of the *ku*-beaker as an instance and examine its decorative design. Of the thirty-five examples of *ku* from both Hou-chia-chuang and Hsiao-t'un, thirty-four have a pair of animal masks arranged diametrically opposite each other on the same horizontal belt surrounding the waist of the vessel. Whatever discrepancies there are will be found in the filling-in with what the Chinese antiquarians call *yün-lei-wen*, namely, the square and circular spirals.

The ornamentation of the *ting*-cauldron seems to be more complicated than that of the first two groups. Typologically, the twenty-three *ting* specimens are obviously subdivisible into three types. I have named the first group *li-ting*; these are the lightest in weight and only three specimens were found. The middle group includes most of the specimens, eighteen, whose average weight is 3845.2gms. The largest are the two giant rectangular specimens—the *lu-ting* (see Plate 9) and the *niu-ting* (see Plate 10), weighing 60,400 and 110,400gms. respectively. The *lu-ting*, whose decorations I would like to describe in some detail, resembles a rectangular wooden box with a

flat bottom and four side walls flaring slightly outward. There are two standing lugs at the narrower sides on the rim of the body for lifting. The four legs are cylindrical in shape and hollow; their unsealed tops are holes in the four corners of the interior. The external surfaces of the walls, the lugs, and the legs are covered with luxuriously well-designed ornament, most probably symbolizing ideas of profound social and historical significance. The center of each of the four external walls is decorated with a complete deer head with a pair of prominent horns rendered in high relief and a sectional flange occupying the middle line. The antlers on the upper portion of the deer's head have prongs branching upward and ears underneath. The face seen in front view is most compactly and very realistically composed with a vertical flange as the nose line. Between the horns a pair of dragons confronts each other in lower relief. The upper two-thirds of the deer head is flanked on each side by a pair of composite birds also rendered in high relief.

● Origin and Some Characteristics of Decorative Art

The main characteristics of this decorative art was partly inherited from prehistoric times and partly developed in the Yin-Shang period. Many of the spirals that later developed extensively into the *yün-lei-wen* originated in the painted pottery and black pottery times. As far as the definite geometric patterns are concerned, I have compiled in Figure 51 a comparison to illustrate this point. Even the biological figures such as fish, human faces, and some plants or horned animals may trace their origin to the period of Pan-p'o and other painted pottery sites. There is another element of which I have made a special study—the bow-string lines which were first developed in the Lungshan Culture and which the bronze makers of the Yin-Shang period seem to have copied extensively, especially in their making of the plain *chüeh* and *ku* and even the *ting*-tripod. As for the more elaborate designs of the Shang dynasty, particularly as shown in the bronze vessels, some traits which set them apart from the work of contemporary artists in the Mediterranean are: the special concept of symmetry—for instance, the confronting pairs of animals or snakes; the decoration of a vessel with a horizontal belt usually divided into a number of partitions; and the piling up of these horizontal bands vertically to total as many as seven or eight belts in some cases.

51 Decorative elements evolving through the Painted Pottery, Black Pottery, and Yin-Shang cultures. (*Left*: 1-3, from Ma-ch'ang; 4, from Hsin-tien, all taken from Andersson, "Researches into the Prehistory of the Chinese"; 5, after Black Pottery specimen from Jih-chao; 6, bone carving from Hsiao-

t'un; 7, stone carving from Hsiao-t'un. *Right*: 1, 2, 4, after incised pottery from Ch'êng-tzǔ-yai and Hsiao-t'un; 3, from Andersson, "Researches"; 5, bone carving from Hsiao-t'un.)

彩陶文化、黑陶文化与殷商文化的纹饰演变（左边：1—3，出土于马厂；4，出土于辛店；1—4均选自安特生的《中华远古之文化》；5，黑陶文化标本，出土于日照；6，小屯出土的骨刻；7，小屯出土的石刻。右边：1、2、4，小屯和城子崖出土的刻划陶器；3，引自安特生的《中华远古之文化》；5，小屯出土的骨刻。）

拾贰．殷商的装饰艺术

二十多年前的1953年，我为在马尼拉举行的第八届太平洋科学会议准备了一篇论文，题为《殷代装饰艺术的诸种背景》。[164]在这篇论文中，我并未充分利用安阳材料，因当时我尚未对青铜器和其他艺术品，如侯家庄发现的雕刻品，进行细致的研究。然而，这篇论文中我提出了几个已形成的重要观点。

两件从安阳发现的艺术品具有直接的暗示性：一尊刻着类似文身印记图案的大理石残像；一把雕刻着从上至下排列的饕餮面的骨柄。在这两件艺术品中，我找到了古代文身习俗和图腾制存在的证据。另一组手工制品使我相信，木雕艺术在古代中国发展得很普遍，并达到非常先进的水平。如果青铜器，如我所推论的那样，是模仿木制品的，那么木制品原本一定是满身纹饰的。田野考古工作者的确发现了一些木制豆型器皿和木鼓的遗痕，但它们已全腐朽了。青铜器中，方形和长方形体的器物常常通体布有纹饰，圆形或椭圆形体的则不是。当时我推测，方形体铜器是仿木制品的，圆形体铜器是从陶器演变来的。

以这篇文章为起点，我一直研究安阳资料近二十年，尤其重视青铜器的研究。大部分重要成果已发表在五卷《中国考古报告集新编》上，包括小屯和侯家庄出土的全部青铜礼器。现在看来，1953年的文章中首次提出的不少初步观点仍然成立。这一章中，我将尽力囊括安阳发掘品中艺术品的重要方面。与前一章一样，材料会分四组来讨论：陶器、骨器、石雕和青铜器。

● 陶器

安阳出土的陶器得到了详细记录和全面研究，成果于1956年发表。[165]研究结果发现，其中主要的灰陶罕有纹饰，并且，带花纹的不是大口篹，就是带盖的罐。有花纹的容器的外表面绕刻着单线或双线的锯齿形线条（图31）。但大多数灰陶器表面经过拍打，或印上粗细各异的绳纹、方格纹，或简单地刻上水平线纹。这些花纹是否为装饰的原始开端，取决于个人的看法。最早研究中国史前史的吴金鼎认为它们只是制作留下的痕迹。然而，锯齿形刻纹带则肯定是一种艺术创作，似是从龙山文化演变而来。

安阳发现的白陶代表了一种截然不同的情况。白陶可分为三组：质

软的、质较硬的和质硬磨光的。除质硬磨光的这组外，其他两组器表都刻满了繁复的图案（图32）。这些图案似以青铜器为范本，但有一例外，即豆形器，殷商时期还没有类似的青铜礼器。白陶豆的外表也有纹饰，但图案与其他白陶有些不同。其设计主要是以棋盘格排列的方角云雷纹图案。我认为这种刻纹白陶是后来发展出的。有理由相信，商代人视白陶比青铜器要珍贵许多。这在我1957年发表的《殷墟白陶发展之程序》一文中已有详细阐述。[166]

所谓的釉陶装饰简单，在每个罐靠近肩部处几乎无一例外都有一圈简单的波浪纹或一圈夹在阴线纹中的平行斜线纹。偶尔也有通身装饰棋盘形图案的（图33）。红陶表面的处理几乎与灰陶相同，以绳纹压印。在关于陶器装饰讨论的最后，我再谈谈已发现的其他一些烧制的陶器。其中有的形状像铲子，后部有柄，柄端铸成狗头或某种角兽的形状。这可能是一种工具，但即使是工具，其用途仍不清楚（图34）。另一使人不解的发现是两个穿着几乎完全遮住下肢的长袍的陶人俑。这两个陶人俑显然是囚犯，双手都戴着手铐，一人双手在前，另一人双手背后。两人颈带着枷锁，剃光了头（图35）。这两个人俑在发掘早期即发现，出自一个被扰动过的地区。之后再也没有发现过类似的遗物。

● 骨雕

在几组骨雕中，数量最多是笄。侯家庄田野考古工作者曾发现一座墓，在墓中一女性骨架的头顶发现了近百支笄，这说明商代妇女是何等精心装饰她们的头发。装饰性的笄首特别引人注意，它们被雕刻成不同形状。据我初步研究，这些笄首可分八式。[167]早期笄首样式较简单，呈扁平形。另一个极端是雕刻着精美鸟兽图案的笄（图36）。这些形状又进一步演变成各种几何式样。

总数次于笄的是一种叫“柶”的食具，在小屯和侯家庄都有大量发现。其中有一种柶较瘦长，常由牛肋骨制成。整个器身随着材料的原形有点弯曲。柄上有雕刻的装饰，有实际功用的部分扁平、末端呈圆形。另一式形体粗短，两头同宽，中间稍窄，常用牛腿骨制成。若以实际长度给这些柶分类，会发现一个惊人的结果：它们的长短极少一致。然而，柶总的可分三类：由肋骨制的最长，约40厘米，最少装饰和修整；中等长度的一类长约30厘米，一端有一角形柄，另一端雕刻呈铲形，这类平均长度比前一类短，而且柄上常有大量雕刻；第三类最短也最宽，包括一些脚部的骨头制成的匙形物品，这类一般是用牛腿骨制成的，柄呈角状，另一端边缘常被磨成为刃。柶的柄一般刻有动物纹，有现实

的，也有神话的，如龙（图37）、饕餮头和鸟（图38）。

其他骨器有扁平的骨版（图39）、骨管（图40）、骨埙（图41）和器柄（图42）。骨埙上的雕刻与一个白陶埙上所见的几乎完全一样。

● 石雕

早在1923年，安特生就宣布于辽东半岛的沙锅屯史前遗址中发现了动物石雕像。[168]这大约是在中国第一次提到石雕，也是迄今发现的最早一例。

安阳发掘出土的石雕，既出人预料，又令人鼓舞。

在安阳的第三次发掘中，田野考古者偶然发现一块石刻人像的碎片。在田野发掘中，碎片就仅仅是碎片；1929年，碎片被运回北京进一步研究，考古工作者发现一些是可以拼合的。有一件复原后为一个蹲坐人像的下部，但遗憾的是，更重要的上半部未发现。复原部分重量超过15.4公斤（图43、44）。我们怎样解释在小屯发现的这一雕刻的人体残像呢？据司马迁记载，周朝初年江苏一带的土著人仍有文身的习俗。因此在华北地区山东沿海一带的居民可能也保留着同一习俗。若这个假设能成立，则很有可能殷商统治下仍有人文身，这自然为这时期的装饰艺术又提供了一个范例。[169]

这一惊人发现，立刻引起了全世界的关注。它标志着我们对商代后期石刻艺术了解的开始。随着这一发现，又有一系列其他艺术性石刻出土，其中大部分为龟、虎（图45）等动物形状。

直到第十三次[170]开始侯家庄发掘时，较完整的标本才开始出现。这些王陵中的雕刻有些不同，大部分是半人半兽的神话动物形象，如人身虎头（图版5）、象鼻双面兽（图46）或饕餮面具（图47）。绝大部分为圆雕，也有些仅是深浅不一的浮雕。遗憾的是，大部分不是在原处，而是在盗坑的碎片堆里发现的，因而不知其在墓中确切的原位置。其中，有一部分碎石块拼合成为另一人像身体的一部分（见第5章的介绍和图13）。该人像无头着衣，幸运的是，服饰仍清晰可见。

这个人的跪坐姿势几乎与现在日本人坐在家里“榻榻米”上的姿势一样。这一发现很快引起了人们强烈的兴趣。将此人像与第三次发掘时在小屯出土的人体残像相比，笔者首次发现，日本人的“正坐”，实际上早在殷商时就是中国人的一种端正坐姿。从服饰看，这个人可能代表了衣

着考究的殷商统治阶层。

长袍有两条袖，前开口，系腰带。过膝的旒形垂条可能是裙。长袍边上绣着几何形图案。此人是男或女尚辨不清。不管怎样，这代表了根据考古遗物所见的最早的衣着考究的中国人。当然，美中不足的是，没有发现头部。这两个石人雕像——这一具和小屯发现的蹲坐的那具，由于是人像的缘故尤其受人关注。

在侯家庄王陵发现的另一石人，体型虽小，但为一人全身的轮廓。它是用一块扁平硬石凿成，为一个蹲坐的人，手弯于下巴之下。从侧面看，人体完整，大眼向前平视，没有青铜面具（图版21）上那样明显的内眦褶痕。耳、鼻、口与下巴比例匀称，无脚。头顶装饰精致，这究竟代表一种发式还是时髦的头饰，还不能肯定（图版8底部）。

可与侯家庄石人媲美的是小屯出土的玉雕人像，匠师用浮雕的阳线表现人像的头部。眼、耳、下颚、突出的下巴及扁平的鼻子等，都是凸起的优雅的线条勾画。前额上有一条明显的水平带状装饰，绕着发根，头顶上有一鸡冠形饰物前端竖直向上，后向后弯曲到后脑上方。同样，也很难说这是一种发式，还是殷商时流行的别致的头部装饰（图48）。

这一时期的石刻涉及多种动物形象，有真实的，也有神话中的。未加工的石料也有许多种，从较珍贵的蛇纹岩到普通的大理石。在一些实例中，我们看到明显不同的石刻风格。这些石雕出土时大都已破碎且分散各处，已不可能确定它们的原位置，但不同的成品风格和工艺技术等主要考古特征还需进一步研究。例如，几乎每件大型石雕动物背上都有一个深的直槽，就像小屯首次发现的那个石刻人体残像一样。这种直槽不仅虎头兽上有，而且大理石雕的猫头鹰上也有。显然，凿这样的竖槽是为了嵌入可能位于墙壁上的突起部位。

● 青铜器

安阳发掘出土的青铜器可分为以下几类：(1) 青铜礼器；(2) 武器和工具；(3) 双轮马车或其他木制器具上面的功能性或装饰性的金属制品；(4) 纯粹为死者陪葬的明器。

在我们的收集中，青铜礼器的量最多，共有171件，包括许多不完整的碎片。礼器中觚和爵不仅数量最多——觚40件，爵39件，而且是殷商青铜器的代表性器物，因为在周朝初年它们似乎就消失了。

在其他的青铜礼器中，斝虽在数目上比上面提到的两种少，但在安阳发掘中至少出现16次，三足和四足的鼎一同出现也有23次。另外还有约50种其他器物，其中最重要的是尊、方彝、盘、盂、觯、壶、簋、甗、卣，还有一具鸟形尊和一个角形器皿。

虽然这些器物中的大部分有纹饰，部分还装饰繁复，但也有例外。例如，有的觚就无纹饰。有纹饰的觚可分三类：(1)　仅中间部分有纹饰；(2)　中间与下部有纹饰；(3)　满身有花纹。爵除了素面的外也是如此，39件中有12件无纹饰，16件仅饰以一条横带，11件有较复杂的图案。

觚和爵上的主要装饰带由一个中间分开的动物面具组成（图49、50）。这种图案中最具代表性的出现在觚的中间部位，而围绕爵的装饰带有时被把手断开。通常器把刚好纵向跨过这条带，因此正好将装饰部分切断。

万家保在实验室中认真研究了在各种青铜器上施以装饰图案所采用的方法。他的结论是，在铸造技术中，陶范有五种不同的制法，一种制法对应一种装饰图案。这五种方法是：(1)　刻划范；(2)　模范合作；(3)　堆雕模；(4) 浮雕模；(5) 深刻模。[171]

关于纹饰的内容，可以觚中间部分为例，对装饰图案进行考察。侯家庄和小屯出土的35件觚中，34件上有一对动物面具，在环绕器物腰部的一条横带上对称、相背排列。横带其余部位的空白处形状不一，但都填以古物学家所谓的云雷纹——圆弧形和方折形相结合的一种花纹。

鼎的纹饰似乎较觚、爵两组更复杂。从类型学上看，23件鼎的标本明显分三类。我把第一类称鬲鼎，其重量最轻，只发现3件。大多数标本为第二类，有18件，平均重量为3845.2克。最大的是两尊长方形的——鹿鼎（图版9）和牛鼎（图版10），其重量分别为6.04公斤和11.04公斤（图11）。鹿鼎的纹饰我要作详细介绍：其形似长方形木箱子，平底，四壁略向外倾斜；两窄边的口沿处有两供提举的立耳；四足形似圆柱而中空；未封闭的足顶即是器底内部四角的洞。器外壁、耳和足的外表面上均以华丽图案装饰，很可能代表了深刻的社会和历史意义。四面外壁的中心分饰以一完整的鹿头和一对突出的高浮雕鹿角，在鹿头中线上有一分段的扉棱。位于鹿头上半部的鹿角向上分叉，两耳在其下。鹿脸正面紧凑、写实，鼻子由一垂直扉棱构成。两角之间有一对相对的浅浮雕龙。鹿头上三分之二处，两侧有一对高浮雕的复合鸟。

● 纹饰艺术的起源及部分特征

纹饰艺术的主要特征部分是继承史前时期的，部分是在殷商时期发展出的。后来在云雷纹中大量可见的螺线形纹饰，多起源于彩陶和黑陶时期。几何形图案我集中绘制在图51中加以比较说明。即使像鱼、人面、某些植物或有角动物等生物图形，其起源都可追溯至半坡和其他彩陶遗址时期。我还专门研究过另一种图案——弦纹。弦纹最早形成于龙山文化时期，在殷商时期似为青铜器铸造者广泛摹拟，尤其是在素面的爵、觚，甚至三足鼎上。商代较华丽的图案，特别是青铜器上的，区别于同时期地中海艺术品的特征有：特殊的对称概念，例如，相对的一对兽或蛇；通常被分割成几段的环绕器皿的水平纹饰带；以及自下而上堆叠的横纹带——这种横带有时会堆叠至七八条之多。

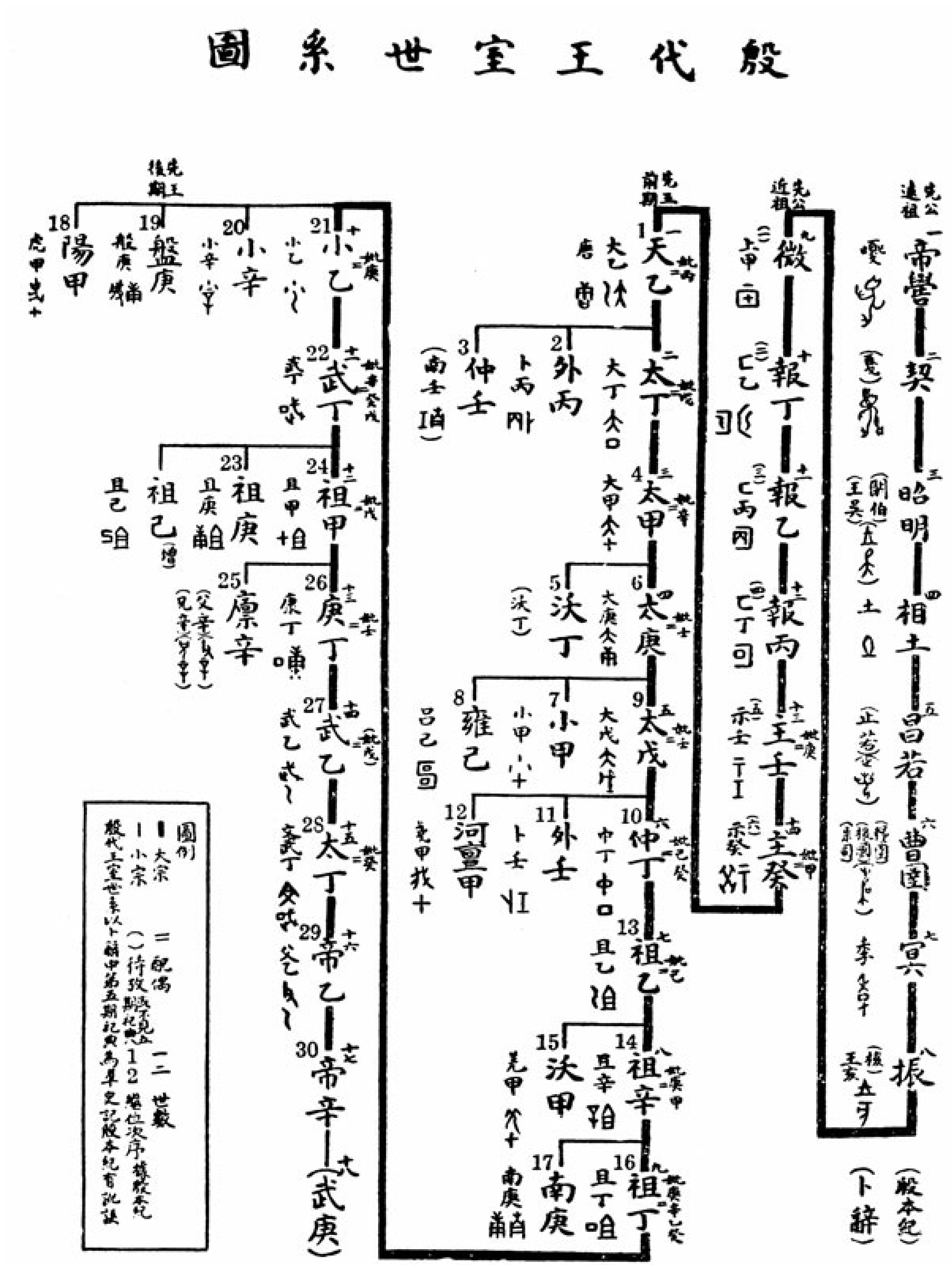
13. Genealogy, Chên-jên

and Some Aspects of Kinship

The genealogical chart reproduced in Figure 52 is translated from Tung Tso-pin's 1952 compilation, with some omissions of attached details.[172] It is divided into four parts: Early Ancestors, Late Ancestors, Early Kings, and Late Kings; the first two parts belong to the predynastic ancestors and the latter two to the dynastic period. If we count from the founder of the house, we find a list of fourteen names on the predynastic ancestral roll. The great T'ien I, the founder of the dynasty, belongs to the fifteenth generation. Although ancient accounts do not always agree, the succession is clearly given in Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's biographical account beginning with T'ien I. It is extraordinary that when the oracle bone records were discovered near the end of the nineteenth century, after having been buried deep in the soil over three millennia and totally unknown to the scholarly world, they proved that he was amazingly accurate so far as the list of the ancestors and kings of the Shang dynasty is concerned. Not that there is absolutely no difference between the oracle records and the early historian writing over two thousand years ago, but whatever difference there is seems insignificant in view of the major confirmations not only of the actual names of most ancestors and kings, but also of the order of their succession. Reference has already been made more than once to this important historical confirmation; I am repeating this point here for another purpose.

A number of scholars in the past have pointed out a unique and significant fact regarding the names of the kings of the Shang dynasty. Beginning with the predynastic ancestor Shang Chia Wei, the first of the Late Ancestors, each of the descendants who ascended the throne bears a name related to what is known in Chinese as the ten celestial stems (see earlier discussion in chap. 7), consisting of Chia, I, Ping, Ting, Wu, Chi, Keng, Hsin, Jen, and Kuei. This feature which characterized the nomenclature of Shang kings has recently received a great deal of academic attention. One theory is that since the Yin-Shang calendar had early adopted the sexagenarian system

of recording days, the royal house of Shang perhaps had the habit of naming the newly born baby for his birthday of which the first character would be one of the celestial stem characters. Another theory, which seems to prevail today, is that it was the day of death that was used as a posthumous title of the sovereign, the reason being that as far as available historical records go no living being seems to have borne a name with a celestial stem in the Yin-Shang days. The second theory is definitely based on a more compelling reason, namely, that the custom of giving a posthumous honorific title continued to the last days of the Chinese Empire. There are of course other theories that we shall consider later.



52 Genealogical table of the royal house of the Shang dynasty (Tung Tso-pin's 1952 reconstructions)

商代王室世系图（董作宾《甲骨学五十年》中的董氏手制图）

This genealogical tree also reveals some other social practices of great significance. From the founder T'ien I down to the last ruler, there were eighteen generations during which thirty kings succeeded each other and ruled the kingdom. So, in many generations brothers succeeded each other; as shown in the tree, in nine generations out of the eighteen, the throne passed from brother to brother. It is also remarkable that it is usually the youngest brother who passed his throne to his own son. Yet it is important to note that in the last four generations, none of the ruling kings seems to have had a brother. Whether this corresponded with historical facts or not is open to question. And if not, why this change?

One of the most distinguished classicists, Wang Kuo-wei, advanced the theory that the founders of the Chou dynasty achieved a great political and social revolution in two respects.[173] One of these was the establishment of primogeniture and the abolition of fraternal succession to the throne, in order to avoid one of the obvious sources of family troubles. The institution of primogeniture, in Wang's opinion, also helped to stabilize the political system of ancient China by reducing to a certain order the confused social conditions created by clan and family troubles. The second achievement was the differentiation of social status according to that of the baby's mother's rank, depending on whether she was the first wife or a concubine. This social stratification led to a further classification of the family structure. Wang Kuo-wei's comments on these various changes, unlike his epigraphical contributions, have not received universal support. Professor Ch'en Yin-k'o, for example, one of Wang's most intimate friends, entertained a different opinion, and for good historical reasons.[174] Ch'en believed that the institution of primogeniture had probably already started in the latter part of the Yin-Shang period, and, as to the different social status of those born to the first wife and to the concubines, he was somewhat dubious about its ultimate social significance.

Professor Ch'en's view leads the reader to re-examine the genealogical table of the Yin-Shang dynasty, especially the last five kings: King Keng Ting, the twenty-sixth ruler of the dynasty, inherited his throne from his elder brother Lin Hsin (twenty-fifth ruler), but from that time onward for five generations or four successive rulers, to the last king of the dynasty, Ti Hsin, the throne was always passed from father to son, according to both Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien and other sources. To trace the actual passage, when King Keng Ting

died, Wu I succeeded as the twenty-seventh ruler of the dynasty; when Wu I died, T'ai Ting succeeded as the twenty-eighth ruler; when T'ai Ting died, Ti I succeeded as the twenty-ninth ruler; and finally when Ti I died, Ti Hsin succeeded as the thirtieth ruler of the dynasty—all were father-son successions.

Naturally, the interesting question is: did the last four kings of the Yin-Shang dynasty have only one male descendant, or did a change of rule of succession take place in the time of King Keng Ting? Historical documents, however, do tell us that, as far as King Ti I (twenty-ninth ruler) is concerned, he had at least two sons. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien definitely states that Ti Hsin was not the eldest son of Ti I, but since he was born to the first wife, he had the prior right as the crown prince. That is the reason why Wei-tze, though an elder son of the king and possessing talent and virtue, was disqualified to succeed his father. In other words, the mother's high status was evidently, in the later days of throne succession, a prerequisite. This rule obviously could not have existed in the early days. If it had, in a number of early generations brothers born of different mothers could not have succeeded one another.

Whatever opinions later historians may express about those rules of succession, scholars have to face some of the distinguishing characteristics of the Shang royal family. First, they each adopted one of the celestial stems as a posthumous title. Second, in the early part of the dynasty, probably following a native custom, they passed their royal throne to either a brother or a son, but not to a daughter. Third, whoever had been chosen to the throne was to be worshipped in the ancestral hall, including a wife or wives whose sons had later ascended the throne. As to the fortunes of the other children born to the sovereigns, history has given us no hint whether they were allowed special titles or political privileges. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien has said that the brothers of the last king of the Shang dynasty who were born to the concubines of Ti I, although they were highly respected because of their personal virtues, did not seem to have any political title, though some of them were older than the last king.

This leads to the question of whether anything like the institution of feudalism was established in the Shang dynasty. It would be strange if the members of the royal family enjoyed no special political privilege at the time.

Professor Ting Shan was one of the most learned epigraphists who had

in his early days not only received a basic training in the ancient classics but also was just of an age to have benefited by the new ideas which flooded China in the May 4th Movement. He joined the Institute of History and Philology when it was first organized, and stayed in the institute for a few years before leaving for a teaching position. He continued his epigraphical studies, however, without much interruption. After the war he stayed on the mainland continuing his academic work and became specially interested in the social institutions of the Yin-Shang time. Two of his studies constituted very important contributions to an understanding of the social organization of the period.[175] In the first essay, Ting was able to identify each of more than two hundred of these clans with a definite name, and in the following essay, he went further by trying to trace the exact location of most of the identified clans. According to Ting, each clan had a definite territory and clans were distinguishable by definite totemic symbols. He cited the ancient Manchurian custom of offering sacrifice to Heaven by Nurharchi himself with a pine pole more than thirty feet long representing the symbolic Heaven. Professor Ting considered the pole to be the survival of the ancient totemic symbol. To what extent this is accepted as true depends on the reader's own historical background. But there are at least two points which Ting Shan's essays seem to have made clear. First, there is no question that clan organization, which in Chinese is called *shih-ts'u*, existed extensively in the Yin-Shang period and must have had a totemic attachment, and, second, those clans were politically under the control of the royal house, but they also had their private farms to cultivate. It is possible that some of the powerful clans later evolved into feudalistic states. The records clearly indicate that while it was the king's duty to keep the various clans safe and peaceful, the clans, large or small, also had the duty on the other hand to pay toll or tribute and to send draft soldiers for the defense of the dynasty. The Shang dynasty presumably monopolized the secret of bronze-casting and was able to produce the most effective weapons through this power, while the various feudal clans in northeastern China, including present Shantung, Hopei, a part of Honan and Shansi, and the northern part of Kiangsu and Anhui, were under her tutelage. In addition to this powerful material weapon, there was another power with which the royal house of Shang seemed to exercise great influence, namely the expert manipulation of the art of scapulimancy together with the ability to keep written records.

It is difficult to say how early the art of scapulimancy started. But the fact that it was associated with the earliest written records could not have been merely accidental. One must admit that in whatever ways the professional experts manipulated scapulimancy, there was always an element of mystery associated with it. Whether this element of mystery was intentionally deceitful or not, when it became generally accepted and commanded the common belief of the masses, it became itself a power. To understand the practice of Shang politics it is important to acquire some knowledge of the psychological background of those men in charge of divination who, as the records show, actually played a very significant part in decisions of importance regarding such matters as war-making and the removal of the capital.

One of the greatest contributions by Tung Tso-pin in his early study of the oracle bones—and one of the most important contributions he made in his life's research in paleography—was his discovery of what he named "diviners." It was important in many respects but here let us take up its relation to practical politics.

The original Chinese term for diviner was *chên-jên*. Tung first discovered the existence of this important office and its group of officers when he studied the first four more or less complete tortoise shells discovered in the well-known pit, the Ta-lien-k'eng, in 1929, in the third season of Anyang digging. This discovery not only led Tung gradually to a concentrated interest in oracle bone inscriptions from the paleographic angle, but also widened his historical interest in the detailed contents of these records. By means of studying the inscriptions alone, he eventually succeeded in periodizing the records into at least five periods (see also discussion on p. 248):

1. The Wu Ting epoch, including the period from King P'an Keng (19) to Wu Ting (22).

2. The Tsu Chia (24) period, probably including the reign of King Tsu Keng (23).

3. The Lin Hsin epoch, including King Lin Hsin (25) and King Keng Ting (26).

4. The Wu I (27) period, including also T'ai Ting (28).

5. The last period, including the last two kings: Ti I (29) and Ti Hsin (30).

Tung in his 1955 publication on oracle bone records recorded that there were twenty-five *chên-jên* in the first period, eighteen in the second period, thirteen in the third period, seventeen in the fourth period, and four in the last period.[176] Tung Tso-pin noticed with particular attention that in the last two reigns, Ti I and Ti Hsin both took the unusual step of performing the divinations personally. It seemed to indicate that these two monarchs could not trust anyone else to carry out this sacred duty of obtaining readings of divine order which bore such a close relationship to the exercise of royal power. The exact duties of this *chên-jên* might here be looked into.

Here something should be said of the technical procedures of scapulimancy or plastromancy. It is now well known that in prehistoric times the inhabitants of north China, especially the black pottery people, had already acquired a superstitious belief in scapulimancy. They would pick up the scapula of deer, cows, sheep, or other herbivorous animals and drill a series of cavities on one face of the scapula, then scorch that face to cause a crack to appear on the other side. It is of course an interesting question whether all these technical procedures were done by one trained person alone and whether the ability to read the significance of the crack was a technician's business or a sacred profession. These same questions would apply to the historical time of the Shang dynasty when scapulimancy had already developed to a more precise stage and the materials used included tortoise shells. In the traditional accounts recorded in Chou dynasty writings, tortoises were already given a special position in the animal kingdom as possessing the ability to foretell human events. We know at present that the plastron of the tortoise was used for divination in place of the scapula, perhaps because it presented a bigger flat surface and was therefore capable of more frequent usage for divination purposes. But whether interpreting the cracks was the business of a technician or a witch doctor (or, if we want to be more respectful, a sort of religious person) is still a puzzle. We are aware of the fact that there were many special monographs devoted to their arts as late as the Han dynasty. Tung Tso-pin's discovery of the *chên-jên* does not seem to help solve this problem. In the first place one cannot be sure what the exact duty of such a person was except perhaps that he was in charge of reading the crack signs. But did he pass judgment on the crack's significance, and have

the final say whether it was auspicious or not? According to circumstantial evidence, the *chên-jên* was probably the man to do this and was not the man who performed the technical duties preliminary to the application of heat to the cavity. If this assumption is accepted, then the *chên-jên* would certainly be an important political counselor who would be in a position to help the king decide state events of both political and religious importance. It is noteworthy in this connection that in Wu Ting's time, one of the most prosperous periods, there were at least twenty-five *chên-jên* whose names are known, but in later period there were far fewer.

The matters that were decided by the oracle and recorded on the bones can be grouped into the following categories: (1) sacrifices, (2) war, (3) hunting, (4) royal trips, (5) fortune of the coming ten days, (6) fortune of the day and of the night, (7) weather, (8) harvest of the coming years, (9) disease, (10) life and death, (11) birth, (12) dreams, (13) construction, and (14) others. Lo Chên-yü, on the basis of his own collection, recognized that among the readable records which he rendered into modern Chinese the first category, consultation about sacrifices, was the most numerous.[177] There are 538 items on his list. On the other hand, the number concerned with military expeditions was quite limited. Those comparative figures are interesting but by no means conclusive. They do signify that as far as consultations on the oracle bones are concerned, sacrificial performances to ancestors counted first and foremost, at least in Wu Ting's time. Whether his successor actually obeyed this rule or not may be open to question.

Lo's groups are by no means complete, but they may be taken as representative of the major events of great importance about which the king had to consult the oracle bones for final decision. Tung Tso-pin believed that in addition to the *chên-jên*, there was an official who recorded all the events and was probably responsible for the writing, and he called these officials the historians of the court. What is not clear, however, is the procedure by which the final decision was made. We do not know definitely whether it was the *chên-jên* who, by reading the oracle bone signs, told the king the results of the cracks, or whether the king could read the symbols himself. But according to the practice of scapulimancy, the crack signs were presumably definite symbols that could foretell whatever might happen in the particular event about which the divination was made. The real problem is: was the *chên-jên* as a professional man and trained expert in reading the crack signs

in the position to have the last word about their ultimate meaning in consultation with the king? Whether the king agreed with him or not was of course another matter. It was perhaps by no means accidental that the last two kings of the Yin-Shang dynasty, notorious for their misrule, consulted the oracle bones personally most of the time. Judging by what happened in their time, one is inclined to believe that each king consulted the oracle bones personally for one reason—so that he might be able to make his own decisions.

Another important question concerning the kinship and social organization of the royal house of the Yin-Shang dynasty is the ultimate origin of this house. There is of course quite a coherent account according to traditional documents about the genealogy and descendency of this dynasty. The oracle bone records have confirmed the major points of this historical account as has already been noted. There is, however, one basic point which only a few scholars seem to have paid much attention to. This concerns the sudden appearance of a calendar system in the Yin-Shang period and the related posthumous names of the kings of the royal family and their immediate ancestors. In the oracle bone records, the sexagenarian system was already used and seems to have been inherited from an earlier tradition (see earlier discussion in chap. 7). Epigraphists claim that they have found regular tables for the sexagenarian system of sixty names of double characters, each name combining one character from the celestial stems and another from the earthly branches. This system brings to mind the history of the early Babylonian sexagenarian system.

Turning to the ancestral roll of the royal house of the Shang dynasty, the king who first made use of the stem and branch terms was Wang Hai, whose name appeared frequently in the oracle bone records. In 1913, Lo Chên-yü first noticed this name, to which no scholar of ancient Chinese history had previously paid much attention.[178] Lo brought this discovery to the attention of Wang Kuo-wei, whose subsequent investigation of Wang Hai contributed substantially not only to the study of oracle bones but especially to clarifying the lineage of the predynastic ancestral figures. Wang Kuo-wei coordinated much scattered information which earlier scholars had been unable to understand, as will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.[179]

While Wang Kuo-wei's contributions were much appreciated by early

scholars, there is one aspect of the queries raised by these new data which very few people carried further. From a purely paleographic viewpoint, one finds that these twenty-two stem and branch terms are found at the very end of Hsü Shen's *Shuo-wen* dictionary; and what surprises a great number of paleographers most is that, ever since Chu Chün-shen's time (nineteenth century), paleographers have found Hsü Shen's original interpretation of these twenty-two characters inconsistent with his own basic idea. As for the reason why these twenty-two characters were grouped into two categories, there seems no philological basis. Recently, Professor Chang Ping-ch'üan, who has made a systematic inquiry in this investigation, concludes with the remark that this body of characters did not originally constitute a consistent system.[180] None of them seems to keep the original primitive meaning and practically every character is used in a borrowed sense. Before archaeological excavation started at Hsiao-t'un, some Japanese scholars had labored a great deal on the Yin-Shang sexagenarian dating system. Professor Shinjô Shinzô, whose contribution is probably well known to a number of Western scholars, is one of those who contributed most. He was one of the earliest scholars who tried to compare the Hindu, the Babylonian, and the Chinese dating systems. In China, Kuo Mo-jo was the first to propose a definite link of these three systems scattered in China, India, and Babylonia.[181]

It may take a long time to go a step further. But from the Chinese angle, there seems to be one point that can be clarified. It concerns Wang Hai, the first among the predynastic ancestors of the Shang to make use of the stem branch (*kan-chih*) term as a personal name. Since the publication by Prof. Wang Kuo-wei, Wang Hai has been identified in scattered materials. He presumably lived in King Hsieh's time (1996-1980 B.C.) in the Hsia dynasty, about two centuries before the Babylonian King Hammurabi. According to the *Bamboo Annals*, he was supposed to have been the man who domesticated bulls, and this contribution to their welfare was well remembered among the ordinary people. However, the fact that he was given the word Hai, the last of the branch characters, as his personal name never seems to have aroused any curiosity among historians. But if we take the sexagenarian cycle as a whole, this query is obviously important since, according to historical accounts, after his time his descendants down to the founding of the Shang dynasty all assumed stem characters as their names. Was he the man who originated the sexagenarian system of dating? Or did he

in a moment of inspiration adopt a Western system of names? [182]

In addition to the initiation of the new system of nomenclature by Wang Hai, we also read in the oracle bone records that enormously heavy sacrifices were offered to the founder of the new system. Very frequently thirty or forty oxen were killed and sometimes as many as three hundred were offered on one sacrificial occasion to this Wang Hai. While the story that he was the man who domesticated wild bulls remains to be authenticated, the heavy tribute paid by his descendants in these offerings could not have taken place without a reason. From the time of Wang Hai onward to the last king of the dynasty, this unique system of naming each generation in power by a celestial stem name was used consistently. This is certainly historically significant. But what makes it extraordinary is that this system was never followed afterwards. A number of theories have been created to interpret this particular feature of the Yin-Shang dynasty, but since we know the historical facts of the Yin-Shang dynasty so little and its social organization even less, none of the theories seems to be sufficiently comprehensive.

Social anthropologists, basing their study on relationship terms, claim to have discovered that while there are indeed definite terms for *father*, *mother*, *elder brother*, *grandfather*, and *grandmother* in the oracle bone inscriptions, there are no such terms as *uncle*, *aunt*, *nephew*, *niece*, or *younger brother*. From these discoveries they have deduced a great number of interesting theories. One of these is that while the royal family does have a family name, which according to Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien is Tzu, the royal Tzu family could pass the throne either to the younger brothers or to the second generation, usually to the ruler's own son. Modern ethnologists who have given some consideration to the above facts would like to interpret the royal family tree in a new light. They argue that since in the oracle bone vocabulary the younger generation would call all members of the older male generation *father*, the heir to the throne, if he was of the younger generation, would not necessarily be the son of the ruler. He might be any of the sons of the ruler's sisters or brothers, since all of them called him *father* whether he actually was or not. The author, however, does agree with some of the theoreticians that totemism played an important role in regulating social functions, and there may have been complicated rules governing exogamy and endogamy. But our paleographic research has not yet reached the stage to read oracle bone characters maturely. There are so many characters whose meanings are

obscure. We know in fact very little about family, clan, or totemism of this period. There is no question that very soon there might be fruitful research along this line.

拾叁．谱系、贞人和亲族关系

图52的世系表录自董作宾1952年的著作，译成英文时省去了某些细节。[172]此表分四部分：远祖先公、近祖先公、先王前期和先王后期。前两部分为商朝建立前的祖先，后两部分属王朝时期。从王族的创建者算起，王朝前的祖先共有14名。伟大的天乙——商朝的建立者，属第十五代。尽管古代的记载不尽相同，但在司马迁的传记式记载中，从天乙开始的继任者都有清楚交代。令人称奇的是，在地下埋藏了三千多年且完全不为学术界所知的甲骨文在19世纪末被发现后，证实了司马迁所记载的商代先公先王的名单惊人地准确。当然，并不是说甲骨记录与两千多年前早期史学家的记载之间毫无差别，只是，即使存在某些出入，也都显得无关紧要了，因为不仅是大多数先公先王的名字，而且连继位顺序几乎都得到了确证。这一重要的历史依据在本书中已数次提及，我在此重叙却是另有目的。

过去不少学者曾就商王的名字指出过一个具有独特意义的事实。从商王朝前的祖先上甲微（近祖先公第一名）起，每一个王位继任者都有一个与十天干——甲、乙、丙、丁、戊、己、庚、辛、壬、癸——有关的名字（参看本书第7章的有关论述）。商王命名法的这一特征近来引起了学者们的极大注意。一种看法是，自从殷商历法开始采用六十干支记日后，商王室大概有以生日那天的干支中的天干为新生儿命名的习惯。另一种当下更流行的意见认为，是以去世当天的天干为君王的谥号，理由是从殷商时代的历史记载看，似乎当时在世者名字中并无天干。显然后一种意见依据的理由更令人信服，因为给死去的人封谥号的传统一直延续到帝国时代结束。当然还有其他的见解将会在后面介绍。

这个世系表还揭示了一些意义重大的社会风俗。从天乙建商到最后一任统治者，共有18代30位王先后统治这个王国。所以，有不少王是兄终弟及，如表所示，18代中有9代是兄传弟。最年幼的兄弟把王位传给自己的儿子这一点也非常醒目。然而，应注意到，最后四代王似乎都无兄弟，这是否与历史事实相符尚无定论。倘若不符，又为什么会有这种变化呢？

王国维是研究古代经典最杰出的学者之一，他提出的理论是，周朝的建立者在两方面完成了巨大的政治与社会改革。[173]>一是长子继位制的确立和兄终弟及制的废除，这消除了家族纠纷的一大根源。王国维认

为，长子继位制的确立有助于平息由家族和家庭纠纷造成的社会混乱状态，稳定古代中国的政治制度。二是婴儿随母亲的身份不同社会地位也不同，这取决于它是第一位妻子还是妾所生。这种社会分层导致家庭结构进一步细化。王国维对于上述变革的结论，不像他在古文字学上的贡献，并未得到普遍的支持。例如，他的一位挚友陈寅恪教授就持不同意见，并有充足的历史依据。[174]陈认为殷商后期已开始实行长子继位制。至于第一位妻子和妾生的孩子社会地位的差异，他对其最终的社会意义也有些怀疑。

陈教授的意见引导读者再考查殷商王朝世系表，特别是最后五位王：商朝第26位王康丁，继承了他兄长廪辛（第25位王）的王位，但据司马迁及其他史书记载，从此开始向后五代或四位继位者，直到最后一任王帝辛，王位一直是父传子。追溯其经过是，康丁死后武乙即位，为商朝第27位王；武乙死后，太丁继位为第28位王；太丁死后，帝乙继位为第29位王；帝乙死后，帝辛继位为第30位王——都是父子相承。

令人好奇的问题自然是：殷商最后四王是否都只有一个男性继承人？还是在康丁时王位继承制发生了变化？史载帝乙（第29位王）至少有两个儿子。司马迁明确记载帝辛不是帝乙的长子，但因他是第一个妻子所生，所以有当王储的优先权。这就是微子虽是长子又德才兼备却不能继承王位的原因。换句话说，生母的地位高，在后期是王位继承制的先决条件。这个制度在早期显然不可能存在，若存在，早期数代的王位就不会由异母兄弟继承了。

无论后代的史学家对继位制还会有什么见解，学者们必须正视商王室某些明显的特征。第一，他们每人都用天干中的一个字为谥号。第二，商代早期可能根据当地习俗，把王位传给兄弟或儿子，但不传给女儿。第三，无论谁继承王位，都在宗庙里享受祭祀，包括他的有儿子继承王位的妻子，可能是一个或多个。至于王的其他儿子的命运如何，是否允许他们有特殊的封号或政治特权，没有历史记载。据司马迁记载，商朝帝乙的妾生的儿子，尽管德行很好受人尊重，但似乎没有任何政治封号，虽然他们中有的比最后一个王年龄还大。

这就提出一个问题，商朝是否已有类似封建制的制度。封建制度下若王室家族成员不享有特殊的政治权力，会显得很奇怪。

丁山教授是位博学的金石学家，他不仅自幼接受古代典籍的基本训练，而且正值青年时又得益于席卷中国的五四运动新思想的影响。史语所成立时，他就加入了，工作了几年后离开去任教。但他从未间断对古

文字的研究。战后，他留在大陆继续学术工作，并对殷商的社会制度特别感兴趣。他的两篇论著对理解殷商社会组织作出了非常重要的贡献。[175]在第一篇论著中，丁考证出了200多个氏族的名字。在第二篇论著中，他进一步尝试追溯大多数已确定名字的氏族的确切所在地。丁认为，每一氏族都有确定的领地，也有各自特定的图腾。他引用努尔哈赤以象征天的一根30多英尺长的松柱祭天这一古代满人习俗为例，认为柱子是由古代图腾遗留下来的。对该解释的接受程度取决于读者自身的历史背景。但至少有两点在丁山的论著中似乎已得到澄清。一是所谓的氏族在殷商时就已广泛存在，而且必定有了各自的图腾。其二是这些氏族在政治上受王室管辖，但有自己的耕地，一些强大的氏族有可能后来逐渐演变成为封建王国。记载清楚表明，保护各个氏族的安全与和平是王的责任，而氏族无论大小，都有纳税或进贡及派送士兵护卫王朝的义务。商王室可能垄断了青铜铸造技术的秘密，并通过这种垄断权制造出最有效的武器。中国东北，包括今天的山东、河北、河南和山西的部分地区，及江苏、安徽北部的各封建氏族，都在它的保护范围内。除这种有力的青铜武器外，商王室还有一种权力可以发挥强大的影响，即对骨卜技术的熟练掌握和保留书写记录的能力。

很难确切说出骨卜术始于何时。但它与最早的书写记录有联系的事实，说明其产生不是偶然的。必须承认，专业人员无论用什么方法操作骨卜术，总会有与之相联系的神秘因素。不管这神秘因素是否有意欺骗，当它为大众接受并要求大众共同信仰的时候，其本身就成为一种力量。因此，要了解商代政治情况，了解那些实际负责占卜的人的心理是重要的。如卜辞所示，这些人在关于战争和迁都等重大事件的决策中扮演了异常重要的角色。

董作宾在甲骨文早期研究中最大的贡献之一，也是他一生古文字研究最主要的成就之一，是他所谓的“贞人”的发现。其重要性是多方面的，但在这里我要谈的是它与现实政治的直接关系。

古语称占卜者为“贞人”。董作宾在研究1929年安阳第三次发掘中著名的“大连坑”出土的“大龟四版”时，第一次发现占卜机构及其官员的存在。这一发现使董作宾逐渐专注于从古文字的角度研究甲骨文，并扩大了他在研究卜辞的详细内容时的历史兴趣。他仅凭借对卜辞的研究最终成功将这些甲骨文分为五期（另见249页的讨论）：

1. 武丁时期，包括从盘庚（19） 到武丁（22）的时期；

2. 祖甲（24）时期，大概包括了祖庚（23）在位的时期；

3. 廪辛时期，包括廪辛（25）和康丁（26）；

4. 武乙（27）时期，也包括太丁（28）；

5. 最后期，包括最后两个王，帝乙（29）和帝辛（30）。

董在1955年发表的关于甲骨文的著作中称，第一期有25个贞人，第二期有18个，第三期有13个，第四期有17个，第五期有4个。[176]董作宾特别注意到，最后两个王帝乙和帝辛都亲自参加贞卜，这一举动非同寻常。这似乎表明，这两位王不信任其他任何人来执行这种神圣职责——接受与行使王权密切相关的神谕。由此可以看出贞人的具体职责。

在此需要说说使用肩胛骨或龟甲占卜的技术程序。众所周知，史前华北的居民，尤其是黑陶文化的人，已有用肩胛骨占卜的迷信观念。他们常用鹿、牛、羊或其他食草动物的肩胛骨，在其表面钻许多凹窝，然后在这一面烧灼使另一面呈现裂纹。全部技术程序是否仅由一个受过专门训练的人操作？解读裂纹意义的是技术人员还是神职人员？这当然是很有趣的问题。同样的问题亦适用于商朝历史时期，这时骨卜已发展到一个更精细的阶段，占卜材料也已包括了龟壳。据周朝的古籍记载，动物王国中的乌龟已被赋予特殊地位，人们认为它拥有预言人类事务的能力。现在我们知道，用龟腹甲代替肩胛骨占卜，可能因它有一个较大的平面有利于常作占卜之用。但解释龟的裂兆是技师的事还是专职巫师（或可尊称为神职人员）的事，仍是一个谜。我们知道直至汉代还有不少有关占卜技术的专著。董作宾发现了贞人，似乎对解决这个问题没有帮助。首先，我们不知道这类人除负责读兆纹外的具体任务是什么。他们是宣判兆纹意义的人吗？他们对吉凶有最后发言权吗？从旁证看，贞人大概是负责这类事务的人，而不是负责加热凹窝前的技术事务的人。若这个假定能成立，贞人当然是个重要的政治顾问，其职务是帮助王决定政治和宗教方面的重大国事。在这一方面值得注意的是，在最繁荣的武丁时期，至少有25个有名字的贞人，但后来就远没有这么多。

通过占卜决定并记录在卜骨上的事件可分为以下几类：(1)　献祭；(2) 战争；(3) 田猎；(4) 王的出游；(5) 卜旬；(6) 卜夕；(7) 气象；(8) 收成；(9) 疾病；(10) 生死；(11) 生育；(12) 梦幻；(13) 建筑；(14) 其他。罗振玉根据自己收集的甲骨，辨认出所有得以考释的条目中第一类问祭祀的数量最多。[177]在他的编目中共有538条。另外，有关征伐的条目极少。这些比较数字很有趣，但绝不是结论性的。当然它们确实表明，就甲骨卜辞中的问事而论，对祖先的献祭仪式最为重要，至少在武丁时是如此。他的继承人是否遵循这个规定，还可进行讨论。

罗振玉的分类并不完善，但可代表王通过问卜最后决定的主要大事。董作宾相信，除贞人外，还有一位记录所有事件并负责书写的官员，他将这类人称为宫廷史官。但不清楚最后决定是如何作出的。我们不知道是贞人将甲骨兆纹的结果转告给王，还是王亲自视兆以判吉凶。根据肩胛骨占卜的规则，兆纹应该是用来预言被卜问之事可能结果的标志。问题的实质是，贞人作为受过训练能判读兆坼的专业人员，在与王共视兆坼时对兆判吉凶有最后发言权吗？当然，国王是否认同是另一回事。因而，殷商最后两个以苛政闻名的王在大多数情况下亲自问卜绝不是偶然的。根据他们当政时发生的事判断，人们更愿意相信这两个王亲自问卜的唯一理由是：他们可以依自己的意志作决定。

关于殷商王室的亲族关系及社会组织的另一重要问题是王室的最早起源。当然古籍上对商朝的世系和后世有连贯的记述；如前所述，甲骨刻辞证实了历史记载的主要方面。但有一基本问题，似乎只有几个学者注意到，即殷商历法制度的突然出现，以及与此相关的王及其近祖的谥号的出现。甲骨刻辞中已出现了六十干支，并有可能是从更早的传统中继承下来的（见第7章）。古文字学者称，发现了用六十个干支双合字（每一双合字含一天干字，一地支字）组成的干支表，这使人们想起古巴比伦六十进位制的历史。

再谈商王室的祖先名册。首先用干支字命名的是王亥，他的名字在甲骨卜辞中屡次出现。1913年罗振玉第一个注意到这个名字，此前研究古代中国历史的学者都没有注意到。[178]罗振玉的发现引起了王国维的关注，王国维后来的研究，不仅对甲骨学，而且对厘清商王朝建立前先祖的世系作出了重大的贡献。他整理了许多从前学者们未能理解的散乱资料，这将在下一章详细论及。[179]

王国维的贡献获得了早期学者的赞许，但由这批新资料衍生出的有一类问题却罕有人作进一步的探讨。单纯从古文字学的观点看，人们发现许慎《说文》的最后部分中有这22个干支字。使不少学者吃惊的是，自19世纪的朱骏声以来，古文字学家发现许慎对这22个字的原有注释与他自己的基本思想是矛盾的。至于将这些字分为两组的原因，似乎没有语言学的基础。最近张秉权教授对这一研究予以系统的考察，得出结论：这些字原本并不构成一个连贯的体系。[180]这些字无一保持了本义，实际上用的都是借义。小屯考古发掘前，一些日本学者花费了不少精力研究殷商六十干支的记日制度。新城新造教授是对此作出最多贡献者之一，他的贡献大概西方不少学者都知道。他是最早试图比较印度、巴比伦和中国的记日制度的学者之一。在中国，郭沫若首先在中国、印

度、巴比伦三种记日制度间建立了确定的联系。[181]

再迈进一步可能要花费很长时期。但从中国的角度看，似乎有一点可以澄清。王亥是商朝建立前先祖中第一个使用干支字命名的。自从王国维教授的文章发表后，王亥已被人们从散乱的材料中识别出来。他大概生活于夏王泄时（公元前1996—前1980年），比巴比伦国王汉谟拉比约早200年。据《竹书纪年》推测，他驯养了牛，这一造福民生的贡献为普通民众所牢记。但用地支中最后一个字为他命名似乎从未引起过历史学家的兴趣。如果我们把六十干支作为一整体，这一问题显然很重要。史载自王亥以后直到商朝建立，他的后代都用天干命名。他是六十干支记日法的创始人吗？还是他因一时受到启发，采用了一套西方的命名法？[182]

除从王亥开始的有系统的新命名制外，我们在甲骨卜辞中还读到，为这位新制度的创建者举办的献牲祭祀极其隆重：祭祀王亥时一次常用三四十头牛，有时多达300头。尽管他驯养野牛的故事仍有待证实，但他的后裔在祭祀他时给以丰盛的贡物不可能没有原因。从王亥起到商朝最后一个王，用天干给王命名这种独一无二的制度一直未变。这当然有历史意义。奇怪的是这个制度以后再没继续下去。解释这一特征的说法很多，但因对殷商历史事实了解太少，对其社会组织知道得更少，所以几乎没有一种是全面的。

社会人类学家根据他们对亲属称谓的研究，声称他们在甲骨文中发现，父、母、兄、祖父、祖母已有确定的称谓，但没有叔、婶、侄儿、侄女和弟的称谓。据此，他们推演出了不少有趣的论说。其中之一是王室确有姓氏，据司马迁记载姓“子”，子姓王室可以把王位传给弟弟或下一代，下一代继任者一般是王的儿子。现代民族学者考虑到上述事实，以一种新观点解释王室世系。他们认为，因为在甲骨文中年轻一代称老一代男性成员为父，所以继位者若为年轻一代的，则他不一定是统治者的儿子，他可能是统治者姐妹兄弟的儿子中的任何一人，因为他们都称王为父，不管王实际上是不是他的父亲。虽然笔者的确同意一些理论家的看法，认为图腾制在调整社会方面中发挥了重要作用，而且可能存在管理族内婚及族外婚的复杂制度。但我们的古文字学研究还未达到可以熟练通读甲骨文的阶段，还有许多我们不明意义的字。实际上，我们对这个时期的家庭、氏族或图腾几乎没有了解。毋庸置疑，这方面不久将会有丰富的研究成果问世。

14. Worship of Ancestors

and Other Spirits

One Chinese custom that has always impressed foreigners is ancestor worship, a custom which originated thousands of years before Confucius yet gained special distinction through his teaching. In the Anyang excavations, the most astonishing discoveries aside from the oracle bones were found mainly from the royal tombs.

In the tomb area the field party discovered that in the Yin-Shang dynasty an enormous amount of human labor was spent on building gigantic tombs to bury the royal dead; royal fortunes were also buried; and, what is most amazing, a great number of human beings were sacrificed in each of these tombs. These elaborate burials were no doubt the results of a long historical evolution. Field archaeologists have found that as early as the early neolithic age a dead body was buried accompanied by useful articles which indicated both the dead man's rank and his fortune.

As has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, when the oracle bones first became known to the learned world and long before field archaeology had started, Lo Chên-yü, one of the pioneers in the study of these ancient scripts, first called to the attention of Wang Kuo-wei that in these new, strange records, he had discovered a strange name, Wang Hai, that is, King Hai. This name, previously unknown to Chinese historians, seemed to appear in the oracle bone records very often and Wang Kuo-wei made a concentrated study of this problem.[183] Wang succeeded in identifying Wang Hai's name in a number of books which ordinary historians had usually considered occult, such as the *Shan Hai Ching*, the *Bamboo Annals* and Ch'ü Yuan's *T'ien Wen*. In regular histories like the *Shih Chi* and *Han Shu*, his name was usually miswritten. The *Shih Chi* gives his name as Cheng and the *Han Shu* gives still another name. Wang Kuo-wei succeeded in clarifying all these points and identifying these names as Wang Hai. Since Professor Wang's introductory work, Wang Hai has been recognized as the father of Shang Chia Wei, the earliest of the later ancestors of the house of Shang, whose name was also

made clear from Wang Kuo-wei's research. From Shang Chia Wei to the founder of the royal Shang dynasty, Ch'êng Tang or T'ien I, there are five more names on the ancestral roll: Pao Ting, Pao I, Pao Ping, Chu Jen, and Chu Kuei. When the later kings performed their rituals and offered sacrifice to the ancestor on more important occasions, Shang Chia Wei was usually named as the first person on the roll, a custom which continued to the last king of the dynasty.

Tung Tso-pin devoted a large portion of his *Yin-li-p'u* to the records concerning the various rituals followed in performing sacrificial offerings to the ancestors. He divided them into at least five main types, as already discussed in chapter 7. Before we go into these five types, there are some general characteristics shared in common by all the rituals.

Since each ancestor had a posthumous title which included a celestial stem, it was the custom of the Yin-Shang royal house to offer a special sacrifice to the ancestor with the posthumous title Chia on the Chia day, I on the I day, and so forth. As there are six Chia days in a sexagenarian cycle, offerings to six ancestors with the Chia posthumous titles can be made in the same cycle. Tung Tso-pin verified that this was true in Ti I's and Ti Hsin's period at least. Lo Chên-yü and Wang Kuo-wei had both noticed half a century ago that sacrificial offerings to ancestors were made on the day when the celestial stem corresponded with the king's name. Some scholars have found exceptions, but the exceptions are so few that they cannot disprove the rule.

Another general characteristic is that oracles had to be consulted before the ritual took place, sometimes even two or three days before the event. If the ritual included the sacrifice of livestock, sometimes the oracles were consulted regarding the requisite number. In the reign of the last two kings, the five main types of rituals known as Yung, I, Chi, Kuan, and Hsieh sacrifices were performed on regular dates and in a definite sequence. The Yung sacrifice was accompanied by the beating of drums, while in the I sacrifice, feather dancing was necessary. It is not definitely known what kind of feather was used, but some idea of the Yin-Shang drum was obtained from the ruins of Yin. In the Chi sacrifice, according to the interpretation of our paleographer, meats were regularly offered, and in the Kuan sacrifice, grains constituted the main offering while the Hsieh sacrifice combined various

elements.

Tung Tso-pin, in his *Yin-li-p'u*, was able to compile the recorded rituals in the reigns of Kings Tsu Chia, Ti I, and Ti Hsin on a chrono-logical basis and to tabulate these data in chronological order. He showed that in the reigns of the last two kings, for instance, it took about 360 days to complete the offerings to the individual ancestors. The rules which they had to obey seem to have been the following.

The Yung ritual and the I ritual as well as the other three could not be performed on the same day even for the same ancestor. There was, however, a definite difference among the five types in their sequence. The cycles of the first two rituals, Yung and I, had to be completed separately in two different seasons, even if the sacrifices were offered to different individual ancestors; in other words, it took 110 days to complete the Yung rituals for the ancestor and another 110 days to complete the cycle of the I ritual; while the other three rituals, Chi, Kuan, and Hsieh, which could be overlapped, might together take only 130 days. These five ritual systems would, then, altogether consume 350 days or nearly a calendar year. In addition, there was an introductory 10-day period during which the complete ancestral roll of individual ancestors to be worshipped was reviewed in the ancestral hall.

In the oracle bone inscriptions, the character *ss*ŭ was used sometimes for *year* rather than *nien*, which according to Tung Tso-pin did not occur until the time of Ti I and Ti Hsin. It was during the reign of these two kings that the rituals of ancestor worship individually and collectively took nearly a calendar year to complete a cycle. If we trace back all the individual ritual systems step by step to the earlier period, we find a great deal of change. The greatest change according to Tung Tso-pin occurred in the reign of Tsu Chia. Before Tsu Chia's era, the ritualistic performance was much more irregular and a great many other spirits besides ancestors were also given sacrificial offerings. But before we go into these details, the reader should have some idea about the five main types of rituals.

Here we must pay due acknowledgment to the great contribution of Tung Tso-pin, who has done more in interpreting these than any other scholar. When Lo Chên-yü first deciphered the oracle bone inscriptions, he merely recognized that certain terms indicated ritualistic offerings without having the least idea what these rituals were. Tung was not only one of the

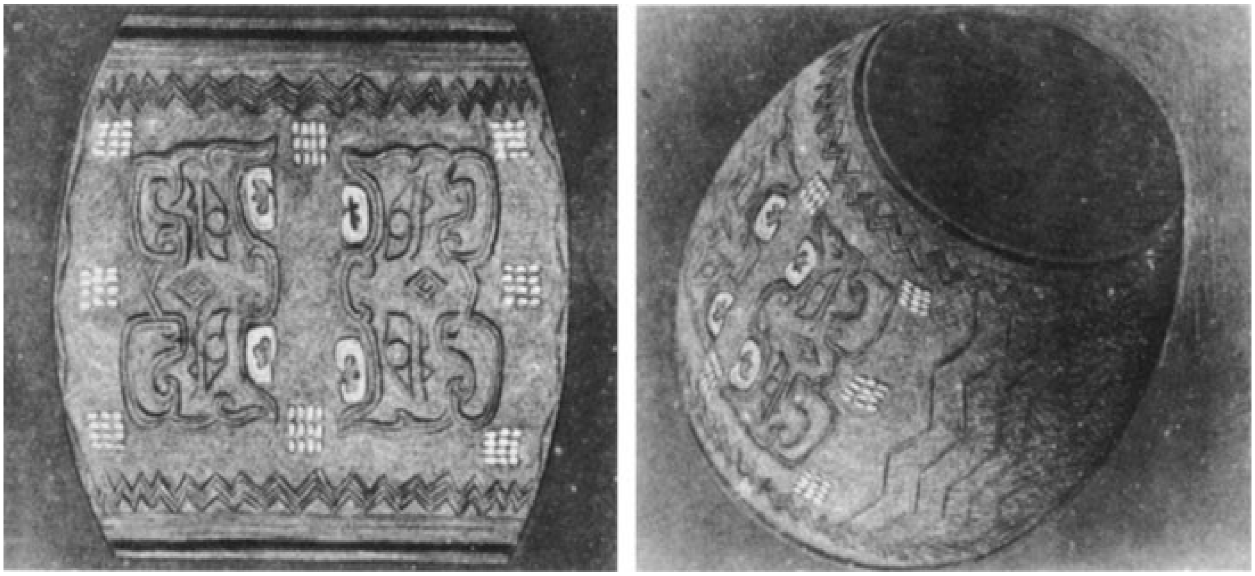
first scholars who definitely differentiated the nature and contents of the various ritual performances; he took the further step of putting these originally confused records into the orderly sequence in which they took place. In the case of the three kings mentioned above, namely Tsu Chia, Ti I, and Ti Hsin, the records are comparatively well preserved. Tung was able to gather the related records together and to chronicle the various events which took place during their reigns.

Let us take one example for illustration. This occurred in the first year of Ti I's era. The Yung sacrifice, starting in the fourth month, was first offered to the earliest ancestor Shang Chia (namely, Shang Chia Wei, the son of Wang Hai), on the day Chia Hsü; it was then followed by a similar sacrifice to T'ai Chia on the day Chia Wu, which was, in turn, followed by a sacrifice to Hsiao Chia on the day Chia Ch'en. These latter two both occurred in the fifth month. Then, in the sixth month, Yung was offered to Chien Chia (Ho T'an Chia) on the day Chia Tzŭ, Chiang Chia (Wo Chia) on the day Chia Hsü, Hu Chia (Yang Chia) on the day Chia Shen. Then in the seventh month, there was one more Yung sacrifice offered to Tsu Chia. So, in this year, it took almost four months to complete the subcycle of the Yung sacrifice offered to the various ancestors whose posthumous titles bore the Chia name. To recapitulate, in Ti I's time, there were seven ancestors with Chia as posthumous titles who were offered the Yung sacrifice on the Chia days. The Yung sacrifice was followed in time by the I sacrifice. These same ancestors were given the I sacrifice in the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh months. Then in the twelfth month, the other three sacrifices—Chi, Kuan, and Hsieh—were given in the same period, although not on the same day. These lasted from the twelfth month to the third month of the second year of the king's reign.

The instances cited above concern only the ancestors with the posthumous name Chia. Other ancestors with different *kan-chih* posthumous names would receive their respective sacrificial offerings on the intervening days whose celestial stem corresponded with their posthumous titles. In fact there was almost always some kind of sacrificial ritual that had to be performed every day of the year. It brings to mind the old Chinese custom which still continued in the early days of the Republic that every day a joss-stick had to be burned before the ancestral tablet. In the case of Shang worship, however, a sacrifice was offered to the individual ancestor, while in

the custom surviving among the people in modern times the burning of the joss-stick was offered to the ancestors collectively. Tung Tso-pin has also definitely established a *ssŭ* as a year in the time of Ti I for the simple reason that a complete cycle of the five fundamental sacrificial offerings at that time actually took a year to complete as described above.

The ritual performance of the various sacrificial offerings included some important details that must be mentioned. One of these is music. The Yung sacrifice as the initial ceremony of the annual ancestral worship was, according to the interpretation of Tung Tso-pin, dominated by drum music regarding which, very unfortunately we have, of course, no data to supplement our conception of this important sacrificial event. But in the excavation of HPKM 1217, the remains of a complete drum with the original frame on which it was hung was discovered in one of the tomb passages, accompanied by musical stones. It is possible that the drum used in the Yung sacrifice may have resembled the one excavated at HPKM 1217 (Figs. 53). Tung Tso-pin also observed that in all these five rituals, whatever the difference in the offering of the actual sacrifice might be, wine was always used on every occasion. In the case of the Yung sacrifice, we know that at least two elements were definitely present, namely, music and wine. In addition to the musical stones, other musical instruments such as the ocarina, pan-pipes, or even some kind of stringed instrument may have been used. But it is impossible to say whether the entire ceremony of the Yung sacrifice was accompanied by music. It is, however, important to note that this sacrifice initiated the annual cycle of rituals of worship to the whole series of individual ancestors.



53 Reconstruction of drum found in HPKM 1217: lateral and top views
HPKM1217 出土的鼓的复原图：鼓身、上部

Tung concluded that feather dancing was the essential feature of the I sacrifice, accompanied also by wine offering. Judging by what survived in the Chou dynasty, it may be inferred that the number of dancers varied according to the rank of the spirits—the higher the rank, the greater the number. As to what kind of feathers might have been used, nothing is known. But archaeologists have found the bones of the peacock at Anyang. Might it be possible that peacock feathers were used?

The third and fourth rituals, the Chi and Kuan sacrifices, definitely involved offerings of food. In the Chi ritual meat was offered. Although what meat is not certain, it may have included mutton, beef, pork, or even dog meat. The Kuan sacrifice was a sort of thanksgiving; the offering consisted of grains—millets or perhaps even wheat and rice. In the study of Shang bronze implements and ceramics, it has been noticed that most of the bronze vessels and some of the ceramics were made for sacrificial offerings. Meat and grains would have been offered in such receptacles as the *ting* and *chia*-tripods, the *kuei*-vessels, etc. As for wine containers, these are numerous, such as the *ku*, *chüeh*, *chih*, and so forth. All these bronzes and some of the potteries may have been used in the Chi and Kuan sacrificial rituals.

The exact nature of the last of the five sacrificial rituals, the Hsieh sacrifice, is still difficult to determine. Possibly it was something like the celebration of the traditional New Year's Day before the Republic, that is, it combined the essential elements of the other four sacrificial rituals, namely,

the offering of meat and grains accompanied by music and dance on a grand scale to all the ancestors on the ancestral roll.

As pointed out above, the schedule of sacrificial offerings to individual ancestors was first standardized in King Tsu Chia's time. The detailed procedure and the other details were strictly followed by Ti I and Ti Hsin. While this schedule included the essential rituals developed in the latter period of the Yin-Shang dynasty, there were other aspects to the spiritual lives of the people as well as of the royal house. For instance, the records include sacrifices to a number of other spirits such as those of the five directions—east, west, south, north, and central—and of some rivers and probably also some mountains, as well as a number of other spirits. What has attracted the particular attention of students of comparative religion is the use of the term *ti*, which has been taken by some to have meant a supreme spirit, but the interpretation of this term still remains debatable.

There were also certain refinements of the sacrificial ceremonies such as *liao*, to put the offerings in fire, *chen*, to put the offerings in water, and *mai*, to bury the offerings alive.

The oracle bone records, according to Kunio Shima, included one hundred items of sacrificial offerings to Wang Hai.[184] The rulers of the dynasty would pray to his spirit with sometimes as many as three hundred oxen. In this particular case, most sacrifices were done by the *liao* process. Only rarely were the Yung sacrifice and the I sacrifice offered to the founder of this house. It is remarkable to note that although Wang Hai was the father of Shang Chia Wei, he was not included in the list of the regular rituals, especially in the time of Ti I and Ti Hsin. The list was almost always headed by Shang Chia Wei.

Wine offering also deserves some mention. Wine offering was formerly interpreted as a special service to the ancestors, but now it is generally agreed that wine accompanied almost all the sacrifices, including the special ones.

Besides *liao*, *chen*, and *mai* sacrificial usages, there were a number of others that are mentioned in oracle bone records but not understood by paleographers. The case of human sacrifice, mentioned several times before, should not be omitted here. If we cannot give any details, it is because it is difficult to say whether such sacrifices were made regularly or only

occasionally, for instance, in wartime. But the number of human sacrifices uncovered in the royal tombs seems to indicate that it was a regular practice. However, whether the victims were captives or slaves, or just subordinates, or all three categories is impossible to say. The author is strongly inclined to believe that it was a custom introduced through contact with the early Sumerians from whom early China probably also learned the wheeled carriage, some aspects of the technology of casting bronze, and something of astrological sciences.

拾肆．祖先及神灵崇拜

中国习俗中一直以来使外国人印象最深的是祖先崇拜。它的起源比万世先师孔子更早几千年。在安阳发掘中，除卜骨外，最令人惊异的发现主要是在王陵中。

田野考古队发现，殷商时为埋葬王室死者营建巨墓耗费了大量人力，陪葬的还有王室财宝。然而，最使人触目惊心的是，每座墓中还有许多人作为牺牲殉葬。这种精心设计的埋葬无疑是长期演变的结果。田野考古者发现，早在新石器时代早期，埋葬死者时就有实用器具随葬，这些随葬品显示了死者的地位和财富。

如前章所述，在学术界首次知晓甲骨直至田野考古开始之间这段很长的时间里，甲骨文研究的先行者罗振玉在这些新奇记录中发现了一个奇特的名字王亥，即国王亥。这也引起了王国维的注意。以前的中国历史学家所不知道的这个名字，似乎在甲骨卜辞中常常出现，而王国维对这个问题作了专门研究。[183]王国维从一般史学家认为玄奥的《山海经》、《竹书纪年》和屈原的《天问》等书中辨认出了王亥的名字。《史记》与《汉书》之类的正史通常把王亥的名字写错了，《史记》中写成“振”，而《汉书》又写成另一个名字。王国维澄清了这些疑点，并证实这些名字实为王亥。正是由于王教授开端性的研究，才得知王亥是商室最早的近祖先公上甲微的父亲，王国维的研究也弄清了上甲微的名字。从上甲微到商王朝建立者成汤（天乙），先公表上还有报丁、报乙、报丙、主壬和主癸。当后代的王在重要场合祭祀祖先时，上甲微常列在第一名，这一习俗一直延续到商朝最后一个王。

在《殷历谱》中，董作宾用大量篇幅论述了各种祭祀祖先的仪式，他把这些分为五种主要形式，如第7章所述。在我们研究这五种形式前，先谈一下祭祀共有的一般特征。

每个祖先死后的谥号中都有天干中一个字，因此商王对祖先举行祭祀供奉牺牲，谥号带甲字的在甲日，带乙字的在乙日，以此类推，这是王室的习俗。因在六十干支中有六个甲日，一个周期就可以给六位带甲字的祖先祭祀一次。董作宾证实，起码在帝乙、帝辛时如此。罗振玉和王国维在半个世纪前就注意到给祖先祭祀那天的天干字与国王名字相一致。一些学者也发现了例外，但这种例外太少，不足推翻这条规则。

另一特征是祭祀仪式举行前必须占卜，有时甚至在前两三天进行。若献祭牲畜，有时还需卜问用牲数。在最后两王时，名为彡、翌、祭、壴、劦的五种祭祀按一定顺序在固定的日子举行。伴随"彡"祭的是击鼓，"翌"祭时则要有羽毛舞。使用什么羽毛尚未确知，但关于鼓的一些概况已在殷墟中获得。在"祭"的仪式中，据古文字学家解释，一般供奉肉。"壴"祭供奉谷物。"劦"祭则融合了各种元素。

董作宾在《殷历谱》中汇编了祖甲、帝乙、帝辛时的祭祀仪式，并把这些资料依年代列表。例如，他告诉我们在最后两个王时，约用360天完成对每个祖先的祭祀。他们似乎遵循下列原则。

彡、翌和其他三种仪式，即使是对同一祖先，也不能在同一天举行。这五种祭祀的顺序有区别。即使是祭祀不同的祖先，前两种仪式，彡、翌，也必须在两个不同祀季分别完成。换句话说，完成一轮对祖先的"彡"祭要用110天，完成一轮"翌"祭需要再用110天，而剩下的祭、壴、劦三种仪式可交叠进行，共用130天。完成五种仪式共用350天或约一历法年。另外，有10天的准备期，把全部接受祭祀的祖先的名册供奉在宗庙内。

甲骨文中的年有时用"祀"代表，而不用"年"字。董作宾认为直到帝乙、帝辛时才开始用"年"字。正是在这时，单独和共同祭祀祖先大约要用一历法年才能完成一轮。若我们一步步追溯到早期所有对单个祖先的祭祀制度，就会发现其间发生了很大变化。据董作宾研究，最大的变化发生在祖甲时期。祖甲以前，祭祀的形式并不规则，除祖先外还要向不少鬼神供奉牺牲品。但在我们详细谈论这些之前，读者应对五种主要祭祀形式有一个大概的了解。

在此我们应当感谢董作宾的重大贡献，他对解读这些祭祀所做的比其他任何学者都多。罗振玉首次破译甲骨文时，仅认出某些字表示献祭习俗，但并不知道是什么样的习俗。董不仅是第一个明确区分各种祭祀的性质和内容的学者，而且进一步把这些原本混杂的记述按它们发生的时间依次整理。关于上面提到的祖甲、帝乙、帝辛，记载保存得相对完好。董能够把相关的卜辞汇集起来，并将这几个统治时期发生的各类事件按年代整编。

让我们举一例加以说明。发生在帝乙第一年四月的第一次彡祭，在甲戌这天祭祀上甲（上甲微，即王亥之子）。接下来甲午日为太甲举行类似的祭祀，接着在甲辰日给小甲供奉牺牲，甲午、甲辰的祭祀都在五

月。六月给戋甲（河亶甲）在甲子日举行彡祭，甲戌日祭羌甲（沃甲），甲申日祭虎甲（阳甲）。七月再次给祖甲举行彡祭。所以，这一年几乎用了四个月才完成给谥号中带“甲”字的各祖先的一轮彡祭。概括地说，在帝乙时有七个祖先的名字带甲字，在天干为甲的那天给他们进行彡祭。彡之后是翌，在八、九、十、十一月给这些祖先进行翌祭。接着在十二月，另外三种献祭——祭、壴、劦，虽不在同一天却在同—时期进行，即从十二月延续至次年三月。

上例仅涉及其谥号带“甲”字的祖先。谥号中带有其他干支的祖先，在与他们谥号中天干相符的日子，接受各种献祭。实际上一年中几乎每天都会举行某种祭祀仪式。这令人想起民国初年仍存在的一项中国古老习俗：每天在祖先牌位前要烧一炷香。商朝的祖先崇拜中，献祭是供奉给一个祖先的，而现代留存在老百姓中的习俗是给所有祖先共烧一炷香。董作宾也明确指出，帝乙时“祀”作为“年”的简单原因是，如上所述，那时完成一轮五种主要祭祀的时间恰好是一年。

举行各种献祭仪式时有一些重要细节必须提及。其中之一是音乐。彡是每年祭拜祖先开始的仪式，据董作宾的解释，它以鼓声为主。遗憾的是，当然，我们没有资料可以丰富对这一重要献祭事件的构想。但发掘1217号大墓时，于墓道中发现一鼓架及架上挂着的一只完整的鼓的遗迹。一同出土的还有石磬。彡祭用的鼓可能与1217号墓中出土的那只相似（图53）。董作宾还注意到，在这五种仪式中，无论供奉的牺牲品有什么不同，酒都是不可或缺的。就彡祭来说，我们知道至少要有两种元素，即音乐和酒。除石磬外，可能还有埙、笙或某种弦乐器。目前还不能肯定是否彡祭全过程都有音乐伴奏。然而，重要的是，应注意到彡祭是一年一轮对各位祖先祭拜的开始。

董推论羽毛舞是翌祭的主要特征，也有酒供奉。据在周朝还保留的遗俗可推断，舞者的人数依神灵的地位而变化，地位高者，舞者越多。至于用什么羽毛，一无所知。但考古学家在安阳发现了孔雀骨。那有可能用的是孔雀毛吗？

第三、四种仪式，祭和壴肯定要献祭食物。祭要供奉肉，虽不能确定用什么肉，但有可能包括羊、牛、猪甚至狗肉。壴祭是一种感恩的表示，供奉有小米，也许还有小麦和稻米。在商代陶器和青铜器具的研究中，发现大部分青铜器皿和一些陶器是为献祭制作的，供奉的肉和谷物就盛在鼎、斝、簋这类器皿中。盛酒器更是数不胜数，觚、爵、觯

等等，不一而足。所有这些青铜器具和一些陶器或都曾用在祭和壴的仪式中。

五种仪式中最后一种劦的确切性质仍难以确定。它可能类似民国前传统的庆新年，会把其他四种仪式的必要元素综合到一起，用肉和谷物伴着音乐舞蹈，以隆重的仪式向所有祖先献祭。

如上所述，给每个祖先祭祀的日程表在祖甲时才开始标准化。帝乙、帝辛严格遵循这一顺序及其他细节。祭祀安排表中还包括殷商后期发展出的主要仪式。这一时期，民众和王室还有其他信仰。例如，甲骨文中还记载向不少其他的神灵供奉牺牲，诸如东、西、南、北、中五方神、河神，可能还有山神和一些其他的神。特别引起比较宗教学学者注意的是甲骨文中的“帝”字，一些人把“帝”理解为至高无上的神，但对此字的解释仍有争议。

也有某些更具体的祭祀仪式：如“尞”需要把祭品放入火中；“沈”祭需把供奉投进水里；“薶”需埋葬供奉的活物。

据岛邦男书中记载，甲骨刻辞中给王亥的牺牲供奉有100项。[184]商朝的统治者有时用多达300头牛的牺牲品向王亥的灵魂祈祷。向王亥献祭大部分牺牲是采用尞祭，很少通过彡和翌祭向这位王室创建者献祭。值得注意的是，尽管王亥是上甲微的父亲，但他未被列于周祭的祭祀表上，尤其是在帝乙、帝辛时期。祭祀表上第一名几乎都是上甲微。

还应提一提祭祀用酒。酒以前被解释为是对祖先的一种特殊供奉，但现在普遍认为，所有祭礼仪式，包括特殊仪式，都有酒。

除尞、沈和薶这几种献祭外，甲骨文中还提到一些其他形式，但古文字学家不清楚它们的含义。前面多次提到的人牲，在此不应忽略。我们给不出更多的细节，是因为不清楚这类牺牲是定期的还是偶然的，比如，在战争时期。在王陵中发现人牲的数目似乎表明这是经常性的。但这些牺牲者是俘虏还是奴隶，或是一些下等人，抑或是三种人都有，无法确定。笔者倾向于相信这是在与早期苏美尔人的接触中学来的习俗。从他们那里古代中国人可能还了解到有轮的马车、某些青铜器铸造技术和占星学知识。

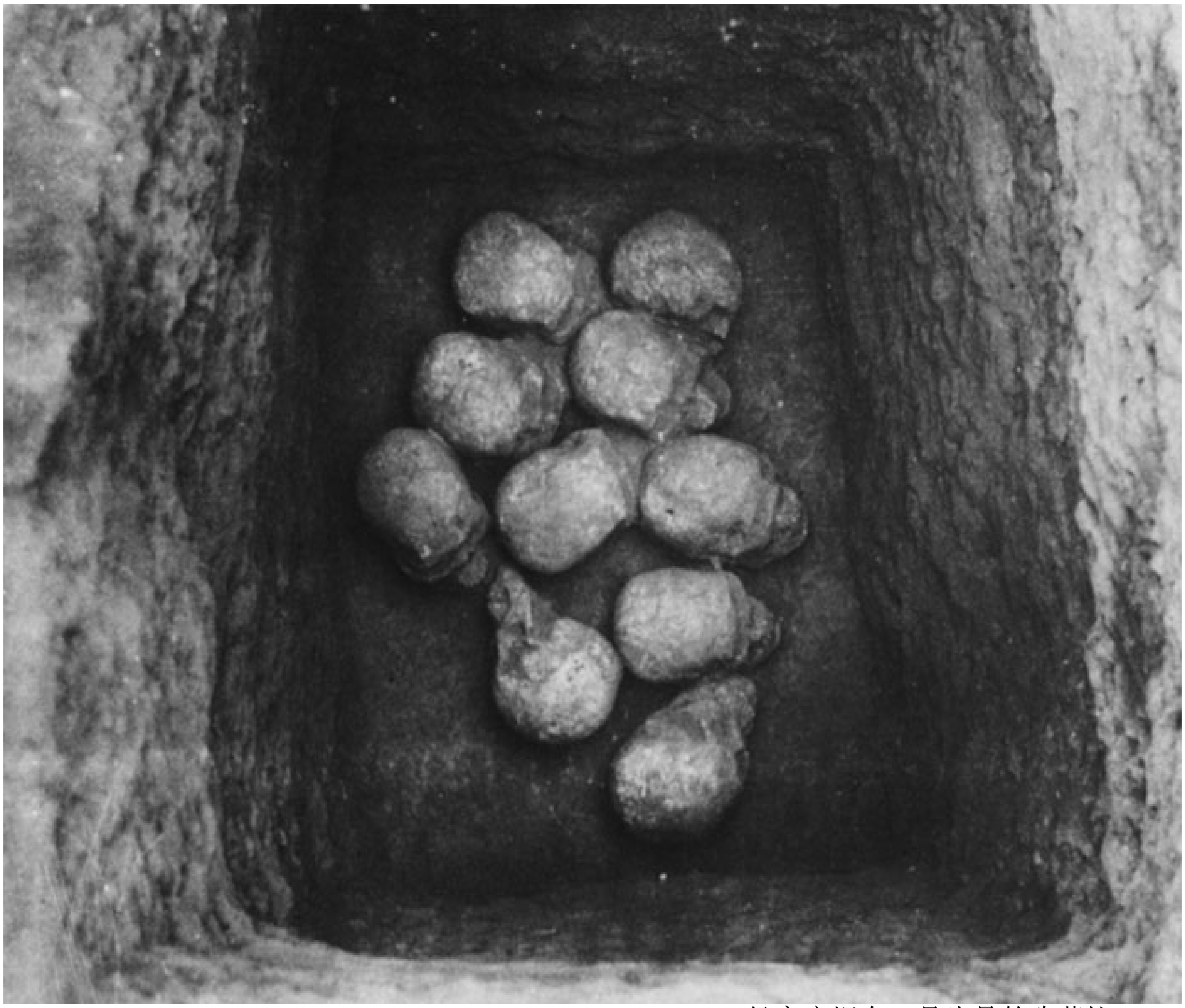
15. Notes on the Physical Anthropology

of the Yin-Shang Population

The skeletal materials collected from fifteen seasons of Anyang excavations amount to several thousands, most of which are definitely from the Yin-Shang period. The Institute of History and Philology created a special section and invited a biometrician, Dr. Woo Ting-liang, trained in the biometric laboratory of Dr. Karl Pearson in London, to take charge of the scientific investigation of this valuable collection. But the Japanese invasion and the war not only interrupted the program, but actually so disheartened Dr. Woo that he gave up the job when the war terminated. At the same time, the materials were greatly depleted. In the institute's migration from Nanking to Yünnan, to Szechwan, and to Taiwan, it was only because of the determined efforts of a few individuals in charge of transportation during these long treks that certain portions of this collection were finally brought to Taiwan.

Professor Young Hsi-mei, a trained biologist who had helped Woo Ting-liang in the biometric work during wartime, and was one of the few who came to Taiwan, was persuaded to take up the study of this collection. Here the author wishes to summarize some of his main reports.[185]

The collection brought here consists mainly of skulls of which there are 398 from Hou-chia-chuang; practically all of these came from what are called sacrificial pits—pits where only skulls were buried and no skeletons. The Institute of History and Philology has a complete record of the history of these pits and of their excavation. Most of these sacrificial pits contain ten skulls each (Fig. 54); a few contain only seven or eight or even as few as six. There are, however, exceptions which contain more than ten, and in one pit more than thirty-three skulls were buried (Fig. 55). In addition to these skull pits, the archaeologists found headless skeletons also buried in groups of ten. Sometimes the head and skeleton were found together, but had already been cut apart.

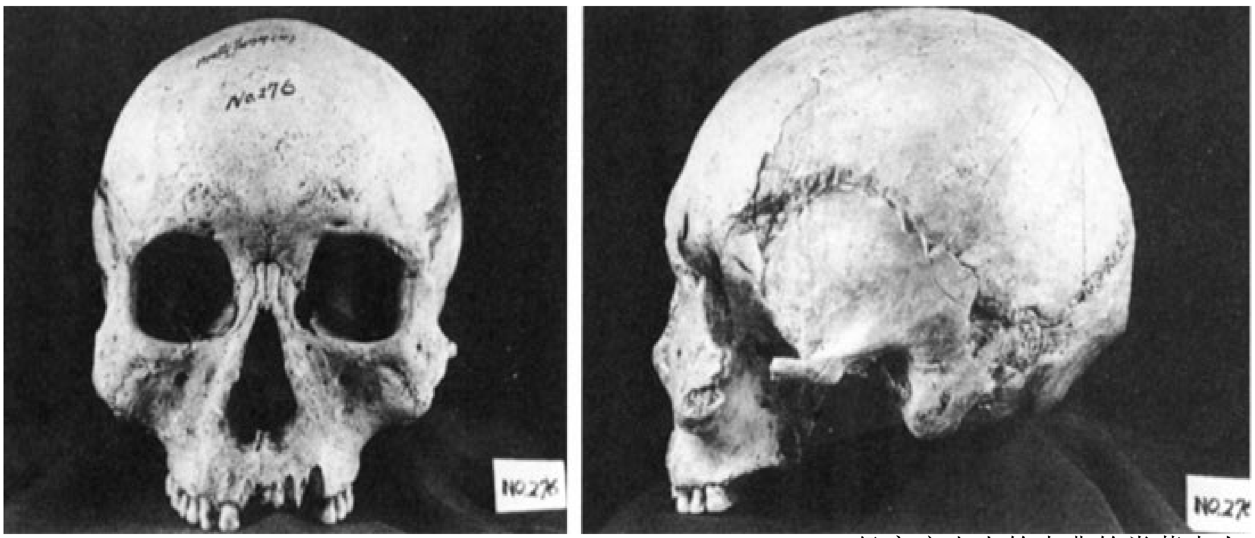


54 Sacrificial pit with ten skulls found in Hou-chia-chuang 侯家庄埋有10具头骨的殉葬坑

55 Sacrificial pit with the largest number of skulls found in Hou-chia-chuang 侯家庄埋头骨最多的殉葬坑

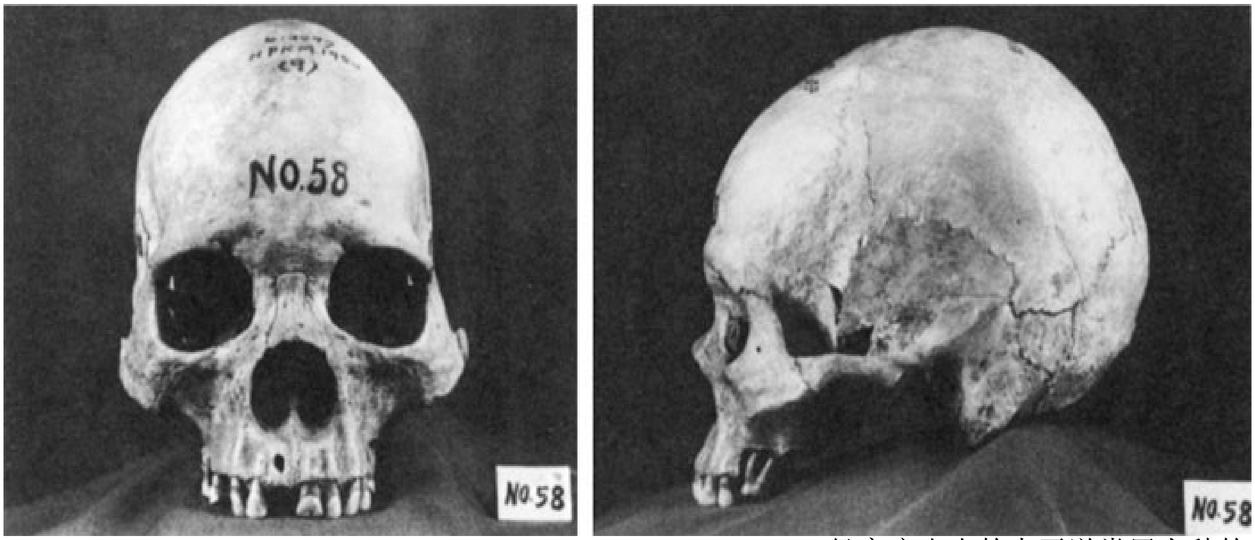
Professor Young has made cranial measurements of each of the 369 skulls in our collection. He compared the standard deviations of the various measurements, especially the cranial index, head length, and head breadth, with those of other peoples, namely, the Ainus, Bavarians, Parisians, Naqadas, and English. He found that the standard deviations of the various values of the Hou-chia-chuang skulls are greater than any of the five groups of people with whose skulls he compared. In other words, whether compared with Englishmen, or Frenchmen in Paris, or Germans in Bavaria or the Ainus in Japan or the Naqadas, the Anyang collection evidences a more heterogeneous group. This is true even if we limit the comparison to the 319 skulls of the male sex.

Young's study includes a very interesting morphological analysis. He has been able to divide the Hou-chia-chuang skulls into five subgroups. Subgroup 1 (Fig. 56) is the Classic Mongoloid type. This subgroup usually is mesocephalic with broad cheek bones, depressed nasal bones, sloping frontal head; the faces look almost flat in profile. The skull top is almost flat. The bizygomatic width is probably wider than any other group. These Classic Mongoloids are found among typical representatives among Buriats and Chuckchis.



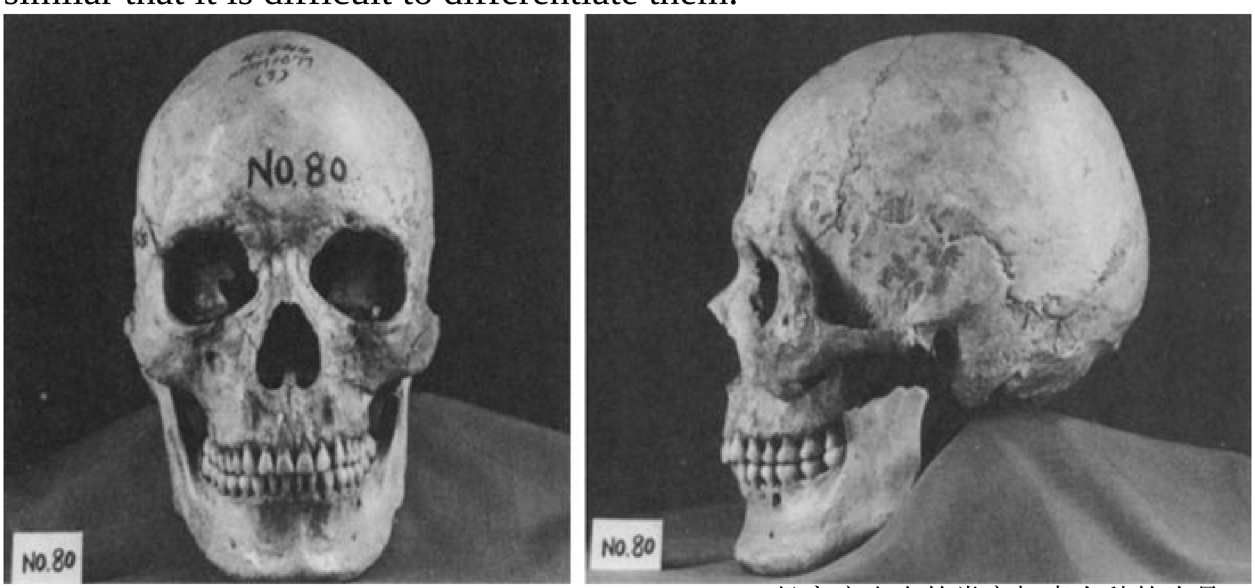
56 Classic Mongoloid type of human skull found in Hou-chia-chuang 侯家庄出土的古典的类蒙古人种的头骨

Subgroup 2 among these Hou-chia-chuang skulls (Fig. 57) is named by Young the Oceanic Negroid type. This group has a longer head with a cephalic index of 75. The nasal root is depressed, but at the lower end it rises up. The occipital bone looks like a gable roof. In this respect it closely resembles the Papuans or Melanesians.



57 Oceanic Negroid type of human skull found in Hou-chia-chuang 侯家庄出土的太平洋类黑人种的头骨

Subgroup 3 (Fig. 58), which Young called Caucasoid, is a very small group. Young gives only two examples. A typical specimen of this group has a narrow head and a narrow face with a cephalic index of 73.58. The cheek bone is very small but with well-developed nasal bones. The skull has been compared with the skull of an Englishman born in America. They are so similar that it is difficult to differentiate them.

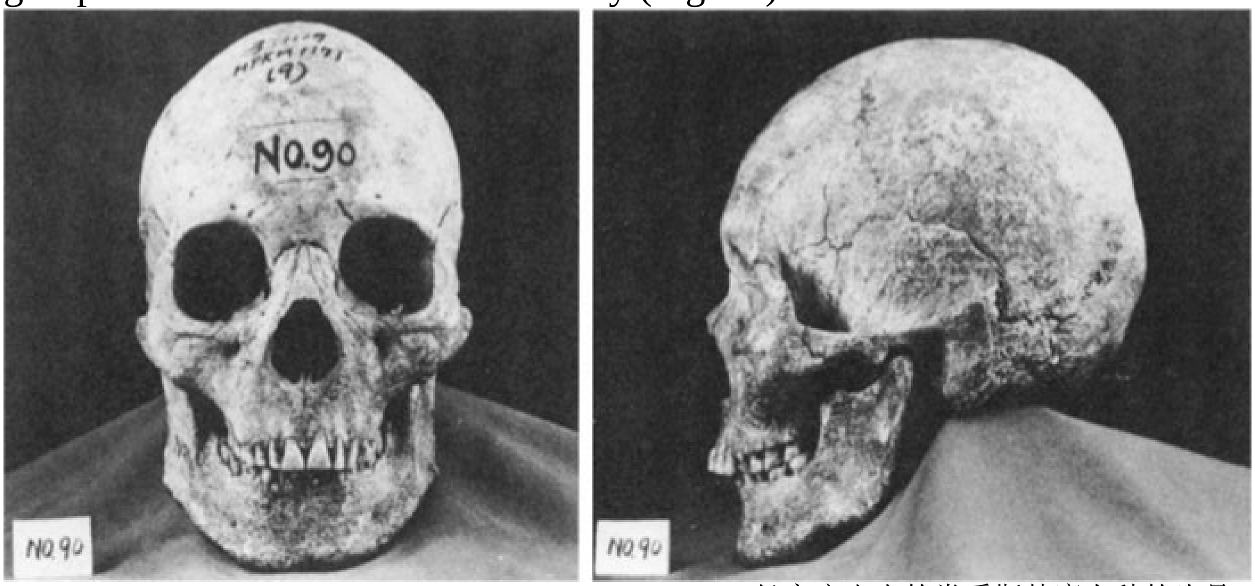


58 Caucasoid type of human skull found in Hou-chia-chuang 侯家庄出土的类高加索人种的头骨

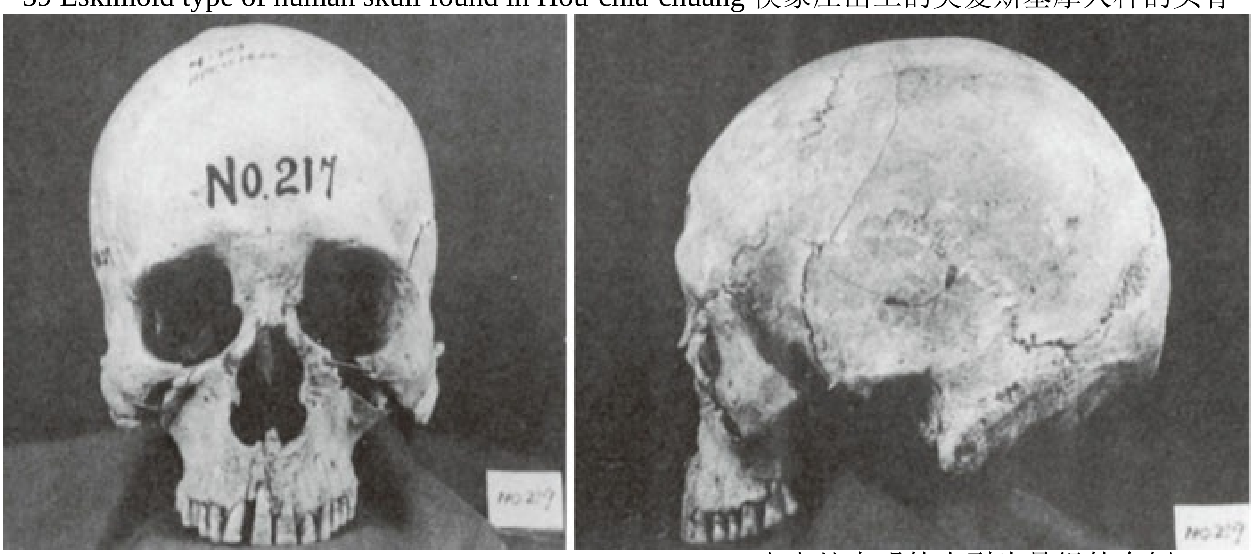
Subgroup 4 (Fig. 59) is known as the Eskimoid type. Like Subgroup 1, it possesses a broadly developed cheek bone and wide face. Unlike Subgroup 1, the Eskimoid type possesses a higher head. Its cephalic index is 76.35. The top of the skull from front to back has a keel-like ridge. The nasal bone is

pinched angular and the lower jaw has an everted mandibular angle.

There is another group about whose morphological character Professor Young feels uncertain. The only thing that impresses him is that in every measurement these skulls are comparatively smaller than those of any other groups that he has been able to classify (Fig. 60).



59 Eskimoid type of human skull found in Hou-chia-chuang 侯家庄出土的类爱斯基摩人种的头骨



60 Representative of group of small skulls, unidentified 出土处未明的小型头骨组的个例

In the above divisions, Young has been able to assign 30 to Subgroup 1, 34 to Subgroup 2, only 2 to Subgroup 3, 50 to Subgroup 4 and 38 to Subgroup 5.

Here we might make some interesting comparisons among the measurements of these five groups. The author would like to take the

bizygomatic breadth first, because this is the one characteristic that differentiates the Mongoloid people from other races. Let us see some of the comparisons:

Group 1 141.18mm.

Group 2 134.52mm.

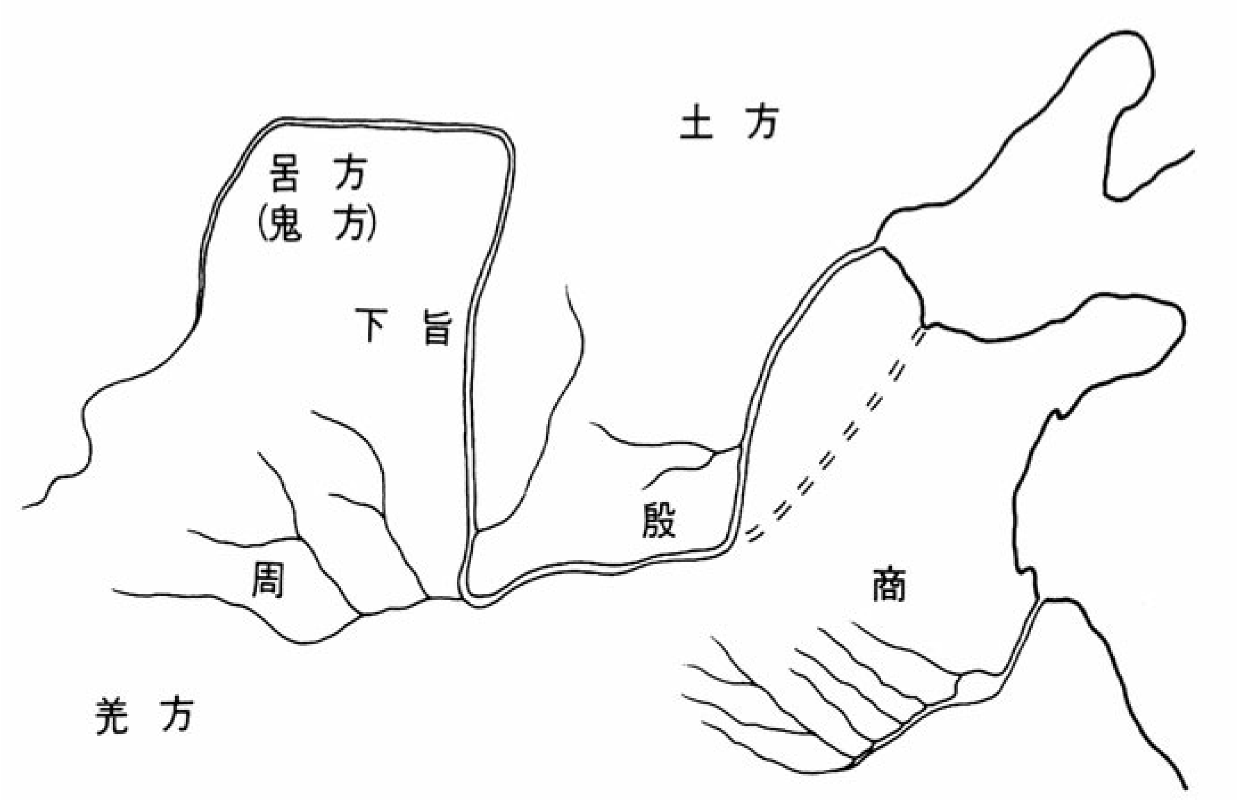
Group 3 131.50mm.

Group 4 135.06mm.

Group 5 131.32mm.

So, it is quite clear that in both anthropometrical measurements and morphological characteristics, the Anyang crania, or should I say the Hou-chia-chuang crania, although limited in number, indicate a mixed character that is no doubt the result of a mixed race. There are, however, one or two points that we should clarify first. The primary question is, since this is a collection from the sacrificial pits, do any of the skulls or any of the subgroups represent the Yin-Shang people as a whole? This is probably one of the most difficult problems to answer because all the archaeologists are aware of the fact, attested both by the oracle bone records and by the archaeological diggings, that the victims whose heads were cut off and presented as sacrificial offerings either in the royal tombs or in other places were probably enemies who had either invaded the territory or offended the royal property. Tung Tso-pin devoted two sections of his *Yin-li-p'u* to the war records of the Yin-Shang period. During the reign of Wu Ting, who conducted a series of military expeditions against the invasion of enemies in the Ordos region, chiefly from northern Shansi and Shensi, the names of the enemies were definitely given as Kung Fang, T'u Fang, and Hsia Chih (Fig. 61). Wu Ting spent three years in this northwestern war (from the twenty-ninth to the thirty-second year of his reign) near the end of the thirteenth century B.C. In those three years, he first conquered Hsia Chih, which took him ten months, and then T'u Fang, which took him a much longer time, more than two years. Kung Fang was the furthest to the northwest. The oracle

bones record that in the seventh and eighth months of the thirtieth year of Wu Ting, he conscripted successively almost ten times in two months, each time as many as three thousand men. The maximum may reach five thousand. Tung Tso-pin later compared all the records relating to this war[186] and came to the conclusion that Kung Fang was another name for Kuei Fang, which was mentioned both in the *Book of Changes* and the *Book of Odes*; the *Bamboo Annals*, of course, also mentioned this important event. My colleague Tung was of the opinion that the exact location of Kung Fang was near the northwestern corner of the Ordos region, near where the earliest paleolithic finds were found. This location may also indicate that it was on the usual route of migration for central Asiatic nomads from the earliest times. So, it would not be surprising to find skulls of European type mixed with those of Buriats and Eskimos in these hordes. There were, of course, battles on other fronts, such as King Ti Hsin's expedition to Tung I, which have also been abundantly recorded in the oracle bones. All these seem to serve as an adequate basis for an interpretation of the heterogeneous character of the various crania found in the sacrificial pits. They do not help us, however, to solve the question: What was the physical anthropology of the Yin-Shang people who ruled this territory for several hundred years? If we compare the various specimens in the subgroups that Mr. Young has studied, it seems definite that even among the Mongoloids there are three subgroups, namely, Subgroup 1 and Subgroups 4 and 5.



61 Three enemies from the Ordos region and eastern Mongolia
来自河套地区与蒙古东部的三股敌人

Years ago, Professor Davidson Black of the Peking Union Medical College, after a preliminary study of the prehistoric population whose remains were collected by Andersson and his associates, concluded that the neolithic people of north China were in no way essentially different from modern Chinese.[187] Black was a pioneer in this field and the number of specimens at his disposal were relatively few. His conclusion, though based on solid facts, was nevertheless only preliminary.

Now almost half a century after Black's time, although we have gathered a great deal of new data, none of them have been thoroughly studied by a competent authority like Davidson Black. The war of course was the main reason for this tragic fact, and at present, when the problem of the Yin-Shang population is studied, we are almost in a worse situation than Davidson Black. We can depend upon neither the skulls from the sacrificial pits nor the fragmentary skeletons for a reasonable deduction.

We are confronted with data that seem to be contradictory to what Davidson Black found, unless we dismiss these various subgroups such as the

Classic Mongoloid, the Eskimoid, and the Oceanic Negroid as having nothing to do with the composition of the north China population.

As a matter of historic truth, we have, of course, a very good reason to consider these crania as invaders.

In 1932, *Biometrica* published a preliminary classification of Asiatic races based on cranial measurements, in which twenty-six series of anthropometric material were used for comparison.[188] No less than eighteen of these series are studies of skulls of the Oriental or Mongoloid people. The authors of this paper, T. L. Woo and Morant, divided these Orientals into three subgroups, namely, the Northern Mongolians; the Chinese and Japanese; and other Orientals including such people as Tibetans, Javanese, Dayaks, Tagals, and so on. This tripartite division was mainly based on what they called the "Coefficient of Racial Likeness." According to Woo and Morant, the average value of bizygomatic breadth for the six series of Northern Mongols range from 139.8mm. to 144.0mm.; for the five series of Chinese and Japanese, the range is from 132-134.7mm.; and for the seven series of the other Orientals the range is from 131.0mm. to 134.7mm. The average of the same measurements for the five Indian series, studied in the same paper, fall down to the maximum-minimum range of 127.8 to 124.3mm., respectively. The sharp contrast of the same measurement as shown above appears not only between the Orientals and the non-Orientals, but also among the three subgroups of Orientals which are even more striking. The excessively large value of the average facial width constituted without doubt a truly characteristic physical feature of the Mongoloid people. But, to quote Woo and Morant, "They are mainly located at present in outer Mongolia and southern Siberia with the center of distribution in the neighbourhood of Lake Baikal, Mount Altai and the city of Urga or north of the Gobi desert."

Morant and Woo's paper clarified the status of Subgroup 1, which Young Hsi-mei called the Classical Mongoloid. The Eskimoid group, which has always been much more mixed than Subgroup 1, may be more related to the aborigines of northwestern Siberia. Physical anthropologists have occasionally found traces of kinky hair in an anthropometric survey of the Chinese population, indicating the survival of some Papuans or Melanesians; but these are relatively very rare indeed. As for the fifth group and the so-

called Caucasoid, it is still difficult to say how many of their genes could be definitely shown in the modern Chinese.

But on the whole, one is justified in saying the following. From the very beginning, the north China plain was a meeting place of many different ethnic stocks and it is partly from the mixture of these groups that the early Chinese population was formed, although we must not forget that the dominant group among these stocks was indubitably the Mongoloid group. The investigations and analyses by Professor Young are helpful to the extent that they definitely explain a certain percentage of the historical facts recorded both in archaeology and in the oracle bone records.

拾伍．关于殷商人的体质人类学评述

在安阳十五次发掘中收集的人骨总数达几千具，其中大部分很明显是殷商时期的。历史语言研究所特设一研究组，聘请在伦敦卡尔·皮尔逊生物测量学实验室受过训练的吴定良博士负责对这批重要材料进行科学研究。日本侵华战争不仅中断了这项计划，而且使吴定良灰心至战后也不再从事这项工作了。同时，这批资料也损失惨重。研究所从南京迁至云南，又去四川，再到台湾。长途的迁徙仅依靠少数几位运输负责人的坚持努力，最终这批材料被运到台湾。

杨希枚教授是一位受过训练的生物学家，在战时他曾帮助吴定良进行生物测量工作，也是到台湾的少数人之一。他被说服来主持这批人骨材料的研究工作。在此，笔者拟概述他的主要报告。[185]

这里谈的这批材料主要是从侯家庄墓区出土的398个头骨，实际上这些全部出自殉葬坑——坑中只埋头骨而无体骨。历史语言研究所保存有这批殉葬坑的完整发掘记录。大多数殉葬坑埋有10具头骨（图54），少数埋7具、8具，或少至6具。但也有例外，有的坑中超过10具，甚至一坑中多达33具（图55）。此外，考古学者发现还有10具一组无头骨架合葬的情况，有时还发现头骨虽与体骨在一起，但已身首分离。

杨教授对我们收集的369个头骨逐个进行了测量，并就每种测量的标准差，特别是头指数、头的长宽度数值，与其他民族，即阿依努人、巴伐利亚人、巴黎人、纳夸达人及英国人的标准差进行了比较。他发现侯家庄头骨各项标准差比上述五个对照组的都大。换句话说，无论与英国人、巴黎的法国人、巴伐利亚的德国人，还是与日本的阿依努人或与纳夸达人相比，安阳的材料都被证明为异种性程度更高。尽管我们只用了319具男性头骨作比较，情况也是如此。

杨的研究还包括了很有趣的形态学分析。他把侯家庄的头骨分为五组。第一组（图56）是古典的类蒙古人种。这组一般是中头型，颧骨宽，鼻骨低，前额倾斜；从侧面看脸几乎是平的。头盖骨顶几乎也是平的。颧骨间距可能比其他任何一组都宽。这种古典的类蒙古人的头骨能在布里亚特人和楚克奇人的典型代表中找到。

杨把侯家庄头骨中的第二组（图57）命名为太平洋类黑人种类型。这组的头骨较长，头指数为75。鼻根低平，鼻骨下端上翘。枕骨形似人

字形屋顶。这一特征与巴布亚人和美拉尼西亚人极为相似。

第三组（图58）杨称为类高加索人种，这组为数极少。杨只举了两例。这组典型特征是窄颅狭面，头指数为73.58。颧骨很小，但鼻骨发达。这与一具在美国出生的英国人的头骨相比是如此相似，很难将两者区分开来。

第四组（图59）是类爱斯基摩人种类型。与第一组相似的是，它有宽大而发达的颧骨和宽的脸；不同的是，这类人种头颅较高。头指数为76.35。颅顶端从前到后呈龙骨形隆起。鼻骨呈挤紧的锐角形，具有外翻的下颌角。

另有一组的形态特点，杨教授未确定。他对这组仅有的印象是，这些头骨的每项测量值都比他区分出的其他组的测量值小（图60）。

在上述的分组中，杨教授将30具头骨划归第一组，34具归第二组，2具归第三组，50具归第四组，38具归第五组。

在此我们可对这五组的测量值作些有趣的比较。笔者首先选取两颧间宽，因为这是区别类蒙古人种与其他人种的一项特征。请看下面的比较：

第一组 141.18毫米

第二组 134.52毫米

第三组 131.50毫米

第四组 135.06毫米

第五组 131.32毫米

所以很清楚，安阳头骨，或称侯家庄头骨，虽数量有限，但在人类测量学测量值和形态特征两方面都表现出混合的特征，这无疑是混合人种的结果。然而，首先我们必须澄清几点。首要的问题是，由于材料出自殉葬坑，那么究竟哪些头骨或哪些组头骨代表的是整个殷商民族呢？这也许是最难回答的一个问题，因为无论在王陵里或其他地方发现的那些被砍头并充作殉葬的牺牲者，可能是入侵殷商朝领土或触犯王权的敌

人，这是所有考古工作者都知晓的，并已为甲骨卜辞记录和考古发掘所证实。董作宾在《殷历谱》中用了两章专列出殷商时期的战争记录。武丁统治时期曾发起一系列远征，以抗击主要从山西和陕西北部入侵的河套地区的敌人，即𢀛方、土方和下旨（图61）。公元前13世纪末，武丁用了三年时间（武丁二十九年到三十二年）打西北的战争。在这三年中，他先用了10个月时间征服了下旨，然后又用长达两年多的时间征服了土方。𢀛方处西北边陲。据甲骨文记载，在武丁三十年的七、八月，武丁几乎连续出兵10次，每次达3000人，最多时有5000人之多。之后，董作宾比较了与这次战争有关的全部记录[186]，认为𢀛方是《易经》、《诗经》记载的“鬼方”的另一名称；当然，《竹书纪年》也记载了这一重要事件。我的同事董作宾还指出，𢀛方准确的地理位置靠近河套地区的西北角，靠近最早的旧石器时代遗物的出土地。遗物在这里出土也说明，这曾是早期中亚游牧部落迁徙的必经之地。所以，在这些牧民中发现与布略特人和爱斯基摩人混杂在一起的欧洲人类型的头骨就不足为奇了。当然其他阵线上的战事，如帝辛远征东夷，在卜辞中也有大量记载。所有这些，都为解释祭祀坑中出土的各种头骨的异种系特征提供了足够的根据。不过，这还无助于我们解决这一问题：统治这片领土数百年之久的殷商民族究竟属怎样的体质类型？比较杨先生研究过的几组标本，似可确定的是，即便在类蒙古人种中也另有三个分组，即第一、四、五组。

多年前北京协和医学院的步达生教授，在初步研究了安特生和他的助手收集的史前人类遗骸后，得出这样的结论：新石器时代华北居民和现代中国人无重大差异。[187]步达生是进行这方面研究的一位先驱，但他掌握的标本数量极少，所以他的结论虽依据可靠的事实，但仅是初步的。

现在距步达生的时代已有半个世纪了，虽然我们已收集了大量新资料，但还没有像步达生那样有能力的专家去作充分的研究。当然战争是造成这一不幸的主要原因。而现在，正当研究殷商人的问题之际，我们的处境几乎比步达生更糟。我们既不能依靠祭祀坑的头骨，也不能依靠残破的体骨来作合理的推论。

除非我们不考虑古典的类蒙古人种、类爱斯基摩人种、太平洋类黑人种这几组，认为他们与中国华北人群的组成毫无关系，否则，我们就要处理与步达生的发现相矛盾的材料。

根据史实，我们当然有充分理由认为这些头骨是入侵者的。

1932年《生物测量》杂志发表了一篇根据头骨测量对亚洲人种进行初步分类的论文，文章对26组人体测量资料进行了比较。[188]当中至少有18组是东方或类蒙古人种的头骨。作者吴定良和莫兰特将这些东方人种分三类，即北方蒙古人、汉人和日本人、以及包括藏人、爪哇人、达雅克人和他加禄人等在内的其他东方人。这个三分法主要是根据作者所谓的“种族相似性系数”划分的。据吴、莫的测量，六个北方蒙古组的颧间宽平均值的变化范围在139.8毫米到144.0毫米之间，汉人和日本人的五个组在132—134.7毫米之间，其余东方民族七组介于131.0毫米到134.7毫米间。同一论文中研究了五个印度组，同样方法测量出的平均值最大至127.8毫米，最小124.3毫米。这一项目测量值的鲜明对比不仅见于东方人与非东方人之间，而且也存在于同属东方人的三个亚族群中，后者甚至更为明显。过大的平均面宽值无疑构成了蒙古人种一个真正特有的体质特征。但吴定良和莫兰特指出：“如今他们主要分布在外蒙古和南西伯利亚，以贝加尔湖区、阿尔泰山和乌兰巴托（库伦城）为中心，位于戈壁沙漠以北。”

吴定良和莫兰特的文章澄清了第一组的地位，它被杨希枚称作古典的类蒙古人种。比第一组更为混杂的类爱斯基摩人种，可能与西伯利亚西北部的土著居民关系更密切。体质人类学者在一次中国人的人体测量调查中还偶尔发现卷曲头发的痕迹，表现出巴布亚人和美拉尼西亚人的残迹。但这确实比较少见。至于第五组和所谓的类高加索人种，很难说他们的基因有多少能明确地反映在现代中国人身上。

但总的说来，我们有理由作出以下论断。最初，华北平原是许多不同种族汇集的地方，原始的中国人就是部分地由这些群族融合形成的，虽然我们应当记住，在他们中间占优势的无疑是蒙古人种。杨教授的研究和分析，有助于确切地解释考古发掘和甲骨卜辞中反映的某些历史事实。

Appendix　附录

Chinese Characters for Proper Names and Other Terms

专有名词及术语对应的中文

Anhui 安徽

Anyang 安阳

Ao 隞

Canton 广州

Chahar 察哈尔

Chang Ch'ang 张敞

Chang Chü-sheng 张菊生

Chang Hsüeh-hsien 张学献

Chang Ping-ch'üan 张秉权

Chang T'ai-yen (Ping-lin) 章太炎（炳麟）

Chang Wei-jan 张蔚然

Changte Fu 彰德府

Ch'angsha 长沙

chao ch'e 兆坼

Chao Chih-chai 赵执斋

Chao Ming 昭明

Chao Wan-li 赵万里

Chao Yüan-ren 赵元任

Chekiang 浙江

chen 沈

chên 贞

chên-jên 贞人

Ch'en 辰

Ch'en Chung-fan 陈钟凡

Ch'en Meng-chia 陈梦家

Ch'en P'an 陈盘

Ch'en Yin-k'o 陈寅恪

Cheng 振

Chêng-chou 郑州

chêng ming 正名

chêng-tso 正坐

Ch'eng Tang 成汤

Ch'eng-tu 成都

Ch'êng-tzŭ-yai 城子崖

Chi 己

chi 稷

ch'i 祭

*ch'i*1 弃

*ch'i*2 启

*ch'i*3 契

Ch'i-lu (Chee-loo) 齐鲁

Ch'i Yen-p'ei 祁延霈

Chia 甲

Chia Ch'ing 嘉庆

chia ku 甲骨

chia ku hsüeh 甲骨学

Chia-yu 嘉佑

Chiang Chia 羌甲

chiao 窖

chiao-shih-p'u 交食谱

Chieh 桀

Ch'ien Chia 戋甲

Ch'ien Ch'ing T'ang 千顷堂

Ch'ien han shu 前汉书

Ch'ien Lung 乾隆

Ch'ien-shan-yang 钱山漾

Ch'ien Ssŭ-liang 钱思亮

chih mo 致墨

chin shih hsüeh 金石学

Chin Yüeh-lin 金岳霖

Ch'in 秦

Ch'in Shih-huang-ti 秦始皇帝

Ching Chang-tsung 金章宗

Ch'ing 清

Ch'ing-yang Fu 庆阳府

cho 灼

Cho-lu 涿鹿

Chou 周

Chou-k'ou-tien 周口店

Chou Kung 周公

Chou-li 周礼

Chou Ting Wang 周定王

chou wen 籀文

Chou Wu Wang 周武王

Chou Yin-hsüeh 周英学

Ch'ou 丑

Chu Chia-hua 朱家骅

Chu Chün-shen 朱骏声

Chu Jen 主壬

Chu Kuei 主癸

Chu K'un 朱坤

Chu Wen-hsin 朱文鑫

chuan wen 篆文

Chuang-tzu 庄子

chüeh 爵

Chung-hsiang 钟祥

Chung Jen 仲壬

Chungking 重庆

Chungshan 中山

Chung Ting 仲丁

Ch'ü Wan-li 屈万里

Ch'ü Yuan 屈原

Confucius 孔子

Erh-li-kang 二里岗

Erh-li-t'ou 二里头

Fan Wei-ch'ing 范维卿

Fên 汾

Fengtien 奉天

Fu Shen 伏生

Fu Ssŭ-nien 傅斯年

Genghis Khan 成吉思汗

Hai 亥

Han 汉

Hanlin (College) 翰林（院）

Han Shu 汉书

Han Wu-ti 汉武帝

Hayashi, Taisuke 林泰辅

ho 盉

ho 河

Ho-chi 合祭

Honan 河南

Ho T'an Chia 河亶甲

Hong Kong 香港

Hopei 河北

Hou-chia-chuang 侯家庄

Hou-kang 后岗

Hsi-pei-kang 西北岗

hsi-p'u 夕谱

Hsi Weng 汐翁

Hsi-yin Ts'un 西阴村

Hsia 夏

Hsia Chih 下旨

Hsia Hsien 夏县

Hsia Nai 夏鼐

hsiang 享

hsiang hsing tzŭ 象形字

Hsiao 嚣

Hsiao Chia 小甲

Hsiao Hsin 小辛

Hsiao I 小乙

Hsiao-tsung 孝宗

Hsiao-t'un 小屯

Hsieh 泄

hsieh 劦

Hsin 辛

Hsin-cheng 新郑

Hsin-chu 新竹

Hsiung-nu 匈奴

Hsü 戌

Hsü Chung-shu 徐中舒

Hsü Fang 徐枋

Hsü Shen 许慎

Hsü Shen-yü 徐森玉

Hsüan T'ung 宣统

hsüeh 穴

Hsün-p'u 旬谱

Hu Chia 虎甲

Hu Fu-lin 胡福林

Hu Hou-hsüan 胡厚宣

Hu Shih 胡适

Hu Wei 胡渭

Hua-yüan-chuang 花园庄

Huai 淮

Huan 洹

Huang Chi-kang 黄季刚

Huang Chün 黄浚

Huang-Ho-Pai-Ho (Museum) 黄河白
河博物馆或北疆博物馆

Huang Jan-wei 黄然伟

Huang-ti 黄帝

Huang-t'u-t'ai 黄土台

hui-k'eng 灰坑

Hun-chu 荤粥

Hupei 湖北

I 乙

I 伊

i 翌

I-chou-shu 逸周书

I-pin 宜宾

Jen 壬

Jen Shou 仁寿

jih-chih-p'u 日至谱

jih-p'u 日谱

ju 儒

ju-lüeh-chou-jih 儒略周日

jun-p'u 闰谱

K'aifeng 开封

K'ai Huang 开皇

kan-chih 干支

Kansu 甘肃

kao 告

Kao Ch'ü-hsün 高去寻

Kao P'ing-tsŭ 高平子

k'ao chü hsüeh 考据学

K'ao-kung-chi 考工记

K'ao shih 考史

keng 庚

Keng Ting 庚丁

Kiangsu 江苏

ko 戈

ku 觚

Ku Chieh-kang 顾颉刚

ku pu 骨卜

ku wen 古文

Ku Yen-wu 顾炎武

kuan 亶

Kuang Hsü 光绪

Kublai Khan 忽必烈汗

Kuei 癸

Kueichou 贵州

Kuei Fang 鬼方

k'uei 夔

Kunming 昆明

Kung Fang 舌方

Kuo Mo-jo 郭沫若

Kuo Pao-chün 郭宝钧

Kwangsi 广西

Lan Pao-kuang 蓝葆光

Lei-chu 嫘祖

li 礼

Li Ch'eng 李成

Li Chi 李济

Li Chin-tan 李景聃

Li-chuang 李庄

Li Hsiao-ting 李孝定

Li Kuang-yü 李光宇

Li Lien-ch'un 李连春

Li Tsung-t'ung 李宗侗

Liang Ch'i-Ch'ao 梁启超

Liang Ssǔ-yung 梁思永

liao [illegible]

Liao-tung 辽东

Lin-fên Hsien 临汾县

Lin Hsin 廪辛

Lintze 临淄

Liu Ch'ung-hung 刘崇鋐

Liu Ngo (T'ieh-yün) 刘鹗（铁云）

Liu Yao 刘

Liu Yü-hsia 刘屿霞

Liu Yüan-lin 刘渊临

Lo 洛

Lo Chên-yü 罗振玉

Loyang 洛阳

Lu-chou 泸州

Lung-ch'üen Cheng 龙泉镇

Lunghai 陇海

lung ku 龙骨

Lungshan 龙山

ma 马

Ma-ch'ang 马厂

mai 薶

mai ts'ang 薶藏

Mao 卯

Meiji 明治

Mencius 孟子

Miao 苗

Miao-ti-kou 庙底沟

Mien-ch'ih Hsien 渑池县

Ming 明

Ming 冥

ming-ch'i 明器

Mizuno, Seiichi 水野清一

Mo-tzŭ 墨子

Naito, Torajiro 内藤虎次郎

Nan-ch'i 南溪

Nankai 南开

Nankang 南港

Nan Keng 南庚

Nanking 南京

nien-li-p'u 年历谱

Ninghsia Fu 宁夏府

niu 牛

Nurhachi 努尔哈赤

p'an 盆

pan-chu 版筑

Pan-ch'üan 阪泉

Pan Ku 班固

Pan-P'o 半坡

Pan-shan 半山

P'an Ch'üeh 潘悫

P'an Keng 盘庚

P'an Tsu-yin 潘祖荫

Pao I 报乙

Pao Ping 报丙

Pao Ting 报丁

Pao-ting 保定

Peiping 北平

Pei Wen-chung 裴文中

Peking 北京

Ping 丙

P'ing-yang Fu 平阳府

Po Chü-i 白居易

Pohai 渤海

pu fa 卜法

pu-tz'u 卜辞

Ruey Yih-fu 芮逸夫

San-tai 三代

Sha-kuo-t'un 沙锅屯

shan 山

Shan Hai Ching 山海经

Shang 商

Shang Ch'eng-tzu 商承祚

Shang Chia Wei 上甲微

Shanghai 上海

Shansi 山西

Shantung 山东

Shen 申

Shen Kang-po 沈刚伯

Shensi 陕西

Shih Chang-ju 石璋如

Shih Chi 史记

shih-ts'u 氏族

Shima, Kunio 岛邦男

Shinjô, Shinzô 新城新造

shou-p'u 朔谱

shu 黍

Shu-ching 书经

Shui-tung-kou 水洞沟

Shun 舜

Shuo-wen 说文

Siang T'u 相土

Ssŭ 巳

ssu 祀

ssu 栖

Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien 司马迁

Ssŭ-P'an-mo 四盘磨

ssu-p'u 祀谱

Sui 隋

Sun I-jang (Chung-yung) 孙贻让（仲容）

Sun Yat-sen 孙逸仙

Sung 宋

Szechwan 四川

Ta-jen-t'ang 达仁堂

Ta-ku 大沽

Ta-ku-chai 达古斋

Ta-li 大理

Ta-lien-k'eng 大连坑

Ta Nao 大桡

Ta-tai-li 大戴礼

Tai Chen 戴震

Taihang 太行

Taipei 台北

Taita 台（湾）大（学）

Taiwan 台湾

Taiyüan 太原

T'ai Chia 太甲

T'ai Keng 太庚

T'ai Ting 太丁

T'ai Wu 太戊

Tan-t'u 丹徒

T'ang 唐

T'ang 汤

T'ang Lan 唐兰

T'ang-yin 汤阴

tao 稻

tao chien yo 刀尖药

Tao Kuang 道光

t'ao-t'ieh 饕餮

T'eng-wen-kung 滕文公

ti 帝

ti-chih 地支

Ti Hsin 帝辛

Ti I 帝乙

Ti Ku 帝喾

Tientsin 天津

T'ien I 天乙

t'ien-kan 天干

T'ien Wen 天问

Ting 丁

Ting Shan 丁山

Ting Ven-kiang (Wen-chiang) 丁文江

tou 豆

tou 窦

Ts'ai-shih-k'ou 菜市口

Ts'ao Yü 曹圉

Tsinan 济南

Ts'inghua 清华

Ts'ing-lien-kang 青莲岗

Ts'ingtao 青岛

Tsou 纣

Tsu Chi 祖己

Tsu Chia 祖甲

Tsu Hsin 祖辛

Tsu I 祖乙

Tsu Keng 祖庚

Tsu Ting 祖丁

tsung 琮

Tu Yeh 杜邺

T'u Fang 土方

Tuan Fang 端方

Tuan Yü-ts'ai 段玉裁

Tunhuang 敦煌

Tungchi 同济

Tung I 东夷

Tung Tso-pin 董作宾

T'ung-lo-chai 同乐寨

Tzŭ 子

tzu-ku-t'ou 字骨头

Tz'ŭ-hsi 慈禧

Umehara, Sueji 梅原末治

Uturigawa, Menoza 移川子之藏

Wai Jen 外壬

Wai Ping 外丙

Wan Chang 万章

Wan Chia-pao 万家保

Wang 王

Wang Hai 王亥

Wang Hsiang 王湘

Wang Hsiang 王襄

Wang I-yung 王懿荣

Wang Kuo-wei 王国维

Wang Mang 王莽

Wang Nien-sun 王念孙

Wang Shih-chieh 王世杰

Wang Wen Min Kung 王文敏公

Wang Yin-chih 王引之

Wei 未

Wei Hsien 潍县

Wei-tze 微子

wen-tzu 文字

Wen-wu Ting 文武丁

Weng T'ung-ho 翁同龢

Weng Wen-hao 翁文灏

Wo Chia 沃甲

Wo Ting 沃丁

Woo Ch'i-ch'ang 吴其昌

Woo Ting-liang 吴定良

Wu 午

Wu 戊

Wu Ch'ang-shou 吴昌绶

Wu Gin-ding 吴金鼎

Wu I 武乙

Wu Keng 武庚

Wu Ta-Ch'eng 吴大澂

Wu Ting 武丁

yang 羊

Yang Chia 阳甲

Yang Hsung 扬雄

Yang-mei-cheng 杨梅镇

Yangshao Ts'un 仰韶村

Yangtze 扬子

Yao Ts'ung-wu 姚从吾

Yeh-chün 邺郡

Yeh Ming 叶铭

Yeh Yü-sheng 叶玉森

Yen Fu 严复

Yen Hsi-shan 阎锡山

Yen Jo-chü 阎若璩

Yen-shih 偃师

Yi 益

Yin 殷

Yin 寅

Yin-hsü 殷墟

Yin Huan-chang 尹焕章

Yin-Shang 殷商

Young Chung-chien 杨钟健

Young Hsi-mei 杨希枚

Yu 酉

Yu-li 牖里

yu shuo 余说

Yü 禹

Yü-chien-chai 玉简斋

Yü-kung 禹贡

Yüan 元

Yüan Fu-li 袁复礼

yüeh-p'u 月谱

yun-lei-wen 云雷纹

Yünnan 云南

yung 彡

Yung Chi 雍己

Yung Keng 容庚

Yung Yüan 容媛

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——：《史林》，《观堂集林》，卷九至卷二十二。

——：《殷卜辞中所见先公先王考》，载《学术丛编》，1917；又载《观堂集林》，卷九。

——：《殷周制度论》，《观堂集林》，卷十。

王襄：《簠室殷契类纂》，1921。

吴大澂：《古玉图考》。上海：同文书局石印本，清光绪十五年。

——：《说文古籀补》，苏州振新书社石印本，清光绪九年。

吴其昌：《甲骨金文中所见的殷代农稼情况》，载《张菊生纪念论文集》，第323—368 页，上海：商务印书馆，1937。

徐中舒：《再论小屯与仰韶》，载《安阳发掘报告》，第三期，1931，第523—557 页。

杨钟健：《安阳殷墟之哺乳动物群补遗》，载《中国考古学报》，第四期，1949，第145—153 页。

张秉权：《卜龟腹甲的序数》，《史语所集刊》，第二十八本，上册，1956，第229—272 页。

——：《祭祀卜辞中的牺牲》，载《史语所集刊》，第三十八本，1968，第181—232 页。

——：《甲骨文中所见的“数”》，《史语所集刊》，第四十六本，第三分，1975。

——：《殷代农业与气象》，《史语所集刊》，第四十二本，第二分1970，第267—336 页。

——：《殷虚文字丙编》，《中国考古报告集·之二·小屯》，第二本。台北：“中央研究院”历史语言研究所。

朱文鑫：《天文考古录》，上海：商务印书馆，1933。

NOTES　注释

The following abbreviations are used in the Notes and the Bibliography:

PREA *Anyang fa-chüeh pao-kao* (Preliminary Reports of Excavations at Anyang). Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology. Nos. 1, 2, Peking, 1929; no. 3, Peking, 1931; no. 4, Shanghai, 1933.

BIHP *Kuo-li chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-so chi-k'an* (Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica). 1928—

以下缩写用于注释和参考书目中:

PREA 《安阳发掘报告》，中央研究院，历史与语言研究所，第1—2本，北京，1929；第3本，北京，1931；第4本，上海，1933。(《安阳发掘报告》为有计划地刊载所有与安阳田野发掘及其材料研究相关的成果。1929年第一期在北平出版，共只发行了四期。第四期于1933年在上海出版，当时史语所所址正向当时的首都南京搬迁。这个刊物后来先后以《田野考古报告》和《中国考古学报》的名称刊行。)

BIHP 《国立中央研究院历史语言研究所集刊》（以下称《史语所集刊》），1928—

[1] 李济于1923年获哈佛大学人类学博士学位。——编者注

[1] 李济于1923年获哈佛大学人类学博士学位。——编者注

[2] 应为1928年。——译者注

[2] 应为1928年。——译者注

[3] For a discussion of Sui and T'ang tombs excavated at Hsiao-t'un, see chap. 4, note 8.

[3] 关于小屯发掘的隋唐墓的讨论，参看本卷第4章第8条注释。

[4] *Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun* (General Discourse on the Learning of the Ch'ing Dynasty). This treatise is now included in *Yin-ping-shih ch'üan-chi* (Complete Works of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao); vol. 10 (1936) includes all works on special subjects, such as the discourse cited above.

[4] 《清代学术概论》。这篇专著也被收入《饮冰室合集》中，第10卷（1936）[中华书局版1988年第8卷,第3页] 收录了梁的所有专业性文章，例如上面引用的那句。

[5] 按阳历计算，戴震生于公元1724年。——编者注

[5] 按阳历计算，戴震生于公元1724年。——编者注

[6] See the Foreword to *Chin-shih-shu lu-mu* (Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology, series B, no. 2, 1930). This monograph, a catalogue of all books on bronzes and stones, mainly those with inscriptions, including a number of catalogues of books of this nature, was compiled by Yung Yüan under the guidance of her brother, Yung Keng, who wrote the Foreword for the work.

[6] 参看《金石书录目》前言（《国立中央研究院历史语言研究所单刊》，乙种，之二，1930）。这部专著由容媛在其兄容庚的指导下编纂。这部著作对所有关于铜器和石器，尤其是带铭文的铜石器的图书进行了编目，包含了许多这一性质的图书目录。容庚为这部书撰写了前言。

[7] Berthold Laufer, *Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1912), p. 13. In this book the works of Wu Ta-ch'eng are constantly referred to and frequently quoted by this eminent American Sinologue.

[7] 伯特霍尔德·劳佛：《玉石——中国考古和宗教之研究》（芝加哥：自然历史博物馆，1912年），第13页。这位著名美国汉学家在书中多次提到并引用吴大澂的著作。

[8] The choice is between 1898 (according to Hsi Weng), and 1899 (according to Lo Chên-yü and Wang Kuo-wei), or even 1900.

[8] 可能是1898年（据汐翁）、1899年（据罗振玉、王国维），甚至1900年。

[9] Tung Tso-pin, *Chia-ku nien-piao* (Oracle Bone Chronicles), first published as an article in the *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*, 2, no. 2 (1930): 241-260; revised, with assistance from Hu Hou-hsüan, and republished as a monograph in 1937. Hereafter cited as Chronicles (1937 edition referred to unless otherwise stated). A supplementary volume, continuing the narrative of Tung's work, edited by Huang Jan-wei, was published in 1967.

[9] 董作宾：《甲骨年表》，首次发表于《国立中央研究院历史语言研究所集刊》（以下简称《史语所集刊》），第二本，第二分，1930，第241—260页；在胡厚宣协助下加以修订，并于1937年以专著形式再次发表，［《史语所单刊》乙种之四］。以下引用简称《年表》（如不另外注明，所指为1937年版）。补充董、胡的《甲骨年表》而作的《续甲骨年表》，黄然伟编，1967年出版。

[10] Liu Ngo (Liu T'ieh-yün), *T'ieh-yün ts'ang-kuei* (1903).

[10] 刘鹗（刘铁云）：《铁云藏龟》（1903）。

[11] Lo Chên-yü, *Wu-shih-jih meng-hen-lu* (Diary of Fifty Days' Travel), published in *Hs'üeh-t'ang ts'ung-kê* (Collected Works) (1915).

[11] 罗振玉：《五十日梦痕录》，载《学堂丛刻》，[第二十册]，1915。

[12] *History of the Ch'ing Dynasty*, vol. 7, p. 5, 967.

[12] 《清史稿》，[卷四六八]，第5967页。

[13] Liu T'ieh-yün's diary accounts concerning purchases and other dealings with the inscribed oracle bones were published in *K'ao-ku she-k'an*, no. 5, Shanghai, 1936.

[13] 刘铁云日记［《抱残守阙斋日记》］中有关甲骨文的购买和其他交易的记载，载《考古学社社刊》，第五期，上海，1936。

[14] Ch'en Meng-chia, *Yin-hsü pu-tz'u tsung-shu* (Summary of Oracle Bone Inscriptions) (Peking: Science Press, 1956). From another entry for the same year in Liu T'ieh-yün's diary, Ch'en Meng-chia drew several other conclusions. The entry (dated the twenty-eighth day of the tenth month) reads: "This morning...the son of Wang I-yung came. ... He told me that his father bought oracle bones twice; for the first lot, he paid 200 taels; for the second lot, 100 taels. The largest piece is not larger than two inches [Chinese] in dimension. ..."

[14] Ch'en Meng-chia drew the following conclusions from this entry: "'Liu T'ieh-yün did not have the opportunity to see Wang's original collection of tortoise shells, because Wang obviously kept it secret as most collectors usually do. ... Liu believed that in the year *Keng Tzu* [1900], Wang I-yung purchased two lots, without mentioning any complete shell in his collection. As Wang kept his treasured collection a secret, there were all sorts of rumors about these hidden treasures."

It is clear that of Ch'en Meng-chia's four conclusions only the one stated in the text above, which is based on the direct statement of Liu's diary, can be considered correct, if the diary itself is authentic. The other inferences sound fanciful, probably imaginary conclusions from Ch'en Meng-chia's productive mind. To say that Wang I-yung kept the discovery a secret is a charge without any substantial foundation. Liu T'ieh-yün in his own Preface to the lithographic reproduction of ink-squeezes, *T'ieh-yün tsang-kuei*, published in 1903, had the following to say: "In the year *Keng Tzu* [1900], Dealer Fan brought to the capital over one hundred pieces [of the inscribed oracle bones], which caught the eye of Wang Wen Min Kung [post-mortem honorific title of Wang I-yung] who was excited with joy and paid the dealer a heavy price. ..." In this statement, written by Liu himself, one certainly cannot find any evidence that Wang I-yung kept his purchase a secret.

陈梦家，《殷虚卜辞综述》，北京：科学出版社，1956。陈氏从同年刘铁云日记的另一条目中得出了另外几条结论。条目（十月二十八）写道：“今早王端士 [王懿荣之子]

来……端士云，文敏 [王懿荣] 计买两次，第一次二百金，第二次一百余金……极大者不过二寸径而已……”

陈梦家从这一条中得出以下结论：“刘氏似并未看到他的甲骨，当时王氏对此秘藏并不轻以示人……刘氏只相信王氏庚子年买了两批，并无全甲说……因为王氏收藏甲骨很严密，外界有许多无稽之谈。”

很清楚，陈的四点结论只有上面引用的这条是根据刘氏的日记得出的，可征为信，如果日记本身是真的话。其他的推论听起来天马行空，像是陈氏的活跃头脑中想象出的。对王氏秘藏甲骨的指责没有任何有力根据。刘铁云在拓本版的《铁云藏龟》的自序中（1903）中就写道：“庚子岁有范姓客挟百余片走京师，福山王文敏公见之狂喜，以厚价留之。”从刘本人写的文字来看，没有任何证据说明王对购买甲骨一事保密。

[15] Ch'en Meng-chia, *Pu-tz'u tsung-shu*, p. 649.

[15] 陈梦家：《殷虚卜辞综述》，第649页。［原文作3588块。——译者注］

[16] Liu T'ieh-yün, *T'ieh-yün ts'ang-kuei*.

[16] 刘铁云：《铁云藏龟》。

[17] The manuscripts of *Ch'i-wen chü-li* (Examples of Oracle Bone Inscriptions) by Sun I-jang, according to Lo Chên-yü's prefatory note of his essay on *Yin-shang chên-pu wen-tzu k'ao* (On the Oracle Bone Inscriptions of the Yin-Shang Period) (1910), seem to have been mailed to Lo by Sun I-jang himself. See further discussion in chap. 2.

[17] 据罗振玉的《殷商贞卜文字考》（1910）序言，孙诒让的《契文举例》手稿是由孙本人寄给罗振玉的。参看本书第二章的讨论。

[18] See the more detailed discussion at the end of this chapter.

[18] 详见本章末的叙述。

[19] Tung Tso-pin, *Chia-ku-hsüeh wu-shih-nien* (Taipei: Continental Magazine Company, 1955); English translation, *Fifty Years of Studies in Oracle Inscriptions*, trans. Paul Yang et al., ed. Kimpei Goto (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1964).

[19] 董作宾：《甲骨学五十年》,台北：大陆杂志社，1955，[第63页]。另有英译本*Fifty Years of Studies in Oracle Inscriptions*，杨保罗译，后藤均平编（东京，《东亚文化研究论集》，第 6 期，1964）。

[20] 根据董作宾的修订版《甲骨年表》（1937），村民将牛胛骨骨端叫作“马蹄儿”，胛骨之边破裂成条的称为“骨条”，都是胛骨上刻辞较多的地方。——编者注

[20] 根据董作宾的修订版《甲骨年表》（1937），村民将牛胛骨骨端叫作“马蹄儿”，胛骨之边破裂成条的称为“骨条”，都是胛骨上刻辞较多的地方。——编者注

[21] Menzies' lecture notes have never been published. A friend in Canada sent the author a copy, which is not definitely paged. The title of Section 3 is "The Buyers of *chia ku wen*." Menzies' notes are in Chinese.

[21] 明义士的讲稿未曾出版。一位加拿大朋友送给笔者一份未标明页数的抄本，第三部分标题是《甲骨文的买主》。明义士的讲稿是用中文写的。

[22] Concerning early Japanese collections of oracle bones, see Tung's Chronicles, p. 20.

[22] 关于初期日本人收集甲骨的情况，参看董作宾的《年表》，第20页。

[23] When the author visited Dr. Laufer in Chicago in 1928, he kindly showed the collection of oracle bones he had acquired for the Field Museum. In 1937 the author was invited to give a lecture in Edinburgh, where the museum authorities kindly exhibited for his benefit the museum's oracle bone collection.

[23] 笔者于1928年在芝加哥访问伯特霍尔德·劳佛时，他热心地将为自然历史博物馆收集的甲骨拿给笔者看。1937年，笔者应邀去爱丁堡讲学时，博物馆的负责人为纪念劳佛将馆藏的甲骨收集品展出。

[24] Menzies later (1932-1937) was professor of archaeology at Ch'i-lu (Chee-loo) University, and his lecture notes were apparently written during this period. Although, as stated above, these notes were never published, they were widely read and quoted.

[24] 1932—1937年期间，明义士任齐鲁大学教授，他的讲稿显然是这时写的。前面已提到，这份讲稿未曾出版，但很多人见过这份讲稿并加以引用。

[25] See, for example, the early notes of Menzies.

[25] 可以参看明义士早年的讲稿。

[26] Edouard Chavannes, "La divination par l'écaille de tortue dans la haute antiquité chinoise (d'après un livre de M. Lo Tchen-yu)," *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 17, 1911.

[26] 沙畹：《中国远古时代的甲骨占卜术——评介罗振玉的一本书》，载《亚洲学刊》，第17卷，1911。

[27] Frank H. Chalfant, "Early Chinese Writings," *Memoirs of the Carnegie Museum*, Pittsburgh, vol. 4, 1906-1907.

[27] 方法敛：《中国原始文字考》，载《卡内基博物馆论文集》，匹兹堡，第4卷，1906—1907。

[28] Sun I-jang's *Ch'i-wen chü-li* (Examples of Oracle Bone Inscriptions), published in 1917, is divided into ten sections and two volumes. Vol. 1, covering the first eight sections, consists of 84 pages. Vol. 2 contains only two sections; section 9, on *wen-tzu*, consists of 92 pages, while only a little over 3 pages are devoted to section 10 on miscellaneous examples.

[28] 孙诒让的《契文举例》出版于1917年，全书分2卷10章。上卷1—8章，计84页；下卷仅9—10章；第9章“文字”占92页，第10章仅3页许，举了各种例证。

[29] According to Tung Tso-pin, *Ming yüan* was reprinted by the Ch'ian Ch'ing T'ang Book Company, Shanghai.

[29] 据董作宾称，《名原》一书后由上海千顷堂书局再版。

[30] Tung's source was Lo's Preface to his well-known publication, *Yin-hsü shu-ch'i ch'ien-pien* (Earlier Supplement to the Oracle Inscriptions of "Deserted Yin"), which will be discussed below.

[30] 董作宾的资料来源于罗振玉的名著《殷虚书契前编》的自序。下面还会谈到这本书。

[31] The first edition of *Yin-hsü shu-ch'i ch'ien-pien* contains a seal, which can be translated, "See, what Chang, Tu, Yang, Hsü did not see, characters."

[31] 《殷虚书契前编》第一版中有一方钤记，其大意为："见张、杜、扬、许未见之字。"

[32] 秦始皇三十四年为公元前213年，为统一六国后八年。——编者注

[32] 秦始皇三十四年为公元前213年，为统一六国后八年。——编者注

[33] 根据董作宾《甲骨年表》，罗振玉原文为"余说"，而非"余论"。

[33] 根据董作宾《甲骨年表》，罗振玉原文为"余说"，而非"余论"。

[34] Lo Chên-yü's debt to Sun I-jang thus seems to be an established fact, although Lo never made a public acknowledgment of this debt. In the early Republican era, some scholars were definitely of the opinion that Lo Chên-yü's main works, such as *Yin-hsü shu-ch'i k'ao-shih* (Interpretation of the Oracle Inscriptions at "Deserted Yin"), were actually authored by Wang Kuo-wei. The early history of the MSS of *Ch'i-wen chü-li* remains obscure up to the present time.

[34] 罗振玉之受孙诒让的好处，看来乃属事实，虽罗从未公开承认。民国初年，一些学者断言罗振玉的《殷虚书契考释》等主要著作实乃王国维之作。关于《契文举例》一书手稿初期的真相，至今仍是一个谜。

[35] Lo's Preface lists his contributions to antiquarian studies, while Wang Kuo-wei in the Postscript concludes that the main contribution of the Ch'ing dynasty to Chinese learning is in the field of paleography. The founder of this important branch of learning is Ku Yen-wu, and Lo Chên-yü's *Yin-hsü shu-ch'i k'ao-shih* is the climax.

[35] 罗振玉的自序中历数了他本人对古物研究的贡献。王国维在后记中说，清朝在国学方面的主要贡献是在古文字研究方面；这门重要学科的奠基人是顾炎武，而罗振玉的《殷虚书契考释》则为顶点。

[36] Actual count amounts to 571.

[36] 实际应为571个。

[37] Lo prefaces section 6 of his work with these remarks: "In this section records are limited to those readable and complete entries; incomplete and unreadable entries are not included."

[37] 罗振玉在这本书第六章的开始时说："本章收录的卜辞条目仅限于可读且完整者，不包括不完整、无法判读者。"

[38] Wang Kuo-wei, "Yin-pu-tz'u-chung so-chien hsien-kung hsien-wang hsü k'ao" (Notes on the Royal Ancestors of the Shang as Appear in Oracle Bone Records), *Hsüeh-shu ts'ung-shu* (Collected Historical Researches), 1917; reprinted in Wang's *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin* (Collected Essays), vol. 9. Wang compared his genealogical tree with the following three documents: "Annals of the Yin Dynasty" and "Generation Table of the Three Dynasties" in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih-chi* and "Tables of Men, Ancient and Modern" in Pan Ku's *Ch'ien han shu*.

[38] 王国维：《殷卜辞中所见先公先王续考》，《学术丛编》，1917年，再版于《观堂集林》，第9卷。王国维将他的世系表与下列三种文献作了比较：司马迁《史记》中的《殷

本纪》、《三代世表》和班固《汉书》中的《古今人表》。

[39] See note 2, above.

[39] 见上文注释2。［于1954年出版。——编者注］

[40] Tung Tso-pin, *Fifty Years of Studies in Oracle Inscriptions*, p. 63.

[40] 董作宾：《甲骨学五十年》，第63页。［李济的英译在董的原文基础上略有增加。——编者注］

[41] Mencius, *T'eng-wen-kung*, book 3, pt. 1, in James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics*, 2: 249-250.

[41] 《孟子·滕文公上》，理雅各译，《中国经典》，第2卷，第249—250页。

[42] Boucher de Perthes, *De la création* (5 vols.; Paris, 1839-1841). Compare *Manual d'archaeologie* (Paris, 1924), 1:6, 7, 18, 21.

[42] 雅各·布歇·佩尔式：《创世论》（5卷本，巴黎，1839—1841）。对比《考古学手册》（巴黎，1924），第一本，第6、7、18、21页。

[43] David G. Hogarth, *Authority and Archaeology* (1899), p. vi.

[43] 大卫·霍格斯：《权威与考古》，1899，第vi页。

[44] The school system for modern education was officially adopted after the Boxer Movement. The author attended the first primary school established in his native district Chung-hsiang, Hupei, at the age of just over ten, when the old examination system was already abolished.

[44] 义和团运动以后，官方正式采用了近代的学校教育制度。笔者10岁时就读于家乡湖北钟祥县立一小，当时旧的考试制度已经废除。

[45] For a complete biography of this remarkable man, see Hu Shih, *Ting-wen-chiang te chuan-chi* (Biography of Ting Wen-chiang). (The name should be translated as Ting Wen-chiang, but V. K. Ting is Ting's own spelling.) Hu's work was published by "Academia Sinica" in 1956. V. K. Ting died in 1936.

[45] 关于这位名人的一生，可参看胡适的《丁文江的传记》（丁的英文名应拼作Ting Wen-chiang，但丁自己写作V. K. Ting）。“中央研究院”1956年版。丁氏于1936年逝世。

[46] Thomas Huxley's essays on exposition on "Evolution," which in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries aroused so much academic controversy in Western Europe, especially in London, were first translated into old-style Chinese by Yen Fu in 1896 and printed in 1899, under the title *Tien Yen Lun*. The book proved to be an immediate success and was considered a masterpiece of Chinese literature.

[46] 托马斯·赫胥黎阐述“进化”的文章，19世纪末20世纪初在西欧，特别是在伦敦引起了激烈的学术界争论。严复于1896年首次以文言文将此书翻译过来，冠以《天演论》的名称于1899年出版。此书立即获得极大成功，并被视为一部中国文学名作。

[47] It is regrettable that I have not been able to find a biography of A. W. Grabau, who played such an important role in introducing Western science to China. He was strongly against Weng Wen-

hao's acceptance of an official appointment, first as chief secretary to the Administrative Yüan. He told everybody his frank opinion that there were any talented men who could render useful service as secretary to the Administrative Yüan, but nobody so well qualified to direct the Geological Survey after V. K. Ting. His words were almost prophetic.

[47] 遗憾的是，我一直未能找到葛利普的传记，这个人在向中国介绍西方科学方面起了重要作用。他强烈反对翁文灏接受官方任命的职务，首先是担任行政院秘书长。他逢人便率直地说，有许多能人可以做行政院秘书长的工作，但在丁文江之后再也没有人能像翁文灏那样胜任地质调查所所长一职了。他的话不幸言中。

[48] J. G. Andersson's *Children of the Yellow Earth* was partly published in Swedish and was rendered into English in 1934 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.).

[48] 安特生的《黄土的儿女》一书部分曾以瑞典文出版，全书于1934年出版英文本，伦敦。

[49] J. G. Andersson, "An Early Chinese Culture," *Bulletin of the Geological Survey of China*, no. 5, 1923.

[49] 安特生：《中华远古之文化》，载《地质汇报》，第五期，1923。

[50] Andersson, *Children of the Yellow Earth*, pp. 164-165.

[50] 安特生：《黄土的儿女》，第164—165页。

[51] Raphael Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute, 1908).

[51] 彭北莱：《土耳其斯坦的考察》，华盛顿：卡内基学院，1908。

[52] T. J. Arne, *Painted Stone Age Pottery from the Province of Honan, China*, Palaeontologia Sinica, ser. D, vol. 1, fasc. 2 (1925).

[52] 阿尔纳：《河南石器时代之着色陶器》，《中国古生物志》，丁种，第一号，第二册，［地质调查所，北平］，1925。

[53] About the origin and evolution of ceramics and the importance of this group of materials for historical study, consult, H. Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East, I, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, and their Earliest Interrelations*. This monographic study was published as Occasional Paper no. 6, in 1921, by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

[53] 关于陶器的起源和演变及其对历史研究的重要意义，可以参看法兰克复所著《近东的远古陶器研究之一：美索不达米亚、叙利亚和埃及以及它们在远古的相互关系》。这篇专著是作为英国皇家人类学会的第6期特刊于1921年出版的。

[54] Davidson Black, *The Ancient Human Skeletal Remains from the Fengtien Sha Kuo T'un Cave Deposit and from Honan Yangshao Ts'un in Comparison with Recent North China Skeletal Material*, Palaeontologia Sinica, ser. D, vol. 1, fasc. 3 (1925).

[54] 步达生：《奉天沙锅屯及河南仰韶村之古代人骨与近代华北人骨之比较》，《中国古生物志》，丁种，第一号，第三册，[地质调查所，北平]，1925。

[55] 可能指燕京大学。——编者注

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[56] J. G. Andersson, *Children of the Yellow Earth*, pp. 95-96.

[56] 安特生：《黄土的儿女》，第95—96页。

[57] Ibid., p. 103.

[57] 同上，第103页。

[58] Ibid., p. 108.

[58] 同上，第108页。

[59] 参看作者《论“道森氏·晓人”案件及原始资料之鉴定与处理》。作者在此处和以下的叙述有些时间上的记忆误差，“晓人”伪件一事是到20世纪50年代初才在科学界定案的，因此德日进的疑虑并非由于“晓人”事件。——编者注

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[60] Cited here as *BIHP*. The first number was published in Canton in October 1928 and contained eight main articles, with a Foreword by Director Fu Ssu-nien, who eloquently expounded the reasons for the creation of the institute. The bulletin was designed as a quarterly publication, with four issues each year constituting a volume. This publication has been continued uninterruptedly for forty-six years, the current numbers being vols. 46 and 47.

[60] 这里引用的是《史语所集刊》，其第一本于1928年10月在广州出版，刊载了八篇论文和傅斯年所长写的前言，他有力地论述了创办史语所的理由。本刊为季刊，每年刊出四分为一本，已连续出刊46年，现为第46本和第47本。

[61] Tung and the party arrived at Anyang on October 7; he started digging on the thirteenth of this month. The actual digging time, according to Tung's own account, was eighteen days, October 13-30.

[61] 董作宾和考古队于10月7日抵达安阳，13日开始发掘。据董自述，发掘时间从13日至30日，共18天。

[62] Cited here as *PREA*. These reports were planned exclusively, as the title indicates, for the publication of the field work carried on in Anyang, including studies of the field materials. The first issue was published in 1929, in Peiping. Only four numbers were issued; no. 4 was given to the public in 1933 in Shanghai, when the headquarters of the Institute of History and Philology was on the move to the capital, Nanking. This report was later continued under different names: as *Field Reports in Archaeology* and finally, as *Chinese Journal of Archaeology*.

[62] 引自《安阳发掘报告》。顾名思义，《安阳发掘报告》有计划地刊载所有与安阳田野发掘及其材料研究相关的成果。1929年第一期在北平出版，共只发行了四期。第四期于1933年在上海出版，当时史语所所址正向当时的首都南京搬迁。这个刊物后来先后以《田野考古报告》和《中国考古学报》的名称刊行。

[63] Concerning the Hsin-cheng bronzes, there were a great many reports in Chinese newspapers at

the time; a good summary of this important find is Carl Whiting Bishop, "The Hsin-cheng Bronzes," *China Journal of Science and Arts*, no. 3, 1925.

[63] 当时中国报刊上有不少关于新郑青铜器的报道。毕士博所写的《新郑铜器》一文（载《中国科学艺术杂志》，第3期，1925）对此重要发现作了一个很好的总结。

[64] There is a complete file, I understand, of all the official correspondence between Mr. Bishop and me in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., which interested readers may examine by special request.

[64] 据我所知，毕士博与我之间的全部公事信件完整保存在华盛顿特区弗利尔艺术馆的专门档案里，有兴趣的读者可以专函索阅。

[65] Li Chi, *Hsi-yin-ts'un shih-ch'ien ti i-ts'un* (Prehistorical Remains at Hsi-yin Ts'un) (Ts'inghua Research Institute, 1925); English translation, *New Stone Age Pottery from the Prehistoric Site at Hsi-yin Ts'un, Shansi, China* (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, no. 37, 1930). Liang Ssu-yung, who was studying in America at that time, returned to China and worked on the ceramic collection from this prehistoric site; Liang later wrote his master's thesis on these materials.

[65] 李济：《西阴村史前的遗存》，载《清华学校研究院丛书》，第三种，1927；英译为*New Stone Age Pottery from the Prehistoric Site at Hsi-yin Ts'un, Shansi, China*,载《美国人类学会论文集》，37期，1930。《清华学校研究院丛书》第三种（1927），当时在美国留学的梁思永曾回到国内对这一史前遗址出土的陶片进行研究，梁后来根据这些材料写出了他的硕士论文。

[66] Li Chi, "An Analysis of the Underground Conditions below the Surface of the Hsiao-t'un Site," *PREA*, no. 1 (1929), pp. 37-48.

[66] 李济：《小屯地面下情形分析初步》，《安阳发掘报告》，第一期，1929，第37—48页。

[67] The total number of Sui (A.D. 581-617) and T'ang (618-906) tombs excavated at Hsiao-t'un is 148. Three of these tombs contained square tombstones or bricks with biographical notes of the buried person either inscribed or handwritten in red or black ink. All of these were dated in the Sui dynasty—one in the seventh year of K'ai Huang (A.D. 587); the second in the third year of Jen Shou (A.D. 603); and the third also dated in the K'ai Huang era (A.D. 581-600), but the numeral for the year was already smeared in the tomb and therefore unreadable. Altogether, the contents of these 148 tombs excavated at Hsiao-t'un in twelve seasons (1928-1937)—namely, tomb figures, porcelainous wares and porcelains, occasional tombstones, and other finds in metal—serve to indicate that the burials took place in the Sui or, in some cases, the ensuing T'ang dynasty.

[67] 小屯发掘出的隋（公元581—618年）、唐（公元618—906年）墓总数为148座。其中三座有方形石制或砖制墓志铭，或刻或用红笔或墨笔书写。全部墓志铭上都注明为隋朝年代——开皇七年（公元587年）、仁寿三年（公元603年），另一块注有开皇（公元581—600年）字样，但年份已漫漶无存，无法辨认。总之，从小屯12次发掘（1928—1937）出土的148座墓中的俑像、瓷器、偶见的墓碑以及其他金属遗物判断，墓葬时代为隋朝，或之后的唐朝。

[68] The official permit was given almost five years after the Antiquities Protection Law was passed by the Legislative Yüan, mainly because the curio dealers exporting Chinese antiquities

exercised considerable political influence.

[68] 发给正式的许可发掘证是在立法院通过《古物保存法》大约五年之后，这主要是由于出口古玩的古董商人施加政治影响之故。

[69] Li Chi, "First Analytic Study of the Soil Condition under the Surface of Hsiao-t'un," *PREA*, no. 2 (1929).

[69] 李济：《小屯地面下情形分析初步》，载《安阳发掘报告》，第二期，1929，[第37—48页]。

[70] 《安阳发掘报告》第2期第232页作西南角。——译者注

[70] 《安阳发掘报告》第2期第232页作西南角。——译者注

[71] Tung Tso-pin, "Four Big Inscribed Tortoise Shells," *PREA*, no. 3 (1931).

[71] 董作宾：《大龟四版考释》，载《安阳发掘报告》，第三期，1931。

[72] Both archaeologists and historians participated in this discussion. Some of the papers were published in *PREA* and *BIHP*. The question, it may be said, still remains unanswered.

[72] 考古学家和史学家都参与了这场讨论。一些文章发表在《安阳发掘报告》和《史语所集刊》上，可以说问题仍未得到解决。

[73] Shih Chang-ju, *K'ao-ku nien-piao* (Archaeological Chronology) (Taipei: "Academia Sinica," Institute of History and Philology, 1952).

[73] 石璋如：《考古年表》，台北："中央研究院"历史语言研究所，1952。

[74] The earliest discovery of this important group of remains can be dated to the sixth season, in June 1932, when in subarea E a picture was taken of a number of field archaeologists standing in front of the foundation boulders to show the locations of the boulders.

[74] 这组重要遗存的最早发现是1932年6月的第6次发掘时，当时在E区拍下一张许多考古人员站在础石前边指点础石位置的照片。

[75] Nils Palmgren, *Kansu Mortuary Urns and the Pan-shan and the Ma-ch'ang Groups*, Paleontologia Sinica, ser. D, vol. 3, fasc. 1, 1934.

[75] 巴尔姆格伦：《半山及马厂随葬陶器》，《中国古生物志》，丁种，第三号，第一册，1934。

[76] Shih Hsing-pang et al., *The Neolithic Village at Pan p'o, Sian* (Peking: Wen Wu Press, 1963); An Chih-min. "Miao-ti-kou, San-li-ch'iao," *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao* (Journal of Archaeology), 1 (1965): 57-61.

[76] 石兴邦等：《西安半坡》，[《中国田野考古报告集·考古学专刊》丁种，第十四号]，北京：文物出版社，1963；安志敏：《庙底沟与三里桥》，《考古学专刊》，丁种，第九号。

[77] Shih Chang-ju, "Yin Tombs Discovered at Hou-kang," *BIHP*, 13 (1948): 21-28.

[77] 石璋如：《河南安阳后岗的殷墓》，《史语所集刊》，第十三本，1948，第21—28页。

[78] See *Po-ku t'u-lu*, 1:25, on *T'ao-t'ieh Ting*, from Yeh-chün (Changte).

[78] 参看《博古图录》1：25，邺郡（彰德）出土之饕餮鼎。

[79] See, e.g., *Illustrated London News*, June 21, 1930, and August 8, 1931, each with full illustrations.

[79] 例如，参看1930年6月21日和1931年8月8日的《伦敦图画新闻》，各附有全版图片。

[80] Seiichi Mizuno, ed., Seizanso Siesho (Illustrated Catalogue of the Nezu Collection), vol. 6, *Chinese Bronzes* (Tokyo: Nezu Art Museum, 1942), plates 1-8.

[80] 水野清一编：《根津艺术博物馆藏品图录·第六卷·中国青铜器》（东京：根津艺术博物馆，1942），图版1—8。

[81] Kao Ch'ü-hsün, "The Royal Cemetery of the Yin Dynasty at Anyang," *Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Taiwan University), nos. 13-14 (Nov. 1959), pp. 1-9.

[81] 高去寻：《安阳殷代王陵》，载《台湾大学考古人类学刊》，第十三、十四期合刊，1959年11月，第1—9页，[英文本]。

[82] Li Chi, Preface, in Liang Ssu-yung, *HPKM 1001: Text*, ed. Kao Ch'ü-hsün, Archaeologia Sinica, no. 3 (Hou-chia-chuang), vol. 2, pt. 1 (Taipei: "Academia Sinica," Institute of History and Philology, 1962).

[82] 李济：《中国考古报告集·之三·侯家庄》，第二本，《一○○一号大墓》上册序。该书为梁思永著，高去寻编,台北：“中央研究院”历史语言研究所，1962。

[83] Liang Ssu-yung, *HPKM 1004*, ed. Kao Ch'ü-hsün, Archaeologia Sinica, no. 3 (Hou-chia-chuang), vol. 5 (Taipei: "Academia Sinica," Institute of History and Philology, 1970).

[83] 梁思永未完稿，高去寻辑补：《中国考古报告集之三·侯家庄》，第五本，《一○○四号大墓》，台北：“中央研究院”历史语言研究所，1970。

[84] Kao Ch'ü-hsün, "The Royal Cemetery of the Yin Dynasty," p. 6.

[84] 高去寻：《安阳殷代王陵》，第6页。

[85] See Kao Ch'ü-hsün, *HPKM 1001: Plates*, Archaeologia Sinica, no. 3 (Hou-chia-chuang), vol. 2, pt. 2 (Taipei: "Academia Sinica," Institute of History and Philology, 1962), plate 16.

[85] 参看高去寻《中国考古报告集·之三·侯家庄》，第二本，《一○○一号大墓》下册，图版，台北：“中央研究院”历史语言研究所，1962，图版16。

[86] See Liang Ssu-yung, *HPKM 1004*, p. 41; the statue illustrated in this article was composed of several fragments, some of which were recovered from HPKM 1217 and others from HPKM 1004.

[86] 参看梁思永《第一○○四号大墓》，第41页；此文中所示雕像系由若干断片拼成，其中一些断片在一二一七号大墓发现，另一些在一○○四号大墓发现。

[87] For the reconstructed figure of the drum, see Liang Ssu-yung, *HPKM 1217*, ed. Kao Ch'ü-hsün, Archaeologia Sinica, no. 3 (Hou-chia-chuang), vol. 6 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology, 1968), fig. 9 (p. 26). Plates XIV-XVI of *HPKM 1217* show the different pieces of the drum *in situ* in the course of excavation.

[87] 鼓的复原图见梁思永未完稿，高去寻辑补：《中国考古报告集·之三·侯家庄》，第六本，《第一二一七号大墓》，（台北："中央研究院"历史语言研究所，1968），图9，第26页。该书图版14到16为鼓的碎片在发掘时的原状。

[88] Shih Chang-ju, "Hung-t'u [Earth pounding], Pan-chu [Pisé], and Building in General of the Yin Dynasty," *BIHP*, 41, no. 1 (1969): 127-168.

[88] 石璋如：《殷代的夯土、版筑与一般建筑》，载《史语所集刊》，第四十一本，第一分，1969，第127—168页。

[89] Li Chi, "Important Discoveries at Yin-hsü in the Autumn Season of 1929," *PREA*, no. 2 (1929), p. 239.

[89] 李济：《十八年秋工作之经过及其重要发现》，载《安阳发掘报告》，第二期，1929，第239页。

[90] 应作《中国考古学报》。——编者注

[90] 应作《中国考古学报》。——编者注

[91] 上表中有11头牛。——编者注

[91] 上表中有11头牛。——编者注

[92] Chang Ping-ch'uan, "Sacrificial Offerings Recorded in Oracle Bone Inscriptions," *BIHP*, 38 (1968): 181-232.

[92] 张秉权：《祭祀卜辞中的牺牲》，载《史语所集刊》，第三十八本，1968，第181—232页。

[93] Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and C. C. Young, *On the Mammalian Remains from the Archaeological Site of Anyang*, Paleontologia Sinica, ser. C, vol. 12, fasc. 1, 1936.

[93] 德日进、杨钟健：《安阳殷虚之哺乳动物群》，载《中国古生物志》，丙种，第十二号，第一册，1936。

[94] Li Chi, *Pottery of the Yin and Pre-Yin Period*, Archaeologia Sinica, no. 2 (Hsiao-t'un), vol. 3, fasc. 1, pt. 1 (Taipei: "Academia Sinica," Institute of History and Philology, 1956).

[94] 李济：《殷墟器物·甲编·陶器》（上辑），《中国考古报告集·之二·小屯》，第三本，台北："中央研究院"历史语言研究所，1956。

[95] Shih Chang-ju, *Burials of the Northern Section*, Archaeologia Sinica, no. 2 (Hsiao-t'un), vol. 1, fasc. 3 (Taipei: "Academia Sinica," Institute of History and Philology, 1970).

[95] 石璋如：《遗址的发现与发掘·丙编·殷墟墓葬之一·北组墓葬》（上下两册），《中国考古报告集之二·小屯》，第一本，台北："中央研究院"历史语言研究所，1970。

[96] Li Hsiao-ting, *Chia-ku wen-tzu chi-shih* (Annotated Dictionary of the Oracle Bone Characters), Institute of History and Philology, Special Publication no. 50, 1965, vol. 14, p. 4113.

[96] 李孝定：《甲骨文字集释》，《历史语言研究所专刊》之五十，1965，第十四卷，第4113页。

[97] Shih Chang-ju, "Recent and Most Important Discoveries from Yin Hsü," *Chinese Journal of Archaeology*, no. 2 (1947). pp. 1-81.

[97] 石璋如：《殷墟最近之重要发现附论小屯地层》，载《中国考古学报》，第二册，1947，第1—81页，[第7页]。

[98] Hu Hou-hsüan, "Examples of Homologous Characters in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions," *BIHP*, 9 (1937): 135-220.

[98] 胡厚宣：《卜辞同文例》，载《史语所集刊》，第九本，1937，第135—220页。[疑为1945年《释双剑誃所藏甲骨文字》。——编者注]

[99] Chang Ping-ch'üan, who has been in charge of piecing together the tortoise shells from H127 in Taiwan, has published 349 restored tortoise shells *in Inksqueezes of the Restored Specimens*.... Archaeologia Sinica, no. 2 (Hsiao-t'un), vol. 2, fasc. 3. See more detailed discussion in chap. 8.

[99] 张秉权在台湾负责缀合H127出土的龟甲，印刷出版了复原龟甲349版，见《殷虚文字丙编》，《中国考古报告集·之二·小屯》，第二本。详见第八章的论述。

[100] Tung Tso-pin, *Inscriptions: Plates*, Archaeologia Sinica, no. 2 (Hsiao-t'un), vol. 2, fasc. 2, pt. 1 (Nanking: Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology, 1948).

[100] 董作宾：《殷虚文字乙编》（上辑），图版，《中国考古报告集·之二·小屯》，第二本，南京：中央研究 院历史语言研究所，1948。

[101] The registered numbers of the inscribed bones from H127 are 13.0628-13.017756.

[101] H127出土的有字甲骨的登录号为13·0628号至13·017756号。

[102] For a complete listing of these publications, see the entries under Liang's name in the Bibliography.

[102] 这些出版物的完整目录，见本书附录参考文献中梁思永著述条目。

[103] Aloys John Maerz and M. Real Paul, *Dictionary of Color* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1930).

[103] 阿洛伊斯·约翰·梅尔兹和M.里尔·鲍尔：《颜色辞典》，纽约：麦格劳希尔，1930。

[104] Wang Kuo-wei, "Yin-pu-tz'u-chung so-chien hsien-kung hsien-wang k'ao" (Notes on the Royal Ancestors of the Shang as Appear in Oracle Bone Records), *Hsüeh-shu ts'ung-shu* (Collected Historical Researches), 1917, reprinted in *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin* (Collected Essays), vol. 9; Tung Tso-pin, "Chia-ku-wen tuan-tai yen-chiu li" (Essay on Periodization of the Oracle Bone

Inscriptions), *Ch'ing-chu Ts'ai yüan-p'ei hsien-shêng liu-shih-wu sui lun-wên chi* (Studies Presented to Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei on His Sixty-fifth Birthday) (Peking: Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology, 1933), pt. 1, pp. 323-424; Kuo Mo-jo, *Pu-tz'u tung-ch'uan* (Annotations and General Discussions on Oracle Bone Inscriptions) (Toyko: Wen-Chiu-Tang, 1933); Tung Tso-pin, *Yin-li-p'u* (Tabulated Data of the Yin Dynasty according to Chronology of Recorded Events Found in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions) (lithograph ed., Li-Chuang, 1945).

[104] 王国维：《殷卜辞中所见先公先王考》，载《学术丛编》，1917；再版于《观堂集林》，卷九。董作宾：《甲骨文断代研究例》，载《庆祝蔡元培先生六十五岁论文集》上册，北京：中央研究院历史语言研究所，1933，第323—424页。郭沫若：《卜辞通纂》，东京：文求堂，1933。董作宾：《殷历谱》（石印版），李庄，1945。

[105] Tung Tso-pin, "Some Important Problems of the Yin Calendar," *BIHP*, 4 (1934): 331-354.

[105] 董作宾：《殷历中几个重要问题》，《史语所集刊》，第四本，1934，第331—354页。

[106] See Chu Wen-hsin, *Tien-wen-k'ao-ku-lu* (Archaeological Records of Astronomy) (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1933), pp. 100 ff.

[106] 参看朱文鑫《天文考古录》，上海：商务印书馆，1933，100页及之后。

[107] Tung Tso-pin, "Chia-ku-wen tuan-tai yen-chiu li"; all the names after "heavenly stem" symbols are here capitalized to indicate post-mortem relationship with the king's birthday or death day.

[107] 董作宾：《甲骨文断代研究例》。此处所有取自天干的名字都印成黑体，以示谥号与王的生日或祭日的联系。

[108] Including the fourteen years of his reign before moving to Yin (Anyang).

[108] 包含迁都于殷（安阳）之前他已在位的14年。

[109] Tung Tso-pin, *Yin-li-p'u*, vol. 2, leaf 16, p. 2.

[109] 董作宾：《殷历谱》，第二册，第2页。

[110] Frankfort, *Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, and Their Earliest Interrelations.*

[110] 法兰克复：《美索不达米亚、叙利亚和埃及以及它们在远古的相互关系》。

[111] See chap. 6, note 8.

[111] 参看第6章第8条注释。

[112] Li Chi, "Pre-Yin Cultural Deposits at Hsiao-t'un," *Hsüeh-shu hui-k'an* (Occasional Papers of Academia Sinica during Wartime), 1, no. 2 (1944): 1-12.

[112] 李济：《小屯地面下的先殷文化层》，载《学术汇刊》（中央研究院战时论文汇编），第一卷，第二期，1944，第1—12页。

[113] 应为14年。——译者注

[113] 应为14年。——译者注

[114] Tung Tso-pin, *Inscriptions: Plates*, Archaeologia Sinica, no. 2 (Hsiao-t'un), vol. 2, fasc. 2, pt. 1 (Nanking: Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology, 1948).

[114] 董作宾：《殷虚文字乙编》（上辑），图版，《中国考古报告集·之二·小屯》，第二本，南京：中央研究院历史语言研究所，1948。

[115] Ibid.

[115] 同上。

[116] Tung Tso-pin, *Inscriptions*: *Plates*, Archaeologia Sinica, no. 2 (Hsiao-t'un), vol.2, fasc. 2, pt. 2 (Taipei: "Academia Sinica," Institute of History and Philology, 1953).

[116] 董作宾：《殷虚文字乙编》下辑，图版，《中国考古报告集·之二·小屯》，第二本，台北："中央研究院"历史语言研究所，1953。

[117] Chü Wan-li, *Inscriptions: Annotations of Inscriptions of Part 1*, Archaeologia Sinica, no. 2 (Hsiao-t'un), vol. 2, fasc. 1, pt. 2 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology, 1961).

[117] 屈万里：《<殷虚文字甲编>考释》，《中国考古报告集·之二·小屯》，第二本，台北："中央研究院"历史语言研究所，1961。

[118] 应作《中国考古报告集·之二·小屯》，第二本，《殷虚文字丙编》。——译者注

[118] 应作《中国考古报告集·之二·小屯》，第二本，《殷虚文字丙编》。——译者注

[119] Chang Ping-ch'üan, "Corpus Number Given to the Order Found on the Same Oracle Bone Plastron," *BIHP*, 28 (1956): 229-272. (This edition of *BIHP* was *festschrift* in honor of Dr. Hu Shih.)

[119] 张秉权：《卜龟腹甲的序数》，载《史语所集刊》，第二十八本，上册，1956，第229—
272页。（本刊为《庆祝胡适先生六十五岁论文集》。）

[120] Chang Ping-ch'üan, "Agriculture and Climate of the Yin-Shang Period," *BIHP*, 42 (1970): 267-336. (This edition of *BIHP* was a *festschrift*: *In Honor of Dr. Wang Shih-chieh on His Eightieth Birthday*. Chang's paper was originally written at the request of the editorial board of the Ancient History of China series.)

[120] 张秉权：《殷代的农业与气象》，载《史语所集刊》，第四十二本，第二分，1970：第267—336页。（本刊为《庆祝王世杰先生八十岁论文集》。张氏论文最初是应近代史编辑室之邀撰写的。）

[121] For a complete listing of these publications, see entries under Liang's and Kao's names in the Bibliography.

[121] 这些出版物的完整目录，见本书附录参考文献中梁思永和高去寻著述条目。

[122] Shih Chang-ju, *Architectural Remains*, Archaeologia Sinica, no. 2 (Hsiao-t'un), vol. 1, fasc. 2 (Taipei: "Academia Sinica," Institute of History and Philology, 1959).

[122] 石璋如：《遗址的发现与发掘·乙编·建筑遗存》，《中国考古报告集·之二·小屯》，

第一本，台北："中央研究院"历史语言研究所，1959。

[123] Shih Chang-ju, *Burials of the Northern Section*, Archaeologia Sinica, no. 2 (Hsiao-t'un), vol. 1, fasc. 3, pts. 1 and 2 (Taipei: "Academia Sinica," Institute of History and Philology, 1972); *Burials of the Middle Section*, Archaeologia Sinica, no. 2 (Hsiao-t'un), vol. 1, fasc. 3 (Taipei: "Academia Sinica," Institute of History and Philology, 1970).

[123] 石璋如：《遗址的发现与发掘·丙编·殷墟墓葬之一·北组墓葬》（上、下册），《中国考古报告集·之二·小屯》，第一本，台北："中央研究院"历史语言研究所，1970；《殷墟墓葬之二·中组墓葬》，《中国考古报告集·之二·小屯》，第一本，台北："中央研究院"历史语言研究所，1972。

[124] For complete data on these publications, see entries under Li and Wan in the Bibliography.

[124] 这些出版物的完整数据，见本书附录参考文献中李济和万家保著述条目。

[125] Li Chi, *Hsi-yin-ts'un*... (see chap. 4, note 6).

[125] 李济，《西阴村的遗存》（参看第4章第6条注释）。

[126] Wu Gin-ding (or Chin-ting), *Prehistoric Pottery in China* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1938).

[126] 吴金鼎：《中国史前陶器》，伦敦，1938。

[127] 旧省名。在中国北部。1914年设察哈尔特别区，1928年改设省，辖今河北省西北部及内蒙古自治区锡林郭勒盟，1949年改辖河北省西北部及山西省北部。1952年撤销省级建制。

[127] 旧省名。在中国北部。1914年设察哈尔特别区，1928年改设省，辖今河北省西北部及内蒙古自治区锡林郭勒盟，1949年改辖河北省西北部及山西省北部。1952年撤销省级建制。

[128] *The Works of Mencius*, *Book* 5, in James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics*, 2:358.

[128] 《孟子·万章句上》，理雅各译，《中国经典》，第二卷，第358页。

[129] In his reconstruction Wang referred to the annotated *Bamboo Annals* (*Chu-shu chi-nien*), which he considered to be the older and more genuine version of the original account. See Wang Kuo-wei, *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin* (a selection of his works published in his lifetime), and *Hai-ning Wang-chung-chüeh-kung I-shu* (the more complete collection of his works edited by his friends and pupils and published after his death).

[129] 王国维在研究中参考了注释本的《竹书纪年》，他认为这是较早的真本。参看王国维所著《观堂集林》（他在世时出版的一部选集）和《海宁王忠悫公遗书》（王去世后由他的朋友和弟子编选出版的一部较完全的著作集）。

[130] Wang Kuo-wei, "Yin-pu-tz'u-chung..." (see chap. 7, note 3); *Shih-lin* (Historical Researches), vol. 1, pp. 1-15, in *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin* (Collected Essays).

[130] 王国维：《殷卜辞中所见先公先王考》（参看第7章第3条注释）；《史林》，第一卷，第1—15页，见《观堂集林》[第九卷]。

[131] *Shoo-king*, *The Books of Shang*, Book 7, pt. 1: "Pwan-Kang," in James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics*, 3:220-223.

[131] 《书经·盘庚》，理雅各译，《中国经典》，第三卷，第220—223页。

[132] Ibid., p. 221n.

[132] 同上，第221—223页。

[133] Bernhard Karlgren, "Glosses in the Book of Documents," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, 20 (1948): 39-315.

[133] 高本汉：《书经注释》，载《远东古物博物馆集刊》，第二十号，1948，第39—315页。

[134] Liu Yüan-lin, "Development of the Technology of Making Oracle Bones," *BIHP*, 46, no. 1 (1974): 99-154.

[134] 刘渊临：《卜骨的攻治技术演进过程之探讨》，载《史语所集刊》，第四十六本，第一分，1974，第99—154页。

[135] Hsü Chung-shu, "A Second Discussion on the Relation between Hsiao-t'un and Yangshao," *PREA*, no. 3 (1931), pp. 523-557.

[135] 徐中舒：《再论小屯与仰韶》，载《安阳发掘报告》，第三期，1931，第523—557页。

[136] Shih Chang-ju, "Architectural Remains of the Yin Period at Hsiao-t'un," *BIHP*, 26 (1955): 131-186.

[136] 石璋如：《小屯殷代的建筑遗迹》，载《史语所集刊》，第二十六本，1955，第131—186页。

[137] Li Chi, "Pre-Yin Cultural Deposits at Hsiao-t'un."

[137] 李济：《小屯地面下的先殷文化层》。

[138] Shih Chang-ju, "Further Examples of the Reconstruction of Architecture of the Shang Dynasty," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology*, no. 29 (1970), pp. 321-341.

[138] 石璋如；《殷代地上建筑复原的第二例》，《民族学研究所集刊》，第二十九期，1970，第321—341页。

[139] *Ibid.*, p. 333.

[139] 同上，第333页。［未找到石璋如原文，根据英文译出。——编者注］

[140] Shih Chang-ju, *Architectural Remains*, Archaeologia Sinica, no. 2 (Hsiao-t'un), vol. 1, fasc. 2 (Taipei: "Academia Sinica," Institute of History and Philology, 1959).

[140] 石璋如：《遗址的发现与发掘·乙编·建筑遗存》，《中国考古报告集·之二·小屯》，第一本，台北："中央研究院"历史语言研究所，1959。

[141] Shih Chang-ju, "One Example of Restored Yin Surface Building," *Annals of "Academia Sinica,"* no. 1 (1954), pp. 269-280.

[141] 石璋如：《殷代地上建筑复原之一例》，《“中央研究院”院刊》，第一辑，1954，第269—280页。

[142] Shih Chang-ju, "Hung-t'u [Earth pounding], Pan-chu [Pisé], and Building in General of the Yin Dynasty," *BIHP*, 41, no. 1 (1969): 126-168.

[142] 石璋如：《殷代的夯土、版筑与一般建筑》，载《史语所集刊》，第四十一本，第一分（1969），第126—168页。

[143] Section from the *Chou-li*.

[143] 《周礼》中的一节。

[144] See Shih Chang-ju, *Burials of the Northern Section*, Archaeologia Sinica, no. 2 (Hsiao-t'un), vol. 1, fasc. 3 (1970).

[144] 石璋如：《遗址的发现与发掘·丙编·殷墟墓葬之一·北组墓葬》（上下两册），《中国考古报告集·之二·小屯》，第一本，1970。

[145] Kuo Pao-chün, "The Excavation of β Area," *PREA*, no. 4 (1933), pp. 607-608.

[145] 郭宝钧：《β区发掘记》，载《安阳发掘报告》，第四期，1933，第607—608页。

[146] Woo Ch'i-ch'ang, "Chia-ku-chin-wen chung suo-chien-ti yin-tai nung-chia ching-kuang" (State of Yin Agriculture as Found in the Oracle Bone and Bronze Scripts), pp. 323-368 in a *festschrift* honoring Chang Chü-sheng (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1937).

[146] 吴其昌：《甲骨金文中所见的殷代农稼情况》，载《张菊生先生七十生日纪念论文集》，上海：商务印书馆，1937。

[147] 指中国人民抗日战争，译为the War of Chinese People's Resistance Against Japanese Agression。国际上通常用the Second Sino-Japanese War 称呼这场战争。——编者注

[147] 指中国人民抗日战争，译为the War of Chinese People's Resistance Against Japanese Agression。国际上通常用the Second Sino-Japanese War 称呼这场战争。——编者注

[148] Hu Hou-hsüan, "Pu-tzu chung suo-chien shih yin-tai nung-yeh" (Agriculture of the Yin Period as Seen from the Oracle Bone Records), *Chia-ku-hsüeh-Shang-shih lun-ts'ung* (Collected Studies of Shang History Based on Oracle Bone Studies), vol. 2 (lithographed ed; Chee-loo University, Institute of Chinese Studies, 1945).

[148] 胡厚宣：《卜辞中所见之殷代农业》，《甲骨学商史论丛》二集 [上册]（石印），《齐鲁大学国学研究所专刊》之一，1945。

[149] Chang Ping-ch'uan, "Agriculture and Climate" (see chap. 8, note 8).

[149] 张秉权：《殷代的农业与气象》，（参看第8章第8条注释）。

[150] Young Chung-chien, "Further Notes on the Mammals Excavated from Yin-hsü," *Chinese Journal of Archaeology*, no. 4 (1949), pp. 145-153.

[150] 杨钟健：《安阳殷墟之哺乳动物群补遗》，载《中国考古学报》，第四期，1949，第145—153页。

[151] Hu Wei, *Yü-kung chuei-chih* (Complete Geographical Commentary of Yü-kung in the Book of Documents), in *Huang-ch'ing ching-jei*, vols. 27-30.

[151] 胡渭：《禹贡锥指》，《皇清经解》，第27—30卷。

[152] 明孝宗于公元1488年定国号为“弘治”，明孝宗三年对应的公历纪年应为1490年。——编者注

[152] 明孝宗于公元1488年定国号为“弘治”，明孝宗三年对应的公历纪年应为1490年。——编者注

[153] Tung Tso-pin, *Yin-li-p'u*, part 2, vol. 9, p. 45.

[153] 董作宾：《殷历谱》，卷九，第45页。

[154] Hu Hou-hsüan, "Ch'i-hou pien-ch'ien yu Yin-tai ch'i-hou chih chien-t'ao" (The Changes of Weather and an Examination of the Weather during the Yin Dynasty), *Chia-ku-hsüeh...*, 2:20.

[154] 胡厚宣：《气候变迁与殷代气候之检讨》，《甲骨学商史论丛》二集 [下册]，第20页。

[155] Young, "Further Notes on Mammals from Yin-hsü."

[155] 杨钟健：《安阳殷墟之哺乳动物群补遗》。

[156] T'ang Lan, "Yin-hsü wen-tzu hsiao-chi" (Notes and Comments on Oracle Bone Inscriptions) (lithographed lecture notes, 1934), pp. 2-4.

[156] 唐兰：《殷虚文字小记》（平版印讲稿），[《考古学社社刊》，第一期]，1934，第2—4页。

[157] Kunio Shima, *Yin-hsü pu-tz'u ts'ung-lei* (Summary of Oracle Bone Characters) (Tokyo, 1967).

[157] 岛邦男：《殷虚卜辞综类》，东京：[大安株式会社]，1967。

[158] Chang Ping-ch'üan, "Agriculture and Climate," pp. 306-307.

[158] 张秉权：《殷代的农业与气象》，第306—307页。

[159] Tung Tso-pin, "Report on the First Digging at Hsiao-t'un," *PREA*, no. 1, 1929.

[159] 董作宾：《中华民国十七年十月试掘安阳小屯报告书》，《安阳发掘报告》，第一期，1929。

[160] Li Chi, "Illustrated Study of Edged Stone Tools from Yin-hsü," *BIHP*, 23 (1952): 523-615.

[160] 李济：《殷墟有刃石器图说》，《史语所集刊》，第二十三本， [下册]，1952，第523—615页。

[161] See Li Chi, *Pottery of the Yin and Pre-Yin Period*.

[161] 参看李济：《殷墟器物·甲编·陶器》（上辑）。

[162] For a complete listing of these publications, see entries in the Bibliography under Li Chi and Wan Chia-pao.

[162] 这些出版物的完整目录，见本书附录参考文献中李济和万家保著述条目。

[163] Li Chi and Wan Chia-pao, *Studies of the Bronze Ku-Beaker Excavated from Hsiao-t'un and Hou Chia Chuang: Its Casting Process and Decorative Patterns*, Archaeologia Sinica, n.s. no. 1 (Nankang, Taiwan: "Academia Sinica," Institute of History and Philology, 1964).

[163] 李济、万家保：《殷墟出土青铜觚形器之研究》，《中国考古报告集新编·古器物研究专刊》，第一本，台湾南港：“中央研究院”历史语言研究所，1964。

[164] Li Chi, "Diverse Backgrounds of the Decorative Art of the Yin Dynasty," *Proceedings of the Eighth Pacific Science Congress*, 1955, pp. 179-194; also published in *Annals of "Academia Sinica,"* no. 2, pt. 1 (1955), pp. 119-129.

[164] 李济：《殷代装饰艺术的诸种背景》，载《第八届太平洋学术会议会志》，1955，第179—194页；另载《“中央研究院”院刊》，第二期，1955，第119—129页。

[165] Li Chi, *Pottery of the Yin and Pre-Yin Period*.

[165] 李济：《殷墟器物甲编·陶器》（上辑），1956。

[166] Li Chi, "Evolution of the White Pottery of the Yin Dynasty," *BIHP*, 28 (1957): 853-882.

[166] 李济：《殷墟白陶发展之程序》，载《史语所集刊》，第二十八本，[下册]，1957，第853—882页。

[167] Li Chi, "Eight Types of Hairpins and the Evolution of Their Decorative Patterns," *BIHP*, 30, pt. 1 (1959): 611-670.

[167] 李济：《笄形八类及其纹饰之演变》，载《史语所集刊》，第三十本，上册，1959，第611—670页。

[168] J. G. Andersson, *The Cave-Deposit at Sha Ko T'un in Fengtien*, Paleontologia Sinica, ser. D, vol. 1, fasc. 1, 1923.

[168] 安特生：《奉天锦西县沙锅屯洞穴层》，《中国古生物志》，丁种，第一号，第一册，1923。

[169] This topic has recently been rediscussed by a number of scholars interested in this particular aspect of Chinese culture. Mrs. John Fairbank is highly skeptical of the view that the carved mark represents tattooing, but, as she has not had the opportunity to examine the original specimen, she is not definite. My colleague Wan Chia-pao, on the other hand, entertains a different opinion. He believes that these marks represent neither tattooing nor a dress, but were carved on the torso sheerly as a matter of ornamentation, just as the Yin artist had done on the stone tigers and elephant.

[169] 近来，一些对中国文化这一方面感兴趣的学者又就这一问题展开了讨论。费正清夫人（费慰梅）对雕刻印记代表文身的意见表示极大怀疑，不过由于她没见到原标本，她也未有定论。我的同事万家保则持另一种意见，他认为这既不是文身，也不是衣服，而是

刻在雕像上的一种装饰，就像殷代艺人刻在石虎、石象上的一样。

[170] 疑为第十一或第十二次。——译者注

[170] 疑为第十一或第十二次。——译者注

[171] Li Chi and Wan Chia-pao, *Studies of the Bronze* Ku-*Beaker*, pp. 125-126.

[171] 李济、万家保：《青铜觚形器之研究》，第125—126页。

[172] See Tung Tso-pin, *Fifty Years of Studies in Oracle Inscriptions*, p. 75.

[172] 参看董作宾：《甲骨学五十年》，第75页。

[173] Wang Kuo-wei, "Yin-chou chih tu luan" (Comparative Study of Yin-Chou Institutions), *Kuan-t'ang chi-lin*, vol. 10.

[173] 王国维：《殷周制度论》，《观堂集林》，卷十。

[174] Ch'en Yin-k'o, conversation with the author.

[174] 陈寅恪与笔者的一次谈话。

[175] Ting Shan, "Clan and Its Institution as Recorded in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions" (1948), and "A Gazetteer of Yin-Shang Clans" (incomplete MSS).

[175] 丁山：《甲骨文所见氏族及其制度》，1948；另见《殷商氏族索引》（残缺的手稿）。

[176] See Tung Tso-pin, *Fifty Years of Studies in Oracle Inscriptions*, p. 74.

[176] 参看董作宾：《甲骨学五十年》，第74页。

[177] Lo Chên-yü, *Yin-hsü shu-ch'i k'ao-shih*.

[177] 罗振玉：《殷虚书契考释》，1927。

[178] *Ibid*.

[178] 同上。

[179] Wang Kuo-wei, "Yin-pu-tz'u-chung so-chien hsien-kung hsien-wang k'ao."

[179] 王国维：《殷卜辞中所见先公先王考》，《观堂集林》，卷九。

[180] Chang Ping-chuan, "Numerals in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions," *BIHP*, vol. 46, no. 3, 1975.

[180] 张秉权：《甲骨文中所见的“数”》，《史语所集刊》，第四十六本，第三分，1975。

[181] Kuo Mo-jo, *Chia-ku wen-tzu yen-chiu* (A Study of Oracle Bone Inscriptions), vol. 2 (Shanghai: Ta-tung Book Co., 1931).

[181] 郭沫若：《甲骨文字研究），第二册，上海：大东书局，1931。

[182] Traditional Chinese accounts usually credit Ta Nao in the court of the Yellow Emperor with the invention of the celestial stems and earthly branches (*kan-chih*) system. From the archaeological viewpoint, however, field data thus far provide no record of the sexagenarian system of dating earlier than the Shang dynasty. In spite of half a century's labor in archaeological investigations, so far no one has been able to identify definitely the Hsia site, much less its written record.

[182] 中国传说中通常认为是黄帝宫廷中的大桡发明了干支纪年。不过，从考古学角度看，田野记录迄今尚未发现比殷商更早的六十干支记日法。尽管考古发掘历经半个多世纪的辛劳，但迄今仍未能确定夏墟遗址，夏时期的文字记载则更少。

[183] Wang Kuo-wei, "Yin-pu-tz'u-chung so-chien hsien-kung hsien-wang k'ao."

[183] 王国维：《殷卜辞中所见先公先王考》。

[184] Kunio Shima, *Yin-hsü pu-tz'u ts'ung-lei*.

[184] 岛邦男：《殷虚卜辟综类》。

[185] For a listing of these reports, see the entries under Young Hsi-mei in the Bibliography.

[185] 这些报告的列表，可参看参考书目中杨希枚下的条目。

[186] Tung Tso-pin, *Yin-li-p'u*.

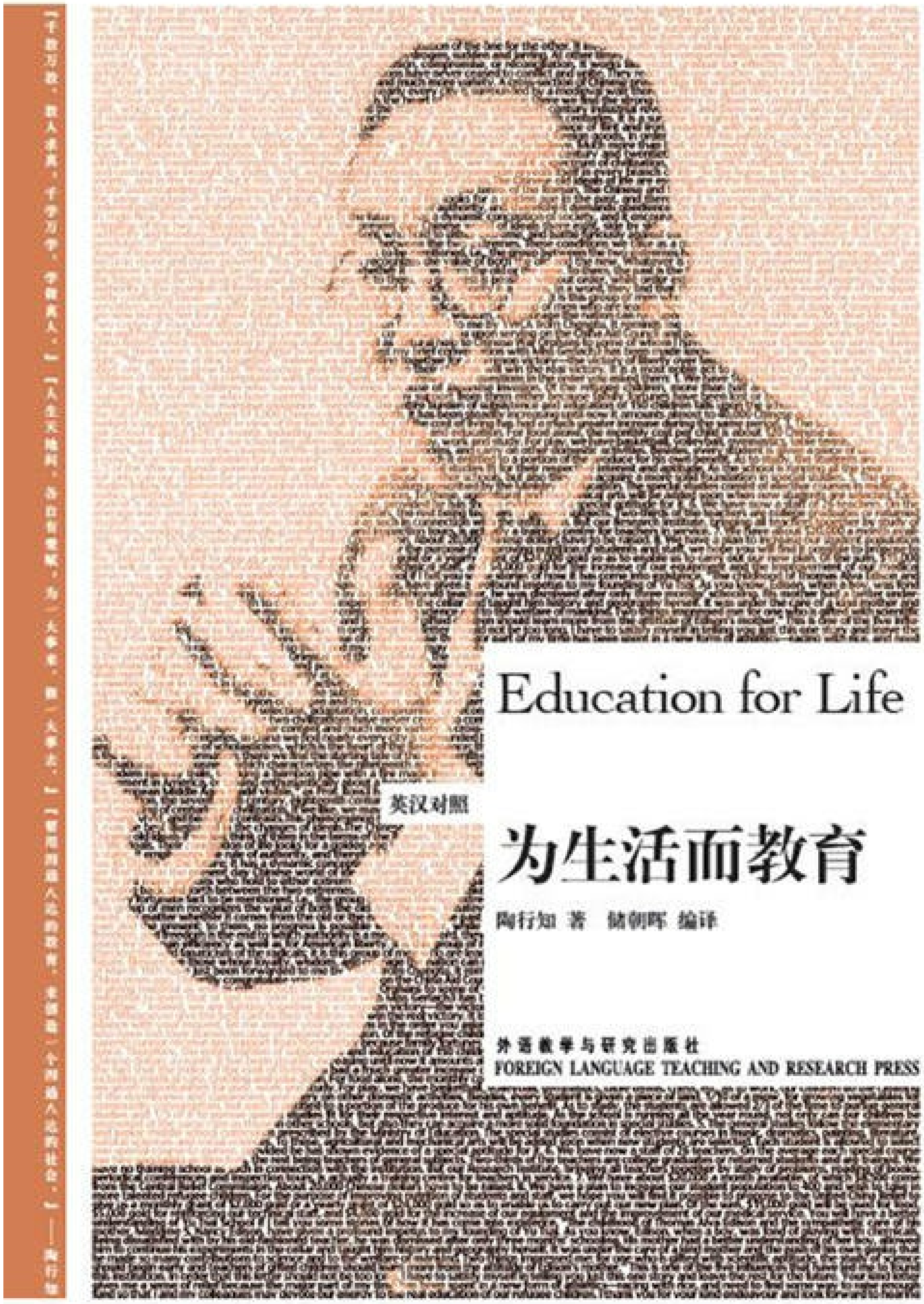
[186] 董作宾：《殷历谱》。

[187] Davidson Black, *The Ancient Human Skeletal Remains from... Sha Kuo T'un*; see also Black, *A Study of Kansu and Honan Aeneolithic Skulls and Specimens from Later Kansu Prehistoric Sites in Comparison with North China and Other Recent Crania*, Palaeontologia Sinica, ser. D, vol. 6, fasc. 1 (1928).

[187] 步达生：《奉天沙锅屯及河南仰韶村之古代人骨与近代华北人骨之比较》[1925]；另见步达生的《甘肃河南晚石器时代及甘肃史前后期遗址之人类头骨与现代华北及其他人种之比较》，《中国古生物志》，丁种，第六号，第一册，1928。

[188] T. L. Woo and G. M. Morant, "A Preliminary Classification of Asiatic Races Based on Cranial Measurements," *Biometrica*, vol. 24, 1934, pts. 1, 2.

[188] 吴定良、莫兰特：《根据头骨测量对亚洲人种的初步分类》，载《生物测量学》，第二十四卷，1934。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“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn:A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足

了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

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外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列丛书，其中涉及陶行知英文文稿的选编及著作翻译工作。经由北京大学陈洪捷教授，出版社联系到我，希望我来作本书的编译者。

一开始我还感到这样做意义不大。待与出版社深入沟通，了解到出版意图之后，尤其是在看到列入出版计划的各位作者的著作目录后，觉得丛书应该收录陶行知的著作。于是，虽然工作繁忙，还是坦然接受了这一任务，并决定放弃2011年的春节休息，集中时间完成这一任务。

接受这个任务还有一个重要原因，陶行知的英文原作虽然大都有中文翻译——其中主要是1990年左右本人参与编辑《陶行知全集》时翻译的，但是受到当时时间紧促、对陶行知了解与认识的局限、对陶行知语言风格的不熟悉以及当时社会环境的影响，不少地方在日后校阅时就感到不满意，甚至发现明显的差错。当时我就一边阅读，一边在原书上作出标示和修改。这次有了这样一个出版契机，觉得是一次完善陶行知英文著作译文的难得机会。所以这次根据自己对陶行知30年的研究，参考了能收集到的陶行知英文著作的各种译文，对每一处文字都尽力做到既在文意上忠于原文，又在文字风格上尽可能接近作者；并且在专业词语表达上尽可能遵守专业的规范，有中文引文的部分尽可能与原引文一致。

本次选译工作得到香港教育学院何荣汉博士的大力支持，他为本书提供了《中国在转变中》、《中国的道德和宗教教育》、《中国乡村教育运动之一斑》、《祁氏汉语字典的新贡献》、《创造的教育》、《小先生与识字运动》等从耶鲁大学神学院图书馆档案室以及其他渠道搜集到的英文原文，这些英文文稿之前未在中国大陆公开出版过。通过本书将陶行知的这些英文原稿呈现给读者，既有利于它们的保留与传播，也有助于更全面准确地理解陶行知。

何博士还提供了发表于*Education Review*上署名为W. T. Tao的“Life is Education”的英文文稿，但该文注明Translated by H. H. L，据推断该文英文并非陶行知所写，且其中将“生活即教育”表述为“Life is Education”，与陶行知常用的表述“Life as Education”差异较大，文中多处翻译不准确，所以本书未选入。另有其他若干篇也因类似原因未选入本书。

由于陶行知生前没有将自己的英文著述集中出版过，这次所要做的工作之一就是选择篇目。依据原文价值、可读性，以及与现今社会的相关性，对陶行知全部英文著述进行整理、选编。所选附录为陶行知英译

的历代故事、寓言和诗词以及他自己创作的中英文对照的诗歌，由于他当时所选版本不同，一些诗名与诗文内容与现在通行版本不尽一致，在此保留陶行知原来选定的版本。

选定篇目之后，确定书名又需要反复琢磨，为此提出十余个备选的名称。通过与出版社多次沟通，最终选择了《为生活而教育》。它反映了陶行知生活教育理论的主旨，也是所选文章的中心内容，更重要的是它包含着与现实生活中每一个人都密切相关的教育哲理，对时下遍及全社会的带有过强功利性的教育理念偏差能起到警醒和矫正作用。

从本书所确定的主题“为生活而教育”出发，人们大可不必“为陶行知而陶行知”。本书所提供的是于公众生活更加幸福有所裨益的资源，若能对读者人生选择有所启示，便发挥了它的作用，也符合陶行知精神。

储朝晖

2012年3月28日

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月下独酌
The Bride

新嫁娘
Departure
赠别
A Traveller
征人
Chrysanthemum
菊花诗
Bamboo and Snow
雪竹诗
On Congee
煮粥诗
Rock Bamboo
岩竹诗
Cloth-selling
卖布谣
New Year Snow
新年雪
Miss Autumn Fragrance the Lonely Shepherdess可怜的秋香
All Rise
义勇军进行曲
Growing Up
长起来
Little Cabbage
小白菜
Self-independence 自立歌
The Song of the Dancing of the Sickle 镰刀歌
The Little Workers' Song 儿童工歌
Children's Day 儿童节歌
Little Teachers 小先生
Feng Yang Song 凤阳歌
Four Short Poems 短诗四首
Summer of 1925 1925年之夏
Full Moon 月亮圆
All China Unite 全中国大联合
New Leadership 新领导
Two Sisters 两位姊妹
Peace Power 和平之威力

Love What the People Love 民之所好好之
Petticoat—A Gift to a General 衬裙——送给一位将军的礼品
返回总目录

CHINA IN TRANSITION[1]

New China is the product of two civilizations—the Oriental and the Occidental.The union of these two forces has given color and shape to the present status of China, and it will determine and mold her future destiny and possibilities. It has not been long since Mr. Kipling[2] wrote,“O the East is East, and the West is West, and never the twain shall meet/Till earth and sky stand presently at God's great Judgment seat.”Today Mr. Kipling will be surprised to know that the East and the West have indeed found a meeting place in China.

In certain fields of activity, the meeting of the two civilizations takes the form of volcanic explosion or formidable conflict. It results in the supremacy of the one over the other or in the substitution of the one for the other. It involves both victory and submission. In other fields, it assumes the form of a union. Sometimes it is like the union of oxygen and hydrogen, sudden and jarring. At other times it may be compared with caress, courtship, or matrimonial contract.The process is essentially careful selection, adaptation, compromise, or reconciliation. It works like yeast, gradual but errective.The product is sweet and delightful.

Since the day of direct contact, the two civilizations have never ceased to conflict and unite. They react upon one another, and each is thereby modified by the other. As a result, life begins to have a richer content and much more variety. A cross-section of Chinese present-day life will perhaps reveal a lateral surface of the main characteristics of many centuries. In China we find nearly every city is surrounded by a medieval wall:there we find the great desire for a new life, hostile to the restrictive and pedantic scheme of scholasticism, which is the heart of the Renaissance;there we find the strong tendency to observe, compare, and criticize spiritual faith, which is the soul of the Reformation;there we find the starting tide of the eighteenth century industrial revolution, and there we cannot fail to find the outburst of nationalism and national consciousness, which characterizes the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is a surprise to a great many of us when we find an inland farmer, sitting in a modern railway train, smoking a bamboo pipe with a fire made from a piece of flint and iron, inquiring, with an attitude of curiosity, about the woman suffrage movement in America, or talking

enthusiastically about a boycott against foreign goods, in order to satisfy his patriotic conviction. So it is not quite true that"China is the European Middle Ages made visible,"as Prof. Ross[3] has led us to believe. Much more than that: the present day China is the European Middle Ages, Renaissance, Reformation, the seventeenth century, eighteenth century, nineteenth century and twentieth century made visible. There we find a dynamic picture of the transition and mingling of centuries of civilization. If we like, we may call it a spectrum of civilization, through which civilizations of different continents and centuries are brought to sharp, vivid, and beautiful contrasts.

This phenomenon reveals itself in every branch of life—in the home, in the school, in the church, in society, and in the state—but it may be best illustrated in the changes of ideals.

The Chinese old ideals of life are essentially of the Roman type. We come pretty near to the understanding of the Chinese old ideals if we just think of them in the terms of the Roman.The Chinese and the Romans seem to have reached independently the same conclusions in regard to life ideals.Their conception of life looks for a golden age in the past, and therefore it is conservative;it conceives society as an ordered institution, and therefore it is static;it emphasizes the rule of authority, and therefore it demands obedience. On the other hand, modern civilization which has its main flow from ancient Greece, has its Utopia in the future;it has a dynamic conception of society, and it encourages freedom and liberty. As a consequence of the mingling of the two civilizations, we find that in the present day Chinese world of ideals there exist, side by side, conservatism and radicalism, order and progress, authority and freedom.

Doubtless there are many persons who hold to either extreme, and battle furiously against each other. It must also be admitted that there is a pendulum of tremendous force swinging back and forth between the two extremes.These conditions we take as a matter of course, which cannot be avoided in a stage of transition.

However, there is a very fortunate fact to be mentioned, i.e., the group between the two extremes has become more and more numerous, and has become more and more powerful.This group of men recognizes the value of both the old and the new. Whatever is good must be preserved and assimilated, and whatever is not good must be cast away, no matter whether it comes from the old or the new. To them, the past is the foundation of the present and the future, while the future must be the goal of the past and the

present;to them, no progress is possible without order, while order exists only for the insurance of progress; to them, authority is the guardian of freedom, and freedom is the end to which authority is a means. In a word, they find that there is a right place for every one of the apparently conflicting ideals—a right place for German efficiency as well as for American liberty. It is this group of men who have effectively overthrown the extreme conservatives and have constantly checked the wild fanaticism of the radicals; it is this group of men who are leading New China out of this critical stage of transition and are now nursing her for a great future. Blessed are those whose loyalty, wisdom, and courage the nation can rely upon to stand the test of the day.

中国在转变中

新中国是东方文明与西方文明双重文明的产物。这两种力量的融合赋予了中国现状的色和形，并将决定且陶铸她未来的命运和前景。吉卜林先生不久前写道：“啊，东方是东方，西方是西方，非到天地立在上帝裁判席前那一刻它们不会见面。”如今，会让吉卜林先生意外的是，东方与西方确实在中国交会了。

在某些活动领域，这两种文明的交会形同火山爆发或是令人畏惧的战争，从而导致一方的霸权压倒另一方，或是一方取代另一方。其中既有胜利，也有屈从与妥协。而在其他的领域，则采取了融合的形式。有时像是氢和氧的结合，事起突然而且令人惊奇。有时则堪比爱抚、求爱或是订立婚约。其必经的过程是精挑细选、彼此适应、相互妥协或调解，就像酵母，渐进却很有效，其结果是甜美且令人愉快的。

从两种文明直接对话起，就从未停止过冲突与融合。它们相互作用并改变着对方。最终，生活变得更丰富，更具多样性。当今中国人生活的一个横断面或许显示出多个世纪中国文化主要特征的一个侧面。在中国，我们发现几乎每一座城市都被中世纪的“城墙”所包围：人们渴望新生活，敌视经院哲学的束缚和墨守成规的范式，这些正是文艺复兴的核心；在这里我们看到了观察、对比和批评精神信仰的强烈趋势，这些正是宗教改革的灵魂；在这里我们看到18世纪工业革命的大潮涌动，随处可见民族主义的爆发和国民意识的觉醒，这些正是19世纪和20世纪的时代特征。当我们看到一个内地农民坐在现代的火车车厢里，一面用火刀火石点着旱烟，一面好奇地打听着美国的女权运动，或是满腔热情地谈论着抵制洋货以表达其爱国信仰时，大多数人会感到惊讶。因此，罗斯教授要我们相信“中国是看得见的中世纪欧洲”这一点真的难以苟同。毋宁说：中世纪的欧洲、文艺复兴、宗教改革以及17世纪、18世纪、19世纪、20世纪的迹象在今天的中国都能看得见。我们看到的是一幅数世纪文明转变与相互融合的动态画面。如果乐意，我们可称之为文明的光谱——各大洲和多个世纪的文明在其中呈现出显著、鲜明、悦人的差异。

这种现象体现在生活的各个方面——在家庭、在学校、在教堂、在社会以及在国家中，但是或许最显著的变化还是观念的改变。

中国人传统的生活观念本质上是罗马型的。如果我们按照罗马人的生活方式去设想中国人的传统观念就不难理解了。中国人和罗马人似乎在生活观念方面分别得出了相同的结论：他们觅求过去经历的黄金时代，因此显得保守；他们认为社会是一个有秩序的机构，因此相对静止；他们强调权威统治，因此要求顺从。另一方面，主流源自古代希腊

的现代文明对未来怀有其乌托邦理想；它具有一种社会理想的原动力，并且鼓励自由和解放。作为两种文明融合的产物，在当今华人的精神世界中，保守主义与激进主义、秩序与进步、权威与自由并存。

毫无疑问，许多人在上述两种对立观念中持其一端，进而相互间激烈战斗。同样也绝不可否认有一股巨大的力量像钟摆一样在两个极端之间摇摆不定。我们将这种情况视之为理所当然，在转型的时期是不可避免的。

然而，有一个非常令人庆幸的事实值得一提，即处在两个极端之间的群体人数愈来愈多，且愈来愈强大。这个群体认为新旧两种观念均有其价值。无论观念新旧，应当取其精华，弃其糟粕。对于他们而言，过去是现在和未来的基石，而未来则是过去和现在的目标；对他们而言，没有秩序就不可能进步，而秩序仅仅是作为进步的保障而存在；对他们而言，权力是自由守护者，是实现自由的一个手段，自由才是最终目标。一言以蔽之，他们认识到明显冲突着的每一种观念都有其正确的地方，比如德国的效率有其正确的地方，美国的自由也有其正确的地方。正是这个两极之间的人群有力地推翻了极端的保守，同时不断阻止着激进的狂暴盲动；正是这群人引领新中国走出危急的转变时期，正呵护着她迈向光明的未来。祝愿这群值得民族信赖的忠诚、智慧、勇敢之士们经受住今天的考验。

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN CHINA[1]

The problem of moral and religious instruction is an old one;it is as old as human society.It was the Greek genius that first embodied it in a philosophical presentation:“Can virtue be taught?”asked Socrates.To this Protagoras answered that it could be taught, while Socrates held to the reverse position;but at last both confused themselves with self-contradictions and left the whole matter in the cloud.However, to a modern educator this is no longer a puzzle.The chief problem of the modern educator is not “Can virtue be taught?” but “How can it be taught?”It is the purpose of this paper to present some ideas as to how morality and religion are taught in China, and how they may be better taught in the light of modern pedagogy.

A Practice of Religious and Moral Instruction in China

Roughly speaking, there are at present two systems of schools in China:government schools and missionary schools.

1.Government Schools

In the curriculum of government schools we find moral instruction given in the lower primary schools up through the intermediate schools, but not any that I know of beyond this.The lower primary, called the“citizens schools,”cover four years;the higher primary, three years;and the intermediate, four years.

In the lower and higher primary schools, two kinds of moral subjects are taught.They are, first, personal conduct, and second, classical study.

With reference to moral instruction, the Ministerial Ordinance of January 8, 1916[2] prescribed its aims and methods quite in detail.Under the head of personal conduct, the subjects taught are:filial piety, brotherhood, loyalty, trustworthiness, love, righteous courage, politeness, industry, and cleanliness.To these the duties towards society and the state are gradually added from time to time.From the Ordinance we notice that attention is called to the practical aspects of these subjects.They are urged to be taught with a purpose of fostering the ideal of progress and the spirit of patriotism.

The moral instruction for girls in elementary schools consists of good words and deeds which are proper for girls to study.Besides, rituals are practiced.Emphasis put on chastity, modesty, and above all, self-

independence, which is a new word in the history of Chinese feminine education.

The teaching of personal conduct covers two hours a week from the lower primary up through the higher primary, and one hour a week in the intermediate school.[3]

Now we come to classical studies.Somebody will maintain that the study of the classics belongs to religious instruction, on the ground that it is the study of Confucian doctrines.But in the last analysis the Confucian doctrines are purely a system of ethics—a system of human relationships, which is more or less universally adopted in China.This system of ethics is not denominational, because we find, as we shall see later, this very thing taught in nearly all missionary schools.

In the lower primary, the study of classics consists of *Mencius*, which covers four years.*Analects* takes its place in the higher primary.These courses, as described in the Ministerial Ordinance, are given with the purpose of showing the right way—principles of the sages—and of promoting the spirit of patriotism.It is very interesting to observe that the Ordinance tries to make a distinction between the“right principles of the sages”and“personal conduct.”This is most likely due to the existence of two tendencies, i.e., the tendency to preserve classical virtues and the modern tendency to emphasize the practical.

The study of the classics begins at the third year of the lower primary and is carried on up through the higher primary.Throughout, the weekly amount of time devoted to this study is three hours.In the intermediate school advanced studies in classics are continued; as it is mixed up with literature and other subjects, I am not able to assign to it a definite amount of time for each week.

Combining the amount of time spent in the instruction in personal conduct and in classical studies we find that the time devoted to moral instruction is two hours per week in the first two years, and five hours a week from the third year on up through the seventh year, and one hour or more per week in the intermediate school.

Comparison with Foreign Systems:One way of realizing the GreekMotto“Know Thyself”is through comparison with others.In the light of the educational practice in other countries we shall come to know better our own.Let us now take a bird's eye view of the moral and religious instruction in England, Germany, the United States, and France, and see in what position

China stands.

At the outset I wish to say that which is taught in England is commonly called religion and not morality.Scripture is a term which is used in the curriculum.In the English regular primary schools or Board schools,undenominational religion or Bible study forms part of the curriculum[4].Besides, we find sectarian teachings taught in schools belonging to the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Wesleyan Church.These church schools are, equally with the Board schools, supported and controlled by the state.The only difference between them is that the Board schools depend upon local rates, while denominational schools depend upon charity, for further funds.In fact, the influence of the latter type seems to be much greater than that of the Board schools.It is reported that thirty-one out of forty-four training colleges of teachers belong to Established Church.

As to time allotment for special instruction in Scripture, it is usually two and a half hours a week throughout the Board and grammar schools.This, however, cannot be taken as the typical example because it is very hard to find a curriculum which really represents the English system.Besides the regular instruction in the Scripture there are church services.In all public schools the chapel service is that of the Church of England.

As in England, it is religion that is taught in the German schools[5].In Germany we find two kinds of elementary schools, each covering eight years, and five kinds of secondary schools, three of which cover nine years.It is very interesting to notice that almost every public school in Germany is denominational, i.e., either Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, or Mixed.The local control of the school is largely in the hands of the local clergy, so that although all schools are public, the hold of the mother church upon them is still firm.The teachers are also distinctly religious.They receive religious instruction in the normal schools from three to four hours a week for three years.Each school has its teachers of the favored faith, and text books on religious instruction are prepared by them.In districts which are sparsely populated, children of different faiths receive secular instruction together.These are called Mixed schools.In such a school when students of the same faith reach the number of ten or fifteen, they can demand a teacher belonging to their own denomination.

In Germany it is found that in all kinds of elementary schools, religious instruction occupies four hours a week, and in the secondary schools, three hours a week in the first year, beyond which two hours a week throughout.

The situation in both Germany and England is unique.Very little similarity exists between these two systems and ours.One is distinctly religious and the other is distinctly moral or ethical.As far as time allotments are concerned, Table I shows that the Chinese system is stronger, at least, in elementary schools.Further, the Chinese system is continuous;i.e., the elementary school leads into the secondary school, while in both Germany and England the secondary curriculum meets half way with the elementary.

Opposed to the religious character of the Anglo-German type of public education, the public primary schools and high schools in the United States are secular and undenominational.[6] Thirty states of the Union prohibit support to denominational schools.[7] Twelve states have constitutional provisions against sectarian text books and sectarian control over public schools.Mississippi is the only state stipulating in her constitution that the Bible shall not be excluded from her public schools, and only nine states have statutory provision for this cause.The laws of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and that of North Dakota permit only ten minutes' daily reading of Bible without comment.

As to moral instruction, twenty-one states have made legal provision for it.But the prevailing type of American public school is without any formal instruction in religion or morality.The former is taken care of by the church, while the latter is given in connection with other subjects.

Table I representing the number of hours per week devoted to religious or moral instruction in the elementary and secondary schools in England, Germany, France, the United States and China.

This table is constructed from the materials furnished in Paul Monroe's *Secondary Education*, pp.80, 85, 97, 98, 109-110, A.C.Perry's *Outline of School Administration*, pp.15, 42, 379 and the *Chinese Government Educational Bulletin*.

As in the United States, the French public primary schools are secular;but unlike the former, they lay great stress upon formal moral instruction.[8] Only lay teachers are allowed to teach in the public schools.As a result in Catholic France, there arise the sectarian private schools, but again, unlike those in the United States, these schools are subjected to state inspection on matters relating to morality, laws, and the constitution, but receive no support from the State.The secondary schools in France are also secular.However, the ministers are allowed to attend, outside of the usual classroom hour, for the purpose of giving religious instruction to those who

desire it.

Now, both in France and the United States we find some features similar to the Chinese system.As in the United States, the Chinese course of study is continuous, i.e., the elementary curriculum leads to the secondary curriculum without any break or overlapping.As in both the United States and France, the governmental schools are essentially secular and are free from religious restriction.Although it is alleged that the worship of Confucius is conducted in the school, from its very nature such a worship is but a tribute of honor and love paid to a national sage, and is not very different from the celebration of Washington's or Lincoln's birthday.The non-sectarian nature of the Confucian ethics is further proved by the fact that even in missionary schools, these doctrines are invariably taught.Thus we can readily see that whether Confucianism ought to be taught in its original form in the elementary schools or not must be looked upon as pedagogical rather than a religious question.Admitting that this point of view is the true fact, then of the two countries compared the Chinese system is more like the French, because as in French and not in the United States, the prevailing tendency is a formal instruction in morality.

2.Religious and Moral Instruction in Missionary Schools in China

In the treatment of this topic, attempt is made to divide it into three parts, namely: (I) Primary Schools, (II) Secondary Schools, (III) Colleges.A statement must be made to the effect that the conclusions reached in the following discussion are incidentally drawn from past personal impressions, but are mainly based on the information contained in the curricula and catalogues of different missionary institutions and are thus not free from the shortcomings which are inherent in such a study.Further, a few of the curricula which have been studied, such as the Central China Educational Union, Soochow University, and Hangchow University curricula, are not quite up to date.The readers must beware of possible improvements in these institutions since their dates of publication and make due discount accordingly.

ⓐ**Missionary Primary Schools**[9] Two curricula out of five, the Standard Course of Study of the Union Educational Movement in the province of Chili, and the Central China Educational Union Curriculum, are selected to represent the central tendency of religious and moral instruction in missionary primary schools.

Table II: Comparison of time allotment for moral and religious

instruction in Missionary Elementary Curricula with that of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, chosen as a representative curriculum in American denominational elementary education, and with the Chinese Government Elementary Curriculum.

表2 将中国的教会小学与作为美国教派小学教育代表的匹兹堡主教教区，以及中国公办小学课程表在道德与宗教教育时间分配上作比较。

Grades 年级 / Types of Curriculum 课程类型	First year 一年级	Second year 二年级	Third year 三年级	Fourth year 四年级	Fifth year 五年级	Sixth year 六年级	Seventh year 七年级	Eighth year 八年级
Chili Missionary Standard Course of Study, no date. 直隶教会小学标准课程表（无日期）	Chr. & B 3 T 3	B (m) 3 P T 3	B (m) 3 C (m) P T 3	B (m) 3 C (m) P T 3	B (m) 3 C (m) 5 T 8	B (m) 3 C (m) 5 T 8	B 3 C 5 T 8	B 3 C T 3
Central China Christian Educational Union Curriculum, 1913. 华中基督教教育协会课程表，1913 年	Chr. 5 C (m) 5 T 10	Chr. 5 C (m) 5 T 10	B 4 C (m) 4 T 8	B 3 C 4 T 7	B 3 C 5 T 8	B 3 C 5 T 8	B 3 C 5 T 8	B 3 C 5 T 8
Curriculum of the Diocese of Pittsburgh 匹兹堡主教教区课程表	B 4	B 4	B 4	B 4	B 3.5	B 3.5	B 2.5	B 2.5
Chinese Government Elementary Curriculum, 1916. 中国公立小学课程表，1916 年	P 2	P 2	P 2 C 3 T 5	P 2 C 3 T 5	P 2 C 3 T 5	P 2 C 3 T 5	P 2 C 3 T 5	

Chr.stands for Christian literature other than Bible;B, Bible;C, Classics;P, Personal Conduct;m, Memory Work;and T, Total No.of hours.Chr.代表基督教文而非《圣经》，B代表《圣经》，C代表经书，P代表修身，m代表背诵课，T代表总学时。

Both the Chili and the Central China Curricula cover eight years.Although the Chili Curriculum does not specify a definite amount of time given to moral instruction in some grades, yet from that in the fifth,

sixth and seventh grades we are pretty safe in saying that it is quite the same as the Central China Curriculum.

The chief fact about these curricula is the existence of a dualistic feature, i.e., Christian religion and Confucian ethics are taught at the same time to the same children and not infrequently by the same teachers.

The second fact is the amount of moral and religious instruction loaded upon the child.In the Chili Curriculum we notice that during the first two years religious and moral instruction occupies ten hours a week.From the third year on we have eight hours a week throughout, except in the fourth year, which alone devotes only seven hours.By comparison we can readily see how much more time is allotted for moral and religious instruction than in either the curriculum of the Chinese Government schools or that of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, which may be taken as representative of sectarian primary schools in the United States.

The third fact is the drudgery of memory work.In the Chili Curriculum we notice that the work of memorizing the Bible and the Chinese Classics is carried up through the sixth year.The Central China Curriculum does not specify memory work after the third year, but during the first three years when motor activity is most needed, the child is also subjected to the formal memorization of *Analects*.The work of memory is not in itself bad;if learning is of great use, we must know how to retain it.In the matter of morality and religion, it is the concepts gained from experience, and not precept ground from books, that most need to be retained and developed.The former will be taken care of by experience itself, while the latter will eventually be lost in spite of the process of formal memorization.However, we must not be too harsh in our criticisms.We will all know what may be the result when new wine is put into the old bottle.As the missionaries get into contact with our traditional methods, their untrained teachers and educators are apt to fall into the temptation to copy and imitate.

ⓑ**Secondary Schools**[10] Under moral and religious instruction in the missionary secondary schools only college preparatory schools are presented here for discussion.These institutions usually have a course for four years.Among the leading university preparatories, Soochow and Foochow rank highest in the amount of time allotment, three hours a week being devoted to religious instruction.Next come Hangchow, Nanking, West China Union, Shanghai Baptist, St.John’s, which have two hours per week for religious instruction.Boone University Preparatory is most liberal;it spends

only one hour a week in such a course.Compared with the denominational Academy of St.Olaf University in America, most of the missionary university preparatories, except Soochow and Foochow, are a little lighter in time allotment.

In the preparatory schools of Boone, Nanking, Foochow, West China Union, and St.John's, the provision for the study of Chinese ethics is absent at least in name.In some of these institutions the Classics are studied as literature.The preparatory schools of Soochow, Hangchow, and Shanghai Baptist, still continue the dualistic feature, as can be readily seen from Table III.

Table III: Time allotments for religious and moral instruction in missionary secondary schools compared.Figures represent the number of hours per week through the year.

表3：教会中学的宗教与道德教育的时间分配之比较。数字代表全年每周学时数。

Year 年份 / Name of Institution 学校名称	First Year 第一年	Second Year 第二年	Third Year 第三年	Fourth Year 第四年
Boone University Preparatory 1915-16* 文华大学预科，1915—1916	Religion 1	Religion 1	Religion 1	Religion 1
Hangchow University Preparatory 1912* 之江大学预科，1912	Religion 2 Chinese Classics 3	Religion 2 Chinese Classics 3	Religion 2 Chinese Classics 3	Religion 2 Chinese Classics 3
Soochow University Preparatory 1912* 东吴大学预科，1912	Religion 3 Chinese Ethics 1	Religion 3 Chinese Ethics 1	Religion 3 Chinese Ethics 1	Religion 3 Chinese Ethics 1
Academy of St. Olaf Univ. in the United States 1915-16* 美国圣奥拉夫大学，1915—1916	Religion 2	Religion 2	Religion 2	Religion 2

*Dates of publication of the catalogues of these institutions

年份指这些学校课程目录的出版时间。

ⓒ**Missionary Colleges**[11] In such institutions as West China Union University, Canton Christian College, St.John's University, and the University of Nanking, other allied subjects of religion have been introduced to replace the instruction in creeds and beliefs of a particular denomination.Although they are closely connected with religion, yet such courses as the philosophy of theism, comparative religion, science and philosophy of religion, religion and the nation, history of the social influences of the Church, and education in religion and morals are not what we ordinarily call religious instruction.They are essentially the philosophical, sociological, and pedagogical studies.Therefore the colleges which have gradually substituted these vitalized subjects naturally form a more liberal group by themselves.This group includes West China Union University, Canton Christian College, St.John's University, University of Nanking and Shanghai Baptist College.A study of the catalogues of these institutions through a number of years points to the conclusion that they seem to have a tendency to follow the course along which the American nonsectarian private universities have evolved from the original sectarian institutions.

The conservative group consists of Hangchow University and Soochow University.In these institutions no attempt has been made to introduce subjects other than the traditional curriculum of religious instruction.The subjects taught are usually *The Gospels*, *Acts*, *The Prophets*, and so on, but not beyond the two Testaments.However, in order to be fair, it must be stated again that the catalogues of these two institutions accessible to this paper were published in 1912 and possible improvements since that date are very conceivable.Nevertheless, so far as the conditions in 1912 are concerned, the authenticity of data justifies this classification.In subject matter, even the very conservative denominational universities, Georgetown and St.Olaf in the United States, are more liberal than they are.Soochow averages higher even in time allotment for religious instruction than St.Olaf, if not higher than Georgetown.

Table IV:Comparison of the subject matter of and time allotments for moral and religious instruction in Missionary Colleges.

Name of Institution	Freshman Year		Sophomore Year		Junior Year		Senior Year	
	Subject	Hrs.	Subject	Hrs.	Subject	Hrs.	Subject	Hrs.
West China Union University	Comparative Religion	1	Science and Religion	1	Religion and Nation	1		
Canton Chr. College	Christian Ethics	1	Philosophy of Theism	1	Evidences of Christianity	1		
St. John's University	Life of St. Paul	1	Evidences of Christianity	1	Comparative Religion	1	St. John and Ethics	1
University of Nanking	Life of Christ	2.5	Old Testament History	2.5	Social Influence of Church	2.5	Education of Morals and Religion	2.5
Shanghai Baptist College	Old Testament History	2	Life of Christ	2	Ethics and Christianity	2	Comp. Religion and Chr. Progress	2
Boone University	Acts of the Apostles	1	Pauline Theology	1	Early Prophets	2	Hebrew History and Life of Christ	2
Foochow Uni.		2		2		2		2
Hangchow University	Pentateuch Classics	2 3	Old Testament Classics	2 3	Life of Christ Classics	2 3	Epistles Classics	2 3
Soochow Uni.	Gospels	3	Acts	3	Prophets	2	Psalms	2
Georgetown Uni. in U.S.	Evidences and Lectures	2	Evidences and Lectures	2	Evidences and Lectures	2	Evidences Ethics	2 5
St. Olaf Uni. in U.S.	Old and New Testaments	2	Church History	2	Bible	2	Evidences	2

The dates of the publication of the college catalogues used in the construction of this table are as follows:West China Union University, 1915-1916;Canton Christian College, 1915;St.John's University, 1914-1915;University of Nanking, 1915-1916;Shanghai Baptist College, 1916; Boone University, 1915-1916; Foochow College, 1915; Hangchow College, 1912;Soochow University, 1912;St.Olaf University, 1915-1916.

The only institutions left unclassified are Foochow Uni.and Boone

University.No information has been obtained in regard to the nature of the subject matter of religious instruction in Foochow Uni.With respect to the amount of time devoted to religious instruction, Boone University is one of the liberal type, but in the matter of subjects taught it can hardly be classified as such.

We can still trace the dualistic tendency of teaching Christian religion and Confucian ethics in the curriculum of Hangchow University.Here we find side by side with the instruction in religion three hours a week devoted to the study of Classics as ethics.This feature is by no means peculiar to Hangchow, and may be found in other colleges.

B Theories of Education in Morals and Religion

1.The Psychological Basis for Moral and Religious Education

Both religious and moral education are governed by the same laws of psychological life and have the same psychological basis.At the very beginning of human life we inherit a number of well-defined tendencies to act in a certain situation and toward a certain direction.These well-defined tendencies constitute what we call the original nature of man.And all the forces that act upon it after conception are considered environmental forces.Prof.Thorndike[12] maintains that character—what a man is and does—is a result of the continuous interaction between the original tendencies and environmental forces.This starts our theory of Situation-Response-connection.This means that there is a spontaneous connection between a specific original tendency and a specific situation.For instance, in the situation of the presence of a bowl of rice and I am hungry, my original response toward the rice is to take and eat it.Now suppose one of the elements changes, say I am not hungry, then my attitude toward the rice will be different because of the change in the situation.

Character is simply the accumulated habitual connection formed in a similar manner.The problem of moral and religious education is thus the formation of the desired connections between a certain situation and a certain original tendency or group of tendencies in response.The worth or value of any one original tendency lies in its functioning in the situation; in the realm of morality and religion it depends on how the tendency works out in the social environment.As the social environment advances in civilization, some of man's original tendencies, such as the sexual impulse, which are universal and essential to human life, and yet if allowed their own development is not suitable to present social conditions, need to be modified;other original

tendencies, such as anger instincts, etc., are for most of the time even harmful to the individual and to society, and need to be discouraged;finally, we have all sorts of beneficial instincts, such as the instinct of gregariousness, cooperativeness, etc., which need to be strengthened and enriched.Thus the duty of the school towards the student's character formation is to modify, redirect, discourage, strengthen, enrich, and develop the respective instincts so that the possessor can adapt himself to the social environment in a harmonious and progressive manner.

Now, in order to perform this task intelligently, three laws need to be recognized.[13]

First, we have the law of readiness.When the child's attitude is one of readiness to act, if it has the opportunity to do so it gets satisfaction.On the other hand, when the child is not ready to act, if it is compelled to act, or when it is ready to act but is not allowed to, in both cases the child is dissatisfied or annoyed.Therefore one fundamental principle of educational method is to appeal to the interest of the taught.This doctrine of interest is especially important when we come to the matter of religion or inner belief.Any outside compulsion against the child's mind set will surely cause repulsive reactions.

Next, we come to the law of use and disuse.When a modifiable connection is made between a situation and a response, that connection's strength, other things being equal, is increased, and, when it is not made, decreased.Take smoking, for instance;the moment our lips touch a cigar a connection is made.The more often we smoke the stronger will be the connection between us and the cigar, until finally the bond becomes so strong that it can hardly be broken.On the other hand, the method of breaking any bad habit is to make no more connections.

Finally comes the law of effect.When a modifiable connection between a situation and a response is made and is accompanied or followed by satisfaction, that connection's strength is increased, and when the connection is accompanied or followed by an annoyingness it is decreased.This is the most important law for moral education.It is but the temporary and immediate satisfaction which a vice gives to a man's original nature that makes a man its slave.With the law of effect,we can attach a satisfying state of affairs to those connections which are good for society and the individual and attach annoyingness to those which are undesirable.This will be the most effective means for moral improvement.However, the three laws are correlative.Apart

from the law of readiness, men may invent all sorts of emulations and punishment against the mind set and“interest in the process”of the child, which is the most condemnable thing in school practice.

2.The Sociological Basis

The operation of the psychological laws will be made clearer as we go along in the discussion of the sociological basis.Character, after all, can only be formed by active participation in social life.The child does not know what is meant by honesty, cleanliness, or faith unless he has some experience to begin with.We do not know how to swim by simply learning some movements on land.If we want to succeed in swimming, we have to learn it in the water.So it is the case with conduct.If we want to know how to behave well in society we have to participate in it, to participate in it in order to acquire the meanings of the virtues, to participate in it in order to acquire judgment so that we may know how to act in a new situation through the experience of the past.In a word, the school, the whole school should be a miniature society where moral and spiritual ideals must be at work, and where the child can share in the important phases of social life.[14] Inasmuch as we spend most of our time in teaching virtues and beliefs according to books and words and rarely provide such active participation in social life, we must admit that the present methods are far from being adequate.When a six-year-old child begins to study *Mencius* or Paul he may appear to understand something, but in fact it is but skin deep.Suin Tze, in criticizing formal instruction, says:“The common people's education comes into the ears and goes out through the mouth, and therefore it is only four inches deep—the distance between the ears and the mouth.”[15] We may safely say that ideas about morality do not guarantee the conduct we desire, and any instruction based on this ideo-motor theory[16] will surely find disappointment.One reason why we find little or no conflict existing between the instruction in Christian religion and Confucian ethics in missionary schools is because the formal instruction in both religion and morality without actual participation is without much effect on conduct.

Furthermore, the child whose character we try to build up is a developing being.He grows in society.His experience is in a state of“continuous reconstruction.”His interest and attitude change from time to time.According to Baldwin[17] the child first distinguishes external things from his bodily self, then it differentiates the external things into persons and inanimate objects, and at the third stage it attempts to perform and imitate the

former's actions.Through imitation the child comes to know and feel himself in the mind of others, and thus furnishes the opportunity for others to influence his own action.

In the exertion of such an influence we must also recognize the four stages of the development of conduct.[18] First, we have the stage of instinctive behavior, at which the child's conduct is modified only by the influence of pains and pleasures.[...] is the stage at which the operation of the instinctive impulses is modified by the influence of rewards and punishments, administered more or less systematically by the social environment.Third, we come to the stage where conduct is controlled in the main by the anticipation of social praise and blame.Finally, there is the highest stage of moral development, at which conduct is regulated by an ideal that enables a man to act in a way that seems to him right regardless of the praise or blame of his immediate social environment.This fourth stage suggests to me“the Good Shepherd.”[19] It reads:“I am the good shepherd…and I lay down my life for the sheep.…Therefore does my Father love me because I lay down my life, that I might take it again.”Up to this place nothing sounds very extraordinary, but watch that which follows:“No man takes it from me, but I lay it down of myself.I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it again.”It is such high moral power that we must take as our final goal of development.Those who take the responsibility of shaping the child's conduct must keep in mind the progression from the first to this highest stage.They must administer their influences and adapt materials in such a way as to enable the child to progress continuously onward and upward until this last stage is reached, when conduct sometime is the only language intelligible to the child.

3.The Pragmatic Basis[20]

Closely connected with the sociological theory of moral and religious education there is the pragmatic aspect of the question.According to this point of view, there is a unity between knowledge and conduct, in learning and doing.As knowledge is the concept and guidance of conduct, so conduct is knowledge personified.Knowledge apart from conduct is empty knowledge, while conduct apart from knowledge is blind action.The two are one and the one cannot be gained without going through the other.Accordingly, all the courses in the curriculum and all classrooms and administrative methods must have the end of character formation in view, just because all knowledge is related to conduct.So all subject matter and

methods as a result of accumulative effects must be able to contribute their share in the creation of a wholesome personality.Take the study of history, for instance.The study of history is the study of social causation and effect in the light of past experience, so that the present conduct can be adjusted and future conduct guided.Inasmuch as it has to do with human relations, the teaching of history involves moral ends, and inasmuch as it relates to the adaptation to a spiritual ideal it is religious.Similar things can be said on other subjects.Therefore if right materials are used and proper methods applied all the school subjects in totality will and must culminate in the collective effect of character formation.The attempt to provide certain subjects for the training of the mind and other subjects for the training of good behavior is at the bottom wrong in principle, because it is based on the separation of knowledge from conduct.The systems of moral and religious instruction in both the governmental schools and the missionary schools are not free from this criticism.The only remedy is to change the methods and materials of instruction and administration, so that the moral and religious elements can be incorporated into the whole school system.The methods applied should be guided by psychological laws, the materials used should be directed toward social needs and the process of incorporation should be pragmatic.

...But in all cases, the psychological nature of the child must be recognized; social significance must be attached and opportunity for actual participation must be provided.The child, according to its stage of development, must be led to get into contact with all sorts of social needs—the poor, the sick, and the suffering....In a word, he must be put in the social hot-bed of love, service, and sacrifice, and educated to love, to serve, and to sacrifice on his own initiative.

中国的道德与宗教教育

道德与宗教教育是一个老生常谈的话题，它与人类社会同样久远。古希腊哲学家苏格拉底首先从哲学角度提出："美德可以教吗？"对于这个问题，普罗泰戈拉认为可以教，而苏格拉底则持否定态度，但是最终观点本身的自相矛盾迷惑了他们自己，导致这个问题依然是疑云一片。然而，对现代的教育者来说，这不再是一个难题。现代教育者面对的主要问题不是"美德可以教吗？"而是"美德如何教？"本文旨在就中国如何开展道德与宗教教育、如何运用现代教育学的理论和方法更好地传授道德与宗教提出一些想法。

① 中国道德与宗教教育的实践

大体说来，目前中国有两类学校：公办学校与教会学校。

1．公办学校　在公办学校的课程设置中，从初级小学到初级中学都开设道德修养课，再往上就我所知则不开此类课了。初级小学即所谓的"国民小学"，学制四年；高级小学学制三年，初级中学学制四年。

初级小学与高级小学开设两类道德课程：一是修身，二是读经。

关于道德教育，1916年1月8日，教育部公布《国民学校令实施细则》颇为详细地记述了它的目标与方法。在修身下开列的内容有：孝弟、忠信、亲爱、义勇、恭敬、勤俭、整洁诸德，择其切近易行者授之，渐及于对社会、对国家之责任。我们注意到，这个《细则》很注重实践环节，以激发进取之心，养成爱国爱群之精神。

对小学女生的道德教育包括那些适合她们学习的嘉言懿行。此外，也很重视女生礼仪教育。在教育中强调贞淑之德、谦逊和最重要的自立之道，其中"自立"在中国女性教育史中是一个新名词。

修身在初小和高小是一周两个课时，在初中是一周一个课时。

对于读经这门课，有人认为读经属于宗教教育，因为其实质是在研读儒家教义。但追根溯源，儒家教义乃是一个纯粹的道德伦理体系——个人伦理体系，这一点几乎被中国人广为接受。这个道德伦理体系不是宗派的，因为我们发现，几乎各类教会学校都讲授这些内容，后文中还将涉及。

在初小四年中，主要诵读《孟子》；高小则读《论语》。教育部公布的《国民学校令实施细则》指出读经要旨，在遵照教育纲要，使儿童熏陶于圣贤之正理，兼以振发人民爱国之精神。有趣的是，《细则》试图区分"圣贤之正理"与"修身"，这极有可能是保存传统美德与强调实践的现代趋势两者共存的结果。

读经始于初小三年级，直至高小。这期间每周用在读经上的时间是

三个课时。在初级中学，对读经有更高的要求，由于此时它与文学及其他课程混合在一起，不能明确地给出它每周占用的课时。

将修身与读经的时间加在一起，我们发现头两年花在道德教育上的时间是每周两课时，第三年起至第七年是每周五课时，在初中是每周一个课时或多一点。

与外国体制相比较：实现希腊箴言“人必自知”的路径是通过与其他人比较。从与其他国家的教育实践的比较中，我们能更好地认识本国的教育实践。现在让我们宏观审视英国、德国、美国和法国的道德与宗教教育，从而看看中国在其中的位置。

首先我想说明的是，英国对此类课程常见的叫法是宗教而非道德，在课程表中使用“圣经”一词。在英国一般的小学或寄宿学校，非派系宗教或《圣经》的学习是课程的一部分。此外，我们发现，在隶属于英格兰教堂、天主教堂和卫斯理教堂的学校，宗派主义的宗教也列入教学。与寄宿学校一样，这些教会学校受国家支持与控制。它们之间的唯一区别是，寄宿学校依赖当地税收，而教派学校还获得慈善团体的资助。事实上，后者的影响力远远超过寄宿学校。据说全国44所师范学院中有31所属于圣公会。

在寄宿学校和文法学校中，《圣经》这种特殊教育所分配的课时通常是一周两个半小时。然而，这不能作为典型代表，因为很难找到一个能真正代表英国体制的课程设置。除了将《圣经》作为一般的课程内容外，还有教会的事工。所有公立中小学都提供与英格兰圣公会一致的礼拜服务。

与英国相同，德国学校也开设宗教课程。我们发现在德国有两种类型的小学，每种小学学制均为八年；另有五类中学，其中三类为九年。十分有趣的是，几乎每所德国公立学校都是属于不同宗教派别的，比如新教、天主教、犹太教或者兼而有之。学校的控制权大部分归属于当地神职人员，所以尽管学校都是公办，教堂对它们的控制却依然稳固。教师显然也是信奉宗教的，他们在师范学校接受为期三年每周三到四个小时的宗教教育。每所学校都有信仰它所支持的教派的老师，宗教课的教材由他们编写。在居民稀疏的街区，不同宗教信仰的学生在一起接受世俗教育。这些学校被称为混读学校。在这样的学校里，有相同信仰的学生达到10人至15人时，他们有权要求有一个与他们信仰相同的老师。

在德国的各种小学中，每周有四个学时的宗教教育。在中学，第一年是每周三个学时，随后是每周两个小时。

英国和德国的情况都很独特，这两种体制与我们的体制之间几乎没有相似性。一个明显是宗教性质的，而另一个则明显是道德伦理性的。就时间分配而言，由表1可见中国的体制更具有刚性，至少在小学是如

此。此外，中国的体制具有连续性。也就是说，小学与中学教育衔接紧密，而在德国和英国，中学阶段的课程与小学阶段有一定重叠。

表1显示英国、德国、法国、美国与中国的中小学每周在宗教与道德教育上花费的时间。

本表材料源自保罗·孟禄的《中学教育》第80、85、97、98、109—110页，A.C.佩里的《学校管理概览》第15、42、379页以及中国政府《教育公报》。

Name of Country 国名	Type of Schools 学校类型	Subject Matter 课程	Approximate Age 大约年龄												
			6,7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
			School Year 学年												
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
England 英国	Elementary 小学	Scriptures 《圣经》	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5					
	Secondary 中学	Scriptures 《圣经》						2.75	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	
Germany 德国	Elementary 小学	Religion 宗教	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4					
	Secondary 中学	Religion 宗教					3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
The United States 美国	Elementary 小学	Not Formal Inst. 非形式化教育	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					
	Secondary 中学	Not Formal Inst. 非形式化教育									0	0	0	0	
France 法国	Elementary 小学	Moral 道德	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	1	1	1				
	Secondary 中学	Moral 道德	In	F. 法语	G. 地理	H. 历史	0	0	0	0					
China 中国	Elementary 小学	Per. Cond. & Classics 修身与读经	2	2	5	5	5	5	5						
	Secondary 中学	Ethics and Classics 伦理与读经								1	1	1	1		

In the first three years of the French secondary school, Moral Instruction is given in connection with French Language (F), Geography (G),and History (H).Per.Cond.stands for Personal Conduct.注：法国的中学教育前三年，道德教育通过结合法语、地理和历史课程来传授。Per. Cond.代表修身。

与英德的宗教特色相反，美国的公立小学和中学教育是世俗的和非宗教派系的。30个州禁止支持宗教派系的学校，12个州以宪法条文反对宗派主义的教科书和宗派主义者对公立学校的控制。密西西比州是唯一在其宪法中规定不可将《圣经》从公立学校课程中取消的州，只有九个州为此制定法令条文。马萨诸塞州、宾夕法尼亚州和北达科他州的法律规定每日只允许有10分钟的时间不加评述地阅读《圣经》。

21个州为道德教育制定了法律，但是美国大部分的公立学校没有形式化的宗教或者道德教育课程。前者由教堂负责，而后者则通过结合其他相关课程传授。

与美国相似，法国公立小学也是世俗的，但是与美国不同的是，它们极为重视形式化的道德教育。只有世俗的、非神职的教师才有资格在公立学校执教。因此，在天主教盛行的法国兴起了各个宗派的私立学校。但是与美国学校不同的是，这些学校要接受国家在道德、法律与宪法等方面的督察，却不享受国家的资助。法国的中学也是世俗的。然而，在通常的教学时间之外，允许牧师向希望获得宗教教育的学生传教。

现在，从法、美两国教育体制中，我们发现一些特征与中国很相似。和美国一样，中国的课程教育也是连贯的，即小学课程与中学课程自然衔接，没有任何中断或重叠。和美、法两国一样，中国公立学校本质上均为世俗教育，不受宗教条规制约。虽然学校宣称尊孔，但实质上，这只是一种对本国先贤的尊敬与爱戴，与美国人庆祝华盛顿或者林肯的生日并无多大差异。即使在教会学校，也会原原本本地传授儒家伦理，从这一点可进一步证明它的非宗派性。因此，我们不难看出，儒家学说是否应该以其本来面目在小学传授必须被视为教育问题而非宗教问题。如若承认这个观点是事实，那么在与之相比较的两个国家中，中国的体制更像法国，因为在法国而非美国，普遍的趋势是提倡形式化的道德教育。

2．中国教会学校的宗教与道德教育　在阐述这个问题时，试图将其分为三个部分，即（一）小学，（二）中学，（三）大学。必须首先声明，在接下来的讨论中得出的结论是基于过去偶然的个人印象，但主要建立在不同教会机构的课程和目录的基础上，因此这种研究固有的缺陷是难以避免的。再者，作为研究对象的一些课程，例如华中教育协会、东吴大学和之江大学的课程，并不是最新的。读者须根据此出版日期之后这些机构可能的改进作出合理的估计。

（**1**）教会小学　在五份课程表中选择两份作为教会小学的宗教与道德教育主流趋势的代表，即直隶省的联合教育运动组织的标准课程和华中教育协会的课程表。

直隶和华中的课程表均为八年。虽然直隶的课程表并没有详细给出某些年级的道德教育的具体课时，但是，从五、六、七年级的情况来看，我们可以非常肯定地说，其具体课时与华中的完全一样。

最重要的一点是这些课程存在双重的特征。也就是说，基督教与儒家伦理经常是同时由相同的老师向相同的学生传授。

第二点是学生承受的道德与宗教教育的课时负担。在直隶的课程表

中，我们注意到，在头两年，宗教与道德修养课程为每周十学时。从第三年起，除第四年中每周七个学时外，其余都是每周八学时。通过比较，可以很清楚地看到，直隶和华中比无论是中国的公立学校，还是被视为美国教派小学代表的匹兹堡主教教区，都安排了更多的时间在宗教与道德教育上。

第三点即是死记硬背之辛苦。在直隶省的课程表中，我们注意到背诵《圣经》与中国经书的任务一直持续到六年级。华中的课程表在三年级之后就没有了指定的背诵任务，但是在头三年，正是学生们最需要肌动活动的时候，却也需要正式地背诵《论语》。背诵本身并无坏处，如果所学内容大有用处，我们必须知道如何保有所学知识。就道德与宗教而言，最需要保有并进一步拓展的是那些源于亲身体验的知识，而非基于书本的准则。亲身体验习得的知识会自然得以保存，而书本上的内容，即便经过了正规的背诵，最终也会被遗忘。然而，在提出批评时，我们也不可过于严苛。众所周知，旧瓶装新酒的后果是什么。当传教士们使用我们传统的教学法时，他们当中未经过正规培训的老师更容易依赖于模仿和生搬硬套。

(2)教会中学　关于教会中学的道德与宗教教育，我们在此仅就大学预科进行讨论。这些学校一般开设四年课程。在顶尖的大学预科中，东吴大学和榕城格致书院时间分配最多，一周三个学时用于宗教教育。其次是之江大学、金陵大学、华西协和大学、沪江大学和圣约翰大学，这些大学的预科学校每周两个小时用于宗教教育。文华大学预科最宽松，一周仅一个学时。同美国教派学院圣奥拉夫大学相比，除东吴大学与榕城格致书院外，绝大多数教会大学的预科学校在道德与宗教教育方面的时间安排上都相对较少。

在文华大学、金陵大学、榕城格致书院、华西协和大学和圣约翰大学的预科学校里，至少在名义上没有开设与中国伦理道德相关的课程。在这些学校当中，有的将经书作为文学进行教授。东吴大学、之江大学和沪江大学的预科学校依然带有二元特征，详见表3。

(3)教会大学　在华西协和大学、岭南学校、圣约翰大学以及金陵大学，一些与宗教密切相关的学科取代了对某一特殊宗派信条的传授，诸如有神论哲学、比较宗教学、宗教中的科学与哲学、宗教与国家、教会社会影响史，以及宗教和道德教育等学科，但它们并非我们通常所称的宗教教育，本质上是哲学、社会学和教育学层面的研究。因此，正逐渐替代为这些重要课程的学院，也在自然而然地形成一个更加充满活力、自由的团体。这一团体包括华西协和大学、岭南学校、圣约翰大学、金陵大学以及沪江大学。一项多年关于这些大学课程目录的研究显示，它们似乎在步美国的后尘，即教会大学由原有的教派大学渐渐发展

成为非教派私立大学。

保守的一组包括之江大学和东吴大学。这些大学无意于引进任何传统宗教课程以外的课程。他们所教授的课程常常是新约全书中的《福音书》、《使徒行传》以及旧约全书的《先知书》等等，但并不超出新旧约全书的范围。然而，为公正起见，有必要再次声明的是，本文中所引用的这两所大学的课程目录出版于1912年，而很有可能随时间推移已有所改进。尽管如此，就1912年的情况而言，资料的真实性足以证实这样的分类。在课程设置方面，即使是极其保守的宗派教会大学，如美国的乔治敦大学、圣奥拉夫大学，也要比上述两所大学更自由。东吴大学安排宗教教育的平均时间即使不比乔治敦大学更多，也要比圣奥拉夫大学多。

表4：教会大学道德与宗教教育在课程设置和时间分配上的比较。

学校名称	大学一年级		大学二年级		大学三年级		大学四年级	
	课程	课时	课程	课时	课程	课时	课程	课时
华西协和大学	比较宗教学	1	科学与宗教	1	宗教与国家	1		
岭南学校	基督伦理学	1	神论哲学	1	基督教见证	1		
圣约翰大学	圣保罗的生活	1	基督教见证	1	比较宗教学	1	圣约翰与道德	1
金陵大学	基督的生活	2.5	旧约全书史	2.5	教会的社会影响	2.5	道德与宗教教育	2.5
沪江大学	旧约全书史	2	基督的生活	2	道德与基督教	2	比较宗教学与基督教的发展	2
文华大学	使徒行传	1	圣保罗神学	1	早期先知	2	希伯来历史和基督生活	2
榕城格致学院		2		2		2		2
之江大学	摩西五书 读经	2 3	旧约全书 读经	2 3	基督的生活 读经	2 3	使徒书 读经	2 3
东吴大学	福音书	2	使徒行传	3	先知书	2	圣歌	2
美国乔治敦大学	见证和讲座	2	见证和讲座	2	见证和讲座	2	见证 伦理	2 5
美国圣奥拉夫大学	新旧约全书	2	教会史	2	《圣经》	2	见证	2

注：本表使用的大学课程目录出版日期分别为：华西协和大学，1915—1916；岭南学校，1915；圣约翰大学，1914—1915；金陵大学，1915—1916；沪江大学，1916；文华大学，1915—1916；榕城格致书院，1915；之江大学，1912；东吴大学，

1912；圣奥拉夫大学，1915—1916。

未做分类的教会大学只有榕城格致书院和文华大学。现在尚未获得任何关于榕城格致书院的宗教教育课程种类的信息。就用于宗教教育上的时间而言，文华大学属于自由的一类，但从所授课程的内容来看则很难说是如此。

从之江大学的课程上，我们仍能看出它同时教授基督教和儒家伦理的二元趋势。我们发现在之江大学，除宗教教育之外，每周还有三个学时用于作为伦理教学的读经上。这个做法绝非之江大学所独有，或许其他高校也是如此。

② 关于道德和宗教的教育理论

1．道德与宗教教育的心理学基础　宗教和道德教育都遵从共同的心理生活规律，具有相同的心理学基础。在人生的最初阶段，我们继承了很多界定清晰的倾向，在特定情境下有特定行为，并具有明确的方向。这些明确的倾向构成了我们所说的人的原始本性。胚胎形成后对其产生作用的各种力量都被认为是外界环境的力量。桑代克教授主张，人的本质——即人是什么，人在做什么——是人类本性和外部环境不断相互影响的结果。这种观点开创了刺激情境（S）与反应（R）间的联结学说。这意味着，特定的本性遇到特定的环境刺激就会发生自发的联系。例如，当我饿的时候，面前有一碗饭，我本能的反应便是端起来吃掉它。现在，假设其中某个因素改变了，比方说我不饿了，那我对这碗饭的态度也会有所不同，因为情境已经有了变化。

人的品性也只不过是以相似的方式积累起的惯性的联系。因此，道德和宗教教育的问题就在于在特定情境与特定本能反应之间形成我们所希望的联系。任何一种本能的价值就在于它在特定情境下有发生反应的功能。在道德与宗教领域，则取决于在特定社会环境下本能如何发生作用。随着社会文明程度的提高，在人们生活中普遍而又最本质的某些本能，比如性冲动，若任其自然发展，是与当前的社会环境不协调的，因而必须加以掩饰；再比如其他本能，比如愤怒等，绝大多数时候对于个人和社会来说甚至是有害的，需要加以劝阻。最后，我们有各种各样有益的本能，诸如乐群、合作的本能等，这些本能需要予以加强和充实。因此，学校对于学生品格的形成肩负的责任就是改进、改变、劝阻、加强、丰富与发展他们的各种本能，使学生以一种和谐、上进的方式适应社会环境。

现在，为了机智地履行这个任务，必须认识到联结学习理论的三条规律。

第一，我们来认识准备律。当孩子的态度是准备好了一个行动（传导），并有机会那样做时，他就会感到满足。相反，孩子没有作好准备

而被强制行动，或者已作好准备却不被允许行动，都会引起孩子不满或烦恼。因此教育方法的一个基本原则就是激起被教育者的兴趣。当我们涉及到宗教或者内心信仰时，兴趣原则尤其重要。任何外界对孩子内心的强制都会引起令孩子厌烦的对抗性反应。

其次，我们来认识应用律和失用律。当在刺激与反应之间已经建立起某种可改变的联系时，在其他条件不变的情况下，若加以应用这种联系的强度会因之增长；反之，若久不应用则会消退。以吸烟为例，当我们的嘴唇碰到香烟，一种联系便建立起来。我们越是频繁地吸烟，我们和香烟的这种联系就会越牢固，直到最终这个联结变得坚不可摧。另一方面，改变任何一个坏习惯的方法便是不再建立任何联系。

第三，我们来认识效果律。当在刺激与反应之间已经建立起某种可改变的联系，且随之而来的是满意度时，那么这种联结就会增强；反之，如果伴随或紧接着的是一种使人感到厌烦的感觉，这种联结就会减弱。在道德教育中这是最重要的规律。正是恶习给人的本性所带来的短暂和当时的满足使他受其奴役不得解脱。我们可以

应用效果律，在对社会和个人有利的事情与愉悦的感觉之间建立起联结，让恶习与厌烦的体验间建立联结，这是提高道德修养最有效的途径。然而，这三条规律是互相关联的。离开了准备律，人们可能发明多种违逆儿童心境和“过程中的兴趣”的竞赛和惩罚，这是在学校实践中最应当谴责的事情。

2．社会学基础　随着我们对社会学基础讨论的不断深入，心理规律的作用将更加明晰。毕竟，性格是通过积极参与社会生活而塑造的。小孩子不知道什么叫诚实，什么叫卫生，什么叫信仰，除非他开始经历这些。仅仅在陆地上学会了几个动作，我们仍旧不知道如何游泳。如果我们想学会游泳，就必须在水中练习。品性的养成也是如此。如果我们想知道如何在社会上表现良好的话，就必须参与到社会生活中去，参与其中以获知美德的意义，参与其中以获得判断力，以便通过已有的经验知道在一个全新的环境下应当怎样去做。简言之，学校应犹如一个小社会，道德和理想都应起作用，这里是孩子们共同参与社会生活的重要阶段。鉴于我们花费大部分时间依照书本和言辞向孩子们传授美德和信仰，而很少给他们提供积极参与社会活动的机会，我们不得不承认目前的教学法有很多不足之处。当一个六岁小孩开始学习《孟子》或圣保罗时，他看似明白了一些知识，实则只是皮毛而已。荀子在批判形式化教育时说：“小人之学也，入乎耳，出乎口；口耳之间，则四寸耳。”我们可以放心大胆地说，关于道德准则的想法不能确保落实于行为实践，而且任何以意动理论为基础的教育其结果必然令人失望。在教会学校中，基督教教育和儒家伦理教育很少或者几乎没有冲突的原因在于，没有真

正参与实践的宗教与伦理道德形式化教育对于行为并没有太大的影响。

而且，我们试图塑造的小孩子的品格一直处于发展中。他在社会中成长，因而他的阅历在“不断地重构”，他的兴趣、爱好和对待问题的态度也在时刻发生变化。根据鲍德温的观点，孩子最先把外部事物和躯体的自己分辨开来，随后他能够从外界事物中识别出人类和无生命的事物，第三个阶段是试图表演和模仿前者的行为。通过模仿，孩子开始通过他人的思维了解并感知自己，因此为别人影响自己的行为提供了机会。

在这样的影响下，我们也必须认识到行为发展的四个阶段。首先，是本能行为阶段。在这个阶段，小孩子的行为只因疼痛和喜悦的影响而变化。［其次是自我照应阶段，］本能的冲动会因奖罚而改变，会或多或少受到社会秩序的约束。[21]第三阶段，行为主要取决于自我对社会赞扬与指责的预期。最后即是道德发展的最高阶段，理想支配行为，人们以意识中认为正确的方式行事，而不顾及周边社会环境中的赞扬与指责。第四个阶段使我联想到“好牧人”耶稣基督的称号）。［《圣经》］道：我是好牧人……好牧人为羊（信徒）舍命……我父爱我，因我将命舍去，好再取回来。”此处并无特别，且继续向下看吧：“没有人夺我的命去，是我自己舍的。我有权柄舍了，也有权柄取回来。”我们必须把如此高尚的道德力量当成发展的最终目标。那些肩负塑造孩子品行责任的人们必须对从第一个阶段到最高阶段的发展变化烂熟于心。行为有时对孩子来说是唯一明白易懂的语言，因此他们就必须以身作则，调整教材，通过“身教”使孩子不断地进步，直至达到最高的阶段。

3．实用主义基础　与道德和宗教教育的社会学理论紧密相联系的是实效方面的问题。根据这个观点，在学与做当中知与行是合一的。知识是行为的概念和准则，行为则是知识的化身。脱离行为的知识是空洞的，而无知之行则是盲行盲动。知行是合一的，舍其一则两者皆不可得。相应地，因为所有的知识都与行为有关，列入课程表中的所有课程、所有教学管理方法都必须着眼于品性的最终形成。因此所有的科目与教育方法都是累积影响的组成部分，它们都必须对健康个性的形成作出贡献。以历史研究为例，历史研究即是对过往事件的社会因果关系的研究，即以史为鉴，对现下的行为起校正作用，对未来的行为具有指导作用。鉴于它与人际关系相关，历史教学涉及到道德目标；因为它与适应精神层面的理想有关，所以带有宗教色彩。相似的结论也可适用于其他学科。因此，如果学校能够采用合适的材料和恰当的方法，所有的课程从整体上必将能够对品质形成起到最大的综合效果。试图分别开设专门的课程以净化心灵或培养良好的行为的做法，从原则上讲，是大错特错的，因为它建立在知与行分割的基础之上。公立学校与教会学校的道

德与宗教课程体系都难免受此诟病。唯一的“良药”即是改进教学和管理方法及教材，以使道德和宗教的元素融入整个学校教育系统。采用的方法应当以心理规律为指导，选用的教材应当着眼于社会需求，两者的融合过程应当是注重实效的。

……但是，在所有情况下，必须承认儿童的心理特性，必须重视社会意义，必须提供实际参与的机会。必须根据儿童发展各个阶段的特点，引导他们接触社会，了解各种社会需要——贫穷、疾患以及磨难。……一言以蔽之，必须将他们置于博爱、服务、牺牲的社会温床中，教育他们自发地去献出爱心、参与社会服务、自我牺牲。

EDUCATION IN CHINA 1924[1]

A Introduction

China has been in the process of modernizing her education during the last two decades, but no greater progress has ever been made in any time of the period than in the last five or six years.Prior to 1919, roughly speaking, education in China was on a crossroads of foreign examples.At one time, she had to model after the Japanese system;at another, the German system;and at still another, the American system.The imported systems of education from foreign countries, however fruitful they might be on their own soils, could not blossom well when thus transplanted.It was not until very recently that an awakened realization began to set in in the minds of educators and people in general that they must thoroughly study and examine their own needs and problems before they can adequately work out a system of education which will be truly Chinese and of real service to China.But in order to understand fully the effects of this realization and of its subsequent deliberations and solutions as set down in the following pages, it will be well here to indicate the forces that have brought about this great change.

Perhaps the most profound influence is undoubtedly the so-called Chinese Renaissance.The Renaissance began in 1917 as a “Literary Evolution” when Dr.Hu Suh and his followers declared that the old classical language had outlived its usefulness and that Pai-hua, or the spoken language, should be its legitimate heir.The“Literary Revolution”met with astonishing success.In spite of strong opposition on the part of the conservative scholars, the younger generation received it with overwhelming enthusiasm.This rediscovery of a living language for the Chinese has enabled China to produce new literature fitted for the new age, has revolutionalized elementary school reading materials as well as methods of teaching them, and has made it possible for the mass education movement to go on with its program of eliminating illiteracy in the country.

But the influence of the Renaissance is more than this.It is a movement through which all the traditional values, including the educational, are judged from a new standpoint and with a new standard.Tradition is often thrown overboard, authority is cast aside, and old beliefs are being undermined.In the words of Dr.Hu, this“systematization of the national heritage is a revival or

rebirth of that spirit of criticism and research which animated the works of the Han Hsueh scholars of the last three centuries."[2] As has been said before, China in the former years followed her neighbors rather blindly.At first, she sacrificed everything old for the new.But now and only gradually, she has begun to realize that the old is not necessarily bad and the new is not necessarily good.Her reaction to new theories and practices is no longer imitative adoption, but question, examination, experimentation, and selection.This undoubtedly is a wholesome attitude, and the logical outcome of this attitude in the field of education is the creation of a new system which is best fitted for the need of New China by assimilating what is best in the old as well as in the new, in itself and from outside.

B Administration of Education

1.Administrative Units

ⓐ**Central Administration** The administration of education in China is highly centralized in theory but decentralized in practice.At the head of the educational system, there is the Ministry of Education which legally is the final authority over all the educational matters of the country.It has three bureaus, namely (1) the Bureau of General Education, (2) the Bureau of Higher Education, and (3) the Bureau of Social Education.The more important officers of the Ministry are the minister, the vice minister, three councilors, three directors of the Bureaus, four secretaries, and sixteen national inspectors of education.Important actions of the Ministry are generally brought to the consideration of the Ministry conferences, which are attended by the councilors, directors, secretaries and others who may be requested by the Ministry to be present from time to time.Such conferences are presided over by the minister.He is a member of the Cabinet and he chooses his subordinates subject to the approval of the Cabinet.Owing to the political instability of the country in recent years, the position of the Ministership changes hands frequently, sometimes as many as five times in a year.But the vice minister usually holds a longer time and the councilors, directors, and the secretariat remain in office for a still longer term.It is to them that the continual functioning of the Ministry is largely due.

However, in spite of the fact that the activities of the Ministry have often been restricted and held back by the frequent changes of its head, it still enjoys much of its old prestige.With the coming of a united country and the appointment of a right person at its head, the Ministry may still become a driving force in the advancement of education in the years to come, although

it is likely that local initiative will be more encouraged and the Ministry's former bureaucratic influence will be curtailed.

ⓑ**Provincial Administration** In the provinces, there are now three existing forms of educational administration, namely the bureau form, the department form, and the commission form.The province of Kwangtung has tried a fourth plan under the name of the Committee of Education, but it is now abandoned.In those provinces in the Southwest, the bureau of education has generally been adopted.Thus in Yunnan, Kweichow, and Hunan, the bureau form of education exists.The director of the bureau is appointed by the governor of Yunnan and Kweichow, but is elected in Hunan by the Provincial Assembly.The department form of education is found in the provinces of Kwangsi and Szechwan and is legally vested with less power than the bureau form of education.The rest of the provinces all have the commission form of educational administration at the head of which is the commissioner of education.He is appointed by the president of the Republic upon the recommendation of the minister of education, and is under the direct control of the Ministry.But in directing the educational affairs of the province and in supervising his subordinates in the management of local education, the commissioner of education is required to work under the governor of the province, being thus doubly responsible both to the minister and to the governor.As a consequence, the power of the commissioner varies with the different provinces, depending upon the will of the provincial governor.As he is farther away from the Ministry and nearer to the governor, there is every temptation for him to follow the dictates of the governor rather than his superior at Peking.

The commission of education has two or three departments for carrying out the main groups of educational affairs.Besides, there are generally from four to six inspectors of education for each province.

ⓒ**Local Administration** The local administration is divided into two units, the county unit and the school district.Below the province there is the county.There are two systems of county school administration.First, we have the Bureau for the Promotion of Education, whose function is to assist the magistrate in the educational administration and in supervising the school work of the self-governing district.The bureau has a superintendent and a few assistants.But besides the superintendent, there is under the magistrate an educational secretary and also a county inspector who is independent of the superintendent.These three men hardly agree with one another.This triangular

administration of county education has proved very troublesome.It is now being gradually replaced by the new creation of the County Board of Education.

The County Board of Education was inaugurated in 1922.It attempts to unify the county school administration.Under this system, the inspectors are brought under the direction of the superintendent, who is appointed by the provincial commission of education upon the recommendation of the magistrate of the county.There is another attempt in this new scheme, that is, the granting of more powers to special cities for the independent management of their schools and making the county government take charge of the village education only.This principle, however, has not been vigorously applied, although the seeds have been widely sown.

The lowest unit of local administration is the school district.The county is divided into several school districts, each of which has a delegate of school affairs, sometimes with an assistant.The school districts in China are not vested with sufficient power to cope with their responsibility.It is most loosely and inefficiently organized.The province of Shansi alone has the best organization of the local unit.Every village in the county and every street in the city has responsible persons to take charge of the educational welfare and they are given much power to perform their duties.Reorganization of the lowest unit, therefore, is one of the most urgent problems today.

2.Inspection and Supervision

In China, there are three grades of inspection.Namely the national, the provincial, and the county inspection.

According to the regulations of 1913, the whole country is to be divided into eight inspectional districts.Each district has two national inspectors.The regular school inspection generally begins in the latter part of August and ends in the first part of June.The inspection covers all phases of general and social education.Special inspection may be made by the special order of the minister.When the inspectors are not on their inspection tours, they are required to be present in the Ministry to attend to other duties that may be assigned to them.During the last few years, all these regulations appear in letters only, the national inspection of education being almost entirely absent.

The provincial inspectors of education are appointed by the commissioner of education.There are four inspectors for the smaller provinces and five or six for the larger ones.Below the province there are county school inspectors.Under the old system, they act as agents for the

county magistrates for the school affairs.But with the adoption of the system of the Board of Education, the county inspectors are put under the direction of the county superintendent of education.The county inspectors visit the schools under their charge from once to three times a year.

The functions of the inspectors of education are enumerated in the educational code.There are seven duties for the national and provincial inspectors, and thirteen duties for the county inspectors.But in actual practice, the inspectors are simply visitors, reporters, and, worst of all, faultfinders.Most of them do not realize that their mission is to give inspiration, encouragement, and a helping hand to the principals and teachers in service.In recent years, there has been a tendency to protest against this negative inspection and to advocate in its place a system of constructive supervision.The province of Kiangsu has set up a noble example in this respect.Beginning with last year, the commissioner of education has invited experts from the National Southeastern University and other institutions to serve as supervisors of special subjects.Thus the supervision of vocational education, science teaching, physical training, and normal education was instituted.This year, the supervision of social sciences and national language has been introduced.It has thus opened in China a new era in school supervision and inspection.

3.Educational Finance

Roughly speaking, there are three grades of schools supported by three respective sources of funds.The higher education is mainly supported by the national funds, the secondary education by the provincial funds, and the elementary education by the county or local funds.There are exceptions, but in general, this statement holds true.

As the national revenue comes from the customs duties, salt tax, stamp tax, tobacco and liquor licenses, profit from telegraphs, railways, and postal service, land tax and the like, the national funds for national education are drawn from the complex of these sources.With the exception of a few institutions such as Tsing Hua College, the University of Communications, the Wuchang Normal University, which derive their respective support from special sources, others get their shares from the general appropriation.The national institutions located outside of Peking secure their appropriations from the national funds put under the custody of the provincial treasury.According to the budget of 1919, the only one accurately constructed, the appropriation for the national education of $5,028,836 was

really less than one per cent of the total government appropriation for the year.

Although there are professional schools and colleges conducted by the provincial governments, the province is still mainly concerned with secondary education.There is a tendency for each province to maintain a full college, but so far very few provinces have succeeded in their realization.The main sources from which we draw funds for provincial schools are the surtaxes, especially the surtax on land.Kiangsu and Chekiang are now levying special taxes on tobacco for the specified use of provincial education.Two years ago, the province of Szechwan tried to devote its almost two million dollars of pork tax to education but without much result.The tax on transfer of deeds and ownership adopted in Honan yields an annual income of$1,000,000 for provincial support.In the face of financial distress, a number of new solutions have been proposed.They are still at the stage of trial and error.In order to give some idea of the extent of provincial support of education, we may mention as representatives of the extremes that Kiangsu is spending$2,800,000, Chekiang$1,500,000 and Kiangsi, only$600,000 annually.

As a general rule, the county supports the elementary education by surtaxes on land, miscellaneous assessments, rent and interests from the academic properties handed down from the old dynasties.The Shansi system of supporting schools is, so far, the best that has been evolved in this country.In the cities, stores and houses are graded and assessed according to their standing for the support of the city elementary schools.In the villages, a land tax is levied according to its quality for the support of the village education.

On account of the political unrest and irregular expenses for military purposes, the schoolmen are confronted with the uncertainty of educational funds.The provinces that have been seriously short of funds are Kwangtung, Fukien, Kiangsi, Szechwan, Anhwei and Hunan.The provinces that are better off are Fengtien, Yunnan, Shansi, Shensi, Shantung, and Honan.But, in general, the teachers in China are serving the country at the greatest personal sacrifice.

The problems with which we are now chiefly concerned are:(1) How to insure regularity of payment of the educational fund by legal protection and economic devices, so that those who are in educational service can be free from financial anxieties and give their whole-hearted devotion to the

educational cause; (2) how to reorganize the tax system so that the burden as well as opportunity for education can be equalized; (3) how to stimulate educational activities through a proper system of distribution and subsidies without curtailing local initiative; and (4) how to economize the use of the present fund so that the maximum of educational results can be achieved at the minimum cost.

C The New System of Schools

1.The System

"China has had at least four systems of schools within the last twenty years."The newest one was adopted in 1922, as a result of three years' deliberation initiated by the Seventh Conference of the National Federation of the Provincial Education Associations in 1919.There is no space for us to discuss the historical development of the system.The issues that have been evolved in its make-up will be touched upon in connection with the discussions of the grades and types of schools which follow.Since 1922, committees have been organized and kept busy drawing up new courses of study in order to cover this skeleton with flesh.This year has witnessed the completion of all the new courses of study except a small part in vocational education.They were voted upon and approved by the Tenth Conference of the National Federation of the Provincial Education Associations and were submitted to the Ministry of Education for promulgation.

On the next page is a diagrammatical representation of the new system of schools adopted by the Twenty-Third Ordinance of the Ministry of Education.It will be noted that the left column in the diagram represents the standard ages at which students should enter the different grades.In practice, however, these are to be determined according to intelligence, record, and other considerations.

2.The Divisions of Schools

ⓐ**Pre-School and Kindergarten Education** Kindergarten education has been given a place in the new system and admits children under six years of age.The practice schools of the normal schools, especially the normal schools for women, usually have kindergartens attached to them.There are also kindergartens conducted by private persons and by the missions.But the total number of kindergartens is yet very small.As kindergarten training gives the children an opportunity for active self-expression and also for interaction between the child and the teacher, it is very necessary to have first the adequate institutions for the training of kindergarten teachers.The resolution

for more trained kindergarteners passed in January, 1924, by the Kiangsu Conference of Educational Administrators is an indication of the need felt.The Hunan Education Association has also this year advocated the establishment of more kindergartens in cities and towns.The Kiangsu Compulsory Education Association has even recommended the adoption of kindergarten methods in the lowest grade in the elementary schools.Another very encouraging and more significant fact is the experiment on kindergarten education conducted by Professor H.C.Chen of the National Southeastern University.Impressed by the fact that the subject matter and methods used in the kindergarten are borrowed from foreign countries and some of them may not be suitable for the Chinese children, he and his staff began in the fall of 1923 to experiment on the self-made toys, Chinese Mother-Goose stories, and other materials.He is also trying to make the kindergarten a training center for mothers as well as a center for the education of young children.The Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education and Professor Chen have agreed to cooperate in including in his plan an experiment on the least possible cost of conducting the kindergarten education so that it could be duplicated in the largest number of communities.

ⓑ**Elementary Education** According to the new system, attendance at the elementary school is limited to six years, but it may be extended to another year in order to suit local needs.The elementary school is to be divided into the lower primary and higher primary grades.The former consists of four years and may be established separately.

The courses of study drawn up by the Committee of Eighteen for elementary schools are as follows:

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2" rowspan="2">Subjects 科目</th><th colspan="2">Percentage of Time Devoted to Each Subject
每一科目所占时间的百分比</th></tr>
<tr><th>In Lower Primary Grades
初小各年级</th><th>In Higher Primary Grades
高小各年级</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">National Language
国语</td><td>Conversation
语言</td><td rowspan="4">30%</td><td>6%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Reading
读文</td><td>12%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Composition
作文</td><td>8%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Penmanship
写字</td><td>4%</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Arithmetic 算术</td><td>10%</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Social Sciences
社会科学</td><td>Hygiene
卫生</td><td rowspan="4">20%</td><td>4%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Citizenship
公民</td><td>4%</td></tr>
<tr><td>History
历史</td><td>6%</td></tr>
<tr><td>Geography
地理</td><td>6%</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Nature Study 自然</td><td rowspan="2">12%</td><td>8%</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Gardening 园艺</td><td>4%</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Industrial Arts 工用艺术</td><td colspan="2">7%</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Imagery Arts 形象艺术</td><td colspan="2">5%</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Music 音乐</td><td colspan="2">6%</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Physical Education 体育</td><td colspan="2">10%</td></tr>
</table>

It is further recommended that there should be at least 1,080 minutes per week for the first two years, 1,260 minutes per week for the third and fourth years and 1,440 minutes for the two higher primary grades.The number of minutes are to be distributed into suitable periods for the six days' work.In

village schools the subjects may be combined and simplified, but the time allotted to national language and arithmetic should by no means be reduced.

According to the new system, compulsory education is temporarily limited to four years.If local circumstances are favorable, the period may be extended.The school age for compulsory education is left to the determination of different provinces and special districts in accordance with their local situations.

Compulsory education has been contemplated by the central authority ever since the Tsing Dynasty.It was not until 1920 that the Ministry of Education mapped out the definite steps for the enforcement of the same in different communities at specific times.The specifications are as follows:

1921, provincial capitals and open ports
1922, county seats and cities
1923, towns above five hundred families
1924, towns containing above three hundred families
1925 and 1926, towns containing above two hundred families
1927, villages containing above one hundred families
1928, villages containing below one hundred families

On account of the political disturbances in recent years, the above program has rarely been vigorously enforced.The province of Shansi alone, however, stands out most prominently in its achievements.The Shansi program has seven steps to be completed in seven half-years, from 1918 to 1921.Although complete success has yet to be achieved, the latest return of statistics shows that more than seventy-two per cent of the children at school age are now in schools.Illiterate adults below twenty-five years of age are also required to attend continuation schools to study common Chinese, arithmetic, and things which a citizen ought to know.

Another phase in connection with elementary education which may be mentioned here is the village school movement.As more than eighty per cent of the total population live in villages, it is of the greatest importance that village education should receive our closest attention.Recently, the Back-to-the-Country Movement has gathered much strength.The Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education has created a special committee on rural education.The Tenth Conference of the National Federation of the Provincial Education Associations, which met in Kaifeng last October, has also devoted much deliberation to this important matter.The Kiangsu Compulsory Education Association, which met in Wusih in August,

spent three days in drawing up seven practical suggestions for the development of the village schools.Beginnings of special investigations of typical village schools in typical communities have been conducted by the Kiangsu Compulsory Education Association and the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education.The reports, fragmentary as they are, have already stirred up great interest in and enthusiasm for the village education.As the average village generally cannot support an expensive education, the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education has selected a few village schools where the principals have shown ability in new village leadership to conduct experiments on the best possible village education with the lowest possible cost.It is hoped that in the course of a few years standards for village education can be developed for a nationwide adoption.

The language problem has practically been settled after China has struggled through centuries against the diversity of dialects throughout the country.Dr.Hu Suh's Literary Revolution has exerted the most profound influence on the elementary schools.The vernacular language, or the“living language,”is now welcomed by most of the elementary schools.The Fengtien authorities, however, have shown some reaction against the use of the vernacular language.Kwangtung is still hesitating to adopt this change.But in the long run, the living vernacular language is destined to prevail in all the elementary schools.

ⓒ**Secondary Education** In regard to secondary education, the new system has the following to say: “Attendance at the middle school is limited to six years, which are to be divided into two periods of three years each, the junior middle school and the senior middle school.The junior middle school offers general education, but it may give various vocational subjects according to local needs.The senior middle school is divided into the general, the agricultural, the technical, the commercial, and the normal course.These courses may be given independently or severally in one school at a time.”

In the secondary schools, the credit system is adopted.A credit is defined as one hour of class work plus preparation.Subjects with no preparation will have a proportionate reduction in credits.The junior middle school requires the satisfactory completion of 180 credits for graduation, of which 164 credits are for required work.The required courses of study for the junior middle school as drawn up by the Committee of Twelve are as follows:

Subjects 学科		Credits 学分
Social Sciences 社会科	Citizenship 公民	6
	History 历史	8
	Geography 地理	8
Language and Literature 言文科	National Language 国语	32
	Foreign Language 外国语	36
Mathematics 算学科		30
Nature Study 自然科		16

Subjects 学科		Credits 学分
Arts 艺术科	Drawing 图画 Manual Arts 手工 Music 音乐	12
Physical Education 体育科	Physiology and Hygiene 生理卫生 Physical Exercise 体育	4 12
Total 合计		164

The courses of study drawn up for the senior middle school by the Committee of Nine are composed of three years of study, namely: (1) General study required of all students should account for about forty-three per cent of the credits;(2) studies required of students who take the course of the special group vary with the course of the group;(3) pure elective studies should not exceed twenty per cent of the credits.The vocational courses of study for the senior middle school have not been published yet.The liberal courses of study are of two groups, namely, that of the Arts and Social Sciences group and that of the Mathematics and Natural Sciences group.These two courses of study are as follows:

A.Courses of Study for the Arts and Social Sciences Group 文学和社会科学

组

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2"></th><th>Subjects
科目</th><th>Credits
学分</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">I. General Requirements
公共必修科目</td><td>1. National Language
国语
2. Foreign Language
外国语
3. Philosophy of Life
人生哲学
4. Social Problems
社会问题
5. History of Civilization
文明史
6. General Principles of Science
科学概论
7. Physical Education
体育</td><td>16
16
4
6
6
6
10</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">II. Group Requirements
分科专修科目</td><td>Prescribed
必修</td><td>1. Special Chinese Literature
特设国文
2. Beginners' Psychology
心理学初步
3. Beginners' Logic
伦理学初步
4. One Course of Social Sciences
社会学之一种
5. One Course of Natural Sciences or Mathematics
自然科或数学之一种</td><td>8
3
3
4 at least
(至少4)
6 at least
(至少6)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Electives
选修</td><td></td><td>32 or more
(32或以上)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">III. Pure Electives 纯粹选修科目</td><td>30 or more
(30或以上)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Total 合计</td><td>150</td></tr>
</table>

B.Courses of Study for Mathematics and Natural Sciences Group 数学和自然科学组

		Subjects 科目	Credits 学分
I. General Requirements 公共必修科目		1. National Language 国语	16
		2. Foreign Language 外国语	16
		3. Philosophy of Life 人生哲学	4
		4. Social Problems 社会问题	6
		5. History of Civilization 文明史	6
		6. General Principles of Science 科学概论	6
		7. Physical Education 体育	10
II. Group Requirements 分科专修科目	Prescribed 必修	1. Trigonometry 三角	3
		2. Senior Geometry 高中几何	6
		3. Senior Algebra 高中代数	6
		4. Analytic Geometry 解析几何大意	3
		5. Mechanical Drawing 用器画	4
		6. Physics, Chemistry, Biology (any two of the three subjects with six credits for each) 物理化学生物（三项选习二项，每项六学分）	15 at least （至少 15）
	Electives 选修		23
III. Pure Electives 纯粹选修科目			30
Total 合计			150

Secondary education, as pointed out by Dr.Paul Monroe after his general survey of Chinese education in 1921, is the weakest spot in the entire Chinese educational system.Since then, two national organizations, the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education and the Chinese Federation of Secondary Education, have given much thought to the study of different phases of this grade of education.The attention of the administrators as well as of the secondary school teachers and officers has also been concentrated on this direction.Some of the more important problems and tendencies in regard to present-day Chinese secondary education may be briefly mentioned here.

First, the improvement of science teaching in secondary education occupies now a most important place in the minds of the students of education and also of secondary school officers and teachers.Of all the weak spots in secondary schools, the weakest is the teaching of science.Here science has been taught through lectures and text books with very little opportunity for the students actively to engage themselves in laboratory work.Science study that results in the function of an experimental attitude and in the acquisition of effective control of nature has been greatly neglected.In view of this fact, the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education sent an invitation through Dr.Paul Monroe to Professor G.R.Twiss of Ohio State University of America to make a special study of the science teaching in China and make recommendations for improvement.Professor Twiss, after a careful investigation of 187 schools in ten provinces, left with us a most comprehensive report with constructive recommendations, which is now already published under the title *Science and Education*.

It is also very encouraging to mention that the Science Society is undertaking to include the improvement of science teaching as part of its regular work.The Society has among its members nearly all the prominent students of science in this country and will be able to exert great influence in the promotion of science education.Kiangsu province has been selected as a starting point for their investigation and experimentation.

The next subject that has received much attention in recent years is the teaching of the national language in the secondary schools.This important subject has been previously taught in a very unscientific and uninteresting way.The teachers without training in education and psychology have to rely on the pour-in and word-by-word methods.For the first time, national

attention was called to the needed reform in teaching this subject when Dr.Hu Suh read his paper on the“Teaching of Chinese Language and Literature” at the Tsinan Conference of the National Federation of the Provincial Education Associations in 1922.Following Dr.Hu's address, there have been more than thirty articles written on the improvement of teaching Chinese, most of which have been published in the last two years.The discussions are now passing from that of a subjective and empirical nature to an objective and experimental basis.The place of the vernacular language in the secondary schools is different from that in elementary schools.The tendency is to have less and less vernacular language as the students go along and each decrease is made up by the classical language.

The second tendency is the increasing emphasis on school discipline in the secondary schools.Since the May Fourth Movement, there has been much relaxation in school discipline.Many principals and teachers have simply lost control over their students.A reaction, however, has set in during the last two years.On the one hand, there is a tendency towards negative control, prohibiting the students from participating in a number of activities in which they have hitherto taken an active part.On the other hand, the students are encouraged to organize themselves for self-control, naturally under the supervision of the school authority.Many ways have now been tried to substantiate these two tendencies, and there is every reason to believe that the students' conduct will be improved thereby.

The third tendency is a national feeling against the use of foreign languages as a required study in the junior middle schools.Although thirty-six credits have been put down as a requirement for foreign languages, yet in the presence of such vigorous attack, it is questionable whether it can maintain its present number of credits in the future.

The fourth tendency is the increasing emphasis on vocational training in the secondary schools.As shown by the Entrance Examination Statistics of the National University of Peking and the National Southeastern University at Nanking, less than ten per cent of the applicants could be admitted, and this ratio has remained for the last few years without much change.The vocational advocates feel that it is imperative that the preparatory nature of the secondary schools should be greatly reduced.The schools have answered this call by adopting more vocational courses.But just how these courses can suit the students in their work and furnish them with life positions is a question for which a satisfactory answer is yet to be sought.

The fifth tendency is the segregation of sexes in the secondary schools.Some middle schools have tried the co-educational system in recent years, but they are very limited in number.In spite of the fact that there is a favorable attitude toward co-education in institutions of higher learning and in the elementary schools, there is a decidedly strong opposition to co-education in the middle schools.Hunan, in March, and Shantung, in August, this year have actually prohibited the middle schools from becoming co-educational.Kiangsu takes a milder attitude.It authorizes the normal schools for men to take in women students and permits city middle schools to become co-educational on the condition that adequate provisions be made.

ⓓ**Higher Education** According to the new system of schools, “the institutions of higher learning may consist of several colleges or of one college.Attendance at the college or university is limited to four to six years.”At the top, there is the postgraduate school, which is an institution of research for college and university graduates and students similarly prepared.

The following two tables will give some idea of the extent of higher education in China:

A.Professional Distribution of Colleges 按专业分类的高校数

Kinds of Schools 学校类别	Number of Schools 学校数量
University 综合大学	35
Teachers College 师范学院	8
Agricultural College 农学院	7
Technical College 工学院	13
Commercial College 商学院	8
Medical College 医学院	7
Law College 法学院	33
Total 总计	111

B.Distribution of Colleges according to Support 按经费来源分类的高校数

Source of Support 经费来源	Number of Schools 学校数量
National 国立	30
Provincial 省立	48
Private 私立	29
Mission and Foreign 教会及外国	18
Total 总计	125

A few more universities have been added to the list this year and the more important among them are the Kwangtung Government University and the Northwestern University at Shensi.

As to the modern tendencies of Chinese university education, we may take Chancellor Tsai's statement as an indication of the first tendency in scientific research.He says:“The University is not merely intended to offer ready-made courses for students to attend at fixed hours, but primarily to be an institution for corporate work in scientific research.And by research, I mean not merely the introduction of European culture, but original contribution on the basis of what is already done in the West;nor merely the preservation of our national cultural heritage, but seeking by means of methods of scientific research to show what that heritage has actually been.”

The second tendency which may be mentioned is the demand for academic freedom, for no scientific thought and research can ever be properly developed if exterior interference is too strong.Government intervention has always been resented and repelled by the high institutions.This year, when the Ministry of Education announced the new University Regulations, it met with severe opposition from the professors of the National University of Peking and it was finally compelled to lay them on the table for a while.

There is also tendency for closer cooperation on the part of the universities and colleges in the country.This last July, when the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education met in Nanking, the Chinese Federation of Universities was formally organized dealing with problems of common interest in regard to higher education.It is believed that such an organization, if it functions properly, will certainly raise the general standard of university work.

The fourth tendency is the extension of higher education to women.Most of the Chinese universities have opened their doors to women and have been made co-educational.The Peking Higher Normal College for Women has also been promoted to the university rank.

Finally, there is an abnormal increase of private colleges.In Peking alone, about ten private colleges came into existence this fall.A similar condition can be found in other big cities.The government, however, has refused to recognize those institutions, the purpose of whose existence is questionable.

ⓔ**Trade and Vocational Education** Vocational education has been given an important place in the new system of schools.“The curriculum of the elementary schools may include prevocational training… The junior middle school…may carry on various vocational courses… The senior middle school is divided into the general, the agricultural, the technical, the commercial, and the normal courses (domestic science being added later)… The year limit and the standing of the vocational schools may be determined in accordance with local needs and situations.”

On the basis of these provisions, the Committee on the Courses of Study for Vocational Education has spent three years in drawing up sixteen different courses of study.These are practically completed.Besides the prevocational courses in elementary schools and special vocational courses in colleges, three steps of vocational education have been worked out, namely: (1) vocational courses for graduates of four-year lower primary schools;(2) vocational courses for graduates of six-year elementary schools; and (3) vocational courses for graduates of junior middle schools.

In regard to the distribution of time for practice and nonvocational studies, the Federation of Vocational Schools has made the following recommendations, which have been duly accepted.First, the time allotment for practice should not be less than that for class work which should have eighteen to twenty-four hours a week.Second, the subjects of study in vocational schools should be of three kinds, the vocational, subjects as prerequisites to vocational and the nonvocational.The nonvocational subjects should account for at least twenty per cent of the total time allotment.

Among the important developments of vocational education in recent years, we may mention the following: Szechwan, Kweichow, Kwangsi, Chekiang, and Fukien have promulgated plans for the reconstruction of vocational education according to the new system.Shansi has organized a

provincial committee on vocational education and appointed one supervisor for each of the twenty educational districts to take charge of vocational education, compulsory education, and popular education.Yunnan has set aside the tobacco tax for the development of vocational education.Hupeh has ordered all the counties to appropriate twenty per cent of the educational fund for the promotion of vocational training.The One Week Campaign for Vocational Guidance conducted in Shanghai, Nanking, Tsinan, and Wuchang has aroused much interest in this type of education.Lastly, the Ministry of Education has ordered all the girls' middle schools to offer practice opportunities for domestic science.There is also a special fund raised by the National Association of Vocational Education for the special purpose of promoting vocational education for girls.

D The Training of Teachers

In regard to the training of teachers, the new system of schools has the following provisions: “Attendance at the normal school is limited to six years.The normal school may be composed of only the last two or three years in order to admit the graduates of the junior middle schools….To supply the need of teachers for the lower grades of the primary schools, normal schools or normal institutes, varying in number of years, may be established.”It is also provided that institutes for the training of vocational teachers may be opened in any suitable school.For the training of secondary school teachers, there is the normal college at which attendance is limited to four years.“In due time the higher normal schools established according to the old system should raise their standard in order to admit the graduates of the senior middle schools, with an attendance limited to four years;they shall then be known as Teachers Colleges.”“To supply the teachers for the junior middle schools, a two-year normal course may be offered.It may be organized in the College of Education of a university, or in the Teachers College, or in the normal school, or in the senior middle school.It admits the graduates of the last two named institutions.”

The courses of study for the normal schools are now completed by a special committee.Three sets of courses of study have been worked out.

The first set is for the three-year normal schools, corresponding to the senior middle school.Its general requirements are the same as the senior middle school with the addition of four credits of music, and have a total of sixty-eight credits.The professional requirements consist of Beginners' Psychology, two credits;Educational Psychology, three credits;General

Methods, two credits;Methods of Teaching Special Subjects, six credits;Teaching Materials in Elementary Schools, six credits;Educational Statistics and Measurements, three credits;Elementary School Administration, three credits;Principles of Education, three credits;and Practice Teaching, twenty credits, making a total of forty-eight credits.The elective studies are of two kinds:(1) group electives and (2) pure electives.Group electives aim to meet the needs of three classes of prospective teachers, namely:(1) those with special inclination towards language, literature and social sciences;(2) those with special inclination towards mathematics and natural sciences, and (3) those with special inclination towards arts and physical education.Each group of students shall elect at least twenty credits from group studies.Besides, all students shall elect at least eight credits from the nine educational studies.Pure electives are left for the schools to determine.

The second set of courses of study is drawn for the six-year normal school corresponding to the six-year middle schools.In a general way, the junior middle school feature is preserved in this type of normal school, yet the whole course of study aims at a continuous process rather than at a break in the middle.It is much simpler and is recommended for adoption in the smaller schools, where, as a consequence, there is no group differentiation, and very few electives.Out of three hundred and thirty credits required for graduation, there are three hundred and nineteen credits for required studies and only eleven credits for electives.

The third set of courses of study is drawn for the training of teachers of the four lower grades of the primary schools.It has three forms, namely:the three-year course admits graduates of the six-year primary schools, the two-year course admits graduates from the old higher primary schools, and the one-year course admits graduates from the junior middle schools.All three forms have been very carefully worked out.Since space does not allow full presentation, they are given in tabular forms as follows:

	FORM I: Three-Year Course 第一种形式 三年制课程	FORM II: Two-Year Course 第二种形式 二年制课程	FORM III: One-Year Course 第三种形式 一年制课程
Education 教育学	36 Credits (学分)	24 Credits (学分)	14 Credits (学分)
National Language 国语	36	24	8
Social Sciences 社会科学	26	18	8
Mathematics 数学	25	16	8
Nature Study, Gardening, and Agriculture 自然科学、园艺及农业	33	22	8
Arts 艺术	15	10	8
Physical Education 体育	9	6	6
Total 总计	180	120	60

Note:The study of Elementary School Material and Methods of Teaching Elementary School Subjects are included under each subject taught.Practice Teaching is given eight credits in Forms I and II, and is incorporated in each subject in Form III.

说明：小学各科教材教法包括在所教的各门课程中。教学实习在第一、二种形式的课程中，各占8学分；在第三种形式中，则和各门课程的教学结合进行。

In the new courses of study for the normal schools, four important changes can be observed.In the first place, there is more flexibility and variety, which enables the normal school principals to adapt their schools to special conditions instead of having one standard course of study as was the case in former times.In the second place, there is more emphasis laid on the professional subjects.The newer developments of education which will make a better teacher are included.In the third place, more time has been given to practice teaching.In the fourth place, great emphasis has been put on teaching materials and methods of teaching subjects.Formerly, the needs of elementary schools had not been adequately felt and met, and most of the normal schools were run on the middle school basis.This emphasis on elementary subjects certainly indicates a new era in normal education.

In actual practice, the higher normal schools have been busy in

transforming themselves into teachers colleges.The old normal schools are also taking steps to adopt the six-year course or the three-year course, according to their needs and conditions.Some senior middle schools have also opened new normal courses.Another very important move is found in the increasing emphasis on training the village teachers.Kiangsu has since last year established five village normal schools.The Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education, the College of Education and College of Agriculture of National Southeastern University, the National Association of Vocational Education, the Kiangsu Compulsory Education Association, and the Kiangsu Commission of Education are cooperating in establishing an experimental normal school for training village teachers.Mr.C.T.Chao, professor of rural education of National Southeastern University and director of village education of the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education, has been selected to organize this school.

Students in most of the normal schools enjoy free tuition and board.There are students who are admitted on payment of half fees or whole fees, but these are very few.The regular normal students whose fees have been exempted are required to render service in the elementary schools or the secondary schools, as the case may be.A few years ago, an investigation made in Kiangsu province showed that more than eighty per cent of the normal graduates take up teaching after graduation.This rule of required compulsory service has been rather leniently enforced.The tendency is for a more strict enforcement, as is shown in the resolutions adopted at the Kaifeng Conference of the National Federation of the Provincial Education Associations.Kiangsu province has this year prohibited graduates of the county normal institutes from taking more advanced education before the fulfillment of the compulsory service.Fengtien province has even introduced the plan of withholding the diploma until the term of compulsory service has expired.

With the exception of the normal school graduates, all other elementary school teachers should apply for certification.The certification of teachers are of two kinds: (1) certification with examination and (2) certification without examination.Those who have studied in the secondary schools for two years or more, or have taught in the elementary schools for one year or more, or have graduated from normal institutes lasting six months or longer, or have a sufficient knowledge of educational principles and have studied the special

subjects to be taught which are shown in the articles or essays written by the applicants, are qualified to teach by passing an examination in the subjects of the regular normal schools with due consideration to grade and sex variation.The examination for assistant teachers is much easier.Those who are certified without having to go through the examination on the subject are (1) middle school graduates who have been elementary school teachers for one year or more;(2) graduates of secondary industrial schools who have made good record in their studies;(3) graduates of professional schools whose special studies will qualify them to teach the subjects, and (4) elementary school teachers with three years' teaching experience who have made good record of service certified by the county superintendent of schools.

All the applicants for certification should produce school diplomas, and statements of good conduct by guarantors, and should go through a physical examination.

The certification of teachers in China is under the charge of the Provincial Committee on Certification.The results shall be reported annually by the governor of the province to the Ministry of Education at Peking.

In regard to the recompensation of the teachers in China, a brief survey was once made in the province of Kiangsu.The result is as follows:

Annual Salary of Elementary School Teachers 小学教员年薪

	Higher Primary 高级小学	Lower Primary 初级小学
Maximum 最高额	$600	$240
Average 平均额	200	120
Minimum 最低额	70	30

In 1921, another investigation conducted by Mr.Tai, covering six provinces, gives a medium annual salary of $160.25 Mex.for all elementary school teachers, and a medium annual salary of $125.10 Mex.for their first year's service.Making sufficient allowance for the very high purchasing power of money in China, we must still consider the present salary paid to the elementary school teachers as very low.The new tendency is for a higher pay on the basis of increase in teaching experience and professional

preparation.The immediate problem,however, is how to make the pay more regular.

Besides the tendency for a higher salary, there are attempts at remuneration for encouraging longer service.The importance of the pension system has not yet been fully realized, yet a beginning has been well made.The Chekiang Conference of Educational Administrators has recommended a sabbatical year for elementary school teachers who have served for six years and an annual pension of a quarter of the last year's salary after twenty years of services, or, if made disabled, after ten years of service.It has also recommended a system of special grants from a quarter to the equivalent of the whole salary to be made to the families of the teachers when the latter die.The Kiangsu Commission of Education has this year adopted a temporary system of pension.According to this system, an elementary school teacher shall be given annually one third of his last year's salary, if (1) he is disabled on account of sickness after a continuous tenure of service for eight years, or (2) he is disabled or seriously wounded in performing his official duties, or (3) he retires on account of old age after a continuous tenure of service for twenty years.Besides, one of his children may attend any government school in the province without paying the fees.

In regard to the tenure of elementary school teachers, very little investigation has been made.The contract of the teachers is, as a rule, on a half-year basis.The data on the tenure of service of teachers in thirteen schools in Kiangsu gathered a few years ago may give some idea of the situation.But it will be a mistake to take this meagre data as representative of the whole country.

Years of Service 服务年限	Percentage of Higher Primary Teachers 高级小学教师百分比 (%)	Percentage of Lower Primary Teachers 初级小学教师百分比 (%)
1	6	26
2	10	12
3	23	20
4	17	18
5	44	24
Total 总计	100	100

The need for teachers is imperative in China.Estimating on the basis of forty million children of school age for the four years' elementary education, we shall need at least one million teachers for the four elementary grades.But according to the latest report we have only 223,279 teachers who are now serving in the lower primary schools.More than three times as many as the present number have to be added in order to enforce a nationwide compulsory education.There are now 43,846 students in the normal schools and normal institutes, and no more than 10,000 teachers can be turned out every year as against the need for 770,000 teachers.The problem is both serious and urgent and will have to be solved only gradually.

E Some Recent Educational Activities and Developments

1.Educational Tests and Measurements

The educational test movement began in China four or five years ago when Professors Liao and Chen of Nanking, and Professors Lew and Chang of Peking started to give courses on scientific measurements in education and did some original work in the construction of tests.It was not until the coming of Professor William A.McCall of Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1922 that this movement began to start its great momentum.In cooperating with Chinese psychologists at different centers, Professor McCall succeeded in getting twenty tests constructed for the use of elementary and secondary schools.The tests added this year are as follows:

1.Comprehensive English Test

Anderson
2.Geography Test
Young
3.Arithmetic Practice Test
Yui
4.Drawing Test
Yui
5.Intelligence Test
Liu-Bradshaw
6.Self-Survey Comprehensive Test
Terman
7.Lower Primary Non-Verbal Intelligence Test
Chen
8.Higher Primary Non-Verbal Intelligence Test
Chen
9.Chinese Grammar Test for Higher Primary
Chen
10.Composite Mathematics Test
Liao
11.Composite Science Test
Liao
12.Chinese Language and Literature Test
Liao
13.Chinese Grammar Test
Liao
14.History Test
Liao
15.Geography Test
Liao

There are two special features which are worth mentioning of the test movement in China.In the first place, all the tests are scaled according to a new uniform system, the T.B.C.F.system, so as to secure comparability of scores from test to test and thus facilitate the tabulation and interpretation of results, and all the direction books are modeled after one standard design so that the teacher will find it necessary to learn only one procedure.In the second place, all tests are published at one place, that is, the Chinese National Association for the Advancementof Education.This has saved the schoolmen

much trouble in locating and securing the tests.

In the fall of 1923, Professor Terman of Yenching University at Peking, and Professor Cha of the Peking Normal University were requested by the Chinese National Association to conduct a cooperative self-survey, using especially designed and self-administering tests.“The purpose of this survey is to acquaint educators with tests, to motivate teachers to make use of self-helps to be published by the Association, and to conduct a national contest among the pupils.”This survey, in spite of its shortcomings, has accomplished its original purposes.The final report of its findings, known as the *Efficiency of Chinese Elementary Schools*, by Terman, was published this spring.

2.Medical and Social Welfare of School Children

The health and social welfare of students have received more attention in the elementary schools than in the secondary schools.The better schools, such as the Shian-Shan Children's Home, the Practice Schools of Southeastern University, of Peking Normal College for Men, and of Peking Normal College for Women, and the Tsu Yih School in Hunan, have given much opportunity for children to take active participation in social activities and have given much attention to the physical well-being of the pupils.The report that could be secured on this topic is that of the Practice School of the Peking Normal College for Women.It is a school of 590 pupils.The school physician was introduced in 1920.Medical inspection is conducted once every semester.Vaccination is a requirement and is done once every year.In extra-curriculum activities, free play and athletics are emphasized.Chinese games as well as foreign games are introduced.Correction exercises are given by physical training, and general knowledge on health is given in a course on hygiene.Attention is also given to ventilation, lighting, seating, etc.School gardening furnishes another opportunity for healthful recreation.Out-of-door activities are encouraged.Excursions are arranged for each class at least once every semester.There are also student self-government, a literary society, class meetings, weekly mass meetings, the cooperative store, the children's club, the children's reading room, the savings society, and tens of other organizations which furnish ample opportunity for the development of the social life of the child.

Perhaps the most important thing that has been done this year is the enormous amount of research conducted by Professor C.H.McCloy under the joint auspices of the National Southeastern University and the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education.The following have

been completed:

1.A series of studies in anthropometry and physical examination.Some of the results may be enumerated as follows:

a.A study of weight for body types has been completed.A new weight card has been prepared in which a new basis of calculating weight has been adopted.

b.A study of chest measurements has been made.

c.All measurements commonly taken have been intensively studied to determine whether or not they are really diagnostically useful.This has narrowed down the study to a few really important measurements and these have been studied as to how they can contribute to the welfare of the students.

d.The chest index as a basis of a test for hereditary stigmata of degeneration has been made and is nearly completed.

e.A study has been made of the vital measurements and school grades to see what the relation might be.

f.A new weighting for age-height-weight and athletic performance has been devised.

g.A careful statistical study of medical examination has been made and a new form devised to give results in graphic as well as numerical forms has been worked out.

2.A study has been made of a few athletic events to determine which of the quite similar events should be utilized.This has been done, for example, with three forms of the potato race and the best form has been statistically determined.

3.A careful study has been made of standard tests in athletics.A study of eleven events was made with three hundred primary school boys and a study of eighteen events with three hundred and thirty middle school boys.The best events for each standard test have been statistically determined.

4.A universal scoring table has been devised for over seventy events in track and field athletics.These give an approximately equivalent degree of difficulty for all events when the same point value is attained.

5.Methods have been evolved of determining the Motor Quotient of a boy or a girl in athletic events based on the standard events and the above-mentioned age-height-weight weighting.This is quite accurate.

6.Studies of standard tests in football and basketball have been undertaken and the preliminary steps finished.

Some of the above material has been published, but some has yet to be published.When all ready, it will put physical education and physical examination in China at least ten years in advance.

3.Mass Education—A Movement to Remove Illiteracy

Mass illiteracy presents a unique problem in China.Deducting one hundred and twenty million children who are either below or in the school age, and eighty million who have spent on the average three years in the old schools, there are still about two hundred million, or fifty per cent of the whole population, who have never had any schooling.This is a gigantic problem for the advocates of popular education to solve.The National Y.M.C.A.several years ago started the new experiment on popular education.At the Second Annual Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Education held at Tsing Hua College, 1923, the National Association for the Mass Education Movement with Mme S.L.Hsiung as its president was organized, and the movement immediately received nationwide support and backing.

In substance, the so-called mass education utilizes four popular readers based on a vocabulary of about twelve hundred most common Chinese characters.An average illiterate can complete the four readers in four months by spending one hour a day.At the end of four months, he will be able to read newspapers, books, and correspondence based on the vocabulary and to express himself by using the same.As these four readers cost altogether only twelve cents Mex., even the poorest can afford to buy.There are three ways in the teaching of illiterates.First, there is the People's School, which has a teacher who meets his classes regularly at definite periods of time.Second, there is the People's Reading Circle, which takes the home, the store, etc.as a unit, and encourages the literate people in the home or in the store to teach his own associates.Third, there is the People's Question Station where the illiterates may stop and ask questions on any point in the book which he does not understand.These stations are generally under the charge of shopkeepers who are willing to contribute their time to the work.With these means, the readers have been introduced into the homes, stores, factories, schools, churches, monasteries, *yamens*, steamships, prisons, and army camps.Within two years' time, the circulation of these readers has reached the two-million point.These readers are followed by a series of booklets on various branches of knowledge.It will not be long before we see a compulsory popular education in operation in China with its tax on ignorance.Friends of popular

education have the ambition to achieve the miracle of eliminating two hundred million of the illiterates in a generation.

4.The Development of Science Instruction

For some time, there has been a growing dissatisfaction at the result of science instruction, especially in the secondary schools.The dissatisfaction was directed not only to the poor equipment, but largely to the methods employed.In 1922, Dr.Paul Monroe of the International Institute of Education, New York, visited China and his observation confirmed the opinion of many regarding science instruction.Upon his recommendation, the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education invited Dr.G.R.Twiss of the Ohio State University to come to China to assist in the improvement of methods of instruction in the science subjects.He made very extensive trips throughout China.Though brief has been his sojourn and limited have been his recommendations, his visit has provided a great stimulus to the science teachers of the country.Another important fact that may be mentioned is the establishment of summer institutes for science teachers in which the teachers of science can pursue, under expert supervision, further studies during the summer months.Such institutes are to be held under the joint auspices of educational and scientific organizations.The first one was held in 1924 in Tsing Hua College, Peking, and the second one will be held in the National Southeastern University at Nanking.

5.The Library Movement

China has had libraries ever since the Chow Dynasty, several centuries before the Christian era.But they were only accessible to the few intellectual aristocrats and could hardly be reached by ordinary students, not to speak of the mass of the people.With the advent of new education, school libraries have gradually come into existence, until this year there are a dozen college libraries with the best modern equipment and quite a number of fairly equipped secondary school libraries in this country.This means more opportunities for the teachers and students to get at the sources of knowledge.In the meantime, the classical libraries in various educational centers, however hesitative they may be, are gradually opening their doors to more advanced readers.

Having realized the needs of modern methods for the management of modern libraries, institutions of higher learning have sent, from time to time, a number of students abroad to study library science.When the Chinese

National Association for the Advancement of Education held its First Conference in Tsinan in 1922 there were already several Chinese librarians with modern training, who immediately set to work to organize a committee on library science under the auspices of the Association.Their aims are to promote more libraries, to have better methods of managing libraries, and to draw more people to use the libraries.In order to carry out these projects more effectively, they put through, at the Second Conference held in Tsing Hua College in 1923, a resolution for organizing local library associations.Thus, in 1924, eight such associations were formed.It was simply natural and spontaneous that when the Third Annual Conference was held at National Southeastern University in July, 1924, they looked forward to organizing a national library association of China to unify the efforts of individuals and institutions interested in this movement.This national organization is to take form in 1925.Thus, the cry for more books and better books, more libraries and better libraries, has become nationwide.Our librarians are losing no time in making their unique contributions.At the same time, the cry for more people to use books and libraries is being answered by promoters of the Mass Education Movement.Miss Wood, one of the best friends of our library movement, and others are kept busy in securing portions of the American Boxer Indemnity Fund for founding model public libraries in this country.The Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education has requested the American Library Association to send a library expert here to help make a systematic plan for such an undertaking.

F Missionary Education

According to the statement of Dr.Wallace, the associate general secretary of the China Christian Educational Association, it is probable that the total number of students in the Protestant missionary institutions at present is near three hundred thousand.It is still in the direction of increase.The college students have increased in the four years from 1920 to 1924 by seventy-six per cent.Archbishop Ceiso Costantini gives 253,953 as the number of students under the training of the Catholic churches.Thus, out of every hundred students in China, there are eight in the missionary schools.

The outstanding event of the year in regard to the missionary education has been the organization of the China Association for Christian Higher Education.This Association has appointed a council to act as an interim body, also as the Council of Higher Education of the China Christian Education Association, thus linking up the higher education with other activities of the

latter organization.Rev.E.C.Lobenstine, the Council's secretary, is now engaged in making a study of the institutions, particularly with reference to their financial position and the possibilities of coordinating their efforts.The chief purpose of the Council is to enable the Christian institutions of higher learning with their limited resources to make the most effective contribution to the needs of China.

Missionary education, in spite of its good record, has been attacked on three diTherent grounds.First, it is generally attacked on the ground that the Christian institutions are entirely under foreign control.Even qualified Chinese Christians are rarely given opportunity for holding responsible positions.Secondly, it is criticized for teaching religion to young children who are not mature enough to make intelligent decision for themselves.Finally, there is serious suspicion on the part of the Chinese that the missions are organizing a system of Christian education parallel to the Chinese government system which might become in time an irreconcilable group within a larger group.

As a consequence of these facts, we have witnessed two successive attacks on the missionary education in the two National Educational Conferences held in July and October this year.The more conservative Chinese, however, think that, in this transitional stage, missionary education of the more liberal type does have a unique contribution to make by way of supplementing the government education in providing wider educational opportunities for the students and setting up a better example in school discipline.They also believe that missionary education should be more socialized, liberalized, and made more Chinese.Finally, they feel that the missions would be able to make a better contribution, if they should concentrate their efforts and resources on a few institutions of higher learning and not for the establishment of secondary and elementary schools of poorer grade.They believe that secondary and elementary schools of experimental nature might be opened by the missions as well as by other private agencies, and any attempts to multiply them and build a system out of them are bound to conflict sooner or later with the government system.

G A Few Concluding Remarks

The Chinese schoolmen are working under overwhelming difficulties and adverse conditions.It is generally true that instead of being discouraged under such circumstances, they regard these as opportunities for effort and endeavor.China may be said to be a virgin soil for educational service or as a

social vacuum which absorbs any amount of energy that one is willing to put into it.In order to understand Chinese education today, therefore, we must see it in terms of the difficulties that are involved and the effort that has been put into it.

1924年的中国教育

① 引言

中国教育进入现代化进程已近二十年，但只是在最近五六年内才取得较大进展。粗略地说，1919年以前，中国教育还处在模仿他国的十字路口。时而模仿日本制度，时而模仿德国制度，时而又模仿美国制度。这些从外国引进的教育制度，虽然在中国硕果累累，但简单的移植却很难开花结果。直至近期，中国的教育界人士乃至普通民众才开始清醒地意识到：只有透彻地研究和分析中国在教育方面的需要和存在的问题，才能十分有把握地制定出一套符合中国现状并能为中国所用的教育制度。然而，为了充分理解这种认识产生的影响，以及将要在下文中阐述的由此引发的种种设想和解决问题的方法，有必要在此说明引起这种巨变的内在动因。

诚然，被称为“中国的文艺复兴”的新文化运动无疑是影响最深刻的。“中国的文艺复兴”运动始于1917年的“文学革命”。当时，胡适博士及其追随者们提出：文言文已经不再有用，白话文或语体文理所当然地应取而代之。“文学革命”取得了惊人的成功。尽管它遭到一些保守学者的强烈反对，却为年轻一代人所热烈拥护。能够为中国人所用的这种“活语言”的重新发现，催生了新时代新文学的出现，也使小学的阅读材料和教学法得到了彻底的改革，同时使平民教育运动扫除文盲的行动得以继续开展。

但是，“中国的文艺复兴”的影响力不止于此。这是一场以新观点、新标准对包括教育在内的传统价值观念进行重新评价与判断的运动。旧传统常被抛弃，权威被丢在一旁，旧的信仰在不断被削弱。引用胡适博士的话来说，就是：“整理国故是近三百年来赋予汉学家的作品以生命的那种批判与研究精神的复兴和再生。”如前所述，此前中国十分盲目地模仿邻国。最初，为了学习新的，就抛弃了一切旧的。但是现在，中国人已经逐渐认识到，旧的未必一定不好，新的也并非十全十美。对于一切新理论、新方法不再是生搬硬套，而是先存疑、检验、实验，然后才加以选择。毫无疑问，这是一种有益的态度。在教育领域开创了新的教学体系即为此种态度顺理成章的结果。这种新制度汲取了国内外新旧体制中的精华，因此十分适合新中国的需要。

② 教育行政管理

1．教育行政单位

(1)中央教育行政管理 中国的教育行政管理在理论上是高度集中的，在实际上却是地方分权的。教育系统的最高行政机关是教育部，它

在法律上全权主管全国的各项教育工作。教育部下辖三个司：普通教育司、高等教育司、社会教育司。教育部里重要的官员有总长、次长、三名参事、三名司长、四名秘书、十六名全国视学。教育部的重要事情通常都在部务会议上研究，出席部务会议的有参事、司长、秘书以及有时被教育部邀请出席的其他人士。部务会议由总长主持。总长是内阁成员，他的僚属由他挑选，提交内阁批准。由于近几年来国家政局不稳，总长更换频繁，有时一年之内竟达五次之多。但是次长通常的任期比较长，而参事、司长和秘书们的任期更长。教育部的工作能够持续进行，应归功于他们。

不过，尽管其活动经常因总长更换频繁而受到限制甚至停顿，教育部仍然享有很高的威信。随着国家趋于统一，任命一位合适的总长，能使教育部在未来的岁月里，仍然成为促进教育的动力，尽管地方的积极性很可能会受到更多的鼓励，而教育部以前官僚政治的影响会被削弱。

(2)省级教育行政管理　在中国的各省，现存的教育行政机构有三种形式，即教育司、教育科、教育厅。广东省曾试图实行第四种模式，即教育委员会，但现在又废除了。西南各省一般采用教育司的形式，如云南、贵州、湖南。云南、贵州两省的教育司长由省长任命，湖南则由省议会选举产生。广西、四川的省一级教育行政组织称为教育科。在法律上，教育科的权力没有教育司大。其他各省都实行教育厅的体制，其主要负责人称为教育厅长。教育厅长经教育总长推荐，由中华民国总统任命，在教育部直接领导下工作。但是在指导本省教育事务、督促其下级管理当地教育方面，又要受省长领导。所以教育厅长是受到教育总长和省长双重领导的。其结果是，不同的省份教育厅长的权力也就大小不一，这主要取决于省长的意愿。因为教育厅长离教育部远而离省长近，对他来说，执行省长的指令比执行在北京的上级的指令更为实惠。

省教育厅下辖二至三个科室来处理大量的教育事务。此外，每省还有四至六名视学。

(3)地方教育行政管理　地方教育行政分为县和学区两级。省级下面是县，县级教育行政内有两种体系：起先是劝学所，它的功能和职责是在教育管理方面协助县知事或监督自治区域内的学校工作。劝学所有一名所长和几名劝学员。但是，除所长外，在县知事下面还有一名教育秘书以及一名不受劝学所长管辖的县视学。这三人的意见很难统一，事实证明，这种三足鼎立式的县级教育管理体制存在很多问题，如今正逐渐被新产生的县教育局取代。

县教育局这种体制创立于1922年，它试图统一县级学校行政管理。在这种体制下，县视学由教育局长领导，教育局长经县知事推荐由省教育厅任命。这种新体制还有另一种尝试，即给特别城市以更多的权力，

让其独立管理自己的学校，而让县政府只管理乡村教育。这个原则虽已广为人知，但实际上并没有得到强有力的实施。

学区是最低的一级教育行政组织。一个县划分成好几个学区，每个学区有一名管理学校事务的教育委员，有时还附设一名助手。中国并没有授予学区足够的权力以履行它们在教育管理方面的职责，因此它是一个十分松散、效率很低的组织。唯独山西省的地方教育行政组织最好，县里的每一个乡村，城市的每一条街道，都有人负责主管教育福利事业，并且他们都有职有权。所以，改革最基层教育组织是当今所面临的最迫切的任务之一。

2．视学与督导　在中国，视学分为三级，即国家级、省级、县级。

据1913年颁布的《条例》，全国划分为八个视学区，每区有两名国家级视学。对学校的常规视察时间一般始于每年八月下半月，止于第二年六月上半月。视察内容包括普通教育和社会教育的各个阶段。特别视察则依据教育总长的特别命令进行。视学不外出视察时，则被要求留在教育部里以备执行可能交给他们的其余任务。在过去几年中，这些规定只是一纸空文，全国视察活动几乎完全没有实行。

省视学由省教育厅长任命，较小省份有四名视学，较大的省份则有五六名。省以下设有县视学。根据旧体制，县视学是代表县知事视察学校的。但是采用县教育局的新体制后，县视学划归教育局长领导，每年视察他们所负责的学校一至三次。

视学的职责在教育法规中都有具体的条例规定。国家级视学和省级视学有七条职责，县视学有十三条职责。但是实际上，一些视学仅是参观者、报告者，更有甚者成为吹毛求疵者。他们大都不明白视学的职责是给予在岗的校长及教员以启发、鼓励和帮助。近年来已经出现了抗议消极视学的声音，主张用一种建设性的督导制度来取代。江苏省在这方面树立了很好的榜样。从去年开始，教育厅长邀请国立东南大学和另外几个研究所的数位专家担任专科督导，由此职业教育、自然科学教学、体育训练、师范教育等几方面的监督都得以设立。今年，又引进了社会科学与国语的督导。这就为中国的视学和督导制度开创了一个新时代。

3．教育财政　简言之，中国三个不同级别的学校的经费来源各不相同。高等教育经费主要靠国家拨款，中等教育经费靠省级政府出资，初等教育经费则靠县及地方筹资。虽有例外，但这种说法一般是与实情相符的。

国家财政收入来自关税、盐税、印花税、烟酒专卖证，电报、铁路、邮电等事业的利润，以及土地税和厘金等，因此国家用于国民教育的经费也是从这些综合来源中提取的。除了清华学校、交通大学、武昌师范大学等少数几所学府有其获取经费的特殊来源外，其他国立学校均

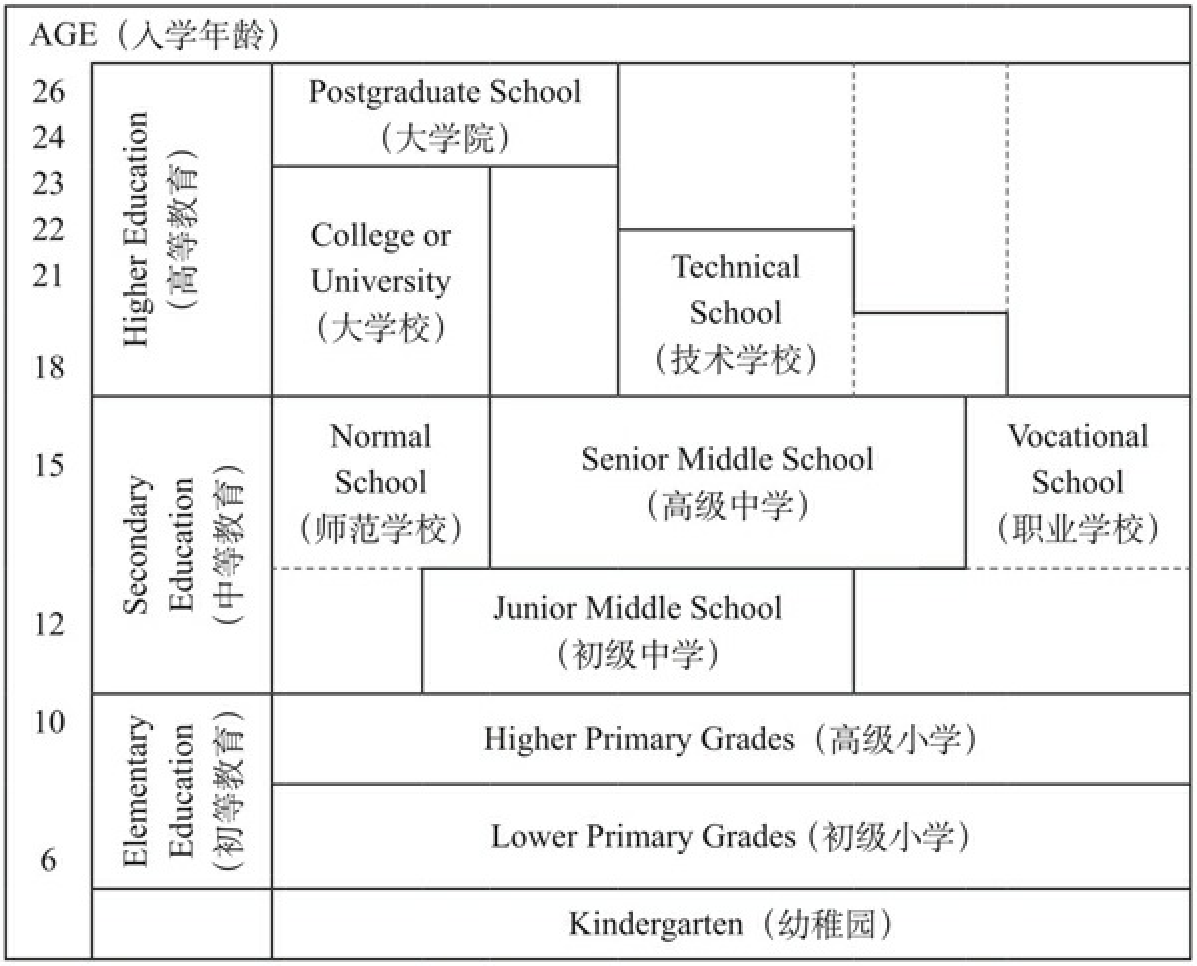
需从总的国家拨款中获得其经费份额。校址不在北京的国立学校的经费从各省金库所保管的国家经费中提取。根据1919年预算——唯一准确制定了的预算，政府用于国民教育的拨款为5,028,836元，不到该年政府总支出的百分之一。

虽然各省都有自己办的专科院校，省级政府主要关注的仍然是中等教育。目前各省都有办一所学科齐全的高等院校的趋势，但至今成功的极少。省教育经费主要来自附加税，尤其是土地附加税。江苏和浙江正在征收烟草特别税，专门用于省级教育经费。两年前，四川试图把近200万元生猪税用于教育，但效果并不明显。河南省采取对契约转让和所有权转让征税的办法，每年约有100万元的收入可用作教育经费。面对财政困难，人们虽然提出了许多新的教育经费解困办法，但都还处于试验和摸索阶段。为了使人们对各省教育经费的支出有个大致概念，兹列举出几个极端的代表性省份为例：江苏每年280万元，浙江150万元，江西仅60万元。

通常，县级用于初等教育的经费来自土地附加税、杂捐、租金以及从历代留传下来的校产所得的收益。迄今为止，山西省对学校的资助经费制度是全国范围内最完善的。在城镇，按商店和房屋的区位来划分等级确定征税金额，税款用来资助城镇的小学；在乡村，则按照土地质量征土地税，用以资助乡村教育。

由于政局动荡，军费开支无常，办学人员面临着教育经费不能受到稳定保障的局面。经费已经严重短缺的省份有广东、福建、江西、四川、安徽和湖南；稍好一些的有奉天、云南、山西、陕西、山东和河南。但是，总体上中国的教员是最有牺牲精神的人。

我们现在最关心的问题是：（1）如何通过法律保障和经济措施来保证教育经费支付的常规化，使从教人员免受经济拮据的困扰，能全身心投入教育；（2）如何调整税收制度，以求教育负担和受教育的机会均等；（3）如何在不损伤地方积极性的基础上建立一项适当的分配和补贴机制来鼓励教学活动；（4）如何节约使用现有经费，从而能以最小的开支获取最大的教育效果。



③　新学制

1．学制　“过去二十年内中国至少换了四种学制。”最新的学制是1922年修订的，它始于全国教育会联合会1919年所召开的第七次会议的提议[3]，经过三年审议而通过。在此没有篇幅讨论学制的历史演变过程，下面在讨论各级各类学校时将对学制形成中的各种问题有所涉及。1922年以来成立的各种新学制课程起草委员会忙于拟定新的课程，旨在为新学制框架填充新鲜教育内容。今年除了职业教育的少部分课程外，各级各类学校的新课程均已制定就绪，并已由全国教育会联合会第十次会议表决批准，然后提交教育部公布。

上图是教育部第二十三号令所采用的新学制图解。需要提请注意的是，图中左行之年龄表示学生入学及升级之标准，但实施时，仍以其智力、成绩或他种因素分别定之。

2．各级学校

(1)学前和幼稚园教育　新学制包括了幼稚园教育，幼稚园主要招收六岁以下的儿童。师范学校的实验小学，尤其是女子师范学校的实验小学一般都附设幼稚园，有些私人和教会学校也开办幼稚园，但幼稚园

的总数仍相当少。幼稚园的保教给孩子们提供了一个积极自我表达，以及儿童与教员间互动的机会。目前最迫切需要的是有足够多的学校来培养幼教师资。1924年1月，江苏省教育行政会议通过了一项加强培训幼教师资的决议，表明人们已认识到了这种需求。湖南教育会今年也倡导在城镇创办更多的幼稚园。江苏省义务教育期成会还建议在小学低年级采用幼稚园的教育方法。还有一件令人鼓舞且意义重大的事情是国立东南大学陈鹤琴教授指导幼稚园开展教育实验。幼稚园中所使用的教材和教法都是照搬外国，其中一些也许并不符合中国儿童——有感于这一事实，他带领工作人员在1923年秋季开始尝试自制玩具、中国儿歌和童话以及其他的教材。他还打算使幼稚园不仅成为幼童教育的中心，而且成为母亲培训中心。中华教育改进社和陈教授已达成合作协议，其中包括试点以尽可能少的开支开办幼儿教育，从而使幼稚园教育得到最大范围的推广。

(2)初等教育根据新学制，小学修读期限为六年，但依当地实际情况可延长一年。小学校分为初级小学和高级小学，前者的修业期限为四年，并可单独设立。

由小学十八人委员会起草的小学各科课程如下表：

委员会还建议小学一二年级每周授课时间不得少于1,080分钟，三四年级不得少于1,260分钟，高年级则不得少于1,440分钟。上述课时数按每周六天分成若干节课。乡村小学的课程可以合并和简化，但国语和算术讲授时间绝对不能减少。

根据新学制规定，义务教育暂定为四年。如果当地条件允许，时间可以延长。义务教育的入学年龄由各省区根据各自情况自行规定。

自清朝以来，中央政府就一直打算实施义务教育。直到1920年才由教育部规划出在特定时间内各类地区实施义务教育的明确步骤。其详细规定如下：

1921年，省城及通商口岸；
1922年，县城及市镇；
1923年，五百户以上的村镇；
1924年，三百户以上的村镇；
1925—1926年，二百户以上的村镇；
1927年，一百户以上的村庄；
1928年，不足百户的村庄。

由于近年来的政局不稳，上述计划很少得到积极实施，唯独山西一省取得了引人注目的成绩。山西计划从1918年到1921年，用七个半年完成上述七步计划。虽然并不能说取得了圆满的成功，但最近回收的统计数据表明，现在该省已有72%以上的学龄儿童在校就读。此外，还规定

25岁以下的成人文盲须上成人业余补习学校学习常用汉字、算术和公民常识。

值得一提的是，乡村教育运动是与初等教育相关的另一个方面。中国80%以上的人口居住在农村，因此密切关注乡村教育显得特别重要。最近，“回到农村去”的运动已积聚了很大的力量。中华教育改进社已经建立了乡村教育特别委员会。全国教育会联合会今年十月在开封召开的第十次会议，也着重商讨了这一重要问题。江苏义务教育期成会八月在无锡召开的会议花费了三天时间草拟出发展乡村学校的七条切实可行的建议。江苏义务教育期成会和中华教育改进社已开始对具有代表性的地区的典型乡村学校进行专门调查。尽管调查报告尚不全面，但已引起了人们对乡村教育的极大兴趣和很高的热情。鉴于一般的乡村都拿不出太多的钱来兴办教育，中华教育改进社选择了几所校长有建设新乡村领导才能的乡村学校进行实验，以期用最少的钱创办出最好的乡村教育。但愿在今后的几年内，实验所确立的乡村教育标准能够在全国范围内采用。

经过数百年对全国各地方言不同的现象进行斗争，中国实际上已经解决了语言问题。胡适博士的“文学革命”已在初等学校产生了深远的影响。白话，或称之为“活的语言”，现在已受到绝大多数初等学校的欢迎。然而奉天当局却表示反对采用白话文，广东省对于此种改变也仍持犹豫的态度。但是从长远看，生动活泼的白话文终将在所有的初等学校普及。

(3)中等教育　关于中等教育，新学制规定：“中等学校修业为期六年，分为初高两级。初级三年，高级三年。……初级中学施行普通教育，并得视地方需要，兼设各种职业科。高级中学分为普通、农、工、商、师范等科，但得酌量地方情形，单设一科或兼设数科。”

中等学校实行选科制。一个学分就是指上一小时课再加课外预备，无须预备的课程，应酌量折算减少学分。初中毕业要求修满180个学分，其中164个学分为必修的。由十二人委员会起草的初级中学必修课程如上表。

由九人委员会起草的高级中学的课程由三个学年构成，即：（1）所有学生必修的公共课，大约占总学分的43%；（2）专业必修课随各专业而异；（3）纯选修课不得超过学分的20%。高级中学阶段的职业课程尚未公布。普通科课目分为两组，即：文学和社会科学组、数学和自然科学组。这两类所设置的课程如下：

正如孟禄博士于1921年对中国教育作了全面调查之后所指出的那样，中等教育是整个中国教育体制中最薄弱的一环。自那时以来，中华教育改进社和全国中等教育联合会两个全国性教育团体对这一阶段教育

的各个不同层面作了认真思考。行政管理人员、中学校长以及教职员工同样把注意力集中到了这方面。这里不妨扼要地叙述一下当前中国中等教育几个比较重要的问题及发展倾向。

第一，改进中学的理科教学现已提上议事日程，教育学者、中学校长及教员对此都十分重视。理科教学是中学教育中最为薄弱的环节。中学理科教学只是通过课堂及相关教材来传授，学生们很少有机会积极参与实验。理科学习旨在持有实验的态度以及获取有效控制自然的能力，而这些一直被大大地忽视了。有鉴于此，中华教育改进社通过孟禄博士邀请美国俄亥俄州立大学推士教授对中国的理科教学进行专门研究并提出改进的意见。推士教授在对中国10个省的187所学校进行周密细致的调查之后，给我们留下了一份内容极为丰富且附有建设性建议的报告。这份调查报告已经以《中国的科学与教育》为题出版了。

另一件令人鼓舞、值得一提的事是中国科学社正在将改进理科教学提上议事日程。科学社的成员几乎包括了全国科学领域所有优秀的学者，将对促进理科教育发挥巨大的作用。该社已选定江苏省作为调研与实验基地。

第二个近几年来引起人们很大关注的是中等学校的国语教学问题。这门重要的课程先前以极不科学的、枯燥无味的方法教授。教师们由于缺乏教育及心理学的培训，所以不得不依赖灌输式教育和逐字讲授的教学方法。当胡适博士于1922年在济南召开的全国教育会联合会上宣读他的论文《中学的国文教育》时，改革国文教学首次引起人们关注。继胡博士的演讲之后，先后出现三十多篇关于改进中国语文教学的文章，其中大多数于近两年发表。目前，关于这个问题的探讨正在从主观、经验性向客观、实验性转化，白话文在中学和小学所处的地位各不相同，趋势是年级愈高，白话文愈少，随之增加的是古文教学。

第二种趋势，即中学愈来愈强调纪律。自五四运动以来，学校的纪律大为松弛。许多校长和教员简直无法管理学生。然而近两年出现了一种反弹：一方面是对学生加以消极防范，禁止学生参加迄今为止他们一直积极参加的一些活动；另一方面是在学校当局的监督之下，鼓励学生管理自己、自我控制。学校现已尝试各种方法以实现这两种趋势，所以，有充分理由相信，学生的操行将因此而有所改观。

第三种倾向即是基于民族感情反对将外语作为初中必修课。尽管规定必修的外语为36学分，然而，在如此强烈的反对面前,今后是否能继续保持这么多学分，还是一个问题。

第四种倾向是在中等学校不断加强职业技能培训。正如《国立北京大学、国立东南大学入学考试统计》所显示，能够录取的考生不到10%。这一比率在近几年并没有发生多大变化。职业教育倡导者认为中

等学校作为大学预科的性质应该大大削弱。很多学校以增加职业化课程积极回应此类号召。但是，这些课程如何适应学生在工作中的需要并为他们提供终身化的职位，这个问题至今没有找到令人满意的答案。

第五种倾向是中等学校男女分校。近几年有些中学已试行男生女生共同接受教育，但是学校数量十分有限。虽然人们赞成在高等学校和小学实行男女同校，但中学男女同校却遭到极其强烈的反对。今年三月在湖南和今年八月在山东开始实际禁止中学男女同校。江苏采取了比较温和的态度，规定男子师范学校可以招收女生，城市里的中学在作好充分准备的情况下可以男女同校。

(4)高等教育　根据新学制，“高等教育机构可由几个学院构成，也可以是一个独立的学院。修读大学或者学院的时间一般在四至六年。”最高层的是大学院，为大学毕业及具有同等程度者研究之所。

从这两个表中可以看到中国高等教育的一些情况［见左页及本页］。

今年这个名单中增加了几所大学，其中较重要的是国立广东大学及陕西的西北大学。

至于中国大学教育的近代发展趋势，第一个即是科学研究的趋势，我们可援引蔡（元培）校长的一段话加以说明。他说：“所谓大学者，非仅为多数学生按时授课，造成一毕业生之资格而已也，实以是为共同研究学术之机关。研究也者，非徒输入欧化，而必于欧化之中为更进之发明；非徒保存国粹，而必以科学方法，揭国粹之真相。”

第二个值得一提的趋势是要求学术自由。如果外部的干涉太多，则任何一种科学思想及研究都不可能顺利发展。政府的干预总是激起高等院校的怨恨和排斥。今年，当教育部公布新的《国立大学条例》时，遭到了国立北京大学教授们的强烈反对，最终不得不将此《条例》暂缓施行。

再就是全国各大学及学院有更加密切的合作趋势。今年七月，为处理有关高等教育中共同利益攸关的问题，中华教育改进社在南京开会时发起正式成立中国大学联合会。可以相信，这样的机构如果正常发挥作用，必定可以提高大学工作的总体水准。

第四个趋势是高等教育向女性开放。绝大多数中国大学已为女性敞开大门，并实行了男女同校。北京女子高师也已获许可跻身于大学行列。

最后一个趋势是私立学院有了异乎寻常的增长。仅在北京，今年秋天即有大约十所私立学院成立。在其他的大城市，也可见到类似的情况。然而政府拒绝承认那些办学目的可疑的学校。

(5)职业教育　在新学制中，职业教育占有重要地位。“小学课程得

［于较高年级酌地方情形，］增置职业准备之教育。……初级中学……［得视地方需要，］兼设各种职业科。……高级中学分为普通、农、工、商及师范科（后来增加家事科）。……职业学校之期限及程度，得酌量各地方实际需要情形定之。”

根据这些规定，职业教育课程委员会花了三年时间编写了16种不同课程的教材，这个工作实际已经完成了。除了小学的职业预备课程和高等院校的专门职业课程外，已拟定三级职业教育的课程，即：（1）为四年制初小毕业生开设的职业课程；（2）为六年制小学毕业生开设的职业课程；（3）为初中毕业生开设的职业课程。

关于实习时间及普通课程的安排，职业学校联合会及时提出了下列建议，并最终被采纳。第一，实习时间的安排不应少于课堂教学的时间，即每周不少于18至24小时。其次，职业学校的课程应分为三类，即职业课、职业基础课及普通课。普通课的学习时数至少应占学习总数的20%。

近年来职业教育的重要发展可列举如下：四川、贵州、广西、浙江以及福建诸省已根据新学制颁布了重建职业教育的计划；山西已成立了一个省级的职业教育委员会，并为20个学区中的每一个学区任命了一位督学，专门负责管理该区域的职业教育、义务教育及平民教育；云南已将烟草税专用于发展职业教育；湖北则令各县调拨教育经费的20%用于发展职业训练。在上海、南京、济南及武昌等地发起了“一周职业指导运动”，唤起了人们对这种教育形式的极大兴趣。最后，教育部已命令所有女中提供家政学的实习机会。中华职业教育社也提供了一笔特别经费，专用于促进女子职业教育。

④　师资培训

关于师资培训，新学制有以下规定：“师范学校修业年限为六年，得单设后二年或后三年，收受初级中学毕业生。……为补充初级小学师资不足，得酌设相当年期之师范学校或师范讲习科。”新学制还规定，“得于相当学校内酌设职业教员养成科”。中等学校教师由四年制师范学院培养。“依旧制设立之高等师范学校，应于相当时期内提高程度，收受高级中学毕业生，修业年限四年，称为师范大学校。”“为补充初级中学之不足，得设二年之师范专修科，附设于大学教育科或师范大学校，亦得设于师范学校或高级中学，收受师范学校及高级中学毕业生。”

师范学校的课程已由一个专门委员会制订完毕，已拟定出来的有三组课程。

第一套课程是为三年制师范学校拟定的，与高级中学程度相当。它的普通必修课和高中是一样的，只是增加了4学分的音乐，总共有68学

分。专业必修课由以下科目组成：心理学入门2学分，教育心理3学分，普通教学法2学分，各科教学法6学分，小学各科教材研究6学分，教育测验与统计3学分，小学校行政3学分，教育原理3学分，教学实习20学分，总计48学分。选修科目有两类：（1）分组选修，（2）纯粹选修。分组选修的目的是满足三类未来教师的需要，即：（1）对语言、文学及社会科学有特殊爱好者，（2）对数学及自然科学有特殊爱好者，（3）对艺术及体育有特殊爱好者。每组学生将从本组选修课中至少选择20学分的课程。此外，全体学生将从九种教育课程中至少选修8学分。纯粹选修课由各校自行决定。

第二套课程是为相当于六年制中学的六年制师范学校拟定的。一般来说，在这种师范学校中保留了初级中学的特点，然而，整个课程的安排是一个连贯的过程，并没有中途间断。这套课程比较简单，一般适合较小的学校采用。因此，在这种学校里没有分组的差异，而且几乎没有选修课。在毕业时需修读完的330学分中，必修课程为319学分，选修课仅为11学分。

第三套课程是专门为培训初小四个低年级的教员而拟定的。它有三种形式，即：招收六年制小学毕业生的三年制课程，招收旧高小毕业生的二年制课程及招收初中毕业生的一年制课程。所有这三种形式的课程内容都已仔细拟定出来。由于篇幅所限，此处不能一一列举，仅简单列表［见左页］。

从师范学校这些新课程中可以看出四个重要变化：第一，更灵活多样。这就使得师范学校的校长能够依据当地特殊的条件办学，而不必像过去那样只能使用唯一的标准课程。第二，更强调专业课程。吸纳新近的教育发展成果用于培养更优秀的教员。第三，安排了更多时间的教学实习。第四，十分重视教材及各科教学法。以前，对于小学的需求未予以充分了解与满足，绝大多数师范学校因袭中学的模式。这种对初等教育各科的强调自然标志着师范教育新纪元的到来。

实际上，高等师范学校正在忙于使自身升级为师范学院。旧的师范学校也正在根据其自身需要及条件采用六年制或三年制课程。部分高中也开设了新的师范科。另一个很重要的动向是乡村教师的培养正在越来越受到重视。从去年起江苏已创办了五所乡村师范。中华教育改进社、国立东南大学教育学院及农学院、中华职业教育社、江苏义务教育期成会及江苏教育会正在协商创立一所培养乡村教师的实验性师范学校。国立东南大学乡村教育教授、中华教育改进社乡村教育部主任赵叔愚（崇鼎）先生已被推选来组建这所学校。

绝大多数师范学校免除学生食宿学杂费，也有学校招收半费生或全费生，但是数量很少。作为回报，正规渠道录取的免费师范生毕业后必

须视情况到小学或中学执教。几年前在江苏省的一项调查表明，80%以上的师范生毕业后都从事教学工作。强制服务的规定执行得相当宽松。在全国教育会联合会开封会议所通过的决议中，显示出要求更严格地执行这一规定的趋势。今年江苏省已禁止县师范科毕业生在服务期满以前继续深造，奉天省甚至推行在强制服务期满后再颁发文凭的计划。

除了师范毕业生以外，所有其他小学教员都要申请教师资格证明。教师资格证明有两种：（1）通过考试获取的资格证明；（2）不须考试的资格证明。凡在中学学习过二年或二年以上者，或在小学执教一年或一年以上，或从半年或半年以上师范科毕业，或有足够的教育学知识，学习过所教的学科，并能通过书面文章或论文反映其水平的申请者，通过正规师范学校学科考试，依照不同的等级和性别，即可取得教员资格。助理教员的考试要容易得多。无须通过有关科目考试即可获得资格证明的人员是：（1）有一年或一年以上小学教龄的中学毕业生；（2）学习成绩良好的中等实业学校毕业生；（3）能胜任所习学科教学的专科学校毕业生；（4）有三年小学教龄，由县督学证明其服务成绩优良的小学教员。

凡申请资格证明者，都需提交学校文凭和担保人保证其品行端正的保单，并须通过体检。

在中国，教员资格证明是由省资格审查委员会负责开出。发证情况由省长每年向北京的教育部报告。

至于中国教员的酬劳，江苏省曾作过一次简单的调查，其结果如下［见左页］。

1921年，由郃（爽秋）先生主持的另一次调查，范围涉及六省，其结果是：所有小学教员的年平均薪金为（墨西哥）银洋160.25元，他们第一年服务的平均年薪为银洋125.10元。即使充分考虑到在中国货币有很高的购买力，我们仍然必须承认，现在付给小学教员的薪金是很低的。新的趋势是：根据教员教学经验及专业知识的增长相应提高薪金。然而，当下的问题是如何更常规化地向教员支付薪金。

除了提高收入外，还试图通过酬金来鼓励长时期从事教学工作的教员。退休金制的重要性尚未为人们充分认识，然而已经有了一个良好的开端。浙江教育行政会议已建议施行一种计划，即为任职六年的小学教师安排一年的学术假；为工作二十年，或工作十年后丧失工作能力的教师每年支付相当于其最后一年年薪四分之一的退休金。此会议还建议实行一种特别补助金制度，一旦教员去世，其家属可获得一笔相当于教员年薪四分之一至百分之百的补助金。今年，江苏教育会已采用了一项临时退休金制度。根据这项制度，一位小学教员只要有下列情况之一者，即可得到相当于他工作最后一年年薪三分之一的退休金：（1）连续任

职八年后因疾病不能从事工作，（2）他在履行公职时严重致残或丧失工作能力，（3）连续任职二十年后因年老退休。此外，他的一名子女可到所在省份的任何一所公立学校免费就读。

关于小学教师的任期，几乎还没有做过什么调查。根据规定，教师的聘约通常以半年为期。几年前在江苏省13所学校中收集的有关教员服务期的数据可以说明一些情况［见左页］，但是切不可把这些并不充分的数据作为全国的代表性数据。

目前中国急需教师。若按4,000万初小四年学龄儿童就读作为基数估算，我们至少需要为这四个年级配备100万名教师。但根据最近的报告，我们现在仅有在岗初小教员223,279名。为了实施全国范围的义务教育，需要增加超过三倍于现在的师资力量。现在师范学校和师范科共有学生总数为43,846名，即每年只能培养不到10,000名教师，而需求却是770,000名。问题既严重又紧迫，但只能逐步解决。

⑤　最近的若干教育活动及其发展

1．教育测验和测量　中国的教育测验运动始于四五年前南京的廖（茂如）、陈（鹤琴）两位教授，北京的刘（廷芳）、张（耀翔）两位教授开设科学化教育测量课程，并在搭建测验平台方面做了些原创性的工作。但是直到1922年哥伦比亚大学师范学院威廉·安德森·麦考尔教授来华，这个运动才展现出强劲的势头。麦考尔教授与中国各个中心机构的心理学家协作，成功地拟定了供中小学使用的20套测验。今年增加的测验如下：

1.英语综合测验
安德森
2.地理测验
扬格
3.算术练习测验
俞
4.绘画测验
俞
5.智力测验
刘–布莱德肖
6.自我调查综合测验
推孟
7.初小非语言智力测验
陈
8.高小非语言智力测验
陈

9.高小汉语语法测验
陈
10.数学综合测验
廖
11.科学综合测验
廖
12.国语和文学测验
廖
13.国语语法测验
廖
14.历史测验
廖
15.地理测验
廖

中国关于测验的改进有两个特点值得一提：第一，所有的测验都以统一的新体系（即T. B. C. F.测量编制法[4]）为依据来确定评分等级，由此获得的历次测验得分之间具有可比性，有助于将测验结果列表并加以解释，所有的使用指南都以同一种标准设计为模板，教师只须学习一种操作步骤即可。第二，所有的测验都由中华教育改进社出版，这便省去了学校教员到处寻找测验题的麻烦。

1923年秋，燕京大学推孟教授、北京师范大学查（良钊）教授曾应中华教育改进社的要求，使用特别设计及自我控制的测验进行合作性的自测。“这种自测的目的是使教育者熟悉各种测验，推动教师们利用中华教育改进社即将出版的各种自助指南，在中小学生中间举行一次全国性竞赛。”尽管这种测量有其缺点，但是实现了它最初的目的。有关情况的最后报告已由推孟教授撰写成《中国初等学校效率》一书，于今年春天出版。

2．学生的医疗及社会福利　小学学生的健康及社会福利比中学学生的健康福利受到更多的重视。一些较好的学校，如香山慈幼院，以及东南大学、北京男子高等师范学堂、北京女子高等师范学校所办实验学校和湖南楚怡学校等，为儿童提供了许多参加社会活动的机会，并极为关心儿童的身体健康。我们可以从北京女子高等师范学校实验学校得到关于这方面的报告。这所学校有590名学生，1920年开始设置校医，每学期进行一次体格检查，要求学生每年注射一次疫苗。在课外活动时间，强调自由活动及运动，既有中国的运动项目，也有外国的运动项目。体育课上练习矫正体操，卫生课上传授一般的保健常识。学校也注意通风、采光、座位等。学校园艺是学校为学生提供的另一种健康的娱乐方式。

此外，学校鼓励户外活动，每学期至少为每个班安排一次短途旅行。学校有学生自治会、文学社、班会、周会、合作商店、儿童俱乐部、儿童阅览室、储蓄社及数十个为丰富儿童的社会生活而提供充裕机会的其他组织。

在国立东南大学及中华教育改进社共同努力下，由查尔斯·哈罗德·麦克洛伊教授指导的大量研究或许可称得上是今年所做的最重要的事情。下列研究项目已经完成：

1.对人体测量学及体格检查的一系列研究。若干成果可列举如下：

（1）关于不同体型的体重研究已经完成。采用了新的体重计算基准，据此拟定的新体重卡片已准备完毕。

（2）胸围测定的研究已准备就绪。

（3）对所有通常采用的测定都进行了进一步研究，以确定它们在诊断上是否真正有用。研究的范围压缩到了少数真正重要的测定，并研究了它们如何能对学生的福利有所助益。

（4）胸围指数作为测定退化的遗传特征的基准已在编制并接近完成。

（5）研究各项最重要的测定和学生的年级之间可能存在的关系。

（6）年龄、身高、体重及运动成绩的一种新的测定方法已设计出来。

（7）对体格检查作了精细的统计研究，并制定出一种数、形结合的研究结果呈现的新方式。

2.对若干运动比赛项目做了研究，以确定与其近似的比赛项目中哪种可以被使用。例如，根据统计，在三种形式的拾土豆竞走中，最佳的方式已经确定。

3.对标准田径测试进行了深入的研究。对300名小学男生参与的11项比赛项目和330名中学男生参与的18个比赛项目进行研究，根据统计数据，确定出每一标准测验的最佳比赛项目。

4.已设计出来一种普遍适用于70余项田径运动比赛项目的记分表。这种记分表可以显示出不同的比赛项目达到同样分值的难度大致相等。

5.根据标准比赛项目及上面提到的年龄、身高、体重的测定标准，制定了确定男女生在运动比赛项目上肌肉运动商数的方法，相当准确。

6.对足球和篮球方面的标准测验进行研究，并已初步完成。

上述研究成果中的若干种已出版，有些还有待出版。当一切完成时，中国的体育教育及体格检查至少前进10年。

3．平民教育——一场扫除文盲的运动　文盲的大量存在是中国一个独特的问题。除了一亿二千万学龄前及学龄儿童，再减去八千万曾经在旧式学校平均学习过三年的人，中国仍然有两亿人，或者说占全国人口一

半的人从未受过任何教育。这是一个有待平民教育的倡导者去解决的巨大的问题。几年前，中华基督教青年会开始平民教育的新实验。1923年中华教育改进社在清华学校举行的第二届年会上，成立了以熊希龄夫人为董事长的中华平民教育促进会，平民教育运动立即得到全国范围的支持与响应。

实际上，所谓平民教育，就是教会使用大约1,200个最常用汉字为基础的四册通俗读本。一个一般的文盲每天花一小时，利用四个月的时间即可学完四册课本。四个月后，他就可以用所学词汇阅览书报、信件，也可利用这些词汇表达自己的想法。这四册课本总共只值银洋一角二分，即使赤贫者也可买得起。教文盲识字的方法有三种：第一是平民学校，由一位教员在固定时间给班上的学生上课；第二是平民读书处，它以家庭、商店以及诸如此类的地方为单位，鼓励家庭或商店里识字的人教他的亲人或同事识字；第三是平民问字处，不识字的人可就课本中他不明白的任何问题到问字处寻求解答。这些问字处一般由志愿于此工作的店主主持。通过这些方式，扫盲课本发到家庭、店铺、工厂、学校、教堂、寺庙、衙门、轮船、监狱及军营。两年内，这些课本已发行200万册。在这些课本发行后，还出版了一系列介绍各科知识的小册子。在中国通过征收愚民捐实行义务平民教育的日子已经为期不远了。平民教育的朋友有决心在这一代创造消灭两亿文盲的奇迹。

4. 理科教学的发展　一段时期以来，对理科教学成效不满的情绪日渐增长，尤其反映在中等学校的理科教学方面。这种不满不仅仅是针对简陋的设备，更主要是针对所采用的方法。1922年，纽约国际教育研究所保罗·孟禄博士访华，他的观察证实了许多人关于理科教学的意见。在他的推荐下，中华教育改进社邀请了俄亥俄州立大学推士博士来华协助改进理科教学方法。他在中国进行了相当广泛的旅行，虽然逗留时间不长、建议有限，但是他的来访对中国理科教员仍是一个有力的激励。另一个值得一提的重要事件是为理科教师创办了暑期讲习班，理科教师们可以利用暑期，在专家指导下深入地学习研究。这类讲习班须由教育团体与科学团体共同举办。第一期讲习班已于1924年在北京清华学校开办，第二期讲习班将在南京国立东南大学举办。

5. 图书馆运动　远在公元前数世纪的周朝，中国就有了图书馆，但是只有极少数知识贵族方能利用，一般的学生几乎是不可能问津的，更不用说平民百姓了。随着新教育的兴起，学校逐渐创办了图书馆。到今年为止，中国已有12所设备优良、现代化的大学图书馆，以及相当数量设备良好的中等学校图书馆。这意味着教师和学生将有更多的机会探求知识。与此同时，位于各教育中心的古籍图书馆尽管犹豫，仍逐渐向比较高级的读者开放。

一些高等教育机构认识到运用现代管理方式管理图书馆的必要性，已经不断派遣学生们出国学习图书馆学。当1922年中华教育改进社在济南举行第一次年会时，中国已有几位受过现代管理方法培训的图书馆专家了。在中华教育改进社的赞助下，他们立即开始组建图书馆委员会，旨在推动创立更多的图书馆，以更先进的管理方法管理图书馆，吸引更多的人使用图书馆。为了更有效地实现这些计划，在1923年中华教育改进社于清华学校举行的第二次年会上，他们通过了一项组织地方图书馆协会的决议。此后，1924年有八个地方协会成立。当1924年7月第三次年会在国立东南大学举行时，他们自然又期待着成立全国性的中华图书馆协会，以便协调致力于发展与改进图书馆的个人和团体。这个全国性的组织预定于1925年成立。由此，要求提供更多更好图书及图书馆的呼声响彻全国。我们的图书馆专家正在不失时机地作出他们独有的贡献。与此同时，呼吁更多的人读书及使用图书馆的号召正在得到平民教育倡导者们的响应。图书馆运动中最好的朋友之一伍德小姐及其他朋友正四处奔走，力求得到美国庚子赔款基金的一些份额，用来在中国建立示范公共图书馆。中华教育改进社已请求美国图书馆学会派遣一名图书馆专家来华，帮助为这一事业拟订一份系统的计划。

⑥　教会教育

据中华基督教教育会副总干事华莱士博士陈述，现在可能有总数近30万的学生在新教教会学校学习，而且这个数字还在增长之中。从1920年到1924年的四年中，大学生增加了76%。科斯坦蒂尼大主教表示，在天主教会学校学习的学生为253,953人。因此，在中国每100名学生中，即有8名是教会学校学生。

中华基督教高等教育会的组建是今年教会教育突出的一件大事。该会任命了一个理事会作为临时机构，该理事会也是中华基督教教育会的高等教育理事会。这样，就把高等教育与中华基督教教育会的其他活动联系起来了。理事会干事洛本斯坦牧师现正从事研究各高校，特别是这些学校的财政状况以及对它们的工作进行协调的可能性。理事会的主要目的是使经费来源有限的基督教高等学校在满足中国需要上作出最有成效的贡献。

尽管教会教育成绩斐然，但仍在三个方面受到了抨击：第一，教会学校完全操纵在外国人手中，即使是有资格的中国基督教徒，也很难有机会在其中担任管理职务。第二，教会向尚未成熟、不能自己做出明智抉择的年幼儿童灌输宗教。最后一点，部分中国人非常怀疑传教机构正在组织一个与政府的教育系统平起平坐的基督教教育系统，担心有朝一日很可能成为大群体内部的一个不能相容的小群体。

基于上述事实，在今年七月和十月举行的两次全国教育会议上，我

们目睹了教会教育遭到连续的抨击。然而，比较保守的中国人却认为，在这个过渡阶段，那些比较自由的教会教育的独特贡献在于作为政府举办教育的有益补充，能为学生提供更多的受教育机会，并为学校纪律树立一个较好的榜样。他们也认为教会教育应变得更加社会化、自由化、中国化。最后，他们还感到，如果传教机构将它们的力量和资源集中于少数几个高校，而不是耗费在创立质量较差的中小学上，那么它们将能够作出更大的贡献。他们认为，传教机构以及其他私立机构也许可以开办实验性质的中小学，但大量发展这类学校并由此建立一种体系的尝试迟早要同政府的体制发生冲突。

⑦　几句结束语

中国的教育工作者正在十分困难的逆境中工作。他们并不因为困难而沮丧，而是把逆境视为努力奋斗的机会。现在中国堪称为一块教育工作的处女地，或者可以叫做一种社会工作的真空，无论注入多少力量都能够被吸收。因此，如果真正要理解当今中国的教育，不仅要看到面对的困难，更要看到人们为之付出的努力。

CHINA[1]

A Introduction

General Survey of the Forces Acting upon Chinese Education

Education as a social institution and process is constantly influenced by the political, social, economic, and physical forces of the environment in which education is carried on. These forces may be favorable or unfavorable to the development of education. They may handicap the orderly working out of educational schemes as well as stimulate further educational activities. In order to secure a better understanding of Chinese education in this year, it is necessary to have before us a picture of the more important forces that have been acting and reacting upon educational thought and practice during the same period.

Politically the year opens with a nationwide dissatisfaction over the election of Tsou Kun to the Presidency on October 10, 1923. It was felt that this election must inevitably breed internal war, although at that time no one could tell when such a war would come. It is the teachers of the land who worry most, because many of them have felt that the example of one election would be powerful enough to nullify the educational effort of ten years. The schoolman cannot but be stimulated to consider how through education the character of future representatives could be trained if representative government is a good thing for this country. Education for citizenship as a movement has here received its great momentum.

Following the election, the leaders of different political parties began to ally themselves in a united front against the Chihli Party. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Marshals Tuan Chi-shui and Chang Tso-ling, although differing on national policies, are one in their effort against Tsou Kun and Wu Pei-fu. In less than a year's time, we find the Chihli Party and the Anti-Chihli Parties meeting on the battlefield.The expenses involved in military operations on both sides are estimated at not less than twenty million dollars gold. If the loss of civilian property and the harvest is included, no less than seventy-five million dollars gold have been lost in this present war.

The year begins with a military force of one and one-half million soldiers.The preparation for hostilities on all sides nearly throughout the year has greatly increased the number of soldiers at public expense.The total

expenditure for army purposes has been estimated to be about one hundred fifty million dollars gold.This is the burden of militarism on the Chinese people.

Militarism and the present war as its result have affected education in two ways. In the first place, they have drained away enormous resources which might have been turned into the development of education. In the second place, they serve to stimulate the introduction of vocational education into the armies.The educators had constantly in their minds the demobilization of soldiers as one of the fundamental ways of saving the country;but they also believed that many of the soldiers cannot be disbanded without giving them first a vocational training for independent living. Vocational training for the rehabilitation of disabled soldiers is a direct outcome of the present war.

Foreign Affairs

In international relations, there are three phases which need special mention. The treaties hitherto made between foreign countries and China on unequal terms have been attacked this year more ardently than at any time before.These have humiliated the Chinese people and caused the assumption of a superior air on the part of not a few foreigners. A Chinese writer has remarked, “As foreigners love us, we love them in return;but as foreigners despise us, we hate them.”These treaties have occasioned the recent development of a strong nationalistic tendency which has even found expression in educational conferences held this year. The present attack on missionary education in China, aside from religious reasons, is partly due to the indirect influence of this nation-wide opposition to unequal treaties, cancellation of which by mutual consent will benefit all parties concerned. It is believed that such a cancellation by mutual consent will not only enable China to occupy a more appropriate place in the family of nations but will make our foreign friends feel much more at home in China.

The next thing which should be considered is the restoration of diplomatic relationship with Russia. Through the cancellation of all treaties made between Old Russia and the Tsing Dynasty, Russia has won a warm friendship from the Chinese people.This was shown in the honor accorded to Lenin, on January 26, and in the parade for demanding the recognition of Russia. The good feeling entertained by the Chinese toward New Russia is not so much for Russia's Bolshevism as for Russia's stand for international justice and equality, not in words but in action. It is yet too early to forecast

the influences of this new friend upon our education. However, one thing we are pretty sure of is that contact with New Russia will make Chinese education less favorable for further realization of imperialism and capitalism.

Cancellation of Boxer Indemnities

The Japanese and British Governments have already adopted a policy of using the indemnities which in their present forms are not acceptable to the Chinese people.The French indemnity is still hanging on the gold franc question.These three sources, if the methods of administration of the fund are changed, will be partly devoted to educational and cultural purposes.The American portion of indemnity, a sum of$12,545,438.67 gold, was cancelled by the American Congress on May 21, and is to be used for educational and cultural purposes. Dr. Paul Monroe's visit to this country in August resulted in the formation of a foundation called"The China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture,"composed of ten Chinese and five Americans, to direct the use of this fund. The Russian portion of indemnity available for educational use amounts to about$45,000,000 gold and is entrusted to a committee of two Chinese and one Russian for its management.These funds will give stimulation to new educational and cultural activities. Many projects have been proposed. But the promotion of science and village education seems to have received the largest amount of approval.

Public Opinion in China

A word must be said about the influence of public opinion in China before closing the discussion of the action of political forces upon education. Public opinion is a more important political and social force in this country than we have usually thought. Its influence is latent but continuously present. It acts slowly but very steadily and surely. Political and social movements rise or fall according to whether they are backed up or knocked down by this invisible force. It can be shown that public opinion was one of the most decisive factors in the founding of the Republic, the defeat of the Second Revolution, the downfall of Yuen Shi-kai, the failure of the restoration of the Manchu Monarchy[2], the fall of the Anfuit Party, and the present fall of the Chihli Party.The public opinion of China today stands for an honest and efficient government in internal affairs, and for just and friendly relations in external affairs. Nothing short of these ideals could satisfy the intelligent public opinion of the day. How to make opinion more public and more intelligent is the problem of popular education which has on its program the

transformation of two hundred million illiterates into intelligent and responsible citizens in ten years' time!

China, an Agricultural Nation

More than 80 per cent of the Chinese population live in farming villages. An understanding of the conditions of the farmer is therefore necessary to an appreciation of the economic and educational problems involved. The Chinese farmers are contented and conservative people. They have contributed to the stability and persistence of Chinese civilization. In spite of all difficulties they have been very successful in growing food and in maintaining fertility of the soil. Small farms which produce barely enough for the support of their families prevail all over the country. In the absence of any rural credit system the best the farmer can do when in need of financial assistance is to pawn his personal effects. The interest reaches as high a rate as 36 per cent per annum. Other factors which handicap our farmers are many, but the more important are poor transportation facilities, absence of cooperative buying and selling, lack of rudimentary knowledge of the written language which is the key to the many new knowledges needed for the improvement of farming, and the lack of sanitary control which is undermining the health of the farmers and of their children.These facts call forth the economic and educational attack of the village problem. A village education effective enough to regenerate the social and economic life of the farmers is considered the most important issue of the day. Hand in hand with village education, the conditions of the farmers have stimulated higher agricultural education, which in time will help the farmers in scientific farming.

Industrial Development and the Labor Problem

In spite of this dominant agricultural influence, new industries have gradually and steadily sprung up and are rapidly increasing in extent and influence. There are now more than 100 flour mills and 70 oil mills in operation. Cement is being manufactured in Shanghai and Nanking, and very soon Shantung, Honan, and Manchuria[3] will enter this field. We now refine our own sugar and salt, wash with home-made soap, light with home-made matches. More than two hundred cities are now lighted with electricity. There are more than a dozen prosperous companies owned and operated by the Chinese with an aggregate capital of sixty million dollars and a capacity of producing eight million of the fourteen million tons produced by all the modern mines in China.This roughly represents an increase of 400 per cent in

the space of thirteen years.[4] During 1918-1919 the cotton industry in China suddenly rose into prominence;after 1921 it began to decline. The total number of spindles in 1924 was 2,160,406 as against 2,221,486 in 1923.[5] While Chinese spindles decreased from 64 per cent in 1923 to 56 per cent in 1924, the Japanese spindles in China increased from 25 per cent to 34 per cent in a year's time. However, the number of looms is on the increase;7,817 were in operation in 1923, while in 1924 the number rose to 9,481. These figures represent pre-war conditions;the present war must have seriously checked the natural growth of industries.

Along with the development of industries there comes the problem of labor and class wars.“Hundreds of labor unions of one description or another have sprung up with Canton as the most active centre. Strikes have kept pace with the growth of labor organization.Though poorly led and at times exploited by would-be labor leaders, the workers have had a taste of their own strength….The workers are now becoming conscious of their misery, their rights, and their power.”[6] Especially has the labor of women and children in China been the least protected and worst exploited. Most of the laborers are illiterates.

Such being the industrial conditions that are found in China today, the educators are confronted with problems of bringing the human element into industrialism, cultivating a right attitude toward labor as well as capital, making industries capable of meeting the needs of the nation and the world with a minimum sacrifice of the higher life. Education and legislation must join hands in securing the fullest benefit from industrialism and in reducing to the lowest limit the calamities that have accompanied the introduction of industrialism in the West.

Commercial Development

“In spite of political disturbances, foreign trade has advanced steadily every year during the past twenty years, each succeeding year's return being in advance of its predecessor.”[7] “The foreign trade of China in 1923 was at HK. Tls.1,676,320,303, which represents an increase of HK. Tls.76,378,720 over the preceding year's total.The value of imports declined by about twenty-two million taels, but exports increased by nearly one hundred million taels.”[8] Much allowance should be made for price fluctuations. Our tea and silk trade with America has declined, partly owing to our neglect to improve the quality to conform with American standards, and partly due to the severe competition of Japan. These failures have stimulated scientific studies in

sericulture and tea manufacturing.The increase in private endowment funds for educational purposes during recent years can be explained partly by the steady increase in commercial prosperity. This year business has been greatly disturbed on account of the war, and has deprived education of much of its potential support from the commercial world. As Mr. Arnold says,“When China has the same per capita foreign trade as Australia in its aggregate, it will amount to about$60,000,000,000 instead of its present$1,000,000,000.”A proper system of commercial education hand in hand with the improvements in agriculture and industry must be relied upon to make China's trade sixty times the present size.

Flood and Famine

Other forces which visit China at intervals of time are flood and famine. The floods that occurred in July and August of this year, notably in Chihli, Hunan, Kiangsi, and in the far South have been a terrible calamity. It is not possible to obtain figures of the total loss. In Kalgan, Hunan, and Fukien alone, the estimates of damages amount to$45,000,000 gold. According to the report of the International Famine Relief Commission, it would take at least ten million dollars gold in order to relieve the ten million people who have been affected by this disaster.The direct effects of this flood are:first, the call upon all possible financial resources for relief work, leaving practically no room for new educational activities; second, the need for a systematic program of reforestation together with hydraulic engineering works is widely recognized;and the third, the use of the relief fund for preventive work through a system of practical education is insisted upon.The promoters of popular education have also tried to take this opportunity to educate the illiterate refugees during the leisure hours.

The Status of Communications

Education as a general rule follows improvements in communication. The extent of new education corresponds very closely to the extent of railway and steamship communication. Although China is larger in area than the United States, Mexico, and Central America combined, and has four times the population of the United States, she has less than 7,000 miles of railways compared to 265,000 miles in the United States.As a consequence six sevenths of China's population is concentrated in about one third of its territory. Railways will open up nearly 2,000,000 square miles now unsettled and undeveloped.They will assist in a better distribution of the population, in the unification of the country, and in the eradication of brigandage and

famine. Railways and good roads are indispensable to the spread of education, for universal education is dependent upon universal communication.

The Chinese Renaissance

Of all the forces that are now acting upon Chinese education, the Chinese Renaissance has exerted the most profound influence. The movement began in 1917 as a"Literary Revolution"when Dr. Hu Suh and Mr. Chan Tu-siu, the leaders of the movement, declared that the classical language had outlived its usefulness and that *Pei hua*, the spoken language, was its legitimate heir. As the *Pei hua* is the most widely spoken language in the country, the culmination of over twenty centuries of linguistic evolution, and the language in which the nation's most favored literatures were produced, the Literary Revolution met with astonishing success. In spite of strong opposition on the part of conservative scholars, the younger generation received it with overwhelming joy.This rediscovery of a living language for Chinese has enabled China to produce new literatures fitted for the new age, revolutionized elementary school reading materials as well as methods of teaching them, and made it possible for the popular education movement to go on with its program of eliminating illiteracy.

The second phase of the Renaissance has to do with higher education. During the later years of the movement scholars have been seeking to apply the modern scientific methods of research to the work of systematizing the old learning of China. In the words of Dr. Hu, this"systematization of the national heritage is a revival or rebirth of that spirit of criticism and research which animated the works of the Han Hsueh scholars of the last three centuries."

But the influence of the Renaissance is wider than this. It is a movement through which"all traditional values are judged from a new standpoint and with new standards. Tradition is often thrown overboard, authority is cast aside, old beliefs are being undermined."This explains why the Renaissance movement is so permeating and far-reaching and its effects are spreading over the whole fabric of national life.

Visits of World Scholars

Since 1918, a number of eminent scholars like John Dewey, Bertrand Russell, Paul Monroe, Von Driesch, Rabindranath Tagore, and others have visited this country. All of them, through their lectures and contact with our intellectual leaders and students, have exerted much influence upon Chinese

thought and life. Special mention should be made of Dr. Dewey's and Dr. Monroe's visits because of their unique significance for the reconstruction of Chinese education. Besides his influence upon advanced students, Dr. Dewey's pragmatic philosophy of education has been one of the guiding principles in the reforms of our elementary education. Since his visit a number of experiments have been conducted in elementary education. His philosophy has stimulated several students of education to work out techniques and methods for its realization. Education as an application instead of acquisition of ideas has been emphasized by Dr. Monroe. His recommendations, resulting from careful investigations in 1921, have aroused serious deliberation on various educational problems and stimulated especially reforms in secondary education and science teaching.

The Critical Attitude of Chinese Schoolmen

So far we have only mentioned the more important forces and the effects which they have exerted upon Chinese education. These are sufficient to show that in China problems are many and perplexing. Solutions are sought in her own past civilization as well as in contemporary examples.Thus China has tried to learn from one country after another, until today she has quite a cosmopolitan group of tutors from which to select. Japan, Germany, America, England, the Philippines, India, and Russia are the more important countries whose educational theories and practices have had influence upon Chinese education. China has in the past followed her teachers rather blindly but as yet no one has succeeded in offering her a satisfactory solution for her problems. Each is helpful to her in some ways but wholesale adoption of any one system has led her astray. At first she sacrificed everything old for the new. Gradually she came to a realization that the old is not necessarily bad and the new is not necessarily good. Thus our schoolmen have become much more critical than in former years.Their reaction now toward new theories and practices is no longer imitative adoption, but questioning, examination, experimentation, and selection.The logical outcome of this attitude tends to work out an education that is best fitted for the need of New China by assimilating what is best in the old and the new, both at home and in other countries. Experiences in the past and in the outside world must be assimilated before they can contribute to the nation's vitality and well-being.The critical and experimental attitude is creative. It is only with such an attitude that a real Chinese education adapted to Chinese life is possible. Such a creation has begun.

中国

① 导言

影响中国教育的各种力量概览 作为一种社会公共机构和社会进程的教育，经常受到所处环境中的政治、社会、经济以及自然力量的影响。对于教育发展而言，这些影响或是有利的，或是无利的。它们既可能阻碍正常地制定教育规划，也可能促进教育活动的进一步发展。为了更好地领会当今中国的教育，有必要对同期内作用和反作用于教育思想与实践的各种比较重要的力量加以描述。

在政治上，这一年以1923年10月10日曹锟被选举为大总统而导致的全国范围的不满情绪为开端。人们认为，这次选举将引发一场内战，虽然没有一个人能够说清楚这场战争何时会来临，但是必定无可避免。最为担忧的莫过于这块土地上的教师，因为他们当中许多人都已经察觉到，一次选举所产生的巨大影响力量，将会使在教育方面十年的努力付诸东流。这就促使教师们不得不考虑，如果代议制政府对于中国有益的话，那么怎样通过教育来培养未来议员的品质。作为一种运动的公民教育也因此获得了巨大的动力。

此次选举之后，不同政治派系的领袖们开始结成反对直系的统一战线。虽然孙逸仙博士、段祺瑞将军和张作霖将军在国策方面有分歧，但是在反对曹锟和吴佩孚方面却保持一致。不到一年，直系和反直系便在战场上交锋了，双方军事费用估计不少于2,000万美元。如果将平民财产和农业收成的损失也计算在内的话，在此次战争中的损失不低于7,500万美元。

在这一年初，军队有150万人。在将近整整一年时间里，各方都在准备全面战争，由公费开支的军队人数大大增加了。军费总额估计约为15,000万美元。这是军国主义压在中国人民身上的沉重负担。

军国主义以及当前由军国主义引发的这场战争在两个方面都影响了教育。首先，军国主义和战争榨干了本来可用于发展教育的巨大资源。其次，它们还刺激了军队中的职业教育。教育工作者们心中常把士兵复员看作基本的救国方略之一，但是他们也认为，如果不给予士兵们能独立谋生的职业培训就把他们遣散是不可行的。对康复中的残废军人进行职业培训乃是当前战争的直接结果。

外交事务 在国际关系上，有三个层面特别值得一提。如今，外国与中国签订的不平等条约遭到空前强烈的抨击。这些条约使中国人民蒙受耻辱，也导致不少外国人滋生了傲慢态度。一位中国作家曾说：“如果外国人友爱待我们，我们也以友爱待他们；但如果外国人鄙视我们，我

们就憎恨他们。”这些条约滋长了强烈的民族主义倾向，甚至在今年举行的历次教育会议中也有表现。目前对中国教会教育的抨击，除了宗教原因之外，也受到全国范围内反对不平等条约的间接影响。双方就废除不平等条约达成一致，将使有关各方受益。人们相信，取消不平等条约不仅能使中国在国际大家庭中取得更为合适的位置，而且将使我们的外国朋友们在中国更能体会到宾至如归的感觉。

第二件应予考虑的事情是恢复与俄国的外交关系。通过取消沙俄与清朝签订的所有条约，俄国赢得了中国人民诚挚的友谊，这表现在1月26日向列宁致敬和要求承认俄国而举行的游行活动中。中国人民对新俄国持有的好感，与其说是由于俄国的布尔什维主义，不如说是由于俄国不是在口头上，而是在行动上维护国际正义与平等的立场。但要预测这位新朋友对我国教育的影响还为时过早。然而，有一点可以肯定，即与新俄国联系将使中国教育不那么有利于帝国主义和资本主义在中国的进一步扩张。

取消庚子赔款　　日本政府和英国政府已经采取了一项使用庚款的政策，然而两国政府的这项政策中国人民是不能接受的。法国的庚款仍因金法郎问题悬而未决。如果改变基金的管理方式，这三笔款项将有一部分用于发展教育和文化。美国的那一份庚款，总额为12,545,438.67美元，已于5月21日由美国国会予以取消并计划用于教育和文化。8月孟禄博士访问中国，建立了一个名为“中华教育文化基金会”的机构，由十名中国人和五名美国人共同指导这笔基金的使用。在俄国庚款中，有约达4,500万美元可用于教育，并已委托两名中国人和一名俄国人负责管理。这些款项将会激励发展新的教育和文化活动。许多活动项目已经提出来，不过看来促进科学和乡村教育已经得到最多的支持。

中国舆论　　在结束讨论政治因素对教育的影响之前，必须讲一讲中国舆论的影响。舆论作为一种政治和社会力量，在中国，它比我们通常认为的更重要。它的影响是潜在的，但无时不在。它的作用是缓慢的，但是非常稳定和实在。政治运动和社会运动的兴衰起伏由这种无形力量的向背而定。从民国的建立、二次革命的失败、袁世凯的倒台、清朝君主政体复辟的失败、安福系的垮台和这次直系的垮台，都可以看出舆论乃是最终起决定性的因素之一。今天中国的舆论，在对内事务中主张建立一个诚实、高效的政府，在对外事务中主张保持公平与友好，缺少这些理念就不能适应当今明智的舆论要求。怎样使舆论更加公开、更加理性是普及教育中的一个问题，因此，普及教育设立的计划包括：在十年内将两亿文盲变成有知识、有责任感的公民！

中国，一个农业国　　80%以上的中国人居住在依靠耕作为生的农村。因此，了解农民的生存状况，对于理解有关经济和教育的问题很有必

要。中国农民是知足的、保守的。他们对中华文明的稳定和延续作出了贡献。尽管困难重重，但是他们在种植粮食和保持土壤肥力方面还是很成功的。收成勉强够养家糊口的小农遍及全国。由于没有任何农村信贷组织，在需要资金时，农民只能典当个人的财产，所付年利竟高达36%。其他不利于中国农民的因素还很多，但其中比较重要的有：糟糕的运输设施，没有合作买卖，缺乏对书面文字的基本认知，而文字乃是获得改良耕作所需要的新知识的钥匙；此外缺乏环境卫生的管理，以致损害着农民及其子女的健康。这些事实促使人们从经济和教育方面着手解决农村问题，发展有效农村教育以改进农民的社会生活及经济生活是当前最重要的问题。在改善农村教育的同时改善农民的生活条件已经促进了高等农业教育的发展，由此科学的农业将指日可待。

工业发展和劳工问题　　尽管农业的影响占支配地位，各种新型工业还是逐渐地、稳步地兴起，其范围和影响力正在迅速扩大。现在已有一百多家面粉厂和七十多家榨油厂开工。水泥已在上海和南京投入生产，山东、河南和满洲也将很快投产。我们现在已能精制食糖、食盐，用国产肥皂洗涤，用国产火柴点火，两百多个城市用电照明。有十多个业务兴隆的公司由中国人拥有和经营，资本总额达6,000万元，其矿井生产能力为800万吨，而中国所有现代矿井的生产能力为1,400万吨。这大致相当于在13年内增长了400%。1918年至1919年中国棉纺织工业突然红火，1921年之后开始衰落。比之1923年纱锭总数2,221,486，1924年减少至2,160,406。中国经营的纱锭从1923年（全国总数）的64%降至1924年的56%，而日本在中国的纱锭则在一年中从25%增加到34%。不过，织机的数量却在增加：1923年开工的织机为7,817台，而在1924年开工的织机数已上升至9,481台。上述数字表示的乃是战前的状况，然而当前的战争必定严重地阻碍了工业的自然增长。

在工业发展的同时，随之而来的是劳工和阶级斗争问题。“数以百计的各种工会组织迅速成立了，广州成为最活跃的中心。罢工随着劳工组织的增长而逐步升级。虽然工人们受到那些想当劳工领袖者的拙劣领导，有时甚至受到利用，但他们还是体验到了自身的力量……工人们正逐步意识到自己的苦难、自己的权利，以及自己的力量。”尤其是，中国妇女和儿童的劳动最缺乏保护，且备受剥削。大多数劳动力是文盲。

上述即为中国工业状况的现状，摆在教育工作者面前的问题便是如何将人的因素融入工业主义，以正确的态度对待劳工和资本，以尽量不牺牲较高水平的生活质量的前提下，使工业能够满足民族和世界的需要。教育与立法必须联合起来从工业主义当中获取最充分的利益，将伴随西方工业主义而来的灾难减少到最低限度。

商业发展　　“尽管政治上动乱频仍，过去20年中国的外贸还是逐年稳

定上升，每年的利润都比上一年有所提高。”1923年的外贸总额是1,676,320,303海关两，比上一年增长76,378,720海关两。进口总值下跌约2,200万两，而出口则增长了将近1亿两”，其中包含物价上涨的因素。我国与美国的茶叶和丝绸贸易已经下降，其中一部分原因是我们忽略了改进质量以符合美国标准，也可部分归因为日本的激烈竞争。这些失败激发起对养蚕和茶叶加工的科学研究。近年来私人对教育事业捐助款项的增加，可以部分地归因于商业的日趋繁荣。今年，商业因战争而大受干扰，教育即丧失了许多本来可能从商界得到的资助。正如阿诺德先生所说，“如按人口平均计算，一旦中国对外贸易总额达到澳大利亚的水平，其总额就会达到大约600亿美元，远远高于现在的10亿美元。”要使中国的贸易60倍于目前的规模，必须依赖于改善农业、工业以及合适的商业教育体制。

水灾和饥荒　　不时降临中国的其他因素还有水灾和饥荒。今年七八月在直隶、湖南、江西以及更远的南方发生的水灾确实是一场可怕的灾难。要获得全部损失的数据是件完全不可能的事情。仅就张家口（卡尔干）、湖南和福建而言，损失估计就达45,000,000美元。根据国际救灾委员会的报告，至少需要花费1,000万美元才能救济1,000万受灾的民众。这次水灾的直接后果是：第一，要求动用一切可能的财源来进行救济工作，实际上已经没有从事新的教育活动的财力；第二，一个集再造林计划与水利建设于一体的系统工程公认迫在眉睫；第三，坚持运用救济基金进行系统实用的预防教育工作。普及教育的倡导者们还试图利用空闲时间在难民中开展扫盲。

交通状况　　一般说来，与教育改善同步的是交通状况的改善。新的教育体制所能达到之处与火车和轮船所及范围十分一致。尽管中国的领土面积比美国、墨西哥和中美洲的面积总和还要大，且人口是美国的四倍，但与美国的265,000英里的铁路线相比，中国的铁路线却不到7,000英里。结果导致中国人口的七分之六集中在大约三分之一的中国领土上。在2,000,000平方英里现时无人定居、尚未开发的地区铺设铁路，将有助于人口更加合理分布，有助于国家的统一，有助于根除匪患与饥荒。铁路和良好的公路是教育得以普及的不可或缺的保障，因为普及教育依赖于交通设施的普及。

中国的文艺复兴　　在当今影响中国教育的所有力量之中，中国的文艺复兴发挥着最为深刻的影响。这个运动肇始于1917年的“文学革命”，当时运动的领袖胡适博士和陈独秀先生宣称：文言已经过时，白话文将取而代之。由于白话是中国使用最为广泛的口语，是两千多年来语言演进的最高点，用白话文书写的文学作品在全国范围内都最受欢迎，“文学革命”也因此获得了惊人的成功。尽管“文学革命”受到保守学者们的强

烈反对，年轻一代却以无法抑制的喜悦心情欢迎这场革命。中国人重新发现一种活的语言，这促使他们创作出许多适应新时代的文学作品，彻底革新小学教材及教学方法，并使扫除文盲的平民教育运动成为可能。

中国的文艺复兴的第二阶段与高等教育有关。在这场运动的后几年里，学者们试图用现代科学研究的方法对国故进行整理。用胡博士的话来说，这次“整理国故是近三百年来赋予汉学家的作品以生命的那种批判与研究精神的复兴和再生”。

但是中国的文艺复兴的影响力远大于此。中国的文艺复兴是一场运动，即“以新的立场和标准重估一切传统的价值，传统常被抛弃，权威被打倒，旧的信仰基础遭到破坏”。这说明为什么中国的文艺复兴运动如此透彻和深远，为什么其影响遍及民族生活的整个结构。

各国学者的来访　　自1918年以来，杜威、罗素、孟禄、杜里舒、泰戈尔等一批著名学者曾经访问中国。通过演讲以及与我国知识界领袖和学生们的联系，他们对中国人的思想和生活都产生了很大的影响。特别值得一提的是杜威博士和孟禄博士的来访，正是他们的来访对中国教育的改造具有独特、深远的影响。除了对接受高等教育的学生的影响之外，杜威博士的实用主义教育哲学已经成为我国初等教育改革的指导方针之一。自从他访问我国以来，在初等教育机构中已经进行了若干实验。他的教育哲学激发了一些教育专业的学生运用先进的技能和科学的方法来使之得以实现。孟禄博士强调教育是一种观念的应用而不是观念的获得。基于1921年的深入研究，他提出的建议引发了对各种教育问题的深思，尤其是促进了中等教育和科学教学的改革。

中国教育工作者的批判态度　迄今为止，我们只讲到一些比较重要的因素及其对中国教育产生的影响。这些足以说明中国问题很多而且错综复杂。人们正在从中国以往的文明，以及当今的范例中寻求解决方法。因此，中国试图向一个又一个国家求教，如今，已有一批见多识广的导师可供选择。日本、德国、美国、英国、菲律宾、印度以及俄国的教育理论和实践对中国的教育产生了十分重要的影响。中国以往曾经十分盲目地追随那些老师们，但是还没有一位老师成功地为中国问题提供满意的解决方法。每一位老师都在某些方面对中国有所帮助，但是全盘照搬任何一种体制都把中国引入歧途。最初，中国抛弃了一切旧的东西，采用了新的东西。逐渐地，中国认识到，旧的东西未必十分坏，新的东西也未必十分好。因此，我国教育工作者变得比以前更有批判意识了。现在他们对于新的理论和实践不再是照抄照搬，而是加以质疑、检验、实验和选择。这种态度所导致的合乎逻辑的后果是通过吸纳古今中外新旧事物中的精华来制定出最适合新中国需要的教育。必须吸取过去的经验和外部世界的经验才能有利于增强民族的活力与安乐的生活。批判性和实

验性的态度是具有创造力的。只有抱着这种态度，适合中国人生活的真正的教育制度才有可能得以实现。这种创造已经展开。

CHINA(1938)[1]

A Conditions of Rural Life

The Chinese village

It has been estimated that China has a million villages with an average of four hundred persons for every village.The villages di Ther very widely in their composition and manner of living as may be seen along the Amur2, the Yangtze, the Yellow, and the Pearl Rivers, or on the plateaus of the Northwest and the plains of North China. Some of the villages consist of families descended from the same ancestor, have an ancestral hall, and are ruled more or less by the elder of the clan. Others are of a mixed composition. A scholar or a retired official may serve as a liaison between the magistrate and the villagers, and often he has the final word in local affairs. The more progressive villages have a more democratic rule and are administered by elected officers. In many villages a tea-house serves as a center for public opinion. An occasional grocery store supplies salt, vegetable, oil, sugar, paper, gasoline, and other necessities to the villagers. With the exception of a few landlords, most of the villagers live by farming. Commonly speaking, each peasant family has five or six members, and lives on 3.5 acres in the rice region or six acres in the wheat region, scattered in four or five places. Even this little piece of land in most cases does not belong to the farmer entirely or at all.The family is lucky if it has an ox or a donkey to help in the work. It usually has a pig or a sheep, two or three hens, a few trees, and a corner garden. Studies of land utilization by the University of Nanking reported that 15 per cent of the farm net income came from supplementary industries and services.These include weaving, milling, oil pressing, and the native industries of silk, tea, sugar, paper, utensils of wood, bamboo, and straw. Around industrial cities the villagers look for odd jobs in the free seasons.They also engage in peddling fruits, grains, or vegetables.

Population

According to expert estimates 12 per cent of the total population live in towns of 10,000 or more. It is safe to say that 80 per cent of the 450,000,000 are in the villages. Out of the yearly increase of 4,000,000 people an increase of at least 3,000,000 may be expected in the villages. This surplus population formerly sought its outlet in northeastern emigration into Manchuria,

southern emigration into foreign countries, and with the growth of industries into the cities. Since the world depression of 1929 from 200,000 to 250,000 Chinese laborers abroad have been compelled to return to their homeland.There has been an annual peasant emigration of 150,000 to 180,000 toward the provinces north and northeast of the Great Wall, but this has been greatly checked by the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. The slow development of Chinese national industries, handicapped by foreign competition and without any protection by means of tariff, has not been an adequate outlet for the surplus peasant population.

Land problem and land policy

The land problem is most serious.The unequal distribution of land, the small size of farms, the share rent, and the increase of the landless have combined to precipitate the agrarian revolution in recent years.The seriousness of the situation can be seen from the tabulation given below:

Unequal Distribution of Land Property

Locality	Haves		Have-Nots	
	Per Cent of Families	Per Cent of Land Owned	Per Cent of Families	Per Cent of Land Owned
Ting Hsien (Hopei)	2.3	19.1	71.5	29.4
Wusih (Kiangsu)	5.7	47.3	68.9	14.2
Lin'an (Chekiang)	4.7	52.1	88.9	21.8
Nanyang (Honan)	4.2	30.5	38.9	7.2
Kwangtung	6.0	66.0	74.0	19.0

An investigation of 58,569,000 farms in twenty-five provinces covering 1,148,874,000 *mow* of land showed the following results (one *mow* is equal to 0.164 acre):

Land Condition in 25 Provinces

Region	Percentage of Irrigation	Average Number of *Mow* Per Family
Northeast	2.0	52
Southeast	62.0	12

Region	Percentage of Irrigation	Average Number of *Mow* Per Family
Northwest	8.8	29
North Plain	5.7	20
Lower Yangtze Valley	46.1	15
Southwest	43.6	17
25 Provinces	24.0	19

Land Rent in 22 Provinces

	Rent Practices in 22 Provinces	Rent in 700 *Hsien* Expressed in Per Cent of the Land Value
Cash rent	21.2 per cent	11.0 per cent
Crop rent	50.7	12.7
Share rent	28.1	15.2

Increase of the Landless

Province	Owner Farmer		Part Owner		Tenant Farmer	
	1912	1930	1912	1930	1912	1930
Yunnan	45	28	26	31	29	41
Kweichow	43	32	24	25	33	43
Szechuan	30	20	19	27	51	58

Realizing the seriousness of the situation, the National Government in 1930 enacted the Land Law, which provided that, if the landlord is absent from the locality where his land is situated, the tenant may proceed to own the land under certain legal conditions after he has operated it for ten years. Rent shall not be more than 37.5 per cent of the main produce from the land. The farmers individually or collectively shall have the free use of the cultivated public land but they are not allowed to own it.The rate of taxation on improved farm land shall be one per cent of its value;that on unimproved land shall be 1.5 to 10 per cent of its value.The tenant is free to make any

improvement he wishes on the land and will be compensated by the landlord.The tenant cannot be evicted unless he is two years in arrears in the payment of rent or has not operated the land for an entire year without proper reason.

The land policy of Soviet China, now incorporated as a Special District, may be cited in contrast. Here a survey conducted in 1926 by the Peasants' Committee of the Kuomintang showed that 10 per cent of the rural population owned 70 per cent of the cultivable land in China;15 per cent was owned by middle-class peasants;and only from 10 to 15 per cent of the arable land was owned by 65 per cent of the rural population—peasants, tenant farmers, and farm laborers. According to Edgar Snow the Northwest Soviet Government promulgated a land law in 1935 which provided for the confiscation of land not cultivated by the owners themselves, and the distribution of such land, waste land, and land of absentee owners among poor peasants. The term landlord included any farmer, the major part of whose income was derived from land rented out to others.The aim of the law was to guarantee the basis of a decent livelihood for every peasant family by providing sufficient land and abolishing tax exploitation.

Usury and cooperatives

In 1933 an investigation conducted by the University of Nanking into the indebtedness of the farmers of 850 counties in twenty-two provinces showed that 50 per cent of the farmers are in debt and 48 per cent of them borrow grain for food. On more than 90 per cent of the loans the interest was higher than 20 per cent per annum;on nearly 24 per cent of the loans the annual interest was over 40 per cent. Of the loans 95 per cent are borrowed from feudalistic sources (pawnshops, native banks, village stores, landlords, rich farmers, and merchants) and only 5 per cent from banks and cooperatives.

In order to check usury and to help relieve the peasants, the cooperative movement was originated in connection with the student movement in 1918. From 1918 to 1927 the movement was primarily social and philanthropic in aim. Since 1927 political motives have been injected in its promotion. The Chinese banks since 1934 have invested more and more of their funds in the cooperatives. Beginning with one cooperative in 1918 the number grew to 37,318 in 1936 with 1,643,670 members and a share capital of CN$5,139,795. (Note:At the present rate of exchange the Chinese dollar is worth 25 cents.)

On account of the lack of popular control, the requirement of property guarantee, and a rate of interest ranging from 12 to 18 per cent per annum—more than the prevailing agricultural income—the cooperatives have not on the whole proved to be of advantage to the poor peasants. Dr. Chen, after studying the cooperative movement, reached the following conclusion:“In brief, the original sponsorship of the cooperative movement in China came from intellectuals and leaders sincerely desirous of bettering the lot of the country's millions. But in the course of development and expansion, it has fallen a victim to all the social ills inherent in China's economy.…For individual usury is substituted collective usury.”

Soviet China also placed great emphasis on the cooperatives which have been continued under the present administration in order, among other things given in detail by Edgar Snow, “to raise the economic-political level of the masses”and“to encourage the participation of the lowest strata of society.”

Diseases and health centers

The rural population has suffered much more from diseases than the urban. The most prevailing diseases in the villages are malaria, consumption, and eye, teeth, and skin troubles. Casualties due to childbirth and infantile mortality are also high in the country because of lack of medical care and health information. Contagious diseases, such as smallpox, often levy a high toll upon the village people.

In recent years much work has been done, by way of experimentation and demonstration, in trying to improve the health conditions of the farming population. An independent National Health Administration was established in 1935. Consolidation of the work of the health services had been systematically developed in the seven provinces of Kiangsi, Hunan, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai, Shensi, and Chekiang. Each provincial center has an administrative office, a hygiene laboratory, and a hospital. The work is furthered by *hsien* health centers, health stations, and health sub-stations or clinics in the towns and villages. Altogether 74 *hsien* health centers and 144 stations and clinics have been established. Demonstration centers have been established in Kiangning, Ting Hsien, Lanchi, and Chowping, which on account of the war have been moved to Central China. These village centers have attempted under the direction of the medical staff, to use village health workers who are laymen recruited in the villages and given only a short period of training in simple procedures such as smallpox vaccination, reporting of communicable diseases, births, and deaths, the use of a few

simple drugs, first aid, and treatment of common skin diseases and simple surgical wounds. Throughout the country there are 27 medical schools, 217 schools of nursing, and 38 midwifery schools which are far from being sufficient for the overwhelming demands. A good beginning has been made, however, and the work is moving in the right direction.

Famine and the control of nature

Famine is a frequent visitor to China, and it is the farmers who suffer most from it. Among the causes of famine may be mentioned deforestation, lack of irrigation, inadequacy of river control, primitive methods of farming, the decline of agricultural production as a result of the increase of large landholdings, and the diminution of the size of cultivation which combine to produce the flood and drought that have often reduced the people to starvation. Further, owing to lack of means of communication it is difficult to transport food from one region to another.

In recent years there has been a great movement for reforestation. Students, civil officers, and peasants are encouraged at the Tsingmin Festival to plant trees.The Relief Commission has devoted its attention to building dams in order to provide better irrigation for the Northwest. For the year 1936-1937,$5,000,000 (Chinese) was appropriated for irrigation work and about$9,000,000 (Chinese) was used for conservation work on Hwai River, Hupeh Dyke, and the Haiho and Yunting Rivers. In scientific agriculture much has been done in the selection of seeds, especially cotton; the Central Bureau of Cotton Cultivation has increased the distribution of improved seeds in Kiangsu, Honan, Shensi, and Hopei from 570,000 mow in 1934 to 3,000,000 mow in 1936. Attention has also been given to the improvement of animal husbandry in the Northwest and to the Chimen tea. Finally, motor roads have increased from 1,185 km. in 1921 to 66,111 km. in 1931 and 96,345 km. in 1935.

External aggression and united resistance

The century-old aggression from outside has reduced China to a semi-colonial state. The recent aggression by Japan is threatening national existence. Here again the peasants are the ones who suffer most. First, foreign goods have destroyed the village handicrafts. Second, since China did not win her tariffautonomy until 1929, the development of Chinese national industry was handicapped and the peasants were unable to find sufficient employment in the cities.Third, the Japanese occupation of Manchuria closed a most important outlet for peasant emigration and made their life in North

China much harder. Fourth, the smuggling of Japanese goods into the Chinese market without paying tariff duties since August, 1935, has been a most serious blow at Chinese industries and has been one of the main causes of unemployment as well as of loss of revenue to the National Government, amounting to $100,000,000 (Chinese) a year. Fifth, in the occupied areas the peasants are forced to sell their best land at a nominal price almost amounting to confiscation.

Since“divide and conquer”has been the policy of Japanese aggression,the only way to liberty for the Chinese is to “unite and resist.” The peasants in China have cast their lot to fight for national liberation. It is they who have formed the mass base for the Chinese Invisible Army that is now making it difficult or rather impossible for the invaders to secure permanent occupation of the country. Indeed, Chinese unity has been increasingly achieved. All armies are now fighting under the unified command of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and the Chinese peasants will play a decisive role in this historic struggle for freedom.

B Educational Conditions

Illiteracy and education

By illiteracy is ordinarily meant the inability to read and write. In this sense China has about 120,000,000 people who can be classified as literate and the rest, numbering about 330,000,000, can be called illiterate.The percentage of this kind of illiteracy is much higher in the villages than in the cities. But literacy takes a broader definition as education widens its scope. Should life itself be considered as education, then there is social, economic, and political literacy as well as school literacy. In this sense the peasants of some parts of China may have a higher degree of literacy than some scholars or farmers of the West. Yet academic literacy being such an important means to further one's own education, mass illiteracy among the Chinese peasants must be solved in order to help them to achieve greater progress. At the same time, in discussing this phase of the problem, it must not be forgotten that a real education of the peasantry must include an understanding of all the vital problems in relation to village life, an appreciation of all the forces that are affecting the farmers, and positive efforts to help them or guide them to help themselves to solve these problems and achieve a decent standard of living.

Elementary education

There are various types of elementary schools. First, there is the six-year elementary school comprising the four-year lower primary and the two-year

higher primary courses.This type of school is usually located in the capital of the *hsien*, and is rarely found in the villages. Second, there is the four-year lower primary schools, most of which type exist in small towns and cities with a small percentage in the villages.Third, there is the one-year course which is primarily intended to reach village children. Fourth, there is the old-fashioned private school which is still the prevailing type in the villages.

The National Government has made a special attempt to spread the one-year course and to reform the old-fashioned private schools, which are induced to conform more or less to the standard of the one-year course. The subjects to be taught in the one-year primary schools are national language, composition, penmanship, arithmetic, citizenship, and physical training, distributed over thirty-six periods with 1,080 minutes per week.

The increase in the enrollment of pupils in these schools has been remarkable during the last two decades, and reached a total of 16,588,000 in 1935-1936. To this should be added another 7,000,000 pupils who are enrolled in the old-fashioned private schools, which, as a rule, are not yet registered.

The elementary schools are usually of small size and even in the cities they average around three classes per school. Very few schools have as many as ten or twenty classes. In the villages and small towns there is as a rule only one class per school. It is very interesting to notice the differences in per-pupil cost in the city and village schools. In the cities the per-pupil cost reaches as high as$28.71 (Chinese) while in the province of Kansu, where the population is mainly rural, the per-pupil cost is$4.77 (Chinese). It has been said that the Chinese peasants are generous in giving the children of the landlords a rich education, their own children a poor education, and themselves no education.

The number of elementary schools increased from 86,318 in 1912 to 293,000 in 1935-1936;the enrollment in the same period increased from 2,795,475 to 16,588,000 pupils, and the expenditure from$19,334,480 (Chinese) to$106,594,685 (Chinese) .

Adult education

Since the Literary Renaissance emphasis has been placed upon adult education to which a fresh momentum was given by the Mass Education Movement. A new demand for adult education was created by the Revolution of 1925-1927. Since that time the Government has undertaken to promote the movement. Its growth has been from 6,708 schools with 206,201 students in

1928 to 38,000 schools with 1,300,000 students in 1934-1935;the expenditure in the same period advanced from $466,562 (Chinese) to $1,900,000 (Chinese). The total expenditure for all types of adult education was$3,632,466 (Chinese) in 1928 and$16,900,000 (Chinese) in 1934-1935.

Compulsory education

In 1930 a twenty-year plan for universalizing education in China was adopted by the Second Conference of Education called by the Ministry. In 1935 the Provisional Outline for Enforcing Compulsory Education was promulgated, and provided that between August, 1935, and July, 1940, all illiterate adults and children of school age must attend the one-year primary school;between August, 1940, and July, 1944, the two-year course;and from August, 1944 on, the four-year course. Every primary school district must have one one-year primary school. For every five to ten primary school districts there must be one four-year school.The school age for children was fixed as from eight to twelve. Adults between sixteen and thirty are to be given preference in the schools. Parents or guardians are liable to a fine of from$1 to$5 (Chinese) for failing to send their children to the appointed schools.

The most notable feature of the Law of 1936 was that adult education was to be made universal within six years. The Ministry of Education in 1937 alone distributed 5,500,000 copies of text books for adults. Large numbers of radios were also distributed to enrich the educational program. A special fund to promote compulsory education was provided by the Ministry and the provincial governments amounting to $15,847,000 (Chinese) in addition to the regular educational expenditures for 1936-1937. Through these efforts there was an increase of 33,000 one-year and four-year primary schools with an increased enrollment of 3,400,000 pupils in 1935-1936.The forecast for 1936-1937 was an additional increase of 46,000 one-year primary schools and 3,000 four-year primary schools with another increase of 6,000,000 pupils.The Minister was optimistic enough to say that in two years (by the end of 1937) China would have 23,000,000 pupils.

Training of village teachers

The movement to give special training to village teachers was originated in the Morning Village Experiment in 1927.The promoters of this movement advocated that village teachers should be trained in a village environment.The prospective teachers should spend some time in living among the peasants, learning from them, and sharing their sorrows as well as

their joys. Since 1932 private experiments have been discontinued and all normal schools have become government institutions.

There are now several ways of training village teachers: First, the normal schools admitting students with junior middle school graduation and offering a course of three years;second, the special normal course, admitting senior middle school graduates to a one-year course;third, the short-course normal schools admitting higher primary school graduates and offering a four-year course;fourth, the short-course normal classes attached to normal or middle schools admitting junior middle school graduates to a one-year course.

In 1932 there were 50,150 students in 477 village normal schools, and 18,712 students in short-course village normal schools;the number of students in the 141 village normal courses attached to middle and vocational schools was not reported.

The subjects of instruction in the village normal schools include citizenship, physical training, military training for boys, military nursing and domestic science for girls, hygiene, Chinese, mathematics, geography, history, biology, chemistry, physics, logic, manual and fine arts, music, agricultural theory and practice, village economy and cooperatives, irrigation, introduction to education, educational psychology, primary school subjects, methods and administration, tests and statistics, village education, practice teaching, extra-curricular athletics, and private study.The program calls for 60 hours a week, 36 hours for classwork and practice teaching and 24 hours for athletics and private study.

Experiments in village education

During the last fifteen years a number of experiments have been carried on in China in the field of village education;of these the following are outstanding.

(1)*The Association for Mass Education*, founded in 1923 by Mr. James Yen, has four objectives—health, vocation, citizenship, and culture. All work in educating the village people is carried on through three agencies, namely, the school, the home, and the social group.The Association advocated a reduced vocabulary for the peasants, usually known as the 1,000-character readers, and has a Training Institute for Rural Reconstruction consisting of four research departments in education, rural economics, agriculture, and public health.

(2)*The Shantung Institute of Rural Reconstruction*, founded by Mr.

Liang Shou-ming, undertook an experiment in two *hsien* selected by the civil administration. Each *hsien* was divided into a number of districts which were further divided into a number of villages.The basic principle underlying this experiment is“government and education in one.”Accordingly, the administrative power of the district is vested in the district school;that of the village in the village school.The personnel making up a village school is composed of four divisions. (a) trustees, the village gentry who take charge of public affairs;(b) the principal, an elder who is supposed to teach the village people by example and precepts;(c) the teachers and supervisors;and (d) the pupils, the whole population of the village, men, women, and children.The emphasis in the economic reconstruction of the village is put on various forms of cooperatives. Village defense is emphasized for self-protection and discipline. A Research Department and a Training Department were also established.

(3)*Kiangsu College of Education*, founded in 1928 by Dr. Chao Tsungding, trains village teachers and administrators who prosecute research and experiment in rural education. A social survey has been conducted and studies have been made in psychology, adult reading materials, and educational literature.The college maintains four units of experiments, two of which are devoted to rural life and problems, with the threefold purpose of bettering the economic conditions, raising the civic competency, and spreading the education of the people. Other experiments have been directed to (a) utilizing the village houses and village teaching personnel for educational activities; (b) economizing time in school courses;(c) combining classes for children and adults and (d) organizing the village people for village reform.

Because of the present war, all these experiments have been moved to Hunan where, as reported, there exists closer cooperation than before. More detailed information about these experiments may be found in an article by Mrs. Chindon Yui Tang, on“Adult Education and the Chinese Village.”

Peasant education in Soviet China

The story of Chinese peasant education is not complete without an account of the educational activities in Soviet China. According to Edgar Snow, the Communists, as they passed through provinces populated by more than 200,000,000, held great mass meetings, gave theatrical performances, taxed the rich heavily, freed many slaves, and preached liberty, equality, and democracy.The aims of the agrarian revolution and of the anti-Japanese

policy were explained. Education was provided to disseminate literacy, to train for the army, and to spread political theory. Mass organizations were formed for self-study groups under Communists or literati as leaders with propaganda material for texts.

The People's Education Movement

This movement, sometimes called the New Mass Education Movement, refers to an organization of education of the people, by the people, for the people. It was started about eleven years ago when a group of professors and students undertook to develop a method of education which would be of real service to the peasants.The aims of the movement, as defined in 1935, are to promote (1) the united defense of Chinese democracy;(2) world peace through international cooperation;(3) the uplift of the people by their own efforts;and (4) free education for all.

Relay teachers. For the present discussion the last of these movements is important. Because of the simplicity of its technique the peasants of China have been enabled to educate and qualify themselves more and more to participate in the great struggle for freedom. A system of relay teachers has been worked out;after a class is dismissed each pupil himself becomes a teacher and every home a center of learning. It has been found that one-tenth of the Chinese farmers are born teachers, capable of handling large classes with the added advantage that they speak the farmer's language and understand his problems.

Little teachers. In addition to the relay teachers, a system of“little teachers” has been established. School children who at the end of the school day return to their homes and teach their relatives and neighbours. Grandparents and grandchildren play and teach and learn together. Hundreds of thousands of “little teachers” are helping to disseminate education in China, with the special advantage that they can help women to acquire some education in a social situation where women teachers are few in number and custom frowns on men teachers for girls and women.

For some years progressive village schools have been guided by the principle“All come, all served.”With the increasing attendance at school of peasants and their children, the little teachers have helped to save the situation and have added to the principle the slogan“Those who cannot come will receive attention on delivery without charge”;to those who cannot come to the school, the little teachers deliver education in their homes. In this way the isolation of the school is broken down, the whole village becomes the

school, and the light of education radiates everywhere. The lonely teacher in a ruined temple joined suddenly by tens of little comrades cannot fail to see a new vision of his profession and to feel uplifted to the historic mission that he is to fulfill.

The new script.The People's Education Movement is also interested in promoting a new script for the Chinese spoken language.The scripts for the Northern, Shanghai, Canton, and a few other dialects have been worked out. They treat the Chinese spoken language as a polysyllabic language and in so doing have succeeded in eliminating the minute symbols for the different tones. With the new script peasants in different localities can, by devoting an hour a day to it, learn to read and write letters in their dialect in one month.

Use of public places for education. Since money is not available for special buildings people willingly offer the only rooms they have for educational purposes. Not only are temples, tea-houses, and vacant rooms utilized in this way, but a shady tree or a nature-made open-air auditorium for larger meetings are sufficiently adequate places for mass meetings, the singing of songs, telling stories, learning simple truths, and discussing national and international problems.

Conclusion

With relay teachers, little teachers, the new script, and society as the school, peasants are enabled to provide an education by and for themselves. Education itself has changed;it is no longer a luxury for the few;it is like the sunshine for all to enjoy, like the air for all to breathe, like water for all to drink. A new peasantry is emerging in China with the help of all the forces that are cooperating in the villages.The farmer in Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth* striving to get more and more land for his own family in order to become richer than his fellow farmers is no longer an example for others to follow. Progressive farmers in China today desire to have land enough for each to live a decent life. A picture of the new Chinese peasantry is reflected in the following poem.

The Dancing of the Hoe

Take up your hoe!
Hail, Revolution
Take up your hoe!
The hoe must defend.
Cut off the weeds,
Long live the hoe!

The crops will grow.
Fight to the end.
Drive off the foe,
When fighting alone,
Sons of the Ancient Country!
The hoe can't stand long.
Under the hoe
Machines and hoes unite!
There is Liberty.
A new world is in sight.

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中国（1938）

①　农村生活状况

中国的村庄　　据估计，中国有100万个村庄，平均每个村庄的人口为400人。这些村庄遍布在黑龙江流域、长江流域、黄河流域、珠江流域，或西北高原与华北平原，组成结构不一，生活方式各异。有些村庄是由同一个祖先繁衍下来的众多家庭构成，有一个供奉先祖的祠堂，族长或多或少起到控制作用。另一些村庄则为多个家族混合构成，绅士或者退休还乡的官吏可以在地方行政官员和村民之间起联络作用，并且常常对地方事务有最终发言权。越是进步的村庄则越是民主，村吏由选举产生。在许多村庄，茶馆即是舆论的中心。不定期营业的杂货店向村民供应食盐、蔬菜、油、糖、纸、煤油和其他日常必需品。除了少数地主之外，多数村民以务农为生。一般来说，每一农户有五六口人，拥有3.5英亩稻田或6英亩麦产田，分布在四五块地方。即使是这样一小块耕地，在很多情况下也并不完全属于甚至完全不属于农民所有。农户家如果有一头牛或一头小毛驴帮助干活，那就算幸运的了。通常农户家都养有一头猪或一只羊、两三只母鸡、几棵树和一块屋边小菜园。金陵大学关于土地利用情况的研究报告指出，农村纯收入的15%来自辅助工业和服务业。这些行业包括织布、谷物加工、榨油、土法缫丝、制茶、制糖、造纸、竹木编和稻草器皿。在工业城市周围的村民于农闲季节打零工。他们也从事贩卖水果、谷物或蔬菜。

人口　　据专家估计，全国总人口的12%居住在一万或万人以上人口的城镇里。保守地说，4.5亿人口中的80%居住在农村。在每年新增加的400万人口中，至少有300万来自农村。农村剩余的人口从前是向东北迁移，到满洲寻找生路；或是向南迁移至国外；或是随着工业发展到城市里谋生。自从1929年世界范围内经济萧条以来，海外约20万至25万的中国劳工被迫返回故乡。每年有15万至18万农民向长城以北和东北迁移，但由于日本侵占满洲，这一方向的人口迁移已大大受阻。中国民族工业由于受到外国竞争的阻碍，又没有任何关税保护，其缓慢发展已经不能为中国剩余农业人口提供出路了。

土地问题和土地政策　　中国土地问题最为严重。土地分配不均、农场经营规模较小、耕地收获的分成地租、无地农民的增加——这些因素结合起来加速了近年来的土地革命。情况之严重，从下表可以看出：

土地财产的不平等分配

地方	占有土地者		无土地者	
	农户百分比	占有土地百分比	农户百分比	占有土地百分比
定县（河北）	2.3	19.1	71.5	29.4
无锡（江苏）	5.7	47.3	68.9	14.2
临安（浙江）	4.7	52.1	88.9	21.8
南阳（河南）	4.2	30.5	38.9	7.2
广东	6.0	66.0	74.0	19.0

对25个省占地1,148,874,000亩的58,569,000个农户的调查，其结果显示如下（1亩=0.164英亩）：

25个省的土地状况

地区	可灌溉百分率	每农户平均亩数
东北	2.0	52
东南	62.0	12
西北	8.8	29
华北平原	5.7	20
长江下游	46.1	15
西 南	43.6	17
25 个省	24.0	19

22个省的地租状况

	22 个省收取地租的习惯做法	700 个县用地价百分比表示的地租
现金地租	21.2%	11%
实物地租（收获物）	50.7%	12.7%
分成地租	28.1%	15.2%

无土地农民的增加

省份	占有土地农民		部分占有土地农民		佃农	
	1912	1930	1912	1930	1912	1930
云南	45	28	26	31	29	41
贵州	43	32	24	25	33	43
四川	30	20	19	27	51	58

当认识到情况的严重性之后，国民政府于1930年颁布了《土地法》。《土地法》规定，若地主离开其土地，则在该土地上耕种已满十年之佃农即可根据若干合法条件占有该土地，地租不得超过耕地正产物收获总额的37.5‰。农民可以独自地或集体地自由使用公有耕地，但不得占有公有耕地。改良耕地的税率应为地价的1%，非改良耕地的税率应为地价的1.5%至10%。佃农可以随意对土地进行改良，并将由地主给予补偿。除非佃农拖欠地租达两年之久或无故不耕种所租土地达一年之久，否则地主不得将佃农所租土地收回。

可列举现已合并为一个特区的中华苏维埃地区的土地政策作为对照。国民党农民委员会于1926年所作的一次调查显示，10%的农村人口占有全国70%的可耕地；中产农民占有15%；占农村人口65%的自耕农、佃农和雇农则仅占有全国可耕地的10%—15%。据埃德加·斯诺[3]报道，西北苏维埃政府于1935年颁布了一项土地法，该法规定：凡土地所有人不自行耕作之土地一律没收，并将没收之土地、荒地以及主人不在之土地分配给贫农。地主一词，包括主要收入来源于向他人收取地租的所有农人。该法之目的在于通过提供充分之土地和消灭地租剥削来保证每位农户体面的生活基础。

高利贷及合作社　　1933年金陵大学对22个省850个县的农民负债状况进行调查，结果显示，50%的农民负债，48%的农民借粮为食；90%以上的债务年利高达20%以上，差不多24%的债务年利竟高于40%；债务中95%贷于封建性的处所（当铺、钱庄、农村商店、地主、富农和商人），只有5%是向银行及合作社借的。

为了遏制高利贷，解除农民的痛苦，合作社运动于1918年与学生运动相应而起。从1918年至1927年，合作社运动在定位上主要是社会性和慈善性。自1927年以来，政治动机注入了提倡合作社运动中。自1934年以来，中国的银行已经将越来越多的资金投入合作社。从1918年第一个合作社出现，到1936年合作社的数目已达37,318个，社员1,643,670人，股金本金5,139,795中国元（注：当下汇率为1中国元等于25美分）。

由于缺少公意监督、需要财产作抵押，年利率又高达12%—18%，

比一般的农业收入还高，所以总的看来，合作社对于贫苦农民并无好处。在对合作社运动进行了研究之后，陈（翰笙）博士得出如下结论：“简言之，中国合作社运动的最初发起者都是真诚希望改善国内千百万人民命运的知识分子和领袖人物。但在发展和扩大的过程中，合作社运动却成了中国经济所固有的一切社会弊病的牺牲品……仅仅是个体的高利贷为集体的高利贷所取代而已。”

中华苏维埃地区也非常重视合作社，并在现时政府的领导下继续经营，其目的，如埃德加·斯诺所详述，包括为了“提高群众的经济、政治水平”以及“鼓励社会最低阶层参与”。

疾病和医疗中心　　农村人口要比城市人遭受更多的疾病痛苦。农村最流行的疾病是疟疾、肺病以及眼病、牙病和皮肤病。由于缺乏医护条件和卫生知识，农村产妇及婴儿死亡率也很高。诸如天花之类的传染病常常使村民大量死亡。

近年来，通过实验和示范的方式在力图改善农村人口的健康状况方面已经做了不少工作。1935年建立了独立的全国卫生管理机构。江西、湖南、甘肃、宁夏、青海、陕西、浙江七个省系统地开展了巩固卫生服务工作。每一个省的中心点都有一个行政办事处、一个卫生实验室和一所医院。各县卫生工作通过县卫生中心、卫生站以及各镇各村的卫生分站或诊疗所得到进一步推进。已经建立起来的总共有74个县卫生中心、144个卫生站和诊疗所。江宁、定县、兰溪、邹平诸县则建立了示范中心，这些示范中心因战争关系已迁往华中。这些农村的卫生中心试图在医疗人员的指导下，在农村招收普通人，经过短期的、简单的工作程序上的培训成为农村的卫生员，教会他们诸如种牛痘、传染病以及出生和死亡情况报告、几种简单药物的使用、急救、常见皮肤病和简单外伤的治疗。全国现有27所医科学校、217所护士学校、38所助产士学校，但还远远不能满足极其巨大的需要。然而，良好的开端已经有了，而且这项工作正在朝着正确的方向前进。

饥荒和对自然的调节　　饥荒时常降临中国，使农民深受其害。造成饥荒的原因甚多，其中可以列举的有如下诸多方面：森林遭受毁坏、水利设施缺乏、河流调控不当、耕作方法落后，这些因素综合起来，产生水旱灾害，加之大规模土地占有的增加和耕作规模缩小而致农业生产下降，从而常使人民陷入饥馑。而且由于缺乏交通工具，很难将粮食从一个地区运往另一地区。

近年来，已经开展了大规模的重新植树造林运动。政府鼓励学生、文职官员和农民于清明节种树。救灾委员会已致力于建造拦河坝，以便为西北地区提供更好的灌溉条件。在1936年至1937年间，拨款5,000,000元（国币）用于水利工程，约9,000,000元（国币）用于淮河、湖北防水

坝以及海河与永定河上的水土保持工程。在科学耕作方面已经做了许多工作，特别是对棉花等作物的选种；中央棉垦局已将改良棉种分配给江苏、河南、陕西、河北，种植面积从1934年的570,000亩增加到1936年的3,000,000亩。同时也对西北地区的畜牧和祁门茶的改良十分重视。最后，公路已从1921年的1,185公里增加到1931年的66,111公里和1935年的96,345公里。

外来侵略和团结抗战　　百年来的外来侵略已使中国沦为一个半殖民地的国家。最近日本的入侵正威胁着民族的生存。其中仍是农民受害最深。第一，外国货已经摧毁了农村的手工业。第二，由于直到1929年中国才获得关税自主，其自身民族工业的发展受到阻碍，农民不能在城市得到充分的就业机会。第三，日本侵占满洲，关闭了农民外出谋生这条非常重要的出路，使他们在华北的生活更加艰难。第四，自1935年8月以来，日货走私进入中国市场，不缴纳关税，给予中国工业极为严重的打击，成为失业的主要原因之一，同时也是国民政府税收损失的主要原因之一，其损失每年高达1亿元（国币）。第五，沦陷区的农民被迫以几乎与没收无异的低微价格出售他们最好的土地。

自从“分而治之”成为日本侵略的政策，中国人获得自由的唯一道路便是“团结抗战”。中国农民为民族解放战斗作出很大贡献。正是他们形成了中国“看不见的军队”的群众基础，正是这支“军队”使得侵略者如今难于，更确切地说是不可能永久占领中国。中国人的确已经日益团结了起来。所有军队现时正在蒋介石委员长的统一指挥下进行战斗，而中国农民将在这一为获得自由而战的历史性斗争中发挥决定性的作用。

②　教育状况

文盲和教育　　所谓文盲，即通常所指的没有读写能力的人。从这个角度来讲，中国大约有1.2亿人可以列为有文化者，其余大约3.3亿人可以称作文盲。文盲在农村的比例要远远高于城市。但是，随着教育范围的扩大，“文化”便有了更宽广的内涵。如果把生活本身视之为教育，那么文化不仅包括学校习得的读写能力，而且包括社会方面、经济方面和政治方面汲取的知识。从这个意义上讲，中国某些地区的农民可能比西方一些学者或农场主具备的文化程度要高。然而由于基本读写能力是促进个人自身教育的重要手段，中国农民中大量的文盲问题就必须解决，以便帮助他们取得更大的进步。同时，在讨论问题的这个层面时，有一点不容忽视，即真正的农民教育必须包括对关系农村民生的所有重大问题的理解，包括对正在影响农民的一切力量的鉴别，还包括积极努力帮助或引导他们自行解决这些问题，过上富足的生活。

初等教育　　有各种类型的初等学校。第一，是六年制的小学，包括四年制的初级小学课程和两年制的高级小学课程。这一类型的学校通常设

在县城里，农村则很少见。第二，是四年制的初级小学校，这一类型的学校多数在小城镇，在农村的百分比很小。第三，是主要以农村儿童为对象的一年制课程。第四，是在农村仍旧盛行的私塾教育。

国民政府特别致力于普及一年制课程，并对私塾教育加以改革，引导它们尽量符合一年制课程的标准。一年制小学校的教学科目有：国语、作文、写字、算术、公民和体育，课时为每周36节，共1,080分钟。

近20年来，这些学校的招生人数有显著增加，在1935—1936学年度，招生总数达到16,588,000名。还应该加上700万名私塾学生，他们通常未经注册，也未加到统计数字上去。

初等学校一般规模很小，甚至在城市里平均每所学校也仅有3个班左右。只有极少学校有10到20个班级。在农村里和小镇上，通常每校只有一个班。城市学校和农村学校学生人均费用之间的差异非常值得注意。在城市里，每个学生的费用高达28.71元（国币），而在以农村人口为主的甘肃省，每个学生的费用却只有4.77元（国币）。曾经有人说，中国农民很慷慨，给地主的孩子优良的教育，给自己的孩子低劣教育，不给自己任何教育。

初等学校的数目从1912年的86,318所增加到1935—1936学年度的293,000所；同一时期招生数从2,795,475人增加到16,588,000人，经费从19,334,480元(国币)增加到106,594,685元（国币）。

成人教育　　自从中国的文艺复兴以来，成人教育已经受到重视，普及教育运动又给予成人教育以新的推动。1925—1927年的革命对成人教育提出了新的要求。从那时起，政府已经承担起推进这一运动的责任。成人教育运动的发展情况是：从1928年的6,708所学校、206,201名学生，增加到1934—1935学年度的38,000所学校、130万名学生；同一时期的经费从466,562元（国币）增加到190万元（国币）。各种类型的成人教育的经费总额：1928年是3,632,466元（国币），1934—1935年度是1,690万元（国币）。

义务教育　　1930年，教育部召开的第二次教育会议通过了一项在中国普及教育的二十年规划。1935年，颁布了《实施义务教育暂行办法大纲》。该大纲规定，1935年8月至1940年7月期间，所有成人文盲及学龄儿童必须上一年制小学；在1940年8月至1944年7月期间，必须修学两年制课程；1944年8月以后，修学四年制课程。每一个小学学区必须有一所一年制小学。每五至十个小学区必须有一所四年制小学。儿童学龄定为8岁至12岁。对于16岁至30岁成年人应给予选择学校的优先权。父母或监护人如不将儿童送往指定的学校，将会受到1元至5元（国币）的罚款。

在1936年法律中最值得一提的是：成人教育将于6年之内普及。教育部仅在1937年一年内，就向成年人分发教科书550万册。为丰富教育项目还大批分发了无线电收音机。除1936—1937学年度正常教育经费外，教育部及各省政府还拨出15,847,000元（国币）专款以推广义务教育。通过这些努力，1935—1936学年度共计增加一年制及四年制小学校33,000所，注册学生增加340万人，预计1936—1937学年度一年制小学校增加46,000所，四年制小学校增加3,000所，又可增招新生600万名。教育部长充满乐观地预言，两年内（至1937年底）中国就将有2300万名小学生。

乡村教师培养　　专门培养乡村教师的运动始于1927年的晓庄试验乡村师范。这一运动倡导农村教师应在农村环境中进行培训。未来的农村教师应与农民同生活，向农民学习，与农民同甘共苦。自1932年以来，私人实验已经停止，所有师范学校都已成为官办学堂。

如今有几种培训乡村教师的途径：第一，师范学校招收初中毕业生，修习三年制的课程；第二，特别师范课程，招收高中毕业生，学制一年；第三，短期师范学校，招收高年级小学毕业生，修习四年制课程；第四，附设于师范学校或中学的短期师范科，招收初中毕业生，学制一年。

1932年共有50,150名学生在477所乡村师范学校学习，18,712名学生在短期农村师范学校就读；141个中学和职业学校的附设乡村师范科的学生数字没有报告。

乡村师范学校的教学科目包括公民、体育、军训（专为男生设置）、军事护理和家政学（专为女生设置）、卫生、国文、数学、地理、历史、生物学、化学、物理、逻辑、手工与美术、音乐、农业理论与实践、农村经济与合作社、水利、教育入门、教育心理学、小学各科教材、教法与管理、测验与统计、乡村教育、教学实习、课外活动、自修。教学计划要求每周60小时，课堂教学和教学实习36小时，体育运动和自修24小时。

乡村教育实验　　在最近15年里，中国已经在乡村教育这个领域内进行了若干实验，下面是其中比较出色的：

（一）平民教育促进会：由晏阳初先生于1923年创建，开设有四大科目：卫生、生计、公民、文艺。对村民的教育全部是通过学校、家庭和社会小组这三个机构进行。促进会推行一套经过精简专供农民掌握的词汇，通常以千字课本的方式印制。促进会还设立了一所“乡村建设育才院”，由教育、农村经济、农业和公共卫生四个部门组成。

（二）山东乡村建设研究院：由梁漱溟先生创建。该院在民政部门选定的两个县为试点，每县分为若干区，每个区又再分为若干村。“政

教合一”是这一实验的基本原则。相应地，区的行政权力被赋予区校，村的行政权力被赋予村校。一个村校的人员由四个部分构成：（1）理事，即负责公共事务的乡绅；（2）校长，即被认为应该以身作则、训诫村民的长者；（3）教师和视导员；（4）学生，即包括男、女、儿童在内的全体村民。全村经济建设的重点，放在各种形式的合作社上面。在保卫村庄方面，强调自卫和纪律，还建立了一个研究部和一个训练部。

（三）江苏小学师范院：由赵崇鼎（叔愚）博士于1928年创建。该院培训从事农村教育研究和实验的农村教师和管理人员。已经进行了一次社会调查，并对心理学、成人读本和教育文献作了研究。该院设四个实验单位，其中两个单位专门以农村生活和农村问题为研究对象，它们瞄准改善生活条件、提高公民能力、普及大众教育三重目的。其他实验则致力于：（1）利用农村房屋和乡村教师从事教育活动；（2）节约学校课程的时间；（3）把儿童与成人合班教学；（4）组织村民进行乡村改造。

由于目前的战争，所有这些实验都已移到湖南,据报道，这些实验相互间的合作比以往更为密切了。关于这些实验较为详细的情况参见俞庆棠女士所作《成人教育与中国乡村》一文。

中华苏维埃的农民教育　　中国的农民教育不能不包括中华苏维埃地区的教育活动。根据埃德加·斯诺的报道，红军在经过有两万万人口的省份时，召开了大规模的群众集会，进行戏剧表演，课富人以重税，释放许多长工，宣传自由、平等和民主。他们向人民解释土地革命和抗日政策的宗旨。他们还为传播文化、训练军队和传播政治理论而兴办了教育。许多群众组织了自学小组，在共产党人或有文化的人的领导下，把宣传材料当作课本来学习文化。

大众教育运动　　这个运动有时被称作新的大众教育运动，指的是一个以“民有、民治、民享”为宗旨的教育组织。运动开始于大约11年前，当时一批教授和学生着手研究和制定一种真正为农民服务的教育方法。在1935年，这场运动的目标被定为：（1）团结起来维护中国的民主；（2）通过国际合作达到世界和平；（3）通过民众自己的努力提高他们的道德修养和文化水平；（4）全民免费教育。

传递先生　根据目前的讨论情况，最后一种运动十分重要。由于其方法简单易行，它使中国农民能够通过自我教育、自我适应越来越多地参加到为获得自由而进行的伟大斗争中。“传递先生”机制已经形成；课下，每位学生就变成了先生，每个家庭变成了学习的中心。事实表明，十分之一的中国农民是天生的先生，能够驾驭大“班级”，说农民的语言，理解农民的问题，有着独特的有利条件。

小先生　除了传递先生之外，“小先生”制也已经建立。学童在学校结束一天的课程回家之后，将所学知识教给自己的亲属和邻居。爷孙辈在一起玩耍、学习、分享知识。中国几十万小先生正在帮助播撒教育种子，他们所具有的特殊优势是：在女教师数量少、不赞同男教师教女学童及妇女的社会环境中，他们能够帮助妇女接受一些教育。

几年来，先进的农村学校已经遵循“来者不拒”的原则。由于农民和他们的孩子上学人数越来越多，小先生们便不只帮助解决了缺少教师的困难，更提出“对无条件上学者，免费送课上门”的口号，即小先生们把教育送到那些无条件上学的群体的家中去。这样一来，学校的孤立状态就被打破，整个村庄成了学校，教育之光能照射到每一个角落。破庙里孤零零的教师突然有了几十个小先生并肩作战，不能不看到自己职业的新前景，并为自己应当去完成的历史使命而感到精神振奋。

新文字　大众教育运动也非常热衷于推进根据汉语口语制定的新文字。北方方言、上海方言、广东方言和其他几种方言的新文字方案已经制定。这些方案把汉语口语视为一种多音节语言来处理，同时成功地取消一些代表不同声调的小符号。有了新文字，不同地方的农民只需每天花上一个小时，一个月之内就能用他们的方言阅读和写信了。

利用公共空间教学　由于没有钱建造专用的校舍，人们便自愿把他们仅有的房屋用来办学。不但庙宇、茶室和空房被这样利用起来，而且树阴下，或天然的露天大礼堂也足够用来开大会、唱歌、讲故事，学习朴素的真理，讨论国内外的问题。

结束语　有了传递先生、小先生、新文字、社会这所学校，农民就能够拥有他们自办并为他们自己服务的教育了。教育本身就起了变化，它不再是少数人的奢侈品。它像阳光，人人可以享受；像空气，人人可以呼吸；像水，人人可以饮用。有了合作改造乡村的一切力量的帮助，新的农民正在中国出现。赛珍珠女士所著《大地》中，农民竭力为自己的小家庭捞到更多的土地以求比别的农民兄弟更富裕，这已不再成为别人仿效的榜样。在今日之中国，进步农民渴望每一个农民都拥有足够的土地过上富足的生活。如下诗歌充分展现了新一代中国农民的状况。

锄头舞歌

手把个锄头锄野草呀，锄去野草好长苗呀！
五千年古国要出头呀，锄头底下有自由呀！
革命的成功靠锄头呀，锄头锄头要奋斗呀！
光棍的锄头不中用呀，联合机器来革命呀！

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THE VILLAGE EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN CHINA[1]

The Magnitude of the Problem

China is predominantly an agricultural country. According to popular estimates, nearly eighty-five per cent of her population, i.e., three hundred and forty million people, live in the villages. To educate and modernize the Chinese villagers and their children is one of the most gigantic undertakings of the Far East. Village education in China is a mass phenomenon that cannot escape the notice of any world-minded person. Whether it is for good or for bad, it affects one-fifth of the world population.

The Village Schools of the Present

The present schools actually found in Chinese villages cannot meet the demands. What they give to the children is nothing more than book knowledge. They make the farming population less productive. They make the rich poor, and the poor poorer;the strong weak, and the weak weaker. These schools belong to the past and are not serving the real needs of our farmers.The cry for change is heard from every part of the land. A new era is at its dawn!

The New Movement is Creative and Revolutionary

During the last few years, the National Association for the Advancement of Education has set itself to the task of evolving a type of village education which will meet the needs of Chinese village life. The authorities who have been charged with this study have taken the realities of village life as their guide. Deviating from former practices, they no longer cling to old methods nor copy foreign models. As a new nation is being born, a new education is needed to fit her farmers for the new life. Old conceptions and methods, inadequate to meet the new needs, have to be thrown away and new ones devised.Thus in many respects the movement has assumed a creative and revolutionary character.

Three Steps

Three steps have been conceived in carrying out the whole movement.The first and the most fundamental step is experimentation. Experimental schools of various kinds are being conducted in order to discover better methods and contents for village education. Second, on the

basis of findings through experimentation, the right type of village teachers and other personnel are to be trained.Third, the movement is to be extended according to the number of these trained.

The Centre Schools

The movement starts with a few centre schools. The term centre school *(chung hsin hsioh hsiao)* derives its meaning from three sources. First, it takes village life as the centre of school life. Second, it forms the centre for reconstructing village life.Third, when the stage of training and extension is reached, it will naturally be the centre for normal training. All the centre schools are of an experimental nature. The National Association has under its direction three centre schools of elementary grade. The First Centre School is located at Swallow Cliff. It has six grades, a full elementary school according to the New System. The second, situated at Yao Hwa Men, has four grades, but the teaching is organized according to the double grades plan.The third is the Morning Village Centre School, which is an ungraded school run by one teacher.These schools are all in Nanking or its suburbs.

In spite of all the differences in organization and adaptation to local differences, these centre schools have certain points in common.

First, they have a common philosophy of education and life.They take village life as their centre and at the same time they become the centre of village reform. Not only this, they serve as the centre at which the little village meets the world at large.

Second, the principle of methods is common to all. Here the maxims are"Think when you work,""Use your mind when you use your hands."Active work becomes the centre of learning.

Third, tools are considered as a most important medium of education. Education for life demands life-tools. Real education is an education in life-tools. It implies how to invent tools, how to make tools and how to use tools. Books are considered as one kind of tool and no longer worshipped as the only tool.

Fourth, the principle of economy is emphasized from the start.The running expenses of these schools are not higher than the schools of the neighborhood. On the basis of average per capita cost, these schools try to work out standards which can easily be reached by other schools. It is due to this minimum cost that they are exerting a wider influence than the ordinary first-class schools.

Fifth, as the school is the village centre, so the school-master is the soul

of both school and village. His personal example has the greatest influence over his students and the villagers.The school-masters of the three schools have three qualities in common:

(1)They all have a farmer's physique. They can do a farmer's work.These qualities have given them several advantages over ordinary school-masters. In the first place they thoroughly understand farmers' difficulties, hardships, and problems, and are in a better position to be a helping friend to them. Second, in utilizing their leisure time on a vegetable garden and the like, their low salary can be compensated for in part. Third, the possession of a farmer's hands enables them to take active interest in the villages, which offer them abundant opportunities to express themselves in actual deeds.

(2)They all have the mind of a scientist.They are all open-minded. They want to observe and experiment. They take interest in scientific agriculture and other new discoveries in science and are eager to introduce them to the farmers. This attitude of mind is essential to a village teacher in order to counteract the most conservative influence of the farming population.

(3)They all have the spirit of a social reformer.They make the school to serve as a social dynamo, sending light to every home, making the whole village bright. Even in the one-teacher-school, they never feel single-handed. Every pupil is a life-wire connecting the school and the community.The school is successful only when all the villagers become happy and truly patriotic.

Centre Schools at Work

The working of the centre schools may be rendered more concrete if actual examples are given of a day's activities.

The country children are certainly early birds. They usually come to school as early as six o'clock.The first thing they do is to make the school clean and put everything in order. The teacher and the pupils work as fellow comrades in sweeping, washing, dusting, and arranging. Each one is responsible for a certain area, and in less than half an hour the school looks as everybody wishes it to look. In this way one can readily see how our centre school has been able to dispense with the services of a janitor, who so often deprives the students of the opportunity fordoing practical work. It can also be readily seen how these schools save money for securing necessary life-tools in spite of the nationwide financial difficulties.

Then comes the Morning Exercise which consists of the raising the national flag, the revolution song, the principal's address, and finally the

procession into the classroom.

The personal cleanliness of the pupils is examined by the teacher and elder students. This includes the examination of the face, eyes, teeth, fingers, etc. Washing the face, brushing teeth and cutting finger nails are done in school if they have not been done at home.

All are now ready for class work. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are each related to country life and to the material of the other subjects. We seize every opportunity to practice the use of language in meeting actual needs. For instance, when an illiterate farmer comes to ask us to write a letter for him, we submit it to the older pupils to write it out. After correction by the teacher, the best letter is given to the farmer. But all who write the letter will be given credit for language work.

Just half an hour before lunch, current events of national or world significance, or messages which affect the welfare of the village, or projects which call for the cooperation of all villagers are told to the student body. Most frequently, these are worked out in story form by the teacher and the older students. All pupils are required to tell the story to home folks and report their reactions.

The project on mosquitoes and the campaign against them may be given as an example of the work in nature study. Specimens of the various stages of development of different kinds of mosquitoes are collected by the pupils under the direction of the teacher. These are preserved and shown in tubes. In this way the pupils come to a real understanding of mosquitoes and are determined to fight against them.They are also led to see how frogs and other insects eat mosquitoes and to consider them their allies in the Anti-Mosquito Campaign.

Gardening is of two kinds:school projects and home projects. We have solved two of the most difficult problems in conducting school gardens.The first is the farmers' objection to having their children work on the school garden. They say,“We send children to school for study and not for work.”Many schools failed in introducing gardening into the curriculum just because of this stubborn objection. We know this before we introduce it. We call on the parents, telling them that the schoolteaches children to write, read and count according to what they grow in the garden. After they have taken part in gardening they will be able to read, write and count the thing as well as to grow it.They can either bring the produce home or sell in the market.The parents are pleased with the arrangement and the school garden

goes on well.

The second difficulty is the teaching of gardening in an ungraded school where students of different ages gather in one class. We have tried to solve the difficulty by differentiating the processes of the project and making assignments according to the ability of the pupil.Thus every pupil is kept busy and interested in the work which he is able to do.

Handwork in these schools consists of repair work, and the making of simple apparatus and equipment.The carpentry and masonry work of the school is for the most part done by pupils under the direction of the teacher. Apparatus needed for teaching science is, so far as possible, self-made. So is some of the ordinary equipment for the school.

Health work is carried on by the teacher under the supervision of a travelling doctor. The teachers are taught to examine the eyes, to give vaccination of smallpox and a few other simple practices. Treatment of trachoma has produced very satisfactory results. In these schools individual wash towels, tooth brushes and drinking cups are provided. We hope to add a travelling nurse for the three schools.

An example of group projects is found in the arranging for a reception of welcome given in honor of a prominent visitor. As soon as the students knew he was coming they called a meeting and with the help of the teacher made preparations for the reception. A student leader was elected to take the chair and another to record the minutes.The program was outlined and items assigned: welcome address, music, speech by guest of honor, singing by the student body, etc. Two students were elected to write a letter of invitation and two others elected to take the letter to the guest. All this was done in half an hour. Twenty minutes after he received the letter he was ushered to the platform and the reception began. A picture was taken by a student after the meeting.

The school building is open to villagers for public uses. It is the meeting place for the Cooperative Society, for the demonstration of scientific agriculture, the Farmers' Boxing Club, wedding ceremonies, and above all, the farmers' evening class.The evening class was formerly carried on by the teacher. But it was decided that the teacher, after the day's strenuous work, should rest in the evening, so a better plan was devised. In every village there must be some intelligent, public-spirited person who can and is willing to serve as evening school teacher. This supposition becomes a reality. You will find that there are not only teachers, but good teachers. We have tried such

persons in the Swallow Cliff School and the result is wonderful. The tool we use is the *One Thousand Character Reader*, edited for the special use of the villagers. By spending one hour a day, the average farmer will soon be able to read vernacular newspapers and write common letters. Here one can readily see how the elementary school can serve to teach the adult as well as the young.

The Centre Village Kindergarten

Kindergartens are especially needed in Chinese villages. During the busy months the farmer's wife is occupied with much more work than at ordinary times. She has to help in farm work, prepare food and drink for farm workers, and carry on all the other household duties. Older children of elementary grades are called home to help on the farm, but the little children under five become a burden. It would be a great relief to the mother if somebody could be found to take care of them for her. Sometimes an elder brother or sister is kept at home simply for the purpose of looking after them. At other times the mother just sends the little ones with a bench to the school and asks the teacher as a special favor to watch them for her. All she asks is to have the baby sit on the bench and not move about. Here we can see the need for a kindergarten and all the problems it could help in solving. The village kindergarten will be a relief to the mother during the busy months and it will help to keep those older children at school who would otherwise be needed to take care of younger brothers and sisters. But the kindergarten as it is can never hope to be introduced into the villages. For the ordinary kindergarten to go into the village is something like a camel trying to pass through the eye of a needle.The present-day kindergarten is aristocratic, foreign, and expensive. Before it can be introduced into the village, fundamental changes have to be made so that it may become more democratic, more Chinese and more economical. Various plans have been worked out in adapting kindergarten education to village conditions. The untimely death of our kindergartener, Mrs. Wang Lu Shenyü, has delayed the experiment for some time. But in the fall this experiment will be carried on in accordance with the policies mentioned above.

The Experimental Village Normal School

This school is located at the Morning Village, near to the Third Centre School, about one mile and a half from the First Centre School, and about three miles from the Second Centre School. This school aims to train village teachers so that they may possess the qualifications for village leadership.The

objectives of the training are threefold:(1) To cultivate a farmer's physique. (2) To cultivate a scientific mind. (3) To cultivate the spirit of a social reformer.

The method adopted in the school is what we call“the combination of teaching, learning, and working.”The method of working determines the method of learning, and this in turn determines the method of teaching. For instance, farm work is to be done on the farm, therefore it should be learned on the farm and taught on the farm.This is termed the“combination”method, as opposed to the“divisional”method prevailing in Chinese normal schools. According to the divisional method, the normal students are supposed to spend three years and a half on academic studies, the last half year for practice teaching, and then carry on real teaching after graduation.The combination method demands that the students teach from the start. The students learn through teaching under real, responsible and supervised conditions. With this method the students are compelled to learn not only the knowledge but also the methods of transmitting the knowledge. It is only through making others understand a certain thing that we may readily understand it ourselves. According to our plan, each student is required to take full charge of a class for a week, under strict directions, in each of the three centre schools.

The curriculum covers the whole field of life. All curriculum is life and all life curriculum.There are no extra-curriculum activities;the term itself does not suit our philosophy.

The first group of activities is the life of the centre schools. This constitutes half of the credits. The ordinary normal school has practice teaching done in the“attached school,”which does not possess organic unity with the normal school. With us the elementary school forms the centre of normal training.The elementary schools are founded before the training school.They are the mother;they are the dynamo.The training in the activities of the centre school is divided into six parts, namely:language and arithmetic, citizenship, health, nature study, gardening,play and recreation. Each division is headed by a research supervisor.The normal students may choose one or two of the divisions and serve therein as assistants. Each supervisor, after having worked out the lessons and the methods, will hold a conference with the student teacher, demonstrate how it should be taught, observe how he teaches and help him to improve. The directing supervisor is appointed by the president and has control over the whole work.

The second group of activities is the administration of the normal school: clerical work, bookkeeping, business management, sanitation, and other work are being done by the students under the guidance of the supervisors. The whole school has only one laborer, who carries water. All other work is divided among the students and the supervisors. Even the cooking is done by themselves. This is rather a practical necessity because village teachers sometimes have to rely upon themselves to cook food when they are sent to communities not friendly to the new schools.

The third group consists of activities in controlling the natural environment. This includes scientific agriculture and forestation, fundamental handwork, and sanitation.

The fourth group consists of activities in village reform which includes village government, village mass education, cooperative societies, village surveys, and farmers' recreation. In doing social work, the area for the first stage is within a one mile radius from the school. For every village there are two persons designated to be responsible. There are now twelve villages included in this plan. As we have said before, our teaching and learning all centres at the doing, so this is the case with our social work. The course on village survey is not a classroom study but an actual survey of the twelve villages.The course on cooperative societies is also the actual promotion of such societies among the farmers, according to the strict principles required for the success of such societies.The other courses are run in the same way.The two persons for each village are expected to make friends with genuine farmers so that when these courses are conducted there will be sympathetic response from them.These two representatives from the school to the village form the vital link between them.

Fifth, there are the self-determined activities. These are planned and selected by the students themselves. They, for the most part, are concerned with the personal aspects of school life.

One of the outstanding characteristics of the school is that books are studied in the library.They are no longer studied in the classroom. Students come to the supervisor only when they meet diffculties in the books. Further, books are studied as references to the performance of life activities, and are no longer studied for their own sake.

Another characteristic is found in the fact that both supervisors and students appear in farmer's costume, sometimes with bare feet in straw shoes.The students are required to work as a farmer from the very day of their

entrance examination. We have the conviction that we should be transformed into the farmer before we can transform him.

Then, you find little difference between the supervisors and the students. Here the demarkation is not sharp. Everybody teaches and all learn.“Teach others with what I know,”“What I do not know I will learn from others,”are among our mottoes.

We do not give diplomas to our students until they have run a school successfully for half a year.The connection between the normal school and its students is to be sustained even after they have left school for service.The travelling supervisor will keep the connection ever more vital.

The Department for Training Village Kindergarteners

The Experimental Normal School, beginning this fall, will create a department for the training of village kindergarteners.This department will centre in the activities of the Centre Village Kindergarten. It will admit girls from the villages for matriculation. The wife, fiancée, or relatives of the village teacher will be especially welcomed. Such a department has the following merits in its favor: (1) It will turn out kindergarteners to run the much needed village kindergarten. (2) It will open a new profession for educated girls in the villages. (3) If the village teacher's wife or fiancée would receive such training, he and she could both work in the same village. This in turn will have five important effects:(a) The village teacher will feel happier in the village;(b) since the wife is running a kindergarten, the economic condition of the home will be better;(c) the teacher's tenure of service in the village will probably be prolonged;(d) on account of the influence of the woman educator, female education in the village may make more headway than without her;(e) the teacher's home may serve as a model for the villagers. It is with these considerations that we intend to open the department in spite of all difficulties.

The Research Council

The Research Council of Village Education consists of research supervisors of the normal school and honorary research members.This council will make studies on all problems related to village education. It should be more emphasized in the future, as herein lies the hope of real progress in village education. College students have come in to serve as assistants in the council. It is hoped that as the council develops, advanced students will come in to take active participation in original researches for this most important undertaking.

Auxiliary Activities

The centre schools, the Experimental Village Normal School, and the Research Council on Village Education form the main pillars of the present movement of village education in China. Besides, there are a few other allied activities of the movement which should be mentioned.

(1)*Dormitories for visitors*. In the centre schools facilities are provided for persons interested in village education to stay for a shorter or longer period in order to acquire an insight into the working of these schools. Teachers from as far as Mukden[2], Szechwan, and Canton have availed themselves of this advantage.This arrangement will enable the movement to spread wider and faster.

(2)*National League of Village Teachers*.This is an affiliated institution of the National Association for the Advancement of Education. The members have now reached one thousand. After the political situation has settled down this league is bound to grow. It has adopted a Village Teacher's Creed of eighteen articles. It issues a bi-weekly paper entitled“Village Education,”which has a circulation of two thousand.

(3)*Travelling Supervisor of Village Schools*.The National Association has secured the service of Mr. Ting, a most successful village principal, to help schools in other communities to improve. Any school wishing to reform has to send its principal to make a careful study of the centre schools. Then our supervisor will go to his school to make an intensive study.Then they both work out a plan for reform which is to be carried out by the principal with the guidance of our supervisor.

(4)*The Village Clinic*. In the Morning Village we have established a medical clinic.The doctor, besides giving treatment to the village patients, trains the normal students on simple medical operations and conducts medical inspection of the children in the centre schools.

(5)*The Farmers' Self-Defence League*. Real farmers in the twelve villages are given training in Chinese Boxing. Military tactics will be taught to them as soon as the government gives permission to do so.

(6)*A cooperative society* on a small scale has been started at Yao Hwa Men. Another one will be organized soon in Morning Village. And it is hoped that the work of the societies will gradually develop and that farmers will be trained to organize similar societies by themselves.

This is a brief summary of the Village Education Movement in Nanking. Such work will be started at Canton, Wuchang, Chengtu, Peking, Mukden

and Quenming as soon as possible. It is our hope that finally every province or even every suitable district will have a centre for this work. Our final goal is to train one million village teachers who will be able to lead the one million villages to the birth of a new life.

中国乡村教育运动之一斑

中国乡村教育问题之巨大　中国是一个农业大国。据一般估计，中国农民占全国人口总数的85%，就是说，全国有三万万四千万人住在乡村。所以，村民及其子女的教育问题和农村的现代化进程是远东的一项重大事业。中国的乡村教育是一个十分普遍的现象，凡关心世界问题的人，决不至忽略它。无论好坏，它影响了占世界五分之一的人口。

现有的乡村学校　中国现有的乡村学校确实不能满足乡村的需求。它们能给予孩子的仅仅是书本知识。它们使农村人口生产力降低，使富人变穷，穷人变得更穷；强的变弱，弱的变得更弱。这样的学校过时了，并不能够满足农民真正的需要。改造农村教育的呼声随处皆是。一个新纪元的曙光正在来临！

新运动具有创造性和革新性　在过去几年中，中华教育改进社拟订了改造中国乡村教育的计划，以使乡村教育适应中国乡村生活的需要。这一教育研究的倡办者以乡村实际生活作为他们的指南。与先前的教育实践不同，他们不再将墨守旧法或照抄外国模式作为解决问题的方式。由于新的国民产生了，新教育必须适应新农民追求新生活的需要。老的观念和方法已经不适合新的需要，非抛弃不可，并设计出新的方法。因此中国现时的乡村教育运动是从各方面展现出新农民生活的创造性和革新性的特点。

三个阶段　　整个新运动要想顺利实施，需要分三个阶段：第一阶段，也可以说是最重要的阶段，即是试验期。在这一时期里，要设立各种试验学校，通过试验发现乡村教育中种种更好的方法和材料。第二阶段是训练期。基于试验结果，培训适合于乡村生活的教师和其他有用的人才。第三阶段是布种期。依据接受过培训的人才的多寡从事推广。

中心学校　　这个运动起初在几所中心学校展开。“中心学校”一词意义来源于三个方面：第一，以乡村生活为学校生活的中心；第二，以学校为改造乡村生活的中心；第三，当这所学校办到可以进行培训和推广的时候，它就自然可作为培训师资的中心。所有中心学校都具备试验性质。接受中华教育改进社指导的有三个中心小学，第一中心小学在燕子矶，是一所根据单式编制的六年制完全小学；第二中心小学在尧化门，四级制，采用复式编制；第三中心小学叫做晓庄小学，是单级制小学，全校只有一位教师。这几所学校都位于南京及市郊。

　　尽管地方差异导致学校的机制和编制不同，但是以上三个中心小学有几个共同特点。

　　第一，它们对于教育与人生有共同的理念，即以乡村生活为中心，

同时把学校视为改造乡村的中心。不仅如此，而且将学校作为小村庄与世界沟通的中心。

第二，学校总体原则相同。格言即是："在劳力上劳心"，"用手用脑"。主动工作成为教学的中心。

第三，它们深信工具是教育最重要的媒介。为生活的教育须通过生活中的工具来实现。真正的教育必须通过工具。它教人们发明工具、制造工具、运用工具。图书被视为其中一种工具，但不再被尊崇为唯一的工具。

第四，经济原则从一开始就受到高度重视。经营这些学校的经费不高于邻近小学。根据平均每人的支出，这些学校试图制定出易于其他学校参照的标准。因为最小化开支，这些学校比普通的高档学校具有更大的影响力。

第五，学校作为乡村的中心，校长便是学校乃至整个乡村的灵魂。他的言行无论对学生还是对村民都产生了巨大的影响。三所小学的校长都具有三种共同的品格。

1.他们都具有农夫的身手。他们可以做农活。这一特点使他们相对于其他学校的校长有如下几点优势：首先，他们会十分了解农民的困苦艰难和一切问题，并且容易成为为村民排忧的朋友；第二，他们可以利用闲暇时间在菜园种菜等等，以补贴他们较低的薪俸。第三，他们有了农人的身手，在乡间便有用武之地，为他们提供在实际工作中展示自己的好机会。

2.他们有科学的头脑。他们具备开放的心胸，愿意观察与尝试。他们对于科学农业及其他新的发明都具有浓厚的兴趣，并且很热衷把这些科学知识介绍给村民。这是乡村教师最应当有的态度，以控制一般农村人口最守旧思维的影响。

3.他们都具有改造社会的精神。他们把学校视之为社会的发电机，将电力输送到每家每户，点亮整个村庄。即使在仅有一位教师的学校中，也不觉得孤单无助，因为每个学生都是一根连接学校与社会的活电线。当所有村民们都变得幸福爱国，学校才算办得成功。

中心小学的活动　　要想具体表现中心小学的工作，须实际叙述他们一天的活动。

乡村儿童真是像早起的小鸟，他们通常早上六点钟就来到了学校。他们来校的第一件事是打扫学校，将每样物件摆放整齐。教师和学生们如同事般一起扫地、擦桌子、擦窗、摆放桌凳等。每个人负责一处地方，不足半个小时，整个学校都如大家所愿被打扫得干净、整洁。通过这种方式，人们不难发现这些中心小学是如何省却了门卫之需，这一职务常常"剥夺"了学生们的劳作机会。同时也可以看出，在目前国家教育

经费紧张的情况下，学校是如何通过生活中必备的技能节约开支的。

然后是晨会。活动内容包括升国旗、唱革命歌曲、校长讲话。散会后学生排队进入教室。

学生的个人卫生由教师和学长监督。包括检查学生的脸部、眼睛、牙齿、手指等等。洗脸、刷牙、剪指甲，倘若这些在家里没有做到，在学校就必须完成。

这些活动完毕以后，就开始班级活动。无论读书、写字、算术，都和乡村生活以及其他相关学科的教学相联系。要抓住各种机会将文字运用到实际生活需要上去。例如，有一个不识字的村民，要求学校替他写一封信，教师就请年长的学生来写。经过教师的修正，选最好的交给村民。所有写信的学生都会得到相应的语言分数。

午餐前半小时，学校向学生通告国家或世界的重大时事，或者一些影响乡村福祉的信息，或须所有村民齐心协力的事情。通常由教师或年长的学生以故事的形式讲给大家，并要求所有学生回家后将这些内容讲给家人听，再将家人听了以后的反应报告到学校。

我们可以用灭蚊子为例来介绍自然课。在教师的指导下，学生搜集不同时期蚊子发育的标本，装在玻璃瓶里展示。通过这种方式，学生真正理解蚊子的变化，生成与之战斗的决心。同时教师又指导学生认识青蛙以及其他吃蚊子的昆虫，认它们为友军，从事扑灭蚊子的运动。

园艺有两种形式：学校园艺与家庭园艺。我们已经解决了学校园艺工作中两个最大困难。第一，农民反对教师率领学童从事学校园艺工作。他们认为："我们把孩子送到学校是来读书的，不是来做工的。"许多乡村学校无法将园艺引入学校课程中就是由于他们坚决反对。在引进这门课之前我们已经预料到了，因此我们拜访了许多学生的父母，与他们沟通，告诉他们："我们想借助园艺和地上的出产，教给他们读、写与数数。在他们参与园艺劳作之后，他们除了学会怎么种植，还学会了怎么读、写、数所种的作物。学童们可以将自己劳动成果带回家去与家人分享，也可以将它们拿到市场上去卖掉。"父母听后，均表示赞成，园艺这门课也因此在学校顺利开展起来。

第二个困难是单级小学里的园艺课程。单级小学里不同年龄的学生在一个班级上课。为解决这一困难，我们将劳作分为不同的阶段，然后根据学生能力大小分配任务。因此每一位学生都能根据自身的能力与兴趣忙于自己的工作。

这些学校的手工科包含维修校具、校舍以及制造简单教具、校具。学校的木工和泥水工等工作主要由学生在教师的指导下进行。教学所需的科学器具也尽可能自己制作。学校的一些其他普通器材也是如此。

卫生保健是教师在巡回医生的指导下展开的。学校教师跟着医生学

做眼部检查、布种牛痘以及其他一些简单的医术。治疗沙眼已经取得非常满意的成效。在这些学校里，每个人都有单独的手巾、牙刷、茶杯。我们希望不久三校再添聘一名巡回护士。

团体项目可以以接待贵宾为参照。在客人来访之前，学生已经接到通知并召开会议，在老师的帮助下，筹备如何欢迎客人。推举一名学生做主席，一名学生作记录。拟定秩序单，并将具体的工作分配给个人：致欢迎辞、奏乐、来宾演说、全体唱歌等，并且选定两名学生写请柬，两名学生送信邀请客人。以上的工作均在半小时以内完成。在客人接到请柬后20分钟，他会被引座员带上讲台，欢迎会开始，会后集体合影留念。

校舍可供全体村民公开使用。它可以供信用合作社开会使用，是科技农产物展览会、村民武术会、村民结婚的场所，以及最重要的是，农民夜校的教室。起初夜校由专职老师授课，但是，大家认为，在一天繁重的工作后，老师需要在晚间休息，因此出台了更科学的方案。在每一个村庄，由一位有头脑、乐于公共服务的人来做夜校的老师。我们发现这些人不仅可以胜任教师的职位，而且都是良师。我们将燕子矶学校作为试点，成效很好。我们用的教材是专供农民使用的《千字课》。一般的农民每天花费一个小时的时间学习，很快就能阅读当地报纸、写普通的信件。这样做我们不难发现，乡村小学不仅能为学童提供教育，而且为成年人所用。

中心乡村幼稚园　　中国乡村格外需要幼稚园。尤其是农忙的时候，农妇会比平时花费更多的时间忙于各种事务。她不仅需要帮助种田、收割，更要为农民做饭煮茶，甚至承担起其他所有的家务。在这个时候，年长的小学学龄儿童都被叫回家帮助劳作，五岁以下的孩子便成为了累赘。倘若有一个地方替农妇照看孩子，妈妈们自然会减轻不少负担。有的时候，在小学里读书的学童被留在家里，仅仅是为了照看弟弟妹妹。有的时候，做母亲的拿一条小凳子，抱着小孩子到小学里来，请老师替她看孩子，她唯一的要求，便是希望老师看着这个孩子坐在凳子上，不要乱动。因此我们也不难看出建立乡村幼稚园以解决这些问题的必要性。幼儿园可以缓解农忙季节农妇作为母亲的负担，同时可以解放那些被召唤回家照看弟弟妹妹的学童。但是将现有的幼稚园照搬至乡村里是不可能的，将普通幼稚园模式运用于乡村就犹如骆驼穿针眼般艰难。如今的幼稚园都是贵族的、外国的，且价格昂贵。如若在乡村兴建幼稚园，必须从根本上作出改变，使幼稚园变成更加平民的、中式的、价格合理的。目前已经制定出各种适宜乡村条件的幼稚教育计划。不久前去世的陆慎如女士，曾经为兴办乡村幼稚园作出努力，她的不幸逝世使我们暂缓了这一行动。不过预计今年秋季我们将会按照上述计划逐步落

实。

试验乡村师范学校　　这所乡村师范学校设在晓庄，和第三中心小学邻近，距第一中心小学五里（一哩半），距第二中心小学十里（三哩）。创办这所学校的目的是要培养乡村教师的领导能力。这样的培养目标有三：1.培养农夫的身手；2.塑造科学的头脑；3.培养改造社会的精神。

这个学校的校训是“教学做合一”：即主张在做上学，学上教。例如，农活是要在田里做的，就须在田里学，在田里教。这是合一的方法，与通常中国的师范学校所用的分割方法不同。按照分割的方法，师范生先是从事三年半学术研究与学习，最后半年时间用来实习，毕业后便执教。合一的教学法要求做学生之初就要进行教学活动，即学生在真实的、负责的和有指导的环境下进行教学。通过这样的方法，学生不仅要自己汲取知识，而且要学会传播知识的方法。某件事情能够教他人理解，自己方才可以算得上真切地了解，以教人者教己。根据这个方法，要求每个师范生在严格的指导下到三个中心小学里去担负一星期的教学任务。

课程包括了生活中的全部内容。一切课程即生活，一切生活即课程。没有课外活动，这个词本身不符合我们的教育哲学。

第一部分活动是中心小学生活教学做。这部分教学占全部教学分值的一半。普通的师范学校均有“附属小学”实习一科，这种办法与师范学校缺少有机联系。在我们这里，小学成为了师范教育的中心，小学一般在师范学校之前建立。中心小学好比是母亲，也是发电机。中心小学教学活动可以分为六组：国语算术、公民、卫生、自然、园艺、游戏娱乐。每组均由一位研究指导老师带领。师范生每人可以选择一至两组，作组里指导老师的助手。在制定了课程和方法之后，需要开会与学生助手探讨，向学生示范教学，观察学生的教学并加以指导，使其有所提高。指导老师由校长委任，对整个工作全权负责。

第二部分活动是师范学校院务教学做。全校的文书、会计、庶务、卫生以及其他工作，都是由学生在指导员指导下进行。全校只有一个粗工担任挑水，其余的工作都是由学生和指导员分担，甚至烧饭、炒菜也由他们自己完成。烧饭的工作，对于乡村教师而言是很重要的，因为学生们倘若被派到对新式学校不友好的乡村去，就必须自己动手做饭。

第三部分是征服自然环境教学做，这项包括科学农业、植树造林、基本手工和卫生保健。

第四部分是改造社会环境教学做，其中包括乡村自治、乡村平民教育、合作组织、乡村调查和农民娱乐休闲等。在社会工作方面，第一步从学校四周三里（一哩）路范围内着手做起。每一个小村庄由指定的两人主要负责。现在归入计划的有12个小村庄。如前所述，我们无论什么

事情都以教与学作为中心，社会工作亦如此。乡村调查并非课堂研习，而是对12个村庄的实地调研。又如合作社，也是要依照成功所必须的各种原则，在农民中取得实际促进。其他的教学亦是如此。希望派驻村庄的两人真正能够融入乡村，真正成为农民的朋友。这样，一旦开设了这些课程，农民就会真心响应。这样的两位代表便成为了维系学校与村庄的重要纽带。

第五部分是学生自动的教学做。这些活动都由学生自己规划和选择，大部分是关于个人学校生活的事情。

晓庄学校一个突出特点即是：学生在图书馆用书，不再在教室里读书，遇到书本中不明白的问题时才向老师请教。他们为生活而读书，以书本为参考，并非为了读书而读书。

另一个特点是：指导员与学生都是农民的形象，有时赤脚穿着草鞋。学生从入学考试的那天起，就必须像农民一样地做农事。我们深信，我们倘若想要感化农人，必须自己先受农人感化。

随后，您会发现师生之间差异很小，界限并不明显。所有的人都既教且学。“会的教人，不会的跟人学”，是我们的座右铭之一。

学生毕业时是没有文凭的，要到毕业胜任工作半年之后，方才给予毕业证书。学生虽然离校工作，但仍与学校保持密切的关系。巡回辅导员维系着这个纽带。

幼稚师范院　　从今年秋季开始，在试验师范学校里，我们将设有幼稚师范院。该院以乡村中心幼稚园为教学活动的中心，招收乡村的女子入校学习。乡村小学教师的妻子、未婚妻或亲戚尤为受欢迎。该院有如下几个显著的优点：（1）可以培养许多幼稚园教师，创办急需的乡村幼稚园。（2）可以为乡村间受教育的女子们开辟一个新的职业。（3）若乡村教师的妻子或未婚妻能受此种教育，将来夫妻可在同一乡村从事教育，可以有下列五点好处：a.可以增进乡村教师在乡间服务的幸福感；b.如果妻子可以经营幼稚园，家庭的收入可以提高；c.乡村教师的服务期限可能延长；d.乡村有了女性教育家，乡村妇女教育可以更快速地推广；e.这位教师的家庭，就可以成为一个模范乡村家庭。有了以上的种种优势，虽然有许多困难，我们还要设法开设幼稚师范院。

乡村教育研究部　　乡村教育研究部由从事乡村研究的指导员和名誉研究员组成，专门从事乡村教育研究，以谋乡村教育实际问题的解决。研究部应着重于未来之研究，因为这才是乡村教育真正进步的希望所在。大学生来做研究员的助理。我们希望随着研究部发展，高年级学生可以积极参与这一重要领域的原创性实验与研究。

辅助事业　　以上所说的中心学校、试验乡村师范学校和乡村教育研究部构成了当前中国乡村教育运动的中流砥柱。此外还有几项附属活动值

得一提。

（1）招待参观。为便利远道来校参观者起见，在中心学校里设备床位，以便有兴趣于乡村教育的来访者作深入考察，对学校工作深入研究。从奉天、四川、广州等地来的教师已经获得了这一便利。这个方法可以使乡村教育运动推广得更远、更快。

（2）乡村教育同志会。该会为中华教育改进社的分支机构，有会员千人。政局稳定后，这一团体肯定会成长起来。该会曾议决乡村教师信条十八条，发行双周刊物一种，即《乡教丛讯》，现在销数有二千份。

（3）乡村学校巡回辅导员。改进社请了一位办乡村学校卓有成绩的校长丁超先生做乡村学校巡回辅导员，帮助其他地区改进学校。任何想谋学校之改进的乡村学校，均可以先派校长到中心小学来实地观察，再由我们的辅导员去考察该校的实际状况，然后合拟改进的方法，由校长进行，辅导员则随时前去指导帮助。

（4）乡村卫生所。晓庄创办了一个乡村卫生所，医生除了为乡民看病以外，还训练师范生简单的医药卫生常识与检查中心小学儿童的疾病。

（5）联村自卫团。晓庄附近的12个乡村里的农人，都可［由师范学校武术指导员］教以相当之武术。一经政府许可，也可教他们军事战术。

（6）合作社。尧化门小学已经办了一所小规模的合作社。不久在晓庄也要创办一所。我们希望把范围逐渐扩大，并训练农民自行组织。

以上是中国乡村教育运动在南京的简要报告。类似的工作将在广州、武昌、成都、北京、奉天、昆明各地尽快展开。我们的希望是最后各省各县都有这样的乡村教育做改造事业的中心。我们最后的目标是培养一百万个乡村教师，引导一百万乡村获得新生命。

MR. H. CHI'S NEW CONTRIBUTION[1]

It has not been long since we witnessed Mr. Chi's ingenious invention of the Chinese typewriter;again, we are preparing to welcome the advent of his *New Chinese Dictionary.* Through his invention of the typewriter, Mr. Chi had availed himself with an insight of the nature of Chinese characters.This intimate acquaintance suggested to him the possibilities of simplifying the arrangement of the Chinese dictionary. As a byproduct of the typewriter, the new device of the Chinese dictionary was framed up by the end of last May. Having been privileged with a perusal of the manuscript before its publication and deeply impressed by the advantages of the new work, the writer wishes to take this opportunity to tell the public some stories about the new dictionary, either as a message of comfort to those who have become tired of the old dictionary or as a stimulus of encouragement to those who take interest in scientific investigation.

The old *Kang-shi Dictionary* has certainly made a great progress beyond other types of dictionaries in the fact that it has based its arrangement of vocabularies upon the order of the number of strokes of their radicals. It works alright when we have only words of one undebatable radical to find. The difficulties arise when we meet words of two, three or more radicals.The *Kang-shi Dictionary* only takes one radical into account, and classifies each word under one radical and one radical only.Thus it is not infrequent that a word cannot be found until three or four radicals have been tried. Sometimes, it even takes an hour to locate a single word. It not only wastes time and energy, but also discourages students from making further appeal to dictionary.

Therefore the first problem of simplification is how to enable a man to hit upon the right radical at once.This Mr. Chi has succeeded by using two methods. First, the definite prefixes and suffixes with which words can be found under a definite radical, and their exceptions are classified into groups according to their kinds. These are part of the author's keynotes with which every reader should be familiar. With a knowledge of these prefixes and suffixes and their exceptions, words composed of them can be found readily under their proper radicals. Besides those words with definite prefixes or suffixes, all other irregular words which are composed of more than one

radical are classified under each of all the radicals which compose the word. This means that any word can be found under any radical that is a part of the word. It enables us to locate the word without going through trial and error. All words in the dictionary can be found with approximately equal ease.This plan is not cumbersome because it needs only nine hundred repetitions of words to accomplish the purpose.

The internal arrangement of the dictionary furnishes us another merit.The arbitrary division of the old dictionary into sections according to Tsi, Chiu, Ying, Mou, etc. and the random locating of the radical and the word in the book rather than by index are eliminated. In place of the old cumbersome arrangement, the new dictionary is first divided into seventeen strokes of radicals, ranging from one to seventeen. For instance, all words with radicals of two strokes are put in section two, of three strokes, in section three, etc. Second, on the outer side of the dictionary seventeen side-figures (1-17) are indexed, designating at a glance where to find the radicals of a certain number of strokes.Third, on the front page of the seventeen sections, all radicals of the same number of strokes are printed. At the upper corner of each of these radicals, figures are indexed to show the page where words with any one of these radicals can be found. Fourth, the arrangement of the pages is continuous and the trouble of locating the page is eliminated. With these arrangements what the finder has to do is to count the strokes of the radicals, look at the side index corresponding to the number of strokes of the radical, open the book, locate the radical on the front page of the section, read the index at the upper corner of the radical and find the page accordingly, count the remaining strokes of the word besides radical, and locate the word according to the number of the remaining strokes. An experiment has been made by Mr. Chi and the writer to determine the approximate efficiency of the new system.The result shows that the rate of finding English words is about fourteen words per five minutes, that of finding Chinese regular words by the new method is about ten words per five minutes, while by the old method the rate of finding Chinese regular words is five words per five minutes, or one word per minute.

Put it into a nutsell, so far as the regular words are concerned, the efficiency of the new dictionary is one time greater, and in case of irregular words, it is tremendously greater than that of the old dictionary. It enables us to find any word in the dictionary within half a minute.

Besides these chief merits there are some minor points that need to be

considered. The number of words in the dictionary is seven thousand;adding nine hundred repetitions, it makes the total of seven thousand and nine hundred. The selection of these words is based on the *Source of Familiar Quotations*. Brief synonyms and clear definitions are cited. In order to avoid confusion, only important classical phrases are quoted. So far as pronunciation is concerned, the Tsieh-yin of the common words are eliminated but those of the less common words are still retained. In addition, every word is accompanied by a romanized pronunciation of the mandarin language. For the time being, as no satisfactory standard pronunciation has been made, Mr. Chi is obliged to adopt the method of Romanization contained in the *Chinese Students' Dictionary*, which is based mainly on Wade's system. Such are the features of Chi's *New Chinese Dictionary*. With the help of this dictionary, I am sure every student's work will be greatly facilitated.

祁氏汉语字典的新贡献

我们刚刚见证了祁先生精心发明的中文打字机，又准备迎接他的《新汉语字典》的问世。通过发明打字机，祁先生领悟到了汉字的特性。这种切身体验向他显现出简化汉语字典编排的可能性。作为打字机的副产品，今年五月末新版汉语字典的构想完成。笔者蒙允在出版前精读手稿，对其优点留下深刻印象，愿借此机会将有关这本新字典的情况介绍给广大读者，既可告慰那些对旧字典感到厌倦者，亦可激励那些有志于科学探索者。

老的《康熙字典》相对于其他类型的字典当然有了很大进步。它对字汇的编排顺序是根据字的部首的笔画数。这对查找具有一个无可置疑的部首的字而言是不成问题的，而当我们碰上那些具有两个、三个或更多部首的字的时候就会有困难了。《康熙字典》只考虑到采用一个部首，每个字归类时按且只按一个部首分类，于是常常出现查了三四个部首才能找到所要找的那个字的情况，有时甚至要花上一个小时去查找一个简单的字。这样不仅浪费时间和精力，而且打消了学生们进一步查字典的兴致。

因此，简化的首要问题是怎样使人能一下就确认正确的部首。祁先生运用两种办法来解决这个问题。首先，将可以在确定的部首下查到的字的明确的字首和字尾以及例外的情况根据它们的类别分组。这些是作者的部分主旨，每个读者都应当明了。在对字的字首、字尾及其例外的情况有所了解之后，就可以很容易地在相应的部首之下查到它们。除了有明确字首字尾的字外，那些具有一个以上部首的不规则字都全部被归到构成该字的所有部首项下。也就是说，任何单字均可在构成该字的任何一个部首之下查到。这样我们在查找字时就不用反复尝试和出错。这本字典中所有的字查找起来几乎是一样地容易。这种构想并不繁琐，因为只需900个单字重复出现就可以达到目的。

该字典的内部编排即是它的另一大特色。老式字典那种按照子、丑、寅、卯等任意分部并随意而非按索引编排部首次序的办法被淘汰了。新字典中替代原有繁琐编排的方法是，首先按17个笔画分出部首，从1排到17。例如，所有部首为2画的放在第2部，部首为3画的放在第3部，依此类推。其次，字典外侧标以17个边码（1—17），这一索引使人一眼就可发现某一笔画数的部首所在。第三，在17个部的首页上都印出笔画数相同的所有部首，在每一部首的上角处列出数码，标明带有这一部首的字所在的页数。第四，页数的编排是连续的，避免了寻找页码的麻烦。按照这种编排方式，查找者所要做的只是数出部首的笔画数，

在边码上找到与该部首笔画数相应的数码，打开字典，在该部首页上找出这个部首，再看该部首上角处的数码找到其所在页数，然后数出该字除部首外剩余的笔画数，根据此剩余笔画数查出这个字。为测定新系统大致的效率，祁先生和笔者进行了一项试验。其结果表明，查找英语单词大约是每5分钟14个，按新方法规则汉字每5分钟可查10个字，而若按老的方法每5分钟只能查到5个规则汉字，亦即每分钟1个字。

简而言之，就规则汉字而言，新字典的查找效率较旧的字典提高了一倍。而对不规则汉字，则其效率的提高更为惊人。我们能在半分钟之内在字典中查到任何一个字。

除了上述的主要特色外，还有一些细微之处也是值得重视的。该字典共收入7,000字，加上900个重复出现的字，总字数为7,900。选字以《常用语源》为基础，采用了简单的同义字和清楚的定义。为避免混乱，只对重要的经典短语加以引用。至于发音，则删除了常见字的注音符号而保留了非常见字的注音符号。此外，每个字还伴有官话罗马拼音注音。由于暂时还没有制订出令人满意的标准发音，祁先生不得不采取《中国学生字典》中所载的罗马拼音，其主要是基于威氏法的。以上就是祁氏《新汉语字典》的特点。我相信在这本字典的帮助下，每位中国学生的学习都将得到很大的提高。

CREATIVE EDUCATION[1]

The Primary School is the foundation of all education.The conception of the educational process has changed greatly through the years.

I.School and Society

At first school and society were entirely separate; more recently society was brought into the school.This was like bringing a beautiful bird into a cage so as to enjoy it and watch it.

Lately we have begun to take the school into society.The school is poor;it uses society as its school room and becomes rich.By taking the school into society, using the community as the school room, the educational process becomes: first, Rich; second, Natural; third, Real;fourth, Economical;fifth, in Harmony with the Progress of Society.

It does not go ahead too fast, nor lag behind.To invite a vocational teacher to come to the school is very expensive;to go to the industries of the community to learn gets better results and these results are all real and practical.

II.Education and Life

In the first stage of man's life education and life were one and the same, but as the need for formal schools arose they became separated.

Later, it was said,“Education is life.”Education tried to bring as much of life as possible into the school.

I believe that life is education.The kind of education you receive depends on the kind of life you live.Hygiene text books and living hygienically are two things.Therefore we will get our education while we are living.

III.Education and Method

For many years, education was giving knowledge to the student;later, education was teaching the student to learn;still more recently, education is teaching the student how to work.This brings about a unity, in teaching, learning, acting.The method of acting determines the method of learning;the method of learning determines the method of teaching.

Creative education is the result of this method.Creative education means a transfusion of energy in the creation of a new order.It will imply that the whole of society is a school—not a room and 42 benches.

There are five steps in Dewey's reflective thinking:

1.The feeling of difficulty.

2.The location of difficulty.

3.The proposed solution.

4.The selection of one solution for trial.

5.After repeated trials, verify the results.

This philosophy came to China fifteen years ago, and was received with joy.Chinese scholars welcomed reflective thinking, so people just sat and thought.They recognized the difficulties and thought about them.They were difficulties felt through books and lectures.These difficulties were manufactured in our heads.I propose to add one step before the feeling of difficulties.The first step should be action.Then the other five may follow and they will lead to more action.So education should begin with action.Then difficulties will be real, not felt simply through book knowledge, lectures, facts and figures, but experienced through action and followed by reflective thinking.

I would give a new name to the whole: “Reflective action.” Action will connect ideas and motor fibers and the electric current will come through.Reflective activity implies action of both brain and hands.We no longer have a class in society for hands, another class with head.All are hands and head.

IV.Education and the Masses

In early education, ears and mouth only were used.The result was about inches of education, the distance between the ear and the mouth.

Later, eyes, ears and mouth were used.Chinese education is now in this triangular stage.

In the new education, hands and brain are connected.Action and thinking must progress together.Coolies use only action;intellectuals use only brains;both lead to defeat.Using both together leads to progress and invention.

There are two approaches to this universal education.(a) Teach farmers and workers to use their heads.(b) Teach scholars and students to use their hands.The electrical lamps that shine upon us were built by thinking and experiment, step by step.They are the results of applied thinking.Reflective activity always brings invention.If brains and hands come together, there will be built a new civilization.By bringing both hands and head, a new world will be created.

Two treasures with us lifelong remain,
A pair of free hands and a great brain;
He who doesn't use his hands
Belongs to the dethroned King's bands.
He who doesn't use his brain
Has to endure hunger and pain.
He who uses both brain and hand
Can set up Heaven's kingdom on Satan's land.

V.Education and the Student

We have to begin this process in childhood.My children do this better than I do.Take the children out of the amah's hands.Cast out of them all fears.Then children will be little workers and teachers, the directors of work.Each will have a share in creation and be a creator.

The new school is not just a school;neither is it a factory.It is a place for collective living, a community.It is shop, school, and life.The school doesn't depend upon buildings, expensive equipment, wide playground.Every occupation uses sciences, hands and brain.Let the children use occupation as their school, and learn by working as workers and thinkers and creators.

We cannot create a new China and hand it down to future generations.We must educate the children and give them from the beginning their part in the creation of a new world.

It is the doer not the enjoyer who gets the education.Those who do must learn to enjoy;those who enjoy must learn to do.

These are some of the proposals which I make to Chinese education.

创造性教育

小学教育是全部教育的基础。这些年来教育过程的理念已发生了很大的改变。

① 学校与社会

从前，学校与社会基本上是隔绝的。随后，社会被学校同化，这便如同为了观赏而把一只漂亮的小鸟关进笼子里。

最近，我们已开始将学校带进社会。学校是贫乏的；它以社会为教室，因此变得丰富。将学校引入社会，以社区为教室，教育的过程变得：第一，丰富；第二，自然；第三，真实；第四，节俭；第五，与社会进步相协调。

现在我们走得不是太快，也并不落后。聘请一位职业教师到学校十分昂贵，去社区工厂学习，效果更好，真实而且实用。

② 教育与生活

在人类生活的第一阶段，教育与生活合而为一。但是当正规的学校兴起以后，它们彼此开始分离。

后来，有人说，“教育即是生活”，教育试图把尽可能多的生活引进学校。

我相信生活即教育。你所受的教育取决于你的生活。健康教育教科书与过健康的生活是两码事。因此，我们会从生活中获得教益。

③ 教育与方法

多年以来，教育就是给予学生知识；后来，教育就是教学生学习；直到最近，教育就是教学生如何工作。这就带来了教学做合一。做的方法决定了学的方法，学的方法决定了教的方法。

创造性教育即是这种方法的结果。创造性教育意味着为创造新的秩序输入能量。它暗指整个社会就是一所学校，并不只是一间屋子和42条板凳。

杜威的反省理论有五个步骤：

1.感知困难；

2.定位困难；

3.提出解决方案；

4.选择其中一个方案尝试；

5.反复尝试后证实结论。

这套哲学理论15年前就已经来到中国，并被欣然接受。中国学者喜欢反省，因此只是坐着空想。他们认识到困难并且冥思苦想。他们从书本与听讲中感知困难，这些困难是我们头脑里制造出来的。我提议在感

知困难之前加一步。第一步应当是行动，接着是其他五个步骤，并引发进一步的行动。所以，教育应当始于行动。此时的困难才是真实的，不是简单地通过书本知识、听讲、事例和数据去感觉困难，而是通过行动去体验并伴随着思想反省。

我给这个理论另起新名：反省行动。行动将连接意念与运动纤维，电流从此通过。反省行动意味着手脑并用。我们的社会不再有劳力者与劳心者之分，全是手脑并用。

④　教育与大众

早期的教育，只用耳朵与嘴巴。结果是教育不过几英寸而已，即从耳朵到嘴巴的距离。

后来，眼、耳、嘴都用。中国的教育现在就在这个“三角”阶段。

在新的教育里，要求手脑并用。行动与思想必须协同共进。苦力只会用手，知识分子只会用脑，结果两者都遭到挫败。手脑并用才会导致进步与革新。

推行这种大众教育有两种途径：（1）教农夫与工人用脑。（2）教学者与学生用手。照亮我们的电灯是一步一步的思想与试验的结晶，它们是运用思考的结果。反省行动总会带来创新。如果手脑并用，将会构筑一个新的文明，创造一个新的世界。

人生两个宝，
双手与大脑。
用脑不用手，
快要被打倒！
用手不用脑，
饭也吃不饱。
手脑都会用，
才算是开天辟地的大好佬。

⑤　教育与学生

这种教育必须从孩提时开始。我的孩子们在这一点上做得比我好。让孩子脱离奶妈的双手，驱逐他们心中全部的恐惧。他们将成为小工人、小先生、工作中的指导者。每个人都将有所创造并是一个创造者。

新型的学校既不仅仅是一个学校，也并非是一个工厂。它是一个群居的场所，是一个小社会，它是工学团。这个学校并不依赖于房屋、昂贵的设备、宽广的运动场而存在。每个工作都运用科学、双手与大脑。让孩子们把工作当成他们的学校，在工作中学习做工人、思想者和创造者。

我们不能创造一个新中国然后把她交给下一代。我们必须教育孩子们，使之从一开始就明了自己在创造一个新世界中所扮演的角色。

受到教育的是实干者而非享乐者。实干者必须学会享受，享受者必须学会实干。

这就是我对中国教育的一些建议。

THE LITTLE TEACHER AND THE LITERACY MOVEMENT[1]

The recent statistics of the Ministry of Education show that China has now ten million children in school, only one-eighth of what ought to be. Yet with the endeavor of the literacy movement in the past decade or so, there at least ought to be some forty million children who are able to read and write now. It is true that there are many factors involved, but the fact still remains that the method used in the whole movement is inefficient and needs reconsideration. As a result of thinking and experimenting for the last two years, I find the“little teacher”to be a way out. If used on a nationwide scale, the whole country would be educated in two years' time. As an illustration, let me give the following three instances.

(1)Some ten years ago, when I was working zealously for the literacy movement, my mother thought of learning to read too. My child of six was the only one that had the time to help her. As a result, my mother was able to read sixteen characters. Based on those sixteen characters, I sent her a letter, and she was able to understand what I wrote. A child of six could help his old grandmother—is not this a proof of the“little teacher's” ability? I think this is not only true of China, but also of children in the Western countries.

(2)After the close of the Hsiao Chuan Normal School, a number of children realizing the need of education, started organizing a school themselves.The children conduct all the management and the teaching, and it is of such a success that it has been registered. When I sent them a poem, which most of my friends thought to be unalterable, congratulating them on their success, they made a very nice suggestion which led to my changing of one of the characters in the poem. Is not this a further proof of the ability of the“little teacher”?

(3)Then a third proof happened last fall. Some seven children in one of the schools at Hwai-an started on their own excursions to various parts of Kiangsu province.There was no one to lead them.They did their own planning, and earned their way through by giving talks in the various schools they visited.They were even able to save enough money to buy a number of books. Both the trip and the talks were a success.

The“little teachers”though young are able to achieve a great deal. But in

order to ensure success, school teachers ought to help. These things need special mention here. (1)To start the work, villagers or city folks ought to be gathered together and told the need of education.This may be in the nature of a party or a social gathering or anything that serves the purpose. (2)Once the work is actually started, teachers ought to help in methods of teaching. (3)There is the supervision work to be done.The best way is to make the teaching of others a part of the pupils' regular work.They are required to hand in the work they are doing, to fill in reports, etc. This, by no means, increases the teacher's work. He can attend fewer meetings, drop out some of the useless tasks, such as correcting character-writing or the too-monotonous diaries written by children who have no variation in their everyday work. For the child, to be able to help two of the less fortunate children or adults, means not only that he will be more acquainted with his own work, but that he is also learning to serve others—the spirit of service.

Any facility that helps, like radio, a letter or a movie show, ought to be turned to the service of the movement.

There are now several places which have the experiment on a large scale:(1)The Shou Hai Kung Sheo Twan, (2)The Pao Shan District, and (3)The Tsui-Ping District, Shanghai. In the latter place, the organization is in the form of a military legion—five to a group, one child is to lead four others, these five groups again form a larger unit, and so on up, when the generalissimo of the complete unit is made the head of more than fifteen thousand people.

As all of you are working in the Christian elementary field, I hope you will endorse this plan of mine, and help push forward the movement.

小先生与识字运动

教育部最近的统计显示，中国目前有1,000万在校儿童，仅为应入学人数的八分之一。然而，经过过去十多年识字运动的努力，至少应有4,000万左右的孩子现在能读会写了。尽管确实受到许多因素的影响，这个运动中使用的方法的低效却是事实，需要重新考虑。作为个人过去两年思考和试验的结果，我发现“小先生”是一条出路。如果举国推广，那么全国两年内便能普及教育。为了说明这一点，让我接下来举三个例子。

（1）大约十年前，当我正热心于识字运动的时候，我母亲也想识字读书。我六岁的孩子是唯一有时间教她识字的人。结果，我母亲认识了16个字。我用这16个字给她写信，她能明白我写的什么。一个六岁的小孩能帮助他的老祖母——这不是小先生能力的证明吗？我认为，这点不仅中国的孩子可以做到，西方国家的孩子们也同样能做到。

（2）晓庄师范学校被封闭之后，很多孩子认识到教育的重要性，就自发组织起一所学校。孩子们包下了所有的教学和管理。他们做得如此成功，以致学校现在已经注册。当时我送他们一首诗以表祝贺，我的大多数朋友认为此诗已无可修改之处，他们则提了很好的建议，让我改掉了诗中的一个字。难道这不是对小先生能力的进一步证明吗？

（3）第三个例证发生在去年秋天。淮安一所学校的几个七岁小孩去江苏省各地游览。没有人带领他们，他们自己做计划，靠给沿途参观的学校演讲挣路费。他们甚至能省下钱来买一些书。旅行与演讲都取得了成功。

小先生虽然年幼，却能做许多事情。但为了确保成功，学校的老师应该给予指导。以下事情在这里需要特别提醒一下。1）作为工作的启动，应将村民们或者市民们召集起来，告知他们教育的必要性。可以是一次聚会，或者是一次社会性集会，抑或任何可以达成此目的的其他形式。2）一旦工作真正开始了，教师们应当在教学方法上给予帮助。3）要做好辅导工作。最好的办法是让教导别人成为学生们日常工作的一部分。要求他们提交所作的工作情况报告等等。这决不是说要增加教师的工作量。他可以少参加会议，放弃部分无用的任务，比如纠正孩子们写字或批改其记录天天如此的单调生活的日记。对于孩子们来说，能够帮助两个更不幸的同龄人或者成年人，这不仅意味着他会对自己的工作更加熟悉，而且从中他也习得如何服务他人，即一种服务精神。

任何有助益的设备，像收音机、信件或者电影放映，都应当用来为这一运动服务。

现在已有几个地方在开展大规模的试验：1）山海工学团；2）上海的宝山区；3）上海遂平区。后者采用了类似军队的组织——五人一组，一个孩子领导其他四个；五组又组成一个更大的单位。如此类推，最后整个单位的最高统帅已是超过15,000人的首领了。

你们大家都在基督教小学做事，我希望你们会赞成我的这个计划，并协助推进这个运动。

THE NEW MASS EDUCATION MOVEMENT[1]

A cultural revolution against an educational system as old as China itself is taking place in China today. This system made the Chinese language so difficult that it condemned 80%of the people to illiteracy. Requiring years of study, it was possible only for the privileged few to master the tens of thousands of Chinese characters necessary to read and write.The students and intellectuals, who call themselves“cultural workers,” have taken upon themselves the task of romanizing the intricate alphabet and teaching it to the masses.This romanized alphabet, containing 28 letters, is known as *Latin Hua*.

In order to bring the new education to the people, a system of workers' and peasants' schools was created.These schools have no paid teachers.The students and intellectuals give one or two hours a day to train the masses, and after a time the masses develop teachers of their own. In nearly every class there are four or five persons, who have a natural aptitude for teaching and who, after a training of some months, can lead a class or a group on their own initiative.Thus you find peasants teaching peasants in the rural districts and in the cities workers' schools which are taught by the workers themselves.

The principle of the Mass Education Movement is that everyone who knows a little, even though he has attended school only a few months, should teach what he knows to others. This is the basis of the “Little Teacher” system. Even little children can be found playing the role of these“Little Teachers,”—the more able ones leading classes and others teaching groups of three or four. It is not uncommon to find girls and boys of five or six years teaching their parents, grandparents, servants, etc., to read and write.

A new psychology underlies this new mass education movement. Changes in life mean changes in education.This education need not and sometimes cannot be accomplished in an ordinary school.Therefore our education is not confined to the school form. Any place where the peoplelive or congregate is essentially a mass school, since real education comes from the contact of life with life.Thus our schools are held in courtyards, in corridors, in the streets, in the shops, in the village temples and in the army camps. The whole society becomes our school and all of life our curriculum.

Cultural workers are organizing this system of mass education throughout China. Similar organizations of musicians and cinema workers carry on the same activity, and propaganda for the new education is embodied in the tales told in the tea-houses.Thus the idea is spread far and wide.

New text books have been written and periodicals published in the **Latin Hua**. The Peiping and Shanghai alphabetical systems have been completed, and we are now working on the Fukien and Canton alphabets, since each of these provinces has its own dialect. It is estimated that an illiterate man or woman can learn to read and write with this new alphabet in one month. Thus after a very short period of training, the people can continue their education by themselves.

The new mass education movement, which was initiated in Shanghai, should not be confused with that type of education advocated by Mr. James Yen at Ting Hsien. In the Chinese language the Ting Hsien type of education is called"*ping min jiao yü*,"meaning the common people's education, while the New Mass Education is called"*da zhong jiao yü*,"meaning the education of the great masses. The difference in terminology implies fundamental differences in essentials. Ting Hsien advocates mass education, but in practice it results in an education of the few, while the new mass education aims at a real education of the mass, by the mass and for the mass.

This movement is entirely self-supporting. The Association for National Liberation Education is supported by a ten cent membership fee, and while contributions from sympathizers of the movement are always welcomed, the main activities of the society do not depend on these contributions, but upon the people themselves.

It is quite natural that this cultural revolution should be inextricably connected with the movement for national liberation. Mass education cultivates mass consciousness, and the movement aims not only to teach the people to read and write, but also to teach them the problems of today, and to guide them so that they will understand how to meet theseproblems.The test of the validity of any educational system is whether or not it can stand the test of reality.The masses need an education that will help them face life.The educational system that evades reality implies an intrinsic weakness which unfits it to perform its function.

Although the Mass Education Movement teaches national liberation, it must not be understood that it advocates a narrow nationalism. In spite of our

national crisis, we have not forgotten to cultivate international-mindedness. International-mindedness is, needless to say, the foundation of world peace. The teachers of the masses in China dare not forget this important principle.

With the possible exception of India, there is no other country in the world where education has been so much a privilege of wealth as China.This new movement, developed and continued over a period of years, will make it possible to abolish the appalling illiteracy in China, to bring culture to the people, and to enable them to defend their national culture against foreign cultural aggressions.

新大众教育运动

当前中国正在兴起一场反对陈旧教育制度的文化革命，它同中国本身同样古老。这种教育制度使得汉字十分艰深难学，以致造成80%的人为文盲。因为需要多年学习，所以只有少数有学习条件的人才能掌握几万个汉字，具备读写能力。一些自称“文化工作者”的学生和知识分子担负起了将复杂的汉语拼音字母罗马化的任务，并把这套罗马化字母教给民众。罗马化的字母共有28个，以“拉丁化”闻名。

为了把新的教育带给民众，创立了“工学团”的制度。这种学校不聘用领薪的教师。学生和知识分子们每天花一至两个小时来培训民众，过一段时间民众间便产生了自己的教师。差不多每个班级总有四五个人具备做教师的天赋，经过几个月的培训，他们就能独立地带领一个班级或一个小组。于是，在农村便可看到农民教农民的场景，在城市里可以看到工人自己当教师的“工学团”。

大众教育运动的原则是：每个人即使只学习过几个月，只要学到一点，就应“即知即传人”。这是小先生制的基础。很小的孩子也可以当小先生——能力较强的可以领导一个班级，其余的也可以教一个三四人的小组。五六岁的孩子教他们的父母、祖父母、佣人等读书、写字是常见的事情。

一种新的心理学原理支撑着这种新的大众教育运动。生活的变化就意味着教育的改变。这种教育不需要，有时也不可能在普通的学校中得到。因此，我们的教育不局限于校园的形式。任何有人居住或聚集的地方实际上就是一所学校，因为真正的教育来源于生活中的碰撞。因此，我们的学校可以是庭院、亭子间里、街道上、商店里、乡村庙宇里和兵营中。整个社会都是我们的学校，全部生活便是我们的课程。

文化工作者正在全中国组织实施这种大众教育制度。音乐家和戏剧工作者也以类似的团体进行同样的活动，这种新教育通过在茶馆里讲故事的方式得以推广，从而得以更广泛地传播。

新课本用拉丁化文字编写，期刊也以拉丁化文字出版。各个省份都有各自的方言，北平话和上海话的拉丁化拼写系统已经编制完成，我们目前正在编制福建话和广东话的拉丁化拼写系统。据估计，无论男女文盲，都能够在一个月内学会用新文字读写。因此，经过短期培训，普通民众就能够接着自学。

新的大众教育运动起源于上海，不应把这一教育运动和晏阳初先生在定县所提倡的那种教育方式相混淆。用汉语来说，定县办的“平民教育”，是指普通百姓的教育；而新大众教育，汉语叫做“大众教育”，意

思是广大民众的教育。名称上的差异意味着实质上的区别。定县宣称办平民教育，但实际上却办成了少数人的教育；而新大众教育则旨在真正办民有、民治、民享的教育。

这一运动完全靠自己维持。国难教育社靠每人只收一角钱的社员费维持，虽然欢迎对运动同情者的捐助，但该社主要的活动并不依赖这些捐款，而依靠大众本身。

这场文化革命理所当然地是和民族解放运动紧密联系在一起的。大众教育在于培养大众觉醒，其不仅限于教大众能读会写，而且还教他们了解当前存在的各种问题，并引导他们懂得如何对待这些问题。任何一种教育制度的有效性在于它是否经得起现实的检验。大众需要的是能够帮助他们面对生活的教育，回避现实的教育制度是无能的教育、无效力的教育。

虽然大众教育运动要争取民族解放，但决不可把它理解为提倡狭隘的民族主义。尽管我们面临着民族危机，我们仍然没有忘记培植国际视野。不言而喻，国际视野乃是世界和平的基础。中国广大民众的教师们不敢忘掉这个重要的原则。

可能除了印度之外，世界上没有任何别的国家像中国这样将教育视为有钱人的特权。这一新的运动发展和持续几年之后，将可能扫除令人吃惊的中国文盲数量，给人民带来文化，使他们能够捍卫自己的民族文化，抵御外来的各种文化侵略。

CHINA:THE MASS EDUCATION MOVEMENT[1]

China is predominantly an agricultural country and a poor one at that, so that it cannot afford the expense of educating its whole people along Western lines. If China is to make its population literate in the next few years it must develop a technique of its own.This is now doing through the Mass Education Movement, which began twelve years ago but has entered upon a new stage during the last two years. The Movement has set itself to solve three of the most pressing problems that face education in China today. In the first place there is the expense of erecting new schools. Instead of putting money into buildings, the organizers of the movement conceived of the whole of society as a school. Temples, theatres, parlours and attics of private houses, and even outhouses, have been utilised as schools for the masses, and thus money surely needed for other projects has been saved.

A second problem has also been solved in a new way. Chinese peasants and workers have no money to buy knowledge and pay teachers. So the organizers of the movement lay it down that anyone who possesses knowledge has the responsibility of sharing it with others.The thirty or forty farmers who join an evening class, or come for instruction either before or after harvest when they have more leisure, are not only students but also teachers.They are encouraged to go home, even after the first lesson, and teach their wives and daughters what they have just learnt. Children, too, are acting successfully as teachers. A grandmother of fifty-seven is taught to read and write by her grandson of six. Teachers in the elementary and middle schools are therefore encouraged and helped to train their children to become“little teachers.”

The term “little teachers” may sound curious, but in China these little teachers have acquired a great prestige. They have been able to deal more effectively than adults with one of China's special problems. Most Chinese women are illiterate and women teachers are very rare. But it is not convenient for a man to teach girls of sixteen or seventeen.So children, who are in school in the daytime, become little teachers in the evening and teach the women and girls in their neighbourhood.This system has been extraordinarily successful, and wherever it has been adopted the literacy of

the men and the women is nearly equal.

Certain dangers have of course to be guarded against. The system must be kept a voluntary one. But the children are enthusiastic, and as soon as they hear of it most of them want to become teachers and thus do a service to the nation. Another danger is that they may do too much teaching and thus injure their health. Care must be taken to prevent this from happening. It might be supposed that the knowledge they pass on is very faulty. In practice, however, it is found that they are very conscientious and by teaching what they have learnt make the subject-matter clearer to themselves.

The Mass Education Movement has tackled another problem, that of a simple Chinese script. Chinese characters, one picture for each word, are very hard to learn. A new Latinised script has been worked out for the Chinese language which has been tried in Canton, Shanghai, and the Northern Provinces. It can be understood by three-fourths of the whole nation, and a farmer can learn to read and write by means of it in one month.

With the solution of these three problems an instrument has been forged which will enable the masses to educate themselves without waiting for the industrialization of China. If she had to wait so long, it would be too late;without mass education China would be a ruin, losing her integrity and freedom. For, to be frank, Chinese education has now one aim—national liberation. If education fails to help China to make herself a free and independent nation, education is meaningless.

But when national liberation is emphasised, this does not mean narrow nationalism. A free and independent China will help world peace, for China has not the least idea of adopting an imperialistic policy. It seeks to cultivate in its youth the spirit of national liberation in relation to China and of international understanding in relation to the world as a whole.

中国大众教育运动

中国是农业为主的国家，而且是一个穷国，因此没有钱按照西方的方式让全国人民享受教育。中国如果要在未来几年内使全国人民能读会写，就必须制定出一套适合自己的方法来。目前中国正通过大众教育运动做这件事，这一运动始于12年前，但在最近两年进入一个新的阶段。这个运动旨在解决当前中国教育面临的三个最迫切的问题。首先是新建学校的经费问题，运动的组织者们不是把钱投入建校舍，而是以整个社会为学校。庙宇、戏院、堂屋、亭子间以至外屋都已经被大众利用了作学校，从而把钱节省下来用在刀刃上。

第二个问题也已经有了新的解决方法。中国的农民和工人没有钱学知识、聘请老师，因此运动的组织者们规定，凡是有知识的人都有责任将知识传授给别人。参加夜校或是在收割庄稼前后的闲暇时间来学习的三四十个农民，不仅是学生，而且也是先生。他们即使只学了第一课，也被鼓励回家去把刚学到的内容教给他们的妻子和女儿。小孩们也能当好先生。6岁的孙子可以教57岁的祖母读书写字。小学和中学的教师们因此受到鼓舞和帮助去培训他们的学生们当小先生。

“小先生”这个词听起来似乎很奇特，但是在中国，这些小先生却获得了很高的声誉。他们已经能够比成年人更有效地应对中国的一个特殊问题。中国妇女多数是文盲，而女教师又非常少，可是男教师教十六七岁的女孩子又不是特别方便。所以那些白天在学校读书的孩子们，晚上就去当小先生，教邻居的妇女和女童。小先生制非常成功，凡是采用了小先生制的地方，男人和妇女的读写能力几乎相当。

当然还必须防范若干危险。小先生制须坚持自愿原则。但孩子们是热情的，他们一听到小先生制，多数就想当先生为国效劳。另一个危险是他们可能任教过多，有损自身健康。必须注意防止这样的事情发生。可能有人猜想，他们传授的知识中充满错误。而实际上，人们发现，他们是非常认真的，把学到的东西教给别人，也使自己对学习的内容更加了解。

大众教育运动还解决了另一个问题，即简化中文文字。中国方块文字，一个象形一个字，很难学。一套新的汉语拉丁化文字已经制定出来了。这套拉丁化文字已经在广州、上海和北方各省试行。它能为全国四分之三的人所读懂，一个农民凭借这套拉丁化文字一个月之内就能学会读书写字。

随着这三个问题的解决，一种自我教育的工具铸造出来了，大众即有能力自学，不必等到中国工业化之后。如果中国要等待那么久，那就

太晚了；没有大众教育，中国就要崩溃，丧失它的完整和自由。坦率地说，现在中国的教育只有一个目的：民族解放。如果教育不能帮助中国成为一个自由、独立的国家，那就是毫无意义的教育。

可是，强调民族解放，并不意味着狭隘的民族主义。一个自由、独立的中国将有助于世界和平，因为中国丝毫没有采取帝国主义政策的意思。中国力图达到的是在中国青年身上培养民族解放精神和整个世界的国际谅解精神。

THE PEOPLE'S EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN CHINA[1]

The People's Education Movement started some twelve years ago when a group of professors and students plunged into the life of the peasantry and tried to work out a method of education which would be of real service to the peasants. It has been an effort to supplement what the regular school system cannot do. It has been an attempt to develop an education from native soil as against education imported from foreign lands which have different historical and physical backgrounds. It has been an attempt to develop an education for the great masses of toiling people as against the education for the privileged few. It has been an attempt to develop an education for the whole life as against the education for an abnormal intellect. In order to achieve these objectives we have laid down four conditions to guarantee its success:

1.The experimenters must live among the masses and learn from them;

2.The methods must be based on reflective acting instead of academic thinking;

3.The cost of education must be reduced to a minimum both in money and time;

4.A will to free ourselves from the bias and prejudices of the teaching profession.

These are some of the things that show a partial picture of the Morning Village Experiment (Shao Chuang).The chief results of this experiment are the formulation of the theories of Life as Education, Society as School, and the Unity in Teaching, Learning and Reflective Acting.The Shan Hai Labour Science Union and the Little Teachers came to answer the challenge of the Invasion of 1931 and 1932. When the Invasion penetrated into North China and the Peking students rose to call for its protection, our movement took the form of the Society of National Crisis Education and cooperated hand in hand with the All-China NationalSalvation Association. Ever since December, 1935, the aims of this movement have been:

1.United defence of Chinese democracy;

2.World peace through international cooperation;

3.Self-uplifting of the people;

4.Free education for all.

It is only the last aim and the methods for attaining it that will receive detailed discussion here. Even here it is not linguistic literacy alone that is looked for, but also political and economic literacy. All the while we are trying our utmost to discover the simplest technique that will make it possible for an education of the people, by the people and for the people to be worked out so that our people will be qualified more and more for participating in the great struggle for a free China among the family of free nations.

A The Scholar Ghost

A wrong conception of education with centuries' tradition behind it is in our way. Education in the old sense has been identified with book-reading. A scholar is called "*dushuren*" which means one who reads books. When you ask a professor what his profession is, in a very usual manner he would answer,"I am teaching books in Peking University."In the same way a student would answer,"*wo zai Beida dushu*,"meaning that he is reading books in Peking University. While we value books as an important means of enlightening ourselves in past and contemporary civilization, we doubt whether reading books alone can lead us to freedom and doubt whether one has done justice to books by merely reading them. In more progressive circles such scholars are nicknamed as"bookworms."My friend, Dr. P. C. Chang, calls them"scholar ghosts."Here is a little poem of mine which gives a picture of such scholars:

What is a scholar ghost?
He lives along the Pacific Coast.
He has bookish knowledge to boast.
He has his eyes on the official post.
He likes delicious food,
And makes the half-starved farmers to be his hosts.
When jobless, he teaches children,
And makes all of them little scholar ghosts.

B Hands and Brains Unite

Traditional education in China seems to have created two types of strange human beings. In the schools the students are fed with knowledge to swell their heads and are provided with little opportunity for the use of their hands. Servants are doing many things for them that should be done by themselves.The making of mud pie and the opening of a watch for examination are punished alike. From the development of the human race we know it was our hands that helped to make the brain. As our hands were set

free by the erected position we began to work, and as we were working we made noises that were gradually selected to serve as our spoken languages.The written languages and tools are all the creation of our hands.The discouragement of the use of hands in the older schools has really defeated their own purposes of developing the brain. With this abnormal training the students have acquired a store of undigested and unrelated knowledges without being able to identify them with realities. They seem to have a big head which cannot think accurately in terms of the objective world. Therefore those who have had the opportunity of schooling come out with a big head and a pair of small hands, and in figurative speech, look somewhat like a kangaroo, having only the strength to pick up a pen and write a few lines. On the other hand the great masses of our people, doing the great bulk of work for the nation, are left without school education. While they are paying taxes for schools to run, they and their children have been deprived of every leisure hour for cultural growth.They have been forced to exist with the appearance of a small head and a pair of big hands.The Life Education Movement aims at the restoration of these strange human beings to normal life. We want to awaken the scholars to pull out their hands to work and awaken the great masses of people to blow something into their heads in order to think. The bringing into contact of the scholars with the peasants has achieved almost miracles. Both the scholars and the peasants have rediscovered something they had forgotten. The scholars, seeing the splendid productive work done by the peasants, cannot but cry out,“Don't we have hands too? Why don't we work?”In a similar way the peasants have rediscovered their brain:“We have head, sure, we have head, let us think!”Indeed real education must help to produce people who can think and build. What we need is an education for brain-directed hands and hands-motorised brain.This new conception of education is pictured by a poem, entitled“Brain and Hands Unite”:

Two treasures with us lifelong remain:
A pair of free hands and a great brain.
He who does not use his hand
Belongs to the dethroned king's band.
He who does not use his brain
Has to endure hunger and pain.
He who uses both his brain and hand
Can create a new world on exploited land.

C Labour Science Union

From the principle of the Unity of Brain and Hands we have evolved the idea of Labour Science Union. This seemed to be a very awkward term, but it tells the contents, methods and organization of our new education: labour to nourish life; science to understand life; union to protect life. This gives the whole content of education. Further, the methods of labour, science and union determine the methods of education which will no longer be purely academic. Finally, the term shows the nature of the organization. It is a richer term than school, because a school in the traditional sense may excel in science but offers very little opportunity for the students to work and cooperate. It is even a better term than a cooperative society which does not give enough attention to other phases of human life besides the immediate economic needs.

In practice the Labour Science Union takes three forms. First, those which apply the new principle in the strict sense and take the name of Labour Science Union, such as the Cotton Growers' Labour Science Union in Paoshan, and the News-Boys' Labour Science Union in Shanghai. In the former case, cotton-growing is labour, the seeking of a better way of growing cotton and a better understanding of life as a whole is science, and the organizing of the peasants engaged in growing cotton in such a way as to be able to protect their fruits of labour from exploitation as well as to participate in the greater protection of the nation and mankind against aggression constitutes the real meaning of a union. The improvement of the quality of cotton through a better selection of seeds has enabled a small community to reap an increase of 2,000 dollars averaging at$6 per acre. One-tenth of this extra income has enabled them to start a Children's Labour Science Union in the same village, aiming to give a better education to their children.

The News-boys' Labour Science Union on Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai, was founded in a very interesting way. One day it was noticed that these boys could not read the newspapers they were selling. Weoffered the service of a young man to teach them. This was accepted by the boys with gladness. Then they met with the difficulty to find a classroom. The boys were charged with the mission to find a place by themselves. Finally, the mother of Lv Kungyi, one of the boys, was generous enough to offer her only room for the use of these boys.They spent one hour a day with the voluntary teacher there.The newspapers became their text books. Headlines were their first lessons. They were given education free, but in turn they had the duty to

share what they learned with their neighbours. The boys were self-supporting. Selling newspapers began to be regarded as a very honourable labour. Once united the boys became strong.They had a better chance to deal with the news dealers. Some of them had even won respect from enlightened police.

The second form of Labour Science Union is worked out under the name of schools. They have enriched their programme by incorporating some productive and socializing activities, but still keep the name of a school.

The third form consists of vitalizing the cooperatives with cultural and defensive features while strengthening the productive phase.They are Labour Science Union in reality but keep the name of cooperative societies.This movement will render its timely service to the millions of refugees.

D The Little Teachers

The little teachers are the children who share education with others. During the earlier stage of development the most prevailing type of little teachers is school children who volunteer to help their home folks and neighbours to acquire the elements of knowledge. As time goes on even children of the street pass on whatever they have learned to their friends.The first hint of the possibility of the little teacher was suggested by an incident some fourteen years ago when my mother, then fifty-seven years of age, got interested in learning. She wanted to read my letters sent home and wanted to know something of what was going on in the world.The only teacher available for her was my second boy who was then six years old and happened to have finished the first reader.The grandma and the grandson played and studied. In one month my mother finished the first book.This happy incident did not arouse much enthusiasm beyond my family circle at the time. But the fact that a six-year-old boy, without a diploma from a normal school or a certificate from a superintendent of education, succeeded in teaching a fifty-seven-year-old grandma to finish the first reader, had made upon my mind a very deep impression which was one of the determining factors in discovering“the little teacher.”

When Manchuria was invaded and Shanghai attacked in 1931 and 1932, we began to be convinced that the nation could not be saved without national unity through a general awakening of the whole population.This calls for a free education for all at the lowest cost and within the shortest period of time. Young men and young ladies with progressive ideas flooded into the villages in order to help the peasants to understand the national crisis. Some of them

came to me for a word of guidance. My advice was simple:all come all served. But as the peasants became increasingly aware of the importance of education to themselves and their children, they and their youngsters began to flood the small schools with attendance. Not a few teachers were doubting how long they could keep it going on this principle. Frankly saying, some teachers were considering how to reduce the attendance by charging fees or by having an entrance examination. If this was allowed the whole purpose of people's education would have been defeated, for it meant a return to the education for the few. We tried our best to urge them to face reality and devise new ways to meet the situation. Under the pressure of necessity, they naturally delegated some able pupils to take charge of the surplus attendance. One day, in November of 1932 I visited the Shan Hai Labour Science Union and was amazed to watch a twelve-year-old boy Lü Peng handling a class of more than forty children. Every little soul was in his palm! In a flash the incident of the grandson teaching his grandma emerged from my subconsciousness. A meeting of the staff was called at once and I told them that they themselves had already found a way to save the school and the nation.That is“the little teachers.”With the rise of the little teachers we have been enabled not only to keep the guiding principle “all come all served,” but in addition we have a new slogan,“they who cannot come will receive education on delivery without cash.”Since then we have witnessed the little friends delivering education to housewives and cowboys who cannot possibly attend regular classes without breaking their rice bowls. This feature of delivering education and home teaching has made the little teacher system unique and differentiated it from the Lancastrian pupil-teacher. Another difference is found in the fact that sooner or later even the cowboys and housewives begin to share their education with others.

The little teachers are rendering one unique service to China, that is tohelp grown-up girls and women to acquire some education. Men teachers find it difficult to teach grown-up girls in the villages where old customs prevail. A young man daring to do so will run the risk of gossip and the girls will be scared away and he will have to teach benches and chairs! Women teachers are very few. The problem of extending education to women has puzzled us for many years. But when the little teachers come up this problem just melts like snow before sunshine.They can penetrate into the chamber of a bride and give her a lesson. The little ones are much more accommodating than the regular teachers. As a little teacher is delivering education to a

peasant's home, if the housewife has not finished dish-washing, she can ask the little friend to wait for a while.The little friend will be glad to do so and take the opportunity to play a little while on the yard. In this way the little teachers have helped to promote women education. In the One Hundred Dukes Village, Kwangtung, there were in 1934 two hundred school children who volunteered to teach two thousand villagers of whom fifteen hundred were girls and women.

The little teachers are very clever in convincing the generation for further progress. A story may be of interest to all. Near the West Lake there is the Cave of Clouds and above the Cave there is a little tea growing community, called Wung Cha Hill, which has a school in a temple.This school has about one hundred“little teachers.”Once a little teacher just twelve years old told me a very interesting story of how he converted his grandma to take lessons from him. He approached his grandma with a beautiful book.“Grandma, if you’d like to study this book, I will be glad to help you.”The old lady answered,“My good boy, your grandma is too old to study. I am about leaving this world. What is the use of learning to me?”This was quite a stiffproblem for the little boy to solve. But after having puzzled for a little while, he returned to Grandma,“On leaving the world, where are you planning to go?”“Well, I am a good woman, and am entitled to enter Heaven.”The boy said,“Congratulations! But suppose the Angels at the Gate of Heaven should require you to sign your own name before you are admitted, what are you going to do?”Grandma seemed to be thoroughly convinced and immediately asked him to teach her how to write her name.“Bring me a pencil. Give me a piece of paper.”She began to practice writing her name. A more interesting thing happened at midnight. In our country the grandma usually takes charge of the surplus children of the family.This boy was sleeping with grandma. At midnight he suddenly woke up and suspected that some insects werecrawling up his legs! When he stretched his hand and felt, to his surprise, it was not insects, but the fingers of his grandma, making crosses, circles and strokes. When she was asked why she did it, the grandma answered,“Well, I am practicing writing my name.”

From our experience, the little teachers are very enthusiastic. A song gives a better picture of the little teacher's enthusiasm:

I am a little teacher, you know,
My heart is like a little volcano.

I am not afraid of frost and snow;
Melt ignorance wherever I go.

The little teachers are sometimes called “mosquito teachers.” I presume most of us do not like mosquitoes. But there is one thing I can defend for them. When you have gangsters around you, the mosquitoes will keep you awake all night. Indeed, the little teachers today have gone far beyond the teaching of reading and writing. They are constantly bringing to the people songs, stories, news, knowledge and problems for discussion.The Sin An little teachers have even gone a step further by organizing themselves into a touring corps, carrying with them radio sets, news reels, records, and dramatic equipment. They have travelled through nearly all the northern provinces and visited many villages along the highways and army camps behind the battle fields. Wherever they go they give performances, shows and lectures, and start reading circles or discussion groups in order to keep the national struggle alive in the minds of our people.

The principle derived from the little teachers is very simple. Anyone who has learned a simple truth has the qualification to teach it and has the duty to share it with others.

Speaking from our experience the little teacher movement has shown the following merits:

1.The children learn more by teaching others. He who keeps his knowledge in the cold storage of his head learns the least.

2.Knowledge is no longer a commodity for sale. Education becomes a free gift for all. It is like the air which everybody can breathe, like water which everybody can drink, and like sunshine which everybody can enjoy.

3.The older generation and youths make progress together. The constant contact between adults and children in intellectual growth tendsto make the old people younger.

4.It helps to solve the insurmountable difficulties of women's education and makes it possible for us to extend an essential education to half of our population which can be hardly reached by other means.

5.A new change in the school itself coincided with the arrival of the little teachers. Formerly the village school was a lonely thing in the country. Now with the little teachers as live-wires connecting the village school with every home, the whole village becomes the school, and the light of education radiates everywhere while the school is in turn vitalized by the stream of problems calling for solution. The lonely teacher in a ruined temple, joined

suddenly with tens of little comrades, cannot but see a new vision in his profession and feel elevated for the historic mission that he is to fulfill. Mr. Tsao Dai-kiang, a teacher in the Temple of Emperor Shun, was about to resign because he found it difficult to keep his family alive with the meager salary at a Shansi village school. When on the point of resignation he came across the methods of the little teachers from a magazine called *Life Education*. He gave it a trial and sent out a message that has inspired many village teachers to stick to their posts. He said,“With the little teachers and the little workers as my comrades, I am confident that we can rebuild the village life in a few years. I feel as if the destiny of the whole nation is in the hands of teachers.”In conclusion he wrote that he would not resign even if he should be offered a salary ten times higher.

The little teacher movement is not without its dangers. I may mention two. Firstly, the little teachers, under the control of over-enthusiastic leadership, are apt to be overworked.This will do harm to the child's health and retard the cause. As a rule we do not advise the little teachers to teach more than half an hour a day. Secondly, some politicians and dogmatic ministers have availed themselves to use these children as little propagandists.This is against our principle. A teacher is one who teaches truth and nothing but truth. In order to teach truth he has to seek truth. Free criticism is absolutely necessary. In order to prevent the abuse of children for propaganda, we must inject the anti-toxin of free criticism.

E Relay Teachers

Another type of voluntary teachers, modeled on the same principles that govern the little teachers, are called relay teachers.The difference is found in age.The little teachers are below sixteen while the relay teachers are above sixteen years of age.The term“relay teacher”is derived from relay race, passing the banner to the succeeding runner.The best way to show the working of the relay teaching is to invite an audience to imagine themselves as the farmers of China attending an evening class in the village and the speaker as a country school teacher.The mission of the evening school teacher is not teaching the farmers as students but to help them to become relay teachers, who are supposed to go out to teach others not after four or five years' graduation;they are supposed to teach others right after the class is dismissed, every student becomes a teacher and every home becomes a centre of learning. It is quite surprising to find that one tenth of our farmers have the ability to lead independent classes.The rest can teach at least two friends, one

on the lefthand side and the other on the righthand side. If the two friends are too poor to buy books, the relay teacher's own book can be shared by three. The relay teacher has got his lesson fresh from the evening class and he has to review it. In reviewing his own lesson he has taught his two friends. And in teaching his friends he learns more, more clearly and more profoundly. The moment one wishes to share his knowledge with others, his own knowledge will have a high jump.“Pass the truth on to your neighbour”has been the motto for the relay teachers. It is very gratifying to see so many of our farmers and workers who have come to serve as relay teachers of their fellow men.

F Relay Teaching Applied by Women Workers

Miss Chu Ping-yu, a woman worker in a tobacco company, Yangtsepoo, Shanghai, has done most excellent work in extending relay teaching to women workers. She works in Shanghai and lives in Pootung, about five miles distant. In Pootung, near her home, there is an evening school for the training of relay teachers, conducted under the auspices of the Shanghai Y.W.C.A. Miss Chu takes one hour lesson there every evening except Sunday. Before daybreak she crosses the Hwangpoo River and walks about two miles in order to enter the factory in time. At noon, the factory has one hour recess, releasing all the workers to take their lunch in the street.The factory is then closed and will not open until afew minutes before 1 p.m.The simple meal in the street lasts ten minutes. Miss Chu has a plan in her mind to help her sister workers to acquire some education by utilizing the rest of the time. First, she calls for her comrades to meet in an open place. However, the men workers crowd into the same place in order to watch what the women are doing.They are curious about these women because never before did they see this wonder-women gathering in the open air with books in hands and maps posted.The men are amazed to witness these women reading, discussing and singing songs.The presence of men has proved to be a great nuisance to the sisters. Miss Chu is finally forced to seek for a shelter.This she has secured when an elementary school principal has been finally induced to let her have one classroom for holding the recitation since his school children do not return until one o'clock. Since then the enrolment of sister workers increases by leaps and bounds and in a few days Miss Chu has to choose an able student from her class to be relay teacher of a second group. In a month she has to occupy all the rooms at the disposal of the good principal in order to meet the increasing demand. After all the rooms have

been crowded new groups are formed in the homes of the sisters and capable relay teachers are selected by each group for the evening instruction.Thus the classes started by Miss Chu and her associates have become the training centre of relay teachers for women workers in that district and the light of education radiates wherefrom to every home that has come in contact with them. As time goes on, workers of other districts have caught the wind of what has been going here. Some of them have been inspired to carry on similar projects. Even those men workers who have caused some trouble to Miss Chu's class begin to see the importance of this education and decide to start men's classes, applying similar principle.

G A New Script

The People's Education Movement is also interested in promoting a new script for the Chinese spoken language. The attempt of inventing a phonetic script for the Chinese spoken language started more than seventy years ago but the last attempt has proved to be the best and most fruitful. The scripts for the Northern, Shanghai, Canton, Amoy[2] and a few other dialects have been worked out.The new script treats the Chinese spoken language as a polysyllabic language and has succeeded in eliminating the troublesome minute symbols for the different tones. It is this great merit that makes it surpass all the previous inventions. With the new scripts for the various dialects the peasants in different localitiescan learn to read and write letters in their own dialects in one or two months by spending one hour a day. How great is the amount of time saved!

The greatest and most urgent need of China today is to rally all the people around the central thought and action in resisting Japanese aggression. We must not hesitate in mobilizing all the vehicles of communication for achieving this unity.The New Scripts are some of the best vehicles at our disposal and must be used to their best advantage in spite of all the difficulties in the way.

For want of space I shall present only the New Script for the Northern Dialect.The six vowels are:a as a in papa, e as e in after, i as i in is, o as o in home, u as oo in food, y as the German ü.The twenty-two consonants are:b as be in Berlin, c as ts in Tsitsihar, ch as ch in child, d as de in wonder, p as p in part, r as r in run, rh as r with tongue drawn back and concavely pressed upon the jaw, f as f in for, g as g in girl, j as y in yes, k as k in kind, l as le in let, m as me in men, n as ne in Brennen, ng as ng in king, s as s in see, sh as sh in she, t as te in Terman, w as woo in wood, x as he in Herman, z as z in zinc,

zh as ch with tongue drawn back and concavely pressed on the upper jaw. The fifteen compound vowels are:ai as i in high, ao as ou in out, ei as a in fate, ie as first i in legitimate, ou as eu in Pasteur, with the low jaw extended out, ia as ya in yard, iao equals i plus ao, iou equals i plus ou, iu as eu in Europe, uo equals u plus o, ua equals u plus a, uai equals u plus ai, ui equals u plus i, ye equals ü plus e, yo equals ü plus o.The fifteen nasal vowels are:an, ang, en, eng, ian, iang, in, ing, uan, uang, un, ung, yan, yn, yng. The three variable consonants are:g, k, x, which change into soft sounds when they appear before i and y.These complete the New Script for the Northern Dialect.The Northern Dialect can be understood by three-fourths of the whole population. If the New Script of the Northern Dialect could command a universal adoption, three-fourths of our illiteracy could be wiped out in two or three years.The New Script has received great momentum during the last year. In one city alone 300,000 have learned the New Script and can read publications published in it. It is hoped that the government will see the importance of its adoption at least as one of the alternatives and use its prestige and influence to spread it among the less fortunate of the population who have neither time nor money to learn the thousands of Chinese characters which will take years to master.

H Society as School

Another conception is to regard the community as our school, utilizing all the available resources for the uplifting of the people. An application of this idea is to utilize temples, tea-houses and every possible vacant place for reading circles, discussion groups, etc. Our policy is to spend as little as possible on buildings. Wherever a room will not be available, the shade of a tree will do. Bigger meetings are always held in the open air. The nature-made auditorium is indeed magnificent. With the blue sky as our roof, mother earth as our floor, the constellations as our walls, the moon there as our lamp, our farmers are holding their mass meetings and forums. It is in such an auditorium that the peasants of China are singing their songs, telling their stories, learning their simple truth, and discussing national and international problems.

I Birth of a New Peasantry

Under all these forces operating in the villages, taking command of them and marshalling them, a new peasantry is rising in the East. The farmer in *Good Earth* trying all the time to get more and more land for his own family in order to become richer than his fellow farmers is no longer an example for

others to follow.The present-day progressive farmers in China want to have land enough for every farmer to lead a decent life. It is for this reason that they take so great and heroic a part in the struggle against Japanese aggression. It is also for the same reason that they want to unite all the people in action in order to insure the final victory. Here is a picture of this New Peasantry:

Dancing of the Hoe

Take up your hoe.
Take up your hoe.
Cut off the weeds,
The crops will grow.
Drive offyour foe!
Sons of the Ancient Country.
Under the hoe,
There is liberty.

Hail Revolution!
The hoe must defend.
Long live the hoe!
Fight to the end.
When fighting alone
The hoe cannot stand long.
Machines and hoes unite,
A new world is in sight.

中国的人民教育运动

人民教育运动大约始于12年前，一群教授和学生与农民同生活，试图找到一种真正为农民服务的教育方法。人民教育运动旨在尽力弥补正规学校制度的缺陷，做它所做不到的事。人民教育运动努力发展本国教育，而不是从历史背景和自然条件不同的外国引进教育；努力发展为广大劳苦大众服务的教育，而不是办只为少数特权阶层服务的教育；努力发展整个的生活教育，而不是办畸形的智力教育。为了达到这些目的，保证运动成功，我们制定了四个条件：

1.试验者必须与大众同生活，拜大众为师；

2.方法必须是在劳力上劳心，而不只是学院派的冥思苦想；

3.用最短的时间，花费最少的钱；

4.有志于将自己从对教师职业的偏见中解放出来。

上述事例能够展现出“晓庄试验”的部分面貌。该试验的主要成果是形成了生活即教育、社会即学校、教学做合一的理论。“山海工学团”与“小先生”于1931年及1932年应对外来侵略的挑战而诞生。当侵略者深入到华北，北京学生奋起要求保卫华北时，我们的运动以“国难教育社”的形式展开，并与全国各界救国联合会携手合作。1935年12月以来，这一运动旨在：

1.团结起来保卫中国的民主；

2.通过国际合作，达到世界和平；

3.人民自我提升；

4.实行全民免费教育。

只有最后一个目标及实现该目标之方法才是本文详细讨论的内容。这里讨论的甚至也不只是追求识字，还包括学政治、经济。我们一直在尽最大的努力寻求最简捷的方法实现民有、民治、民享的教育，这样我国人民就愈来愈具备条件参加使自由的中国屹立于世界自由民族之林的伟大斗争。

① 书呆子

有着数百年传统的错误教育观念是我们前进的障碍。依旧观念看，教育就是读书。学者被称为“读书人”，意思是专门读书的人。若问一位教授的职业是什么，通常他会这样回答：“我在北京大学教书。”同样学生会回答：“我在北大读书。”意思是他在北京大学读书。虽然我们把书作为帮助了解过去及当代文明的重要工具，但是我们怀疑光读书是否就能使我们获得自由，仅靠读是否能鉴赏到书的内涵。较进步的人给这样

的读书人取了个绰号叫“书虫”。我的朋友张彭春博士，称他们为“书呆子”。下面是我写的一首描写这种读书人的小诗：

我是书呆子，家住太平洋；
读破万卷书，想中状元郎；
农家供酒肉，主人快饿死；
失业教蒙童，尽变小呆子。

② 手脑相长

中国的传统教育似乎造就了两种怪人。在学校，学生的头脑被知识塞得满满的，却很少有机会使用他们的双手。许多本该由他们自己做的事都由仆人们代做了。玩泥巴、打开表盖看看都要受到惩罚。从人类发展史我们知道，正是由于手的活动促进了人脑的发达。直立行走使双手得到解放，人类开始工作；工作时发出的声音，逐步成为人类的口头语言。文字及工具都是我们的双手创造的。旧式学校不鼓励运用双手实际上妨碍他们实现发展大脑的目的。由于受到这种非正常的训练，学生只获得一大堆未经消化、互不联系、脱离实际的知识。他们看似拥有发达的头脑却不能按客观世界的情况准确地思考。因此，那些有机会上学的人毕业后变得脑大手小，打个比方说，他们看起来像只袋鼠，只有提笔写几行字的力气。另一方面，我们的人民大众为国家做了大量的工作，却享受不到学校教育。尽管他们不断地为办学缴纳税款，他们和他们的孩子却一直被剥夺了享受文化教育的闲暇时间。他们被迫以脑小手大的状态生存。生活教育运动的目的就在于使这两个畸形的群体恢复正常的生活。我们希望唤醒读书人伸出手来干活；唤醒广大人民群众学点知识、学会思考。让知识分子与农民相结合已经取得了堪称奇迹的成就。读书人和农民都重新发现了他们已经遗忘的东西。读书人看到农民那出色的劳动成果，禁不住惊叹：“我们不也有手吗？为什么我们不劳动？”同样地，农民重新发现了他们的大脑：“我们也有大脑，真的，我们有大脑，让我们来思考吧！”确实，真正的教育必须有助于造就能思考又能建设的人。我们需要的就是能造就会用脑指挥手、用手促动脑的人的教育。这种教育的新理念可用一首诗来表述，题目为《手脑相长歌》：

人生两个宝，双手与大脑。
用脑不用手，快要被打倒。
用手不用脑，饭也吃不饱。
手脑都会用，才算是开天辟地的大好佬。

③ 工学团

运用手脑相长的原则，我们逐步形成了办“工学团”的想法。“工学团”似乎是个不好理解的术语，但是它阐明了我们所办新教育的内容、方法及组织形式：工以养生，学以明生，团以保生，把教育的全部内容讲得清清楚楚。而且，工学团的方式决定了其教育的方法不再是纯学术性的了。最后，该术语还表明了组织的性质。它比“学校”包含更丰富的内容，因为按传统观念来说，学校擅长传授科学知识，但学生几乎没有机会工作及合作。该术语甚至比“合作社”更贴切。合作社除了关注眼前的经济需要以外，不够重视人类生活的其他方面。

工学团实际上采用了三种形式。第一种是那些严格贯彻新原则，取名“工学团”的组织，如宝山的棉农工学团、上海的报童工学团。就棉农工学团而言，种棉花是（做）工；摸索种棉花更好的方法、更加明了整个生活是学（科学）；组织棉农，使之能保卫他们的劳动果实不受剥削，并能参加反对侵略、保卫祖国及人类的更伟大斗争，这便是团（体）的真正意义。通过精选种子来改进棉花质量，可使一个小组增收二千元，平均每英亩增收六元。这笔额外收入的十分之一可使他们在同一村子里成立一个儿童工学团，让他们的孩子受到更好的教育。

上海静安寺路的报童工学团成立的方式很有趣。一天，我们注意到这些报童看不懂他们卖的报纸，表示要派一位年轻人去教他们识字。孩子们非常高兴地同意了。然而他们在寻找教室时遇到了困难，于是孩子们便开始为自己找地方学习。最后，报童吕公义的妈妈很慷慨地把她唯一的一间房让给这些孩子们使用。每天，孩子们同志愿教师一起在那儿学习一小时。报纸成了他们的课本，标题是他们的第一课。他们受教育是免费的，但作为回报他们有责任把所学到的东西教给邻居。报童们是自立的，卖报开始被当作光荣的劳动。一旦联合起来，孩子们的力量就强大了，同报纸批发商打交道就变得容易。有些孩子甚至还赢得了开明警察的尊敬。

工学团的第二种形式是以学校的名义进行，就是在教学计划中融合一些生产活动及社会活动的内容，但仍使用学校的名字。

第三种形式是合作社在加强生产的同时，使其具有学文化及懂防御的特点，使合作社办得更有生机。这样的合作社挂的是合作社之名，行的是工学团之实。这一运动将及时为数以百万计的难民服务。

④ 小先生

“小先生”是与他人分享教育的儿童。在小先生运动发展的较早阶段，最常见的小先生是自愿帮助家人及邻居学习基础知识的学童。随着时间的推移，甚至街上的孩子也即知即传，把学到的知识教给自己的朋友。大约14年前的一件小事使我第一次感到小孩子教人的可能，那年我57岁的母亲对识字产生了兴致。母亲想读我寄回去的家信，还想了解时

事。她唯一能找到的先生就是我的二儿子，当时他6岁，刚好学完《千字课》第一册。奶奶和孙子俩人边玩边学。一个月后，我母亲便学完了《千字课》第一册。当时，这令人愉快的事情并没有引起我家以外的人们的多少热情。然而，一个6岁的孩子，没有师范学校的毕业文凭，没有督学颁发的证书，却顺利地教他57岁的祖母学完了《千字课》第一册，这一事实使我印象深刻，成为开创小先生制的决定性因素之一。

1931年，满洲被侵占；1932年，上海遭进攻。这时，我们才开始深信只有唤醒全国民众实现全民团结，国家才能得救。这就需要用最少的经费、在最短的时间内实行全民免费教育。进步青年男女潮水一般涌到农村，让农民知晓国家的危机。有些青年到我这儿来求教。我的意见很简单：来者不拒。当农民越来越明白教育对他们及其子女的重要性时，他们及其子女便都涌到小小的学校来听课了。当时，不少教师怀疑，根据这一原则能维持多久。坦白地说，有些教师还在考虑如何以收费或入学考试的办法来减少听众。如果允许这样做，就不能实现大众教育的全部目的了，因为它意味着又回到了只为少数人服务的教育。我们尽力促使他们面对现实，想出新的办法来应付这一形势。在需要的压力下，他们自然而然地委派一些能干的学生负责教那些教室里坐不下的听众。1932年11月的一天，我参观了山海工学团，很惊奇地看到一个12岁的男孩侣朋教一个有四十多个儿童的班级。每个幼小的心灵都在他掌控之下！一刹那间，在我的潜意识中突然浮现出孙儿教祖母的情景，随即召开了一个教职员会，会上我告诉大家，他们自己已经找到了救校救国的新方法，那便是“小先生”。随着小先生的兴起，我们不仅能一直遵循“来者不拒”的指导原则，还提出“不能来者，免费送教上门”的新口号。从那时起，我们的小朋友们就把教育送给不能参加正规课堂学习的家庭妇女及放牛娃，这样他们既学习又不会打破饭碗了。送教育上门这一特点是小先生制所独有的，将它与兰卡斯特“导生制”区别开来。另一个不同点在于，即便是放牛娃和家庭妇女迟早也开始与他人分享教育。

小先生们正以一种独特的方式为中国服务，即帮助大姑娘及成年妇女接受教育。在旧风俗习惯仍然盛行的农村，男教师感到很难教大姑娘。敢于这样做的年轻男子会招来风言风语，大姑娘们会被吓跑，他就只能教椅子和板凳了！而女教师又很少。多年来，让教育普及到女子中的问题一直困扰着我们。小先生们一出现，这问题便迎刃而解，就像积雪遇到阳光便消融了一样。他们可以到新娘的新房里给她上课。孩子们比常规的教师行动方便得多。当小先生到农民家去上课时，如果农妇还没有洗完碗，她可以让小先生等一等，小朋友何乐而不为？正好可以在院子里玩一会儿。小先生正是以这种方式为推动女子教育效力。在广东省百侯村， 1934年，200名学童自愿教2,000名村民，其中1,500名是女

孩及妇女。

小先生很善于说服老一代继续学习。有个故事可能大家都感兴趣。西湖附近有个烟霞洞，洞上边有个小茶场叫翁家山。山上小庙里有个小学，这所学校大约有百名小先生。有一次，一个年仅12岁的小先生对我讲了他如何说服祖母跟他学习的故事，非常有趣。他拿着一本漂亮的书走到祖母身边："奶奶，如果您想学这本书，我很乐意帮助您。"老太太回答道："好孩子，奶奶太老了，学不进去。我都快离开人世了，学习对我有什么用呢？"对一个小男孩来说，这可是个棘手的问题。一阵困惑之后，小男孩又回到祖母身旁："您离开人世到哪儿去呢？""呃，我是个规规矩矩的好人，死后可以进天堂。"孩子说："恭喜恭喜！如果天堂的守门神要您亲自签上您的名字后才能进去，您怎么办呢？"祖母似乎完全相信孙儿的话，马上要他教她写自己的名字："给我一支铅笔，给我一张纸。"于是她开始练习写自己的名字了。另一件更有趣的事发生在半夜里。在我国，祖母通常承担起照顾家里一部分孩子的责任。这孩子同祖母一起睡。半夜里，他突然醒了，以为有小虫子顺着他的腿往上爬！伸手一摸，他大吃一惊，那不是虫子，而是祖母的手指，正在划十字、圆圈，练习笔划哩！当孙儿问她为什么这样做时，她答道："哦！我在练习写自己的名字。"

从我们的经验来看，小先生们非常热情。下面这首歌生动地描写了小先生的热情：

我是小先生，
热心好比火山喷，
生来不怕霜和雪，
踏破铁鞋化愚蒙。

小先生有时被称为"蚊子先生"。我想我们当中大多数人都不喜欢蚊子。但有一点我可以为蚊子辩护。若你周围有歹徒，蚊子可以使你彻夜不眠。的确，现在的小先生，已经远远不止教人读和写了，他们经常教大众唱歌、讲故事、谈新闻、传授知识、提出问题来讨论。新安小学的小先生们甚至自己组成旅行团，随身带着收音机、新闻缩微胶卷、唱片及演戏的道具。他们几乎走遍了北方各省，访问了公路两旁许多村庄及战场后方的兵营。他们走到哪儿，就在哪儿演出、放电影、演讲、成立识字小组或讨论小组，为的是使人民牢记民族斗争。

从小先生那里得出的原则非常简单：任何明了一点简单真理的人，就有资格传播它，并有责任与他人分享。

从我们的经验来讲，小先生运动有如下优点：

1.孩子们通过教别人学得更多。把知识冷藏在脑子里的人学得最少。

2.知识不再是买卖的商品。教育成为人人可以免费得到的礼物。它像空气，人人可以呼吸；它像水，人人可以饮用；它像阳光，人人可以享受。

3.老少共同进步。成人与儿童经常接触，共同增长知识，可以使老人年轻起来。

4.它帮助解决了妇女教育这个不可克服的困难，使我们能够把初级教育扩展到全国的一半人口，而这是其他任何方法都办不到的。

5.小先生一出现，学校本身也就有了新变化。从前的乡村学校在农村中是孤立的。现在，小先生就像通电的电线把乡村学校和每家每户联结起来，全村都成了学校，教育之光可以照遍每个角落，而众多需要解决的问题又激发出学校的勃勃生机。破庙中曾经孤零零的教师突然多了几十个小同事，不只会看到他的职业新前景，也会为他应该完成的历史使命而振作起来。舜帝庙的教师曹代江先生因为山西乡村学校教师那微薄的薪金养不活他一家人正准备辞职时，在《生活教育》杂志上偶然发现了“小先生”教学法。他便进行试验，并发出了一封信。这封信鼓舞了许多乡村教师坚守自己的岗位。他说：“有小先生和小工人做我的同事，我相信几年之内我们就能重建乡村生活。我感到，似乎整个国家的命运都掌握在教师手里。”在信的结尾他写道，即使给他高十倍的薪金，他也不辞职了。

小先生运动不是没有危险的，我可以举出两个例子：第一，在过分热情的领导之下，小先生容易操劳过度，这就可能损害孩子的健康，妨碍事业的发展。通常我们不提倡小先生每天教学时间超过半小时。第二，有些政客及武断的官吏为了自己的利益，利用这些孩子做小宣传员，这是与我们的原则相违背的。先生是传授真理的人，而且非真理不传授。为了传授真理，他必须追求真理。自由批评是绝对必要的。为了阻止滥用孩子作宣传工具，我们必须注射自由批评这一抗毒剂。

⑤ 传递先生

另一类同样依照小先生原则的志愿教师称为“传递先生”。它与小先生的区别仅在于年龄。小先生的年龄在16岁以下，而传递先生的年龄在16岁以上。“传递先生”这一术语源自接力赛跑，把旗帜传给下一个赛跑者。展现传递教学过程的最好办法就是邀请一些听众，让他们把自己想象为在乡村学校上夜校的中国农民，把演讲者想象为乡村学校的教师。夜校教师的任务不是把农民当学生教，而是培养他们成为传递先生，放学后就能教别人，不必等毕业四五年后才出去教书。每位学生都是教师，每个家庭都是学习中心。我们惊讶地发现，十分之一的农民有独立带领班级的能力。其余的至少也能教两个朋友，一个坐在左手边，一个坐在右手边。倘若这两个朋友穷得买不起书，传递先生自己的书可以供

三人共用。传递先生刚刚在夜校习得新知，也需要温习一下。他一边复习自己的功课，一边还教了他的两个朋友。在教朋友的过程中，他学得更多、更清楚、更深入。一个人想将自己学的知识与他人分享时，他自己的知识就会有个大的飞跃。“把真理传给您的邻居”已成为传递先生的座右铭。十分令人欣慰的是，我们这么多的农民和工人逐渐成为自己同胞的传递先生。

⑥　女工的传递教师

上海杨树浦一个烟草公司的女工朱冰如小姐将传递先生推广到女工中，成绩显著。她在上海上班，住在离上海约五英里的浦东。在她浦东家的附近有一所上海基督教女青年会主办的专门培养传递先生的夜校。除了星期天，朱小姐每晚在该校学习一小时。拂晓前她就过黄浦江，步行两英里左右按时上班。中午工厂午休一小时，让所有的工人到街上去吃午饭。工厂就关门直到下午一点差几分才开门。在街上吃顿便饭只需十分钟。朱小姐心中盘算着，要利用空余时间帮助她的姐妹们接受教育。起初她约伙伴们到一个空场地集中，但男工们也蜂拥而至，要看她们干什么。他们觉得这些女工很奇怪，因为他们从未见过女工们聚集在露天里，手里拿着书，墙上贴着图。男工们惊讶地看到这些女工在念书、讨论问题、唱歌。男工们的围观令姐妹们十分厌烦。朱小姐不得不另找安身之处。这一愿望终于实现了，一位小学校长最终被说服，答应借给她一间教室，在学生一点钟返校之前作诵读用。从那以后，女工听课人数猛增。几天以后，朱小姐不得不从她的班上挑出一名能干的学生作第二小组的传递教师。一个月后，她不得不占用了这位好心肠校长所掌控的所有教室以满足不断增长的听课女工。所有的教室都挤满之后，又在姐妹们家中成立了新的小组。每组选出能干的传递教师晚上授课。这样，朱小姐和她的伙伴们创办的班就成了那个地区女工传递教师的培养中心。教育之光从那儿发出，照到每个与她们有联系的家庭。随着时间的推移，其他地区的工人听到了这边的风声，有些人备受鼓舞，也开始施行类似的计划。甚至当初给朱小姐的班添麻烦的男工们也开始发觉这种教育的重要性，决定应用类似的原则成立男工班。

⑦　新文字

人民教育运动还提倡一种新文字以便推广汉语口语。七十多年前人们就开始尝试为汉语口语发明一套拼音文字，但最近的尝试才证明是最好、最有成效的。为北方、上海、广州、厦门及其他几种方言使用的新文字已编制出来。新文字将汉语口语当多音节语言处理，成功地取消了那些代表不同声调的复杂的小符号。正是这一大优点使新文字超过了以前所有的发明。有了这些新文字，不同方言区的农民每天花一小时，一两个月之内就能学会用本地语言读书写字。这样节省了多少时间啊！

当今，中国的燃眉之急是联合全国民众，将思想和行动集中到抵抗日本侵略上来。我们必须毫不犹豫地动员所有能够传达信息的工具实现这一联合。新文字是我们可支配的最好的工具之一。尽管有许多困难，我们也要充分地利用它们的长处。

限于篇幅，我只介绍北方方言的新文字。6个元音是：a，就像papa中的a；e，就像after中的e；i，就像is中的i；o，就像home中的o；u，就像food中的oo；y，就像德语的ü。22个辅音是：b，就像Berlin中的be；c，就像Tsitsihar中的ts；ch，就像child中的ch；d，就像wonder中的de；p，就像part中的p；r，就像run中的r；rh，就像发r音一样，舌头后缩，成凹形顶住上颚；，就像for中的f；g，就像girl中的g；j，就像yes中的y；k，就像kind中的k；l，就像let中的1e；m，就像men中的me；n，就像Brennen中的ne；ng，就像king中的ng；s，就像see中的s；sh，就像she中的sh；t，就像Terman中的te；w，就像wood中的woo；x，就像Herman中的he；z，就像zinc中的z；zh，就像发ch音一样，舌头后缩，成凹形顶住上颚。15个双元音是：ai，就像high中的i；ao，就像out中的ou；ei就像fate中的a；ie就像legitimate中的第一个i；ou，就像pasteur中的eu，发音时下颚伸出；ia，就像yard中的ya；iao，等于发i后再发ao；iou，等于发i后再发ou；iu，就像Europe中的eu；uo，等于发u后再发o；ua，等于发u后再发a；uai，等于发u后再发ai；ui，等于发u后再发i；ye，等于发ü后再发e；yo，等于发ü后再发o。15个鼻元音是：an，ang，en， eng，ian，iang，in，ing，uan，uang， un，ung，yan，yn，yng。还有3个可以变化的辅音g，k，x，在i和y前出现时，它们发轻音。这些就是全部北方方言新文字。我国四分之三的人口懂北方方言。倘若北方方言新文字能普遍被采用，则四分之三的文盲可在两三年内扫除。去年学习新文字的人越来越多。仅在一个城市就有300,000人学会了新文字，能看懂用新文字出版的文章了。希望政府能看清采用新文字的重要性，至少把它当作一种可以选择的方案，利用政府的声誉及影响，在既无钱又无时间去学那些要花好多年才学会的几千汉字的“不幸”的中国人中间普及。

⑧　社会即学校

另一个想法是把社会当成学校，利用一切可用的资源提升人民的文化素养。实现这一主张的方法之一就是在庙宇、茶馆及所有空闲的地方开设读书处和讨论小组等。我们的方针是尽可能少花钱建房屋。找不到房子，树阴下也可以。一些大的会议也总是在露天举行的。大自然造就的礼堂的确十分雄伟，我们的农民就在其中开民众大会和讨论会，以青天作屋顶，大地作地板，群星作墙，当空的月亮作灯。正是在这样的礼堂里，中国的农民唱他们的歌，讲他们的故事，学习他们朴素的真理，

讨论国内和国际的问题。

⑨　新农民诞生

在乡村所有这些力量的作用下，一代新农民在东方崛起，掌握并调动这些力量。赛珍珠在小说《大地》中描写的那个竭力为自己的小家庭积攒越来越多的土地，以便比别的农民兄弟更富裕的农民，不再成为别人仿效的榜样。当代进步的中国农民想使每个农民都有足够的土地，都过上体面的生活。正因为如此，他们才在抵抗日本侵略的斗争中发挥如此伟大、英勇的作用。也正是由于这个原因，他们才想团结全国人民行动起来，以确保取得最后的胜利。下面这首诗便是新农民的写照：

锄头舞歌

手把个锄头锄野草呀，
锄去野草好长苗呀！

五千年古国要出头呀，
锄头底下有自由呀！

革命的成功靠锄头呀，
锄头锄头要奋斗呀！

光棍的锄头不中用呀，
联合机器来革命呀！

WAR IN CHINA:STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY OR SLAVERY[1]

China is struggling for ideals that it holds in common with Canada:ideals of peace, freedom, justice and democracy.

Peace with equality, enough to eat, liberty and justice are what the Chinese people want.

Democracy is an old tradition in China. A great Chinese once said,“Heaven sees through the eyes and hears through the ears of the people.”This is a cardinal principle of the Republic of China.

Japan's eyes are bigger than her stomach. While you are listening to me, every minute of the time, five human beings are being killed or wounded in China. Yet it will take Japan 400 years to wipe out China at that rate.

The Chinese people have made up their minds to stop the march of Japan. We have achieved unity in our country through our determination to resist the oppressor.

Dealing with the Japanese allegations of the cause of the struggle, there are five chief ones, and none of them valid. To each we gave the following objections:

1.Japan must expand because of overpopulation—China formerly admitted Japanese without even demanding passports. While the Japanese declared their country overpopulated, they have encouraged a high birthrate instead of controlling it.

2.Japan is fighting for the friendship and cooperation of China—an odd way to get it.

3.Japan wishes to increase trade with China—they have destroyed that great trade.

4.Japan wishes to civilize China—all the civilization of Japan and much of that of the world as a whole has been derived from China.

5.Japan is trying to stop the spread of Communism—it would be more sensible to attack even England on this score, for China is a highly individualistic nation, and England, on the other hand, harbored Karl Marx while he wrote *Das Kapital* and the *Red Flag* was written by a man from Tipperary.

Real reason of the Japanese attack is the desire to monopolize the raw

materials of China, and to secure more cheap labor.

One of China's main sources of arms supply is Japan. Our mobile army gets behind the Japanese forces and captures large supplies of material.

It is not correct to say the Chinese are conducting guerilla warfare, for they do not fight as civilians, but as authorized, uniformed troops.The mobile forces merely fight without a base and on a highly mobile system.

The war in China is not only a life or death struggle, it is liberty or slavery. For us, liberty is dearer than our lives.

中国的抗战是不自由就受奴役的斗争

中国人正在为之奋斗的理想和加拿大的理想是共同的，这种理想就是和平、自由、正义和民主。

平等的和平、足够的食品、自由和正义，这些正是中国人民所想要的。

民主在中国有古老的传统。一位中国伟人曾说：“天视自我民视，天听自我民听。”（《尚书·泰誓中》）这是中华民国的一条根本原理。

日本的眼睛比他的胃口还大。你们现在听我演讲的时候，每一分钟在中国就有五个人类的成员死伤。然而，即便按这个速度，日本要消灭中国人也需要四百年。

中国人民已下定决心，要阻止日本的进军。凭着抵抗压迫者的决心，我们国内已经团结起来了。

日本为其侵略行径辩护，列举了五条理由，没有一条是站得住脚的。针对每一条，我们提出如下异议：

1.因为人口过多，日本必须扩张——中国以前允许日本人入境，甚至不要求出示护照。日本一方面宣称人口过多，同时却鼓励高出生率，而不是控制它。

2.日本是为了争取与中国的友谊和合作而战——以侵略寻求友谊和合作是一种诡异的方式。

3.日本想要增加同中国的贸易——他们摧毁了两国之间昌隆的贸易。

4.日本想使中国开化——日本的全部文明和全世界的很大一部分文明都源于中国。

5.日本要阻遏共产主义的传播——按照这条理由，甚至去进攻英国还更合理些，因为中国是一个高度个人主义的国家，而英国在马克思撰写《资本论》时庇护了他，《红旗》的词作者是蒂珀雷里人[2]。

日本进攻中国的真正原因是企图独占中国的原料并得到更廉价的劳动力。

中国武器供应的主要来源之一是日本。我们的机动部队从背后打击日本军队，缴获了大量供给物资。

说中国是在进行游击战，这是不对的。因为我们作战的不是老百姓，而是得到正式授权的正规部队。机动部队只是在没有基地的情况下以高度机动的方式在作战。

中国的抗战不仅是生死存亡的斗争，而且是不自由就受奴役的斗争。对我们来说，自由比生命更可贵。

EDUCATION FOR ALL[1]

1.Name of Project:

A Preliminary Plan of Promoting Democratic Education for 450 Million People in China.

2.Auspices:

Life Education Association and Yu Tsai School.

3.Guiding Principles:

1.Democracy First. To learn democracy by living a democratic life. Fundamental reconstruction of the schools and the school system according to democratic ideals needed in order that an education of the people, by the people and for the people may flourish in China. Democracy is not only penicillin for China's illness but also blood transfusion giving the Chinese people new vitality to create a better country.

2.Education for all. Equality of opportunity for boys and girls, men and women, adults and children, irrespective of differences in religion, race, wealth and class to which they belong.

3.An all-round education. Heart, head, hands unite. Unity in political, economic and cultural literacy. Health, science, labor, art, and democracy will be woven into a harmony of life.

4.Education for the whole life. To cultivate an appetite for learning. Learn to live;live to learn. Learn as long as we live. Once the habit of learning is established, a lifelong progress of the individual is insured.

5.The foundation of democratic education should be laid on as early as babyhood. Perhaps at the present, the best and most economical way to approach the problem is to teach the babies through teaching the parents and brothers and sisters, especially through teaching the mother, sisters, and women servants.

6.Recognizing China is still an agricultural country and is bound to be very poor, we must offer to the people wholesome cultural food at the lowest cost. By utilizing the handwriting class of 12,000,000 ordinary school pupils for copying people's readers, in a month we can have 12,000,000 books for the people to use. Daylight classes are preferred in order to save oil. Chopsticks can be applied with water on table to practice writing. Sign boards on the street can serve as a lesson if text books are not ready. High

cost education means no education or education for the very few.

7.Society as school. Mobilizing all possible forces, institutions and personnel already existing in society to render this great service to the people. Temples, tea-houses, prisons, army camps, shops, factories,disabled soldiers hospitals and vacant houses and rooms of ordinary schools should be utilized as reading circles or training centres.The 80 million adult literates with a period of reeducation can serve as teachers helping their family members and neighbors to make progress.

8.Cultivate a sense of responsibility, a feeling of honor and an inner urge to share learning with others. One who has learned a truth carries with him the duty and the privilege to transmit that truth. One who has learned a word has the qualification to teach that word and also has the duty to teach that word;after he has acquired the appetite for intellectual sharing, he will consider it a pleasure to do so.

9.Under the principle of common sharing of truth with our fellow men we have developed the little teachers as vanguards of free education. Since the first little teacher came to our consciousness some twenty three years ago, it has come to acquire certain merits which are essential to the spread of education in such a country as China.

a)The little teacher system has been found to be the most effective weapon in solving the difficulties of women education.

b)Adults taking lessons from children cannot help being reborn as children and catch the spirit of youth.

c)Knowledge in the hand of the little teacher is no longer a commodity for sale but a free gift for all.

d)The little teacher learns the subject matter more clearly and thoroughly from teaching it and learns many important things from the people whom he teaches.

e)The enrollment has changed its character. All come, all served;those who cannot come can receive education on delivery without cash.

f)The school itself has changed, and magnified many times. The community has become the school and the so-called“School”has become one of the classrooms, or more realistically, a powerhouse, sending light, heat and power through the little teachers as live wires to the homes of the community so that all members can enjoy all that is generated.Then the little teachers bring in turn from the little dynamoes of the homes everything that makes the central powerhouse more powerful in rendering its service to the people.

g)The lonely teacher in the country school has also changed. He is no longer teaching, living, cooking, struggling alone. In a stroke he has become a captain of fifty or a hundred little comrades, who are no longer little bookworms, but all active little teachers, little workers, little fighters and above all little builders of China's Democracy.

10.The principle of common sharing of truth not only gives rise to the little teachers but also gives birth to the relay teachers. The ablest teachers of the people I have ever seen have come out from the great masses of the people, from the peasants, the workers, the artisans, and the shop apprentices. They begin to help others in an informal way as soon as they themselves have had only a few lessons. In other words they have become relay teachers. At this stage, they are most enthusiastic, and the able ones can be developed as the best relay teachers of the people.

11.The greatest emphasis is to be put on the education of the people in villages and recovered territories.

12.Encouraging the people to study with a job in hand. Never throw away the rice bowl for a school diploma.

13.Using Romanized (Latinized) scripts whenever and wherever it is necessary and possible.

14.Fullest utilization of the radio, cinema, airplanes, railways and steamships to convey ideas, personnel and materials of “democratic education”to the farthest corner of the country so that the most backward part of the country can be democratized at the earliest possible date.

15.Encouraging people's initiative and subsidizing local experiments.

16.Discovering and selecting talents from the masses and recommending them to Yu Tsai School or other suitable institutions for special and advanced learning.

17.The project confines itself in researching, experimenting, training, publishing, demonstrating, promoting, motivating activities and making recommendations to the government and other agencies for reference and nationwide adoption.

18.Exchange of information and experience with other nations in regard to the progress of democratization of education.

4.Possibilities of Realization:

In applying the principles stated above a dozen years ago, the Shan Hai Labor Science Union achieved universal and free education in 25 villages in half a year without costing the government a cent.The movement under the

leadership of Life Education Association spread over 23 provinces in 9 months and continued to spread until thought control set in and since then it has dwindled with the retreat of Democracy, except of course in the 17 liberated areas where the little teachers have been most flourishing and are still multiplying themselves for the service of the 100 million people living there. Recently with the return of the democratic tide, one school, the Yu Tsai School alone, has extended educational opportunities to 4,500 adults and children in its vicinity. If the 113 colleges, 2,278 middle schools, 218,758 elementary schools and 79,550 social education organizations under the control of the Ministry of Education should do the same thing with the same principles at the same rate, they might, in their combined effort, carry the 350,000,000 people with them in continuous learning and progress. Of course, the uneven distribution of these schools should make a big discount. But under the inspiration of Democracy, with the government power [in] back of it, readers and materials ready for use, and nationwide voluntary promotion and competition flourishing, the 300,699 institutions armed with the little teachers and relay teachers can hardly have any doubt to reach 100,000,000 people in a year;with the assistance of the reeducation of the 80 million literate adults, they could accomplish the whole job in four years, and making allowances for all unforeseen obstacles in the way they could accomplish complete success at most in ten years. Once the habit of learning and the habit to share learning with others have been formed they will march on with their own momentum, and continual progress toward Democracy is likely insured.

5.First Year's Budget for Starting the Movement (October 1, 1945—September 30, 1946):

a)Research Institute $140,000 gold

In the light of democracy, studying the problems, difficulties and methods in regard to

1)Education of the peasants.
2)Education of the workers.
3)Education of shop employees and apprentices.
4)Education of disabled soldiers.
5)Education of women.
6)Education adapted to Mongolian life.
7)Education adapted to Tibetan life.
8)Education adapted to Miao life.

9)Education adapted to the life of the Chinese Turkistan[2].

10)Education of abnormal children.

11)Education of prisoners.

12)Health education.

13)Science education.

14)Handicrafts, agricultural and industrial arts education.

15)Drama as a means of people's education.

16)Music as a means of people's education.

17)Painting as a means of people's education.

18)Further studies into the little teacher system.

19)Reconstruction of the existing educational system and army education.

20)Reeducation of the literates and leaders.

Research Professors 40 at	$1,000	$40,000
Research Assistants 80 at $500		$40,000
Travelling Expenses		$10,000
Library		$20,000
Building		$10,000
Equipment		$16,000
Letters and Telegrams		$2,000
Miscellaneous		$2,000
Total		$140,000

b)Administrative Expenses $60,000 gold

Director's Secretariat

Secretaries 20 at	$500	$10,000
Field Directors 30 at	$1,000	$30,000
Travelling Expenses		$5,000
Building		$1,000
Equipment		$12,000

Letters and Telegrams	$1,000	
Miscellaneous	$1,000	
Total	$60,000	

c)Institutes for Training the Promoting and Demonstrating Staff at 10 strategic centres in recovered areas and ordinary districts		$600,000 gold
Professors 100 at	$1,000	$100,000

Promoting and Demonstrating Staff: 25,000 members to receive training from one month to three months

1)Partial subsidy for travel	$150,000
2)Partial subsidy for food	$150,000
3)Buildings 10	$10,000
4)10 sets of School Equipment and 100 sets of Radio, Cinema, Dramatic, Musical, and Medical Outfits	$150,000
5)Printed Materials for 25,000 Members	$30,000
6)Miscellaneous	$10,000
Total	$600,000

d)100 Demonstration Centres:100 in recovered areas and ordinary districts		$100,000 gold
Superintendents 100 at	$500	$50,000
Assistants 100 at	$400	$40,000

Reading Materials for 1,000,000 people furnished by the printing office without cost;Demonstration Outfits to be relayed by the Training Centres without charge

Miscellaneous	$10,000
Total	$100,000

e)Subsidies for 5,000 local organizations:

Local schools or organizations which wish to extend democratic education to the people may apply for books, publications, technical training, and demonstration on the condition that the local agency agrees to bear part of the expenses (from 1/10 to 1/2) according to the financial condition of the applicant. Books and publications within the limit of 5,000,000 to 9,000,000 sets will be supplied by the printing office without extra charge to the budget.

Technical training and demonstration will be given partial subsidies for food and travel by the training centres and incur no additional expenses.

f)An Editorial Board and a Printing Office which are capable of keeping 10,000,000 people in constant supply of cultural food and capable of further development. In the first year we hope to produce four People's Readers, 10,000,000 copies; the first shelve of The People's Library consists of 100 books, one set for each Reading Circle of 10 persons, so we need 1,000,000 sets, totaling 100,000,000 separate books; then monographs of research, periodicals, and material for 25,000 members in the ten Training Institutes, 100 Demonstration Centres, and guide books for 1,000,000 little teachers;finally a weekly Magazine for each of the 1,000,000 Reading Circles. $1,100,000 gold

Administrative Expenses		$20,000
Editors 20	at$700	$14,000
Printers 20	at$700	$14,000
Printing Machines and Complete Outfits		$46,000
Ink		$6,000
Paper		$1,000,000
Total		$1,100,000
Grand Total		$2,000,000 gold

6.Financial Campaign:

It is our plan to raise the equivalent of$1,000,000 gold from our allied friends who are interested in China's progress.The Chinese Campaign has been started since September 18. We hope to enlist the interest of 100,000 Chinese friends who will give contribution to match the allied donation.

7.Results Expected:

If conditions should prove to be favorable with this fund of$2,000,000 gold, we could introduce in the first year 6 million to 10 million people to the elements of democratic culture and turn all of them into fishermen who will fish people for Democracy;this will give great momentum and stimulus to the next and next year's movement and it will not be too ambitious to expect that within a decade the 450 million people of China with both individual and collective appetite for learning and to share learning will become the indestructible pillars and invincible defenders of Chinese and World Democracy.

全民教育

1．计划名称 《促进四万万五千万中国人民民主教育初步计划》
2．主持单位 生活教育社及育才学校
3．指导原则 （一）民主第一。过民主生活以学习民主。根据民主理念的需要从根本上重建学校及学制，使“民有、民治、民享”的教育在中国蓬勃发展。民主不仅是治疗中国疾患的盘尼西林（青霉素），而且也是输血，能使中国人民有新的活力去创造更好的国家。

（二）全民教育。不论宗教、种族、财富及所属阶级有何不同，男孩与女孩机会均等，男子与女子机会均等，成人与儿童机会均等。

（三）全面教育。心、脑、手相长。政治、经济、文化素养相结合。卫生、科学、劳动、艺术及民主构成和谐的生活。

（四）终生教育。培养求知欲。学习为生活；生活为学习。活到老，学到老。一旦养成学习习惯，终生不辍的进步就有保障。

（五）民主教育的基础应该尽早在婴儿期奠定。或许目前处理这个问题最好、最经济的办法是通过教父母、兄弟、姐妹，尤其是通过教母亲、姐妹及老妈子来教育婴儿。

（六）我们认识到中国依然是个农业国，必定很穷，所以必须以最低廉的成本向大众提供有益的文化粮食。让1,200万名普通小学生利用写字课抄写大众读本，一个月以后，就有1,200万本书供大众使用了。上课最好安排在白天，以节省灯油。筷子蘸水就可以在桌上练习写字。课本没有准备好，街上的招牌也可以当作一课。教育费用高昂就意味着没有教育或是只有极少数人能接受教育。

（七）社会即学校。动员社会上一切现存的力量、学校和其他机构以及个人尽力为民众服务：庙宇、茶馆、监狱、兵营、商店、工厂、伤兵医院、普通学校不上课的房间和空出的教室，都应给识字小组及训练中心使用。8,000万识字成人经过一段时间再教育可以作为教师帮助家人及邻居进步。

（八）培养责任感、荣誉感及发自内心的与他人分享知识的迫切愿望。明了一项真理的人就有责任和特权将这项真理传播出去。学会一个字的人就有资格教那个字，也有责任教那个字。有了与他人分享知识的欲望，才会认为这样做是一种乐趣。

（九）根据知识为公的原则，我们把小先生培养成为免费教育的先锋。大约23年前，我们认识了第一位小先生。从那以来，这样做的一些优点终于表现出来了，这些优点是在像中国这样的国家普及教育所必不可少的。

1.小先生制已经证明是攻破女子教育难关最有效的手段。

2.成人拜小孩子为师，不禁会感到像小孩一样获得重生，并受到青年精神的感染。

3.小先生手中的知识，不再是出卖的商品，而是免费赠送给全民的礼物。

4.通过教别人，小先生对课程内容会理解得更清楚、更透彻，还从他们所教的人身上学到很多重要东西。

5.招生的性质改变了。来者不拒，不能来者免费送教育上门去。

6.学校本身也起了变化，扩大了许多倍。社会变成学校；所谓的“学校”变成教室中的一间，更实在地说，变成发电所，通过小先生输送光、热和力；小先生就像通电的电线一样，把学校与社会的千家万户联结起来。这样，所有的社会成员便都能享受发电所里发出的光、热和力了。然后，小先生又从各家各户的小发电机上反馈回来一切，增加中心发电所的功率，使之能将更多的光、热和力送给民众。

7.乡村学校中孤独的教师也变了。他不再孤零零地教书、起住、做饭，不再孤零零地奋斗了。他一下子就成了有50个或100个小同事的队长，这些小同事也不再是些小书呆子，而是活跃的小先生、小工人、小战士，而更重要的是，他们是中国民主的小建设者。

（十）知识为公的原则不仅产生了小先生，而且产生了传递先生。我所见到的最能干的人民教师均来自于人民大众，来自农民、工人、工匠及商店学徒。他们自己学习了那么几课书后，就开始不拘形式地帮助别人。换句话说，他们就成了传递先生。在这一阶段，他们非常热情，其中能干的人可以培养成为大众最好的传递先生。

（十一）农村及收复地区民众的教育应当最受重视。

（十二）鼓励民众边工作边学习。决不要为一张学校毕业文凭而扔掉饭碗。

（十三）无论何时何地，只要有必要、有可能，就使用罗马化（即拉丁化）文字。

（十四）最充分地利用广播、电影、飞机、铁路、轮船，把“民主教育”的理念、人员及物资输送到最边远的角落，以使国家最落后的地方也能尽早实现民主。

（十五）鼓励人民的首创精神，资助地方实验。

（十六）从群众中发现和挑选人才，把他们推荐到育才学校或其他合适的学校及机构受特殊的、高级的训练。

（十七）本计划仅限于研究、实验、训练、出版、示范、推广和激励活动等，并向政府及其他机构提出建议，供他们参考并在全国范围内采用。

（十八）与其他国家交流教育民主化进展的情况和经验。

4．实现的可能性　　12年前在贯彻上述原则时，山海工学团不花政府一分钱在半年之内就在25个村庄普及了免费教育。生活教育社领导的这场运动，在九个月内就在23个省铺开，并继续在发展，直到思想控制介入为止。从那时起，随着民主的倒退，该运动的声势也减弱了。当然，17个解放区除外。在这些解放区，小先生制蓬勃发展，方兴未艾。小先生队伍正在扩大，为在那儿居住的1亿民众服务。最近，随着民主潮流的回归，育才学校开始扩大教育机会，仅这一所学校就为附近4,500名成人和儿童提供了受教育的机会。如果113所大学、2,278所中学、218,758所小学及79,550个属教育部管辖的社会教育组织贯彻同样的原则，以同样的速度做同样的事情，它们合起来就可以使3.5亿人继续学习和进步。当然，学校分布不均衡会使人数打个大折扣。但在民主的鼓舞下，有政府力量的支持，有现成的读本和材料，有自愿提倡教育、竞相办教育等活动在全国的蓬勃开展，几乎不容置疑，300,699个用小先生和传递先生武装起来的学校，一年内就可以使1亿人接受教育；再加上受过再教育的8,000万有文化的成人的帮助，四年就可以完成全部任务了；即使把所有意外的障碍都估计在内，至多也只要十年就可以完全成功。一旦养成学习的习惯及知识为公的习惯，他们就会依靠自身的力量向前进，因而不断朝着民主方向的进步就有了极为可靠的保证。

5．运动启动第一年的预算　（1945年10月1日—1946年9月30日）：

（一）研究所　　　140,000美元

根据民主的精神，研究下述问题、困难及解决的方法：

1．农民教育
2．工人教育
3．店员及学徒的教育
4．伤兵教育
5．女子教育
6．适应蒙民生活的教育
7．适应藏民生活的教育
8．适应苗民生活的教育
9．适应新疆生活的教育
10．异常儿童教育
11．囚犯教育
12．健康教育
13．科学教育
14．手工艺、农艺、工艺等教育
15．戏剧作为民众教育的手段

16．音乐作为民众教育的手段
17．绘画作为民众教育的手段
18．进一步研究小先生制
19．现存教育制度的重建及军队教育
20．有知识的人及领导人的再教育

研究教授40人	每人1,000美元	共40,000美元
研究助手80人	每人500美元	共40,000美元
交通费		10,000美元
图书馆		20,000美元
房屋		10,000美元
设备		16,000美元
函电		2,000美元
杂费		2,000美元
总计		140,000美元

（二）行政费用　60,000美元

所长秘书处

秘书20人	每人500美元	共10,000美元
现场指导主任30人	每人1,000美元	共30,000美元
交通费		5,000美元
房屋		1,000美元
设备		12,000美元
函电		1,000美元
杂费		1,000美元
总计		60,000美元

（三）收复地区及普通地区10个战略中心的推广示范人员训练所　600,000美元

教授100人	每人1,000美元	共100,000美元
推广示范人员25,000人，接受1—3个月训练		
1.部分交通费资助		150,000美元
2.部分伙食资助		150,000美元
3.10幢房屋		10,000美元
4.学校设备10套；广播、电影、戏剧、音乐及医疗全套器材100套		150,000美元
5.25,000人的印刷材料		30,000美元
6.杂费		10,000美元
总计		600,000美元
（四）100个示范中心：收复地区及普通地区共100个		100,000美元
主管100名	每人500美元	共50,000美元
助手100名	每人400美元	共40,000美元

印刷所为1,000,000人免费提供阅读材料，训练中心免费补充全套示

范用品

杂费 10,000美元

总计 100,000美元

（五）资助5,000个地方组织

有意向人民群众普及民主教育的地方学校或相关机构，在地方机构同意根据申请单位的经济情况承担部分费用（从1/10到1/2）的条件下，即可以申请书籍、出版物、技术训练及示范。书籍和出版物在5,000,000套至9,000,000套之间，由印刷所供应，不另计预算外费用。

技术训练和示范将由训练中心提供部分伙食补助和交通补助，无附加费用。

（六）一个足够不断供应10,000,000人的文化粮食的编辑委员会和印刷所，并且它们自身能够进一步发展。第一年我们希望出4册大众读本，印数10,000,000册。人民图书馆的第一层书架上有100本一套的书，每10人的识字小组要有一套，我们就需要1,000,000套，总共100,000,000本书；然后才是供10个训练所、100个示范中心的25,000人使用的研究专著、期刊及各种材料，供1,000,000个小先生用的指导用书；最后才是供1,000,000个识字小组使用的周刊，每组一份。 1,100,000美元

管理费用		20,000美元
编辑20人	每人700美元	共14,000美元
印刷工人20人	每人700美元	共14,000美元
印刷机及全套设备		46,000美元
油墨		6,000美元
纸		1,000,000美元
总计		1,100,000美元
以上各项总计		2,000,000美元

6．资金募集　我们计划从对中国的进步感兴趣的盟友中募集相当于1,000,000美元的资金。“中国运动”9月18日就开始了，我们希望引起100,000位中国朋友的兴趣，募集到与盟友的赠款相当数额的捐款。

7．预期的结果　如果条件有利，募集到2,000,000美元，我们便能在第一年向600万到1,000万人普及民主文化的基本教育，把他们都变成“钓鱼人”，携起手来向大众传播民主的理念，从而将大大推动和刺激第二

年及其后每一年的运动。十年内，个人和集体都好学上进、乐于互学的四万万五千万中国人将成为中国和世界民主坚不可摧的栋梁和不可战胜的捍卫者，这并非奢望。

YU TSAI SCHOOL FOR TALENTED REFUGEE CHILDREN[1]

A The Founding of Yu Tsai School

In order to have a better understanding of Yu Tsai School it is necessary to give some explanation of how Yu Tsai has come into existence and how the school has proceeded to discover and nourish especially the scientific talents when they are very young. Among the influences that have given an impetus to my founding of a school like Yu Tsai, three persons stand out as beacon lights:Faraday,Thomas Alva Edison and Sanderson of Oundle.

Faraday spent his boyhood in serving as an apprentice in a book-binding store owned by Mr. Ribeau. He was slow in his work. Other apprentices made complaints to Ribeau about his slowness. But Ribeau remarked sympathetically that while Faraday was binding his book, he was eating it too. He told them that anyone who was as studious as Faraday would have his tolerance. Once Faraday came to a topic on electricity when he was binding an Encyclopedia and found only two pages on so interesting a topic which of course could not satisfy his appetite. Having read it with a hungry mind, he made the decision:“Some day I shall write a book on Electricity.”This he succeeded in after he had found his way into Humphry Davy's Laboratory through the help of a customer who offered tickets to Faraday for attending his lectures.

As school education has not become universal in China, it is reasonable to estimate that a great many talents are imbedded under the rock of apprenticeship. Here is a rich mine of genius for modern educators to explore. And Ribeau's sympathy, understanding and tolerance are worthy examples not only for heads of stores and captains of industry but also for school masters to follow.

The childhood of Thomas Alva Edison and the sympathetic care of his mother, Mrs. S. Nancy Edison, have given a great impetus to my founding of Yu Tsai. As you know, Edison, when a boy, was fond of playing with chemicals. Being dissatisfied with by his old-fashioned teacher, he was dismissed after only three months' schooling. His mother had a better understanding of her boy and allowed him to continue his experiments in the cellar and taught him history and geography herself. It was under the care of

such a kind mother and the push of his own genius that Edison made so many contributions to science and to the welfare of mankind.Two things impressed me:for one who is gifted with scientific aptitude the study of science should begin early and teachers of gifted children should learn more from the attitude of Edison's mother.

By the end of 1931, just before the outbreak of the first Shanghai War, I had completed the translation of *Sanderson of Oundle* for the Commercial Press but unfortunately the whole manuscript was burnt away by Japanese fire and the book never published. Ever since, Mr. Sanderson's idea has become my best friend and guide. His emphasis on the spacious and the bountiful has found its realization in Yu Tsai;the fact that visitors often get the impression of Yu Tsai as a“Children's University” can be explained partly by the constant presence of Sanderson's idea. Then his idea of personified and socialized science appears to me most important. To lead a scientific world and manage it according to scientific principles is Sanderson's best contribution and advice to mankind and all posterity. We have been struggling to put these important ideas into practice against age-long prejudices, anti-scientific habits and traditions.

B Threefold Criteria of Yu Tsai School

<table>
<tr><td>1. Absorbing:
On the basis of the child’s being continually absorbed in certain specific activities, and through special provision of environment and nourishment, we aim to nurse and guide the young talent to full growth, penetrating into the field of the Unknown.</td><td rowspan="3">Toward creative life</td></tr>
<tr><td>2. Understanding:
On the basis of the child’s general intelligence and through a liberal education, we aim to nurse and guide the young talent to attain a deeper understanding of his own line as well as a broader understanding of the relationships of different phases of life and the historical development of the universe and human society.</td></tr>
<tr><td>3. Loving:
On the basis of the child’s readiness to help others and through community life, we aim to nurse and guide the young talent to develop a higher love for mankind.</td></tr>
</table>

C The Guiding Principles of Yu Tsai School

1.One Great Brain.

2.Two Strong Hands.

3.Three Circles—The school badge is represented by three circles.The circle is symbolic of open-mindedness, ceaseless endeavor, and unity in purpose and action. One circle represents Unity of the School;another one represents Unity of the Chinese Nation and the third represents Unity of the Democratic and Progressive World.

4.Four Keys to Cultural Treasures: 1) Chinese language, 2) One foreign language, 3) Mathematics, and 4) Scientific methods.

5.Five Roads to Truth: 1) Acting, 2) Learning from books, 3) Learning from teachers, 4) Learning from friends, and 5) Reflecting.

6.Six Groups of Studies: Yu Tsai School has six groups of special studies: 1) Music, 2) Drawing, 3) Dramatics, 4) Literature, 5) Natural Sciences and 6) Social Sciences.

7.Seven Days of Collective, Creative Living.

8.Eight Advisers:1) What? 2) Why? 3) Who? 4) When? 5) Where? 6) How? 7) What number? 8) What direction?The first six advisers need no explanation, 7) and 8) are newly added to cultivate a conception of accuracy and a dynamic outlook.

9.Nine Times Nine Difficulties:Hsuan Chuang of Tang Dynasty, as a legend told us, passed through eighty-one difficulties before he could get the Buddhistic Scriptures from the Western Paradise. We must take it as a matter of fact the rubs and worries of life.

10.Tenth power of strength with a pure heart to win the battle of life.

D Facts about Yu Tsai School

Aim: Education for gifted refugee children.

Grade: Primary School and Middle School. Preparations are being made for founding a professional school.

Curriculum: The school is running all year round. 3/4 of time for general education, following the Ministry Standard and 1/4 of time for special studies in accordance with the pupil's own interest and aptitude.

Special Studies: They consist of elective courses in Music, Dramatics, Painting, Ballet, Literature, Natural Sciences, and Social Sciences. Two more elective courses, Agriculture and Industrial Arts will be opened as soon as preparations are completed.

Staff:Teachers holding academic degrees from abroad, 9;teachers of college graduation standing, 33;teachers and officers of high school

graduation standing, 19; total number of staff members, 61; family members of staff, 17.

Students:Regular students, 320;field students, 19;students in village reading circles, including farmers, coal miners, women, poor children, 1,500; students receiving lessons in Music Clubs, 140; total number of persons receiving Yu Tsai education, 1,960. Among the 320 regular students, there are 191 boys and 129 girls;198 refugee and very poor children and 122 self-paid children from 17 provinces and 2 foreign countries.

Workers:School and farm workers, 40.

Equipment:Books, 22,000;Pianos, 4;Violins, 6;Cello, 1;Scientific apparatus, more than 1,000 pieces;Land, 55 *mow*, owned by school;300 *mow*, rented.

Financial Status:Funds for the new refugee children are provided for by UCR and other friends, including an allowance for offsetting, to some extent, rising prices due to inflation. But for the maintenance of the refugee and poor children formerly admitted, funds are far from being sufficient. The month of January began with a budget of expenditure of$590,000, and due to high jump in prices, the budget for August has increased to more than 400%amounting to CN$2,400,000. Against this sum UCR will grant$1,400,000, British Aid to China will give$170,000 (2,000,000÷12), the Middle School Relief Committee will give$160,000, the National Relief Commission will give$15,000, plus CN$468,000 to be supplied by friends of Yu Tsai and other sources, making a total of CN$2,213,000.Thus the school has a deficit of$187,000 for August.

Urgent Needs:

1)Reenforcement of scientific apparatus	$5,000,000
2)Raising teachers salary from $8,500-15,000,60 teachers totaling $390,000 a month	4,680,000
3)Improving nutrition,$1,000×316 totaling $316,000 per month	3,792,000
4)Balancing the budget for 12 months ($187,000×12)	2,244,000
5)Capital Outlay for reenforcing the	5,000,000

Research Institute of Life Education	
6)Capital Outlay for founding the Agriculture Department	3,000,000
7)Capital Outlay for founding the Industrial Arts Department	7,000,000
8)Scholarships for 50 more poor&talented children ($8,000 a month per child, amounting to about$100,000 for a year)	5,000,000
Total	$35,716,000

E Hands and Brain Unite (School Song of Yu Tsai)

Two treasures with us lifelong remain:
A pair of free hands and a great brain.
He who doesn't use his hand,
Belongs to the dethroned King's band.
He who doesn't use his brain,
Has to endure hunger and pain.
He who uses both brain and hand,
Can set up Heaven's Kingdom on Satan's Land.

培养难童人才幼苗的育才学校

① 育才学校的创办

为了更好地了解育才学校，有必要说明育才是如何创办，又是如何发现有科学天赋的人才幼苗并加以特别培养的。促使我产生创办育才这类学校的动力中，有三个人成为指路明灯：法拉第、托马斯·阿尔瓦·爱迪生和昂多尔的桑德森。

法拉第的幼年是在利波先生的订书铺里当学徒度过的。他订书订得慢，别的学徒到利波老板那里去告状，但利波先生同情地对众徒弟说：法拉第一边订书，—边也在吃书。他还对他们说：你们当中如果有人像法拉第这样用功，我也可以容忍你们的装订速度。一次法拉第装订一部百科全书时，翻到论述电的一章，这样一个有趣的题目只有两面，他看完觉得不过瘾。如饥似渴地读完这两面后，他暗下决心：“总有一天，我要写一本论述电的书。”后来，在一位顾客的帮助下，他得到了汉弗莱·戴维讲座的入场券，而后又进入了汉弗莱·戴维的实验室工作，并最终实现了自己的诺言。

由于中国还未普及学校教育，有理由估计，许多天才正处于繁杂的学徒工作重压之下。这是现代教育家可以探索的天才富矿区。利波的同情、理解及宽容，不仅值得店主、厂主们学习，也值得学校里的教师们学习。

托马斯·阿尔瓦·爱迪生的幼年生活以及他母亲南希·爱迪生太太对儿子的理解和关爱，给了我创办育才学校的极大动力。众所周知，童年时爱迪生喜欢动手摆弄化学药品。他的老师是个古板的先生，对他大为不满，所以爱迪生入学仅三个月就被学校开除了。他母亲更了解自己的儿子，允许他在家中的地下室里继续做实验，并亲自教他历史和地理。正是在这样一位慈母的关怀之下，在他自己天才内发的驱动之下，爱迪生才为科学、为人类福祉作出了如此多的贡献。爱迪生的幼年故事给了我两个深刻的印象：有科学天赋才能的孩子要及早培养；天才儿童的教师应从爱迪生母亲的态度中学到更多的东西。

到1931年底，“一·二八”淞沪抗战爆发之前，我已为商务印书馆译完了《昂多尔的桑德森》，但不幸的是，全部手稿被日本人的战火烧光了，这本书便一直未能出版。从那以后，桑德森先生的思想便成了我最好的朋友和导师。他强调学识要广博厚实的主张在育才得到实现。他的思想给我带来的不断启发就是育才常给参观访问者留下“儿童大学”这一印象的部分原因。我还觉得他把科学人格化及社会化的思想十分重要。用科学原则来领导和管理一个科学的世界，是桑德森对人类最大的贡

献，也是他留给子孙万代最好的忠告。我们一直致力于用这些重要的思想指导我们的实践，与积久的偏见、反科学的习惯和传统作斗争。

② 育才三方针

1. 迷 根据孩子们不断地迷在某种特殊活动的天性，透过特殊的环境、设备和方法，我们培养并引导他们成长，踏进未知之门。	向着创造性生活前进
2. 悟 根据孩子们一般的智力，透过启发性的普通教育，我们培养和指导他们对特殊活动取得更深的了解，对人生各方面的关系和宇宙人类的历史的发展取得更广的认识。	
3. 爱 根据孩子们愿意帮助别人的倾向，透过集体生活，我们培养和引导他们对民族人类发生更高的自觉的爱。	

③ 育才十字诀

1.一个大脑。

2.二只壮手。

3.三圈连环——育才学校的校徽由三个圈组成：圈象征三种德性：一是虚心，代表学习；二是不断，代表工作；三是精诚团结，代表最后胜利。第一个圈表示全校一体，第二个圈表示全国一体，第三个圈表示宇宙一体。

4.四把钥匙——去开发文化的金库：一是国文，二是一门外语，三是数学，四是科学方法。

5.五路探讨——探讨真理，我们提出五条路：（一）体验，（二）看书，（三）求师，（四）访友，（五）思考。

6.六组学习：育才学校有六个特修课学习组：（一）音乐组，（二）绘画组，（三）戏剧组，（四）文学组，（五）自然组，（六）社会组。

7.七（集）体创造：每周七天过富有创造性的集体生活。

8.八位顾问：（一）什么事？（二）什么缘故？（三）什么人？（四）什么时间？（五）什么地方？（六）什么方法？（七）什么数目？（八）什么动向？前面六点毋须解释，（七）、（八）两点是为了要改造一般书生的笼统的静止的头脑而新加上的。

9.九九难关：唐代玄奘法师的传奇故事告诉我们，他历经了八十一

难才从西天取到佛经。我们应当面对人生中的患难这一事实。

10.十（誓）必克服：用力量的十次乘方加上纯洁无瑕的心灵去赢得生活之战的胜利。

④　育才学校实况

目的：教育难童中的天才。

程度：小学和中学。正准备建成一个专业学校。

课程：全年上课。四分之三的时间按部颁标准学习普通课程，四分之一的时间则按儿童的兴趣和才能学习特殊课程。

特殊课程：包括音乐、戏剧、绘画、舞蹈、文学、自然和社会等选修课。一旦准备就绪，还要开设农艺和工艺两门选修课。

教职员：在国外获得学位的教师9名；大学毕业程度的教师33名；高中毕业程度的教师及职员19名；教职员总数61名；教职员家属17名。

学生：全日制学生320名；耕读学生19名；农村识字小组学生，包括农民、煤矿工人、妇女、穷苦孩子共1,500名；在音乐俱乐部学音乐的学生140名；接受育才教育总人数为1,960名。320名全日制学生中，男学生191名，女学生129名；难童及贫困学生共198名，自费学生122名。他们来自全国17个省及2个其他国家。

工友：校工及农工40名。

设备：书22,000册，钢琴4架，小提琴6把，大提琴1把，科学仪器1,000多件，校属土地55亩，租地300亩。

财务情况：美国援华联合会及其他朋友为新难童提供了几笔经费，其额度从某种程度上可抵消通货膨胀带来的物价上涨。但要维持以前接收的难童及贫苦学生的费用，经费还远远不够。元月份的开支预算为590,000元，由于物价猛涨，八月份的开支预算就增加到超过400%，达国币2,400,000元。为支付这笔款项，美国援华联合会将提供1,400,000元，英国援华组织将提供170,000（2,000,000÷12）元，中学救济会将提供160,000元，全国赈济委员会提供15,000元，育才之友及其他来源还可提供468,000元，共计国币2,213,000元。这样一来，学校八月份的赤字就只有187,000元了。

亟需项目：

（1）添置科学仪器	5,000,000元
（2）教师工资将从8,500元增加到15,000元，共60名教师，每月需要390,000元	共计4,680,000元

（3）改善营养，每人每月1,000元×316人， 每月需要316,000元	共计3,792,000元
（4）平衡全年12个月预算（187,000元×12）	2,244,000元
（5）扩大生活教育研究所基本建设费用	5,000,000元
（6）成立农业组基本建设费用	3,000,000元
（7）成立工艺组基本建设费用	7,000,000元
（8）为50名有才能及穷苦儿童增设奖学金 （每人每月8,000元，一年约100,000元）	5,000,000元
总计	35,716,000元

⑤ 手脑相长歌（育才校歌）

人生两个宝，
双手与大脑。
用脑不用手，
快要被打倒。
用手不用脑，
饭也吃不饱。
手脑都会用，
才算是开天辟地的大好佬。

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ABOUT YU TSAI SCHOOL[1]

—To Mrs. Louise K. Rugg
1942

My dear Mrs. Rugg,

Two copies of your kind letter of March 16th have just been forwarded to me by YWCA from Chengtu. It reminds me of the pleasant hours we spent together when you and Professor Rugg visited China years ago. I heartily congratulate you upon serving on the China Aid Council and participating in the splendid work of the United China Relief [2] which is interested in giving material as well as cultural help to Chinese War Orphans to some of whom I have had the honor to render my service during the last three years. It is most delightful to learn that at last my brief conversation with Miss Gerlach[3] has been made known to friends so far away in space. You are right,“We are now at War together.”Indeed, we are fighting together for a common victory—the victory of liberty over fascism and Hitlerism.The war may not be a short one. Children grow fast. Whosoever give the best care to their children will win the real victory. It is a most noble act to extend love of one's own children to children of other lands.

In compliance with your request, let me answer your questions in the order you asked them:

1. We have 165 children in our school. Nine-tenths of them are refugee children who have lost their homes because of Japanese invasion. Of the refugee children, more than half are without parents and are real orphans. But even those who have parents cannot receive any support from them either because family fortunes have been lost or because high cost of living has reduced their parents to marginal existence. Therefore, the entire burden of subsistence and education of 150 children falls upon the school.

2. The school started in the fall of 1939 with a budget of 3,000 Chinese dollars a month. It has been steadily increasing until now it amounts almost to 40,000 Chinese dollars a month. Still, our budget is lagging far behind in view of the fact that the index of the cost of living has had a much greater increase during the same period.

Average Monthly Appropriation for the first 5 months, 1942

A.Administrative Expenses	$1,500
B.Salaries and Food of Staff	8,000
C.Housing Cost	2,000
D.Food of Refugee Children	18,000
E.Clothing	3,000
F.Medical Care	1,000
G.Equipment	2,000
H.Light and Fuel	1,000
I.Printing and Text Books	1,500
J.Miscellaneous Expenses	1,500
Total	$39,500

3. The total cost per child in our school is about $240 a month, including medical care, clothing and education. For food alone, the monthly cost per child is about 120 Chinese dollars. It is still on the increase.

4. Children in our school are given opportunities for play, work and study. For play, we have basketball, volleyball, gymnastics, table tennis, chess, etc. As to work, our children do the cleaning of the dormitories and classrooms, and carry on other domestic activities. Besides, every student is given a piece of land, 1/10 of a *mow*, for growing vegetables for community consumption, but each is entitled to a portion of the produce for his own benefit. As to study, the students are allowed 2/3 of the time to pursue general studies and 1/3 of it to pursue special studies fit for their respective interest and aptitude. As the school is running all the year round, not only can our children be promoted at the same rate as those in other schools, but also they can acquire a more solid foundation in special studies.

5. The general studies follow the elementary and junior middle school curriculum prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The special studies consist of elective courses in music, dramatics, painting, literature, natural sciences and social sciences. To these, agricultural and mechanical arts will be added soon when new students are selected. Each student is allowed to select one special course to pursue, provided he has shown evidence of a

special aptitude for it.

6. We have now a staff of 26 teachers. On the average each special course has two specialists as directors, the rest being teachers of general subjects. Two-thirds of the teachers are college graduates or returned students and are trained. We have no training school as such in connection with the institution. But our Research Institute, bringing all teachers together by study of problems, reading of books, periodical conferences and inspection tours, is actually a training centre for teachers in service.

7. We have about $20,000 a month available, of which $8,500 come from the Central Relief Commission. About 20,000 Chinese dollars have to be raised.

8. We have a plan to increase our student population to 400 and wish to take in more talented refugee children. For the purpose of improving nutrition of students and staff, we hope you will find it possible to propose to the United China Relief to give us a monthly grant of $2,000 gold or a yearly grant of $24,000 gold so as to enable us to carry out our new plan. Of the sum, $15,000 gold will be used for food, $5,000 gold for reinforcing our technical staff, and$4,000 gold for the increase of our equipment and the improvement of our medical service.

You will have a better understanding of Yu Tsai School if I tell you some stories of how it has come into existence.“The childhood of Thomas Alva Edison and the sympathetic care of his mother, Madame S. Nancy Edison, have given a profound impetus to my founding of Yu Tsai. As you know, Edison, when a boy, was fond of playing with chemicals. Being dissatisfied with by his old-fashioned teacher, he was dismissed after only three months' schooling. His mother had a better understanding of her boy, allowed him to continue his experiments in the cellar and taught him history and geography herself. It was under the care of a kind mother and the push of his own genius that he made so many contributions to science and to the welfare of mankind. Two things impressed me:for one who is gifted with scientific aptitude, the study of science should begin early and teachers of gifted children should learn more from the attitude of Edison's mother.”This is one of the five influences that have led me to found this institution. In order that this letter should not be too long, I have to satisfy myself in telling you just this one story and leave the rest for the future. Your kind letter gives me a sense of relief because the major part of my time has been spent in a new form of athletics—racing with rice, and need to find some way to raise

enough fund so that I and my colleagues may devote our energy to the real education of our refugee children.

I thank you for your kind endeavour and look forward to hearing good tidings from you. Kindly give my best regards to Prof. Rugg and Miss Gerlach.

Your friend,
Heng Chih Tao

就育才学校情况回答罗格夫人提问

亲爱的罗格夫人：

顷接由基督教女青年会自成都转来3月16日惠书复件两份。尊函令我忆及数年前您及罗格教授访华期间我们一同度过的愉快时光。衷心祝贺您到美国援华会任职，加入到美国援华联合会的光荣工作。美国援华联合会对中国战争孤儿深为关怀，不仅在文化上，而且在物质上给他们以帮助。三年来，我本人也有幸为这些孤儿竭尽绵薄。得知上次我与耿丽淑女士所作简短之谈话竟能传至远方朋友，殊觉快慰之至。“我们如今是在共同作战”——夫人此言极是。诚然，我们正在为一个共同的胜利——为自由战胜法西斯主义、希特勒主义而一起战斗。战争也许不会很快结束，但孩子们成长很快。凡能给予孩子以最大关怀者均能赢得真正的胜利。将对本土孩子之爱延伸于他国孩子是极为崇高之举。

遵您所嘱，依所提问题之先后次序答复如下：

（1）我校现有165名儿童。他们中十分之九为因日寇侵略而丧失家园的难童。难童中半数以上为无父无母的真正的战争孤儿。即使是父母双全之难童，亦无法获得父母之任何资助，或因其家财已丧失殆尽，或因生活费用过高使其父母陷于难以维生之境地。因此，150名儿童生存及教育之全部重任不得不由我校承担。

（2）我校创办于1939年秋，当时每月预算3,000元。嗣后预算不断增加，目前几乎高达国币40,000元。然而，鉴于同期内生活指数增长过快的事实，我校预算远远滞后。

1942年头5个月的月平均拨款

A.管理费用	1,500元
B.职员薪金及伙食	8,000元
C.住房费用	2,000元
D.难童伙食	18,000元
E.服装	3,000元
F.医药	1,000元
G.设备	2,000元
H.照明及燃料	1,000元

I.印刷和课本	1,500元
J.杂费	1,500元
总计	39,500元

（3）我校儿童每人费用总额约为每月240元，包括医药、服装及教育费用。仅伙食一项，人均每月费用约为国币120元，且还在不断增加。

（4）我校为儿童提供游戏、劳动和学习之机会。游戏方面，有篮球、排球、体操、台球、象棋等等。劳动方面，我校儿童打扫宿舍和教室，开展其他校内活动。此外，还分配给每个学生一分土地种植蔬菜供集体食用，同时可留一部分产品归自己支配。学习方面，学生可用三分之二的时间学习普修课，而用三分之一的时间学习适合个人兴趣和才能之特修课。我校全年开课，因此我校儿童不仅能以与其他学校儿童相同之速度升级，而且能在特修课方面打下更为坚实的基础。

（5）我校普修课根据教育部规定的小学及初中课程设置。特修课包括音乐、戏剧、绘画、文学、自然和社会诸方面的选修课。不久，当新生入学时，还将增加农艺和工艺两门课。就每个学生而言，只要他在某方面表现出确具特殊之才能，他就可以选定这个方向作为专攻。

（6）我校现有教师26位。每一堂特修课平均有两位专家作指导，其余的则为普修课教师。教师中三分之二为大学毕业或留学生，并都经过专门培训。我们没有培训学校这样的专门机构，但是我们的研究所通过研究问题、阅读书籍以及定期开会和外出考察将所有教师凝聚在一起，它实际上就是在职教师的培训中心。

（7）我们每月约有20,000元可供使用，其中8,500元由赈济委员会拨给，尚需筹募约国币20,000元。

（8）我校计划将学生人数增至400人，希望多招具有天赋之难童。为了改善我校学生和职员的营养，我们希望您能够向美国援华联合会提出建议，每月给我们拨款2,000美元，每年总计24,000美元，使我们的新计划得以实施。拨款总额中，15,000美元将用于伙食，5,000美元将用于增加我校的技术人员，4,000美元将用于添置设备和改善我校的医疗服务。

夫人，如果我把学校诞生的几个小故事告诉您，您会更加了解育才学校的。“托马斯·阿尔瓦·爱迪生的幼年生活以及他母亲南希·爱迪生太太对儿子的理解和关爱，给了我创办育才学校的极大动力。众所周知，童年时爱迪生喜欢动手摆弄化学药品。他的老师是个古板的先生，对他大为不满，所以爱迪生入学仅三个月就被学校开除了。他母亲更了解自

己的儿子，允许他在家中的地下室里继续做实验，并亲自教他历史和地理。正是在这样一位慈母的关怀之下，在他自己天才内发的驱动之下，爱迪生才为科学、为人类福祉作出了如此多的贡献。爱迪生的幼年故事给了我两个深刻的印象：有科学天赋才能的孩子要及早培养；天才儿童的教师应从爱迪生母亲的态度中学到更多的东西。”这是促使我创办育才学校的五种力量之一。为使此信不致过长，我想讲这个故事给您听也就足矣，其余的留到将来再说。您的信使我如释重负，因为我的大部分时间都用在进行一种新型“运动”——与米价赛跑，我需要设法筹措足够的基金以使我和我的同事们能够致力于真正的难童教育。

承蒙为育才尽力，谨表谢意，并候佳音。请代向罗格教授和耿丽淑女士问候。

您的朋友陶行知

1942年

SEEKING FINANCIAL AID FROM FOREIGN FRIENDS FOR YU TSAI SCHOOL[1]

—To Lady Cripps
April 10, 1944

Dear Lady Cripps,

First of all, please allow me to express our hearty appreciation of what you and your noble organization have done for the Chinese nation in her long struggle for liberation. I am sure you will be glad to hear from a school in China's Wartime Capital, which has been fighting for the education and nurture of children whose parents and homes have been sacrificed and ruined as this great struggle is going on. Its full name, Yu Tsai School for Talented Refugee Children, will show you at a glance the object which we are trying to achieve. These children have been selected through intelligence and special tests from Wartime Children's Homes, Orphanages and children's own organizations which once flourished during the first stage of the war. We devote 3/4 to 2/3 of their time to general studies and 1/4 to 1/3 of it to special studies fit for each one's own special interest and aptitude.Thus we have organized them into seven groups or departments to meet their own different needs, namely, Music, Painting, Dramatics, Literature, Ballet, Natural Sciences and Social Sciences.

The school started with 150 refugee children thus selected and organized for general and special studies. All the expenses including food, clothing, lodging, education and medical care were taken care of by the school. On account of rising prices, we have been compelled to take in some partially self-paid students. Beginning with this spring our enrollment has reached 320. And through the little teacher system we are offering our service in extending educational opportunities to 1,158 less fortunate children and adults outside our school.

Because of the abnormal rise in prices, our faculty and children have been suffering from undernourishment and from the lack of sufficient scientific equipment. Therefore on behalf of the Yu Tsai School for Talented Refugee Children I am presenting to you this application for financial aid in

order to improve the nourishment of our refugee and poor children, to ameliorate the living condition of our teaching staff and to reinforce the equipment for effective education.The subsidies we are applying for will be used in the following ways:

(1)Reinforcement of scientific apparatus	CN$5,000,000
(2)Raising 60 teachers' monthly salaries from$3,000 to$10,000 each for 12 months	CN$5,040,000
(3)Improving nourishment for 316 members including the food for refugee children, faculty and families, workers at $1,000 each per month for 12 months	CN$3,792,000
(4)Balancing the monthly deficit of $170,000 for 12 months	CN$2,040,000
Total	CN$16,072,000 [15,872,000]

Enclosed you will please find a copy of each of *Facts About Yu Tsai, The Threefold Criteria of Yu Tsai, The Ten Guiding Principles, The Founding of Yu Tsai School, and Report on Yu Tsai School*, by Lennig Sweet, Program Director, UCR. I hope these materials and this letter will give you a true picture of Yu Tsai and an understanding of its aspirations, efforts and difficulties. Anything you can do by way of creative relief to enable Yu Tsai to help the refugee children and teachers to obtain more wholesome food and lead a more healthy life as well as give a more effective education in order to make the experiment more fruitful and successful will be greatly appreciated.

Anticipating to hear from you as soon as there are good tidings.

Very respectfully yours,
Heng Chi Tao
Director, Yu Tsai School

吁请外国友人资助育才学校

——致克里普斯夫人

亲爱的克里普斯夫人：

首先，请允许我向您及贵组织表示衷心的感谢，感谢你们为中华民族长期的解放斗争所作的一切。我相信，你们一定会乐于听到中国战时首都的一所学校的近况，与当前这场伟大的抗日战争进行的同时，这所学校在为教育和养育父母双亡、家园被毁的儿童而进行着战斗。这所学校的全名是：培养难童人才幼苗的育才学校。一看学校的名称您就知道我们所力图达到的目的。这些儿童都是从战时儿童收容所、孤儿院以及战争第一阶段曾经一度勃兴的儿童自发组织中通过智力和特使才能的测验选拔出来的。我们安排学生用四分之三到三分之二的时间攻读普修课，用四分之一到三分之一的时间攻读适合他们各自兴趣和才能的特修课。因此，我们分成七个组以满足他们的不同要求。这七个组是：音乐组、绘画组、戏剧组、文学组、舞蹈组、自然组和社会组。

起初，学校有150名难童，都是按上述办法选拔和分组攻读普修课和特修课的。包括伙食、服装、住宿、教育和医疗在内的全部费用都由学校负责。由于物价飞涨，我们不得不招收一些自费的学生。自今年春季开始，学生注册人数已达320名。我们还通过小先生制向校外失学的1,158名儿童及成人提供受教育的机会。

由于物价暴涨，我校师生均深受营养不良和科学设备不足之苦。因此，我代表为培养难童人才幼苗的育才学校向您提出财政援助的申请，以改善我校贫苦难童之营养，改进我校教师职员的生活状况，添置为实施有效教育所需要的设备。我们所申请的补助款将用于以下各项：

（1）添置科学仪器　　国币5,000,000元

（2）60位教师的薪金从3,000元提高至10,000元，共计12个月　　国币5,040,000元

（3）改善316人的营养，包括难童、教师和家属以及工人之伙食，每人每月1,000元，共计

12个月	国币3,792,000元
（4）平衡每月170,000元的赤字，共计12个月	国币2,040,000元
总计	国币16,072,000元 ［实计15,872,000元］

随函附奉《育才事略》、《育才三方针》、《育才十字诀》、《育才学校之创办》以及美国援华联合会项目主任甘霖林所写《关于育才学校的报告》各一份，希望这些材料和我的这封信将使您能看到育才学校的真实情况，并对学校的愿景、努力和困难有所了解。如蒙鼎力相助，以创造性的救济使育才能够帮助难童及教师得到更有营养的食品，过更健康的生活，实施更有效的教育，以使实验更富有成果、更加成功，则不胜感激之至。

谨此，恭候佳音。

育才学校校长陶行知敬上

1944年4月10日

ON“CREATIVE RELIEF”[1]

—To Dr Lennig Sweet
Dec. 25, 1944

Dear Dr. Sweet,

This is four o'clock on the morning of X'mas Day. A moment ago, I was in bed. A thought, bathing in the grand magnetic field of Creative Relief, the Frontiers of Wisdom, and the Great Love of Christ, has driven me to get up and write this letter to you. I take delight in racing with daybreak and am glad to have risen before the rising sun.

Creative Relief cannot be less than the emancipation of creative geniuses, giving them enough food and sunshine, so that they can pioneer into the frontiers of Wisdom, and continue to advance the creative work of the Creator. When such Wisdom is transformed into forces that are making a better world and a better mankind we have the highest manifestation of Christian Love. If the opportunity for the Creative Genius to emancipate itself is not confined to a few but is open to the greatest number of a nation or the whole world, then that nation or the whole world has achieved the highest form of Creative Democracy.

During this long war of resistance, thousands of talented scholars including many promising unknown scientists of high calibre have been reduced to utter poverty and driven to the margin of existence or compelled to change professions which do not fit.Then, since before the war and especially since the war, tens of thousands of talented young men and women have been prevented from college education by sheer poverty and debarred from research institutes by the consequent lack of college diploma.These are compelled to lead a harder life even than the scholars and waste their creative energy in vocations which do not fit into their aptitudes or in refugee life which does not offer opportunity or encouragement of the expression of their talents. Finally, under the deep bedrock of authority, prejudice, poverty, ignorance of bosses and overlords, tight work schedule, false theory of education, and age-long tradition are buried the talents of the great masses of apprentices, workers, artisans, farmers, chamber maidens and poor children, which are waiting to be awakened, and can be awakened with a whisper of democracy.

Six years ago on December 15, the Morning Village Research Institute was founded to start an attack on this problem. With our meagre resources, we are carrying on two projects. You are acquainted with Yu Tsai School. I ought to tell you that the mother who gave birth to Yu Tsai was the Morning Village Research Institute. Yu Tsai is simply an experimental school, under the auspices of the Education Division of the Institute. The mother is an unknown soldier, more exactly an unknown nurse. She has another unknown son—The Laboratory of Inner Combustion Engine, under the Science Division. Mr. Lee Hwa, the research professor in charge of the experiment, has sacrificed everything for conducting the experiment and I am glad to say that most probably he has nearly completed his model for a new engine.

The Morning Village Research Institute, in order to be true to the ideal that originated it, plans to take in ten more such professors of various lines, and select as many as possible research fellows from promising refugee poor youths and also recruit young research fellows from Yu Tsai. We have books worth$2,000,000 serving as a foundation. But we need more money to maintain a larger staff, to buy more reference books and to set up more laboratories. It is my wish to apply for $2,000,000 endowment for the Institute to expand its work and enhance its service.This will give us a good lift. In case you don't have enough fund to distribute, then any amount available in a lump sum or in installments will be welcomed. Or if you think it is more proper to make this subsidy through Yu Tsai, we have no objection, and the Institute could be organized into Yu Tsai as its highest peak. But at this stage, we prefer to run the Institute as an independent organization and receive the subsidy direct from you.

I am rather convinced that if half of your resources or the whole of the surplus fund could be used for creative relief in China, you may see, in less than a generation, miracles in this suffering nation and her millionfold contribution to be rendered to the world and mankind. Isn't this magnificent?

Ever sincerely yours,

H. C. Tao

Director, Morning Village Research Institute

关于“创造性的救济”

——致甘霖林

亲爱的甘博士：

此时正值圣诞日早晨四点。片刻之前我尚卧床未起。沉浸在创造性救济、智慧尖端和基督伟大之爱的宏大磁场中的一个想法驱使我起床给您写这封信。我很高兴与黎明赛跑，乐于在日出之前起身。

创造性的救济不比解放创造性天才稍有逊色。创造性的救济给他们以充分的食物和阳光，使他们能够首先进入智慧的尖端，继续推进造物主的创造性工作。当这样的智慧转变为能将世界和人类改造得更好的那种力量时，才是基督博爱境界的最高显示。如果创造性天才解放自己的机会并非限于几个人，而是向一个国家或全世界的绝大多数人开放，那么，这个国家或全世界就获得了最高形式的创造式民主。

值此长期抗战的过程中，成千上万有才能的学者，包括许多很有发展前途而且很有能力的无名科学家，陷入了极度的贫困之中，被逼到几乎无法生存的边沿，或不得不改行干不适当的工作。而且，在抗战开始前，尤其是抗战开始以来，数以万计有才能的男女青年仅仅由于贫穷而与高等教育无缘，继而因为没有大学文凭而被阻于研究所门外。这些青年人被迫过着比学者们还要艰难的生活，把他们的创造能力空耗于不适合他们才能的职业，或者过着难民般的生活，没有机会也得不到鼓励来表现他们的才干。最后，在权威、偏见、贫穷、上司或把头的无知、时间紧迫的工作计划、错误的教育理论，以及古老传统的重压之下，埋没了大批艺徒、工人、工匠、农民、女佣以及贫苦儿童的才能，这些人的才能有待被唤醒，而且只要民主的一声轻唤就能被唤醒。

六年前的12月15日，晓庄研究所建立并着手来解决这个问题。凭我们少得可怜的经费，我们正在进行两个项目。您是熟悉育才学校的，我应该告诉您：孕育育才学校的母亲是晓庄研究所。育才不过是在研究所教育处赞助下举办的一个实验学校。这位母亲是一位无名战士，更确切些说是一位无名的保姆。她还有另一个无名的儿子——科学处下面的内燃机实验室。负责该项实验的研究员李华，牺牲了一切来指导这项实验；我很高兴地说，他大概已快要完成一架新内燃机的模型了。

晓庄研究所为了忠于原来创办这个研究所的理想，计划增聘十位各学科的研究员，并从有发展前途的贫苦难民青年中挑选尽可能多的研究人员，也从育才吸收年轻的研究人员。我们有价值两百万元的书籍作基础。但是我们需要更多的钱来招纳更多的工作人员，购买更多的参考书，创立更多的实验室。我想为研究所申请两百万元捐款以扩大其范

围，增强其服务。这将会给我们很大的鼓舞。如果您没有足够的基金可供分配，则现有的任何数额的整笔款项或分期付款均受欢迎。或者，如果您认为通过育才提供这项补助更为合适，我们也无异议，研究所可以并入育才作为它的最高层级。不过，在目前阶段，我们更倾向于把研究所作为一个独立机构来办，直接从您那里得到资助。

我颇信如果您财源中的一半，或者说全部剩余基金能够用于中国的创造性救济，那么，在不出一代人的时间里，您将会在这个灾难深重的国家看到奇迹，看到她对世界和人类作出百万倍的贡献。这岂不宏伟、壮观么？

您永远忠实的朋友

晓庄研究所所长陶行知

1944年12月25日

MY RÉSUMÉ&MY PLAN OF LIFE CAREER[1]

—To Dean J. E. Russell
February 16, 1916

Dear Dean Russell,

It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter on Feb. 11th, which asks me to give a brief account of my preparation and my plan of life career for the interest of the donors of the Livingston Scholarships. I want to tell you that it is my great pleasure to comply with this order.

I am now 22 years old. I was born in Hweichow—a place where communication is almost entirely cut off from the outside world. I received my early Chinese education from my father and other teachers until I was fourteen years of age when I went to a China Inland Mission School and studied under Mr. Gibbs, who was then the only man teaching Western subjects. After two years that school was closed up and Mr. Gibbs returned to England. I was then compelled to make an adventurous move to Hangchow with an idea of studying medicine. On account of the sharp discrimination there in that institution against non-Christians even in the matter of the course of study, I finally withdrew my registration after three days' stay. With this disappointment I went back to Hweichow and devoted myself to the study of English for another year. Then I proceeded to Nanking University, where I am glad to say both Christians and non-Christians were welcome. Three years after my entering Nanking University, the first Revolution broke out. When I came back to Hweichow I was made Secretary of the Assembly of Hweichow.There I served half a year. After that I resumed my study in Nanking. With the assistance of other students and the trust of University authorities I started and edited the Chinese Edition of the University Magazine. Under the guidance of Dr. Bowen and Dr. Henke, and being deeply impressed by Prof. Jenk's“Social Significance of the Teachings of Christ”I became a Christian in 1913. I received my first degree in June, 1914, which was the end of my fifth year in Nanking. With the assistance of my parents and friends I started for Illinois University in August.There I spent one year. Besides the amount of valuable education I got there, I also secured

a by-product of my labor, i.e. an M.A. degree. During my second half year in Illinois I was the Secretary of the Students' Club.

Columbia University was selected three years ago as my final goal in this country, but my coming here was delayed by the lack of means. My sole purpose in this life is to create a democracy by education and not by military revolution. After seeing the serious defects of the sudden birth of our Republic I was convinced that no genuine republic could exist without a genuine public education. My devotion to educational administration as a life career was crystallized last summer at Lake Geneva, where I received my great inspiration from the Summer Conference of the Y.M.C.A. As I looked over all the institutions I knew of, again I found your Teachers College to be the best institution for me to go. But to select an institution is one thing; to have sufficient means to enter such an institution is another thing. Since the death of my father in January, 1915, the whole burden of my family has fallen upon me and my financial condition is almost deadly handicapped. But fortunately soon after my decision to come to your Teachers College, our government granted me a Partial Scholarship, which, together with some other miscellaneous assistance, gave me at least courage enough to make a start. However, New York is more expensive to live in than I anticipated. After half a year's stay I found my provision not sufficient for my successful study, so with Dr. Monroe's introduction I proceeded to apply for a Livingston Scholarship, which you have so generously granted to me. Besides my hearty thanks for this kind gift, I wish to assure you and the donors of the Livingston Scholarships that after two more years' preparation under Prof. Strayer and other faculties I shall go back to cooperate with other educators to organize an efficient system of public education for our people, so that they, following the steps of the Americans, will be able to develop and maintain a genuine democracy which is the only realisable Utopia of justice and liberty.

It would be of great interest to me if you will be kind enough to giveme some of the names of the donors who live nearby in the city so that I may find some chance to meet each of them.

With best wishes and regards.

Very respectfully yours,
Wen Tsing Tao

我的简历及终身志愿

——致罗素院长

亲爱的罗素院长：

2月11日手示敬悉，不胜欣喜。所嘱就本人曾受训练及终身职业生涯之计划向利文斯顿奖学金捐助人作一简略报告，自当乐于从命。

余现年二十有二，生于徽州，此乃一鲜与外界交往之地。余之早期经学教育受业于家父及其他师长，至十四岁始入一中华耶稣内地会学堂，受教于唐进贤师，彼为当时校中仅有之西学教员也。两年后，该学堂停办，唐师返回英国，余乃不得不冒险前往杭州意欲习医。旋以医学堂严重歧视非基督教徒，甚至事关学业课程问题亦然，余乃于入学三日撤回注册。余带着失望返徽州专于自习英文一年。然后前往南京入金陵大学，乐于称道的是该校基督教徒与非基督教徒均受欢迎。入金陵大学三年后，武昌首义爆发，余返徽州，任徽州议会干事半载，此后回南京复学。蒙学友之助及大学当局之信任，余倡办《金陵光》校刊中文版并任主笔。因得包文博士、汉克博士之指导，复因詹克教授讲授“基督教义之社会意义”予余印象至深，1913年余成为一基督信徒。1914年6月，亦即余就学于南京之第五年末，获首个学位；8月，蒙父母及友人相助，余启程赴伊利诺大学，攻读一年，除获可贵之诸多教益外，复得余辛劳之副产物硕士学位。于伊利诺一年中之下半年，余曾任学生俱乐部干事。

三年前我即选定哥伦比亚大学为我在美之最终目标，然因财力不济而未能及时来校就读。我今生之唯一目的在于经由教育而非经由军事革命创造一个民主国家。鉴于我中华民国突然诞生所带来之种种严重缺陷，我深信若无真正之公共教育，真正之民国即不能存在。我矢志以教育管理为终身事业始于去年夏，是时正值基督教男青年会于日内瓦湖举行夏季大会，余于此受极大启迪。我曾查阅既知之所有学府，再次发现贵院乃其中最适于本人的选择去处。然而，选定一学府为一事，有无充足资力进入该学府则为另一事。自1915年1月家父逝世以还，家庭全部负担即加于我身，余之经济状况乃陷于极大困境。所幸者，在余决定来师范学院之前不多时，蒙我国政府授予“部分奖学金”，连同其他种种援助，至少已予我以作一起步之足够勇气。然而，纽约生活费用之高，竟超出余所预料：留纽约半载，已觉余之准备不足以供顺利完成学业之用，因之，蒙孟禄博士介绍，余乃着手申请利文斯顿奖学金，并已蒙慷慨授予。衷心谢领此项厚礼之余，受业愿向您及利文斯顿奖学金捐助人保证，在斯特雷尔教授及其他科系教职员之教导下，再经两年之培训，

余将回国与其他教育工作者合作，为我国人民组织一高效率之公共教育体系，以使他们能跟着美国人步伐，发展和保持真正之民主国家，因为这是唯一能够实现的正义与自由的理想之国。

如蒙告知居于纽约附近之若干捐助人姓名，俾便设法一一前往拜会，则对余当为一极有意义之事。

谨致最佳祝愿及问候。

陶文濬敬上

1916年2月16日

FOUR LETTERS BY W. T. TAO

(1)

802 West Illinois Street,
Urbana, Illinois,
April 2, 1915

Mr. Ralph E. Diffenderfer
Offices of Board of Trustees
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City
My dear sir:

It gives great pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th of March. I am very glad to know that the diploma is about ready to be sent to me as I am just planning to apply to the Chinese Educational Mission for a scholarship. In complying with the regulation I herewith send you $5.

Dr. Speer's pamphlet, titled *How to Speak Efficiently without Notes*, has helped me very much. I find it very useful. Will you kindly give my best regard to Dr. Speer?

Sincerely Yours,
Wen Tsing Tao

(2)

802 W. Ill. St.,
Urbana, Illinois,
April 18, 1915

My dear Mr. Diffenderfer:

I sent you a letter with $5 on the 4th of April. I wonder whether you have received them or not. I have not received the diploma. As I understood, you will send me it as soon as you get my right address.Thediploma ought to reach me long time ago. Will you tell me whether you have sent it or not? Some certificates sent from China last year were lost by the post office. I wonder the same thing has happened.

With best wishes.

Most Sincerely Yours,
W. T. Tao

(3)

1010 Hartley Hall,

Columbia University,
March 16, 1916

Mr. R. E. Diffenderfer,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Diffenderfer:

It is my great pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your good letter of March 15th. As Mr. Hu and I do not have other previous engagement on April 9, we beg to report that we are exceedingly glad to accept your kind invitation. However, I am sorry to say that I shall not be able to take part in the speech making on account of the fact that I am now over-loaded with preparations for the preliminary examination which is due to May lst, and I can hardly find any leisure to organize materials for the talk. If it suits you I would like to reserve the speech part of the programme for some other time. So I like you to advise me whether it is possible for you to immune me from it.

With hearty thanks and best wishes to you and Mrs. Diffenderfer.

Very respectfully yours,
Wen Tsing Tao

(4)

Dear Mr. Witman:

If any contribution should come from the persons I mentioned, will you please ask Mr. Diffenderfer to send it to Mr. Carter, the treasurer of Uni. of Nanking, 156 5th Ave., instead of to Mr. Day, as it was stated in Mr. Bailie's letter.

You are also requested to ask Mr. Diffenderfer whether it is more advisable to write directly for contribution or to write letters to open a way for my personal approach.

Yours very sincerely,
W. T. Tao

陶文濬的四封信

(一)

伊利诺厄巴纳市
西伊利诺大街802号

纽约市第五大道156号董事会办公室
拉尔夫·德芬德弗先生收
亲爱的先生：

我极为高兴地确认已收到您于3月29日的来信。我很欣慰地得知，正当我准备申请中国教育机关的一项奖学金时，毕业证书已准备就绪，可以寄发给我。兹按规定随函寄奉5美元。

斯皮尔博士的小册子《如何不用讲稿而作有效率的演讲》对我帮助甚大，我发现它很有用处。您能代我向他致以最忠诚的祝愿吗？

您真诚的　陶文濬
1915年4月2日

(二)

伊利诺厄巴纳市
西伊利诺大街802号

亲爱的德芬德弗先生：

我于4月4日寄给您一封信并附上5美元，急欲知道您是否已经收到。我尚未收到毕业证书。按照我的理解，您在得到我的正确地址后会立即寄发给我，毕业证书早就该到我这里了。您可否告诉我究竟是否寄出？去年从中国寄出的一些证件就被邮局遗失了，我真担心会发生同样的事。

顺致良好的祝愿。

您最真诚的　陶文濬
1915年4月18日

（三）

哥伦比亚大学
哈特莱学生宿舍1010室

纽约市第五大道156号
拉尔夫·德芬德弗先生收
亲爱的德芬德弗先生：

我十分高兴地确认已收到您3月15日的来信。胡先生和我此前对4月9日没有作过安排，故而我们十分乐意接受您善意的邀请。但是，考虑到要准备定于5月1日进行的预考试，负担过重，没有精力组织讲演的资

料，很抱歉我不能参加讲演。如果合适的话，我可将此项讲演保留到其他时间。故我希望您能告知是否能免除我此次的讲演。

谨向您和德芬德弗夫人致以衷心的感谢和良好的祝愿。

您恭敬的　陶文濬

1916年3月16日

（四）

亲爱的威特曼先生：

如果我提到的诸位有任何捐赠，可否烦请您让德芬德弗先生将其交给第五大道156号金陵大学司库卡特尔先生，以代替巴来先生信中所说的戴先生。

另外还请您问一下德芬德弗先生，是他直接写信募捐，还是为我写封介绍信以打开一条个人接洽的通道更为相宜？

您真诚的　陶文濬

（此信原件系手写稿，且未标明日期，约写于1917年初）

NOTES　注释

CHINA IN TRANSITION 中国在转变中

1 Published on *Liu Mei Tsing Nien*, Vol. 3, No. 3, March 1917, signed by Wen Tsing Tao.
英文原文载1917年3月《留美青年》（北美中国基督徒留学生协会出版的英文杂志）第3卷第3期。作者署名陶文濬。

2 Joseph Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936), born in India, English poet between the end of the 19th century and the 20th century, winner of 1907 Nobel Prize for literature.
约瑟夫•拉迪亚德•吉卜林(1865—1936)，生于印度，英国19世纪与20世纪之交著名诗人，1907年获诺贝尔文学奖。

3 Edward Alsworth Ross (1896-1951), American sociologist.
爱德华•阿尔斯沃思•罗斯（1896—1951），美国社会学家。

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN CHINA 中国的道德与宗教教育

1 Published on *Liu Mei Tsing Nien*, Vol. 3. No. 1, November 1916 and No. 2, January 1917.
英文原文载《留美青年》1916年11月第3卷第1期和1917年1月第3卷第2期。

2 *Chinese Government Educational Bulletin*, Vol. 2. No. 12. p. 27.
《教育公报》第二卷第12期，第27页。

3 See Table I.
见表1。

4 R. E. Hughes. *The Making of Citizens*, pp. 30, 58, 194, 201.
R. E.休斯，《公民的造就》，第30，58，194，201页。

5 Ibid. pp. 66, 67, 95, 100, 178, 192, 201, 235.
同上书，第66，67，95，100，178，192，201，235页。

6 Ibid. pp. 193, 237, 260.
同上书，第193，237，260页。

7 A. W. Weber. *State Control of Instruction*, p. 85.
A. W.韦伯，《教学的国家管理》，第85页。

8 R. E. Hughes. *The Making of Citizens*. pp. 106, 107, 121, 192, 193, 213, 227.
R. E.休斯，《公民的造就》，第106，107，121，192，193，213，227页。

9 See Table II.
见表2。
10 See Table III.
见表3。
11 See Table IV.
见表4。
12 E. L. Thorndike. *The Original Nature of Man*, p. 2.
E. L.桑代克，《人的本性》，第2页。
13 Ibid. *The Psychology of Learning*. pp. 1-5.
同上，《学习心理学》，第1—5页。
14 John Dewey. *Democracy and Education*, pp. 414-417.
约翰·杜威，《民主主义与教育》，第414—417页。
15 Suin Tze. *On Education*, p. 2.
荀子，《劝学篇》，第2页。
16 E. L. Thorndike. *The Original Nature of Man*, pp. 280-293.
E. L.桑代克，《人的本性》，第280—293页。
17 J. M. Baldwin. *Social and Ethical Interpretation*, Ch. 1.
J. M.鲍德温，《心理发展中的社会性和伦理的诠释》，第一章（1897年）。
18 W. Macdougall. *Social Psychology*, Ch. VII and VIII.
W.麦独孤，《社会心理学导论》，第7、8章。
19 New Testament, John. 10th Chapter, 14, 15, 17 and 18.
《新约全书·约翰福音》。第10章第14、15、17、18节。
20 *The Philosophy of Wang Yang-Ming*, translated by F. G. Henke; John Dewey. *Democracy and Education*, pp. 385-401, pp. 410-414.
《王阳明哲学》，F. G.亨克译；约翰·杜威，《民主主义与教育》，第385—401、410—414页。
21 英文原文在此有遗漏，前后不连贯，这里依据译者的理解加上前半句。（译者注）

EDUCATION IN CHINA 1924 1924年的中国教育

1 *Education in China 1924*, by Tao Tchi-shin, General Director of Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education, and C. P. Chen, Professor of Education in National Southeastern University, was first published in book form in June 1925 by the Commercial Press. This paper has been adapted and added preface by Tao Tchi-shin, named as“China,”republished in the *Educational Yearbook* 1924,which is edited by Teachers College of Columbia University, signed by W. Tchi-shin

Tao, M.A.

陶行知（中华教育改进社总干事）、程其保（国立东南大学教育系教授）著《1924年的中国教育》，商务印书馆1925年6月出版发行。本文经陶行知修订并增加长篇导言后，以《中国》为题，重刊在美国哥伦比亚大学师范学院国际研究所的1924年《教育年鉴》，署名“陶知行硕士”。

2 Hu Suh.“The Chinese Renaissance,”Bulletins on Chinese Education, 1923, The Commercial Press, 1925, p. 33.

胡适：《中国的文艺复兴》，《英文中国最近教育状况》，商务印书馆1925年出版，第33页。

3 根据相关资料，该次会议应是1921年11月底在广州召开。（译者注）

4 T.B.C.F.测量编制法：T（Total Ability）分数代表被试某种特性的总能力；B （Brightness）分数代表被试的聪明程度（B＝T+校正分数）；C（Classification）代表分级分数；F（Effort或Efficiency）分数代表学生的努力程度。（编者注）

CHINA 中国

1 *China*, by W. Tchi-shin Tao, M.A., General Director of Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education, was first published in the *Educational Yearbook* of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, 1924. This is the selection of the first part of the paper;the second part is the same as *Education in China* 1924 and omitted.

《中国》一文是中华教育改进社总干事陶行知硕士所写，首次发表于哥伦比亚大学师范学院国际研究所所编的1924年《教育年鉴》。这里所选的是第一部分，第二部分与《1924年中国教育状况》内容相同，略去。

2 Manchu Monarchy：指清朝君主政体。（编者注）

3 Manchuria：满洲，旧指中国东北一带。（编者注）

4 *North China Daily News*, Sixtieth Anniversary Number, p. 2.

《字林西报》60年专号第2版（1924年7月14日）。

5 *China Weekly Review*, September 27, 1924, p. 110.

《密勒氏评论周报》，1924年9月27日，第110页。

6 *North China Daily News*, Sixtieth Anniversary Number, p. 33.

《字林西报》60年专号第33版（1924年7月14日）。

7 *China Weekly Review*, March 22, 1924, p. 115.

《密勒氏评论周报》，1924年3月22日，第115页。

8 Ibid. July 12, 1924, p. 180.

《密勒氏评论周报》，1924年7月12日，第180页。

CHINA (1938) 中国**(1938)**

1 "China (1938)," by H. C. Tao, Ph.D., Director of National Liberation Education Association, was first published in the *Educational Yearbook* of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938.

本文为1938年国难教育社社长陶行知博士应编者约稿而写，最初以英文发表于哥伦比亚大学师范学院国际研究所1938年的《教育年鉴》。

2 Amur：黑龙江（Heilong Jiang），俄语音"阿穆尔"。（编者注）

3 埃德加·斯诺（1905—1972）：美国记者，《西行漫记》等书作者。（译者注）

THE VILLAGE EDUCATION MOVEMENT 中国乡村教育之一斑

1 This paper is one of the reports to the World Conference of Education at Toronto, Canada, August 1927, signed by Tao Chi-shin, which was edited in Chapter XXIII of Collectanea.

本篇系中国送交1927年8月于加拿大多伦多举行的世界教育会议的报告之一，作者署名陶知行，收入会议文集第23章。

2 Mukden：沈阳，满语音为"mukden hoton"，又名盛京、奉天。（编者注）

MR. H. CHI'S NEW CONTRIBUTION 祁氏汉语字典的新贡献

1 Published on *The Chinese Student's Monthly*, Vol. 12, No. 2, Dec. 1916, signed by Wen Tsing Tao. The original note as follows：The new device of the dictionary has already been brought to China by Dr. C. Chu for publication. With a view of facilitating circulation, the dictionary has been made as a free offer to the Commercial Press to that effect. Both the dictionary and Mr. Chi's Index System, another byproduct of the typewriter, will be published soon.

本文原载1916年12月《中国学生月刊》（赴美中国留学生联合会出版的英文杂志）第12卷第2期，作者署名陶文濬。原注如下：新版的字典已由Dr. C. Chu带到中国出版，为促发行起见，该字典免收版税，交由商务印书馆出版。该字典和祁先生编的索引——打字机的另一个副产品——都将在不久后公开于世。

CREATIVE EDUCATION 创造性教育

1 Published on *Education Review*, Vol. 25, No. 3, July 1933. Signed by W. T. Tao. The original note as follows：Notes from an address delivered to

the International Educational Association of Shanghai, and to the Council on Primary Education of the China Christian Educational Association, reported by Clara Pearl Dyer and Isabelle Lewis Main.

原载1933年7月《教育评论》第25卷第3期，作者署名陶文濬。原注如下：此系作者向上海国际教育委员会和中华基督教教育会小学教育委员会所作的演讲记录。克拉拉·珀尔·戴尔和伊莎贝尔·刘易斯·梅因报道。

THE LITTLE TEACHER AND THE LITERACY MOVEMENT 小先生与识字运动

1 Published on *Education Review*, Vol. 26, No. 3, July 1934;signed by W. T. Tao. The original paper ended as follows：Dr. Tao's talk was followed by a note of thanks and a period of discussion which ended the morning session.

原载1934年7月《教育评论》第26卷第3期，作者署名陶文濬。[系1934年4月16日上午在中华基督教教育会小学教育委员会上的讲话记录。]原文结尾道：陶博士的谈话得到一致感谢，经过一段讨论后结束上午的会议。

THE NEW MASS EDUCATION MOVEMENT 新大众教育运动

1 Written by Professor Tao Xing-zhi (spelt according to a new alphabetical system of written Chinese);first published on March 15, 1936, in *Voice of China*, Shanghai (No. 1, Vol. 1).

《新大众教育运动》，第一次发表于1936年3月15日《中国呼声》英文版月刊（上海；第1期，第1卷），署名陶行知（采用拼音化新文字的方式拼写为“Tao Xing-zhi”）。

CHINA:THE MASS EDUCATION MOVEMENT 中国大众教育运动

1 This was a report made by Dr. Heng-Chih Tao at the Seventh World Conference of the New Education Fellowship held at Cheltenham, England, in August 1936. Dr. Tao was one of the two representatives from China attending the conference. His report appeared later in the year 1936 in *The Freedom We Seek* edited by Mr. Wyatt Rawson.

本篇是陶行知于1936年8月在英国切尔滕纳姆市举行的新教育联谊会第七次世界会议上的发言，陶行知是中国出席该会的两名代表之一，该文收入1936年底由怀亚特·罗森编辑的《我们追求的自由》文集。

THE PEOPLE'S EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN CHINA 中国的人民教育运动

1 When the first part of this article was published in *Harijan*, Oct. 29, 1938,

the great leader of the Indian people Mahatma Gandhi prefixed a short note to it, which reads as follows："When Dr. Heng-Chih Tao visited me some time ago I invited him to give me a note on the remarkable People's Education Movement going on in China. He has now sent the following instructive note which cannot but be useful to us in India. —M. K. Gandhi. It was reprinted in book form from the Indian magazine *Harijan*, Oct. 29, Nov. 5, Nov. 19, 1938, by Life Education Association, Chungking, Nov. 7, 1945.

本文于1938年10月29日开始在印度《民族旗帜》杂志上连载，第一部分发表时，印度民族运动领袖甘地曾加按语云："陶行知博士不久前来访时，我邀请他撰文介绍正在中国开展的引人注目的人民教育运动。现在，他寄来下面这篇有指导意义的文章。这篇文章对我们印度是很有用的。——M.　K.甘地。"1945年11月7日重庆生活教育社将《民族旗帜》1938年10月29日、11月5日、11月19日上连载的文稿印成单行本。

2　Amoy：15—16世纪葡萄牙殖民主义者对厦门的称呼。（编者注）

WAR IN CHINA:STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY OR SLAVERY 中国的抗战是不自由就受奴役的斗争

1　A speech made by Dr. Heng-Chih Tao in Vancouver, Canada, in April 14, 1938. The report of the speech was published in the Vancouver newspaper *Sun* on April 20, 1938.

本文是陶行知1938年4月14在加拿大温哥华的演讲稿，相关报道1938年4月20日由温哥华《太阳报》刊出。

2　蒂珀雷里位于爱尔兰岛南部的南蒂珀雷里郡，1938年仍属英联邦。（编者注）

EDUCATION FOR ALL 全民教育

1　This is the reprint of the pamphlet *Education for All—A Preliminary Plan of Promoting Democratic Education for the Four Hundred Million People in China* published by Life Education Association, Chungking, September 18, 1945.Some slight alterations, however, have been made according to the author's manuscript.

本文是1945年9月18日重庆生活教育社印行的小册子《全民教育——促进四万万中国人民民主教育初步计划》重刊，根据作者的手迹作了少许改动。

2　Chinese Turkistan：指今新疆地区。（编者注）

YU TSAI SCHOOL FOR TALENTED REFUGEE CHILDREN 培养难童人才幼苗的育才学校

1 First published in book form on September 18, 1945, by Yu Tsai School, Beipei, Chungking.

于1945年9月18日由重庆北碚育才学校以单行本的方式首次出版。

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ABOUT YU TSAI SCHOOL 就育才学校情况回答罗格夫人提问

1 Dr. H. C. Tao gave on this letter his address as“Yu Tsai School, Beipei, Chungking,China” and the address of the addressee as “The Walt Whitman School, 25 East 78th Street, New York, U.S.A.”

陶行知写此信的地址为：中国重庆北碚育才学校，收信人地址为：美国纽约第78大街东25号，华尔特·惠特曼学校。

2 The United China Relief consists of the China Aid Council and many other members.

美国援华联合会由美国援华会、［美国公谊服务会、中国战灾难童委员会、美国医药援华会、中华基督教大学联合董事会、美国对华急救委员会、美国教会对华救济会、中国工业合作协会美国委员会］等团体会员组成。

3 Miss Gerlach：Talitha Gerlach (1896-1995), born in U.S.A.

耿丽淑（1896—1995），美国人，原名塔利塞·格拉克。

SEEKING FINANCIAL AID FROM FOREIGN FRIENDS FOR YU TSAI SCHOOL 吁请外国友人资助育才学校

1 The mailing list attached to this letter is as follows： Lady Cripps, British Aid to China, London;S. Exc. Sir Horace James Seymour, British Aid to China, British Embassy;Secretary K. K. Kuok, British Aid to China, Central Bank of China;Mr. John Blofield;Dr. Dorothy Needham;R. Blunt;Mr. Wright;Lady Seymour.

此信收信人除当时在英国援华会任职的克里普斯夫人外，信末尚附有以下收信人名单：英国大使馆、英国援华会薛穆爵士；中国中央银行、英国援华会秘书柯克；约翰·布洛菲尔德先生，多萝西?尼达姆博士，布朗特先生，赖特先生，以及薛穆夫人。

ON“CREATIVE RELIEF” 关于**“**创造性的救济**”**

1 Dr. H. C. Tao gave his address on this letter as“28 Kuan Chia Hang, Chungking”(the Chungking Office of Yu Tsai School). The Morning Village Research Institute aimed at training senior researchers in certain fields of natural and social sciences through advanced studies based on experimentation. The name of“Morning Village”had its origin in“Xiao Zhuang,”a village near Nanjing where the well-known“Xiao Zhuang (Morning Village) School”was founded by Dr. H. C. Tao in March 1927.

陶行知发出这封信的地址是：重庆管家巷28号（育才学校驻重庆办事处）。晓庄研究所旨在通过实验基础上的高深研究培养自然和社会领域的高级研究人才，“晓庄”一词源于南京郊外的村庄“晓庄”，因陶行知1927年3月在此创办晓庄学校而著名。

MY RéSUMé&MY PLAN OF LIFE CAREER 我的简历及终身志愿

1 J. E. Russell, Dean of Teachers College, Columbia University. Wen Tsing Tao：The original name of Tao Heng-Chih. Tao gave on this letter his address as“1010 Hartley Hall, Columbia University”and the address of the addressee as“Teachers College, Columbia University.”

罗素，时任美国哥伦比亚大学师范学院院长；陶文濬，陶行知的原名。此信发出的地址是：哥伦比亚大学哈特莱学生宿舍1010室，收信人地址是：哥伦比亚大学师范学院。

Appendix　附　录

Two Pieces of Mencius

Translated from“Liang Huiwang”and“Li Lou”respectively.

A Mencius was talking with the King Hsuan of Ch'i.

“Can I care for the people?”asked the King.

“Yes, you can,”said Mencius.

“How do you know that I can?”

“I have heard Hu Heh say,”answered Mencius,“that Your Royal Highness was one day sitting in the hall, and someone led a cow past the hall, and Your Royal Highness asked,‘Where are you leading the cow?’ and the man said,‘We are going to smear the bell with the cow's blood.’ Your Royal Highness said,‘Let the cow go. I cannot bear to see the cow shuddering, like an innocent man going to his execution ground.’The man said,‘Then shall we dispense with the ceremony of smearing the bell with blood?’ Your Royal Highness said,‘How can we abolish this ceremony? I do not know if it would do to substitute it with a sheep.’‘It would.’ was the reply. Now this kindly heart will enable you to rule over the whole country.The people think that you love the cow, but I know that you just could not bear to see the cow die.”

“Yes,”replied King Hsuan,“there are indeed people who say such things. However small my kingdom is, why should I love a cow? It was rather because I could not bearto see it shuddering, like an innocent man going to his execution ground, so I substituted a sheep for it.”

“Do not be surprised,”said Mencius,“that people think you love the cow. You substituted a small animal for a big one. How could they know your intentions? If you could not bear to see an animal die innocently, what difference was there between a cow and a sheep?”

King Hsuan laughed and said,“How could I have the heart to do such a thing? I did substitute the sheep for the cow because I considered the cow was worth more money. I am not surprised that people should think that way.”

“That does not matter,”said Mencius.“It is the way of the kind-hearted. You saw the cow, but you did not see the sheep. In regard to animals, a gentleman can see them live, but cannot bear to see them die. When he hears their cries, he cannot bear to eat their flesh.Therefore the gentleman always keeps away from the kitchen.”

B There was once a man in Ch'i Kingdom, who had a wife and a concubine.

Whenever this man went out, he always had meats and wines, and when his wife asked him who he had dined with, (he said) it was always with wealthy and noble friends. So the wife said to the concubine:“Whenever our good man goes out, he always dines on meats and wines, and when we asked him who he had dined with, it was always with wealthy and noble friends. But we never see any of his noble friends come to our house. I am going to watch him and see where he goes.”

She got up early and followed her good man to see where he went. In the whole Kingdom, no one talked with him. Finally he went to the Eastern Outer City, and begged of the people who were offering sacrifices (at the temples) to give him the left-overs, and having not yet been satisfied, he went on to begof other people.This was the way he ate and drank his fill.The wife returned and told the concubine:“A good man is a person we wish to rely on for life. But our good man behaves like this.”So the two women joined in railing against their husband, and were weeping in the courtyard.The husband, knowing nothing about all this, came back in his usual suave manner, and boasted as usual before his wife and concubine.

From the gentleman's point of view, people who seek for power and glory and wealth and whom their wives and concubines have not to be ashamed of and weep for are very few indeed.

孟子二篇

分别节译于《孟子·梁惠王》与《孟子·离娄》。

① 孟子与齐宣王谈。

曰："若寡人者，可以保民乎哉？"

曰："可。"

曰："何由知吾可也？"

曰："臣闻之胡龁曰，王坐于堂上，有牵牛而过堂下者，王见之，曰：'牛何之？'对曰：'将以衅钟。'王曰：'舍之！吾不忍其觳觫，若无罪而就死地。'对曰：'然则废衅钟与？'曰：'何可废也？以羊易之！'不识有诸？"

曰："有之。"

曰："是心足以王矣。百姓皆以王为爱也，臣固知王之不忍也。"

曰：然。诚有百姓者。齐国虽褊小，吾何爱一牛？即不忍其觳觫，若无罪而就死地，故以羊易之也。"

曰："王无异于百姓之以王为爱也。以小易大，彼恶知之？王若隐其无罪而就死地，则牛羊何择焉？"

王笑曰："是诚何心哉？我非爱其财。而易之以羊也，宜乎百姓之谓我爱也。"

曰："无伤也，是乃仁术也，见牛未见羊也。君子之于禽兽也，见其生，不忍见其死；闻其声，不忍食其肉。是以君子远庖厨也。"

② 齐人有一妻一妾而处室者，其良人出，则必餍酒肉而后反。其妻问所与饮食者，则尽富贵也。其妻告其妾曰："良人出，则必餍酒肉而后反；问其与饮食者，尽富贵也，而未尝有显者来，吾将瞷良人之所之也。"

蚤起，施从良人之所之，遍国中无与立谈者。卒之东郭墦间，之祭者，乞其余；不足，又顾而之他，此其为餍足之道也。其妻归，告其妾，曰："良人者，所仰望而终身也，今若此。"与其妾讪其良人，而相泣于中庭。而良人未之知也，施施从外来，骄其妻妾。

由君子观之，则人之所以求富贵利达者，其妻妾不羞也，而不相泣者，几希矣。

The Tiger and the Donkey

Rewritten from the fable entitled“A Donkey in Gueizhou(Kweichow) Province”by Liu Zongyuan (AD 773-819), a famous Chinese writer of the Tang Dynasty (AD 618-907).

Mere talk has always been another of our banes, which reminds me of a story (perhaps, with a moral) about a tiger and a donkey in Kweichow Province. In that remote region there lived a Tiger, but never any other quadruped of any size, until someone imported a Donkey. One day the Tiger met the Donkey, and was startled by its size and formidable appearance;sat back on its haunches and soliloquised:“Is this threatening looking stranger going to conquer me?”He mused, as he meticulously surveyed the armament of the Donkey,“Golly! He has four hard rocks on the ends of his legs;he has a big head, full of great teeth. And I ask you just to look at those ears.”The Tiger crept slowly around the Donkey.“By god,”said Old Stripes,“I must be careful. He may be as dangerous as he looks. I'II find out.” The Donkey grazed quietly, as donkeys usually do.The Tiger crept about as silently as he could. He studied the Donkey from behind, gave a quick nip at his fetlocks. A hee-haw, a squeal, a fast-flying pair of heels, and back the Donkey went to his grazing.“So that's that,”quoth the Tiger with a sigh of relief,“I'II try the front side.” He pondered as the Donkey's strong array of teeth bit at the grass. Then he deftly nipped the Donkey's long ear.The Donkey brayed, squealed in panic, swiftly pivoted, lashed the atmosphere with his heels, and settled down once again to the job of feeding on the grass. “Ah ha,” laughed the Tiger, stroking his whiskers, and licking his chops,“You can only talk;you are not half as dangerous as you look;you can only squeal and kick;you are—why, bless me! You are one of those pacifists. Dang it, I'Il eat you.”And he did.

老虎与笨驴

在唐代（公元618—907)著名文学家柳宗元（公元773—819)所写《黔之驴》基础上改写而成。

空谈一直是我们的另一个祸根，由此引发我联想到一个发生在贵州的老虎与笨驴的故事（或许带有寓意）。在那偏僻的地方住着一只老虎，但没有其他或大或小的四足（哺乳）动物，直到有人运进一头驴。有一天老虎看到驴，因其体形高大、生相恐怖而大吃一惊，坐在那里自言自语：“这只看起来很吓人的怪物是来制服我的吗？”它仔细地观察驴的“装备”，默默地想，天哪！它的四条腿末端长着铁硬的蹄壳；巨大的头，满嘴的大牙。再看看那两只耳朵。”老虎绕着驴缓缓地来回移动着，“老天作证，”老条纹（虎）说，“我必须小心翼翼。它看起来很危险。我会弄清楚。”驴在静静地吃草，就如同一般的驴惯常的那样。老虎尽可能轻轻地走动着，从驴的身后细细端详，快速地咬了一口它后蹄上的丛毛。驴大叫，一声长啼，一对后蹄飞速踢过去——驴又继续回去吃草。“就这点本领，”老虎宽慰地舒了一口气道，“我得从前边试一试。”驴用它那强壮的大牙吃着草，老虎则在一边沉思着，然后非常灵巧地咬了一口驴的长耳朵。驴嘶叫起来，哀痛长鸣，快速打转，蹄子腾空扑打，一会儿又安静下来继续吃它的草去了。“啊哈，”老虎大笑，抚着腮须，轻拍胸脯，“你只会叫，你连你长相的一半危险都没有，你只会叫和踢，你是——哎呀！你就是那些不抵抗主义者中的一员。畜生，我要吃了你。”于是他把驴吃掉了。

The Appointment of Kuan Yu for the Defence of Chingchow

A story from *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* by Lo Guan-zhong (AD 1330-1400).

Man Chung was well received and conducted into the city and into the presence of Sun Chuan. He presented his letter at the conclusion of the ceremonies of reception and declared his mission.

“Wu and Wei have no fundamental quarrel, and their dissension has been brought about by Liu Pei. My master sends me to covenant with you for an attack on Chingchow, while he goes against Han and Chuan.This double attack being successful, the conquered country can be divided between you two and you can both swear to respect each other's territory.”

Having read the letter, Sun Chuan prepared a banquet in honor of Man Chung and then sent him to the guest-house to rest while he discussed the matter with his council of advisors.

Said Ku Yung,“Although the messenger's speech was correct in form, it was a special pleading. I propose that the messenger be allowed to return and that a covenant be made with Ts'ao Ts'ao for a joint attack. In addition, let spies be sent over the river to find out Kuan Yu's movements, and then we may act.”

Chuko Chin said,“I hear that since Kuan Yu has been in Chingchow, Liu Pei has found him a wife, who has borne him a son and a daughter.The daughter is too young to have been betrothed, wherefore let me go to ask for her to be married to your heir. If Kuan Yu consents, we can arrange with him to attack Ts'ao; otherwise, if Kuan refuses, then we can aid Ts'ao in an attack on Chingchow.”

Sun took this advice. So he sent Man Chung away and sent Chuko Chin to Chingchow to try to arrange for the betrothal. Chuko Chin was received; and when the time came to state the reason for his coming, Kuan Yu asked him bluntly what he had come for.

“I have come to try to ally the two houses. My master, the Marquis of Wu, has a son who is quite clever. Hearing that you have a daughter, General, I ask for their marriage, whereby the two houses may join in an attack on Ts'ao Ts'ao.This would be an admirable result and I pray you to consider the proposal.”

But the warrior flared up.“How can my tiger daughter marry a dog's whelp? Were it not for your brother, I would take your head. Say no more!”

Kuan Yu called his servants to hustle off the hapless messenger, who ran away with hands over his head, too astonished to look anyone in the face, and reaching his own place, he dared not hide the manner in which he was received, but told the whole truth.

“What ruffianism!”exclaimed the marquis.

Thereupon he ordered the council again to consider an attack on Chingchow.

关羽受命守荆州

出自罗贯中（公元1330—1400)所著《三国演义》。

（孙）权依其言，令众谋士接满宠入城相见。礼毕，权以宾礼待宠。宠呈上操书，曰：“吴、魏自来无仇，皆因刘备之故，致生衅隙。魏王差某到此，约将军攻取荆州，魏王以兵临汉川，首尾夹击。破刘之后，共分疆土，誓不相侵。”孙权览书毕，设筵相待满宠，送归馆舍安歇。权与众谋士商议。顾雍曰：“虽是说词，其中有理。今可一面送满宠回，约会曹操，首尾相击；一面使人过江探云长动静，方可行事。”诸葛瑾曰：“某闻云长自到荆州，刘备娶与妻室，先生一子，次生一女。其女尚幼，未许字人。某愿往与主公世子求婚。若云长肯许，即与云长计议共破曹操；若云长不肯，然后助曹取荆州。”孙权用其谋，先送满宠回许都；却遣诸葛瑾为使，投荆州来。入城见云长，礼毕。云长曰：“子瑜此来何意?”瑾曰：“特来求结两家之好：吾主吴侯有一子，甚聪明；闻将军有一女，特来求亲。两家结好，并力破曹。此诚美事，请君侯思之。”

云长勃然大怒曰：“吾虎女安肯嫁犬子乎！不看汝弟之面，立斩汝首！再休多言！”遂唤左右逐出。瑾抱头鼠窜，回见吴侯；不敢隐匿，遂以实告。权大怒曰：“何太无礼耶！”便唤张昭等文武官员，商议取荆州之策。

Two Jokes

Sources unknown;duplicate copies found in thefiles of the Tao Heng-Chih Museum at Xiao Zhuang Normal School in Nanjing.

Special Trenches A fellow was trying to dodge military service.

“I am afraid my short-sightedness will prevent me from doing any actual fighting.”he said.The M.O. replied cheerfully: “That's Okay, old chap. We've got special trenches for the short-sighted ones. Right up close to the enemy—you just can't miss seeing 'em.”

Anatomy School Rector may Execute Criminals The rector of a school of anatomy wrote to the executioner asking if the executions could be carried out with less savagery so that the bodies would be better suited for scientific purposes.

The executioner politely replied:“I am happy to be able to render a service to science, and in order to avoid further error I will from now on send you the bandits living so that you may kill them in the manner that seems best to you.”

笑话两则

出处不详，南京晓庄师范学校陶行知纪念馆存有复制件。

特殊的战壕　有个人想躲壮丁。

“我怕我的近视眼真正打起仗来不管用。”他说。军医宽慰地回答道：“没问题，老兄，我们专为近视的人修了一种特殊的战壕。就紧靠在敌人的边上——你不会看不见他们的。”

解剖学校校长可以处死罪犯　解剖学校的校长写信给死刑犯执行人，问行刑的时候能否不那么残忍，以便使尸体能更好地用于科学研究。

执行人客气地答道：“能为科学服务，我感到很高兴。为了避免一错再错，从现在起，我会送活土匪给您，请您用您认为最合适的方式处死他们吧。”

Look in Vain

Translated from a Chinese folk into English;first published in *The University of Nanking Magazine*, No. 1, Vol. IV, February 1913.

Men who expect to get rid of poverty would naturally ask the God of Wealth for help. This is why, during the New Year's season, so many persons, men and women, boys and girls, gather in the temple of the God of Wealth, praying, fasting and burning paper gold and silver in the hope of gaining the so-called philosopher stone in return. I would call it useless, because here is a story to illustrate it.

Once in the land of Wu-ho a husband and his wife, on the last night of the year, sat silently in a wretched cottage. With no money and no food they could only bend their heads and sigh:“Why doesn't the God of Wealth come?”No sooner did they murmur than the sky became clear;the clouds, bright;the doors of heaven opened and the God of Wealth, dignified and magnificent, came down before the poor pair.Then the wife knelt down, and the husband followed, kissing the God's feet.“I will give you three things you two first think of,”said the God.They were both glad to hear that. But the wife, having suffered hunger for three days, could endure no longer.“If the God should give me a piece of bread I would be very glad,”she thought within herself.The bread came down as soon as she thought. The husband, at the first glance, supposed that gold was coming, because the bread appeared yellow in colour. Laughing to himself, he took up the supposed gold. He found it to be light and soft. Instead of the precious metal, it was a piece of bread which cost no more than ten cash. He was filled with anger and cursed his wife, saying,“You great fool, let the bread fill up your mouth.”The bread jumped into the wife's mouth at once, which seemed to obey his command. Of the things two had gone. The husband with anger on the one hand and despair on the other began to think of something he most needed. His wife's mouth was blocked, breathing was checked, and speaking was not permitted. She now wished to free herself from the bread which she formerly eagerly demanded. As she thought thus, the bread flew away, and the God disappeared. The man and the woman, with their frowning faces, blamed each other till the dawn of day when they were exhausted and fell asleep.The Chinese proverb says,“Look in vain.”

徒托空望

由中国民间故事翻译成英文，第一次公开发表于1913年2月英文版《金陵光》第4卷第1期。

想摆脱贫困的人自然会想得到财神帮助。这就是为什么每逢年关，就有那么多的人，男的、女的，小伙子或大姑娘，都去财神庙祈祷、斋戒、烧金银纸，以祈望获得所谓的“点金石”回报。我想告诉大家这样没用，这里有个故事足以说明。

曾经有一对夫妇，居于无禾之地，在年终岁毕之夜，静静地坐在简陋的小屋中。由于无钱无粮，只得低头叹息，“财神为何不来?”就在他们低语怨恨之际，天空清朗，云雾袭来，闪电四射，天门大开，尊贵而又壮丽的财神下凡来到这对可怜人面前。妻子当即跪倒在地，丈夫跟着跪下，亲吻财神之脚。“我将给你们三样你们最先想到的东西，”财神说。他们闻言大喜。但妻子已经饿了三天了，不能再忍受了，“如果财神能给我一片面包我就十分高兴了，”她私下默想。念头一起，面包就从天而降。而由于面包外表是黄色的，丈夫一眼望去以为是金子飘来，不禁大笑，当他抓起他想象中的“金子”，发现它又轻又软。原来那不是什么贵重的金属，而是不值几文钱的面包。他怒气冲天地咒骂妻子道：“你这个大笨蛋，让这片面包塞住你的嘴。”这片面包立即就跳到妻子的嘴里，就好像是遵照他的指令。至此两样东西已经过去了。丈夫一面生气，一面感到失望地开始想他最需要的是什么。而他妻子的嘴被塞住了，不能呼吸，不能说话。她此时最想将她曾经热切期盼的面包吐出来。她这样一想，面包就飞走了，财神也消失不见了。这对男女愁眉苦脸，相互指责，直到天明才精疲力尽地入睡。这事应了中国古谚“徒托空望”。

Three Famous Chinese Stories

Translated from Chinese into English;firstpublished in *The University of Nanking Magazine*, No. 3, Vol. IV, April 1913.

Tong Fang Soh, the Humorist Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, though a man of great genius, was very superstitious. Believing in fairies, many times he sent men to Peng Lai to seek“ambrosia”so that he might live eternally in this world by eating it. Once a Taoist claimed to have some sort of such ambrosia, the so-called honeydew and deceitfully presented it to the Emperor in the hope of gaining a high position.The Emperor heard of it gladly and appointed Tong Fang Soh, one of his ministers to receive it and to see that it was carefully protected. But as soon as Tong Fang Soh received the bottle, he boldly drank all the honeydew. Taking the empty bottle in his hand, he went back to the Emperor Wu.“Have you got the honeydew?”asked the Emperor.“Yes,”replied Tong Fang Soh,“but, I beg your pardon, I have drunk all of it.”Hearing this with unbearable anger, the Emperor condemned him to death.“May I be permitted to speak a word before I go to the execution ground?”“You may,”remarked the Emperor,“What will you say?”Then the humorist sarcastically said, “If the honeydew is a true medicine for giving eternal life, then you can never put me to death because I have drunk it. But if it is false, it will be worth nothing to you, and what use can it be to take your revenge upon my life by means of a false medicine?” Hearing this, the Emperor could only laugh and finally for-gave him.

The Spear and the Shield Han Fei was a well-known debater in the time of Lih Kwoh, whose famous work, *Han Tze* (《韩子》), tells us about a spear-and-shield maker. We derive our idiom“spear and shield,”which signifies any self-con-tradiction, from this short and interesting story.

There was once a man who wished to sell his spear and shield. Holding up his shield, he said to the passers-by,“This shield I made is impregnable;nothing can penetrate it.” But when he took up his spear he would say,“Sharp is my spear;nothing can resist its point.”Then someone asked him,“What would you say if I should pierce your shield with your spear?”The seller was forced to be silent.

The Kingfisher and the Clam This fable was uttered by Su Tai in the attempt to persuade the country Chao and the country Yen to join forces against the country Tsin.

Just when a clam came out and opened its shell to receive a little sunshine, a kingfisher tried to pick at its meat.The clam immediately closed its shell and firmly held the bird's beak. The kingfisher said to the clam,“If it does not rain today, and does not rain tomorrow,surely I shall have your life.”“If today you cannot get out and tomorrow you cannot get out, there will be a dead kingfisher, too,”replied the clam. So these two would not loose each other till a fisherman came calmly by and, laughing up his sleeve at the feast, caught both of them.

中国著名民间故事三篇

由中文翻译成英文，第一次公开发表于1913年4月英文版《金陵光》第4卷第3期。

幽默家东方朔　汉武帝虽然雄才大略，但他极其迷信神怪。他总是想着长生不老，相信仙人，多次派人到蓬莱去寻找不死之药，以期自己吃后能长生不老。一次一名方士声称自己有一坛“仙酒”，并诈称要献给皇帝，以求获得高官。武帝闻之大喜，命朝臣东方朔前往接受仙酒并细心监护。但东方朔一拿到这坛酒，就大胆地将它一饮而尽。他拿着空坛子回来见汉武帝。“你拿到了仙酒?”武帝问。“是，”东方朔回禀道，“但，臣恳请宽恕，臣已将它一饮而尽。”武帝闻言怒不可遏，处东方朔死罪。“臣能否在赴死之前说一句话?”“你说吧，”武帝道，“你想说什么?”然后，这位幽默家调侃道：“如果它真的是不死之药，那么您就不能处死臣，因为我喝了它。但如果它是假的，它对您就没有任何意义，皇上为了这假药而要臣的小命又有何用?”武帝闻言不禁大笑，饶了他一命。

矛与盾　韩非是列国时期著名的辩论家，他的名著《韩子》中，记述了一位矛与盾的制作者。成语“自相矛盾”便源自这篇简短而又有趣的故事，表示任何难以自圆其说的说法。

楚人有鬻与矛者，誉之曰：“吾之坚，莫能陷也。”又誉其矛曰：吾矛之利，于物无不陷也。”或曰：以子之矛陷子之，何如？”其人弗能应也。

鹬蚌相争　这则寓言故事讲的是（战国时谋士）苏代试图游说赵国和燕国联合一致对抗秦国。

蚌方出曝，而鹬啄其肉，蚌合而箝其喙。鹬曰：“今日不雨，明日不雨，即有死蚌。”蚌亦谓鹬曰：“今日不出，明日不出，即有死鹬。”两者不肯相舍，渔者得而并禽之。

A Farmer's Picture of Confucius

一位农人之孔子观

Oh!That man toils not his hands and feet,

四体不勤，

Distinguishes not the corns that he likes to eat.

五谷不分，

What is he that pretends to teach?

孰为夫子？！

Wood Orchid 木兰诗

First published in *The University of Nanking Magazine*, No. 8, Vol. IV,January 1914, in which the translator noted,“This poem is a translation from a Chinese poem written in the Tang Dynasty. The translator is indebted to Mr. Henry Clemons for the poetical form.”首次发表于1914年1月英文版《金陵光》第4卷第8期。当时译者注道：“这首诗译自中国唐代民歌。译者感谢亨利·克莱蒙斯先生在诗歌形式上的帮助。”

A soft sound steals upon the ear.

唧唧复唧唧，

Before the window sits Wood Orchid weaving.

木兰当户织。

But the soft sound is not the humming of the loom and the shuttle;

不闻机杼声，

'Tis the sigh of the maiden.

惟闻女叹息。

Whither wend the maiden's memories?

问女何所思，

Whither wend the maiden's fancies?

问女何所忆。

Lo, it was neither memory nor fancy

女亦无所思，

that gave birth to the maiden's sigh.

女亦无所忆。

Yesterday might came war's dread mandates;

昨夜见军帖，

Ko-han is mustering a great army;

可汗大点兵。

Many were the mandates,

军书十二卷，

Each bore my father's name.

卷卷有爷名。

No elder son hath my father,

阿爷无大儿，

Wood Orchid hath no elder brother;

木兰无长兄。

I would buy saddle and charger,
愿为市鞍马，
I, even I, would fain battle in the stead of my sire.
从此替爷征。
In the East Street I buy a speedy charger,
东市买骏马，
In the West Street I buy a steed's housings,
西市买鞍鞯，
In the South Street I buy reins and saddle,
南市买辔头，
In the North Street I buy whip and spurs.
北市买长鞭。
At dawn I go forth from my mother and my father;
朝辞爷娘去，
At eve I breathe my steed at the bank of the Yellow River:
暮宿黄河边。
No longer can I hear the lamentation of my parents;
不闻爷娘唤女声，
It is only the lapping of the swift current upon the river's strand.
但闻黄河流水鸣溅溅。
At dawn I go on from the foaming Yellow River,
旦辞黄河去，
At eve I seek repose at the fountain of the Black Water;
暮至黑水头。
No longer can I hear the lamentation of my parents;
不闻爷娘唤女声，
It is only the death moaning of the stricken foe.
但闻燕山胡骑声啾啾。
For ten thousand *li* we speed on, bearing over our engines of battle.
万里赴戎机，
Through many a mountain pass sounds the hurrying tread of our horses;
关山度若飞。
The biting north wind flings afar the clang of our night sentinel's clapper,
朔气传金柝，
Ghastly the cold moon beams glint as they seek out the dents in our armour.
寒光照铁衣。
Thus passed a full decade of warfare,

将军百战死，
A century of victories, costing many a leader's life.
壮士十年归。
Then they came back, strong hearted comrades,
归来见天子，
Came back, to see the Emperor enthroned in his palace halls.
天子坐明堂。
The achievements of the warriors are inscribed on the bamboo,
策勋十二转，
Myriads of cash are bestowed with lavish hand.
赏赐百千强。
Emperor Ko-han bids me say what reward I would wish for.
可汗问所欲，
But what reck I of rewards and Shang Shu Lang titles?
木兰不用尚书郎。
I would fain have a steed that can course over a thousand *li* daily.
愿借明驼千里足，
I would fain haste me back to the home of my parents.
送儿还故乡。
When the word comes that at last their warrior daughter returneth,
爷娘闻女来，
Forth from the city walls hurry father and mother to meet me;
出郭相扶将；
When the word comes that at last her younger sister returneth,
阿姊闻妹来，
Gayly the elder sister bedecks her garments to greet me;
当户理红妆；
When the word comes that at last his elder sister returneth,
小弟闻姊来，
Quickly the younger brother prepares with a feast to entreat me.
磨刀霍霍向猪羊。
Then once more I pass through the door of my morn lighted chamber,
开我东阁门，
Once more I rest on the couch that I often had sought at the sunset,
坐我西阁床。
Doff the dusty armour, heavy and worn from the fighting,
脱我战时袍，

Attire myself once more in the garments soft of my girlhood;

著我旧时裳：

Plait back my glossy hair, with a maidenly glance at the mirror,

当窗理云鬓，

Coyly adorning its sable strands with a fair Yellow Flower.

对镜帖花黄。

And then I step forth from my chamber,

出门看伙伴，

Bashfully greeting my erstwhile comrades of warfare—Blankly they gaze in amazement:

伙伴始惊惶。

Can it be that their long-time companion,

同行十二年，

Who had shared their privations and dangers? Is really Wood Orchid a maiden?

不知木兰是女郎。

The rabbit pairs run close to the ground,

雄兔脚扑朔，

Blindly intent on their little path;

雌兔眼迷离。

How should they know or care whether I be male or female?

两兔傍地走，
安能辨我是雄雌？

A Stanza of the Short Songs

短歌行

by T'sao T'sao

曹操

When the moon is bright and stars are rare,

The black crow's taking a southward flight.

Round a tree it's soaring thrice with care:

Which branch may be fit to stay for the night?

月明星稀，

乌鹊南飞，

绕树三匝，

何枝可依？

Home-coming

回乡偶书

贺知章

by Ho Chi-chang

少小离家老大回，

乡音无改鬓毛衰。

儿童相见不相识，

笑问客从何处来。

I left home when a boy;

And return as an old fogy.

Native tongue I can still speak,

Frost is on my hair, you see.

Children do not know me;When they meet me,
Smilingly they ask,
“Where from comes he?”

Night Meditation

by Li Pai

In the front of my bed, the moon sheds her light,

I suspect on the floor, frost has come.

With my head up, I see the moon bright;

Down, I am thinking of my old sweet home.

Drink Alone under Moon Light

静夜思

李白

床前明月光，

疑是地上霜。

举头望明月，

低头思故乡。

月下独酌

by Li Pai

In the midst of flowers, is a pot of wine.

Lonely I drink, with no beloved of mine.

Fair Moon! I raise my cup to greet thee.

With my shadow we've a party of three.

The moon knows no delight of drinking.

In vain the shadow follows my being.

For a short time can I join them both.
Let us enjoy when it is still spring.
The moon lingers as I am singing.

My shadow confused as I am dancing.

Awake we are happy together.

After drunk, each of us goes his own way.

This loveless friendship we keep forever.

May we meet again in the distant Milky Way.

李白

花间一壶酒，

独酌无相亲。

举杯邀明月，

对影成三人。

暂伴月将影，

行乐须及春。

我歌月徘徊，

我舞影零乱。

醒时同交欢，

醉后各分散。

永结无情游，

相期邈云汉。

The Bride

新嫁娘

王建

三日入厨下，

洗手作羹汤。

未谙婆食性，

先遣小姑尝。

by Wang Chien

The third day after wedding, the Bride enters kitchen.

She washes her hands and makes a soup of chicken.

Without knowing what her mother-in-law likes best,

She asks first her Groom's sister to have a taste.

Departure

赠别

by Du Mu

杜牧

Overlove appears to be loveless,

When cups abound we can't have smiling face.

The candle has a heart of sympathy,

Shedding tears for us till break of day.

多情却似总无情，

惟觉樽前笑不成。

蜡烛有心还惜别，

替人垂泪到天明。

A Traveller

by Ma Chih-yuan

Withered vine, old tree, a dusky crow;

Little bridge, streaming water, a cottage;

Ancient road, West wind, a bony horse.

The sun is setting,

A broken-hearted man on sky's edge.

征人

马致远

枯藤，老树，昏鸦；

小桥，流水，人家；

古道，西风，瘦马。

夕阳西下，

断肠人在天涯。

Chrysanthemum

菊花诗

by Chu Yuan-chang

朱元璋

(First Emperor of the Ming Dynasty)

(明太祖)

When all are in full blossom,

I do not bloom.

When I am in full bloom,

Be sealed their doom.

For fighting the West wind in October,

I have put on my golden armor.

百花发，

我不发。

我花发，

都骇杀，

要与西风战一场，

遍身穿就黄金甲。

Bamboo and Snow

雪竹诗

by Chu Yuan-chang

朱元璋

Bamboos become downcast in a snowfall.

雪压竹枝低，

Though down they never touch the mud at all.

虽低不着泥。

Once more when the red sun rises high,

一朝红日出，

They again measure up to the blue sky.

依旧与天齐。

On Congee

煮粥诗

by Chen Shi-guan

陈世倌

To cook rice or congee, which is better?

With our boys and girls discuss this matter.

One litre of grain may have the use of three.

Two days' food may last for six days, believe me.

Should guests come, we add water and fuel only.

No need for soup if our purse be empty.

Avoid not plain food for lack of delicacy.

Plain taste in plain food will feed us a long way.

煮饭何如煮粥强？

好同儿女细商量。

一升可作三升用，

两日堪为六日粮。

有客只须添水火，

无钱不必作羹汤。

莫嫌淡泊少滋味，

淡泊之中滋味长。

Rock Bamboo

岩竹诗

by Cheng Ban-chiao

郑板桥

The Green Mountain is tightly in its grip,

In the rugged rock it has struck its root deep.

Thru thousands of rubs and worries,

It's made invincible and strong.

Wind from East or West, South or North,
Accept this challenge of its own.

咬定青山不放松，

立根原在破岩中。

千磨万击还坚劲，

任尔东西南北风。

Cloth-selling

卖布谣

by Liu Ta-bai

Sister-in-law weaves cloth;
Elder brother sells the cloth.
Selling cloth, buying rice,
To obtain a meagre meal for hungry mouths.
Sister-in-law weaves cloth;
Elder brother sells the cloth.
Little brother's trousers are worn,
There is no cloth to mend the trousers with.
Sister-in-law weaves cloth;
Elder brother sells the cloth.
Who is it that buys the cloth?
The rich man in the town beyond.
Native cloth is coarse,
Foreign cloth is fine;
Foreign cloth is cheaper,
The rich man is glad.

刘大白

嫂嫂织布，
哥哥卖布。
卖布买米，
有饭落肚。
嫂嫂织布，
哥哥卖布，
小弟弟裤破，
没布补裤。
嫂嫂织布，
哥哥卖布。
是谁买布，
前村财主。
土布粗，
洋布细。
洋布便宜，
财主欢喜；

Native cloth now nobody wants;

土布没人要，

Starved must be brother and sister-in-law.

饿倒了哥哥和嫂嫂。

New Year Snow

新年雪

by Hsiung Shi-yi

熊式一

Wine brings a double cheer if snow be here.

对雪饮酒酒更香；

Snow takes a brighter white from song's delight.

高歌一曲雪增辉。

Ah, but when cups abound, and song is sweet,

但愿杯长满，歌长好，雪长飘，

And snow is falling round, the joy's complete.

欢乐极兮人忘归。

Miss Autumn Fragrance the Lonely Shepherdess

可怜的秋香

Warm be the sunshine

Sunshine,

Sunshine remembers:

It's kissed Miss Gold's face.

It's kissed Miss Silver's coat.

It's kissed the Childhood of Autumn.

Gold has papa.

Silver has mama.

Autumn! Where's your papa?

And your mama?

She, a shepherdess, still on the lawn

Taking care of

Her lambs! Her lambs! Her lambs!

The lonely Autumn, the lonely Autumn.
Gold has a brother.

Silver has a lover.

Autumn! Where's your brother?

And your lover?

暖和的太阳，

太阳，

太阳它记得：

照过金姐的脸，

照过银姐的衣裳，

也照过幼年时候的秋香。

金姐有爸爸呀，

银姐有妈妈呀。

秋香，你的爸爸呢？

你的妈妈呢？

她呀每天只在草场上

牧羊，牧羊，牧羊。

可怜的秋香！可怜的秋香！

金姐有哥哥呀！

银姐有爱人呀！

秋香，你的哥哥呢？

She, a shepherdess, still on the lawn

Taking care of

Her lambs! Her lambs! Her lambs!

The lonely Autumn, the lonely Autumn.

你的爱人呢？

她呀每天只在草场上，

牧羊，牧羊，牧羊。

可怜的秋香！可怜的秋香！

All Rise

义勇军进行曲

Arise, we who are not willing to be slaves!

With our blood and flesh,

We shall build our New Great Wall.

Our nation has reached

The most dangerous crisis,

Every one of us is compelled at last

To raise the Lion's roar.

Arise, arise, arise,

Let us unite!

Under the enemies' gunfire,

We march on!

Under the enemies' gunfire,
We march on, march on, march on and on!

起来，不愿作奴隶的人们！

把我们的血肉，

筑成我们新的长城。

中华民族到了最危险的时候，

每个人被迫着发出最后的吼声，

起来！起来！起来！

我们万众一心，

冒着敌人的炮火，

前进！

冒着敌人的炮火，

前进！前进！前进！进！

Growing Up

Oh, pear flowers in spring!

The pear tree top is each year growing.

Mother! Please don't have those tears.

I can carry the water in two years.

And in four years from now,

I can take care of the cow.

Little Cabbage

长起来

春天梨花开！

梨树每年长个头。

妈妈别把泪来流：

过两年儿能挑水，

四年后儿能守牛。

小白菜

Like a cabbage small,

Yellow on the ground.

Seven or eight was I when my mother died,

Good as gold I then followed after Dad.

La, le, la, le, la,

Father now I fear

Will re-wed a wife.

La, le, la, le, la,

Children that she brings, favours will receive.

Noodles they will eat, leaving me the soup.

Chopsticks bring to mind,

My mother dear.
If she thinks of me, is it any use?
La, le, la, le, la.
I shall long for her many, many days.
La, le, la, le, la.

小白菜呀，地里黄呀；

七八岁呀，没了娘呀。

跟着爹爹，好生过呀；

只怕爹爹，娶后娘呀。

生个弟弟，比我强呀；

弟弟吃面，我喝汤呀。

端起碗来，泪汪汪呀；

亲娘呀，亲娘呀！

亲娘想我，有何用呀？

我想亲娘，在梦中呀。

亲娘呀！亲娘呀！

Self-independence 自立歌

Composed in Chinese by Dr. H. C. Tao at the end of 1925.中文由陶行知原作于1925年底。

Drop our own sweat.
滴自己的汗，
Earn our own rice.
吃自己的饭，
Do our work with all our might,
自己的事自己干，
They who depend on others
靠人靠天靠祖上，
Can never rise.
不算是好汉。

The Song of the Dancing of the Sickle 镰刀歌

Composed in Chinese by Dr. H. C.Tao;the stanzas I&IV were composed on December 4, 1927, the stanzas II&III were first published in May 1935.中文词由陶行知所写，第1节和第4节写于1927年12月4日，第2节和第3节于1935年5月第一次发表。

I

一

The sun's rising, dundun, yahohei.

太阳起山墩墩，雅荷海。

The sickle's shining, hoho.

镰刀雪亮，荷荷。

Cutting off grasses, meyitseso,

遇着草儿割，梅绮紫梭，

Good for cooking.

捆去好烧锅，

'T will please popo, hoho.

见得婆婆，荷荷。

II

二

The sun's over head, dundun, yahohei.

太阳当顶墩墩，雅荷海。

Cut! Cut! hoho.

砍啊砍啊，荷荷。

Maidens, listen! meyitseso.

大姑娘听啊，梅绮紫梭，

'f flowers are cut off,

好花儿砍掉，

Nothing to deck, hoho.

没有戴了，荷荷。

III

三

The sun's westing, dundun, yahohei.

太阳偏西墩墩，雅荷海。

Cut! Cut! hoho.

砍啊砍啊，荷荷。

Maidens, look out! meyitseso.

大姑娘看啊，梅绮紫梭，

'f sprouts are cut off,

树苗若不留，

Autumn'll have bald head, hoho.

秋山秃头，荷荷。

IV

四

The sun's setting, dundun, yahohei.

太阳下山墩墩，雅荷海。

A clean sweep's made, hoho.

砍干净了，荷荷。

Spring gives life again, meyitseso,

春风吹又生，梅绮紫梭，

For seeds survive.

留下种子多，

Sickle! Sickle! hoho.

刀儿刀儿，荷荷。

The Little Workers' Song 儿童工歌

Composed in Chinese by Dr. H. C.Tao in thespring of 1931. The 4th stanza of the song in the English version actually is the 3rd stanza translated in a different way.中文为陶行知1931年春作。英文第四节实际上是第三节的另一种译法。

We are little Pankus.
我是小盘古，
We'll remake seas and lands.
我不怕吃苦。
No hardship can scare us.
我要开辟新天地，
See the axes in our hands.
看我手中斧！

We are little Newtons,
我是小牛顿，
Though look as a fool.
让人说我笨。
Searching truth in Nature,
我要用我的头脑，
We've to keep our head cool.
向大自然追问。

We are little workers,
我是小工人，
These hands, nothing mightier.
我有双手万能。
We'll make a rich society,
我要造富的社会，
That all will be happier.
不造富个人。

We are little workers.
Mighty hands we have pairs.
Good care we must take
Not to make millionaires.

Children's Day 儿童节歌

Composed in Chinese and translated into English by Dr. H. C.Tao on April 2nd, 1933.由陶行知中文写作并英译于1933年4月2日（当时4月4日为儿童节)。

Longdong longdong yi longdong,
弄冬弄冬一弄冬，
Let's celebrate today with a song.
今天过节热烘烘。
The world once owned by ups-grown,
从前世界属大人，
Now all to children belong.
现在世界属儿童。
Longdong longdong yi longdong,
弄冬弄冬一弄冬，
Let's celebrate today with a song.
今天过节热烘烘。
Dead books we no longer hang on.
儿童不再读死书，
With brain and hands, work shall be done.
用手用脑来做工。
Longdong longdong yi longdong,
弄冬弄冬一弄冬，
Let's celebrate today with a song.
今天过节热烘烘。
Ivory tower youths chewing gum,
少爷小姐是废物，
Enjoy the moment, the future is gone.
贪图享福必送终。
Longdong longdong yi longdong,
弄冬弄冬一弄冬，
Let's celebrate today with a song.
今天过节热烘烘；
With the hoe and the axe we come.
拿起锄头和斧头，
A New World'll be built without the rule of thumb.

Longdong longdong yi longdong,

Let's celebrate today with a song.

The world shall be shaped by a child's heart.

Failing this, 't will fall apart.

Longdong longdong yi longdong.

Let's celebrate today with a song.

In Children's world there are no old men.

All old men are reborn as children.

Longdong longdong yi longdong,

Let's celebrate today with a song.

Aggressors against the Weak can't live long.

Toward them all are mobilized to dash on.

造个世界大不同。

弄冬弄冬一弄冬，

今天过节热烘烘，

世事须从小儿意，

不从儿意不成功，

弄冬弄冬一弄冬，

今天过节热烘烘。

儿童国里无老翁，

老翁个个变儿童。

弄冬弄冬一弄冬，

今天过节热烘烘。

谁要欺负弱与小，

总动员向他进攻。

Little Teachers 小先生

Composed in Chinese and translated into English by Dr. H. C. Taoin the spring of 1934.由陶行知中文写作并英译于1934年春。

Longdong yi longdong,

弄冬一弄冬，

Heaven and Earth to children belong.

乾坤属儿童。

We are angels spreading the truth.

我们是真理的传布者，

To every village, we dash on.

瞄准乡村向前冲。

I am a little teacher, you know.

我是小先生，

My heart is like a volcano.

热心好比火山喷。

I am not afraid of frost and snow.

生来不怕霜和雪，

I melt ignorance wherever I go.

踏破铁鞋化愚蒙。

Feng Yang Song 凤阳歌

Composed in Chinese and translated into English by Dr. H. C. Taoin 1935.此歌在凤阳民歌基础上改作，由陶行知中文写作并英译于1935年。

I

一

Sing Feng Yang, Dance Feng Yang.

唱凤阳，舞凤阳，

Feng Yang was a good farm.

凤阳本是个好地方。

Since Imperialism came in,

帝国主义跑进来，

Nine out of ten years, it's done harm.

十年倒有九年荒。

It's done lots of harm. Jijarxei.

九是九年荒啊，依呀嗨。

Dr langdang piao yi piao, dr langdang piao yi piao,

得儿郎当飘一飘，得儿郎当飘一飘，

Dr langdang piao piao yi piao ju yi piao.

得儿郎当飘飘一飘又一飘。

II

二

You beat th' drum;I beat th' gong.

你打鼓，我打锣，

All come to hear a good song.

大家都来听好歌。

Other songs we want not to sing,

别的歌儿我不会唱，

Let us sing a *Feng Yang Song*.

单唱一支《凤阳歌》。

Indeed a *Feng Yang Song*! Jijarxei.

正是《凤阳歌》呵，依呀嗨。

Dr langdang piao yi piao, dr langdang piao yi piao.

得儿郎当飘一飘，得儿郎当飘一飘，

Dr langdang piao piao yi piao ju yi piao.

得儿郎当飘飘一飘又一飘。

Four Short Poems 短诗四首

Composed in Chinese and translated into English by Dr. H.C.Tao on September 18, 1935.由陶行知中文写作并英译于1935年9月18日。

1. Work

1.做工

Doing no work,

不做工，

Eating much rice.

要吃饭。

What are you?

什么人，

A bunch of lice!

王八旦。

2. Study

2.读书

With the belly full.

吃饱饭，

Reading no book.

不读书。

What are you?

什么人，

Just a hog!

老母猪。

3. Teaching

3.教人

Reading a lot,

死读书，

Teaching not.

不教人。

What are you?

什么人，

A hard nut!

木头人。

4. Resist Japan

4.抗日

Teaching dead book,

Seeing China broke.

What are you?

Just a joke!

教死书，

不抗日。

什么人，

狗放屁。

Summer of 1925 1925年之夏

Composed in Chinese and translated into English by Dr. H. C.TaoinJuly1936.由陶行知中文写作并英译于1936年7月。

On board a Japanese steamer,
日本船上，
A mass meeting was called to order;
水手聚会；
All Chinese seamen joined hands:
三等乘客，
The chairman a 3rd class passenger.
主席就位。
“Down with Japanese imperialism”
“打倒日本！”
As the shouts were led by a speaker.
呼声如雷；
The Japanese captain leaning on the upper deck,
日本船主，
From below came storm and thunder.
无法作对。
Down, he stared at the sea.
抬头看天，
Up, he stared at the sky.
低头看水。
Then he stared at the mass,
再看众人，
Giving a deep, deep sigh.
自叹倒霉。

Full Moon 月亮圆

Composed in Chinese by Dr. H. C. Tao in July 1936, and translated intoEnglish by himself on May 13, 1938.本诗中文由陶行知作于1936年7月，1938年5月13日译成英文。

When the Moon is full,
月亮圆，
And the air is cool,
清风吹入心田，
I think of a lady,
我想到一位姑娘，
With whom I read the *Devil's Pool*.
曾结同读《魔沼》缘。
When the Moon is full,
月亮圆，
And the air is cool.
清风吹入心神，
I think of the League,
我想到国际联盟，
Ruined by a Tory fool.
毁灭于贪利蠢人。
When the Moon is full,
月亮圆，
And the air is cool,
清风吹入心头，
I think of China,
我想到我的祖国，
She has to fight a bull.
她要斗一条斗牛。
When the Moon is full,
月亮圆，
And the air is cool,
清风吹入心窍，
I think of my nation,
我想到我的民族，
She will come under people's rule.

她将由人民领导。

When the Moon is full,

月亮圆，

And the air is cool,

清风吹入心窝，

I think of myself,

我想到我自己，

When to graduate from the World School?

何时毕业于世界大学？

All China Unite 全中国大联合

Composed in Chinese and translated into English by Dr.H. C. Tao in September, 1936.本诗为中文手稿，随后翻译成英文，大约创作于1936年9月。

The iron will of the four hundred million people
四万万人的钢铁公意掌舵，
Shall steer our ship towards her Destiny.
八万万只手儿共同摇桨；
Eight hundred million hands shall join together,
将大船对准使命所定的方向
Rowing the oars to the Land of Liberty.
就能摇到自由的地方。
All cheer in the same joys,
有乐同享，
And share in the same sorrows.
有祸同当。
Look!There comes a strange boat.
看啊！前面来了一只怪船，
It is the pirates who shoot the arrows.
这分明是海盗来劫抢！
Countrymen!Think of nothing else,
同胞们！不要胡思乱想，
Stop all your eloquent debates.
停止你一切雄辩的争论。
Dash to the threatening enemy,
只对着危险的敌人冲去，
And clear off the menacing pirates.
肃清了威胁我们的海盗再讲。
The iron will of the four hundred million people
四万万人的钢铁公意掌舵，
Shall steer our ship towards her Destiny.
八万万只手儿共同摇桨；
Eight hundred million hands shall join together,
将大船对准使命所定的方向
Rowing the oars to the Land of Liberty.

就能摇到自由的地方。

New Leadership 新领导

Composed in Chinese and translated into English by Dr. H. C.Taoon October 5, 1936.由陶行知中文写作并英译于1936年10月5日。

The world turns upside down.

世界将起变化，

The cap becomes the crown.

火把要换人拿。

Torch lights change bearers.

但愿天翻地覆，

Youths shall lead their elders.

青年领着老大。

Two Sisters 两位姊妹

Composed in Chinese and translated into English by Dr. H. C. Tao on October 10, 1936.由陶行知中文写作并英译于1936年10月10日。

Dedicated to French and Chinese friends who participated in the celebration in Paris of the 25th Anniversary of the Founding of the Republic of China on October 10, 1911.

献给参加在巴黎举办的“双十节”25周年庆祝会之中法友人

Two Sisters are born,

两位好姊妹，

You know where and when;

生辰有意义：

One, on July Fourteen;

一是七一四，

One, on October Ten.

一为十月十。

One is called China;

姊名大中华，

Miss France is the other's name.

妹名法兰西。

They fight with sword.

拿起笔与剑，

They fight with pen.

保卫德谟克拉西。

They have joined hands
For Democracy they defend.

Peace Power 和平之威力

Dedicated to Canadian friends;Jan. 16, 1938. 献与加拿大的朋友，1938年1月16日。

I

一

Silently I stood before the Niagara.
默无一言我面对着尼嘎拉，
What a magnificent Water Orchestra!
洋洋乎大哉这水之交响曲！
Through her thrilling and inspiring music,
在动人心灵之美乐中，
I received a wise message from Canada.
我接到加拿大之智慧的忠告。

II

二

May we imagine, these little drops of water,
让我们想象这小小的水点，
Tiny and insignificant as they are,
何等的渺小而微细！
Once united from a high plain, move forward,
在高岩上一经联合奔向前，
Possess the power that reaches near and far.
便成为打破距离层的威力。

III

三

May friends who love peace and democracy,
爱护和平与民主的朋友，
Leaning high from the ivory tower,
高高的倚在象牙塔之上，
Unite and move forward toward the same goal.
要对准着同一个目标团结前进，
Only then are sentiments made a power.
只有这时情感才能变成力量。

IV

四

This power greater than the Niagara

Can stop the War that is forced on China.

When Peace without slavery comes to earth

'T will bring prosperity also to Canada.

　这力量大于尼嘎拉之水力，

能阻止侵略战争之加于中华。

等到无奴隶的和平降临大地，

自然而然地也会繁荣加拿大。

Love What the People Love 民之所好好之

Composed in Chinese andtranslated into English by Dr. H. C.Tao on October 27, 1945.由陶行知中文写作并英译于1945年10月27日。

I

一

Love what the people love.

民之所好好之，

Hate what the people hate.

民之所恶恶之。

Teachers of the people.

教人民进步者，

Take lessons at the people's gate.

拜人民为老师。

II

二

Love what the people love.

民之所好好之，

Hate what the people hate.

民之所恶恶之。

He who serves the people

为人民服务者，

Becomes the people's mate.

亲民庶几无疵。

III

三

Love what the people love.

民之所好好之，

Hate what the people hate.

民之所恶恶之。

Defenders of the people

为人民奋斗者，

With blood write the people's *Iliad*.

血写人民史诗。

Petticoat—A Gift to a General 衬裙——送给一位将军的礼品

The manuscript of this poem, in English only, is in the 14th memorandum book of Tao Heng-Chih.本诗见于陶行知的第14个备忘本上，原手稿仅有英文。

You claim yourself a hero,

你自称是英雄，

But bow down to China's foe.

却向中国的敌人卑躬。

With orders to retreat,

借口下令撤退，

You let mountains and rivers go.

让大好河山破碎。

My Petticoat is fit for you,

我的衬裙正合你身，

Let women face the foe.

让女人们去面对敌人。

Give me your uniform,

把你的军装给我，

Towards the battlefield I go.

我要上战场杀向敌阵。

Petticoat says,“No.”

衬裙开口说：“不，

“What makes you think so?”

你为何这样想？”

The North has Lady Lee,

北方有李女士，

Down South is Maiden Ho.

南方有少女何。

Then China's Joan of Arc

还有中国的贞德，

Whose name is Miss Loh.

她就是小姐罗。

With petticoats

她们都是穿着裙子

They have fought the foe.

What a disgrace

To let me go!

Leaving the heroine,

't go to the wavering hero,

No no no

和敌人拼搏。

把我送出去，

多么耻辱！

离开女英雄，

投奔动摇的男将军？

不！不！不！

中国现代文化名人漫画式素描，笔触简洁，肌理细致——一○篇人物小传，胸中丘壑，笔底烟霞，尽显民国风范。

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马君武

Y. R. CHAO (赵元任)

赵元任

EMPEROR MALGRE LUI

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吴经熊

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顾孟余
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叶公超
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李石岑先生
MR. S. G. CHENG (程锡庚)
程锡庚先生
注释
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温源宁（1899—1984），广东陆丰人。学者，英国剑桥大学法学硕士。历任北京大学西方语言文学系教授兼英文组主任、清华大学西洋文学系教授。曾与林语堂、全增嘏、姚克等合编英文文史月刊《天下》。

代表作有英文人物随笔集《不够知己》，以素描方式、春秋笔法写下对吴宓、胡适、徐志摩、周作人、辜鸿铭、丁文江、吴经熊、冯玉祥等名人的印象记。忆人念事，臧否人物，辛辣别致，“轻快，干脆，尖刻，漂亮中带些顽皮”（钱锺书语）。文章风格出于英国散文大家的传统，“语求雅驯，避流俗，有古典味；意不贫乏而言简，有言外意，味外味”（张中行语）。

江枫（1929—　），原名吴云森，祖籍徽州，生于上海。翻译家，诗人。曾就读于西南联大附中、清华大学外文系和北京大学中文系。1995年，获彩虹翻译终身成就奖。2011年，获中国翻译文化终身成就奖。

“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的My Country and My People（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足

了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社
人文社科出版分社

编者说明

一、温源宁的集子**Imperfect Understanding**及几个译本的说明

The China Critic（《中国评论周报》，1928—1946）1928年5月在上海创刊，是民国时期归国留学生主持的一份英文周刊，在现代思想史、中西文化交流史上占有重要的地位。首任主编是哈佛大学毕业生张歆海，刘大钧、桂中枢也先后担任主编，参与编辑的有潘光旦、全增嘏、林语堂、钱锺书等知名学者。封面上“中国评论周报”的字样由蔡元培题署。

1934年1月，温源宁成为周报撰稿编辑（Contributing Editor）的一员。1月4日，第7卷第1期新开了专栏Unedited Biographies（人物志稿），前三期文章的传主和作者分别为：韩复榘（Yih Chang-mung）、马君武（陈达）、梅兰芳（梅其驹）。第4期传主是吴宓，作者没有署名，实为温源宁。

接下来各期的人物依次是：赵元任、溥仪、吴经熊、高君珊、胡适、冯玉祥、徐志摩、薛氏兄弟、周作人、林可胜、梁遇春、陈嘉庚、周诒春、顾孟余、褚民谊、叶公超。5月24日第21期停了一期，公告说此专栏下周易名。

5月31日第22期起，专栏改名为Intimate Portraits（亲切写真），并标明Edited by Wen Yuan-ning（为温源宁所编），这一期的传主是林文庆；第23期接着刊载了F. T. Wang为林文庆鸣不平的长函。之后的传主依次是：黄庐隐、王文显、凌叔华、朱兆莘、卢作孚、顾维钧、梁龙、伍连德、刘复、王德林、丁文江、辜鸿铭、吴赉熙、吴稚晖、顾静徽、杨丙辰、冯友兰、刘铁云、章太炎、周廷旭、陈通伯、孙大雨、梁宗岱、舒舍予、沈有乾、盛成、刘海粟和黎锦晖、李石岑、程锡庚。此专栏至1934年底结束。

1935年1月，温源宁挑出专栏51篇文章中的17篇结集（传主为吴宓、胡适、徐志摩、周作人、梁遇春、王文显、朱兆莘、顾维钧、丁文江、辜鸿铭、吴赉熙、杨丙辰、周廷旭、陈通伯、梁宗岱、盛成、程锡庚），取名为Imperfect Understanding，交付上海Kelly and Walsh Ltd.（别发洋行）刊行。1935年6月，钱默存（即钱锺书）在《人间世》第29期发表了一篇书评，首译书名为《不够知己》。

1988年12月，岳麓书社出版南星的Imperfect Understanding译本，书

名为《一知半解：人物剪影十七幅》。2001年2月，辽宁教育出版社出版陈子善编的《一知半解及其他》，收入南星的17篇译文和温源宁几篇英文评论文章的中译。

2004年1月，岳麓书社出版了江枫的译本，英汉双语对照，收录43篇，添加注释以作背景资料，并附有林语堂的两篇译文。书名作《不够知己》。

二、本书所收篇目、编辑工作的相关说明

本次外研社版的《不够知己》（英汉对照）采用江枫的译本。本书借重温源宁1935年版Imperfect Understanding的书名，但所收篇目已远超出温源宁当年的本子。编者按照所收篇目在《中国评论周报》上的发表时间重新编排次序，并详细注明刊载日期；个别篇目非温源宁所著，亦附有原作者署名，以供读者参阅。在呈现英文篇目完整原貌的同时，经江枫先生惠允，本版对译文作了进一步修订，并补充了部分注释。需要特别提出的是，江枫先生应编者要求特为本版补译的四篇文章（传主为马君武、溥仪、章太炎、舒舍予），是首次与读者见面。

书末收入该专栏另外四篇文章的英文原文（传主为韩复榘、梅兰芳、凌叔华、卢作孚），作者分别为Yih Chang-mung、梅其驹、费鉴照、Chang Hsu-lin，并附有林语堂发表在《人间世》杂志《今人志》专栏的《吴宓》、《胡适之》两篇译文，便于感兴趣的读者参阅。

虽殚精竭虑，亦或有不当之处，盼热心读者批评指正。

新版前言

《不够知己》自2004年在岳麓书社初版以来整整七年，早已售罄，现在，终于能由外语教学与研究出版社重新编排出版，以满足读者的需求。这个版本是初版本的修订本，按照这些篇目当年的发表时间，对次序略微作了一些改动。为了不至把初版责任编辑当作温作一并收入的几篇与温作相混，分别注明了原作者。

但是，不把这几篇抽掉，既是因为这些同类短文，虽非温氏所作、却为温氏所编，并且也都刊在温氏所编专栏；还因为作为译者，我不忍割舍，特别是《王德林》篇，从中看不到尖酸刻薄，却有读之令人神往的幽默。何况，我个人初衷，本不是专为温源宁编译温源宁专集。

至于怎样判断确系温氏所作，除了温氏自己确认的那17篇，就只能是所收各篇，但凡没有足以证明并非温作的证据，均视之为温作。包括《刘铁云》篇，因为温源宁的编者注，只说明材料来源，却不曾说不是温作。

主要的修订，是根据外语教学与研究出版社责任编辑查找所得，补译了初版本的缺失，如《林文庆医生之二》，“为林文庆医生一辩”，由于最初收集材料复印疏忽而发生的漏译部分。新版还增添了几条对于文史知识不足的今日读者或有必要的注释。

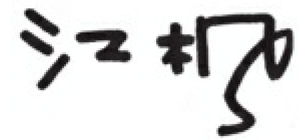
不止一位热心的读者为改进译文提供宝贵的意见和建议，如果没有这种善意的帮助，比如说，我就想不出怎样正确理解和翻译Utopia College。但是，当人名涉及真实的历史人物，若无确凿的根据，便不可只凭想当然就轻易断定是与不是，尤其因为涉及褒贬，就只能留以待考。

作为双语对照读物，我注意到初版的英文文本也存在着缺陷和瑕疵，除个别篇章残缺，有些错讹，出乎意料，竟为《中国评论周报》原版文本所固有，而且，还有个别史实，记述有误。我们在这个修订本中都已一一订正，因此，也许可以说，这是一个较好的双语读本，虽然，很可能，犹有待于更进一步改进之处。

我向关心这个译本并为这个译本的改进作出了宝贵贡献的所有学者专家道谢，特别要感谢我的老友著名辞书学家黄鸿森先生。这个版本的修订成功，在极大程度上要归功于他对这本书，从正文到注释，从正误到行文，巨细无遗、细致入微的审读和基于渊博学识的慷慨建议。他的建议，涉及改进了的所有问题。

当然，如果没有外语教学与研究出版社的出版支持，没有吴浩先生及其同事的具体辛勤劳作，无论什么样的改进设想也只能是空想。

谢谢。



2010年12月

关于《不够知己》补遗

最近又收到出版社发来从《中国评论周报》搜得“温源宁文8篇”，但是，其中4篇各有其他作者署名，只有其余4篇未见署名，所以我只补译了这4篇，译是译了，从文风判断，我仍不相信《马君武》、《溥仪》两篇确为温作，因为这位恃才傲物的海归才子自称必不用we，而且所议如对溥仪登基感受之猜度，缺乏才情。而真正的作者，目前还只能存疑待考。

2011年11月29日

又据查考，《马君武》篇作者为C. T.（陈达）。

2011年12月30日

初版译序*

《不够知己》是由43篇短文合成的一个集子，这些短文都是一家英文周刊的专栏文章，先后发表在1934年THE CHINA CRITIC（《中国评论周报》）第七卷相应的各期。那一年的前五个月，专栏名称是Unedited Biographies（人物志稿），从6月起便改名Intimate Portraits（亲切写真），所刊文章绝大部分均不署名，只有一篇文末署有两个字母的缩写字头，但是改名后的专栏每期都标明为温源宁所编（Edited by Wen Yuan-ning）。由于温源宁曾把其中17篇抽出来以Imperfect Understanding（《不够知己》）为书名结集出版，大体上可以判断，除了一篇显然来自读者群中，这些文章不论署名不署名，编者也就是作者。因此，我们把这个文集视为温源宁所著Imperfect Understanding（《不够知己》）的足本。

那17篇本的Imperfect Understanding曾被译为《一知半解》出版，以“一知半解”充作一个人物速写集的集名显然不够妥帖，现在这个足本中文版决定用《不够知己》作为书名。不敢掠美，这个书名原是钱锺书为那个英文原版撰写书评时所译。林语堂认为译得“雅切”。而且，因为《吴宓日记》的出版引起了文坛争论和争论各方的广泛引用，此书竟然已经成为“名著”，其中的《吴宓》篇已经成为名篇，于是《不够知己》也就成了定译。

本书作者在上个世纪三四十年代，也曾是文化圈内的一颗明星，但是对于今天的读者，如果不是因为他写过这四十多篇臧否人物的短文，如果这些文章不曾因为直接间接涉及吴宓和钱锺书并因此而在半个多世纪后的中国文坛掀起一场风波，也许已经被人们淡忘。但是，就凭留下了这样一本小书，他也是不该被完全遗忘的。

正如读者翻看目录就会发现的，此书所记四十多人，均非等闲之辈：既有身后流芳的文人学者，也有个别后来认贼作父的祸国殃民之徒。钱锺书在同一篇书评中，既说这些文章是“富有春秋笔法的当代中国名人小传”，又说“本书原是温先生的游戏文章，好比信笔洒出的几朵墨花，当不得《现代中国名人字典》用”。不管我们相信哪一句，至少，作为同代人之间的议论本身便具有某种程度的史料价值，特别是由于颇有一些都是作者朝夕相处的同事，个别人还是他的得意门生，因而被作者称为“Intimate Portraits”（“亲切写真”），哪怕只是他的“一面之词”。

作者温源宁，广东陆丰人，出生于1899年，是一名留英归来的法学博士。1925年任北京大学英文系主任。1927年任清华大学西洋文学系教

授和北平大学女子师范学院外国文学系讲师。1928年5月，《中国评论周报》在上海创刊，林语堂为编委之一。1933年，温源宁南迁，也成了《中国评论周报》的编委，这些人物小传就是他这一时期主持专栏的成果。

1935年，英文月刊《天下》在孙科支持下创刊，温源宁任主编，林语堂、吴经熊、全增嘏、姚莘农（克）等任编辑，直到1941年太平洋战事爆发停刊。

1936年12月，多半也是由于孙科的提携，温源宁曾任立法委员。1937年抗日战争爆发后，任中国国民党中央宣传部国际宣传处驻香港办事处主任。1946年11月，当选为"制宪国民大会"代表。1947年6月，任驻希腊大使。1968年退休后定居台湾。1984年元月逝世。

林语堂的一个女儿描写她对温源宁的印象时说："［他］是英国剑桥大学的留学生，回上海之后，装出的模样，比英国人还像英国人。他穿的是英国绅士的西装，手持拐杖，吃英国式的下午茶，讲英语时学剑桥式的结结巴巴腔调，好像要找到恰到好处的字眼才可发言。"（林太乙：《林语堂传》）

温源宁留给后人的文字，似乎也就是这么四十几篇人物小传了。那些"传主"，谁也不会单凭这些如讥似讽的素描或漫画而永垂不朽或是遗臭万年，却一定能通过他亦庄亦谐的描述在人间多留一份鲜活的音容形象，虽然果真是"当不得《现代中国名人字典》用"的，却可以成为任何一部正传或评传的生动插画。这些个性特征鲜明的文字所记所述，自然浸透了作者的主观色彩，一个踌躇满志的青年才俊放笔为文、幽默人间，当幽默只为了自娱甚或带上了某种哗众取宠倾向时，就很容易沦为刻薄，因此，就有了本书所收之第20篇，那是路见不平者的抗辩。事实上，真正像他笔下的林文庆那样一无是处而能当上一个大学校长的人，是找遍了全世界也难以找得出一个半个的。

当时便引起纠纷的虽不是《吴宓》篇，但是吴宓却已经由于那篇文章（温源宁的原作和林语堂的译文）而感觉受到了伤害，以至到了1937年2月，另一篇译文出现时还引发了他心头的新旧愤懑："见《逸经》二十四期有倪某重译温源宁所为英文我之小传，而译其题曰'吴宓：一个学者和绅士'，不曰'君子人'。译笔亦恶劣。尤可恨者，编者简又文乃赘词曰：'使吴君见之必欣然，谓生我者父母，知我者源宁也。'呜呼，温源宁一刻薄小人耳！纵多读书，少为正论。况未谙中文，不能读我所作文。而此一篇讥讽嘲笑之文章，竟历久而重译！宓已谢绝尘缘，而攻诋中伤者犹不绝。甚矣，此世之可厌也！"

而他在读到钱锺书的"Mr. Wu Mi & His Poetry"（《论吴宓之诗》）时，又想起了"其前半略同温源宁昔年'China Critic'（《中国评论周

报》）一文，谓宓生性浪漫，而中白璧德师人文道德学说之毒，致束缚拘牵。左右不知所可云云。按此言宓最恨。盖宓服膺白璧德师甚至，以为白师乃今世之苏格拉底、孔子、耶稣、释迦。我得遇白师……此乃吾生最幸之遭遇……至该文后部，则讥诋宓爱彦之往事，指彦为superannuated coquette，而宓为中年无行之文士，以著其可鄙可笑之情形……”

“彦”，毛彦文女士，吴宓深心爱恋、寤寐求之、求之不得的梦中情人也。我还记得1946年在上海考大学时，曾见一家方型小报旧闻新炒，刊载当年毛彦文下嫁熊希龄故事的标题还用了“一树梨花压海棠”的比喻，竟然被指为superannuated coquette，而这几个洋文用大白话翻译过来就成了“年老色衰的风骚娘们”，吴宓读了当然要生气。

可见，尽管“本书原是温先生的游戏文章”（钱锺书语），却由于涉及真实人物的褒贬荣辱，至少是没有一个相关的当事人会把讥讽和嘲笑视为游戏的。今天我们翻译出版，自然也不敢视为游戏。尽管现今的翻译界，特别是以翻译理论家自居的一部分人，很有几位在以教授和“博导”的名义巧立名目、大肆鼓噪，反对忠实而提倡译文的“深化”、“浅化”和“增色”、“减色”，我们却不敢苟同。不自觉的偏离尚且会引发或加剧争吵、造成相关人士的锥心苦恼，有意识地添油加醋或偷工减料后果可想而知。因此，我们的翻译宁愿选择“株守”忠实，尽可能地亦步亦趋紧贴原文以避免歪曲和误解。

并且，为了弥补原作者议人论事之或有偏颇，也是为了便于读者较好地理解七十多年前的人与事，为了使得这些字数不多、典故不少、特别是充满了洋典故的文章变得好读一些，我们还尽可能附加注释以为背景资料。这个版本以英汉对照的方式问世，既是因为译者惟恐译笔或有讹误，可供读者或引用者能以原文为准，当然，也是为了便于有兴趣的读者对照阅读。同时，为了满足部分读者的特殊需要，我们还在书末附录了《吴宓》篇和《胡适》篇的林语堂译文。

而这本小书之所以能够以目前的形式问世，首先要归功于岳麓书社和敬业的刘果硕士费心策划、筹措，我之所以能够有幸参与其事，也是由于岳麓书社和小刘果的热情邀约和耐得心烦，我就借此作出如上交代的机会郑重道谢了。

江枫

2003/8/7

注释

* 原载于《不够知己》初版（长沙：岳麓书社，2004年）。

NOTE

These attempts at an imperfect understanding of some people I happen to know are the fruits of idle moments. Their proper place is, of course, the wastepaper basket. But they have given pleasure to some friends; and it is at the latter's instance that they have here been brought together in book form.

I hope where no offence is meant, none will be offended. However, it is just possible that one or two may object to some of the things I have said about them. If so, I beg their pardon.

My thanks are due to Mr. Kwei Chungshu, editor of The China Critic, for his kindness in allowing me to reprint these papers, which first saw the light in the Intimate Portraits column of that journal.

WEN YUAN-NING

SHANGHAI, January, 1935.

小启

有关于我偶然相识、难说深知的一些人士的这些文字，都是我闲来无事遣兴试笔之作，恰当的去处，当然是字纸篓，但是，有些读过的朋友很喜欢，正是由于他们的撺掇，才终于结集出版成书。

我无意冒犯他人，也不希望有任何人会被冒犯。然而，也还是可能会有一位两位对有关于他们的笔墨感到不悦。果如此，就只好请他们原谅了。

我要感谢《中国评论周报》主编桂中枢先生，是由于有了他的慨允，我才得以在这里使用最初全都是发表在该刊《亲切写真》栏内的这些文章。

温源宁
1935年1月于上海

MR. WU MI (吴宓), A SCHOLAR AND A GENTLEMAN

Mr. Wu Mi is like nothing on earth: once seen, never forgotten. There are some people, one has to be introduced to a hundred times, and on the hundredth and one time one has to be introduced again. Their faces are so ordinary: no mannerisms, no "anything," just plain Jack, Tom and Harry. But Mr. Wu's face is worth a fortune: it is peculiar to the point of caricature. A head shaped like a bomb, and just as suggestively explosive, gaunt, wan in colour, with hair threatening to break out all over the face, but always kept well within bounds by a clean shave every morning, rugged, with very prominent cheek-bones and sunken cheeks, and eyes which stare at one like glowing coals—all this set on a neck too long by half; and a thin body, as strong and as little elastic as a rod of steel!

Head always erect, and back straight as a die, Mr. Wu looks dignity itself. He is proud of his scholarship, and his friends are just as proud to find in him one of nature's great gentlemen. Never mean, always eager to do a good turn to everybody, invariably misunderstood by both friends and foes, a little too trustful of other people's goodness and ability, and over-sensitive as regards the outside world's opinions of himself, Mr. Wu is never at peace, either with himself or with the world: if he is not distraught, he is furiously working. A great admirer of Goethe, he is as far from attaining the state of "ohne Hast, ohne Rast," as he who said, "Io fei giubbetto a me delle mie case (I made a gibbet for myself of my own dwelling)," is from ever attaining the state of grace.

Mr. Wu is one of those men, who never know what it is to be young. Actually on the right side of forty, he looks anywhere between thirty and a hundred. Always lenient in his judgment of others, he is Draconically severe on himself. A Confucianist himself, he suggests to us exactly what a Confucian scholar ought to be. Grave, taking life at its own face value and a little too seriously, with a deportment as unbending as it is "correct,"he is yet the least formidable of men.

Mr. Wu is a professor in the Western Literature Department of Tsing Hua University. Besides this, he used, until this year, to edit The Critical Review (学衡) as well as the literary columns of The Ta Kung Pao (大公报).

Mr. Wu is everything that a teacher ought to be, except to be inspiring. Punctual as a clock, he works like a galley-slave at his lectures. Where others would read a quotation out of a book, he would memorise it, however long it might be. He is as orderly as a drill-sergeant in the exposition of any subject, with his "firstly this" and "secondly that." Dull, perhaps; but never pointless. He is not one of those teachers, who talk of everything and say nothing. What he says does mean something: it may be wrong, but at least it is not hot air. He never hedges about any point; he always puts his foot plump on it. In other words, he is never afraid of committing himself to an opinion. On matters of fact, especially of those facts which are to be found in encyclopaedias and books of reference, Mr. Wu is unimpeachable. One can only fairly quarrel with him on matters of taste or of interpretation. In these, Mr. Wu shows his weakness; but it is not a weakness, due to haziness or any failing in sincerity: it is a weakness, inherent in his point of view, which is that of a humanist—a Babbittian humanist, at that. It is a pity Mr. Wu has allowed himself to be lured into Babbittian humanism. As it is, all his views are coloured by it. Ethics and art get woefully mixed up. Often, one is puzzled whether he is delivering himself on a question of literature or of morality.

As an editor, Mr. Wu stands for everything that Dr. Hu Shih is against. The avowed aim of The Critical Review, which Mr. Wu started a few years ago, is to fight the Pai-hua movement, and to strive to maintain the old ways of writing. It is a losing battle, but the effort is heroic. It was no less heroic in Mr. Wu, when he was editing the literary columns of The Ta Kung Pao, to try to interest the literary world of China in the facts of Western Literature, rather than in its frills and trappings. Well, with very few exceptions, practically all the younger writers of China have decided to take the frills and trappings of Western Literature, and to let the facts take care of themselves. Facts, dates, learning: they are so dull and so difficult. What one wants now-a-days is to swim with the current, and to pick up whatever flotsam and jetsam one comes across— Dowson, Baudelaire, Valéry, Virginia Woolf, Aldous Huxley, and so on, ad infinitum. In the contemporary world of Chinese letters, to insinuate clumsily, as Mr. Wu does, that there is some value in studying Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Milton, is to invite derision.

A tragic and lonely figure! What makes Mr. Wu's case still more tragic is his complete misunderstanding of himself. He professes to be an ardent humanist and classicist; but by temperament, he is a romanticist through and

through. So sincere, and so truly himself is Mr. Wu, that he allows everybody to see this, except himself! His admiration of Byron is no secret. He has even written a long Chinese poem after the manner of Childe Harold. A contradiction, but one that is perplexing to nobody but himself!

Whenever I think of Mr. Wu, I always think of his tortured smile, of his neat, clean, bare rooms in Tsing Hua, and of the beautiful, wild scene, just outside his curtained windows. It may be just my fancy, but I often think there would be less perplexity in his life, and less torture in his smile, if he would take down all the curtains from his windows, and see more of what is outside his rooms, or better still, abandon himself to the beautiful, wild scene out-of-doors.

[No. 4; Jan. 25, 1934]

吴宓先生[1]，学者和君子

吴宓先生，举世无双，见过一次，永生难忘。有些人，需要别人介绍100次，到了第101次，还有必要再经介绍。他们的面貌太平常：没有一点特色，“什么”也没有，只是一副张三李四都可能有的平常相貌。吴先生的相貌却价值连城，怪异得就像一幅漫画。脑袋的形状像颗炸弹，也像炸弹一样随时都有可能爆炸；面容憔悴，脸色苍白，胡须几乎满面丛生，亏得每天早上都刮脸才显得中规中矩；脸上布满皱纹，颧骨高耸，两颊下陷，盯着人的一双眼睛像是烧红了的两粒煤球——这一切全都支撑在比常人长一半的脖颈上，瘦削的躯体活像一根结实、梆硬的钢条。

吴先生永远昂首挺胸，脊背笔直，看上去仿佛就是尊严本身。他以身为学者而自豪，朋友们也都认为他是天生一位了不起的君子而为之骄傲。他从不吝啬，总是想着要给别人以帮助，却总是被朋友也被敌人所误解；对别人的善意和能力过于轻信，对外界有关他的议论又过于敏感。无论是对他自己还是对整个世界，吴先生都不能相安无事。如果他没有心烦意乱，就一定是在发奋著述。他极其崇拜歌德[2]，却远未达到歌德所称羡的“不慌不辍”的境界，就像说过“我把自己的住处变成我的绞架”[3]的人那样永远也达不到天恩眷顾的状态。

吴先生是那种从不知晓什么是年轻的人。他实际才40岁开外，但是只看外表，从30岁到100岁，说他多大都可以。他评价别人总是从宽，对自己却严格到苛刻。他信奉孔夫子的学说，能使人们想到真正的孔门

儒生应该如何作为。他端庄严肃，遇事认真而有点过分，有一副“理直”因而“气壮”的架式，却仍然是个最不会令人望而生畏的人。

吴先生目前是清华大学西洋文学系的教授。此外，直到今年为止，他还一直在主编评论性刊物《学衡》[4]和《大公报》的文学副刊。

作为一般意义上的教师，吴先生无可挑剔，唯一的缺憾是少了一点启迪灵感的魅力。像钟表一样准时的他，讲起课来就像古罗马舰船上的划桨奴隶做工。在别人从书本上读出引文的场合，他宁愿背诵，而不论那段引文究竟有多长。讲解任何问题，他都像军训教官那样“第一这个”、“第二那个”，讲得有条不紊。或许有点枯燥，但是绝不可能言不及义。他不是那种什么都谈而唯独不说自家主张的老师。他言之有物：也可能说错，但是绝不空洞。他从不绕着问题走，总是直奔主题；也就是说，他不害怕为某种意见承担责任。关于事实的问题，特别是在百科全书和工具书中能够查到的事实性问题，吴先生绝对无懈可击。别人只能在有关于趣味或诠释的问题上和他进行某种争论。在这些问题上，吴先生显然有弱点，但不是由于糊涂和不诚实，而是他那种思想观点所固有的，一个人文主义者——而且是一个白璧德[5]式人文主义者所固有的弱点。非常可惜，吴先生竟然会被白璧德式的人文主义所吸引而深陷其中。事实上，他所有的观点全都浸染上了这种理论的色彩。糟糕的是，伦理学和艺术被搅混在一起。因此，人们常会感到困惑，不知他是在谈论文学还是在谈论道德。

作为刊物主编，胡适博士所反对的，吴先生全都拥护。几年前吴先生创办《学衡》，公开宣扬的宗旨就是：反对白话文运动，维护传统的写作方式。这是失败的一战，然而却是英勇的一斗。吴先生为《大公报》主持文艺副刊的工作同样英勇，他试图通过这方面的努力来引导中国文学界更多地关注西方文学中的实质，而不是皮毛。是的，除去极少数的例外，几乎中国所有的年轻作家，都已经决定接受西方文学那些华而不实的皮毛，而对其实质不管不顾。史实、日期、知识，都太枯燥，而且太艰涩。如今人们想要的只是随波逐流，顺手捡拾一些无价值的琐碎之物——道森[6]、波德莱尔[7]、瓦莱里[8]、维吉尼亚·伍尔夫[9]、奥尔德斯·赫胥黎[10]等等。在当代中国文学界，像吴先生那样不得体地暗示研读荷马[11]、维吉尔[12]、但丁[13]和弥尔顿[14]也有某种价值，就只能招人嗤笑了。

一个孤独的悲剧角色！尤其可悲的是，吴先生完全不了解自己。他自诩是个热诚的人文主义者和古典主义者；但是从气质上看，他却是个彻头彻尾的浪漫主义者！吴先生真诚，表里如一，他让每一个人都看到了这一点，却只有他自己没看到！他对拜伦[15]的崇拜尽人皆知，甚至模仿《恰尔德·哈罗尔德》[16]的风格写了一首中文长诗。一个矛盾，一个除了他自己谁都不难理解的矛盾！

一想起吴先生，我就总会想起他的苦笑，他在清华那几间精致、整洁而空荡的房间，还有他窗帘外面的美丽野景。也许只是我的痴想，但是我确实时常在想，如果他能拉开所有的窗帘，多看看屋外的景色，最好能投身旷野去享受一下户外景色的美，他的生活中就会少一些困惑，他的笑容里就会少一些苦涩。

［第4期，1934年1月25日］

MA CHUN-WU (马君武)

According to the different versions of Who's Who in China, Chinese leaders are to be had by thousands. But of this number we are certain that none is more interesting than Dr. Ma Chun-wu—interesting in the sense that in him we find not only a co-ordinated development of many talents but also a harmonious combination of Eastern and Western ideals of a true gentleman.

To know Dr. Ma as a man of achievements in the ordinary sense of the word, the reader is referred to any one of the biographical sketches that are found in the various versions of Who's Who in China, English, Chinese, or Japanese. But the following high points may be noted. A native of Kweilin, Kwangsi, he was born in 1881 of poor parents. His father appeared to have died early, and as an orphan of nine, we already found him roving around in Canton and other southern cities, working out a future by and for himself. At times we were told that he had only one or two bananas for meals. But his thirst for knowledge even at this tender age proved even more irresistible than his hunger for food, and soon opportunities were opened to him where he could both study and work. Leaving the details for biographers to work out later, we are for the present satisfied to know that he finally found his way to Japan, the mecca at that time for those who were after new knowledge and revolutionary ideals. After graduating from the Kyoto Imperial University in 1906, winning honour and a degree in agriculture he went to Germany and joined the Technische Hochschule in Berlin where he won the degree of "Doktor Ingenieur" in 1915. Facts like these are certainly uninteresting in these days when college diplomas are to be had by carloads, but it will yet go down in history that Dr. Ma is the very first Chinese to earn degrees in agriculture and engineering, which, by the way, in comparison with other kinds of degrees, are to this day quite rare.

Dr. Ma has been precocious in many ways, and in political life, he has been no exception. Prior to the completion of his engineering course, he was already body and soul in it. He has been a follower and friend of Dr. Sun Yat-sen since his' teens and his early sojourn in Japan had some close connection with this happy relationship. His association with this great leader finally led him in 1911 to be elected representative of his province to Nanking to draft the provisional constitution. We remember having seen the enlarged picture of this group of worthies at Dr. Ma's home in Yanghang, a few miles from

Woosung, in which Dr. Ma stood out as the very youngest. Like the provisional constitution which the worthies in the picture had helped to frame, the picture itself, we were once told by Dr. Ma, has been relegated to the realm of history since January 28, 1931. From 1911 onward and up to 1926, Dr. Ma led a very active political life, served the country in a variety of capacities, with official titles which all of us would like to possess if it were possible. Since 1926 when he first took up the presidency of the Kwangsi Government University, he seems to have evinced but little interest in politics. While still no less a follower of Dr. Sun, he has more than once denounced the party and party principles which Dr. Sun founded and formulated, and in no gentle terms.

But Dr. Ma is primarily a scholar. It appears that it was only youthful idealism that led him into politics in those early years. Soon after he had returned from Germany, he began to write and translate scientific works for Chinese students. He also rendered a number of Western classics into Chinese. For him there is no hurried work, for he soon acquired the habit of translating a thousand characters each day, whenever he is not travelling. As a result of this habit to which he still sticks today, he has succeeded in putting forth a great number of volumes the total weight and bulk of which would easily make the ox perspire and more than fill the attic, as the Chinese saying has it (汗牛充栋). A few examples may suffice. Among the translated works, we find Darwin's The Origin of Species and The Descent of Man, J. S. Mill's On Liberty, Spencer's Principles of Sociology, Haeckel's Die Weltratsel, Rousseau's Du Contrat Social, and a number of important works in mathematic, chemistry, mechanics, mineralogy and other technical subjects. He also wrote textbooks on zoology and botany, and compiled a German-Chinese dictionary. He is a lover of literature; among his voluminous writings, there is a collection of his Chinese poems. We recall to have seen a translated version of Wilhelm Tell, also done by his hand. He is a well-known calligrapher; wherever he goes, people flock to him with ink and scrolls, and he complies with ease and pleasure.

While his scholarly and educational achievements appear weighty and formidable, his personal appearance is hardly impressive, certainly not in the sense that we would have inferred from his variegated and fruitful career. Always clad in native cloth, he looks almost rustic. He has a very straightforward temperament and has no patience with those whom he dislikes. His rusticity on the one hand and frankness on the other once

conspired to produce the material of a very interesting anecdote. While serving as president of the Great China University, he had the pleasure of sitting together with two other Chinese passengers who conversed in English. He soon grew impatient and interrupted their conversation by asking what was the necessity for two Chinese to tete-a-tete in English, while the native tongue would serve equally well, if not better. What followed may be easily surmised by the reader. The dignity and amour propre of one who was able and modern enough to converse in English would not of course stand for such uncalled advice. A quarrel ensued and was on the point of leading to a fight when other passengers intervened and brought about peace, and it soon transpired that the offending party were really two English instructors in the University, whom Dr. Ma did not know, nor they recognized him as the president, being new in the office at that time.

Dr. Ma is a good dancer and knows the latest styles. He plays majong with a rapid hand, always taking up the new card without consulting the one to be discarded, true to the type of temperament we have just discussed. If he happens to be a loser, he would willingly stay up for the night, even though it is plain that in the end nobody really pays. He lives a very simple life. A lover of nature, in his house in Yanghang he used to be surrounded by all sorts of pets and cultivated plants. Amid a great number of hives he could look up and pick out the queen bee for you. He even cultivated strawberries. When he gave you a feast, he would let you know that all that you were given to eat were the product of the labour that himself and his much devoted wife had spent.

C. T.

[No. 2; Jan. 11, 1934]

马君武[1]

根据各种不同版本《中国名人录》之所录统计，中国名人可有数千之众，但是可以肯定，其中最引人关注的莫过于马君武博士——引人关注，是因为他不仅具有均衡发展的多种才能，还体现着东西方有关真君子或真绅士理想的和谐融合。

要了解一个平常意义上的名人马博士，可以查看任何一本中文、英文或是日文《中国名人录》上的生平简介。但是，可以指出如下一些值

得注意之处。1881年，他出生在广西桂林一个贫苦家庭。父亲显然死得很早，9岁成为孤儿，就已经漂泊在广州和南方其他一些城市，出卖劳力谋生。据说，有时他每顿只吃一两根香蕉。但是，在这样幼小的年纪，他渴求知识的心愿，甚至比觅食疗饥的欲望，更加难以抗拒。不久，就遇到了既可以学习又能够工作的机会。有些传记作家关心的细节，不妨留待以后研究，暂时，我们知道他终于有办法来到日本也就够了。日本，曾是当年革命理想和新知识寻求者的麦加[2]。1906年，毕业于京都帝国大学，获得农业学位后，赴德国，入柏林工业大学，1915年，获得“工学博士”学位。[3]像这样一些事实，在学位证书可以用车拉的近来这些日子里，是引不起人们关注的，但是仍然值得载入史册，因为马博士是获得农学和工学学位的中国第一人。附带说一句，这种学位，和其他种类的学位相比，至今也不多见。

马博士在许多方面都显得早熟，政治生活也不例外。早在他完成工学的课程以前，他已经身心俱在其中。他从十几岁起就是孙逸仙博士的追随者和朋友，早年逗留日本期间有幸与孙博士建立了某种亲密的关系。和这位伟大领袖的关系导致辛亥革命后他作为广西代表来到南京参与《临时约法》的起草工作。我们还记得曾看到过，这一群要人在离吴淞不远的杨行马博士家中拍的一张放大照片，其中，马博士作为最年轻的一员而显得突出。就像那张照片里的要人们协助制定的《临时约法》一样，马博士告诉我们，自从1931年1月28日以来，那张照片本身，也已经进入历史。从1911年到1926年，马博士度过一段非常活跃的政治生活，以各种不同的身份报效国家，他的那些官衔全都是我们想要的——如果可能的话。从1926年第一次担任省立广西大学校长起，他的表现好像已对政治不感兴趣。虽然依旧是孙博士的信徒，但是，不止一次，他曾以毫不委婉的措辞，谴责孙博士所缔造的党、所制定的方针。

但是，马博士首先是一位学者。早年驱使他投身政治的，好像只是年轻人的理想主义。他自德国归来不久，便开始为学生撰写和翻译科学书籍。他还把不少西方文学典籍翻译成中文。他已经没有什么急事要办，他养成了只要不旅行，每天都要译一千字的习惯。由于直到如今还在坚持的这种习惯，他译著数量之大，就像中国人所说，已经达到汗牛充栋的地步。略举几例就够了。在翻译作品中，有达尔文的《物种原始》和《人的世系》，弥勒约翰[5]的《自由原理》、斯宾塞的《社会学原理》、海克尔的《宇宙之谜》，卢梭的《民约论》，以及一大批重要的数学、化学、机械学、矿物学和其他技术学科著作。他还撰写了动物学和植物学的教科书，并且编纂了一部德汉词典。他热爱文学，在他卷帙浩繁的著作中，有一集是他的中文诗。我们还记得看到过《威廉·退而》的一个译本，也出自他的手笔。他还是著名的书法家，无论他走到

哪里，都会有成群的人带着笔墨和纸来找他，他总是轻松愉快地满足要求。

尽管他在学术和教育方面取得了显然是重大而令人敬畏的成就，但是从外表是看不出来的，从他色彩缤纷、硕果累累的业绩，很难推想出他会给人的印象。总是一身土布衣服，看上去几乎就是乡下佬。他有非常直率的脾气，对讨厌的人毫无耐心。他那一身土气，加上坦诚的性格，有一次引出了一起趣事。在担任大夏大学校长期间，他曾有幸和两个用英语交谈的乘客同坐一起。很快，他就变得不耐烦而打断他们的谈话，问他们，有什么必要用英语交谈，如果本国语言同样好用，即使不更好用。读者不难想象接下去会发生什么。一个人，如果有点才能而又时髦到能用英语交谈，其自尊和自爱都不会容忍这种不请自来的忠告。随后的争吵发展到就要打起来的时候，别的乘客出面调解，平息了这场纷争。不久，人们得知，令他不快的一方，其实是他那大学的两名英语讲师，马博士并不知道他们，他们也不认识这位校长，因为他到任不久。

马博士是跳舞高手，会跳最新式的舞。他打麻将出手很快，总是不考虑打掉什么牌就摸进新张，完全符合我们刚谈到的那种脾气。如果碰巧他是个输家，他会高高兴兴坚持通宵，即使已经十分明显，最后谁也不会真正付账。他过着一种十分简朴的生活。他喜爱自然，在杨行他的家里，他总是被包围在各种宠物和栽培植物中间。从许许多多蜂箱里，他能够给你把蜂王找出来。他甚至栽培草莓。如果他宴请，他会让你知道请你吃的，全都是他自己和他那位深情相爱的妻子共同劳动的成果。

陈　达

［第2期；1934年1月11日］

Y. R. CHAO (赵元任)

It was Aldous Huxley who said of his great friend D. H. Lawrence that he could do almost everything well. He could sing, dance, talk, cook and make fire better than anyone else; but above all, he could keep silent in company without giving the impression of being sulky. Mr. Chao is like D. H. Lawrence in this respect. The thing which would strike one on meeting him for the first time is that he is unusually uncommunicative and retiring. He is not the sort of person who is always clamouring for public attention. He is quite content to let you do all the talking, while listening to you in a flattering manner as if you were really uttering some very profound truths.

But somehow or other, even when he does or says nothing, one simply feels that here is a man who cannot be overlooked. And so he is indeed! For truth to tell, Mr. Chao is one of the most versatile scholars in China of today. Born in 1892 at Tientsin, Mr. Chao received his early education in Changchow and Nanking. In 1910, he passed the examination for Tsing Hua scholarship to America. He entered Cornell and majored in physics and mathematics, and picked up for himself music, psychology and philosophy. After graduation, he went to Harvard for advanced study of philosophy. From that institution, he got his Ph.D. degree, his thesis being on Continuity, "proving that it was impossible to prove anything and concluding that no universal proposition was true." He went back to Cornell to teach physics in 1919 and after having stayed there a year, he came home and joined the faculty of Tsing Hua College. He was invited to be interpreter for Bertrand Russell during the latter's visit of China on a lecture tour, on account of, to quote himself, "my knowing a score of Chinese dialects" and "knowing some of the queer things that he knows."In 1921, he went to America again to teach Chinese and philosophy at Harvard University. He returned to China in 1925, and since 1929, he has been a research fellow in the Department of Language and History of the National Research Institute (Academia Sinica).

Mr. Chao is much interested in the study of the Chinese language. He has devised a system of alphabetic writing of the Chinese language adequate for scientific, literary and everyday purposes. He has made a set of phonographic records of the National Language, and has compiled a book of Chinese rhymes.

Aside from the above achievements, Mr. Chao has also translated Lewis

Carroll's Alice in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass into Chinese. The translations are admirably done, considering how difficult it is to render those masterpieces of English humour into a foreign language.

Mr. Chao's hobby is music. He has in fact composed tunes for many of the poems by Hsu Tse-mo, Hu Shih and others. He has a lot of original ideas about the theory of music and he hopes someday to invent a big fundamental idea (comparable in convenience and simplicity to the two dimensional graphic representation of functions of two variables) by which one can represent time, pitch and a third dimension for different instruments. To quote himself: "The usual notation for a score uses the vertical dimension for two different things in an intolerable mixture. To use solid models of one group of instruments behind another, or different colours for different timbers of instruments would be quite impracticable. I dare say if people could swim freely in three dimensions and draw freely and quickly solid pictures, as do the what-do-you-call-that-fish-which-emits-ink, our thought and expression would be as superior to what it is as this is superior to the ancient literature of knots tied in a one-dimensional string."

Besides his passion for music, Mr. Chao also loves to collect books "and let them lie about me instead of me about them." He is fond of collecting proverbs too, "not for keep sake, but to see what I can do with them." The following are examples of what he has "undone."

1. A friend in debt is a friend you bet.
2. Where there is a swell, there is a sway.
3. Loaf, and the world loafs with you;
   Sweep, and you sweep alone.
4. No smoke without fire.
5. Fine leather makes fine boots.

Another of his weaknesses is the collection of seventeen's. This began at a time when he was studying mathematics with a teacher who always used to say: "Take any number, one, two, three, or no matter even if you take seventeen." Since then, he has discovered that quite a number of people take seventeen for their favourite "any number." Once he lifted up the telephone receiver in a hotel in New York and heard the girl announcing herself, "Operator Seventeen!", and he all but answered "Much obliged!"

But above everything else, Mr. Chao likes to collect or rather to concoct nonsensical verse. Here is one done by himself:

I start with once upon a time,
But cannot find a word to rhyme.
And this is just as near the truth,
As Yu is π2.

The last line, he authoritatively states, is pronounced: "As why to the youth is pie to the tooth."

Mr. Chao is in the habit of sending a printed letter to all of his friends about once a year. He calls them "Green Letters," and the average length of each is about 15 closely printed pages. It is from these letters that most of the material in this article is gathered.

[No. 5; Feb. 1, 1934]

赵元任[1]

奥尔德斯·赫胥黎在谈到他的朋友劳伦斯[2]时曾经说，他几乎做什么都能做得很好。他唱歌、跳舞、谈话、烹饪、生火，比任何人都做得更好。尤为突出的是，他能和朋友们在一起时默不作声，却并不给人以沉闷的印象。在这方面，赵先生很像劳伦斯。和他初次见面就会给人留下深刻印象的，是他的沉默寡言和腼腆孤僻。他不属于总是设法引起公众注意的那类人。他会让你一个人把所有的话全都说尽，自己则讨人欢喜地从旁认真谛听，就仿佛你确实是在谈论某些高深的道理。

但是不知为什么，即使他什么也不说、什么也不做，人们也会感觉到，这里有一个不能忽视其存在的人。确实如此！说实话，赵先生是今日中国最多才多艺的学者之一。赵先生1892年出生于天津，在常州和南京接受了早期教育。1910年，他考取清华的留美公费，进入康奈尔大学，主修物理和数学，选修音乐、心理学和哲学。毕业后，又入哈佛进修哲学，并在那里获得他的博士学位。他的学位论文论述了“连续性”，“证明了，什么也证明不了；结论是，没有一种全称命题为真”。1919年，他回康奈尔大学讲授物理学，一年后回国，任教于清华学校。罗素[3]访华作巡回演讲时，他应邀担任翻译，用他自己的话来说，是由于“我懂得20种方言，还懂得他所懂的一些古怪的东西”。1921年，他再度赴美，在哈佛大学讲授汉语和哲学。他1925年回国，自1929年起任中央研究院历史语言研究所的研究员。

赵先生对研究中国语言很有兴趣。他设计出了一种书写汉语的拼音系统，既适用于科学、文学，也适用于日常生活。他已经灌制了一套国

语唱片，还编写了一部汉语韵书。

除了上述成就，赵先生还把刘易斯·卡罗尔[4]的《阿丽思漫游奇境记》和《镜中世界》译成了中文，翻译得非常出色，要知道，把一部英语的幽默杰作译成外国文字该有多难。

赵先生酷爱音乐。事实上，他给徐志摩、胡适等人的好些诗作都配过曲。在音乐理论方面，他也有不少独到的见解，希望有一天能够发明一种极有价值的基本方法（就像使用二维图形表示二元函数一样方便和简单），可用以标记节拍、表示音高和代表不同乐器这三个维度。用他自己的话来说，“标记总谱时，通常的方法是使用垂直的维度来标记过分复杂的混音中两个不同的音。使用一组乐器在前、另一组在后的立体模型，或是使用不同的颜色来标记不同乐器的不同音色，都是很不现实的。我敢说，要是人能够像喷吐墨汁的乌贼那样在三度空间里自由地游泳，自由而快捷地绘制立体图画，我们的想法和表达方式就会比现在这样的优越，就像现在的想法和表达方式要比远古单一维度的结绳记事性文献优越一样”。

除了对音乐的偏爱，赵先生还喜欢藏书，“让书围着我，别让我围着书”。他还喜欢收集格言和箴言，“并不是为了收藏，而是想要看看我能对它们做些什么”。以下几条就是被他“解决”了的：

1．欠债的朋友是你下注信得过的朋友。
2．有隆起必有凹陷。
3．分食，举世皆愿与你分食；
独吞，只能孤家寡人独吞。
4．无火不冒烟。
5．好皮子，做出好靴子。

他的另一个癖好是收集“17”。这种癖好是从他上一位老师的数学课时开始的。这位老师常说：“取任意一个数，不论是1、2、3，甚或是17。”从那个时候起，他发现不少人都喜欢把17当作他们喜欢的“任意数”。有一次在纽约一家旅馆，他拿起电话听筒，听到一个姑娘的声音只是自报了一声“17号接线员！”，他几乎就要说“非常感谢！”

而超过其他一切的，是他喜好收集和编写打油诗。以下这首打油诗是他自己的大作：

I start with once upon a time,
But cannot find a word to rhyme.
And this is just as near the truth,
As Yu is π2.[5]

其中最后一行，根据他的权威性说明，应该这样读：“As why to the

youth is pie to the tooth."

赵先生习惯于每年给所有的朋友寄一封打印好的信件，他称那些信件为"绿色信件"。每封信的长短平均为排印得很密的15页信纸。这篇短文里的极大部分材料，便来源于那些信件。

［第5期，1934年2月1日］

EMPEROR MALGRE LUI[1]

In the long history of mankind there have been many commoners made emperors; there have been many emperors forced to abdicate the throne; there have also been some exiled emperors who made a successful struggle back to the throne, as, in the case of Napoleon I. But there have been few, if any, instances where a man was made emperor three times without knowing why and apparently without relishing it. Believe it or not, Mr. Henry Puyi holds the world's record in the number of times that any mortal may ascend and abdicate the throne—that is, after March 1 when he will be crowned for the third time.

Yes, Henry was born lucky—if being an emperor as he was can be considered as such. At the age of four, his late uncle Emperor Kwang Hsu died and as he left no offspring, Empress Dowager Tsu Hsi picked Henry as the nearest of kin to be the successor. So, in 1909 when he was a mere infant, Henry was ceremoniously enthroned and was supposed to reign under the title of Hsuan Tung. History does not record how he liked his coronation, but we can easily imagine how a kid of four years old would react when he is forced to leave his bed at four or five o'clock in the morning, to keep quiet on the throne and to watch kowtowing all round. Henry must have forgotten his experience at coronation, otherwise he could have told us how out of curiosity and devilry he tried to snatch the crown jewels from his own head only to be put back again by the Empress who was sitting with him. He must have wished to give up everything—crown, throne, and all—to be able to come down to have a grand tussle with some of his subjects that kept on kowtowing to him.

Whatever it was, it proved to be an unholy thought for a baby emperor and inauspicious for such an occasion, for after only three years of this grand ceremony, the revolution broke out and Yuan Shih-kai whom the Manchus trusted with the task of suppression of the revolution double-crossed his erstwhile masters and suggested abdication. What could the Manchus do against a man who was backed up to the limit by his henchmen who held important positions in the army? Accordingly, in 1912, the boy emperor was made to resign for the benefit of the country. But here again, the luck of the boy carried him through, for instead of having to submit to an ignominious fate and live in retirement as most emperors under similar circumstance

would have to do, Henry was allowed to keep the palace and an enormous annuity of 4,000,000. He had lost his empire and all that it would bring, that is true; but for practical purpose, he was just as comfortably off and could command just as much respect inside the premises of the palace as he ever could. Then, on grand occasions, like new year, birthday, etc., some of his former subjects would come to kowtow to him just as they did formerly.

However, his retirement did not last long. And if he did not appreciate the first coronation, at least he should the second occasion in 1917 when, after the successful coup d'etat by his faithful subject, the late notorious General Chang Hsun, he was again put on the throne. Henry was by this time eleven years old and certainly would have enjoyed seeing so many people fussing over him and paying respect to him. But the sin of his ancestors was evidently too much for him, for in about a week's time, Marshal Tuan Chi-jui's army surrounded Peking and Henry was again forced to abdicate and retire to the palace.

Because of this experience and other reasons, he was chased out of the palace in 1924, when Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang came into power, and he had to seek refuge in the Japanese Concession in Tientsin. It was during this period that Henry enjoyed a little of the life of a normal man. He was now married—to two wives too. He studied English under Dr. Johnston from whom he got his foreign name, Henry, and it was undoubtedly due to this Englishman that he obtained his occasional favorable press comments in English and American journals. He was learning some manly sports, tennis, golf and what not. It was also during this time that his second wife sought to leave him and Henry had to pay her ￥50,000 for alimony in order to keep the matter out of court. Henry is probably the first emperor that has to do that. Usually when an emperor was dissatisfied with his wife, he just cut her head off or had her strangled. However, in spite of desertion and scandal, this was undoubtedly the happiest period in his life. The payment of his annuity had long since stopped, it is true; but he was never in want. Many of his former subjects were still rich and ready to help. Besides he had at his disposal a great amount of palace treasures that he had secreted out with him when fleeing from Peking. Under the circumstances, Henry would have been quite satisfied if he were to be left alone to pass his life in quietude.

But evidently the sin of his ancestor was again working against him, when lo, all of a sudden there came the Japanese coup at Mukden on September 18, 1931, and he was spirited away from Tientsin and the next

thing we heard of him was that he was chosen to be the head of the puppet state established by the Japanese in Manchuria. Report has it that Henry is not comfortable in his new surroundings and wishes that he could be restored the liberty and freedom that he enjoyed before. But regardless of his intentions, the Japanese are not yet through with him. They are going to make him "emperor" once again. The future of the young man is very hard to tell. But those who realize that he is merely a victim of circumstance, in spite of the injustices that his ancestors did to the country, wish him well. May he outlive his usefulness.

[No. 6; Feb. 8, 1934]

不由自主的皇帝

在人类漫长的历史进程中，有不少平民被黄袍加身，有不少皇帝被迫退位；也有一些被流放的皇帝复辟成功，如拿破仑一世。但是，还没有人——如果有也很少——曾被三次尊奉为皇帝而不知其所以然，并且显然不觉得是一种享受。信不信由你，溥仪先生[2]（英文名亨利），在一个活人登基和退位的次数上，将会是世界纪录的保持者——那是说3月1日以后，他将在那一天被第三次加冕。

是的，溥仪生而有幸——如果当他当过的那种皇帝能被看作幸运的话。4岁，他伯父光绪死去，由于没有子嗣，慈禧太后便把最近的亲属溥仪选为继位人。于是，1909年，只是一个幼儿的溥仪，就行礼如仪登基，以宣统的名义“统治”国家。历史并没有记录他是否喜欢他的登基大典，但是人们可以很容易想象，一个4岁大的孩子，凌晨四五点，被迫离开他的被窝，默不作声地坐在金龙宝座上，看着四周围人人都在向他叩头。溥仪一定已经忘记他对那场大典的体验，否则就能告诉我们，他是怎样出于好奇和恶作剧，试图把皇冠珠宝从自己头上拽下，却只能是被坐在身旁的皇太后重新放回原处。[3]他一定希望放弃一切——皇冠、御座，和一切——以便从座位上跑下来，和几个不断对他叩头的臣民尽情扭斗一番。[4]

无论如何，事实证明，对于一个娃娃皇帝，这是一种大不敬的思想，对于这种场合，则预示不祥，因为这场大典举行仅三年，革命爆发了，被清廷委以镇压革命重任的袁世凯，出卖了往日的主子，建议退位。面对有着掌握重兵的党羽全力支持的这样一个人物，清廷能有什么作为？因而，1912年，这个孩子皇帝就被迫而退位以有利于国家了。但

是，这时又是这孩子的幸运帮他渡过难关，不必像多数皇帝在类似局面下无可奈何地听凭耻辱命运的摆布，溥仪得以保有他的皇宫，并且获得每年400万两白银的一笔数额巨大的年金。不错，他失去了他的帝国和帝国可能带来的一切，但是，实际上在皇宫之内，他仍可过得同样舒适，享有同样多的尊敬，无异以往。之后，在诸如新年、诞辰之类重大节庆日，他有些往日的臣下还会前来向他叩头，一如既往。

然而，这样一种引退，为时不久。如果他曾经不喜欢第一次登基大典，至少，他应该会喜欢1917年的第二次，在忠于他的旧臣、那位臭名昭著的张勋将军政变成功之后，他又一次被拥上金龙宝座。这时的溥仪11岁，看到那么许多人异乎常情地关心他、向他表示敬意，一定十分开心。但是他祖先的罪孽对他来说是过分深重了一点，大约过了一个星期[5]，段祺瑞将军的军队就包围了北京，溥仪不得不又一次退位而回到宫墙之内。

由于这一次的经历和其他一些原因，1924年，冯玉祥将军掌握大权，他被赶出了皇宫，而不得不到天津日租界去寻求庇护。正是这一时期，溥仪过上了一小段常人生活。他这时也已结婚，娶了两个妻子。他在庄士敦博士教诲下学习英文，老师给他取了个洋名亨利。无疑，是由于这位英国洋人的关系，英美报刊上偶尔会有一些有利于他的新闻评议。他还学着打网球、高尔夫球之类适合男人的运动。也是这一时期，他第二个妻子谋求离异，溥仪不得不付给她一笔5万元的赡养费，以达成庭外和解。溥仪多半是第一个不得不这样做的皇帝。通常，一个皇帝对妻子感到不满了，不是砍掉她的脑袋，就是让她被绞死。然而，尽管出现了背弃和丑闻，这仍然是他一生最快乐的时期。不错，年金支取早已停止，但是他从不缺钱。他的许多故旧臣下仍然富有，随时都乐于资助。而且，他还有大量宫廷财宝可供支配，那是他逃离北京时偷带出来的。在当时的环境下，他会十分满意，如果，能够让他平静度过余生。

但是，显然是他祖先的罪孽又一次作祟，瞧，1931年9月18日，日本人突然在沈阳发动事变，他被秘密带离天津。我们听到他的第二条消息，说他被选中，充当日本人在满洲建立的傀儡政权头目。有报道说，溥仪对他新的处境感到不舒服，希望恢复他以往享有的权利和自由。但是，日本人毫不顾忌他的意愿，还是要把他又一次立为“皇帝”。这个年轻人的前途难测。但是，不管他的祖先对这个国家做过些什么，了解他不过是环境牺牲品的人们，仍然希望他好好活着。但愿他能够活到可利用的价值用尽之后。

［第6期；1934年2月8日］

JOHN C. H. WU (吴经熊)

John C. H. Wu, or Wu Ching-hsiung, is a name that is familiar to people of widely different descriptions. The Ningpo merchant in Shanghai recognises in him the son of a late business leader in Ningpo, a son who has distinguished himself in fields of learning entirely beyond the comprehension or dream of his own father or of those Ningpoese whose names are associated with steamship companies or piecegoods firms. The informed foreigner in Shanghai remembers him as a former Court president and judge noted for tempering the high austerity of the bench with the winning graces of a literary humourist. His friends, however, see in him a many-sided personality brimful of youthful enthusiasm, whose good qualities are seen to the best advantage when put side by side with his weaknesses.

As a jurist of international reputation, Wu is no mere jurist in the ordinary sense of the word. If you ask him about a common legal phenomenon in Shanghai, that is, what is the punishment for a person convicted of a charge of seduction preferred by a dancing girl, very likely he will tell you that he does not recall the precise penalty imposed by the Criminal Code, or that he does not know if it is a crime expressly provided for in the Code. He will promise you to study the case, and pending his being briefed up, will lecture to you on the psychological and sociological issues involved, citing Goethe, Whitman, and Oscar Wilde. The drudgery of looking up the law, he will leave to some of his underlings who can best utilise their talents in digging up the relevant articles in the Code and marshalling the facts in a way to await the application of the Code provision. Wu is always proud to say that he sees the function of law in society sub specie eternitatis, that is to say, in terms of eternity, or as an eternal problem. It might appear a little difficult to see how, with this mental make-up, Wu could have tackled successfully, as he did, such problems as extraterritoriality and the status of the Shanghai International Settlement, both problems being the essence of his work first in his capacity as Acting President of the Provisional Court at Shanghai and later in connection with his advisership on municipal affairs to the Shanghai Municipal Council. This is a lingering doubt in the minds not only of the public but of some of his friends. To many, also, his playful humour is such a contrast to the seriousness of the sort of work he undertakes, for instance, the drafting of a constitution that purports to put an

end to the political insecurity in our country. And when his draft constitution was criticised in good or bad faith, by his friends and his enemies, many attribute his "failure" as a constitution-maker to too much philosophising or lack of interest in political realities.

Wu was not, however, blind to the momentous character of his work. He took into account possibly more political realities than his critics had envisaged. Nevertheless, he considers the distinction between ideals and realities quite a shadowy one. The conventional distinction, when seen in the perspective of history, must fail as soon as it is pitted against the environment of the time. Dogmas in political science and law have to be shattered in order to make room for the best contributions of the age. No less unsatisfying than a constitution that pleases the reigning potentates is one that caters to the taste of scholars whose knowledge about constitutions does not go beyond Bagehot's beautiful essay or the learned treatise in our own language by the present minister of education. Wu's constitution will possibly be known as a piece of art where ideals bear indistinguishably upon the periphery of realities, but is this not true also of the best artistic productions of which we are proud?

Praise him or condemn him as we might, constitution drafting occupies a small place in the purview of Wu's interests. But the pity of it is that even his friends take this as the yardstick to measure his success. The true personality of Wu is not well-understood. He takes delight, indeed, in worldly honours. A secret joy always overtakes him as he recalls that, a young man in his thirties, he was judge of a court, lecturer at a famous American law school and is president of a law school of no mean reputation and has been entrusted with the drafting of the Chinese constitution. At heart, he is, however, a "sad laughing man," like his old friend, Justice Holmes. He regrets that he has been prevented by opportunities, or rather the lack of them, in China from making the best contribution to legal thought of which he is capable. When he was told that his admirers in America thought he had anticipated in his writings many of the thoughts of the most brilliant "realists" of the day in legal philosophy, such as Jerome Frank and Karl Llewelyn, he almost dropped tears.

From feelings of vanity he is indeed not free. Is he not a believer in the classic as well as realistic definition of vanity given by Justice Holmes: "Vanity is the most philosophical of those feelings that we are taught to despise. For vanity recognises that if a man is in the minority of one we lock

him up and therefore longs for an assurance from others that one's work has not been in vain"? And has not Gladstone described, with similar truth, vanity as "a defect rather than a vice; never admitted into the septenary catalogue of the mortal sins of Dante and the Church; often lodged by the side of high and strict virtue, often allied with an amiable and playful innocence; a token of imperfection, a deduction from greatness and no more"?

[No. 7; Feb. 15, 1934]

吴经熊[1]

John C. H. Wu，或吴经熊，在一些各不相干、完全不同的社会群体中，是一个广为人知的名字。上海的宁波商人会知道他是宁波一位已故商界领袖的儿子，这个儿子已经成了一名声誉卓著的学者，他所熟知的那些学科，是他自己的父亲和那些在轮船公司及布匹行业有名有姓的宁波人所无法理解的。上海见多识广的外国人会记得，他曾经是地方法院的庭长和法官，以擅长用幽默文学作家的动人魅力来缓和法庭高度严肃的气氛而闻名。不过，他的朋友看到的是他充满青春、热情洋溢的多面人格，他的优点与弱点放在一起时会显得更加突出。

作为一名享有国际声誉的法学家，吴经熊并不只是通常意义上的法学家。如果你问到上海一种常见的法律现象——有人由于被舞女指控诱奸而罪名成立，应该受到怎样的惩罚，他很可能会告诉你，他记不清楚刑法典上准确的惩罚规定，或者不知道这是不是法典上确有明文规定的一种罪行。他会答应你研究一下这个问题，而在掌握相关信息之前，他会引述歌德、惠特曼[2]和王尔德[3]的诗句或言论向你讲解其中牵涉到的心理学和社会学问题。查看法律条文之类枯燥的工作，他会留给下属去做，最有效地利用他们的才能到法典中去发掘相关的条款，并把事实梳理一番以备应用法典条文。吴经熊经常自豪地说，他总是以永恒的观点看待法律的社会作用，也就是说，这是一个永恒的问题。也许有点难以理解的是，具有这样一种精神气质的他，居然成功地处理了诸如治外法权和上海公共租界的地位这样的问题。解决这两个问题，对于先是作为上海临时裁判厅厅长、后来又成为上海市工部局市政顾问的他，是最主要的工作。这不仅是公众也是他某些朋友的心头挥之不去的一个疑问。而且，在许多人看来，他喜爱说笑的脾气和他从事的严肃工作（例如，草拟一部旨在结束我国政治混乱的宪法），在性质上格格不入。当他的宪法草案受到友人和敌人善意或恶意的批评时，许多人都把他作为宪法

起草人的失败，归咎于空泛的议论太多或者对政治现实缺乏兴趣。

其实，吴经熊对自己工作的重要性质并非不知。他对政治现实的考虑很可能要比批评他的人们所设想的更多。尽管如此，他仍然认为理想和现实之间的区别十分模糊。从历史的角度看来，只要和当时的环境稍一较量，传统的区别便难以成立了。政治学和法律中的一些教条就必须被打破，以便为时代的最佳贡献让出空间。和一部取悦统治者的宪法一样难以令人满意的，是一部迎合学者口味的宪法，而这些学者有关宪法的涉猎超不过白哲特[4]漂亮的文章或是现任教育部长用汉语写作的学术论文。吴经熊的宪法很可能被当作一件艺术品，理想和现实的表面逼近得难以分辨——我们引以为豪的艺术珍品难道不也是这样？

我们可以赞扬他，也可以批评他，但是宪法起草在他兴趣广泛的活动中只占一小部分。可惜的是，连他的朋友也以此作为衡量他成就的尺码。吴经熊的真实个性并不为人们充分理解，不过他实在是喜欢世俗荣誉。每当想起他三十来岁就当上了法官和一家著名的美国所办大学[5]法学院讲师，到如今已是这所响当当的法学院的院长，并且被委以起草中国宪法的重任，他就会暗自欣喜。但是在他的内心深处，他是一个“苦笑的人”，正如他的老朋友霍姆斯法官[6]一样。他为自己未能有机会在中国在他本来可能有所建树的法学思想方面作出最佳贡献而深感遗憾。有人对他说，他在美国的仰慕者认为，在他的著作里早就提出了最出色的法理学“现实主义者”杰尔姆·弗兰克和卡尔·卢埃林之流的许多想法，他听了几乎要流下眼泪。

他确实未能摆脱虚荣的情绪。难道他不相信霍姆斯法官对虚荣所下的经典而实在的定义：“虚荣，在我们被教育应该鄙视的所有情绪中，是最有哲学意味的一种。因为虚荣承认，如果一个人处于孤独的少数地位而受到人们的歧视，就会期望别人对他工作并非徒劳有所确认”？难道格莱斯顿[7]不也曾同样正确地说过：虚荣是“一种缺点而不是罪过，从来也不曾被开列在但丁或是基督教会七宗重大罪过的清单之内，倒常常被安排在崇高严谨的美德一边，常与友善顽皮的天真结盟，是不完美的一种标志，是伟大因之减色的亏欠，不过如此而已”？

［第7期，1934年2月15日］

MISS KAO KYUIN-SAN (高君珊)

I remember distinctly that night in a very cosy, though small, attic room on South Division Street. Ann Arbor was at its gayest when Freshmen came to taste the life of a university, Sophomores to grow into upper classmen and be wiser, and Juniors and Seniors to graduate and be married. So Kyuin-san crossed the Pacific for the second time to join the University of Michigan as a fellow in education. But that was nothing unusual—so many Chinese have been fellows before. The important factor was that I met her in that little attic room. Outside, there was lightning and thunder, and rain poured out of a pale September sky. There were three of us: a graduate scholar in Physics, Kyuin-san and I. We were sitting beside a desk which was much too large for the room, the Physics scholar in an armchair too big for her size, Kyuin-san occupying the seat in front of the desk, and I on a stool. With this incongruous immenseness around us, we talked about problems too immense for our comprehension and felt how little we were. Kyuin-san was telling us about the great fire in Shanghai, the cause of which one could only guess at but never make known. She told us of the poverty and sufferings of our people back home. At this, in the innocent idealism of our college days, the Physics scholar and I made a vow that we would "serve," and "sacrifice" for, our country when we came back. It thundered more, rained more. The night was growing into dawn, and the stillness of the little attic room set our hearts afire. We looked into Kyuin-san's face with almost childlike simplicity and beheld wonders in it. But our idealism faded into nothingness. The Physics scholar is now burying herself in a research laboratory; Kyuin-san still sticks to her education; and I—never mind about me.

But the idealism is not totally lost, at least not with Kyuin-san. It is not because she is a Professor of Education at Yenching University and therefore is an educator of man; but rather she educates herself. She is the symbol of both old and new. All that of the old culture and literature which the modern women lack lies in her; and yet many of the new fads and fashions which they indulge in she does not adopt. But she is not prim and biased and prejudiced. She has humour and can take a joke. A friend once said to her good-naturedly: "You looked saintly years ago, but now you are touchable."

If I were to draw a caricature of her, I would have her holding a baby in one hand, and a magazine, preferably the Life Weekly, now defunct, in the

other. If I could possibly add a third without being misunderstood to be insulting, I would have that hand hold a pen and a postcard. On it she should write 文章虽好，性命要紧 ("It is fun to write, but life is just as precious"). This was a little piece of advice which she gave to Hu Shih when she left for America in 1929, the two being very good friends. Evidently the advice proved very useful and was well taken.

Did I not say a baby? Well, this is the consummation of her humour. She adopted one. And I dare say no real mother ever loves and cares for her baby better than she does. In fact she does too much. Her room is a nursery, and her Peiping quarter will soon, I am afraid, be a kindergarten! Once Kyuin-san took her child to see a friend of hers. The child asked on the way, "Will auntie give me candy?" The auntie, whose mind was, perhaps, more on other things than on children, gave her none. Thereupon the "mother" bought her some instead. A sneeze from the baby means a trip to the doctor's; her teething trouble means a dentist's bill. Magazines, periodicals and books on education will gladly give place to "bow to take care of infants" if the baby cries.

Indeed, Kyuin-san is happy, for she has found her true vocation as the "mother" of an adopted child.

[No. 8; Feb. 22, 1934]

高君珊女士[1]

我还记得非常清楚，那天夜晚，在安阿伯[2]南区大街一间非常舒适的顶楼小房间里，那是安阿伯最欢快的时节，一年级的新生前来体验大学生活的滋味，二年级的大学生就要升级而增长智慧，三年级、四年级的大学生将要毕业、谈婚论嫁。就是在此时节，君珊第二次横渡太平洋，来到密歇根大学做攻读教育学的研究生。但是，这没有什么不寻常的——毕竟，早已经有了不少的中国研究生。重要的是，我在那间顶楼小房间里遇到了她。房间外边，灰蒙蒙的九月天空，电闪雷鸣，大雨滂沱。当时，同在一起的有我们三个：一个物理学的毕业生、君珊和我。我们坐在一张对于整个房间来说显得过大的办公桌旁：物理学家坐在对她来说显得过大的扶手椅上，君珊占据着办公桌前的位子，我坐在一只凳子上。围坐在这张比例尺度不协调的大桌子周围，我们谈论着难以理解的问题，感觉到自己那么渺小。君珊告诉我们有关上海火灾[3]的情

况，但是，起火的原因只能凭猜测，永远不会有人公布。她告诉我们国内人民的贫困和苦难。说到这儿，在那天真的大学理想主义时代，我和物理学家都宣誓，将来回去一定要“报效”我们的国家，甚至不惜为国“牺牲”。外面的雷打了又打，雨下了又下。黑夜逐渐转化成为黎明，顶楼小屋的寂静使我们的内心热血沸腾。我们凝视着君珊几乎像孩子般单纯的面孔，看到了理想成真的奇迹。但是，我们的理想主义已经消失得无影无踪。那位物理学家，现在正在一家研究室内埋头工作；君珊，还在坚持她的教育；而我——不必介意我在做些什么。

但是，理想主义并没有完全丢失，至少就君珊的情况来说是这样，并非因为她是燕京大学的教育学教授而成了教育人的教育家，而在于她对自己进行的教育。她既是旧的也是新的象征。所有和旧文化、旧文学相关而为现代女性所缺乏的，在她身上都有；而她们所热衷的大部分时髦和风尚，她却不接受。但是她也并不故作正经、抱持成见或偏见。她有幽默感，也开得起玩笑。一个朋友有一次和善地对她说，“几年前你看上去像个圣徒，但是现在，你已经能‘触摸到’了。”

如果我给她画一幅漫画，我会让她一手抱着婴儿，另一只手拿本杂志，最好是现在已经停刊的《生活周刊》。如果我可以画第三只手而不被误解为侮辱的话，我要让那只手拿着钢笔和明信片，卡片上写下的是“文章虽好，性命要紧”的字样。这是她1929年出国赴美时留给胡适的忠告，他俩是非常要好的朋友。显然，这则忠告非常有用，也被愉快地采纳了。

我刚才提到婴儿了吧？不错，这是她好性情的完美表现，她领养了一个孩子。我敢说，没有一个真正的妈妈对孩子的爱护能够和她相比。事实上，她关爱得有点过分。她的房间成了育儿室，我担心，她在北平的住宅很快就会变成一个幼儿园！有一次，君珊带着她的孩子去看朋友。孩子在路上问：“阿姨会给糖我吃吗？”那位阿姨也许心里正想着别的事情，没顾得上孩子，没有给她糖果。因此，“妈妈”便自己买了一些给孩子吃。孩子打个喷嚏，她就要带着去看大夫；孩子出牙期有问题，就意味着牙医有进账了。孩子一哭，有关教育的杂志、期刊和书籍，全都会乖乖地让位，让她“躬身去照顾孩子”。

实际上，君珊是幸福的，因为她找到了真正的职业，那就是作为领养孩子的“妈妈”。

［第8期，1934年2月22日］

DR. HU SHIH (胡适), A PHILOSOPHE

To a few, Dr. Hu Shih is either a good enemy or a very good friend. To the rest, he is a big brother (老大哥). All own him to be affable and charming—even his worst foes. He knows all the graces of a gallant, without himself being a gallant. In all those little, but indispensable, "airy nothings" which endear a man to society, especially to the company of ladies, Dr. Hu is an adept. He has the happy knack of making everybody feel at home in his company. The proud are flattered by his attentions; and nincompoops feel important by his treatment of them as his equals. In the best sense of the word, Dr. Hu is a democrat: he has not a touch of either social or intellectual snobbishness.

Dr. Hu keeps open house on Sundays. Nobody then is refused entrance to his house. With everyone, whether student or communist or businessman or robber, he is equally patient in hearing as in speaking. Those in distress, he helps. For those who want jobs, he writes letters of introduction. Some who seek enlightenment on points of scholarship, he tries to the best of his ability to satisfy. Others who just go to say "How do you do?", he entertains by odds and ends of news. All go away from his house with a sense of time well spent.

A little over forty, Dr. Hu looks much younger than his age. Clean shaven and neatly attired, he is neatness itself. Hair all jet black, with no touch of gray, prominent Augustan forehead, with eyes large and frank, a mobile pair of lips, suggestive of eloquence and an easy flow of speech, a good complexion, Dr. Hu's face suggests neither a scholar's "simple living and high thinking," nor a man-of-the-world's "good board and fast living."Of medium height, just right in size, agile and free in his movements, Dr. Hu has the appearance of a man-of-the-world turned scholar, rather than a scholar turned man-of-the-world.

Dr. Hu's knowledge is prodigious. Something of everything, he knows from the composition of aphrodisiacs to the most abstruse doctrines of Buddhism. He reads extensively: Tchehov, some of whose stories he has translated; Chinese poetry, of which he has formed an anthology(词选); early Chinese philosophy, on which he has written a book; Buddhist philosophy, of which we have scraps from his pen, now and again; Chinese and European novels; and so on ad infinitum. And he writes on the most diverse of subjects

—politics, social questions, history, evolutionary theories, textual criticism, etc. etc. A mere glance at the contents of his collection of articles (胡适文存) will give us some idea of the range and versatility of his mind. This plus his conversation, breezy, often informative, never pedantic, will give us a complete picture of his mind.

Dr. Hu is not one of those who keep and hide their talents underground. What he has, he shows. What he is, is all there—in his books, in his conversation, in his ways. He does not believe in hiding anything. There is no mystery in him: all is sunshine, and no shadow. His mind is like one vast, brilliantly lighted lake, where are no deep romantic chasms nor echoes of the other world. In such a lake, we are not interested in its depth, but in its surface, which reflects everything, and which has the power of giving us neat, clean, ordered pictures of Cosmos. In such pictures, nuance, soul, religion have no place.

Dr. Hu is justly admired for the lucidity of his style. Le style, c'est l'homme. We think of the lucidity of Haeckel's style, and then, all at once, a simple scheme of the Universe, explanable in terms of matter, force, and the inheritance of acquired characters, forms itself in our minds. We think of the lucidity of Huxley's style, and then, all at once, Man becomes a very simple animal to understand. We think of the lucidity of John Stuart Mill's style, and then, all at once, we find the processes of thought all arranging themselves under syllogisms and propositions. Have not Haeckel, Huxley, and Mill, had something to do with the admirable lucidity of Dr. Hu's style, and with the still more admirable lucidity of his Credo?

Because Dr. Hu has taught philosophy for many years in Peking National University, he has been called a philosopher. Of course, he is that; but surely, the term "philosopher" hardly describes all his activities. Because Dr. Hu writes very often in periodicals on subjects of general interest, he has been called a pamphleteer. Yes, he is that; but it would be a gross libel if any one were to think that he has the opportunism and the mentality of a pamphleteer. Because Dr. Hu never denies himself the goods of this world, he has been dubbed a man-of-the-world. Of course, he is that too; but such an impression of him can only be possible to one, who only knows him at dinner-parties. If there is one word to describe the kind of man Dr. Hu is, I think the word philosophe, in its eighteenth century sense, would fit in pat. Voltaire, D'Alembert, Holbach, Helvétius, Diderot, Jeremy Bentham, were all philosophes. They all had in them something of the worldling, something of

the scholar, something of the man of affairs, and something of the philosopher. They had precise views about the scheme of the universe; and they all wrote with the optimism and the confidence of a man of affairs, in a style as authoritative as it is clear, on all sorts of subjects under the sun. Right or wrong, they had the courage of their opinions. Of this band of philosophes, Dr. Hu is not the least distinguished member. And in China, I am not sure that he is not the sole, modern instance.

[No. 9; Mar. 1, 1934]

胡适博士[1]，一位哲人

胡适博士，在少数人心目中，不是厉害的对手就是很好的朋友。对于其他人而言，他是老大哥。所有人都承认他和蔼可亲、招人喜爱，甚至他的死对头也这样认为。他不是风流绅士，但是风流绅士处世交友那一套他都不生疏。在寒暄、恭维、献点小殷勤等以博取社交界特别是女士们的好感这些不足挂齿却又不可或缺的手段方面，他都算得上高手。他有本事使每一个和他相处的人都无所拘束。傲慢的人由于得到他的殷勤款待而沾沾自喜，庸碌之辈会由于受到平等对待而觉得身价倍增。胡博士是最佳意义上的民主人士，没有沾染一点点无论是基于社会地位还是知识水平的势利习气。

胡博士的家门每星期天都对外开放，来者不拒。任何人，不论是大学生还是共产主义者，是商人还是盗贼，只要开口，他都会耐心倾听、耐心叙谈。对于深陷困境的，他会给予帮助；对于寻求工作的，他给写介绍信。有些人来请教学术问题，他总是尽其所能加以满足；也有些人只是前来问候，他便飨以零零碎碎的新闻或消息。所有的来客离去时都会觉得不虚此行。

四十出头的胡博士，看上去要比实际年龄年轻得多。刮得干干净净的一张脸，整洁入时的衣着，称得上衣冠楚楚。他头发乌黑，不见一丝灰白；饱满的奥古斯都[2]式额头，一双坦率的大眼睛，两片显得能言善辩的、灵活的嘴唇，面色红润。胡博士的面孔既不会使你想到学者的“大脑发达、生活简朴”，也不会使你想到俗人的“饮食丰美、生活放荡”。胡博士中等身材，肢体匀称，反应灵敏，举止自如，看上去更像是由俗人变成的学者，而不是学者变成的俗人。

胡博士学识渊博，他对万事万物——从春药的配制到佛教的深奥佛理——全都有所了解。他涉猎颇广：契诃夫[3]，他翻译过他的短篇小

说；中国诗词，他编选过一部《词选》；中国早期哲学，他写过相关的著作；佛教哲学，他常有长短不拘的文字问世；中国和欧洲的小说；诸如此类，不胜枚举。他执笔议论的问题是五花八门——政治、社会问题、历史、进化论、文本考证等等。只消看一眼《胡适文存》的目录，就可以对他的多才多艺和涉猎之广多少有个印象。再加上他风雅有趣、常常是知识丰富而并非卖弄学问的谈吐，就能给我们一个完整的印象。

胡博士并不是喜欢把自己的才能掩藏起来的那种人：他有什么，就显示出什么；他是什么，就都在那儿了——在他的著作、他的谈吐、他的行为方式中。他不想有所隐瞒，在他的身上没有什么神秘：只有阳光，没有阴影。他的心胸仿佛是一片明亮如镜的广阔湖泊，没有浪漫的深沟，没有彼岸的回音。对于这样的湖，我们关心的不是深度，而是如镜的湖面。那湖面反映一切，能够把一幅幅精致、明净、有序的宇宙映像呈现在我们眼前。在这样的画面里，没有玄妙、灵魂和宗教的位置。

胡博士的文风简洁明快，当之无愧地受到了称赞——文如其人。我们想起海克尔[4]的简洁文风，一个可以用物质、力、获得性状遗传加以解释的宇宙模型，就会立刻出现在我们的脑海里。我们想起赫胥黎[5]的简洁文风，人就立刻变成了非常简单的动物而不难理解。我们想起约翰·斯图尔特·穆勒[6]的简洁文风，我们就能立刻认识到思想按照三段论和命题形成的过程。海克尔、赫胥黎和穆勒与胡博士文风值得赞叹的简洁，甚至与他那更加值得赞叹的信条的简洁，是不是也存在着某种关系呢？

因为胡博士在国立北京大学讲授哲学多年，人们称他为哲学家。当然，他的确是个哲学家，但是“哲学家”这个称呼却不足以描述他所有的活动。因为他时常给刊物写文章，对普遍关心的问题发表议论，他也被称为小册子作家。不错，他的确是个小册子作家，但是，如果认为他也有小册子作家那种机会主义和心理状态，这一称呼对于他就成了极大的污蔑。因为胡博士从不摈弃世俗财富，有人就说他是个俗人。是的，他也实在是个俗人，不过，能够产生这样一种印象的，也只限于仅在宴会上认识他的人。如果世界上有一个名称能够用来称呼胡博士这样一种人，我想18世纪那种用法的philosophe（哲人）[7]就恰好合适。伏尔泰[8]、达兰贝尔[9]、霍尔巴赫[10]、爱尔维修[11]、狄德罗[12]和杰里米·边沁[13]全都是哲人。在他们身上，俗人、学者、实干家和哲学家的成分全都有。他们对宇宙的结构模式都有个精确的看法，写东西都有一种实干家的乐观和自信，都用明快而有权威的文笔谈论太阳底下各种各样的问题。无论是对是错，他们全都有勇气发表和坚持自己的主张。放在这一群哲人中间，胡博士也不是最逊色的一个。而在中国，我不敢说他就不是唯一的当代哲人。

［第9期，1934年3月1日］

FENG YU-HSIANG (冯玉祥)

Feng Yu-hsiang—around that name there are, we suspect, more controversies than that of any other contemporary of ours. Have we not heard of him as a mean schemer, a treacherous ally, and have we not heard of him as man of integrity, the most honest of warlords? Have we not heard of his thrift, and have we not heard of the luxuries under the cloak of his thrift? Because of these contradictions and the tales purported to support them, his name has an air of mystery that fascinates one, and so I find myself querying those who know something about him, every time I have a chance.

One of General Feng's former teachers, now in the government service, bluntly sums up his formula of this mysterious personality thus: a half-baked person with a single-track mind. When General Feng was known as the "Christian General," he truly believed that China's salvation lay in Christianity; when he allied himself with Russia, he really believed that that was the only way to save China; later, when he supported General Chiang Kai-shek in ousting General Chang Tso-lin from Peking and the communists from Kuomintang, he sincerely believed that he was doing the only thing that could rescue China and that the realization of the San-Min-Chu-I would mean a millenium for our country. He believed in one thing at a time to the exclusion of everything else; he has the single-track mind because he is half-baked, and he is half-baked because he is a self-educated man, whose reading has been omnivorous rather than intelligently chosen.

Although it was due chiefly to his military strength that the Peking regime collapsed so soon, he publicly declared that what was good for the central government and China he would willingly accept, that the garrison posts of his troops were of no consideration at all, and that General Chiang and the central government would play fair. But when the central government decided to snatch the Hopei and Shantung provinces from him, well, the whole world knows the story already. That's human, all too human, we all can afford to be idealists when idealism doesn't touch our purse.

Another man, one of his former subordinates now living in retirement, paints a full-size portrait of him. As a boy Feng lived near Tientsin, and the pillages of Tientsin and Peking by the foreign troops during the Boxer Uprising made a lasting impression on him. However, it was due more to the desire to support his father, a retired army officer and an opium-smoker, than

to defend the country that he entered the army. He was ambitious, and he began to study in spite of the jeers and mortifications of his fellow soldiers. He was filial, patriotic and loyal to the throne. It was said that when Empress Dowager died, he cried bitterly for days. With his ambition, his excellence in military drill, and his ability to read and write, he found himself, in 1911, a major at the head of one battalion, with which he staged a revolt at Luanchow, that ended in failure. Somehow those three years between 1908 and 1911 found him greatly changed from a loyal officer to a revolutionist, to which his ability to read must have contributed no small part. However, during the first years of the republic his loyalty was transferred from the crown to his superior officers, and he never raised the standard against Yuan Shih-kai when the latter attempted to make himself emperor, for his connection with the revolutionists had never been very close.

Having been a commoner among the people and a private among the soldiers, General Feng well knew their sad plight and tried as was within his power to alleviate their conditions. This is the tenet of his patriotism and the guiding principle of his life, which remains the same, though his formulas for attaining the desired goal—a prosperous China free from foreign domination—changed with time and circumstances. This accounts for the strict discipline of his troops, which were also well cared for; and it was this more than anything else that was responsible for his conversion to Christianity. The hospitals, orphanages, and schools of the missionary found a warm corner in his heart; he believed that the salvation of China reposed in Christianity, and he tried to Christianize the soldiers under him. It was at this period too that he came into closer contact with revolutionists, for at that time many Christians were revolutionists, notably Dr. C. T. Wang and George Hsu Chien. Though he was now opposed to the Peiyang warlords, still he was loyal to his commanding officers, because he was a better soldier than a revolutionist, and because he knew that he was not strong enough to oppose them.

Later he joined Wu Pei-fu against Tuan Chi-jui, and was made Military Governor of Honan; but, just as he was planning to do something for the people of Honan, General Wu transferred him to Peiping. This highly displeased him and, together with their difference regarding certain political issues, accounted for his coup d'etat, overthrowing the Tsao Kun regime. But he was not yet powerful enough to have his way in North China, and his failure to oust General Chang Tso-lin ended in his own departure from the country.

In Russia he imbibed quite a part of communism, but he was too nationalistic to embrace it whole-heartedly. The Russians knew this and that was why they gave him such a mere pittance of support. This in turn swung him to General Chiang Kai-shek, but when General Chiang decided to give Tientsin and Peiping to General Yen Shih-shan, Feng felt himself cheated; for he had set his mind at being the master of North China so that he could do something for the people, and from the very beginning he felt that he was cooperating with Kuomintang rather than a mere cog in the party wheel. He revolted because of the conflict of interests; but his last conflict with the central government in Charhar was one more of policy than of interests.

Yes, General Feng was largely a child of circumstances, his opinion and his policy are largely a result of the persons around him. He is honest, but too simple; and he thought, when he was in Nanking, that China could be saved by the officials getting less pay and leading a simple life. Being a simple man himself, and seeing the logic that both men and officers are employees of the government and are to serve the country, he would not allow his officers such little comfort as smoking, not to say luxuries. That is why his generals left him and would not come back to him, leaving him "without capital," as he said in his reply to Fukien's invitation to join the revolt. Perhaps, the finis is written over the public career of an extraordinary man, who rose from a private to a commander of 300,000 men at one time.

[No. 10; Mar. 8, 1934]

冯玉祥[1]

冯玉祥——在我们同时代的中国人中，可能没有谁比这个名字引发过更多的争议。难道我们不曾听说，他是个卑鄙的阴谋家，是个背信弃义的盟友？难道我们不也听说过，他是个正直的人，是最诚实的军阀？难道我们不曾听说他生活俭朴，难道我们不也听说过他俭朴外衣掩盖下的奢侈？由于这些彼此矛盾的说法，和各种旨在支持这些说法的故事，他的名字便蒙上了一层使人如坠迷雾的神秘氛围。所以，我要是遇到了对他多少有所了解的人总要打听一番，绝不错过任何一次机会。

冯将军早先的一位老师，目前在政府任职，把他对这位神秘人物的评价概括为这样一句话：一个稀里糊涂的人，一个不知变通的头脑。当冯将军被叫做“基督将军”时，他果真就认为基督教可以救中国；当他和

俄国结盟时，他确实就相信那是拯救中国的唯一道路；后来他支持蒋介石将军把张作霖[2]赶出北京、把共产党人清除出国民党，他也真诚地认为这是挽救中国所能做的唯一的事情，认为实行三民主义就意味着我们国家的千年好景。在他相信一件事情的同时就会把其余的一切排除在脑外。他有一个不知变通的头脑，是因为他稀里糊涂的；他稀里糊涂，则因为他是自学成才的——他读的书十分庞杂，没有经过明智的选择。

虽然主要是由于他的军事实力，北京政权才会那么快垮台，但是他公开声明：只要对中央政府有利、对中国有利，任何解决方式他都乐于接受；他属下部队的防区不足为虑；蒋将军和中央政府自会公平处置。但是当中央政府决定要从他的控制下夺走冀、鲁两省，瞧吧，全世界都已经知道故事如何发展了。那是人之常情，太合乎人情了。我们全都当得起理想主义者，只要理想主义不来碰我们的钱包。

另一个人，是他以前的部下，现在已经退休，对他的标准描绘如下所述：少年时代的冯玉祥居住在天津附近，义和团运动期间外国军队对北京和天津的掠夺，给他留下了终生难忘的印象。但是他后来入伍当兵，在更大程度上是为了供养他的父亲——一个吸鸦片的退伍军官——而不是为了保卫国家。他胸怀大志，不顾行伍伙伴的嘲笑和羞辱，开始学习。他孝顺、爱国、忠君。据说，慈禧太后死的时候，他恸哭了好几天。由于他的远大理想、在训练中的出色表现以及他的文化程度，1911年，他就当上了一个营的管带。他领着这一营人在滦州造反，结果以失败告终。不知怎么地，在1908到1911这三年间，他由一个效忠清廷的军官变成了一名革命分子，他的文化程度一定是起了不小的作用。然而在民国初年，他也只是把他的忠诚从君主转移到了他的上级长官身上。袁世凯试图称帝时期，他从不曾举旗反抗，因为他和革命党人的关系从来就不十分密切。

由于在人民中间曾经是普通百姓，在军人中间曾经是普通一兵，冯将军了解他们的疾苦，因而总是在力所能及的范围内努力改善他们的处境。这是他的爱国主义信条，也是他为人的准则。虽然，他赖以实现目标——一个摆脱外国统治的、繁荣昌盛的中国——的方案随着时移势易而有所变化，那信条和准则至今依旧。正因为如此，他的部队纪律严明、训练有素，并能得到良好的照管。也正是由于这个而不是别的什么原因，导致他信奉了基督教。医院、孤儿院、教会学校，在他的心里找到了温暖的关怀。他相信，要救中国还要靠基督教，所以他试图使部下的士兵全都皈依基督。也是在这个时期，他和革命党人建立了密切的联系，因为那时候不少基督徒都是革命党人，著名的就有王正廷博士[3]和徐谦[4]。虽然他现在反对北洋军阀，但是他仍然忠于他的司令长官，因为他作为军人要比他作为革命党人更加合格，也因为他知道他还没有强

大到足以对抗他们。

后来他参加吴佩孚[5]反对段祺瑞[6]的斗争，被任命为河南督军；但是正当他准备为河南人民做一些事情的时候，吴佩孚把他调到了北京。这种调动使他很不高兴，再加上他们在一些政治问题上的分歧，促使他发动了一次推翻曹锟[7]政权的政变。但是他的力量还不足以使他在华北为所欲为，而未能赶走张作霖将军的失败之举，则以他自己的出国而告终。

在俄国，他受到不少共产主义的熏染，但是他是一个太坚定的民族主义者而不可能全心全意地接受共产主义。俄国人对这一点也心里有数，所以只给了他十分有限的支持。于是他又摆向蒋介石将军，但是当蒋介石决定把天津和北京（后改称北平）交给阎锡山将军[8]时，冯将军觉得受到了欺骗。他早已打定主意要做华北的主人，这样他才能为人民做一点事情，而从一开始他就觉得自己是在跟国民党合作而不是它的一个无足轻重的卒子。他以前反叛，是由于利益冲突；但是最近一次在察哈尔和中央政府的冲突，却更是一场政策冲突。

是的，冯将军在很大程度上是环境的产儿，他的主张和政策在很大程度上是他身边人物影响的结果。他为人诚实，但是过于简单。在南京的时候，他以为只要官员们少拿点俸禄，生活简朴一点，中国就能得救。他本身十分简朴，而且认为士兵和军官全都是政府的雇员，理当为国家服务。对他的军官，连抽烟这样的小享受他都不允许，更别提奢侈的生活了。这就是为什么他的部将会离开他并且再也不愿意回到他身边的原因，就像他答复福建邀他参加起义[9]时所说，已经使他再“没有资本”。也许，这个从普通士兵上升为30万人统帅的非凡人物，其公共职业生涯的最后章节已经写就。

［第10期，1934年3月8日］

HSU TSE-MO (徐志摩), A CHILD

Shelly's love affairs are notorious. To Victorian eyes, they are shocking. Matthew Arnold, so very interesting in his views on literature, right or wrong, made a big fool of himself, when he came to touch on Shelly's sexual relations. But Time has vindicated Shelly, cleared him from all mud, and metamorphised him into Ariel—a butterfly, fluttering about from one flower to another, a frail, slight thing, creature of the air, as beautiful as it is innocent. Shelly's Epipsychidion is the song of an ideal lover, who does not love this or that woman, but every woman, in whom he finds a reflection of Ideal Beauty, whether in hand, face or voice.

Well, Tse-mo's relations with women are exactly like Shelly's. Let no woman flatter herself that Tse-mo has ever loved her; he has only loved his own inner vision of Ideal Beauty. Even a pale cast of that Ideal in any woman, Tse-mo loves. His burning incense at many shrines is no disloyalty, but rather it is the essence of his loyalty to his Ideal. Like the shift and play of shadows on a bright summer day, Tse-mo flits about from one girl-friend to another: but inasmuch as the shadows are caused by one sun, so also is Tse-mo's love due to only one thing—his vision of Ideal Beauty. To that he is ever a faithful votary, not only in his relations with women, but also in his writings, in his friendships with men, and even in the vagaries and irregularities of what appears at first sight to be nothing but a disordered kind of existence, at once brief and tragic.

Tse-mo, the man, is much greater than Tse-mo, the poet. We like, many of us, his poetry, because he wrote it. I doubt if there are any who like him, because of his poetry. His personality is his genius. The more of him, therefore, there is in anything he does or says, the more of magical charm it has for us. This is why his prose is so much better than his poetry: there is more of him in it than in his verse. Reading his prose, we become aware, all at once, of the glamour and the unearthly brightness of his personality: his lineaments, the accent of his talk, the rhythm of his speech—its aliveness, at one moment its sinuous retreat into some interesting irrelevancies, at another its victorious return to the main flood of chat, so eager, so ardent, as if nothing matters but chat for chat's sake—they are all there in his prose. His poetry, on the other hand, is one remove from his personality. There is something extraneous about it: it is not a part of, but an excretion, so to

speak, from him. Whatever prestige it enjoys is borrowed from his personality. With the passing of the years, as Tse-mo becomes more a memory and less an obsession, his poetry too, I fear, will lose something of the radiance it now has. I am not sure, now that he has been dead two years, if it hasn't already suffered a little fading.

What is the secret of Tse-mo's personality? Is it physical? Something in that. But physically more impressive and more handsome than Tse-mo, there are literally thousands, who yet have not one tenth of his fascination. His nose is too large, his eyebrows too nondescript, his mouth somewhat over-drawn, and his jaw a little heavy looking, to be really beautiful. No, the secret of his charm lies elsewhere. It is to be found, I think, in his temperament and in his mind. They are the temperament and the mind of a bright, clever child, who can never grow old, who has an insatiable curiosity about the things around him, who makes no distinction between the world of wake and the world of dream, who can never hate anyone, and to whom it never occurs that anybody can really dislike him. Experiences brush him by, they cannot transform him. He plays about with things, as a child his toys. Ideas, the Theory of Relativity, Chandra Bose's discoveries in botany, the Irish Renaissance, Tagore, Liang Chi-chao, Cézanne's paintings, Picasso's drawings, Mei Lan-fang, Kreisler—they all provide him with endless entertainment. His life is a continual round of visits to friends. The places he stays in are mere corridors for his friends to go through. The wonder is that he ever finds time to write as much as he does. What to others would be vexatious interruptions, is to him nothing, but joyous variety; and variety is life to a child.

There are sorrows to be sure, in Tse-mo's life: keen and poignant, like those of a child; but lasting no longer than the morning dew. Pain is often inflicted by him on those he associates with; but the pain is robbed of half its hurt, because the hand that inflicts it is innocent. Like a child who kills birds and pulls out the wings of flies, Tse-mo can also, at times, be very cruel to people, without his knowing it. A creature of impulse, wholly innocent, Tse-mo breaks glasses, scatters flowers, and riots through a brake of brambles, as part of the day's play.

Some say, they see signs of maturity in Tse-mo's latter days. If so, a good thing he died when he did. And what a fairytale death it was! Died in an aeroplane crash, and against a mountain too! A poetic death, a child's life: what better fate can the gods grant to mortal man?

[No. 11; Mar. 15, 1934]

徐志摩[1]，一个孩子

雪莱[2]的爱情故事已经尽人皆知，在维多利亚时代[3]的人们看来，那是惊世骇俗的。马修·阿诺德[4]的文学评论，无论正确与否，都能引人入胜，但是一触及雪莱和女性的关系，他却变成了一个大傻瓜。但是，时光老人已经为雪莱辩诬，洗清了他身上所有的泥污，把他变成了爱丽儿[5]——一只在花朵与花朵之间飞来飞去的、轻盈而脆弱的蝴蝶，一个在空中飞舞的美好而且天真的生灵。雪莱的《心之灵》，是一曲理想的情人之歌，他爱的并不是这个或那个女人，而是每一个女人。在她身上，无论是手上、脸上或是说话的声音里，他发现了理想美的某种反映。

是的，志摩和女人们的关系就和雪莱完全一样。哪一个女人也不要以被徐志摩爱过而自鸣得意，他爱过的只是他内心理想美的幻象。即使只是那种理想在某个女人身上的苍白投影，他也爱。他在许多神龛前烧香并非不忠，倒是忠于理想的本质表现。志摩用情于一个又一个女友，就像晴朗夏日飘忽不定的影子；也像影子全都由太阳引起一样，志摩的情爱也只有一个来源——他理想美的幻象。他永远是这种理想美的忠实信徒，不仅表现在他和女人的关系上，也表现在他的写作里、他和男人的友谊上，甚至表现在他乍看起来杂乱无章、短暂而可悲的一生的异常怪诞之中。

作为人的志摩，要比作为诗人的志摩伟大得多。我们许多人都喜欢他的诗，就因为诗是他写的。我不知道是否有人因为他写的诗而喜欢上他。他的个性就是他的天才。所以，他的一言一行越是富有个性，对于我们来说，就越是富有魅力。这就是为什么他的散文会比他的诗好那么多：他的散文比诗更富有个性。读他的散文，我们能立刻感受到他个性的美和脱俗的光彩。他的面部表情、说话的腔调、语言的节奏（活跃而富有生气，有时会委曲婉转涉及有趣的题外事物，继而又会顺利回归闲聊的中心主流，是那么急切、那么热情，好像什么都不为，只是为了聊聊而已）——这一切在散文中随处可见。他的诗则不然，总是和他的个性保持着距离。诗对于他总有些异己，而不是他的一部分，可以说是他的排泄物。无论享有何等声誉，诗都是他个性的余晖。随着岁月的流逝，志摩变得越来越是个回忆中的人物，人们不再像从前那样对他着迷，他的诗恐怕也会丧失掉一些现今具有的光彩。志摩去世两年了，他的诗是不是已经有点褪色，我说不准。

志摩个性魅力的秘密究竟何在？在于形象吗？有点。但是在形象上比志摩英俊出色的，何止千万，而这成千上万人的魅力也不及他的十分

之一。他的鼻子太大，眼眉缺乏特点，嘴巴有点夸张，下颚看来略显沉重，因此很难算得上漂亮。不，他的魅力的秘密在别处——我想，可以从他的气质、他的头脑中找到。那是一个聪明伶俐的孩子的气质和头脑，这个孩子永远也长不大，对周围的一切怀有无穷的好奇，不分辨是清醒的还是梦幻中的世界，不懂得憎恨任何人，也不曾想过任何人会不喜欢他。人生的经历擦身而去，未能改变他。他与人间事物游戏，像孩子之于玩具。各种主张、相对论[6]、钱德拉·博斯[7]的植物学新发现、爱尔兰的文艺复兴[8]、泰戈尔[9]、梁启超[10]、塞尚[11]的绘画、毕加索[12]的作品、梅兰芳[13]、克莱斯勒[14]——全都给了他无尽的娱乐。他的生活是对朋友无休无止的探访。他所居住的住所，不过是朋友们从中通过的走廊。令人惊奇的是，他总能找到时间写出那么多作品来。工作被打断，对于别人会是讨厌的事情；在他则不然，只不过是愉快的变换花样。对于孩子而言，变换花样就是生活。

不错，志摩的生活中也有烦恼：尖锐而且辛酸，就像孩子的烦恼那样；但是有如朝露，转瞬即逝。他也常使他的亲朋好友遭受痛苦，但是这种痛苦不会造成很大伤害，因为他本无意为害。就像孩子会弄死小鸟、撕掉昆虫的翅膀一样，志摩有时也会对别人非常残酷而不自知。他完全是个容易冲动、天真无邪的孩子，有时会摔碎杯子、乱扔花朵、在刺藤丛中喧哗笑闹，这都是嬉戏的一部分。

有人说，他们在志摩的后期看到了成熟的迹象。果真这样，他倒死得其时。而他的死，又多么像个童话！飞机失事，而且撞到了山上！死得富有诗意，活得像个孩子：神明还能给凡人安排出更好的命运吗？

［第11期，1934年3月15日］

THE SYCIP BROTHERS (薛氏兄弟)

The name SyCip does not sound like a Chinese surname, does it? Nevertheless the SyCips are Chinese, as any one in the Philippines will tell you. Vicente L. Del Fierro, writing in a recent issue of The Herald Mid-Week Magazine on the occasion of Mr. Alfonso Z. SyCip's being elected president of the Manila Chinese Chamber of Commerce, tells us that "the members of the present generation of SyCips owe their honoured name that they enjoy to their late lamented father Jose Zarate Sy Cip" (or 薛清习 in Chinese), for it is customary for a Chinese in the Philippines to take the name together with the surname of his father as his surname, hence SyCip.

The old Mr. Sy Cip, according to Del Fierro, "had been looked upon as an exemplary businessman by foreigners and Filipinos alike and he had impressed the same cardinal virtues in his children. Thus today we find the SyCips, specially the two most famous living members of the clan, Alfonso and Albino, highly respected by all elements in the business world in the Philippines... they have improved upon their inheritance, and years have added their prestige... The father of the SyCips like all adventurous sons of Cathay came here [Manila] when he was only twelve years old" from the Island of Amoy, Fukien. The Chinese women who owned and managed factories half a centuries ago, even among our overseas, could perhaps be counted on one hand, and the mother of the SyCip brothers was one of them.

However, it would be a mistake to think the SyCip brothers are businessmen and little else. If they were, perhaps their names would not appear here. Indeed, there are men of greater wealth and influence than they in Manila, but there is something they do which earns them the goodwill of the Chinese community and makes them popular. They both try to serve the Chinese community, each in his own way.

Alfonso is the third son of old SyCip. "Born in 1883, he saw the first light of day under the shadows of Binondo church," not far from which now he sits in his office on Juan Luana Street. But he has made a large circuit in the meanwhile. Taken back to China by his father at seven, he was soon sent to study in Foochow. On his return to the Philippines, he went to work in Cebu, where he found his knowledge of English, learned in the missionary school in the capital of Fukien, highly useful during the early years of the American rule. Presently he was offered a better job by a Manila firm, which

he served a while before he established a business of his own.

But in Cebu or Manila, he is ever ready to lend a helping hand to those in trouble. If the trouble is among the Chinese, he is their peace-maker. If misunderstanding arises between the Chinese on the one hand and the Filipinos or the government on the other hand, then he is sure to be found among the unofficial diplomats of the Chinese community to straighten out the case. In other words, he is the type of Chinese leader produced by centuries of village life—the elder of the clan.

"In all his dealings," again to quote Del Fierro, "he has always carried his head high, but not haughtily." He speaks few words, but does a lot.

Albino, many years his junior, is more agile, and one even suspects that there is some sort of tempestuousness in his character. Being sent in his teens to study in the United States, he has acquired something of the modern tempo. While he closely cooperates with his brother in the work of an elder to the Chinese community, it is in another field of service, where his talent and training are best employed to serve his compatriots in the Philippines, e.g. the fight against the Bookkeeping Law, which was passed by the Philippine legislature admittedly to cripple the Chinese business enterprises. For his training as a lawyer was brought into full play, when he and two other delegates of the Chinese business community went to Washington to lobby against the Bill, and when they planned to take the teeth out of it.

But there are certain similarities between the two brothers. Although they do not have any connection with any institutional religion, they possess a very strong moral outlook. From his statement on the lesson to be learned from the present business depression, published in The Critic, January 25, one may gain some insight of Albino's moral outlook, while Alfonso includes in his plans for the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the restoration of "old Chinese honesty."

Their large-mindedness expresses itself not only in services they render to their fellowmen, but also in their desire for cordial relations between the Chinese on the one hand and the Filipinos and even the Japanese on the other. They have an optimism that China will eventually pull through and emerge from the present crisis a strong, united nation, which we who live in China seldom have. It is perhaps this optimism that carries them through their hard work. Hard workers all who know them will admit they are. And nothing illustrates this so well as Alfonso's closing remark to his interviewer: "Just write enough. I don't talk. I work."

[No. 12; Mar. 22, 1934]

薛氏兄弟[1]

薛习（SyCip），听起来不像是中国人的姓，是吧？尽管如此，SyCip一家倒全都是中国人，这在菲律宾是众所周知的事实。维森特·费罗就阿尔丰索·薛习当选马尼拉中华商会主席一事，在最近一期《先驱周刊》发表的文章告诉我们，“薛习家现今一代的成员之得以享有他们光荣的姓氏，要感谢他们已故的父亲薛清习”，菲律宾华人习惯于把父亲的姓和名并用为姓，于是便有了“薛习”这样一个姓。[2]

据费罗说，“外国人和菲律宾人都认为，薛清习老先生是一位模范商人，而且把他的基本美德传给了他的子女。因此，今日的薛习家人，尤其是这一家族最著名而仍然健在的两位成员——阿尔丰索和阿尔宾诺——受到了菲律宾商界全体高度的尊敬……他们青出于蓝而胜于蓝，他们的声望与时俱增……像所有富于冒险精神的华夏儿女一样，薛氏兄弟的父亲来到这里［马尼拉[3]］时只有12岁”，他来自福建的厦门岛。早在半个世纪以前就能开办和经营工厂的中国妇女，甚至在我们的海外华侨中间，都是屈指可数的，而薛氏兄弟的母亲[4]就是她们中间的一个。

然而，如果以为薛氏兄弟仅仅是商人，那就错了。如果他们确实仅仅是商人，他们的名字也就不会出现在这里了。事实上，比他们更有钱、更有影响力的人在马尼拉是有的。但是，他们是做了一些事情才赢得了华人社会的敬重，才受到了人们欢迎的。他们二人都在努力为华人社会服务，各人以各人自己的方式。

阿尔丰索是老薛清习的第三个儿子。他“1883年出生在碧农多教堂附近”，离他目前设在胡安路阿纳大街的办公室不远。但是在这几十年间，他已经转过了一大圈。他7岁时被父亲带回中国，不久便被送到福州去读书。再回到菲律宾以后，他曾到宿务[5]去打工。到了那里他才发现，从福建省会的教会学校学到的英语知识，在美国统治的初年非常有用。不久，他就在马尼拉一家企业获得了更好的职务，并干了一段时间。继而，他就创办了自己的企业。

但是无论在宿务或是在马尼拉，他都乐于向遇到麻烦的人随时伸出援助之手。如果麻烦发生在华人之间，他就会出面充当和事佬。如果是在华人和菲律宾人或政府之间出现了误会，他肯定会是华人社会非正式外交官中的一员，去设法解决问题。换句话说，他是中国千百年农村生活所产生的那种领袖——宗族长老。

“在处理各种事情时，”还是用费罗的话来说，“他的头总是抬得高高的，但是并不傲慢。”他说话不多，办事可不少。

阿尔宾诺，比他小许多岁，也比他机敏，人们甚至怀疑在他的性格里有一点狂暴的成分。他在十几岁时就被送到美国去学习，身上有种现代气质。虽然在充当华人社会长老的工作方面，他和哥哥密切合作，但是他的才智和所受教育，却是在另一个领域内为自己同胞服务时得到了最好的发挥，比如说，反对《簿记法》的斗争。不可否认，菲律宾立法机构通过这个法律，就是为了打击华商企业。当他和另外两名华商代表一道前往华盛顿，为反对这一法案而进行游说时，当他们计划着废除其中的不良条款时，他作为律师所受的教育，就有了充分的用武之地。

但是两兄弟之间也确实存在着若干相似之处。虽然他们和任何一种制度化的宗教都没有任何关系，但是他们都有很强的道德观念。从阿尔宾诺就应该从目前的经济萧条中汲取何种教训而发表在《评论》1月25日一期上的言论，就可以对他的道德观获得一个深入的认识。阿尔丰索则把恢复“古老的中国诚信”纳入了他为中华商会制定的工作计划之中。

他们心胸开阔，不仅表现在他们对自己同胞的服务上，也表现在对于华人和菲律宾人——甚至和日本人——建立和睦关系的愿望上。他们全都乐观地相信，中国一定能够渡过目前的危机[6]，最终成为一个富强统一的国家——这倒是生活在中国国内的我们少有的乐观。也许正是这样一种乐观信念在支持他们勤奋工作。所有认识他们的人都会承认他们工作勤奋。能够说明这一点的最好实例，莫过于阿尔丰索结束访谈的那句话：“写点儿就够了，我不空谈，我要工作。”

［第12期，1934年3月22日］

CHOU TSO-JEN (周作人): IRON AND GRACE

Ways quiet as a mouse, never raising his voice above a whisper, almost old-womanish in his gait, Mr. Chou has yet that something aloof about him — is it coldness or well-mannered contempt? — which keeps men sufficiently at a distance, for him to see them as an amused spectator. His very gentleness in the outward ceremonies of conversational address is a sort of barrier to any warm intimacy with him. That shaking of the bullet-shaped head up and down, as he laughs, or rather as he makes his smile audible, is an invitation to be confidential, but not to be free and easy, with him. We cannot imagine it possible for anyone to treat him cavalierly. His always is our respect, when we first meet him: with enemies, this respect changes to fear; with friends, it leads to an intimacy at once fraternal and charitable, but cordial—never!

Mr. Chou's study, where he works and meets his guests, is the exact picture of the man. Neat, with everything in its proper place, not a speck of dust anywhere. A sort of Japanese elegance on wall and floor. A dainty exclusiveness, with nothing superfluous in the way of chairs, tables or ornaments. Just a few cushions here and there to give the room an air of comfort. And then, the books. How well they are kept behind glass-cases, and what a choice variety—from books on the psychology of sex to books on Greek religion, in Chinese, Japanese, English, and Greek. Pervading the whole room, there is an atmosphere of quiet studiousness, redolent of happy hours spent in reading and in pleasant chats on men and books.

The remoteness of Mr. Chou's house from the centre of things in Peiping does not encourage callers, but the few who do call are always welcome: they are, if not old friends, ardent admirers, who usually go to see him for some special advice about writing, or for just a chat. In most cases, it's the callers who do the talking, and it's Mr. Chou who listens. Conversation is carried on in a low key. There is no argument, hence no eloquence. The talk winds in and out, about this and about that—just a caressing touch, and then, it's off again to something else: nothing is allowed to engross the attention to the extent of becoming an object of passionate discussion. Enthusiasm is out of place: there is only the dry light of curiosity about everything.

And how very human and very small the world appears in Mr. Chou's eyes! In his writings, he avoids the great questions that divide mankind into hostile parties. What he loves to dwell on are the little things, the "little, nameless, unremembered acts," that endear this most impossible of all possible worlds to us. Hence his cultivation of that gentle art of essay-writing—not of the Macaulay sort, with its open Forum atmosphere and its clangorous emphasis, but of the Elia kind, with its unconscious, and therefore charming, solipsisms and its quiet tone. Mr. Chou's essays resemble nothing so much as gossiping, carried to a fine art. He has the rare knack of transmuting the precious nothings of a man's life into golden chit-chat. He achieves the significant, via the insignificant. In his very human garden, cabbages are more glamorous than roses. And as we read him, we become almost persuaded that flies can sometimes be more interesting than thoughts on...

> Providence, Foreknowledge, Will and Fate—Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute.

He restores us to a sense of our proper "indignity": sippers of tea, sippers of wine, and sippers of life, like the flies of an idle, summer day, and just like the flies too, sippers with grace, sippers with "not too much."

There is another side to Mr. Chou, which we must not forget. There is a good deal of iron in him. Those biting lips of his, crowned by a brush moustache, suggest determination. He seldom cares to mix himself up with anything, but when he does, woe betide the person who crosses his path! Swiftly and surely, he strikes his enemy—only one clean, bold stroke is enough. How neatly, and with what artistry, for instance, did he dispose of Mr. Ching Li-pin (经利彬), President of the Girls' College(女子学院) in Peiping! The secret, perhaps, of Mr. Chou's success in everything practical he undertakes to do, is his knowing clearly just what he wants, and—what is more important—his awareness of his limitations. At Committee Meetings, few are the words he says, but what he says goes home: and this, because everything has been well thought out beforehand, and there is no shilly-shallying. Never fussy, always imperturbably calm, he conveys to us the idea of a person, who is happy indeed to be allowed to remain in his unbuttoned moods, but who is equally happy, when there is a storm ahead.

A storm! The very word suggests the sea, and the sea suggests ships. By a strange irony of fate, Mr. Chou, the essayist, was once upon a time actually a naval cadet! But really, it isn't so very strange, after all. What thing more graceful than an ironclad, cleaving her way through the sea? Well, Mr. Chou

is exactly like an ironclad in this: he has the grace of iron!

[No. 13; Mar. 29, 1934]

周作人[1]：铁的优雅

周先生，不声不响的，说话的嗓音从不高于耳语，行走的姿态几乎像是老妪，却有一种孤芳自赏的气概——是冷漠呢还是有礼貌的轻蔑？这足以拒人于千里之外，容他自得其乐地从旁观赏。他言谈举止所表现的彬彬有礼正是对于任何亲密接触的某种屏障。而在发笑或笑出声来的同时，那子弹头式的脑袋上下摆动，却是可以亲近的表示，但也不可随便造次。很难想象有谁能够漫不经心地对待他。初次见面，他受到的总是尊敬。在敌人，这种尊敬会变成恐惧；在朋友，这种尊敬会导致亲近，可以亲善友好如兄如弟，却永远也不会热情！

他在书斋里工作、会客，他的书斋可以说是屋如其人——整洁，一切东西都摆放在合适的位置，所有的地方都一尘不染。墙壁和地板有种日式的雅致；桌椅和摆饰没有一件多余，有种独一无二的韵味。这里一个靠垫，那里一个靠垫，就平添了一份舒适。还有那些书，在玻璃书橱里码放得多么整齐，经过精心挑选，从有关性心理的著作到论述希腊宗教的典籍，中文、日文、英文、希腊文，不一而足。整个房间弥漫着宁静的、好学不倦的气氛，使人想到埋头阅读和评书论人的娓娓交谈中度过的欢乐时光。

周先生的住宅远离北平的中心地区，这成了访客稀少的原因。但是为数不多的来客，总会受到欢迎。这些来客，不是老朋友，便是热诚的崇拜者，通常是来为写作寻求建议的，或者只是为了聊天。在大多数情况下，总是来客谈话，周先生倾听。交谈都在低沉的声调中进行，没有争论，也就没有雄辩。谈话会绕来绕去，谈谈这，说说那，刚一接触某个话题，便又立刻转向别处，决不允许把注意力集中到引发热烈讨论的任何话题。热情是谈不上的，有的只是对于各种事物纯粹的好奇。

在周先生看来，这个世界是多么富有人性而又多么渺小！在写作时，他总是避免那些使人类分裂成敌对营垒的重大问题。他喜欢花较大篇幅来写一些小事，写一些“没人知道、没人记得的琐事”，从而使我们对那一切可能世界里最不可能的天地也都关心起来。就这样，他养成了那种温和的散文写作艺术——不是麦考利[2]那种带有公开论坛气氛和响亮加重语气的风格，而是伊利亚[3]那种不知不觉因而引人入胜的唯我哲学和闲散情调。周先生的散文简直是把闲谈发展成了艺术。他有一种极

其难得的本事，能把一个人生活中可贵的琐事变成为闲聊时的含金话语。他能借助无足轻重的题材写出意味深长的文章。在他非常富有人性的园圃里，白菜要比玫瑰更加美丽动人。读他的散文会使我们相信，苍蝇要比有关于“天道、预见、意志和命运……”[4]之类的思想更有意思。他在恢复我们本来的“无尊严”意识；饮茶，饮酒，啜饮生命，就像无聊夏日里的苍蝇一样，也就像那些苍蝇一样，啜饮得很有风度，啜饮得“中庸适度”。

我们不该忘记，周先生还有另外一面，在他身上还有不少铁的因素。他那双紧抿的嘴唇和嘴唇上的八字胡，都使人想到坚定果断。他很少介入各种是非纠纷，但是，一旦介入，就该挡着他的那个人倒霉了！他对敌人的打击既快且准——只消干脆的狠狠一击就够了。对付北平女子学院院长经利彬[5]的那一击就是一例，多么利落，多么漂亮！周先生做什么事情都能够无往不胜的秘诀，也许就在于清楚地知道他要的是什么，更重要的还在于知道他自己能力的限度。在委员会的会议上，他很少说话，但是凡有议论都能言必有中；这是因为事事都经过深思熟虑，不会犹豫不决。他从不大惊小怪，永远沉着冷静，给人的印象是，他这种人，逍遥自在时高兴，面对风浪时也高兴。

风浪！提起风浪，令人想到海洋；提起海洋，又令人想到舰艇。因缘际会，周先生这位散文作家，还确实曾经是一名海军军官学校的学员！但是，说起来又并非那么奇特，还有什么能比一艘铁甲战舰在海上乘风破浪更加优雅动人呢？不错，周先生正好就像一艘铁甲战舰——他有铁的优雅！

［第13期，1934年3月29日］

DR. ROBERT LIM (林可胜), A SCIENTIST

Dr. Lim is perhaps better known abroad than in China. Among Chinese who write in learned foreign journals, Dr. Lim easily tops the list. His contributions to physiology, since his eighteenth year, when he was a medical student in Edinburgh University, must be reckoned by the hundreds, but they are purely technical, and are such that only specialists would care to read them. They do not deal with physiological questions from the broad, philosophic point of view, like the way Verworm writes on The Cell, Pavlov on Reflex Action, or Sherrington on The Integrative Action of the Nervous System. This fact makes Dr. Lim a physiologist's physiologist, and not a layman's physiologist.

As with his writings, so with his mind: it is that of a scientific specialist, to whom nothing exists but what can be scientifically stated, and no truth valuable but what can be experimentally proved. It is not so much that he is not interested in things outside his line, as that he finds them irrelevant—superstitions, as he calls them. Literature, political science, philosophy—to him, they are just the playthings of the mind, but nothing to be serious about. Indeed, a certain bemused arrogance is evident in him towards studies, other than scientific. In this respect, he differs markedly from other Chinese scientists, such as Dr. V. K. Ting, Dr. Li Chi, and Dr. Chao Yuan-jen, who so often blaze such brilliant trails behind them in fields, outside their own. With Dr. V. K. Ting, for instance, it wouldn't surprise us in the least, if, getting up one fine morning, we were to find him famous as the author of (say) the History of Political Prostitution. As for Dr. Chao Yuan-jen, all things are possible with him, be they ingenious, original, and out of the way. In other words, Dr. V. K. Ting & Company are more to be described as savants than scientists. A scientist, pure and simple, is a very rare bird in China. We believe Dr. Lim is the only genuine instance of one.

Dr. Lim is at present Head of the Department of Physiology in Peking Union Medical College. Besides this, he is also Managing Editor of the Chinese Journal of Physiology.

So much in love is Dr. Lim with his work, that he is hardly out of his laboratory, morning, noon and night. There is scarcely one idle moment. His

fingers are either dissecting animals for his experiments, or busy writing out the results of his researches on the endocrine glands, on metabolism, or on the hundred and one problems connected with digestion. He has his lunch in his office, and sometimes he even sleeps there. In every sense of the word, his office is his home. We see a profusion of papers there, numberless charts and stacks of physiological journals: no place, apparently, for small talk, and idle curiosity.

In appearance, Dr. Lim looks very much like an army officer. Solidly built, somewhat below the average height, with a face which means business and shows bull-dog determination, Dr. Lim is yet the most pleasant of companions, outside his office. He is game for any lark. He can drink like a fish, and dance like an angel. He has a passion for golf, and loves to take a hand at mahjong. And he is one of those very rare persons, who are not only good losers, but—what is more difficult—good winners.

[No. 14; Apr. 5, 1934]

林可胜博士[1]，一位科学家

林可胜博士在国外比在国内更为人熟知。在为外国知识性刊物撰稿的华人作者中，林博士名列前茅。从他18岁在爱丁堡大学学医的那一年算起，有关生理学的文稿，已写了好几百篇，而且纯粹是专业性质的，只有专科医生才愿意去读。他写那些文章并不是从哲学的观点泛论生理问题，就像维尔沃姆[2]写《细胞》、巴甫洛夫[3]论《反射作用》、谢灵顿[4]阐述《神经系统的整合作用》。这就使他成了一名生理学家中的生理学家，而不是门外汉的生理学家。

他的头脑也像他的文章一样。在这位科学专家看来，不能加以科学说明的事物就不存在，不能以实验证明的真理就没有价值。对专业以外的事物与其说他不感兴趣，还不如说他认为那些东西都无关紧要——如他所说，都是些迷信。文学、政治学、哲学，在他看来，只不过是思想上的玩物，都不值得认真。事实上，在对待其他学科的态度上，他确实显示出一种难以解释的傲慢，而不是科学的态度。在这一方面，他迥然不同于另一些中国科学家，如丁文江博士、李济博士[5]和赵元任博士，他们常常能在本专业以外的领域做开路先锋。以丁文江博士为例，如果某天清晨起床，我们发现他是（比如说）《政治卖淫史》的作者而名声大噪，我们是丝毫也不会感到惊讶的。而对于赵元任博士，什么样的事

情全都可能，只要是巧妙、独创而且出人意表。换言之，丁文江博士之流，更适合于被称为博学之士，而不能算是科学家。纯粹的、单纯的科学家，在中国是稀有品种。我们相信，林可胜博士是货真价实的仅有一例。

林博士现在是北京协和医学院生理系的主任，同时也是《中国生理学杂志》的总编辑。

林博士深爱他的工作，几乎从不离开他的实验室，无论是清晨、中午还是夜晚，难得有一分钟清闲。他的手不是在为各种实验解剖各种动物，就是忙着撰写内分泌腺、新陈代谢或是有关于消化的101个问题的研究报告。他常在办公室里吃午餐，有时还在那里睡觉。从任何一种意义上说，他的办公室就是他的家。我们在那里能看到大量的文件、数不清的图表、一叠叠堆放着的生理学杂志：显而易见，完全没有闲谈聊天和放置无用摆饰的空间。

从外表看来，林博士非常像一名军官——身体结实，略矮于常人身高，有一副公事公办的面孔和斗牛犬般果断的表情。然而在办公室外，林博士又是一个和蔼可亲的伙伴，开得起任何玩笑。他能像鱼一样豪饮，像天使一般善舞。他爱打高尔夫球，也喜欢搓搓麻将。他属于那种极其难得的一类人：不仅输得起——更可贵的是——也赢得起。

［第14期，1934年4月5日］

LIANG YU-CH'UN (梁遇春), A CHINESE ELIA

My last recollection of Yu-ch'un was a chat I had with him on Milton in my study. Three days afterwards he died. Just 26 years of age. A few days later, his little daughter died. He leaves a widow and one child.

A short life and gentle! Quiet in manner, dress and speech, Yu-ch'un somehow sticks more in one's memory than many others who are out to make an impression. Not in the least bit showy. In a crowd, he just hides himself in anonymity and smiles. In a company of two, he makes no effort to be heard. Contradiction is indicated by avoidance rather than by denial. The absence of vehemence in him is not a matter of nurture, but of nature. Modesty itself is modest in him. There are some who are modest with a vengeance: their modesty is so self-conscious and so painful. But with Yu-ch'un, his modesty is the least obtrusive thing about him: it constitutes his greatest charm. It is a modesty which does not rebuke, but puts one uncommonly at ease with oneself. The proof of this lies in those restful silences which occur when one converses with him. Whereas with others, one feels terribly fidgety and nervous, when there is a pause in the conversation; with Yu-ch'un, on the contrary, to be silent is to rest awhile, in order to talk all the better later on, reculer pour mieux sauter. The result is, one never tires after a long tête-à-tête with him. There is no constraint, no striving after a point, no showing off — just a folding of the hands, as it were, to see the Mondays and Tuesdays of life go by.

Yu-ch'un wears no mask. He is just himself. And that "self" is a very ordinary self, with this difference: the ordinariness does not try to pass off for something extraordinary. The usual run of people would do anything rather than be ordinary. Yu-ch'un, on the other hand, is not afraid of being ordinary: this is his title to distinction.

To look at him, Yu-ch'un is just one of the crowd of persons that one can see any day in a crowded street. There is nothing distinctive about his features, except perhaps a certain puzzled look on his face, when he listens to one's talk. This puzzled look is very flattering to one's vanity, as it implies a certain intellectual superiority in the speaker over the listener, who seems to have to listen so hard to understand. But, in reality, Yu-ch'un takes in

everything at once. This puzzled look is deceptively complimentary.

Besides the above trait, there is another which makes Yu-ch'un likeable —a slight stammer in his speech. There are some defects, which are either formidable or ludicrous. Cyrano de Bergerac's nose, for example, is ludicrous, and Cromwell's wart formidable. But neither Cyrano de Bergerac's long nose nor Cromwell's ugly wart makes the owners of them likeable. A stammer, however, belongs to that small, but select, class of physical defects, that endear the possessors of them to one's liking. Not a little of Charles Lamb's likeability in actual life is due to his stammer. Indeed, is not a good deal of the winsomeness of the Essays of Elia due to the liberal use of parentheses in them? And what is a parenthesis but a stylistic stammer?

The mention of Elia reminds one of the many similarities that one can note between Lamb and Yu-ch'un. It is a well-known fact that Yu-ch'un is a great admirer of Lamb. He is one of the few Chinese who can really relish the Essays of Elia. This gravitation towards Lamb is an expression of affinities between them. For one thing, Yu-ch'un, like Lamb, is a great reader, but not of the omnivorous sort: he browses only in certain chosen meadows—Berkeley, among the philosophers; Defoe, among the novelists; Lytton Strachey, among the biographers; and Lamb, Hazlitt, and Montaigne, among the essayists. As one comes across Burton and Browne and Shakespeare again and again in Lamb's essays, so also Yu-chun's favourites turn up all over his writings, not so much in direct quotations, as in odd fancies and humours and in certain refinements of expression.

Yu-ch'un has not written much. A collection of essays (春醪集) and a few translations comprise all he ever did. But his influence remains in the subtle note of urbane intimacy that meets one in some essays of the best among present-day authors.

[No. 15; Apr. 12, 1934]

梁遇春[1]，中国的伊利亚

记得我见遇春最后一面，是在我的书房里和他谈论弥尔顿。三天后，他便去世了，年仅26岁。又过了几天，小女儿也随他去了。他丢下了孤儿寡妻。

短暂的生命，高尚的一生！作风低调、衣着朴素、少言寡语的遇

春，不知为什么，倒比言行张扬的人更加令人难忘。没有一丝想要炫耀的念头，置身于人群之中，他总是力图避人耳目而隐身在笑容背后。二人相对，他从不主动说话。遇到分歧，他会回避而不是反驳。柔而不刚，不是他的修养，是他的天性。他太谦虚了，连谦虚之态都深藏起来。有些人谦虚得过火：他们的谦虚很不自然，很费劲。但是说到遇春，他的谦虚则很自然，构成了他那非凡的人格魅力。那是一种不加指责而只会使人感到无比自在的谦虚。最好的证明就是和他交谈时会出现的那些静默间歇。和别人交谈而遇到停顿时，人们往往会感到非常地紧张不安；和遇春在一起，却恰恰相反，交谈中的沉默是休息片刻，以便随后谈得更尽兴，是所谓后退一步以便跳得更远。其结果是，和他进行多长时间的亲密交谈也不会感到疲倦。没有拘束，没有争执，没有卖弄——就好像只是两手抱在胸前，看着周一、周二……一天天的生活从身边过去。

遇春从不戴面具，他就是他自己。而那个“自己”非常平凡，不同的只是，他的平凡无意冒充某种不凡。一般人绝不甘平凡，遇春却不然，他不怕平凡，这正是他值得称道之处。

让我们来看看他吧，他只是拥挤的大街上日常所见的一个普通人。他的相貌没有什么特点，只是在听别人讲话时可能会流露出一种困惑的神色。这种困惑的神色，会使说话人的虚荣心感觉到某种满足，因为这意味着说话人在智力上的些许优越，似乎听话人必须仔细用心听才能听懂。其实，什么东西遇春都是一听就明白了，困惑的表情不过是容易引起错觉的一种谦恭姿态。

除了上述特点，遇春还有个可爱的特点——就是说话时有点口吃。世上有一些缺陷，不是可怕，便是可笑。例如，西拉诺·德·贝尔热拉克[2]的鼻子，就很可笑；克伦威尔[3]的肉疣，就很可怕。不过，贝尔热拉克的长鼻子和克伦威尔难看的肉疣，都不能使它们的主人显得可爱。但是，口吃属于情况特殊的生理小缺陷，却可以使得口吃的人惹人喜爱。查尔斯·兰姆在实际生活中惹人喜爱，很大程度上是由于他口吃。事实上，《伊利亚随笔集》引人入胜的魅力，不正是由于在文章中大量使用插入语吗？而那些插入语，不正是文体上的口吃吗？

提到伊利亚，就会使人们想起兰姆和遇春之间的许多相似之处。如所周知，遇春非常崇拜兰姆，他是真正能够欣赏《伊利亚随笔集》的少数国人中的一个。兰姆之能够对他产生很强的吸引力，正是同气相求的表现。比如说，遇春像兰姆一样，也是一个大书迷，但并不是什么书都读，他只是有选择地阅读——哲学家中的贝克莱[4]，小说家中的笛福[5]，传记作家中的雷顿·斯特雷奇[6]，散文作家中的兰姆、黑兹利特[7]和蒙田[8]。就像人们在兰姆的作品中一而再地读到伯顿[9]、布朗[10]和莎士比亚，

遇春所喜爱的作家也一而再地出现在他的作品中，直接引用较少，大多为离奇的幻想和幽默语，以及某些精巧的措词。

遇春著述不多，就是一部散文集（《春醪集》）和几本翻译作品而已。但是他的影响，仍然可以从当代作家某些杰出散文的恳挚亲切的气息和清新淡雅的笔调中辨认出来。

［第15期，1934年4月12日］

TAN KA KEE (陈嘉庚), MERCHANT AND IDEALIST

The most characteristic thing about Tan Ka Kee is his courage. He made his fortune, because he would never say die; and now that he has lost it, these are still his watch words. Four years ago, he was one of the richest Chinese in the South Seas; but today, he is in such reduced circumstances that he has to live on his monthly salary. However, even now he is not down-hearted and crest-fallen. He is still looking forward to the time when his fortune may be completely recouped. In his autobiographical sketch written for The Eastern Miscellany, he chose as his title: "Fear of Failure Is Shameful!" (畏惧失败才是可耻)

Tan Ka Kee's rise to fame and success has been a rapid one. He was born in a well-to-do but by no means wealthy family in a village near Amoy. In his early teens, he went to Singapore and joined the business of his father. Later on, however, he established himself first as a rice merchant and then as a planter of rubber. The rubber business grew steadily as the years went by, so that by the time when he was forty, he was already a multi-millionaire. Then the great war came, and it almost threw him out of business. But somehow he managed to pull through and at the end of the war, he was actually richer than he had been before. He bought more rubber plantations and also established many agencies both in China and abroad for the sale of his manufactured products. He conceived the idea of founding a university in Amoy in his forty-seventh year. He extended at first the invitation to Mr. Wang Ching-wei who was at that time in the south to become the president of the university, but the latter declined and Dr. Lim Boon Keng was appointed in his stead in 1921, when the university was formally declared open.

In 1925, the slump in the rubber market began to be felt, and Mr. Tan was forced to cancel his plan of donating three libraries in Amoy, Foochow and Shanghai respectively. This he still regrets and it is considered by him in his autobiographical sketch as the greatest disappointment in his life. When the Tsinan Incident occurred in the spring of 1928, Mr. Tan became one of the leading spirits in the South Seas of the boycott movement. This aroused the ire of the Japanese who began to push with added force their dumping policy of rubber goods in the South Seas. Mr. Tan's business thus suffered

and four years later, he was forced to sell out all of his properties and estates.

According to his own calculation, nearly half of his fortune was spent for educational purposes. To the Amoy University alone, he gave nearly five million dollars. Besides that, he is also the founder and chief benefactor of a primary school and a middle school in his native village. Mr. Tan is a firm believer in education. In spite of the fact that he is practically bankrupt now, he is still doing his best to help Amoy University raise funds among the oversea merchants. Mr. Tan realises the truth that man does not live by bread alone. Money to him is only means to an end, namely that service to one's fellow men. He is a merchant, to be sure, but he is by no means mercenary. On the contrary, he is an idealist—an idealist who is undaunted by unfavourable circumstances. At present he may be down, but he certainly is not out!

[No. 16; Apr. 19, 1934]

陈嘉庚[1]，有理想的商人

陈嘉庚最鲜明的个性特征，就是他非常勇敢。他当初之所以能致富，就是因为他永不言败；如今他丧失了家产，在这一点上他依旧不变。四年前，他是南洋最富有的华人之一；如今已拮据到不得不依靠月薪维持生活。然而，即使时至今日，他也没有垂头丧气。他依旧期待着他的财产失而复得的那一天。他为《东方杂志》写过一篇自传性文章，就选择了这样一个题目："畏惧失败才是可耻"。[2]

陈嘉庚的功成名就，只经历了一个快速的过程。他出生在厦门附近乡村一户算不得富有的小康人家，十几岁便到新加坡跟随他父亲学做买卖去了。但是他自立门户，却是从经营米业开始的，之后成了一名成功的橡胶种植商。橡胶业一年年地发达起来，到了40岁，他就已经身价数百万了。这时，（第一次）世界大战爆发了，战争几乎使他脱离了他的产业和营生。但他总算是渡过了难关，到了战争结束时，他实际上比战前更加富有了。他收购了更多的橡胶种植园，还在中国国内和国外开设了许多经销产品的销售机构。在47岁那一年，他想到要在厦门创办一所大学。起初，他曾邀请当时正在南方的汪精卫先生担任校长，但遭到了婉拒。1921年，厦门大学正式宣告成立时，便聘用了林文庆医生担任校长。

1925年，橡胶市场的萧条初露端倪，陈先生不得不取消了分别给厦

门、福州和上海赠建一座图书馆的计划。他为此抱憾至今，在（《东方杂志》）那篇自述中他认为，这是生平最令他扫兴的一件事。1928年春，济南惨案[3]发生后，他成了南洋抵制运动中的领袖人物。这种表现激怒了日本人，他们开始在南洋更猖獗地推行橡胶产品的倾销政策。陈先生的生意受到重创，四年后他被迫卖掉了所有的动产和不动产。

据他自己估算，他将近一半的财产都花在了教育事业上。单是厦门大学，他就捐赠了将近五百万美元。而且，他还是家乡农村一所小学和一所中学的创办者和主要资助人。陈先生对教育的重要性坚信不疑。尽管如今的他几近破产，他却仍然尽其所能帮助厦门大学在海外侨商中筹集资金。陈先生懂得这样一条真理，人不能只靠面包生活。在他看来，钱只是一种达到目的的手段，那就是为同类服务。他确实是个商人，但是他绝不唯利是图。恰恰相反，他是个理想主义者——一个身处逆境却毫不气馁的理想主义者。目前，他可能不太顺利，但是绝没有出局！

［第16期，1934年4月19日］

DR. Y. T. TSUR (周诒春)

To many men Dr. Y. T. Tsur is a stern master at school and a beloved friend in life. It seems that his strict discipline of the students in school has laid the foundation of a friendship with them which becomes more and more enriched later in life. At school he was shunned and avoided; today he is much sought after. From his personality radiates a warmth which is not often known among the closest of friends.

As dean and later as president of Tsing Hua College he took his task seriously. He had an ideal in education and tried his best to give it expression. At first the students did not all understand him but gradually learned to grasp his conception of education. He not only enforced discipline but also took great interest in extra-curriculum activities of his students. His American training was so thorough that he even went so far as to introduce the idea of junior fraternities. But his work was not fully appreciated until he was suddenly forced to resign from the presidency because of political manipulations in other quarters. It was a sad day when he left for the faculty and students as well as for himself. For he loved his work as an artist loves his art. He had given his whole self to it and looked upon it not as a job but rather a medium of expression of an ideal. By force of circumstances he turned over the administration of the college to his successor, but at heart he never forgot his first love nor did Tsing Hua forget him. One of his concerns in life is how to unite the graduates of Tsing Hua to be an organized power for good in society. For this purpose he has taken more interest perhaps, in the promotion of Tsing Hua clubs than its alumni. Indeed, he is the soul and moving spirit of it all. Somehow through the long list of names of men who have occupied the presidency of Tsing Hua since its establishment in 1910, his name stands out as the one which is affiliated with the college and its alumni in a particularly affectionate way.

He loves drinking and enjoys wine tremendously. But he would not drink alone. It is seldom that one can find such a powerfully persuasive person with the wine cup at dinners. Now-a-days it is bad for his health if he should drink, but when he sits down at a table and enjoys the company, to the four winds with the doctor's order. He would drain his cup with you one after another the while telling you that he knows he is going to have a bad headache all the next day. So he goes along. He has a headache every day and

he has his drinks with his friends every evening. He likes wine and enjoys comradeship.

But life is not worth anything if he is not kept busy. From morning till night he toils and works on some scheme which will meet a social need or solve a social problem. He may talk to you as if he were a pessimist beyond redemption, but his own activities are always prompted by unblenching idealism. As a matter of fact, he is today a hard worker who does not get paid for it. In Peiping or in Shanghai he is the most effective public citizen wherever he is found. He cannot be said to be rich or even well-to-do, but he is most lavish in digging into his own pocket in order to induce a millionaire to make a contribution to a worthy cause.

Proud as a Lucifer, he never tolerates an act which injures his dignity. Such an insult he would not take even from his closest friend. He is humble in admitting his own mistakes when his attention is directed to them in a friendly way, but even in his fifties he would have none of the foolishness which hurts his pride.

The trouble with him is that he takes life too seriously for present-day China. In spite of his manifold experiences in life he is altogether too conscientious. He took to teaching again recently and his students complained that his lectures were too substantial and the assigned readings were too long at first. But he persisted and talked to the students like a father, and they were later educated to the right point of view. He was also offered a post in the government within the last year but the outline of program which he presented as a condition of his acceptance of office scared his immediate superior, and the appointment did not materialize.

He is wiser today through his many disappointments. But where he excels others whom we revere is that he has regained his romanticism in life through his disillusions. In other words, he has got hold of what may be called the "second wind" and the strength of his personality is irresistable.

[No. 17; Apr. 26, 1934]

周诒春博士[1]

在许多人心目中，周诒春博士是学校里的严师、生活中的良友。他在学校里对学生的严格训练似乎为他们后来在生活中日渐加深的友谊奠

定了基础。当年在学校时，人们会躲闪他、避开他；如今他却成了人们追求的对象。从他的身上常散发出一种在最亲密的朋友之间也不常见的热情。

他在清华学校担当教务长，后来出任校长，工作都极其认真。他对教育抱有理想，并为实现理想而竭尽全力。起初，学生们并不全都理解，但是经过一段时间也就逐渐懂得了他的教育理念。他并不单纯只抓课堂纪律，还很关心学生们的课外活动。美国的教育对他影响至深，他把组建学生联谊会的做法也引进来了。但是直到他突然由于其他方面的政治倾轧而被迫离职时，他的工作才得到了充分的赏识。他离职的那一天，对于他领导下的教职员、他的学生和他自己，都是可悲的一天。因为他爱他的工作，就像艺术家之爱艺术。他在工作中投入了全部身心，他并不是把工作看成一个职业，而看成为实现他心头理想的一种手段。迫于形势，他把学校的行政管理交给了继任，但是在他内心深处却从来也不曾忘记他的“初恋”，清华也没有忘掉他。他生平关心的大事之一，就是把清华的毕业生联合成一支永远的有组织的社会力量。他为此而大力提倡成立各种清华社团，他在这方面的兴趣也许超过了其他清华毕业生。事实上，他是这一切的灵魂和策划人。反正，自从1910年清华成立以来，[2]在担任过校长的一长串名单上，他的名字是以一种独特的、充满感情的方式和这个学校及其毕业生们联结在一起的。

他爱喝酒，非常爱喝，但是他不会自斟自饮。在酒桌上，很少能够发现这么能言善辩的人。最近一个时期，再喝酒就会损害他的健康，但是，当他在餐桌旁坐下来，愉快地和朋友们在一起时，他就会把医嘱抛到九霄云外，一边告诉你他知道第二天一整天都会头痛不已，却一边和你一杯接一杯地把酒喝光。他就这样一天天度过，每个白天都头痛，每个夜晚却都和朋友们在一起推杯换盏。他喜欢酒，也喜欢交友。

但是，如果他不是不断地忙碌，生命便没有价值。从早到晚，他总是在为什么计划而辛勤劳动着，以满足某种社会需要或是解决某个社会问题。他可以像个无可救药的悲观主义者那样对你说话，支持他实际活动的却是无畏的理想主义。今日的周诒春，实在是一名勤奋工作而尚未获得补偿的劳动者。在北平或是在上海，无论在什么位置上，他都是一名颇有影响的公众人物。他说不上富有，甚至算不得小康，但是为了劝导一名百万富翁拿出钱来赞助一项有意义的事业，他会毫不吝惜地掏自己的腰包。

他为人高傲，绝不容许任何一点有损他尊严的事情，哪怕这种侮辱来自他的挚友。如果有人以友好的方式指出了他的过失，他也能谦虚地承认错误，但是甚至到了五十多岁的年纪，他也不愿让任何蠢事来玷污他的清高。

他的麻烦在于，在现今的中国，他对待生活的态度显得过分严肃。尽管有着复杂曲折的人生经历，他处事为人还是太较真了。最近，他又重登讲坛，而他的学生—开始总是抱怨他的课内容太多，布置的阅读材料又太长。但是他不为所动，而是像父亲一样和学生们谈心，他们后来也终于接受了正确的观点。去年，他本来是有机会担任政府职务的，但是他作为接受任命条件而提出的工作大纲吓坏了他的顶头上司，拟议中的任命便以流产告终。

经历过多次的挫折，他已经变得聪明一些。但是，使他和我们尊敬的其他人相比而胜出一筹的，是在经历过种种的幻灭之后，他又恢复了对待生活的浪漫主义精神。换句话说，他又恢复了元气，他的人格魅力是不可抗拒的。

［第17期，1934年4月26日］

KU MENG-YU (顾孟余)

Among the political lights of today, there is one who does not get very much publicity and who cares very little for it. Noted among the Kuomintang Reorganizationists as the tactician and now Minister of Railways, Ku shuns the limelight rather than seeks for it. That is the way with all tacticians, as, e.g., Colonel House behind President Wilson. A man who loves silence rather than speech. You might call on him and after an exchange of greetings, there might be a dead silence of three minutes with absolutely no sense of obligation on his part to break it. It suggests peace of mind and mental calm. But as an ordinary human being usually cannot stand staring at another person for more than three minutes, every time it is the caller who breaks it. Meanwhile, he has surveyed you inside and out; and his answers, short and sharp, leave you a little ashamed of your garrulity.

That does not mean Ku never waxes eloquent. It is reported that during the Hankow regime, Ku was the one who alone could hold his own against Borodin in a debate of political and economic analysis of present-day China. For Ku is by profession a professor of economics and former dean of the Peking National University. The way to induce him to talk is to make a ghastly blunder on an academic question which appeals to his essentially professorial type of mind. Then it is that he will let loose his tongue and present you with arguments "A," "B" and "C," developing them with a clear and succinct logic, and more occupied in showing the reasons for his opinions than in the opinions themselves. This type of academic analysis he sometimes applies to his visitors, too. For as a result of interviewing the many callers on the ministry, he has evolved a perfect theory about the form and composition of Chinese interviews. He says Chinese interviews are usually divided into four parts. Firstly, the weather. Secondly, reminiscences on old associations and common friends. Thirdly, comments on current politics. And fourthly, the real business of the call. He says the first three parts usually take half an hour or so, and the last part usually takes five minutes. Thus you could picture him counting the minutes and different stages of the conversation while an interviewer showers him with brilliant remarks on the Sino-Japanese foreign policy or the latest political tangle. That suggests a sort of dry academic humour, and his laughter, too, is also a dry intellectual laughter, never boisterous and never emotional.

Ku is never noted for physical energy. He shuns committee meetings and takes regular afternoon naps. Naturally of a weak constitution, his hygiene is essentially of the negative character, aiming at conservation of energy rather than stimulating the blood circulation, in accordance with the Chinese orthodox theory of hygiene, and in direct contradiction to the Western idea of sport. A comparatively tall man for a Chinese, thin, and wearing spectacles and a well-trimmed moustache, he looks more a college professor than a prosperous minister. And he is destined to shine more in the secret sessions of the privy council than on the political pulpit. Certainly he can never shine on a mountain hike.

His mind is a strange combination of Western training and Chinese temperament. For he never gets into rage and ruffles his hair as you could easily imagine Lloyd George doing so while pacing about in his study. He also would not go to work like a Lloyd George or an American Senator who could sit in a continuous session of twenty-four hours. He has plans and objectives that he silently works for, but he need not be in a hurry to carry them out. He would leave them alone if the present moment is not propitious. These plans and objectives would then be tucked away somewhere back in his head, and he recovers the same equanimity as if he had never intended to carry them out. That is his weakness, a typically Chinese weakness. But he has a German-trained and essentially modern mind, a mind which has received the scientific discipline. And he sticks to certain principles, some of which are highly un-Chinese. One of them is his keeping clear of all relatives, for none of them has received a political job under his aegis. It is again that cool professorial mind working, as dispassionate as if he were writing an academic thesis or dissecting a bad piece of composition.

What is going on in his mind now nobody knows, except his wife. Many people say that Ku would never have become an active revolutionist had it not been for his revolutionary wife. He has too much of the professor in him. But there again, nobody knows what is going on in Madame Ku's mind, for there is another person who does not get much publicity and who cares very little for it.

[No. 18; May 3, 1934]

顾孟余[1]

在今日中国政界众多要人中，有一位很少受到公众关注，他自己也并不介意。国民党改组派的出谋划策之士、现任铁道部部长的顾孟余，从不追求公众关注，倒是刻意避免抛头露面。那是多数谋士的为官之道，比如说，就像威尔逊总统[2]背后的豪斯上校[3]。他喜欢沉默，不爱说话。你可以去拜访他，但是，寒暄过后，很可能就会出现一个三分钟之久的冷场，而他绝不会意识到他有打破这种尴尬局面的义务。这表示他神宁气静、沉着镇定。但是普通人一般都忍受不了把别人狠狠地盯上三分钟，所以每次都是来客打破沉默。就在这段时间里，他已经把你里里外外全都观察了个透。他的回答简短而犀利，会使你为自己的唠叨感到有点儿惭愧。

那并不意味着顾孟余从不施展他的雄辩口才。据报道，武汉政府时期，在一次有关于当时中国政治经济形势分析的争论中，他曾单枪匹马舌战鲍罗廷[4]。因为顾孟余是经济学教授，曾在国立北京大学任经济系主任之职。要想让他开口说话，只消在学术性问题上犯一个愚蠢的错误，就能触动他本质上教授型的头脑。这时，他就会打开话闸，向你提出他的论点一、论点二、论点三，然后再用明确、简洁的逻辑加以展开。他专注于阐明理由往往更甚于阐明意见本身。有时，他也把这种学术性分析应用到来访的客人身上。由于接见过许多到部里来的访谈者，他对中国式访谈的形式和内容构成推演出了一套完善的理论。他说，中国式的访谈通常可以分成四个部分：第一，先谈谈天气；第二，怀念一下老同事和共同的朋友；第三，议论议论时政；第四，说明来访的真正原因。他说，前三部分通常要占半个小时左右，最后一部分，也就五分钟。这样，你就可以想象，来访者在滔滔不绝地讲中日外交政策和最近的混乱局势的时候，他却在计算着已经进行了多少分钟、到了谈话的第几个阶段。这使人想到一种不动声色的学院式幽默，他的笑，也是一种不动声色的、理性的笑，从不发出喧闹的声响，从来不动感情。

顾孟余从不以体能著称。他总是回避委员会议，要睡每天必睡的午觉。他天生体质较弱，他的保健方法主要是消极的，只在于保存体能，而不是促进血液循环。这符合中国传统的养生之道，却和西方的运动观念相抵触。作为一个中国人来说，他身材较高，体态清瘦，戴着眼镜，有一撮修剪整齐的胡髭，看上去更像是大学教授，而不像个官运亨通的部长。他注定了更适合于在智囊团的秘密会议上焕发光彩，而不是在政治讲坛上频频亮相。当然了，他绝不可能在徒步山地旅行中出人头地。

他的头脑是西方教育和中国气质的奇妙结合。因为，你可以很容易想象到劳合·乔治[5]一边在书房里来回踱步，一边勃然大怒，挠着头发，而顾孟余却绝对不会。他也不会像劳合·乔治或是美国参议员那样坐在会议桌前连续开24小时的会。他有自己为之默默工作的计划和目标，但

是他没有急于完成的必要。如果当时觉得并不顺手，他也可能把这些计划和目标搁置一边，完全置诸脑后，他仍能处之泰然，就像从来也没有想过要将其实现一样。这是他的弱点，典型的中国式弱点。但是他也有一颗受过日耳曼教育、本质上现代的新式头脑，一颗受过科学训练的头脑。他坚守一定的原则，有些是极其非中国式的原则。其中之一，就是不和亲属交往，没有一个亲属曾因他的照顾谋得一官半职。这也是他那颗教授型头脑在起作用，一点儿不动感情，就像是在写一篇学术论文，或是在分析一部糟糕的作品。

除了他的妻子，他的脑子里此刻在想什么，谁也不知道。有许多人说，如果没有一个革命的妻子，顾孟余无论如何不会成为一个积极的革命派。他骨子里有太多的教授成分。但是，同样，也没有人会知道顾太太的脑子里此刻在想什么，因为她也很少抛头露面，而且对此也很不在乎。

［第18期，1934年5月3日］

GEORGE T. YEH (叶公超)

There is no English equivalent to the Chinese term ming shih (名士) just as there is no Chinese equivalent to the English word "gentleman." "Aesthete" seems as near as one can possibly get in English to a correct translation of the term ming shih, in the light of that illuminating chapter on "The Aesthetic Type" in Osbert Burdett's book The Beardsley Period. But the word "aesthete" is apt to bring to mind the lilies and languors of an Ernest Dowson, anemic and emaciated; while a ming shih, on the other hand, may be even brawny, full-blooded, of the earth, earthy like(say) Dr. Johnson or Prof. George T. Yeh.

Prof. Yeh's appearance is impressive and almost majestic. He is a six-footer, of a heavy build, swarthy and handsome. He has broad shoulders, a carrying voice, a jaw just on this side of squareness, and walks with a perceptible swagger. In spite of his aestheticism, he looks an athlete all over. We are told that he played tennis wonderfully well during his salad days. But we might guess the fact even without being told of it; for anyone who has conversed with Prof. Yeh will know how skilfully he can "keep the ball rolling" in conversation.

Indeed, he is one of those remarkable talkers who have at command more than one conversational style. Epigram and small talk are equally his fortes. But he is at his best in the digressive style, whether it be the freely associational manner of Mrs. Nickleby or the rambling allusiveness of Charles Lamb of whom, by the way, Prof. Yeh has a towering admiration. Like Johnson, he does not suffer interruption gladly, particularly interruption from a youngster whose role is to cock his ears and listen. I still remember my first talk with him in his charming study five years ago. I was a self-conscious jackanapes then; flushed with a grandiose sense of my own importance and primed with borrowed wit and wisdom, I tried desperately to get in a word edgewise to make a display. After having made several futile attempts to put a spoke on Prof. Yeh's conversational wheel, I had at last the good sense to give up the attempt as impossible and sink back in Prof. Yeh's comfortable sofas (the most comfortable sofas in Tsing Hua), and sip Prof. Yeh's famous Pu-er (普洱) tea and allow Prof. Yeh to spin on without let or hindrance his reams and reams of interesting talk. Literature forms the staple of his talk of course; but one can never draw a line at anything in his

"dualogue" which ranges over the whole encyclopaedia—everything under the sun and something above it.

Prof. Yeh suffers as a lecturer from the defects of his qualities as a talker. His lectures are without programme or outline, trusting all to improvisation and mother-wit. His lectures upset all our preconceived notions of what lectures should be. They are full of surprises and shock tactics; and this unexpectedness constitutes not the least of their charms. They abound in brilliant apercus and profound asides but lack in system and organisation. Although they are so invigorating that one should ask for nothing better, yet dull students whose besetting virtue is note-taking and who come to class with the sincere hope to have their empty heads crammed with well-ordered facts, are apt to find them baffling. But then, so much the worse for dull students! What cares Prof. Yeh for them? He is all for educating a few individuals at the expense of the whole class.

Prof. Yeh is a literary free lance. He is too broad-minded to belong to any one clique or make common cause with any one faction. Like Mr. Yuan-ning Wen, he keeps himself abreast of every latest tendency in art and literature. Both are dilettantes or amateurs in the best sense of the words. I have often compared them to two reeds through which every prevailing wind of doctrine blows into exquisite music. In this respect, they are diametrically opposite to that single-hearted humanist Prof. Wu Mi who, a doctrinaire among his dilettantish colleagues, seems to invert the moral of Aesop's famous fable and suffer from the self-consciousness of a fox with a tail. All the same, these three professors are the three musketeers in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literature of Tsing Hua: Yeh suggests Porthos even in physical appearance; Wu, at once moralistic and romantic, certainly reminds us of Aramis; and Wen with his urbanity and resourcefulness resembles not a little Athos. Et D'artagnan?

Prof. Yeh is a first-rate essayist and critic. He had encouraged essay-writing long before it came into vogue and has perhaps the largest collection of English essays in China. His recent critical papers are especially interesting; e.g. the distinction he draws between impressions as the data of criticism and impressionism as the methodology of criticism, is probably of permanent validity. In spite of his overbearing presence and his uproarious laughter which possesses all the sinister qualities of the Whistlerian "Ha! Ha!" he is at bottom very shy, very sensitive and fastidious, not unlike the man he loves so much—Charles Lamb.

[No. 20; May 17, 1934]

叶公超[1]

英文里没有一个词能和中文的“名士”完全对应，就像中文里没有一个词能和英文的gentleman对应一样。在英文里能够找来最接近“名士”翻译的，似乎只有aesthete一词，根据是奥斯伯特·伯德特[2]所著《比尔兹利[3]时期》一书 “审美型”一章所描绘的那种人。但是这个词容易使人想起厄内斯特·道森的百合和倦怠，憔悴、无精打采；名士则不然，可以十分健壮，精神旺盛，富于人间烟火味，就像（比如说）约翰逊博士或是叶公超教授那样凡俗。

叶教授一表人才，甚至可以说仪态威严。他身高六英尺，体态结实，皮肤黝黑，相貌英俊。他肩膀宽阔，嗓音洪亮，下颌略显方正，走路时昂首阔步。尽管具有名士气质，他整体看来却像是运动场上的一条好汉。据说，少不更事时，他可是个网球高手。其实，没有人说我们也能猜得到，因为任何一个和叶教授交谈过的人都会知道，他能多么巧妙地使谈话像滚球一般继续下去而不中断。

事实上，他非常健谈，谈话方式也不止一端。妙语连珠和寒暄闲谈，他都擅长。他表现得最为出色的，是谈话时偏离主题：不论是尼克贝太太[4]的自由联想，还是查尔斯·兰姆的东拉西扯、引经据典。附带说一句，叶教授对兰姆崇拜得无以复加。像约翰逊一样，他也不喜欢被别人打断话头，尤其不喜欢被只有资格竖起耳朵恭听的年轻人打断。我还记得五年前在他那令人愉快的书房里，第一次和他谈话时的情景。那时，我还是个有点儿腼腆又有点儿顽皮的年轻人，自以为了不起而激动得面色绯红，满肚子借来的诙谐和智慧。我费尽心机，力争插嘴以一展才华。我好几次试图在叶教授的讲话车轮中插入一根辐条，却徒劳无功，最终知趣地放弃了这种无望的尝试，把身体深埋进叶教授家舒适的沙发（清华最舒适的沙发），呷着叶教授家著名的普洱茶，听任叶教授把他有趣的长篇大论无所障碍地一直讲下去。文学当然是他谈话的主轴，但是谁也无法为他“对话”中提到的事物划出界线，他的谈话涉及百科全书的所有范围——太阳底下的一切，外加太阳之上的一些话题。

叶教授作为讲师的品质受到了健谈者品质缺陷的影响。他讲课没有教案或大纲，全凭即兴发挥和天资。他的讲课完全推翻了我们对于何谓讲课的固有观念。他的讲课充满了意外和突如其来的策略，而这种出人意料的特点却丝毫不能构成他课堂的魅力。他的课上充满了睿智的洞见和深刻的题外话，但是缺乏系统和条理。尽管他的课听着起劲，学生应该别无他求，但是资质较差的学生常有的优良品质就是在课堂上记笔

记，他们来上课是真诚地希望给空白的头脑装填进有条不紊的知识。他们听到这样的课就会感到困惑。然而，更糟的是，叶教授根本不在意这样的学生，他为了教好少数学生而不惜牺牲其他学生。

叶教授是一个文学上自行其是的人，他思想过于开阔而不可能从属于任何小团体，也不可能和任何派别合作。像温源宁先生一样，他也紧跟艺术和文学的最新发展情况。他们两人全都是最佳意义上的票友或业余文艺爱好者。我常把他们比作两根芦苇，每一阵流行的理论劲风都能从中吹奏出优美的音乐。在这方面，他们都和一心一意的人文主义者吴宓教授正好相反。在业余爱好文艺的同事们中间，比较教条的吴教授似乎把伊索著名寓言的寓意颠倒过来了，他知道自己是有尾巴的狐狸[5]而感觉别扭。尽管如此，这三位教授仍然是清华外国语言文学系里的三剑客[6]：叶，甚至连长相都会使人想起波尔朵斯；吴，既道学又很浪漫，确实使我们联想到阿拉密斯；而温，由于他的温文尔雅、足智多谋，就非常像阿多斯了。那，达达尼昂呢？

叶教授是第一流的随笔作家和评论家。随笔流行之前很久，他就在提倡这种写作了。他的英文随笔藏书数量在中国也许是最多的。他最近的评论文章尤为引人关注，例如，他在作为评论素材的印象和作为评论方法的印象主义之间作出的区分，就很可能永远正确。尽管他有些盛气凌人，那震耳欲聋的笑声具有惠斯勒[7]式的“哈！哈！”的阴险品质，他实际上是个相当腼腆、敏感的人，又极挑剔，不能不说正像他热爱至深的那个人——查尔斯·兰姆。

［第20期，1934年5月17日］

DR. LIM BOON KENG (林文庆)

By profession, Dr. Lim Boon Keng is a doctor; by inclination, a scholar; by reputation, a business man; and by accident, an educationalist. In reality, he is neither a doctor, a scholar, a business man, nor an educationalist: his real profession is to be a celebrity. He would like—just to be well known. If he can be well known as a theologian, well and good; if as a doctor, well and good also; but the great thing with him is to be well known, everything else is ancillary to that. Nothing he does, but is a peg for him to hang up his name upon. Nothing he writes, but is a sort of advertisement for himself. "And when he opens his mouth, let no dogs bark!"

I believe it was Lord Brougham who first said that the aim of education was to make a man know something of everything, and everything of something. In an essay On Reading, in The Pleasures of Life, a book very much read 40 years ago, Lord Avebury tried to translate into practice the first half of Lord Brougham's dictum, by drawing up a list of the hundred best books, ranging from the Bible, the Koran, to Gilbert White's Natural History of Selborne. I cannot swear Dr. Lim has read all through Lord Avebury's hundred best books, but I have a sneaking suspicion he would like people to think that he has done so. Maybe he has, maybe he hasn't. But this I know—"everything of something" he has not compassed, not even in medicine, which he has studied as a profession. The result is an hors d'oeuvres sort of mind—a smattering of everything: a hotch, composed of a bewildering variety of things. Ask Dr. Lim about Confucius, and he could hold forth for the length of an hour-glass, trotting out all the choice commonplaces he has culled from Legge; but after he has done so, we may be comfortably sure, he has said all—and, perhaps, more than he knows upon the subject. Ask him about earthworms, and he would at once detail to us the researches he has made on them, long years back. And parasitic plants? Why, of course, they are his hobby. It seems Dr. Lim has everything, which King Solomon had, except the wisdom, and—shall I also add? —the knowledge.

As with his mind, so also in his relationships with people: he has a nodding acquaintance with everybody; but friends, none! It is not in his nature to cling to anything for long. He is essentially a nomad. And nomads can either have leaders or followers, but not equals. Now friendship exists only among equals. Since Dr. Lim is a nomad and aspires to be a leader, it

obviously follows that he can only have followers; and followers, it is well known, are very apt to degenerate into sycophants. A person would be more than human, who could resist the heady wine which sycophants pour out daily for him to drink. Dr. Lim is certainly not such a person. His entourage can only aggravate the itch which is already in him—the desire to be well known.

It is a misfortune for which Dr. Lim is not responsible that he should have been made President of Amoy University. I hear he is not appreciated there. I know there are places in Shanghai which would suit him perfectly: I refer to the cabarets. With his dapper little figure, his restless eyes, and his fine beard which hides a multitude of sins, Dr. Lim's thin voice, discoursing on philosophy and God and Mammon, would not be unwelcome, coming in between the rattle of the wine-glasses, the inane talk of the dancing-girls, and the syncopation of the orchestra.

[No. 22; May 31, 1934]

林文庆医生[1]

林文庆医生，论职业，是一名医师；讲兴趣，是一位学者；谈声誉，是一个商人；出于偶然，还成了教育家。实际上，他既不是医师，也不是学者，既不是商人，也不是教育家。他真正的职业，是努力成名。他想要的，就只是出名。如果作为神学家能够出名，那很好；如果作为医师能够出名，也很好。对于他来说，最重要的是出名，其余的一切全都是次要的。他做事情，无非是钉一颗挂钉，以便挂上他的大名。他写文章，无非是为自己做一个广告。“他把嘴张开的时候，所有的狗都不许乱叫！”[2]

我相信是布鲁厄姆勋爵[3]第一个说过，教育的目的在于使人通百艺而专一长。《生活的乐趣》是40年前很多人读过的一本书，在《论读书》一文中，埃夫伯里勋爵[4]曾试图把布鲁厄姆名言的第一部分付诸实践。他拟定了一份100部名著的书目，从《圣经》、《古兰经》到吉尔伯特·怀特[5]的《塞尔伯恩博物志》，应有尽有。我不能保证林医生通读了埃夫伯里勋爵所选的名著，但是我却暗自怀疑，他是希望人们以为他都通读过了的。也许他通读过，也许没有。但是有一点我是知道的——专一长，他并没有做到，甚至未能全面掌握作为专业攻读过的医学。其结果是，一种“餐前开胃小吃”式的头脑——对于一切事物都一知半解，

一种繁杂得令人头晕的知识大杂烩。你向林医生请教有关孔夫子的问题，他可以讲上个把小时理雅各[6]著作里的陈词滥调。等他说完了，我们可以确信，他已经说出了他所知道的全部——也许，比他所知道的全部还要多。问他有关蚯蚓的问题，他立刻就会对我们详细叙述好多年以前他对蚯蚓做过的研究。还有寄生植物？嗨，当然，那是他的业余爱好。林医生好像什么都有，所罗门王[7]有的他都有，只是除了智慧和——要不要我再补充一点？——知识。

他的人际关系就像他的头脑一样，和每个人都是点头之交，而朋友，却一个也没有！对于任何事物的长久执著都有违他的本性。他实质上是一个游牧民。游牧民中只有首领或随从，不存在平等的成员，而友谊只存在于平等的友人之间。既然林医生是个游牧民，而且期望成为首领，他显然就只能拥有追随者。而追随者，如所周知，是很容易堕落成为谄媚之徒的。只有具备超人品质的人才抵抗得了谄媚之徒每天灌给他的醉人烈酒，而林医生肯定不是这种人。他周围的那些人只能又加强他心中既有的渴望——但求出名的渴望。

不幸的是，林医生居然会被任命为厦门大学校长，尽管这不该由他自己负责。我听说，他在那里不受欢迎。我知道，上海有些地方对于他倒是再合适不过，我指的是那些歌舞表演的夜总会。林医生那矫健活泼的小个子，永远转动着的眼珠，那一副遮掩着许多罪过的美髯，谈论着哲学、上帝和财神的尖细嗓音，夹杂在玻璃酒杯的碰撞声、舞女们愚蠢的谈话和管弦乐队的切分音之间，未尝不受欢迎。

［第22期，1934年5月31日］

DR. LIM BOON KENG, ONCE MORE

The China Critic has much pleasure in printing the following spirited defence of Dr. Lim Boon Keng, written in reply to the pen-sketch of him, which appeared in our last issue. —Wen Yuan-ning.

Editor,
The China Critic

Sir: —The so-called "intimate portrait" of Dr. Lim Boon Keng, for which one of your contributing editors is responsible, is, to my mind, one of the most scurrilous diatribes ever inflicted on the reading public. May I enquire what special qualifications the writer possesses for pretending to offer us an "intimate" picture of Dr. Lim, and what grounds he has for his startling generalisations?

It is doubtless correct that Dr. Lim is "by profession... a doctor; by inclination a scholar, by reputation a business man; and by accident an educationalist." But for what reasons is he "neither a doctor, a scholar, a business man nor an educationalist"? Far be it from me to indulge in any verbal quibbling, but unless there have been some recent fundamental changes in the meanings of English words which have escaped my notice, it would appear that Dr. Lim is all that your contributing editor denies him to be, whether your C.E. chooses to consider the broad or the narrow significance of those descriptive names. Are Dr. Lim's Edinburgh and Cantab. medical degrees, for instance, entirely meaningless? True, he is not in active practice, but that fact does not make him any the less a medical man —he is, in fact, a B.M. and C.M. of those British universities. The bald statement that "his real profession is to be a celebrity," seems to be a gratuitous insult hurled at the head of a person who, your contributing editor is doubtless aware, will not, and cannot, trouble to hit back at this specimen of the cheapest of cheap jibes. A man is a "celebrity" or otherwise according to what he has or has not done; and as it would appear that your C.E. has been specially well-informed regarding the manner and extent that Dr. Lim has sought notoriety, perhaps he will be good enough to substantiate his indictment with facts—not "sneaking suspicions," hear-say or personal opinion, for my enlightenment and that of others.

Your C.E. also declared that "nothing he does, but is a peg for him to hang his name upon. Nothing he writes, but is a sort of advertisement for

himself...." Would the fact that Dr. Lim gave up a lucrative medical practice, as well as other businesses, in Singapore, in exchange for a comparatively insignificant competence as head of Amoy University count for nothing in the eyes of your C.E., or will the latter even suggest that the very same fact goes to support his imputation of an ulterior motive?

Anent the saying of Lord Brougham's, I submit that, like most epigrams, it is fallacious if one pushes it to logical extremes, as your C.E. obviously is doing. Individual tastes and opinions naturally and necessarily differ in a variety of things, and what Lord Avebury thought to be the best books 40 years, or more, ago, may not be similarly regarded by humbler folks, and in this generation. So it seems to me neither relevant for your C.E. to confess being unable to "swear Dr. Lim has read through Lord Avebury's hundred best books," nor at all warranted for the former to avow a "sneaking suspicion that he [Dr. Lim] would like people to think that he has done so." May I ask what are the grounds for the "sneaking suspicion" that are substantial enough to justify the slashing attack upon a man couched in words like these: "It seems Dr. Lim has everything which King Solomon had, except the wisdom; and—shall I also add? —the knowledge"? And why should not the suspicion be an honest instead of a "sneaking" one? If Dr. Lim is, to speak plainly, such a humbug, as your well-informed C.E. would have one believe from the tenour of his supposed "intimate" pen-portrait, is it fair to ask that he should know and heed what a long-deceased member of the English nobility with leisure and literary tastes thought and said half a century ago?

But surely "the most unkindest cut of all" is your C.E.'s firm conviction that the "everything of something" of Lord Brougham's, Dr. Lim "has not compassed, not even in medicine, which he has studied as a profession."It is highly probable that since Dr. Lim took up the Presidency of Amoy University thirteen years ago, he has not kept himself abreast of the developments of medical science—as is the case with even many a practitioner actively engaged in his profession. It is certainly a demand which even extraordinary genius can hardly fulfil, to require Dr. Lim, as your hyper-critical C.E. would do, a knowledge of everything there is to know about his profession. Is there any scientist, any savant, or any other learned person bold enough to pretend that he knows everything of the subject of his special study —unless the same be a quack? Perhaps, your C.E. as a journalist (I presume that is his profession) knows all there is to know about his trade, so he exacts the same high qualifications of everybody else.

Then, again, your C.E. comes out with the jewel of wisdom which apparently Dr. Lim and everybody else lack. I gather that the former has made an exhaustive study of nomads, and nomad life to declare so emphatically what has never appeared to be realised by the majority of the people, or has hitherto escaped the observation of folks less lynx-eyed than he. "Nomads can either have leaders or followers, but not equals," we are told. Therefore, Dr. Lim being a nomad, has no equals, but only followers, who are necessarily sycophants, whose whisperings have turned Dr. Lim's head—and ergo, Dr. Lim's place is in the cabarets! Devastating logic indeed! With regard to the above revelations about nomads, one gathers that nomad tribes and states—as the Mongols, for instance—are nothing but a hierarchy of dizzy proportions, the number of ranks and titles corresponding to the number of their population—there being no equals. If the undersigned may offer a suggestion, it is that your learned C.E. publish for the edification of this abysmally ignorant world his revelations about the nomads and their social hierarchy.

To conclude, your C.E. paints such a vivid picture of Shanghai's cabarets, that if only for the experience, Dr. Lim would do well to go to the haunts of the night-owls, and trip the light fantastic toe. For which, apparently, there is no more competent guide than your "admirable Crichton."

With apologies for the space I have taken, I request that you will be good enough to give this entire letter the same publicity that you have given your C.E. for what I and most people will consider—unless your C.E. substantiates fully his allegations against Dr. Lim—a most dastardly and cowardly attack on a gentleman. Honourable journalism demands and allows fair-play, and the deliberate aspersions should not in fairness be allowed to pass, and thereby be admitted in default of a challenge. I am in no way connected with Dr. Lim, and hold no brief for him; but as an Overseas Chinese who has read your review both abroad as well as here, I think it is only fair that a man's character should not be so outrageously and publicly assailed unless there are reasonable grounds therefor, —which is nothing more and nothing less than what I am asking.

Yours faithfully,
F. T. WANG

Shanghai, June 1.

[No. 23; June 7, 1934]

林文庆医生之二

《中国评论周报》非常高兴能刊载以下这篇为林文庆医生竭力辩护的文章，此文是对于本刊上期所载相关速写的回应。——温源宁

《中国评论周报》编辑先生：

你们某个编辑撰写的所谓林文庆医生的“亲切写真”，在我看来是读者大众所能读到的最下流的诽谤之一。我是否可以求教：这位作者具有怎样一种特殊的资格而能够假装着来为我们描绘一幅林医生的“亲切”画像，他又是根据什么发表了他那些令人吃惊的议论？

林医生，“论职业，是一名医师；讲兴趣，是一位学者；谈声誉，是一个商人；出于偶然，还成了教育家”，这毫无疑问是正确的。但是，凭什么理由说他“既不是医师，也不是学者，既不是商人，也不是教育家”呢？我并不想对措辞吹毛求疵，但除非是英语词汇的语义近来发生了我未能注意到的根本性改变，否则林医生正好就是你们的撰稿编辑试图否认的那几种人，不论他在使用那些描述性名称时是选择了它们广义的还是狭义的含义。难道，举例说，林医生在爱丁堡和剑桥获得的医学学位就完全毫无意义？不错，他目前没有行医，然而这一事实丝毫也不能改变他作为医生的资格和身份——事实上，他是英国那两所大学的医学学士和外科硕士。用那样毫不掩饰的言辞说 “他真正的职业，是努力成名”，是对于这样一位先生的无端侮辱。你们的撰稿编辑显然知道，这位先生是不会费心反驳这种卑劣侮辱当中最卑劣的谩骂的。一个人之所以是“名人”抑或不是，取决于他做了些什么、没做什么。由于你们的编辑对林医生谋求成名的方式和范围似乎是了如指掌，也许他可以用事实来支持他的指控——而不是“暗自怀疑”、道听途说或个人意见，以消释我和别人的心头疑问。

你们的编辑还声称，“他做事情，无非是钉一颗挂钉，以便挂上他的大名。他写文章，无非是为自己做一个广告……”。林医生放弃了他在新加坡赢利颇丰的诊所和其他商业营生，来换取厦门大学校长这样一个比较而言无足轻重的职位，在你们编辑的眼里是不是也算不得什么？抑或他甚至会暗示，这样的事实正好支持他林医生有阴暗动机的诋毁呢？

关于布鲁厄姆勋爵的那句话，我认为，像大多数名言警句一样，如果被推到逻辑的极端——你们的编辑显然在这样做——就会成为谬误。对不同的事物，不同的人自然而且必然会有不同的感受、不同的见解。埃夫伯里勋爵在四十多年前认为是优秀读物的书[1]，在我们这一代的一般人心目中未必会被同样看重。所以在我看来，你们的编辑承认他不

能“保证林医生通读了埃夫伯里勋爵所选的名著”既毫不相干，也绝对不能证明他“暗自怀疑，他［林医生］是希望人们以为他都通读过了的”一说能够成立。我是否可以询问“暗自怀疑”的根据何在？那样的根据将能充分证实隐含在下列文字中的杀伤性攻击：“林医生好像什么都有，所罗门王有的他都有，只是除了智慧和——要不要我再补充一点？——知识。”为什么不老老实实、光明正大地怀疑，而要“暗自”怀疑？如果林医生果真是个骗子，说得直接点儿，就像你们那位消息灵通的撰稿编辑希望别人循着他的“亲切写真”所引导的思路去相信的那样，去要求这样一个人知道并注意到一个过世已久、既有闲暇又有文学素养的英国贵族成员半个世纪以前的所思和所言，这公平吗？

然而，“最缺乏善意而伤人感情的话语”是贵刊撰稿编辑坚信林医生并未掌握布鲁厄姆勋爵所说的“专一长”，“甚至未能全面掌握作为专业攻读过的医学”。非常可能的是，林医生在十三年前担任了厦门大学校长的职务以来，未能及时跟上医学的发展——许多甚至是正在行医的人士也是如此。就像贵刊那位极尽挑剔之能事的撰稿编辑所做的那样，要求林医生掌握他本专业既有的“全部”知识，这是一个非凡的天才也难以满足的要求。有任何一名科学家、一名博学之士，或是任何其他学者——除非他真是个骗子——敢于佯称掌握了他所研究学科的全部知识吗？也许，贵刊的撰稿编辑作为一名新闻工作者（我假定这是他的职业），知道他那一行的全部知识，所以才会对别人提出同样高的资质要求。

然后，还是贵刊这位撰稿编辑，一定具有林医生和其他所有人显然都不具备的非凡智慧。我猜测，这位编辑对游牧民族和游牧生活定是进行过深入广泛的研究，才会以如此肯定的语气宣布大多数人还未意识到，或是迄今为止目光不如他锐利的人们观察所忽略的现象。他告诉我们，“游牧民中只有首领或随从，不存在平等的成员。”因此，既然林医生是游牧民，他就没有平等的朋友，只有追随者，而追随者都必然是阿谀谄媚之辈，他们的悄声耳语会使得林医生头晕目眩——因此，林医生的位置，应在伴有歌舞表演的夜总会！真是令人震惊的逻辑！根据上述关于游牧民族的说法，人们就会推断，游牧部落和国家——比如蒙古人——只不过是令人迷惑、大小不等的人群所构成的等级组织，等级和称号则和他们人口的多少相称——完全没有平等的成员。如果笔者可以建议，我就要建议，为了给愚昧的世界以启迪，请贵刊那位有学问的撰稿编辑公开发表他揭示游牧民族及其社会等级的学识。

最后，贵刊撰稿编辑描绘了一幅上海伴有歌舞表演的夜总会的生动图画，以至于林医生即使是为了体验，最好也到那些夜猫子出没的场所去走走，并且移步起舞。显然，有关此道，最胜任的向导莫过于贵刊这

位“令人钦佩的克赖顿[2]”。

为占用贵刊篇幅表示歉意的同时，我请求贵刊能够慷慨允许此信全文刊出，就像贵刊撰稿编辑得以刊出他那篇评论一样；而他那篇文章，我和大多数人都认为是——除非这位编辑能为他对林医生的指责提供充分的证据——对一位正人君子最卑鄙、怯懦的攻击。值得尊敬的新闻工作要求而且允许公平竞争，蓄意的诽谤且不允反驳就公平而论就不得通过。我和林医生没有丝毫的瓜葛，也无意为他辩护；但是，作为一名在海外和在这里阅读过你们评论的华侨，我以为，一个人的人格，若无合理的根据，便不该受到如此无礼而公开的侮辱，这才合理——而这正是我现在所要求的。

您忠诚的

F. T.王

6月1日于上海

［第23期，1934年6月7日］

MISS HUANG LU-YING (黄庐隐)

An eighteenth century wit said of Madame de Staël that since there were no women geniuses, it would be a mistake to call her a woman. Although one would hesitate to call the late Miss Huang a woman genius, yet her friends would, I am sure, agree with me that by temperament she was every inch a man, in spite of the fact that she was one of the most feminine persons in appearance.

I do not wish of course to pose as an authority on the nature of women; but to my mind, one of the distinctly feminine characteristics is the possession of a matter-of-fact mind. Their lives are ordered by expediency, seldom by any definite ideals. Unlike men, who on the whole are more romantic in nature, they seldom lose themselves in the wilderness of fruitless speculations. They do not like to dally with new ideas; and for this reason, they have been rightly called the most conservative elements in society.

But no one would ever dream of calling Miss Huang a conservative! On the contrary, her life was but one long adventure. She broke many social conventions, not because she had a weakness for shocking the sensibilities of the sober-minded, but because she was earnestly convinced that righteousness was on her side. Many persons, it is true, would call her stubborn. In fact, she herself knew that stubbornness was one of her weaknesses. In her novel The Friend on the Seashore, she said of her heroine, whom everyone would recognise to be herself, that she was oftentimes extremely foolhardy. Such self-insight is indeed extremely rare! Be that as it may, Miss Huang's stubbornness is by no means of the erratic sort. She was stubborn not in the sense that a spoilt child is stubborn, but in the sense that a religious fanatic is. She dared to be herself, because she had the courage of her convictions. She knew that in living according to her ideals, she could never be wrong. What did the criticism of others matter, therefore, so long as she was sure that she was guided by the true light?

The true light, in this case, was none other than love—love not as an innocent pastime or as the satisfaction of one's physical nature, but as a religion, as life itself. She sacrificed everything for love, first by marrying a man who already had a wife, later by marrying, after the death of her first paramour, a man who is at least ten years younger than herself. She quarreled with her mother, and was disowned by her family, all because that to her,

love was all.

To those who do not know her personally, Miss Huang will perhaps always be remembered as a writer of no mean ability; but to her friends, she will always remain in their memory as a woman who lived and died for love.

[No. 24; June 14, 1934]

黄庐隐女士[1]

一位18世纪的文士谈到斯塔尔夫人[2]时曾诙谐地说，既然没有女性天才，那么称她为女人就是个错误。虽然人们对于把已故的黄女士称为女天才会感到犹豫，但是我相信，她的朋友们会赞同我的看法——就气质而论，她的每一寸都是男人，尽管从外表来看，她又是最为女性的女人之一。

我当然不想假装是个评判女人天性的权威，但是在我心目中，拥有实事求是的头脑应该是最显著的女性特征之一。她们对待生活往往是随遇而安，而不是根据确定的理想有意安排。和男人不同，男人大体说来天性都较为浪漫，她们却很少会在毫无结果的沉思的荒原中迷失方向。她们不喜欢玩弄新思想，所以她们被称作社会上最保守的分子，这是正确的。

但是没有人会想到要称黄女士为保守分子！恰恰相反，她的生活简直就是一部长篇历险记。她打破过许多社会惯例，并不是因为她有那种癖好，存心要冲击头脑冷静人士的敏感神经，而是因为她真诚地相信正义在自己这边。真的，许多人都会说她固执。事实上，她自己也知道，固执是她的一个弱点。她在小说《海滨故人》中谈到女主人公时说，她常常极其鲁莽，而每个人都会认出那说的就是她自己。这样一种自知之明实在是极其罕见！尽管如此，黄女士的固执绝不属于乖僻的那种。她的固执不是宠坏了的孩子的那种固执，而是宗教狂热分子的固执。她敢于做她自己，是因为她有坚持信念的勇气。她知道，按照自己的理想去生活，她绝不可能错。所以，只要她确定自己是在真正的明光指引下，别人指责又有什么关系呢？

真正的明光，在这里，不是别的，而是爱——爱，不是一种天真的娱乐，不是对于生理本性的满足，而是一种宗教，是生活本身。她为爱牺牲一切：最初是嫁了一个有妇之夫；后来，第一个情夫死后，又嫁了一个比她至少小十岁的男人。她和母亲争吵，被逐出家门，都因为对于她来说，爱就是一切。

对于不认识黄女士的那些人，她也许永远会被当作一个颇有才华的作家；但是她的朋友们总会记得，她是一个为爱而生、为爱而死的女人。

［第24期，1934年6月14日］

MR. JOHN WONG-QUINCEY (王文显)

Tsing Hwa has seen many changes both of men and aims. From being a Middle School to prepare boys for the States, it has become a National Chinese University. From being an institution to teach boys to talk good Yankee English, and to look smart in foreign clothes, it has become a workshop to turn men and women into chemists, engineers, etc., etc. But through all these changes, there is one person in Tsing Hwa who has not changed—that person is none other than Mr. Wong-Quincey. He is a fixture there. Without him, Tsing Hwa will not be Tsing Hwa. With him, Tsing Hwa, in spite of all the transformations it has gone through, will still be Tsing Hwa, in the same way that Jack with baby's bibs will still be the same Jack with beard and moustache.

Mr. Wong-Quincey has been consecutively Professor, Dean, Vice-President and Acting President of Tsing Hwa College. Since Tsing Hwa's status has been raised to that of a University, Mr. Wong-Quincey has become Chairman of the Department of Foreign Languages and Literature. It speaks much for his ability and prestige, that there has never been any trouble in his Department during all these years of "storm and stress."Whatever one may say about Mr. Wong-Quincey's teaching, this thing one must admit about him: he is all that a Chairman should be at a meeting. There is no fuss, no meandering about in irrelevant talkee talkee. All discussion is made to lead to some sort of decision. And when the meeting is over, one always has the feeling that something has been done.

As a teacher, Mr. Wong-Quincey is not a person who can inspire love or devotion in his pupils towards him. Admiration and respect he evokes in them. No student ever goes to see Mr. Wong-Quincey merely for talk's sake: a student only calls on him to talk business. And when the business is done, that's the end of the matter. There is no lingering, no wish to prolong the minute into the hour. The student goes away feeling relieved; and, I daresay, Mr. Wong-Quincey, too, feels relieved that something uncomfortable has been gone through and done with.

Mr. Wong-Quincey is one of the most impulsive and enthusiastic men I have ever known. But his impulsive and enthusiastic side never shows up in the lecture-room. There he is perfunctory and phlegmatic: he almost gives one the impression of a presbyterian clergyman going through the funeral

service. There is a sense of weary effort, and monotonous constraint. When the hour-bell strikes, Mr. Wong-Quincey is glad to go away; and, I think, his students, too, reciprocate his feelings in the matter.

Nothing out of the way in Mr. Wong-Quincey's personal appearance or ways. If we laugh at him at all, it is because he is so normal, so very correct in his conformation to everything that a good citizen ought to be. In fact, he is irritatingly normal. He is hygienically clean, in both the physical and moral sense. He is blameless as a husband. He is conscientious as a teacher. He is punctilious in all that relate to his duties as a senior member of the Tsing Hwa staff. He loves gardening. He is a good tennis player. He is a good shot. He takes an interest in football. He wears pants in summer, and long gowns in winter. He smokes a pipe. There is nothing outrageous in his house. Everything about him is as it should be. And yet, why is it that his friends poke fun at him behind his back? I think the answer is to be found in his plays.

A few years ago, one of Mr. Wong-Quincey's plays, She Stoops to Compromise, was produced in Peking. The farce was excellent, the technique was perfect, the acting was good. There was not one dull moment in the whole play. Altogether it was a brilliant success. Everything that hard work and dramatic scholarship and ingenuity could do to make the play a good show was in She Stoops to Compromise. But when the applause was over, and the lights were out, and we were out once again in the open street, rushing about for our cars and our rickshaws, why was it that there arose in many of us a feeling of resentment, almost against the author? Is it not because Mr. Wong-Quincey has given us everything in She Stoops to Compromise, except the one thing needful—the something human? Yes, we miss that; and missing that, we are dissatisfied with Mr. Wong-Quincey. Success, respect, admiration may all be his due; but we shall sometimes pay him back with laughter, so long as he lacks the human touch.

[No. 25; June 21, 1934]

王文显先生[1]

清华在人事和办校方针两个方面都经历了许多变化。现在，清华已经从一个留美预备中等学校，变成为一所中国国立大学；已经从一个培

养男孩子说一口漂亮美国英语、穿一身得体西装的机构，变成为一座把男女学生造就成为化学家、工程师等等的工作坊。但是在发生了所有这些变化的过程中，在清华却有一个人始终没有改变，那正是王文显先生。他始终在清华任教。没有他，清华就不成为清华。有了他，不管经历了多少变化，清华依旧是清华——就像系着围嘴的婴儿杰克到长出满脸胡髭仍将是杰克一样。

王文显先生历任清华学校教授、教务长、副校长和代理校长。清华升格为大学后，他当上了外国语言文学系的系主任。很可以说明他的能力和威望的是，在那些动荡的年月，他的系里从来没有出现过任何麻烦。不管人们对王文显先生的教学可能说些什么，但是必须得承认：他是会议上最理想的主席——不小题大做，不东拉西扯、唠唠叨叨的；所有的讨论全都引向某种决议。会议过后，人们总会有一种毕竟做了点事情的感觉。

作为教师，王文显先生不是会在学生中间引起喜爱或热爱的那种人，他得到的是钦佩和尊敬。没有一个学生只是为了闲聊几句而去找他，去找他总是要谈正事。正事谈完了，拜访也就结束了。没有依依不舍的拖延，没有把一分钟延长为一小时的愿望。学生离开时会觉得如释重负；我敢说，王文显先生也一样如释重负：不舒服的事情总算做完了，终于完事了。

王文显先生是我所见过最容易冲动、最富于热情的那种人。不过，他容易冲动、富于热情的一面，从不在课堂上表现出来。课堂上的他例行公事、平淡冷静，给人的印象就仿佛是长老会[2]的牧师在主持葬礼。那种感觉是，疲倦的努力、单调的拘束。下课的钟声敲响，王文显先生便欣然离去。他的学生，我想，也是同样的感受。

王文显先生在外表和举止方面都毫无异乎常人之处。如果我们真要笑他，那是因为他过分正常，一个好公民所应该做到的一切，他都做得无比正确得体。事实上，他正常得令人讨厌。他的身心全都卫生洁净。作为丈夫，他无可指摘；作为教师，他尽心尽责；作为清华教职工队伍资深的一员，他对职责攸关的一切全都小心谨慎。他喜好园艺，网球打得很好，是个射击能手，对足球也有点儿兴趣。他夏天穿短裤，冬天着长袍。他抽烟斗。在他家里，没有任何出格的事情或东西。和他相关的一切，全都中规中矩。那么，为什么他的朋友要在背后开他的玩笑？我想，答案可以从他的戏剧中找到。

几年前，王文显先生的戏剧《委曲求全》[3]在北平演出。这是一出精彩的闹剧，技巧无可挑剔，演得也很到位。整出戏没有一刻沉闷乏味。整个演出非常成功。辛苦努力、戏剧学识和别出心裁，凡是有助于演出成功的一切，《委曲求全》全都具备。但是，掌声过后，灯光熄

后，当我们又来到大街上，涌向各自的汽车、人力车，为什么许多人都感到不满，几乎是对作者的不满？是不是因为在《委曲求全》中，王文显先生给了我们一切，唯独缺少必要的那一点——人情味？是的，我们想念那个。由于我们想念那点人情味，我们就会对王文显先生感到不满。成功、尊敬、钦佩，都是他应得的，但是只要他缺少了那点人情味，我们有时也会对他报以大笑。

［第25期，1934年6月21日］

MR. CHU CHAO-HSIN (朱兆莘)

Mr. Chu was for many years Chargé d'affaires in London. Before that, he was Consul-General in San Francisco. From London he was promoted as Minister to Italy. From the latter place, he came back home, first as Commissioner of Foreign Affairs in Canton, then concurrently as Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs at Nanking. With the retreat from Hankow of the Kwangsi party, with which he was allied, he retired for a time to Nanyang. The last we heard of him was his dying in Canton, after eating snakes, in an entertainment given by him to some foreign friends. A strange death for a strange man!

Mr. Chu is comfortably stout. Whether he is a gourmet, we don't know; but he, at any rate, looks as if he is a gourmand. Of medium height, inclined to be ruddy in his complexion, with a face which suggests great satisfaction with himself and the world, Mr. Chu is a good instance of an homme moyen sensuel turned diplomat.

There are faces so sour that they suggest vinegar: looking at them makes one's nose wet with perspiration. Then again, there are faces so refined, so mature, and so sparkling with well-bred bonhomie, that they bring to one's mind good old Burgundy. Mr. Chu's face conjures up beer—a kindly drink, bourgeois, common, "of widest commonalty spread," incapable of making one wild with frenzy or enthusiasm, but of marvellous potency in producing that state of dull numbness in the mind, when shame, truth, lies, justice, righteousness and honour lose all distinctions, and when earth and sky and past and present become blended together, tinged with that feeling of smug satisfaction with oneself, which Browning has expressed so well in Pippa Passes:

> The year's at the spring
> And day's at the morn;
> Morning's at seven;
> The hill-side's dew-pearled;
> The lark's on the wing;
> The snail's on the thorn;
> God's in his heaven—
> All's right with the world!

When one talks of diplomats, one usually thinks of cynical worldlings,

immaculately dressed, full of subtle cunning at the Council board, scintillating with bon mots at social gatherings, irresistible to ladies, thoroughly insincere, but insincere in the grand style, charming with a seductiveness which deceives no one, brilliant as glass and just as brittle. Now Mr. Chu is none of these things. He is no dandy. He is not charming. He is not brilliant. He says the most commonplace things in the most commonplace way. He may be astute, but he never allows his astuteness to deviate into profundity. Imperturbably bland, not afraid of repeating the same old stale jokes for the hundredth time, constantly doing the wrong things at the right moment, Mr. Chu may not be a diplomat after one's own heart; but considering the impossible position of China in the years that Mr. Chu was representing her, must one not admit that nobody else would have done any better under the circumstances? It's all very well to poke fun at Mr. Chu's gaucheries at dinner-parties and at Geneva; but really, must those things be accounted sins against the Holy Ghost in a diplomat?

I like to think of Mr. Chu, the man. There is such a Rabelaisian inclusiveness in his likes and dislikes, that it's difficult not to have a soft spot for him. Mr. Chu is, in word and in deed, a democrat. I can't think it possible for him to turn up his nose at anything, and anybody. He is all affability to those who want his help. And to those who don't need his help, he is always kind. Most welcome is the heartiness with which he greets a person. He is not out to over-awe anybody. He puts on no side before the meanest of menials. For this reason, it would not surprise me to learn of some people despising Mr. Chu; but it would certainly grieve me much, if any one were to tell me he didn't like Mr. Chu.

[No. 27; July 5, 1934]

朱兆莘先生[1]

朱兆莘先生在伦敦任驻英代办多年，在此之前是驻旧金山总领事。他从伦敦升任驻意大利公使，后从意大利回国，初任外交部特派广东交涉员，后来在南京兼外交部政务次长。随着他所依附的桂系撤出汉口，他在南洋隐退了一段时日。有关于他最后的消息是，他在款待外国友人的宴会上吃了蛇肉，死在广州。真可谓奇人奇死！

朱先生肥胖适度。他是不是美食家，我们不知道，但是，无论如

何，他看上去是个爱吃爱喝的人。他中等身材，面色近乎红润，仿佛显示着对自己和世界都极为满意。他是普通人转变成为外交官的成功一例。

人的面孔，有些是酸的，会使人们联想到醋，看见的人会鼻尖冒汗。也有一些面孔是那么优雅、那么成熟、那么彬彬有礼、和蔼可亲，会使人们联想到冒着泡泡的陈年勃艮第葡萄酒[2]。朱先生的面孔使人想到的是啤酒那种温和的饮料，中产阶级、普通人和“广大民众”都喝，不会让人狂乱，也不会让人兴奋得发狂，却有一种奇妙的功能，使人头脑麻木。这时，羞耻、真理、谎言、公道、正义和荣誉都不再有区别，天和地、过去和现在混为一谈，并有一点自我满足的陶醉感，就像勃朗宁[3]在《皮帕走过》中表达得那么好的：

一年正值春光，
一天正在早上；
早上正是七点，
露珠还在山岗；
云雀展翅飞翔，
蜗牛爬在树上；
上帝稳坐天庭，
人间妥帖安详。

人们谈到外交官，总认为都是些愤世嫉俗的俗物，穿着打扮无可挑剔，会议桌上诡诈狡黠，社交聚会中字字珠玑、光彩照人，让夫人小姐们难以抗拒，完全谈不上真诚，却也伪善得冠冕堂皇，富有诱惑的魅力却欺骗不了任何人，像玻璃一样闪光，也像玻璃一样容易破碎。朱先生却不是这样的俗物。他不是花花公子，不那么富有魅力，也不那么闪光。他以最平常的方式讲述最平常的事情。他可能有点狡猾，但是他不会让狡猾逸进深渊。他沉着冷静，不害怕把陈旧的笑话重复上一百遍，总是在正确的时候做错事。朱先生可能不是一个称心如意的外交官，但是考虑到朱先生代表中国时中国的艰难处境，我们难道不应该承认，在那样一种条件下谁也不可能做得更好？人们尽可以嘲笑朱先生在宴会和日内瓦会议上的笨拙表现，但是说句老实话，难道真就应该把那些事情看成外交官冒犯圣灵的不恕之罪吗？

我喜欢思考朱先生的为人。他喜爱和厌恶的东西中有着那么多拉伯雷[4]式的粗野幽默和尖刻讽刺，无所不包，很难让人不对他有一份好感。朱先生无论言行都是一个民主派。我不能想象他会对任何事情、任何人不屑一顾。对需要他帮助的人，他和蔼可亲；对不需要他帮助的人，他也很友善。最受人欢迎的一点的是，他能待人以诚。他不会存心威慑任何人；在最低贱的仆人面前，他也从不摆架子。由于这种原因，

当我得知有些人看不起朱先生时，我不会觉得意外。但是，如果有人告诉我他不喜欢朱先生，我倒必定会感到非常伤心。

［第27期，1934年7月5日］

DR. WELLINGTON KOO (顾维钧)

Whenever one thinks of Dr. Wellington Koo, one also somehow instinctively thinks of stars. So splendid have been his achievements as a diplomat, that to recount them, one must perforce begin with wonder and end up with praise. His friends may discern in him many other desirable qualities besides that of brilliance. His foes may detect "slipperiness" as an ingredient in everything he does. But friends and foes must alike admit that China cannot have a better diplomat to represent her cause abroad than Dr. Koo.

The future Minister of Foreign Affairs qualified himself as a doctor of Political Science in Columbia University by The Status of Aliens in China. Considering the age of the author when it was written, it would be unfair to expect ripeness of scholarship in that dissertation; but it is a book distinguished on every page by the persuasiveness of its arguments and the excellence of its tone. Excellence and persuasiveness—are they not the great gifts of Dr. Koo throughout his career?

Dr. Koo's rise to fame has been meteoric. He began his début in politics as Secretary to the Cabinet in May 1912. From then up to the present, he has held all the highest posts that a diplomat can dream of—Minister at Washington (1915-1920); delegate to the Paris Peace Conference (1918-1919); Chinese representative on the Council of the League of Nations; Minister to London (1920); since 1922, several times Minister of Foreign Affairs; and now, Chinese Minister to France. And once, Dr. Koo was Acting Premier for a few months.

As the Chinese delegate to the Paris Peace Conference, Dr. Koo made himself well-known as a dignified and skilful champion of China's rights. His adroit handling of the Lincheng incident, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, was the best possible solution of an ugly affair. And recently, the graciousness and cleverness with which he conducted himself at Geneva have helped to reinforce that opinion of him as a "wily diplomat" which the world has formed since the Paris Peace Conference. The Chinese Talleyrand is not an inappropriate nickname for Dr. Koo.

In appearance and bearing, Dr. Koo is everything that a diplomat ought to be. Rather short in stature, well-made, with a face on which Time has written no wrinkles, Dr. Koo is sartorially perfect. Elegant in manner and in speech, Dr. Koo always says the right things in the right place. He is the last

person that one can catch hold of unawares. He is never in négligé, so to speak, either in word or in deed. He is all there in what he does or says. Behind that elegant exterior, and that bland face, works a mind that for finesse and subtlety has no equal in China.

[No. 29; July 19, 1934]

顾维钧博士[1]

无论什么时候想起顾维钧博士，人们都会情不自禁地联想到星星。作为一名外交官，他的成就是如此辉煌，要逐一加以列举，人们必然会从惊讶开始而以赞美结束。他的朋友们会在他身上看到出色的才华以外许多美好的品质，他的敌人则会在他做的所有事情中觉察到"圆滑"这样一个因素。但是朋友和敌人全都会承认，在国外代表中国利益的外交官，再也不可能有比顾博士更好的了。

在哥伦比亚大学时，这位未来的外交部长曾以《外人在华之地位》一文获得政治学博士学位。考虑到作者当时执笔的年龄，期望在那篇论文里看到学术上的成熟就不公平了；但是，其论证之说服有力，其笔调之无可挑剔，却使得全文熠熠生辉。无可挑剔、说服有力——难道不正是贯穿顾博士终身事业的天然禀赋？

顾博士声誉隆盛之迅速有如星月腾空。他1912年5月出任内阁秘书[2]开始其政治生涯，直到如今，凡是外交官梦寐以求的最高职位他都已经得到了：驻华盛顿公使（1915—1920）、巴黎和会代表（1918—1919）、国联理事会中国代表、驻伦敦公使（1920），并自1922年以后多次出任外交部长，而现在是驻法国公使[3]。一度，顾博士还做过几个月代理国务总理。

出席巴黎和会时，顾博士以身为既有尊严又有才干的中国权益捍卫者而闻名于世。而作为外交部长，对于临城劫车案[4]精明而灵活的处理，实在是一桩丑事最好的解决办法。近来，他在日内瓦的雅范和机敏，都有助于增强巴黎和会以来他被世界公认为"足智多谋外交家"的名声。"中国的塔列朗[5]"，对于他来说，倒不能不说是个恰当的绰号。

从仪表和举止看，顾博士具备了外交官应该具备的一切。他身材略矮，肢体匀称，脸还未曾被时光老人刻画上皱纹，衣着十分得体。他言谈高雅，举止脱俗，总能在合适的场合说合适的话。几乎不可能在言行上让他措手不及。他的一言一行，可以说，从不马虎随便，总是全神贯注的。在那高雅的外表和不苟言笑的面孔背后，活跃着的是一颗智谋和

精明程度在中国都无与伦比的头脑。

［第29期，1934年7月19日］

MR. LIANG LONE (梁龙)

Mr. Liang hails from Kwangtung, but in built he looks like a Shantung man. Rather tall for a Chinese, well-made, with a face which shows obstinacy and endurance, he is cut more for a military, than a diplomatic, career. His movements are not, what one would call, graceful: they have the jerkiness and the forcefulness of the German goose-step. For the rest, it would be a waste of time to try to find winsomeness in his person, or eccentricity in his behaviour. In short, Mr. Liang looks every inch a man, without any of those feminine qualities, which a typical diplomat is supposed to be heir to.

Mr. Liang pays very little attention to his outward appearance. He dresses very carelessly—not with that carelessness, which is at once artistic and nonchalant, but with that sort of carelessness, which is the fruit of mere untidiness. So little pains does he take to look smart that he has been seen, not once, but oftentimes, in evening dress with white socks!

But Mr. Liang amply compensates for his lack of the outward comeliness of form by his determination and his grit. One glance at him is enough to convince one that Mr. Liang is a man who is out to succeed in whatever he undertakes to do. And he has suceeded with the naturalness of the expected. Every move of his has been a promotion. He began his official career by first attaching himself to Lin Chang-min, who got him appointed as high advisor in the Tariff Conference, held in Peking in 1925. After the collapse of that conference, he bobbed up as judge in the Shanghai Provisional Court. Next, his real opportunity to be a diplomat came when he went with General Chiang Tso-pin as chargé d'affaires in the Chinese Legation in Berlin. Last year, he got what he wanted, and what he deserved, by being appointed minister to Czecho-Slovakia!

It's at present too early in the day to pass judgement on Mr. Liang as a diplomat. In Geneva during the recent Manchurian crisis, he has been given no leading part to play, to show the sort of stuff he is made of. But one can have no doubt that in the routine of diplomatic business, Mr. Liang is an assiduous worker. One can't conceive of anything brilliant that he can do. For work which requires labour and endurance, one can't imagine anybody more suitable than Mr. Liang. And after all, brilliance is alright for once in a while; what is more necessary is the capacity for taking infinite pains in the humdrum routine of diplomatic practice. That obstinate tuft of hair which

sticks out at the crown of Mr. Liang's head is at once a sign and a symbol—a sign of obstinacy in sticking to his guns, and a symbol of endurance and strength which refuses to be beaten by anything—not even by ridicule.

[No. 30; July 26, 1934]

梁龙先生[1]

梁龙先生是广东人，但是身板更像山东人。作为中国人，他算得上是高个子，身材匀称，一副倔强坚韧的面孔，更适合于从军而不是做外交工作。他的行动举止完全谈不上人们所说的优雅，倒具有日耳曼鹅式步伐[2]的痉挛和力度。至于别的，要从他身上找出一点儿招人喜爱之处，或是从他的行为中发现怪异之处，全都是浪费时间。简言之，梁先生看来是个十足的男人，没有一星半点儿的女性品质，而一个典型的外交官却似乎应该有点才是。

梁先生对他的外表毫不讲究。他对穿着漫不经心——不是那种既有艺术家风度又若无其事的漫不经心，而是邋里邋遢的漫不经心。他不愿意费劲把自己打扮得体面些，以至于不是一次两次，而是常常，人们会看见他一身晚礼服配着白袜子。

但是梁先生的果断和勇气充分弥补了他缺乏优雅仪表的不足。只消看一眼梁先生，就能使人相信他是一个无论做什么都打定主意努力做好的人。他一直都很成功，就像不出所料那样自然。他的每一次调动都是一次升迁。他的仕宦生涯始于依附林长民[3]。1925年，关税会议在北京举行，由于林长民的关照，他被任命为高级顾问。会议以失败告终后，他突然当上了上海临时法院的庭长。后来，得以成为一名外交官的真正的机会，来自于追随蒋作宾将军[4]出任驻柏林中国领事馆代办。去年，他如愿以偿，也得其所应，被任命为驻捷克斯洛伐克公使！

现在要对身为外交官的梁先生作出任何评判全都为时过早。在最近东三省危机[5]期间，身在日内瓦的他并没有得到扮演任何领导角色的机会，还不足以显示他的能力。但是人们大可不必怀疑，在常规的外交事务方面，梁先生是一名刻苦勤奋的实干家。人们想象不出他能做出什么辉煌之举，但对于那些需要苦力与持久力的工作，人们也想象不出比他更合适的人选。毕竟，能够以耀眼的才华出一下风头只是偶一为之，更为必不可少的是不辞辛苦处理好枯燥乏味常规外交工作的能力。支棱在梁先生头顶上的那一簇头发，既是他的标志，也是他的象征——是坚持立场、不屈不挠的标志，也是即使受嘲笑也要坚忍顽强和无所畏惧的象

征。

［第30期，1934年7月26日］

DR. WU LIEN-TEH (伍连德)

Dr. Wu was born in Penang in 1879. At the age of 17, he won the coveted Queen's scholarship of the Straits Settlements. For the next six years after that, he studied in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. There he distinguished himself by taking First Class Honours in the Natural Science Tripos. I believe he was the first Chinese to have that distinction. So well, indeed, did he do in the examinations, that long years afterwards(in 1920), he was still remembered by his contemporaries as the brilliant "Tuck"—the Cantonese pronunciation of the last word of his Christian name. From Cambridge, he went to Brompton Hospital as house physician. Next, he studied in the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, after which he took up postgraduate work successively in Paris, Halle, and Baltimore.

His studies abroad over, Dr. Wu set up practice for a short while in the Straits Settlements. Since then, he has been continuously at work in China, as Director and Chief Medical Officer of the Manchurian Plague Service, and latterly as Director of the National Quarantine Service and North-East Plague Prevention Service.

Dr. Wu first attracted the world's attention by the magnificent and merciful work he did in stamping out the fury of the last great Manchurian plague. For that, he was given the M.D. honoris causa of his Alma Mater. Foreign governments were not slow to heap honours on him. A mere enumeration of these honours will give one a measure of the high estimation in which Dr. Wu is held as a doctor in Preventive Medicine by the world. But we refrain from doing so.

What we are interested in is Dr. Wu as he is at home among friends. Dr. Wu in his library is very different from Dr. Wu as he appears on public platforms. Some who have heard Dr. Wu address a meeting may remember him as a dull and impressive speaker: his learning is masked by banalities. Others who see Dr. Wu among young ladies at a tea-party may think of him as a clumsy entertainer, whose attempts at witticisms are as comical as the witticisms are obtuse: they are just like fire-crackers which cannot possibly go off. What we like best is to find Dr. Wu seated in a chair which he has bought in some second-hand shop, surrounded by musty old magazines and second-hand books, talking about this picture and that plaque, while his hands fondly handle a Sung vase or some precious relic of the past. Then his

face lights up; and we know we are standing before a man, who is not only a great doctor but a great lover of that which can give the highest quality to our moments as they pass—great Art.

Let us leave Dr. Wu at that: not a clever man, but one who has something better than cleverness—the capacity for hard work, which almost amounts to genius.

[No. 31; Aug. 2, 1934]

伍连德博士[1]

伍博士1879年出生在槟榔屿[2]。他17岁时获得海峡殖民地[3]备受艳羡的女皇奖学金，随后的六年就读于剑桥大学以马内利学院。他在那里由于获得自然科学荣誉学位考试的一级荣誉而引人瞩目。我相信，他是获得这种荣誉的第一个华人。他的考试成绩非常好，很多年以后（1920年）他的同龄人依然记得那个才华出众的“达”——他的教名最后一个字的广东话发音。离开剑桥后，他来到布朗普顿医院担任住院医师。之后，他曾在利物浦[4]热带医学院进修，之后又先后在巴黎、哈雷[5]、巴尔的摩[6]读研究生。

留学生活结束后，他在海峡殖民地开业行医，但是为时不长。以后，他便一直在中国工作，曾任东三省防疫事务总管理处处长和总医官，后来任全国海港检疫管理处处长和东北防疫事务处处长。

伍博士第一次引起全世界的注意，是由于他阻断最近一次在中国东北肆虐的疫情而取得的辉煌无比、功德无量的业绩。他的母校为此而授给他医学博士荣誉学位，外国政府也争相颁赠各种荣誉。只要列举一下这些荣誉，伍博士作为一名防疫医务专家在世界上受到的尊敬就可见一斑。但是我们没有这样做。

我们感兴趣的还是在家里与朋友们共处的伍博士。书房里的伍博士和出现在公众舞台上的伍博士迥然不同。听过伍博士大会发言的人也许会记得他是一个枯燥乏味而又令人难忘的演讲者：他的学识都遮掩在陈词滥调里了。在茶会上看到伍博士置身于年轻女士中间的人，则可能认为他娱人乏术、举止笨拙，想要诙谐却显得笨拙，就像一只只点不响的炮仗一样。我们最喜欢看见他坐在从旧货店里买来的椅子上，周围堆着发霉的过期杂志和旧书，手里摩挲着一只宋代花瓶或是别的什么珍贵古物，嘴里谈论着这幅图画、那方匾额。这时的他容光焕发，我们会意识到我们正站立在这样一个人面前：他不仅仅是一位伟大的医生，而且，

还是赋予我们度过的分分秒秒以极高品质的伟大艺术的爱好者。

关于伍博士就谈到这里吧：他不是一个聪明人，但是他具有超越聪明的某种内涵——几近天才的勤奋工作的能力。

［第31期，1934年8月2日］

DR. LIU FU (刘复)

Generally speaking, philologians are pedants who are about as interesting as the musty languages they study. The late Dr. Liu was a philologian, but he was also one of the rare exceptions to this rule. In fact, to his friends and acquaintances, he was always "the charming fellow"; and it was only with difficulty that they were reminded of the fact that he was not only a brilliant essayist and a great talker, but also the author of scholarly treatises on such subjects as Chinese grammar and comparative phonetics.

Dr. Liu first came to fame in the pages of La Jeunesse, a monthly edited by Mr. Chen Tu-hsieu. Together with Dr. Hu Shih and others, he advocated that Pai-hua or the vulgate tongue should be adopted as the written language. He went abroad to study in 1918, and six years later returned with a doctor's degree from Paris. From that time until his death, he had been teaching at Peita (National University in Peiping), occupying a China Foundation research chair in philology and phonetics.

Dr. Liu had many avocational interests. Though he was kept busy constantly by teaching and research, he nevertheless found time to cultivate many hobbies not usually associated with a man of his donnish temperament. He gained a wide circle of readers not only by his translations from the French, but also by his humourous verses and essays on topics ranging from Western folk-lore to Chinese operas. He planned also to write a biography of Szai Ching Hua (赛金花), the prostitute who saved the population of the old capital from being decimated by the allied troops during the boxer rebellion. As a satirist, he was of no mean ability. In an article of his entitled "Amitabha Tai Chih-tao" (阿弥陀佛戴传贤), he gently made fun of the president of the Examination Institute and upbraided him for his superstitions and his proposal to put to a stop to all archaeological excavations. Finally, he was also very much interested in the art of photography, to which he had written a most useful guide.

His death was caused by relapsing fever, contracted by him on his trip to Suiyuan. The trip was taken with the purpose of studying the dialect of that province, which was to form a part of his philological studies. He died as a martyr to science, and it is for this reason that his friends and colleagues at Peita have decided to found a scholarship to honour and to perpetuate his memory.

Dr. Liu was survived by his wife and two daughters. Like the true scholar that he was, he had a great contempt for money. To his family, therefore, he left practically nothing except his books.

[No. 32; Aug. 9, 1934]

刘复博士[1]

一般说来，语言学家都是迂阔的老夫子，差不多就像他们所研究的发了霉的语言一样无趣。已故的刘博士是一位语言学家，但他却是这一规律罕见的例外。事实上，在他的亲朋好友看来，他倒总是一个“招人喜爱的家伙”，得要费点劲才能让他们想到，他不仅是个出色的散文家、了不起的演说家，还是一位关于汉语语法和比较语音学之类的学术论文的作者。

刘博士最初是在陈独秀先生编辑的《新青年》月刊上开始出名的。他和胡适博士与其他人一起提倡采用白话即通俗语言作为书面语。1918年他出国留学[2]，六年后带着博士文凭从巴黎归来。从那时起直到逝世，他始终在国立北京大学教书，还是“中基会”[3]语言学和语音学研究员。

刘博士有许多业余爱好。虽然教书和研究工作已经忙得不可开交，但他还是有办法找出时间来培养了许多通常和他那种学究气人物不太相干的爱好。他翻译法文作品，发表幽默的打油诗，散文随笔从西方民俗到中国戏曲无所不谈，这为他赢得了为数众多的读者。他还打算为在义和团运动时期从八国联军的杀戮下拯救过不少老百姓的名妓赛金花写一部传记。作为讽刺作家，他也不是等闲之辈。在一篇题为《阿弥陀佛戴传贤[4]》的文章中，他温和地取笑了一下那位考试院院长，批评他的迷信和意欲停止所有考古发掘的主张。最后，他对摄影也很感兴趣，在这方面他还写了一本很有实用价值的入门指南。

他在前往绥远[5]的旅途中感染了回归热而病逝。那次旅行，是为了语言学研究而到那里去考察当地方言。他是献身科学的烈士，因此他在北大的朋友和同事决定设置一笔奖学金，以表达对他的敬意和永久纪念。

刘博士遗下了他的寡妻和两个女儿[6]。作为一名真正的学者，他生前对钱极为轻视。所以，他留给家人的除了书，就几乎别无所有了。

［第32期，1934年8月9日］

WANG TEH-LIN (王德林), "A FIGHTING BULL"

Of our national heroes who led the Volunteers against the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1932, only few are now left in the field. Among those who remain we may mention only two: the "Little White Dragon," a former brigand chief, and General Wang Teh-lin, the self-styled "fighting bull."

Wang Lin who later came to be known as Wang Teh-lin was born in the valley of River Chi (沂水), Shantung, where Confucius longed to have his bath. His parents died early, and in his teens he was looked upon as a good-for-nothing loafer in his village. However, he was soon found among the more adventurous elements migrating from Shantung to Manchuria in the 90's and later owning a timber mill in Shanchakou (now Tungning), eastern Kirin. It was here that an important episode happened to him which changed Wang Lin the lumber mill owner into Wang Teh-lin who shines forth now as a lone star among the Volunteer leaders.

A few years before the Boxer Uprising, the Russian influence, if not dominant was already keenly felt in Manchuria; and over the hills of Shanchakou, as elsewhere along the Chinese-Russian border, Chinese and Russian frontier guards jointly searched the hills for bandits every winter. It so happened that six bandits were stopping at Wang Lin's lumber camp and were peacefully making themselves at home, when suddenly appeared not far from the camp the Russian guards. The outlaws, seeing that it was too late to escape, put up a desperate fight and killed several Russians. Half of their own number were killed and the others fled. The Russian guards reached the camp, shot down four or five mill hands and lined up the rest to face the firing squad. The Chinese soldiers hearing the shots hurried up the hills and were there just in time to save the innocent lumber jacks. All the while Wang Lin was returning to his camp from the city where he had collected accounts from his clients. In the camp he found his nephew—his sister's son, to be exact—among the dead, and he vowed vengeance.

In the spring he sold his mill and moved to Vladivostok, where he was known to the Chinese as a hard worker, a peaceful and honest man. But soon the number of drunken Russian guards who were drowned in the port or

otherwise mysteriously disappeared was, so the story goes, on the increase. It did not take the Russians long to cast suspicion on this new comer, and one morning Wang Lin found himself arrested by the Russians who were quite determined to do away with him. But the Chinese population of Vladivostok was agog, and many Chinese firms of good reputation were willing to bail him out. The Russian authorities, in order to pacify the Chinese merchants and labourers, sent him to the Russian consul in Changchun. After three months' investigation, the consul found no evidence against him and set him free. Clad in autumn clothing he braved the Manchurian mid-winter weather and walked from Changchun back to Vladivostok. Then came the Boxer Uprising, and after the tumult which it created, we find Wang Lin and a score or so of his followers hunting in the woods along the highway between Vladivostok and Kirin city. They plundered and sometimes killed Russian travellers. And true to the traditions of outlaws, Wang Lin was always generous to the poor. The Russians pressed the Chinese authorities to exterminate the gang, but Wang Lin and his followers were always too fleet for the halfhearted Chinese soldiers and it was not until some time after one Russian official had been attacked that they were cornered and driven to a desperate fight. Five or six of Wang Lin's men were killed and the Chinese commanding officer desiring to end the trouble once for all—officially at least—got some villagers to verify that Wang Lin was among the dead. So Wang Lin was dead, and Wang Teh-lin was merrily carrying on his Robin Hood activities.

In 1915 due to a combination of factors, including the notorious Twenty-One Demands, Wang and his followers were incorporated into the Kirin regular army. He was made a major and his followers, over four hundred in number, formed a battalion. And for sixteen years he and his men led soldiers' humdrum life, with the occasional excitement in suppressing the bandits.

Then came the September 18 Incident. Two provinces were lost in as many days. It was a time of bewilderment to the local authorities. While they deliberated on what they should do, the Japanese lost no time in making further survey of eastern Kirin where they planned to build a railway of great strategic importance connecting Changchun to a northeastern Korean port. The surveyors came to south of Tunhua and came dangerously near the headquarters of Wang Teh-lin. His guards signalled to the Japanese to stop and shot and killed one of them when they ignored the guards' commands.

The matter was referred by the Japanese to the garrison commander in Tunhua, and Major Wang was summoned. He went and he stuck to his gun. When the Japanese representative remarked to Major Wang's superior that Chinese military men were unreasonable, he spanked the Japanese on the cheek and retorted that there was no one in the world so unreasonable as the Japanese military who occupied two Chinese provinces without slightest provocation. He left with his bodyguards before any one else in the meeting grasped the full significance of the act.

By hook and crook the Japanese won over his superior who tried to persuade Major Wang to board the same train and go to the Kirin city. But he was too shrewd for the Japanese, and this was his reply: "After old Marshal Chang's train was bombed by the Japanese, who is safe to travel by train?" With these words he ended his allegiance to his former superior, and a few days later he captured Tunhua by a surprise night attack. What he did after that is too well known to call for repetition here. Suffice it to say that at one time he had under him between 100,000 and 200,000 men, although by the early part of 1933 his forces dwindled to 50,000-60,000 and he, as so many other Volunteer leaders, had to flee to Russia. In the following summer he came back to China by way of Europe and the South Seas. He stopped at Hongkong and with the promise of some material help by Canton back he went to assume his command of his forces without so much as touching Shanghai.

He is daring and quick in decision. A man of over fifty years old, he still lives a strenuous life. He is a simple man, but his tall and squarely built stature looks impressive; indeed there is something of a fighting bull in him. It was in Canton that he remarked: "I am a fighting bull, and I know only how to fight." To fight he certainly knows, for even as this is being written the news dispatches from Manchuria indicate that several districts in eastern Kirin have once more fallen into his hands and Chinese flags are proudly waving in that small corner of the territory that has been for centuries China's.

L. Y.

[No. 33; Aug. 16, 1934]

王德林[1]，“武牛”

在1932年率领东北救国军抵抗日本侵略的民族英雄中，现在只有为数很少的几位还在坚持战斗。我们只能提到其中两位：一位是原先的胡匪头子“小白龙”，另一位是自称“武牛”的王德林将军。

王德林原名王林，出生在山东沂水流域，沂水就是孔夫子想浴乎其中的那条河。他小时候父母双亡，到了十几岁，村里人都认为他是个游手好闲没出息的孩子。但是在（19世纪）90年代，他很快成了闯关东的一员，后来在吉林东部的三岔口（现在的东宁）[2]开办了一家木材厂。正是在这个地方发生的一起重大事件，使得木材厂主王林变成了王德林——如今救国军诸领袖中独自放射光芒的一颗明星。

义和团运动爆发以前，俄国人的势力在东三省，即使还没占据主导地位，也已经能够深切地感觉到了。三岔口山上也像中俄边境的其他地方一样，两国的边防兵每年冬天都要联合巡山，搜索盗匪。有一次，六个匪徒来到王林的伐木场，并没有动刀动枪，就像到了自己家里一样。突然，俄国边防兵在伐木场附近出现，匪徒们眼看着来不及逃走，便殊死抵抗，打死了几个俄国兵。他们自己也死亡半数，其他三个逃走了。后来，俄国兵来到伐木场，开枪打死了四五个伐木工，又把其余的人排列成行将行枪毙。听到枪声的中国士兵赶上山来，刚好来得及救下那些无辜的伐木工。与此同时，进城收账的王林正在往回走。他回到伐木场，发现他的外甥——准确地说，他姐姐的儿子——也在死难者之列，便立誓报仇。

第二年春天，他卖掉了厂子，迁居海参崴。在当地的华人中间，人们都知道他工作勤奋、为人和气、待人诚恳。但是据说，很快，喝醉酒淹死在港口或是以别种方式神秘失踪的俄国边防兵就多了起来。不久，俄国人就怀疑到这个新来的中国人身上。一天早晨，王林被俄国人抓走，他们下定决心要除掉他。但是，海参崴的华人群情激昂，许多声誉良好的华商店主愿意花钱保释他。俄国当局为了安抚华商和华工，就把他交给了长春的俄国领事馆。经过三个月的调查，领事馆未能发现任何不利于他的证据，便把他放了。他穿着秋天的衣服，冒着东三省隆冬的严寒，从长春步行回到海参崴。紧接着爆发了义和团运动，骚乱过后，人们发现王林带着二十来号人在海参崴和吉林之间沿路的森林里打猎。他们抢劫，有时也杀害俄国旅人。但是，王林恪守绿林传统，以所劫钱财周济穷人。俄国对中国当局施加压力，要求他们剿灭这股土匪。但是，王林和同伙总比心不在焉的中国士兵跑得快，直到一名俄国军官遇袭后，他们才被逼上绝路，进行了殊死搏斗。王林有五六个部下被打死了，中国士兵的指挥官想要就此了事——至少如此公开表示——便找来几个村民证实王林也在死者之列。于是，王林其人就此死掉，而王德林却高高兴兴地继续开展他的罗宾汉[3]活动。

1915年，由于多种原因，包括臭名昭著的“二十一条”[4]在内，王德林及其部下编入了吉林的正规军。他的部下有四百余人，组成了一个营，他任营长。除了偶尔清剿土匪的兴奋，他和部下度过了十六年枯燥乏味的兵营生活。

接着，九一八事变爆发了。在相同的天数内，两个省相继失守。地方当局惶然不知所措，他们还在考虑如何应对的时候，日本人却在紧锣密鼓对吉林东部进行进一步的勘察，准备修建一条具有重大战略意义的铁路，把长春和朝鲜东北部一个港口连接起来。勘察队来到敦化[5]以南，临近王德林的指挥部，情况非常危险。他的卫兵示意日本人不要继续前进，他们却对命令置之不理，卫兵便开枪打死了一个日本人。日本人把事情提交给敦化的驻军司令，王营长被召见。他去了，并坚持自己的立场。当日本代表对王营长的长官指称中国军官不讲理时，他抽了日本人一耳光，并反驳说世界上还没有人像日本军队那样不讲理地无缘无故就占领了中国的两个省。在场的人还没来得及捉摸透这一行为的深远意义，他已带着卫兵扬长而去。

日本人不择手段收买了王营长的长官，长官试图劝他乘坐同一列火车到吉林城去。但是，对于日本人来讲，王德林是太精明了一点，他的回答是，“自张大帅所乘的火车为日本人所炸之后，[6]谁敢再坐火车？”说完这句话，他对前长官的忠诚就不复存在了。几天以后，他一夜奇袭，占领了敦化。之后的事迹已经广为人知，就无须赘述了，只消说，他的部队一度达到了十几万人——虽说1933年上半年缩到五六万人，而他也像其他救国军领袖一样不得不逃亡到俄国。第二年夏天，他才经由欧洲和南洋回国。他在香港稍事逗留，得到广州方面提供物资支援的许诺，便又回去率领部队了，甚至不曾在上海靠岸。

他勇敢而果断，50岁出头，仍然干劲十足。他为人淳朴，高大魁梧的身材给人深刻印象。他身上确实有一种类似好斗公牛的精神。他在广州时曾经说过，“我是只武牛，只会打仗。”他当然会打仗，甚至就在撰写本文的时刻，来自东三省的通讯称，他又控制了吉林东部几个区，中国国旗正在世世代代属于中国的那一小块土地上空骄傲地飘扬着。

林　幽

［第33期，1934年8月16日］

DR. V. K. TING (丁文江)

In Lord Willingdon's opinion, Dr. Ting is one of the most brilliant men he has ever met. This is high praise coming from such a quarter, especially when one thinks of the galaxy of talented men that Lord Willingdon has known, —the late Earl of Balfour, Lord Morley, Viscount Bryce, etc., etc.: they are all minds of the first calibre, and their activities are as varied as they are distinguished. But this praise is no less than the truth. A few minutes' talk with Dr. Ting will soon convince one that his is a mind of no mean order: its shortcomings are as obvious as are its excellences: they are the shortcomings and excellences of a very clever mind, a very brilliant mind. But is it a great mind? Here there is room for differences of opinion.

Dr. Ting's mind is the kind that produces the Home University Library and the Cambridge Manuals of Science. It is not the kind that can produce a Novum Organum. Its characteristics are agility and a receptiveness to facts, but not to ideas. Its faults are cocksureness and a certain imperviousness to the other man's point of view. It loves to range at large in search of facts of all kinds: it never stays at home to chew and digest the facts into generalizations. Such a mind can, therefore, be interesting only for what it has, and not for what it is: and what it has is God's plenty—a Curiosity Shop containing all sorts of odds and ends, from statistics about the equipment of the Chinese army to the way that T'ang poetry should be recited. In other words, one should go to Dr. Ting as to an encyclopaedia—to gain correct information: but for wisdom—well, it's perhaps better to consult some one who knows less, maybe, than Dr. Ting, but some one who dreams and contemplates more than he does—to the kind of person who can produce a Novum Organum.

Dr. Ting's fondness for facts as facts engenders in him a certain impatience with dreamers and prophets and all that sort of people that Tolstoy loves. This impatience is typical of a man of action: and Dr. Ting is nothing, if not that. He is one of the greatest men of action that China has at the present day. The pity is that he has been taken so long for what he is not—a scholar. He has none of the hesitancies and second thoughts of a scholar. What he thinks, he does: what he does, he thinks. He is as unerring as a compass as to the way he should go. This capacity for action is backed up by another quality in him which qualifies him to be a first-class administrator—a

sleepless passion for details. As Mayor of Shanghai, he has given us a foretaste of what he can do as an administrator. We are sure, any work which will call forth his administrative abilities will always be distinguished by commonsense and usefulness.

Dr. Ting's personal appearance answers exactly to the kind of person he is: a short, robust body, with eyes which show agility and decision; and a moustache which means business and no nonsense!

A new fanaticism is now abroad. And the missionary of this new fanaticism is Dr. Ting, who cries in the wilderness of machine-guns and factories: What does it profit a man to gain his soul, and lose this brave new world of coal and iron and sky-scrapers and talkies? (According to the Gospel of Saint H. G. Wells)

[No. 34; Aug. 23, 1934]

丁文江博士[1]

卫灵敦勋爵[2]认为，丁博士是他见过的最杰出人物之一。这是很高的赞誉，尤其是考虑到这位勋爵所认识的才俊精英可谓灿若星河——已故贝尔福伯爵[3]、莫利勋爵[4]、布赖斯子爵[5]等等，全都是一流的人才，他们的活动多种多样、出类拔萃。但这个赞誉仍然恰如其分。和丁博士交谈几分钟就会相信，他的才智卓然超群。他的优点和缺点都十分明显：那是非常聪明、非常有才华的头脑的优点和缺点。至于这个头脑是不是伟大，这就有所争议了。

丁博士的头脑是能够创作出《家庭大学丛书》[6]和《剑桥科学与文学文丛》[7]的头脑，不是写得出《新工具》[8]之类著作的头脑。其特性是敏于接受事实，难于接受观念；毛病是过分自信，听不进别人的意见。这样的头脑喜欢到处去搜罗各类事实，从不留在家里加以咀嚼、消化和概括。因此，这种头脑的有趣之处仅仅在于它“有”什么，而不在于“是”什么。他头脑里的东西实在是多——就像个古玩店，各种各样，零零碎碎，从中国军队装备的统计数据到吟诵唐诗的方法，无所不有。换句话说，人们去找丁博士就像去查百科全书——为的是获得正确的信息资料，但是要获得智慧，也许最好还是请教知识可能不如他丰富，却比他爱幻想、爱深思的另一种人——写得出《新工具》的那种人。

丁博士喜爱就事论事，这种偏爱使他对幻想家和预言家、对托尔斯泰[9]所喜欢的那些人，全都有点不耐烦。这种不耐烦是实干家所特有

的，而丁博士可以说什么也不是，就是个实干家。他是今日中国最伟大的实干家之一。可惜，长时间以来他一直被错误地理解为一名学者。他缺乏学者的犹豫和深思熟虑。他想什么就做什么；做什么就想什么。对于他应该走的路，他总像罗盘一样准确无误。这种行动能力的背后，又有另一种使他能够成为第一流管理人员的品质，那就是不懈地追求和把握细节的热情。他出任上海市长[10]的表现就已经让我们多少领略了他的行政能力。可以肯定，凡是能够显示他行政才能的工作，他都会合情合理、讲求实效、出色地完成。

丁博士的长相和他的为人完全相符：个子略矮，身体敦实，外加一对透露着机敏和果断的眼睛；一撮八字胡似乎在说：多干实事、少说废话！

目前，国外出现了一种新的狂热运动[11]，丁博士已经成了这种新型狂热主张的传教士。他在机关枪和现代工厂的荒原中大声疾呼：得到灵魂而失去一个煤、铁、摩天大厦和有声电影的勇敢新世界，对于人来说能有什么好处？（据《圣徒赫伯特·乔治·威尔斯的福音》[12]）

［第34期，1934年8月23日］

THE LATE MR. KU HUNG-MING (辜鸿铭)

Many must have been intrigued by that charming portrait of The Philosopher in Somerset Maugham's On A Chinese Screen. A philosopher, all the world over, is usually a dull withered thing, —an orange sucked dry: a day spent in such company can only be memorable for its boredom. But with Somerset Maugham's Philosopher, it is possible to pass days, nay weeks, without in the least knowing what it is to be bored. There is just enough grace and just so much mordant wit in him to make conversation with him a matter of excitement rather than of wisdom. Somerset Maugham's Philosopher is, of course, none other than Ku Hung-ming. And the most distinctive thing about him is that he is no philosopher—no philosopher, that is, in the sense of a person who thinks first, and lives afterwards. Ku Hung-ming has a passion for dainty living; and thought with him is sought after only because it lends colour and dignity to life. Ku Hung-ming is first and last a worldling, but with this distinction—a worldling who thinks. His Confucianism, his monarchism, and his queue are mere decorations to a life that consumes itself in the sheer joy of living. That worn cadaverous frame of his is the victim, not of thought, but of desire and wit and beauty and an inordinate wish to be different from others.

In his life-time, Ku Hung-ming had already become legendary. Now that he is dead, there is a danger that he may pass into fable. Our purpose here is to prevent this by showing him as he really is. And what he really is, is not so very different from many other people, whom one meets daily at the present day. Ku Hung-ming is only a picturesque instance of a person who is born a rebel.

That ostentatious display of his queue is very symptomatic of the whole man. He is cross-grained: he lives by opposition. What the commonalty accepts, he rejects. What the commonalty likes, he dislikes. What the commonalty idolises, he despises. To be different from others is his joy and pride. Because it is the fashion to have no queue, he retains his. If everybody else has a queue, I am sure Ku Hung-ming would be the first person to have his cut. It is the same with his monarchism. It is not a matter of principle with him, but of a desire to be exceptional. Republicanism is the craze: therefore,

he hates it. He flaunts his monarchism, as a dandy his cravat. Indeed, in things intellectual and spiritual, it is no inaccurate description of Ku Hung-ming to call him a dandy. As a dandy spends his days and nights over his dress, Ku Hung-ming takes infinite pains to be different from others, in his ideas and manner of living.

Ku Hung-ming is witty. But his wit turns invariably upon a paradox. Now the essence of a paradox is that it should surprise by the opposition of its ideas to common notions. Here again, Ku Hung-ming shows up the quality of his mind—a mind that lives by resistance to what is generally accepted.

Again, his championship of Confucianism is another expression of his wish to be different from others. A few years ago, it used to be the correct thing among the intelligentsia to look upon Confucianism as a tedious set of obsolete rules about the conduct of life. This is a good enough reason why Ku Hung-ming should be a Confucianist. What others discard, he champions. But the last person to be a Confucianist is Ku Hung-ming. He is more native to Chuang-tze and Taoism, than to Confucianism.

A rebel who preaches monarchism; a romantic who accepts Confucianism as his philosophy of life; an autocrat who is proud to wear the sign of slavery—the queue: it is this contradiction in Ku Hung-ming that makes him one of the most interesting figures in modern China.

[No. 35; Aug. 30, 1934]

已故的辜鸿铭先生[1]

对于萨默塞特·毛姆[2]所描述的《中国剪影》[3]中那篇“哲学家”迷人的肖像，许多人肯定都很着迷。哲学家，在全世界，通常都是枯燥乏味、干瘪皱缩的人，就像被吮吸干了的橙子。和这样的人在一起呆一天，只能由于令人厌烦而难以忘怀。可是，和毛姆笔下那位哲学家在一起呆几天，不，甚至呆几星期，也不会感觉到丝毫的厌烦。那是由于他身上有足够的魅力和那么多尖锐刻薄的诙谐，使得和他谈话与其说是智慧的启迪，不如说是令人高兴的事。萨默塞特·毛姆笔下的那位哲学家，当然，不是别人而正是辜鸿铭。他身上最明显的一点是，他并不是哲学家——就是说，他不是先思想后生活的那种哲学家。辜鸿铭有追求舒适生活的热情，而思想之所以值得他去探索，只是因为能够给生活增添色彩和尊严。辜鸿铭是一个彻头彻尾的俗人，与众不同的在于——是个有思

想的俗人。他的儒家思想、他的君主制思想、他的辫子，对于他在纯粹的享乐中度过的生活，只不过是些装饰而已。他那枯槁疲惫的身躯并不是用脑过度的结果，而是欲望、机谋、耽美和无节制地追求与众不同的愿望的牺牲品。

辜鸿铭在生前就已经成了传奇人物，如今他死了，恐怕还会变成神话人物。我们写这篇文章的目的，只是要展示一个真实的他，以避免这样的事情发生。而真实的他，和我们现今每天遇到的许许多多的人，并没有很大不同。辜鸿铭只是个天生叛逆的生动例子。

他有意卖弄自己的辫子，是他整个为人的特征。他脾气倔犟，以对抗为生。大众接受的，他拒绝；大众喜爱的，他厌恶；大众崇拜的，他鄙视。与众不同就是他的乐趣和骄傲。因为剪掉辫子成了时尚，所以他偏要保留。如果别人都留着辫子，我敢说，他就会成为第一个剪辫子的人。关于他的君主制思想，情况也完全一样。对于他来说，这不是一个原则问题，只是由于他希望与众不同。共和制风靡一时，因此，他痛恨共和制。他夸耀君主制，就像花花公子夸耀他的领结。其实，从才智和精神方面称辜鸿铭为花花公子，倒也未必不准确。就像花花公子夜以继日把时间花费在穿着打扮上，辜鸿铭则是为了与众不同而在思想观念和生活方式上煞费苦心。

辜鸿铭谈吐诙谐，但是他的诙谐都建立在矛盾之上，而矛盾的实质就是看法跟一般观念相反，使人感到意外。在这个问题上，辜鸿铭又一次显示出他那头脑的特性——惯于对抗大众思想。

同样，他对儒家学说的维护，也是追求与众不同愿望的又一表现。几年前，知识分子都把儒家学说看成是一套有关生活准则的令人厌烦的陈腐教条。这就足以成为辜鸿铭采取儒家立场的理由了。别人摈弃什么，他就拥护什么。但是，最不可能成为孔门信徒的却是辜鸿铭。他天生更是个道家人物。

一个宣扬君主制的叛逆者、一个把儒家学说当作人生哲学的浪漫主义者、一个拖着奴役标志的辫子而自傲的独断独行的人——正是辜鸿铭身上这种自相矛盾的特性，使他成了现代中国最有趣的人物之一。

［第35期，1934年8月30日］

MR. WU LAI-HSI (吴赉熙)

"There are not seven, but eight, wonders of the world: I am the eighth," says Mr. Wu Lai-hsi; and looking at him, one smiles and, wishing to be polite, inwardly assents to what is after all a very modest assertion of a fact. Tall and thin as a bamboo-stick, with his head looking more like a mop than anything else, Mr. Wu would be noticeable in any company. But those big ears of his, which stick out at right angles to his head, make him indeed a wonder and a delight to look at. Any visible tendency in the beholder, however, is at once checked by the sentiment of memento mori which the big black eyes, set in a very cavernous pair of sockets, inspire—eyes which seem to converse with the skies, and to see things, which no mortal has either seen or heard of.

The ascetic and other-worldly appearance of Mr. Wu is emphasized still more by his negligence in dress. It almost seems as if Mr. Wu does not know what he puts on. His clothes hardly deserve to be called clothes: they look more like... well, I really don't know what they look like.

This indifference of Mr. Wu to his appearance is the outward expression of a mind forever voyaging through strange seas of—thought? yes, but let me add, of beauty too. I have said a little while ago that his eyes seem to see things, which no mortal has either seen or heard of. When I say that, I don't mean it to be metaphorical: I mean it to be an exact description of a fact. For if there is one characterisic which stands out very prominently in Mr. Wu's make-up, it is this restless search of his for I know not what unearthly beauty and what saving knowledge. Those fierce, dreamy eyes have caught sight of some Belle Dame sans Merci perhaps, —some romantic vision of an impossible ideal. If the vision had been constant, it might have held Mr. Wu down to one single line of activity, which would best give expression to that ideal; but being inconstant, it has fired him with all the ardour of inspiration, without any of the thoroughness which comes from constancy. The result is that Mr. Wu jumps about from one thing to another, doing everything well, but not well enough to be excellent. For instance, to have heard him play on the violin is to make one regret that he doesn't play it now. Maybe, the vision which lured him once to do so never comes to him now: so the violin is forsaken, and he remains in memory only a good amateur, but not a musician. As with his violin-playing, so with his other activities; he does well enough

to make one regret, but never so well to make him a master.

For a good many years, Mr. Wu has taken to Chinese porcelain as his hobby and his life-work. He has been very happy at it, and visitors to his house have caught his infection. No delight can be greater than spending an afternoon with Mr. Wu, talking about ceramics. To see him handle porcelain is to have an education in the art of love: nothing can be finer and tenderer. One can only hope that in this the vision will not desert him. But alas! one can never tell; for recently, the familiar porcelain vases are no longer to be seen in Mr. Wu's drawing-room: their places are usurped by scroll-portraits of some of the ruling princes of the Ts'ing dynasty.

But whatever the whirligig of Mr. Wu's taste and fancies, one thing, I am sure, will never change: his honesty and kindness to friends. There may be better, and cleverer, people than Mr. Wu, but there cannot be a better, and a more honest, friend.

[No. 36; Sep. 6, 1934]

吴赉熙先生[1]

“世界上有八大奇观而不是七大奇观[2]，我就是那第八个。”吴赉熙先生这样说。看着他，你准会笑，为了礼貌，嘴上不说，心里会同意，这毕竟是对于事实很得体的承认。吴先生高而瘦，像一根竹竿，脑袋更像个拖把，在任何人中间都很容易辨认出他来。但是，他那两只大耳朵，和脑袋成直角向外支棱着，确实使他成为奇人，而且看上去很有趣。然而，见到他的人要作出任何明显反应的意向，都会立刻被深陷在眼窝中的一双又大又黑的眼睛唤起的死亡征兆的情绪所制止——那双眼睛似乎在和上天交流，能看见凡人没有看见过也没有听说过的东西。

吴先生那副超凡脱俗的苦行僧似的相貌，更由于他的不修边幅越发显得突出。吴先生似乎都不知道他穿的是什么。他的衣服实在不配叫作衣服：那样子倒像是……哎，我也实在不知道像是什么东西。

吴先生对外貌的这种漠不关心，实际是他心灵的外在表现，他的心灵永远航行在陌生的海洋上——思想的海洋吗？不错，但是我要加上，还有美的海洋。我方才说过，他的眼睛似乎能够看见凡人所不曾见过也不曾听说过的东西。我那样说，并不是在用比喻，而是在准确地描述事实。因为，如果说吴先生的性格中有个十分明显的特征，那就是这种无休无止地寻求——我不知道是一种什么样的——非尘世的美和救赎知

识。他那双热烈、恍惚的眼睛或许已经看见某个“无情的妖女”[3]——某种难以实现的理想的浪漫幻影。若是那个幻影恒定不变，就有可能使吴先生从事某一种活动，以充分表达那种理想；但是那幻影并不恒定，激发了他全部的灵感，却不曾有只能来自恒定的彻底性。其结果就是，吴先生便在一件又一件事情之间跳来跳去，做什么都做得挺好，但是总也不能好到无可挑剔。例如，听过他拉小提琴就会为他现在不再拉而感到遗憾。也许，曾经诱使他那样做的幻影现在不再出现了，于是他放弃了小提琴，他至今在人们记忆中便仍然只是个优秀的业余提琴手，而不是一个音乐家。他在其他方面也像拉小提琴一样，做什么都能做得好到使人遗憾他不再做了，却不能好到使他成为大师。

曾经有好多年，吴先生喜爱中国瓷器成癖，而且这还成了他的终身事业。他乐此不疲，来到家里的客人也会被他感染。用整个下午的时间与吴先生谈论瓷器，最大的乐事莫过于此。看他摩挲那些瓷器，就是在学习爱的艺术；没有什么能比他对待瓷器更加细心、更加温柔了。人们只能希望，在这一方面，他内心的那个幻影不要离他而去。但是，谁都说不准。最近，他的起居室里那些熟悉的瓷瓶不见了，取而代之的是清代某些当权王公的卷轴画像。

但是，不管吴先生的兴趣爱好变成什么，我肯定，有一点永远不会改变，那就是他对朋友的诚恳和善良。可能会有比吴先生更好、更聪明的人，但却没有比吴先生更好、更诚恳的朋友了。

［第36期，1934年9月6日］

MR. WU CHIH-HUI (吴稚晖)

Mr. Wu Chih-hui has often been compared to the great Dr. Johnson. Indeed, Mr. Wu is in many ways not unlike the author of the Rambler himself.

To begin with, Mr. Wu, like Dr. Johnson, is remarkable for his looks—remarkable of course not in the sense of handsomeness of a well-groomed person, but in the sense of being uncouth and yet that very uncouthness has become an attraction in itself. The "rollings of his huge frame" and the extremely careless manner in which he dresses himself do not repel us, for the simple reason that we have come to accept them as natural with him. For without these characteristics, Mr. Wu would cease to be himself. Besides, God has made him what he is, and we mortals should never question the wisdom of a Being greater than ourselves.

Of Dr. Johnson's capacity for talk, practically every schoolboy has been told. Similarly: Mr. Wu is justly famous as a conversationalist. He, too, loves "to fold his legs and have his talk out." Macaulay said of Dr. Johnson that "when at a loss for good reasons, he had recourse to sophistry; and when heated by altercation, he made unsparing use of sarcasm and invective." The same is true of the veteran Kuomintang leader. Moreover, although Mr. Wu has a spontaneous sense of humour, it is seldom as subtle as that of the compiler of the Dictionary of the English Language. In fact, it may be said that Mr. Wu's humour is of the unconscious kind. It is the humour of a Benvenuto Cellini, who provokes laughter unintentionally and is a dispenser of fun in spite of himself.

Dr. Johnson was a Tory, and Toryism, as somebody defined it, is less a political than a social creed. "Its rockbottom principle is the acceptance of the state of life unto which, in the language of the catechism, it has pleased God to call us." In this sense, however, Mr. Wu is not, and can never be, a Tory. He is, on the contrary, a Whig, nay, a radical revolutionist. He is well known not only for his atheism, but also for his anarchistic convictions. It must be said, however, that the years have brought him wisdom, and he is now more moderate at least in his views of politics. He has in fact become an ardent supporter of the Kuomintang government, and may yet follow in the foot-steps of General Chiang Kai-shek and become also a pillar of the Southern Methodist Church.

[No. 37; Sep. 13, 1934]

吴稚晖先生[1]

吴稚晖先生常被比作那位了不起的约翰逊博士[2]。确实，吴先生在许多方面也都和这位《漫步者》的作者十分相似。

首先，吴先生和约翰逊博士一样也以相貌闻名。当然，相貌之闻名并不是因为衣冠楚楚、潇洒英俊，而是由于土气。然而，那种土气本身已经变成为一种魅力。他那"硕大身躯的一摇一摆"，他那不修边幅，都不会令我们厌恶，因为我们已经把这些看成他自然而然的一部分。没有这些特点，吴先生就不再是他自己了。何况，上帝已经把他造就成这个样子，我们这些凡夫俗子永远也不该怀疑一个比我们伟大得多的神明的智慧。

约翰逊博士的口才，是每一个小学生都听说过的。同样，吴先生也正以健谈享有盛誉。他同样喜欢"盘起腿来发表长篇大论的演说"。麦考利曾经说，约翰逊博士"在找不到正当的理由时就会诉诸诡辩；在争论得兴起时也毫不吝惜冷嘲热讽和破口叫骂"。这位国民党的元老也不相上下。此外，尽管吴先生有一种自然的幽默感，却很难能像那位《英语辞典》编纂者那样含蓄。其实，可以说，吴先生的幽默属于不自觉的那种。那是一种切利尼[3]式的幽默，并不刻意逗人笑，而人们不由自主会觉得好笑。

约翰逊博士是一名托利党人[4]。托利主义，就像有人说过的那样，与其说是政治主张，还不如说是一种社会信仰。"其根本原则是接受我们身处其中的生活现状，用教理问答手册的语言说就是，如系天意。"从这种意义上说，吴先生不是，也绝不可能是一名托利党人。恰恰相反，他是一名辉格党人[5]，岂止，甚至是一名激进的革命党人。他不仅仅是个著名的无神论者，还是一个尽人皆知的无政府主义者。不过，应该说，经历过的风霜给他带来了智慧，他至少在政治观点上已经变得温和了。事实上，他已经成为国民党政府的热情支持者，可能还会追随蒋介石将军的步武，成为基督教监理会[6]的中坚信徒。

［第37期，1934年9月13日］

MISS KU ZING-WHAI (顾静徽)

The other day I was listening to a heated discussion on the subject of women's education—what an age-old topic! I call it primitive, for to think at a time when women's position in the society has been more or less established that there should still be doubts as to the advisability of educating your daughter or sister. However, doubt exists, even among women themselves, although they only whisper it among themselves. Well, the consensus of opinion is, that higher education is not necessary for women, because they very seldom make use of it. One person held the view that he had known a woman biologist who went to teach English all her life long, and another Master of English Literature who got married and did not know how to rear her children. The absurdity of the contention is not for this column to refute. But to come back from my digression. The point is how this controversial conversation led me to see how very few man of that type knew women like Ku Zing-whai.

That Zing-whai and I should become fast friends is rather strange. She and I never went to school together (as if having the same Alma Mater gives the affinity between friends). Her scholastic interest is quite different from mine; she buries herself among figures, bottles, plates whose very nature is alien to me! We did, however, share an apartment together for six or eight weeks when, in our exile student days, I did the cooking and she the dish-washing. I liked her then not because she could wash thoroughly or because she let me take my afternoon nap immediately after my lunch. The fact that one could so like her in such a short time is a recommendation itself.

Zing-whai is a native of Kating, a small town off the Shanghai-Nanking Railway, a small town that, nevertheless, boasts of its progressiveness. She distinguished herself in Chinese in the Kiangsu Provincial Normal School at Soochow, that scenic spot where old-time-beauty once thrived with old-time-scholar! Zing-whai was the youngest in her class, but one of the most brilliant. Later she went to Utopia College to prepare herself for going abroad. It was there that she stood out definitely as a future physicist and mathematician. She was graduated from Cornell University. Yale gave her her Master's degree, and the University of Michigan made her a full-fledged Doctor of physics. Her scholastic record was flawless. She is now connected with the Academia Sinica in the department of physics.

But Zing-whai as a person is even more lovely. Short in statue, yet embodying such a great mind, quiet, unpretentious, she moves among her friends a helper and comforter. Her spirit of sympathy is unimpeachable. Her friends can always go to her with their tales of woe and be sure that she'll give a ready and listening ear. That is her primary character, her interest in others. That is also true liberalism—always have room for other people's opinion. She does not like talking for the sake of talking, which most men [perhaps the writer means women!] find amusing and thrilling. Yet she has a sense of humour which most people lack.

You see, if only my friends who discussed so hotheadedly over the question of women's education had gone, instead of to the cabarets and members of women's clubs, to intelligent women to find the achievement of an educated woman, how much wasteful conversation could have been saved. But then, what will there be for them to talk about?

[No. 38; Sep. 20, 1934]

顾静徽女士[1]

一天，我在听取有关妇女教育问题的讨论——多么古老的话题啊！我称之为原始，想想看，在妇女的社会地位已经或多或少确立的时代，居然还会怀疑对你的女儿或姐妹进行教育是否可取！然而，怀疑确实存在，甚至存在于妇女自己中间，虽然她们只是私下里悄声低语。不错，人们都认为，妇女无须接受高等教育，因为她们很少使用受教育所获得的知识。有人说，他认识一位学生物的女士，却去教了一辈子英语；还认识一位英国文学硕士，结婚后竟不知道怎样带大她的孩子。这种争论的荒谬不是本栏所要驳斥的，言归正传。我要说的是，这种有争议的讨论使我意识到，认识顾静徽这类女人的人实在太少了。

静徽和我能成为莫逆之交是相当奇怪的。我和她从不曾一同上过学校（好像同一个母校就会在朋友之间形成亲密的关系）。她的学术兴趣和我的完全不同，她埋头在数字、瓶子和盘子之间，我对此则一窍不通！但是，在出国留学的日子里，我们确实曾在一套公寓房内住过六个或八个星期，我做饭，她洗碗。那时候我喜欢她并不是因为她洗碗干净，也不是因为她肯让我一吃完午饭就去睡午觉。能有人在这样短的时间内就这么喜欢她，这一事实本身就是值得称道的。

静徽是嘉定人。嘉定在沪宁铁路线上，虽然是一个小城，却以进步

自豪。她在苏州读江苏省立师范学校时，中文成绩出类拔萃。苏州是一个景色秀丽的地方，曾经才子辈出，佳人如云！静徽在班上年龄最小，却是最出色的学生之一。后来她进大同学院，为出国留学做准备。在这个学院里，她以确定无疑的未来物理学家和数学家的前景脱颖而出。她毕业于康奈尔大学，取得了耶鲁大学的硕士学位，密歇根大学则培养她成为了合格的物理学博士。她的学业记录无可挑剔，现在任职于中央研究院物理研究所。

但是静徽的为人更加可爱。她身材娇小，才智高超，文静而不矫揉造作。和朋友们相处时，她乐于助人、善于安慰。她的同情精神毋庸置疑。朋友们随时可以来找她诉说自己的伤心事，而她，总有倾听的耐心。那是她的主要特点，即她对别人的关心。那也是真正的宽容大度——总有容纳别人意见的心胸。她不喜欢为了谈话而谈话，那是大多数人（或许作者指的是女人！）都觉得有趣和令人兴奋的事情。然而，她有大多数人所缺乏的幽默感。

你瞧，要是那些为了妇女的教育问题讨论得那么起劲的人不是去看歌舞表演和妇女俱乐部的会员，而是去找有才智的女士，就会发现受教育妇女的成就，就能节省多少无聊的废话呀。但是，到了那个时候，他们还有什么可谈呢？！

［第38期，1934年9月20日］

MR. YANG PING-CH'EN (杨丙辰)

From whichever angle one looks at him, Mr. Yang Ping-ch'en is a remarkable man. He is remarkable for his dress. He is remarkable for his looks. And he is remarkable for his ways. If Dante were to be alive now to rewrite his Divine Comedy, he would have to create a new place for Mr. Yang; for Mr. Yang belongs neither to Heaven, Purgatory, Hell, nor Limbo. He is too good for Hell; not innocent enough for Limbo; all too human for Heaven; and too utterly devoid of divine grace, ever to hope for redemption in Purgatory. Mr. Yang is a genus in which there are no species. He is a kingdom all to himself.

The first time I saw Mr. Yang was ten years ago. What took my eye then, still takes my eye now is—his tall Gladstonian collar, his blue double-breasted coat, his broad, dusky face and his shock of wiry hair. He has not changed during all these years. He never looked young in 1924, and he doesn't look young now; but he certainly doesn't look old—just like his collar, never clean perhaps, but not exactly dirty—a bit dubious in colour, that's all.

Mr. Yang has a sturdy figure. Of medium height, with a body made to stand the wear and tear of life, and not for show, Mr. Yang gives one the impression of a man, who does not know what it is to be tired. After ten hours of hard work and a strenuous game of mahjong, he looks just the same as when he first gets out of bed. It is not that he is ever healthy or fresh. It is that he never knows what it is to be ill.

In dress, Mr. Yang is anything but particular. Of some, it may be said that they are made for their clothes and not their clothes for them. In Mr. Yang's case, his clothes are neither made for him, nor he for them. So they be big enough, any clothes will do for him. Indeed, Mr. Yang cannot be said to wear his clothes: he just flops into them. For this reason, the most suitable attire for him to be in would have been the Chinese long gown; but for some ultra-mundane reason, Mr. Yang seldom puts on Chinese clothes; he invariably dons foreign clothes which have a dim resemblance to those made in the nineteenth century in Germany.

The most interesting feature in Mr. Yang's whole make-up is, of course, his physiog. It is like something which has strayed into the modern age from a period before there was any light. A broad face, a receding forehead, big,

heavy jaw-bones, a small nose, and eyes which twirl and twirl and never rest. A smile, which looks more like a grin. Dusky in colour. Hair, which no matter how often it is cut always appears much too long and moppy. Withal, though, a very lovable face—a face which would inspire liking in children; a face which shows a little shrewdness and not a little naivety; a face which may cause some merriment in the beholder perhaps, but one in which loyalty and good fellowship are writ large.

Mr. Yang's specialty is German literature. But he spends just as much time in philosophy as in literature. One may find it hard to believe, but logic is also one of his pet subjects. Now he is actively engaged in literary criticism by running almost single-handed a magazine, which is called Literary Criticism (文学批评).

But Mr. Yang is at his best when he talks about ghosts and magic and the by-ways of Buddhistic lore. His face, his gestures and his credulity have then a charm, that even a beautiful, clever woman cannot rival. But is this not because Mr. Yang is himself a charming ghost?

[No. 39; Sep. 27, 1934]

杨丙辰先生[1]

无论从哪个角度看，杨丙辰先生都是一个出奇的人物。他的穿着出奇，相貌出奇，作风也出奇。如果但丁还活着，要重写他的《神曲》，就得给杨先生开辟一片新的境地；因为杨先生既不属于天国、炼狱、地狱，也不属于地狱边境[2]。对于地狱，他未免太良善了；对于地狱边境，他又不够纯洁；对于天国，他有过多的凡人气味；又完全没有受到神的眷顾而难以指望到炼狱里去获得救赎。杨先生是属内无种，自成一界[3]。

我第一次见到杨先生是在十年前。当年吸引我注意，如今依然吸引我注意的，便是他那格莱斯顿式的高领圈[4]，双排扣蓝色外套，宽阔、黝黑的脸膛和令人震惊的铁丝般的头发。这么多年过去了，他一点儿也没有改变。1924年的时候，他看上去并不年轻，现在看也不年轻，却也实在不显老——就像他的领圈，也许从来就没有干净过，却也不能算脏，只不过颜色有点难说就是了。

杨先生体型健壮、中等身材，生就一副经得起生活磨难而不是为了让人观赏的体格。杨先生给人的印象是，从不知疲倦为何物。在辛苦工

作十个小时，又打了场紧张的麻将牌之后，他看上去就跟刚刚起床的状态一样。这并不是说他永远健康或精力充沛，只是他从来不知道什么叫生病。

在衣着方面，杨先生从不讲究。有些人，可以说，是为了衣服而生，而不是衣服为他们而做。杨先生的情况是，既不是衣服为他而做，也不是他为衣服而生。只要衣服够大，他随便穿什么都行。其实，不能说杨先生是穿衣服，他是扑到衣服里面去的。因此，最适合他的衣服就该是中式长衫了。但是由于某种超俗的原因，杨先生很少穿中式服装。他经常穿的西装，有点像19世纪德国裁缝做的那种。

杨先生最有趣的特点，当然还是他的面相。他那副相貌就好像是宇宙洪荒、混沌无光时候的产物由于迷路而误入我们的时代——宽阔的脸庞、向后倾斜的额头、宽大粗重的下巴、小鼻子、转来转去不肯停歇的眼睛；还有与龇牙咧嘴无异的微笑、黝黑的肤色、不管剪得多勤都显得太长太乱的头发。虽然如此，他却有一副十分可爱的面孔——招孩子们喜欢的面孔，显得有点精明而又相当天真的面孔，让人见了也许觉得好笑但显然看得出诚恳和友善的面孔。

杨先生的专业是德国文学，但是他花在哲学上的功夫并不少于文学。人们也许难以置信，但是，逻辑也是他偏爱的学科之一。目前，他正热衷于从事文学批评，几乎是单枪匹马地在主持一个叫做《文学批评》的杂志。

但是，杨先生最拿手的却是谈鬼论怪、大讲佛教的旁门左道。那时，他的面孔、他的手势、他的深信不疑，就有一种迷人的魅力，那种魅力甚至冰雪聪明的佳人也难以匹敌。这不正是因为，杨先生本身就是一个迷人的幽灵吗？

［第39期，1934年9月27日］

DR. FUNG YU-LANG (冯友兰)

He is the historian of Chinese philosophy. I say this without doing any injustice to Dr. Hu Shih who has to his credit the famous Outline History of Chinese Philosophy, a brilliant but lop-sided work. Now Dr. Hu has been so many things that it would puzzle the most hard-boiled of pigeon-holing critics if he were called on to classify him. Well, to other people other excellences, let us give the palm to Dr. Fung as a historian of Chinese philosophy.

Don't suppose that Fung's magnum opus (A History of Chinese Philosophy) is such pleasant reading as Hu's Outline History. By no means. It is, among other things, written in an exceedingly uncouth style and dull with the dullness that is born, as Horace Walpole says, of taking pains. This is more a misfortune than a fault. Fung seems to have been so much possessed by his historical sense that he has lost some other useful senses, e.g. the sense of humour and the sense of style. But then, his book can do without these graces. It is written primarily by a scholar for scholars, and all scholars, it goes without saying, pay homage to the cult of Dryasdust. Fung has succeeded in clarifying many issues hitherto confused and giving complete portrayals of all types of philosophy. No one has more details at his command and no one has more command over his details. In his humble and homespun way, he is of the kin of Burnets and Zellers, Windelbands and Erdmanns.

I have heard that Fung stammers a good deal. Does that explain his peculiarly hesitating and non-conducting written style? Perhaps the style is the man, perhaps not, I have not had the privilege of listening to his lectures on philosophy, and I imagine that with "omm-jectives" and "summ-jectives" constantly dinning into the ear, they cannot possibly be very stimulating. But I seem to be mistaken. Students who have listened to him told me that he can take advantage of his stammer to score a point or lay an unctuous emphasis. If he tells a joke in the class, the students to a man wait in breathless suspense for the final point; and when he has at last triumphantly passed through the rolling fire of repeated sounds and reached the much waited-for point, the whole class breaks into a hearty laughter as much out of relief as out of mirth.

Fung is rustic in appearance, dishevelled and slattern. The scholar is written legibly all over him. His ruddy face with its smooth forehead and

engaging smile would be cherubic but for a suspicion of the beard about the chin and a pair of powerful glasses. His eyes look so deep behind the glasses that it gives one the feeling of falling down to the bottom of a pit to look at them. It is said that he is not above playing a little school politics. We sincerely hope that he plays with a neater hand than he writes.

[No. 40; Oct. 4, 1934]

冯友兰博士[1]

他是中国哲学史家，我这样说对胡适博士并没有什么不公。胡博士写有著名的《中国哲学史大纲》，那是一部出色的著作，然而却略有偏颇。如今的胡博士已经是多重荣誉集于一身的名流，最实事求是的分类评论家要来给他归类，也会惶然不知所措。那么，让别人去得到荣誉，就让我们把中国哲学史家的桂冠送给冯博士吧。

不要以为冯博士的大作（《中国哲学史》）会像胡博士的《哲学史大纲》一样好读。不，绝不好读。除了别的原因之外，它的文体极其笨拙，也像沃尔浦尔[2]所说的那样费尽心思而枯燥。这更应该说是一种不幸，而不是一种过失。冯博士似乎具有太强的史学意识而丧失了其他诸如幽默感和文体意识之类有益的自觉。但是，这部著作没有这些优点也行。这主要是学者写给学者读的一部著作，而所有学者对学究气自是存有敬意的。冯博士成功地澄清了许多一向混淆不清的问题，对各种类型的哲学进行了完整的描述。没有人能掌握更多的具体资料，也没有人能更好地驾驭这些资料。他谦虚而朴实的风格与伯内特、泽勒、文德尔班和厄尔德曼之类的哲学家相差无几。[3]

我听说冯博士口吃得厉害。不知这是不是导致他文笔曲折婉转而不直截了当的独特风格的原因？或许文如其人，或许未必。我未尝有幸听过他的哲学课，但我想象着“ommjective”和“summ-jective”[4]之声不绝于耳，这样的声音听上去索然寡味。不过，我好像是错了。听过他讲课的学生告诉我，他能利用口吃来为自己选用适当的措辞或是突出某个容易被忽略的重点。如果他在课堂上讲一个笑话，所有的学生都会屏住呼吸静待最后的结局。当他结结巴巴、一个字音重复了多次而终于说出了大家一直期盼着的结局时，全班人就会由于可笑，也由于悬念落实，而哄堂大笑。

冯博士外表质朴、头发蓬乱、不修边幅，浑身上下学者气十足。他那红润的脸庞、光洁的额头、再加上迷人的微笑，若不是下颏长了些胡

须、鼻梁上架着一副大框眼镜，看上去就是个胖乎乎的娃娃脸。镜片后面那双深邃的眼睛，看上去让人顿觉如坠深渊。有人说他未必就不会玩点儿学校政治，我们诚恳地希望他玩起来能比写文章利索些。

［第40期，1934年10月4日］

LIU TIEH-YUN (刘铁云)

Based on an article by his nephew, Dr. D. K. Lieu, in "The Jen Chien Shih." —Editor.

If you stand by any roadside bookbooth and run your eyes over the titles, you will as likely as not catch the name of a popular novel, The Travelogue of an Old Man (老残游记). But the book is popular not only among hardly literate readers of cheap fictions, it has also gained the admiration of the literati, and many a close observer admires the accuracy with which he painted what was future to him but past to us. For instance, he predicted that there would be boxer uprising in the north and revolution from the south. His calculation of the ten "heavenly stems"and the twelve "earth's branches" in this connection is just a matter of language, the language in which he cloaked his shrewd observations and with which he spoke intelligently and convincingly to the people of his time. A book of such popularity will at once put the author on a sound financial basis in America, but in China, Liu Tieh-yun, the author of this popular novel, did not, we suspect, get a single cent out of it.

To the curio collectors, Tieh-yun was well known as a good collector, but he was greater than both a novelist and an antique connoisseur, in that he was an ardent advocate of the new regime. He was exiled to Sinkiang where he died, because he cast his lot with the Paohuangtang to fight against the reactionary power of the Empress Dowager in hope that by restoring Emperor Kwang Shu to power the new regime might get a fair trial. He was among the pioneers who advocated a thorough study, and a whole-hearted introduction, of the Western culture to cure China's ills. And curiously enough he was also a pioneer among the antique collectors who first paid some attention to the antique bones and tortoise shells, whose inscriptions have, when deciphered, thrown no small amount of light to China's ancient history. His passion for his antiques, however, was among the causes of his death. Tuan Fang, one of the highly influential Manchu officials, saw his collection, took a fancy to one article and tried to buy it cheap. At first he refused, and then he thought the better of it and presented it to Tuan Fang as a gift. But having been offended, Tuan Fang was among the first to cause his exile.

Tieh-yun came from a well-known family, and his father was for many years a military commander in Honan, who cooperated with the famous

Tseng Kuo-fan in suppressing the Nien Rebellion in Shantung, Anhwei and Honan, which came close upon the heel of the Taiping Rebellion. When retired, he came to live in Huaian, Kiangsu. He and his older son were among the strong advocates of the introduction of Western science and culture. His older son, Tieh-yun's elder brother, began to study French at the age of 30 with some Catholic fathers. Tieh-yun became very much interested in his elder brother's study of foreign books, especially mathematics and medicine.

He belonged to the type of Chinese, who were aptly described by Han Wu Ti as "scholars who kick rather than accept the rein," and he never tried to compete for degrees in the government examinations. However, Chang Han-sien, governor of Shantung and an old friend of the family, knows Tieh-yun well and gave him a job in his yamen. But because of his advocacy of the new regime he was, as all advocates of the new regime then were, accused of being a traitor, and he had to resign from his post. He next went to see Li Hung-chung, another old friend of the family, who, treating Tieh-yun like a nephew, sharply rebuked him for his boldness that earned him the title of a traitor and asked him how he was to get any promotion thereafter. This drew out the following reply: "Truly I have earned the nickname 'traitor', but I am young and have but little to my credit, so I am only a little traitor. But you, my uncle, are old and have much to your credit, and you are accused of being 'the old traitor'. If I could only follow your footsteps, what is there to stop me from climbing to the top rung of the official ladder?"—a reply which brought a smile upon Li Hung-chung's sullen face.

Tieh-yun did not take to journalistic writing for the advocacy of the new regime, he would rather speak to the influential officials to convince them of its necessity. Seeing that the officials at empress Dowager's court were but faint-heartedly flirting with anything new, he joined the Paohuangtang with the tragic result already mentioned. However, there is something heroic about his advocacy of the new regime. When the government decided to build the Tientsin-Pukow railway and was in need of land to build the station and jetty in Pukow, he freely donated several hundred mou of his land there for the purpose.

[No. 41; Oct. 11, 1934]

刘铁云[1]

根据刘铁云之侄刘大钧博士发表在《人间世》上的文章编译。——编者

如果你立足在路边的售书摊旁，放眼浏览那些书名，就很可能会看到这样一本畅销小说：《老残游记》。这本小说不仅受到识字不多的廉价小说读者群的欢迎，而且，也赢得了文人学士的钦佩。许多仔细的评论家于作者描绘对于他尚未发生、对于我们已成过去的一些事件之准确，大加赞赏。例如，他曾经预言，义和团将起事于北方，而革命将来自南方。在这一方面，他对十“天干”、十二“地支”的推断，只是一个措辞问题。在这种措辞里隐藏着他敏锐的观察，他机敏而有说服力地对同时代人所讲的也是这一类措辞。一本这样受欢迎的书，要是在美国，立刻就会使作者置身于殷实的富户之列；但是在中国，我们相信，这部畅销小说的作者刘铁云不曾因此获过得一分钱的收入。

在古玩收藏这一方面，铁云是个非常著名的行家。然而，他不只是小说家和古董鉴定家，他还是新政的热诚拥护者。他被流放到了新疆，并且死在那里，因为他把自己的命运和保皇党联结在一起来反对慈禧太后的反动政权，希望光绪帝重掌大权，能让新政得到一次公平审判。他也是主张认真学习、诚恳引进西方文化以疗救中国痼疾的先驱之一。奇怪的是，他还是最早给予甲骨以关注的古物收藏先驱之一，而甲骨上的刻痕经过解读，对了解中国古代历史有着突出的贡献。然而，他对古董的癖好，也成了他的死因之一。端方[2]，一位权倾一时的满族官员，见到他的藏品，看中了其中一件，打算低价买下。起初他拒绝了，后来经过考虑，他还是把它作为礼物送给了端方。但是，已经被得罪了的端方，成了导致他流放的为首官员中间的一个。

铁云出身于名门世家，父亲是在河南为官多年的武将，曾经和著名的曾国藩[3]联手镇压山东、安徽和河南等地紧随太平天国之后的捻军[4]之乱。他父亲卸任后，居住在江苏淮安，他和他的长子都强烈主张引进西方科学和文化。他的长子，即铁云的长兄，30岁开始跟天主教神甫学习法文。铁云对长兄读的外国书非常感兴趣，尤其是对数学和医学。

他是汉武帝所描述的“泛驾之马，跅弛之士”，从来没有参加过科举考试。然而，山东巡抚张翰仙[5]是他家的老朋友，很了解铁云，给他在衙门里安排了一个差事。但是由于他拥护新政，像所有的新政拥护者一样，他也被指控为汉奸，不得不辞去职务。接着，他去拜见他家另一位老朋友李鸿章[6]。李鸿章待铁云如待子侄，狠狠训斥了铁云一顿，批评他因狂妄大胆而赢得了一顶汉奸的帽子，责问他今后还能指望有什么升迁。他答道，“小侄被骂为汉奸，事诚有之。然小侄年幼，办事尚少，仅一小汉奸耳。老年伯勋绩卓著，外间亦呼为汉奸，是乃老汉奸矣。小侄但能步老伯后尘，岂惧不能上进乎？”——这个回答令李鸿章阴沉的

脸上露出了笑容。

铁云不喜欢利用新闻写作鼓吹新政，他更愿意去游说有权势的官员，让他们晓得有必要实行新政。鉴于慈禧太后的朝廷官员对任何新事物采取的都只是怯懦的摇摆态度，他加入了保皇党而导致了上文提到的悲惨结果。然而，他在拥护新政方面曾有豪壮的表现。当政府决定铺设津浦铁路，在浦口需要车站和码头用地时，他慷慨捐献了好几百亩自己的土地。

［第41期，1934年10月11日］

CHANG TAI-YEN (章太炎)

Largely based on an article by Tsao Chu-jen in "Jen Chien Shih" —Editor.

Chinese Philistines who in their talks are fond of discussing the merits of present day writers are not infrequently heard waxing enthusiastic about Chang Tai-yen and comparing him to the literary luminaries of the Tang and Sung dynasties, such as Han Yu (韩愈) and Su Tung-po (苏东坡) or his contemporary like Liang Chi-chao. But that would be an insult to a man who regarded the belles lettres of the Wei (one of the three kingdoms) and Chin dynasties alone as comparable to that of the later period of Chow dynasty worthy to be imitated by later writers but decried the masters of the Tang and Sung dynasties as too much tied down to the teaching of the Confucian ethics to express themselves freely, or too boastful and loose in their reasoning or too vulgar. A certain editor wrote him in the last years of the Ching dynasty desiring to obtain his permission to print certain essays of his in a collection of fifty contemporary writers, and this elicited a reply from him that he would rather throw his writing into wastepaper basket than see it appear side by side with that of the other men of letters of that time. In 1914, when he was imprisoned by Yuan Shih-kai in the then Peking, he wrote on May 23 to his family, and among other things he said: "After my death, the Chinese culture is done for!"

What a proud and haughty man to have written like that. But justly he may well be proud. He is among the very foremost scholars of Chinese classics. His special contribution in this field is the explanation of the "borrowed" uses of words through similar pronunciations. Among his students are Chien Xuan-tong and Hwang Chi-kang, two of the leading students of phonetics in China today. His imprisonment by Yuan Shih-kai led him to study Buddhism, and to produce a commentary on one chapter of Chuang Tse and three essays on human nature, all in light of Buddhism. The latter group of essays was regarded by his ardent supporters as having eclipsed all the writings of the Sung and Ming philosophers on this subject.

But to others Chang Tai-yen is sometimes spoken of in jest as one who is a bit "off his nut." By the end of Ching dynasty Kang Yiu-wei was regarded by Liang Chi-chao and his other disciples as a sort of pope to the Confucians; they even expected heavenly signs to confirm this honor which

they did to their leader. It also gave rise to the rumor that Kang Yiu-wei was plotting to become an emperor. When one of Chang's friends asked him if he had heard anything about Kang plotting to become an emperor, he answered: "What I heard is that he wants to be a pope, not an emperor. But honestly it is nothing unusual for a man to think of becoming an emperor one day. What is most unreasonable is that he wants to be a pope." This at a time when he was serving at a viceroy's yamen in Wuchang, when the Ching dynasty still showed no sign of tottering down! The eulogical scrolls he wrote and sent to funerals of Li Yuan-hung and Sun Yat-sen were anything but complimentary to those in power. Who but one who is a little bit off his nut would think of behaving like that?

[No. 42; Oct. 18, 1934]

章太炎[1]

取材于《人间世》上曹聚仁的一篇文章。[2]——编者

在中国，不时可以听到，有些喜欢议论时下作家成败得失而又并不在行的附庸风雅之辈，对于章太炎的热情正在升高，他们把他和唐宋大家的韩愈、苏东坡等人或是他的同辈梁启超相比。而这样一种类比对于这样一位学者不啻侮辱，因为他认为，只有魏晋文章才能和东周诸子相比，才配成为后世作家楷模，而批评唐宋大家过分拘泥于儒家伦理说教而不能言所欲言，或是立论说理过分夸张而不够严谨或是流于庸俗。清代末年，有一位编书人曾经写信给他，希望能得到许可把他的若干篇文章，收进一个当代五十家文集。回答是，宁愿把他的文章扔进字纸篓，也不愿看到它们和当时其他人的作品排列在一起。1914年，被袁世凯囚禁于北京，5月23日，他写信给家人，其中有这样一句：“我死后，中国文化也将告终！”

能够写出这样一句话的人该是多么傲慢自大！但是平心而论，他有理由自傲。他是中国经籍出类拔萃的学者之一。他在这一领域的特殊贡献，是对文字同音假借的阐释。在他门下，有钱玄同、黄季刚这样的学生，他们是今日中国声韵学的两大学者。被袁世凯囚禁，导致他对佛学的研究，并以佛理注疏《庄子》一章[3]，撰写探讨人性的文章三篇。在他热诚的支持者看来，他这三篇，使宋、明两代同一论题的所有著述相形失色。

但是在别人看来，有时被以玩笑的口吻称作“疯子”。清代末年，康有为被梁启超辈学生奉为孔教教主，他们甚至期望上天垂象肯定他们对这位领袖的尊崇。于是便有谣言，说康有为密谋称帝。章氏一个友人问他，是否听说康氏有密谋称帝的活动。他回答道，“我只听说他想当孔教教主，而不是想当皇帝。但是，老实说，一个人想在某天当上皇帝，未必就是非非之想；最不可思议的，倒是想当教主。”这时他正在武昌供职于总督衙门，大清朝尚未显示出动摇迹象！而他为黎元洪和孙中山所撰挽联，又都不是对于权势人物的恭维。若不真是有点疯了，谁会想到如此这般行事？

［第42期；1934年10月18日］

MR. TENG H. CHIU (周廷旭)

Mr. Chiu is one of those artists, whom Nature tries her best to wean from their love of Art. She has made him look anything but an artist. Any one may very well take him for a banker. His comfortable proportions, his broad plump face, his quietness, his decorous manner of attiring himself, his slow movements, his soft purring voice, his engaging smile, —all are qualities which one would expect in one's banker: they do not inspire enthusiasm, but they certainly breed confidence. Now, one does not go to a banker to be rapt off the earth: that would mean panic, and panic is not a desirable state to be in, when one is considering financial questions. But one would be disappointed in an artist who, instead of communicating to one the feeling of transport (to use a Longinian expression), only loads one with the feeling of confidence. At the first contact with Mr. Chiu, it is just this feeling of disappointment that one feels. But it would be wrong to allow this feeling to persist. For if ever there is an artist in China, Mr. Chiu is certainly such a person. He has the body and appearance of a banker, but the soul and temperament of an artist. A slightly better acquaintance with Mr. Chiu will at once reveal to one, all the traits of a genuine artist in him.

For one thing, he has the essential simplicity of an artist. His contact with the world is naked and direct. He has nothing up his sleeve. By this, I don't mean to insinuate that his mind is simple. There is all the difference in the world between a simple mind and the sort of simplicity I have in view. By the "essential simplicity of an artist," I mean that intense and undivided allegiance of an artist to his Art, which brooks no second love. He sees everything through the medium of his Art. He jealously keeps the medium transparent and pure, so that no secondary considerations either of money or of material advantages will warp his vision of the world. He glories in the lust of the eyes and the pride of life. His wish, in the words of Sir Philip Sidney, is to make the too much loved earth more lovely still. To possess such a simplicity of vision is the sine qua non of an artist. Mr. Chiu has it. That he is not conscious of it stamps him all the more as an artist born, and not made.

Mr. Chiu is one of the few Chinese, who have seriously studied Western Art. Like all serious students, he has wisely decided to learn to walk, before attempting to fly. He has not tried to startle by any innovation, either in technique or design; but neither has he, on the other hand, tried to capture

attention by bad workmanship, which in art circles is often euphemistically called "personal eccentricities."

Mr. Chiu has studied for many years in America, England, and Paris. His academic record has been most brilliant. The Creswick Prize of 1926, and the Turner Gold Medal of 1929 from the Royal Academy, London, are a few among the many signal distinctions, with which he has been honoured. He is a prophet not without honour, save in his own country. The reason for this, of course, is because Mr. Chiu hasn't got the gift of the gap. To be a successful artist in China, it is not only necessary to paint well, but it is even more necessary to talk well...about one's own pictures!

If I am asked, what are the qualities which characterize Mr. Chiu's pictures, I would answer, —refinement of eye, and sensitiveness of hand. They are not, perhaps, the qualities which can make one enthusiastic. But what of it? Enthusiasm for Mr. Chiu's pictures will come later when, with perfect mastery of his technique, he will have learnt to put more boldness into his brush.

[No. 43; Oct. 25, 1934]

周廷旭先生[1]

有时候大自然会千方百计迫使一些艺术家放弃对艺术的爱，周先生就是这样一位艺术家。大自然赋予他一副什么都像就是不像艺术家的相貌。任何人都很有可能把他看成一个银行家。比例匀称的身材、胖胖的圆脸、文静的仪表、得体的衣着、从容的举止、轻柔低沉的嗓音、招人喜爱的笑容——这都是人们期望于银行家的品质：这一类品质不能激发热情，却肯定有助于产生信任。人们去找银行家并不是为了寻求魂飞天外的感受：魂飞天外意味着惊恐，而惊恐正是考虑财务问题时不希望出现的状态。如果一个艺术家不能给人以心神荡漾的体验（借用朗吉努斯[2]式的表达），而只能给人以信任，人们定会感到失望。第一次和周先生接触时所能感觉到的，正是这样一种失望。但是如果让这种失望持续下去可就错了，因为，如果中国真有个艺术家的话，那便是周先生。他有银行家的身体和相貌，却有艺术家的灵魂和气质。对周先生稍许熟悉一点，立刻就会看出他身上真正的艺术家所有的特质。

举例说，他有着艺术家本质上的单纯。他和世界的接触毫无掩饰、直截了当。他没有任何隐瞒。我这样说并不是暗示他头脑简单。在头脑

简单和我心目中的那种单纯之间，有着天壤之别。我所谓“艺术家本质上的单纯”，是指艺术家对艺术那种强烈的专一的忠诚，不容许另有所爱。他通过艺术这个媒介来看待一切，并很戒备地保持着这个媒介的纯洁和透明，以免有关金钱或是物质利益的次要考虑歪曲了他对世界的看法。他为眼中的渴望和生命的自尊而骄傲。他的愿望，用菲利普·锡德尼爵士[3]的话说，就是使这个被喜爱得过分的世界变得更加可爱。具有这样一种单纯的洞察力，是一个艺术家的必要条件，周先生就具备。他具备但并不自知，就更加显得他是个天生的艺术家，不经造作。

只有少数的中国人严肃认真地研究过西方艺术，周先生便是其中一个。像所有严肃认真的学生那样，他明智地决定先学走，再学飞。他并没有试图以技巧或是构思的标新立异惊世骇俗，也没有用艺术圈内常被委婉地称为“个人癖好”的粗制滥造哗众取宠。

周先生曾在美国、英国和巴黎学习多年，学习成绩非常出色。他曾经获得许多大奖，1926年的克雷齐克[4]奖和伦敦皇家学院1929年的透纳[5]金质奖章，只是其中的两项。他同样也是受尊敬的先知，除了在他自己的国度。其所以如此，是因为周先生未能具有能说会道的禀赋。在中国，一个成功的艺术家，不仅要画得好，甚至更要说得好……要善于为自己的作品自吹自擂！

如果有人问我周先生的画有什么特点，我就会回答：观察细致，画法灵巧。这样的特点，也许还不足以激发人们的热情。那又有什么关系？随着技法的日趋纯熟，他下笔会更加大胆，那时为周先生的画而掀起热潮的时机就会来到。

［第43期，1934年10月25日］

CHEN T' UNG-PE (陈通伯)

Thin, of medium height, with a sallow complexion, Mr. Chen is obviously made more for indoor, rather than for outdoor, work. Off the chair, he is not himself. On the chair, he is in his element, either for talking, reading, teaching, or (I am tempted to say) for fighting. His sedentary habit has moulded his body into a question mark. This is not noticeable when he sits down, but the moment he stands up, the weight of his head seems too much for his spinal chord to support: hence the pronounced stoop.

There seems to be nothing remarkable in Mr. Chen's appearance. But his is a face which, once seen, is not easily forgotten. There is something sinister about it, the more so when it is writhed into smiles. It always gives one the impression of a withdrawing of something somewhere. Is it the withdrawing of claws or of fangs? Or is the withdrawing more in the nature of the retreat of a tiger into its lair? I don't know, but somehow I would rather have Mr. Chen's scowl than his smile.

There is magic in Mr. Chen's large eyes. Well set in a sharply chiselled face, crowned by hair which is parted in the middle, his eyes eat their way through everything and everybody. Even when the eye-lids are droopy and tired, the eyes are always clear and bright. There seems to be every virtue in them, —penetration, intelligence, quickness, wit. But there is no kindness. Faults are only seen as faults. Accompanying the diagnosis, there may be laughter, but it is the derisive laughter of satire, not the kindly laughter of humour. So it is that, when Mr. Chen's eyes light on one, they make one uncomfortable and inexpansive: one feels that to unfold oneself in such company would be dangerous. Most often, therefore, one shuts oneself up before him; and one takes away from his presence only the memory of his clear and beautiful, but unkind, eyes.

Mr. Chen is most happy and at his best in the silent company of his books. And what a company. His catholicity of interest is reflected in the multitude and the variety of his books. There are books on all kinds of subjects under the sun. What is more, Mr. Chen reads them. Very few of his books are any good from the bibliophile's point of view. Mr. Chen is not interested in beautiful bindings and beautiful printing. This explains why it is that so many of his books are second-hand. He buys books to read, and not to look at. Although his wide reading shows the catholicity of his interest, it

does not, however, give evidence of a catholic mind. Like his three favourite authors, —Jane Austen, H. G. Wells, and Anatole France, —Mr. Chen certainly has a good deal of "sense and sensibility" in what he does and says, but like them, too, there is also a good deal of "pride and prejudice" in his view of persons and things.

Besides reading, Mr. Chen finds his pleasure and ease in writing and translating. Most of his writings are in the nature of criticism. This is as one would expect. His forte is to analyse and satirize. With what ineffable lightness and clarity he does it! There is first the sinister smile, —the luring of the subject into the tiger's lair. And when he has sufficiently played with the subject, he gobbles it up, with a sneer or a laugh. To vary the figure, Mr. Chen's critical method always reminds me of a cat on a lawn playing about with a mouse on a cold, bright day in mid-winter. It's beautiful and cold to look at, and it always ends up in murder as a fine art.

Mr. Chen is, at present, Dean of the College of Arts of Wu-Han University. He runs the College with such good sense that it is now reputed to be the best of its kind in China. This should occasion no surprise, as in all those qualities of moderation, clear-headedness, and commonsense, which a good administrator ought to have, Mr. Chen is a shining example. For this reason, I should be happy to have Mr. Chen as my boss in any administrative work I have to do, but I should certainly not like to have him as my only companion in a desert island.

[No. 44; Nov. 1, 1934]

陈通伯[1]

陈先生体形消瘦、中等身材、面色苍黄，显然天生不是户外工作的料，只适合做室内工作。一离开椅子，他就不是他了。一坐上椅子，他就百事可为，可以说话、读书、讲课，我甚至想说，还可以打上一架。他这种久坐不起的习惯已经把他的躯体塑造成了一个问号。他坐着的时候还不惹眼，但是，只要一站起来，他的头就显得太重，难以为脊柱所支持，于是便形成了明显的弯曲。

陈先生的相貌似乎没有什么特别之处，但是他的脸却叫人见过一次就终生难忘。脸上有点凶相，尤其是想笑的时候，给人的印象是要把什么东西收到什么地方去。是收缩利爪，还是收缩毒牙？或者本质上更像

是老虎后退到洞穴中去？我不知道，但是我宁愿看见陈先生横眉怒目也不愿意看见他笑。

陈先生具有魔力的一双大眼睛，端正地镶嵌在见棱见角的脸上，头顶上的头发从中间分开，锐利的目光可以看透一切事物和一切人。甚至在眼皮疲倦下垂的时候，眼睛也总是清澈明亮依旧。眼神里好像各种优点都有——洞察力、理解力、敏捷、机智，但缺乏善意。缺点总是被看作缺点。有时，伴随着审视也会有笑声，不过，那是讥讽的嘲笑，不是出于幽默善意的笑。所以，陈先生的眼光落到一个人的身上，就会让人觉得不自在、不舒畅；让人觉得和陈先生这样的人在一起时敞开胸怀会有危险。因此，人们在他面前十有八九是把自己封闭起来，从他身边带走的，只是对于他那双眼睛的记忆：清澈、漂亮，却缺乏善意。

陈先生最开心的时候是和他的书默默相伴的时候。那是什么样一种相伴啊！他的兴趣之广反映在他的藏书数量之大、种类之多上：世间一切课题一应俱全。而且，陈先生是读书的。从藏书家的观点看来，他的那些书一概乏善可陈。陈先生对漂亮的装订和精致的印刷全都不感兴趣，这就是为什么他会有那么多二手书的原因。他买书是为了“读”，而不是为了“看”。虽然他的博览群书能够表明他兴趣的广泛，但是却不能表明他心胸宽阔。就像他喜爱的三位作家——简·奥斯汀[2]、威尔斯和阿纳托尔·法朗士[3]一样，陈先生在他的所言所行中也确实很有一些“理智与情感”。但是，在他对人对事的看法中，也像他们三位一样，也掺杂着不少“傲慢与偏见”。[4]

在读书之外，陈先生还从写文章和翻译的活动中找到乐趣和消遣。他的文章大多属于评论性质，这是人们可以料想得到的。他擅长于分析和讽刺，文笔是那么轻松明快，实在是语言所难以形容！首先是那阴险的微笑——把目标引进虎穴，玩弄够了之后，发出一阵冷笑或是狂笑，再把它一口吞掉。换一种说法，陈先生的评论方法总会使我想起严冬晴朗而寒冷的一天，一只猫在草地上跳来跳去戏耍一只老鼠的情景。看起来既有趣又冷酷，结果都不外乎是以艺术的形式完成一次凶杀。

陈先生目前是武汉大学文学院院长。他主持学院很有见地，这个学院现在已经成为中国同类院校之佼佼者。这并不出人意外，因为一个优秀管理人员应有的品质——稳健、清醒、常理——在陈先生这样一位光辉的典范身上无不具备。因此，在我必须做的任何行政工作中若能有陈先生这样的领导，我会非常高兴，但是我确实不希望在一个荒岛上只有他和我作伴。

［第44期，1934年11月1日］

SUN DA-YU (孙大雨)

Of personal beauty, Da-yu is no star. One does not think of him as another Wen Fei-ching (温飞卿), but as another Ho Tsu (贺铸), of whom his contemporaries used to say that he was the "king of devils" (鬼头). Ho Tsu lived in the Sung dynasty; his lyrics were known principally for their wistful and nostalgic quality; he sang of willow trees at twilight and of partings at dawn; he makes us hear the dripping of autumnal rains and wakens in us memories of our own longings in idleness. When we read Da-yu's poems, we get also the same feeling. His poems do not give us a feeling of exhilaration, instead, they invariably leave us a bit sad and dissatisfied with the world.

But, lest it be understood that Da-yu is a pessimist by conviction, let me hasten to add that he is in fact one of most cheerful persons that I have ever met. To those who do not know him intimately, he may appear a bit proud and satisfied with himself. In reality, however, his aloofness is due merely to his shy and retiring nature which is apt to manifest itself in the presence of strangers. Unlike most Chinese whose ability to control their emotions is proverbial, Da-yu would blush and behave awkwardly when he feels embarrassed. He is by no means "thick-skinned," and his sensitiveness not infrequently leads him to quarrel even with his best friends. But, at heart, he is good-natured—sometimes, even to a fault. That, one may say, is his essential weakness; for in the society of highway robbers and petty politicians, his good nature is liable to be prevailed upon and made a tool of.

Da-yu is a hedonist. He likes to surround himself with beautiful things and enjoy life to the fullest extent. He has a passion especially for well-printed books. In his student days, he used to spend practically all his monthly allowances on them, until today he has probably the finest collection of books in the English language in China. He is in his best element sitting in his own library, handling the rare and fine editions as if they were his loving children. To see him in such moments is a revelation indeed.

Besides his poems in Chinese, Da-yu has also translated Sun Kuoting's treatise on Chinese calligraphy (孙过庭书谱) into the English language. He has just finished his translation of Cellini's autobiography, and is at present engaged in rendering Shakespeare's King Lear into Chinese.

Da-yu is now married. Would his marriage make him more contented with life and inspire him to greater heights in poetry, and would it kill the

spark in him and make him into another of those fatheaded bourgeoisie, whom he so much despises? This is what all his friends would like to know, but at present cannot tell. And who knows but that Da-yu may yet surprise them!

[No. 45; Nov. 8, 1934]

孙大雨[1]

就仪表而言，大雨绝不是明星。人们不会认为他是另一个温飞卿[2]，却会认为是另一个贺铸[3]。贺铸被同时代人称为“鬼头”，生活在宋代，他的词以惆怅、怀旧著称。他咏叹薄暮烟柳、拂晓离别；他让我们聆听秋雨滴落，唤醒我们记忆中无聊赖的思绪。我们读大雨的诗也会有相同的感受。他的诗不能给我们以欢快振奋的感觉，却总会勾起一些哀愁和对世界的不满。

但是，为了不把大雨理解为笃定的悲观主义者，我要赶紧补充说一句，他是我所认识的最欢快的乐天派之一。在所知不深的人看来，他似乎有点骄傲自满。然而事实是，他的冷漠孤傲只是由于生性羞怯，尤其是在陌生人面前。不像大多数善于控制感情的中国人，当大雨感觉到尴尬时，就会面红耳赤、手足无措。他绝不是个“皮厚”的人，由于敏感甚至和最要好的朋友吵起架来，也不是不常见的事情。但是实质上，他是个好脾气的人——有时候甚至脾气好得过分。人们也许会说，那是他的本质弱点；因为在这强盗横行、政客充斥的社会里，他的好脾气会被利用成为别人的工具。

大雨是一名享乐主义者，他喜欢坐拥美好事物，充分享受生活。他酷爱印制精美的书籍。在学生时代，他把每个月的零用钱几乎全都用来买书。直到今日，他的英语书籍可谓是中国最上乘的藏品。坐在自己的书房里，摩挲着那些善本，就像抚弄他自己挚爱的孩子，他会有一种得其所哉的感觉。看到这种时刻的他，真能启人神思。

除了用中文写诗，大雨还曾把孙过庭[4]论述中国书法的《书谱·卷上》译成英文。他刚译完切利尼的自传，目前正在把莎士比亚的《李尔王》[5]译成中文。

大雨现在结婚了。他的婚姻是会使他对生活更加满意，并且鼓舞他在诗歌领域攀上新的高峰，还是会扑灭他心灵的火花，使他成为又一个他自己所鄙视的愚钝的中产阶级分子呢？这是他所有的朋友都想知道而目前无法预言的。谁知道呢，也许大雨会使他们全都大吃一惊！

［第45期，1934年11月8日］

LIANG CHUNG-TAI (梁宗岱)

I have never met anyone who is so irrepressibly cheerful as Chung-tai. His cheerfulness is sometimes distressingly alarming. Even if he knows for certain that doom is impending over him, he will, I am sure, still pass his days with gay unconcern: he will be thinking so much of the little bit of sunshine left over to him, that he will forget all about the great masses of shadow and darkness on the other side of the picture. Of that range of sentiment, which is gathered up in the words carved on the tomb of the Cardinal in the Capuchin church at Rome,

PULVIS ET UMBRA ET NIHIL,

Chung-tai is a stranger. The fact is, Chung-tai is hopelessly in love with life. With him, it is heaven to be alive. It is enough for him that he breathes. He smiles his way through life. We smile, many of us, because we have nothing better to do, but Chung-tai smiles as if that is the best possible thing he can do.

This cheerful temperament of his is expressed in his face, which is either wreathed in smiles, or drawn out taut, as of one who is eager to gobble up everything that life has to offer, and to echo back with smacking lips the words of the Almighty: "And behold, it is good!" The sharpness of his features and his staring eyes suggest an intelligence, which thirsts to explore the countries of the mind. But the moist lips and the flush of health on his face imply a certain decided aptness for sporting "with the tangles of Neaera's hair," and for long dwelling in that world, which the ancient Greeks peopled with Pan and Dionysius and satyrs, and which the Hebrews allotted to the sons of Belial.

Chung-tai has got the physique of an athlete. Of average height, and tending towards the spare side, he may pass any day for a Marathon runner. In actual fact, he is a splendid walker. He prides himself, with an appalling exaggeration, which is all the more amusing for being wholly unconscious, on being able to walk faster than a motor-car, or (is it possible?) than an aeroplane. He loves swimming too; and I hesitate to say what he thinks of his own prowess in this respect, but in any case it must, I feel sure, defy the limitations of reality. However, the pains he takes by means of Sandow exercises and what nots, to keep himself in trim, are truly worthy of a Y.M.C.A. saint.

Chung-tai loves to argue. With him, to argue seems almost like being engaged in some violent exercise, when hands, legs, body, head and eyes participate. This physicality is especially noticeable when he walks: it then becomes just as difficult to keep up with his pace as it is with the rapidity of his talk. The more heated the argument, the quicker he walks. He screams, he gesticulates, he kicks the air. In a room, the same thing happens. The subject of argument may be nothing more dangerous than a discussion on the relative merits of Longfellow and Tennyson as poets. One never can guess the explosive nature of any subject, until one talks about it with Chung-tai. Any innocent theme might fire the train. For this reason, it is very exhausting to talk with him. A talk never remains a talk with him for long: it always ends up in a battle.

Chung-tai's chief interest is literature. And his gods are T'ao Yuan-ming, Paul Valéry, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Racine, and Pascal. Their works, he is never tired of reading. He reads aloud Valéry's poems with so much gusto and unction, that one readily imagines oneself listening to a crusading sermon by a fanatic on the deceitfulness of the flesh and the devil.

Valéry's motto Faire sans croire, Chung-tai endorses as his own. But I think the motto is not a true description of Chung-tai's philosophy of life. He does not, it is true, believe in God, and Progress and Immortality. But he certainly does believe in himself, in the sweetness of life, the delights of literature, and the desirability of women. If any one, after a long immuration in some severe studies, should forget what it is to be alive, he should look at Chung-tai to know what that means. If any one for some reason or another should fail in desire, he should see the fire in Chungtai's eyes and the quiver of passion in the moist lips to catch some heat to warm up his own waning interest in the world of the five senses. For I have never in my whole life come across any man, who is so much alive, so full of passion for all the glory of this world of the ears, the eyes, the touch, the taste and the smell, as Chung-tai. So long as he is alive, so long will I believe that passion, and poetry and life are good things—nay, the best things that man can have before he goes to his long home.

[No. 46; Nov. 15, 1934]

梁宗岱[1]

像宗岱那样开心得不能自已的人，我还从来没有遇见过。那种开心有时会使人担忧：即使他知道即将大祸临头，我相信，他也还会无所忧虑地过他的开心日子。他会非常看重给他剩下的一点阳光，能够把另一侧的重重阴影和黑暗完全忘个干净。对于镌刻在罗马嘉布遣会[2]红衣主教墓上的铭文“尘土，阴暗，虚无”所表达的那种伤感情绪，宗岱可是完全陌生的。事实是，宗岱对于人生热爱得如痴如狂。在他看来，活着就是置身天堂，能够呼吸也就心满意足。他一路欢笑度过人生。我们许多人的笑，是因为没有更好的事情可做，但是宗岱的笑，仿佛认为那是他能做的最好的事情了。

他欢快乐天的秉性，都从他的脸上流露出来。他那张脸不是笑成一朵花，就是拉长绷紧，像是急着要把生活所呈现的一切全都吞咽下去，再用咂巴得山响的嘴唇重复着上帝那句话：“看，很好！”他那棱角分明的相貌和凝视的眼神透露出聪慧，渴望着对心灵世界作深入的探索。然而，他那湿润的双唇和健康的晕红脸色，又暗示着一种坚决的能力来摆弄“尼爱拉[3]纠缠难解的头发”，来长久盘桓在古希腊人与牧神、酒神和森林之神居住又被希伯来人划给了堕落天使后裔的那个世界[4]。

宗岱有运动员的体格。中等身材，体态偏瘦，随时都可能被认为是马拉松运动员。而实际上，他很能走路。他常以夸张得吓人的口气说他走路比汽车甚至比飞机还要快（可能吗）——由于不是存心地夸张，所以越发好笑，而他却引以为自豪。他还喜爱游泳，我不敢说他觉得自己在这方面技能如何，但是无论如何，我相信，那一定是超过了实际的能力。然而，他为了保持身体健美按照山道[5]健身法之类勤奋锻炼所下的功夫，倒不愧为一位基督教青年会的圣徒。

宗岱喜欢辩论。他辩论起来，几乎就像剧烈运动，手、腿、头、眼和身体全都参与其中。这种身体特征在他走路时表现得尤为明显，这时要跟上他的脚步就像要跟上他说话的速度一样困难。辩论愈是激烈，他就走得愈快。他会尖声高叫、大作手势、跺脚踢腿。即使是在室内，情况也一样。辩论的主题很可能并不比朗费罗[6]和丁尼生[7]这两位诗人的长处更危险。至于哪一个话题具有爆炸性，不到和宗岱讨论的那一刻，你是不会知道的。任何一个单纯的问题都有可能点燃导火索。因此，和他谈话会累得你精疲力竭。和他谈话，时间一长就不成其为谈话了，到头来总是以吵架告终。

宗岱的兴趣首先在文学。他心目中的神明是陶渊明、保罗·瓦莱里[8]、蒙田、莎士比亚、拉辛[9]和帕斯卡[10]。对他们的作品，他是百读不厌。他朗诵瓦莱里的诗篇，兴致勃勃、津津有味，人们很容易想象是在听一个狂热的传教士就肉欲和邪念的欺骗性发表征战的布道演说。

瓦莱里的格言“为而弗信”，也成了宗岱自己的格言。但是我觉得这

条格言并不是宗岱人生哲学的真实描述。他确实并不相信上帝、进步和永生。但是他肯定相信的，是他自己，是人生之甜美、文学之怡情、女人之可爱。如果有人由于钻研某种艰深的学问长时期闭门苦读而忘掉了什么是生活，去看看宗岱，就能懂得生活是什么了。如果有人由于某种原因而缺乏欲望，就应该去看看宗岱眼睛里的火焰和湿润双唇的激情颤动，借点热量来升温对这感官世界逐渐冷却的兴趣。因为我这一生还从来没有遇到过任何人能像宗岱那样充满生命活力，那样充满对这视、听、嗅、味、触可感世界的动情热爱。只要他活着，我就相信激情、诗和生活全都是好东西——岂止如此，应该说是人在回到最后的归宿以前所能得到的最好的东西。

［第46期，1934年11月15日］

HSU SHEH-YU (舒舍予)

Among the readers of the contemporary Chinese literature, the name Hsu Sheh-yu is seldom heard, but with his nom de plume "Lao Sheh" (老舍) it's quite a different story. Among his better known works are "Lao Chang's Philosophy" (老张的哲学), his maiden effort which, though written years ago, is still "going strong" in sales, and "Po's Birthday"(坡的生日), a work modestly appraised by himself as "comparatively satisfactory." The author himself likes it because, as he puts it, "I like children. Although I am a middle-aged man, I still retain, to some extent, the innocence of my childhood."

The speech he delivered to the students of the Tsing-tao Municipal Middle School and published in The China Times some time ago, was largely autobiographical, because the topic he was requested to speak on was "My Experience in Writing," so we have here the opportunity to look at, not his intimate portrait, but his self-portrait, which will be far more satisfactory.

"When I was a child," he began, "I had no special talent. In the 'private school' of the old days, I was often beaten by the teacher. When I entered a 'new school,' because of my previous study of the classics, my record in Chinese was comparatively better. In spare time I still kept on reading the classics. I entered a normal school for my secondary education, and I paid more attention to education and Chinese classics than any other subject. If there were government examination for the graduating classes as we have now, surely I would not be able to pass these examinations….

"I love old poetry too," he continued, "when the poems are 'plain like our daily language.' I love botany and I love to plant flowers….

"When I was young, I was not a good 'mixer' and I often laughed at people's doing with scorn, sarcastic laugh. But when I left school to work, then I realized that I hadn't been always right…."

"When I was 25, I taught in the Nankai Middle School," Lao Sheh was now coming to his experience in writing, "most of my colleagues were fond of writing stories, and I wrote one too. That was twelve years ago…. I discovered then that I had the talent to 'crack jokes,' which was inborn and not acquired. Half of the merit in my writing is due to my fluent tongue…." Mr. Hsu is certainly right, for he is one of the few writers who write really good Pekingese mandarin.

"At 27, I went to England, which changed my ideas radically. Had I remained in China, I would never have thought of taking fiction writing seriously…." But to England he went, and young China ought to feel grateful about it.

[No. 47; Nov. 22, 1934]

舒舍予[1]

在当代中国文学的读者群中，很少人听说过舒舍予这个名字，但是提到他的笔名老舍，情况就不一样了。在他知名的作品中，有《老张的哲学》，他的处女作，至今仍在旺销。还有《小坡的生日》，他自己谦称“比较满意”。作者自己喜欢，据他说，是因为“我喜欢孩子。虽然我已是中年人，但在某种程度上，还保留着童年的天真”。[2]

他在青岛市立中学对学生们所讲，前不久刊登在《中国时报》上的那篇演讲，基本上是自传性的，因为请他讲的题目是“我的写作经验”[3]，于是我们有机会在这里看到的，就不是“亲切写真”，而是他的“自画像”，可以令人满意的程度会远大于前者。

“我小时候，”他开始道，“并没有什么特殊才能。老早读私塾时，常挨老师打。进了新学堂，由于以前读过古文，成绩就比较好了一些。有闲空功夫，我会继续研读古文学。我受的中等教育，是在一所师范学校，和其他科目相比，我更偏重教育和古文。如果有现在这种国家统一毕业考试，我一定会通不过……”

“我也喜欢古诗词，”他继续说，“如果那些诗‘明白如同日常说话’。我喜欢植物学，我喜欢栽花……”

“年轻时，我不善于交际，常用轻蔑的冷笑嘲笑别人做的事情。但是当我离开学校开始工作，我才意识到我并不总是正确……”

“25岁那一年，我在南开中学教书，”接下去他谈到他的写作经验，“我的同事大都爱写小说，我也写了一篇。那是12年前……这时我才发现，我有说笑话的才能，这是与生俱有，而不是后天获得的。我写作的长处，一半要归功于流畅的语言。……”舒先生说得十分正确，因为他是能用纯正北京官话写作的少数作家之一。

“27岁，我到了英国，我的思想发生极大的改变。如果留在国内，我永远也不会想到要认真对待小说写作……”但是，他到了英国，年轻的中国应该感谢他能有此行。

［第47期；1934年11月22日］

MR. EUGANE SHEN (沈有乾)

Self-effacement is not necessarily a virtue. With many people, it is simply a pose—a pose intended to be ironical and mocking; in other words, an understatement carried to absurdity, so that its thin veil of disguise may be easily, as it is meant to be, penetrated. There are cases, to be sure, to which the above does not apply. With Mr. Shen, for instance, one feels that self-effacement cannot be anything but genuine. He has no desire to impress others; because he of all men truly possesses a sense of humour. The ability to see himself as others see him helps him to realize that to clamour for attention is merely to lend oneself to ridicule. In the company of strangers, or even of friends and acquaintances, Mr. Shen is always the good listener. In fact, one has seen him sitting through a feast for hours on end without uttering a single word.

It must not be understood that Mr. Shen is a poor talker. On the contrary, he could be very eloquent, when he is excited, which, however, he seldom is. At school, he was well known as a debater and orator. He also took part in theatricals, and was a member of the college glee club. According to the theory of Dr. Adler, a man who possesses a natural defect has a tendency to over-compensate it by developing the corresponding faculty so that he eventually becomes superior in just that respect in which he was originally inferior. When he was young, Mr. Shen was a hopeless stammerer. Whether, like Demosthenes, his later penchant for success in public speaking and amateur dramatics is a proof of Dr. Adler's thesis or not is of course a question which we cannot discuss here. But the fact that he finally trained himself to speak without strain or difficulty definitely shows that he must have a very strong power of will.

Pursuing this psychological discussion, learned scholars could undoubtedly draw the conclusion also that Mr. Shen's sense of humour is in reality a sort of compensation or defense mechanism for his feeling of natural inferiority. That of course may be so. Readers of The Analects can bear out my statement that Mr. Shen's humourous writings are almost without exception most delightful reading. In fact, I have no hesitation to say that he and Lao Sheh are two of the best humourists that China has produced in recent years.

Mr. Shen is a professor at National Chekiang University. His forte is

statistics and symbolic logic; he has contributed articles on the former subject to many learned journals abroad, and he has also invented a system of notations for symbolic logic all his own, which has won the praise of the late Mrs. Ladd-Franklin and even Dr. Sheffer, whom Bertrand Russell in Principia Mathematica calls the Einstein of symbolic logic.

Primarily, Mr. Shen's fame rests on his studies in experimental psychology—the subject which he professes at Chekiang. However, so far he has not written any book on psychology, although he has already published a volume on the theories of modern logistics. The reason for this is not far to seek, as we have said at the beginning, Mr. Shen is a very modest man.

[No. 48; Nov. 29, 1934]

沈有乾先生[1]

谦逊未必就是美德。对于许多人来说，那只是一种姿态——一种意在嘲讽的姿态；换句话说，一种自我贬抑的陈述，由于自贬到了荒谬的程度，那层故意自贬的薄纱，也就很容易如所预期地那样被看透。的确，有些情况和以上所述并不相符。沈先生就是一例，人们觉得他的谦逊就不可能不真诚。他并不想惹人注意，而他偏偏有一种真正的幽默感。能够像别人看自己那样来看自己，使他意识到，招人注意只能引来讥嘲。与陌生人在一起，甚至与朋友和熟人在一起，沈先生总是一个理想的倾听者。事实上，有人就曾经看见沈先生在一次宴会上一言不发，一连静坐了几个小时。

不能以为沈先生就不善言辞。恰恰相反，一旦激动起来，他也可能口若悬河，只是他很少激动。在学校时，他曾以擅长辩论和演说闻名。他还参加过戏剧演出，而且是合唱队队员。根据阿德勒医生[2]的理论，一个有先天缺陷的人往往喜欢过分补偿来发展相应的能力，以便在原本处于劣势的方面最终占据优势。沈先生年轻时，口吃得厉害。至于他后来对公开演讲和业余演出的爱好——像狄摩西尼[3]一样——是否印证了阿德勒的理论，当然不是我们在这里所能讨论的问题。但是，他终于把自己锻炼得言谈自如、毫无障碍，却足以表明他必定具有非常坚强的意志。

按照这种心理学讨论，有见识的学者一定也会得出以下结论，即沈先生的幽默感其实是对于他先天缺陷自卑感的补偿或防卫机制。当然，那是可能的。《论语》[4]的读者会证实我的说法：沈先生的幽默作品几

乎无一例外地都很有趣。事实上，我可以毫不犹豫地说，他和老舍是中国近年来最优秀的幽默作家。

沈先生目前是国立浙江大学的教授。他的专长是统计学和符号逻辑学。他一直在给国外许多学术刊物撰写统计学文章，还为符号逻辑学发明了一套自己的符号体系，并为此而赢得了已故莱德–富兰克林夫人[5]甚至谢佛博士[6]的赞誉——罗素在《数学原理》一书中把谢佛博士称为“符号逻辑学的爱因斯坦”。

沈先生的声誉，首先建立在他对实验心理学的研究之上——那也是他在浙江大学教授的学科。但是，到目前为止，他还从来没有写过一本有关心理学的著作，倒已经出版了一卷现代逻辑学理论的书。其原因也不难找，我们在本文一开始就说过，他是一个非常谦虚的人。

［第48期，1934年11月29日］

MR. SHENG CHENG (盛成)

Mr. Sheng has told us all about himself in his book Ma Mère. But that was long ago. Lots of things have happened to him since then. He has married, and is now as fond a father as any of us. From being one of the taught, he has now become a teacher for many years among his own people. As private secretary of Chang Chi, he has had a taste of what it is like to be an official. Within the short space of two years, he has seen his country surrender Manchuria, and stage one of the most heroic fights in history in Shanghai. These things have not happened without having their traces on him. If he were to re-write his autobiography now, it would have to be a little different from before. But we doubt whether he'll ever do such a thing. We shall instead do it for him, —not in detail, for which we are not competent, but in the rough, which anybody who has spoken with him and shaken him by the hand can do.

Mr. Sheng looks his age, —the right side of forty. He has a few grey hairs, but his appearance and carriage are those of a man whom Time has only touched up with a light and leisurely hand. He is rather thin and tall, with a slight stoop in his gait. Restless and very much awake, he is most himself when he talks. Then it seems as if he is on the stage. He dramatises what he thinks. It almost appears as if his gestures and bodily movements are more expressive of what he wants to say than the torrent of words that tumble out of his mouth. Is it economics he is talking about? There is certainly logic and a good deal of sense in what he says. But what has the rightness or wrongness of a dramatis persona's economic views got to do with his acting? If the acting is good, we let the economic views take care of themselves. So also with Mr. Sheng. We attend to his expressive gestures and movements when he talks about economics, but we ignore his economics. Is it about Mallarmé, Romain Rolland and André Gide he is excited about? We are impressed by his excitement, but we very soon forget all he has to say about those idols of his. The acting is the thing.

This dramatic quality of Mr. Sheng's character is especially borne out by the manner he reads poetry. It is dramatic rather than recitative. In other words, we get a better idea of what he is reading by looking at him, than by listening to him. The modulations of his voice, his gestures and the swift changes of expression on his face, are those of an actor of poetry, and not of a

reader of poetry.

This dramatic quality in Mr. Sheng would lead us to infer that his is a complex character. But strange to say, our first impression of him is of a naive person. His exuberant manner, his buoyancy, and his apparently reckless flow of words are undoubtedly responsible for this impression. But this impression is wrong. Mr. Sheng is a man of the world. He has been through much, and he has seen much and what is more, he has profited much from his experiences. The mind that directs that reckless flow of words is not reckless; it is very sensitive to atmosphere and persons. When it scents danger, it can shut itself up as effectively as an oyster. The flow of words may still go on, but as the ocean round a shut oyster. We get words and words, but not Mr. Sheng Cheng.

What is the real Sheng Cheng like? We don't exactly know. But this we know: he is neither so bad as his enemies make him out to be, nor so good as his friends imagine. He is like fire: its essence is to burn and to give warmth. Doesn't Mr. Sheng do that by his tremendous enthusiasm for causes, —good, bad and indifferent?

[No. 49; Dec. 6, 1934]

盛成先生[1]

盛先生在他所著《我的母亲》一书中，把自己的情况全都给我们讲过了。不过，那已经是很久以前了。从那以来，他又经历了很多事情。他已经结婚，现在像我们中的任何人一样，也是个疼爱孩子的父亲了。他从一个受教育的学生变成自己国家的教师也已经多年。作为张继[2]的私人秘书，他也领略了一点为官的滋味。在短短两年之内，他已经看到自己的国家放弃了东三省，并在上海开展了一场历史上无比英勇的战斗[3]。这些事情的发生在他的心灵留下了深刻的印迹。如果他现在重写自传，一定会和以前有所不同。但是我们怀疑，他是不是会重写传记。我们将代他来做这件事情——不可能详细，我们也胜任不了；但是粗略的概述，任何一个与他说过话、握过手的人都能写。

盛先生的长相和年龄相当——四十出头，有几丝白发，但是他的容貌和仪态都表明，时光老人只是随意、轻轻触摸了他一下。他身材高而相当瘦，走起路来有点驼背。他生性好动，非常清醒，说起话来最有精神，就像登上了舞台。他能把所想的像演戏似地表演出来，好像他的手

势和肢体动作都要比滔滔不绝从他嘴里说出来的话语更能传情达意。他是在谈经济学问题吗？他所谈的确实合乎逻辑、合乎情理。但是，一个剧中人的经济观点的是与非和他的表演又有什么关系呢？只要他表演得好，那他的经济观点如何就无所谓了。对于盛先生，情况也是这样。我们注意到他谈论经济问题时富于表现力的手势和动作，但是我们并不关心他的经济观点。他谈得那么激动的是马拉梅[4]、罗曼·罗兰[5]、安德列·纪德[6]吗？我们对他的兴奋有深刻印象，但是很快就会忘记他为他那几个偶像都说过什么。重要的是表演。

盛先生身上的戏剧特点尤其在他读诗的方式上显得更加突出，那更像是演戏而不是朗诵。换句话说，我们看着他比支着耳朵听更能理解他读了些什么。他嗓音的抑扬顿挫、手势和面部表情的迅速变化，全都属于诗歌表演者，而不属于诗歌朗诵者。

盛先生身上的这种戏剧性特点，会让我们觉得他的个性比较复杂。但是说来奇怪，他给我们的第一印象却是一个天真幼稚的人。给我们形成这种印象的，显然是他那充满活力的态度、轻松愉快的样子和滔滔不绝的话语。但是这样的印象是错误的，盛先生可是个老于世故的人。他经得多，见得广，并且从阅历中受益无穷。指导那滔滔不绝话语的头脑并不鲁莽，对环境、对人感觉都很灵敏，一旦嗅到了危险的气息，就会像牡蛎一样立刻把自己密闭起来。滔滔不绝的话语还会继续下去，但是，那就像一只闭合牡蛎周围的大海。我们得到的是话语，而不是盛成先生。

真正的盛成究竟是什么样的？我们知道得并不确切。但是，我们知道：他既不像他的敌人所描绘的那样坏，也不像他的朋友所想象的那样好。他像一团火，火的本质是燃烧，是发热。无论是好事、坏事或平庸的事情，盛先生不都是以他极大的热情在燃烧、在发热吗？

［第49期，1934年12月6日］

LIU HAI-SOU (刘海粟) & LI CHING-HUI (黎锦晖)

Mr. Li Ching-hui is a writer of popular songs, while Mr. Liu Hai-sou is the president of a fine arts academy. That they are both "artists" is no reason for putting them on the same canvas; the reason is rather that they are alike in one respect, namely they are two of the most misunderstood persons today. They have been called charlatans and impostors, and in the case of Mr. Li, he has also been stigmatized as an immoralist. To be sure, the latter epithet was applied to Mr. Liu too once, but that was the time when the employment of female models in art schools was considered most shocking. Since then, people have learned to be more lenient in their judgment and have come to see that undraped female forms do not necessarily awaken in us ungodly desires but may in fact be objects of beauty. The people who upbraided Mr. Liu for his offence against morality have now forgiven him. He no longer calls forth moral indignations; whatever unfavourable criticisms that have been levelled against him at present come instead from the ranks of those who are suffering not so much from having a moral conscience as from an esthetic one. No one takes any notice of the imperfections of Liu as a man, but as an artist, not a few have taken him severely to task.

In the case of Mr. Li Ching-hui, however, he has never enjoyed any such change of fortune. From the very beginning of his career till today, he has been shunned by society as a person vulgar and depraved beyond the hope of redemption. He not only has written songs that appeal especially to maid-servants and cabaret girls, but also has the bad taste of permitting his wife and daughter to act in the films. The self-appointed guardians of public morals flock to see the girl-choruses trained by him, and are grieved to see that the young should be exposed to the temptations which they themselves find to be so irrestible. They shake their hoary heads, and lick their parched lips—and come home with the determination that such exhibitions of womanly charms should be banned, in the interest of social ethics and their own peace of mind.

Musicians also have heaped abuses upon Mr. Li, and have found many faults with his compositions. But in spite of all that, Mr. Li is as popular as ever. The reason is of course not far to seek. Although he employs the

technique of Western music, his tunes are essentially Chinese. He is not content with copying others—that is why he has been called an ignoramus and an upstart by the other musicians in China.

Like Li, Liu Hai-sou also believes that the traditional art of painting in China has an intrinsic value which may not be inferior to that of the West. His attempt at combining the good qualities of the two forms of art in his own paintings may not be successful, but they are at least not unnoteworthy. He may not deserve emulation, but he certainly does not deserve calumny and abuse. They should at least be given a chance!

[No. 50; Dec. 13, 1934]

刘海粟[1]和黎锦晖[2]

黎锦晖先生是通俗歌曲作曲家，刘海粟先生则是一所美术学院的院长。他们都是“艺术家”这一点，并不能成为把他们相提并论的理由。要说理由，他们在一个方面有相似之处：他们是当今受误解最深的两个人。他们都被人们叫做骗子，而黎先生还被说成是道德败坏之人。当然，后一顶帽子也曾给刘先生戴过一次，那是在艺术学校雇用女模特的做法还被认为是伤风败俗的时候。自那以来，人们在评判这样的问题上已经学得宽容了，认识到一丝不挂的女性形体并不一定会勾起我们的淫荡欲望，而确实可以成为审美的对象。曾经严厉斥责刘先生道德败坏的人们现在都已经原谅他，他不会再激起人们的道德愤慨。加之于他的批评，现在并非来自道德良知的谴责，而是来自审美需求得不到满足。再没有人去注意刘先生其人的瑕疵，倒是颇有人对作为艺术家的他严加责备。

但是黎锦晖先生还从来没有遇到这种运气的转变。从他出道之日至今，人们一直把他当作粗俗下流、堕落得不可救药的人而避之唯恐不及。他不仅创作特别吸引女佣和歌舞女郎的歌曲，而且还有听任他的妻子和女儿参与拍摄电影的不良趣味。那些自封的公众道德卫士成群结队来看他排练的女子歌舞团的演出，为年轻人竟然也受到他们自己都非常难以抗拒的诱惑而感到悲痛。他们摇着白发苍苍的脑袋，舔着发干的嘴唇回到家，并下定决心：女性魅力的这样一种展示必须禁止，才能维护社会道德的利益和他们自己心境的安宁。

音乐家也对黎先生骂不绝口，并对他的音乐作品吹毛求疵。尽管如此，黎先生依然受到欢迎。原因当然也不难寻找。他虽然采用了西方音

乐的技巧，曲调却是中国式的。他不满足于模仿别人——这就是别的中国音乐家说他不学无术、自命不凡的缘故。

和黎锦晖一样，刘海粟也相信，中国的传统绘画艺术自有其不低于西方绘画的内在价值。他试图把两种艺术形式的优点在自己的绘画中揉合起来的努力，可能还不成功，但是，至少是值得关注的。他也许不值得仿效，但是，也不该受到诽谤和辱骂。至少，应该给他们一个机会。

［第50期，1934年12月13日］

MR. LI SHIH-CH'EN (李石岑)

The late Mr. Li Shih-ch'en was well known as a teacher of philosophy. Personally, however, I like to think of him more as a poet than as a philosopher, that is to say, more as a man of feeling than as a man of intellect.

To instill poetry into philosophy could of course be done, but it is by no means within everyone's reach. Only such first rate geniuses as Dante and Goethe are capable of it. For, in one sense, philosophy is opposed to poetry, or, at least, to the spirit which underlies all poetry. No one perhaps has ever better understood the distinction between the two than Plato. In The Republic, he made Socrates address Glaucon thus: "Yes, my dear Glaucon, for great is the issue at stake, greater than it appears, whether a man is to be good or bad. And what will one be profited if under the influence of honour or money or power, aye, under the excitement of poetry, he neglects justice and virtue?" Plato is a rationalist through and through, in his opinion poetry, appeals solely to the "spirited" and the "emotional" part of our nature; its guiding principle is "pleasure and pain"and not virtue and justice. Poets are only enamoured with their senses and the sorry play of the shadow-images on the walls of the cavernous regions, described so eloquently by Plato in his allegory. Ignorant of "the true existence of things," they are apt to mistake their private delights and pleasures for beauty itself.

But, be it understood, such indictment is only directed against false poetry; for, as Plato elsewhere said, true poetry, which is the discernment of absolute beauty, is equivalent to philosophy itself. Unfortunately, true poetry is difficult as it is rare, and its cultivators and devotees are few. Among these, the late Mr. Li could not be not numbered, for he was too much of a sensualist to be a lover of absolute beauty, and too much of a seeker of pleasure to be a lover of wisdom. He was a student of philosophy, yes, but only per accidens. Philosophy was only one of the many splendid garments which he sometimes put on; its pursuance gave him pleasure, but one doubts if it ever gave him genuine satisfaction or wisdom. His Casanovesque proclivities, which, alas, are only too well known, often stood in his way and made it impossible for him to realize, as Plato did, that the craving for physical union is only a manifestation of our love of immortality, to achieve which truly, one has to "pass from one fair form to all fair forms, from fair forms to beautiful deeds, from beautiful deeds to beautiful conceptions, until

from beautiful conceptions comes the knowledge of beauty supreme."

Mr. Li's favourite philosophers are Nietzsche, Guyau and Bergson. For these thinkers gave him a justification for what he believed and acted on instinct. The sowing of wild oats, with him, is only the conscientious and consistent application of the doctrines of élan vital and the "Will to Power." The taking of virginity gave him a sense of his own vitality, and incidentally confirmed also Guyau's teaching that the good man is the man who could not contain himself, and is eternally over-flowing with the energy of life. Unfortunately, society being what it is, could not bring itself to appreciate the strange doings of the race of Supermen, and for this reason, Mr. Li has been branded by it as a scamp and a rascal.

But, then, as I have said before, one must do Mr. Li justice. Mr. Li has been more sinned against than sinning; the irregularities of his life, deplorable though they may be, are nevertheless not inexcusable, if we were to judge them from the point of view of Spinoza's God. What he did are neither good nor bad, but simply necessary, because he only acted according to his nature, which is that of a man too much in love with the pleasures of the senses to have any concern for virtue and justice. He is beyond good and evil, as all true followers of Nietzsche should be. But like Nietzsche he too is not a philosopher, but a rhapsodist. Had he lived longer, he might have written a collection of dithyrambics, worthy to be ranked with Also Sprach Zarathustra. As he died too soon, however, he has only several textbooks and manuals on the history of philosophy to his credit.

[No. 51; Dec. 20, 1934]

李石岑先生[1]

已故的李石岑先生是一位著名的哲学教授。然而就我个人而言，我更愿意认为他是诗人而不是哲学家，也就是说，更是个有感情而不是有智力的人。

把诗注入哲学，当然可行，却不是人人力所能及，只有但丁和歌德这样第一流的天才才能做到。因为，在一定意义上，哲学和诗是对立的，或至少和诗的基本精神是对立的。或许，没有人比柏拉图[2]更懂得两者之间的区别了。在《理想国》中，他让苏格拉底[3]对格劳孔[4]这样说：“不错，亲爱的格劳孔，一个人是善是恶关系重大，要比表面上看

到的重大。如果一个人受到荣誉、财富或是权力的影响，甚或是在诗的煽动下而忽略了正义和美德，对他能有什么好处？”柏拉图是一个彻头彻尾的理性主义者；在他看来，诗，只能诉诸我们本性中活泼和感情的部分，其指导原则是“快乐与痛苦”，而不是美德和正义。诗人只迷恋于他们的感觉和洞壁上柏拉图在寓言中描述得十分生动的那种拙劣的投影。他们对“事物的真实存在”一无所知，就容易把个人的欢乐和快感错以为是美本身。

但是，应该明白，这种批评所针对的只是伪诗；因为柏拉图在另一个场合说，真诗是对绝对的美的领悟，等同于哲学本身。不幸的是，真诗难作而且罕有，真诗的作者和爱好者都为数极少。而在这少数人中，已故的这位李先生不能不算一个。他过分耽溺于感官享受而不会热爱绝对美，过分热衷于寻求欢乐而难以成为一名爱智者。他是个哲学的研究学者，没错，但是完全出于偶然。哲学只是他有时会穿在身上的诸多华丽外衣中的一件。对哲学的探求给他带来快乐，但是人们怀疑哲学是否带给他过真正的满足或智慧。他那广为人知的卡萨诺瓦[5]式的癖好，常常对他构成障碍，使他难以像柏拉图那样认识到，渴望肉体结合只是我们向往不朽的一种表现；而要实现不朽，人们确实就不得不“从一个美好形体转向尽可能多的美好形体，从美好的形体到美的行为，从美的行为到美的理念，直到从美的理念获得对于崇高美的认知”[6]。

李先生喜爱的哲学家是尼采、居约[7]和柏格森[8]，因为这三位思想家给了他依据本能所信、所做的正当理由。放荡的行为，就他而言，只是在自觉而始终一贯地实践“生命的冲动”和“权力意志”的学说。占有童贞可使他意识到自己的生命活力，同时也顺便证实了居约所教导的，好人就是无法控制自己、永远泛溢出生命活力的人。不幸的是，目前的社会还无法欣赏“超人”类的怪诞行径，因此李先生便被斥为无赖和流氓。

但是，我在前面已经说过，人们也应该公正地对待李先生。李先生在更大程度上是被冒犯了的而不是冒犯者。他生活中的不正当行为，虽然可耻，然而，从斯宾诺莎[9]的“上帝”看来，却并不是不可原谅的。他的所作所为非善非恶，而只是出于需要，因为他完全按照本性行动，这种本性过分贪恋感官享乐而毫不顾及美德和正义。他是超越善恶的，就像所有真正的尼采信徒一样。但是就像尼采一样，他也不是个哲学家，而是一个狂热分子。如果能活得更长久一些，他很可能会写出堪与《查拉图斯特拉如是说》[10]媲美的充满激情的文章。然而，他英年早逝，只编写了几本哲学史的教科书和手册。

［第51期，1934年12月20日］

MR. S. G. CHENG (程锡庚)

Mr. Cheng is now Special Commissioner for Foreign Affairs in North China. No more suitable person could possibly have been appointed for that difficult post. Mr. Cheng for the last ten years has done many things, but he has never throughout that time forsaken his interest in the study of the foreign relations of China. The Manchurian crisis has elicited a few short, but highly enlightening, articles in the Chinese press on special aspects of that Japanese adventure. What is more, his knowledge of Foreign Affairs is not derived, like 99 per cent of our Foreign Office officials, only from the reading of dailies between the last snores of early morning and breakfast, but is the provident harvest of a mind that not only studiously garners its facts from dull memoranda and worm-eaten tomes, but weighs and considers them for ready use in the "plots and marshalling of affairs." He is what Bacon would call a "full man,"—one who has the humour of a scholar and the aptness of a practical man "in the judgment and disposition of business."

Mr. Cheng was born at Chinkiang (镇江), Kiangsu, in 1894. He is a graduate of Kiangnan Provincial College (江南高等学堂), Nanking, and is a Chu Jen (举人＝M.A.), by Imperial examination. From 1914-1919 he was in the London School of Economics. The number of Chinese students who have studied, or rather registered themselves as students, in the London School of Economics is legion; but few, very few, have come out of that institution with a degree. Mr. Cheng is a brilliant exception. He is a D.Sc. in Economics of London University.

When Mr. Cheng was still studying in England, the Oxford University Press brought out a book of his, entitled Modern China: A Political Study that for the dignity of its tone, the charming cynicism of its general outlook, and the beauty of its simple and forceful English style has not its fellow among English books written by Chinese. One would not read it now for the facts it contains: these have long been dated by events that have happened since its publication. But one can still read it with profit for its wisdom: its reasonableness, not so much of argumentation as of temper, and its fine detachment, which is due more to clear thinking than to any moral sense in him, are qualities that are conspicuous by their almost invariable absence in political treatises, ancient or modern.

For a Chinese, Mr. Cheng is rather tall. He is inclined to be fat. He

walks slowly, but jerkily, with his nose up in the air. His face tends to be on the heavy side. The eyes are clever eyes: they have as much sharpness in them as depth. There is a touch of grey in the hair. And in the suave manner and suave voice, there is more than a suspicion of condescension and well-bred contempt towards the rest of Adam's progeny. The upward direction of the indentures where the lips meet is expressive of a habit of caustic speech and derision. Perhaps, the most comprehensive formula to describe the sort of man Mr. Cheng is would be to say that he is a Chinese Prussian gentleman!

[No. 52; Dec. 27, 1934]

程锡庚先生[1]

程先生现任外交部驻华北特派员。被委任如此艰巨的任务，他是再合适不过的人选了。近十年来，程先生做过许多事情，但是从不曾放弃对于中国外交关系的研究。东三省危机促使他就日本这次冒险行动的若干方面，在中文报纸上发表了几篇字数不多却极发人深省的文章。更值得一提的是，他的外事知识，并不像我国百分之九十九的外交官员那样仅仅来自于晨鼾乍停、早餐未进时的报纸阅读，而是有心人未雨绸缪的收获。他不仅孜孜不倦地从枯燥乏味的备忘录和虫蠹蛀蚀的鸿篇巨制中收集和积累资料，而且还从策划和处理现实事务的角度加以衡量和考虑，以备不时之需。他是培根[2]可以称为“完满”的那种人：在具体事务的判断和处置方面，不乏学者的幽默而又具有实干家的敏捷。

程先生1894年出生于江苏镇江，毕业于南京江南高等学堂，经乡试而成为举人（相当于硕士）。1914至1919年间，就读于伦敦经济学院。当时就读于伦敦经济学院，或者该说是在那里注册入学的中国留学生为数极多，但是只有极少几个取得了学位。程先生是个出色的例外，他是伦敦大学的经济学博士。

程先生尚在英国留学时，牛津大学出版社就出过他的一本书，题为《现代中国政治研究》，语调庄重，总体观点愤世嫉俗，文体简洁有力，在中国人写的英语著作中鲜有其匹。现在，我们不会为了查考某些事实再去翻阅它，此书出版以来又发生过许多事情，事实已经陈旧。但是，我们仍能够从书中的智慧受益：那种植根于性情而不是论辩的合理，来源于思路清晰而不只是道德观念的超脱，都是他的著述明显的特质，这在古往今来的政论中几乎是从来没有的。

作为中国人，程先生的个头略高，身体开始发胖，走起路来速度不

快，一颠一颠地，鼻孔朝天。五官不甚精致，眼睛是聪明人的眼睛，深沉而且敏锐。头发有点灰白。在他温文尔雅的举止和温文尔雅的谈吐中，暗含着对于其他亚当子孙[3]不只是一星半点的傲慢和文雅得体的轻蔑。那嘴角边向上翘起的皱纹，表明他出言刻薄、喜爱讥嘲的习惯。也许，要描述程先生这种人，可以概括为这样一句话，他是一个中国的普鲁士绅士。[4]

［第52期，1934年12月27日］

注释

吴宓先生，学者和君子

1　吴宓（1894—1978）中国学者、诗人、教育家。字雨僧，陕西泾阳人。1911年入清华学堂（1912年改名清华学校）中等科，1916年毕业于清华留美预备学校高等科（1928年改名清华大学）。1917年赴美国留学，攻读新闻学；1918年改读西洋文学，毕业于弗吉尼亚大学英文系，获文学学士学位；又入哈佛大学研究生院比较文学系，获硕士学位。对19世纪英国文学尤其是浪漫主义诗人作品的研究有过不少论著。1921年回国，任教于南京高师和国立东南大学文学院，讲授世界文学史等课程。在东南大学与梅光迪、柳诒徵一同主编1922年创刊之《学衡》，于新旧文化取径独异，别成一派。他撰写了“中国的新与旧”、“论新文化运动”等论文，采古典主义，抨击新体自由诗，主张维持中国文化遗产的应有价值，尝以“中国的白璧德”自任。离开东南大学后到东北大学、清华大学外文系任教授。1925年任清华学校研究院主任。1930年游学欧洲，又在牛津大学和巴黎大学修学年余，所学极博。1941年被教育部聘为首批部聘教授之一。1943年至1944年代理西南联大外文系主任，1944年秋到成都燕京大学任教，1945年9月改任四川大学外文系教授，1946年2月任武昌华中大学（现华中师范大学）外文系主任。1947年1月起主编《武汉日报》文学副刊一年。1949年4月飞重庆任相辉文法学院外语教授，兼任梁漱溟主持的北碚勉仁文学院文学教授，入蜀定居。1950年4月两院相继撤销，进入新成立的四川教育学院，9月又随校并入西南师范学院，在历史系（后到中文系）任教。1978年病逝。著有《吴宓诗集》、《文学与人生》、《吴宓自编年谱》等，遗有《吴宓日记》。

2　歌德（Johann Wolfgang von Goethe，1749—1832）德国诗人、剧作家、思想家。深受莱辛、卢梭和斯宾诺莎的影响，和席勒交谊深厚，青年时期为狂飙运动的主要人物。政治上反对封建割据，渴望德意志统一，主张自上而下的社会改革。著有小说《少年维特的烦恼》和不朽的诗剧《浮士德》等。

3　这句话的原文是意大利语，林语堂认为此话出自但丁，待考。

4　《学衡》，综合性刊物。1922年1月在南京创刊，月刊，后改为双月刊。吴宓主编，主要撰稿者有梅光迪、胡先骕等。曾反对新文化运动和白话文运动，介绍西方古典文学，所发表的文章均用文言文。1933年7月停刊，11年间共出版79期。现代文学史上，把这个杂志的主要撰稿者

称为“学衡派”。

5　白璧德（Irving Babbitt，1865—1933）美国文学评论家、教师，新人文主义美学创始人之一。是浪漫主义、现实主义和自然主义的坚决反对者。主张文学恢复以“适度性”为核心的人文主义传统，以“人的法则”来反对“物的法则”，其作用是给人以道德的知识　。认为自然主义的倾向（包括浪漫主义、批判现实主义等思潮）只服从“物的法则”，会牺牲美的全部含义，应该加以否定。艾略特和桑塔亚那都曾经是他的追随者，后来却成为他的批判者；而吴宓始终是他忠实的学生。著有《新拉奥孔》、《卢梭与浪漫主义》、《批评家与美国生活》等。

6　道森（Ernest Christopher Dowson，1867—1900）19世纪末英国颓废派的杰出诗人，曾积极参加颓废派作家集团的“吟诗俱乐部”，崇拜爱伦·坡、波德莱尔和斯温伯恩。著有《诗集》、《装饰》等。

7　波德莱尔（Charles Baudelaire，1821—1867）法国现代派诗人。他摈弃了后期浪漫主义的矫揉造作，表现了一个没有宗教信仰的诗人对万事万物真实意义的探索。使他声名狼藉的诗集《恶之华》，也是他的杰作。他的文学和艺术批评文章分别结集为《浪漫主义艺术》和《美学管窥》。晚年贫病交迫，去世后其影响与日俱增。欧美象征主义诗人都自称是他的继承者。

8　瓦莱里（Paul　Valéry，1871—1945）法国诗人、评论家、思想家。他最欣赏的诗人是爱伦·坡和马拉美，与马拉美过从甚密。1917年因发表了五年才完稿的长诗《年轻的命运女神》而一举成名。1920年出版《旧诗集存》，1922年出版《幻美集》，脍炙人口的《海滨墓园》就是其中一首。他在这首诗里对存在与幻灭、生与死进行了反思，是他最富有哲理也最抒情的一首诗。

9　维吉尼亚·伍尔夫（Virginia Woolf，1882—1941）英国女作家，婚前姓斯蒂芬。对小说形式的创新有过独特的贡献，是“意识流”手法的创始者，也是当时最优秀的评论家之一。著有小说《远航》、《夜与日》、《雅各的房间》、《黛洛维夫人》、《奥尔兰多》、《海浪》等，长篇论文《一间自己的房间》。在写完《幕与幕之间》后，精神病复发，投河自杀。

10　奥尔德斯·赫胥黎（Aldous　Huxley，1894—1963）英国作家，神秘主义者。著有《针锋相对》、《猿与本质》和《感觉之门》等。

11　荷马（Homer，约公元前9世纪—前8世纪）古希腊诗人，专事行吟的盲歌手。相传为著名史诗《伊利亚特》和《奥德赛》的作者。关于荷马是否确有其人、他的生存年代以及两部史诗的形成，争论很多，构成

欧洲文学史上所谓的“荷马问题”。

12　维吉尔（Virgil，公元前70—前19）古罗马最伟大的诗人。他的声誉主要来源于其著作《伊尼特》。这部民族史诗记述了罗马传说中开国者的故事，并且宣称罗马负有在神意指导下教化世界的使命。

13　但丁（Dante　Alighieri，1265—1321）意大利诗人，中古到文艺复兴的过渡时期最有代表性的作家。代表作《神曲》广泛反映中世纪后期意大利的社会矛盾，大胆谴责教皇和僧侣的贪婪专横。《帝制论》主张政教分离，反对教皇干预政治。《论俗语》主张意大利应有标准的民族语言，对意大利民族语言的统一有重大贡献。

14　弥尔顿（John Milton，1608—1674）英国诗人、政论家。1640年至1660年间发表政论多篇，捍卫民主，反对专制，其中重要的有《论出版自由》和《为英国人民声辩》。1649年任克伦威尔共和政府的拉丁文秘书，1652年双目失明，仍继续任职。王政复辟后被迫隐居，先后写成三部重要长诗：《失乐园》、《复乐园》和《力士参孙》。《失乐园》用《圣经》故事塑造了叛逆者撒旦的英雄形象。

15　拜伦（George Gordon Byron，1788—1824）英国浪漫主义诗人，出身贵族，学生时代即深受启蒙思想影响。1809年至1811年游历西班牙、希腊、土耳其等国，受各国人民反侵略、反压迫斗争的鼓舞，开始创作长诗《恰尔德·哈罗尔德游记》，表达对封建专制压迫的憎恨、对自由民主的向往。长诗的前两章于1812年出版，拜伦便一举成名。后来又写了一系列叙事长诗《异教徒》、《海盗》、《莱拉》、《该隐》、《曼弗雷德》和《唐璜》等，影响遍及全欧，给整个浪漫主义文学时代打上了他的烙印。

16　《恰尔德·哈罗尔德》，即拜伦的自传体长诗《恰尔德·哈罗尔德游记》。

马君武

1　马君武（1881—1940）广西桂林人，中国教育家、翻译家、学者、社会活动家，广西大学创建人之一。早年就读于桂林体用学堂。1900年入广州法国天主教会所办丕崇书院学法文。1901年入上海震旦学院，同年冬赴日本京都大学读化学。1905年8月第一批加入同盟会，和黄兴、陈天华等人共同起草同盟会章程，并为《民报》撰稿。1906年回国，任上海中国公学教习。1907年赴德国，入柏林工业大学学冶金。首次翻译《共产党宣言》纲领，在《民报》上发表。1911年武昌起义爆发后回国，作为广西代表参与起草《临时政府组织大纲》和《中华民国临时约

法》，并任南京临时政府实业部次长。1912年出任国会参议员。1913年二次革命失败，出国，再赴德入柏林大学。1916年获工学博士回国，恢复国会议员职。1917年7月南下广州参加孙中山护法运动，任广州军政府交通部长。1921年任孙中山非常大总统总统府秘书长，并一度任广西省省长。1924年和冯自由、章炳麟等人发表宣言，反对国民党改组和联俄、联共、扶助农工等三大政策。同一年，任上海大夏大学首任校长。1925年出任北洋政府司法总长、教育总长，被国民党第二次全国代表大会开除党籍。1928年参与创办省立广西大学，曾三任广西大学校长。1931年九一八事变后，马君武作诗《哀沈阳》两首，讽喻张学良。1940年8月1日，在桂林病逝。

2　麦加（Mecca）是伊斯兰教的第一圣地。这里是借用其引申义。

3　农学，当为化学；工学，当为冶金学。

4　其实，中山先生的这个头衔Dr.和林文庆的Dr.一样，也是“医生”，因为他不曾获得过博士学位。这里仍按习惯译为博士。

5　弥勒约翰，即约翰·穆勒。

赵元任

1　赵元任（1892—1982）语言学家，翻译家。字宣仲，一作宜重。清代著名文学家、诗论家、史学家赵翼（1727—1814）之六世孙。江苏武进人，生于天津。1910年，以第二名的成绩考取清华学堂“庚子赔款”留美官费生，同年秋与胡适同入康奈尔大学，主修数学。1914年夏，获两学会荣誉奖，同年获理学士学位。毕业后又在康奈尔大学修读哲学，后转哈佛大学，1918年获哲学博士学位，翌年任康奈尔大学物理学讲师。1920年初向康大请假一年，回国任清华学校心理学和物理教授。1921年入哈佛大学习语音学，翌年发表自行创制的罗马字拼音式，同年任哈佛大学哲学系讲师，教授中文。1923年升任该校中文系教授，兼任清华学校研究院国学门导师。1924年赴英，转法、比、德、瑞士等国，再回法国。1925年与刘半农一家结伴回国，任清华国学研究院导师。后加入陈寅恪等人组成的国语统一筹备会，后与刘半农、钱玄同、林语堂等人组成“数人会”，议定“国语罗马字拼音法式”。1926年正式从事语音研究。1927年起，赴苏、浙、粤等地调查方言，灌录唱片二千余张。1928年冬，国语统一筹备会易名教育部国语统一筹备委员会，任部聘委员。同年任中华教育文化基金会董事，兼任北平师范大学音乐系教授。1929年任中央研究院语言历史研究所第二组专任研究员兼主任。1934年迁居南京，历任中央研究院评议员、国语推行委员。抗日战争爆发后，辗转前

往檀香山，任夏威夷大学教授。1939年被聘为耶鲁大学客座教授。1940年起，任国语推行委员、哈佛大学教授。抗战胜利后，历任美国语言学会会长、加州大学客座教授、中央研究院第一届院士。1963年应聘为香港大学人文组主席顾问。1981年重访大陆，北京大学授予其名誉博士学位。1982年2月病逝于美国马萨诸塞州坎布里奇。有“汉语言学之父”之称。著有《中国语入门》、《现代吴语的研究》、《语言问题》、《中国话的文法》、《新诗歌集》等，译有《一个女人的自传》、《中国音韵学研究》（合译）、《最后五分钟》、《阿丽思漫游奇境记》等。

2　劳伦斯（D. H. Lawrence，1885—1930）20世纪英国最独特、最有争议的作家和诗人之一。生于英国诺丁汉郡，父亲是矿工，母亲当过教员、写过诗。他中学毕业后当过文书和小学教师。很早就喜欢写作。1912年起和一个老师的德国妻子同居，1914年结婚，过着流浪的生活，到过许多国家，多次企图建立脱离现实的、少数人共同生活的理想公社，都以分歧、争吵告终。一生写过10部长篇小说，最伟大的是《虹》和《恋爱中的女人》，在中国最著名的、颇有争议的却是《查泰莱夫人的情人》。在诗歌创作方面，他是意象派的重要一员。《鸟、兽、花》是对诗歌艺术的独特贡献。他的作品揭示了人性中的本能力量，辛辣地批评了现代工业社会。

3　罗素（Bertrand Russell，1872—1970）英国哲学家、数学家、逻辑学家，20世纪声誉卓著、影响深远的思想家之一。在其漫长的一生中，完成了四十余部著作，涉及哲学、数学、科学、伦理学、社会学、教育、历史、宗教以及政治等各方面。他的首要事业和建树是在数学和逻辑领域，对西方哲学产生了深刻的影响。主要著作有《意义与真理的探究》、《人类的知识：范围和界限》、《数学原理》（与导师怀特海合著）、《物的分析》、《心的分析》、《数学纲要》等。1950年获诺贝尔文学奖。20世纪60年代末出版的三卷本自传，被认为是他的最佳作品。

4　卡罗尔（Lewis Carroll，1832—1898）英国数学家、逻辑学家，原名道奇森（C. L. Dodgson）。他以卡罗尔为笔名所写的两部童话——《阿丽思漫游奇境记》和《镜中世界》——流传极广。两书及其姊妹篇“谐体史诗”《斯纳克之猎》，把所谓“荒诞文学”提到了最高水平。他12岁开始写作，1850年被牛津大学基督学院录取，数学和古典文学成绩超群。1854年期终考试数学第一，后来被任命为数学讲师，直到1881年退休。

5　很像是今日网上文字的先驱：y＝why，　u＝youth，　π＝pie，　2＝tooth。

这首打油诗可以译作：

我从很久很久以前开始，
却找不到一个押韵的字，
此话之接近真理，就像
y之于youth饼之于牙齿。

不由自主的皇帝

1　Malgre Lui，法语；不由自主的，由不得自己的。

2　溥仪（1906—1967），爱新觉罗氏，字耀之，号浩然，英文名Henry。祖父为道光帝七子、咸丰帝之弟奕譞，外祖父为荣禄，生父载沣为光绪帝之弟，后继承醇亲王爵位。光绪三十四年冬（公元1908年），光绪帝载湉病重，慈禧太后下令将溥仪养育在宫中。不久光绪帝去世，慈禧太后命溥仪继承皇统，在慈禧去世后登位，年仅三岁。1911年，辛亥革命爆发，次年2月，溥仪退位。1917年7月1日，北洋军队将领张勋发动政变，宣布清朝复辟。仅12天，溥仪再次逊位。1924年11月5日，冯玉祥的军队包围紫禁城，取消皇帝尊号并且限两天内迁出。1925年2月24日，在郑孝胥和日本人的策划下，经东交民巷日本使馆，溥仪化装成商人逃往天津，居住于日租界。1931年九一八事变后，11月，土肥原将溥仪秘密带往沈阳。18日，伪满洲国宣告成立，溥仪出任执政。1934年3月1日，登基称帝，年号康德。1945年8月16日，为苏联红军逮捕。1950年8月，由苏联政府移交中国政府，被关押在战犯管理所。1959年12月4日，根据特赦令被释放。1960年3月，被分配到北京植物园工作。1964年，调到全国政协文史资料研究委员会任资料专员，并担任第四届全国政协委员。后罹患肾癌，因多重器官衰竭医治无效去世。

3　据记载，坐在溥仪身旁的是父亲载沣，哄着哭闹的小皇帝，说：快了，一会就完。

4　原文to have a grand tussle with some of his subjects that kept on kowtowing to him，其中的tussle，只能作“扭打，争斗；争辩，争执”理解，而用在一个四岁娃娃身上实在不可思议。

5　实为12天。

吴经熊

1　吴经熊（1899—1986）诗人、律师、作家、翻译家。字德生，浙江鄞县人。1920年毕业于上海东吴大学法学院，获法学学士学位。1921年毕业于美国密歇根大学，获法学博士学位。1921年任法国巴黎大学法律哲学与国际公法研究员，1922年任柏林大学哲学与法理学研究员，1923年任哈佛大学比较法律哲学研究员，1924年后任东吴大学法学院教授。1935年创办《天下月刊》（T'ien Hsia Monthly）。1939年当选为美国学术院名誉院士。1949年起先后在夏威夷大学、新泽西州西东大学任法学、亚洲学术教授，1966年定居台湾，任中国文化学院教授，1974年任该校哲学研究所博士班主任。以中文、英文、法文、德文写作，所论多为基督教、中国文学、法律等方面问题。中文著述有《法律哲学研究》、《哲学与文化》、《中国哲学之悦乐精神》等，英文著述有Juristic Essays and Studies（《法学论丛》）、The Art of Law（《法的艺术》）、From Confucianism to Catholicism（《从儒术到天主教》）、Beyond East and West（《超越东西方》）、Fountain of Justice: A Study in Natural Law（《正义之源泉》）、Justice Holmes: A New Estimate（《霍姆斯法官新评价》）等多种。在英汉互译两方面均有很深造诣，汉译英以《英译〈老子道德经〉》和《唐诗四季》为代表作，英译汉曾以《圣咏译义初稿》震动中国译界。

2　惠特曼（Walt Whitman，1819—1892）美国最伟大的诗人之一，是使美国诗歌有别于传统英诗的创始先驱。其诗作描写了美国劳动阶层的生活，表达了强烈的民主主义精神，对中国新诗的形成与发展产生过重大影响。著有收入其一生所作全部诗篇的《草叶集》。

3　王尔德（Oscar Wilde，1854—1900）爱尔兰作家、诗人、剧作家。19世纪末英国唯美主义运动的代表人物，倡导“为艺术而艺术”。著有喜剧《认真的重要》、《少奶奶的扇子》和长篇小说《道林·格雷的肖像》。

4　白哲特（Walter Bagehot，1826—1877），英国经济学家、政论家、《经济学家》主编，所著《英国宪法》（1867）是广为传诵的名著。

5　指东吴大学，是由美国基督教差会监理会1900年创建的教会大学。1915年于上海创设的东吴大学法学院闻名全国，法学界曾有“南东吴，北朝阳”之说。

6　霍姆斯（Oliver Wendell Holmes，1841—1935）美国著名法律史学家和法律哲学家。曾任美国联邦最高法院大法官达30年之久，认为“法律的生命并非逻辑而是经验”，以主张司法克制而闻名。

7　格莱斯顿（William Ewart Gladstone，1809—1898）19世纪英国最伟

大的政治家，英国自由党领袖，曾四次出任首相。著有《国家及其与教会的关系》、《荷马和荷马时代研究》。

高君珊女士

1　高君珊（生卒年不详）教育学家，福建长乐人。曾留学美国哥伦比亚大学。1930年当选为中国科学社唯一一位女性理事，并捐款在科学社内设立了影响很大的“高女士纪念奖金”。曾担任中国科学社北美分会的联络人，著有《学校之视察与指导》等。

2　安阿伯，美国密歇根州东南部城市。

3　1933年　2月21日上午，上海塘山路1250号正泰橡胶物品第一制造厂蒸缸爆炸，涂光油起火，焚毙、压死81人，伤120余人，损失10余万元，“可谓上海空前之惨剧”。

胡适博士，一位哲人

1　胡适（1891—1962）现代著名学者、诗人、历史学家、文学家、哲学家。安徽绩溪县上庄村人。原名嗣穈，学名洪骍，字希疆；后改名胡适，字适之，笔名天风、藏晖等。5岁启蒙，受过9年私塾教育。1904年，到上海进新式学校，接受《天演论》等新思潮，并开始在《竞业旬报》上发表白话文章，后任该报编辑。1906年考入中国公学，1910年考取“庚子赔款”第二期官费生赴美国留学，于康奈尔大学先读农科，后改读文科。1915年入哥伦比亚大学研究院，师从唯心主义哲学家杜威，接受了杜威的实用主义哲学思想。回国后，任北京大学教授，加入《新青年》编辑部，撰文反对封建主义，宣传个性自由、民主和科学，积极提倡“文学改良”和白话文学，成为新文化运动的重要人物。1920年至1933年，主要从事中国古典小说的研究考证，同时也参与一些政治活动，并一度担任上海公学校长。抗日战争初期，出任“国防参议会”参议员，1938年被任命为中国驻美国大使。1942年任行政院最高政治顾问，1946年任北京大学校长。1949年寄居美国，致力于《水经注》的考证等工作，后去台湾。1957年出任“中央研究院”院长。1962年，在酒会上突发心脏病去世。著有《中国哲学史大纲》（上卷）、《白话文学史》（上卷）和《胡适文存》等。

2　奥古斯都（Augustus，公元前63—公元14）古罗马第一位皇帝（公元前27—公元14），凯萨的甥孙及养子。原名盖约·屋大维（Gaius Octavius），“奥古斯都”是元老院对他所奉的尊号。这里所谓“奥古斯都式额头”，用中国传统的语言可表述为“天庭饱满”。

3　契诃夫（Anton Pavlovich Chekhov，1860—1904）俄国剧作家、短篇小说家。早年在莫斯科学医，并在那里开始写作。他的短篇小说无论数量还是质量，在俄国都是首屈一指的。他风格独具的剧本如《海鸥》、《万尼亚舅舅》、《三姊妹》和《樱桃园》，已经是世界戏剧作品宝贵的遗产。

4　海克尔（Ernst Heinrich Haeckel，1834—1919）德国博物学家，达尔文主义支持者。提出生物发生律，为生物进化论提供了有力的证据。著有《人类发展史》、《生命的奇迹》等。

5　此处的赫胥黎疑为英国著名生物学家、达尔文进化论最杰出的代表T. H. Huxley（1825—1895），他认为人类和大猩猩的脑部解剖具有十分的相似性，也认为生命来自于无生命物质，与文中所说的“人就立刻变成了非常简单的动物而不难理解”比较符合。

6　约翰·斯图尔特·穆勒（John Stuart Mill，1806—1873）英国哲学家、历史学家、经济学家、逻辑学家、实证论者和功利主义者。著有《逻辑体系》（严复译本为《穆勒名学》）、《政治经济学原理》、《论自由》（严复译本为《群己权界论》）、《功利主义》等。

7　philosophe（哲人），请注意此词与 philosopher（哲学家）的不同，其原本是指18世纪以狄德罗、卢梭和伏尔泰为代表的那些启蒙思想家和哲学家，了解了他们便了解了这个词的含义。

8　伏尔泰（Voltaire，1694—1778）法国启蒙思想家、作家、哲学家。原名弗朗索瓦–马利·阿鲁埃（François-Marie Arouet）。主张开明君主制，信奉洛克的经验论，两次被捕入狱，后来被逐出国。著有《哲学书简》、哲理小说《老实人》、悲剧《扎伊尔》和其他历史著作等。

9　达兰贝尔（Jean le Rond D'Alembert，1717—1783）法国数学家、物理学家、启蒙思想家、哲学家。他所提出的力学原理后被称为“达兰贝尔原理”。曾任《百科全书》副主编，著有《哲学原理》、《力学原理》等。

10　霍尔巴赫（Paul Henri Dietrich d'Holbach，1723—1789）法国启蒙思想家、哲学家、无神论者、唯物主义的著名阐述者，狄德罗《百科全书》主要撰稿人之一。著有《被揭穿了的基督教》、《社会体系》和最受欢迎的《自然体系》。

11　爱尔维修（Claude Adrien Helvétius，1715—1771）法国哲学家、辩论家，启蒙时期法国思想家小组的资助者。他从享乐主义的观点强调肉体的感受，对伦理学宗教基础的攻击及其放肆的教育理论使他闻名于世。著有哲学名作《论精神》，在《论人的理智能力和教育》一书中宣

称教育有解决人类问题的无限潜力。

12　狄德罗（Denis　Diderot，1713—1784）法国文学家、哲学家。由于主编《百科全书》并在哲学、伦理学、戏剧、美学理论、文艺批评、小说、科学思辨及政治学诸领域作出杰出贡献而成为启蒙时期的文化巨人。著有哲学著作《对自然的解释》、《达兰贝尔和狄德罗的谈话》，小说《修女》、《宿命论者雅克和他的主人》、《拉摩的侄子》，剧本《私生子》、《一家之主》和文艺理论《论戏剧诗》、《演员的是非谈》、《画论》等。

13　杰里米·边沁（Jeremy　Bentham，1748—1832）英国功利主义哲学家、经济学家、法学家。著有《谬误集》、《审判证据原理》、《新逻辑体系》和《义务学》等。

冯玉祥

1　冯玉祥（1882—1948）中国国民党爱国将领，著名民主人士。字焕章，安徽巢县人。行伍出身，曾任北洋陆军第十六混成旅旅长、第十一师师长，陕西、河南督军及陆军检阅使等职。1924年在第二次直奉战争中发动北京政变，改所部为国民军，任总司令兼第一军军长。1926年9月，当国民革命军攻抵武汉时，在五原誓师，宣布所部集体加入中国国民党。1927年5月在西安就任国民革命军第二集团军总司令，曾参与蒋介石和汪精卫的反共活动。1928年起，因利害冲突举兵反蒋，先后爆发蒋冯战争和中原大战。九一八事变后积极主张抗日。1933年5月与中国共产党合作，在张家口组织察哈尔民众抗日同盟军，任总司令。1936年到南京任国民政府军事委员会副委员长。抗日战争爆发后，任第六战区司令长官，旋被蒋撤职。抗日战争胜利后，继续采取与中国共产党合作的立场，与李济深等发起成立中国国民党革命委员会。1946年出国考察水利，1948年回国准备参加新政治协商会议筹备工作，在黑海因轮船失火遇难。

2　张作霖（1875—1928）北洋奉系军阀首领。字雨亭，奉天海城人，土匪出身。1916年起任奉天督军、东三省巡阅使等职，在日本帝国主义支持下长期盘踞东北。1924年打败直系军阀后，控制北洋军阀政府。1926年称安国军总司令，次年4月杀害共产党人李大钊等，6月自称“中华民国陆海军大元帅”。1928年6月同蒋介石作战失败，退回东北。由于未能满足日本人的全部要求，所乘火车经过沈阳西郊皇姑屯时被日军预埋炸弹炸死。

3　王正廷（1882—1961）字儒堂，浙江奉化人。天津北洋大学预科毕

业，曾任湖南高等学校教员。1905年留学日本，在日本加入同盟会。1908年又留学美国耶鲁大学，获文学硕士学位。回国后在基督教青年会工作。武昌起义时任湖北都督府外交副主任；民国成立后，任唐绍仪内阁工商次长兼代总长、参议院副议长；后专任上海青年会全国协会总干事。1916年袁世凯死后，复任参议院副议长。第二次国会解散后，率议员赴广州，参加护法运动。1918年代表护法政府赴美，接洽参加欧战事宜。次年任巴黎和会全权代表。1922年任“鲁案”善后督办，10月任外交总长兼代国务总理。1924年任北洋政府外交总长、财政总长及关税会议委员长。1928年后曾任国民政府外交部长、驻美大使。

4　徐谦（1871—1940）字季龙，安徽歙县人。清末进士，曾任翰林院编修。辛亥革命后发起组织国民共进会，后与同盟会联合组成中国国民党。曾任段祺瑞内阁司法次长、孙中山大元帅府秘书长、国民党中央执行委员会常委。1933年福建事变中任“中华共和国人民革命政府”最高法院院长，1937年抗日战争爆发后任国民政府国防委员会委员。

5　吴佩孚（1874—1939）北洋直系军阀首领。字子玉，山东蓬莱人。清末秀才。1906年为北洋陆军曹锟部管带，1917年升至陆军第三师师长。1922年直奉战争后，先后任两湖巡阅使、直鲁豫巡阅使。1923年残酷镇压京汉铁路工人大罢工，是二七惨案的罪魁。1924年第二次直奉战争中失败，1926年又和张作霖联合进攻冯玉祥部国民军。同年，被北伐军打败，逃至四川依附地方军阀。九一八事变后，蛰居北平。抗日战争爆发后，曾拒绝出任伪职。1939年病逝。

6　段祺瑞（1865—1936）北洋皖系军阀首领。字芝泉，安徽合肥人。1889年天津武备学堂毕业后，留学德国学习军事。1896年协助袁世凯创办北洋军，曾任江北提督等职。1912年至1916年历任北洋政府陆军总长、参谋总长、国务总理。袁世凯死后，在日本帝国主义支持下，以国务总理把持北洋军阀政府。1920年被直系军阀曹锟、吴佩孚打败下台。1924年直系政权垮台，被奉系和冯玉祥推为北京临时政府执政。1925年召开善后会议，抵制国民会议。1926年屠杀北京爱国群众，造成三一八惨案，同年4月又被冯玉祥驱逐下台。1933年被蒋介石迎居上海，1936年病逝。

7　曹锟（1862—1938）北洋直系军阀首领。字仲珊，直隶天津人。天津武备学堂毕业。后投靠袁世凯，曾任北洋军第三师师长、直隶督军兼省长、川粤湘赣四省经略使。1919年被推为直系军阀首领，任直鲁豫三省巡阅使。在1922年第一次直奉战争中打败张作霖，控制北方政局。次年逼总统黎元洪下台，又以五千银元一票收买国会议员，被选为“大总统”，世称“贿选总统”。1924年第二次直奉战争中，被所部第三军总司

令冯玉祥囚禁。1926年获释，初居开封，后寓居天津。

8　阎锡山（1883—1960）字百川，山西五台人。日本陆军士官学校毕业。1911年辛亥革命后任山西都督，长期盘踞山西。1927年9月起投靠蒋介石。1930年，与冯玉祥等出兵反蒋，失败后逃至大连。1931年又被蒋任命为太原绥靖公署主任。抗日战争期间，消极抗日，积极反共。抗战胜利后，积极参加反人民内战。1949年3月逃离太原。1960年病逝于台湾。

9　指1933年国民革命军第十九路军在福建发动的抗日反蒋事变。1932年5月，在上海抗击日军的十九路军被蒋介石调往福建从事反共内战。1933年11月20日，该部将领蔡廷锴、陈铭枢、蒋光鼐等联合国民党内李济深等反蒋派，在福州成立抗日反蒋的“中华共和国人民革命政府”。1934年1月，在蒋介石的进攻下失败。

徐志摩，一个孩子

1　徐志摩（1896—1931）诗人。名章垿，初字槱森，后改字志摩。浙江海宁人。留学欧美，先后在美国哥伦比亚大学、英国剑桥大学攻读政治、经济，获硕士学位。1921年开始写诗。1922年回国后，历任北京大学、清华大学、大夏大学、中央大学等校教授，并参与主编《诗刊》、《新月》等文学期刊。1931年因飞机失事去世。“新月派”代表诗人，对中国新诗的发展有重大影响。著有诗集《志摩的诗》、《翡冷翠的一夜》、《猛虎集》、《云游》，散文集《落叶》、《巴黎的鳞爪》、《秋》，小说集《轮盘》等。

2　雪莱（Percy Bysshe Shelley，1792—1822）英国伟大的浪漫主义诗人，世界文学史上第一位通过诗歌鼓吹社会主义理想的社会主义诗人，也是最优秀的抒情诗人之一。《心之灵》是他所写的著名长诗之一，文中说它“是一曲理想的情人之歌”，那“理想的情人”便是雪莱自己。此外的杰作还有哀悼济慈的《阿多尼》、抗议暴政的《暴政的假面游行》和鼓吹大同思想的《普罗米修斯的解放》等。

3　英国著名的维多利亚女王（Queen Victoria，1819—1901）在位的时代（1837—1901），一些英国史家称“维多利亚时代”为英国历史上的“黄金时代”。产生于这一时期的英语作品称“维多利亚时代文学”，主要代表作家有诗人勃朗宁、丁尼生，评论家阿诺德，小说家狄更斯、勃朗特、艾略特、哈代等。

4　马修·阿诺德（Matthew Arnold，1822—1888）英国维多利亚时代优秀诗人、评论家。主要贡献在于指出当时浪漫主义诗歌中的弊病，并为

褊狭的英国文化引入了欧洲大陆的影响。他认为诗要反映时代的要求，须有观察广阔和复杂的生活景象、追求道德和智力的“解放”的精神。

5　爱丽儿，莎士比亚戏剧《暴风雨》中善良活泼的小精灵。法国传记作家莫洛亚记述雪莱生平的一部评传，便以《爱丽儿》为书名。

6　爱因斯坦（Albert einstein，1879—1955）提出的关于物质运动与时间、空间关系的理论，修正了牛顿以来对时间、空间、引力三者互相割裂以及运动规律永恒不变的看法。

7　钱德拉·博斯（Jagadis Chandra Bose，1858—1937）印度植物生理学家、物理学家，发明测定活动机体对外界刺激反应的仪器，研究无线电波的准光学性质，改进金屑检波器。著有《活体及非活体的反应》等。

8　19世纪末至20世纪20年代爱尔兰文学人才辈出的现象，与政治上强烈的民族主义和对爱尔兰盖尔语文学遗产重新燃起的兴趣密切相关。这一运动的中心人物是著名的爱尔兰诗人、剧作家叶芝（William Butler Yeats，1865—1939）。

9　泰戈尔（Rabindranath Tagore，1861—1941）印度孟加拉语诗人，著有《心中的向往》、《金帆船》、《缤纷集》、《收获集》、《梦幻集》、《刹那集》和《奉献集》，抒情诗集《吉檀迦利》的英译本为他赢得了1913年的诺贝尔文学奖。1915年受封为爵士，1919年放弃了这一称号，以抗议阿姆利则惨案。他的长篇小说中最著名的是《戈拉》。他还是印度一流的画家。1924年访问中国时，徐志摩曾为他担任翻译。

10　梁启超（1873—1929）中国近代维新派领袖、学者。字卓如，号任公，又号饮冰室主人，广东新会人。曾和其师康有为一起倡导变法维新，是为“康梁变法”。戊戌政变失败后逃亡日本。辛亥革命后，以立宪党为基础建立进步党，拥护袁世凯，出任袁政府司法总长。1916年又策动蔡锷组织护国军反袁，后又组织研究系，与段祺瑞合作，出任财政总长。五四时期，反对“打倒孔家店”，曾提倡文体改良的“诗界革命”和“小说界革命”。晚年在清华讲学，其著作合编为《饮冰室合集》。

11　塞尚（Paul Cézanne，1839—1906）法国画家，后期印象派代表。认为绘画的目的是对形、色、节奏、空间的探索，企图借助色彩的配合而不依赖明暗效果表现体积等。毕生追求表现形式，对运用色彩、造型有新的创造。代表作有《玩纸牌者》、《圣维克图瓦山》等，有“现代绘画之父”之称。

12　毕加索（Pablo Picasso，1881—1973）20世纪最有创造性、影响最为深远的西班牙画家、雕塑家，立体主义画派主要代表。一生画法和风

格迭变，其作品对西方现代艺术有深远影响。代表作有油画《格尔尼卡》、宣传画《和平鸽》等。晚期制作了大量铜版画、雕塑和陶器等，亦有杰出成就。

13　梅兰芳（1894—1961），京剧演员。名澜，字畹华，原籍江苏泰州，生于北京。出身京剧世家，工青衣，兼演刀马旦。对京剧旦角的唱腔、念白、舞蹈、音乐、服装、化妆等各方面都有所创造发展，形成了自己的艺术风格，世称“梅派”。曾先后赴日、美、苏等国进行文化交流。抗日战争期间留居香港、上海，在敌伪统治下蓄须明志，拒绝演出，表现了民族气节。新中国成立后，历任中国京剧院院长、中国戏曲研究院院长、中国文联副主席、中国剧协副主席等。

14　克莱斯勒（Fritz Kreisler，1875—1962）奥地利小提琴家、作曲家。曾在世界各地旅行演出，纳粹执政后入法国籍，1943年入美国籍。毕生致力于演奏和创作。代表作有小提琴曲《维也纳随想曲》、《中国花鼓》等。

薛氏兄弟

1　阿尔丰索（Alphonso SyCip，1883—1969）薛家在菲律宾已经发展成为很有影响的一个大家族，他们的企事业活动遍及全球。在温源宁撰写这篇短文以后，阿尔丰索还有更值得称道的表现：抗日战争爆发后，阿尔丰索积极支持中国政府抗日。偷袭珍珠港后，日军于1942年1月占领马尼拉，阿尔丰索和弟弟阿尔宾诺及女婿等家人都和当地的华人显要一道被拘。他被认定有罪而被宣判死刑，他当即激动地抗辩：“我只是帮助了亟需帮助的同胞，如果情况相反，你们日本人也会这样做！”被假释后，他携带家人逃到了北部，躲避在一个小岛上。二战结束后，他回到马尼拉，先后创立了参与战后重建事业的国际建设公司和1948年与菲航合并的商务航空公司，并连续多年当选为中华商会主席。1969年逝世于马尼拉。

阿尔宾诺（Albino SyCip，1887—?）1913年，成为菲律宾第一位华人律师，创办了菲律宾的China Bank，并有“银行业泰斗”之称，也当选过中华商会主席。他的子女也都各有出色成就：马尼拉陷落时，三子华盛顿正在美国读会计学博士学位，听说父亲被日本人所杀便报名参加美军；后来从事密码破译工作，所获情报之一，曾对确认日本海军大将山本五十六的座机和航行计划从而导致其机毁人亡的成功战斗行动作出了重要贡献。

薛清习有一个女儿嫁给了林语堂的一个兄弟，温源宁很可能是通过林语

堂而认识了薛氏兄弟。

2　SyCip家人在用汉字书写姓名时，在菲律宾也仍然是以单独一个“薛”字为姓。例如，马尼拉有个律师Alex SyCip，显然也是SyCip家成员，这位律师见诸媒体的汉语姓名为薛育立。但是出现在英语文件中时，SyCip的发音仍然读作/ˈsiːˈsIp/。

3　马尼拉，菲律宾首都，全国最大港市和政治、经济、文化中心。在吕宋岛西岸，临马尼拉湾。1571年，西班牙人到此建立城堡，成立了殖民地政权。1762年至1764年被英国占领，1832年对外贸易开放。1898年美西战争后被美军占领，成为美在菲的行政中心。1942年被日本占领，1945年被美军收回。1946年起成为正式独立的菲律宾的首都。

4　薛清习的妻子，名叫“玉兰”。

5　宿务岛在菲律宾米沙鄢群岛中部。宿务则是宿务岛东岸的一个港口城市，为菲律宾最大城市之一，也是个繁荣的港口，国内货运量居第一位，国际贸易仅次于马尼拉。

6　本文写于1934年。九一八事变后，日本帝国主义对中国的侵略得寸进尺，步步紧逼。

周作人：铁的优雅

1　周作人（1885—1967）现代散文家、诗人、文学翻译家。原名櫆寿，字星杓；后改名奎绶，自号起孟、启明（又作岂明）、知堂等，笔名仲密、药堂；晚年改名遐寿。浙江绍兴人，鲁迅的二弟。1901年入南京江南水师学堂，1906年东渡日本留学，1911年回国后在绍兴任中学英文教员，1918年任北京大学文科教授。五四时期任新潮社主任编辑，参加《新青年》的编辑工作，参与发起成立文学研究会，发表了《人的文学》、《平民文学》、《思想革命》等重要理论文章，从事散文、新诗创作并译介外国文学作品。他的理论主张和创作实践在社会上产生过很大影响，成为新文化运动的重要代表人物之一。“五四”后，作为《语丝》周刊的主编和主要撰稿人之一，写了大量散文，风格平和，清隽幽雅。在他的影响下，20世纪20年代形成了包括俞平伯、废名等作家在内的散文创作流派。第一次国内革命战争失败后，思想渐离时代主流，主张“闭户读书”。30年代提倡闲适幽默的小品文，沉溺于“草木虫鱼”的狭小天地。1937年卢沟桥事变发生后，北平沦陷，便靦颜事敌。1945年以叛国罪被判刑入狱，1949年出狱，后定居北京，在人民文学出版社从事日本、希腊文学作品的翻译和写作有关回忆鲁迅的著述。著有散文集《自己的园地》、《雨天的书》、《泽泻集》、《谈龙集》、《谈虎

集》、《永日集》、《看云集》、《夜读抄》、《苦茶随笔》、《风雨谈》、《瓜豆集》、《秉烛谈》、《苦口甘口》、《过去的工作》、《知堂文集》，诗集《过去的生命》，小说集《孤儿记》，论文集《艺术与生活》、《中国新文学的源流》，论著《欧洲文学史》，文学史料集《鲁迅的故家》、《鲁迅小说里的人物》、《鲁迅的青年时代》，回忆录《知堂回想录》等，另有译作多种。

2　麦考利（Thomas Babington Macaulay，1800—1859）英国政治家、演说家、历史学家。其父曾任塞拉利昂总督。1830年代表威尔特郡进入国会。1832年国会讨论“改革法案”时，雄辩地支持国会改革，被认为是演说家时代的主要人物。在国会里支持废除奴隶制、出版自由、印度人在法律面前平等等。1847年落选后埋头《英国史》的写作，这部书使他成为辉格党历史学派的创始人之一，并获得了不朽的声誉。

3　伊利亚（Elia），查尔斯·兰姆（Charles Lamb，1775—1834）的笔名，英国著名散文作家和评论家。其父为伦敦法学院执事索尔特的机要文书，兰姆早年曾废寝忘食阅读索尔特的藏书。7岁入小学，与柯勒律治结下了终身友谊。15岁离开学校，1792年在东印度公司任职员，1825年退休。1807年与胞姐玛丽合编的《莎士比亚故事集》出版。1820年新创刊的《伦敦杂志》开始刊登“伊利亚”的散文，兰姆本人也在文学方面达到了最高成就。这些散文几乎都是自传体。《伊利亚随笔集》于1823年出版，续集《伊利亚后期随笔集》于1833年出版。1796年姐姐玛丽精神病发作杀死母亲，从此由他照顾姐姐，两人感情很好。

4　引自弥尔顿的《失乐园》。

5　经利彬（1895—1958）医学家。字燧初，上虞驿亭人。早年留学法国里昂大学，获理学及医学博士学位，任助教。归国后任北平大学农学院教授兼生物系主任，为我国生命科学研究的先驱。后改任北平女子学院、中山大学教授。1934年任北平研究生院生物部部长兼研究生所主任。1937年北平沦陷，只身随研究生院前往昆明，继任该院动物研究所所长兼中国医药研究所所长及云南大学生物系教授。1946年去台湾任台湾省卫生局局长，因不善官场应酬卸任。1958年在台湾逝世。一生著述甚丰，较有影响的有《脊椎动物之脑量》、《金鱼鳍及鳞之复生》、《槐实之生理作用》等，与人合著《滇南本草纲目》、《卫生学》等。

林可胜博士，一位科学家

1　林可胜（1897—l969）中国生理学家，新加坡名医林文庆之子，有“中国生命科学之父”之称。8岁即被送往英国读书。入爱丁堡大学医

学院后，一战爆发，曾服兵役，在军医院任外科医助。战后复学，1919年毕业，获内科医学士和外科医学士学位。1920年获哲学博士学位，留校任讲师。1923年，作为美国罗氏基金会研究员赴芝加哥大学从事研究。1924年，获科学博士学位。同年回国，任北京协和医学院生理学教授兼系主任，成为该学院第一位华人教授，执教直至1937年，学术成就蜚声国内外。1928年至1930年任中华医学会会长，并建立中国生理学会，创办《中国生理学杂志》。1933年抵抗日军入侵的喜峰口战役就曾率领救护队亲赴战地。七七事变后，把家眷安顿在新加坡，只身重返武汉，组织并主持中国红十字会救护总队。后在贵阳图云关设救护总站，派出一百多个救护队分赴各战区，对救治战伤作出了重大贡献。1940年陈嘉庚回国视察，对他尽心尽职的精神十分敬佩，主动允诺为他的救护总队每月捐助一万元。l942年至l944年，随远征军赴缅，任史迪威的军医总监，多次受到嘉奖。抗战胜利后，1947年，将各军事医学院校及战时卫生人员训练所改组为国防医学院，任院长，同时筹建中央研究院医学研究所。1948年，蒋介石拟任其为卫生署署长，坚辞不就。1949年5月赴美，任教并指导医学科学研究，为美国科学院院士。1969年因食道癌逝世于牙买加金斯顿。

2　维尔沃姆（Verworm）待考，可能拼写错误。世界上最著名的细胞学家是菲尔绍（Rudolf Virchow，1821—1902），德国病理学家、人类学家、政治家，细胞病理学院创始人。

3　巴甫洛夫（Ivan Petrovich Pavlov，1849—1936）苏联生理学家，创立高级神经活动学说，提出条件反射的概念，因对消化生理的研究获1904年诺贝尔医学奖。

4　谢灵顿（Sir Charles Scott Sherrington，1857—1952）英国生理学家。在中枢神经系统生理学方面有重要贡献，1932年与阿德里安一同获得诺贝尔生理学或医学奖。所著《神经系统的整合作用》是一部生理学的经典著作。

5　李济（1896—1979）人类学家，中国考古学之父。字济之，湖北钟祥人。1918年清华学校毕业后赴美留学，1923年获哈佛大学哲学博士。1926年主持山西西阴村新石器时代仰韶文化遗址的发掘，成为第一位挖掘考古遗址的中国学者，揭开了中国现代考古发掘的序幕。1928年至1937年，主持震惊世界的河南安阳殷墟发掘，使殷商文化由传说变为信史，并由此将中国的历史向前推移了数百年。1929年中央研究院历史语言研究所考古组成立后，长期任该组主任。历史语言研究所迁往台湾后，曾任该所所长。

梁遇春，中国的伊利亚

1　梁遇春（1906—1932）散文作家，翻译家。福建闽侯人。笔名秋心。1922年考入北京大学预科，1928年毕业于英文系后留校任助教。后随温源宁教授赴上海暨南大学任教师。1930年，温重返北大，梁亦跟随回校，任英文系图书馆管理员兼助教。在《骆驼草》周刊上发表的散文清新隽永、耐人吟味，后来均收入《春醪集》。译有外国文学作品二十余种，主要有《英国小品文选》、《英国诗歌选》（英汉对照）、《荡妇自传》、《老太婆的故事》、《红花》、《吉姆爷》等。

2　西拉诺·德·贝尔热拉克（Savinien Cyrano de Bergerac，1619—1655）法国作家，以戏剧创作闻名。代表作有悲剧《阿格里皮娜之死》和喜剧《受人愚弄的学究》。逝世后发表的《月球上的国家和帝国的趣史》和《太阳上的国家和帝国的趣史》，英语合译成一本《日月旅行》，是科幻小说的先驱。

3　克伦威尔（Oliver　Cromwell，1599—1658）英国17世纪资产阶级革命领袖。1649年处死国王查理一世，成立共和国。1653年建立军事独裁统治，自任“护国主”。为争夺殖民地，曾对荷兰、西班牙和葡萄牙作战，得胜后确立了英国的海上霸权。

4　贝克莱（George　Berkeley，1685—1753）英国唯心主义哲学家，曾任爱尔兰南部克洛因地区基督教新教主教。他反对霍布斯、斯宾诺莎和瓦尼尼等人的无神论和唯物主义，提出“存在即被感知”的主张，宣称外界事物只是“感觉的组合”。著有《视觉新论》、《人类知识原理》等。

5　笛福（Daniel Defoe，1660—1731）英国小说家、报刊撰稿人。早年以写政论和讽刺诗著称，反对封建专制。晚年开始发表冒险小说，《鲁滨逊漂流记》是其代表作。

6　雷顿·斯特雷奇（Lytton　Strachey，1880—1932）英国文学评论家、传记作家。《维多利亚女王传》、《维多利亚女王时代四名人传》是他的杰作。

7　黑兹利特（William　Hazlitt，1778—1830）英国散文作家、评论家和传记作家。著有《有关英国诗人的演讲》、《论英国喜剧作家》、《席间闲谈》、《拿破仑生平》和《詹姆斯·诺思科特谈话录》等。

8　蒙田（Michel de Montaigne，1533—1592）法国思想家、散文作家。出身新贵族，当过15年文官，后来辞官回乡，闭户读书，有时也出游。他把读书心得、旅途见闻、日常感想记录下来，日积月累，形成《随笔集》三卷。文体和风格对法国文学甚至对英国文学都有极大影响。

9　罗伯特·伯顿（Robert　Burton，1577—1640）英国圣公会牧师、学者、作家。著有《忧郁的剖析》，以内容广博而闻名于世。

10　布朗（Sir Thomas Browne，1605—1682）英国医生、作家。以日记体的沉思录《一个医生的宗教信仰》为世人所知。

陈嘉庚，有理想的商人

1　陈嘉庚（1874—1961）爱国华侨领袖。福建同安（今厦门）人。长期侨居新加坡，经营橡胶业，热心兴办文化教育公益事业。1910年在新加坡参加同盟会。1911年任福建保安会会长，曾募款资助孙中山从事革命活动。1913年至1920年，先后在集美创办中小学和师范、水产、航海、农林、商科等学校。1919年在新加坡创办南阳华侨中学。1921年在厦门创办厦门大学。1938年在新加坡创立“南侨总会”，领导南洋华侨支持祖国的抗日战争。1940年组织南洋华侨回国慰劳视察团，回国慰劳抗战军民。太平洋战争爆发后避居印尼。日本投降后，创办《南侨日报》，从事爱国民主运动。1949年出席中国人民政治协商会议第一届全体会议。历任中央人民政府委员、全国政协副主席、全国人大常委会委员、国家侨委委员、中国侨联主席等职。

2　《东方杂志》，近代中国历史最久的大型综合性杂志。1904年在上海创刊，徐珂、杜亚泉、陶惺存、钱智修、胡愈之、李圣五等先后任主编，由商务印书馆出版。初为月刊，第17卷起改为半月刊，第44卷又改为月刊。抗日战争时期先后迁至长沙、香港、重庆出版。1948年12月停刊，共出44卷。《畏惧失败才是可耻》一文载于《东方杂志》1934年4月号。

3　济南惨案，亦称“五三惨案”，即1928年日本帝国主义在济南制造的惨案。2月，宁汉合流后的国民政府决定继续“北伐”，攻打奉系军阀。4月，日本出兵山东，侵占济南。5月1日北伐军进入济南，3日起日军开始向北伐军大举进攻，以重炮轰击济南城。蒋介石下令北伐军撤出济南。日军在济南奸淫掳掠，屠杀中国军民数千人，并公然违反国际惯例，将南京政府山东特派交涉员蔡公时等17名外交人员捆绑、毒打后杀害。惨案激起了中国人民新的反日浪潮，迫使日军于次年撤出济南。

周诒春博士

1　周诒春（1883—1958）教育家。字寄梅，安徽休宁人。1904年上海圣约翰大学毕业后赴美留学，先入耶鲁大学，继入威斯康辛大学。1909年回国，1912年任南京临时政府外交秘书。1912年10月，北京清华学堂

改名清华学校，监督改称校长，唐国安为第一任校长，周诒春为第一任副校长。但是唐国安在任不到一年便告病故，临终立下遗嘱，举荐周诒春为校长。1919年为参议院议员。后历任北京中孚银行经理、整理财政委员会秘书长、关税特别会议委员会专门委员等职。1925年至1928年任中美文化教育基金保管委员会常务董事，创立北京图书馆，1933年任燕京大学代理校长，1935年任国民政府实业部次长，1945年后任农林部长、卫生署长。1948年南京解放前夕赴香港，1950年回国。1956年为政协全国委员会特邀代表。1958年在上海病逝。

2　清华大学的前身清华学堂成立于1911年，是清政府建立的留美预备学校。

顾孟余

1　顾孟余（1888—1972）原名兆熊，字梦渔，后改孟余，笔名公孙愈之。1905年入北京译学馆。1906年赴德国留学，入莱比锡大学习电机工程，旋入柏林大学攻读政治经济学，加入中国同盟会。1911年回国参加武昌起义。1916年任北京大学文科教授兼文科德文系主任，继而任法科经济系主任兼教务长。1925年任广东大学校长。1926年1月当选为中国国民党第二届中央执行委员，7月任中央政治会议委员，10月任中山大学委员会副主任。1927年当选为中央政治委员会委员、国民政府委员、国民党中央宣传部部长。1931年12月当选为国民党第四届中央执行委员。1932年3月任铁道部部长。1935年11月当选为国民党第五届中央执行委员，12月任中央政治委员会秘书长，并任交通部长。1938年7月当选为国民参政会第一届参政员。抗日战争爆发一年后，日本首相近卫文麿于1938年12月发表对中国招降声明。汪精卫在河内见此电文后，决定按与日方的约定声明响应，即把声明电稿交陈公博等携往香港，准备找顾孟余商量后，交林柏生在香港发出。顾见此电稿，坚决反对，认为汉奸决不可当，此电决不能发。1941年任中央大学校长。1942年任三民主义青年团中央团部指导员，9月派为高等考试典试委员长。1945年当选为国民党第六届中央执行委员。1948年2月为国民政府顾问，5月被任命为行政院副院长，未就。1949年4月迁居香港。1969年去台湾，1972年6月病逝于台北。

2　威尔逊（Thomas Woodrow Wilson，1856—1924）美国第28任总统（1913—1921），民主党人，领导美国参加第一次世界大战，倡议建立国际联盟并发表了他称之为“世界和平纲领”的“十四点”方案，获1919年诺贝尔和平奖。

3　豪斯（Edward Mandell House，1858—1938）美国外交家，原系富商，支持威尔逊当选总统，任总统顾问。第一次世界大战期间出使英、法、德等国，协助总统起草著名的“十四点和平纲领”等文件和演说稿，为出席巴黎和会的美国代表团成员。

4　鲍罗廷（Mikhail Markovich Borodin，1884—1951）苏联人，原名格鲁森伯格（Markovich Grusenberg）。1903年加入俄国社会民主工党。1919年出席第三国际第一次代表大会，后参加第三国际工作。1923年来中国，任第三国际驻华代表、苏联驻广东革命政府代表，并任国民党政治顾问，帮助改组国民党、促进国共合作。1924年1月参加国民党第一次全国代表大会，协助起草大会宣言并帮助孙中山筹组黄埔军校。1926年在处理“中山舰事件”、“整理党务案”中，对蒋介石采取妥协退让政策。1927年被武汉国民党中央解除顾问一职。回国后历任劳动人民委员、塔斯社代理负责人。后从事外文出版工作。1949年被捕，1951年死于劳动营。1956年平反。

5　劳合·乔治（David Lloyd George，1863—1945）英国首相（1916—1922）、自由党领袖，曾任财政大臣，率先实施社会福利政策。第一次世界大战中组成战时联合内阁，出席巴黎和会，承认爱尔兰独立。

叶公超

1　叶公超（1904—1981）外交家、书法家。名崇智，字公超，广东番禺人。1918年入天津南开中学。1920年赴美留学，毕业于麻省赫斯特大学后，转赴英国，研究西洋文学。1924年获剑桥大学硕士学位，又赴法国巴黎大学研究院研究。1926年回国，任北京大学英文系讲师。1927年参与创办新月书店，同年任暨南大学外国文学系主任、图书馆馆长，并兼吴淞中国公学英国文学教授。1928年3月《新月》创刊，与胡适等参与编辑。1929年任清华大学外文系教授。1935年复任北京大学英文系讲师。1937年抗日战争爆发，随校南迁。1938年5月任西南联合大学外文系主任。1941年任中国国民党中央宣传部国际宣传处驻马来亚专员。1942年奉委为国际宣传处驻伦敦办事处处长，1946年返国。1947年3月任国民政府外交部参事兼欧洲司司长，7月任外交部常务次长。1949年1月任外交部政务次长，3月代理部务，5月任外交部部长。后去台湾。1981年11月病逝于台北。著有《中国古代文化生活》、《英国文学中之社会原动力》、《叶公超散文集》等。

2　奥斯伯特·伯德特（Osbert Burdett，1885—1936）英国传记作家、文艺评论家，所著《比尔兹利时期》（The Beardsley Period: An Essay in

Perspective）一书于1925年出版。

3　比尔兹利（Aubrey Beardsley，1872—1898）英国插图画家，继王尔德之后唯美主义运动的突出代表人物。1891年在威斯敏斯特艺术学校上过几个月夜校。1893年为托马斯·马洛礼子爵的《亚瑟王之死》画插图，1894年任新创季刊《黄面志》的艺术编辑和插图作者，为王尔德的剧本《莎乐美》（1894）所作插图使他名震遐迩。其画风深受新艺术曲线风格和日本木刻的粗犷特点影响，但画中女性明显的肉感使批评家和公众吃惊。之后为新杂志《卷心菜》的主要插图作者。

4　尼克贝太太，19世纪英国现实主义文学代表狄更斯（1812—1870）小说《尼古拉斯·尼克贝》中的人物。

5　《伊索寓言》中《没尾巴的狐狸》故事讲的是一只狐狸逃脱时挣断了尾巴，便劝说其他狐狸也把尾巴割掉，以免得他自己难为情；他的诡计当然被揭穿了。

6　三剑客，法国作家大仲马著名长篇小说《三剑客》（即《三个火枪手》）中的人物，即波尔朵斯、阿拉密斯和阿多斯；达达尼昂是小说的主人公。

7　惠斯勒（James Abbot McNeill Whistler，1834—1903）美国画家。长期侨居英国，主张“为艺术而艺术”，以夜景画、肖像画和版画闻名。作品有油画《白衣少女》、《艺术家的母亲》及铜版画《威尼斯风景》等。

林文庆医生

1　林文庆（1869—1957）福建海澄人，生于新加坡。1887年获英女皇奖学金，入英国爱丁堡大学医学院。1892年获内科学士和外科硕士学位，之后香港大学又授予其名誉法学博士学位。1893年回新加坡行医，同时积极传播中国传统文化。1897年与友人合办《海峡华人杂志》与“好学会”。为了在华侨中推广普通话，首先在自己家里开办普通话学习班。1906年访问巴达维亚中华会馆，劝说华侨采用华语作为共同语言，并负责开办了五所学校。他兴趣广泛，而且多有建树。1896年试种从南美洲引进的树胶，开办树胶种植园，被陈嘉庚称为“马来亚树胶之父”。早年在英国便与孙中山相识，1900年曾帮助营救在新加坡被捕的日本朋友宫崎寅藏。1906年2月，孙中山到新加坡组织同盟会分会，他欣然入会。1912年初，应孙中山邀请，到南京任临时政府内务部卫生司司长、总统保健医生。孙中山辞去临时大总统职后，返回新加坡继续行医。1921年4月，陈嘉庚创办厦门大学，首任校长上任不久辞职，陈嘉

庚聘他继任。1926年，厦门大学成立国学研究院，林自兼院长。1929年完成《离骚》英译，由英国汉学家翟理斯和印度诗人泰戈尔作序出版。1930年兼任上海出版的英文《民族周刊》主编。1957年1月1日病逝于新加坡。殡葬之日，新加坡政要均亲临吊唁，各族人民前往执绋者不计其数。主要著作有《从内部发生的中国危机》、《东方生活的悲剧》和《新的中国》等。

2　这句话是模仿《威尼斯商人》第一幕第一场中Gratiano的台词“And when I ope my lips let no dog bark!”。

3　布鲁厄姆勋爵（Henry Peter Brougham，1778—1868）英国大法官兼上院议长、辉格党政治家、改革家、演说家。带头创办伦敦大学——英国第一所非教派的高等教育机构，并曾参加创办《爱丁堡评论》。他曾提出1820年民众教育法案，继续发表反对奴隶制的演说，提倡实行议会改革。在19世纪20年代，设立了“有益知识传播协会”，旨在使工人阶级能买到廉价的图书。后封男爵。1830年到1834年任大法官兼上院议长期间，曾主持多次重大法律改革，大大加快了平衡法诉讼程序，鼓励通过建立郡法院的立法，强使1832年的议会改革法案在上院通过。19世纪40年代，力主废除对进口谷物征税的《谷物法》。1848年法国发生巨大变化期间，企图获得法国公民资格，未果。在法国戛纳度过了最后30年的大部分时光。布鲁厄姆马车是他设计的马拉的四轮车。

4　埃夫伯里勋爵（Lord Avebury，1834—1913），即卢伯克爵士（Sir John Lubbock，1st Baron of Avebury）英国银行家、博物学家。在《史前时期》和《文明起源与人的原始状态》两书中创造了“旧石器时代”和“新石器时代”两个术语。他两度当选下院议员，并任伦敦大学副校长（1870—1880）。著有《昆虫的起源与变态》、《英国的野花》、《蚁、蜂和黄蜂》和《论动物的意识、本能和智能》。

5　吉尔伯特·怀特（Gilbert White，1720—1793）英国博物学家、牧师。所著《塞尔伯恩博物志及古迹》一书为英国第一部有关博物学的名著。

6　理雅各（James Legge，1814—1897）原名詹姆斯·莱格，华名理雅各。英国苏格兰汉学家。1837年在希格伯利神学院读神学，翌年加入伦敦会。1839年由该会派至马六甲布道，任该会在当地所办的英华书院院长，兼管教会出版事务。1843年，随书院迁至香港。为便于传教，立志深造汉语、翻译中国典籍。著作甚丰，对西方汉学界所作的最大贡献是他英译的四书、五经等书，总名为《中国经典》。此套书原计划出七卷，后只出五卷。卷一《论语》、《大学》、《中庸》；卷二《孟子》；卷三《书经》、《竹书纪年》；卷四《诗经》；卷五《春秋》、

《左传》。此五卷并非理雅各独力之作，于1861—1886年间在香港陆续出版。西方汉学家们给予理氏以很高的评价，认为《中国经典》的问世“标志着汉学史上一个新纪元”，“理雅各的译作是对汉学研究空前伟大的贡献”。在中国翻译史上，他无疑是一位有重大影响的外籍译家，对于中外文化交流，客观上作出了很大贡献。

7　所罗门王（King Solomon，?—约公元前932）以色列国王（约公元前972—约前932）。大卫之子，加强国防，发展贸易，以武力维持统治，使犹太民族的发展达到鼎盛时期。以智慧著称。

林文庆医生之二

1　参看本书《林文庆医生》第二段。

2　克赖顿（James Crichton，1560—1582）苏格兰学者、演说家，以其哲学修养、记忆力、语言技巧和辩论才能而被称为“令人钦佩的”学者。1582年供职于曼图亚公爵宫廷，遭温琴佐·贡扎加亲王之嫉而被杀。文中是在讽刺的意味上使用这一称呼。

黄庐隐女士

1　黄庐隐（1898—1934）女作家。原名黄淑仪，又名黄英，笔名庐隐，福建闽侯人。毕业于慕贞女子中学后，应安徽安庆省立安徽女师附小校长舒畹荪之邀请，任体育教员。1919年秋，入北京女子高等师范学校为国文系旁听生，半年后改为正式生。1923年毕业后至安徽宣城中学教书。1926年秋，任上海大夏大学女生指导员（舍监）兼大夏大学附中国文教员。在校时曾加入妇女励志会。1927年春赴北京，任教于北师大附中。加入中国青年党。1930年任上海工部局女中国文教员。1934年5月病逝于上海。其作品多表现青年的爱情追求和苦闷彷徨，有反封建倾向，从一定角度反映了五四时代气息。文笔流利而凄婉。著有《海滨故人》、《曼丽》、《灵海潮汐》、《象牙戒指》、《玫瑰的刺》等。

2　斯塔尔夫人（Madame de Staël，1766—1817）法国女作家、法国浪漫主义文学先驱、文艺理论家、广交文坛名流的沙龙主人。原名Anne Louise Germaine Necker，著有《论文学》、《论德国》及小说《黛尔非娜》、《高丽娜》等。

王文显先生

1　王文显（1886—1968）剧作家，中国现代戏剧的重要先驱。字力

山，江苏昆山人。曾入天津北洋大学，后赴英国留学，获伦敦大学文学士学位。曾任中国驻欧洲财政委员，《中国评论周报》编辑。1915年归国后任清华学校教务长。1922年4月暂行兼代清华学校副校长。1925年任清华大学外国文学系主任。1927年在美国哈佛大学师从戏剧理论家贝克教授学习编剧。次年回国，在清华外文系主讲外国戏剧、近代戏剧等课程。又在北京大学、北京师范大学、辅仁大学任教，培养了洪深、李健吾、曹禺等一批现代戏剧人才。

据清华外文系徐士瑚校友回忆，“西洋戏剧由系主任王文显教授讲，他曾用英文写过两出三幕剧《委曲求全》与《北京政变》（又名《梦里京华》）和五个独幕剧。后来李健吾译成中文，由某出版社出版了《王文显先生戏剧选》。1934年由健吾导演，曾在东城青年会礼堂与清华同方部各演出过一次《委曲求全》。王师讲这门课，他从古希腊、罗马戏剧讲起，通过中世纪的宗教剧，把重点放在17、18、19三个世纪的英、法、德、意、挪威等国的大戏剧家身上。对莎士比亚，他仅作了简要的介绍，因为他准备在四年级必修课《莎士比亚》堂上再细讲。对于法国大悲剧家拉辛与大喜剧家莫里哀，以及德国大戏剧家莱辛、席勒，意大利大喜剧家哥尔多尼，挪威大现实主义戏剧家易卜生以及英国戏剧大师萧伯纳等等，王师都作了详尽阐述。王师还指定我们读了莫里哀的《吝啬鬼》、易卜生的《傀儡家庭》，对两剧王师都作了详尽的分析。”

2　长老会，基督教新教加尔文宗的教会之一。因主张由教徒推选长老与牧师共同治理教会而得名。16世纪产生于苏格兰。主要分布在英美等国。鸦片战争后传入中国。

3　《委曲求全》写的是学校，暴露和讽刺了军阀统治下中国教育界的黑暗现实。

朱兆莘先生

1　朱兆莘（1879—1932）字鼎青，广东花县人。17岁考取秀才，次年补授廪生。肄业于广州西村广雅书院，后被选送至北京京师大学堂优级师范馆学习，因成绩优异，被钦赐为举人。1907年被选派美国学习，先后获得商务财政学士学位和法政硕士学位。1912年冬，膺选为国会美洲华侨代表回国。1913年加入中国国民党，被选为参议院议员，旋又被推为参议院外交委员会主席、宪法起草委员会委员。是年1月至7月，兼任北京大学商科主任、总统府秘书、谘议等。1914年1月，袁世凯宣布解散国会，被褫各种职务，遂前往厦门，任鼓浪屿会审公堂堂长，后返北京，进行律师事务活动。1916年国会恢复，仍任国会议员。1917年2

月，任江苏特派交涉员。同年夏，任大总统府秘书。1918年3月，任驻美国旧金山总领事。1920年9月，调任中国驻英公使馆一等秘书。1921年2月，任驻英使馆代办使事。迭次担任国际联盟理事会和万国禁烟会议的中国代表。1925年3月，任驻意大利全权公使。1927年7月，宣告脱离北京政府；8月任国民政府外交部政务次长；同年6月任广东省政府委员。九一八事变后，任特种外交委员会委员。1932年12月11日以误食蛇羹中毒逝世。

2　勃艮第葡萄酒，法国名葡萄酒，出产在法国中东部勃艮第地区。

3　勃朗宁（Robert Browning，1812—1889）英国维多利亚时代最杰出的诗人之一，善于使用戏剧独白来写富于感染力的叙事诗，并进行细致的人物心理描绘。1826年读了雪莱的抒情诗集，受到巨大影响，从而决定了他的生活道路。1835年出版诗剧《帕拉塞尔萨斯》而大受欢迎，1841年至1846年间写了许多小诗集，其中包括《皮帕走过》和《卢雷亚》，以后又发表了《圣诞夜和复活节》、《男人和女人》、《指环和书》等。勃朗宁不同于当代浪漫派诗人，对大自然不感兴趣，而公开宣称对人的兴趣更大。

4　拉伯雷（François Rabelais，约1483或1494—1553）法国作家、人文主义者。代表作为《卡冈都亚和庞大固埃》(中译本名《巨人传》)，取材于通俗的传奇文学、笑剧、骑士故事及古典作品和意大利的文学作品，大量运用文艺复兴时期的法语，以及从粗俗的戏谑到深邃的讽刺等多种喜剧成分，涉及内容极其广泛，反映了文艺复兴时期新兴资产阶级的思想要求。

顾维钧博士

1　顾维钧（1888—1985）外交家。字少川，江苏嘉定（今属上海市）人。上海圣约翰书院毕业。1912年获美国哥伦比亚大学博士学位。曾任北洋政府驻美国公使。1919年参加巴黎和会，力争收回山东权益。次年任驻英国公使。1922年后任北洋政府外交总长、国务总理、财政总长。1931年后任国民政府外交部长，驻法、英、美等国大使。1945年出席旧金山会议，任中国代表团首席代表，参与起草《联合国宪章》。1957年后任海牙国际法庭法官、副庭长。1967年后定居美国。著有《顾维钧回忆录》。

2　内阁秘书，大总统英语秘书兼国务总理秘书。

3　北洋政府时，中国在国外的全权外交代表，除派驻苏联的是大使，在美国、英国和法国等西方国家均为公使。

4　临城劫车案，又称“津浦路大劫案”，指1923年发生在津浦铁路山东境内的火车被劫事件。5月6日凌晨，以土匪孙美瑶为首的“山东救国自治军”千余人于津浦线临城和沙沟站间拦劫一列特别快车，劫持中外乘客百余人，其中外国人26名。当时的北洋政府迫于外交压力与孙美瑶部谈判并达成和平解决协议。6月25日被劫人员全部获释。

5　塔列朗（Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord，1754—1838）法国外交部长（1797—1799）、外交大臣（1799—1807，1814—1815）、驻英大使（1830—1834）。拿破仑称帝后，秘密勾结沙皇亚历山大一世反对拿破仑（1808）。后受路易十八任命出席维也纳会议（1814—1815），分化同盟国，为法国积极谋求利益。

梁龙先生

1　梁龙（1893—?）外交官。字云从，广东梅县人。毕业于英国剑桥大学，曾任国民政府外交部条约委员会委员、上海临时法院庭长、大理庭庭长、国立北京法政大学校长等。1924年2月任国立广东大学法学院院长。1928年10月派驻德国使馆任一等秘书。1933年外交部调驻捷克使馆代理一等秘书。1934年10月任驻捷克使馆代办。1939年7月任驻罗马尼亚特命全权公使。1942年4月任外交部欧洲司司长。1945年3月任驻瑞士特命全权公使。1946年8月任驻捷克特命全权公使。

2　日耳曼鹅式步伐，纳粹德国军队正步走的走姿。

3　林长民（1876—1925）字宗孟，福建闽侯人，林徽因之父。1902年留学日本，研究政治经济学。1909年回国，任福建省谘议局秘书长。武昌起义后到上海，赞助革命。南京临时政府成立时，为福建省代表，后任南京参议院秘书长。1912年参与组织共和党，次年被选为众议院议员，任秘书长。共和党与其他保守党派合并为进步党后，任政治部部长。1917年任段祺瑞内阁司法总长。1919年著文反对巴黎和会，偏袒日本。1920年游历欧美，1923年归国，任北京政府宪法起草委员会委员。1925年11月郭松龄通电反对张作霖而改称东北国民军时，入郭幕，参与反张，兵败身死。

4　蒋作宾（1884—1941）字雨岩，湖北应城人。1905年留学日本，加入同盟会。1908年日本士官学校步兵科毕业，回国任保定军官速成学校教官。次年，调陆军部军衡司任职，1911年升司长。武昌起义后去九江，任军政府参谋长。南京临时政府成立，任陆军部次长。1915年称病辞职，被袁世凯幽禁于北京西山。次年袁死，出任参谋本部次长。1917年出国游历，1919年回国，参加驱逐湖北督军王占元。1921年被推举为

湖北省总监。1922年至1925年奔走于江、浙、津、京间，为广州国民革命政府协调各方面关系。南京国民政府成立后，历任政府委员及军事委员会委员、驻德公使、驻日大使、内政部长、安徽省政府主席等职。

5　指九一八事变后日本对中国的入侵、对中国东北三省的侵占。

伍连德博士

1　伍连德（1879—1960）公共卫生学家、医学史家、中国检疫防疫事业的先驱。字星联，广东香山（今中山）人，出生于马来西亚北部的槟榔屿。1896年留学英国剑桥大学以马内利学院（今译伊曼纽尔学院）学医。1902年获医学士学位，1903年获医学博士学位。1904年底回槟榔屿，开业行医。1907年受清政府直隶总督袁世凯邀聘，任天津陆军军医学堂副监督。1911年4月世界鼠疫会议在沈阳举行，任中国首席代表和大会主席。1910年至1911年和1920年至1921年，东北各地鼠疫流行期间，为鼠疫防治作出卓越贡献。1912年，南京临时政府设立东三省防疫事务总管理处，任处长兼总医官。1915年建立中华医学会，任书记并兼《中华医学杂志》总编辑。1916年任黎元洪总统特医及京汉、京张、京奉、津浦四条铁路总医官。1918年任北京政府中央防疫处处长、北京中央医院院长。1919年1月代表外交部到上海监督焚烧鸦片。1920年去美国约翰·霍普金斯大学进修学校卫生和公共卫生。1922年受奉天督军张作霖委托，在沈阳创建东北陆军医院。1926年创办哈尔滨医学专门学校（哈尔滨医科大学前身），任校长。1927年国际联盟卫生处聘其为该处中国委员，并授予“鼠疫专家”称号。出席国际联盟在印度召开的第七次远东热带病学会，被选为副主席。1931年代表南京国民政府出席国际联盟卫生会议；在上海主持召开第一届检疫学术研究会。1937年4月任中华医学会公共卫生学会会长。1937年八一三事变后，被迫举家重返马来西亚。1960年1月病逝于马来西亚槟榔屿。著有《论肺型鼠疫》、《鼠疫概论》、《中国医史》等。

2　槟榔屿，马来西亚西北部岛屿。

3　英国以前在马六甲海峡沿岸的殖民地，包括槟榔屿、新加坡、马六甲和附近小岛。

4　利物浦，英格兰西部港口城市。

5　哈雷，德国城市。

6　巴尔的摩，美国马里兰州中北部港口城市。

刘复博士

1　刘复（1891—1934）诗人、翻译家、语言学家、“五四”新文化运动的先驱之一、中国语言及摄影理论奠基人。原名寿彭，后改名复，字半农，江苏江阴人。出生于知识分子家庭，1911年曾参加辛亥革命，1912年后在上海以向“鸳鸯蝴蝶派”报刊投稿为生。1917年到北京大学任法科预科教授，并参与《新青年》杂志的编辑工作。积极投身文学革命，反对文言文，提倡白话文，提倡分段、句读，使用新式标点符号，并首创“她”、“它”两字。1920年到英国伦敦大学的大学院学习实验语音学，1921年夏转入法国巴黎大学，专攻语言学。1925年获得法国国家文学博士学位，所著《汉语字声实验录》，荣获法国“康士坦丁·伏尔内语言学专奖”，是我国第一个获此国际大奖的语言学家。1925年秋回国，任北京大学中国文学系教授，讲授语音学。1934年在北平病逝，《世界日报·国语周刊》、《青年界》等刊物出了纪念专辑。蔡元培、鲁迅、周作人、钱玄同、赵元任、黎锦熙、张恨水等数十人写了悼念文章。著有《半农杂文》及诗集《扬鞭集》，采编的民歌集《瓦釜集》，专著《中国文法通论》、《四声实验录》等。

2　此说有误。据蔡元培所撰《故国立北京大学教授刘君碑铭》，“……决游学欧洲。九年，赴英吉利……”；周作人所撰《故国立北京大学教授刘君墓志》载，“九年，教育部派赴欧洲留学……”。即刘复教授1920年始出国留学。

3　“中基会”，全称为“中华教育文化基金董事会”（China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture），成立于1924年，负责保管并支配美国第二次退还的庚子赔款余额，用以促进中国的教育与文化事业。后更名为“中华教育文化基金会”。该会曾于1932年至1937年间与北京大学合作设立研究特款，作为聘请研究教授、添购图书及仪器等用途。

4　戴传贤，即戴季陶（1890—1949）名传贤，号天仇，浙江吴兴人。早年留学日本，参加同盟会，辛亥革命后追随孙中山。1924年任国民党中央宣传部长。1925年参加西山会议派活动，发表《孙文主义之哲学基础》、《国民革命与中国国民党》等文章，歪曲孙中山学说的革命内容，反对共产党和工农运动，为蒋介石发动反革命政变制造舆论。1927年南京国民政府成立后，历任国民政府委员、考试院院长，长时期为蒋介石的谋士。1949年2月在广州自杀。

5　绥远，旧省名，在中国北部。1914年置绥远特别区，1928年改设省，所辖范围相当于今内蒙古自治区鄂尔多斯市、巴彦淖尔市及呼和浩特市、包头市等地。1954年撤销，并入内蒙古自治区。

6　此说有误。据蔡元培所撰《故国立北京大学教授刘君碑铭》，“……妻朱惠，长女育厚，男育伦，次女育敦……”；周作人所撰《故国立北京大学教授刘君墓志》载，“……夫人朱惠，生子女三人，育厚、育伦、育敦”。即刘复教授所遗并非只是两个女儿。

王德林，“武牛”

1　王德林（1873—1938）抗日爱国将领。山东沂南人。早年组织义军抗击沙俄军队，后被吉林督军收编，任营长驻防延吉地区。九一八事变后，王德林率部举起抗日义旗，在共产党员李延禄的帮助下，1932年2月在延吉成立“中国国民救国军”，担任总指挥。之后，在吉林、黑龙江等广大地区，屡屡重创日伪军，被誉为“救国军常胜将军”。国民党曾派人争取其反共，他坚持不分党派共同抗日。1932年11月，日军纠集重兵“进剿”救国军，国民党政府坐视不救，1933年1月无奈率部退入苏联境内，5月转道回国，继续从事抗日救亡运动，筹组抗日武装。1935年中国共产党领导成立东北抗日联军，曾提名其任总司令，因疾病缠身未能就任。1938年12月病逝。

2　三岔口，现属黑龙江，在绥芬河以南，延吉以北。

3　罗宾汉，英国传说中啸聚绿林、劫富济贫的侠盗首领。

4　“二十一条”，日本帝国主义妄图独占中国的秘密条款。1915年1月18日由日本驻华公使日置益当面向袁世凯提出。共有5号，分为21条。袁世凯为了换取日本对他复辟帝制的支持，除对第五号条款“中国政府须聘用日本人为政治、财政、军事顾问……”声明“容日后协商”外，均予承认。由于中国人民反对，日本的侵略要求未能实现。

5　敦化，在吉林省延边朝鲜族自治州西北部、牡丹江上游，邻接黑龙江省。

6　1928年张作霖败退东北，所乘火车途经沈阳西郊皇姑屯车站时，被日本关东军埋设的炸弹炸成重伤，当日身亡。

丁文江博士

1　丁文江（1887—1936）地质学家、地质教育家、中国地质科学的奠基人。字在君，江苏泰兴人。早年留学英国格拉斯哥大学。辛亥革命前一年，曾到云南东部作地质考察旅行，搜集古生物和地层标本，准备论文。毕业后回国。1913年任民国政府工商部矿政司地质科科长，筹备创设地质研究所。1913年秋研究所开学，又前往云南作地质考察，约一

年。1916年地质科扩为地质调查局，不久改为地质调查所，任所长五年。1921年北票煤矿公司成立，任总经理。1919年随北京政府特派员梁启超赴欧洲考察，并列席巴黎和会。1922年创立中国地质学会，两度担任会长。根据云南的考察所得写了新的论文提交给格拉斯哥大学，被该校授予博士学位。1926年被北京政府任命为东南五省联军总司令孙传芳直辖的“淞沪商埠督办公署总办”。1927年北伐军进入上海，被通缉，曾在大连躲避，后任北京大学地质系教授。中央研究院总干事杨杏佛被暗杀后，院长蔡元培聘其为继任总干事。1935年应铁道部长顾孟余之邀赴湘南考察，不意煤气中毒，遽尔长逝。著有《动物学教科书》，与他人合著地理著作若干；所遗地质考察材料，编成《丁文江先生地质调查报告》。

2　卫灵敦勋爵（Freeman Freeman-Thomas，1st Marquess of Willingdon，1866—1941）英国政治家、英属加拿大总督（1926—1931）、英属印度总督（1931—1936）。1926年作为中英庚子赔款顾问委员会副主席率团来华，参加中英双方庚款会议。其间，丁文江曾就是否出任淞沪商埠督办公署总办一职向其请教。

3　贝尔福伯爵（Arthur James Balfour，1848—1930）英国保守党领袖、首相（1902—1905）、外交大臣（1916—1919）。1917年发表“贝尔福宣言”，支持犹太复国主义。1922年封伯爵。如今的以色列就是根据他设计的蓝图建立的。

4　莫利勋爵（John Morley，1st Viscount Morley of Blackburn，1838—1923）英国政治家、历史学家、传记作家。曾任爱尔兰事务大臣、印度国务大臣和枢密院长。著有《伏尔泰》、《卢梭》、《狄德罗与百科全书派》、《论妥协》、《政治与历史》、《文学研究》、《克伦威尔》和《伯克传》等，并主编过《评论双周刊》和《佩尔美尔街日报》。

5　布赖斯子爵（James Bryce，1838—1922）英国政治家、外交家和历史学家。历任外交国务大臣、兰开斯特公国大臣和商务大臣，1905年任爱尔兰事务大臣，1907年至1913年任驻美大使。著有三卷本《美利坚共和国》，1914年封子爵。

6　《家庭大学丛书》，全称是Home University Library of Modern Knowledge，系20世纪初期纽约Henry Holt & Company出版社推出的知识丛书，普及性质，作者都较权威。

7　《剑桥科学与文学文丛》，全称是The Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature，系20世纪初期纽约G. P. Putnam's Sons出版社推出的普及性入门丛书。

8　《新工具》，书名，弗兰西斯·培根未完成的主要著作《伟大的复兴》的第二部分。原文为拉丁文，1620年出版。相对于亚里士多德以演绎逻辑为主的《工具论》，培根称他的这部提出新方法（归纳法）的著作为《新工具》。

9　托尔斯泰（Leo Tolstoy，1828—1910）俄国作家、改革家、道德思想家。《战争与和平》和《安娜·卡列尼娜》是他最伟大的两部杰作。71岁时写了最后一部长篇小说《复活》。其作品和现实主义创作方法对世界文学有巨大影响。

10　“淞沪商埠督办公署总办”，相当于上海市市长。

11　据胡适《丁文江的传记》，“狂热运动”疑指“苏俄的共产”。丁文江把“为全种万世而牺牲个体一时”当“宗教信仰”，“极热忱地希望苏俄成功”。

12　赫伯特·乔治·威尔斯（Herbert George Wells，1866—1946）英国小说家、新闻记者、政治家、社会学家、历史学家。尤以其创作的《时光机器》、《隐形人》、《星际战争》等科幻小说和《世界史纲》而闻名。他当然不是“圣徒”，他的言论也不是宗教上的“福音”，但阐述了他对社会现状和人类未来的思考。

已故的辜鸿铭先生

1　辜鸿铭（1856—1928）学者。名汤生，自号汉滨读易者，字鸿铭，福建同安（今属厦门）人。出生于马来亚华侨世家，少年时便随义父布朗赴英国留学，先后在欧洲各国获得十余种学位。通数国语文，曾为张之洞幕僚，清末官外务部左丞。辛亥革命后任教于北京大学。政治态度极为保守，推崇孔孟学说，反对新文化。著有《读易堂文集》、《春秋大义》（即《中国人的精神》）等，译有《痴汉骑马歌》，并以西文介绍儒家经典，将《论语》、《中庸》等译为英文。

2　萨默塞特·毛姆（William Somerset Maugham，1874—1965）英国小说家、文艺评论家。因洞察而怀疑人类的善良与智力，作品基调愤世嫉俗。著有长篇小说《人性的枷锁》、《月亮和六便士》、《大吃大喝》和《刀锋》等，其短篇小说尤脍炙人口。

3　毛姆原书出版于1922年，中译本有《在中国屏风上》（湖南人民出版社，1987年）；《天堂之魔——毛姆传》（中国文联出版社，1987年）将此书译为《中国一览》，《辜鸿铭文集》（海南出版社，1996年）则将该书译为《中国剪影》。

吴赉熙先生

1　吴赉熙（1881—1951）爱国华侨。祖籍广东潮安，1881年生于新加坡。17岁赴英国入读于剑桥大学，以17年时间将所有学科几乎读竟，取得医学博士及许多其他学位。34岁时经西伯利亚返国回到北京。曾创北京第一份英文报纸，初名Peiping Daily News，后改名Peking Chronicle，自任社长兼主编。在遂安伯胡同29号成立南洋华侨俱乐部，为华侨免费提供食宿，密切了华侨与祖国的关系。抗日战争时期，经济力量虽不出众，但为了支持抗战，倾囊捐助。兴趣广泛，是栽培月季花的专家、小提琴演奏家、自然保护主义者，还是文物鉴定和收藏家。1951年去世后，所藏瓷器、青铜器、字画等由其子无偿捐献给国家。

2　七大奇观，古代世界七种著名建筑物和雕刻品的总称，最早由公元前3世纪的旅行家昂蒂帕克提出，即：埃及金字塔、巴比伦空中花园、以弗所阿尔忒弥斯神庙、奥林匹亚宙斯神像、哈利卡纳苏摩索拉斯陵墓、罗得岛太阳神巨像、亚历山大灯塔。

3　15世纪法国诗人阿兰·夏蒂埃（Alain Chartier）最著名的一首诗就题为La Belle Dame sans Merci，据说英文译者为乔叟。英国诗人济慈也有一首诗以此为题，有人译为“冷酷的妖女”。

吴稚晖先生

1　吴稚晖（1865—1953）原名 ，后名敬恒，字稚晖，江苏武进人。清光绪举人。1901年留学于日本东京高等师范学校，次年与蔡元培等人发起成立上海爱国学社。1905年加入同盟会。1907年，与张静江、李石曾在巴黎组织世界社，发行《新世纪》，宣传革命。1915年，与李石曾等发起组织留法俭学会，1921年任里昂中法大学校长。1924年起任国民党中央监察委员、国防最高会议常委等。1948年当选为中央研究院院士。1949年去台湾。著有《吴稚晖先生合集》。吴稚晖关心教育，认为“无音可读”是汉字的缺点。早在1895年，他便为不识字的妻子草创了一种“豆芽菜”字母。1913年1月，担任国语读音统一会会长； 2月，召开全国读音统一会，主持制定注音字母。

2　约翰逊（Samuel Johnson，1709—1784）英国作家、评论家、散文作家和辞书编纂者。编有《英语辞典》、《莎士比亚集》，作品有长诗《伦敦》、《人类欲望的虚幻》等。《英语辞典》收词4万，以词义精确和文学引语丰赡著称，质量超过以往所有的英文辞典，成为辞书编撰史上永久的丰碑。他之所以出名并不仅仅因为他的作品，还由于谈吐机智隽永、语言强劲有力。下文提到的《漫步者》是他在1750年至1752年

独自编写和发行的一份双周刊，主要涉及道德和宗教主题。

3　切利尼（Benvenuto Cellini，1500—1571）意大利雕刻家、金匠，除雕塑外也从事金币、奖牌等金属制品的制作。在法国和意大利都有重要地位，代表作有《帕尔修斯》雕像，并有《自传》问世。

4　托利党，英国政党，形成于17世纪70年代末，代表土地贵族和高级教士利益。至19世纪中期，成为保守党的建党基础。托利（Tory），原指爱尔兰歹徒，即反英游击队成员，这是辉格党对于反对党的贬称。

5　辉格党，英国政党，1679年至1682年间在国会中形成，代表工商业资产阶级利益。19世纪中叶与其他资产阶级政党合并成为自由党。辉格（Whig），原指苏格兰强盗，这是托利党对于反对党的贬称。

6　基督教监理会，基督教会之一支。18世纪约翰·卫斯理在英国圣公会内开展恢复其活力的运动，是为循道派。后来在圣公会内立会，是为循道宗。随移民传入美国，南北战争期间由于对蓄奴制态度不同而分裂成南北两支，至1939年又合并。Southern Methodist Church在中国境内从事传教活动时，自称“监理会”。

顾静徽女士

1　顾静徽（1900—1983）物理学家、物理教育家，中国近代史上第一个物理学女博士。江苏嘉定人。1923年在上海大同大学考取留学美国公费生。1926年毕业于美国康奈尔大学文理学院。1928年获美国耶鲁大学硕士学位。1931年获美国密歇根大学物理博士学位。回国后，历任大同大学、唐山交通大学（平越）、广西大学等校物理学教授。1937年至1939年，在德国柏林威廉皇家物理研究所（战后改为蒲朗克研究所）任研究员。1947年至1949年任国立编译馆编纂，曾参加《中国物理学辞典》的编纂工作。新中国成立后，任北京钢铁学院教授、物理教研室主任、中国物理学会北京分会第一至第七届副理事长。专长低温物理学和光谱学，在诸所大学任教中培养了一批优秀人才，国际知名物理学家吴健雄就是她的学生。主要论文有《铬钾矾在低温下的斯塔克效应及其热能和磁能的关系》、《对称三原子光带系的强度分布》、《二氧化碳的吸收光谱》等。

杨丙辰先生

1　杨丙辰（1892—1966）又名震文，河南南阳人。1913年考取省公费留德，入柏林大学，1918年归国，历任北京大学德文教授，清华大学教

授、河南大学校长。作为中国德语文学学科的开山祖，兼及北大、清华两大学统，曾为张威廉、商承祖、冯至、季羡林、杨业治、田德望等人师长。他的重要贡献还表现在翻译上，所译包括莱辛、席勒、歌德、豪普特曼和其他德国诗人的作品，影响颇大。他还翻译过里尔的《德国民族的性格》、费希特的《对德意志国民的演讲》以及《汤若望传》、《洛莱神女》、《火焰》等。他的经历，大致可分为两段，1918—1949年和20世纪50—60年代。归国之初，地位与名声都很不差，胡适任北大英文系主任，他是北大德文系主任；校长蔡元培曾为他翻译的德国剧本作序。但是，到了30年代，据李长之说："他不擅长于做一个精明强干的事业家，当他一遇到现实生活，就仍显出他是一个书生来。他的性情也不近人情，他也没有兴趣去做一个运用手腕的人。他的心太好，他有的是正义、正气，可是他不耐烦，也不能够应付恶人。倘若人们不怕正义，或者正气，当然杨先生是这个鬼蜮世界上的失败者。所以他在两个大学，都受排挤了。"1949年后，居然连教职都丢了。有人说，是因为"杨丙辰还是那样不通人情世故，解放战争就要胜利了，他的同乡某人拉他加入什么党派，他觉得无所谓，答应了"。据黄鸿森先生了解，1949年后被管制，到1956年才进入北京编译社从事德文翻译。60年代初某日，在北京景山附近的食品店里，张中行碰到杨丙辰，杨氏正在那里排队买高价点心。杨老师把学生拉到一边，低声对他说："要设法买这个吃。不能不活着，身体要紧。"在学生辈中，李长之对他的敬重始终如一。现在谈论李长之的文章，几乎都要强调："李长之早年学生物，后来受清华大学德国文学教授杨丙辰影响，改学哲学，在当时文学批评领域能够占有一席之地，与他的哲学功底大有关系。"李长之也并不讳言而撰有《杨丙辰先生论》，甚至在"其恩师……被剥夺了发表文章的自由时，李长之往往在刊发自己的翻译作品时多署一个笔名，以便偷偷接济年迈而已无力糊口的老师"。据北京编译社同事宋宁先生说，杨先生过世于1966年，"文化大革命"正开展得如火如荼之际。

2　据《神曲》，地狱边境是基督降生前未受洗的儿童和好人的灵魂所居之处。

3　genus、species、kingdom在这里都是自然科学分类的范畴，尤其在生物学界。如生物之分为动物、植物两大kingdom，这里的kingdom，不是"王国"，而是"界"。

4　请参考本书《吴经熊》一文注释7。在史书上不难看见他的画像，这可以帮助我们了解什么叫做"格莱斯顿式的高领圈"。

冯友兰博士

1　冯友兰（1895—1990）哲学家、哲学史家。字芝生，河南唐河人。1915年入北京大学文科中国哲学门。1919年赴美留学，获哲学博士学位。回国后历任中州大学、中山大学、燕京大学、清华大学哲学教授。抗战期间，任西南联合大学哲学系教授兼文学院院长。1947年任清华大学校务会议主席。1952年起任北京大学哲学系教授，中国科学院哲学社会科学部委员，第二至四届全国政协委员，第六、七届全国政协常委。20世纪30年代初出版两卷本《中国哲学史》，把中国哲学史分为“子学时代”和“经学时代”，肯定了传统儒学的价值。40年代写《新理学》、《新事论》、《新世训》、《新原人》、《新原道》、《新知言》，以程朱理学结合新实在论，构建其“新理学”体系。新中国成立后著有《中国哲学史新编》等，论著编为《三松堂全集》。

2　沃尔浦尔（Horace Walpole，4th Earl of Orford，1717—1797）英国作家、鉴赏家、收藏家。著述颇丰，以英国第一部哥特式小说《奥特朗托堡》和可以概观当时社会政治情况、风俗情趣的三千多封书信闻名。

3　伯内特（John Burnet，1863—1928）苏格兰古典主义者，以其对柏拉图的研究闻名。泽勒（Eduard Zeller，1814—1908）德国哲学家。文德尔班（Wilhelm Windelband，1848—1915）德国哲学家、新康德主义弗赖堡学派的创始人。厄尔德曼（Johann Eduard Erdmann，1805—1892）德国哲学家、心理学家。

4　模仿冯友兰对于“objective”（客观）和“subjective”（主观）带有河南口音而又有点口吃的发音。

刘铁云

1　刘铁云（1857—1909）清末小说家。名鹗，字铁云，别署洪都百炼生，室名抱残守缺斋，江苏丹徒人。通数学、医术、水利等学。1888年至1895年，先后入河南、山东巡抚幕府，帮办治黄工程，成绩显著。亦曾兴办实业，鼓励“洋为中用”。1897年，应伦敦福公司之聘，任筹采山西矿产经理。后又曾参与拟订河南矿务机关豫丰公司章程，并为福公司擘划开采四川麻哈金矿、浙江衢严温处四府煤铁矿，成为外商之买办与经纪人。八国联军入侵北京时，向俄军贱价购得所掠太仓储粟，设平粜局赈济饥民。1908年，被诬以私散仓粟及为外人在浦口购置产业，遣戍新疆，次年病死。所著《老残游记》是晚清谴责小说的代表作。生平喜金石碑帖，著有《铁云藏龟》和《铁云藏陶》，是甲骨文最早收藏者之一。胡适曾概括刘鹗的一生，称其“有四件大事：一是河工，二是甲骨文字的辨认，三是请开山西的矿，四是购买太仓的米来赈济北京难

民”。

2　端方（1861—1911）清末大臣、金石学家。满洲正白旗人，托忒克氏。字午桥，号斋。曾任陕西按察使、护理陕西巡抚。后擢升湖北巡抚，署湖广总督。再迁江苏巡抚，署两江总督。1905年与载泽等出国考察政治，次年归国，上《欧美政治要义》，建议预备立宪，以抵制革命。同年任两江总督。1909年移督直隶，因在东陵拍摄慈禧葬仪被摄政王载沣免职。1911年起用为川汉、粤汉铁路督办大臣，率军入川镇压保路运动，在资州被起义士兵所杀。著有《端忠敏公奏稿》、《匋斋吉金录》等。

3　曾国藩（1811—1872）清末洋务派、湘军首领。原名子城，字伯涵，号涤生，湖南湘乡人。道光进士。曾任内阁学士兼礼部侍郎等职。从唐鉴、倭仁讲习理学。1853年初为对抗太平天国，以在籍侍郎身份在湖南办团练，旋扩编为湘军。次年发布《讨粤匪檄》，攻击太平天国。率兵出省作战，夺取武昌和田家镇。1855年在湖口、九江被打败，退守南昌。次年因太平天国发生“杨韦事变”，再陷武昌。1858年占九江，令李续宾率湘军主力攻三河，被歼灭。旋以曾国荃吉字营为基础，扩充实力。1860年升两江总督，授钦差大臣，督办江南军务，节制苏、皖、赣、浙四省军务。主张“借洋兵助剿”。1862年为协办大学士，派李鸿章到上海，左宗棠入浙江，会同“常胜军”、“常捷军”夹攻太平军，并派曾国荃围攻天京（今南京）。1864年7月攻陷天京。次年奉命督办直隶（今河北）、山东、河南三省军务，镇压捻军，后战败回两江总督任。与李鸿章、左宗棠创办上海江南制造局、福建马尾船政局等军事工业。1868年授武英殿大学士，调任直隶总督。1870年查办天津教案，惩办民众，对外妥协，受到舆论谴责，回任两江总督。后病死南京。有《曾文正公全集》。但刘大钧原文所写为“曾国荃”，而非“曾国藩”。

4　捻军，太平天国时期活动于北方的农民起义军。原称捻子（今称捻党）。每一股谓“一捻子”，分布于苏、鲁、豫、鄂、皖一带，以皖北为活动中心。成员主要是农民、手工业者、盐贩和游民。以抗粮、抗差、打富济贫等为斗争方式。1853年太平天国北伐军经过安徽、河南，捻党纷纷响应，从此展开大规模武装斗争。1855年张乐行召集各路捻军首领会盟，被推为盟主。1857年与太平军陈玉成、李秀成等会师，接受太平天国领导。此后捻军转战豫、皖、苏、鲁、鄂各省，屡败清军。1862年陈玉成牺牲后，张乐行受清军围攻，次年初被俘牺牲。1864年太平军赖文光推为捻军首领，整编军队，采用流动战术，易步为骑。次年在曹州高楼寨击杀僧格林沁。1866年于河南分为东西两路活动，1868年初东捻军在扬州附近失败。西捻军为援救东捻军，经山西、直隶（今河北）至

山东北部，1868年在茌平徒骇河边覆没。捻军坚持战斗十六年，活动范围达八省，有力配合了太平天国和北方各地人民的斗争。

5　张翰仙（生卒年不详）名汝梅，字翰仙。历任山西右江道、山西按察使、陕西布政使。1897年山东巨野教案后，继李秉衡任山东巡抚。抵任后主张持平办理民教纠纷，清政府责其弹压无力，遂革职。

6　原文拼写为Li Hung-chung，疑为Li Hung-chang之误，按。李鸿章（1823—1901）清末洋务派、淮军首领。字少荃，安徽合肥人。道光进士。1853年在籍办团练抵抗太平军，1858年入曾国藩幕。1861年编练淮军，次年在外国侵略者支持下进攻太平军，升任江苏巡抚。1866年继曾国藩任钦差大臣，节制各军专办镇压捻军事务。1870年继曾国藩任直隶总督兼北洋大臣，掌管清廷外交、军事、经济大权。从60年代起开办近代军事工业，先后设立江南制造局、轮船招商局、开平煤矿等洋务事业。利用海关税收购买军火和军舰，扩充淮军实力，建立北洋海军。在对外交涉中主张妥协。1876年与英国签订《烟台条约》，1885年与法国订立《中法新约》。中日甲午战争中避战求和，签订《马关条约》。1896年签订《中俄密约》。1900年八国联军侵占北京后，被任为议和全权大臣，与庆亲王奕劻代表清政府于次年签订《辛丑条约》。著有《李文忠公全集》。李鸿章与刘父成忠有年谊。

章太炎

1　章太炎（1869—1936）原名学乘，字枚叔，后易名炳麟。因反清而慕顾绛（顾炎武），改名绛。浙江余杭人，清末民初思想家，史学家，朴学大师，民族主义革命者。出生书香门第，受祖父章鉴及外祖朱有虔民族主义熏陶。1890年遵父亲章睿（古文经学家）遗命入杭州诂经精舍，师从俞樾、谭献等。1898年春，应张之洞邀赴武汉办报。戊戌后，仍遭通缉，避祸台湾，任《台湾日日新报》记者。1899年夏赴日本，与梁启超等修好，回上海参与《亚东时报》编务。1900年后，严复等在上海组“中国议会”以挽救时局，章应邀参加。1902年再次逃亡日本，寓梁启超《新民丛报》馆。1903年发表《驳康有为论革命书》，指斥清帝，为邹容《革命军》作序，遂发生“苏报案”，入狱三年。1906年赴日本参加同盟会，继任《民报》主笔。著有《文始》、《新方言》、《国故论衡》、《齐物论释》等。开汉语言文字学、经学、文学、及哲学心理学现代化研究先河。辛亥后，1912年2月任南京临时政府枢密顾问。同年冬任袁世凯政府东三省筹边使。1913年回上海，6月与汤国黎结婚。二次革命败后，章觉袁世凯包藏祸心，1913年8月进京，欲与袁理论，袁不见，乃至新华门大骂，遂遭袁囚禁。1916年6月袁死，恢复自由。7月

参与护法运动，任海陆军大元帅府秘书长。1918年离开广州。1920年拥护联省自治。1922年讲学上海，但反对国民革命军北伐。1927年南京国民政府成立，章不合作。晚年主张读经。1935年，在蒋介石资助下，于苏州开设章氏国学讲习会，并出版学刊《制言》。撰《救学弊论》批评教育体制，主张回归民间办学和书院教育。1936年6月14日因鼻窦癌卒于苏州锦帆路寓所。

2　1934年《人间世》第11期“今人志”专栏，曹聚仁撰《章太炎先生》。

3　当为《齐物论释》。

周廷旭先生

1　周廷旭（1903—1972）中国油画先驱，福建厦门人。14岁时就读于伦敦传教士协会在天津创办的英中学院。1920年毕业后出国留学，先在哈佛大学学习艺术史和考古学，随后进入波士顿艺术博物馆美术学院学习绘画艺术。1923年赴欧，先在法国著名的巴黎美术学院，翌年移居英国，就读于伦敦大学。1925年进入英国皇家美术学院，在名师指导下进行系统严格的西方艺术学习。1930年作为优才生毕业后到大英博物馆工作，从事中国艺术研究一年余。随后花了将近十年的时间到世界各地旅游、写生和创作。1942年在纽约最著名的诺德勒画廊成功地举办了来美后的第一次个展。他的油画风格是在欧洲印象主义和现代强调个性表现的思潮发展基础上形成的，去掉了学院派的繁琐细节模写，追求色彩的单纯化，强调平面的构成，使用大块面的分割，结合外光的点彩和东方的线描，给人以清新宁静、和谐愉悦之感。1972年1月在格拉斯顿伯利去世。2003年华盛顿州州长骆家辉签署文件，把2月14日定为全州的“周廷旭日”(Teng Hiok Chiu's Day)，以表示对这位美籍华人艺术家的尊重。

2　朗吉努斯（Dionysius Cassius Longinus，约213—273）古希腊新柏拉图主义哲学家、修辞学教师、文学批评创新作品《论崇高》的作者。从修辞学角度研究“崇高体”，认为崇高风格的因素有“掌握伟大思想的能力”、“强烈深厚的热情”、“修辞格的妥当应用”、“高尚的文辞”以及“庄严而生动的布局”。

3　菲利普·锡德尼爵士（Sir Philip Sidney，1554—1586）英国诗人、廷臣、军人。作品有传奇故事《阿卡迪亚》、牧歌短剧《五月女郎》、十四行组诗《爱星者和星星》以及文学评论《诗辩》等。

4　克雷齐克（Thomas Creswick，1811—1869）英国风景画家。艺术评论家罗斯金很推崇他的画作。

5　透纳（Joseph Mallord William Turner，1775—1851）英国风景画家。擅长水彩画，融合油画与水彩技法，追求光与色的效果。主要作品有《运输船的遇难》、《迪埃普港》及《雨、蒸气和速度》等。

陈通伯

1　陈通伯（1896—1970）文学评论家、翻译家。名源，字通伯，笔名西滢，江苏无锡人。1912年春，经表舅吴稚晖介绍赴英国爱丁堡中学求学，毕业后入爱丁堡大学，后转伦敦大学攻读政治经济学。1921年毕业，获博士学位。1922年应蔡元培之邀回国，任北京大学外文系教授、系主任。1924年在胡适的支持下，与徐志摩、王世杰、周鲠生、杨振声等13人创办《现代评论》周刊，主编该刊《闲话》专栏，发表杂文，反对以鲁迅为代表的左翼文艺运动，与鲁迅爆发多次笔战。1929年任武汉大学教授兼文学院院长。1940年由吴稚晖推荐，当选为国民参政会参政员。1941年任中央文化协会会长。1946年经胡适推荐，出任国民政府常驻联合国教科文组织代表。1966年夏定居英国伦敦。著有《西滢闲话》、《西滢后话》，译有屠格涅夫的《父与子》和《梅立克短篇小说集》、《少年维特之创造》等。

2　简·奥斯汀（Jane Austen，1775—1817）英国女作家。以善于描绘中产阶级家庭生活著称，著有长篇小说《傲慢与偏见》、《爱玛》、《理智与情感》和《曼斯菲尔德花园》等。

3　阿纳托尔·法朗士（Anatole France，1844—1924）法国小说家、文艺评论家。关心社会问题，后逐渐倾向社会主义，1921年加入法国共产党，同年获得诺贝尔文学奖。主要作品有《希尔维斯特·波纳尔的罪行》、《现代史话》（4卷）。《西滢闲话》中有《法朗士先生的真相》和《再谈法朗士》两文。据徐志摩说，陈氏的文章学法朗士“有根”。

4　不妨以他对鲁迅的评价为例。据他说：“鲁迅先生一下笔就想构陷人家的罪状。他不是减，就是加，不是断章取义，便捏造些事实。他是中国‘思想界的权威者’，轻易得罪不得的。”“他的文章，我看过了就放进了应该去的地方……”（1926年1月30日《晨报副刊》）“我觉得他的杂感，除了《热风》中二三篇外，实在没有一读的价值。”（1928年6月初版《西滢闲话》）

孙大雨

1　孙大雨（1905—1997）诗人、翻译家、莎士比亚研究专家。原名孙

铭传，字守拙，号子潜，浙江诸暨人。在上海读初中时，即积极参加1919年的“六三”爱国运动，并编辑学生刊物《学生呼》。自1919年发表诗作，1922年考入清华学校高等科，与朱湘（子沅）、饶孟侃（子离）、杨世恩（子惠）合称“清华四子”。后来四人都加入了新月社，又称“新月四子”。1926年入美国新罕布什尔州的达特茅斯学院主修英文文学，1928年赴耶鲁大学研究院专攻英文文学。回国后，1930年至1957年，历任武汉大学、北京师范大学、北平大学女子文理学院、北京大学、国立青岛大学、浙江大学、暨南大学、中央政治学校、复旦大学等校教授。20世纪20年代，曾在《新月》上发表格律体新诗多首，在纽约时曾把孙过庭《书谱·序》译为英文，1935年发表在英文月刊《天下》上。新中国成立后，致力于英文文学教学、翻译及研究工作。他一生翻译有莎士比亚戏剧八部，数量不多，但质量颇高。他首先运用自己创建的音组理论翻译莎剧，以汉语音组对应莎剧原文的五音步抑扬格，力求导旨而传神。除莎译外，还有部分屈原诗英译，中国汉唐古诗英译和部分英文名诗汉译，分别收录在《屈原诗选英译》、《古诗文英译集》和《英诗选译集》等译作中。

2　温飞卿（?—866）唐诗人、词人。名庭筠，原名岐，字飞卿，太原人。文思敏捷，精于音律。仕途不得意，官止国子助教。其诗辞藻华丽，多写个人遭际，于时政亦有所反映。词多写闺情，风格秾艳。现存词六十余首，在唐词人中数量最多，大都收入《花间集》。因其相貌丑陋而被冠以诨号“温钟馗”。

3　贺铸（1052—1125）北宋词人。字方回，号庆湖遗老，卫州人。曾任泗州、太平州通判，晚年退居苏州。好以旧谱填新词而改易其调名，谓之“寓声”。其词风格多样，善于锤炼字句，又常运用古乐府及唐人诗句入词。内容多写闺情离思，也有嗟叹功名不就、纵酒狂放之作。又能诗文。其相貌丑陋，人称“鬼头”。

4　孙过庭（生卒年不详）唐书法家、书法理论家。字虔礼，以字行。官率府录事参军。工正、行、草，尤以草书擅名。宋米芾以为“凡唐草得二王法，无出其右”。今存其垂拱三年（公元687年）撰书的《书谱·卷上》（即《书谱·序》），阐述正草二体书法，见解精辟，为书文并茂的书法理论著作。

5　孙大雨所译《黎琊王》即莎士比亚的《李尔王》。

梁宗岱

1　梁宗岱（1903—1983）诗人、翻译家。字菩根，广东新会人。1921

年加入文学研究会，1923年入岭南大学文科学习。1924年起先后在瑞士、法国、德国、意大利学习文学和语言。留法期间，结识了法国象征派诗歌大师保罗·瓦莱里，并将其诗作译成中文，寄回国内刊在《小说月报》上，使法国大诗人的精品首次与中国读者见面。1931年回国，先后在北京大学、清华大学、南开大学、重庆复旦大学任教。1945年与人合办广西西江学院。新中国成立后任中山大学、广州外语学院（现广东外语外贸大学）教授。其诗以间接暗示的手法歌咏爱情，表现心灵与自然的和谐，诗意幽深隽永。著有诗集《晚祷》、《诗钞1958—1962》、《芦笛风》，论文集《诗与真》、《诗与真二集》，译著《水仙辞》、《交错集》、《莎士比亚十四行诗》、《罗丹论》、《蒙田随笔》等。

2　嘉布遣会，正式名称为“嘉布遣小兄弟会”，是天主教方济各会的一支，1525年由马特奥创立。

3　尼爱拉，通常是古罗马诗人用来称呼情人的名字，在弥尔顿那首“伟大的短诗”《利西达斯》中就有此词。缘自维吉尔的《牧歌》第三首中仙女的名字。

4　即我们这个现实世界，前半句是希腊神话的说法，后半句是基督教《圣经·旧约》的典故，或出自弥尔顿的《失乐园》。

5　山道（Eugen Sandow，1867—1925）德国人，世界健美运动奠基者。系统地奠定了健美训练方法与审美标准。

6　朗费罗（Henry Wadsworth Longfellow，1807—1882）19世纪美国著名诗人。曾任哈佛大学近代语言教授。《人生颂》和《群星之光》是他广为传诵的两首诗，长篇叙事诗《伊凡吉林》使他声望日增，以芬兰史诗《卡勒瓦拉》为蓝本写出的《海华沙之歌》是他艺术性最高的作品之一。还曾翻译但丁的《神曲》。

7　丁尼生（Alfred Tennyson，1809—1892）英国诗人。重视诗的形式完美、音韵和谐、辞藻华丽。1850年被封为桂冠诗人。主要诗作有《夏洛蒂小姐》、《尤利西斯》、组诗《悼念》和《国王叙事诗》等。20世纪初，评论家认为他的不少诗矫揉造作、浅薄、华而不实，过去对他的评价过高。晚近，评价又趋公允，承认《尤利西斯》为不朽杰作，《悼念》是维多利亚时代的代表作。

8　请参考本书《吴宓先生，学者和君子》一文注释8。梁宗岱是瓦莱里的长诗《水仙辞》的译者，他的翻译曾受到作者的指点，译文也同样蒙眬、优美、动听。

9　拉辛（Jean Baptiste Racine，1639—1699）法国诗人、剧作家、法国古典主义悲剧代表作家之一。曾任路易十四宫廷史官。多利用古希腊、

罗马历史传说，暴露宫廷贵族的腐败残暴。主要作品有诗剧《安德罗马克》、悲剧《爱丝苔尔》和《菲德拉》等。

10　帕斯卡（Blaise　Pascal，1623—1662）法国数学家、物理学家、哲学家、散文家、概率论创立者之一。提出密闭流体能传递压力变化的帕斯卡定律，写有哲学著作《致外省人书》、《思想录》等，对法国散文发展有很大影响。

舒舍予

1　舒舍予（1899—1966）本名舒庆春，笔名老舍，字舍予，原姓舒舒觉罗氏，出生于北京贫苦的旗人家庭。一岁半丧父，襁褓之中的老舍家曾遭八国联军意大利军人劫掠，婴儿老舍因为一个倒扣在身上的箱子幸免于难。九岁得人资助始入私塾。1913年，考入京师第三中学，后因经济困难退学。同年考取公费的北京师范学校，1918年毕业。先后任京师公立第17高小兼国民学校校长、北京市北郊劝学员、天津南开中学教员、北京一中教员。在此期间，老舍深受五四运动影响。1921年起，在北京基督教伦敦会缸瓦市堂的英文夜校学习并参加宗教服务。1922年，受洗成为基督徒。1924年秋，赴英国，在伦敦大学任华语讲师，讲授中国官话和古典文学。阅读了大量英文作品，开始文学创作。1926年，在《小说月报》发表长篇《老张的哲学》。1929年夏，离英，途经新加坡并滞留半年，在华侨中学任教，创作以新加坡为背景的小说《小坡的生日》。1930年春，返回北京。先后任教于济南的齐鲁大学和青岛的山东大学。看到第一次国内革命战争失败后的国家状况，创作长篇《大明湖》。1936年写出《骆驼祥子》。1937年，“七七事变”后，离别家小奔赴国难。　1938年初，中华全国文艺界抗敌协会于武汉成立，被推为常务理事和总务部主任，以团结抗日为题材创作了大量作品，其中的代表作为《四世同堂》。1946年3月接受美国国务院邀请赴美讲学。在美国写完了《四世同堂》第三部及长篇《鼓书艺人》。1949年12月，应周恩来委托文艺界之邀回到北京。曾任政务院文教委委员、中国文联副主席、中国作协副主席、全国人大代表、政协全委会常委、北京市政府委员、北京市文联主席等职。自1950年起，老舍写了一些歌颂新中国的作品，以话剧《龙须沟》为代表。1956年到1957年，创作话剧《茶馆》，再次为老舍赢得国际声誉。1966年“文化大革命”运动期间遭受攻击和迫害。8月24日，老舍独自出走到北京城西北角外太平湖畔，当日深夜，自沉于太平湖，时年67岁。

2　老舍原话作：“可是我对这本小书仍然最满意，不是因为别的，是因为我深喜自己还未全失赤子之心——那时我已经三十多岁了。”（引自

老舍《我怎样写〈小坡的生日〉》）

3　下文中的演讲内容据英文翻译，老舍演讲中文原稿见1934年12月15日《刁斗》第一卷第四期。

沈有乾先生

1　沈有乾（1899—?）心理学家、逻辑学家、统计学家。字公健，江苏吴县人。早年就读于北京清华学校，后赴美深造，获斯坦福大学博士学位。回国后先后在光华大学、浙江大学、暨南大学和复旦大学教授逻辑学、心理学和统计学。20世纪40年代再次赴美，曾任联合国秘书处考试与训练科长和纽约市立大学皇后学院教授等，并为中华职业教育社主持过研究部的工作。著有《心理学》、《教育统计学》、《论理学》、《现代逻辑》、《初级理则学纲要》、《实验设计与统计方法》等。他是20世纪中国心理学和逻辑学研究的先行者之一，对弗洛伊德的精神分析学说、怀特海和罗素的数理逻辑学说均有独到的见解。还曾致力于小品文与随笔写作，作品散见于《新月》、《论语》、《宇宙风》、《西风》、《西书精华》等刊物，“以题材广泛、文笔简练、充满机智和幽默著称”。还著有《西游记》。

2　阿德勒（Alfred　Adler，1870—1937）奥地利精神病学家、心理学家。建立了个体心理学体系，设计了支持性心理治疗方法。个体心理学认为，人的主要动机是为至善而奋斗，也可变成为自尊而奋斗，从而成为对自卑感的过分补偿。著有《个体心理学实践与理论》、《神经症体质》、《理解人性》等。

3　狄摩西尼（Demosthenes，公元前384—前322）古希腊雄辩家、民主政治家。曾领导雅典人民进行近三十年的反对马其顿入侵的斗争，发表《斥腓力》等演说。他是克服了口吃、咬字不清等先天缺陷而掌握了雄辩术的。

4　《论语》，这里指的并不是那部儒家经典，而是一份文艺半月刊。1932年9月创刊于上海，林语堂、陶亢德、郁达夫、邵洵美等先后主编。1937年8月因抗日战争爆发而停刊。1946年12月复刊，至1949年5月停刊。先后共出177期。提倡“幽默”及“语录体”文学，发表抒写“性灵”的小品文、掌故丛谈等。

5　莱德–富兰克林夫人（Mrs. Christine Ladd-Franklin，1847—1930）美国心理学家、逻辑学家、数学家、物理学家、天文学家。以对“色视觉”理论作出的贡献闻名。早年研究逻辑学，曾通过介绍“反逻辑学”把三段法的推理变为一种“前后矛盾的三分法”。著有《逻辑代数学》、

《色觉之性质》及《颜色基色论》等。

6　谢佛（Henry Maurice Sheffer，1882—1964）美国逻辑学家。数理逻辑学里的重要概念、逻辑算子“谢佛束”（Sheffer Stroke）就是出于他之手。罗素为《数学原理》以及维特根斯坦的《名理论》（即《逻辑哲学论》）写序时，也曾提到谢佛的这个贡献。

盛成先生

1　盛成（1899—1996）作家、翻译家，为中法文化交流作出卓越贡献。江苏仪征人。早年自上海震旦大学读法语预科，后曾到长辛店铁路见习所学习、当车务工人。1919年当选为长辛店京汉铁路工会十人团联合会会长，积极参加五四运动。不久，被派往上海参加全国各界联合会，旋赴法国勤工俭学，以高等理科硕士学位毕业于蒙彼利埃大学。后应邀到巴黎大学主讲中国科学课程，1928年加入法国文人协会。20世纪30年代初回国后历任北京大学、广西大学、中山大学、兰州大学教授，中华书局编辑等职。抗日战争初期，参加救亡运动，曾任上海市各界救亡协会国际宣传委员会总干事、武汉中华全国文艺界抗敌协会常务理事。通晓英、法、意大利语，并谙马来语。1979年到北京语言学院任教授。主要译作有巴尔扎克的《村教士》、刘鹗的《老残游记》（中译法）以及但丁、瓦莱里作品多种。著有法文作品《我的母亲》和法文诗集《秋心美人》等。

2　张继（1882—1947）原名溥，字溥泉，直隶沧县人。日本早稻田大学毕业。1905年加入同盟会。辛亥革命后任同盟会交际部主任、第一届国会参议院议长。1924年反对孙中山联俄、联共、扶助农工的政策，提出“弹劾共产党案”，参与西山会议派活动。1927年后任司法院副院长、立法院院长、国史馆馆长等职。著有《张溥泉先生全集》及《补编》。

3　指一·二八抗战，中国军队抗击侵华日军进犯上海的作战。1932年1月28日午夜，蓄谋侵占上海的日本帝国主义向闸北中国守军发动突然进攻。驻守上海的第十九路军奋起反抗。在中共领导下，各界人民积极支援前线。五万守军浴血奋战月余，使日军伤亡逾万，三易司令官，四次增兵，总兵力增至九万。国民党政府未继续增派援兵。3月1日，守军腹背受敌，被迫撤退。2日淞沪陷落，3日停火。后经英、美、法、意等国调停，5月5日国民党政府与日本签订了丧权辱国的《淞沪停战协定》。

4　马拉梅（Stéphane Mallarmé，1842—1898）法国诗人，象征派代表。追求在诗中表现“绝对世界”，对法国现代诗歌有深远影响。主要作品有诗篇《牧神午后》和诗剧片段《埃罗提亚德》等。

5　罗曼·罗兰（Romain　　Rolland，1866—1944）法国作家、社会活动家。坚持人道主义，反对侵略战争。获1915年诺贝尔文学奖。主要作品有小说《约翰·克利斯朵夫》、《母与子》，剧本《群狼》，传记《贝多芬传》等。

6　安德列·纪德（André　Gide，1869—1951）法国作家。曾一度宣称信仰共产主义，作品多反映寻求自我与道德的矛盾。获1947年诺贝尔文学奖。主要作品有《蔑视道德的人》、《梵蒂冈的地窖》、《伪币制造者》等。

刘海粟和黎锦晖

1　刘海粟（1896—1994）画家、美术教育家。名槃，字季芳，江苏武进人。1912年创办中国第一所正规美术学校——上海图画美术院（后改名上海美术专科学校），任校长，率先在教学中实行人体模特写生和男女同校学习制度。创办专业杂志《美术》，倡导美术改革。1929年任法国巴黎格朗休克美术研究院研究员。1945年起继任上海美专校长。新中国成立后，历任华东艺术专科学校校长，南京艺术学院教授、院长，上海美术家协会名誉主席。擅长中国画、油画和书法，所作气势雄阔、笔墨酣畅，其黄山题材绘画富于力感，尤能显示艺术个性。有《黄山》、《海粟国画》、《海粟老人书画集》、《海粟黄山谈艺录》、《刘海粟画语》、《刘海粟艺术文选》、《海粟诗词选》等。

2　黎锦晖（1891—1967）歌舞艺术家、作曲家。字均荃，湖南湘潭人。学生时代广泛接触家乡民间音乐。1912年毕业于长沙高等师范学校。1916年起参加北京大学音乐团活动，1920年应中华书局聘，到上海编国语课本。后主持国语专修学校并主编《小朋友》周刊。为宣传国语和改革学校音乐教育，创作儿童歌舞剧12部和儿童歌舞表演曲24首，音乐选用民歌小调和戏曲曲牌等加以改编。代表作《小小画家》，讽刺陈旧迂腐的读经教育，艺术上有一定成就。1928年至1929年初，率中华歌舞团巡演于东南亚。又创办中华歌舞专科学校，组织明月歌舞团。1936年后在长沙、重庆等地从事抗战文化工作。曾出版抗战歌曲集《中华民族战歌》。新中国成立后在上海电影制片厂工作。

李石岑先生

1　李石岑（1892—1934）哲学家。原名邦藩，字石岑，湖南醴陵人。1912年东渡日本留学。1916年成立丙辰学社，后改名为中华学艺社。1918年与曾琦等在东京发起组织华瀛通讯社。1919年回国后任商务印书

馆编辑，主办《民铎》。参加“五四”新文化运动，大量介绍西方哲学流派，并笃信柏格森的生命哲学。后受聘为大夏大学、光华大学、暨南大学哲学教授。1920年与张东荪陪同罗素到湖南讲学，倡言“人生哲学”，强调“我的人生观就是表现生命”（《人格之真诠》）。1927年赴法、英、德等国考察西方哲学。1930年归国后转而推崇“新唯物论”（即辩证唯物主义），指出“新唯物论”代表着哲学的新趋势，“为最正确的方法，因其能把握宇宙发展的全部”（《哲学概论》）。著有《人生哲学》、《中国哲学十讲》、《西洋哲学史》、《哲学概论》等。

2　柏拉图（Plato，公元前427—前347）古希腊哲学家。创办学园，提出理念论和灵魂不朽说，其哲学思想对西方唯心主义哲学的发展影响很大，著有三十多篇对话和书信。

3　苏格拉底（Socrates，公元前469—前399）古希腊哲学家。认为哲学在于认识自我、美德即知识，提出探求真理的助产术和辩证法。本人无著作，其学说仅见于学生柏拉图和色诺芬的著作。

4　格劳孔（Glaucon，约公元前445—?）柏拉图的兄长、苏格拉底的学生，《理想国》中苏格拉底的主要对话人之一。

5　卡萨诺瓦（Giovanni Jacopo Casanova，1725—1798）意大利冒险家、作家、浪荡公子。当过间谍和外交官，著有自传《我的生平》。“卡萨诺瓦”现在已经用作普通名词，意为“卡萨诺瓦式的人；喜欢在女人们中间厮混的男人；乱搞男女关系的男人”。

6　引自美国作家Edgar Saltus的Historia Amoris: A History of Love Ancient and Modern。

7　居约（Jean Marie Guyau，1854—1888）法国哲学家、美学家、伦理学家。哲学上受唯灵论影响，认为宇宙是已进化过程，生命的创造作用使宇宙从低级状态发展到高级状态，思想与行动均由生命创造所推动，而艺术与道德是生物过程（即生活）的最高表现。著有《一个哲学家的诗》、《当代美学问题》、《从社会学观点看艺术》、《略论既无义务亦无制裁的道德》等。

8　柏格森（Henri Bergson，1859—1941）法国哲学家。生命哲学和现代非理性主义的主要代表，宣称“生命冲动”就是“绵延”，它是唯一的实在，只能靠与理性相反的直觉来认识实在或“绵延”。获1927年诺贝尔文学奖。

9　斯宾诺莎（Baruch Spinoza，1632—1677）荷兰哲学家、唯理论的代表之一。从“实体”即自然界出发，提出“自因说”，认为只有通过理性认识才能得到可靠的知识。否定超自然的上帝存在，但是又把“实体”叫

做“上帝”。著有《神学政治论》、《伦理学》等。

10　《查拉图斯特拉如是说》，尼采著，共四卷。以富有诗意的散文假托波斯圣者查拉图斯特拉（即琐罗亚斯德）向其信徒和各色人等传道以表达其宗教、哲学和伦理道德思想，包括“上帝之死”、“重估一切价值”、“超人”、“永恒轮回”以及非理性的直觉等内容。

程锡庚先生

1　程锡庚（1894—1939）字莲士，江苏镇江人。早岁赴英国伦敦大学留学。后赴法国，入巴黎大学法科。旋又赴美，入哥伦比亚大学从事研究。曾获经济学博士学位。巴黎和会期间以学者资格参加中国代表团。1921年任北京政府外交部条约研究会秘书，曾赴日内瓦国际联盟大会。1923年任财政部秘书、全国财政讨论会专门委员等。1928年派赴巴黎办理中法退还庚款案。1932年任财政部监务署编译处处长。1934年任外交部驻北平特派员。1937年加入北平伪中华民国临时政府。1939年4月在天津英租界被“抗日杀奸团”击毙。著有《现代中国政治研究》（英文）。

2　培根（Francis　Bacon，1561—1626）英国哲学家、英语语言大师、英国唯物主义和实验科学的创始人。反对经院哲学，提出“知识就是力量”。著有《论科学的价值和发展》、《新工具》等。

3　据基督教《圣经》，亚当是人类的始祖。所谓“其他亚当子孙”，就是“其他人”。

4　普鲁士人以智慧理性、严谨守时、沉稳庄重著称。

附录

HAN FU-CHU, THE GOOD BULLY OF SHANTUNG

"If Machiavelli were to make a constitution for China, he would have to proceed differently. … He would assume that the militarists would always bully the civil authorities, but he would make this evil a blessing in disguise, by seeing to it that only good bullies (like Han Fu-chu) became militarists." —Wen Yuan-ning.

In the olden days, a mandarin beloved of the people was often deified and made an object of worship even while he was still living. Travellers to Shantung have brought back the tale that throughout the province, tablets with General Han Fu-chu's name inscribed on them are not infrequently seen on the altars of the temples formerly sacred to the memory of Kwang-ti (关帝)—the god of war—or Confucius. While people elsewhere in China are cursing the misrule of the warlords, those in Shantung are looking upon General Han as an emissary sent by Heaven to rule over them. What then is this man to deserve such respect and popularity?

To begin with, he is a true soldier. Unlike many other warlords, who were graduates of military colleges either here or abroad and who started their careers as commissioned officers, General Han rose from the ranks and is not ashamed of it. He began as a common soldier in the army of General Feng Yu-hsiang, whom he still regards as his superior officer. There is a story that when he was chief of the 6th Division of the Kuominchun Allied Army, he was one day slapped on the face by General Feng for something he said which was not exactly to the latter's liking. Another version of the story has it that he was not only slapped on the face, but even had to kneel down to beg Feng's forgiveness.

But, in spite of the fact that most of Feng's followers were avowed Christians, General Han has always been a staunch defender of the Confucian tradition. He has, for instance, made it compulsory for all school children to read the Four Books. Moreover, every year on the birthday of Confucius, he would go to Chu Fu (曲阜) and offer sacrifices before the image of the sage.

As follower of Confucius, he naturally subscribes to the doctrine of paternalism in politics. In the mandates which he occasionally issues, he would tell the people not only what they should do but also what they shouldn't do. Recently for instance he has forbidden women to curl their hair.

Many young girls and concubines of the officials in Shantung were thus arrested and put to prison, and were not released until the General had ordered his bodyguards to have their curled locks shaved off.

As it might be expected, General Han is also a believer in the Confucian precept that government by superior men is better than government by law. In fact, General Han's words are law in the province of Shantung. When any subordinate of his is found to be guilty of "squeezing," he would order him to be shot without first having sent him to the court for a trial. One day, on one of his inspection tours to the country, he thought that he saw five shabbily dressed persons hiding under a tree. He immediately ordered his car to stop and told his bodyguards to have them shot at the spot. "But why should they be shot?"his bodyguards ventured. "Well," replied the General, "they look to me like bandits." Finally, however, his aid-de-camp suggested that perhaps he had better make sure first. Whereupon he did, and found out that the suspects were only a bunch of workers on the road; and when he saw them, they had just been sitting down under the tree to eat their lunch.

But let it not be inferred that General Han is in the habit of making wrong judgments. On the contrary, he is gifted with the extraordinary ability of seeing persons and things as they really are. The following, for instance, is what he said to a group of officials in Shantung: "You all think of yourselves as having great talents, therefore you refuse to listen to me. But let me tell you, I don't think that the whole bunch of you are worth two coppers. All you can do is to write official letters, to keep books, and above all, to squeeze the poor people. To tell you the truth, China does not really need 'talents' such as yours. The common people, although they haven't had your education, make much better citizens than all of you together."

Herein therefore lies the reason of General Han's popularity. He is a great lover of the common people.

Yih Chang-mung

[No. 1; Jan. 4, 1934]

DOLEFUL MEI LAN-FANG

What does it matter that Mei Lan-fang was born on October 22, 1894, and that some of his ancestors were brilliant ornaments of the Chinese stage?

Readers of The Critic, I suspect, will regard with indifference the fact that the renowned Mei Lan-fang was once known as the "Foremost of the Pear Orchard" and that the ex-Emperor one time made him head of the Ching-Chung Monastery, both designations symbolizing his preeminence as an exponent of China's dramatic art.

Some of our readers may be mildly interested to know that Mei, with the assistance of scholarly friends, built up a library and museum of the Chinese drama from which he drew the inspiration that enabled him to contribute to the literature of the Chinese stage as a playwright. Everybody in China, and many people abroad, need not be reminded that Mei Lan-fang, as Hu Shih once described him, "is an artist with a most thorough training in the old dramatic arts of China," although some may be surprised to know that he is also a painter of considerable ability, and is more than slightly competent as a student of biology, entomology and some other practical and mechanical sciences.

All this hardly merits an article in this column at this time about a person who appears to be conspicuously inconspicuous in his own country whose people had acclaimed him and whose dramatic authorities had rhapsodized about his "expressive eyes," "mobile face," "interpretive smile," "supple waist" and "divine hands."

Four years ago this time Mei Lan-fang was on his way to the most brilliant achievement of his life, at least up to the present. He went to America and, as described by an American critic who witnessed Mei's first performance in New York, he reached "across a barrier of language,"besides (to the Americans) the alien conventions and dissonances of the Chinese stage—so far and so effectively that he became the ruling sensation of the American stage that season. American critics outdid their Chinese contemporaries in their boundless praise and appreciation.

Mei Lan-fang's acting was "beautiful as an old Chinese vase or tapestry," possessing "the strange ripeness of centuries." It was "as limpid as a forest pool." Every poem his Chinese admirers had composed to glorify his art was outdone by the American critics in delirious prose. For examples:

> "He is a realization of perfection which is more rare and precious than anything a new world can produce. Our imaginations remain prostrate before its delicacy, grace and poetry."
>
> "It is impossible to write of this man without superlatives, nor to look upon his work without a penetrating gratitude for the privilege of having seen him. He conveys more in the turn of a wrist, the swish of a sleeve or an arching of the eyes than do most of our foremost actors in a whole evening of the less subtle and more forthright performances."

"Anybody can realize the perfection, the delicacy, the emotional power of his pantomime. He is the most graceful man seen on the New York stage since Nijinsky was here last. His skill, tempo and agility are incomparable."

"One might run on for a column or two trying to convey to those who haven't seen Mei Lan-fang, his exotic and exciting charm."

And, we might ask, how many of his countrymen at home know so much about him? But it does not matter. Nor perhaps the fact that Mei Lan-fang is probably better and more affectionately remembered in the United States than any Chinese person who has ever visited that country.

Only recently a columnist for one of the leading newspapers of Los Angeles was in Shanghai. This is a part of what he sent back and was published in his column:

"If I came back to California without having seen Mei Lan-fang, I know I shouldn't be allowed to land. He is one of the most popular actors of any nationality who ever came to Los Angeles.

"I found him in an old hotel on Bubbling Well Road—very much depressed. He belongs in Peiping, which for 700 years has been the artistic center of the Orient. The Japanese cannon silenced its voice. And Mei Lan-fang came sadly away—to Shanghai, which is a great commercial city which favors cabaret girls rather than art.

"Mei Lan-fang said that he intended coming to the Chicago exposition this year, as the beginning of a great American tour. China's troubles stopped it. Now he doesn't know what he will do.

"George Bernard Shaw came to see him in Shanghai and encouraged him to make a tour of Europe; but that is off too, on account of the havoc in China.

"'I am not a politician,' he said sadly, 'so I don't know what is the matter with my unhappy country: but it makes my heart very sad.'"

There it is! Among all the personages whose names impinge upon the public mind in China, here is one who is not a politician, which accounts for his inability to know what is the matter with his unhappy country. His heart is sad, but he knows not what to do that might lessen the suffering of his people whom the politicians are so sure they can lead to peace and prosperity. Soon, Mei Lan-fang will come forth from his present retirement and again, as he has many times in the past, employ his art in benefit performances to succor the victims of war, famine and pestilence whom the politicians talk so much about helping while they themselves appear so helpless to prevent the creation of those victims.

E. K. Moy

[No. 3; Jan. 18, 1934]

LIN SHU-HWA, WOMAN NOVELIST

Perhaps in no other period in the history of Chinese literature did women play so important a part as they do at present. Since the New Culture Movement in 1919 women have offered their contribution to the foundation of contemporary Chinese literature. Today we have Misses Lin Shu-hwa, Ping-ching, Ting Lin, Lu-ying in short story writing; Misses Lin Hwei-ying and Fang Lin-yu in poetry; and Prof. Yuan Chang-yin in drama. These women writers, being intimate with the life of their own circle, reveal another aspect of society, which men may not perfectly understand. Here I choose to discuss Miss Lin Shu-hwa, because it seems to me she divines the life of womankind more than any other woman writer.

Miss Lin has already published two collections of her short stories, "The Flower Temple" and "Woman." In these twenty short stories, what strikes a reader most, I think, is that she chooses her materials from the feminine. Perhaps it is rather a lucky choice; of course, lucky for us to have found in her such a preference, since we might not otherwise understand women as we do now. Through her short stories we see different aspects of woman. "Miss Lee" portrays the melancholy of a middle-aged dean of girls in a secondary school, who has been persuaded to marry, yet refused. "It Is Said So" opens a secret, the love between two girl students, which is suggestive of homo-sexual love. "Laced Pillows"and "After the Tea Party" tell us the attitude or reflection of maidens to love-making, and once contemplated marriage. These are descriptions of women in their maidenhood. Descriptions of married women are also numerous. "After Feast" describes a married woman's conflict of passion and sense of duty to husband. "The Flower Temple" tells the story of a wife trying to test her husband's attitude to her by fun. To her husband she writes an anonymous letter in which she expresses her admiration of him and vaguely proposes a rendezvous with him in the Flower Temple. He goes there after deliberate consideration; to his great surprise the woman he meets is his wife. Here we see a touch of comedy in the story. "Consumption" delineates a dutiful wife who sacrifices her honesty in selling pictures of her imitation of some great painters in order that she can defray her husband's hospital expenses. "A Happy Old Woman"reveals the inner secret of a Chinese large family. The old woman has sons, daughters-in-law, grandsons, grand-daughters-in-law around her. They obey her and the family is under her control, yet there are jealousy and enmity under cover

among them as once revealed on the anniversary of her eightieth birthday. In this story we see one of the ironies of life, of which Miss Lin bursts out without any conscious effort. Among her twenty stories it seems to me that "Miss Liu the Junior" and "Yang Ma"are the best. By "best" I mean the writer treats her subject with mastery of style and attains to perfection of art. Miss Liu the Junior, who was lively and intelligent, once led her classmates to expel her one married classmate by means of her piercing satire. Thirteen years afterwards she becomes the mother of several children. Her former liveliness has then entirely gone, and instead, only dullness of life and symptoms of ill-health appear on her once bright face. "Yang Ma" is the description of a good-natured mother whose son has deserted home to enlist in the army near the Mid-Autumn Festival. She profoundly loves her son and makes a new winter coat for him. Every month she asks for one day's leave of absence, and wanders in the streets under the delusion that she might thus find her son. Having overheard that her son might have gone to one frontier province, she suddenly leaves her master to pursue the futile search for him. Here in these two stories Miss Lin has attained such a perfection that the change of one word or the omission of one detail would ruin their life.

What arrests the reader's attention, I think, is Miss Lin's conception of woman. The main characters of her stories are women; or, if the main character is not a woman, the female character at least wields a great influence behind the scenes. Eighteen characters out of twenty are good women or blameless at least. Complicated and many-sided as feminine nature is, the truth of her conception may be questioned. Yet, if we refrain from inquiring into its truth and approach it from another side, it is very significant in contemporary Chinese literature. She differs from most contemporary writers in depicting the beauty of woman's spirit. Such a beauty gives us freshness and driving force. With this freshness we clear the dusty weariness of our journey; by this force we always happily resume our travel westward after short delays.

By Chien-Chao Fei (费鉴照)

[No. 26; Jun. 28, 1934]

LU TSO-FU (卢作孚)

After his extensive trip in Szechuan, Mr. Chang Kai-ngau in his authoritative and highly interesting statement to the press reveals to the outside world the Szechuanese characteristics of curiosity and eagerness in keeping up-to-date, — the signs of a progressive people, — and incidentally praises the spiritually-socially reformative movement set on foot by a group of pushing-forward type of men under the leadership of Mr. Lu Tso-fu. Besides being an embodiment of those two characteristics, Mr. Lu possesses that rare and remarkable combination of qualities which makes him a success in no matter what line he works. He is an excellent educator, the foremost industrialist and shipping man in Szechuan, a good mixer in society, an organizer of volunteer expeditions to Tibet, Kokonor, Lololand and other places bordering on Szechuan and the promotor of a museum, a scientific institute, schools and volunteer groups to defend his native district from being overrun by bandits. And the above-mentioned list by no means exhausts the whole range of his multifarious activities.

It requires volumes to record the many-sided interests and activities of the energetic Mr. Lu, but we shall confine ourselves to relating some of his more remarkable achievements in the shipping business. Entering into the shipping trade about nine years ago with a capital of eight thousand Chungking dollars which he invested in an inland river steam launch, he now commands a fleet of thirty river steamers with assets worth three million dollars. He does away with two deep-rooted and notorious elements in the shipping trade on the Yangtze, — the compradores and the tea-boys, — who infest the foreign steamers on the river so much that they have long been looked upon as necessary evils to shipping companies and scourges to the passengers. His efficiency in running his steamers is as popular with both consignees and passengers as it is much feared by competitive companies.

Significant as his success in handling shipping, his ten years' fight for social reforms is still more far-reaching in consequences. He antedated General Chiang Kai-shek by nine years in his starting a New Life Movement much more profound in ideology and not a little more practical in application than that of the famous General. Obscurity in position, inaccessibility in geographical surroundings and limitation in scope have not prevented Mr. Lu's attempt from being a success. They only succeeded in delaying for a considerable period of time that public recognition of his achievements which he thoroughly deserves. But eventually nothing succeeds like success. Pepei, originally a poor obscure village in the district of Pahsien, and the centre of

Mr. Lu's activities, has been universally recognized as a model village. His simple living, his self-sacrificing devotion to duty and his unbounded enthusiasm in reforming deep-rooted social evils are an inspiration to thousands upon thousands of old men and youths, proletarian workers and feudal-minded gentry. Indeed, his influence is so much felt that in every corner of the wide province of Szechuan there are to be found people in masses who look upon him as the leader to lead them on the way to reconstruction, and happier and richer ways of living.

Magnetic and sincere in disposition, persuasive and convincing both in private talk and in public speaking, practising frugality almost to a fault and working more than fourteen hours or more daily, a profound thinker and facile writer, he possesses every qualification which any prospective leader of social reform would envy to have. Yet he prefers to influence his followers and compatriots by example rather than by words and by writings alone. He does not enjoy the privilege and benefits of a university education; but he has passed through a greater and more useful university, the university of society at large. His highly self-trained mind is wide-awake, ever ready to assimilate new ideas and adopt new methods to achieve his ends. We have no doubt but that his uplifting influence will be sure to make itself felt in China. It is indeed a thing of much interest to watch the unfolding of his career in future.

Chang Hsu-lin

[No. 28; Jul. 12, 1934]

吴宓（号雨生）

世上只有一个吴雨生，叫你一见不能忘。常有人得介绍一百次，而在第一百次，你还得介绍才认识，这种人面貌太平凡了，没有怪样没有个性，就是平平无奇一个面庞。但是雨生的脸倒是一种天生禀赋，恢奇的像一副讽刺画。脑袋形似一颗炸弹，而一样的有爆发性，面是瘦黄，胡须几有随时蔓延全局之势，但是每晨刮的整整齐齐，面容险峻，颧骨高起，两颊瘦削，一对眼睛亮晶晶的像两粒炙光的煤炭——这些都装在一个太长的脖子上及一副像枝铜棍那样结实的身材上。

头既昂起，背又挺直，雨生看来是有庄严气象。他对于自己的学问是有相当的抱负，而他的好友也视他为一位天真淳朴的人物。他为人慷慨豁达，乐为善事，每为人所误会。待人接物，每偏于忠厚，而对于外

间之臧否也不能漠然。因此雨生的心灵永是不安的，不是在怅惘咨嗟，便是在发愤著作。他虽极崇拜哥德，但他却未达到哥德所称羡“不慌不辍”（ohne Hast, ohne Rast）的境地，这也如但丁吟着“Io fei giubbetto a me delle mie case”（我把我的厢房当做我的一架刑枷）一样的未能达到这种境地。

世上有一种人，永远不知所谓年少气盛是怎么一回事，雨生就是其中一个。虽然已年满四十，他看起来总在三十与百岁之间。他待人以宽，待己却甚严。是信儒道，立儒行的一个人。容貌非常端肃，对事非常认真，守己非常严正。但是仍不能令人望之生畏。

雨生现在清华大学西洋文学系当教授。此外曾主编《学衡》及《大公报文学副刊》，后者到最近才辞职。

雨生的教书，师道可谓无间然，只是在启迪后生的灵感有点缺憾。他照时上课，一秒不差；预备讲义，毫不敷衍。别人也许带了书本将要引用的一段文字念给学生听，雨生却无论那段文字怎样长，非先自背诵上口不可。他的阐扬发挥处是井井有条：甲、乙、丙、丁这样下去。有点干燥，是的，但总不会空疏。他不像另一种教员，说的天花乱坠，结果不知所云，

他所云的都有个内容，或有错误但断不空疏。他总不依违两可，他的是非非常坚确；换言之，就是不怕有固定的意见。关于记问的事实，尤其是那一类在百科全书及各种类书可以检得的事实，他百无一误。只在见解上面，我们可以抓到他的毛病。在这种地方，雨生露出他的弱点，但是这个弱点，病不在论理不明或者立意不诚，病在他人文主义的立场——而且是白璧德式的人文主义的立场。雨生不幸，坠入这白璧德人文主义的圈套。现在他一切的意见都染上这主义的色彩。伦理与艺术怎样也搅不清。你听他讲，常常莫名他是在演讲文学或是在演讲道德。

雨生办《学衡》，一切立论与胡适正正相反。《学衡》明明是大张旗帜以与白话文学反抗，而保守旧有生活的。反抗是失败了，但是其勇气毅力是可嘉的。他编《文学副刊》之勇气毅力也是一样的可嘉，他要叫中国读者注意西洋文学之史实，而不仅摭拾那文学的皮毛。史实、年月、数目，这是多么干燥乏味。现代人所要的是趋时喜新，随波逐流，摭拾这文学潮流上之泡沫草秽——Dowson、Baudelaire、Valéry、Virginia Woolf、Aldous Huxley等等。在现在时代，像雨生那样孜孜叫人研究Homer、Virgil、Dante、Milton雅典文学，就要遭人不齿。

悲哉雨生，你是那样孤芳自赏，不屈不移。更可悲者，是雨生对自身也没有了解。他立论上是人文主义者，雅典主义者；但是性癖上却是彻头彻底一个浪漫主义者。雨生为人坦白无伪，所以此点人人都已看出，只有他自己看不见。人家知道他是崇拜拜伦的，并且曾摹仿Childe

Harold写过一篇中文长诗。这种矛盾，让别人看了不自在，他却处之泰然。

每回我想起雨生，就想起他的苦笑的容貌及他清华大学里净朴的书斋及那被他的窗幔摈出的外边一片风华浓丽的野景。也许是我自己在痴想，但我常疑心着，如果他肯拉开窗幔，凭眺那野景或是勿再矜持，放心怡情的赏那风华秾丽的一片野景，也许他生活上不至那样不安，而面容上也不至那样苦笑了。

——译自英文中国评论周报

林语堂　译

录自《今人志》专栏，《人间世》第2期，1934年4月20日

胡适之

适之绰号“胡大哥”并非偶然。梁漱溟多骨，胡适之多肉；梁漱溟庄严，胡适之豪迈；梁漱溟应入儒林，胡适之应入文苑。学者也好，文苑也好，但适之是决不能做隐士的。一人性格，大概难于分类，也大可不必分类。我想六分学者，四分才子，二分盎格罗撒逊留学生，约略可以尽之。也许加了三分学究气，减了三分才子气，适之的应酬可以少一点，学术著作可以丰富一点，但如此便少了一团蔼然可亲之气，而不成其为胡大哥了。这却何苦来！这一股才子气，又被他六分的学究气压下，所以若称之为“风流才子”也不甚适用，因为他的立身行世，也颇谨严，如对冬秀之始终如一，便可看出。然而适之对女子，又不是像漱溟、雨生那样一副面孔。在女子前献殷勤，打招呼，入其室，必致候夫人，这是许多学者所不会而是适之的特长。见女生衣薄，必下讲台为关课室窗户，这是适之的温柔处，但是也不超过盎格罗撒逊所谓“绅士”的范围。用这种体贴温柔于同辈及少辈，“胡大哥”之名便成了。

适之为人好交，又善尽主谊。近来他米粮库的住宅，在星期日早上，总算公开的了。无论谁，学生、共产青年、安福余孽、同乡商客、强盗乞丐都进得去，也都可满意归来。穷窘者，他肯解囊相助；狂狷者，他肯当面教训；求差者，他肯修书介绍；问学者，他肯指导门径；无聊不自量者，他也能随口谈谈几句俗话。到了夜阑人静时，才执笔做他的考证或写他的日记。但是因此，他遂善做上卷书。

今年似是四十四吧？气色虽然不甚红润，不像养尊处优的老爷，但也不像漱溟一般的瘦马相，只有一点青白气色，这大概是他焚膏继晷灯下用功之遗迹。衣服虽不讲究，也不故表名士气。一副相貌，倒可以令

佳人倾心，天平是那么高，两眼是那么大，光耀照人，毫无阴险气，嘴唇丰满而常带着幽默的踪影。他的悟力极敏，你说上句他已懂到下句了。笑声不是像岂明的低微，是呵呵式的。

适之所以不能成为诗人就是这个缘故。在他呵呵笑的声中，及他坦白的眼光中，我们看不见他的魂灵深处。他不像志摩，不会有沉痛的悲哀，与热狂的情绪。在那眼光中，我们看出理智的光辉，那兀突不定的嘴唇，也老是闪过机智者会心的微笑。这样是不合做诗的。所以他的散文，也是清顺明畅，像一泓秋水一般，晶澈可爱，却很少波澜曲折，阐理则有余，

抒情则不足。人还是规矩人，所以文也老实。布风说过“文如其人”，正是此意。因此他的思想，也是近于厚重稳健，非近于犀利急进，他的观点是演化的（即所谓历史癖），非革命的（evolutionary, not revolutionary）。在此种地方，最可看出他盎格罗撒逊的素养。丁在君、胡适之都是这一派思想的好代表，于是“高等华人”的徽号便落在他的身上。在普罗作家，甚至在一切急进派作家眼光中，这种绅士气是极讨厌。但是，适之的态度，是极诚恳极负责的。这从他的刊物名称《努力》可以看出来的。他这种态度，使他常傻头傻脑作文章，见要人，向一般急进派所认为根本无望的官僚军阀作劝告，不免太不脱化。然而在这好人极少的中国中，我们不能不承认他是一位不甘自弃的好人，而发生爱惜甚至景仰之意。

适之写的英文，似比他的中文漂亮。

——改译英文中国评论周报

林语堂　译

录自《今人志》专栏，《人间世》第3期，1934年5月5日

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温源宁笔下的——

吴　宓："吴宓先生，举世无双，见过一次，永生难忘。"

胡　适："他有什么，就显示出什么；他是什么，就都在那儿了——在他的著作、他的谈吐、他的行为方式中。"

徐志摩："死得富有诗意，活得像个孩子：神明还能给凡人安排出更好的命运吗？"

梁遇春："没有一丝想要炫耀的念头，置身于人群之中，他总是力图避人耳目而隐身在笑容背后。"

周诒春："他可以像个无可救药的悲观主义者那样对你说话，支持他实际活动的却是无畏的理想主义。"

黄庐隐："她是一个为爱而生、为爱而死的女人。"

丁文江："丁博士的长相和他的为人完全相符：个子略矮，身体敦实，外加一对透露着机敏和果断的眼睛；一撮八字胡似乎在说：多干实事、少说废话！"

辜鸿铭："他有意卖弄自己的辫子，是他整个为人的特征。他脾气倔犟，以对抗为生。大众接受的，他拒绝；大众喜爱的，他厌恶；大众崇拜的，他鄙视。"

梁宗岱："他确实并不相信上帝、进步和永生。但是他肯定相信的，是他自己，是人生之甜美、文学之怡情、女人之可爱。"

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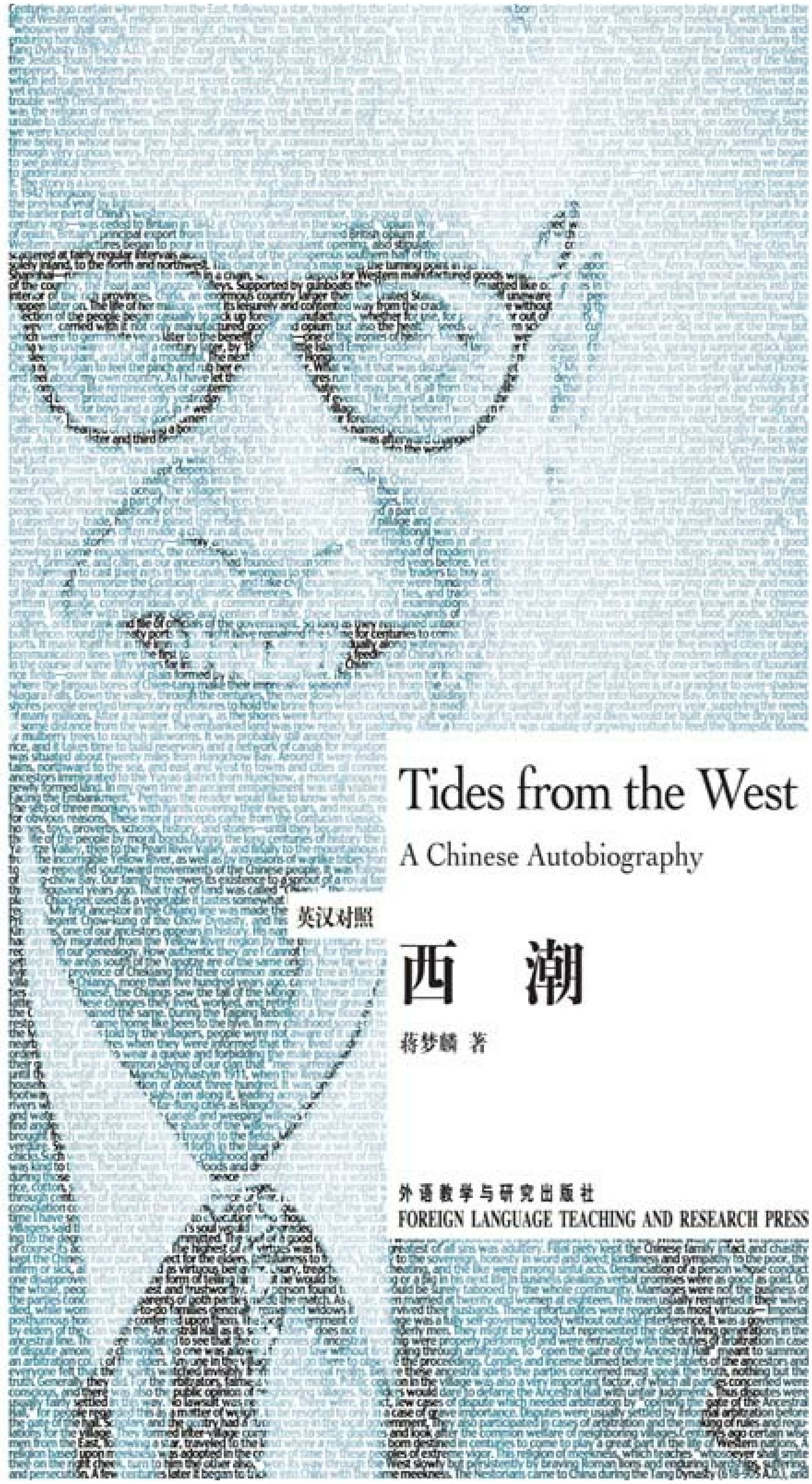

Tides from the West

A Chinese Autobiography

英汉对照

西　潮

蒋梦麟 著

外语教学与研究出版社
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蒋梦麟生活的时代，处处交织着中西文化的冲突和融贯。他的这本自传描述的正是中国这百年的极不平凡的时期。西潮西潮，如潮水般激荡着一切。

西潮

Tides from the West: A Chinese Autobiography

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外研社

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“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高

人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

序言

这是一本充满了智慧的书。这里面所包含的晶莹智慧，不只是从学问的研究得来，更是从生活的体验得来。

读这本书好像是泛舟在时间的洪流之中，一重一重世间的层峦叠嶂、激湍奔涛，都在我们民族和个人的生命中经过。而且这段时间乃是历史上一个极不平凡时代的新序幕，举凡人类中各个集团的冲突，乃至东西文化的磨荡，都集中在这风云际会。

时代的转变愈快，被人们忽略的史实愈多。若当时的人不予以记载，则后起的人更无从知道，无从了解。这种忽略和遗忘都是人类很大的损失，因为在不断的历史的过程中间，以往的经验，正是后来的教训。

了解这种意义，才能认识蒋梦麟先生这本书所蕴藏的价值。他生长在这极不平凡时代已经过了七十年了。他从中国学究的私塾到西洋自由的学府，从古老的农村社会到近代的都市文明，从身经满清专制的皇朝到接受革命思想的洗礼，他多年生活在广大的外国人群里面，更不断生活在广大中国人群尤其是知识青年群众里面。他置身于中西文化思想交流的漩涡，同时也看遍了覆雨翻云、沧海桑田的世局。经过了七十华年，正是他智慧结晶的时候，到此时而写他富有哲学内涵和人生风趣的回忆，其所反映的决不是他的一生，而是他一生所经历的时代。

《西潮》这本书里面每一片段都含有对于社会和人生的透视。古人所谓“小中见大”正可于此中求之。其将东西文化相提并论之处，尤其可以发人深省。著者好举平凡的故事，间杂以微妙而不伤人的讽刺，真使我们感到一股敦厚淳朴的风味。这种风味在当今是不容易尝到的了。至于其中的妙语妙喻，不断的流露，正像珍珠泉的泉水，有如粒粒的明珠，连串的喷了上来。

这本书最难达到的境界，就是著者讲这个极不平凡时代的事实，而以极平易近人的口吻写出来，这正像孟邻先生做人处世的态度。若不是具备高度文化的修养，真是望尘莫及的。我何敢序孟邻先生的大著，只能引王荆公两句诗以形容他的写作和生平。诗云：

“看似平常最奇绝，成如容易却艰难。”

罗家伦

1959年12月6日

PREFACE

This volume will try to tell the story of what has happened in China during the last hundred years, from the cession of Hongkong in 1842[1] to the blitzkrieg of Pearl Harbor in 1941, with emphasis on the latter half of that period. A century is a long time, but of China's more than four thousand years of history it is but a small fraction, less than one fortieth. Yet the change China has gone through in that brief span is unprecedented in her long life. And now more rapid changes on a still larger scale are about to take place.

Since the first exchange of gunfire at Marco Polo Bridge the attention of the world has been drawn to China. The heroic resistance at Shanghai, Taierchuan, and Changsha has evoked sympathy and admiration in the hearts of millions of China's friends throughout the world. The part China is destined to play in the affairs of nations will be of great interest to the world in the period before us. She has been appraised somewhat too high by her well-wishers and somewhat too low by those who do not know her. In either case the interest is there and the fact remains that she has fought almost singlehanded, for eight long, suffering years, a strong enemy sustained by religious-patriotic fanaticism, superior weapons, and efficient organization.

Neither by her friends nor by her own efforts could China be lifted overnight to the level of modern industrialized democracies; nor could she be exterminated by her enemies in a few years or even a few centuries. In the time ahead of us she will become a focus of attention for the world, since future peace—at least one of the major factors of peace—will depend much on a prosperous and strong China.

How is this great country to be made prosperous and strong? The problem must be solved by herself alone. Effective co-operation of friendly Powers will accelerate her success, but she alone must bear the responsibility of making herself worthy to be a leading partner of peace in the world.

China is a nation neither of angels nor of incompetents; she is a nation of common mortals with feelings, ideas, love and hate, hopes and despair, beauty and ugliness, accomplishments and failings, virtues and vices. It is hoped that the world will not expect from her people more than it does from other ordinary human beings. She has no panacea for all her troubles, nor any

magic box by aid of which she can transform herself at will into what she desires to be. Whatever success she has achieved has been paid for with sweat in time of peace and with blood in time of war.

To the question "What is the trouble with China?" the author can only answer that there are a number of troubles waiting for solution in that vast country of teeming millions, more than she will be able to solve in any limited span of time. Some were created by enemies who tried to conquer her, others by herself during the time of metamorphosis; still others have been imposed on her by force of circumstance or as legacies of the past. Some of the more difficult problems have been solved or partially solved during recent years before the war; many others remain to be dealt with in due course of time.

Looking back over the last fifty years which he has personally experienced—over the past hundred years with which he is familiar, and even farther, down the long reaches of China's history which he has been taught—the author has traced to the best of his knowledge the threads of a number of problems, some lying deep in her past, others arising from the rapid changes which caught her unprepared. He has tried to tell, within the limits of discretion, what has happened in China, especially during the last fifty years. For those friends who desire to co-operate with her, with a view to solving some of the difficult problems of a more enduring peace, this moderate volume may be helpful in giving an insight into the life and problems of the Chinese people. For co-operation cannot possibly proceed without mutual understanding. To understand what is actually the background—the mental, emotional, and moral constitution—of the country, is essential for a lasting co-operation.

With the above ideas in mind the author has described ordinary happenings in some detail so as to acquaint the reader in some measure of intimacy with the mental, emotional, and moral make-up of the Chinese people as revealed through their life in peace and war. As small things often reflect major developments in a country, it is hoped that some sense of the meaning of greater events may be gathered from these apparent trifles of daily life.

CHIANG MONLIN

[1] 此处所称the cession of Hongkong in 1842（1842年割让香港），指1840年第一次鸦片战争后，英国强

迫清政府于1842年签订《南京条约》，割让香港岛。1856年第二次鸦片战争后，清政府被迫于1860年签订《北京条约》，割让九龙半岛。1894年中日甲午战争后，英国逼迫清政府于1898年签订《展拓香港界址专条》，强租新界，租期99年，至1997年6月30日结束。

序

《西潮》里所谈的是中国过去一百年间所发生的故事，从一八四二年香港割让起到一九四一年珍珠港事变止，尤其着重后五十年间的事。一个世纪是相当长的一段时间，但是在四千多年的中国历史里，却只是短暂的一个片段，几乎不到四十分之一。不过中国在这段短短的时间内所经历的变迁，在她悠久的生命史上却是空前的，而且更大规模的变化还正在酝酿中。

自从芦沟桥的枪声划破长空，中国的局势已经引起全世界人士的注意。国军在淞沪、台儿庄以及长沙的英勇战绩，已经赢得全球中国友人的同情与钦敬。在未来的岁月中，中国势将在国际舞台上担任众所瞩目的角色。这些年来，爱护中国的人士未免把她估计得太高，不了解中国的人士则又把她估计得太低。无论估计过高或过低，对中国的关切是一致的；而她几乎孤立无援地苦战八年之久，也是无可否认的事实。在这漫长痛苦的八年中，她与具有优越的武器、严密的组织以及宗教的爱国狂热的强敌相周旋，愈战愈奋，始终不屈。

不论是本身的努力，或者友邦的援助，都不能使中国在旦夕之间达到现代工业化民主国家的水准；但是她的敌人也不可能在几年之内，甚至几百年之内，灭亡她。在未来的岁月中，中国将是举世人士注意力的焦点，因为未来的和平与中国之能否臻于富强是息息相关的。

中国怎样才能臻于富强呢?这个问题必须由她自己单独来解决。友邦的密切合作固然可以加速她的成功，但是她必须独立担负起使自己成为世界和平支柱的责任。

中国既不是一个天神般万能的国家，也不是一个低能的毫无作为的国家。她是一群有感情、有思想的凡人结合而成的国家。他们有爱、有恨；有美、有丑；有善、有恶；有成就、有失败；有时充满希望，有时陷于绝望。他们只是一群平平常常的人，世界人士不能对他们有分外的要求和期望。中国没有解决一切困难的万应灵丹，也没有随心所欲脱胎换骨的魔术。如果她已经有所成就的话，那也是平时以汗，战时以血换来的。

如果有人问："中国的问题究竟在哪里?"作者只能答复：中国正有无数的问题等待四亿五千万人民去解决，而且不是任何短时间内所能解决。有些问题是企图征服她的敌人造成的，有些则是蜕变过程中她本身

所制造的；另有一些问题是客观环境引起的，也有一些问题则是历史的包袱，有一些比较困难的问题已经在战前几年内解决，或者局部解决，更有许多问题则尚待分别缓急，逐一解决。

回顾作者身经目睹的过去五十年，以及作者所熟悉的过去一百年，甚至追溯到作者所研习过的中国的悠久历史，作者已经就其所知探求出若干问题的线索，有些问题深深植根于过去，有些则由急剧的变化所引起。作者已经力求平直客观地陈述中国过去所发生的变迁，尤其是过去五十年内所发生的事情。对于愿意与中国合作，共同解决妨碍持久和平的若干问题的国际友人，本书或可提供一点资料，帮助他们了解中国人民的生活与问题。合作是勉强不来的，必须彼此相互了解，然后才能合作。欲谋持久的合作，必须先对一国的真实背景有所了解，包括心理、情感，以及道德等各方面。

因此，作者对于日常琐事也往往不厌其详地加以描写，希望藉此使读者对中国人民在战时与平时所反映的心理、情感和道德等，能有比较亲切的认识，日常琐事往往可以反映一个国家的重大变 迁，希望读者多少能从作者所记述的身边琐事中，发现重大史实的意义。

蒋梦麟

1943年于重庆

PROLOGUE: FRONTIER CITY

During a world upheaval with bombs dropping from the sky and bursting all around, one is apt to wonder what caused these terrible things to happen.

What has happened in the world in the last decade is not something that merely dropped from the sky. Events have their causes. In the last years of the war, as I cast my mental view beyond the horizons of Kunming, where most of this volume was written, I saw how one event had led to another, with consequent social and political changes. Musing over the past in that scenic city on the Burma[1] Road overlooking tranquil, historic Kunming Lake, with bomb-shattered houses standing around me like the remnants of Pompeii, the scenes of what had happened during my lifetime unfolded themselves like a dream clearly and vividly before me; and I set pen to paper to put down what I had seen with my own eyes during the last half century of rapid change in the life of my country.

As I began to write we were in the midst of heavy munitions traffic coming in by truck from Burma. The fighting planes of the American Volunteer Group known as the "Flying Tigers" droned over our heads. War profiteers and truck drivers roamed the streets by hundreds and thousands with their pockets full of bank notes, while the price of commodities soared sky-high.

A British friend remarked to a professor of our university that we ought to have controlled prices at the beginning of the war. "Well," said the professor with a tinge of humor, "we will know better in the next war." He went on to remark that if he had had the capital he might have followed the example of the Greek philosopher who cornered olives in ancient Greece in anticipation of a poor olive crop. When the crop failed, he was rich. But the professor had no capital and too little of that sort of foresight, and in addition, too much of patriotism in his way.

After Pearl Harbor came waves of bad news of the Allies. Hongkong, the Malay States, and Singapore fell one after the other. The enemy headed for Burma. China rushed troops there; they retreated, after a stubborn resistance, through the mountains and swamps of Upper Burma, living on

banana roots. They were greatly annoyed by the leeches that dropped on their heads from trees, suckers that hooked onto you and drank your blood. If you tried to tear one off, it carried away in its mouth a piece of your flesh. The best way of getting rid of these nasty parasites was to rub salt on them, but salt there was none. The next best way, in the circumstances, was to slap at them until they gave you up.

Chinese nationals in Burma left by tens of thousands, and made their way back to China by the Burma Road. Enemy planes bombed and machine-gunned them. Three thousand people, men and women, young and old, died on the way. A torrent of refugees flowed along the road into Kunming. Streets were crowded with thousands of distressed people and public buildings were set aside for their temporary lodging. After two or three months they gradually melted into the neighboring provinces; many went back to their native provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung.

The Burma Road, built in eight months by the hands of some eighty thousand farmers, men, women, and children, was now cut at the other end and rendered useless. Kunming, once on the high-way of international traffic, was now an isolated city, and only by air could one travel to India. The Yunnan-Burma Railway, under construction by 250,000 men, was to be finished within twelve months; it was partially built, then suspended. China was cut off from the world, with the enemy on three sides and only the faintest trickle of supplies remaining. In this isolation she held out, fighting for her national existence every inch of the way, until the end of the war.

Let us forget recent history for the moment and look back to the past to see what we can learn from it.

[1] Burma：缅甸在英国殖民统治时期的旧称，现官方名称为Myanmar。

前言：边城昆明

炸弹像冰雹一样从天空掉下，在我们周围爆炸，处身在这样的一次世界大动乱中，我们不禁要问：这些可怕的事情究竟为什么会发生呢？

过去几十年内世界上所发生的事情自然不是从天上掉下来的。任何事情有它的起因。本书的大部分是二次大战将结束时在昆明写的，当我们暂时忘掉现实环境而陷入沉思时，我常常发现一件事情如何导致另一件事情，以及相伴而生的政治、社会变化。昆明是滇缅公路的终点，俯瞰着平静的昆明湖，城中到处是敌机轰炸后的断垣残壁，很像庞贝古城的遗迹。我在这边城里冥想过去的一切，生平所经历的事情像梦境一样一幕一幕地展现在眼前；于是我捡出纸笔，记下了过去半世纪中我亲眼目睹的祖国生活中的急剧变化。

当我开始写《西潮》的故事时，载运军火的卡车正从缅甸源源驶抵昆明，以"飞虎队"闻名于世的美国志愿航空队战斗机在我们头上轧轧掠过。发国难财的商人和以"带黄鱼"起家的卡车司机徜徉街头，口袋里装满了钞票。物价则一日三跳，有如脱缰的野马。

一位英国朋友对西南联大的一位教授说，我们应该在战事初起就好好控制物价。这位教授带点幽默地回答说："是呀！等下一次战争时，我们大概就不会这样笨了。"这位教授说：如果他有资本，他或许早已学一位古希腊哲学家的榜样了。据说那位希腊哲学家预料橄榄将欠收而囤积了一大批橄榄。后来橄榄果然收成不好，这位哲学家也就发了大财。可惜我们的教授没有资本，也没有那种未卜先知的本领，而且他的爱国心也不容许他干损人利己的勾当。

珍珠港事变以后，同盟国家节节失利。香港、马来联邦和新加坡相继陷落，敌军继续向缅甸推进。中国赶派军队驰援印缅战区，经激战后撤至缅北的丛林泽地，有时还不得不靠香蕉树根充饥。尤其使他们寝食难安的是从树上落到他们身上的水蛭，这些吸血鬼钻到你的皮下，不动声色地吸走了你的血液。你如果想用力把它拉出来，它就老实不客气连肉带血衔走一口。对付这些吸血鬼最好的办法是在它们身上擦盐，但是在丛林里却又找不到盐。在这种环境下，唯一的办法是用手死劲去拍，拍得它们放口为止。

成千成万的缅甸华侨沿着滇缅公路撤退回中国。敌机沿途轰炸他们，用机枪扫射他们，三千妇孺老幼就这样惨死在途中。难民像潮水一

样沿滇缅公路涌入昆明。街头拥满了家破人亡的苦难人民，许多公共建筑被指定为临时收容所。经过两三个月以后，他们才逐渐疏散到邻近省份；许多人则直接回到福建和广东老家。

八万左右农民以及男女老幼胼手胝足建筑成功的滇缅公路现在已经因另一端被切断而告瘫痪。一度曾为国际交通孔道的昆明现在也成为孤城，旅客只有坐飞机才能去印度。二十五万人加工赶筑的滇缅铁路，原来预定十二个月内完成，但是部分筑成以后也因战局逆转而中止了。中国已与世界各地隔绝，敌人从三方包围着她，只有涓涓滴滴的外来补给靠越过世界驼峰的空运在维持。中国就在这种孤立无援的窘境中坚持到底，寸土必争，直到战事结束为止。

我们且把近代历史暂时搁在一边，让我们回顾一下过去，看看能否从历史中找出一点教训。

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PART ONE IN AN OLD EMPIRE

CHAPTER 1 HOW EAST AND WEST MET

Centuries ago certain wise men from the East, following a star, traveled to the land where a religion was born destined in centuries to come to play a great part in the life of Western nations. A religion based upon meekness was adopted in the course of time by these peoples of extreme vigor. This religion of meekness, which teaches "whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also," won its way through the West slowly but persistently by braving Roman lions and enduring hardships, suffering, and persecution. A few centuries later it began to trickle into China with the same meekness.

The Nestorians came to China during the Tang Dynasty (618-905 A.D.) [1] , and the Tang emperors built churches for them. But they did not find China a fertile soil for their religion. Another few centuries passed; the Jesuits found their way into the court of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643 A.D.) [2] . They brought with them Western astronomy, which caught the fancy of the Ming emperors.

The Western peoples, meanwhile, with vigorous blood in their veins, not only absorbed the new religion but also created science and made inventions which led to an industrial revolution in recent centuries. As a result they amassed an immense amount of capital, which had to find an outlet in other countries not as yet industrialized. It flowed to the East, first in a trickle, then in torrents, and finally in tides which flooded the Orient and almost swept China off her feet.

China had no trouble with Christianity, nor with any other religion. Only when it was coupled with commercialism supported by gunboats in the middle of the nineteenth century was the religion of meekness seen through Chinese eyes as that of an aggressor. For a religion seen arm in arm with force changes its color, and the Chinese were unable to dissociate the two. This naturally gave rise to the impression that while Buddha came to China on white elephants, Christ was borne on cannon balls.

Since we were knocked out by cannon balls, naturally we became

interested in them, thinking that by learning to make them we could strike back. We could forget for the time being in whose name they had come, since for us common mortals to save our lives was more important than to save our souls.

But history seems to move through very curious ways. From studying cannon balls we came to mechanical inventions, which in turn led us to political reforms; from political reforms we began to see political theories, which led us again to the philosophies of the West. On the other hand, through mechanical inventions we saw science, from which we came to understand scientific method and the scientific mind. Step by step we were led farther and farther away from the cannon ball—yet we came nearer and nearer to it.

The story is a long one, but it all happened in the short span of a hundred years, the dramatic part of it in not more than half a century. I say a hundred years because in 1942 Hongkong was to celebrate its centenary as a British possession,[3] and it was a coincidence that Japan, Britain's former ally, had snatched it from British hands in the previous year by lightning attack. I mention Hongkong without the least intention of rubbing an old sore, only because it will serve as a convenient landmark for the earlier part of China's westernization. As everyone will remember, this group of hilly islands—situated in the south sea not far from Canton, and nests for pirates a century ago—was ceded to Britain in 1842 at China's defeat in the so-called "Opium War." What actually happened was that China, having forbidden the importation of opium, Britain's principal export from India to that country, burned British opium at Canton. Britain retaliated with cannon balls and China lost the war.

Torrents of Western manufactures began to pour in through the subsequent opening, also stipulated under the treaty, of five coastal cities as commercial ports. These cities lay scattered at fairly regular intervals along the coast of the prosperous southern half of the country. Thus new frontiers were formed; China's frontiers had lain hitherto solely inland, to the north and northwest. This change in China's map was the turning point in her history.

These five seaports—Canton, Amoy[4] , Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai—running from south to north in a chain, served as depots for Western manufactured goods which flowed thence into the richest and most populous

parts of the country, the Pearl and Yangtze Valleys. Supported by gunboats the Western merchants squatted like octopuses in the ports, sending their tentacles into the interior of the rich provinces. China, an enormous country larger than the United States, was herself unaware of the penetration and blind to what was bound to happen later on. The life of her millions went its leisurely and contented way from the cradle to the grave without making the least effort toward modernization, while a section of the people began casually to pick up foreign manufactures, whether for use, for pleasure, or out of curiosity.

The gunboat policy of the Western Powers, however, carried with it not only manufactured goods and opium but also the healthy seeds of Western science and culture, which we did not see at the time but which were to germinate years later to the benefit of China—one of the ironies of history.

Meanwhile the westernization of Japan went on by leaps and bounds. Again, China was unaware of it. Half a century later, by 1894, the little Island Empire suddenly loomed large over the horizon of the China Sea, sprang a surprise attack upon the sleeping giant, and bit off a mouthful. The next to go after Hongkong was Formosa[5] , an island province near the east coast hundreds of times larger than Hongkong. China now began to feel the pinch and rub her eyes in wonder. What was it that was disturbing her sweet dreams?

My original plan was just to write out what I know and feel about my own country. As I have let these mental pictures run their course, one after another, they have developed into a volume something like autobiography, something like reminiscences or contemporary history. Whatever it may be, it is all from the indelible images that unrolled in my mind as clearly and vividly as if they had been printed there only yesterday. In the rapid march of events I felt myself a tiny cog on the vast whirling wheel.

[1] 唐朝（618—907）。

[2] 明朝（1368—1644）。

[3] 参见序注1。

[4] Amoy：15—16世纪葡萄牙殖民主义者对厦门的称呼。

[5] Formosa：16世纪葡萄牙殖民主义者对台湾的称呼。

CHAPTER 2 VILLAGE LIFE

I came into the world as the youngest of five children, four boys and a girl, in a well-to-do family in a small village. The night before I was born my father dreamed of a bear coming to our house, the sign of a male baby. The next day the good omen came true: the spirits of our forefathers in heaven presented another son to the family.

Before my eldest brother was born, Father had dreamed of receiving a bouquet of orchids. So the child was named Orchid. My second brother was named Peach for the same reason. Naturally I was called Bear. As for my sister and third brother, Father had no dreams. My name was afterward changed from Bear to Unicorn when I registered at Chekiang College, because of events in the schools.

I was born a war baby, for the year in which I came into the world saw Britain cut off Burma from Chinese control; and the Sino-French War had just ended the previous year, by which China lost her suzerainty over Indo-China[1] to France. The peeling of dependencies off China was a prelude to further invasion by foreign Powers. For China kept dependencies to serve as buffer states, not for exploitation. She never interfered with their internal administration.

When the peel was gone, germs began to make inroads into the orange. However, people in China were not aware of it. These wars on the southwest frontiers were far away and mere ripples on her vast ocean. The villagers were the least concerned—in their profound isolation they gave less attention to such news than they would to ghost stories. Yet China drew a part of her defense forces from among just such villages, not interested in war.

When I came to know the little world around me I noticed that people spoke more realistically of the Taiping Rebellion, which had destroyed a part of the village some thirty years before. The chief of the elders of the Chiang clan, a carpenter by trade, had once joined the rebels. He told us many stories of pillage and atrocities committed by the Taipings,[2] of which he himself had been guilty. To listen to these horrors often made a chill run all over my body. Yet of the international wars of recent years people talked only casually, utterly unconcerned. There were fabulous stories of victory—

simply amusing, in a sense tragic, as one thinks of them in after years. For the fact was that while Chinese troops made a good showing in some engagements, the conclusion was complete defeat.

The spearhead of modern invention had not yet penetrated to the villages and they lay there, secret, primitive, and calm, as our ancestors had founded them some five hundred years before. Yet the people were not idle. The farmers had to plow, sow, and reap; the fishermen to cast their nets in the canals; the women to spin, weave, sew; the traders to buy and sell; the craftsmen to make their beautiful articles; the scholars to read aloud, memorize the Confucian classics, and take civil examinations.

There were hundreds of thousands of such villages in China, varying only in size and mode of life according to topographical and climatic differences. The traditions, family ties, and trades which held them together were more or less the same. A common written language, common ideals of life, a common culture and system of civil examinations bound the whole country into a single nation known as the Chinese Empire.

Together with the large cities and centers of trade, these hundreds of thousands of villages in China kept the country supplied with food, goods, scholars, soldiers, and the rank and file of officials of the government. So long as they remained untouched by modernization, China would remain the same; if she could have built fences round the treaty ports they might have remained the same for centuries to come. But the tide of westernization refused to be contained within the treaty ports. It made itself felt in the immediate surroundings, extending gradually along waterways and highways. Villages and towns near the five invaded cities or along communication lines were the first to succumb. Like transplanted trees feeding on China's rich soil, branching off and multiplying fast, the modern influence extended in the course of some fifty years far into the interior.

The village of the Chiangs was one among many spread—with intervening spaces of one or two miles of luxuriant rice fields—over the alluvial plain formed by the Chien-tang River. This is well known for its scenery, both in the upper part and in the lower section near the mouth where the famous bores of Chien-tang make their impressive seasonal sweep in from the sea. The high, abrupt front of the tidal bore is of a grandeur to over-shadow Niagara Falls. Down the valley, through the centuries, the river

slowly laid its rich earth, building its shores farther and farther into Hangchow Bay. On the newly formed shores people erected temporary enclosures to hold the brine from which common salt is made. A large quantity of salt was produced every year, supplying the needs of many millions.

After a number of years, as the shores were further extended, the salt would begin to exhaust itself and dikes would be built along the drying land at some distance from the water. The embanked land was now ready for pasturing. After a long period it was capable of growing cotton to feed the domestic looms, or mulberry trees to nourish silkworms. It was probably still another half century before it could be turned into rice fields. For plenty of water is needed for growing rice, and it takes time to build reservoirs and a network of canals for irrigation. And the land takes time to mature.

The village of the Chiangs, by the time I came to it, was situated about twenty miles from Hangchow Bay. Around it were endless chains of villages, large and small, running in all directions—southward to the mountains, northward to the sea, and east and west to towns and cities all connected by miles of footways or canals. The genealogy of the Chiangs tells us that our first ancestors immigrated to the Yuyao district from Hueichow, a mountainous region where the famous river finds its source. They came presumably to reclaim the then newly formed land. In my own time an ancient embankment was still visible in front of our clan temple, the Temple of the Four No's, popularly known as the "Temple Facing the Embankment."

Perhaps the reader would like to know what is meant by the "Four No's." They mean to see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil, do no evil. The sets of three monkeys with hands covering their eyes, ears, and mouth, respectively, that one finds in Oriental bazaars exemplify them—the fourth being left out for obvious reasons. These moral precepts came from the Confucian classics. Moral ideas were driven into the people by every possible means—temples, theatres, homes, toys, proverbs, schools, history, and stories—until they became habits in daily life. This was one of the ways by which China attained social stability: governing the life of the people by moral bonds.

During the long centuries of history the population of China had expanded from its northern beginnings to the south, first to the Yangtze Valley, then to the Pearl River Valley, and finally to the mountainous regions

of the southwest. The fertile soil of the south and the devastation caused by flood from the incorrigible Yellow River, as well as by invasions of warlike tribes from outside the Great Wall, together with the natural expansion of the race, all contributed to cause repeated southward movements of the Chinese people. It was following in the wake of such a movement that my ancestors came to stay here on the shores of Hang-chow Bay.

Our family tree owes its existence to a sprout of a royal family planted in consequence of a feud somewhere in the lower Yellow River Valley some three thousand years ago. That tract of land was called "Chiang," the ancient name for a species of aquatic grass (Hydropyrum Latifolium). The modern name of this plant is Chiao-pei; used as a vegetable it tastes somewhat like bamboo shoots. The country was probably so called because of the luxuriant growth of the plant in those regions. My first ancestor in the Chiang line was made the first feudal lord to rule over that land toward the end of the twelfth century B.C. He was Pei-ling, third son of Prince Regent Chow-kung of the Chow Dynasty, and his descendants took Chiang as their family name.

In the third century A.D., during the period of the Three Kingdoms, one of our ancestors appears in history. His name was Chiang Wen and he lived in the Yangtze Valley. This shows that the Chiangs living south of the Yangtze had already migrated from the Yellow River region by the third century. From our first ancestor down to the present day all the names in the direct line have been recorded in our genealogy. How authentic they are I cannot tell, for their lives were so obscure that verification is not easy, but this much we can say: all the Chiangs settled in the areas south of the Yangtze are of the same origin. How far we can trace back accurately to this origin we don't know, but it is certain that all the Chiangs living in the province of Chekiang find their common ancestral tree in Hueichow.

I am of the seventeenth generation in the ancestral line. The first settlement of our village by the Chiangs, more than five hundred years ago, came toward the end of the Yuan or Mongol Dynasty. During these five centuries, under two foreign dynasties[3] and one Chinese, the Chiangs saw the fall of the Mongols, the rise and fall of the Mings and the Manchus, and the Taiping Rebellion which almost overthrew the latter. During these changes they lived, worked, and retired to their graves in the same manner and in the same village. Dynasties came and went, but the village of the Chiangs remained the same.

During the Taiping Rebellion a few houses were burned by the rebels. The people ran into the mountains, but as soon as peace was restored they all came home like bees to the hive. In my childhood some of the ruins still stood to tell the story of the war.

When the Ming Dynasty fell at the hands of the Manchus, I was told by the villagers, people were not aware of it until the edicts of the new regime reached the villages. There was a play going on in one of the near-by village theatres when they were informed that they lived under a new dynasty. Perhaps the only forcible change in the life of my clansmen was the edict ordering the people to wear a queue and forbidding the male population to dress in the Ming style. Resentment was so great that men wore the Ming costume, to their graves; it was a common saying of our clan that "men surrendered but women did not; the living did, but the dead did not." The practice persisted in some cases until the downfall of the Manchu Dynasty[5] in 1911, when the Republic was established—a period of two centuries and a half.

Our village consisted of only some sixty households, with a population of about three hundred. It was one of the smallest among many villages, surrounded by a canal on three sides. On the south side a footway paved with granite slabs ran along it, leading across bridges to neighboring villages and towns. The canal was but part of a network connecting with large rivers which in turn led to such far-flung cities as Hangchow, Soochow, and Shanghai.

Although the village was small, it commanded easy communication by both land and water. Bridges spanned the canals and weeping willows grew luxuriantly on the banks. Fish, shrimps, eels, and turtles were abundant. Here and there one would find anglers taking their ease in the shade of the willows. Oxen could be seen walking in leisurely fashion round the water wheels to propel the chain of paddles which brought fresh water through a long trough to the fields. Miles of wheat fields in the spring and rice fields in summer gave one the feeling of living in a land of perpetual verdure. Swallows shuttled back and forth in the blue sky above a sea of rippling green, while eagles floated high above, circling around the village in search of little chicks.

Such was the background of my childhood and the environment of my

clansmen. They lived there for more than five centuries with little change in life. Nature was kind to them. The land was fertile. Floods and droughts were not frequent. Rebellions or wars in the country at large did not disturb them more than once or twice during those long centuries; they lived in peace and contentment in a world by themselves, with little distinction between the very rich and the very poor. Sufficient rice, cotton, silk, fish, meat, bamboo shoots, and vegetables kept the people warm and well fed.

Morals, beliefs, and customs remained unchanged in Chinese villages through centuries of dynastic changes, in peace or war. For the villagers the world was good enough and no improvement was needed. Life alone was unstable, but consolation could be found in the transmigration of the soul. At death the soul was said to leave the body and enter that of a baby then being born. Indeed, in my own time I have seen convicts on the way to execution who shouted to the spectators that after eighteen years they would be young men again. What a consolation!

Our villagers said that a bad or sinful man's soul would be degraded to become a poor man, a horse, or a pig, or even split into minute parts to be insects or worms, according to the degrees of sins he had committed. The soul of a good or virtuous man would be promoted to a higher station in the next life.

What was sinful or virtuous had of course its accepted standards. The highest of all virtues was filial piety; the greatest of all sins was adultery. Filial piety kept the Chinese family intact and chastity kept the Chinese race pure. Respect for the elders, faithfulness to friends, loyalty to the sovereign, honesty in word and deed; kindliness and sympathy to the poor, the infirm or sick, all were regarded as virtuous behavior. Usury, treachery, lying, cheating, and the like were among sinful acts. Denunciation of a person whose conduct one disapproved often took the form of telling him that he would become a dog or a pig in his next life.

In business dealings verbal promises were as good as gold. On the whole, people were honest and trustworthy. Any person found to cheat would be surely tabooed by the whole community.

Marriages were not the business of the parties concerned; the parents of both parties made the match. As a rule, men married at twenty and women at eighteen. The men usually remarried if their wives died, while women of

well-to-do families generally remained widows if they survived their husbands. These unfortunates were regarded as most virtuous—Imperial posthumous honors were conferred upon them.

The local government of the village was a fully self-governing body without outside interference. It was a government by elders of the clan with the Ancestral Hall as its seat. "Elders" does not mean elderly men. They might be young but represented the oldest living generations in the ancestral line. They were obligated to see that the ceremonies of ancestral worship were properly performed and were entrusted with the duties of arbitration in case of dispute among the clansmen. No one was allowed to go to law without first going through arbitration. To "open the gate of the Ancestral Hall" meant to summon an arbitration court of the elders. Anyone in the village could go there to observe the proceedings. Candles and incense burned before the tablets of the ancestors and everyone felt that their spirits watched invisibly from the ethereal realm. Before these ancestral spirits the parties concerned must speak the truth, nothing but the truth. Generally they did.

For the arbitrators, fairness was the motto. Public opinion in the village was also a very important factor, of which all parties concerned were conscious, and there was also the public opinion of neighboring villages. No elders would dare to defame the Ancestral Hall with unfair judgments. Thus disputes were usually fairly settled in this way. No lawsuit was necessary.

There were, in fact, few cases of dispute which needed arbitration by "opening the gate of the Ancestral Hall," for people regarded this as a matter of weight, to be resorted to only in a case of grave importance. Disputes were usually settled by informal arbitration before the gate of the hall.

Scholars and the gentry had a strong voice in the local government. They also participated in cases of arbitration and the making of rules and regulations for the village. They formed inter-village committees to settle disputes and look after the common welfare of neighboring villages.

Land taxes were brought by owners of land to the district or hsien treasury, about twenty miles from the village. No tax collectors ever visited us. People never felt the influence of the state—it was a common saying that "Heaven is high above and the Emperor is far away."

Public worship other than ancestral, such as worship in Buddhist temples or temples of deified persons, national heroes, or local gods that had grown out of legends, was a matter of individual concern. Anyone might worship in any or all of these places; there was no religious restriction or persecution. Your gods are as good as mine. If the Christians had allowed their Christ to sit beside Chinese gods in Chinese temples, I am sure that the villagers would have worshiped Him just as reverently as they did other gods.

Superstition grows out of the credulity of simple folk—it rolls like a snowball growing as it rolls along. Thus it is that superstitions gather through centuries of accumulation.

As I have said, the villagers believed in the transmigration of the soul. This does not seem to reconcile with the idea that there are spirits traveling about with lightning speed in the ethereal realm. Soul and spirit, however, were two different things: the soul transmigrated, but the spirit remained in space. The spirit of a great man lives eternally in the invisible realm, while that of a common man evaporates and dwindles, disappearing entirely with the course of time, or rather when it is entirely forgotten. The spirit moves with instant speed anywhere it wills. It may live in the Ancestral Hall or in its grave as it chooses. This is perhaps one reason why the Chinese are always willing to spend large sums on elaborate tombs and palatial ancestral halls.

My people always see things in relation to man. If spirits and gods wandered about in an unseen world without relation to, or contact with, living man, people would not see any use for them and would hardly believe they existed. Yes, they have images and tablets sitting in the shrines. But these sacred things, however awe-inspiring, do not step down and talk to them except in dreams. There must be something more active or lively. This was found in mediums, in automatic writing, or in the interpreting of dreams.

If someone was thinking of a departed friend or a dead relative, he could invoke the spirit to come to him through a medium, who was always a woman from some far-distant place. When the spirit called for approached, she would contract her ears three times as the signal of arrival of the invisible guest. This contraction of the involuntary muscles of the ear was something ordinary people could not do and this made them believe in the medium much more. She usually spoke through her throat like a cat's purr, so that the words uttered could be interpreted to suit the wishes of the listeners. When

she had traced out something more definite in the course of conversation, she would purr more distinctly, to the amazement of the audience.

False or true, it served as a comfort to the hearts of living relatives. I still remember how thrilling it was when my dead mother conversed with me through a medium half a century ago.

Automatic writing is of a higher order. It was generally practiced by the educated class. Two persons were needed to hold the ends of a horizontal bar with a long wooden pin attached at the middle, which wrote on a tray of sand. A god or the spirit of some famous personage, it was believed, could be invoked to write. The device—not unlike a Ouija board—could be asked to predict future events. It might foretell a bumper crop in the coming year, or an impending famine, or peace, or war. One could ask almost any question. Poems were written by operators who did not know how to compose a poem; names of persons present unknown to the writers might be written out on the sand. It was all done through the subconscious as any person who knows about psychology can explain.

Mediums invoked only spirits of departed relatives or friends; automatic writing might invoke the gods as well. In dreams both might come voluntarily, uninvited. I heard numerous interpretations of dreams which I do not remember now, except for one instance. One of my great-granduncles went to Hangchow to take the civil examinations for the second degree. In his examination cell (where candidates remained for many hours) he saw in a dream a hand of enormous size stretch into the room through the window. This was interpreted to mean that, since it was the greatest hand he had ever seen, he was to head the list of successful candidates. And the good omen came true when the results of the examination were made known.

Gods, dead friends, relatives, or spirits might enter one's dreams to convey their wishes, requests, or warnings. A dead mother might request her son to repair her tomb. A dead father might demand paper money from his son. A good imitation of paper money was always burned at funerals; it was supposed to accompany the dead for use in the world to which they go.

A tragic coincidence happened in our village about which people talked for years after. Ah Yi, a young farmer, was to take his rice by boat to a neighboring town. Early in the morning he was found sitting on a bench in a somber mood, very rare for a farmer. To inquiry he replied that in his dreams

the previous night his dead mother had warned him not to go near water. What could it mean? He was a good swimmer.

At dusk he brought his junk home and shoved the boat toward the landing with his bamboo pole. He joked with his friends on the bank that his danger was over, and laughed heartily. Suddenly his feet slipped and he plunged into the canal, where he struggled for a moment but went under. Friends dived for him but could not find him. After half an hour he was pulled out, cold and stiff, from the entangling roots of an aged willow tree that grew by the water.

People said it was the water ghost that hid him there. Perhaps it was a water monkey that nested in the roots. Several good swimmers drowned near that spot. Often the villagers saw the "water ghost" sitting on the bridge near by in the moonlight, staring at the moon. It plunged into the water as soon as it saw people approaching.

Illusions, hallucinations, dreams, nightmares, imaginings, wishful thinking, coincidence, rumors—every kind of inexplicable phenomenon of mind or nature, all contributed to swell the snowball. And time kept it rolling.

Medicine in the village was, of course, primitive. We had to go miles to see herb doctors in the bigger towns. For ordinary illness or certain more serious cases Chinese medicine is very effective. But in many serious ailments the old medicine is useless or even dangerous.

I myself have been twice at the point of death and was in each case saved by herb medicine, without which I would not be here writing these chapters. On one occasion I had been ill for many months and was reduced to emaciation. A famous herb doctor specializing in children's diseases saved me. On another occasion I contracted diphtheria and was treated by a Chinese throat specialist. He pricked my throat with a needle all over the affected part and then sprayed it with some kind of white powder. I do not know what it was, but my throat felt cool and soothed as after smoking a mentholated cigarette.

That part of my throat was relieved, but the case developed other complications. My tonsils swelled to the size of goose eggs, my cheeks puffed up like a balloon, and I could hardly swallow even liquid food. My nose kept bleeding as if I should bleed to death. Finally I could barely breathe

and only a faint hope was left. While my life hung by a thread my father said that he would try to "treat a dead horse like a live one." This was a Chinese proverb meaning that if the horse is ready to die anyway, it is worth trying the most extreme methods to save it. He dug into old medicine books, in which he found a prescription for a case showing similar symptoms. Several heavy doses were taken. The first brought immediate relief; in an hour or two I felt much better. By the next morning my tonsils had dwindled, and after a week or so I could take regular meals.

I have seen with my own eyes broken legs healed by ancient methods, while colds, sore eyes, coughs, and rheumatism were effectively cured by herbs.

Chinese doctors discovered long ago an antismallpox "vaccine" taken from the human body. They used a kind of herb that had once been inserted into the nostrils of an affected child. Putting it into the nose of a normal child gave the latter what was usually a very much milder form of the disease. There were some cases of mortality among the hundreds thus "vaccinated," for I often heard of a death here and there. My father preferred modern vaccination to the old Chinese method. All the children in our family and many of our relatives were vaccinated by the modern method without a mishap.

We did not know how to cure malaria in our village. We let it run for some weeks or even months until it stopped of itself. There were no malignant cases in our locality and while it might sap the energy of the affected person it was not fatal. When quinine powder was brought in by missionaries or merchants from Shanghai, people found great relief in Western medicine.

Some of our clansmen believed in the healing power of the supernatural. They prayed in a temple and took a pinch of ashes from the incense burner as a panacea for all diseases. It was a sort of psychological treatment and did cure in some cases where psychology could play its part.

In the gardens of our house each month of the year was presided over by the chief flower of that month. Camellias were for the First Moon—first month of the year in the lunar calendar, corresponding approximately to the Western late January and early February. In the Second Moon almond blossoms took over the reins of government in the flowery kingdom. Peach

blossoms were for the Third Moon, roses for the Fourth, pomegranates for the Fifth, lotus for the Sixth, Feng-hsian (*Impatiens balsamina*) for the Seventh, Kwei-hua (*Osmanthus fragrans*) for the Eighth, chrysanthemums for the Ninth, Fu-yung (*Hibiscus mutabilis*) for the Tenth, Shuei-hsian (*Narcissus tazetta*) for the Eleventh, and La-mei (*Chimonanthus fragrans*) for the Twelfth, the last month of the year. Each plant was represented by a particular goddess whom we all loved dearly.

The most popular seasonal flowers were the peach blossoms of spring, lotus in the summer, and osmanthus and chrysanthemums in autumn. In season, the villagers all joined in admiring these beauties of nature.

Festivals brought much enjoyment to both children and grownups alike. The most important was the New Year Festival which began near the end of the old year—on the twenty-third of the Twelfth Moon—when the Kitchen God took leave and went to heaven to report to the Supreme God the year's happenings in the household.

The Chinese believed in polytheism. But above all deities was the Supreme God who controlled them all. It was an anthropomorphic idea that He reigned over the ethereal realm like the Emperor of China. Other gods were his ministers, governors, and magistrates.

The Kitchen God was entrusted by the Supreme God with charge of the household. Naturally he had to report to Him at the end of the year. The Kitchen God was a vegetarian and was therefore treated with a vegetarian dinner before leaving for heaven. Everybody had to be very careful during the year in word and deed, since bad as well as good things were reported. Both the sending-off and the welcome-home ceremonies consisted of dinners for the family, burning of paper money, and firecrackers.

New Year's Eve was celebrated by a family banquet in which every member must participate. If some member was absent, he or she would be assigned a seat in absentia. Candles burned all night until the next morning and most of the grownups sat up through the night to watch the coming of the New Year. Next morning, on the first day of the year, the family worshiped Heaven and Earth. Candles, incense, paper money, and firecrackers were necessary parts of the ceremony.

The Lantern Festival, part of the New Year celebration, began on the

thirteenth and ended on the eighteenth of the First Moon, which was also the end of the New Year Festival. Artistic lanterns—horses, rabbits, butterflies, dragonflies, mantis, cicada, lotus, anything one could think of—adorned the houses and the streets of the towns. We used to go to large towns to see the lantern parade; their streets were thronged with merrymakers.

There were other important festivals, such as the Dragon Festival in the Fifth Moon, the Moon Festival in the Eighth Moon, and the like. The Dragon Festival was celebrated by a boat race with all the boats decorated to look like dragons. The Moon Festival was enjoyed quietly and poetically—after a banquet we took a walk in the bright night and looked at the rabbit on the full, silvery autumn moon in a starless, moonlit sky.

Parades were popular, with hundreds of people participating and thousands watching. They were always religious in character: some god was to make an inspection trip around the villages. An image of the deity was carried in a carved, artistically decorated sedan chain, preceded by pennants, flags, floats, bands of music, monster dragons, men on stilts, and so forth.

Dragon dances were performed in the public squares of every village as the parade passed by. The men on stilts danced in theatrical roles in the crowded streets. Monstrous flags with fantastic designs of the dragon, tiger, or lion, each carried by dozens of people and supported by lines of rope in front and rear, were indeed a great sight. They moved up the highway among the fields like the sails of the Spanish Armada on a sea of rippling green. It was said that the idea originated during the old days when pirates from the Japan Sea wrought havoc among the people.

Traveling theatres made visits to the villages during festivals or birthday celebrations of deities, or on other important occasions. Each performance started about three o'clock in the afternoon and continued until the next morning with an intermission for supper. A frantic sounding of the gong served as a prelude to let country folk know that the play was starting. Plays were mostly based on historical episodes; the people learned history from the theatre. At the end of each play the moral lesson was invariably brought out. So it served a triple purpose: to teach history and morals as well as to entertain.

The roles of women were played by men, as in Shakespearean times in England. The actors painted their faces in fantastic designs of various colors

to differentiate symbolically among virtuous and vile, honest and sneaky, the great and the mean, the stern and the kind. Thus one whose nose was painted white was either treacherous, cunning, mean, or clownish. In daily life we referred to such a person as "white-nosed." A red face suggested a character which was candid or virtuous in some way, but always kind. The "black face" was generally severe and stern. We often called a man who behaved sternly "black-faced," while "red-faced" meant a man who acted kindly or generously. The tradition of symbolic face painting still persists to the present day in Chinese classical dramas.

Such was the world of my childhood. It has been passing rapidly into history. The intrusion of foreign manufactures began the process; invasion from the West, whether by ideas or gunboats, hastened it; modern science, invention, and industry are to give the finishing touch.

[1] Indo-China：法属印度支那，源自法文“Indochine”，通常指曾经是法国殖民地的亚洲东南部地区，包括今日的越南、柬埔寨、老挝三国。在本书中亦特指越南。

[2] An uprising which started in the south in 1851, capitalizing peasant discontent, and swept over most of the country until crushed with foreign help several years later.（作者原注）

[3] foreign dynasties：指蒙古族和满族分别建立的元朝和清朝。

[5] Manchu Dynasty：清朝（Qing Dynasty）。

CHAPTER 3 EARLY SCHOOLING

Education was a family affair. Boys were prepared for the Imperial civil examinations, or for business, in the family school. Girls were tutored separately. Children of poorer families which could not support a teacher were destined to be illiterate.

There was generally one teacher to a dozen pupils, taught individually. There were no blackboards or classes in the school. The teacher was usually serene, sitting the whole day at his desk from early in the morning to sunset. The pupils did likewise. As clocks were very rare then, there was none in the school. In winter, when the day was short, lessons after dark were given by the dim light of a vegetable-oil lamp. Time was measured by a sun dial. On a cloudy or rainy day you had to guess your time. Often you missed the mark by an hour or two, but it did not matter much, for the lessons were given individually.

I was sent to school at the age of six, the traditional school age. But my actual years were only five and a month or so, since with us your age is called "one"—that is, you are in your first year—when you are born. The ordinary desk was a bit too high for me, so that my chair had to be raised by a wooden stand to bring me level with the desk. My tiny feet were thus left dangling from the seat.

I was given a textbook: *San-tze-ching*, or the "Classics of Three Characters." It is so named because each sentence contains three words, and it was rhymed so as to be easier for children to remember. After fifty-odd years I am still able to recite a great part of it. It starts with the following passage—I give a literal translation:

Man is originally

Endowed with a nature which is all-good.

And therefore by nature people are all alike.

It is practice that makes the divergence.

If they are not properly taught,

Their nature will be thwarted.

The all-good in human nature is the starting point of the Confucian philosophy of life and education, which exercised a strong influence upon the French Encyclopedists of the eighteenth century.

I understand what it means now, but of course I didn't then.

I must tell how I hated the school! After a short time, noticing that the attention of the teacher was not on me, I climbed down quickly from the chair and ran like a dog that has broken from its chain back home to my mother's lap.

"Why do you come home, my child?" asked my mother in surprise.

"The school is no good, the teacher is no good, and the book is no good," I replied.

"Aren't you afraid of your teacher? He may come and get you," said my mother kindly.

"I'll kill the teacher! I'll burn the school!"

My mother didn't send me back to school that day, nor did the teacher come.

Early the next morning my nurse woke me, spoke many kind words to me, and persuaded me to go to school again. From childhood I responded to kind words only; no coercion ever did any good. It was the gentle reasonableness of my nurse that made me go back voluntarily.

I took to school my own rattan chair, which was very light. A servant followed me and put it on the stand to match the height of the desk. The teacher made no remark and acted as if nothing had happened, but I noticed several schoolmates making faces at me. I hated them but pretended not to see them. I climbed up on the chair and sat there without resting place for my poor feet. More lessons were given, in the same book. I read very loud, as was required in the old type of school, repeating the meaningless text again and again till every word was learned by heart. When the sun shone directly above our heads it was midday. The teacher ordered me to go home for lunch. Immediately after lunch I went back to school and kept on learning the same thing till sunset.

Day in and day out, there was no change in the curriculum. When I finished one textbook another meaningless one came in turn. It was memory and patience that we were training.

We were taught the "three P's" in reading: presence of mind, presence of eye, and the presence of lips. The first means concentration, a requisite for doing any work well. The second is important because by it one gets a clear impression of the ideographic letters, with the various arrangements of fine and intricate strokes in each letter. The third is attained by reading a passage aloud several hundred times; the words then fall from the lips fluently, thus relieving the burden of the memory. We were warned not to commit words to memory by artificial means, because then we would not retain them. If we stumbled in reciting a passage we were ordered to read it over again one or two hundred times more—if the teacher was not in a good humor you would probably receive in addition, without warning, a crack on the skull. Often when the day was over some boys left school with lumps on their scalps.

Discipline and obedience were aimed at without regard for the interest of the pupil. Sundays were unknown. We had half holidays in the afternoon on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month. In addition, we had during the year several full holidays on festival days, such as the Dragon Festival and the Moon Festival. A comparatively long vacation came about New Year's time. It started on the twentieth[1] day of the Twelfth Moon and lasted till the same day of the First Moon of the new year, and was called the New Year vacation.

As several years went by, I grew older and learned by heart quite a number of characters. My teacher then began to explain the meaning of the text and studying grew to be less drudgery. From the Confucian classics I began to understand a little of the way to be a righteous man. It began with the culture of the person, then went on to the fulfillment of duties to the family, to the state, and finally the world. I did not appreciate its full significance until much later.

In the earliest years school was indeed a prison to me. The difference was that in a real prison the inmates have little hope, while in school the pupils had hopes for a bright future. Had not all the famous scholars and statesmen gone through years of suffering in schools? It was through suffering that men became great, we were told to believe. The path was

difficult but it was the only road to success.

"If you have tasted the bitterest of the bitter you will become the greatest of the great."

"The Son of Heaven[2] honors the scholar. While everything else is of a lower order, learning is the highest of all."

"Do not envy others who possess the sword; you have a pen that is mightier."

These common sayings spurred me on the road of learning as the odors of an early spring in the air spur a sluggish horse to green pastures. Otherwise I should have dropped my schooling and taken to business in Shanghai. Ideals, hopes, and will power are the most important factors in shaping one's life. If education fails in these, the emphasis in modern methods upon the interest of the pupil is but a trifling thing. Interest is an important factor in education only when it is subordinated to inculcation of ideals.

It seemed tedious and foolish in the old Chinese schools to commit the classics to memory. But there was the advantage that in later years one could go to memory to find ready references for the conduct of life. In a static society where the world moved very slowly and the rules of conduct would need little modification, it seems to me that the old Chinese method of teaching and learning was quite adequate for the needs it filled. Only, in a country school like mine it ran to the extreme, giving unnecessary hardship to the pupils. I wonder how many promising boys were scared away before they began to realize the importance of learning.

There were no sports or physical exercises in any form in my school. The boys were forbidden to run fast; they must walk slowly and be dignified. Right after lunch we were required to practise calligraphy. Young life seemed to be practically squeezed out of us.

Nevertheless, the boys found their own way to satisfy their play instincts. When the teacher was absent we would take over control of the school. Sometimes desks were taken to form a platform on which a play could be staged. Chairs and stools would be used as stage properties. Sometimes we played blindman's buff. On one occasion, while I was serving as the "blind," the teacher returned and all the others slipped away. As I caught an easy prey I felt something strange—it was the teacher. The shock

was so terrifying that as I write it reels in my senses as vividly as if it had happened yesterday.

In the spring, when school was over in the afternoon, we flew kites. We made our own. Some took the form of a monster centipede, others a gigantic butterfly. At night we would send into the sky along the kite string a chain of lanterns, numbering usually five, seven, or nine. The smaller boys played with smaller kites, generally in the shape of a dragonfly, a swallow, or an eagle. The "swallows" were the most ingenious; they usually went by pairs, tied to the two ends of a slip of bamboo balanced on the kite string, and danced up and down in the currents of air like a pair of feathered playmates. Once I saw several swallows darting around such a pair, seeking their company.

In summer we played with other boys in the village during the starry evenings. The fireflies in the air looked like moving stars. Some of us preferred to listen to the stories told by some elder of the village. With a big palm-leaf fan in his hands to chase away annoying mosquitoes, and a teapot by his side, the elder would give his account of historical personages, dynastic changes, and past happenings in the village.

> About two hundred and fifty years ago [he would begin], when the Ming Dynasty was overthrown by the Manchus, the whole country was in turmoil, but our forefathers living in this village still enjoyed peace. Later on, the Imperial Edict reached our village ordering all male persons to cut their hair according to the Tartar fashion and to wear a queue.[3] Men were terrified and women wept. Barbers came to the village to enforce the order. They had Imperial sanction, if anyone should disobey, to punish the culprit by cutting off his head instead of his hair. No one preferred his hair to his head. Since a man could not retain both his head and his hair, he would stretch his head and let the barber do his job of haircutting and queue braiding. We have got used to it now, but my! it must have looked funny then...

This was a bit of history we learned outside of school.

Again, a bit of local anthropology:

> Tens of thousands of years ago our far-distant ancestors had tails like the monkey. The man-monkey's tail gradually turned yellow as he grew older. When nine out of the ten segments of his tail had turned yellow, he knew he was about to die. Then he would crawl into his cave and die there. As years went by, his tail dropped. This is why we have no tails now. But you can find at the end of your backbone where it was broken off.

Here is a story about pugilism:

> In front of a rice shop a small boy was stationed to sell rice. He amused himself by picking up pinches of it and throwing them swiftly back into the basket. On one occasion a monk came to beg for rice. Instead of giving him some, the boy threw a few grains of it right in his face. To his

> surprise he saw that the grains had pierced the man's skin. The monk made a polite bow with his hands pressed together palm to palm, saying "Namo Amita Buddha" [Hail, Great Buddha!], and went his way.
>
> Seven days later a pugilist came to the town. By now the boy was looking rather pale. "What's the matter with you, my boy?" asked the pugilist. When he was told the story of the monk he said, "Ah, that monk is the most famous pugilist of our time. You have insulted him. You have received from his bow the terrible internal wounds which will bring you to death in forty-nine days. I have medicine for your cure, but you must run away and not meet him again. He will come again after forty-nine days. Get a coffin, put some bricks in it, and pretend that you have died."
>
> The monk did come, and asked for the boy. When he was told of his death, he sighed and said, "What a pity!" At his request he was led to see the coffin. Running his fingers over the top of it, he muttered, "Namo Amita Buddha." After he had gone the coffin was opened and it was found that all the bricks in it were cracked.

We boys pricked up our ears and listened attentively to these stories; they were one of the sources of my extracurricular education. I could retell many like them if space would allow.

I had several teachers, one after another, in my school. One of them was a kindly rustic scholar who had failed to pass the Imperial civil examinations for the First Degree, despite many attempts, and had to content himself with teaching in a family school. He had a round, moonlike face, was short and stout, and his bespectacled eyes looked habitually over the heavy brass rims of his glasses. His grey mustache hung bristling from his upper lip and he wore no beard. After he had taken egg soup at dinner, yellow particles would be seen adhering to the tips of his unclipped mustache. He was an encyclopedia of endless stories. But his literary style was rather poor; this is why, I presume, he failed repeatedly in the examinations; though he was an endless fountain of witticism. I think his memory in certain respects must have been bad, for he always forgot to carry with him either his umbrella or towel or fan when going back to the school after paying a visit to his friends. Necessity taught him finally to make an inventory of the articles he brought with him: pipe, umbrella, towel, and fan. When about to leave he would repeat, "Pipe, umbrella, towel, and fan." Even in winter, when no fan was needed, he would continue to mention it in his list, sometimes realizing that he had brought no fan with him, but at other times trying to find it, to the great amusement of both friends and pupils.

My mental scope was thus limited to what I learned from the Confucian classics and what the teachers and elders told me. I memorized quite a few of the classics and also had a rich store of stories. My early education, therefore,

consisted chiefly of memory work. Yet I was fortunate to have been born and to live in the country, where nature offered plenty of instruction. Once I noticed that some beetles which lived on a large soap tree—so named because we used its nuts for soap—had on their heads horns like those of a deer. These looked exactly like the thorns that grew at the tips of the twigs of the tree. The beetles, I was told, were born of the tree and therefore looked like their mother. Somehow I felt suspicious. I reasoned that if a tree was capable of giving birth to beetles, they would in turn be capable of laying eggs that would be the seeds for the tree. That not being the case, I felt there must be some other reason for the remarkable likeness. I found it when I saw a bird feeding on insects in the tree without noticing the deer-horned beetles near by. The horns were therefore imitations of the thorns of the tree, for protection from the birds.

On the banks of the canal there grew candle trees, so called because the oil from the nuts is good for making candles. In the winter months the farmer would tie a few straws around the trunk of the tree, which he took off in the spring and burned. It was a common belief that by virtue of this act a magic force would kill the parasites. The fact was that if you tied enough straw around the trunk the parasites laid their eggs in the straw, and by burning it you destroyed the eggs, thus preventing them from propagating. It was no magic.

There were many such instances of naïve nature study in my childhood. The two above mentioned are, I think, enough for illustration.

Thus there were three sources of the education I received in my childhood. The first was the study in school of the Confucian classics, which served as guidance to moral conduct as well as a foundation to the future study of modern social sciences. The second was the storytelling which was to prepare the way for an appreciation of modern literature. The last was the innocent nature study which later served as a stem on which the buds of modern science could be grafted. Had I been born in a crowded city, resembling—on a smaller scale, minus electricity and wide streets—the East Side of New York or London, I would have missed the all-important training of nature. The whole course of my life might have been different. For the natural endowment of sense perception, observation, curiosity, and reasoning that are in every child and indispensable to life in a modern world might have been altogether smothered by the all-memory traditional training of my early

youth.

I must confess that I did not apply myself to study as earnestly as some of my schoolmates, for I did not like to memorize but to see, touch, and reason. My teachers took this as a misfortune or curse of my disposition.

I loved to play and listen to storytelling. I liked to inquire into things to a degree disgusting to the elders. I took delight in watching frogs catch locusts in the rice fields and geese and ducks swimming in the canal. I enjoyed seeing the bamboos grow and flowers blooming, and loved to make kites and fly them. All these propensities were regarded by my teachers as a curse and I myself believed it must be so. But it is an irony of fate that the curse happened to turn out a blessing to me in later years, and the blessings my teachers bestowed upon some of my schoolmates have turned out to be curses. For some have died of consumption and others became bookish scholars, incapable of adjusting themselves to a changing environment when the tides of westernization swept over China.

[1] 英文原文如此，疑以中文（十二月二十一）为准。

[2] One of the formal titles of the Emperor.（作者原注）

[3] That is, the hair was trimmed across the front of the head, and the long queue worn behind.（作者原注）

CHAPTER 4 FAMILY INFLUENCE

During the plastic years of childhood and adolescence, family influence upon youth is indeed formative. Bad as well as good habits acquired during this period are difficult to eradicate in later years. On the whole the influence exercised upon me by my family was good and wholesome.

My father was a small landowner and a shareholder in some native banks in Shanghai. My grandfather had left him fairly well off and his mode of living was always simple so that the family never had uneasiness about financial matters. Father was an honest and generous man, respected by the people of the village in particular and surrounding districts generally. He was frugal in private life but very generous toward public affairs, contributing liberally to benevolent organizations.

He would not say anything with intent to deceive and his words were accordingly trusted by those who came in contact with him. He believed in feng-shui, the spirits of wind and water, and in fortunetelling and therefore—with a sort of fatalism—that a man's life was predetermined by supernatural forces. However, he also believed that by virtuous conduct and clean thinking one could make these forces respond by bestowing blessings upon oneself as well as one's family; thus the predetermined course of life would gradually shift its ground to a better course. His moral influence upon me was really great. The only regret I have is that I have fallen far short of his good example.

My mother was a cultured and beautiful woman. My childhood memories of her have become somewhat vague. I recall that she could play the harp and sing to it—one of the songs she loved most still lives in my memory. It was about a buried harp whose owner had deserted her. Clink, clink, clink, the harp sang to herself that her lover had not yet kept his promises to come back to her. She waited and waited in vain. She remembered how happy they had been when they sang together. Now she was buried on the shady side of crumbling walls. The autumn wind was blowing, the grass fading, and the white clouds deepening. A near-by stream flowed under a broken bridge and no one ever passed by that place. Only gloom and loneliness reigned.

Someone remarked that it was an ill omen that such a beautiful young lady as my mother should like to sing such a sad song.

The drawing room where she played her harp looked out under a giant camphor tree. A canal wound its way around the other side of the bamboo grove which served as a fence. A crêpe myrtle, an osmanthus, and an orange tree struggled for such sunlight as the wide spread of the aged camphor could spare. There she could hear birds singing and fish splashing. At sunset the level beams pierced through the grove and cast the shadows of bamboo leaves dancing on the window screens. The walls were hung with landscape paintings and works of well-known calligraphers. Her lacquered harp, inlaid with jade, lay on a long redwood stand with legs carved in the phoenix motif.

The drawing room was kept as it was for many years after her death. A painted likeness of her hung in the middle of the wall. But Mother was no more! The harp, veiled in dark satin velvet, lay alone on the same stand in the same room. How could I help feeling that I was like that buried harp whose song she used to teach me to sing?

My mother died young. I saw her in her coffin in a beautiful embroidered jacket and skirt, wrapped in a long scarlet satin cape down to her feet. There was a hood attached to the cape. Her face alone was exposed. A large pearl shone on her forehead against the red background of the hood.

My stepmother was a very able woman and she was kind to people, but my relation with her was rather unhappy. She did not live long, and Father never married again.

My grandfather had been the manager of a Shanghai bank. During the time of the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864) he put up a money stand in the native city of Shanghai. This grew later into a small money exchange shop which in turn developed into a native bank—a concern with unlimited liability, making loans on credit. When Mexican silver dollars were introduced into China as auxiliary currency to taels, the foreign money gained popularity among the people. Counterfeit pesos increased in proportion to the widening circulation of the money. By clinking two dollars on their fingers the bankers could tell the bad from the good. But Grandfather beat them all; he could tell by merely glancing at them.

Unfortunately in the prime of life he suffered a leg injury; the leg had to

be amputated and he died of blood poisoning. To my father, at the age of twelve or thereabouts, he left some seven thousand taels, at that time considered a big fortune. This helpless orphan was looked after by his future father-in-law, who was a local scholar. By sound investment and careful economy the property grew, in the course of some thirty years, to the value of seventy thousand taels.

This bit of family history will show the reader that some Western influence must in early days have crept into the family.

Father had an inventive mind. He loved to make plans or designs and direct carpenters, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, farmers and basket makers to carry them out according to specifications. He built houses, made experiments in raising silkworms and planting mulberry trees, manufactured guns (of a type already obsolete in the West), and made many other things according to his fancy. Finally he conceived the bright idea of building a "steamboat" without steam. Father occasionally went to Shanghai to look over his business. He took a rowboat from the village to Ningpo, where he boarded a paddle-wheeled steamer for Shanghai. "It took us three days and two nights to Ningpo in a rowboat," he would say, "and only one night from there to Shanghai by the steamer, while the distance is ten times farther." So he made a sketch of how a miniature paddle-wheel boat might be made.

Carpenters and boatbuilders came. The carpenters were instructed to make paddle wheels, the boatbuilders to build a boat according to my father's plan. A month passed and the boat began to take shape. On the day when the tiny "steamer" was to be launched many visitors came and their mouths gaped in admiration for the wonderful invention. Now the boat was on the canal near our house. Two husky fellows were employed to turn the wheels by a wooden handle. The watching crowd stirred with excitement as the boat started to plow slowly through the water. Presently it began to gather momentum and went faster. When it reached approximately the speed of a rowboat, it refused to accelerate further despite the efforts of the crew. The passengers gesticulated as if helping the boat to go faster. Some even lent their arms to the handle and helped to turn the wheels. But the boat was very stubborn and held to the same speed.

Father made several modifications in the paddle wheels, hoping to increase the speed. All attempts failed. The worst of it was that when the boat

went for some distance, weeds and water plants gathered on the wheels and at length even the handle refused to pump. "We have to give all credit to the foreigners who made steamboats," said Father with a sigh.

The "steamer" finally reverted to a rowboat. But it was too heavy to row. Years after, we found it rotting on the banks of the canal, the green moss growing thick on its hull. Even when it failed, however, Father never gave up the idea of making a further attempt until he was told the story of Watt and his boiling kettle. Then he began to see that there was something deeper than appeared in the thing itself. From that time on he was heart and soul for giving his boys a modern education which would some day enable them to learn the foreigners' "tricks" in making wonderful things.

This is an example of how China began to venture on the road to westernization. However, in human relations Father never seriously advocated the foreigners' ways. "The foreigners are as honest, reasonable, and hard working as we Chinese," he would say. He never saw anything beyond that. Neither did he see any objection to his boys learning their ways and manners.

My teacher, on the other hand, was opposed to Father's ideas. "The artifice in making clever things," he would say, "would have a degrading influence on morals. Haven't our sages told us so?" He believed that good morals could only be kept on a high level by living a simple life. Uncle King, my mother's brother, held the same view. He wrote his ideals of life on a piece of red paper which he posted on the wall near his desk: "Burn a stick of incense early in the morning. Be thankful to Heaven, Earth, the Sun, the Moon, and Stars. There shall be no traitors to usurp the power of the ruling dynasty, nor disobedient sons to worry their parents. Everywhere there shall be bumper crops of rice. Then why shall I worry even if I am poor?"

Uncle King was an old scholar. He had passed the civil examinations for the First Degree in his early years. He always carried a long pipe, longer than a walking stick, and one heard him constantly knocking its brass bowl on the brick floor. There were no wrinkles on his forehead in his old age, an indication of peace, health, and contentment. He was so gentle that I never saw him in a temper. He spoke slowly but distinctly and never let unkind words cross his lips.

CHAPTER 5 TROUBLE BREWING

It was customary during the New Year days for vendors to come to the village to sell pictures, some depicting important or thrilling happenings in the country, others showing theatrical performances. During one New Year vacation the attention of the children was drawn to a set of pictures which were rather novel to them. The multicolored scenes showed the Sino-Japanese War of 1894. One was of a naval battle in the north China Sea. One of the Japanese battleships had struck several large pottery jugs filled with gunpowder, which exploded and set the ship on fire, and it was sinking. There were in the picture hundreds of such jugs floating on the sea. In another picture Japanese prisoners of war were seen locked in chains, and some kept in cages. A great victory for China! It existed only on paper, but we children believed it. As I grew older I began to understand that China had been defeated, that we had lost Formosa, that our navy had been destroyed by the Japanese, and Korea torn away. Within a short span of nine years China had lost three dependencies: first Indo-China, then Burma, and now Korea.

One summer day as the sun was setting a farm helper was seen running breathlessly out of my father's study. He had heard a bell ring there without seeing anyone to cause the sound. To him it must be a ghost. But it was the clock striking seven in the evening.

From time immemorial the villagers had been getting their fire by striking a steel blade on flint. Someone brought a few boxes of matches from Shanghai. The grownups were delighted with this easy method. The children loved the firefly glow obtained by scratching a match on the palm in dark corners. It was called "self-coming light" or "ocean light" because it came from across the sea.

Clocks were unnecessary—for what is the use of keeping exact time in a village? What difference would it make to be two or three hours too late or too early? The country folk counted their time in days and months, not in minutes or hours. Matches were a luxury—had we not got along nicely with our steel blades and flints? But when we came to kerosene it was a different proposition. This made night as brilliant as day. There was a world of difference between this and the dim light of a vegetable-oil lamp.

The Standard Oil Company, known as Meifoo, was the torchbearer that was leading China out of the "dark ages" to modernization. People kept matches and clocks as curiosities but kerosene as a necessity. But if kerosene was a necessity, wasn't the telegraph a necessity to take the place of a foot messenger, and steamboats to take the place of rowboats or sailboats? And so it went.

Few could grasp the significance of one tiny segment of the vast circle. While we played innocently with clocks and matches and enjoyed our kerosene lamps, we never realized that we were toying with a fire that would some day set all China aflame. These were the signs of an impending volcanic eruption which destroyed peace and order first in my village and others like it and eventually in the whole country.

Christian missionaries played their part in introducing foreign manufactures into the interior. Braving hardship, disease, and personal danger, they went to almost every hamlet in the land to save the souls of the heathen Chinese. As a matter of course they took kerosene, cloth, clocks, soap, etc., with them into the interior. People in general were more interested in these things than in the gospel; they opened up a new horizon of wants for the Chinese people. A market for foreign goods was thus created unintentionally by missionaries whose real purpose was to preach the gospel of Christ.

I do not mean that the missionaries were chiefly responsible for the growth of modern commercialism in China. But they played their part—a considerable part, for they penetrated the vast country to every corner. The major role, of course, was played by the merchant ships and gunboats of the Western Powers. It was the Christian missions coupled with gunboats that forced the old literary and agricultural China on the road to modern industrial and commercial life.

With my own eyes I saw the growth of a new class of compradors—middlemen between the Chinese and foreign merchants—and their satellites, and the dying of the old class of literati which I was about to join and from which I eventually sneaked away. The foreign merchants brought their goods to seaports such as Shanghai, Tientsin, and others. Through Chinese compradors they were distributed to cities in the interior and from there to the towns and villages. People were attracted by the easier and larger sums of

money they could make. The more enterprising and fortunate entered the new business of dealing directly or indirectly in foreign goods. Some became very rich and many others well to do. The less fortunate were left behind, to go on tilling their land or to remain in their old trades. As the land was less remunerative and the old trades fast deteriorating in the face of foreign competition, the old economic structure began rapidly to break down. Naturally a number of people were thrown out of economic gear. These unfortunates, jealous of the newly rich and either dissatisfied with their old occupations or deprived of them, became desperate. The flood was surging against the water gate—the autumn flood, symbolic of the turmoil that was to banish peace from my village.

One autumn afternoon as I was running in the fields I heard the frantic sounding of a gong. As the crier approached our village, I heard his cry that the dike had broken through and the flood was coming. I ran back home as fast as I could and told everyone I met on the way.

Everyone got busy at once. We got ready boats, wooden bathtubs, or anything that would float, waiting for the calamity to arrive. Some even chose tall trees for their future abode. None of us slept well that night. The next morning the flood entered our gate and the spearhead of water glided like a giant serpent into our courtyard. By noon, children had begun to row in bathtubs in the hall.

The dike was repaired with sandbags and the Tsao-ao River ceased to overflow. The flood stayed in our village and surrounding districts for about a week, then gradually emptied into the lower lands and disappeared through the rivers into the sea, and all the crops with it.

After a week or so, late in the afternoon a large boat was seen plying toward our village with many people aboard. It docked near our house and they began to disembark. As a precaution we closed our gates. They stormed the main gate with heavy granite slabs and finally it crashed down like an avalanche. The crowd forced their way in. The leader, muscular and heavy built, with his queue round the top of his head, came into the courtyard with his followers after him. He shouted, "We are hungry and want to borrow rice." The crowd joined in chorus. They searched the barn but did not touch it; they wanted to "borrow." Finally, through the mediation of a neighboring farmer, several bushels of rice were "loaned" to them and they embarked with

it and sailed away. This was the first intimation of troubles to come.

One incident after another of the same kind but of more serious nature happened in neighboring villages. It started with "borrowing" but ended in robbing. It spread like fire and the scant government forces in the country could not stop it. Moreover, robbery of foodstuffs was not liable to capital punishment and only capital punishment could have checked it, at least temporarily.

The thing dragged on till winter and then the first robbery of a felonious nature took place in the village of the Suns. The victim was a Mr. Sun who owned a prosperous lumber business in Shanghai. His father had amassed a fortune in that port by doing construction work for foreign "hongs" or companies.

It was a cold winter night and everybody had gone to bed early to keep warm. Someone noticed through the window against the background of darkness a column of torchlights moving along the highway toward the village of the Suns. As the lights came near the village a volley of shots was heard. It was bandits. They forced open the gates of Mr. Sun's house and seized all the treasure they could carry—valuable fur coats, silver pieces, jewels, etc. They took Mr. Sun, tied him to the end of a long bamboo pole, and thrust him into the canal. People found him the next morning by pulling up the pole.

Waves of robbery spread through the villages. Overnight the peace and tranquility that the villagers had been enjoying for centuries vanished. Night after night we could not sleep in peace. My father bought revolvers and outmoded guns from Shanghai. All of us, including children, began to practise shooting. Even the birds had no peace, for we took them as our living targets. We went to bed by turns, some keeping a night watch. When we heard dogs barking we fired a few shots in the air as a warning to bandits, real or imaginary; to save ammunition we often mixed firecrackers with gunshots.

This sort of thing could not go on indefinitely. Reluctantly my father gathered together the members of his family and moved to Shanghai.

Meanwhile, during the two years previous to our move I had continued my education at a neighboring provincial city. When I was still studying at

the family school, my father asked me one day whether I would like to enter business as a career or prepare for government service. My two elder brothers had both decided for the latter. Father said he would like me to think it over carefully before coming to a decision.

The honor of service to the state had attracted young people for generations. It was only natural that I should be strongly inclined to it. On the other hand, the life of the newly rich, who could enjoy the luxury of the many new and ingenious imported manufactures, was also a temptation. The choice between honor and wealth was more or less contingent upon the ideas and ideals already instilled into one's mind.

I had been told that the people of China fell into four classes. The highest and governing class was the scholars. Next in order came the farmers, who supplied the people with food. The artisans—the third class—manufactured goods for the use of the people. The last were the traders, who transported goods from where there was plenty to where there was a scarcity. Each class had its function to perform in society, but the scholars were the governors of all. So, theoretically speaking, if philosophers were not to be kings, they were at least to be ministers of the state. As there was no hereditary aristocracy in China, the scholars were aristocrats not by birth but by personal endeavor. It was proverbial that a *Hsiu-tsai*, or person possessing the First Degree by having passed the Imperial civil examinations for that initial degree, was an embryo prime minister to the Imperial Court. Then why should I go into business, which later in life would exclude me from the class of the learned aristocracy?

Thus my mind was set to learning. Of course I understood only vaguely what it meant; to me it was only a steppingstone to something higher up. There were many farmers in our village. There were also a number of businessmen who traded in Shanghai and brought back many interesting things: penknives, whistles, rubber balls, dolls, popguns, watches, and the like. As regarded the artisans, an elder of our clan was a carpenter, as also were his sons. A distant uncle was a silversmith who made rings, bracelets, and trinkets to adorn the ladies of the villages. Of the scholars, another uncle—my mother's brother—was one. He had passed the First Degree but stopped short of the other two. There were carved panels with golden inscriptions hanging high in our Ancestral Hall and tall flagpoles standing before it in honor of clansmen who had been successful in the examinations. I remember

that one day the magistrate of our hsien came to a neighboring village to probe a murder case. Did I not see the golden button at the top of his red-tasseled hat, and the string of beads round his neck? Did I not see how his sedan chair was lined with green felt and borne by four persons—each wearing a tall black cone-shaped hat, like a gigantic ice-cream cone, with a feather tilting from the pointed top; and how, as he proceeded in his chair, a pair of gongs kept sounding to announce the presence of His Excellency and that the people must show respect? He was the governor of our district and had, as it were, power over our lives and fortunes. What stuff was he made of? A scholar.

Yes, I knew what a scholar was and the advantage of being one. He might climb up, rung by rung, to the top of the ladder and some day become a very high official, sipping Imperial tea in the majestic palace at Peking. Can the reader blame a village boy like me, whose steps had never carried him more than a few miles from his own village, for aspiring to be a scholar? My childish mind pondered the Imperial honors which were the scholar's due. I imagined myself growing larger and larger in importance year by year, passing one examination after another from the lowest to the highest, till one day I should be made a high official—much higher than the magistrate—attired in an embroidered gown with a red button on my hat, a long string of beads, and all the other Imperial honors imaginable, coming back home before the eyes of the awe-inspired folk of the village. How wonderful! All these pictures unrolled enticingly. What a bright future lay before me—but only if I applied myself to the study of the classics.

Again, my early schooling, although distasteful to me, had instilled into my mind somewhat vaguely the importance of learning above everything else. Officials of the state were selected through civil examinations and only people who possessed learning could expect to pass them. Officials were honored because learning itself was honored in China.

My own decision was finally to acquire more learning in preparation for the civil examination, to which my father readily agreed. As our family school was inadequate for my further education, I was sent to an advanced school in Shaoshing, the prefectural capital, about forty miles from the village. My two elder brothers had gone there the year before. We went in a small, slender boat, propelled by a long oar pushed by foot power on one side and a short one held by hand as a helm on the other. Along the way I saw on

the river banks many pailous standing in rows—pillared arches erected in memory of virtuous widows. River towns appeared at almost regular intervals with their busy traffic on both land and water. We started early in the morning and arrived at the prefectural capital next day in the afternoon after stopping for the night at a large town.

The Sino-Occidental School, as its name implied, offered not only Chinese studies but also courses in Occidental subjects. This was a new departure in Chinese education. Here my mind began to come into contact with Western knowledge, however poorly explained and superficial. My acquaintance with the West had been limited to imported manufactured articles. A mind filled with gods, goddesses, ghosts, fairies, and timeworn traditions was now setting forth to meet some mental imports from the West.

The first and most surprising thing I learned in this school was that the earth is round like a ball. To me it was decidedly flat. I was dumfounded on being further told that lightning is created by electricity and is not the reflection from the mirror of a goddess; that thunder is a by-product of the same electricity and not the beating of a drum by the god of thunder. In elementary physics I learned how rain is formed. It made me give up the idea that a gigantic dragon showers it from his mouth like a fountain high above in the clouds. To understand the meaning of combustion was to banish the idea of fire gods from my mind. One after another, the gods worshiped by my people melted away in my mind like snowmen under the sun. It was the beginning of what little science I know and the end of animism in me. The habit I had formed in my simple nature study in the village, of observing and reasoning without knowing the significance of it, was carried over into the school. As before, I was quite good in reasoning but deficient in memory, and therefore always ready to give up what I had in memory for new ideas that seemed reasonable.

The major part of the curriculum, however, still consisted of literary studies: Chinese literature, classics, and history. There was a considerable amount of memory work to do. As I was not good at it, my name always appeared in the lower middle of the school examination list. I was mediocre in the school, falling far short of brilliance; this was the opinion of my teachers and so it was my own opinion of myself.

Foreign languages were divided into three sections: English, French, and

Japanese. I took English and later also Japanese. My Japanese teacher was a Mr. Nakagawa, from whom I learned a correct pronunciation, English was taught us by a Chinese teacher, and his pronunciation of the language was so incorrect that in later years I had to spend much painful time unlearning it. He started us off wrong at the very beginning, even mispronouncing the alphabet. An extreme example is the letter Z, which he called "ütsai."

In the school, in 1898, I heard that Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao, two liberals from south China who had become unofficial advisers to Emperor Kwang-hsü, had succeeded in persuading the Emperor to abolish the civil examinations and establish instead schools along Western lines throughout China. The old scholars were shocked by the news. But the reform was short lived. The Empress Dowager came back into power; Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao fled to Japan. China was to go on along the old line. When I came home for the vacation I saw the Imperial Edict, printed in bold letters in both the Chinese and Manchu languages on a large yellow paper, posted on the walls in a busy street, ordering the arrest of the two scholar-statesmen. It looked as if the reform were buried forever.

Shaoshing is a city full of historical interest. It was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Yueh (2068-334 B.C.)[2]. In 494 B.C., during the reign of King Kou-chien, Yueh was defeated by the kingdom of Wu with its capital at Soochow. The king of Yueh adopted a "twenty-year plan" by which, within ten years, he made his country prosperous and populous and in another ten succeeded in training his people in the arts of war. Meantime he discarded all the comforts that belong to a king, taking very coarse food and sleeping on a rough bed while the king of Wu reveled in luxuries. At the end of twenty years, in 473 B.C., King Kou-chien delivered a deathblow at Wu.

This historical episode has been proverbial ever since, serving as an example for all who hope to rise again after a defeat, whether in private enterprise or national affairs. It illustrates patience, courage, endurance, self-denial, and careful planning. I absorbed this lesson in history right on the spot, and no one could help being impressed by it.

Here also the South Sung emperors (1127-1276 A.D.)[3] made their sojourn when the Tartars had overrun north China and the capital had to be moved to Hangchow. Their Imperial mausoleums could be seen not far from the prefectural capital.

This district, with Shaoshing as its center, supplied lawyers for the whole country. In every yamen or government office throughout the country, large or small, no business could be carried on without a Shaoshing lawyer. And Shaoshing wines were the best in China. Famous scholars, philosophers, poets, and calligraphers who made history in their respective fields were born and lived in the prefecture of Shaoshing. It contained six districts, of which my own, Yuyao, was one.[4]

Shaoshing was also famous for its beautiful scenery. Winding creeks, bridge-spanned canals, rivers, mirrored lakes, and gentle hills together formed a landscape which scholars and philosophers found congenial.

I studied in Shaoshing for two years. My mental horizon rapidly widened. I was made to understand the significance of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894: Japan's victory over China was due to the former's adoption of Western learning. Emperor Kwang-hsü's reforms were inspired by Japan's success in the war. China was to make her erstwhile enemy her teacher. This was why the school offered a course in the Japanese language.

At the end of two years, when bandits made life in the village untenable, my father took me to Shanghai with the rest of the family. My eldest brother had died a year earlier. Here I was put temporarily in a Catholic school to continue my English study. The instruction was given by a French Brother. The pupils were told to call him "Bladda." As he was a foreigner his pronunciation of the language, I imagined, must be good; it was obviously different from that of the Chinese teacher. For instance, he taught us to say "dat" instead of "zat" and "bladda" instead of "bloder." The reader can imagine what curious English we acquired. But I did not stay long in the school. As there was no suitable school in Shanghai for me to go to, Father sent my brother to learn English from an American lady and made me study under him. He thus acted as a comprador of English teaching. I was much dissatisfied with the arrangement, but my father thought it a very clever scheme because it would save money.

Shanghai by 1899 was a small city with a few thousand arrogant foreigners. But the city was well governed, with clean, wide streets and electric or gas lights. I thought the foreigners were wonderful. They knew the secret of electricity. They had invented the steam engine and built steamboats. They took the place of my old gods, who had melted away in the

face of my instruction in science, and occupied my mind as new ones. At the same time they served as new devils, too, for their arrogance coupled with the clubs of the policemen, frightened me. In the list of regulations displayed at the entrance of a park on the banks of the Huang-pu River, Chinese as well as dogs were forbidden admission. This said much. The foreigner appeared to my mind half divine and half devilish, double-faced and many-handed like Vishnu, holding an electric light, a steamboat, and a pretty doll in one set of hands, and a policeman's club, revolver, and handful of opium in the other. When one looked at his bright side he was an angel; on the dark side he was a demon.

Western civilization, as viewed by the Chinese in China's recent history, has been either one way or the other at different periods or among different groups of individuals. Li Hung-chang saw the importance of the dark and devilish side and built a navy to beat the devil by his own weapons. Emperor Kwang-hsü saw the importance of the bright and godly side and tried to establish a new school system. The Empress Dowager and the Boxers saw the curse of the devilish side and tried to oust the devils with China's own obsolete arms. The trouble was that the god was strong for the very reason that at times he could be devilish; the devil was powerful because at times he could be godly. He was one and indivisible—you had either to take him as a whole or not at all. Was not Japan the example? Make your erstwhile enemy your teacher!

We lived in Shanghai for about two years, and this home, too, we left hurriedly one night when we were informed that the Empress Dowager had sent instructions to viceroys throughout the country to put all foreigners to death. It was 1900 and the beginning of the Boxer War in North China. The "Boxers" were a fanatical cult claiming magical powers; gymnastics formed a part of their program—hence the name by which they became known. They meant to destroy all foreign manufactured goods and kill every person found in possession of them. They wanted to kill all the foreigners who brought in these terrible things and destroyed their trade. Churches, schools, missionaries, and Christians were all guilty of introducing these poisonous manufactures into China. Get rid of these people by killing them, with swords, knives, magic! Destroy foreign properties by setting them on fire.

The Imperial Court for its own part wanted to destroy all the crazy ideas of foreign origin introduced by Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao, so that

nothing like the reforms of 1898 could happen again. Thus the Boxers wanted to get rid of the manufactured goods and the Empress Dowager and her court wanted to get rid of foreign mental goods; both came from one source—the foreigners. Kill them all! In the beginning of the industrial revolution in England people smashed the machines which destroyed their livelihood. The Boxers went a bit too far. They destroyed the human "machinery" too.

In the south people looked at the foreigner in a different light. They welcomed foreign manufactures but did not understand that it was this very thing that caused the banditry. They put the blame on the obnoxious taxes of the Imperial government and the corruption and incompetence of its officials. So they wanted a revolution.

The people and the Imperial Court in the north were right in holding the foreigners responsible for destroying their trades, but found a wrong solution in smashing the "human machinery." The people of the south had a wrong reason in holding the Imperial government responsible for their plight, but did the right thing in starting a revolution. History seems to consist of a series of accidents, illogical reasoning, and unexpected results, in which the great men appearing on the scene are but the instruments of Fate.

Foreigners cursed banditry in China, but did not know that their own manufactures had caused it in the beginning. In my childhood days we all feared tigers, ghosts, and bandits, but all were imaginary; we only saw them in picture books. Then suddenly the bandit appeared in real life—as if a tiger should dash into your house or a ghost chase you. Finally we dreaded the bandits and forgot about tigers and ghosts.

[2] 古越国确切纪年说法不一。此处疑作者采纳《史记》的说法：“史载夏少康封庶子无余于会稽，以奉守禹祀，号於越”（约公元前2068年）；周显王三十六年（公元前333年），“楚威王兴兵败越，杀越王无”，“而越以此散”。

[3] 南宋（1127—1279）。

[4] 英文原文如此，疑以中文（八个县）为准。

CHAPTER 6 FURTHER EDUCATION

Thus at the age of fifteen I was brought back home by my father. We were afraid that the Boxer War might extend to Shanghai and so returned to the village; but after a short stay, as the bandits became worse, we moved to Yuyao, the district capital, to live. There I was sent to a local school to study English and arithmetic, and studied Chinese under a private tutor.

After a year or so I went to Hangchow, capital of the province of Chekiang. This was the center of the silk industry in China and also one center of the tea trade. Hangchow silk and tea were famous all over the country.

Hangchow is well known for its scenic beauty. To one side of the city the Chien-tang tides rush up from Hangchow Bay. On the other is the West Lake, mirrored against a blue sky with reflections of temples and villas perched on the surrounding hills. The city was known as a paradise on earth. This was the city that Marco Polo adored in his travels, and it was the ancient capital of King Chien-liao, who kept his domain in peace through long years of incessant invasions and wars in China. Here the South Sungs made their capital for a hundred and fifty years, and here famous poets and men of letters lived. It is a city rich in historical records and monuments. The Imperial Library was filled with valuable books. It was the right place for young scholars to nurse themselves to grow.

In this city of learning I stumbled accidentally into a backward school, a local Christian academy run by an American missionary. Here I hoped that at least I might learn English well. The atmosphere was far from congenial. The principal was a carpenter by trade; this pious American had been carried to China by his religious zeal. He had done some missionary work in my prefecture before being given charge of the academy. As he taught nothing except the Bible, I did not know how much he knew, and since learning was honored in China the carpenter-teacher evoked secret contempt in the hearts of his pupils. My English teacher was a man of vulgar manners, a new convert whose soul may have been saved but whose tongue remained distinctly heathen. I had tramped from this school to that trying to find a really good English teacher, but to my great disappointment I was still simply

chasing after shadows.

It was compulsory in the academy to attend exercises in the chapel every morning. We sang hymns in Chinese. Sometimes the clever pupils saw fit to render them in paraphrases which gained more popularity among us than the hymns. In spite of Sunday schools and morning exercises my mind was closed tight as a clam against any spiritual foreign elements. Having got rid of its spirits, ghosts, and gods, it was reluctant to admit any new elements of similar nature. And indeed, ever since that time I have remained an agnostic, trying to find immortality rather in this world than in the next. This conforms with the basic teachings of Confucius.

The only respectable buildings on the campus of the academy were the chapel and the residence of the principal. The students lived in cell-like mud sheds, and classes were held there or in the shabby dining hall.

Out of curiosity some pupils liked to loiter around the principal's house. These unwelcome guests were often told to keep away. Usually they obeyed and walked off, but on one occasion a student rebelled and got into a quarrel with a teacher who happened by.

A crowd began to gather. The student accused the teacher of slapping his face and wept to draw the ready sympathy of the mob. The commotion spread like fire and within a few minutes the majority of the student body had joined in demanding the immediate dismissal of the teacher. The demand being refused by the principal, the crowd became enraged and emotions soared to the highest pitch. The principal told them bluntly that if they did not like the school they could leave. In about two hours the whole school walked out.

This marked the end of my education in a missionary school and I had no regret. The sooner I left the better.

One may ask why such a thing should happen, all of a sudden. It was not a mere outburst of ugliness on the part of unruly students. The slap was only a trigger pulled on a loaded gun; the explosive charge is not to be identified with a little missionary academy. This was part of a country-wide student rebellion against school authority. Even a backward missionary school in Hangchow was not exempt.

The rebellion had started in Nanyang College in Shanghai during the

previous year. A student had left an inkstand on his professor's chair and the professor had sat on it. His clothes being stained, he got very angry; it was reported to the president and a few suspects were dismissed. There followed a clash between the college authorities and the student body, the latter supported by a number of faculty members. Eventually all the students walked out.

The younger generation was changing, and it was a change from submission to rebellion. Dismayed at the encroachment of foreign powers upon China, people blamed the Imperial Court for it. The students, inflamed and aroused by Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary propaganda, were ready to strike whenever there might be opportunity and at anything they could get hold of. They delivered their first blows at the school authorities who were handiest to them.

The Provincial College of Chekiang followed suit. A minor fracas between a student and a sedan chair bearer of the Imperial governor who was visiting the college set off the incident. All the students went on strike in consequence and left the college in a body. Many incidents of like nature occurred in other schools, with eventual disruption of a number of institutions of new learning. It spread throughout the country.

The new elements in the country sympathized with the strikes and blamed the authorities for their despotism; the old elements condemned the students in no uncertain terms and sympathized with the school authorities. Whatever one's opinion, few realized that this was the eve of a revolution. From the time of these early student rebellions to the Revolution of 1911 which marked the birth of the Republic of China was only eight short years.

It was the rebellion of the coming intelligentsia against the class of old literati who controlled China, intellectually and socially as well as politically. With the introduction of the theory of evolution—with special reference to the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest—and other scientific ideas, the mental attitude of the young generation was undergoing a radical change in social and political philosophy. Eighteenth-century concepts of individual freedom encountered the nineteenth-century industrial revolution: freedom in the form of rebellion against established authority, and industrial revolution in the form of imported products which doomed the old trades to decay. China's old structure was crumbling and the new one was yet to be

built.

There was a general unrest throughout the country. Poverty, bandits, famine, plague, official corruption, ignorance of world affairs, and the pinch of foreign aggressions—all were contributing factors. The students, the young blood, merely took the lead. It was not an insignificant inkstand, nor the slapped face of a pupil in a missionary school, nor any altercation between a student and a chair bearer that set educational institutions ablaze throughout China.

After leaving the academy our youthful student body organized a school for themselves—the "School of Reforms and Progress." The name was suggested by Chang Pin-ling, one of the famous revolutionary scholars of our time. Our ambition was to make the school as great one day as Oxford or Cambridge. Pretty soon, as was natural, we found ourselves disillusioned. The student body dwindled in the course of half a year to a few elected officers. When these few found no one to re-elect them, they also departed to seek educations elsewhere.

For my part, I registered at Chekiang College, under a new name lest the college authorities find me persona non grata. I took the entrance examination, passed it, and was admitted. The college had just been reorganized after the strike and was the highest institution of learning in the Province of Scholars, as our province was known. Its forerunner had been Chiou Shih Shu-yuan, or the "School for Seeking What Is Right." It is the proper frame of mind for a scholar to seek what is right, and this was the attitude of Chinese scholars of former generations. This had been a school similar to the Sino-Occidental School of Shaoshing, an old-style Chinese school whose curriculum included some foreign languages and science teaching. As the new subjects grew in importance and were allotted more time it developed into a new type of school and was renamed Chekiang College.

Situated in the provincial capital and maintained by the government, the college served as a center of cultural movements in the province. The curriculum was very similar to that of the Sino-Occidental School, but the courses were more advanced, more various, and better taught, with less sheer memory work. It was a modern school in the making.

I had been trotting along in the dark since entering the school in

Shaoshing. My mind always rushed for the place where I caught a glimpse of bewitching light and groped in some other direction when it elusively disappeared. By this time, however, I saw things in much clearer perspective. I had begun to study world history in English. At first it seemed as difficult to understand the doings of other peoples as when one tries to understand the behavior of the masses, but gradually I began to see, albeit dimly, the development of Western civilization. This was of course only in a very general and vague way. But my interest in Western history was aroused and a foundation laid for further study.

Here I was in the midst of intellectual activities. Through reading, lectures, and conversation, my information about China and the world was accumulating. I grew familiar with some forty centuries of China's history, with a fair understanding of the causes, as given by the great historians, of the rise and fall of many dynasties. This served as the basis for a comparative study of Western history later on.

In the field of contemporary history there was plenty of material. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894, of which I had learned from the misleading colored pictures in my childhood; the short-lived reforms of Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao in 1898, which had taken place during my stay in the Sino-Occidental School, the Boxer War of 1900, news of which I learned at such close range in Shanghai; and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 which was even then raging (with China's overwhelming sympathy for Japan)—each and all furnished rich materials for thought and study.

One might study history backward, too: there was the Sino-French War in 1885 in which China lost Indo-China; the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864) and the ever-victorious army of Generals Gordon and Ward; the Opium War of 1840, as a result of which China lost Hongkong; and if one went farther back there was the coming of the Jesuits during the later Ming and early Ching periods, and the travels of Marco Polo during the Yuan or Mongol Dynasty; still farther back China had relations with the Roman Empire.

Liang Chi-chao's *Young China*, an encyclopedic monthly published in Tokyo, furnished a great variety of materials ranging from short stories to metaphysics and including elementary science, history, politics, biographies, literature, etc. His lucid pen was capable of making people understand almost any subject new or difficult to the reader. This was very important at a time

when there was a need to introduce Western ideas into China. His style was clear, persuasive, and easy to follow and therefore very profitable reading for students. I was one among thousands who came under his influence. I think this great scholar did more than anyone else in his time to popularize modern knowledge among the rising generation. His was the fountain of wisdom from which every young man drew to quench his thirst for the new learning.

Politically he stood for constitutional reforms under the reigning dynasty. Meanwhile the revolutionaries were publishing a number of periodicals to sponsor Dr. Sun Yat-sen's radical idea that for China a republican form of government was better than a monarchy and that China must be governed by the Chinese[2] and not by the corrupt and degenerate Manchus. That published by the Chekiang students in Tokyo was a monthly: *Tides of Chien-tang*. This magazine attacked the reigning dynasty so fiercely that it was barred from the mails, among other like periodicals, by the postal authorities. But the movement had the sympathy of the Tokyo government and the tabooed periodicals therefore flowed continuously from Japan, where they were published, into the International Settlement of Shanghai where Chinese jurisdiction reached only partially. So Shanghai became a clearinghouse for revolutionary ideas, and from there the literature was smuggled into other cities by sympathizers as well as profit makers.

Chekiang College itself was deluged with pamphlets, magazines, and books of revolutionary propaganda; some depicting the atrocities committed by the Manchus during their invasion of China[3] , others describing their misrule and the unequal treatment of Manchus and Chinese under the existing regime. The students devoured them voluptuously. No power on earth could stop them.

Moreover, concrete examples of Manchu misrule and incompetence could be found just outside the college gate. Within the city walls of Hangchow was a walled city for the Manchus who were stationed there as a garrison to watch over the Chinese. I was warned not to enter it; anyone did so at his own risk. More than two hundred years earlier this city within a city had been set aside exclusively as barracks for the Manchu soldiers in Hangchow. After them their children's children had lived there, nominally as soldiers, for generations until they were killed by the Taipings during the siege of the capital. Intermarriage between Chinese and Manchus was in general forbidden, but Manchus were allowed to marry Chinese women if

they preferred, although such marriages were rare. When the civil war was over, a part of the garrison stationed at Chingchow in Hupeh Province was moved to Hangchow to fill the vacancy. Some of these were still living and spoke Hupeh dialect; most of them had died, but their children lived there and still clung to the dialect of their fathers. Thus they were easily detected by the natives of Hangchow. But the third generation had begun to speak the local Hangchow tongue.

They sent ten of their boys to study at the college. These youths behaved wisely toward the revolutionary movement in the college by pretending not to know of it. One of them, of Mongol origin, actually told me he was in favor of a revolution against the Manchu Dynasty as he was a non-Manchu in spite of being a Manchu "soldier."

These so-called Manchu soldiers were no soldiers at all; they were just the same as civilians. They had families and reared children in the so-called barracks and knew nothing of the arts of war. The only difference was that they lived on government rations and had no occupation. Theirs was a sort of parasitic life, and they degenerated physically, mentally, and morally. They haunted the teahouses on the West Lake, some of them in the fashionable manner carrying a bird in its cage, and people generally kept away from them. They would slap anyone who offended them. These living examples of degeneration, corruption, and arrogance woke hatred and contempt in the hearts of the young students. It was just as effective as revolutionary propaganda, if not more so.

While we got our mental food from Liang Chi-chao, we drew our emotional nourishment from Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his sympathizers. Generally speaking, it is emotion that leads to action when a decisive hour comes; when that hour came in China Dr. Sun, both dreamer and man of action, won a decisive victory over the new literati who stood for constitutionalism.

Such was the general atmosphere of Chekiang College. Similar conditions also prevailed in other institutions. I was interested in all these activities. I liked to get hold of information and to think with the materials thus secured, and also to feel and to act. But nothing carried me away entirely. To play safe I still planned to take the Imperial civil examination, still the only road to a government position except by way of revolution,

which seemed long and difficult to me. I was at times timid and shy, at others bold and reckless, and therefore did not trust my own temperament. So I often acted cautiously, feeling my way before making a definite move. Especially at any crossroads, I would consider again and again before coming to a decision. In case of doubt I was apt instead to sit by the roadside and indulge in daydreams. But once a decision was made I would stick to the end. I made mistakes in life, but never so fatally as to be swept away by the advancing tides.

[2] 此处特指Han Chinese。

[3] 此处China（即汉语中的“中国”一词）指中国古代与蒙古、满等少数民族政权并立的汉族政权；Chinese可特指汉族、汉人。“中国”的这一用法在古代汉语中十分常见，指“我国中原地区或在中原地区华夏族建立的政权”。例如，《史记·孝武本纪》：“天下名山八，而三在蛮夷，五在中国。”又如，《汉书·匈奴传下》：“［伊黑居次］云常欲与中国和亲。”后文亦有表示此含义的China和“中国”，请参考此注。

CHAPTER 7 IMPERIAL CIVIL EXAMINATION

Early one morning, as the time for the civil examination drew near, I started for Shaoshing where the examination was to be held for our district. The luggage man slung his bamboo pole over his shoulder with my suitcase and bamboo basket roped to one end and bedding outfits balancing the other. I followed on his heels. As my luggage swung out of the college gate a teacher who happened to see me smiled and wished me good luck.

After passing through many granite-paved streets and zigzag narrow Hangchow alleys, we came to the banks of the Chien-tang River. I measured my steps along a gangway of narrow, frail planks a quarter of a mile long, with the tides flowing underneath, leading to the waiting ferryboat. The boat was plied by several heavy oars, with the occasional help of sails. It glided along in leisurely fashion. As it could only be controlled by heading against the tide, the slow speed was further reduced and it took us two hours to cross. None of us imagined then that within some thirty years a long steel bridge would span the river, with trains and cars passing over it.

I then took a sedan chair through miles of mulberry groves to a busy trading city, where I embarked for Shaoshing, arriving next morning after a night on the boat, which was packed with passengers like sardines. One had to lie flat and straight; if you tried to move your legs you found your allotted space gone; if you tried to turn on your side there was no space left to lie flat again.

In Shaoshing I got a room with board in a fan maker's family. The place was small and dark and filled with strange odors from certain vegetable oils used to make fans. In the evening I studied by a vegetable-oil lamp which did not give enough light to read small letters without straining one's eyes. We refrained from using kerosene because of the inflammable materials that filled the place. In the dark we could not walk without stumbling over some sort of stuff for making fans.

The examination began with roll call at the entrance of the Examination Hall at about four o'clock in the morning. The early autumn morning was

chilly. A large crowd of literati, several thousand strong and each wearing a red-tasseled hat—without a button—and carrying a lantern gathered around the spacious courtyard. At the entrance to the hall the Prefect sat in stately dignity at a long desk. He wore a red-tasseled hat with a blue crystal button at the top, a black jacket over a deep blue gown, and a chain of beads around his neck. This was his full official attire. With a vermilion pen in his hand he began to call the roll. As he went down the list a man standing by him called out in long-drawn tones the name of each candidate, who promptly sang out at the top of his voice, "Here! So-and-so, the guarantor." Immediately the guarantor sang his own name in acknowledgment of the sponsorship. The Prefect then glanced about quickly to see if anything was wrong and made a red dot above the name with his vermilion pen.

The candidate was then let in. His hat and clothes were searched to see that he carried no notes with him. Anything found written on paper would be confiscated.

The candidates moved on in files to their respective seats, which were numbered, each finding his place accordingly. The names on the examination papers were written on detachable slips to be torn off before the papers were handed in. Each paper was also numbered in a sealed corner, which was not opened until the papers were marked and the successful candidates selected, so as to prevent any possible favoritism. Toward the end of the Manchu Dynasty, when corruption ran rampant in many branches of government office, the Imperial examination system remained independent and free alike of external interference and internal corruption. This was one reason why the degrees conferred were so much honored in China.

Questions were limited to the Confucian classics and this was why a candidate must commit to memory all the texts in the classics. This I had done through years of laborious conning in my country school and the Sino-Occidental School in Shaoshing. Questions were shown to the candidates by means of cubic lanterns, on the screens of which the questions were written; they were lighted with candles so that the black letters on the white screens could be seen distinctly at a distance. Bearers raised the lanterns high above their heads and carried them up and down the aisles several times, so that none could miss them.

About noon officials went around to check on how far the candidates

had gone with their essays and set on each paper a seal at the spot to which the lines had run. At about four in the afternoon cannon began to roar, marking the first call for the collection of papers. The gates were flung open and the band began to play. Candidates who were able to answer the first call handed in their papers and made their way out slowly through the gates with music playing and an anxious crowd waiting. After everyone had made his exit the gates were closed again. The second call was made about an hour later with the same ceremony. The third or final call was made about six, with both cannon and band remaining silent.

We had about a week or ten days to wait for the results of the examination. In the interim there was plenty of time for amusement. Bookstores, large and small, were found everywhere near the Examination Hall. There were chess stands, temporary restaurants with famous Shaoshing wines and delicious dishes at moderate prices, and traveling theatres where we could go and enjoy ourselves.

On the day when the results were to be made public a large crowd waited anxiously in front of a high, spacious wall opposite the entrance of the Examination Hall. Cannon and band announced the moment when the list of names, or rather numbers, of the successful candidates was issued. The numbers were set down in a circular formation instead of in a column, so as to avoid having a top and bottom to the list.

I was pleasantly surprised to find my own number in big black letters among the others in the circle on the enormous oblong paper posted on the wall. To make sure I rubbed my eyes and looked at it several times. When I was sure they had not deceived me, I elbowed through the packed crowd and hastened back to my lodging house. As I made my way out I noticed a man with an open umbrella which caught on a railing. When he jerked it off the umbrella went upward, looking like a giant artichoke, but in his excitement he kept on running and paid no attention to it.

The second session of the examination came within a few days. Everyone who had passed the first had reason to worry, since some would be eliminated. I was lucky in the second trial. In the list of names which was posted on the wall I found mine somewhere in the middle rows.

The third and final session was merely perfunctory. In addition to an essay we were supposed to write down from memory a section of the

"Imperial Instructions in Morals"; in reality each of us had with us a copy of the text, which we were allowed to carry into the Examination Hall and which we copied outright. The Imperial Examiner appeared in person to supervise the final examination. His official title I learned from the inscription on two identical pennants about fifteen feet long which streamed in the air from flagpoles standing symmetrically at either side of the entrance. It read: "The Imperial Vice-Minister of Rites and Concurrently Imperial Examiner of Public Instruction for the Province of Chekiang, etc."

Early in the morning, some days later, I was awakened from slumber by the rapid beating of a tom-tom outside my window. It was an official reporter coming to announce the award of the First Degree—Wu-shen, popularly known as Hsiu-tsai. The official announcement, which was printed in bold block prints on a piece of red paper about six feet by four, read as follows:

> His Majesty's Imperial Vice-Minister of Rites and Concurrently Imperial Examiner of Public Instruction for the Province of Chekiang, etc., wishes to announce that your honorable person, Chiang Monlin, is awarded the Degree of Wu-shen and entitled to enjoy the privilege of entering the District Government School as a government scholar.

The "district school" was an empty Confucian temple with one official in charge who acted as the "government teacher" but in fact never taught anyone or anything. One found, actually, neither school nor teacher; what was called a school was only symbolic. Yet I had to pay the traditional entrance fee of $100—which I paid only partially, through bargaining.

After the examination the pendulum of life swung back once again to my new education. In a few days I went back to Chekiang College. In leaving, I learned from my landlord that one of my fellow lodgers had complained to him in a rage that the Imperial Examiner was so blind as to pass a man almost illiterate, like me, and neglect him, who possessed great literary merits. Such are the hazards of examinations!

Back at the college I plunged at once into studies again and found myself in the midst of algebra, physics, zoö1ogy, history, and so on. By way of extracurricular activity I indulged in reading revolutionary literature and discussed contemporary politics with my fellow students. Imperial examination days and Chekiang College were worlds apart! It seemed a transformation overnight from misty, immutable medievalism to the whirlpool of a new revolutionary world. I felt as if what had happened had been a dream.

After two months it was time for the winter vacation. I was called back home by my father to receive congratulations from relatives and friends upon my success. I was now nineteen. My close relatives saw a bright future for me; if the feng-shui of my ancestral tombs were favorable I would go right along, passing the two remaining examinations to receive the highest degree, to the glory of family, relatives, and above all, our ancestors whose spirits were in heaven. My second brother had passed his civil examination a few years before me; he was now a student at the Imperial University of Peking, of which I was to be Chancellor after some fifteen years—unpredictable chance.

An announcement printed on a big piece of red paper like the one I had received in Shaoshing was presented by official reporters, to the beating of a tom-tom, to my relatives and family friends. On the day of celebration I dressed in a blue satin gown and wore a red-tasseled hat with a silver button on top. Several hundred relatives and friends, including women and children, came to feast for two days. The spacious guesthall was decorated with artistic red lanterns and an orchestra played Chinese tunes. The happiest man there was my father, who cherished the hope that some day his son might become a grand minister at His Majesty's Imperial Court. For my part, I was puzzled. I was torn between two opposing forces, one pulling toward the old and the other toward the new. "What shall I do? What shall I do?" a voice cried out within me.

After three weeks the college reopened for the new session. Once more I swung back again to my studies in the new learning. I stayed for about half a year, leaving before the summer vacation. All the conflicting ideas, as between new and old, constitutional reforms and revolution, buzzing around in this topsy-turvy world of mine, were more than an immature mind could endure. I became restless and often had a fantasy in which, by a sort of somersault, I rocketed high into the air and then whirled down rapidly to the ground, where I burst to bits and was gone forever.

Being born in a family which had a few cases of insanity among my close relatives, I wondered sometimes whether I, too, had inherited a faint streak of instability which might occasionally tip the scale a little in my otherwise well-balanced temperament. I had been told, moreover, by my father and my granduncle that my ideas and actions during childhood had been quite different from those of the rest of the children. I still remember

how my granduncle scolded me one day, remarking that when I grew up I would become either a wise man or a rascal; to which, not knowing the meaning quite clearly, I secretly replied to myself that I wanted to be a wise man.

Was I crazy in this crazy world? At least one problem always remained clear in my mind: how to save China from dismemberment by the foreign Powers. Revolutionary ideas were now fast gaining ground in the minds of students throughout the country. As more and more of them joined the movement, the influence of Dr. Sun Yat-sen grew wider and wider. The days of the reigning dynasty were numbered.

On my part, I longed for a better and more westernized school. For by this time I could see that the wind blew in the direction of westernization, irrespective of whether China had constitutional reforms or revolution. One morning as I passed unintentionally by a passageway where students were forbidden, I met the proctor, who asked me what I was doing there. On the spur of the moment I improvised the story that my mother was ill and had written me to come home.

"That's too bad," he said. "You had better go right away."

I went back to my dormitory, packed up everything, and left the college that same morning. I took a small steamboat, chugging along the Grand Canal, down to Shanghai. There I took the entrance examination for Nanyang College and passed it. This was the year 1904, when the Russo-Japanese War was raging in all intensity for the control of Manchuria[1] .

[1] Manchuria：满洲，旧指中国东北一带。

CHAPTER 8 WESTERNIZATION

China was now definitely on the track of westernization, whatever her struggles between old and new, between constitutionalism and revolution. The victory of Japan over Tsarist Russia gave further impetus to her reforms along new or Western lines. By this time about fifty thousand Chinese students had gathered about Tokyo, a center of the new knowledge. In the meantime the government had begun a series of reforms; new educational, military, and police systems were adopted, all copied after the Japanese models. Many believed that the Western systems and institutions which had been assimilated by the Japanese and adapted to Japanese life were more suitable to Chinese conditions than purely foreign forms. That is to say, China was to receive Western civilization via Japan. There were others, however, who held that if she must introduce Western civilization for her rejuvenation, why should she not go direct to the West for it?

I was one of those who believed in the direct route. In spite of the persuasions of friends studying in Japan, I stuck stubbornly to my belief. I entered Nanyang College with a view to preparing myself for American universities. As all the textbooks on Western subjects were in English, it suited me splendidly.

The college had been organized with the advice of Dr. John C. Ferguson, a former American missionary who only recently died in New York, and its preparatory department was run along the lines of an American high school. So it was most convenient as the final step to an American college. There were several American teachers who taught us modern subjects. After two years there I could read English fairly well, although I was still quite deficient in speaking. The language was not taught by phonetic methods and I found my tongue too stiff to follow.

The curriculum was divided into two groups, one of Chinese and the other of Western subjects. I always stood high in both, once winning honors in the two examinations simultaneously. The principal summoned me and paid me high compliments, to my great satisfaction.

The college was laid out and built according to Western plan; the main building had in its center a clock tower which could be seen several miles

away. In front of a row of buildings was a vast football field, green and well kept. Football and baseball were encouraged by the college authorities and games and sports, generally indulged in by the students. Intercollegiate track and field games were held twice a year, with thousands of spectators.

Born physically frail, I began to realize that a healthy body was necessary for a healthy mind. Besides daily exercise and some sports of the lighter kind, I adopted a course of physical culture for myself. Every morning at about six I practised with dumbbells for half an hour, and again for fifteen minutes in the evening before going to bed. I kept this up for three years without interruption and after that time found myself in good health and always in a cheerful mood.

Spender's principles of education—consisting of three elements: the intellectual, moral, and physical—had by now been introduced into China. So to make up my moral education I reviewed some of the Confucian classics and studied the Sung and Ming philosophers and biographies of great men in history, both Chinese and Western, with a view to imitating their conduct. I entered selected parts of their savings and doings in my diary as I came across those that struck me. Then I did some careful thinking about them, tried to act on them, and watched the results, which were also entered into the diary for further examination.

It was exciting whenever I discovered that Chinese and Western ideas regarding certain matters were similar or almost identical. When they were I knew that in acting in accordance with them I would be guided by a universal truth. When discrepancies occurred I studied them and tried to find out the reasons for them. In this way I unconsciously made a comparative study of morals, or rules of conduct, of East and West. The most important result was that I learned to differentiate essentials from nonessentials and the fundamental from the superficial in moral ideas.

Henceforth I began to be more positive, more definite, more self-confident in steering my life on troubled waters. For moral ideas are the charts by means of which a life of action is directed.

I began to see the oneness of East and West and appreciate the dictum of Lu Hsiang-shan, a Sung philosopher, that "the sages born of the Eastern sea will have the same mind and therefore the same reason as the sages of the Western sea." I also began to see unity in chaos, for I came to realize that

essentials are but few, while to know the similarities, differences, or contrasts among them is to clarify each and all of them. It was the buzzing of trifling things that made you dizzy. So I followed the teachings of Mencius and Lu Hsiang-shan that in learning we must grasp the essentials and neglect the trifles and make our own reasoning power the sole arbiter. Thus I began to establish myself on the solid rock of reasoning instead of traditional beliefs. I felt as if I had stripped off clothes that were altogether too tight and stepped forth naked and free.

However, reason does not exist in a vacuum. I indulged in too much thinking, which led to nothing but disappointment. But the way to right thinking had to start from thinking itself, and learning to think by experience. You cannot teach a person how to think if he does not think at all. My belief here was reinforced in later years in America by reading John Dewey's *How We Think,* to which I owed much.

It is the teaching of the Confucian school that mental culture is the starting point of personal culture, which in turn will serve as the foundation for statecraft. Therefore, in order to save China, save yourself first. So I devoted myself to study and thinking, to physical exercise and to proper conduct. This was, as I understood it, the way to personal culture which would some day serve as the foundation for rendering service to the state.

While I was still at Nanyang College the Imperial Court took a definite step in educational reform by abolishing—in 1905—the agelong system of civil examinations; by this act the door to the past was closed to the younger generation once and for all. The decree was prompted by the victory of Japan over Russia. To replace the old, a new educational system was inaugurated, modeled after the Japanese, which in turn had been introduced to Japan from the West. China was now surely on the road to westernization.

For some time past Shanghai had been the center of a fugitive cultural movement in China. Harbored in the International Settlement and the French Concession, where Chinese jurisdiction reached to only a very limited extent or so far as international or French authorities might agree, Chinese intellectual and revolutionary leaders made their homes and enjoyed freedom of speech and publication. Here political fugitives and men of radical thought, or those so considered at the time, gathered to discuss, elucidate, and publish their ideas. Life here was comparable to that in one of the old Greek

city-states—thinking was free and active.

For my own part, in addition to my training at Nanyang I joined in various activities as a junior member, more by way of learning than active participation. On Saturdays and Sundays I frequented especially Chi-fang, a teashop on Foochow Road where all the students of Shanghai sipped their tea and indulged in lively discussions. No student of those days can forget the unique figure of the king of rogues, or "King Hsu," who was an inseparable part of the teahouse, selling revolutionary literature to the students. He was dressed in shabby Western clothes with a grey greasy cap on his head, his queue being cut. Among his revolutionary wares he included a pamphlet, A New Treatise on Sex Problems, which he explained was to catch the attention of the reading public. Nobody ever knew his name or where he lived. Any book on revolution nominally tabooed by the municipal authorities by request of the Chinese government could be secured through him.

In the same year that civil examinations were abolished the Tung Men Huei—the "Revolutionary Union," predecessor of the Kuomintang—was organized by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Tokyo with several hundred students joining, and Dr. Sun was elected president. This was the year of the Portsmouth Treaty, signed by Japan and Russia to end the Russo-Japanese War. After this victory over one of the Western Powers Japan was now ready to launch aggression on China. This was a bare ten years before she delivered her famous Twenty-One Demands, and only sixteen years before the Mukden Incident which led to full-fledged war in 1937.

In Shanghai a boycott movement against American goods was proceeding in all intensity as a protest against the passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act by the American Congress. Students and merchants joined in calling from door to door on Chinese shopkeepers, urging them not to sell American merchandise. The shopkeepers tried to get rid of their boycotted goods as fast as possible at very moderate prices and a number of people were happy to buy them at the back door. Mass meetings were held in which fierce speeches against the exclusion act were made. At one of them the speaker stamped on the platform so hard that the sole of his shoe fell off and was flung into the audience while waves of laughter rang through the hall.

Another important incident, in the following year, was the agitation by the gentry of Chekiang and Kiangsu Provinces and the students and

merchants of Shanghai against construction of the Soochow-Hangchow-Ningpo Railway by British capital. There were public demonstrations in the form of mass meetings, circular telegrams, and soapbox orations, and subscriptions were opened for shares in the railway with a view to building it with Chinese capital. The line was changed to run via Shanghai, Hangchow, and Ningpo; Shanghai being substituted for Soochow by the curious reasoning that the latter, an inland city, would thus be spared foreign influence, which was bound to increase with a railway. The British gave in as to the route, though the agitation was unsuccessful in obtaining Chinese capital ownership, and the railway was begun the next year.

Students all over China remained quiet in the schools during those years, partly because of their wider interests in activities outside school and partly because they themselves had wearied of the meaningless troubles they gave the school authorities. Nevertheless, they now turned their attention to the school cooks who prepared food for them. Each student paid six dollars a month for his food in Shanghai; in the interior, three dollars. One could not, therefore, expect very much from the cook, but the students were dissatisfied with what they got. They complained of the coarse rice and the poor quality of meat and vegetables, often demanding additional dishes—generally fried eggs, which were easy to prepare. Eggs were cheap in China then, about fifty or sixty for a dollar. Sometimes the students smashed the plates or bowls or beat up the cooks. No school was free from "strikes in the dining hall" as they were called.

In 1907 a short-lived revolution broke out in Anking, provincial capital of Anhwei. The leader was Hsu Shih-ling, police taotai (chief of police) of that province. He had been a teacher in the Sino-Occidental School in Shaoshing, where I received my early education in Western learning—where I first learned that the earth is round. He was a Chu-jen, the Second Degree awarded through the Imperial civil examinations; had taught in the school for a few years and then gone to Japan to study. Returning to China, he bought the office of taotai with fifty thousand dollars borrowed from friends and was appointed for the province of Anking. With the police under his control, he shot the governor with his own hand and started a coup d'état in the provincial capital. With two personal followers and the police force he occupied the arsenal, training its several cannon on the entrance. Not being adepts in military art, they were unable to make the guns work and soldiers

rushed in and arrested him. One of his followers, Chen, was killed in action while the other, Ma, was arrested later.

Ma had been a schoolmate of mine at Chekiang College in Hang-chow, and on their way from Japan to Anking he and Chen had stopped in Shanghai, where they came to see me almost every day. They talked at length about the revolutionary movement, which they believed was the only course for China's salvation, and asked me to go to Anking with them; but a cousin of mine, the manager of a native bank, advised me rather to take a trip to Japan. During summer vacation I took the opportunity of going with a friend to Tokyo, where an exposition was being held. Ma and Chen and I dined in farewell at the I-tse-hsiang Restaurant the evening before my departure, and they also left the next day for Anking, aboard a Yangtze steamer which took them up the river to their fatal destination.

My first experience on an ocean-going steamer was rather thrilling. Everything was novel to me. The flush toilet was a wonder. The Japanese *boysans* (cabin boys) were courteous. We reached Nagasaki the next morning and were impressed with the beautiful scenery in that port. In the afternoon we passed Shimonoseki, well known in China for Li Hung-chang's visit to it and for the peace treaty concluded in 1895 and known by that name. We landed at Kobe and from there took a train to Tokyo, getting off at Shimbashi Station. A friend of mine who was studying in Tokyo took me to a small hotel, the Kimigayokan in the Koishikawa district. The street was unpaved and muddy on that rainy day.

I visited the exposition in Ueno Park dozens of times and was impressed with the industrial development of Japan. In a war museum where prizes of war were shown I was very much ashamed to see the Chinese flags, uniforms, and weapons seized in the Sino-Japanese War and I tried vainly to dodge the eyes that stared at me. In the evening the park was illuminated with thousands of electric lights and the happy populace of Tokyo paraded on the grounds with myriad lanterns in their hands, shouting *Banzai*! They were intoxicated with the victory over Russia two years earlier and still went wild about it. On my part, I stood alone at the top of an imitation hill and watched the parade passing. I was so much moved that tears rolled down my cheeks.

Early one morning, within a week or so of my arrival, the *neisan* or chambermaid brought me a Japanese paper from which I learned of Hsu

Shih-ling's revolution in Anking and its failure. I would have been killed if I had gone there with my two friends.

The general impression I had of Japan was very favorable. The whole country was a garden. The people were well dressed, their cities clean. They were perhaps inwardly conceited, but courteous to strangers. Compulsory education made the general level of the people much higher than in China, and this was perhaps the secret of Japan's becoming a world Power. These were the impressions I carried home after a month's stay.

Pretty soon I began to work hard again at the college. The following year, during the summer vacation, I went to Hangchow to take the Chekiang provincial examination for scholarships to study in America. Having failed, I got a few thousand dollars from my father and prepared to go to California for further study.

第一部 满清末年

西风东渐

差不多两千年以前，几位东方的智者，循着天空一颗巨星的指示，追寻到一个新宗教的诞生地。这个宗教便是基督教。基督教后来在西方国家的生活中占着极其重要的地位。基督教以和平仁爱为宗旨，要求教徒们遇到"有人掌掴你的右颊时，你就把左颊也凑过去"。基督教的教徒经过不断的磨难和挫折，不顾罗马猛狮的威胁和异教徒的摧残迫害，逆来顺受，终于在罗马帝国各民族之间传播开来了。几百年之后，它以同样坚忍的精神慢慢地流传到中国。

景教徒在唐朝（公元六一八——九○五）时来到中国，唐室君主曾为他们建造了景教寺，但是景教徒的传教成绩却很有限，再过了几百年，在十七世纪中叶，耶稣会教士带着西方的天文学来到中国，终于得到明朝（公元一三六八——一六四三）皇帝的垂青。

在这同时，活力旺盛的西方民族，不但接受了新兴的基督教，而且发展了科学，完成了许许多多的发明，为近代的工业革命奠立了基础。科学和发明渐渐流传到东方，先是涓涓滴滴地流注，接着汇为川流江涛，最后成为排山倒海的狂潮巨浪，泛滥整个东方，而且几乎把中国冲塌了。

中国人与基督教或任何其他宗教一向没有什么纠纷，不过到了十九世纪中叶，基督教与以兵舰做靠山的商业行为结了伙，因而在中国人的心目中，这个宣扬爱人如己的宗教也就成为侵略者的工具了。人们发现一种宗教与武力形影不离时，对这种宗教的印象自然就不同了。而且中国人也实在无法不把基督教和武力胁迫相提并论。慢慢地人们产生了一种印象，认为如来佛是骑着白象到中国的，耶稣基督却是骑在炮弹上飞过来的。

我们吃过炮弹的苦头，因而也就对炮弹发生兴趣。一旦我们学会制造炮弹，报仇雪耻的机会就来了。我们可以暂时不管这些炮弹是怎么来，因为对我们这些凡夫俗子而言，保全性命究竟比拯救灵魂来得重要。

历史的发展真是离奇莫测。我们从研究炮弹而研究到机械发明；机械发明而导致政治改革；由于政治改革的需要，我们开始研究政治理

论；政治理论又使我们再度接触西方的哲学。在另一方面，我们从机械发明而发现科学，由科学进而了解科学方法和科学思想。一步一步地我们离炮弹越来越远了，但是从另一角度来看，也可以说离炮弹越来越近了。

故事说来很长，但是都是在短短一百年之内发生的，而且紧张热烈的部分还不过五十年的样子。我说一百年，因为香港本来可以在一九四二年"庆祝"香港成为"英国领土"的一百周年纪念，但是这也是历史上偶然的一件事，英国的旧盟邦日本却在前一年以闪击方式把香港抢走了。我提到香港，决不是有意挖旧疮疤，而是因为香港在中国欧化的早期历史上，恰恰是现成的纪念碑。大家都知道，香港这群小岛是中国在所谓"鸦片战争"中失败以后在一八四二年割让给英国的。这次战争的起因是中国继禁止鸦片进口之后，又在广州焚毁大批鸦片。鸦片是英国由印度输出的主要货物，于是英国就以炮弹回敬中国，中国被击败了。

一八四二年的中英条约同时规定中国的五个沿海城市开放为商埠。这就是所谓"五口通商"。大批西方商品随着潮涌而至。这五个商埠以差不多相似的距离散布在比较繁盛的中国南半部，为中国造成了与外来势力接触的新边疆。过去中国只有北方和西北那样的内陆边疆，现在中国的地图起了变化，这转变正是中国历史的转折点。

这五个商埠——广州、厦门、福州、宁波和上海——由南向北互相衔接，成为西方货品的集散地，舶来品由这五个口岸转销中国最富的珠江流域和长江流域各地。

西方商人在兵舰支持之下像章鱼一样盘踞着这些口岸，同时把触须伸展到内地的富庶省份。中国本身对于这些渗透并不自觉，对于必然产生的后果更茫无所知。亿万人民依旧悠然自得地过着日子，像过去一样过他们从摇篮到坟墓的生活，从没有想到在现代化的工作上下工夫。一部分人则毫不经心地开始采用外国货，有的是为了实用，有的为了享受，另一些人则纯然为了好奇。

但是，西方列强的兵舰政策不但带来了货品和鸦片，同时也带来了西方科学文化的种子。这在当时是看不出来的，但是后来这些种子终于发芽滋长，使中国厚蒙其利——这也是历史上的一大讽刺。

这时候，日本也正以一日千里之势向欧化的途程迈进，中国对此却毫无所觉。半世纪以后，这个蕞尔岛国突然在东海里摇身一变，形成了一个硕大的怪物，并且在一八九四年出其不意地咬了东亚睡狮一大口。中国继香港之后又丢了台湾。这只东亚睡狮这时可真有点感到疼痛了，

茫茫然揉着惺忪的睡眼，不知道究竟是什么扰了它的清梦？

我原先的计划只是想写下我对祖国的所见所感，但是当我让这些心目中的景象一一展布在纸上时，我所写下的可就有点像自传，有点像回忆录，也有点像近代史。不管它像什么，它记录了我心目中不可磨灭的景象，这些景象历历如绘地浮现在我的脑际，一如隔昨才发生的经历。在急遽递嬗的历史中，我自觉只是时代巨轮上一颗小轮齿而已。

乡村生活

我出生在一个小村庄里的小康之家。兄弟姊妹五人，我是最小的一个，三位哥哥，一位姊姊。我出生的前夕，我父亲梦到一只熊到家里来，据说那是生男孩的征兆。第二天，这个吉兆应验了，托庇祖先在天之灵，我们家又添了一个儿子。

我大哥出生时，父亲曾经梦到收到一束兰花，因此我大哥就取名梦兰。我二哥也以同样的原因取名为梦桃。不用说，我自然取名为梦熊了。姊姊和三哥诞生时，父亲却没有梦到什么。后来在我进浙江高等学堂时，为了先前的学校里闹了事，梦熊这个名字入了黑名单，于是就改为梦麟了。

我出生在战乱频仍的时代里。我出生的那一年，英国从中国拿走了对缅甸的宗主权；出生的前一年恰恰是中法战争结束的一年，中国对越南的宗主权就在那一年让渡给法国。中国把宗主权一再割让，正是外国列强进一步侵略中国本土的序幕，因为中国之保有属国，完全是拿它们当缓冲地带，而不是为了剥削他们。中国从来不干涉这些边缘国家的内政。

这情形很像一只桔子，桔皮被剥去以后，微生物就开始往桔子内部侵蚀了。但是中国百姓却懵然不觉，西南边疆的战争隔得太远了，它们不过是浩瀚的海洋上的一阵泡沫。乡村里的人更毫不关心，他们一向与外界隔绝，谈狐说鬼的故事比这些军国大事更能引起他们的兴趣。但是中国的国防军力的一部分却就是从这些对战争不感兴趣的乡村征募而来的。

我慢慢懂得一些人情世故之后，我注意到村里的人讲起太平天国革命的故事时，却比谈当前国家大事起劲多了。我们乡间呼太平军为长毛，因为他们蓄发不剃头。凡听到有变乱的事，一概称之为长毛造反。大约在我出生的三十年前，我们村庄的一角曾经被太平军破坏。一位木匠出身的蒋氏族长就参加过太平军。人们说他当过长毛的，他自己也直认不讳。他告诉我们许多太平军掳掠杀戮煮吃人肉的故事，许多还是他自己亲身参加的。我看他的双目发出一种怪光，我父亲说，这是因为吃了人肉的缘故。我听了这些恐怖的故事，常常为之毛骨悚然。这位族长说，太平军里每天要做祷告感谢天父天兄（上帝和耶稣）。有一天做祷告以后，想要讨好一位老长毛，就说了几句"天父夹天兄，长毛夺咸丰"一套吉利话。老长毛点头称许他。他抖了，就继续念道："天下打不

通，仍旧还咸丰。""妈"的一声，刀光一闪，从他头上掠过。从此以后，他不敢再和老长毛开玩笑了。

这样关于长毛的故事，大家都欢喜讲，欢喜听。但是村里的人只有偶然才提到近年来的国际战争，而且漠不关心。其间还有些怪诞不经的胜利，后来想起来可怜亦复可笑。事实上，中国军队固然在某些战役上有过良好的表现，结果却总是一败涂地的。

现代发明的锋芒还没有到达乡村，因而这些乡村也就像五百年前一样地保守、原始、宁静。但是乡下人却并不闲，农人忙着耕耘、播种、收获；渔人得在运河里撒网捕鱼；女人得纺织缝补；商人忙着买卖；工匠忙着制作精巧的成品；读书人则高声朗诵，默记四书五经，然后参加科举。

中国有成千上万这样的村落，因为地形或气候的关系，村庄大小和生活习惯可能稍有不同，但是使他们聚居一起的传统、家族关系和行业却大致相同。共同的文字、共同的生活理想、共同的文化和共同的科举制度则使整个国家结为一体而成为大家所知道的中华帝国。（我们现在称中华民国，在辛亥革命以前，欧美人称我们为中华帝国。）

以上所说的那些成千成万的村庄，加上大城市和商业中心，使全国所需要的粮食、货品、学人、士兵，以及政府的大小官吏供应无缺。只要这些村镇城市不接触现代文明，中国就可以一直原封不动，如果中国能在通商口岸四周筑起高墙，中国也可能再经几百年而一成不变。但是西洋潮流却不肯限于几个通商口岸里。这潮流先冲激着附近的地区，然后循着河道和公路向外伸展。五个商埠附近的，以及交通线附近的村镇首先被冲倒。现代文明像是移植过来的树木，很快地就在肥沃的中国土壤上发芽滋长，在短短五十年之内就深入中国内地了。

蒋村是散布在钱塘江沿岸冲积平原上的许多村庄之一，村与村之间常是绵延一两里的繁茂的稻田，钱塘江以风景优美闻名于世，上游有富春江的景色，江口有著名的钱塘江大潮。几百年来，江水沿岸积留下肥沃的泥土，使两岸逐步向杭州湾扩伸。居民就在江边新生地上筑起临时的围堤截留海水晒盐。每年的盐产量相当可观，足以供应几百万人的需要。

经过若干年代以后，江岸再度向前伸展，原来晒盐的地方盐分渐渐消失净尽，于是居民就在离江相当远的地方筑起堤防，保护渐趋干燥的土地，准备在上面蓄草放牧。再过一段长时期以后，这块土地上面就可以植棉或种桑了。要把这种土地改为稻田，也许要再过五十年。因为种

稻需要大量的水，而挖池塘筑圳渠来灌溉稻田是需要相当时间的，同时土地本身也需要相当时间才能慢慢变为沃土。

我童年时代的蒋村，离杭州湾约有二十里之遥。围绕着它的还有无数的村庄。大大小小，四面八方都有，往南一直到山麓，往北到海边，往东往西则有较大的城镇和都市，中间有旱道或河汊相通。蒋氏族谱告诉我们，我们的祖先是从徽州迁到奉化暂驻，又从奉化迁到余姚。徽州是钱塘江的发源地，我们的祖先到余姚来，可能就是为了开垦江边新生地。在我幼年时，我们蒋氏家庙的前面还有古堤岸的遗迹，那家庙叫做"四勿祠"，奉祠宋朝当过御史的一位祖先，他是奉化人，名叫蒋岘。然而一般人却惯叫"陟塘庙"，因为几百年前，庙前横着一条堤塘。

读者或许要问：什么叫"四勿"呢？那就是《论语》里的非礼勿视、非礼勿听、非礼勿言、非礼勿动四句话。我们玩具店里所看到的三只猴子分别蒙起眼睛、耳朵、嘴巴，就是指这回事。至于为什么没有第四只猴子，因为那三只猴子坐着不动，就可以代表了。但是我们那位御史公却把这四勿改为勿欺心、勿负主、勿求田、勿问舍，人称之为四勿先生。这些自古流传下来的处世格言是很多的。我们利用一切可能的方法，诸如寺庙、戏院、家庭、玩具、格言、学校、历史、故事等等，来灌输道德观念，使这些观念成为日常生活中的习惯。以道德规范约束人民生活是中国社会得以稳定的理由之一。

几千年以来，中国的人口从北方渐渐扩展到南方，先到长江流域，继至珠江流域，最后到了西南山区。中华民族一再南迁的理由很多，南方土地肥沃、塞外好战部落入侵，以及人口的自然繁殖都有关系，且从宋朝以后，黄河一再泛滥，更使人们想念江南乐土。我的祖先在早期就由北而南，由南而东，最后终于在杭州湾沿岸定居下来。

蒋姓的始祖是三千多年前受封的一位公子王孙。他的名字叫做百龄，是代周成王摄政的周公的第三个儿子。他在纪元[4] 前十二世纪末期被封在黄河流域下游的一块小地方，他的封地叫做"蒋"，他的子孙也就以蒋为氏了。蒋是茭白古名。那块封地之所以定名为蒋，可能是那一带地方茭白生长得特别繁茂的缘故。

在三国时代，也就是公元第三世纪，我们的一位祖先曾在历史上露了脸。他的名字叫蒋琬，住在长江流域南部的湘乡，从蜀先主入蜀。诸葛亮称他是社稷之才。这证明住在长江以南的蒋姓子孙，在第三世纪以前就从黄河流域南迁了。从我们的始祖起到现在，所有嫡系子孙的名字，在我们的族谱上都有纪录可考。至于确实到什么程度，我却不敢说，因为他们的生平事迹很少有人知道，考证起来是很困难的。但相传

江南无二蒋，所以我们至少可以说一句：住在长江以南所有姓蒋的都是同宗同支的。究竟可以正确地追溯到多远，我们可不知道了。不过我们确切知道：住在浙江省境的蒋姓子弟，都在徽州找到了共同的宗脉。

我在宗谱中从迁余姚的始祖传到我为第十七世。蒋姓首先定居在我们村里的是五百多年前来的，那是元朝末年的事。这五百多年之中，两个朝代是外来民族建立的，一个是汉族自己的王朝，蒋姓一族曾经看到元朝的没落、明朝和满清的兴衰，以及几乎推翻满清的太平天国。朝代更换了，蒋村却依然故我，人们还是照常地过活、做工，最后入土长眠。

太平军到了村子里，村中曾经有几所房子焚毁，留在村子里的老弱有被活活烧死的，有一处大门口残存的石阶上留有红斑，据传说是某位老太婆在此烧死时所流的血。大多数的老百姓都逃到山里躲起来，但是战事一平定，大家又像蜜蜂回巢一样回到村里。在我童年时代，村里还可以看到兵燹以后留下来的残垣断瓦。

村里的人告诉我，满洲人推翻明朝的消息，一直到新朝廷的圣旨到了村里时，大家才知道。清帝圣旨到达村里时，邻村还正在演社戏呢！改朝换代以后，族人生活上的唯一改变是强迫留辫子，同时圣旨严禁男人再穿明朝式样的衣服。大家敢怒不敢言，但是死后入殓时，男人还是穿明朝衣冠。因此我们族中流行着一句话："男投（降）女不投，活投死不投。"就是说男人投降，女人却不投降，活人投降，死人却不投降。一些人一直维持这个办法到一九一一年清室覆亡、民国建立为止，中间经过两百五十年之久。

我们村上只有六十来户人家，人口约三百人，是个很小的村庄。它的三面环绕着河汊，南面是一条石板路，通往邻近的村庄和城镇。小河汊可以通到大河，再由大河可以到达杭州、苏州和上海等大城市。

蒋村虽然小，水陆交通却很便利。河汊上随处是石桥，河的两岸则满是绿柳垂杨。河中盛产鱼、虾、鳝、鳗、龟、鳖。柳荫之下，常有人悠闲地在垂钓。耕牛慢慢地踱着方步，绕着转动牛车，把河水汲到水槽再送到田里。冬天是连阡穿陌的麦穗，夏天是一片稻海，使人生四季长青之感，麦穗和稻穗随着微风的吹拂，漾起一片涟漪，燕子就在绿波之上的蓝空中穿梭翱翔。老鹰忽高忽低地绕村回旋着，乘老母鸡不备的时候就俯冲而下，攫走小鸡。

这就是我童年时代的背景，也是我家族的环境。他们安定地在那里生活了五百多年，他们很少碰到水灾或旱灾，在这漫长的几百年中也不

过遇上一两次的变乱和战争。他们和平而满足地生活在他们自己的世界里，贫富之间也没有太大的差别。富饶的稻谷、棉花、蚕丝、鱼虾、鸡鸭、蔬菜使人民丰衣足食。

几百年来，不论朝代如何更换，不论是太平盛世或战祸频仍，中国乡村里的道德、信仰和风俗习惯却始终不变。乡下人觉得这个世界已经很不错，不必再求进步。生命本身也许很短暂，但是投胎转世时可能有更大的幸福。人死以后，据说灵魂就离开肉体，转投到初生的婴儿身上。我自己就亲眼看到过绑赴刑场处决的罪犯，对围观的群众高喊："十八年之后又是一条好汉！"这是何等的达观！

我们村子里的人说：一个坏人或作孽多端的人，死后要转世为穷人，或者变马变猪，甚至灵魂支离割裂，变为蚊蝇小虫。好人善士的灵魂转世时则可以享更高的福禄。这些都是随佛教而来的印度传说而被中国道教所采用的。佛教本身，倒不大理会这些事。

善恶当然有公认的标准。"万恶淫为首，百善孝为先。"孝道使中国家庭制度维系不堕；贞操则使中国种族保持纯净。敬老怜贫、忠信笃敬也被认为善行。重利盘剥、奸诈谎骗则列为罪行。斥责恶行时常骂人来生变猪变犬。

商业往来讲究一诺千金。一般而论，大家都忠实可靠。欺诈的人必然受亲朋戚友一致的唾弃。

婚姻是由媒妁之言、父母之命决定的。通例是男子二十而娶，女子十八而嫁。妻子死了，丈夫大概都要续弦，中上之家的女人如果死了丈夫，却照例要守寡。守寡的可怜人算是最贞节的，死后皇帝还要给她们建贞节牌坊。这种牌坊在乡间到处可以看见的。

村里的事全由族长来处理，不待外界的干涉。祠堂就是衙门。"族长"不一定是老头子，也可能是代表族中辈份最高一代的年轻人。族长们有责任监督敬先祭祖的礼仪遵奉不渝，族人中起了争执时，他们还须负责加以评断。没有经过族长评理以前，任何人不许打官司。族长升堂审判叫做"开祠堂门"，全村的人都可以来参观。祖宗牌位前面点起香烛，使得每个人都觉得祖先在天之灵就在冥冥之中监视似的，在祖先的面前，当事的两边不能有半句谎话。一般而论，说老实话的居多。

仲裁者力求做得公平。自然，村中的舆论也是重要的因素，还有，邻村的舆论也得考虑。族长们如果评断不公，就会玷污了祠堂的名誉。因此，争执多半在祠堂里得到公平的解决，大家用不到上衙门打官司。

实际上真需要"开祠堂门"来解决的事情并不多，因为大家认为"开祠堂门"是件大事，只有特别严重的案子才需要这样做。一般的纠纷只是在祠堂前评个理就解决了。

读书人和绅士在地方上的权威很大。他们参加排难解纷，也参加制定村里的规矩，他们还与邻村的士绅成立组织，共同解决纠纷，照顾邻近村庄的共同福利。

田赋由地主送到离村约二十里的县库去，粮吏从来不必到村里来。老百姓根本不理会官府的存在，这就是所谓"天高皇帝远"。

除了崇拜祖先之外，大家要信什么就信什么。上佛寺、拜神仙、供关公、祭土地，悉听尊便。没有宗教限制，也没有宗教迫害。你信你的神，我拜我的佛，各不相涉，并且还有把各式各样的神拼在一起大家来拜。这就是通常所称的"道教"。如果基督徒肯让基督与中国神并供在中国庙宇里，我相信村里人一定会像崇拜其他神佛一样虔敬崇拜基督。

一般老百姓都是很老实的，人家说什么，他们就相信。迷信就是在这种背景下产生的，而且像滚雪球一样越滚越大，几百年积聚下来的迷信，当然是非常可观了。

我提到过村里的人相信灵魂轮回之说。这似乎与散鬼游魂之说互相矛盾的。不过，凡关于鬼神的事，我们本来是不甚深究的，几种矛盾的说法，可以同时平行。据说灵魂与鬼是两回事。灵魂转入轮回，鬼则飘游宇宙之间。伟人圣哲的鬼就成了神，永远存在于冥冥之中，凡夫俗子的鬼则逐渐飘散消逝，最后化为乌有。鬼能够随心所欲，随时随地出现。它可以住在祠堂里，也可以住在坟墓里，高兴怎么样就怎么样。我国不惜巨资建造富丽堂皇的坟墓和宫殿式的祠堂，大概和这些信仰不是没有关系的。这种鬼话各地皆有，虽各有不同，但大体是一致的。

中国人对一切事物的看法都不脱人本位的色彩。如果鬼神与活人之间毫无关系或毫无接触，那末大家就不会觉得鬼神有什么用处，或许根本就不会相信它们真的存在。寺庙祠堂里固然有神佛的塑像，也有祖宗的灵牌，但是这些偶像或木主虽然令人望之生畏，却不能走出神龛直接与生人交谈，除非在梦中出现。人们需要更具体、更实际的表现，因此就有了巫婆、扶乩和解梦。

如果一个人怀念作古了的朋友或去世的亲戚，他可以请一位巫婆把鬼魂召了来。当巫婆的多半是远地来的女人。被召的鬼魂来时，巫婆的耳朵就会连续抽搐三次。普通人是不能控制耳朵的肌肉的，巫婆的耳朵能够自己动，使得大家相信它的确有鬼神附体。她说话时，压着喉咙像

猫叫，因此她讲的话可以由听的人随意附会。如果巫婆在谈话中摸清了对方的心思，她的话也就说得更清楚点，往往使听的人心悦诚服。

真也好，假也好，这办法至少使活着的亲戚朋友心里得点安慰。五十年前，我自己就曾经透过巫婆与我故世的母亲谈过话，那种惊心动魄的经验至今还不能忘记。

扶乩可比较高级了，扶乩的人多半是有知识的。两个人分执一根横木条的两端，木条的中央接着一根木棒，木棒就在沙盘里写字。神佛或者名人的鬼魂可以被请降坛，写字赐教。扶乩可以预言未来，可以预言来年的收成，也可以预告饥荒，甚至和平或战乱，几乎什么问题都可以问。完全不会作诗的也能写出诗来。写的人也能写出素昧平生的人的名字。懂一点心理学的人大概都能解释，这是一种潜意识的作用。但是有好几位外国留学的博士学士，到如今还是相信扶乩。有一位哈佛大学毕业生，于抗战期间任盐务某要职，扶乩报告预言，推测战局，终被政府革职。

巫婆只能召至去世的亲戚朋友的鬼魂，扶乩却能召唤神佛。在做梦时，鬼魂和神佛都能自动地来托梦。我听过许多关于做梦应验的事，但是多半不记得了。我记得一个圆梦的例子是这样的：我的一位曾叔祖到杭州去应乡试，俗称考举人，他在考棚里梦到一只硕大无比的手伸进窗子。因为他从来没有见过这样大的手，这个梦就被解释为他将独占鳌头的征兆。放榜时我的曾叔祖居然中试第一名，俗称解元。

神佛、死去的亲戚朋友或者精灵鬼怪可能由托梦提出希望、请求或者警告。一位死了的母亲可能要求她儿子给她修葺坟墓。死了的父亲可能向儿子讨纸钱。死人下葬时总要烧点纸钱，以备阴间使用。

我们村里发生过一件事，好几年以后，大家谈起来还是娓娓不倦。一位叫阿义的青年农夫预备用船载谷子进城市。那天早上，他坐在家里发呆，人家问他为什么，他说前一晚他死去的母亲来托梦，警告他不要走近水边。他的游泳技术很高明，他猜不透这个梦究竟是什么意思。

黄昏时，他安然划着船回到家，用竹篙把船拢了岸。他对站在岸上的朋友开玩笑，说他自己的危险总算过去了，说罢还哈哈大笑。突然间他足下一滑就跌进河里去了。挣扎了一阵子，他就沉入水底。朋友们赶紧潜水去救，但是到处找不到。半小时后他被拖上来了，但是已经手足冰冷，一命呜呼。原来他跌入河中以后，手足就被水边的一棵陈年老柳的盘根缠住了。

大家说他是被水鬼抓下去的，或许那是一只以柳树根作窝的水猴

子。好几个游泳技术很好的人都在那个地方淹死。村里的人常常看到那个"水鬼"在月光下坐在附近的桥上赏月。它一看到有人走近就扑通一声钻到水里去。

各式各样无法解释的现象都使迷信的雪球越滚越大，错觉、幻象、梦魇、想像、巧合、谣言都是因素。时间更使迷信愈积愈多。

村中的医药当然也很原始。我们得走好几里路才能在大镇里找到草药医生，俗称"草头郎中"。对于通常的病痛或者某些特殊的病症，中国药是很有效的。但是对于许多严重的病症，草药不但无效而且危险。

我自己曾经两次病得奄奄一息，结果却都给草药救起了。有一次病了好几个月，瘦得只剩皮包骨，结果是一位专精儿科的草药医生救了我的命。另一次我染了白喉，请了一位中国的喉科专家来医治。他用一根细针在我喉头附近刺了一遍，然后敷上一些白粉。我不知道那是什么东西，只觉得喉头凉爽舒服，很像抽过一支薄荷烟的感觉。

喉头是舒服一点了，病状却起了变化。我的扁桃腺肿得像鹅蛋那末大，两颊鼓起像气球，我甚至连流质的食物都无法下咽。鼻子一直出血不止，最后连呼吸也感到困难了。正在奄奄一息的时候，我父亲认为只有"死马当作活马医"了。于是他就在古老的医书里翻寻秘方，结果真地找到一剂主治类似症候的方子。我吃了好几服重药。头一剂药就发生验效，一两个小时之后，病势居然大有起色。第二天早晨我的扁桃腺肿消了许多，个把星期以后饮食也恢复正常。

我曾经亲眼目睹跌断的腿用老法子治好，伤风咳嗽、风湿和眼睛红肿被草药治好的例子更是多不胜举。

中医很早以前就发现可以从人体采取一种预防天花的"瘴苗"，他们用一种草药塞到病婴的鼻孔里，再把这种草药塞到正常儿童的鼻孔里时，就可以引起一种比较温和的病症。这样"种了痘"的孩子自然不免有死亡，因此我父亲宁愿让孩子按现代方法种牛痘。我们兄弟姊妹以及许多亲戚的子弟都用现代方法种痘，而且从来没有出过毛病。

我们村子里的人不知道怎样治疗疟疾。我们只好听它自生自灭地流行几个礼拜，甚至好几个月。我们村子附近总算没有发现恶性疟疾，患了病的人虽然伤了元气，倒还没有人因此致命。后来传教士和商人从上海带来奎宁粉，叫做金鸡纳霜，吃了很有效，于是大家才发现了西药的妙用。

村里有些人相信神力可以治病。他们到寺庙里焚香祝祷，然后在香

炉里取了一撮香灰作为治疗百病的万应灵丹。这是一种心理治疗，在心理学应用得上的时候，也的确能医好一些病。

我家的花园里，每月有每月当令的花，阴历正月是茶花，二月是杏花，三月桃花，四月蔷薇，五月石榴，六月荷花，七月凤仙，八月桂花，九月菊花，十月芙蓉，十一月水仙，十二月腊梅。每种花都有特别的花仙做代表。

最受欢迎的季节花是春天的桃花、夏天的荷花，秋天的桂花和菊花。季节到来时，村里的人就成群结队出来赏花。

过年过节时，无论男女老幼都可以高兴一阵子。最重要的年节，通常从十二月二十三日开始。灶神就在这一天上天报告这一家一年来的家庭琐事。

中国人都相信多神主义的，在道教里，众神之主是玉皇大帝。据说玉皇大帝也有公卿大臣和州官吏卒，和中国的皇帝完全一样。玉皇大帝派灶神监视家庭事务，因此灶神必须在年终岁尾提出报告。灶神是吃素的，因此在它启程上天时，大家就预备素斋来祭送。灶神对好事坏事都要报告，因此大家一年到头都谨言慎行。送灶神和迎灶神时都要设家宴、烧纸钱、放鞭炮。

除夕时，家家都大鸡大肉地庆祝，叫做吃年夜饭。吃年夜饭时，家庭的每一个分子都得参加。如果有人远行未归，也得留个空座位给他。红烛高烧到天明，多数的大人还得"守岁"，要坐到子夜以后才睡。第二天早晨，也就是正月初一早晨，一家人都参加拜天地。祭拜时自然又免不了点香烛、焚纸钱和放鞭炮。

新年的庆祝节目之一是灯节，从正月十三开始，一直到正月十八，十八以后年节也就算结束了。灯节时家家户户和大街小巷到处张灯结彩。花灯的式样很多，马、兔、蝴蝶、蜻蜓、螳螂、蝉、莲花，应有尽有。我们常常到大城市去看迎灯赛会，街上总是人山人海。

五月里的端午节和八月里的中秋节也是重要的节日。端午节有龙舟比赛。庆祝中秋节却比较安静，也比较富于诗意——吃过晚饭后我们就在月色下散步，欣赏团圆满月中的玉兔在月桂下捣药。

迎神赛会很普遍，普通有好几百人参加，沿途围观的则有几千人。这些场合通常总带点宗教色彩，有时是一位神佛出巡各村庄。神像坐在一乘木雕的装饰华丽的轿子里，前面由旌旗华盖、猛龙怪兽、吹鼓手、踩高跷的人等等开道前导。

迎神行列经过时，掉狮舞龙就在各村的广场上举行。踩高跷的人，在街头扮演戏剧中的各种脚色。一面一面绣着龙虎狮子的巨幅旗帜，由十来个人扛着游行，前前后后则由绳索围起来。这样的行列在旷野的大路上移动时，看来真好威风呀！这种举大旗游行的起源，据说是明代倭寇入侵时老百姓以此向他们示威的。

碰到过年过节，或者庆祝神佛生日，或者其他重要时节，活动的戏班子就到村庄上来表演。戏通常在下午三点钟左右开始，一直演到第二天早晨，中间有一段休息的时间，以便大家吃晚饭。开演时总是锣鼓喧天，告诉大家戏正在开始。演的戏多半是根据历史故事编的，人民也就从戏里学习历史。每一出戏都包括一点道德上的教训，因此演戏可以同时达到三重目的：教授历史、灌输道德、供给娱乐。

女角是由男人扮演的，这是和莎士比亚时代的英国一样。演员涂抹形形色色的脸谱象征忠奸善恶。白鼻子代表奸诈、狡猾、卑鄙或小丑。在日常生活中我们也常常指这一类人为白鼻子。红脸代表正直、忠耿等等，但是红脸的人心地总是很厚道的。黑脸象征铁面无私。这种象征性的脸谱一直到现在还被各地国剧所采用。

这就是我的童年的环境。这种环境已经很快地成为历史陈迹。这个转变首由外国品的输入启其端，继由西方思想和兵舰的入侵加速其进程；终将由现代的科学、发明和工业化，完毕其全程。

[4] 本书中的“纪元”指公元纪年，与“公元”混用。

童年教育

在我的童年时代，没有学校，只有家塾。男孩子在家塾里准备功课应付科举或者学点实用的知识以便经商，女孩子不能和男孩子一道上学，要读书就得另请先生，穷苦人家的子弟请不起先生，因此也就注定了当文盲的命运。

一位先生通常教数十位学生，都是分别教授的。家塾里没有黑板，也不分班级。先生从清晨到薄暮都端端正正地坐在那里，学生们自然也就不敢乱蹦乱跳。那时候时钟是很难见到的。家塾里当然没有钟。冬天白昼比较短。天黑后我们就点起菜油灯，在昏暗的灯光下念书，时间是靠日晷来计算的。碰到阴天或下雨，那就只好乱猜了。猜错一两个小时是常事，好在书是个别教授的，猜错个把钟头也无所谓。

我在六岁时进家塾，一般小孩子差不多都在这个年岁"启蒙"的。事实上我那时才五岁零一个月的样子，因为照我家乡的算法，一个人生下来就算一岁了。家塾里的书桌太高，我的椅子下面必须垫上一个木架子之后我才够得上书桌，因此我坐到椅子上时，两只脚总是悬空的。

我最先念的书叫《三字经》，每句三个字，而且是押韵的，因此小孩子记起来比较容易。事隔六十多年，我现在还能背出一大半，开头几句是："人之初，性本善。性相近，习相远。苟不教，性乃迁。"性善论是儒家人生哲学和教育原理的出发点，这种看法曾对十八世纪的大光明时代的法国学派产生过重大的影响。

虽然我现在已经懂得什么叫"性本善"，在当时却真莫名其妙。

我恨透了家塾里的生活。有一天，我乘先生不注意我的时候，偷偷地爬下椅子，像一只挣脱锁链的小狗，一溜烟逃回家中，躲到母亲的怀里。

母亲自然很感意外，但是她只是慈祥地问我："你怎么跑回家来了，孩子？"

我答道："家塾不好，先生不好，书本不好。"

"你不怕先生吗？他也许会到家里来找你呢！"母亲笑着说。

"先生，我要杀了他！家塾，我要放把火烧了它！"我急着说。

母亲并没有把我送回家塾，那位先生也没有找上门来。

第二天早上，奶奶喊醒了我，对我说了许多好话，总算把我劝回家塾。从童年时代起我就吃软不吃硬。好好劝我，要我干什么都行，高压手段可没有用。经过奶奶一阵委婉的劝谏，我终于自动地重新去上学了。

我带着一张自备的竹椅子，家里一位佣人跟着我到了家塾，把竹椅子放到木架上，使我刚好够得着书桌。先生没有出声，装作不知道我曾经逃过学，但是我注意到好几位同学对着我装鬼脸。我讨厌他们，但是装作没有看见。我爬上椅子坐在那里，两只脚却悬空挂着，没有休息的地方。我的课也上了，书却仍旧是那本《三字经》。我高声朗诵着不知所云的课文，一遍又一遍地念得烂熟。等到太阳不偏不倚地照到我们的头上时，我们知道那是正午了。先生让我们回家吃午饭，吃过饭我马上回到家塾继续念那课同样的书，一直到日落山才散学。

一日又一日地过去，课程却一成不变。一本书念完了之后，接着又是一本不知所云的书。接受训练的只是记忆力和耐心。

念书时先生要我们做到"三到"，那就是心到、眼到、口到。所谓心到就是注意力集中，不但读书如此，做任何事情都得如此。眼到对学习中国文字特别重要，因为中国字的笔划错综复杂，稍一不慎就可能读别字。所谓口到就是把一段书高声朗诵几百遍，使得句子脱口而出，这样可以减轻记忆力的负担。先生警告我们，念书不能取巧强记，因为勉强记住的字句很容易忘记。如果我们背书时有些疙瘩，先生就会要我们一遍又一遍地再念，甚至念上一两百遍。碰上先生心情不好，脑袋上就会吃栗子。天黑放学时，常常有些学生头皮上带着几个大疙瘩回家。

不管学生愿意不愿意，他们必须守规矩，而且要绝对服从。我们根本不知道什么叫礼拜天。每逢阴历初一、十五，我们就有半天假。碰到节庆，倒也全天放假，例如端午节和中秋节。新年的假期比较长，从十二月二十一直到正月二十。

在家塾里念了几年之后，我渐渐长大了，也记得不少的字。这时先生才开始把课文的意思解释给我听，因此念起书来也不再像以前那样吃力了。从四书五经里，我开始慢慢了解做人的道理。按照儒家的理想，做人要先从修身着手，其次齐家，然后治国、平天下。其中深义到后来我才完全体会。

在最初几年，家塾生活对我而言简直像监狱，唯一的区别是：真正监狱里的犯人没有希望，而家塾的学生们都有着前程无限的憧憬。所有的学者名流、达官贵人不是都经过寒窗苦读的煎熬吗？

"吃得苦中苦，方为人上人。"

"天子重英豪，文章教尔曹。万般皆下品，惟有读书高。"

"别人怀宝剑，我有笔如刀。"

这些成语驱策着我向学问之途迈进，正如初春空气中的芳香吸引着一匹慵懒的马儿步向碧绿的草原，否则我恐怕早已丢下书本跑到上海做生意去了。理想、希望和意志可说是决定一生荣枯的最重要的因素。教育如果不能启发一个人的理想、希望和意志，单单强调学生的兴趣，那是舍本逐末的办法。只有以启发理想为主、培养兴趣为辅时，兴趣才能成为教育上的一个重要因素。

在老式私塾里死背古书似乎乏味又愚蠢，但是背古书倒也有背古书的好处。一个人到了成年时，常常可以从背的古书里找到立身处事的指南针。在一个安定的社会里，一切守旧成风，行为的准则也很少变化。因此我觉得我国的老式教学方法似乎已足以应付当时的实际需要。自然，像我家乡的那个私塾当然是个极端的例子，那只有给小孩子添些无谓的苦难。我怕许多有前途的孩子，在未发现学问的重要以前就给吓跑了。

在我的家塾里，课程里根本没有运动或体育这个项目。小孩子们不许拔步飞跑，他们必须保持"体统"一步一步慢慢地走。吃过中饭以后，我们得马上练字。我们简直被磨得毫无朝气。

话虽如此，小孩子还是能够自行设法来满足他们嬉戏的本能。如果先生不在，家塾可就是我们的天下了。有时候我们把书桌搬在一起，拼成一个戏台在上面演戏，椅子板凳就成了舞台上的道具。有时候我们就玩捉迷藏。有一次，我被蒙上眼睛当瞎子，刚巧先生回来了，其余的孩子都偷偷地溜了，我轻而易举地就抓到一个人——我的先生。当我发现闯了祸时，我简直吓昏了。到现在想起这件事尚有余悸。

春天来时，放了学我们就去放风筝，风筝都是我们自己做的。风筝的形式不一，有的像蜈蚣，有的像蝴蝶。夜晚时，我们把一串灯笼随着风筝送到天空，灯笼的数目通常是五个、七个或九个。比较小的孩子就玩小风筝，式样通常是蜻蜓、燕子或老鹰。"燕子"风筝设计得最妙，通常是成对的，一根细竹片的两端各扎一只"燕子"，然后把竹片摆平在风筝绳子上。送上天空以后，一对对的"燕子"随风摆动，活像比翼双飞的真燕子。有一次，我还看到好几只真的燕子在一只"燕子"风筝附近盘旋，大概是在找伴儿。

满天星斗的夏夜，村子里的小孩子们就捉萤火虫玩儿。有些小孩子则宁愿听大人们讲故事。讲故事的大人，手中总是摇着一柄大蒲扇，一方面为了驱暑，一方面也是为了驱逐纠缠不清的蚊子。口中衔旱烟杆，旁边放着小茶壶，慢条斯理地叙述历史人物的故事、改朝换代的情形，以及村中的掌故。

大人告诉我们，大约二百五十年前，清兵入关推翻了明朝，盗贼蜂起，天下大乱，但是我们村中却安谧如恒。后来圣旨到了村里，命令所有的男人按照满洲鞑子的发式，剃去头顶前面的头发，而在后脑勺上留起辫子。男子听了如同晴天霹雳，女人们则急得哭了，剃头匠奉派到村子里强制执行，他们是奉旨行事，如果有人抗旨不肯剃头，就有杀头的危险。留头究竟比留发重要，二者既然不可兼得，大家也就只好乖乖地伸出脖子，任由剃头匠剃发编辫了。当然，后来大家看惯了，也就觉得无所谓，但是初次剃发留辫子的时候，那样子看起来一定是很滑稽的。……

从这位讲故事的长者口中，我们总算学到了一点历史，那是在家塾中学不到的。此外，我们还得到一点关于人类学的传说。故事是这样的：

几万年以前，我们的祖先也像猴子一样长着尾巴。那时的人可说介于人与猿猴之间。人猿年岁长大以后，他的尾巴就渐渐变为黄色。人猿的尾巴共有十节，十节中如有九节变黄，他就知道自己快要死了。于是他就爬到窑洞里深居简出，结果就死在窑洞里面。再经过几千年以后，人的尾巴掉了，所以现在的人都没有尾巴，但是尾巴的痕迹仍旧存在。不信，你可以顺着背脊骨往下摸，尾巴根儿还是可以摸得到的。

下面是一则关于技击的故事：

一位学徒在一家米店前卖米。在没有生意的时候，这位学徒就抓着米粒玩儿，他一把一把地把米抓起来，然后又一把一把地把米掷回米筐里。有一天，一位和尚来化米，那位学徒不但没有拿米给和尚，反而抓了几颗米掷到和尚脸上。想不到那几颗米竟然颗颗深陷到和尚的皮肉里面去了。和尚似乎不生气，反而向那位学徒深深一鞠躬，双手合什，念了一声"南无阿弥陀佛"就走了。

七天之后，一位拳师经过村里，他看到米店学徒脸色苍白，就问学徒究竟是怎么回事。学徒把和尚化米的事说了，拳师听了不禁摇头叹息："啊呀，你怎么可得罪他呢？他是当今武林首屈一指的人物呀！他在向你鞠躬的时候，你已经受了致命的内伤，不出七七四十九天，你就

活不成了！幸好我还有药可以给你医治，不过你要赶快躲开，永远不要再撞上这位和尚。四十九天之后他还会再来的。赶快备口棺木，放几块砖头在棺材里，假装你已经死了入殓待葬就是了。"

四十九天之后，和尚果然又来找学徒了。人们告诉他学徒已经死了。和尚叹口气说："可怜！可怜！"和尚要看看棺材，大家就带他去看，他用手轻轻地把棺盖从头至尾抚摸一遍，念了一声"南无阿弥陀佛"就走了。和尚走了之后，大家打开棺盖一看，里面的砖头已经全部粉碎。

小孩子们全都竖起耳朵听这些故事，这些故事就是我们课外知识的主要来源之一。

我们家塾里的先生，前前后后换了好几个。其中之一是位心地仁厚然而土头土脑的老学究。他的命运多舛，屡次参加府试都没有考上秀才，最后只好死心塌地教私塾。他的脸团团如满月，身材矮胖，一副铜框眼镜老是低低地滑到鼻梁上，两只眼睛就打从眼镜上面看人。他没有留须，鼻子下面却养着一撮蓬松的灰色胡子。碰到喝蛋花汤的日子，他的胡子上常常挂着几片黄蛋花。他的故事多得说不尽，简直是一部活的百科全书。但是他的文才很差，我想这或许就是他屡试不中的缘故。不过人很风趣，善于笑谑。他在有些事情上非常健忘，看过朋友回到家塾时，不是忘了雨伞，就是丢了扇子。老是这样丢三落四究竟不是事，于是他就把他出门时必带的东西开了个清单：烟管、雨伞、毛巾、扇。每当他告辞回家时，他就念一遍："烟管、雨伞、毛巾、扇。"冬天不需要带扇子的时候，他也照样要按清单念扇子。有时候他也记得根本没有带扇子出门，有时却仍然到处找扇子，他的朋友和学生就在暗中窃笑。

我童年时的知识范围，可以说只局限于四书五经，以及私塾先生和村中长辈所告诉我的事。我背得出不少的古书，也记得很多的故事，因此我的童年教育可以说主要的是记忆工作。幸而我生长在乡村，可以从大自然获得不少的知识和启发。有一次，我注意到生长的皂荚树上的甲虫头上长着鹿角一样的角，这些角和枝上的刺长得一模一样，人家告诉我，这些甲虫是树上长出来的，因此也就和母体长得很像。不过我总觉得有点相信不过。我心里想，如果一棵树真能生下甲虫，那末甲虫产下的卵也就应该可以作皂荚树的种籽了。甲虫卵既然种不出皂荚树，那么甲虫的角和皂荚树的刺这样相像一定另有原因。后来我看到一只鸟在皂荚树上啄虫吃，但是这只鸟对于身旁长着鹿角的甲虫却视而不见。于是我恍然大悟，原来甲虫的角是摹拟着刺而生的，目的是保护自己以免被鸟儿啄死。

河汊的两岸长着许多桕树，桕子可以榨油制蜡烛，因此桕树的土名就叫蜡烛树。冬天里农夫们用稻草把树干裹起来，春天到了，就把稻草取下烧掉。一般人相信，这种办法可以产生一种神秘的力量杀死寄生虫。事实上这件事毫无神奇之处，只要我们在树干上扎上足够的稻草，寄生虫就只好在稻草上产卵，烧掉稻草等于毁掉虫卵，寄生虫也就无法繁殖了。

在我童年时代里，这类对自然的粗浅研究的例子很多，举了前面的两个例子，我想也就够了。

由此可见我的童年教育共有三个来源。第一是在私塾里念的古书，来自古书的知识，一方面是立身处世的指针，另一方面也成为后来研究现代社会科学的基础。第二个知识来源是听故事，这使我在欣赏现代文学方面奠立了基础。第三个知识来源是对自然的粗浅研究，不过在这种粗浅研究的根基上却可以移接现代科学的幼苗。如果我生长在草木稀少的大城市里，那我势将失去非常重要的自然训练的机会，我的一生可能完全改观。每一个小孩子所具备的感受力、观察力、好奇心和理解力等等天赋，都可能被我童年所受的全凭记忆的传统训练所窒息。

我得承认，我并没有像某些同学那样用功读书，因为我不喜欢死记，我愿意观察、触摸、理解。我的先生们认为这是我的不幸、我的个性上的祸根。

我喜欢玩，喜欢听故事。我喜欢打破砂锅问到底，使大人感到讨厌。我喜欢看着稻田里的青蛙捉蚱蜢，或者鹅鸭在河里戏水。我欣赏新篁解箨。我的先生认为这些癖好都是祸根。我自己也相信将来不会有出息。但是命运是不可捉摸的，我的这些祸根后来竟成为福因，而先生们认定的某些同学的福因结果都证明是祸根。那些好学生后来有的死于肺痨，有的成为书呆，在西化潮流横扫中国时无法适应日新月异的环境而落伍了。

家庭影响

童年时代和青春时代的可塑性最大，因而家庭影响往往有决定性的作用。这时期中所养成的习惯，不论好坏，将来都很难根除。大致说来，我所受到的家庭影响是良好而且健全的。

我的父亲是位小地主，而且是上海当地几家钱庄的股东。祖父留给父亲的遗产相当可观，同时父亲生活俭朴，因此一家人一向用不着为银钱操心。父亲为人忠厚而慷慨，蒋村的人非常敬重他，同时也受到邻村人士的普遍崇敬。他自奉俭约，对公益事业却很慷慨，常常大量捐款给慈善机构。

他从来没有说过一句存心骗人的话，因此与他交往的人全都信任他的话。他相信风水和算命。同时他又相信行善积德可以感召神明，使行善者添福增寿，因此前生注定的命运也可以因善行而改变。我父亲的道德人品对我的影响的确很大，我唯一的遗憾是没有好好学到父亲的榜样。

我的母亲是位很有教养而且姿容美丽的女人。我童年时对她的印象已经有点模糊了。我记得她能够弹七弦古琴，而且能够抚琴幽歌。她最喜欢唱的一支歌，叫做"古琴引"，词为：音音音，尔负心。真负心，辜负我，到如今。记得当年低低唱，千千斟，一曲值千金。如今放我枯墙阴，秋风芳草白云深，断桥流水过故人。……切切，冷冷清清，……切切，冷冷清清。

有人说：像我母亲那样青春美貌的妇人唱这样悲切的歌，是不吉利的。

母亲弹琴的书斋，屋后长着一棵几丈高的大樟树。离樟树不远的地方种着一排竹子，这排竹子也就成为我家的篱笆。竹丛的外面围绕着一条小河。大樟树的树荫下长着一棵紫荆花和一棵香团树，但是这两棵树只能在大樟树扶疏的枝叶之间争取些微的阳光。母亲坐在客厅里，可以谛听小鸟的啭唱，也可以听到鱼儿戏水的声音。太阳下山时，平射过来的阳光穿过竹丛把竹影子投映在窗帘上，随风飘动。书斋的墙上满是名家书画。她的嵌着白玉的古琴则安放在长长的红木琴几上，琴几的四足则雕着凤凰。

她去世以后，客厅的布置一直保留了好几年没有变动。她的一张画像高悬在墙的中央。但是母亲已经不在了！她用过的古琴用一块软缎盖

着，仍旧放在红木琴几上。我有时不禁要想像自己就是那个饮泣孤幽幽低诉的古琴。

我母亲去世时还很年轻。我看到母亲穿着华丽的绣花裙袄躺在棺里，裙袄外面罩一个长长的红绸披风，一直盖到足踝，披风上缀着大红的头兜，只有她的脸露在外面，一颗很大的珍珠衬着红头兜在她额头发出闪闪的亮光。

我的继母是位治家很能干的主妇，待人也很和气，但不久也去世，此后父亲也就不再续弦了。

我的祖父当过上海某银庄的经理。太平天国时（一八五一——一八六四）祖父在上海旧城设了一个小钱摊，后来钱摊发展为小钱庄，进而成为头等钱庄。这种钱庄是无限责任的机构，做些信用贷款的生意。墨西哥鹰洋传到中国成为银两的辅币以后，洋钱渐渐受到国人的欢迎。后来流通渐广，假币也跟着比例增加，但是钱庄里的人只要在指尖上轻轻地把两块银元敲敲，他们就能够辨别那个是真，那个是假，我祖父的本领更使一般钱庄老板佩服，他一眼就能看出哪个是真的，哪个是假。

不幸他在盛年时伤了一条腿，后来严重到必须切去，祖父也就因为血液中毒辞世。父亲当时还只有十二岁左右，祖父给他留下了七千两银子，在当时说起来，这已经是一笔相当大的遗产了。父亲成了无告的孤儿，就归他未来的丈人照顾。由于投资得当，调度谨慎，这笔财产逐渐增加，三十年之后，已经合到七万两银子。

从上面这一点家庭历史里，读者不难想像我的家庭一定在早年就已受到西方的影响。

父亲很有点发明的头脑。他喜欢自己设计，或者画出图样来，然后指示木匠、铁匠、铜匠、农夫或篾匠按照尺寸照样打造。他自己设计过造房子，也实验过养蚕、植桑、造枪（照着西方一种过时了的式样），而且按着他的想像制造过许多别的东西。最后他想出一个打造"轮船"的聪明办法，但是他的"轮船"却是不利用蒸汽的。父亲为了视察业务，常常需要到上海去。他先坐桨划的木船到宁波，然后从宁波趁轮船到上海。他常说："坐木船从蒋村到宁波要花三天两夜，但是坐轮船从宁波到上海，路虽然远十倍，一夜之间就到了。"因此他就画了一个蓝图，预备建造一艘具体而微的轮船。

木匠和造船匠都被找来了。木匠奉命制造水轮，造船匠则按照我父亲的计划造船，隔了一个月，船已经造得差不多。小"轮船"下水的那一天，许多人跑来参观，大家看了这艘新奇的"轮船"都赞不绝口。"轮

船"停靠在我家附近的小河里，父亲雇了两位彪形大汉分执木柄的两端来推动水轮。"轮船"慢慢开始在水中移动时，岸上围观的人不禁欢呼起来。不久这只船的速度也逐渐增加。但是到了速度差不多和桨划的船相等时，水手们再怎样出力，船的速度也不增加了。乘客们指手划脚，巴不得能使船驶得快一点，有几位甚至亲自动手帮着转水轮。但是这只船似乎很顽固，始终保持原来的速度不增加。

父亲把水轮修改了好几次，希望使速度增加。但是一切努力终归白费。更糟的是船行相当距离以后，水草慢慢缠到水轮上，而且愈积愈多，最后甚至连转都转不动了。父亲叹口气说："唉！究竟还是造轮船的洋人有办法。"

那条"轮船"最后改为普通桨划的船。但是船身太重，划也划不动。几年之后，我们发现那条船已经弃置在岸上朽烂腐败，船底长了厚厚的一层青苔。固然这次尝试是失败了，父亲却一直想再来试一下，后来有人告诉他瓦特和蒸汽机的故事，他才放弃了造船的雄心。他发现除了轮船的外表之外，还有更深奥的原理存在。从这时候起，他就一心一意要让他的儿子受现代教育，希望他们将来能有一天学会洋人制造神奇东西的"秘诀"。

这个造轮船的故事也正是中国如何开始向西化的途程探索前进的实例。不过，在人伦道德上父亲却一直不大赞成外国人的办法。固然也认为"外国人倒也同我们中国人一样地忠实、讲理、勤劳"，但是除此之外，他并不觉得外国人有什么可取的地方。话虽如此，他却也不反对他的孩子们学习外国人的生活方式和习惯。

我的先生却反对我父亲的看法。他说："'奇技淫巧'是要伤风败俗的。先圣以前不就是这样说过吗？"他认为只有朴素的生活才能保持高度的道德水准。我的舅父也持同样的看法。他用一张红纸写下他的人生观，又把红纸贴在书桌近旁的墙上："每日清晨一支香，谢天谢地谢三光。国有忠臣护社稷，家无逆子闹爷娘，……但愿处处田稻好，我虽贫时也不妨。"

我的舅父是位秀才，他总是携带着一根长长的旱烟杆，比普通的手杖还长。他经常用烟管的铜斗敲着砖地。他在老年时额头也不显皱纹，足见他心境宁静，身体健康，而且心满意足。他斯文有礼，我从来没有看到他发脾气。他说话很慢，但是很清楚，也从来不骂人。

山雨欲来风满楼

新年里常常有些小贩到村子里卖画片，有些画的是国家大事，有的则是戏中情节。有一年新春假期里，有一套新鲜的图画引起小孩子们的浓厚兴趣。这套五彩图画绘的是一八九四年（甲午年）中日战争的故事。其中有一张画的是渤海上的海战场面[1]，日本舰队中的一艘军舰已被几罐装满火药的大瓦罐击中起火，军舰正在下沉。图中还画着几百个同样的大瓦罐在海上漂浮。这种瓦罐，就是当时民间所通用的夜壶，夜间小便时使用的。另一幅画中则画着一群带了铐链的日本俘虏，有的则关在笼子里。中国打了大胜仗了！自然，那只是纸上的胜仗，但是我们小孩子们却深信不疑。后来我年纪大一点以后，我才知道我国实际上是被日本打败了，而且割让了台湾，我们的海军被日本消灭，高丽也被日本抢走了。短短九年之内，中国已经相继丧失了三个承认中国宗主权的外围国，最先是越南，继之是缅甸，现在又丢了高丽。

一个夏天的傍晚，一位临时雇工气喘如牛地从我父亲的书房里跑了出来。他说在书房里听到一阵叮当的声音，但是房里找不到人影。他说那一定是鬼在作怪。后来一追究，原来是时钟在报时。

从无可稽考的年代起，乡下人一直利用刀片敲击火石来取火，现在忽然有人从上海带来了几盒火柴。大人们对这种简便的取火方法非常高兴。小孩们也很开心，在黑暗的角落，手上火柴一擦，就可以发出萤火虫一样的光亮。火柴在当时叫"自来火"，因为一擦就着；也叫"洋火"，因为它是从外洋运进来的。

时钟实际上并无必要，因为在乡村里，时间算得再准也没有用处。早二三个钟头，迟二三个钟头又有什么关系？乡下人计时间是以天和月做单位的，并不以分成小时来计算。火柴其实也是奢侈品——用刀片火石不也是一直过得很好吗？至于煤油，那可又当别论了，煤油灯可以把黑夜照得如同白昼，这与菜油灯的昏暗灯光比起来真有天渊之别。

美孚洋行是把中国从"黑暗时代"导引到现代文明的执炬者。大家买火柴、时钟是出于好奇，买煤油却由于生活上的必要。但事情并不到此为止。煤油既然成为必需品，那末，取代信差的电报以及取代舢舨和帆船的轮船又何尝不是必需品呢？依此类推，必需的东西也就愈来愈多。

很少人能够在整体上发现细微末节的重要性。当我们毫不在意地玩着火柴或享受煤油灯的时候，谁也想不到是在玩火，这点星星之火终于

使全中国烈焰烛天。火柴和煤油是火山爆发前的迹象，这个"火山"爆发以后，先是破坏了蒋村以及其他村庄的和平和安宁，最后终于震撼了全中国。

基督教传教士曾在无意中把外国货品介绍到中国内地。传教士们不顾艰难险阻、瘴疠瘟疫甚至生命危险，遍历穷乡僻壤，去拯救不相信上帝的中国人的灵魂。他们足迹所至，随身携带的煤油、洋布、钟表、肥皂等等也就到了内地。一般老百姓似乎对这些东西比对福音更感兴趣。这些舶来品开拓了中国老百姓的眼界，同时也激起了国人对物质文明的向往。传教士原来的目的是传布耶稣基督的福音，结果却无意中为洋货开拓了市场。

我不是说传教士应对中国现代商业的成长负主要责任，但是他们至少在这方面担任了一个角色，而且是重要的一角，因为他们深入到中国内地的每一角落。主角自然还是西方列强的商船和兵舰。基督教传教士加上兵舰，终于逼使文弱的、以农为本的古老中国步上现代工商业的道路。

我曾经目睹买办阶级的成长以及士大夫阶级的没落。我自己也几乎参加了士大夫的行列，但是最后总算偷偷地溜掉了。所谓买办阶级，就是本国商人和外国商人之间的中国人。外国商人把货运到上海、天津等通商港埠，这些货品再通过买办，从大商埠转销到各城镇村庄。买办们在转手之间就可以大笔地赚钱，因此吃这一行饭的人也就愈来愈多。事业心比较强、际遇比较好的人，纷纷加入直接间接买卖外国货的新行业。有的人发大财，有的人则丰衣足食。际遇比较差的可就落了伍，有的依旧种田耕地，有的则守在旧行业里谋生。田地的出息有限，旧行业在外国竞争之下又一落千丈，于是旧有的经济制度很快地就开始崩溃了。结果是一大群人无可避免地失了谋生糊口的机会。这些不幸的人，一方面嫉妒新兴的暴发户，一方面又不满于旧日的行业，或者根本丧失了旧有的职业，结果就铤而走险。曹娥江大潮正在冲激着水闸，象征着即将破坏蒋村安宁的动乱正在奔腾澎湃。

一个秋天的下午，我正在田野里追逐嬉戏，忽然听到一阵紧急狂骤的锣声。敲锣的人一面狂奔着，一面高喊堤塘已经冲塌了，洪水正向村中漫过来。我拼命跑回家里，并把这消息告诉路上所碰到的一切人。

大家马上忙作一团。我们赶快准备好船只、木浴盆，以及所有可以浮得起来的东西，以便应付即将来临的灾难。有的人则决定爬到大树上去暂避。第二天早晨，洪水已经冲进我家的大门，水头像巨蟒一样奔进院子。到了中午时，小孩已经坐上浴盆，在大厅里划来划去了。

堤塘缺口终于用沙包堵住，曹娥江也不再泛滥了。洪水在我们村里以及邻近村庄停留约一星期，然后慢慢退到低地，最后随江河入海，同时卷走了所有的稻作。

大约一星期以后，一只大船在傍晚时分载着许多人向我们村庄划过来。这只船在我家附近停下，船上的人也纷纷离船上岸。我们为防意外，赶紧闭起大门。他们用大石头来捣大门，最后终于排闼而入。领头的人身材魁伟，显然孔武有力，辫子盘在头顶上。他带着一伙人走到天井里，高喊："我们肚子饿，我们要借粮。"其余人也就跟着呐喊助威。他们搜索了谷仓，但是没有马上动手搬；他们要"借"。最后经过隔壁一位农人的调停，他们"借"走了几担谷子以后，就回船启航了。这是随后发生的一连串变乱的首次警号。

性质相近然而比较严重的事件，接二连三地在邻村发生。开始时是"借"，随后就变质为抢劫。抢劫事件像野火一样到处蔓延，乡间微薄的官兵武力根本无法加以阻遏。而且抢粮食不能处以极刑，但是在那种情势下，恐怕只有极刑才能加以遏止，至少暂时不至如此猖獗。

"借粮"的事件一直延续至那年冬天。不久之后，杀人掳掠的暴行终于在孙庄首次发生。被害的孙君在上海有一爿生意兴隆的木行。孙君的父亲曾在上海承包"洋行"的营造工程而发了大财。

那是一个凛冽的冬夜，孙庄的人很早就躲到被窝去了。有人从窗子里发现黑暗中有一队火把正从大路上向孙庄移动。火把临近孙庄时，大家听到一阵枪声。强盗来了！强盗冲开孙家的大门，抢走了孙家所有的金银财帛——名贵的羊裘皮袄、金银器皿、珍珠宝石，无一幸免。他们并且掳走了孙君，把他绑在一根长竹竿的顶端，然后又把他压到河底。第二天孙家的人拖起竹竿才发现他的尸体。

抢劫的风潮迅速蔓延到各村庄。几百年来乡村人们所享受的和平与安宁，一夜之间丧失殆尽。我们没有一夜能够安稳地睡。我父亲从上海买来了手枪以及旧式的长枪。大家开始练习放枪，小孩子也不例外。我们拿鸟雀当活靶，因此连鸟雀都遭了殃。我们轮班睡觉，值班的人就负责守夜。一听到犬吠，我们就向空放枪警告盗匪，自然有时是虚惊，有时却的确把强盗吓跑了。为了节省弹药，我们常常在枪声中夹带些爆仗。

永远这样紧张下去究竟不是事。父亲最后无可奈何地带了一家大小搬到上海住下来。

我们搬家之前的两年内，我曾在绍兴继续我的学业。我还在家塾里

念书的时候，父亲曾经问我将来愿意做生意还是预备做官。我的两位哥哥都已经决定步入仕途。父亲要我决定之前，仔细考虑一番。

做官可以光宗耀祖，几百年来，年轻人无不心向往之。自然我也很希望将来能做官。在另一方面，新近发财的人可以享受新颖奇巧的外国货，这般人的生活也是一种强烈的引诱。名利之间的选择，多少与一个人思想中所已灌输进去的观念和理想有点关联。

我听人家说，我们中国人分为士、农、工、商四个阶级。虽然每一阶级在整个社会里都有特定的任务，士大夫都是统治阶级，因此也是最尊荣的一级，依照亚里士多德的主张，哲学家当为国王，所以我们可以说，哲人、学士如果做不到帝王，至少也应该是公卿、宰相。中国的贵族阶级除极少数例外，都不是世袭的，而是由于本身努力达到的。俗语说：秀才是宰相的根苗。如果我去经商，那么将来不就与功名无缘了吗？

因此我决心续求学问。自然，我当时对学问的意义并不十分了解；我只觉得那是向上层社会爬的阶梯。在我们村子里，农、工、商三类人都不稀罕。种田的不必说了，商人也不少。好多人在上海做生意，从上海带回来很多好玩的东西：小洋刀、哨子、皮球、洋娃娃、汽枪、手表等等，多不胜举。至于工匠，我们的一位族长就是木匠，他的儿子们也是的。一位远房叔叔是银匠，专门打造乡村妇女装饰的指环、手镯、钗簪之类。至于读书的人，那可不同了。凡是族人之中有功名的，家庙中都有一面金碧辉煌的匾额，举人以上的家庙前面还有高高的旗杆，悬挂他们的旗帜。我还记得有一天县太爷到邻村查办命案，他乘坐一顶四人扛抬的绿呢暖轿，红缨帽上缀着一颗金顶，胸前挂着一串朝珠。四名轿夫每人戴着一顶尖锥形的黑帽，帽顶插着一根鹅毛。暖轿前面有一对铜锣开道，县太爷所经之处，老百姓就得肃静回避。他是本县的父母官，我们老百姓的生命财产都得听他发落。他的权势怎么来的？读书呀！

于是我知道了读书人的地位，也知道做一名读书人的好处。他可以一级一级地往上爬，甚至有一天当了大官，还可以在北京皇宫里饮御赐香茗呢！像我这样的一位乡下孩子，足步向未逾越邻近的村镇，他希望读书做官应是很自然的事。我幼稚的心灵里，幻想着自己一天比一天神气，功名步步高升，中了秀才再中了举人，中了举人再中进士，终于有一天当了很大很大的官，比那位县知事要大得好多好多，身穿蟒袍，腰悬玉带，红缨帽上缀着大红顶子，胸前挂着长长的朝珠，显显赫赫地回到故乡，使村子里的人看得目瞪口呆。这些美丽的憧憬，在我眼前一幕幕展开，我的前程多么光明呀！只要我能用心熟读经书就行了。

我的童年教育虽然枯燥乏味，却也在我的思想里模模糊糊地留下学问重于一切的印象。政府官吏都是经过科举选拔的，但是只有有学问的人才有希望金榜题名。官吏受人敬重，是因为学问本身在中国普遍受人敬重的关系。

因此我最后决定努力向学，准备参加科举考试。父亲自然欣然同意，家塾的教育是不够的，因此父亲把我送到离村约四十里的绍兴府去进中西学堂，我的两位哥哥则已先我一年入学。我们是乘条又小又窄的河船去的。小船的一边是一柄长桨，是利用脚力来划的，另一边则是一柄用手操纵的短桨，作用等于船舵。沿岸我们看到许多纪念烈女节妇的牌坊。沿岸相隔相当的距离就有一个比较热闹的市镇。我们一大早动身，中途在一个大镇过了一夜，第二天下午就到了府城。

顾名思义，中西学堂教的不但是我国旧学，而且有西洋学科。这在中国教育史上还是一种新尝试。虽然先生解释得很粗浅，我总算开始接触西方知识了。在这以前，我对西洋的认识只是限于进口的洋货。现在我那充满了神仙狐鬼的脑子，却开始与思想上的舶来品接触了。

我在中西学堂里首先学到的一件不可思议的事是地圆学说。我一向认为地球是平的。后来先生又告诉我，闪电是阴电和阳电撞击的结果，并不是电神的镜子里发出来的闪光；雷的成因也相同，并非雷神击鼓所生。这简直使我目瞪口呆。从基本物理学我又学到雨是怎样形成的。巨龙在云端张口喷水成雨的观念只好放弃了。了解燃烧的原理以后，我更放弃了火神的观念。过去为我们所崇拜的神佛，像是烈日照射下的雪人，一个接着一个溶化。这是我了解一点科学的开端，也是我思想中怪力乱神信仰的结束。我在乡村里曾经养成研究自然的习惯，我喜欢观察，喜欢说理，虽然有时自己根本就不知道其中的深意。这种习惯在中西学堂里得到继续发展的机会。我还是像过去一样强于理解而不善记忆，凡是合理的新观念我都乐于接受，对记忆中的旧观念则弃如敝屣。

中西学堂的课程大部分还是属于文科方面的：中国文学、经书和历史。记忆的工作相当多，记忆既非我之所长，我的考试成绩也就经常在中等以下。我在学校中显得庸庸碌碌，较之当时头角峥嵘的若干学生，显有逊色。教师们对我的评价如此，我自己也做如是观。

校中外国语分为英文、日文、法文三组。我先选修英文，后来又加选日文。我的日文教师是中川先生，我从他那里学到了正确的日文发音。英文是一位中国老师教的，他的英语发音错得一塌糊涂，后来我千辛万苦才算改正过来。他一开始就把我们导入歧途，连字母发音都咬不准。最可笑的是他竟把字母z念成"乌才"。

一八九八年，我在学校里听到一个消息，说是光绪皇帝听了康有为和梁启超的话，已经决定废科举，办学校。这使老一辈的学人大惊失色。但是康、梁的维新运动有如昙花一现，不久慈禧太后再度垂帘听政，康有为和梁启超亡命日本。中国又回到老路子，我放假回到乡村时，看到大街的墙上张贴着黄纸缮写的圣旨，一面是汉文，一面是满文，写的是通缉康、梁的命令。看起来，维新运动就此寿终正寝了。这个维新运动，以后叫做戊戌政变[5]，是中国近代思想史的一个转折点。虽不为革命党人所乐道，而历史的事实却不能因政见不同而抹杀的。我记得梁氏逝世的消息传到南京以后，蔡孑民先生和我两人曾在中央政治会议提请国民政府明令表扬其功业。适值胡展堂先生为主席，一见提案，面孔涨得通红，便开口大骂。于是我们自动把提案取消了事。

绍兴的名胜古迹很多，它原是古代越国的都城。越王勾践在纪元前四九四年被以苏州为京城的吴王夫差所击败。勾践定下"二十年计划"，卧薪尝胆，生聚教训，终于在纪元前四七三年击败骄奢淫逸的吴王夫差，复兴越国。

勾践卧薪尝胆、雪耻复国的故事，差不多已经成为家喻户晓的格言。这则历史教训使一切在公私事业上遭受挫折的人重新燃起希望，它说明了忍耐、勇气、刻苦和详密计划的重要性。我在勾践卧薪尝胆的故址领受这个历史教训，自然印象特别深刻。

南宋（纪元一一二七——一二七六）的高宗也曾在绍兴驻节。当时金兵南侵，宋康王渡江南迁，京城也从开封迁到杭州，离绍兴府城不远，还有南宋皇帝的陵寝。

绍兴师爷是全国皆知的。全国大小衙门，几乎到处有绍兴师爷插足，绍兴老酒更是名震遐迩。绍兴府更出过许多历史上有名的学者、哲学家、诗人和书法家。绍兴府包括八个县，我的故乡余姚便是其中一县。

绍兴的风景也很有名，这里有迂回曲折的小溪、桥梁密布的小河、奔腾湍急的大江、平滑如镜的湖泊，以及蜿蜒起伏的丘陵，山光水色使学人哲士留连忘返。

我在绍兴读了两年书，知识大增。我开始了解一八九四年中日战争的意义：日本战胜我国是吸收了西洋学术的结果。光绪皇帝的维新运动是受了这次失败的刺激。中国预备学敌人的榜样，学校里有日文课程就是这个道理。

在绍兴的两年学校生活结束以后，乡村里盗警频仍，使我们无法再

安居下去。于是父亲带了我们一家迁到上海。我的大哥已在搬家的前一年亡故。到了上海以后，我暂时进了一家天主教学校继续念英文，教我们英文的是一个法国神父。我心里想，这位英文先生既然是外国人，发音一定很准确。他的发音与我过去那位中国先生确乎迥然不同，过去那位先生把"兄弟"念成"布朗德"，现在的法国先生却教我们念"布拉达"。后来我才发现那不是英国音或美国音，而是法国音。不过我在这个天主教学校里的时间不久。因为一时找不到合适的学校，父亲就让我二哥到一位美国太太那里学英文，二哥又把学到的英文转授给我，因此二哥就成为学英文的"掮客"了。我对这办法很不满意，但是父亲认为这是很聪明的安排，因为这样可以省钱。

上海在一八九九年前后还是个小城，居留的外国人也不过三四千，但是这些洋人却都趾高气扬，自视甚高。市政倒办得不错，街道宽大清洁，有电灯，也有煤气灯。我觉得洋人真了不起，他们居然懂得电的秘密。他们发明了蒸汽机，又能建造轮船。他们在我的心目中已经成为新的神，原先心目中的神佛在我接受科学知识之后已经烟消云散了。但是有时候他们又像是魔鬼，因为他们不可一世的神气以及巡捕手中的木棒使我害怕，外滩公园门口挂着一个牌子写着："犬与华人不得入内"。犬居华人之上，这就很够人受的了。在我的心目中，外国人是半神半鬼的怪物，很像三头六臂的千手观音，三只手分别拿着电灯、轮船、洋娃娃，另外三只手分别拿着巡棍、手枪、鸦片。从某一边看，他是天使；从另一边看，他却是魔鬼。

中国人对西方文明的看法总不出这两个极端，印象因人而异，也因时而异。李鸿章看到西方文明丑恶狰狞的一面，因此决定建立海军，以魔鬼之矛攻魔鬼之盾。光绪帝看到西方文明光明和善的一面，因此想建立新式的学校制度。慈禧太后和义和团看到可憎的一面，想用中国的陈旧武器驱逐魔鬼。麻烦的是这位怪物的黑暗面和光明面是不可分的。它有时像是佛法无边的神，有时又像狰狞凶残的魔鬼，但是它凭藉的力量是相同的。我们要就不接受西方文明，要接受就得好坏一齐收下。日本就是一个很好的榜样。没奈何，我们只好向我们过去的敌人学习了。

我们在上海住了将近两年。有一天晚上，我们听说慈禧太后已经命令各省总督把所有的外国人一齐杀光。于是我们连夜举家迁离上海，那是一九○○年的事，也就是义和团战争的开始。义和团的人自称能用符咒对付刀枪子弹，拳术也是训练节目之一。因此，义和团有拳匪之称。他们预备破坏一切外国制造的东西，同时杀死所有使用外国货的人。他们要把运进这些可恶的外国货而阻绝他们生路的洋人统统杀光。把这些害人的外国货介绍到中国来的教会、学校、传教士、基督徒都罪无可

谊。用刀剑、法术把这些人杀光吧！放把火把外国人的财产统统烧光！

朝廷本身也想把康有为、梁启超介绍进来的外国思想一扫而光，免得有人再搞什么维新运动。义和团要消灭物质的外国货，而慈禧太后则想消灭精神上的外国货。不论是物质上的或者精神上的，反正都是外国货，都是外国人造的孽。杀呀！杀光外国人！工业革命开始时，英国人曾经捣毁了威胁他们生活的机器。义和团做得更彻底，他们要同时破坏血肉构成的"机器"。

南方的人对外国人的看法稍有不同，他们欢迎外国货，他们不觉得外国货是盗匪的起因，他们认为毛病在于清室的苛捐杂税以及官吏的腐败无能。他们要革命。

北方的老百姓和朝廷，认为外国人杜绝了他们的生路，那是对的。但是他们想藉破坏血肉构成的"机器"来解决问题却错了。南方的人认为朝廷本身的腐败是苦难唯一的原因，想不到更大的原因是洋货进口。推理是错了，但是展开革命的行动却是对的。历史似乎包括一连串的意外事件、不合逻辑的推理和意想不到的结果。历史上的风云人物似乎不过是命运之神摆布的工具而已。

外国人咒骂中国的盗匪，殊不知盗匪正是他们自己的货品所引起的。在我的童年时代里，大家都害怕老虎、鬼怪和强盗，但是实际上并没有真的老虎、鬼怪或强盗。我们只在图画书中看到这些东西。忽然之间，强盗在实际生活中出现了，好像是老虎冲进你的居室，也像是鬼怪在你背后紧追不舍。最后我们所惧怕的是强盗，老虎和鬼怪却都被遗忘了。

[1] 甲午海战发生在黄海海域。

[5] 此处应为“戊戌变法”，亦称“百日维新”。“戊戌政变”是指以慈禧太后为首的守旧派势力向以光绪帝为首的维新派势力发动的政变。

继续就学

在我十五岁的时候，父亲又带我回到故乡。我们怕义和团之乱会蔓延到上海，因此就回到乡下去住。在蒋村住了不久，乡下土匪愈闹愈凶，又迁到余姚城里，我在余姚县里的一所学校里念英文和算术，另外还请了一位家庭教师教中文。

大概一年之后，我到了杭州。杭州是浙江的省会，也是我国蚕丝工业的中心和五大茶市之一。杭州的绸缎和龙井茶是全国闻名的。

"上有天堂，下有苏杭"，杭州的风景更是尽人皆知。城东南有杭州湾的钱塘大潮；城西有平滑如镜的西湖，湖边山麓到处是古寺别墅。马哥·孛罗游记中就曾盛道杭州的风景。杭州是吴越和南宋的故都，南宋曾在这里定都一百五十年之久，因此名胜古迹很多。墨人骚客更代有所出。湖滨的文澜阁收藏有四库全书及其他要籍，正是莘莘学子潜心研究的好去处。

我在这个文化城中瞎打瞎撞，进了一所非常落伍的学校。校长是位木匠出身的美国传教士。我以为在这所教会学校里，至少可以学好英文，事实上却大谬不然。这位传教士抱着一股宗教热忱来到中国，在主持这所教会学校之前，曾经在我的故乡绍兴府传过教。因为他只教《圣经》，我也摸不清他肚子里究竟有多少学问。在我们学生的心目中，士、农、工、商，士为首，对木匠出身的人多少有点轻视。我的英文教师更是俗不可耐的人物。他入教不久，灵魂也许已经得救，但是那张嘴却很能够使他进拔舌地狱。我为了找位英文好教师，曾经一再转学，结果总使我大失所望。

在这所教会学校里，学生们每天早晨必须参加礼拜。我们唱的是中文赞美诗，有些顽皮的学生就把赞美诗改编为打油诗，结果在学校里传诵一时。虽然我也参加主日学校和每天早晨的礼拜，我心灵却似紧闭双扉的河蚌，严拒一切精神上的舶来品。我既然已经摆脱了神仙鬼怪这一套，自然不愿再接受类似的东西。而且从那时起，我在宗教方面一直是个"不可知"论者，我认为与其求死后灵魂的永恒，不如在今世奠立不朽根基。这与儒家的基本观念刚好符合。

校园之内唯一像样的建筑是礼拜堂和校长官舍。学生则住在鸽笼一样的土房里，上课有时在这些宿舍里，有时在那间破破烂烂的饭厅里。

大概是出于好奇吧，学生们常常喜欢到校长官舍附近去散步。校长

不高兴学生走进他的住宅，不速之客常常被撵出来。有一次，一位强悍的学生说什么也不肯走开，结果与一位路过的教员发生冲突。

围观的人渐聚渐多。那位学生说先生掴他的耳光，同时放声大哭，希望引起群众的同情。这场纷扰遂即像野火一样波及全校。学生会多数决议，要求校长立即开革那位打人的教员。校长断然拒绝学生的要求，群众的情绪愈涨愈高。校长冷然告诉学生说：如果他们不喜欢这个学校，就请他们卷铺盖。不到两个小时，全体学生都跑光了。

我所受的教会学校教育就此结束。但我毫不后悔，我巴不得早一天离开这个学校。

或许有人要问：为什么这样的事会突然发生呢？其实这不只是学生桀傲难驯的表现而已，那耳光不过是导火线。这类事件也绝不局限于这所小小的教会学校，学生反抗学校当局已经成为全国的普遍风气。

一年以前，上海南洋公学首先发生学潮。一位学生放了一瓶墨水在教授的坐椅上，教授不注意一屁股坐了上去，弄得全身墨迹。教授盛怒之下报告了校长，接着几个嫌疑较大的学生被开除。这引起了学生会和学校当局之间的冲突，学生会方面还有许多教授的支持。结果全体学生离开学校。

年轻的一代正在转变，从驯服转变为反抗。一般老百姓看到中国受列强的侵略，就怪清廷颟顸无能；受到国父革命理论熏陶和鼓励的学生们则热血沸腾，随时随地准备发作。首当其冲的就是学校当局。

浙江省立高等学堂接着起了风潮。起因是一位学生与来校视察巡抚的一名轿夫发生龃龉，结果全校罢课，学生集体离开学校。类似的事件相继在其他学校发生，卒使许多学府弦歌中辍。学潮并且迅速蔓延到全国。

思想较新的人同情罢课的学生，斥责学校当局过于专制；思想守旧的人则同情学校当局，严词谴责学生。不论是同情学生或者是同情学校当局的，似乎没有人体会到这就是革命的前夕，从学生初闹学潮开始，到一九一一年辛亥革命成功、中华民国诞生为止，其间不过短短八年而已。

这种反抗运动可说是新兴的知识分子对一向控制中国的旧士大夫阶级的反抗，不但是知识上的反抗，而且是社会的和政治的反抗。自从强调物竞天择、适者生存的进化论以及其他科学观念输入中国以后，年轻一代的思想已经起了急剧的变化。十八世纪的个人观念与十九世纪的工

业革命同时并临：个人自由表现于对旧制度的反抗；工业革命则表现于使中国旧行业日趋式微的舶来品。中国的旧有制度正在崩溃，新的制度尚待建设。

全国普遍显现扰攘不安。贫穷、饥馑、瘟疫、贪污、国际知识的贫乏以及外国侵略的压力都是因素，青年学生不过是这场战乱中的急先锋而已，使全国学府遍燃烽火的，不是一只无足轻重的墨水瓶，不是一个在教会学校里被刮了耳光的学生，也不是一次学生与轿夫之间的龃龉而已。

我们离开那所教会学校以后，我们的学生会自行筹办了一个学校，取名"改进学社"。这个名称是当时著名的学者章炳麟给我们起的。这位一代大儒，穿了和服木屐，履声郭橐，溢于堂外。他说，改进的意思是改良、进步。这当然是我们愿意听的。我们的妄想是，希望把这个学校办得和牛津大学或者剑桥大学一样，真是稚气十足。但是不久我们就尝到幻灭的滋味。不到半年，学生就渐渐散了，结果只剩下几个被选担任职务的学生。当这几位职员发现再没有选举他们的群众时，他们也就另觅求学之所去了。

我自己进了浙江高等学堂。我原来的名字"梦熊"已经入了闹事学生的黑名单，因此就改用"梦麟"注册。我参加入学考试，幸被录取。当时的高等学堂，正当罢课学潮之后重新改组，是一向有"学人之省"之称的浙江省的最高学府。它的前身是求是书院。"求是"是前辈学者做学问的一贯态度。求是书院和绍兴的中西学堂有很多相似的地方，课程中包括一些外国语和科学科目。后来新学科愈来愈见重要，所占时间也愈来愈多，求是书院终于发展为一种新式的学校，同时改名为浙江高等学堂。

这个学堂既然办在省城，同时又由政府负担经费，它自然而然地成为全省文化运动的中心。它的课程和中西学堂很相似，不过功课比较深，科目比较多，先生教得比较好，全凭记忆的工作比较少。它已粗具现代学校的规模。

我自从进了绍兴的中西学堂以后，一直在黑暗中摸索。看到东边有一点闪霎的亮光，我就摸到东边；东边亮光一闪而逝以后，我又连忙转身扑向西边。现在进了浙江高等学堂，眼前豁然开朗，对一切都可以看得比较真切了。我开始读英文原版的世界史。开始时似乎很难了解外国人民的所作所为，正如一个人试图了解群众行动时一样困难。后来我才慢慢地了解西方文化的发展。自然那只是一种粗枝大叶而且模模糊糊的了解，但是这一点了解已经鼓起我对西洋史的兴趣，同时奠定了进一步研究的基础。

在浙江高等学堂里所接触的知识非常广泛。从课本里，从课外阅读，以及师友的谈话中，我对中国以及整个世界的知识日渐增长。我渐渐熟悉将近四千年的中国历史，同时对于历代兴衰的原因也有了相当的了解。这是我后来对西洋史从事比较研究的一个基础。

近代史上值得研究的问题就更多：首先是一八九四年使台湾割让于日本的中日战争，童年时代所看到的彩色图画曾使我对它产生错误的印象；其次是一八九八年康有为和梁启超的维新运动，那是我在中西学堂读书时所发生的；再其次是一九OO年的义和团战争，我在上海时曾经听到许多关于义和团的消息；然后是一九O四年的日俄战争，我在杭州念书时正在进行。每一件事都有丰富的资料足供研究而且使人深省。

我们也可以用倒卷珠帘的方式来研究历史：一八八五年的中法战争使中国丧失了越南；[1] 太平天国始于一八五一年而终于一八六四年，其间还出现过戈登将军和华德将军的常胜军；一八四O年鸦片战争的结果使中国失去了香港：如果再往上追溯，明末清初有耶稣会教士来华传教，元朝有马哥·孛罗来华游历；再往上可以追溯到中国与罗马帝国的关系。

梁启超在东京出版的《新民丛报》是份综合性的刊物，内容从短篇小说到形而上学，无所不包。其中有基本科学常识，有历史，有政治论著，有自传，有文学作品。梁氏简洁的文笔深入浅出，能使人了解任何新颖或困难的问题。当时正需要介绍西方观念到中国，梁氏深入浅出的才能尤其显得重要。梁启超的文笔简明、有力、流畅，学生们读来裨益非浅，我就是千千万万受其影响的学生之一。我认为这位伟大的学者，在介绍现代知识给年轻一代的工作上，其贡献较同时代的任何人为大。他的《新民丛报》是当时每一位渴求新知识的青年的智慧源泉。

在政治上，他主张在清廷主持之下进行立宪维新。这时候，革命党人也出版了许多刊物，宣传孙中山先生的激烈思想。中山先生认为共和政体胜于君主立宪，同时他认为中国应由中国人自己来统治，而不应由腐败无能的满洲人来统治。浙籍学生在东京也出版了一个定名《浙江潮》的月刊。这个杂志因为攻击清廷过于激烈，以致与若干类似的杂志同时被邮政当局禁止寄递。但是日本政府却同情中国留学生的革命运动，因此这些被禁的杂志仍旧不断地从日本流入上海租界。因此上海就成为革命思想的交易所，同情革命的人以及营求厚利者再从上海把革命书刊走私到其他城市。

浙江高等学堂本身就到处有宣传革命的小册子、杂志和书籍，有的描写清兵入关时的暴行，有的则描写清廷的腐败，有的则描写清廷对满

人和汉人的不平等待遇。学生们如饥似渴地读着这些书刊，几乎没有任何力量足以阻止他们。

事实上，清廷腐败无能的实例，在校门之外就俯拾即是。杭州城墙之内就有一个满洲人住的小城，里面驻扎着监视汉人的"旗兵"。两百多年前，政府特地划出这个城中之城作为驻扎杭州的"旗兵"的营房。这些旗兵的子子孙孙一直就住在这里，名义上仍旧是军人。满汉通婚原则上是禁止的，但是满人如果愿意娶汉人为妻是准许的，实际上这类婚姻很少就是了。太平军围城时，杭州的旗人全部被杀。内战结束以后，原来驻扎湖北荆州的一部分旗兵移驻杭州，来填补空缺。这些从荆州来的旗人当时还有健在的，而且说的是湖北话。虽然他们多数已经去世，但是他们的子女仍旧住在那里，而且说他们父辈所说的方言。道地杭州人很容易察觉这些旗人的湖北口音。但是从第三代开始，他们就说杭州的本地方言了。

当时的浙江高等学堂里有十名旗人子弟。这几位青年人对学校中的革命运动装聋作哑，应付得很得当。其中一人原是蒙古人的后裔，他甚至告诉我，他也赞成革清朝的命，因为他虽然是旗"兵"，却不是满人。

这些所谓旗兵，实际上绝对不是兵；他们和老百姓毫无区别。他们在所谓"兵营"里娶妻养子，对冲锋陷阵的武事毫无所知。唯一的区别是他们有政府的俸饷而无所事事，他们过的是一种寄生生活，因之身体、智力和道德都日渐衰退。他们经常出入西湖湖滨的茶馆，有的则按当时的习尚提着鸟笼到处游荡，一般老百姓都敬而远之。如果有人得罪他们，就随时有挨揍的危险。这些堕落、腐化、骄傲的活榜样，在青年学生群中普遍引起憎恨的鄙夷。他们所引起的反感，比起革命宣传的效果只有过之而无不及。

我们从梁启超获得精神食粮，孙中山先生以及其他革命志士，则使我们的革命情绪不断增涨。到了重要关头，引发革命行动的就是这种情绪。后来时机成熟，理想和行动兼顾的孙中山先生终于决定性地战胜主张君主立宪的新士大夫阶级。

这就是浙江高等学堂的一般气氛。其他学校的情形也大都如此。我对这一切活动都感兴趣。我喜欢搜求消息，喜欢就所获得的资料加以思考分析，同时也喜欢使自己感情奔放，参加行动。但是我常常适可而止。为求万全，我仍旧准备参加科举考试。除了革命，科举似乎仍旧是参加政府工作的不二途径，并且我觉得革命似乎遥遥无期，而且困难重重。我有时候非常胆小而怕羞，有时候却又非常大胆而莽撞，因此我对自己的性格始终没有自信。所以我的行动常常很谨慎，在采取确切的行

动之前，喜欢先探索一下道路。尤其碰到岔路时，我总是考虑再三才能作决定。如果犹豫不决，我很可能呆坐道旁，想入非非。但是一旦作了决定，我必定坚持到底。我一生犯过许多错误，但没有犯不可挽回的错误，所以没有让时代潮流把我卷走。

[1] 1885年，中法签订《中法新约》（即《中法会订越南条约》），中国正式放弃对越南的宗主权。

参加郡试

郡试快到了。一天清早，我从杭州动身往绍兴去，因为我们那一区的郡试是在绍兴举行。行李夫用一根扁担挑起行李走出校门，我紧紧地跟在他的后面。扁担的一端系着一只皮箱和一只网篮，另一端是铺盖卷。走到校门口，碰到一位教师，他向我微微一笑，并祝我吉星高照。

穿过许多平坦的石板路，又穿过许多迂回狭窄的小巷，我们终于到了钱塘江边。渡船码头离岸约有一里路，我小心翼翼地踏上吱吱作响的木板通过一条便桥到达码头。渡船上有好几把笨重的木桨，风向对时也偶然张起帆篷。船行很慢，同时是逆水行驶，所以整整化了两个小时才渡过钱塘江。当时谁也想不到三十年之后竟有一条钢铁大桥横跨宽阔的江面，桥上还可以同时行驶火车和汽车。

上岸以后雇了一乘小轿。穿过绵亘数里的桑林，到达一个人烟稠密的市区，然后转船续向绍兴进发，船上乘客挤得像沙丁鱼。我们只能直挺挺地平躺着睡，如果你缩一缩腿，原来放腿的地方马上就会被人占据；如果你想侧转身睡一下，你就别想再躺平。

在船上过了一夜，第二天早晨到达绍兴。寄宿在一个制扇工匠的家里，房间又小又暗，而且充满了制扇用的某种植物油气味。晚上就在菜油灯下读书，但是灯光太暗，看小字很吃力。我们不敢用煤油灯，因为屋子里到处是易燃的制扇材料，黑暗中摸索时还常要跌跤。

考试开始时，清晨四点左右大家就齐集在试院门前，听候点名。那是一个初秋的早晨，天气相当冷。几千位考生挤在院子里，每人头上戴着一顶没有顶子的红缨帽，手里提着一个灯笼、一只考篮。大厅门口摆着一张长桌。监考官就是绍兴知府，昂然坐在长桌后面。他戴着蓝色晶顶的红缨帽，穿着深蓝色的长袍，外罩黑马褂，胸前垂着一串朝珠。那是他的全套官服。他提起朱笔顺着名单，开始点名。他每点一个名，站在他旁边的人就拖着长腔唱出考生的名字。考生听到自己的名字以后，就高声答应："有！某某人保。"保的人也随即唱名证明。监考官望一眼以后，如果认为并无舛错，就用朱笔在考生名字上加上红点。

考生点名后就可以进考棚了。他的帽子和衣服都得经过搜索，以防夹带，任何写了字的纸头都要没收。

考生鱼贯进入考棚，找出自己的位置分别就座。座位都是事先编好号码的。考卷上有写好考生姓名的浮签，缴卷时就撕去浮签。考卷的一

角另有弥封的号码，录取名单决定以后才开拆弥封，以免徇私舞弊。清末时，政府各部门无不百弊丛生。唯有科举制度颇能保持独立，不为外力所染。科举功名之所以受人器重，大概就是这个缘故。

考试的题目不出四书五经的范围，所以每个考生必须把四书五经背得烂熟。我在家塾里以及后来在绍兴中西学堂里，已经在这方面下过苦功。题目写在方形的灯笼罩子上，白单子上写着黑字，灯笼里面点着蜡烛，因此从远远的地方就可以看得很清楚。提灯笼的人把灯笼擎得高高的，在考生座位之间的甬道上来回走好几次，所以大家都不会看漏题目。

将近中午时，办事人员开始核对考生的进度，每一份考卷的最末一行都盖上印子。下午四点钟左右，炮声响了，那是收卷的第一次讯号。大门打开，吹鼓手也呜呜啦啦开始吹奏起来。考生缴了卷，在乐声中慢慢走出大门，大门外亲戚朋友正在焦急地等待着。缴了卷的人完全出来以后，大门又重新关上。第二次缴卷的讯号大约在一小时以后发出，同样鸣炮奏乐。第三次下令收卷则在六点钟左右，这一次可不再鸣炮奏乐。

考试以后，我们要等上十天、八天，才能知道考试结果。因此放榜以前我们可以大大地玩一阵。试院附近到处是书铺，我常碰到全省闻名的举人徐锡麟，在书铺里抽出书来看。我认识他，因为他曾在绍兴中西学堂教算学。想不到不出数年，他的心脏被挖出来，在安徽巡抚恩铭灵前致祭，因他为革命刺杀了恩铭。街头巷尾还有象棋摊子，棋盘两边都写着"观棋不语真君子，落子无悔大丈夫"两句俗语。街上有临时的酒楼饭馆，出售著名的绍兴酒和价廉物美的菜肴。一毛钱买一壶酒。醉蚶、糟鸡、家乡肉，每盘也只要一毛。如肯费三四毛钱，保管你买得满面春风，齿颊留香。城里有流动的戏班子，高兴的时候，我们还可以看看戏。

放榜的那一天，一大群人挤在试院大门前一座高墙前面守候。放榜时鸣炮奏乐，仪式非常隆重。榜上写的是录取考生的号码，而非姓名。号码排成一圆圈，以免有先后次序的分别。

我发现自己的号码也排入圆圈，列在墙上那张其大无比的长方形榜上，真是喜出望外。号码是黑墨大字写的，但是我还是不肯相信自己的眼睛，连揉了几次眼，发现自己的号码的的确确排在榜上的大圈圈内，这才放了心。连忙挤出人群，回到寄宿的地方。在我往外挤的时候，看到另一位考生也正在往外跑。他打着一把伞，这把伞忽然被一根栅栏钩住，他一拖，伞就向上翻成荷叶形。可是这位兴奋过度的考生，似乎根

本没有注意他的伞翻向天了，还是匆匆忙忙往前跑。

几天之后，举行复试。复试要淘汰一部分人，所以初试录取的还得捏一把汗。复试时运气还算不错。放榜时，发现自己的名字列在居中的某一行上。

第三次考试只是虚应故事而已。除了写一篇文章以外，名义上我们还得默写一段《圣谕广训》（皇帝训谕士子的上谕）；但是我们每人都可以带一册进考场，而且老实不客气地照抄一遍。这次考试由学政（俗称学台）亲自莅场监考。试院大门口的两旁树着两根旗竿，旗竿上飘着长达十五尺的长幡，幡上写的就是这位学台的官衔。记得他的官衔是："礼部侍郎提督浙江全省学政……"

再过几天之后，我一大早就被窗外一阵当当小锣惊醒。原来是试差来报喜。我已经考取了附生，也就是平常所说的秀才。试差带来一份捷报，那是一张大约六尺长，四尺宽的红纸，上面用宋楷大字写着：

"贵府相公某蒙

礼部侍郎提督浙江全省学政某考试录取余姚县学附生"

所谓"县学"只有一所空无所有的孔庙，由一位"教谕"主持，事实上这位"教谕"并不设帐讲学，所谓"县学"是有名无实的。按我们家庭经济状况，我须呈缴一百元的贽敬，拜见老师，不过经过讨价还价，只缴了一半，也并没有和老师见过面。

当讨价还价正在进行的时候，父亲恼怒了说，孔庙里应该拜财神才是。旁边一位老先生说，那是说不得的。从前有一位才子金圣叹，因为讥笑老师，说了一句"把孔子牌位取消，把财神抬进学宫"的话，奉旨杀了头。临刑前这位玩世不恭的才子叹道："杀头至痛也，圣叹于无意中得之，岂不快哉。"

郡试以后，又再度回到浙江高等学堂，接受新式教育。我离开绍兴时，房东告诉我，一位同住在他店里的考生愤愤不平地对他说，学台简直瞎了眼，居然取了像我这样目不识丁的人，其意若曰像他那样满腹经纶的人反而落第，真是岂有此理。我笑笑没说什么，考试中本来不免有幸与不幸的！

回到学校以后，马上又埋头读书，整天为代数、物理、动物学和历史等功课而忙碌，课余之暇，又如饥似渴地阅读革命书刊，并与同学讨论当时的政治问题。郡试的那段日子和浙江高等学堂的生活恍若隔世。静定的、雾样迷的中世纪生活，似乎在一夜之间就转变为汹涌的革命时

代的漩涡。我像是做了一场大梦。

两个月以后，寒假到了。奉父亲之命回到乡间，接受亲戚朋友的道贺。那时我是十九岁，至亲们都希望我有远大的前程，如果祖坟的风水好，很可能一步一步由秀才而举人，由举人而进士，光大门楣，荣及乡里，甚至使祖先在天之灵也感到欣慰。二哥已早我几年考取了秀才，那时正在北京大学（京师大学堂）读书。当时的学生们听说京师大学四个字，没有不肃然起敬的。想不到十五年之后我竟为时会所迫承乏了北京大学的校长职务。回想起来，真令人觉得命运不可捉摸。

在绍兴时曾经收到一份捷报，不久，试差又用一份同样以红纸写的捷报，敲着铜锣分向我家乡的亲戚家属报喜。开筵庆祝的那一天，穿起蓝绸衫，戴了一顶银雀顶的红缨帽。好几百亲戚朋友，包括妇孺老少，齐来道贺，一连吃了两天喜酒。大厅中张灯结彩，并有吹班奏乐助兴。最高兴的自然是父亲，他希望他的儿子有一天能在朝中做到宰相，因为俗语说："秀才为宰相之根苗"。至于我自己，简直有点迷惘。两个互相矛盾的势力正在拉着，一个把我往旧世界拖，一个把我往新世界拖。我不知道怎么办。

在乡间住了三个星期，学校重新开学，我又再度全神贯注地开始研究新学问。在浙江高等学堂再逗留了半年光景，到暑假快开始时，又离开了。满脑子矛盾的思想，简直使尚未成熟的心灵无法忍受，新与旧的冲突，立宪与革命的冲突，常常闹得头脑天旋地转，有时觉得坐立不安，有时又默坐出神，出神时，会觉得自己忽然上冲霄汉，然后又骤然落地，结果在地上跌得粉碎，立刻被旋风吹散无踪了。

我的近亲当中曾经发现有人患精神病，我有时不禁怀疑自己是否也有点神经质的遗传。父亲和叔祖都说过，我小时候的思想行动本来就与常儿不同。我还记得有一天伯祖骂我，说我将来如不成君子必成流氓。虽然不大明白这话的意思，但是我心里想，一定要做君子。

这个世界的确是个疯狂的世界，难道我也真的发了疯吗？至少有一个问题在脑子里还是很清楚的：那就是如何拯救祖国，免受列强的瓜分。革命正迅速地在全国青年学生群中生根发展。投身革命运动的青年学生愈多，孙中山先生的影响也愈来愈广。清室覆亡已经近在旦夕了。

我渴望找个更理想、更西化的学校。因为这时候已经看得清楚：不论立宪维新或者革命，西化的潮流已经无法抗拒。有一天早晨，无意中闯进禁止学生入内的走廊，碰到了学监。他问有什么事，我只好临时扯了个谎，说母亲生病，写信来要我回家。

"哦！那太不幸了。你还是赶快回家吧！"学监很同情地说。

回到宿舍，收拾起行李，当天上午就离开学校，趁小火轮沿运河到了上海。参加上海南洋公学的入学考试，结果幸被录取。那是一九○四年的事。为争取满洲控制权的日俄战争正在激烈进行。

西化运动

虽然新旧之争仍在方兴未艾，立宪与革命孰长孰短亦无定论，中国这时已经无可置疑地踏上西化之路了。日本对帝俄的胜利，更使中国的西化运动获得新的鼓励，这时聚集东京的中国留学生已近五万人，东京已经成为新知识的中心。国内方面，政府也已经开始一连串的革新运动，教育、军事、警政都已根据日本的蓝图采取新制度。许多人相信：经过日本同化修正的西方制度和组织，要比纯粹的西洋制度更能适合中国的国情，因此他们主张通过日本接受西洋文化。但是也有一班人认为：既然我们必须接受西洋文明，何不直接向西洋学习？

我是主张直接向西方学习的，虽然许多留学日本的朋友来信辩难，我却始终坚持自己的看法。进了南洋公学，就是想给自己打点基础，以便到美国留学。这里一切西洋学科的课本都是英文的，刚好合了我的心意。

南洋公学开办时，采纳了美国传教士福开森博士的许多意见。南洋公学是交通大学的前身，交通大学附近的福开森路，就是为纪念这位美国传教士而命名的。南洋公学的预科，一切按照美国的中学学制办理，因此南洋公学可说是升入美国大学的最好阶梯。学校里有好几位讲授现代学科的美国人。在校两年，在英文阅读方面已经没有多大困难，不过讲却始终讲不好。学校教的英文并不根据语音学原理，我的舌头又太硬，始终跟不上。

课程方面分为两类，一类是中国旧学，一类是西洋学科。我在两方面的成绩都还过得去，有一次还同时侥幸获得两类考试的荣誉奖。因此蒙校长召见，谬承奖勉。

校舍是根据西洋设计而建筑的，主要建筑的中心有一座钟楼，数里之外就可以望见。有一排房子的前面是一个足球场，常年绿草如茵，而且打扫得很整齐。学校当局鼓励学生玩足球和棒球，学生们对一般的运动也都很感兴趣。

我生来体弱，进了南洋公学以后，开始体会到要有高深的学问，必须先有强健的体魄。除了每日的体操和轻度的运动之外，还给自己定了一套锻炼身体的办法。每天六点钟光景，练习半小时的哑铃，晚间就寝前再练一刻钟。继续不断地练了三年，此后身体一直很好，而且心情也总是很愉快。

包括德、智、体三要素的斯宾塞尔教育原则这时已经介绍到中国。为了发展德育，就温习了四书，同时开始研究宋明的哲学家以及历代中外伟人的传记，希望借此学习他们的榜样，碰到认为足资借鉴的言行时，就把它们摘录在日记本上。然后仔细加以思考，试着照样去做，同时注意其成绩。这些成绩也记载在日记上，以备进一步的考核。

每当发现对某些问题的中西见解非常相似、甚至完全相同时，我总有难以形容的喜悦。如果中西贤哲都持同一见解，那末照着做自然就不会错了。当发现歧见时，就加以研究，设法找出其中的原因。这样就不知不觉地做了一项东西道德行为标准的比较研究。这种研究工作最重要的结果是学到了如何在道德观念中区别重要的与不重要的，以及基本的与浮面的东西。

从此以后，对于如何立身处世开始有了比较肯定、比较确切、也比较自信的见解，因为道德观念是指导行为的准绳。

我开始了解东西方的整体性，同时也更深切地体会到宋儒陆象山所说的"东海有圣人出焉，此心同，此理同。西海有圣人出焉，此心同，此理同"的名言。同时开始体会到紊乱中的统一，因为我发现基本道理原极有限，了解这些基本道理之间的异同矛盾正可以互相发明，互相印证。使我感到头晕眼花的只是细微末节的纷扰而已。孟子和陆象山告诉我们，做学问要抓住要点而舍弃细节，要完全凭我们的理智辨别是非。于是我开始发展以理解为基础的判断能力，不再依赖传统的信仰。这是思想上的一次大解放，像是脱下一身紧绷绷的衫裤那样舒服而自由。

但是，理解力也不能凭空生存。想得太多，结果除失望外一无成就，这样是犯了孔子所说的"思而不学"的毛病。当然，导向正确思想的途径还是从思想本身开始，然后从经验中学习如何思想。你不可能教导一个根本不用脑筋的人如何去思想。后来我留美时读到杜威的《我们如何思想》，使我的信念更为加强。

儒家说，正心诚意是修身的出发点，修身则是治国、平天下的根基。因此，我想，救国必先救己。于是决心努力读书、思考，努力锻炼身体，努力敦品励行。我想，这就是修身的正确途径了，有了良好的身心修养，将来才能为国服务。

在南洋公学读书的时候，清廷终于在一九○五年采取了教育改革的重要步骤，毅然宣布废止科举。年轻一代迷恋过去的大门从此关闭。废科举的诏书是日本战胜帝俄所促成的。代替科举的是抄袭自日本的一套新教育制度。日本的教育制度是模仿西方的。追本溯源，中国的新教育

制度仍旧来自西方。中国现在总算不折不扣地踏上西化的途程了。

在这以前，上海曾经是我国革命分子文化运动的中心。中国的知识分子和革命领袖，躲在上海公共租界和法租界，可以享受言论自由和出版自由。政治犯和激烈分子在租界里讨论，发表他们的见解，思想自由而且蓬勃一时，情形足与希腊的城邦媲美。

我自己除了在南洋公学接受课本知识之外，也参加了各式各样的活动，但是学习的性质居多，谈不到积极工作。到礼拜六和礼拜天时，常常到福州路的奇芳茶馆去坐坐。那时候，上海所有的学生都喜欢到"奇芳"去吃茶，同时参加热烈的讨论。茶馆里有一位叫"野鸡大王"的，每日在那里兜售新书，他那副样子，去过"奇芳"的人没有一个会忘记的。他穿着一身破烂的西装，头上戴着一顶灰色的满是油垢的鸭舌头帽。他专门贩卖革命书刊给学生，他的货色当中还包括一本叫《性学新论》的小册子，据他解释，那只是用来吸引读者的。谁也不知道他的名字。吴稚晖先生说，他知道他是谁，并告诉了我他的名字，我却忘记了。我们也不晓得他住在什么地方。任何革命书刊都可以从他那里买得到。这些书，因租界当局应中国政府之请，在名义上是禁止贩卖的。

科举废止的同一年，孙中山先生在东京组织同盟会，参加的学生有好几百人，中山先生被选为主席。这一年也就是日本和俄国签订《朴茨茅斯条约》，结束日俄战争的一年。日本在击败西方列强之一的俄国以后，正蠢蠢欲动，预备侵略中国。十年之后，日本向中国提出著名的二十一条要求，十六年以后，发动九·一八沈阳事变，最后终于在民国二十六年与中国发生全面战争。

当时，上海正在热烈展开抵制美货运动，抗议美国国会通过排华法案。学生和商人联合挨户劝告中国商店店主不要售卖美国货。店主亟于卖掉被抵制的货品，只好削价脱售，有许多顾客倒也乐于从后门把货色买走。群众大会中，大家争着发表激烈演说，反对排华法案。有一次会中，一位慷慨激昂的演说者捶胸顿足，结果把鞋跟顿掉了。鞋跟飞到听众头上，引得哄堂大笑。

翌年也发生一件重要的事情。江浙两省的绅士同上海的学生和商人联合起来反对英国人投资建筑苏杭甬铁路。示威的方式包括群众大会、发通电、街头演说等等，同时开始招股准备用本国资金建筑这条铁路，路线要改为由上海经杭州到宁波。以上海代替苏州的理由很奇怪，说苏州是个内陆城市，铁路不经过苏州，可以使苏州免受外国的影响。英国人对路线让步了，铁路也在第二年动工兴建。

那几年里，全国各校的学生倒是都能与学校当局相安无事，一方面是因为他们对校外活动的兴趣提高，另一方面是因为他们对于给学校当局找些无谓的麻烦已经感到厌倦。不过，他们却把注意力转移到为他们做饭的厨子身上去了。当时上海学生的伙食费是每月六块钱；在内地，只要三块钱。因此饭菜不会好到哪里去。但是学生对伙食很不满意，不是埋怨米太粗糙，就是埋怨菜蔬质地太差，因此常常要求加菜——通常是加炒蛋，因为炒蛋最方便。当时鸡蛋也很便宜，一块钱可以买五六十个。有时候，学生们就砸碎碗碟出气，甚至把厨子揍一顿。几乎没有一个学校没有"饭厅风潮"。

一九〇七年，安徽省城安庆发生了一次昙花一现的革命。革命领袖是徐锡麟，我们在前面曾提起他过。他是安徽省警务督办，曾在绍兴中西学堂教过书，我们在前面也曾经提及。（中西学堂就是我最初接触西方学问的地方，我在那里学到地球是圆的。）他中过举人，在中西学堂教过几年书以后，又到日本留学。他回国后向朋友借了五万块钱，捐了道台的缺，后来被派到安庆。他控制了警察以后，亲手枪杀安徽巡抚，并在安庆发动革命。他同两名亲信带了警校学生及警察部队占领军械库，在库门口架起大炮据守。但是他们因缺乏军事训练，无法使用大炮，结果被官兵冲入，徐锡麟当场被捕。他的两位亲信，一名叫陈伯平的阵亡了，一位叫马子夷的事后被捕。

马子夷是我在浙江高等学堂的同学，他和陈伯平从日本赴安庆时，曾在上海逗留一个时期。两个人几乎每天都来看我，大谈革命运动。他们认为革命是救中国的唯一途径，还约我同他们一道去安庆。但是一位当钱庄经理的堂兄劝我先到日本去一趟。那年暑假，就和一位朋友去东京，顺便参观一个展览会。我们离沪赴日的前夕，马子夷、陈伯平和我三个人在一枝香酒楼聚餐话别。第二天我去日本，他们也搭长江轮船赴安庆。想不到一枝香酒楼一别竟成永诀。

初次乘大洋轮船，样样觉得新奇。抽水马桶其妙无比。日本茶房礼貌周到。第二天早晨，我们到达长崎，优美的风景给我很深的印象。下午经过马关，就是李鸿章在一八九五年与日本签订《马关条约》的地方。我们在神户上岸，从神户乘火车到东京，在新桥车站落车。一位在东京读书的朋友领我们到小石川二十三番君代馆住下。东京的街道当时还没有铺石子，更没有柏油，那天又下雨，结果满地泥泞。

我到上野公园的展览会参观了好几十趟，对日本的工业发展印象很深。在一个展览战利品的战迹博物馆里，看到中日战争中俘获的中国军旗、军服和武器，简直使我惭愧得无地自容。夜间整个公园被几万盏电

灯照耀得如同白昼，兴高采烈的日本人提着灯笼在公园中游行，高呼万岁。两年前，他们陶醉于对俄的胜利，至今犹狂喜不已。我孤零零地站在一个假山顶上望着游行的队伍，触景生情，不禁泫然涕下。

到日本后约一星期，君代馆的下女在清晨拿了一份日文报纸来，我从报上获悉徐锡麟在安庆起义失败的消息。如果我不来日本而跟那两位朋友去安庆，恐怕我不会今日在此讲"西潮"的故事了。

我对日本的一般印象非常良好。整个国家像个大花园，人民衣饰整饬，城市清洁。他们内心或许很骄傲，对生客却很有礼貌。强迫教育使国民的一般水准远较中国为高，这或许就是使日本成为世界强国的秘密所在。这是我在日本停留一月后带回来的印象。后来赴美国学教育学，也受这些感想的指示。但是国家兴衰事情并不如此简单，让我等机会再谈罢。

不久以后，又开始为学校功课而忙碌。第二年暑假，跑到杭州参加浙江省官费留美考试，结果未被录取。于是向父亲拿到几千块钱，预备到加利福尼亚州深造。

PART TWO AMERICAN YEARS

CHAPTER 9 FURTHER "WEST"

With part of the money my father gave me I bought hats, shoes, clothes, and other necessary things, and a first-class ticket to San Francisco. The rest I converted into American gold dollars at the rate of two Mexican to one. My queue I got rid of at a barbershop. When the barber applied a pair of long scissors to my hair I felt as if I were on the guillotine—a chill stole all over me. With two quick, heavy cuts my queue fell off and I felt as if my head had gone with it. It was given back to me wrapped in paper and I threw it into the ocean on my way to America.

I acquired a doctor's certificate and a passport, based on Section 6 of the immigration law admitting students, and went to the American Consulate General in Shanghai for a visa. This done, I secured my ticket and boarded an American Mail liner for San Francisco. It was late August, 1908. There were about a dozen Chinese students on the same boat. Leaving the shores of my country seemed to cut away the last link that connected me with my earlier life. I was lucky in being a good sailor and was never sick during the twenty-four long days aboard ship. Perhaps this was due to the practice I had had in swinging for several weeks before embarking. I was good at it, for swinging is a Chinese garden pastime.

The liner was much larger and more luxurious than the Japanese steamer I had taken to Kobe the previous year. The most striking thing to me on board was the dancing. Brought up in a society where men and women did not mix freely, I could not at once reconcile myself to it. But after watching it several times I began to appreciate the beauty of it.

On the day of our arrival at San Francisco a port doctor came on board and carefully examined the eyes of Chinese students to see whether any of us had any trace of trachoma.

The first thing I had felt on landing was the power of the state through the instrumentality of the immigration officials and police. I began to wonder why the people of a republic enjoyed less individual freedom than did the people of China, which was an absolute monarchy. In China we scarcely felt the influence of the state. "Heaven is high above and the Emperor is far away."

We stopped over in San Francisco for a few hours to visit Chinatown. Then two of us who were bound for the University of California were taken to Berkeley by the president of the Chinese Students' Alliance there. In the evening we dined at a restaurant in Berkeley, the Sky Light, on Shattuck Avenue, each paying twenty-five cents for a dinner which consisted of soup, beef stew, and a piece of pie, with bread and butter and a cup of coffee. I took a room at Mrs. Coole's house on Bancroft Way. She was a talkative, elderly lady, very kind to the Chinese students. She told me that I must turn off the light before going out and shut off the water after washing; that I must not throw peanuts into the flush toilet or leave my money on the table; that in leaving the room I needn't lock the door, but if I preferred I might leave the key under the mat. "If you want anything," she said, "you just tell me. I know how a stranger must feel in a foreign country. Make yourself at home." Then she bade me good night and left the room.

As I had arrived in San Francisco too late to enter the fall session of the university, I had to wait for the next term. Meantime I got a coed of the university to coach me in English at fifty cents an hour. I spent all my time studying English; *I read the San Francisco Chronicle* regularly every morning and subscribed to a weekly magazine, *The Outlook*, for more serious study. By the aid of Webster's *Collegiate Dictionary*, which was always at hand and to which every doubtful word was referred, my vocabulary increased day by day and at the end of four months I could read papers and magazines quite freely.

In the beginning I found myself partially blind, deaf, and dumb so far as the English language was concerned. These difficulties had to be surmounted before I could hope to get along well in the university. By concentration and perseverance the first obstacle was largely overcome in the first four months and it was only a matter of time to reduce it completely. The second had to be removed gradually by listening to conversations and lectures. It was easier to understand lectures because they were in the form of organized thought and were slower and more distinct in delivery. Conversations were generally wider in range and carried on in a rapid succession of varied or disconnected groups of ideas in which one had difficulty in following the thread of thought. To listen to a play at the theatre was midway between the two.

It was most difficult, however, to overcome the dumbness. First of all, I had been started off wrong from the very beginning in China. The wrong

habits were deeply rooted and it took time to dislodge them. In the second place, as I was ignorant of phonetic methods the mere effort to imitate a word did not necessarily lead to a correct pronunciation. For there are wide gaps between the tone uttered and the ear that hears it, and between ear and tongue—the ear does not necessarily catch the right tone, nor does the tongue always follow the ear in reproducing it. Moreover, California was not so hospitable a land socially for the Chinese as to make one feel congenial or at ease; I was always overconscious of this, slow to mingle with others and shy when others tried to approach me. Thus many available social connections were cut off, and as language improves only with intercourse, the improvement in the spoken language was indeed very, very slow. This hampered my participation in discussions, both in the classroom and out of it, when I later entered the university. As a rule I remained mute in class and when a question was put to me responded only by a blush. My professors were very considerate and on no occasion tried to exact an answer. Perhaps they realized my social plight, or excused me simply because I was a foreigner. At any rate, from my examination papers—in most cases above "B" grade—they knew I did my classwork conscientiously in spite of muteness.

Time flew—it was soon Christmas. On Christmas Eve I dined alone at a restaurant with better food than on the first occasion, and a larger bill. After dinner I strolled about the streets watching the happy family gatherings through the windows where curtains were not drawn. Christmas trees, some lighted with tiny electric lights and some with candles, were everywhere.

With a few Chinese friends on New Year's Eve I went across the bay to San Francisco. From the ferry we could see at a distance, on the other side of the bay, the Clock Tower bejeweled with hundreds of lights. Moving through the crowd to the exit on landing, one heard the player pianos going full tilt for their nickel's worth. As I followed the packed crowd streaming slowly along the main street, flooded with lights, my ears were deafened by toy bugles and rattles. People took particular pleasure in blowing and rattling at the ears of pretty ladies, who returned the compliment good-naturedly with smiles at the merrymakers. Paper streamers floated in the air and were strung around people's necks. Confetti showered on the crowd like many-colored snow. I branched off to Chinatown, where I found throngs admiring the window decorations with their Oriental touch. Firecrackers made you feel that you

were celebrating New Year's Eve in China.

When the clock struck midnight people began to shout "Happy New Year!" at the tops of their voices, and to blow horns and shake rattles. More confetti and more streamers. This was my first New Year in America and I was impressed with the good-naturedness of the American crowd and the spontaneous play spirit of the grownups. They were a young race in their merrymaking.

I got back home quite late and pleasantly tired, went to bed, and slept soundly until late in the morning. After breakfast I took a walk in the residential section of Berkeley. The houses on the gentle slopes of the Berkeley hills were surrounded with flower beds and green lawns. Roses were in full bloom in the mild California winter, for Berkeley, like Kunming in China, is blessed with perennial spring.

After the New Year I looked forward to the beginning of the second term of the university in February. With new hopes and vigor I worked hard at my language study. When the term drew near I applied for admission on credits from Nanyang College in Shanghai and was entered in the College of Agriculture, with Chinese as a substitute for Latin.

Here I must explain why I turned to agriculture when my preparation was along literary lines. This was not a happy-go-lucky move as it might have been with many a young student; it had been carefully considered and decided upon in all seriousness. Since China was mainly agricultural, the improvement of agriculture, as I saw it, would bring happiness and prosperity to the largest number of people in China; moreover, I had always taken delight in plants and animals since my early years in the village, where farming was the main current of life. For national as well as personal reasons, therefore, agriculture seemed the most appropriate study to pursue. Another minor consideration was that as I was born a delicate child my health could be improved by having plenty of fresh air in the country.

I took botany, zoölogy, hygiene, English, German, and physical culture for the term—a period of three hours a week for each course except the last, which took six hours. We were told to buy textbooks at a bookstore on College Avenue, so I went to the store and asked, among other things, for so-and-so's *Bo'tany*, with the accent on the second syllable.

"What is it you want?" the sales clerk demanded. I repeated the word with the same accent. He shook his head. "Sorry, haven't got it."

I pointed to the book on the shelf. He smiled and said, "Oh, excuse me, you mean 'botany."

I was glad to have the book and also to learn the right pronunciation of the word. Again, we were told to observe certain plants in the botanical garden. Failing to locate the place, I asked a janitor where the 'botanical garden was—with the accent on the first syllable.

"What?" he said. I repeated.

"Oh, oh—you mean the bo'tanical garden," he responded after a moment, enlightened.

I would have liked to swear in good American slang if I had learned any. Years after, when I related the incident to an American friend in Peking, he told me the story of a Frenchman who was asked what difficulties he found in speaking English. The Frenchman replied with characteristic gesture, "Oh, English is easy—but the *abominable accent*!" pronouncing the last words in French. Indeed, the *abominable accent* has discouraged many a student who has tried to learn English and found himself caught in an intricate maze. Of course there are rules by which one can somewhat steer his way. But there are too many exceptions; often the exceptions are the rule, so that one has to consider each case and acquire them all gradually and with great pains.

I studied botany and zoölogy with great interest. I still remember the jocular remarks of the professor of botany as we were being taught to use the microscope, "Don't think you're going to see through the microscope a fly as big as an elephant. No—you can't see even a section of the fly's leg."

My interest in the observation of nature had its roots in the naïve nature study which, during my school days in China, I carried on outside of school as a sort of diversion after the day's tiresome classical study. My improvised observations years before and my interest in botany and zoölogy now all proceeded from a common source—curiosity. The one great difference lay in the tool used. The microscope is an extension of the eye and enables you to see minute particles which the naked eye can never hope to reach. Use of this tool has led to the discovery of microbes, whose limitless numbers are comparable to the stars—which in turn are studied by another extension of

the eye, the telescope. I longed to make a pilgrimage to Lick Observatory to see the world's largest telescope, but for some reason or other did not go. Instead I paid twenty-five cents to look into a telescope on the streets to see the planets and was thrilled to behold silvery Saturn in its shining ring, sailing in the blue sky as I had seen it on a celestial map in school.

I stayed in the College of Agriculture for half a year. One of my friends had meanwhile been urging me to take up some branch of social science instead of a practical science like agriculture. He argued that though agriculture was very important, there were other studies more vital for China; unless we could solve our political and social problems in the light of modern developments in the West we could not very well solve the agricultural ones. Moreover, my world outlook would be limited, in agriculture, to a practical science and would not embrace anything beyond the narrow scope of that special field.

As I had studied Chinese history as well as the general outlines of Western history, and was familiar with the general development of national strength in various countries at various times, I could very well appreciate my friend's advice. It set me thinking, for I was again at the crossroads and must sooner or later make a final decision. As I have mentioned, I was always careful in making any decision as to a new field which would determine my future course of life.

Early one morning, on my way to a barn to watch the milking, I met a number of fresh-looking youngsters—pretty girls and lively boys—on their way to school. Suddenly an idea struck me: I am here to study how to raise animals and plants; why not study how to raise men? Instead of going to the barn I went up into the Berkeley hills and sat under an old oak tree overlooking beautiful sunlit San Francisco Bay and the Golden Gate. As I gazed into the bay, thoughts on the rise and decline of the successive dynasties in China presented themselves one after another. All of a sudden I saw as if in a vision children emerging like water nymphs from the waters of the bay and asking me to give them schools. I decided to take education as my major, in the College of Social Science.

It was already late in the morning when I rushed down from the hills, went directly to the Recorder's Office to see Mr. Sutton, and asked to be transferred from the College of Agriculture to that of Social Science. After

some argument the transfer was granted. In the fall of 1909 I began to take courses in logic, ethics, psychology, and English history, and was thus launched on what became my real college career.

My student life moved along in an atmosphere of intellectual activity. Days and months rolled on smoothly and pleasantly. As the sands of time gathered, so grew my knowledge.

In logic I learned that thinking has its method—that is to say, we must think logically. There is a difference between inductive and deductive thinking. Observation is very important in inductive thinking, so I wanted to practice it. I began to observe the many things I came across on campus or near the university. Why were cows belled? Why do the leaves of the eucalyptus hang vertical? Why are all California poppies yellow?

One morning as I was walking along the slopes of the Berkeley hills I noticed a pipe from which water was flowing. Where did the water come from? I followed up the pipe line, which led me to the source, and rejoiced over the discovery. Quite high on the hills I began to wonder what was on the other side of them. I climbed over one hill after another and found that there were endless hills, higher and higher as I went farther and farther. Finally I gave up and took a path which led down to a number of farmhouses, finding by the way creeks and woods which I enjoyed immensely.

Of course the endless chain of observation running merely from one thing to another could lead only to disappointment. Finally I learned that observation must have a definite object and a definite purpose, not ramble aimlessly. The astronomer observes the stars, the botanist the growth of plants. Later I came to know that there is another kind of observation, a sort of controlled observation called experiment, by means of which scientific discoveries are made.

In the field of ethics I learned that there is a difference between ethical principles and rules of conduct. The principles tell you why certain accepted rules are desirable at certain stages of civilization, while the rules themselves merely exact observance without inquiry into the underlying principles and their relation to modern society.

As life in China was governed by accepted rules of conduct, the inquiry into their underlying principles created storms in my mind. The old moral

foundations which we had taken as final truths began to rock as in an earthquake. Moreover my professor, Harry Overstreet, was not the kind of traditional teacher who simply believed in accepted truths and expected his students to do likewise; his searching mind led me to peer into every crevice in the foundation stones of moral principle. In class there were lively discussions, which I refrained from joining partly because of my deficiency in the spoken language and partly owing to shyness, which grew in me out of a sense of inferiority. For around the year 1909 China was in the darkest period of her recent history and we had very little self-confidence about her future. But I pricked up my ears and listened like an intelligent dog to its master, understanding the meaning but unable to talk.

We were required to read Plato, Aristotle, the Gospel of St. John, and Marcus Aurelius, among other sources. I was impressed with the all-searching mind of the Greeks as revealed through the two Greek philosophers; I felt that while the Confucian classics were richly tinged with moral sense, the Greek philosophers were permeated by all-piercing intellect. This led me later on to a study of Greek history and a comparative study of ancient Greek and Chinese thought. It also led me to understand what an important part Greek thought has played in modern European civilization, and why Greek has been regarded as an indispensable part of a liberal education.

With St. John I began to appreciate the meaning of love as preached by Jesus, stripped of creed and church. It is indeed the highest ideal to "love your enemy." If one could really love one's enemy there would be no enemy.

"Can you love your enemy?" the professor asked the class. There was no answer.

"I can't," the attentive dog yelped.

"You can't?" he smiled.

I quoted Confucius, "Love those who love you, but be fair to your enemy." Upon this he commented, "It's quite sensible, isn't it?" The class made no response. As we dispersed a young American boy came up to me and patted me on the shoulder. "Love your enemy! Tommyrot, eh?"

Marcus Aurelius talked like a Sung philosopher. He meditated and discovered reason as the measure of all conduct. Translated and put among

the Sung philosophers, he could easily have passed for one of them.

Things European or American I always measured with a Chinese yardstick. This is the way that leads from the known to the unknown. To gain new experience based upon and constructed out of past experiences is the way to new knowledge. For example, a child who has not seen an airplane can be made to understand it by reference to the flying bird and a "boat with wings." A child who has not seen a bird or a boat cannot easily be made to understand an airplane. A Chinese student learns to understand Western civilization only in the light of what he knows of his own. The more he knows of his own culture, the better able he will be to understand that of the West. Thus arguing in my mind, I felt that my midnight lucubrations on the Chinese classics, history, and philosophy in school in China were not labor lost. Only because of those studies was I now in a position to absorb and digest Western ideas. My work hereafter, I thought, is to find out what China lacks and take what she needs from the West. And in the course of time we will catch up with the West. With these views I grew more self-confident, less self-conscious, and more hopeful for the future.

My interests among the fields of knowledge were indeed rather broad. I took ancient history, English history, the history of philosophy, political science, and even Russian literature in English translation. Tolstoy absorbed me, especially his *Anna Karenina and War and Peace*. I attended many public lectures given by prominent scholars and statesmen and thus heard Santayana, Tagore, David Starr Jordan, Woodrow Wilson—then president of Princeton—and many other scholars. Science, literature, the arts, politics, and philosophy all interested me equally. I heard Taft and Roosevelt. "I took the Panama Canal and let Congress debate about it," said the latter in one of his lectures in the Greek theatre. His emphasis and characteristic gestures still stand out clearly in my memory.

Traditional education in China seemed narrow, but within its walls one found a diversity of subjects almost encyclopedic. This apparently narrow education, it is not paradoxical to say, furnished the basis for a broad view of knowledge. My diversity of interests probably derived from my past training in that traditional body of thought. The ancient classics contain many branches of knowledge: history, philosophy, literature, political economy, government, war, diplomacy, and the like. They have never been narrow. After the classics, scholars were initiated into even such practical arts as

agriculture, irrigation, astronomy, and mathematics. Thus the traditional Chinese scholar was no narrow specialist but had a broad foundation for learning. Moreover, an open-minded search for truth was the aim of Confucian scholars. Their deficiencies seemed to lie in the fact that their knowledge was rather limited to books. Book knowledge can be narrow in another sense.

In school I remember I was given a rhymed book which contained a great variety of subjects, starting with astronomy and geography and going on down to vegetables and insects, including between them such topics as cities, commerce, farming, travel, inventions, philosophy, government, and so on. Rhymes are easier to learn by heart and even at the moment of writing I am still able to recite a great part of that rhymed encyclopedia.

The Berkeley hills with their moss-green oaks and scent-laden eucalyptus, their fields of golden poppies and gardens of crimson roses bathed in smiling California sunshine, served as an ideal nursery for the native sons of the Golden West. I felt ever-grateful to share in the care and protection of my Western Alma Mater, in whose lap her foster son from the ancient Eastern empire was nursed to grow.

In this climate in which there was no very cold winter nor any very hot summer, it was indeed pleasant to live in a sort of perpetual spring for four long, enjoyable years. There was no rain to interrupt outdoor life except for winter showers which turned the grass on the hills green again and washed the roses in the gardens clear as with morning dew. Otherwise no inclement weather interrupted the performances in the Greek theatre, surrounded by its forest of eucalyptus. Shakespearean plays, Greek dramas, Sunday concerts, and public lectures were given in the open air. Not far away were the athletic fields in which intercollegiate games and track meets took place. Young Apollos strove hard for the fame of their alma mater. Beauty, health, and intellect were cultivated at the same time. *Mens sana in corpore sano*—was this ancient Greece re-enacted?

Almost in the center of the campus stood the campanile towering high above the other buildings. At the main entrance leading to College Avenue was Sather Gate with nude carvings standing out in vivid relief which invoked protests from parents who had daughters at the university. "Let girls see more of these nude figures of boys and they will be cured of their false

decency," remarked my professor of ethics. We had Venus and other goddesses of the ancient Greeks in our reading rooms in the old library (later torn down when the new Doe Library was built), but there was no criticism from the parents of boys. When I saw these Greek figures for the first time I wondered why the authorities should put such "indecent" things at the fountain of wisdom. But later I assumed that they were meant to teach the idea of *mens sana*—sometimes translated as "a beautiful mind in a beautiful body." For with the Greeks beauty, health, and wisdom are one and indivisible.

The performance of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* among the oak groves on campus was really a masterpiece of beauty. Youth, love, beauty, and joy of life are all vividly portrayed in the pleasant masquerade.

Greek-letter fraternity and sorority houses were numerous on the campus. I was told what a wonderful life the members enjoyed together, but I had not visited any until on one occasion I was invited on a bargain—I was to vote for members of that fraternity for class president and other officers. They canvassed the whole class from a list; when they came to a classmate who was likely to vote for their opponents they would say "No good!" and mark the name "NG."

I was received with such cordiality as one would remember a lifetime. The vote was cast next day and I kept faithfully to my promise, for a "Chinaman's" word is as good as gold. I was glad to have made friends with quite a few fellow students during the campaign.

A few days after the election, for some occasion which I don't remember now, a bonfire was made. The glow of the flames lit up the happy faces of the young people. Boys and girls sang, ending each song with college yells. The crackling of the burning logs, the giggles of the girls and the shouts of the boys still echo in my ears. There in the light I came across a fellow student for whom I had cast my vote. To my great surprise his cordiality toward me had already turned to indifference. This is how things go in the world! His kindness to me had been paid for by my vote; the bills being paid, the account was squared—neither owed anything to the other. Thereafter I exchanged no more votes for cordialities and never again voted in college elections.

In the basement of North Hall was a student "co-op," at the entrance of

which was a sign which read, "In God we trust, all others pay cash." The most prosperous business in the co-op was the sale of hot dogs at five cents apiece (cash). They tasted fine.

One memorable character on the campus—probably forgotten by my contemporaries but not by me—was the aged janitor of the philosophy building. He was tall and spare, with a very straight carriage. His eyes were deep-sunk in their sockets and his grey eyebrows grew very long, almost covering his eyes, like a Pekingese toy dog. From under his brows one could see him twinkling with friendliness and warmth of heart. We took a mutual liking to each other. After classes and sometimes on Sundays I was a frequent visitor to the basement where he had lived from the time when the university was a small college.

He had been a soldier and fought many battles under the Union flag in the Civil War. He lived in memories of the past and related to me many stories of the war and of his childhood. From him I learned that conditions in America in older days—it is almost a century now—were not very much better than in China then; in some respects worse. He told me that there had existed in his youth many kinds of money: English pounds, French francs, and Dutch guldens. I heard Lyman Abbott speak of this several years later in New York. Modern sanitation seemed to him nonsense. Once he showed me a roll of toilet paper and said, "Nowadays people die young with these sanitary things. We didn't have any sanitation or what you call modern medicine. Look at me, how healthy I am at my age!" He stood erect like a soldier at attention for me to look at him.

West Point was also a joke to him. "You think they can fight? No! They're puffed up by uniforms and sure know how to dress in a parade. But fighting—no. I can teach 'em. In one battle I killed a whole lot of rebels singlehanded. If they want to learn to fight, let 'em come to me!"

He still harbored a grudge in his heart against the Confederates after these long years. He said he once found a rebel lying wounded after a battle was over and tried to help him. "You know what that crittur did? He fired right at me." He leveled his angry eyes at me steadily as if I had been the culprit. "What did you do?" I ventured. "I shot the beast dead right on the spot," was the reply.

To me this old soldier-janitor was an inseparable part of the university.

He thought himself so, too, for he had seen the place grow.

CHAPTER 10 CHINA IN AMERICA

Before the end of October of my first year in America an important change had taken place in China. This was the death, in rapid succession, of the Emperor Kwang-hsü and the Empress Dowager. There were two versions to the story; one was that she died first, whereupon he was murdered by her followers in the fear that he would come back into power. The other was that, near death, she sent a eunuch to Yun Tai—the island palace in the Imperial Chung Hai Park where this strong-willed woman had kept her Imperial consort imprisoned ever since the short-lived reforms of 1898—who informed the Emperor, always in poor health, that Her Majesty the Illustrious Buddha, as she was called, wished him as a favor to take the medicine she sent. According to this version the poor imprisoned Emperor understood the message and obeyed, succumbing to the poison in a short time. The fact was made known to her before she died and she ordered the issue of an Imperial Edict by which the death of the Emperor was announced and his nephew, little Pu-yi, made successor to the throne.

Whatever the truth of it, the unanimous opinion of the Chinese students in Berkeley was that with the death of the "old woman," as the Empress Dowager was disrespectfully called, there would be plenty of trouble in China. It proved to be so. For with a baby Emperor on the throne and his inexperienced father, Tsai Hsun[1] , as Prince Regent, the authority of the Manchu Dynasty fell into meteoric decline until its last vestige was swept away three years later by the Revolution of 1911.

In 1909 I had joined as an editorial writer the *Chinese Free Press*, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary organ in San Francisco. One evening in the fall of that year, with my co-editor Liu Chun-yu, I called for the first time on Dr. Sun Yat-sen at a hotel on Stockton Street on the outskirts of Chinatown. My heart throbbed with excitement as we entered. Dr. Sun received us cordially in his room. It was a small room with a couch, several chairs, and a small desk. There was a wash basin by the window. The curtains were drawn.

Mr. Liu introduced me to the esteemed leader of China's revolutionary movement. His magnetic personality was such as to win the confidence of any who had a chance to meet him. Dr. Sun's ample and majestic forehead

and strong dark brows gave signs of a forceful intellect and indomitable will. His clear, inviting eyes revealed his candor of thought and warmth of heart, while his compressed lips and set jaw made people readily understand that he was a man of courage and decision. His general build was muscular and sturdy, giving the impression of strong nerves and steady emotions. In conversation his line of argument was clear and convincing, whether you agreed with him or not; unless you wished to discontinue he would keep on untiringly expounding his theories to you. He spoke slowly but distinctly and one felt behind his words a deep sincerity. He also listened easily yet was not slow to catch essential points.

Later I found him to be an ardent reader of a variety of books, both Chinese and English. He saved all the money he could to buy books. He was a slow reader but had an extraordinary retentive power. Dr. Sun's wide reading gave him a clear understanding of the development of both Chinese and Western civilizations.

He enjoyed jokes—though he seldom jested—laughing heartily when a good one was recounted to him.

He liked fish and vegetables for his meals, but seldom touched meat and preferred Chinese to Western cooking. "Chinese food is the best in the world," he would say.

Dr. Sun was a real democrat. He lectured in the streets of China-town in San Francisco. With banners of the Nationalist party streaming in the air, he would stand on the sidewalk and talk to the crowd gathering around him. He understood the psychology of the man in the street and could reduce his own language to the simplest terms. "What is revolution?" he would ask rhetorically. "Down with the rule of the Manchus!" The crowd understood and joined in in chorus. Then he would go on explaining in very simple language why the Manchus must be done away with and what he would do when a republican form of government was established in China—how many benefits the people would reap from a new regime.

He would often size up an audience to which he was about to speak, choose an appropriate subject, and improvise a suitable discourse, expressing himself with great eloquence. He usually carried the audience with him to the very end. He was always ready to speak for he possessed a remarkable ability to carry it with him.

Dr. Sun's deep understanding of human nature, his intense love of his country and people, and his insight into what China needed in building up her new nationhood gave him unquestioned leadership in the development of young China. Between travels in the southern and eastern states and in Europe he came back every so often to San Francisco, where Liu Chun-yu and I had the pleasure of seeing him whenever he came.

On October 8, 1911, at about eight o'clock in the evening, Dr. Sun came into the editorial room of the *Chinese Free Press* wearing a dark overcoat and a derby hat. He appeared happy, though not in the least excited, as he said calmly that from news he had received through certain sources things seemed to be turning out well—the group of people who had laid plans for revolution in Hankow and Wuchang were ready for action. Two days later news reached San Francisco that revolution had broken out in Wuchang. This was the revolution of October 10, 1911, which eventually overthrew the Manchu Dynasty. On that day the Republic of China was born.

Urgent cablegrams advised Dr. Sun to come back to lead the revolution. He left San Francisco and returned to China by way of Europe. On January 1, 1912, he was inaugurated at Nanking as Provisional President of the Republic, and China entered on a new life.

Under Dr. Sun's guidance, for three consecutive years Liu Chun-yu and I wrote editorials for the Chinese Free Press, each of us at first writing one every other day. We supplied these articles to the paper while studying at the university, often burning midnight oil to finish a piece for the next morning's issue. The university work was by no means light and we felt—especially myself—the burden of this extra labor. After the successful revolution Liu went back to China and I had to bear the brunt of the daily editorial war. Though I felt deeply for the future of my country, the constant practice of writing against my will ultimately killed in me all interest in writing. In the unremitting pressure and rush under which I labored, the quality of production deteriorated and I formed the habit of loose and hurried thinking and careless choice of words. Sometimes my thought flowed reluctantly as water through a clogged pipe, but the words still rushed from my pen like a swarm of aimless wanderers. I was rather exasperated at these unwelcome guests. I would, however, let them go since they filled up the columns.

When I first took the job I found a real pleasure in writing, fitting words

to thoughts like coins into a slot machine. Only when I tried to jam all the coins into the slots at once, the machine got clogged and refused to take in the superfluous ones, which spilled all around the floor, so to speak. This is how meaningless words fill space when you are forced to write in a rush.

After my graduation in 1912 I gave up the job and felt a great release. Thereafter I feared writing as a schoolboy would Latin composition. When labor is drudgery and done in a hurry as well, no good work will come of it. The bad habits thus formed were difficult to eradicate for years after.

On the Pacific coast during my college days about fifty thousand Chinese immigrants clustered around the centers in the various cities—Sacramento, San Francisco, Oakland, San José, Los Angeles, and others—with isolated small groups or individuals dotting the smaller towns and villages. These centers were called Chinatowns. Chinatown in San Francisco was the largest of all, with a Chinese population of more than twenty thousand. The main street was originally Dupont Street, but its name was afterward changed to Grant Avenue, for what reason I do not know. Grant Avenue was a very prosperous street. Oriental bazaars, Chinese restaurants known as "chop suey houses," fortunetelling stands, gambling houses in the guise of social or literary clubs, and temples for worship of Chinese gods—called "joss houses"—attracted the attention of tourists, sight-seers, and pleasure-seekers. Once a pretty young American told me that she had seen a wonderful thing in an Oriental bazaar—a Buddha sitting in an artichoke; and had eaten bird's nest soup, sharks' fins, and chop suey in a Chinese restaurant. She was much excited over it. Her younger sisters listened with wondering eyes and gaping mouths. "I declare!" said the grandmother, looking over her spectacles while her hands were busy with her knitting.

"How do you eat soup with chopsticks?" a younger sister asked curiously.

"As you do with your soda straws, my young lady," said I. All joined in the laughter.

In small towns my countrymen kept laundry establishments. Day in and day out they washed and washed from dawn till dusk and often late into the night. The reason many American families liked to send their laundry to the Chinese was because hand wash did not wear out the materials as easily as machines. These hard-working sons of the Celestial Empire saved every bit

of their earnings by living a frugal life; they slung silver or gold pieces into the savings bags hidden under their beds and made liberal contributions to the cause of Dr. Sun's revolutionary movement or sent money home to support their families and relatives in Canton, thus helping to enrich the villages of their province.

Kwangtung was the richest province of China, not only because the people did prosperous business in Hongkong and elsewhere but because it was the reservoir into which gold trickled from all parts of the world where there were Chinese colonies—Malaya, the Dutch East Indies[2] , the Philippine Islands, North and South America, etc. It was from this province that most of the émigrés from China originally came.

The Chinese working and living in foreign lands, numbering in the millions, were not there to exploit. Rather, their labor has been exploited. They had no capital other than the flesh and blood they were given in their mothers' wombs. With hard work, frugality, and endurance, they labored like bees carrying their tiny specks of Sweetness from distant flowers to build up honeycombs in China. There was no political power to back them up, and they carried no guns. They helped to build railroads, open mines, raise rubber; in return for their labor they received a few dollars or shillings or rupees or guldens for a day's hard work. Some, to be sure, especially in Singapore and the Dutch East Indies, became rich and owned palatial mansions and villas, living like maharajahs. A number rose to the level of the middle class and owned property. But the rich and well to do were in the minority; the rank and file had to work hard, and only by hard work managed to make a living and put by some savings.

Among the Chinese in America there were neither very rich nor very poor. Most of them were honest, hard-working people. Almost all had some savings to contribute to that great reservoir, the province of Kwangtung. Their mode of life was mainly Chinese. Taking a boat along the Sacramento River, one would see Chinese towns or villages perched on the banks with bold Chinese signboards in front of the shops. One felt as if he were sailing on the Yangtze River or the Grand Canal in China.

I landed once at one of these Sacramento River Chinatowns and stayed with the owner of an asparagus plantation, Tin San, a friend of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He treated me to tender asparagus, fat and juicy. Thereafter, whenever I

had asparagus for dinner I thought of him. He had a cannery for this delicious vegetable, under American brand names. So I often think that some of the American canned asparagus may have been raised and canned by the Chinese. His way of making money was really good and ingenious. He kept places of amusement for his men, arguing that they must have some diversion after the day's work and if he had not established these houses they would go to other places run by his neighbors. He wanted the water to flow into his own gardens, so to speak, to feed his own plants. His plants—or rather dollars—did indeed grow from the voluntary contributions of his men to these amusement places.

The Chinese immigrants in America as well as elsewhere were truly loyal sons and daughters of that Flowery Kingdom. The men wore queues and some of the women even practised foot-binding. In the streets of Chinatown in San Francisco one could find fortunetellers. One such man who was telling a white man's fortune said to him, "Good luck. By and by, plenty of money." A Negro standing by wanted to have his fortune told and was very much pleased to hear the same words repeated to him. Everything would have been all right if the prophet had stopped there. But he went on to say, "By and by, no more black. Like him—" pointing with his index finger at the white man. The Negro instead of being pleased got mad and kicked over the fortuneteller's stand. This was a case where compliments, overdone, become insults.

There were grocery stores selling salt fish, eels, edible snakes, bean sauce, sharks' fins, birds' nests, dried abalones, and other Cantonese stuff brought to America from Canton or Hongkong. Once I went to one of the groceries and tried to buy something. Failing to make the man understand my poor Cantonese dialect, I wrote on paper what I wanted. An old woman standing by saw my writing and being ignorant of the fact that China has only one written language for the whole country, despite her many dialects was surprised and asked, if this Chinese cannot speak Chinese (meaning Cantonese), how can he write it? A group of curious people gathered around me. One who could speak enough mandarin to make me understand asked, "Have you ever been in the provincial capital of Canton?" "No," I replied. "Then where did you do your shopping?" "Shanghai," I laughed, and went away with a bottle of bean sauce and a package under my arm.

Schools in Chinatown still stuck to the old curriculum. Pupils were

taught to read aloud the old books just as I had been taught in China. The American schools not far away had no influence on them.

These were the times before the revolution. After that date Chinatown began to change, for China herself was changing—changing rapidly. In the course of a few years the fortunetellers disappeared. The number of queues fast decreased until they were gone. The young girls stopped their foot-binding. The schools were reformed and adopted a modern curriculum; more children were sent to near-by American schools. Chinatown resisted the influence of its American neighbors but followed in the footsteps of the mother country in reforms and mode of living. These loyal sons and daughters of China!

[1] Tsai Hsun：溥仪父应为醇亲王载沣（Tsai Feng）。此处应为作者笔误。

[2] Dutch East Indies：荷属东印度，指荷兰殖民统治下的印度尼西亚。

CHAPTER 11 NEW YORK

As the years went on my mental horizon extended and I became more and more self-confident. In 1912 I was graduated with honors in education and went to Columbia University in New York City for my postgraduate work.

Here I learned the method and acquired the spirit of scientific research as applied to social phenomena. Among the professors who taught me untiringly, from whom I drew my inspiration and to whom I am greatly indebted, there is one I wish to mention particularly because of his connection with Peking University. He is Professor John Dewey, who taught Dr. Hu Shih and myself at Columbia, and later through his writings, lectures, and personal contacts with contemporary thinkers in China, during his two-year sojourn as visiting professor at the National University of Peking, influenced Chinese educational theories and practice to a great extent. His pragmatism finds its counterpart in the practical Chinese mentality. But he warned us that "if a thing is too practical it becomes impractical."

Of the years at Columbia I shall not speak in detail. They were most enriching. I was now acclimated to America and to the language and could absorb what came within my orbit with less overwhelming effort of adaptation.

In New York I was impressed by the skyscrapers, the rapid circulation of subways and elevated trains, the dazzling lights of moving advertisements on the tops of tall buildings; the theatres, night clubs, hotels, and restaurants; fashionable Fifth Avenue, Greenwich Village, the East Side slums, and so on.

On the social side one found Yankees, Irish, Poles, Italians, Greeks, Jews, all living side by side in a neighborly way, and a few thousand of my own countrymen clustered around Chinatown. In my time there were in the great metropolis five hundred Chinese restaurants catering to the public. The agglomerated cosmopolitan mass of the city population, with its politicians, gangsters, scholars, artists, financiers, industrialists, multimillionaires, slum-dwellers, and many others, was fundamentally an American product. There is nothing further from the truth than to say, "When you get into New York, you get out of America." America alone is capable of producing such a great,

highly industrialized city and vast melting pot. There was little racial friction. For in New York anyone can do anything he likes if he knows how to stay inside the law. Everyone is permitted to go his own way if he observes a certain degree of public decency. Anyone can expound his theories of society and government if he can find an audience.

Liberty within the orbit of the law and freedom of thought and speech within the domain of reason had free play. Great industries, international banking and big business, and the utilization of invention, engineering, and material resources to the fullest extent, all showed the spirit and application of Americanism. In New York one found it in concentrated form. In the midst of this concentration the eye of the observer is easily dazzled by the glaring lights, thus losing sight of Americanism in its normal state as one would see it elsewhere in America.

During the summer vacations I would go to the Adirondacks. One summer, with a few Chinese friends, I went to Rainbow Lake and camped on one of its hilly islets. In the daytime we went boating and fishing on near-by lakes. Our catches were quite rich—pike weighing over ten pounds were among our prizes for a day's work and pleasure. Big fat frogs were found a-plenty around the island on which we camped. I had learned to catch frogs in my village childhood in China and carried the art over to America. A rod, a string, and a hook rounded out of a good-sized needle with a piece of red cloth attached to it were sufficient for frog fishing; the improvised outfit worked wonders. Usually we could catch two dozen of them in an hour. This was more than enough for two delicious meals a day. The people living around the lake had never eaten frogs—they admired our art of frog fishing but at the bottom of their hearts must have thought, "The heathen Chinee is peculiar."

In the evenings we often joined their barn dances to the tune of the fiddle played by the host. One of the songs they all sang, a part of which still lurks in my recollection, runs something like this:

> All the hinges are rusty
>
> And the doors are falling down,
>
> The roof lets in sunshine and rain—
>
> And the only friend I have
>
> Is the little yellow dog

On the trail behind the bush.

This reflects the loneliness of a solitary hermitage in the mountain region, but to the city-dwellers it depicted a charming, quiet life.

Sometimes we penetrated into virgin forests where the luxuriant leaves veiled the sky like thick clouds. The junipers growing along the trail gave out their aromatic scent, and we picked fragrant evergreen branches to make pillows which would bring nature to our beds and send out floating odors to sweeten our gentle sleep.

Sometimes we lost our way back in the dense woods. We would listen then for the whistle of a train to lead us to the railroad tracks. Experience taught me later to take a compass when going into the woods.

To go back to city life after staying in the country for some time is really a pleasure. The city looks refreshed when you come back to it; the country seems doubly enchanting if you go there from the city. It is all because of the change, the contrast. When foreigners go to China they are often charmed with the complacent Chinese life and with the scenery. A Chinese in a foreign land is often delighted with its city life. So you frequently find a Westerner more enthusiastic about things Chinese than the Chinese themselves, and vice versa. It is a change, a contrast, which breaks monotony and refreshes the mind. But the intrinsic values of things are not altered by these changes of mental approach.

During my student days in New York Sino-Japanese relations took a turn which left the two countries at loggerheads later on. After some fifty years of reforms, Japan showed her strength in 1894 by delivering a blow at China. Instead of resentment and enmity, China returned good for evil. The unfriendly act, contrary to expectations, invoked rather the admiration and gratitude of the Chinese people—admiration for Japan's great reforms, accomplished in the short span of fifty years, and gratitude for thus awakening China to her future possibilities. It rekindled the dying flame of hope in China's heart. For some time thereafter she lived under inspiration drawn from Japanese example.

Students went to Japan by thousands every year to study. China's new military, police, and school systems were developed and headed by students returned from Japan. Through Japan, China began to see the significance of Western civilization. The Russo-Japanese War gave further impetus to

China's reforms—Japan was held in the hearts of the Chinese as an idol.[1]

China absorbed Western civilization gradually through her neighbor, but soon realized that the currents flowing in Japan, from which she drank the waters of modern wisdom, had their source in Europe or America. It was a happy coincidence that America returned the Boxer indemnity; China used it to send more students to the United States than she had done before. Students had previously been sent to Europe and America on government scholarships or by private means, but the number was small. Those who returned direct from the West now grew in numbers and began to occupy some of the key positions in government, industry, commercial enterprise, and educational fields. Missionaries, especially American, helped to educate the youth of the country through mission schools.

Thus, culturally speaking, China began to drift away from Japan. The Japanese idol dwindled in Chinese hearts. And the Japanese were not aware of it.

Taking advantage of the first World War, in 1915 Japan suddenly delivered to Yuan Shih-kai's government the famous Twenty-One Demands, enforcement of which would have reduced China to a Japanese protectorate. This rash act grew out of the upset of the balance of power in the Far East, owing to the preoccupation of the Western Powers with the war and the rapid decline of the military might of Tsarist Russia. It turned China's face once and for all toward the West, and the consequent parting of the ways of the two countries was to change the course of international politics in the years to come. Had Japan been farsighted enough to lend a helping hand to her neighbor in her period of distress, China would have remained a friend. What would have been the effect of this union upon World War II?

While I was in New York the substance of the Twenty-One Demands was allowed to leak out by the Chinese Legation at Washington. It created consternation in all the capitals of the Western Powers. A boycott of Japanese goods spread like wildfire throughout China as a feeble protest, but the Japanese navy was concentrated at important Chinese ports and her armed forces mobilized in south Manchuria and Shantung. On May 7, 1915, four months after the presentation of the demands, Japan sent an ultimatum to Yuan Shih-kai and two days later it was accepted.

By force of circumstances the demands in the course of time dwindled

to virtually nothing. But the admiration and gratitude of China were thus turned into fear and suspicion which were to grow in the hearts of her millions. Thereafter, whatever Japan had to say China received with suspicion; whatever she did China watched with fear. The more she professed sincerity, the more China suspected a sinister design behind it.

"Why don't you love us as we love you?" our neighbor would ask. "How can we love you when you make love with the bayonet?" we would reply.

"Why should China play off the Western Powers against Japan?" a Japanese general asked me one day, a few years before the Mukden Incident.

"To maintain the balance of power and thus save China from being swallowed up by you," I replied frankly.

"Japan swallow up China! How could we? It's silly."

"It is not silly, General. Didn't Japan deliver us her Twenty-One Demands during the last war, when the Powers were preoccupied? If those demands had been carried into effect, Japan would be in a position to gobble up all China."

"So, so—?" said the general, as if in surprise.

"Yes, yes," I replied briefly.

[1] 关于日俄战争对当时中国的影响，可以参见雷颐《百年前国人的日俄战争观》：“此前十年的甲午战争使一些先进者感到中国的富强在于维新, 但有此认识者毕竟少而又少, 而此时的日俄战争再次给国人以强烈刺激,促人猛醒, 社会舆论和观念发生了相当大的变化, 越来越多的人相信立宪可以富国强兵、可以救亡图存, 甚至某些原先反对立宪的守旧人物也转而倾向支持立宪。这样， 原本影响不大、只是少数人的立宪活动因此影响大增, 迅速高涨,对全国性立宪运动的形成起了有力的推动作用。”

第二部 留美时期

负笈西行

我拿出一部分钱，买了衣帽杂物和一张往旧金山的头等船票，其余的钱就以两块墨西哥鹰洋对一元美金的比例兑取美钞。上船前，找了一家理发店剪去辫子。理发匠举起利剪，抓住我的辫子时，我简直有上断头台的感觉，全身汗毛直竖。咔嚓两声，辫子剪断了，我的脑袋也像是随着剪声落了地。理发匠用纸把辫子包好还给我。上船后，我把这包辫子丢入大海，让它随波逐浪而去。

我拿到医生证明书和护照之后，到上海的美国总领事馆请求签证，按照移民条例第六节规定，申请以学生身份赴美。签证后买好船票，搭乘美国邮船公司的轮船往旧金山。那时是一九O八年八月底。同船有十来位中国同学。邮船启碇，慢慢驶离祖国海岸，我的早年生活也就此告一段落。在上船前，我曾经练了好几个星期的秋千，所以在二十四天的航程中，一直没有晕船。

这只邮船比我前一年赴神户时所搭的那艘日本轮船远为宽大豪华。船上最使我惊奇的事是跳舞。我生长在男女授受不亲的社会里，初次看到男女相偎相依、婆娑起舞的情形，觉得非常不顺眼。旁观了几次之后，我才慢慢开始欣赏跳舞的优美。

船到旧金山，一位港口医生上船来检查健康，对中国学生的眼睛检查得特别仔细，惟恐有人患砂眼。

我上岸时第一个印象是移民局官员和警察所反映的国家权力。美国这个共和政体的国家，她的人民似乎比君主专制的中国人民更少个人自由，这简直弄得我莫名其妙。我们在中国时，天高皇帝远，一向很少感受国家权力的拘束。

我们在旧金山逗留了几个钟头，还到唐人街转了一趟。我和另一位也预备进加州大学的同学，由加大中国同学会主席领路到了卜技利。晚饭在夏德克路的天光餐馆吃，每人付两角五分钱，吃的有汤、红烧牛肉、一块苹果饼和一杯咖啡。我租了班克洛夫路的柯尔太太的一间房子。柯尔太太已有相当年纪，但是很健谈，对中国学生很关切。她吩咐我出门以前必定要关灯；洗东西以后必定要关好自来水龙头；花生壳决不能丢到抽水马桶里；银钱决不能随便丢在桌子上；出门时不必锁门；

如果我愿意锁门，就把钥匙留下藏在地毯下面。她说："如果你需要什么，你只管告诉我就是了。我很了解客居异国的心情。你就拿我的家当自己的家好了，不必客气。"随后她向我道了晚安才走。

到卜技利时，加大秋季班已经开学，因此我只好等到春季再说。我请了加大的一位女同学给我补习英文，学费每小时五毛钱。这段时间内，我把全部精力花在英文上。每天早晨必读《旧金山纪事报》，另外还订了一份《展望》周刊，作为精读的资料。《韦氏大学字典》一直不离手，碰到稍有疑问的字就打开字典来查，四个月下来，居然字汇大增，读报纸、杂志也不觉得吃力了。

初到美国时，就英文而论，我简直是半盲、半聋、半哑。如果我希望能在学校里跟得上功课，这些障碍必须先行克服。头一重障碍，经过四个月的不断努力，总算大致克服了，完全克服它也不过是时间问题而已。第二重障碍要靠多听人家谈话和教授讲课才能慢慢克服。教授讲课还算比较容易懂，因为教授们的演讲，思想有系统，语调比较慢，发音也清晰。普通谈话的范围比较广泛，而且包括一连串互不衔接而且五花八门的观念，要抓住谈话的线索颇不容易。到剧院去听话剧对白，其难易则介于演讲与谈话之间。

最困难的是克服开不得口的难关。主要的原因是我在中国时一开始就走错了路。错误的习惯已经根深蒂固，必须花很长的时间才能矫正过来。其次是我根本不懂语音学的方法，单凭模仿，不一定能得到准确的发音。因为口中发出的声音与耳朵听到的声音之间，以及耳朵与口舌之间，究竟还有很大的差别。耳朵不一定能够抓住正确的音调，口舌也不一定能够遵照耳朵的指示发出正确的声音。此外，加利福尼亚这个地方对中国人并不太亲热，难得使人不生身处异地、万事小心的感觉。我更特别敏感，不敢贸然与美国人厮混，别人想接近我时，我也很怕羞。许多可贵的社会关系都因此断绝了。语言只有多与人接触才能进步，我既然这样固步自封，这方面的进步自然慢之又慢。后来我进了加大，这种口语上的缺陷，严重地影响了我在课内课外参加讨论的机会。有人问我问题时，我常常是脸一红，头一低，不知如何回答。教授们总算特别客气，从来不勉强我回答任何问题。也许他们了解我处境的窘困，也许是他们知道我是外国人，所以特别加以原谅。无论如何，他们知道，我虽然噤若寒蝉，对功课仍旧很用心，因为我的考试成绩多半列在乙等以上。

日月如梭，不久圣诞节就到了。圣诞前夕，我独自在一家餐馆里吃晚餐。菜比初到旧金山那一天好得多，花的钱，不必说，也非那次可

比。饭后上街闲游，碰到没有拉起窗帘的人家，我就从窗户眺望他们欢欣团聚的情形。每户人家差不多都有满饰小电灯或蜡烛的圣诞树。

大除夕，我和几位中国同学从卜技利渡海到旧金山。从渡轮上可以远远地看到对岸的钟楼装饰着几千盏电灯。上岸后，发现旧金山到处人山人海。码头上候船室里的自动钢琴震耳欲聋。这些钢琴只要投下一枚镍币就能自动弹奏。我随着人潮慢慢地在大街上闲逛，耳朵里满是小喇叭和小鼗鼓的嘈音，玩喇叭和鼗鼓的人特别喜欢凑着漂亮的太太小姐们的耳朵开玩笑，这些太太小姐们虽然耳朵吃了苦头，但仍然觉得这些玩笑是一种恭维，因此总是和颜悦色地报以一笑。空中到处飘扬着五彩纸条，有的甚至缠到人们的颈上。碎花纸像彩色的雪花飞落在人们的头上。我转到唐人街，发现成群结队的人在欣赏东方色彩的橱窗装饰。噼噼啪啪的鞭炮声，使人觉得像在中国过新年。

午夜钟声一响，大家一面提高嗓门大喊"新年快乐！"一面乱揿汽车喇叭或者大摇响铃。五光十色的纸条片更是漫天飞舞。这是我在美国所过的第一个新年。美国人的和善和天真好玩使我留下深刻的印象。在他们的欢笑嬉游中可以看出美国的确是个年轻的民族。

那晚回家时已经很迟，身体虽然疲倦，精神却很轻松，上床后一直睡到第二天日上三竿起身。早饭后，我在卜技利的住宅区打了个转。住宅多半沿着徐缓的山坡建筑，四周则围绕着花畦和草地。玫瑰花在加州温和的冬天里到处盛开着，卜技利四季如春，通常长空蔚蓝不见朵云，很像云南的昆明、台湾的台南，而温度较低。

新年之后，我兴奋地等待着加大第二个学期在二月间开学。心中满怀希望，我对语言的学习也加倍努力。快开学时，我以上海南洋公学的学分申请入学，结果获准进入农学院，以中文学分抵补了拉丁文的学分。

我过去的准备工作偏重文科方面，结果转到农科，我的动机应该在这里解释一下。我转农科并非像有些青年学生听天由命那样的随便，而是经过深思熟虑才慎重决定的。我想，中国既然以农立国，那末只有改进农业，才能使最大多数的中国人得到幸福和温饱。同时我幼时在以耕作为主的乡村里生长，对花草树木和鸟兽虫鱼本来就有浓厚的兴趣。为国家，为私人，农业都似乎是最合适的学科。此外我还有一个次要的考虑，我在孩提时代身体一向羸弱，我想如果能在田野里多接触新鲜空气，对我身体一定大有裨益。

第一学期选的功课是植物学、动物学、生理卫生、英文、德文和体

育。除了体育是每周六小时以外，其余每科都是三小时。我按照指示到大学路一家书店买教科书。我想买植物学教科书时，说了半天店员还是听不懂，后来我只好用手指指书架上那本书，他才恍然大悟。原来植物学这个名词的英文字（botany）重音应放在第一音节，我却把重音念在第二音节上去了。经过店员重复一遍这个字的读音以后，我才发现自己的错误。买了书以后心里很高兴，既买到书，同时又学会一个英文字的正确发音，真是一举两得。后来教授要我们到植物园去研究某种草木，我因为不知道植物园在哪里，只好向管清洁的校工打听。念到植物园的植物这个英文字时，我自作聪明把重音念在第一音节上，我心里想，"植物学"这个英文字的重音既然在第一音节上，举一反三，"植物园"中"植物"一字的重音自然也应该在第一音节上了。结果弄得那位工友瞠目不知所答。我只好重复了一遍，工友揣摩了一会之后才恍然大悟。原来是我举一反三的办法出了毛病，"植物（的）"这个字的重音却应该在第二音节上。

可惜当时我还没有学会任何美国的俚语村言，否则恐怕"他×的"一类粗话早已脱口而出了。英文重音的捉摸不定曾经使许多学英文的人伤透脑筋。固然重音也有规则可循，但是每条规则总有许多例外，以致例外的反而成了规则。因此每个字都得个别处理，要花很大工夫才能慢慢学会每个字的正确发音。

植物学和动物学引起我很大的兴趣。植物学教授在讲解显微镜用法时曾说过笑话："你们不要以为从显微镜里可以看到大如巨象的苍蝇。事实上，你们恐怕连半只苍蝇腿都看不到呢！"

我在中国读书时，课余之暇常常喜欢研究鸟兽虫鱼的生活情形，尤其在私塾时代，一天到晚死背枯燥乏味的古书，这种肤浅的自然研究正可调节一下单调的生活，因而也就慢慢培养了观察自然的兴趣。早年的即兴观察和目前对动植物学的兴趣，有一个共通的出发点——好奇，最大的差别在于使用的工具。显微镜是眼睛的引伸，可以使人看到肉眼无法辨别的细微物体。使用显微镜的结果，使人发现多如繁星的细菌。望远镜是眼睛的另一种引伸，利用望远镜可以观察无穷无数的繁星。我渴望到黎克天文台去见识见识世界上最大的一具望远镜，但是始终因故不克遂愿。后来花了二毛五分钱，从街头的一架望远镜去眺望行星，发现银色的土星带着耀目的星环，在蔚蓝的天空中冉冉移动，与学校里天体挂图上所看到的一模一样。当时的经验真是又惊又喜。

在农学院读了半年，一位朋友劝我放弃农科之类的实用科学，另选一门社会科学。他认为农科固然重要，但是还有别的学科对中国更重

要。他说，除非我们能参酌西方国家的近代发展来解决政治问题和社会问题，那末农业问题也就无法解决。其次，如果不改修社会科学，我的眼光可能就局限于实用科学的小圈子，无法了解农业以外的重大问题。

我曾经研究过中国史，也研究过西洋史的概略，对各时代各国国力消长的情形有相当的了解，因此对于这位朋友的忠告颇能领略。他的话使我一再考虑，因为我已再度面临三岔路口，迟早总得有个决定。我曾经提到，碰到足以影响一生的重要关头，我从不轻率作任何决定。

一天清早，我正预备到农场看挤牛奶的情形，路上碰到一群蹦蹦跳跳的小孩子去上学。我忽然想起：我在这里研究如何培育动物和植物，为什么不研究研究如何培育人才呢？农场不去了，一直跑上卜技利的山头，坐在一棵古橡树下，凝望着旭日照耀下的旧金山和金门港口的美景。脑子里思潮起伏，细数着中国历代兴衰的前因后果。忽然之间，眼前恍惚有一群天真烂漫的小孩，像凌波仙子一样从海湾的波涛中涌出，要求我给他们读书的学校，于是我毅然决定转到社会科学学院，选教育为主科。

从山头跑回学校时已近晌午，我直跑到注册组去找苏顿先生，请求从农学院转到社会科学学院。经过一番诘难和辩解，转院总算成功了。从一九O九年秋天起，我开始选修逻辑学、伦理学、心理学和英国史，我的大学生涯也从此步入正途。

岁月平静而愉快地过去，时间之沙积聚的结果，我的知识也在大学的学术气氛下逐渐增长。

从逻辑学里我学到思维是有一定的方法的。换一句话说，我们必须根据逻辑方法来思考。观察对于归纳推理非常重要，因此我希望训练自己的观察能力。我开始观察校园之内，以及大学附近所接触到的许许多多事物。母牛为什么要装铃？尤加利树的叶子为什么垂直地挂着？加州的罂粟花为什么都是黄的？

有一天早晨，我沿着卜技利的山坡散步时，发现一条水管正在汩汩流水。水从哪里来的呢？沿着水管找，终于找到了水源，我的心中也充满了童稚的喜悦。这时我已到了相当高的山头，我很想知道山岭那一边究竟有些什么。翻过一山又一山，发现这些小山简直多不胜数。越爬越高，而且离住处也越来越远。最后只好放弃初衷，沿着一条小路回家。归途上发现许多农家，还有许多清澈的小溪和幽静的树林。

这种漫无选择的观察，结果自然只有失望。最后我终于发现，观察必须有固定的对象和确切的目的，不能听凭兴之所至乱观乱察。天文学

家观察星球，植物学家则观察草木的生长。后来我又发现另外一种称为实验的受控制的观察，科学发现就是由实验而来的。

念伦理学时，我学到道德原则与行为规律的区别。道德原则可以告诉我们，为什么若干公认的规律切合某阶段文化的需要；行为规律只要求大家遵守，不必追究规律背后的原则问题，也不必追究这些规律与现代社会的关系。

在中国，人们的生活是受公认的行为规律所规范的。追究这些行为规律背后的道德原则时，我的脑海里马上起了汹涌的波澜。一向被认为最终真理的旧有道德基础，像遭遇地震一样开始摇摇欲坠。同时，赫利·奥佛斯屈里特教授也给了我很大的启示。传统的教授通常只知道信仰公认的真理，同时希望他的学生们如此做。奥佛斯屈里特教授的思想却特别敏锐，因此促使我探测道德原则的基石上的每一裂缝。我们上伦理学课，总有一场热烈的讨论。我平常不敢参加这些讨论，一方面由于我英语会话能力不够，另一方面是由于自卑感而来的怕羞心理。因为一九O九年前后是中国现代史上最黑暗的时期，而且我们对中国的前途也很少自信。虽然不参加讨论，听得却很用心，很像一只聪明伶俐的小狗竖起耳朵听它主人说话，意思是懂了，嘴巴却不能讲。

我们必须读的参考书包括柏拉图、亚里士多德、约翰福音和奥里留士等。念了柏拉图和亚里士多德之后，使我对希腊人穷根究底的头脑留有深刻的印象。我觉得四书富于道德的色彩，希腊哲学家却洋溢着敏锐的智慧。这印象使我后来研究希腊史，并且做了一次古代希腊思想和中国古代思想的比较研究。研究希腊哲学家的结果，同时使我了解希腊思想在现代欧洲文明中所占的重要地位，以及希腊文被认为自由教育不可缺少的一部分的原因。

读了约翰福音之后，我开始了解耶稣所宣扬的爱的意义。如果撇开基督教的教条和教会不谈，这种"爱敌如己"的哲学，实在是最高的理想。如果一个人真能爱敌如己，那末世界上也就不会再有敌人了。

"你们能够做到爱你们的敌人吗？"教授向全班发问，没有人回答。

"我不能够，"那只一直尖起耳朵谛听的狗吠了。

"不能够？"教授微笑着反问。

我引述了孔子所说的"以直报怨，以德报德"作答。教授听了以后插嘴说："这也很有道理啊，是不是？"同学们没有人回答。下课后一位年轻的美国男同学过来拍拍我的肩膀说："爱敌如己！吹牛，是不是？"

奥里留士的言论很像宋朝哲学家。他沉思默想的结果，发现理智是一切行为的准则。如果把他的著述译为中文，并把他与宋儒相提并论，很可能使人真伪莫辨。

对于欧美的东西，我总喜欢用中国的尺度来衡量。这就是从已知到未知的办法。根据过去的经验，利用过去的经验获得新经验也就是获得新知识的正途。譬如说，如果一个小孩从来没有见过飞机，我们可以解释给他听，飞机像一只飞鸟，也像一只长着翅膀的船，他就会了解飞机是怎么回事。如果一个小孩根本没有见过鸟或船，使他了解飞机可就不容易了。一个中国学生如果要了解西方文明，也只能根据他对本国文化的了解。他对本国文化的了解愈深，对西方文化的了解愈易，根据这种推理，我觉得自己在国内求学时，常常为读经史子集而深夜不眠，这种苦功总算没有白费，我现在之所以能够吸收、消化西洋思想，完全是这些苦功的结果。我想，我今后的工作就是找出中国究竟缺少些什么，然后向西方吸收所需要的东西。心里有了这些观念以后，我渐渐增加了自信，减少了羞怯，同时前途也显得更为光明。

我对学问的兴趣很广泛，选读的功课包括上古史、英国史、哲学史、政治学，甚至译为英文的俄国文学。托尔斯泰的作品更是爱不释手，尤其是《安娜·卡列尼娜》和《战争与和平》。我参加过许多著名学者和政治家的公开演讲会，听过桑太耶那、泰戈尔、大卫、斯坦、约登、威尔逊（当时是普林斯顿校长）以及其他学者的演讲。对科学、文学、艺术、政治和哲学我全有兴趣。也听过塔虎脱和罗斯福的演说。罗斯福在加大希腊剧场演说时，曾经说过："我攫取了巴拿马运河，国会要辩论，让它辩论就是了。"他演说时的强调语气和典型姿势，至今犹历历可忆。

中国的传统教育似乎很褊狭，但是在这种教育的范围之内也包罗万象。有如百科全书，这种表面褊狭的教育，事实上恰是广泛知识的基础。我对知识的兴趣很广泛，可能就是传统思想训练的结果。中国古书包括各方面的知识，例如历史、哲学、文学、政治经济、政府制度、军事、外交等等。事实上绝不褊狭。古书之外，学生们还接受农业、灌溉、天文、数学等实用科学的知识。可见中国的传统学者绝非褊狭的专家，相反地，他具备学问的广泛基础。除此之外，虚心追求真理是儒家学者的一贯目标，不过，他们的知识只限于书本上的学问，这也许是他们欠缺的地方。在某一意义上说，书本知识可能是褊狭的。

幼时曾经读过一本押韵的书，书名《幼学琼林》，里面包括的问题非常广泛，从天文地理到草木虫鱼无所不包，中间还夹杂着城市、商

业、耕作、游记、发明、哲学、政治等等题材。押韵的书容易背诵，到现在为止，我仍旧能够背出那本书的大部分。

卜技利的小山上有长满青苔的橡树和芳香扑鼻的尤加利树；田野里到处是黄色的罂粟花；私人花园里红玫瑰在温煦的加州太阳下盛放着。这里正是美国西部黄金世界，本地子弟的理想园地。我万幸得享母校的爱护和培育，使我这个来自东方古国的游子得以发育成长，衷心铭感，无以言宣。

加州气候冬暖夏凉，四季如春，我在这里的四年生活确是轻松愉快。加州少雨，因此户外活动很少受影响。冬天虽然有阵雨，也只是使山上的青草变得更绿，或者使花园中的玫瑰花洗涤得更娇艳。除了冬天阵雨之外，几乎没有任何恶劣的气候影响希腊剧场的演出，剧场四周围绕着密茂的尤加利树。莎翁名剧、希腊悲剧、星期演奏会和公开演讲会都在露天举行。离剧场不远是运动场，校际比赛和田径赛就在那里举行。青年运动员都竭其全力为他们的母校争取荣誉。美育、体育和智育齐头并进。这就是古希腊格言所称"健全的心寓于健全的身"——这就是古希腊格言的实践。

在校园的中心矗立着一座钟楼，睥睨着周围的建筑。通到大学路的大门口有一重大门，叫"赛色门"，门上有许多栩栩如生的浮雕裸像。这些裸像引起许多女学生的家长抗议。我的伦理学教授说："让女学生们多看一些男人的裸体像，可以纠正她们忸怩作态的习惯。"老图书馆（后来拆除改建为陀氏图书馆）的阅览室里就有维纳斯以及其他希腊女神裸体的塑像。但是男学生的家长从未有过批评。我初次看到这些希腊裸体人像时，心里也有点疑惑，为什么学校当局竟把这些"猥亵"的东西摆在智慧的源泉。后来，我猜想他们大概是要灌输"完美的思想寓于完美的身体"的观念。在希腊人看起来，美丽、健康和智慧是三位一体而不可分割的。

橡树丛中那次《仲夏夜之梦》的演出，真是美的极致。青春、爱情、美丽、欢愉全在这次可喜的演出中活生生地表现出来了。

学校附近有许多以希腊字母做代表的兄弟会和姊妹会。听说兄弟会和姊妹会的会员们欢聚一堂，生活非常愉快。我一直没有机会去作客。后来有人约我到某兄弟会去作客，但是附带一个条件——我必须投票选举这个兄弟会的会员出任班主席和其他职员。事先，他们曾经把全班同学列一名单，碰到可能选举他们的对头人，他们就说这个"要不得！"同时在名字上打上叉。

我到那个兄弟会时，备受殷勤招待，令人没齿难忘。第二天举行投票，为了确保中国人一诺千金的名誉，我自然照单圈选不误，同时我也很高兴能在这次竞选中结交了好几位朋友。

选举之后不久，学校里有一次营火会。究竟庆祝什么却记不清楚了。融融的火光照耀着这班青年的快乐面庞。男男女女齐声高歌。每一支歌结束时，必定有一阵呐喊。木柴的爆裂声，女孩子吃吃的笑声和男孩子的呼喊声，至今犹在耳际萦绕。我忽然在火光烛照下邂逅一位曾经受我一票之赐的同学。使我大出意外的是这位同学竟对我视若路人，过去的那份亲热劲儿不知哪里去了！人情冷暖，大概就是如此吧！他对我的热情，我已经以"神圣的一票"来报答，有债还债，现在这笔账已经结清，谁也不欠谁的。从此以后，我再也不拿选举交换招待，同时在学校选举中从此没有再投票。

在"北楼"的地下室里，有一间同学经营的"合作社"，合作社的门口挂着一块牌子，上面写着："我们相信上帝，其余人等，一律现钱交易。"合作社里最兴隆的生意是五分钱一个的热狗，味道不错。

学校里最难忘的人是哲学馆的一位老工友，我的先生同学们也许已经忘记他，至少我始终忘不了。他个子高而瘦削，行动循规蹈矩。灰色的长眉毛几乎盖到眼睛，很像一只北京叭儿狗，眼睛深陷在眼眶里。从眉毛下面，人们可以发现他的眼睛闪烁着友善而热情的光辉。我和这位老工友一见如故，下课以后，或者星期天有空，我常常到地下室去拜访他，他从加州大学还是一个小规模的学校时开始，就一直住在那地下室里。

他当过兵，曾在内战期间在联邦军队麾下参加许多战役。他生活在回忆中，喜欢讲童年和内战的故事。我从他那里获悉早年美国的情形。这些情形离现在将近百年，许多情形与当时中国差不多，某些方面甚至还更糟。他告诉我，他幼年时美国流通好几种货币：英镑、法郎，还有荷兰盾。现代卫生设备在他看起来一文不值。有一次他指着一卷草纸对我说："现代的人虽然有这些卫生东西，还不是年纪轻轻就死了。我们当时可没有什么卫生设备，也没有你们所谓的现代医药。你看我，我年纪这么大，身体多健康！"他直起腰板，挺起胸脯，像一位立正的士兵，让我欣赏他的精神体魄。

西点军校在他看起来也是笑话，"你以为他们能打仗呀？那才笑话！他们全靠几套制服撑场面，游行时他们穿得倒真整齐。但是说到打仗——差远了！我可以教教他们。有一次作战时，我单枪匹马就把一队叛军杀得精光，如果他们想学习如何打仗，还是让他们来找我吧！"

虽然内战已经结束那末多年，他对参加南部同盟的人却始终恨之入骨。他说，有一次战役结束之后，他发现一位敌人受伤躺在地上，他正预备去救助。"你晓得这家伙怎么着？他一枪就向我射过来！"他瞪着两只眼睛狠狠地望着我，好像我就是那个不知好歹的家伙似的。我说："那你怎么办？""我一枪就把这畜生当场解决了。"他回答说。

这位军人出身的老工友，对我而论，是加州大学不可分的一部分，他自己也如此看法，因为他曾经亲见加大的发育成长。

美国华埠

我到美国第一年的十月底以前，中国发生了重大的变故，光绪皇帝和慈禧太后相继去世。关于这件事，在美国的中国学生队里有两种不同的传说：一说慈禧太后先去世，她的亲信怕光绪皇帝重掌政权，于是谋杀光绪皇帝以绝后患。另一说法是慈禧太后临死前派了一名太监到囚禁光绪的瀛台，告诉病弱的光绪帝说："老佛爷"希望他服用她送去的药，光绪帝自然了解太后的用意，就把药吞服了，不久毒发身亡。慈禧太后驾崩以前，已经接到光绪帝服毒死亡的报告，于是发下圣旨，宣布光绪之死，并由光绪的小侄子溥仪继承皇位。

不论这些说法的真确性如何，在卜技利的中国学生一致认为"老太婆"（这是大家私底下给慈禧太后的诨号）一死，中国必定有一场大乱。后来事实证明确是如此。溥仪登基以后，他的父亲载淳出任摄政王。皇帝是个小孩子，摄政王对政务也毫无经验，因此清廷的威信一落千丈，三年以后，辛亥革命成功，清室终于被推翻。

我早在一九O九年参加《大同日报》担任主笔。这报是孙中山先生在旧金山的革命机关报。那一年的一个秋天晚上，我与《大同日报》的另一个编辑，以后在国内大名鼎鼎的刘麻哥成禺，初次晋谒孙先生。他住在唐人街附近的史多克顿街的一家旅馆里。我进门的时候，因为心情紧张，一颗心怦怦直跳。孙先生在他的房间里很客气地接见我们。房间很小，一张床，几张椅子，还有一张小书桌。靠窗的地方有个小小的洗脸盆，窗帘是拉上的。

刘麻哥把我介绍给这位中国革命运动的领袖。孙先生似乎有一种不可抗拒的引力，任何人如果有机会和他谈话，马上会完全信赖他。他的天庭饱满，眉毛浓黑，一望而知是位智慧极高、意念坚强的人物。他的澄澈而和善的眼睛显示了他的坦率和热情。他的紧闭的嘴唇和坚定的下巴，则显示出他是个勇敢果断的人。他的肌肉坚实，身体强壮，予人镇定沉着的印象。谈话时他的论据清楚而有力，即使你不同意他的看法，也会觉得他的观点无可批驳。除非你有意打断话头，他总是娓娓不倦地向你发挥他的理论。他说话很慢，但是句句清楚，使人觉得他的话无不出于至诚。他也能很安详地听别人讲话，但是很快就抓住人家的谈话要点。

后来我发现他对各种书都有浓厚的兴趣，不论是中文书，或者英文书。他把可能节省下来的钱全部用来买书。他读书不快，但是记忆力却

非常惊人。孙先生博览群书，所以对中西文化的发展有清晰的了解。

他喜欢听笑话，虽然他自己很少说，每次听到有趣的笑话时总是大笑不止。

他喜欢鱼类和蔬菜，很少吃肉类食物。喜欢中菜，不大喜欢西菜。他常说："中国菜是全世界最好的菜。"

孙先生是位真正的民主主义者，他曾在旧金山唐人街的街头演说。头顶飘扬着国民党的党旗，他就站在人行道上向围集他四周的人演说。孙先生非常了解一般人的心理，总是尽量选用通俗平易的词句来表达他的思想。他会故意地问："什么叫革命？""革命就是打倒满洲佬。"听众很容易明白他的意思，因此就跟着喊打倒满洲佬。接着他就用极浅近的话解释，为什么必须打倒满洲佬，推翻满清建立共和以后他的计划怎么样，老百姓在新政府下可以享受什么好处等等。

在开始讲话以前，他总先估量一下他的听众，然后选择适当的题目，临时决定适当的讲话的方式，然后再滔滔不绝地发表他的意见。他能自始至终把握听众的注意力。他也随时愿意发表演说，因为他有惊人的演说天才。

孙中山先生对人性有深切的了解，对于祖国和人民有热烈的爱，对于建立新中国所需要的东西有深邃的见解。这一切的一切，使他在新中国的发展过程中成为无可置辩的领袖。他常常到南部各州、东部各州去旅行，有时又到欧洲，但是经常要回到旧金山来，每次回到旧金山，我和刘麻哥就去看他。

一九一一年十月八日，大概晚上八点钟左右，孙先生穿着一件深色的大衣和一顶常礼帽，到了《大同日报》的编辑部。他似乎很快乐，但是很镇静。他平静地告诉我们，据他从某方面得到的消息，一切似乎很顺利，计划在武汉起义的一群人已经完成布署，随时可以采取行动。两天以后，消息传至旧金山，武昌已经爆发革命了。这就是辛亥年十月十日的武汉革命，接着满清政府被推翻，这一天也成为中华民国的国庆日。

在孙先生的指导之下，我和刘麻哥为《大同日报》连续写了三年的社论。开始时我们两人轮流隔日撰写。我们一方面在加大读书，一方面为报纸写社论，常常开夜车到深夜，赶写第二天早上见报的文章。大学的功课绝不轻松，我们，尤其是我，深感这种额外工作负担之重。成功以后，刘麻哥回国了，我只好独立承当每日社论的重任。我虽然深深关切祖国的前途，但是这种身不由己的经常写作，终于扼杀了我一切写作

的兴趣。我一直在无休无止的压力下工作，而且仓促成文，作品的素质日见低落，而且养成散漫而匆促的思想习惯，用字也无暇推敲。有时思想阻滞，如同阻塞了的水管里的水滴，但是笔头的字还是像一群漫无目的的流浪者涌到纸上。我对于这些不速之客实在生气，但是我还是由他们去了，因为他们至少可以填满空白。

最初担任这份工作时，对于写作的确非常有兴趣，字斟句酌，务求至当。这情形很像选择适当的钱币，使它能投进自动售货机的放钱口。如果你匆匆忙忙希望把一大把钱币同时挤进放钱口，机器自然就阻塞了，多余的钱怎么也放不进去，结果就散落一地。一个人不得不在匆忙中写文章，情形就是这样，结果是毫无意义的一大堆文字浪费了篇幅。

一九一二年毕业后，我终于放弃了这份工作，心里感到很轻松。从此以后我一直怕写文章，很像美国小学生怕用拉丁文作文一样。工作如果成为苦差，并且必须在匆忙中完成，这种工作绝无好成绩。这样养成的坏习惯后来很难矫正。

在我四年的大学时期里，约有五万华侨集中在西海岸的各城市，包括萨克拉孟多、旧金山、屋、圣多谢、洛杉矶等，另外还有零星的小群华侨和个人散布在较小的城镇和乡村。华侨集中的区域就叫唐人街或中国城，也称华埠。旧金山的华埠是美洲各城中最大的一个，共有华侨两万余人。主要的街道原来叫杜邦街，后来改称葛兰德路，究竟为什么改，我不知道。葛兰德路很繁华。东方古董铺、普通称为"杂碎馆"的中国饭馆、算命测字的摊子、假借俱乐部名义的赌场、供奉中国神佛的庙宇等等，吸引了无数的游客和寻欢作乐的人。有一个年轻美丽的美国人告诉我，她曾在一家东方古董铺中看到一件非常稀奇的东西——一尊坐在一朵莲花座上的大佛；她还在一家中国饭馆吃过鸟巢（燕窝）、鱼翅和杂碎。她对这一切感到新奇万分，说得手舞足蹈。她的妹妹们都睁着眼睛、张着嘴巴听她。"真的啊！"她的老祖母从眼镜上面望着她，两只手则仍旧不停地织着毛线。

"你用筷子怎么喝汤呢？"一位小妹妹满腹狐疑地问。

"正像你用麦管吸汽水一样吸汤呀！小妹妹。"我代为回答，引得大家大笑。

也有许多华侨开洗衣店。他们一天到晚忙着浆洗衣服，常常忙到深夜。许多美国家庭喜欢把衣服送到中国洗衣店洗，因为手洗不像机器那样容易损坏衣服。这些来自"天朝"的子孙，节衣缩食省下有限的一点钱，把省下的钱装在袋里藏在床下。但是他们却慷慨地捐钱给孙中山先

生的革命运动，或者把钱寄回广东，扶养他们的家人或亲戚，同时使他们的故乡变为富足。

广东是中国最富的省份，一方面是广东人在香港以及其他地方经商发财的关系，另一方面也是因为各地华侨把积蓄汇回广东的缘故。华侨遍布于马来西亚、印度尼西亚、菲律宾及南美、北美各地。各地的华侨多半是从广东或福建来的。

上千万的华侨生活在外国，他们在外国辛勤工作从不剥削别人，相反地，他们的劳力却常常受到剥削。他们除父母所赐的血肉之躯外，别无资本。他们像一群蜜蜂，辛勤工作，节衣缩食，忍气吞声，把花蜜从遥远的花朵运送到在中国的蜂房。他们得不到任何政治力量的支持，他们也没有携带枪炮到外国来。他们帮着居留地的人民筑路、开矿、种植树木，以一天辛劳的工作换回几个美金或先令。不错，有些人，尤其是在新加坡和印度尼西亚，的确发了财，住着皇宫样的大厦和别墅，生活得像印度的土大王，另一些人也跻入中产阶级，买田置产，但是富有的和小康的究竟还是少数。大多数的华侨必须辛勤工作，而且只有辛勤工作才能糊口或稍有积蓄。

在美国的华侨，没有很富的，也没有很穷的。多数都是老实可靠、辛勤工作的人。几乎所有的人都寄一点钱回广东。他们的生活方式主要是中国式的。你如果乘一只船沿萨克拉孟多江航行，你可以看到两岸散布着一些华侨城镇和村落，店铺门前挂着大字书写的中文招牌如"长途粮食"、"道地药材"等类。你可能以为自己是在沿着长江或运河航行呢。

有一天，我曾经在萨克拉孟多江沿岸的一处中国城上岸，访一位芦笋园的主人。这位主人叫丁山，是孙中山先生的朋友，他拿鲜嫩的芦笋招待我，非常肥美多汁，后来一吃到芦笋，我总要想起他。他还有一间制造芦笋的罐头厂，所制的罐头借用美国商标出售。因此我常常想，美国的某些芦笋罐头，可能就是华侨种植和装罐的。他赚钱的办法的确好，而且很巧妙。他为工人开设了许多娱乐场所，他说，工人们辛苦了一天，必须有散散心的地方；如果他不开办娱乐场所，工人们就会找到他的邻居所开的娱乐场所去。他的用意是"肥水不流外人田"。结果到他娱乐场所来玩的人，都贡献了一点"肥水"，他的财产也就愈来愈多了。

在美国以及世界各地的华侨，真不愧为炎黄裔胄。男子留着辫子，女人甚至还缠足。在旧金山的华侨街头，可以发现卖卦算命的摊子。有一位算命先生告诉一位来算命的白人说："好运道，快快的，大发财。"旁边一位黑人也想算算命，算命先生把同样的话重复一遍，黑人

大为得意。如果这位算命先生说到此地为止，自然太平无事，但是他偏偏要画蛇添足，对黑人说："快快地，不再黑，像他——"同时用手指着那位白人。黑人气得一脚踢翻算命摊子，阿谀过分成为侮辱，此即一例。

华侨还有许多杂货店，出售咸鱼、鳗鲞、蛇肉、酱油、鱼翅、燕窝、干鲍以及其他从广州或香港运到美国的货色。有一次，我到一家杂货铺想买一些东西。但是我的广东话太蹩脚，没法使店员明白我要买的东西。只好拿一张纸把它写下来，旁边站着一位老太婆只晓得中国有许多不同的方言，却不晓得中国只有一种共同的文字，看了我写的文字大为惊奇，她问店里的人：这位唐人既然不能讲唐话（她指广东话），为什么他能写唐字呢？许多好奇的人围住我看，有一位稍稍懂点普通话的人问道："你到广州省城去过没有？"我回答说："没有。""那末你过去在那里买东西呢？""上海。"我笑着夹起一瓶酱油和一包货物走了。

唐人街的学校仍旧保持旧式的课程。学生们要高声朗诵古书，和我小时候的情形一模一样。离唐人街不远的美国学校对它们毫无影响。

这是辛亥革命以前的情形。革命以后，唐人街开始起了变化，因为中国本身也在变化，而且是急剧的变化，短短几年之内，算命卖卦的不见了。辫子的数目也迅速减少，终至完全绝迹。青年女子停止缠足，学校制度改革了，采用了新式的课程；送到附近美国学校上学的孩子逐渐增加。唐人街虽然想抗拒美国邻居的影响，但是祖国有了改革，而且在生活方式上有了改变以后，这些忠贞的炎黄裔胄也终于亦步亦趋了。

纽约生活

时间一年一年地过去，我的知识学问随之增长，同时自信心也加强了。民国元年，即一九一二年，我以教育为主科，历史与哲学为两附科，毕业于加大教育学系，并承学校赠给名誉奖，旋赴纽约入哥伦比亚大学研究院续学。

我在哥大学到如何以科学方法应用于社会现象，而且体会到科学研究的精神。我在哥大遇到许多诲人不倦的教授，我从他们得到许多启示，他们的教导更使我终生铭感。我想在这里特别提一笔其中一位后来与北京大学发生密切关系的教授。他就是约翰·杜威博士。他是胡适博士和我在哥伦比亚大学时的业师，后来又曾在北京大学担任过两年的客座教授。他的著作、演讲以及在华期间与我国思想界的交往，曾经对我国的教育理论与实践发生重大的影响。他的实验哲学与中国人讲求实际的心理不谋而合。但是他警告我们说："一件事若过于注重实用，就反为不切实用。"

我不预备详谈在哥大的那几年生活，总之，在那几年里获益很大。我对美国生活和美国语言已感习惯，而且可以随时随地从所接触的事物汲取知识而无事倍功半之苦。

纽约给我印象较深的事物是它的摩天大楼、川流不息的地道车和高架电车、高楼屋顶上的炫目的霓虹灯广告；剧场、影院、夜总会、旅馆、饭店；出售高贵商品的第五街、生活浪漫不拘的格林威治村、东区的贫民窟等等。

在社会生活方面，新英格兰人、爱尔兰人、波兰人、意大利人、希腊人、犹太人等各族杂处，和睦如邻，此外还有几千名华侨聚居在唐人街附近。当时在这个大都会里的中国菜馆就有五百家之多。纽约市密集的人口中龙蛇混杂，包括政客、流氓、学者、艺术家、工业家、金融巨子、百万富翁、贫民窟的贫民以及各色人等，但是基本上这些人都是美国的产物。有人说："你一走进纽约，就等于离开了美国。"事实上大谬不然。只有美国这样的国家才能产生这样高度工业化的大都市，也只有美国才能出现这种兼容并蓄的大熔炉。种族摩擦的事可说绝无仅有。一个人只要不太逾越法律的范围，就可以在纽约为所欲为。只要他不太违背习俗，谁也不会干涉他的私人行动。只要能够找到听众，谁都可以评论古今，臧否时政。

法律范围之内的自由，理智领域之内的思想自由和言论自由在纽约发挥得淋漓尽致，大规模的工商业，国际性的银行业务，发明、机械和资源的极度利用，处处显示美国主义的精神和实例。在纽约，我们可以发现整个美国主义的缩影。我们很可能为这个缩影的眩目的外表所迷惑而忽视美国主义的正常状态，这种正常状态在美国其余各地都显而易见。

暑假里我常常到纽约州东北部的阿地隆台克山区去避暑。有一年暑假，我和几位中国朋友到彩虹湖去，在湖中丛山中的一个小岛上露营。白天时我们就到附近的小湖去划船垂钓。钓鱼的成绩很不错，常常满载而归，而且包括十斤以上的梭鱼。我们露营的小岛上，到处是又肥又大的青蛙，我幼时在我们乡下就曾学会捉蛙，想不到到了美国之后居然有机会大显身手。一根钓竿，一根细绳，一枚用大小适度的针屈曲而成的钓钩，再加一块红布就是钓蛙的全副道具了。这些临时装备成绩惊人，我们常常在一小时之内就捉到二十多只青蛙，足够我们大嚼两餐。彩虹湖附近的居民从未吃过田鸡，他们很佩服我们的捉蛙技术，但是他们的心里一定在想："这些野蛮的中国人真古怪！"

晚上我们常常参加附近居民的仓中舞会，随着主人弹奏的提琴曲子婆娑起舞。我还依稀记得他们所唱的一支歌，大意是：

所有的户枢都长了锈，

门窗也都歪斜倾倒，

屋顶遮不住日晒雨漏，

我的唯一的朋友，

是灌木丛后面的，

一只黄色的小狗。

这支歌反映山区孤村生活的孤独和寂寞，但是对城市居民而言，它却刻画了一种宁静迷人的生活。

我们有时也深入到枝叶蔽天的原始森林里。山径两旁的杜松发散着芬芳的气息。我们采撷了这些芳香的常绿枝叶来装枕头，把大自然带回锦衾之中，阵阵发散的芳香更使我们的梦乡充满了温馨。

有时我们也会在浓密的树林中迷途。那时我们就只好循着火车汽笛的声音，找到铁路轨道以后才能回来。经过几次教训以后，我们进森林时就带指南针了。

在乡下住了一段时间之后，重新回到城市，的确另有一番愉悦之感。从乡村回到城市，城市会显得特别清新可喜；从城市到了乡村，乡村却又显得特别迷人。原因就是环境的改变和鲜明的对照。外国人到中国时，常常迷恋于悠闲的中国生活和它的湖光山色；而中国人到了异国时却又常常留恋外国的都市生活。因此我们常常发现许多欧美人士对中国的东西比中国人自己更喜爱。在另一方面，也有许多中国人对欧美的东西比西洋人自己更喜爱。这就是环境改换和先后对照的关系，改换和对照可以破除单调而使心神清新。但是事物的本身价值并不因心理状态的改变而有所不同。

我在纽约求学的一段时期里，中日关系突起变化，以致两国以后势成水火。日本经过约五十年的维新之后，于一八九四年一击而败中国，声威渐震。中国人以德报怨，并未因战败而怀恨在心。这次战衅反而意外地引起中国人对日本的钦仰和感激——钦仰日本在短短五十年内所完成的重大革新，感激日本唤醒中国对自己前途的乐观。甲午之战可说燃起了中国人心中的希望。战后一段时期中国曾力求追随日本而发奋图强。

每年到日本留学的学生数以千计。中国在军事、警务、教育各方面都采取了新制度，而由留日返国的学生主其事。中国开始从日本发现西方文明的重要。日俄战争更使中国的革新运动获得新动力——日本已成为中国人心中的偶像了。

中国通过她的东邻逐渐吸收了西方文明，但是中国不久发现，日本值得效法的东西还是从欧美学习而来的。更巧的是美国退还了八国联军之后的庚子赔款，中国利用庚款选派了更多的留美学生。在过去，中国学生也有以官费或自费到欧美留学的，但是人数很少，现在从西洋回国的留学生人数逐渐增加，而且开始掌握政府、工商业以及教育界的若干重要位置。传教士，尤其是美国的传教士，通过教会学校帮助中国教育了年轻的一代。

因此，中国与日本的文化关系开始逐渐疏远，中国人心目中的日本偶像也渐行萎缩，但是日本人却并未意识到这种转变。

日本利用第一次世界大战的机会，在民国四年即一九一五年突然向袁世凯政府提出著名二十一条要求，如果中国接受这些要求，势将成为日本的保护国。日本之所以突然提出二十一条，是因为西方列强在战事进行中自顾不暇，同时帝俄军事力量急剧衰退，以致远东均势破坏。中国既受东邻日本的逼迫，乃不得不求助于西方国家，中日两国从此分道扬镳，此后数十年间的国际政治也因而改观。如果日本具有远大的眼

光，能在中国的苦难时期协助中国，那末中日两国也许一直和睦相处，而第二次世界大战的情形也就完全不同了。

驻华盛顿的中国大使馆经政府授意把二十一条要求的内容泄漏了，那时我正在纽约读书。这消息使西方各国首都大为震惊。抵制日货运动像野火一样在中国各地迅速蔓延以示抗议，但是日本军舰已经结集在中国的重要口岸，同时日本在南满和山东的军队也已经动员。民国四年即一九一五年五月七日，也就是日本提出二十一条要求之后四个月，日本向袁世凯提出最后通牒，袁世凯终于在两天之后接受二十一条要求。

后来情势演变，这些要求终于化为乌有，但是中国对日本的钦慕和感激却由此转变为恐惧和猜疑。从此以后，不论日本说什么，中国总是满腹怀疑，不敢置信；不论日本做什么，中国总是怀着恐惧的心情加以警戒。日本越表示亲善，中国越觉得她居心叵测。

我们的东邻质问我们："你们为什么不像我们爱你们一样地爱我们？"我们回答说："你们正在用刺刀谈恋爱，我们又怎么能爱你们？"

九·一八事变前几年，一位日本将官有一天问我："中国为什么要挑拨西方列强与日本作对？"

"为保持均势，以免中国被你们并吞。"我很坦白地回答。

"日本并吞中国！我们怎么会呢？这简直是笑话。"

"一点也不笑话，将军。上次大战时列强自顾不暇，日本不是曾经乘机向中国提出二十一条要求吗？如果这些要求条条实现，日本不是就可以鲸吞中国吗？"

"哦，哦——？"这位将军像是吃惊不小的样子。

"一点不错。"我直截了当地回答。

PART THREE THE NEW CHINA

CHAPTER 12 RAPID CHANGES

In the midst of American mobilization for a European war for the first time in her history, in June, 1917, I left for home with mixed feelings. The last night I spent in Hartley Hall at Columbia my mind was too much occupied to sleep and I lay the whole night in meditation. The hours ebbed away until the early, summer dawn came in at the window through the creeping vines. The morning air was mild and the petals of the roses were dew-laden. Near by, on the granite steps of the library, the Alma Mater was smiling her grave smile as if wishing her foster son Godspeed. As I stood at the window looking out on the familiar scene that had meant so much to me those five years, tears began to well up in my eyes. Was I to be torn away once and for all from the fountain of wisdom, leaving my friends behind? But it was my duty to go home, just as it had been my privilege to come.

In the afternoon I boarded a train at Grand Central for a city in Ohio. As the train crawled out of the station I kept looking back at the waving hands of my American friends, boys and girls, until they were lost to sight.

One friend accompanied me to Ohio to visit with friends of his there, and we were welcomed to the family by its charming hostess. The host had some sort of business in that city. There was no son in the family; the girl was the sunshine in the house. She was an attractive brunette with an oval face, and the warmth that poured from her young heart would endear her to anyone who met her.

We stayed for about two weeks. It was in the midst of registration and draft; the first groups gathered, marched on the streets, and were sent off for training. The sidewalks were thronged with people. Mothers, sweethearts, and friends bade good-by to their soldiers with kisses, tears, and throbbing hearts.

We formed rowing parties on moonlit ponds dotted with islets of gold and silvery lilies. Fireflies twinkled like moving stars. Fish splashed. The girls sang together—I still remember one of the songs they loved to sing:

The June air is warm and tender.

Why do you hold your petals to display?

Are you afraid someone will

Come and steal your heart away?

The frogs echoed with their ungainly chorus. The girls sang and sang until the breezes of late evening brought a chilly warning. Then we would all go ashore and walk home over the dew-laden grass under the slanting moon.

Time flew and soon the two enjoyable weeks came to an end. I said good-by to my friends and took a train for San Francisco. When the ocean liner steamed gently out of the Golden Gate I stood on the deck facing east thinking of my friends in New York. Good-by, my friends! Good-by, America!

It was still summer in Shanghai. The city had changed much during my absence of nine years. Many streets were wider and better paved. New roads had been built beyond the limits of the Foreign Settlement. Department stores, fashionable hotels, roof gardens, amusement parks, and cabarets had multiplied. Shanghai had caught up with the spirit of New York.

The number of schools had increased manyfold in the city during the years of my absence; all but a few, however, were supported by private or Chinese government sources—these few had been established years before by the international municipal government. I suppose the revenues of the Settlement must have increased a hundred times since these few outmoded schools had been founded decades earlier. But let the Chinese remain ignorant—they would be easier to control and exploit.

The young girls had bobbed their hair and wore short skirts up to their knees in the fashion of the day. No—excuse me—I mean they wore gowns down to their knees, For the dress of the modern Chinese girl was very sensible. It consisted of a straight piece of silk hanging from the shoulders, longer or shorter according to fashion. This had been originally the Manchu gown, and Chinese girls had adopted it after the downfall of the dynasty some six years earlier.

Here, there, and everywhere on the streets high-heeled shoes adorned the dainty feet of young women. When one heard quick heels tapping the sidewalks one felt at once that the rising generation were radically different from their mother. The old modesty had disappeared. They were also better-developed physically, however, thanks to the modern shoes. In the old days

women had practiced foot-binding. The movement to free women's feet, as a part of China's reform program, began around the time of the Russo-Japanese War and went on rather slowly until after the Revolution of 1911. I think the high heels helped to accelerate it, for women were surely more ready to give up the practice of squeezing their little daughters' feet into tiny slippers when they saw others wearing dainty high heels.

Men had dropped their queues but still clung to the long gown. It was funny to see a long gown without a queue. But before long I found myself one of the multitude, for Chinese clothing is more convenient and comfortable. No one can resist the temptation of being comfortable and convenient at the same time—it is a matter of practical common sense.

There were still a few individuals who wore queues, especially among the old men. They did not see any sense in getting rid of it; the queue had grown on Chinese heads for more than two centuries and it would do no harm to have it for a few centuries more. There are always die-hards in any movement.

In America I had measured things American by the Chinese yardstick. Now I reversed the process, measuring things Chinese with the American yardstick, or most likely with a sort of hybrid stick, neither Chinese nor American but something of both, or vacillating between the two.

I pitied the rickshaw coolies who ran for a few coppers, out of breath, their sweating tanned backs turned toward you in the hot summer sun. It was something inhuman, my American yardstick would say. Once in a while I came across some of the beastly foreigners who kicked them like dogs—but no, in America I never saw a man kick a dog. Blood rushed to my head and I often wanted to kick back at the human beasts, but refrained from venting my noble sentiments when I saw extraterritoriality looming large behind them. Then I reverted to my ancestral patience. "Coward!" the American yardstick would say. "Patience," returned the Chinese stick of my forefathers. Stop using these rickshaws and have more buses and tramways. But what were the poor coolies to do to eke out their meager subsistence? Return to the farms? No, they were surplus farmers. Three ways were open to them: to turn bandit with the strong, petty thieves with the weak, or beggars with the still weaker. Well then, let them pull the rickshaws. Here you are in a vicious circle.

Build up industry, it will give them employment. But industry is

impossible without a stable government. A stable government is hardly possible when there are so many surplus farmers in the country, always ready to join mercenary armies and fight for the warlords who pay them or who let them loose to plunder the people. Here is another vicious circle, difficult to break.

There was an improvement in the notice boards of the Settlement public parks. The list of regulations forbidding the entrance of Chinese as well as dogs now displayed the modified clause: "Respectable Chinese only are admitted." At last even the arrogant foreigners had begun to be aware that there was something to be respected rising in China.

So much for Shanghai.

The great eastern seaport and trading center was now connected by rail with Soochow to the west and Hangchow to the south cities both regarded as paradises on earth. The line ran from Soochow farther west to Nanking, connected by a ferry across the Yangtze River; and north through Tientsin to Peking, then capital of the Republic. The southern branch stopped at Hangchow and remained as yet to be connected with Ningpo.

My home was not very far from Ningpo, native city of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. It is one of the five treaty ports but has never come into any considerable importance as a port, for the rapid growth of Shanghai as one of the great ports of the world overshadowed it. Three lines had ships running between Shanghai and Ningpo nightly, both incoming and outgoing; two of these were British companies and the third the China Merchants Navigation Company. These ships were the models for the steamless paddle-wheel "steamboat" my father had built so many years earlier and failed to make go. My brother and I took a second-class cabin on one of these boats.

There was not much change in the life of the passengers in twenty years. The gangways and decks were packed with human sardines and one could hardly set foot on the floor without stepping on somebody. We went on board about five in the afternoon to occupy our berths. Hawkers came by in great numbers, selling every kind of goods that a household might need, mostly imported manufactures. Fruit sellers brought bananas, apples, and pears on board. My brother and I had an argument. He wanted to buy the partly rotten fruit because it was much cheaper. "No," I argued, "you will pay much more for the doctor's bill."

"Ha, ha! I have been eating rotten pears and apples for years," he said. "They taste better. I have no trouble from them." He picked up a big, partly decayed red apple, bit off the bad parts and ate the rest. I shuddered. He laughed.

Before dawn we passed the fortresses of Ningpo Harbor, which fired a cannon ball that hit and killed a French admiral in the Sino-French War of 1885.

Day dawned. Clamorous voices from the dock rose to my ears. Streams of porters rushed up, fighting for luggage. The slightest negligence would find your possessions removed without permission. My brother and I elbowed down through the packed crowd, closely following our porters lest they walk off with our belongings.

Ningpo was practically the same as it had been nine years earlier. The air was laden with the smell of salt fish. I felt at home with this smell, for salt fish had been a staple food since childhood. Ningpo is a fishing town and large quantities of salt are produced not far away. We followed our porters to the station and found a train waiting to depart for Yuyao, our home city. Along the railroad I saw miles of well-cultivated fields cushioned with rippling rice that flowered in the autumn morning sun, unfolding like a never-ending scroll of landscape painting before the windows of the moving train. The morning air was stimulating and laden with the scent of flowering rice. Oh—this is my homeland!

As the train pulled into the Yuyao station my heart throbbed with excitement. We crossed the river by a long stone bridge built centuries ago. The ebb tide was racing down the river; through the arches of the bridge anglers could be seen casting their lines in the flowing water. The bridge was called Wu-shen, meaning "brave and victorious," because at the bridgeheads some four centuries ago people fought from time to time to defend the city against the invasions of pirates of uncertain origin from the Japan Sea. The Chinese believed they were Japanese, but Japanese historians deny it.

It was late in the morning when we hurried into the courtyard steeped in brilliant autumn sun. My father stood on the granite steps leading to the spacious hall. He was somewhat aged, his hair turning grey; otherwise in good health and splendid spirits. His kind eyes and smiling lips glowed with the tender emotions that flow from the heart of a loving parent. Before him

my brother and I bowed three times in respect; the old way of kowtowing on one's knees had, among certain sections of the people, passed into history with the vanished dynasty.

Father had given up his queue but still wore Chinese slippers. He did not say much: silence conveyed much more than words on such an occasion. Then we all entered the hall. Stiff-backed chairs arranged symmetrically along the walls showed little sign of change in his way of living. The couplet panels inlaid with mother-of-pearl shone on the back walls. On the right side one read: "Fishes have greater freedom in the vastness of the sea," and on the left: "Birds take broader liberty in the wide span of the sky." Between the two panels was a painting of bamboo shadows which seemed to bend in an autumn breeze, all the leaves pointing with the wind. These things all speak of a contented, quiet, and unchanging life.

Behind the hall was a narrow strip of back yard. Miniature mountain scenes set in large rectangular pots brought landscape within the high walls. Tiny temples and pagodas perched on the miniature mountains, and dwarf trees that looked centuries old grew around them. Little monkeys with still smaller babies sitting innocently by their side sat here and there in the quiet recesses of the mountains. They all looked so cute that I wished some of them could grow life sized and jump into my lap. There was a tiny bamboo grove flourishing around a toy pavilion. Goldfish snapping at the air and shrimps stretching out their claws for food all enjoyed undisturbed life in the imitation ponds. All of this led one's mind to nature.

On hearing of my return old Mr. Liu came to call in the afternoon. He had told me stories in my childhood. How we children loved him! That day he recounted many amusing things. He described how the people acted on learning of the successful revolution. All the queues in the city vanished overnight. Young people bought foreign clothes and looked like monkeys in them. And how the short skirts and bobbed hair invaded the city later on! But for him the cutting of the queue that had grown on his head for more than seventy years was sufficient support of the revolution and the Republic. At first he wondered how the world could go on without an emperor sitting upon the dragon throne in Peking, but after some time he was sure that a republic with a president had the same power of maintaining peace and order in the country. At any rate, he said, "Heaven is high above and the Emperor is far away." It was up to the local authorities to do their job of maintaining peace,

and they did it well.

When the Taipings had invaded the city some half century before, he said, heads went off shoulders with the queues. Now we lost only our queues and retained our heads. Talking thus, he touched his grey head with his bony fingers in such a comical way that it made everybody laugh. At dusk, after an early supper, in taking his leave he happened to slip on the steps leading to the courtyard. Someone rescued him, holding him up by the arms. He shook his head and joked, "Three thousand years ago Grandfather Chiang at the age of eighty met King Wen and helped him to build a new kingdom. Now Grandfather Liu at the same age may meet King Nian of the other world and help him to govern his invisible realm." He laughed heartily and went away in good spirits.

Several days later word came that "Grandfather" Liu had passed into the invisible realm. For me, I lost my childhood friend and old companion, and there were no more stories from his endless fountain of wit.

A school which my sister and I had established some fifteen years earlier had been turned into a district government school for girls. A hundred girls or so were studying there. They ran and laughed in the playgrounds and rode high in the air on the swing. A new generation of womanhood was in the making. They played Western tunes on a portable organ; "Swanee River" and "Tipperary" and popular Chinese tunes were wafted through the doors and over the walls.

I stayed at home about a week and then went to the country to pay a visit to the village of the Chiangs. There the children of my childhood had grown to maturity. The grownups of older days had come to old age, their hair turning grey. The old people of days gone by had retired to their graves, except for a few who were still alert, witnessing the turns of fortune in the village.

The village did not look as bad as I anticipated. The banditry of early days had subsided, for people had now adjusted themselves to new trades and many had gone to Shanghai, which was able to accommodate larger numbers as commerce and industry expanded. Change, like birth, gives pain, but after the delivery the mother comes back to her normal state and feels happy with the newly born. Change that China had once hated had come to stay, ever deepening and widening, until she was constantly on the onward march—

whither and for what purpose her teeming millions knew not.

My aunt whom I called the Great Mother had been bedridden for months. She was very happy on seeing me, made me sit by her side and stretched out her feeble hands to touch mine. She told me all about the births, marriages, and deaths which had occurred in the village in the last sixteen years. The world was not the same as before, she said. So many changes and so many new things had come in. Women did not weave and spin any more because foreign cloth was much cheaper, and better too. They had not much to do now; some spent their time in quarrels with their neighbors and others devoted themselves to Buddha. The younger ones went to school. Girls made hair nets and crocheted napkins to be exported to America. There was good money in it, she said. The boys were sent as apprentices to factories and machine shops in Shanghai. They took to new trades and made more money. There was now a dearth of farm hands in the village, but there were no more bandits. Tranquility and peace had come to stay. When dogs barked at night people did not have to be anxious for their safety as they had ten years before.

But something very bad she noticed in the girls and boys who had been in schools. They called the worship of gods a superstition. They said that the burning of paper money before our ancestors was silly. To them there were no kitchen gods. All the images of gods in the temples were only blocks of wood and lumps of clay. They thought these images ought to be flung into the river, so as to banish superstition along with them. They said girls had the same rights as boys. The girls said they had the right to marry by their own choice, and to remarry after a divorce or the death of their husbands. The foot-binding of old days was a cruel and inhuman practice, they said. Foreign pills were much better than Chinese herbs. They said there was no such thing as ghosts or transmigration of the soul. Nothing would be left after death but a heap of chemical compounds. They said the only immortality was to render services to the people and the country.

She shook her head and sighed. "Do they teach these things in America?" she asked. I smiled. Apparently she did not like my smile. Perhaps she suspected that the crazy Americans were responsible for teaching Chinese boys and girls these silly notions, for she told me that an American missionary lady had come some time earlier to tell her not to worship idols.

A fat black cat leapt up on her bed and began purring around her pillows. "Are there cats in America?" she asked feebly. I said yes, and saw that she was already asleep. I left her with the purring cat whose soft paws rested upon her pillows and touched her cheek.

My niece, who had been listening all the time, ran out after me. She put her tongue between her teeth for a moment and said mischievously, "Grandma is too old for the change." After a month or so the old lady left this crazy, changing world.

I went to visit with another aunt of mine, whom I called Third Mother. She was a strong elderly lady. Her husband, my "Third Father," owned large farms. There were chickens, ducks, geese, and pigs in abundance. My aunt told me the tragedy of a childhood friend of mine who had speculated in gold in Shanghai and incurred heavy losses. He had lost his job and retired to his home village. The year before, he had committed suicide by taking a big dose of opium. His widow and children were destitute and one of the children had drowned in the canal while fishing for shrimp under the big soap tree.

My aunt snatched a big fat capon which struggled and screamed in her hands and dressed it herself. Later a delicious chicken dinner was served, with fish and shrimp in addition.

My uncle told me that people had used chemical fertilizers for cabbages the year before, and these grew to such enormous size that they thought the abnormal growth must contain poison. So they pulled them up and threw them away. But he kept his, bought them cheap from others, and salted them. They were tender and delicious. A wise old man he was.

An old woman who had held me in her arms when I was a baby came to the village to see me. She must have been over ninety and was partially deaf, yet had walked from her own village some four miles away. She examined me from top to toe and was satisfied to find nothing strange about me. This big boy was once a small, skinny child, she said, and very naughty. He bit his own brother on the knee and left purple marks on it. Then he cried and blamed his brother's knee for having hurt his teeth.

"Do you remember the two brothers who divided their father's property into equal parts when he died?" she asked. They had each got a wing of their father's house and had set a bamboo partition in the middle of the hall, which

was thus evenly divided so that each could get an exactly equal portion. One kept a cow in his part and the other retaliated by making his a piggery. They even sawed the boat in two equal halves. The wicked brothers—may the gods curse them! Then there came a fire and turned their house into ashes. Heaven must have eyes.

They sold the lot and a big house of foreign style was later built on it. It belonged to a rich merchant who was in business in Shanghai. When the house was completed she paid a visit to it and got into such a labyrinth of passageways and stairs and doors that she was confused and could not find her way out. She tried the soft chairs and spring beds and was frightened when she sank deep into them. The most curious thing to her was the machine which the owner of the house had brought from Shanghai. When the wheels turned swiftly it lit up bulbs all over the house. The night was as brilliant as day.

The boy who took charge of the machine was the son of her neighbors. He had learned to operate it in Shanghai. She would never have thought that stupid boy could manipulate such an intricate piece of machinery. She stood far away from the swiftly turning wheels lest she be caught and turned into sausage or tough meat balls.

Another curious thing she noticed was that there was no Kitchen God in the kitchen. And the family worshiped no ancestors. The kitchen gods she did not mind so much, but how could a family have no ancestors? The master of the house believed a sort of religion which precluded the worship of other gods. She would not like to belong to that religion, because she wanted to go to any temple she chose and worship any gods she wanted to. She wondered how a god could be so jealous as to forbid people to worship other gods. She was willing to worship that god, for the man in his temple gave her quinine pills which cured her malaria last summer; but she wanted to bend her stiff knees to other gods also to ask for blessings.

She said she had scarcely enough to eat and often went hungry. My father gave her a monthly allowance in rice as a charity, but since her orphaned granddaughter had come to live with her the small girl ate a portion of it. I pulled out a twenty dollar bill and squeezed it into her hands. She scurried away happily, muttering, "From his childhood I know he is a kind-hearted boy, a kind-hearted boy."

Late one afternoon I made a visit to my mother's tomb. A pair of candles and a bunch of incense sticks were displayed before it. The air was still and streaks of smoke from the incense went straight up in the air. Instinctively I bent my knees to the ground and kowtowed. My childhood memories revived. Everything seemed to have happened only yesterday. I felt as if I were still a child paying respects to my mother. I wished her spirit could welcome me with open arms and caress me. I wished I could curl up on her lap and listen to her soothing lullabies. All my thoughts and feelings reverted to childhood days. My mother had died when I was only seven, so I had not much experience in mother love. Perhaps an imaginary mother was even tenderer and sweeter than a real one. A dead mother could not spank you and would not get cross with you when you were naughty.

From the village I walked some three miles through the rice fields to the railway station, on the banks of a placid lake, the reservoir that irrigated thousands of acres of land. It is surrounded on three sides by mountains famous for berries and bamboo shoots. Here I took a train to the bank of the Tsao-ao River. The railway bridge was uncompleted, for the materials ordered from Germany had been held up by the war. Construction of the railroad to Hangchow had also been suspended. A steamship line supplied the missing link. Most travelers took steamships and left the small boats struggling for existence.

I arrived at the Chien-tang River late in the afternoon and crossed it in twenty minutes by a steam ferry. The rowed ferryboats of my high-school days had disappeared.

By sunset I found myself in Hangchow, comfortably settled in a hotel overlooking the West Lake. The sun was sinking behind the thunder peaks, casting red, golden, and purple beams up into the sky. On one side the needle-sharp Pao Su Pagoda stood clear on the mountaintop in the evening light, while directly opposite, in the valley across the lake, the squat Thunder Peak Pagoda was silhouetted against the distant shady blue mountains. Tiny pleasure boats dotted the rippling lake. Fish splashed in the water. Birds flew homeward. Villas and temples perched on the mountainside were gradually enveloped by a thin veil of evening mist, leaving only the streams of smoke from their chimneys standing motionless in the still air. An utter peacefulness stole over me. Despite all modernism, the West Lake retained its enchantment as of old.

But things had changed. My reverie was soon broken by the tapping of the high heels which adorned the short-skirted, bobbed-haired young women of fashion parading the lake boulevard. This new section of the city had been during my school days the seat of the Tartar or Manchu garrison. The Revolution of 1911 had razed it to the ground and upon its ruins a new town had been built, with wide streets and ugly-looking buildings in semi-foreign style. In place of medieval barracks, restaurants, theatres, wine-shops, and tea pavilions had sprung up, and an amusement park, all catering to weekend tourists who came by railway from Shanghai. Hangchow had become a tourist center.

Chekiang College, which I had attended years before, was closed and the buildings had been turned into offices for the new governor. The once-palatial yamen of the Imperial governor had burned during the revolution, leaving a vast rectangular space in the heart of the city overgrown with wild plants and grass.

Revolution had come to Hangchow without shedding a drop of blood. The commanders of the new army met and sent a few pieces of light artillery into the streets in the dark of night. Without firing a shot they forced the Imperial governor of the province to surrender. The army then set his yamen on fire as a symbol of the revolution and the city was lit up with its flames. The Manchu garrison entrenched itself in its own walled city but surrendered after negotiations in which it was promised that no one would be molested. Mr. Kwei Han-hsiang, a Manchu leader, accepted the terms on behalf of the garrison. He was, however, seized by his personal enemies and shot, on the false charge that he was plotting a revolt. It was a case of sheer murder. The newly elected governor, Tang Shuo-chien, a famous old litterateur, was indignant over this cowardly act and threatened to resign, but the matter was patched up until he was called to Nanking to take up the portfolio of Minister of Communications under the presidency of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

Northeast of the modern town which had replaced the Manchu city, rows of shacks, totaling five hundred rooms, had been erected to house the families of the former garrison. Some had already melted away into the vast ocean of China's multitudes and left their houses vacant. In the course of a few years all the remnants of the once-conquering race had vanished into the common stream of life of the once-conquered. The Manchus were gone forever. Pictures of their lives still linger in my memory, but the stories about

them have sunk into folklore. It is left to history alone to tell the rise, decline, and fall of the Manchu Dynasty.

The quaint old teahouses at which I used to sip my tea quietly with the lake view filling the windows had disappeared in the face of the diabolic modernization; only one or two lingered to recall the memories of the good old days. This was the kind of time-mellowed teahouse I still loved to frequent. I would go there and read Tang poems over a cup of Hangchow tea. It took one back to the dear old days.

I have said that the city was the center of the silk industry. Some factories had introduced textile machines, but many of the smaller establishments still retained the hand looms. A college of engineering had been established in which practical courses in textiles were given. Graduates who had taken courses in mechanical engineering set up small machine shops in the city, with machines run by electricity. The city now had electric light and a telephone system. Hangchow seemed on the eve of industrialization.

I stayed for about a week, visiting many historical sites to refresh my boyhood memories. As I wandered away from the center of commercial activity I found the old life less affected by modernization. The charm of old days still remained intact in the mountain regions and out-of-the-way villages. The monasteries surrounded by tall trees and bamboo groves stood as calmly as they had centuries ago. The life of the monks had undergone little change; they chanted their Buddhist hymns as before. The villagers raised their tea and mulberry leaves as their forefathers had done. A few imported articles were to be seen here and there, but the quantity was negligible. However, the spearhead of future modernization had already reached them—in the schools, where modern textbooks were in use. The mental attitude of the coming generation was changing, under the influence of modern education, in spite of unchanged ways of living. Seeds of new ideas sown in the minds of the young were bound to sprout in the course of time.

CHAPTER 13 WARLORDS

In my youthful days I noticed that civil ranks came invariably above the military. Imperial officers wore buttons of different colors at the tops of their red-tasseled hats. The red button was highest in rank; next came the pink, then dark blue, brilliant blue, white, and finally golden, the lowest. Often my wondering eyes watched a military pink-button, though higher in rank, bowing before a blue-button civil official. It was explained to me that the Imperial system had chosen to put the military under control of the civil in order to eliminate the evils of military dictatorship in the country. Through centuries of history we had learned that when the country came under the control of warlords it was divided into spheres of influence; the authority of the Imperial Court became a mere shadow and peace and order vanished like a bubble. We learned this lesson from the later Tangs. Thus there was a popular saying that "good iron is not to be beaten into nails, and good men are not to be made into soldiers." We were taught to look down upon soldiers. I remember that a man of questionable character in one of our neighboring villages joined the army, and when he came home on leave we used to avoid him like a plague. It was borne in upon us that soldiers were a bad lot, something to be despised, feared, and detested.

On the other hand, when a country sank into military impotence it lost all power of resistance before the onslaught of powerful invaders; thus it was that the Sungs fell into the hands of the Mongols and the Mings into the hands of the Tartars. So we were between the devil and the deep sea. What should be our choice?

China must be saved—saved from powerful invaders by land on the north and by sea from the east and south. What, then, was to be done? Build up a modern army in which modern weapons of war would be employed and soldiers well trained and imbued with patriotism. How could we look down upon soldiers? They were the defenders of the land, the saviors of China from partition by the Western Powers. Despise them? By no means—we must elevate and honor them, even worship them. Or who would join the army?

Our people began to argue in their minds. As necessity is the mother of invention, we organized a modern army with imported weapons, modern

uniforms, and military bands. Once I saw such an army on the march, bugles blowing, drums beating. It was inspiring. I imagined myself grown up and joining them in the march—marching to victory! Meanwhile I found my real self standing among the silent crowd and watching, overwhelmed with joy. It was my first glimpse of a modern army. Yes—we must honor the soldiers and the commanding officers. Hereafter only good men should be made into soldiers. We must depend upon them to regain the past glories of China. In the old armies of yesterday the soldiers wore jackets and carried bows and arrows, or in some cases obsolete guns discarded and sold to China by European countries. How different from the modern army of today!

While I was studying at Chekiang College in Hangchow I saw a former student who had just come back from a military academy in Tokyo on a visit to the college. He was in military uniform, spick and span, carrying a sword in its shining sheath. A future great general of the Chinese army—how our hearts rushed out to him!

There were a number of embryo generals of that kind who came back from Japan and were entrusted with the duty of organizing new armies. In the course of a few years army units had been organized and stationed at various strategic centers in the country. China was armed, armed to defend herself.

Then came the Revolution of 1911. The revolutionary armies were perhaps not so well trained as the government armies, but commanders and men were full of patriotism and ready to sacrifice their lives for their country. The new armies of the government went over, one after another, to Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Within a few months the agelong Imperial regime had vanished like a ghost at the least rustle of leaves into the dark night. Waves of enthusiasm spread far and wide over the country. China was reborn with little regret for the past and great hopes for the future. Let the Manchus lament their mistake in forming a new army, and let the people be overjoyed by the splendid actions of these modern-trained generals.

But the hour of triumph passed. The candle flickered out in dark streaks of smoke. The generals of the new army had little pity for the Manchus and less love for the revolution; they had tasted power and resolved to keep it. As appetite grows with eating, they longed for larger and higher power, and so fought among themselves for it.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen had returned to China in 1912. After negotiations

between the revolutionaries and the Peking government the dynasty agreed to abdicate and the Republic was established. Little Pu-yi was allowed by agreement to retain residence in the Forbidden City, ancient palace of the emperors of China. A constitution was to be drafted, providing for a President and a National Assembly; meanwhile the Provisional Assembly elected Dr. Sun Yat-sen Provisional President of the Republic.

After a short time he resigned in favor of Yuan Shih-kai, who was later elected President by the National Assembly, more or less through coercion and intrigue. Political power again slipped into the hands of the reactionaries. Yuan was a mandarin of the monarchical regime who had begun the training of a modern army. He had fallen into disfavor with the Imperial Court but had been recalled to Peking when the revolution broke out.

Dr. Sun believed that the most important service he could render China was to build railroads; he was content to be at the head of China's national railways and let Yuan Shih-kai hold the reins of government. But he was soon to be disillusioned. When Yuan came into power he knew very well that his strength lay in the army under his control. The National Assembly he regarded as a mere necessary evil; so long as he controlled the army it could prove at worst no more than a nuisance to him. With strong armies behind him the new head of the state usurped all sorts of powers that did not properly belong to the President. He employed methods of intimidation and resorted to the dastardly means of assassination. Politically, he knew the trick of "divide and rule" and fostered dissension in Dr. Sun's Nationalist, or Kuomintang, camp. He went further and encouraged political parties to multiply, so that the influence of the Nationalist party would be further reduced.

Then he took steps to remove its military power. He first assassinated its political leader, Mr. Sung Chiao-ren, on his way to Peking from Shanghai. Then he removed all the Nationalist military governors of the southern provinces by a stroke of the pen, thus provoking those provinces in order to crush them. Dr. Sun Yat-sen attempted a second revolution, but failed. Yuan Shih-kai had by this time almost the whole country under his military control and took steps to disqualify the Kuomintang members of the National Assembly on account of the "rebellion." With the south crushed his appetite grew; he longed for more power and glory. In 1915, as he was about to proclaim himself Emperor of a new Chinese Empire, the provinces revolted, whereupon he abandoned his monarchical scheme and soon died, broken-

hearted.

In 1917 Dr. Sun Yat-sen finally entrenched himself in Canton, hoping to form a nucleus of an army in preparation for a new revolution to dethrone the warlords, only to find himself overthrown in 1929 by the warlord of Canton, Chen Chun-ming. In the next year, however, he succeeded in organizing a new Kuomintang government there, in a reinvigorated Nationalist movement to which the Russians gave some assistance after an agreement between himself and an unofficial Russian adviser. But this was only a beginning. After the death of the ambitious and unscrupulous Yuan Shih-kai the country as a whole remained divided among the warring provinces and political turmoil continued for twelve long years until Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek unified it in 1928, after the triumph of the Nationalist movement.

For sixteen years after the founding of the Republic China was in the grip of warlords. One civil war after another, often supported by foreign interests, devastated the country, bringing innumerable hardships to the people and paving the way for Japanese aggression. The cause of revolution seemed to be doomed. Victorious generals, elated, reached for more and more power. Wounded lions and tigers fell in ignominy and with their tails between their legs limped into the foreign concessions or settlements of Tientsin or Shanghai to lick their wounds and wait for opportunities to come back. When opportunity came they sneaked out, entered the arena again, and caused more suffering to the people.

The soldier, who had been once despised and then honored, was now again despised.

CHAPTER 14 INTELLECTUAL AWAKENING

From Hangchow I went to Shanghai, where I entered the Commercial Press—the largest publishing company in China—as one of its editors. Board and lodging were accorded me at the headquarters of the Kiangsu Provincial Education Association, in return for which I served as a member of the executive committee. But I was not yet old enough to be pinned down to a desk and resigned at the end of a year. My financial arrangements with the publishing company were cleared within another year.

Together with friends I began to issue a monthly, The New Education, published under the auspices of the National University of Peking and the Kiangsu Education Association. I was editor-in-chief. Six months after its inception the magazine had reached a circulation of ten thousand. Its chief aim was to "develop individuality and attain social progress." Encouragement of liberal ideas as against purely traditional thought was what the monthly stood for.

These were the times immediately after the European war when liberalism and democracy were in vogue all over the world and Wilsonian ideals had caught the imagination of the thinking minds of China. Chinese youth was imbued with the new ideas that came in torrents from postwar Europe and America. Newspapers and magazines devoted large sections to international news and developments. China was beginning to think with the world.

La Jeunesse, a radical magazine launched by Chen Tu-hsiu some years before and then taken up by a group of professors in the University of Peking, was advocating democracy and modern science for the rejuvenation of China. In introducing new elements of thought it was quite natural that they should fiercely attack the old beliefs and traditions. Some contributors even went so far as to cry "Down with the Confucian shops!" While all this evoked strong antagonism from the reading public, the youth of the country caught the spirit of the intellectual revolt.

In 1918 Dr. Sun Yat-sen came to reside in Shanghai. As we have seen,

the government of the young Republic was having its ups and downs and had come partially under the sway of independent warlords. The Kuomintang, or Nationalist, party of Dr. Sun was strongest in the south and here, in 1917, a government was set up, separate from the Peking regime, to maintain the principles for which the revolutionaries had labored and re-established them throughout the country. Now, however, the veteran leader left his southern government in Canton under the control of a Directorate. The political views of its members did not go beyond their noses, a brevity of outlook to which Dr. Sun could not subscribe. So he settled down in Shanghai to work on his plan for the industrial development of China.

His vision carried him far beyond the political squabbles of the time and his plan, if successfully carried into effect, was one which would relieve the poverty of the people, bring prosperity to the country, and put China on the level of modern industrialized nations of the world. According to Dr. Sun, China's industrial reconstruction fell into four categories: clothing, food, shelter, and transportation, All are necessary for the livelihood of the people and with these elements in view he planned the industrial development of the country.

He worked out a system of railroads and highways to cover all important commercial and military routes in the vast territory of China. He planned ports and harbors through which China's future commerce could flow abundantly. He outlined a project for river conservation, irrigation, and reclamation which would feed millions more in the country. He worked out a scheme for the development of natural resources and for the building up of both heavy and light industries. Seeing China far on the road of deforestation, he made plans to reforest great areas of central and north China.

He laid down two principles or categories under which industry was to be developed: (1) that which could be maintained as private enterprise was to be under private ownership, while (2) that which was beyond the capacities of individual citizens to undertake, or tended to create monopoly, was to be under state ownership. The government was to encourage private enterprise and to protect it by law. Obnoxious taxes must be abolished, the currency system must be improved and unified. Official interference and obstacles must be removed and communications developed to insure an easy flow of trade.

Railroads and highways, river conservation, irrigation, and reclamation, ports and harbors and the like, were to come under state control. The government was also to develop coal and iron resources in Shansi, and establish iron and steel works on a large scale. Foreign capital was to be welcomed and foreign experts employed.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was the first Chinese statesman to have modern scientific training. His knowledge of scientific data and his mathematical accuracy were amazing. In planning China's industrial development he himself drew up maps and charts and collected his data and checked them carefully. He was familiar with such details as the depths and gradations of the riverbeds and harbors which came under his plan. Once I gave him a map of the Huai-ho Conservancy; he at once spread it on the floor and began to study it seriously. Later it was seen hanging on the walls of his study.

After a careful investigation of the various phases of industrial reconstruction and how they might be dealt with, he wrote it all out in English. Madame Sun Yat-sen did all his typing, while David Yui and I were entrusted to go over the manuscripts carefully. Data were checked over and suggestions gladly considered. Any project that Dr. Sun worked on, political, philosophical, scientific, or whatever, was carried out with great enthusiasm. His broad-mindedness echoed every suggestion or criticism that was offered him.

Because in his views and plans he was ahead of his time he was often exasperated at the shortsightedness of his contemporaries, who frequently dismissed his projects with the proverbial saying, "It is easy to know but difficult to do." From the beginning of his revolutionary movement some forty years earlier he had met with the same stubborn obstacle. So he wrote an essay on "Psychological Reconstruction for China" in which he advanced the theory that it is difficult to know but easy to do. Here he brought out a significant difference between Chinese and Western thought. The practical-mindedness of his own people often unduly emphasized the difficulties—imaginary or real—that lay in the way of practice, at the cost of neglecting the principles underlying the practice. A mind used to handling abstractions and generalizations and familiar with the process of seeking out the basic principles involved in any problem would find it easy to understand what Dr. Sun Yat-sen had in view. For minds, on the other hand, habitually intent on short-range practical results and impatient of deeper effort it was difficult to

appreciate what he stood for. In China, during the declining days of the Imperial regime, men of strong will and determination to carry out reforms were not lacking, but those who perceived underlying causes and could lay plans which would strike at the root of things were rare. Dr. Sun, who possessed a clear understanding of the development of Western civilization as well as vision for the future development of China, could not but appreciate the importance of the kind of knowledge which implies foresight, or seeing beyond immediate needs, and a clear understanding of problems.

Once knowledge of this fundamental sort is secured there is no inherent difficulty in carrying it into effect. The real difficulties lie in discovering it. Indeed, even lacking essential knowledge, if one is willing to follow the direction of those who know, as masons and carpenters follow the architect, he may have no difficulty in executing a complex plan. Thus it is very plain in the field of medicine that to diagnose a case is often more difficult than to apply the cure. A medical student knows well that he must have a grasp of biological sciences such as physiology and anatomy before he is in a position to study medical science, and he has had to learn even more general science, such as physics and chemistry, before studying biological sciences. And each science is the result of centuries of research by men who have loved knowledge. Therefore it is very clear that the process of learning medical science is more laborious than the practice of medicine.

Dr. Sun's practical-minded contemporaries wanted to get things done without taking much interest in studying the underlying causes of conditions in China in the light of knowledge gained from history, sociology, psychology, science, or the like; or making plans for the country accordingly. They branded his plans as visionary and impractical. Unaware of the problems which lay beyond their "practical" mental horizon, they did not realize that their own difficulties usually arose from lack of knowledge, or an insufficient or superficial knowledge of problems—certainly, in any case, not alone from lack of practical ability. What they thought they knew was often limited to immediate personal experience or empirical reasoning. Such knowledge is not only easy to obtain but dangerous as a basis for practice.

To the Western mind these are mere philosophical squabbles of theory and practice, or knowledge and conduct—and what have they to do with revolution and reconstruction in China? Yet Dr. Sun Yat-sen was very serious about it, considering psychological reconstruction the first step to

successful reconstruction in other realms, whether political, industrial, or social. "Overpractical becomes impracticable," Professor Dewey said to him. "No one in the West would think that 'to know' is an easy matter."

Amid the revolutionary atmosphere of the intellectual world and my own inspiring contact with Dr. Sun, *The New Education* stood pedagogically for initiative, the needs of children, and much that John Dewey stands for in his *Democracy and Education*. As regarded Chinese principles of education, it stood for Mencius' ideas on human nature: that it is good. Hence education means a proper development of what there is in the child. As a matter of fact, in its main current Chinese education had followed since Confucius the principle that human nature is all-good. The trouble was that as the centuries accumulated, what is good in human nature came to mean certain moral precepts shrouded in age-worn tradition. Thus while in theory it was very modern, in practice it might lead miles away from original principles. "Development of nature" may in fact come to mean mere conformity to traditional morals, and this is what happened in China.

With the introduction into Chinese thought of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and later Dewey, the Mencian principles came into better perspective and shed a more living light. Children of China were to be set free of hard and fast rules of conduct and traditional moral ideas incongruous to modern society. Thus children must be led to think for themselves and helped to solve their own problems in accordance with their needs and not those of grownups, They should be led to an interest in nature and in their environment. In accordance with the principles of child psychology, a child must be treated as such; he is not a little man and must not be stuffed with knowledge only, much less with books. Education should help a child to grow—mentally, physically, and socially.

Such were the lines of thought that guided the policies of *The New Education*. As the reader will easily see, it fell in line with the current revolutionary thought of the country. The intellectual ties between *The New Education*, and the professors and students of Peking University, the whirlpool of intellectual revolt, drew me the next year to that much-troubled institution as professor of education and Acting Chancellor.

CHAPTER 15 PEKING UNIVERSITY AND THE STUDENT REVOLT

If you throw a stone into a body of still water, rings of waves begin to rise and travel farther and farther, ever widening and extending away from the center. In Peking, capital of China during five dynasties and more than ten centuries—the seat of conservatism where the Empress Dowager ruled the country from her dragon throne—stood the oldest modern institution of learning in the country, known as the National University of Peking. It was the only landmark left by Emperor Kwang-hsü's short-lived reforms of 1898. The brief tide of reform had ebbed and vanished into history; only a few scattered shells remained, witness to the vicissitudes of fortune in that placid ancient capital. But the university, in which were clustered the living shells that contained pearls, was destined to make valuable contributions to culture and thought within the short span of one generation.

The man who threw the stone of intellectual revolt into that placid water was Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei, who in 1916 became Chancellor of the university. Dr. Tsai was an eminent scholar of China's ancient culture, but imbued with the spirit of Western scholarship and especially the spirit of free inquiry which prevailed in the Hellenic world. His belief in "knowledge for knowledge' sake," in contrast to the "learning for its practical use" of Chinese thought, had its foundation in a thorough knowledge of ancient Greek culture. His views on knowledge were essentially the same as those of Dr. Sun, but the latter had acquired his outlook from the natural sciences, Dr. Tsai his from a study of Greek philosophy.

This renowned scholar preferred the appreciation of beauty to belief in religion. Here we find an interesting blending of Greek and Chinese culture. The traditional love of nature of the Chinese scholar and the Greek sense of beauty working together in Dr. Tsai's mind resulted in a love for Western sculpture and Chinese carvings; Chinese landscape painting and Western portraits; both Chinese and Western architecture, and Chinese and Western music. His views on religion were essentially Chinese: religion is but part of morality. He wanted to elevate the moral sense of youth to a higher level by love of beauty. It was an ancient Chinese belief that there is no greater moral

force than that of music. Good morals had their foundation in well-balanced emotions, which could only be brought about by the fine arts and music or poetry, which is closely allied to music.

Dr. Tsai had great faith in natural science. He not only trusted it to yield inventions, engineering, and other benefits, but believed it would foster the mental habits of methodical thinking and research which led to the discovery of general truths, the foundation of all true knowledge.

In his younger days his brilliance was less veiled in modesty. When he was principal of the Sino-Occidental School at Shaoshing which I attended in my boyhood, one evening at a banquet, after a few cups of Shaoshing wine, he stood up and announced at the top of his voice that the reforms of Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao were too superficial, since they retained the Manchu court to lead them. "I, Tsai Yuan-pei, will not do that. Unless you overthrow the Manchus no reforms will be possible!" He shouted it out, raising his right arm over his head.

Dr. Tsai in his early years wrote essays full of brilliant and stimulating ideas contrary to the common practice of writing in the days of civil examinations. My uncle King told me of a strange essay of his which began, "In sex, food, and drinking human desires lie." He handed in his paper to the Imperial examiners after the time limit. The night was getting on to the small hours and the eyes of the examiners were heavy with sleep. His paper was accepted and he passed the examination for the Second Degree—Chu-jen, or the Promoted Scholar. In the following years he achieved the Third or highest degree—Chin-shih, or Advanced Scholar—when still under thirty. He subsequently entered Hanlin Academy, composed of the highest ranking scholars, which has since ceased to exist.

In his later years he was the personification of what is best in a Chinese scholar, with a broad mind open to Western ideas. His eyes, looking over his spectacles, were alert but calm; his speech easy, clear, fluent, and sincere, though often drowned in a monotone. He never let harsh words cross his thin lips, but when he was indignant his utterance was quick, weighty, and concise—as clearly to the point as a judge rendering judgment or a dagger popping out from under soft velvet cotton.

He was of a light build but his movements were steady. His artistic fingers would run deftly through the pages as he read, as if he read by

paragraphs, even by pages, his quick sight grasping essential points and his retentive memory keeping knowledge in store. His love of nature and the arts made his emotions tranquil, thoughts lofty, tastes refined, manners sincere and modest, and ways of living simple and retired. His broad-mindedness was as responsive to every shade of opinion, criticism, or suggestion "as a hollow in the mountains that echoes with every vibration of sound."

In such a scholar the government of Li Yuan-hung, then President of the Republic, found a chancellor for the university. Under his administration the institution underwent a radical change. Science was put on an equal footing with literature, which had reigned in the realm of knowledge in China from time immemorial. History, philosophy, and the classics were studied in the light of modern scientific method. The spirit of knowledge for its own sake was encouraged. Scholars of old conservative schools, new schools, and radical schools were all given an equal chance. Old literati with queues hanging down their backs who still retained faith in a monarchical regime sat shoulder to shoulder with men of radical thought, discussing problems, joking and laughing at the same dinner table. Free inquiry into problems, of knowledge, culture, family, social relations, and political systems was found in the classrooms, seminars, and social gatherings.

It was the intellectual life of ancient China of the pre-Ching period or ancient Greece of the times of Socrates and Aristotle re-enacted. Dr. Tsai was the old, wise Socrates of China, and would have suffered the same fate had he not had sympathizers on a nationwide scale, especially among the Kuomintang members who had a strong hold in Canton. Yet by conservative Chinese and foreigners alike the university was accused of advocating "A-three-ism"—no religion, no government, and no family—just as Socrates was accused by the ancient Greeks of corrupting the souls of young men. No argument could dispel these unfounded suspicions. History alone would disprove them, as it has absolved Socrates.

I have said that Dr. Tsai advocated esthetics as a substitute for religion, and free inquiry as a means of approach to truths. Mr. Chen Tu-hsiu, Dean of the College of Literature, advocated science and democracy as the twin weapons to modernize China. Free inquiry led to freedom of thought. Science sapped the old beliefs. Democracy meant the assertion of popular rights. Meanwhile Dr. Hu Shih, professor of philosophy, worked for a literary revolution by which the language in common use by the people was to

replace the classical language as a medium of thought and expression. The colloquial, or common written language, is nearer to the Chinese spoken language and therefore easier to learn, to write, and to understand. It is a better and easier medium for the expression of thought. Its use was to popularize knowledge, hitherto a monopoly of classical scholars. The movement developed a host of young writers throughout the country. After a few years the Ministry of Education made compulsory the use of the vulgate as a medium of instruction in all elementary schools.

The university was an oasis in the intellectual desert of Peking. But the seeds of intellectual revolt grew in that small green spot with remarkable rapidity. Within three years the whole institution was filled with it.

In that vigorous atmosphere of intellectual activity a mental and moral unrest developed among the students. I have related earlier how, under the influence of French eighteenth-century political idealism with its catchwords of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, and as a revolt against established authority which the youth of the nation believed responsible for retarding China's progress and thus inviting the encroachment of foreign Powers, students had gone on strike against their school authorities upon the slightest pretext. This first happened in Shanghai in 1902. The first student revolt had spent itself in the course of a few years and degenerated into strikes against the school cooks. In the end the authorities outwitted the students by handing the management of the kitchens over to the student body. Isolated cases of strikes still persisted for some years. In one instance this ended in tragedy when a dozen students in the provincial high school at Hangchow died of arsenic poisoning which the cooks put in their rice as a revenge. I went to the school after the outrage and found a large number of youths moaning in their beds, while a dozen caskets stood in the open-air gymnasium waiting for relatives to take them for burial.

While the spirit of revolt in the form of school strikes was gradually spending itself, its force turned inward into revolutionary ideas which gained much wider ground outside the schools in the form of a political revolution, resulting ultimately in the downfall of the Manchus in 1911.

The second student revolt burst out suddenly in Peking on May 4, 1919, the eighth year of the Republic. What happened was this. From the peace conference in Paris news reached China that Tsingtao in the Shantung

Peninsula, a German-leased port taken from German hands during the war by the Japanese, had been awarded to Japan by the victorious Powers. As China had declared war against Germany, the leased territory should in all justice have been returned to China. The whole nation was indignant over the news. Students in Peking, under the leadership of the National University group, demonstrated against the signing of the Versailles Treaty. Three thousand students held mass meetings and paraded in the streets demonstrating against acceptance of the terms, shouting "Return Tsingtao to China!" "Boycott Japanese goods!" "Down with the traitors!" Banners streamed in the air bearing the same slogans.

The Peking government, despite the efforts of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang or Nationalist party in Canton and its adherents elsewhere, was still under the thumb of military men and ruled China with a mere semblance of the democracy and parliamentary procedure which the revolution had labored so earnestly to establish. Among its influential high officials were three members of a notoriously pro-Japanese group. Their sympathies were well known. These men—Tsao Ru-lin, Minister of Communication; Chang Chung-hsiang, Chinese Minister of Tokyo; and Lu Chung-yu, another minister—now became the targets of student wrath. The crowd streamed to the residence of Tsao, where secret meetings were supposed to have been going on; they broke in, and combed the house for the three "traitors." Tsao and Lu escaped by the back door; Chang was caught by the mob and badly beaten. Leaving him for dead, the students dispersed, in their retreat smashing everything in sight and setting the place on fire.

Meanwhile, the armed police and gendarmery had thrown a cordon around the house. They arrested some sixty students and sent them to headquarters. The rest—about a thousand strong—followed after, each claiming individually to have been responsible for the outbreak and asking to be arrested. Finally all were put under heavy military guard in the compounds of the Law College of the university.

News concerning the demonstration was strictly censored. Some students outwitted the government, however, by sending a cable through a foreign agency in one of the foreign concessions of Tientsin, and this cable was the sole source of the news that appeared in Shanghai papers on the morning of the fifth.

I was at breakfast on May 5 when the newspapers reached me. On their front pages appeared in bold letters a news item something as follows:

> Students in Peking demonstrated against the signing of the Versailles Treaty. Three pro-Japanese high officials—Tsao, Lu, and Chang—were beaten by the students. The residence of Tsao Ru-lin was burned. Several thousand have been detained under heavy armed guard in the Law College of the National University of Peking. Ringleaders were arrested and their state is unknown.

There were no further details.

The whole city was excited by the news. In the afternoon public organizations such as educational associations, chambers of commerce, and provincial and local guilds sent telegrams to the Peking government demanding the dismissal of the three high officials and the release of the students arrested or detained. Through the following day all Shanghai waited anxiously for a reply from the government but there was none. Then the students of the city went on strike, making the same demands as the public organizations, and went forth lecturing on the streets.

Next morning schoolboys and girls went by hundreds from door to door on Nanking Road, the main street of Shanghai, begging the shopkeepers to go on strike. Some in sympathy and others out of fear closed their doors. Many followed suit in imitation of their neighbors. In about an hour's time all the Nanking Road shops were closed as tight as clams. Police interfered but to no avail.

The shop strike spread like fire. By noon all Shanghai was shut. Thousands of people wandered about the streets and traffic was almost blocked. Settlement police became powerless. Boy and girl scouts went out as police to keep order and direct traffic. To see order maintained in the crowded streets by bobbed-haired girl scouts was something novel in the International Settlement of Shanghai. Both Chinese and foreigners wondered why the crowd willingly obeyed the orders of young boys and girls while showing such an ugly temper toward the police.

Within a few days the student strike had grown into a nationwide movement. Shops and commercial houses closed in all the cities near Shanghai. As Shanghai was the center of commerce in the lower Yangtze Valley, these cities were paralyzed when the heart of the great metropolis ceased to beat, and suspended their affairs, not necessarily out of sympathy for the students.

Settlement authorities were alarmed when employees of the water works and the electric company wanted to join the strike. Through the mediation of the chamber of commerce and student representatives they were persuaded to stick to their jobs. The pressure continued for more than a week and the Peking government finally gave in. The three pro-Japanese officials resigned and all the students were set free.

With country-wide sympathy behind them, students everywhere were intoxicated by their success. Thereafter there was no peace for institutions of learning, or for the government. The students of Peking, having won their victory, continued to agitate against corruption in the government and the old traditions which, they thought, enslaved the minds of young people. They had won over the government because they had national sentiment behind them. Everybody in China would have liked to join the demonstrations and parades against the signing of the Versailles Treaty. The students, who were better organized, more articulate, more impulsive and less hesitant, took the lead and thus plucked at the heartstrings of the nation.

When the pro-Japanese officials had resigned and the students had been released by the government—when the general strike had been called off in Shanghai and elsewhere—the incident was considered closed, for the time being at least. But the university itself became a problem. Chancellor Tsai Yuan-pei, apparently shocked by the violence, had resigned and quietly left Peking. He went first to Tientsin, then to Shanghai, and finally slipped into Hangchow, where he lived in a friend's house on the historic West Lake, surrounded by gentle hills, enjoying nature as a traditional scholar of the old days. Despite repeated persuasions he declined to go back to the university. He said that he had never intended to incite the students to revolt, but that in demonstrating against acceptance of the Shantung clause of the Versailles Treaty they had acted on patriotic impulses which could hardly be condemned. As regarded the university, he thought that thenceforth it would be difficult to maintain discipline, as the students were likely to be intoxicated with the cup of success. Once they tasted power there would be no end to their appetite. This was the stand he took in regard to the student movement. The belief that he was always ready to encourage a student revolt was far from the truth.

Finally he approved my going to Peking to take charge of the university for him. I consented rather reluctantly. With the heavy responsibilities thus

thrust upon me, I went to Peking in July with one of the student delegates. The student body convened in a mass meeting of welcome, and this was the gist of my first speech to them:

> Your patriotic motives in the recent demonstrations are to be highly commended. But if you keep on doing this your valuable time will be wasted and the existence of the institution where you drink at the fountain of wisdom will be endangered. A new nation is not made in one day, and certainly not by demonstrations alone. The demonstrations are trifles in comparison with the work you have to do in classrooms, in the library, in laboratories, and in seminars...

After the storm the clouds began to disperse and a clear day emerged. Dr. Tsai returned to his office in September.

The university was again reorganized, on a sounder basis. The office of dean of administration was created to take charge of the business side of the university. Existing offices were modified and systematized into an organic whole. The dean of faculties was responsible for academic affairs. The Academic Council, members of which were elected by the professors with the deans as ex officio members, was the highest legislative body, empowered to pass on university regulations, grant degrees, and enforce discipline among the students. Various executive committees were set up to perform administrative functions. The university was put on a basis of faculty control. Academic freedom, faculty control, and a fearless spirit of searching for truth were the guiding principles in administration. Student self-government was encouraged as a step to democracy.

For seven long years, in spite of intermittent strikes and demonstrations, the university sailed along under full canvas on the rough sea of political turmoil, with men of courage and foresight at the helm. The number of volumes in the library was vastly increased, laboratory equipment much improved. Scholars of international fame such as John Dewey and Bertrand Russell were invited to join the university as visiting professors.

The two Western philosophers contributed their part to the great intellectual movement in China. Dewey directed the young minds of China to the study of educational and social problems in accordance with the needs of the individual and society. It is true that the very act of thinking of problems in this way led naturally to the creation of other problems which caused trouble in such a static society as that of China in those days. Hu Han-min, a Kuomintang leader, once told me that it was Dewey's teaching that caused unrest in the schools. But he ignored the fact that there were many student

strikes under the Imperial regime during prerevolutionary days; as well as the fact that Dewey's teaching, which interested the students in social problems, thus helped the movement against the warlords later on.

It was due to Russell that young minds began to get interested in principles of social reconstruction, which roused them against both religion and imperialism. To the missionaries and members of the British Legation he was an unwelcome guest. He lived in a Chinese hotel and refused to see officials of his own legation. I heard one of them express the view that his coming to China was a matter for regret. In Peking Mr. Russell contracted a serious case of pneumonia and at one time the doctors gave up hope. On his recovery I heard a missionary lady say, "That's too bad." I repeated it to Mr. Russell, who laughed heartily.

During those days of freedom of thought in China just after the first World War, thinking about either social problems or social principles created storms in the thinking mind and waves of emotion in the feeling heart. This prepared the way for the further introduction of Western ideas from postwar Europe. All the "isms" had full play in China. While the intellectuals on the whole moved along the line of Western democracy, a section of them, inspired by the success of the Russian revolution of 1917, were attracted to the ideology of Marxism. Chen Tu-hsiu, editor of *La Jeunesse*, resigning from his deanship at the University of Peking, became the leader of a Chinese Communist movement. The anti-imperialist movement against Japan also prepared the ground for general sympathy among intellectuals for the Russian Revolution. In 1923 the Third International sent Mr. Joffe to Peking to make contact with Chinese intellectuals, and one evening at a dinner given in his honor at the Chih-ying Restaurant in Peking, Dr. Tsai made a speech of welcome in which he said, "The Russian Revolution has given great inspiration to the revolutionary movement in China."

Russia had repeatedly announced that she was ready to give back to China the Chinese Eastern Railway[2] in north Manchuria, and wished China success in getting rid of both the warlords and the imperialistic Powers that had a grip on the country. This good will of Soviet Russia toward China was welcomed by all the intellectuals as well as by the people as a whole. Among other things, it paved the way for the growth of Communism in China.

Meanwhile, eminent scientists from European and American universities

came to guide students in scientific research. A number of periodicals were issued by the faculties as well as by the students. Music and art clubs, athletic associations, library and science associations sprang up in abundance. A society for the study of Marxian theories was established under the leadership of Professor Li Ta-chao. The student army corps, organized some time earlier to give military training to the students, was growing in size. The university gates were flung open to girls—Peking University was the first institution of higher learning in the history of education in China to accept women on an equal footing with men. Faculty and students, immersed in an atmosphere of academic freedom and free inquiry, worked in unison, happy and contented.

The influence of the university was far-reaching. From every intellectual pebble thrown into the waters of ancient Peking waves traveled to every corner of the land. Even the middle schools of the country—the equivalent of American high schools—copied its organization, introducing freedom of thought and opening their doors to girls. Progressive newspapers, magazines, and political parties echoed every movement of the university. In this atmosphere the influence of the Kuomintang revolution extended far and wide, while at the same time the Communist party began to take shape.

The conflicts of the warlords meanwhile roared intermittently around the ancient capital. In one of these internecine wars the gates of Peking were all closed for almost a week. Fighting was going on some ten miles outside the city. It usually began at nightfall and lasted until dawn. Once we went to watch the artillery fire from the top of Peking Hotel. It was like watching a fire on the other side of a river; you got the entertainment of a bonfire at the expense of others without incurring the risk of being licked by the flames. A crossfire of tracers spanned the earth in the dark night like multitudes of rainbows crossing each other. The roar of cannon set the roof trembling as if in a mild earthquake. From dusk till dawn there was no pause in the fighting. When I went home to bed I could not turn my ears to the pillow, for the thundering of the cannon seemed much louder that way. So I lay flat in bed with my eyes toward the ceiling and noticed that the beautifully painted shades of the electric lights were swinging slightly. Glasses rattled. Wolfy, my German police dog, kept moaning, unable to enjoy her usual peaceful slumber on the floor. As soon as she laid her ear to the floor, she would start, get up, groan, dart for the door, and scratch it violently, thinking that these abominable sounds came from beneath the floor of my bedroom. The next

morning I scolded her for being naughty the previous night. She stared at me with guilty eyes. From the breakfast table I called to her but she did not respond. I never saw her again. Presumably she wandered away in search of a land of peace where no mocking devils would pound the ground at night and she could sleep well. But I am afraid she was sorely disappointed.

On one of those days in the besieged city I took a walk with a friend along Shun-ching-men Street. People went about their business as usual, without a trace of excitement. As usual, people were pulling or being pulled in rickshaws. We turned at Hsi-tan Pailou into Hsi-ching-an-chieh and then into Central Park. The yellow enamel tiles of the imposing towers on the Wu Gate of the palace glittered in the slanting autumn sun against the cloudless blue. We chose a spot under the spreading branches of one of the ancient spruces planted there in rows and squares by early Manchu emperors centuries ago. The air was laden with their fragrance and light winds brushed our faces with the soothing odor. We sat at a table listening to the gossip at neighboring tables. People all talked about the war and wondered which side was going to win and who was going to have Peking as a spoil of war; all seemed to be utterly unconcerned. What is the use of worrying? Peking had seen many wars and vicissitudes of fortune but remained the same, as the towers of the Wu Gate bore silent witness.

"Let's order a fish for dinner and see whether we get it, with the city gates all closed," said my friend.

A waiter came with a fish wriggling in his hand. "How would you like to have it?"

"Two ways. Split it in half—one half fried with sweet-and-sour gravy spread on top; the other half cooked with bean sauce." The fish came. One of the two halves tasted stale.

"Why, one half of the fish was from a dead one," said my friend to the waiter, who bowed and smiled.

"Oh, I see. The fish sailed in over the city wall. The side that hit the ground was dead, while the other was still alive," I said. When the waiter came back again my friend snatched one of the empty wine jars on the table and showed it to him. "What! You have given us an empty jar."

"Sorry." The waiter was smiling. "The liquor has evaporated." He

immediately brought us a new one. Of course both were charged to our account.

We went back home at dusk. That night the fighting ceased. I thought of Wolfy. She must have slept in peace somewhere in the city. The next morning we found the government had changed hands. The palace remained the same. The people went about as usual. The city was undisturbed. The gates were flung open, and thousands of people from the country streamed in with vegetables, meat, eggs, and fish. Donkeys, mules, and camels followed in the wake of the pedestrians. Children gathered empty cannon shells and shrapnel from the battleground and sold them in the streets for a few dollars. Out of these shells we made flower vases.

Many people outside the city lost their property, a number of them lost their lives. I lost my Wolfy.

On the whole the losses to property and life in the various war areas during those long, distressing years were negligible. It was the unsettled state of mind, the disruption of communications, the ruined finances, the disturbances of order and upset of administrative machinery of the government—above all, the obstruction of the tranquil flow of blood in the veins of national life—that reduced China to such a paralyzed state that she became an easy prey to the aggressor neighbor. The division of the country made any nationwide constructive plan for the country well-nigh impossible. Unification was what China needed.

I acted for the second time for Chancellor Tsai when he went for a visit to Europe. At this time a letter from Dr. Sun Yat-sen lauded the movements in the university and ended in the following words: "Lead the three thousand disciples to help the cause of revolution."

Dr. Sun did not live to see his hopes come true, but only a few years later his successor, General Chiang Kai-shek, led the Nationalist army sweeping down from Canton to the Yangtze Valley, then to the Yellow River Valley, and finally to Peking, treading the path psychologically prepared for the new Nationalist victory by the revolutionary movements which had started in Peking and permeated the minds of all classes of people in the country.

[2] Chinese Eastern Railway：中东铁路，系沙俄根据从中国所获之特权于19世纪末至20世纪初在中国东北地区修建的一条连接俄国西伯利亚和海参崴（符拉迪沃斯托克）的“丁”字形宽轨铁路，最初称“东清铁

路”、“中国东省铁路”，后来又称“满洲铁路”、“中国长春铁路”等等。1905年9月，根据沙俄与日本签订的《朴茨茅斯和约》，该铁路的长春至旅顺口的支线让给日本，称为“南满铁路”。1931年九一八事变后，日本侵占中国东北并于次年建立伪满洲国。此后，中东铁路实际上由日伪与苏联共管。1933年，中东铁路改称“北满铁路”。1945年8月，根据中苏有关协定，北满铁路和南满铁路合并，改称“中国长春铁路”，简称“中长铁路”。1952年12月，中长铁路移交给中国。

CHAPTER 16 YEARS OF TROUBLES

The students after their May 4 victory were indeed intoxicated with the cup of success as Chancellor Tsai, Dr. Hu Shih, and others had predicted. It was beyond their power or any other power in the country to stop, for the root of discontent lay deep in the political, social, and intellectual soil of China. In the schools the students usurped the right of the authorities to engage or dismiss a teacher. Failing to meet their demands, the administration invariably faced a strike. The students struck against teachers who required a severe examination or stood for sterner discipline. They demanded subsidies from the schools for their traveling expenses during spring vacation, or money for student activities. They demanded free copies of the lecture notes (a kind of course syllabus). It was a matter of trying to get as much as possible out of the school in every conceivable way, never thinking of their duties toward it. They were intoxicated with power; their selfishness ran wild. The mere word "discipline" found them with rolling eyes, lips curled, and teeth bared, ready to fall upon you in packs.

Once the senate of the University of Peking passed a regulation that all students must pay for the copies of lecture notes provided by the university. This touched their private pocket. A crowd of several hundred demonstrated against the rule. Chancellor Tsai arrived on the scene and told them that they must obey the university regulations. His words fell upon deaf ears. The mob streamed into the classrooms and offices to find those responsible for the "obnoxious" rule. The Chancellor told them that he alone was responsible.

"You cowards!" he shouted indignantly, rolling his sleeves up to his elbows and shaking his fists in the air. "I'll fight a duel with any one of you who dares. If anyone dares to touch his teachers, I'll knock him down."

The crowd stood in a semicircle in front of him. As the Chancellor moved toward them they stepped back, always keeping at a safe distance. This quiet scholar, tame as a lamb in daily life, was suddenly transformed into a moral lion.

The crowd dwindled; he walked to his office. About fifty students still waited outside the door demanding the abrogation of the rule. The corridor was packed with spectators curiously looking on. The thing came to a

deadlock. The Dean of Faculties, Ku Men-yu, brought about a settlement by promising to see that the assessment of lecture note fees was postponed—indefinitely, of course.

Among the worst agitators, who usually took cover behind the crowd to shout their shrill accusations, I noticed a tall young man, too tall to be hidden by the crowd. I did not know him—he was not among those whose names were later struck from the university register. But a number of years afterward, when I saw him as a puffed-up official, I recognized him at once. His countenance was unmistakable; his shouts still rang in my ears. He had developed into a skillful politician and unscrupulous grafter, and died a rich man a few years after the war.

In another demonstration several years later against myself for refusal to listen to their demands, a number of students closed the gates of the compound and thus shut me in my office. Dr. Hu Shih telephoned to ask whether I would like police to break the siege, but I replied in the negative. The gates were closed for two hours. Those who wanted to leave after their classes clamored from inside, while others who wanted to come in to attend courses echoed without. At length the ringleaders, no longer able to withstand the protests of their fellow students, opened the gates. As I came out of my office a score or two of them followed, vociferously denouncing me. Turning my head, I saw a few at close range. The university senate decided to dismiss those whose names I could remember or afterward ascertained.

Several years later as I was walking on the campus of the Central Aviation School, transferred from Hangchow to Kunming during the war, a fine-looking young officer stepped forward and after a military salute told me that he was a student dismissed from the National University of Peking. At once I recognized his honest-looking face and fine, strong physique. The ugliness I had seen in his face as he dogged my steps that day of demonstration was all transformed into shining happy eyes and smiling lips. We were happy to see each other. The president of the school told me later that he was one of the best flyers and instructors they had.

These instances are indicative of the fact that the student demonstrations contained all elements. Those who honestly believed in their cause, rightly or wrongly, and were willing to be responsible for what they had done, often turned out to be good citizens, while the sneaky fellows often proved

undesirable elements in society.

The students usually took as their target some international problem which the government was not in a position to solve, or had failed to solve to the satisfaction of the people. Thus they always carried with them the sympathy of the country; herein lay their power. As "incidents" grew in number between China and Japan, their demonstrations were naturally interpreted by the Japanese as an anti-Japanese movement. The root of the trouble lay in the Twenty-One Demands and in the Shantung question created by the Versailles Treaty. After the balance of power in the Far East was upset, Japan enjoyed almost exclusive privileges in strangling China. The policy of partitioning China had given way to the Open Door policy, which was fundamentally dependent upon a balance of power; once this balance was kicked over, China had only two alternatives—to submit to the domination of Japan or fight it out alone every step of the way.

So the students fought, first with demonstrations, strikes, and boycotts against Japanese goods, then turning their attack on the government at Peking, which they believed responsible for all evils. When they found nothing internationally or nationally important to fight, they fought the school authorities. The cause lay in the psychological unrest of youth. Once they were aroused to act, it tended to express itself; to repress emotions that ran so high would have been difficult.

A number of student groups, among them the young Communists, turned their attention to the labor movement and the labor unrest which was then brewing in the treaty ports. Railway and factory workers began to show activity and agitation, which spread like patches of oil. Soon they joined the students in mass meetings and parades. The labor movement was no negligible weapon. With it the Kuomintang government in Canton once devastated Hongkong with a general strike, reducing the British island colony to a commercial and industrial desert, as it were, for eighteen months.

Nationwide anti-British feeling had been provoked in Shanghai on May 30, 1925, when International Settlement authorities gave orders to shoot into a crowd of sympathizers with the labor movement there, gathered on Nanking Road. A few were killed and many wounded. Under the leadership of both the Kuomintang and the Communists a general strike of laborers, merchants, and students followed. Once more Shanghai was a dead city. On

June 23 students, workmen, merchants, and soldiers in Canton demonstrated in sympathy against the British. As the crowd passed through the outskirts of the Foreign Settlement the British garrison fired on them. As a result of the firing Hongkong went on a general strike which rendered the British colony a dead city. At the instigation of the students Chinese employees of the British Legation at Peking also went on a sympathetic strike, which left these diplomatic officials without cooks or boys for some time.

After the workers had joined the student movement, the number of demonstrators was increased by thousands. Often one would see a vast motley crowd in the mass meetings or parading on the streets of Peking, shouting slogans and waving banners. In one of these meetings a White Russian, shuddering, remarked that he had seen many such mass meetings in Russia—the sure signs of an impending revolution—and he wondered whether it was safe for him to stay in China.

The workers, like the students, when there was no more important demonstration to make, turned their hostility against their employers. There was little peace for the factories. However, it was much easier for the central or local government to deal with striking workmen than with students. In many instances they stopped the strikes by force of arms, in some cases simply firing on the strikers with machine guns.

Supposing that this would be an effective way to stop all strikes, the government under Tuan Chi-jui gave orders to train machine guns on a crowd of students gathering around the executive mansion. I had previously been informed that the government had given the order to fire if the students besieged the building, and I warned them of the danger and tried to prevent them from participating; but they formed in lines on the campus, ready to march, and refused to listen to me. No sooner had they approached the entrance of the mansion than bullets rained upon them.

About four o'clock in the afternoon news reached me of the tragedy. At once I rushed to the scene. The open space in front of the official residence of Tuan Chi-jui was literally covered with bodies of young boys and girls. It was difficult to distinguish the dead from the dying. Ambulances came and picked up all who showed any sign of life. About two dozen remained lifeless on the ground. A number died on the way to hospitals and still more lost their young lives on the operating table. We checked with the various hospitals and

found that the casualties ran up over a hundred. This did not include those who left after receiving first aid.

This dastardly action of the Tuan Chi-jui government drew a wave of protest from the whole country, and its resultant unpopularity was among the reasons for its later downfall.

Besides the factors I have mentioned, the most important element in making the students so powerful and uncontrollable at this period was the fact that most of them were the sons and daughters of the ruling classes of China. A revolt of students meant, so to speak, a revolt of sons and daughters against their fathers. The most knotty problem a parent had to face was that of a rebellious son or daughter, especially when his children's actions enjoyed the popular support of his neighbors. Workmen were a different proposition; neither their parents nor relatives held any power in the government or in society. So it was their lot to submit to the whips of policemen or the bayonets of armed forces. Only when they were under the guidance of, or in co-operation with, the students was their power strongly felt.

The student movement was further fortified by the sympathy of teachers within the schools and Kuomintang members and Communists outside of them. Other political forces were also involved. So the movement grew in complexity and magnitude. There were always teachers behind it, from its beginning in 1919. Even during the first student revolt under the Imperial regime there had been teachers behind the movement.

A strike of teachers, to support their demands for payment of arrears of salary owed them by the government at Peking, caused further complications. The poor teachers in the university and in seven other government colleges were very irregularly paid. Often they received only half a month's salary in two or three months. When they demonstrated they could usually squeeze out from a half to one month's salary from the Ministry of Education.

Once several hundred teachers, supported by a still larger number of students, occupied the premises of the Ministry demanding payment of their arrears. The presidents of the eight government institutions went to act as intermediaries. Teachers and students coerced the vice-minister and all the presidents into marching to the presidential mansion to demand their pay. At the exit of the Ministry the vice-minister refused to go any farther on the pretext that it was raining. A student walking beside him opened his umbrella

and handed it over, saying brusquely, "Here is an umbrella," and the vice-minister took it from him and marched on reluctantly. The presidents followed grudgingly after. As the crowd approached the entrance of the mansion the gendarmery and police closed the gates. Teachers and students clamored for admittance. Suddenly the gates were flung open and swarms of armed police and gendarmes streamed out with bayonets and rifle butts, stabbing and beating at random. Aged teachers and young girls alike fell into the ditches with hands muddy and faces bleeding, screaming and crying. The president of the College of Law lay on the ground as if dead. A professor of political science argued with the soldiers as to why they should be so unsympathetic as to insult the hungry teachers. A professor of Chinese literature with a big lump on his forehead, his nose bleeding, shouted at them, "You fight your own people. Why don't you fight the Japanese?"

This professor was taken to the French Hospital, where a former provincial governor was sent by the government to offer its apology. The professor's aged mother was sitting by.

"This boy is my only son. The government almost killed him. I demand the reason why?"

To this the former governor replied, "Never mind, Aunty, I am a good fortuneteller. By looking at my cousin's countenance I can see he has a great future before him. Don't worry, dear Aunt, the government is sorry for the misbehavior of the ignorant soldiers. Aunt, I apologize to you."

The old lady was humored into calmness, while everyone in the room repressed his laughter. The faces of the teachers in their hospital beds all lighted up at this humor in the midst of tragedy.

Thus it went. On another occasion the teachers streamed into the Ministry of Finance, demanding their arrears of salary. All the members of the Ministry sneaked out the back doors, leaving the buildings empty behind them. Once the students, in disapproval of government policy toward a certain foreign Power, forced themselves into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and smashed the big looking glass and quite a few nice chairs. Students, teachers, and workers all joined in strikes against the government in Peking and the aggressor Powers that encroached upon the rights of China. In bad years not a month passed without strikes of some sort.

To be president of a university in those days was really more than a headache. Funds came from the government only occasionally—usually a year or two in arrears. While students demanded more freedom of action, the government desired order and discipline. For whatever happened, in or out of the school, the president was responsible. In demonstrations, parades, and riots, he was called upon either to stop one party or to help another. Every time the telephone rang his heart beat against his ribs, and he was rewarded for untiring work only by the grey hair that grew rapidly on his head.

The writer does not speak idly. After setting down the events in these pages he again spent a night of nightmare, seeing at one moment young boys and girls lying dead on the streets of Peking, at another the gendarmery besieging the university and demanding the surrender of ringleaders. Nor, when he started and woke, and lay sleepless with his head upon the pillows, could he shut out by closing his eyes the unfolding pictures of that tragic record.

Sipping tea under a scent-laden spruce in Peking's Central Park, an old scholar made a remark to me which was, I think, typical of those bad days of the strikes.

"Strikes here, there, and everywhere—strikes yesterday, today, tomorrow and every day. Mr. Chancellor, what are you going to do about them? When is the thing going to end? Someone has said that the new spirit is born, but I say the old tranquil spirit is dead!"

第三部 民国初年

急剧变化

我在民国六年即一九一七年六月间离美返国，美国正为有史以来第一次参加欧战而忙着动员。离美前夕，心情相当复杂，那晚睡在哥伦比亚大学的赫特莱楼，思潮起伏，一夜不曾阖眼。时间慢慢消逝，终于东方发白。初夏的曙光从窗外爬藤的夹缝漏进房里。清晨的空气显得特别温柔，蔷薇花瓣上满积着晶莹的露珠。附近图书馆前石阶上的圣母铜像，似乎怀着沉重的心情在向我微笑道别，祝她抚育的义子一帆风顺。我站在窗前伫望着五年来朝夕相伴的景物，不禁热泪盈眶。难道我就这样丢下我的朋友，永远离开这智慧的源泉吗？但是学成回国是我的责任，因为我已享受了留美的特权。那天下午我在中央车站搭火车离开纽约前往俄亥俄州的一个城市。火车慢慢移动离开车站时，我不住地回头望着挥手送别的美国朋友，直到无法再看到这些青年男女朋友的影子时才坐下。

一位朋友陪我到俄亥俄州去看他的朋友。男主人有事进城去了，由漂亮的女主人招待我们。主人家里没有男孩，只有一位掌上明珠。这位黑发女郎明媚动人，长着一张鹅蛋脸，而且热情洋溢，真是人见人爱。

我们在那里住了两星期，正是大家忙着登记应召入伍的时候，第一批新兵正在集合出发，队伍浩浩荡荡经过大街，开往营地受训。街道两旁人山人海，母亲们、爱人们、朋友们纷纷向出征的勇士道别，有的拥吻不舍，有的泪流满面，就是旁观的人也为之鼻酸。

作客期间，我们曾经数度在月明之夜划船游湖。湖上遍布着满长金色和银色水仙花的小屿。萤火虫像流星样在夜空中闪烁。鱼儿在月色下跳跃戏水。女孩子们则齐声欢唱。我还记得一支她们喜欢唱的歌：

六月的空气温暖而清新。

你为什么不肯打开你的瓣儿？

难道你怕会有人

悄悄地偷走你的心？

青蛙们也嘶着粗野的歌喉随声和唱，女孩子唱了一支又接着一支，

直到晚风带来寒意，大家才意识到夜色已深。于是我们弃舟登岸，在斜泻而下的月色中踏着遍沾露珠的草地回家。

时间在不知不觉间飞逝，两个礼拜的愉快生活旋告结束。我向朋友们道别，搭了一辆火车去旧金山。邮船慢慢离开金门海口时，我站在甲板上望着东方，心里念念不忘在纽约的朋友们。再会吧，朋友们！再会吧，美国！

回到上海时还是夏天。离开九年，上海已经变了。许多街道比以前宽阔，也比以前平坦。租界范围之外也已经铺筑了许多新路。百货公司、高等旅馆、屋顶花园、游乐场、跳舞场都比以前多了好几倍。上海已经追上纽约的风气了。

离开祖国的几年之内，上海的学校也增加了好几倍；但是除了少数例外，所有学校的经费都是由私人或中国政府负担的。少数例外的学校是多年以前公共租界当局兴办的。自从这些落伍的学校在几十年前创立以来，租界当局的收入我想至少已经增加百倍。但还是让中国人永远无知无识罢——这样，控制和剥削都比较方便。

年轻女孩子已剪短头发，而且穿起高齐膝盖的短裙，哦！对不起，我说错了，我的意思是指她们穿了仅到膝盖的旗袍，当时流行的式样就是如此。当时中国摩登女子的这种衣服是相当有道理的，从肩到膝，平直无华，料子多半是绸缎，长短随时尚而定。这原是满洲旗人的长袍，于清朝进关时男子被迫而穿着的，满清覆亡以后也被汉家女子采用，因此称为"旗"袍。

到处可以看到穿着高跟鞋的青年妇女。当你听到人行道高跟皮鞋的急骤的笃笃声时，你就知道年轻的一代与她们的母亲已经大不相同了。过去的羞怯之态已不复存在。也许是穿着新式鞋子的结果，她们的身体发育也比以前健美了。从前女人是缠足的。天足运动是中国改革运动的一部分，开始于日俄战争前后，但是在辛亥革命成功以前进展始终很慢。我想高跟鞋可能是促使天足运动迅速成功的原因，因为女人们看到别人穿起高跟鞋婀娜多姿，自然就不愿意再把她们女儿的足硬挤到绣花鞋里了。

男子已经剪掉辫子，但是仍旧没有舍弃长衫，因为大家已经忘记了长衫本来就是旗袍。穿着长衫而没有辫子，看起来似乎很滑稽。但是不久之后，我也像大家一样穿起长衫来了，因为无论革命与不革命，旗袍究竟比较方便而且舒服。谁也不能抵抗既方便又舒服的诱惑，这是人情之常。

也有一些人仍旧留着辫子，尤其是老年人。他们看不出剪辫子有什么好处。辫子已经在中国人头上养了两百多年，就让它再留几百年也无所谓。任何运动中总不免有死硬派的。

在美国时，我喜欢用中国的尺度来衡量美国的东西。现在回国以后，我把办法刚刚颠倒过来，喜欢用美国的尺度来衡量中国的东西，有时更可能用一种混合的尺度，一种不中不西、亦中亦西的尺度，或者游移于两者之间。

我可怜黄包车夫，他们为了几个铜板，跑得气喘吁吁，汗流浃背，尤其在夏天，烈日炙灼着他们的背脊，更是惨不忍睹。我的美国尺度告诉我，这太不人道。有时我碰到一些野兽似的外国人简直拿黄包车夫当狗一样踢骂——其实我说"当狗一样踢骂"是不对的，我在美国就从来没有看见一个人踢骂过狗。看到这种情形，我真是热血沸腾，很想打抱不平，把这些衣冠禽兽踢回一顿。但是一想到支持他们的治外法权时，我只好压抑了满腔气愤。我想起了"小不忍则乱大谋"的古训。"懦夫！"我的美国尺度在讥笑我。"忍耐！"祖先的中国尺度又在劝慰我。大家还是少坐黄包车，多乘公共汽车和电车罢！但是这些可怜的黄包车夫又将何以为生？回到乡下种田吗？不可能，他们本来就是农村的剩余劳力。摆在他们面前的只有三条路：身强力壮的去当强盗，身体弱的去当小偷，身体更弱的去当乞丐。那末怎么办？还是让他们拖黄包车罢！兜了半天圈子，结果还是老地方。

那末就发展工业，让他们去做工吧。但是没有一个稳定的政府，工业又无法发展。农村里农夫过剩，只要军阀们肯出钱，或者肯让他们到处掳掠，这些过剩的农夫随时可以应募当兵，在这种情形下，欲求政府稳定势不可得。因此发展工业的路还是走不通。

租界公园门口的告示牌已经有了改进，"犬与华人不得入内"的禁条已经修改为"只准高等华人入内"。甚至一向趾高气扬的洋人，也开始发现有些值得尊重的东西，正在中国抬头。

关于上海的事，暂时谈到此地为止。

上海这个华东大海港和商业中心，现在已经与向有人间天堂之称的苏州和杭州由铁道互相衔接。由上海到苏州的铁路再往西通到南京，在下关渡长江与津浦铁路衔接，往北直通天津和当时的首都北京。上海往南的铁路止于杭州，尚未通到宁波。

我的家乡离宁波不远。宁波虽是五口通商的五口之一，但是始终未发展为重要的商埠，因为上海迅速发展为世界大商埠之一，使宁波黯然

无光。宁波与上海之间有三家轮船公司的船只每夜对开一次；两家是英国公司，第三家就是招商局。许多年前我父亲曾经拿这些轮船作蓝本，打造没有锅炉而使用手转木轮的"轮船"，结果无法行驶。我从上海经宁波还乡，与我哥哥搭的就是这种轮船的二等舱。

事隔二十年，乘客的生活无多大改变。过道和甲板上乘客挤得像沙丁鱼，一伸脚就可能踩到别人。我们为了占住舱位，下午五点钟左右就上了船。小贩成群结队上船叫卖，家常杂物，应有尽有，多半还是舶来品。水果贩提了香蕉、苹果和梨子上船售卖。我和哥哥还因此辩论了一场。哥哥要买部分腐败的水果，因为比较便宜。"不行，"我说，"买水果的钱固然省了，看医生的钱却多了。"

"哈，哈——我吃烂梨子、烂苹果已经好几年，"他说，"烂的味道反而好。我从来没有吃出过毛病。"他随手捡起一个又大又红，然而烂了一部分的苹果，咬掉烂的一部分，其余的全部落肚，我耸耸肩膀，他仰天大笑。

天亮前我们经过宁波港口的镇海炮台。一八八五年中法战争时镇海炮台曾经发炮轰死一位法军的海军上将。

天亮了，码头上的喧嚷声震耳欲聋。脚夫们一拥上船拼命抢夺行李。一个不留神，你的东西就会不翼而飞。我和哥哥好容易在人丛中挤下跳板，紧紧地钉在行李夫的背后，唯恐他们提了我们的东西溜之大吉。

宁波几乎与九年前一模一样。空气中充塞着咸鱼的气味。我对这种气味颇能安之若素，因我从小就经常吃咸鱼。宁波是个鱼市，而且离宁波不远的地方就盛产食盐。我们跟着行李夫到了车站，发现一列火车正准备升火开往我的家乡余姚。沿铁道我看到绵亘数里的稻田，稻波荡漾，稻花在秋晨的阳光下发光，整齐的稻田在车窗前移动，像是一幅广袤无边的巨画。清晨的空气中洋溢着稻香，呵，这就是我的家乡！

火车进余姚车站时，我的一颗心兴奋得怦怦直跳。我们越过一座几百年前建造的大石桥，桥下退落的潮水正顺着江流急泻而下。从桥洞里还可以看到钓翁们在江边垂钓。这桥名曰武胜桥，意指英武常胜。因为四百年前当地居民为保卫余姚县城，曾与自日本海入侵的倭寇屡次在桥头堡作战。这些倭寇大家都认为就是日本人。

我们跑进院子时，秋阳高照，已是晌午时分。父亲站在大厅前的石阶上，两鬓斑白，微露老态，但是身体显然很好，精神也很旺健。他的慈祥眼睛和含笑的双唇洋溢着慈父的深情。我兄弟两人恭恭敬敬地向他

老人家行了三鞠躬礼。旧式的叩头礼在某些人之间已经随着清朝的覆亡而成为历史陈迹了。

父亲已经剪掉辫子，但是仍然穿着旧式布鞋。他说话不多；在这种场合，沉默胜似千言万语。我们随即进入大厅。直背的椅子靠墙很对称地排列着，显见他的生活方式仍然很少改变。正墙上悬着镶嵌贝壳的对联，右联是"海阔凭鱼跃"，左联是"天空任鸟飞"。对联的中间是一幅墨竹，竹叶似乎受秋风吹拂，都倾向一边。这一切很可以显示一种满足的，安静的，而且安定的生活。

大厅后面有一个小院子，长方形的大盘子里堆砌着山景，因此使高墙的院子里平添山水之胜。小寺小塔高踞假山之上，四周则围绕着似乎已历数百年的小树。山坳里散坐着小小的猴子，母猴的身旁则偎依着更小的小猴，这些微小的假猴显得如此玲珑可爱，我真希望它们能够变成活猴一样大小而跳进我的怀里。小寺小塔之外还有一个小凉亭，亭边长着一丛篁竹。假池子里则有喋喋的金鱼和探螯觅食的小虾。这一切的一切，都使人有置身自然之感。

刘老丈听说我回家了，当天下午就来看我。在我童年时代，刘老丈曾经讲许多故事给我们听，小孩子们都很喜欢他。那天下午，他讲了许多有趣的故事。他告诉我，老百姓们听到革命成功的消息时欢喜得什么似的。城里的人一夜之间就把辫子剪光了。年轻人买了西装，穿起来很像一群猴子。他又告诉我，短裙与短发如何在后来侵入县城。革命以后，他那留了七十多年的辫子居然也剪掉了，可见他对革命和民国仍然是很赞成的，起先他有点想不通，没有皇帝坐龙庭，这个世界还成什么样子？但是过了一段时期以后，他才相信民国的总统，照样可以保持天下太平。他说，反正天高皇帝远，地方治安本来就靠地方官府来维持。民国以来，地方官府居然做得还不错。

他说，五十年前太平军侵入县城时，许多脑袋连辫子一起落了地，现在我们虽然丢掉辫子，脑袋总还存在。他一边说，一边用他皮包骨的手指摸着脑袋，样子非常滑稽，因此引得大家都笑了。那天晚饭吃得比较早，饭后他告辞回家，暮色苍茫中不留神在庭前石阶上滑了一跤，幸亏旁边有人赶紧抓住他的肩膀，搀住他没有跌伤。他摇摇头自己开自己的玩笑说："三千年前姜太公八十遇文王，我刘太公八十要见阎王了。"说罢哈哈大笑，兴高采烈地回家去了。

几天之后消息传来，刘太公真地见阎王去了。对我而言，我失去了一位童年时代的老朋友，而且再也听不到这位风趣的老人给我讲故事了。

十五年前左右，姊姊和我创办的一所学校现在已经改为县立女子学校。大概有一百名左右的女孩子正在读书。她们在操场上追逐嬉笑，荡秋千荡得半天高。新生一代的女性正在成长。她们用风琴弹奏《史华尼河》和《迪伯拉莱》等西洋歌曲，流行的中国歌更是声闻户外。

我在家里住了一星期左右，随后就到乡下去看看蒋村的老朋友。童年时代的小孩子现在都已成人长大，当时的成年人现在已经是鬓发斑白的老人。至于当年的老人，现在多已经入土长眠，只有极少数历经村中沧桑的老人还健在。

村庄的情形倒不像我想像中的那样糟。早年的盗匪之灾已经敛迹，因为老百姓现在已经能够适应新兴的行业，而且许多人已经到上海谋生去了。上海自工商业发展以后，已经可以容纳不少人。任何变革正像分娩一样，总是有痛苦的。但是在分娩以后，产妇随即恢复正常，而且因为添了小宝宝而沾沾自喜。中国一度厌恶的变革现在已经根深蒂固，无法动摇，而且愈变愈厉，中国也就身不由己地不断往前迈进——至于究竟往那里跑，或者为什么往前跑，亿万百姓却了无所知。

我的大伯母已经卧病好几个月，看到我回家非常高兴，吩咐我坐到她的床边，还伸出颤巍巍的手来抚摸我的手，她告诉我过去十六年中谁生了儿子，谁结了婚，谁故世。她说世界变了，简直变得面目全非。女人已经不再纺纱织布，因为洋布又好又便宜。她们已经没有多少事可以做，因此有些就与邻居吵架消磨光阴，有些则去念经拜菩萨。年轻的一代都上学堂了。有些女孩则编织发网和网线餐巾销售到美国去，出息不错。很多男孩子跑到上海工厂或机械公司当学徒，他们就了新行业，赚钱比以前多。现在村子里种田的人很缺乏，但是强盗却也绝迹了。天下大概从此太平无事，夜里听到犬吠，大家也不再像十年前那样提心吊胆。

但是她发现进过学校的青年男女有些事实在要不得。他们说拜菩萨是迷信，又说向祖先烧纸钱是愚蠢的事。他们认为根本没有灶神。庙宇里的菩萨塑像在他们看来不过是泥塑木雕。他们认为应该把这些佛像一齐丢到河里，以便破除迷信。他们说男女应该平等。女孩子说她们有权自行选择丈夫、离婚或者丈夫死了以后有权再嫁，又说旧日缠足是残酷而不人道的办法，说外国药丸比中国药草好得多。他们说根本没有鬼，也没有灵魂轮回这回事。人死了之后除了留下一堆化学元素的化合物之外什么也没有了。他们说唯一不朽的东西就是为人民、为国家服务。

一只肥肥的黑猫跳上床，在她枕旁咪咪直叫。她有气无力地问我："美国也有猫吗？"我说是的。再一看，她已经睡熟了。我轻轻地走

出房间，黑猫则仍在她枕旁呼噜作响，并且伸出软绵绵的爪子去碰碰老太太的脸颊。

我和大伯母谈话时，我的侄女一直在旁边听着。我走出房间以后，她也赶紧追了出来。她向我伸伸舌头，很淘气地对我说："婆婆太老了，看不惯这种变化。"一个月之后，这位老太太终于离开这个疯狂的不断在变的世界。

接着我去拜望三叔母，她的年岁也不小了，身体却很健旺。我的三叔父有很多田地，而且养了许多鸡、鸭、鹅和猪。三叔母告诉我一个悲惨的故事。我的一位童年时代的朋友在上海，做黄金投机生意，蚀了很多钱，结果失了业，回到村里赋闲。一年前他吞鸦片自杀，他的寡妇和子女弄得一贫如洗，其中一位孩子就在皂荚树下小河中捉虾时淹死了。

三叔母捉住一只又肥又大的阉鸡，而且亲自下厨。鸡烧得很鲜美，鸡之外还有鱼有虾。

三叔父告诉我，上一年大家开始用肥田粉种白菜，结果白菜大得非常，许多人认为这种大得出奇的白菜一定有毒，纷纷把白菜拔起来丢掉。但三叔父却不肯丢，而且廉价从别人那里买来腌起来。腌好的咸菜香脆可口，这位老人真够精明。

小时候曾经抱过我的一位老太婆也从村子里来看我。她已经九十多岁，耳朵已经半聋，却从她的村子走了四里多路来看我。她仔仔细细地把我从头到脚端详一番，看我并无异样才安了心。她说，这位大孩子从前又瘦又小，而且很顽皮。他曾经在他哥哥的膝头咬了一口，留下紫色的齿印，结果自己号啕大哭，怪哥哥的膝盖碰痛了他的牙齿。

"你记不记得那两位兄弟在父死之后分家的事？"她问我。两兄弟每人分到他们父亲的房子的一个边厢，又在大厅的正中树了一片竹墙，把大厅平分为二。一位兄弟在他的那一半厅子里养了一头牛，另一位兄弟气不过，就把他的半边厅子改为猪栏来报复。他们父亲留下一条船，结果也被锯为两半。这两位缺德兄弟真该天诛地灭！后来祝融光顾，他们的房子烧得精光。老天爷是有眼的！

他们把那块地基卖掉了。一位在上海做生意的富商后来在这块地上建了一座大洋房。洋房完工时，她曾经进去参观，转弯抹角的走廊、楼梯和玻璃门，弄得她头昏眼花，进去以后简直出不来。她试过沙发和弹簧床，一坐就深陷不起，真是吓了一大跳。最使她惊奇的是屋主人从上海买来的一架机器。轮子一转，全屋子的灯泡都亮了，黑夜竟同白昼一样亮。

管机器的是她邻居的儿子。他是在上海学会开机器的。她做梦也想不到这位笨头笨脑的孩子居然能够拨弄那样复杂的一件机器。她离得远远地看着飞转的轮子，唯恐被卷进去碾成肉浆。

她还注意到另一件怪事：厨房里没有灶神。这一家人而且不拜祖先。厨房里没有灶神，她倒不大在乎，但是一个家庭怎么可以没有祖宗牌位？据说屋主人相信一种不拜其他神佛的教。她可不愿意信这个教，因为她喜欢到所有的庙宇去跑跑，高兴拜哪位菩萨就拜哪位。她倒也愿意拜拜屋主人相信的那位"菩萨"。因为上一年夏天她发疟疾时，那个"庙"里的先生曾经给她金鸡纳霜丸，结果把她的病治好了。但是她希望也能向别的菩萨跪下来叩头，求它们消灾赐福。

她说她穷得常常无以为炊，饿肚子是常事。我父亲已经每月给她一点米救济她，但是她的小孙女死了父母，现在靠她过活，因此吃了她一部分粮食。我拿出一张二十元的钞票塞在她手里。她高高兴兴地走了，嘴里咕噜着："从小时候起，我就知道这孩子心肠好，心肠好。"

有一天傍晚，我去祭扫母亲的坟墓，坟前点起一对蜡烛和一束香。没有风，香烟袅袅地升起。我不知不觉地跪倒地上叩了几个头，童年的记忆复活了，一切恍如隔昨。我似乎觉得自己仍然是个小孩子，像儿时一样地向母亲致敬，我希望母亲的魂魄能够张着双臂欢迎我，抚慰我。我希望能够爬到她怀里，听她甜美的催眠曲。我的一切思想和情感都回复到童年时代。母亲去世时我才七岁，因此我对母爱的经验并不多，也许想像中的母亲比真实的母亲更温柔、更亲密。至少，死去的母亲不会打你，你顽皮，她也不会发脾气。

从村子里到火车站，大约有三里路，中间是一片稻田。车站建在一个平静的湖泊岸旁，这个湖叫牟山湖，土名西湖，是一个灌溉好几万亩田的蓄水库。湖的三面环山，山上盛产杨梅和竹笋。我步行至车站以后就搭了一列火车到曹娥江边。铁路桥梁还没有完成，因为从德国订的材料因第一次世界大战影响迟迟未能到达，所以靠渡船渡江。通往杭州的铁路工程也因缺乏材料停顿了。从此到杭州的一大段空隙由轮船来衔接。多数旅客都愿意乘轮船，因为橹船太慢，大家不愿乘坐，所以旧式小船的生意非常清淡。

傍晚时到达钱塘江边，再由小火轮渡过钱塘江，只花二十分钟。我中学时代的橹摇的渡船已经不见了。

日落前我到了杭州，住进一家俯瞰西湖的旅馆。太阳正落到雷峰塔背后，天上斜映着一片彩霞。一边是尖削的保塔在夕阳余晖中矗立山

顶，它的正对面，短矮的雷峰塔衬着葱翠的山色蹲踞在西湖另一边的山坳里。玲珑的游船点缀着粼粼起皱的湖面。鱼儿戏水，倦鸟归巢，暮霭像一层轻纱，慢慢地笼罩了湖滨山麓的丛林别墅。只有缕缕炊烟飘散在夜空。我感到无比的宁静。时代虽然进步了，西湖却妩媚依旧。

但是许多事情已经有了变化。我的冥想不久就被高跟鞋的笃笃声给粉碎了，一群穿着短裙，剪短了头发的摩登少女正踏着细碎的步子在湖滨散步。湖滨路在我中学时代原是旗下营的所在。辛亥革命铲平了旗下营，后来一个新市区终于在这废墟上建立起来，街道宽阔，但是两旁的半西式的建筑却并不美观。饭馆、戏院、酒店、茶楼已经取代古老的旗下营而纷纷出现，同时还建了湖滨公园，以便招徕周末从上海趁火车来的游客。杭州已经成为观光的中心了。

我在十多年前读过书的浙江高等学堂已经停办，原址现已改为省长公署的办公厅。从前宫殿式的抚台衙门已在革命期间被焚，在市中心留下一片长满野草闲花的长方形大空地。

革命波及杭州时不曾流半滴血。新军的将领会商之后黑夜中在杭州街头布下几尊轻型火炮，结果未发一枪一弹就逼得抚台投降。新军放了把火焚毁抚台衙门，算是革命的象征，火光照得全城通红。旗下营则据守他们的小城作势抵抗，后来经过谈判，革命军承诺不伤害旗下营的任何人，清兵终于投降。旗人领袖桂翰香代表旗下营接受条件。但桂本人却被他的私人仇敌藉口他阴谋叛乱抓去枪毙了。新当选的都督汤寿潜是位有名的文人，对于这件卑鄙的事非常气愤，闹着要辞职。但是这件事总算没有闹僵，后来汤寿潜被召至南京，在临时大总统孙中山先生之下担任交通部长。

旗下新市区的东北已经建了五百间平房，安置旧日旗兵的家属。有些旗人已经与汉人熔于一炉而离开了他们的安置区。几年之后，全体旗人都失去踪迹，一度养尊处优的统治者已经与过去的被统治者汇为一流了。旗人从此成为历史上的名词，他们的生活情景虽然始终回旋在我的记忆里，但是有关他们的故事已经渐渐成为民间传说。至于清朝的崛起与没落，且让史家去记述罢！

从前的文人雅士喜欢到古色古香的茶馆去，一面静静地品茗，一面凭窗欣赏湖光山色，现在这些茶馆已经为不可抵御的现代文明所取代，只有一两家残留的老茶馆使人发怀古之幽情，这种古趣盎然的茶馆当然还有人去，泡上一杯龙井，披阅唐宋诗词。这样可以使人重新回到快乐的旧日子。

我曾经提到杭州是蚕丝工业的中心。若干工厂已经采用纺织机器，但是许多小规模的工厂仍旧使用手织机。一所工业专科学校已经成立，里面就有纺织的课程。受过化学工程教育的毕业生在城市开办了几家小工厂，装了电动的机器。杭州已经有电灯、电话，它似乎已经到了工业化的前夕了。

我大约逗留了一个星期，重游了许多少年时代常去的名胜古迹。离商业中心较远的地方，我发现旧式生活受现代文明的影响也较少。在山区或穷乡僻壤，旧日淳朴的生活依然令人迷恋。参天古木和幽篁修竹所环绕的寺庙仍然像几百年以前一样的清幽安静。和尚们的生活很少变化，仍旧和过去一样诵佛念经。乡下人还是和他们的祖先一样种茶植桑，外国货固然也偶然发现，但是数量微不足道。不过，现代文明的前锋已经到达，学校里已经采用现代课本。在现代教育的影响下，虽然生活方式未曾改变，新生一代的心理却正在转变。播在年轻人心中的新思想的种籽，迟早是会发芽茁长的。

军阀割据

年轻时我注意到文官总比武官高些。朝廷命官红缨帽的顶子分几种不同的颜色。阶级最高的是红顶子，其次是粉红的，再其次是深蓝的、翠蓝的和白色的，最后是金黄的也就是最低的一级。我常常看到戴粉红顶子的武官向阶级比较低的蓝顶子文官叩头，心里觉得很奇怪。据说历朝皇帝深恐武官擅权跋扈，所以特意让文官控制武官。历史告诉我们，国家一旦受军阀控制，必定要形成割据的局面。晚唐的历史就是最好的教训，俗语说："好铁不打钉，好男不当兵。"因此大家都瞧不起军人。记得邻村有一位品行不端的人去当兵，在他告假返乡时，大家把他看做瘟神似的，都远远地避开他。我们有个牢不可破的观念，认为当兵的都是坏人，可鄙可怕而且可憎。

在另一方面，国家的武力如果一蹶不振，碰到外来侵略就毫无能力抵抗了。宋朝亡于蒙古人，明朝亡于满洲鞑靼，情形就是如此。前临深渊，后是魔鬼，我们究将何去何从？

最要紧的是救中国——北方由陆路来的和东南由海道来的强敌都得应付。那末，怎么办？赶快建立一支装备现代武器的现代化军队吧！士兵必须训练有素，而且精忠报国。我们怎么可以瞧不起军人呢？他们是保卫国土的英雄，是中国的救星，有了他们，中国才可以免受西方列强的分割。鄙视他们，千万不可以——我们必须提高军人的地位，尊敬他们，甚至崇拜他们。不然谁又肯当兵？

大家的心理开始转变了。穷则变，变则通：我们建立了一支现代化的军队，装备外国武器，穿着新式制服，而且还有军乐队。我见过这样的一队现代军队的行军阵容，洋鼓洋号前导，精神饱满，步伐整齐，令人肃然起敬。我看得出神，恍惚自己已经成人长大，正在行列中迈步前进——向胜利进军，我站在静静围观的群众中，心里喜不自胜。这是我首次看到现代的军队。是的，我们必须尊敬士兵和军官。从此以后，只有好男才配当兵。我们必须依赖他们恢复中国过去的光荣。从前的旧式军队中，士兵穿着马甲，佩着弓箭，或者背着欧洲国家废弃不用卖给中国的旧枪。与今天的现代军队比起来真是差得太远了！

我在杭州浙江高等学堂读书时，一位高等学堂的老学生刚从日本士官学校回来探望师友。他穿着崭新的军服，腰旁佩着长剑，剑鞘闪闪发光。这就是中国军队的未来将领，我们无不怀着钦敬的心情热烈地欢迎他。

许多这样的未来将领正从日本回国，受命组织新军。几年之内新军部队渐次建立，驻在国内各军略要地。中国已经武装起来保卫她自己了。

不久辛亥革命爆发，革命军的训练也许不及政府军那样精良，但是革命的将领和士兵却充满着爱国热情，随时准备为国牺牲。革命号角一响，政府新军相继向孙中山先生投诚。短短几个月之内，统治了中国几百年的满清帝室就像秋风扫落叶般消逝了。全国人民欢欣鼓舞，中国已经获得新生，前途光明灿烂。满清政府训练新军，结果自速灭亡，让他们去自怨自艾吧！让我们为这些受过现代训练的将领的优越表现欢呼！

但是胜利的狂欢不久就成为过去。庆祝的烛光终于化为黑烟而熄灭。新军将领们对满清反目无情，对革命更无所爱。他们已经尝到权势的滋味，绝不肯轻易放弃；而且食髓知味，渴望攫取更大更高的权势，结果你抢我夺，自相残杀起来。

孙中山先生已经在民国元年即一九一二年回国。革命军和满清政府谈判结果。宣统皇帝决定退位，民国接着成立。革命军同意让小溥仪仍旧住在紫禁城里。革命人士准备草拟宪法，成立参议会，选举总统，不久临时参议会选举孙中山先生为中华民国临时大总统。

中山先生不久辞职，让位给袁世凯。后来新选的国会选举袁世凯为总统，不过，那多少是威胁利诱的结果。于是政权又再度落到反动分子的手里去了。袁世凯原来是清朝的官吏，负责训练新军，他一度失宠于清廷，革命爆发后被召回北京。

孙先生认为他对国家所能提供的贡献，最重要的还是建筑铁路，因此他甘愿主持国有铁道而让袁世凯统治国家。但是孙先生不久就觉醒了。袁世凯上台时，他很清楚他的实力在于他所控制的军队。他把国会看做一个惹人讨厌却又无可避免的东西，不过他想，只要他能够控制军队，国会除了给他一点小麻烦外，绝对奈何他不得。这位国家的新元首在强大的军队支持之下，竟然篡窃了许多并不属于总统的权力。他随时威胁恐吓异己，甚至不惜采取卑鄙的暗杀手段。在政治上，他很懂得"分而治之"的那一套，竭力在中山先生的国民党内部制造摩擦。他更进一步鼓励成立许多小政党，企图削弱国民党的势力。

他接着采取步骤来削除国民党的武力。他首先暗杀国民党的政治领袖宋教仁，接着下令解除南方各省所有国民党将领督军职务，企图激起各省的反抗，然后加以武力扫荡。孙中山先生想发动二次革命而没有成功。这时候袁世凯差不多已经以武力控制全国，于是借口这次"叛变"，

预备取消国会中国民党籍议员的资格。南方被他镇压住以后，他的野心愈来愈大，亟欲攫取更大的权力和尊荣。民国四年他正预备自立为皇帝时，各省纷纷通电反对，因此被逼放弃皇帝梦，旋即忧伤而死。

民国六年（一九一七年），孙中山先生在广州建立根据地，希望在那里成立一支军队的核心，发动新革命而推翻军阀，不料在民国十一年（一九二二年）反被广州军阀陈炯明所推翻。不过翌年孙先生终于在广州成立新政府，国民革命运动声势得以重振。但这仅是一个开端。自从野心勃勃而不择手段的袁世凯死了以后，中国一直四分五裂，各省之间内战频仍，政局扰攘达十二年之久，直到民国十七年（一九二八年）蒋总司令北伐成功，国家才重归统一。

中华民国成立以后，十六年来中国一直掌握在军阀手里。内战一次接着一次发生。这些内战多半还是外国势力怂恿和支持的。内战的结果，国力损耗，民生凋敝，并且为日本侵略铺了路。革命前途似乎黑暗一片。内战中获胜的军阀趾高气扬，野心愈来愈大，不断争取更大的权力。被击败的军阀则夹起尾巴躲在天津和上海的租界里待机再起，机会一来就重启战衅，使人民又增加一场灾祸。

一度被鄙视、后来受尊重的军人，现在又再度被人鄙视了。

知识分子的觉醒

我从杭州到上海以后就进当时最大的书局商务印书馆当编辑，同时兼了江苏省教育会的一名理事，膳宿就由教育会供给。但是年轻人干不惯磨桌子的生活，一年之后我就辞职了。与商务印书馆之间的银钱往来也在翌年清结。

我与几位朋友在国立北京大学和江苏省教育会赞助下开始发行《新教育》月刊，由我任主编。杂志创办后六个月就销到一万份。它的主要目标是"养成健全之个人，创造进化的社会"。

那时正是欧战后不久，自由与民主正风靡全世界，威尔逊主义已引起中国有识之士的注意。中国青年正浸淫于战后由欧美涌至的新思想。报纸与杂志均以巨大篇幅报导国际新闻和近代发展。中国已经开始追上世界的新思潮了。

《新青年》正在鼓吹德先生与赛先生（即民主与科学），以求中国新生。这本思想激进的杂志原为几年前陈独秀所创办，后来由北京大学的一群教授共同编辑。《新青年》在介绍新思想时，自然而然对旧信仰和旧传统展开激烈的攻击。有些投稿人甚至高喊"打倒孔家店"！这些激烈的言论固然招致一般读者的强烈反感，但是全国青年却已普遍沾染知识革命的情绪。

孙中山先生于民国七年移居上海。我们前面已经谈过新诞生的民国的坎坷命运，而且一部分正受着割据各省的军阀统治。中山先生的国民党，最强大的据点是南方和上海。民国六年（一九一七年），国民党成立新政府对抗北京政府，以求维护革命人士所致力的原则，并进而推广于全国。当时广州的南方政府是由总裁控制的。若干参加分子的政治见解非常肤浅，孙先生无法同意，乃离粤北上定居沪渎，从事中国实业计划的研究。

他的目光远超乎当时的政治纷争之外，他的实业计划如果顺利实现，可以解除人民贫困，促使国家富强，并使中国跻于现代工业化国家之林。根据中山先生的计划，中国的工业建设分为食衣住行四大类。这些都是人民生活所必需的，孙先生就根据这些因素计划中国的工业建设。

他设计了贯串中国广大领土内所有重要商业路线和军运路线的铁路网和公路网；他定下发展中国商埠和海港计划；他也定下疏浚河流、水

利建设、荒地开垦等的计划大纲。他又设计了发展天然资源和建设轻重工业的蓝图。他鉴于中国森林砍伐过度，又定下在华中华北造林的计划。

他对工业发展规定了两个原则：（一）凡是可以由私人经营的就归私人经营；（二）私人能力所不及或可能造成垄断的则归国家经营。政府有责鼓励私人企业，并以法律保护之。苛捐杂税必须废除，币制必须改善并予统一。官方干涉和障碍必须清除，交通必须发展以利商品的流通。

铁道、公路、疏浚河流、水利、垦荒、商埠、海港等都规定由国家主持。政府并须在山西省建立大规模的煤铁工厂。欢迎外国资本，并将雇用外国专家。

孙中山先生是中国第一位有过现代科学训练的政治家。他的科学知识和精确的计算实在惊人。为了计划中国的工业发展，他亲自绘制地图和表格，并收集资料，详加核对。实业计划中所包括的河床和港湾的深度和层次等细节他无不了如指掌。有一次我给他一张导淮委员会的淮河水利图，他马上把它在地板上展开，非常认真地加以研究。后来我发现这幅水利图在他书房的壁上挂着。

在他仔细研究工业建设的有关问题和解决办法以后，他就用英文写下来。打字工作全部归孙夫人负责，校阅原稿的工作则由余日章和我负责。一切资料数字都详予核对，如果有什么建议，孙先生无不乐予考虑。凡是孙先生所计划的工作，无论是政治的、哲学的、科学的或其他，他都以极大的热忱去进行。他虚怀若谷，对于任何建议和批评都乐于接受。

因为他的眼光和计划超越了他的时代，许多与他同时代的人常常觉得他的计划不切实际，常常引用"知之非艰，行之唯艰"的传统观念来答复他。他对这些人的短视常常感到困扰。当他在四十年前倡导革命运动时，他就曾遭遇到同样的障碍。后来他写了一篇叫《心理建设》的文章，提倡知难行易的学说。中西思想重点不同的地方其中之一就是中国人重应用，而西洋人重理知。中国人重实际，所以常常过分强调实践过程中的困难，有时是实在的困难，有时只是想像的，以致忽视实际问题背后的原理原则。凡是经常接触抽象原则和理论的人，或者熟悉如何由问题中找出基本原则的人，都不难了解中山先生的立论。在另一方面，凡是惯常注重近功实利而不耐深思熟虑的人，可就不容易了解中山先生的主张了。在清室式微的日子里，中国并不缺乏锐意改革的人，但是真能洞烛病根，且能策定治本计划的人却很少。孙先生深知西方文化的发

展过程，同时对中国的发展前途具有远大的眼光，因此他深感超越近功近利的原理原则的重要，他知道只有高瞻远瞩的知识才能彻底了解问题的本质。

只要我们把握这种基本的知识，实践起来就不会有不可解除的困难了。真正的困难在于发见基本的道理。事实上，不但真知灼见的事情，必能便利地推行，而在许多地方，即使所知不深，亦能推行无阻。例如水泥匠和木匠，只要他们照着建筑师的吩咐去做，即使他们不懂得建筑学，也照样能执行复杂的建筑蓝图。医药方面的情况更明显，诊断常常比用药困难，医科学生知道得很清楚，在研究医学之前，他必须对生理学和解剖学先有相当的了解，而在研究生理学和解剖学之前则又得先研究物理与化学等普通科学。每一种科学都是许多为学问而学问的人们经过几百年继续不断研究所积聚的结果。由此可见医学的基础知识之获得比行医远为艰难。

与孙先生同时代的人只求近功，不肯研究中国实际问题的症结所在，希望不必根据历史、社会学、心理学、科学等所得的知识，就把事情办好，更不愿根据科学知识来订定国家的建设计划。因此他们诬蔑孙先生的计划是不切实际的空中楼阁。他们的"现实的"眼光根本看不到远大的问题，更不知道他们自己的缺点就是无知和浅见，缺乏实际能力倒在其次。以实在而论，他们自己认为知道的东西，实只限于浅薄的个人经验或不过根据一种常识的推断。这样的知识虽然容易获得，但以此为实践基础反常常会遭受最后的失败。

在西洋人看起来，这些或许只是理论与实践，或者知识与行为的哲学论争，似乎与中国的革命和建设不发生关系。但是中山先生却把它看得很严重，认为心理建设是其他建设的基础，不论是政治建设、实业建设或社会建设。有一天我和罗志希同杜威先生谒见孙先生谈到知难行易问题，杜威教授对中山先生说："过重实用，则反不切实用。没有人在西方相信'知'是一件容易的事。"

《新教育》月刊，一方面受到思想界革命风气的影响，一方面因为我个人受到中山先生的启示，所以在教学法上主张自发自动，强调儿童的需要，拥护杜威教授在他的《民主与教育》中所提出的主张。在中国的教育原理方面，《新教育》拥护孟子的性善主张，因此认为教育就是使儿童的本性得到正常的发展。事实上孔子以后，中国教育的主流一直都遵循着性善的原则。不过年代一久，所谓人性中的"善"就慢慢地变为受古代传统所规范的某些道德教条了。因此我们的主张在理论上似很新鲜，实践起来却可能离本来的原则很远很远。所谓"发展本性"在事实上

可能变为只是遵守传统教条，中国发生的实际情形正是如此。

自从卢梭、裴斯塔洛齐、福禄培，以及后来的杜威等人的学说被介绍至中国思想界以后，大家对孟子学说开始有了比较清晰的认识，中国儿童应该从不合现代需要的刻板的行为规律中解放出来。我们应该诱导儿童自行思想，协助他们根据他们本身的需要，而不是根据大人的需要，来解决他们自己的问题。我们应该启发儿童对自然环境的兴趣。根据儿童心理学的原则，儿童只能看做儿童；他不是一个小大人，不能单拿知识来填，更不应拿书本来填，教育应该帮助儿童在心智、身体和团体活动各方面成长。

这些就是指导《新教育》的思想原则。读者不难觉察，这与当时国内的革命思想是恰好符合的。《新教育》月刊与北京大学师生间知识上的密切关系，终于使我在第二年跑进这个知识革命的大漩涡，担任了教育学教授，并于校长蔡先生请假时代理校长。

北京大学和学生运动

如果你丢一块石子在一池止水的中央，一圈又一圈的微波就会从中荡漾开来，而且愈漾愈远，愈漾愈大。北京曾为五朝京城，历时一千余年，因此成为保守势力的中心，慈禧太后就在这里的龙座上统治着全中国。光绪皇帝在一八九八年变法维新，结果有如昙花一现，所留下的唯一痕迹只是国立北京大学，当时称为京师大学堂或直呼为大学堂，维新运动短暂的潮水已经消退而成为历史陈迹，只留下一些贝壳，星散在这恬静的古都里，供人凭吊。但是在北京大学里，却结集着好些蕴蓄珍珠的活贝；由于命运之神的摆布，北京大学终于在短短三十年历史之内对中国文化与思想提供了重大的贡献。

在静水中投下知识革命之石的是蔡孑民先生（元培）。蔡先生在一九一六年（民国五年）出任北京大学校长，他是中国文化所孕育出来的著名学者，但是充满了西洋学人的精神，尤其是古希腊文化的自由研究精神。他的"为学问而学问"的信仰，植根于对古希腊文化的透彻了解，这种信仰与中国"学以致用"的思想适成强烈的对照。蔡先生对学问的看法，基本上是与中山先生的看法一致的，不过孙先生的见解来自自然科学，蔡先生的见解则导源于希腊哲学。

这位著名的学者认为美的欣赏比宗教信仰更重要。这是希腊文化交融的一个耐人寻味的实例。蔡先生的思想中融合着中国学者对自然的传统爱好和希腊人对美的敏感，结果产生对西洋雕塑和中国雕刻的爱好；他喜爱中国的山水画，也喜爱西洋油画；对中西建筑和中西音乐都一样喜欢。他对宗教的看法基本上是中国人的传统见解；认为宗教不过是道德的一部分。他希望以爱美的习惯来提高青年的道德观念。这也就是古语所谓"移风易俗莫大于乐"的传统信念。高尚的道德基于七情调和，要做到七情调和则必须透过艺术和与音乐有密切关系的诗歌。

蔡先生崇信自然科学。他不但相信科学可以产生发明、机器，以及其他实益，他并且相信科学可以培养有系统的思想和研究的心理习惯，有了系统的思想和研究，才有定理定则的发现，定理定则则是一切真知灼见的基础。

蔡先生年轻时锋芒很露。他在绍兴中西学堂当校长时，有一天晚上参加一个宴会，酒过三巡之后，他推杯而起，高声批评康有为、梁启超维新运动的不彻底，因为他们主张保存满清皇室来领导维新。说到激烈时，他高举右臂大喊道："我蔡元培可不这样。除非你推翻满清，否则

任何改革都不可能！"

蔡先生在早年写过许多才华横溢、见解精辟的文章，与当时四平八稳、言之无物的科举八股适成强烈的对照。有一位浙江省老举人曾经告诉我，蔡元培写过一篇怪文，一开头就引用《礼记》里的"饮食男女，人之大欲存焉"一句。缴卷时间到时，他就把这篇文章缴给考官。蔡先生就在这场乡试里中了举人。后来他又考取进士，当时他不过三十岁左右，以后就成为翰林。

蔡先生晚年表现了中国文人的一切优点，同时虚怀若谷，乐于接受西洋观念。他那从眼镜上面望出来的两只眼睛，机警而沉着；他的语调虽然平板，但是从容、清晰、流利而恳挚。他从来不疾言厉色对人，但是在气愤时，他的话也会变得非常快捷、严厉、扼要——像法官宣判一样的简单明了，也像绒布下面冒出来的匕首那样的尖锐。

他的身材矮小，但是行动沉稳。他读书时，伸出纤细的手指迅速地翻着书页，似乎是一目十行地读，而且有过目不忘之称。他对自然和艺术的爱好使他的心境平静，思想崇高，趣味雅洁，态度恳切而平和，生活朴素而谦抑。他虚怀若谷，对于任何意见、批评或建议都欣然接纳。

当时的总统黎元洪选派了这位杰出的学者出任北大校长。北大在蔡校长主持之下，开始一连串的重大改革。自古以来，中国的知识领域一直是由文学独霸的，现在，北京大学却使科学与文学分庭抗礼了。历史、哲学和四书五经也要根据现代的科学方法来研究。为学问而学问的精神蓬勃一时。保守派、维新派和激进派都同样有机会争一日之短长。背后拖着长辫、心里眷恋帝制的老先生与思想激进的新人物并坐讨论，同席笑谑。教室里，座谈会上，社交场合里，到处讨论着知识、文化、家庭、社会关系和政治制度等等问题。

这情形很像中国先秦时代，或者古希腊苏格拉底和亚里士多德时代的重演。蔡先生就是中国的老哲人苏格拉底，同时，如果不是全国到处有同情他的人，蔡先生也很可能遭遇苏格拉底同样的命运。在南方建有坚强根据地的国民党党员中，同情蔡先生的人尤其多。但是中国的和外国的保守人士却一直指责北京大学鼓吹"三无主义"——无宗教、无政府、无家庭——与苏格拉底被古希腊人指责戕害青年心灵的情形如出一辙。争辩不足以消除这些毫无根据的猜疑，只有历史才能证明它们的虚妄。历史不是已经证明了苏格拉底的清白无罪吗？

我已经提到蔡先生提倡美学以替代宗教，提倡自由研究以追求真理。北大文学院院长陈仲甫（独秀）则提倡赛先生和德先生，认为那是

使中国现代化的两种武器。自由研究导致思想自由；科学破坏了旧信仰，民主则确立了民权的主张。同时，哲学教授胡适之（适）那时正在进行文学革命，主张以白话文代替文言作表情达意的工具。白话比较接近中国的口语，因此比较易学，易懂。它是表达思想的比较良好也比较容易的工具。在过去知识原是士大夫阶级的专利品，推行白话的目的就是普及知识。白话运动推行结果，全国各地产生了无数的青年作家。几年之后，教育部并下令全国小学校一律采用白话为教学工具。

北大是北京知识沙漠上的绿洲。知识革命的种籽在这块小小的绿洲上很快地就发育滋长。三年之中，知识革命的风气已经遍布整个北京大学。

这里让我们追述一些往事。一个运动的发生，绝不是偶然的，必有其前因与后果。在知识活动的蓬勃气氛下，一种思想上和道德上的不安迅即在学生之中发展开来。我曾经谈过学生如何因细故而闹学潮的情形，那主要是受了十八世纪以自由、平等、博爱为口号的法国政治思想的影响，同时青年们认为中国的迟迟没有进步，并且因而招致外国侵略应由清廷负其咎，因此掀起学潮表示反抗。

第一次学潮于一九Ｏ二年发生于上海南洋公学，即所谓罢学风潮。我在前篇已经讲过。几年之后，这种学生反抗运动终至变质而流为对付学校厨子的"饭厅风潮"。最后学校当局想出"请君入瓮"的办法，把伙食交由学生自己办理。不过零星的风潮仍旧持续了十五六年之久。有一次"饭厅风潮"甚至导致惨剧。杭州的一所中学，学生与厨子发生纠纷，厨子愤而在饭里下了毒药，结果十多位学生中毒而死。我在惨案发生后去过这所中学，发现许多学生正在卧床呻吟，另有十多具棺木停放在操场上，等待死者家属前来认领葬殓。

表现于学潮的反抗情绪固然渐成过去，反抗力量却转移到革命思想上的发展，而且在学校之外获得广大的支持，终至发为政治革命而于一九一一年推翻满清。

第二度的学生反抗运动突然在一九一九年（民国八年）五月四日在北京爆发。此即所谓五四运动。事情经过是这样的：消息从巴黎和会传到中国，说欧战中的战胜国已经决定把山东半岛上的青岛送给日本。青岛原是由中国租借给德国的海港，欧战期间，日本从德国手中夺取青岛。中国已经对德宣战，战后这块租地自然毫无疑问地应该归还中国。消息传来，举国骚然。北京学生在一群北大学生领导下举行示威，反对签订凡尔赛和约。三千学生举行群众大会，并在街头游行示威，反对接受丧权辱国的条件，高喊"还我青岛！"、"抵制日货！"、"打倒卖国

贼！"写着同样的标语的旗帜满街飘扬。

当时的北京政府仍旧在军人的掌握之下，仅有民主政体和议会政治的外表，在广州的中山先生的国民党以及其余各地的拥护者，虽然努力设法维护辛亥革命所艰辛缔造的民主政制，却未著实效。北京政府的要员中有三位敢犯众怒的亲日分子。他们的政治立场是尽人皆知的。这三位亲日分子——交通总长曹汝霖，驻日公使陆宗舆，和另一位要员章宗祥[1]——结果就成为学生愤恨的对象，群众蜂拥到曹宅，因为传说那里正在举行秘密会议。学生破门而入，满屋子搜索这三位"卖国贼"。曹汝霖和陆宗舆从后门溜走了；章宗祥则被群众抓到打伤。学生们以为已经把他打死了，于是一哄而散，离去前把所有的东西砸得稀烂，并且在屋子里放了一把火。

这时武装警察和宪兵已经赶到，把屋子围得水泄不通。他们逮捕了近六十位学生带往司令部，其余的一千多名学生跟在后面不肯散，各人自承应对这次事件负责，要求入狱。结果全体被关到北京大学第三院（法学院），外面由宪警严密驻守。

有关这次游行示威的消息，遭到严密的检查与封锁。但是有几个学生终于蒙过政府的耳目，透过天津租界的一个外国机构发出一通电报。这电报就是五号上海各报新闻的唯一来源。

五号早晨报纸到达我手里时，我正在吃早餐。各报的首页都用大字标题刊登这条新闻，内容大致如下：

北京学生游行示威反对签订凡尔赛和约。三亲日要员曹汝霖、陆宗舆、章宗祥遭学生围殴。曹汝霖住宅被焚，数千人于大队宪警监视下拘留于北京大学第三院。群众领袖被捕，下落不明。

除此简短新闻外，别无其他报导。

这消息震动了整个上海市。当天下午，公共团体如教育会、商会、职业工会等纷纷致电北京政府，要求把那三位大员撤职，同时释放被捕或被扣的学生。第二天一整天，全上海都焦急地等待着政府的答复，但是杳无消息。于是全市学生开始罢课，提出与各团体相同的要求，同时开始进行街头演说。

第二天早晨，各校男女学生成群结队沿着南京路挨户访问，劝告店家罢市。各商店有的出于同情、有的出于惧怕，就把店门关起来了。许多人则仿照左邻右舍的榜样，也纷纷关门歇市。不到一个钟头，南京路上的所有店户都关上了大门了，警察干涉无效。

罢市风声迅即蔓延开来，到了中午时，全上海的店都关了。成千成万的人在街头聚谈观望，交通几乎阻塞。租界巡捕束手无策。男女童子军代替巡捕在街头维持秩序，指挥交通。由剪了短发的女童子军来维持人潮汹涌的大街的秩序，在上海公共租界倒真是一件新鲜的事。中国人和外国人同样觉得奇怪，为什么群众这么乐意接受这些小孩子的指挥，而对巡捕们却大发脾气。

几天之内，罢课成为全国性的风潮，上海附近各城市的商店和商业机构全都关了门。上海是长江流域下游的商业中心，这个大都市的心脏停止跳动以后，附近各城市也就随着瘫痪，停止活动，倒不一定对学生表同情。

租界当局听说自来水厂和电灯厂的雇员要参加罢工，大起惊慌。后来经过商会和学生代表的调停，这些人才算被劝住没有罢工。各方压力继续了一个多星期，北京政府终于屈服，亲日三官员辞职，全体学生释放。

各地学生既然得到全国人士的同情与支持，不免因这次胜利而骄矜自喜。各学府与政府也从此无有宁日。北京学生获得这次胜利以后，继续煽动群众，攻击政府的腐败以及他们认为束缚青年思想的旧传统。学生们因为得到全国舆情的支持，已经战胜了政府。参加游行示威，反对签订凡尔赛和约，是每一个中国人都愿意做的事。学生们因为有较好的组织，比较敢言，比较冲动，顾虑比较少，所以打了头阵，并且因此拨动了全国人民的心弦。

亲日官员辞职，被捕学生释放，上海和其他各地的全面罢课罢市风潮歇止以后，大家以为"五四"事件就此结束，至少暂时如此。但是北京大学本身却成了问题。蔡校长显然因为事情闹大而感到意外，这时已经辞职而悄然离开北京，临行在报上登了一个广告引《白虎通》里的几句话说："杀君马者道旁儿，民亦劳止，汔可小休。"他先到天津，然后到上海，最后悄然到了杭州，住在一个朋友的家里。住处就在著名的西湖旁边，临湖依山，环境非常优美，他希望能像传统的文人雅士，就此息隐山林。虽然大家一再敦劝，他仍旧不肯回到北大。他说，他从来无意鼓励学生闹学潮，但是学生们示威游行，反对接受凡尔赛和约有关山东问题的条款，那是出乎爱国热情，实在无可厚非。至于北京大学，他认为今后将不易维持纪律，因为学生们很可能为胜利而陶醉。他们既然尝到权力的滋味，以后他们的欲望恐怕难以满足了。这就是他对学生运动的态度。有人说他随时准备鼓励学生闹风潮，那是太歪曲事实了。

他最后同意由我前往北京大学代理他的职务。我因情势所迫，只好

勉强同意担负起这副重担，我于是在七月间偕学生会代表张国焘乘了火车，前赴北京。到了北京大学，初次遇见了当时北大学生，以后任台大校长的傅孟真（斯年），现在台湾任"国史馆长"的罗志希（家伦）。两位是北大"五四"的健将，不但善于谋略，而且各自舞着犀利的一支笔，好比公孙大娘舞剑似的，光芒四照。他们约好了好多同学，组织了一个新潮社，出版了一种杂志，叫做《新潮》，向旧思想进攻。我现在写《西潮》，实在自从"五四"以后，中国本土，已卷起了汹涌澎湃的新潮，而影响了中国将来的命运。然而"五四"之起因，实为第一次世界大战后，欧洲帝国主义之崩溃，以及日本帝国主义的猖狂。所以毕竟还是与西潮有关。

我到校以后，学生团体开了一个欢迎大会。当时的演说中，有如下一段：

"……故诸君当以学问为莫大的任务。西洋文化先进国家到今日之地位，系累世文化积聚而成，非旦夕可几。千百年来，经多少学问家累世不断的劳苦工作而始成今日之文化。故救国之要道，在从事增进文化之基础工作，而以自己的学问功夫为立脚点，此岂摇旗呐喊之运动所可几？当法国之围困德国时，有德国学者费希德在围城中之大学讲演，而作致国民书曰：'增进德国之文化，以救德国。'国人行之，遂树普鲁士败法之基础。故救国当谋文化之增进，而负此增进文化之责者，惟有青年学生。……"

暴风雨过去以后，乌云渐散，霁日重现，蔡先生也于九月间重回北大复职视事。

北大再度改组，基础益臻健全。新设总务处，由总务长处理校中庶务。原有处室也有所调整，使成为一个系统化的有机体，教务长负责教务。校中最高立法机构是评议会，会员由教授互选；教务长、总务长，以及各院院长为当然会员。评议会有权制订各项规程，授予学位，并维持学生风纪。各行政委员会则负责行政工作。北大于是走上教授治校的道路。学术自由、教授治校，以及无畏地追求真理，成为治校的准则。学生自治会受到鼓励，以实现民主精神。

此后七年中，虽然政治上狂风暴雨迭起，北大却在有勇气、有远见的人士主持下，引满帆篷，安稳前进。图书馆的藏书大量增加，实验设备也大见改善。国际知名学者如杜威和罗素，相继应邀来校担任客座教授。

这两位西方的哲学家，对中国的文化运动各有贡献。杜威引导中国

青年，根据个人和社会的需要，来研究教育和社会问题。无庸讳言的，以这样的方式来考虑问题，自然要引起许多其他的问题。在当时变化比较迟钝的中国实际社会中自然会产生许多纠纷。国民党的一位领袖胡汉民先生有一次对我说，各校风潮迭起，就是受了杜威学说的影响。此可以代表一部分人士对于杜威影响的估计。他的学说使学生对社会问题发生兴趣也是事实。这种情绪对后来的反军阀运动却有很大的贡献。

罗素则使青年人开始对社会进化的原理发生兴趣。研究这些进化的原理的结果，使青年人同时反对宗教和帝国主义。传教士和英国使馆都不欢迎罗素。他住在一个中国旅馆里，拒绝接见他本国使馆的官员。我曾经听到一位英国使馆的官员表示，他们很后悔让罗素先生来华访问。罗素教授曾在北京染患严重的肺炎，医生们一度认为已经无可救药。他病愈后，我听到一位女传教士说："他好了么？那是很可惜的。"我转告罗素先生，他听了哈哈大笑。

第一次世界大战后，中国的思想界，自由风气非常浓厚，无论是研究社会问题或社会原理，总使惯于思索的人们难于安枕，使感情奔放的人们趋向行动。战后欧洲的西洋思想就是在这种气氛下介绍进来的。各式各样的"主义"都在中国活跃一时。大体而论，知识分子大都循着西方民主途径前进，但是其中也有一部分人受到一九一七年俄国革命的鼓励而向往马克思主义。《新青年》的主编陈独秀辞去北大文学院院长的职务，成为中国共产运动的领袖。反对日本帝国主义的运动也促使知识分子普遍同情俄国革命。第三国际于一九二三年派越飞到北京与中国知识分子接触。某晚，北京撷英饭店有一次欢迎越飞的宴会。蔡校长于席中致欢迎词说："俄国革命已经予中国的革命运动极大的鼓励。"

俄国曾经一再宣布，准备把北满的中东铁路归还中国，并且希望中国能够顺利扫除军阀，驱除侵略中国的帝国主义。苏俄对中国的这番好意，受到所有知识分子以及一般老百姓的欢迎。这种表面上友好表示的后果之一，就是为苏俄式的共产主义在中国铺了一条路。

在这同时，许多留学欧美大学的杰出科学家也纷纷回国领导学生，从事科学研究。教员与学生都出了许多刊物。音乐协会、艺术协会、体育协会、图书馆协会纷纷成立，多如雨后春笋。教授李守常（大钊）并领导组织了一个马克思主义研究会。当时北京报纸附栏，称这研究会为"马神庙某大学之牛克斯研究会"，不过作为嘲笑之对象而已。马神庙者北京大学所在地也。此时北大已经敲开大门招收女生。北大是中国教育史上第一所给男女学生同等待遇的高等学府。教员和学生在学术自由和自由研究的空气里，工作得非常和谐而愉快。

北大所发生的影响非常深远。北京古都静水中所投下的每一颗知识之石，余波都会到达全国的每一角落。甚至各地的中学也沿袭了北大的组织制度，提倡思想自由，开始招收女生。北大发起任何运动，进步的报纸、杂志和政党无不纷起响应。国民革命的势力，就在这种氛围中日渐扩展，同时中国共产党也在这环境中渐具雏型。

军阀之间的冲突正在这古都的附近间歇进行着。在这些时断时续的战事中，北京各城门有一次关闭几达一星期之久。枪炮声通常在薄暮时开始，一直持续到第二天早晨。有一次，我们曾经跑到北京饭店的屋顶去眺望炮火，那真叫做隔岸观火，你可以欣赏夜空中交织的火网，但是绝无被火花灼伤的危险。炮弹拖着长长的火光，在空中飞驰，像是千万条彩虹互相交织。隆隆的炮声震得屋顶摇摇晃晃，像是遭到轻微的地震。从黄昏到清晨，炮火一直不停。我回家上床时，根本不能把耳朵贴着枕头睡，因为这样炮声显得特别响亮。因此我只能仰天躺着睡，让耳朵朝着天花板，同时注意到电灯罩子在微微摇晃。玻璃窗也嘎嘎作响。我有一只德国种的狼犬，名叫狼儿，它被炮声吵得无法再在地板上安睡，一直哼个不停。它的耳朵一贴到地板，它就惊跳起来，哼唧几声之后，它冲到房门旁，拼命在门上抓，它一定以为怪声是我卧房的地板下面发出来的。第二天早上，我骂了它一顿，说它前一晚不该那么捣乱。它似乎自知理屈，只用两只眼睛怯生生地望着我。早餐时我到处找不到狼儿，从此再不见它的踪影。大概它跑出去想找块安静地，夜里不会有恶作剧的魔鬼在地下大敲大擂，好让它安安稳稳地睡觉。不过，我想它大概是很失望的。

有一天，我和一位朋友在围城中沿着顺城门大街散步。老百姓还是照常操作，毫无紧张的样子。拉黄包车和坐黄包车的也与平常毫无异样。我们从西单牌楼转到西长安街，然后又转到中央公园。皇宫前午门谯楼上的黄色琉璃瓦，在夕阳下映着澄碧的秋空闪闪发亮。我们在一颗古柏的浓荫下选了一个地方坐下。这些古老的柏树是几百年前清朝的开国皇帝种植的。有的排成长列，有的围成方形。空气中充塞着柏树的芳香，微风带着这些醉人的香味吹拂着我们的面庞。我们围坐在桌子旁，静听着邻座酒客的议论。大家都在议论战事，猜测着谁会胜利，谁将入据北京。谁胜谁败，大家好像都不在乎。操心又怎么样？北京已经见过不少的战事，饱经沧桑之后，北京还不是依然故我？沉默的午门谯楼就是见证。

"城门都关了，不知道我们能不能叫个鱼吃吃。"我的朋友说。

堂倌拿了一条活生生的鱼来问我们："先生们喜欢怎么个烧法？"

"一鱼两吃。一半醋溜，一半红烧。"

鱼烧好端上来了，有一碟似乎不大新鲜。

"这是怎么回事？这一半是死鱼呀！"我的朋友质问堂倌，堂倌鞠了一躬，只是嘻嘻地笑。

"哦，我知道了！这条鱼一定是从城墙跳进来的。碰到地的一边碰死了，另一边却仍然活着。"我代为解释。堂倌再度跑过来时，我的朋友从桌上抓起一把空酒壶，翻过来给他看。"怎么！你给我们一把空酒壶呀！"

"对不起，"堂倌笑嘻嘻地说，"酒烫跑了！"他马上给我们重新拿了一壶。当然，两壶酒都记在我们账上。

我们在黄昏时回家。那天晚上，战斗停止了，我又想起狼儿。这一晚，它大概可以在城里找个地方，安静地睡一觉了。第二天早上，我们发现政府已经易手。皇宫依然无恙。老百姓照常过活。各城门大开，成千成万的人从乡下挑着蔬菜、肉类、鸡蛋、鱼虾涌进北京城。小孩子们在战场上捡起废弹壳，以几块钱的代价在街头出售。许多人拿这些炮弹壳制花瓶。

城外有些人家破人亡，我亦失掉了我的狼儿。

一般而论，在这些漫长痛苦的日子里，因战事而丧失的生命财产并不严重。使中国陷于瘫痪而成为邻邦侵略之目标的，实为人心之动荡，交通之破坏，经济之崩溃，以及国民安定生活之遭破坏。国家陷于四分五裂，全国性的建设计划几乎成为不可能。中国当务之急就是统一。

蔡校长赴欧旅行时，我又再度代理北大校长。这时我接到中山先生一封信，对北大的各种运动大加奖誉，最后并勉励我"率领三千子弟，参加革命"。

孙先生可惜未能在有生之年看到他的希望实现，不过短短数年之后，他的继承人蒋总司令，率领革命军从广州北伐，所向披靡，先至长江流域，继至黄河流域，终至底定北京。开始于北京，随后遍及全国各阶层的革命运动，已先为这次国民革命军的新胜利奠定了心理的基础。

[1] 此处应为作者笔误。当时陆宗舆任币制局总裁（1913—1916年任驻日公使），章宗祥任驻日公使。

扰攘不安的岁月

蔡校长和胡适之他们料得不错，学生们在"五四"胜利之后，果然为成功之酒陶醉了。这不是蔡校长等的力量，或者国内的任何力量所能阻止的，因为不满的情绪已经在中国的政治、社会和知识的土壤上长得根深蒂固。学校里的学生竟然取代了学校当局聘请或解聘教员的权力。如果所求不遂，他们就罢课闹事。教员如果考试严格或者赞成严格一点的纪律，学生就马上罢课反对他们。他们要求学校津贴春假中的旅行费用，要求津贴学生活动的经费，要求免费发给讲义。总之，他们向学校予取予求，但是从来不考虑对学校的义务。他们沉醉于权力，自私到极点。有人一提到"校规"他们就会瞪起眼睛，噘起嘴巴，咬牙切齿，随时预备揍人。

有一次，北大的评议会通过一项办法，规定学生必须缴讲义费。这可威胁到他们的荷包了。数百学生马上集合示威，反对此项规定。蔡校长赶到现场，告诉他们，必须服从学校规则。学生们却把他的话当耳边风。群众涌进教室和办公室，要找主张这条"可恶的"规定的人算账。蔡校长告诉他们，讲义费的规定应由他单独负责。

"你们这班懦夫！"他很气愤地喊道，袖子高高地卷到肘子以上，两只拳头不断在空中摇晃。"有胆的就请站出来与我决斗。如果你们那一个敢碰一碰教员，我就揍他。"

群众在他面前围了个半圆形。蔡校长向他们逼进几步，他们就往后退几步，始终保持着相当的距离。这位平常驯如绵羊、静如处子的学者，忽然之间变为正义之狮了。

群众渐渐散去，他也回到了办公室。门外仍旧聚着五十名左右的学生，要求取消讲义费的规定。走廊上挤满了好奇的围观者。事情成了僵局。后来教务长顾孟余先生答应考虑延期收费，才算把事情解决。所谓延期，自然是无限延搁。这就是当时全国所知的北大讲义风潮。

闹得最凶的人往往躲在人们背后高声叫骂，我注意到这些捣乱分子之中有一位高个子青年，因为他个子太高，所以无法逃出别人的视线。我不认识他，后来被学校开除的一批人之中，也没有他的名字。若干年之后，我发现他已经成为神气十足的官儿，我一眼就认出他来。他的相貌决不会让人认错，他的叫骂声仍旧萦回在我的耳畔。他已经成为手腕圆滑的政客，而且是位手辣心黑的贪员，抗战胜利后不久故世，留下一

大堆造孽钱。

几年之后，发生了一次反对我自己的风潮，因为我拒绝考虑他们的要求。一群学生关起学校大门，把我关在办公室。胡适之先生打电话给我，问我愿不愿意找警察来解围，但是我谢绝了。大门关闭了近两小时。那些下课后要回家的人在里面吵着要出去，在门外准备来上课的人则吵着要进来。群众领袖无法应付他们自己同学的抗议，最后只好打开大门。我走出办公室时，后面跟着一二十人，随跟随骂着。我回过头来时，发现有几个学生紧钉在我背后。北大评议会决定开除我所能记得的以及后来查出的闹事学生。

好几年以后，我偶然经过昆明中央航空学校的校园。航空学校原来在杭州，战时迁到昆明。忽然一位漂亮的青年军官走到我面前，他向我行过军礼告诉我，他就是被北京大学开除的一位学生。我马上认出他那诚实的面孔和健美的体格。闹学潮时紧迫在我背后所表现的那副丑恶的样子已经完全转变了，他的眼睛闪耀着快乐的光辉，唇边荡漾着笑意。这次邂逅使我们彼此都很高兴。航空学校的校长后来告诉我，这位青年军官是他们最优秀的飞行员和教官之一。

这些例子足以说明学生运动中包含各式各样的分子。那些能对奋斗的目标深信不疑，不论这些目标事实上是否正确，而且愿意对他们的行为负责的人，结果总证明是好公民，而那些鬼头鬼脑的家伙，却多半成为社会的不良分子。

学生们所选择的攻击目标，常常是政府无法解决或者未能圆满解决的国际问题。因此，他们常能获得国人的同情；他们的力量也就在此。中日之间的"事件"日渐增多以后，学生的示威游行常常被日本人解释为反日运动。纠纷的根源在于二十一条要求和凡尔赛和约所引起的山东问题。自从远东均势破坏以后，日本几乎享有控制中国的特权。门户开放政策已经取代瓜分中国的政策。但是门户开放政策必须以均势为基础，均势一旦破坏，中国只有两条路可走——一条路是任由日本宰割，另一条路就是自我振作，随时随地与日本打个分明。

学生们决定奋起作战，起先是游行、示威、罢课和抵制日货，接着就转而攻击北京政府，因为他们认为一切毛病都出在北京政府身上。他们发现没有重要的国际问题或国内问题足资攻击时，他们就与学校当局作对。原因在于青年心理上的不稳。一旦他们受到刺激而采取行动时，这种不稳的情绪就爆发了。想压制这种澎湃的情绪是很困难的。

若干学生团体，包括青年共产党员，开始把他们的注意力转移到劳

工运动以及工人的不稳情绪上。沿海商埠的工人正蠢蠢欲动。铁路工人和工厂工人已开始骚动，而且蔓延各地。他们不久就与学生携手，参加群众大会和游行。劳工运动是不可轻侮的武器。在广州的国民党政府，曾以总罢工瘫痪香港，使这个英国殖民地在工商业上成为荒漠，历时十八月之久。

全国性的反英情绪是民国十四年的上海"五卅惨案"激起的。五月三十日那一天，一群同情劳工运动的人在上海大马路（南京路）游行示威，公共租界当局竟然下令向群众开枪，好几个人中弹身死，伤者更不计其数。工人、商人和学生在国民党及共产党领导之下，随即发动全面罢工、罢市、罢课，上海再度变为死城。六月二十三日，广州的学生、工人、商人和军人继起响应，发动反英示威游行。群众行近沙面租界时，驻防英军又向群众开枪。于是香港各界亦开始罢工、罢市、罢课，使香港也变为死城。北京英国使馆的华籍雇员，在学生煽动之下，也进行同情罢工，致使这批英国外交官员很久都没有厨子和听差侍候。

自从工人运动与学生运动彼此呼应以后，游行示威者人数动以万计，北京不时有各色人等参加的群众大会出现，街头游行行列常常长达数里，群众手摇旗帜，高呼口号，无不慷慨激昂。一位白俄看到这种情形时，不觉怵然心惊。他曾经在俄国看到不少这样的集会，他说这是革命即将来临的征兆，因此他担心是否能继续在中国平安住下去。

学生们找不到游行示威的机会时，曾经拿学校当局作为斗争的对象，工人的情形亦复如此。他们找不到示威的对象时，就把一股怨气发泄在雇主的身上。不过，中央政府或地方政府对付罢工工人，可比对付学生简单多了。他们有时用武力来弹压罢工工人，有时就干脆拿机关枪来扫射。

段祺瑞执政的政府显然认为机关枪是对付一切群众行动的不二法门，因此，在一群学生包围执政府时，段执政就老实不客气下令用机关枪扫射。我在事前曾经得到消息，说政府已经下令，学生如果包围执政府，军队就开枪。因此我警告学生不可冒险，并设法阻止他们参加；但是他们已经在校内列队集合，准备出发，结果不肯听我的劝告。他们一到了执政府，子弹就像雨点一样落到他们头上了。

我在下午四点钟左右得到发生惨剧的消息后马上赶到出事地点。段执政官邸门前的广场上，男女学生伤亡枕藉，连伤者与死者都难辨别。救护车来了以后，把所有留着一口气的全部运走，最后留下二十多具死尸，仍旧躺在地上。许多重伤的在送往医院的途中死去，更有许多人则在手术台上断了气。我们向各医院调查之后，发现死伤人数当在一百以

上。这个数目还不包括经包扎后即行回家的人在内。

段祺瑞政府的这种行动，引起全国普遍的抗议，段政府后来终于垮台，此为原因之一。

学生势力这样强大而且这样嚣张跋扈，除了我前面所谈到的原因之外，另一原因是这些学生多半是当时统治阶级的子女。学生的反抗运动，也可以说等于子女对父母的反抗。做父母的最感棘手的问题就是对付桀骜不驯的子女，尤其是这些子女的行为偏偏又受到邻居们的支持。工人们的情形可就不同了；他们的父母或亲戚，既不是政府大员，也不是社会闻人，因此他们命中注定要挨警察的皮鞭或军队的刺刀。只有在学生领导之下，或者与学生合作时，工人才能表现较大的力量。

学生运动在校内享有教师的同情，在校外又有国民党员和共产党员的支持，因此势力更见强大。此外还牵涉到其他的政治势力。故而情形愈来愈复杂，声势也愈来愈浩大。学生运动自从民国八年开始以来，背后一直有教员在支持。就是满清时代的首次学潮，也是教员支持的。

后来教员也发生罢教事件，要求北京政府发放欠薪，情势更趋复杂。北大以及其他七个国立大专学校的教员，一直不能按时领到薪水。他们常常两三个月才能领到半个月的薪俸。他们一罢课，通常可以从教育部挤出半个月至一个月的薪水。

有一次，好几百位教员在大群学生簇拥之下，占据了整个教育部的办公厅，要求发放欠薪。八个国立学校的校长也到了教育部，担任居间调停的工作。教员与学生联合起来，强迫马邻翼教育次长和八位校长一齐前往总统府，要求发薪水。这位次长走到教育部门口时，藉口天在下雨，不肯继续往外走。一位走在他旁边的学生汪翰，马上把自己的雨伞打开递给他，并且很直率地说："喏，这把雨伞你拿去！"于是这位次长只好无可奈何地继续前进，后面跟着八位心里同样不怎么乐意的校长。群众走近总统府时，宪兵、警察赶紧关起大门。教员与学生在门外吵着要进去。忽然大门打开了，大群武装宪警蜂拥而出，刺刀乱刺，枪把乱劈。上了年纪的教员和年轻的女学生纷纷跌到沟里，有的满身泥泞，有的一脸血迹，叫的叫，哭的哭，乱成一片。法政大学校长王家驹像死人一样躺在地上。北大政治学教授李大钊挺身与士兵理论，责备他们毫无同情心，不该欺侮饿肚皮的穷教员。北大国文系教授马叙伦额头被打肿一大块，鼻孔流血，对着宪兵大喊："你们只会打自己中国人，你们为什么不去打日本人？"

这位马教授后来被送到法国医院诊治，政府派了一位曾任省长的要

员前往慰问并致歉意。坐在病榻旁的马教授的老母说：

"这孩子是我的独子，政府几乎要他的命，请问这是什么道理？"

曾任省长的那位要员回答道："老伯母请放心，小侄略知相法，我看这位老弟的相貌，红光焕发，前途必有一步大运。老伯母福寿无疆，只管放心就是。至于这些无知士兵无法无天，政府至感抱歉。老伯母，小侄向您道歉。"

老太太居然被哄得安静下来，病房里其余的人却几乎笑出声来了。躺在医院病床上的其他教员，也都因为这位要员的风趣而面露笑容。

这件事情总算这样过去了。另有一次，教员们拥到财政部要求发放欠薪，部里的人一个个从后门溜走，结果留下一所空房子。有一次学生们因为不满政府应付某一强国的外交政策，冲进外交部打烂一面大镜和好些精致的座椅。学生、教员和工人联合起来罢工罢课，反对北京政府和侵略中国权益的列强。多事的那几年里，差不多没有一个月不发生一两次风潮，不是罢课就是罢工。

在那时候当大学校长真是伤透脑筋。政府只有偶然发点经费，往往一欠就是一两年。学生要求更多的行动自由，政府则要求维持秩序，严守纪律。出了事时，不论在校内校外，校长都得负责。发生游行、示威或暴动时，大家马上找到校长，不是要他阻止这一边，就是要他帮助那一边。每次电话铃声一响，他就吓一跳。他日夜奔忙的唯一报酬，就是两鬓迅速增加的白发。

我讲这些话，决不是开玩笑。我记下这些往事以后，又做了场恶梦，有时看到青年男女横尸北京街头，有时又看到宪兵包围北京大学要求交出群众领袖。梦中惊醒之后，辗转反侧无法安枕，一闭上眼睛，一幕幕的悲剧就重新出现。

有一天，我和一位老教授在北京中央公园的柏树下喝茶。这位老教授曾经说过一段话，颇足代表当时扰攘不安的情形。

"这里闹风潮，那里闹风潮，到处闹风潮——昨天罢课，今天罢工，明天罢市，天天罢、罢、罢。校长先生，你预备怎么办？这情形究竟到哪一天才结束。有人说，新的精神已经诞生，但是我说，旧日安宁的精神倒真是死了！"

PART FOUR UNIFICATION

CHAPTER 17 AN EXPERIMENT IN CONSTITUTIONALISM

During the warlord regime one evening the Soviet Ambassador at Peking gave a banquet at the Embassy to leading men of the city. About sixty people were present. When the roast suckling pigs were passed round the table some of the guests looked at the steaming roast and burst into subdued giggles, while out of the corners of their eyes they glanced at the President and Vice-President of the National Assembly, who were among the guests. The contagious giggles spread until the whole table caught them except the two officials, who pulled long faces but remained calm. Finally I saw somebody whisper in the ear of the Soviet Ambassador and he, too, succumbed to the contagion.

The story was this. In the old days when the Dutch Indies needed labor, owners of rubber plantations and mines resorted to getting laborers from China by fraudulent means. By painting a rosy picture of the prospects and offering a sum of money, labor agencies in China enticed workers to cross the sea to the islands and there sold them to the development companies with or without the knowledge of the human goods. These unfortunate people were called "pigs" because they had been sold for money like the meanest livestock.

During the early years of the Republic the irregular practices of certain members of the National Assembly became so notorious and contemptible that people reminiscently called them "pigs," since they were willing to sell themselves to the highest bidder. The great majority of members were upright men, but they were unorganized and therefore powerless to check their fellow members. They, too, were so unfortunate as to be tagged with the epithet. When bad men combine the good must associate; if they do not, it is their own fault and they have only themselves to blame.

The idea of a written constitution for China had been introduced from America. The Constitution of the United States was an embodiment of ideas and beliefs of the American people and grew out of the life of the people. The Constitution of China was a copy of imported ideas, adopted according to the fancy of those who drafted the document and alien to the habits and ideas of

the Chinese.

During the Imperial regime, in the last few years before the revolution, the provincial assemblies representing the gentry class achieved creditable results because their main interests were more or less the same and there was leadership in that class. The Imperial governor of the province had enough prestige to serve as a check to the assembly. Little or no political squabbling went on in the assembly to obscure the larger issues. The bills passed were generally for the welfare of the people of the province. Little or no corruption was known.

In 1912, when Dr. Sun Yat-sen was Provisional President of the Republic at Nanking, the National Assembly showed healthy signs of becoming a modern parliament, for its members represented revolutionary interests and there were revolutionary leaders to guide it. Dr. Sun's prestige as Chief Executive was high. But when the Assembly came under Yuan Shih-kai, trouble began to brew. This autocratic and reactionary President was hated by the revolutionary leaders and the President hated them in turn. With a strong army in his hands he resorted to intimidation, thus setting a very bad precedent for future development of the legislative body. To illustrate the ludicrously bad effect of this technique on the morale of the members, I may relate here an incident which occurred during Yuan's election to the presidency. Photographers covered the event. In those days indoor picture-taking involved the use of flashlight powder, which exploded noisily with a dazzling light. On this occasion, taking it for a bomb explosion, people ran wildly for safety. One member ducked under a table, shouting, "I voted for Yuan Shih-kai!" Quite a few lost their slippers (Chinese masculine footgear is comfortably loose) and were obliged to look for them after the scare was over. The episode ended with the impeachment of the secretary-general for allowing photographers to frighten the Assembly by a "bomb."

Under Yuan's presidency the activity of the half dozen political parties degenerated into mere political squabbling. Party and personal feelings ran high. The Assembly, discredited in the eyes of the people, was finally washed away in the tides of Yuan's maneuvers for a monarchy and the restoration movement of Chang Hsun. These movements failed, however, and the National Assembly was restored. Political power was now divided among the military governors of the provinces, the shadowy central government in Peking having neither prestige nor power to control the Assembly. Through

corruption Tsao Kun, a northern warlord, got himself elected President, and the prestige of the national legislative body sank rapidly as subsequent developments led ever downward to new lows of political integrity.

Quite a number of representatives were elected through corruption. Ku Hung-min, a well-known cynical scholar of international fame, told me that during an election he got eight hundred dollars from a man who bought his vote. He took the money but did not go to the polls. Instead he went to Tientsin and spent all the money there. Later, at an international party in the Grand Hôtel de Pékin, Ku got hold of the man and pointing to him said to the gathering, "This man wanted to buy me for eight hundred dollars. Gentlemen, do you think Ku Hung-min is so cheap?"

When undesirable elements came into the Assembly in this manner, even though the number was not large they naturally made it look like an auction house, representation being sold to the highest bidder.

The students of Peking now directed their attack upon the "House of Corruptions." One afternoon several thousand boys and girls surrounded the Assembly and demanded that a certain bill concerning educational measures be deleted from the agenda. There was a clash between the police on duty there and the student body. Some of the students became so incensed that a few days later they smuggled in three bombs from Tientsin intended for the Assembly. They were persuaded not to carry out this violence and the bombs were taken outside the city and thrown into a river. A few weeks later a fisherman caught one of them and shook it in his hands to find out what was inside. Bang! The bomb went off and carried with it the hands and head of the inquisitive fisherman. Police assumed that it had been dropped there in the days of the revolution and no investigation was made.

Conflicts between the Assembly, and the students continued. The Assembly members tried at first to assert their right as representatives of the people. The students retorted, calling them by their now familiar contemptible name. The Assembly tried to impeach the Chancellor of the National University of Peking; the students retaliated by staging mass demonstrations in which flags bearing the likeness of a pig streamed in the air amid threats to smash the Assembly. Finally the Assembly, conscious of its weakness, declared a truce by letting the universities and students alone. Ku Hung-min, whose cynical views made him contemptuous of students and

representatives alike, said to me one day, "You believe in democracy. But to me it is demo-crazy."

If an institution is hated by the public it may still have some grounds to exist; but when it is sniffed and mocked at, even though for the acts of a mere minority, the whole suffers from the inadequacy of the part and goes down together like a sinking boat. So it was with the Assembly in the early phases of constitutional government in China. At length some of the warlords snatched the opportunity to brush it aside as a scrap of paper.

The story of constitutionalism in the days of the warlords had, of course, two sides to it. On the one hand, the warlords wrecked it by intimidation through force and by corruption with money. They had no prestige, no principle, and no policy by which to guide a democratic body. After Yuan Shih-kai, the power of the central government was a political shadow, the real power being divided among the provinces by the warring rulers who set themselves above the law. What they knew was the military strength of their feudal armies. The central government was not a position to have any principle or policy; fundamentally it was worthy neither of support nor of opposition.

On the other side, most members of the Assembly were little concerned with national interests. Their preoccupations were either provincial or local, or still worse, personal. National interests they conceived only vaguely, and they themselves were therefore not in a position to have any coherent guiding principles or policy on national issues. Consequently no leadership was possible except in matters of local or personal interest. The Chinese people love freedom but were inexperienced in organized democracy—in other words, in constitutionalism. They did not see the importance of it. For China to follow the constitutional pattern of the West without its background was to hitch China's wagon to the Western star. It was small wonder that the experiment failed miserably.

With this failure before his eyes Dr. Sun Yat-sen devised a system of tutelary government as a steppingstone to constitutional government in his plan for an organized democracy for China. According to this scheme the period of national unification was to be followed by what might be called government in a state of tutelage—i.e., government by the Kuomintang—as a transition to the full-fledged constitutional form. And when the Kuomintang

came to power in 1927 the tutelary government at Nanking was indeed meant to offset the bad effects of the corrupt National Assembly, which had become a headache to the entire country. During the next ten years the Nationalist party, under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, dislodged many a local warlord from the provinces and achieved to a large extent the unification of the country. The danger to national existence brought upon China by the Japanese militarists further intensified the unification.

Unification of the country was a necessary condition to constitutionalism. With respect for the law on the part of governing and governed alike—with the principles laid down by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and with efficient leadership both in the government and in the National Assembly—China will be on the road to successful constitutionalism and organized democracy.

CHAPTER 18 THE DEATH OF DR. SUN YAT-SEN

> Death calls before Victory descends upon my country.
>
> Patriots that come after me will forever think of the tragedy in tears.

The above lines are from a poem by a famous general who was sent to defend China against an invasion of the Tartars in the twelfth century. They apply only too truly to the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The great leader had struggled in the cause of revolution for forty long and strenuous years, and death snatched him away when the nation needed him for its regeneration.

In the spring of 1925 he had been for some months in poor health as a result of his untiring work for the country. Having admitted the Communists to the Kuomintang he went one step further. Seeing China still a divided house and knowing that strength lay in union, in response to an invitation of the northern generals he came from Canton to Peking to discuss a plan to unify the country. On his way north he made a trip to Japan in an effort to convince the Japanese people that a strong and unified China would be beneficial to that country. When he arrived at Tientsin he fell sick. He was carried from that port to the capital, accompanied by Madam Sun Yat-sen. But he was too ill to discuss plans and could only lie in bed. The doctors of the Peking Union Medical College were at their wits' end. Dr. Hu Shih recommended a Chinese herb doctor. Dr. Sun declined to take the Chinese medicine. He said that as a physician himself he knew that an herb doctor might sometimes cure a disease where scientific medicine failed. "A ship without a compass may reach its destination," he said, "while that which has one may not come to port. But I prefer to sail with that scientific instrument." However, he was persistently advised to take the Chinese medicine, and to meet the wishes of his friends he at length consented. But the ship without a compass did not reach port.

Dr. Sun was presently transferred from the Medical College to the home of Dr. Wellington Koo. This magnificent house, built in the seventeenth century, had once belonged to a famous beauty, Chen Yuan-yuan, wife of General Wu San-kwei of the Ming Dynasty, who surrendered to the Manchus and conducted them inside the Great Wall, so the story goes, in order to

rescue the lady from the hands of the bandit leader Li Shih-chung.

On the morning of March 12, 1925, a telephone call from Ma Soo informed me that Dr. Sun was nearing his end. I hastened to his temporary residence. When I entered the chamber Dr. Sun Yat-sen was beyond speech. A moment earlier he had muttered, "Peace, struggle, save China..." These were his last words. We retired to the reception hall and looked at each other in silence. "Is there any chance for the Doctor to recover?" whispered an aged Kuomintang member. All shook their heads, stifling the word upon their lips.

Silence gathered and deepened until one could hear it. Minute melted insensibly into minute. Some leaned against the wall, staring blankly at the painted ceiling. Others sank into the comfortable sofas and closed their eyes. A few tiptoed to the chamber and back without a word.

Suddenly everybody in the hall was alert, listening to sobs barely audible from the bedroom. The faint sounds gave way to a chorus of loud cries—the great leader had passed into history. As we entered the death chamber I saw that Dr. Sun's countenance was serene, as if he were asleep. His son, Sun Fo, was sitting on a bench at the bedside staring into space like a man of stone. Madam Sun bent over the edge of the bed with her face buried in the soft mattress, shaking with sobs that would break one's heart. Wang Chung-huei, standing at the end of the bed, was rocking convulsively, wailing and wiping away his tears with a handkerchief. The elder statesman Wu Chi-huei stood with his hands clasped behind him and tears welling up in his eyes.

As Dr. Sun's body was carried out of the hall covered with a big national flag, Mr. Borodin, the Soviet adviser, said to me sadly that if he could have lived a few years or even a few months longer things would have been very different.

An autopsy made at the Medical College proved that cancer of the liver had caused his death.

Dr. Sun's body lay in state in one of the former palace halls in Central Park. Every day for a week at least twenty to thirty thousand people came to pay their last respects to their leader. The funeral procession, four or five miles long, was joined by all the students from elementary schools up to colleges, and by teachers, government officials, tradesmen, workers, and

farmers, a hundred thousand strong.

The casket was placed temporarily in a stone pagoda in Pi-yun Ssu, the Purple Cloud Temple in the Western Hills, about fifteen miles from Peking. This picturesque pagoda was built centuries ago under Tibetan influence, of white marble with a pointed top of gilded bronze. It perches majestically on the south side of Purple Cloud Mountain, surrounded by tall pine trees, and overlooking a sea of whispering pines which sound like waves in the spring breeze and scent the air with their fragrance. The sky was serene. Streams wound their way among the moss-grown rocks. The bells in the eaves of the temple chimed melodiously in the wind.

Dr. Sun, who had lived a life of science and struggle, now rested in peace amid the beauty of art and nature.

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CHAPTER 19 THE ANTI-WARLORD CAMPAIGN

Years of student demonstrations and strikes coupled with internecine wars had sapped the strength of the government in Peking. In the provinces the warlords ruled like maharajahs. The power of the overlord in Peking at any one time depended upon the good will and support of the provinces which had easy access to the city. As its roots in the provinces weakened, the tree of power in Peking grew shaky. No sooner had one warlord entered the capital to take over the reins of government—either himself or through a puppet of his creation—than another would conspire to overthrow him and come to power in turn; when public sentiment as revealed in student demonstrations ran high against the regime in power, some other provincial general was always ready to take advantage of it. Through intrigue, civil war, coups d'état, or reshuffled combinations of power, the government changed hands constantly. During my first nine years in Peking I witnessed so many changes that the rapid shift of scene left in my memory only a jumble of disconnected, though vivid, pictures of the tragicomedy. I could imagine myself a pyramid sitting in the Egyptian desert, watching utterly unconcerned the constant coming and going of caravans and listening to the camel bells chiming their sad tunes.

Financial stringency was acute for the Peking government. National revenues were detained by the warlords in the provinces and spent in maintaining their private armies or to enrich their own coffers. A portion of the money that came to the central government, usually through loans from banks at exorbitant interest, had to go to military expenditure to placate the insatiable warlords who supported the government. Salaries, not only of teachers, as we have seen, but also of government employees and of diplomatic officials stationed in foreign lands, were left unpaid for months at a time or even years.

"What is the future of the Peking government?" asked an American diplomat one day.

"It will dry up like a clam and only the shell will remain," I replied.

The situation grew worse year after year until the last vestige of the public respect due to a government was gone. The students helped to destroy its prestige and the warlords buried it in the Peking dust.

In the meantime the Kuomintang movement in Canton grew in strength by leaps and bounds. It had enjoyed public faith for some time, especially among intellectuals and students, and even won the sympathy of certain enlightened generals of the north—for among the warring northern generals enlightened ones were not lacking. In the basket of rotten oranges it was possible to find a few good ones.

Even after the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen the spirit of the Nationalist party of China remained undaunted. Dr. Sun's nucleus of an army kept on growing at Huang-pu Military Academy near Canton, of which General Chiang Kai-shek was the president. In the course of a few years General Chiang's newly trained Nationalist troops were ready to deliver a deathblow to the warlords of the north. In 1927 this army of the Nationalist government of the Kuomintang swept northward at lightning speed through the heart of the country to Hankow, and another wing moved along the coast to Hangchow. In a pincer movement the two converged on Nanking, which was made capital of the Nationalist government when the victorious armies entered the city.

That same year, at about the time the Nationalist army started its northern expedition, a notorious warlord, Chang Chung-chang, entered Peking. This renowned leader had the physique of an elephant, the brain of a pig, and the temperament of a tiger. His powerful paws were always ready to snatch at any person he disliked or at any good-looking woman he coveted. I saw him several times in a peace-preserving committee of which I was a member, and felt that he was dangerous even to look at. When I was informed by Sun Pao-chi, ex-premier of the Peking government, that I was on the blacklist, and news reached me in the evening of the execution of Shao Piao-ping, editor of the newspaper Ching Pao, I began to see the shadows of those powerful claws. Without hesitating I got into the car of Dr. Wang Chung-huei, who happened to call on me, and went directly to the Legation Quarter, where I got a room in the Hôtel des Wagons Lits. Here I stayed for three months and passed my time in studying calligraphy.

There were several others in similar plight; Dr. Chu Chia-hua, professor

of geology and now director of the Academia Sinica, was one. Quite a few friends ran in from time to time to visit us. But spending three months in even a de luxe prison was no fun at all. We plotted escape and at length, when the situation was somewhat eased, sneaked out one after another. A very able young lady, the wife of a friend of mine, planned my escape. Acting as my wife she escorted me to the East Station without our being noticed by the police. Every casual look from a stranger startled me, though I remained outwardly calm. Following a stream of passengers I boarded a train to Tientsin and from there went by British merchant liner to Shanghai.

On the boat I met Dr. Chu Chia-hua, who from Shanghai was to proceed to Canton, where he later became president of the Sun Yat-sen University. For my part, I went to Hangchow. As the railway from Shanghai had been cut I reached the city by a roundabout way. At this time, before the Nationalist army commanded by General Ho Yin-chin reached the province, the governor appointed by Peking was attempting to revolt against the northern government and go over to the southern side. I called on him, and he revealed to me his plan for joining the southern camp. He told me that he had sent about a thousand men along the railway to the Kiangsu border, where the line was already cut.

I thought privately that he must be intoxicated with the cup of other people's success, or he would not attempt to fight an enemy at least ten times stronger than himself. I left Hangchow again the next morning by the roundabout route back to Shanghai. Within a few weeks his army was utterly routed by northern forces. When they entered Hangchow he was captured and executed.

Then the tables were turned on the northern warlords and Nationalist forces entered the city. Again I went there. Hangchow welcomed the Nationalist army with open arms. Thousands of spectators lined up along the streets with smiling faces to see the victorious modern-equipped troops march through the city. I stood watching in the crowd with my heart thumping against my ribs in ecstasy. After some sixteen years the good name of a modern army in China was once more established.

In about a year's time, in 1928, General Chiang Kai-shek was ready to launch his northern expedition. The army under his command crossed the Yangtze River and moved along the Tientsin-Pukow Railway with Peking as

its objective. When it reached the outskirts of Tsinanfu, capital of Shantung Province, the Japanese—fearing a unified China—moved troops from Tsingtao down along the Tsingtao-Tsinan Railway to that capital under the pretext of protecting their vested interests and the lives and properties of the Mikado's subjects. This was intended to frustrate the unification plan by provoking an "incident," i.e., an open clash between China and Japan. The Japanese army murdered the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs and his staff in Tsinanfu, hoping that China would retaliate.

With foresight and forbearance and a sound strategy, the General saved his army and his hopes of unification by turning the spearhead of his forces away from Shantung, quickly crossing the Yellow River, and marching right on to Peking. The Japanese were thus outwitted and left to fight shadows.

Peking fell when the Nationalist army arrived. The giant of hollow papier-ma^ché toppled over before the merest breath of wind from the south.

When the Nationalist army entered Hangchow the year before, I had been appointed a member of the provincial government and Commissioner of Education. Thus in Hangchow, capital of Chekiang Province and city of my boyhood days, my experience in government administration began. The provincial government was formed with a council in charge. Before the national government in Nanking was organized, all the members of the council, with its chairman, were appointed by the supreme commander of the Nationalist army, General Chiang Kai-shek.

Five members of the council acted concurrently as Commissioners of Civil Affairs, Finance, Military Affairs, Reconstruction, and Education. Above the provincial council was a branch council of the central political council of the Kuomintang, of which I was appointed secretary-general. This council was in charge of general policy for the province and gave orders to the provincial government to execute. It was later abolished as conditions in the province gradually settled down.

The provincial government was imbued with the same spirit of reform and reconstruction as the national government of Nanking, whose broader program we shall take up in the next chapter. The provincial reconstruction plan was rather ambitious, but after a revolution it was necessarily handicapped by lack of funds. So it concentrated on building more roads. Within a few years many roads were built—in the capital itself the provincial

council ran a pencil through the map of the city and ordered roads to be built accordingly. After two years Hangchow was blessed with many wide streets within the city and roads running along the shores and on the dikes across the West Lake, leading to scenic spots in the Western Hills. A highway linked the city with Shanghai, and this brought many week-end motorists. In the short span of three years everyone noticed how the city had changed. New buildings shot up like mushrooms in the city, around the lake, and in the mountains. The population increased and business prospered.

Many electric plants were set up in local areas. In some rural districts gas pumps were installed to irrigate the rice fields. As Chekiang was the center of silk production, scientific sericulture was started by the government: silkworm eggs were raised scientifically and distributed to the silk producers at cost. The first year strong objections were raised to the new eggs, for the silk producers became suspicious of them under the influence of egg producers who followed traditional methods. But results speak louder than false propaganda; the second year there was more demand for new eggs than the government could supply.

In order to reform the land tax system a general survey was made of agricultural land in the province, and this continued for many years following. In contrast to the drastic methods adopted by the Communists in their dealing with agrarian problems, these were tackled in Chekiang by the mild means of a general 25 per cent reduction of the land rent paid by the tillers to the owners. As a rule the tenant farmers paid about 25 per cent of their main crop as rent; the reduction lowered this figure to 18.75 per cent.[1] As the rates of land rent had existed through centuries and the method and basis of calculation varied in different localities, the tenant farmers of some localities were much benefited, while elsewhere the rule for reduction caused great friction between owners and tenants. Lawsuits streamed in to the Land Rent Reduction Commission. There was so much confusion throughout the province that after some years the scheme was finally abandoned. Shen, the moving spirit in rent reduction, was assassinated for causes still undetermined.

Later, a campaign against illiteracy was launched. After some six or seven years the number of short-term schools to teach the reading and writing of the more commonly used characters had increased by thousands alongside the regular elementary schools.

A new experiment was made in the educational system of the province. The National University of Chekiang was organized with the writer as president. The university was not only to take charge of higher education but also to control the public school system in the province. The office of commissioner of education was abolished and the president of the university was made a member of the provincial government. Two other provinces followed suit with their respective university and school systems. After two years of trial, internal troubles and political complications grew in the other provinces, and the whole system was accordingly abolished in 1929 during my term of office as national Minister of Education. Thus the person by whose hands it was sent to the grave was the one who had nursed it to grow with much work and thought.

I stayed a full year in Hangchow and the next year went back forth between Hangchow and Nanking, where I was appointed Minister of Education of the national government while concurrently holding the presidency of the University of Chekiang. In 1929 I gave up the latter post and stayed in Nanking for another year, when I was forced to resign from the Ministry of Education as a result of disagreement with some of the elder statesmen regarding a question of educational policy.

[1] 英文部分所附数字与实际有出入，以中文部分为准。

CHAPTER 20 THE RISE OF THE KUOMINTANG TO POWER

After the fall of Peking the country was once more a political whole. The capital of all China was moved to Nanking and remained there. Peking, meaning "North Capital," was changed to Peiping, "Peace in the North," an old name of the city before it was known to the world.

Peking had been the capital of five dynasties—the Liao, King, Yuan (Mongol), Ming, and Ching (Manchu)—over a period of more than a thousand years, and now ceased to be the capital. But it still remained the center of culture and art. The official dialect or language spoken by many of the educated classes in China in addition to their local dialects, used in broadcasting stations and taught in schools, had its home in Peking.

There were two main reasons why Nationalist China shifted the capital from the Yellow River Valley in the north to the Yangtze Valley in the south. The first was that the revolutionary spirit had permeated the latter area, which was therefore fertile soil where it was easier for the new spirit to take firm root, while the Yellow River Valley was the home of the reactionary warlords. Secondly, the Yangtze Valley was the seat of China's financial power, which could provide the government with necessary funds.

Nanking had been the capital for the Taipings, from 1851 to 1864. When they were dislodged from their last stronghold the city was devastated, and has never recovered its past glories. There were more ruins, wheat fields, vegetable gardens, and orchards than streets with buildings in that walled enclosure. The streets were narrow, rough, and filthy, the electric light no better than vegetable-oil lamps. A foot messenger was often speedier than a telephone call.

In the earlier periods of history this city on the bank of the Yangtze was a center of culture and refinement, especially in the time of the southern dynasties. Its life of wine, women, and song dwelt in the memories of generations of literary men, poets, and artists. The Ching-huai Canal, connecting lakes of luxuriant lilies, traversed the city crowded with singing houseboats lit up by painted lanterns and lavishly decorated with articles of

art. On either bank of the canal, as a boat sailed leisurely by, there unrolled before one's eyes endless rows of restaurants, and rooms elaborately furnished with painted columns and bamboo screens for literary, artistic, or musical entertainments. The air was laden with enchanting tunes and soothing scents that flowed out from behind the bamboo screens.

Such was the city in days of old. But Nanking was of strategic military importance. In every major war in the country this city was destined to suffer devastation. After every conflict its glories passed into memory, and from memory it was rebuilt upon its ruins when peace came. And from the memory of the past, as it was recorded, I have depicted a part of the old life of Nanking.

Since the Taipings, however, it has never recovered its ancient beauty. It is as if the successive restorations were only copies, done by some vulgar artist, of the original picture; after repeated copying the color of the original was lost and only vulgarity remained. From time to time, in periods after the Southern Sungs (1127-1276), scholars of puritanic bent or stoic leanings objected to the type of effeminate refinement which grew up along the Ching-huai, now but an empty name with pleasant associations. But we must aver that the wrong lay not in enjoying the refinements of life but in the neglect of work and duty which should go with enjoyment. If there were only work and no play, Jack would be a dull boy. The stoic ways of living which came into vogue with the philosophers of the Sung Dynasty bequeathed to China generations of dull Jacks who knew neither play nor the right sort of work. They killed art, and with art, life. They attacked bad morals, but countenanced that abominable and most immoral institution, the foot-binding of women. Compare with this life in the Tang Dynasty (618-905), when work and play went hand in hand and a healthy civilization shone like the brilliant sun upon all its neighbor nations! Think of the Tang dances (mind you, there was no foot-binding then), music, sports, poetry, painting, and calligraphy; and then of its great generals and their glorious armies. During the Tang period Chinese civilization reached its zenith. After the Tangs came declining days. In the time of the Northern Sungs art persisted but the martial spirit waned, until finally the philosophers of the South Sungs with their asceticism and moral speculation killed the arts both of peace and of war.

The Ching-huai Canal still ran through the city of Nanking. The houseboats and the apartments were there, too. But the forms, the quality, and

the content were all changed. The refinement of life had disappeared with the flowing waters of the Yangtze, into the Yellow Sea.

When the Nationalist army entered Nanking a new spirit was born—a spirit of reform and reconstruction. Modern science was to revitalize the arts of days past. Upon the debris of the partly ruined city a modern town was built with asphalt roads traversing all sections. Trees were planted and parks designed and developed. Automatic telephones, light, and water were installed. An aerial map was made from the seaplanes of the American gunboats stationed at Nanking. On the basis of this map a new city was planned. The Commission of City Planning, of which the writer was a member in his capacity as Minister of Education, worked for more than a year with an American architect of wide experience in Chinese architectural design in the enchanted city of Peking. The commission planned to retain as far as possible the grandeur and beauty of Chinese architecture together with the convenience and hygienic installations of a modern city.

Old, dilapidated buildings were torn down to make way for new roads and houses. Commerce began to prosper. Modern theatres multiplied to accommodate the growing population. The canal and the lakes were dredged and old temples and other public buildings repaired.

The Central Museum was built to house a part of the treasures from the Palace Museum of Peking, and an underground safety vault constructed for them, of reinforced concrete, in a hill which would be immune to air bombing. For the directors foresaw the impending Japanese aggressions against the new capital. As the situation in the north grew worse and war clouds hung thick over this side of the Great Wall, the more valuable treasures of Peking were moved by hundreds of trainloads to Nanking, and before the fall of the new capital to the Japanese all had been transported for safekeeping to eaves in the mountains of the interior.

The gigantic steel gate of the museum vault, with its intricate combination locks, was a piece of American ingenuity which humbled the Japanese. As reported from the occupied city, they worked on the locks for several days and finally gave up.

The buildings of the Ministries of Communications and of Railways were of reinforced concrete with modern lighting system ventilation, and conveniences. But their architectural design was altogether Chinese, with

enamel tiles, painted columns, artistic windows, and other exterior decoration. These two imposing buildings stood opposite each other on Chung-shan Road, the main artery of traffic in the new metropolis, as monuments to China's old glory adapted to modern needs. Other buildings were planned and designed, but on account of the war they all had to be postponed.

The Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, with blue enamel tiles and white marble columns, stood on the Purple Mountains outside the city overlooking the hilly valley and the winding Yangtze. Flights of granite steps led up to the tomb of the father of the Chinese Republic. The mountains were reforested with trees from various parts of China. Flowering plants and fruit trees decorated the gentle slopes. An athletic field and stadium with a swimming pool were built at the foot of the mountain.

A new model village was built in the rolling valley. A general plan was first laid out by the government, with roads, drainage, telephone and lighting systems, and school buildings. In the short space of a few years new houses sprang up like mushrooms, with ample space around them for Oriental gardens. Trees grew and plants flowered; the birds sang and streams flowed. Old ways of living gave place to a new life in which science and art, work and pleasure, nature and human endeavor, went hand in hand.

Such was the nucleus which, it was hoped, would grow and some day transform every corner of the land. It was a modest beginning but had already borne fruit. For the new village movement had within a few years reached a number of cities and their surrounding areas. It was only a matter of time and further economic development for the new villages to change the mode of living of young China.

We could not very well expect that all trouble from the warlords would end with the downfall of Peking. Their seat of government was gone, but their real power was entrenched in the provinces. The country was vast and communications poor. These conditions and the unsettled state of mind in the country afforded them good opportunities to nurse their ambitions. At any favorable moment they were always ready to snatch more power; they lurked in the provinces like germs in the blood, ready to attack when the body weakened. In ten years, from the time his victorious army entered Peking to the eve of the Sino-Japanese War, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had not a

day's rest in his effort to unify the country.

Like the Roman generals who bound their ancient empire together by roads, he was not unmindful of the need to build more roads and railways and air lines. With Nanking as a center, highways, railways and airways were made to radiate from the capital to the provinces. A part of the communication system had existed before the Nationalist government came to power; with this as a basis it built new roads to make connections and extensions. Air lines were established to distant cities. From the new capital one could fly to Peking, Kaifeng, Sian, and Lanchow in the north; to Fuchow, Canton, and Kunming in the south; in the west to Hankow, Chungking, and Chengtu.

New railways were built to connect Hankow with Canton and Kowloon, just opposite Hongkong. If the Japanese had not at this time started trouble in Manchuria, a continuous journey would have been possible in 1931 from either Hongkong or Shanghai to Paris by rail. A through train ran from Shanghai via Nanking, Tsinan, and Tientsin outside the Great Wall, and via Mukden to Tsitsihar in north Manchuria, by Chinese railroads built parallel to the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railway[1] . A branch line from Tsitsihar connected with the Trans-Siberian Railway. The progress of unification in China and the building of these parallel lines prompted the Japanese to try to take Manchuria, or the "Three Eastern Provinces," at a stroke—which became known to the world as the "Mukden Incident" of September 18, 1931.

Along the coast the gap between the Chien-tang and Tsao-ao rivers on the Shanghai-Hangchow-Ningpo line was filled, but the laying of track was suspended when war broke out. The new line between Soochow and Hangchow, however, was completed before hostilities began. Another new line from Hangchow running west to Kiangsi was finished just before the war and during the war was prolonged farther west to Hunan, where it connected with the Canton-Hankow Railway. The line was also further extended to Kweilin, capital of the southwest province of Kwangsi.

Highways were extended more rapidly. The Nanking-Hangchow highway was built during my sojourn in Nanking and I had the pleasure of going through it before it was opened to traffic. It traversed the richest sections of Chekiang and Kiangsu Provinces. As the car wound its way along

Tai Lake one felt like stopping for a few days to sit under the pine trees and watch the sails rise or vanish over the horizon in the sunset. The fishermen cast their nets and drew up shining carp from the water. Tai is one of the five largest lakes in China, irrigating millions of acres of fertile land in the two most populous and cultured provinces of the country.

This highway also passed through a bandit-infested region, but the bandits disappeared when the road was opened because troops could be rushed to the spot.

Local troubles sometimes brewed as fast as construction progressed. At times the railway and highway lines had to run a race with disturbance in areas without modern roads. The rebellion in Fukien Province a year before the war was frustrated by central troops rushed down through the then newly built Hangchow-Kiangsan Railway and along the roads also newly built, from Hangchow to that province.[2] More roads meant less rebellion and less banditry, aside from the easy flow of products from one locality to another.

Communication is the key to modernization and reforms and to the discovery of possibilities of future development of the country. Thus the Nationalist government began its reconstruction program with the building of roads and railways. This was also the way to secure the unification of the country; any local rebellion could be put down easily if good roads were available. Again, better and more communication means more travel and quicker exchange of ideas. Beautiful scenery hitherto hidden in inaccessible parts of the country suddenly opened to the appreciative eyes of scholars, painters, poets, and lovers of nature.

Under the influence of the Nationalistic government the provinces themselves began to build more roads. Existing roads were fast extended after the Kuomintang came to power. During the war, troops were freely shifted on these roads from one province to another. A year or two before the war a motor trip was made from Nanking to Kunming—that is, from the east coast to the southwest frontier city, the starting point of the Burma Road.

In the field of administration an attempt was made to increase the efficiency of official business. New filing systems for official documents were devised and put into trial use. The form of language in official documents was simplified.

A civil examination system was again inaugurated, but to the disappointment of those who had seen the old Imperial days, without the pomp and honors that had greeted the successful candidates.

A new code of civil law was drafted. The status of women was raised to the same level as that of men. Daughters were to inherit property of their parents as hitherto only sons had done. Freedom of marriage was granted to the parties concerned when they came to legal age. A mutual agreement of the parties concerned is sufficient for legal divorce.

The school curriculum was standardized and the proportion of science teaching increased. Physical training was emphasized. New laws were promulgated governing the universities, and the Central Research Institute, Academia Sinica, etc., were established to carry on research in science, history, economics, and engineering.

The obnoxious internal customs system of *likin*, which we shall see more of in the next chapter, was abolished. Government finance was put on a sounder basis. National currency was standardized, government banks reorganized. The circulation of silver was later suspended and only government bank notes allowed to circulate; during the war we began to realize the importance of this move, for if we had had to rely upon bulky silver as the medium of exchange it would have been well-nigh impossible to carry on the long years of war, while if the shift had been made in wartime it would have caused great confusion.

From 1927, when the capital was established at Nanking, to 1937, when the Japanese army fired its first shots at the Marco Polo Bridge, only ten short years were allowed to the Nationalist government to do its job. During these ten years intermittent rebellions and other obstacles retarded the progress of reforms and reconstruction, yet in this brief time 7,300 kilometers of railway were constructed, in contrast to 8,300 kilometers during the last fifty years. More than 100,000 kilometers of highway were built, and 33,000 kilometers of new telegraph lines were added to those already in existence.[3] Yet naturally there could be only a moderate beginning in each phase of construction in so short an interval, and so it must be considered.

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[1] South Manchurian Railway：参见第十五章注2。

[2] 此处指福建事变：1933年11月20日，李济深、蔡廷锴、蒋光鼐等人以国民党第十九路军为主力，在福建福州发动的抗日反蒋事件。作者所称的“抗战前一年”疑为误记。

[3] 此处关于南京国民政府修建铁路和电报线路的数字，中英文版有出入，以英文版记述较为准确（参见李新总主编《中华民国史·第八卷》，中华书局，2011）。

第四部 国家统一

宪政的试验

军阀时代的一天晚上，俄国驻北京大使加拉罕举行宴会，招待当地首要。出席宴会的约有六十人。上菜上到烤乳猪时，席上一些客人，一面斜眼看看在座的国会议长、副议长，一面望着热气蒸腾的烤乳猪，不觉掩嘴而笑。这种吃吃的笑声，迅即传染到全体宾客，只有那位议长和那位副议长，板起面孔装聋作哑。最后我看到有人向苏俄大使咬耳朵，弄得这位大使也忍俊不止。

这里头有个典故。从前印尼的橡园主人和矿场老板，常常以不法手段向中国招募工人。中国的劳工招募所，就把南洋说得天堂似的，花点钱把工人诱骗到南洋群岛，转卖给当地的开发公司。这些被当做货色出卖的可怜虫就叫"猪仔"。他们有的是自甘卖身，有的根本糊里糊涂就被当猪一样卖掉了。

民国初年，国会的议员受贿舞弊，弄得声名狼藉，普受鄙视，许多人就骂他们是"猪仔议员"，因为他们只看谁出价高，就把自己卖给谁。当然，绝大多数的议员是正直无私的，但是这些人毫无组织，因此也就无法制止其中的败类。于是"猪仔"之名就普遍加在国会议员的头上了，坏人营私结党时，好人也必须团结一致，要不然，好人蒙冤不白，那是自作自受。有一次他们在万牲园里的豳风堂宴会，有人把豳字解作"猪积如山"，一时全城传诵，此后议员们就不敢再在那里请客了。

中国成文宪法的观念是从美国介绍来的。美国的宪法是美国人民思想信仰的具体表现，而且是根据人民的生活发展而来的。中国的宪法只是抄袭外国的观念，起草宪法的人随意取舍，根本没有考虑到中国人的生活习惯或思想观念。

革命前的帝政时代末年，由绅士阶级组成的省咨议局倒是成绩斐然，因为他们的目标大致相同，而且绅士阶级里也不乏领袖人才。同时各省巡抚威望甚高，足以约束省咨议局。碰到重大问题时，咨议局里很少发生政治纠纷。通过的议案大致都是为省民谋福利的，贪污舞弊绝无仅有。

民国元年，中山先生在南京任临时大总统时，参政会颇有成为现代国会的迹象，因为参政员代表革命利益，而且有革命领袖在领导工作，

孙先生担任总统，众望所归，威望一时无两。后来袁世凯继任总统，国会里可就有了纠纷了。革命领袖憎恶专制反动的袁世凯，袁也憎恶革命领袖。但因他掌握军队，不惜以武力恐吓国会议员，为此后国会发展史上开了恶例。我不妨在这里举一个例子，藉以说明恐吓手段对议会风气所产生的恶劣影响。事情发生在选举袁世凯为总统的时候，选举时有摄影师在场拍照。当时室内照须用镁光粉，点燃镁光粉时会发出炫目的闪光和震耳的响声。镁光粉爆炸时，许多人以为是炸弹，纷纷夺路逃命。有一位议员躲到桌子底下，高喊："我选举的是袁世凯！"另外有些人则落掉鞋子，事情过去以后到处找鞋。这场戏终以弹劾国会秘书张公权为结束，说他不该让摄影师以"炸弹"惊扰国会。

在袁世凯担任总统期间，经常活动的五六个政党之间纠纷迭起，派系之争和意气之争非常激烈。这个被老百姓瞧不起的国会后来终于被袁世凯称帝运动以及张勋复辟运动的潮流所卷走。不过两次运动相继失败，国会亦告恢复。政治权力一部分操在各省督军手里，一部分操在有名无实的北京中央政府手里。这时的北京政府，已经威信扫地，无力控制国会。北方军阀曹锟贿选获任总统之后，国会威信一落千丈，此后情势演变，国会声望更是每况愈下。

国会议员之中，许多是贿选而来。享誉国际、愤世嫉俗的学者辜鸿铭告诉我，有一次选举时，曾有一位哥伦比亚大学毕业的陈博士，出八百大洋收买他的选票，他把钱收下了，跑到天津逛了一趟胡同，根本没有去投票。后来在北京饭店的一次国际性聚会上，辜鸿铭碰到这位贿选的人，他指着这人对大家操英语说："这家伙要拿八百块钱买我，各位先生，你们看我辜鸿铭真的这么贱吗？"

若干不良分子就是这样混进国会的，虽然这种人数目不多，但是已足以使国会显得有点像拍卖场，谁出钱最高，就把议席卖给谁。

北京学生现在开始把他们的攻击目标移到这个"腐败之家"头上了。有一天下午，好几千男女学生包围了国会，要求取消议程上若干有关教育的议案。结果学生与守卫警察发生冲突。若干学生气愤之余，竟在几天之后从天津偷运来三颗炸弹准备去炸议会。这事被我们劝阻了，总算没有见诸行动，炸弹也运出城外丢到河里。几个礼拜之后，一位渔夫捡到其中的一颗炸弹，他把炸弹提在手里摇来摇去，希望弄清楚里面究竟是什么东西。轰隆一声，炸弹爆炸，炸得这位好奇的渔人血肉横飞。警方认为这颗炸弹是革命时期投进河去的，因此根本未进行任何调查。

国会与学生之间的冲突仍然不断发生。国会议员最先想确立人民代表的权威，学生们却反唇以"猪仔"相讥。国会预备弹劾北大校长，学生

就发动示威游行，高举画着猪猡的旗帜，并且扬言要捣毁国会。国会自知本身有弱点，最后只好高悬免战牌，不敢再捋学校与学生的虎须。愤世嫉俗的辜鸿铭既看不起学生，也看不起议员，他有一天对我说："你相信民主，这实在是民狂。"

如果一个机关只是被公众憎恨，它也许仍旧有存在的余地，如果这个机关成为公众冷讽热嘲的对象，即使那是为了其中少数人的行为，多数人也会因此遭殃，而整个机关也就像沉船一样难逃劫数了。中国宪政初期的国会，情形就是如此。后来有些军阀抓住机会，干脆把它一脚踢开。

我们可以从两个不同的角度来看军阀时代的宪政。一方面是军阀以威胁利诱来破坏宪政，他们没有领导民主团体的威信、原则或政策。袁世凯垮台以后，中央政府的权力已经名存实亡，实际权力操纵在互相残杀的各省督军手里。他们根本不理什么叫法律，他们只晓得自己持有封建军队的武力。中央政府既不能维持宪政原则，也不能确立治国政策，事实上这个政府已经无足轻重，不值得拥护也不值得反对。

在另一方面，国会里的议员，很少有人关心国家利益。他们念念不忘的只是他们本省的或本地的利益，甚至只是本身的利益。他们对国家利益的观念，本来就很模糊，因此对国家大事也就不可能有整套的指导原则或政策。除了地方事件或私人利益之外，既无组织，亦无领导。中国人爱好自由，但是对有组织的民主政治，也就是对宪政，却无经验，也不懂组织对民主的重要。中西国情不同，想使中国遵循西洋的宪政规模，无异赶东方之车，朝向西方的一颗星走着。宪政试验的失败，实在毫不足奇。

中山先生有鉴于此，所以在他的民主宪政计划中，设计了训政制度，作为过渡到宪政政府的跳板。依照他的计划，先有军政时期以达国家统一，接着是一个以党领政的训政时期，最后才过渡到正式的宪政时期。民国十六年，北伐成功，国民党在南京建立训政政府，锐意革除国会的腐败风气。此后十年间，国民党在蒋委员长领导下，铲除军阀，统一全国。日本军阀所导致的国难，使统一的局面更为加强。

国家统一是实行宪政的先决条件。孙中山先生已经制定建国的原则，只要政府与国会能有坚强的领导，人民与政府一致尊重法律，中国无疑地将在民主宪政的道路上大步迈进。

中山先生之逝世

出师未捷身先死，

长使英雄泪满襟。

此为杜甫咏诸葛武侯之句，宋宗泽元帅假以自挽者也。如果拿这两句诗来描写中山先生之死，真是再恰当没有了。这位伟大的领袖，致力国民革命达四十年之久，不幸在国家建设正需要他的时候，死神就把他攫走了。

民国十四年（一九二五年）春天，孙先生因为宵旰勤劳的结果，几个月来身体一直不怎么好。他在容许共产党参加国民党以后，更采取了进一步的行动。他鉴于中国仍旧陷于分裂，同时鉴于只有团结才能产生力量，乃毅然应北洋军阀之邀，离粤北上，到北京讨论统一国家的计划。北上途中，他曾绕道访问日本，希望说服日本朝野，使他们相信强大统一的中国是对日本有利的。到达天津时，他竟病倒了。我到天津谒见孙先生及夫人并报告北京政情后，不日返京。过了几天，大家把他从天津护送到北京，我赴车站往迎。……先生到北京后病势仍是很重，无法讨论统一计划，且一直卧床不能起身。执政段祺瑞托称足疾亦未往谒。北京协和医院的医师对先生的病均告束手，胡适之先生推荐了一位中医陆仲安。但是孙先生不愿服中药。他说，他本身是医生，他知道现代医药束手时，中医的确有时也能治好疑难的病症。他说："一只没有装罗盘的船也可能到达目的地，而一只装了罗盘的船有时反而不能到达。但是我宁愿利用科学仪器来航行。"朋友仍旧一再劝他吃点中药，他不忍过于拂逆朋友的好意，最后终于同意了。但是这只没装罗盘的船却始终没有到达彼岸。

孙先生自协和医院移住顾少川（维钧）寓。顾寓宽敞宏丽，建于十七世纪，原为著名美人陈圆圆的故居。陈为明将吴三桂之妻，据说吴三桂为了从闯王李自成手中抢救陈圆圆，不惜叛明降清，并引清兵入关。

民国十四年三月十二日早晨，行辕顾问马素打电话来通知我，孙先生已入弥留状态。我连忙赶到他的临时寓所。我进他卧室时，孙先生已经不能说话。在我到达前不久，他曾经说过："和平、奋斗、救中国。……"这就是他的最后遗嘱了。大家退到客厅里，面面相觑。"先生还有复原的希望吗？"一个国民党元老轻轻地问。大家都摇摇头，欲言又止。

沉默愈来愈使人感到窒息，几乎彼此的呼吸都清晰可闻。时间一分

一秒无声地过去，有些人倚在墙上，茫然望着天花板。有些人躺在沙发上，闭起眼睛沉思。也有几个人蹑手蹑脚跑进孙先生卧室，然后又一声不响地回到客厅。

忽然客厅里的人都尖起耳朵，谛听卧室内隐约传来的一阵啜泣声，隐约的哭声接着转为号啕痛哭——这位伟大的领袖已经撒手逝世了。我们进入卧室时，我发现孙先生的容颜澄澈宁静，像是在安睡。他的公子哲生先生坐在床旁的一张小凳上，呆呆地瞪着两只眼，像是一个石头人。孙夫人伏身床上，埋头在盖被里饮泣，哭声凄楚，使人心碎。汪精卫站在床头号啕痛哭，同时拿着一条手帕擦眼泪。吴稚晖老先生背着双手站在一边，含泪而立。

覆盖着国旗的中山先生的遗体舁出大厅时，鲍罗廷很感慨地对我说：如果孙先生能够多活几年，甚至几个月，中国的局势也许会完全改观的。

协和医院检验结果，发现中山先生系死于肝癌。

孙先生的灵柩停放在中央公园的社稷坛，任人瞻仰遗容。一星期里，每天至少有两三万人前来向他们的领袖致最后的敬意。出殡行列长达四五里，执绋在十万人以上，包括从小学到大学的全部学生、教员、政府官员、商人、工人和农人。

灵柩暂停厝在离北京城约十五里的西山碧云寺石塔里。石塔建于数百年前，略带西藏风味，由白色大理石建成，塔尖是镀金的青铜打造的。石塔高踞碧云寺南方，四周古松围绕，春风中松涛低吟，芬芳扑鼻。碧空澄澈，绿茵遍地，潺潺的溪水和碧云寺的檐角的铃声相应和，交织成清轻的音乐。

毕生致力于科学和奋斗的孙先生，现在终于在艺术与自然交织的优美环境中安息了。

…… ……

按：罗家伦先生主编《国父年谱》七三八页对中山先生民国十四年于北平治疗情形，曾有刊载，志录如下：

十八日自协和医院移居铁狮子胡同行辕。是日，先生离协和医院，乘医院特备汽车，缓驶至铁狮子胡同行辕。家属及友好同志，多以为医院既经宣告绝望，仍当不惜采取任何方法，以延长先生寿命。于是有推荐中医陆仲安者；因陆曾医治胡适博士，若由胡进言，先生或不峻拒。乃推李煜瀛（石曾）赴天津访胡（时胡适有事赴津），告以来意，约其

同归。胡初以推荐医生责任太重，有难色。后抵京见汪兆铭等，力言侍疾者均惶急万状，莫不以挽救先生生命为第一，且因先生平时对胡甚客气，换一生人往说，或可采纳。胡乃偕陆同往。胡先入卧室进言。先生语胡曰："适之！你知道我是学西医的人。"胡谓："不妨一试，服药与否再由先生决定。"语至此，孙夫人在床边急乘间言曰："陆先生已在此，何妨看看。"语讫即握先生腕，先生点首，神情凄惋，盖不欲重拂其意，乃伸手而以面移向内望。孙夫人即转身往床之内方坐下，目光与先生对视。

反军阀运动

学生游行罢课闹了好几年，加上军阀互相残杀，北京政府的力量终于一蹶不振，军阀则像印度土大王一样统治各省。在北京的中央政府首脑，无时不需要邻近各省的支持，如果军阀一翻脸，随时可以长驱直入北京城。北京政府在各省的根基愈来愈脆弱，政权本身亦随之摇摇欲坠。某一军阀进入北京接收政权，另一军阀马上阴谋取而代之。当政的人如果遭遇民意的强烈反对，例如学生游行示威，其他军阀便利用机会从中取利。权谋、内战、政变，各种政治力量纵横捭阖的结果，北京政府随时在更换主人。我在北京的最初九年之中，所看到的变迁实在太多了，留在记忆中的是一大堆乱糟糟的悲喜剧场面。我像是埃及沙漠中一座金字塔，淡淡遥望着行行列列来来往往的驼影，反映在斜阳笼罩着的浩浩平沙之上，驼铃奏出哀怨的曲调，悠扬于晚红之中。

北京政府的经济状况非常窘困，国库应有的收入，都被各省军阀扣留，用以维持他们的私人军队或径入私人腰包。中央政府通常只能以极高的利息向银行借一点钱，这一点钱之中的一部分，还得用于笼络支持政府然而需索无餍的军阀。我们前面已经提到教员薪水拖欠的情形。不但教员如此，就是政府官员和驻外使节的薪水，也往往一欠就是好几个月，甚至好几年。

"北京政府的前途究竟怎么样呢？"有一天，一位美国外交官这样问我。

"它会像河滩失水的蚌，日趋干涸，最后只剩下一个蚌壳。"我回答说。

情势一年不如一年，终至老百姓对政府的最后一点敬意也消失了。学生帮同破坏了它的威信，军阀们则把它整个埋葬在北京的尘土里。

数年后在美国遇见那位美国朋友，他问我是否忘了蚌壳的故事，我说没有。

在那时候，广州的国民革命运动则以一日千里之势在发展，国民党的革命运动一直享有大众的支持，尤其是知识分子和学生，甚至连北洋军阀中的一些开明分子也同情国民党。一篮烂橘子里，有时也能找出几个好的来的。

中山先生虽然逝世了，国民党的精神却始终未沮丧。孙先生所建立

的革命武力核心，继续在蒋介石将军为校长的黄埔军校发展茁壮，短短几年之内，蒋将军的国民革命军已经完成训练，随时可予北洋军队以致命的打击。民国十六即一九二七年，革命军以雷霆万钧之势长驱北伐，左翼直入华中而下汉口，右翼循闽浙沿海北上而达杭州，继以钳形攻势会师南京。革命军攻克南京后，遂以南京为国民政府首都。

国民革命军开始北伐的那一年，北洋军阀张宗昌亦于同时入据北京，这位声名狼藉的军阀，体健如牛，脑笨如猪，性暴如虎。他的利爪随时会伸向他不喜欢的任何人，或者他垂涎的任何漂亮女人。我曾在一个治安委员会席上见过他几面，当时我是这个委员会的委员之一。他那副尊容，真叫人望而生畏。京报编辑邵飘萍被枪毙的那天晚上，北京政府的前总理孙宝琦告诉我，我的名字已经上了黑名单，我感觉到魔爪的影子已经向我伸过来了。刚好王亮畴（宠惠）来访，我不假思索，连忙跳上他的军警不会盘查的红牌汽车，直驶东交民巷使馆界，在六国饭店辟室住下。第二天跑到美国使馆向一位美国朋友开玩笑说："我天天叫打倒帝国主义，现在却投入帝国主义怀抱求保护了。"还有校长室秘书政治学教授李守常（大钊）、女生张挹兰等六七人先后逃入使馆界旧东清铁路办事处躲避。他们后来被张作霖派兵捕去，处绞刑而死。我在六国饭店住了三个月，经常以写字消遣。

同住在六国饭店的亦有几个人，地质学教授，以后任中央研究院院长朱骝先（家骅）就是其中之一。好些朋友不时探望我们，但是在那里关了三个月，即使那是一个豪华"监狱"，也有点吃不消。我们一直在设法逃出北京，后来局势比较松弛一点时，就相继溜出来了。我的一位朋友有一位年轻能干的太太，我之能够逃出北京，就是她一手策划的。她冒充我的太太，同乘一轮古老的马车陪送我到东车站，一路上居然逃过警察的耳目。陌生人望我一眼，都会使我心惊肉跳，虽然我在外表上仍旧竭力装作若无其事的样子。我挤在人潮中搭上一辆去天津的火车，然后从天津搭英国商船到上海。

在船上碰到朱骝先，他正预备转道上海赴广州，后来他出任广州中山大学校长。我本人则由上海转赴杭州。当时沪杭铁路已告中断，因此我只好绕道赴杭。这时何敬之将军（应钦）所率领的国民革命军尚未到达浙江，北京政府委派的浙江省长正准备起义反抗北洋政府向国民革命军输诚。我去拜访他时，他向我透露了参加南方集团的计划。他告诉我，他已经派了一千人沿铁路进驻江苏边境，江浙之间的铁路已告中断。

我心里想，他准是被别人的胜利陶醉了，否则他怎么会企图与实力

强他十倍的敌人作战呢？第二天早晨，我就离开杭州，绕道重回上海。几星期以后，他的军队被北军打得落花流水。北军进杭州时，他被捕处决。

不久北洋军阀命运逆转，国民革命军进占杭州。我也再度回到西子湖畔。杭州人热烈欢迎国民革命军。这些现代装备的军队胜利进军杭州时，成千成万的市民满面笑容地列队欢迎。我站在人丛中观望，一颗心高兴得怦怦乱跳。经过十六年之后，一支现代化的中国军队的信誉又重新建立起来了。

大约一年之后，蒋总司令在民国十七年即一九二八年完成部署，准备继续北伐。他指挥的军队渡过长江，沿津浦路向北京推进。北伐军抵达山东济南府边缘时，日本人惟恐中国统一，藉口保护在山东的权益和日本皇民的生命财产，竟由青岛派兵沿胶济路向济南推进。他们的目的是制造"事件"，以破坏中国的统一计划。所谓"事件"，自然就是中日之间公开冲突。日军在济南府残杀山东交涉员及其僚属，希望藉此激起中国的报复行动。

蒋总司令洞烛日人阴谋，深恐小不忍而乱大谋，决定暂避其锋，把国民革命军的前头部队调离山东，并以迅雷不及掩耳的手段渡过黄河，直逼北京。因而国民革命军未遭阻挠，统一目标亦赖以实现。日本军队在山东终于扑了空。

国民革命军到达后，北京随即陷落，北京政府的纸老虎被南风一吹就倒了。

民国十六年国民革命军进杭州时，我被任为省政府委员兼教育厅长。我在政府中担任工作的经验也就在杭州开始了。杭州是浙江的省会，也是我青年时代读书的地方。省政府由省政府委员会组成。国民政府在南京成立以前，所有省府委员以及主席都是由国民革命军总司令蒋介石将军委派的。

省府委员之中有五位分别兼任民政厅长、财政厅长、军事厅长、建设厅长和教育厅长。省府委员会之上则有国民党中央政治会议浙江分会，负责全省一般政策，政策决定后即下令省政府执行。会议主席由省主席张静江先生担任，由我任秘书长。这是我第一次担任国民党要职。后来省境情势渐趋稳定，政分会遂告撤销。

省政府和南京的国民政府一样充满着改革和建设的精神，中央政府的重大施政，我将在下一章加以叙述。省政府的建设计划相当庞大，但是革命之后，此项计划难免受经费支绌的限制。因此只能将工作集中在

铺筑公路上面，几年之内的确铺了不少公路。省城本身也有许多道路经省政府指定拓宽或添建。两年之后，杭州城内已经添筑了许多宽阔的马路。西湖沿岸和苏堤也辟了马路，直达西山各名胜，另有一条公路与上海衔接，招来了不少度周末的游客。短短三年之内，杭州已经焕然一新了。市区之内，西湖之滨，以及湖边山麓，新建洋房别墅像雨后春笋一样出现，人口激增，商业也盛极一时。

各县市也新建了许多电灯厂。若干乡村里还装设了蒸汽帮浦灌溉稻田。因为浙江是丝织业中心，政府开始提倡科学养蚕法，以科学方法培育蚕种，然后转售给养蚕的人。头一年里，科学蚕种曾经引起强烈的反对，因养蚕的人受了以传统方法培育蚕种的人的影响，对于科学蚕种发生怀疑。但是事实胜于雄辩，第二年中，政府出产的新式蚕种已经供不应求。

为了改善田租制度，政府举办全省耕地调查，工作继续了好几年。浙江省所采用的办法，与共产党对农地所采的激烈手段适成对照。浙江省采取一种比较温和的"二五减租"办法，也就是佃农付给地主的田租普遍减低百分之二十五。佃农通常以主要作物收获的百分之五十付给地主田租，"二五减租"以后，佃农就只要付收成的百分之三七点五了。田租的租率已经维持了几百年，计算方法各地互有差别，实行"二五减租"以后，有些地方的佃农得到很大的利益，在另一些地方，这个减租办法却在地主与佃农之间引起严重的纠纷。减租委员会所收受的讼案多如山积，全省各地普遍发生纠纷，减租办法终于几年之后放弃。推行减租最力的沈玄庐（定一）被暗杀，死因迄今未明。

不久之后，扫除文盲运动开始。经过六七年时间，除了普通的小学之外，短期的民众识字班增加了几千个。

省内的教育制度进行一次新试验。国立浙江大学成立，由我担任校长。浙大不但主持高等教育，并且主管全省公立学校。教育厅取消，浙大校长则成为省府委员。另外两省也继起仿效，各自成立大学。经过两年的试验，另外几省发生内部纠纷和政治争执，整个制度终于在民国十八年即一九二九年废止，那时我任国民政府教育部长，所以培植这个制度和埋葬这个制度的都是我自己。

我在杭州整整住了一年，翌年膺任教育部长，同时兼任浙江大学校长，因此经常往返京杭之间。民国十八年，我辞去浙大校长兼职，在南京再住了一年，后以中央大学易长及劳动大学停办两事与元老们意见相左，被迫辞职。

我当时年壮气盛，有决策，必贯彻到底，不肯通融，在我自以为励精图治，在人则等于一意孤行。我本世居越中，耳濡目染，颇知绍兴师爷化大为小、化小为无的诀窍。今背道而驰，自然碰壁。武力革命难，政治革命更难，思想革命尤难，这是我所受的教训。

在我辞职的前夜，吴稚晖先生突然来教育部，双目炯炯有光，在南京当时电灯朦胧的深夜，看来似乎更觉明显。他老先生问我中央、劳动两校所犯何罪，并为两校讼冤。据吴老先生的看法，部长是当朝大臣，应该多管国家大事，少管学校小事。最后用指向我一点，厉声说道："你真是无大臣之风。"

我恭恭敬敬地站起来回答说：

"先生坐，何至于是，我知罪矣。"

第二天我就辞了职，不日离京，回北京大学去了。刘半农教授闻之，赠我图章一方，文曰："无大臣之风。"

国民党之出掌政权

国民革命军攻克北京以后，中国重归统一，首都亦由北京迁至南京，北京则改为北平。

北京曾为辽、金、元、明、清五代的首都，历时一千余年。现在国都固然改定为南京，北平却仍旧是文化和艺术的中心。中国知识阶级除了本地方言之外所说的，以及广播电台所采用和学校所教授的"官话"或"国语"就是以北京方言做基础的。

国民政府从北方黄河流域迁都南方的长江流域，主要原因有二。第一个理由是革命精神已经弥漫长江流域，因此也是革命精神比较容易生根的肥沃土壤，黄河流域则是反动军阀的根据地。第二个理由：长江流域是中国金融力量的中心，足以供应政府必需的经费。

在一八五一年至一八六四年之间，南京曾是太平天国的首都。太平军溃败以后，南京破坏殆尽，而且始终不曾恢复旧观。城内的废墟、麦田、菜圃、果园比盖了房子的街道还多。街道狭窄，路面高低不平，而且肮脏不堪，电灯昏暗如菜油灯。差个专人送信往往比打电话还快。

这座雄踞扬子江边的古城，在古时是文物教化的中心，尤其是在南朝时代，所谓南朝金粉是也。女人、醇酒、清歌、妙舞一直萦回在历代骚人墨客的记忆里。秦淮河横越城内，连接了盛长百合的湖泊。河上满是金碧辉煌高悬彩灯的画舫。秦淮河两岸酒楼歌榭栉比，雕梁画栋，门口挂着竹帘子，妙曼的曲调和醉人的幽香从竹帘后一阵阵飘送出来，此所谓：

"此曲只应天上有，

人间哪得几回闻。"

这就是旧日京华。但是南京是战略要地，国内每有重大战事，南京必定要遭一场浩劫，每经一次战祸，它的精华也就失去其大半。战事结束，和平重临，南京又会在废墟上重建，恢复旧日的光辉。我所描写的往昔金陵生活，就是根据历史记载而来的。

不过，自从太平天国灭亡，劫后南京一直未曾恢复昔日的美丽。历次重建似乎只是庸俗艺匠对于古本的临摹，经过一再临摹之后，原作的光彩渐渐消失，留下的只是俗不可耐的赝品。

秦淮河仍旧在南京城内流过，画舫歌榭也依然存在。但是形式、素质和内容都远非昔比了。风雅的生活已经随滚滚江流冲走了。

国民革命军进入南京以后，一种新精神随之诞生——一种改革和建设的精神。大家要拿现代科学来复兴往昔的艺术。在这疮痍满目的废墟上，一座柏油马路四通八达的现代城市建立起来了。街道旁栽种了葱翠的树木，供市民游息的公园也先后开始设计和建立。自动电话、电灯和自来水也装设了，停泊南京附近的美国兵舰的水上飞机则从空中测绘了一幅南京地图，南京的新都市计划就是根据这幅地图设计的。国民政府成立了首都建设设计委员会，我以教育部长的身分成为该委员会的委员之一。这个设计委员会在一位美国建筑师的协助下，辛勤工作了一年多。这位美国建筑师对北京的中国宫殿式建筑很有研究，委员会的目标是尽量保持中国建筑的宏伟和华丽，同时兼有现代都市的便利和卫生设备。

陈旧倾圮的建筑被拆除了，以便铺筑道路或重建新屋。商业日渐发达，现代戏院倍增，人口急速增加。秦淮河和湖泊一一加以疏浚，古刹和其他公共建筑也都开始修葺。

政府建造了中央博物院，来陈列北平故宫博物院的一部分珍品，而且在南京城内朝天宫一座小山里，造了一个不虞空袭的钢骨水泥的地下室，来保藏贵重文物。因为中央博物院的董事们早已预料到日本不久即将发动对华侵略，南京当然是他们的攻击目标。华北局势恶化，长城战云密布之时，故宫博物院的贵重宝藏即以数百辆火车运至南京，并且在南京失陷之前，全部转运内地，保留于山洞石室之中。

交通部大楼和铁道部大楼都是钢骨水泥的建筑，里面有现代的照明、通风等设备。但是它们的建筑图样却是完全中式的，釉瓦、雕梁、画栋、花窗，以及其他古色古香的装潢。这两幢雄伟的建筑峙立在新都交通要道中山路的两旁，成为配合现代需要的中国古代艺术的纪程碑。其他的建筑也已设计好蓝图，后以战事影响而告搁置。

中山陵位于城外紫金山之麓，上覆琉璃瓦，柱子全部是白色大理石。陵前有层层叠叠步步高升花岗岩的石阶。山上栽种着从全国各地移来的不同林木。山坡上点缀着各种各样的花木和果树，山脚建造了一个运动场和游泳池。

政府在南京附近规划了一个示范新村，由市府设计包括道路、下水道、电话、电灯、学校等的建设蓝图。几年之内，私人新建房屋已到处矗立，房屋周围都有广大的空地，辟为东方式的花园。树木葱翠，花枝

招展，小鸟啁啾，溪水低吟，古老的生活方式已为新生活所取代，科学与艺术，工作与娱乐，天工与人力，齐头并进，相得益彰。

这就是实验中的胚芽，大家希望它发展滋长，将来有一天可以推广到全国的每一角落。这只是个平凡的开端，但是已经有了相当的成果，因为这个新村运动已经在数年之内推广到许多大城市及其附近地区。如果持之以恒，而且经济有进一步的发展，这些新村势将使新中国的生活方式全面改观。

我们无法奢望北京政府垮台之后，军阀们随之销声匿迹。他们的实力仍旧根深蒂固地盘据在各省。中国幅员辽阔，交通不便，兼以人心未定，凡此种种，无不使军阀们蠢蠢欲动。时机一到，他们就企图扩张势力：他们像血液中的细菌一样潜伏在各省，身体衰弱，就会乘机偷袭。蒋总司令从挥军攻克北京到对日抗战的前夕，十年间为统一国家，真是宵旰辛劳，席不暇暖。

罗马帝国的将军们曾以纵横辐辏的道路巩固其帝国，蒋总司令也深知开辟公路、铁路和航空线的重要。他以南京为中心，建筑了向各省辐射的公路、铁路和航空线。国民政府成立以前，交通网的一部分业已存在。国民党执政以后，就以原有的交通网为基础，新建了许多支线和衔接线。边远城市则辟航空线以资联系。从新首都北飞可达北平、开封、西安和兰州，南飞可达福州、广州和昆明，西航则达汉口、重庆及成都。

连接汉口与广州及香港对岸九龙的新铁路也筑成了。如果日本不在此时侵略东北，我们很可能在民国二十年（一九三一年）就可以从香港或上海乘火车直达巴黎。如果从上海出发，可搭直达车经南京、济南到天津，从天津搭北宁路出长城到沈阳，从沈阳搭中国自建而与日人所有的南满铁路平行的长春铁路到齐齐哈尔；从齐齐哈尔有铁路支线与西伯利亚铁路连接。中国统一努力的进展以及在东北自建铁路，促使日人企图一举而占满洲（即东三省），乃在民国二十年（一九三一年）九月十八日挑起"沈阳事件"，亦即"九·一八事变"。

沪杭甬铁路钱塘江至曹娥江之间的一段缺口也填补起来了，但是铺轨工作却因战事发生而停止。不过苏州与杭州之间的苏杭铁道刚在战事开始以前就铺筑完成了。另一条从杭州到江西的浙赣铁路刚好在抗战前完成，抗战期间更西延至湖南境内，在株洲与粤汉路衔接。后来湘桂铁路完成，再往西可以直达广西的桂林。

公路的发展更为迅速。京杭国道是在我居留南京期间建成的，在这

条公路正式开放以前，我曾经很荣幸地参加通车典礼。京杭国道穿越江浙两省最富庶的地区。当车子沿太湖奔驰时，我们真想留下来小住几天，坐在松树之下，眺望着远帆在夕阳余晖中出没。渔人们在湖边撒网捕鱼，渔网中跳跃着金鳞闪灿的鲤鱼。太湖是我国五大湖之一，湖水灌溉了我国人口最密、文化最高的江浙两省千万亩肥沃的农田。

京杭国道同时经过一个盗匪如毛的区域，但是公路通车以后，盗匪随之销声匿迹，因为现在如遇匪警，军队可以随时赶到出事地点了。

建设进展之时，各地也不断发生事故。有时缺乏现代道路的地区发生变乱，铁路和公路常常需要以赛跑的姿态赶筑到出事地点。抗战前一年，福建省发生叛变，中央军迅速沿新筑成的浙赣铁路及公路从杭州赶赴福建，变乱旋即敉平。铁路公路愈多，叛乱与盗匪也愈会减少，各地间货运赖以畅流更不必说了。

交通是现代化和改革的关键，也是发现国家未来发展机会的钥匙。因此国民政府的建设计划就从建筑铁道公路着手。交通建设也是确保国家统一之一法，如果有完善的道路可资利用，地方性变乱很容易就可以敉平。除此之外，交通愈便利愈发达，人民交往也愈频繁，观念交流也愈容易。偏僻地区的名胜风景，旦夕之间就成为学者、画家、诗人和爱好自然者的徜徉之所了。

各省在国民政府影响之下也开始修筑更多的道路。原有道路在国民党执政以后很快就开始修补拓展。因之抗战期间军队得以在各省之间畅通无阻。抗战前一两年，旅客可以从南京坐汽车直达昆明，换一句话说，可以从华东沿海直达西南边城，也就是滇缅公路的起点。

在行政方面，政府正设法增加行政效率。政府设计了一种新式的档案处理办法并在各机关试行。公文程式也经过简化。

文官考试制度重新恢复，但是见过清朝科举制度的人也许会失望，因为考试录取的人已经不再有从前那种煊赫的排场和荣耀。

新的法典也开始拟订。妇女的地位提高到与男人一样。过去只有儿子可以继承父亲的产业，现在女儿也享有同等的继承权了。男女到达结婚年龄就可以享受婚姻自由。只要当事两边协议，就可构成合法的离婚。

学校课程统一，科学钟点增加，体育普遍受重视。管理大学的法律也公布了。中央研究院等机构先后成立，以进行科学、历史、经济学和工程等的高深研究。

厘金制度宣告废止。对于这种苛扰的国内关卡制度，我们将在下章再加论列。政府财政基础渐见巩固，全国币制统一，政府所属的各银行也加以改组。不久之后，银元禁止流通，一律改用法币，抗战期间我们开始了解此一措施的重要，如果我们一直依赖笨重的银子作交易的媒介，势将无法进行长期抗战，如果在抗战期间才能进行币制改革，也必定要引起严重的紊乱。

从民国十六年（一九二七年）定都南京开始，到民国二十六年（一九三七年）芦沟桥事变止，其间只有短短十年工夫让国民政府从事建设。十年之间还有断续的变乱和其他障碍阻滞改革和建设的进展，但在这短期间内，居然建筑了四千五百多公里的铁路，而在过去五十年内所建的铁路也不过一万六千公里而已。十年之内建筑的公路超过十万公里，新添电报线路则在一万多公里以上。在这样短的时间之内，自然各方面的建设成就都很有限，评断成绩时，不能不考虑到时间因素。

PART FIVE SOME ASPECTS OF CHINESE LIFE

CHAPTER 21 THE "LEAKAGE" SYSTEM

Foreigners coming to China for the first time used often to meet with the annoying practice of petty "squeeze" among their servants and cooks and naturally felt that something must be wrong with China. But they would presently be informed by old China hands, familiar with the China of Imperial days and the later regimes of the warlords, that the practice of "squeeze" was not only to be found in servant circles but also among those higher up. "Squeeze is a national system," they would say and cite concrete examples to illustrate their point.

This reference to happenings of bygone days that lingered in their memories would focus the eyes of the newcomers on remnants of the dark side of Chinese life which are fast passing, and the effect has been to throw a veil over unprejudiced minds in their effort to see the living, new China of today. This is very unfortunate for foreign observers who have tried to understand China, and unfair to both this and the last generation of Chinese leaders, who endured hardships and sacrificed their lives for reforms in China's national life.

I propose now to paint a dark, vivid, and real picture of Chinese economic life in the past, without exaggerating or minimizing—which I hope I can do even better than the old China hands.

Anyone who witnessed the downfall of the Imperial regime must be aware that one of the main factors which caused the Manchu government to lose control of the country was its decrepit system of public finance. Large numbers of public servants were paid only nominal salaries and left to finance themselves by *Lou-kwei*, or the "leakage" system. This practice deprived them of any sense of public morality and caused them to countenance corruption as a matter of course. The Imperial government connived at the irregular gains of its officials, and the officials in turn connived at those of their subordinates. The poisonous sap circulated in the whole tree of state, reaching to every twig of every branch and every leaf on each twig. It flowed through all the roots of the tree and every rootlet.

From the government offices through which public revenues passed, the government required only certain fixed amounts to be forwarded to the national treasury. The officials in charge of the revenues could, by various means and all sorts of excuses and plausible reasons, attach a variety of fees to the regular taxes. In this way, for every tael of silver that flowed into the government treasury at least the same amount or even more would be diverted to "leakage" funds. In the later years of the Imperial regime more wine leaked into private cups than remained in the public barrel. The government, finding itself parched as a fish in a dry pond, pressed hard for more money—whence still more "leakage" for public servants and heavier burdens for the people.

Failing to realize funds by taxation or other means, such as offering public offices for sale, the Imperial government resorted to borrowing from foreign sources by awarding them concessions for building railroads or opening mines. This was to quench thirst by drinking poison. It may be remembered that the nationalization of railways in Szechuan Province, as a preliminary step to awarding the building rights to foreign concerns, pulled the trigger for the Revolution of 1911.

But as to the "leakage" system and how it worked. China was then divided into some twenty-two provinces, comprising about two thousand hsien. The chief executive of the hsien was the magistrate, who took charge of all financial matters and concurrently filled the role of administrator of justice in his district. His salary—not more than a few taels a month—was nominal. All expenses incurred by the holder of the office had to be paid out of "leakage" funds. When higher officials of the Imperial government passed through his district he had to entertain them and secure for them all the "necessities" required for their travel. To the entourage of any higher official he had to offer "presents," usually in the form of money.

On the banks of the Yaokiang River just outside the city wall of my native Yuyao stood a welcome pavilion at which the magistrate welcomed passing officials of higher rank. One sunny afternoon some forty years ago I noticed crowds gathering at a distance, near the pavilion. I joined them and watched the landing of the Imperial Examiner and his entourage, on their way to Ningpo to hold civil examinations in that prefecture. On the previous day the magistrate had "caught," or requisitioned, many houseboats from the people and the one set aside for the Imperial Examiner was loaded with

sealed cases, their contents known only to those who had prepared them.

I watched the party change boats. The Imperial Examiner stepped into the most prominent; the sails were set and the little flotilla with the officials and "leakage" gifts on board floated downriver with the ebbing tide to the seaport city of Ningpo. Under that inspiration I said to myself that from now on I must study hard, so that some day I myself might be an Imperial Examiner blessed with such mysterious gifts as lay hidden in those cases.

Regular "gifts" had to be presented to the secretaries of the civil governor (*fantai*) of the province. Failing that, a magistrate could not expect them to speak kind words for him to the governor and would find them faultfinding in his official relations with the governor's office. Added together, the amount required for plain sailing in his career was by no means small. Human nature also made him not unmindful of the necessity to provide for a rainy day. And he had his family and followers to support.

Candidates for magistracy who had pull were covetous of the districts with large revenues. I remember that in the hsien in which we lived during my school days no magistrate had ever held office for more than a year. The regular term of office was three years, in which a magistrate could realize approximately a hundred thousand dollars. In those times this sum was considered very great. So the governor appointed acting magistrates, whose term was usually one year. In this way there would be more chances for expectant magistrates to share the profit.

When a magistrate retired from office after the expiration of his term and paid an official call on the governor, he was usually asked by his superior whether his district had been a good one, meaning how much he had got out of the "leakage" funds. His friends and relatives also asked him the same question by way of starting a conversation.

The higher the rank of the official through whose hands the government revenues passed, the more "leakage" flowed into his private coffer. The taotai of Shanghai was known to reap a profit of some 100,000 taels a year. Governors and viceroys of rich provinces and the powerful princes and grand ministers in Peking usually enjoyed large yearly incomes.

The system was upheld even by the great statesman and scholar, General Tseng Kuo-fan, who put down the Taiping Rebellion for the Manchu

Dynasty. In one of his letters he argued that "leakage" was indispensable to the smooth running of the government; the expenses incurred by an official were great and he had a family and relatives to provide for. The system was countenanced by scholars as well. In his diary a famous scholar-official who lived in Peking during the Hsien-feng and Tung-chi period complains that Viceroy Chang Chi-tung presented him with only a small "gift." A later entry reads something like this: "Went to Tao Ren Pavilion in the afternoon to sip tea. Chang Chi-tung entered. I pretended not to see him and left the place." This may be safely interpreted to mean that the famous viceroy had offended the prominent scholar by presenting him with too small a gift from his "leakage" funds.

During the Imperial regime promising candidates could keep servants with very little pay or none at all. The servants would stick to their masters through thick and thin for years, hoping that some day when luck fell into the laps of their masters they too could share the "leakage" with their lords. When luck did come master and servant alike would strive to make it still leakier, so that each and all could have cupfuls of this wine to their hearts' content. If luck failed to appear they would keep on waiting until the last ray of hope was gone. Under pressure of starvation some unfortunate masters found relief in the rope, with which they ended their lives. In Hangchow during my school days the news circulated by word of mouth that an expectant magistrate, idle for years, had hanged himself on a New Year's Eve when his creditors pressed him hard for the money he owed them.

The poisonous sap penetrated even to the households of the well to do. The cook would poke "holes" in his vegetable and meat baskets in order to make them "leak." Servants got something from the purchases they made for the household—especially in Peking the shops always added a certain percentage to the price for the servants who made the purchase.

The practice of "leakage" even went abroad and found its way into the household of Napoleon. Napoleon had a Chinese cook who served his master very faithfully. On his deathbed this great French general remembered his faithful servant, saying, "Treat him well because his country will be one of the greatest in time to come. But the Chinese love money. Give him five hundred francs." On the other hand, the Dean Lung Professorship of Chinese Literature in Columbia University was established in memory of a Chinese laundryman with the money earned by a lifetime of washing. Before his death

Dean Lung handed over a bag of gold to his master and asked him to do something good for China. The master, adding a sum to it, established the chair in memory of the patriotic laundryman.

The practice of "leakage" permeated the entire system of *likin*. And *likin*, like a gigantic octopus with tentacles reaching to every communication line in the country, sucked the blood out of the trade and commerce of the nation. It had been installed during the Taiping Rebellion to raise war funds for the support of the Imperial army. The Taipings were gone, but the obnoxious system was there to stay.

It worked this way. Anyone who knew how to "squeeze" the people would bid—say two hundred thousand dollars a year—to government agents for the right to run the *likin* at a certain station or a number of stations established at points on the highway where merchandise passed from one city to another. The person who won the bid would become *likin* commissioner at that station or group of stations and had the right to assess duties on the goods passing through. If he could realize a sum of three hundred thousand dollars within the year, he would turn over two hundred thousand to the government and keep the remainder for himself and his partners. So he would make most goods dutiable in order to swell his private fortune.

Once I saw a boat loaded with watermelons passing under the bridge at a station. It was stopped by a long bamboo hook from shore and several inspectors jumped down and began to thrust iron rods into the melons. The owner begged them to desist and promised to pay any amount they demanded. The "duties" were paid; the poor farmer sailed on.

I remember how small traders and farmers hated likin. Everybody would have liked to smash the stations to pieces. Once a group of young scholars going by boat to take an Imperial examination passed by a *likin* station, ignoring the order to stop. The inspectors detained the boat and began to search their belongings. The scholars leaped ashore, entered the station, and smashed everything they could lay their hands on. Only the flag, emblem of the authority of the Imperial government, was left drooping in the air with its inscription: "To Collect *Likin* by His Majesty's Orders." Triumphantly the scholars departed under the gaze of the admiring crowd.

After the Revolution of 1911 the "leakage" system was gradually suppressed, and the system of likin was abolished later on. Higher salaries

were paid to officials. But cases of corruption were still frequent. The practice persists among servants in the form of petty "squeeze." A lady once scolded her cook for being too greedy in getting his "squeeze," and got into a quarrel with him. Someone remarked that he was as greedy as a hungry wolf, to which he replied, "If one were not greedy, he would not become a cook."

In one of the embassies in Peking the ambassador's cook charged ten cents for an egg, while his secretary's cook charged his master five cents. "Why should I have to pay more for an egg than the wife of our secretary?" asked the ambassador's wife. "Madam, the ambassador receives a higher salary than the secretary," was the reply. Owners of cars often found their gas tanks "leaky," because the drivers helped themselves to cupfuls of gasoline. Unwarranted repairs made bills for maintenance mount up.

Since the Nationalist government came to power in 1927 China has been endeavoring to check the occasional corruption in the government. Severe punishment has been meted out to offenders. However, the legacy from centuries of the "leakage" system, which existed even before the Manchus, is difficult to discard totally within a few years or even a generation. Under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek official corruption has been reduced to a few isolated cases. With the introduction of a modern financial system and the gradual enlightenment of public conscience, China has done much in checking these malpractices. As the technique of government improves with time, she will attain the level of a modern, well-organized country in which more efficient methods of taxation and effective control of public finance will be devised.

The Chinese have always trusted in the intrinsic good of human nature, believing that evils arise only from perversion of that good through negligence or lack of proper education. It was the decrepit system of public finance that caused China's trouble in this respect, not lack of a sense of moral responsibility. But the system had such a demoralizing influence on public practice that we still suffer from its effects.

Concrete examples have shown us that the remedy lies in building up a good system to supersede the bad ones. It is not sufficient merely to abolish the bad. The customs administration organized by the British for China was free of the bad influence of "leakage." Employees were properly trained and adequately paid. Ample pensions were given them after retirement. Patronage

was little known. The control of this important branch of national revenue by foreign governments as a guarantee for the payment of indemnities and foreign debts has been humiliating and extremely dangerous to national integrity, but the adequate system of revenue built up as a by-product is an unintended blessing to China.

The postal administration was organized under the Western system. It has been running efficiently since its inception—even long years of civil war did not disrupt its work. Ever since the Japanese aggression started it has been marvelous to see letters circulating in the occupied areas as freely as in Free China. Mail carriers have constantly crossed the firing lines to deliver the mails entrusted to them.

The salt administration is another example. Even during the long years of Japanese aggression the people have been adequately supplied with this daily necessity.

The Huang-ho Commission was well known formerly for its "leakage" system; indeed, the famous Shantung and Honan cuisines were the product of the rich appetites and well-lined coffers of the gluttonous commissioners of the Huang-ho works. In the same way, Yangchow cooking became renowned through the epicurean salt merchants of Yangchow.

With the formation of a Huang-ho Conservancy Board with modern trained engineers in charge of the conservation work, the "leakage" system itself was cast into the river and flowed down into the Yellow Sea. The gluttons disappeared with their system; only the art of cooking remains. Yangchow delicacies, too, are still admired by men of good taste, while the innovators who introduced them are gone and forgotten since the introduction of the salt gabelle, a modern, well-organized system of salt administration.

With well-organized administration, a well-trained and well-paid personnel, tenure of office ensured and adequate pensions provided after retirement, the good that is in human nature has full play.

It may be said that these successes have depended on foreign assistance. But let me ask: Are they due alone to the good morals of the foreigners—or rather to the good system they have introduced into China? Without personal integrity no such system would work, yet could we depend on foreign morals alone to obtain the desired results? Could a handful of foreign experts on top

be powerful enough to check the irregular practices of hundreds and thousands of Chinese personnel? It is through the co-operation of the rank and file of Chinese employees under a good system that the customs, salt, and postal administrations have been successful. This is what Mencius, disciple of Confucius, has said: "Good morals alone will not make a good administration; systems alone will not carry the work to the desired ends."

The modern banking system and railway administration in China are also commendable examples. The banks and railways on the whole run efficiently and are free of gross maladministration of funds.

Modern universities in China are further examples of honest administration of funds, aside from their stand for intellectual honesty. Teachers have worked hard, through privations on account of the abnormally high cost of living during the war, to maintain their standards of scholarship. The majority of students coming under the good influence of the teachers and the university organization cannot but form healthy ideas and correct habits as regards honest and efficient administration of public funds, along with the modern training they have received. And we must remember that in their hands the future of China lies.

Above all, the attitude toward the administration of public funds has basically changed. In the old days the "leakage" system was connived at or even admired. At present it is disliked and reviled by all intelligent people. This change of public sentiment will have an important bearing, given modern methods, upon the future handling of funds in all spheres of public administration.

It is more difficult to eradicate the practice of "squeeze" among servants, cooks, and chauffeurs. Perhaps it will take a generation or two to alleviate the economic status of these people; until that is done, we cannot very well expect that they will drop their bits of "sweets." Perhaps by then it will be difficult in any case to find people to work as household servants. Yet in my six years of sojourn in Kunming during the war I have met with one cook, one man servant, one maid, and one chauffeur in our employ who never "squeezed." Our present cook and man servant have a spotless record as regards money matters.

Let the reader turn the leaves of a textbook of European history to the period just before the French Revolution; let him glance through the

constitutional development of England or the history of India in the times of Warren Hastings; he will readily agree with the writer that the "leakage" system of China was but a mild form of corruption. Yet, along with other forces, it did gradually sap the vitality of a reigning dynasty, once very powerful, and render it in the end financially anemic and politically impotent. Finally the Manchu Empire crumbled like a house of cards before the moral force of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

CHAPTER 22 SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

It has been a common belief that China's four hundred million people were as loosely connected as the sands of the sea. It would be nearer the truth to say that her great population is—or was—segmented into many small self-governing units. Chinese democracy has consisted of tens of thousands of such units, loosely knit together by a common language, a common culture, and common ideals of life achieved through centuries of cumulative effort. These units, large or small, developed on a basis of family, trade, and tradition. Individuals were bound by these common ties to each self-governing group and so were more intimate with the members of their own group than with a broader society. They understood local problems better than national ones. This was the fundamental reason the constitutional National Assembly failed to work, and this was why the people allowed themselves to be governed by warlords. It was the frame of mind that gave birth to the nationwide idea in Imperial days, often quoted here, that "Heaven is high above and the Emperor is far away."

Individuals, unless they broke with society in some way, were always part of the unit, but the units were not well cemented by any effective national organization. This was a strong point as well as a weakness in China's national life—a strength because it made China democratic and enduring through ages of war and invasion, and a weakness because it made her central authority impotent and rendered her vulnerable to the attack of invaders.

The existence of these units in Chinese life has its historical background. They came into being by the slow work of centuries. As the Chinese gradually moved into the less populated or unpopulated areas, they went in groups to form separate colonies which grew into self-governing villages or communities. The vast Chinese Empire was built up by centuries of peaceful colonization[1] of outlying territory by just such social clusters. In recent years, by a study of the dialects of China, we have been able to trace the path of this development. The Cantonese dialect is found to be closely related to the spoken language of the Tang Dynasty. We may reasonably infer that the

predominant part of the population of Canton are descendants of the Tangs. Later arrivals, forming their own distinct groups, spoke a quite different dialect known as *Hak-ka,* which shows the language characteristics of recent centuries. Even along the Yangtze Valley the slight difference in dialect in various localities affords a subtle record of the stages of colonization.

The migration of the Chinese population to the south was hastened in the tenth century by the downfall of the Tangs when north China was devastated by invaders from outside the Great Wall. The southern provinces, especially Kwangtung, Hunan, and Chekiang, which were not vulnerable to the successive invasions and were less affected by intermittent wars, became reservoirs of Chinese culture destined to irrigate the vast territory of New China in the last fifty years.

If a reform was to be truly effective in the direction of national unity and coherence, it had to touch the age-old local units by effecting some sort of change in the family, the trades, and tradition. And inversely, since these units were knit together by a common language and culture and common ideals of life, any modification of culture and ideals through the common language would be bound to affect the life of these social clusters and consequently of the country.

China was first set on the road to change when foreign manufactures began to affect the trades. Thus one of the three strands that bound her society was loosened. That was the early stage of change when she first came under modern influence, and the process was unconscious. Then the introduction of modern ideas through books and newspapers and the school system further weakened the already slipping knot by loosening the strand of tradition. The last remaining element, that of family ties, had finally to give way with the other two.

The loosening of these three ties which bound people to their local units caused years of disturbance. Individuals groping for new effective bonds created trouble of many sorts. The students were the first to be affected by the new ideas and it was they who started the trouble; workers in the new industries lost their old trade bonds and they, too, joined the students in troublemaking, as we have seen. The internecine wars of the warlords, the failure of constitutionalism, and the existence of the demoralizing "leakage" system neither prevented the disintegration of the old social organizations nor

retarded social progress to any great extent. The troubles caused by the warlords were but ripples on China's vast social sea. The undercurrent went on swirling under the surface, with or without them, or the debased National Assembly, or the "leakage" system. These were evils in the superstructure merely; the self-governing units themselves remained temperamentally peaceful and morally clean.

In the long course of history, especially since the latter days of the Tang Dynasty, China has been weak in national defense because her invaders have all been organized on a war footing while she was organized on a basis of peace. Defense forces have had to be drawn from peaceful communities and maintained by a central authority which was a mere superstructure above a peace-loving society.

The Chinese under the leadership of the Mings overthrew the Yuans or Mongols not so much through their own military might as because of the failing strength of the Mongols. Through long years of wars on two continents the military force of the descendants of Genghis Khan had spent itself. Under Chung Chu, second emperor of the Ming Dynasty, China succeeded in organizing a strong army which conquered a great part of Manchuria during his reign; but this military power gradually weakened after his death. When the warlike Manchus rose outside the Great Wall the Mings were helpless in the face of Tartar invasion, and the Ming Dynasty gave way to the Ching or Manchu Dynasty without much effective fighting. After more than a century in China the Manchus in turn were contaminated by the peaceful spirit of the Chinese, and when the Western Powers attacked China with gunboats she was again helpless.

Studying the past, Japan assumed that history would repeat itself and on this assumption began her continental campaign against China in 1894. Up to that year she was right. But Chinese history then began to shift its course as China learned the "tricks" of Western civilization. Japan was either unaware of this change or tried to nip it in the bud. In either case she did not hesitate to launch a new continental campaign some thirty years later, and was surprised to find that a stumbling block had risen in her way.

This was China's social progress. Japan had seen at the top the weak and corrupt Imperial Peking government whose financial strength had been sapped by the "leakage" system; later she saw on the surface the warring

warlords; but she was blind to the undercurrents which had slowly but persistently moved in China's immense ocean during the last fifty years.

In the old days organized national ties had existed in secret societies. The members lived outside the village units, gathering around large cities and along commercial routes. Their main purpose was mutual protection against oppression, but this sometimes degenerated into illicit trade. They were powerful in time of internal rebellion but not of much use against foreign aggression. They lacked new ideas and the notion of social progress was alien to them.

But now, on the fringes of the many thousands of self-governing units in the country there had gathered people imbued with national ideas as against local prejudices and newly learned patriotism as against family loyalty. These individuals hummed like honeybees round a hive and gradually gathered in clusters along the edges. More and more individuals sneaked out to join those outside. As the clusters grew in size, they began to make intrusions into the hive and affected the life of the whole colony. At the same time they began to organize themselves into a national union, so to speak, and took China as their common hive.

Such was the growth of China's modern national institutions. The process was hastened by the rapid extension of communication: steam navigation, highways, railroads, and airways. Educational associations, chambers of commerce, labor unions—scientific, engineering, and political science societies and other bodies—all were organized on a national basis. Political parties, whether the Kuomintang or those whose views were opposed to it, all led the people to think along national lines. The universities took members of the family and molded them into leaders of the nation. Schools instilled national consciousness and patriotism into the formative minds of the new generation.

In spite of continuous civil wars, even before the unification of the country the number of public schools had multiplied in all the provinces. Private citizens established private schools as a way of expressing their patriotism. These millions of elementary school graduates, entering thousands of local self-governing communities, spread ideas of patriotism even to the humble hamlets of the interior.

Once, traveling in the interior during the fight along the Great Wall, I

saw a solitary small boy playing soldier. He took a tree for his imaginary enemy and stabbed it with his dagger. Then he imagined that his enemy struck back. He made gestures of defending himself, then fell to the ground with his eyes closed and whispered to himself, "I die for my country." Evidently he was defending the country against the Japanese invasion. During the later war, after a few of the Chungking people had deserted to the Japanese, way back in the hinterland I saw a little boy digging a small grave with a spade. When the work was done he put a sign on the grave: "The Traitor." In one mountainous region, where the nearest school was miles away, a mining engineer saw small boys writing on the walls of their village: "Long live the Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen." These instances show the growth of the national bonds that were taking the place of local ones.

Under the influence of the new education, organized into a national school system, children all over the country now made paper airplanes and sailed them in the air. They made toy water pumps and built toy automobiles. They began to be mechanically minded—a good groundwork for future industrialization of the country.

The growth of light industries in recent years has drawn more and more individuals from the local units and they have begun to associate into a national body instead of local guilds. Radio has brought new ideas to the people through the air. Customs, superstitions, dialects, folksongs, religions, domestic industries, and the economic condition of the tottering local trades and of the suffering farmers have been investigated and studied scientifically from data gathered by institutions of higher learning and learned societies. China has begun to know herself through scientific research.

The turmoils of half a century had set the people thinking. Their attitudes toward life began to change. They tried to create a new stability out of chaos by forming effective national bonds to hold China together in the face of invasion and by working for the progress of the country. This new social and national consciousness was not yet strong enough to face modern warfare with full force. But it was formidable enough to offer stubborn resistance, with indomitable will.

[1] colonization：殖民，拓殖。在此语境中指将汉民族的居民、住民等送往偏远地区长期居住，建立商业或永久定居点。

CHAPTER 23 ENCHANTED CITY OF PEKING

As Paris has inherited the spirit of the ancient Roman Empire, Peking has inherited that of the Chinese Empire of the old glorious days. Paris is the city of cities in the West, Peking in the East. Of Paris you feel that it is not only a city of Frenchmen but also your own; so Peking is not the city of the Chinese alone but universal. In both Paris and Peking one says, "This is my city, where I would like to live."

I lived in Peking for fifteen years until the Evil One dislodged me in 1937. As I look back to the old days there even the annoying dust of Peking is rich in pleasant associations. I miss it and long for it. In the early morning when the rising sun cast its beams upon the paper windows, with shadows of creeping vines dancing upon them, you would see a thin layer of dust sprayed evenly upon your mahogany desk from the night before. It was a pleasure to dust it off carefully with a feather duster. Then you would dust the brush-holder carved with landscapes, and the carved ink stone once owned by famous scholars of past centuries who dusted and washed it centuries before you. And you would do the same for the porcelains of Chien-lung, the bronzes of the Chow Dynasty, the oracle bones of the Shang period—used for divination four thousand years ago—and other timeworn treasures. Even the books, printed long before the West knew anything of the art and lying peacefully on your shelves, did not escape your attention. Let your fingers touch the covers; you would find that the dust did not grudge its favor.

Then you felt that you had done well your morning's preliminary work. The sunlit windows with their dancing shadows now smiled before you. The spotless desk with its ageless pieces of art displayed before your eyes beckoned you on. With a tranquil mind and contented heart you set to your day's work.

In such an atmosphere of antiquity you might read of the period when Confucius taught his disciples; or when the Nestorians came to the glorious empire of the Tangs; or the Jesuits made their astronomical instruments at the Ming court; or Buddha preached his doctrine of eternity; or Napoleon carried his campaign into Russia and drank oil from the street lights; or Genghis

Khan sent his invincible armies to the Danube basin, founded an empire on two continents, and made Peking the capital of one of his sons. In Peking one could read history in its true perspective. For this city was as grand as nature itself and as old as history. As a capital it has witnessed the rise and fall of five dynasties—dynasties came and were gone, but Peking remained.

The palace buildings were all rectangular and symmetrically arranged like an armchair, with a vast rectangular courtyard in the middle in which stood proudly the giant incense burners of gilded bronze whose smoke, when incense was burning, streamed to the sky. Bronze deer stood in rows and pairs of crouching lions of stone or bronze guarded the entrances. Over a hundred of these courtyards with imposing buildings on three sides were fitted together like the squares of a chessboard in the Forbidden City, which was shut in by rectangular yellow walls with yellow-roofed towers standing out against the sky at the four corners. The Mongols began it, the Mings rebuilt it, and the Manchus improved it to its present form.

The yellow enamel tiles of the roofs shone under the brilliant sun in a speckless blue sky. At dusk or before dawn the triumphal towers of Wu Men—the main entrance of the Forbidden City—silhouetted against the pale sky, looked like castles in the air. On a cloudless moonlit night they made one feel that he was near some fairy palace of the moon which he might admire but not reach.

Before the little Emperor Pu-yi, who reigned over this city within the city of Peking, was ousted from the Forbidden City by General Fung Yu-hsiang in 1926, semimonthly audiences were granted to the remnants of Manchu officialdom. Attired in the quaint old Manchu costumes the officials clustered around the back doors of his toy empire seeking admittance.

A few days after the coup d'état I went into the palace to witness a government committee sealing, house by house, the doors of the halls. A few of the eunuchs were still retained, from whom I got quite a bit of information about life in the palace and stories of the doings of emperors and empresses, princes and princesses, of bygone days.

One story was about the large looking glass which ran from the ceiling to the bottom of the wall. The Empress Dowager loved to sit opposite it so that she could see for herself how stately she was. One day the governor of Shensi was granted an audience by Her Majesty. As he entered the door he

saw her in the mirror and bent his knees before the image, kowtowing.

"What did the Empress Dowager do? I suppose she was angry," I said.

"No, no. She smiled and said to him kindly, 'You are seeing me in the mirror.'"

I met some of the eunuchs who attended the princes at the palace school for princes and found them to be all illiterate. Imperial household regulations forbade them to have an education, so that they would remain ignorant of what was taught in the school.

Perched on frames hanging in the veranda, red, yellow, and blue parrots talked the language of the princesses who had spent much time in teaching them. "Please come in. Guests coming. Bring tea..." said the blue one to me, and the red and yellow ones echoed, "Bring tea! Bring tea!" This was the first time I ever saw a blue parrot. Goldfish—black, white, red, and gold varieties—many of them almost a foot long, darted in the palace ponds, their periscope eyes looking skyward while their multiple fan-shaped silken tails waved gracefully in the water.

The living quarters of Pu-yi looked vulgar. A cheap-looking long foreign table stood in the middle of the hall with a few ugly chairs at either side. A pair of pink glass vases decorated the table. It was more like a second-rate country inn in America than the residence of an emperor of China. All the fine furniture and art treasures had been pushed aside and bundled up in the background. The vulgar Western civilization of the treaty ports had invaded the palace; nothing could be more out of place. Cheap magazines were scattered about. Half an apple, freshly cut, and a newly opened box of biscuits lay on the table. Apparently the Emperor had been taken by surprise and left the place as it was at the moment.

When the sealed doors were subsequently opened for a methodical checking over of the art treasures, the variety of beautiful objects was amazing. There were watermelons carved out of jade which looked like real ones, porcelains the color of "blue skies after a shower," bronzes that had witnessed thirty centuries of peace and war, and Imperial seals of jade which had set their mark on many an important document.

Among the famous paintings of the Tang, Sung, Yuan, Ming, and Ching periods were landscapes depicting the beauty and harmony of nature which

invited you to step in and enjoy a tranquil life; horses that looked ready to trot out from the picture; fish that seemed to be swimming in water; geese hissing and honking as if painted in sound; bamboo shadows that appeared to bend in the autumn breeze; lotus leaves fresh with morning dew; orchids that seemed to pour forth their mild scent into the air. Great painting in China meant to render not the likeness alone but the motion, sound, color, characteristics—all that would stir the imagination and evoke feeling. In other words, it tried to paint the spirit of the subject.

For two years the committee, with a staff of over a hundred persons, ransacked every recess of the vast palace for treasures of art and checked many hundreds of thousands of articles accumulated through generations of emperors. Some of the storerooms were sealed with spider webs and others had dust ankle deep, a sure sign that they had been a no-man's-land for a century or more. Some treasures had lain there unnoticed for many, many years, no one knew how long.

At long last the palace was thrown open to view and the Palace Museum established to exhibit its treasures. The public, especially the younger generation, opened their eyes at the riches and wonderful achievements of Chinese art through the centuries. Peking was already a center of art; connoisseurs were many and artists not lacking, and with the opening of the Palace Museum the city was much enriched. Things heretofore secluded in the depths of the palace were now revealed for anyone to see—things previously accessible only to the royal family were now open to the common people.

As science is the expression of the mind in knowing and searching for the laws of nature, art is the expression of the heart in feeling their reality. Art is an expression of the life of the people who create it, and makes life richer and more enjoyable. Science is the product of the activity of the mind in satisfying its intellectual interest, and creates material prosperity. In modern civilization the two must join hands to make life complete.

There was a chain of three lakes—the South, Middle, and North "Seas"—to the left of the Forbidden City, with camel-back bridges spanning the creeks between them, trees centuries old along the shores, lilies growing luxuriantly in the water, and pavilions perched on the surrounding heights with golden enamel tiles, vermilion columns, and artistically painted beams.

A fish caught some time ago in the lake, so the story has it, bore a gold plate with the sign of "Yung-lo" of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643).

In the Middle Sea was Yun Tai, an islet surrounded by lotus where the Emperor Kwang-hsü was imprisoned by the Empress Dowager after the unsuccessful reforms of 1898 and where he died broken-hearted in 1909[2] . On the island was a group of palace buildings with spacious courtyards. Moss-grown trees stood high above the yellow tiles of an intricate system of halls, pavilions linked together with winding corridors of vermilion beams and columns. Miniature hills with rocks and caves brought mountain scenes into the Imperial gardens. How much the unfortunate Emperor enjoyed life in his beautiful prison only Kwang-hsü and those who were with him could tell. During the long days of his lonely existence he was perpetually tortured by ailments of mind and body until death relieved him.

Water was formerly conducted into the lakes through stone conduits connected with springs in the Western Hills. Parts of these pipes still lay along the highways. The drainage system in Peking was a great engineering feat of the old days. Underground aqueducts resembling modern subway tunnels were constructed to drain the sewage from the city. During the latter part of the Manchu Dynasty they were all choked, but the system of yearly inspection of the drainage was still retained to the last days of the regime. In the early days inspectors were ordered to walk through the tunnels to see whether any section needed repair. Later, when passage was obstructed by deposits of dirt, they deceived the eyes of their superiors by a cunning method of cheating: two inspectors in uniform climbed down at one end of the aqueduct and stayed there, while another pair in identical uniforms, hidden at the other end, appeared as the inspector general rode by on his horse. The example illustrates how the spirit of the system had evaporated through years of stagnation while the system still remained as a symbol. This happened in many departments of the Imperial government in the later years. It was small wonder that the government of Imperial China had become a mere symbol.

Peking was a city of trees. In the spacious courtyards and gardens of private residences were moss-grown trees which shot heavenward with a wide spread of branches and luxuriant leaves. If you stood on Coal Hill or some other height, the city seemed to be built in a forest. Wide streets running parallel and crosswise like the lines in a checkerboard traversed the

"Bois de Boulogne" of Peking. By an old Imperial rule trees might be planted but never cut down in the capital. With the years people forgot about the rule but had acquired the good habit of loving trees—an instance in which the spirit got into the veins of the people while the system was forgotten. Here lies a secret of China's regeneration.

Few of those who have lived in Peking will fail to retain the pleasant memory of its palaces and other public buildings with their gleaming tiles under the cloudless blue. Imperial parks and gardens were blessed with junipers planted in rows and squares centuries ago and filling the air with soothing scent. Restaurants with exquisite cuisine were always ready to satisfy the wants of the epicure. Curio shops displayed antiques and jades, catering to connoisseurs. Public and private libraries preserved centuries of wisdom on their shelves and in archives. Most remote of all were the oracle bones which threw light on that misty era of Chinese history, the Shang Dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.)[3] . And there was the awe-inspiring Altar of Heaven, which made one feel the grandeur of nature and the sublimity of the spirit of man.

Only yesterday, comparatively speaking—in 1898—the modern National University of Peking was founded as a direct successor to the centuries-old Imperial Academy, *Kuo-tse-chien*, in an atmosphere of centuries of accumulated culture. This institution served both as a center of the old culture and a fountain of new wisdom. Scholars, artists, musicians, writers, and scientists came to Peking to develop their minds and enrich their hearts in the congenial atmosphere of the ancient city. There the inspiration of the past, the influence of contemporary thought, and hope for the future flowed into one inseparable stream of wisdom, and the youth of the country came and drank at its fountain.

[2] 光绪去世于1908年11月14日。此处应为作者笔误。

[3] 商朝（公元前1600—前1046）。

CHAPTER 24 LIFE IN THE FOUR CITIES

Hangchow was the city of natural beauty; Shanghai that of foreign manufactures; Nanking, of revolutionary spirit; Peking, of the golden age—of art and leisure. In my childhood I was reared in a small village in Chekiang, lived among the farmers and craftsmen and played with their children. During my boyhood I was educated in the city of Hangchow and later in Shanghai. When I returned from America my work required that I live, first in Shanghai, then in Peking, then in Nanking and Hangchow, and finally again in Peking until the beginning of the war.

As to their geography, Peking stands in the northern plain not far from the seaport of Tientsin, in the Huang-ho (Yellow River) Valley. It is a northern city, while the other three are southern cities of the Yangtze basin. Hangchow is situated on the banks of the river Chien-tang, where Hangchow Bay begins to spread its broad waters out to the ocean. In the old days Hangchow and Peking were connected by the Grand Canal, 2,074 kilometers long, which crosses both the Yangtze and the Yellow River. The Canal is still partly navigable to the present day.

Northeast of Hangchow, Shanghai perches on the banks of the Whangpoo River, which empties near the mouth of the Yangtze into the Yellow Sea—a body of water which is an integral part of the Pacific, different only in name. Nanking lies a little inland, farther north and west of the other two, along the southern bank of the Yangtze. Not far down the river from it the Grand Canal crosses the Yangtze at Yangchow, where Marco Polo resided as magistrate under the Mongol Dynasty. The four cities are all connected now by railways. Generally speaking, they all border on the Pacific.

The southern cities of the lower Yangtze Valley have approximately the same climate. Spring and autumn days are very pleasant. Sprouting willows are signs of the coming of spring—joyous spring seekers pluck the budding branches and bring them home to decorate their doors as symbols of welcome. When the leaves turn red they tell the coming of fall, and the crimson leaves in the setting autumn sun lend inspiration to poets. The damp

season falls in spring, when there is plenty of rain; during the other seasons sunshine and rain are about evenly distributed. Summer and winter are not severe.

The soil is fertile. Rice is the chief product. Sericulture is a family industry. Fish, shrimps, crabs, eels, pork, mutton, beef, vegetables, and fruits abound. Out of these materials the famous Yangchow cuisine was created.

Shanghai was the financial center of the Yangtze Valley. It owed its growth to the commercial and industrial activities of the foreigner. Foreign capital was the foundation of its economic structure and foreign merchants and capitalists its aristocrats, before whom all the Chinese living in the city bowed their heads. These foreigners lived a life by themselves. Even if they had been there for several decades, China remained to many of them a *terra incognita*. They lived in beautiful mansions with spacious gardens and were served like lords by obedient Chinese servants. The masters got rich by exploitation and the servants got their modest share of profit by petty "squeeze." Their clubs excluded the Chinese worth knowing; their libraries excluded the books that were worth reading. Their minds were full of arrogance, ignorance, bigotry, and racial prejudice, but were closed like clams to such science and art as the great masters of their own people had created and were creating, and to the new ideas and new movements that were growing in China or in their own countries. Their life had no higher ideal than the amassing of money.

Second in rank to these foreigners, the Chinese compradors shared their masters' ignorance and their money. Compradors of foreign banks and concerns were held in high esteem by the Chinese merchants. When they looked up to their masters and opened their mouths for a bone, their compatriots wagged their tails sympathetically, their mouths watering. The compradors, like alchemists, spent their time turning coppers into silver, while their foreign masters transformed silver into gold. They spent a part of their silver in getting concubines; their masters were much smarter and spent only gold on their "friends."

The third class of people in Shanghai were the merchants and shopkeepers. They waited on the doorsteps of the compradors to buy foreign manufactured goods. When they made money they sent it back home to buy land. Occasional visits to their families, who as a rule lived in their native

villages, towns, or cities, brought "inspiration" to the provincial folk, and thus more relatives came back to Shanghai to share their business.

I can speak of these things that existed in Shanghai with intimacy and without exaggeration, for many of my relatives were merchants and some were compradors in that city. I know well their mode of life and their ways of thinking; I also knew quite a few foreigners there and have heard many stories about them. Enlightened foreigners, especially the Americans whom I knew well, shook their heads with knit brows when we talked about Shanghai.

The fourth class were the factory workers. They were surplus farmers or those who had given up farming to come to the great city to make more money. They were slum-dwellers.

The fifth and last were the rickshaw coolies, who came from the poor districts north of the Yangtze. These human animals pulled and ran like horses on their two hind legs, with small carriages rolling after them. This cheaper and handier means of communication kept Shanghai constantly in motion—the coolies kept the blood circulating in the city's business veins.

These five classes of people together formed what came to be called the "Settlement mind"—the mentality which grew in the Foreign Settlement of Shanghai. It is a mind which worships power and admires superficialities. Power, whether financial, military, extraterritorial, or in any other form, superficiality bordering on vulgarity in painting, calligraphy, singing, music, and every phase of life. These reigned supreme in Shanghai. *Hai-pai*, or the "Shanghai School," was the epithet invented for this kind of mentality; the opposite is *Ching-pai*, or the "Peking School," which admires the arts in their deeper meaning and strives for perfection. Shanghai was a financial sea but an intellectual desert.

People were all busy as ants at their hoarding. The more they piled up, the more they were admired. In Shanghai both Western and Chinese civilizations were at their worst. The Chinese misinterpreted the West and foreigners misunderstood the Chinese; the Chinese hated the foreigners, who in turn despised the Chinese, both with reason. But they had one thing in common—their equally deculturated state; and one mutual understanding—hoarding. These two elements welded Chinese and foreigners together in a common brotherhood of money. "You exploit me, I squeeze you."

There were oases in the desert, and in them lay the redeeming feature of Shanghai. In the first decade of the century extraterritoriality here afforded a refuge and clearinghouse for revolutionary ideas and literature. The seeds of the theory of evolution and the ideas of democracy were first sown in these oases and blown far and wide to the intellectual centers of China. While in other parts of China they grew into giant trees, in international Shanghai they remained dwarfs. In the 'twenties a rapid growth of Chinese industry took place in and around the Settlement, protected from the exploitation of warlords by the same extraterritoriality. When returned students came into financial and industrial power, the Chinese began to put into use foreign tricks of management and production, learned, however, more often directly from Europe and America than from the foreigners of Shanghai.

The life of Peking must be painted in other colors, as we have already seen. Aside from beautiful palaces and Imperial gardens, one's first impression was that there seemed to be only two classes of people in the city: those who pulled rickshaws and those who were pulled in them. But when you lived there longer you discovered that there were various classes among those who rode. It would be difficult to find any "top" classes; there were simply people of various professions coexisting side by side in a good, neighborly way. In the old days the Manchus were born aristocrats, but these had now vanished into the multitude. All men were born equal and their differences were of their own making. The only aristocracy was that of learning—the painters, the calligraphers, the poets, the philosophers, the historians, the literary men, and in recent times also the scientists and engineers.

The connoisseurs of art who could put their finger on the genuine amid the counterfeit; the craftsmen who made a thousand and one articles of art; the booksellers who were living bibliographies and the seal carvers who could make you feel your name worth preserving in artistic seals; the rug designers who beautified your floors and brightened up your living quarters—all lived side by side in the enjoyment of knowing or making things for the enjoyment of others. Knowledge and crafts were the keynote of life in Peking.

All could find some leisure in the day to enjoy beautiful things in many different ways. You might drop into an old, dingy-looking bookstore, converse with the man in charge and glance over the books on the shelf; you

would feel that your mind was being led into the treasure of knowledge of the past and of the present. You might spend two or three hours there if you liked—when you left you would be invited courteously to come again. You need not buy unless you wanted to.

You might go into a curio shop if you felt like it, to look over all the beautiful things, both genuine and clever imitations, and enjoy them to your heart's content. You would be always welcome whether you bought or not at the time. But once you became interested you would very likely spend the last dollar you had counted on for supper.

You might go to a theatre and hear the singing of some of the great actors. It was perfect in every detail, touching the strings of your heart, which vibrated with every note. Or you could go to the Palace Museum and admire the treasures of art created by geniuses of the past. In this atmosphere of arts that always strive after perfection and the deeper meaning of life there grew up the mentality I have just mentioned which came to be called Ching-pai.

If you preferred you might go to the Imperial Gardens and sit under the moss-grown trees sipping tea, or upon the ancient rocks on one of the artful little miniature hills, watching the geese swimming in the pond. On holidays one could go by donkey, rickshaw, or automobile to the Western Hills to see historic spots and breathe air laden with the fragrance of hoary pines.

In seeking wholesome pleasures scholars, artists, craftsmen, scientists, and engineers all united in their enjoyment of old Peking. At work, they carried on their activities in widely diverse fields. The scientists worked in their laboratories to make contributions to the stock of human knowledge, the engineers went back to their slide rules and drawing tools, the scholars buried themselves in books to reconstruct from the past ideas and ideals for the future. The craftsmen produced more beautiful goods; the artists, having drawn inspiration from nature and from the past, cast their mental images on paper or in other materials with their deft fingers.

Years of trouble and war had left Peking undisturbed. Governments had come and gone but the fine old city remained the same. As we have seen, the name was changed to Peiping when the capital of China was removed to Nanking. Peiping, however, still remained Peking and has a good chance to be the capital again in the future. With the shift of the capital a portion of Peking went to the new seat of government—some of the scholars and artists,

the architectural design and treasures of art—but the atmosphere and flavor of Peking remained unchanged. Railways and airplanes kept the blood of the two cities interflowing to mutual advantage.

Nanking is different. It is a city that had to be built upon ruins. In the new capital there reigned a spirit of building up the new structure and tearing down old remains. In Peking, people were nurtured on old glories while they cast their minds into the future. But Nanking had no past to rely upon except memories; everything had to be built anew. Therefore in the collective mind all was thinking, planning, and work, and life kept pace with these activities. Everybody was busy attending meetings and carrying out orders. The atmosphere was always tense. The leisurely spirit of Peking could not have flowered in Nanking.

On the streets pedestrians hustled, rickshaw coolies dashed by; even the inert donkeys fell in with the rapid flow of traffic with hurried steps. Every month new streets shot through old blocks and new houses sprang up like mushrooms. Everywhere was growth—rapid growth.

Even pleasure had to be secured through hard work. Restaurants served delicious food in congested corners, waiting for new quarters under construction. People planned gardens and waited impatiently for the trees to grow. Things you wanted had to be improvised. Without constant constructive activity you fell out of line and were left behind; you had to keep up with the spirit of the time. After some six or seven years of hard work Nanking became a new and prosperous city. Old ruins were fast disappearing while the spirit of thinking, planning, and work was constantly growing, and it radiated to other cities in the provinces and into the future of the country.

Your mind ran ahead into the future to catch up with the spirit of progress in the world. But your steps were necessarily slower—too slow to keep pace with your mind. You can plant trees but you cannot make them shoot skyward overnight; railways and highways must be laid yard by yard; policies of reform have to be carried out day by day. Then, you would think, what is all this hustle and bustle for?

What people sometimes felt about their effort may be summed up in words current and typical in those times: "Discussions ended with no decisions, decisions ended with no actions, and actions ended with no results." It was not really as bad as that. But one thing was certain: people felt

their work did not measure up to the efforts made. And that was the spirit of progress.

Hangchow had something of all three of the other cities, yet it was different from them all. It was like Peking in its old culture, for it is the capital of a province of scholars; yet it lacked the grandeur of the former capital of China. Like Shanghai it was tinged with commercialism, yet more lightly, while the absence of foreign overlords left the city freedom for self-expression. It was something like Nanking in its spirit of reforms and reconstruction. But it was provincial-minded, as Peking and Nanking were national-minded. Hangchow is the city of a province in China, while the others are cities of China.

The great asset of the city is the West Lake, which not only supplied the richness of nature but retained the pleasant associations of generations of poets and scholars who once lived there. Hangchow's shortcomings also lie in its historic scene. For its people so treasured the lake that they could not look beyond its horizons; they fooled themselves into thinking it greater than the Pacific Ocean and as alluring as the veriest Paradise on earth. They were, in fact, hypnotized into believing the proverbial saying: "In the heavens you have Paradise and on earth you have Soochow and Hangchow." Just forget Soochow, they would think; Hangchow is here and Paradise is with us.

So Hangchow is West-Lake-minded. If you stayed there too long you were in danger of being engulfed, like the lovers of the South Seas; you would grow and wither there, and become complacent in life.

But the spirit of reforms and reconstruction emanating from Nanking awakened Hangchow from its slumber. Rubbing its eyes, it began to see the possibilities of future development of the province and the part it was to play in the rebuilding of China.

Peking, too, had its broad and tranquil water view. Outside the walled city, from the tops of the Western Hills, one had a bird's-eye panorama of the valley with the river Yunting winding its gentle way through vast tracts of cultivated land. The pagodas in the city were visible to the east. To the west the Marco Polo Bridge spanned the river where it lay like a sleeping dragon undisturbed through peace and war. Under this long, historical bridge the muddy, loess-laden water flowed steadily, day and night, month after month and year by year.

The name "Yunting" means "perpetual stability" or "everlasting peace." Was peace everlasting? The Chinese cherished that hope, and so we gave the river its name and then did little to make the peace secure. Finally it slipped from our hands and vanished into the flowing water under that very bridge. For at that bridge, on July 7, 1937, the first shots were fired by the Japanese army in the undeclared war which ultimately set all China aflame. Japan had become intoxicated with the cup of seeming success. And in the Japanese magic box the flames of China were transformed into a streak of lightning that blasted Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

第五部 中国生活面面观

陋规制度

凡是亲见清室覆亡的人都知道：满清政府失败的主要原因之一就是财政制度的腐败。公务人员的薪水只是点缀品，实际上全靠陋规来维持。陋规是不公开的公家收支，为政府及社会所默认的。以现在用语来说，好像我们大家所称的黑市。这种办法削弱了公务人员的公德心，也使他们把不规则的收入看成理所当然的事。清廷对官吏的这种收入视若当然，常说"规矩如此"，竟把陋规变成规矩了。这些官吏对下属营私舞弊也就开只眼闭只眼。如果拿一棵树来比喻政府的话，这种陋规的毒汁可以说已经流遍树上的每一枝叶，每一根芽。

政府只要求税收机关向国库缴纳定额的税款。主持税收的官吏可以利用各式各样的藉口和理由，在正规赋税之外加征各种规费。这样一来，如果有一两银子到了国库，至少也另有一两银子成了陋规金。在满清末年，"漏"入私人腰包的钱远较缴入国库的钱为多。清廷需用浩繁，只好一味向官吏需索。官吏向民间搜刮，结果官场陋规愈来愈多，人民负担也愈来愈重。乾隆皇帝几次下江南，开支浩大，都靠官吏孝敬、民间搜刮而来，清代在乾隆朝为极盛时代，而衰运亦在此时开始。

清代后期，征税与捐官等方法均未能使清廷达到筹款的目的，因此不得不乞灵于借贷外债，而以让渡铁路建筑权或矿产开采权为交换条件。这自然是饮鸩止渴的办法。现在或许还有人记得清廷将四川省内铁路收归国有，以为转让筑路权予外国公司之张本，结果触发了辛亥革命的导火线。时遭光绪帝国丧，地方士绅披麻带孝，头顶"德宗景皇帝神位"，长跪于总督衙门之前，哭呼先帝，保佑四川，不使铁路收归国有，弄得政府啼笑皆非。

所谓陋规制度究竟是怎么一种办法呢？中国当时分为二十二行省，大约包括两千个县。县的行政首长是知县，他不但掌管一县的财政，同时还是一县的司法官。他的薪水每月不过数两银子，简直微不足道。因此他的一切费用都只能在陋规金上开支。如果上级官员经过他那一县，他除了负责招待之外，还得供应旅途一切需要财物。对于上级官员的随员也得送"礼"，所谓"礼"通常都是送的钱。

我的故乡余姚城外的姚江岸上有一座接官亭，这是各县都有的。如

果有上级官员过境，知县就在亭里迎候。大约六十年前的一个下午，我发现亭子附近聚了一大堆人。我赶过去一看，原来是大家在观望学台和他的随行人员纷纷下船；有些上岸。这位学台正预备去宁波主持郡试。前一日，知县已经从老百姓手中 "抓"去好几条大船，那条专为这位学台预备的船上装了好几只加封条的箱子，至于箱子里面装些什么，自然只有经手的人才知道了。

我遥望着学台等一行换了船，学台踏上最华丽的一只，随后这只载着官吏和陋规礼金的小型舰队就扬帆顺着退潮驶往宁波去了。那种气派使我顿生"大丈夫当如是也"的感触。我心里说从今以后一定要用功读书，以便将来有一天也当起学台享受封藏在箱子里面的神秘礼物。

知县还得经常给藩台的幕僚送礼，否则他就别想他们给他在藩台面前说好话；如果搞得不好，这些师爷们还可能在公事上吹毛求疵呢。各种礼金加起来，一个知县为保宦海一帆风顺所化的钱就很可观了。同时人情世故也告诉他必须未雨绸缪，何况他还得养活一家大小以及跟随他的一班人呢！

有靠山的候补知县无不垂涎收入比较大的县份。以我的故乡余姚县而论，就我所能记忆的，没有一个知县在我们的县里任职一年以上。正常的任期是三年，一位知县如果当上三年，大概可以搜刮到十万元叮当作响的银洋。这在当时是很大的数目。因此藩台只派些代理知县，任期通常一年。这样一来，候补知县们的分肥机会也就比较多了。

知县任满离职时，通常都得正式拜望藩台一次，藩台总要问一声他的缺好不好。当时对于所补的职位叫做缺，也就是等于问他得到了多少陋规金，他的亲朋戚友与他谈话，也常常以同样的问题做开场白，说"老兄你的缺想必很好罢"。

经手政府收支的官吏，官阶愈高，"漏"入他私人腰包的数目也愈大。据说上海道台每年可以获利十万两银子。所以上海道的缺，是全国缺中最肥的。富庶省份的藩台、督抚以及北京有势力的王公大臣，每年的收入也都很可观。

连平定太平天国之乱的学者政治家曾国藩也赞成陋规制度。他曾在一封信里为陋规制度辩护，认为要顺利推行政务，就不得不如此；他说一个官吏的必要开支太大，而且还得赡养一家和亲戚。咸丰同治年间住在北京的名士李莼客曾在日记里抱怨总督张之洞送他的"礼"太轻。过了几天日记里又有一段记载，为："午后至陶然亭，张之洞来，我避之。"可见张之洞从陋规金中提出来赠与李莼客的礼太轻，结果就得罪

了这位名士了。

在满清时代，有前程的候补官员只要化很少的钱，甚至不必出钱，就会有仆从跟随他们。这些仆从们也会含辛茹苦地追随不舍，希望有朝一日他们的主人时来运转，他们也就可以分享陋规了。如果真的吉星高照，主子和奴才就沆瀣一气，大刮一笔。如果流年不利，官爵迟迟不能到手，仆从们也还株守不去，直至最后一线希望消灭时为止。一些倒霉的主人，受不住饥寒煎熬，只好投缳自尽，以求解脱。我在杭州读书时，曾经听说有一位赋闲多年的候补知县，因为受不住债主催逼，结果在大除夕自缢了。

变相的陋规恶习甚至流布于小康之家，厨子买菜时要揩油，仆人购买家用杂物时也要捞一笔。尤其在北平，仆人们来买东西时，商店照规矩会自动把价格提高一成，作为仆人们的佣金，这在北平通俗叫做"底子钱"。

这种变相的陋规之风甚至吹到外国而进入拿破仑的家里。拿破仑有个中国厨子，服务周到而热心。这位伟大的法国将军临死时记起他的忠仆，就吩咐他的左右说："你们要好好地待他，因为他的国家将来是要成为世界最伟大的国家之一的。不过这位中国朋友很爱钱的，你们给他五百法郎罢！"自然，中国人并非个个如此。哥伦比亚大学的丁良（译音）中国文学讲座基金，就是为纪念一位中国洗衣工人而设的，基金的来源是他一生辛勤浆洗衣服的积蓄。丁良临死时把一袋金子交给他的东家，托付他做一点有益于中国的事。这位东家就拿这笔钱，再加上他自己的一笔捐款，在哥大设置了中国文学讲座，来纪念这位爱国的洗衣工人。

陋规之风更弥漫了整个厘金制度，厘金制度像一个硕大无朋的章鱼把它的触须伸展到全国的每一条交通线上，吮吸着国内工商业的血液。厘金是在太平天国时期设置的，旨在筹措战费以供应清廷士卒。太平军虽然被平定，厘金却始终未取消。

厘金方面的陋规大致是这样的：凡是懂得如何敲诈老百姓的人都可以向政府经纪人出价投标，只要他出价高，譬如说一年二十万块钱，他就可以获得在某一关卡或若干关卡征收厘金的权利。这些关卡通常设在官道上的货物必经之地，得标的人就成为此一关卡的厘卡委员，受权向过往的货物征税。如果他能在一年之内收到三十万块钱，他把二十万缴交政府，其余的钱就归他本人及其合伙者所有。因此他规定大多数的货物都得抽税，以便充实他们的私囊。

有一次我看到一条装西瓜的木船从关卡附近的一座桥下经过。这条船马上被岸上伸下来的一根竹柄挠钩拦住了，同时岸上跳下好几位稽查，用铁棒往西瓜堆里乱戳乱搿。西瓜主人慌了手脚，哀求他们手下留情，同时答应他们，要缴多少税收就缴多少税。"税"缴过以后，这位可怜的农夫才得继续鼓棹前进。

小商人和农夫对厘金无不深恶痛绝，如果有机会，每一个人都愿意把关卡砸个稀烂。有一次，一群青年士子乘船去参加科举，途经一处厘金关卡，卡上着令停船，他们根本不予理睬。稽查们扣住船只，并且开始搜检行李。这群士子蜂拥上岸，冲进关卡，见物就砸，结果把关卡打得落花流水。只留下那面象征朝廷权威，上面写着"奉旨征收厘金"的旗子低垂在空中，围观的群众以不胜钦慕的目光伫望着这些士子扬长而去。

辛亥革命以后，陋规制度逐渐被戢止，厘金制度亦于稍后废止。官吏的薪俸也提高了。但是贪污案件还是屡见不鲜，仆役间的揩油风气迄今未衰。有一位太太骂她的厨子揩油揩得太贪心，结果与厨子大吵其架。有人批评这厨子贪心得像条饿狼，他的答覆是："如果一个人不贪心，他也就不会当厨子了。"

北京某大使馆的厨子每买一个鸡蛋，就向主人索价一毛，大使秘书的厨子为主人买蛋，却只索价五分钱一只。大使夫人问："为什么我买鸡蛋要比秘书太太多化钱呢？"她的厨子答道："太太，大使的薪水要比秘书先生的高呀！"汽车主人也常常发现汽油箱"漏"油，原因就是司机"揩"油。不必要的修理，更使保养费大得惊人。

自从民国十六年（一九二七年）国民党执政以来，中国一直在设法阻遏政府中的贪污风气，并且规定了几种对贪污舞弊的严厉罚则。但是陋规制度在清朝以前就已存在。数百年的积习，不是几年之内，甚至二三十年之内所能完全革除的。自从现代财政制度建立，公家道德逐渐提高以后，中国已经革除了很多积弊。行政技术正与时俱进，相信她在不久的将来一定可以达到组织健全的现代国家的水准，征收赋税和控制财政的有效办法也会渐次建立。不幸当时内乱外患并乘，致使功败垂成。

我们中国人一向相信人之初性本善，认为邪恶的产生只是缺乏正当的教育而使善良的本性湮没，中国社会风气的败坏导源于腐朽的财政制度，而非缺乏责任感。但是这种制度对社会风气产生极大的不良影响，因此我们迄今仍蒙受其遗毒。

实际的例子已经指出，补救之道在于建立良好的制度，来接替腐败

的制度。单单废止坏制度，还是不够的。英国人为中国建立的关税制度，一开始就摆脱了陋规的恶劣影响。海关雇员都经过良好的训练，薪俸也相当优厚，退休之后还有充裕的养老金。徇情偏私的情形很少发生。中国为了保证偿付外债而把国家重要收入的控制权交付给外国政府，这原是国家的奇耻大辱，而且严重威胁到主权的完整，但是因此而建立关税制度却是中国的意外收获。

邮政也是根据西方制度建立的。创办迄今，行政效率始终很高。就是在漫长的内战时期，邮递工作也从未中断。抗战期间，日军占领区与中国大后方之间，邮递一直畅通无阻，邮差们常常穿越火线把邮件送达收件人手里。

盐务机构是另一实例。八年抗战期间，人民的这种日用必需品始终供应无缺。

治黄河的河督衙门从前一向以陋规制度闻名于世；事实上著名的山东菜和河南菜就是这些食厌珍馐、腰缠万贯的治黄老爷们光顾的结果。同样地，扬州菜之所以出名，就是因为贪图口福的扬州盐商而来。

黄河水利委员会成立以后，改由受过现代训练的工程师主持疏浚工作，陋规制度也就随滚滚河水冲入黄海去了。老饕已随陋规制度消失，只有烹饪艺术依旧存在。美食家至今对扬州菜赞不绝口，但是自从组织完善的现代盐务制度建立以后，倡导扬州菜的盐商已无法立足了。

这些成就可以说是依赖外国协助而来的。但是我要请问：这些成就究竟由于外国人的良好道德，还是由于他们介绍到中国来的良好制度呢？没有健全的品德，这些制度固然无法实行，但是单凭外国人的道德难道就能收到预期的效果吗？单凭少数高居要津的外国专家就能够制止千千万万中国职员的不法行为吗？海关、盐务、邮政之所以成功，还是靠良好制度下的基层中国职员的通力合作。这就是孟子所谓："徒善不足以为政，徒法不足以自行。"

中国的现代银行制度和铁道管理也是值得称道的实例。一般而论，银行与铁路的行政效率都很高，而且没有银钱上的重大舞弊案件。

中国的现代大学除了实事求是的学术立场之外，也是经费从无私弊的又一实例。抗战期间，因为物价高昂，教授生活非常清苦，但是他们始终辛苦工作，力求维持学术水准。绝大多数的学生，除了接受现代训练之外，在教授和大学当局的良好影响之下，对于如何诚实而有效地运用公款，也自然养成正确的观念和良好的习惯。

最重要的是对公款处理的态度已经起了根本的转变，过去大家都默认甚至赞扬陋规制度，到了抗战以前的几年，有识之士不但讨厌它而且随时加以讥讽，这种风气的转变，再加采用现代方法，当时我们相信对于将来公共行政各方面的经费处理，必将发生重大良好的影响。

要消灭仆役、厨子和司机的揩油行为可难得多了。或许要经过五六十年之后才能提高这些人的经济地位，在他们的经济地位确切提高以前，我们无法奢望他们临财不苟。如果真的到了那一天，也许我们已经不容易找到愿意当家庭仆役的人了。抗战时我在昆明居留的八年期间，我倒在我的佣人中碰到过一位男仆、一位女佣和一位司机从来没有揩过油。

社会组织和社会进步

一般人都说中国的四万万人像一盘散沙，如果说中国的人是由许多自治的小单位构成的，倒更切近事实。中国的民主体制包括千千万万的这种单位，由几千年来累积下来的共同的语言、共同的文化和共同的生活理想疏松地联系在一起。这些或大或小的单位是以家庭、行业和传统为基础而形成的。个人由这些共同的关系与各自治团体发生联系，因此团体内各分子的关系比对广大的社会更为亲切。他们对地方问题比对国家大事了解较深。这就是立宪国会失败的症结，也是老百姓听凭军阀统治的原因。我们在前面曾经一再提到"天高皇帝远"的观念，帝制时代的这种观念就是上述心理状态产生的。

个人如非因特殊事故与所属社会破裂，永远是小单位的一部分，但是各单位之间并无全国性的组织使其密切团结。这是中国国民生活中的优点，同时也是弱点。好处在于使中国生活民主，虽经数百年之战乱以及异族[2] 之入侵而仍能屹立无恙，坏处在于中央政权软弱无能，因而易遭异族侵凌。

中国人民生活中这些单位的存在是有它历史的背景的。它们是几千年历史演变的结果。我们的祖先逐渐向人口比较稀少的地区迁移时，他们总是成群结队而行，在各地构成许多独立的部落，这些部落后来便发展为自治的村庄或乡镇。广大的中华帝国就是千百年来由这些聚族而居者向边疆和平原拓殖而形成的。近年来由于研究中国各地方言的结果，我们已经追溯出这种发展的途径。我们发现广东话与唐朝的口语有密切的关系，因此我们可以推断多数的广东人是唐朝的后裔。迁到广东较晚的移民又另行形成不同的部落，所说的方言也迥然不同，那就是我们所谓的客家话。客家话所显示的语言特征是属于近世纪的。甚至长江流域各地方言之间的些微差别，也可以隐约显示拓殖过程中的先后。

第十世纪，唐朝灭亡，中国北方普遍遭塞外入侵的异族蹂躏，因而也加速了中国人口的南迁。南方各省，尤其是广东、湖北和浙江一带，不易遭受外族的侵略，所受战祸较轻，因此就成了中国文化的蓄水库，并在过去六七十年内灌溉了新中国大块的土地。

如果要使某一改革对国家统一与团结切实有效，这种改革必须直接使这些古老的区域单位在家庭制度上、行业上和传统上发生某种程度的变化，反过来说，这些单位系共同的语言、文化和生活理想所维系，那么任何经由共同语言所产生的文化和理想的变化，也势必影响这些社会

集团的生活，并且进而影响国家的生活。

外国商品开始影响中国行业时，中国就开始变化了，维系中国社会的三条绳索之一因而松散。这是受现代影响的最初改变，这种改变人们是不大知道的。以后现代思想经由书籍、报纸和学校制度等输入中国，又松散了传统这一条绳索。最后留下来的一条绳索——家庭的联系，也终于不得不随其他两条绳索一起松散。

人们因探索新的有效的团结而引起各式各样的纷乱。首先受到新思潮影响的是学生，首先闹事的也是他们；新兴工业的工人丧失了旧日行业的维系力量，因此也就跟着学生一起滋生事端。军阀之间的内战，宪政的失败，以及败坏风气的陋规制度，既未阻止旧有社会组织的瓦解，亦未阻滞社会的进步。军阀所引起的祸患只是中国广大的"社会之海"面上的泡沫。不论有没有互相残杀的军阀，或者声誉扫地的国会，或者败坏风气的陋规，海面底下的潜流仍在滚滚而进。军阀、国会、陋规只是浮面上的祸患，那些自治单位本身仍然宁静如恒，在道德方面也洁净无瑕。

在悠久的历史过程中，尤其在唐朝末年以后中国的国防一直很脆弱，因为侵略她的异族全部组织严密，随时准备作战，而中国的社会组织却是升平世界的产物。国防部队是由太平无事的社会中征募来的，维持这些军队的中央政府也只是一个和平社会上层的空架子。

明室领导下的汉族之所以能推翻蒙古人所建立的元朝，并非由于汉人本身的军事力量，而是由于蒙古人本身力量的衰竭。成吉思汗的子孙在欧亚两大陆连年征战之后，武力已消耗殆尽。中国在明成祖御宇期间，曾经组织成一支强大的军队，并且征服了满洲的大部分；但是成祖驾崩以后，这支军队的实力也就日趋式微。骁勇善战的满洲人在关外崛起以后，明室对鞑靼入侵简直束手无策，结果没有经过激烈战斗，明朝就亡在满洲人手里了。满清入主中国一百余年以后，结果也染上了汉人的和平习气，等到西方列强的兵舰来攻击中国时，清室也是同样束手无策。

日本研究历史的结果，认为历史是会重演的，因此就在一八九四年发动对中国大陆的攻击。到那一年为止，日本的设想并没有错。但是自从中国学到西方的"诀窍"以后，中国的历史演变途径就开始转向了。日本不是对这种转变懵然无知，就是有意防患于未然。无论动机如何，日本终于在三十年之后又向中国大陆发动了另一次战争。结果发现她的途程上障碍重重，使她大感意外。

日本遭遇的障碍就是中国的社会进步，日本已经看到高踞中国社会之上的腐败无能的北京帝制政府，这个政府的财政力量已经被陋规制度腐蚀殆尽；稍后日本又在水面上看到互相征战的军阀；但是她对过去五十年间在中国的浩瀚海洋之中缓慢地、然而不断地流动的潜流，却茫然无知。

在过去，秘密帮会是全国组织的维系力量。帮会弟兄生活于乡村单位之外而聚集于大城市附近或通商孔道。他们的主要目的是互相保护，抵制压迫，但是这种动机有时候会堕落为不法买卖。他们在内乱时可以表现相当大的力量，但是以之应付外国侵略却无多大用处。他们缺乏现代思想，也不懂什么叫社会进步。

现在的情形可不同了，全国千千万万自治单位的边缘，已经围集了充满国家观念和爱国热情的人，他们反对地域偏见和家族观念。这些人像蜜蜂一样绕着蜂巢喧嚷不休，最后就在蜂巢边缘聚集起来。从蜂巢里面溜出来参加巢外集团的个人愈来愈多。外面围集的群众数量增加以后，他们开始闯进蜂巢，终至影响了整个社会的生活。同时他们开始把自己组织为全国性的社会，拿中国作为他们的共同蜂巢。

中国现代的全国性社团就是这样形成的。轮船、公路、铁路、航空等交通网的迅速扩展，更加速了社团发展的过程。教育会、商会、工会、科学团体、工程学会、政治学会等社团都纷纷成立全国性组织。所有政党，包括国民党以及意见与其相左的政党，都鼓励人民考虑全国性的问题。大专学校吸收了家庭的分子，而把他们塑造成国家的领袖。学校都在努力把国家民族观念和爱国心灌输到新生一代正在发育的心灵里。

虽然内战频仍，各省的公立学校甚至在国家统一之前就已经增加了好几倍。私人常常以创办学校来表达他们的爱国忠忱。千千万万的小学毕业生，跑进本乡本土的自治社会，把爱国观念散布到全国的每一角落。

中日正沿长城作战时，我在内地旅行，途中看到一个孤单的小孩在扮军人作游戏。他把一棵树当作假想敌，拿他的匕首猛刺这棵树。然后他又想像敌人向他还击，他装出自卫的姿势，接着躺倒在地上，闭起眼睛自言自语说："我为国牺牲了！"显然地他在想像自己为保卫国家而抵抗日本侵略。抗战后期，我在后方边荒地区看到一个小孩拿铲子挖了一个小坟。坟挖成以后，他在坟上立了一个木牌，上书"汉奸"。那时少数重庆政要已经出亡投靠日本去了。有一次，一位矿冶工程师经过某山区，那里离最近的学校也有好几里路，他却看到几位小孩在他们村庄墙

上书写 "三民主义万岁！"这些例子可以显示全国性的团结力量已经代地方性的维系力量兴起了。

小孩子们在新的教育制度影响之下，大家都能拿纸折飞机抛在空中滑翔。他们制造小小的抽水机，也能做玩具汽车。他们开始养成研究机械的习惯，这对国家的未来工业化运动也是个良好的基础。

近年来轻工业的发展，从地方单位吸收了许多人，他们开始彼此联系，组成全国性的团体。广播从空中给人民带来许多新观念。风俗习惯、迷信、方言、民歌、宗教、家庭工业、垂危的本地行业及苦难农民的经济情况，都经过仔细调查，并且根据高等学府和学术团体所收集的资料很科学地加以研究。中国已开始从科学研究中了解她自己了。

五十年的动荡已经促使人们思索，他们的人生观开始转变了。他们希望在侵略威胁下从事有效的组织，以团结全国的力量，同时为国家的进步辛勤工作，期望能在混乱中创造安定。这种新生的社会意识和国家意识或许还不够坚强，因为它还不能充分应付战争。但是这种意识可以产生坚忍不拔的意志来进行坚强的抵抗。从这一方面来看，社会意识和国家意识的力量是惊人的。

[2] 异族：相较于汉族而言的少数民族。此处的“异族入侵”实指边疆的少数民族进入中原。其中，蒙古族、满族进入中原之后建立了全国性政权。

迷人的北京

正像巴黎继承了古罗马帝国的精神，北京也继承了中华帝国黄金时代的精神。巴黎是西方都市之都，北京则是东方的都市之都。如果你到过巴黎，你会觉得它不但是法国人的首都，而且是你自己的城市；同样地，北京不仅是中国人的都市，也是全世界人士的都市。住在巴黎和北平的人都会说："这是我的城市，我愿意永远住在这里。"

我在北京住了十五年，直到民国廿六年（一九三七年）抗战开始，才离开北京。回想过去的日子，甚至连北京飞扬的尘土都富于愉快的联想。我怀念北京的尘土，希望有一天能再看看这些尘土。清晨旭日初升，阳光照射在纸窗上，窗外爬藤的阴影则在纸窗上随风摆动。红木书桌上，已在一夜之间铺上一层薄薄的轻沙。拿起鸡毛帚，轻轻地拂去桌上的尘土，你会感到一种难以形容的乐趣。然后你再拂去笔筒和砚台上的灰尘；笔筒刻着山水风景，你可以顺便欣赏一番，砚台或许是几百年来许多文人学士用过的，他们也像你一样曾经小心翼翼地拂拭过它。乾隆间出窑的瓷器，周朝的铜器，四千年前用于卜筮的商朝甲骨，也有待你仔细揩擦。还有静静地躺在书架上的线装书，这些书是西方还不懂得印刷术以前印的。用你的手指碰一碰这些书的封面，你会发现飞扬的尘土已经一视同仁地光顾到这些古籍。

拂去案头杂物上的灰尘，你会觉得已经圆满地完成这一早晨的初步工作。阳光映耀，藤影摇曳的纸窗在向你微笑，纤尘不染的书桌以及案头摆设的古董在向你点头；于是你心满意足地开始处理你这一天的工作。

这种古色古香的气氛可以使你回想到孔夫子设帐授徒的春秋时代；或者景教徒初至中国的唐朝时代；或者耶稣会教士在明朝制造天文仪器的时代；或是拿破仑长驱直入俄罗斯，迫得饮街灯灯油的时代；或者回想到成吉思汗派遣他的常胜军直入多瑙河盆地，建立横跨欧亚两大洲的蒙古帝国，并且把北京定为他的一位儿子的京城[1] 。我们可以从北京正确地了解历史，因为北京不仅像大自然一样伟大，而且像历史一样悠久。它曾是五个朝代的京城，一代继替一代兴起，一代又接着一代灭亡，但是北京却始终屹立无恙。

皇宫建筑都是长方形的，而且很对称地排得像一张安乐椅，中间有一个宽阔的长方形天井，天井中央摆着一只青铜镀金的大香炉，点了香，香烟就袅袅地升入天空。宫门前站着一排排的铜鹿，宫门口则有雄

踞着的一对对石狮或铜狮把守。这种三面围着雄伟建筑的天井，数在一百以上，星罗棋布在紫禁城内，紫禁城的周围是一座长方形的黄色城墙，城墙四角矗立着黄瓦的碉楼。北京皇城由元朝开始建造，明朝时曾予改建，清朝再予改良而成目前的形式。

碰到晴空澄碧、艳阳高照的日子，宫殿屋顶的黄色釉瓦就闪耀生辉。在暮霭四合或曙色初露之时，紫禁城的大门——午门——上的谯楼映着苍茫的天色，很像半空中的碉堡。在万里无云的月夜，这些谯楼更像是月亮中的神仙官阙，可望而不可即。

民国成立以后，满清的末朝皇帝溥仪暂时仍统治着北京的这个城中之城，少数残留的清廷官吏还每隔半月觐见一次。这些官吏穿着旧日满清官服聚集在紫禁城的后门听候召见，仍执君臣之礼。民国十三年（一九二四年）冯玉祥入京，终于把溥仪逐出紫禁城。

政变后不久，我受命入故宫监督政府的一个委员会逐屋封闭各门。当时宫内还留有几个太监，我从他们口中得到好些有关宫廷生活的知识，以及过去许多皇帝、皇后、王子、公主等等的趣闻轶事。

其中一则故事涉及一面从天花板一直垂到墙脚的大镜子，据说慈禧太后喜欢坐在镜子前面，看看她自己究竟多威严。有一天陕西抚台奉命入宫觐见，他进门后首先看到镜子里的太后，于是马上跪倒对镜中人大叩其头。

"那末太后怎么样呢？我想她一定很生气吧！"我说。

"哦，不，不！她笑了，而且很和蔼地对他说：'你弄错了，那是镜子呀。'"

我遇到几个曾经侍候过王子读书的太监，但是这几个太监竟然全都目不识丁。宫廷规矩禁止他们受教育，因此他们对于王子念些什么始终毫无所知。

走廊上挂着许多鸟架，上面站着红色、黄色以及蓝色的鹦鹉，嘴里说着公主们花了不少时间教它们的话，"请进！客来了。倒茶……"一只蓝色的鹦鹉这样对我说，那只红色的和那只黄色的跟着喊："倒茶！倒茶！"这是我第一次看到蓝色的鹦鹉。金鱼在宫中的水池中追逐嬉戏，有白色的、黑色的、红色的和金色的。其中有许多几乎长达一尺，它们的潜望镜一样的眼睛朝天望着，它们的丝绸样的尾巴好像几柄相连的扇子在水中摇曳生姿。

溥仪住的宫殿看起来很俗气，大厅中央摆着一张似乎很粗俗的长长

的外国桌子，桌子四周放着几张丑陋的椅子。桌子上摆着一对红色的玻璃花瓶。这房间看起来倒很像美国乡下的次等客栈，真想不到就是中国皇帝的居室。所有的精美家具和艺术珍品已经被弃置而收拾到后宫去了。通商口岸的粗俗的西方文明已经侵入到皇宫；对照之下，使人觉得没有再比这更不调和的了。低级杂志四散各处，新切开的半只苹果和一盒新打开的饼干还放在桌子上。溥仪显然因事起仓卒，匆匆出走，无暇收拾房间。

后来各宫启封清点艺术珍藏时，奇珍拱璧之多实在惊人。其中有足以乱真的玉琢西瓜，有"雨过天青"色的瓷器，有经历三千年沧桑的铜器，还有皇帝御用的玉玺。

唐宋元明清的历代名画，更是美不胜收。有些山水画，描写大自然的美丽和谐，使人神游其中，乐而忘返；有些名家画的鸟维妙维肖，跃然纸上；鱼儿遨游水中，栩栩如生；鹅嘶鸡啼，如闻其声；竹影扶疏，迎风摇曳；荷塘新叶，晨露欲滴；兰蕙飘香，清芬可挹。中国的名画，不仅力求外貌的近似，而且要表现动态、声音、色泽和特征，希望启发想像，甚至激发情感。换一句话说，就是要描摹事物的神韵。

这个委员会包括一百多职员，两年中翻箱倒箧，搜遍了皇宫的每一角落，把历代帝王积聚下来的千万件奇珍异宝一一登记点验。有些仓库密密层层满是蜘蛛网，有些仓库的灰尘几乎可以淹没足踝，显见已经百年以上无人问津。有些古物已经好久没有人碰过，究竟多少，谁也不知道。

最后故宫终于开放，同时故宫博物院成立，主持古物展览事宜。一般民众，尤其是年轻的一代，总算大开眼界，有机会欣赏几百年来中国艺术丰富而伟大的成就。北京本来就是艺术中心，鉴赏家很多，艺术家也不少，故宫博物院开放以后，更使北京生色不少。过去深藏在皇宫后院的东西，现在大都可以欣赏了，过去只有皇室才能接触的东西，现在已经公诸大众。抗战初期，政府就把故宫古物南运，由北平而南京而西南内地。战后运回南京。复因战乱而运至台湾。现在台中所陈列之古物，就是从北平故宫运来的。

科学是心智探究自然法则的表现，艺术则是心灵对自然实体所感所触的表现。艺术是人生的一种表现，它使人生更丰富，更美满；科学是心智活动的产物，旨在满足知识上的欲望，结果就创造物质文明。在现代文明里，艺术与科学必须携手合作，才能使人生圆满无缺。

紫禁城之西，有三个互相衔接的湖，叫南海、中海和北海，湖与湖

之间的小溪上有似驼背形的石桥，沿湖遍植百年古木，湖里盛开着荷花，环湖的山峰上矗立着金黄色琉璃瓦、朱红柱子和雕梁画栋的亭子。据说有一次在湖中捕到一条鱼，鱼身上还挂着一块写着明朝（一三六八——一六四三）永乐年间放生的金牌。

中海之中有个瀛台，那是一个周围遍植荷花的小岛，一八九八年维新运动失败后，光绪皇帝就被慈禧太后囚禁在瀛台，后来在一九○九年死在那里。小岛上建着许多庭院宽敞的宫殿。长着绿苔的古树高高地俯盖着设计复杂的宫殿上的黄瓦，各亭台之间有迂回曲折的朱红色的走廊互相连接。御花园中建有假山，洞穴怪石毕具，使人恍如置身深山之中。至于不幸的光绪皇帝是否在这美丽的监狱里乐而忘忧，那恐怕只有光绪皇帝自己和跟随他的人才知道了。在他被幽禁的寂寞的日子里，他一直受着身心病痛的困扰，最后还是死神解脱了他的痛苦。

湖水原先是用石渠从西山转引来的泉水。公路旁边至今仍可发现部分残留的渠道。北京的下水道系统更是旧日的一项伟大的工程成就。用以排泄市内污水的地下沟渠很像现代地道车的隧道。到了清朝末期，所有这些下水道都淤塞了，但是每年检查下水道一次的制度却维持到清朝末年。早年时，检查人员必须身入下水道，从这一头查到那一头，看看有没有需要修补的地方。后来下水道垃圾淤塞，这些检查人员就用一种非常巧妙的手段欺蒙他们的上司：两个穿制服的检查员在下水道的一端爬下去躲起来，另外两个穿着同样制服的检查员则预先躲在另一端，检查官骑马到了出口处时，事先躲在那里的检查员也就爬出来了。这个例子也说明了这个下水道系统表面上虽然仍旧存在，但是它的精神却因多年来阳奉阴违的结果而烟消云散了。满清末年，这类事情在政府各部门都有发生，所以清廷终于只剩下一个空架子，实在毫不足奇。

北京满城都是树木。私人住宅的宽敞的庭院和花园里到处是枝叶扶疏、满长青苔的参天古木。如果你站在煤山或其他高地眺望北京，整个城市简直像是建在森林里面。平行交叉的街道像是棋盘上纵横的线条交织着北京的"林园"。根据由来已久的皇家规矩，北京城里只许种树，不准砍树。年代一久，大家已经忘记了这规矩，却在无形中养成爱护树木的良好习惯——这个例子说明了制度本身虽然已经被遗忘，但是制度的精神却已深植人心。中国新生的秘密就在这里。

在北京住过的人，很少人会忘记蔚蓝天空下闪闪发光的宫殿和其他公共建筑。颐和园和公园里有几百年前栽种的古松。有的成行成列，有的则围成方形，空气中充塞着松香。烹调精美的酒楼饭馆随时可以满足老饕们的胃口。古董铺陈列着五光十色的古玩玉器，使鉴赏家目不暇

接。公共图书馆和私人图书馆的书架上保存着几千年来的智慧结晶。年代最久的是商朝（公元前一七六六——前一一二二）的甲骨，这些甲骨使我们对中国历史上雾样迷的时代开始有了概念。此外还有令人肃然起敬的天坛。它使我们体会到自然的伟大和人类精神的崇高。

现代的国立北京大学于一八九八年成立，直接继承了国子监的传统，在几百年积累下来的文化氛围中，北京大学的成立几乎可以说只是昨天的事。北大不仅是原有文化的中心，而且是现代化智慧的源泉。学者、艺术家、音乐家、作家和科学家从各方汇集到北京，在这古城的和谐的氛围中发展他们的心智，培育他们的心灵。古代的文物，现代思想的影响，以及对将来的希望，在这里汇为一股智慧的巨流，全国青年就纷纷来此古城，畅饮这智慧的甘泉。

[1] 定都北京的应为元世祖忽必烈，成吉思汗之孙。

杭州、南京、上海、北京

杭州富山水之胜，上海是洋货的集散地，南京充满了革命精神，北京则是历代的帝都，也是艺术和悠闲之都。我出生在浙江省的一个小村里，童年时生活在农夫工匠之间，与他们的孩子共同嬉戏。少年时代在杭州读书，后来又在上海继续求学。留美回国以后，因为工作的关系先住在上海，继至北京、南京、杭州，最后又回到北京，一直到抗战开始。

就地理来说，北京位于黄河流域的华北平原，离天津不远。其余三地则是长江流域的南方城市。杭州位于杭州湾口钱塘江之岸，与北京之间从前有运河可通。运河全长二○七四公里，横越长江黄河两大河，至今仍有一部分可通舟楫。一千三百多年前，隋炀帝动员全国人力，筑此运河，河成而隋亡。唐皮日休有诗云：

"人道隋亡是此河，至今千里赖通波。

若无水殿龙舟事，共论禹功不较多。"

上海在杭州的东北，踞黄浦江之岸。黄浦江位于长江口而入黄海，所谓黄海实际上是与太平洋不可分的一部分，仅仅名称不同而已。南京离海较远，位于沪杭两地的西北，雄踞长江南岸。自南京沿长江东下可达扬州，运河即在此越江入江南，马哥·孛罗曾在元朝扬州当过太守。北京、南京、上海、杭州四城之间现在均有铁路互通，也可以说是太平洋沿岸的城市。

长江下游的江南都市，气候大致差不多，春秋两季的天气尤其温煦宜人。杨柳发芽就表示春天到了，游春的人喜欢采摘新枝回家装饰门户，表示迎春。树叶转红则表示秋天到了，夕阳红叶曾给诗人带来不少灵感。春天有一段雨季，雨水较多，其余三季晴雨参半，夏天不太热，冬天也不太冷。

土壤非常肥沃，主要农作物是稻，养蚕是普遍的家庭工业。鱼、虾、蟹、蚌、鳗、牛、羊、猪、蔬菜、水果遍地皆是，著名的扬州菜就是拿这些东西来做材料的。

上海是长江流域的金融中心。上海的繁荣应该归功于外国人的工商活动，外国资本是上海经济结构的基础，外国商人和资本家因而成为上海的贵族阶级，住在上海的人都得向这些洋人低头。这些洋人有他们自

己的生活圈子，许多外国人虽然在上海住了几十年，中国对他们却仍然是个"谜样的地方"。他们住在富丽幽邃的花园洋房里，有恭顺的中国仆人们侍候着，生活得有如王公贵族。主人们靠剥削致富，仆人们则靠揩油分肥。他们的俱乐部拒绝华人参加，似乎没有一个华人值得结识；他们的图书馆也没有一本值得一读的书。他们自大、无知、顽固，而且充满种族歧视，就是对于他们自己国内的科学发明和艺术创造也不闻不问，对于正在中国或他们本国发展的新思想和潮流更无所知。他们唯一的目标就是赚钱。

地位仅仅次于这些洋人的是中国买办，他们像洋主子一样无知，也像洋主子一样富足。中国商人非常尊敬外国银行里和洋行里的买办。买办们张大嘴巴向洋主子讨骨头时，他们的同胞也就流着口水，不胜羡慕地大摇其尾巴。买办阶级很像炼金术士，可以点铜成银，他们的洋主子则点银成金。买办们花了一部分银子去讨小老婆，他们的洋主子却高明多了，只要在"女朋友"身上花点银子。

上海的第三等人物是商人。他们从买办手中购买洋货，赚了钱以后就汇钱回家买田置产。他们偶然回乡探亲时，自然而然触动了乡下人的"灵机"，因此到上海做生意的人也愈来愈多。

我所谈的上海种种情形，多半是身经目睹的，绝无夸张之词，因为我的许多亲戚就是在上海做生意的，其中有些还是买办。我对他们的生活思想知道得很清楚；同时，我认得不少住在上海的外国人，也听过不少关于他们的故事。开明的外国人，尤其是我所熟悉的美国人，每当我们谈起上海，总是紧蹙双眉，摇头叹息。

第四等人是工厂工人。他们是农村的过剩人口，因为在农村无法过活，结果放弃耕作而到上海来赚钱。他们是贫民窟的居民。

第五等人，也就是最低贱的一等人，是拉人力车的苦力。他们多半是来自江北的贫苦县份。这些名为万物之灵的动物，拖着人力车，像牛马一样满街奔跑。这种又便宜又方便的交通工具使上海的活动川流不息，使上海商业动脉中的血液保持循环的，就是人力车苦力。

这五等人合在一起，就构成了一般人所说的"租界心理"，一种崇拜权势、讲究表面的心理。权势包括财力、武力、治外法权等等，表面功夫则表现于绘画、书法、歌唱、音乐，以及生活各方面的肤浅庸俗。我们通称这种"租界心理"为"海派"，相对的作风则叫"京派"，也就是北京派。"京派"崇尚意义深刻的艺术，力求完美。上海是金融海洋，但是在知识上却是一片沙漠。

上海人一天到晚都像蚂蚁觅食一样忙忙碌碌。他们聚敛愈多，也就愈受人敬重。在上海，无论中国文化或西洋文明都是糟糕透顶。中国人误解西方文明，西洋人也误解中国文化；中国人仇恨外国人，外国人也瞧中国人不起，谁都不能说谁没有理由。但是他们有一个共通之点——同样地没有文化；也有一个共同的谅解——敛财。这两种因素终使上海人和外国人成为金钱上的难兄难弟。"你刮我的钱，我揩你的油。"

沙漠之中还是有绿洲的，上海的可取之处也就在此。在本世纪的最初十年里，治外法权曾使上海成为革命思想和革命书籍的避难所和交换处。进化论和民主思想的种籽最初就散播在这些绿洲上，之后又随风飘散到中国各文化中心。科学和民主的种籽在其他各地发育滋长为合抱大树，在上海却始终高不盈尺。在民国十年到二十年间，上海因受治外法权的庇护，军阀无法染指，上海及其附近地区的工业曾有急速的发展。留学生回国掌握金融和工业大权以后，中国更开始利用管理和生产上的外国诀窍，不过这些诀窍多半是直接从欧美学来的，与上海的外国人关系较小。

北京的生活可就不同了。除了美丽的宫殿和宫内园苑之外，我们第一个印象是北京城内似乎只有两个阶级：拉人力车和被人力车拉的。但是你在北京住久了以后，你会发现被人力车拉的也分好几个阶级。不过要找出一个"上层"阶级倒也不容易，大家和睦相处，所不同的只是职业而已。在过去，旗人出生以后就是贵族；但这些贵族现在已经与平民大众融为一体。大家都生而平等，要出人头地，就得靠自己努力。唯一的贵族阶级是有学问的人——画家、书法家、诗人、哲学家、历史家、文学家以及近代的科学家和工程师。

一眼就能辨别真伪的艺术鉴赏家，制作各式各样艺术品的工匠，脑中装着活目录的书商，替你篆刻图章，使你俨然有名重百世之感的金石家，美化你的客厅卧室的地毯设计师，大家融融泄泄地生活在一起，有的陶醉于自己的鉴赏力，有的则以能为别人制造艺术品而自豪。鉴赏、技艺也是北京生活的特征。

差不多每一个人都可以抽空以不同的方式来欣赏美丽的东西。你可以逛逛古老的书铺，与店主人聊上一阵，欣赏一番书架上的古籍和新书，神游于古今知识的宝库之中，只要你有兴致，你不妨在这里消磨两三个钟头，临走时店伙会很客气地请你再度光临。除非你自己高兴，你不一定要买。

如果你有兴致，你可以跑进古董铺，欣赏书画珠宝，包括贵重的真品和巧妙的赝品。无论你买不买，都会受到欢迎，但是等到你真的对这

些东西发生兴趣时，就是要你拿出留着吃晚饭的最后一块钱，你也在所不惜了。

你也可以跑到戏园里去，欣赏名伶唱戏。他们多半唱得无懈可击，声声动人心弦。要不然你就跑到故宫博物院，去欣赏历代天才所创造的艺术珍品，我在前面所提到的"京派"作风就是在这种永远追求完美、追求更深远的人生意义的氛围下产生的。

如果你高兴，你也可以跑到皇宫内苑所改的"中央公园"，坐在长满青苔的古树下品茗，或是坐在假山的古石上闲眺池中的白鹅戏水。在星期天，你可以骑驴，或者坐人力车，或者乘汽车到西山去凭吊名胜古迹，呼吸充塞着古松芳香的空气。

寻求正当娱乐时，学者、艺术家、工匠、科学家和工程师一致欣赏古老的北京。工作时，他们各自在不同的行业上埋头努力。科学家们在实验室里从事研究，希望对人类的知识宝库提供贡献；工程师拿起计算尺和绘图仪器，设计未来建设的蓝图；学者们埋头在书堆里，希望从历史教训里找寻未来的理想；工匠们在努力创造美丽的器皿；艺术家们从自然和历史文物里获得灵感，用灵巧的手指把心目中的形象表达于画纸或其他材料。

连年战乱并没有使北京受到多大的影响，政府虽然一再易手，这个可爱的古城仍然还是老样子。我在前面曾经提到，国都迁移南京以后，北京已经改名为北平。但是在精神上，北平仍旧是北京，随着国都的迁移，北京的一部分也转到政府的新址，例如一部分学者和艺术家、建筑式样和艺术珍藏，但是北平的气氛和情趣却始终未变。铁路和飞机使这两个城市的血液彼此交流，结果两蒙其利。

南京和北平不同，它是个必须从废墟上重建的城市。新都里充满着拆除旧屋、建筑新厦的精神。北京的人固然也憧憬着未来，他们却始终浸淫于旧日的光辉里，但是南京除了历史记忆之外，并无足资依赖的过去，一切都得从头做起。因此大家都在思考、计划和工作，生活也跟着这些活动而显得紧张。每个人都忙着开会和执行命令。空气永远是那么紧张，北京的悠闲精神无法在南京发荣滋长。

街上行人熙来攘往，人力车夫争先恐后，就是懒洋洋的驴子也受了急急忙忙的行人车辆的感染而加紧了脚步。每月都有新道路和新建筑出现，到处在发展，而且是急速地发展。

甚至连娱乐都得花很大气力去争取。饭馆只能在拥挤的角落里供应饭菜，新店面尚未建筑完工。人们在花园里栽花种木，焦急地等待着花

木长大。你需要东西全得临时设法。除非你不断地积极工作，你就会落伍；你必须努力不懈，才能追上时代精神。经过六七年的辛勤工作之后，南京终于成为崭新而繁荣的都市了。旧日废墟正在迅速地消失，思考、计划和工作的精神不断在发展，而且扩散到各省的其他城市，国家的前途也因而大放光明。

你为了追赶上世界的进步潮流，计划或许很远大，甚至已经跑在时代的前头，但是实际行动势必无法赶上你的思想。你可以栽花种木，但是你不能使它们在一夜之间长大成荫；铁路公路必须一尺一码地铺筑，改革计划也不能在旦夕之间实现。于是，你可能要问：我们又何必这样惶惶不可终日呢？

当时有几句流行的话，颇足代表一般人的感慨，这几句话是："议而不决，决而不办，办而不通。"当然，实际的情形并不至于如此之糟，但是有一件事情是无可置疑的：大家都觉得他们的工作成绩不如理想。其实，这就是进步的精神。

杭州与前面所谈的三个城市都有一点相像，但是与它们又都不同。在古文化上，杭州有点像北京，因为它是"学人之省"的首府，但是缺少北京的雄伟。杭州像上海一样带点商业色彩，但是色调比较清淡，同时因为没有洋主子存在，故有表现个性的自由。在改革和建设的精神上，它有点像南京，但是气魄较小。杭州究竟只是中国一省里的城市，北京和南京却是全国性的都市。

杭州最大的资产是西湖。西湖不但饶山水之胜，而且使人联想到历代文人雅士的风流韵事，但是杭州的缺点也就在此。因为杭州人把西湖视如拱璧，眼光也就局限于此；他们甚至自欺欺人地以为西湖比太平洋还伟大，并且足与天堂媲美。他们已经被"上有天堂，下有苏杭"的俗谚所催眠而信以为真。他们想：且别管苏州怎么样，杭州就在这里，所以这里也就是天堂。

自我来台湾以后，从经验中证实，苏杭确是天堂，因为既无地震，又无台风。

杭州人的心目中只有西湖，你如果在这里住得太久，你不免有沉醉于西湖的危险。此种情况，自古已然。昔人有诗为证云：

"山外青山楼外楼，西湖歌舞几时休。

暖风吹得游人醉，却把杭州作汴州。"

但是，从南京传播过来的改革和建设的精神终于把杭州从沉醉中唤

醒了。揉揉眼睛以后，它渐渐看出浙江省未来发展的远景以及它在重建中国的过程中所应担负的任务。

北京也有它辽阔宁静的一面。从城外西山之顶可以鸟瞰北京内外：永定河蜿蜒于广漠的田野之间；向东可以看到城内的塔尖；向西可以看到横跨永定河之上的芦沟桥，它像一条沉睡的巨龙，不理会战争，也不理会和平，在这条年代久远的长桥之下，挟着黄沙的河水日以继夜地、经年累月地奔流着。

"永定"是"永远安定"或者"永久和平"的意思。和平真能永维不坠吗？国人存着这个希望，因此也就给这条河取了这么个名字。但是我们并未努力保持和平，结果和平从我们手上溜走，随着芦沟桥下的河水奔腾而去。民国二十六年（一九三七年）七月七日，日本军队未经宣战而发动了对芦沟桥的攻击，终使烽火燃遍了整个中国。为步步胜利所陶醉的日本，把在中国的战火日积月累的贮蓄在魔盒里滋长，终至民国三十年（一九四一年）十二月七日变为一道金光向珍珠港闪击。

PART SIX WAR

CHAPTER 25 MANCHURIA AND KOREA

In the summer of 1918, some nineteen years before the outbreak of actual war between Japan and China, I made a trip with a friend, Huang Yen-pei, to Manchuria. As this is the area where Japanese aggression in China began, it will not be inappropriate to describe how it appeared in those early years.

We took a train from Shanghai to Nanking, and thence, from across the Yangtze at Pukow, went by the Tientsin-Pukow Railway to Peking. From Pukow north, for two days and a night, the train traversed a vast plain. The dry dust, the arid yellow soil, and the cornfields in this enormous plain of the northern section of the country, which I was visiting for the first time, contrasted greatly with the humid black earth, winding creeks, rice fields, and hilly valleys of the south in which I was born and reared.

I wondered whether the difference in geographical surroundings between north and south had much to do with the difference in physical and mental make-up of their respective peoples. The eastern coastal provinces of Chekiang and Kiangsu, where my ancestors had lived for generations and indeed for many centuries, were the regions in China which, down the long avenue of history, had produced great numbers of scholars, artists, and statesmen. But northern Kiangsu, together with that part of northern Anhuei through which we now traveled, struck me as the poorest part of the country, where deforestation was extreme and the frequent floods of the Huai River played havoc among the population.

Then we came to the Yellow River Valley—to Shantung, the northern coastal province where people were tall, muscular, and hard working, but much crowded through overpopulation—and finally to Peking. From the capital, of whose parks and palaces, museums and gardens, I then had my first glimpse, we continued to Mukden by the Peking-Mukden Railway, passing through Shanhaikwan Pass, the coastal terminal of the world-famous Great Wall of China which, like a gigantic dragon, runs hundreds of miles from Kansu to the coast, separating China proper[1] from Manchuria and Mongolia. Before the train went through the pass we heard cicadas singing in

chorus on the leaves of summer trees, just as noisily as in every other part of China. But as soon as we crossed the pass, all the trees were silent, without those singing homopterous insects. They lived and sang only inside the Great Wall!

We came at night into Mukden station, in the Japanese settlement of the city. The streets were dotted with Japanese shops and looked like a small city in Japan. Penetration of the Japanese in Manchuria was already a fact—nothing short of victorious war could stop it. Historically Manchuria, together with that vast territory to the west called Mongolia, had been the center of China's[2] troubles. From time to time the peoples of these great areas—the Huns, the Mongols, and the Tartars—made inroads inside the Great Wall and wrought havoc there. The Japanese were to be modern Tartars after entrenching themselves in Manchuria.

We saw a number of officials working under General Chang Tso-lin, the local warlord in power, and learned much about Manchuria from them. We wanted to interview the general but were advised by friends not to do so. Mukden, former capital of the Manchus before they conquered China some three hundred years ago, was the capital of Fengtien Province, over which Chang Tso-lin ruled. We visited the Imperial Manchu mausoleums near the city, where Manchu emperors were buried before they came inside the Great Wall.

From Mukden we traveled by the South Manchurian Railway, owned and operated by the Japanese, to Kuan-cheng-tse, which was later—after the Mukden Incident of 1931—renamed Shinching, or Seijo, and made capital of the Japanese-made puppet empire of Manchukuo. Here the penetration was very evident. Japanese shops were everywhere to be seen.

On both sides of the railroad endless miles of luxuriant wheat nourished in the virgin soil of Manchuria bore witness that this tremendous area of north China beyond the Great Wall was the richest portion of China and could well support the tens of thousands of immigrants that flowed yearly from Shantung and Hopei Provinces into this northernmost part of the Chinese Republic. To cut off Manchuria from China was to deprive her of lebensraum and suffocate the provinces in the Yellow River Valley.

Kuan-cheng-tse was the terminal of the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railway and the starting point of the Chinese Eastern Railway,

formerly owned and operated by Tsarist Russia. This company had inherited a legacy of corruption from the tsarist regime and the line was operated by a gang of corrupt White Russian employees. People who bought tickets had to fight for a seat on the train, while free riders occupied comfortable compartments. Theft was rampant. One passenger who slept with his shoes on in an upper berth next morning found one of them gone. He stared at his shoeless foot and wondered how the shoe could have been stripped off without his knowing it; and I wondered what was the earthly use of stealing one shoe without the other. All passengers kept a watch on their belongings after this strange incident. As a precaution my companion hid his supply of rubles in the pockets of his underwear and slept with his Chinese gown on. The next morning the rubles were gone. On our return trip, at Harbin station as I was talking to a Chinese customs official—an American—through a window of the train, I felt somebody meddling with my hip pocket. Before I could turn around my own rubles were gone.

The dilapidated city of Harbin, international metropolis of the extreme north, was a meeting place of East and West. Poor Chinese and Russian children in rags played together in the streets and intermarriages were frequent. Children spoke a sort of hybrid language, part Chinese and part Russian. The free mixing of the poorer classes of inhabitants of Harbin was something novel to me. The bigoted foreigners of Shanghai looked down upon the poorer classes of Chinese as something that would contaminate them. Perhaps this was because few poverty-stricken Europeans ever came to stay in Shanghai.

The streets of Harbin, once well paved, had gone unrepaired for years. The carriages in which we rode bounced up and down on the rough ground so badly that comfort was a negligible factor—we had constantly to grasp at something to avoid being thrown out. The sewers were choked up. After a shower the streets turned into rivers in which the water often came up to one's knees. We met a number of people from south China who were in trade there. All the merchants did prosperous business in that frontier city by speculating in wheat, soy beans, and minerals. So long as their business was good they had no time to worry about the dilapidated state of the Russian-developed city.

We went to Kirin, capital of Kirin Province—one of the three provinces of Manchuria—and were impressed with its beautiful scenery. The city is

situated on the banks of the Sungari River. Climbing to the temple on the hill in the city and looking down over the widest part of the river, one saw that it was like a lake, and I was reminded of West Lake at Hangchow. The river was rich in fish. The best fish I ever tasted was whitefish from the Sungari. In old Imperial days this delicious fish found its way only to the tables of the Imperial Court and the princesses and grand ministers. Ginseng, the life-sustaining drug that China treasured, was also indigenous to the province; large quantities found their way every year inside the Great Wall to all the provinces.

We paid a short visit to Tsitsihar, capital of the province of Heilungkiang. There we experienced an abrupt turn of summer to winter. Overnight we noticed that the green leaves began to wither and drop from their branches. This was the northernmost city within Chinese boundaries; we could go no farther unless we went on to Siberia by the branch line which connected with the Trans-Siberian Railway.

Returning to Harbin, we chartered a steamboat and sailed down the gentle Sungari to Fuchin Hsien. For two days and a night we enjoyed the mountain scenery on both sides, while mountain islands wreathed in virgin forest appeared here and there in the winding river. The evening was blessed with a brilliant moon in a clear sky, the air crisp in the northern summer night. The moon was reflected from the water, which broke into ripples of silver as our boat plowed calmly through. Often the Sungari itself appeared to have ended in a lake, with dark forested mountains rising ahead of us against the moonlit sky. But as we drew near the river suddenly opened to left or right, and as our boat changed its course and curved gradually around the mountains, the river seemed to straighten out and roll down ahead beyond the horizon.

Fukchin, or Fuchin Hsien, was a city of granaries. The wheat and soy beans produced in the surrounding hundreds of square miles all were brought to this frontier city. In the winter it was defended against possible attacks of bandits—the "Red Beards"—by walls built round it with bricks of ice which melted away in summer when the defense was less necessary. Everyone carried a gun and knew how to use it. The new stock of Chinese in the frontier provinces was primitive, full of fighting spirit, and not burdened with the overrefinements of old culture. What a contrast with the overcivilized stock inside the Great Wall! Before the war we drew our best fighters in the

Chinese Air Forces from this strong stock from the virgin soil of Manchuria.

Our final destination was Lu-pu Hsien and the plantation of a friend of ours. This district was situated at the sharp end of that spearhead of land where the Sungari and Amur rivers meet and flow concurrently into the Huen-tung—the lower part of the Amur. We went by small boat down the river, arriving at dusk, and were put up for the night in a small lonely hut with thatched roof. A section of the broad brick bed was already occupied by an old woman and a cat, the remainder being set aside to accommodate us. Two pigs lay comfortably on the mud floor, snoring occasionally. Mosquitoes and bedbugs annoyed us the whole night.

Long before dawn we set out for the plantation. A party of four, we trotted on horseback in single file through miles of woods and wheat fields. Before we reached our destination the sun had begun to come up over the horizon. Mountains were barely visible in shady outlines on the Russian side of the Amur Valley. Horseflies began to gather and the animals bled profusely; I was riding a white horse, whose coat showed streaks of blood running down. We did our best to chase away the flies with a horsetail duster. At about six in the morning we came to a plantation run by a Dane. We were told that a band of Red Beards had visited the place a week before. The walls were riddled with bullets.

We arrived at our destination at about eight. The plantation yielded fairly good profits for the first few years of cultivation in that virgin soil, but bandits were the real problem. A few months earlier the "Little White Dragon" and his band had paid them a visit and carried away a large portion of the cattle and poultry. The bandits were on friendly terms with the people on the plantation, apparently, and exchanged their bad guns for good ones. "After all," said the manager, "the bandits are really not so bad, but if the Japanese should get control of this part of the country it would be the end of us all."

This was the final point of our northern journey. At the southern tip of the Manchurian mainland we also visited Dairen[3] and Port Arthur[4] , both Japanese-leased territories. Dairen was a commercial port through which soy beans were exported in immense quantities. Port Arthur was a naval base, the key to Manchuria, over which the Japanese fought the Russians in 1904. The defeat of Tsarist Russia had resulted in a transfer of the lease to Japanese

hands. With railways starting from Port Arthur and Korea and running through south Manchuria, the Japanese had already got control of the heart and veins of the Chinese Three Eastern Provinces.

We wandered about the naval base for a day and climbed many hills trying to get a bird's-eye view. Finally, on top of one of them, in the slanting sun we came across a stone monument inscribed with the famous lines of the Tartar general who conquered the Sungs in 1276: "March an army of a million men to the West Lake and mount, on horseback, the first peak of the Wu Mountains."[5] At Hangchow, overlooking the lake, the Sungs had established their capital in 1127. To follow in the Tartar's steps was the dream of Admiral Togo and his people after the Russo-Japanese War. And after some thirty years the dream came true, when a Japanese army entered Hangchow after the fall of Shanghai.

Korea was the springboard by means of which Japanese imperialism leapt to the mainland of Asia. It was over Korea that China and Japan clashed in 1894. The Sino-Japanese War for control of that ancient kingdom was the starting point of Japan's aggression on the continent. It opened a new chapter of China's history—the chapter which was to see China's reforms, revolutions, wars, sufferings, humiliation, and eventual westernization and modernization.

After our trip to Manchuria we turned off to Korea. Crossing the Yalu River which forms the boundary line between China and her erstwhile protectorate, we arrived by train at Chemulpo. From there we proceeded to Seoul, capital of the country.

The Japanese governor general of Korea resided in the capital. His imposing, Western-style office building was located right in front of the royal palace, as if put there purposely to insult the Korean kings. The kings were gone, but the palace remained to endure the humiliation of being put back into the background.

The royal palace looked exactly like the Chinese Imperial Palace in Peking, but on a very much smaller scale, rather like a toy palace. In the old times, when the Chinese Imperial ambassador condescended to call, the king had to descend from the granite steps to meet the honored guest in the courtyard. If the ambassador had an Imperial Edict to deliver, His Majesty had to bend his knees in receiving the Imperial favor.

At the back of the palace was a Chinese pavilion in which the princesses performed the ancient Chinese dances of the Tang Dynasty. In Korea as well as Japan, ancient Chinese customs still prevailed. Their pronunciation of Chinese words, their customs, dances, music, and ways of living could all be traced back to influences of the Tang era. As I stood in the pavilion gazing up at the mist-mantled hills of Seoul, my mind reverted to the glorious times of that dynasty (618-905) when Chinese civilization shone as brilliant as the sun in a clear sky, casting its beams far beyond the horizon upon such lands as Japan, Korea, and Indo-China. The offshoots of Chinese civilization grew, were preserved and later rejuvenated in Japan, whereas in Korea and Indo-China they grew and withered. The mother country of this glorious civilization had changed its manners, customs, and ways of life as the waves of invasion swept over it. Japan, which succeeded in building up a new civilization in the last century by the introduction of Western civilization upon a foundation of Chinese Tang culture, had gobbled up Korea, and as appetite grew with eating, was on the way to swallow up China, her teacher and benefactor. But Japan taught China a lesson in her turn: how to build a strong new nation upon a foundation of old civilization. Hence China's reforms, revolutions, westernization, and modernization.

While I mused thus over the past and the future, sunshine was peeping through the clouds and the mist was fast fading from the Seoul hills. The Korean who had taken me there, an old Chinese scholar, was standing by in silence but now called my attention to a dinner engagement. We left the pavilion and passed the spot where the Princess Ming was assassinated, presumably by the Japanese for her sympathy toward China. "I know what you have been thinking," said the old scholar. "It is too late for my country now. Our kings preferred dances to the affairs of state. But China, which is your country and may be regarded as mine, has a bright future. I am old now. Brother, you are young. Do your best for China."

The dinner was ready at the Chinese Consulate General, formerly the residence of China's special ambassador. What had happened behind the doors of this historic mansion during the quadrangular love affairs of China, Tsarist Russia, and Japan in courtship of the Korean lady, only those who participated knew. History gives bare outlines only; personal records, if any, remain yet unpublished. Matters have had to be left to the imagination of posterity.

Life in Seoul was being fast engulfed in Japanization. Japanese bazaars, banks, shops, and restaurants occupied prominent sections of the streets. Managers of big business, government officials, and teachers of the more important schools were all Japanese. The life of the vanquished people was fast receding into the background, like their palace. Here and there you would see Koreans squatting complacently on the sidewalks with long stick-like pipes in their mouths, puffing to their heart's content, and women walking leisurely by with heavy loads on their heads. Some of the old type of school, in which Confucian classics were taught, had been left to struggle for existence. I went into such a school, which had one old scholar of the classics as teacher and a dozen pupils squatting around him on the matting. The Koreans and Japanese still kept the ancient Chinese way of squatting on their heels on the floor. It was slightly heated from beneath even in summer and was kept as clean as a bed. The pupils had to learn the Chinese classics by heart as I had done in childhood. Although they used the same textbooks they pronounced the words quite differently. Like the Japanese and the Indo-Chinese, they had been influenced by the Tang pronunciation.

All the people wore padded cotton stockings even in summer. I asked the reason and was informed that the earth was cold in the northern country. Yet they all wore white linen gowns which were quite cool.

The Koreans as well as the Japanese and Indo-Chinese loved Chinese landscape painting, calligraphy, and poetry. But each of the three peoples retained their own individual characteristics. As it was with their arts, so it was with their lives. Korea and Indo-China had come more under the Ming influence in later centuries while Japan, beyond the sea, escaped it. Moreover, the seafaring people of Japan were highly adventurous and therefore kept the martial spirit of ancient China, while the Koreans and Indo-Chinese were touched more deeply with that complacency that tinged Chinese life in later centuries. The system of civil examinations which conferred so much honor upon scholars in China found its way to Korea and Indo-China, but stopped at the gates of Japan.

In its relation to China the younger generation in Korea was undergoing a change under the pressure of Japanese-controlled modern schools, in which the sacred person of the Mikado was worshiped, the virtues of the Japanese exalted to the skies, and the vices of the Chinese amplified to monstrous proportions. If the attitude of young Koreans toward Japan was hatred,

toward China it was contempt. While the older generation lamented the passing of the good old ways of Chinese culture, the young people were made to think that they were now the blessed subjects of the Mikado's glorious empire.

[1] China proper：中国本部，指中国历史上以汉文化为主导、汉族占人口绝大多数的地区，一般不包括东北、新疆、蒙古、青海、西藏等地区。此英文名词为当时的传统用法，今日主要用于历史或地理研究。

[2] China：参见第六章注3。

[3] Dairen：大连（Dalian）旧译。

[4] Port Arthur：西方对旅顺（Lüshun）的称谓。

[5] 此处疑原文有误。1161年，金朝皇帝完颜亮（1122—1161）强征各族人民，大举南侵攻宋，在南宋境内作战时被部将杀死。据说他曾即兴题诗称：“万里车书一混同，江南岂有别疆封？提兵百万西湖上，立马吴山第一峰。”（《鹤林玉露》卷一）

CHAPTER 26 WAR CLOUDS DEEPENING

In October, 1930, after my resignation from the office of Minister of Education in the national government, I had gone back to Peking—now called Peiping. Again I was entrusted by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, then President of the Executive Yuan (the title of the executive branch of government), with charge of the National University of Peking.

The number of student demonstrations was very much reduced. When the capital was moved to the south the focus of political activities went with it. There was not much left for students to demonstrate against except for occasional outbursts provoked by Japanese aggression, which had started in Manchuria and was now fast extending inside the Great Wall.

On the morning of September 19, 1931, as I was sitting at my desk in the Chancellor's office of the university, a telephone call brought me the fatal news of the previous day. Japan had delivered a blow at Mukden and the Chinese troops had evacuated the city to avoid a clash.

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A few months later I made the trip back to the south. The afternoon of January 28, 1932, I went to Shanghai station to take the train back to Peiping. As I entered a sense of utter strangeness stole over me—the station looked as quiet as a deserted village. A station guard told me that there was no outgoing train. "It looks as if the Japanese are ready for a blow," he said. "You had better leave here right away. Something may happen any minute."

That night I was suddenly wakened by the roar of cannon, followed by the rat-tat-tat of machine guns. I jumped from my bed and followed the stream of guests to the roof of the hotel. The sky was red with the glow of fires that leapt out here and there from the vicinity of the station. Japanese aggression seemed to have followed on my very heels from north to south. The next morning I went up again to the roof and my heart ached with the sight of the *Commercial Press* Library on fire. Several Japanese bombers kept on bombing the building of the *Commercial Press*. The dark smoke rose heavenward, carrying with it scraps of scorched paper which floated in the

sky and sailed idly over the roofs. The print still visible on some of the fragments read dearly "The *Commercial Press*."

The Japanese had opened an attack on Shanghai. It resulted in the bitterest fighting before 1937, but China was finally forced to accept terms under which Japanese troops were permitted to remain in the city.

For seven years, from 1930 to 1937, I was at the helm of the university, endeavoring to steer that ship of learning through the rough seas of Sino-Japanese conflict. With the aid of many friends—particularly Dr. Hu Shih, Mr. V. K. Ting, and Mr. Fu Shih-nian—the university sailed smoothly with only an occasional trimming of her canvas.

The standard of science teaching and research was raised. A serious study was made of Chinese history and literature. The faculty had ample time for research and the students were led to direct their attention to study; the whirlpool of revolutionary activity and student demonstration was gradually transformed into a center of learning. During all these years there was only one demonstration worth recording, As the Japanese forces drove rapidly inside the Great Wall the students in Nanking and Shanghai clamored for war. Demonstrations on a large scale were frequent in the capital and the students in Peiping wanted to join the movement. One day a crowd of students tried to take a south-bound train at the East Station. Being refused entrance to the train itself, the boys and girls lay on the track day and night to prevent it from leaving the station. At length a few hundred were allowed to go and join their comrades in Nanking.

Seeing that war clouds hung thick over our heads, during the next years we tried to gain time by sailing along the shallows of caution, not venturing on those high seas where we would be bound to clash full-force with the Japanese tidal wave. But our caution was not timidity. When Japanese scholars, fifth columnists in disguise, came to pay "respects" to the "center of culture" (which really meant to them the center of the anti-Japanese movement), we talked frankly with them. One, I remember, spoke at length about cultural relations with our professors and was told that we did not see any cultural relations between the two countries but only the military ambition of Japan. "Give up your military ambition and China and Japan will co-operate well."

These men—geologists, economists, biologists, and other scholars—

came to us from time to time seeking the "friendship" of the university. They all complained about our anti-Japanese movement. We told them that anti-Japanese we were not, but anti-Japanese-militarism we were. Their minds, however, were set on the strangulation of China; nothing short of a complete surrender could change their course.

Meanwhile the Japanese Kwantung army stationed in Manchuria made rapid inroads inside the Great Wall. The Chinese army fought against the intruders along the Wall, then in the northern part of Hopei Province, and finally withdrew to Peiping and its vicinity. Wounded soldiers streamed in and all the hospitals were filled. A hospital was established supported by faculty members. Wives and young co-eds acted as nurses. Here I came into close contact with the fighting forces and learned their psychology. In conversations at their bedsides the soldiers showed no sign of weakness toward the Japanese. They attributed their defeat to the lack of modern weapons, especially guns, which permitted the enemy to break through the Chinese wall of human flesh.

I wish to remind the reader that this undaunted spirit of the Chinese army built a wall of flesh and blood for the defense of their country against the steel and fire of the enemy. It enabled China to fight on and on for eight long, suffering years, with millions of dead and wounded, without a murmur. China lost many battles but was still winning the war.

When the fighting was going on along the Great Wall, General Ho Yin-chin, Minister of War, came to Peiping to direct the operations. He and I wanted to effect a truce in order to gain time. I went to call on Sir Miles Lampson, the British Ambassador, to sound out his feelings as to acting as mediator. He said that Mr. Suma of the Japanese Embassy had intimated to him that the Japanese, too, desired a truce. Cables were sent to London and the reply permitted Sir Miles to act as mediator. Washington was informed through the good offices of Mr. Nelson Johnson, the American Ambassador. But the plan fell through when the Foreign Minister, Lo Wen-kan, told the British Embassy in Nanking that no one was authorized to deal with a foreign country but himself.

Then the Japanese forces broke through the defense lines along the Great Wall and swept down toward Peiping. The city was about to be evacuated.

As I was laid up in the Peking Union Medical College after an appendix operation, I was not informed. But early in the morning I heard Japanese planes droning over our heads and smelt something wrong. I got permission from the doctor in charge to leave the hospital and limped to the residence of General Ho Yin-chin, who was surprised to see me still in the city and informed me that the Japanese were about to attack. I made plans to leave the next day.

Next morning at dawn my telephone rang. It was the general. "A truce has been arranged—you don't have to leave the city." At once I telephoned Dr. Hu Shih.

"Why, the Japanese planes are droning over our heads," he said.

"I have just received a message from General Ho Yin-chin to that effect," was all I could say. But the Tangku Agreement had been signed for China at midnight by Huang Fu, by the terms of which the Japanese forces were to halt after occupying the northern part of Hopei.

The Japanese, having occupied this area and established a puppet "autonomous government" there, urged the Chinese commander of the remaining Hopei forces to co-operate by establishing an autonomous government in Peiping. Rumors circulated widely in the city that the commander, General Sung Chieh-yuan, would give in to the Japanese. In this momentary crisis the university professors issued a statement that they were unconditionally opposed to the so-called autonomous movement in north China. The general, in point of fact, did not comply.

One afternoon a month or two later a Japanese gendarme called on me in the university. "The Japanese garrison in the Legation Quarter invites you to go there and talk over some matters which they wish to understand and which need explanation," he announced. I promised to go in an hour, and he left.

Before dark I went alone to the Japanese barracks in the Legation Quarter, after informing my family and some of my friends. As I entered the offices of General Kawabe I heard the click of the key which meant that the door was locked behind me. A Japanese colonel stood up and said, "Please be seated." I took the seat and out of the tail of my eye saw a soldier standing by the door with a drawn revolver.

"Our commanding general invites you to come here and wishes to know

why you carry on an extensive propaganda against Japan." He offered me a cigarette as he spoke.

"What do you mean? I carry on anti-Japanese propaganda—? Nothing of the sort," I replied, accepting the cigarette.

"Then did you sign that statement opposing the autonomous movement?"

"Yes, I did. It is our internal problem. It has nothing to do with an anti-Japanese movement."

"You wrote a book in which you attacked Japan."

"Show me the book."

"Then you are a friend of Japan?"

"Not exactly. I am a friend of the Japanese people, but an enemy to Japanese militarism, just as I am an enemy to Chinese militarism."

"Well, you know, there is some misunderstanding about it in the Kwantung army. Would you go there and have a talk with General Itagaki at Dairen?" The telephone rang and the colonel answered, then turned to me. "A special coach has been prepared for you. Would you go to Dairen tonight?"

"No, I will not."

"Don't be afraid. The Japanese gendarmes will go with you for your protection."

"I am not afraid. If I had been I would not have come here alone. If you want to use force, go ahead—I am in your hands. But I advise you not to. You will become a laughingstock when the world, including Tokyo, is informed that the Japanese army has abducted the Chancellor of Peking University."

His face changed color and he looked as if I were now a problem to him. "Please don't be afraid," he said casually.

"Afraid? No, no. Confucius has told me as well as you to remain calm in the face of danger. You believe in Bushido. Bushido would not harm a defenseless person." I puffed the cigarette calmly.

The telephone rang again, and again he turned to me. "Well, Chancellor

Chiang, the general wanted me to thank you for your visit. You may wish to go to Dairen some other time—whenever you like. Thank you. Good-by." The key clicked again. The colonel helped me with my overcoat, accompanied me to my car, and opened the car door. Darkness had already fallen.

The following afternoon General Sung Chieh-yuan sent a major general to advise me to leave Peking lest he should be unable to protect me. I thanked his representative and said that I would remain on my own responsibility.

I stayed on, but nothing happened to me. Occasionally some Koreans came to the university and acted very queer—these incidents were reported to me but I did not pay much attention to them. Then the tactics of the Japanese changed. General Matsumoro was sent to Peiping as special agent of the Japanese army. He made friends with me and came to my house often. He denounced the Japanese general for grilling me at the Legation barracks, and for about half a year we were very friendly. At the end of his term of office he came in full military uniform to say good-by. He told me that he was being sent to Hailar, on the border between Manchuria and Siberia, to command a cavalry division, and said that he was afraid the war clouds were deepening and that a clash between China and Japan would be very unfortunate. "If the war should come," he said, "the Japanese army would go as far as Hankow."

"Yes, General, I agree with you. If our two countries should be so unfortunate as to come to an open clash, international complications might arise and all the Japanese navy be sent to the bottom of the sea, and the Island Empire might be reduced to a few tiny dots on the map of the Pacific Ocean."

He sighed and said, "That may be. But Japan would still be an independent nation, while China will be destroyed by the Western Powers."

"It may be so. Next time we meet I hope we shall not embrace each other, weeping for what we have done so foolishly. No matter what happens in the future, General, let us remain friends." We parted with heavy hearts.

General Imai succeeded him. He called on me and I returned his call. We talked quite frankly along the same lines as I had talked with his predecessor. Once two members of the Japanese House of Peers called. One had formerly been governor of Formosa. After looking around to see whether

anyone was within hearing he inquired in a whisper who had been the person responsible for detaining me in the Japanese barracks. I told him it was Takahashi. He shook his head and said, "Ridiculous."

The Japanese had found out by now that the University had no immediate desire to start an anti-Japanese movement and they hoped to win it to the Japanese side by making friends with leading members of the faculty. Both sides were cautious in dealing with each other and the tension between the university and the Japanese army was somewhat eased.

General Tashiro came to Tientsin as commander of the army there. The Japanese had treaty rights, with other Powers, to station troops in that city. The general came to Peiping and gave a banquet, to leading Chinese and Japanese officials, military as well as civil. In a speech at the banquet he advocated economic co-operation between China and Japan. Some of the Chinese officials responded but spoke rather equivocally. On the score of economic co-operation I remained as silent as a sphinx except for occasional jokes at the table. To my great surprise a telegram came to me in code from Nanking a few days later, informing me that the Japanese Embassy had intimated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the Chancellor of Peking University supported Sino-Japanese co-operation.

This was how the Japanese worked on China. The procedure seemed to be: first sweet words, then political intrigue, then intimidation, again sweet words, and finally blitzkrieg. The order might vary somewhat, but they never deviated from their fundamental course—the subjugation of China. This was also the way the Japanese went about dealing with America before Pearl Harbor.

CHAPTER 27 WAR

When Peiping was Peking, the city was a center of intellectual activities and the student movement. When it became Peiping it turned into the center of Sino-Japanese conflict. During the early months of 1937 one incident after another happened in the vicinity. The arrow was drawn and must in time fly. With lightning speed it went off at the Marco Polo Bridge. On the night of July 7 the Japanese army under cover of darkness suddenly shelled the outskirts of the city from their side of the bridge, and the Chinese army stationed in the city returned fire.

I was at Kuling, a summer resort on the middle Yangtze, when the war god descended upon Peiping. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had summoned a group of intellectuals for discussion of national problems in the cool Kuling mountains during those hot summer days. The sky was clear and patches of shade from the trees made lacelike patterns on the green lawns. One day after lunch, as I was resting in a one-room cottage, one of a group of houses the Generalissimo had set aside for his guests, and was looking through the window into a tall shady tree and listening to the singing of the cicadas, Chen Tsang-po, editor of the *Central Daily News*, broke the quiet of the noon hour by knocking at the door with the news that the Japanese had struck at Marco Polo Bridge the previous night. I leapt from the bed and inquired for further details. There were none.

We discussed the possibilities. As I was fresh from Peiping he asked my opinion from what I knew of conditions in the city. I told him that from my impression of the Japanese commanding generals there and their conservative views, the thing looked like another local incident. The Japanese plan seemed to be to bite off the Chinese cheese piece by piece, and I was not inclined to think they were ready to swallow the whole chunk. But by this policy of slow motion—gnawing off a bit from time to time and slowly accumulating, day after day—in a few years they would have entrenched themselves firmly in north China and it would be difficult to dislodge them. The Yangtze Valley would be at their mercy. Japan had swallowed up Manchuria by a slow process and had then come to north China. What Manchuria was to north China, so north China was to the south. The same method and the same process. That seemed to be the policy of the Japanese vis-â-vis China.

There was desultory fighting for some days. Twelve days later, as skirmishing went on outside the city, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, in an address to several thousand officers from various armies in the country who were under training in the Kuling Training Center, expressed the view that the Japanese were about to launch a general war against China and we must get ready to defend the country at any cost. "But if such a general war should start," he said, "we must be ready to sacrifice... It will be a long war and the longer it drags on, the more we shall suffer."

It was the first time I had heard him speak in such unequivocal terms of the Japanese question. General Chen Chun, General Hu Chung-nan, and other commanding generals of the Chinese armies who later distinguished themselves at the various fronts were among the listeners. A few days after this speech Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek returned to Nanking by air and the commanding generals rejoined their respective armies. With some of my friends I flew to the capital and tried to get back to Peiping, but northbound trains were all suspended.

In about two weeks the war was spreading like a flood in the vicinity of Peiping. General Sung Chieh-yuan fought gallantly as casualties mounted. The commander of the Japanese army, Tashiro, with whose conservative views regarding China problems I was well acquainted, fell ill and the radical younger officers got control of the Japanese forces. After a few days General Tashiro died. Was it illness, suicide, or assassination? Rumors were rampant but nobody could find out the truth. General Sung Chieh-yuan still clung to the idea of localizing the incident and urged the central government troops, which were being rushed northward, to stop at Paoting. And at Paoting, accordingly, they made a halt.

But the Japanese army, now under the direction of young officers, did not stop; Sung's forces were attacked by the enemy right and left and on all sides. One of the commanding generals died in action. Finally General Sung withdrew from Peiping and the Japanese entered the city without firing a shot.

Now the Japanese had control of Peiping. Would north China suffer the same fate as Manchuria after they occupied Mukden some six years earlier? Would Japan stop at north China for the moment, wait a few years more, and use that base for a further attack on south China? Or was she tired of waiting

—would she strike at south China with a single blow and get the thing done, once and for all? Either way seemed possible. The plan of slow motion seemed on the whole more dangerous to China. All the ranking officers in Nanking and the military leaders in the provinces favored a country-wide resistance to the aggression. All China—officials, generals, and the people—stood up as one man to face the greatest calamity in history to fall upon the country.

Meanwhile Japan began to dispatch troops to Shanghai from across the sea. China at the same time rushed her own troops down the Yangtze to the same port. In that small area, face to face, were massed tens of thousands of men. A tiny spark would set off a terrific explosion in the powder magazine. It was immaterial which side should strike it first—whether by the accidental discharge of a gun by a careless soldier without orders, or by the policy of men high up in power.

The Japanese army knew very well that the men responsible for the Mukden Incident, such as Generals Honjo and Doihara, had received the highest rewards and honors for their meritorious acts. Those responsible for the Marco Polo Bridge Incident were to receive like honors, there was no doubt. Who could blame the commanding generals from across the sea for aspiring to similar rewards?

All of us in Nanking knew that the thick war clouds hanging over the whole country were bound to break into a storm. I left for Hangchow by motorcar to stay with a friend in a villa on the historic West Lake. In the serene quiet of the place I had a chance to muse over the past and think of the future. Every day, and every succeeding night, we expected a clash between the two opposing forces in that tightly congested area of Shanghai. Every now and then my friend, Wang Wen-po, telephoned to Shanghai to inquire about the situation. On August 12 the voice at the other end replied abruptly, "No news. Tomorrow at ten, at ten. That's all." The receiver was hung up.

Next morning the fatal hour struck. Smoke rose sky-high. Bombers from both sides blasted the lines of the opposing forces. A full-scale war had begun. There would be no more local incidents, no more piecemeal ways. Japan must either gobble up all China or give it up. But gobble she could not—quite, and give up she would not. It was bound to be a long-drawn-out war.

Two days later, on a cloudy afternoon, I was sitting under a willow tree

watching the fish shuttling back and forth in the shallows of the lake. Peals of thunder were audible over the other side of the city. The telephone rang for me. "Hello—do you hear that?" More thunder. "Yes, it's thundering."

"No—the enemy is bombing our airfield."

Seven bombers had flown over from Formosa without escort. They were met by Chinese fighters stationed at Hangchow and five were shot down on the spot. The remaining two flew for their lives and were forced to land at some distance. The pilots were captured, and we learned that they had been told by their commanding officers that there were no fighter planes in China.

Next day the Japanese bombed Nanking. In the beginning of the war the enemy dropped only one bomb at any one place, so that all their bombs were scattered. This caused much less damage than concentrated bombing, which they learned a year later from the Russians at Changkaofen, a border town between Manchuria and Siberia where they had a clash with Soviet forces.

My friend Wang Wen-po was a member of the Chekiang provincial government and Commissioner of Reconstruction. He had to get busy. Hundreds of trucks were taken over from the bus lines and munitions shipped to the front in them. Once a fleet of some twenty such trucks was sent to the front. It ran into the rear of the enemy and was fired upon. One truck driver got out of his car and hid in the fields; under cover of darkness he crawled on his stomach through the enemy lines and came back to Hangchow. A few days later he found another truck and dashed off again for the front.

Refugees from Shanghai poured into Hangchow. The temples were filled with women and children. Humble huts in the mountains were turned into temporary homes for fashionable young ladies. They talked and laughed as if nothing had happened to them. The Chinese were always in good humor even in time of danger.

A friend of mine, formerly a cotton magnate, came to Hangchow with his daughters and young children and lived in a temple up in the mountains. He told me that he would like to build a house for his family.

"What for?" I asked.

"I should like to stay in Hangchow during the war in Shanghai," he said.

I was surprised at his idea of the war. I told him that he had better move

into the interior as the war would surely spread to Hangchow and all coastal cities and perhaps up the Yangtze as far as Hankow. He was stunned and could not believe my words. Five years later I met him in Chungking, where he told me that he and his family had left Hangchow before war descended upon the West Lake.

In Nanking a plan was afoot for the evacuation of three of the northern universities: Peking and Tsinghua Universities in Peiping and Nankai University in Tientsin. These three institutions were to combine into a union university at Changsha; an inland city on the upper Yangtze. Hu Shih telephoned from the capital and asked me to go back to Nanking to put the scheme into effect. I did not welcome the idea but was finally forced to accept the plan. There are things in the world which you do not want to do but must do in the end, willy-nilly. Like war itself: when war comes, you find yourself fighting whether you like it or not. This was my attitude toward the associated university.

Knowing that I would be unable to see my father's home again before the end of the war and that the hazards of war are difficult to foresee, I borrowed a Buick from a friend and drove home. My father, now very old, was all smiles. When I left again for Nanking I told him that China would be reborn through fire and blood.

"What do you mean?" he asked, giving me a steady look from his twinkling eyes.

"The thing is this. The war will be a long war. Hundreds and thousands of houses will be burned and thousands and millions of lives will be lost. This is what I mean by fire and blood. And in the end China will emerge victorious."

When I left him I had the feeling that most probably I would not see my beloved father again, to whom I owed so much and had returned so little. When bombs visited the native city of my boyhood days, he moved into the mountains and there enjoyed his trees, flowers, and birds. After two years of war he got up early one morning as usual and felt dizzy. He went back to bed and there his spirit fled, at the age of nearly eighty. He was but one of many indirect casualties of war. War is rather hard on old people.

I stayed at Nanking for several days and then boarded a steamer sailing

upriver for Hankow. Near the docks wooden boxes containing government archives, books of the Central University library, and art treasures from the Palace Museum were piled high along the banks of the Yangtze, ready for shipment. And on the way to Hankow we met boat after boat packed with troops steaming down the river to reinforce Shanghai.

From Hankow I took the Canton-Hankow Railway to Changsha. On the way we met trainloads of troops crowded in open cars, coming up to Hankow from Canton and Kwangsi. The war was now really on a national footing, not a mere local war as heretofore. The spirit of the fighting men was high. I asked where they were going.

"Fight the Japs!" they replied with zest.

CHAPTER 28 LIFE IN CHANGSHA

Changsha is an inland city. For the first time in my life I lived far away from the sea. Even in America I had stayed first in California for four years and then in New York for another five, always on the seacoast. Living in an inland city I felt a kind of dryness in spite of the damp climate and Tung-ting Lake not far away. My ideal of a place to live was in the mountains near a vast plain or on the plain near the mountains, in either case not far from the sea. Away from the sea, the sense of space in my mind seemed to fill up with solid earth. I began to feel somewhat uncomfortable.

When I arrived at Changsha Mei Yi-chi, President of Tsinghua University, was already there. To run a university in troubled times is something of a headache. To do it during a war, in conjunction with two other institutions not lacking in the diverse personalities and idiosyncrasies common to university professors, was worse. With the worries of war and anxiety as to my family and friends in the war zones or occupied areas, it was more than nay health could endure. "Headache" is a figurative term, but real stomach trouble saps one's spirit and physical vigor. In spite of frequent stomachaches I had to exert myself to help my colleagues steer our precarious craft with its mixed crew over a rough sea.

Teachers and students of the three component institutions flocked to Changsha. Some came by sea from Tientsin, taking a British steamer to Hongkong and then a plane or the Canton-Hankow Railway; others took the Peiping-Hankow Railway to Hankow and then the Canton-Hankow line to Changsha. Within a few weeks some two hundred professors and over a thousand students had gathered around the Changsha Bible School, which the Union University rented as its temporary home. Books and laboratory apparatus were bought and shipped in from Hongkong. In less than two months the university was in full swing.

Owing to lack of space in the city the College of Literature moved to the sacred mountains of Nan-yu. I made two trips there, and these are among my pleasantest recollections of this part of the country. On one of them I wandered with friends deep into the mountains on a three-day jaunt, crossing on our way the road by which a fugitive Ming emperor passed to the

southwest almost three centuries ago to avoid capture by the Manchus. A stone tablet in his memory stands there to this day, with the names of all the officials who followed him inscribed upon it. Oddly, at one of the temples we visited, a tree planted by the fleeing emperor had grown into a crooked shape looking like an old, old man taking a rest after a very long journey. We were now treading the same path, standing in the same temple. For what reason? Foreign invasion from the north, which had troubled China through ten centuries.

The first night we stopped at the Fang-kwang Temple. Here a famous Ming scholar passed the remainder of his life after the fall of the Ming Dynasty. It was a clear night—the full moon sailed low over the mountains in the empty sky. I had never seen the moon look so low and so near, as if one could poke one's fingers in its smiling face.

The second night we stopped at a monastery near the highest peak of the sacred mountains. A spring gushes from the very top of the peak, and a temple is perched there. This is the house of the Fire God and a symbol of the ancient practical wisdom that water should always be ready near fire, which may thus be controlled.

Near this temple we saw the sun come up next morning, a wonderful sight. It rose out of a sea of clouds, first sending up violet, golden, pink, and blue tints through the cloud bank and then emerging to lie like a golden ostrich egg on a white velvet cushion. All of a sudden it split into four brilliant oranges, then in the flash of a few seconds merged again into one great ball. For some moments it seemed to change color with every fraction of a second, as if with the turning of a moving-picture color camera. Then it stopped, glowed mellow gold for a few instants, and finally became a great ball of fire from which we had to turn our eyes. The icebergs of cloud disappeared and the still waves vanished. Only a thin layer of mist veiled the valleys down below. Through it one could see chimneys sending up their smoke in the mild morning sun.

Pilgrims came by thousands to the sacred mountains. Many walked from several hundred miles away. Old and young, rich and poor, all joined in common worship of the Buddha.

Changsha is the capital of Hunan Province, a center of rich rice production feeding many millions of people outside its boundaries. Fish,

shrimp, eels, and turtles from the river Hsiang were abundant, oranges and persimmons bountiful. Pork was tender and full of flavor. The bean curd, China's national food for rich and poor alike, was as pure and smooth as thickened milk. The only drawback was the high humidity—there were far more rainy or cloudy days in a year than sunny ones.

Every time I went up by airplane from the city, as I sometimes had to do, I thought of the crystal palace deep in the sea where the king of dragons lives, as we all learned in Chinese fairy tales. There would still be clouds above my head, while down below mist enveloped the city like the white around the yolk of an egg. Farther up, there would be another ceiling of cloud without a streak of sun.

The people were healthy, independent, and hard working. They loved to fight. The slightest provocation would find them ready for combat, whether vocal or by fists. At highway stations one often saw signs: DO NOT QUARREL and DO NOT FIGHT. Rickshaw coolies sauntered along the streets and refused to run. If you told a coolie to run faster he would invariably say, "You pull the rickshaw—I'd like to see you run." While the temper of the people was quick, their movements were slow. Here was a case where temper and tempo did not go together.

They were frank and sincere, not easily influenced by other people's opinions. They would be either your friends or your enemies, with no halfway between. They are good soldiers. "No Hunanese, no army." It was by his Hunan army that Tseng Kuo-fang defeated the Taipings in 1864. Even now no Chinese army is found without some soldiers from Hunan. It is the Sparta of China.

The Japanese invaded Changsha three times in the course of the war, and three times suffered defeat there. The people co-operated with the national army wholeheartedly, through blood and fire.

In Changsha we had news of the war in Shanghai. For three long months Chinese troops of flesh and blood held at bay the Japanese army of fire and steel. Finally the Chinese army withdrew to save further futile sacrifice. Now the enemy converged on Nanking. An exodus of the population from the capital began—thousands of people streamed along the highway to Changsha. Trains of trucks and cars miles long poured into the city. Suddenly it was congested with refugees. Some ministries of the government moved to

Changsha, others to Hankow.

Before long the Japanese army entered Nanking, where animal instincts ran wild in the Japanese soldier. Women were raped to death and fleeing people were machine-gunned at random. Military trucks ran through streams of people on the streets. The atrocities committed by the Japanese will remain forever a black spot in human history.

At the turn of the new year the Japanese army headed upriver toward Nanchang. It seemed to be approaching Changsha, while the Chinese army was concentrated around Hankow. The capital of Hunan Province was now vulnerable to enemy attack. I flew to Hankow to sound out the Generalissimo as to the removal of the Union University still farther inland. I interviewed first the Minister of Education, Chen Li-fu, who advised me to see the Commander in Chief. So I went to call on him. He agreed that the university ought to move farther west, and I suggested that we move to Kunming, which had access to the sea through the Yunnan-Indo-China Railway. He readily agreed and suggested that some-one go there first to select a site for the university.

The month of January, 1938, passed in preparation for the removal. Books and scientific apparatus were packed and trucks and gasoline bought. In February, as the preparations were almost complete, I flew to Hongkong, where I took a French liner to Haiphong in French Indo-China. Thence I went by train to Hanoi, capital of the French colonial government, and from there to Kunming by the Yunnan-Indo-China Railway through one of the most mountainous regions of China.

CHAPTER 29 INDO-CHINA AND BURMA

Just as, some twenty years earlier, I had found the ancient Chinese ways of life still persisting in Korea, so now, taking the opportunity of going to Kunming by way of Indo-China, I found there the same ancient Chinese ways. Like the Koreans, they wore a dress similar to that of the Ming Dynasty. Their pronunciation of Chinese words stemmed from that of the Tang Dynasty; villages, cities, and administrative districts bear Chinese names pronounced somewhat after the Tang fashion.

The French preferred for general use a romanization of the Annamese language, which is itself a modified form of Chinese. I must admit that it is much easier for the common people to learn. But this romanized Annamese will further widen the gap between China and Indo-China.

The capital of Annam[1] , where the titular emperor, Pao-dai, lived, was very much like the palace of the former Korean kings and, again, like the Imperial Palace in Peking on a much smaller scale. Indeed, the court of Annam looked like a living branch of the Imperial Ming Court. The French had preserved it as a sort of living museum, while the Japanese preferred to transport the Korean king to Tokyo and make a Japanese out of him.

I was told that the first ancestor of the emperor of Annam was buried on a hill in Kunming. For he was Chinese. One afternoon, later, I tried to locate the grave but failed to find it.

While Hanoi, capital of the French colonial government, had become a French city with wide streets and imposing public buildings, the peasants lived in miserable villages which seemed to be sinking down into the earth. Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity! Colonial governments are an anachronism and bad as a system, for the governors are there for exploitation and not interested in the welfare of the governed, which is contrary to modern theory of government.

Here I wish to make one exception: the colonial government of the Philippine Islands. The Americans had an ideal—to raise the people to a higher level of civilization. The American colonial government in the

Philippines established a system of public schools not inferior to American schools. I went to the Philippines in 1931. Everywhere I saw schools in which history, literature, science, and democratic ideals were taught. The United States endeavored to make the Philippine Islands a republic in the image of her own.

Britain had to depend on her colonies for her national existence; France had to be fed with riches from her colonies. Each was interested in the welfare of the governed peoples only in the sense that the geese should be kept alive to lay more golden eggs. In Korea and Formosa Japan was pressing the geese flat in order to squeeze the eggs out of them. Before the war Japan had amassed a great fortune from trade with China. But she was not satisfied; she wanted to make China a vast colony so as to be completely free to squeeze that giant goose.

The British way of keeping the geese alive was rather ingenious. They controlled the key industries and let the natives live on what was left. Let the geese feed on the corn and fish they can catch in the pond. So the geese were happy with their corn and small fish and the owners were happy with their golden eggs. The British never interfered with the customs, manners, superstitions, or beliefs of the governed peoples, and the natives could enjoy their life undisturbed except in matters affecting public health. For public health concerns alike both governors and the governed; you cannot segregate contagious disease or pestilence. Roads, too, were built and maintained, for peace and order and commerce depend upon good roads. Defense was built up only to the extent required to put down rebellions within the colony; to defend it against attacks from some other Power was left to the prestige of the British Empire, and when that prestige weakened the colony was at the mercy of a powerful neighbor. This was how Hongkong and Burma were temporarily lost, and this was why Britain was so jealous for her prestige, especially in the Far East.

Burma borders on the southwest corner of Yunnan. I went there as leader of a goodwill mission just about a year before Pearl Harbor. The British way of governing colonies was clearly evident. I saw the oil refineries, lumber mills, and rice mills—these were key industries and were under British control. Other things were left to the Burmese. Sacred cows roamed the streets in Rangoon without interference from the police. Here, there, and everywhere were temples with their gilt pagodas and monks

respected by both the governors and the governed. The Burmese enjoyed an undisturbed life under British rule; the geese, swimming in their pond, were satisfied with their fish and corn, and as far as I could see showed no sign of unrest. And the owners got their golden eggs.

But the light that shone brilliantly in the homeland of the governors could not be altogether smothered in the colonies. In India Gandhi went unmolested except for imprisonment in times of crisis. Such instances would be dealt with underhandedly in the colonies of certain other European nations. But Great Britain, that land of liberty, could not help shedding some of her light through the clouds of a colonial sky. There are signs that Britain is on the road to a more enlightened policy toward her colonies. I hope that these streaks of light will be broadened to strong beams of liberty, illuminating the peoples she is entrusted to lead. British friends, give them more of that light which you have so plentifully in the British Isles. Chuck overboard the anachronisms!

As far as types of civilization are concerned, the former kingdom of Annam, now a part of Indo-China, is Chinese, while Burma is Indian. The palace of the former king of Burma at Mandalay is Indian in architectural design. The names of the cities and towns bear no trace of Chinese origin. The Annamites, like the Chinese, eat with chopsticks; the Burmese, like the Indians, with their fingers. Yet both Annam and Burma, as we have seen earlier, were formerly tributaries of China, and their loss was part of her awakening.

When Burma fell to British hands the royal family escaped into Yunnan and is supported by the provincial government down to this day, although its title is only nominal now. Its children and grandchildren entered Chinese schools and became Chinese. But they are known to the people of Tengtsung in Yunnan as descendants of the Burmese royal family, whose ancestors once reigned over the kingdom of golden pagodas and yellow-robed monks from their peacock throne in the royal palace at Mandalay.

[1] Annam：安南，越南（Vietnam）的旧称。

CHAPTER 30 THE MIGRATION OF UNIVERSITIES

The migration of universities from the coastal provinces where Chinese institutions of higher learning were originally centered to the hinterland of China was a direct sequel to the outbreak of war. Besides the three I have mentioned, other institutions located nearest to the scene of war and likely to be first affected moved gradually toward the interior. As a result there were toward the end of the war some twenty universities and colleges, with a total enrollment of about sixteen thousand students, boys and girls, newly established in Free China.

These institutions were scattered all over the interior provinces. They were housed either in temples or in the buildings of local schools. Some were able to rent private mansions when no public buildings were available. Still others had to put up temporary shacks. All brought with them such scientific apparatus and books as conditions permitted. The amount was of course negligible, yet even this scanty equipment was not infrequently ruined by the deliberate and merciless bombing of the enemy.

A large number of the students were from the occupied areas. Their support from their parents was naturally cut off; some even lost track of their families in the war zones. It may be noted, also, that some parents in the occupied areas deemed it wise, when questioned, to report as dead sons who were actually studying in Free China. The national government in Chungking consequently allotted large sums of money to care for these helpless students.

As the Japanese invasion began in north China the universities first affected were naturally those located in the areas of Tientsin and Peiping. When the two cities were occupied many students and faculty members, realizing the futility of expecting to have any spiritual freedom at the point of the invader's bayonet, went south or elsewhere to join their universities. Two combined universities were established by order of the national government then at Nanking: one at Changsha as I have related, and the other at Sian in the northwest. The Northwestern Union University consisted of two former national universities and two colleges. It was later moved from Sian to Hanchung and has since been broken up into more or less its original

components.

As the war spread to other parts of China, universities which had hitherto been able to remain where they were had now to follow our example. Thus the National Central University was moved from the former capital to the war capital of Chungking; Chekiang University was moved from Hangchow to the interior province of Kweichow; Chungshan University was moved from Canton in south China to Yunnan in the southwest.

I shall describe in some detail the former Union University in Changsha: how it was organized—or associated, to use a better term—and later transplanted from Changsha to Kunming. The story may serve as an example of the handling of other migrating universities.

As I have already related, the Union University at Changsha was formed by the association of three former Peiping and Tientsin universities by order of the Ministry of Education, then at Nanking. They were the National University of Peking, the oldest and the first government-sponsored modern university in China; the National Tsinghua University; and Nankai University at Tientsin. The presidents of these three institutions were made members of the presidium. All their faculty members and students were turned over to the Union University. Classes were resumed at Changsha by November 1, 1937, with an enrollment of approximately 1,250 students from the three universities, and an additional 220 students from other institutions which had also been moved. The latter were admitted as visiting students. The university was in fairly good shape, though equipment and facilities were meager. The spirit among the professors and students was excellent; the reading rooms were, for the most part, packed with students despite the handful of books available. But early in 1938—that is, after the fall of Nanking—things changed. Japanese planes made Changsha one of their bombing objectives. A prolonged stay in the city was perilous, so with the approval of the government, after the completion of a semester's work the Union University moved, at the end of February, 1938, southwest to Kunming.

The migration from Changsha to Kunming was made in two groups: some three hundred male students with a few professors constituted themselves a walking party, hiking from Changsha in Hunan through the mountainous province of Kweichow all the way to the remote city of Kunming in Yunnan—a trek of 3,500 *li*, or approximately 1,160 miles,

accomplished over a period of two months and ten days. The others, numbering about eight hundred, rode from Changsha to Canton on the much-bombed Canton-Hankow Railway, thence by boat to the British colony of Hongkong, and again by boat to Haiphong. From here they traveled by the French Indo-China Railway to Kunming, their final destination. The rail-boat and boat-rail trip required from ten to fourteen days, depending upon connections. Over three hundred and fifty students remained in Changsha to join the various war organizations.

After its removal to Kunming the title "Union University" was changed to the present name: National Southwest Associated University. As Kunming had no immediately available and suitable buildings to put at the disposal of the newcomers, the university—called "Lienta" from the abbreviation of its Chinese name—decided to locate its College of Arts and College of Law and Commerce at Mengtsz, probably the second largest city in the province, and keep the College of Science and Engineering in Kunming. When classes began in early May, 1938, there were around thirteen hundred students in the total enrollment for these four colleges of Lienta. In September of the same year the two colleges at Mengtsz moved back to Kunming, where the housing problem had become less acute as all the local middle schools had by then been moved to the country and their school buildings could be rented. The "happy-double-union" was celebrated by the founding of a teachers' college by order of the national government at Chungking. Enrollment in the five colleges, comprising twenty-six departments, increased to two thousand.

In September, 1939, Lienta again grew in size. There were by now over three thousand students. The university was fortunate, as its hundred shacks, built in the past ten months, could then be used to accommodate the growing student body. At the close of the war we had about five hundred professors, assistants, and administrative officers and three thousand students. Most of the latter came from the occupied areas and had to cross more than one firing line to reach the free zone; they went through much hardship and suffering, and others lost their lives before they could reach Free China.

My son, a student in Chiao-tung University in Shanghai, on his way to join me at Kunming met with several incidents. Once, on a dark night, with a number of friends he tried to go by small boat under a bridge guarded by the enemy and was shot at. On another occasion the party traveling ahead of his lost one of its members, who was arrested by the enemy and his head was

later found by his friends dangling from a tree.

The son of a friend of mine came from Peiping to Kunming, traversing many firing lines in the north, and was shot at by the enemy several times. Often he had nothing to eat during the day and had to walk miles under cover of night. He had left Peiping with his brother, who was arrested by the Japanese guard at the station and sent to a detention camp because something was found in his pocket which identified him as a student. They had disguised themselves as apprentices of a shop. When the identity of such a person was established it was a serious offense.

It was reported that the basement of the College of Literature in the University of Peking had been turned into a dungeon in which terror reigned. I had no way to verify actual conditions there, but later met a former student of mine who had been arrested and imprisoned for two years before he managed to leave Peiping for Free China. He said that he was sent there for a "treat." The place was a living hell. Water was forced into his nose until he lost consciousness. When he came to, a Japanese gendarme by the name of Uyemura told him that he deserved the treatment because his alma mater was responsible for this terrible war in which Japan had suffered so much. "No pity!" said Uyemura in a rage. "Let the punishment fit the crime!" Three times he was thus "treated," fainting each time. In that dungeon he saw other tortures which do not befit my pen to describe. The shrieks of the girls and the groans of the boys turned that seat of learning into an inferno where Satan had his day.

While the students left in Peiping moaned under torture, the university in Kunming was blasted by enemy bombs. The bombing was done deliberately, since the seat of the university was outside the city wall with no military objective near by. Many buildings were destroyed, including the stacks of the main university library and some of the science laboratories. About one third of the university buildings were rendered useless and had to be rebuilt as fast as possible. Despite all this, the spirit of the students was wonderful. As a rule they studied hard in these trying circumstances, with meager food and poor living conditions.

This migration of institutions of learning from the seacoast to the interior has an important bearing on the future development of China's hinterland. The presence of a large number of intellectuals in various

localities in the interior will exercise a strong influence upon the mental outlook of people in those localities. Moreover, students as well as teachers who have lived for a long time along the coast with only a local knowledge of the country have now had an opportunity to learn actual conditions in the interior, which has given them a better perspective on conditions in the vast country as a whole.

The migration of universities, combined with the removal of industries, both government and private, and of skilled laborers, engineers, experts, and managers, was indeed epoch-making. In the postwar period ahead of us the development of China in regions far from the coast, hitherto inaccessible to Western influence, will have a better chance than ever before.

CHAPTER 31 AT THE TERMINAL CITY OF THE BURMA road

With the migration of the universities, I came to stay for the duration of the war at Kunming, terminal city on the Burma Road. Before Pearl Harbor I made one visit to Burma and many to Indo-China and Hongkong; all were connected with Kunming by air. After the capitulation of France, Indo-China was given over to Japan virtually without a fight. So we built the Burma Road to connect the city with Rangoon. After Pearl Harbor Burma, too, was lost to the enemy. Land communications with Haiphong in Indo-China and Rangoon in Burma were cut. Kunming was now bottled up. Lend-Lease ammunition ceased to flow into the city except by air over the "hump" of the Himalayas which separates China from the land of Buddha.

In the last few years I have visited Chungking by air many times and once also Chengtu, capital of Szechuan Province. The hilly wartime national capital of China is situated on the banks of the Yangtze River within the Yangtze gorges. The city is built on hills. Its narrow strip of land is girdled by the Yangtze on the south and the Kialing River on the north, the two rivers merging into the greater Yangtze at the easternmost point of the narrow strip. Thus Chungking looks like a tiny peninsula. Most of the houses are built upon terraces, and dugouts were made at their back doors or under the buildings through the granite hills. For several years Japanese planes rained explosives on the defenseless city day after day, night after night, month after month. But the capital remained undaunted. Buildings were hit and destroyed and rebuilt by tens of thousands, yet comparatively few lives were lost. The enemy tried to bomb the wartime government out of its capital, but the city still stands like the pyramids, which have endured their many centuries of hardship and will stand many centuries more. Chungking embodies to perfection the spirit of stubborn resistance against the Japanese invaders.[1]

To the west of the hilly capital, about half an hour distant by air, is the flat city of Chengtu. This walled city is as spacious as Peking. The streets are wide. The atmosphere is also somewhat like that of the former capital. The irrigation system at Kwan Hsien, established some twenty centuries ago, waters over a million acres of fertile land in the Chengtu Valley. Serious

flood or drought are almost unknown. This immense, rich valley kept the people in Chungking and the army stationed in the province and adjacent districts amply fed.

When we moved our university to Kunming we had in mind the possibility of importing books and scientific instruments from Europe and America through Indo-China. But after the fall of Canton the main line for the supply of munitions was cut and shipments were diverted to the Indo-China-Yunnan route. The congestion on the railway precluded the shipment of nonmilitary cargoes. Only a small fraction of our shipments was allowed to trickle in.

Meanwhile all the cities along the Yangtze River fell one after another into the hands of the enemy, up to I-chang, not far from the Yangtze gorges. Finally that too failed to stem the tide of advancing enemy might and went under the heel of the invader.

Kunming felt the pinch of every adversity of war. What most affected the daily life of the people was the rising cost of living. When we came there, in the second year of war, rice per Chinese bushel (eighty kilograms) cost $6 in Chinese currency. When it had increased by degrees to $40 a bushel one of our professors of economics predicted that after a few months it would rise to $70. People laughed at him. But it did go to $70. The capitulation of Indo-China and the loss of Burma both severely affected the price of commodities.

The first noticeable rise in prices came after the first bombing of the city by enemy planes. The country people were afraid to come in, and fewer vegetables and meats were brought to market. The shopkeepers worried over the safety of their goods and raised prices to cover their possible loss. The embargo on certain imported goods also affected the prices of similar or allied home products. Thus the embargo on kerosene raised the prices of vegetable oils. The rise in price of vegetable oils carried with it an increasing price for lard. When lard went up, pork followed suit. One thing thus led to another. The upward run of prices naturally gave rise to a host of hoarders. Hoarding in turn aggravated the price situation. When the swing of the pendulum went higher on one side, momentum brought it high again on the other.

The thing to have done, of course, was to control prices by controlling commodities from the very beginning of the war; not try to regulate prices

after it was too late. I was told by a British friend that British farmers made a good deal of profit out of the First World War, but that farm products were controlled at the beginning of this war. Since this was the first modern war on a large scale in China, she had no past experience of such problems.

The climate of Kunming is really ideal. Situated in the semitropical zone at an altitude of six thousand feet, the city is something like a great summer resort. But because of its size the inhabitants do not think of it as such. It is perpetual spring. The rainy season falls in summer, when, frequent showers cool off the summer days. During the other seasons most of the days are filled with smiling sunshine cast upon the luxuriant growth in the fields from a cloudless blue sky.

Flowers abound in that climate and fruits are plentiful. Melons, eggplant, and citrons grow to enormous sizes. People do not have to work hard to make a living; they enjoy a complacent life and take things in leisurely fashion. Newcomers from the coastal provinces were at first exasperated by the slowness of the inhabitants, but they themselves gradually melted into that sea of tranquility.

The people of Kunming were quite concerned about the flow of thousands of refugees into the city from the coast. Many brought large sums of money and spent it freely. The local people blamed them for the increasing cost of living. The city was crowded with fashionable young ladies and well-dressed folk from the coast. In the evenings they rubbed shoulders with native citizens on the sidewalks of the main streets of Kunming. House rents rose fast. Hotels were all filled to capacity; on arrival people often found no place to stay. New houses shot up like mushrooms. Old houses destroyed by bombs were rapidly restored. Yet the population grew faster than houses could be built to accommodate it.

Within the few years of the war Kunming was transformed. The old tranquil scene was filled with truck drivers, war profiteers, contractors, engineers, and manufacturers. Munitions trucks shuttled through the outskirts of the city.

The natural and historic surroundings, however, remained unchanged. Kunming Lake, which flows into the Yangtze and over two thousand miles into the Yellow Sea,[2] remained as placid as before. Fish and duck enjoyed their watery life as in days of old. Historic temples with quaint trees around

them perched on the hills overlooking the wide span of the rippling lake. The Buddhist monks chanted their prayers as others had done centuries ago. Looking over the lake to the horizon I often wondered: If a sealed bottle with letters in it were thrown into the water, might it not be carried by the outgoing current down the Yangtze, passing through Chungking, I-chang, Hankow, Kiu-kiang, Anking, and Nanking to the sea near Shanghai? And perhaps some fisherman might pick it up and forward it to my native land of Chekiang. It was, of course, only the dream of an exile thinking of home.

A network of aqueducts, built between two parallel embankments protected by age-old spruces, conducts water to irrigate tens of thousands of acres of fertile land. The embankments are wide enough to run a horse on; one could trot leisurely along this endless trail for miles in the forest of scent-laden spruce, traversing the luxuriant fields.

In the city a stone tablet marking the spot where the last refugee emperor of the Mings was strangled to death looks tragically down the slope at the passers-by. The much-to-be-pitied emperor fled to Burma, but was taken back to China by General Wu San-kwei, the one who later, while defending the Great Wall against the Manchus, was to go over to the enemy in order to save his lady from the bandit leader. In his campaign against his own people in south China he came to Yunnan, where the captive emperor was brought before him.

"What do you have to say?" asked the general, as the story has it.

"Nothing," replied the last emperor of the Mings. "The only thing I want to know is, why did you rebel against my forefathers, from whom you received so much favor and so many honors?"

Wu San-kwei trembled at these words and ordered the captive emperor strangled at the spot where the stone tablet now stands. It reads: "Here died Emperor Yung-li of the Ming Dynasty for his country."

About ten kilometers from the city is the Black Dragon Pool. Spring water, crystal clear, oozes out from the bottom and overflows into tiny streams. Around it are temples and gigantic moss-grown trees. A scholar and his family lived here toward the end of the Ming Dynasty. When news of the emperor's death and the consequent downfall of the dynasty reached him, he plunged into the pool and committed suicide. His family and servants

followed suit. The whole family died for their country by suicide and were all buried there. This is difficult for the Western mind to understand, but Chinese philosophy holds that if you cannot do anything else to save your country, death is the only way to redeem the debt of your conscience. By this philosophy the Chinese soldiers laid down their lives during this war willingly by hundreds of thousands in a battle often of simple flesh and blood against the enemy's steel and fire.

Our more or less chronological story is here ended for the time being. The following chapters will discuss some of the problems of Chinese civilization and culture, past, present, and future, and some of the persistent national problems that will present themselves in China in years to come.

From Hongkong in 1842 to Pearl Harbor in 1941 is a period of exactly one century; to tell the story of that period this volume has been written. England was instrumental in blasting China's southern gates open to world commerce. With the flow of opium and Western manufactures came the seeds of Western thought and science, which affected China's view toward life and the universe. She resisted, struggled, and finally absorbed Western culture, as she did Indian culture centuries and centuries before. England was the instrument of Fate that brought China into the community of the world.

The course China took was rather roundabout, like the winding of the Yangtze River. But in direction she remained unchanged—like the Yangtze which moves down over its course of more than two thousand miles to color the Yellow Sea, in spite of its many windings. It flows day and night, month after month, year after year, and will flow in the same way for endless centuries to come. The invincible Yangtze is the symbol of China's national life and culture.

[1] 中国国民党和中国共产党领导的抗日军队，分别担负着正面战场和敌后战场的作战任务，形成了共同抗击日本侵略者的战略态势。以国民党军队为主体的正面战场，组织了一系列大仗，特别是全国抗战初期的淞沪、忻口、徐州、武汉等战役，给日军以沉重打击。

[2] 此处与事实不符。长江注入东海，而非黄海（长江口北岸的启东角与韩国济州岛西南角的连线是黄海和东海的分界线）。

第六部 抗战时期

东北与朝鲜

民国七年（一九一八年）夏天，也就是中日战争爆发前十九年，我曾经和一位朋友到东北去过一趟。日本侵略中国是从东北开始的，我们且来看看民国初年时那里的情形。

我们从上海搭火车到南京，在下关渡长江到浦口，再搭津浦铁路火车到北京，自浦口北上，火车穿越广漠的平原，一共走了两天两夜。这还是我第一次经过这一区域。飞扬的沙尘，干旱的黄土，以及遍野的玉蜀黍，与江南潮湿的黑土，蜿蜒的溪涧，连绵的稻田和起伏的丘陵，适成强烈的对比。

我心里想，北方与南方地理环境的不同，可能与两地人民体魄和心理的差异有很大的关系。我的祖先几百年来所居住的华东江浙两省，曾在历史上出过无数的学者、艺术家和政治家；但是我现在经过的苏北和皖北却似乎是全国最贫穷的地区，境内树木砍伐殆尽，淮河更不时泛滥成灾。

车离苏北进入黄河流域的山东省境。山东是华北的沿海省份之一，人民个子高大，肌肉结实，生活勤劳，但是人烟过于稠密，省民不得不向外谋发展。最后我们到了北京，使我有机会初次瞻仰故都的公园、宫殿、博物院和花园。我们从北京循京奉铁路续向沈阳进展，途经长城的终点山海关。全球闻名的万里长城，西起甘肃的嘉峪关，像一条巨龙蜿蜒而东，以迄于渤海岸的山海关，把中国本部与满洲及蒙古隔为两半。在火车穿越山海关以前，我们随处可以听到知了（蝉）在枝头此唱彼和，喧闹的情形与中国其他各地完全一样。但一出山海关就不闻蝉声了。原来知了只在长城以内生长、歌唱。

我们在夜色苍茫中到达沈阳，车站建在城内的日本租界里。街头到处是日本商店，很像日本的一座小城。日本势力侵入满洲已经是铁的事实，除非中国与日本一决雌雄，否则这种情势绝无法遏止。在历史上，满洲和蒙古一直是中国祸患之源。这两个广大区域里的民族如匈奴、蒙古和鞑靼，不时越过长城入侵，致令中原板荡，民不聊生。日本人一旦盘据满洲，势将成为现代的鞑靼。

我们拜访了好几位在当地军阀张作霖手下做事的官员，从他们那里

听到许多关于满洲的情形。我们原来打算去看张作霖，但是被朋友劝住了。沈阳是奉天省的省会，也是三百年前满洲人征服中国以前的京城。我们参观了沈阳附近的皇陵，清兵入关前的清室诸王就葬在那里。

我们从沈阳搭日本人经营的南满铁路到宽城子。宽城子就是我们现在所知道的长春市，民国二十年（一九三一年）九·一八事变后一度改名新京而成为伪满洲国的首都。日本势力侵入宽城子的迹象非常显著，日本商店随处可见。

铁道两旁是一望无际的麦田，繁茂的麦穗说明了长城之外这块辽阔的处女地正是中国最富庶的地方，供应每年从山东、河北来的千万移民，绰有余裕。从中国抢走东北等于剥夺了她的生存空间，并使黄河流域的省份窒息而死。

宽城子是日人经营的南满铁路的终点，也是原由帝俄经营的中东铁路的起点。中东铁路公司承袭了沙皇政府的腐败作风，由一群贪污无能的白俄雇员在管理。买了票的乘客上车时还得争夺座位，不买票坐霸王车的人反而大模大样占据着舒适的车厢。扒窃之风非常猖獗。有一位乘客，穿着皮鞋睡在卧车的上铺，早上醒来，发现一只皮鞋已经不翼而飞。他眼睁睁地望着那只失掉鞋子的脚，想不通鞋子被人脱走时他为什么毫无知觉。我也想不通，偷鞋子的贼光偷一只鞋子究竟有什么用途。这件怪事发生以后，全体乘客都小心翼翼地守着自己的行李不敢离开。我的那位朋友为了保险起见，赶紧把携带的卢布塞到内衣口袋里，晚上并且穿着长衫睡觉。第二天早上他的卢布仍然不翼而飞。回程经过哈尔滨车站时，我从车窗探身与中国海关的一位美国官员谈话，我发觉有人摸我臀部的裤袋。我还来不及转身，自己的卢布也不见了。

破败的哈尔滨市是我国最北的国际都市，也是东方与西方的交会地，衣衫褴褛的中俄两国的穷孩子在街头一道玩耍，中俄通婚的事也屡见不鲜。小孩子们说着一种混杂的语言，一半中文，一半俄文。哈尔滨贫苦居民不分畛域地交往相处，对我倒是一件新鲜的事。在上海，顽固的洋人总是瞧不起比他们穷的中国人，把中国人看成瘟疫似的。这或许是因为很少赤贫的欧洲人到上海来住的缘故。但是最重要的原因，还是俄国多混血儿。鞑靼与斯拉夫血统合流已经有相当的年代了。

从前平坦整洁的哈尔滨街道，已经多年未曾修整。我们所坐的马车，在崎岖的路面经过时，忽上忽下地颠簸震荡，我们必须经常紧紧抓住一点东西，才不致于跌出车外，舒服不舒服自然谈不到了。下水道大部淤塞。一阵暴雨之后，街道便成泽国，积水深可没胫。我们曾经碰到不少从南方来的人在这里做生意。这城里的商人们靠小麦、大豆和矿砂

的投机居奇，全都利市百倍。他们只知道赚钱，可没有时间理会这个俄国人发展起来的城市究竟残破到什么程度。

我们随后又到吉林省城吉林，当地优美的风景给我们很深的印象。吉林城建筑在松花江北岸，爬上城内山头的寺庙眺望江景，宽阔处有如湖泊，使我想起了杭州的西湖。江中盛产鱼鲜，松花江的白鱼是大家公认最为鲜美的一种鱼。帝制时代，只有皇帝、后妃以及王公大臣才有吃到白鱼的口福。北京郊外青龙桥在夏季有白鱼市，因为慈禧太后常在颐和园驻跸避暑。直到北伐以前，我们在青龙桥还可买到白鱼。大家相信能够延年益寿的人参也是吉林的特产，每年有大量的人参运入关内，销售各省。

我们又到黑龙江的省会齐齐哈尔逗留了一个短时期，我们在那里经历了一次气候由夏转冬的急遽变化。我们发现绿叶在一夜之间枯萎，纷纷从枝头飞坠。齐齐哈尔已经是中国境内最北的都市，除非搭乘连接西伯利亚铁路的支线火车前往西伯利亚，我们已无法再往北前进。

回到哈尔滨以后，我们包了一只汽船，沿平静的松花江顺流驶往富锦县。舟行两日一夜，沿途饱览山光水色，曲折迂回的江上不时出现原始森林遮掩着的岛屿，夜间月明如洗，北国夏夜的空气更是清新凉爽。月亮倒映在河水里，我们的船缓缓经过时，水面激起银鳞似的微波。松花江本身也常常有山穷水尽疑无路的情境，江水似乎汇为湖泊，森林覆盖得黑森森的山峰，常常在月色辉映中横阻去路。但是当我们驶近山麓时，江流会或左或右忽然回转，我们的船也绕山而过，河道再度向前平伸，江水继续向天边外滚滚奔流而去。

富锦县是个农仓林立的城市。周围几百里内所出产的小麦和大豆都运集在这个边城里。冬天里四周用冰砖筑起城墙，以防止土匪"红胡子"的袭击。入夏冰砖融化，因为夏天盗匪较少，防务也可以稍稍松弛。这里每个人都带着枪，也都知道如何放枪。这些边陲省份的人民仍然保持着原始作风，充满了战斗精神，未曾因古老文化的熏染而变得文弱，与长城以内的老大民族适成强烈的对比。抗战前，中国空军就曾从东北处女地的这群强壮的人民中吸收了大批最优秀的斗士。

我们的最终目的是罗甸县和我们一位朋友的农场。罗甸县在黑龙江与松花江汇合处三角地带的尖端，黑龙江下游与松花江合流后叫混同江。我们从富锦改乘小船顺流而下，于傍晚到达罗甸，当晚寄宿在一个孤零零的小茅屋里，宽阔的砖炕的一部分已经睡着一位老太婆和一只小猫，剩下的一角就用以安顿我们。泥地上睡着两只肥猪，它们似乎睡得很安稳，时而发出重浊的鼾声。蚊子和臭虫扰得我们整夜不能入睡。

天亮以前我们就起个大早望农场进发。一行四人骑着马，鱼贯穿越连绵数里的树林和麦田。在我们到达目的地以前，太阳已经爬上树梢。黑龙江彼岸俄罗斯境内的山岭依稀可辨。马蝇渐聚渐多，咬得我们坐骑血流如注。我骑的是一匹白马，马身上血流如汗，下垂如柳条。我们只有用马尾鬃制的蝇拂尽力驱逐这些马蝇。早上六点钟光景，我们到达一个丹麦人经营的农场，据说一星期前曾有一伙红胡子光顾这里。各处墙壁弹痕累累。

我们在八点钟左右到达目的地。在最初几年里，这块处女地上所经营的农场，每年种植的收益相当不错，真正的问题在乎盗匪。几个月以前，"小白龙"曾经带着一伙人到农场来光顾一次，掳走大批的鸡鸭牛羊。土匪们似乎对农场上的人相当友善，还用他们的破枪枝换走一批新枪。农场经理说："无论如何，土匪并不如想像中的那么坏。如果日本人控制东三省，那我们就真的完蛋了。"

罗甸县是我们这次北行的终站，在满洲大陆的南端，我们曾访问过日本的租借地大连与旅顺。大连是个商港，东北的大豆就是由这里大量出口的。旅顺港是个海军基地，也是东北的门户，一九○四年日俄战争就为此而发。帝俄失败以后，租借权也就转入日人之手。从旅顺和朝鲜开始而贯穿南满的铁路已使日本人控制了东三省的心脏和动脉。

我们在这海军基地漫游了一天，爬上许多山头，希望能够鸟瞰全港。夕阳衔山时我们终于在一处山头上看到一个石碑，碑上刻着日本东乡大将引金人的两句诗云：

"拥兵百万西湖上，

立马吴山第一峰。"

南宋曾在一一二七年建都杭州，吴山第一峰就在西湖之滨，金人则于一二七六年征服南宋。[6] 日俄战争以后，东乡大将和他同胞的梦想就是步武金人的后尘。大约三十年之后，这个梦想居然实现。继攻陷上海之后，日军终于进占杭州，骑马登上吴山第一峰。

朝鲜是日本帝国主义到达亚洲大陆的跳板。一八九四年的中日战争就是因为朝鲜而引起的。为控制这个古老王国而起的中日战争是日本侵略亚洲大陆的开端，也为中国历史揭开了新的一页，接着而来的是中国的维新运动、革命、内战、灾祸、国耻以及西化运动和现代化运动。

我们在游历满洲以后就转往朝鲜。我们坐火车渡过鸭绿江到达仁川，由仁川续行到达朝鲜京城汉城[7]。

日本的朝鲜总督就住在汉城。雄伟的西式总督府建在王宫的正前面，像是故意要侮辱朝鲜国王似的。国王已经不再存在，王宫却仍留在那里忍受被挤在总督府背后的侮辱。

王宫与北京的中国宫殿一模一样，不过规模却小得多，所以只能算是小型宫殿。据熟悉李朝掌故的韩人某君对我说：中国钦差来访时，李王必须降阶亲迎；如奉上谕，李王尚须跪接圣旨。

王宫的后面有个中国式的亭，嫔妃们就在这亭子里表演唐朝时的中国古代歌舞。在朝鲜和日本，古代的中国风俗习惯至今仍风行不衰。他们对中国字的发音，他们的风俗习惯、舞蹈、音乐和生活方式都可追溯到唐代的影响。当我站在那个亭子里眺望着笼罩在烟雾里的汉城小山时，我不禁神驰于唐朝（六一八——九○五）的辉煌时代，当时的中国文化有如丽日中天，光芒四射，远及日本、朝鲜和越南等地，成了一个远东文化圈。这个灿烂的文化的祖国已因历经外族入侵而改变了她的风俗习惯和生活方式。十九世纪时，日本在中国唐朝的文化基础上吸收了西洋文明而创立了一种新的文化，终于并吞了朝鲜，而且食髓知味，正预备鲸吞她的恩师中国。但是日本倒也给了中国一个教训：如何在古文化的基础上建立一个富强的新中国。中国的一连串改革、革命、西化运动和现代化运动也就是这样开始的。

在我思前想后的当儿，太阳已经从云层后面探出头来，汉城山头的烟雾也很快消散了。引我到王宫去的是位精通汉学的韩国老学者，他一直默然站在我旁边，这时才提醒我晚上的一个宴会。我们离开亭子后经过闵妃被刺的地方，据说闵妃因同情中国而遭日人暗杀。"我知道你心里在想什么，"这位老学者对我说，"我国现在要振作也太晚了。我们的国王已经因沉湎声色歌舞而贻误国事。但是中国是有光明的前途的，中国是你的国家，也可以看作我的祖国。我已经老了，老弟，你还年轻，你好好地为中国努力吧！"

我们到达中国总领事馆时，晚餐已经准备好了。总领事馆在从前是中国特使的官邸。中国、帝俄和日本竞争这位朝鲜小姐的四角恋爱期间，这座历史性的大厦里面究竟有过什么活动，恐怕只有参与其事的人才知道。历史记载只给我们一个模糊的轮廓；私人记录即使有，也迄今未发表。一切情形只能凭后人想像了。

汉城的生活正在迅速地日本化。日本的商场、银行、店铺和饭馆，占据着大街闹市。大企业的经理、政府官员、重要学府的教员全都是日本人，被征服者的生活习惯，正像他们的皇宫一样，正在步步往后退缩。街头不时可以碰到朝鲜人蹲踞在人行道上，嘴里衔着长烟筒，吞云

吐雾，悠然自得；妇女们头上顶着沉重的篮子，悠闲地在街上走过。几处讲授四书五经的老式学校已有无法维持之势。我曾经去过这样的一所学校，那里有一位教经书的老先生，十多位学生则围着他蹲踞在垫席上。朝鲜人和日本人仍旧保持着中国的古代方式，蹲踞在地板上。地板下面即使在夏天也用温火烘着，垫席打扫得和床铺一样清洁。学生们必须背诵中国经书，和我童年时的情形完全一样。虽然他们采用同样的课本，字句发音却迥然不同。他们像中国的广东和日本、越南一样，中国字的发音和唐朝人的读法相似或竟相同。

所有人都穿着棉絮布袜，夏季也不例外。我问他们这是什么道理，他们说是因为北方的土地太寒。但是他们身上却都穿着非常凉爽的白色麻布长衫。

朝鲜人、日本人和越南人，都爱好中国的山水画、书法和诗词。但是这三个民族都保持着他们自己的特色。艺术方面如此，生活方面亦然。朝鲜和越南后来受明朝的影响较大；日本则为海洋所隔离，且明代与德川幕府，彼此均以锁国为政策，故所受影响不多。此外，以海为家的日本人富于冒险精神，因此保持着古代中国的尚武精神；朝鲜人和越南人则深受明以后几百年来中国崇尚文事的影响。授予中国文人莫大尊荣的科举制度曾经传入朝鲜和越南，却止于日本大门之外。

朝鲜的年轻一代因受日本人控制下的现代学校的影响，对中国的态度已有急剧的转变；在这些学校里，日本天皇被奉为神明，日本人的优点被捧上天，中国人的缺点则被过分描写。如果说朝鲜青年对日本的态度是仇恨，那么对中国的态度就是鄙夷。年老的一代惋叹充满中国文化的黄金时代已成为过去，年轻的一代虽有少数人认为自己是大日本帝国的天皇子民，而大多数的青年却仍仇视日本。

[6] 此处疑原文有误。1276年，元军攻占南宋都城。1279年，南宋彻底灭亡。

[7] 汉城：2005年起中文译名作“首尔”。

战云密布

我辞卸国民政府的教育部长以后，于民国十九年（一九三○年）十月回到北京——这时已改称北平。但北京大学校名以历史关系名未改。旋奉当时任行政院长的蒋委员长之命，再度承乏北京大学校务。

学生游行示威的次数已大见减少。国都迁往南方以后，政治活动的重心已跟着转移，学生们示威反对的对象已经不多，只有日本的侵略偶然激发学生的示威行动。日本在东北发动侵略以后，此时已经向关内迅速扩展。

民国二十年（一九三一年）九月十九日早晨，我正坐在北大校长室里办公，忽然电话传来前一天发生的惊人消息：日本人已经在沈阳发动突击，国军为避免冲突，已撤出沈阳。

…… ……

几个月以后，我因事回到南方。民国二十一年（一九三二年）一月二十八日下午，我前往上海车站，准备搭火车回北平。进车站后，发现情势迥异平常，整个车站像荒凉的村落。一位车站警卫是认识我的，他告诉我，已经没有往外开的车子。"看样子，日本人马上要发动攻击了。"他说，"你最好马上离开这里。恐怕这里随时要出事呢！"

那天夜里，我突然被一阵炮声惊醒，接着是一阵轧轧的机枪声。我从床上跳起来，随着旅馆里的人跑到屋顶观望。天空被车站附近射出来的炮火映得通红。日本侵略似乎已经追在我脚跟后面，从北方到了南方，我所住的十层高楼的旅馆在租界以内，日本炮火不会打过来的。我同一班旅客都作隔岸观火。隆隆的大炮声、拍拍的机枪声终宵不断。第二天早晨，我再度爬上屋顶，发现商务印书馆正在起火燃烧，心里有说不出的难过。好几架日本轰炸机在轮番轰炸商务印书馆的房子。黑烟冲天，纸片漫天飞舞，有些碎纸片上还可以看到"商务印书馆"的字样。

日本已经展开对上海的攻击。结果引起一场民国二十六年（一九三七年）以前最激烈的战事，但是中国终于被迫接受条件，准许日本在上海驻兵。

从民国十九年到二十六年的七年内，我一直把握着北大之舵，竭智尽能，希望把这学问之舟平稳渡过中日冲突中的惊涛骇浪。在许多朋友协助之下，尤其是胡适之、丁在君（文江）和傅孟真（斯年），北大幸

能平稳前进，仅仅偶尔调整帆篷而已。

科学教学和学术研究的水准提高了。对中国历史和文学的研究也在认真进行。教授们有充裕的时间从事研究，同时诱导学生集中精力追求学问，一度曾是革命活动和学生运动漩涡的北大，已经逐渐转变为学术中心了。七年之中只有一次值得记录的示威运动。当日军迅速向长城推进时，京沪一带的学生大声疾呼，要求政府立即对日作战。大规模的示威游行不时在南京发生，北平的学生也亟欲参加此一救国运动。有一天，一大群学生聚集东火车站，准备搭乘南下的火车。军警当局不准他们上车，这班男女青年就日夜躺卧在铁轨上，不让火车出站。最后当局只好让几百名学生南下，与他们在南京的同志会师。

我们头上的乌云愈来愈密，此后几年中我们为了争取时间，只好小心翼翼地在浅水里缓缓前进，不敢闯进急流，以免正面撞上日本侵华的浪潮。但是我们的谨慎是与懦怯不同的。每当日本的第五纵队伪装的学者来这"文化中心"（实际上他们却把北大看成反日运动的中心）"拜访"时，我们总是毫无保留地表示我们的态度。记得有一位日本学者曾经对北大教授们滔滔不绝地大谈中日文化关系，结果我们告诉他，除了日本的军事野心之外，我们可看不出中日之间有什么文化关系存在。"只要你们肯放弃武力侵略的野心，中日两国自然就能携手合作的。"

这些学者，包括地质学家、经济学家、生物学家等等，不时来拜访我们，希望争取北大的"友谊"。他们一致埋怨我们的反日运动。我们告诉他们，我们不一定是反日，不过我们反对日本军国主义却是真的。但是他们一心一意要灭亡中国，除了中国完全投降，他们绝不会改变方针。

这时，驻屯东三省的日本关东军正迅速向长城之内推进。国军先沿长城浴血奋战，继在河北省北部步步抵抗，最后终于撤退到北平及其近郊。伤兵络绎于途。各医院到处人满。北大教职员也发动设立了一所伤兵医院，由内子陶曾主持院务，教职员太太和女学生充任职员和看护。因为这医院的关系，我与作战部队有了较密切的接触，同时，获悉他们的心理状态。他们认为作战失利完全是由于缺乏现代武器，尤其是枪支，因而以血肉之躯筑成的长城，终被敌人冲破了。

国军以血肉筑成长城抗御敌人的弹雨火海，主要的凭藉就是这种不屈不挠的精神。这种精神使中国在漫长痛苦的八年之中愈战愈勇，虽然千千万万的人受伤死亡，中国却始终连哼都不哼一声。我们虽然节节失利，却终于赢得战争。

战事正在沿长城进行时，当时的军政部长何敬之（应钦）将军曾亲至北平指挥作战。他和我都希望能达成停战以换取时间。我访晤英国大使蓝浦生，探询他有无出任调人之意。他说日本大使馆的须磨先生曾经对他暗示，日本也希望停战。蓝浦生大使当即拍电报向伦敦请示，伦敦覆电同意由他出任调人。我们经由美国驻华大使詹森先生把这件事通知华盛顿。但是这个计划终于胎死腹中，因为当时的外交部长罗钧任（文干）告诉在南京的英国大使馆说，除了他本人之外，谁也无权与外国办交涉。

不久日军突破国军沿长城布置的防线，步步向北平逼近，北平军民已开始准备撤退。

我当时因为割盲肠之后正躺在北京协和医院，对外面的情形很隔膜。有一天清早，我听到日本飞机在头上盘旋，直觉地感到情势不妙。我得到主治医生的许可，忍痛步行到何敬之将军的寓所。他见我还留在北平城内，很感意外。他告诉我日军马上会发动攻击，劝我快离开北平，于是我准备第二天就离开。第二天早晨，我的电话响了，是何将军打来的："我们已经谈妥停战，你不必走了。"我马上打电话把这消息转告胡适之。

"真的吗？日本飞机还在我们头上盘旋呢！"他说。

"何敬之将军刚刚打电话来这样说的。"我所能回答的也仅此而已。后来才知道黄膺白（郛）已代表中国在午夜签订塘沽协定，根据此项协定，日军在占领河北省北部以后，将暂时停止前进。

日军占领上述地区后，就在当地成立"自治政府"，并催促留在河北的国军司令官与他们合作，在北平也成立一个"自治政府"。北平城内谣言满天飞，说河北省境内的司令宋哲元将军即将对日本人屈服。北大教授就在这紧急关头发表宣言，声明誓死反对华北的所谓"自治运动"。事实上，宋哲元将军也并没有答应日本人的要求。

一两个月以后的一个下午，一个日本宪兵到北大来找我。"日本在东交民巷的驻防军请你去一趟，谈谈他们希望了解并且需要你加以解释的事情。"他这样告诉我。我答应在一小时之内就去，这位日本兵也就告辞回去了。

我把这件事通知家里的几位朋友之后，在天黑以前单独往东交民巷日本兵营。我走进河边将军的办公室以后，听到门锁咔嚓一声，显然门已下了锁。一位日本大佐站起来对我说："请坐。"我坐下时，用眼睛扫了旁边一眼，发现一位士官拔出手枪站在门口。

"我们司令请你到这里来，希望知道你为什么要进行大规模的反日宣传。"他一边说，一边递过一支香烟来。

"你说什么？我进行反日宣传？绝无其事！"我回答说，同时接过他的烟。

"那末，你有没有在那个反对自治运动的宣言上签字？"

"是的，我签了名的。那是我们的内政问题，与反日运动毫无关系。"

"你写过一本攻击日本的书。"

"拿这本书出来给我看看！"

"那末你是日本的朋友吗？"

"这话不一定对。我是日本人民的朋友，但是也是日本军国主义的敌人，正像我是中国军国主义的敌人一样。"

"呃，你知道，关东军对这件事有点小误会。你愿不愿意到大连去与坂垣将军谈谈？"这时电话铃响了，大佐接了电话以后转身对我说："已经给你准备好专车。你愿意今晚去大连吗？"

"我不去。"

"不要怕，日本宪兵要陪你去的，他们可以保护你。"

"我不是怕，如果我真的怕，我也不会单独到这里来了。如果你们要强迫我去，那就请便吧——我已经在你们掌握之中了。不过我劝你们不要强迫我。如果全世界人士，包括东京在内，知道日本军队绑架了北京大学的校长，那你们可就要成为笑柄了。"

他的脸色变了，好像我忽然成了一个棘手的问题。"你不要怕呀！"他心不在焉地说。

"怕吗？不，不。中国圣人说过，要我们临难毋苟免，我相信你也一定知道这句话。你是相信武士道的，武士道绝不会损害一个毫无能力的人。"我抽着烟，很平静地对他说。

电话又响了，他再度转身对我说："好了，蒋校长，司令要我谢谢你这次的光临。你或许愿意改天再去大连——你愿意什么时候去都行。谢谢你。再见！"门锁又是咔嚓一响。大佐帮我穿好大衣，陪我到汽车旁边，还替我打开汽车门。这时夜色已经四合了。我独自到日本兵营，也有朋友说我不应该去的，听日本人来捕好了。他们敢么？

第二天下午，宋哲元将军派了一位少将来劝我离开北平，因为他怕自己无力保护我。我向他的代表致谢，不过告诉他，我将继续留在北平负起我的责任。

不久以后，蒋委员长因陈辞修将军北上之便，亦来代表慰问。

我继续在北平住下来，而且居然平安无事。偶然也有些朝鲜浪人到北大来寻衅找岔，这些事曾经一一报告给我知道，但是我并未予以重视。不久日本人的策略开始转变了。松室孝良将军受命来北平担任日军的特别代表。他与我交了朋友，常常到我家里来。他大骂那位日本将军不该在东交民巷兵营折磨我。大概半年光景，我们私人之间一直保持非常友好的关系。他任期届满时，穿了全副武装来向我辞行。他告诉我，他已奉命调往东北与西伯利亚交界的海拉尔去指挥一个骑兵师。他说战云愈来愈低，如果中国与日本真的发生冲突，那是很不幸的。"战事一旦发生，"他说，"日军势将深入汉口。"

"是的，将军，我同意你的看法。两国之间不幸而发生公开冲突，很可能会引起国际纠纷，那时整个日本舰队都可能葬身海底，日本帝国会缩小为太平洋地图上的几粒小黑点。"

他叹了一口气："那当然也可能。但是日本仍旧是独立的国家，中国却不免要被西方列强消灭了。"

"也可能如此。下次碰面时，希望我们不必为愚蠢的作为而抱头痛哭。不管将来发生什么事情，将军，希望我们永远是朋友。"我们就这样怀着沉重的心情分别了。战事结束若干年后，我经过东京偕内子陶曾往访，相对话旧，不禁感慨系之。

接替他的是今井将军。他来拜访我，我也曾去回拜。我们谈得很坦白，和我跟松室孝良谈话的情形大致相似。有一次，日本贵族院的两位议员来访，其中一位曾任台湾总督。四顾无人之后，他低声问我，在东交民巷日本兵营拘留我的是谁。我告诉他是高桥。他摇头说：

"岂有此理！"

这时候日本人已经明白，北大并无意于马上发起反日运动，他们希望能与北大里的主要教授建立友谊，而把北大拉到日本这一边。双方来往都很审慎，北大与日军之间的紧张情势至此已渐渐缓和了。

后来田代将军来到天津担任当地驻军司令。日本以及其他列强，因条约规定有权在天津驻军，田代特地跑到北平来，设宴招待中日双方文武要员。田代在席间发表演说，鼓吹中日经济合作，中国官员也曾有人

继起发言，但是措词都相当含糊。我除了吃饭时偶尔说笑外，对于经济合作问题始终不发一言。几天之后，忽然南京来了密电，告诉我，日本大使馆已经暗示外交部，说北大校长支持中日合作。

这就是日本人对付中国的手段。程序大概是：先来一套甜言蜜语，继之挑拨阴谋，然后威胁恫吓，接着又是甜言蜜语，最后施行闪电攻击。先后次序可能有所改变，但是从来不离征服中国的基本方针。日本人在珍珠港事变以前对付美国的，也是这一套。

抗战初期

未改名北平以前的北京是文化活动和学生运动的中心，易名以后则变为中日冲突的中心。民国二十六年（一九三七年）之初，北平附近事端迭起，战事已如箭在弦上，不得不发。七月七日的晚上，终于发生芦沟桥事变。日军在夜色掩护下发动攻击，从芦沟桥的彼端向北平近郊进袭，城内驻军当即予以还击。

战神降临北平时，我正在庐山。当时蒋委员长在这华中避暑胜地召集了一群知识分子商讨军国大事，有一天午后，天空万里无云，树影疏疏落落地点缀着绿油油的草地。蒋委员长曾经为他的客人准备了许多简单雅洁的房子，我吃过午饭正在一幢单开间独立的宿舍里休息，一面眺望着窗外一棵枝叶扶疏的大树，一面谛听着枝头知了的唱和。忽然《中央日报》程社长沧波来敲门，告诉我日军在前一晚对芦沟桥发动攻击的消息，我从床上跳起来追问详情，但是他所知也很有限。

我们曾经讨论可能的发展。因为我刚从北平来，他问我，根据我所知道的北平情况，对时局有何看法。我告诉他，以我对当地日军司令官的印象以及他们的保守见解来判断，这次事变似乎仍旧是地方性事件。日本的计划似乎还是蚕食中国，一时恐怕尚无鲸吞的准备。但是蚕食的结果，日本很可能在数年之内即根深蒂固地盘据华北而无法撼其分毫，到那时候，长江流域也就危在旦夕了。日本已经以渐进的方式吞噬东北而进窥华北，将来华北对华中、华南的局势亦复如是。同样的方法，同样的过程。这似乎就是日本对付中国的政策。

战事断断续续相持了好几天。十二天以后，北平城外的零星战事仍在进行，蒋委员长在牯岭对几千名在庐山训练团受训的将领演说，认为日本即将对中国发动全面攻击，呼吁大家准备不计代价保卫国家。他说："全面战争一旦开始，我们必须随时准备牺牲。……这次战争必将旷日持久，时间拖得愈长，我们的牺牲也就愈大。"

在这次演说里，我初次听见蒋委员长称呼侵华的日军为倭寇，并表示对日问题的坚决主张。倭寇这个名词，在一般听众或不甚注意，但在明代长期遭倭寇蹂躏的宁波和绍兴人，听到这种称呼，就会觉得事态严重。当时的听众之中有陈诚将军、胡宗南将军，以及其他后来在各区建立殊勋的许多将领。这次演说后不久，蒋委员长飞返南京，各将领亦分别返防。我和几位朋友飞到南京，希望赶返北平，但是北上火车已全部停顿。

在此后的两个星期内，战事像洪水一样泛滥北平附近。宋哲元将军英勇奋战，部下伤亡惨重。日军司令田代对中国问题的看法一向很保守，我知道得很清楚，不幸田代忽然病倒，思想激进的少壮军官遂得控制日本部队。数日后田代去世。究竟是病故、自杀或被杀，虽然谣言满天飞，谁也弄不清楚底细。宋哲元将军仍旧希望把事件局部化，要求兼程北上的中央政府军队暂时停留在保定。结果中央部队就在保定留下来了。

但是现由少壮军人指挥的日本军却并未停止前进；宋哲元将军的部队四面八方受到攻击。一位高级将领并在作战时阵亡。宋将军不得已撤出北平，日军未经抵抗即进入故都。

日军已经控制北平了，华北是否会像沈阳陷落后的东北，遭逢同样的命运呢？日本会不会在华北暂时停下来，在华北等上几年，然后再以之为攻击南方的基地呢？日本是不是已等得不耐烦，准备一举攻下南方而图一劳永逸呢？二者似乎均有可能。日本的渐进政策似乎对中国更危险。南京的高级官员以及各省的军事领袖全都赞成全面抵抗侵略。结果全国上下，包括政府官员、军事将领和平民百姓，万众一心，一致奋起应付空前的国难。

这时候，日本已开始派遣军队循海道开抵上海。中国也在同时派军队沿长江东下赶到沪渎。在这小小的区域里，已有好几万军队结集对峙着，战事一触即发。究竟那一方面先发第一枪都无关宏旨，不论是一位粗心大意的士兵无意中走火，或者是掌握大权者的决策。

日军官兵大家都知道，制造沈阳事变的负责将领如本庄繁和土肥原等均曾因功而获得最高级的勋奖。一手制造芦沟桥事变的人，无疑地也会获得同样的勋奖。谁又能怪渡海而来上海的日军将领也想一显身手呢？

我们在南京的人都知道，密布在全国上空的乌云势将迸发为狂风暴雨。我离开南京循公路到杭州，在湖滨一位朋友的别墅里住了几天，我们没有一天不担心，在淞沪对垒的中日军队会发生冲突。我的朋友王文伯不时打长途电话到上海探问情况。八月十二日，上海方面的回答很短促："没有消息。明天十点钟，十点钟，再见！"接着电话就挂断了。

第二天早上十点钟，历史性的时刻终于来临。浓烟上冲霄汉，双方的轰炸机交互炸射敌方阵地，全面战争已经开始了。从此不再有地方性的事件，也不再有蚕食的机会。日本要就一口吞下中国，要就完全放弃。但是吞下去倒也不容易，放弃吗？她又舍不得。这局面注定是一场

长期战争。

两天以后，一个乌云密布的下午，我正坐在柳荫下欣赏湖边浅水中鱼儿穿梭往返，城的这一边隐隐传来阵阵雷声。有人打电话给我："喂！你听到没有？"接着又是一阵雷声。"是呀，在打雷。"

"不是——敌人在轰炸我们的机场！"

七架没有战斗机掩护的木更津队轰炸机已经从台湾松山机场飞到杭州。驻扎笕桥的中国战斗机当即升空拦击，并当场击落其五架，其余两架夺路逃命，但是也在离杭州不远处被迫降落，飞行员被俘。我到绍兴专员公署去看一位俘虏，据他说，他们在台湾的指挥官曾经告诉他们，中国根本没有战斗机。

第二天，日军开始轰炸南京。战事刚开始时，日本人在一个地方只丢一个炸弹，所以他们所有的炸弹都是分散的。这种轰炸方式所造成的损害远较集中轰炸为小。一年之后，日军与俄军在伪满与西伯利亚交界处的张高峰[1] 发生冲突，日本人才从俄国学到集中轰炸的战术。

我的朋友王文伯是浙江省政府委员兼建设厅厅长。战事开始以后，他的工作自然跟着紧张起来了。他调集了好几百辆公路车，把军火运给前方。有一次，大约二十辆车子结队驶往前方，结果这队车辆误入敌人后方而遭围攻。其中的一位司机跳下车子躲在田野里，后来借夜色掩护爬出敌人阵地回到杭州。几天之后，他找了另外一辆卡车，又再度上前线担任运输工作去了。

难民从上海像潮水一样涌到杭州。庙宇里住满了妇孺老幼。山区的小茅屋也成了衣装入时摩登小姐的临时香闺。她们还是像以前一样谈笑，似乎根本没有发生过任何变故。我们中国人就有这点本领，即使身临危难，也常能处之泰然。

我有一位朋友，本来是上海的棉纱大王，"八·一三"战事发生后，带着他的子女逃到杭州，暂时住在山中的一所庙宇里。他告诉我，他预备给他的家人盖一幢房子。

"为什么？"我问他。

"上海作战期间，我想在杭州住下来。"他说。

我真想不到他对这次战争有这样的看法。我劝他最好还是迁到内地去，因为战事必定要蔓延到杭州以及所有的沿海城市，甚至可能远及华中的汉口。他听到这些话，好像没法相信似的。五年之后，我在重庆碰

到他，他告诉我，他们一家人在战火扩及杭州以前就离开西湖了。

与北方三个大学有关的人士正在南京商议学校内迁的计划。大家有意把北平的北京大学、清华大学和天津的南开大学从北方撤退而在长沙成立联合大学。胡适之从南京打电话给我，要我回到南京商量实施这个计划的办法。我经过考虑，勉强同意了这个计划。

我晓得在战事结束以前恐怕没有机会再见到父亲和我的老家。而且战局前途很难逆料，因此我就向朋友借了一辆别克轿车驶回家乡。这时父亲年纪已经很大，看到我回家自然笑逐颜开。我离家重返南京时告诉父亲说，中国将在火光血海中获得新生。

"你这是什么意思？"他目不转睛地望着我，双目炯炯有光。

"事情是这样的：这次战争将是一次长期战争，千千万万的房屋将化为灰烬，千千万万的百姓将死于非命。这就是我所说的火光血海，最后中国将获得胜利。"

当我向父亲告别时，我心里有一个感觉，怕自己从此没有机会再见我所敬爱的父亲了。父亲所施于我的实在太多了，但是我所报答他的却又如此之少。后来我的家乡遭到轰炸时，他迁到山中，以栽花养鸟自娱。战事发生两年以后的一个早上，他像平常一样起得很早，他忽然感到有点头晕，回到卧室，即告去世。享年八十。他不过是战争的间接受害者之一。战争对老年人实在是很大的磨难。

我回南京逗留几天之后就搭轮溯江而至汉口，码头附近沿江堆积着大批木箱，里面装着政府的档案、中央大学图书馆的书籍和故宫博物院的古物（即现在台中之古物）。从南京至汉口途中，我们曾碰到满载军队的船只，顺流东下增援上海。

我从汉口搭粤汉铁路赴长沙，沿途碰到好几批军队挤在敞篷车里，由广东、广西向北开往汉口。这次战争现在的的确确是全国性的，不再像过去一样是地方性的战事了。士兵们的斗志非常激昂，我问他们往哪里去。

"打日本鬼！"他们异口同声地说。

战时的长沙

长沙是个内陆城市。住在长沙的一段时期是我有生以来第一次远离海洋。甚至在留美期间，我也一直住在沿海地区，先在加利福尼亚住了四年，后来又在纽约住了五年。住在内陆城市使我有干燥之感，虽然长沙的气候很潮湿，而且离洞庭湖也不远。我心目中最理想的居所是大平原附近的山区，或者山区附近的平原，但是都不能离海太远。离海过远，我心目中的空间似乎就会被坚实的土地所充塞，觉得身心都不舒畅。

我到达长沙时，清华大学的梅贻琦校长已经先到那里。在动乱时期主持一个大学本来就是头痛的事，在战时主持大学校务自然更难，尤其是要三个个性不同、历史各异的大学共同生活，而且三校各有思想不同的教授们，各人有各人的意见。我一面为战局担忧，一面又为战区里或沦陷区里的亲戚朋友担心，我的身体就有点支持不住了。"头痛"不过是一种比喻的说法，但是真正的胃病可使我的精神和体力大受影响。虽然胃病时发，我仍勉强打起精神和梅校长共同负起责任来，幸靠同仁的和衷共济，我们才把这条由混杂水手操纵的危舟渡过惊涛骇浪。

联合大学在长沙成立以后，北大、清华、南开三校的学生都陆续来了。有的是从天津搭英国轮船先到香港，然后再搭飞机或粤汉铁路火车来的，有的则由北平搭平汉铁路火车先到汉口，然后转粤汉铁路到长沙。几星期之内，大概就有两百名教授和一千多名学生齐集在长沙圣经学校了。联合大学租了圣经学校为临时校舍。书籍和实验仪器则是在香港购置运来的，不到两个月，联大就粗具规模了。

因为在长沙城内找不到地方，我们就把文学院搬到佛教圣地南岳衡山。我曾经到南岳去过两次，留下许多不可磨灭的回忆。其中一次我和几位朋友曾深入丛山之中畅游三日，途中还曾经过一条山路，明朝末年一位流亡皇帝（永历帝）在三百年前为逃避清兵追赶曾经走过这条山路。现在路旁还树着一个纪念碑，碑上刻着所有追随他的臣子的名字。在我们经过的一所寺庙里，看见一棵松树，据一位老僧说是永历帝所手植的。说来奇怪，这棵松树竟长得像一位伛偻的老翁，似乎是长途跋涉之后正在那里休息。我们先后在同一的路上走过，而且暂驻在同一寺庙里，为什么？同是为了由北方来的异族入侵。一千多年来，中国始终为外来侵略所苦。

第一夜我们住宿在方广寺。明朝灭亡以后，一位著名的遗老即曾在

方广寺度其余年。那天晚上夜空澄澈，团明月在山头冉冉移动，我从来没有看到过这样低、这样近的月亮，好像一伸手就可以触到它这张笑脸。

第二夜我们住在接近南岳极峰的一个寺院里。山峰的顶端有清泉汩汩流出，泉旁有个火神庙。这个庙颇足代表中国通俗的想法，我们一向认为火旁边随时预备着水，因为水可以克火。

第二天早晨，我们在这火神庙附近看到了日出奇观，太阳从云海里冉冉升起，最先透过云层发出紫色的光辉，接着发出金黄色、粉红和蓝色的光彩，最后浮出云端，像一个金色的鸵鸟蛋躺卧在雪白的天鹅绒垫子上。忽然之间它分裂为四个金光灿烂的橘子，转瞬之间却又复合为一个大火球。接着的一段短暂时刻中，它似乎每秒钟都在变换色彩，很像电影的彩色镜头在转动。一会儿它又暂时停住不动了，四散发射着柔和的金光，最后又变为一个耀目大火球，使我们不得不转移视线。云海中的冰山不见了，平静的云浪也跟着消逝，只剩下一层轻雾笼罩着脚下的山谷。透过轻雾，我们看到缕缕炊烟正在煦和的旭日照耀下袅袅升起。

来南岳朝山进香的人络绎于途，有的香客还是从几百里之外步行来的。男女老幼，贫贱富贵，都来向菩萨顶礼膜拜。

长沙是湖南的省会，湖南是著名的鱼米之乡，所产稻米养活了全省人口以外，还可以供应省外几百万人的食用。湘江里最多的是鱼、虾、鳝、鳗和甲鱼，省内所产橘子和柿子鲜红艳丽。贫富咸宜的豆腐洁白匀净如浓缩的牛奶。唯一的缺点是湿气太重，一年之中雨天和阴天远较晴天为多。

我每次坐飞机由长沙起飞时，总会想到海龙王的水晶宫。我的头上有悠悠白云，脚下则是轻纱样的薄雾笼罩着全城，正像一层蛋白围绕着蛋黄。再向上升更有一层云挡住了阳光。在长沙天空飞行终逃不了层层遮盖的云。

湖南人的身体健壮，个性刚强，而且刻苦耐劳，他们尚武好斗，一言不合就彼此骂起来，甚至动拳头。公路车站上我们常常看到"不要开口骂人，不要动手打人"的标语。人力车夫在街上慢吞吞像散步，绝不肯拔步飞奔。如果你要他跑得快一点，他准会告诉你"你老下来拉吧——我倒要看看你老怎么个跑法"。湖南人的性子固然急，但行动却不和脾气相同，一个人脾气的缓急和行动的快慢可见并不一致的，湖南人拉黄包车就是一个例子。

他们很爽直，也很真挚，但是脾气固执，不容易受别人意见的影

响。他们要就是你的朋友，要就是你的敌人，没有折衷的余地。他们是很出色的军人，所以有"无湘不成军"的说法。曾国藩在清同治三年（一八六四年）击败太平军，就是靠他的湘军。现在的军队里，差不多各单位都有湖南人，湖南是中国的斯巴达。

抗战期间，日本人曾三度进犯长沙而连遭三次大败。老百姓在枪林弹雨中协助国军抗敌，伤亡惨重。

在长沙我们不断有上海战事的消息。国军以血肉之躯抵御日军的火海和弹雨，使敌人无法越过国军防线达三月之久。后来国军为避免继续作无谓的牺牲，终于撤出上海。敌军接着包围南京，首都人民开始全面撤退，千千万万的人沿公路涌至长沙。卡车、轿车成群结队到达，长沙忽然之间挤满了难民。从南京撤出的政府部会，有的迁至长沙，有的则迁到汉口。

日军不久进入南京，士兵兽性大发。许多妇女被轮奸杀死，无辜百姓在逃难时遭到日军机枪任意扫射。日军在南京的暴行，将在人类历史上永远留下不可磨灭的污点。

新年里，日军溯江进逼南昌。中国军队结集在汉口附近，日军则似有进窥长沙模样。湖南省会已随时有受到敌人攻击的危险。我飞到汉口，想探探政府对联大续迁内地的意见。我先去看教育部陈立夫部长，他建议最好还是去看总司令本人。因此我就去谒见委员长了。他赞成把联大再往西迁，我建议迁往昆明，因为那里可以经滇越铁路与海运衔接。他马上表示同意，并且提议应先派人到昆明勘寻校址。

民国二十七年（一九三八年）正月，就在准备搬迁中过去了。书籍和科学仪器都装了箱，卡车和汽油也买了。二月间，准备工作已经大致完成，我从长沙飞到香港，然后搭法国邮船到越南的海防。我从海防搭火车到法属越南首府河内，再由河内乘滇越铁路火车，经过丛山峻岭而达昆明。

日军入侵前夕之越南与缅甸

我由长沙绕道越南赴昆明途中，发现越南也保留着许多古代中国的风俗习惯，正如二十多年前我在朝鲜所发现的。越南人与朝鲜人一样，穿着一种近似明朝服饰的衣服。他们念中国字时，发音与唐代语言相像；乡村、城市和行政区也采用中国地名，这些地名的读音多少与唐代的读音相似。亦可以说与广东音相似。

越文是中文的一种变体，在一般用途上，法国人却宁取一种拉丁化的越文。这种拉丁化文字在一般人学起来自然容易得多，但以此为表达高深思想之工具是不够的。

越南国王保大在顺化的宫殿很像过去朝鲜李王的宫室，但是与北京的紫禁城比起来，规模同样地小得多了。事实上，越南皇宫很像明朝皇宫残留的一枝，法国人一直保留着越南皇宫，拿它作活的博物馆看待，日本人却宁愿把朝鲜国王送到日本，想把他改造为日本人。

有人告诉我，越南王的始祖葬在昆明某山头，因为他本来是中国人。后来有一天下午，我曾经去找越南王陵寝的故址，结果没有找到。

法国殖民地政府的所在地河内已经发展为现代化的法国城市，街道宽阔，公共建筑巍然矗立。但是一般农民所住的乡村却肮脏破落，与河内相较，真有天渊之别。自由、平等、博爱，原来如此！殖民地政府是一种时代的倒置，也就是非常倒退的制度，总督们到殖民地来只是为了剥削榨取，对人民的福利漠不关心，这与现代的政治原理恰恰背道而驰。

不过，我想在这里声明一句：菲律宾的殖民地政府应该例外。美国人有一个理想——提高菲人的文化水准，美国在菲律宾的殖民政府，在当地建立了一种足与美国学校媲美的学校制度。我曾在民国二十年（一九三一年）去过菲律宾，所到之处，学校都在传授历史、文学、科学和民主思想。美国正按照自己的模型，致力建设菲律宾为一民主共和国。菲律宾在欧美人殖民地制度下，获得两大贡献。一是西班牙人留下来的天主教。二是美国人留下来的民主制度和言论自由。

英国的生存寄托在殖民地上，法国也得靠殖民地的资源维持生存。如果说英法对殖民地人民的福利还没有完全漠视的话，那也只是为了养活母鸡，好让它多生一些蛋而已。

英国人养鸡生蛋的方法更是妙不可言，他们控制了主要的工业，而让当地人民在余留的行业上自觅生路。让鸡到田野里自行寻觅谷粒小虫充饥。鸡能找到谷粒小虫就心满意足了，养鸡的人则捡起晶莹的鸡蛋笑逐颜开。英国人从来不干涉殖民地人民的风俗或迷信思想，除了影响公共卫生的事情以外，当地人民可以自由自在地过活而不受干扰。因为公共卫生不但与被统治者有关，与统治者也有同样的关系，传染病或瘟疫是不认肤色人种的。道路修得宽敞平坦，而且保养得很好，因为治安和商业是要靠良好的道路来维持的。防御力量只建立到足以镇压当地叛乱的程度，抵御其他强国的攻击则有赖大英帝国的威望。这种威望衰退时，殖民地就不免要受强邻的觊觎了。香港和缅甸一度失陷就是这个道理，英国这样珍惜她的威望，尤其是在远东的威望，也是这个道理。

缅甸与云南省的西南角接壤，珍珠港事变前约一年，我曾经奉命组织一个友好访问团到缅甸，我参观过炼油厂、锯木厂和碾米厂，这些都是缅甸的主要工业，统由英国控制，其余的行业则留归缅甸人经营。被视为神圣的牛只闲荡仰光街头，警察从来不加干涉。到处是寺院，院内矗立着镀金的宝塔，生活着普受统治者及被统治者尊崇的僧侣。缅甸人在英国统治之下自由过活，像一群吃饱了小虫谷粒的母鸡悠然自得，至少，我看不出一点不满的情绪，养的人则心满意足地捡取他们的鸡蛋。

但是总督们在祖国照耀出来的光明在殖民地里却不能完全隔绝。在印度，甘地的行动一直不受干扰，只有在紧急危难时才遭受监禁。像甘地的这种行动，在某些欧洲国家的殖民地里或许早已受到阴毒的处置了。但是大不列颠究竟是自由之邦，自由的光辉不免要透过殖民地上空的云层而惠及当地人民。各种迹象显示，英国对殖民地正在采取一种比较开明的政策。我希望这些照射到海外殖民地的微光能扩大为强烈的自由火炬，引导殖民地人民向光明的前途迈进。

就文化形态而言，越南王国是属于中国型的，缅甸则是印度型的。从前缅甸国王在曼达来的宫殿就是印度式的建筑。城镇的地名也看不出与中国有丝毫的渊源。越南人和中国人一样，吃饭时用的是筷子；缅甸却和印度人一样用手指。但是越南和缅甸在过去曾一度尊重中国的宗主权，中国在两国宗主权的丧失是中国觉醒的原因之一。

缅甸落入英人手中以后，缅甸的王室就逃到云南，生活费用一直由云南省政府供给，不过缅甸王的头衔已经有名无实了。缅王的子孙后来进了中国学校，结果归化为中国人。但是云南腾冲一带的人仍旧知道，这些缅甸王室后裔的祖先，曾经在曼达来皇宫的雀屏宝座上，统治过有镀金宝塔和黄袍僧人的王国。

大学逃难

中日战争爆发以后，原来集中在沿海省份的大学纷纷迁往内地，除了我前面提到过的北大、清华、南开三所大学之外，接近战区以及可能受战争影响的高等学府都逐渐向内地迁移，到抗战快结束时，在内地重建的大学和独立学院，数目当在二十左右，学生总数约一万六千人。

这些学府四散在内地各省。有的借用庙宇祠堂，有的则借用当地学校的一部分校舍上课。公共建筑找不到时，有的学校就租用私人宅院，也有些学校临时搭了茅篷土屋。所有学校都已尽可能带出来一部分图书仪器，数量当然很有限，然而就是这一点点简陋的设备也经常受到敌机故意而无情的轰炸。

许多学生是从沦陷区来的，父母对他们的接济自然断绝了；有些学生甚至与战区里的家庭完全音信不通。有些在沦陷区的家长，虽然明知子弟在内地读书，遇到敌伪人员查问时，宁愿把儿子报成死亡，以免招致无谓的麻烦。后来由政府拨了大笔经费来照顾这些无依无靠的学生。

因为日本侵略是从华北开始的，所以最先受到影响的大学自然是在平津区的学校。平津区陷敌以后，许多教员和学生知道在侵略者的刺刀下绝无精神自由的希望，结果纷纷追随他们的学校向南或其他地方转进。当时政府尚在南京，看到这种情形，便下令在后方成立两个联合大学，一个在长沙，另一个在西北的西安。西北联大包含过去的两个国立大学和两个独立学院。它后来从西安迁到汉中，因为校舍分散，结果多少又回复了原来各单位的传统。

战事蔓延其他各地以后，原来还能留在原地上课的大学也步我们的后尘内迁了。结果国立中央大学从南京搬到战时首都重庆，浙江大学从杭州搬到贵州，中山大学从广州搬到云南。

我想详细地叙述一下长沙临时大学的情形，它是怎么联合起来的，后来又如何从长沙迁移到昆明。这故事也许可以说明一般大学播迁的情形。

我在前面已谈到，长沙临时大学是原在北平和天津的三所大学奉教育部之命联合而成的。这三所大学就是国立北京大学、国立清华大学和私立南开大学。三所大学的校长成立校务委员会，教职员全部转到临时大学。民国二十六年（一九三七年）十一月一日在长沙复课，注册学生有从原来三个大学来的约一千二百五十人，以及从其他大学转来的二百

二十名借读生。虽然设备简陋，学校大致还差强人意，师生精神极佳，图书馆图书虽然有限，阅览室却经常座无虚席。但是民国二十七年初，也就是南京失陷以后，情形可不同了。日本飞机把长沙作为轰炸目标之一。在长沙久留是很危险的，结果临时大学在第一学期结束后，经政府核准于二十七年二月底向西南迁往昆明。

从长沙西迁昆明是分为两批进行的，一批包括三百名左右男生和少数教授，他们组织了一个徒步旅行团，从湖南长沙穿越多山的贵州省一直步行到云南的昆明，全程三千五百公里，约合一千一百六十哩，耗时两月零十天。另外一批约有八百人，从长沙搭被炸得疮痍满目的粤汉路火车到广州，由广州坐船到香港，再由香港转到海防，然后又从海防搭滇越铁路到达昆明。他们由火车转轮船，再由轮船转火车，全程约耗十至十四天，视候车候船的时日长短而有不同。另有三百五十名以上的学生则留在长沙，参加了各种战时机构。

搬到昆明以后，"长沙临时大学"即改名"国立西南联合大学"，简称"联大"。因为在昆明不能立即找到合适的房子容纳这许多新客，联大当局决定把文学院和法商学院设在云南第二大城蒙自。民国二十七年五月初联大开课时，四个学院的学生总数约在一千三百人左右。同年九月间，文学院和法商学院由蒙自迁回昆明，因为当地各中学均已迁往乡间，原有校舍可以出租，房间问题已不如过去那么严重。这时适值联大奉教育部之令成立师范学院，真是"双喜临门"。五院二十六系的学生人数也增至二千人。

二十八年九月间，联大规模再度扩充，学生人数已达三千人。联大过去十个月来新建造的百幢茅屋刚好容纳新增的学生。抗战结束时，我们共有五百左右的教授、助教和职员以及三千学生。多数学生是从沦陷区来的。他们往往不止穿越一道火线才能到达自由区，途中受尽艰难险阻，有的甚至在到达大后方以前就丧失了性命。

我的儿子原在上海交通大学读书，战事发生后他也赶到昆明来跟我一起住。他在途中就曾遭遇到好几次意外，有一次，他和一群朋友坐一条小船，企图在黑夜中偷渡一座由敌人把守的桥梁，结果被敌人发现而遭射击。另一次，一群走在他们前头的学生被敌人发现，其中一人被捕，日人还砍了他的头悬挂树上示众。

我有一位朋友的儿子从北平逃到昆明，在华北曾数度穿越敌人火线，好几次都受到敌人射击。他常常一整天吃不到一点东西，晚上还得在夜色掩护下赶好几里路。他和他的兄弟一道离开北平，但是他的兄弟却被车站上的日本卫兵抓走送到集中营去了，因为他身上被搜出了学生

身分的证件。他们是化装商店学徒出走的，但是真正的身分被查出以后，就会遭遇严重的处罚。

据说北大文学院的地下室已经变为恐怖的地牢。我无法证实这些传说，不过后来我碰到一位老学生，在他设法逃出北平到达大后方以前，曾经被捕坐了两年牢。据他说，他曾被送到北大文学院地下室去受"招待"。那简直是活地狱。敌人把冷水灌到他鼻子里，终至使他晕过去。他醒过来时，日本宪兵上村告诉他，北大应该对这场使日本蒙受重大损害的战争负责，所以他理应吃到这种苦头。上村怒不可遏地说："没有什么客气的，犯什么罪就该受什么惩罚！"他曾经连续三次受到这种"招待"，每次都被灌得死去活来，他在那个地牢里还看到过其他的酷刑，残酷的程度简直不忍形诸笔墨。女孩子的尖叫和男孩子的呻吟，已使中国历史最久的学府变为撒旦统治的地狱了。

留在北平的学生在敌人的酷刑下呻吟呼号，在昆明上课的联大则受到敌机的无情轰炸。轰炸行为显然是故意的，因为联大的校址在城外，而且附近根本没有军事目标。校内许多建筑都被炸毁了，其中包括总图书馆的书库和若干科学实验室。联大的校舍约有三分之一被炸毁，必须尽速再建。但是敌机的轰炸并没有影响学生的求学精神，他们都能在艰苦的环境下刻苦用功，虽然食物粗劣，生活环境也简陋不堪。

学术机构从沿海迁到内地，对中国内地的未来发展有很大的影响，大群知识分子来到内地各城市以后，对内地人民的观念思想自然发生潜移默化的作用。在另一方面，一向生活在沿海的教员和学生，对国家的了解原来只限于居住的地域，现在也有机会亲自接触内地的实际情况，使他们对幅员辽阔的整个国家的情形有较真切的了解。

大学迁移内地，加上公私营工业和熟练工人、工程师、专家和经理人员的内移，的确具有划时代的意义。在战后的一段时期里，西方影响一向无法到达的内地省份，经过这一次民族的大迁徙，未来开发的机会已远较以前为佳。

战时之昆明

北大等校内迁以后，我也随着迁居滇缅路的终点昆明。珍珠港事变爆发以前，我曾一度去过缅甸，并曾数度赴法属印度支那及香港。当时以上数地与昆明之间均有飞机可通。法国对德投降以后，日本不战而下法属印度支那，因此我们就筑了滇缅路与仰光衔接。珍珠港事变以后，缅甸亦陷敌手，我国与法属印度支那的海防以及缅甸的仰光，陆上交通均告断绝，昆明亦陷于孤立状态。租借法案下运华的军火，只好由空运飞越隔绝中印两国的喜马拉雅山的"驼峰"，才免于中断。

抗战期间，我曾数度坐飞机去重庆，也曾一度去过四川省会成都。重庆是战时的首都，位于嘉陵江与长江汇合之处。嘉陵江在北，长江在南，重庆就建在两江合抱的狭长山地上，看起来很像一个半岛。房子多半是依山势高下而建的，同时利用屋后或屋基下的花岗岩山地挖出防空洞，躲避空袭。日本飞机经年累月，日以继夜地滥炸这个毫无抵抗力的山城，但是重庆却始终屹立无恙。成千累万的房屋被烧毁又重建起来，但是生命损失却不算太大。敌人企图以轰炸压迫战时政府迁出重庆，但是陪都却像金字塔样始终雄踞扬子江头，它曾经受过千百年的磨练考验，自然也能再经千百年的考验。重庆可以充分代表中国抵抗日本侵略的坚忍卓绝的精神。

重庆之西约半小时航程处是平坦的成都市。成都和北平差不多一样广大，街道宽阔，整个气氛也和故都北平相似。成都西北的灌县有两千年前建设的水利系统，至今灌溉着成都平原百万亩以上的肥沃土地。严重的水灾或旱灾几乎从来没有发生过。这块广大丰饶的平原使四川成为"天府之国"，使重庆人民以及驻防省境和附近地区的军队，粮食得以供应无缺。

学校初迁昆明之时，我们原以为可经法属印度支那从欧美输入书籍和科学仪器，但是广州失陷以后，军火供应的干线被切断，军火都改经滇越线运入。滇越铁路军运频繁，非军用品根本无法挤上火车。我们运到越南的图书仪器，只有极少一部分获准载运入滇。

这时候，长江沿岸城市已相继陷入敌手，日军溯江直达宜昌，离长江三峡只是咫尺之遥。最后三峡天险也无法阻遏敌人的侵略狂潮而遭到铁骑的蹂躏。

每当战局逆转，昆明也必同时受到灾殃。影响人民日常生活最大的

莫过于物价的不断上涨。抗战第二年我们初到昆明时，米才卖法币六块钱一担（约八十公斤）。后来一担米慢慢涨到四十元，当时我们的一位经济学教授预言几个月之内必定会涨到七十元，大家都笑他胡说八道，但是后来一担米却真的涨到七十元。法属安南投降和缅甸失陷都严重地影响了物价。

物价初次显著上涨，发生在敌机首次轰炸昆明以后，乡下人不敢进城，菜场中的蔬菜和鱼肉随之减少。店家担心存货的安全，于是提高价格以图弥补可能的损失。若干洋货的禁止进口也影响了同类货物以及有连带关系的土货的价格。煤油禁止进口以后，菜油的价格也随之提高。菜油涨价，猪油也跟着上涨。猪油一涨，猪肉就急起直追。一样东西涨了，别的东西也跟着涨。物价不断上涨，自然而然就出现了许多囤积居奇的商人。囤积的结果，物价问题也变得愈加严重。钟摆的一边荡得愈高，运动量使另一边也摆得更高。

控制物价本来应该从战事刚开始时做起，等到物价已成脱缰野马之后，再来管制就太晚了。一位英国朋友告诉我，英国农人在第一次世界大战时曾经大发其财，但是第二次大战一开始，农产品就马上受到管制了。这次战争在中国还是第一次大规模的现代战争，所以她对这类问题尚无经验足资借鉴。

昆明的气候非常理想，它位于半热带，海拔约六千，整个城有点像避暑胜地。但是因为它的面积大，居民并不认为它是避暑胜地。昆明四季如春，夏季多雨，阵雨刚好冲散夏日的炎暑。其他季节多半有温煦的阳光照耀着农作密茂的田野。

在这样的气候之下，自然是花卉遍地，瓜果满园。甜瓜、茄子和香橼都大得出奇。老百姓不必怎么辛勤工作，就可以谋生糊口；因此他们的生活非常悠闲自得。初从沿海省份来的人，常常会为当地居民慢吞吞的样子而生气，但是这些生客不久之后也就被悠闲的风气同化了。

昆明人对于从沿海省份涌到的千万难民感到相当头痛。许多人带了大笔钱来，而且挥霍无度，本地人都说物价就是这批人抬高的，昆明城内到处是从沿海来的摩登小姐和衣饰入时的仕女。入夜以后他们在昆明街头与本地人一齐熙来攘往，相互摩肩接踵而过。房租迅速上涨，旅馆到处客满，新建筑像雨后春笋一样出现。被飞机炸毁的旧房子，迅速修复，但是新建的房子究竟还是赶不上人口增加的速度。

八年抗战，昆明已变得面目全非。昔日宁静的昆明城，现已满街是卡车司机，发国难财的商人，以及营造商、工程师和制造厂商。军火卡

车在城郊穿梭往返。

自然环境和名胜古迹却依然如昔。昆明湖的湖水仍像过去一样平滑如镜，依旧静静地流入长江，随着江水奔腾两千哩而入黄海。鱼儿和鹅鸭仍像往昔一样遨游在湖中。古木围绕的古寺雄踞山头，俯瞰着微波荡漾的辽阔湖面。和尚还是像几百年前的僧人一样念经诵佛。遥望天边水际，我常常会想入非非：如果把一封信封在瓶子里投入湖中，它会不会随湖水流入长江，顺流经过重庆、宜昌、汉口、九江、安庆、南京而漂到吴淞江口呢？说不定还会有渔人捡起藏着信件的瓶子而转到浙江我的故乡呢！自然，这只是远适异地的思乡客的一种梦想而已。

纵横的沟渠把湖水引导到附近田野，灌溉了千万亩肥沃的土地。沟渠两旁是平行的堤岸，宽可纵马骋驰；我们可以悠闲地放马畅游，沿着漫长的堤防跑进松香扑鼻的树林，穿越苍翠欲滴的田野。

城里有一个石碑，立碑处据说是明朝最后的一位流亡皇帝被缢身死的故址。石碑立在山坡上，似乎无限哀怨地凝视着路过的行人。这可怜的皇帝曾经逃到缅甸，结果却被叛将吴三桂劫持押回中国。吴三桂原来奉命防守长城抗御清兵，据传说他是为了从闯王李自成手中援救陈圆圆，终于倒戈降清。他为了镇压西南的反抗被派到云南，已经成为他阶下囚的永历帝被带到他的面前受审。

"你还有什么话要说没有？"据说吴三桂这样问。

"没有，"明代的末朝皇帝回答说，"唯一我想知道的事是你为什么背叛我的祖上？你受明室的恩泽不能不算深厚吧？"

吴三桂闻言之下，真是心惊胆战，他马上下令绞死这位皇帝。后人在那里立了纪念碑，上刻："明永历帝殉国处。"

离城约十公里处有个黑龙潭。春天里，澄澈的潭水从潭底徐徐渗出，流入小溪浅涧。黑龙潭周围还有许多古寺和长满青苔的大树。明朝末年曾有一位学者和他的家人住在这里。崇祯帝殉国和明朝灭亡的消息传来以后，他就投身潭中自杀了。他的家属和仆人也都跟着跳入潭中，全家人都以身殉国，后来一齐葬在黑龙潭岸旁。西洋人是很难了解这件事的，但是根据中国的哲学，如果你别无办法拯救国家，那末避免良心谴责的唯一方法就是以死殉国。抗战期间，中国军人以血肉之躯抵抗敌人的弹雨火海，视死如归；他们的精神武装就是这种人生哲学。

这个多少依年份先后记述的故事到此暂告段落。后面几章将讨论中国文化上的若干问题，包括过去的、现在的和未来的；同时我们将讨论

若干始终未能解决的全国性问题，这些问题在未来的年月里也将继续存在。

从一八四二年香港割让到一九四一年珍珠港事变，恰恰是一世纪。《西潮》所讲的故事，主要就是这一段时期内的事情。英国人用大炮轰开了中国南方的门户，开始向中国输入鸦片和洋货，但同时也带来了西方的思想和科学的种籽，终于转变了中国人对人生和宇宙的看法。中国曾经抵抗、挣扎，但是最后还是吸收了西方文化，与一千几百年前吸收印度文化的过程如出一辙。英国是命运之神的工具，她带领中国踏入国际社会。

中国所走的路途相当迂回，正像曲折的长江，但是她前进的方向却始终未变，正像向东奔流的长江，虽然中途迂回曲折，但是终于经历二千多哩流入黄海。它日以继夜、经年累月地向东奔流，在未来的无穷岁月中也将同样地奔腾前进。不屈不挠的长江就是中国生活和文化的象征。

PART SEVEN CHINA IN THE MODERN WORLD

CHAPTER 32 CHINA AND JAPAN—A COMPARISON

Before the coming of Admiral Perry Japan was an offshoot of Chinese civilization, pure and simple. After that time she became a blend of offshoots of both Chinese and Western civilizations. Unless one understands both China and the West he is not in a position to understand Japan.

Yet there is something more. Offshoots may be similar to their main roots, but they are not identical. To render judgment upon things similar as if they were the same may lead miles away from the truth. Moreover, the blending of two civilizations may change the character of the contributing originals.

The offshoots of Chinese civilization in Japan were of the Tang era (618-905). While many of the precious elements of Tang culture had been worn away in China through centuries of barbaric invasion, they were preserved in Japan. Dancing, music, the arts, ways of living, the pronunciation of Chinese words and China's martial spirit, all of Tang origin, found living embodiment in the Island Empire of the Rising—or hereafter the Setting—Sun. If you want to know something about the Tang civilization, go to Japan. Upon a foundation of Tang culture Japan made herself great by the absorption of Western science.

However, an offshoot is but an offshoot; it has to receive nourishment from the roots of the mother tree. As soon as the mother tree in China withered, the offshoot had to depend for nourishment on the local soil of Japan. Now, Japan had every nourishment in her soil to nurse the Tang offshoots to grow, save one—originality. In this respect she failed miserably, and for lack of this one element Japan remained a dwarf tree.

After Perry's arrival she began to tap the flow of Western civilization to fertilize her land. The tree did shoot up heavenward after receiving new nourishment from this source. But again she failed in respect of that most valuable element of Western civilization—originality.

She copied. She copied the Tangs in her civilization. She copied England in building up her navy. She copied Germany in training her army.

She copied America in developing her industry. She copied the nineteenth-century Western anachronism of building a colonial empire—a bit too late. She copied Germany's blitzkrieg by hitting at Pearl Harbor—a bit too far. Japan is a wonderful copy which is almost as good as the original but falls short in reproducing the spirit behind it, something rather elusive. Her copybook is closed now, I hope, forever. She grew on copying, became strong on copying, and I hope will not commit hara-kiri on copying.

I admire Japan for her genius of exact aping—something China was unable to do, for she was too clumsy for that. But China made up for it by the possession of originality. She created and created until her energy was sapped by centuries of barbarian invasion, famine, and disease after the downfall of the Tangs.

In parallel fashion, America is an offshoot of European civilization. But here the case is different, for the early colonist from England brought with him the seeds of a love of freedom, which is an expression of originality in ideas. So America created and created till she became the most highly industrialized nation in the world: the most materialistic and at the same time the most idealistic and humanitarian. In the combination of these great opposing elements into one unity lies the greatness of America.

The martial spirit of Japan, of which the Japanese are very proud, is embodied in Bushido, the way of chivalry, which she incorporates into what she calls vaguely Yamato, the "spirit of Japan." Bushido as revealed in peace is an intense loyalty to one's country; in war it means to fight to the last man. Japan has forgotten that what she calls Bushido is nothing more than the martial spirit of ancient China. The very word shows the Tang origin. The modern Chinese pronunciation is Wu-shi-tao—in Cantonese, Mu-shi-do, very similar to Tang pronunciation, whence the Japanese Bu-shi-do.

With strict discipline and efficient organization, and with a thorough application of modern science, Bushido became a mighty weapon of war with which Japan won victory in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars and ultimately hoped to conquer China and the world. Out of it grew a will to power; upon this foundation she built up a military empire which recognized nothing but power.

The secret of the phenomenal success of Japan in world power lies in reforms along Western lines made by hereditary ruling classes nurtured in the

martial spirit, with a strong aptitude for copying and an intense loyalty to leaders and to their native land. They had at hand a people whose supreme virtue is to follow their leaders and obey orders. So the reforms of Japan since the beginning of the Meiji period have moved in a constant and unchanging direction.

Reforms in China, on the other hand, have to start from the bottom. There have been no hereditary ruling classes, no aristocracy but the aristocracy of learning. The vast country has to be whipped into unity of purpose by learned leaders from among the common people. Thus the process is necessarily slow and follows a zigzag way. Political leaders such as Sun Yat-sen and intellectual leaders such as Chang Pin-ling, Liang Chi-chao, and Tsai Yuan-pei have all been scholarly men drawn from ordinary backgrounds. From the common people they came and to the common people they went with their great gifts of social and intellectual vision.

Modern Japan has been built up by ruling classes, modern China by the common people. It is therefore much easier to be a leader in Japan, where a leader dictates to the people; in China he has to educate and really lead them—a much more difficult art, which requires a good deal of resourcefulness and originality.

China was comparatively slow in making reforms, but once she made up her mind to it she always tried to find their deeper meaning. In the course of the last hundred years, as we have seen, she began by making cannon balls, from which she was led to political reforms, thence to social reforms and to the introduction of ideas from the West. She wanted to strike at the core of everything. She penetrated deeper and deeper to the heart of Western civilization. She recast her old beliefs and constructed new ones until they became part and parcel of her life. She is a scholar, a moral philosopher, an artist. Her civilization and culture have grown out of her life and she could not be satisfied with Western ideas until they were thoroughly assimilated into that life. In contrast to Japan, therefore, China's thought is modern but her social and industrial structure still lags behind. This is something inherent in the philosopher, the dreamer.

China is broad-minded and democratic and possesses originality but she lacks organization, discipline, and the martial spirit. She is a country of scholars, where learning is most honored and culture most treasured. Yet the

military might to defend herself within her own boundaries is something that China has yet to achieve. In China's strong points her weaknesses lie.

So it is with Japan. The Japanese is a warrior and an efficient administrator. The adopted Western civilization has been but a military superstructure which made Japan a militarily potent nation but did not touch the deeper life and thought of the people. While her structure is modern, her spirit and ideas are medieval. This should not surprise the reader, since the feudal system actually existed in Japan until only yesterday—the beginning of the Meiji period. Its abolition took place almost simultaneously with the introduction of Western civilization, while China abolished feudalism before the Christian era.

By elevating the martial spirit to the highest plane which it is possible to maintain by strict discipline, Japan has sacrificed the creative spirit which, in the long run, is the heart of a culture and the sure foundation of a nation. The creative spirit is something one cannot ape. The more one relies on imitation, the more one is apt to lose his creativeness. The more strict the discipline for war required of a people, the more that people will lose the creative spirit.

In the assimilation of Chinese culture, as with the Western, Japan was only partially successful. For example, of the two important moral precepts which are the guiding principles of life in China—loyalty and considerateness—Japan learned loyalty, an indispensable virtue in a feudal state or a militaristic nation, but failed to understand considerateness, which is the virtue of the scholar. She stuck to her own ideas stubbornly or faithfully but refused to consider other people's viewpoints. The narrow-mindedness of the Japanese, of which even they themselves are conscious, deprived them of the leadership necessary for a continental colonial empire. They had ambition and military might but no statesmanship. The Japanese see things very clearly within certain limits but are blind to major cultural movements of the world. They are bigoted, intolerant, and inflexible under the cover of extreme courtesy.

On the other hand, the two virtues went hand in hand in China. She is faithful and at the same time considerate. China does not feel that faithfulness to her own ideas precludes the existence of other points of view. She always tries to imagine herself in the position of others. That is considerateness, of which Japan was not capable. So she failed to understand China.

Japan has acted like a strong little boy who tries to take a ram by the horns. It snorts, jumps, arches its back, and butts at him until he is forced to let go or is laid flat on his back. Then he wonders why the creature should act that way. Poor boy! Think what you would do if someone took you by the ear—try to see yourself in another's position—and you will understand China.

Another important factor that has made the Japanese a war-loving race is the belief that Japan is a divine country, born of gods and living and conquering by divine will. This is not easily understood either by the West or by the Chinese. But it is a fact that the Japanese believe it reverently. The Chinese believe in gods, but they take them as the guardians of morals, not of war. For the Chinese the gods have nothing to do with the rise or downfall of an empire. But to the Japanese the rise of Japan was the will of the gods.

From time immemorial the ruling classes of Japan have believed that in war the gods are always on the side of Dai Nippon. When the Yuans or Mongols failed to conquer her, they thought the gods had protected her with their divine power. The typhoon that destroyed Kublai Khan's Mongol fleet was an act of the gods. The reigning dynasty of the Mikado, the Japanese have believed up to now, is of divine origin and its emperors the direct descendants of gods.

A Chinese graduate of Tokyo Imperial University, later a professor in a Chinese university, has done an illuminating piece of historical research to show how Japanese imperialism grew out of this religious-patriotic fervor. Expressions of it in the everyday life of the soldier are not lacking. During the war Japanese soldiers almost all carried Buddhist or Shinto charms for protection in battle. I saw many such charms brought back from battlegrounds by Chinese soldiers, who finally came to regard them as an indispensable part of enemy military equipment and paid no more attention to them, except to joke about them occasionally.

After one battle between the American Air Force and the Japanese invaders I acted as guide to a party of American officers and soldiers who drove in jeeps over miles of rugged mountain paths to a crashed Japanese bomber. In the pockets and on the bodies of the dead pilots we found the usual Buddhist and Shinto charms; smeared with blood and riddled with bullets. An American captain pulled a cloth charm from the dead pilot and asked me what it was. I told him.

"What's the use of it?" asked the captain.

"For divine protection," I replied.

"No protection, though—" he turned over the cloth and tried to make out the indecipherable signs on it, "—you get me?" And he threw it on the ground casually and forgot about it. Like this American officer, the Chinese had come to dismiss lightly these tokens of invulnerability. So it is with the world.

On the day of that aerial battle I saw seven enemy bombers spinning down from the skies in white smoke. The other search parties brought back from the wrecked planes many similar talismans, besides cartridges, maps, and scientific charts. A curious combination of medieval superstition with modern science. But to the Japanese it is no superstition; there is a living divine force which spurs them on to fight for their country, protected by the gods. The charms are but the symbol of that divine power.

After the fall of Hongkong a Chinese couple—a Mr. and Mrs. Huang whom I know well and who understand the psychology of the Japanese—presented an image of Buddha to a Japanese soldier who entered their house. Crossing the harbor to Kowloon the little boat he took capsized and all on board were drowned but himself. He came back to them to express his gratitude, for he believed that the image had saved his life. But to the Chinese way of thinking the image had protected the couple from being molested by the enemy, while the escape from drowning was mere luck.

The world does not know much about Japanese religious fanaticism in war because the Japanese themselves have not said much about it in their propaganda. While in China modern science has sapped the old beliefs and is a disintegrating factor in relation to them, in Japan it became merely a powerful weapon of the gods to weld the country together in a war of aggression. This psychological background of intense religious patriotism has made the Japanese warlords unamenable to reason, the Japanese soldier a hard nut to crack, and Japan herself a menace to the world; such is the result of fanaticism combined with modern science.

To have such a fanatical neighbor would be a headache to any country. And Japan has been much more than a headache to China during the last fifty long, troubled years. Only utter defeat and unconditional surrender could

make Japan come to her senses. The inevitable fate awaited her, and we must now hope that it will have its bitter but salutary consequence.

When the gods of the Allied nations have fulfilled their mission, Japan—as I can imagine—may be a picturesque and peaceful country, with enchanting mountain scenery, pretty gardens wreathed in sakura blossoms, attractive pavilions with ladies in beautiful kimonos; and an industrious, courteous, and docile people, in whose ears will ring no voices of gods urging them onward to war and to conquest.

Then, and not until then, will peace reign in Japan, in China, in the Far East, and in the world.

CHAPTER 33 CHARACTERISTICS OF CHINESE CULTURE

East and West are different because their cultures are different. Yet you will find similarities in both. These parallels, no matter how close, will not make two cultures alike; the peculiar characteristics of each still render one different from the other. In the West varying culture traits make the Germans different from the English and the French from the Dutch. Yet there are characteristics common to all—common ties which hold the Western nations together culturally under the loose name of "Western culture." These again differ from the Eastern nations. Similarities or contrasts of culture, therefore, are not to be judged by outward parallels but by the fundamental character of each.

In this chapter we will examine the characteristics of Chinese culture under three headings: (1) the absorbing power of Chinese civilization, (2) morals and intellect, and (3) the practical wisdom of the Chinese people.

1. The Absorbing Power of Chinese Civilization

Some forty years ago, when I was still in school, we were constantly told by foreigners and progressive Chinese alike that China was like a solid rock which absorbs little or nothing. That is to say, Chinese civilization was stagnant and petrified and China was incurably conservative. She loved and lived by her own ways. Nothing could effect a change in John the Chinaman.

This appeared to be all right but proved all wrong. From the opening of the treaty ports until after the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 China appeared to resist Western influence. However, during previous centuries she had absorbed many of the outlandish things which from time to time made inroads upon her life.

In music, the so-called "national" Chinese music of the present day is played on instruments mostly of foreign origin. Forms of the fiddle, flute, and harp were introduced from Turkestan[1] centuries ago. We also kept the ancient Chinese harp, but only a few understand its music and still fewer can play it.

Various foods have been introduced to the Chinese dinner table from foreign lands: watermelons, cucumbers, grapes, and peppers came hundreds of years ago; sweet potatoes, peanuts, and Indian corn have appeared in recent centuries. In late decades the Irish potato, tomato, cauliflower, cabbage, and lettuce have found their way into Chinese cooking. Tenderloin steaks of the West, chopped very fine and served with bean sauce, have kept delightful company with Chinese dishes. Tomato soup with tender shrimp meat and hot fried rice hissing euphoniously in it was an innovation. Dinner in China is sometimes topped off with ice cream, American coffee, and Sunkist oranges, together with fruits of native production. Oranges grew originally in Chinese soil, traveled to America, received their education in the Luther Burbank school of California, and returned to their native land with a new title—something like the B.A. or Ph.D. brought back by Chinese students from American universities. Chinese oranges also went to Germany many, many years ago, where they turned into apples—for the Germans called orange *apfelsine*, Chinese apple.

Spiritual or intellectual nourishment from any quarter that was worth the trouble of absorbing China was always ready to welcome. During the Ming Dynasty the Jesuits brought to China astronomy, mathematics, and the Bible. An Imperial minister was converted and his residence in the Siccawei district of Shanghai was made a center of Catholic activities. From the Jesuits the Chinese learned Western astronomy and some became Christians because of it. The Siccawei Observatory has been a guiding star for shipping along that coast ever since the opening of the treaty ports.

Huang Chung-hsi, a great Ming scholar living during the end of the Ming and the beginning of the Ching (Manchu) Dynasty, was one of the admirers of Western astronomy brought by the Jesuits. He said: "Learning has been preserved in foreign lands while China has lost it owing to the lack of proper care." He once told a friend that "so far as astronomy is concerned, we are only babies in comparison with the Western scholar." Which shows how open-minded great Chinese scholars were.

The fact is that China has endured many vicissitudes of fortune in the course of her centuries because of her great capacity for absorption. No civilization in the world could sustain itself without taking in alien elements from time to time in one way or another. I think it needs no historian to prove that point. The interdependence and mutual influences of Western

civilizations are so obvious as to require no argument. But the interaction of Eastern and Western civilizations is less apparent. I have been told by Professor Joseph Needham of Cambridge that the expanding properties of gunpowder influenced the discovery of steam power, and that the idea of good in human nature, of the Confucian school, influenced the Encyclopedists in France. A number of things have trickled from time to time into the West from the East. But I would like to leave it to the West to tell us.

We did not absorb more than music, foodstuffs, and things of similar nature through our western and northern frontiers by land because there was not much more to absorb. The races in those regions had little spiritual or mental food to offer. For the latter we turned to India. In the field of arts Chinese painting and architecture were influenced by Buddhism; in Chinese philosophy Buddhist thought played a very important part, and it even affected the style and vocabulary of Chinese literature.

Centuries before the Jesuits the Chinese had assimilated the moral aspects of Buddhism, but they left the system of other-worldly philosophy alone. After centuries of sojourning in China, with tens of thousands of Buddhist temples and monasteries occupying the best sites on mountains as well as in cities, its basic philosophy and religion still remain foreign to the Chinese mind. The scholars befriend or tolerate it and the common people worship it as one of the religions in China. Nevertheless it remains foreign. To the practical-minded Chinese its metaphysical system is not palatable. It exists in China because there are moral teachings in it and in time of distress one could find moral refuge in it. The Chinese only wanted to absorb foreign elements into their own system of thought, to be enriched by them; they would not surrender their own system to an alien one.

Out of their virtue of tolerance the Chinese had an ingenious way of dealing with any system they could not absorb into their own. They would take part of it and leave the rest to co-exist with the indigenous products. Thus a portion of her teeming millions would take in the imported system and become Buddhists, Mohammedans, or Christians, and all lived side by side in a good, neighborly way.

But to go back to the introduction of Western civilization during the last half century. In the matter of clothing the process of westernization in the past thirty years has been still more striking. Felt or straw hats have taken the

place of old types of headgear; cut hair has banished the "Chinaman's queue" as you have seen it in old pictures. Women wear bobbed hair with permanent waves. Short skirts and silk and nylon stockings have given Chinese women a chance to show their pretty and well-developed legs. As regards their feet, they have indeed gone through a revolution. Western shoes have relieved the agelong agonies of foot-binding, with subsequent improvement in their bodily health. Healthy mothers bring forth healthy children—the effect upon the coming generation has been remarkable. Our children are not only healthier as compared with children of days gone by, but more active—quicker in movement and keener in mind.

In social affairs both sexes intermingle more freely in contrast with the old customs of segregation. In civil law marriages no longer have to be arranged by parents; young men and women have the right to find their lovers and choose their own mates. Coeducational institutions are rather the rule than the exception.

As regards dwellings the old superstition of *feng-shui* that affected the choice of sites for buildings has given way to modern theories of architecture. While the old artistic styles are still preserved for their beauty and grandeur in some cases, air, light, convenience, comfort, and hygienic conditions are first considerations. Flush toilets, baths, and a steam heating system are installed in modern houses. Stiff-backed chairs and hard beds have given way to sofas and spring mattresses.

Chinese food is rich in its variety because it is always ready to absorb alien elements. Western food is comparatively simple because it is, I think, not so ready to take in foreign materials. Tea was indeed introduced into Europe from China centuries ago. Spices were introduced from the East, and in search for a shorter trade route to India Columbus happened upon America. Worcestershire sauce, I am told, was developed from Chinese bean sauce. Aside from these, Western food has remained untouched by Eastern influences. Chop suey houses are found by the hundreds in America and Americans are quite fond of chop suey but know few other Chinese dishes.

On the other hand, China keeps on absorbing more and more alien elements, sometimes sensibly and at other times rather indiscriminately—not only food but clothing, shelter, ideas, social customs, and so forth. In most cases the process of absorption is through unconscious rather than conscious

action. It is something like the absorption of nutriment from the soil by the roots of a tree: they absorb and cannot do otherwise. It is the nature of a growing tree to absorb, or it would cease to grow.

The introduction and absorption of alien civilization from China's western frontiers were accomplished in the course of many, many centuries, during which foreign elements came into the country only in trickles. Therefore she took them in gradually and slowly digested them. It was for the most part an unconscious process; it did not change the main course of Chinese civilization, but was something like the attraction of a magnet for iron particles. They cluster around it, but the magnet does not change its position.

Western civilization, on the other hand, came to China's eastern frontiers by sea in torrents, in all its fierceness, speed, and magnitude, and in the short span of some fifty years. To try to absorb Western civilization—with all that the French and industrial revolutions had contributed to it—was like gobbling up many days' food supply at one meal. Naturally China suffered some discomfort—not to say unbearable stomachache. Thus Western civilization at one time became so distasteful to China that she feared it, cursed, kicked the table over, and turned from it in despair, only to find more food being pressed on her. The reaction against Western civilization was a reaction against food after a stomachache through much overeating. The abortive reforms of 1898 were but a case of overeating. The Boxer Rebellion of 1900 was a violent case of acute and complicated indigestion. China was forced on the operating table, to be operated on by Western doctors—the allied armies of eight nations. For that she had a handsome bill to pay—450,000,000 taels—and in the operation almost lost her life.

The doctrine of Chang Chi-tung that "Chinese culture is fundamental and Western civilization is supplementary" is no more than to say that a sound stomach is more important to health than the foods it is to take. So China tried to move cautiously, measuring her steps instead of lengthening them. But the tides of Western civilization would not wait for her. They lashed her eastern shores, overflowed into the rich Pearl and Yangtze Valleys, and rapidly extended to the Yellow River Valley. She had to go on taking more imported food in spite of her recent serious upset.

By 1902 the students, who had the best appetites, caught up with the

spirit of the times, and revolution—against established authorities, educational, political, and moral, as well as intellectual—became the catchword of the rising generation. Burdened with a legacy of the past which seemed to them at the time no more than the dead hand of a bygone civilization, the receptive mind of youth took so enthusiastically to Western ideas as to offset the influences of tradition.

Soon after the opening of the five treaty ports, China had established arsenals, dockyards, machine shops, schools of foreign languages; had translated books on elementary sciences and sent students to study in America. Being defeated in various wars of self-defense against Western Powers, she started to build a navy. A small navy was built, indeed, only to be destroyed by Japan in 1894. Japan could not endure to have China have a navy.

Failing this, China went a step further by taking up the reform of government, army, and education. The Inertial government at Peking began to prepare for the adoption of a Western constitutional form of government; it established new systems of education, organized modern armies and police, and sent large numbers of students to study abroad. This may be regarded as the first conscious effort in history to absorb a foreign civilization on a large scale, and it had far-reaching consequences in China's national life.

The reforms in education were the most important, because they were the best planned, with most foresight, and dealt directly with the rising generation whose minds were least fettered by traditional ideas. Later, when the students of one school generation grew up and came into power, they adopted more Western ways and consequently those of the succeeding generation were in a better position to absorb more new ideas. When these came to power in their turn, they went still further in westernization and more new measures were introduced into the government, army, and schools. Thus each new generation was more modernized than the previous one.

The 1919 student movement in Peking, the emphasis upon science and modern democratic ideas by professors of the National University there, and the literary revolution sponsored by Professor Hu Shih, were the beginnings of conscious effort to absorb Western thought, hitherto limited mainly to the industrial and political spheres. This effort came nearer to the heart of Chinese culture and with it a new leaf was turned in the cultural history of

China. For by this means China has been trying to catch up with the advancing tides of the world. Chinese civilization, with compass pointing to the West, has gradually shifted its course to meet the main currents of Western civilization, and in the next fifty years, while still retaining its own characteristics, it will flow in the common channels of the coming civilization of the world.

So far China has already received much benefit from westernization. The freedom of women to be on equal terms with men in social activities, to marry and remarry, and to have their feet unbound has been gained through the influence of Western respect for women. Western medicine has prevented plagues which wrought yearly havoc among the teeming millions. Painless operations have relieved the suffering of thousands of people. Machinery and inventions have improved means of production and contributed much to the enjoyment of life. And it goes without saying that modern weapons of war have also helped people to kill more, and to be killed. Modern science has widened the scope of knowledge; scientific methods have been carried into the study of Chinese history, philosophy, and literature. Above all, the old superstitions in which people used to live are giving way to the enlightenment of scientific truths. The greater our capacity to absorb Western ideas, the more our civilization will be enriched. Poverty and disease, twin curses of Chinese national life, will gradually disappear in proportion to the extent and thoroughness of China's modernization. To me, in this respect, modernization and westernization seem inseparable, if not identical, since the process of modernization began in the West and has gone forward without interruption. So China cannot get one without getting the other.

In a way, modernization has been as much imposed upon the West as westernization upon China. Wherever the spearhead of modern invention passes through, it changes the means of production, creates problems of distribution and control, and thus gives rise to new problems. Men must adjust themselves to changing conditions; the constant changes of environment and adjustments of man to them impose a progress on him. Imagine yourself looking down on Europe after the French Revolution; you would see that there had not been much visible change on the surface of that continent since the Roman Empire. But if you took another look half a century after the industrial revolution the changes would be quite noticeable. After still another half century you would find networks of railways covering

the surface of all Europe and America, too, with trains crawling on them like thousands of centipedes. Here and there factories with chimneys sticking up would cluster in the large industrial centers like fantastic beehives. Steamboats carrying manufactured goods would be shuttling in and out of harbors, ready to bear the finished products of the factories to all the corners of the earth.

These same steamboats half a century ago brought to China the lucifer matches, clocks, kerosene lamps, toys, and other useful and ingenious foreign articles that I played with in childhood in that tranquil village. The innocent and unconscious absorption of these curious things was the beginning of the great change that was to bring China in line with the trend toward modernization—with all its accompanying sufferings, turmoils, and perils, and with the rapid disappearance of the pleasant, tranquil life of old China.

Heretofore the absorption of foreign elements, conscious or unconscious, had enriched the life of the people and led to no complications. With the absorption of modern Western manufactures and systems or ideas, trouble began to spring up. Like the modern sulfa drugs, they cure diseases but sometimes cause serious reactions, which may prove fatal. To absorb Western civilization with less violence of reaction is the problem China has yet to face. It calls for experiment and scientific research, which again are western products—machine tools to make all modern machinery, mental, social, or industrial.

2. Morals and Intellect

When for the first time I read the Greek philosophers in the ethics class in California I began to feel, as I have said before, that Chinese thinkers in ancient times were enclosed in an atmosphere of morals, while the Greeks possessed the quality of all-piercing intellect. As I read more books on Greek life and culture it became more clear and convincing to me that some such striking contrast did exist between ancient Chinese and Greek thought, and that among other causes this was probably the main one for the divergence in development of Eastern and Western civilizations. Perhaps this assertion will seem rather too sweeping, but as my experience grew with the years I could not see it otherwise, and I still believe it to be so.

After my return from abroad I constantly tried to drive home to the minds of my people the importance of the development of intellect. The

names of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle appeared in my lectures and writings so often that I was caricatured by tabloid papers in Shanghai as "a man with mouthfuls of Plato and Aristotle." Seeing that I was not carrying the public with me, I gave it up as a bad job and changed my tactics to preaching the study of natural science. Instead of leading people to the source of the current I reversed the process by letting them see the current first. Naturally they would go back to the sources later on.

My compatriots, children of ages of practical sense, had rebuked me for forgetting the true nature of my own people.

A prominent Chinese scientist once was asked why China has not developed natural science. He offered four reasons: First, the belief of Chinese scholars in Yin, the negative, and Yang, the positive, as complementary principles of the universe. Second, the belief in the Five Elements—metal, wood, water, fire, and earth—as the constituents of the universe, and the application of this analysis of the material world around us to human life, even to medicine. Third, the Chinese rule-of-thumb ways, which are an enemy to accurate calculations. Fourth, the aversion of scholars to using their hands or doing manual work.

All these may be obstacles to the growth of natural science; but quite aside from them I do not believe that natural science would have grown up. It could not, for our attention was not directed along that line.

My people are most interested in things practical—something useful to them. I often noticed in America that when people were shown something they were apt to say, "That's interesting." The response from my own people in like case would be, "What is the use of it?" This shows the truth of the common Chinese saying that the virtuous see virtue while the wise see wisdom in the things they come in contact with. A difference in mental attitude produces different manifestations of interest. The use of a thing interests my people more than the thing itself.

Chinese thinkers see all things in their relation to man, to moral applications, to artistic or poetic sense, or to practical use. The scientific thought of ancient Greece found its origin in Egypt and Babylon. Babylonian astronomy and Egyptian geometry, like astronomy and mathematics in China, aimed at practical applications. But the intellectual quality of the Hellenic genius was to seek the *general truth* in these sciences by generalizing and

formulating their principles, a process which paved the way for the discovery of natural law.

For the Greeks there were two worlds: the world of the senses and the world of reason. The senses deceive us; therefore the philosopher should not trust his sense impressions but develop his reason. It was not for its practical use that Plato insisted upon the study of geometry, but in order to develop the faculty of abstraction and train the mind to correct and vigorous thinking. Applying these powers to ethics and politics, Plato laid the foundation of Western social philosophy, and by their application in studying the reality of concrete things Aristotle laid the foundation of physical science.

For Aristotle trusted reality as seen through the senses. His was a great systematizing intellect which has left its imprint on nearly every branch of knowledge. For him, to know properly involved a correct use of the senses as well as of the reason; the advance of science depends upon development of both speculation and observation. From applied mathematics Aristotle deduced certain general laws, the study and exploration of which provided a form of mental gymnastics through which he disciplined a powerful and penetrating intellect. And by means of the same well-exercised intellect and right use of the senses, he created a system of knowledge which has been the foundation of modern science. Logic and the theory of knowledge were outgrowths of these same intellectual exercises which systematized Western thought.

Chinese thought is centered upon the development of human relations. We are interested in natural laws only so far as they are capable of serving as guides for human conduct. The *Great Learning*, one of the Confucian classics, taught us a system of knowledge to which I have alluded in an earlier chapter. It starts with the search for truths in things, from which we gain our knowledge. Knowledge is the power by which the mind is developed.

So far the story is intellectual. But as it goes on the shading of moral sense begins to grow. Mental development is for personal culture, which in turn will serve as the foundation for a well-ordered family life. The latter is the foundation of a well-governed state, which in turn will serve as a step toward international peace. From the rudiments of knowledge down to international peace this forms a complete scheme of practical moral idealism.

To the Chinese, world peace is not something to be dreamed about but a practical moral scheme. For national prosperity is invariably bound up with peace between nations. A type of knowledge which does not lead to this end is but secondary or trifling.

For such an attitude toward learning, to ascertain whether the earth goes round the sun or the sun round the earth is but trivial.

Or again, what is the use of bothering with the expansion of water in a boiling kettle, as Watt did if we are to believe the story? The Chinese would be more interested in the hissing sound, which suggests making tea in preparation for guests. It is poetic.

The drop of an apple to the ground is only natural. The Chinese would moralize it. They would say that when a thing is ripe, it drops. When you do things in a proper way they come to their natural conclusion. There is no use in puzzling about it. Should the apples in your garden shoot up to the sky, it would set the Chinese to fearing that some great calamity might fall upon the people; as would the appearance of a comet, or some other perversion of the familiar order of things. It would take a Newton to think along the line of the attraction of the earth.

Thus with my own effort to preach. What is the use to China of those figures of Greek antiquity or their teachings? In my people's eyes natural science is useful only because practical uses come out of it. The Greek philosophers are remote even from modern natural sciences. What earthly use is there in them? The Chinese are in sympathy with the usefulness of science but recoil from the idea of science for science' sake. "Learning is for the sake of its use," is an accepted dictum among Chinese scholars.

With such a mental attitude it is small wonder that China has not developed pure science, an elaboration of intellectual interest rather than of practical considerations. We built the Great Wall and the Grand Canal and developed a system of irrigation; the grandeur of our architectural design, our palaces and temples, has inspired world-wide admiration. These works are among the greatest engineering feats the world has ever known. But they were not developed from a foundation of pure science and therefore, however remarkable they were, no further development was possible until modern engineering came to the rescue. For without pure science the applied science of modern engineering could not attain its present high plane. The discovery

of the compass and gunpowder by the Chinese has served useful purposes in the world. But it was a Western mind that observed the principle of explosive expansion in gunpowder and applied it to boiling water, thus making possible the discovery of steam power.

In China discoveries stopped at their immediate practical use. We did not, like the Greeks, try to venture into generalization; nor, like modern Europeans, did we try to get universal laws from particular discoveries—a trait inherited from the Hellenic world in its improved form. Once the useful purposes of an invention were served, we stopped there; therefore Chinese science traveled unaided and without the guiding light of scientific thought. The development of science in China was arrested because we were too practical-minded.

I do not mean to say that the Chinese do not think logically. But their minds were not aided by systematic mental gymnastics. This defect has been reflected in Chinese philosophy, political and social organization, and daily life. It has become more glaring as the rest of the world came to live under the light of modern science in an industrialized society.

Besides being practical, our people are imbued with a sound moral sense. It may also be said that because we are moral we are practical. For morals refer to conduct, which is necessarily judged by practical results. There will be no such fanciful ideas or speculation about conduct as the Greeks had with physics and metaphysics.

At times we may venture beyond that practical moral way of thinking, but the antennae of our minds recoil as soon as we feel we are getting away from the sphere of human relations, and stop right there. A Sung philosopher of the twelfth century once stepped over the moral bounds by speculating on the formation of mountain ranges and on the finding of seashells on the tops of mountains. He observed that the waves of the mountain ranges indicated the fluidity of the mountains many thousands of years earlier, while the shells bore witness to the fact that their peaks must once have been at the bottom of the sea. But when and how the fluid suddenly coagulated into mountains, and how the bottom of the sea was raised to such a height, he had no means of discovering. There he stopped, fearing shipwreck if he should venture too far. There have been similar instances of observing nature both before and after this philosopher, but Chinese thinkers were always scrupulous, in their

mental excursions, not to drift too far away from the camp of human relations.

That the Chinese are not a nonintellectual people needs no proof as it is so evident; but their intellect was exercised within the sphere of morals and practical uses. Thus they set limits to their own intellectual activities. Like silkworms, they wove their moral cocoons with threads drawn from their own minds, as it were, to encase themselves. And they loved their encasement and felt comfortable in it. Chinese life is a life of contentedness. Stability is aimed at in Chinese philosophy. Progress? No—it will create discontent, which will destroy stability. The Chinese is contented with his immediate world and has never wanted to speculate far and deep in nature. China has not produced natural science because she did not want it.

The Greeks were quite a different sort of people. Aristotle's mind ventured high up into the heavens, low down beneath the earth, and far away beyond the corners of the land. The universe was material for the exercise of Greek intellect. To the Greeks the mere use of the intellect was a pleasure. They did not care much about whether it was practical or had anything to do with morals or human relations. "What do I get by learning these things?" asked a pupil of Euclid. "Give him sixpence, since he must make gain out of what he learns," said Euclid to his servant, as the story runs. Even with morals they developed a system of ethics, looking into the validity of moral laws through intellectual inquiry, and this was how Socrates got into trouble, being accused of poisoning the souls of young people with dangerous questionings.

Out of Greek ideas about nature and love of intellectual exercise in systematic thinking—flowing intermittently through the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the French Revolution and receiving great impetus from the industrial revolution, through which it gradually improved its instruments and technique—natural science has grown to its modern stage. The practical considerations of science were never neglected in its later development in Europe. Frequent inventions and discoveries gave further impetus to scientific research. Scientific generalizations and applied science marched shoulder to shoulder. So the influences of pure and applied science react one upon another to their mutual benefit.

When modern science began to trickle into China after the opening of

the commercial ports, it was its practical value that attracted the attention of the Chinese scholars. They built arsenals and dockyards. Incidentally they translated books on elementary science. They were not interested in whether the sun goes round the earth or vice versa; it was immaterial to them, since the alternatives had no practical consequence in their relation to man. More than a century earlier, when the Jesuits brought mathematics and astronomy to the court of the Ming emperors, scholars were interested because these sciences would mend the deficiencies then found to exist in the Chinese calendar. For the calendar is indispensable not only for reckoning days, months, and years but also for sowing and harvesting.

Around the beginning of the twentieth century the theory of evolution was brought into China. Chinese scholars at once saw the practical moral significance of it. With the application of a natural law of "struggle for existence," "natural selection," and "survival of the fittest," they came to the conclusion that nations in the world were struggling for existence, and through natural selection only the fittest would survive. Would China be the fittest and would she survive? She must struggle—struggle for existence. As to the validity of the theory, they had no particular interest and no scientific background to start an investigation, anyhow. Right away they threw a moral cushion over the intellectual undertaking of Darwin. At once they moralized it by saying, "The flesh of the weak is the food of the strong." Being a weak nation, China had to worry about her flesh. Countrymen, arise! It is your duty to your country to look out for the "cannibal" nations around us!

Another phase of the theory of evolution was taken up in its application to history. History goes round in a circle, the Chinese scholars believed. Under the influence of Darwinism they recast their old belief into a new faith that history forges ahead, or else recedes, or remains stationary. This change in the conception of history exercised a paramount influence upon the minds of Chinese scholars in regard to progress.

The conceptions of Yin and Yang and the Five Elements undoubtedly grew out of naïve observations of nature. They were good enough for rationalizing the conduct of nature and man. No minute calculations were necessary, much less the use of the hands. I presume that if Chinese scholars were interested in manual work, they would apply it to making useful or beautiful objects of art rather than to experiments in the scientific laboratory. People would still think and do only along the lines where their interests lay.

The magnetic needle will only point in the direction of the magnetic pole.

Such an attitude of mind is of course no fertile soil for pure science. However, slowly but steadily China is modifying her attitude—from applied science she has been led to pure science, from pure science to new ways of thinking, and finally to actual modification of her attitude of mind. We have opened windows in the walls of our moral universe and looked into the gardens of a new intellectual universe where the fruits of science and invention abound.

This modification of mental attitude has set a new value upon nature—nature as the pure scientist sees it and not only as the moralist or poet sees it. The universe to the modern Chinese is not only a moral one as the ancient Chinese saw it but also an intellectual one as the Greeks saw it.

The moralist studies nature with a view to finding its laws for the benefit of human relations. The scientist studies it with a view to finding its natural laws for intellectual interest—knowledge for the sake of knowledge. China's absorption of modern science has penetrated through these moral bounds of her universe and the minds of the modern Chinese are reaching further and further out to search for truths. Their thinking has been becoming more adventurous, like a ship sailing in unknown seas, exploring for hidden treasures. In other aspects this intellectual release has caused the minds of the younger generation to adopt a critical attitude toward traditional ideas—make critical inquiries into morals, government, and social customs—with far-reaching consequences. While men of the older generation have been very much alarmed at the possible destruction of their tranquil moral abodes and have lamented the passing of the good old days, the younger generation has busied itself in building a new intellectual edifice.

All that, I think, is one of the most valuable contributions that the West has made to China.

Inversely, as the Greeks found with the Babylonian and Egyptian sciences, a study of Chinese sciences may yield profitable contributions to the modern scientific world. A modest beginning made in recent years in the scientific study of Chinese architecture, medicine, and economic botany has yielded fruitful results.

Civilizations are built around different systems of the universe as men

conceive it. The Chinese conceived a moral universe, around which they built their civilization. The Greeks conceived an intellectual universe, around which they built theirs. European morals as they are today have been drawn from Christianity—a moral universe as revealed through God. On the other hand, the Chinese moral universe is as revealed through nature's ways. The Christians have endeavored to build a kingdom of heaven on earth, while the Chinese were content with trying to build a kingdom of peace and stability.

Chinese morals are derived from nature; Christian morals from divine power; for the Chinese the gods are but part of nature, while to Christians nature is but the creation of God. On these grounds it is plain that the conflicts between Christian dogma and science were bound to be very serious, as Western history has proven in abundance; while the conflicts between science and Chinese moral precepts would be mild since both started from the same ground—nature—only traveling in different directions.

It has been said that Christian thought is heavenly or godly, Chinese thought is worldly, and Greek thought unworldly. It is this unworldly thought that has led men to the discovery of the natural laws which are the foundation of modern science and hence of modern invention. The unworldly thought in the applications of science has brought prosperity to the world, if not peace and stability.

The development of European civilization, as I see it, is a struggle at various times between the Christian moral universe and the Greek intellectual universe. The Renaissance, the Reformation, and the French Revolution were but the bursting out of a submerged intellectual universe under the domination of a moral one—these various movements were only different phases of the same current. Finally came the industrial revolution in which the same intellectual universe, continuously developing through centuries, came to the surface in an overwhelming torrent and swept aside everything in its way. Its spearhead had already taken China unawares before and during the time of my childhood; it pierced our moral universe, burst out later to destroy the stability of Chinese life, and thus furnished the materials for the writing of this volume.

One universe cannot be expected to produce the fruits of another. The fruits of the tree of science ripen in intellectual gardens alone—within the system of Christian dogma or that of Chinese moral precepts no science

could have been produced.

Though, indeed, we find much scientific thought in Mencius[2] in ancient times, this is a nonessential part of his philosophical system. Such thoughts are but satellites to a planet; his system is fundamentally moral.

For science grows out of man's whole being, a burning desire for unworldly truths; a fearless, ever-searching intellect with unbiased spirit continuously reaching out for truth, and an indomitable vigor of mind and body; in other words, it grows out of the very soul of man in his intellectual world. No mere side interests or occasional excursions of the mind into nature, or lukewarm desire to understand it, could ever crown man with the glorious garland of science.

In China, under the influence of modern science, there is growing up a new moral edifice stripped of superstition and false analogies to nature; tested through intellectual inquiry and supported by findings of social science based upon methods adapted from physical research to the investigation of society.

On the other hand we must not forget that the old Chinese moral edifice, built up through centuries of vicarious experience and generations of continuous effort, by such various means as the Confucian classics, literature in general, the graphic arts, music, the family, theatre, gods, temples, even toys—this moral structure has made Chinese people trustworthy, their society stable, and their civilization enduring. Such moral precepts as loyalty, honesty, love of parents, truthfulness, benevolence, righteousness, moderation, and broad-mindedness have contributed much toward the moral emotional make-up of the Chinese people. Intellectual honesty that grows out of modern science will reinforce these virtues that have grown out of ages of moral teaching.

Side by side with the new moral universe, a new intellectual edifice will be raised to house the achievements of the creative genius of young China. On the stem of the Confucian system of knowledge, which starts with the investigation of things, or nature, and leads to human relationships, we shall graft the Western system of scientific knowledge, which starts with the same investigation of things or nature but leads the other way round to their interrelationships.

As in the West, the moral universe will co-exist in China with the

intellectual, one for stability and the other for progress. Can we strike the happy mean?

3. The Practical Wisdom of the Chinese People

Learning is for the sake of its use. What is this use? It comes under two main principles. First, whatever has to do with the elevation of moral sentiments in the masses and with the cultivation of right moral attitudes in the individual. Second, whatever will contribute to national prosperity and the people's livelihood. These principles are the summary of ages of teachings from the sages and scholars. Whatever they say and teach has come eventually to these. Scholars learned them and diffused their learning to the common people. The common people, under this influence, through ages of accumulated effort have gradually and unconsciously developed a mentality, as the reader will readily see, of common sense and practical wisdom. They have kept on asking what is the use of this or that in the light of these same principles.

When trains and steamboats came to China, people were ready to ride on them because they went much faster. They used kerosene oil because it gave more light. Telephone and telegraph facilities transmit messages without the necessary delay of mail or foot—or even house—messengers. Clocks and watches give exact time without looking at the sun. People bought Western manufactures because they served useful purposes in daily life.

When missionaries came they established schools and hospitals. What wonderful people they are, said the Chinese: they heal the sick and educate the children of the poor. When the Chinese assembled to listen to the preaching of the gospel, the eyes of a number of them were usually directed toward the hospitals or the schools. Through the leaves of the Holy Bible they peeped at the useful things of Western manufacture the preacher had brought to China from his homeland. My father made friends with a local missionary because he repaired our water pumps and gave us cough drops and quinine powder. He was honest and friendly in dealing with his neighbors. The last is important because the Chinese are both practical and moral. What about the religion they taught us? Oh—that is a good religion. It teaches people to be good. What about their God? Oh, yes. Their God? He is a good God. Put him in our temples beside many other good gods. We'll worship him, burn candles and incense before him. But He will not sit in your

temples beside your idols. Well, we'll make an idol for him. No, that can't be done. He is omnipotent and omnipresent. God is in you, not in the idol. Yes, yes. When he is not in me, maybe he likes to be in an idol. No, He is in heaven. Yes, I know he is, as all the other gods are. Maybe he wants to take a trip down to earth and use the temples as his hotels. Then we can worship him there. No, He is the only God—when you worship Him you cannot worship other gods.

Then our people would hesitate and say, you worship yours; we will worship ours. "There it is if you believe it so; it is not there if you do not believe it." Herein lies China's wisdom of religious toleration.

Modern legal sense as the West understands it is not developed in China. Avoid the courts if you can. Let us settle our disputes without going to law. Let's compromise. Let's have a cup of tea and sip together with friends and talk things over. It is much less expensive, much less troublesome, and much fairer. What is the use of going to law? You often see stone tablets on the highways near a hsien capital bearing these bold letters: "DO NOT GO TO LAW."

This may be the reason for the nonlegal-mindedness of the Chinese. But as modern industry and commerce grow, society will grow in complexity, and laws for governing the complicated social relations will be necessary. When laws become a necessity, the practical wisdom of the Chinese will see to it that we are more legal-minded. But would it not lessen the burdens of the courts if people should settle their cases by sipping a cup of tea?

Do not do unto others what you would not have others do unto you. Critics say this is negative, while "Do unto others what you would have others do unto you" is positive. Yes, that is true. But the Chinese prefer the negative, from practical sense. You may like onions, so you try to force them upon others. That is positive. Onions may taste good to me, but others may not have the same feeling; they may fear them as ladies do rats. If you were not a lover of this obnoxious vegetable, would you like others to impose it upon you? No, of course not. Then why should you impose it upon others? It's negative, but it's more sensible. For the positive way, if you persist, will lead to trouble, while the negative way will avoid it.

Love your friend, be fair to your enemy. Of course it is a higher ideal to love your enemy. But how many in all history have ever loved their enemy?

It looks like hitching your wagon to a star—it is something unattainable. It is practical idealism to be fair to your enemy. So the Chinese prefer it to pure idealism.

Is there any use in music? Yes, it is very useful. It can bring the feelings of an individual to harmony. It can raise the morals of a people to a higher level.

Is there any use in the arts? Yes, they are very useful. They will cultivate the finer sense of the people and thus raise their morals to a higher level. Landscape gardening, splendid palaces and temples, landscape painting, literature, poetry, calligraphy, porcelains, bronzes, skillful carvings, and the like all cultivate this finer sense in man.

Why must a man be honest? Because if you are dishonest and untrustworthy people will not believe and trust you. Then you will fail in business and in dealing with other people. Dishonesty simply does not pay. Not only is honesty a virtue, but its practical results are invaluable to human relations.

The Chinese love humor. Why? Because you can say things without offending people; besides, you can get a lot of innocent pleasure from it. You can get along with people better by innocent and amusing suggestions. Humor makes company more congenial and life more enjoyable.

Perseverance is one of the great virtues necessary to success. If you keep on filing and filing, you will break the steel. If you keep on grinding and grinding, you will shape the precious stone.

In the scenic Western Hills of Peking, one summer afternoon, Professor John Dewey, Dr. Hu Shih, and I watched a Sisyphus beetle pushing a tiny mud ball up the slope. It pushed first with forelegs, then with hind legs, and then with its side legs. The ball rolled up and up until some mishap occurred which set it rolling down to where it started with the diminutive Sisyphus riding on it. He repeated the process but met with the same failure. Again and again he tried. We admire his perseverance, said both Hu Shih and I. Yes, but his lack of intelligence is regrettable, said John Dewey. Thus the virtuous see virtue; the wise see wisdom. There are different aspects in the same thing. The eminent philosopher is truly a loyal son of the West, while his disciples are truly loyal sons of the East. The West pitied Mr. Sisyphus' lack of head,

while the East admired his heart.

The Chinese people are contented with their lot. If a Chinese lives on a frugal diet, takes a humble house, and has enough clothes to keep warm, he feels satisfied. This attitude toward a simple way of living keeps China's millions contented and happy, but it precludes progress as the West understands it. Unless China is industrialized, she cannot lift the people to any level of material prosperity. Perhaps for years to come her countless people will have to be content with their lot.

The Chinese people are devoted to nature, not in the sense of finding the natural laws but in the sense of cultivating the poetic, artistic, or moral sense of lovers of nature. To be under pine trees steeped in the moon and listen to streams flowing gently over the rocks gives one a placid mind and a tranquil heart. To see spring flowers in bloom makes one feel the universe filled with the spirit of growth; to observe autumn leaves falling serves as a warning of the approach of declining days.

From nature the Chinese learns the sublime nature of man. In Peking there is the Altar of Heaven, built of white marble somewhat like a great theatre, but terraced upward toward the center, which is raised higher than the surrounding terraces. At this altar the emperors of the past worshiped heaven. On one clear moonlit autumn night, when the sky was blue without a speck of cloud upon it, the full moon shone directly upon my head and the marble terraces were flooded with silver light overflowing into the vast space around me. I stood at the center of the altar and all of a sudden felt as if heaven, earth, and myself merged into one vastness.

This experience of sudden sublimation made me understand why the Chinese regard heaven, earth, and man as one and inseparable. By believing in their unity the Chinese elevate man from the pettiness of daily life to the higher plane of sublime spirit. The vastness of space, the brilliance of the sun, the placidity of the moon, the multitude of stars, the luxuriant growth of plants, the rotation of the seasons, the timely rains that nourish the crops, the winding rivers that irrigate the fields, the dashing tides that reveal the power of nature, the high mountains that touch the sky—each and all furnish rich materials in cultivating man's sublime spirit. Of nature man is born; to nature man owes his life; from nature he learns his ways of good living. Nature and man are one and inseparable.

Nature is so good, so kind, so sincere, and so generous that man in his own very nature—which is but part and parcel of greater nature—must be good, kind, sincere, and generous. Here comes the belief of the Chinese that human nature is all-good. Evils grow only out of the perversion of good. This is why great Chinese teachers and statesmen always trust the good that is in man. Great statesmen like Dr. Sun Yat-sen and great teachers like Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei always take any Tom, Dick, or Harry for a good man until he proves the contrary. And they are always ready to forgive and forget. Herein lies their greatness and broad-mindedness. It is proverbial that a statesman's mind is so broad that you could row a boat in it, while a scholar's heart is as resonant as a hollow in mountain regions that echoes with every vibration of sound.

Nature is China's national teacher. Upon nature she built her moral universe, and thus her culture and civilization. Since Chinese civilization furnishes only inadequate means to control nature, she follows nature. Here lie the differences between East and West. It is the duty of the moralists and poets to follow nature; it is the duty of the scientist to control it. Under the influence of Western civilization the younger generation is changing—changing from a poetic and moral appreciation to a scientific study of nature. Hereafter China will understand nature not only through feelings and empirical observation but through the intellect and scientific research. China will know nature more intimately and control it more effectively to bring prosperity to the nation and better the livelihood of the people.

At the same time, science will not destroy the sense of beauty in nature as some people think it may. As I write I look out through the windows and see in the gardens the old pine trees and bamboo groves, flesh after a rain, and over the bamboo trees I see the Yangtze River gracefully winding its tranquil way past the hilly city of Chungking. The sense of the beauty of nature gives me peacefulness of mind and tranquility of heart. But if I think of the plants botanically, I see in them the growth of the cells and the circulation of the sap, which does not lessen my sense of beauty at all. If I look at the river geologically, I see through its silt-carrying waters to its bed, which millions and millions of years ago may have been just dry land or even the bottom of a rough sea. Thinking in this way, the beauty of the gentle Yangtze remains in my mind just the same or even with richer associations. That a knowledge of the working of their cells should destroy one's sense of

the beauty of pine trees or bamboo groves is unthinkable. It makes me feel that nature is even more wonderful and beautiful with a scientific outlook.

From love of the beauty in nature and a feeling of her irresistible force, a strong fatalism grew up in the minds of the Chinese people. In spite of all human efforts, nature will stick to its invariable course. Thus flood and drought are beyond human power to control, and people have learned to submit to Fate. Since it is Fate, they may just as well take it good-naturedly. What is the use of making much fuss over Fate? This is why one finds many a toiler in China with a smiling face. Misery is a fate—why not take it in good humor?

Here is one secret of why the Chinese people have had so great a capacity to stand hardship and suffering during the years of war. Do your best, perform your duty, and let Fate take care of the rest. "Enjoy Nature's way and be contented with your lot." The placid autumn moon, the tender June breeze, spring blossoms, winter snows, all are in store for your enjoyment, rich and poor alike.

[1] Turkestan：土耳其斯坦。现习惯称突厥斯坦，一般指里海以东的广大中亚地区。

[2] 此处疑原文有误，疑应作Micius（墨子）。

CHAPTER 34 MODERN CIVILIZATION

Modern civilization originated in Europe; American civilization is but its offspring. Chinese civilization, which developed from its own sources and is of a very high order, is regarded as ancient—China began to be modernized only with the influx of modern influences from Europe and America. In the last fifty years she has been going through the metamorphosis of coming up to date, with its accompanying agonies. She has been forced into the modern world step by step, by the tides of westernization, as we have seen in these pages.

"Modern civilization" is an ambiguous term. It yields various impressions. It may mean more and better weapons of war for men to massacre each other with, until it destroys them all. It may mean better means of production, to support more millions in comfort and luxury and create a higher standard of living. Or the term may be used for the science and invention that have made both modern warfare and a high standard of living possible. It may represent the mentality which searches for objective truths in order to enable man to control nature. It may refer to better communication, and better organization in mobilizing resources and wealth. It may signify democracy to the democratic countries or totalitarianism to totalitarian nations.

Part or all of these may be called modern civilization—as to what is most essential or most truly typical no two people seem to agree. Then what has China been doing during these fifty troubled years? She has trodden in the dark. Sometimes she has seemed to be walking into a trap, as a fly will, by licking the sweetness that leads it along the path of doom. At other times she seems to have been cornered by a group of armed gangsters who forced her into submission. This she resented, and afterward tried to get weapons to defend herself. All in all, she has struggled and muddled and finally began to see light in what is called Western civilization, with its good as well as evil, blessings as well as curses.

What are the goods and blessings she should try to absorb, what evils reject? Here, too, there seems to be no agreement, whether among individuals or groups. The evils she has taken in may later prove to be laden with

blessings. Thus from the evil of opium, forced upon China by superior weapons of war, she got the seeds of modern science. The goods she has adopted may prove to be accompanied by unsuspected evils. For example, by relying too much on system and organization we forgot the virtues of individual integrity and responsibility. There are cases where new systems and organizations have failed in their work for lack of due emphasis upon these qualities.

The standard of living was raised for the few who lived upon the exploitation of many. Thus automobiles were imported and used without making an effort to manufacture them. It takes thousands of farmers, each raising hundreds of bushels of rice, to produce the means of exchange for one imported car. Modern conveniences in modern towns, such as electric lights, radios, flush toilets, and other comforts, must be paid for by the sweat of millions of tillers of the land. In lifting our standard of living we are impoverishing the country by an unfavorable trade balance. Yet the standard of living must be raised, and accompanying evils must be remedied by scientific agriculture, farm machinery, and an irrigation system for increased productivity.

These again will give rise to new problems. We have suffered much from modern civilization, yet we still need more of it. If we take too much at a time we vomit it forth again violently as in the case of the Boxer uprising of 1900; if we take too little it is ineffective. This seems to be how modern civilization goes in China. Yet China must muddle along with the world, willy-nilly.

In the West, during the last hundred years, one invention has led to another, one idea to another, one step in progress to another, one prosperity to another, and one war to another. Only peace did not lead to another peace, but to war. This is how the world has forged ahead in the name of modern civilization. Must China fall in line with the rest of the world?

If there should be another war, as the world so much fears, it seems probable that it will start again, like the first World War, in eastern and middle Europe; or like the recent cataclysm, in the Chinese Three Eastern Provinces, known as Manchuria. The people of middle Europe want lebensraum elsewhere, while as to Manchuria, outside peoples want to find their lebensraum there. The former, being a densely populated area, tends to

spill its troubles, while the latter—a vast vacuum—sucks trouble in. Either is a potential source of war, in which, if it comes, the whole world must again be involved, to its incalculable disaster.

In safeguarding the powder magazines of the East, responsibility will inevitably rest upon the shoulders of China. Therefore the political, social, economic, and industrial development of China during the next twenty or thirty years will have a determining effect upon the peace situation of the world. A strong and prosperous China, co-operating with the major Powers of the West, could eliminate the danger to a very great extent if not entirely. It is to the mutual interest of the Allied Powers and of world peace in general that the Western Powers should co-operate with China, say for a period of fifty years, in the development of her natural resources; and for the coming twenty years, perhaps, in the work of her economic and social rehabilitation.

Before Western influence made inroads into China, her troubles for many centuries had come solely from Manchuria and the neighboring region known as Mongolia. When Japan became a world Power after the Sino-Japanese War, she contended with Tsarist Russia for control over that vast territory, a conflict which culminated in the Russo-Japanese War. Japan's scheme to use that part of China as a steppingstone to control of the whole country led to the Mukden Incident. If history since the downfall of the Tangs has taught us anything, we may be reasonably sure that the Three Eastern Provinces will still be a trouble center for China and a cause of worry to the world until China herself is strong and prosperous and the vast vacuum of Manchuria is filled.

In building up a modern democracy and industries China needs time and favorable conditions for experiment. These conditions are peace and security. Internal peace depends upon unification of the country. Security depends upon international understanding. China will have security only when Manchuria becomes a center of peace.

We shall have to start anew in creating our future by making that vast territory a focus of peace instead of war. In that important work I hope the world—especially America, Britain, and Soviet Russia—will co-operate with China. With their co-operation the task must be crowned by complete success, a blessing for China in particular and for the world generally.

In 1921 I was elected an unofficial observer to the Washington

Conference by the Chamber of Commerce and educational associations in Shanghai, and supported by Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Nationalist government in Canton. In the following year, 1922, I went to Europe for a visit to the source of modern civilization. It was very soon after the first World War. One could see that every country in Europe was busy planning postwar rehabilitation and the major victorious Powers were occupied in trying to make peace more enduring. But no one seemed to realize then that they were all helping to sow the seeds of a next war.

France was tired and longed for a permanent peace. Her eyes looked over the Rhine, whence came the danger to her national existence. Her defensive mood was later embodied in the Maginot Line, which she thought would make her immune to German attack. Like the first emperor of the Chin Dynasty (246-207 B.C.)[1] who built the Great Wall to defend China from the attack of the Tartars, France built the Maginot Line. And as trouble for the empire of the Chins came not from outside but from inside the Great Wall, so it was with the French Republic and her "impregnable" barrier.

England was busy with the economic reconstruction of Europe and endeavoring to maintain the balance of power on the Continent. Germany, defeated, was licking her wounds. Tsarist Russia was utterly ruined and a new political experiment was under way in that gigantic Republic of Soviet Russia. Such was the political aspect of Europe after World War I.

America, unwilling to pull European chestnuts out of the fire, had withdrawn from that much-troubled continent and summoned the Washington Conference, at which the Nine-Power Treaty was penned, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance superseded, and the Shantung question settled; this, to save Japan's face, was negotiated outside the conference. The Twenty-One Demands, superseded by the new treaty, were thus unostentatiously sent to the grave. Tsingtao, a seaport in the peninsula of Shantung, had been awarded to Japan at Versailles and the complications which grew out of the award were known as the Shantung question. Indignation at this move gave rise in China to the student movement which had such far-reaching repercussions in Sino-Japanese relations, as well as in political and cultural developments in China, during the following twenty years. In America it troubled public men who had sympathy for China and became a knotty political problem. Both the Republican and Democratic parties more or less committed themselves to right the wrongs done to China by the ill-fated Versailles Treaty; thus while

America withdrew her fingers from Europe she dipped them deep into Pacific waters. The result, twenty years later, was Pearl Harbor.

Without the active participation of America in the League of Nations of which she was the author; with a defensive psychology on the part of France, whose only desire was to avoid trouble; and with Britain's main interest focused on maintaining the balance of power on the Continent, the League became toothless. It barked a lot but never meant to bite. Yet any problem that member nations could not handle among themselves was handed over to the League. So it became a dumping ground for international difficulties. When China was unable to meet her difficulties vis-à-vis Manchurian problems she, too, dumped them on the League, of which Japan was a member. In the ease of the Mukden Incident France was not interested. Britain was concerned only so far as the balance of power in the Far East was involved, but she was afraid of being drawn in. The League, therefore, had scarcely even the nerve to bark at Japan. Its few mild yelps might indeed be construed as connivance.

The League, however, made an invaluable contribution to our experience. Learning from its failures, the world may profit in planning the coming peace. Born of American idealism, it died of conflicting interests and the ambitions of member nations, especially the major Powers.

So matters developed in the course of some twenty years after the Versailles Treaty. The seeds of war sown at Versailles grew in every corner of the world like weeds, which eventually caught fire and set the whole world aflame.

But politics are but a passing show destined soon to vanish into history. What will always remain is the fundamental problem of culture. It is undeniable that Europe has produced modern science and organized democracy, which have brought to mankind more blessings than evils.

Germany appeared to me a country of telescopes, microscopes, and test tubes; her inventions and discoveries multiplied by leaps and bounds. In Shanghai foreign manufactures of superlative quality became known as *Jahming huo*—"German goods." The Germans were masters of material things but fell short in human relations. This, as I see it, is why they often got into trouble in dealing with other nations. Their sight was focused through the microscope or the telescope, which concentrated their view either too near or

too far to perceive human behavior or feelings. They could not very well put international relations or human feelings into a test tube to observe their reactions. In the broader realm of human activities the Germans often failed to grasp the essentials or shortcomings of human nature. They had highly developed special senses in which other nations did not excel, but they were short of common sense. Their special endowments gave them the scientific thoroughness which has made so many special contributions to the world, and their lack of common sense brought misery alike to their own country and to others.

The British were just the opposite. They were a nation of common sense and masters of human relations. Their views on world affairs and policies relative to them were flexible and adaptable. They never let the cord stretch to the point of breaking. If a stronger force pulled at the other end of the rope, the British would loosen it a little to save it from snapping. If the other side was weaker they would keep on drawing the cord to themselves until it slipped from their opponents' hands. But the British would never let go their end of the rope—they would stick to the last, irrespective of consequences. In relations with other countries and in colonial policies this trait of the British people was seen everywhere.

Hand in hand with flexibility and adaptability went such other British traits as tolerance, moderation, considerateness, fair play, and an attitude of compromise. They never went to extremes in their views, and were always trying to understand other people's view in order either to bring themselves to it or to bring others to their own. They loved freedom of speech and thought, disliked hard and fast rules which might prove unadjustable to varying conditions.

The British are reserved to the point of brutal coolness, a trait disliked by other peoples and often the cause of suspicion. It has lost the British many a friend among other nations. But when you know them better, or rather when they know you better, you want to make friends with them.

Some or all of these traits together made English democracy possible. For democracy is not something abstract, something that has dropped from the sky. It consists of the best traits there are in the people who have succeeded in it. If you run through the constitutional history of England, you will find that intolerance, persecutions, corruption, and cruelties fill its pages.

Quite a number of lives, including that of a king, have been sacrificed to democracy. The experience of English democracy is worth our serious study.

One fact, however, we must bear in mind: that English democracy grew fast after the unification of the United Kingdom, and American democracy, too, developed by leaps and bounds only after the Civil War. History teaches us that unification and security must go hand in hand to make an organized democracy. For England was lucky in that her islands were small and protected by the sea. In the old days invasion was not easy. So the English enjoyed security and therefore had plenty of time for trial and error. Their national existence was not endangered by foreign invasion during the period of incubation and experiment.

A similar situation existed in America. The North American Continent is itself a gigantic island, the seas around it preventing any formidable invasion. The early colonists from England brought with them seeds of the love of freedom which grew into a great tree of liberty, sheltered from the ax of foreign invaders. In the course of a century or so the democracy of America took firm root. Not only was experiment freely made in human relations but also in things material, by which I mean scientific research. While American democracy grew out of the English model, American science owed a great debt to the Germans.

The American system of higher education is a combination of the English college and the German university; the American academic dress is, so to speak, an English gown with a German cap. In the American colleges boys and girls lived in a spirit of comradeship and free association and secured a liberal foundation of learning. Knowledge was not strictly regimented; human relationships were learned through free mingling of the strident body; the sight of the younger generation was not simply narrowed into telescopes, microscopes, or test tubes; a general culture was furnished to all those who cared to absorb it.

In the university proper, or the graduate school, American students were taught methods of research, German thoroughness was admired and encouraged, but its full realization had yet to be achieved at the time of my college days. During the First World War the five colors of the former Chinese flag—red, yellow, blue, white, and black were reduced to two: black and white. The reason was that German dyes were no longer available in

China on account of the war. An American chemist in New York told me that in Germany several specialists worked on one color, whereas in America one chemist dealt with many colors. This was some twenty years ago. Conditions have changed by now, since Americans have acquired so much of the German thoroughness during the last two or three decades.

Thus on the American side of the water English democracy and German science have gone hand in hand. With her rich natural resources, her power of organization and love of great projects, America may now easily be ranked as first of the democracies of the world. Just the other day at a party in the American Embassy in Chungking, a British diplomat remarked to me that "England is Americanized, Russia is Americanized, and China is Americanized."

"In what way is England Americanized?" I asked.

"Hollywood, for example," was the reply.

"Russia—in the sense of great industries?"

"Yes."

Meanwhile flashes of pictures passed rapidly through my mind, in which I saw that Chinese political and educational systems, social changes, and industrial developments were richly tinged with Americanization. At the same time I was not unaware of the fact that China colors all the sea that washes her shores.

Pointing at the six rows of eight stars each on the American flag, the same diplomat turned to a high-ranking American military officer standing by and asked with a touch of humor, "What are you going to do when you add one state more?"

"Well, we'll make it seven rows of seven, but what new state do you have in mind?"

"England," replied the diplomat. We all laughed. It was only a joke, but in jokes one may see the temper of the times.

In days of old, when the West fought for colonial empire in the East, all the important Western Powers except America at various times wronged China. Even Portugal bit off a tiny piece of land called Macao, in the

province of Kwangtung. The only thing America got from China was extraterritoriality, but what she has done for China is far more and will be remembered for generations to come. As everybody knows this, I need not elaborate here. Now both America and Britain have abolished that system and Britain has returned all the settlements, which were an anachronism—though Hongkong remains in British hands. In spite of terrible wars all over the world, much encouraging light has shone through the international clouds. Let us hope that, with victory achieved, it may grow into brilliant sunshine in a cloudless sky.

America has definitely joined the coming international peace organization. She has fought the war. She is to fight for an enduring peace. A new epoch in history is in the making. The combined resources of America, Britain, Soviet Russia, and China are so great that if they desire peace, with an effective world organization backed up by an international defense force to enforce it, peace will indeed be enduring.

For China's part, she will have to redouble her effort of reconstruction and regeneration for the coming twenty or probably thirty years. This will be a critical period for China. Success depends upon foresight and leadership, and the extent to which our Allies will co-operate. The extent to which co-operation is given will also depend upon our political developments and how sound a policy we adopt regarding international investments. Our difficulties are enhanced by the devastations of war and wanton destruction in all the once-prosperous provinces where the heel of the enemy has trodden.

On the other hand, China has a double duty to perform. First, it is her duty to herself to become strong and prosperous. Second, it is her duty to the world to help make world peace secure. In the political philosophy of the Confucian school, peace for the world is the ultimate aim. On the basis of the Confucian philosophy Dr. Sun Yat-sen aimed at world peace in his Three Principles of the People.

If we can bridge over this critical period of twenty or thirty years the momentum thus gathered will carry reforms and reconstruction forward, ever increasing and ever widening, into a glorious future in which China will be in a position to help the world in assuring a more permanent peace.

From the West China has still much to learn. Ever since the downfall of the great dynasty of the Tangs she has been overrun from time to time by

peoples from the immense outlying territories of Asia. The decline of Chinese civilization after the fall of that dynasty was due to the invasion of barbarians who at intermittent periods devastated the country and turned it into a stretch of ruins. The successive invasions, together with famine, disease, and internal dissensions, sapped the energy of the Chinese people and thus weakened their creative power. When Western influence began to come into China, therefore, she met it with her civilization at the lowest ebb.

People in China now talk of the Tang civilization as if in hopes of restoring the glories of that era. It is a good thing, so far as we can, to draw inspiration from the Tangs and be stimulated by their more humanistic civilization as contrasted with the ascetic type of the later Sungs. In Tang paintings we admire the strong physique of the people. Music, dancing, poetry, painting, and calligraphy were developed to a very high level, which finds no equal in later days.

But for China to go back to this brilliant period of her history is next to impossible. For centuries we have tried to recover our past glories, yet our civilization slid progressively downward in steady decline. For conditions had changed. The fertile soil in which the Tang civilization grew had been washed away by the tides of long years of devastation. If, however, we can get rid of the cause of the Tang downfall by learning from such modern Tangs as America and other countries where arts, science, political and military organization, health and wealth, are on a very high plane, we shall then perhaps find the glories of the Tangs redescending upon us.

In making the peace China's part will be by no means small. Throughout her history she has had many wars. But they have been wars more in the nature of internal revolution than external aggression—internal conflicts generally caused by the rebellion of oppressed farmers and suffering people against a rotten officialdom. Even her external wars have been more defensive than offensive in nature. China has been oppressed much more than oppressing. Ever since the time of the first emperor of the Chin Dynasty who built the Great Wall—symbol of a defensive mentality—China has wished to be let alone.

Confucius' teaching of proper human relations and world peace, and the democratic ideas of Mencius, will fit China to be a modern democratic state which wishes to do no wrong to other peoples. What China must emphasize

after the war is modern science with its applications to means of production; and democracy in its organized form, with emphasis upon unification of the country. Science and democracy, twin instruments of a progressive modern state, is the key to power, prosperity, and a more lasting peace.

With the practical wisdom of her people, in its special emphasis on human relations and democratic ways of living and thinking, China has the solid foundation for a modern democracy. As we have seen, her democracy is loosely organized. Her intense love of individual liberty has not kept step with modern social consciousness. Strong family ties have been partly responsible for retarding the organization of individuals into a broader society. But these ties are rapidly loosening; modern institutions have appeared in the larger cities, and further industrialization will mean a further loosening of family bonds and socialization of individuals.

In the field of knowledge China's way of looking at things has given her a practical wisdom but made her neglect the importance of generalization and abstraction. Her love of nature in poetic, artistic, and moral ways has given her breadth of mind, as exemplified by great scholars and statesmen, and a harmony of feeling, as revealed in the arts and in conduct; it has not extended to the investigation of natural laws, which are the indispensable weapon of man in controlling nature. With the assimilating power of Chinese civilization, the Western contribution of science will be absorbed in due course of time, and with the rich natural resources of the country and high intelligence of her people, the integration of science into her life will open up wonderful opportunities in the future. Chinese morals and arts will prosper in the material wealth thus developed, while Chinese thought and the rich store of literature and philosophy will tend to be clarified and systematized by modern logical and scientific ways of thinking.

On this new basis of initial peace and prosperity, China will be in a position to build up a new defense force to preserve and sustain peace. No country would be a worthy partner for peace that was not a worthy partner for war. The attention of the world has already been drawn to China by the contribution she has made to the world in a war of resistance for eight long years, in spite of weaknesses and shortcomings in some aspects of her national life during the war.

Modern science, with special reference to inventions and industry, will

fuse with China's rich treasures of art and sound morals. A new civilization is in the making; perhaps it, too, can contribute to the world's progress.

[1] 秦始皇（公元前246年—前210年在位）。

第七部 现代世界中的中国

中国与日本——谈敌我之短长

日本在培利上将抵达以前，只是中国大陆文化的一支而且是很单纯的一支。自从这位海军上将来过以后，日本就变为中西文化的混合体了。除非你能同时了解中国和西方，否则你就无法了解日本。

但是单单了解日本的中西两种文化的来源是不够的。分支可能与它们的主体相似，但是并不完全相同。把相似的东西看成完全相同而遽下断语，很可能差以毫厘而谬以千里。同时，两种文化的混合，还可能使原来文化变质。

中国大陆文化在日本的支流导源于唐朝（六一八——九○五年）。唐代文化中许多可贵的成份，其中包括从西域输入的印度文化与从伊兰民族间接输入的希腊文化，在中国因千余年来历经异族侵略，已逐渐衰落，但在日本却被保留下来了。唐代的舞蹈、音乐、美术、习俗、语音和尚武精神，都还留在日本。如果你想了解一点唐代文化，你最好还是到日本去一趟。日本以唐代文化为基础，其中包括儒家思想并唐代所吸收的佛教文化及其他外来文化。又在南宋时代（日本镰仓时代）输入宋儒朱子之学，盖随禅僧而俱来者。因此造成在日本儒佛一致之思想。寻至明末之际，德川氏本其向来保护禅僧研究儒学之素志，于开府江户（东京古名）时，广招儒者讲学刻书，极一时之盛。并藉新政权之威力，使儒家之学为此后日本兴国之张本，而为日本发展了道德、政治、经济、史学、数学与夫流入民间之教育。日本虽于晋初从朝鲜人王仁得《论语》、《千字文》，而在明末又输入了阳明之学，但经世之学的中心则在朱子之学。到了咸同之间，明治维新，以儒家经世之学与西洋近世社会科学、自然科学相接引，遂在短短数十年里成为史无前例的东西两洋文化的大结合，而致日本于盛强之境。并予文化祖国的中国以极大的鼓励与兴奋。在我幼年时代，我们一辈青年，都奉日本为师，希望日本反哺文化之母鸟而帮助中国复兴。惜乎日本秉国的军阀，知尽忠于己，而不知施恕于人。知义而不知仁，见小而不见大，识近而不识远。致使中国近六十年之历史成为中日关系之惨痛史，终至鹬蚌相争，渔翁得利，真是历史上很大的一幕悲剧。

我们此后应把中国文化广称为大陆文化，作为中国、日本、韩国、

越南共有之文化，亦犹希罗文化（希腊罗马合流之文化）之为欧美各国共同之文化。若在文化方面抱狭义之国家主义，则反将文化之价值减低了。

实际言之，唐代文化所包含外来因素既广且多，在当时已成为国际文化，因其来甚渐，故国人不自觉耳。日本于吸收唐代文化时，亦于不知不觉中吸收了当时的国际文化，此亦日本之大幸也。

日本善于效法。她效法唐宋的文化而定立国之基础；她效法英国建立海军；效法德国训练陆军；效法美国发展工业。她效法十九世纪的西方建立殖民帝国——只可惜晚了一步。她效法德国闪电战术而发动珍珠港的突击——只可惜太远了一点。

我很钦佩日本的善于模仿，这是中国所做不到的，因为她在这方面似乎有点笨脚。但中国创造能力弥补了这一缺憾，她创造又创造，一直到唐代衰亡。此后千余年历经异族侵略、饥馑、疾病等灾祸，终至精疲力竭。

美国的情形和日本很相似，美国文化是欧洲文化的一支，所不同的是从英国来的早期殖民者是带爱好自由的种籽而俱来的。因此美国创造又创造，直到她成为世界上最工业化的国家，同时也是最重理想和人道的国家。美国的伟大就在于这两种矛盾因素的溶而为一。

日本在国际舞台上的空前成就，应该完全归功于依循西方路线所进行的改革。这些改革是在世袭的统治阶级领导下完成的。他们孕育于尚武精神之中，效法他国并使之适应本国，对于领袖和祖国更是精忠不贰。他们统治下的老百姓，最大的美德就是拥护领袖，服从命令。因此从明治初年开始的日本改革运动，始终是坚定不移地朝着固定目标前进。

回头看看我们自己：中国的改革却必须从基层开始，也就是由下而上的。我们没有世袭的统治阶层，除了相当于贵族的士大夫阶级之外，也没有贵族阶级，要使这辽阔的国度里的人民万众一心，必须仰仗老百姓之间的学者领袖来驱策督导。因此改革的过程必然很缓慢，而且迂回曲折。政治领袖像孙中山先生，学者领袖像章太炎、梁任公、蔡孑民诸先生，都是来自民间的学者。他们来自民间，又带着能根据他们的社会理想和知识上的远见而深入民间。

现代日本是统治阶级建立起来的，现代中国系平民百姓所缔造。因此，在日本当一个领袖要容易得多，他可以任意独裁，他要人民做什么，人民就会做什么；在中国当一个领袖的却必须教育人民，而且真正

地领导人民——这是一种远为困难的才能，也必须具备超人的才智创造能力。

中国在采取改革措施方面每较迟缓，但是她一旦决心改革，她总希望能够做得比较彻底。在过去的一百年中，她从制造炮弹着手，进而从事政治改革、社会改革，乃至介绍西方思想。她扬弃了旧的信仰，另行建立新的，直至这些信仰成为她生活中不可分的一部分为止。她是一位学者，一位道德哲学家，也是一位艺术家。她的文化是从她的生活发展而来的，她不会轻易满足于西方的思想观念，除非她能够把这些观念彻底同化而纳之于她的生活之中。因此与日本比起来，中国的思想是现代化的，但是她的社会和工业建设却仍旧落在日本之后。这是这位哲学家兼梦想家的天性使然。

中国胸襟宽大，生活民主，而且能自力创造，但是她缺乏组织、纪律和尚武精神。她是学者之国，最受尊敬的是学问，最受珍视的是文化。但是保卫国土的武力则尚待建立。中国的优点正是她的弱点所在。

日本的情形也是优劣互见，日本人是位斗士，也是位很干练的行政人员。日本所吸收的西方文明只是军事方面的上层结构，并未触及人民较深一层的生活和思想，她的上层结构固然现代化了，她的精神和观念却仍然是中世纪的。对这种情形，读者自然不会感到惊奇，因为封建制度废除的时间甚短，故封建精神在明治时代仍然存在，中国则在西历纪元以前就已经废除了。

日本对同化中国文化和西方文化都只有部分的成功。例如日本对忠和恕这两个重要的道德观念只学到忠，却无法了解恕。这或许受政治与地理环境之影响而使然，然而日本人之不能以恕道待人，却是事实。忠和恕是中国生活的两大指导原则，忠在封建国家或黩武国家是必不可少的品德，恕则是学者的美德。日本一向坚执己见，不肯考虑别人的观点。日本人胸襟狭窄，连他们自己都有此自觉，这种褊狭的心理使他们无法具备建立洲际殖民帝国所必需的领导能力。他们有野心，有武力，但是缺乏政治家风度。所以他们藉武力而建立的"东亚共荣圈"，只如空中楼阁，顷刻幻灭。忠和恕在中国却是携手同行的。她不但忠贞，而且处处为人设想。中国并不觉得忠于她自己的思想观念就应该排斥他人的观点。她常常设身处地考虑别人的观点，这就是所谓恕。日本人对恕的观念很薄弱，所以不克了解中国。

日本的行为很像一个身体健壮的顽童。他抓住了公羊的两只角不许它动，公羊急得乱叫乱跳，用角来撞他，结果他不是被迫放手，就是被撞倒地上。他想不通这只公羊为什么这样不听话。可怜的孩子！他应该

想想如果有人抓住他的两只耳朵，他的反应又如何？他应该设身处地想一想，这样他就会了解中国了。

使日本人变为好战民族的另一重要因素，是他们的一种错误信念，他们认为日本是个神圣的国家，系神所缔造，而且应该根据神的意志行事，并且征服世界。这种心理是由军阀御用的历史家歪曲史实所造成的。为西洋人或中国人所不易了解，但是日本人却的确如此深信不疑。中国人也相信神佛，但是他们把神佛当作道德的监护者，而不是战争的呵护者。日本人却认为日本称霸是神的意旨。

从悠远的年代以来，日本的统治阶级一直相信神佛在战时总是站在大日本这一边的。元朝不克征服她时，他们就认为那是神佛以无边的法力保护了她。他们认为吹毁忽必烈汗蒙古舰队的台风就是神佛的意旨。我修改本稿时，已在战后十多年了，还在日本箱根遇见一位老尼。她说人们应该信佛，日本打败蒙古人，就靠佛的法力的。日本人一直相信历代天皇都是神的嫡亲后裔。直到战后，日本历史家得到言论自由，才用科学方法，把那些凝结在教科书里的神话，一口气吹散了。

中国某大学的一位教授，原是东京帝大的毕业生，他曾作过一件发人深省的历史研究工作，说明了这种宗教性的爱国热狂如何发展为日本帝国主义。这种宗教性的爱国热狂表现于军人日常生活者更是屡见不鲜。中日战争期间，几乎所有日本士兵身上都带着佛教或神道的护身符。我曾经见过许多由中国士兵从战场捡回来的这种护身符。中国士兵因为见得多了，就把这些护身符看作敌人装备中必备的一部分，除了偶而拿它们开开玩笑之外，并不拿它们当回事。

其次美国空军与日本入侵飞机发生空战之后，我曾经权充向导，领了一群美国官兵，乘吉普车经过好几里崎岖的山路，去看一架被击落坠毁的日本轰炸机残骸。我们从飞行员的尸身上和口袋里发现常见的佛教和神道的护身符，符上满是血迹，且已为枪弹所洞穿。一位美军上尉从日本飞行员尸体上捡出一块布符，问我那是什么。我告诉他那是符。

"那是做什么用的？"上尉问道。

"求神佛保佑。"我回答说。

"不过，佛好像并没有保佑他——"他翻过布符，想看看上面无法辨认的符号究竟说些什么，说了一声"我真不懂"，接着随手把布符往地上一丢，就立刻把它忘了。中国人也像这位美国军官一样，对于这种刀枪不入的表征始终一笑置之。世界各地人士也是如此。

那次空战时，我曾经看到七架敌机冒着白烟回旋下坠。其他的搜索队也从敌机残骸中捡回许多类似的符，以及弹药、地图和科学图表。这是中世纪迷信和现代科学一种奇怪的混合，但是日本人绝不以为那是迷信；一种存在于冥冥之中的神圣力量驱策着他们为国家奋斗，神佛则随时随地在呵护他们，护符只是那种神圣力量的象征而已。

香港陷落以后，有一对我很熟识的黄氏夫妇住在香港，他们很了解日本人的心理，当一位日本士兵进他们房子盘查时，他们就送了一尊佛像给他。这位日本兵由香港赴九龙时，所乘小船不意覆没，船上乘客除他之外全体没顶。他后来回来向黄氏夫妇道谢，因为他相信是那尊佛像救了他的命。但是按照中国人的想法，他之没有被淹死，不过是运气而已。

世界人士对于日本人在战时的宗教狂热所知不多，因为日本人自己在他们的宣传中很少提到它。但是在中国，现代科学却已削弱了旧的信仰，而且成为使旧信仰解体的一个因素。在日本，现代科学反而成为神的一种有力武器，使日本在侵略战争中团结一致。这种由强烈的宗教性爱国心所形成的心理背景，终使日本军阀无可理喻，使日本兵难于制服，使日本本身成为世界的一个威胁；这就是宗教狂热与现代科学结合的结果。

任何国家有这一位疯狂的邻居都会头痛。在过去六十年的动乱时代里，日本又岂仅使我国头痛而已！

讲到这里，我们不得不责备从明治以来至战事结束这一时代之日本历史家，他们仰军阀鼻息，无古太史之风。其中虽偶有若干史家，敢批军阀逆鳞，但在环境逼迫之下，亦属孤掌难鸣，遂使日本历史成为神权迷信军权崇拜之护符。我就在碰见那老尼的同一天，在箱根的一家理发店理发。店主自称其祖若父，曾在封建时代为将军武士们束发整容。幼时曾听人们说，天皇的祖宗是中国人，从中国来的，这些话现在大家敢说了。以前没有人敢说，说了要杀头的。可见这些天皇非神说，早在武士阶级及民间流传。他还有几句有趣的话，我们可以在此作一插曲。他好蓄古钱，在他的小小搜集里，倒点缀了宋元明清四朝的铜钱，及相当时代的日本钱，他说日本钱是用日本铜在中国铸的。最有趣味的是，把大正昭和两代的硬币排列成行。中日战争开始以后，硬币步步缩小，战事愈久，钱缩得愈小，在最后一两年间，缩小了几等于鹅眼。他很幽默的指着说，这是代表"东亚共荣圈"的。从民间流传的关于天皇源流故事看来，可以推想到日本历史虽受军阀之统制，而民间仍保存着乃祖若宗世代相传之口史，为军阀所不能毁灭者。

战后因思想言论自由，近年来新出版的日本史是值得我们一读的。昔韩宣子适鲁，见易象与鲁春秋，曰周礼尽在鲁矣。读日本最近出版之日本历史并各种学术的书籍，几乎使我与宣子有同样的感叹！

六七十年来，我国与日本所定的国策，同为富国强兵。日本所走的路线为资本主义与军国主义。用资本主义所产生的财富来养兵，军阀与财阀联合操纵军政大权。他们的权力超越一切党派与学派。军国主义与资本主义的日本，一战而胜中国，再战而胜帝俄，三战横冲直撞而轰炸到珍珠港。

我国为何想富国而国不富，想强兵而兵不强呢？

第一，内政问题。日本倒幕尊皇，政权统一已数十年。我国初则保皇革命，国是未定。继则军阀割据，全国扰攘。等到国民革命军统一全国的时候，内则战乱频仍，外则日本侵略，内忧外患接踵而起。那里还谈得到富国强兵呢？

第二，经济思想问题。我国儒家"不患寡而患不均"的经济思想，先天上已有不赞成资本主义的色彩，数十年来一般士大夫复颇有仰慕王安石统制经济之倾向，故对西洋资本主义，虽不一定反对，却不热心拥护。这个事实，是谁也不能否定的。只以此而论，就可知道建设一个资本主义的社会是怎样的不容易了。

第三，门户开放问题。中国明清两代均采锁国主义。日本在德川时代亦采锁国主义。十九世纪之资本主义迫开了两国之门。在中国称之为通商，日本称之为开国。然日本之开国发之于统一之政府，故全国一致而收实效。中国则此开彼闭，前迎后拒，步骤极不一致。故开国之实效未显，而瓜分之祸兆已见。

以上对于中国与日本的比较，和对日本之批评，大部分是抗战期间我在重庆所想到而记下来的。当全国被日军蹂躏，千千万万人民在日军铁蹄下牺牲生命财产的期间，我这记录似乎相当客观和公平。这是出于儒家忠恕平衡的传统观念，而日本却缺少一个恕字。对日和约，我国主张维持日本皇室，放弃赔款要求，遣送全体俘虏返国，凡此种种，虽出于政治远见，根本思想还是出于恕道。我国人民知道"不念旧恶"为维持和平的要道，所以这种和约，为全国人民所拥护。

停战以后，我视察了好多日本俘虏营（湘西、汉口、南京等址）；我未曾看见当地民众对日俘有嘲笑或侮辱的举动，使我感觉到中国人民度量的宽宏。

日本战败后十余年，其国内思想颇有变动，有些地方和我们在战前所见和战时所论的颇有不同。如民主主义之抬头，思想和言论之充分自由，神道迷信之渐趋薄弱，历史之重史实而放弃传统的虚伪，工业化之加速与产品的进步，学术研究之加速的发达。凡此种种，影响日本本身之将来与东亚之局势者必甚大。

东欧之西德与远东之日本，已居冷战中重要地位。西德则站在西方民主阵线而为其重要的一环。日本则表面似倾向西方，而其内心则犹站在三岔路中，游移未定。亲西方乎？中立乎？抑或倾向共产主义集团乎？现在日本各种不同之政见，归纳起来，不外乎此三点。这是日本的内心烦恼，亦是她本身的课题，而亦为西方民主集团的课题。

（注）本章【中文】全文经宋越伦先生之口译，得嘉治隆一先生之指教，而关于日本历史方面指正尤多，特此志谢，但其文责仍由作者负之。

敌机轰炸中谈中国文化

东方与西方不同，因为它们的文化不同。但是你仍旧可以找出东西文化之间的相似之点。无论两种文化如何相似，不可能完全相同，每一文化的特点也必有异于他种文化。就西方而论，不同的文化特征使德国人异于英国人，同时也使法国人不同于荷兰人。但是他们之间仍有共通的特征，这些特征使西方国家在文化上结为一体，泛称"西方文化"。这些特征又使他们与东方各国显出不同。因此，文化上的异同，不应该由表面上的类似之点来判断，而应该由各别的基本特征来论定。

在这一章里，我们将从三方面来讨论中国文化的特征：（一）中国文化之吸收力。（二）道德与理智。（三）中国人的人情。

（一）中国文化之吸收力

大约五十年前，当我还在学校念书的时候，外国人和前进的中国人都常常说，中国很像一块绝少吸收能力，甚至毫无吸收能力的岩石，那也就是说中国文化已经停滞不前，而且成为化石，因此中国已经变得无可救药地保守。她一直我行我素，谁也不能使这位"支那人"改变分毫。

这种说法表面上似乎言之成理，但是结果却证明完全错误。从五口通商开始，至一八九四年中日战争为止，中国似乎一直在抗拒西方影响。但是在以前的几百年内，她曾经吸收了许多先后侵入她生活之中的外来东西。

在音乐方面，现在所谓的"国乐"，实际上多半是用起源于外国的乐器来弹奏的。胡琴、笛和七弦琴，都是几百年前从土耳其斯坦传入的。我们现在仍旧保留着中国的古琴，但是只有极少数人能够欣赏，至于能弹古琴的人就更少了。

从外国介绍到中国的食品更不计其数：西瓜、黄瓜、葡萄和胡椒是好几百年前传入中国的；甘薯、落花生、玉蜀黍则是最近几百年传入的；在最近的几十年中，洋山芋、番茄、花菜、白菜和堇菜也传入中国了。切成小块，用酱油红烧的西方牛排，也已经变为一道中国菜。锅巴虾仁加番茄汁更是一种新花样。中菜筵席有时也要加上冰淇淋、咖啡和金山橙子。柑橘原是中国的土产，后来出洋赴美，在加利福尼亚经过园艺试验家褒朋克改良后，带着新的头衔又回到了本乡，与中国留学生从美国大学带着硕士、博士的头衔学成归国的情形差不多。中国柑橘还在很久很久以前传到德国，想不到柑橘到了德国却变成了苹果，因为德国

人把柑橘叫做"中国苹果"。

凡是值得吸收的精神食粮或知识养分，不论来自何方，中国总是随时准备欢迎的。明朝时，耶稣会教士把天文、数学和圣经传到中国。大学士徐光启，不但从他们学习天算，而且还信仰了天主，把他在上海徐家汇的住宅作为天主教活动中心，我们从耶稣会教士学到西方的天文学，有些人因此而成为天主教徒。五口通商以后，徐家汇天文台一直是沿海航行的指针。

明末清初有位学者黄梨洲，他非常佩服耶稣会教士传入的天文学。他曾说过这样一句话，中国有许多学问因自己没有好好地保存，所以有不少已经流到外国去了。他有一次告诉一位朋友说："就天文学而论，我们与西方学者比起来，实在幼稚得很。"可见中国学者是如何虚怀若谷！

事实上正因为她有伟大的吸收能力，中国才能在几千年的历史过程中历经沧桑而屹立不坠。世界上没有任何文化能够不随时吸收外国因素而可维系不坠。我想这是不必历史家来证明的。西方各国文化间的相互依存关系和相互影响，彰彰在人耳目，无庸争辩。但是东方文化与西方文化间的相互作用却比较不太明显。剑桥大学的尼邓教授曾告诉我，火药的膨胀性导致蒸汽机的发明，而儒家的性善学说则影响了法国大光明时代学派的思想。许多东西曾经悄无声息地从东方流传到西方。至于这些东西究竟是什么，我想还是让西洋人自己来告诉我们罢。

但是我们除了音乐、食物之类以外，并没有经由西面和北面陆上边界吸收其他的东西。这些区域里的民族，所能提供的精神食粮事实上很少，因此我们转而求诸印度。在艺术方面，我国的绘画和建筑都有佛教的影响，佛教思想在中国哲学方面更占着重要的地位，佛教经典甚至影响了中国文学的风格和辞藻。

在耶稣会教士到达中国之前好几百年，中国人已经吸收了佛教的道德观念，但是对佛教的超世哲学却未加理睬。佛教传入中国虽已有千百年的历史，而且千千万万的佛教寺庙也占据着城市和山区的最好位置，但是佛教的基本哲学和宗教在中国人的思想里仍然是陌生的。学者们对佛教保持友善或容忍的态度，一般老百姓把它当作中国的诸多宗教之一来崇拜。但是它始终还是外国的东西。在重实用的中国人看起来，佛教的超知识主义并无可用。超知识主义所以能在中国存在，是因为它含有道德教训，同时遇到苦难的时候，可以作精神上的避风港。中国人只想把外国因素吸收进来充实自己的思想体系；但是他们绝不肯放弃自己的思想体系而完全向外国投降。

中国人凭藉容忍的美德，对于无法吸收的任何思想体系都有巧妙的应付办法。他们先吸收一部分，让余留的部分与本国产物和平共存。因此亿万人口中的一部分就接纳了外国的思想文化，成为佛教徒、回教徒，或基督教徒，大家和睦相处，互不干扰。

中国历史上最有趣味的两件事，一件是关于道家思想的。我们把它劈成两半。一半为老庄哲学，以此立身，为任自然而无为；以此治国，为无为而治。另一半成为道教，起于东汉张道陵之五斗米道。流入特殊社会而成帮会，二千年来，揭竿而起，改朝换代，都是与帮会有关系的。流入通俗社会则成道教。既拜神也拜佛，台湾之"拜拜"即此。通俗所迷信之阎罗王，本为印度婆罗门教冥府之司狱吏，由佛教于无意中传来中国而入了道教。至轮回之说，入了道教而亦忘其来源矣。

第二件是把佛教也劈成两半。宗教部分入了道教，哲学部分则合道家而入了儒家。老子之无为主义，凑合了佛家之无为主义，使佛学在中国思想系统里生了根。故宋儒常把老佛并称。

自宋以来之儒家，可以说没有不涉猎道家哲学与佛学的。儒家之洒脱思想，实因受其影响而来。

中国之学人，以儒立身，以道处世，近年以来加上了一项以科学处事。美国本年六月份《幸福》杂志，以幽默的口气，谓台湾有人对美国人说，台湾的建设靠三子。一孔子，二老子，三鬼子。问什么叫鬼子，则笑谓洋鬼子。

现在让我们再回头看一看过去五十年间西方文化传入中国的情形。在衣着方面过去三十年间西化的趋势最为显著。呢帽和草帽已经取代旧式的帽子和头巾；昔日电影中所看到的辫子已失去了踪迹。女人都已烫了头发，短裙、丝袜和尼龙袜已使中国妇女有机会显示她们的玉腿。女人的足更已经历一次重大的革命，西式鞋子使她们放弃了几千年来的缠足恶习，结果使她们的健康大为改善。健康的母亲生育健康的子女，天足运动对于下一代的影响至为明显。现代的儿童不但比从前的儿童健康，而且远较活泼，不但行动比较迅速，心智也远较敏锐。

在社交方面，男女可以自由交际，与过去授受不亲的习俗适成强烈的对照。民法中规定，婚姻不必再由父母安排；青年男女成年以后，有权自行选择对象。男女同校已经成为通例，男女分校倒成了例外。

在住的方面，一向左右屋基选择的风水迷信已经渐为现代的建筑理论所替代。在若干实例中，古代的艺术风格固然因其华丽或雄伟而保留了下来，但是大家首先考虑的还是阳光、空气、便利、舒适、卫生等要

件。现代房屋已经装置抽水马桶、洋瓷浴盆和暖气设备。硬背椅子和硬板床已经渐为沙发及弹簧床垫所取代。

中国菜肴花样繁多，因为我们随时愿意吸收外国成分。西菜比较简单，我想主要是因为不大愿意采用外国材料的缘故。不错，茶是好几世纪以前从中国传入欧洲的。香料也是由东方传去。哥伦布就是为了找寻到印度的通商捷径而无意中发现新大陆的。有人告诉我，渥斯特郡辣酱油也是从中国酱油发展而来的。但是除此以外，西菜始终很少受东方的影响。美国的"杂碎"店固然数以万计，而且美国人也很喜欢"杂碎"，但是除此以外，他们就很少知道别的中国菜了。

中国却一直不断地在吸收外国东西，有时候经过审慎选择，有时候则不分皂白，乱学一气——不但食物方面如此，就是衣着、建筑、思想、风俗习惯等等也是如此。吸收的过程多半是不自觉的，很像一棵树通过树根从土壤吸收养分。吸收养分是成长中树木的本能，否则它就不会再长大。

中国由新疆输入外国文化并加吸收的过程很缓慢，千余年来只点点滴滴地传入了少许外国东西。因此她是逐步接受这些东西，有时间慢慢加以消化。大体上这是一种不自觉的过程，因此并未改变中国文化的主流，很像磁石吸收铁屑。铁屑聚集在磁石上，但是磁石的位置并未改变。

由华东沿海输入的西方文化，却是如潮涌至，奔腾澎湃，声势慑人；而且是在短短五十年之内涌到的。西方文化在法国革命和工业革命之后正是盛极一时，要想吸收这种文化，真像一顿饭要吃下好几天的食物。如果说中国还不至于胀得胃痛难熬，至少已有点感觉不舒服。因此中国一度非常讨厌西方文化，她惧怕它，诅咒它，甚至踢翻饭桌，懊丧万分地离席而去，结果发现饭菜仍从四面八方向她塞过来。中国对西方文化的反感，正像一个人吃得过饱而闹胃痛以后对食物的反感。一八九八年的康梁维新运动，只是吃得过量的毛病；一九○○年的"义和团之乱"，则是一次严重而复杂的消化不良症，结果中国硬被拖上手术台，由西医来开刀，这些西医就是八国联军。这次医药费相当可观，共计四亿五千万两银子，而且她几乎在这次手术中丧命。

张之洞"中学为体，西学为用"的主张，事实上也不过是说：健全的胃比它所接受的食物对健康更重要。因此中国很想稳步前进，不敢放步飞奔。但是西方文化的潮流却不肯等她。西潮冲激着她的东海岸，泛滥了富庶的珠江流域和长江流域，并且很快弥漫到黄河流域。虽然她最近闹了一场严重的胃病，她也不得不再吃一点比较重要的食物。

到了一九○二年，胃口最佳的学生已为时代精神所沾染，革命成为新生的一代的口头禅。他们革命的对象包括教育上的、政治上的、道德上的，以及知识上的各种传统观念和制度，过去遗留下来的一切，在这班青年人看起来不过是旧日文化的骸骨，毫无值得迷恋之处。他们如饥如渴地追求西方观念，想藉此抵消传统的各种影响。

五口通商后不久，中国即已建立兵工厂、码头、机器厂和外语学校，翻译了基本科学的书籍，而且派学生留学美国。因为她在抵抗西方列强的保卫战中屡遭败北，于是决定先行建立一支海军。一支小型的海军倒是真的建立起来了，结果却在一八九四年被日本所毁灭。日本是无法容忍中国有海军的。

海军既然建不成，中国就进一步进行政治、陆军和教育上的改革。北京的满清政府开始准备采取西方的立宪政制；它建立了新的教育制度，组织了现代化的军队和警察，并且派遣了大批学生出洋留学。这可算是中国文化有史以来首次自觉地大规模吸收外国文明，其结果对往后国民生活发生了非常深远的影响。

最重要的是教育上的改革，因为这些改革的计划最完善，眼光最远大，而且是针对新兴一代而发的，传统观念对这班年轻人的影响最小。后来这班年龄相若的学生逐渐成长而在政府中掌握大权，他们又采取了更多的西洋方法，使较年轻的一代有更佳的机会吸收新的观念思想。这年轻的一代接着握权以后，他们又进一步从事西化工作，更多的新措施也随之介绍到政府、军队和学校等部门。因此新兴的每一代都比前一代更现代化。

民国八年（一九一九年）北京的学生运动，北大教授所强调的科学和现代民主观念，以及胡适教授所提倡的文学革命，只是自觉地致力吸收西方思想的开端，这种努力在过去只限于工业和政治方面。这次自觉的努力比较更接近中国文化的中心，同时中国文化史也随之转入新页。因为中国正想藉此追上世界潮流。中国文化把罗盘指向西方以后，逐渐调整航线，以期适应西方文化的主流。在今后五十年内，它在保持本身特点的同时，亦必将驶进世界未来文化共同的航道而前进。

到目前为止，中国已经从西化运动中获得很多好处。妇女与男子享受同等的社会地位，享受结婚和再嫁的自由，并且解放缠足，这就是受到西方尊重妇女的影响而来的。西方医药也已阻遏了猖獗的时疫，麻醉药的应用已使千万病人在施行手术时免除痛苦。机器和发明已经改进了生产技术，对于人民的生活提供了重大的贡献。现代作战武器增加了杀伤的能力，因而也招致了更大的生命损失。现代科学已经拓宽了知识范

围；中国的历史、哲学和文学的研究工作已采用了科学方法。大家一向信守不疑的迷信，也因科学真理的启示而渐渐失势。我们吸收西方思想的能力愈强，我国的文化亦将愈见丰富。中国的现代化工作愈广泛彻底，则与中国国民生活结着不解缘的贫困和疾病两大祸患亦将随之逐渐消灭。在这一方面，我认为现代化运动和西化运动，即使并非完全相同，也是不可分的，因为现代化运动肇始于西化，而且已经毫无间断地向前迈进。中国无法取此而舍彼。

西方被迫现代化，多少有点像中国之被迫西化。现代发明浪潮所经之处，随即改变了生产的方式，招致分配和控制的问题，并进而引起其他新的问题。人类必须适应日新月异的环境，进步就是由环境的不断改变和人类适应新的环境产生的。你不妨看一看法国革命以后的欧洲情形，你或许会发现自从罗马帝国以来，欧洲大陆在表面上几无多大改变。但是你如果再仔细看看工业革命以后五十年来的欧洲情形，你一定会发现许多显著的变化。再隔五十年之后，你又会发现整个欧洲大陆和美洲都已经遍布了铁路网，一列列的火车则像千万条蜈蚣爬行在铁路上。烟囱高耸入云的工厂像蜂房一样集中在工业大城里。装载工业成品的轮船在港口穿梭进出，准备把工厂产品运送到世界的每一角落。

半世纪以前，这些轮船曾经把自来火、时辰钟、洋油灯、玩具，以及其他实用和巧妙的外国货带到中国。我童年时代在安宁的乡村里就曾经玩过这些洋货。我们天真而不自觉地吸收这些新鲜的玩艺儿，实际上正是一次大转变的开端，这次转变结果使中国步上现代化之途，同时也经历了相伴而生的苦难、扰攘、危险，以及旧中国恬静生活的迅速消逝。

中国在此以前所吸收的外国东西，不论是自觉的或是不自觉的，都曾使人民生活更见充实丰富，而且并未导致任何纷扰。但是自从西方工业制品和思想制度传入以后，麻烦就来了。正像现代的磺胺药品，它们固然可以治病，但是有时候也会引起严重的副作用，甚至致人于死。中国所面临的问题就是如何吸收西方文化而避免严重的副作用。此项工作有赖于实验与科学研究，因为实验和科学研究是推动心理、社会、工业各项建设的基本工具。不过这些工具仍然是西方的产物。

（二）道德与理智

我在加州大学伦理学班上初次读到希腊哲学家的著作时，我开始觉得中国古代思想家始终囿于道德范围之内，希腊哲学家则有敏锐深刻的理智。后来我读了更多有关希腊生活和文化的书籍以后，更使我深信古代中国思想和古希腊思想之间，的确存在着这种鲜明的对照，同时我相

信就是东西文化分道扬镳的主要原因。这种说法也许过于武断，但是据我后来的经验来说，我并未发现有予以修正的必要，而且我至今仍如此深信不疑。

我从美国留学回来以后，曾不断努力使国人了解发展理智的重要，无论是上课或写作，我总是经常提到苏格拉底、柏拉图和亚里士多德等名字，以致若干上海小报讥讽我是"满口柏拉图、亚里士多德的人"。我发现并没有多少人听我这一套，结果只好自认失败而放弃了这项工作，同时改变策略转而鼓吹自然科学的研究。事实上这是一种先后倒置的办法，我不再坚持让大家先去看看源头，反而引大家先去看看水流。他们看到水流以后，自然而然会探本穷源。

有人曾经请教一位著名的中国科学家，为什么中国未曾发展自然科学。他提出四个理由：第一，中国学者相信阴阳是宇宙中相辅相成的两大原则。第二，他们相信金、木、水、火、土，五行是构成宇宙的五大要素，并把这种对物质世界的分析应用到人类生活以及医药方面。第三，中国人的粗枝大叶，不求甚解。这是精确计算的大敌。第四，中国学者不肯用手，鄙夷体力劳动。

这些很可能都是自然科学发展的障碍，但是即使没有这些障碍，我也不相信自然科学就能发展起来，因为我们根本就没有注意到这方面的工作。

我们中国人最感兴趣的是实用东西。我在美国时常常发现，如果有人拿东西给美国人看，他们多半会说："这很有趣呀！"碰到同样情形时，中国人的反应却多半是："这有什么用处？"这真是中国俗语所谓智者见智，仁者见仁。心理状态的不同，所表现的兴趣也就不同了。我们中国对一种东西的用途，比对这种东西的本身更感兴趣。

中国思想对一切事物的观察都以这些事物对人的关系为基础，看它们有无道德上的应用价值，有无艺术价值，是否富于诗意，是否切合实用。古希腊的科学思想源于埃及与巴比伦。巴比伦的天文学和埃及的几何学，和中国天文数学一样，都以实际应用为目的。但是希腊学者具有重理知的特性，他们概括并简化各种科学原则，希望由此求出这些科学的通理。这种追求通理的过程为天然律的发现铺平了道路。

对希腊人而言，一共有两个世界：即官觉世界与理性世界。官觉有时会弄玄虚；所以哲学家不能信赖他的官觉的印象，而必须发展他的理性。柏拉图坚主研究几何学，并不是为了几何学的实际用途，而是想发展思想的抽象力，并训练心智使之能正确而活泼地思考。柏拉图把思想

的抽象力和正确的思考能力应用在伦理与政治上，结果奠定了西方社会哲学的基础；亚里士多德把它们应用在研究具体事物的真实性上，结果奠定了物质科学的基础。

亚里士多德相信由官觉所得知识的真实性。他并有惊人的分析的理智力，他的这种理智力几乎在任何学问上都留有痕迹。他认为正确的知识不但需要正确地运用理性，同时也牵涉到官觉的正确运用；科学的进步则同时仰赖推理能力和观察能力的发展。亚里士多德从应用数学演绎出若干通则，研究与探讨这些原则是一种心智的锻炼，他便由此训练出一种有力而深刻的理智力。凭着这种训练有素的理智力以及官觉的正确运用，他创造了一套成为现代化科学基础的知识系统。使西方思想系统化的逻辑和知识理论也同是这种理智锻炼的产物。

中国思想集中于伦理关系的发展上。我们之对天然律发生兴趣，只是因为它们有时可以作为行为的准则。《四书》之一的《大学》曾经提出一套知识系统，告诉我们应该先从格物着手，然后才能致知。知识是心智发展的动力。

到此为止，我们所谈的还是属于知识方面的。讨论再进一步以后，道德的意味就加强了。心智发展是修身的一部分，修身则是齐家的基础。齐家而后方能治国，国治而后方能平天下。从格物致知到平天下恰恰形成一个完整的、非常实际的、道德上的理想体系。在中国人看起来，世界和平绝非梦想，而是实际的道德体系。因为国家的安定必然是与国际和平密切关联的。离开此目标的任何知识都是次要的或无关痛痒的。

在这种学问态度之下，查问地球究竟绕日而行，抑或太阳绕地球而运行，原是无关痛痒的事。

再说，我们何苦为沸水的膨胀而伤脑筋？瓦特实在太傻了！我们中国人倒是对沸水的嘶嘶声更感兴趣，因为这种声音可以使我们联想到煮茗待客的情调。那该多么富于诗意！

苹果落地是自然的道理，中国人可以在这件事情上找出道德意义。他们会说，一样东西成熟了自然就掉下来。因此，你如果好好地做一件事情，自然就会得到应有的结果，为此多伤脑筋毫无好处。如果你家花园里的苹果不是往地下落，而是往天上飞，那倒可能使中国人惴惴不安，认为老百姓即将遭逢劫难。彗星出现，或者其他习见情形失常，中国人就是如此解释的。只有牛顿这种人才会从苹果落地想到地心吸力上面去。

我一度鼓吹发展理智，结果徒劳无功，原因不言而喻。这些古希腊人物和他们的学说对中国有什么用？在我们中国人的眼光里，自然科学的价值只是因为它们能够产生实际的用途。希腊哲学家离现代自然科学太远了，他们还有些什么实际用途呢？我们中国人对科学的用途是欣赏的，但是对为科学而科学的观念却不愿领教。中国学者的座右铭就是"学以致用"。

在这样的心理状态之下，中国未能发展纯粹科学是毫不足奇的，因为纯粹科学是知识兴趣的表现，而非实际应用的产物。我们曾经建造长城和运河，也曾建设伟大的水利工程；我国建筑式样的宏丽，我们的宫殿和庙宇，都曾获得举世人士的激赏。这些工程足与世界上最伟大的工程成就相提并论。但是它们并不是纯粹科学的基础上发展而来的。因此它们无论如何伟大，也没有进一步发展的可能，直到现代工程技术输入以后，才见转机。如果没有纯粹科学，现代工程科学根本无法达到目前的巅峰状态。中国人所发明的指南针和火药曾使全世界普受其利，但是发现火药爆炸的膨胀原理，把这原理应用于沸水，并进而发明蒸汽机的，结果还是西洋人。

在中国，发明通常止于直接的实际用途。我们不像希腊人那样肯在原理原则上探讨；也不像现代欧洲人那样设法从个别的发现中归纳出普遍的定律。现代欧洲人的这种习性是从古希腊继承而来的，不过较诸希腊时代更进步而已。中国人一旦达到一件新发明的实用目的，就会马上止步不前；因此中国科学的发展是孤立无援的，也没有科学思想足为导向的明灯。科学发展在中国停滞不进，就是因为我们太重实际。

我并不是说中国人不根据逻辑思考，而是说他们的思想没有受到精密的系统的训练。这缺点已经反映在中国哲学、政治组织、社会组织，以及日常生活之中。世界其余各地的人民普遍享受现代科学的光明和工业社会的福利以后，这种缺点在中国已经更见显著。

除了重实际之外，我们中国人还充满着强烈的道德观念。也可以说正因为我们注重道德，我们才重实际。因为道德系指行为而言，行为则必然要凭实际结果来判断。希腊人在物理学和形而上学方面曾有离奇的幻想和推测，但是我们对行为却不可能有同样的幻想和推测。

有时候我们也可能闯出重实际、重道德的思想常规，但是我们一旦发觉离开伦理范围太远时，我们马上就会收回心灵的触角。宋代的朱子就曾有一次超越道德的范围。他从山顶上发现的贝壳而推断到山脉的成因。他认为山势的起伏显示千万年以前的山脉一定是一种流体，山顶上的贝壳正可以说明，目前的山峰一度曾是深渊之底。至于这种流体何时

凝结为山脉，如何凝结为山脉，以及海底如何突出水面而成高峰等等问题，他却无法解答了。他的推断也就到此为止，深恐冒险前进要栽筋斗。在朱子之前以及朱子之后都曾有过同样的观察自然的例子，但是中国思想家在理论方面的探讨一向是谨慎的，惟恐远离伦理关系的范围。

中国人当然不是缺乏理智的民族；但是他们的理智活动却局限于道德与实用的范围。他们像蚕一样作茧自缚，自立智识活动的界限。他们深爱他们的道德之茧，而且安居不出。中国人的生活就是一种乐天知命的生活。中国哲学的目标是安定。求进步？算了吧——进步势将招致对现状的不满，不满现状则会破坏安定，中国人很满意现实世界，从来不想对大自然作深入的探讨。中国未曾发展自然科学，只是因为她根本无意于此。

希腊人却大不相同。亚里士多德的思想可以上天入地，无远弗届。整个宇宙都是希腊理智活动的范围。希腊人觉得运用理智，本身就是一种快乐。他们不管它是否切合实际，也不管它与道德伦理有没有关系。据说古希腊数学家欧几里得的一位学生曾经这样问过老师："我学这些东西能得到些什么呢？"欧几里得吩咐他的仆人说："既然他一定要从所学的里面得到些东西，你就给他六个铜板让他走吧。"希腊人甚至对道德也发展了一套伦理学，以理智的研究来检讨道德的正确性。苏格拉底就是因此而招致了麻烦，被控以危险的研究毒害青年的心灵。

自然科学之能发展到目前的阶段，首先归功于希腊人对大自然的观念以及对有系统的智力训练的爱好，中间经过文艺复兴、宗教革命、法国革命，后来又受到工业革命的大刺激。工业革命使工具和技术逐渐改进。西欧在自然科学的后期发展中，从未忽视科学的实际用途。不断的发现和发明更进一步刺激了科学研究。理论科学和应用科学齐头并进，而相辅相成。

五口通商以后，现代科学开始涓涓滴滴地流传到中国时，引起中国学者注意的还是科学的实用价值。他们建立了兵工厂和轮船码头。他们附带翻译了基本科学的书籍。究竟是太阳绕地球运行或者是地球绕太阳运行，他们仍未感觉兴趣。在他们看起来，那是无足轻重的，因为无论谁绕谁转，对人都没有实际的影响。三百多年前耶稣会教士把天文数学传到中国时，学者们马上发生兴趣，因为这些科学可以纠正当时中国日历上的许多错误。不但计算日子、月份、年份缺不得日历，就是播种收获，日历也是不可或缺的。

二十世纪初叶，进化论传入中国。我国学者马上发现它的实用的道德价值。应用"物竞天择，适者生存"这项天然律，他们得到一项结论，

知道世界各国正在互相竞争以求生存，而且经过天择之后只有适者才能生存。中国会不会是适者？她会不会生存呢？她必须竞争，为生存而竞争！进化论如需证据，只要看街头大狗和小狗打架，小狗会被大狗咬死，小虫碰到大虫，小虫会被大虫吃掉的事实。俗语说："大虫吃小虫，小虫吃眯眯虫。"这已经足够证明"物竞天择，适者生存"的正确性了，又何必向达尔文讨证据呢？他们就这样轻易地为达尔文的科学研究披上了一件道德的外衣。下面就是他们道德化的结果，他们说："弱肉强食。"中国既然是弱国，那就得当心被虎视眈眈的列强吃掉才行。

进化论的另一面则被应用于历史上，照中国过去学者的历史观，世运是循环的。受了达尔文学说影响以后，他们相信世运是依直线进行的，不进则退，或者停住不动。这种历史观的转变，对中国学者有关进步这一观念产生了重大的影响。

阴阳和五行等观念显然是从直接观察大自然得来，拿这些观念来理性化宇宙的变幻和人类的行为已经绰有余裕。我们不必作精密的计算，更不必动手。我猜想，中国学者如果有兴趣从事体力劳动，他们宁愿去制作实用的东西，或者美丽的艺术品，而不愿在科学实验室里从事试验。大家仍旧只根据自己的兴趣去思想，去行动。磁针永远是指向磁极的。

这样的心理状态自然不是纯粹科学的园地。不过中国已在慢慢地、不断地改变她的态度，她已经从运用科学进而研究纯粹科学，从纯粹科学进而接触到新的思想方法，最后终于切实修正了她的心理状态。我们已经在道德宇宙的墙上开了一扇窗子，凭窗可以眺望长满科学与发明果实的理智的宇宙。

这种心理状态的改变已经使大自然有了新的价值，从此以后，大自然不再仅仅是道德家或诗人心目中的大自然，而且是纯粹科学家心目中的大自然。对现代中国人而言，宇宙不仅是我国先贤圣哲心目中的道德宇宙，而且是古希腊人心目中的理智宇宙。

道德家观察大自然的目的在于发现有利伦理道德的自然法则。科学家观察大自然则是为了发现自然法则，满足知识上的兴趣，也就是为知识而求知识。中国所吸收的现代科学已经穿越她那道德宇宙的藩篱，近代中国学人正深入各处探求真理。他们的思想愈来愈大胆，像一只小舟在浩瀚的海洋上扬帆前进搜寻秘密的宝藏。这种知识上的解放已经使年轻的一代对某些传统观念采取了批评的态度，对道德、政治和社会习俗予以严厉的检讨，其影响至为深远。年纪较大的一代忧虑宁静的道德乐园将被毁灭，惋叹太平盛世渐成过去，年轻的一代则为建筑新的知识之

宫而竟日忙碌。

我想这就是西方对中国的最大贡献。

在相反的一方面，把中国的学问加以整理研究，也可能对现代科学世界提供重大的贡献，希腊人研究巴比伦和埃及科学的结果就是如此。近年来对中国建筑、医学和实用植物学的初步科学研究已经有了可喜的成绩。

世界各国的文化奠基于不同的宇宙观。中国人所想的是一个道德的宇宙，并以此为基础而发展了他们的文化。希腊人所想的是一个理智的宇宙，也以此为基础发展了他们的文化。今日欧洲人的道德观念导源于基督教教义——一个上帝所启示的道德的宇宙。但中国人的道德宇宙是自然法则所启示的。基督徒努力想在地球上建立一个天国，中国人却只想建立一个和平安定的王国。

中国道德观念本诸自然，基督的道德观念则本诸神权；在中国人看起来，神只是大自然的一部分，在基督徒看起来，大自然却是上帝所创造的。由此可见基督教教条与科学之间的矛盾必然是很严重的，西方历史已经一再证明如此；科学与中国的道德观念之间的矛盾却比较缓和，因为二者的出发点都是大自然，所不同的只是发展的方向。

有人说过，基督教思想是天国的或神国的，中国思想是为人世的，希腊思想是不为人世的，换言之，即越出人世以外的。引导人类发现自然法则的就是这种超越人世的思想。自然法则是现代科学的基础。有了现代科学，然后才有现代发明。这种不为人世的思想在科学上应用的结果，如果说未为世界带来和平与安定，至少也已为世界带来繁荣。

据我个人的看法，欧洲文化的发展过程就是基督教的道德宇宙与希腊的理智宇宙之间的一部斗争史。文艺复兴、宗教革命和法国革命，都不过是长久淹没在道德宇宙下的理智宇宙的重现而已，这些运动事实上只是同一潮流中的不同阶段。最后工业革命爆发，理智宇宙经过几百年的不断发展，终于涌出水面，奔腾澎湃，横扫全球。工业革命狂潮的前锋，在我童年时代前后已经突然冲到中国；它冲破了我们的道德宇宙，破坏了我们的安定生活；《西潮》所讲的正是这些故事。

道德宇宙不可能产生理智宇宙的果实，理智宇宙也不可能产生道德宇宙的果实。科学之果只能在理智之园成长，在基督教教条或中国的道德观念之下，不可能产生任何科学。

不错，我们发现古时的墨子也有过科学思想，但是那只是他哲学体

系中无关紧要的一部分，这些科学思想只是行星的卫星，墨子的哲学体系基本上仍旧是属于道德方面的。

科学的发展有赖于人们全力以赴，需要对超越人世以外的真理持有梦寐以求的热忱；并且有赖于不屈不挠、无休无止的思维和不偏不倚的精神去探索真理；无论身心，均须不辞劳瘁，愈挫愈奋。换一句话说，科学是人的整个灵魂从事知识活动的结果。仅凭玩票的态度，或者偶而探讨大自然的奥秘，或者意态阑珊，不求甚解，绝不可能使人类荣获科学的桂冠。

在现代科学影响之下，中国正在建立起一个新的道德体系。扬弃了迷信和那些对大自然似是而非的推断，经过理智探究的考验，并受到社会科学结论的支持，这些结论是根据对社会的实地调查而获得的。

在另一方面，我们绝不可忘记中国旧的道德体系，这个旧体系是经过千百年长期的经验和历代不断的努力而建立起来的，建立过程中所运用的方法或工具包括四书五经、一般文学、雕刻、音乐、家庭、戏剧、神佛、庙宇，甚至玩具，这个道德体系曾使中国人诚实可靠，使中国社会安定平静，并使中国文化历久不衰。道德观念如忠、孝、仁、义、诚、信、中庸、谦冲、诚实等等都曾对中国人的心情个性有过重大贡献。现代科学所导致的知识上的忠实态度，自将使几千年来道德教训所产生的这些美德，更为发扬光大。

一片新的知识园地将与新的道德观念同时建立起来，以供新中国富于创造能力天才的发展。我们将在儒家知识系统的本干上移接西方的科学知识。儒家的知识系统从探究事物或大自然出发，而以人与人的关系为归趋；西方的科学知识系统也同样从探究事物或大自然出发，但以事物本身之间的相互关系为归趋，发展的方向稍有不同。

道德宇宙与理智宇宙将和在西方一样在中国平行并存，一个保持安定，一个促成进步。问题在于我们是否能觅得中庸之道。

（三）中国人的人情

我们说，学以致用，那末所谓"用"又是什么呢？这里有两大原则：第一是有益于世道人心，第二是有益于国计民生。这是为世俗所熟知的，亦即《左传》里所说的"正德利用厚生"。这两大原则是先贤圣哲几千年来训诲的总结，他们所说所论，最后总是归结到这两点。学者们从先贤学到这些原则，然后又把所学传播给老百姓。老百姓在这种影响之下已逐渐而不自觉地形成一种重常识与重人情的心理。他们根据上述两大原则，随时要问这样东西有什么用，那样东西有什么用。

轮船火车传到中国时，大家都很愿意搭乘，因为它们走得比较快。他们采用洋油灯，因为洋油灯比较亮。电话电报使消息传递更为便利，而且不像邮寄或者专差送递那样迟缓。有了钟表以后，可以不必看太阳就知道正确的时刻。大家购买西方货品，因为它们能够满足日常生活中的实际需要。

传教士到了中国以后，到处设立学校和医院。中国人异口同声地说：这些人真了不起啊，他们为患病者诊疗，又使贫穷的子弟受教育。当中国人上礼拜堂听福音时，许多人的眼睛却瞅在医院和学校上面。他们的手里虽然拿着《圣经》，眼睛却偷偷地瞅着牧师从西方故乡带来的实用货品。我父亲与当地的一位牧师交了朋友，因为这位牧师替我们修好了抽水机，并且还送给我们咳嗽糖和金鸡纳霜。他非常诚实，而且对邻居很客气。最后一点非常重要，因为中国人不但实际，而且最重道德。那末，他们所宣扬的宗教怎么样？哦，那是一个好宗教，它是劝人为善的。那末，他们的上帝呢？哦，当然，当然。你说他们的上帝吗？他是个好上帝呀。我们要把它与其他好神佛一齐供奉在庙宇里。我们应崇拜它，在它的面前点起香烛。但是它不肯与你们的偶像并供在庙宇里又怎么办呢？那末，我们就给它也塑个偶像吧！不行，那怎么可以？它是无所不能，无所不在的。上帝就在你身上，而不是在偶像上。哦，是的，是的。不过它不在我身上时，也许喜欢托身在偶像上呢。不，它住在天堂。是，是，我知道，其它神佛不也都是住在天上吗？不过，他也许愿意到下界来玩玩，拿庙宇作旅馆暂住，那时候我们就可以在庙宇里祭拜它了。不行，它是独一无二的神——你崇拜它，就不能崇拜其他的神佛。

这可使中国人颇费踌躇了。最后他们说，好吧，你们崇拜你们的上帝，我们还是崇拜我们的神佛算了。"信者有，不信者无。"中国对宗教的包容并蓄，其故在此。

西方人所了解的现代法律观念在中国尚未充分发展。中国人以为最好是不打官司。不必诉诸法律就能解决纠纷不是很好吗？还是妥协算了！让我们喝杯茶，请朋友评个理，事情不就完了？这样可以不必费那么多钱，不必那么麻烦，而且也公平得多。打官司有什么用？你常常可以在县城附近的大路旁边看到一些石碑，上面刻着"莫打官司"四个大字。

这或许就是中国人不重法律的原因。但是现代工商业发达以后，社会也跟着变得复杂了，处理复杂的社会关系的法律也成为必需的东西，法律成为必需时，通达人情的中国人自将设法发展法律观念。但是，如

果能凭饮杯茶，评个理就解决事端，法院的负担不是可以减轻了吗？

己所不欲，勿施于人。批评家说这是消极的，"己之所欲，施之于人"才算积极。不错，这说法很正确。但是中国人基于实际的考虑，还是宁愿采取消极的作风。你也许喜欢大蒜，于是你就想强迫别人也吃大蒜，那是积极的作法。我也许觉得大蒜味道好，别人却未必有同样的感觉；他们也许像太太小姐怕老鼠一样怕大蒜。如果你不爱好臭味冲天的大蒜，难道你会高兴别人硬塞给你吃吗？不，当然不。那末，你又何必硬塞给别人呢？这是消极的，可是很聪明。因为坚持积极的办法很可能惹出麻烦，消极的作风则可避免麻烦。

以直报怨，以德报德。自然，更高的理想应该是爱敌如己。但是历史上究竟有多少人能爱敌如己呢？这似乎要把你的马车赶上天边的一颗星星，事实上，那是达不到的。以直报怨则是比较实际的想法。所以中国人宁舍理想而求实际。

音乐有没有用处？当然很有用。它可以陶冶性情，可以移风易俗。

艺术有没有用处？当然很有用。艺术可以培养人民的高尚情操，有益于世道人心。花卉草木、宫殿庙宇、山水名画、诗词歌赋、陶瓷钟鼎、雕塑篆刻等等都足以启发人的高尚情操。

一个人为什么必须诚实呢？因为你如果不诚实，不可靠，人们就不会相信你，你在事业上和社交上也会因此失败，不诚实是不合算的。诚实不但是美德，它的实际效果对人与人之间的关系也有很大的价值。

中国人爱好幽默。为什么？因为幽默的话不会得罪人；而且你可从幽默中觅得无限的乐趣。你如果常常提些无伤大雅而有趣的建议，你一定可以与大家处得更好。幽默使朋友聚晤更觉融洽，使人生更富乐趣。

有恒为成功之本。只要有恒心，铁杵磨成针。

有一个夏天下午，杜威教授、胡适之先生和我三个人在北平西山看到一只屎蜣螂正在推着一个小小的泥团上山坡。它先用前腿来推，然后又用后腿，接着又改用边腿。泥团一点一点往上滚，后来不知怎么一来，泥团忽然滚回原地，屎蜣螂则紧攀在泥团上翻滚下坡。它又从头做起，重新推着泥团上坡，但结果仍旧遭遇同样的挫败。它一次接一次地尝试，但是一次接一次地失败。适之先生和我都说，它的恒心毅力实在可佩。杜威教授却说，它的毅力固然可嘉，它的愚蠢却实在可怜。这真是智者见智，仁者见仁。同一东西却有不同的两面。这位杰出的哲学家是道地的西方子弟，他的两位学生却是道地的东方子弟。西方惋叹屎蜣

螂之缺乏智慧，东方则赞赏它之富于毅力。

中国人多半乐天知命。中国人如有粗茶淡饭足以果腹，有简陋的房屋足以安身，有足够的衣服可以御寒，他就心满意足了。这种安于俭朴生活的态度使中国亿万人民满足而快乐，但是阻滞了中国的进步。除非中国能够工业化，她无法使人民达到高度的物质繁荣。或许在今后的一段长时间内，她的亿万人民仍须安贫乐道。

中国人深爱大自然，这不是指探求自然法则方面的努力，而是指培养自然爱好者的诗意、美感或道德意识。月下徘徊，松下闲坐，静听溪水细语低吟，可以使人心神舒坦。观春花之怒放感觉宇宙充满了蓬勃的精神；见落叶之飘零则感觉衰景的凄凉。

中国人从大自然领悟到了人性的崇高。北京有一个天坛，是用白色大理石建造的，这个天坛就是昔日皇帝祭天之所。一个秋天的夜晚，万里无云，皓月当空，银色的月光倾泻在大理石的台阶上，同时也弥漫了我四周的广大空间。我站在天坛的中央，忽然之间我觉得自己已与天地融而为一。

这次突然升华的经验使我了解中国人为什么把天、地、人视为不可分的一体。他们因相信天、地、人三位一体，使日常生活中藐不足道的人升入庄严崇高的精神境界。茫无边际的空间、灿烂的太阳、澄明的月亮、浩繁的星辰、葱翠的树木、时序的代谢、滋润五谷的甘霖时雨、灌溉田地的江河溪涧、奔腾澎湃的海浪江潮、高接云霄的重峦叠嶂，这一切的一切，都培养了人的崇高精神。人生于自然，亦养于自然；他从大自然学到好好做人的道德。自然与人是二而为一的。

大自然这样善良、仁慈、诚挚，而且慷慨，人既然是大自然不可分的一部分，人的本性必然也是善良、仁慈、诚挚，而且慷慨的。中国人的性善的信念就是由此而来。邪恶只是善良的本性堕落的结果。中国伟大的教育家和政治家始终信赖人的善良本性，就是这个缘故。伟大政治家如孙中山先生，伟大教育家如蔡孑民先生，把任何人都看成好人，不管他是张三、李四，除非张三或李四确实证明是邪恶的。他们随时准备饶恕别人的过错，忘记别人的罪愆。他们的伟大和开明就在这里。所以我国俗语说："宰相腹内可撑船"，又用虚怀若谷来形容学者的气度。

大自然是中国的国师。她的道德观念和她的一切文物都建筑于大自然之上。中国文化既不足以控制自然，她只好追随自然。中西之不同亦即在此。道德家和诗人的责任是追随自然；科学家的责任则是控制自然。中国年轻一代在西方文明影响之下，已开始转变——从诗意的道德

的自然欣赏转变到科学的自然研究。中国此后将不单凭感觉和常识的观察来了解自然，而且要凭理智的与科学的探讨来了解自然。中国将会更真切地认识自然，更有效地控制自然，使国家臻于富强，使人民改善生活。

有人以为科学会破坏自然的美感，其实未必如此。我现在一面握笔属稿，一面抬头眺望窗外，欣赏着花园中在雨后显得特别清新的松树和竹丛。在竹丛的外边，我还可以看到长江平静徐缓地在重庆山城旁边流过。大自然的美感使我心旷神怡。但是我如果以植物学观点来观察树木，我会想到它们细胞的生长，树液的循环，但是这种想法并不至于破坏我的美感。如果我以地理学的观点来看长江，我可能想到挟带污泥的江水之下的河床，亿万年之前，这河床或许只是一块干燥的陆地，也可能是深海之底。这些思想虽然在我脑海掠过，但是长江优美的印象却始终保留在我心里，甚至使我产生更丰富的联想。如果说对于细胞作用的知识足以破坏一个人对松树或竹丛的美感，那是不可想像的。我觉得科学的了解只有使大自然显得更奇妙、更美丽。

中国人因为热爱大自然的美丽，同时感觉大自然力量之不可抗拒，心里慢慢就形成了一种强烈的宿命论。无论人类如何努力，大自然不会改变它的途径。因此，洪水和旱灾都不是人力所能控制的，人们不得不听任命运的摆布。既然命中注定如此，他们也就不妨把它看得轻松点。天命不可违，何必庸人自扰？我们发现中国的许多苦力也笑容满面，原因在此。苦难是命中注定的，何不逆来顺受？

抗战期间，中国人民表现了无比的忍受艰难困苦的能力，秘密就在此。尽力而为之，其余的听天由命就是了。你最好乐天知命。秋天的明月、六月的微风、春天的花朵、冬天的白雪，一切等待你去欣赏，不论你是贫是富。

二次大战期间看现代文化

现代文化肇始于欧洲；美国文化不过是欧洲文化的一支而已。中国文化是中华民族自己发展出来的，历史悠久，而且品级很高。现代思潮从欧美涌到后，中国才开始现代化。在过去五十年内，她已经逐渐蜕变而追上时代潮流，在蜕变过程中曾经遭受许多无可避免的苦难。中国已经身不由主地被西潮冲到现代世界之中了。

"现代文化"是个笼统的名词。它可以给人许多不同的印象。它可以指更多更优良的作战武器，使人类互相残杀，直至大家死光为止。它也可以指更优越的生产方法，使更多的人能够享受安适和奢华，达到更高的生活水准。现代文化也可以指同时促成现代战争和高级生活水准的科学和发明。它可以代表人类追求客观真理，控制自然的欲望，也可以指动员资源和财富的交通建设和组织制度。对民主国家而言，它可以代表民主政治，对极权国家而言，它又可以代表极权政治。

这一切的一切，或者其中的任何一项，都可以叫现代文化——至于究竟什么最重要，或者什么最标准，似乎没有任何两个人的意见会完全相同。那末，在过去多灾多难的五十年中，中国究竟在做些什么呢？她可以说一直在黑暗中摸索，有时候，她似乎已掉进陷阱，正像一只苍蝇被蜜糖引诱到灭亡之路。有时候，她又似乎是被一群武装强盗所包围，非逼她屈服不可。她自然不甘屈服，于是就设法弄到武器来自卫。总而言之，她一直在挣扎，在暗中摸索，最后发现了"西方文化"的亮光，这亮光里有善也有恶，有祸也有福。

哪些是她应该努力吸收的善因，哪些又是她必须拒斥的祸根呢？这问题似乎没有一致的结论，个人之间与团体之间都是如此。她所遭遇的祸患，也可能在后来证明竟是福祉。鸦片是列强用枪炮硬加到她身上的祸害，但是她却因此而获得现代科学的种子。在另一方面，她接纳的福祉在后来却又可能夹带着意想不到的祸患。例如我们因为过分相信制度和组织，竟然忘记了人格和责任感的重要。因缺乏对这些品德的强调而使新制度、新组织无法收效的例子已经屡见不鲜。

少数以剥削他人为生的人，生活水准确是提高了。汽车进口了，但是他们从来不设法自己制造。事实上要靠成千的农夫，每人生产几百担谷子，才能够赚换一辆进口汽车的外汇。现代都市里的电灯、无线电、抽水马桶等等现代物质享受，也必须千千万万农夫的血汗来偿付。我们以入超来提高生活水准，结果使国家愈来愈贫困。但是生活水准是必须

提高的，因此而产生的祸害只有靠增加生产来补救。为了增加生产，我们必须利用科学耕种、农业机械和水利系统。

这种工作势将引起其他新的问题。我们吃足了现代文化的苦头，然而我们又必须接受更多的现代文化。我们如果一次吃得太多，结果就会完全吐出来。一九○○年的义和团之乱就是一个例子；如果我们吃得太少，却又不够营养。现代文化在中国所产生的影响就是这样。无论如何，中国还是不得不跟着世界各国摸索前进。

西方在过去一百年中，每一发明总是导致另一发明，一种思想必定引发另一种思想，一次进步之后接着必有另一次进步，一次繁荣必定导致另一次繁荣，一次战争之后必有另一次战争。惟有和平不会导致和平，继和平而来的必是战争。这就是这个世界在现代文化下前进的情形。中国是否必须追随世界其余各国亦步亦趋呢？

大家都在担忧发生第三次世界大战，如果另一次大战争真地发生的话，很可能仍像第一次大战一样爆发于东欧和中欧，也可能像第二次大战一样爆发于中国的东三省。中欧的人民想在别处找个生存空间，至于中国的东北，则是别国人民想在那里找生存空间。中欧是个人口稠密的区域，境内的纷扰很容易蔓延到其他区域；东三省则是辽阔的真空地带，很容易招惹外来的纷扰。二者都可能是战争的导火线，战争如果真地发生，势将再度牵涉整个世界，未来浩劫实不堪设想。

确保东方导火线不着火的责任，自然要落在中国的肩膀上。因此今后二三十年间，中国在政治、社会、经济和工业各方面的发展，对于世界和平自将发生决定性的影响。一个强盛兴旺的中国与西方列强合作之下，即使不能完全消弭战争的危机，至少也可以使战争危机大为减低。西方列强如能与中国合作，不但同盟国家均蒙其利，即对整个世界的和平亦大有裨益。西方国家在今后五六十年内至少应该协助中国发展天然资源，在今后二十年内尤其需要协助中国进行经济复员和社会重建的工作。

在西方潮流侵入中国以前，几百年来的祸患可说完全导源于满洲和蒙古。甲午中日战争之后，日本一跃而为世界强国，遂即与帝俄抢夺满洲的控制权，终至触发日俄之战。日本处心积虑，想利用东三省作为征服全中国的跳板，结果发生九·一八事变。如果唐朝灭亡以后的历史发展能够给我们一点教训的话，我们就很有理由相信，东三省今后仍系中国的乱源，除非中国成为强大富足的国家，并且填补好满洲的真空状态。

在建立现代民主政治和工业的工作上，中国需要时间和有利的条件从事试验。这些条件就是和平和安全。国内和平有赖于国家的统一。国家安全则有赖于国际间的了解。只有在东北成为和平中心时，中国才有安全可言。

我们必须从头做起，设法把广大的东北领土从战乱之源转化为和平的重镇。在这件艰巨的工作上，我希望全世界——尤其是美国、英国和苏俄——能够与中国合作。如果她们肯合作，这件工作自然会成功，那不但是中国之福，也是全世界之福。

民国十年（一九二一年），我承上海市商会及各教育团体的推选，并受广州中山先生所领导的国民党政府的支持，曾以非官方观察员身份列席华盛顿会议。翌年我又到欧洲访问现代文化的发祥地。那时刚是第一次世界大战结束后不久，欧洲各国正忙于战后复员，主要的战胜国则忙于确保永久和平。但是当时似乎没有一个国家意识到，实际上他们正在帮着散布下一次大战的种籽。

法国已经精疲力竭，渴望能有永久和平。她目不转睛地监视着莱茵河彼岸，因为威胁她国家生存的危机就是从那里来的。法国的防御心理后来表现在马奇诺防线上，她认为有了这道防线，就可以高枕无忧，不至于再受德国攻击了。秦始皇（公元前二四六——前二○七年）筑长城以御鞑靼，法国则筑马奇诺防线以抵御德国的侵略。但是中国的祸患结果并非来自长城以外，而是发于长城之内，法国及其"固若金汤"的防线，命运亦复如是。

英国忙于欧洲的经济复兴，并在设法维持欧陆的均势。战败的德国正在休养将息。帝俄已经覆亡。一种新的政治实验正在地广人众的苏俄进行。这就是第一次世界大战后的欧洲政治情势。

美国因为不愿卷入欧洲纷扰的漩涡，已经从多事的欧陆撤退而召开华盛顿会议；九国公约就是在这次会议中签订的。此项公约取代了英日同盟，所谓山东问题，经过会外磋商后，亦告解决，日本对华的二十一条要求终于静悄悄地被放进坟墓。巴黎和会中曾决定把青岛赠送给日本，所谓山东问题就是因此而起的。中国人民对巴黎和会的愤慨终于触发了学生运动，在中日关系上发生了深远的影响，同时在此后二十年间，对中国政治和文化上的发展也有莫大的影响。巴黎和会的决定使同情中国的美国政界人士也大伤脑筋，终至演化为棘手的政治问题。共和党和民主党都以打抱不平自任，承诺为中国伸雪因凡尔赛和约而遭受的冤抑。因此，美国固然从欧洲脱身，却又卷入了太平洋的漩涡。二十年后的珍珠港事变即种因于此。

美国虽然是国际联盟的倡导者，结果却并未参加国联的实际活动；法国唯一的愿望是避免纠纷，防御心理弥漫全国；英国的注意力集中在维持欧陆均势上面；结果国际联盟形同虚设。它只会嘊嘊狂吠却从来不会咬人。但是会员本身无法解决的问题，还是一古脑儿往国际联盟推，结果国联就成了国际难题的垃圾堆。中国无法应付东北问题的困难时，也把这些难题推到国联身上，因为日本是国联的会员国。法国对沈阳事变[2] 漠不关心，英国所关切的只是欧洲大陆的均势，惟恐卷入远东纠纷，因此国联连向日本吠几声的胆量都没有。结果只懒洋洋地打了几个呵欠，如果说那是默认既成事实，未始不可。

国联虽然一事无成，却是一个很有价值的教训。世界人士可以从它的失败中，学习如何策划未来的和平。国联诞生于美国之理想，结果因会员国间利益之冲突，以及列强间的野心而夭折。

凡尔赛和约订立后约二十年间，世局演变大致如此。由凡尔赛和约播下的战争种籽在世界每一角落里像野草一样蔓生滋长，这些野草终于着火燃烧，火势遍及全球。

但是政治究竟只是过眼云烟，转瞬即成历史陈迹。恒久存在的根本问题是文化。我们无法否认欧洲已经发展了现代科学和民主制度，为人类带来了许多幸福。

在我看起来，德国是个遍地是望远镜、显微镜和试验管的国家。她的发明日新月异，突飞猛进。上海人甚至把高级舶来品统称为"茄门货"（德国货）。德国人在物质发明上的确称得起能手，但是在人事关系上却碌碌无能。我想，这或许就是他们无法与其他国家和睦相处的原因。他们透过望远镜或显微镜看人，目光焦点不是太远就是太近，因而无法了解人类的行为和情感。他们不可能把国际关系或人类情绪放到试管里去观察它们的反应。在人类活动的广大领域里，德国人常常抓不到人性的要点或缺点。他们已经发展了其他民族望尘莫及的特殊才智，但是欠缺常识。他们的特长使他们在科学上穷根究底，对世界提供了许多特殊的贡献；但是他们在常识方面的欠缺，却使德国和其他国家同受其害。

英国人刚刚与德国人相反。他们是个常识丰富的民族，也是应付人事关系的能手。他们对国际事务的看法以及有关的政策富于弹性和适应性。他们从来不让绳子拉紧到要断的程度。如果拉着绳子另一端的力量比较强，英国人就会放松一点免得绳子拉断。如果拉着另一端的力量比较弱，英国人就会得寸进尺地把绳子拉过来，直至人家脱手为止。但是他们绝不会放弃自己拿着的这一端——他们会坚持到底，不顾后果。在

国际关系和殖民政策上，英国人的这种特性随处可见。

英国人的特性中，除了弹性和适应性之外，同时还有容忍、中庸、体谅、公平以及妥协的精神。他们的见解从来不走极端，而且始终在努力了解别人的观点，希望自己能因此迁就别人，或者使别人来接受他们自己的观点。他们爱好言论自由和思想自由，憎恶无法适应不同情况的刻板规律。

英国的拘谨矜持几乎到了冷酷的程度，这是英国人最受其他民族讨厌的一种特性，而且常常因此引起猜疑误会。这种特性使英国人丧失了许多朋友。但是当你对他们有较深的认识时，或者说当他们对你了解较深时，你就会愿意与他们交朋友了。

这许多特性凑合在一起时，英国的民主政治才成为可能。因为民主不是抽象的东西，也不是天上掉下来的，民主政治包含着民主先进国家的所有特长。翻开英国的宪政史，你会发现其中充满了偏执、迫害、腐败和残忍的史实。许多生命，包括一位君主，曾经为民主牺牲。英国实行民主的经验的确值得我们好好研究。

不过，我们必须记住一项事实：英国的民主政治在联合王国达成统一之后才迅速发展，美国民主政治也是在南北战争之后才突飞猛进。历史告诉我们：只有统一与安全同时并进时，有组织的民主政治才能实现。英国幸而是小岛组成的王国，四围有海洋保护着。在古代，外国侵入英国是不容易的，因此英国人得以永久安全，有足够的时间从事民主实验。在民主的孕育和实验期间，英国的生存始终未受外来侵略的威胁。

美国的情形也很相似。北美大陆本身就是一个大岛，周围的海洋使它不受外来的侵略。从英国来的早期殖民者带来爱好自由的种籽，这些种籽遂即滋长为自由大树，海洋则保护了这些大树，免受外来侵略者的斧斤之扰。经过约一百年的发荣滋长，美国的民主已经根深蒂固，不但人事方面普遍进行实验，即在物质方面也是如此，换一句话说，科学研究之风已吹遍美洲的每一角落。美国的民主固然由英国模型发展而来，美国的科学却受德国之惠不浅。

美国的高等教育制度是英国学院和德国大学的混合体；打个比喻，美国的学术服装是由一件英国袍子和一顶德国帽子凑合而成的。美国大学里男女学生的友好相处与交际自由，建立了自由研究的基础。知识不受严格的管制；人与人的关系是经由学生团体的自由接触而学到的；年轻一代的目光并未受到望远镜、显微镜或试验管的局限；凡是有兴趣的

人都可以接受一种普遍文化的陶冶。

在大学部和研究院里，美国学生普遍接受研究方法的训练。德国学者的彻底精神普受赞许与提倡，但是这种彻底精神直到我进大学的时代才充分发挥。第一次世界大战期间，中国旧国旗中的红黄蓝白黑五色一度只剩下黑白两色。理由是德国颜料因战事关系已无法再输入中国。纽约一位美国化学家告诉我，在德国，通常是好几位专家共同研究一种颜料，在美国却是一位化学家同时研究好几种颜料。这是二十多年前的事了，目前的情况已经有了改变，因为在过去二三十年间，美国人民已经深获德国彻底精神的诀窍。

英国民主和德国精神在美国携手并进，相得益彰。美国以其丰富的天然资源，强大的组织能力，以及对大规模建设的热诚，已经一跃而登民主国家的首座。有一天，重庆的美国大使馆举行酒会，会中一位英国外交官对我说："英国美国化了，俄国美国化了，中国也美国化了。"

"英国在哪一方面美国化了呢？"我问道。

"好莱坞电影就是一个例子。"他回答说。

"那末俄国呢——你是不是指大工业？"

"是的。"

这使我联想到中国的政治制度、教育制度、社会改革和工业发展，这一切都带着浓厚的美国色彩。但是我并没有忘记：中国也已使冲激着她海岸的汪洋染上了她自己的色彩。

这位英国外交官用手指着缀有四十八颗星星的美国国旗，带点幽默地转身问站在他身边的一位美国高级将领说："这上面是六行星星，每行八颗。如果你们增加一个新的州时，你们预备怎么安排？"

"呃，我想它们排成七行，每行七颗星就成了。但是你问这个干什么？你心里所想的是哪一个新的州？"

"英格兰。"这位外交官回答说。我们大家都笑了。这当然只是一个笑话，但是从笑话里，我们可以看出时代的潮流。

昔日西方在东方争取殖民地时，西方列强除了美国之外都曾或先或后地侵略过中国。甚至连葡萄牙也从广东省咬走一小块土地——澳门。美国取自中国的唯一东西是治外法权，但是美国所施于中国者实远较其所取者为多。这些人人皆知的事实，用不到我浪费笔墨。现在美国与英国都已放弃了在华的治外法权，英国虽然仍旧保持香港，却已交还了所

有的租界。全世界虽然历经战争惨祸，国际乌云之中已经透露出一线曙光了。希望这一线曙光，在大战胜利之后，能够渐渐扩大而成为光芒万丈的霁日。

美国已经决意参加未来的国际和平组织，她已经英勇地参加战斗，为永久和平而战斗。历史上的一个新时代正在形成中。中、美、英、苏俄如能合力谋求和平，再由一个有效的世界组织来维护和平，永久和平并非不可能的。

就中国而论，在未来二十年或者三十年里，她尤须加倍努力，从事建设和复兴。今后二三十年将是中国的兴衰关头。我们的努力能否成功，要看我们有无远大眼光，有无领导人才，以及盟国与我们合作的程度而定。盟国与我们合作的程度，又要看我们国内的政治发展以及我们对国际投资所采取的政策而定。战争的破坏，敌骑的蹂躏，更使我们的复兴工作倍形困难。

在另一方面，中国必须完成双重的任务。第一是使她自己富强。第二是协力确保世界和平。在儒家的政治哲学里，世界和平是最终的目的。中山先生根据儒家哲学，也把世界和平定为他的三民主义的目标。

我们如果能够度过这二三十年的难关，自然就可以驾轻就熟，继续进行更远大的改革和建设，为中国创造辉煌的将来，到那时候，中国自然就有资格协助世界确保永久的和平了。

有许多地方，中国仍得向西方学习。自从唐朝覆亡以后，中国曾经一再被来自附近亚洲地区的异族所征服。唐亡以后中国文化的衰退，就是蛮夷戎狄不断蹂躏中国的结果。异族一再入寇中原，加上饥馑、疾病和内乱，终使中国元气衰竭，人民创造能力大为削弱。西方影响开始侵入中国时，正是中国文化陷于最低潮的时候。

现在我们中国人一提到唐朝文化，不禁眉飞色舞，心向往之，满望能恢复旧日的光荣。唐朝的文化比起后来宋朝禁欲主义的文化要近人情得多。如果我们能从唐朝文化得到些灵感与鼓舞，也未始不是一件好事。从唐人的绘画里，我们深深赞叹唐人体格的强健。唐朝的音乐、舞蹈、诗歌、绘画和书法都有登峰造极的成就，后代少能望其项背。

但中国要想回到历史上的这个辉煌时代是不可能的。千百年来我们一直在努力恢复过去的光荣，但是我们的文化却始终在走下坡。因为环境已经改变了。唐代文化赖以滋长的肥沃土壤，已经被历代祸乱的浪潮冲刷殆尽，但是我们如果能避免重蹈唐代灭亡的覆辙，转向在艺术、科学、军事、政治、卫生、财富各方面均有高度成就的现代文明国家如美

国等学习，我们或许会发现唐代的光荣将有重临的一日。在维护和平的工作上，中国的职责将是相当重大的。中国的历史上曾经有过不少次的战争，但是这些战争多半属于国内革命的性质。对外的比较少，国内战争多半是被压迫的农民和苦难人民反抗腐败的政府所引起。至于对外战争，性质上也是防御多于攻击。中国受外国侵略者多，侵略外国者少，从筑万里长城的秦始皇开始，中国就一直希望能闭关自守，长城本身就是防御心理的象征。

孔子的忠孝、仁爱、信义、和平的教训和孟子的民主观念，都使中国适于做一个不愿欺凌其他民族的现代民主国家。中国在战后必须强调的是现代科学和民主政治；科学方面应注重生产方法的应用，民主方面应强调国家的统一。科学和民主是现代进步国家的孪生工具，也是达成强盛、繁荣和持久和平的关键。

中国人民深通人情，特别注重待人接物的修养，生活思想习于民主，这一切都使中国具备现代民主国家的坚强基础。我们在前面已经提到，中国的民主社会组织相当松泛。中国人对于个人自由的强烈爱好并未能与现代社会意识齐头并进。强烈的家族观念已经阻滞了使个人结合为广大团体的过程。不过这种褊狭的观念正在迅速衰退；现代社团已经在大城市里相继出现；进一步工业化之后，家族关系自将愈来愈松弛，个人社会化的程度也将愈来愈深。

在知识方面，中国人看待事物的态度使他深通人情，但是也使他忽视概括与抽象的重要。他以诗人、艺术家和道德家的心情热爱自然，因而胸怀宽大，心平气和。但是这种对自然的爱好尚未推展到对自然法则的研究，人类要控制自然，必须靠这些法则作武器。以中国文化同化能力之强，她必定能慢慢地吸收西方在科学上的贡献；以中国天然资源之富，人民智慧之高，科学的发展将使她前途呈现无限光明。物质文明发展之后，她的道德和艺术更将发扬光大；她的文学和哲学也将在现代逻辑方法和科学思想影响下更见突出而有系统。

在这个初步的和平与繁荣的新基础上，中国将可建立新的防卫力量来维护和平。只有战斗中的伙伴才有资格成为和平时期的伙伴。中国八年抗战对世界和平的贡献，已使举世人士刮目相看。

现代科学，特别是发明和工业上的成就，将与中国的艺术宝藏和完美道德交织交融。一种新的文化正在形成，这种新文化对世界进步一定会提供重大的贡献。

[2] 沈阳事变，即九一八事变。

编后记

蒋梦麟的著作《西潮》诞生于上世纪40年代，初以英文写就，1947年以*Tides from the West: A Chinese Autobiography*为名由耶鲁大学出版社出版。《西潮》丹麦文译本于1949年出版。作者于上个世纪50年代将此书译为中文，同时在原英文版基础上对内容有所增订。中文版于1958年完成，同年开始在台湾《中华日报》刊载，第二年由台湾中华日报社出版。

《西潮》英文版写于抗日战争期间（中文版增订于十余年之后），因此作品无可避免地带有其所处时代的背景与印记。举例来说，当时对一些地名、译名、朝代称谓、民族关系、世界政治等的表述与当前的通行用法不尽一致，亦有部分词语已不再使用，因而不为读者所熟悉。中文版和英文版的写作时间间隔较长，因此文中两种语言并非严格对照，也存在一些数据上的出入。此外，因当时条件所限，书中也存在个别事实性错误。对于上述几类情况，本版尽可能保留作品原貌，适当作注说明于书后，供读者参阅。除保留原作英文注释外，其余中文注释为编者所加。特此说明。

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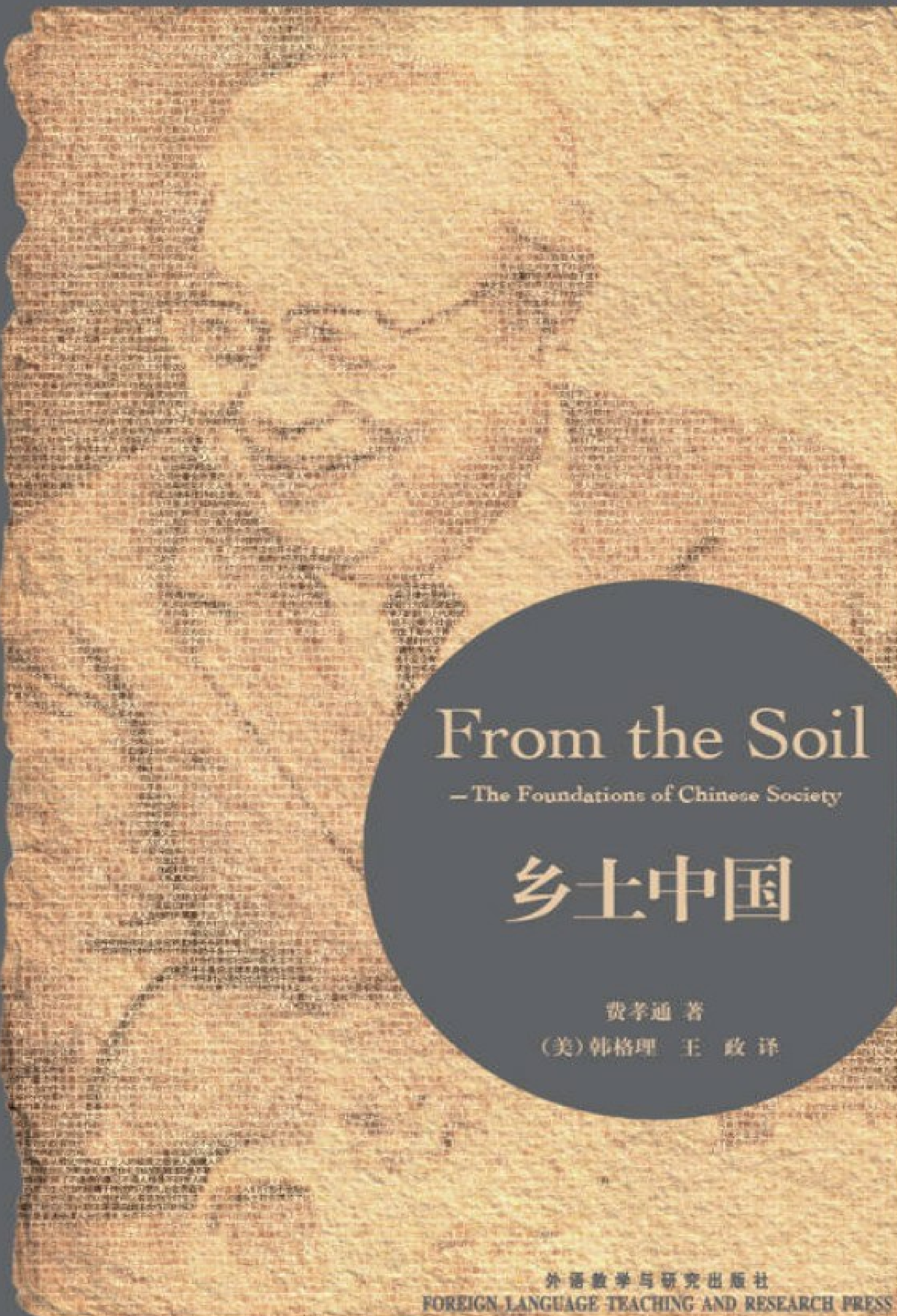

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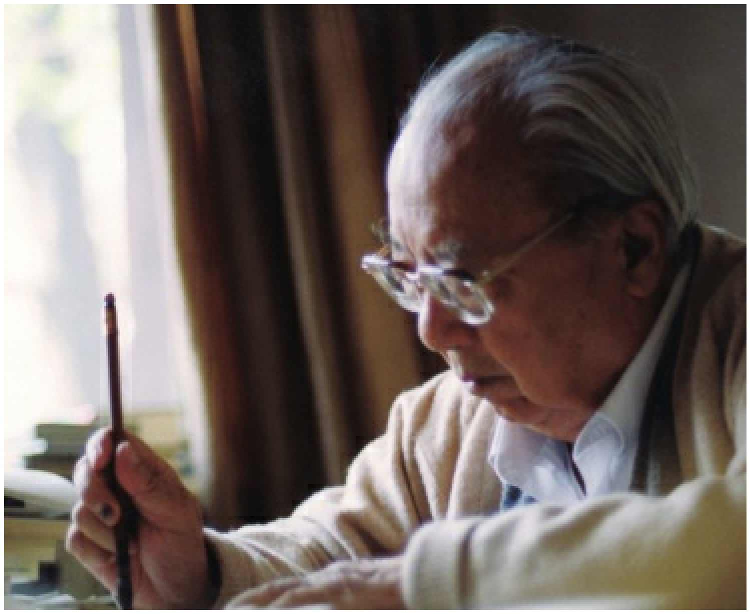

费孝通（1910—2005），著名社会学家、人类学家、民族学家、社会活动家，中国社会学和人类学的奠基人之一。费孝通著述浩繁，其作品《江村经济》《乡土中国》《中国士绅》是研究中国经济、社会和文化的必读之书。

20世纪40年代后期，费孝通根据其在西南联大和云南大学所讲“乡村社会学”一课的内容，应《世纪评论》之约写成分期连载的文章。这十四篇文章后以《乡土中国》之名结集出版。正如费孝通所说，这本书是一种尝试，尝试回答了“作为中国基层社会的乡土社会究竟是个什么样的社会”这个问题。

“这里讲的乡土中国，并不是具体的中国社会的素描，而是包含在具体的中国基层传统社会里的一种特具的体系，支配着社会生活的各个方面。”本书介绍了一个“乡土本色”的中国，并使用社会结构分析方法解剖中国传统社会，独创了“差序格局”概念并被国际社会学界所接受。作者对中国传统文化、社会结构的分析，对于认识和理解具体的中国社会大有裨益。

“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的My Country and My People（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（Intellectual Trends in the Ch' ing Period）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦

有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云："语言的边界，乃是世界的边界"，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对"经典"的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了"研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明"的范式。秉着"记载人类文明、沟通世界文化"的出版理念，我们推出"博雅双语名家名作"系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域"整理国故"，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为"再造文明"、为"向世界说明中国"略尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社
人文社科出版分社

FOREWORD

The bulk of this book is a translation of Xiangtu Zhongguo, a set of essays written by Fei Xiaotong shortly after World War II. In writings about Fei and his works, the book's title is usually rendered in English as"rural China," but this rendering is inexact. Xiang means "countryside"and tu means "earth"; but the combination, xiangtu, is a set phrase meaning "one's native soil or home village." By using xiangtu to modify Zhongguo (China), Fei is conveying a subtle meaning to his readers: that Chinese society has grown out of its ties to the land. Should any of his readers miss the subtlety, Fei clarifies the meaning of the title in the book's first sentence, "Chinese society is fundamentally rural." "From the soil" captures Fei's meaning in a way that "rural China" does not.

Although this book is virtually unknown in the West, it is a standard text in many Chinese universities and contains ideas that are useful for Western readers as well. It is our assessment that this book remains as fresh and as intellectually gripping today as it was over forty years ago, when it was first written. In fact, it may be even better suited to today's climate of opinion than to the earlier one, because Fei addresses the structural foundations of social pluralism and cultural diversity. By describing the fundamental differences between Chinese and Western societies, Fei helps us to understand the distinctiveness of Chinese society and to look at Western modernity in a new way.

We decided to translate this book because we were engaged in a similar pursuit. We, too, were contrasting China and the West in order to understand the distinctiveness of Chinese society; and on first reading Fei's book (Hamilton in 1985 and Wang in 1986), we were struck by the parallels between what we were trying to do and what Fei had already done forty years earlier. Moreover, once we had studied the book, it became increasingly evident that our subsequent work would have to build on Fei's insights. For this reason, we realized that we had to produce an English translation of the book and to explain how Fei's ideas open the way for understanding China and indeed other non-Western societies in new terms.

Throughout the book, Fei is attempting to explain to his Chinese readers

what the West is like, so that he can show how Chinese society differs from Western societies. In our translation, we find ourselves having to cross the cultural barrier one additional time. Here we have had to convey in English what the West is like from a Chinese point of view, and to show how this Chinese understanding of the West allows the unique qualities of Chinese society to become visible to the very Chinese who would otherwise take those qualities for granted. Multiple levels of discourse needed to be included simultaneously. Throughout our translation, we have tried to emphasize Fei's Chinese point of view and to clarify this point of view for an English-reading public. As Fei himself has said, however, every act of translation is necessarily a new interpretation. We only hope that the English readers of this book will bracket their own taken-for-granted world—their Westernness—and allow themselves not only to enter a different social world but also to understand that that social world functions as fully as the world they themselves live in.

Xiangtu Zhongguo has been reissued many times in Taiwan and Hong Kong. For our translation, we used two reissued copies of the original edition.[1] One of the reissued editions was printed in Taiwan without publishing information or date of publication. T e other edition was published in Hong Kong with publishing information but no date of publication.[2] Both editions were identical; we subsequently checked this version against a more recent edition published in Hong Kong.[3] With one exception, which we note in the text, this version is identical to the version we used in the translation.

We wish to acknowledge the assistance of a number of people and to express our thanks to them all. The students at the University of California, Davis, in a number of courses on complex organizations, comparative management, and Chinese societies, encouraged us by their enthusiastic reactions to our initial translations of chapters 4 and 5. Finding that people with no previous knowledge of China could enjoy and learn from these chapters prompted us to translate the entire book. The following people gave helpful comments on all or parts of this book (although we incorporated many of their suggestions, we are still responsible for the result): Tani Barlow, Eleanor Bender, Nicole Biggart, Thomas Gold, Lyn Loftand, Mausang Ng, Benjamin Orlove, Martha Winnacker, and especially Marco Orru, who also gave us the benefit of his editorial skills. We want to single out David Arkush for a special acknowledgment. His encouragement from the outset helped keep the project going, and his line-by-line reading of our

translation saved us from many mistakes. Finally, we thank Sasha Bessom and Jean Stratford for assembling the manuscript and putting it into its present form.

G. G. H.
W. Z.
1992

重刊序言

这本小册子的写作经过，在“后记”里已经交代清楚。这里收集的是我在四十年代后期，根据我在西南联大和云南大学所讲“乡村社会学”一课的内容，应当时《世纪评论》之约，而写成分期连载的十四篇文章。

我当时在大学里讲课，不喜欢用现存的课本，而企图利用和青年学生们的接触机会，探索一些我自己觉得有意义的课题。那时年轻，有点初生之犊的闯劲，无所顾忌地想打开一些还没有人闯过的知识领域。我借“乡村社会学”这讲台来追究中国乡村社会的特点。我是一面探索一面讲的，所讲的观点完全是讨论性的，所提出的概念一般都没有经过琢磨，大胆朴素，因而离开所想反映的实际，常常不免有相当大的距离，不是失之片面，就是走了样。我敢于在讲台上把自己知道不成熟的想法，和盘托出在青年人的面前，那是因为我认为这是一个比较好的教育方法。我并不认为教师的任务是在传授已有的知识，这些学生们自己可以从书本上去学习，而主要是在引导学生敢于向未知的领域进军。作为教师的人就得带个头。至于攻关的结果是否获得了可靠的知识，那是另一个问题。实际上在新闯的领域中，这样要求也是不切实际的。

在教室里讲课和用文字传达，公开向社会上发表，当然不能看作一回事。在教室里，教师是在带领学生追求知识，把未知化为已知。在社会上发表一种见解，本身是一种社会行动，会引起广泛的社会效果。对实际情况不正确的反映难免会引起不良的影响。我是明白这个道理的，在发表这些文章之前，犹豫过。所以该书初次出版时在“后记”中向读者恳切说明：由于刊物的编者“限期限日的催稿，使我不能等很多概念成熟之后才发表”。“这算不得是定稿，也不能说是完稿，只是一段尝试的记录罢了。”尝试什么呢？尝试回答我自己提出的“作为中国基层社会的乡土社会究竟是个什么样的社会”这个问题。

这书出版是在1947年，离今已有三十七年。三联书店为什么建议我把这本小册子送给他们去重刊，我不知道。我同意他们的建议是因为我只把它看成是我一生经历中留下的一个脚印，已经踏下的脚印是历史的事实，谁也收不回去的。现在把它作为一件反映解放前夕一些年轻人在知识领域里猛闯猛攻的标本，拿出来再看看，倒另有一番新的意义。至于本书内容所提出的论点，以我现有的水平来说，还是认为值得有人深入研究的，而且未始没有现实的意义。

这本小册子和我所写的《江村经济》、《禄村农田》等调查报告性

质不同。它不是一个具体社会的描写，而是从具体社会里提炼出的一些概念。这里讲的乡土中国，并不是具体的中国社会的素描，而是包含在具体的中国基层传统社会里的一种特具的体系，支配着社会生活的各个方面。它并不排斥其他体系同样影响着中国的社会，那些影响同样可以在中国的基层社会里发生作用。搞清楚我所谓乡土社会这个概念，就可以帮助我们去理解具体的中国社会。概念在这个意义上，是我们认识事物的工具。

我这种尝试，在具体现象中提炼出认识现象的概念，在英文中可以用Ideal Type这个名词来指称。Ideal Type的适当翻译可以说是观念中的类型，属于理性知识的范畴。它并不是虚构，也不是理想，而是存在于具体事物中的普遍性质，是通过人们的认识过程而形成的概念。这个概念的形成既然是从具体事物里提炼出来的，那就得不断地在具体事物里去核实，逐步减少误差。我称这是一项探索，又一再说是初步的尝试，得到的还是不成熟的观点，那就是说如果承认这样去做确可加深我们对中国社会的认识，那就还得深入下去，还需要花一番工夫。

这本书最初出版之后，一搁已有三十七年。在这一段时间里，由于客观的条件，我没有能在这方面继续搞下去。当三联书店提出想重刊此书时，我又从头读了一遍。我不能不为当时那股闯劲所触动。而今老矣。回头看，那一去不复返的年轻时代也越觉得可爱。我愿意把这不成熟的果实贡献给新的一代年轻人。这里所述的看法大可议论，但是这种一往无前的探索的劲道，看来还是值得观摩的。让我在这种心情里寄出这份校订过的稿子给书店罢。

费孝通

1984年10月11日

①SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL SOCIETY

Chinese society is fundamentally rural. I say that it is fundamentally rural because its foundation is rural. Several variations have arisen from this foundation, but even so, these variations retain their rural character. Moreover, in the past hundred years, a very special society has formed as a consequence of the encounter between East and West.[1] For the time being, however, I am not going to discuss the characteristics of these variations, but instead will concentrate exclusively on rural society and on those so-called hayseeds, the people living in the countryside. They are truly the foundation of Chinese society.

We often say that country people are figuratively as well as literally"soiled" (tuqi). Although this label may seem disrespectful, the character meaning "soil" (tu) is appropriately used here. Country people cannot do without the soil because their very livelihood is based upon it. In the earliest times, there may have been some groups of people in the Far East who did not know how to farm; but for us now, how those primitives lived is merely a matter of curiosity. Today, most people in East Asia make a living by working in the fields. To be more specific, even from early times, the tributaries of China's three large rivers were already entirely agricultural.[2] Historically, wherever people from those agricultural regions migrated, they took with them their tradition of making a living from the soil.

Recently, I met an American friend who had returned from a trip to Inner Mongolia. He told me he could not understand why the people who moved to those frontier prairies still tried to farm as if they lived in China's heartland. Mongolian grasslands are best suited only for pastureland, but he said that every family had carved up the land into small plots for farming. It was as if they had dived, headfirst, into the soil, as if they were unable to see any other way of using the land. I remember that one of my teachers, Dr. Shirokogoroff, once told me about some Chinese who had moved to Siberia. In total disregard of the climate, those Chinese still planted their seeds just to see if anything would grow. These accounts show that the Chinese are really

inseparable from the soil. To be sure, out of this soil has grown a glorious history, but it is a history that was naturally limited by what could be taken from the soil. Now it appears that these very limitations imposed by agriculture will hold China back, will prevent the nation from moving forward.

Only those who make a living from the soil can understand the value of soil. City dwellers scorn country people for their closeness to the land; they treat them as if they were truly "soiled." But to country people, the soil is the root of their lives. In rural areas, the god represented in the most shrines is Tudi, the god of the earth. Tudi is the god closest to human nature; Tudi and his wife are an old white-haired couple who take care of all the business of the countryside and who have come to symbolize the earth itself. When I went abroad for the first time, my nanny slipped something wrapped in red paper into the bottom of my suitcase. Later, she told me in private that if I had trouble getting accustomed to my new home and if I were too homesick, I should make some soup from the stuff wrapped in the red paper. In the package was dirt that she had scraped from her stove. I remember seeing a similar custom in a movie called A Song to Remember, which took place in Poland, an Eastern European agricultural country. It made me realize even more what an important role the earth plays and should play in a civilization like ours.

Agriculture differs from both pastoralism and industry. Farmers are necessarily connected to the land, whereas herdsmen drift about, following the water and the grass, and are forever unsettled. Industrial workers may choose where they live, and they may move without difficulty; but farmers cannot move their land or the crops they grow. Always waiting for their crops to mature, those old farmers seem to have planted half their own bodies into the soil; it is this inability to move that causes farmers to appear so backward and sedentary.

Indeed, those who must depend on farming seem to be stuck in the soil. I once met a friend who had studied language in the Zhangbei area of northern China.[3] I asked him if the language there had been influenced by Mongolian. Shaking his head, he said that no influence at all could be seen in language and little in any other aspect. "For hundreds of years,"he noted, "there have always been only a few surnames in the village. I reconstructed the genealogy of each family from the gravestones, and it is clear that only these few families have ever lived there. The entire population of the village

seems rooted in the soil; generation after generation, not much appears to have changed." We could add some qualifications to his conclusion, but, generally speaking, this kind of attachment to the soil is one of the characteristics of rural society. It is normal for farmers to settle in one spot for generations; it would be abnormal for them to migrate. Of course, droughts, floods, or continuous wars may force some farmers to leave their homes. But even such big events as the war of resistance against Japan did not, I believe, produce high mobility among rural people.

I certainly do not mean to argue that the rural population of China is fixed. That is impossible, because the population increases so quickly. After only several generations of normal reproduction, the number of people on one piece of land reaches a saturation point. The surplus population has to leave; those people, all carrying their own hoes, go out to open up new lands. But the core groups seldom move. And those who do migrate, if they find the land to survive, like the seeds blown from the trees by the wind, create the same small, lineage-based villages that they left behind. Those who do not find land simply vanish, or perhaps go into business. While I was in Guangxi province, near the mountains where the Yao people live, I saw some migrant villages—seeds that had been blown from the old trees—where people had to struggle bitterly to create a home from new soil. In Yunnan province, I saw other small villages that had been in existence for only two or three generations. In the same places, I have also seen homeless vagrants who failed to find any land at all, and some dead bodies, half eaten by dogs, along the sides of the road.

This immobility, this enduring attachment to the soil, points to a relationship between people and space. Being fixed in space, people live in solitude and isolation. But the unit of isolation is not the individual but the group. For farming, it is not necessary for many people to live together. The division of labor required for agriculture is very simple. At most, there are a few distinctions between what men and women do; women typically transplant rice seedlings, whereas men usually hoe the soil. But this kind of cooperation is not designed to achieve greater efficiency; rather, it occurs because during the busy farming season there are just too many things for men to do by themselves, so their families come out to the fields to help them. Because farming has not developed a specialized division of labor, it is unnecessary for many people to live together in the same place. Therefore, when we see various sizes of rural communities, we may be sure that many of

the larger ones were formed for reasons other than agriculture.

The smallest rural communities can be as small as one household. A husband, a wife, and some children, living together, fulfill the need for sex and procreation. In any kind of society, except for such special cases as armies and schools, the family is always the most basic social unit. In China's countryside, however, communities with only one family are seldom seen. There may be some such communities in terraced mountainous areas of Sichuan, but the majority of farmers live grouped together in villages. This pattern of residence greatly influences the nature of Chinese rural society. In rural areas of the United States, each family is geographically separated from its neighbors and constitutes its own individual collectivity. This pattern is the consequence of the early frontier period, when the land was vast and the people few. In those days, settlers held fast to a spirit of individual responsibility and self-reliance. In China, the same situation would be very rare. Generally speaking, Chinese farmers live grouped together in villages for the following reasons:(1) The piece of land that each family cultivates is invariably small. This is a petty agricultural economy; people live together in the same place so that they can be close to their fields. (2) Where irrigation is required, people must work together as a group, so living together is quite convenient. (3) Living together as a group also greatly contributes to everyone's security. (4) We practice partible inheritance of land, which gives an equal share of an estate to all male heirs. Therefore, because of this practice of dividing land among brothers, and thus attaching each of them to the same soil, over a period of several generations small communities grow into large villages.

No matter what the reasons, the basic unit of Chinese rural society is the village. Some villages may have only three households; others may have as many as several thousand households. When I mentioned that a characteristic of Chinese rural society is solitude and isolation, I was referring to the situation of villages, not individuals. The solitude and isolation are, of course, not absolute. But because villagers do not move around much, the communities themselves do not interact much. I think it is safe to say that life in rural society is very parochial. Villagers restrict the scope of their daily activities; they do not travel far; they seldom make contact with the outside world; they live solitary lives; they maintain their own isolated social circle. All of these characteristics contribute to the parochialism of rural China.

People in rural China know no other life than that dictated by their own

parochialism. It is a society where people live from birth to death in the same place, and where people think that this is the normal way of life. Because everyone in a village lives like that, distinctive patterns of human relationships form. Every child grows up in everyone else's eyes, and in the child's eyes everyone and everything seem ordinary and habitual. This is a society without strangers, a society based totally on the familiar.

In sociology, we usually make a distinction between two basic types of societies. One type of society forms as a natural result of people growing up together, and has no other purpose than being simply an outgrowth of human interaction. The other type of society is that which has been organized explicitly to fulfill goals. In the words of the German sociologist Ferdinand Töennies, the first type is called Gemeinschaft and the second Gesellschaft.[4] To the French sociologist Emile Durkheim, the first is an example of mechanical solidarity and the second an example of organic solidarity.[5] Using our own terms, we would identify the first type of society as one based on ritual and customs (lisu) and the second as one based on law and reason (fali). Later on, I will carefully analyze the differences between these two societies, but for now I merely want to emphasize that the land itself constrains the lives of rural people. The people they see every day are the ones they have known since childhood, just as they know the people in their own families. They do not have to select the kind of society they would live in; they are born into it; choice is not a factor.

Familiarity is an intimate feeling that develops from frequent and repeated interaction occurring over a long period of time. The character used in the first sentence of Confucius's Analects expresses this process of interaction. The character is xi, which means "to practice." If we put this character together with xue, which means "to meet strange things for the first time," we obtain the idea "to learn" (xuexi). First we encounter, then we practice; and through this process, the unknown becomes the familiar. One obtains a real sense of satisfaction from becoming thoroughly intimate with one's environment. In a society characterized by this level of familiarity, we achieve a level of freedom whereby we can do whatever we please without fear of violating the norms of the society. This type of freedom is unlike those freedoms defined and protected by laws. The social norms in a familiar society rest not upon laws but, rather, upon rituals and customs that are defined through practice; hence, to follow these norms is to follow one's own heart and mind (xin). In other words, society and the individual become one.

"We all know each other very well (shuren). If you need my help, you have it. You don't have to ask twice." Expressions such as these expose the limitations of our modern society. Modern society is composed of strangers. We do not know each other's pasts. When we talk, we must explain things clearly. Even then, we fear that oral agreements are not binding; therefore, we draw up written contracts to which we sign our names. Laws arise in just this fashion. But there is no way for laws like this to develop in a rural society. "Isn't that what outsiders do?" rural people would say. In rural society, trust derives from familiarity. This kind of trust has very solid foundations, for it is rooted in customary norms. Even today, Western merchants often remark that trustworthiness is an innate quality of the Chinese. Many stories sound like fairy tales, such as the one told recently about a Westerner who received, after the war, a whole set of porcelain that his grandfather had ordered years earlier when he was in China. The goods were delivered without any charge and with the seller's profuse apologies for being unable to send them earlier. Trust in rural society is based not on the importance of contracts but, rather, on the dependability of people, people who are so enmeshed in customary norms that they cannot behave in any other way.

This sort of familiarity is a distinctive characteristic of being rural, of being a "hayseed," if you will. Only those who depend on the soil for their livelihood would root themselves in one place like a plant. Over time, people rooted in the same small place come to know everybody's life just as a mother knows her children. Strangers cannot understand what a baby says, but a mother not only clearly understands everything that her baby says, but she also understands what the baby wants even though the baby does not use words.

Rural people not only know each other intimately; they also get to know other aspects of rural life equally well. If an old farmer sees ants moving their anthill, he will quickly dig ditches in the fields, because he knows the meaning behind their move. Knowledge acquired from familiarity is specific and is not deduced from abstract general principles. People who grow up in a familiar environment do not need such principles. They only need to know the specific relationship between means and ends within the scope of their activities. They do not seek universal truths. When I read the Analects, I noticed that Confucius gave different definitions of filial piety (xiao) to different people. I realized then the special character of rural society. What is filial piety? Confucius did not give an abstract explanation, but gave different

answers to different students by describing concrete behavioral examples. Finally, he concluded that filial piety is simply a peaceful mind. Sons and daughters should become thoroughly familiar with their parents' personalities in the course of daily contact, and then should try to please them in order to achieve peace of mind. The basic methods of human interaction in rural society rest on familiarity and on maintaining a peaceful mind.

These methods cannot be used with a stranger. China is undergoing a rapid transformation that is changing a fundamentally rural society into a modern one. The way of life that has been cultivated in rural society is now giving rise to abuses. Created by strangers, modern society cannot incorporate the customary basis of rural society. Rejecting the customary ways of rural life, modern people denigrate everything rural. The rural village is no longer a place to which successful people want to return.

壹　乡土本色

从基层上看去，中国社会是乡土性的。我说中国社会的基层是乡土性的，那是因为我考虑到从这基层上曾长出一层比较上和乡土基层不完全相同的社会，而且在近百年来更在东西方接触边缘上发生了一种很特殊的社会。这些社会的特性我们暂时不提，将来再说。我们不妨先集中注意那些被称为土头土脑的乡下人。他们才是中国社会的基层。

我们说乡下人土气，虽则似乎带着几分藐视的意味，但这个“土”字却用得很好。“土”字的基本意义是指泥土。乡下人离不了泥土，因为在乡下住，种地是最普通的谋生办法。在我们这片远东大陆上，可能在很古的时候住过些还不知道种地的原始人，那些人的生活怎样，对于我们至多只有一些好奇的兴趣罢了。以现在的情形来说，这片大陆上最大多数的人是拖泥带水下田讨生活的了。我们不妨缩小一些范围来看，三条大河的流域已经全是农业区。而且，据说凡是从这个农业老家里迁移到四围边地上去的子弟，也老是很忠实地守着这直接向土里去讨生活的传统。最近我遇着一位到内蒙旅行回来的美国朋友，他很奇怪地问我：你们中原去的人，到了这最适宜于放牧的草原，依旧锄地播种，一家家划着小小的一方地，种植起来；真像是向土里一钻，看不到其他利用这片地的方法了。我记得我的老师史禄国先生也告诉过我，远在西伯利亚，中国人住下了，不管天气如何，还是要下些种子，试试看能不能种地。——这样说来，我们的民族确是和泥土分不开的了。从土里长出过光荣的历史，自然也会受到土的束缚，现在很有些飞不上天的样子。

靠种地谋生的人才明白泥土的可贵。城里人可以用土气来藐视乡下人，但是乡下，“土”是他们的命根。在数量上占着最高地位的神，无疑的是“土地”。“土地”这位最近于人性的神，老夫老妻白首偕老的一对，管着乡间一切的闲事。他们象征着可贵的泥土。我初次出国时，我的奶妈偷偷地把一包用红纸裹着的东西，塞在我箱子底下。后来，她又避了人和我说，假如水土不服，老是想家时，可以把红纸包裹着的东西煮一点汤吃。这是一包灶上的泥土。——我在《一曲难忘》的电影里看到了东欧农业国家的波兰也有着类似的风俗，使我更领略了“土”在我们这种文化里所占和所应当占的地位了。

农业和游牧或工业不同，它是直接取资于土地的。游牧的人可以逐水草而居，飘忽无定；做工业的人可以择地而居，迁移无碍；而种地的人却搬不动地，长在土里的庄稼行动不得，侍候庄稼的老农也因之像是

半身插入了土里，土气是因为不流动而发生的。

直接靠农业来谋生的人是黏着在土地上的。我遇见过一位在张北一带研究语言的朋友。我问他说在这一带的语言中有没有受蒙古语的影响。他摇了摇头，不但语言上看不出什么影响，其他方面也很少。他接着说："村子里几百年来老是这几个姓，我从墓碑上去重构每家的家谱，清清楚楚的，一直到现在还是那些人。乡村里的人口似乎是附着在土上的，一代一代地下去，不太有变动。"——这结论自然应当加以条件的，但是大体上说，这是乡土社会的特性之一。我们很可以相信，以农为生的人，世代定居是常态，迁移是变态。大旱大水，连年兵乱，可以使一部分农民抛井离乡；即使像抗战这样大事件所引起基层人口的流动，我相信还是微乎其微的。

当然，我并不是说中国乡村人口是固定的。这是不可能的，因为人口在增加，一块地上只要几代的繁殖，人口就到了饱和点；过剩的人口自得宣泄出外，负起锄头去另辟新地。可是老根是不常动的。这些宣泄出外的人，像是从老树上被风吹出去的种子，找到土地的生存了，又形成一个小小的家族殖民地，找不到土地的也就在各式各样的运命下被淘汰了，或是"发迹了"。我在广西靠近瑶山的区域里还看见过这类从老树上吹出来的种子，拼命在垦地。在云南，我看见过这类种子所长成的小村落，还不过是两三代的事；我在那里也看见过找不着地的那些"孤魂"，以及死了给狗吃的路毙尸体。

不流动是从人和空间的关系上说的，从人和人在空间的排列关系上说就是孤立和隔膜。孤立和隔膜并不是以个人为单位的，而是以住在一处的集团为单位的。本来，从农业本身看，许多人群居在一处是无须的。耕种活动里分工的程度很浅，至多在男女间有一些分工，好像女的插秧，男的锄地等。这种合作与其说是为了增加效率，不如说是因为在某一时间男的忙不过来，家里人出来帮帮忙罢了。耕种活动中既不向分工专业方面充分发展，农业本身也就没有聚集许多人住在一起的需要了。我们看见乡下有大小不同的聚居社区，也可以想到那里出于农业本身以外的原因了。

乡下最小的社区可以只有一户人家。夫妇和孩子聚居于一处有着两性和抚育上的需要。无论在什么性质的社会里，除了军队、学校这些特殊的团体外，家庭总是最基本的抚育社群。在中国乡下这种只有一户人家的小社区是不常见的。在四川的山区种梯田的地方，可能有这类情形，大多的农民是聚村而居。这一点对于我们乡土社会的性质很有影响。美国的乡下大多是一户人家自成一个单位，很少屋檐相接的邻舍。这是他们早年拓殖时代，人少地多的结果，同时也保持了他们个别负责、独来独往的精神。我们中国很少类似的情形。

中国农民聚村而居的原因大致说来有下列几点：一、每家所耕的面积小，所谓小农经营，所以聚在一起住，住宅和农场不会距离得过分远。二、需要水利的地方，他们有合作的需要，在一起住，合作起来比较方便。三、为了安全，人多了容易保卫。四、土地平等继承的原则下，兄弟分别继承祖上的遗业，使人口在一地方一代一代地积起来，成为相当大的村落。

无论出于什么原因，中国乡土社区的单位是村落，从三家村起可以到几千户的大村。我在上文所说的孤立、隔膜是以村和村之间的关系而说的。孤立和隔膜并不是绝对的，但是人口的流动率小，社区间的往来也必然疏少。我想我们很可以说，乡土社会的生活是富于地方性的。地方性是指他们活动范围有地域上的限制，在区域间接触少，生活隔离，各自保持着孤立的社会圈子。

乡土社会在地方性的限制下成了生于斯、死于斯的社会。常态的生活是终老是乡。假如在一个村子里的人都是这样的话，在人和人的关系上也就发生了一种特色，每个孩子都是在人家眼中看着长大的，在孩子眼里周围的人也是从小就看惯的。这是一个“熟悉”的社会，没有陌生人的社会。

在社会学里，我们常分出两种不同性质的社会，一种并没有具体目的，只是因为在一起生长而发生的社会，一种是为了要完成一件任务而结合的社会。用Töennies的话说：前者是Gemeinschaft，后者是Gesellschaft；用Durkheim的话说：前者是“有机的团结”，后者是“机械的团结”。用我们自己的话说，前者是礼俗社会，后者是法理社会。——我以后还要详细分析这两种社会的不同。在这里我想说明的是生活上被土地所囿住的乡民，他们平素所接触的是生而与俱的人物，正像我们的父母兄弟一般，并不是由于我们选择得来的关系，而是无须选择，甚至先我而在的一个生活环境。

熟悉是从时间里、多方面、经常的接触中所发生的亲密的感觉。这感觉是无数次的小磨擦里陶炼出来的结果。这过程是《论语》第一句里的“习”字。“学”是和陌生事物的最初接触，“习”是陶炼，“不亦说乎”是描写熟悉之后的亲密感觉。在一个熟悉的社会中，我们会得到从心所欲而不逾规矩的自由。这和法律所保障的自由不同。规矩不是法律，规矩是“习”出来的礼俗。从俗即是从心。换一句话说，社会和个人在这里通了家。

“我们大家是熟人，打个招呼就是了，还用得着多说么？”——这类的话已经成了我们现代社会的阻碍。现代社会是个陌生人组成的社会，各人不知道各人的底细，所以得讲个明白；还要怕口说无凭，画个押，签个字。这样才发生法律。在乡土社会中法律是无从发生的。“这不是

见外了么？”乡土社会里从熟悉得到信任。这信任并非没有根据的，其实最可靠也没有了，因为这是规矩。西洋的商人到现在还时常说中国人的信用是天生的。类于神话的故事真多：说是某人接到了大批磁器，还是他祖父在中国时订的货，一文不要地交了来，还说着许多不能及早寄出的抱歉话。——乡土社会的信用并不是对契约的重视，而是发生于对一种行为的规矩熟悉到不假思索时的可靠性。

这自是“土气”的一种特色。因为只有直接有赖于泥土的生活才会像植物一般地在一个地方生下根，这些生了根在一个小地方的人，才能在悠长的时间中，从容地去摸熟每个人的生活，像母亲对于她的儿女一般。陌生人对于婴孩的话是无法懂的，但是在做母亲的人听来都清清楚楚，还能听出没有用字音表达的意思来。

不但对人，他们对物也是“熟悉”的。一个老农看见蚂蚁在搬家了，会忙着去田里开沟，他熟悉蚂蚁搬家的意义。从熟悉里得来的认识是个别的，并不是抽象的普遍原则。在熟悉的环境里生长的人，不需要这种原则，他只要在接触所及的范围之中知道从手段到目的间的个别关联。在乡土社会中生长的人似乎不太追求这笼罩万有的真理。我读《论语》时，看到孔子在不同人面前说着不同的话来解释“孝”的意义时，我感觉到这乡土社会的特性了。孝是什么？孔子并没有抽象地加以说明，而列举具体的行为，因人而异地答复了他的学生。最后甚至归结到“心安”两字。做子女的得在日常接触中去摸熟父母的性格，然后去承他们的欢，做到自己的心安。这说明了乡土社会中人和人相处的基本办法。

这种办法在一个陌生人面前是无法应用的。在我们社会的激速变迁中，从乡土社会进入现代社会的过程中，我们在乡土社会中所养成的生活方式处处产生了流弊。陌生人所组成的现代社会是无法用乡土社会的习俗来应付的。于是，“土气”成了骂人的词汇，“乡”也不再是衣锦荣归的去处了。

②BRINGING LITERACY TO THE COUNTRYSIDE

In the eyes of those living in cities, country people are "stupid" (yu). Even those people who advocate rural work regard stupidity, sickness, and poverty as symptoms of everything that is wrong in Chinese rural villages.[1] We can, of course, objectively measure sickness and poverty, but on what grounds can we say that country people are "stupid"? When peasants, walking in the middle of a road, hear a car honking behind them, they become so nervous that they simply do not know which way to jump. Then the drivers of those cars slam on the brakes, stick their heads out of the window, spit and curse, and call those peasants "stupid"! If that is stupidity, then country people have been wronged.

Once I took my students on a field trip to the countryside. After inspecting corn growing in one of the fields, a young female student, acting as if she knew it all, announced, "This year's wheat has grown extremely tall." The peasant standing beside her did not spit at her even once, but gave her a little smile, which an astute observer might have interpreted as a reaction to her stupidity. Country people do not know how to deal with traffic because they have never experienced how to live in a city. That is a question of knowledge, not of intelligence. In the same way, when city people visit the countryside, they do not even know something as simple as how to chase the dogs away; but we should not call them "idiots" just because they are frightened by barking dogs. By equal measure, we certainly have no reason to call country people "stupid"because they lack knowledge about such simple rules of the road as whether to walk on the left or on the right side. Stupidity has no bearing here.

When our well-meaning social workers say that country people are stupid, they usually mean that country people cannot read. They are illiterate, or what we call "character blind." Their eyes cannot even recognize one Chinese character. That they are illiterate is a fact. I would never oppose a movement to bring literacy to the countryside. However, it would be hard to convince me that illiteracy equals stupidity. "Stupidity"indicates a lack of, or

a defect in, intelligence. The ability to read is not a measure of intelligence. Intelligence is the ability to learn. If people have had no opportunity to study, they will necessarily know very little, regardless of whether or not they possess the ability to learn. Therefore, do we mean to say that country people are not only illiterate but also incapable of learning?

During the war, when my colleagues and I were evacuated to a distant rural area, some of our children attended a rural elementary school. In whatever classes they attended, our children learned faster and had better grades than the country children. In front of all the parents, the teachers always praised our children as being bright and spirited, by which they meant that the children of professors naturally possess high intelligence. I was, of course, delighted with such compliments for my own child. For us poor professors, who had been deprived of nearly everything, it seemed nice that we could still bequeath to our children a natural ability that left others far behind. One day, however, I saw students catching grasshoppers in the field after school. Those "bright and spirited" children of ours chased those grasshoppers all over the place, but they failed to catch anything. At the same time, being very agile, the peasant children caught grasshoppers with every grab. On my way home, I felt my pride deflate.

That peasant children could not learn characters in the classroom faster than the professors' children is just like the fact that professors' children could not catch more grasshoppers than the peasant children. I did not blame my child for being unable to catch grasshoppers. First, our family did not need grasshoppers to supplement our food. In those rural areas of Yunnan, people like to add grasshoppers to their dishes; their taste is somewhat like the dried shrimps from Suzhou. Second, my child never had the opportunity to practice catching grasshoppers. Professors' children always wore socks and shoes. To keep their dignity, they had to walk very carefully, and if they got dirty, their parents would scold them. Therefore, even when they went after the grasshoppers, they would always have misgivings about it, and so would never be quite agile enough to catch them. These are probably the immediate reasons, but an even more basic reason is that they never ran wild in the fields every day; they never learned to distinguish a blade of grass from an insect. As a result of protective coloration, grasshoppers are always the same color as the grass, so it takes trained eyes to see them.

Can this reasoning that I just applied to my own child also be applied to rural children to explain their "stupidity" in learning characters? I think it fits

perfectly. Unlike professors' children, those children from the countryside did not grow up seeing books and characters everywhere. That was not their daily fare. Professors' children did not inherit some special ability to learn characters well, but they obviously grew up in an environment that made learning characters easier. Therefore, seen in this fashion, the question about whether country people are the equals of city people in intelligence cannot be resolved.

When those social workers say that country people are stupid, they probably mean that their knowledge, and not their intelligence, is inferior. However, even this point seems implausible. At most, we can say that country people do not match city dwellers in their knowledge about what is required for city living. That much is correct. But can we not also say that there are many illiterate people in the countryside because life there does not require literacy? Now we arrive at a key point: What is the use of a written language?

In the last chapter, I showed that one of the characteristics of rural society is that people grow up among close acquaintances. In other words, people who work together see each other every single day. In sociology, we call this kind of group a "face-to-face" (mianduimian) group. Gui Youguang says in his book Xiangjixuan ji that, when he meets the same people every day, after a while he is able to tell who is coming by the sound of that person's footsteps.[2] In face-to-face groups, people can identify a visitor without actually seeing him. Although we have lived in modern cities for some time now, we have not completely given up those habits that are so prominent in rural society. Give this a try. The next time someone knocks on your door, just say, "Who is it?" I bet that the person behind the door will simply answer, in a loud voice, "Me!" You recognize the person by the voice. People who live in face-to-face groups do not need to say names. Would a wife say her name to answer her husband's question "Who is it?" We have become so accustomed to giving this "me"answer that sometimes we even do it when the person behind the door cannot recognize our voice. Once, when I returned to my hometown after a long absence, I remember answering a phone call. I had no way to identify the person on the other end of the line, who would only say, when I asked who was speaking, "It's me." I ended up making a blunder.

We ask for the name because we do not know the person. But this is not the way among people who are familiar with each other. Footsteps, voices,

even smells are enough for identification. Even in our own social circles, we often omit names when we address one another. This shows that we, too, live among familiar people, and thus we duplicate, in some small degree, a rural society.

Before written languages came into existence, people tied knots in ropes to record things. They did so in order to overcome the difficulty in communicating across time and space. Only when we cannot talk face to face do we need something to replace the spoken word. In Guangxi province, in the mountains where the Yao minority lives, tribal groups notify each other about emergencies by sending runners who carry special coins. Upon receiving the coins, the other tribes will come to the rescue immediately. The coin here is a "character," a sign representing certain meanings upon which both parties previously agreed. If talking face to face is possible, however, such a sign not only would be unnecessary but also could cause misunderstandings. Before the last decade, young lovers were prohibited from seeing each other.[3] In order to communicate, they exchanged love letters. Many tragedies were caused by misunderstandings in those love letters. People who have experienced such misunderstandings know all too well the limits of written language.

Written language cannot fully express one's meaning or emotion, because those meanings and emotions are always grounded in time and space; they fit a context. When one reads the written word, however, one is in a different time and probably in a different place; it is very unlikely that the meanings and emotions, so carefully recorded in written language, can be fully understood in that new context. As a tool for expressing oneself, written language has this irreparable flaw. Therefore, when we use written language, we must pay close attention to grammar, style, and syntax, because they help to lessen the misrepresentations inherent in written language.

When talking, we do not need to pay such close attention to grammar. I am not saying that there is no grammar in conversations but, rather, that when we talk, we also use many additional gestures to clarify what we say. We may point at ourselves while omitting the word "I," but we cannot do this when we write. Instead, we have to try our best to write grammatically correct sentences, because incorrect sentences may cause unfortunate misunderstandings. By contrast, when we use complete, grammatically correct sentences in speech, we sound funny and pedantic. This is the sort of painfully correct speech that one hears from people who learned a foreign

language only from books.

Written language is indirect talk. It is an imperfect tool—so much so that telephones and broadcasting are already beginning to displace letters and other forms of writing. What will happen to the written word in the future, after still more developments in communication technology?

If we follow this line of reasoning, then, illiteracy cannot be equated with stupidity. Face-to-face communication is direct contact. Why should people in rural society abandon what is in that context a superior form of communication for one that does not serve as well?

Now I want to take the argument one step further.[4] In face-to-face groups, even spoken language is a tool, for which there is no alternative. Language is a symbolic system based on sounds. A symbol is a thing or an action to which meaning is attached. I say "attached" because"meaning" is not essential to the nature of the thing or the action but, rather, is something added through an association of ideas. A symbol is a social product that arises within the process of social interaction and that people use only as a way to convey meaning to others. Moreover, a symbol only functions as a symbol when other people recognize the meaning that was originally intended. A "meaningful" action, then, will result in the same response from most people. Thus, we can never have a strictly individual language, only social languages. To have the same meaning for the same symbol, people must have had the same experience; they must have been exposed to the same symbol in a similar environment, so that the same meaning can be attached to that symbol. This is the reason that every living group has its own special language, which contains many untranslatable words and sentences.

Language can occur only in the context of a group's common experience. In large groups, people's experiences are complex and often disconnected. They have fewer common experiences on which to base their language. Therefore, the larger the group, the more generalizable and simple the common language becomes—as can be clearly seen in the history of languages.

Besides a common language that the group as a whole shares, there will also be, within the same group, many specialized vocabularies used by various subgroups to articulate their special requirements. Such"working languages" are filled with jargon and idioms. People in the same profession typically have a language of the trade. Other people cannot understand the conversations, because they have not shared the same working experience. In

every school and even every dormitory room, specialized vocabularies develop. The most widely occurring "working language" is that which develops between mothers and their children.

Such working languages are only one aspect of the system of symbols used by tightly knit groups. This is the part that is based on sound and that can be verbalized. In such groups, however, many nonverbal symbols can also be used. Facial expressions and gestures are sometimes more expressive than sound in face-to-face settings. Even when a verbal language is used, it is always used in the context of other symbols. I might say to an acquaintance, "That's the way it is." At the same time, I would frown, tighten my lips, rub my temples, and lower my head. The person would understand that the phrase means "It can't be helped" and would sense my disappointment. If the same phrase is used with a different expression, its meaning is entirely different.

Working languages are usually very effective, because they loosen the fixed meanings of words. Language is society's sifter. Those feelings and meanings that differ in size and shape from the holes in the sifter cannot pass through the sifter. I am sure that everyone must have experienced a time when "silence really is better than words." It is in fact true that, although this social sifter helps people understand each other, it also formalizes their meanings and their emotions. In this way, language distorts actual meanings and emotions the very moment they are articulated through words. We always trim the toes to fit the shoes. Language constrains what can be felt and expressed, and sensitive people often resent that.

In face-to-face groups, we speak less. We convey our intentions with our eyes, our emotions with a gesture. We abandon indirect symbols to seek more direct understandings. That is why written language is superfluous in rural society, and even spoken language is not the only way to communicate symbolically.

I absolutely do not mean to suggest that we need not promote literacy in the countryside. With the process of modernization, rural society is already being changed, and literacy is the tool of that change. The point I want to make here is that illiteracy in the countryside results not from people's stupidity but, rather, from the nature of rural society itself. I would like to go even further to say that one should not judge the degree of understanding between people in a society only from the perspective of their written and spoken languages. This is not enough. Written and spoken languages are

tools for expression, but they are not the only tools. Moreover, the tools themselves have flaws and limit what can be conveyed. Those advocates of rural literacy should first consider the social foundation of both written and spoken languages. Otherwise, just opening a few rural schools and teaching rural people a few characters will not create "intelligence," as the advocates define it.

贰　文字下乡

乡下人在城里人眼睛里是“愚”的。我们当然记得不少提倡乡村工作的朋友们，把愚和病贫联结起来去作为中国乡村的症候。关于病和贫我们似乎还有客观的标准可说，但是说乡下人“愚”，却是凭什么呢？乡下人在马路上听见背后汽车连续地按喇叭，慌了手脚，东避也不是，西躲又不是，司机拉住闸车，在玻璃窗里，探出半个头，向着那土老头儿，啐了一口：“笨蛋！”——如果这是愚，真冤枉了他们。我曾带了学生下乡，田里长着包谷，有一位小姐，冒充着内行，说：“今年麦子长得这么高。”旁边的乡下朋友，虽则没有啐她一口，但是微微的一笑，也不妨译作“笨蛋”。乡下人没有见过城里的世面，因之而不明白怎样应付汽车，那是知识问题，不是智力问题，正等于城里人到了乡下，连狗都不会赶一般。如果我们不承认郊游的仕女们一听见狗吠就变色是“白痴”，自然没有理由说乡下人不知道“靠左边走”或“靠右边走”等时常会因政令而改变的方向是因为他们“愚不可及”了。“愚”在什么地方呢？

其实乡村工作的朋友说乡下人愚那是因为他们不识字，我们称之曰“文盲”，意思是白生了眼睛，连字都不识。这自然是事实。我决不敢反对文字下乡的运动，可是如果说不识字就是愚，我心里总难甘服。“愚”如果是智力的不足或缺陷，识字不识字并非愚不愚的标准。智力是学习的能力。如果一个人没有机会学习，不论他有没有学习的能力还是学不到什么的。我们是不是说乡下人不但不识字，而且识字的能力都不及人呢？

说到这里我记起了疏散在乡下时的事来了。同事中有些孩子送进了乡间的小学，在课程上这些孩子样样比乡下孩子学得快、成绩好。教员们见面时总在家长面前夸奖这些孩子们有种、聪明。这等于说教授们的孩子智力高。我对于这些恭维自然是私心窃喜。穷教授别的已经全被剥夺，但是我们还有别种人所望尘莫及的遗传。但是有一天，我在田野里看放学回来的小学生们捉蚱蜢，那些“聪明”而有种的孩子，扑来扑去，屡扑屡失，而那些乡下孩子却反应灵敏，一扑一得。回到家来，刚才一点骄傲似乎又没有了着落。

乡下孩子在教室里认字认不过教授们的孩子，和教授们的孩子在田野里捉蚱蜢捉不过乡下孩子，在意义上是相同的。我并不责备自己孩子蚱蜢捉得少，第一是我们无需用蚱蜢来加菜（云南乡下蚱蜢是下饭的，味道很近于苏州的虾干），第二是我的孩子并没有机会练习。教授们的

孩子穿了鞋袜，为了体面，不能不择地而下足，弄污了回家来会挨骂，于是在他们捉蚱蜢时不免要有些顾忌，动作不活灵了。这些也许还在其次，他们日常并不在田野里跑惯，要分别草和虫，须费一番眼力，蚱蜢的保护色因之易于生效。——我为自己孩子所作的辩护是不是同样也可以用之于乡下孩子在认字上的“愚”呢？我想是很适当的。乡下孩子不像教授们的孩子到处看见书籍，到处接触着字，这不是他们日常所混熟的环境。教授们的孩子并不见得一定是遗传上有什么特别善于识字的能力，显而易见的却是有着易于识字的环境。这样说来，乡下人是否在智力上比不上城里人，至少还是个没有结论的题目。

这样看来，乡村工作的朋友们说乡下人愚，显然不是指他们智力不及人，而是说他们知识不及人了。这一点，依我们上面所说的，还是不太能自圆其说。至多是说，乡下人在城市生活所需的知识上是不及城市里人多。这是正确的。我们是不是也因之可以说乡下多文盲是因为乡下本来无需文字眼睛呢？说到这里，我们应当讨论一下文字的用处了。

我在上一篇里说明了乡土社会的一个特点就是这种社会的人是在熟人里长大的。用另一句话来说，他们生活上互相合作的人都是天天见面的。在社会学上我们称之作Face-to-face Group，直译起来是“面对面的社群”。归有光的《项脊轩记》里说，他日常接触的老是那些人，所以日子久了可以用脚步声来辨别来者是谁。在“面对面的社群”里甚至可以不必见面而知道对方是谁。我们自己虽说是已经多少在现代都市里住过一时了，但是一不留心，乡土社会里所养成的习惯还是支配着我们。你不妨试一试，如果有人在你门上敲着要进来，你问：“谁呀！”门外的人十之八九回答你一个大声的“我”。这是说，你得用声气辨人。在面对面的社群里一起生活的人是不必通名报姓的。很少太太会在门外用姓名来回答丈夫的发问。但是我们因为久习于这种“我呀！”“我呀！”的回答，也很有时候用到了门内人无法辨别你声音的场合。我有一次，久别家乡回来，在电话里听到了一个无法辨别的“我呀”时，的确闹了一个笑话。

“贵姓大名”是因为我们不熟悉而用的。熟悉的人大可不必如此，足声、声气，甚至气味，都可以是足够的“报名”。我们社交上姓名的不常上口也就表示了我们原本是在熟人中生活的，是个乡土社会。

文字发生之初是“结绳记事”，需要结绳来记事是为了在空间和时间中人和人的接触发生了阻碍。我们不能当面讲话，才需要找一些东西来代话。在广西的瑶山里，部落有急，就派了人送一枚铜钱到别的部落里去，对方接到了这记号，立刻派人来救。这是“文字”，一种双方约好代表一种意义的记号。如果是面对面可以直接说话时，这种被预先约好的意义所拘束的记号，不但多余，而且有时会词不达意引起误会的。在十多年前青年们讲恋爱，受着直接社交的限制，通行着写情书，很多悲剧

是因情书的误会而发生的。有这种经验的人必然能痛悉文字的限制。

文字所能传的情、达的意是不完全的。这不完全是出于“间接接触”的原因。我们所要传达的情意是和当时当地的外局相配合的。你用文字把当时当地的情意记了下来，如果在异时异地的圜局中去看，所会引起的反应很难尽合于当时当地的圜局中可能引起的反应。文字之成为传情达意的工具常有这个无可补救的缺陷。于是在利用文字时，我们要讲究文法，讲究艺术。文法和艺术就在减少文字的“走样”。

在说话时，我们可以不注意文法。并不是说话时没有文法，而且因为我们有着很多辅助表情来补充传达情意的作用。我们可以用手指指着自己而在话里吃去一个“我”字。在写作时却不能如此。于是我们得尽量地依着文法去写成完整的句子了。不合文法的字词难免引起人家的误会，所以不好。说话时我们如果用了完整的句子，不但显得迂阔，而且可笑。这是从书本上学外国语的人常会感到的痛苦。

文字是间接的说话，而且是个不太完善的工具。当我们有了电话、广播的时候，书信文告的地位已经大受影响。等到传真的技术发达之后，是否还用得到文字，是很成问题的。

这样说来，在乡土社会里不用文字绝不能说是“愚”的表现了。面对面的往来是直接接触，为什么舍此比较完善的语言而采取文字呢？

我还想在这里推进一步说，在“面对面社群”里，连语言本身都是不得已而采取的工具。语言本是用声音来表达的象征体系。象征是附着意义的事物或动作。我说“附着”是因为“意义”是靠联想作用加上去的，并不是事物或动作本身具有的性质。这是社会的产物，因为只有在人和人需要配合行为的时候，个人才需要有所表达；而且表达的结果必须使对方明白所要表达的意义。所以象征是包括多数人共认的意义，也就是这一事物或动作会在多数人中引起相同的反应。因之，我们绝不能有个人的语言，只能有社会的语言。要使多数人能对同一象征具有同一意义，他们必须有着相同的经历，就是说在相似的环境中接触和使用同一象征，因而在象征上附着了同一意义。因此在每个特殊的生活团体中，必有他们特殊的语言，有许多别种语言所无法翻译的字句。

语言只能在一个社群所有相同经验的一层上发生。群体愈大，包括的人所有的经验愈繁杂，发生语言的一层共同基础也必然愈有限，于是语言也愈趋于简单化。这在语言史上看得很清楚的。

可是从另一方面说，在一个社群所用的共同语言之外，也必然会因个人间的需要而发生许多少数人间的特殊语言，所谓“行话”。行话是同行人中的话，外行人因为没有这种经验，不会懂的。在每个学校里，甚至每个寝室里，都有他们特殊的语言。最普遍的特殊语言发生在母亲和孩子之间。

“特殊语言”不过是亲密社群中所使用的象征体系的一部分，用声音来作象征的那一部分。在亲密社群中可用来作象征体系的原料比较多。表情、动作，因为在面对面的情境中，有时比声音更容易传情达意。即使用语言时，也总是密切配合于其他象征原料的。譬如，我可以和一位熟人说：“真是那个！”同时眉毛一皱，嘴角向下一斜，面上的皮肤一紧，用手指在头发里一插，头一沉，对方也就明白“那个”是“没有办法”、“失望”的意思了。如果同样的两个字用在另一表情的配合里，意义可以完全不同。

“特殊语言”常是特别有效，因为它可以摆脱字句的固定意义。语言像是个社会定下的筛子，如果我们有一种情意和这筛子的格子不同也就漏不过去。我想大家必然有过“无言胜似有言”的经验。其实这个筛子虽则帮助了人和人间的了解，而同时也使人和人间的情意公式化了，使每一人、每一刻的实际情意都走了一点样。我们永远在削足适履，使感觉敏锐的人怨恨语言的束缚。李长吉要在这束缚中去求比较切近的表达，难怪他要呕尽心血了。

于是在熟人中，我们话也少了，我们“眉目传情”，我们“指石相证”，我们抛开了比较间接的象征原料，而求更直接的会意了。所以在乡土社会中，不但文字是多余的，连语言都并不是传达情意的唯一象征体系。

我决不是说我们不必推行文字下乡，在现代化的过程中，我们已开始抛离乡土社会，文字是现代化的工具。我要辨明的是乡土社会中的文盲，并非出于乡下人的“愚”，而是由于乡土社会的本质。我而且愿意进一步说，单从文字和语言的角度去批判一个社会中人和人的了解程度是不够的，因为文字和语言，只是传情达意的一种工具，并非唯一的工具，而且这工具本身是有缺陷的，能传的情、能达的意是有限的。所以在提倡文字下乡的人，必须先考虑到文字和语言的基础，否则开几个乡村学校和使乡下人多识几个字，也许并不能使乡下人“聪明”起来。

③MORE THOUGHTS ON BRINGING LITERACY TO THE COUNTRYSIDE

In the last chapter, I said that written language develops when time and space put limits on direct human communication. I only discussed, however, how space influences this development. In rural society, which is a face-to-face society, people can talk directly to one another and do not need to rely on a written language. But how does separation across time influence the process of human communication?

There are two aspects of this question that we need to discuss. First is the spread of time over a person's lifetime, and the second is the spread of time across generations. Let me begin with the first aspect.

What differentiates human beings from other animals is the extraordinary ability of humans to learn.[1] Most forms of human behavior are not predetermined by innate physiological reactions. What we mean by learning is exactly that process by which human beings, from the time of their birth, reshape their instincts, making them fit man-made behavioral molds. This shaping of behavior is accomplished through"practice." Practice means "training," doing the same thing again and again until a new routine becomes thoroughly ingrained. Therefore, for the individual, learning necessarily breaks down the separation between the past and the present. Human beings have that special ability, which we call "memory," that bridges time. To be sure, animals also have memories, but their memories operate only at a simple physiological level. A white mouse learns which is the shortest route in a maze, but what the mouse learns is merely a new set of physiological reactions. That kind of learning does not depend on a symbolic system. Humans certainly have many habits that are basic to human nature, and in this regard they are like mice running in a maze. But unlike mice, humans are always helped along by their symbolic system of communication, and the most important elements of this system are words. We learn through talking. We abstract the concrete world. We express our reality by a set of

concepts that can be applied universally. Such concepts are necessarily expressed through words; by relying on words, we move from the specific to the universal. Concepts create the bridge that joins one event with another. Concepts allow us to move backward into the past as well as forward into the future; concepts allow us to bridge time. From this perspective, animals relate to time in a direct way: stimulus, then response. The human relation to time, however, is mediated through concepts. Words make the world more complex to humans than it is to animals. By simply closing their eyes, humans can envision their past, and from that past, from that accumulation of events and ideas, they can selectively draw out the images needed to interpret the present.

Animals, living instinctively, do not have a problem with time. Their lives form a chain of presents. No one can stop time, just as no knife can cut off the flow of water. But human time differs from animal time. The human present is the total accumulation of the past that is retained through memory. If we lost our memory, our recognition of time would cease.

Humans have such a memory not because their brains operate automatically, like cameras. Humans have the ability to remember, it is true. But they utilize and develop this ability because their present lives must necessarily include ways of doing things that have been transmitted from the past. I already have said that humans learn by incorporating into their behavior preexisting patterns. Only when they have learned these patterns are they able to live in groups. These patterns are not each person's individual creation; they are the legacy of society. The white mouse does not learn from other mice. In order to adapt to its own environment, each mouse has to acquire its own set of experiences through a process of trial and error. Mice are unable to transmit their experiences to other mice; they cannot learn from each other. Humans, however, have the ability to think abstractly and to use complex symbols. They can accumulate not only their own experiences but also those of others. The transmitted patterns are the accumulations of a group's common experiences, which we often refer to by the term culture. Culture is the collective social experience perpetuated by a symbolic system and individual memories. In this way, each person's"present" contains not only the projection of his or her own past but also that of the whole group's past. For individuals, history is not mere ornamentation but the very foundation of life; it is both practical and indispensable. Humans must live in groups; they must learn culture; but to learn culture requires memory, not

instincts. Therefore, humans have had to cultivate their ability to remember. They use this ability not only to bridge their own past and present but also to bridge generations, for without this ability there would be neither culture nor the life that we now enjoy.

Perhaps I have said enough on this topic to demonstrate the connection between human life and time. This connection rests upon the ability to use words. It has been said that the language makes the people, and I think this is absolutely correct. The Bible, you will recall, says that when God said something, that something immediately came into existence.[2] Saying is the beginning of being—if not in the material world, certainly in the cultural world. Without a symbolic system, there would be no concepts. And without concepts, there would be no accumulation of human experiences across time. Human life could not go beyond that of animals.

Writing employs symbols that can be recognized by the human eye, but words do not need to be written in order to be symbols. Words can be spoken. Every culture has "words," but not all cultures have a written language. I emphasize this point because I want to show that, generally speaking, rural society is a society without a written language. In the last chapter, I showed that country people do not need to use a written language because they are not separated in space. Now I want to show the same result for their relationship with time.

I just said that we have developed our capacity for memory because our lives require it. Animals, being without culture, manage their lives through instincts, so they have no need for memory. What I have said actually implies something else as well. The requirements for human living determine the level to which our memory actually develops. The world that we encounter at every moment is very complex; we do not take all of it in through our senses. We are selective. Our line of vision moves with the shifting focus of our attention, and our choice of focus depends on the meanings objects have for our livelihood. Those things having no relevance in our lives go unnoticed. Our memory works in the same way. It does not record everything that occurs in the past, but only a small part of it. Actually, it is more accurate to say "recall" than"record." "Record" suggests that we note something in the present for use in the future. "Recall," however, means that we reflect back on our past experience to establish a connection to the present. In fact, it is very difficult to foresee in the present what might be useful in the future. Instead, what we need in the present is constructed selectively by our

recalling of the past. This process can sometimes be very hard, as with the so-called painful recall. In any event, our memory is never useless; it is practical, for out of it comes the ability to live as humans.

The range of memory needed by a person living in rural society is not the same as that required for one living in modern cities. Life in rural society is very stable. I have said that people who make their living from the earth cannot readily move. The place of their birth is the place where they grow up and where they die. The most extreme version of this rural model is Laotse's ideal society, where, "although they can hear their neighbors' chickens and dogs, people grow and die without ever visiting their neighbors."[3] In truth, not only do people rarely leave their hometown, but their hometown is usually the same as that of their parents. This is the consequence of being born and dying in the same place. Even though this extreme version of rural society is seldom realized, people often do intend to stay in one place forever. Otherwise, why should people who have died in other places request in their will to have their coffin transported back to their hometown for burial in the family graveyard?[4] They have taken their life from this piece of soil, so after death they want to return their flesh and bones to it.

Because people seldom move, they grow up not only among familiar people but also in familiar places. Staying in the same place for such a long time, the people there seem to intermingle with the earth itself. The experiences of one's ancestors with this familiar patch of earth are passed down and necessarily become one's own experiences. The ages speak as if their lessons were written in stone. These lessons surround ensuing generations and are repeated endlessly, so that each person's experiences are the same as every other person's. It is like a play repeated on the stage; actors need only to remember the same set of lines. Each person's individual experience equals that of the entire generation. There is no need to accumulate experience, only to preserve it as it is.

I remember that, when I was in elementary school, a teacher forced us to keep a diary. Although I took great pains to think about what I did, it seemed, after a while, that I only wrote the same line: "The same as above." And that was true, too. Every day my life was the same. Get up in the morning, go to school, play, and go to sleep at night. What else could I write? When the teacher forbade all the students to write "The same as above," we had to make up lies.

When the patterns of life are fixed on physiological habits, our existence

takes on a working rhythm: "Wake with the sun and rest with the dusk." Memory becomes superfluous. The saying "We act as if we never know that old age is coming" (bu zhi lao zhi jiang zhi) describes a life in which we forget time. The fall of the Qin, the rise of the Han—what difference does it make?[5] People in rural society do not fear forgetfulness. They are even quite comfortable with it.

Only when we want to remember to do something outside our normal routine do we tie a knot around our finger. That string on our finger is a primitive form of written language. Such a language serves to assist human memory by means of external symbols that create an association among ideas. In a frequently changing environment, we sense that our memory may be inadequate, and so we need to use external symbols. At this point, language is transformed from a spoken language into a written language, from communication based on sounds to one based on words. Language becomes the ability to use a rope to tie knots, a knife to carve ideograms, a brush to write characters—all of which necessarily occur when our lives are changed from a fixed to an ever-changing existence. People who live in cities and see strange faces day in and day out need to keep an address book in their pockets. In rural society, even an identification card bearing a photograph is totally meaningless. There may be over a dozen "elder brother Wangs" in a village, but nobody would mistake one for another.

In a society where the life of each generation appears before us like a movie played over and over again, history is simply unnecessary. What is past is only a legend. Whenever people account for the origins of things, they begin with the same phrase, "When heaven separated from the earth." They have to begin, with a bang, at the exciting starting point, because what follows will be only ordinary things like those at present. In urban society, there is news; but in rural society, news is something strange and absurd. In urban society, there are celebrities; but in rural society, as the saying goes, "People fear becoming famous just as pigs fear becoming fat."[6] No one should lead, no one should follow. Everyone should be the same, and everyone should follow the same path. People in this kind of society do not distribute themselves in the form of a normal curve. Instead, all of them act as if they are made out of the same mold.

In this kind of society, a spoken language is sufficient to pass experience between generations. When a person has a problem, he or she is certain to get an effective solution from someone older. People all live in the same

environment. They all walk along the same path, but some walk there earlier than others do. The ones who come later step into the footprints of those who walked earlier. Experience of this sort can be passed from mouth to mouth without anything being lost. So where is the need for a written language? Time provides no obstacle; one thing closely follows another. An entire culture can be passed between fathers and sons without any omissions.

This being the case, if China is a rural society, how could a written language have come into existence in the first place? My answer is that, although the foundation of Chinese society is certainly rural, Chinese writing itself did not develop in rural society. The earliest characters had a religious quality to them and were used in temples; those characters, even down to the present time, have never belonged to the people in the countryside. Our written language emerged in a different setting. In this chapter, all that I want to point out is that, at the most basic level, at the rural level, there is spoken language but no genuine use for a written language. If we consider the spatial and temporal qualities of rural life, we must conclude that country people live their lives in face-to-face intimacy and with repetitious and rigid life patterns. Rural people are certainly not too stupid to learn characters. Instead, they have no need for characters to assist them, because a written language does not help them with the necessities of living in rural society. If China's rural foundations were to change, then—and perhaps only then—literacy would come to the countryside.

叁　再论文字下乡

在上一篇论“文字下乡”里，我说起了文字的发生是在人和人传情达意的过程中受到了空间和时间的阻隔的情境里。可是我在那一篇里只就空间阻隔的一点说了些话。乡土社会是个面对面的社会，有话可以当面说明白，不必求助于文字。这一层意思容易明白，但是关于时间阻隔上怎样说法呢？在本文中，我想申引这一层意思了。

所谓时间上的阻隔有两方面，一方面是个人的今昔之隔，一方面是社会的世代之隔。让我先从前一方面说起。

人的生活和其他动物所不同的，是在他富于学习的能力。他的行为方式并不固执地受着不学而能的生理反应所支配。所谓学就是在出生之后以一套人为的行为方式作模型，把本能的那一套方式加以改造的过程。学的方法是“习”。习是指反复地做，靠时间中的磨练，使一个人惯于一种新的做法。因之，学习必须打破个人今昔之隔。这是靠了我们人类的一种特别发达的能力，时间中的桥梁——记忆。在动物学习过程中，我们也可以说它们有记忆，但是它们的“记忆”是在简单的生理水准上。一个小白老鼠在迷宫里学得了捷径，它所学得的是一套新的生理反应。和人的学习不相同的是它们并不靠一套象征体系的。人固然有很多习惯，在本质上是和小白老鼠走迷宫一般的，但是他却时常多一个象征体系帮他的忙。所谓象征体系中最重要的是“词”。我们不断地在学习时说着话，把具体的情境抽象成一套能普遍应用的概念，概念必然是用词来表现的，于是我们靠着词，使我们从特殊走上普遍，在个别情境中搭下了桥梁；又使我们从当前走到今后，在片刻情境中搭下了桥梁。从这方面看去，一个动物和时间的接触，可以说是一条直线的，而人和时间的接触，靠了概念，也就是词，却比一条直线来得复杂。他有能力闭了眼睛置身于“昔日”的情境中，人的“当前”中包含着从“过去”拔萃出来的投影，时间的选择累积。

在一个依本能而活动的动物不会发生时间上阻隔的问题，它的寿命是一连串的“当前”，谁也不能剪断时间，像是一条水，没有刀割得断。但是在人却不然，人的“当前”是整个靠记忆所保留下来的“过去”的累积。如果记忆消失了、遗忘了，我们的“时间”就可说是阻隔了。

人之所以要有记忆，也许并不是因为他的脑子是个自动的摄影箱。人有此能力是事实，人利用此能力，发展此能力，还是因为他“当前”的生活必须有着“过去”所传下来的办法。我曾说人的学习是向一套已有的

方式的学习。唯有学会了这套方式才能在人群中生活下去。这套方式并不是每个人个别的创制，而是社会的遗业。小白老鼠并不向别的老鼠学习，每只老鼠都得自己在具体情境里，从“试验错误”的过程中，得到个别的经验。它们并不能互相传递经验，互相学习。人靠了他的抽象能力和象征体系，不但累积了自己的经验，而且可以累积别人的经验。上边所谓那套传下来的办法，就是社会共同的经验的累积，也就是我们常说的文化。文化是依赖象征体系和个人的记忆而维持着的社会共同经验。这样说来，每个人的“当前”，不但包括他个人“过去”的投影，而且是整个民族的“过去”的投影。历史对于个人并不是点缀的饰物，而是实用的、不能或缺的生活基础。人不能离开社会生活，就不能不学习文化。文化得靠记忆，不能靠本能，所以人在记忆力上不能不力求发展。我们不但要在个人的今昔之间筑通桥梁，而且在社会的世代之间也得筑通桥梁，不然就没有了文化，也没有了我们现在所能享受的生活。

我说了这许多话，也许足够指明了人的生活和时间的关联了。在这关联中，词是最主要的桥梁。有人说，语言造成了人，那是极对的。《圣经》上也有上帝说了什么，什么就有了，“说”是“有”的开始。这在物质宇宙中尽管可以不对，在文化中是对的。没有象征体系也就没有概念，人的经验也就不能或不易在时间里累积，如要生活也不能超过禽兽。

但是词却不一定要文。文是用眼睛可以看得到的符号，就是字。词不一定是刻出来或写出来的符号，也可以是用声音说出来的符号——语言。一切文化中不能没有“词”，可是不一定有“文字”。我这样说是因为我想说明的乡土社会，大体上，是没有“文字”的社会。在上篇，我从空间格局中说到了乡下人没有文字的需要，在这里我是想从时间格局中说明同一结果。

我说过我们要发展记忆，那是因为我们生活中有此需要。没有文化的动物中，能以本能来应付生活，就不必有记忆。我这样说，其实也包含了另一项意思，就是人在记忆上发展的程度是依他们生活需要而决定的。我们每个人，每一刻，所接触的外界是众多复杂，但是并不尽入我们的感觉，我们有所选择。和我们眼睛所接触的外界我们并不都看见，我们只看见我们所注意的，我们的视线有焦点，焦点依着我们的注意而移动。注意的对象由我们选择，选择的根据是我们生活的需要。对于我们生活无关的，我们不关心，熟视无睹。我们的记忆也是如此，我们并不记取一切的过去，而只记取一切过去中极小的一部分。我说记取，其实不如说过后回忆为妥当。“记”带有在当前为了将来有用而加以认取的意思，“忆”是为了当前有关而回想到过去经验。事实上，在当前很难预测将来之用，大多是出于当前的需要而追忆过去。有时这过程非常吃

力，所以成为“苦忆”。可是无论如何记忆并非无所为的，而是实用的，是为了生活。

在一个乡土社会中生活的人所需记忆的范围和生活在现代都市的人是不同的。乡土社会是一个生活很安定的社会。我已说过，向泥土讨生活的人是不能老是移动的。在一个地方出生的就在这地方生长下去，一直到死。极端的乡土社会是老子所理想的社会，“鸡犬相闻，老死不相往来”。不但个人不常抛井离乡，而且每个人住的地方常是他的父母之邦。“生于斯，死于斯”的结果必是世代的黏着。这种极端的乡土社会固然不常实现，但是我们的确有历世不移的企图，不然为什么死在外边的人，一定要把棺材运回故乡，葬在祖茔上呢？一生取给于这块泥土，死了，骨肉还得回入这块泥土。

历世不移的结果，人不但在熟人中长大，而且在熟悉的地方上生长大。熟悉的地方可以包括极长时间的人和土的混合。祖先们在这地方混熟了，他们的经验也必然就是子孙们所会得到的经验。时间的悠久是从谱系上说的，从每个人可能得到的经验说，却是同一方式的反复重演。同一戏台上演着同一的戏，这个班子里演员所需要记得的，也只有一套戏文。他们个别的经验，就等于世代的经验。经验无需不断累积，只需老是保存。

我记得在小学里读书时，老师逼着我记日记，我执笔苦思，结果只写下“同上”两字。那是真情，天天是“晨起，上课，游戏，睡觉”，有何可记的呢？老师下令不准“同上”，小学生们只有扯谎了。

在定型生活中长大的有着深入生理基础的习惯帮着我们“日出而起，日入而息”的工作节奏。记忆都是多余的。“不知老之将至”就是描写“忘时”的生活。秦亡汉兴，没有关系。乡土社会中不怕忘，而且忘得舒服。只有在轶出于生活常轨的事，当我怕忘记时，方在指头上打一个结。

指头上的结是文字的原始方式，目的就是用外在的象征，利用联想作用，帮助人的记忆。在一个常常变动的环境中，我们感觉到自己记忆力不够时，方需要这些外在的象征。从语言变到文字，也就是从用声音来说词，变到用绳打结，用刀刻图，用笔写字，是出于我们生活从定型到不定型的过程中。在都市中生活，一天到晚接触着陌生面孔的人才需要在袋里藏着本姓名录、通信簿。在乡土社会中粘着相片的身份证，是毫无意义的。在一个村子里可以有一打以上的“王大哥”，绝不会因之错认了人。

在一个每代的生活等于开映同一部影片的社会中，历史也是多余的，有的只是“传奇”。一说到来历就得从“开天辟地”说起；不从这开始，下文不是只有“寻常”的当前了么？都市社会里有新闻；在乡土社

会，“新闻”是希奇古怪、荒诞不经的意思。在都市社会里有名人，乡土社会里是“人怕出名，猪怕壮”。不为人先，不为人后，做人就得循规蹈矩。这种社会用不上常态曲线，而是一个模子里印出来的一套。

在这种社会里，语言是足够传递世代间的经验了。当一个人碰着生活上的问题时，他必然能在一个比他年长的人那里问得到解决这问题的有效办法，因为大家在同一环境里，走同一道路，他先走，你后走；后走的所踏的是先走的人的脚印，口口相传，不会有遗漏。哪里用得着文字？时间里没有阻隔，拉得十分紧，全部文化可以在亲子之间传授无缺。

这样说，中国如果是乡土社会，怎么会有文字的呢？我的回答是中国社会从基层上看去是乡土性，中国的文字并不是在基层上发生。最早的文字就是庙堂性的，一直到目前还不是我们乡下人的东西。我们的文字另有它发生的背境，我在本文所需要指出的是在这基层上，有语言而无文字。不论在空间和时间的格局上，这种乡土社会，在面对面的亲密接触中，在反复地在同一生活定型中生活的人们，并不是愚到字都不认得，而是没有用字来帮助他们在社会中生活的需要。我同时也等于说，如果中国社会乡土性的基层发生了变化，也只有发生了变化之后，文字才能下乡。

④CHAXUGEJU: THE DIFFERENTIAL MODE OF ASSOCIATION

Selfishness is the most serious shortcoming of country people. That is the opinion of those intellectuals who advocate rural reconstruction.[1] When we think of selfishness, we think of the proverb "Each person should sweep the snow from his own doorsteps and should not fret about the frost on his neighbor's roof." No one would deny that this proverb is one of the Chinese creeds. Actually, this attitude is held not only by country people but also by city people. The person who only sweeps the snow from his own door is still regarded as having high social ethics.

Ordinary people usually throw their garbage onto the streets right in front of their door, and that is the end of their garbage problem. For instance, in Suzhou the houses usually have back doors that open onto slow-moving canals. This sounds very beautiful, and, in fact, literary works depict Suzhou as the Chinese Venice. But I do not think that there are any waterways in the world dirtier than those in Suzhou. Everything can be thrown into the canals, which even in the best of circumstances do not flow well. Filled with garbage, they flow even worse. Many families use no other toilets. Even knowing full well that other people wash clothes and vegetables in the canals, they feel no need for self-restraint.

Why is this so? The reason is that such canals belong to the public. Once you mention something as belonging to the public, it is almost like saying that everyone can take advantage of it. Thus, one can have rights without obligations. Even if we reduce the scale and look at a small courtyard shared by two or three families, we can still see dirt piled in the public corridors and weeds growing in the backyard. No one wants to clean or to weed. But the worst place in such a courtyard would be the public toilets. Not a single family wants to take care of this business. Whoever finds the condition of the toilet intolerable has to clean it up without pay or even without thanks. It is like Gresham's law. Just as "bad money drives out the good," selfishness

drives out social consciousness.

Judging from examples like this, the problem of selfishness in China is really more common than the problem of ignorance or illness. From the top of society to the bottom, no one seems to be without this shortcoming. It has, in fact, gained some notoriety. Corruption and incompetence have become a stereotype of Chinese people that the foreign media use to belittle us. But so-called corruption and incompetence have less to do with individual ability than with each person's service to, and responsibility for, the public welfare.

The Chinese are not bad managers. Indeed, a great many Westerners are impressed by the business achievements of the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia. Neither are the Chinese incompetent. When it comes to managing their family's businesses, earning money, and making personal connections, they show a greater aptitude than people from any other country. The problem defined by this kind of selfishness is thus actually one of how to draw the line between the group and the individual, between others and our own selves. How this line has been drawn in China traditionally is obviously different from the way it is drawn in the West. Therefore, if we want to discuss the problem of selfishness, we have to take into consideration the pattern of the entire social structure.

Western societies are somewhat like the way we collect rice straw to use to cook our food. After harvest, the rice straw is bound into small bundles; several bundles are bound into larger bundles; and these are then stacked together so that they can be carried on shoulder poles. Each piece of straw belongs in a small bundle, which in turn belongs in a larger bundle, which in turn makes up a stack. The separate straws, the separate bundles, and finally the separate stacks all fit together to make up the whole haystack. In this way, the separately bound bundles can be stacked in an orderly way.

In Western society, these separate units are organizations. By making an analogy between organizations in Western societies and the composition of haystacks, I want to indicate that in Western society individuals form organizations. Each organization has its own boundaries, which clearly define those people who are members and those who are not. That much is always clear. The people in an organization form a group, and their relationship to the organization is usually the same. If there are differences among group members or distinctions among ranks within the organization, these would have been agreed upon earlier as part of the rules of the organization.

In one respect, my analogy is not too appropriate. An individual may

join several organizations, but it is impossible for a straw to be in several bundles at the same time. That is the difference between people and straws. My purpose in making the analogy, however, is only to help us see more concretely the pattern of personal relationships in social life, what I will henceforth call the "organizational mode of association"(tuantigeju).

Families in the West are organizations with distinct boundaries. If a Western friend writes to you saying that he will "bring his family" to visit you, he knows very well who will be coming with him. In China, however, this sentence is very ambiguous. In England and America, a family will include the man, his wife, and his children who have not yet grown up. If he is bringing only his wife, he does not use the word family. In China, we often see the sentence "The whole family will come" (hedi guanglin), but few people can tell what family members should be included in the word di(family). In Chinese, the word jia (family) is used in many ways. Jialide (the one at home) can mean one's wife. Jiamen (kinsmen) may be directed at a big group of uncles and nephews. Zijiaren (my own people) may include anyone whom you want to drag into your own circle, and you use it to indicate your intimacy with them. The scope of zijiaren can be expanded or contracted according to the specific time and place. It can be used in a very general way, even to mean that everyone under the sun is a jia (one family).

Why are nouns for such basic social units so ambiguous in Chinese? In my opinion, the ambiguity indicates the difference between our social structure and that of the West. Our pattern is not like distinct bundles of straws. Rather, it is like the circles that appear on the surface of a lake when a rock is thrown into it. Everyone stands at the center of the circles produced by his or her own social influence. Everyone's circles are interrelated. One touches different circles at different times and places.

In Chinese society, the most important relationship—kinship—is similar to the concentric circles formed when a stone is thrown into a lake. Kinship is a social relationship formed through marriage and reproduction. The networks woven by marriage and reproduction can be extended to embrace countless numbers of people—in the past, present, and future. The same meaning is implied in our saying "Everyone has a cousin three thousand miles away," with three thousand miles indicating the vastness of kinship networks. Despite the vastness, though, each network is like a spider's web in the sense that it centers on oneself. Everyone has this kind of kinship network, but the people covered by one network are not the same as those

covered by any other. We all use the same system of notation to identify our relatives, but the only thing we hold in common is the system of notation itself. This system is merely an abstract pattern, a set of categorical concepts. When we use this system to identify concrete relatives, however, each term identifies a different person. In our kinship system, we all have parents, but my parents are not your parents. No two people in the world can have entirely the same set of relatives. Two brothers certainly would have the same parents, but each brother would have his own wife and children. Therefore, the web of social relationships linked with kinship is specific to each person. Each web has a self as its center, and every web has a different center.

In our rural society, this pattern of organization applies not only to kinship but also to spatial relationships. An exception might be the modern baojia system, which is somewhat similar to the Western organizational mode of association (tuantigeju) and is quite incompatible with traditional social structure.[2] In the traditional structure, every family regards its own household as the center and draws a circle around it. This circle is the neighborhood, which is established to facilitate reciprocation in daily life. A family invites the neighbors to its weddings, sends them red-dyed eggs when a new baby is born, and asks for their help in lifting its dead into coffins and carrying the coffins to the cemetery. But a neighborhood is not a fixed group. Instead, it is an area whose size is determined by the power and authority of each center. The neighborhood of a powerful family may expand to the entire village, while a poor family's neighborhood is composed of only two or three nearby families.

This pattern is just like the circles of kinship. For instance, in The Dream of the Red Chamber, the story's main family, the Jia family, was so wealthy and powerful that the family's compound contained both Lin Daiyu, a cousin on the father's side, and Xue Baochai, a cousin on the mother's side.[3] Later in the story, the Jia family house, which was called"Jia's Grand Garden," contained even more distant relatives, such as Baoqin and Xiuyan. But when the Jia family lost its power and wealth, the family dwindled away into a tiny group. As the saying goes, "When the tree falls, the monkeys scatter." There is even a more extreme case, that of Su Qin, who, after seeking his fortune for many years, returned home as a total failure.[4] His wife refused to regard him as a husband, and his sister-in-law refused to regard him as her brother-in-law.

This pattern of organization in Chinese traditional society has the special

quality of elasticity. In the country, families can be very small, but in the wealthy landlord and bureaucratic classes, families can be as big as small kingdoms. These highly elastic social circles, which can be expanded or contracted according to a change in the power of the center, cause the Chinese to be particularly sensitive to changes in human relationships.

In the West, everyone recognizes his or her social boundaries. Even adult children who still live with their parents usually pay for their room and board. People in an organization must fulfill the particular qualifications for membership, and, accordingly, people who no longer possess those qualifications must leave the organization. To Westerners, such requirements show not a lack of human warmth but, rather, a respect for individual rights. Westerners struggle for their rights, but in our society people seek connections in higher places and do things for the sake of friendship.

According to the Western pattern, all members in an organization are equivalent, just as all straws in a bundle are alike. This is quite different from the Chinese pattern. Social relationships in China possess a self-centered quality. Like the ripples formed from a stone thrown into a lake, each circle spreading out from the center becomes more distant and at the same time more insignificant. With this pattern, we are faced with the basic characteristic of Chinese social structure, or what the Confucian school has called renlun (human relationships). What is lun? To me, insofar as it is used to describe Chinese social relationships, the term itself signifies the ripplelike effect created from circles of relationships that spread out from the self, an effect that produces a pattern of discrete circles. In the ancient text Shiming(The Interpretation of Names), lun is defined as "the order existing in ripples of water." Pan Guangdan once said, "Word combinations with lun all have similar meanings, which express proper arrangements, classifications, and order."[5]

Lun stresses differentiation. In the Book of Rites (Liji), the "ten relationships" form a discontinuous classification. Gods and ghosts, monarchs and subjects, fathers and sons, the noble and the base, the intimate and the unconnected, the rewarded and the punished, husbands and wives, public affairs and private affairs, seniors and juniors, and superiors and inferiors—these are principal types of human relationships."Everyone should stay in his place" (bu shi qi lun); thereby, fathers are differentiated from sons, those remote from those close, those who are intimate from those who are not.[6]

Lun is order based on classifications. Some may wonder why the concrete social relationships, such as gods and ghosts, monarchs and subjects, fathers and sons, and husbands and wives, are placed in the same category as the abstract positional types, such as the noble and the base, the intimate and the unconnected, the remote and the close, those above and those below. In fact, the basic character of traditional Chinese social structure rests precisely on such hierarchical differentiations as these. Therefore, the key to understanding networks of human relationships is to recognize that such distinctions create the very patterns of Chinese social organization. In the Book of Rites, it is written,"Toward the intimate, there is only intimacy; toward the respected, only respect; toward superiors, only deference; between men and women, only differences; these are things that people cannot alter." This means that the framework of social structure is unchangeable; what is changeable is only the use to which the framework is put.

Confucius paid a lot of attention to the word tui (pushing or extending out), in the sense of ripples expanding out from the center. He first recognized the centrality of the self. Noting that one should "do to others as you would have done to yourself," Confucius explained that one should "control oneself and conform to rituals" (ke ji fu li). By exercising such self-restraint, one cultivates moral character. Attaining control over one's inner self, one then can tui, can extend oneself out into other circles of human relationships. Confucius wrote, "When the inner person is established, the way is born.... A man who is a good son and a dutiful brother will seldom be disposed to quarrel with those in authority over him, and a man who is not disposed to quarrel with those in authority will never be found to disturb the peace and order of the state."[7] The path runs from the self to the family, from the family to the state, and from the state to the whole world (tianxia). In the Doctrine of the Mean(Zhongyong), the five relationships (monarch and subject, father and son, husband and wife, older and younger brothers, and friends) are regarded as passages to the world (tianxia zhi dadao).[8] In such a social structure, the way to go beyond oneself and reach out to the world is to extend oneself circle by circle. Mencius even praised Confucius by saying that he"was good at extending himself."

In these elastic networks that make up Chinese society, there is always a self at the center of each web. But this notion of the self amounts to egocentrism, not individualism. With individualism, individuals make up organizations in the same way that parts make up the whole. The balance

between parts and whole produces a concept of equality: since the position of each individual in an organization is the same, one person cannot encroach on the others. It also produces a concept of constitutionality: an organization cannot deny the rights of an individual; it controls individuals merely on the basis of the partial rights they have willingly handed over. Without these concepts, such organizations as these could not exist. However, in Chinese traditional thought, there is no comparable set of ideas, because, for us, there is only egocentrism. Everything worthwhile rests on an ideology in which the self is central.

This kind of egocentrism is not limited to the actions of someone like Yang Zhu, who was unwilling to pluck out even a single hair in order to benefit the world.[9] It also includes the Confucians. The difference between Yang Zhu and Confucius himself is that Yang Zhu neglected the relative, elastic qualities of egocentrism. He held his self close and would not let it out. Confucius, however, felt that people need to extend beyond themselves in order to achieve their own interests. But even if one extends as far as possible, one's self is still at the center. Confucius wrote, "A ruler who exercises government by means of his virtue is like the North Star, which makes all the other stars surround it."[10] This is, in fact, a very apt simile for describing the Chinese system of organization, that of a pattern of discrete circles, the differential mode of association (chaxugeju). The self is always at the center; so, like the motionless North Star, the self is always surrounded by others who come under the influence of the center. In this regard, Confucius is not like Jesus Christ. Jesus transcends human organizations. He has his Heaven; so he can sacrifice himself for the sake of Heaven, for something beyond human society.

Confucius, however, is different. One of his disciples, Zigong, said to him, "If there were a man who extensively carried out good works for the welfare of the people and really gave benefits to the multitude, what would you say of such a man? Could he be called benevolent (ren)?" The Master said, "It is not a matter of benevolence with such a man. If you must describe him, sage is the right word. Even Yao and Shun would have found it difficult to accomplish as much. A benevolent man, in forming his own moral character, forms the character of others; in enlightening himself, he enlightens others. This is a good method for attaining a moral life, if one is able to judge of others by what is nigh in himself."[11]

Confucian ethics cannot be divorced from the idea of discrete centers

fanning out into a weblike network. As Confucius wrote, "What the superior man seeks is in himself; what the petty man seeks is in others."With sentiments such as these, Confucius could not be like Jesus, who so loved everyone under the sun, including his enemies, that he asked God to have mercy on those who killed him. These actions could not have been motivated by egocentrism. What would Confucius have done? When someone asked him, "What about returning good for evil?"Confucius answered, "Why should one return good for evil? Treat evil with justice and return good for good."[12] Confucius could not put aside these kinds of distinctions. But Confucius was certainly not like Yang Zhu, who used his miserly little self to control all situations. Instead, Confucius expanded and contracted the moral scope according to necessity.

Once we understand these highly elastic social spheres, we are able to understand the problem of selfishness in Chinese society. I often think that the Chinese would sacrifice their families for their own self-interests, their party for their families' interests, their country for their party's interests, and the whole world for their country's interests. This same idea is found in the classic book The Great Learning: "The ancients who wished to display illustrious virtue throughout the empire first put their own states in good order. Wishing to order their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their own self. Their self being cultivated, their families were regulated; their families being regulated, their states were correctly governed. Their states being well governed, the whole empire was made tranquil and peaceful.[13]

Now we can see that the boundary between the public and private spheres is relative—we may even say ambiguous. In The Great Learning, public order is achieved by moving toward the center of the discrete circles—that is, toward the family. Private selfishness, however, is justified by moving outward, toward the state. Both public officials and private persons use the same ambiguous conception of the social order to define the context of their action. This situation differs greatly from that in Western society, in which public and private rights and obligations are divided distinctly.

Sacrificing the family for one's own interests, or the lineage for the interests of one's household, is in reality a formula. With this formula, it is impossible to prove that someone is acting selfishly. The person concerned would likely deny it. He might contend that a person who sacrifices his lineage for the sake of his family is performing a public duty. When he

sacrifices his country in struggling for the interests and rights of his own small group, he is still acting on behalf of the public, which is now defined as the small group itself. In this pattern of oscillating but differential social circles (chaxugeju), public and private are relative concepts. Standing in any circle, one can say that all those in that circle are part of the public. As a matter of fact, when Western diplomats work for the benefit of their own countries in international conferences, they willingly sacrifice world peace and other countries' legal rights; these actions are the same as ours. But the difference is that Westerners regard the state as an organization surpassing all smaller groups. Both international and local affairs can be sacrificed for the sake of the state, but the state cannot be sacrificed for other groups. This is the concept of the modern state. It is a concept absent from Chinese rural society.

In the West, the state is an organization that creates distinct boundaries between the public and the private spheres. Like straws in a haystack, citizens all belong to the state. They have to make the state a public organization beneficial to each individual. Therefore, they have revolutions, constitutions, laws, and parliamentary bodies. But in traditional China, the concept of public was the ambiguous tianxia (all under heaven), whereas the state was seen as the emperor's family. Hence, the boundary between public and private has never been clear. The state and the public are but additional circles that spread out like the waves from the splash of each person's social influence. Therefore, people must cultivate themselves before they can extend outward. Accordingly, self-restraint has become the most important virtue in social life. The Chinese thus are unable to assert themselves against society to ensure that society does not infringe on their individual rights. In fact, the Chinese notion of a differential mode of association (chaxugeju) does not allow for individual rights to be an issue at all.

In the pattern of Chinese organization, our social relationships spread out gradually, from individual to individual, resulting in an accumulation of personal connections. These social relationships form a network composed of each individual's personal connections. Therefore, our social morality makes sense only in terms of these personal connections. I will discuss this last point in the next chapter.

肆　差序格局

在乡村工作者看来，中国乡下佬最大的毛病是“私”。说起私，我们就会想到“各人自扫门前雪，莫管他人屋上霜”的俗语。谁也不敢否认这俗语多少是中国人的信条。其实抱有这种态度的并不只是乡下人，就是所谓城里人，何尝不是如此。扫清自己门前雪的还算是了不起的有公德的人，普通人家把垃圾在门口的街道上一倒，就完事了。苏州人家后门常通一条河，听来是最美丽也没有了，文人笔墨里是中国的威尼斯。可是我想天下没有比苏州城里的水道更脏的了。什么东西都可以向这种出路本来不太畅通的小河沟里一倒，有不少人家根本就不必有厕所。明知人家在这河里洗衣洗菜，毫不觉得有什么需要自制的地方。为什么呢？——这种小河是公家的。

一说是公家的，差不多就是说大家可以占一点便宜的意思，有权利而没有义务了。小到两三家合住的院子，公共的走廊上照例是尘灰堆积，满院生了荒草，谁也不想去拔拔清楚，更难以插足的自然是厕所。没有一家愿意去管“闲事”，谁看不惯，谁就得白服侍人，半声谢意都得不到。于是像格兰亨姆的公律，坏钱驱逐好钱一般，公德心就在这里被自私心驱走。

从这些事来说，私的毛病在中国实在比愚和病更普遍得多，从上到下似乎没有不害这毛病的。现在已成了外国舆论一致攻击我们的把柄了。所谓贪污无能，并不是每个人绝对的能力问题，而是相对的，是从个人对公家的服务和责任上说的。中国人并不是不善经营，只要看南洋那些华侨在商业上的成就，西洋人谁不侧目？中国人更不是无能，对于自家的事，抓起钱来，拍起马来，比哪一个国家的人能力都大。因之这里所谓“私”的问题却是个群己、人我的界线怎样划法的问题。我们传统的划法，显然是和西洋的划法不同。因之，如果我们要讨论私的问题就得把整个社会结构的格局提出来考虑一下了。

西洋的社会有些像我们在田里捆柴，几根稻草束成一把，几把束成一扎，几扎束成一捆，几捆束成一挑。每一根柴在整个挑里都属于一定的捆、扎、把。每一根柴也可以找到同把、同扎、同捆的柴，分扎得清楚不会乱的。在社会，这些单位就是团体。我说西洋社会组织像捆柴就是想指明：他们常常由若干人组成一个个的团体。团体是有一定界限的，谁是团体里的人，谁是团体外的人，不能模糊，一定分得清楚。在团体里的人是一伙，对于团体的关系是相同的，如果同一团体中有组别

或等级的分别，那也是先规定的。我用捆柴来比拟，有一点不太合，就是一个人可以参加好几个团体，而好几扎柴里都有某一根柴当然是不可能的，这是人和柴不同的地方。我用这譬喻是在想具体一些使我们看到社会生活中人和人的关系的一种格局。我们不妨称之作团体格局。

家庭在西洋是一种界限分明的团体。如果有一位朋友写信给你说他将要“带了他的家庭”一起来看你，他很知道要和他一同来的是哪几个人。在中国，这句话是含糊得很。在英美，家庭包括他和他的妻以及未成年的孩子。如果他只和他太太一起来，就不会用“家庭”。在我们中国“阖第光临”虽则常见，但是很少人能说得出这个“第”字究竟应当包括些什么人。

提到了我们的用字，这个“家”字可以说最能伸缩自如了。“家里的”可以指自己的太太一个人；“家门”可以指伯叔侄子一大批；“自家人”可以包罗任何要拉入自己的圈子，表示亲热的人物。自家人的范围是因时因地可伸缩的，大到数不清，真是天下可成一家。

为什么我们这个最基本的社会单位的名词会这样不清不楚呢？在我看来却表示了我们的社会结构本身和西洋的格局是不相同的，我们的格局不是一捆一捆扎清楚的柴，而是好像把一块石头丢在水面上所发生的一圈圈推出去的波纹。每个人都是他社会影响所推出去的圈子的中心。被圈子的波纹所推及的就发生联系。每个人在某一时间某一地点所动用的圈子是不一定相同的。

我们社会中最重要的亲属关系就是这种丢石头形成同心圆波纹的性质。亲属关系是根据生育和婚姻事实所发生的社会关系。从生育和婚姻所结成的网络，可以一直推出去包括无穷的人，过去的、现在的和未来的人物。我们俗语里有“一表三千里”，就是这个意思，其实三千里者也不过指其广袤的意思而已。这个网络像个蜘蛛的网，有一个中心，就是自己。我们每个人都有这么一个以亲属关系布出去的网，但是没有一个网所罩住的人是相同的。在一个社会里的人可以用同一个体系来记认他们的亲属，所同的只是这体系罢了。体系是抽象的格局，或是范畴性的有关概念。当我们用这体系来认取具体的亲亲戚戚时，各人所认的就不同了。我们在亲属体系里都有父母，可是我的父母却不是你的父母。再进一步说，天下没有两个人所认取的亲属可以完全相同的。兄弟两人固然有相同的父母了，但是各人有各人的妻子儿女。因之，以亲属关系所联系成的社会关系的网络来说，是个别的。每一个网络有个“己”作为中心，各个网络的中心都不同。

在我们乡土社会里，不但亲属关系如此，地缘关系也是如此。现代的保甲制度是团体格局性的，但是这和传统的结构却格格不入。在传统结构中，每一家以自己的地位作中心，周围划出一个圈子，这个圈子

是“街坊”。有喜事要请酒，生了孩子要送红蛋，有丧事要出来助殓、抬棺材，是生活上的互助机构。可是这不是一个固定的团体，而是一个范围。范围的大小也要依着中心的势力厚薄而定。有势力的人家的街坊可以遍及全村，穷苦人家的街坊只是比邻的两三家。这和我们的亲属圈子一般的。像贾家的大观园里，可以住着姑表林黛玉、姨表薛宝钗，后来更多了，什么宝琴、岫烟，凡是拉得上亲戚的，都包容得下。可是势力一变，树倒猢狲散，缩成一小团。到极端时，可以像苏秦潦倒归来，“妻不以为夫，嫂不以为叔”。中国传统结构中的差序格局具有这种伸缩能力。在乡下，家庭可以很小，而一到有钱的地主和官僚阶层，可以大到像个小国。中国人也特别对世态炎凉有感触，正因为这富于伸缩的社会圈子会因中心势力的变化而大小。

在孩子成年了住在家里都得给父母膳宿费的西洋社会里，大家承认团体的界限。在团体里的有一定的资格。资格取消了就得走出这个团体。在他们不是人情冷热的问题，而是权利问题。在西洋社会里争的是权，而在我们却是攀关系、讲交情。

以“己”为中心，像石子一般投入水中，和别人所联系成的社会关系，不像团体中的分子一般大家立在一个平面上的，而是像水的波纹一般，一圈圈推出去，愈推愈远，也愈推愈薄。在这里我们遇到了中国社会结构的基本特性了。我们儒家最考究的是人伦，伦是什么呢？我的解释就是从自己推出去的和自己发生社会关系的那一群人里所发生的一轮轮波纹的差序。《释名》于“沦”字下也说：“伦也，水文相次有伦理也。”潘光旦先生曾说：凡是有“仑”作公分母的意义都相通，“共同表示的是条理、类别、秩序的一番意思”（见潘光旦《说伦字》，《社会研究》第十九期）。

伦重在分别，在《礼记·祭统》里所讲的十伦，鬼神、君臣、父子、贵贱、亲疏、爵赏、夫妇、政事、长幼、上下，都是指差等。“不失其伦”是在别父子、远近、亲疏。伦是有差等的次序。在我们现在读来，鬼神、君臣、父子、夫妇等具体的社会关系，怎能和贵贱、亲疏、远近、上下等抽象的相对地位相提并论？其实在我们传统的社会结构里最基本的概念，这个人和人往来所构成的网络中的纲纪，就是一个差序，也就是伦。《礼记·大传》里说：“亲亲也，尊尊也，长长也，男女有别，此其不可得与民变革者也。”意思是这个社会结构的架格是不能变的，变的只是利用这架格所做的事。

孔子最注重的就是水纹波浪向外扩张的“推”字。他先承认一个己，推己及人的己，对于这己，得加以克服于礼，克己就是修身。顺着这同心圆的伦常，就可向外推了。“本立而道生”，“其为人也孝悌，而好犯上者鲜矣，不好犯上而好作乱者，未之有也”。从己到家，由家到国，

由国到天下，是一条通路。《中庸》里把五伦作为“天下之达道”。因为在这种社会结构里，从己到天下是一圈一圈推出去的，所以孟子说他“善推而已矣”。

在这种富于伸缩性的网络里，随时随地是有一个“己”作中心的。这并不是个人主义，而是自我主义。个人是对团体而说的，是分子对团体。在个人主义下，一方面是平等观念，指在同一团体中各分子的地位相等，个人不能侵犯大家的权利；一方面是宪法观念，指团体不能抹煞个人，只能在个人所愿意交出的一份权利上控制个人。这些观念必须先假定了团体的存在。在我们中国传统思想里是没有这一套的，因为我们所有的是自我主义，一切价值是以“己”作为中心的主义。

自我主义并不限于拔一毛而利天下不为的杨朱，连儒家都该包括在内。杨朱和孔子不同的是杨朱忽略了自我主义的相对性和伸缩性，他太死心眼儿，一口咬了一个自己不放；孔子是会推己及人的，可是尽管放之于四海，中心还是在自己。子曰：“为政以德，譬如北辰，居其所，而众星拱之。”这是很好一个差序格局的譬喻，自己总是中心，像四季不移的北斗星，所有其他的人，随着他转动。孔子并不像耶稣，耶稣是有超于个人的团体的，他有他的天国，所以他可以牺牲自己去成全天国。孔子呢？不然。

子贡曰：“如有博施于民，而能济众，何如？可谓仁乎？”子曰：“何事于仁，必也圣乎！尧舜其犹病诸？夫仁者，己欲立而立人，己欲达而达人，能近取譬，可谓仁之方也已。”

孔子的道德系统里绝不肯离开差序格局的中心，“君子求诸己，小人求诸人”。因之，他不能像耶稣一样普爱天下，甚至而爱他的仇敌，还要为杀死他的人求上帝的饶赦——这些不是从自我中心出发的。孔子呢？

或曰：“以德报怨，何如？”子曰：“何以报德？以直报怨，以德报德。”

这是差序层次，孔子是决不放松的。孔子并不像杨朱一般以小己来应付一切情境，他把这道德范围依着需要而推广或缩小。他不像耶稣或中国的墨翟，一放不能收。

我们一旦明白这个能放能收、能伸能缩的社会范围，我们可以明白中国传统社会中的私的问题了。我常常觉得：“中国传统社会里一个人为了自己可以牺牲家，为了家可以牺牲党，为了党可以牺牲国，为了国可以牺牲天下。”这和《大学》的：

古之欲明明德于天下者，先治其国；欲治其国者，先齐其家；欲齐其家者，先修其

身……身修而后家齐，家齐而后国治，国治而后天下平。

在条理上是相通的，不同的只是内向和外向的路线，正面和反面的说法，这是种差序的推进形式，把群己的界限弄成了相对性，也可以说是模棱两可了。这和西洋把权利和义务分得清清楚楚的社会，大异其趣。

为自己可以牺牲家，为大家可以牺牲族……这是一个事实上的公式。在这种公式里，你如果说他私么？他是不能承认的，因为当他牺牲族时，他可以为了家，家在他看来是公的。当他牺牲国家为他小团体谋利益、争权利时，他也是为公，为了小团体的公。在差序格局里，公和私是相对而言的，站在任何一圈里，向内看也可以说是公的。其实当西洋的外交家在国际会议里为了自己国家争利益，不惜牺牲世界和平和别国合法利益时，也是这样的。所不同的，他们把国家看成了一个超过一切小组织的团体，为这个团体，上下双方都可以牺牲，但不能牺牲它来成全别种团体。这是现代国家观念，乡土社会中是没有的。

在西洋社会里，国家这个团体是一个明显的也是唯一特出的群己界限。在国家里做人民的无所逃于这团体之外，像一根柴捆在一束里，他们不能不把国家弄成个为每个分子谋利益的机构，于是他们有革命、有宪法、有法律、有国会等等。在我们传统里群的极限是模糊不清的"天下"，国是皇帝之家，界限从来就是不清不楚的，不过是从自己这个中心里推出去的社会势力里的一圈而已。所以可以着手的，具体的只有己，克己就成了社会生活中最重要的德性，他们不会去克群，使群不致侵略个人的权利。在这种差序格局中，不发生这问题的。

在差序格局中，社会关系是逐渐从一个一个人推出去的，是私人联系的增加，社会范围是一根根私人联系所构成的网络，因之，我们传统社会里所有的社会道德也只在私人群系中发生意义。——这一点，我将留在下篇里再提出来讨论了。

⑤THE MORALITY OF PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

The basic structure of Chinese rural society is what I have called "a differential mode of association" (chaxugeju). This pattern is composed of distinctive networks spreading out from each individual's personal connections. It is quite different from the modern Western organizational mode of association (tuantigeju). In such a pattern, personal relationships depend on a common structure. People attach themselves to a preexisting structure and then, through that structure, form personal relationships. The concept of the citizen, for example, necessarily follows the development of the state. It seems likely that this type of organizational pattern grew out of primitive tribal formations. In primitive nomadic economies, these patterns were quite prominent. Depending on each other in daily life, tribal peoples could not survive if they spread out among the mountains, with each person living alone. To them, a cohesive organization was a precondition of life. But it is different for those people living in a settled agricultural society, where everyone earns his or her own living from the land and feels the need of companions only under fortuitous, temporary, or special circumstances. To these people, starting relationships with others is a matter of secondary importance. Moreover, they need connections to different degrees on different occasions. They do not seem to need large, continuous organizations. Therefore, their society has adopted a differential mode of association.

These two patterns of social organization give rise to different types of morality. Morality is the belief that people in a society should abide by certain norms of social behavior. Morality always includes regulations, beliefs, and sanctions, all of which are shaped by the constraints imposed by a social structure. According to a sociological perspective, morality is society's sanction on individual behavior; it makes people conform to established social norms in order to maintain the existence and continuity of the society.

In the Western pattern, the fundamental concept of morality is built on

the relationship between the organization and the individual. An organization is an entity that transcends the individual. Even so, organization itself has no material reality. It is impossible to call material things an organization. Instead, an organization is really a kind of social relationship among human beings. It is a force controlling individual behavior. It is an object on which the composition of individual elements depends. It is a common will that precedes individual members, even as it relies on them for its very existence.

The concept of organization can be expressed only by symbols. It is for this reason that the idea of an omnipresent God arose in the West. The relationship between the organization and the individual is signified in the relationship between God and his disciples. God is a judge who rewards and punishes, a keeper of justice who is an omnipotent protector.

If we want to understand the morality produced by Western organizational patterns, we must never leave out their religious concepts. Religious piety and beliefs are not only the source of Western morality but also the force that supports Western behavioral norms. From the concept of God, who is actually the symbol of universal organization, two important corollaries have emerged. One is that everyone is equal before God, and the other is that God treats everyone with equal justice.

Jesus addressed God as the Father, as everyone's Father. He even publicly rejected his own parents, who gave birth to him and brought him up. To achieve this equality, according to Christian beliefs, Jesus was born of a young virgin; the special and personal relationship between father and son is denied here. This denial is actually not nonsense; it is, instead, a powerful symbol of the public quality of organizations. God represents the universality of public organizations. God is necessarily without a private side. Jesus symbolizes each person within this universal organization. Besides a biological father, each person, therefore, shares a more important heavenly father—that is, an all-encompassing organization. Only by means of this conceptual thinking can the equality among individuals be established. The relationship of each member to the organization is the same. This organization cannot be any individual's private possession. These complex ideas are the very ones that form the basis of the American Declaration of Independence, whose main theme is clearly stated at the very beginning: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights."

But God is not of this world. He symbolizes the invisible entity of

universal organization. To carry out the will of organizations, ministers are needed. The term minister is a basic concept in the Western organizational mode of association. The person who carries out God's will is a minister, and the official who executes the power in an organization is also a minister. Both of them are agents. They are not gods themselves. Nor do they somehow embody the organization itself. The difference between God and his ministers, or between the state and its ministers, is never ambiguous. Throughout the history of Christianity, people have time and again tried to communicate with God directly and have opposed the agents on the grounds that they do not truly act at God's behest. Following the same logic, and in fact having grown out of it, the Declaration of Independence further states, "That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it."

God treats everyone with justice, impartiality, and love. If agents violate these "self-evident truths," they become disqualified. Thus, a concept of individual rights is inherently a part of the morality of the Western mode of organization. People should respect each other's rights. Organizations also should protect individual rights. To prevent the misuse of power by agents in organizations, constitutions have come into being. The concept of constitutions is coordinated with the Western concept of public service. The state may ask for people's service, but it must promise not to infringe on their rights. The state should exercise power only within the scope of justice and love.

I have talked a lot about the morality inherent in Western organizational patterns. My purpose has been to provide a contrast to the characteristics of morality found in the Chinese mode of association. In these self-centered networks of social relationships, the most important feature is certainly ke ji fu li (subdue the self and follow the rites). "From the Son of Heaven down to ordinary people, all must consider the cultivation of the person as the root of everything."[1] This idea is the starting point in the system of morality inherent in Chinese social structure.

Extending out from the self are the social spheres formed by one's personal relationships. Each sphere is sustained by a specific type of social ethic. The process by which the social spheres extend outward takes various paths, but the basic path is through kinship, which includes relations between

parents and children and among siblings born of the same parents. The ethical values that match this sphere are filial piety and fraternal duty. "Filial piety and fraternal submission—are they not the foundation of a moral life?"[2] An additional route out from the self is through friends. The ethical values that match friendship are loyalty(zhong) and sincerity (xin). As Confucius said, "When acting on another's behalf, shouldn't you always be loyal? When dealing with friends, shouldn't you always be sincere? ... Make loyalty and sincerity your first principles. Have no friends who do not measure up to yourself."[3] Confucius once concluded, "A young man, when at home, should be filial, and when out in the world should be respectful to his elders. He should be earnest and truthful. He should overflow with love, and cultivate the friendship of the good."[4]

Now I must mention a more complicated concept, ren (benevolence). As I have said, the Chinese pattern of social organization embraces no ethical concepts that transcend specific types of human relationships, as is the case in the West. Filial piety, fraternal duty, loyalty, and sincerity—these are all ethical principles found in private personal relationships. Confucius, however, frequently mentioned ren. In the Analects, he explained ren more than any other concept, but these explanations were also the most elusive. On the one hand, he repeatedly tried to clarify the meaning of the word; on the other hand, "In his conversations, Confucius seldom spoke of profit, destiny, and benevolence."[5] On several occasions, Confucius was simply unable to express what he seemed to have on his mind.

"Sima Niu asked Confucius about ren. The Master said, ‘A man possessing ren is cautious and slow in speaking.' Niu asked, ‘Is this what is meant by ren?' The Master said, ‘Acting in a benevolent way is difficult. Is it any wonder that one should be reluctant to speak?'"[6] At another point, Confucius said, "I have never met a person who loves ren. There may be such a case, but I have never seen it."[7] At yet another point, when Meng Wubo asked whether Zilu was ren, Confucius said, "I cannot say." When Meng Wubo repeated the question, the Master said, "In a government of a state of even a thousand chariots, You (Zilu) can be given the responsibility of managing the army, but whether he is ren or not I cannot say." He was asked, "What about Qiu?" Confucius replied,"Qiu can be given the responsibility of being the steward in a town with a thousand households or in a noble family with a hundred chariots, but whether he is ren or not I cannot say." "What about Chi?" Confucius said,"When Chi puts on his finery and takes his place

at court, he can be given the responsibility of conversing with the honored guests, but whether he is ren or not I cannot say."[8]

Many times, Confucius observed that what someone did "is insufficient to prove benevolence." But when he tried to explain ren in a positive way, he always returned to the ethical qualities in personal relationships: "Subduing yourself and submitting to ritual is what constitutes ren." He also said, "Whoever is able to put five things into practice throughout the whole world is certainly ren. These are earnestness, consideration for others, trustworthiness, diligence, and generosity. If you are earnest, you will never meet with disrespect. If you are considerate to others, you will win the people's hearts. If you are trustworthy, people will trust you. If you are diligent, you will be successful in your undertakings. If you are generous, you will find plenty of people who are willing to serve you."[9]

Confucius's difficulty is that, with a loosely organized rural society such as China's, it was not easy to find an all-encompassing ethical concept. The concept of ren is, in fact, only a logical synthesis, a compilation of all the ethical qualities of private, personal relationships. Chinese social patterns, unlike Western ones, lack organizations that transcend individual personal relationships. In China, there was only the all-encompassing tianxia(everything under heaven), as in the phrase "Everything under heaven returns to ren." Tianxia matches ren in its ambiguity, and so ren cannot be more clearly defined than tianxia. Therefore, whenever Confucius wanted to clarify ren, he had to return to the ethical principles of individual relationships: filial piety, fraternal duty, loyalty, and sincerity. Similarly, when he tried to clarify tianxia, he had to return to concrete relationships themselves, such as those between fathers and sons, between older and younger brothers, and among friends.

In the traditional Chinese system of morality, there is no concept of"love" such as that which exists in Christianity—universal love without distinctions. It is even hard to find ethical principles linking individuals with groups. In the organizational patterns in Western society, public service, in the sense of fulfilling obligations toward a group, is a clearly defined social norm. In Chinese traditional society, however, there is no such norm. Nowadays we sometimes use the word zhong (loyalty) to convey this meaning, but the meaning of the word zhong as given in the Analects is quite different. In the sentence "When acting on another's behalf, shouldn't you always be loyal?" the word loyal really means "to be sincere with others"; it

is another way of indicating inner emotions, of saying something is heartfelt.

In the Analects, Zizhang asked Confucius his opinion of the minister Ziwen: "In his public life he was made prime minister three times, and yet on none of these occasions did he show any sign of elation. Three times he was dismissed from office, and on none of these occasions did he show any sign of resentment. He was always careful, when giving up office, to explain to his successor the line of policy which the government had been pursuing under his administration. Now, what do you think of him?" Confucius answered, "He was zhong (loyal)."[10] In this passage, zhong means something close to loyalty to one's duty, but it does not mean loyalty to an organization. As a matter of fact, in the Analects, zhong is not even a principle of the relationship between a ruler and his officials. There, the principle linking ruler and official is yi (righteousness, correctness). As Confucius said, "A gentleman who takes office tries to carry out what he thinks to be right."[11] The concept of the "loyal official"came later. Furthermore, loyalty to the ruler is itself not an ethical principle joining the individual to an organization but, rather, signifies a personal relationship between ruler and officials.

This absence of an organizational morality can be seen even more clearly in the conflict between the public and the private spheres. Though responsible for governing the empire, the emperor still had first to fulfill the obligations of his personal relationships. According to Mencius,

> Tao Ying asked, "When Shun was emperor and Gaoyao was the judge, if Shun's father had killed a man, what should have happened?"
>
> Mencius said, "Gaoyao would have arrested him."
>
> "In that case, would Shun not have tried to stop it?"
>
> "How could Shun have stopped it? Gaoyao would have had the authority to deal with the matter."
>
> "Then what would Shun have done?"
>
> "Shun would have regarded abandoning the empire as throwing away a worn-out shoe. He would have secretly carried the old man on his back and fled to the edge of the sea. He would have lived there all his life happily and forgotten all about the empire."[12]

All this is to say that, although Shun was the emperor, he was still unable to treat his father as he would any other subject. Mencius's answer is an ideal solution to the conflict between the public and the private. Shun tried to serve two goals, but could not. Mencius thought of a way to escape the law by Shun's living in a remote place by the sea.

Mencius was able to give this answer because this example was fictitious. However, in another place, Mencius dealt with a problem in a way

that demonstrates even more clearly the absence of universalism in Chinese moral standards.

Wan Zhang said, "Xiang was daily engaged in plotting against Shun's life. When Shun became the emperor, why did he only banish his brother?"

Mencius said, "He enfeoffed him; some only called it banishment."

Wan Zhang said, "[Shun banished Gonggong to Youzhou, Huandou to Mount Chong, Sanmiao to Sanwei, and Gun to Mount Yu, where he died. When these four culprits were punished, the people in the Empire bowed to the will of Shun, because it was the punishment of the wicked.] Xiang was the most wicked of them all; yet he was enfeoffed in Youbi. What wrong had the people of Youbi done? Is that the way a benevolent man behaves? Others he punished, but when it came to his own brother, he enfeoffed him."

Mencius replied, "[A benevolent man neither harbors anger nor nurses resentment against a brother. All he does is to love him. Because he loves him, he wishes him to have rank. Because he loves him, he wishes him to be rich. To enfeoff him in Youbi was to enrich him and let him have rank.] If as emperor he had allowed his brother to remain a common man, could that be described as loving him?"[13]

A society with a differential mode of association is composed of webs woven out of countless personal relationships. To each knot in these webs is attached a specific ethical principle. For this reason, the traditional moral system was incapable of producing a comprehensive moral concept. Therefore, all the standards of value in this system were incapable of transcending the differential personal relationships of the Chinese social structure.

The degree to which Chinese ethics and laws expand and contract depends on a particular context and how one fits into that context. I have heard quite a few friends denounce corruption, but when their own fathers stole from the public, they not only did not denounce them but even covered up the theft. Moreover, some went so far as to ask their fathers for some of the money made off the graft, even while denouncing corruption in others. When they themselves become corrupt, they can still find comfort in their "capabilities." In a society characterized by a differential mode of association, this kind of thinking is not contradictory. In such a society, general standards have no utility. The first thing to do is to understand the specific context: Who is the important figure, and what kind of relationship is appropriate with that figure? Only then can one decide the ethical standards to be applied in that context.

In a society based on a Western organizational mode of association, people in the same organizations apply universal moral principles to themselves and so regard each other as equals. This kind of thinking,

however, is exactly what Mencius most opposed. He said, "That things are unequal is part of their nature.... If you reduce them to the same level, it will only bring confusion to the empire."[14] Motzu's idea about universal love is exactly opposite to the Confucian idea of differential human relationships. It is for this reason that Mencius accused Motzu of being both fatherless and rulerless.[15]

伍　系维着私人的道德

中国乡土社会的基层机构是一种我所谓“差序格局”，是一个“一根根私人联系所构成的网络”。这种格局和现代西洋的“团体格局”是不同的。在团体格局里个人间的联系靠着一个共同的架子；先有了这架子，每个人结上这架子，而互相发生关联。“公民”的观念不能不先有个“国家”。这种结构很可能是从初民民族的“部落”形态中传下来的。部落形态在游牧经济中很显著的是“团体格局”的。生活相倚赖的一群人不能单独地、零散地在山林里求生。在他们，“团体”是生活的前提。可是在一个安居的乡土社会，每个人可以在土地上自食其力地生活时，只在偶然的和临时的非常状态中才感觉到伙伴的需要。在他们，和别人发生关系是后起和次要的，而且他们在不同的场合下需要着不同程度的结合，并不显著地需要一个经常的和广被的团体。因之他们的社会采取了“差序格局”。

社会结构格局的差别引起了不同的道德观念。道德观念是在社会里生活的人自觉应当遵守社会行为规范的信念。它包括着行为规范、行为者的信念和社会的制裁。它的内容是人和人关系的行为规范，是依着该社会的格局而决定的。从社会观点说，道德是社会对个人行为的制裁力，使他们合于规定下的形式行事，用以维持该社会的生存和绵续。

在“团体格局”中，道德的基本观念建筑在团体和个人的关系上。团体是个超于个人的“实在”，不是有形的东西。我们不能具体地拿出一个有形体的东西来说这是团体。它是一束人和人的关系，是一个控制各个人行为的力量，是一种组成分子生活所倚赖的对象，是先于任何个人而又不能脱离个人的共同意志……这种“实在”只能用有形的东西去象征它、表示它。在“团体格局”的社会中才发生笼罩万有的神的观念。团体对个人的关系就象征在神对于信徒的关系中，是个有赏罚的裁判者，是个公正的维持者，是个全能的保护者。

我们如果要了解西洋的“团体格局”社会中的道德体系，决不能离开他们的宗教观念的。宗教的虔诚和信赖不但是他们道德观念的来源，而且是支持行为规范的力量，是团体的象征。在象征着团体的神的观念下，有着两个重要的派生观念：一是每个个人在神前的平等；一是神对每个个人的公道。

耶稣称神是父亲，是个和每一个人共同的父亲，他甚至当着众人的面否认了生育他的父母。为了要贯彻这“平等”，基督教的神话中，耶稣

是童贞女所生的。亲子间个别的和私人的联系在这里被否定了。其实这并不是“无稽之谈”，而是有力的象征，象征着“公有”的团体，团体的代表——神，必须是无私的。每个“人子”，耶稣所象征的“团体构成分子”，在私有的父亲外必须有一个更重要的与人相共的是“天父”，就是团体。——这样每个个人人格上的平等才能确立，每个团体分子和团体的关系是相等的。团体不能为任何个人所私有。在这基础上才发生美国《独立宣言》中开宗明义的话：“全人类生来都平等，他们都有天赋不可夺的权利。”

可是上帝是在冥冥之中，正象征团体无形的实在；但是在执行团体的意志时，还得有人来代理。“代理者”Minister是团体格局的社会中一个基本的概念。执行上帝意志的牧师是Minister，执行团体权力的官吏也是Minister，都是“代理者”，而不是神或团体的本身。这上帝和牧师、国家和政府的分别是不容混淆的。在基督教历史里，人们一度再度地要求直接和上帝交通，反抗“代理者”不能真正代理上帝的意旨。同样的，实际上是相通的，也可以说是一贯的，美国《独立宣言》可以接下去说：“人类为了保障这些权利，所以才组织政府，政府的适当力量，须由受治者的同意中产生出来；假如任何种政体有害于这些目标，人民即有改革或废除任何政体之权。这些真理，我们认为是不证自明的。”

神对每个个人是公道的，是一视同仁的，是爱的；如果代理者违反了这些“不证自明的真理”，代理者就失去了代理的资格。团体格局的道德体系中于是发生了权利的观念。人对人得互相尊重权利，团体对个人也必须保障这些个人的权利，防止团体代理人滥用权力，于是发生了宪法。宪法观念是和西洋公务观念相配合的。国家可以要求人民的服务，但是国家也得保证不侵害人民的权利，在公道和爱护的范围内行使权力。

我说了不少关于“团体格局”中道德体系的话，目的是在陪衬出“差序格局”中道德体系的特点来。从它们的差别上看去，很多地方是刚刚相反的。在以自己作中心的社会关系网络中，最主要的自然是“克己复礼”，“壹是皆以修身为本”。——这是差序格局中道德体系的出发点。

从己向外推以构成的社会范围是一根根私人联系，每根绳子被一种道德要素维持着。社会范围是从“己”推出去的，而推的过程里有着各种路线，最基本的是亲属：亲子和同胞，相配的道德要素是孝和悌。“孝悌也者其为仁之本欤。”向另一路线推是朋友，相配的是忠信。“为人谋而不忠乎，与朋友交而不信乎？”“主忠信，无友不如己者。”孔子曾总结说：“弟子入则孝，出则悌，谨而信，泛爱众，而亲仁。”

在这里我得一提这比较复杂的观念“仁”。依我以上所说的，在差序格局中并没有一个超乎私人关系的道德观念，这种超己的观念必须在团

体格局中才能发生。孝、悌、忠、信都是私人关系中的道德要素。但是孔子却常常提到那个“仁”字。《论语》中对于仁字的解释最多，但是也最难捉摸。一方面他一再地要给仁字明白的解释，而另一方面却又有“子罕言利，与命与仁”。孔子屡次对于这种道德要素“欲说还止”。

司马牛问仁。子曰：“仁者其言也讱。”曰：“其言也讱，斯谓之仁已乎？”子曰：“为之难，言之得无讱乎？”

子曰：“我未见好仁者。……盖有之矣，我未之见也。”

孟武伯问：“子路仁乎？”子曰：“不知也。”又问。子曰：“由也，千乘之国，可使治其赋也，不知其仁也。”“求也何如？”子曰：“求也，千室之邑，百乘之家，可使为之宰也，不知其仁也。”“赤也何如？”子曰：“赤也，束带立于朝，可使与宾客言也，不知其仁也。”

孔子有不少次数说：不够说是仁。但是当他积极地说明“仁”字是什么时，他却退到了“克己复礼为仁”、“恭宽信敏惠”这一套私人间的道德要素了。他说：“能行五者于天下为仁矣。……恭则不侮，宽则得众，信则人任焉，敏则有功，惠则足以使人。”

孔子的困难是在“团体”组合并不坚强的中国乡土社会中并不容易具体地指出一个笼罩性的道德观念来。仁这个观念只是逻辑上的总合，一切私人关系中道德要素的共相，但是因为在社会形态中综合私人关系的“团体”的缺乏具体性，只有个广被的“天下归仁”的天下，这个和“天下”相配的“仁”也不能比“天下”观念更为清晰。所以凡是要具体说明时，还得回到“孝悌忠信”那一类的道德要素。正等于要说明“天下”时，还得回到“父子、昆弟、朋友”这些具体的伦常关系。

不但在我们传统道德系统中没有一个像基督教里那种“爱”的观念——不分差序的兼爱，而且我们也很不容易找到个人对于团体的道德要素。在西洋团体格局的社会中，公务，履行义务，是一个清楚明白的行为规范。而在中国传统中是没有的。现在我们有时把“忠”字抬出来放在这位置里，但是“忠”字的意义，在《论语》中并不如此。我在上面所引“为人谋而不忠乎”一句中的“忠”，是“忠恕”的注解，是“对人之诚”。“主忠信”的“忠”，可以和“衷”字相通，是“由衷”之意。

子张问曰：“令尹子文三仕为令尹，无喜色；三已之，无愠色。旧令尹之政，必以告新令尹。何如？”子曰：“忠矣。”

这个“忠”字虽则近于“忠于职务”的“忠”字，但是并不包含对于团体

的“矢忠”。其实，在《论语》中，忠字甚至并不是君臣关系间的道德要素。君臣之间以“义”相结合，“君子之仕也，行其义也”。所以“忠臣”的观念可以说是后起的，而忠君并不是个人与团体的道德要素，而依旧是对君私人间的关系。

团体道德的缺乏，在公私的冲突里更看得清楚。就是负有政治责任的君王，也得先完成他私人间的道德。《孟子·尽心上》篇有：

> 桃应问，“舜为天子，皋陶为士，瞽瞍杀人，则如之何？”孟子曰：“执之而已矣。”“然则舜不禁与？”曰：“夫舜恶得而禁之，夫有所受之也。”“然则舜如之何？”曰：“舜视弃天下，犹弃敝屣也。窃负而逃，遵海滨而处，终身忻然，乐而忘天下。”

这是说舜做了皇帝，不能用对其他国民一样的态度去对待他的父亲。孟子所回答的是这种冲突的理想解决法，他还是想两全，所以想出逃到海滨不受法律所及的地方去的办法。他这样回答是可以的，因为所问的也并非事实问题。另一个地方，孟子所遇到的问题，却更表现了道德标准的缺乏普遍性了。万章问曰：“象日以杀舜为事，立为天子，则放之，何也？”孟子曰：“封之也，或曰放焉。”万章曰：“象至不仁，封之有庳，有庳之人，奚罪焉？仁人固如是乎？在他人则诛之，在弟则封之？”孟子的回答是：“身为天子，弟为匹夫，可谓亲爱之乎？”

一个差序格局的社会，是由无数私人关系搭成的网络。这网络的每一个结附着一种道德要素，因之，传统的道德里不另找出一个笼统性的道德观念来，所有的价值标准也不能超脱于差序的人伦而存在了。

中国的道德和法律，都因之得看所施的对象和“自己”的关系而加以程度上的伸缩。我见过不少痛骂贪污的朋友，遇到他的父亲贪污时，不但不骂，而且代他讳隐。更甚的，他还可以向父亲要贪污得来的钱，同时骂别人贪污。等到自己贪污时，还可以“能干”两字来自解。这在差序社会里可以不觉得是矛盾；因为在这种社会中，一切普遍的标准并不发生作用，一定要问清了，对象是谁，和自己是什么关系之后，才能决定拿出什么标准来。

团体格局的社会里，在同一团体的人是“兼善”的，就是“相同”的。孟子最反对的就是那一套。他说“夫物之不齐，物之情也，子比而同之，是乱天下也。”墨家的“爱无差等”和儒家的人伦差序恰恰相反，所以孟子要骂他无父无君了。

⑥PATRILINEAGES

In the last two chapters, I discussed first the relations between groups and individuals and then patterns of social structure. I proposed several concepts—in particular, "differential mode of association" (chaxugeju) and "organizational mode of association" (tuantigeju). I knew that these unfamiliar terms would cause troubles for my readers, but I had to create them in order to conceptualize clearly those contexts that are currently absent from sociological terminology. I am not entirely satisfied with the terms I used, and I know they can lead to some misunderstandings. For instance, after reading my analysis in the last chapter, a friend of mine shook his head and said that he could not agree with my conclusion that there are no organizations in Chinese rural society. He pointed to families, lineages, neighborhoods, communities, and villages. What are they if not organizations? Obviously, we used the same term to define different things. In order to distinguish the distinctive patterns underlying the two kinds of social groups, I narrowed the conventional meaning for the term organization, applying it only to groups having a continuous organizational pattern. I used this term to accentuate the contrast with groups having a differential mode of association. Those groups I called "social circles"(shehui quanzi) instead of the more common term organizations. All social groups are organized in some fashion. Most of those groups mentioned by my friend conform in nature to what I have defined as "social circles."But let me clarify this some more. I do not mean to say that there are no "organizations" in Chinese rural society or that all groups have the characteristics of a social circle. For example, rotating credit associations(qianhui) obviously have an organizational pattern.[1] In my analysis, I wanted to discuss only the predominant pattern; in Chinese rural society, the pattern formed by differential relationships and social circles is more important than other patterns. Similarly, differential relationships also exist in modern Western societies, but they are not as important there. The two types of patterns represent basic forms of social structure that can be distinguished in concept but often coexist in reality. Nonetheless, we can see that the different patterns gain predominance in different settings.

It is essential to differentiate conceptually between the two types of social groups and the two ways of organizing, because the distinction helps us even better to understand social structures and thereby to avoid confusion. In this chapter, I will continue to use this set of concepts to examine the nature of the most basic group in Chinese rural society, the family (jia).

The most common group in rural society is generally called the"large family" (da jiating). In Peasant Life in China, I called this group the "expanded family." The important part of these two terms is "family"(jiating). I added the adjectives "large" or "small" to "family" in order to show that, although Chinese and Western families are the same in nature, they are different in form. But now my viewpoint has changed. I think the terminology is no longer appropriate. Instead, a more appropriate term for identifying the most basic unit in Chinese rural society is "small lineage" (xiao jiazu).

I suggest this new term because I want to clarify the difference in the structural principles of Chinese and Western "families." The difference between the so-called big and small family is not one of size, not one concerning the number of people who can be included, but one of structure. A family with more than ten children does not constitute a "large family,"while a family of four people—containing the husband, wife, their son, and their daughter-in-law—should not be called a "small family." The first is larger than the second in number, but the second is more complicated than the first in structure. The two families incorporate different principles.

In anthropology, there is a clear definition of the concept of family: A family is the procreative group formed by parents and their children. The parent-child relationship indicates the structure, and procreation is the function. This definition suggests a bilateral kinship system, which simultaneously stresses both the father's side and the mother's side of the family. The sons and daughters are the children produced by the couple. The purpose of such a social union is to give birth and raise children. In societies where each individual must bear the task of raising children, there will be many of these procreative groups. But for each of these families, the function of procreation is fulfilled in a relatively short time span. The children quickly grow up and leave their parents' care, and then they, too, take on the tasks of giving birth to and raising their own children. This process continues generation after generation. For this reason, it is in the nature of the family group to be temporary. In this respect, the group composed of a family is not

the same as other common types of social groups. Groups such as schools and states are not considered temporary, although in reality they certainly do not continue forever. They are not temporary, because both fulfill functions that last over the long term. But insofar as the family is considered to have only procreation as its function, the family might as well prepare to end shortly after it begins. The purpose of having children ends when they are raised. I have discussed this issue in detail in the book Systems of Reproduction.[2]

In every culture, however, the family always has other functions besides procreation. The cooperation of a husband and wife does not end when their children grow up. There are periods, at the beginning of the union as well as after the children have grown, when a couple will be by themselves. Between the two, there will be economic, emotional, and sexual cooperation, but what the two of them can accomplish just by themselves will be very limited. To accomplish most things requires the joint effort of a lot of people; therefore, these things must be managed by other kinds of social groups.

In the West, families are groups that have an organizational character. As I explained earlier, Western families have strict boundaries. For this reason, they are able to manage few things beyond raising children. But in Chinese rural society, families do not have strict organizational boundaries. These groups can expand, as needed, by incorporating ever more distant categories of relatives. Those people who make up the family and who form what I have called social circles are not limited to parents and children. Nonetheless, the manner of expansion is limited by social structure. For Chinese families, the route of expansion is patrilineal; it incorporates only those from the father's side of the family. With few exceptions, families do not include daughters-in-law and sons-in-law at the same time.[3] According to the patrilineal principle, married daughters and their husbands, the sons-in-law, are outside the family. But on the paternal side, the family can be expanded to include very distant kin. A family with five generations under the same roof would include all paternal relatives in all five generations.

Anthropologists call the social group organized on the patrilineal or matrilineal kinship principle a "lineage." Structurally, Chinese families are lineages. Lineage (shizu) is not exactly the same as what we commonly refer to as the clan (zu). What we call a clan is really a number of lineages whose members have the same surname.[4] Therefore, I will use the term small lineage to indicate a single-lineage social group. Small and large lineages rest

on the same structural principles, but they differ in number and in size. That is why I prefer not to use the term large family to identify a lineage. By using the term small lineage, I emphasize the structural characteristics of the Chinese family and not just the size.

The lineage structure includes the household. The smallest lineage may, in fact, be equal to a nuclear family household. Kinship structure is based on the relationship between parents and children, which is the triangle formed by the father, mother, and child. A lineage expands out from this household family base. But in a lineage the nuclear family is only one ring in a structure of concentric social circles. We cannot say that the nuclear family household does not exist, but we should never think of it as an independent unit, as an organization unto itself.

Differences in social structure produce variations in behavior. Although one of the functions of a lineage is to raise and educate children, it is not limited to that function. From an anthropological perspective, a lineage is a way of organizing activity; when a single lineage joins other lineages in a common frame of action, the group becomes what anthropologists call a "tribe." Lineages and tribes have complex political, economic, and religious functions. This is true for Chinese families as well. It is my hypothesis that Chinese rural society took on a differential mode of association when kinship was successfully used as a medium to create social groups and to manage all kinds of activities. Not until that time did the Chinese family change into a lineage-based structure. This fact is important on two counts. First, in Chinese rural society, lineages carry the responsibility for political, economic, religious, and other functions. Second, in order to handle so much activity, the family structure cannot be limited to simple combinations of parents and children but must expand outward. Moreover, because politics, economy, religion, and social activity all require long-term continuity, the basic social groups certainly cannot be as transitory as Western families. The family must have continuity. It must not break up when the children grow up and must not end when individual members die. Therefore, the family has incorporated the qualities of a lineage, becoming a lineage unto itself. A lineage is longterm, and so are our families. I call this kind of social group a "small lineage," to emphasize its inherent long-term qualities. The Chinese family is the opposite of a temporary household.

The Chinese family is a medium through which all activities are organized. The size of the family depends on the extent of the activity being

organized. If an activity is small enough for husband and wife to handle, the family can be as small as a single household; but if the enterprise goes beyond what the couple can manage, then brothers and uncles may all join in to form what now becomes a large family. In Chinese rural society, therefore, the size of families varies a great deal. But no matter how much the size may vary, the structural principle, the patrilineal pattern of differential relationships, always remains the same.

In any society, when the group whose principal task is procreation begins to take on many other functions, changes necessarily occur in the relationships between the members of that group. In the organization of Western families, husband and wife are the main axis, and together they manage the task of raising children. Playing a supporting role, the children leave this organization when they become adults. In the West, political, economic, and religious functions are the responsibility of other organizations and are not included among the tasks of households. Husband and wife are central players around whom everything else moves, and the force that holds them together as a couple is their emotional attachment. The emotional quality of this union has made the family serve as the main source of solace and comfort in Western life. In my book The American Character, I describe the family as a "life fortress."[5]

In Chinese rural society, however, there are obvious differences in the nature of the family. Our families have long-term continuity and serve as means to organize other activities. The main axes of the family are between father and son and between mother and daughter-in-law. These are vertical, not horizontal, relationships. The husband-wife relationship plays a minor role. Nonetheless, the relations between husband and wife, as well as the relations along the main axes of the family, are never temporary. But these family attachments have been stripped of "ordinary emotions" by the demands of a family's practical activities. What I call"ordinary emotions" stand in contrast to discipline. No enterprise can abandon considerations of efficiency. In order to obtain efficiency, one must have strict discipline. But discipline does not tolerate personal feelings. All Chinese families have family rules. Between husband and wife, there should be mutual respect. For women, there are "the three followings and the four virtues."[6] Between father and son, there should be responsibility for the father and obedience for the son. These are the special characteristics of groups designed for enterprise.

In wealthy families and in families devoted to scholarship, men and

women often live in separate parts of the household, women being consigned to the inner quarters and men living in the outer portions of the house. But this separation is also psychological, and even extends to rural villages, where it is common to see an obvious indifference between husbands and wives. When I conducted surveys in rural areas, I paid special attention to this problem. Later, during the war, when I was evacuated to the countryside, I lived with a farm family for a long time and was even more struck by this fact. Most rural couples I know say that they have "little use for words" or that they "really have nothing to talk about" with each other. From the time people get up in the morning, they are so fully occupied with their work that they have no time to chat. If the women do not work in the fields, they stay at home taking care of children. After a day's work, men usually do not stay at home. In fact, a man is regarded as spineless if he likes to hang around with his wife. So a man goes out whether he has business to attend to or not. Teahouses, tobacco stores, even street corners and alleyways—these are the places where men go to idle away their time and to find emotional comfort. There they talk, laugh, and have a really good time. When they return home, the husband and wife cooperate smoothly, each doing what is expected of him or her. As long as everything goes smoothly, there is nothing special to talk about, and so there is no need to talk. If things are not going well, they may start to quarrel or even have a fight. You cannot call this intimacy. These observations made me feel that the emotional life of Western and of rural Chinese families cannot be discussed in the same terms. In rural areas, talking, laughing, and showing emotion and affection openly occur only in groups composed of people of the same sex and age. Men get together only with other men, women with other women, and children with other children. Except for matters of work and reproduction, people of different sexes and ages maintain considerable distance.

This separation by age and sex is certainly not accidental. In my opinion, it results from the family's taking on many functions other than just procreation. The emotional life of the Chinese is not the same as that of Westerners. Emotion among the Chinese, especially between the sexes, is characterized by reserve and restraint, and cannot be displayed openly as it can in the West. It is this social environment, an environment dominated by lineages, that nurtures this Chinese personality.

陆　家族

我曾在以上两章中，从群己的关系上讨论到社会结构的格局。我也在那章里提出了若干概念，比如“差序格局”和“团体格局”。我知道这些生疏的名词会引起读者的麻烦，但是为了要表明一些在已有社会学词汇里所没有确当名词来指称的概念，我不能不写下这些新的标记。这些标记并没有使我完全满意，而且也有容易引起误会的地方。譬如有一位朋友看过我那一章的分析之后，曾摇头说，他不能同意我说中国乡土社会里没有团体。他举出了家庭、氏族、邻里、街坊、村落，这些不是团体是什么？显然我们用同一名词指着不同的实体。我为了要把结构不同的两类“社群”分别出来，所以把“团体”一词加以较狭的意义，只指由团体格局中所形成的社群，用以和差序格局中所形成的社群相区别；后者称之作“社会圈子”，把社群来代替普通所谓团体。社群是一切有组织的人群。在那位朋友所列举的各种社群中，大体上都属于我所谓社会圈子的性质。在这里我可以附带说明，我并不是说中国乡土社会中没有“团体”，一切社群都属于社会圈子性质，譬如钱会，即是赕［贲］，显然是属团体格局的；我在这个分析中只想从主要的格局说，在中国乡土社会中，差序格局和社会圈子的组织是比较的重要。同样的，在西洋现代社会中差序格局同样存在的，但比较上不重要罢了。这两种格局本是社会结构的基本形式，在概念上可以分得清，在事实上常常可以并存的，可以看得到的，不过各有偏胜罢了。

在概念上把这两种格局和两种组织区别出来并不是多余的，因为这个区别确可帮助我们对于社会结构上获得许多更切实的了解，免除种种混淆。在这里我将接着根据这套概念去看中国乡土社会中基本社群——“家”的性质。

我想在这里提出来讨论的是我们乡土社会中的基本社群，这社群普通被称为“大家庭”的。我在《江村经济》中把它称作“扩大了的家庭”（Expanded Family）。这些名词的主体是“家庭”，在家庭上加一个小或大的形容词来说明中国和西洋性质上相同的“家庭”形式上的分别。可是我现在看来却觉得这并不妥当，比较确当的应该称中国乡土社会基本社群作“小家族”。

我提出这新名词来的原因是在想从结构的原则上去说明中西社会

里“家”的区别。我们普通所谓大家庭和小家庭的差别决不是在大小上，不是在这社群所包括的人数上，而是在结构上。一个有十多个孩子的家并不构成“大家庭”的条件，一个只有公婆儿媳四个人的家却不能称之为“小家庭”。在数目上说，前者比后者为多，但在结构上说，后者却比前者为复杂，两者所用的原则不同。

家庭这概念在人类学上有明确的界说：这是个亲子所构成的生育社群。亲子指它的结构，生育指它的功能。亲子是双系的，兼指父母双方；子女限于配偶所出生的孩子。这社群的结合是为了子女的生和育。在由个人来担负孩子生育任务的社会里，这种社群是不会少的。但是生育的功能，就每个个别的家庭说，是短期的，孩子们长成了也就脱离了他们的父母的抚育，去经营他们自己的生育儿女的事务，一代又一代。家庭这社群因之是暂时性的。从这方面说，家庭这社群和普通的社群不完全一样。学校、国家这些社群并不是暂时，虽则事实上也不是永久的，但是都不是临时性的，因为它们所具的功能是长期性的。家庭既以生育为它的功能，在开始时就得准备结束。抚育孩子的目的就在结束抚育。关于这一层意思我在《生育制度》一书中有详细的讨论。

但是在任何文化中，家庭这社群总是赋有生育之外其他的功能。夫妇之间的合作并不因儿女长成而结束。如果家庭不变质，限于亲子所构成的社群，在它形成伊始，以及儿女长成之后，有一段期间只是夫妇的结合。夫妇之间固然经营着经济的、感情的、两性的合作，但是所经营的事务受着很大的限制，凡是需要较多人合作的事务就得由其他社群来经营了。

在西洋，家庭是团体性的社群，这一点我在上面已经说明有严格的团体界限。因为这缘故，这个社群能经营的事务也很少，主要的是生育儿女。可是在中国乡土社会中，家并没有严格的团体界限，这社群里的分子可以依需要，沿亲属差序向外扩大。构成这个我所谓社圈的分子并不限于亲子。但是在结构上扩大的路线却有限制。中国的家扩大的路线是单系的，就是只包括父系这一方面；除了少数例外，家并不能同时包括媳妇和女婿。在父系原则下女婿和结了婚的女儿都是外家人。在父亲方面却可以扩大得很远，五世同堂的家，可以包括五代之内所有父系方面的亲属。

这种根据单系亲属原则所组成的社群，在人类学中有个专门名称，叫氏族。我们的家在结构上是一个氏族。但是和普通我们所谓族也不完全相同，因为我们所谓族是由许多家所组成，是一个社群的社群。因之，我在这里提了这个“小家族”的名词。小家族和大家族在结构原则上是相同的，不相同是在数量、在大小上。——这是我不愿用大家庭，而用小家族的原因。一字的相差，却说明了这社群的结构性质。

家族在结构上包括家庭，最小的家族也可以等于家庭。因为亲属的结构的基础是亲子关系，父母子的三角。家族是从家庭基础上推出来的。但是包括在家族中的家庭只是社会圈子中的一轮，不能说它不存在，但也不能说它自成一个独立的单位，不是一个团体。

形态上的差异，也引起了性质上的变化。家族虽则包括生育的功能，但不限于生育的功能。依人类学上的说法，氏族是一个事业组织，再扩大就可以成为一个部落。氏族和部落赋有政治、经济、宗教等复杂的功能。我们的家也正是这样。我的假设是中国乡土社会采取了差序格局，利用亲属的伦常去组合社群，经营各种事业，使这基本的家，变成氏族性了。一方面我们可以说在中国乡土社会中，不论政治、经济、宗教等功能都可以利用家族来担负；另一方面也可以说，为了要经营这许多事业，家的结构不能限于亲子的小组合，必须加以扩大。而且凡是政治、经济、宗教等事物都需要长期绵续性的，这个基本社群决不能像西洋的家庭一般是临时的。家必须是绵续的，不因个人的长成而分裂，不因个人的死亡而结束，于是家的性质变成了族。氏族本是长期的，和我们的家一般。称我们这种社群作小家族，也表示了这种长期性在内，和家庭的临时性相对照。

中国的家是一个事业组织，家的大小是依着事业的大小而决定。如果事业小，夫妇两人的合作已够应付，这个家也可以小得等于家庭；如果事业大，超过了夫妇两人所能担负时，兄弟伯叔全可以集合在一个大家里。这说明了我们乡土社会中家的大小变异可以很甚。但不论大小上差别到什么程度，结构原则上却是一贯的、单系的差序格局。

以生育社群来担负其他很多的功能，使这社群中各分子的关系的内容也发生了变化。在西洋家庭团体中夫妇是主轴，夫妇共同经营生育事务，子女在这团体中是配角，他们长成了就离开这团体。在他们，政治、经济、宗教等功能有其他团体来担负，不在家庭的分内。夫妇成为主轴，两性之间的感情是凝合的力量。两性感情的发展，使他们的家庭成了获取生活上安慰的中心。我在《美国人性格》一书中曾用“生活堡垒”一词去形容它。

在我们的乡土社会中，家的性质在这方面有着显著的差别。我们的家既是个绵续性的事业社群，它的主轴是在父子之间，在婆媳之间，是纵的，不是横的。夫妇成了配轴。配轴虽则和主轴一样并不是临时性的，但是这两轴却都被事业的需要而排斥了普通的感情。我所谓普通的感情是和纪律相对照的。一切事业都不能脱离效率的考虑。求效率就得讲纪律；纪律排斥私情的宽容。在中国的家庭里有家法，在夫妇间得相敬，女子有着“三从四德”的标准，亲子间讲究负责和服从。这些都是事业社群里的特色。

不但在大户人家、书香门第，男女有着阃内阃外的隔离，就是在乡村里，夫妇之间感情的淡漠也是日常可见的现象。我在乡间调查时特别注意过这问题，后来我又因疏散下乡，和农家住在一所房子里很久，更使我认识了这事实。我所知道的乡下夫妇大多是“用不着多说话的”，“实在没有什么话可说的”。一早起各人忙着各人的事，没有工夫说闲话。出了门，各做各的。妇人家如果不下田，留在家里带孩子。工做完了，男子们也不常留在家里，男子汉如果守着老婆，没出息。有事在外，没事也在外。茶馆、烟铺，甚至街头巷口，是男子们找感情上安慰的消遣场所。在那些地方，大家有说有笑，热热闹闹的。回到家，夫妇间合作顺利，各人好好地按着应做的事各做各的。做得好，没事，也没话；合作得不对劲，闹一场，动手动脚，说不上亲热。这些观察使我觉得西洋的家和我们乡下的家，在感情生活上实在不能并论。乡下，有说有笑、有情有意的是在同性和同年龄的集团中，男的和男的在一起，女的和女的在一起，孩子们又在一起，除了工作和生育事务上，性别和年龄组间保持着很大的距离。这决不是偶然的，在我看来，这是把生育之外的许多功能拉入了这社群中去之后所引起的结果。中国人在感情上，尤其是在两性间的矜持和保留意见，不肯像西洋人一般的在表面上流露，也是在这种社会圜局中养成的性格。

⑦"BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN, THERE ARE ONLY DIFFERENCES"

In the previous chapter, I said that Chinese rural society is composed of groups devoted to activities, to enterprises. Wherever they exist, such groups must maintain discipline, and discipline necessarily excludes personal sentiments. With this point, we face the basic question about the orientation of emotions within the Chinese tradition. I discussed this question briefly in the last chapter. In this chapter, I will elaborate further.

By using the term emotional orientation, I want to point out that people develop a direction or orientation to their feelings. This direction is shaped by cultural norms. Therefore, when we analyze these cultural patterns, we should pay attention to the directions in which cultural norms allow personal emotions to develop. We will call this cultural shaping of emotions the "emotional orientation."

Emotions can be analyzed from two perspectives. Psychology explains the nature and kinds of emotions by observing physiological changes in the body. Sociology, however, will look at the role of emotions as they occur within social relationships. Happiness, anger, sorrow, and joy are certainly physiological phenomena, but they always happen in the context of human life and always have an influence on human relationships. It is only as social phenomena that emotions, like other human actions, obtain their significance.

Psychology defines emotions as internal behavior that manifests itself in external ways. William James said that emotion is a change in one's internal disposition.[1] This change forms a tendency to act, a sort of bodily tension, a force capable of launching behavior. If the connection between a certain stimulus and a given response is customary, the response will be stable and automatic; no inner tension, and hence no strong emotions, will be produced. Emotion always occurs when an old response is blocked and a new response is attempted. When this happens, what we mean by emotions is much the same as what we mean when we say that we are "getting excited" or that we are "fired up." In fact, using "fire" as a metaphor for emotions indicates this state of readiness, of being tense. In social relationships, such emotion can be

used either for destructive or for creative purposes. The immediacy and excitement of emotions change the original relationships. In other words, if one wants to maintain stable social relationships, one needs to avoid situations that cause emotional agitation. In fact, indifference is an indication of stable social relationships. This is the reason I said in the previous chapter that discipline excludes personal feelings.

The force that stabilizes social relationships is not emotion (ganqing) but understanding (liaojie). Understanding means accepting a common frame of reference. The same stimulus will call forth the same response. In the two chapters on literacy in the countryside, I mentioned that propinquity and familiarity breed a mutual awareness. Such feelings of mutuality and a condition of being emotional are completely at odds with each other. Mutuality rests on a harmony that is continuously reproduced. Mutuality is silent, whereas emotionality needs to be voiced. Singing, crying, shouting—these are all indispensable accompaniments to emotional excitement.

In The Decline of the West, Oswald Spengler writes that two cultural patterns characterize Western civilization.[2] He calls one pattern"Apollonian" and the other "Faustian." Apollonian patterns rest on a belief that the universe consists of a perfect order that is beyond the creative power of human beings to alter. Human beings can only accept this order, be content with it, and maintain it. But if human beings do not have the capacity to maintain the world as it is, the paradise will be lost and the golden age will pass away. This is the spirit of classical antiquity. Modern culture, according to Spengler, is Faustian. Conflicts are the basis of existence. To live is to overcome obstacles; without obstacles, life loses its significance. All that human beings can see in the future is the process of endless creation and continuous changes.

These two cultural perspectives can be used to understand the differences in emotional orientation between rural and modern societies. Rural society is Apollonian; modern society is Faustian. The difference in the spirit manifest in the two types of cultures also shows up in the most basic patterns of social life in the two types of societies.

Rural society depends on intimate and long-term cooperation to coordinate the interactions of individuals. Their social contacts are so well developed and so familiar that rural people do things automatically to a certain extent. Only living and dying in the same place, generation after generation, will create such intimate groups. In such a place, people develop

a high degree of mutual understanding. They have similar likes and dislikes, and even stink in the same way. To reach such a state requires one precondition, that there should be no major difference among people to impede their mutual understanding. Spatial location is not a factor preventing rural people from understanding each other. Being isolated and having only few contacts with other groups, rural people live in a small world. Each generation lives the same life cycle as the previous generation—birth, aging, sickness, then death—and each experiences these in much the same way. The young have not experienced the life of a person who has passed into old age, so they do not understand an older person's frame of mind. For this reason, age differences contribute to a lack of mutual understanding. This lack of understanding occurs only on the part of the young, because older people can understand the young and even predict the problems they will face. But when the young look upon the old as a reference point for their own lives, what we might regard as a lack of understanding does not at the same time result in a generation gap.

In rural society, it is the differences in biology that prevent people who live closely together from obtaining a full understanding of each other. These biological differences are certainly not characteristics transmitted by heredity, for such hereditary differences are not so obvious in small communities where families intermarry generation after generation. The biological differences that eternally divide people are the sexual differences between men and women. No one has ever personally experienced what it is to be a member of the opposite sex, so our exact knowledge of that difference can only be indirect and superficial. In reality, everyone has, at some point, felt a lack of mutual understanding between the sexes. We have no way to comprehend the content of that difference; we can only guess.

Even in a society where people base their behavior on mutual familiarity, the sexual divide remains a fundamental obstacle. Only in heaven is this split between the sexes overcome. It is no accident that many religions, whether consciously or unconsciously, deny the fact of gender. Perfect morality and absolute justice must be based on complete understanding, a condition that presumes no obstacles. They cannot be sought (or found) in a society that has as one of its foundations the gap between men and women.

The biological differences between men and women are for the sake of reproducing the species. The union of men and women is guided by this fact. It is a union based on differences, not on similarities. To seek a perfect

understanding on the basis of these differences is difficult. That path is full of obstacles, because it requires people to search creatively for some greater unity between the sexes. This is a Faustian attempt. Faust is the symbol of emotion. He regarded ever-changing, ever-surging emotions as his lifeblood. The Faustian effort is an unending one, because a final unity can never be achieved. The Faustian effort is only a process that searches for unity. Moreover, the more that men and women attempt to create a common life, the deeper the degree of their differences and he larger the obstacles to unity become. This growing struggle requires yet stronger creative powers to overcome the obstacles. In the Faustian view, life's force becomes stronger and life's meaning more profound because of the unending struggle.

A Faustian style of love between the sexes is inappropriate for a relationship culminating in reproduction. Faustian love is an adventure, an exploration into the unknown. It differs from friendship, in that friendship may stop at a certain level of understanding. Faustian love, however, never stops; it only pursues. The effort that goes into this kind of love does not have practical purposes—either for economic production or for any enterprising activity. Rather, it is an effort to create one's own life experiences, an effort to create the meaning of life itself. If this kind of love is to persist, one must constantly re-create the love relationship by continuously discovering and overcoming obstacles. What one wants to achieve is the process itself, not the results of the process. In fact, those results may be of no importance whatsoever. This struggle to achieve an unending love makes social relationships unstable. Moreover, activities that rely on such social relationships cannot be easily managed. If we look at modern culture, we see that the changes occurring in the emotional relationships between men and women have already disrupted the process of creating families. Unless we find other ways for society to operate, the Faustian spirit will destroy our society's most fundamental activity—its own patterns of procreation.

Rural society does not allow the Faustian spirit. Rural society does not need to create new social relationships. Social relationships are fixed from the time of birth. Rural society seeks stability, so it fears the destruction of social relationships. It is Apollonian. The relationship between men and women must be arranged so that their emotional states are not erratic. That is what the principle "Between men and women, there are only differences"actually means.[3] One need not seek an underlying commonality between men and women; between them, there should be some distance. This distancing is

clearly present in the prescription "There should be no intimacy in the interaction between men and women."[4] This distancing is not just physical but also psychological. Although they act in concert, men and women should manage their respective economic and reproductive activities by strictly following assigned rules of behavior. They should not hope to achieve mental or emotional harmony with each other.

As I mentioned in the last chapter, Chinese social structure promotes many associations that join people of the same sex together. The presence of such associations can be clearly seen in Chinese rural society. The principles underlying such same-sex associations and the formation of nuclear families would seem to be at odds, because the family's function of procreation is based on a heterosexual union. Accordingly, the cohesion of individual households in rural society would seem to be affected by—indeed, to be threatened by—the presence of all those same-sex associations. In rural society, however, lineages serve as a substitute for individual families, and lineages give priority to alliances among people of the same sex. In lineages, heterosexual relationships complement but do not necessarily contradict the dominant pattern. In Chinese rural society, lineages are the basic social unit and are an expression of the relative importance of the principle underlying samesex associations.

The same principle underlies the dictum "Between men and women, there are only differences." People's understanding of this principle has caused them to develop emotional attachments to people of the same sex. We cannot say for sure how common homosexuality and narcissism are. But many sworn brotherhoods and sisterhoods in rural society seek a level of intimacy that is conveyed in the saying "Friends wish not to be born but, rather, to die on the same day." Thus, the emotional orientation toward having close relationships among people of the same sex is already quite profound. Extreme examples of this pattern, involving women, are the sisterhood associations in South China and, in literature, the Feng Xiaoqing genre of women's writing, which takes on a narcissistic tone.[5] It is a shame that we have not analyzed the emotional life of Chinese people very much. Because so little has been done, my discussion on this topic has to stop here.

Because men and women do not spend time chasing after someone of the opposite sex in search of unending love, there is in this society one less source of impractical diversions. The pragmatic spirit of Chinese rural society embraces a quality of "this-worldliness." Confucians do not talk about ghosts.

Confucius himself said that one should "sacrifice to the spirits as if the spirits were present."[6] Apparently, even teachers of religion had no real interest in anything beyond this life. Ordinary people go even further; they secularize heaven itself. They do not want to use a utopian vision to change reality and to realize a heaven on earth. Instead, they regard the present reality as a working draft of what heaven must be like and therefore push this world into heaven itself. People see living as a matter of restraining oneself in order to accommodate to an outside world. In other words, one must change oneself internally so that one can fit externally into an established order. That is the reason we can say that Chinese rural society conforms to the patterns of antiquity—that it is Apollonian.

The social order restrains and contains individuality. In order to protect itself, it suppresses all potentially destructive forces. The distance between men and women is built on this suppression. Rural society is a society in which "between men and women, there are only differences." For this reason, it is also a stable society.

柒　男女有别

在上篇我说家族在中国的乡土社会里是一个事业社群，凡是做事业的社群，纪律是必须维持的，纪律排斥了私情。这里我们碰着了中国传统感情定向的基本问题了。在上篇我虽则已说到了一些，但是还想在本篇里再申引发挥一下。

我用“感情定向”一词来指一个人发展他感情的方向，而这方向却受着文化的规定，所以从分析一个文化形式时，我们应当注意这文化所规定个人感情可以发展的方向，简称作感情定向。“感情”又可以从两方面去看：心理学可以从机体的生理变化来说明感情的本质和种类，社会学却从感情在人和人的关系上去看它所发生的作用。喜怒哀乐固然是生理现象，但是总发生在人事圜局之中，而且影响人事的关系，它们和其他个人的行为一样，在社会现象的一层里得到它们的意义。

感情在心理方面说是一种体内的行为，导发外表的行为。William James说感情是内脏的变化。这变化形成了动作的趋势，本身是一种紧张状态，发动行为的力量。如果一种刺激和一种反应之间的关联，经过了练习，已经相当固定的话，多少可说成为自动时，就不会发生体内的紧张状态，也就是说，不带着强烈的感情。感情常发生在新反应的尝试和旧反应的受阻情形中。

这里所谓感情相当于普通所谓激动，动了情，甚至说动了火。用火来形容感情，就在指这动的势和紧张的状态，从社会关系上说感情是具有破坏和创造作用的。感情的激动改变了原有的关系。这也就是说，如果要维持着固定的社会关系，就得避免感情的激动。其实，感情的淡漠是稳定的社会关系的一种表示。所以我在上篇曾说纪律是排斥私情的。

稳定社会关系的力量，不是感情，而是了解。所谓了解，是指接受着同一的意义体系。同样的刺激会引起同样的反应。我在论“文字下乡”的两篇里，已说起过熟习所引起的亲密感觉。亲密感觉和激动性的感情不相同的。它是契洽，发生持续作用；它是无言的，不像感情奔放时铿然有声，歌哭哀号是激动时不缺的配合。

Oswald Spengler在《西方陆沉论》里曾说西洋曾有两种文化模式，一种他称作亚普罗式的（Apollonian），一种他称作浮士德式的（Faustian）。亚普罗式的文化认定宇宙的安排有一个完善的秩序，这个秩序超于人力的创造，人不过是去接受它，安于其位，维持它；但是人连维持它的力量都没有，天堂遗失了，黄金时代过去了。这是西方古

典的精神。现代的文化却是浮士德式的。他们把冲突看成存在的基础，生命是阻碍的克服；没有了阻碍，生命也就失去了意义。他们把前途看成无尽的创造过程，不断的变。

这两种文化观很可以用来了解乡土社会和现代社会在感情定向上的差别。乡土社会是亚普罗式的，而现代社会是浮士德式的。这两种精神的差别也表现在两种社会最基本的社会生活里。

乡土社会是靠亲密和长期的共同生活来配合各个人的相互行为，社会的联系是长成的，是熟习的，到某种程度使人感觉到是自动的。只有生于斯、死于斯的人群里才能培养出这种亲密的群体，其中各个人有着高度的了解。好恶相投，连臭味都一般。要达到这境界，却有一个条件，就是没有什么差别在阻碍着各人间的充分了解。空间的位置，在乡土社会中的确已不太成为阻碍人了解的因素了。人们生活在同一的小天地里，这小天地多少是孤立的，和别群人没有重要的接触。在时间上，每一代的人在同一的周期中生老病死，一个公式。年轻的人固然在没有经历过年长的生活时，可以不了解年长的人的心情，年龄因之多少是一种隔膜；但是这隔膜却是一方面的，年长的人可以了解年轻的人，他们甚至可以预知年轻的人将要碰着的问题。年轻的人在把年长的人当作他们生活的参考蓝图时，所谓“不了解”也不是分划的鸿沟。

乡土社会中阻碍着共同生活的人充分了解的却是个人生理上的差别。这差别倒并不是起于有着悬殊的遗传特质，这在世代互婚的小社区里并不会太显著的。永远划分着人们生理差别的是男女两性。正因为还没有人能亲身体会过两性的差别，我们对于这差别的认识，总是间接的；所能说的差别多少只限于表面的。在实际生活上，谁也会感觉到异性的隔膜，但是差别的内容却永远是个猜想，无法领会。

在以充分了解来配合人们相互行为的社会中，这性别的鸿沟是个基本的阻碍。只在他们理想的天堂里，这鸿沟才算被克服：宗教家对性的抹煞，不论自觉或不自觉，决不是偶然的。完全的道义必须有充分的了解，无所隔，这就不能求之于生理上早已划下了鸿沟的男女之间。

男女生理上的分化是为了生育，生育却又规定了男女的结合。这一种结合基于异，并非基于同。在相异的基础上去求充分了解，是困难的，是阻碍重重的，是需要不断地在创造中求统一，是浮士德式的企图。浮士德是感情的象征，是把感情的激动，不断的变，作为生命的主脉。浮士德式的企图也是无穷止的，因为最后的统一是永远不会完成的，这不过是一个求同的过程。不但这样，男女的共同生活，愈向着深处发展，相异的程序也愈是深，求同的阻碍也愈是强大，用来克服这阻碍的创造力也更需强大，在浮士德的立场说，生命力也因之愈强，生活的意义也因之愈深。

把浮士德式的两性恋爱看成是进入生育关系的手段是不对的。恋爱是一项探险，是对未知的摸索。这和友谊不同，友谊是可以停止在某种程度上的了解，恋爱却是不停止的，是追求。这种企图并不以实用为目的，是生活经验的创造，也可以说是生命意义的创造，但不是经济的生产，不是个事业。恋爱的持续倚于推陈出新，不断地克服阻碍，也是不断地发现阻碍，要得到的是这一个过程，而不是这过程的结果。从结果说可以是毫无成就的。非但毫无成就，而且使社会关系不能稳定，使依赖于社会关系的事业不能顺利经营。依现代文化来看，男女间感情激动的发达已使生育的事业摇摇欲坠。这事业除非另外设法，由社会来经营，浮士德式的精神的确在破坏这社会上的基本事业。

在乡土社会中这种精神是不容存在的。它不需要创造新的社会关系，社会关系是生下来就决定的，它更害怕社会关系的破坏，因为乡土社会所求的是稳定。它是亚普罗式的。男女间的关系必须有一种安排，使他们之间不发生激动性的感情。那就是男女有别的原则。“男女有别”是认定男女间不必求同，在生活上加以隔离。这隔离非但有形的，所谓男女授受不亲，而且是在心理上的，男女只在行为上按着一定的规则经营分工合作的经济和生育的事业，他们不向对方希望心理上的契洽。

在社会结构上，如上篇所说的，因之发生了同性间的组合。这在我们乡土社会中看得很清楚。同性组合和家庭组合原则上是交错的，因为以生育为功能的家庭总是异性的组合。因之，乡土社会中“家庭”的团结受到了这同性组合的影响，不易巩固。于是家族代替了家庭，家族是以同性为主，异性为辅的单系组合。中国乡土社会里，以家族为基本社群，是同性原则较异性原则为重要的表示。

男女有别的界限，使中国传统的感情定向偏于同性方面去发展。变态的同性恋和自我恋究竟普遍到什么程度，我们无法确说；但是乡土社会中结义性的组织，“不愿同日生，但愿同日死”的亲密结合，多少表示了感情方向走入同性关系的一层里的程度已经并不很浅。在女性方面的极端事例是华南的姊妹组织，在女性文学里所流露的也充满着冯小青式的自恋声调。可惜我们对于中国人的感情生活太少分析，关于这方面的话我们只能说到这里为止了。

缺乏两性间的求同的努力，也减少了一个不在实利上打算的刺激。中国乡土社会中那种实用的精神安下了现世的色彩。儒家不谈鬼，“祭神如神在”，可以说对于切身生活之外都漠然没有兴趣。一般人民更会把天国现世化：并不想把理想去改变现实，天国实现在这世界上，而把现实作为理想的底稿，把现世推进天国。对生活的态度是以克己来迁就外界，那就是改变自己去适合于外在的秩序。所以我们可以说这是古典

的，也是亚普罗式的。

社会秩序范围着个性，为了秩序的维持，一切足以引起破坏秩序的要素都被遏制着。男女之间的鸿沟从此筑下。乡土社会是个男女有别的社会，也是个安稳的社会。

⑧A RULE OF RITUAL

It is conventional to contrast "a rule of people" to "a rule of law" and to categorize Western societies as ruled by laws and our society as ruled by people. Actually, this contrast is not very accurate. A rule of law does not mean that the law itself rules and maintains social order but, rather, that human relationships in the society are sustained according to laws. Laws depend on political power for their support and on people for their execution. Therefore, rule by law actually means both that people use laws to rule and, of course, that human factors are involved.

Some modern legal theorists place great weight on the human factors that influence laws.[1] They emphasize that, when a law is applied in a specific case, a judge must render an interpretation based on a legal statute. Although the object of the judge's interpretation may be that legal text, what is included in a specific judgment results from many factors. The judge's biases, whether he has a stomachache or not, the state of public opinion—all these and other factors may be very important. Therefore, these legal theorists think that the law is nothing but a judge's judgment. This itself is a one-sided view. Judges cannot render a decision just as they please. At a minimum, the decision must be seen to be based in law. Nonetheless, this view should remind us that human factors are always involved in a rule of law.

What, then, is the distinction between a rule of people and a rule of law? If ruling by people is the opposite of ruling by laws, does that mean that people do not use laws to rule? If ruling means the maintenance of social order, one can hardly imagine a social order that could be maintained without any force whatsoever. It is equally difficult to imagine that human interaction could be coordinated automatically without any rules or norms. If a society is not run according to laws, how is it run? If we take the words literally, a rule of people would seem to mean that powerful people can, at their whim, establish the social rules for human relationships. I doubt very much that this kind of "rule by the people" could ever happen. If people who live together had no norms to guide their interaction and no regulations to fix their rights and responsibilities, and if they did everything only according to the ruler's unpredictable whims, the society would be in absolute chaos. People would

not know how to act. That situation could not happen, and, in any event, it could not be called a system of rule, by whatever name.

The difference between ruling by people and ruling by laws does not lie in the words people and laws but, rather, in the force used to maintain order and in the nature of the social norms.

Maintaining a rural social order differs, in many respects, from maintaining a modern social order. But that does not mean that rural society is "without laws and without heaven" or that it "does not need laws," although that is the opinion of some people. Believing in a simple, natural life, Laotse thought that as long as a nation is simply a small community with few people—where one can hear the neighbors' chickens and dogs but never has to deal with the neighbors themselves—social order can be maintained without an exterior force. People will depend on their instincts and good sense, and the society will be peaceful. Laotse was not the only one to have this idea. The entire world economy has become intertwined and interrelated through modern systems of transportation; yet most people in the United States still believe in the theory of free competition as laid out in classical economics. Those Americans are opposed to humans' creating plans and regulations to maintain economic order; when there is free competition, they believe, an invisible hand automatically arranges for everyone a moral economic order. In various social, political, and economic professions, there are also those who regard anarchy as the ideal state. Certainly, anarchy does not equal chaos but, rather, is a type of order, a type that does not need laws. Hence, anarchy represents a kind of self-generated order, a society that is"ruled without being ruled."

But rural society is not of this kind either. We can say that it is a society "without laws," if we define laws as those regulations maintained by state power. However, the absence of laws does not affect social order, because rural society is ruled by rituals.[2]

Let me clarify one point from the outset. The fact that a society is ruled through an etiquette established by rituals does not mean that the people in that society are gentle and refined. It is not like that country of highly civilized gentlemen depicted in the novel Jing hua yuan.[3]"Ritual etiquette" here does not convey the notion of manners—of being"cultured" or "benevolent" or even of "nodding to people you meet" and of not being atrocious. With ritual etiquette, one can kill others; one can be utterly barbaric. For instance, in India, there are some places where wives are

expected to immolate themselves on their husbands' funeral pyres. This is ritual etiquette. In Myanmar, there are some places where boys, as their rite of passage into adulthood, must chop off several human heads; otherwise, they cannot establish themselves as men. In our own ancient novels, we often read about military rituals of offering people as a sacrifice to the flag. According to modern standards, such rituals may seem very cruel. But whether something is cruel or not is unrelated to whether something is a ritual or not. It is written in the Analects,"Zigong did not want his lamb slaughtered for a ceremony. But Confucius said, ‘You love the lamb; I love the rites.'"[4] A sense of pity did not make Confucius agree to call off the ruthless deed.

Rituals are publicly recognized behavioral norms. If one behaves according to the rituals, then one's behavior is correct and proper. In this respect, rituals are the same as laws, because laws are also behavioral norms. The difference between a ritual and a law is the force used to maintain the norms. Laws are enforced through state power. The term state here means political power. Before modern states developed, tribes also held political power. But rituals do not require any concrete structure of political power in order to be effective. Instead, ritual norms are maintained by tradition.

Tradition is accumulated social experience. The purpose of behavioral norms is to coordinate behavior—that is, action taken in concert with others—so that people can fulfill their social responsibilities. Social responsibilities are simply those necessities of life that each person in society must satisfy. People need to cooperate with each other and to adopt efficient techniques in order to obtain resources from the environment. These techniques cannot be designed anew by each individual person or even by small temporary groups. People have the ability to learn. Therefore, those results that work successfully for one generation can be taught to the next generation. This kind of accumulation over many generations produces a set of methods that help people in their lives. Therefore, when people are born, they are born into a world in which other people have already worked out ways to cope with the problems that they will likely encounter themselves. The newcomers only need to learn and practice the received wisdom from previous generations in order to be able to enjoy the pleasures of satisfying their own needs.

Culture itself is tradition. No society is without tradition. We do not have to be overly concerned about how to deal with the most basic things in life—food, clothes, shelter, and transportation—because, thanks to our ancestors, we have ready-made rules to follow. Tradition in rural society,

however, is more important than it is in modern society, because it is more effective.

Rural society is a society of deep attachments, where people are born, live, and die in the same spot. Rural people move around very little, and the land from which they take their livelihood seldom changes. In this environment, people do not keep track of who is running the government. They live the same life generation after generation, trusting only their own experiences and those of their parents and grandparents. An old farmer tilling his fields encounters changes in seasons but not in epochs. Every year, the same cycle is repeated. It is easy for people to borrow their ancestors' solutions to problems as a guide for their own lives. What proved effective in the previous generation is surely worth preserving. As the saying goes, "When one speaks, one has to mention Yao and Shun";[5] one has to know the past, because whatever security exists in life comes from following the old ways.

After the Japanese invasion of China, when my wife and I were evacuated to the countryside around Kunming, our newborn baby began to cry all the time. We could not find a doctor, so we had to ask our landlady for help. As soon as she heard the baby's cry, she knew that the baby had what she called "a false tooth," a condition caused by a parasite. The "tooth" would hurt each time the baby was breast-fed. But as soon as the baby stopped eating, she would cry because she was hungry. The landlady calmly told us to wipe the inside of the baby's mouth with pickles and blue cloth. After a day or two, the baby was well. It turned out that this was a local disease; every child got it, so every mother knew how to cure it. In this instance, experience was effective. As long as the environment does not change, as long as no new germs come in, this"method without theory" will always work. Because such methods work, there is no reason to seek the causes of their effectiveness.

In a tradition like that, you do not have to know why something works. Rather, you just have to follow the example of others. From knowing the past, one obtains those methods for ensuring one's own existence. Moreover, these methods are not isolated techniques; they are embedded in, and naturally carry with them, a set of values. When we say that some technique is "effective" (lingyan), we mean that there is some unknown magic behind it. If you use that technique, you will have luck; if you don't, you will have problems. Therefore, people grow up in awe of tradition.

If we do not examine the relation between action and purpose, and if we

only follow conventional methods in the belief that otherwise we will encounter misfortune, then the resulting sets of behavior will have a fixed ceremonial form. The meaning of ritual (li) is "an act performed in accordance with ceremonial forms." The character li itself consists of two radicals, one signifying a tool used in rituals and the other signifying a type of ritual. Together, li means both the ritual itself and the action taken to conform to ritual.

A ritual (li) is not something that is carried out by an exterior force. Rituals work through the feeling of respect and of obedience that people themselves have cultivated. People conform to rituals on their own initiative. In fact, people can simply enjoy rituals. As the saying goes,"Being wealthy, one also loves the rituals" (fu er hao li). As is clear from the following conversation, even Confucius believed that people should act according to rituals on their own initiative:

> Yan Yuan asked about ren.
>
> The Master said, "To subdue oneself and conform to rituals is ren. If a man can for one day subdue himself and conform to rituals, all under heaven will ascribe ren to him. Is the practice of ren from a man himself, or is it from others?"
>
> Yan Yuan said, "I beg to ask the steps of that process."
>
> The Master replied, "Look not at what is contrary to rituals; listen not to what is contrary to rituals; speak not what is contrary to rituals; do not what is contrary to rituals."
>
> Yan Yuan then said, "Though I am deficient in intelligence and vigor, I will make it my business to practice this lesson."[6]

Ritual is obviously different from law and even from what we normally call morality. Law restrains people by setting external limits to action. The penalty for breaking a law is imposed on the individual by a designated power. People may break the law but escape being detected, and they may even feel proud of themselves or complacent if they succeed. Morality is sustained by public opinion. If you do something immoral or scandalous, people will ostracize you, and you will be shamed.

Ritual is even more exacting than morality. If you act in violation of rituals, your action is not only immoral but incorrect, and it will not bring about a desired result. Rituals are sustained by personal habits. It is as if there were ten eyes watching you and ten fingers pointing at you all the time. You cannot help but follow the ritual, even if you are all by yourself. Following rituals is the right way to act. Actually, it is a habit formed in the process of cultivating oneself. One learns to conform to tradition on one's own initiative.

On the surface, "a rule of rituals" seems like a self-generated form of social order in which people's actions are unrestrained by laws. Actually,"self-generated" is the wrong word here, because a rule of rituals implies that one uses one's own initiative to follow conventional rules. Confucius often used the words restrain (ke) and bind (yue) to describe the process of ritual cultivation. These words suggest that "a rule of rituals" does not occur in the absence of society, does not stem from natural human instincts, and does not depend on directions from heaven.

A social order based on rituals has, as a precondition, a tradition that offers effective solutions to life's problems. Rural society meets this requirement. It is an order maintained by rituals. In societies that frequently change, the efficacy of tradition cannot be guaranteed. No matter how effective a solution was in the past, no one would follow the old ways to deal with new problems in a new environment. When a problem requires group cooperation, everyone in the group needs to agree on the methods used. And in order to ensure that everyone in the group uses the same methods at the same time to solve common problems, there needs to be some force to control each person. This is what a "rule of law" means.

A rule of laws and a rule of rituals occur in two different social circumstances. An order established through rituals may be the same as what some people commonly call "a rule of people." But "a rule of rituals" is a better term, because it will not be as easily misunderstood as the second term, which leads people to believe that a social order can be sustained by individual will. Ruling through rituals is very different from ruling through individuals. Rituals come from tradition, and the whole history of a society goes into maintaining this order. A society governed by rituals cannot easily appear in an era of rapid changes. But such a system of rule is characteristic of Chinese rural society.

捌　礼治秩序

普通常有以“人治”和“法治”相对称，而且认为西洋是法治的社会，我们是“人治”的社会。其实这个对称的说法并不很清楚。法治的意思并不是说法律本身能统治，能维持社会秩序，而是说社会上人和人的关系是根据法律来维持的。法律还得靠权力来支持，还得靠人来执行，法治其实是“人依法而治”，并非没有人的因素。

现代论法理的学者中有些极重视人的因素。他们注意到在应用法律于实际情形时，必须经过法官对于法律条文的解释。法官的解释的对象虽则是法律条文，但是决定解释内容的却包含很多因素，法官个人的偏见，甚至是否有胃病，以及社会的舆论都是极重要的。于是他们认为法律不过是法官的判决。这自是片面的说法，因为法官并不能任意下判决的，他的判决至少也须被认为是根据法律的，但是这种看法也告诉我们所谓法治绝不能缺乏人的因素了。

这样说来，人治和法治有什么区别呢？如果人治是法治的对面，意思应当是“不依法律的统治”了。统治如果是指社会秩序的维持，我们很难想象一个社会的秩序可以不必靠什么力量就可以维持，人和人的关系可以不根据什么规定而自行配合的。如果不根据法律，根据什么呢？望文生义地说来，人治好像是指有权力的人任凭一己的好恶来规定社会上人和人的关系的意思。我很怀疑这种“人治”是可能发生的。如果共同生活的人们，相互的行为、权利和义务，没有一定规范可守，依着统治者好恶来决定，而好恶也无法预测的话，社会必然会混乱，人们会不知道怎样行动，那是不可能的，因之也说不上“治”了。

所谓人治和法治之别，不在“人”和“法”这两个字上，而是在维持秩序时所用的力量，和所根据的规范的性质。

乡土社会秩序的维持，有很多方面和现代社会秩序的维持是不相同的。可是所不同的并不是说乡土社会是“无法无天”，或者说“无需规律”。的确有些人这样想过。返璞回真的老子觉得只要把社区的范围缩小，在鸡犬相闻而不相往来的小国寡民的社会里，社会秩序无需外力来维持，单凭每个人的本能或良知，就能相安无事了。这种想法也并不限于老子。就是在现代交通之下，全世界的经济已密切相关到成为一体时，美国还有大多数人信奉着古典经济学里的自由竞争的理想，反对用人为的“计划”和“统制”来维持经济秩序，而认为在自由竞争下，冥冥之中，自有一双看不见的手，会为人们理出一个合于道德的经济秩序来

的。不论在社会、政治、经济各个范围中，都有认为“无政府”是最理想的状态，当然所谓“无政府”决不是等于“混乱”，而是一种“秩序”，一种不需规律的秩序，一种自动的秩序，是“无治而治”的社会。

可是乡土社会并不是这种社会，我们可以说这是个“无法”的社会，假如我们把法律限于以国家权力所维持的规则，但是“无法”并不影响这社会的秩序，因为乡土社会是“礼治”的社会。

让我先说明，礼治社会并不是指文质彬彬，像《镜花缘》里所描写的君子国一般的社会。礼并不带有“文明”，或是“慈善”，或是“见了人点个头”、不穷凶极恶的意思。礼也可以杀人，可以很“野蛮”。譬如在印度有些地方，丈夫死了，妻子得在葬礼里被别人用火烧死，这是礼。又好像在缅甸有些地方，一个人成年时，一定要去杀几个人头回来，才能完成为成年礼而举行的仪式。我们在旧小说里也常读到杀了人来祭旗，那是军礼。——礼的内容在现代标准看去，可能是很残酷的。残酷与否并非合礼与否的问题。“子贡欲去告朔之饩羊。子曰：‘赐也，尔爱其羊，我爱其礼。’”恻隐之心并没有使孔子同意于取消相当残忍的行为。

礼是社会公认合式的行为规范。合于礼的就是说这些行为是做得对的，对是合式的意思。如果单从行为规范一点说，本和法律无异，法律也是一种行为规范。礼和法不相同的地方是维持规范的力量。法律是靠国家的权力来推行的。“国家”是指政治的权力，在现代国家没有形成前，部落也是政治权力。而礼却不需要这有形的权力机构来维持。维持礼这种规范的是传统。

传统是社会所累积的经验。行为规范的目的是在配合人们的行为以完成社会的任务，社会的任务是在满足社会中各分子的生活需要。人们要满足需要必须相互合作，并且采取有效技术，向环境获取资源。这套方法并不是由每个人自行设计，或临时聚集了若干人加以规划的。人们有学习的能力，上一代所试验出来有效的结果，可以教给下一代。这样一代一代地累积出一套帮助人们生活的方法。从每个人说，在他出生之前，已经有人替他准备下怎样去应付人生道上所可能发生的问题了。他只要“学而时习之”就可以享受满足需要的愉快。

文化本来就是传统，不论哪一个社会，绝不会没有传统的。衣食住行种种最基本的事务，我们并不要事事费心思，那是因为我们托祖宗之福，一一有着可以遵守的成法。但是在乡土社会中，传统的重要性比了现代社会更甚。那是因为在乡土社会里传统的效力更大。

乡土社会是安土重迁的，生于斯、长于斯、死于斯的社会。不但是人口流动很小，而且人们所取给资源的土地也很少变动。在这种不分秦汉、代代如是的环境里，个人不但可以信任自己的经验，而且同样可以

信任若祖若父的经验。一个在乡土社会里种田的老农所遇着的只是四季的转换，而不是时代变更。一年一度，周而复始。前人所用来解决生活问题的方案，尽可抄袭来作自己生活的指南。愈是经过前代生活中证明有效的，也愈值得保守。于是“言必尧舜”，好古是生活的保障了。

我自己在抗战时，疏散在昆明乡下，初生的孩子，整天啼哭不定，找不到医生，只有请教房东老太太。她一听哭声就知道牙根上生了“假牙”，是一种寄生菌，吃奶时就会发痛，不吃奶又饿。她不慌不忙地要我们用咸菜和蓝青布去擦孩子的嘴腔。一两天果然好了。这地方有这种病，每个孩子都发生，也因之每个母亲都知道怎样治，那是有效的经验。只要环境不变，没有新的细菌侵入，这套不必讲学理的应付方法，总是有效的。既有效也就不必问理由了。

像这一类的传统，不必知之，只要照办，生活就能得到保障的办法，自然会随之发生一套价值。我们说“灵验”，就是说含有一种不可知的魔力在后面。依照着做就有福，不依照了就会出毛病。于是人们对于传统有了敬畏之感了。

如果我们在行为和目的之间的关系不加推究，只按着规定的方法做，而且对于规定的方法带着不这样做就会有不幸的信念时，这套行为也就成了我们普通所谓“仪式”了。礼是按着仪式做的意思。“礼”字本是从从示。是一种祭器，示是指一种仪式。

礼并不是靠一个外在的权力来推行的，而是从教化中养成了个人的敬畏之感，使人服膺；人服礼是主动的。礼是可以为人所好的，所谓“富而好礼”。孔子很重视服礼的主动性，在下面一段话里说得很清楚：

> 颜渊问仁。子曰：“克己复礼为仁。一日克己复礼，天下归仁焉。为仁由己，而由人乎哉？”颜渊曰：“请问其目。”子曰：“非礼勿视，非礼勿听，非礼勿言，非礼勿动。”颜渊曰：“回虽不敏，请事斯语矣。”

这显然是和法律不同了，甚至不同于普通所谓道德。法律是从外限制人的，不守法所得到的罚是由特定的权力所加之于个人的。人可以逃避法网，逃得脱还可以自己骄傲、得意。道德是社会舆论所维持的，做了不道德的事，见不得人，那是不好；受人唾弃，是耻。礼则有甚于道德：如果失礼，不但不好，而且不对、不合、不成。这是个人习惯所维持的。十目所视，十手所指的，即是在没有人的地方也会不能自已。曾子易箦是一个很好的例子。礼是合式的路子，是经教化过程而成为主动性的服膺于传统的习惯。

礼治在表面看去好像是人们行为不受规律拘束而自动形成的秩序。其实自动的说法是不确的，只是主动地服于成规罢了。孔子一再地

用“克”字、用“约”字来形容礼的养成，可见礼治并不是离开社会，由于本能或天意所构成的秩序了。

礼治的可能必须以传统可以有效地应付生活问题为前提。乡土社会满足了这前提，因之它的秩序可以礼来维持。在一个变迁很快的社会，传统的效力是无法保证的。尽管一种生活的方法在过去是怎样有效，如果环境一改变，谁也不能再依着老法子去应付新的问题了。所应付的问题如果要由团体合作的时候，就得大家接受个同意的办法，要保证大家在规定的办法下合作应付共同问题，就得有个力量来控制各个人了。这其实就是法律，也就是所谓“法治”。

法治和礼治是发生在两种不同的社会情态中。这里所谓礼治也许就是普通所谓人治，但是“礼治”一词不会像“人治”一词那样容易引起误解，以致有人觉得社会秩序是可以由个人好恶来维持的了。礼治和这种个人好恶的统治相差很远，因为礼是传统，是整个社会历史在维持这种秩序。礼治社会并不能在变迁很快的时代中出现，这是乡土社会的特色。

⑨A SOCIETY WITHOUT LITIGATION

In rural society, if a person mentions the word songshi, a litigation monger, everyone thinks of a troublemaker, of someone who creates discord. Such people have no social status in this kind of society. In cities, however, not only do you have lawyers who promote litigation but you add the words "the honorable" to every lawyer's name, and list their names and services on the first page of every newspaper. Moreover, ordinary companies and individuals ask lawyers to serve as their permanent advisers. All this gives the impression to traditionally minded people that cities are full of disputes and are places where well-behaved people should not live.

Let us visualize now a change in emphasis in what a lawyer does. Instead of being a sort of legal shyster, a person who constantly quarrels over technicalities, the lawyer becomes a representative of a legal tradition. With this shift in emphasis, lawyers go from being instigators of disputes to being legal advisers. These two extremes nicely represent the changing nature of society itself. Instead of being governed through rituals, it now is governed through laws.

In urban societies, it is not shameful for a person who does not understand the law to ask others for advice. In fact, ordinary people living and working in cities are not likely to know all the various laws related to their lives and occupations. Law has become a specialized area of knowledge. Even so, people who have no knowledge of law cannot live outside of law, because to do so in an orderly urban society would disrupt people's sense of collective security. Therefore, many ordinary people have to have a lawyer to serve as their own legal adviser. Because of this requirement, lawyers have been able to elevate their social position.

However, in those rural societies where order is achieved through rituals, a person who does not know how to act according to rituals will be accused of behaving atrociously, of disregarding established norms, and of being morally bankrupt. To a county official in charge of the local order, the ideal means for maintaining an order based on ritual is through education, not

through litigation. If a case has to end up in front of an official, then it is certain that someone has broken the traditional norms.

In the old novels from the imperial period, we often read about the process of hearing a case. It usually goes like this: The "convicts" are dragged to the main hall in the yamen. Each person, in turn, is beaten with a bamboo stick. Each party in the case then accuses the other party. Finally, the county official uses his insights into physiognomy to decide which person—by virtue of being uglier, slyer, or otherwise more repulsive—must be the perpetrator of the moral injustice. That person is then tortured until he or she confesses. Through confession, the good and bad will have been distinguished and set right. Justice having been administered, the people then will shout out their praises for the upright magistrate. From a modern point of view, this kind of process is irrational, but in rural society it is considered legitimate. Otherwise, why would stories based on this process, such as the cases of Magistrate Pao and Magistrate Shi, have become traditional best-sellers?[1]

In the last chapter, I explained how ruling through ritual is accomplished. Here I want to use an analogy to illustrate this idea further. In a soccer game, when the referee whistles and indicates that someone has committed a foul, that person has to accept the penalty. It is unnecessary for the two sides to stop the game and debate about the penalty. The ideal game is one in which the referee does nothing—except, of course, such things as starting the game and indicating when the ball goes out of bounds. Ideally, all the players are expected to know the rules of the game thoroughly before the game starts and to abide by those rules while they play the game. The referee is merely a person who is responsible for seeing that no player breaks the rules. It is not good sportsmanship for one player surreptitiously to hit another player behind the referee's back. If such incidents occur, and the player gets caught, the referee will penalize him, and his reputation as a player, and maybe even the reputation of the whole team, will suffer. Therefore, a player must be very familiar with the rules and must possess a level of skill that permits him to play spontaneously without breaking them. What he needs is a long period of training. If somebody deliberately commits a foul, that suggests he does not have adequate training, which in turn reflects badly on the coach.

This analogy may help explain rural society's view of litigation. A system of control based on rituals means adherence to traditional rules. All

aspects of life and human relationships are governed by specific rules. All the actors in this society have been familiar with the rules since childhood, and they take those rules for granted. Their long education since childhood has turned these exterior rules into interior habits. The force to maintain rituals comes not from the outside but from the inside, from one's own conscience. Therefore, this social order pays a great deal of attention to self-cultivation and self-restraint. Ideally, in a society ruled through rituals, everyone will abide by the rules voluntarily, so that all exterior supervision is unnecessary. But ideal ritual-ruled society is not frequently seen. A person who surreptitiously breaks the rules for selfish reasons will be considered the scum of the earth. Understanding the rituals is everyone's responsibility. This society assumes that everyone will understand them, and it is this society's responsibility to make sure that everyone does understand them. Therefore, as we often say, "If the son is not taught, the fault lies with the father." In rural society, that is why the relatives of an offender—and even his teachers—are also punished. The assumption is that if he were taught in a serious way, then, as a son or as a student, he would be unable to misbehave. Therefore, any litigation is shameful, because it indicates a lack of proper education.

Settling disputes in villages is actually part of the educational process that goes on in rural society. I have been asked to attend meetings where I was to help mediate quarrels. In the villagers' view, it was very natural that I should be invited to do so. I am a teacher. Therefore, I read books. Therefore, I must understand rituals. Therefore, I must be an authority in this respect. The other mediators were the village elders. One of the most interesting things about these meetings was that the baozhang, the government's representative in the village, never spoke. And the reason he did not speak was that he had no social status in the village at all. He was just a petty bureaucrat. What we now call "mediation" (tiaojie) used to be called "critical reasoning" (pingli). In almost every meeting of this sort, the same extremely articulate local notable would speak first. His procedure would be first to scold both sides in the dispute. He would say something like this: "This incident is making our entire village lose face! Admit your wrongs and go home." Then he would give them a lecture. Sometimes, in a fit of temper, he would even pound on the table. He would tell them what he thought they "should" do. This kind of procedure was very effective, and often both sides in the dispute would be reconciled on the spot. Sometimes they would be

penalized and would have to treat all the mediators to an expensive meal. On those occasions, I often felt as if I were watching a referee in a soccer game, blowing his whistle and doling out his penalties.

I remember one especially interesting case. The case involved an old man who was addicted to opium. The eldest son hated his father's habit because it was depleting the family's wealth, but the son could not easily interfere. The second son had no regular employment, and he secretly smoked opium as well. In fact, he would often get his father to smoke opium, so that he could join. The dispute arose when the elder brother recognized what the younger brother was doing, and severely beat him. The younger brother, however, blamed his father, and in a fit of temper, the eldest son scolded the father as well. These mutual recriminations led to a big fight in the family. Eventually, the dispute came before the village elders for resolution. That same gentleman once again spoke first, saying that this scandal involved the entire village. Then he used a range of moral principles to reach a resolution: The younger son should be driven out of the village; he was morally bankrupt, and even from his appearance, one would see that he was up to no good. The eldest son should be punished because he scolded his father. The old man, the father, is the one who received the lecture, because he did not know how to instruct either son in appropriate behavior, and besides that he smoked opium. After the punishments were meted out, everyone went home. That old gentleman who mediated the case later complained to me that each generation is worse than the previous one and that public morality is deteriorating by the day.

Confucius said: "In hearing litigation, I am like any other person. What is necessary, however, is to cause the people to have no litigation."[2] At that moment, after seeing how rural society resolves its disputes, I understood what Confucius meant.

Modern urban society emphasizes individual rights. Rights are not to be violated. The state should protect those rights, and that is the reason modern states have so many laws. Judges in these societies do not dwell on moral issues or ethical concepts. It is not their job to teach morality and ethics to people. The purpose of punishment is not to warn others against following a bad example, but to protect individual rights and to provide for public safety. Especially in civil law, judges do not decide who is right and who is wrong; instead, they determine the rights of the individuals in each case. The British and American legal systems are based on legal precedent. Many times, the

aim of a lawsuit is to establish a precedent for people to follow. In a changing society, rules have to change. The environment changes, so mutually negotiated rights have to change as well. In reality, no two cases represent exactly the same situation, so it is often problematic to locate individual rights in a consistent way. Therefore, legal cases are sometimes put forward in order to establish a precedent. These are called "test cases." Proposing such cases presents no inherent moral problem.

Modern society does not view laws as fixed rules. Laws have to follow the times, so the contents of laws have to change. People living in modern society are not all expected to be familiar with laws that constantly change. If they do not know a law, they are not considered "morally bankrupt." Because lawyers must keep abreast of changing laws, they have become an indispensable professional group in modern society.

China is changing from a rural to modern society. However, because most people cling to the old ideas about litigation, it is unlikely that a modern judicial system will be able to take firm hold. First of all, the principles of the modern laws currently in force come from the West and greatly differ from the concepts embodied in the old ethical doctrines. In a previous chapter, I said that the Chinese traditional patterns of a differential mode of association undermined the possibility that a general rule could be applied to all people. The current laws, however, presume individual equality. This presumption is something not easily understood by common people. They also have no knowledge of how to use the processes of the judicial system. Common people from rural areas are still afraid of taking any case to court, but now China's new judicial system is beginning to spread to the countryside. Those people who have been excluded from consideration in rural communities, because of their immoral behavior, now find in this imported legal system new protections. If they do not like what the village mediators decide, they can always file a lawsuit in the judicial department. In theory, this would be a good thing because it might destroy the traditions of rural society and put China on the path toward modernization. In reality, the people who file cases in the courts are the same people recognized in the countryside as being morally bankrupt. If you judge them according to current laws(ignoring, for the moment, any corruption in the legal system), the results often differ from a judgment based on local tradition. What rural people recognize as improper behavior may, in fact, be perfectly legal. Therefore, from a rural perspective, the modern judicial system has become an institution that shelters evildoers.

A county magistrate who concurrently served as a judge told me about a case that he was hearing. In this case, a man who discovered that his wife was sleeping with another man had beaten up that man. In rural areas, beating up someone like this is justice. But adultery is not a crime; besides, there was no proof. Assault and battery, however, are crimes. The magistrate asked me how he should judge the case. He knew that if the adulterer were an honest person, he would never have come to the district headquarters to file charges against the husband who had beaten him. However, those people who have no moral values and who possess only a little legal knowledge could do evil things in the villages, and the law had to protect them. I admitted that this was probably a common occurrence. The current judicial system has very distinctive side effects in rural areas. It is destroying the original order based on a rule of rituals, but it has not been able to establish an effective order based on law. We cannot establish a social order based on a rule of law simply by making a few legal texts available and by setting up a few courts. More important is how people use these facilities. What is more, the first thing needed is to reform the social structure and the ideological perspective. If there are no reforms in these areas, then simply taking laws and courts to the countryside will not provide any of the advantages of a society ruled by law. Instead, it will only generate those disadvantages associated with having destroyed a society ruled through rituals.

玖　无讼

在乡土社会里，一说起“讼师”，大家会联想到“挑拨是非”之类的恶行。做刀笔吏的在这种社会里是没有地位的。可是在都市里“律师”之上还要加个“大”字，报纸的封面可能全幅是律师的题名录。而且好好的公司和个人，都会去请律师作常年顾问。在传统眼光中，都市真是个是非场，规矩人是住不得的了。

讼师改称“律师”，更加“大”字在上；打官司改称“起诉”；包揽是非改称“法律顾问”——这套名词的改变正代表了社会性质的改变，也就是礼治社会变为法治社会。

在都市社会中一个人不明白法律，要去请教别人，并不是件可耻之事。事实上，普通人在都市里居住，求生活，很难知道有关生活、职业的种种法律。法律成了专门知识。不知道法律的人却又不能在法律之外生活。在有秩序的都市社会中，在法律之外生活就会捣乱社会的共同安全，于是这种人不能不有个顾问了。律师地位的重要从此获得。

但是在乡土社会的礼治秩序中做人，如果不知道“礼”，就成了撒野，没有规矩，简直是个道德问题，不是个好人。一个负责地方秩序的父母官，维持礼治秩序的理想手段是教化，而不是折狱。如果有非要打官司不可，那必然是因为有人破坏了传统的规矩。在旧小说上，我们常见的听讼，亦称折狱的程序是：把“犯人”拖上堂，先各打屁股若干板，然后一方面大呼冤枉。父母官用了他“看相”式的眼光，分出那个“獐头鼠目”，必非好人，重加呵责，逼出供状，结果好恶分辨，冤也伸了，大呼青天。——这种程序在现代眼光中，会感觉到没有道理；但是在乡土社会中，这却是公认正当的。否则为什么这类记载，《包公案》、《施公案》等等能成了传统的最畅销书呢？

我在上一次杂话中已说明了礼治秩序的性质。在这里我可以另打一个譬喻来说明：在我们比赛足球时，裁判官吹了叫子，说哪个人犯规，哪个人就得受罚，用不到由双方停了球辩论。最理想的球赛是裁判员形同虚设（除了做个发球或出界的信号员）。为什么呢？那是因为每个参加比赛的球员都应当事先熟悉规则，而且都事先约定根据双方同意的规则之下比赛，裁判员是规则的权威。他的责任是在察看每个球员的动作不越出规则之外。一个有Sportsmanship的球员并不会在裁判员的背后，向对方的球员偷偷地打一暗拳。如果发生此类事情，不但裁判员可以罚他，而且这个球员，甚至全球队的名誉即受影响。球员对于规则要谙

熟，技艺要能做到从心所欲而不逾规的程度，他需要长期的训练。如果发生有意犯规的举动，就可以说是训练不良，也是指导员的耻辱。

这个譬喻可以用来说明乡土社会对于讼事的看法。所谓礼治就是对传统规则的服膺。生活各方面，人和人的关系，都有着一定的规则。行为者对于这些规则从小就熟习，不问理由而认为是当然的。长期的教育已把外在的规则化成了内在的习惯。维持礼俗的力量不在身外的权力，而是在身内的良心。所以这种秩序注重修身，注重克己。理想的礼治是每个人都自动地守规矩，不必有外在的监督。但是理想的礼治秩序并不常有的。一个人可以为了自私的动机，偷偷地越出规矩。这种人在这种秩序里是败类无疑。每个人知礼是责任，社会假定每个人是知礼的，至少社会有责任要使每个人知礼。所以“子不教”成了“父之过”。这也是乡土社会中通行“连坐”的根据。儿子做了坏事情，父亲得受刑罚，甚至教师也不能辞其咎。教得认真，子弟不会有坏的行为。打官司也成了一种可羞之事，表示教化不够。

在乡村里所谓调解，其实是一种教育过程。我曾在乡下参加过这类调解的集会。我之被邀，在乡民看来是极自然的，因为我是在学校里教书的，读书知礼，是权威。其他负有调解责任的是一乡的长老。最有意思的是保长从不发言，因为他在乡里并没有社会地位，他只是个干事。调解是个新名词，旧名词是评理。差不多每次都由一位很会说话的乡绅开口。他的公式总是把那被调解的双方都骂一顿：“这简直是丢我们村子里脸的事！你们还不认了错，回家去。”接着教训了一番。有时竟拍起桌子来发一阵脾气。他依着他认为“应当”的告诉他们。这一阵却极有效，双方时常就“和解”了，有时还得罚他们请一次客。我那时常觉得像是在球场旁看裁判官吹叫子，罚球。

我记得一个很有意思的案子：某甲已上了年纪，抽大烟。长子为了全家的经济，很反对他父亲有这嗜好，但也不便干涉。次子不务正业，偷偷抽大烟，时常怂恿老父亲抽大烟，他可以分润一些。有一次给长子看见了，就痛打他的弟弟，这弟弟赖在老父身上。长子一时火起，骂了父亲。家里大闹起来，被人拉到乡公所来评理。那位乡绅，先照例认为这是件全村的丑事。接着动用了整个伦理原则：小儿子是败类，看上去就不是好东西，最不好，应当赶出村子。大儿子骂了父亲，该罚。老父亲不知道管教儿子，还要抽大烟，受了一顿教训。这样，大家认了罚回家。那位乡绅回头和我发了一阵牢骚：一代不如一代，真是世风日下。

子曰：“听讼，吾犹人也，必也使无讼乎。”——当时体会到了孔子说这话时的神气了。

现代都市社会中讲个人权利，权利是不能侵犯的。国家保护这些权利，所以定下了许多法律。一个法官并不考虑道德问题、伦理观念，他

并不在教化人。刑罚的用意已经不复“以儆效尤”，而是在保护个人的权利和社会的安全。尤其在民法范围里，他并不是在分辨是非，而是在厘定权利。在英美以判例为基础的法律制度下，很多时间诉讼的目的是在获得以后可以遵守的规则。一个变动中的社会，所有的规则是不能不变动的，环境改变了，相互权利不能不跟着改变。事实上并没有两个案子的环境完全相同，所以个人的权利应当怎样厘定，时常成为问题，因之构成诉讼，以获取可以遵守的判例，所谓Test Case。在这种情形里自然不发生道德问题了。

现代的社会中并不把法律看成一种固定的规则了，法律一定得随着时间而改变其内容。也因之，并不能盼望各个在社会里生活的人都能熟悉这与时俱新的法律，所以不知道法律并不成为“败类”。律师也成了现代社会中不可缺的职业。

中国正处在从乡土社会蜕变的过程中，原有对诉讼的观念还是很坚固地存留在广大的民间，也因之使现代的司法不能彻底推行。第一是现行法里的原则是从西洋搬过来的，和旧有的伦理观念相差很大。我在前几篇杂话中已说过，在中国传统的差序格局中，原本不承认有可以施行于一切人的统一规则，而现行法却是采用个人平等主义的。这一套已经使普通老百姓不明白，在司法制度的程序上又是隔膜到不知怎样利用。在乡间普通人还是怕打官司的，但是新的司法制度却已推行下乡了。那些不容于乡土伦理的人物从此却找到了一种新的保障。他们可以不服乡间的调解而告到司法处去。当然，在理论上，这是好现象，因为这样才能破坏原有的乡土社会的传统，使中国能走上现代化的道路。但是事实上，在司法处去打官司的，正是那些乡间所认为“败类”的人物。依着现行法去判决（且把贪污那一套除外），时常可以和地方传统不合。乡间认为坏的行为却正可以是合法的行为，于是司法处在乡下人的眼光中成了一个包庇作恶的机构了。

有一位兼司法官的县长曾和我谈到过很多这种例子。有个人因妻子偷了汉子打伤了奸夫。在乡间这是理直气壮的。但是和奸没有罪，何况又没有证据，殴伤却有罪。那位县长问我，他怎么判好呢？他更明白，如果是善良的乡下人，自己知道做了坏事决不会到衙门里来的。这些凭借一点法律知识的败类，却会在乡间为非作恶起来，法律还要去保护他。我也承认这是很可能发生的事实。现行的司法制度在乡间发生了很特殊的副作用，它破坏了原有的礼治秩序，但并不能有效地建立起法治秩序。法治秩序的建立不能单靠制定若干法律条文和设立若干法庭，重要的还得看人民怎样去应用这些设备。更进一步，在社会结构和思想观念上还得先有一番改革。如果在这些方面不加以改革，单把法律和法庭推行下乡，结果法治秩序的好处未得，而破坏礼治秩序的弊病却已先发

生了。

⑩AN INACTIVE GOVERNMENT

Scholars who analyze political power can be divided into two groups, each with a different perspective. One group emphasizes social conflict; the other, social cooperation. Depending on the emphasis, what the two see as the nature of political power is quite different.

Those who emphasize a social conflict perspective see political power as the outcome of a struggle between unequally ranked groups and classes. Let us call this kind of power "dictatorial power." Those who come out on top are the ones who have power, and they use their power to dominate those beneath them. They give orders and, through their will, dictate the actions of the dominated. According to this view, the exercise of political power is a continuation of the process of conflict and represents merely a truce, a temporary equilibrium in a continuing struggle. Although the use of military force has ended, contention does not disappear. The vanquished merely recognize their defeat and act more obediently. However, they will not willingly accept the conditions dictated by their victors and will not sincerely submit to their rule. Therefore, political power emerges from the relationship between contending parties. It is the necessary means to maintain the relationship; it is inherently oppressive and works to differentiate the rulers from the ruled. From this perspective, the government apparatus and the institutions of the state are the tools of the dominators. Following this line of reasoning, one can say that government and the state structure itself exist only insofar as they are a part of the process of class struggle. If, one day, the problem of class struggle were solved and societies were no longer divided into classes, then, like leaves in the autumn, government and state institutions would, of their own accord, fall away.

Those who look at power from the perspective of social cooperation see it in quite a different light. The result of a division of labor in society is that everyone is mutually interdependent. The division of labor benefits everyone, because it is the basis of the economy. People can achieve more with less labor. Labor represents both capital and people's sweat. With a division of labor, people reduce their burdens and increase their enjoyment in life. Enjoyment is certainly what people want, but one cannot be self-reliant and

hope to attain it. One cannot just care for oneself and cannot just "mind one's own business." If others fail to do their fair share of work, or if they fail to do it well, your own life will be influenced. Thus, for your own sake, you have to interfere with others. Similarly, if you fail to do your part, you will influence other people, and they will interfere with you. In this way, rights and obligations are generated. Interfering in other people's business is your right; allowing them to interfere in yours is your obligation. Each person has the responsibility to work, as well as the responsibility to supervise others. People cannot just seek their own happiness and do whatever they please. They have to perform the work that society has assigned to them.

But what ensures that this work will be done? What would happen if someone decided not to go along with all of this? At this point, we see that power arises from a common will. The basis of this power is social contract and mutual consent. The more complicated the division of labor, the more extensive this power becomes. If you do not want to be constrained by this form of power, you will have to return to an environment that allows self-reliance. To be truly independent, you will have to be your own Robinson Crusoe. Or perhaps you can live in Laotse's ideal state, "a small nation with few people," and so not feel the weight of so much power. To put the matter more clearly, you will have to give up your economic beliefs, forgo the enjoyment you get out of your possessions, and return to an original state of nature, to a living standard like that of the storybook hero Tarzan of the Apes. Otherwise, you will never escape the reach of this power, a kind of power that might best be called "consensual power," a sort of power that arises out of mutual agreements.

Both the conflict and the cooperative perspectives on power are grounded in reality and are not actually contradictory. In all human societies, both types of power exist. Although regimes may differ in the degree to which the two types of power are present, rulers and their governments represent both types of power simultaneously. In a period of social transformation, therefore, it is not easy to have only cooperation and no conflict. At least, that is the lesson we learn from history. The two processes —conflict and cooperation—often overlap and intermix. Conflict contains elements of cooperation, and cooperation contains elements of conflict. Neither is pure. Therefore, the two kinds of power differ more in concept than in reality. To understand the power structure of a community, we have to analyze how the two types of power interrelate. Some communities

emphasize one sort of power over the other, while other communities do the reverse. Moreover, in any one community, one type of power relations may come into being among certain people, and the other among other people. For instance, on the surface, people in the United States emphasize consensual power, but, in reality, a sort of dictatorial power still characterizes the relations between the races.

Some people think that power itself is the temptation, that human beings are intrinsically "power hungry." This view overlooks the fact that power is a tool. Although those who hold power may sometimes be driven by a pure desire to dominate or by sadistic psychological perversions, these situations are, after all, abnormal. What people love most are the benefits that flow from power. If power did not bring benefits or if those benefits could be obtained without holding power, the temptation of power would not be so strong. For instance, an opinion poll in England shows that only a small percentage of the people want their children to become members of Parliament or the Cabinet. People in both positions in England have low salaries, even though they do obtain many social rewards. Most people are not in a hurry to get those kinds of lofty positions.

The main temptation of power is to gain economic advantage. From a consensus perspective, people in power do not hold power because they want to protect their own special interests. Instead, they hold power because society needs to reward them with prestige and high pay in order to solicit their services.[1] From a perspective of dictatorial power, however, the relation between power and economic advantage is more direct: Rulers use force to maintain their positions, and one of their reasons for doing so is certainly to gain economic advantages. Conversely, without the likelihood of economic advantage, dictatorial power would have little meaning, and therefore would be less likely to occur.

If group A wants to control group B to gain some economic advantage, there must be a precondition—namely, that group B is able to provide this advantage. The production of group B must exceed its consumption so that it has a surplus that makes group A's conquest of it worthwhile. This is very important. A person who produces only enough for his own survival does not make a very good slave. What I am trying to point out here are the limitations of dictatorial power in an agricultural society. When I was doing a survey among Yao tribes in the mountainous regions of Guangxi province, I often noticed that the Han Chinese (hanren) had occupied the land of the Yao but

had never enslaved them. There were certainly a lot of reasons for this; but in my view, the major one was that the place was just too poor, and those Yao tribesmen who planted rice fields could not lower their standard of living yet further to become tenants of the Han Chinese. Therefore, when the Han Chinese won a battle with one of the Yao tribes, the Yao just gave up their land and moved. In wars in agrarian societies, the most common pattern is to drive out the natives, take over their land, and cultivate it personally. This especially happens when a population is large, labor is plentiful, and the available arable land is being fully utilized. In studying Chinese history, we often come across references to conquerors who"buried tens of thousands of enemies alive." In fact, until quite recently, it was not unusual to encounter groups of roving bandits who would kill people with great ferocity. Such a situation is not one that an aggressive industrial power could understand.[2]

I do not mean to imply that a dictatorial power cannot be established in an agricultural society. On the contrary, it is precisely this kind of society that produces a foundation for imperial power, but that is because rural society does not possess organizations capable of mounting resistance to this form of government. The historical record is very clear; nomadic invaders have repeatedly overrun agricultural societies, and the agricultural plains of East Asia have always endured empires of one sort or another. However, agrarian empires are not good examples of dictatorial power holding. In fact, they are relatively weak governments. Imperial power is unable to develop great strength, because the social and economic foundations are simply insufficient to support a powerful dictatorial power. The population increases daily, and accordingly the agricultural surplus decreases daily. Even the peace supplied by successful agrarian empires provides further opportunities for population increases.

Chinese history is proof of this fact. Ambitious emperors, anxious to open new frontiers, will build cities and dig rivers. Normally, such rulers would not be considered tyrants but would be thought of as great leaders making an investment for a nation's future, such as Franklin Roosevelt was with his Tennessee Valley Authority. But an agrarian economy like China's does not produce enough surplus to finance such large projects easily, and without sufficient surplus large public-works projects always cause great discontent—so much so that people will try to escape imperial control. Therefore, active emperors simultaneously burden their subjects with taxation and strengthen their control over them. Both tasks in turn add to their

expenses. Suddenly, individuals like Chen Sheng and Wu Guang will rise up in rebellion, and there will be great upheavals everywhere.[3] Such rebellions will claim the lives of many people, thereby easing population pressures. The chaos will end, and peace will prevail once again. At this juncture, people want to do nothing more than rest. Imperial power will also seek nothing; it will simply be inactive. Through their own inaction, the rulers, as the saying goes, will "nourish the people." After a period of recuperation, the imperial government will gradually accumulate greater resources, and the emperors' ambitions will grow again. The cycle will thus begin anew.

In order to maintain their power, imperial rulers draw upon the experiences of their predecessors. They find survival value in doing nothing, and they glorify this strategy by establishing wuwei zhengzhi, an inactive government, a government at peace with its people.

Dictatorships have economic restraints. In China, the distance between the ruler and his subjects is characterized by the saying "Heaven is high and the emperor is far away."With this kind of gap between the ruler and the ruled, those rulers who seem to exercise dictatorial powers really rule by allowing people in rural society to manage their own affairs. Power in rural society is primarily consensual power, but this kind of power is also limited by economic conditions. As I have already said, the consensual power grows out of a division of labor and is able to expand only when the division of labor itself develops. Rural society is a small-scale peasant economy, and, if necessary, each peasant household can become self-sufficient, except for a few items of daily necessity. The household may simply close its doors on the larger economy. When this occurs, we can imagine that the scope of consensual power would also decrease. Judging from the reality of people's lives in agrarian societies, then, we can see that the power structure, although it may be labeled a "dictatorship," is actually loose, weak, and nominal. It is a government that does not actively govern at all.

拾　无为政治

论权力的人多少可以分成两派，两种看法：一派是偏重在社会冲突的一方面，另一派是偏重在社会合作的一方面。两者各有偏重，所看到的不免也各有不同的地方。

从社会冲突一方面着眼的，权力表现在社会不同团体或阶层间主从的形态里。在上的是握有权力的，他们利用权力去支配在下的，发号施令，以他们的意志去驱使被支配者的行动。权力，依这种观点说，是冲突过程的持续，是一种休战状态中的临时平衡。冲突的性质并没有消弭，但是武力的阶段过去了，被支配的一方面已认了输，屈服了。但是他们并没有甘心接受胜利者所规定下的条件，非心服也。于是两方面的关系中发生了权力。权力是维持这关系所必需的手段，它是压迫性质的，是上下之别。从这种观点上看去，政府，甚至国家组织，如果握有这种权力的，是统治者的工具。跟下去还可以说，政府，甚至国家组织，只存在于阶级斗争的过程中。如果有一天“阶级斗争”的问题解决了，社会上不分阶级了，政府，甚至国家组织，都会像秋风里的梧桐叶一般自己凋谢落地。——这种权力我们不妨称之为横暴权力。

从社会合作一方面着眼的，却看到权力的另一性质。社会分工的结果，每个人都不能“不求人”而生活。分工对于每个人都有利的，因为这是经济的基础，人可以较少劳力得到较多收获；劳力是成本，是痛苦的，人靠了分工，减轻了生活担子，增加了享受。享受固然是人所乐从的，但贪了这种便宜，每个人都不能自足了，不能独善其身，不能不管“闲事”，因为如果别人不好好地安于其位地做他所分的工作，就会影响自己的生活。这时，为了自己，不能不干涉人家了。同样地，自己如果不尽其分，也会影响人家，受着人家的干涉。这样发生了权利和义务，从干涉别人一方面说是权利，从自己接受人家的干涉一方面说是义务。各人有维持各人的工作、维持各人可以互相监督的责任。没有人可以“任意”依自己高兴去做自己想做的事，而得遵守着大家同意分配的工作。可是这有什么保障呢？如果有人不遵守怎么办呢？这里发生共同授予的权力了。这种权力的基础是社会契约，是同意。社会分工愈复杂，这权力也愈扩大。如果不愿意受这种权力的限制，只有回到“不求人”的境界里去做鲁滨生，那时才真的顶天立地。不然，也得“小国寡民”以减少权力。再说得清楚些，得抛弃经济利益，不讲享受，像人猿泰山一般回到原始生活水准上去。不然的话，这种权力也总解脱不了。——这种

权力我们不妨称之为同意权力。

这两种看法都有根据的，并不冲突的，因为在人类社会里，这两种权力都存在，而且在事实层里，统治者，所谓政府，总同时代表着这两种权力，不过是配合的成分上有不同。原因是社会分化不容易，至少以已往的历史说，只有合作而没有冲突。这两种过程常是互相交割，错综混合，冲突里有合作，合作里有冲突，不很单纯的。所以上面两种性质的权力是概念上的区别，不常是事实上的区分。我们如果要明白一个社区的权力结构不能不从这两种权力怎样配合上去分析。有的社区偏重在这方面，有的社区偏重在那方面；而且更可以在一社区中，某些人间发生那一种权力关系，某些人间发生另一种权力关系。譬如说美国，表面上是偏重同意权力的，但是种族之间，事实上，却依旧是横暴权力在发生作用。

有人觉得权力本身是具有引诱力的，人有“权力的饥饿”。这种看法忽略了权力的工具性。人也许因为某种心理变态可能发生单纯的支配欲或所谓Sadism（残酷的嗜好），但这究竟不是正常。人们喜欢的是从权力得到的利益。如果握在手上的权力并不能得到利益，或是利益可以不必握有权力也能得到的话，权力引诱也就不会太强烈。譬如英国有一次民意测验，愿意自己孩子将来做议员或做阁员的人的比例很低。在英国做议员或做阁员的人薪水虽低，还是有着社会荣誉的报酬，大多数的人对此尚且并无急于攀登之意，如果连荣誉都不给的话，使用权力的人真成为公仆时，恐怕世界上许由、务光之类的人物也将不足为奇了。

权力之所以引诱人，最主要的应当是经济利益。在同意权力下，握有权力者并不是为了要保障自身特殊的利益，所以社会上必须用荣誉和高薪来延揽。至于横暴权力和经济利益的关系就更为密切了。统治者要用暴力来维持他们的地位不能是没有目的的，而所具的目的也很难想象不是经济的。我们很可以反过来说，如果没有经济利益可得，横暴权力也没有多大的意义，因之也不易发生。

甲团体想用权力来统治乙团体以谋得经济利益，必须有一前提：就是乙团体的存在可以供给这项利益；说得更明白一些，乙团体的生产量必须能超过它的消费量，然后有一些剩余去引诱甲团体来征服它。这是极重要的。一个只有生产他生存必需的消费品的人并没有资格做奴隶的。我说这话意思是想指出农业社会中横暴权力的限制。在广西瑶山里调查时，我常见到汉人侵占瑶人的土地，而并不征服瑶人来做奴隶。原因当然很多，但主要的一个，依我看来，是土地太贫乏，而种水田的瑶人，并不肯降低生活程度，做汉人的佃户。如果瑶人打不过汉人，他们就放弃土地搬到别处去。在农业民族的争斗中，最主要的方式是把土著赶走而占据他们的土地自己来耕种。尤其在人口已经很多，劳力可以自

足，土地利用已到了边际的时候更是如此。我们读历史，常常可以找到“坑卒几万人”之类的记录，至于见人便杀的流寇，一直到不久之前还是可能遭遇的经验。这种情形大概不是工业性的侵略权力所能了解的。

我并不是说在农业性的乡土社会基础上并不能建立横暴权力。相反的，我们常见这种社会是皇权的发祥地，那是因为乡土社会并不是一个富于抵抗能力的组织。农业民族受游牧民族的侵略是历史上不断的记录。这是不错的，东方的农业平原正是帝国的领域，但是农业的帝国是虚弱的，因为皇权并不能滋长壮健，能支配强大的横暴权力的基础不足，农业的剩余跟着人口增加而日减，和平又给人口增加的机会。

中国的历史很可助证这个看法：一个雄图大略的皇权，为了开疆辟土，筑城修河，这些原不能说是什么虐政，正可视作一笔投资，和罗斯福造田纳西工程性质可以有相类之处。但是缺乏储蓄的农业经济却受不住这种工程的费用，没有足够的剩余，于是怨声载道，与汝偕亡地和皇权为难了。这种有为的皇权不能不同时加强它对内的压力，费用更大，陈涉、吴广之流揭竿而起，天下大乱了。人民死亡遍地，人口减少了，于是乱久必合，又形成一个没有比休息更能引诱人的局面，皇权力求无为，所谓养民。养到一个时候，皇权逐渐累积了一些力量，这力量又刺激皇帝的雄图大略，这种循环也因而复始。

为了皇权自身的维持，在历史的经验中，找到了“无为”的生存价值，确立了无为政治的理想。

横暴权力有着这个经济的拘束，于是在天高皇帝远的距离下，把乡土社会中人民切身的公事让给了同意权力去活动了。可是同意权力却有着一套经济条件的限制。依我在上面所说的，同意权力是分工体系的产物。分工体系发达，这种权力才能跟着扩大。乡土社会是个小农经济，在经济上每个农家，除了盐铁之外，必要时很可关门自给。于是我们很可以想象同意权力的范围也可以小到“关门”的程度。在这里我们可以看到的是乡土社会里的权力结构，虽则名义上可以说是“专制”、“独裁”，但是除了自己不想持续的末代皇帝之外，在人民实际生活上看，是松弛和微弱的，是挂名的，是无为的。

⑪RULE BY ELDERS

To understand the power structure in rural society, one needs to go beyond the two concepts of power that I discussed in the previous chapter—dictatorial power and consensual power. We may use our understanding of the nature of rural societies as a means to explain the actual limitations of authoritarian governments in agrarian societies. But demonstrating these limitations does not lead us to infer that the power structure of rural society is somehow "democratic." Democracy is a form of consensual power. In a traditional agrarian society, although government rule may be dictatorial at the top, the force of that power does not penetrate rural areas to any great extent. In rural areas, government is very inactive, is really very weak. The relative absence of government in rural areas, however, does not then mean that local society becomes a place full of "citizens" possessing equal rights and jointly participating in their governance.

There is some controversy about the nature of Chinese local politics. Some people say that, although China does not have political democracy, it does have a sort of social democracy. Others say that in the Chinese political structure we can identify two layers, a non-democratic and a democratic layer, with the former on top and the latter on the bottom. There is some truth in both views. But I cannot say that either is correct, for the simple reason that there is another kind of power that is neither dictatorial nor consensual, a kind of power that arises from neither conflict nor cooperation. Instead, this kind of power emerges in the process of establishing an orderly succession in society, a kind of social reproduction, by which social power and privilege are passed from one generation to the next. A succession of this kind rests on power generated through education and through patriarchal privilege, or what is normally called "paternalism."

"Social reproduction" is a term I coined in my book Systems of Reproduction, but it is really not a new concept. It refers to a process of social metabolism. Life and death are capricious; the length of a person's life is always limited. The world is only a hotel in which one stays for a while; whether the stay is long or short does not make much difference. However, the rules in this hotel are more complicated and strict than those in actual

hotels. No newcomer understands the rules before entering the door. Moreover, those who enter the hotel do not do so by their own choice, and, once in, they cannot freely leave. There is only one hotel and no more. True, this hotel is large and has many sections; each section has a different culture with distinctive rules. The only similarity among sections is that they all have rules. They post on the wall their "Notice to the Guests," which seems to contain more than ten commandments. Those who live in this hotel have to receive an education; they have to know the rules well enough so that they can fully satisfy their desires without bumping up against the limits of what is possible.

Some of the rules in the society result from social conflicts, and others from social cooperation. Therefore, the limits of individual behavior in any particular setting are set by both dictatorial and consensual powers. But, regardless of how they are established, these are rules that demand people's understanding and compliance. If human beings were like ants and bees, things would be simpler. The rules of group life would be anchored in biology, so to master them would require no education. Human rules, however, are all human made. To pick up tofu gracefully with chopsticks and to dance in high heels without stepping on your partner's feet are not easy things to do. If you won't learn or if you won't practice, you cannot do these things correctly. And when you are learning to do them, you cannot fear the difficulties or dread the trouble. But fearing difficulties and dreading trouble are only natural. Therefore, learning requires some form of compulsion, and behind this compulsion there must be some form of power.

This kind of power is neither consensual nor dictatorial. It would be an exaggeration to say that we are entering into a social contract when we require our children to wear shoes outdoors. Social contracts presuppose the exercise of individual will. Individuals do not have the right to break the terms of their contract freely, but in the process of setting the terms of a contract, the free will of each individual needs to be respected. A democracy, therefore, is a form of government that combines both individual will and social compulsion. However, the process of education does not give rise to this kind of problem. The one who is being educated has no opportunity to exercise choice. What such a person learns is what we call wenhua, or culture itself. Culture exists before the individual. We Chinese do not use the term will in reference to a child's personality, because the process of education does not require that a child's will be recognized. Actually, what we call

"will" is not like a biological organ that develops gradually over time. And it is not a psychological phenomenon either. Rather, it is a social product, an object of social recognition. "Will"is an essential element in the maintenance of a consensual order, but not of other orders. That we do not recognize a "will" in nonadults proves that they have not yet entered a situation where order is assumed to be consensually based.

I said in my earlier book Systems of Reproduction, "Children come into a world that is made not for their convenience, but rather for that of adults. They enter the world with neither a capacity to establish a new order nor a desire to comply with the old order."[1] In teaching children how to live in society, those doing the teaching neither seek nor consider the advice and consent of the children they teach. We can certainly say that this process is undemocratic, but we cannot say it is dictatorial. Dictatorial power develops in the course of social conflicts and is a tool that rulers use to maximize their exploitation of the ruled. It is an overstatement, therefore, to say that the process of education is exploitative. I once wrote that raising and educating children is the sort of job that "harms the self, even as it benefits others." Except, perhaps, for a sense of spiritual fulfillment, what benefit does one get out of raising an embryo to an adult? There may be some exploitation when young children are treated as adults. But, at a minimum, having children in order to benefit from them economically is likely a losing proposition.

As I have written, it appears at first glance that "the amount of correction a child gets in one hour would exceed the criticism an adult would receive in one year. To be a citizen under the most tyrannical king is no worse than being a child with the most loving parents."[2] In fact, however, a strict father and a tyrannical king differ in that the parents substitute for society itself in the process of education. They teach the child how to mold his or her self according to established cultural patterns, and how to manage the social roles embedded in group life. The goal of this educational process is, on the one hand, for the benefit of society and, on the other hand, for the benefit of the person being educated. But either way, it is not a relationship that can be characterized as one of domination.

The power differential that arises as part of the process of education is most obvious in the parent-child relationship, but it is not restricted to that relationship. All cultural, as opposed to political, coercion partakes of this kind of power. The difference between culture and politics lies here: cultural norms are readily accepted because they are already taken for granted by the

society; politics, however, operate in the absence of a set of agreed-upon norms, when there are all sorts of different competing opinions about how to act and when short-term solutions to problems are sought. Unlike politics, the cultural foundation of a society is necessarily consensual, but to those new members of society, learning culture is a compulsory educational process.

In a relatively static society, culture is stable. There are very few new problems. Living consists primarily of following a set of traditional recipes. In a society completely regulated by tradition, there would be no politics, just education. Although such a society does not actually exist, rural society comes close. The simplicity of political action in our society is described in the sayings "To govern is to say little" (Wei zheng bu zai duo yan) and "To rule is to do nothing" (Wuwei er zhi). In this kind of society, human behavior is regulated by traditional rituals. Confucians were always interested in supporting a ruler who would base his power on the educational process, but they were never enthusiastic about maintaining a social order based on dictatorial powers. "Tyranny," they wrote, "is fiercer than a tiger." The proper way to rule, they said, is "to rule through ethics." The idea is carried further in the saying that prescribes how government officials are supposed to act: "Be parents to the people."This idea represents patriarchalism in China.

The extension of educational power to relationships among adults requires a stable culture. A stable cultural tradition provides a guarantee of efficacy. If we seek specific solutions for specific problems, we must, as the saying goes, "Even into old age, live and learn." Problems in each stage of life are different. Culture is like an almanac to which we constantly turn for guidance as new problems arise. In such a society, there is no dividing line, no entry point into adulthood, that puts a person beyond instruction. Everyone who is older than I must have come across the problems I encounter. Therefore, elders can be my "teachers." If three individuals walk together, one of them must be capable of teaching me how to deal with my problems. Every older person possesses the power to teach, and thereby to impose a culture upon, every younger person. Confucius even taught this. "Respect your elder brother," he said. That is, when you meet someone older, you must respect and submit to that person's educational power.

It is not an accident that, when we greet guests, we ask their age. Such politeness shows that, in our society, the way we treat each other is related to a social order based on seniority. The ranking by seniority also demonstrates the effectiveness of power gained through education. Seniority is an

extremely important principle in the way we address one another. We distinguish an elder brother from a younger brother, an elder sister from a younger sister, an uncle who is older than our father from one who is younger. Many other societies do not have these distinctions at all. I remember that my teacher Dr. Shirokogoroff once reminded me that the distinction between the senior and the junior is the most fundamental principle in the Chinese kinship system. Sometimes it even overrides the generational principle.[3] Kinship principles are formed in the midst of social life. The importance of the principle of seniority in Chinese society indicates the importance of education and of the power that arises from education.

When culture is unstable and when traditional methods are inadequate to solve current problems, educational power becomes restricted to the relationships between parents and children and between teachers and students, and lasts for a shorter period. In the process of social change, people cannot rely on experience for guidance. Instead, they must rely on abstract principles, principles that go beyond specific situations. Those who develop and use such principles are not necessarily older people. After all, competence of this sort is not closely related to age. It is related mainly to intelligence and expertise—and also to opportunity. And in reference to opportunity, younger people may have more chances to show their competence than older people, because they are less afraid of change; they are curious and willing to experiment.

In periods of social transition, habits limit one's ability to adapt to change. In such times, it is obstinate and backward-looking to use past experiences as a measure of present actions. Such obstinacy and backwardness are not merely foolish and humorous at times, but are a threat to survival under the changed circumstances. If a child calls his father by a nickname, he will not risk being scolded for being informal. Quite the contrary, this expression of intimacy will give the father the comfort of not being pushed aside. When respect is not based on age, comparing who is senior and who is junior becomes a meaningless exercise; people will stop asking about each other's age when they first meet. This kind of society is far removed from rural society.

Now let us return to China's rural society. Its structure of power contains elements of both dictatorial and consensual power; but, besides these, the structure of power rests upon education. This power generated in the process of education is neither democratic nor dictatorial; it differs from both.

Therefore, if you measure Chinese society by the standards of Western concepts of democracy, there will be some similarities, but it will not be exactly the same. Such comparisons are inaccurate, for the terms do not apply. If another term were really required to characterize the power structure in Chinese, then I could not suggest anything better than "rule by elders" (zhanglao tongzhi).

拾壹　长老统治

要了解乡土社会的权力结构，只从我在上篇所分析的横暴权力和同意权力两个概念去看还是不够的。我们固然可以从乡土社会的性质上去说明横暴权力所受到事实上的限制，但是这并不是说乡土社会权力结构是普通所谓“民主”形式的。民主形式根据同意权力，在乡土社会中，把横暴权力所加上的一层“政府”的统治揭开，在传统的无为政治中这层统治本来并不很强的，基层上所表现出来的却并不完全是许多权利上相等的公民共同参预的政治。这里正是讨论中国基层政治性质的一个谜。有人说中国虽没有政治民主，却有社会民主。也有人说中国政治结构可分为两层，不民主的一层压在民主的一层上边。这些看法都有一部分近似，说近似而不说确当是因为这里还有一种权力，既不是横暴性质，又不是同意性质；既不是发生于社会冲突，又不是发生于社会合作。它是发生于社会继替的过程，是教化性的权力，或是说爸爸式的，英文里是Paternalism。

社会继替是我在《生育制度》一书中提出来的一个新名词，但并不是一个新的概念，这就是指社会成员新陈代谢的过程。生死无常，人寿有限。从个人说这个世界不过是个逆旅，寄寓于此的这一阵子，久暂相差不远。但是这个逆旅却是有着比任何客栈、饭店更杂复和更严格的规律。没有一个新来的人，在进门之前就明白这一套的。不但如此，到这“逆旅”里来的，又不是由于自己的选择，来了之后又不得任意搬家；只此一家，别无分店。当然，在这大店里有着不同部分，每个部分，我们称之为不同文化的区域，有着不完全的规律，但是有规律这一点却并无轩轾。没有在墙壁上不挂着比“十诫”还多的“旅客须知”的。因之，每个要在这逆旅里生活的人就得接受一番教化，使他能在这些众多规律下，从心所欲而不碰着铁壁。

社会中的规律有些是社会冲突的结果，也有些是社会合作的结果。在个人行为的四周所张起的铁壁，有些是横暴的，有些是同意的。但是无论如何，这些规律是要人遵守的，规律的内容要人明白的。人如果像蚂蚁或是蜜蜂，情形也简单了。群体生活的规律有着生理的保障，不学而能。人的规律类皆人为。用筷子夹豆腐，穿了高跟鞋跳舞不践别人的脚，真是难为人的规律；不学，不习，固然不成，学习时还得不怕困，不惮烦。不怕困，不惮烦，又非天性；于是不能不加以一些强制。强制发生了权力。

这样发生的权力并非同意，又非横暴。说孩子们必须穿鞋才准上街是一种社会契约未免过分。所谓社会契约必先假定个人的意志。个人对于这种契约虽则并没有自由解脱的权利，但是这种契约性的规律在形成的过程中，必须尊重各个人的自由意志，民主政治的形式就是综合个人意志和社会强制的结果。在教化过程中并不发生这个问题，被教化者并没有选择的机会。他所要学习的那一套，我们称作文化的，是先于他而存在的。我们不用“意志”加在未成年的孩子的人格中，就因为在教化过程里并不需要这种承认。其实，所谓意志并不像生理上的器官一样是慢慢长成的，这不是心理现象，而是社会的承认。在维持同意秩序中，这是个必需的要素；在别的秩序中也就不发生了。我们不承认未成年的人有意志，也就说明了他们并没有进入同意秩序的事实。

我曾说：“孩子碰着的不是一个为他方便而设下的世界，而是一个为成人们方便所布置下的园地。他闯入进来，并没有带着创立新秩序的力量，可是又没有个服从旧秩序的心愿。”（《生育制度》，一○一页）。从并不征求，也不考虑他们同意而设下他们必须适应的社会生活方式的一方面说，教化他们的人可以说是不民主的，但是说是横暴却又不然。横暴权力是发生于社会冲突，是利用来剥削被统治者以获得利益的工具。如果说教化过程是剥削性的，显然也是过分的。我曾称这是个“损己利人”的工作，一个人担负一个胚胎培养到成人的责任，除了精神上的安慰外，物质上有什么好处呢？“成人”的时限降低到生理上尚是儿童的程度，从而开始“剥削”，也许是可以发生的现象，但是为经济打算而生男育女，至少是一件打算得不大精到的亏本生意。

从表面上看，“一个孩子在一小时中所受到的干涉，一定会超过成年人一年中所受社会指摘的次数。在最专制的君王手下做老百姓，也不会比一个孩子在最疼他的父母手下过日子为难过。”（同上注）但是性质上严父和专制君王究竟是不同的。所不同的就在教化过程是代替社会去陶炼出合于在一定的文化方式中经营群体生活的分子，担负这工作的，一方面可以说是为了社会，一方面可以说是为了被教化者，并不是统治关系。

教化性的权力虽则在亲子关系里表现得最明显，但并不限于亲子关系。凡是文化性的，不是政治性的强制都包含这种权力。文化和政治的区别是在这里：凡是被社会不成问题地加以接受的规范，是文化性的；当一个社会还没有共同接受一套规范，各种意见纷呈，求取临时解决办法的活动是政治。文化的基础必须是同意的，但文化对于社会的新分子是强制的，是一种教化过程。

在变化很少的社会里，文化是稳定的，很少新的问题，生活是一套传统的办法。如果我们能想象一个完全由传统所规定下的社会生活，这

社会可以说是没有政治的，有的只是教化。事实上固然并没有这种社会，但是乡土社会却是靠近这种标准的社会。“为政不在多言”、“无为而治”都是描写政治活动的单纯。也是这种社会，人的行为有着传统的礼管束着。儒家很有意用思想形成一个建筑在教化权力上的王者，他们从没有热心于横暴权力所维持的秩序。“苛政猛于虎”的政是横暴性的，“为政以德”的政是教化性的。“为民父母”是爸爸式权力的意思。

教化权力的扩大到成人之间的关系必须得假定个稳定的文化。稳定的文化传统是有效的保证。我们如果就个别问题求个别应付时，不免“活到老，学到老”，因为每一段生活所遇着的问题是不同的。文化像是一张生活谱，我们可以按着问题去查照。所以在这种社会里没有我们现在所谓成年的界限。凡是比自己年长的，他必定先发生过我现在才发生的问题，他也就可以是我的“师”了。三人行，必有可以教给我怎样去应付问题的人。而每一个年长的人都握有强制年幼的人的教化权力：“出则悌”，逢着年长的人都得恭敬、顺服于这种权力。

在我们客套中互问年龄并不是偶然的，这礼貌正反映出我们这个社会里相互对待的态度是根据长幼之序。长幼之序也点出了教化权力所发生的效力。在我们亲属称谓中，长幼是一个极重要的原则，我们分出兄和弟、姊和妹、伯和叔，在许多别的民族并不这样分法。我记得老师史禄国先生曾提示过我：这种长幼分划是中国亲属制度中最基本的原则，有时可以掩盖世代原则。亲属原则是在社会生活中形成的，长幼原则的重要也表示了教化权力的重要。

文化不稳定，传统的办法并不足以应付当前的问题时，教化权力必然跟着缩小，缩进亲子关系、师生关系，而且更限于很短的一个时间。在社会变迁的过程中，人并不能靠经验作指导。能依赖的是超出个别情境的原则，而能形成原则、应用原则的却不一定是长者。这种能力和年龄的关系不大，重要的是智力和专业，还可加一点机会。讲机会，年幼的比年长的反而多。他们不怕变，好奇，肯试验。在变迁中，习惯是适应的阻碍，经验等于顽固和落伍。顽固和落伍并非只是口头上的讥笑，而是生存机会上的威胁。在这种情形中，一个孩子用小名来称呼他的父亲，不但不会引起父亲的呵责，反而是一种亲热的表示，同时也给父亲一种没有被挤的安慰。尊卑不在年龄上，长幼成为没有意义的比较，见面也不再问贵庚了。——这种社会离乡土性也远了。

回到我们的乡土社会来，在它的权力结构中，虽则有着不民主的横暴权力，也有着民主的同意权力，但是在这两者之间还有教化权力，后者既非民主又异于不民主的专制，是另有一工的。所以用民主和不民主的尺度来衡量中国社会，都是也都不是，都有些像，但都不确当。一定要给它一个名词的话，我一时想不出比“长老统治”更好的说法了。

⑫CONSANGUINITY AND REGIONALISM

In a static culture, substantial social differences appear between people who differ only in age. The older people wield imposing power over the younger. This is the foundation of a consanguineous society. Consanguinity (xueyuan) means that people's rights and obligations are determined by kinship. Kinship is the relationship constituted through reproduction and marriage. Strictly speaking, consanguinity only defines the relatedness that derives from reproduction, from the parent-child relationship. And in truth, in a society having a patrilineal kinship organization, kinship derived through reproduction is valued much more highly than that derived through marriage, so much so that we can call such a society consanguineous.

Reproduction is necessary for social continuity. This is true for all societies. What differs, however, is that in some societies a person's social position derives from relationships that are fixed by the fact of procreation, while in others this form of relatedness is less important. The former society is consanguineous. Generally speaking, consanguineous societies are stable and static. It is difficult for a society undergoing frequent changes to remain consanguineous. Social stability suggests a lack of structural changes; even though individuals change position within the structure, the structure itself remains motionless. People are limited by their fate, by the circumstance of their birth; they continue in life as long as they can, and then they die. The consanguineous society maintains structural stability by using the biological process underlying reproduction as the medium to establish social continuity. The principle is that when the father dies, the son succeeds. A farmer's son becomes a farmer, and a merchant's son becomes a merchant; such successions in occupation are consanguineous. An aristocrat's son becomes an aristocrat; such succession in identity is consanguineous. A rich man's son becomes rich; such succession in wealth is consanguineous. Up to the present time, very few societies have entirely abandoned all forms of consanguineous succession—such is the power and importance of kinship in the reproductive process. However, if the social structure is changing, it is also impossible for

succession to be determined entirely according to consanguinity. Until such time as reproduction is fully socialized, the strength of consanguinity will be determined by rates of social change.

The social positions determined by consanguinity are not subject to individual choice, since the determination of one's parents is sheer chance. It seems irrational that societies should use the circumstance of parentage to decide everyone's occupation, status, and wealth. The only argument for the rationality of this procedure would be that it is the most basic way to stabilize an existing order. Therefore, as long as one accepts the principle of consanguinity (and who, in fact, has ever seriously doubted or explored the reason for the existence of such a principle?), many different kinds of social disputes will simply not occur at all.

Consanguinity is a stabilizing force. In stable societies, a tie to a specific place (diyuan), or regionalism, is no more than an extension of consanguinity and cannot be separated from it. "Being born and dying in the same place" fixes the relationship between places and people. Therefore, birth—that is, one's bloodline—determines one's ties to a location. The reproduction of a population across generations resembles sprouts growing out of the same tree trunks; in space, there appear to be clumps of people. This closeness in space reflects the closeness in consanguinity. Geographical location is actually socialized space. We distinguish directions in terms of superiority and inferiority: the left is superior to the right, and the south superior to the north. These are consanguineous coordinates. Space itself is inherently formless, but using our consanguineous coordinates, we divide space into directions and into positions. In fact, the word we use to describe the location of a person in society, "position" (diwei), was originally used to indicate a location in"space" (kongjian), but gradually the term acquired a social significance as well. This change in meaning should remind us that our association with "a place" (di) rests on social relationships.

Those societies where people do not move around much tend to be self-sufficient enough that very little migration is required. Where the population is static, lineage groups actually imply a geographical location. In fact, the concept of village may be superfluous. We have heard the children's song "Row, row, row your boat to grandma's home."From our own experience, we know that "grandma's home" means an enduring relationship to a place. This combination of consanguinity and regionalism is what communities, in their original sense, were all about.

But human beings are, after all, not plants; they will move. Lineage segmentation, that process of "cell division" in rural society, is unavoidable. A constantly reproducing consanguineous group cannot live together in one place for very long. The group needs a certain amount of land for its survival, but the population of the group necessarily grows beyond the capacity of the land nearby to provide for it. When this occurs, the group has to segment geographically, because the distance between where people live and where they farm becomes so great that it hinders their ability to farm. But because a group's landholdings cannot be expanded without limit, what happens in the short run is that existing landholdings are farmed ever more intensively. Such intensive cultivation leads to gradually decreasing productivity, so the group is again restricted by its ability to survive on a given allotment of land. Again the group is forced to divide. The lineage segment that splits off moves to other places to look for land.

If the lineage segment is able to claim some land that has never been worked before and to develop a village community there, it will still maintain its consanguineous connections with the original village, and even name the new place after the old. Its actions would seem to deny that any real separation occurred. This phenomenon is commonplace in societies with many immigrants. If people traveling in the United States just looked at the names of places, they would have the illusion that Europe had been transplanted there. New England and New York are famous examples. Many Londons and many Moscows can be found on the American map. In our own case, however, consanguineous geographical relationships are much more conspicuous. I left my hometown, Wujiang, when I was ten years old, and lived in Suzhou for nine years. Both are in Jiangsu province. But whenever I fill out a form of some kind, I put "Wujiang, Jiangsu" as my native place (jiguan). During the recent war, I lived in Yunnan for eight years, but my native place did not change. Even my child, born in Yunnan, inherited my native place. She will probably write "Wujiang, Jiangsu" on all the forms that she fills out throughout her life. My ancestors lived in Wujiang for over twenty generations, but our lanterns bore the big red characters"Jiangxia Fei." Jiangxia is in Hubei province; so, geographically speaking, why should I be connected with Jiangxia? That is the same with my child: on what grounds should she have a geographical connection with Wujiang, a place she has never been to? Obviously, in our rural society, one's geographical location does not create a distinctive identity. Our native place is the same as our

father's native place, rather than the place of our birth or the place where we currently live. We inherit a native place just as we inherit a family name; it is like a blood relationship. Therefore, we can conclude that one's native place is only the projection of consanguinity into space.

Many people who migrate from their hometowns do not start new villages in other places. Instead, they settle down in other established communities. If these people who have no relatives nearby could organize a local group, this group would be based not on blood relationships but on a current geographical location. In this case, consanguinity and geography would be separated. But this seldom happens in Chinese rural society. In villages in all parts of the country, I often met people who are labeled "guest" (kebian), "new guest" (xinke), or "outsider" (waicunren). Their residential registration cards also indicate that they are "nonnatives"(jiji). Modern cities always establish procedures for how people are able to become legal residents, and the main requirement is a certain period of residence. However, in rural villages, the period of residence does not matter. I know many people who have lived in a village for several generations but are still called "new guests."

When I was doing surveys in Jiangcun and in Lucun, I paid close attention to the question "How can one become a native villager?"Generally speaking, the replies suggested that anyone who wanted to be considered a native resident had to fulfill several conditions. The first condition was that the person have "roots" in the earth—that is, own land in the village. The second condition was that he or she enter local kinship circles through marriage. These are not easy conditions to satisfy. The land in rural China cannot be bought and sold freely. The rights over the land are protected by lineages, so it is difficult to sell land to outsiders unless the sale is approved by the lineage groups themselves. Marriage is certainly a way to gain a social connection to a geographical location. When a woman marries a man in a different community and goes to live in his home, she becomes a member of that community. Likewise, if a man marries into the bride's family, he, too, can enter the local community. However, it is not easy for a "guest" to marry a local woman, and, besides that, such a marriage would allow their children to be considered members of the local community. Perhaps the person needs to own land first before he can more readily enter into the local consanguineous networks. But this is only my hypothesis; I need comparable material from other villages to substantiate it.

The "guest" residents (those who live on the margin of the community) cannot be regarded as having entered the village group, because they often do not have the same rights as the residents. They are not seen as "insiders"and cannot be trusted. I previously wrote that rural society is an intimate society, but here we have people who are "strangers," with an unknown past; so native people are suspicious of them. Nevertheless, because of this very characteristic, "guest" residents find special vocations in rural societies.

The intimacy of close kinship ties limits some kinds of social activities, mainly those requiring conflict or competition. Your relatives and you are from the same blood; you have all sprouted from one root. In principle, you share the same fate; your pains and sorrows are interconnected, and so you should help meet each other's needs. Moreover, living closely and intimately with each other, relatives become, over long periods of time, mutually interdependent in many aspects of their lives. There is no way to count the favors given or received. The unity of the intimate group depends on the fact that each member owes countless favors to the other members. This all seems so obvious to us that we take it for granted. Friends vie with each other to pay bills, each hoping to let the others "owe them one"(renqing). Such debts are like an investment to the lender. When you owe another person a favor (renqing), you have to look for an opportunity to return a bigger favor. By repaying the favor with a bigger favor, you make others owe you more favors in the future. So it goes, back and forth; the continuing reciprocation maintains the cooperation among people in the group. It is impossible for a person not to owe favors in such an intimate group. In fact, people are afraid to square their accounts (suanzhang). To settle accounts (suanzhang) or to be completely square (qingsuan) with somebody means to break off relationships, because if people do not owe something to each other, there will be no need for further contact.

But no matter how close relatives are to you, they are, after all, not you. Although relatives are concerned with each other, their concern goes only so deep. To maintain the closeness of the group—to ensure that intimacy itself does not turn into resentment—too many favors, too much renqing, should be avoided. In social relationships (shehui guanxi), rights and obligations must be mutually balanced, although the balancing of the relationship may be spaced out over a long period of time. But if it is one-sided, a social relationship cannot be sustained without some kind of compulsory force. One of the methods to prevent a break in social relationships is to reduce the

burdens placed on the relationship itself. For example, in the rural areas of Yunnan province, there are "money clubs" (qianhui) called cong; these clubs are a type of cooperative credit association. I investigated the relationship of those people in the cong and found two underlying similarities among members. First, each cong excluded relatives from the same lineage; second, it included friends with whom members had no kinship relationship. I asked why the members did not let people from the same lineage join their cong. The reason they gave is very practical. In theory, people belonging to the same lineage have an obligation to take care of each other's needs and generally to help each other. If kinsmen are able and kind, they will directly loan money to relatives without joining a cong. In truth, such generous relatives are fairly rare. However, if relatives join a cong and do not pay their loans on time, it is difficult to force them to do so because of the members' relationship (renqing) with them. These unrepaid loans will cause the cong to fail. For this reason, people trying to start a cong do not recruit members of their own lineage. Other relatives, such as those on the mother's side, may join a cong, but often they do not pay their money on time either. I once interviewed the head of a cong who was worried about exactly this kind of situation. He told me with a sigh that it is best not to be involved with relatives in money matters. His words provide an explanation of what I meant above about lightening the burden on social relations with relatives.

The more developed the society, the more frequent and complex the contacts among people become, and the more difficult it is to maintain a good balance between one's rights and obligations by relying simply on renqing, on one's intuitive sense about the appropriate levels of reciprocation between people. Therefore, the need to "settle accounts on the spot" increases. In this context, money becomes both the unit of exchange to settle accounts and the medium of exchange to calculate levels of reciprocation. With money as the unit, the settling of accounts can be exact. And with money as the medium, a balanced credit relationship can be guaranteed. Renqing exchanges based on money calculations allow accounts to be cleared; they also bring this aspect of life into the scope of what is normally included in "the economy."In a narrow sense, then, renqing-motivated money exchanges become subsumed under the knack of doing business; hence, these aspects of life become commercialized.

Commerce cannot exist in an intimate consanguineous society. Although exchanges do take place in such a society, people exchange with renqing, by

giving gifts to each other. In essence, both exchanging gifts and exchanging goods for commercial purposes can be used to supply needs. The two differ only in how people settle their accounts. A barter trading system based on large-scale exchanges of presents can still be seen in the Pacific islands. The Kula system that Malinowski described and analyzed is such an example.[1] This system of trade is not only complex but also quite restrictive: trading relationships are usually established among people not connected by ties of consanguinity. In Chinese rural society, there are special markets created for trading. The markets usually are located not in a village but in an open space. People from all over come to this special place and act, as they say, "without human feelings" (wuqing). When they trade, people momentarily set aside their original relationships and settle all exchanges on the spot. I have often seen neighbors carrying goods to a market ten miles (li) away to exchange with each other and then walk the long distance back home again. Why can't they exchange at their front doors? Why should they make such a long trip to the market? The trip has its function. When standing at their own front doors, they are neighbors. But when they are in the market, they are "strangers." The act of settling accounts on the spot should occur only between strangers and should not involve other social relationships.

When an economy becomes more complex and exchanges in periodic markets give way to exchanges in established stores, the position of "guest"provides a special convenience. The outsiders living on the margin of a consanguineous community become the vehicle for business activities. The villagers can bargain with them and square their accounts with them on the spot. Favors are unnecessary, and there is no need to feel embarrassed in bargaining. According to what I have learned, except for some stands run by poor old people who are virtually beggars, most stores in villages are run by the "new guests"—people from outside the village. Here, too, business develops outside of consanguineous relationships.

Regionalism, the geographical tie to a home region, is a social relationship that has developed out of commerce. Blood ties provide the foundation for status in Chinese society, but regional ties provide the foundation for contractual obligations. Contract here means the agreement reached between strangers. When making contracts, people exercise their freedom of choice. In carrying out their contracts, people rely both on the trustworthiness of the parties and on the law. If laws are to be effective, they must be supported by the consensual power of the people. To fulfill the

conditions of a contract is to settle accounts—to take complete care of the rights and obligations as required by the terms of the contract. This requires careful calculation, an exact unit of exchange, and a reliable medium of exchange. Calm thinking is involved, not personal emotion. Reason dominates contractual activities. These are special features of modern society, and they are exactly what rural society lacks.

Changing from a society linked together through blood ties to a society integrated on the basis of geographical location is a qualitative, historically momentous social transformation.

拾贰　血缘和地缘

缺乏变动的文化里，长幼之间发生了社会的差次，年长的对年幼的具有强制的权力。这是血缘社会的基础。血缘的意思是人和人的权利和义务根据亲属关系来决定。亲属是由生育和婚姻所构成的关系。血缘，严格说来，只指由生育所发生的亲子关系。事实上，在单系的家族组织中所注重的亲属确多由于生育而少由于婚姻，所以说是血缘也无妨。

生育是社会持续所必需的，任何社会都一样，所不同的是说有些社会用生育所发生的社会关系来规定各人的社会地位，有些社会却并不如此。前者是血缘的。大体上说来，血缘社会是稳定的，缺乏变动；变动得大的社会，也就不易成为血缘社会。社会的稳定是指它结构的静止，填入结构中各个地位的个人是不能静止的，他们受着生命的限制，不能永久停留在那里，他们是要死的。血缘社会就是想用生物上的新陈代谢作用——生育，去维持社会结构的稳定。父死子继：农人之子恒为农，商人之子恒为商——那是职业的血缘继替；贵人之子依旧贵——那是身份的血缘继替；富人之子依旧富——那是财富的血缘继替。到现在固然很少社会能完全抛弃血缘继替，那是以亲属来担负生育的时代不易做到的。但是社会结构如果发生变动，完全依血缘去继替也属不可能。生育没有社会化之前，血缘作用的强弱似乎是以社会变迁的速率来决定。

血缘所决定的社会地位不容个人选择。世界上最用不上意志，同时在生活上又是影响最大的决定，就是谁是你的父母。谁当你的父母，在你说，完全是机会，且是你存在之前的既存事实。社会用这个无法竞争，又不易藏没、歪曲的事实来作分配各人的职业、身份、财产的标准，似乎是最没有理由的了；如果有理由的话，那是因为这是安稳既存秩序的最基本的办法。只要你接受了这原则，（我们有谁曾认真地怀疑过这事实？我们又有谁曾想为这原则探讨过存在的理由？）社会里很多可能引起的纠纷也随着不发生了。

血缘是稳定的力量。在稳定的社会中，地缘不过是血缘的投影，不分离的。“生于斯，死于斯”把人和地的因缘固定了。生，也就是血，决定了他的地。世代间人口的繁殖，像一个根上长出的树苗，在地域上靠近在一伙。地域上的靠近可以说是血缘上亲疏的一种反映，区位是社会化了的空间。我们在方向上分出尊卑：左尊于右，南尊于北，这是血缘的坐标。空间本身是混然的，但是我们却用了血缘的坐标把空间划分了方向和位置。当我们用“地位”两字来描写一个人在社会中所占的据点

时，这个原是指“空间”的名词却有了社会价值的意义。这也告诉我们“地”的关联派生于社会关系。

在人口不流动的社会中，自足自给的乡土社会的人口是不需要流动的，家族这社群包含着地域的涵义。村落这个概念可以说是多余的。儿谣里“摇摇摇，摇到外婆家”，在我们自己的经验中，“外婆家”充满着地域的意义。血缘和地缘的合一是社区的原始状态。

但是人究竟不是植物，还是要流动的。乡土社会中无法避免的是“细胞分裂”的过程，一个人口在繁殖中的血缘社群，繁殖到一定程度，他们不能在一定地域上集居了，那是因为这社群所需的土地面积，因人口繁殖，也得不断地扩大。扩大到一个程度，住的地和工作的地距离太远，阻碍着效率时，这社群不能不在区位上分裂。——这还是以土地可以无限扩张时说的。事实上，每个家族可以向外开垦的机会很有限，人口繁殖所引起的常是向内的精耕，精耕受着土地报酬递减律的限制，逼着这社群分裂，分出来的部分到别的地方去找耕地。

如果分出去的细胞能在荒地上开垦，另外繁殖成个村落，它和原来的乡村还是保持着血缘的联系，甚至把原来地名来称这新地方，那是说否定了空间的分离。这种例子在移民社会中很多。在美国旅行的人，如果只看地名，会发生这是个“揉乱了的欧洲”的幻觉。新英伦、纽约（新约克）是著名的；伦敦、莫斯科等地名在美国地图上都找得到，而且不止一个。以我们自己来说罢，血缘性的地缘更是显著。我十岁离开了家乡——吴江，在苏州城里住了九年，但是我一直在各种文件的籍贯项下填着“江苏吴江”。抗战时期在云南住了八年，籍贯毫无改变，甚至生在云南的我的孩子，也继承着我的籍贯。她的一生大概也得老是填“江苏吴江”了。我们的祖宗在吴江已有二十多代，但是在我们的灯笼上却贴着“江夏费”的大红字。江夏是在湖北，从地缘上说，我有什么理由和江夏攀关系？真和我的孩子一般，凭什么可以和她从来没有到过的吴江发生地缘呢？在这里很显然在我们乡土社会里地缘还没有独立成为一种构成团结力的关系。我们的籍贯是取自我们的父亲的，并不是根据自己所生或所住的地方，而是和姓一般继承的，那是“血缘”，所以我们可以说籍贯只是“血缘的空间投影”。

很多离开老家漂流到别地方去的并不能像种子落入土中一般长成新村落，他们只能在其他已经形成的社区中设法插进去。如果这些没有血缘关系的人能结成一个地方社群，他们之间的联系可以是纯粹的地缘，而不是血缘了。这样血缘和地缘才能分离。但是事实上在中国乡土社会中却相当困难。我常在各地的村子里看到被称为“客边”、“新客”、“外村人”等的人物。在户口册上也有注明“寄籍”的。在现代都市里都规定着可以取得该地公民权的手续，主要的是一定的居住时期。但是在乡村

里居住时期并不是个重要条件，因为我知道许多村子里已有几代历史的人还是被称为“新客”或“客边”的。

我在江村和禄村调查时都注意过这问题，“怎样才能成为村子里的人？”大体上说有几个条件，第一是要生根在土里：在村子里有土地。第二是要从婚姻中进入当地的亲属圈子。这几个条件并不是容易的，因为在中国乡土社会中土地并不充分自由卖买。土地权受着氏族的保护，除非得到氏族的同意，很不易把土地卖给外边人。婚姻的关系固然是取得地缘的门路，一个人嫁到了另一个地方去就成为另一个地方的人（入赘使男子可以进入另一地方社区），但是已经住入了一个地方的“外客”却并不容易娶得本地人做妻子，使他的儿女有个进入当地社区的机会。事实上大概先得有了土地，才能在血缘网中生根。——这不过是我的假设，还得更多比较材料加以证实，才能成立。

这些寄居于社区边缘上的人物并不能说已插入了这村落社群中，因为他们常常得不到一个普通公民的权利，他们不被视作自己人，不被人所信托。我已说过乡土社会是个亲密的社会，这些人却是“陌生”人，来历不明，形迹可疑。可是就在这个特性上却找到了他们在乡土社会中的特殊职业。

亲密的血缘关系限制着若干社会活动，最主要的是冲突和竞争；亲属是自己人，从一个根本上长出来的枝条，原则上是应当痛痒相关，有无相通的。而且亲密的共同生活中各人互相依赖的地方是多方面和长期的，因之在授受之间无法一笔一笔地清算往回。亲密社群的团结性就依赖于各分子间都相互地拖欠着未了的人情。在我们社会里看得最清楚，朋友之间抢着会账，意思是要对方欠自己一笔人情，像是投一笔资。欠了别人的人情就得找一个机会加重一些去回个礼，加重一些就在使对方反欠了自己一笔人情。来来往往，维持着人和人之间的互助合作。亲密社群中既无法不互欠人情，也最怕“算账”。“算账”、“清算”等于绝交之谓，因为如果相互不欠人情，也就无需往来了。

但是亲属尽管怎样亲密，究竟是体外之己；虽说痛痒相关，事实上痛痒走不出皮肤的。如果要维持这种亲密团体中的亲密，不成为“不是冤家不碰头”，也必须避免太重叠的人情。社会关系中权利和义务必须有相当的平衡，这平衡可以在时间上拉得很长，但是如果是一面倒，社会关系也就要吃不消，除非加上强制的力量，不然就会折断的。防止折断的方法之一是在减轻社会关系上的担负。举一个例子来说：云南乡下有一种称上賨的钱会，是一种信用互助组织。我调查了参加賨的人的关系，看到两种倾向，第一是避免同族的亲属，第二是侧重在没有

亲属关系的朋友方面。我问他们为什么不找同族亲属入賨？他们的理由是很现实的。同族的亲属理论上有互通有无、相互救济的责任，如果有能力，有好意，不必入賨就可以直接给钱帮忙。事实上，这种慷慨的亲属并不多，如果拉了入賨，假若不按期交款时，碍于人情不能逼，结果賨也吹了。所以他们干脆不找同族亲属。其他亲属如舅家的人虽有入賨的，但是也常发生不交款的事。我调查时就看到一位賨首为此发急的情形。他很感慨地说：钱上往来最好不要牵涉亲戚。这句话就是我刚才所谓减轻社会关系上的担负的注解。

社会生活愈发达，人和人之间往来也愈繁重，单靠人情不易维持相互间权利和义务的平衡。于是“当场算清”的需要也增加了。货币是清算的单位和媒介，有了一定的单位，清算时可以正确；有了这媒介可以保证各人间所得和所欠的信用。“钱上往来”就是这种可以当场算清的往来，也就是普通包括在“经济”这个范围之内的活动，狭义地说是生意经，或是商业。

在亲密的血缘社会中商业是不能存在的。这并不是说这种社会不发生交易，而是说他们的交易是以人情来维持的，是相互馈赠的方式。实质上馈赠和贸易都是有无相通，只在清算方式上有差别。以馈赠来经营大规模的易货在太平洋岛屿间还可以看得到。Malinowski所描写和分析的Kula制度就是一个例证。但是这种制度不但复杂，而且很受限制。普通的情形是在血缘关系之外去建立商业基础。在我们乡土社会中，有专门作贸易活动的街集。街集时常不在村子里，而在一片空场上，各地的人到这特定的地方，各以“无情”的身份出现。在这里大家把原来的关系暂时搁开，一切交易都得当场算清。我常看见隔壁邻舍大家老远地走上十多里在街集上交换清楚之后，又老远地背回来。他们何必到街集上去跑这一趟呢，在门前不是就可以交换的么？这一趟是有作用的，因为在门前是邻舍，到了街集上才是“陌生”人。当场算清是陌生人间的行为，不能牵涉其他社会关系的。

从街集贸易发展到店面贸易的过程中，“客边”的地位有了特殊的方便了。寄籍在血缘性社区边缘上的外边人成了商业活动的媒介。村子里的人对他可以讲价钱，可以当场算清，不必讲人情，没有什么不好意

思。所以依我所知道的村子里开店面的，除了穷苦的老年人摆个摊子，等于是乞丐性质外，大多是外边来的“新客”。商业是在血缘之外发展的。

地缘是从商业里发展出来的社会关系。血缘是身份社会的基础，而地缘却是契约社会的基础。契约是指陌生人中所作的约定。在订定契约时，各人有选择的自由，在契约进行中，一方面有信用，一方面有法律。法律需要一个同意的权力去支持。契约的完成是权利义务的清算，须要精密的计算，确当的单位，可靠的媒介。在这里是冷静的考虑，不是感情，于是理性支配着人们的活动——这一切是现代社会的特性，也正是乡土社会所缺的。

从血缘结合转变到地缘结合是社会性质的转变，也是社会史上的一个大转变。

⑬SEPARATING NAMES FROM REALITY

It is convenient to regard rural society as basically static, especially when we contrast it with modern society. But, in fact, no society is entirely static. Rural society simply changes more slowly than modern society. Although slow, the pace of change in rural society is indicative of something more. Different rates of change may indicate different types of change. In this chapter, I am going to discuss the type of change that occurs in the slow transformation of rural society.

When I discussed the nature of power, I proposed three types: dictatorial power growing out of social conflict; consensual power growing out of social cooperation; and paternalistic power growing out of generational succession. Now I want to propose a fourth type, which occurs in periods of rapid social transition. The term generational succession indicates individual mobility in a society with a fixed social structure. The term social transition indicates changes in the social structure itself. The two processes of change are not necessarily in conflict but, rather, can coexist. No society would suddenly one day turn up with an entirely different social structure. No matter how fast the transition was, it would still be gradual. Whatever changes occur in a given period of time, they always pertain only to a small part of the whole social structure. Therefore, the two types of power that grow out of the two social processes necessarily exist simultaneously. But they are inversely related; as one wanes, the other waxes. If society changes slowly, paternalistic power is stronger; if it changes rapidly, a different phenomenon occurs, which is characterized by the saying "Fathers do not act like fathers, and sons do not act like sons" (fu bu fu, zi bu zi). Therefore, when rapid changes occur, the paternalistic power of fathers over sons diminishes accordingly.

A social structure itself has no inherent need to change. Some scholars, including one I mentioned earlier, Oswald Spengler, view social structure (which they see as a major component of culture) as an organic being that, like our bodies, has a life cycle. In youth, it is strong; in old age, it is weak. I

am not willing to accept this view, for social structure, like other parts of culture, is produced by people; it is a tool used by people in society to satisfy their needs. Changes in a social structure occur when the social structure no longer meets people's needs, and people want it to change. It is like writing characters with a brush. A brush and Chinese characters are tools, and we use them to convey meanings to others. If, however, we want to convey our ideas to English people, then Chinese characters and a brush are no longer effective tools; we would have to use other tools, such as the English language and typewriters.

Social changes often occur when the old structure can no longer cope with new circumstances. When people first encounter a new set of circumstances, they discover that the old methods are not effective in bringing about expected results. As a consequence, difficulties creep into life. People will not give up the old methods before they find them clearly inadequate. The old ways of life have their inertia. But if old methods no longer meet people's needs, people will eventually begin to distrust them. On the one hand, holding on to ineffective tools is senseless and inconvenient and may even result in losses. On the other hand, new methods are not ready-made but have to be invented by someone, or learned from some other culture, or otherwise imported. And then the new methods have to be tested, and only afterward will people begin to accept them. Then the process of social transition comes to an end. During the transitional period, people will feel perplexed and at a loss. They will be full of tension, hesitant, and uneasy. It is at this juncture that a type of person whom we might call "a cultural hero" (wenhua yingxiong) most likely appears. This person is able to provide the way to organize new procedures and to gain people's trust. This kind of person, at this point at least, may dominate followers; therefore, a certain power accrues to him. This power differs from dictatorial power, because it is not based on an exploitative relationship. It also differs from consensual power, because it is not bestowed by society. It differs from paternalistic power as well, because it is not based on tradition. It is produced by changing trends; it is a power brought on by changing times; therefore, I will call it "temporal power" (shishi quanli).[1]

Temporal power can be found in primitive societies. In such societies, people often encounter unusual situations, and they need capable people to provide solutions. Such people are regarded as heroes. Wars are also special circumstances, and in times of war heroes become prominent. In modern

times, society is rapidly changing; accordingly, this type of power is gaining momentum again. It is interesting to see that temporal power shows up most clearly when a backward society is undergoing rapid modernization. I think we can look at the nature of power in the Soviet Union from this perspective. British and American scholars think it is a type of dictatorial power, because in form it is a dictatorship. But from the standpoint of the people in the Soviet Union, this dictatorship is different from czarism. If we adopt the concept of temporal power, it may be easier for us to understand its nature.

This power is least advanced in stable societies. Insofar as its social structure meets people's daily needs, Chinese rural society is among the most stable of societies. It has few "leaders" and few "heroes." Stability is, of course, relative; but it is safe to say that change here is very slow. But just using the phrase "very slow" is not very clear; we should also ask exactly how slow. Confucius has already provided an answer to this question: "Nothing should be changed until three years after your father dies." In other words, social change becomes absorbed into the regular cycle of generational succession. This is, indeed, a sign of a stable society.

The concept of filial piety that Confucian scholars stress is actually a way to maintain social stability. Filial piety means that there should be no disobedience. This concept recognizes the priority of paternalistic power. The most senior people represent the tradition. If you comply with the tradition, you will not disobey your father's instructions. The representatives of this tradition will die, and you yourself will become senior to others; it is merely a matter of time. If the speed of social change is as slow as the speed of generational succession, then parents and children, representing two different generations, will have no conflicts. Tradition itself changes gradually, and therefore can support the leadership of older people. A society of this kind does not need a"revolution."

From a societal point of view, if the leaders can keep up with the pace of social change, society may avoid the turmoil caused by a larger social transformation. England is a good example. Many people envy the fact that it was able to carry out many fundamental reforms without bloodshed. But these same people overlook the conditions that enabled the British to do so. In the past few centuries, Great Britain has been a world leader, and it is the country where the industrial revolution began. In British society, the ruling class is also the class that can best adapt to a changing environment. The ability of that class to adapt to change matched the pace of change in that

environment, so that a bloody revolution was unnecessary. Whether Great Britain can keep this record depends on whether it can maintain this coordination.

Rural society has a fixed environment. If a son can wait three years after his father dies to begin to make changes, then whatever social changes that are made will likely not give rise to much conflict. In the world of human affairs, the oldest people maintain their power, and the youngest, holding to the standard of "no disobedience," accept the rule of tradition. There is no active opposition here; besides, the paternalistic power of the elders would tolerate no opposition. Paternalistic power is based on education, the transferal of knowledge from the knowledgeable to the ignorant. If the cultural knowledge passed on is useful, there is no need for the learner to oppose the teacher. If the cultural knowledge passed on is useless, education itself becomes totally meaningless, but opposition still does not arise in this relationship between senior and junior.

Opposition is tolerated, and even encouraged, only where there is consensual power. Because consensual power is based on contract, the power holders are closely watched to see whether they comply with the contract. Moreover, opposition—that is, disagreement—is the first step in achieving agreement. Under dictatorial power, there is no open opposition, only passive resistance. The relationship between ruler and ruled presupposes opposition, and thus dictatorial power is required in the first place to suppress any resistance. With temporal power, opposition occurs when there are different solutions to the same problems. Sometimes a society cannot experiment with different schemes at the same time, so disputes occur among the different advocates. These disputes may lead to a "cold war," with each advocate engaged in a propaganda battle to win over the people. Each person, seeking the success of his own scheme, feels that the other schemes distract people's attention and divert support that he needs in order to prevail. Hence, there emerges an intolerance toward others and an attempt at total ideological control. The main thrust of such ideological struggle is to win over opposing alignments, and when such an intolerance occurs, opposition becomes confrontational.

Let us look again at Chinese rural society, a society ruled by the paternalistic power of elders. In this type of society, opposition to what the elders say takes the form of an "interpretation." Such interpretations outwardly maintain the form of paternalistic power but change the content.

Except for the Spring and Autumn period (770-476 B.C.) and the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.), when society went through a great social transformation, Chinese intellectual history has followed Confucianism as its primary authority. People have had to justify social change by reinterpreting the old authorities. Such reinterpretations lead to a widening separation between the names of phenomena and their reality. With paternalistic power, people are not allowed to oppose traditional forms. But as long as they pay lip service to the form, they may reinterpret and thereby change the content. The consequence of this practice is inevitable. We say one thing but mean another. People who have grown up in old-style Chinese families all understand how the interpretation of paternal will can be distorted to maintain the facade of "no disobedience." Under such circumstances, hypocrisy is not only unavoidable; it is a necessity. Unable to oppose the impracticable doctrines and orders issued by the elders, one simply distorts their wishes while giving them face—that is, outward compliance. The gap between the name and underlying reality, however, increases as the pace of social change intensifies. This gap would not develop in a social structure that is totally static, but a totally static social structure does not exist. In a paternalistic social structure, during times of little social change, elders will not tolerate opposition. As the speed of change accelerates, a gap emerges between what the elders demand and what others are actually able to do. Distorted interpretations become commonplace. The result of having the emperor in one's power to order the dukes about in his name is that position and power, name and substance, words and deeds, theory and reality—all tend to separate and lose their interconnectedness.

拾叁　名实的分离

我们把乡土社会看成一个静止的社会不过是为了方便，尤其在和现代社会相比较时，静止是乡土社会的特点，但是事实上完全静止的社会是不存在的，乡土社会不过比现代社会变得慢而已。说变得慢，主要的意思自是指变动的速率，但是不同的速率也引起了变动方式上的殊异。我在本文里将讨论乡土社会速率很慢的变动中所形成的变动方式。

我在上面讨论权力的性质时已提出三种方式：一是从社会冲突中所发生的横暴权力；二是从社会合作中所发生的同意权力；三是从社会继替中所发生的长老权力。现在我又想提出第四种权力，这种权力发生在激烈的社会变迁过程之中。社会继替是指人物在固定的社会结构中的流动，社会变迁却是指社会结构本身的变动。这两种过程并不是冲突的，而是同时存在的，任何社会决不会有一天突然变出一个和旧有结构完全不同的样式，所谓社会变迁，不论怎样快，也是逐步的，所变的，在一个时候说，总是整个结构中的一小部分。因之从这两种社会过程里所发生出来的两种权力也必然同时存在。但是它们的消长却互相关联。如果社会变动得慢，长老权力也就更有势力，变得快，“父不父，子不子”的现象发生了，长老权力也随着缩小。

社会结构自身并没有要变动的需要。有些学者，好像我在上文所提到的那位Spengler，把社会结构（文化中的一主要部分）视作有类于有机体，和我们身体一般，有幼壮老衰等阶段。我并不愿意接受他们的看法，因为我认为社会结构，像文化的其他部分一般，是人造出来的，是用来从环境里取得满足生活需要的工具。社会结构的变动是人要它变的，要它变的原因是在它已不能答复人的需要。好比我们用笔写字，笔和字都是工具，目的是在想用它们来把我们的意思传达给别人。如果我们所要传达的对象是英国人，中文和毛笔就不能是有效的工具了，我们得用别的工具——英文和打字机。

这样说来社会变迁常是发生在旧有社会结构不能应付新环境的时候。新的环境发生了，人们最初遭遇到的是旧方法不能获得有效的结果，生活上发生了困难。人们不会在没有发觉旧方法不适用之前就把它放弃的。旧的生活方法有习惯的惰性，但是如果它已不能答复人们的需要，它终必会失去人们对它的信仰，守住一个没有效力的工具是没有意义的，会引起生活上的不便，甚至蒙受损失。另一方面，新的方法却又不是现存的，必须有人发明，或是有人向别种文化去学习，输入，还得

经过试验，才能被人接受，完成社会变迁的过程。在新旧交替之际，不免有一个惶惑、无所适从的时期，在这个时期，心理上充满着紧张、犹豫和不安。这里发生了“文化英雄”，他提得出办法，有能力组织新的试验，能获得别人的信任。这种人可以支配跟从他的群众，发生了一种权力。这种权力和横暴权力并不相同，因为它并不建立在剥削关系之上的；和同意权力又不同，因为它并不是由社会所授权的；和长老权力更不同，因为它并不根据传统的。它是时势所造成的，无以名之，名之曰时势权力。

这种时势权力在初民社会中常可以看到。在荒原上，人们常常遭遇不平常的环境，他们需要有办法的人才，那是英雄。在战争中，也是非常的局面，这类英雄也脱颖而出。现代社会又是一个变迁激烈的社会，这种权力也在抬头了。最有意思的就是一个落后的国家要赶紧现代化的过程中，这种权力表示得也最清楚。我想我们可以从这角度去看苏联的权力性质。英美的学者把它归入横暴权力的一类里，因为它形式上是独裁的；但是从苏联人民的立场来看，这种独裁和沙皇的独裁却不一样，如果我们采用这个时势权力的概念看去，比较上容易了解它的本质了。

这种权力最不发达的是在安定的社会中。乡土社会，当它的社会结构能答复人们生活的需要时，是一个最容易安定的社会，因之它也是一个很少“领袖”和“英雄”的社会。所谓安定是相对的，指变得很慢。如果我单说“很慢”，这句话并不很明朗，一定要说出慢到什么程度。其实孔子已回答过这问题，他的答案是“三年无改于父之道”。换一句话来说，社会变迁可以吸收在社会继替之中的时候，我们可以称这社会是安定的。

儒家所注重的“孝”道，其实是维持社会安定的手段，孝的解释是“无违”，那就是承认长老权力。长老代表传统，遵守传统也就可以无违于父之教。但是传统的代表是要死亡的，而且自己在时间过程中也会进入长老的地位。如果社会变迁的速率慢到可以和世代交替的速率相等，亲子之间，或是两代之间，不致发生冲突，传统自身慢慢变，还是可以保持长老的领导权。这种社会也就不需要“革命”了。

从整个社会看，一个领导的阶层如果能追得上社会变迁的速率，这社会也可以避免因社会变迁而发生的混乱。英国是一个很好的例子。很多人羡慕英国能不流血而实行种种富于基本性的改革，但很多忽略了他们所以能这样的条件。英国在过去几个世纪中，以整个世界的文化来说是处于领导地位，他是工业革命的老家。英国社会中的领导阶层却又是最能适应环境变动的，环境变动的速率和领导阶层适应变动的速率配得上才不致发生流血的革命。英国是否能保持这个纪录，还得看他们是否能保持这种配合。

乡土社会环境固定，在父死三年之后才改变他的道的速率中，社会变迁也不致引起人事的冲突。在人事范围中，长老保持他们的权力，子弟们在无违的标准中接受传统的统治。在这里不发生“反对”，长老权力也不容忍反对。长老权力是建立在教化作用之上的，教化是有知对无知，如果所传递的文化是有效的，被教的自没有反对的必要，如果所传递的文化已经失效，根本也就失去了教化的意义。“反对”在这种关系里是不发生的。

容忍，甚至奖励，反对在同意权力中才发生，因为同意权力建立在契约上，执行这权力的人是否遵行契约是一个须随时加以监督的问题。而且反对，也就是异议，是获得同意的必要步骤。在横暴权力之下，没有反对，只有反抗，因为反对早就包含在横暴权力的关系中。因之横暴权力必须压制反抗，不能容忍反对。在时势权力中，反对是发生于对同一问题不同的答案上，但是有时，一个社会不能同时试验多种不同的方案，于是在不同方案之间发生了争斗，也可以称作“冷仗”，宣传战，争取人民的跟从。为了求功，每一个自信可以解决问题的人，会感觉到别种方案会分散群众对自己的方案的注意和拥护，因之产生了不能容忍反对的“思想统制”。在思想争斗中，主要的是阵线，反对变成了对垒。

回到长老权力下的乡土社会说，反对被时间冲淡，成了“注释”。注释是维持长老权力的形式而注入变动的内容。在中国的思想史中，除了社会变迁激速的春秋战国这一个时期，有过百家争鸣的思想争斗的场面外，自从定于一尊之后，也就在注释的方式中求和社会的变动谋适应。注释的变动方式可以引起名实之间发生极大的分离。在长老权力下，传统的形式是不准反对的，但是只要表面上承认这形式，内容却可以经注释而改变。结果不免是口是心非。在中国旧式家庭中生长的人都明白家长的意志怎样在表面的无违下，事实上被歪曲的。虚伪在这种情境中不但是无可避免而且是必需的。不能反对而又不切实用的教条或命令只有加以歪曲，只留一个面子。面子就是表面的无违。名实之间的距离跟着社会变迁速率而增加。在一个完全固定的社会结构里不会发生这距离的，但是事实上完全固定的社会并不存在。在变得很慢的社会中发生了长老权力，这种统治不能容忍反对，社会如果加速地变动时，注释式歪曲原意的办法也就免不了。挟天子以令诸侯的结果，位与权，名与实，言与行，话与事，理论与现实，全趋向于分离了。

⑭FROM DESIRE TO NECESSITY

My previous discussion of temporal power makes me think of an additional dimension of social change. This dimension is implied in a set of terms that we now hear used a lot, terms such as social planning and, even more extreme, social engineering. Obviously, such terms have a modern meaning that is unfamiliar in a rural society. They indicate that a profound change has occurred in the way people think about their society. We must examine this change in perception if we want to understand the differences between temporal and patriarchal power.

Humans have discovered that society can be planned. This is a great discovery. It demonstrates that humans have already departed from their rural roots, since such an idea simply could not exist in a truly rural society. In rural society, people are able to use their desires (yuwang) as the means to guide their activities. But in modern societies, desires cannot serve as a guide to human behavior. Instead, with the new way of thinking, something called "necessity" (xuyao) serves as the justification for "plans." This shift from desire to necessity marks a very important watershed in human affairs. Let me describe the difference between the concepts of desire and necessity.

In observing human behavior, we see that human beings do not act randomly; they do not act simply for the sake of action. Actions are means to attain specific ends. Consider your own behavior. Each action has its purpose. You pick up chopsticks only when you want to eat; you fix a meal only when you want to satisfy your hunger. There is always a"want" to guide your actions. Whenever you ask others a question—such as "Why have you come?" or "What do you want?"—you can always hear in their answers their explanation for why they behave as they do. Therefore, when we talk of human behavior, we always speak of it as being motivated.

There are two implications to this belief that human behavior consists of motivated actions. One is that human beings are able to control their own behavior. If they want to do something, they do it; if they don't want to do something, they don't do it. This is what we call "will" (yizhi). The other meaning is that people's choices are grounded in their desires. Desires determine the direction of human behavior, the "wants" and"don't wants" that

people have. These "wants" (yao) exist prior to behavior. When you have what you want, your desires are satisfied and you will feel happy. If your desires cannot be satisfied and you do not have what you want, you feel unhappy. In English, the word want expresses both "desire" and "want." The same word in English also means "to be deficient"in something. Therefore, to be deficient or to be wanting in something not only describes a state of being but also suggests a desire to attain. First comes the sensation of being uneasy, then the urge for the human body to act. This urge may be thought of as a "state of tension" (jinzhang zhuangtai), a condition that cannot last long and must be released in some way. Releasing the tension creates action, which brings about a sense of satisfaction in having done something. Desire, tension, action, satisfaction, happiness—these terms encompass the process underlying human behavior.

If desire controls behavior through will, actors must be conscious of their desires; self-awareness means that actors generally know what they want. There is nothing wrong with having desires, but it does raise at least one problem. Human beings may act according to their desires, but are their desires necessarily beneficial to the development of healthy individuals, or to the harmonious cooperation of individuals in society, or to the integrity and continuity of society in general? I do not raise this question to explore whether human nature is good or evil but, rather, to examine the reality of human existence. If we were to suspend our connections with the human realm for a moment and were able to stand, as it were, outside the human species in order to look at human beings as we are able to look at other animals, we would see that human beings have a very long history; they have done many things to maintain their existence and continuity. We see that they act as if healthy individual development and the integrity of society were their goals. But if we were to move closer to these people and question them, they would tell us that their many desires have nothing to do with more general social goals. Maintaining our distance from the human species, we would see men and women meeting each other, giving birth to babies, and cooperating in raising their children—all of which are necessary for the integrity of society. If no babies were born, if nobody raised children, if people died one after another, then wouldn't society be in chaos and wouldn't the human species become extinct? Thereupon, being filled with such insights, we might go to talk to couples about their long-term service to society, but they would laugh at our high-sounding conclusions and would

likely say something like this: "We are together for love, not for children; the children just come along with that." Nowhere could we find people who desire only to maintain the human race. Indeed, when looking for a girlfriend, what boy would think of such bookish questions?

Similarly, still maintaining our distance from the human species, every day we see people eating carbohydrates, fats, vitamin A, and vitamin C—we could give a long list of such nutritional items. Then we could take this information back to the lab and do some research, and, sure enough, we would find that carbohydrates provide energy, that vitamin A provides this and that, and that all nutritional items combine to support life. But if we asked people who live outside modern cities why they eat pepper and garlic, they would answer, "Because they taste good, and, besides, they go with rice."

Love and good food are conscious desires. What directly decides our actions are, most certainly, those desires. But do the actions caused by desires always match the requirements for human existence? This question has sparked many scholarly discussions. If we examine the preceding paragraphs, we may come to the conclusion that human desires are quite subtle. Although human beings may want this or that, the result often exactly fulfills the needed condition for their existence. What are desires? Food and sex—they are characteristically deeply embedded in human biology. There seems to be an ingenious arrangement here: continuity is necessary for the human race, and people of different sexes fall in love; certain nutrients are necessary for life, and people like foods that have the necessary variety of nutrients. In the nineteenth century, a theory based on this kind of reasoning became widely accepted. This theory says that as long as everyone is "selfish"—that is, as long as each works entirely to satisfy the desires brought by instincts—the best and most harmonious order will emerge in society. Adam Smith saw this order—in which individuals acting for themselves would create a good life for all—as being arranged through the working of an "invisible hand."

This theory actually is based not on modern society but on a conception of rural society, because the theory is more or less correct for such a society. The reason for its correctness is not that there really is an"invisible hand" but, rather, that in rural society individual desires often do match the conditions for human existence. The two match because desires are not biological facts but cultural facts. By this I mean that people are taught to think in this way. For instance, people from northern China desire to eat garlic. This desire is

not inherited but is instead learned from childhood. The "selfishness" that is a part of this theory is actually the ability to think for oneself, but the way of thinking is learned from the society. The issue is not the "want" itself, but the content of the want, and the content is determined by culture.

I maintain that desire is a cultural fact. This does not mean that all cultural facts match the requirements for human existence; many things in culture are irrelevant or even harmful to those requirements. Consider eating as an example. If all things our culture allows us to eat were in accord with nutritional principles, there would be no need for medicinal drugs. Even if we ignore drugs and other poisonous foods, ordinary food still proves the saying "Illness enters the body through the mouth" (bing cong kou ru). I often feel it is not very accurate to set up "survival" as an ultimate human value. If there are differences between the human race and other animals and plants, then the most important, in my view, is that humans have found values that go beyond survival, such as truth, goodness, and beauty. I like to illustrate this by saying that "humans are the only kind of animal able to commit suicide." Regardless of this fact, even though humans may have other values beyond mere survival, and even though a part of culture may be irrelevant or even harmful to human existence, a culture that does not provide the conditions necessary for its survival will be eliminated in due course, and so will the people who accept this kind of culture. Over time, they will become extinct. The reason for their gradual elimination is something not only internal to their culture but also external to it, as a part of a natural evolutionary process. This process is unrelated to values. Beauty or ugliness, goodness or evil, truths or lies—all these are irrelevant to it. This life process lays down only a few conditions; if they are fulfilled, you stay; if they are not fulfilled, you go. We should think of Xishi, so ill yet so beautiful; but nature would not allow her to live on just because of her beauty.[1] Disease leads to death; only health is the condition of survival. Nature does not prohibit people from committing suicide, but no power in nature can give life back to those who have already done so.

Another theory is relevant here. At the beginning of his famous book Folkways, William Graham Sumner says that for human beings action comes before ideas.[2] Action is determined by experiences accumulated through trial and error. Ideas only function to maintain those experiences over time; our conscious desires are the commands of culture. This theory is also accurate when applied to rural society. The reason is that rural society is traditional; it

is a society based on the accumulation of experiences. These accumulated experiences arise out of a process of"natural selection"; "errors"—actions that do not fulfill the requirements for survival—are eliminated, so that society increasingly develops a set of time-tested recipes for living life. No matter what actors might say about them, these recipes must be beneficial to human existence.

At this point, I should stress that many actions occurring in rural society—actions that seemed to be directed toward some concrete goal or to satisfy some specific desire—turn out, on closer and more objective examination, to have no connection to their stated purpose and are not directed to satisfying the subject's perceived needs. Sorcery is the best example of this kind of behavior. In fact, to drive away a ghost is to drive away the fear in one's own heart. Whether there are ghosts or not is unimportant, but the fear has to be driven away.

In rural society, culture shapes desires; and desires, in turn, guide behavior. The result is that desires and ensuing behavior fulfill the requirements for existence. But this match between behavior and social continuity is neither conscious nor planned. The match is a subtle one and can be said to be the work of heaven (tiangong) in that it does not flow directly from human will, even though culture is certainly a human creation. This unconscious match between behavior and continuity has its disadvantages. When the environment changes, rural people are unable to make active plans for adapting to the changes. As Sumner said, people, proceeding blindly, are forced through trial and error to find new ways. Fortunately, the rural environment does not change very much, and the speed of that change is not very fast. Therefore, normally, people have time to make their blind tests, and the losses from their errors are usually not fatal. In the initial stage of the industrial revolution, thinkers could still conceive of a social order that was run by an "invisible hand." And, as a matter of fact, even today, in a culture as advanced and a society as complicated as the one in the United States, there is still a strong predisposition to oppose planned economies. But it is dangerous to maintain this laissez-faire spirit, which has been nurtured all along in rural society. If something goes wrong, it will be no small matter.

When society changes fast and the original culture can no longer guarantee satisfaction in life, people have to examine the relationship between their behavior and their goals. They then discover that desires are

not a final motivation to action but, rather, serve as a vehicle for society to fulfill the conditions for its existence. It is then that people begin to pay attention to the conditions of existence. In sociology, a new concept appears: the concept of "function." Function means "the effect of a set of actions on the existence of individuals and the integrity of society." Social actors are not necessarily aware of functions. That is the reason we need functional analysis. Functions are like nutrition in food, rather than taste. At this point, people become consciously aware of the conditions necessary for their existence, and they talk of "necessities" as opposed to "desires." People in modern societies have begun to choose food for the sake of nutrition. This is the era of reason, and reason means that people plan their actions according to a known relationship between means and ends. Therefore, this can also be called a scientific era.

In modern society, knowledge is power. This is so because people in society make plans according to their needs. Power gained from knowledge is what I called "temporal power" earlier. In rural society, people depend on experience and do not need to plan. This is so because, in the process of time, nature has selected for them a traditional life design on which they have come to rely. Each simply acts according to his or her own desires.

拾肆　从欲望到需要

提起了时势权力使我又想到关于社会变迁另一问题，也就是现在我们常常听到的社会计划，甚至社会工程等一套说法。很明显地，这套名字是现代的，不是乡土社会中所熟习的。这里其实包含着一个重要的变化，如果我们要明白时势权力和长老权力的差别，我们还是在这方面加以探讨。人类发现社会也可以计划，是一个重大的发现，也就是说人类已走出了乡土性的社会了。在乡土社会里没有这想法的。在乡土社会人可以靠欲望去行事，而在现代社会中欲望并不能做人们行为的指导了，发生“需要”，因之有“计划”。从欲望到需要是社会变迁中一个很重要的里程碑，让我先把欲望和需要这两个概念区别一下。

观察人类行为，我们常可以看到人类并不是为行为而行为，为活动而活动的，行为或是活动都是手段，是有所为而为的。不但你自己可以默察自己，一举一动，都有个目的，要吃饭才拿起筷子来，要肚子饿了才吃饭……总是有个“要”在领导自己的活动；你也可问别人：“为什么你来呢？有什么事么？”我们也总可以从这问题上得到别人对于他们的行为的解释。于是我们说人类行为有动机的。

说人类行为有动机的包含着两个意思，一是人类对于自己的行为是可以控制的，要这样做就这样做，不要这样做就不这样做，也就是所谓意志；一是人类在取舍之间有所根据，这根据就是欲望。欲望规定了人类行为的方向，就是上面所说要这样要那样的“要”。这个“要”是先于行为的，要得了，也就是欲望满足了，我们会因之觉得愉快；欲望不满足，要而得不到，周身不舒服。在英文里欲望和要都是want，同时want也作缺乏解。缺乏不只是一种状态的描写，而是含有动的意思，这里有股劲，由不舒服而引起的劲，它推动了人类机体有所动作，这个劲也被称作“紧张状态”，表示这状态是不能持久，必须发泄的，发泄而成行为，获得满足。欲望——紧张——动作——满足——愉快，那就是人类行为的过程。

欲望如果要能通过意志对行为有所控制，它必须是行为者所自觉的。自觉是说行为者知道自己要的是什么。在欲望一层上说这是不错的，可是这里却发生了一个问题，人类依着欲望而行为，他们的行为是否必然有利于个体的健全发展，和有利于社会间各个人的融洽配合、社会的完整和持续？这问题在这里提出来并不是想考虑性善性恶，而是从人类生存的事实上发生的。如果我们走出人类的范围，远远地站着，像

看其他生物一般地看人类，我们可以看见人类有着相当久的历史了，他们做了很多事，这些事使人类能生存和绵续下去，好像个人的健全发展和社会的完整是他们的目的。但是逼近一看，拉了那些人问一问，他们却说出了很多和这些目的毫不相关的欲望来了。你在远处看男女相接近，生了孩子，男女合作，抚养孩子，这一套行为是社会完整所必需的，如果没有孩子出生，没有人领孩子，人类一个个死去，社会不是会乱了，人类不是断绝了么？你于是很得意去问这些人，他们却对你说："我们是为了爱情，我们不要孩子，孩子却来了。"他们会笑你迂阔，天下找不到有维持人类种族的欲望的人，谁在找女朋友时想得着这种书本上的大问题？

同样地，你在远处看，每天人都在吃淀粉、脂肪，吃维他命A、维他命C，一篇很长的单子，你又回去在实验室研究了一下，发现一点不错，淀粉供给热料，维他命A给人这个那个，——合于营养，用以维持生命。但是你去找一个不住在现代都市的乡下老问他，为什么吃辣子、大蒜，他会回答你："这才好吃，下饭的呀。"

爱情，好吃，是欲望，那是自觉的。直接决定我们行为的确是这些欲望。这些欲望所引导出来的行为是不是总和人类生存的条件相合的呢？这问题曾引起过很多学者的讨究。我们如果从上面这段话看去，不免觉得人类的欲望确乎有点微妙，他们尽管要这个要那个，结果却常常正合于他们生存的条件。欲望是什么呢？食色性也，那是深入生物基础的特性。这里似乎有一种巧妙的安排，为了种族绵续，人会有两性之爱；为了营养，人会有五味之好。因之，在十九世纪发生了一种理论说，每个人只要能"自私"，那就是充分地满足我们本性里带来的欲望，社会就会形成一个最好、最融洽的秩序。亚当斯密说，"冥冥中那只看不见的手"会安排个社会秩序给每个为自己打算的人们去好好生活的。

这种理论所根据的其实并非现代社会而是乡土社会，因为在乡土社会中，这种理论多少是可以说正确的，正确的原因并不是真是有个"冥冥中"的那只手，而是在乡土社会中个人的欲望常是合于人类生存条件的。两者所以合，那是因为欲望并非生物事实，而是文化事实。我说它是文化事实，意思是人造下来教人这样想的。譬如说，北方人有吃大蒜的欲望，并不是遗传的，而是从小养成的。所谓"自私"，为自己打算，怎样打算法却还是由社会上学来的。问题不是在要的本身，而是在要什么的内容。这内容是文化所决定的。

我说欲望是文化事实，这句话并没有保证说一切文化事实都是合于人类生存条件的。文化中有很多与人类生存条件无关甚至有害的。就是以吃一项来说，如果文化所允许我们入口的东西样样都是合于营养原则的，我们也不至有所谓毒物一类的东西了。就是不谈毒物，普通的食

品，还是可以助证“病从口入”的说法。再说得远一些，我常觉得把“生存”作为人类最终的价值是不太确切的。人类如果和其他动植物有些不同的地方，最重要的，在我看来，就在人在生存之外找到了若干价值标准，所谓真善美之类。我也常喜欢以“人是生物中唯一能自杀的种类”来说明人之异于禽兽的“几希”。——但是，人类主观上尽管有比生存更重要的价值，文化尽管有一部分可以无关及无益于人类的生存，这些不合于生存的条件的文化以及接受不合于生存条件的文化的人，却在时间里被淘汰了。他们不存在了。淘汰作用的力量并不限于文化之内，也有在文化之外的，是自然的力量。这力量并不关心于价值问题；美丑，善恶，真伪，对它是无关的，它只列下若干条件，不合则去，合则留。我们可以觉得病西施是美，但是自然却并不因她美而保留她，病的还是要死的，康健才是生存的条件。自然并不禁止人自杀，但是没有力量可以使自杀了的还能存在。

于是另外一种说法发生了。孙末楠在他的名著Folkways开章明义就说：“人类先有行为，后有思想。决定行为的是从试验与错误的公式中累积出来的经验，思想只有保留这些经验的作用，自觉的欲望是文化的命令。”

在一个乡土社会中，这也是正确的，那是因为乡土社会是个传统社会，传统就是经验的累积，能累积就是说经得起自然选择的，各种“错误”——不合于生存条件的行为——被淘汰之后留下的那一套生活方式。不论行为者对于这套方式怎样说法，它们必然是有助于生存的。

在这里更可以提到的是，在乡土社会中有很多行为我们自以为是用来达到某种欲望或目的，而在客观的检讨中，我们可以看到这些行为却在满足主观上并没有自觉的需要，而且行为和所说的目的之间毫无实在的关联。巫术是这种行为最明显的例子。譬如驱鬼，实际上却是驱除了心理上的恐惧。鬼有没有是不紧要的，恐惧却得驱除。

在乡土社会中欲望经了文化的陶冶可以作为行为的指导，结果是印合于生存的条件。但是这种印合并不是自觉的，并不是计划的，乡土文化中微妙的配搭可以说是天工，而非人力，虽则文化是人为的。这种不自觉的印合，有它的弊病，那就是如果环境变了，人并不能作主动的有计划的适应，只能如孙末楠所说的盲目地经过错误与试验的公式来找新的办法。乡土社会环境不很变，因之文化变迁的速率也慢，人们有时间可以从容地作盲目的试验，错误所引起的损失不会是致命的。在工业革命的早期，思想家还可以把社会秩序交给“冥冥中那只看不见的手”，其实一直到目前，像美国那样发达的文化里，那样复杂的社会里，居然还有这样大的势力在反对计划经济。但是这时候要维持乡土社会中所养成的精神是有危险的了。出起乱子来，却非同小可了。

社会变动得快，原来的文化并不能有效地带来生活上的满足时，人类不能不推求行为和目的之间的关系了。这时发现了欲望并不是最后的动机，而是为了达到生存条件所造下的动机。于是人开始注意到生存条件的本身了——在社会学里发生了一个新的概念，“功能”。功能是从客观地位去看一项行为对于个人生存和社会完整上所发生的作用。功能并不一定是行为者所自觉的，而是分析的结果，是营养而不是味觉。这里我们把生存的条件变成了自觉，自觉的生存条件是“需要”，用以别于“欲望”。现代社会里的人开始为了营养选择他们的食料，这是理性的时代，理性是指人依了已知道的手段和目的的关系去计划他的行为，所以也可以说是科学化的。

在现代社会里知识即是权力，因为在这种社会里生活的人要依他们的需要去作计划。从知识里得来的权力是我在上文中所称的时势权力；乡土社会是靠经验的，他们不必计划，因为时间过程中，自然替他们选择出一个足以依赖的传统的生活方案。各人依着欲望去活动就得了。

后　记

这集子里所收的十四篇论文是从我过去一年所讲“乡村社会学”的课程中所整理出来的一部分。我这门课程已讲过好几遍，最初我采用美国的教本作参考，觉得不很惬意，又曾用我自己调查的材料讲，而那时我正注意中国乡村经济一方面的问题，学生们虽觉得有兴趣，但是在“乡村社会学”中讲经济问题未免太偏，而且同时学校有“土地经济学”和“比较经济制度”等课程，未免重复太多。过去一年我决定另起炉灶，甚至暂时撇开经济问题，专从社会结构本身来发挥。初次试验离开成熟之境还远，但这也算是我个人的一种企图。

以我个人在社会学门内的工作说，这是我所努力的第二期。第一期的工作是实地的社区研究。我离开清华大学研究院之后就选择了这方面。二十四年［1935年］的夏天，我和前妻王同惠女士一同到广西瑶山去研究当地瑶民的生活。那年冬天在山里遭遇了不幸，前妻未获生回，我亦负伤，一直在广州医院度过了春天才北返。在养病期间，我整理了前妻的遗稿，写成了《花蓝瑶社会组织》。二十五年夏天我到自己家乡调查了一个村子，秋天到英国，整理材料，在老师Malinowski教授指导之下，写成了Peasant Life in China一书，在二十七年返国前付印，二十八年出版。返国时抗战已进入第二年，所以我只能从安南入云南，住下了，得到中英庚款的资助，在云南开始实地研究工作，写出了一本《禄村农田》。后来得农民银行的资助，成立了一个小规模的研究室，附设于云南大学，系云大和燕京大学合作机关。我那时的工作是帮忙年轻朋友们一起下乡调查，而且因为昆明轰炸频繁，所以在二十九年冬迁到呈贡，古城村的魁星阁。这个研究室从此得到了“魁阁”这个绰号。我们进行的工作有好几个计划，前后参加的也有十多人，有结果的是：张子毅先生的《易村手工业》、《玉村土地与商业》、《洱村小农经济》，史国衡先生的《昆厂劳工》、《个旧矿工》，谷苞先生的《化城镇的基层行政》，田汝康先生的《芒市边民的摆》、《内地女工》，胡庆钧先生的《呈贡基层权力结构》。其中有若干业已出版。我是魁阁的总助手，帮着大家讨论和写作，甚至抄钢笔板和油印。三十二年我到美国去了一年，把《禄村农田》、《易村手工业》和《玉村土地与商业》改写英文，成为Earthbound China一书，《昆厂劳工》改写成China Enters the Machine Age。三十三年回国，我一方面依旧继续做魁阁的研究工作，同时在云大和联大兼课，开始我的第二期工作。第二期工作是社会结构

的分析，偏于通论性质，在理论上总结并开导实地研究。《生育制度》是这方面的第一本著作，这本《乡土中国》可以说是第二本。我在这两期的研究工作中虽则各有偏重，但在性质上是联贯的。为了要说明我选择这些方向来发展中国的社会学的理由，我不能不在这里一述我所认识的现代社会学的趋势。

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社会学在社会科学中是最年轻的一门。孔德（Comte）在他《实证哲学》里采取这个名字到现在还不过近一百年，而孔德用这名词来预言的那门研究社会现象的科学应当相等于现在我们所谓“社会科学”的统称。斯宾塞（Spencer）也是这样，他所谓社会学是研究社会现象的总论。把社会学降为和政治学、经济学、法律学等社会科学并列的一门学问，并非创立这名称的早年学者所意想得到的。

社会学能不能成为一门特殊的社会科学其实还是一个没有解决的问题。这里牵涉到了社会科学领域的分划。如果我们承认政治学、经济学有它们特殊的领域，我们也承认了社会科学可以依社会制度加以划分：政治学研究政治制度，经济学研究经济制度等。社会现象能分多少制度也就可以成立多少门社会科学。现在的社会学，从这种立场上说来，只是个没有长成的社会科学的老家。一旦长成了，羽毛丰满，就可以闹分家，独立门户去了。这个譬喻确说明了现代社会学中的一个趋势。

讥笑社会学的朋友曾为它造下了个“剩余社会科学”的绰号。早年的学者像孟德斯鸠，像亚当斯密，如果被称作社会学家并非过分，像《法意》，像《原富》一类的名著，包罗万象，单说是政治学和经济学未免偏重。但是不久他们的门徒们把这些大师们的余绪发挥申引，蔚成家数，都以独立门户为荣，有时甚至讨厌老家的渊源。政治学、经济学既已独立，留在“社会学”领域里的只剩了些不太受人问津的、虽则并非不重要的社会制度，好像包括家庭、婚姻、教育等的生育制度，以及宗教制度等等。有一个时期，社会学抱残守缺地只能安于“次要制度”的研究里。这样，它还是守不住这老家的，没有长成的还是会长成的。在最近十多年来，这“剩余领域”又开始分化了。

在这次大战之前的几年里，一时风起云涌地产生了各种专门性质的社会学，好像孟汉（Karl Mannheim）的知识社会学，Joachim Wach的宗教社会学，叶林（Eugen Ehrlich）的法律社会学，甚至人类学家斐司（Raymond Firth）称他We, the Tikopia的调查报告作亲属社会学。这种趋势发展下去，都可以独立成为知识学、宗教学、法律学和亲属学的。它们还愿意拖着社会学的牌子，其实并不是看得起老家，比政治学和经济学心肠软一些，而是因为如果直称知识学或宗教学就不易和已经占领

着这些领域的旧学问相混。知识学和知识论字面上太近似，宗教学和神学又使人不易一见就分得清楚。拖着个“社会学”的名词表示是“以科学方法研究该项制度”的意思。“社会学”这名词在这潮流里表面上是热闹了，但是实际上却连“剩余社会科学”的绰号都不够资格了，所剩的几等于零了。

让我们重回到早期的情形看一看。在孔德和斯宾塞之后有一个时期许多别的科学受了社会学的启发，展开了“社会现象和其他现象交互关系”的研究，我们不妨称作“边缘科学”。这种研究在中国社会学中曾占很重要的地位。我记得在十五年左右以前，世界书局曾出过一套《社会学丛书》，其中主要的是：社会的地理基础、心理基础、生物基础、文化基础等的题目。孔德早已指出宇宙现象的级层，凡是在上级的必然以下级为基础，因之也可以用下级来“解释”上级。社会现象正处于顶峰，所以从任何其他现象都可以用来解释它的。从解释进而成为“决定论”，就是说社会现象决定于其他现象。这样引诱了很多在其他科学里训练出来的学者进入社会学里来讨论社会现象，因而在社会学里引成了许多派别：机械学派、生物学派、地理学派、文化学派。苏洛金（Sorokin）曾写了一本《当代社会学学说》来介绍这许多派别。这书已有中译本（黄凌霜译，商务印书馆出版），我在这里不必赘述。

虽则苏洛金对于各家学说的偏见很有批评，但是我们得承认“边缘科学”的性质是不能不“片面”的。着眼于社会现象和地理接触边缘的，自不能希望他会回到别的边缘。至于后来很多学者一定要比较哪一个边缘为“重要”，因而发生争论，实在是多余的。从边缘说，关系是众多的，也可以是多边的，偏见的形成是执一废百的结果。社会学本身从这些“边缘科学”所得的益处，除了若干多余的争论外还有多少，很难下断语，但是对于其他科学却引起了很多新的发展，好像人文生物学、人文地理等等，在本世纪的前期有了重要的进步，不能不说是受了社会学的影响。

社会现象有它的基础，那是无从否认的；其他现象对社会现象发生影响，也是事实；但是社会学不能被“基础论”所独占，或自足于各种“决定论”，那也是自明的道理。社会学躲到这边际上来是和我上述的社会科学分家趋势相关的。堂奥既被各个特殊社会科学占领了去，社会学也只能退到门限上，站在门口还要互争谁是大门，怎能不说是可怜相？

社会学也许只有走综合的路线，但是怎样综合呢？苏洛金在批评了各派的偏见之后，提出了个X＋1的公式，他的意思是尽管各派偏重各派的边缘，总有一个全周。其实他的公式是“综合”不如说是“总和”。“总”是把各边缘加起来，“和”是调解偏见。可是加起来有什么新

的贡献呢？和事老的地位也不够作为一门科学的基础。社会学的特色岂能只是面面周到呢？

社会现象在内容上固然可以分成各个制度，但是这些制度并不是孤立的。如果社会学要成为综合性的科学，从边缘入手自不如从堂奥入手。以社会现象本身来看，如果社会学不成为各种社会科学的总称，满足于保存一个空洞的名词，容许各门特殊的社会科学对各个社会制度作专门的研究，它可以从两层上进行综合的工作：一是从各制度的关系上去探讨。譬如某一种政治制度的形式常和某一种经济制度的形式相配合，又譬如在宗教制度中发生了某种变动会在政治或经济制度引起某种影响。从各种制度的相互关系上着眼，我们可以看到全盘社会结构的格式。社会学在这里可以得到各个特殊的社会科学所留下，也是它们无法包括的园地。

以全盘社会结构的格式作为研究对象，这对象并不能是概然性的，必须是具体的社区，因为联系着各个社会制度的是人们的生活，人们的生活有时空的坐落，这就是社区。每一个社区有它一套社会结构，各制度配合的方式。因之，现代社会学的一个趋势就是社区研究，也称作社区分析。

社区分析的初步工作是在一定时空坐落中去描画出一地方人民所赖以生活的社会结构。在这一层上可以说是和历史学的工作相通的。社区分析在目前虽则常以当前的社区作研究对象，但这只是为了方便的原因，如果历史材料充分的话，任何时代的社区都同样地可作分析对象。

社区分析的第二步是比较研究，在比较不同社区的社会结构时，常发现了每个社会结构有它配合的原则，原则不同，表现出来结构的形式也不一样。于是产生了“格式”的概念。在英美人类学中这种研究的趋势已经十分明显，好像Pattern、Configuration、Integration一类名词都是针对着这种结构方面的研究，我们不妨称之作“结构论”（Structuralism），是“功能论”（Functionalism）的延续。但是在什么决定“格式”的问题上却还没有一致的意见。在这里不免又卷起“边缘科学”的余波，有些注重地理因素，有些注重心理因素。但这余波和早年分派互讦的情形不完全相同，因为社区结构研究中对象是具体的；有这个综合的中心，各种影响这中心的因素都不致成为抽象的理论，而是可以观察、衡量的作用。

在社区分析这方面，现代社会学却和人类学的一部分通了家。人类学原是一门包罗极广的科学，和社会学一般经过了分化过程，研究文化的一部分也发生了社区研究的趋势。所以这两门学问在这一点上辐辏会合。譬如林德（Lynd）的Middletown和马凌诺斯基（Malinowski）在Trobriad岛上的调查报告，性质上是相同的。嗣后人类学者开始研究文

明人的社区，如槐南（Warner）的Yankee City Series、艾勃里（Embree）的《须惠村》（日本农村）以及拙作Peasant Life in China和Earthbound China，更不易分辨是人类学或社会学的作品了。美国社会学大师派克（Park）先生很早就说：社会学和人类学应当并家，他所主持的芝加哥都市研究就是应用人类学的方法，也就是我在上面所说的“社区分析”。英国人类学先进白朗（Radcliffe-Brown）先生在芝加哥大学讲学时就用“比较社会学”来称他的课程。

以上所说的只是社会学维持其综合性的一条路线，另一条路线却不是从具体的研究对象上求综合，而是从社会现象的共相上着手。社会制度是从社会活动的功能上分出来的单位：政治、经济、宗教等是指这些活动所满足人们不同的需要。政治活动和经济活动，如果抽去了它们的功能来看，原是相同的，都是人和人之间的相互行为。这些行为又可以从它们的形式上去分类，好像合作、冲突、调和、分离等不同的过程。很早在德国就有形式社会学的发生，席木尔（Simmel）是这一派学者的代表。冯维瑞（Von Wiese）的系统社会学经贝干（Becker）的介绍在美国社会学里也有很大的影响。派克和盘吉斯（Park and Burgess）的《社会学导论》也充分表明这种被称为“纯粹社会学”的立场。

纯粹社会学是超越于各种特殊社会科学之上的，但是从社会行为作为对象，撇开功能立场，而从形式入手研究，又不免进入心理学的范围。这里又使我们回想到孔德在建立他的科学级层论时对于心理学地位的犹豫了。他不知道应当把心理现象放在社会现象之下，还是之上。他这种犹豫是起于心理现象的两元性，其一是现在所谓生理心理学，其二是现在所谓社会心理学。这两种其实并不隶属于一个层次，而是两片夹着社会现象的面包。纯粹社会学可以说是以最上层的一片作对象的。

总结起来说，现代社会学还没有达到一个为所有被称为社会学者共同接受的明白领域。但在发展的趋势上看去，可以说的是社会学很不容易和政治学、经济学等在一个平面上去分得一个独立的范围。它只有从另外一个层次上去得到一个研究社会现象的综合立场。我在这里指出了两条路线，指向两个方向。很可能是再从这两个方向分成两门学问；把社区分析让给新兴的社会人类学，而由“社会学”去发挥社会行为形式的研究。名称固然是并不重要的，但是社会学内容的常变和复杂确是引起许多误会的原因。

* * *

依我这种对社会学趋势的认识来说，《生育制度》可以代表以社会学方法研究某一制度的尝试，而这《乡土中国》却是属于社区分析第二步的比较研究的范围。在比较研究中，先得确立若干可以比较的类型，

那就是依不同结构的原则分别确定它所形成的格式。去年春天我曾根据Mead女士的The American Character一书写成一本《美国人的性格》，并在这书的后记里讨论过所谓文化格式的意思。在这里我不再复述了。这两本书可以合着看，因为我在这书里是以中国的事实来说明乡土社会的特性，和Mead女士根据美国的事实说明移民社会的特性在方法上是相通的。

我已经很久想整理这些在“乡村社会学”课上所讲的材料，但是总觉得还没有成熟，所以迟迟不敢下笔。去年暑假里，张纯明先生约我为《世纪评论》长期撰稿，盛情难却，才决定在这学期中，随讲随写，随写随寄，随寄随发表，一共已有十几篇。储安平先生约我在“观察丛书”里加入一份，才决定重新编了一下，有好几篇重写了，又大体上修正了一遍。不是他们的督促和鼓励，我是不会写出这本书的，但也是因为他们限期限日的催稿，使我不能等很多概念成熟之后才发表，其中有很多地方是还值得推考。这算不得是定稿，也不能说是完稿，只是一段尝试的记录罢了。

三十七年二月十四日于清华胜因院

（据《上海观察社》1947年版排印）

NOTES

FOREWORD

1 Xiangtu Zhongguo (Shanghai: Shanghai guanchashe, 1947).

2 Xiangtu Zhongguo (Xianggang: Wenxue chubanshe, n.d.).

3 Xiangtu Zhongguo (Xianggang: Sanlian shudian, 1986).

1 SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL SOCIETY

Unless otherwise indicated, all footnotes to the text are provided by the translators.

1 Fei is alluding to three interrelated variations of Chinese society in the twentieth century. In addition to rural society, which he sees as the foundation for the other two variations, he distinguishes urban society and coastal Westernized society. For his discussion of these variations, see Xiangtu chongjian (Reconstructing Rural China) (Xianggang: Wenxue chubanshe, n.d.), pp. 16-23.

2 The three rivers to which Fei refers are the Yangtze, the Yellow, and the Wei.

3 Zhang Bei is a county in northwestern Hebei province.

4 Ferdinand Töennies, Community and Association, trans. Charles P. Loomis (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955).

5 Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, trans. George Simpson

(New York: Free Press, 1964). In the original, Fei mistakenly inverts the two, equating Gemeinschaft with organic solidarity and Gesellschaft with mechanical solidarity. We have corrected the error in the translation.

2 BRINGING LITERACY TO THE COUNTRYSIDE

1 In this passage, where Fei addresses "those people who advocate rural work," he is referring to the intellectuals who led the Rural Reconstruction Movement. The leaders of this movement strongly advocated rural education and other measures to reform the countryside. It was a movement that Fei criticized a number of times. See R. David Arkush, Fei Xiaotong and Sociology in Revolutionary China (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 37, 353.

2 Gui Youguang was a scholar who lived during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). The book Xiangjixuan ji, titled after Gui's name for his study, is a collection of his essays.

3 Fei is referring to the tradition of arranged marriages. After the engagement had been announced, contact between the intended couple was forbidden. Often a bride would first meet her husband on the day of her wedding.

4 Fei's argument at this point seems to draw heavily on the social psychology of George Herbert Mead, whose writings were influential in the Chicago school of sociology. Fei likely learned about this group from Robert Park in China and from travels in the United States. For more on this perspective, see George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self, and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934). We should note that Fei advances this perspective by making an especially nice contrast between written and spoken languages.

3 MORE THOUGHTS ON BRINGING LITERACY TO THE COUNTRYSIDE

1 In making this distinction between human and animal communication, Fei follows the thesis developed by George Herbert Mead in Mind, Self, and Society(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 42-60. More recent research has shown that this distinction is less clear-cut than Mead or Fei suggested.

2 Fei's reference is to the biblical story of creation from Genesis, chap. 1.

3 Laotse, Dao de jing, chap. 80.

4 The practice of returning the corpse to the lineage burial ground has been so widespread among migrating Chinese in traditional times that their migrant associations took this repatriation of bodies to be one of their chief rationales for existence.

5 Qin (221-206 B.C.) and Han (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) are the names of the first two dynasties of the imperial period in Chinese history.

6 The meaning of the phrase, which is not necessarily obvious to Westerners, is that, like pigs that are eaten when they grow fat, celebrities draw the attention of people who will try to take advantage of them and lead them and their families to ruin.

4 CHAXUGEJU: THE DIFFERENTIAL MODE OF ASSOCIATION

1 See chapter 2, note 1.

2 Baojia is a system of local control, instituted in several forms during the imperial period. The system was based on mutual responsibility of households. Local populations were divided into units, usually composed of ten households each. Members would mutually have the responsibility of seeing that everyone in the baojia unit maintained good order. If a violation occurred and caught the attention of officials, everyone in the baojia unit would be punished for the crime of one of its members. For Fei's discussion of the baojia system that was instituted during the Republican period, see Xiangtu chongjian (Reconstructing Rural China) (Xianggang: Wenxue chubanshe, n.d.), chap. 4, p. 50.

3 Written in the eighteenth century by Cao Xueqin, The Dream of the Red Chamber, also known as The Story of the Stone, is China's most famous and widely read novel. The translation by David Hawkes is the best and most

complete: Cao Xueqin, The Story of the Stone (5 vols.) (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1973).

4 Su Qin, whose story is recounted in Sima Qian's Shiji (The Book of History), lived during the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.). Su Qin was renowned for his political intrigues and was eventually executed for spying.

5 Fei's note: Pan Guangdan, "Shuo lunzi" (On Relationships), Shehui yanjiu (Social Study), 19.

6 The Book of Rites, one of the Confucian classics, was compiled during the Western Han period (206 B.C.-A.D. 25) and contains early discussion of ritual practices.

7 Analects, Book 1, chap. 2. The Analects, The Works of Mencius, The Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean make up what is known in China as the "Four Books." These books were regarded as Confucian classics and constituted the core of classical education. The Analects contains a compilation of dialogues between Confucius and his disciples.

8 Zhongyong (Doctrine of the Mean) is one of the four books regarded as the classic texts of Chinese civilization. It is said to have been written by Zisi in the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.).

9 Yang Zhu, a philosopher who lived in the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.), opposed the ethical philosophy of Confucius and Motzu and advocated the importance of individual life and self-interest.

10 Analects, Book 2, chap. 1.

11 Ibid., Book 6, chap. 28. Yao and Shun are the legendary early rulers of China who established China's golden age.

12 Ibid., Book 14, chap. 36.

13 The Great Learning, sec. 4. This book is included among the four great books of Chinese civilization. Its authorship is unclear.

5 THE MORALITY OF PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

1 The Great Learning, sec. 6.

2 Analects, Book 1, chap. 2.

3 Ibid., Book 1, chaps. 3 and 8.

4 Ibid., Book 1, chap. 6.

5 Ibid., Book 9, chap. 1. Fei here is pointing out a contradiction in the Analects. There are frequent references to ren, but no precise definition, despite attempts by Confucius's disciples to obtain one.

6 Ibid., Book 12, chap. 3.

7 Ibid., Book 4, chap. 6.

8 Ibid., Book 5, chap. 7.

9 Ibid., Book 7, chap. 6.

10 Ibid., Book 5, chap. 18.

11 Ibid., Book 18, chap. 7.

12 The Works of Mencius, Book 7, chap. 35. The Works of Mencius, included among the four great books of Confucian learning, is a compilation of writings and dialogues attributed to Mencius.

13 Ibid., Book 5, Part I, chap. 3.

14 Ibid., Book 3, chap. 4.

15 Motzu was the founder of an important school of Chinese philosophy that is roughly a contemporary of Confucianism and was one of the contending

schools of thought during the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.). One of the principal ideas he emphasized was an all-embracing love.

6 PATRILINEAGES

1 Qianhui (rotating credit associations) are a set group of people, each of whom contributes a specified sum of money that is then loaned to members of the group. Borrowers repay the loan with an agreed-upon interest. Even today, it is a common way of raising money without going to banks.

2 Fei Xiaotong, Shengyu zhidu (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1947).

3 Married daughters usually live with their husbands' families. When a family does not have a son, the parents may want their daughter to marry a man who is willing to move in with them.

4 For a discussion of the distinction between lineage and clan, see Hugh Baker, Chinese Family and Kinship (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

5 Fei Xiaotong, Meiguoren de xingge (Shanghai: Shenghuo, 1947).

6 "The three followings and the four virtues" are precepts that come from the book Nüjie (Lessons for Women) by Banzhao, a female scholar of the Han period. The three followings mean that a woman's status follows that of her father before marriage, her husband during marriage, and her son in widowhood. The four virtues the women should cultivate are (1) women's moral virtues, (2) women's speech, (3) women's appearance, and (4) women's work.

7 "BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN, THERE ARE ONLY DIFFERENCES"

1 The reference is to William James, Principles of Psychology (New York: Henry Holt, 1890).

2 Oswald Spengler, The Decline of the West, trans. Charles F. Atkinson (New York: Knopf, 1926).

3 This phrase originally comes from the Liji (Book of Rites). The Liji is regarded as one of the Confucian classics. It was compiled during the Western Han period(206 B.C.-A.D. 25) and contains early discussion of ritual practices.

4 The Works of Mencius, Book 4, chap. 17.

5 Feng Xiaoqing is believed to have lived in the Yangzhou area during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). She was talented in writing poetry and painting. When she was sixteen years old, her parents sent her to the Feng family in Hangzhou as a concubine. Feng's wife was very jealous of her and forced her to move into a nunnery. There she supposedly died of a broken heart at the age of eighteen. In later years, her life story was used as the basis for stories and plays. At the nunnery, she is said to have written many poems full of self-pity, and hence the narcissistic tone.

6 Analects, Book 3, chap. 12.

8 A RULE OF RITUAL

1 Fei is referring here to the theorists from the school of legal realism, which was then important in the United States. For a brief summary of this school, see Grant Gilmore, The Ages of American Law (New Haven, Conn.: Y ale University Press, 1977).

2 The Chinese term li has numerous meanings, including rites, ritual, and etiquette. We use the word ritual to translate the term, but in English "ritual" has a pejorative meaning that it does not have in Chinese.

3 Jing hua yuan is a novel from the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) written by Li Juchen. A translation is available in English: Flowers in the Mirror (London: Arena Books, 1965).

4 Analects, Book 4, chap. 7.

5 Yao and Shun are the legendary early rulers of China who established China's golden age.

6 Analects, Book 12, chap. 1.

9 A SOCIETY WITHOUT LITIGATION

1 A few of these stories have been translated into English. See Leon Comber, The Strange Cases of Magistrate Pao (Hong Kong: Heinemann Educational Books, 1972), and Dee Goong An: Three Murder Cases Solved by Judge Dee, trans. Robert van Gulik(Tokyo: Toppan, 1949). Robert van Gulik has also written a number of Judge Dee mystery novels based on the Chinese originals.

2 Analects, Book 12, chap. 13.

10 AN INACTIVE GOVERNMENT

1 This reference is to the "functional theory of stratification." For an outline of this theory, see Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," American Sociological Review 10 (April 1945): 242-49.

2 In the 1986 reissue (Xianggang: Sanlian shudian), pp. 67-68, Fei cut the remainder of this paragraph. The original paragraph, in the 1947 reissue (Shanghai: Shanghai guanchashe), pp. 67-68, ends as follows: "Killing people with abandon, mowing them down like grass, is often seen to be a characteristic of Asian cruelty. If that really is a characteristic of Asians, it is not a genetic one; it does not run in their blood. Instead, it is a characteristic of the place and not of the people. On barren soil, a toiling laborer can only support himself. He lacks value that can be utilized. If another group conquers such people who have no surplus value, they have to kill them, bury them alive, or drive them away. The conquest would be meaningless if the conquerors allowed the defeated to continue farming. In this sense, conquest actually means to conquer the land, not the people. Killing people and grabbing their land is the normal mode of conquest in agrarian societies. East Asia is an area with a large population but little arable lands that are not already fully utilized. Under these circumstances, the value of human life is regarded as extremely low. Cruelty is a consequence of the economy."

3 Chen Sheng and Wu Guang are famous leaders of peasant rebellions at the

end of the Qin dynasty (221-206 B.C.).

11 RULE BY ELDERS

1 Fei's reference: Shengyu zhidu (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1947), p. 101.

2 Fei's reference: Shengyu zhidu, p. 101.

3 For a discussion of the principles underlying hierarchy in Chinese lineages, see Hugh Baker, Chinese Family and Kinship (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

12 CONSANGUINITY AND REGIONALISM

1 The Kula system is an interisland, intertribal trading system found in Melanesia. For a description of Malinowski's work on the Kula system, see Bronislaw Malinowski, Argonauts of the Western Pacific (London: George Routledge, 1922).

13 SEPARATING NAMES FROM REALITY

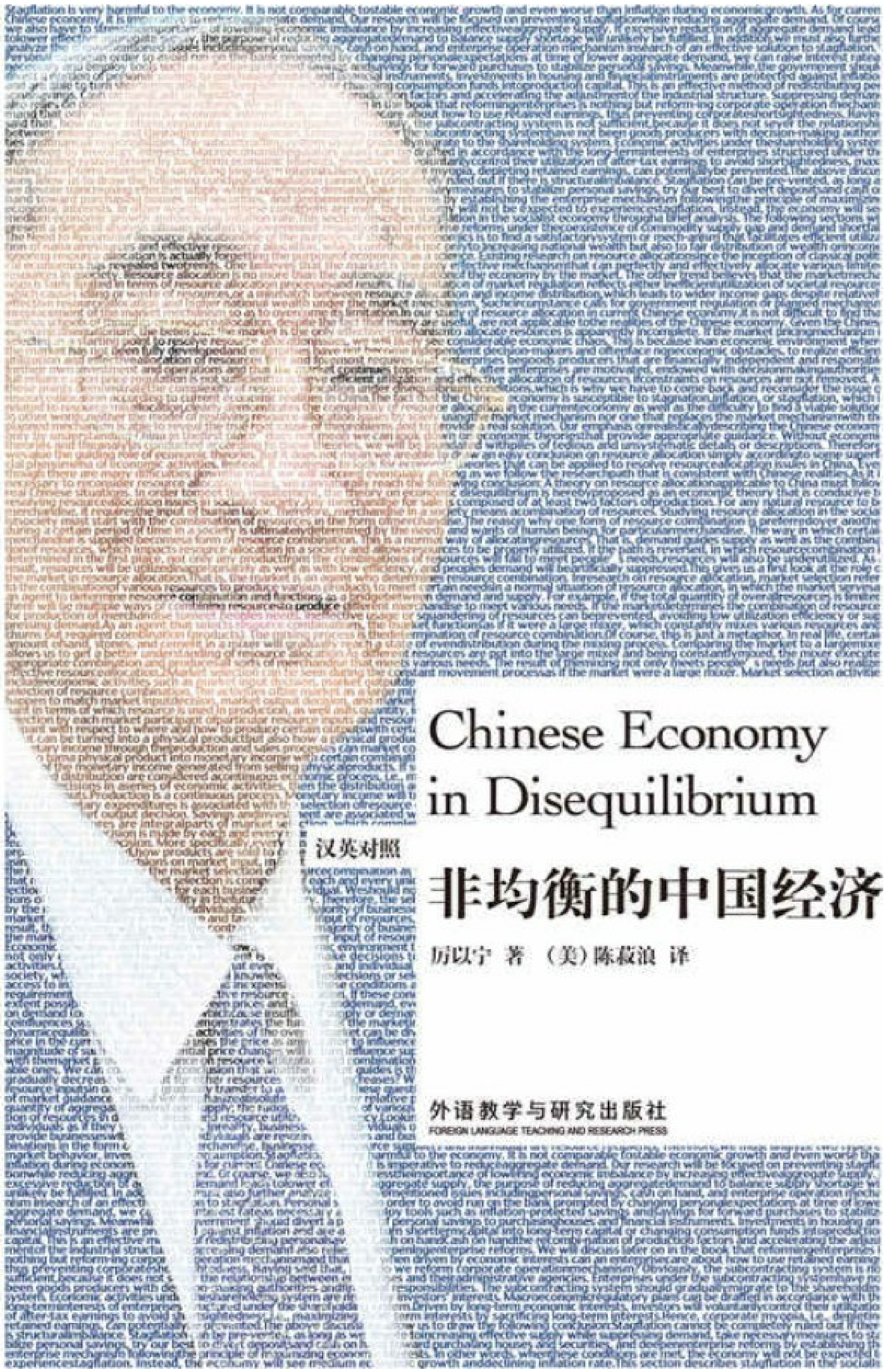
1 The type of power that Fei is describing here, which is awkwardly called "temporal power," is similar to Max Weber's "charismatic domination." Fei's treatment of this kind of power is fairly rudimentary in this chapter. For Weber's discussion of charismatic domination, see Economy and Society, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (2 vols.) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), chap. 14.

14 FROM DESIRE TO NECESSITY

1 Xishi is a renowned beauty who lived during the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.).

2 William Graham Sumner, Folkways (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1906).

『影响新中国经济建设的十本经济学著作』之一，该书对非均衡理论及国有企业活力问题的创新式研究，为中国1990年以来成功的所有制改革提供了理论基础。



汉英对照

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厉以宁 著 （美）陈薇浪 译

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厉以宁　祖籍江苏仪征，生于南京，北京大学教授、博士生导师。历任北京大学经济管理系系主任、光华管理学院院长，现任北京大学社会科学学部主任、光华管理学院名誉院长。

1988年至2002年任七届、八届、九届全国人大常委、全国人大财经委员会副主任、法律委员会副主任，2003年至2007年任十届全国政协常委、全国政协经济委员会副主任。2008年至2012年任十一届全国政协常委、全国政协经济委员会副主任。2013年起任全国政协常委。目前还担任中国国际交流协会顾问、中国国际经济交流中心执行副理事长、中国企业投资协会副会长等职。

出版学术专著二十多部，是我国最早提出股份制改革理论的学者之一。提出了中国经济发展的非均衡理论，并对“转型”进行理论探讨，因为在经济学以及其他学术领域中的杰出贡献而获得“孙冶方经济学奖”等多项荣誉。他的经济理论对我国三十多年来经济改革与发展产生了深远影响。

“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦

有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

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序言

《非均衡的中国经济》一书中文版初版于1990年问世，交稿则在1988年年底。为什么当时我会撰写这本著作，必须从20世纪80年代中国改革和发展的形势谈起。

中国的改革开始于1979年的农业承包制。安徽、四川等省有些农村发生了农民自发地把农田分了，实现了“包产到户”，农民的积极性空前高涨，产量猛增。中国政府密切注意到这一变化，派出调查组，到安徽、四川等地进行总结，决定在全国范围内推广农业承包制的经验。这是中国改革进程中的“第一声春雷”。几年之后，农贸市场繁荣，食品短缺现象逐渐消失了。又过了几年，实行多年的城市居民食品配给制也取消了。

紧接着，乡镇企业普遍兴起。这些企业，是农民集资办起来的。它们不需要政府投资，产品也不由政府分配。因此，在80年代出现了乡镇企业推销员走遍全国的情况，他们带着样品和订单，到处为本企业的产品寻找市场。这样，大一统的计划经济体制被打破了，在计划体制之外，出现了“乡镇企业商品市场”。

与此同时，1980年在靠近香港的广东深圳，成立了经济特区，按照市场调节方式配置资源，经济增长很快，以致形成了“深圳速度”。人们由此得到重要的启示：市场调节在中国不仅可行，而且是必要的。

农业承包制的推广、乡镇企业的兴起、经济特区的建立，好比最初投入湖中的三块大石头，从此激起了层层波浪，中国经济再也不可能平静下去了。到了20世纪80年代中期，中国经济改革的重心转入了城市。城市究竟怎么改革？计划经济如何一步步地转向市场经济？国内经济学界出现了两种改革思路之争。

当时在经济学界占主流地位的是主张把“放开价格”作为主线的一派。他们认为1949年西德经济改革的经验可以移植到中国。他们问道：西德能这么做，中国为什么不能这么做？他们的意见受到了中国政府的重视。1988年，中国国务院决定推进以价格改革为中心的改革方案。

在这紧要关头，我在1986年4月末，在北京大学作了题为《改革的基本思路》的长篇演讲，指出中国的经济改革不能以价格改革为中心，而应以所有制改革为中心。我在这次演讲中指出，中国经济改革的失败可能是由于价格改革的失败，而中国经济改革的成功必须取决于所有制改革，也就是企业改革的成功。

这次演讲引起了国内外传媒界的注意。中国国务院认为我的主张值得重视，于是暂缓推出价格改革方案。

为了把我的观点让更多的关心中国经济改革的人了解和认同，从这时起，我便着手撰写如今呈现在读者面前的这本《非均衡的中国经济》——历时三年，反复修改，终于在1988年年底交给出版社，1990年正式出版。

这就是这本书写作和出版的背景。1988年是一个关键的年份，因为这一年，中国政府又重新回到放开价格的方案，准备学习西德的“休克疗法”，通过价格改革，使中国较快地实现体制转轨。我是不同意这一政策的，理由是，中国在计划经济体制下，企业并不是真正的市场主体，而仍然是政府的附属机构，价格刺激并无促进企业优胜劣汰的功能，也起不到调整产业结构的作用。所以在中国，唯有通过所有制改革，使企业成为真正的市场主体，才能适应价格改革的进程。我的《非均衡的中国经济》正是为了明确中国经济改革的基本思路而撰写的。

20世纪80年代和90年代的实践，证明了我的判断符合中国国情。果然，1988年的中国经济因人民预感到即将放开价格，从而引发了抢购风潮，而不得不宣告暂停价格改革。90年代起，中国逐步推出了国有企业实行股份制并成为股份制企业的改革，中国经济改革终于走出了困境。

在《非均衡的中国经济》英文版出版之时，我回顾了当时的情况和中国经济改革的历史，特地写下了这篇序言，供英文版的读者们参考。

本书英文版的出版，得到译者陈薮浪先生，北京大学光华管理学院蔡洪滨教授、周黎安教授、颜色博士，英国伦敦大学孙来祥教授的大力帮助。外研社社长蔡剑峰、总编辑徐建中，外研社人文社科分社吴浩、邓晓箐、易璐、赵雅茹、胡玉岩，以及施普林格出版集团汤恩平（Dr. Niels Peter Thomas）、李琰及柴宁等朋友的认真尽责，使本书能这么快同读者见面。在此双语版出版之际，我一并向他们致以衷心的感谢。

厉以宁

2012年9月21日

Foreword

"Among all your publications on current Chinese economy, which one is most representative of your academic viewpoints?" If this is the question someone asks me, "it is the book right in front of us, *Chinese Economy in Disequilibrium*," I would answer. Why do I have this answer? I have my own reasons.

Among my publications, *Institutions, Goals and People—Challenges to Economics* (Heilongjiang People's Press, 1986) studied comparative economics. Many of its chapters discussed Chinese economic issues. It also proposed a methodology for studying socialist economic theories. Nevertheless, it is not a book on current Chinese economy.

Socialist Political Economics (The Commercial Press, 1986) is a textbook which described the framework of my economic theories, but barely discussed real economic issues. Moreover, it is a book on socialist political economy intended for beginners. Therefore, it is unlikely to include in-depth discussions and analyses of certain economic theories. Nonetheless, I believe it is the most comprehensive and systematic publication on my own economic theories.

Exploring Reforms of Economic Institutions (The People's Daily Press, 1987) specifically discussed issues associated with the shareholding system, controlling shareholder system and conglomerates in the public ownership system. It did not further discuss any other issues.

Management of National Economy (Hebei People's Press, 1988) is also a textbook, primarily discussing the principles and policies for managing the national economy from short-term, mid-term, and longterm perspectives. Due to the requirements of a textbook, it is difficult to fully discuss in-depth issues related to economic disequilibrium.

Perspectives on Chinese Economic Reforms (China Prospect Press, 1989) summarized the general economic reform plan that I proposed for China, including the main reform directions and corresponding reform measures and execution processes. But it is not a book on disequilibrium.

Where is Chinese Economy Heading (The Commercial Press, Hong Kong, 1989) is a collection of my speeches delivered in Hong Kong at the

beginning of 1989. It is intended to address a few specific issues encountered during Chinese economic reforms. Such topics as how to switch from the subcontracting system to the shareholding system, why it is not possible to privatize large and medium state-owned enterprises, and how to manage state assets were elaborated fairly thoroughly in the book. But it did not give a systematic analysis of the disequilibrium conditions prevalent in the Chinese economy.

Compared with the abovementioned publications, *Chinese Economy in Disequilibrium* is different in three aspects: First of all, it is academic research, not a textbook for college students. Although my analysis herein is based on the principles stated in the books of *Socialist Political Economics* and *Management of National Economy*, the theoretical study on economic disequilibrium is far more detailed than that in those two books. Secondly, it focuses on current Chinese economy, unlike the book of *Institutions, Goals and People—Challenges to Economics*, which focused on comparative economics. Thirdly, it features theories, primarily analyzing the characteristics of economic disequilibrium in an attempt to discover the underlying reasons for resource misallocation, distorted industrial structures, and institutional innovation variation. The book does not designate economic disequilibrium as a prerequisite, as did the books of *Exploring Reforms of Economic Institutions*, *Perspectives on Chinese Economic Reforms*, and *Where is Chinese Economy Heading*, but directly discusses specific policies for Chinese economic reforms. With these thoughts, I believe *Chinese Economy in Disequilibrium* is the book that most fully presents my academic views on current Chinese economy.

In my opinion, the book provides featured analyses in the following eight aspects:

There are two types of economic disequilibrium. Type I disequilibrium refers to the disequilibrium condition under which the market has not been fully developed. Type II disequilibrium refers to the disequilibrium condition under which the market is not fully developed and enterprises lack profit maximization mechanisms and budget constraints. Current Chinese economy belongs to type II disequilibrium. We should do our utmost to first and foremost transit the economy from type II disequilibrium to type I disequilibrium, followed by gradually shrinking the magnitude of imbalance inherent under type I economic disequilibrium condition.

The socialist economy is susceptible to stagflation in economic

disequilibrium. There are two types of inflation, open inflation and hidden inflation, with the latter referring to an unchanging price level at which commodities are actually out of stock. There are open and hidden stagnation as well, with the latter referring to the situation of superficial growth in aggregate output with effective supply actually remaining unchanged. Therefore, stagflation has four potential forms of combinations. Any measure to prevent and tackle stagflation must be properly adopted according to the specific situation.

3. The impact of structural factors on current economic imbalances in China cannot be ignored. Difficulties in industrial restructuring are associated with the defects of enterprise operation mechanism, and the shortsightedness of corporate behavior as well as societal behavior. Therefore, the rationalization of industrial structure can only be achieved by accelerating the reconstruction of enterprise operation mechanism and by actively leveraging the leadership of the central government in quota adjustment in the commodity market and the establishment of order in the socialist commodity economy.

4. Economic fluctuations are common in a disequilibrium economy. People tend to ask when an economy will come out of recession. It should be noted that it is relatively easy to pull the economy out of recession that is calculated based on the growth rate of output, for direct government spending or corporate spending with credit support will generate higher output growth. Nevertheless, it is far more difficult for the economy to come out of recession calculated based on the growth rate of enterprise profitability or the growth rate of actual fiscal revenues (i.e., excluding borrowings and net of inflation rate). We need to reform the enterprise operation mechanism, which is critical to actually pulling the national economy out of recession.

5. There are various rigidities under economic disequilibrium conditions. In addition to many known rigidities, such as wage rigidity, employment rigidity, and welfare rigidity, there is a unique type of rigidity under current disequilibrium conditions (type II disequilibrium) in the Chinese economy, one called "enterprise rigidity." It refers to the situation in which an enterprise is not actually responsible for its own profits and losses or only responsible when it is profitable. Thus bankruptcy is almost out of the question. Without resolving the "enterprise rigidity," China will have to remain in type II economic disequilibrium for a long time.

6. If commodity shortages are prevalent, a dual-track price mechanism

applicable to shortage commodities cannot be terminated if there are relatively severe resource constraints. Otherwise, even when the gap between the dual prices, i.e., planned and non-planned price, is eliminated, a gap between two new prices, i.e., open price and underground price, will appear. Therefore, a full price decontrol before all other conditions are ready will only lead to social turmoil and unjustified profits taken by certain people who can take advantage of the gap between open price and underground price.

7. Scarcity of certain resources, as well as the exclusivity stemming from such scarcity, may persist for a long time in the socialist commodity economy. The government has to make necessary adjustments, such as levying resource taxes on the producers of exclusive scarce resources. The government, however, should also be careful not to completely seize everything above normal profits, but only a portion. Otherwise, it won't help improve resource utilization efficiency.

8. It is essential to further push economic reforms under current economic disequilibrium conditions. We are often confronted with this challenge: A new institution or policy tends to deviate from its original plan (hereinafter referred to as "institutional variation"). This is mainly attributable to such issues as non-standardized institutional innovation, changes in enterprise expectations and personal expectations, and market imperfection. Institutional variation can only be addressed by making appropriate adjustments in these areas.

前言

如果有人问我："在你撰写过的若干本关于当前中国经济的著作中，你认为最能反映自己的学术观点的是哪一本书？"我将这样回答他："这就是摆在我们面前的这本《非均衡的中国经济》。"为什么我作出这样的答复？我是有所考虑的。在我已经出版的著作中：

《体制·目标·人：经济学面临的挑战》（黑龙江人民出版社1986年版）是一部比较经济研究的著作。尽管其中有相当多的篇幅讨论了中国经济问题，并且提出了研究社会主义经济理论的方法，但它毕竟不是关于当前中国经济的专著。

《社会主义政治经济学》（商务印书馆1986年版）是一本教科书。它表述了我的经济理论体系，但书中较少涉及现实中的经济问题。更重要的是，它是为社会主义政治经济学的初学者而写的，它不可能就某些经济理论问题进行较深层次的剖析。当然，就个人的经济理论体系的表述而言，我认为该书是最完整、最系统的。

《经济体制改革的探索》（人民日报出版社1987年版）专就公有制基础上的股份制、控股制和企业集团问题作了论述，而并未涉及其他问题。

《国民经济管理学》（河北人民出版社1988年版）也是一本教科书。它主要从近期、中期、长期的角度阐释了国民经济管理的原则和政策措施。但由于教科书有教科书的任务，所以有关非均衡领域内的深层次问题不可能在书中有充分的论述。

《中国经济改革的思路》（中国展望出版社1989年版）集中反映了我为中国经济体制改革所设计的总体方案，包括改革的主线、配套措施和实施步骤，但它并不是一本关于非均衡的理论著作。

《中国经济往何处去》（香港商务印书馆1989年版）是我1989年年初在香港的演讲集。它是针对着中国经济改革的若干具体问题而阐发的。在承包制如何向股份制过渡、国营大中型企业为什么不能实行私有化、国有资产如何管理等问题上，书中都有较详细的论述，但它仍然没有就中国经济的非均衡状态进行系统的分析。

现在摆在读者面前的这本《非均衡的中国经济》与上述这些著作有以下三个重要的区别。第一，它是一本学术专著，而不是专为大学生而写的教科书；虽然我的分析以《社会主义政治经济学》和《国民经济管理学》中已阐述的原理作为出发点，但对非均衡经济的理论分析要比那

两部教科书中所阐述的要深入得多。第二，它的重点是现阶段的中国经济，而不像《体制·目标·人》那样以比较经济研究作为重点。第三，它的理论性很突出，即主要从非均衡经济的特征着手分析，以说明资源配置失调、产业结构扭曲、制度创新的变型等现象的深层次原因，而不像《经济体制改革的探索》、《中国经济改革的思路》、《中国经济往何处去》那三本书那样把中国经济的非均衡状态作为既定的前提，从而直接探讨中国经济改革的具体方案的制定。正因为如此，所以我把这本《非均衡的中国经济》视为最能反映我关于当前中国经济的学术观点的著作。

在本书中，我自己感到具有特色的是这样八方面的分析：

（1）经济的非均衡有两类。第一类非均衡指市场不完善条件下的非均衡，第二类非均衡指市场不完善以及企业缺乏利益约束和预算约束条件下的非均衡。当前中国经济处于第二类非均衡状态中。我们应当力求使经济先由第二类非均衡过渡到第一类非均衡，然后再使第一类非均衡中的非均衡程度逐渐缩小。

（2）在非均衡条件下，社会主义经济中有可能发生“滞胀”。“胀”分两类：公开的“胀”和隐蔽的“胀”（指表面上物价未变，实际上有价无货）。“滞”也分两类：公开的“滞”和隐蔽的“滞”（指表面上总产值增长，实际上有效供给并未增加）。于是“滞胀”可能有四种不同的组合方式。为了防止和治理“滞胀”，必须根据具体的情况选择相应的措施。

（3）不可忽视结构因素在当前中国经济失衡中的作用。产业结构调整之所以困难，与企业运行机制的弊病、企业行为短期化，以及社会行为短期化有关。因此，只有加速企业运行机制的改造并积极发挥政府在商品市场配额调整和建立社会主义商品经济秩序中的主导作用，才能促进产业结构合理化。

（4）在非均衡经济中，经济的波动是常见的。人们常问：经济什么时候走出“低谷”？要知道，走出以产值增长率计算的“低谷”比较容易，因为通过政府直接采购产品或企业在信贷支持下采购产品，可以使产值增长率回升。要走出以企业经济效益增长率计算的“低谷”，或以财政实际收入（即扣除物价上涨影响并且不包括债务收入）增长率计算的“低谷”，远非易事。必须着手企业进行机制的改造，才能使国民经济真正走出“低谷”。

（5）非均衡经济中存在着各种“刚性”。但在当前中国的非均衡（第二类非均衡）经济中，除了有“工资刚性”、“就业刚性”、“福利刚性”等等以外，还存在一种特殊的“刚性”——“企业刚性”。这是指企业实际上不负盈亏或负盈不负亏，从而企业破产难以实现。经济中的许多

困难都与此有关。不消除“企业刚性”，中国经济只可能长期处于第二类非均衡状态中。

（6）在商品短缺条件下，如果存在着较大的资源约束，那就不可能取消短缺商品的价格双轨制。否则，即使表面上取消了两种价格（计划价格与非计划价格）之差，但实际上又会形成新的两种价格（公开价格与地下价格）之差。因此，在条件尚未成熟之时就过早地全面放开价格，只可能引起社会经济的动荡，并导致一些人利用公开价格与地下价格之差牟利。

（7）在社会主义商品经济中，某些资源的稀缺性以及由于这种稀缺性而引起的独占，将会长期存在。政府应对此进行调节，如向独占稀缺资源的生产者征收一定的资源税等。但必须注意到，政府不应把这些生产者所获得的超过平均利润的那部分收入全部取走，而只应取走其中的一定份额，否则不利于资源利用效率的提高。

（8）在当前中国的非均衡经济中，经济改革的深化非常必要。但经常遇到一个难题，即新的制度和政策都容易走样（本书称之为“制度变型”），这主要与制度创新的不规范、企业和居民个人预期的变化、市场的不完善等等有关。只有从这些方面进行调整，“制度变型”问题才能得到较好的解决。

Chapter 1　Exploring the Issues in Resource Allocation
第一章　资源配置问题的探讨

1.1　RESOURCE ALLOCATION IN THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY: FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF DISEQUILIBRIUM

1.1.1　Disequilibrium Defined

In economics, disequilibrium is defined relative to Walrasian equilibrium, which is achieved under the assumption of a fully developed market and a flexible price mechanism. Disequilibrium refers to a balance condition under which there is neither a fully developed market nor a flexible price mechanism. In this sense, disequilibrium is also called non-Walrasian equilibrium.

According to the Walrasian theory, given that the market is fully developed and the price mechanism flexible, given also that every market participant possesses perfect information about current and future prices as well as a full understanding of current and future demand and supply, and that prices adjust instantaneously with changes in demand and supply, then, at any price level, aggregate demand is always equal to aggregate supply, and there is no excess demand or excess supply. All transactions are settled at equilibrium prices. If the equilibrium price is not reached, a transaction will not be concluded. Only when price is in equilibrium can a transaction be concluded. According to this theory, excess production, sluggish merchandise sales, chronic unemployment, and inflation due to excess demand will not occur.

The impractical Walrasian equilibrium has long drawn harsh criticism from some dissenting Western economists. Keynes discussed the issue of

chronic unemployment in capitalist society in his book titled *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* published in 1936. Until the early 1960s, however, research on disequilibrium by economists remained limited and sporadic. Even their interpretations of the Keynesian economic theory were drastically divided. Orthodox Keynesian economists believed that Keynesian economic theory belonged to the economics of equilibrium and that Keynes himself did not deny Walrasian equilibrium but simply made some modifications. Other Keynesian economists, however, believed that the Keynesian theory had gone beyond the limit of equilibrium theory by providing an initial and systemic review on disequilibrium theory, as was demonstrated by Keynes' belief that the market mechanism was not always fully effective in coordinating various transactions and that production, employment, and investment would fluctuate, often leading to overproduction, unemployment, and insufficient demand for investment in capitalist society.

Since the late 1960s, the disequilibrium theory has made noticeable progress. Studies on disequilibrium have demonstrated that when a market is not fully developed and prices fail to function and adjust supply and demand, every economic factor will work its way to a point where they are mutually adaptable according to their respective situations to reach equilibrium. Obviously, the equilibrium under disequilibrium conditions is not one in a fully developed market, but one in a market that is not fully developed. It is not an equilibrium accompanied by zero unemployment or inflation rate, but one with certain unemployment rate and inflation rate. In other words, disequilibrium is actually a type of equilibrium, but unlike the equilibrium described in the Walrasian theory, it is real in daily life. This is the definition of disequilibrium in economics.

1.1.2 Resource Allocation Defined

Resource allocation refers to the allocation of various economic resources, i.e., labor, materials, and capital according to different uses. When resource supplies are limited, it is necessary to work out an efficient way to allocate various economic resources to meet various needs in order to maximize the output of products and services in demand. Any society, including socialist society, can only be considered to have achieved effective resource allocation when every person's talent has been fully employed, every product's utility has been maximized, and every inch of land has been fully

utilized. If there are labor, materials, and capital left idle or wasted, the allocation of resources is considered problematic. One of the most important issues that economists study is how to achieve effective allocation of resources in order to fully utilize existing resources and discover potential resources.

Resource allocation can be viewed in two different tiers. The higher tier refers to the allocation of resources among various sectors, regions, and production units. Whether the allocation is effective or not depends on whether each resource is effectively allocated to its best place. The lower tier refers to the organization and utilization of pre-allocated resources by a production unit, a region, or a sector. The effectiveness of the allocation depends on whether or not these resources are utilized to their fullest potential.

These two tiers of resource allocation have certain connections as well as differences. From the perspective of overall society, allocations of existing resources in different areas undoubtedly impact resource utilization efficiency at each economic unit as the total quantity of existing resources is limited, and ineffective resource allocation in the macroeconomy will certainly lead to low utilization efficiency at some production units. On the other hand, if most production units are able to raise resource utilization efficiency to a higher level, the supply of resources in the economy will increase. Compared with unchanged quantity of resources, higher supply of resources is more favorable to adjusting resource allocation in various areas and more conducive to allocating resources effectively. This is the connection between the two tiers of resource allocation. Their differences, however, are represented by different goals and ways of execution. The goal of the lower tier resource allocation is to raise resource utilization efficiency at a production unit so as to increase total output with fixed amount of input, while that of the higher tier resource allocation is to effectively put every resource to its best use and allow factors of production to regroup to maximize their utility. The two tiers of resource allocation also vary in terms of way of execution, with the lower tier increasing resource utilization efficiency by using production or managerial techniques inside the production unit without transferring production factors. The higher tier resource allocation achieves its goal via rearranging the combination of production factors, regulating property rights, transferring fixed assets, making macroeconomic adjustments, as well as reforming macroeconomic

management system.

Realizing effective resource allocation, either at the higher tier or at the lower tier, requires a long process. There is no absolute standard for effective resource allocation, nor is there a limit for how effective resource allocation can be. We can only say that whether resource allocation of this tier or that tier is more effective after certain adjustments or reforms, whether there is some improvement, or how much of an improvement. One of the important topics in the socialist political economics is to study how to manage the economy so as to improve resource allocation and increase effectiveness in the socialist economy, which will lead to higher effectiveness of both the higher tier and the lower tier resource allocation.

1.1.3 The Features of Socialist Economic System and Resource Allocation

Before studying resource allocation in the socialist economy, we must understand the socialist economic system as well as its impact on resource allocation. As various socialist economic systems can be categorized into several forms, resource allocation in the socialist economy can also be grouped accordingly. Each form of resource allocation has its own features associated with its economic system.

There are three types of economic systems categorized based on Chinese economic realities. The first type is the traditional economic system. The second type is the dual-track economic system whereby the traditional economic system is gradually giving in to the new economic system. The third type is the new economic system. The economic system from the late 1950s to the late 1970s was the traditional economic system, while that since the 1980s is the dual-track economic system, which we are currently under. The new economic system is the system we are aiming to establish through economic reform after breaking away from the dual-track economic system. It is still an economic system under planning and has not yet become reality.

The features of resource allocation under these three economic systems are as follows:

In the traditional economic system, mandatory planning is considered either the only form of economic planning in the socialist economy, i.e., the socialist economy is equivalent to a mandatorily planned economy, or the primary form of the socialist economy in which mandatory allocation is the primary method to allocate resources in the economy. In this economic

system, the market does not play any role at all or has a very limited impact on resource allocation. Moreover, as the system does not recognize enterprises as goods producers, business operators, or decision-makers, disregards their private economic interests, and restricts the transfer of production factors, resource allocation at the higher tier is extremely ineffective, causing not only severe imbalances in industrial structure, technological structure, regional economic structure, and employment structure but also tremendous waste and destruction of resources. In terms of the lower tier resource allocation, enterprises have no incentive or possibility to utilize resources effectively, as their production and management decisions are constantly interfered by government agencies, resulting in low productivity as well as low resource utilization efficiency. These are the main features of resource allocation in the traditional socialist economic system. Therefore, reforming the traditional economic system is a necessary step toward more effective resource allocation.

The dual-track economic system is a system that exists during the transitional period between the traditional and the new economic system. As defects of the traditional economic system become more and more prominent, the economy will have to undergo a systemic reform and a series of new economic issues are likely to emerge afterward. The reason is that the new economic system can only be established on a gradual basis as the old economic system fades away and the transition process from the old system to the new one is relatively long. During this process, some economic activities may still be carried out according to the traditional economic system, while other activities are conducted according to the new economic system. In addition, there are potential scenarios where economic activities are restricted by both the traditional and new economic systems, as the traditional economic system has not been completely terminated while the new economic system has started to play certain roles in the economy, and there may also be gaps where both the traditional and new economic systems fail to function, resulting in economic turmoil. It is necessary to point out here that the dual-track economic system is transitional in itself and resource allocation in the system is relatively complicated. More specifically, the industrial structure is getting more effective, idle or wasted resources are decreasing, and resource utilization efficiency is increasing; on the other hand, infrastructure construction projects are expanding irrationally, and the number of redundant construction projects is still on the rise, straining the

supply of raw materials and leading to rampant inflation driven by both higher demand and cost. Under such complex circumstances, even though resource allocation may be better overall than that in the traditional economic system, it is quite possible that the allocation of resources in certain areas is even worse than that in the traditional economic system. Economic reforms have thus encountered unexpected obstacles. Some people who were optimistic about economic reforms in the first place lose confidence in economic reforms after witnessing chaos during the transitional period between the old and new economic systems. Some even think the traditional economic system has certain merits, for at least it steered clear of the chaos during the transitional period. These are the features of resource allocation in the dual-track economic system. They are also commonly referred to as "transitional symptoms," which are inevitable during the transitional period between the old and new systems, namely, pains brought by the birth of a new economic system.

The new economic system is the target system to be established after socialist economic reforms. It will be an economic system in which enterprises are highly motivated and factors of production can be freely transferred and recombined. The internal operation mechanism of enterprises would be fundamentally different from that under the traditional economic system. The lower tier resource allocation would become more effective as enterprises are more motivated by their economic interests. Because of the normalization of property rights and the possible rearrangement of production factors in the economy, effective allocation of resources among various areas in the economy would likely come true, thus realizing the goal of achieving the effectiveness of the higher tier resource allocation. It is obvious that the new economic system to be established is one that facilitates effective allocation of resources.

1.1.4 Economic Disequilibrium and Socialist Resource Allocation

Analyzing the features of resource allocation in the socialist economy from the economic system perspective helps understand the significance and tasks of economic reforms and economic regulations during the current period as well as in the future. However, simply analyzing the features based on various socialist economic systems is not enough. It is necessary to take the analysis of resource allocation one step further by incorporating the disequilibrium conditions China's economy is currently under. This way, we

can better understand the features of resource allocation in the socialist economy.

According to the above discussions on disequilibrium, we can clearly understand that the disequilibrium theory studies the operation process of the economy under the circumstances that the market is underdeveloped and price signals are ineffective in automatically adjusting supply and demand. In terms of China, the economy under the traditional economic system was no doubt in a state of disequilibrium, while the economy under the current dual-track economic system is still in a state of disequilibrium. For a relatively long period of time in the future, the economy will continue to remain in a state of disequilibrium for reasons including sustained constraints on resources, even after the new economic system has been established and functioning. It may be a little different compared to the past, as the severity of disequilibrium is lower. These are the realities in current Chinese economy and we must not avoid them.

Now, let us focus on resource allocation under the dual-track economic system. The fundamental characteristics of a disequilibrium economy, such as underdeveloped market, unreasonable prices of comparable commodities, distorted price signals, severe constraints on resource supply, and an excess of aggregate demand over aggregate supply, all exist in the current dual-track economic system. More importantly, behind the operation of the economy lies such a fact: Enterprises, especially state-owned enterprises in the dualtrack economic system, have not completely steered clear of their affiliation with government administrative agencies or become goods producers with decision-making authorities and responsibilities for their own profits or losses. Their investment and transaction activities are distorted to a large extent. Even when price signals are accurate, they cannot serve as an instrument for those enterprises to adjust demand and supply accordingly. Therefore, only after we have a relatively thorough understanding of current Chinese economic realities can we naturally reach the following conclusions based on the view of disequilibrium economy: It is necessary to reform the economic system in order to enhance the effectiveness of resource allocation; among various economic system reforms, the price reform is neither the only important reform nor can it become a breakthrough point of all economic reforms. The key is ownership reform or the reform of enterprise institution. The breakthrough point of economic reforms is first and foremost the vitalization of enterprises by recognizing them as goods producers who make

their own decisions, take responsibility for their own profits and losses, and react to price signals to make necessary adjustments to supply and demand.

It is worth noting that since the purpose of economic reforms is to enhance the effectiveness of resource allocation, the mechanism of resource allocation and the mechanism of the operation of the economy need to be reformed. In terms of the reform of enterprise institution, it is the mechanism governing how enterprises themselves operate as well as how factors of production flow and combine that needs to be changed, not administrative affiliation or management scope (e.g., changing from vertical affiliation to horizontal affiliation or vice versa). In terms of price reform, it is the mechanism of price movement and price determination that needs to be changed, not the ratios of prices. As long as enterprises are still affiliated with administrative agencies, they will not be able to operate independently or take responsibility for their own profits and losses. In this case, the only thing reformed with regard to price is the ratio of prices, not the price setting mechanism. Such a price reform can only lead to reverted price ratios, i.e., the ratios of prices will soon return to the unreasonable level the same as before the reform, but with an even higher price level. This will do no good to the improvement of resource allocation.

If the reform of enterprise institution, or the reform of ownership, is set as the top priority, which reaffirms enterprises as goods producers, identifies investors and investees, separates enterprises from government agencies, and develops as well as improves the market system, investment principals will be identified, markets will be established and improved, price will be determined by market, and the issues related to resource allocation will naturally disappear. Hence, in a disequilibrium economy, it would be a mistake to attempt market establishment and price decontrol in the first place without tackling the fundamental obstacles to resource allocation that hinder market perfection and price signaling or without developing an effective resource allocation mechanism by allowing goods producers to become independent decision-makers responsible for their own profits and losses. If that direction is followed, unending inflation will follow, the ratios of merchandise prices will remain irregular, the market will unlikely be fully developed due to absence of decisionmaking and profit-driven enterprises, price signals will still be distorted, and effective resource allocation mechanism will be nothing but a dream. These analyses on disequilibrium are sure to reach this conclusion.

壹　从非均衡的角度看社会主义的资源配置问题

一、非均衡的含义

在经济学中，非均衡是相对于瓦尔拉均衡而言的。瓦尔拉均衡是假设存在着完善的市场和灵敏的价格体系条件下所达到的均衡。非均衡是指不存在完善的市场，不存在灵敏的价格体系的条件下所达到的均衡。因此，非均衡又被称作非瓦尔拉均衡。

根据瓦尔拉的学说，既然市场是完善的，价格体系是灵敏的，每一个参加市场交易的人对于现在的和未来的价格都有完全的信息，对现在的和未来的供求状况都有充分的了解，价格随着供求的变化而随时进行调整，那么在任何一种价格条件下，需求总量必定等于供给总量，社会中的超额需求和超额供给都是不存在的，任何交易的实现，都以均衡价格为条件。没有达到均衡价格，不会成交；只有价格均衡了，才可能进行交易。根据这样的学说，生产的过剩、商品的滞销、经常性的失业，以及与超额需求有关的通货膨胀也就不会出现。

对于这种不符合经济实际的瓦尔拉均衡的分析，虽然早就引起一些持有异议的西方经济学家的尖锐批评，而且凯恩斯在其1936年出版的《就业、利息和货币通论》一书中专就资本主义社会中经常性失业存在等问题进行了阐述，但直到60年代初，经济学界关于非均衡的研究仍是局部性的、非系统的。甚至对凯恩斯本人的经济理论的解释，也存在截然不同的两种观点。占主流地位的凯恩斯理论解释者认为，凯恩斯经济学仍然是一种均衡经济学，凯恩斯只是对瓦尔拉均衡学说作了一定的修改，基本上没有否定它。另一些凯恩斯理论的解释者则认为，凯恩斯经济学已经突破了均衡理论的限界，进行了非均衡理论的最初的、系统性的阐述。这具体表现于：凯恩斯认为市场机制不一定能充分发挥作用，市场难以把各种交易活动协调起来，无论是产量、就业量还是投资量都是波动的，而在资本主义条件下，经常出现的是生产过剩、失业、投资需求的不足。

非均衡理论从60年代后期起有较大的进展。非均衡的研究表明：在市场不完善和价格不能起到自行调整供求的作用的条件下，各种经济力量将会根据各自的具体情况而被调整到彼此相适应的位置上，并在这个位置上达到均衡。显然，非均衡所达到的均衡，并非市场完善前提下的均衡，而是市场不完善前提下的均衡；并非与零失业率或零通货膨胀率同时存在的均衡，而是伴随着失业或通货膨胀的均衡。换言之，非均衡

实际上也是一种均衡，只不过它不是瓦尔拉学说中所论述的那种均衡，而是存在于现实生活中的均衡。这就是经济学中非均衡的含义。

二、资源配置的含义

资源配置是指经济中的各种资源（包括人力、物力、财力）在各种不同的使用方向之间的分配。在资源供给有限的条件下，需要研究的是如何有效地把经济中的各种资源分配于各种不同的用途，以便用这些资源生产出更多地为社会所需要的产品和劳务。任何社会，包括社会主义社会在内，只有做到人尽其才，物尽其用，地尽其利，才能被认为做到了资源的合理配置。如果社会上人力、物力、财力有被闲置而未能得到充分利用的部分，或者，人力、物力、财力有被浪费而未能充分发挥作用的部分，这些都是资源配置方面存在的问题。经济学所要着重研究的问题之一，就是使资源配置趋向合理，以便让现有的资源发挥更大的作用，让潜在的资源被发掘出来。

资源配置可以分为两个层次。较高的层次是指资源如何分配于不同部门、不同地区、不同生产单位，其合理性反映于如何使每一种资源能够有效地配置于最适宜的使用方面。较低的层次是指：在资源分配为既定的条件下，一个生产单位、一个地区、一个部门如何组织并利用这些资源，其合理性反映于如何有效地利用它们，使之发挥尽可能大的作用。

这两个不同层次的资源配置是既有联系，又有区别的。它们之间的联系在于：一方面，就全社会范围而言，现有的资源总量是一定的，现有资源在不同使用方向的分配情况，必然影响到每一个具体单位的资源利用的效率，宏观上资源分配的不合理，必然使相当一部分生产单位的资源利用效率较低；另一方面，假定大多数生产单位的资源利用效率都能在现有基础上提高，那么其结果将导致经济中资源总量增加，而资源总量增加与资源总量不变相比，前者将有利于调整资源在不同使用方向的分配，有助于资源配置合理化。这两个层次的资源配置之间的区别在于：第一，彼此的目标不同。较低层次的资源配置的目标主要是提高生产单位的资源利用效率，使一定的投入能有更多的产出。较高层次的资源配置的目标则主要是让每一种资源合理分配，使之进入最适宜的使用方面，然后通过生产要素在广泛范围内的重新组合，使生产要素发挥更大的作用。第二，实现的途径不同。较低层次的资源配置可以在不转移生产要素的前提下，通过生产技术措施或生产单位内部组织管理措施来实现资源利用效率的提高。而较高层次资源配置合理化的实现，通常要涉及生产要素流动、产权关系规范化、固定资产的转让、宏观经济调节手段的运用、宏观经济管理体制的改革等问题。

但无论是从较高层次上看还是从较低层次上看，资源配置的合理化都表现为一个长期的过程。资源配置的合理程度没有一个绝对的标准，资源配置的合理化也不会有一个极限。我们只能这么说：通过这一层次或那一层次的调节或改革，资源配置状况是不是比较合理了，是不是比过去改善了，或改善了多少，等等。社会主义政治经济学所要研究的一个重要课题，就是怎样通过经济调节，使社会主义经济中的资源配置状况逐渐好转，逐渐趋于合理，以便在较高层次上和较低层次上都能提高资源利用的效率。

三、社会主义经济体制与资源配置的特点

在研究社会主义经济中的资源配置问题时，有必要先了解社会主义的经济体制以及这种经济体制给资源配置带来的各种影响。由于社会主义经济体制可以区分为各种不同的类型，因此，社会主义经济中的资源配置也可以相应地分成几种类型，每一种类型的资源配置都具有一定的经济体制所赋予的特点。

从我国的实际情况出发，可以大体上分为三类经济体制：一是传统的经济体制；二是在传统经济体制逐渐失去主导地位和新经济体制逐渐成长的条件下的双轨经济体制；三是新的经济体制。可以把50年代末到70年代末这段时间的经济体制称为传统的经济体制；把80年代以来的经济体制称为双轨经济体制。目前我们正处于双轨经济体制之下。至于新经济体制，则是我们力求通过经济改革，在摆脱了双轨经济体制之后所要建立的那种经济体制。后者对我们来说，至今仍然是目标模式，而并非生活中的现实。

三种类型的经济体制之下资源配置的特点如下：

在传统的经济体制之下，指令性计划或者被理解为社会主义经济计划的惟一形式，即认为社会主义经济等同于指令性经济，或者被理解为社会主义经济的主要形式，从而以指令性方式分配资源成为经济中资源配置的基本方式。在这种经济体制之下，市场或者不起什么作用，或者即使起作用，它对资源配置的影响也是十分有限的。不仅如此，由于否定企业作为商品生产者和经营者的地位，否认企业应当拥有生产经营的自主权，抹煞企业的自身利益，限制生产要素的流动，因此，在高层次的资源配置方面，不仅存在着资源的极其不合理的分配，造成产业结构、技术结构、地区经济结构、就业结构的严重失调，而且资源的浪费、破坏也非常惊人；在低层次的资源配置方面，则由于行政部门对企业生产和经营的横加干预，企业既没有合理使用资源的积极性，也没有这种可能性，所以企业的生产效率低下，资源的使用效率也很低。这就是传统的社会主义经济体制下资源配置的主要特点。对传统经济体制进

行改革，是资源配置从不合理趋向合理的必要前提。

双轨经济体制是新旧经济体制交替时期客观存在的一种体制。当传统经济体制的缺陷暴露得越来越明显，从而必须对之进行改革之后，经济中有可能出现一系列新问题。这是因为，旧经济体制只可能逐步退场，新经济体制也只可能逐步建立，新旧体制的交替需要一个较长的过程。在这个过程中，可能有一部分经济活动仍按传统经济体制下的方式进行；另一部分经济活动则开始按新经济体制下的方式进行。此外，还可能发生这类现象：一部分经济活动既要受传统经济体制的制约（因为传统经济体制尚未退出经济活动的舞台），又要受新经济体制的制约（因为新经济体制已经开始在经济生活中发生某些作用）；或者，在一些经济领域内，传统经济体制和新经济体制都不起作用，经济生活中出现了一些空白点，从而产生了一些混乱。必须指出，双轨经济体制本身具有过渡性，而双轨经济体制下的资源配置也具有较大的复杂性，这具体表现于：一方面，产业结构正在朝着比较合理的方面调整，资源的闲置或浪费现象正在减少，资源的使用效率正在提高；另一方面，基本建设规模不合理地扩大，重复建设有增无减，原材料供应更加紧张，由需求与成本两方面的因素所导致的物价上涨难以被抑制住。在这种复杂的情况下，资源配置的整个状况虽然比传统经济体制之下会有所好转，但这并不排除某些方面的资源配置状况也许比传统经济体制之下更差一些。于是就会使经济改革遇到原来预料不到的障碍，即本来对经济改革抱有较大希望的人在目击新旧体制交替时期发生的混乱现象之后，对经济改革的信心下降了，对经济改革的前景感到没有把握了，甚至认为传统经济体制仍有值得留恋之处，至少不会出现像新旧体制交替时期出现的这些混乱。这就是双轨经济体制之下资源配置的特点，也就是通常所说的新旧体制交替时期不可避免的“过渡性症状”，即伴随新经济体制诞生而来的阵痛。

新经济体制是社会主义经济改革之后所要建立的目标体制。这将是一个企业具有充分活力，生产要素可以自由流动和重新组合的经济体制。由于企业的内部经营机制已经根本不同于传统经济体制之下的情形了，较低层次的资源配置将因企业对自身利益的关心而趋于合理。由于产权关系规范化和生产要素有可能在社会范围内重新组合，资源在社会上不同使用方向之间的合理配置也能成为事实，于是较高层次的资源配置目标将得到实现。可见，我们将要建立的新经济体制，是一个有利于资源合理配置的新体制。

四、经济的非均衡与社会主义的资源配置

从经济体制的角度对社会主义经济中资源配置的特点进行分析，有

助于了解现阶段和今后一段时期内经济改革和经济调节的意义和任务。但仅仅从不同的社会主义经济体制的角度来考察，还是不够的。有必要进而从我国经济的非均衡性质来分析资源配置问题，这样才能更好地理解社会主义经济中的资源配置的特点。

根据前面关于非均衡的论述，可以清楚地了解到，非均衡理论所考察的是市场不完善、价格信号不能自行调整供求关系的条件下的经济运行过程。对我国而言，过去，传统经济体制下的经济运行固然是一种非均衡状态的经济运行，而目前，双轨经济体制下的经济运行仍旧是非均衡状态中的经济运行。甚至在今后较长的一段时期内，即使建立了新的经济体制并使之在经济中发挥作用，但由于资源约束的继续存在等原因，经济运行将会继续处于非均衡状态之中，只是非均衡的程度不断减弱而已。这正是我国经济的实际情况，我们不应当回避它。

现在，专就双轨经济体制之下的资源配置问题来说，市场不完善、商品比价不合理、价格信号扭曲、资源供给受到很大限制、社会总需求超过社会总供给……总之，非均衡经济的基本特征，在我国双轨经济体制之下都是存在的。但更重要的是，在经济运行的背后，还存在着一个事实，这就是：在双轨经济体制之下，企业，尤其是国营企业，还没有完全摆脱（或基本上没有摆脱）行政部门附属物的地位，它们还不是自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，它们的投资行为和交易行为都在相当大的程度上被扭曲，价格信号即使是准确的，它们也不可能成为企业调整供给与需求的手段。因此，只要对我国现实经济情况有比较深刻的了解，从非均衡经济这一立足点来进行考察，那么就会自然而然地得出下述结论：要使资源配置从不合理趋向于比较合理，经济体制改革是必要的；而在经济体制改革中，价格改革既不是惟一重要的改革，更不可能成为改革的突破口。关键在于所有制体制改革，也就是企业体制改革。改革的突破口在于首先应赋予企业以活力，使企业成为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，能够接受价格信号并根据它们来调整供求的商品生产者。

要知道，既然经济改革的目的在于使资源配置从不合理趋向于比较合理，那么需要改革的就是资源配置的机制、经济运行的机制。以企业体制改革来说，所要改革的是企业自身的经营机制、生产要素流动和组合的机制，而不是隶属关系或管理范围的调整（例如从“条条”变为“块块”，或从“块块”变为“条条”）。在价格改革方面，所要改革的是价格运动的机制、定价的机制，而不是价格比例的调整。只要企业仍然是行政部门的附属物，企业不能自主经营和自负盈亏，那么在价格方面，所改的只能是商品的比价，而不是定价的机制。这样的“价格改革”，其结果只能是“比价回归”，即比价调整以后不久又恢复到原来的不合理比价

的位置上，但是价格水平却比以前上升了。这对于资源配置状况的改善是起不到什么积极作用的。

假定把企业体制改革即所有制体制改革作为关键，并把赋予企业以商品生产者地位作为突破口，明确投资主体，实现政企分离，培育市场，使市场完善起来，那么在投资主体明确和市场逐渐完善的基础上，最后必将实现市场定价的格局，资源配置问题的解决也就顺理成章。由此可见，在非均衡经济之中，不从妨碍市场完善和价格信号正常发挥作用的根源上着手来解决资源配置问题，也就是不从先形成自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者（企业）方面着手以导致有效的资源配置机制的形成，而试图一开始就建立市场，放开价格，那么恰恰把一切都颠倒过来了。如果那样做，不但只会造成无休止的物价上涨，只会使商品比价依然处于不正常状态，而且由于自主经营、自负盈亏的企业不存在，市场还是不可能完善，价格信号仍然是扭曲的，有效的资源配置机制依旧是可望而不可即。根据非均衡分析，所得出的必然是这样一个结论。

1.2 RESOURCE MISALLOCATION AND POTENTIAL STAGFLATION IN THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY

1.2.1 The Cause of Stagnation and Inflation in the Socialist Economy

Stagnation refers to economic slowdown, which is characterized by lowering economic growth with growth rate hovering at a low level. Inflation refers to higher price level, characterized by rising prices. Stagflation refers to the phenomenon where stagnation and inflation exist simultaneously.

Stagnation and inflation may occur one at a time or at the same time in the socialist economy, a point I have discussed in *Socialist Political Economics*.[1] What is the root cause of stagnation, inflation, and stagflation in the socialist economy? Can we simply consider them the fallout from administrative mistakes or some coincidental events? The above analyses on economic disequilibrium and the impact on resource allocation from socialist economic system have revealed the fundamental root causes of stagnation, inflation, or stagflation. Administrative mistakes or coincidental events, even though having certain connections with stagnation, inflation, or stagflation, only make situations worse or are factors that induce them.

Current Chinese economy runs in a state of disequilibrium. Both aggregate imbalance and structural imbalance are probable. The former is demonstrated by a mismatch between aggregate supply and aggregate demand, resulting in either economic slowdown or inflation, while the latter manifests as a mismatch between the demand and supply of key products, causing either economic slowdown or inflation. Thus, stagnation or inflation, due to either aggregate or structural factors, will normally occur separately. If aggregate imbalance and structural imbalance occur simultaneously, there will be four possible scenarios:

1. Stagnation due to aggregate factors and structural factors
2. Inflation due to aggregate factors and structural factors
3. Stagnation due to aggregate factors and inflation due to structural factors
4. Inflation due to aggregate factors and stagnation due to structural factors

Stagnation and inflation occur separately in the first two scenarios and simultaneously in the latter two scenarios, i.e., stagflation. These four scenarios are all probable in a disequilibrium economy. They are relatively easy to understand in the traditional economic system and the dualtrack economic system. If we established the new economic system in the future, could we possibly prevent stagnation, inflation, or stagflation? Not necessarily. As mentioned above, in the new economic system, enterprises will have become goods producers that operate independently and are responsible for their own profits and losses. The market will have become relatively fully developed, if not completely fully. Prices can function normally as signals to adjust demand and supply. However, as long as resource constraints (and possibly demand constraints) persist, the socialist economy in the new economic system will remain a disequilibrium economy or an economy with a relatively low degree of disequilibrium. That being said, stagnation, inflation, or stagflation is still possible.

The above analysis has demonstrated that the root cause of stagnation, inflation, or stagflation in the socialist economy is not the socialist system itself, but aggregate imbalance and structural imbalance during the operation of a disequilibrium economy. Having said that, what is the cause of aggregate imbalance and structural imbalance? To answer this question, we have to look at potential macroeconomic and microeconomic mismatch in an economy.

1.2.2 The Cause of Macroeconomic and Microeconomic Mismatch

There are circumstances in which macroeconomic and microeconomic mismatch occurs, which is not entirely attributable to the traditional socialist economic system or the dual-track economic system. Let us assume that we have established the new economic system, where enterprises and individuals conduct economic activities independently and make their own decisions based on their best economic interests and intentions. This makes it impossible for them to automatically synchronize their activities with the national economy, hence leading to macroeconomic or microeconomic mismatch. More specifically, in the new economic system, enterprises make their own decisions with regard to the level of inventory and borrowings based on their own expectations of price level, interest rate, or supply and demand in the marketplace. So do individuals, who adjust their personal stock of consumer goods, cash holdings, and form of assets in accordance

with their own expectations of price level, interest rate, or supply and demand in the marketplace. These activities will impact the demand and supply of both merchandise and capital in the marketplace. We understand from the changes of enterprise and individual behavior that the fluctuations of inventory in the market will cause abnormal inventory in the economy or excessive money in circulation, which will naturally lead to macroeconomic or microeconomic mismatch. Therefore, it is obvious that any macroeconomic or microeconomic mismatch in the socialist economy as well as the resulting aggregate imbalance and structural imbalance(manifested as stagnation, inflation, or stagflation) will not disappear even after the new economic system is established. However, whenever macroeconomic and microeconomic mismatch occurs, the new economic system is more effective in releasing the power inherent in the economy to offset such mismatch than the traditional economic system or the dual-track economic system, and the influences of government's actions to reduce or eliminate such mismatch are also more far-reaching in the new economic system than in the traditional economic system or the dual-track economic system. If we conclude that we will always see macroeconomic and microeconomic mismatch and aggregate and structural imbalances in the form of stagnation, inflation, or stagflation in any type of socialist economic system, the traditional economic system or the dual-track economic system will experience more severe mismatch or imbalance than the new economic system, and the cost to the economy to correct such mismatch will also be much larger. If we can summarize the process of socialist economic activities as one that gradually changes from macroeconomic and microeconomic mismatch to moderate match and then to a new level of macroeconomic and microeconomic mismatch, the traditional economic system and the dual-track economic system, in comparison to the new economic system, will need a longer period of time migrating from macroeconomic and microeconomic mismatch to moderate match, face more obstacles down the road, and pay a higher price. They, however, need a relatively short period of time transiting from moderate macroeconomic and microeconomic match to the new macroeconomic and microeconomic mismatch, which tend to develop fairly quickly.

Now, let us go back to disequilibrium economy. It is clear that if the socialist economy turned out to be in the equilibrium described by Walras, excess supply and demand would not exist and aggregate imbalance or structural imbalance would not occur either. It will be impossible to see

macroeconomic and microeconomic mismatch, thus eliminating such phenomena as stagnation, inflation, and stagflation. However, the equilibrium economy that Walras described is not real. Disequilibrium is the reality for any economy. Therefore, we may conclude that any imbalance in the socialist economy or any macroeconomic and microeconomic mismatch is a result of the imbalances of economic activities, not administrative mistakes or coincidental events.

1.2.3 Stagflation and Resource Misallocation

Economic slowdown or inflation in the socialist economy represents resource misallocation. It is easier to understand that economic slowdown, as there are bound to be considerable idle resources during economic slowdown. In terms of the production process, idle resources include excess production capacity, idle labor, as well as raw material overstock. In terms of the circulation process, idle resources result from the sluggish sales of manufactured products and abnormal inventory in the marketplace. Of course, serious shortages of certain key products, such as energy, major raw materials, major equipment, and services by the transportation sector, can also cause economic slowdown, which is also a reflection of resource misallocation. Resource misallocation in this scenario manifests as a distorted industrial structure that throws resource allocation out of balance, causing severe product shortages, eventually causing an economic slowdown.

What is the relationship between inflation and resource misallocation in the socialist economy? Why can we say that inflation reflects resource misallocation in the same way as economic slowdown? We can answer these questions by analyzing three different types of inflation:

1. Inflation due to excessive aggregate demand, commonly known as demand-driven inflation

Excessive demand is either caused by escalating investment or rapidly increasing consumption, or both. The reason why demand exceeds supply by a large extent has something to do with resource misallocation, because the participants of resource allocation (i.e., enterprises, individuals, and government) allocate excessive resources to areas whose needs are not justified. In this case, excessive money in circulation is only a phenomenon. The truth behind it is excessive investment or consumption due to resource misallocation.

2. Inflation due to excessively rising cost, commonly known as

costdriven inflation

Excessively rising cost is ultimately determined by excessively rising prices of production factors, which is in turn caused by excessive demand or severe shortages of the supplies of relevant production factors. Severe shortages of the supplies of certain production factors can be attributed to a distorted industrial structure, constraints on the mobility of production factors, or lack of investment by the producers of production factors. After all, they are all associated with resource misallocation.

3. Inflation due to mismatch between the structures of supply and demand, commonly known as structural inflation

This type of inflation can be found with regard to certain key products when supply fails to meet demand. When certain key products experience excessive demand and shortages of supply, prices will jump and money in circulation will rise, giving rise to inflation. The reason why there is excessive demand for or shortage of supply of key products is still linked to resource misallocation and consequential product structure mismatch or industrial structure mismatch.

Therefore, any type of inflation is associated with resource misallocation. We can conclude that economic slowdown, inflation, and stagflation are all reflective of resource misallocation. In our research on the socialist economy, we must realize that stagnation, inflation, and stagflation are all linked to resource misallocation. With this in mind, we must concentrate on exploring methods that can eliminate resource misallocation, and search for effective resource allocation that can prevent stagnation, inflation, or stagflation.

1.2.4 The Possibility and Prevention of Stagflation

When an economy encounters structural imbalance, simply suppressing aggregate demand will cause excessive economic contraction. At the same time, rising price level due to structural imbalance will remain unchecked. As a result, stagflation will likely occur. This is a serious issue that we must face in managing the national economy. We must also note that the possibility of stagflation in the economy does not necessarily mean that it will turn into reality. It will require societal purchasing power to turn the possibility of stagflation into reality. It should be noted that even though structural imbalance likely leads to a higher price level, any rise in price level is also related to societal purchasing power. If purchasing power is not strong

enough, it will be difficult for the price of shortage merchandise to rise, in spite of structural imbalance between supply and demand. Therefore, if suppressing aggregate demand (e.g., suppressing infrastructure investment, business spending, or residents' disposable income) still leaves us with relatively strong sequential societal purchasing power, which can in turn drive price level higher, we will have to understand the origin of societal purchasing power.

Can it originate from government spending? In other words, can a portion of government spending be diverted toward purchasing shortage commodities? Generally speaking, the possibility does not exist during an excessively contractive period, as suppressing aggregate demand first and foremost entails reducing government spending.

Can it originate from credit expenditures? In other words, can a portion of credit expenditures be diverted toward purchasing shortage commodities? The probability is normally minimal. Suppressing aggregate demand undoubtedly entails reducing credit expenditures.

Can it originate from exports, remittances from expatriates, spending by foreigners within the country (or tourism revenues), or foreign direct investments? All these revenues are likely to become purchasing power for shortage commodities in the domestic market. Suppressing domestic aggregate demand can proceed simultaneously with increasing exports, expatriates' remittances, tourism revenues, and foreign direct investments. Under such circumstance, however, we can prevent price level from rising, in spite of increasing domestic demand for shortage commodities, as long as rising foreign exchange revenues are appropriately utilized to increase supplies of shortage commodities, such as directly increasing the import of shortage commodities or raw materials for the production of shortage commodities.

Now we have a problem: Since rising purchasing power during the economic contractive period is not caused by government spending, credit expenditures, or foreign exchange revenues, where does it come from?

There are three potential sources:

Personal savings. During the period of economic contraction, residents may withdraw personal savings due to changing expectations and turn them into purchasing power for shortage commodities, thus pushing price level higher.

Personal cash on hand. Cash on hand, considered either pocket money or

cash withheld to be spent, will likely be spent and drive price level up when there is change in people's expectations.

Corporate after-tax earnings. Businesses can utilize after-tax earnings to cover corporate expenditures or reward their employees, turning aftertax earnings into personal consumption by employees who purchase shortage commodities and pushing price level higher. But it should be noted that if businesses are driven by profitability and governed by longterm growth strategies, they will, during economic contraction, constrain the spending of after-tax earnings, reduce corporate expenditures and employee compensation, and pay more attention to increasing productivity, lowering cost, and preserving capital. On the contrary, if businesses are not driven by profitability and are shortsighted, they will likely ignore economic contraction and use up all after-tax earnings, thus driving price level higher.

Therefore, if the government adopts measures at time of structural imbalance to reduce aggregate demand without mitigating the impact on the market from personal savings and cash on hand, potential stagflation will turn into reality. Likewise, if the government fails to reform enterprise operation mechanism while reducing aggregate demand, businesses will lack the mechanism to pursue profitability as well as corporate governance for distributing after-tax earnings, business behavior will remain shortsighted, and potential stagflation will likely turn into reality.

Stagflation is very harmful to the economy. It is not comparable to stable economic growth and even worse than inflation during economic growth. As for current Chinese economy, it is imperative to reduce aggregate demand. Our research will be focused on preventing stagflation while reducing aggregate demand. Of course, we also have to stress the importance of lowering economic imbalance by increasing effective aggregate supply. If excessive reduction of aggregate demand leads to lower effective aggregate supply, the purpose of reducing aggregate demand to balance supply shortage will unlikely be fulfilled. In addition, we must also further analyze the abovementioned issues including personal savings, cash on hand, and enterprise operation mechanism in search of an effective solution to stagflation.

1. Personal savings

In order to avoid run on the bank prompted by changing personal expectations at time of lower aggregate demand, we can raise interest rate as necessary and employ tools such as inflation-protected savings and savings

for forward purchases to stabilize personal savings. Meanwhile, the government should divert a portion of personal savings to purchasing houses and financial instruments. Investments in housing and financial instruments are protected against inflation and are able to turn shortterm capital into long-term capital or changing consumption funds into production capital. This is an effective method of redistributing personal savings.

2. Cash on hand

Cash on hand is primarily treated the same way as personal savings. The government should turn cash on hand into personal savings and purchasing power for housing and financial instruments. Meanwhile, the government should also encourage small business owners and peasants to turn their cash on hand into production capital so as to increase the supply of capital and avoid exorbitant and extravagant consumption.

3. Corporate operation mechanism

Increasing supply relies on deepening enterprise reforms, which, for example, includes motivating enterprises and their employees to facilitate the recombination of production factors and accelerating the adjustment of the industrial structure. Suppressing demand also relies on deepening enterprise reforms. We will discuss later on in the book that reforming enterprises is nothing but reforming corporate operation mechanism and that only when driven by economic interests can an enterprise care about how to use retained earnings, thus preventing corporate shortsightedness. Having said that, how do we reform corporate operation mechanism? Obviously, the subcontracting system is not sufficient, because it does not sever the relationship between enterprises and their administrative agencies. Enterprises under the subcontracting system have not been goods producers with decision-making authorities and financial responsibilities. The subcontracting system should gradually migrate to the shareholding system.[2] Economic activities under the shareholding system are driven by investors' interests. Macroeconomic regulatory plans can be drafted in accordance with the long-term interests of enterprises structured under the shareholding system. Driven by long-term economic interests, investors will voluntarily control their utilization of after-tax earnings to avoid shortsightedness, i.e., maximizing short-term interests by sacrificing long-term interests. Hence, corporate myopia, i.e., depleting retained earnings, can potentially be prevented.

The above discussions allow us to draw the following conclusion: Stagflation cannot be completely ruled out if there is structural imbalance.

Stagflation can be prevented, as long as we devote to increasing effective supply while suppressing demand, take necessary measures to stabilize personal savings, try our best to divert deposits and cash on hand toward purchasing houses and securities, and deepen enterprise reforms by establishing the enterprise mechanism following the principle of maximizing economic interests. In other words, when these conditions are met, the economy will not be expected to experience stagflation. Instead, the economy will see medium economic growth and declining inflation rate.

This section describes stagflation in the socialist economy through a brief analysis. The following sections will present a detailed analysis of issues related to government regulation and enterprise reforms under the coexistence of commodity supply gap and demand shortfall.

1.2.5 The Need to Reconsider Resource Allocation

One of the purposes of studying economics is to find a satisfactory system or mechanism that facilitates efficient utilization of natural resources and effective resource allocation, which contributes not only to increasing national wealth but also to fair distribution of wealth or income. Ignoring resource allocation is actually forgetting the purpose of economics as a science. Existing research on resource allocation since the inception of classical political economics has revealed two trends: One believes that the market is the only effective mechanism that can perfectly and effectively allocate various limited resources in a society. Resource allocation is no more than the automatic regulation of the economy by the market. The other trend believes that the market mechanism is fairly limited in terms of resource allocation processes and results. The limitation of market regulation reflects either inefficient utilization of societal resources, which causes idling or waste of resources, or a mismatch between resource allocation and income distribution, which leads to wider income gaps despite relatively effective resource allocation and higher national wealth under the market mechanism. Such circumstance calls for government regulation or planned mechanism in replacement of the market mechanism so as to overcome its limitation.

In our study of resource allocation in current Chinese economy, it is not difficult to find that various schools of thoughts on resource allocation, despite the fact that many are useful, are not applicable to the realities of the Chinese economy. Given the Chinese economic disequilibrium, the belief that the market is the only effective mechanism to allocate resources is

apparently incomplete. If the market pricing mechanism is selected as a starting point to resolve resource allocation issues, we will likely see considerable economic chaos. This is because in an economic environment where the market has not been fully developed and enterprises have not become independent decision-makers and often face noneconomic obstacles, to realize efficient utilization and effective allocation of resources first and foremost requires that enterprises be goods producers that are financially independent and responsible for their own investment and operations and that the market continue to perfect. Even after enterprises are motivated, endowed with decisionmaking authorities, full reliance upon price regulation is not sufficient to achieve efficient utilization and effective allocation of resources if constraints on resources are not removed. All these points demonstrate the complexity of resource allocation under disequilibrium conditions, which is why we have to come back and reconsider the issue of resource allocation according to current economic realities in China.

The fact that the Chinese economy is susceptible to stagnation, inflation, or stagflation, which is related to resource misallocation, clearly demonstrates the complexity of resource allocation in the current economy as well as the difficulty to find a viable solution. In other words, neither the model of resolving resource allocation issues by solely using the market mechanism nor one that replaces the market mechanism with the planned mechanism is able to reveal the true root cause of the problems and to provide a real solution. Our emphasis on "realistically describing the Chinese economy only by understanding China in the first place" does not mean we can look down on economic theories that provide appropriate guidance. Without economic theories and the analysis conducted according to these theories, we will be inundated with piles of tedious and unsystematic details or descriptions. Therefore, we value the guiding role of economic theories. But it does not mean we are able to draw an easy conclusion on resource allocation simply according to some superficial phenomena of economic activities. Instead, it requires us to look for economic theories that can be applied to resolve resource allocation issues in China. Even though there are many difficulties down the road, we will succeed eventually as long as we follow the research path that is consistent with Chinese realities.

As it is necessary to reconsider resource allocation issues, we can naturally reach the following conclusion: A theory on resource allocation applicable to China must follow real Chinese situations. In order to meet this

requirement, the theory on economic disequilibrium is hereby proposed as an economic theory that is conducive to resolving resource allocation issues in socialist society.

贰　资源配置失调与社会主义经济中“滞胀”的可能性

一、社会主义经济中“滞”与“胀”的根源

“滞”是指经济停滞，其表现形式主要是经济增长率下降，并停留在低水平上。“胀”是指通货膨胀，其表现形式主要是物价上涨幅度较大。“滞胀”是指这两种现象同时存在。

在社会主义经济中，“滞”与“胀”既有可能单独出现，也有可能一起出现。关于这一点，我已经在《社会主义政治经济学》一书中作了论述。[1]问题是，造成社会主义经济中“滞”、“胀”与“滞胀”的根源何在？能不能把这些情况简单地看成是由于政府工作失误或受到偶然事件的影响而带来的后果呢？从前面对于经济的非均衡分析和对于社会主义经济体制给予资源配置的影响的分析可以了解到，无论是“滞”、“胀”还是“滞胀”都有深刻的内在原因，如果说政府工作失误或偶然事件的干扰多少与此有关的话，那么这只是加剧它们或诱发它们的因素而已。

现阶段我国的社会主义经济作为一种非均衡的经济，在运行过程中，总量失衡和结构性失衡都有可能发生，总量失衡表现为由于社会总需求与社会总供给的不一致而导致经济停滞或通货膨胀，结构性失衡表现为由于关键性产品需求与供给的不一致而导致的经济停滞或通货膨胀，这样，“滞”或“胀”或者由于总量方面的原因，或者由于结构方面的原因而单独出现。如果总量失衡与结构性失衡同时发生，那么就可能有下述四种不同的表现：

1．由总量方面的原因所导致的“滞”和由结构方面的原因所导致的“滞”；

2．由总量方面的原因所导致的“胀”和由结构方面的原因所导致的“胀”；

3．由总量方面的原因所导致的“滞”和由结构方面的原因所导致的“胀”；

4．由总量方面的原因所导致的“胀”和由结构方面的原因所导致的“滞”。

上述第一、二种表现仍属于单独出现的“滞”或“胀”，而第三、四种表现则是“滞”与“胀”的同时发生，即“滞胀”。应当说，这四种表现，在非均衡经济中都是可能出现的。在传统经济体制之下和双轨经济体制之下，对这些情况的发生可能较易于理解。那么在今后一段时期内，假定建立了新经济体制，是不是就不可能发生“滞”、“胀”与“滞胀”了呢？并

非如此。正如前面已经指出的，在新的经济体制之下，企业成了自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，市场已趋向于完善或比较完善，价格信号也能够正常地发挥其调节供给与需求的作用了，但只要继续存在着资源约束（在某种程度上还可能存在需求约束），那么，新经济体制之下的社会主义经济仍然是非均衡经济，或者说，是一种非均衡程度较轻的经济。即使如此，经济运行过程中的“滞”、“胀”或“滞胀”，仍是有可能发生的。

这表明了社会主义经济中的“滞”、“胀”或“滞胀”的根源不在于社会主义制度本身，而在于非均衡经济运行过程中发生的总量失衡和结构性失衡。那么，总量失衡和结构失衡的原因又何在呢？这就必须从经济运行过程中可能出现的宏观经济与微观经济的不协调谈起。

二、宏观经济与微观经济不协调的原因

宏观经济与微观经济之间存在着不协调的情况。这并不仅仅与传统的社会主义经济体制和双轨经济体制有关。假定建立了新经济体制，那么由于企业经济活动和个人经济行为是分散的，企业和个人按照各自的利益和意图进行经济决策，它们的活动不可能自发地同国民经济运行处于相互适应之中，由此，仍会产生宏观经济与微观经济的不协调。具体地说，在新的经济体制之下，企业会根据自己的价格预期、利息率预期或对于市场供求状况的预期，调整自己的存货水平和资金借入量的行为。这些行为将影响市场商品的可供量和市场的资金供求关系。个人也会根据自己的价格预期、利息率预期或对于市场供求状况的预期，调整自己的消费品存量、现金持有额和资产形式的行为。这些行为将影响市场商品的供求和资金的供求。从企业和个人行为的调整可以了解到，市场存货数量的波动必将导致经济中出现不正常的市场存货或流通中过多的货币量，于是宏观经济与微观经济之间的不协调问题也就自然而然地产生了。可见，在社会主义经济运行过程中，宏观经济与微观经济之间的不协调，以及由于这种不协调而导致的总量失衡、结构性失衡（这些失衡以“滞”、“胀”或“滞胀”等形式表现出来），不会因新经济体制的建立而不再存在。只是在新经济体制之下，一旦宏观经济与微观经济之间出现不协调的时候，经济本身所具有的使这种不协调趋于缓和的力量要比在传统经济体制和双轨经济体制之下易于发挥作用，通过政府调节来消除或缓解这种不协调现象的效果也比在传统经济体制和双轨经济体制之下大得多。如果说在各种不同的社会主义经济体制之下都会出现宏观经济与微观经济之间的不协调，都会发生总量失衡、结构失衡及其表现形式“滞”、“胀”或“滞胀”的话，那么在传统经济体制和双轨经济体制之下，这种不协调和失衡不仅要比新经济体制之下远为严重，而且在使这

种不协调转变为比较协调的过程中，经济本身为之付出的代价也远为巨大。如果把社会主义经济运动的过程概括在从宏、微观经济的不协调到比较协调，再从比较协调到新的不协调的过程的话，那么与新经济体制之下的情形相比，在传统经济体制和双轨经济体制之下，从宏、微观经济的不协调到比较协调所需要的时间较长，遇到的障碍较多，为此而付出的代价较大，而从宏、微观经济的比较协调到新的不协调之间的时间较短，即新的不协调可能很快就产生。

现在，把问题再回到非均衡经济方面。可以明确地指出，假定社会主义经济真的是像瓦尔拉所描述的那种均衡经济的话，超额需求或超额供给就都不存在，总量失衡或结构失衡也不可能出现。宏、微观经济之间的不协调就不会发生，于是“滞”、“胀”、“滞胀”之类的现象也都没有存在的可能了。但瓦尔拉所描述的那种均衡经济是不符合实际的，经济中实际存在的是非均衡状态。既然如此，那就可以认为，社会主义经济中的失衡和宏、微观经济的不协调是来自非均衡的经济运行，而主要不是政府工作失误或偶然事件干扰的结果。

三、“滞胀”与资源配置失调

社会主义经济中出现的经济停滞或通货膨胀都反映了资源配置的失调。经济停滞反映资源配置失调，是比较容易理解的。这是因为，在经济停滞的情况下，必然发生资源的严重闲置。这在生产过程中，表现为生产设备的闲置，劳动力未得到充分利用，以及原材料的积压；在流通过程中，表现为已经制成的产品的滞销，表现为市场上出现超正常的存货。当然，关键性产品（如燃料和动力、重要的原材料、重要的设备、运输部门提供的劳务等）的严重短缺也可能导致经济停滞，但这同样是资源配置失调的反映。这种情况下的资源配置失调主要以产业结构的畸形等形式出现，即由于产业结构畸形引起资源配置失调，引起关键性产品的严重短缺，最终导致经济停滞。

那么，社会主义经济中所发生的通货膨胀同资源配置失调之间又是什么样的关系呢？为什么说通货膨胀与经济停滞一样，也是资源配置失调的反映呢？这可以从三种不同类型的通货膨胀着手分析：

1．由于社会总需求过大而引起的通货膨胀，即通常所说的需求因素导致的通货膨胀。

需求之所以过大，或者是由于投资规模膨胀，或者是由于消费支出增长过快，或者两者兼而有之。需求大大超过供给，这是与资源配置失调有关的，因为资源配置的主体（企业、个人或政府）把过多的资源投入到不应当投入这样众多资源的领域中了。在这种情况下，货币流通量过大只是一种现象，在这一现象的背后，则是由于资源配置失调所造成

的投资过多或消费支出增长过快。

2．由于成本上升过大而引起的通货膨胀，即通常所说的成本因素导致的通货膨胀。

成本上升幅度之所以过大，归根到底，由生产要素价格上涨过大所决定。生产要素价格之所以上涨过大，则又是由于对生产要素的需求增加过猛以及生产要素供给的严重不足。就生产要素供给的严重不足而言，这或者是由于产业结构的畸形，或者是由于生产要素的流动性受到限制，或者是由于用于提供生产要素的部门的资源投入严重不足，总之，这一切全都与资源的不合理配置有关。

3．由于供给结构与需求结构的不协调而引起的通货膨胀，即通常所说的结构因素导致的通货膨胀。

关于这一类型的通货膨胀，可以从关键性产品的供不应求找到答案，这就是：某些关键性产品的需求过大和供给严重不足，使得这些产品的价格上涨，使得货币流通量增加，从而导致了通货膨胀。至于关键性产品为什么会供不应求，仍然与资源配置的失调以及由此引起的产品结构失调、产业结构失调等等联系在一起。

由此看来，三类通货膨胀中的任何一类通货膨胀都与资源配置失调有联系。这样，经济停滞、通货膨胀、经济停滞和通货膨胀的并存都可以被看成是资源配置失调的反映。在社会主义的经济研究中，我们必须认识到"滞"、"胀"或"滞胀"等现象的产生都和资源配置失调有关，因此在研究时，必须致力于探求消除资源配置失调，使资源配置趋于比较合理和合理的途径，以克服经济中的"滞"、"胀"或"滞胀"现象。

四、"滞胀"的可能性与"滞胀"的防止

在经济中存在着结构性失衡时，如果单纯压缩总需求，以至于经济紧缩过度，同时，物价上涨率由于结构性问题的存在而未能降低，那么经济的"滞胀"就可能出现。这是国民经济管理中需要认真对待的问题。但也应当注意到，经济中出现"滞胀"的可能性并不等于这种可能必定成为现实。可能发生的"滞胀"要变为实际发生的"滞胀"，需要以相应社会购买力的存在作为条件。要知道即使由于商品供求结构不协调而可能出现物价上涨的趋势，但任何物价上涨都与相应的社会购买力的存在有关。如果社会购买力不足，在商品供求结构不协调时，短缺商品的价格仍然难以上涨。因此，在采取压缩总需求（比如说，压缩基本建设投资、压缩社会集团购买力、压缩居民可支配收入）之后仍有较大的社会购买力，并且这种社会购买力足以导致物价上涨的话，那就必须了解这种社会购买力究竟来自何处。

它会不会来自财政支出，即财政支出的一部分会不会转化为对短缺

商品的购买力？一般说来，这种可能性在经济紧缩过度时并不存在。压缩总需求首先包括了对财政支出的压缩。

它会不会来自信贷支出，即信贷支出的一部分会不会转化为对短缺商品的购买力？这种可能性在经济紧缩过度时一般也不存在。压缩总需求无疑也包括了对信贷支出的压缩。

它会不会来自出口收入、侨汇收入、国外入境者的支出（即旅游收入）、引进的外资？这是因为，所有这些收入都有可能转化为对国内的短缺商品的购买力；紧缩国内需求与增加出口收入、侨汇收入、旅游收入和引进外资完全可以同时进行。然而，在这种情况下，只要合理地利用所增加的外汇收入，利用它们来增加国内短缺商品的供给（如直接增加短缺商品的进口，或增加有关的生产资料进口），那么即使增加了对短缺商品的购买，也不会导致物价上涨。

于是我们遇到了这样一个问题：既然在经济紧缩时足以引起物价上涨的社会购买力并非来自财政支出、信贷支出和各种外汇收入，那么它们究竟来自何处？

可能有下述三个来源：

第一，来自居民的储蓄存款。在经济紧缩时，如果居民的预期发生变化，他们是有可能提取存款，使之转化为社会购买力，购买短缺商品，从而引起物价上涨的。

第二，来自居民手头持有的现金。不管这些现金是被当作备用金的还是具有“持币待购”性质的，只要居民的预期发生变化，这些现金就有可能冲向市场，引起物价上涨。

第三，来自企业的税后利润部分。企业可以利用这些货币作为公共消费支出，或把它们分配给本企业的职工，转化为职工的个人消费支出，使之进入市场，购买短缺商品，从而引起物价上涨。但应当指出，如果企业是有利益约束的并且具有长期的发展方针，那么企业将考虑到经济紧缩的客观形势，就会在税后利润的支出方面自行约束，节制公共消费支出和给予职工的收入份额，而宁肯在提高劳动生产率、降低成本、增加积累上下功夫。反之，如果企业缺少利益约束，企业行为是短期化的，那么企业很可能置经济紧缩的形势于不顾，继续采取把税后利润“分光吃尽”的做法，物价也就可能因此而上涨。

由此可见，在存在结构性失衡时，如果政府采取了紧缩需求的措施而又不设法缓解居民储蓄存款和居民手头持有现金对市场的压力，不设法阻止它们对市场可能发生的冲击，那么可能的“滞胀”就会变为实际的“滞胀”。同样的道理，如果政府不在紧缩需求的同时改造企业的运行机制，而仍然使企业缺乏利益的约束，缺乏自我调整税后利润使用方式的机制，以至于企业的行为依旧是短期化的，那么“滞胀”的可能性就会

转化为“滞胀”的现实性。

“滞胀”对经济是十分不利的。它不仅与经济的稳定增长无法相比，甚至比“增长中的膨胀”还要坏。就现阶段的我国经济而言，紧缩总需求势在必行。我们要研究的是如何在紧缩总需求的过程中不至于出现“滞胀”。当然，在这里必须强调增加有效供给对于缓和经济失衡的关键意义。如果紧缩需求过度而造成了对有效供给的紧缩，那么紧缩需求以缓和供不应求现象的目的将不可能实现。除此以外，我们还必须就前面已经提到的居民储蓄存款、居民手头持有现金、企业运行机制问题作进一步的分析，以便寻找防止发生“滞胀”的有效对策。

第一，居民储蓄存款问题。

为了防止在紧缩需求过程中居民预期发生大的变动而使提取存款、冲击市场的情况出现，可以适当提高存款利率，开展保值储蓄和实物预购储蓄，以稳定储蓄存款。同时，政府应当引导居民用一部分储蓄存款购买住宅，购买证券。住宅和证券都是保值性的。对房屋和证券的购买可以把短期资金变为长期资金或把消费基金变为生产基金，这是存款分流的有效渠道。

第二，居民手头持有的现金问题。

对待居民手头持有现金的方式基本上与对待居民储蓄存款的方式相同，即政府应采取措施，使居民把手头现金的一部分变为存款，变为对住宅和证券的购买。同时，对于个体户和农民，应当设法鼓励他们把手头持有的现金作为生产资金，以便增加供给，而不要用于挥霍性的、炫耀性的消费。

第三，企业运行机制问题。

不仅增加供给有赖于企业改革的深化（例如，通过企业改革的深化，可以调动企业和职工的生产积极性，可以促进生产要素重新组合，可以加速产业结构调整等等，以达到增加供给的目的），而且抑制需求也有赖于企业改革的深化。正如本书以后各章将会指出的，企业改革过程就是企业运行机制的改造过程，企业必须有利益的约束，才会关心自己的税后利润的使用方式和使用方向，企业的行为短期化才能避免。那么，究竟怎样改造企业的运行机制呢？承包制在这方面显然是不够的。因为承包制并未割断行政主管部门与企业之间的“脐带”，承包制下的企业还不是真正自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，承包制应当逐渐向股份制过渡。[2]股份企业的经济活动取决于投资者的利益，宏观经济调节的意图可以同股份企业的长期利益相适应，即投资者为了自身的长期利益，将在经济紧缩期间自行约束税后利润的使用方式和使用方向，而不至于出于短期利益的考虑，只图短期利益最大化，这样，“分光吃尽”税后利润的短期行为也就有可能防止了。

根据以上所述，可以得出如下的结论：在结构性失衡存在的条件下，“滞胀”不是没有出现的可能性的。但是，只要我们在压缩需求的同时致力于有效供给的增加，只要我们采取各种措施来稳定居民储蓄存款，并尽可能把这些存款和居民手头持有的现金引导到对住宅和证券的购买方面去；只要我们深化企业改革，建立企业的利益约束机制，那么“滞胀”可以被防止。换言之，在这种情况下，我们的经济前景将不是“滞胀”，而是经济的中速增长和物价上涨率的下降。

在这一章中，我们只是提出了社会主义经济中的“滞胀”问题，而且只进行了十分粗略的分析。在本书以下各章，我们将对社会主义经济中的商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口并存条件下的政府调节问题和企业改革问题进行较细致的论述。

五、重新认识资源配置问题的必要性

研究经济学的目的之一是为了找到一种令人满意的体制或机制，以便合理利用资源、配置资源，既能促进社会财富的增加，又能使财富或收入的分配趋于公平。不重视资源配置问题的研究，实际上是忘记了经济学这门科学的这一使命。但自从古典政治经济学产生以来，历来有关资源配置问题的研究有两种趋向。一种趋向是：认为市场机制是能够完善地、合理地在社会有限资源条件下配置各种资源的惟一有效的机制，资源配置学说无非是一种通过市场对经济自发地进行调节的学说。另一种趋向是：从资源配置的过程与效果来看，市场机制具有相当大的局限性，这种局限性或者反映了对社会资源的利用不善，从而造成资源的闲置或浪费；或者反映了资源配置与收入分配之间的不协调，即通过市场机制的作用，即使资源的配置比较合理，社会财富可以增加，但收入分配的失调现象却会变得严重起来，从而必须运用政府的调节职能或计划机制来取代市场机制的作用，至少应用它们来克服市场机制的局限性。

然而，当我们把研究的课题转入我国现阶段的资源配置方面时，不难发现，国外有关资源配置的种种观点，尽管其中有不少可供借鉴的内容，但同我国社会经济的实际状况仍有较大的距离。根据我国经济的非均衡状态，那种把市场机制视为资源配置的惟一有效机制的学说，其局限性是很明显的。假定把市场定价作为解决我国现阶段的资源配置问题的出发点，我们的经济很可能陷入较大的混乱之中。这是因为，在市场不完善、非经济因素干扰较大、企业尚未具有独立经济地位的现实经济环境中，要做到资源的有效利用和合理配置，首要的问题是让企业成为有独立经济地位的商品生产者，自己承担投资风险和经营风险，使市场日益完善。而在企业有了充分的活力之后，如果资源约束的情况仍然未能消除，那么完全依靠价格调节也难以实现资源的有效利用和合理配置

的目的。这就是非均衡条件下资源配置问题的复杂性，也是我们必须根据我国经济实际情况重新认识资源配置问题的主要理由。

从我国经济中可能发生的"滞"、"胀"与"滞胀"以及它们与资源配置失调之间的关系，可以清楚地了解到我国现阶段资源配置问题的复杂性和解决这一问题的难度。这就是，无论是按市场机制是解决资源配置问题的惟一有效机制的模式，还是按计划机制对市场机制替代的模式来分析这些问题，都不可能深刻地揭示其原因和找到对策。我们强调"只有先了解中国，才能对中国经济作出符合实际的说明"，并不意味着我们可以轻视经济理论的指导作用。没有经济理论的指导，没有这种理论指导下的分析，很可能陷入一大堆琐碎的、非系统的具体事实的罗列或描述之中，因此，我们重视经济理论的指导作用，是指不能根据经济生活中的若干表面现象就得出有关我国的资源配置问题的现成的答案，而是要探索可以用来解决我国资源配置问题的经济理论。尽管这种探索会遇到困难，但只要我们循着符合我国国情的研究途径前进，总是会有收获的。

于是，从重新认识资源配置问题的必要性出发，自然而然地会导致如下的论断：必须根据我国的实际情况，探索符合我国国情的资源配置理论。非均衡经济理论作为一种有助于解决社会主义的社会资源合理配置问题的理论，正是为了适应这一要求而被提出的。

Chapter 2　Market Regulation and Resource Allocation
第二章　市场调节与资源配置

2.1　MARKET SELECTION AND MARKET GUIDANCE

2.1.1　Market Selection

Any merchandise for sale is composed of at least two factors of production. For any natural resource to be merchandise, it requires the input of human labor. Therefore, merchandise in a society means a combination of resources. Studying resource allocation in socialist society must start with the combination of resources in the form of merchandise.

The reason why one form of resource combination is preferred over another during a certain period of time in a society is ultimately determined by the needs and wants of human beings for particular merchandise. The way in which certain merchandise is supplied becomes a form of resource combination. This is a normal way of allocating resources. That is, demand guides supply as well as the combination of resources, which impacts resource allocation in a society and allows resources to be properly utilized. If the path is reversed, in which resource combination is determined in the first place, not only any product from the combinations of resources will fail to meet people's needs, resources will also be underutilized. As a result, resources will be utilized inappropriately as well as with low efficiency, and people's demand will be artificially suppressed.

This gives us a first look at the role of the market in resource allocation. That is, the market is an agent who determines resource combination. In research on resource allocation, market selection refers to the combination of various resources to produce various products to meet certain needs in a normal situation of resource allocation, in which the market serves as an

agent to determine resource combination and functions as a bridge between demand and supply. For example, if the total quantity of overall resources is limited, there will be multiple ways of combining resources to produce different merchandise to meet various needs. If the market determines the combination of resources for production of merchandise to meet people's needs, ineffective usage or squandering of resources can be prevented, avoiding low utilization efficiency or suppressing demand.

2.1.2 Resource Combination

As an agent that selects resource combinations, the market functions as if it were a large mixer, which constantly mixes various resources and churns out required combination (products). The mixing process is the determination of resource combination.

Of course, this is just a metaphor. In real life, certain amount of sand, stones, and cement in a mixer will gradually reach a state of even distribution during the mixing process. Comparing the market to a large mixer allows us to get a better understanding of resource allocation. As different resources are put into the large mixer and being constantly mixed, the mixer executes appropriate combination and produces all sorts of merchandise that meets various needs. The result of the mixing not only meets people's needs but also realizes effective resource allocation.[1]

Market selection can be seen during the constant movement process as if the market were a large mixer. Market selection activities include economic activities such as market input decision, market output decision, and market distribution decision. Each and every decision is associated with the selection of resource combination. The activities of the market as a large mixer can be divided into three steps: production, sales, and distribution. These three steps happen to match market input decision, market output decision, and market distribution decision.

Market input decision refers to the decision of each market participant in terms of which resource is used in production, as well as its quantity, input ratio, and way of combination. Therefore, market input decision is a decision on the selection by each market participant of particular resource inputs and resource combination.

Market output decision refers to the decision made by each market participant with respect to where and how to produce certain outputs with certain inputs of resources. The output here mentioned refers to not only how

each resource input can be turned into a physical product but also how a physical product can be exchanged for monetary income. Only after resource inputs are turned into monetary income through the production and sales processes can market conclude its input and output processes. Therefore, market output decision is a decision on how to turn a physical product into monetary income with certain combination of resources.

Market distribution decision refers to the decision on the distribution and usage of the monetary income generated from selling physical products. If such income is considered a resource, the next question is how to utilize it. If production, sales, and distribution are considered a continuous economic process, i.e., market input decision, market output decision, and market distribution decision are continuous decisions in a series of economic activities, then the distribution and usage of monetary income is as a matter of fact the initial allocation and usage of resource inputs.

Production is a continuous process. Monetary income will turn into consumption, savings, or investment via the market distribution decision. Each item of monetary expenditures is associated with the selection of resource combination. Consumption is associated with sales activities in the marketplace, which concerns market output decision. Savings and investment are associated with production activities in the marketplace, which concerns market input decision. All these expenditures are integral parts of market selection, which completes the selection process in the "large mixer," the market.

2.1.3 The Dispersion of Market Decision

Market decision is made by each and every market participant(business or individual) according to their own economic interests. Dispersion is an immanent feature of market decision. More specifically, every business or individual decides on the quantity of resource inputs, how resources are combined, what physical products are produced, how products are sold to generate income, how income from selling products is distributed, and how many resources are redistributed as inputs. In terms of decisions on market input, market output, and market distribution, each separate decision made by each business and individual jointly forms the market decision on or the market selection of resource combination as well as the direction of resource allocation.

The dispersion of market decision indicates that market decision or

market selection is composed of each and every unique decision or selection and there is not a predetermined market decision or market selection that leads to a decision for each business or individual. We should note that businesses and individuals have different goals and preferences. Their expectations of the market and profitability in the future also vary. Therefore, the selection or decision of the overall market is determined by the selection or decision made by the majority of businesses and individuals. When the majority of businesses and individuals have similar goals and preferences, with optimistic expectations of the market and profitability in the future and favoring higher input of resources, the selection or decision of the overall market will be expansionary or aggressive. As a result, the economy will grow. On the contrary, when the majority of businesses and individuals have similar goals and preferences, with pessimistic expectations of the market and profitability in the future and favoring lower input of resources, the selection or decision of the overall market will be contractive and conservative. Economic slowdown and recession will follow.

In an economic environment that is characterized by disperse market decisions, complete and free flow of information not only ensures every market participant is able to make decisions to the best of its interests but is also important in facilitating coordinated market activities. Complete information means that every business and individual has access to information on current resource combination and utilization available in society, which is equivalent to having full knowledge of the decisions or selections made by other businesses and individuals. Free flow of information means that access to information is prompt, fast, and inexpensive. If these conditions are met, different market decisions, in spite of being disperse, are still able to meet the requirement of realizing relatively effective resource allocation. If these conditions are met, disperse decisions will optimize the allocation of resources to the largest extent possible via the interplay between prices and supply and demand, even though there are constraints on supply (or resource supply constraints) or constraints on demand (or market constraints) which cause insufficient supply or demand.

2.1.4 Market Guidance

That supply and demand in the marketplace influence price and price influences supply and demand demonstrates the function of the market in guiding the allocation of resources.

Market guidance is seen from the perspective of a dynamic equilibrium. The economic activities of the overall market can be divided into several stages. Supply and demand in the earlier stage not only determines the price in the current stage but also uses the price as an indicator to influence supply and demand in the next stage, signaling potential price changes as well as the magnitude of such changes. Potential price changes will in turn influence supply and demand as well as the price in the next stage. Various stages will go on and on, with the market providing guidance on resource utilization and combination in society as well as the possibility and method of turning potential resources into utilizable ones. We can come to the conclusion that what the market guides is the decision or selection of market participants.

Why does demand for certain resources gradually decrease while that for other resources gradually increases? Why is one form of resource combination gradually replaced by another one? Why do resource inputs in one sector gradually transfer to another one? These questions can be illustrated by the dynamic role of market guidance.

When looking at the role of market guidance, should we emphasize absolute price level or relative price level? Both are important. The absolute price of certain resources determines the quantity of aggregate demand and supply; the ratios of the prices of various resources, or relative price levels, determine the combination of resources, the distribution of resources in different areas, and resource utilization efficiency.

Looking at market selection and market guidance mentioned above, we treat businesses and individuals as if they were the same. In reality, businesses and individuals often appear as opposite sides of the supply and demand relationship. When individuals provide businesses with resources, individuals are resource suppliers and businesses are resource recipients. When businesses provide individuals with resource combinations in the form of physical merchandise, businesses are resource suppliers and individuals are resource recipients. Therefore, we must analyze two types of market behavior, investment and consumption.

壹　市场选择与市场引导

一、市场选择

任何供出售的商品都是由两种或两种以上的资源组合而成的。一种天然的资源要成为商品，必须有赖于人的劳动的投入。因此，社会所提供的商品意味着资源的组合。要研究社会主义社会中的资源配置问题，有必要从以商品形式出现的资源组合着手。

为什么在一定时间内，社会上需要这样一些形式的资源的组合，而不需要另外一些形式的资源的组合，归根到底是与人们对商品的需求有关，而一定的商品供给就是一定的资源组合形式。这是正常的资源配置途径，即需求引导供给，引导资源的组合，进而影响社会的资源配置，使资源发挥应有的作用。如果把这个途径颠倒过来，先决定什么样的资源组合，以此生产出产品，再用它们去适应人们的需求，那么不仅适应不了人们的需求，而且资源的作用也不可能被充分发挥出来。这种资源配置途径的后果一定是资源使用不当、低效率以及人们需求的被压抑。

由此可以对于市场在资源配置中的作用有一个初步的了解，即市场首先是资源组合的选择者。在资源配置问题的研究中所说的市场选择，就是指在正常的资源配置途径上，如果客观上存在着人们对商品的一定的需求，那么究竟怎样组合各种不同的资源，生产出各种不同的产品来满足人们的这些需求；市场作为资源组合的选择者，在这里起着沟通需求与供给的作用。比如说，人们对商品的需求是多种多样的，在一定的资源总量的前提下，可以有各种不同的资源组合方式把这些不同的资源组合起来。究竟什么样的资源组合方式能够提供可以满足人们需求的商品，这一切如果由市场来选择，那就可以避免资源的浪费和使用不当，避免低效率，避免人们的需求受到压抑。

二、资源组合

市场作为资源组合的选择者，类似于一个把各种资源投放在内，不断进行搅拌，并提供合乎要求的组合（产品）的大型搅拌机。搅拌过程就是资源组合的选择过程。

当然，这只是一个比喻。在日常生活中，把一定数量的沙、石子和水泥投入搅拌机之后，它们将在搅拌中逐渐处于均匀分布状态。在把市场比喻为大型搅拌机时，我们可以对资源配置问题有较清楚的认识，即各种资源被投入到这个大型搅拌机内，通过它的不断运动，然后将以恰当的组合形式，产出各种可以满足人们需求的商品。搅拌的结果，一方面满足了人们的需求；另一方面也就实现了资源的合理配置。[1]

市场选择体现在市场这个大型搅拌机的不断运动过程之中。市场选择活动包含了市场的投入决策、市场的产出决策、市场的分配决策等经济活动的内容。而每一种决策，都与资源组合方式的选择有关。市场这个大型搅拌机的活动，可以分为生产、销售、分配三个环节。这三个环节，恰好是同市场的投入决策、市场的产出决策、市场的分配决策这三项决策相适应的。

市场的投入决策，是指参加市场活动各个企业和个人决定使用哪些资源进行生产，投入资源的数量是多少，这些资源投入的比例如何，它们如何组合等等。因此，市场的投入决策就是参加市场活动的企业和个人关于资源投入和资源组合的选择。

市场的产出决策，是指各个企业和个人在资源投入之后，将会有一定的产出，但这些产出究竟在什么地方得到实现，以何种方式实现，企业和个人也需要作出选择。产出并不仅仅指如何把各种投入的资源转变为物质形式的产品，而且也是指如何把生产出来的物质形式的产品变为货币收入。只有当投入的资源通过生产过程和销售过程，转变为货币收入之后，市场的投入产出过程才告一段落。因此，市场的产出决策就是参加市场活动的企业和个人对一定资源组合的物质产品转变为货币收入的选择。

市场的分配决策，是指各个企业和个人在把物质形式的产品变为货币收入之后，关于货币收入分配和使用的决策。如果把这笔货币收入视为一项资源，那就又遇到如何使用这一资源，如何把它投放到不同用途上的问题。如果把生产、销售、分配三个环节看成是一个连续的经济活动过程，即把市场的投入决策、市场的产出决策、市场的分配决策看成是一个连续的经济活动过程的连续决策，那么货币收入的分配和使用实际上也就是最初投入的各种资源的分配和使用。

生产是不间断的。通过市场的分配决策，货币收入将分解为消费、储蓄、投资等项，其中每一项货币支出都与资源组合的选择有关。消费部分涉及市场的销售活动，涉及市场的产出决策；储蓄和投资部分涉及市场的生产活动，涉及市场的投入决策。所有这些支出都是市场选择的组成部分。在市场这个大型搅拌机中，将不断地完成这些选择。

三、市场决策的分散性

市场决策是由参加市场活动的许许多多个企业和个人根据各自的利益而作出的，决策的分散性是市场决策的固有特征。具体地说，每个企业和个人决定自己投入多少资源，以何种形式组合资源，生产什么样的物质形式的产品，如何销售它们以取得货币收入，并且如何分配所取得的货币收入，包括再次投入多少资源，等等。在市场的投入、产出、分

配等决策中，所有各个由企业和个人作出的分散的决策汇集而成为整个市场关于资源组合和资源投向的选择或决策。

市场决策的分散性表明，整个市场的选择或决策是由各个个别的选择或决策所导致的，而并非先有整个市场的选择或决策，再由它来导致各个个别企业和个人的选择或决策。应当注意的是，各个不同的企业和个人的目标不一定相同，他们的偏好不一定一致，他们对市场前景和各自获利前景的预期也不一定一样，因此，整个市场的选择或决策的倾向是由大多数企业和个人的选择或决策的倾向所决定的。当大多数企业和个人的目标和偏好相似，而且对市场前景和各自获利的前景持有乐观的态度，从而有增加资源投入的倾向时，整个市场的选择或决策将是扩张性的或进取性的，这样，经济就增长。反之，在大多数企业和个人的目标和偏好相似的前提下，当他们对市场前景和各自获利的前景持有悲观的态度，从而有减少资源投入的倾向时，整个市场的选择或决策将是收缩性的或保守性的，这样，经济就停滞、衰退。

在市场决策具有分散性这一固有特征的经济环境中，信息的完备和信息的畅通是保证每个参加市场活动的企业和个人能够作出有利于自己的决策，从而，也就提供了有利整个市场经济活动的协调动作的必要条件。信息的完备包括了每个企业和个人都能了解到社会上现有资源的组合和使用情况，从而等于了解到其他企业和个人所作出的选择或决策；信息的畅通指对这些情况的了解将是及时的、迅速的、低成本的。假定符合了这些条件，那么即使市场决策是分散的，但分散的决策仍然能满足资源配置趋向合理的要求。假定符合了这些条件，那么，即使客观上存在着供给方面的约束（资源的约束）或需求方面的约束（市场的约束），分散的决策也可以在供给不足或需求不足的情况下，通过供求状况对价格的影响以及价格变动对供求变动的影响，尽可能使资源的配置趋向于合理，尽管这只是一种相对的合理。

四、市场引导

市场的供求状况对价格的影响以及价格变动对供求变动的影响，体现了市场对资源配置的引导作用。

市场的引导是从动态均衡的角度来考察的。可以把整个市场的经济活动划分为若干阶段。前一阶段的市场供求状况不仅决定了现期的价格水平，而且通过价格这一指示器，对后一阶段的供求发生影响，从而预示了价格的可能变动方向与变动幅度，而价格的这一可能的变动又将影响再下一个阶段的供求与价格。如此循环往复，从而使市场引导了社会对资源的利用、资源的组合，以及资源由潜在的变为现实的可能性与具体方式。可以认为，市场所引导的是参加市场活动的各个企业和个人的

选择或决策。

为什么社会上对某一种资源的使用量会越来越大，而对另一种资源的使用量却越来越小？为什么这一种资源组合形式会渐渐被另一种资源组合形式所代替？为什么投入这一部门的资源会被转投于另一部门？所有这些问题，都可以从动态的市场引导作用来加以说明。

那么，在考察市场的引导作用时，重要的究竟是绝对价格水平呢，还是相对价格水平？当然，二者是同样重要的。某一种资源的绝对价格水平，制约着对该种资源的需求总量和供给总量；而各种不同的资源之间的价格比例，即它们的相对价格水平，制约着资源的组合形式、资源在不同领域内的分配以及对资源的利用率。

以上，在考察市场选择和市场引导时，都是把作为微观经济单位的企业和个人统一对待的。但在实际经济生活中，企业和个人往往作为供求关系的对立双方而出现。个人向企业提供资源时，个人是资源的供给一方，企业是资源的需求一方。企业向个人提供以物质形式的产品所体现的资源组合时，企业是资源的供给一方，个人则是资源的需求一方。因此，我们有必要转入对投资与消费两种市场行为的分析。

2.2 INVESTMENT PRINCIPAL, INVESTMENT BEHAVIOR, AND RESOURCE ALLOCATION

2.2.1 Investment Principal

When analyzing the role of the market in allocating resources, we can identify two types of investment principal, business and individual. For now, we do not analyze government as one type of investment principal.

In order to be investment principal, a business must have resources to invest and the right to make investment decisions on its own. The motive for businesses to invest is to pursue value appreciation or profitability. There may be motives other than profitability. One of the following two scenarios will apply. In the first scenario, the ultimate motive for businesses to invest is profitability, although they invest due to reasons other than profitability. This is an indirect way for businesses to pursue profitability to ensure that investments will increase total profits. In the second scenario, businesses have other goals besides profitability. Businesses make investments in order to reach those goals. The second scenario does exist, but accounts for a small portion of overall investments. We can ignore this scenario when we study business investments.

Similar to businesses, individuals must also have resources to invest and the right to make investment decisions on their own before they are qualified as investment principal. The motive of investments by individuals is also to pursue value appreciation in order to increase personal income. This does not exclude individuals from having other motives when they invest. These scenarios are insignificant and can be ignored when we analyze investments by individuals.

If both businesses and individuals have the same investment motive, i.e., pursuit of profit or higher income, they will need to estimate opportunity cost in every scenario, even when there is only one investment opportunity. Estimating opportunity cost is to select the direction of use and the combination of resources. Businesses and individuals will naturally select the direction of use and the combination of resources that are in their best interests before they decide on whether to invest, how to invest, and how

much to invest.

2.2.2 The General Principles of Investment Behavior

If a business or individual decides to invest after estimating the opportunity cost of an investment, the investment activities are generally only influenced by price or by market competition. The general principles of investment behavior hereby referred to are applicable to the investment activities under the Walrasian equilibrium condition.

Investment activities consist of a series of transactions. As investment principal, businesses and individuals must have sufficient monetary capital to invest, with some utilized to purchase production materials and some to pay salaries and rents. If they do not have enough monetary capital on hand, they will need to borrow from the capital market and pay interest. Purchasing production materials, paying salaries and rents, raising capital, and paying interest are all transactions. Under the Walrasian equilibrium condition, total demand is always equal to total supply at any price level. No excess demand or supply exists in the economy, and every transaction is conducted at the equilibrium price. Hence, business or personal investors are always able to borrow sufficient capital, if needed, at the equilibrium interest rate determined by the demand and supply of the capital market. If they need to purchase production materials, they will be able to secure the needed quantity at the equilibrium price in the production materials market. If they need labor, they will be able to find sufficient labor to meet production needs at the equilibrium salary level set by the supply and demand of the labor market. In summary, all these meet the investors' needs, as well as their economic interests.

Likewise, business and personal investors do not have to worry about the sales of the products produced by their investments under the Walrasian equilibrium condition. As the market does not have excess demand and supply, every product they produce will be sold at an equilibrium price. These situations are also consistent with investors'economic interests.

Investment decisions in such economic environment are actually very simple. As investment principal, businesses and individuals simply follow the principles of market competition, which states that the market determines everything and investors do not have to worry about their investments. This is because market information is complete and information flows freely. As a result, investors have a full understanding of the current market as well as the

market in the future. There are no unknown uncertainties. As long as investors have enough information, they can proceed with investments, allocating resources, organizing production and sales without concerning about uncertainties, or taking precautionary measures. It is not necessary to reserve excess cash to cope with business uncertainties or to purchase additional inventory. Completely following market arrangement will bring satisfactory results to investors. This is the general investment principle, even though it only exists theoretically under the Walrasian equilibrium condition.

2.2.3 Business and Personal Investment Behavior Under Disequilibrium Conditions

As pointed out in Chap. 1 of this book, disequilibrium but not Walrasian equilibrium exists in real life. In the current socialist economy, the market is not fully developed, information is neither complete nor flowing freely, and price does not function to adjust demand and supply as it is supposed to. These are the striking characteristics of economic disequilibrium, giving rise to a new requirement for the study of investments made by businesses and individuals.

Under disequilibrium conditions, business and personal investors must consider the constraints on resource supplies before making an investment decision. They include constraints on required capital, required production materials, and labor. If resource supplies are limited, the execution of investment plans will meet obstacles. In addition, current resource supplies as well as the prospect of future supplies are equally important to investors. The production capacity built through an investment requires continuing supplies of resources, particularly raw materials, energy, maintenance parts, and transportation capacity. Therefore, even though current resource supplies seem to have no or limited constraints, investments may still encounter obstacles if future supplies of resources are expected to be constrained.

As investment principal, businesses and individuals must also consider demand constraints, or market constraints, which actually exist under disequilibrium conditions. Market constraints refer to shortage of demand for the products produced by the new production capacity from an investment. If market is limited, fulfilling an investment plan is also not straightforward. Similar to resource supply constraints, current and future markets are equally important to investors. If products from an investment can only sell now, but demand in the future is uncertain, an investor will have to consider the

feasibility of the investment.

Besides the constraints on resource supply and demand under disequilibrium conditions, businesses and individuals also have to consider various uncertainties. To ensure that the investment can proceed normally as well as the production capacity built through an investment can operate properly, investors will have to take various precautionary actions, such as raising additional capital to meet overspending and keeping extra cash on hand. Investors may also purchase additional inventory to guard against the potential interruption to raw material supplies or shortage of raw materials, thus resulting in abnormal inventories of raw materials, energy, equipment, and maintenance parts and greater use of working capital. To prevent market shares from shrinking or to avoid heightened sales competition, investors may have to adopt unusual measures to protect or increase their market shares, which also requires additional working capital. These situations require higher inputs of capital than those without uncertainties.

In addition, in a disequilibrium economy, investors feel compelled to find necessary information themselves, since information is neither complete nor flowing freely in the market, which is one of the characteristics of disequilibrium. These efforts also require additional investments. Marginal benefits from the additional investments in pursuit of information will outweigh potential losses due to incomplete or delayed information, and hence investors are willing to commit these additional investments.

Let us set aside discussions on the gap between the price level under equilibrium conditions and that under disequilibrium conditions. Compared with equilibrium conditions, the need for businesses to stock up abnormal inventory and hold additional capital to protect and increase market share as well as obtain relevant information under disequilibrium conditions requires more capital investment to install the same amount of new production capacity. The price level needs to be considered as well. If funding capital is constrained and the capital market is not fully developed, the interest rate required will be higher than the equilibrium interest rate. If supplies of production materials are constrained and the production materials market is not fully developed, the price of production materials under these conditions will be higher than the equilibrium price. If investors adopt noncompetitive measures to protect their market shares, merchandise selling prices under these conditions will exceed the equilibrium price formed through normal market competition under equilibrium conditions. Higher interest rate and

production material prices require higher capital investment. In this circumstance, the same production capacity under disequilibrium conditions requires higher capital investment than that under equilibrium conditions. Higher merchandise selling prices in turn justify higher capital investment. That is, after factoring in the higher selling prices in the future market, investors would consider additional investment not only indispensable but also rewarding. Thus, extra capital investment is justified.

The above analyses clearly demonstrate that disequilibrium conditions require businesses and individuals to invest more capital to build the same production capacity than equilibrium conditions do. In other words, the total investment to build the same production capacity under disequilibrium conditions will always exceed that under equilibrium conditions. This is the characteristic of business and personal investment behavior under disequilibrium conditions.

2.2.4 The Relationship Between Investment Behavior and Resource Allocation Under Disequilibrium Conditions

Committing additional investment requires not only additional cash but also additional supply of production materials. It is relatively easy to understand additional cash, as the initial form of additional investment is always monetary capital. Additional investment in the form of supply of production materials (i.e., raw materials, energy, equipment, and parts) is reflected in abnormal inventory. Besides, additional costs to protect or increase market share or to obtain information are also partially reflected in the cost of purchasing production materials.

Hence, business and personal investment under disequilibrium conditions, including additional investment, will surely lead to resource allocations that are rather different from those under equilibrium conditions. Under equilibrium conditions, the market plays its roles to ensure resources automatically flow to sectors and regions where they are most profitable, and the changes of supply and demand in the market as well as subsequent price changes will place various resources in appropriate areas. There may be some cases of local or structural idling or waste of resources during the transfer between various sectors, regions, and investment principals, which normally are unable to be avoided. However, generally speaking, as excess demand and excess supply are equal to zero, resources can be effectively combined and efficiently utilized. However, it is quite different under disequilibrium

conditions.

For example, due to resource supply constraints, business and personal investors often commit additional capital investment in excess inventory to protect against supply shortages or interruption, or other uncertainties in the economy, which further widens the existing shortages of resource supply. As a result, the existing imbalance between supply and demand will deteriorate, causing resource misallocation. The phenomenon of stagflation in the socialist economy mentioned earlier is to a certain extent related to the excess inventory that most businesses and individuals build up as a precaution.

Another example can be seen from the impacts of businesses and individuals on the capital market due to their needs for additional investment. Economic disequilibrium indicates that the demand for capital in the capital market probably exceeds the supply of capital during that period. The need for additional investments intensifies capital shortages.

In terms of resource allocation, it is very difficult to allocate resources in a way that contributes to increasing utilization efficiency if there are constraints on supply in the economy. The form of resource combination will have to adjust to the situation of supply shortages. If this situation happens, a portion of resources will remain idle in the economy. If we want to utilize that portion of resources in case of resource supply shortages, we will likely sacrifice the efficiency of resource allocation. Both scenarios are reflective of resource misallocation.

贰　投资主体、投资行为与资源配置

一、投资主体

在分析市场在资源配置中的作用时，可以把投资主体确定为两类：一是企业，二是个人。政府作为投资主体的问题，在这里暂不进行分析。

企业作为投资主体的前提是企业不仅拥有可以用于投资的资源，而且企业有投资的决策权或投资的自主权。企业的投资动机是价值的增值，也就是获取利润。虽然企业在进行投资时也可能具有利润以外的动机，但这不外乎两种情况：第一，企业进行利润以外动机的投资最终仍是为了取得利润，即企业在获取利润的道路上，采取的是一种迂回的方式，以保证这些投资有助于企业的总的利润的增加；第二，企业除了利润目标以外，还有其他的目标，因此企业进行利润以外动机的投资，以实现自己的其他目标。后面这种情况在客观上是存在的，但不在企业的投资中占据主要地位。在分析企业投资时可以略去不计。

同企业一样，个人作为投资主体的前提也是个人既拥有可以用于投资的资源，又拥有投资的决策权或自主权。个人投资的动机同样是价值的增值，以增加个人收入。这也不排斥个人进行投资时还可能有增加个人收入以外的动机，但这种投资在个人的投资中不占据主要地位，所以在分析个人投资时也可以略去不计。

假定作为投资主体的企业和个人都以获取利润或增加收入作为基本的投资动机，那么在任何一种情况下，即使在只存在一种投资机会的情况下，企业和个人都会面临机会成本的估算问题。机会成本的估算就是资源使用方向和资源组合形式的选择。企业和个人必然选择最有利于自己的资源使用方向和资源组合形式，然后决定是否投资，怎样投资，投资多少。

二、投资行为的一般原则

在企业和个人根据机会成本的估算而决定进行某项投资之后，他们的投资行为在一般情况下，只受到价格的制约，也就是只受到市场竞争的制约。这里所说的投资行为的一般原则，是指瓦尔拉均衡状态中的投资行为所遵循的原则而言。

投资行为是由一系列交易行为所组成的。企业和个人作为投资主体，假定他们自己拥有足够的货币资金，他们为了进行投资，必然要利用一部分货币去购买生产资料，利用一部分货币去支付工资，还要利用一部分货币去支付租金。假定他们自己拥有的货币资金不足，他们就需

要到货币市场上去筹集资金，并准备为此支付利息。购买生产资料，支付工资和租金，筹集资金和支付利息，这些都是交易行为。在瓦尔拉均衡状态中，在任何一种价格条件下，需求总量与供给总量必定相等，经济中的超额需求和超额供给都不存在，任何交易都是在均衡价格条件下实现的。这样，对企业投资者和个人投资者来说，如果他们需要筹集资金，那么资金可以被筹集到，利息率是由货币市场的供求决定的均衡利息率；如果他们需要购买生产资料，那么所需要的生产资料也能被买到，生产资料市场上的价格是均衡价格；如果他们需要劳动力，那么根据劳动力供求所决定的均衡工资率，就能够有足够的劳动力供生产中使用。总之，一切都符合投资者的心愿，也都符合投资者的利益。

同样的道理，在瓦尔拉均衡状态中，当作为投资主体的企业和个人进行投资，并生产出产品之后，他们不愁自己的产品没有销路。由于市场不会有超额的需求和超额的供给，所以企业和个人生产出来的产品都能够销售出去，销售总是在均衡价格条件下进行的。这一切也都符合投资者的利益。

在这样一种经济环境中，投资行为实际上是十分简单的。企业和个人作为投资主体，所遵循的只是服从市场竞争的原则，即一切都由市场安排好了，用不着自己为此操心。这是因为，市场的信息是完备的，信息是畅通的，投资主体对现在和未来的市场状况有充分的了解，经济中不存在不确定的因素，所以投资主体只要有了充分的信息，就可以进行投资，组合资源，组织生产，销售产品，不需要考虑经济中是否存在不确定性，也不需要事前采取预防性措施。至于保留多余的货币以备经济中不确定事件的发生，或利用多余的货币去贮存超正常储备的商品，这些都是不必要的。一切听从市场的安排，必定能使每个投资者满意，这就是投资行为的一般原则，尽管它仅仅存在于理论上的瓦尔拉均衡之中。

三、非均衡条件下企业和个人的投资行为

正如本书第一章中已经明确指出的，实际生活中存在的不是瓦尔拉均衡状态，而是非均衡状态。在市场不完善、信息既不完备又不畅通、价格起不到应有的调节供求作用的社会主义现阶段，经济的非均衡性质尤为显著，这就为研究企业和个人的投资行为提出了新的要求。

在非均衡条件下，作为投资主体的企业和个人在进行投资之前，必须考虑客观上存在的资源供给的约束。这里包括所需要的资金供给的约束、所需要的生产资料供给和劳动力供给的约束。如果资源供给是有限的，那么投资愿望的实现就会遇到障碍。不仅如此，资源供给的前景和资源供给的现状对于投资者来说是同样重要的。投资所形成的生产能

力，需要有不间断的资源供给，尤其是原材料、燃料、设备零部件、交通运输能力等等的供给。因此，即使从资源供给的现状来看不存在约束或只存在较小的约束，但如果资源供给的前景不容乐观，那么投资也将遇到障碍。

在非均衡条件下，作为投资主体的企业和个人在进行投资之前，还必须考虑客观上存在的需求的约束，即市场方面的约束。这主要指投资形成生产能力之后所生产出来的产品有没有足够的销路。如果市场是有限的，那么投资愿望的实现也会遇到障碍。与资源供给的约束相似，市场的前景和市场的现状对于投资者同样重要。假定所生产出来的产品目前虽然有销路，但未来的销路却没有把握，那么，投资者也会考虑投资的可行性问题。

除了非均衡条件下的资源供给约束和需求约束以外，作为投资主体的企业和个人还需要考虑经济中存在的各种不确定因素。为了保证投资的正常进行和投资以后所形成的生产能力的正常运转，投资者必须采取应付各种不确定性的预防性措施。例如，为了避免资金的不足，投资者可能要多筹集一些资金，或者要多保存一些货币在手中；为了避免生产资料供给的不足或中断，投资者可能要多购买一些生产资料，形成超正常的原材料、燃料、设备及其零部件的储备，从而多占用一些资金；为了避免出现市场被挤占或销售竞争激化等现象，投资者可能采取非正常的方式来保护自己的市场和扩大自己的销路，从而也会多投入一些资金，作为保护和扩大市场的成本。这些情况的出现，会使投资者对资金的需要量大于不存在各种不确定性的条件下所需要的资金量。

此外，由于信息的不完备和信息的不畅通是经济非均衡状态的一个特点，因此在非均衡条件下，投资者会感觉到：既然不可能指望从市场得到完备与及时的信息，那就不如依靠自己的力量去获得所需要的信息。这也是需要追加投资的，但追加投资而得到利益要比因信息不完备和不及时而受到损失好得多，所以投资者仍然乐于追加这笔投资。

在这里，姑且不谈非均衡条件下与均衡条件下价格水平的差距可能有多大，就以非均衡条件下所形成的超正常储备和追加的保护与扩大市场的投资，以及追加的信息成本而言，在非均衡条件下要形成与均衡条件下所形成的相同的生产能力，就需要有更多的投资。但价格水平仍然是要被考虑的。如果资金供给受到限制，如果货币市场不完善，那么这时的利息率将高于均衡利息率；如果生产资料供给受到限制，如果生产资料市场不完善，那么这时的生产资料价格将高于均衡价格；如果投资者为了保护自己所占有的市场而采取了排斥正常的市场竞争的措施，那么这时的商品销售价格也会高于均衡条件下通过正常的市场竞争所形成的均衡价格。高于均衡利息率的利息率以及高于均衡价格的生产资料价

格，都会要求有较多的投资，即这时为形成相同的生产能力而需要的投资量将大于均衡条件下所需要的投资量。至于生产出来的商品的较高的销售价格，则使得追加投资的行为变为现实，即投资者考虑到未来市场上的较高的销售价格，他们会认为追加投资不仅是必不可少的，而且也是可以得到补偿的，于是他们就追加了投资。

以上所分析的这些，可以清楚地说明这样一点：在非均衡条件下，企业和个人的投资会大于均衡条件下为形成同样的生产能力所需要的投资，即为了形成相同的生产能力，非均衡条件下的投资总量将大于均衡条件下的投资总量。这正是非均衡条件下企业和个人投资行为的特点。

四、非均衡条件下投资行为与资源配置的关系

追加投资不仅需要追加货币资金，而且需要追加生产资料的供给。对于前一种追加，比较容易理解，这是因为任何追加投资的最初形式都是货币资金。至于后一种追加，即生产资料供给的追加，则主要反映于超正常的储备（原材料、燃料、设备及其零部件等）的形成；此外，追加的保护和扩大市场的投资以及追加的信息成本，也会部分地体现于生产资料的购买上。

由此看来，在非均衡条件下，企业和个人的投资（包括追加的投资）必然使资源配置状况与均衡条件下有较明显的不同。在均衡条件下，在市场机制充分起作用的条件下，资源将自发地朝着最有利的部门和地区流动，市场供求比例的变化以及由此引起的价格的升降，将把各种资源分配到适当的位置上。尽管在部门间、地区间、投资主体之间的转移过程中会发生局部的或结构性的资源闲置或浪费现象，而且这种现象通常是难以避免的，但就总体而言，由于超额需求和超额供给都等于零，所以资源能够有效地组合和得到合理的利用。然而，在非均衡条件下，却是另外一种情况了。

例如，由于资源供给约束的存在，作为投资主体的企业和个人为了避免资源供给的不足和中断，为了预防经济中发生预料不到的事件，往往追加投资，形成超正常的储备。这样，必然使得本来就已经出现的资源供给缺口进一步扩大了，这不仅会加剧对已经不平衡的供求关系的干扰，而且会导致资源配置的失调。前面已经提到的社会主义经济中可能出现的“滞胀”现象，在一定程度上与多数企业和个人为采取预防性措施而形成超正常的储备有关。

又如，由于企业和个人追加投资的需要，企业和个人对货币市场的资金供求关系的干扰也是显而易见的。经济的非均衡性表明，这时在货币市场上可能存在资金需求大于资金供给的情况。而由于有追加投资的需要，资金供不应求的缺口将会增大。

再从资源组合的角度来看，一旦经济中存在着资源供给的约束，那么，资源就很难按最有利于提高效率的方式组合起来。资源的组合形式不得不适应于资源供给的短线。按资源供给的短线实现的资源组合，意味着经济中将有一部分资源得不到利用；而要让这部分资源得到利用，并且又要适应资源供给的短线，那么资源的组合就可能是低效率的。这两种情况都是资源配置不当的反映。

2.3 CONSUMPTION PRINCIPAL, CONSUMPTION BEHAVIOR, AND RESOURCE ALLOCATION

2.3.1 Consumption Principal

Consumption principal is analyzed in the same way as investment principal. Consumption principal is divided into business and individual from the perspective of the role of the market in allocating resources. For the time being, we do not analyze government as one type of consumption principal.

The prerequisite for a business to become consumption principal is that the business must have the resources for consumption as well as the right to make independent decisions on consumption. The purpose of business consumption is to cover businesses' public expenses, which are intended to increase employee benefits and fulfill corporate social responsibilities.

The prerequisite for an individual to become consumption principal is no different. That is, individuals must have the resources for consumption as well as the right to make independent decisions on consumption. Personal consumption mainly includes living expenses to meet physical, psychological, and social needs.

As consumption principal, businesses set aside a portion of earnings as public consumption reserves and use them to fund expenditures on public consumption, while individuals pay for consumption using personal disposable income.

2.3.2 The General Principles of Consumption Behavior

Without considering consumption preferences, business and personal consumption under the Walrasian equilibrium condition is normally influenced by prices or by market competition. This is the general principle of consumption behavior.

Consumption behavior, similar to investment behavior, consists of a series of transactional behavior. Business and personal investors use cash to pay for consumer goods. If consumption is funded by consumers'borrowings, they will also need to pay interest. In addition, they may also need to use

some of the borrowings to pay for services. All these activities are transactions. Under the Walrasian equilibrium condition, every transaction, including consumption, is done at equilibrium prices. Excess demand for and supply of consumer goods are equal to zero. The market allows every business and individual to purchase the consumer goods they need. Meanwhile, there are no uncertainties in the current market and the market in the future. Business and personal consumers do not have to worry about whether they will be able to purchase the consumer goods they need, which will avoid building up excess consumer goods inventory. Everything in the market is reasonable and satisfies all consumers' needs.

Of course, any new consumer goods or consumption activity due to changing consumer preferences may cause temporary or local mismatch. Even so, the situation does not mean mismatch across the overall consumer goods market.

2.3.3 Business and Personal Consumption Behavior Under Disequilibrium Conditions

Business consumption behavior is somewhat different from personal consumption behavior under disequilibrium conditions, due to resource supply constraints, demand constraints, and uncertainties.

If resource supply is constrained, business and individual consumption will be influenced by theses constraints. Resource supply constraints are seen when there are shortages of certain consumer goods that are in demand. Under such circumstance, consumers' wishes to purchase these goods will not be fulfilled.

If consumers are not willing to purchase different goods that are not in shortage or these goods are also more or less in short supply, nonvoluntary savings will arise. In the case of nonvoluntary savings, consumers increase either bank savings or cash on hand.

If demand is constrained and the constraints on demand are characterized by the oversupply of certain consumer goods, busi ness and personal producers of such goods will have difficulties selling these goods. In this case, if consumer income and preferences remain unchanged, the price of those consumer goods will fall because of restriction on sales, or if the price remains unchanged, production will contract and supply will fall. These situations will not have much influence on consumer behavior. If consumer income remains unchanged and consumer preferences change during this

period, consumers will change consumption paradigm, as the price of those consumer goods with sales restrictions will fall, influencing the sales volume of other consumer goods.

Besides resource supply constraints and demand constraints under disequilibrium conditions, businesses and individuals also have to consider various economic uncertainties. To prevent supply shortages or interruptions, consumers may want to take precautionary measures, such as storing excess goods and adjusting the ratio of consumption to savings and consumption to investment, i.e., reducing savings or investment and increasing consumption.

Let us disregard the differences between the price under equilibrium conditions and that under disequilibrium conditions for the moment. Under disequilibrium conditions, consumers build up excess inventories of consumer goods and satisfy higher consumption needs by cutting back on savings or investment to meet any economic uncertainty. Therefore, spending on consumer goods, if physically comparable, is higher under disequilibrium conditions than that under equilibrium conditions. Yet we cannot ignore the price level, for as long as resource supply is constrained and the consumer goods market is not fully developed, consumer goods prices will be higher than under equilibrium conditions. Excess inventories and additional spending on consumer goods also push prices higher. Higher prices in turn lead to higher spending on consumer goods under disequilibrium conditions than under equilibrium conditions, thus maintaining comparable consumption level. This is the characteristic of business and personal consumption behavior under disequilibrium conditions.

2.3.4 The Relationship Between Consumption Behavior and Resource Allocation Under Disequilibrium Conditions

The impact of business and personal consumption behavior on resource allocation under disequilibrium conditions is in certain ways similar to that of business and personal investment behavior on resource allocation.

We know that under equilibrium conditions, the market mechanism works perfectly. Resources are allocated to sectors, regions, and businesses as needed during the production of consumer goods. There is neither production excess nor shortage, at least not from the perspective of the overall production of consumer goods. However, under disequilibrium conditions, constraints on resource supply and excess inventories of consumer goods further widen the existing gap between resource supply and demand and

cause the supply and demand imbalance to deteriorate.

The relationship between consumption behavior and resource allocation under disequilibrium conditions is similar to that between investment behavior and resource allocation. When resource supply constraints or excess inventories of consumer goods emerge, the existing gap between supply and demand will widen, and it will be more difficult for resources to combine in the most efficient way. The way of resource combination will have to adjust to resource supply shortages, keeping a portion of resources in the economy idle or forcing resources to combine with low efficiency.

Moreover, excess inventories of consumer goods and resource allocation with relatively low efficiency will certainly influence the distribution of consumer goods between consumer goods producers and production material producers. The production of consumer goods will certainly reduce the availability of resources used in the production of production materials, thus hurting economic growth. This is also one of the potential consequences from resource supply constraints.

叁　消费主体、消费行为与资源配置

一、消费主体

与分析投资主体时的分类一样，在分析市场在资源配置中的作用时，也可以把消费主体分为企业和个人，而暂不考察政府作为消费主体的问题。

企业作为消费主体的前提是企业不仅拥有可以用于消费的资源，而且企业有消费的决策权或消费的自主权。企业的消费动机是满足企业公共消费支出的需要，而企业公共消费支出的目的是为了增加企业职工的福利以及用于企业的公益事业。

个人作为消费主体的前提与此相同，即个人既拥有可以用于消费的资源，个人又有消费的决策权或消费的自主权。个人的消费支出是生活性的支出，包括用于个人生理的、心理的、社会的需要的生活性支出。

企业作为消费主体，它们用于消费支出的资源来自利润中的公共消费基金。个人作为消费主体，他们用于消费支出的资源来自个人的可支配收入。

二、消费行为的一般原则

假定不考虑消费的偏好问题，那么在一般情况下，也就是指在瓦尔拉均衡状态中，无论企业还是个人的消费都只受到价格的制约，也就是只受到市场竞争的制约。这就是消费行为所遵循的一般原则。

消费行为同投资行为一样，也是由一系列交易行为所组成的。企业和个人作为消费主体，将利用可以用于消费支出的货币去购买消费品。如果存在着消费信贷，那么他们还需要为此支付利息。此外，他们还可能用这些货币去支付购买消费性的劳务支出。所有这些活动都是交易行为。在瓦尔拉均衡状态中，任何交易行为都是在均衡价格条件下实现的，消费领域内的交易也不例外。消费品的超额需求和超额供给都等于零。企业和个人都能购买到自己所需要的消费品，一切都由市场安排好了。同时，由于现在的市场和未来的市场上都不存在不确定的因素，所以作为消费主体的企业和个人在进行消费活动的过程中不必担心购买不到所需要的消费品，从而也就用不着去贮存多余的、超过正常消费量和正常贮存量的消费品。市场上的一切都是合理的，必定能够使消费者满意。

当然，如果出现了新的消费品或新的消费支出项目，如果消费者的偏好发生了变化，那么消费品市场上有可能出现暂时的、局部性的不协调，但即使如此，仍不意味着整个消费品市场的不协调。

三、非均衡条件下企业和个人的消费行为

非均衡条件下企业和个人的消费行为与上述均衡条件下企业和个人的消费行为有所不同。这种区别是由经济中的资源供给约束、需求约束以及不确定因素的存在所造成的。

假定资源供给的约束是客观存在，那么，企业和个人在消费支出过程中必然要受到这一约束的影响。资源供给的约束表现为某些为消费者所需要的消费品的供不应求，在这种情况下，消费者的消费愿望的实现就会遇到障碍。假定消费者不愿意转而购买其他非短缺的消费品，或者其他消费品也存在不同程度的短缺，那就会产生非自愿储蓄，后者的具体表现形式在这种场合将是存款待购或持币待购。

假定需求约束是客观存在，并且需求约束表现为某些为消费者所需要的消费品的供大于求，那么在这种情况下，提供这些消费品的企业和个人的产品销售就会遇到障碍。假定消费者的收入和偏好都不变，这些消费品的价格将因销路受限制而下降；或者，这些消费品的价格不变，但生产收缩，供给量减少。这些对消费行为的影响是不大的。假定在这个过程中，消费者的收入虽然不变，但偏好却发生了变化，于是在消费品的价格因销路受限制而下降的条件下，消费结构会发生变化，从而影响其他消费品的销路。

除了非均衡条件下的资源供给约束和需求约束以外，作为消费主体的企业和个人也要考虑经济中存在的各种不确定因素。为了防止消费品供给的不足或中断，消费者可能在消费品的购买上采取一些预防性的措施，如形成超正常的消费品贮存，或者，调整消费与储蓄、消费与投资之间的比例，即减少储蓄或投资，增加消费。

在这里，姑且不谈非均衡条件下的价格水平与均衡条件下的价格水平的差距有多大，就以非均衡条件下所形成的超正常的消费品贮存，以及为了应付经济中的不确定因素从而减少储蓄或投资而增加消费来说，假定所要达到的消费水平在物质内容上是相同的，那么在非均衡条件下需要有比在均衡条件下更多的消费支出。但消费品的价格水平仍然要被考虑。如果资源供给受限制，如果消费品市场不完善，这时的消费品价格就会高于均衡价格。而超正常的消费品贮存和消费支出的增加也会使消费品价格水平上升。消费品价格的上升又会使得在非均衡条件下需要有更多的消费支出，才能维持与均衡条件下相同的消费水平。这正是非均衡条件下企业和个人消费行为的特点。

四、非均衡条件下消费行为与资源配置的关系

在非均衡条件下，企业和个人的消费行为对资源配置的影响在某些方面同企业和个人的投资行为对资源配置的影响是相似的。

要知道，在均衡条件下，由于市场机制充分地起作用，在消费品生产过程中，资源将被配置于所需要的部门、地区和企业之间，消费品不会有生产过剩或短缺，至少就整个消费品生产说来是这种情况。但在非均衡条件下，由于资源供给约束的存在和超正常的消费品贮存的出现，必然使得本来就已经出现的资源供给缺口进一步扩大，使本来已经不平衡的供求关系更加不平衡。

同非均衡条件下投资行为与资源配置之间的关系相似，在消费领域内一旦发生了资源供给的约束和超正常的消费品贮存现象，不仅原来的供给缺口会扩大，而且资源也难以按最有利于提高效率的方式组合起来，即资源的组合形式不得不适应资源供给的短线，使经济中的一部分资源得不到利用，或者只能按低效率的方式实现资源的组合。

此外，消费品的超正常贮存和资源以较低效率的方式实现组合，必然会对资源在消费品生产部门与生产资料生产部门之间的分配发生影响，即消费品的生产必然挤占生产资料的生产所需要的资源，从而对经济增长不利。这也是资源供给约束可能造成的后果之一。

2.4 MARKET SELF-REGULATION DURING RESOURCE ALLOCATION

2.4.1 The Definition of Market Self-Regulation During Resource Allocation

Market self-regulation during resource allocation refers to the selfregulation function that the market performs without interference from noneconomic factors. The market prevents the economy either from overheating beyond control or from an excessive contraction that will paralyze the economy. The self-regulation function that the market performs in maintaining economic order is very important.

Why does the market have the self-regulation function? To answer this question, we have to look at the characteristics of economic activities by microeconomic units (i.e., businesses and individuals) who participate in transactions in the marketplace. Without interference from noneconomic factors, economic activities will be spontaneously carried out by separate microeconomic units (i.e., businesses and individuals), who are decision-makers themselves and fully motivated to operate their businesses autonomously to the best of their interests. Their economic activities and vitality are reflected in every transaction that is to pursue their best interests, which is seen in the market. The economic interests of microeconomic units are not all aligned. In terms of relationship in the market, they may be suppliers at one time and buyers at another time and realize their economic interests by way of business transaction. Therefore, for any microeconomic unit, its counterparty is both a partner and a competitor. They have common interests but also conflicts of interest. Therefore, microeconomic units have similarities as well as differences.

If the majority of microeconomic units engage in aggressive and expansionary activities, the economy will tend to be expansionary. Meanwhile, there must also be a small number of microeconomic units who engage in conservative and contractive activities, which to some extent mitigate or slow down the economic expansion. Moreover, when the majority of microeconomic units engage in expansionary activities, aggregate demand will rise and so will prices, forcing those who engage in expansionary

activities in the first place to reconsider their economic interests. Under such circumstance, economic expansion will stop after reaching a certain level. This is a sign of market self-regulation. On the contrary, if the majority of microeconomic units engage in conservative and contractive activities, the economy will slow down and contract. There must also be a small number of microeconomic units who engage in aggressive and expansionary activities at the same time, which to some extent mitigate or slow down the economic recession or contraction. In addition, when the majority of microeconomic units engage in conservative activities, aggregate demand will decline, and so will prices, forcing those who engage in conservative activities in the first place to reconsider their interests. Under such circumstance, economic contraction will stop after reaching a certain level. This is also a sign of market self-regulation.[2]

2.4.2 Market Self-Regulation and Resource Allocation Under Equilibrium Conditions

If the economy is in Walrasian equilibrium, the self-regulating function of the market will be noticeable. The market performs such a function by enabling each microeconomic unit to balance internal and external cost–benefit relationships.

In terms of internal cost–benefit relationship, every microeconomic unit who faces the decision of whether to commit additional resources must consider the changes in its average cost, marginal cost, average return, and marginal return. If internal benefit increases and internal cost decreases with additional resources, it indicates higher efficiency and these additional resources are beneficial to the microeconomic unit itself as well as to the overall resource allocation in society. If, on the contrary, additional resources cause internal benefit to decrease and internal cost to increase, the microeconomic unit who makes the investment decision will learn that incremental resources are not cost-effective and hence stop committing more resources. From the perspective of overall resource allocation in society, that incremental resources cause internal benefit to decrease and internal cost to increase indicates lower efficiency or ineffectiveness. Therefore, when a microeconomic unit realizes that additional input of resources is not beneficial and decides to stop committing more resources, it is making a decision in compliance with the efficiency standard of resource allocation. That is, "ineffective and inefficient resource allocation shall be stopped, and

effective and efficient resource allocation shall continue."

In terms of external cost–benefit relationship, every microeconomic unit who faces the decision of whether to commit additional resources must consider changing external cost–benefit relationship due to the impacts of additional resources on overall sector capacity or production capacity in the economy. Changing external cost–benefit relationship affects average cost, marginal cost, average return, and marginal return of those microeconomic units, allowing them to learn whether their benefits increase or decrease. They will naturally pursue benefits and minimize costs. From the perspective of resource allocation in the economy, if additional resources lead to higher external costs and lower external benefits, the input of resources is ineffective and inefficient. Therefore, when the majority of microeconomic units find resource input to be uneconomical and decide to stop committing additional resources, their decision is also consistent with the efficiency principle of resource allocation in a society.

The above discussions reveal that under equilibrium conditions where the market is fully developed and pricing is flexible, and resource input by microeconomic units is driven by their own economic benefit, then resource allocation will surely be influenced by market price, and resources will be invested in effective sectors, regions, and enterprises and withdrawn from ineffective sectors, regions, and enterprises. The function of market self-regulation during resource allocation is demonstrated by the fact that the market does not allow sustained ineffective input of resources, and resource allocation will automatically follow the efficiency principle under market regulation.

2.4.3 Two Different Types of Microeconomic Units and Disequilibrium

The above analysis of market self-regulation during resource allocation reveals that the reason why the market can self-regulate excessive economic expansion and contraction is closely related to the strong motivation of market participants. The state of economic equilibrium is arrived at under the assumption of a fully developed market and flexible prices. But a more important or fundamental precondition is the presence of fully motivated microeconomic units.

We can therefore divide microeconomic units into two types, one with full motivation and one lacking sufficient motivation (or totally without motivation). The reason why microeconomic units are fully motivated is that

they are responsible for business operations and their profits or losses and are able to select various investment opportunities and mode of operation in accordance with the best of their interests, distribute after-tax earnings according to their economic interests, and bear investment and operational risks. Such an enterprise is an independent goods producer and operator. Such an individual, in economic terms, is an independent market participant. If microeconomic units do not meet these standards, they must lack full motivation or end up without any motivation.

Under equilibrium conditions, microeconomic units are undoubtedly fully motivated, which has been mentioned in the previous discussions. We need to analyze whether they are fully motivated under disequilibrium conditions. In order to answer this question, we need to divide economic disequilibrium into two types.

Type I economic disequilibrium refers to a disequilibrium condition under which the market is not fully developed, pricing is not flexible, and there are excess demand and supply as well as constraints on demand and constraints on supply, but microeconomic units who participate in market activities are independent and responsible for their own profits and losses, investment opportunities, and business operations and bear investment and operational risks.

Type II economic disequilibrium refers to a disequilibrium condition under which the market is not fully developed, pricing is not flexible, and there are excess demand and supply as well as constraints on demand and constraints on supply, but microeconomic units who participate in market activities are not independent or responsible for their own profits and losses. They lack the authority to make any decision on investment opportunities and business operations and do not bear investment and operational risks. Such a microeconomic unit has not severed its affiliation with government agencies.

If economic disequilibrium can be categorized into these two types, we can conclude that disequilibrium in a capitalist economy is considered type I disequilibrium, while that in a socialist economy varies. Disequilibrium under the traditional economic system and the dual-track economic system is type II disequilibrium, because enterprises are affiliated with government agencies. Economic reforms will establish the new economic system, under which enterprises are independent goods producers who are in charge of operations, responsible for profits and losses, granted with operating authorities, and accordingly liable for investment and operational risks. The economic

disequilibrium in this case is considered type I disequilibrium.

Microeconomic units existing under type II disequilibrium condition clearly lack sufficient motivation or even have no motivation at all.

Under type I disequilibrium condition, a microeconomic unit itself is fully motivated. However, as they face disequilibrium conditions, they conduct business transactions in an underdeveloped market and with inflexible prices and incomplete and inaccessible market information. In this case, although they are fully motivated, such motivations are constrained by external factors. For example, rigid prices are not necessarily capable of functioning as signals to adjust production, and rigid wages are not necessarily capable of functioning in allocating and combining resources in a way that optimizes resource allocation. Of course, that a microeconomic unit is fully motivated yet such motivations are constrained is quite different from a microeconomic unit that has insufficient motivation. This is the difference between type I disequilibrium and type II disequilibrium.

2.4.4 Market Self-Regulation Under Type I Disequilibrium Condition

As discussed earlier, the market performs self-regulation effectively under equilibrium conditions, i.e., the market will not allow ineffective resource input to exist for a prolonged period of time, due to the following two conditions. First, the market is fully developed and pricing is flexible. Second, microeconomic units are fully motivated and able to produce, operate, and transact in their own interests. However, type I disequilibrium condition only meets one of the two conditions. That is, microeconomic units are fully motivated, but the market is underdeveloped, pricing is inflexible, and there are either resource supply constraints or demand constraints, or both in the economy. How does the market perform self-regulation under such circumstances? How effective is market self-regulation?

The condition that microeconomic units are fully motivated should be considered more important than that the market is fully developed. The reason is that a fully developed market and flexible prices primarily create a benign environment for the development of the commodity economy, but the condition that microeconomic units are fully motivated resolves the issues related to the economic interests, responsibilities, incentives, and motivations of market participants. If microeconomic units do not take advantage of a fully developed market, in spite of its availability, or flexible prices, and have neither motivation to combine resources effectively or increase utilization

efficiency nor any responsibility for economic losses due to resource misallocation, the function of market self-regulation in resource allocation will be discounted. If microeconomic units have no motivations, they are neither sensitive to nor care about economic profits or losses resulting from market activities. The market in this scenario will not be fully developed. A fully developed market exists only when market participants are fully motivated, not vice versa.

The above analyses indicate that the more important condition of those two has existed in an economy in type I disequilibrium. That condition is that microeconomic units are fully motivated. This condition facilitates the function of market self-regulation in resource allocation. Even though the market is not fully developed, pricing is not flexible, and there are resource supply constraints and demand constraints, microeconomic units are able to conduct business transactions in their best interests and intuitively avoid ineffective input of resources or refuse ineffective and inefficient resource combinations and utilization. Therefore, the market can still regulate input and combination of resources in accordance with the efficiency principle during the process of resource allocation, avoiding prolonged ineffective input of resources.

Nevertheless, type I disequilibrium still belongs to the category of disequilibrium. Input of resources in this scenario is after all different from that under equilibrium conditions. The influences of type I disequilibrium on microeconomic business activities are seen in the following three aspects:

When the market is not fully developed and information is not complete or freely accessible, microeconomic units cannot collect sufficient timely market information, much of which is even misleading. They are forced to make decisions on input of resources and resource combination with limited or even erroneous information. As a result, the economy will likely suffer from low efficiency, and resource allocation in society will be inconsistent with the efficiency principle.

When pricing is inflexible, or in the case of price rigidity, microeconomic units are not free to allocate resources. The reason is that price rigidity does not indicate resource scarcity or reveal the result of resource input and it is not possible for microeconomic units to select required resources optimally during the course of resource combination. If some microe conomic units are unable to optimally select the combination of resources due to price rigidity, it is inevitable to find idle or wasted resources

in the economy.

Due to resource supply constraints and demand constraints, the allocation of resources will be short-term whenever there is imbalance between supply and demand. As a matter of fact, this situation means microeconomic units face heightened competition. When under supply constraints, a microeconomic unit as a resource buyer is challenged by limited supply of resources and is forced to make extra efforts to secure supplies. When under demand constraints, a microeconomic unit as a seller is challenged by a limited market and is forced to make extra efforts to sell its products. These extra efforts by microeconomic units to secure supplies or to sell products in the case of constraints on supply and constraints on demand excessively drain societal resources from an overall societal perspective, which is one form of resource misallocation.

The analysis above shows the influences of type I disequilibrium on the business activities and ways of resource utilization of microeconomic units, demonstrating that market self-regulation is functional but constrained under type I disequilibrium condition.

2.4.5 Market Self-Regulation Under Type II Disequilibrium Condition

Neither of the two conditions (i.e., fully developed market and flexible prices and fully motivated microeconomic units) required of market selfregulation to function during resource allocation exists under type II disequilibrium condition. Thus market self-regulation plays a very limited role during the process of resource allocation.

As discussed earlier, market self-regulation is constrained under type I disequilibrium condition due to underdeveloped market and incomplete and inaccessible market information, together with price rigidity and resource supply constraints and demand constraints. These situations also apply to type II disequilibrium condition. More importantly, as microeconomic units are not fully motivated or even totally lack motivation, constraints on market self-regulation are even more obvious. We will analyze that from the following two perspectives:

The reason why microeconomic units lack motivation is that they are not real economic entities with self-interest that is not directly tied to their operational results. They are not responsible for economic losses resulting from faulty operations or bad investment decisions. As a result, they lack not only motivation and incentive but also pressure and responsibility. They may

see no value in pursuing any business that brings in additional profits and contributes to higher resource utilization efficiency for the economy. Meanwhile, they may continue doing whatever may reduce their profits and contribute to lowering resource allocation efficiency for the economy. Market self-regulation appears powerless because of the indifferent attitude of microeconomic units, let alone discussing how to control input of resources and resource utilization following the efficiency principle.

On the other hand, the reason why microeconomic units lack motivation is not only that they do not care about or pay enough attention to operational profits and losses but also that government agencies interfere with their operational decisions and they have to obey orders from government agencies. Therefore, even though some microeconomic units care for their profits and losses and wish to adjust input of resources and resource utilization in their own economic interests, the affiliation with government agencies makes it difficult for them to do so. Hence market self-regulation cannot function during the allocation of resources.

These two aspects clearly demonstrate that the market cannot actually perform the self-regulation function during resource allocation under type II disequilibrium condition. This is in sharp contrast to type I disequilibrium condition. If we say the function of market self-regulation still exists during the course of resource allocation, although restricted to some extent, under type I disequilibrium condition, it barely functions under type II disequilibrium condition.

The following situations are often seen under type II disequilibrium condition. When input of resources is executed or resources are combined or utilized inappropriately and inefficiently, the market is unable to correct the situation. When the market signals some alerts (such as widening gap between the supply and demand of certain resources, lowering economic efficiency, and increasing price volatilities), microeconomic units cannot gain access to those alerts or fail to make adjustments to input of resources and resource combination after they receive the alerts. They are even reluctant to make any change. Resource misallocation continues or deteriorates, which will give rise to one of the following three scenarios:

The first scenario: Deteriorating resource misallocation causes an economic downturn, forcing the government to intervene using noneconomic measures to tackle resource misallocation. The intervention, or called rectification or policy adjustment, is not done via the market, which is often

seen under type II disequilibrium condition. It is necessary to point out that the government hereby mentioned refers to the highest authority. Only after the highest authority detects the severity of resource misallocation and decides to apply rectification or policy adjustment can those nonmarket measures take effect to tackle resource misallocation. There must be a considerable time lag between when the issue is detected and the decision of rectification or policy adjustment is made, which inevitably brings considerable damage to the economy.

The core issue is how the highest authority rectifies resource misallocation. Only after the highest authority truly understands that the cause and deterioration of resource misallocation is due to type II disequilibrium condition (i.e., underdeveloped market, inflexible prices, and microeconomic units' lack of motivation) and takes actions to resolve type II disequilibrium condition can such rectification measures be truly effective. If the highest authority only plans to use some nonmarket measures to correct resource misallocation while maintaining type II disequilibrium condition, the imbalance between resource supply and resource demand can only be temporarily alleviated. The resource misallocation problem will persist and become complicated and eventually lead to re-rectification or policy readjustment after a certain period of time. In addition, final consequences must be unsolved problems one after another, greater obstacles, more difficult rectification, and worsening rectification results.

The second scenario: Under the circumstance of worsening resource misallocation and resulting economic downturn, the government does not intervene using nonmarket measures. In this case, the government does not intend to correct resource misallocation. The persistence of the situation may lead to numerous unsolved problems. As unsolved problems keep piling up, conflicts between resource supply and resource demand will be fully exposed, and the economy will suffer from stagnation, inflation, or stagflation. Severe stagnation, inflation, or stagflation may even paralyze the economy. Only under that circumstance can we clearly see the market self-regulation function. This is because economic chaos and paralyzed economy will force microeconomic units to find their own way out. Faced with extreme difficulties and almost despair, they will have to pursue business transactions in their own interests (or in the interests of their employees) in order to survive.

Under type II disequilibrium condition, some of the business

transactions conducted by some microeconomic units in pursuit of their own interests are underground. In other words, underground markets quickly develop at this time. These emerging underground markets may cost certain microeconomic units dearly to pursue transactions in their own interests, which are likely to further exacerbate resource misallocation. However, an underground market is after all one kind of market. In this market, counterparties in a transaction may set aside noneconomic interference and allow the scarcity of commodities to determine the price (similar to ones in imperfect competition). Instead, market selfregulation during resource allocation is seen in this kind of market, allowing transactions to be concluded at conditions satisfactory to both counterparties. Underground market activities will more or less alleviate economic hardship and to some extent prevent resource misallocation from devastating the overall economy. As ironic as these phenomena may look, they are likely to occur under type II disequilibrium condition.

The third scenario: Deteriorating resource misallocation and consequential economic downturn allow the government to recognize the root cause of the issue, i.e., worsening economic disequilibrium, as well as the fact that economic disequilibrium is demonstrated not only by underdeveloped markets but more importantly by microeconomic units' lack of motivation. Therefore, the government decides to reform the economic system, adopt appropriate measures to motivate microeconomic units, and gradually develop the market. Meanwhile, the government also introduces some macroeconomic regulations during economic reforms, appropriately coordinating government regulation and market regulation to alleviate conflicting allocation of resources and gradually rationalizing input of resources and resource combination in society.

Undoubtedly, the third scenario is not easy to come by. When the economy is in the midst of type II disequilibrium, it normally follows its trajectory and ultimately ends up in a scenario more similar to the first one. The second scenario is usually the result of natural economic consequences from ineffective government intervention or ineffective policies that are intended to tackle economic chaos, rather than what the government has hoped for under type II disequilibrium condition. If the economy turns out to be close to the second scenario, it is very likely that the government is incapable of correcting resource misallocation as well as regulating underground business activities. But the occurrence of the third scenario

needs a series of premises.

First of all, severe resource misallocation and economic downturn have forced the government to recognize the necessity of economic reforms, especially the necessity of endowing microeconomic units with motivation via reforming the economic system.

Secondly, the government has adopted effective measures to reform the economic system, which gradually separate microeconomic units from their affiliation with government agencies, give them internal motivation and external pressures, and prompt them to care for their profits and losses.

Thirdly, the government simultaneously adopts appropriate macroeconomic regulatory measures to alleviate resource misallocation and to allow market self-regulation to function.

Lastly, as reforms of the economic system and government economic regulation make progress, a dual mechanism that consists of market regulation and government regulation gradually comes into being. As the dual mechanism takes effect, resource allocation gradually improves.

It can be seen that any one of these conditions cannot be easily met. If resource misallocation under type II disequilibrium condition has three possible outcomes, only the third scenario is worth pursuing. If the third scenario became a reality, type II economic disequilibrium would become type I economic disequilibrium. If we say that economic equilibrium is not realistic, type I disequilibrium is the second best choice available.

Of course, under type I disequilibrium condition, the magnitude of disequilibrium varies due to different degree of market underdevelopment, price inflexibility, market information imperfection and inaccessibility, and resource supply constraints and demand constraints. The purpose of research on resource allocation in socialist society is to understand how the government applies the market mechanism and government regulation to facilitate the transition of resource allocation from ineffectiveness to effectiveness under various disequilibrium conditions.

肆　资源配置过程中的市场自我制约

一、资源配置过程中市场自我制约的含义

资源配置过程中的市场自我制约是指在没有非经济因素干扰的情况下，市场有一种自我调理的功能，市场既不至于使经济过度膨胀，使之达到不可收拾的地步，又不至于使经济过度萎缩，使之陷于瘫痪状态。市场的这种自我调理对于维持社会经济的正常运行是不可缺少的。

为什么市场有这种自我调理的功能？这必须从参加市场交易的微观经济单位（企业和个人）经济活动的特点谈起。假定没有非经济因素的干扰，社会的经济活动完全由无数个分散的微观经济单位（企业和个人）自发地进行，每一个微观经济单位都是经济活动的决策者，都能按照自己的利益自主地生产和经营，都能充分发挥自己的活力，那么它们的经济活动及其活力必然反映于它们争取实现自身利益的交换行为之中，也就是在市场上反映出来。所有这些微观经济单位的利益不可能是一致的。在市场关系中，它们在一些场合作为供给一方，在另一些场合作为需求一方，彼此进行交易，它们都指望通过这些交易来实现自己的利益。因此，对每一个微观经济单位来说，其余的微观经济单位既是协作者，又是竞争对手。它们彼此之间既有共同利益的存在，又有利益上的冲突。因此，各个微观经济单位的经济活动既有一致之处，又有不一致之处。

假定多数微观经济单位采取进取的、扩张的活动，社会经济就会趋向于扩张、膨胀。但在这个过程中，必然也有少数微观经济单位采取保守的、收缩的活动，这在一定程度上对社会经济的扩张、膨胀起了缓冲的、抑制的作用。不仅如此，当多数微观经济单位采取进取性的活动时，社会的总需求会增加，价格会上升，从而使原来从事进取性活动的微观经济单位重新考虑自己的利益。这样，社会经济扩张到一定程度之后就不会继续扩张下去，这正是市场的自我制约的一种表现。反之，假定多数微观经济单位采取保守的、收缩的活动，社会经济就会趋向于收缩、停滞。但在这个过程中，必然也有少数微观经济单位采取进取的、扩张的活动，这在一定程度上对社会经济的收缩、停滞起了缓冲的、抑制的作用。不仅如此，当多数微观经济单位采取保守性的活动时，社会的总需求会减少，价格会下降，从而使原来从事保守性活动的微观经济单位重新考虑自己的利益，这样，社会经济收缩到一定程度之后就不会继续收缩下去，这也是市场的自我制约的表现之一。[2]

二、均衡条件下市场的自我制约与资源配置

如果经济处于瓦尔拉均衡状态，那么市场在资源配置中的自我制约作用将是明显的。市场的这种自我制约作用可以顺利地通过每一个微观经济单位“内部经济与不经济”、“外部经济与不经济”的变化来实现。

从内部经济与不经济的角度来看，每一个微观经济单位在决定是否增加资源投入时，需要考虑资源投入以后平均成本、边际成本、平均收益、边际收益的变化。单位资源投入以后，如果内部经济增加了，内部不经济减少了，那么这样的资源投入不仅对微观经济单位本身有利，而且从社会资源配置方面来分析也是有效的，因为资源投入所导致的内部经济增加和内部不经济减少意味着资源投入的结果促成效率的提高。如果不是这种情况，即资源投入后内部不经济增加和内部经济减少，那么作为投资决策者和自主者的微观经济单位就会感到资源投入对自己不利，从而会停止资源的投入。从社会资源配置方面来分析，资源投入所导致的内部不经济增加和内部经济减少意味着资源投入是无效的，是促成效率下降的。因此，当微观经济单位感到这种资源投入对自己不利而决定停止资源投入时，这一决策符合社会资源配置的效率标准，即“无效的、促成效率下降的资源配置应当停止，有效的、促成效率提高的资源配置可以进行”的标准。

从外部经济与不经济的角度来看，各个微观经济单位在决定是否增加资源投入时，需要考虑由于资源投入而引起的整个部门的规模、全社会的生产规模的扩大所导致的外部经济与不经济的变动。外部经济与不经济的变动对某些微观经济单位的平均成本、边际成本、平均收益、边际收益变动的影响，将使这些微观经济单位感到自己的利益究竟是增加还是减少。它们必定是趋利而避害的。从社会资源配置方面来分析，资源投入所导致的外部不经济的增加和外部经济的减少，同样意味着资源投入是无效的，是促成效率下降的。因此，当多数微观经济单位感到资源投入的不利性而决定停止资源投入时，这一决策同样符合社会资源配置的效率标准。

由此可见，在均衡条件下，既然市场是完善的，价格是灵活的，微观经济单位资源投入是受自身利益支配的，那么资源配置必将受到市场价格的制约，资源必将被投入有效的部门、地区和企业，而从无效的部门、地区和企业流出。资源配置过程中的市场自我制约表现为：市场不可能使任何一种无效的资源投入持久化，市场将使资源配置自行符合效率标准。

三、两类不同的微观经济单位和两类不同的非均衡

从以上关于资源配置过程中市场自我制约的分析可以了解到，市场之所以能够在经济运行中对于过度扩张和过度收缩有自行调整和纠正的

作用，是同参加市场活动的微观经济单位的充分活力紧密地联系在一起的。经济的均衡状态固然以市场的完善和价格的灵活为前提，但一个更为重要的或更为基本的前提则是微观经济单位的充分活力的存在。

由此可以把微观经济单位分为两类：一类是具有充分活力的微观经济单位，一类是不具有充分活力（直到完全缺乏活力）的微观经济单位。微观经济单位之所以具有充分活力，是因为它自主经营，自负盈亏，能够按照自己的利益进行各种投资机会的选择和生产经营方式的选择，能够按照自己的利益进行税后利润的分配，并且需要自己承担投资和经营的风险。这样的企业就是独立的商品生产者和经营者，这样的个人就是经济学意义上的、独立参加市场活动的交易者。如果微观经济单位不符合这些条件，它们必然不具有充分活力，直到完全缺乏活力。

在均衡条件下，微观经济单位无疑具有充分活力，这一点在前面已经指出。这里需要分析的是，在非均衡条件下，微观经济单位是不是必然不具有充分活力呢？为了说明这个问题，有必要把经济的非均衡区分为两类。

第一类经济非均衡是指：市场不完善，价格不灵活，超额需求或超额供给都是存在的，需求约束或供给约束也都存在着，但参加市场活动的微观经济单位却是自主经营、自负盈亏的独立商品生产者，他们有投资机会和经营方式的自由选择权，他们自行承担投资风险和经营风险。

第二类经济非均衡是指：市场不完善，价格不灵活，超额需求或超额供给都是存在的，需求约束或供给约束也都存在着，不仅如此，参加市场活动的微观经济单位并非自主经营、自负盈亏的独立商品生产者，它们缺乏自由选择投资机会和经营方式的自主权，它们也不自行承担投资风险和经营风险。这样的微观经济单位没有摆脱行政机构附属物的地位。

如果经济的非均衡分为这样两类的话，那么可以认为：资本主义经济中所出现的非均衡属于上述第一类经济非均衡，至于社会主义经济中的情况，则需要区别对待。在传统的和双轨的经济体制之下，由于企业并没有摆脱行政机构附属物的地位，所以这种非均衡属于上述第二类经济非均衡；通过经济体制改革，建立了新的经济体制，在这种新体制之下，企业成为自主经营、自负盈亏，有投资和经营的自主权并相应地承担投资风险和经营风险的独立商品生产者了，那么这时的经济非均衡，就归入上述第一类经济非均衡。

第二类经济非均衡条件下的微观经济单位，显然是不具有充分活力的，甚至可能完全缺乏活力。

在第一类经济非均衡条件下，从微观经济单位本身来看，它们是具有充分活力的，但由于这些具有充分活力的微观经济单位处于经济非均

衡的环境之中，它们在不完善的市场上进行交易活动，而价格又不是灵活的，信息也不完备和畅通，这样，即使它们本身具有充分活力，但这种活力的发挥却不得不受到环境的限制。例如，价格有刚性，它们就不一定能完全根据价格信号来调整生产；工资有刚性，它们也就不一定能完全根据资源的最优组合方式来配置和组合资源，等等。当然，微观经济单位有充分活力，但这种活力受到环境的限制，同它们不具有充分活力仍是很不一样的，这也就是第一类经济非均衡与第二类经济非均衡的区别。

四、第一类非均衡条件下市场的自我制约

前面已经指出，在均衡条件下，资源配置过程中的市场自我制约之所以能够有效，即市场之所以有可能不让任何一种无效的资源投入持久化，归因于两个条件：第一，市场是完善的，价格是灵活的；第二，微观经济单位具有充分活力，能够按照自身的利益进行交易活动和安排生产经营。但在第一类经济非均衡状态中，这两个条件只剩下一个，即微观经济单位虽然是具有充分活力的，而市场却不完善，价格也不灵活，经济中或者存在着资源供给的约束，或者存在着需求的约束，或者二者同时存在。在这种情况之下，在资源配置过程中，市场的自我制约将以何种方式表现出来呢？市场自我制约的效果又如何呢？

应当把微观经济单位具有充分活力这个条件看成比市场完善这个条件更加重要。这是因为，市场的完善和价格的灵活，主要是为商品经济的发展创造一个良好的环境，而让微观经济单位具有充分活力，则是解决市场活动参加者的利益、责任、刺激、动力问题。即使市场是完善的，如果微观经济单位不能利用完善的市场和灵活的价格来进行交易，它们缺乏合理组合资源和提高资源利用效率的主动性、积极性，又不承担资源配置不当所造成的经济损失，那么，市场在资源配置过程中的自我制约作用也就非常有限。何况，微观经济单位在没有充分活力的情况下，对参加市场活动的利益与损失不敏感、不重视，那么市场也就只可能是不完善的市场。完善的市场要靠有充分活力的市场活动参加者（微观经济单位）来造就，而不能反过来，由完善的市场来创造有充分活力的市场活动参加者（微观经济单位）。

这意味着，第一类经济非均衡具有使市场自我制约的两个条件中的一个较重要的条件，即微观经济单位具有充分活力这一条件。这对于市场在资源配置中的自我制约作用的发挥是有利的。尽管市场不完善，价格不灵活，资源供给约束或需求约束存在着，但由于微观经济单位能够根据自己的利益来从事交易，它们从本能上是不会把资源投入无效的经济活动中去的，它们从本能上也会拒绝无效的、促成效率下降的资源组

合和利用方式，因此，市场在资源配置过程中，实际上仍然按照效率标准来调整资源的投向和资源的组合，避免出现无效的资源投入的持久化。

然而，即使是第一类非均衡，它仍是一种非均衡，这时的资源投入毕竟不同于均衡条件下的情况。第一类非均衡对于微观经济单位的交易活动和资源利用方式的影响，主要表现于以下三个方面：

第一，在市场不完善、信息不完备和不畅通的条件下，微观经济单位在市场上得不到足够的、及时的信息，甚至它们得到的信息中有不少是不正确的。这些微观经济单位不得不在有限的信息，甚至错误的信息指引下进行资源投入和组合的决策，其结果，很可能给经济带来低效率，并且使社会的资源配置不符合效率标准。

第二，在价格不灵活，即存在着价格刚性的条件下，微观经济单位的资源配置的调整要受到限制。这是因为，价格的刚性并不能反映资源的稀缺程度和资源投入的效果，微观经济单位在组合资源时，不可能按照最优的方式来选择所需要的资源。如果个别微观经济单位在价格刚性条件下不能从优化资源组合的角度来利用资源，那么就全社会的范围而言，资源配置过程中的浪费或闲置就是不可避免的。

第三，由于资源供给约束和需求约束的存在，在供求不能平衡的场合要按照短线来配置资源。对微观经济单位来说，实际上是意味着竞争的加剧，即在供给约束的场合，微观经济单位作为需求一方，面临着资源有限的问题，从而不得不为获得供给而投入更多的力量；而在需求约束的场合，微观经济单位作为供给一方，面临着市场有限的问题，从而不得不为实现自己的销售而投入更多的力量。微观经济单位在供给约束和需求约束的场合，为争取货源和销路而投入的更多的力量，对社会而言，就是资源的超正常的使用。对资源的超正常使用是资源配置不当的一种表现。

第一类非均衡对于微观经济单位的交易活动和资源利用方式的上述影响，反映了市场的自我制约作用在第一类非均衡条件下虽然存在，但却受到了限制。

五、第二类非均衡条件下市场的自我制约

资源配置过程中市场自我制约取得效果的两个条件（市场完善和价格灵活，微观经济单位有充分活力），在第二类经济的非均衡状态中都不存在。这样，资源配置过程中的市场自我制约作用就受到了很大的限制。

前面在谈到第一类非均衡条件下，由于市场不完善和信息不完备、不畅通，由于价格刚性、资源供给约束和需求约束的存在等等而使得资

源配置过程中市场自我制约作用受限制的情况，同样存在于第二类非均衡条件之下。但更重要的是，由于微观经济单位没有充分活力，甚至完全缺乏活力，市场自我制约作用所受到的限制就更为突出。可以从以下两方面来进行分析：

一方面，微观经济单位之所以缺乏活力，主要是由于它并未成为真正的利益主体，生产经营的成果同它的利益没有直接的、必然的联系；它也不为生产经营的失误或投资的失误而承担应有的经济损失。这样，微观经济单位既缺少动力和刺激，又缺少压力和责任感。明明是有利于自身经济利益的、从而也是有利于社会资源配置效率提高的，微观经济单位可能无动于衷，不屑去做；明明是不利于自身经济利益的、从而也是促成社会资源配置的效率下降的，微观经济单位可能照常去做。市场的自我制约作用在微观经济单位这种对资源配置的效率麻木不仁的态度面前显得无能为力，因此也就谈不到如何以效率标准来制约对资源的投入和利用。

另一方面，微观经济单位之所以缺乏活力，并不仅仅由于它对生产经营中的利益与损失关心不够或不予关心，而是由于它的一切生产经营都要受到行政部门的限制，微观经济单位必须按行政部门的命令行事。因此，即使某些微观经济单位关心生产经营的利益与损失，并且希望按照利益原则来调整自己的资源投向和资源使用方式，但它们作为行政机构附属物的地位决定了它们难以按照自己的意愿和利益原则去做。于是资源配置中市场的自我制约作用就无从发挥。

以上这两个方面充分说明，在第二类非均衡条件下，实际上很难使市场在资源配置过程中发挥其应有的自我制约作用。这正是第二类经济非均衡与第一类经济非均衡的显著区别。如果说在第一类非均衡条件下，资源配置过程中的市场自我制约作用虽然受到一定的限制，但毕竟存在并起作用的话，那么在第二类非均衡条件下，资源配置过程中的市场自我制约作用几乎发挥不出什么作用。

于是在第二类经济非均衡条件下经常出现这样的情况：如果资源投入不当，资源组合形式不合理，资源使用的效率下降等等情况发生了，市场不可能纠正它们；或者，即使市场会发出警告的信号（某些资源供求缺口的扩大、社会经济效益的降低、价格大幅度变动等等），但微观经济单位接收不到这些信号，或在收到信号之后不可能调整自己的资源投向和资源组合形式，甚至不愿意调整自己的资源投向和资源组合形式。资源配置失调的状况将延续下去，并且越来越严重。那么，最终的结果又将是什么呢？不外乎以下三种情况中的一种：

第一种情况——由于资源配置失调的日趋严重而导致的经济恶化，迫使政府采取非经济的手段来干预经济，扭转资源配置的失调现象。这

是一种非市场的制约方式，在第二类非均衡经济中，这种方式的干预（通常被称为“纠偏”、“政策调整”等等）屡见不鲜。需要指出的是，这里所提到的政府，是指最高决策当局而言。只有在最高决策当局察觉到资源配置失调问题的严重性并且下决心“纠偏”、“调整政策”之后，这种非市场的扭转资源配置失调的方式才有可能被运用。从时间上看，等到最高决策当局察觉到问题的严重性并且下决心“纠偏”、“调整政策”时，肯定已有较大的“滞后”，这给经济造成的损失也肯定是相当大的。

问题还在于最高决策当局如何“纠偏”。只有在最高决策当局真正认识到资源配置失调现象的产生及其日益严重的原因在于第二类经济非均衡（即市场不完善、价格不灵活和微观经济单位缺乏充分活力），并且决心从消除第二类非均衡的措施着手时，这种“纠偏”才能取得真正的效果。否则，如果最高决策当局只是想用某种非经济的干预方式来扭转资源配置失调状况，而又继续保持第二类非均衡经济，那么至多只能暂时缓和一下资源供求的紧张状态，而使得资源配置失调的问题持久化、复杂化，以至于不得不在间隔一段时间之后，再次“纠偏”，再次“调整政策”。不仅如此，最终的结果必定是：问题越积越多，阻力越来越大，“纠偏”越来越困难，“纠偏”所取得的效果也越来越差。

第二种情况——在资源配置失调日趋严重和由此引起的经济恶化的情况下，政府不采取非经济的手段来干预经济，即政府不准备着手扭转资源配置的失调现象。那么，这种情况的继续发展，可能带来如下的结果：问题越积越多，当问题积累到一定程度以后，资源供求之间的矛盾充分暴露出来，这时，不仅经济中出现“滞”、“胀”或“滞胀”现象，而且严重的“滞”、“胀”或“滞胀”可能使经济处于濒临瘫痪的境地。到了这个地步，也只有到了这个地步，市场在资源配置过程中的自我制约作用才会比较明显地表现出来。这是指，经济的混乱和经济濒临瘫痪的状况将迫使微观经济单位自谋出路，于是本来缺乏充分活力的微观经济单位在极度困难和几乎绝望的条件下，不得不为了自身的利益（甚至是为了本单位职工的利益），自行通过交易活动而谋求出路。

在第二类非均衡经济中，这时所出现的微观经济单位之间为自身利益而进行的交易活动，有不少属于地下交易活动。也就是说，地下市场这时将迅速发展起来；而这时迅速发展起来的这些地下市场可能使一些微观经济单位为了进行有利于自己的交易而付出昂贵的代价，还可能使资源配置的方向进一步扭曲。但不管怎样，地下市场毕竟是一种“市场”。在这种“市场”上，供求双方的交易可能摆脱非经济因素的某些干扰，而由商品的稀缺程度以及由此决定的价格（类似于不完全竞争价格）来影响供求双方的交易。市场在资源配置过程中的自我制约作用，在这种“市场”上反而能够表现出来，使供求双方在双方都能接受的条件

下成交。地下市场的活动在这种情况下多多少少起着缓解经济困境的作用，使资源配置的失调不至于严重到使整个经济陷于解体的地步。尽管这一切是带有讽刺意味的，但在第二类非均衡经济中，这种现象却很有可能发生。

第三种情况——在资源配置失调日趋严重和由此引起的经济恶化的情况下，政府认识到问题的根源在于经济的非均衡程度加剧，而且认识到经济的非均衡不仅表现于市场的不完善，更重要的是表现于微观经济单位缺少活力，于是政府着手进行经济体制改革，从增加微观经济单位的活力和逐步使市场完善方面采取相应的措施；同时，在经济体制改革过程中，在宏观经济调节方面也采取一些措施，使政府调节与市场调节较好地结合起来，争取缓和资源配置中的矛盾，使社会的资源投向和资源组合逐渐趋于合理。

毫无疑问，第三种情况的出现并不是很容易的。当经济处于第二类非均衡状态之中时，经济的运动有一种惯性，使最终结果更接近于上述第一种情况。至于第二种情况，通常不是第二类经济非均衡条件下政府所希望出现的，而很可能是在政府干预无效，对经济的混乱找不到有效的对策时，经济自发地趋向的结果。如果经济趋向第二种情况，那么这也很可能是由于政府既在资源配置严重失调面前无能为力，而又对地下交易活动无能为力的缘故。但第三种情况的出现却需要有一系列前提：

首先，资源配置的严重失调和经济的恶化使政府认识到经济体制改革的必要性，特别是认识到通过经济体制改革，使微观经济单位具有充分活力的必要性；

其次，政府在经济体制改革方面采取了一些有效的措施，使微观经济单位逐渐摆脱原来作为行政机构附属物的地位，有了内在的动力和外部的压力，关心自己的利益与损失；

再次，与此同时，政府采取适当的宏观经济调节措施，使资源配置的失调状况趋于缓解，使市场的自我制约的作用逐渐发挥出来；

最后，在经济体制改革和政府经济调节都取得成效的基础上，经济中逐渐形成了由市场调节与政府调节共同组成的二元机制；在二元机制起作用的情况下，资源配置状况将会逐渐好转。

可见，这一系列前提中的任何一个前提，都不是轻易地能实现的。但在第二类经济非均衡条件下，如果说资源配置的严重失调最终有三种可能的结果的话，那么惟有第三种结果才值得争取实现。而一旦实现了第三种情况，第二类经济非均衡就转变为第一类经济非均衡。如果说经济的均衡缺乏现实性，那么第一类经济非均衡的实现不失为一种次优的选择。

当然，在第一类经济非均衡条件下，由于有市场不完善程度的差

别、价格不灵活程度的差别、信息不完备和不畅通程度的差别、资源供给约束程度和需求约束程度的差别等等，因此按照这些差别，就会有各种程度不等的非均衡。对社会主义社会的资源配置问题的研究，正是为了说明在程度不等的非均衡条件下如何运用市场机制和政府调节来促进资源配置从不合理转向合理。

Chapter 3 Government Regulation and Resource Allocation
第三章 政府调节与资源配置

3.1 THE MEANING OF GOVERNMENT REGULATION

3.1.1 Government Regulation and Government Planning

Government regulation means the government adopts certain measures in accordance with market situations to regulate the economy and direct the operation of the economy and economic growth toward a specific goal.

The scope of government regulation is wider than what is known as planned regulation, which is a form of government regulation. Generally speaking, planned regulation falls into the category of economic regulation. It refers to the regulation of the economy by the government using plans (including mandatory and nonmandatory plans) and is therefore characterized by "planning." Government regulation is not limited to planning or economic regulation. When necessary, the government may carry out regulation using administrative, legal, and economic measures. When it comes to the economy, the government may regulate it by planned or non-planned measures. Government regulation is not necessarily predetermined or planned ahead of time. If necessary, the government may carry out contingency regulation by taking interim abnormal emergency measures.

The government may adopt the following measures of planned regulation: planned price regulation, planned fiscal and credit regulation, planned income regulation, and planned exchange rate regulation. These measures are explained in detail as follows:

Under planned price regulation, the government, in accordance with market situation, sets planned price or uses planned price to directly or indirectly influence market price. Planned price regulation can also be

executed by using a sole unified price set by the government.

Under planned credit regulation, the government, in accordance with market situation, sets planned interest rate to influence market interest rate or stipulates a planned credit quota as the basis for adjusting credit. Planned credit regulation can be executed by a sole interest rate approved by the government, which is planned interest rate, or by a sole credit mechanism approved by the government, which is planned credit quota.

Under planned fiscal regulation, the government uses fiscal revenue and spending to regulate the economy. The feature of planned fiscal regulation is reflected in the execution of a proposed fiscal budget. The government takes current and future market situations into consideration and uses tax revenues (including tax category and tax rate), other national income, and changing fiscal spending as regulatory tools to influence the market.

Under planned income regulation, the government uses fiscal, credit, and price measures to make planned adjustments to personal income according to its current situation and potential changes so that personal income level, distribution of personal income, and personal income gap are consistent with planned targets.

Under planned exchange rate regulation, the government makes planned adjustments to exchange rate or exchange rate regime according to current balance of payments and potential changes so that foreign exchange inflow and outflow are consistent with predetermined economic targets.

Therefore, as a measure adopted by the government to regulate the economy, planned regulation is characterized by planning. Government regulation, which has a wider scope than planned regulation, includes not only all of the abovementioned planned regulatory measures but also non-planned regulation and noneconomic regulation. Regulation of price, credit, fiscal spending, revenue, and exchange rate mentioned above can be executed by the government using administrative and legal measures according to the specific situation, which may even include the eventual freezing of price, credit, or income. The government may also use nonplanned emergency regulatory measures, such as levying temporary taxes or planning certain special expenditures to meet specific fiscal needs and taking expedient measures to regulate price and exchange rate. It is obviously incorrect to equate government regulation with planned regulation.

3.1.2 The Government Serving as Market Administrator

We have used a large mixer as metaphor for the market during resource combination. The mixing process is to select resource combination. The activities of the market as a large mixer are broken into three stages, production, sales, and distribution. These three stages correspond to market input decision, market output decision, and market distribution decision. Inside this large mixer, the market constantly makes various selections so that resource combination and resource utilization meet the efficiency standard of resource allocation.

If a large mixer is used as metaphor for market, it needs an administrator in the same way as a mixer needs an operator. The function of the government in resource allocation to some extent is similar to the operator of the large mixer. In the case of insufficient resource supply or demand, the government can adjust resource supply and demand by allocating limited resources to where they are needed or by allocating limited demand to different suppliers. The government can be a direct supplier or buyer itself. Perhaps more importantly, the government as the market administrator is responsible for maintaining market order and ensuring orderly market activities, the same as a mixer operator is responsible for troubleshooting problems in order to maintain the normal operation of the mixer.[1]

As market administrator, the government can be a direct supplier or buyer when necessary and has a clear understanding of its roles in resource allocation. It is necessary to further clarify the role that the government plays in resource allocation as a force that influences market selection, i.e., one that influences the behavior of market participant with regard to input, output, and distribution. What is the relationship between the influence of the government and the operation of the market as a large mixer? To answer this question, we need to look at market selection first.

Market selection is all about the selection of input, output, and distribution, all of which can be considered the selection of resource combination. If resources in an economy are limited and the scarcity of various resources varies, government regulation is to influence the selection of input, output, and distribution by microeconomic units. That is, the government adopts certain measures to direct microeconomic units toward selecting one form of resource allocation over the other in accordance with their economic interests, which leads to a result that fulfills the government's purpose. The role of the government in economic regulation is not to force every microeconomic unit to accept its plan, but jump-start a microeconomic

unit's inherent power so that it can pursue its own economic interests. Government regulation is not to lower microeconomic units' motivation or enthusiasm. Even if microeconomic units realize that some government measures discourage a form of resource combination that they initially chose and decide to abandon it, they are still motivated decision-makers on resource combination. The decision to abandon the form of resource combination is made based on their own interests, not because of administrative pressures from the government.

Let us continue with the mixer metaphor. The market keeps running like a large mixer with inputs of various resources. Its operational power originates from inside. That is, the power of market operations comes from the motivation of microeconomic units to conduct various business transactions. Government regulation measures cannot curb such motivation. The stronger motivation microeconomic units have, the more smoothly the market operates, and the more free and efficient combination of resources the market can achieve with various inputs. On the contrary, if government regulation curbs microeconomic units' motivation, making them dumb and insensitive, the mixer will not operate easily or operates very slowly, unable to fulfill the goal of allocating resources effectively.

3.1.3 Rational Government Regulation

Government regulation should be rational and realistic. Irrational government regulation is very harmful to resource allocation. Under the dual-track economic mechanism, if government regulation works together with the market mechanism, it is rational government regulation. We can explain this issue from the following three aspects:

The first aspect is input. Without government regulation, microeconomic units, in the case of being solely regulated by the market, will decide on the variety and quantity of input factors according to the assessment of the market. If the variety and quantity of various factors decided by microeconomic units are not consistent with demand in the market, the market will change its assessment of the various factors. When microeconomic units learn that the market has changed, they will in turn adjust their factor inputs accordingly. This process will go on and on, bringing the factor inputs by microeconomic units closer to demand in the market in terms of variety and quantity. If at this time the government unreasonably intervenes, distorting market assessment of factor inputs, the

market or the government will deliver a distorted message to microeconomic units. As a result, the gap between microeconomic units' inputs and demand in the market will not shrink but widen.

The second aspect is output. Without government regulation, microeconomic units are solely regulated by the market. Every microeconomic unit as a seller will have to decide on its output in response to the buyer's request, which is made known to the seller primarily via the market. Sellers make constant adjustments to output varieties and quantities to satisfy the changing demand. If the government unreasonably intervenes at this time, sellers will not be able to receive relatively accurate information either from the market or directly from buyers. As a result, the gap between output varieties and quantities and demand in the market will also widen.

The third aspect is distribution. Without government regulation, microeconomic units are solely regulated by the market. Every microeconomic unit will distribute its income among consumption, savings, and investment according to its own situation and market expectations. The comparison of economic interests plays a primary role in each microeconomic unit's decision on how income is distributed. Although the distribution of income decided by each microeconomic unit in its own interests may not be able to satisfy the requirement of resource allocation for the economy, market regulation will induce constant changes in the current and expected interests of microeconomic units. As a result, their distribution of income will change accordingly and toward a closer alignment with the overall resource allocation in the economy. If the government unreasonably intervenes at this time, which causes resource allocation in society to deviate from the efficiency standard and misleads microeconomic units to inappropriately distribute their income when they receive somewhat erroneous market information, the distribution of income by microeconomic units among consumption, savings, and investment will further deviate from the requirement of resource allocation for society.

The above analysis is based on the perspective that the government indirectly influences market selection. Nevertheless, we have clearly seen serious consequences of irrational government regulation. If the government enforces irrational regulation as a direct supplier or buyer, or directly interferes with input, output, and distribution decisions in an irrational way, or makes wrong decisions that prohibit the market from functioning, the potential losses from resource misallocation due to irrational government

regulation will be much larger than what has been discussed in the above analysis.

壹　政府调节的含义

一、政府调节与计划

政府调节是指政府按照市场的实际情况，采取一定的措施，对经济进行调节，使经济的运行和经济的发展符合政府预定的目标。

政府调节的范围要比通常所说的计划调节的范围广泛，计划调节是政府调节的一种形式。一般地说，计划调节是一种经济调节，即政府运用计划（包括指令性计划和指导性计划）所进行的调节，并且它的特点在于“计划性”。政府调节不限于计划方面的调节，也不限于经济的调节。当政府认为有必要时，可以运用行政的、法律的、经济的手段进行调节，而在经济方面，可以用计划的或非计划的手段进行调节。同时，政府的调节不一定是事先安排好的、有计划的，在必要时，政府可以相机地采取调节措施，采取临时的、应急的、非常的手段。

在计划调节方面，政府可以采取的调节措施包括：计划价格调节，计划财政和信贷调节，计划收入调节，计划汇率调节等等。这些措施的主要内容是：

计划价格调节，是指政府根据市场的实际情况，制定计划价格，或用它来直接影响市场价格，或以它作为价格的指导线，作为间接影响市场价格的手段。计划价格调节也可以采取如下形式，即政府以规定的价格作为惟一的价格。

计划信贷调节，是指政府根据市场的实际情况，制定计划利息率来影响市场利息率，或规定计划信贷规模，以此作为调节信贷的依据。计划信贷调节可以采取如下形式，即政府只容许存在单一的利息率，以计划利息率作为惟一的利息率；或者，政府只容许存在单一的信贷制度，即计划的信贷量是惟一的可以存在的信贷量。

计划财政调节，是指政府运用财政的收入和支出来调节经济。财政调节的计划性主要体现于财政预算的编制的执行上，即政府考虑到现实和未来的市场情况，用税收（包括税种、税率）、国家其他收入、各项财政支出的变化作为调节手段对市场发生影响。

计划收入调节，是指政府根据居民收入的现状和今后的变动趋势，运用财政、信贷、价格等手段，对居民收入进行有计划的调节，使居民收入的平均水平、居民之间的收入分配格局、居民收入的差距等等与政府预定的收入分配目标相符。

计划汇率调节，是指政府根据国际收支的实际情况和变动趋势，有计划地调整汇率或调整汇率制度，使外汇的收入与支出与预定的经济目标相符。

由此可见，计划调节作为政府对经济的调节方式，其特点在于调节的计划性。政府调节的范围要比计划调节广泛，政府调节，除上述内容外，还包括了非计划的调节和非经济的调节。即以前面提到的价格、信贷、财政、收入、汇率的调节而言，政府可以根据实际情况，运用行政、法律等手段来管理市场，直到对价格、信贷、收入采取冻结的措施。政府可以采取紧急的、非计划的调节手段。例如，在财政方面，可以根据需要开征某种临时性的税收，可以根据需要安排某些特别的支出；在价格、汇率等方面，也可以采取某些机动的措施，如果把政府调节与计划调节等同起来，那显然是不妥的。

二、政府作为市场的管理者

前面曾把市场比喻为资源组合的大型搅拌机，搅拌过程就是资源组合的选择过程，市场这个大型搅拌机的活动，可以分为生产、销售、分配三个环节，这三个环节同市场的投入决策、市场的产出决策、市场的分配决策这三项决策相适应；在市场这个大型搅拌机中，将不断完成市场的各种选择，使资源的组合和使用符合资源配置的效率标准。

如果把市场比喻为一个大型搅拌机，那么正如搅拌机需要由管理者进行管理一样，市场也需要管理者。政府调节在资源配置中的作用在某种意义上类似于这个大型搅拌机的管理者。政府可以在资源供给不足或需求不足的场合，调节资源供给和需求，把有限的资源配置于各个需要资源的领域；把有限的市场配置给各个供给者。政府还可以直接作为供给者和需求者起作用。也许更加重要的是，政府作为市场的管理者，有责任维护市场的秩序，保证市场交易活动的正常进行，正如搅拌机的管理者有责任排除搅拌机运行过程中的故障，保证搅拌机正常运转一样。[1]

政府作为市场秩序的维护者，作为必要时的直接供给者和直接需求者，对资源配置所起到的作用是比较清楚的。需要进一步阐明的是：政府作为影响市场选择者，作为影响参加市场活动的微观经济单位的投入、产出、分配行为的力量，在资源配置中是怎样发挥作用的？政府的这些影响与市场这个大型搅拌机的运转之间究竟是什么样的关系？对此，仍有必要从市场选择谈起。

市场选择无非是投入的选择、产出的选择、分配的选择，而所有这些，都可以被看成是资源组合的选择。如果社会经济中的资源供给是有限的，并且不同的资源的短缺程度不相等，那么政府调节的作用在于影响微观经济单位的投入、产出和分配的选择，即政府采取一定的措施，使微观经济单位感到某种资源组合方式对自己比较有利，某种资源组合方式对自己不利，从而作出符合政府意图的选择。政府调节在这里所起

的作用，不是把自己的意图强加给各个微观经济单位，而是使微观经济单位产生内在的动力，以自己的选择来谋求利益。微观经济单位的主动性、积极性不会因政府的调节而有所削弱。即使微观经济单位感到政府的某种措施对自己进行某种资源组合方式的选择是不利的，因而放弃了该种资源组合方式，但这时，微观经济单位依然是有活力的资源组合选择的决策者，它放弃该种资源组合方式，是出于对自身利益的考虑，而不是屈服于政府的行政压力。

仍以搅拌机作为比喻。市场作为资源组合的大型搅拌机，当各种资源被投入时，它始终在运转。它运转的动力来自内部，即市场机制运行的动力来自参加市场活动的各个微观经济单位的活力。政府的调节不能挫伤这种活力。微观经济单位越有活力，市场的运行就越顺利，从而投入市场的各种资源也就越能在这个大型搅拌机内自由地组合、有效地组合。反之，如果政府的调节使微观经济单位的活力受到抑制，微观经济单位变得呆滞、麻木，搅拌机就不易运转，或者运转得十分缓慢，以致达不到有效地配置资源的目的。

三、科学的政府调节

政府调节应当有科学的依据，应当符合客观事实。不科学的政府调节对资源配置极其有害。在二元机制中，与市场机制并存并且起作用的政府调节，是指科学的政府调节。关于这个问题，可以从以下三个方面来说明：

第一，从投入的角度来看，如果没有政府调节，那么在单一的市场调节之下，每个微观经济单位将按照市场对所投入的要素的评价而考虑自己的投入品种和数量。如果微观经济单位投入的品种和数量同市场所需要的不一致，那么市场对不同的要素的评价将有所变动，这一变动的信息被微观经济单位接收后，它们就会相应地调整自己的投入，这一过程不间断地进行，逐渐使微观经济单位所投入的与市场所需要的在品种上和数量上比较接近。这时，如果政府进行了不科学的调节，使得市场对所投入的要素的评价扭曲了，于是市场或政府传递给微观经济单位的将是扭曲的信息，微观经济单位的投入与市场所需要的投入之间的差距不仅不会缩小，反而会越来越大。

第二，从产出的角度来看，如果没有政府调节，那么在单一的市场调节之下，每个作为供给一方的微观经济单位将按照需求一方所提出的要求安排产出，而需求一方所提出的要求主要是通过市场传递给作为供给一方的微观经济单位的。于是，供给一方微观经济单位将按照这些要求不断地调整自己产出的品种和数量，以适应需求。如果政府这时进行了不科学的调节，供给一方微观经济单位不可能从市场上或直接从需求

者那里得到比较准确的信息，它们的产出无论在品种上还是在数量上同需求之间的差距也会扩大。

第三，从分配的角度来看，如果没有政府调节，那么在单一的市场调节之下，每个微观经济单位将根据自己的具体情况和市场的前景来分配自己的收入，确定消费、储蓄、投资的比例。在微观经济单位的分配决策中，起主要作用的是利益的比较。尽管各个微观经济单位根据自己的利益而安排的收入分配的格局不一定符合社会资源组合的总的格局的要求，但由于市场机制起作用的结果会使得微观经济单位的目前利益和预期利益不断变动，所以微观经济单位的收入分配格局也会不断变动，并逐渐与社会资源组合的总的格局相接近。这时，如果政府进行了不科学的调节，使社会资源组合背离效率标准，使微观经济单位的收入分配格局在得不到比较准确的市场前景的信息前提下被扭曲，这样，微观经济单位关于消费、储蓄、投资之间的分配比例同社会资源组合的要求的差距也会越来越大。

以上都是从政府作为间接影响市场选择的力量的角度来分析的。即使如此，也可以清楚地了解到不科学的政府调节给资源配置造成的不利后果，假定政府的不科学的调节以直接供给者和直接需求者的身份出现，假定政府直接以不科学的方式干预投入、产出和分配，或者，假定政府以错误的决策来排斥市场的作用，那么，不科学的政府调节给资源配置带来的损失将会比以上所分析的大得多。

3.2 NONIDEALIZED GOVERNMENT BEHAVIOR AND ITS IMPACT ON RESOURCE ALLOCATION

3.2.1 The Meaning of Nonidealized Government Behavior

The criterion of rational or irrational government regulation resides in whether or not the government regulation follows objective economic principles or whether it is consistent with the reality. Yet we cannot neglect the difference between understanding objective economic principles and utilizing these economic principles. The government may try its best to regulate the economy by following objective economic principles. However, it may fail to meet its goals due to various constraints. Therefore, there arises the problem of nonidealized government behavior.

The difference between idealized government behavior and nonidealized government behavior is not because of different government regulation results, but the fact that they represent two different viewpoints. Idealized government behavior is based on the assumption that an ideal government, as the monitor of economic activities, is able to adopt any kind of measure, has access to every piece of information, is capable of thoroughly considering and accurately predicting every ongoing issue and policy execution results using various analytical methods, and can take appropriate measures according to each and every potential event. Such a government is an "almighty" government: As long as it has decided on how to regulate the economy, it will be able to proactively take regulatory measures as planned, which will definitely meet the goals once executed. Therefore, the assumption of idealized government behavior is based on the belief that the government is endowed with supernatural and almighty power. Nonidealized government behavior, on the other hand, refers to the action of the government who is subject to various subjective and objective constraints and who is not necessarily able to fully satisfy its policy goals. Nonidealized government behavior is based on a belief different from that of idealized government behavior.

This means that an idealized government, the same as an idealized person, only exists in books or the mind of some scholars. It does not exist in

reality. Any government, regardless of how experienced or capable its members are, is subject to various subjective or objective constraints. It is impossible for the government to have access to every piece of information or only make decisions after gaining access to every piece of information. Moreover, even if it is possible for the government to use all necessary measures in making a decision, the execution of these measures may be time-consuming and costly and thus practically unworthy. By the same token, it is not possible either for the government to accurately know the economic outlook or the result from executing a policy, most of which is beyond the expectation and control of the government. In a world of uncertainty, the government cannot decide everything, as it is constrained by many factors. Idealizing government behavior is neglecting the complexity and variability of economic activities and overestimating the role of the government in economic activities. Only by assuming nonidealized government behavior can we draw a practical conclusion on the role of government regulation.

3.2.2 The Lag in Policy Effect

In order to further analyze nonidealized government behavior, we need to firstly discuss the lag in policy effect.

Let us assume that the government plays its role in regulating the economy using certain economic policies. For now, let us refrain from discussing some other lag effects, i.e., the lag in recognition by the government of a certain economic phenomenon, the lag in deciding whether the government needs to take regulatory measures, and the lag in selecting regulatory plans or measures. The recognition lag refers to the time delay between the development of an economic problem and the government's recognition of the problem, as there is normally a period of time before the government can understand the problem. The decision lag refers to the time delay between the government's recognition of a problem and its decision to take action. After the government has a better understanding of an economic problem, it will consider whether it is necessary to use any regulatory measure. There is a period of time before the government can reach a conclusion. If the government believes regulation is not necessary, it will not take action, even after it has recognized and understood the problem. Only after the government has understood the problem and believes that regulation is necessary will it decide to take certain regulatory measures. As for the selection lag, the government must select a regulatory plan or certain

regulatory measures after it decides to take action. In this case, it is unlikely that there is an existing plan applicable to the situation or an existing regulatory measure that fully addresses the need. Hence, the government needs a certain period of time to formulate a new plan or a new regulatory measure. Therefore, the time period from when the government decides to carry out regulation till when a regulatory plan or measure is ready for execution is referred to as the selection lag. The fact that policy effect will lag during as well as after the execution of the policy has clearly revealed the limitation of government behavior.

The lag in policy effect refers to the lag in the execution of a certain regulatory measure after the government makes a decision to take such action. As the nature and enforcement of regulatory measures vary, the timing for each measure to take effect will also vary. Therefore, the timing of policy effect will vary. The time period from when government regulatory measures are executed till when they take effect is called the lag in policy effect. Two commonly seen economic regulatory policies, tax policy and interest rate policy, are used here as examples to explain the lag effect. If the government wants to control personal consumption and decides to raise income tax rate, this policy will work to reduce personal consumption because higher income tax rate reduces personal disposable income. In addition, if the ratio of personal spending to total income remains unchanged and personal preferences may change to a certain degree, reduced personal after-tax income will correspondingly reduce personal consumption. Nevertheless, there is a relatively long time lapse between when the regulatory measure is implemented and when the consumption in the economy starts to contract. The contraction of consumption is not instantly seen as soon as personal income tax rate is raised. In terms of interest rate policy, if the government wants to increase investment and decides to lower the discount rate charged by the central bank, the policy will function to stimulate investment because businesses believe that a lower interest rate will generate higher investment returns. If the expected profitability remains unchanged, the gap between the expected rate of return and the interest rate will widen, hence attracting more investment. There is, however, a relatively long period of time from the start of the regulation till more businesses are interested in applying for loans and increasing investment. The increase in investment in the economy is not instantly seen as soon as the central bank lowers the discount rate.

Other government regulatory measures, such as adjusting exchange rate, changing balance of payments, adjusting planned price, and changing the relationship between aggregate demand and aggregate supply, will also reveal the lag in policy effect. The reason is because economic activities are done in markets and market participants are separate microeconomic units, each of whom has its own economic interests. Whether regulatory measures are effective or not will need to be seen from whether or not microeconomic units will change their economic activities. From the onset of a regulatory measure until every microeconomic unit is influenced by economic activities under the regulatory measure and adjusts its own economic activities accordingly, the length of this process varies, but the lag in policy effect cannot be averted.

It is necessary to note that the lag in policy effect, as analyzed above, is not directly associated with the rationality of government regulation. Under bad government regulation, policy effect should lag to some extent. Under good government regulation, policy effect will also lag. The difference is not whether policy effect will lag or not, but whether policy effect will benefit the economy and facilitate the realization of economic growth target. Of course, if government regulation is good and its policies have thoroughly compared various regulatory plans or measures as well as considered potential new situations during execution, the execution process will be relatively easy and the lag in policy effect can be shortened. However, it does not mean the lag will disappear.

3.2.3 The Imbalance of Policy Effect

The lag in policy effect reflects certain limits of government regulation. However, government regulation is subject to more restrictions. The effect of various policies also varies. The variance of policy effect reflects the complexity of economic activities as well as the fact that policy effects are subject to restrictions.

Many economic issues can be viewed from opposite sides based on different perspectives. For example, price, wage, profit, tax, interest, benefit, and enterprise, of which some rise, some fall, some grow, and some decline. For another example, income can be broken down into consumption and savings, and expenditures into consumption and investment. If the proportion of consumption to income rises, the proportion of savings to income will fall, provided that income is the same. Here is another example that reveals

opposite relations. If the proportion of consumption to expenditures rises, the proportion of investment to expenditures will fall, provided that expenditures are the same. As one more example, if a specific resource is used in A, it cannot be used in an area other than A, provided that the total amount of the resource is fixed. If A uses more of the resource, less will be available for areas other than A. The imbalance in policy effect refers to an unequal impact of a policy, if effective on economic activities, on the opposite sides in the same area. For example, there are many economic phenomena such as price rigidity, wage rigidity, welfare rigidity, and employment rigidity. Any regulatory measure that influences price, wage, welfare, and employment will have unequal impacts on a different area. As price, wage, welfare, and employment are easier to rise than fall, price policy, wage policy, welfare policy, or employment policy tends to be more effective in stimulating growth in price, wage, welfare, or employment than in controlling the rise of price, wage, welfare, or employment and is especially ineffective in lowering price, wage, welfare, or employment. This demonstrates the imbalance in policy effect.

Let us look at income as consumption and savings or expenditures as consumption and investment. The same regulatory measure will have different impacts on these two opposite perspectives. For example, if the proportion of consumption to income is relatively high and that of savings to income is relatively low, any fiscal regulatory measure will likely have a larger impact on consumption, but little impact on savings. Any credit regulatory measure, on the contrary, is likely to have a larger impact on savings, but little impact on consumption. Another example is the switch of savings to investments. The effect of various government regulatory measures can be generally summarized as follows: It is more difficult to accelerate the switch from savings to investments and it is easier to slow the switch from savings to investments. More specifically, if the government raises either taxes on businesses or interest rates on commercial loans, the switch from savings to investments will slow down. On the contrary, if the government lowers taxes on businesses or interest rates on commercial loans, savings will be switched to investments, but the switch is not that easy. Perhaps the government must work harder or adopt more powerful measures to reach its goal. Why? This has something to do with the difference between business motivation and personal motivation.

It is necessary to know that businesses have motivations different from

that of individuals, even though they are both agents of economic activities and subject to government regulatory measures. Business motivations can be summarized as the drive to maximize profit, or at least the primary motivation is to maximize profit, while personal motivations are more complicated. To maximize personal income is just one of the many personal motivations. Besides maximizing income, there are some other motivations that are not necessarily less important. As personal income rises, other motivations will become more important. Businesses are the main conduits of investment, while individuals are the main providers of savings. This means that investment activities are mainly influenced by profit maximization, while saving activities are not necessarily mainly influenced by personal income maximization. The government normally takes the maximization of profit or personal income into consideration when adopting regulatory measures. In particular, the government hopes that the stakeholders of investment or saving activities will be driven by profit or income maximization, which will enable a government regulatory measure to accomplish its mission. Since individuals who provide the majority of savings tend to deviate further away from the focus of maximizing profit or income than businesses who are main participants of investment activities, it will be more difficult for the government to enforce a regulatory measure that targets savings to achieve its anticipated results.

3.2.4 The Decrease of Policy Effect

During our discussions on nonidealized government behavior, we must also pay attention to the decrease of policy effect. The decrease of policy effect refers to a diminishing effect as time elapses after the execution of a government regulatory measure. It may even end up having little impact at all in the end even if it still exists.

We can analyze this situation from four different perspectives:

First, situations change or a new situation appears.

When the government begins to draft a policy or a regulatory measure, it may fail to anticipate future changes or a new situation, or it may underestimate the development of the situation due to subjective restrictions. Therefore, as the policy or the regulatory measure comes across a new unanticipated situation after its execution, the original policy or the original regulatory measure will become less effective. As thorough as the original decision may be, such situational changes will always happen. It reflects the

limitation of government behavior.

Second, a government policy or a regulatory measure has some side effects.

Any policy or any regulatory measure may have some side effects. For example, while a policy or a regulatory measure may facilitate the accomplishment of one goal, it may harm another. The latter is referred to as side effect, or negative impact. This side effect may have existed at the beginning of a policy or a regulatory measure and is simply hard to detect. It is gradually seen as time goes by. This side effect may also appear some time after the execution of a policy or a regulatory measure. Anyway, the longer after the execution of a policy or a regulatory measure, the more obvious the side effect will be, the more powerful it will become in reducing policy effect.

Third, microeconomic units adopt counter policies in response to a government policy or a regulatory measure.

Assume that a policy or a regulatory measure places some restrictions on the economic activities of a microeconomic unit or discourages some profit-seeking activities of a microeconomic unit. The microeconomic unit will adopt certain counter policies out of its own economic interests to lower the effect of the policy or the regulatory measure so that its economic interests will not be harmed.

It is necessary to point out that the counter policy employed by a microeconomic unit is normally legal. Of course, there are always some microeconomic units who ignore the regulation and engage in illegal activities. If this situation occurs, policy effect will definitely decrease. However, such a situation cannot be taken as evidence of nonidealized government behavior. So long as the government strictly abides by the law and vigorously punishes illegal activities, it will have the capability to reduce illegal activities committed by microeconomic units. As for legal counter policies, they are directly associated with non idealized government behavior. This means that once a microeconomic unit finds its economic interests are harmed by a government policy or a regulatory measure, it may try its best to circumvent the restrictions placed by the government regulation and seek on its own a way to gain profits. Or it may take advantage of the market mechanism to flexibly adjust in the relatively familiar economic environment in pursuit of its economic interests. Or it may look for any policy loophole or any ambiguous explanations of a policy or a regulatory measure to support its

decisions. All these actions are legal. As no government policy or regulatory measure is ever perfect, it is very possible for a microeconomic unit to legally lower policy effect.

Fourth, microeconomic units take precautionary actions in anticipation of a policy or a regulatory measure.

A microeconomic unit with independent economic interests will collect information from various sources and analyze the information available to forecast subsequent government policies. After the analysis, if the microeconomic unit is able to forecast the next government regulation and anticipate the potential negative impacts these future regulatory measures may bring, it may take precautionary actions so that the policy will be less effective or even ineffective at all. The precautionary actions by microeconomic units can also be taken legally. Of course, just as microeconomic units take precautionary actions in anticipation of government behavior, the government can also take actions to offset these precautionary actions in anticipation of microeconomic units' reactions. Theoretically, the government has every reason and possibility to do so. In reality, the government is always in a reactive position. The reason is because the government is not as prompt and nimble as a microeconomic unit in the process of making decisions. There is only one government in a country, yet there are numerous businesses and individuals. Numerous businesses and individuals focus their attention on the government, yet the government cannot keep an eye on each and every business and individual. Government activities are easily recognized by the public, yet the government cannot easily understand the action of each business or individual, nor their next action plan. This is the limitation of government behavior.

3.2.5 Resource Allocation Under the Condition of Nonidealized Government Behavior

The above paragraphs discussed the lag in policy effect, the unbalance of policy effect, and the decrease of policy effect. All these issues demonstrate that government behavior is not ideal. If government decisions are relatively consistent with objective economic principles and made on the basis of democracy and science, there will be less nonidealized government behavior. Otherwise, nonidealized government behavior will intensify. In general, nonidealized government behavior is common.

Now let us analyze resource allocation under the condition of

nonidealized government behavior. First of all, we will have to analyze resource combination with the government as a direct resource investor and producer. As a direct investor, the government can add to insufficient investment in the market or fill in the gap if microeconomic units do not come up with sufficient investment. As a direct producer, the government can bring additional output to the market or meet any deficiency of output from microeconomic units. In the case of insufficient input or output in the market, it is critical to have input or output from the government. But the input or output from the government must follow economic rules as well as the efficiency principle of resource allocation.

It is more common to see the government use various regulatory measures to influence resource allocation. In this circumstance, the government uses fiscal, monetary, price, or exchange rate regulatory measures to influence either input or output decisions made by the market. These decisions are not exempt from the lag in policy effect, the variance of policy effect, and the decrease of policy effect that we discussed earlier. Nonidealized government behavior will surely be seen more or less, resulting in a gap between actual and expected government regulation effects.

Due to the lag in policy effect, there is a time period before regulatory measures implemented by the government to influence resource alloca- tion can take effect. Of course, theoretically, if the government knows that regulatory measures take effect with a time lag, it will adopt certain regulatory measures beforehand so that the time lag between the start and the functioning of those regulatory measures can be minimized or eliminated. In reality, however, this is not practical. It is nearly impossible that the government can adopt regulatory measures in advance, as it is unlikely for the government to take appropriate regulatory measures before the problem of resource allocation fully emerges. The government is more likely an ex post rather than ex ante regulator of resource allocation. Therefore, it is inevitable to have the lag before regulatory measures take effect, which will certainly reduce the effect of such measures. Moreover, situations may change during the period from the onset of a regulatory measure till when it takes effect. It is even possible that the second round of regulatory measures is needed due to situational changes before the first round takes effect, or the third round of regulatory measures is called for before the second round becomes effective. Although it is premature to reach the conclusion that government regulation is ineffective, we can at least draw the following two

conclusions: (1) it is normally difficult for government regulation to reach resource allocation target; (2) the government is normally in a reactive position during resource allocation or normally ends up trying to come up with ex post remedies.

Let us look at the imbalance of regulation effect as well as its impacts on resource allocation. The imbalance of policy effect demonstrates that government regulatory measures are not very flexible when the government takes certain measures to influence resource allocation to reach its target, despite its wishes to influence input or output decisions by microeconomic units. Due to price rigidity, wage rigidity, employment rigidity, and welfare rigidity, the government can only reach or approach one regulation target while unable to reach another simultaneously. For example, in spite of great efforts, it is not easy for the government to lower price level, wage level, the number of people employed, or expenditures on welfare. In other words, if under certain circumstances effective resource allocation can be only realized by means of lowering price, wage, employment rate, or the percentage of welfare expenditures to national income or fiscal expenditures, the power of the government will be rather limited. In addition, as we discussed earlier, businesses are the primary source of investments and individuals are the primary source of savings and they have different motivations. The motivation of personal savings is more complicated than that of business investment. Therefore, a regulatory measure is more effective on investment than on savings. This means that under certain circumstances, if the only way to achieve effective resource allocation is to turn savings into investment or lower the switch from savings to investment, the power of the government will be limited.

Lastly, we should also consider the impact of the decrease of policy effect on resource allocation in the economy. This impact perhaps more clearly demonstrates the limitation of government regulation. It should be noted that microeconomic units make decisions on input and output for the market. Their preference for one form of resource allocation over another is more or less associated with their expected economic interests. Government regulation is nothing but a plan to change the expectations of microeconomic units' economic interests via fiscal, monetary, price, and exchange rate measures so that the government can alter the resource combination originally decided by microeconomic units toward a closer alignment with the government's preset goals. Whether the government can realize its plan or

not is not dependent upon its own wishes, but the following three points:

First, are government regulatory measures powerful enough? Are they able to alter microeconomic units' decisions on resource combination?

Based on the discussions on the decrease of policy effect, it is inevitable to have some doubts about this point. Government regulation is not necessarily powerful enough to change the decisions on resource combination made by microeconomic units. Moreover, it may be powerful enough to change resource combination at the beginning when it is executed, but it will gradually become less effective as time passes, reducing the power of the government to alter resource combination decisions.

Second, will a microeconomic unit accept government regulation and alter its original decisions on resource combination after considering cost and benefit?

Although government regulation benefits a microeconomic unit in a certain way, a microeconomic unit may choose to resist the pressure from government regulation and avoid altering its original resource combination decision if either the original resource combination brings more benefits or abandoning the original resource combination incurs higher losses than the losses from rejecting the government regulation. With the decrease of policy effect, microeconomic units tend to maintain their original resource combination. This exactly demonstrates the limitation of policy effect.

Third, do microeconomic units adopt counter policies or precautionary measures?

If microeconomic units consider a counter policy in response to certain government regulatory measures or precautionary measures in anticipation of government behavior, it will not be easy to guide the input and output decisions made by microeconomic units to be consistent with government's predetermined targets.

These three points generally illustrate that government regulation, in spite of some impacts on resource allocation, is subject to various limitations due to nonidealized government behavior, which makes it very difficult for the government to reach its preset goal for resource allocation.

贰　政府行为的非理想化及其对资源配置的影响

一、政府行为非理想化的含义

政府调节的科学与不科学的基本分界线在于是否按照客观经济规律来进行调节，也就是是否与客观实际相符合。但对于客观经济规律的认识程度与这些规律的运用程度的差别，仍是不容忽视的。政府即使主观上尽力想按照客观经济规律来进行调节，但由于种种条件的限制，结果不一定能实现这一目的。由此产生政府行为的非理想化问题。

政府行为的非理想化与政府行为的理想化不仅仅是政府进行调节的结果的不同，而首先是两种信念的不同。政府行为的理想化建立在这样一个假设之上，即假设存在着一个理想化的政府，它作为经济活动的主持者，它有各种手段可以运用，它可能掌握充分的信息，能够通过分析手段对客观存在的问题和政策实行的后果作出准确的预测和周密的考虑，并能针对各种可能发生的情况一一采取适当的对策。这样的政府，实际上是一个“万能”的政府：只要它准备怎样进行调节，它就能主动地采取调节措施，按原定计划进行调节；一旦它采取相应的调节措施，它就一定能达到目的。因此，政府行为的理想化假设是建立在政府有一种非凡的、万能的力量的信念之上的。政府行为非理想化是指：政府的行为由于受到客观与主观的限制，不一定能充分实现自己的政策目标。它与政府行为理想化分别建立在不同的信念之上。

这也就是说：理想化的政府正如理想化的人一样，是书本上的东西，是某些学者头脑里的东西，实际上是不存在的，任何一个政府，即使它是由最有经验、最有才干的人组成的，也仍然会有种种主观的和客观的限制。它不可能掌握全部信息，从而不可能在掌握了全部信息之后再作出决定。何况，即使它有可能利用一切可能利用的手段作出决定，但为此需要花费的时间可能过长，付出的代价可能太大，所以这也是缺少实用价值的。出于同样的原因，政府也不可能对经济变动的前景和政府实行的后果有确切的了解，许多情况是政府难以预料和难以控制的。在一个充满着不确定性的世界中，政府起不到决定一切的作用，政府的力量受到种种限制，把政府行为理想化，实际上忽略了经济生活的复杂性、易变性，高估了政府调节在经济生活中的作用。只有从政府行为的非理想化假设出发，才能通过对政府调节作用的分析而得出符合实际的结论。

二、政策效应的滞后性

为了进一步说明政府行为的非理想化，让我们从政府效应的滞后性谈起。

假定政府在经济生活中起着调节作用，而且政府的经济调节是通过一定的政策来实现的。在这里，姑且不谈政府对经济现象的认识的滞后性（即在经济中出现了某种问题，政府对这一问题的认识会有一个过程；从经济中问题的出现到政府对这一问题有了较清楚的认识之间的时间间隔，被称为认识的滞后）、政府对于是否需要采取调节措施的判断的滞后性（即政府在对经济中出现的某一问题有了较清楚的认识之后，便考虑是否采取调节措施，在这里有一个判断的过程；如果政府认为不需要进行调节，那么即使政府认识到问题的存在，仍不会采取调节措施；只有在政府认识问题的存在，并认为需要进行调节时，才会采取调节措施；从政府认识到问题的存在到政府经过判断而决定进行调节之间的时间间隔，被称为判断的滞后）、政府对于调节方案或调节措施的选择的滞后性（即政府在决定进行调节之后，必须对调节的方案或调节的措施作出选择；在这种情况下，很可能没有一种现成的可供采用的方案，或者现有的调节措施不能适应需要，于是政府还必须有一定的时间来等待新的方案或新的调节措施的产生；因此，从政府决定进行调节到政府掌握了某种调节方案或某种调节措施之间的时间间隔，被称为选择的滞后），仅以政府执行过程中和执行以后所出现的政策效应的滞后性而言，政府行为的局限性就表现得相当明显。

政策效应的滞后性是指：在政府决定采取某一种调节措施并把它付诸实施之后，这种调节措施不会立即产生效果；根据调节措施的性质的不同和强度的差异，不同的调节措施起作用的时间不同，效应的出现也有早有晚。从政府实施某种调节到这种调节措施产生效果之间的时间间隔，被称为政策效应的时间差。以政府调节经济时经常采取的税收政策和利率政策为例。如果政府为了控制消费要求，采取提高个人所得税率的措施，那么这一措施之所以能够对消费需求起到紧缩作用，是由于个人所得税率的提高减少了人们纳税后的收入，并且在假定人们的消费支出的收入中的比例不变，而人们的消费偏好可以有一定的变换条件下，人们由于纳税后收入的减少而相应地减少了消费支出。但这一调节措施从开始实行到社会消费需求的收缩之间有一个较长的过程，并不是一开始提高个人所得税率，社会的消费需求马上就可以被压缩下来。以利率政策来说，如果政府为了扩大投资需求，采取降低中央银行贴现率的措施，那么这一措施之所以能够对投资需求起到刺激作用，是由于企业感到利率的下降使得投资变得有利可图，于是在假定预期利润率不变的条件下，企业会由于预期利润率同利息率之间差距的扩大而相应地增加了

投资支出。但这一调节措施从开始实行到企业愿意增加向银行的借款和增加投资之间也有一个较长的过程，并不是中央银行一降低贴现率，社会的投资需求立即就扩大的。

其他的政府调节措施，如调整汇率到国际收支的变动，调整计划价格到社会总需求与总供给之间关系的变化等等，也都有政策效应的滞后。这是因为，经济中的交易活动是通过市场进行的，而参加市场交易的是各个分散的、有自身经济利益的微观经济单位。政府的各种调节措施最终能否发生效果，要由这些微观经济单位、经济活动的变化来体现。从调节措施的开始实行，到各个微观经济单位受到调节措施所导致的经济活动的影响，再到各个微观经济单位以此为依据来调整自己的经济行为，这一过程有长有短，但不管怎样，政策效应的滞后是不能避免的。

要知道，以上所分析的政策效应的滞后性与政府调节是否科学并没有直接的联系。政府调节不是科学的，政策效应有一定的滞后；政府调节具有科学性，政策效应同样会滞后。区别不在于政策效应是否有滞后，而在于政策效应是否有利于经济的运行和实现预定的经济发展目标。当然，如果政府调节是科学的，并且政策在选择调节方案和调节措施时有比较充分的考虑，政策执行过程中又考虑到可能出现的某种新的情况，从而使政策的执行比较顺利，那么政策效应的滞后可以缩短一些，但这依然不意味着政策效应滞后性的消失。

三、政策效应的不平衡性

政策效应的滞后性反映了政府调节的某种程度的局限性。但政府调节的局限性不止于此。政策效应还有不平衡性，这种不平衡性一方面反映了经济生活本身的复杂性，另一方面反映了政策的作用是受限制的。

经济生活中的许多问题，从不同的角度来看，可以分为两个对立的方面。例如，价格、工资、利润、税收、利息、福利、企业等等，有上升，也有下降，有增长，也有减少。又如，收入可以分解为消费和储蓄，支出可以分解为消费和投资；用于消费的收入多了，在一定的收入前提下，用于储蓄的收入就少了；用于消费的支出多了，在一定的支出前提下，用于投资的支出就少了，这也是对立的关系。再如，一定的资源，用于A领域就不能再用于非A领域，A领域用多了，非A领域就必然少用，等等。政策效应的不平衡性是指：一项政策被实施后，假定它在经济生活中发生了作用，但很可能在同一个领域内的两个对立的方面所起的作用是不相等的。例如，经济生活中存在着价格刚性、工资刚性、福利刚性、就业刚性等等现象，对价格、工资、福利、就业等等发生作用的调节措施就会产生不平衡的效应。由于价格、工资、福利、就业都

具有易于增长而不易下降这一特殊的性质，这就使得价格政策、工资政策、福利政策、就业政策在刺激价格、工资、福利、企业增长时易于奏效，而在抑制价格、工资、福利、就业增长时，尤其是在降低价格、工资、福利、就业时难于奏效。这就是政策效应不平衡性的一种表现。

再以收入分解为消费与储蓄两个方面或支出分解为消费与投资两个方面来看，同一种政府调节措施对这两个不同的方面的影响也是有差异的。例如，消费在收入中所占比重偏高而储蓄在收入中所占比重偏低时，如果采取财政调节措施，那么对消费可能起到较大作用而对储蓄则起不了多大作用；如果采取信贷调节措施，情况就相反，它们对储蓄可能起到较大作用而对消费则起不了多大作用。又如，在储蓄转化为投资的问题上，政府采取各种调节措施的效应可以大体上归结为：要加速储蓄向投资的转化比较难于取得理想的结果，而要减缓储蓄向投资的转化，则比较易于取得理想的结果。具体地说，只要政府增加企业的税收或提高企业的贷款利息率，储蓄向投资的转化就会减缓下来；而政府降低企业的税收或降低企业的贷款利息率，那么储蓄固然会向投资转化，但不一定转化得那么顺利，那么容易。也许政府必须用更大的努力，或者用更强有力的措施才能达到预定的目的。为什么会这样？这与企业的动机同居民的动机的差异有关。

要知道，尽管企业和居民都是经济活动的主体，在经济活动中都要受到政府的调节措施的影响，但它们的动机是有差异的。企业的动机可以归结为利润最大化，至少可以归结为以利润最大化为主，企业的其他动机即使存在，但相形之下是次要的。居民的动机要比企业的动机复杂，个人收入的最大化是居民的动机之一，但居民还有其他一些动机，他们并不一定是次要的。随着居民收入水平的上升，其他一些动机的相对重要性也会增大。投资的主体主要是企业，储蓄的主体主要是居民。这意味着，投资行为主要受利润最大化的影响，而储蓄行为则不一定主要受个人收入最大化的影响。政府的调节通常是从利润最大化或收入最大化的角度来考虑的，即政府希望投资行为和储蓄行为的主体会使自己的行为趋向于利润最大化或收入最大化的目标，从而使政府的调节措施生效。现在，既然居民作为储蓄主体的行为比企业作为投资主体的行为更加偏离利润最大化或收入最大化这一主线，所以政府调节储蓄的措施必定比政府调节投资的措施要难以达到预定的效果。

四、政策效力的递减

在讨论政府行为的非理想化时，还有必要考察一下政策效力递减问题。政策效力递减是指：政府的某项调节措施被付诸实施后，一开始可能是比较有效的，但久而久之，它的效力就减少了，以至于到了后来，

即使该项调节措施仍然存在，但它的作用却微不足道了。

为什么会有这种情况，可以从四个不同的方面来分析：第一，情况的变化或新情况的出现。

当政府开始制定某种政策或调节措施时，或者没有预料到未来情况的变化和新情况的出现，或者由于主观条件的限制，对形势的发展估计不足，因此，在政策或调节措施付诸实施后，一旦遇到了非预料的新情况，原来制定的政策或调节措施的效力不可避免地会递减。即使当初决策时考虑得再周密，也难免这种情况的发生。这反映了政府行为的局限性。

第二，政策或调节措施的副作用。

任何一项政策或调节措施都可能产生某种副作用。比如说，它在有利于达到这一预定目标的同时，也可能发生不利于实现另一预定目标的作用。后一种作用被称为副作用，它是就消极的意义上说的。这种副作用可能是在某种政策或调节措施一开始实行时就已经存在的，只不过当时不显著，但后来才逐渐表现出来；这种副作用也可能是在某种政策或调节措施实行到一定时期之后才出现的。但不管怎样，政策或调节措施实行的时间越长，它的副作用就越明显。这种副作用对政策的效力的抵消作用也会越来越大。

第三，微观经济单位针对有关的政策或调节措施而采取“反对策”。

假定某种政策或调节措施会对微观经济单位的经济活动有所限制，或者不利于微观经济单位的盈利行为，于是微观经济单位就会从自身的利益出发，采取某种“反对策”，以便使该种政策或调节措施的效力下降，至少使该种政策或调节措施不至于对自身不利。

应当指出，微观经济单位的“反对策”通常是在合法条件下进行的。当然，这不排斥微观经济单位可能不顾法令，干出一些违法的事情。如果出现了这种情况，政策的效力肯定会下降。但这种情况的出现不能被看成是政府行为非理想化的证据。只要政府严格按照法律办事，严肃处理违法行为，那么政府是有能力减少微观经济单位的违法行为的。至于在合法条件下进行的“反对策”，则与政府行为的非理想化直接有关。这是指：当微观经济单位发现自己的利益在政府的某种政策或调节措施起作用的情况下有所损失时，它们有可能设法绕过政府调节所设置的束缚性的措施，自行寻找可以实现利益的途径；它们也可能利用市场机制，在比较熟悉的经济环境中，作出灵活的反应，以谋求自己的利益；它们还可以寻找政策与政策之间的间隙，或者利用对某些政策或调节措施的含糊不清的解释，作出有利于自己的决策。这一切都以不违法为前提。由于政策或调节措施不可能达到尽善尽美的程度，因此微观经济单位在合法条件下使政策效力递减，是完全可能的。

第四，微观经济单位通过对政策或调节措施的预测而采取预防性措施。

微观经济单位有自己的独立的经济利益，它们会从各个方面收集信息，并根据已有的信息对政府的政策动向进行分析、预测。如果它们通过这种分析而预测到政府下一步将要采取什么样的调节措施，并且这些即将出台的调节措施可能给自己带来什么样的不利影响，那么就会采取预防性的措施，使政策的效力减少，甚至使政策无效。微观经济单位采取的这种预防性措施，同样可以在合法的条件下进行。当然，在微观经济单位对政府的行为进行预测和采取预防性措施的同时，政府也可以对微观经济单位的行为进行预测并采取抵消这些预防性措施的措施。从理论上说，政府完全有理由这样做，并有可能这样做。但实际上，政府总是处于被动的地位。这是因为，政府的决策过程与微观经济单位的决策过程相比，不如后者及时、灵活。政府是一个，企业和个人是无数个。无数个企业和个人的眼光都集中到政府身上，而政府却无法把眼光具体地投向每一个企业和个人。政府的行为易于被公众所认识，而政府却不易于了解每一个企业和个人的行为，不了解他们下一步可能采取什么样的行动。这也决定了政府行为的局限性。

五、政府行为非理想化条件下的资源配置

以上讨论了政策效应的滞后性、政策效应的不平衡性和政策效力递减问题。这些都说明了政府的行为并不是理想化的。政府的决策比较符合客观经济规律，趋向于民主化、科学化，那么政府行为的非理想化程度就相对地弱一些；反之，则政府行为的非理想化程度就强烈一些。总之，政府行为非理想化的情况普遍存在着。

现在需要研究的是政府行为非理想化条件下的资源配置。首先要研究政府作为直接投入者和直接产出者的资源组合问题。政府作为直接投入者，可以弥补市场的投入不足，即可以弥补微观经济单位的投入不足。政府作为直接产出者，则可以弥补市场的产出不足，也就是弥补微观经济单位的产出不足。在投入不足或产出不足的场合，政府的投入或产出是必要的。但政府的投入或产出应当符合经济规律的要求，符合资源配置的效率标准。

更具有普遍意义的是政府作为各种经济调节手段的运行者对资源配置的作用。在这种场合，无论政府是运用财政、金融、价格、汇率等调节手段来影响市场关于投入的选择，还是政府运用这些调节手段来影响市场关于产出的选择，都同这里已经讨论过的政策效应的滞后、政策效应的不平衡，以及政策效力的递减有关。政府行为的非理想化必然在不同程度上表现出来，使政府调节的实际效果同预定的调节效果有一段差

距。

由于政策效应具有滞后性，所以政府用来影响社会资源配置的调节手段在实施之后，要有一段时间间隔才能发挥作用。当然，假定政府了解到自己的调节措施的效应是滞后的，那么从理论上说，政府不妨采取超前性的调节措施，以便把从开始实行调节到调节措施发挥作用之间的时间间隔缩小或消除，但这是不现实的。政府采取超前的调节措施的可能性很小。政府不可能在资源配置问题还没有明显暴露出来的时候就预先采取适当的调节措施。政府更可能是资源配置的事后调节者，而不是事前调节者。这样，调节措施效应的滞后也就难以避免。这种滞后性必定使调节的效果减少。此外，在开始实行调节到调节措施发挥作用这段时间间隔内，很难认为情况不会发生变化，甚至可能发生这样的情况，即还等不到上一轮的调节发挥作用，由于情况的变化而不得不又推出第二轮的调节措施，而又等不到第二轮的调节发挥作用，情况的再次变化又不得不推出第三轮的调节措施……即使我们还不能由此得出政府调节没有什么效果的论断，但至少可以得出这样两点结论：第一，在资源配置中，政府的调节难以达到预定的目标；第二，在资源配置中，政府常常处于被动的状态，也就是常常处于“事后补救”的境地。

再考虑政府调节效应的不平衡问题及其对资源配置的影响。政策效应的不平衡表明，当政府为了预定目标而采取影响资源配置的措施时，虽然主观上想影响微观经济单位的投入或产出行为，但这些调节措施并不是那么灵活的。价格刚性、工资刚性、就业刚性、福利刚性等等的存在，使得政府只能达到或接近某一方面的调节目的，而难以达到另一方面的调节目的。比如说，即使政府花费较大的努力，要想把价格降下来，把工资降下来，把就业人数减少，或把福利支出减少，都不易做到。换言之，如果说在某种情况下，惟有把价格、工资、就业率、福利支出在国民收入或财政支出中的比例降低才能实现资源的比较合理的配置，那么政府的力量实际是有限的。再说，正如前面已经分析的，由于企业作为投资主体和居民作为储蓄主体各有不同的动机，而且居民的储蓄动机要比企业的投资动机复杂，因此政府的调节措施在影响投资方面所取得的效果要比影响储蓄方面所取得的效果明显。这意味着，如果说在某种情况下，惟有把储蓄转化为投资或者惟有使储蓄少转化为投资才能实现资源的比较合理的配置的话，那么政府的力量实际上也受到了限制。

最后，应考虑政策效力递减对于社会资源配置的影响。这种影响也许更能显著地反映出政府调节的局限性。要知道，在市场中，投入和产出的主体主要是各个微观经济单位，它们之所以采取这种资源组合方式而不采取另一种资源组合方式，是同预期利益的多少联系在一起的。政

府的调节无非是想通过财政、金融、价格、汇率等手段来改变微观经济单位的预期利益，从而改变微观经济单位原定的资源组合方式，使它们选择符合政府预定目标的资源组合方式。政府的这种意图究竟能否达到，不依政府的愿望为转移，而要取决于下述三点：

第一，政府的调节措施是否足够有力？是否能够改变微观经济单位的资源组合的决策？

从政策效力递减的角度来看，对这一点不得不有所怀疑。政府的调节不一定有足以改变微观经济单位资源组合决策的力量。何况，即使政策初始实施时有这种力量，但随着时间的推移，政策效力递减了，政府改变微观经济单位资源组合决策的力量也就减弱了。

第二，微观经济单位在衡量自己的利益与损失后，会不会接受政府的调节而改变原来的资源组合决策？

虽然政府的调节能够给微观经济单位带来一定的好处，但如果微观经济单位按照原定的资源组合来投入和产出却能得到更多的好处；或者，虽然不接受政府的调节会使微观经济单位受到一定的损失，但如果微观经济单位放弃原定的资源组合方式所受到的损失更大，那么在这些场合，微观经济单位很可能不会受政府调节的影响而改变资源组合的原有决策。在政策效力递减的条件下，微观经济单位仍会坚持原来的资源组合方式。这正是政策效力的局限性的表现。

第三，微观经济单位是否采取“反对策”或预防性措施？

如果把微观经济单位对于政府的某些调节措施所采取的“反对策”考虑在内，或者把微观经济单位通过对政府行为的预测而采取的预防性措施考虑在内，那么在资源配置方面，要想让微观经济单位按照政府所预定的目标进行投入和产出，并不是一件容易的事情。

以上三点，从总的方面来看，由于政府行为非理想化的存在，对资源配置的政府调节即使可以起到一定的作用，但仍然会受到种种限制，使政府不容易达到预定的资源配置目标。

3.3 THE APPROPRIATENESS AND OPTIMIZATION OF GOVERNMENT BEHAVIOR DURING RESOURCE ALLOCATION

3.3.1 Government's Dilemma in Regulating Resource Allocation Under Type II Disequilibrium Condition

All discussions above on nonidealized government behavior are not based on type II disequilibrium condition. In other words, the issues of lagging, unbalanced, and decreasing policy effect are independent of whether or not enterprises are able to make their own decisions and responsible for their own profits or losses. We may say that even if enterprises are no longer affiliated with administrative institutions and have become microeconomic units that are able to make decisions on production and operation in accordance with their own economic interests, the effect of government policies will still be lagging, disparate, and diminishing. The lag, disparity, and decrease of policy effect are the inherent limitations of government behavior. Even after the market is fully developed and price signals fully function, the limitation of government behavior will continue to exist. The reason why nonidealized government behavior is prevalent is because it does not disappear after enterprises are fully motivated and the market is fully developed.

Having said that, how effective are government regulatory measures under type II disequilibrium condition where enterprises are not fully motivated and the market is not fully developed? Can we conclude that nonidealized government behavior is no different with or without motivated enterprises and a fully developed market? We are certain that such a conclusion cannot be drawn. Rather, the effect of government regulatory measures will change gradually, which will lead to more inefficient resource allocation. Let us analyze this issue from the following two aspects:

First, while the market has not been fully developed and information is not complete or timely, prices can still function to flexibly adjust supply and demand.

Under this circumstance, the lag, imbalance, and decrease of policy effect are even more obvious. This is because a policy itself is probably stipulated on the basis of an underdeveloped market and incomplete and untimely information. In addition, during the execution of the policy, the government is unlikely to collect sufficient information on the result of the policy due to the underdeveloped market and incomplete and untimely information. As a result, the gap between the predetermined goals set by the government and the actual policy results will likely get larger. On the other hand, as microeconomic units adopt counter policies based on their own expectations of government behavior, which is also based on an underdeveloped market and incomplete and untimely information, their expectations and counter policies may be excessive, even likely to bring more abnormal interference to government behavior. This will cause the actual policy results to further deviate from the predetermined goals set by the government.

Second, enterprises are not fully motivated and thus unable to pursue their economic interests as independent goods producers.

Compared with the situations of the first aspect, the interference to government regulation by unmotivated enterprises is more severe. The reason is very clear: When the government detects ineffective resource allocation in the economy, it will propose and execute appropriate measures to adjust resource allocation, believing that the measures will motivate microeconomic units to act according to their own economic interests and adopt new forms of resource combination that are consistent with the intention of the government's regulatory measures. However, that belief is contingent upon whether enterprises are fully motivated or whether enterprises are able to pursue their economic interests as independent goods producers. If this condition is not met, the issue is no longer only lagging or unbalanced policy effect, nor decreasing policy effect, but more of policy ineffectiveness or policy failure.

As far as precautionary measures or counter policies adopted by enterprises are concerned, they should follow certain paths or abide by certain rules as long as enterprises are independent goods producers following economic principles. In other words, enterprises are rational entities following normal rules. Therefore, even if government regulatory measures cannot easily attain the planned results, resource allocation in the economy, in spite of deviation from the government's intention, will still follow certain

rules, i.e., the quantity of each entity's marginal benefit, because enterprises pursue resource combination in their own economic interests. If the condition that enterprises follow economic principles is not real or possible, coupled with nonidealized government behavior, resource allocation in society will be in chaos. It will ignore the marginal benefit for society, nor follow the rule of marginal benefit for each entity. We can conclude that this case is the most ineffective resource allocation for an economy. It is very likely to see this scenario under type II disequilibrium condition.

Based on the analysis, we can further understand that resource allocation under type II disequilibrium condition is the worst case among all possible scenarios. That is, enterprises act irrationally and resource allocation is getting much more ineffective.

3.3.2 The Appropriateness of Government Behavior During Resource Allocation

To study the appropriateness of government behavior during resource allocation is to find optimal government behavior during resource allocation. Appropriateness is a prerequisite for optimization. This is a point that must be stressed in our research on government regulation.

The appropriateness of government behavior during resource allocation means that the government should not try to do everything and should not do those things that should be done by the market and that the market is known to be good at. This point is consistent with the analogy of the market as a large mixer for resource combination and the government is the administrator of the mixer. Just as the administrator of a mixer who is unable to replace the mixer itself, the government cannot replace the market. This explains the appropriateness of government behavior.

From the government perspective, an important issue is whether the government is able to understand its mandatory and potential roles during resource allocation. The government has a mandatory role during resource allocation because microeconomic units, due to various limitations of market regulation, are only concerned about their own marginal benefits, not the marginal benefit for society. The potential role of the government during resource allocation means that the government should be down to earth, regulate the economy according to realistic conditions, and refrain from setting excessively high expectations for regulatory measures, because of nonidealized government behavior as well as lagging, unbalanced, and

diminishing policy effect. That the government has to understand its roles is the prerequisite for the appropriateness of government regulation. Otherwise, the government is not only unable to suitably arrange its regulation activities, but may even go overboard. That is, the government undertakes a task that should never or can never be done by the government.

If we analyze the issue from the perspective of type II disequilibrium condition, we will get a better understanding. Type II disequilibrium has two features. One, the market is not fully developed. Two, enterprises are not independent goods producers. Given the first feature, i.e., an underdeveloped market, together with incomplete and untimely information, if government regulation is inappropriate or excessive, how much reliable information can the government rely on to regulate the economy? This means that government behavior must be appropriate in an economic environment in which the market is underdeveloped and information is incomplete and untimely, and the government should not try to do anything that should never or can never be done by the government.

Another feature of type II disequilibrium is that enterprises are not independent goods producers. It appears that the government should do much more as a direct investor and direct producer. But the critical issue in this case is that the relationship between government and enterprise has been reversed. We should first ask the question why enterprises are not independent goods producers. Then we should ask how large of an impact excessive government regulation of resource combination can have on increasing the effectiveness of resource combination under the assumption that enterprises are not independent goods producers.

The above two questions can be answered as follows:

As an enterprise, it should become an independent goods producer and should be responsible for its own operation as well as its profits and losses. If so far enterprises have still been unable to act as independent goods producers and still been distorted as affiliates of administrative agencies, it is not enterprises themselves but the economic system that is responsible for the issue. The reform of the economic system has not been deep enough to change enterprises' affiliation with administrative agencies. In this case, if the government wants to use excessive regulation of resource combination to make up for the deficiency of enterprise motivation, it will be impossible to fundamentally resolve the issue of ineffective resource combination.

Furthermore, as enterprises have not been able to make their own

decisions and been held responsible for their own profits and losses, they do not follow the principle of self-interest in determining profitable resource combination. In that case, even if governments carry out excessive regulation of resource allocation, it will possibly further lower enterprise motivation. This will not do any good to enhancing the effectiveness of resource allocation in society.

Therefore, under the circumstance that enterprises are not independent goods producers, if the goal of government regulation is to promote effective resource allocation in society, the first thing that the government needs to do is to allow enterprises to become independent goods producers who can make their own decisions and are liable for their own profits and losses, rather than excessively regulate resource allocation. Otherwise, the situation of ineffective resource allocation will get worse.

3.3.3 Setting a Security Line and Reserving the Measures of Last Resort

The government cannot ignore two issues during resource allocation or economic regulation, regardless of whether or not the economy is in disequilibrium or whether the disequilibrium is type I or type II as defined earlier. One is to set a security line for the economy and the other is to reserve the economic measures of last resort and get ready to use them when necessary. These two issues fully reveal the government's position and functions in the economy.

The security line for the economy hereby mentioned refers to the boundary, which, once crossed, will prompt the government to take regulatory measures in accordance with its predetermined goals and development plans in order to ensure economic stability and growth and social harmony. This means that if the economy is operating within the boundary, or the security line, the government will not carry out economic regulation, despite uncertainties in the economy, weaknesses exposed during economic growth, or some issues related to social harmony. The market will handle these economic issues without government intervention. If instead the operation of the economy crosses the boundary, or the security line, the government will assume the responsibility for regulating the economy so that it can operate within the security line.

The setting of the security line for the economy by the government actually allows the government to take a proactive position, i.e., it reserves

the right to regulate the economy. The government will decide in accordance with the actual situations at different time on whether or not to use a regulatory measure, what kind of regulatory measures to adopt, the strength of these regulatory measures, or when to terminate the regulatory measures that have been in place. In other words, the government will not regulate the economy unless necessary and will decide according to specific conditions on whether or not to regulate the economy if regulation is optional. The government will regulate the economy only if it is necessary. These situations reflect the appropriateness of government behavior and the flexibility of government regulation.

The security line itself is not only variable but also flexible with certain upper and lower bounds. When the government decomposes its goal into a few specific parameters, the security line it draws is actually decomposed into specific security lines for each parameter. For example, there is an upper bound and a lower bound for economic parameters such as unemployment rate, inflation rate, the ratio of government deficit to national income, and the ratio of foreign debt to GDP. The government may or may not carry out regulation if parameters are within the upper and lower bounds of the security line. The specific upper and lower bounds for each specific security line will be determined according to the actual situation at certain point of time.

The government reserves the economic measures of last resort and is ready to use those measures whenever necessary, which means that the government can use all irregular measures available, together with regular measures, such as fiscal regulation, monetary regulation, price regulation, and exchange rate regulation, to regulate the economy. Such irregular measures include price and wage control, foreign trade and foreign exchange control, emergency taxes or special taxes, commodity rationing, and certain special controls on economic activities. Other irregular measures include freezing price, income, or foreign exchange. That the government reserves these irregular measures and is ready to use them whenever necessary does not mean it can use them without thorough consideration. It is necessary to know that these measures of last resort demonstrate the government's determination and power to regulate the economy, revealing that the government will not allow the economy to deteriorate while standing by. They are a powerful dose of medication. Yet they come with obvious side effects. Price and wage control and foreign trade and foreign exchange control are harmful to the normal operation of the economy and are detrimental to the market

mechanism, especially freezing price, income, and foreign exchange, which may lead to social turmoil, damaging effective resource allocation. Therefore, using these regulatory measures carelessly will undoubtedly bring damage to the economy. Nevertheless, the government still needs to reserve these measures of last resort and gets ready to use them when necessary. This is based on the consideration that between two necessary evils, the lesser will be chosen.

Let us assume that an economy is in dire situation, close to collapse or chaos. Regular economic regulatory measures have basically proven relatively ineffective or no longer effective. At this critical moment, the government can choose to do one of the following: allowing the economic chaos to continue and the economy to suffer more severe damage or allowing the market mechanism to sustain some damage by enforcing irregular regulatory measures to regulate the economy so that the economy will benefit in the long run. The government must choose the latter instead of the former. In addition, economic problems usually come with social and political problems. High unemployment rate, hyperinflation, and severe shortages of living necessities are not only economic problems but also social and political problems. The government also reserves the measures of last resort for the benefit of society, which is consistent with the target of social and political stabilization.

Setting the security line and reserving the measures of last resort are consistent with the appropriateness of government behavior during resource allocation that we discussed earlier. To the government, the setting of the security line is comparable to the setting of a road sign. When an economy is operating on its normal track, the government does not have to replace the market, nor can it replace the market. As for the measures of last resort, it is an issue of getting ready without pulling the trigger from the government's perspective. The government has those measures of last resort, but refrains from using them under normal situations. This demonstrates that government regulation is a kind of high-level regulation, one that cannot be replaced by market regulation. Getting ready without pulling the trigger reveals that the government always has control of economic regulation.

3.3.4 The Seriousness of the Law and Government Behavior

Economic activities must follow the law. This is the prerequisite of orderly economic activities. The government is the lawmaker and enforcer.

No economic activity can violate the law or cross the boundaries set by law. If we can use the analogy that all economic activities, including the action of the government itself and the economic activities of businesses and individuals, must occur inside a large cage, then the large cage will be the boundary of the law. Inside the boundary of the law, all economic activities are allowed. Any economic activity that violates the law shall be prohibited and prosecuted afterward. Everyone is equal before the law and no one is above the law. This ensures that orderly economic activities can be conducted.

Law is serious. A law that is not followed is equivalent to having no law or even worse than that. If the authority of law vanishes, the authority of government as the law enforcer will also vanish. Therefore, once a law is passed, the government must follow it by all means and defend the seriousness of the law. However, it should be noted that protecting the seriousness of the law is not an issue of the same level as the appropriateness of government behavior during resource allocation. Protecting the seriousness of the law is the prerequisite for government regulation behavior during resource allocation. The appropriateness of government behavior during resource allocation illustrates government behavior. The appropriateness of government behavior during resource allocation means that the government does not have to do whatever market regulation is capable of and instead should do whatever the market is incapable of. Regardless of whether market regulation does everything it is capable of, or the government does everything the market is incapable of, the law should be followed. If government behavior during resource allocation is not to defend the seriousness of the law, the situation of ineffective resource allocation in society will get worse instead of better.

We have to clarify another issue. The government has the responsibility to maintain order in the economy and the marketplace. In order to do this, the government has to use any necessary measure, including legal measures. Legal measures and economic measures coexist. If under certain circumstance the government uses legal measures to regulate the economy and maintain economic order as needed, is this government behavior appropriate? As a matter of fact, there are two different scenarios.

In the first scenario, the government passes a new law and follows it to operate and regulate the economy in order to maintain economic order and promote economic growth. This scenario is not contradictory to the

appropriateness of government regulation behavior. The passing of the new law is to standardize the behavior of economic entities, including government, enterprises, and individuals so that either economic regulation or no regulation at all by the government will follow the law. If the new law allows the government to adopt certain measures to regulate the economy, government regulation behavior has gained legal support and is appropriate.

In the second scenario, as situations change, the old law is no longer applicable and the government either revises it or abolishes it. This indicates that the economic activities of government, enterprises, and individuals are no longer able to follow the old law. Instead, they must follow the revised law or some other laws. That government regulation must follow the law will remain unchanged, which is not contradictory to the appropriateness of government regulation behavior.

The appropriateness of government regulation behavior can be very confusing. This is because people tend to mix government regulation behavior with the legality of the activities by economic entities, i.e., government, enterprises, and individuals. It is necessary to stress once again that protecting the seriousness of the law and how the government regulates the economy are two different issues and cannot be mixed. The government of a nation that has the law and abides by the law is one that can regulate the economy appropriately. A government that mandatorily regulates the economy in any area at any time can also be one without a sound legal system or even totally without the law or without following the law.

3.3.5 The Optimization of Government Behavior During Resource Allocation

The optimization of government behavior during resource allocation means that the government chooses the optimal timing, the optimal regulatory measures or the combination of regulatory measures, and the optimal regulation extensity in accordance with actual situations in order to achieve relatively good results. Just as the government can choose its regulation behavior only if the seriousness of the law is protected, the government can choose its optimal behavior only by following the principle of appropriate government behavior. In other words, the optimization of government behavior is impossible without the appropriateness of government behavior during resource allocation.

Earlier, we have discussed that regardless of whether an economy is

under the condition of type II disequilibrium, government regulation behavior has to be appropriate during resource allocation. This is very clear. Whether government regulation behavior can be optimized during resource allocation is dependent upon the following four conditions:

Firstly, as we discussed previously, it depends on whether government regulation behavior is appropriate. If government regulation violates the principle of appropriate government behavior, either the government is seen undertaking many tasks that should not be done by the government or even that beyond its capability, or the government always tries to replace the market, the optimization of government behavior will be out of the question. Despite its best effort to optimize regulation behavior, the government will be unable to accomplish that.

Secondly, the optimization of government regulation behavior during resource allocation must follow the law and act under the premise of using the law as the criteria. This point has been addressed previously. We can conclude that any government regulation that crosses the boundary set by the law cannot be optimal. It is the same with any government behavior that does not seriously punish business and individual economic activities that cross the boundary set by the law.

Thirdly, the optimization of government regulation behavior should be based on the principle of target multiplicity, in other words, the principle of meeting various targets, because the target resource allocation varies during different periods of time. If government regulatory measures only benefit a single target while unable to balance the pros and cons of various other targets, the optimization of government regulation is not accomplished.

Fourthly, due to nonidealized government behavior, the optimization of government regulation behavior should be based on the principle of limiting the negative roles that the market plays in resource allocation and promoting the positive roles that the market plays in resource allocation. The reason is as follows: If the measures that the government takes during resource allocation influence direct input and direct output, they will reveal more nonidealized government behavior due to lagging, unbalanced, and decreasing policy effect. If regulation indirectly impacts input and output, which means the government limits some negative roles that the market plays in resource allocation and promotes some positive roles that the market plays in resource allocation, government regulatory measures, if planned systematically, will allow the government to accomplish to the largest extent possible the

predetermined regulation targets during resource allocation, in spite of lagging, unbalanced, and decreasing policy effect. In summary, if government regulation behavior needs to be optimized, the government should execute regulation by means of its impact on the market. This is more consistent with the principle of optimizing government regulation behavior compared with government regulation by means of direct input and direct output. Of course, it does not mean that government direct input and direct output is unnecessary under certain circumstances or contradictory to the principle of optimizing government behavior during resource allocation in any scenario. Under certain circumstances, it is still necessary for the government to use direct input and direct output measures in order to achieve predetermined regulation results. We can only say that if policy goals can be achieved either by means of the direct input and direct output from the government or by means of government's impact on the market, the latter is more consistent with the principle of optimizing government regulation behavior.

叁　资源配置过程中政府行为的适度与优化

一、第二类非均衡状态中政府调节资源配置的困难

以上在讨论政府行为的非理想化时，不是根据第二类非均衡状态的特点来进行分析的。也就是说，当问题涉及政策效应的滞后性、政策效应的不平衡性，以及政策效力的递减时，都没有考虑企业是否自主经营、自负盈亏。可以认为，即使企业已经摆脱了行政机构附属物的地位，成为遵循自身利益而生产和经营的微观经济单位，政府调节措施的效应仍然是滞后的和不平衡的，政府的政策效力仍然是递减的。这种滞后、不平衡和递减来自政府行为本身的局限性。市场趋于完善和价格信号开始发挥正常作用之后，政府行为本身的局限性同样会存在。政府行为的非理想化之所以具有普遍意义，就因为它并不因企业的活力变化和市场完善程度的变化而消失。

那么，在企业既没有充分活力，市场也不完善的条件下，即经济处于第二类非均衡的条件下，政府的调节措施的效应又将如何呢？能不能认为，政府行为的非理想化与企业有充分活力或市场完善时政府行为的非理想化没有差别呢？可以肯定地说，我们是得不出这样的结论的。政府调节措施的效应会朝着更不利于资源合理配置的方向变化。让我们从以下两个方面来进行分析：

第一，市场的不完善和信息的不完备、不及时，从而价格是能起到灵活地调节供求的作用。

在这种情况下，政策效应的滞后、不平衡、特别是政策效力的递减将更加明显。这是因为，政策的制定本身可能是以市场不完善条件下不完备的和不及时的信息为基础的，同时，由于政策执行过程中，政府也会因市场不完善和信息不完备、不及时而得不到足以判断政策实行效果的信息，这样，政策的预定目标与政策的实际效果之间的差距可能扩大。另一方面，从微观经济单位对政府行为的预测和微观经济单位所采取的“反对策”来看，由于微观经济单位的这种预测和“反对策”的制定也是建立在市场不完善条件下信息不完备、不及时的基础之上的，所以这种预测和“反对策”很可能过度，即很可能对政府的行为有更大的、反常的干扰，使政策的预定目标与政策的实际效果之间有更大的差距。

第二，企业缺乏充分活力，从而企业并不能按照独立的商品生产者的利益原则行事。

与上述情况所造成的对政府调节行为的干扰相比，由于企业缺乏充

分活力而造成的干扰可能要更严重一些。道理是很清楚的：当政府察觉到社会资源配置不合理时，政府便制定并执行相应的调节资源配置的措施，政府认为这些调节措施之所以会有成效，是因为微观经济单位就此考虑到自己的利益的变动，从而会采取新的资源组合方式，同政府的调节措施的意图相符合。然而，这一切都依存于企业具有充分的活力，即企业能够按照独立的商品生产者的利益原则行事。如果不具备这一条件，那么就不仅仅是政策效应的滞后或不平衡的问题，也不仅仅是政策效力递减的问题，而很可能是政策无效和失效的问题了。

再以企业对政策行为的预测和所采取的预防性措施或“反对策”而论，假定企业是独立的商品生产者，能按照利益原则行事，那么不管怎样，企业的预防性措施或“反对策”总还是有章可循的，或遵循一定的规律而进行的。换言之，企业是有理性的，能按常规行事，因此，尽管政府的调节措施不易于达到预定的目标，但在企业按照自己的利益进行资源组合的条件下，社会的资源配置即使同政府的意图有某种差距，却仍然有一定的运动规律，即仍然根据个别边际收益的多少来进行。而在企业缺乏按利益原则行事的可能性和现实性的条件下，再加上政府行为的非理想化，社会的资源配置将会陷于混乱无序的状态：既不根据社会边际收益来进行，又不根据个别边际收益来进行。这可以说是社会资源配置中最不合理的情况，但它在第二类非均衡状态中完全有可能出现。

从这里我们可以进一步认识到，第二类非均衡状态中的资源配置，是各种可能出现的资源配置中最糟糕的一种：企业不按常规行事，资源配置的不合理必然越来越突出。

二、资源配置过程中政府行为的适度

研究资源配置过程中政府行为的适度，是为了研究资源配置过程中政府行为的优化。适度是优化的前提，在关于政府调节的研究中，这是一个必须阐明的道理。

资源配置过程中政府行为的适度，主要是指政府不要包揽一切，不要去做本来应当由市场去做的、并且市场已经表明它能够做好的事情。这正如前面在把市场比喻为资源组合的大型搅拌机所说的，政府以搅拌机的管理者的身份出现；正如真正的搅拌机管理者不能代替搅拌机一样，政府也不能代替市场。这就是政府行为的适度。

从政府的角度来看，重要的问题在于政府本身能不能认识到自己在资源配置中应该起的作用和可能起的作用。政府应该起的作用是指：由于市场调节存在着种种局限性，由于微观经济单位可能只从个别边际收益来考虑而忽视社会边际收益，因此政府在资源配置中应该起到应有的作用。政府可能起的作用是指：由于政府行为的非理想化，由于政策效

应的滞后、不平衡以及政策效力的递减，因此政府不能把政府调节的期望值定得过高，而宁肯现实一些，从现实的条件出发来进行适度的调节。只要政府能够认识到这些，那么政府调节行为的适度便有了前提，否则，政府不仅不可能使自己的调节行为适度，反而有可能使之过度，即政府硬要去做本来不应该由政府做的事情，或者硬要去做政府力所不及的事情。

从第二类非均衡的情况来考虑，对这个问题会有更深刻的认识。第二类非均衡的两个特点是：第一，市场不完善；第二，企业不是独立的商品生产者。考虑到第一个特点，即市场不完善以及与此相联系的信息不完备、不及时，如果政府的调节不是适度的，而是过度的，试问政府的调节究竟有多少可靠的信息作为依据？这种过度的调节必定是不科学的调节。这就是说，在市场不完善的经济环境中，政府的行为一定要适度；在信息不完备、不及时的条件下，政府绝不要去做自己不应该做的事和做不到的事。

第二类非均衡的另一个特点是企业不是独立的商品生产者。从表面上看，政府似乎应当作为直接投入者和直接产出者发挥更大的作用。但问题恰恰是：政府与企业的关系在这里被颠倒过来了。首先要问：为什么企业不是独立的商品生产者？其次要分析的是：假定企业不是独立的商品生产者，那么政府对资源配置调节的过度究竟能在促进资源合理配置方面起到多大的作用？

对这两个问题可以作出这样的答复：

既然是企业，那么它理所当然地应当成为独立的商品生产者，自主经营，自负盈亏。如果说企业至今还未能成为独立的商品生产者，依然被扭曲为行政机构的附属物，那么责任不在于企业本身，而在于经济体制，在于经济体制改革还未深化到改变企业附属于政府机构的地位的程度。因此，如果政府在这种情况下，想依靠对资源配置调节的过度来弥补企业活力的不足，是不可能从根本上解决资源配置不合理问题的。

进一步说，假定企业至今仍然不是自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，从而企业不是根据利益原则来选择有利的资源组合方式，那么即使政府实行了对资源配置的过度的调节，结果很可能使企业的活力继续削弱。这也极其不利于社会资源配置的合理化。

由此可见，在企业不是独立商品生产者的条件下，如果政府调节的目标是促进社会资源的配置趋向合理，那么政府首先需要做的事情，是设法让企业成为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，而不是对资源配置的过度调节，否则，资源配置的不合理状况将会加剧。

三、“警戒线”的设置和“最后手段”的备用

不管经济是否处于非均衡条件之下，也不管这种经济的非均衡是属于上述第一类还是属于上述第二类，政府在资源配置过程中或在经济调节过程中，有两件事是不能忽略的，一是在经济方面设置“警戒线”，二是在经济方面保留着“最后手段”并准备在必要时加以运用。这两件事充分表明了政府在经济中的地位和作用。

这里所说的经济方面的“警戒线”，是指政府根据预定的目标以及发展规划，从经济稳定、经济增长、社会协调的角度来考虑，制定必须采取干预措施的限界。这意味着，如果经济运行在这一限界（即“警戒线”）之内，即使经济中有某种不稳定的表现，经济增长过程中有某些不足之处，或社会协调方面存在着某些问题，政府仍然可以不干预经济，而让市场去处理经济中的上述问题。如果经济运行越过了这一限界（即“警戒线”），政府将有责任对经济进行调节，使经济运行回到“警戒线”之内。

政府在经济方面设置“警戒线”，实际上是使自己处于主动的地位，即政府掌握了调节经济的主动权。政府可以根据不同时期的具体情况，决定是否采取调节措施，采取什么样的调节措施，调节措施的强度如何，以及在何种情况下可以取消已经采取的调节措施。换言之，在政府不必进行调节时，政府不进行调节；在政府可调节可不调节时，视具体情况而决定是否调节；只有在政府非调节不可时才进行调节——这些都体现了政府行为的适度和政府调节的灵活性。

“警戒线”本身不仅是可变的，而且还可以有一定的弹性，即一定的上下限。当政府把所要达到的目标分解为各个具体的指标时，政府所设置的“警戒线”也就分解为与各个具体指标相联系的“警戒线”。比如说，在失业率、物价上涨率、财政赤字占国民收入的比重、外债总额占国民生产总值的比重等方面，都可以有一定的上下限。在“警戒线”的上下限之间，属于政府可调节可不调节之列。与每一个具体指标相联系的“警戒线”的上下限，将根据当时的实际情况来制定。

这里所说的政府在经济方面保留着“最后手段”并准备在必要时加以运用，是指除了通常运用的财政调节、金融调节、价格调节、汇率调节等手段以外，政府在必要时还可以动员一切非常规的手段来干预经济生活。非常规的手段，包括价格和工资的管制措施、外贸和外汇的管理措施、紧急或特别的税收措施、商品的配给措施，以及对某些经济活动的特殊管制措施等等。非常规的手段还包括物价冻结、收入冻结、外汇冻结等。政府保留这些非常规的手段并准备在必要时运用，绝不意味着政府可以轻易地运用它们。要知道，这些“最后手段”的存在，表明了政府调节经济的决心和力量，表明了政府绝不会听任经济无休止地恶化下去。这是政府可以运用的一剂烈药。它的副作用是十分明显的。价格和

工资的管制、外贸和外汇的管制等等，都是对经济正常运行有害的调节措施，是对市场机制的破坏。尤其是物价冻结、收入冻结、外汇冻结等，都会导致社会震荡，不利于资源配置的合理化。因此，轻易地运用这些调节手段，无疑会给经济带来损失。但即使如此，政府仍然需要保留这些“最后手段”，并准备在必要时运用它们，这是从“两害相比取其轻”的角度来考虑的。

假定经济已经到了相当严重的、濒临于解体或大动荡的关键时刻，常规的经济调节手段已经被证明效果不大或基本上不起什么作用了，在这种关键时刻，政府面临着如下选择：或者让经济的大动荡继续下去，听任经济遭受更加严重的损失，或者使市场机制的作用受到某种破坏，但为了整个经济的长远利益，政府运用非常规的调节手段来进行非常规的调节。政府必须选择后者而放弃前一种选择。再说，经济问题往往与社会问题、政治问题结合在一起。诸如失业率过大、物价上涨率过大、生活必需品的供给严重不足等等，都不仅仅是经济问题，它们同时是社会问题、政治问题。从社会安定和政局稳定的目标来看，政府保留这种“最后手段”也是符合社会利益的。

“警戒线”的设置和“最后手段”的备用，与前面提到的资源配置过程中政府行为的适度是一致的。“警戒线”的设置对政府行为而言，相当于路标的设置。当经济在正常运行的轨道上前进时，政府不必去代替市场，政府也代替不了市场。至于“最后手段”，对政府而言，是一个“引而不发”的问题。政府拥有“最后手段”，但政府在一般情况下并不运用它们。这表明政府的调节是高层次的调节，是市场调节无法代替的一种调节。“引而不发”反映了经济调节的主动权始终掌握在政府的手中。

四、法律的严肃性和政府行为

经济活动必须以法为据，有法可循。这是使经济活动具有正常秩序的前提。政府是法律的制定者和维护者。任何经济活动都不能违背法律，越过法律规定的限界。因此，如果说经济活动（包括政府本身的行为、企业和个人的经济活动）有一个“大笼子”的话，那么这个“大笼子”就是法律规定的限界。在法律许可的范围内，一切经济活动都可以进行；一旦违背了法律，任何经济活动都应当被禁止，都应当被追究。在法律面前，一切交易人都是平等的，没有一个交易人是例外。这是开展正常的经济活动的保证。

法律是严肃的。有法而不循，等于无法，甚至还可能比未制定法律时更糟，因为法律的威信丧失了，作为执法者的政府的威信也丧失了。因此，一旦制定了法律，政府必须坚定不移地按照法律行事，维护法律的严肃性。但应该注意到，这与资源配置过程中政府行为的适度不是同

一个层次上的问题。资源配置过程中政府的调节行为，是在维护法律的严肃性的前提下进行的。至于资源配置过程中政府行为的适度，则是对政府行为的概括，它是指在市场调节能够做到的范围内政府不必代劳，政府只做市场所做不到的事情。无论是市场调节做它能够做到的事情，还是政府做市场所做不到的事情，都应当遵循法律。政府在资源配置中的行为如果不以维护法律的严肃性为前提，那就只会使社会资源配置状况变得更不合理，而不可能使这种状况好转。

在这里需要说明的另一个问题是：政府有责任维持经济中的秩序、市场中的秩序，为此，政府采取的各种手段中也包括了法律的手段。法律的手段与经济的手段是并存的。如果政府在必要的场合采取了法律手段来调节经济和维持经济中的秩序，那么这是不是政府行为的适度呢？实际上，这里包括了两种不同的情况：

第一种情况，出于维持经济中的秩序和促进经济发展的需要，政府制定了新的法律，并遵循这种法律来管理经济，调节经济。这种情况与政府调节行为的适度是不矛盾的。新的法律的制定是使包括政府、企业和个人都在内的各个经济主体的行为规范化，无论政府进行经济调节还是不进行经济调节，都应当在法律的范围内，而不应当越过法律规定的限界。如果说新的法律授权政府采取某种措施来管理，那么这表明政府调节行为具有某种法律的依据，表明政府调节行为依然是适度的。

第二种情况，由于形势的变化，原来的法律不适用了，于是政府修改了它，或者废除了它。这反映政府、企业、个人的经济活动不能根据原来的法律来进行，而必须按照修改后的或其他的法律来进行。“政府的调节行为以法律为依据”，这一点并没有变化，这也与政府调节行为的适度不矛盾。

在政府调节行为适度问题上容易被混淆的原因在于：把政府调节措施本身同政府、企业、个人作为经济主体的活动的法律依据二者混为一谈了。需要再次强调：维护法律的严肃性与政府怎样调节经济是两个不同层次的问题。不应当把二者混淆在一起。一个有法可依并依法办事的国家的政府可以是适度调节经济的政府；一个在各个领域内和在各个时期内对经济进行硬性调节的国家的政府，也可能是一个法制极不健全，甚至根本没有法律或有法也不依的政府。

五、资源配置过程中政府行为的优化

资源配置过程中政府行为的优化，是指政府在具体进行调节时，如何选择适当的时机，选择适当的调节措施及其组合，选择适当的调节程度，以便取得较好的结果。正如只有在维护法律严肃性的前提下才能对政府的调节行为作出决策一样，也只有在政府行为适度这一思想指导

下，才能作出政府行为优化的选择。换言之，没有政府行为的适度，那么在资源配置过程中，政府行为的优化将是不可能的。

前面已经说明，不管经济是否处于第二类非均衡状态中，在资源配置方面，政府的调节行为都需要适度。这是没有疑义的。至于能不能在资源配置过程中实现政府调节行为的优化，则取决于以下四个条件：

第一，如上所述，以政府调节行为是否适度为条件。如果政府的调节违背了政府行为适度的原则，政府包揽了许多本来不该政府来完成的事情，甚至硬要做一些政府力所不及的事情，或政府总想取市场而代之，这样就谈不到政府调节行为的优化。即使政府力求使调节行为优化，那也是做不到的。

第二，资源配置过程中政府调节行为的优化以遵守法律，并以法律为准绳作为前提。关于这一点，前面已经谈过了。可以断言，任何以超越法律规定的限界而进行的政府调节都不可能是优化的，对于超越法律规定限界的企业和个人的经济活动不予以严肃处理的政府行为，同样不可能是优化的。

第三，考虑到每个时期政府通过资源配置达到的目标的多样性，因此，政府调节行为的优化应当以目标的多样性作为标准，也就是应当以实现多种目标作为标准。假定政府的调节措施只有利于实现单一目标而又无法使各个目标的得与失互补，那就不符合政府调节的优化的要求。

第四，考虑到政府行为的非理想化，政府在资源配置过程中调节行为的优化应当以限制市场在资源配置中的某些消极作用和促进市场在资源配置中的某些积极作用作为原则。这是因为，政府在调节资源配置过程中所采取的措施，如果是直接投入和直接产出的措施，那么考虑到政策效应的滞后、不平衡和政策效力的递减，它们的非理想化程度会更大一些；如果是以间接调节的方式出现，即以限制市场调节的某些消极作用和促进市场调节的某些积极作用的方式出现，那么即使政策效应是滞后的、不平衡的，并且政策效力是递减的，但只要政策措施配套得当，仍然可以使政府在资源配置过程中的调节作用尽可能符合预定的要求。这就是说，要使政府调节行为优化，政府的调节应当通过政府对市场的影响而表现出来。这要比政府的直接投入和直接产出更符合使政府调节行为优化的原则。当然，这并不是排除在某些场合政府直接投入和直接产出的必要性，也不是说政府直接投入和直接产出在任何情况下都是与资源配置过程中政府调节行为优化的原则相抵触的。在某些情况下，为了使政府调节达到预定的效果，直接投入和直接产出仍然不可缺少。这只是说，在政府直接投入和直接产出同政府对市场的影响二者能够实现相同的目标的场合，后者更符合于政府调节行为优化的原则。

Chapter 4 The Mechanism of the Operation of the Economy
第四章 经济运行的机制

4.1 DUAL MECHANISM OF THE OPERATION OF THE ECONOMY

4.1.1 The Coverage of Government Regulation in the Operation of the Economy

We have clearly known from our discussions in Chaps. 2 and 3 that the operation of the socialist economy does not follow a sole mechanism, i.e., the market mechanism or the government regulation mechanism. The dual mechanism of the operation of the socialist economy, which refers to the coexistence of the market mechanism and the government regulation mechanism, has the following meanings:

First of all, the coexistence of the dual mechanism does not mean the economy can be separated into two groups, with one mechanism only good for one group and the other mechanism only good for the other group.

Secondly, the coexistence of the dual mechanism does not mean two mechanisms commingle with each other, with one mechanism primarily working in one area while infiltrating the other area or vice versa.

Thirdly, the coexistence of the dual mechanism does not mean two mechanisms are parallel, being equally important for the operation of the economy.

These clarifications are necessary. The understanding of the dual mechanism in this book focuses on the complementary relationship between these two mechanisms, of which market regulation works at first, followed by government regulation, which works at a higher level. The analyses on the functions of market regulation and government regulation in resource allocation in Chaps. 2 and 3 in this book have described the complementary

relationship between these two mechanisms. It is now necessary for us to draw on prior discussions to further understand the dual mechanism of the operation of the economy.

We have often heard people mention market regulation and government regulation work together on the economy. More specifically, market regulation covers the whole economy and so does government regulation. Both forms of regulation work on the economy simultaneously. This understanding demonstrates some progress when compared with the Group Theory, the Penetration Theory, and the Parallelization Theory. These viewpoints can be summarized as the Coverage Theory. But this theory still has one shortfall, that is, it does not clearly describe the definition of the coverage.

We should note that the government regulation hereby mentioned refers to the regulation of resource allocation by the government as well as the regulation of the operation of the economy by the government. If government regulation is applicable to the law promulgated by government, it will undoubtedly cover the whole society, i.e., any economic activity in society cannot violate the law. If government regulation is applicable to the social and economic development targets set by the government, it will also cover the whole society, as every entity needs to work hard to realize those development targets. If government regulation is applicable to direct input and output, however, it is obvious that it will not be able to cover the whole society. Now the question is: If government regulation refers to various measures that impact market regulation, can we simply say it does or does not cover the whole society? Before answering this question, we have to do some detailed analysis.

First of all, in the socialist commodity economy, the impact of government regulation on resource allocation will certainly reflect the functions of government regulation in various areas in the economy by means of changing the balance of demand and supply in the marketplace. In this sense, government regulation covers the whole society. However, we cannot ignore the fact that the coverage of government regulation in society is a second layer of coverage. That is, this layer of coverage is on top of market regulation. This understanding is consistent with the argument that government regulation is to regulate the economy for the second time. First comes market regulation, which covers the economy for the first time. Government regulation comes next and covers the economy for the second

time. Just as government regulation cannot function without the market, it is hard to understand that the coverage of government regulation over the economy for the second time can function without the coverage of market regulation in the economy.

In summary, the Coverage Theory is an opinion on the relationship between market regulation and government regulation. It is different from the Group Theory, the Penetration Theory, or the Parallelization Theory. Although the Coverage Theory is better than the Group Theory, the Penetration Theory, and the Parallelization Theory, we can correctly understand the dual mechanism of the operation of the economy only with the acknowledgement that the coverage that the Coverage Theory refers to is one for the second time.

4.1.2 The Relationship Between the Two Mechanisms

To further understand the dual mechanism of the operation of the economy, we will have to understand the complementary relationship between market regulation and government regulation. As discussed before, the imbalance between aggregate demand and aggregate supply under economic disequilibrium conditions is common, as there are resource supply constraints or resource demand constraints. From the structural perspective, resource supply constraints and resource demand constraints can happen simultaneously. Therefore, the function of market self-regulation during resource allocation will be restricted in that case. Here arises an important question under disequilibrium conditions: how to use limited resources to satisfy the needs of society and how to adjust limited demand to meet supply in the economy. This is the reason why the issue of rationing equilibrium discussed in the disequilibrium theory is applicable in a relatively wide range of areas. Because either using limited supply of resources to meet demand or adjusting limited demand to meet supply is accomplished through quantitative rationing.

Under the market mechanism in which resource supply constraints exist, the way to allocate limited resources is to follow either the priority principle or the monopoly principle. The priority principle hereby discussed refers to the principle of business transactions that are conducted on a first-come-first-served basis until all limited resources are sold out. The monopoly principle hereby discussed refers to the case in which the suppliers of limited resources are able to sell their commodities at prices higher than equilibrium prices as

they enjoy the monopolistic position. Obviously, the monopoly principle is applicable to business transactions under imperfect competition. The priority principle is also applicable to business transactions under imperfect competition. This is because commodity supplies are limited under the circumstance of resource supply constraints. If transactions are done based on the principle of first-come, first-served, information on the timing and location for the sale of certain commodities will be critical. Whoever has access to the information will be the first to come and be served. Those who have no access to the information will actually be excluded from transactions. Therefore, both the priority principle and monopoly principle are transaction principles for imperfect competition. If there were any difference between them, the transactions conducted in accordance with the monopoly principle would be open transactions under imperfect competition, while those conducted in accordance with the priority principle would retain the form of perfect competition but actually take place under imperfect competition.

Under the market mechanism in which demand constraints exist, the priority principle and monopoly principle are also applicable to allocating limited market or limited demand. The priority principle refers to one that business conduct transactions based on first-come, first-served. The monopoly principle refers to one used by market leaders, who, once become a market monopoly, will squeeze out other competitors to protect their own market and economic interests. Apparently, the monopoly principle is one for transactions under imperfect competition. The priority principle is also related to the information on limited market or limited demand. Whoever has such information will be able to come first and sell first. Whoever has no access to such information will actually be shut out of transactions. By the same token, business transactions that follow the priority principle are transactions under imperfect competition, yet done in the name of perfect competition. Business transactions that follow the monopoly principle, however, are openly known as transactions under imperfect competition.

Therefore, as long as the economy is under disequilibrium conditions, the rationing equilibrium that is realized following either the priority principle or the monopoly principle is always linked to transactions under imperfect competition. If by any chance government regulation is needed, it will apply any one of the following three principles to realize rationing equilibrium and all business transactions that follow these principles will be carried out under imperfect competition. These principles are the equalization

principle (i.e., allocating limited commodity supplies equally to each buyer or limited demand equally to each supplier), the target principle (i.e., allocating limited commodity supplies or limited demand in an order of target priority set in advance by the government), and history principle (i.e., allocating limited commodity supplies or limited demand by ration in accordance with historical records). The complementary relationship between government regulation and market regulation can be considered the complementary relationship between transactions under various forms of imperfect competition, rather than a supplementary relationship between various forms of imperfect competition or a relationship in which perfect competition supplements imperfect competition.

It is meaningful to describe such complementary nature or feature. We have to know that there is a popular belief as follows: Market regulation means that market transactions are conducted under perfect competition and the market will self-regulate until equilibrium is reached, whereas government regulation means that market transactions are conducted under imperfect competition and government interference will destroy perfect competition in the marketplace. Due to various defects of perfect competition, government regulation is justified and indispensable, even though it destroys perfect competition in the marketplace. This belief can lead to the following conclusion: Under a circumstance where market regulation and government regulation coexist, that market regulation and government regulation complement each other becomes perfect competition supplementing imperfect competition or imperfect competition supplementing perfect competition. This is not correct. The reasons are as follows:

First of all, market regulation is not necessarily the market regulation under perfect competition, and market regulation under imperfect competition is also a form of market regulation. Equating market regulation to perfect competition is not only a biased understanding of market regulation but also an incorrect understanding of perfect competition, because perfect competition is never universal as one form of market regulation. The theoretical meaning of perfect competition far exceeds its practical meaning.

Secondly, perfect competition only exists under equilibrium conditions, where neither excess demand nor excess supply exists and all transactions are concluded at the equilibrium price. In reality, however, disequilibrium is common, and so are resource supply constraints and resource demand

constraints. As a result, there is a need for quantitative rationing, and equilibrium can be realized by using quotas. Under this circumstance, market regulation is executed under imperfect competition and so are transactions in the marketplace.

The above two points can lead to the following point:

Thirdly, if the economy is in equilibrium or under perfect competition, it will not be necessary to carry out government regulation, because the market has arranged everything perfectly. Since there is no need for government regulation, the so-called dual mechanism will be unnecessary, let alone two mechanisms complementing each other. If the economy is in disequilibrium, it is necessary to use quantitative quotas to reach ex post equilibrium. And market regulation is conducted under imperfect competition. If government regulation is needed in this case, it must also be executed under imperfect competition. Therefore, that market regulation and government regulation complement each other indicates various transactions under imperfect competition are complementary. The purpose of such complementary relationship is to better regulate quantitative rationing to achieve equilibrium. As we pointed out earlier, that quota allocation under market regulation in the circumstance of resource supply constraints and demand constraints has to be executed following either the priority principle or the monopoly principle, whereas quota allocation under government regulation in the circumstance of resource supply constraints and demand constraints has to be executed in accordance with the equalization principle, the target principle, or the history principle, or certain combinations of these principles. Therefore, the complementary relationship between market regulation and government regulation actually reflects the complementary relationship between business principles or business transactions under imperfect competition following the priority principle and monopoly principle and those following the equalization principle, the target principle, and the history principle.

If we analyze the issue from the above perspective, we will have to answer this question: Under disequilibrium conditions, what kind of transaction is primary and what is secondary so that limited supplies can meet the needs of various buyers or that limited demand can adjust to the needs of various suppliers?

It seems that this question is related to the degree of economic disequilibrium or the severity of resource supply constraints or demand constraints. If resource supply constraints are relatively light (i.e., slight

resource supply gap) or demand constraints are relatively light (i.e., slight demand shortfall), it will be more important to have the market coordinate business transactions, and hence it is less important to have the government regulate the economy. On the contrary, if resource supply constraints are relatively heavy (i.e., severe resource supply gap) or demand constraints are relatively heavy (i.e., severe demand shortfall), it will be less important to have the market coordinate business transactions, and it will be more important to have the government regulate the economy. The importance of market regulation and government regulation in regulating the economy will reverse when resource supply constraints and demand constraints reach a certain level (i.e., supply gap and demand shortfall reaching a certain limit). At that level, as market regulation becomes less important, government regulation becomes more important. All in all, everything will change according to various degrees of economic disequilibrium.

In other words, if we do our analyses on the basis of the complementary relationship, we can draw the following conclusion:

In an economy with both market regulation and government regulation, business transactions under imperfect competition that follow the priority principle and the monopoly principle of market regulation will become less important among all transactions in the economy as supply gap and demand shortfall increase; business transactions under imperfect transactions that follow the equalization principle, target principle, and history principle of government regulation will become more important among all transactions in the economy as supply gap and demand shortfall increase. If the economy operates toward the direction of lower supply gap and lower demand shortfall, market regulation will become more and more important. On the contrary, if the economy operates toward the direction of larger supply gap and larger demand shortfall, market regulation will become less important and government regulation will become important, regardless of whether you like it or not.

4.1.3 Government Hierarchy and Market Hierarchy

The hierarchy of government refers not only to the supervision and subordination relationship between government agencies or the hierarchy structure of various government institutions but more importantly to the hierarchy of government regulation, or how government regulation is executed by various levels of government institutions. As for the hierarchy of

market, it primarily concerns the relationship between the whole and the parts. Just as any kind of market system is composed of a number of interrelated markets, any national market is composed of several regional markets. In addition, if we view the market from the structural perspective, it can be infinitely subdivided until reaching a market that includes only one specific commodity. Understanding the hierarchy of market is to find out how we can fully utilize market regulation functions when the market is continuously subdivided.

The general principle should be as follows: As far as government regulation is concerned, if a subordinate government institution is capable of accomplishing a mission on its own, it is not necessary for its superior to step in and do the job on its behalf. Government shall do whatever the market is incapable of, and a superior government institution shall do whatever its subordinate is incapable of. If both the superior and subordinate government institutions perform some functions for the second regulation, the regulation by the superior government institution is at a higher level than that by the subordinate government institution, even though they are both conducting the second regulation. Here is a simple example: If there is mismatch between supply and demand in the labor market or the resource market, it will be difficult for the market to resolve the supply constraints or demand constraints of labor or capital on its own, and hence it will be necessary to have the government step in as the organizer of the second regulation to take certain regulatory measures. In this case, if supply gap or demand shortfall has been alleviated by some measures adopted by the regulatory institutions of a town, there will be no need for further regulation by a city, assuming an administrative structure in which a town is governed by a city. If the economic regulatory institutions of a city can adopt effective measures to alleviate demand and supply mismatch, there will be no need for further regulation by the province. Only after provincial government institutions fail to accomplish regulation missions will it be necessary for the central government to function as the organization that performs the second regulation of the economy. This is the meaning of hierarchical government regulation. Every level of the government, from the central government to local governments, should be capable and effective and handle its own responsibilities. Superior government institutions should not take care of everything but instead should delegate those tasks that subordinate government institutions themselves are responsible for. The hierarchical

management by various government institutions is not contradictory to government's role as an organization in charge of the second regulation and will even facilitate better government performance in the second regulation.

As of the hierarchy of market, the word "hierarchy" has a different meaning from the one used in hierarchical government regulation or the hierarchical management by government, both of which were discussed earlier. The hierarchy of market is an analytical method that continuously subdivides the market according to its structure. After all, the market is an integrated system. Various markets that form this system are closely connected. Various regional markets inside a market are also closely interconnected. Market regulation is, after all, a form of systematic regulation, which is very difficult to be separated into subcomponents. This is different from the hierarchical regulation or the hierarchical management by government. We can illustrate this point with a few simple examples:

If supply is less than demand in the consumer goods market, price will rise. Despite that supply and demand are balanced in the production materials market at the beginning, rising consumer goods prices will expand consumer goods production capacity, driving up the prices of production materials. Therefore, market regulation should not be limited to the consumer goods market, but should include the production materials market as well.

If supply is less than demand in the consumer goods market, causing price to rise and production capacity to increase, the supply and demand for capital in the money market will also change correspondingly. As a result, consumer expenditures will increase to accommodate rising consumer goods prices, and money supply (i.e., personal savings) will likely decrease. On the other hand, manufacturers of consumer goods will have higher demand for capital due to rising consumer goods production capacity. Therefore, market regulation should not be limited to the consumer goods market, but should include the money market as well.

As a matter of fact, changes of demand and supply, prices, and production capacity in the consumer goods market will to some extent change not only the production materials market and the money market but also the labor market and the technology market. Under such circumstance, it is impossible for market regulation to function only in one market. Instead, it will impact every relevant market.

Thus, we can give a brief illustration on the relationship between government hierarchy and market hierarchy. Government hierarchy

represents an argument that supports the second regulation. That is, it indicates which scenario would require regulation by subordinate government institutions and which would require regulation by superior government institutions. Market hierarchy is an analytical method of analyzing markets, which clearly illustrates the relationship between various markets via continuously subdividing the market and therefore reveals the holistic feature of market regulation.

Can we draw the following conclusion: Local governments regulate local markets and the central government regulates national markets, which leads to government hierarchy that is in line with market hierarchy? This argument cannot illustrate the relationship between market regulation and government regulation. As long as the market can solve any problem on its own, neither the central government nor local governments should interfere, whether it is local markets or national markets. Although local governments are only authorized to regulate regional markets while the central government can regulate all regional markets, regulating the market is no equivalent to regulating the economy. Regulating the market can be done by following the law to maintain order in the marketplace and allowing markets to perform regulation functions, or regulating the market can be done by government taking certain regulatory measures to influence supply and demand in the market, which also serves the purpose of regulating the economy. The central government and local governments can use the former method or the latter method to regulate the market at the same time. Or the central government uses the former method while local governments use the latter method to regulate the market. It all depends. If the central government uses the latter method to regulate the market, it may apply to regional markets or national markets. Market hierarchy is not the reason to restrict government behavior. If a local government also uses the latter method to regulate the market, it will apply to the markets that are under its jurisdiction. As different regional markets are interconnected with one influencing another, a regulatory measure once adopted by a local government to adjust regional supply and demand will actually have far-reaching effects that are by no means limited to regional markets. This explains from a different perspective the complexity of the relationship between government hierarchy and market hierarchy.

4.1.4 The Difference Between Fully Developed Market and Complete Market System

Fully developed market and complete market system are different and cannot be misunderstood as one concept. Whether the market is fully developed or not is related to the degree of competitiveness and selfrestraint of the market. The more competitive the market is, the better the market can perform its self-restraining function through market competition as well as changing supply and demand, and the more developed the market will be. On the other hand, the more constraints market competition is subject to, the weaker the market self-restraining function will be and the less developed the market will be. Whether the market system is complete or not refers to the market structure. In the socialist market system, the core of the market system is the commodity market. Labor market, capital market, real estate market, enterprise asset market, and technology information market are the components of the market system. Whether the market structure is balanced is linked to whether the market system is complete. The more complete the market system is and the more coordinated the market structure is, the better the market system will facilitate enterprise production and operation and the better the environment will be to generate economic growth.

When the economy is in equilibrium, not only the market is fully developed, but the market system is also complete and the market structure is balanced. If the economy is in disequilibrium, the market is not fully developed, neither can the market system be complete or the market structure be balanced. In this sense, the degree of market development is associated with how complete the market system is and how balanced the market structure is. Therefore, in order to develop the socialist market, it is critical to persistently increase the degree of market development and promote a balanced market structure and a complete market system. In reality, when the market is not fully developed, the market system is not complete, and the market structure is not balanced, we need to find out what is the starting point of developing the socialist market. If this issue is not resolved, developing the market will not be a smooth process.

Establishing a fully developed market is a long process. This is because how market mechanism forms and works, how market competition proceeds, and how the market performs self-restraint are all dependent upon whether or not the operation mechanism of market participants (i.e., enterprises) is fully developed and functional. In other words, the market goes through a natural cultivation process. It is the same with any region, including special economic zones. Hence, it is hard for us to imagine that the market can be

fully developed before enterprises become goods producers who make their own decisions and are responsible for their own profits and losses. However, complete market system can be established by government policies. This is because whether the market system is complete or not is associated with the progress of reforms of the planned mechanism. Under the traditional planned mechanism, only the consumer goods market exists in the socialist economy. There are no other markets. Hence, it is unnecessary to talk about market system. During the reforms of the planned mechanism, production materials market, capital market, labor market, and technology information market have emerged one after another. Eventually, real estate market and enterprise asset market will also appear. These are the results from the reforms of the planned mechanism initiated by the government. Therefore, even though the market cannot be quickly developed fully, it is absolutely possible for us to take one step ahead to complete the market system. Although emerging production materials market, capital market, labor market, technology information market, real estate market, and enterprise asset market are not fully developed at the beginning, having these markets is after all better than having nothing. Upon having established the socialist market system to a large extent, we can gradually proceed with coordinating the market structure while improving the market itself.

This is the market environment which Chinese enterprises are currently facing. Even the enterprises in special economic zones face similar market environment. Every enterprise, domestically oriented or internationally oriented, must understand the features of market environment. More specifically, the market system, with the reforms of the planned mechanism, has been largely established, but the market has not been fully developed because the reforms of enterprise operation mechanism are yet to be deepened further and interference with and restrictions on enterprises placed by administrative departments are yet to be removed. In this environment, the operation of enterprises compared to the past has its disadvantages and advantages. The disadvantages lie in the fact that enterprise operation is still subject to interference and restrictions and business profitability motivations are still weak. Enterprises do not compete with each other on the level play field in the marketplace. Fluctuations of market demand and supply do not necessarily effectively affect business operational decisions. It is not possible for enterprises to really pursue profitability and self-expansion through increasing efficiency and competitiveness. However, we have seen some

advantages of how enterprises operate compared to the past: After all, there are more than just the consumer goods market. Enterprises are able to obtain resources they need, in spite of only a portion, through transactions in the production materials market, capital market, labor market, technology information market, and real estate market. The rise of the enterprise asset market provides businesses with an opportunity to increase production capacity as well as pursue mergers and acquisitions. This means that businesses operate in multiple markets at the same time and that the relatively complete market system has reduced some difficulties that businesses face due to relatively underdeveloped market. For businesses, it is more important that they take advantage of the progress of the market development that was nonexistent in the past to alleviate the conflicts arising from underdeveloped market so that they can survive and grow in a market that has not been fully developed. At the same time, as long as the market system is relatively complete, the more proactive businesses are in taking advantage of the existing market system, the faster the market will be fully developed.

壹　经济运行的二元机制

一、经济运行中政府调节的“覆盖面”

从本书第二章和第三章的论述可以清楚地了解到，在社会主义经济中，实际上存在着的不是经济运行的一元机制，即或者只有市场机制，或者只有政府调节机制。社会主义经济运行的二元机制是指市场机制与政府调节机制始终并存。经济运行的二元机制有这样几个含义：

1．二元机制的并存不是指整个经济可以划分为两个“板块”，即一种机制限定在某一个领域内起作用，另一种机制限定在另一个领域内起作用；

2．二元机制的并存不是指两种机制之间存在着相互渗透的关系，即一种机制主要在某一个领域内起作用，同时这种作用渗透到另一个领域内；而另一种机制主要在另一个领域内起作用，同时这种作用又渗透到这个领域中来；

3．二元机制的并存不是指两种机制地位的平列，二者在经济中起着“平分秋色”的作用。

这些澄清都是必要的。在对二元机制的理解中，本书所强调的是：二元机制的互补性反映于市场调节是第一次调节和政府调节是第二次调节、高层次调节。第二章关于市场调节在资源配置中的作用的分析，以及第三章关于政府调节在资源配置中的作用的分析，都已把这种互补关系说明了。现在，有必要在这两章已经论述的基础上，对经济的二元机制再作进一步的理解。

通常听到这样一种说法，即把市场调节与政府调节的关系说成是共同作用于现实经济的关系。具体地说，这种说法是：市场调节是覆盖全社会的，政府调节也是覆盖全社会的，二者同时对整个经济起作用。这种说法与“板块论”、“渗透论”、“平列论”相比，是一个进步。可以把这种观点称为“覆盖论”。但“覆盖论”仍有一个不足之处，即它对于“覆盖”含义的表述仍不明确。

应当注意到，这里所说的政府调节，是指政府在资源配置过程中的调节而言，也是指政府对经济运行的调节而言；如果指政府的法律，那么它们的覆盖面无疑是全社会的，即社会上的任何经济活动都不得与法律相违背；如果指政府制定的社会经济发展目标，那么这也是覆盖全社会的，全社会都要为这一发展目标而努力；但如果指政府的直接投入和直接产出，那么显然不可能，也不应当覆盖全社会。问题是：如果政府调节指的是政府采取各种影响市场调节的措施，那么能不能简单地说这是覆盖全社会的还是并非覆盖全社会的呢？对此，必须作具体的分析。

首先，在社会主义商品经济中，政府对资源配置进行调节的结果必然使政府调节的作用通过市场供求关系的相应变化而在社会经济的各个方面反映出来。从这个意义上说，政府调节是覆盖于全社会的。但是，我们不应当忽略政府调节对全社会的覆盖是一种再覆盖，即覆盖于市场调节之上的覆盖。这种理解恰恰与政府调节作为第二次调节的提法是一致的。市场调节是第一次调节，市场调节对社会经济的覆盖是第一次覆盖，政府调节是第二次调节，政府调节对社会经济的覆盖是第二次覆盖。正如离开了市场的政府调节的作用将无从发挥一样，离开了市场调节对社会经济的覆盖，政府调节对社会经济的第二次覆盖也就难以理解了。

总之，“覆盖论”作为一种不同于“板块论”、“渗透论”、“平列论”的阐释市场调节与政府调节之间关系的论点，固然要优于“板块论”、“渗透论”和“平列论”，但只有把“覆盖论”中的“覆盖”理解为第二次覆盖，才能对经济运行的二元机制有较为正确的认识。

二、二元机制之间的关系

对经济运行二元机制的进一步理解还包括了对市场机制与政府调节机制的互补性的理解。如上所述，在经济非均衡条件下，社会总需求与社会总供给之间的不平衡是经常出现的，这时或者有资源供给的约束，或者有需求的约束。而从结构的角度来看，资源供给的约束和需求的约束可能同时发生。因此，资源配置过程中市场的自我制约便会受到限制。在非均衡条件下所遇到的一个重要问题是：如何使有限的资源去满足社会的需求，以及如何使有限的需求去适应社会的供给。非均衡理论研究中所提出的配额均衡问题之所以具有较广泛的适用意义，正是由于有限资源供给同需求的适应以及有限需求同供给的适应都需要通过数量的配额来实现。

市场机制在资源供给约束的情况下，或者按照优先原则来分配有限的货源，或者按照垄断原则来分配有限的货源。这里所说的优先原则，是指市场上按照“谁先来，谁先买”的原则来进行交易，直到有限的供给被分光为止。这里所说的垄断原则，是指市场上有限货源的供给者成为垄断的一方，它们可以按照高于供求均衡价格的价格来出售自己的商品。垄断原则显然是不完全竞争下的交易原则，而优先原则同样是不完全竞争下的交易原则，这是因为，在资源供给约束的情况下，货源是有限的，如果要按照“谁先来，谁先买”的原则进行交易，那么有关商品在什么时间开始出售和在什么地点出售的信息便是至关重要的。谁掌握了信息，谁就可以“先来”、“先买”；谁无法得到信息，实际上就被排除在交易之外了。所以说，优先原则与垄断原则都是不完全竞争下的交易原

则。如果说二者之间有什么区别的话，那么垄断原则下的交易是公开的不完全竞争下的交易，而优先原则下的交易，则是仍然保留着完全竞争的形式，实际上却是不完全竞争下的交易。

市场机制在需求约束的情况下，也按照优先原则或垄断原则来分配有限的市场或有限的销路。优先原则是指市场上按照“谁先来，谁先卖”的原则来进行交易，垄断原则是指市场的占有者成为垄断的一方，它们可以排斥后来的销售者，以维护自己的销路，维护自己的利益。垄断原则显然是不完全竞争下的交易原则，而优先原则也涉及有限的市场或有限的销路的信息问题。谁掌握了这样的信息，谁就可以“先来”、“先卖”；谁无法得到这样的信息，实际上也就被排除在交易之外。同样的道理，优先原则下的交易是在完全竞争的名义掩盖之下的不完全竞争中的交易，而垄断原则下的交易则是公开的不完全竞争下的交易。

由此看来，在市场调节之下，只要经济处于非均衡状况，通过优先原则或垄断原则所实现的配额均衡总是同不完全竞争下的交易联系在一起。如果在这种情况下需要有政府调节的话，那么不管政府调节是按照平均原则（即把有限的货源平均分配给需求各方，或把有限的市场分配给供给各方）、目标原则（即政府有事先决定好的目标顺序，按照政府所认定的轻重缓急来分配有限的货源或有限的市场），还是历史原则（即政府根据以往所存在的货源分配比例或市场分配比例，进行份额分配）来达到配额均衡的，所有这些都是不完全竞争之下的交易。政府调节与市场调节的互补可以被理解为各种不完全竞争下的交易的互补，而不是不完全竞争形式的补充或完全竞争形式对不完全竞争形式的补充。

说明这一互补的性质或特点是有意义的。要知道，一种比较流行的说法是：市场调节意味着完全竞争下的市场交易活动，一切听任市场自发调节而最终达到均衡，而政府调节意味着不完全竞争下的市场交易活动，政府的介入破坏了市场的完全竞争状态，只不过由于完全竞争有这样或那样的缺陷，所以即使政府调节破坏了市场的完全竞争状态，也是值得的、必不可少的。由此导致的看法是：在市场机制与政府调节机制并存的场合，市场机制与政府调节机制的互补，或者是完全竞争形式对不完全竞争形式的补充，或者是不完全竞争形式对完全竞争形式的补充。这种说法是不正确的。这是因为：

第一，市场调节并不一定是完全竞争形式的市场调节，不完全竞争形式的市场调节同样是一种市场调节；把市场调节与完全竞争等同起来，不仅把市场调节理解得过于狭隘，而且也是对完全竞争的不正确理解，因为完全竞争作为一种市场调节形式，绝不是普遍存在的。完全竞争的理论意义大大超过了它的实际意义。

第二，完全竞争仅仅出现于均衡条件下，这时，过度的需求和过度的供给都不存在，任何交易都在均衡价格条件下进行。然而实际生活中，非均衡是普遍的，资源供给的约束和需求约束经常出现，于是就会有数量配额，通过配额达到事后的均衡。在这种情况下，市场调节是不完全竞争下的市场调节，市场交易是不完全竞争下的市场交易。

由以上两点，可以得出：

第三，如果经济处于均衡状态，也就是处于完全竞争状态，那就没有必要进行政府调节，因为市场已经使一切尽善尽美了。既然不需要政府调节，那就无所谓二元机制，无所谓两种机制的互补。如果经济处于非均衡状态，那就必须通过数量配额才能达到事后的均衡，市场调节是不完全竞争下的市场调节。这时，如果有政府调节，那么政府调节肯定也是不完全竞争下的调节。可见，在非均衡条件下，市场调节与政府调节的互补是各种不完全竞争下的交易的互补，互补的目的无非是为了更好地进行数量配额调节，实现配额后的均衡。正如前面已指出的市场调节在资源供给约束和需求约束之下所采取的配额调节，或者是按照优先原则进行的，或者是按照垄断原则进行的，而政府调节在资源供给约束和需求约束之下所采取的配额调节，或者是按照平均原则进行的，或者是按照目标原则进行的，或者是按照历史原则进行的，或者这几种原则共同制约着配额调节。因此，市场调节与政府调节的互补实际上就是优先原则、垄断原则等不完全竞争之下的交易原则同平均原则、目标原则、历史原则等不完全竞争之下的交易原则的互补或交易行为的互补。

如果我们从这个角度来进行分析的话，那么需要弄清楚的是：在经济的非均衡条件下，要使有限的货源符合需求各方的要求，或者要使有限的市场适应供给各方的要求，什么样的交易活动是主要的，什么样的交易活动是次要的？

看来，这个问题与经济的非均衡程度有关，也就是与资源供给约束程度和需求约束程度有关。如果资源供给约束程度轻一些（即资源的缺口较小），或需求约束程度轻一些（即市场的缺口较小），那么由市场力量来安排的交易活动就较为重要，由政府力量进行的调节相对地居于较为次要的地位。反之，如果资源供给约束程度强一些（即货源的缺口较大），或需求约束程度强一些（即市场的缺口较大），那么由市场力量来安排的交易活动的重要程度也就会下降，由政府力量进行的调节的重要程度也就会上升。直到资源供给约束和需求约束达到了一定的限度（即货源的缺口和需求的缺口达到了一定的限度），市场调节和政府调节的相对重要程度就会颠倒过来，即前者变得相对的次要一些，后者变得相对的重要一些。总之，一切都随着经济非均衡程度的变化而变化。

换言之，从互补的角度来进行分析，可以得出下述看法：

在市场调节与政府调节并存的经济中，按市场的优先原则、垄断原则等进行的不完全竞争下的交易活动在整个社会的交易活动中的相对重要性，是随着货源缺口的增大或市场缺口的增大而递减的；按政府的平均原则、目标原则、历史原则等进行的不完全竞争下的交易活动在整个社会的交易活动中的相对重要性，是随着货源缺口的增大或市场缺口的增大而递增的。如果经济随着缩小货源缺口或缩小市场缺口的方向运行，那么市场调节必将越来越重要；反之，如果经济随着扩大货源缺口或扩大市场缺口的方向运行，那么不管人们愿意还是不愿意，市场调节的地位必将降低，政府调节就会变得重要起来。

三、政府的分级与市场的分级

在这里，政府的分级不仅是指政府的上下隶属关系或政府各种机构的分级设置，更重要的是指政府调节的分级，也就是政府调节如何通过各级政府调节而实现的问题。至于市场分级，则主要从全部与局部的关系来考虑。由于任何一种市场体系都是由相互有联系的若干个市场所组成，任何一个全国性的市场又是由若干个地区性市场所组成，此外，从市场的结构角度来看，市场还可以无限细分，一直分到某一种具体的商品的市场。市场分级所要研究的，就是在市场不断细分的条件下市场调节作用将如何发挥出来。

总的原则应当是这样的：在政府进行调节的场合，凡是下级政府能够做到的，上级政府不必代劳。政府做市场所做不到的事情，上级政府做下级政府所做不到的事情。如果说上级政府和下级政府作为政府都起着第二次调节作用的话，那么同样作为第二次调节者，在这里，上级政府的调节与下级政府的调节相比，层次将更高一些。可以举一个简单的例子：假定市场上劳动力供求不协调或资源供求不协调，市场本身难以解决劳动力或资金方面的供给约束或需求约束问题，从而需要政府作为第二次调节者采取一定的调节措施。在这种场合，如果县一级的经济调节机构采取某种措施就已经把供给缺口或需求缺口缓解了，在市管县的政治体制下，市一级就不必再进行调节。假定市一级的经济调节能够采取有效的措施来缓和这些供求矛盾，省一级就不必再进行调节。只有在省一级不可能实现政府调节任务时，中央一级才有必要发挥自己作为第二次调节者的作用，对经济进行调节。这就是政府分层次调节的含义。从中央到地方的各级政府，都应当是精干的、高效率的，每一级政府都做它分内的事情，上级政府不包揽一切，而让下级政府去做它应当做的事情。政府的分层次管理与政府的第二次调节作用不仅是不矛盾的，而且将使政府的第二次调节作用发挥得更好。

从市场分级的角度来看，这里所用的“分级”一词与上面所谈到的政

府分级调节或政府分层次管理的含义是不同的。市场分级只不过是从市场结构方面对市场进行不断细分的一种分析方法。市场体系始终是一个整体，组成市场体系的各个不同的市场彼此密切地联系在一起，每一个市场的各个不同的局部市场也密切相关。市场调节始终是一种总体的调节，难以把它们分割开来，这与政府的分级调节或分层次管理不一样。可以举几个简单的例子来说明：

1．如果消费品市场上的供给小于需求，消费品价格上升，那么尽管开始时生产资料市场上的供给与需求是平衡的，但消费品价格的上升会引起消费品生产规模的扩大，从而会引起生产资料价格的上升。因此，市场调节就不限于消费品市场的调节，而且也包括生产资料市场的调节。

2．如果消费品市场上的供给小于需求，引起消费品价格上升和消费品生产规模扩大，那就会使资金市场上的资金供求发生相应的变化，即一方面，为了适应消费品价格的上升，消费者的货币支出会增大，从而资金供给的来源（即消费者的储蓄）可能减少；另一方面，由于消费品生产规模扩大，消费品生产单位对资金的需求会增加。因此，市场调节就不限于消费品市场的调节，而且也包括资金市场的调节。

3．实际上，消费品市场上供求的变化、价格的变化，以及生产规模的相应变化，不仅会引起生产资料市场、资金市场的某些变化，也会引起劳务市场、技术市场等市场的某些变化，这样，市场调节不可能局限于个别市场上，而会涉及各个有关的市场。

由此可以对政府的分级与市场的分级之间的关系作一简略的表述：政府的分级体现了第二次调节论的思想，即在什么样的情况只需要下级政府的调节，什么样的情况下才需要上级政府的调节；而市场的分级则是一种分析市场关系的方法，即通过市场的不断细分，可以较清楚地说明各个个别市场之间的相互联系，说明市场调节的整体性。

那么能不能得出如下的论点，即地方政府管理地方性的市场，中央政府管理全国性的市场，从而使政府的分级与市场的分级吻合呢？这种论点说明不了市场调节与政府调节之间的关系。地方性的市场也好，全国性的市场也好，凡是市场能解决问题，不仅中央政府不必插手，地方政府也不必插手。虽然地方政府的管理范围只限于地方性的市场，中央政府的管理范围可以包括所有各个地方的市场，但管理市场不等于调节经济：管理市场是根据法律来维护秩序，而让市场起着调节作用；管理市场也可能兼有调节经济的作用，即政府采取一定的调节措施，对市场的供求发生影响。中央政府和地方政府既可以用前一种方式来管理市场，也可以采用后一种方式来管理市场；或者，中央政府采用前一种方式来管理市场，地方政府采用后一种方式来管理市场，这一切都根据具

体情况而定。假定中央政府采用后一种方式来管理市场，那么这既可能指地方性的市场，也可能指全国性的市场，市场的分级在这里不是限制政府行为的理由。假定地方政府采用后一种方式来管理市场，那么这虽然仅限于地方政府管理范围内的市场，但由于各个地方的市场总是联系在一起的、彼此影响的，所以一旦地方政府针对地方市场的供求状况采取了调节措施，实际上其影响所及，绝不会受到地方性市场的限制。这又从另一个角度说明了政府的分级与市场的分级之间关系的复杂性。

四、市场完善与否和市场体系完整与否的区别

市场的完善与否和市场体系的完整与否是两个不同的问题，不能把它们混为一谈。市场的完善与否是指市场的竞争程度和自我制约程度而言。市场中的竞争越是充分，市场通过竞争和供求关系的变化而引起的自我制约功能发挥得越充分，市场就越完善。反之，市场中的竞争越是受限制，市场越是缺乏自我制约的功能，那么市场的完善程度也就越低。市场体系的完整与否，则是指市场结构而言。在社会主义市场体系中，处于中心位置的是商品市场。劳务市场、资金市场、房地产市场、企业资产市场、技术信息市场等等都是市场体系的组成部分。市场结构的协调与市场体系的完整是联系在一起的。市场体系越完整，市场结构越协调，对企业的生产经营越有利，经济的发展也就越具有良好的环境。

在经济处于均衡状态时，不仅市场完善，而且市场体系完整，市场结构协调。如果经济处于非均衡条件下，市场既不完善，市场体系也可能是不完整的，市场结构同样可能不协调。从这个意义上说，市场的完善程度同市场体系的完整程度、市场结构的协调程度密切相关。不断提高市场的完善程度与不断促进市场结构的协调、不断促成市场体系的完整都是发展社会主义市场所必需的。但在实际工作中，我们感到，在市场不完善，而市场体系又不完整、市场结构也不协调的情况下，要发展社会主义市场究竟应当从何着手，这个问题如果没有解决，那么市场的发展将受到阻碍。

市场的完善化需要有一个较长的过程，因为市场机制的形成与发挥作用、市场竞争的开展与市场的自我制约都有赖于参加市场活动的主体（企业）本身运行机制的完善。换言之，市场有一个自然发育的过程。在任何地方都是如此，甚至特区也不例外。因此我们很难设想能在企业尚未成为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者之前形成一个完善的市场。然而市场体系的完整化，则可以通过政府的措施来予以促成。这是因为，市场体系的完整与否同计划体制改革的进度有关。在传统的计划体制之下，社会主义经济中只存在消费品市场，其余各个市场都是不存在

的，这样就根本谈不上什么市场体系了。在计划体制改革过程中，生产资料市场、资金市场、劳务市场、技术信息市场相继出现，最终，房地产市场和企业资产市场也开始产生了。这些都是政府采取措施来改革计划体制所取得的成果。可见，即使市场不可能很快地完善起来，但无论如何，我们完全有可能在市场体系的完整化方面先走一步。虽然刚开始出现的生产资料市场、资金市场、劳务市场、技术信息市场、房地产市场和企业资产市场都是很不完善的，但有这些市场要比缺少这些市场好得多。我们可以在初步形成社会主义市场体系之后，一方面逐渐使市场结构协调，另一方面使市场本身趋于完善。

这就是当前我国企业所处的市场环境。甚至特区的企业也处于类似的市场环境之中。无论企业从事内向型的经营还是外向型的经营，都必须认清市场环境的特点，即通过计划体制的改革，市场体系已经初步形成了，但由于企业运行机制的改革仍有待于深化，再加上行政部门对企业的干预、束缚仍有待于弱化，所以市场至今还是不完善的。在这种市场环境中，企业的经营既有不利的一面，又有与过去相比有利的一面。不利的一面表现于：企业的自主经营权仍受到干预、束缚，企业的利益约束仍然微弱，从而在市场中企业的竞争不是公平的，市场供求的波动不一定对企业的生产经营起着有效的制约作用，企业不可能真正通过效益的提高和竞争来增加自己的收入和实现自我扩张。与过去相比有利的一面表现于：毕竟已经出现了消费品市场以外的其他市场，于是企业可以从生产资料市场、资金市场、劳务市场、技术信息市场、房地产市场等市场上，通过交易活动而取得自己所需要的资源（哪怕只能满足一部分需要），而企业资产市场的出现则为企业的生产规模扩大，为企业的合并、联营提供了较好的条件。这就是说，企业的经营是在多种市场并存的条件下进行的，市场体系的较为完整将减少企业经营中因市场较不完善而带来的困难。对企业来说，重要的是利用市场环境中与过去相比有利的条件，去缓和因市场不完善而产生的矛盾，以便在较不完善的市场环境中生存和发展。同时，只要市场体系已经比较完整，那么企业越是主动地、积极地利用客观存在的市场体系，市场的完善过程也就越有可能加快。

4.2 FRICTIONS IN THE OPERATION OF THE ECONOMY

4.2.1 Frictions in the Operation of the Economy Under Type I Disequilibrium Condition

In the operation of the economy, there are some situations in which the market mechanism and the government regulation mechanism coexist and can work together. In other situations, however, these two mechanisms cannot work together.

Why is the coexistence of these two mechanisms likely to cause frictions during the operation of the economy? This issue is related to economic disequilibrium.

We know that economic disequilibrium can be divided into two types, type I disequilibrium and type II disequilibrium. Therefore, to analyze possible frictions that are brought about by the dual mechanisms, it is also necessary for us to start with the features of the two types of disequilibrium. First, let us look at type I disequilibrium.

Type I disequilibrium refers to an economic condition under which the market is not fully developed, information is incomplete, and price cannot function to adjust demand and supply, as well as the economy muddles along with supply constraints or demand constraints, i.e., resource supply gap and demand shortfall. In this case, the market mechanism and government regulation mechanism cannot work together, which is seen from the following two aspects:

First of all, when the market mechanism cannot fully function, any regulation by government will likely aggravate the situation of underdeveloped market and incomplete information, making it even harder for market participants to make any decision based on market information.

Under type I disequilibrium condition, the market has not been fully developed, and complete and timely information is unavailable. Therefore, price cannot function to fully adjust demand and supply. This is not hard to understand. If market regulation and government regulation are applied to the economy, with market regulation functioning as fundamental regulation and government regulation functioning as the higher-level regulation, these two

mechanisms may have the following frictions: When supply is lower or higher than demand, supply gap or demand shortfall can only be temporarily alleviated after price rises or declines, because the market is not fully developed and price changes are not completely consistent with the requirements of market regulation. If at this time the government adopts regulatory measures, which might be contradictory to the intentions of market regulation, supply gap or demand shortfall can be eliminated. However, the market mechanism will be destroyed. In other words, in this situation, government regulation mechanism can only work by sacrificing the function of the market mechanism to some extent.

How do we evaluate the frictions between these two mechanisms? We can only look at it from the outcome of the regulation. Is it necessary to destroy the market mechanism, even if it is only to a certain degree? Is it worthwhile? Of course, it would be better that the market mechanism is not destroyed while government regulation resolves the issue of excess supply or excess demand. In that case, these two mechanisms can work together, and there will be no frictions between them. In reality, this is not necessarily always the case. Therefore, if we conclude that these two mechanisms cannot work together and as a result, government regulation brings some damage to the market mechanism, we can only judge whether the actions are justified or worthwhile on the basis of the outcome of the regulation.

Secondly, under type I disequilibrium condition, the market mechanism may potentially restrict the functions of government regulation.

That is also directly associated with underdeveloped market, incomplete and untimely information, the failure of prices to fully function in adjusting supply and demand, as well as resource supply constraints or demand constraints. For example, when it is necessary for the government to carry out regulation, the regulatory measures may not necessarily achieve anticipated results due to the fact that the market has not been fully developed and information has not been complete or timely. In this case, market regulation will restrict government regulation to some extent. Here is the reason: Government uses regulatory measures to send market participants a message on anticipated gains and losses from the regulatory measures and expect them to adjust resource combination and resource investment directions according to their own economic interests. Meanwhile, the market itself also delivers the information on the gains and losses from the regulatory measures to market participants. Because the information delivery channel is not the same

and because information is incomplete and untimely, the market mechanism may work with government regulation, which of course is ideal, or may interfere with government regulation, which becomes a hurdle to government regulation. This is also a kind of friction between these two mechanisms during resource combination or the operation of the economy.

In summary, under type I disequilibrium condition, as long as market regulation and government regulation coexist, these two mechanisms may or may not work together. It is possible that they have some frictions, and sometimes it is even unavoidable.

4.2.2 Frictions During the Operation of the Economy Under Type II Disequilibrium Condition

Type II disequilibrium condition is characterized not only by an underdeveloped market but also by enterprises who have not become independent goods producers. As enterprises lack not only the incentives to pursue economic interests but also the mechanism to make their own business decisions, economic disequilibrium is more severe under type II disequilibrium condition than under type I disequilibrium condition. Possible conflicts arising from the coexistence of market mechanism and government regulation mechanism may also be more severe or frequent. This issue can be illustrated from the following three aspects:

First of all, since enterprises are not independent goods producers, they have not been severed from affiliation with their administrative institutions. It is difficult for them to make decisions on business operations and investments on the basis of the profitability principle. There is a lack of market evaluation standards for good or bad business operational results. As a result, business productivity must be low. In this case, any measure that the government takes to regulate the economy will be unable to achieve anticipated regulation results. The primary reason is that enterprises lack the status of independent goods producers and the market mechanism itself is distorted. Conflicts between government regulation and the distorted market mechanism are inevitable.

Secondly, in addition, if enterprises have not been severed from affiliation with their administrative institutions and the government lacks information on business profits and losses, it is unlikely for the government to adopt reasonable economic regulatory measures. In this case, the measures that the government takes to regulate the economy may also be distorted and

make it very difficult to work with the market mechanism.

Thirdly, if supply gap and demand shortfall due to resource supply constraints and demand constraints exist under type II disequilibrium condition, how different are they compared to type I disequilibrium condition? Under type I disequilibrium condition, they are resolved by rationing equilibrium through transactions under imperfect competition that either follow the priority principle and the monopoly principle applicable to market regulation or follow the equalization principle, the target principle, or the history principle that are applicable to government regulation. In spite of frictions between the market mechanism and the government regulation mechanism, rationing equilibrium can still be reached as long as people continue to do business transactions in the imperfect competition environment. Situations may be different under type II disequilibrium condition. This is because enterprises are not independent goods producers and are unable to decide on resource combination and investment according to their own economic interests. As a result, any distribution principle (including the priority principle and the monopoly principle for market regulation and the equalization principle, the target principle, and the history principle for government regulation) will not follow its original intention and will be distorted whenever enterprises lack independent economic interests and fail to conduct business transactions in their own economic interests. Transactions under imperfect competition will not necessarily lead to rationing equilibrium. Supply gap or demand shortfall will possibly deteriorate. Frictions between the market mechanism and the government regulation mechanism will be more severe than those under type I disequilibrium condition.

4.2.3 Understanding Frictions in the Operation of the Economy

Based on the above analysis, we have clearly understood that frictions in the operation of the economy between the market mechanism and the government regulation mechanism are inevitable in some cases, regardless of the type of disequilibrium. This issue can be considered the limitation of the dual-track mechanism.

The fact that different intensity of frictions exists between the two mechanisms in the operation of the economy only demonstrates the limitation of the dual-track mechanism, revealing that the operation of the economy under disequilibrium conditions is far from perfect. However, it cannot prove

the dual mechanism is unjustified.

It should be noted that if an economy is in equilibrium, excess supply or excess demand will not exist, and there will be no need for the dualtrack mechanism. Since economic equilibrium condition only exists in theory and disequilibrium condition is economic reality, the dualtrack mechanism will exist in the operation of the economy whether you like it or not. Under disequilibrium conditions, in the case of resource supply constraints (supply gap) or resource demand constraints (demand shortfall), we can realize rationing equilibrium only by allowing the dualtrack mechanism to fully function and supporting business transactions under imperfect competition.

Undoubtedly, frictions between the two mechanisms under type II disequilibrium condition are heightened. The lower the degree of economic disequilibrium, the less severe the frictions between these two mechanisms. This point further demonstrates the urgency to deepen the economic restructuring currently being carried out in China, especially the reforms of enterprises. Through deepening the reforms of enterprises, the Chinese economy will gradually transit from type I disequilibrium to type II disequilibrium, and frictions between the two mechanisms will also gradually abate. This will be beneficial to economic growth.

贰　经济运行中的摩擦

一、第一类非均衡条件下经济运行中的摩擦

在经济运行过程中，并存着的市场机制和政府调节机制在某些场合可以保持协调，而在另一些场合，两种机制之间的不协调是难以避免的。

为什么在经济运行过程中二元机制的并存可能引起摩擦和造成两种机制之间的不协调，这是一个与经济的非均衡状态有关的问题。考虑到经济的非均衡分为第一类非均衡和第二类非均衡，因此在分析二元机制可能引起的摩擦问题时，也要从两类经济非均衡的特点着手。现在先考察第一类非均衡条件下的情况。

第一类非均衡是指经济处于市场不完善、信息不完整和不及时、价格不能起充分调节供求作用的情况下，以及经济中存在着资源供给约束或需求约束，即资源缺口或市场缺口等情况。这时，市场机制与政府调节机制的不协调主要表现于以下两个方面。

第一，在市场机制不能充分起作用的条件下，政府的调节有可能加剧市场的不完善、信息的不完备，从而使得每个参加市场活动的交易者更难以按照市场的导向进行决策。

在第一类非均衡条件下，市场完善、信息完整和及时这些条件并不具备，因此价格不能起充分调节供求的作用，这是可以理解的。如果经济中存在着市场调节和政府调节，并且市场调节作为基础性的调节起作用，政府调节作为高层次的调节起作用，那么两种机制之间可能出现如下的摩擦，即在经济中出现供给小于需求或供给大于需求时，由于市场不完善，所以价格上升或下降以后，货源缺口或市场缺口只是略有缓和，价格的变动不能完全符合市场调节的要求；假定这时进行政府调节，但政府的调节措施却可能同市场调节的意图相违背，这样，尽管货源缺口或市场缺口被消除了，但市场机制却遭到破坏。换言之，在这种情况下，政府调节机制是以市场机制一定程度的被破坏作为代价而发挥作用的。

怎样看待两种机制之间的这种不协调呢？这只有从调节的效果来评价。市场机制遭到破坏，哪怕只是一定程度的破坏，是不是必要？是不是值得？当然，最好是在不破坏市场机制的情况下，通过政府调节而消除经济中所出现的供给小于需求或供给大于需求的现象，如果那样，两种机制就协调了，就没有什么摩擦了，但现实情况不一定如此。所以说，两种机制之间的不协调以及由此而造成政府调节对市场机制的某种程度的破坏，只有从调节的效果来评价，才能判断这样做是不是必要，

是不是值得。

第二，市场机制作用的发挥，在第一类非均衡条件下有限制政府调节机制发挥其应有作用的可能性。

这也同市场的不完善、信息的不完整和不及时、价格不能起充分调节供求的作用，以及资源供给约束或需求约束的存在直接有关。比如说，在政府必要进行调节的场合，由于市场不完善、信息不完整和不及时等原因，政府的调节措施不一定能达到预期的效果，在这里，市场调节对政府调节的限制起着一定的作用。这是因为，政府通过自己的调节措施，把调节后的利益和损失等信息传递给参加市场活动的交易者，指望后者根据自己的利益原则来调整自己的资源组合方式和资源投向，而市场本身也从自己的渠道把利益和损失等信息传递给参加市场活动的各个交易者。信息的传递渠道不一致，信息又不是完整的和及时的，这样，市场机制的作用既可能同政府调节的意图相吻合（这当然是合乎理想的），也可能成为对政府调节的一种干扰，从而成为对政府调节的一种限制。这同样是资源配置过程中或经济运行过程中两种机制之间的一种摩擦。

总之，在第一类非均衡条件下，只要市场机制与政府调节机制并存，那么两种机制就有可能处于不协调状态，它们的摩擦的产生是可能的，有时甚至是难以避免的。

二、第二类非均衡条件下经济运行中的摩擦

第二类非均衡的特点除了市场不完善以外，还包括企业的非独立商品生产者的地位。而由于企业缺乏自己的利益刺激和自主经营的机制，经济的非均衡程度与第一类非均衡条件下的情况相比，是加重了，于是市场机制和政府调节机制并存可能引起的摩擦也比第一类非均衡条件下可能引起的摩擦大一些、多一些。这可以从以下三方面来说明：

第一，由于企业不是独立的商品生产者，企业没有摆脱行政机构附属物的地位，所以要使企业按照市场的利益原则进行生产经营和资源投入，是有困难的。企业经营的好坏缺乏市场评价标准的结果，必然导致企业效率低下。这时，无论政府进行什么样的经济调节，都难以达到政府调节预定的效果。主要原因就在于在企业缺乏独立商品生产者地位的前提下，市场机制本身是扭曲的，政府调节与这种扭曲的市场机制之间的矛盾也就不可避免。

第二，不仅如此，假定企业没有摆脱行政机构附属物的地位，政府对企业的利益状况是缺乏了解的，政府所进行的各种经济调节很难建立在合理的基础上，这样，政府所进行的经济调节也可能是一种扭曲的调节，它与市场机制之间很难协调。

第三，假定在第二类非均衡条件下发生了与资源供给约束和需求约束有关的货源缺口和市场缺口，那么这与第一类非均衡条件下所发生货源缺口和市场缺口有什么区别呢？在第一类非均衡条件下，这些缺口依靠按市场的优先原则、垄断原则等进行的不完全竞争下的交易来实现配额均衡，或者依靠按政府的平均原则、目标原则、历史原则等进行的不完全竞争下的交易来实现配额均衡。不管市场机制与政府调节机制之间存在着什么样的摩擦，只要进行不完全竞争下的交易活动，配额均衡仍是可能实现的。但在第二类非均衡条件下，情况会有所变化。这是因为，企业不是独立的商品生产者，它们不能根据自身的经济利益来组合资源和投入资源，于是任何配额原则（包括市场的优先原则和垄断原则，或者政府的平均原则、目标原则、历史原则），在企业缺乏独立经济利益和不能按自己经济利益进行交易活动的场合都会被扭曲，而与它们本来的含义有较大出入。不完全竞争下的交易未必能实现配额均衡，货源缺口或市场缺口还可能有所加剧。市场机制与政府调节机制之间的摩擦也会大于第一类非均衡条件下两种机制可能引起的摩擦。

三、对经济运行中的摩擦的认识

通过以上的分析可以清楚地了解到，无论是在第一类非均衡条件下还是在第二类非均衡条件下，在某些场合，经济运行过程中市场机制与政府调节机制之间的摩擦是不可避免的。这可以被看成是二元机制的局限性。

经济运行过程中两种机制之间存在着不同程度的摩擦这一事实，实际上只是说明二元机制的局限性，说明非均衡条件下的经济运行不可能尽善尽美，但不能证明二元机制是不必要的。

要知道，如果经济处于均衡状态之中，过度需求和过度供给都不存在，那就不需要有二元机制。既然经济的均衡状态只是纯理论的假设，现实中存在的是非均衡经济，二元机制就不是人们主观上希望还是不希望它出现的经济运行机制，而是客观上必然存在的经济运行机制。在非均衡条件下，只有发挥二元机制的作用，才能够在存在着资源供给约束（货源缺口）或需求约束（市场缺口）的场合，通过不完全竞争下的交易来实现配额均衡。

的确，第二类非均衡条件下二元机制的摩擦是严重的。经济的非均衡程度越轻，两种机制之间的摩擦就越小。这就进一步说明了我国现阶段的深化经济体制改革、尤其是深化企业改革的迫切性。通过企业改革的深化，使我国的经济逐渐由第二类非均衡状态过渡到第一类非均衡状态，二元机制的摩擦也将逐渐减少。这对社会经济的发展是有利的。

Chapter 5　Rationing Equilibrium of the Commodity Market
第五章　商品市场配额均衡

5.1　COMMODITY MARKET EQUILIBRIUM WITH QUANTITY–PRICE ADJUSTMENT

5.1.1　Commodity Supply Gap Under the Dual-Track Economic System

Current economic disequilibria in China have shown that the supply of commodities in the commodity market is limited. The supply gap is related to market underdevelopment as well as enterprises' lack of motivation.

Commodity supply gap will inevitably drive up prices of scarce commodities. If the government adopts compulsory measures to curb rising prices, either black market activities will arise or there will be a phenomenon where some commodities have listing prices, but they are actually out of stock.

If the scarce commodities are raw materials used in production, production costs will rise as prices rise, which will in turn push the overall price level higher. If the scarce commodities are consumer goods, the increase of commodity prices will either drive wages upward or lower real personal disposable income. The former situation occurs when wages are flexible, while the latter one emerges when wages are inflexible or the effect of wage adjustment is lagging. If the rising prices of scarce consumer goods drive wages higher, it means the cost of production will rise accordingly, and rising costs will contribute to higher price level. If the rising prices of scarce consumer goods cause real personal disposable income to fall, the commodity market will reach the ex post equilibrium in terms of form. In other words, commodity supply gap will disappear. Obviously, this is done at the cost of

allowing physical consumption to be insufficient, which means we choose depressing consumption as a viable solution to the commodity supply gap.

Now, the issue that we need to discuss is as follows: Under disequilibrium conditions, the rising prices of production materials or scarce consumer goods are unlikely to bring additional supplies because of resource supply constraints. The price elasticity of commodity supply is relatively low. Under such circumstances, if the price elasticity of demand for commodities is also relatively low, or even normal, the commodity supply gap after prices rise will not disappear. If, instead, the price elasticity of demand for commodities is fairly large, rising prices will likely lead to significantly lower demand for commodities. In other words, the alleviation or elimination of commodity supply gap still hinges on insufficient consumption of physical commodities.

Here is a process we need to pay attention to. That is, the shortage of commodities starts with excess demand. Regardless of whether wage rises in tandem with inflation or not, as long as there are resource supply constraints, the relatively low price elasticity of commodity supply will eventually end the entire process with insufficient consumption. That is, excess demand is unilaterally alleviated by existing insufficient consumption of physical commodities.

The issue does not end here. The existence of the dual-track economic system indicates the existence of type II disequilibrium conditions. The fact that enterprises have not become independent goods producers has significant implications for the supply gap in the commodity market. It should be noted that under the dual-track economic system, the price of some commodities is fixed while that of some other commodities is determined by the market. Or within the same category, some commodities are sold at fixed price while others are sold at market price. The profit margins are different among those commodities in the same category. In this case, if enterprises are goods producers who take responsibility for their own business decisions as well as profits and losses and carry out business activities in pursuit of their self-interest, they will be able to handle different profit margins under these two pricing mechanisms by adjusting their decisions on resource combination, despite the existence of two pricing mechanisms. For example, when enterprises are unable to secure raw material supplies at fixed price, they will try to make their own business decisions on the basis of profitability. Driven by the principle of profit maximization, enterprises will adjust their

production volumes to meet demand shortfall in the commodity market. Even with resource supply constraints that result in almost zero or relatively low price elasticity of commodity supply, as was mentioned earlier, the adjustments to production volumes will to some extent ease the price rise and insufficient consumption of physical commodities that are brought about by commodity supply gap. Nonetheless, if enterprises are not goods producers who are responsible for their own business decisions as well as profits and losses and thus unable to conduct business activities according to their self-interest, the situation will be somewhat different.

In the latter scenario discussed above, once there is supply gap in the commodity market, price rise and insufficient consumption of physical commodities will become inevitable. Meanwhile, enterprises themselves have no incentive or capability to adjust resource combination or production volumes according to their self-interest. They simply follow the intention of administrative institutions and passively endure the losses due to rising production costs brought about by commodity shortages. If enterprises could purchase raw materials at fixed price and sell finished products at market price, they would make money. But such profitability does not come from higher operational efficiency due to their hard work. If enterprises were to purchase raw materials at market price and sell finished products at fixed price, they would incur losses. Yet such losses do not reflect their operational performance. Even if they could purchase raw materials and sell finished products at fixed price, as long as the fixed prices of raw materials and finished products were not properly set, the consequential profits or losses would not only affect operational performance but also become an important factor that dampens enterprises' motivation to pursue their self-interest. If enterprises lacked the motivation to pursue self-interest, it would be very difficult to reduce commodity supply gap and might even widen the gap. That explains why the commodity supply gap under type II disequilibrium conditions has been so persistent and so hard to alleviate.

5.1.2 The Coexistence of Commodity Supply Gap and Commodity Demand Shortfall Under the Dual-Track Economic System

The socialist economy may experience the coexistence of commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall. The former originates from limited supplies and the latter from a limited market. If the structure of commodities is taken into consideration, it won't be difficult to understand

the coexistence of supply gap and demand shortfall. In Chap. 1 of this book, we discussed the issues of resource misallocation and stagflation in the socialist economy and analyzed the reasons for the simultaneous existence of stagnation and inflation. These analyses are also applicable to the coexistence of commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall. Next, instead of focusing on the reasons why supply gap and demand shortfall exist simultaneously, we will discuss how this coexistence impacts on the equilibrium in the commodity market, including the initial impact and the subsequent impact.

1. The Initial Impact of the Coexistence of Supply Gap and Demand Shortfall on Commodity Market Equilibrium

When supply gap and demand shortfall exist simultaneously, it is extremely rare to come across a situation where the volume of commodity supply gap exactly equals the volume of commodity demand shortfall in the case of commodity structural imbalance. Oftentimes, either the volume of commodity supply gap is larger than that of commodity demand shortfall, or vice versa. The former situation clearly indicates that commodity supply gap is dominant and commodity demand shortfall is secondary; the latter indicates that commodity demand shortfall is dominant while commodity supply gap is secondary.

Due to differences in commodity structure, commodities in oversupply cannot substitute for commodities in short supply. That is, commodity supply gap and demand shortfall cannot offset each other.

The coexistence of supply gap and demand shortfall has far more complicated implications for commodity market equilibrium than the existence of only one of them does. It is necessary to point out that under economic disequilibrium conditions, prices are not flexible, or at least the magnitude of price changes is asymmetric. In the case of commodity supply gap, prices will rise, whereas at time of commodity demand shortfall, prices will stay put or only decline slightly. Therefore, the price level under the coexistence of both supply gap and demand shortfall still tends to rise. From the perspective of the consumption of physical commodities, rising prices in the case of commodity supply gap will eventually lead to declining real income and insufficient consumption of physical commodities. Under the circumstance of commodity demand shortfall, although prices remain constant or decline slightly, economic slowdown (as demonstrated by the lower production volume of the commodities that see sluggish sales or a

declining growth rate of production) will have the following three implications for the economy:

First, economic slowdown or a declining economic growth rate concurrent with a rising price level indicates that there will be inflation accompanied by higher unemployment or a slowing growth rate of employment.

Second, economic slowdown or a declining economic growth rate concurrent with rising prices indicates that there will be inflation accompanied by lower fiscal income or a slowing growth rate of fiscal income.

Third, higher unemployment or a slowing growth rate of employment, as well as lower fiscal income or a slowing growth rate of fiscal income, will likely lead to lower real income or lower consumption of physical commodities.

Therefore, the coexistence of supply gap and demand shortfall is more or less the same as the situation where only commodity supply gap exists. That is, under disequilibrium conditions, as the price elasticity of commodity supply is relatively low, prices will rise and the consumption of physical commodities will be insufficient, regardless of whether only commodity supply gap exists or it coexists with commodity demand shortfall, and commodity supply gap will be ultimately alleviated by the insufficient consumption of physical commodities. The process of alleviating commodity supply gap becomes much more complicated under the coexistence of commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall than under only commodity supply gap. This is related to the subsequent impact on commodity market equilibrium from the coexistence of supply gap and demand shortfall.

2. The Subsequent Impact of the Coexistence of Supply Gap and Demand Shortfall on Commodity Market Equilibrium

We can look at the subsequent impact from the following two perspectives:

First of all, commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall do not offset each other, but it is difficult to keep them from influencing each other. For example, the supply of production materials is insufficient, and the demand for consumer goods materials also becomes insufficient; or in another case, some production materials (such as raw materials) are in short supply, and the demand for other production materials (such as equipment)

falters; or the supply of some consumer goods materials(such as food) is insufficient, and the demand for other consumer goods materials (such as consumption materials used in industrial production) also becomes insufficient. In these scenarios, the prices of those commodities with insufficient supply will rise, while the prices of those commodities with insufficient demand will remain where they are due to price rigidity, despite sluggish sales and inventory buildup. In addition, the rising prices of the commodities with insufficient supply will impact the prices of the commodities with insufficient demand. That is, either because the price of one commodity is a component of the cost of another commodity or because the price of one commodity is compared with that of another commodity, ultimately, the prices of the commodities with insufficient demand will rise. The commodities with insufficient demand will in turn influence the commodities with insufficient supply, possibly causing the prices of different commodities to rise one after another. This situation is particularly noticeable under type II disequilibrium conditions.

Secondly, if we ignore the price rigidity associated with the commodities with insufficient demand, their prices will fall once supply exceeds demand, which will cause the production volume of those commodities to fall. In a fully developed market, commodity manufacturers who cut their production volume can transfer resources to other commodity manufacturers with insufficient supply, which will slow down the rise of the prices of those commodities in short supply. Under disequilibrium conditions, however, those commodity manufacturers who cut their production volume are not able to easily transfer idle resources to those who have insufficient supply due to the underdeveloped market and the difficulties in transferring resources. In this case, it is hard to curb the rising prices of the commodities with insufficient supply. This is not the end of the story. The rise in price due to insufficient supply means a decline in real income, while the lowering of production volume due to insufficient demand means a decline in revenues. Hence, the subsequent production and sales volume of the commodities with either insufficient supply or insufficient demand will change due to changing personal disposable income. The disequilibrium conditions in the commodity market are unlikely to disappear during the transition period. It could get even worse. Therefore, we cannot ignore the subsequent impact, especially under type II disequilibrium conditions.

3. A Further Understanding of Stagflation in the Socialist Economy

The negative effects of commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall are normally ignored or underestimated. Similarly, people tend to ignore the likelihood of stagflation in the socialist economy.

The existence of commodity supply gap will drive prices higher. The existence of commodity demand shortfall will slow down commodity sales and lower economic growth. The coexistence of both supply gap and demand shortfall will drive economic growth rate lower (i.e., stagnation) and prices higher (i.e., inflation). In a disequilibrium economy, the following situation is possible: While economic growth rate declines, the slowdown is moderate and the economy continues to grow at a certain rate. While price rises, inflation is moderate and the price index rises slightly. This is seen as proof that stagflation has not developed yet. Underestimating stagflation will lead to erroneous decisions on economic policies and the postponement of the efforts to deal with stagflation that has actually developed.

It must be pointed out that there are two kinds of inflation under disequilibrium conditions, open inflation and hidden inflation. Open inflation refers to the situation where price rises, as shown by rising price index. Hidden inflation refers to the situation where price or price index appears to be unchanged, but commodities are actually out of stock, or people have to wait in a long queue to purchase the commodities they need (rationing in accordance with the priority principle), or commodities are sold in a fixed or limited quantity to each buyer(rationing according to the equalization principle, target principle, or history principle). From the commodity structure perspective, the prices of some scarce commodities appear in the form of open inflation, while the prices of others appear in the form of hidden inflation. Therefore, open inflation and hidden inflation coexist.

Stagnation in the socialist economy under disequilibrium conditions can also be classified as open stagnation and hidden stagnation. Open stagnation refers to the situation in which economic growth rate declines and hovers at a relatively low level, including almost zero growth rate or even negative growth rate. Hidden stagnation refers to the situation in which total output seems to continue growing, i.e., economic growth rate remains at a certain level, but effective supply has not actually grown. For example, economic growth rate remains at a certain level, but some commodities that have been produced are not really what society needs. Those commodities become inventories stored at factories and department stores, and their sales are slow. Because production continues to grow, people do not realize that this

situation is a kind of stagnation— hidden stagnation.

Since there are two types of inflation and two types of stagnation, there are four possible combinations of stagflation. They are:

1. Stagflation due to open inflation and open stagnation
2. Stagflation due to open inflation and hidden stagnation
3. Stagflation due to hidden inflation and open stagnation
4. Stagflation due to hidden inflation and hidden stagnation

Some people do not know that inflation and stagnation can be divided into two different types, nor do they understand that hidden stagnation is also a form of stagnation and hidden inflation is also a form of inflation. Therefore, they have a different understanding of the above four combinations of stagflation. That is, they are of the opinion that only the first combination is stagflation, the second combination is not stagflation but inflation, the third combination is not stagflation but stagnation, and the fourth combination is not inflation, nor stagnation, nor stagflation. Obviously, the incorrect understanding of stagflation is a very unfavorable factor in the fight against stagflation, as the complexity of economic disequilibrium is underestimated.

As a matter of fact, these four combinations of stagflation are all reflections of the coexistence of commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall under disequilibrium conditions. To resolve stagflation in the socialist economy, we need not only take appropriate measures according to specific situations but, more importantly, also understand from a theoretical perspective the various combinations of stagnation and inflation as well as the possibility of stagflation and further study the approaches to achieving rationing equilibrium in the commodity market.

5.1.3 The Possibility of Gradually Achieving Rationing Equilibrium in the Commodity Market

Based on the above analysis, we can draw the following two conclusions: First, the existence of commodity supply gap under the dual-track economic system or the coexistence of commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall not only drives prices higher but also decreases personal disposable income, making it very difficult to restore equilibrium in the commodity market. Second, if the economy is under the dual-track system, it means that it has not yet broken away from type II disequilibrium, i.e., not only the market has not been fully developed, but enterprises also

have not been able to make independent business decisions and take responsibility for their own profits and losses. Under such circumstances, if commodity supply gap (let alone the coexistence of commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall) emerges, it will be necessary to carry out rationing in the commodity market to achieve ex post equilibrium, i.e., rationing equilibrium. How can we achieve rationing equilibrium? This is a topic yet to be studied.

Of course, rationing equilibrium in the commodity market under the dual-track economic system is still doable. Theoretically, the following three different measures will be effective in gradually achieving rationing equilibrium in the commodity market under the dual-track economic system:

First of all, according to the abovementioned requirements of the transition from type II disequilibrium to type I disequilibrium, if the economy is under the dual-track system, the most important policy is to fully motivate microeconomic units so that they can change their status of having no authority over their own business decisions as well as no responsibility for operational profits and losses.

This is the prerequisite for any microeconomic unit to develop the internal mechanism to achieve organic growth and self-control. As long as microeconomic units can truly establish a profit-oriented mechanism to adjust their production and operation, despite insufficient supply of commodities or insufficient demand for commodities, they can at least adjust to the changing supply and demand in the marketplace so as to prevent commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall from deteriorating.

It should be pointed out that the frictions between the traditional economic mechanism and the new economic mechanism under the dualtrack economic system do not primarily reflect the conflicts between the two types of prices or markets. Instead, they reflect the lack of motivation of microeconomic units and their inadaptability arising therefrom to the two types of prices or markets, as well as the distorted transactional behavior due to the lack of constraint on microeconomic units imposed by self-interest. We have to keep in mind that as long as the economy is under equilibrium conditions, i.e., perfect competition without excess demand or excess supply and with potentially only one price(market price under perfect competition) or one market (the perfectly competitive market). While under disequilibrium conditions, there are various cases of imperfect competition in the economy and both commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall exist.

There are always two types of prices (i.e., a market price under perfect competition and one under imperfect competition) and two types of markets (i.e., perfectly competitive market and imperfectly competitive market). There are always situations that require the use of rationing to cope with limited supplies of resources or limited demand. Therefore, among all commodity market issues under the dual-track economic system, the top priority is to turn microeconomic units into goods producers who can make their own business decisions and take responsibility for their profits and losses and to enable them to adapt to the reality of two concurrent types of prices and markets so that they can perform self-adjustment and exercise self-restraint according to the profitability principle to reduce supply gap or demand shortfall in the commodity market.

Secondly, it is not realistic to postpone resolving the issue of supply gap or demand shortfall in the commodity market until after every microeconomic unit has become a goods producer who makes its own business decisions and is responsible for its profits and losses. Doing so will also bring unnecessary losses to the economy.

Under such circumstances, it is necessary to apply the following measures: In the process of turning microeconomic units into goods producers who make their own business decisions and take responsibility for profits and losses, we need to appropriately handle the relationship between government regulation and market regulation, allowing government regulation and market regulation to work together on supply gap and demand shortfall in the commodity market. With the joint efforts of government regulation and market regulation, rationing equilibrium in the commodity market can come true. The dual regulation is reflected in the process of reaching rationing equilibrium in the commodity market. This means that we shall try our best to allow market regulation to function in the process of realizing rationing equilibrium in the commodity market and let government regulation, which regulates the economy at a higher level and for the second time, work on any issue associated with rationing equilibrium in the commodity market that market regulation is unable to tackle until the eventual realization of rationing equilibrium. Here, we cannot reverse the roles of the first regulation and the second regulation. Otherwise, it will be difficult to realize rationing equilibrium in the commodity market. Even though rationing equilibrium has been barely realized at one time, it will be more difficult rather than easier to regain rationing equilibrium in the

commodity market due to the persisting supply gap or demand shortfall in the commodity market if economic operations are viewed as a continuing process.

Thirdly, since the rationing equilibrium accomplished by means of government regulation and market regulation occurs during the process in which microeconomic units are gradually turned into goods producers that make their own business decisions and are responsible for their profits and losses, we should actively capitalize on the influences of government regulation to help alleviate disequilibrium conditions.

That is to say, we should keep in mind that when microeconomic units are not yet fully capable of making business decisions and taking responsibility for profits and losses, their reactions that interfere with government regulation and market regulation are equivalent to hindering rationing equilibrium in the commodity market. On the other hand, we should note that if we can correctly manage the relationship between government regulation and market regulation and come up with regulatory measures accordingly, we can shorten the process of turning microeconomic units into organizations that are responsible for their operational decisions as well as profits and losses while realizing rationing equilibrium in the commodity market. This is the positive impact of realizing rationing equilibrium on the transition from type II disequilibrium to type I disequilibrium.

壹　数量—价格调节下的商品市场均衡

一、双轨经济体制下的商品供给缺口

根据我国的经济非均衡状况，在商品市场上，货源是有限的。这种货源的短缺既与市场的不完善有关，又与企业缺乏活力有关。

商品供给的缺口必然引起短缺商品的价格上涨。假定政府采取硬性措施来制止价格上涨，那就会出现有价无货现象或地下交易活动。

在短缺的货源中，如果短缺的是生产资料，那么短缺商品价格上涨将导致成本上升，而成本上升又将推动价格普遍上涨。如果短缺的是消费品，那么短缺的消费品价格上涨或者会导致工资上升，或者会导致人们实际收入的减少，前者出现于工资具有灵活性的情况下，后者出现于工资缺乏灵活性或工资调整滞后的情况下。假定短缺的消费品价格上涨引起了工资相应上升，那么工资的相应上升意味着成本的相应上升，而成本的上升也将转化为价格的普遍上涨。假定短缺的消费品价格上涨引起了实际收入水平的下降，那么从形式上看，商品市场达到了事后的均衡，即商品供给的缺口消失了，但这是明显地以实物消费量的不足作为代价的，即商品短缺将以消费不足作为可供选择的解决途径。

现在要讨论的问题是：在非均衡条件下，由于资源供给约束的存在，无论是短缺的生产资料价格上涨还是短缺的消费品价格上涨，都不可能利用价格的上涨来促成商品供给的相应增加。商品供给的价格弹性是较弱的。如果商品需求的价格弹性是较弱的或者甚至是正常的，那么在商品供给价格弹性较弱的条件下，价格上涨后商品供给的缺口不可能消失。如果这种情况下商品需求的价格弹性较大，那么价格上涨可能以商品需求的较大幅度下降作为结果，也就是说，商品供给缺口的缓和或消失依然会以实物消费量的不足作为代价。

于是就会有一个值得注意的过程，即商品的短缺以过度需求作为开始，最终，不管工资是否随价格上涨而上升，只要处于资源供给约束的条件下，那么较弱的商品供给价格弹性仍将以消费不足作为整个过程的结束。这就是说，过度需求是由于客观上出现了实物消费量的不足而被强制地缓解。

但问题并不到此为止。由于双轨经济体制的存在意味着第二类非均衡状态的存在，所以企业缺乏独立商品生产者地位这一事实对商品市场上出现的供给缺口还有着另外的重要影响。要知道，在双轨经济体制之下，一部分商品实行的是固定价格，另一部分商品实行的是市场价格；或者，同一类商品中，有些按固定价格配售，有些按市场价格销售，利润率的差别是存在的。在这种情况下，如果企业是自主经营、自负盈亏

的商品生产者，能按自身的经济利益进行经济活动，那么即使存在着两种价格，但企业能够按照自身利益的多少来对待两种价格下的利润率差别，从而以资源组合的调整来适应这种情况。比如说，在企业无法依靠固定价格的原材料供给来满足自己的要求时，它们会参照利润率大小来选择自己的对策，这样，在利益原则的引导下，企业会以调整自己的产量来适应商品市场的短缺。即使在前面已经提到的在商品供给缺乏价格弹性或商品供给价格弹性较弱的资源供给约束条件下，企业产量的调整对由于商品供给缺口存在而引起的物价上涨、实际消费量不足等等仍有一定的缓解作用。然而，如果企业不是自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，不能按自身经济利益进行活动，那么情况便有所不同。

在后面这种情况下，一旦商品市场上出现了供给缺口，物价上涨和实物消费量不足成为不可避免的后果，而企业自身又没有按经济利益来调整资源组合和调整产量的兴趣和可能，企业只好根据行政当局的意图来被动地承受市场商品短缺所带来的成本上升等损失。如果企业按固定价格购进原材料，按市场价格销售产品，那么企业将有盈利，但这不是通过企业努力提高经济效益而得到的。如果企业按市场价格购进原材料，按固定价格销售产品，那么企业会亏损，而这种亏损并不反映企业经营的好坏。即使企业既按固定价格购进原材料，又按固定价格销售产品，但只要原材料和产品的固定价格定得不合理，那么由此造成的企业盈亏不仅与企业经济效益有关，而且是挫伤企业提高自身经济效益的积极性的重要原因。企业提高自身经济效益的积极性受到挫伤，必然使商品供给缺口难以缩小，甚至还会使这一缺口扩大。第二类非均衡条件下商品供给缺口之所以旷日持久，不易缓解，可以由此得到解释。

二、双轨经济体制下商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口的并存

社会主义经济中可能出现商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口并存的情况。前者来自货源的有限，后者来自市场的有限。只要把商品结构问题考虑进去，对两类缺口的并存就不难理解。本书第一章在讨论资源配置失调与社会主义经济中的“滞胀”问题时，已经对“滞胀”同时出现的原因作了分析。那里的分析对于商品供给缺口和商品需求缺口并存而言，同样适用。下面，着重讨论的并不是两类缺口并存的原因，而是两类缺口并存对商品市场均衡的影响，包括初始影响与继发性影响。

（一）两类缺口并存对商品市场均衡的初始影响

两类缺口并存时，由于商品结构不协调而导致商品供求缺口在总量上完全相等，是极为罕见的。经常发生的，或者是在总量上商品供给缺口大于商品需求缺口，或者是在总量上商品供给缺口小于商品需要缺口。前一种情况显然是：以商品供给缺口为主，商品需求缺口为次；后

一种情况显然是以商品需求缺口为主，商品供给缺口为次。

由于商品结构不同，短缺的商品不能依靠过度供给的商品来替代，即货源的缺口与市场的缺口不能相互抵消。

但对于商品市场均衡而言，两类缺口并存的影响却要比一类缺口存在时复杂得多。在这里，需要指出的是，在经济非均衡的条件下，价格是不灵活的，或者说，至少是价格的变动幅度是不对称的。存在着商品供给的缺口时，价格将上涨，而在出现商品需求的缺口时，价格不下降，或只有较小程度的下降。因此，一般价格水平在两类缺口并存时仍有上涨的趋势。再从实物消费量的角度来看，当发生商品供给缺口时，物价的上涨最终会以实际收入下降和实物消费量不足作为代价；而在出现商品需求缺口时，尽管物价不变甚至物价还会有较小幅度的下降，但经济停滞（以滞销商品的生产者生产量减少或生产增长率下降为标志）却会给经济带来以下三方面的结果：

第一，在物价上涨的同时所出现的经济停滞或经济增长率下降，意味着在物价上涨的同时将出现失业的增加或就业增长率的下降；

第二，在物价上涨的同时所出现的经济停滞或经济增长率下降，意味着在物价上涨的同时将出现财政收入的下降或财政收入增长率的下降；

第三，失业的增加或就业增长率的下降，以及财政收入的下降或财政收入增长率的下降，都可能导致实际收入水平的降低或实物消费量的减少。

因此，两类缺口并存与只存在商品供给缺口时所发生的情形有很大的相似之处。这就是在非均衡条件下，以及在商品供给的价格弹性较弱的条件下，无论是只存在商品供给缺口还是商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口并存，都会引起价格上涨和实物消费量的不足，并且最终都会以实物消费量的不足来缓解商品供给缺口。但这一缓解商品供给缺口的过程，在商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口并存的场合，要比在单纯出现商品供给缺口的场合复杂得多。这与两类缺口并存对商品市场均衡的继发性影响有关。

（二）两类缺口并存对商品市场均衡的继发性影响

关于这种继发性影响，可以从以下两方面来考察：

一方面，商品供给缺口和商品需求缺口尽管不会相互抵消，但彼此交叉影响则很难避免。比如说，假定生产资料的供给不足，消费资料的需求不足；或者，假定一部分生产资料（如原材料）的供给不足，另一部分生产资料（如设备）的需求不足；或者，假定一部分消费资料（如食物）的供给不足，另一部分消费资料（如工业生产的日用消费品）的需求不足，那么在所有这些场合，供给不足的那部分商品的价格将上

涨，而需求不足的那部分商品即使滞销、积压，但价格刚性的存在仍会维持这些商品已经达到的价格水平；不仅如此，供给不足的那部分商品价格的上升也会对需求不足的那部分商品价格发生影响，即或者是由各种商品价格互为成本所造成的影响，或者是由于商品比价调整所造成的影响，从而需求不足的那部分商品的价格最终也会上涨。这样，再返回去影响供给不足的商品，价格的交替上涨局面就有可能出现。这在第二类非均衡中尤为明显。

另一方面，假定现在不考虑需求不足的那部分商品的价格刚性的存在，即一旦某些商品出现了供大于求的状况，价格将会下降，于是将导致这部分商品的产量的下降。在市场完善的条件下，产量下降的这些商品的生产部门将发生资源转移，即资源转移到供给不足的商品的生产部门，从而会缓和后者的商品价格的上涨趋势。然而在非均衡条件下，由于市场不完善和资源转移的困难，产量下降的这些商品的生产部门的闲置资源不可能顺利地转入供给不足的商品的生产部门，从而供给不足部门的商品价格上涨趋势仍难以被抑制。但问题并不会到此为止。因供给不足而引起的价格上涨意味着实际收入可能下降，因需求不足而引起的产量下降意味着货币收入也可能下降，这样，无论是供给不足的商品和需求不足的商品的下一轮的产量和销售量都将因居民收入的变动而发生影响，商品市场的非均衡状态不仅不可能在这一变动过程中消失，甚至有可能加剧。可见，这些继发性的影响是不可忽视的，第二类非均衡中尤其如此。

（三）对社会主义经济中“滞胀”的进一步认识

关于商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口所造成的危害，通常不是被忽略，就是被低估了。这实际上也同对社会主义经济中发生“滞胀”的可能性经常被人们忽视一样。

商品供给缺口的存在，将引起价格的上涨；商品需求缺口的存在，将引起商品滞销而导致的经济增长率下降。两类缺口并存，将会出现一方面经济增长率下降（“滞”），另一方面价格上涨（“胀”）的情况。然而在非均衡经济中，却有可能遇到如下的情况，即经济增长率虽然下降了，但没有下降得那么多，仍然保持着一定的经济增长率；价格虽然上涨了，但没有上涨得那么多，甚至物价指数只有轻微的上升。于是就被看成是“滞胀”并未发生的一个证据。对“滞胀”的认识不足，会在对策的选择上产生失误，从而延误了对已经发生的“滞胀”的治理。

必须指出，在非均衡条件下，社会主义经济中的“胀”分为两类：公开的“胀”和隐蔽的“胀”。公开的“胀”是指价格的上涨，表现为物价指数的上升。隐蔽的“胀”则是指表面上价格未变，物价指数没有上升，但实际上，或者是有价无货，或者要排长队才能买到所需要的商品（根据优

先原则实现的配额），或者商品定量、限额供应（根据平均原则、目标原则或历史原则实现的配额）。从商品结构来说，可能有些短缺商品的价格是以公开的“胀”的形式出现的，另一些短缺商品的价格则以隐蔽的“胀”的形式出现。于是公开的“胀”与隐蔽的“胀”并存。

在非均衡条件下，社会主义经济中的“滞”也可以分为两类：公开的“滞”和隐蔽的“滞”。公开的“滞”是指经济增长率下降到较低的水平，包括接近于零或成为负值。隐蔽的“滞”则是指表面上总产值仍有所增长，即经济增长率维持一定的数值，但实际上有效供给却没有增加。比如说，在经济增长率仍维持一定的数值的条件下，所生产的商品中有一些并不是社会所需要的商品，这些商品被生产出来以后，就成为工厂、商店的库存滞销商品。但由于产值仍在增加，所以人们没有认识到这也是一种“滞”，是一种隐蔽的“滞”。

既然“胀”分为两类，“滞”也分为两类，所以在经济生活中，“滞胀”可能有四种不同的组合方式。这就是：

1．公开的“胀”与公开的“滞”并存而形成的“滞胀”；

2．公开的“胀”与隐蔽的“滞”并存而形成的“滞胀”；

3．隐蔽的“胀”与公开的“滞”并存而形成的“滞胀”；

4．隐蔽的“胀”与隐蔽的“滞”并存而形成的“滞胀”。

有些人不了解“滞”和“胀”都分为两类，不了解隐蔽的“滞”同样是“滞”、隐蔽的“胀”同样是“胀”，因此，对于上述四种不同组合的“滞胀”也会有不同的认识：只承认其中第一种组合的“滞胀”才是“滞胀”；第二种组合的“滞胀”只是“胀”，而不是“滞胀”；第三种组合的“滞胀”也不是“滞胀”，而只是“滞”；至于第四种组合的“滞胀”，则既不是“滞”或“胀”，更不是“滞胀”。这种错误的认识对于“滞胀”的治理显然是十分不利的。它低估了非均衡经济的复杂性。

其实，这四种不同组合的“滞胀”全都是非均衡条件下商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口并存的反映。要解决社会主义经济中的“滞胀”现象，除了要根据具体的情况采取相应的措施以外，更重要的是从理论上认清“滞胀”的不同组合及其出现的可能性，然后再研究商品市场配额均衡实现的方式。

三、商品市场配额均衡逐步实现的可能性

根据以上的分析，我们可以得出以下两个论点：第一，双轨经济体制下的商品供给缺口的存在，甚至商品供给缺口和商品需求缺口的并存，不仅会导致价格上涨，而且还会导致收入下降，使商品市场的均衡状态难以恢复；第二，如果这时是处于双轨经济体制之下，那就表明经济尚未摆脱第二类非均衡状态，即在市场不完善的同时，企业尚未自主

经营、自负盈亏，这样，一旦出现了商品供给缺口（更不必说商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口并存了），必须通过商品市场的配额来达到事后的均衡，即配额均衡，但究竟怎样才能实现配额均衡，仍是一个有待于探讨的课题。

当然，双轨经济体制下的商品市场配额均衡是有可能实现的。从理论上看，以下三方面的措施是促进双轨经济体制下商品市场配额均衡逐步实现的有效措施：

第一，按照前面已经论述的关于从第二类非均衡过渡到第一类非均衡的要求，在双轨经济体制之下，最重要的政策是赋予微观经济单位以充分的活力，使它们从不能自主经营和不能自负盈亏的状态转变为自主经营和自负盈亏。

这是微观经济单位从内部产生自我成长、自我约束的机制必须具备的前提。只要微观经济单位真正建立了按自身利益来调节生产和经营的机制，那么即使在商品供给不足或商品需求不足存在的场合，微观经济单位至少能够适应市场供求的变化，使商品的供给缺口和商品的需求缺口不至于扩大。

应当指出，双轨经济体制下所产生的传统经济体制与新经济体制的摩擦，主要不是反映了两种价格的摩擦或两种市场的摩擦，而是反映了微观经济单位本身活力的缺乏以及由此而造成的微观经济单位对两种价格、两种市场的不适应，反映了微观经济单位本身缺乏利益的制约以及由此而造成的交易行为的扭曲。要知道，只有在经济处于均衡状态中，也就是处于完全竞争并且既无超额需求、又无超额供给的条件下，才有可能存在一种价格（完全竞争的市场价格）、一种市场（完全竞争的市场），而在非均衡条件下，在经济中存在着各种不完全竞争以及存在着商品供给缺口和商品需求缺口的条件下，经济中始终存在两种价格（即完全竞争的市场价格和不完全竞争的市场价格）、两种市场（完全竞争市场和不完全竞争市场），通过配额来应付有限的货源或有限的市场的情况也是始终存在的。因此，对于双轨经济体制下的商品市场中的问题，首要的是把微观经济单位改变为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，让它们适应于两种价格、两种市场的事实，并且通过它们根据自身的利益原则而发挥的自我调节和自我制约作用来缩小商品市场上的供给缺口或需求缺口。

第二，要等到所有的微观经济单位都已经转变为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者再着手处理商品市场上的供给缺口或需求缺口问题，是不现实的，而且实践中会使经济蒙受许多不必要的损失。

在这种情况下，需要采取的措施是：在促使微观经济单位转变为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者的过程中，要正确处理政府调节与市场

调节之间的关系，让政府调节与市场调节共同对商品市场的供给缺口与需求缺口起作用，商品市场的配额均衡将在政府调节与市场调节起共同作用的条件下实现。两次调节将在商品市场配额均衡实现的过程中体现出来，这是指：尽可能让市场调节在商品市场配额均衡的实现中起作用，而让政府调节作为高层次的调节，对于市场调节所不可能实现的商品市场配额均衡任务起再调节的作用，直到配额均衡逐步实现。在这里，不能把第一次调节与第二次调节的作用颠倒过来，否则，商品市场配额均衡的实现将是困难的，而且即使勉强地达到了配额均衡，但从经济运行的连续过程来看，在商品市场上继续存在着供给缺口或需求缺口的条件下，再度实现商品市场配额均衡的难度将不会减少，只会增大。

第三，由于通过政府调节与市场调节所实现的配额均衡是在微观经济单位逐步转变为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者的过程中达到的，因此要积极利用政府调节的影响来促进非均衡程度的减轻。

这就是说，一方面应当注意到在微观经济单位尚未完全自主经营、自负盈亏时，它们的实际处境对于政府调节与市场调节的干扰，也就是对于商品市场配额均衡实现的干扰；另一方面则应当注意到，如果正确地处理政府调节与市场调节之间的关系，并根据这种关系来制定调节措施，那么在商品市场配额均衡实现过程中，微观经济单位的自主经营、自负盈亏的实现过程也会加快。这就是商品市场配额均衡的实现对于第二类非均衡向第一类非均衡转变的积极影响。

5.2 APPLYING QUANTITY–PRICE ADJUSTMENT MEASURES IN THE COMMODITY MARKET

5.2.1 Quantity–Price Adjustment Measures in Broad Sense and Narrow Sense

If the economy only encounters commodity supply gap, it is necessary to apply quantity–price adjustment measures in order to achieve ex post equilibrium. It is also necessary to set the priority for quantity adjustment measures and price adjustment measures in the comprehensive adjustment package according to the scale of ex ante disequilibrium conditions in the commodity market so that ex post equilibrium in the commodity market can be realized. Simply put, the more severe the ex ante disequilibrium conditions, the more important the quantity adjustment measures, relatively speaking; the less severe the ex ante disequilibrium conditions in the commodity market, the less important the price adjustment measures, relatively speaking.

In our discussions on quantity adjustment measures and price adjustment measures, both price adjustment measures and quantity adjustment measures are discussed in their broad sense. The broad sense of price adjustment measures is different from their narrow sense. The narrow sense of price adjustment measures refers to the sole adjustment of commodity prices (including the prices of production materials and consumer goods). For example, lowering prices will lower production costs, causing supply to increase; raising prices will lower sales of finished goods and curb demand, both of which can serve the purpose of removing commodity supply gap. The broad sense of price adjustment measures broadens the scope of price adjustment related to the price of commodities to the adjustment of prices in other markets, such as adjusting interest rates in the money market, wages in the labor market, real estate prices or rental rates in the real estate market, and exchange rates in the foreign exchange market. They are all included in the broad sense of price adjustment measures. The broad sense of quantity adjustment measures is also different from the narrow sense. The narrow sense of quantity adjustment measures refers the sole adjustment of

commodity quantities (including the quantities of production materials and consumer goods). For example, under certain circumstances, increasing or lowering the quantity of the commodities that are not subject to rationing and lowering or increasing the quantity of the commodities that are sold at fixed prices will help increase supply or curb demand, thus removing the commodity supply gap. The broad sense of quantity adjustment measures broadens the scope of quantity adjustment from commodity quantities to the quantity in every other market. Here are some examples:

Adjusting credit scale available for the money market is a form of quantity adjustment. Using a dual-credit mechanism (under which planned credit mechanism and market credit mechanism coexist) as well as adjusting the respective weights of planned credit scale and market credit scale in total credit scale are both quantity adjustment measures. Adjusting the required deposit reserve ratio, a tool used by the central bank, is also a quantity adjustment measure, not a price adjustment measure, in spite of some similarities between adjusting the required deposit reserve ratio and adjusting interest rate, because changes of the required deposit reserve ratio directly impact the credit scale of commercial banks.

In terms of the labor market, adjusting the size of employment, changing the structure of the labor force or retirement age, as well as using a dual employment mechanism (under which permanent jobs and contract jobs coexist) are some of the quantity adjustment measures.

In terms of the real estate market, controlling the volume of rental properties or properties available for sale is a quantity adjustment measure.

In terms of the foreign exchange market, using export subsidies and import and export quotas and controlling foreign exchange without adjusting foreign exchange rates are also some of the quantity adjustment measures.

Moreover, fiscal adjustment measures are primarily quantity adjustment measures in a broad sense. They are not price adjustment measures. It is relatively easy to understand the quantitative nature of fiscal expenditure regulation. How to understand the nature of fiscal income regulation? Selling government bonds primarily is a quantity adjustment measure, because the quantity of additional government proceeds is determined by the sale of government bonds. It is the same with the sale of state assets. Price is certainly a factor, but quantity adjustment should come first. As for tax regulation, we should look at it this way: Determining the total quantity of tax revenues and adjusting the tax structure are undoubtedly quantity

adjustment measures, whereas determining and adjusting tax rates to a certain extent have some quantity adjustment features. The quantity of taxes is not necessarily related to the ratio of supply to demand on which price adjustment falls back. Some Western economic theories have also regarded taxes as the market price for public goods. We will not talk about to what extent this argument is right or wrong. If we look at the market of public goods, it is different, by nature, from the abovementioned commodity market, money market, real estate market, or foreign exchange market. This is because the most important public goods—national defense, justice, and police—representing security, righteousness, and order, have a sole provider, the government. Buyers have no alternatives, and the price of these most important public goods is determined by the supplier and is normally unrelated to whether or not supply and demand are balanced, nor is it related to the price elasticity of supply or the price elasticity of demand. Therefore, even though we know tax rate regulation to some extent share some of the features of price adjustment, it is quite different from the price adjustment in a normal market. By the same token, we believe that changing tax rates is to some extent a quantity adjustment measure.

5.2.2 Quantity Adjustment and Price Adjustment Versus Market Regulation and Government Regulation

As discussed above, when only commodity supply gap exists or supply gap and demand shortfall coexist, quantity adjustment measures are always applied in coordination with price adjustment measures. Before learning how quantity adjustment measures and price adjustment measures are coordinated, we have to analyze their relationship.

Can we simply think that price adjustment is primarily related to market regulation and quantity adjustment is primarily related to government regulation? We should admit that the argument has no theoretical grounds, nor is it consistent with the economic realities. Price adjustment can work either under market regulation or under government regulation. The situation where price adjustment works under market regulation refers to the following case: If supply exceeds demand or vice versa in the economy with no government intervention, changing demand or supply in the market will change prices, which will in turn change demand and supply until they reach a balance in the end. Such autonomous changes in prices are the price adjustment under market regulation. The price adjustment that works under

government regulation refers to the following case: When supply exceeds demand or vice versa in the economy, the government intervenes by regulating prices to influence demand and supply using measures such as raising or lowering fixed prices, setting a price ceiling or floor on market prices and allowing market prices to fluctuate within a certain band. Therefore, the price adjustment under government regulation means that the government uses price as leverage to regulate demand and supply in the market. The above explanations of the price adjustment under market regulation and government regulation are applicable to price adjustment in both its narrow sense and broad sense.

Quantity adjustment is similar to price adjustment in that it is also linked to both market regulation and government regulation. The quantity adjustment under market regulation means that the government does not intervene and the market performs quantitative rationing regulation on its own. For example, when a commodity has supply gap, some of the commodity will be sold following the priority principle, or "first-come, first-buy," until it is sold out. When a commodity encounters demand shortfall, a portion of the demand will be met in accordance with the priority principle, or "first-come, first-sell," until all needs are met. These cases are quantity adjustment by the market. Here is another example. Under the circumstance of either commodity supply gap or demand shortfall, if some enterprises are in a monopolistic position in the market, the monopolies can employ quantity adjustment methods (such as divvying up market shares or sources of supply), which of course is not the quantity adjustment under government regulation, but the quantity adjustment in the monopolistic competition market or the monopoly market. The quantity adjustment under government regulation means that the government utilizes all sorts of quantity adjustment measures in various markets to regulate the economy to make up for the shortfalls of price adjustment.

Therefore, when we analyze the relationship between quantity adjustment and price adjustment, we have to first of all understand that either market regulation or government regulation can include price adjustment or quantity adjustment measures, and we cannot think that price adjustment is primarily linked to market regulation or that quantity adjustment is primarily linked to government regulation.

5.2.3 The Mutual Influence of Quantity Adjustment and Price

Adjustment

Next, let us analyze the relationship between quantity adjustment and price adjustment in a different sense.

If quantity adjustment and price adjustment can be regarded as two adjustment methods that impact the business behavior of microeconomic units (i.e., enterprises and individuals), we can come to the conclusion that pure quantity adjustment or pure price adjustment does not exist and these two types of adjustment methods have a mutually influential relation when they work in the economy. That is, quantity adjustment, once executed, must create some price adjustment effects, and price adjustment, once executed, must also create some quantity adjustment effects. Any one of these two adjustment methods must rely on its own regulation effects as well as the effects of the other regulatory method to work on commodity supply gap or commodity demand shortfall. To better illustrate this point, we will discuss price adjustment method and quantity adjustment method separately.

A. Quantity Adjustment Effects in Price Adjustment

Based on our earlier discussions, we have known that any change of price, interest rate, wage, rent, foreign exchange rate, or tax rate is to some extent a way of price adjustment. The effects of price adjustment itself are manifested in these changes that influence the current and expected interests of microeconomic units in a way that can change their business behavior accordingly. However, after price adjustment is executed, the effects of quantity adjustment are gradually manifested.

(i) Commodity Market. If the commodity market performs autonomous price adjustment, the demand and supply of commodities will change as the price of commodities changes, and commodity supply gap or commodity demand will also change, and so does the quantitative rationing regulation that the market or monopolistic enterprises carry out. The quantity adjustment in the market (i.e., rationing regulation) following the price adjustment is done without government intervention. As a matter of fact, if price adjustment performed by the market causes commodity supply gap or commodity demand shortfall to shrink, we should consider the contraction the result of both price adjustment and quantity adjustment.

If in the commodity market, the government performs price adjustment on purpose, there will be price adjustment effects after the government raises or lowers fixed prices. Not only that, changes to fixed prices will certainly influence non-fixed prices, the ratio of fixed prices to non-fixed prices, and

the sales volume of commodities that adopt fixed prices and non-fixed prices as well as their respective weights in total commodity sales. Hence, price adjustment influences government's rationing regulation. The government needs to adjust its future regulatory measures according to changes in demand and supply brought about by the price adjustment, including adjusting quantity adjustment measures. Therefore, if the government performs price adjustment that lessens commodity supply gap or commodity demand shortfall, the result should also be attributed to both price adjustment and quantity adjustment.

(ii) Other Markets. Other markets are similar to the commodity market. When the market performs autonomous regulation of interest rate, wage, or rent or the government regulates interest rate, wage, or rent on purpose, they adopt price adjustment measures. When supply gaps in these markets change with the implementation of price adjustment measures, the effects of quantity adjustment are manifested. For example, changing interest rate will impact the allocation of credit quotas; changing wages will impact the quota of job openings; changing rent will impact the quota of rental properties. These examples demonstrate that the ultimate results obtained through regulating supply gap or demand shortfall are related not only to price adjustment but also to the joint effects of price adjustment and subsequent quantity adjustment.

The quantity adjustment effects arising from price adjustment are perhaps more obvious in other markets than that in the commodity market. This is because there are so many different commodities, and some commodities can be substituted by others. Buyers have many alternatives. If a commodity buyer is a person, he or she can also choose to postpone consumption to a later time, i.e., a decision on consumption and savings. These are the characteristics of the commodity market. Other markets do not necessarily have these characteristics. The reason is that there are relatively few different types of "commodities" in the money market, labor market, or real estate market, and substitutions between different "commodities" in these markets are relatively few and far between. Buyers also have relatively few alternatives. Therefore, when there is a supply gap or demand shortfall, quantity adjustment effects are very obvious. For example, if there is a surplus of capital in the money market, money suppliers will try their best to find a solution, or they will lose interest income. If instead money is tight in the money market, borrowers will try their best to find funds, or they will risk

business shutdown. In this case, either surplus funds seeking solutions or shortage of funds forcing borrower to secure capital will quickly give rise to rationing by the money market (allocating surplus funds to meet limited demand) or the rationing of money itself (allocating scarce funds to meet excess demand). These quantity adjustment effects will be quickly reflected in the money market, regardless of whether or not there is coordinated price adjustment. As a matter of fact, once money supply gap or demand shortfall occurs, the market will start autonomous interest rate adjustment even though the government chooses not to. Autonomous market regulation will soon take effect, together with quantity adjustment effects. It is the same with the quantity adjustment effects in terms of the adjustment of employment and rent.

B. Price Adjustment Effects During Quantity Adjustment

Price adjustment effects during the execution of quantity adjustment further reveal the mutually influential relation between quantity adjustment and price adjustment. The autonomous quantity adjustment by the market or the planned quantity adjustment by the government must take advantage of rationing regulation to influence the current and expected interests of microeconomic units in a way that affects their business behavior. As long as quantity adjustment is launched, price adjustment effects will be gradually revealed. This situation is similar to quantity adjustment effects during price adjustment.

(i) Commodity Market. If the commodity market performs autonomous quantity adjustment, i.e., demand and supply are adjusted accor- ding to quantitative rationing so that limited supply can meet excess demand or limited demand can be allocated to excess supply, price will change accordingly. Because under the circumstance where supply gap or demand shortfall coexist, autonomous quantitative rationing regulation will surely entice the buyers whose needs are not met to raise their bid price or the suppliers whose needs are not met to lower their offer price. Therefore, price adjustment effects (even though price adjustment is autonomous) are reflected during quantity adjustment.

If quantity adjustment is executed by the government in the commodity market, price adjustment effects will also appear after the launch of quantity adjustment. For example, the government adopts some measures to adjust the scope of commodities that are sold at fixed prices. This will undoubtedly influence the prices of the commodities that are sold at nonfixed prices,

driving them up or down, which will impact the demand and supply in the commodity market. For another example, the government can adopt measures to equally allocate the supply of commodities that have a supply gap or equally allocate the market of commodities that have a demand shortfall, which is also one way of quantity adjustment. Once again, the government can adopt measures to allocate the supply or demand of commodities that have supply gap or demand shortfall according to the target priority determined by the government. This method of quantity adjustment will also cause price to change. Overall, quantity adjustment measures adopted by the government, regardless of which method is used, will demonstrate price adjustment effects.

(ii) Other Markets. Price adjustment effects of the quantity adjustment carried out by the government are more obvious in other markets, such as the capital market, the labor market, the real estate market, and the foreign exchange market, than in the commodity market. This has something to do with the differences between the commodity market and other markets discussed in our analyses of quantitative adjustment effects during price adjustment.

For example, if the government sees money supply gap or demand shortfall in the money market and chooses quantity adjustment measures such as adjusting the credit scale, the ratio of planned credit scale to market credit scale, and the required deposit reserve ratio, the changes of money demand and supply in the money market will influence market interest rate by driving it upward or downward, even though the official interest rate may remain unchanged. Changing market interest rates will sooner or later influence the official interest rates. This is reflective of the price adjustment effects of quantity adjustment in the money market.

Another example is the labor market. If the government sees supply gap or demand shortfall in the labor market and adopts such quantity adjustment measures as adjusting the employment size or the ratio of permanent jobs to contract jobs, these measures, in spite of having no direct influence on wages, will undoubtedly influence the speed of labor migration and the direction of employment, which will sooner or later have an impact on wages as well as the demand and supply of labor.

The real estate market and the foreign exchange market are similar. As long as the government adopts some quantity adjustment measures, they will always have some price adjustment effects, and thus the demand and supply

in these markets will be influenced by both quantity adjustment and price adjustment.

5.2.4 The Coordination of Quantity–Price Adjustment Measures in the Commodity Market

The mutually influential relation between quantity adjustment and price adjustment helps the government regulate the economy as it consciously coordinates quantity adjustment measures with price adjustment measures. Keep in mind that if the government cannot consciously enforce coordinated adjustment measures, the market itself will autonomously coordinate price adjustment and quantity adjustment so that they can work together. Under economic disequilibrium conditions, if sole market regulation (including price adjustment and quantity adjustment that the market performs autonomously) fails to mitigate losses from economic disequilibrium, the government can consciously coordinate quantity adjustment measures and price adjustment measures so that government regulation can work.

Next, we will separately discuss two situations, one in which only commodity supply gap exists and the other in which commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall coexist.

A. Coordinating Quantity–Price Adjustment Measures in Presence of Commodity Supply Gap

We have to first of all point out that the commodity market, the money market, the labor market, the real estate market, and the foreign exchange market are all closely interconnected, with changes in supply and demand in one market leading to changes in supply and demand in another market. We cannot think that we can alleviate or close the commodity supply gap by taking adjustment measures only in the commodity market. Although it seems necessary to adopt adjustment measures in the commodity market, as commodity supply gap is revealed by signs of supply shortages in the commodity market, the changes resulting from the adjustment measures in the commodity market with other markets unchanged will not improve or eliminate commodity shortages. Therefore, to coordinate quantity–price adjustment measures in the presence of commodity supply gap actually means to coordinate quantity–price adjustment measures both in the commodity market and in other relevant markets.

Per our earlier discussions, the priority for quantity adjustment measures and price adjustment measures when they are jointly performed in the

presence of commodity supply gap should be determined by the degree of disequilibrium. That is, the higher the degree of disequilibrium, the heavier the quantity adjustment measures should weigh. When commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall exist simultaneously, the respective weights of quantity adjustment and price adjustment should also be determined by the degree of disequilibrium. Next, let me list the ways of coordinating quantity–price adjustment measures available in the presence of normal commodity supply gap[1]:

(i) In the commodity market, government regulatory measures targeting commodity supply gap that fall into the category of price adjustment include:

1. Increasing the selling prices of shortage commodities in order to reduce demand

2. Lowering the prices of the production materials used in producing shortage commodities in order to increase supply

Government regulatory measures targeting commodity supply gap that fall into the category of quantity adjustment include:

3. Adjusting the range of the commodities sold at fixed price in order to reduce demand, for instance, selling certain commodities at fixed price instead of non-fixed price or vice versa

4. Initiating quota controls over some commodities and removing or loosening quota controls over other commodities in order to reduce demand

5. Adjusting the range of commodities sold at fixed price in order to increase supply, i.e., selling commodities at non-fixed price instead of fixed price or vice versa, which is the exact opposite of point (3)

6. Adjusting the range of commodities that are subject to sales quota in order to increase supply. The commodities that are subject to quota, freed from quota controls, or subject to lower controls are exactly opposite to point (4)

(ii) Some adjustment measures can be adopted in the money market to tackle commodity supply gap. They can be coordinated with the adjustment measures in the commodity market. Of these measures, those considered price adjustment are:

7. Increasing interest rate with the intention of suppressing the purchase of shortage commodities in order to reduce demand

8. Lowering interest rate with the intention of increasing the production of shortage commodities in order to increase supply

Those measures applicable to the money market that are considered

quantity adjustment are:

9. Shrinking the credit scale with the intention of suppressing the purchase of shortage commodities in order to reduce demand

10. Expanding the credit scale with the intention of increasing the production of shortage commodities in order to increase supply

11. In order to reduce demand, adjusting the respective weights of planned credit and market credit in total credit scale with the intention of reducing the demand for shortage commodities

12. In order to increase supply, adjusting the respective weights of planned credit and market credit in total credit scale with the intention of increasing the production of shortage commodities

(iii) Some adjustment measures can be adopted in the labor market to tackle commodity supply gap. They can be coordinated with the other adjustment measures in the commodity market. Of these measures, those considered price adjustment are:

13. In order to reduce demand, controlling the growth rate of wages until wages are lowered so that consumption funds in society and their growth rate can be reduced

14. In order to increase supply, increasing wages for the sectors that produce shortage commodities as well as for the sectors that supply production materials used in producing shortage commodities and allowing their wages to grow to a certain level

Those measures applicable to the labor market that are considered quantity adjustment are:

15. In order to reduce demand, adjusting the credit scale, controlling the labor force and employment growth rate, and adjusting the respective weights of permanent jobs and contract jobs in total job openings so that the quantity and growth rate of consumption funds in society can be reduced

16. In order to increase supply, loosening restrictions on the number of people employed by the sectors that produce shortage commodities as well as those who supply production materials used in the production of shortage commodities and allowing the number of people employed by these sectors to grow to some extent

(iv) Some adjustment measures can be applied in the real estate market to tackle commodity supply gap. They can be coordinated with the other adjustment measures in the commodity market. Of these measures, those considered price adjustment are:

17. Adjusting rental rate so as to suppress aggregate demand in order to reduce demand

18. Adjusting real estate prices to ease the pressure from commodity shortages in order to reduce demand

19. Adjusting rental rate to increase the production of shortage commodities in order to increase supply

20. Adjusting real estate prices to increase the production of shortage commodities in order to increase supply

Those measures applicable to the real estate market that are considered quantity adjustment are:

21. Increasing the supply of leasable and usable land and housing to ease the pressure from commodity shortages in order to reduce demand

22. Adjusting the size of leasable and usable land as well as that of housing supply to increase the production of shortage commodities in order to increase supply

(v) These price adjustment and quantity adjustment measures listed above are only applicable to the commodity market, the money market, the labor market, and the real estate market. However, there are other adjustment measures available to tackle commodity supply gap. Of these measures, those considered price adjustment are:

23. Using foreign exchange regulation to reduce domestic demand and increase domestic supply, for example, adjusting foreign exchange rates and using the changes of exchange rates to influence import, export, and money inflows and outflows

24. Using tax rate regulation (in which tax rate is basically treated as price adjustment) to suppress domestic demand and increase domestic supply, for example, adjusting tax rates and using the changes of tax rates to influence investment and consumption as well as the demand and supply of commodities and labor

Those measures considered quantity adjustment are:

25. Imposing control on foreign exchange or loosening control on foreign exchange to influence import, export, and money inflows and outflows so as to suppress domestic demand and increase domestic supply

26. Adjusting fiscal expenditures to influence investment and consumption as well as the demand and supply of commodities and labor so as to suppress domestic demand and increase domestic supply

As a matter of fact, we can list a few other adjustment measures in

addition to those listed above, and each one of them can be further broken down into several specific measures. Therefore, we will have various combinations of measures to choose from according to specific situations in each period to tackle commodity supply gap, taking advantage of both price adjustment effects and quantity adjustment effects and avoiding solely relying on one type of adjustment measures(i.e., price adjustment measures only or quantity adjustment measures only) or the negative effects from only adopting one type of adjustment measures in a market.

We also have to keep in mind that coordinating price adjustment and quantity adjustment in the presence of commodity supply gap that we are discussing has a third connotation, besides the first connotation (which refers to using both price adjustment measures and quantity adjustment measures) and the second connotation (which refers to using adjustment measures in the commodity market as well as some appropriate adjust- ment measures in other markets). The third connotation of coordinating quantity–price adjustment measures is that quantity–price adjustment can be carried out to suppress demand or increase supply. Only by understanding these three connotations of coordinating quantity–price adjustment measures can we truly recognize the role that quantity–price adjustment measures play in balancing national income.

The third connotation of coordinating quantity–price adjustment measures is undoubtedly an option available to manage the economy under the circumstance of commodity supply gap. But coordinating quantity–price adjustment measures is more important if commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall coexist. In this circumstance, it appears that it would be quite difficult to handle economic complexities if quantity–price adjustment measures had only the first and second connotations.

B. Coordinating Quantity–price Adjustment Measures Under the Coexistence of Commodity Supply Gap and Commodity Demand Shortfall

When commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall coexist, adjustment measures are coordinated in the same way as when only commodity supply gap exists. In this circumstance, the government needs to not only coordinate quantity adjustment measures and price adjustment measures but also apply coordinated measures in many other markets that are correlated.

However, this situation is different from the one in which only commodity supply gap exists. When commodity supply gap and commodity

demand shortfall coexist, it is more important to implement and coordinate adjustment measures with the purpose of both suppressing demand and increasing supply. The reason for this is that the coexistence of supply gap and demand shortfall makes it difficult to enforce government regulation. If the government tackles only one of the two issues, suppressing demand or increasing supply, demand may continue to grow while the government tries to suppress demand, or supply may continue to decrease while the government tries to increase supply. This is a phenomenon called economic "side effects." To alleviate the "side effects," we will have to adopt a combination of adjustment measures.[2]

There are five different ways of coordinating adjustment measures. They are as follows: coordinating the quantity adjustment intended to adjust demand with the price adjustment intended to adjust supply, coordinating the price adjustment intended to adjust demand with the quantity adjustment intended to adjust supply, coordinating the quantity adjustment intended to adjust demand with the quantity adjustment intended to adjust supply, coordinating the price adjustment intended to adjust demand with the price adjustment intended to adjust supply, and coordinating the quantity–price adjustment intended to adjust demand with the quantity–price adjustment intended to adjust supply. Next, we will discuss each of them separately.

1. Coordinating the quantity adjustment intended to adjust demand with the price adjustment intended to adjust supply. This way of coordination features its ability to adjust aggregate demand using relatively powerful measures so as to prevent significant price fluctuations and to narrow commodity supply gap. Meanwhile, to prevent the adjustments to demand from negatively impacting economic growth, e.g., to prevent the excessive suppression of aggregate demand from stunt ing the growth of supply, we can apply price adjustment measures targeting supply so as to gradually alleviate commodity supply gap, which will help ease both commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall.

If the quantity adjustment intended to adjust demand and the price adjustment intended to adjust supply are well coordinated, the government's intention to adjust demand and supply can be realized simultaneously without any direct conflict. The main reason is that using quantity adjustment measures to adjust demand and using price adjustment measures to adjust supply to some extent allow microeconomic units to change their economic behavior in accordance with different signals. For example, they can adjust

investment and consumption according to the quantity signals so as to meet the government's requirement for demand adjustment, or they can adjust investment and consumption according to the price signals so as to meet the government's requirement for supply adjustment. This can reduce the frictions of economic behavior among microeconomic units and also help alleviate supply gap and demand shortfall in the economy.

2. Coordinating the price adjustment intended to adjust demand and the quantity adjustment intended to adjust supply. The coordination of these adjustment measures is basically the same as what we have just discussed. That is, both ways of coordinating adjustment measures can serve the government's purpose of gradually alleviating commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall while avoiding direct conflicts in the process of reaching the dual goals.

However, this way of coordinating adjustment measures is different from the prior one in the following way: Since price adjustment measures are used to adjust demand, i.e., using changes in the price of some commodities or changes in interest rate or rent to influence investment and consumption, in addition to a possibility of relatively strong resistance from microeconomic units, the effects of the adjustment measures may also only be seen after a relatively long period of time. Therefore, this method of coordinating adjustment measures is primarily suitable for immature commodity supply gap. On the other hand, as supply is influenced by quantity adjustment measures, which have fairly quick adjustment effects, demand may experience relatively large swings as a result. Therefore, this method of coordinating adjustment measures is primarily suitable for immature commodity supply gap. In other words, if relatively severe commodity supply gap has already been in existence and demand adjustment has become a pressing task, the first method will probably be more appropriate in order to simultaneously alleviate commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall. If the situation is different, we can adopt price adjustment measures to suppress demand and quantity adjustment measures to increase supply.

3. Coordinating the quantity adjustment intended to adjust demand with the quantity adjustment intended to adjust supply. Under the circumstance where both commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall exist, adopting quantity adjustment measures with the purpose of adjusting both demand and supply is very likely to require the following preexisting conditions: The market has been in such a bad shape and the market

mechanism has been so underdeveloped that price adjustment cannot function, and it is necessary to apply quantity adjustment to both demand and supply to alleviate commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall.

At this point, there is one issue that is worthy of our attention: We need to prevent any conflict or offsetting effects between quantity adjustment measures intended to adjust demand and those intended to adjust supply. How can we do that? Generally speaking, we have to take the following three points into consideration:

First, in terms of quantity adjustment, we need to apply different measures in different markets according to different situations. For example, in order to adjust demand, we can start with the money market and adjust the credit scale or turn to the real estate market and adjust the land available for transfer and the quantity of housing supplies. In order to adjust supply, we can start with the labor market and adjust the size of employment and the ratio of permanent jobs and contract jobs or target the commodity market and adjust the type and quantity of certain commodities that are sold at fixed price rather than non-fixed price.

Second, the quantity adjustment measures, though implemented in the same market or in the same area, can be treated appropriately based on the structural differences so that the offsetting effects between demand-targeted and supply-targeted measures can be avoided. For example, in terms of fiscal expenditures, we can appropriately adjust the structure of fiscal spending in the following way: We can adjust the fiscal spending amount of some projects in order to adjust demand while adjusting the fiscal spending amount of other projects in order to adjust supply. Another example is bank credit, which can also be appropriately adjusted through structural adjustment of credit expenditures: We can adjust credit availability to some industrial sectors or certain manufacturers in order to adjust demand while adjusting credit amount for other sectors or manufacturers in order to adjust supply.

Third, even if we can apply different quantity adjustment measures in different markets according to different situations in each market or adjust the structure of quantity adjustment according to specific measures adopted in each market and make proper arrangements, sometimes it is inevitable to see conflicts arising as long as quantity adjustment measures are adopted to adjust demand and supply simultaneously. Therefore, we need to consider the lagging effect, the direct and indirect effects of each adjustment measure, as well as the net effect resulting from positive effects being offset by negative

effects. The timing of the lagging effect varies as quantity adjustment measures vary. As a result, we can prevent, to some extent, the adjustment measures intended to adjust demand from offsetting the adjustment measures intended to adjust supply during the same period of time. Since there are direct and indirect effects and various adjustment measures have different direct and indirect effects, the offsetting of the adjustment measures intended to adjust demand and those intended to adjust supply can be mitigated. The final effect of various adjustment measures adopted by the government is dependent upon the net effect as a result of positive effects being offset by negative effects. Commodity supply gap will not necessarily be exactly equal to commodity demand shortfall. As a matter of fact, either commodity supply gap is larger than commodity demand shortfall or vice versa. Therefore, the net effect of adjustment measures as a result of positive effects being offset by negative effects will help us detect which of the supply gap or demand shortfall has been largely alleviated.

4. Coordinating the price adjustment intended to adjust demand and the price adjustment intended to adjust supply. Generally speaking, the way of coordinating adjustment measures has a prerequisite that is slightly different from the former one (i.e., coordinating the quantity adjustment intended to adjust demand and the quantity adjustment intended to adjust supply). The prerequisite for this way of coordination is largely applicable when the market is not in such a bad shape, and the market mechanism, although incomplete, is far from being severely underdeveloped. Thus, price adjustment measures, rather than quantity adjustment measures, can be adopted to alleviate commodity supply gap and demand shortfall.

Meanwhile, we will have to pay attention to the same issue as the one related to the former way of coordinating adjustment measures that we have discussed, i.e., we need to prevent potential conflicts between the price adjustment measures intended to adjust demand and the price adjustment measures intended to adjust supply as well as the effect of one measure offsetting another. Therefore, the arrangement under this way of coordinating adjustment measures is the same as under the former way, i.e., some price adjustment measures are applied in some markets while different price adjustment measures are applied in other markets. For example, to adjust demand, we can change interest rate or rent, while in order to adjust supply, we can change the prices of shortage commodities or lower the prices of production materials used to produce shortage commodities. In addition, we

can take advantage of the structural adjustment of prices so that the price adjustment intended to adjust demand and the price adjustment intended to adjust supply will not conflict with each other. For example, in order to adjust demand, we can change the tax rate applicable to the production and sales of certain products, while we can change the tax rate applicable to the production and sales of the other products to adjust supply.

The lagging effect, the direct and indirect effect of the adjustment measures, as well as the net effect as a result of positive effects being offset by negative effects that we discussed in the former way of coordinating adjustment measures are also worthy of our attention when we apply the current way of coordinating adjustment measures. As long as different price adjustment measures are properly arranged, we will at least be able to significantly reduce, if not completely eliminate, any potential conflict between different price adjustment measures.

5. Coordinating the quantity–price adjustment intended to adjust demand with the quantity–price adjustment intended to adjust supply. Real economic activities can be complex. The four ways of coordinating adjustment measures discussed above may seem too simple when commodity supply gap and demand shortfall coexist and therefore are not necessarily applicable to complex economic activities. It is probably necessary to coordinate the quantity–price adjustment intended for both demand and supply, i.e., it is necessary to apply quantity–price adjustment intended to adjust demand while applying quantity–price adjustment intended to adjust supply.

In this scenario, one of the main problems we will encounter is that these adjustment measures tend to be offsetting each other. All that has been discussed above is also applicable to this scenario.

Yet we have to pay attention to the dual coordination. This means that in order to tackle commodity supply gap, it is necessary to coordinate quantity adjustment and price adjustment so that demand can be effectively controlled or that in order to tackle commodity demand shortfall, it is also necessary to coordinate quantity adjustment and price adjustment so that demand can be increased and supply can be decreased effectively. Therefore, the first tier of coordination lies in the coordinated quantity–price adjustment measures to tackle either commodity supply gap or commodity demand shortfall, and the second tier of coordination lies in the coordinated quantity–price adjustment measures to tackle the coexisting commodity supply gap and demand shortfall. These two tiers of coordination are important. If any tier of

coordination is not well executed, adjustment measures may offset each other. Research on the socialist economic "side effects" as well as some treatments has revealed that the dual coordination of these two tiers is feasible and that the key point is to arrange measures properly and take the lagging effect of various adjustment measures into consideration.[3]

贰　商品市场上数量—价格调节措施的运用

一、广义与狭义的数量—价格调节措施

在经济只存在商品供给缺口的条件下，要做到商品市场的事后均衡，有赖于采取数量—价格措施，而且应当根据商品市场事先的不均衡程度，确定数量调节措施与价格调节措施在整个调节措施中的位置。简单地说，商品市场事先的不均衡状态越严重，数量调节措施相对而言就越重要；商品市场事先的不均衡状态轻一些，那么价格调节措施相对而言就不重要一些。

在讨论数量与价格调节措施时，必须了解到这里所说的价格调节是指广义的价格调节，数量调节也是指广义的数量调节。广义的价格调节与狭义的价格调节不同。狭义的价格调节仅指商品价格（包括生产资料价格和消费品价格）的调节，例如降低价格以导致成本下降，从而促进供给；提高价格以导致制成品销路下降，从而抑制需求，这样都可以达到消除商品供给缺口的目的。广义的价格调节则把价格调节范围从商品价格调节扩大到各个市场上的价格的调节。资金市场上的利息率调节、劳务市场上的工资率调节、房地产市场上的价格变动和租金率调节、外汇市场上的汇率调整等等，都属于广义的价格调节。广义的数量调节也与狭义的数量调节不同。狭义的数量调节仅指商品数量（包括生产资料数量和消费品数量）的调节，例如在一定的情况下扩大自由购销的商品数量或缩小自由购销的商品数量，缩小按固定价格配售的商品数量或扩大按固定价格配售的商品数量等等，都有助于增加供给或抑制需求，从而消除商品供给的缺口。广义的数量调节则把数量调节范围从商品数量调节扩大到各个市场上的数量调节。例如：

在资金市场上，信贷规模的调节就是一种数量调节。二元信贷制度（计划信贷与市场信贷并存的制度）的运用，以及计划信贷数量与市场信贷数量各自在信贷总量中所占的比例的变化，也属于数量调节范围。再以中央银行调节手段中的存款准备率调节来说，尽管存款准备率调节与利息率调节有相似之处，但这是数量调节，而不是价格调节，因为存款准备率的变动直接影响着商业银行的信贷规模。

在劳动力市场上，就业规模的调节、劳动力的组合方式的变更、退休年龄的调整，以及二元用工制度（固定工制度与合同工制度的并存）的运用等，都属于数量调节范围。

在房地产市场上，对房地产出租和出售的数量控制就是这一市场上

数量调节方式。

在外汇市场上，不采取汇率调整而采取诸如出口津贴、进出口限额、外汇管制之类的措施，也都属于数量调节范围。

此外，财政调节手段基本上是一种广义的数量调节，而不是价格调节。关于财政支出的数量调节性质，是比较容易理解的。那么财政收入的调节的性质又如何呢？政府债券的出售主要是数量调节方式，因为这是需要确定通过出售政府债券而增加的政府收入数量。国有资产的出售，情况也是如此。这里涉及价格问题，但数量调节是首要的。对于税收的调节，应当持有这样的看法：税收总量的确定、税收结构的调整无疑是数量调节，而税率的确定和调整，也具有一定程度的数量调节的性质。税收数量多少不一定涉及价格调节所依据的市场供求比例问题。当然，在西方经济学家的论述中，也有把税收看成是公共产品市场上的价格的观点。现在姑且不去评论这种观点正确与否到何种程度，即以公共产品市场来看，它与以上所提到的商品市场、资金市场、房地产市场、外汇市场等等在性质上是有区别的。这是因为，最重要的公共产品——国防、司法与治安，即所谓“安全、公正与秩序”——的惟一供给者是政府，需求者别无选择。这些最重要的公共产品价格由供方所决定，这种价格一般不涉及供求比例是否协调的问题或供给价格弹性和需求价格弹性大小的问题。因此，即使我们可以认为税率调节也在一定程度上具有价格调节的性质，但它与一般市场上的价格调节是很不相同的。我们同样可以认为税率的变动在一定程度上属于数量调节之列。

二、数量调节、价格调节与市场调节、政府调节的关系

如上所述，无论是在单独发生商品供给缺口还是在商品供给缺口和商品需求缺口并存时，数量调节与价格调节总是配合使用的。在了解二者的配合方式之前，有必要先对二者之间的关系进行分析。

能不能简单地认为价格调节主要同市场调节有关，而数量调节主要同政府调节有关呢？应该说，这种提法在理论上没有根据，而在实际经济生活中，也与事实不符。价格调节，既有市场调节中的价格调节，又有政府调节中的价格调节，市场调节中的价格调节是指：在政府不干预的条件下，如果国民经济中出现了供大于求或供不应求的现象，那么市场的供求关系将导致价格的变动，而价格的变动又导致供求关系的变动，最终使供求趋于平衡。价格的这种自发的变动就是市场调节中的价格调节。政府调节中的价格调节是指：如果国民经济中出现了供大于求或供不应求的现象，政府对价格进行干预，例如提高或降低固定价格，对市场价格规定了最高限价或最低支持价格，以及给市场价格以一定的浮动幅度等等，以影响供求关系。因此，政府调节中的价格调节就是指

政府运用价格杠杆来调节市场的供求。以上关于市场调节中的价格调节和政府调节中的价格调节的解释，既适用于狭义的价格调节，又适用于广义的价格调节。

数量调节的情况与此相似。数量调节也是既与市场调节有关，又与政府调节有关。市场调节中的数量调节是指：在政府不干预的条件下，由市场自身按数量进行配额调节。比如说，在商品有供给缺口时，一定量的商品按照“谁先来，谁来买”的优先原则进行销售，直到销售完毕为止；在商品有需求缺口时，一定份额的市场按照“谁先来，谁先卖”的优先原则进行销售，直到市场被占领完毕为止。这些都属于市场的数量调节。又如，在商品有供给缺口或需求缺口时，如果一定的市场上有垄断企业存在，那么垄断企业也可能采取数量调节方式（如分配市场份额，分配货源），但这不是政府的数量调节，而是垄断竞争市场或垄断市场上的数量调节。政府调节中的数量调节是指：政府利用各种数量调节手段在各种市场上进行调节，以弥补价格调节之不足。

由此可见，在分析数量调节与价格调节之间的关系时，首先应当了解到，不管是市场调节还是政府调节，每一种调节都包括价格调节和数量调节，而不能认为价格调节主要同市场调节有关或数量调节主要同政府调节有关。

三、数量调节与价格调节的相互渗透关系

接着，让我们再就另一个意义上的数量调节和价格调节之间的关系进行分析。

如果把数量调节和价格调节都看成是影响微观经济单位（企业和个人）的经济行为的一种调节方式，那么可以认为，纯粹的数量调节和纯粹的价格调节都是不存在的，这两种调节方式在发挥作用的过程中，彼此有一种相互渗透的关系，即数量调节进行后，必然兼有价格调节的效应，而价格调节进行后，也必然兼有数量调节的效应。这两种调节方式中的任何一种，都是依赖着本调节方式的效应和另一种调节方式的效应而发挥其消除商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口的作用的。为了更好地说明这一点，不妨从价格调节方式和数量调节方式两方面来加以论述。

（一）价格调节中的数量调节效应

根据前面的论述，我们已经知道，凡是价格的变动、利息率的变动、工资率的变动、租金率的变动、汇率的变动以及一定程度上的税率的变动，都是价格调节方式。价格调节方式本身的效应在于通过这种变动而影响微观经济单位的现期利益和预期利益，进而影响它们的经济行为。但一旦实行了价格调节，数量调节的效应也就逐步表现出来。

1．商品市场的情况。在商品市场上，如果是市场的自发的价格调

节，那么在价格变动以后，商品的供求比例会发生变动，从而随着商品供给缺口和商品需求缺口的变动，由市场自身按数量进行的配额调节也就发生变动，或者由垄断企业按数量进行的配额调节发生变动。市场上这种继价格调节之后而发生的数量调节（配额调节）都是在政府不干预的条件下实现的。实际上，如果说通过市场的价格调节而导致商品供给缺口或商品需求缺口有所缩小的话，那么应当把这种缩小看成是价格调节和数量调节都发挥了作用的结果。

在商品市场上，如果是政府的有目的的价格调节，那么在政府提高或降低固定价格之后，不仅发生了价格调节效应，而且由于固定价格的变动而势必影响了非固定价格，影响了固定价格与非固定价格的比例，影响了按固定价格销售的商品和按非固定价格销售的商品各自的销售数量以及它们在总销售数量中的比例，这样，也就对政府的配额调节发生影响。政府需要根据价格调节而引起的供求变化状况，调整下一步的调节措施，其中就包括了数量调节措施的调整。因此，如果说政府通过价格调节而导致商品供给缺口或商品需求缺口有所缩小的话，那么这种缩小同样是价格调节和数量调节都发挥了作用的结果。

2．其他市场的情况。其他市场上的情况与商品市场上的情况是类似的。当市场自发地进行利息率、工资率、租金率等等调节时，或者，当政府有目的地进行利息率、工资率、租金率等等调节时，虽然这些都是价格调节，但一旦这些市场上的供求缺口随之而变动以后，数量调节的效应也就表现出来了。例如，利息率的变动将影响信贷配额的调整；工资率的变动将影响就业岗位的配额的调整；租金率的变动将影响租赁对象的配额的调整。这表明，供求缺口的最终调节结果，固然与价格调节的作用有关，但也与价格调节以及随之而发生的数量调节二者的共同作用有关。

在其他市场上，价格调节中的数量调节效应也许比商品市场上的价格调节中的数量调节效应更加明显一些。这是因为，商品的种类是繁多的，各种商品之间存在着一定的替代关系，需求者在购买对象之间的选择余地较大，而且，假定商品需求者是居民个人，这么他们还可以在现期消费与延期消费之间作出选择，即在消费与储蓄之间作出选择，这些都可以被看作是商品市场的特色。其他市场则不一定具有以上所谈的这种特色。这是因为，资金市场、劳务市场、房地产市场上的“商品”的种类较少，各种“商品”之间的替代性较弱，需求者的选择余地也较小，因此，只要出现了供给缺口或需求缺口，数量调节的效应就明显地表现出来。比如说，资金市场一出现资金过剩，资金供给者就竭力想给过剩的资金找出路，否则利息损失过大，而在资金市场一出现资金不足时，资金需求者也就会多方设法获取资金，否则整个经济活动就会停顿下来。

这样，无论是过剩的资金寻找出路还是资金的短缺所引起的对资金的追求，都将迅速导致资金市场的配额调节（过剩资金在有限的资金需求者之间的分配）或资金本身的配额调节（不足的资金在众多的需求者之间的分配）的出现。数量调节的这种效应不管在资金市场上是否出现了价格调节都会迅速反映出来。实际上，只要有了资金供给缺口或资金需求缺口，即使政府不进行利息率调节，市场的自发和利息率调节就已经开始了，于是市场的自发的利息率调节效应也就很快地同数量调节效应共同发生作用。工作率调节和租金率调节中的数量调节效应，也可以用同样的道理来加以说明。

（二）数量调节中的价格调节效应

数量调节中的价格调节效应进一步说明了数量调节和价格调节之间的相互渗透关系。数量调节是通过数量配额而发挥其调整供求比例的作用的。无论是市场自发的数量调节还是政府有目的的数量调节，都通过配额的调整而影响微观经济单位的现期利益和预期利益，进而影响它们的经济行为。但只要数量调节被推出，价格调节的效应也就逐步表现出来，这些情况与价格调节中数量调节效应的发挥过程是相似的。

1．商品市场的情况。在商品市场上，如果市场自发地进行数量调节，即按照数量配额来调整供求关系，使有限的供给符合众多的需求者，或使有限的需求符合众多的供给者，那么这样一来，价格也就会随之变动。这是因为，在供给缺口或需求缺口存在的条件下，采取了自发的数量配额的调节，必然会使得未能满足要求的需求者提高价格；使得未能满足要求的供给者降低价格，所以在数量调节过程中，价格调节（尽管是自发的价格调节）的效应将得到反映。

如果在商品市场上实现的是政府的数量调节，那么在实现这种数量调节以后，也会表现出价格调节的效应。比如说，政府采取措施，调整按照固定价格销售的商品的范围，这就不可避免地影响非固定价格销售的商品的价格，使之上升或下降，从而影响商品市场上的供求比例。又如，政府采取措施，对供给不足或需求不足的商品实行平均分配货源或平均分配市场的办法，这也是数量调节的方式之一，它同样会带来价格的变动，影响商品供求关系。再如，政府采取措施，对供给不足或需求不足的商品根据政府所确定的目标原则，按优先顺序排列来分配货源或分配市场，这种数量调节方式无疑也会引起价格的变动。可见，政府采取的数量调节中，无论哪一种数量调节方式，都兼有价格调节的效应。

2．其他市场的情况。政府采取的数量调节中的价格调节效应，在资金市场、劳务市场、房地产市场、外汇市场上的反映同样要比在商品市场上的反映更加明显些和突出些。这与前面在分析价格调节中的数量调节效应时所提到的商品市场与其他市场的区别有关。

例如，在资金市场上，如果政府根据资金供给的缺口或资金需求的缺口而采取调整信贷规模，调整计划信贷与市场信贷的比例，或调整存款准备率等数量调节方式，那么即使政府制定的利息率不变，但由于资金市场资金供求状况的变化必然影响到市场利息率，使之或升或降，而市场利息率的变动迟早会影响政府制定的利息率。这就是资金市场上数量调节中的价格调节效应的反映。

又如，在劳务市场上，如果政府根据劳务供给的缺口或劳务需求的缺口而采取调整就业规模或调整固定工所占比例和合同工所占比例等数量调节方式，那么即使这些措施并不直接影响工资率，但它们却无疑地会影响劳动力的流动速度和劳动力的职业选择方向，而劳动力的流动状况和职业选择方向的改变迟早也会影响工资率，进而影响劳动力的供求。

关于房地产市场和外汇市场上的情况，也与此相似，即只要政府采取了数量调节，它们总会兼有价格调节的效应，使这些市场的供求关系受到数量调节和价格调节二者的共同影响。

四、商品市场上数量—价格调节措施的配合

对数量调节与价格调节之间存在的相互渗透关系的了解，有助于政府在进行调节时自觉地把数量调节措施与价格调节措施配合运用。要知道，假定政府不能自觉地采取这些配合措施，那么市场本身也会自发地把市场的价格调节与市场的数量调节结合起来，使它们共同发生作用。在经济处于非均衡的条件下，如果已经不可能单纯依靠市场调节（包括市场自发的价格调节和市场自发的数量调节）来减少非均衡所造成的损失的话，那么政府自觉地把数量调节与价格调节配合起来加以运用，就可以更好地发挥政府调节的作用。

下面，按商品供给缺口的存在以及商品供给缺口和商品需求缺口的并存这两种不同的情况分别论述。

（一）商品供给缺口存在条件下数量—价格调节措施的配合

在这里首先应当指出，商品市场、资金市场、劳务市场、房地产市场、外汇市场等等是紧密地联系在一起的，一个市场的供求关系的变化会影响到另一个市场的供求关系。我们不能认为商品供给缺口的缓和或消除仅仅靠商品市场上采取调节措施就能奏效的。虽然商品供给缺口所表现出来的是商品市场上的供不应求，从而在商品市场上采取调节措施十分必要，但如果其他市场的情况不变，那么商品市场这一市场上的变化并不能导致商品供不应求现象的缓和或消失。因此，在讨论商品供给缺口存在条件下数量—价格调节措施的配合时，实际上意味着商品市场以及其他有关市场上数量—价格调节措施的配合。

如上所述，在商品供给缺口存在的条件下，数量调节与价格调节共同使用中的主次排列应以非均衡程度大小为依据，即非均衡程度越大，数量调节所占的比重就越大。商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口并存时，数量调节与价格调节各自所占比重的大小也同样地以非均衡程度为转移。下面，让我们根据商品供给缺口存在条件下的一般情况，把可供选择的数量—价格调节措施的配合方式列举如下[1]：

A．在商品市场上：针对商品供给的缺口，可供选择的政府调节措施中，属于价格调节的有：

①从抑制需求的角度着眼，提高短缺商品的销售价格；

②从增加供给的角度着眼，降低用于生产短缺商品的各种生产资料的价格；

属于数量调节的有：

③从抑制需求的角度着眼，调整按固定价格销售的范围，例如把某些商品从按非固定价格销售改为按固定价格销售，把另一些商品从按固定价格销售改为按非固定价格销售；

④从抑制需求的角度着眼，对某些商品实行配额制，对另一些商品，则取消配额制或放宽配额限制；

⑤从增加供给的角度着眼，调整按固定价格销售的范围。哪些商品应从按固定价格销售改为按非固定价格销售，哪些商品应从按非固定价格销售改为按固定价格销售，与③项所指的相反；

⑥从增加供给的角度着眼，调整商品配售制的实行范围。哪些商品实行配额制，哪些商品取消配额制或放宽配额制，与④项所指的相反。

B．在资金市场上：针对商品供给的缺口，可以相应地采取调节措施，这些调节措施应当同商品市场上所采取的调节措施相配合。属于价格调节的有：

⑦从抑制需求的角度着眼，提高利息率，旨在压缩对短缺商品的购买；

⑧从增加供给的角度着眼，降低利息率，旨在促进短缺商品的生产；

属于数量调节的有：

⑨从抑制需求的角度着眼，紧缩信贷规模，旨在压缩对短缺商品的购买；

⑩从增加供给的角度着眼，扩大信贷规模，旨在促进短缺商品的生产；

从抑制需求的角度着眼，调整计划信贷和市场信贷二者在信贷总量中的相对份额，旨在压缩对短缺商品的购买；

从增加供给的角度着眼，调整计划信贷和市场信贷二者在信贷总

量中的相对份额，旨在促进短缺商品的生产。

C．在劳务市场上：针对商品供给的缺口，可以相应地采取调节措施，这些调节措施应当同商品市场上所采取的调节措施相配合。属于价格调节的有：

从抑制需求的角度着眼，抑制工资增长率，直到降低工资率，以压缩社会的消费基金及其增长；

从增加供给的角度着眼，提高短缺商品的生产部门以及向短缺商品生产部门提供生产资料的那些部门的工资率，并容许其工资有一定的增长；

属于数量调节的有：

从抑制需求的角度着眼，调整就业规模，控制就业人数及其增长率，调整固定工与合同工在就业人数中的相对份额，旨在压缩社会的消费基金及其增长；

从增加供给的角度着眼，放宽短缺商品的生产部门以及向短缺商品生产部门提供生产资料的那些部门的就业人数限制，容许其就业人数有一定的增长。

D．在房地产市场上：针对商品供给的缺口，也可以采取一些调节措施，这些措施同样应当同商品市场上所采取的调节措施配合。属于价格调节的有：

从抑制需求的角度着眼，调整租金率，以达到压缩社会需求的目的；

从抑制需求的角度着眼，调整房产价格，以减轻短缺商品市场所面临的压力；

从增加供给的角度着眼，调整租金率，旨在促进短缺商品的生产；

从增加供给的角度着眼，调整房产价格，以促进短缺商品的生产；

属于数量调节的有：

从抑制需求的角度着眼，扩大可供租让使用的土地面积或增加可供出售的房屋数量，以减轻短缺商品市场所面临的压力；

从增加供给的角度着眼，调整土地租让使用的规模，调整房屋出售的规模，以促进短缺商品的生产。

E．以上所列举的各项价格调节措施和数量调节措施，还只限于商品市场、资金市场、劳务市场、房地产市场上的调节措施。除此以外，针对商品供给的缺口，还有其他若干调节措施可供选择。属于价格调节的有：

通过外汇方面的调节，达到抑制国内需求和增加国内供给的目

的。例如，调整汇率，并通过汇率的变动来影响进口、出口、资金流入、资金流出；

通过税率方面的调节（这里把税率当作一定程度上的价格调节方式来对待），达到抑制国内需求和增加国内供给的目的。例如，调整税率，并通过税率的变动来影响投资和消费，影响商品和劳务的供给量和需求量；

属于数量调节的有：

采取外汇管制措施或放宽对外汇的管制，以影响进口、出口、资金流入、资金流出，进而达到抑制国内需求和增加国内供给的目的；

通过财政支出的调整，影响投资和消费，影响商品和劳务的供给量和需求量，进而达到抑制国内需求和增加国内供给的目的。

实际上，除了以上这一系列调节措施以外，还可以再列举一些调节措施。而且，每一项调节措施中，又可以再细分为若干具体的措施。这样，对于商品供给的缺口，就可以根据每个时期的具体情况，采取各种不同的组合方式，兼收价格调节和数量调节的效果，而避免单纯采取某一类调节措施（即单纯采取价格调节或单纯采取数量调节）或单纯在某一个市场上采取调节措施所带来的不利影响。

还应当注意到，这里所谈的商品供给缺口存在条件下的数量—价格调节措施的配合，除了它的第一种含义（指既采取价格调节措施，又采取数量调节措施）、第二种含义（指既在商品市场上采取调节措施，又在其他市场上采取相应的调节措施）以外，还有第三种含义，这就是：既可以从抑制需求的角度着手进行数量—价格调节，也可以从增加供给的角度着手进行数量—价格调节。只有从上述三种含义的数量—价格调节措施的配合来理解，才能真正认识到数量—价格调节措施对于国民收入均衡的作用。

第三种含义的数量—价格调节措施的配合，对于商品供给缺口存在条件下的经济管理，无疑是可供选择的。但更加重要的，则是在商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口并存条件下的第三种含义的数量—价格调节措施的配合。在这种条件下，如果只有第一种含义和第二种含义的数量—价格调节，显然难以应付复杂的经济形势。

（二）商品供给缺口和商品需求缺口并存条件下数量—价格调节措施的配合

与商品供给缺口单独存在条件下的调节措施的配合方式相同，在商品供给缺口和商品需求缺口并存的条件下，政府既需要把数量调节与价格调节配合起来运用，也需要在若干个相互联系的市场上采取配合性的调节措施。

与商品供给缺口单独存在条件下的情况不同，在商品供给缺口和商

品需求缺口并存时，将更需要从抑制需求和增加供给这两个不同的方面来采取调节措施并使之配合。这是因为，两种缺口的并存给政府调节带来了困难，如果只从抑制需求或增加供给中的某一方面着手调节，那么很可能在抑制需求的同时，需求又增长了，或者在增加供给的同时，供给又下降了。这就是经济中的“并发症”的表现之一。而对于这种“并发症”，惟有采取不同调节措施的配合，才能使它趋于缓和。[2]

需要探讨的是调节措施配合中的五种不同的方式，即：从调整需求着手的数量调节与从调整供给着手的价格调节的配合；从调整需求着手的价格调节与从调整供给着手的数量调节的配合；从这两个不同角度着手的数量调节配合；从这两个不同角度着手的价格调节配合；以及两个不同角度的数量—价格调节的配合。现分别讨论如下：

1．从调整需求着手的数量调节与从调整供给着手的价格调节的配合。这种配合方式的特点在于能够以较强的措施来调整社会总需求，防止物价波动过大，以缓解商品供求的缺口，同时，为了不至于使得调整需求的措施对经济增长产生较大的消极作用，例如，为了不至于因抑制社会总需求过度而阻碍供给的增加，从调整供给方面着手的价格调节措施可以逐渐缓解商品供求的缺口，也就是有利于商品供给缺口和商品需求缺口都趋于缓和。

这种配合方式只要运用得当，政府调整需求的意图与调整供给的意图可以同时达到而不至于发生直接的冲突。这主要是因为，用数量调节方式来调整需求和用价格调节方式来调整供给，在一定程度上可以使微观经济单位根据不同的信号来改变自己的行为。比如说，根据数量信号来调整自己的投资和消费，以适应政府调整需求的要求；根据价格信号来调整自己的投资和消费，以适应政府调整供给的要求。这样，就可以减少微观经济单位自身经济行为中的摩擦，对缓和社会的两个缺口也是有利的。

2．从调整需求着手的价格调节与从调整供给着手的数量调节的配合。这里所讨论的调节措施的配合方式与前面谈到的那种调节措施的配合方式在性质上基本上是一样的，即二者都可以逐步实现政府的既要缓和商品供给缺口，又要缓和商品需求缺口的目的，同时也可以避免在实现这两个目的过程中的直接冲突。

但与前一种调节措施配合方式的区别在于：由于在调整需求方面采取的是价格调节措施，即用变更某些商品的价格的方式或用变更利息率、租金率的方式来影响投资和消费，不仅有可能遭到微观经济单位较大的抵制，而且调节的效果可能需要较长的时间才能表现出来，因此，这种调节措施的配合方式主要适用于商品供求缺口尚未十分严重的时候，另一方面，由于在调整供给方面采取的是数量调节措施，虽然调节

效应的反映较快，但也有可能导致需求的变动幅度较大，因此，这种调节措施的配合方式同样主要适用于商品供求缺口尚未十分严重的时候。换言之，如果客观上已经形成了较为严重的商品供求缺口的形势，调整需求已经成为更为迫切的任务时，那么为了同时缓和商品供给缺口和商品需求缺口，前一种调节措施的配合方式可能比较适合些。如果情况不是那样，那么，可以采取以价格调节来抑制需求和以数量调节来增加供给的调节措施配合方式。

3．从调整需求和调整供给这两个角度着手数量调节的配合。在商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口同时存在的情况下，如果从调整需求和调整供给这两个角度都着手进行数量调节，那么这多半有一个前提条件，就是市场情况很不好，市场机制很不完善，以至于价格调节难以发挥应有的作用，于是有必要从调整需求和调整供给这两个角度都采取数量调节，以便缓和商品供给的缺口和商品需求的缺口。

这时，一个值得注意的问题是：要防止从需求方面着手的数量调节措施同从供给方面着手的数量调节措施发生冲突，防止二者的效应的抵消。怎样防止呢？一般来说，可以考虑以下三点：

第一，在数量调节方面，根据具体情况，在不同的市场上采取不同的措施。例如，为了调整需求，可以从资金市场着手，采取调整信贷规模的措施，或者，从房地产市场着手，采取调整土地转让使用和房屋出售的数量；而为了调整供给，则可以从劳务市场着手，采取调整就业规模和调整两种用工制度的就业人数的比例等措施，或者，在商品市场上，对按固定价格销售和按非固定价格销售的商品种类和数量进行调整。

第二，即使是同一个市场上或同一个领域内的数量调节措施，也可以从结构的角度加以妥善的处理，以免从需求方面采取的措施同从供给方面采取的措施彼此抵消。例如，在财政支出措施方面，可以通过财政支出结构调整进行妥善的处理：为了调整需求，可以调整某些财政支出项目的数额，而为了调整供给，则可以调整另一些财政支出项目的数额。又如，在银行信贷规模方面，也可以通过信贷支出结构调整进行妥善的处理：为了调整需求，可以调整某些产业部门或某些产品生产单位的信贷规模，而为了调整供给，则可以调整另一些产业部门或另一些产品生产单位的信贷数额。

第三，即使在数量调节方面既能根据不同市场情况而采取不同的措施，又能根据每一个市场的具体措施而对数量调节的结构进行了调整，并作出妥善的安排，但只要同时采取数量调节措施来调整需求和调整供给，那么调节效应之间的冲突有时仍然很难避免。为此，就需要考虑每一项调节措施的效应的滞后性、效应的直接性与间接性，以及正负效应

相抵后的净效应问题。效应的滞后期的长短因数量调节措施的不同而不同，这样，就可以使得在需求方面采取的调节措施与在供给方面采取的调节措施不至于在同一时间内发生效应的抵消。效应有直接效应与间接效应的区别，不同的调节措施的直接效应与间接效应不一样，从而也可以缓和需求方面的调节措施同供给方面的调节措施的效应的抵消。至于政府所采取的各种调节措施的最终效果如何，则要根据正负效应相抵以后的净效应大小来确定。商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口不一定是恰好相等的，实际上，不是商品供给缺口更大些，就是商品需求缺口更大些，因此，调节措施的正负效应相抵后的净效应大小将有助于判明两个缺口中究竟哪一个缺口得到较大的缓和。

4．从调整需求和调整供给这两个角度着手价格调节的配合。这种配合方式的前提条件总的说来与前一种配合方式（从调整需求和调整供给这两个角度着手数量调节的配合）有所不同，即这种配合方式的前提条件多半是市场情况并不十分严重，市场机制虽然不完善，但也没有达到严重不完善的程度，从而可以通过价格调节手段来缓和商品供给缺口和商品需求缺口，而不必采取数量调节措施。

这时，所需要注意的问题仍然与前一种配合方式在运用中所需要注意的问题一样，即需要防止从需求方面着手的价格调节措施同从供给方面着手的价格调节措施发生冲突，防止二者的效应的抵消。因此，同前一种配合方式运用时所要作出的妥善安排一样，在运用这种配合方式时，可以在一些市场上采取某些价格调节措施，而在另一些市场上采取另一些价格调节措施。比如说，为了调整需求，可以变更利息率、租金率；为了调整供给，可以变更短缺商品的价格和降低用于生产短缺商品的生产资料的价格。此外，还可以通过价格结构的调整，使用于调整需求的价格调节与用于调整供给的价格调节不至于发生抵触。例如，为了调整需求，可以变更某些产品的生产和经营的税率；为了调整供给，则可以变更另一些产品的生产和经营的税率，等等。

在分析前一种配合方式时所提到的每一项调节措施的效应的滞后问题、效应的直接性与间接性问题，以及正负效应相抵后的净效应问题，在运用这种配合方式时也是同样需要注意的。只要把不同的价格调节措施安排妥当，它们之间的效应冲突即使还不能完全避免，至少可以大为减少。

5．从调整需求与调整供给这两个角度着手的数量—价格调节的配合。实际的经济生活是复杂的。在面临商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口并存的场合，以上四种配合方式都比较简单，从而不一定适用于复杂的经济生活。因此，有可能需要从需求与供给两个不同的角度进行数量—价格调节的配合，即为了调整需求，需要采取数量—价格调节，而为了调

整供给，也需要采取数量—价格调节。

在这种情况下，所遇到的一个主要问题仍然是调节措施的效应的相互抵消问题。前面所分析的一切，在这里也是适用的。

然而在这里需要注意的是双重配合的问题。这是指：在应付商品供给缺口时，需要把数量调节与价格调节配合使用，以便有效地抑制需求，增加供给；而在应付商品需求缺口时，也需要把数量调节与价格调节配合使用，以便有效地增加需求，减少供给。因此，第一层配合体现于单独应付商品供给缺口或商品需求缺口时数量—价格调节措施的配合，第二层配合体现于在应付商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口并存时数量—价格调节措施的配合，这两层配合都是重要的。如果某一层的配合不当，调节的效应就会抵消。但有关社会主义经济运行过程中的“并发症”及其对策的研究，已经表明，这两层配合仍然是可行的，关键在于措施的安排得当和考虑到不同调节措施的效应滞后问题。[3]

Chapter 6　Easing Supply and Demand Mismatch Under Economic Disequilibrium Conditions

第六章　经济非均衡条件下供求矛盾的缓解

6.1　THE COUNTER EFFECTS OF GOVERNMENT PRICE ADJUSTMENT

6.1.1　The Rigidity of Supply Gap Under Economic Disequilibrium Conditions

As we know, current economic disequilibrium in China is not only due to an underdeveloped market but also the fact that enterprises are not yet goods producers who make their own business decisions and take responsibility for their own profits and losses. Therefore, when commodity supply gap occurs, especially under the coexistence of commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall, even if quantity adjustment or price adjustment measures adopted by the government can be effective to some extent, government regulation will have limited results and the mismatch between supply and demand cannot be reduced to a large extent if the enterprise operation mechanism is not truly overhauled and enterprises are still affiliated with and controlled by government administrative institutions. This should be the starting point of our research on current Chinese economic issues.

To further illustrate these issues, let us start with the features of supply gap and demand shortfall under the conditions in which enterprises are not goods producers who can make their own business decisions or are responsible for their own profits and losses and the market has not been fully

developed.

In the presence of supply gap, if the economy is in the midst of the abovementioned conditions, it will be unlikely for the market to deliver an accurate message about supply gap to enterprises because it has not been fully developed, nor will it be able to encourage enterprises to allocate resources available to produce commodities to fill the supply gap. As enterprises lack the operation mechanism of a normal goods producer who can make its own business decisions and is responsible for profits and losses, they are not only unable to receive an accurate message on supply gap but also unable to adjust their allocation of the means of production even after receiving those messages, or unable to obtain from the market all necessary resources needed to adjust production, or even unable to increase their own profits by providing the market with commodities in demand. Obviously, supply gap is rigid and cannot be alleviated via market self-adjustment.

In the presence of demand shortfall, the nature of demand shortfall and its characteristics are similar to that of supply gap in many ways. Supply gap drives prices higher, whereas in the case of demand shortfall, commodity overstock or sluggish sales do not necessarily lower the prices, which may even ride higher in tandem with the prices of shortage commodities. Why? It has something to do with economic disequilibrium. Because the market has not been fully developed, it is impossible for the market to deliver to enterprises accurate messages about demand shortfall, nor is it possible for the market to encourage enterprises to transfer the resources that experience inventory buildup or sluggish sales to other areas. Because enterprises lack the operation mechanism of a normal goods producer who makes its own business decisions and is responsible for profits and losses, they are not only unable to receive accurate information on demand shortfall but also unable to adjust the allocation of the means of production even after receiving the information, or unable to effectively transfer all excess resources after adjusting production, or may even incur some real losses due to providing the market with commodities that are not in demand. Obviously, demand shortfall is also rigid and cannot be alleviated via market self-adjustment.

Because the rigidity of supply gap and demand shortfall does exist under economic disequilibrium conditions, the market cannot fully develop and government adjustment measures, regardless of the implementation of quantity adjustment measures or price adjustment measures, cannot produce satisfactory results if the status of enterprises is not changed. Not only that, in

some cases, some adjustment measures adopted by the government to reduce supply gap or demand shortfall may even bring about counter effects. That is, supply gap that is expected to shrink after the implementation of adjustment measures turns out to be wider after the adjustment, or demand shortfall that is expected to shrink after the implementation of adjustment measures turns out to be worse afterward. These counter effects are worthy of our attention.

6.1.2 Commodity Supply Gap and the Counter Effects of Government Price Adjustment Under Economic Disequilibrium Conditions

The potential counter effects from government regulation under economic disequilibrium conditions can be viewed from two different perspectives, supply gap and demand shortfall.

Let us assume commodity supply gap occurs and the government decides to apply price adjustment measures to increase supply and suppress demand. As long as enterprises lack a proper operation mechanism and the market is not fully developed, the following things may happen:

A. The government removes price control to stimulate supply and uses market price to support supply growth. However, as resources are constrained and limited resources are distributed by means of rationing, it is impossible for supply to grow proportionally after the price decontrol. In other words, the growth rate of supply will be lower than that of price. On the other hand, after price controls are lifted, because enterprises are not guided by the maximization of self-interest or budget constraints, rising prices may prompt them to harm consumers (i.e., passing higher costs along to consumers) or the nation (i.e., lowering fiscal income due to higher costs and lower income) in order to adapt to new economic conditions. As a result, removing price control as a method to stimulate supply growth will fail to reach its goals and only cause vicious price escalation.

B. After the government removes price control, as resources are limited and the market has not been fully developed, each enterprise will fare differently depending on whether it can obtain limited supply of resources via rationing. Some are neither able to secure the supply of production materials nor bear price increases or higher costs. As a result, they are forced to cut back or stop production, which directly reduces supply. Other enterprises are able to secure the supply of production materials via rationing. However, these enterprises, in anticipation of price increases due to limited supply of resources, are more likely to withhold production materials so that they can

profit from reselling production materials instead of using them in production. This situation also leads to lower supply.

C. Assuming that the government chooses to lower interest rates to stimulate supply. This method may have another outcome. As banks and enterprises lack a proper operation mechanism, lowering interest rates stimulates the supply of some products, but the demand for these products increases by an even larger quantity. As a result, the growth of demand exceeds the growth of supply, driving commodity supply gap even wider. In other words, both aggregate imbalance and structural imbalance get even worse.

D. If the government removes price control or raises prices to suppress demand, there may be some unwanted consequences. One of the reasons for this is that enterprises lack budget constraints or the mechanism to maximize self-interest. The public sector is no different. These entities will not lower their purchasing power at all simply because prices are higher. As a result, price increases far outpace demand decreases, or demand basically stays put without any significant change. This is a very common occurrence. A commonly known phenomenon that is worthy of our attention—public purchasing power is not constrained by rising prices—can be explained by the lack of the profit maximization mechanism or budget constraints.

E. Another reason why the price decontrol or increase initiated by the government to suppress demand may usually give rise to unwanted consequences is that price increases tend to bring about uncertainty or disturb people's expectations. When people realize that supply is not going to improve in the short term, they will accelerate consumption in order to avoid the depreciation of cash on hand or the deposits in their bank account, changing the situation of "withholding cash and waiting for purchase opportunities" to "using cash to expedite purchases," or the situation of "holding bank deposits and waiting for purchase opportunities" to "withdrawing bank deposits to expedite purchases." As a result, price rise will not curb demand. Instead, it will stimulate purchases. Using cash to expedite purchases or withdrawing bank deposits to expedite purchases will in turn aggravate commodity supply gap, drive prices higher, and further disturb people's expectations.

F. There is one more reason why the price decontrol and price increase initiated by the government to suppress demand may normally give rise to unwanted consequences. That is, when resources are scarce, commodities are

in short supply and the market is not fully developed, and some microeconomic units (including not only small business owners, private enterprises, and enterprises but also residents) may add a special meaning to the purchase of consumer goods, which is called "extra investment," as people's economic behavior has been distorted. For example, people buy gifts, such as expensive cigarettes, luxury wine, high-end electronics, precious herbal materials, and luxury clothes. The purchase of these goods is not constrained by high prices. Since purchasers consider these commodities to be a sort of "extra investment," they believe the benefits exceed the costs. Because of high prices, these gifts are getting even more precious and their benefits are getting larger. In addition, rising prices are less likely to restrain consumers from spending as a way to show off wealth. Even though prices are high, spending of this nature will not necessarily decline.

G. If the government raises interest rates to suppress demand, it will be unlikely to see any good effect, at least not from the investment perspective. Because enterprises lack a proper operation mechanism and money supply is limited, enterprises will not necessarily lower their demand for capital because of higher funding cost. This demonstrates why relatively small increases in interest rates are unable to curb investment. Considerable increases in interest rates will likely have opposite consequences, i.e., normal business production and operation are impacted, and while demand is suppressed, supply is also subdued. Subdued supply is exactly contradictory to what the government has hoped for, i.e., closing the supply gap.

All the above has fully revealed that price adjustment implemented by the government to alleviate supply gap under economic disequilibrium conditions is likely to generate some counter effects. As long as we understand the current situations in China, we will not blindly trust price adjustment to alleviate supply gap.

6.1.3 Commodity Demand Shortfall and the Counter Effects from Government Price Adjustment Under Economic Disequilibrium Conditions

From the structural imbalance perspective, it is highly likely to have commodity demand shortfall concurrent with commodity supply gap. In the case of commodity demand shortfall, if the government decides to apply price adjustment measures to increase demand and suppress supply so as to reduce commodity inventories, it is likely to see counter effects resulting

from government price adjustment, which prevents the government from achieving its goals. The reason remains the same. That is, enterprises lack a proper operation mechanism and the market has not been fully developed.

A. The government executes price adjustment by lowering the price of some commodities to stimulate demand and suppress supply. However, because the producers of these commodities are not responsible for their own profits and losses nor are the buyers of these commodities, price signals will not be effective in stimulating demand and suppressing supply as expected. Demand may increase slightly and supply may decrease slightly, but the changes are not compatible with the magnitude of price declines.

B. Assuming that some enterprises see the signal of declining prices and start to lower production. Because asset ownership is not clear, enterprises are not going to deal with excess production materials or labor. As a result, lowering production only causes higher losses that in turn reduce the proceeds that the state collects. The new macroeconomic situations may force the government to alter its original decision of lowering prices.

C. Assuming that some enterprises see the signal of lowering prices and start to increase the purchase of some commodities. Because enterprises operate under the circumstance of limited resources, they must adjust raw materials and production equipment to realign their product portfolios so as to increase the production of shortage commodities and reduce the production of the products that have poor sales. If they only increase the purchase of some commodities (attracted by lower prices) while unable to secure complementary products(due to resource supply constraints), they will have to stop buying the commodities of reduced prices, which makes it hard for the government to reach its goal of stimulating demand. Or they will have to store the commodities of reduced prices instead of using them to increase the supply of shortage commodities, hoping that they can resell at higher prices, which also makes it hard for the government to fulfill its plan of product restructuring.

D. If the government uses price adjustment measures to increase demand in the presence of commodity demand shortfall, it may impact the enterprises that do not make their own decisions and are not responsible for profits and losses in the following way: They not only increase purchases by taking advantage of reduced prices but also use the additional purchases to produce the commodities that have already experienced inventory buildup or sluggish sales. As a result, although demand increases, unjustified supply also

increases. Commodity demand shortfall, instead of shrinking, may end up wider, which is also inconsistent with the government goal.

E. If the government lowers interest rates to increase demand with the intention of reducing commodity demand shortfall, the increase of supply might not be lower than the increase of demand, because banks and enterprises lack a proper operation mechanism. On the contrary, if the government increases interest rates to control supply with the intention of reducing commodity demand shortfall, it may also end up with flat or slightly lower supply, for the same reason that banks and enterprises lack a proper operation mechanism. Therefore, if banks and enterprises lack a proper operation mechanism, interest rate adjustment with the intention of reducing commodity demand shortfall will barely fulfill government goals.

All the above has fully revealed that price adjustment implemented by the government to alleviate demand shortfall under economic disequilibrium conditions is likely to have some counter effects. As long as we understand the current situations in China, we will not blindly trust price adjustment to alleviate demand shortfall.

6.1.4 Behind the Dual-Track Price System: Potential Issues Related to Rationing Adjustment

Under economic disequilibrium conditions with a relatively large commodity supply gap, it is not possible for the government to remove price control. We have discussed this point earlier. During the transition from the traditional product economy to the new commodity economy, the dual-track price system will be maintained for a relatively long period of time. This is the second best choice. Under the dual-track price system, the economy has all kinds of frictions, causing all kinds of irrational economic behavior, as can be reasonably expected. We would like to discuss two points here. First, if the economy cannot remove price control immediately and transit to uniform market price, nor is it possible to return to the traditional product economy, i.e., uniform price under the mechanism of the planned economy, the only alternative currently available is the dual-track price system. Between two necessary evils, the lesser will be selected. It is harmful to either immediately adopt the uniform market price system at the current stage or return to the traditional sole price system of the planned economy. Either way will cause more damage than the dual-track price system does. Therefore, we would maintain rather than terminate the unreasonable dual-track price system at the

current stage. Second, the dual-track price system will undoubtedly cause all kinds of issues. One of the most noticeable issues is the illegal trading carried out by someone who takes advantage of the gap between two prices and earns huge undue profits, which will harm not only consumers but also the nation. We should point out that the gap between two prices is inseparable from the dual-track price system. There would not be a dual-track price system if there were no gap between two prices. The issue is not the existence of price gap, but who illegally profits from the price gap and how he or she takes advantage of the price gap to earn undue profits. As a matter of fact, many of the issues related to the dual-track price system have precisely exposed the fundamental flaws inherent in the traditional economic system. Only after reaching behind the dual-track price system can we discover the core of the issues.

The first point mentioned above is almost indisputable. If we remove price control and terminate the dual-track price system, we will end up with nothing but social and economic turmoil. Currently, we cannot rush to this decision. Meanwhile, it is also impossible or unfeasible for us to return to the traditional sole price system of the planned economy. If we do that, the economy will shrink and dwindle.

As for the second point mentioned above, we need to discuss it in greater detail. The uniform price mechanism in the market can be realized only when demand is relatively close to supply. When supply gap is fairly large, even if we terminate the dual-track price system and revert to uniform market price, there will not be only one price in the economy, but two prices. At this time, these two prices are actually different from those under the dual-track price system. The two prices under the dualtrack price system are fixed price, or planned price, and non-fixed price, or market price. After price control is lifted, two prices actually exist when supply gap is fairly large. One is open-market price and the other is non-open-market price. Why do we have these two prices at this time? In order to explain the reason why market price can be classified as open-market price and non-open-market price, we will have to analyze rationing adjustment at time of relatively large supply gap. We know that illegal trading arising from the gap of the two prices under the dual-track price system is associated with rationing adjustment. If we terminate the dual-track price system at time of relatively large supply gap, there are still two prices and a gap in between, which is also associated with rationing adjustment.

Rationing adjustment is a form of quantity adjustment. Rationing adjustment can be broken down into two types. The first type is the rationing adjustment that the market voluntarily performs, and the second one is the rationing adjustment that the government carries out according to some specific rules. Under the dual-track price system, there must be rationing adjustment performed by the government according to some specific rules to begin with. Then, on the basis of government rationing adjustment, the market autonomously performs rationing adjustment. Profiting from the gap between two prices exactly follows this pattern. For example, if a certain type of nonferrous metal is a scarce commodity, the government can allocate it among relevant enterprises according to the equalization principle, the target principle (or the priority principle), or the history principle.

Regardless of which rationing principle the government uses for allocation, the price of the underlying commodity is always lower than its market price. There are always some enterprises who resell their share of allocated scarce commodities, and the principle that they follow is one for market rationing, including the priority principle (or the principle of first-come, first-buy), the monopoly principle (under which monopolistic enterprises determine to whom they sell), or other principles. Regardless of which principle is followed, the price of the underlying commodity is always higher than its fixed price, or planned price. As long as the supply gap of a specific commodity is relatively large, profiting from the price gap will be inevitable.

Let us assume that we terminated the dual-track price system for shortage commodities in this circumstance. What would happen then? It should be admitted that the relatively large supply gap would not disappear as a result. As we have pointed out earlier, aggregate supply will not see immediate significant increase because of various resource constraints. As long as shortage remains, the principle of market rationing will continue to work. Whether the market follows the priority principle (or the principle of first-come, first-buy) or the monopoly principle to allocate shortage commodities, buyers will have to pay some extra expenses on top of open-market price in order to secure those commodities, such as fees paid to retrieve relevant information and charges associated with the close of a transaction, which as a matter of fact becomes a part of non-open-market price of those commodities. Moreover, as long as a commodity is still short, buyers who purchase it at a certain price are still able to resell it, and its non-

open-market price goes up every time it changes hands. Escalating non-open-market price will influence open-market price and drive it higher. It will end up with non-open-market price continuing to push open-market price upward and open-market price always trying to catch up with non-open-market price. As soon as open-market price appears to do so, non-open-market price will start to jump again. The catch-up game will undoubtedly lead to continuous escalation of both open-market price and non-openmarket price and end up with prices way over its original level, but the gap between these two prices will persist.

Why will open- and non-open-market prices keep rising one after another after the dual-track price system is terminated? How can we stop these two prices from escalating? This is an issue that calls for further research. Obviously, this abnormal phenomenon is related to the scarcity of resources as well as the relatively small price elasticity in the circumstance of resource shortages. This is not the end of the story. If the potential buyers of these shortage commodities are subject to profit constraints and budget constraints, their demand for the commodities will be influenced by higher prices, as they will refrain from buying when prices reach a certain level. In other words, the fact that the demand curve slopes downward to the right demonstrates that buyers react against to higher prices by reducing their purchase volume. Their reactions will hinder and eventually stall the price rise. If buyers are not subject to profit constraints or budget constraints, the shape of the demand curve will change, i.e., it no longer slopes downward to the right, and the upward trend in price will no longer be influenced by buyers. In the current Chinese economy, enterprises are not buyers of shortage commodities who are subject to profit constraints and budget constraints. If enterprises stay the way they are, terminating the dualtrack price system for shortage commodities will not only create two prices (open-market price and non-open-market price), but these two prices will also rise continuously (with open-market price chasing nonopen-market price and non-open-market price continuing to rise in order to avoid being caught up by rising open-market price). Therefore, the behavior of profiting from the gap of two prices cannot be explained by the price itself.

壹　政府价格调节的逆效应

一、经济非均衡条件下供求缺口的刚性

正如我们所了解的，当前我国经济所处的非均衡状态并不是仅仅与市场不完善有关，而且与企业尚未成为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者有关。因此，当经济中出现商品供给缺口时，特别是当经济中出现商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口并存的情况时，政府采取的数量调节手段或价格调节手段虽然能够收到某种效果，但如果企业的运行机制没有得到真正的改造，企业仍然处于行政机构附属物的地位，那么政府的调节效果必然受到限制，供求缺口仍然难以有较大幅度的缓和。这一点，应当成为我们考察当前我国经济问题的出发点。

为了进一步说明这些，让我们从企业尚未成为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者以及市场不完善条件下供给缺口与需求缺口各自的特征谈起。

从供给缺口的角度来看，在经济处于上述情况时，由于市场的不完善，市场不可能把供给缺口的正确信号传递给企业，也不可能起到动员企业把已有资源转移到用于弥补供给缺口的商品的生产方面的作用；而由于企业缺乏一个自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者应有的运行机制，它不仅接收不到市场发出的关于供给缺口的正确信号，而且即使得到了这些信号，它也不可能根据这些信号来调整自己的生产要素组合状况，不可能从市场上得到为调整产量所需要的资源，甚至不可能因提供市场所需要的商品而增加自己的收益。这样，供给缺口具有明显的刚性，它是不可能通过市场的自行调节而缓解的。

再从需求缺口的角度来看，需求缺口的性质和特征在不少方面同供给缺口相似。供给缺口导致了物价上涨，而在存在需求缺口的条件下，积压、滞销的商品的价格并不一定下降，甚至还有可能尾随稀缺商品价格的上涨而上涨。为什么会这样？这同样与经济的非均衡有关。由于市场的不完善，市场不可能把需求缺口的正确信号传递给企业，也不可能起到动员企业把用于生产积压、滞销商品的资源转移到其他方面的作用；而由于企业缺乏一个自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者应有的运行机制，它不仅接收不到市场发出的关于需求缺口的正确信号，而且即使得到了这些信号，它也不可能根据这些信号来调整自己的生产要素组合状况，不可能把调整产量所多余出来的资源有效地转移出去，甚至可能因继续提供市场所不需要的商品而使自己受到实际的损失。这样，需求缺口同样具有明显的刚性，它也不可能通过市场的自行调节而缓解。

正由于经济非均衡条件下供给缺口刚性和需求缺口刚性的存在，所

以无论是政府采取数量调节措施还是采取价格调节措施，只要企业的现状没有改变，市场机制也就不可能趋于完善，调节措施的效果就不可能令人满意。不仅如此，在某些场合，政府用以缓和供给缺口与需求缺口的调节措施，甚至可能产生逆效应，即采取调节措施之后，本来指望供给缺口缩小一些，结果，供给缺口反而扩大了；或者，本来指望需求缺口缩小一些，结果，需求缺口也扩大了，这种逆效应是十分值得注意的。

二、经济非均衡条件下的商品供给缺口与政府价格调节的逆效应

关于经济非均衡条件下政府调节中可能产生的逆效应，可以按供给缺口和需求缺口两种不同的情况分别予以论述。

假定客观上存在着商品供给缺口，政府决定采取增加供给和抑制需求的价格调节措施。但只要企业仍然缺乏应有的运行机制，再加上市场的不完善，那么有可能发生以下一系列现象：

1．政府放开价格，旨在以价格的放开来刺激供给，促使供给的增长。但由于供给受到资源的约束，而有限的资源又要通过配额来分配，这样，价格放开以后，一方面，供给不可能因价格上升而同比例增长，或者说，供给增长的幅度必然低于价格上涨的幅度；另一方面，由于企业缺乏利益的约束、预算的约束，在价格上升以后，企业很可能以损害消费者（即把成本的增加转嫁给消费者）和损害国家（即企业因成本增大和利润减少而使财政收入减少）的方式来应付新的经济形势。结果，以价格放开来刺激供给增长的目的并未达到，价格放开所刺激的只不过是价格的轮番上涨。

2．政府放开价格以后，由于资源有限，市场不完善，企业的处境因企业能否通过各种配额而得到有限的资源供给而异。一些企业得不到所需要的生产资料，或者承受不了价格上升和成本上升所加重的负担，于是不得不停产、减产，这将直接导致供给的下降。还有一些企业，虽然能够通过各种配额得到了生产资料的供给，但由于资源有限而引起预期生产资料价格上涨，从而，这些企业有可能以囤积这些生产资料和转卖这些生产资料来获利，而不愿把它们投入生产领域，结果也将导致供给的下降。

3．假定政府采取降低利息率的办法来刺激供给，这种做法有可能导致另外一种结果，即由于银行和企业缺乏应有的运行机制，降低利息率固然可以刺激某些产品的产量增长，但需求所受到的刺激则更大，结果，需求增长的幅度大于供给增长的幅度，商品供给缺口更大了，也就是说，无论总量失衡还是结构性失衡变得更加严重了。

4．政府用放开价格或提高价格的办法来抑制需求的做法，也可能

事与愿违。造成这种情况的原因之一是：企业缺乏利益的约束、预算的约束，公共部门也缺乏类似的约束，它们完全不会因为价格的上升而相应地降低自己的购买力，结果，需求或者只能以大大低于价格上升的幅度减少，或者需求基本上维持原状，没有明显的变化。这种情况是屡见不鲜的。通常所说的“社会集团购买力不受价格上升的制约”这一值得注意的现象，可以从利益约束、预算约束的不存在得到解释。

5．政府用放开价格或提高价格的办法来抑制需求的做法之所以往往事与愿违，另一个原因在于：在资源短缺、商品短缺的非均衡条件下，价格的上升易于引起居民的预期不稳定或预期紊乱。当居民了解到短期内供给状况不可能有较大好转的时候，他们为了使手头的现金和银行中的存款少受损失，会把延期的消费变为现期的消费，使“持币待购”变为“持币抢购”，“存款待购”变为“提款抢购”。这样，价格的上升不仅没有起到抑制需求的作用，反而使得购买量增长，而“持币抢购”、“提款抢购”现象的发生又势必进一步扩大商品供给缺口，再度引起物价上升，再度引起预期紊乱。

6．政府用放开价格或提高价格的办法来抑制需求的做法之所以往往事与愿违，还有一个原因，这就是：在资源短缺、商品短缺而市场又不完善的条件下，一些微观经济单位（不仅包括个体户、私营户、企业，甚至还包括居民个人）由于经济行为的扭曲而可能赋予消费品购买以另一种含义，即赋予“额外投资”这一特殊的含义。比如说，名烟、名酒、高档家用电器、名贵药材、高档衣料等等，可能作为“礼品”而被购买，这些消费品的购买量可能不受价格上升的制约。既然购买者把购买这些商品作为一种“额外投资”，那么他们肯定认为“收益”会大于“成本”，从而价格上升之后，这些“礼品”就更显得名贵，“收益”也将更大。此外，在某种意义上，消费者的炫耀性消费也可能较少受到价格上升的制约。即使价格上升了，炫耀性消费也不一定会下降。

7．假定政府采取提高利息率的办法来抑制需求，至少就投资的角度来看，效果是不好的。原因在于：企业缺乏应有的运行机制，再加上资金供给是有限的，所以企业不一定会因利息率的上升而减少对资金的需求。这表明：如果利息率上升幅度较小，则起不到压缩投资的作用；如果利息率大幅度上升，那么又有可能得出相反的结果，即企业正常的生产和经营活动受到了影响，在需求被抑制的同时供给也被抑制了。供给的被抑制恰恰是与政府希望弥补供给缺口的愿望相抵触的。

以上这些充分说明了在经济非均衡状态中，政府旨在缓和供给缺口的价格调节可能产生逆效应。只要我们了解了当前我国的国情，就不会迷信价格调节在缓和供给缺口方面的作用。

三、经济非均衡条件下的商品需求缺口与政府价格调节的逆效应

从结构性失衡的角度来考察，客观上完全有可能在商品供给缺口存在的同时存在着商品需求缺口。在商品需求缺口存在的条件下，如果政府决定采取增加需求和抑制供给的价格调节措施，以便减少积压、滞销的商品存货，那么这也有可能产生政府价格调节的逆效应，使政府的意图得不到实现。原因同样在于企业缺乏应有的运行机制以及市场的不完善。

1．政府对某些商品的价格进行调整，旨在以降低的价格来刺激需求和抑制供给的增长。但由于生产这些商品的企业本身不负盈亏，购买这些商品的企业也不是自负盈亏的，因此价格信号对它们起不到预定的刺激需求和抑制供给的作用。需求可能有所增加，供给也可能有所下降，但都与价格下降的幅度不相适应。

2．假定某些企业接收到价格下降的信号而着手减少有关商品的产量，但由于企业的财产关系不明确，企业对于多余的生产资料和人力无法处置，结果，产量的减少只可能导致企业亏损的增加，而企业亏损的增加又导致财政收入的减少，这一新的宏观经济形势可能迫使政府改变原先的降低价格的决定。

3．假定某些企业接收到价格下降的信号而准备着手增加有关商品的购买量。但是，由于企业是在整个经济中存在着资源供给有限的条件下进行生产的，企业为了增加社会短缺的商品的产量和减少滞销商品的产量，必须对原材料和设备的结构进行调整，这样才能改变产品结构。如果企业只增加某些商品的购买量（这是由于价格下降所导致的），而未能购买到与此相配套的另一些商品（这是由于受到资源供给有限的制约），那么企业要么停止购买这些降了价的商品，从而政府预定要实现的刺激需求的目标难以实现，要么购买了这些降了价的商品，但并不是用于增加社会短缺的商品，而是把它们囤积起来，等到以后价格上升后再转卖出去，从而政府调整产品结构的意图仍难以实现。

4．在商品需求缺口存在的条件下，如果政府采取价格调节措施来增加需求，那么在企业不能自主经营、自负盈亏时还可能产生如下的结果，即某些企业不仅利用降低了的价格来增加购买量，而且把所增购的商品用于增产本来已经积压、滞销的商品，结果，需求即使增加了，但不该增加的供给也增加了，商品需求缺口不仅没有缩小，反而还有可能继续扩大，这又是与政府预定的意图相违的。

5．假定政府用降低利息率的办法来刺激需求，以便缩小商品需求缺口，但由于银行和企业缺乏应有的运行机制，降低利息率的结果有可能使得供给的增长不低于需求的增长；反之，假定政府用提高利息率的办法来抑制供给，以便缩小商品需求缺口，同样由于银行和企业缺乏应

有的运行机制，提高利息率的结果有可能使得供给基本不变，或只是稍有下降。因此，在银行和企业都缺乏应有的运行机制的条件下，利息率调整在缩小商品需求缺口方面的作用难以符合政府的预定意图。

以上这些充分说明了在经济非均衡状态中，政府旨在缓和需求缺口的价格调节也可能产生逆效应，只要我们了解了当前我国的国情，也就不会迷信价格调节在缓和需求缺口的作用了。

四、价格双轨制的背后：配额调节可能带来的问题

在存在着商品供给缺口较大的经济非均衡状态中，政府不可能寄希望于价格的放开。关于这一点，前面已经作了说明。这样，在从传统的产品经济体制向新的商品经济体制过渡的过程中，价格双轨制在较长的一段时间内将继续被保持，这是一种次优的选择。价格双轨制之下，经济生活中必然会产生各种摩擦，并且还会导致各种不合理的经济行为，这是可以预料的。在这里，我们想论述的只是这样两点：第一，如果说经济中既不可能立刻实行价格的放开和过渡到市场的单一定价制，又不可能返回传统的产品经济体制，即返回到计划的单一定价制，那么价格双轨制是我们在现阶段惟一可能作出的选择。两害之间取其轻。现阶段就立即实行市场的单一定价制或返回传统的计划单一定价制，都是非常有害的。这样做的弊端要大于双轨价格制的弊端。因此，目前宁肯保持这种不合理的双轨价格制，这也比取消双轨价格制好一些。第二，双轨价格制无疑会带来种种弊端，而在这些弊端中，最令人注目的弊端就是有人利用两种价格之差进行倒买倒卖活动，从中牟取巨额利润，这既损害消费者利益，又使国家受到损失。但应当指出，两种价格之差的存在与双轨价格制是不可分的。没有两种价格之差，也就没有双轨价格制了。问题不在于两种价格之差的存在，而在于究竟是谁利用两种价格之差来牟取巨额利润，他们是怎样利用两种价格之差来牟取私利的。实际上，双轨价格制实际中的不少问题，恰恰反映了传统经济体制的根本缺陷。只要深入到价格双轨制的背后去探究，就不难发现问题的实质所在。

关于上述第一点，基本上已经没有可争辩的了。现阶段就放开价格和取消双轨价格制，只能引起社会经济动荡，而不可能有其他结果。目前不能在实际经济生活中作出这样轻率的决策。至于返回传统的计划单一定价制，那是根本不可行的，也是做不到的。如果那样做，经济就萎缩了，僵化了。

而上述第二点，则有进一步展开讨论的必要。市场的单一定价制，只有在供求基本上接近的情况下才有可能实现。在供给缺口较大的情况下，即使取消了双轨价格制，转入市场的单一定价制，但实际上，经济

中也不会只存在一种价格，而是依然存在两种价格，这时实际上存在的两种价格不同于双轨价格制之下的两种价格。双轨价格制之下的两种价格是：一是固定价格，即计划价格，另一是非固定价格，即市场价格。放开价格后，供给缺口较大的情况下实际存在的两种价格则是：一是市场的公开价格，另一是市场的非公开价格。为什么这时仍然会出现两种价格？要说明市场价格区分为市场的公开价格与市场的非公开价格存在的原因，就需要对供给缺口较大条件下的配额调节进行分析。要知道，双轨价格制之下两种价格之差所引起的倒买倒卖现象同配额调节问题有关，供给缺口较大情况下取消双轨价格制之后所产生的两种价格以及两种价格之差，同样与配额调节问题有关。

配额调节是数量调节的一种形式。配额调节可以分为市场自发进行的配额调节与政府按照一定的原则进行的配额调节。在双轨价格制之下，先有政府按照一定的原则进行的配额调节，然后，在政府配额调节的基础上，再由市场自发地进行配额调节。靠两种价格之差牟利，正是这样实现的。比如说，某种有色金属是短缺商品，政府按照平均分配原则、或目标原则（优先照顾原则）、或历史上形成的比例分配原则把它们分配给有关企业。不管政府按照什么样的配额原则进行分配，其价格总是低于市场价格的。于是总会有一些企业把自己所分配到的这种短缺商品转卖出去，它们所按照的是市场配额原则，如优先原则（“谁先来，谁先买”的原则）、或垄断原则（由垄断企业决定究竟卖给谁）、或其他原则，其价格总是高于固定价格，即计划价格。只要这种商品供给缺口较大，靠两种价格之差获利的情况是难以避免的。

假定在这种情况下就取消了短缺商品的双轨价格制，那又会发生什么情况呢？应当承认，供给缺口较大的现象不会因此而消失，正如前面已经指出的，供给总量由于受到资源的约束而不会立即增加很多。只要短缺状况继续存在，市场配额原则也就继续起作用。不管市场是按照优先原则（“谁先来，谁先买”的原则）分配短缺商品还是按照垄断原则分配短缺商品，需求者要得到这种商品，除了要付出市场的公开价格以外，还需要付出追加的费用，包括获得信息的费用、达成这笔交易的附加费用等等，这实际上形成了该种商品的非公开价格。不仅如此，只要该种商品仍然是短缺的，当需求者以一定的价格买到它们以后，仍然有机会转卖出去。每经过一次转卖，市场的非公开价格就会上升一次。而市场的非公开价格上升之后，市场的公开价格也会受到影响而相应上升。结果，势必形成了市场非公开价格带动市场公开价格上升的格局。市场公开价格总想追上市场非公开价格，但一旦它起步追赶，市场非公开价格马上又上升了。这种“你追我赶”的后果无疑是市场公开价格和市场非公开价格都在原有水平上不断提高，但市场公开价格与市场非公开

价格之差却始终存在。

为什么双轨价格制取消之后短缺商品的市场公开价格与市场非公开价格会相继上升呢？两种价格相继上升的情况怎样才能被制止住呢？这又是一个值得我们研究的问题。不言而喻，这种不正常的现象与资源的短缺有关，与资源短缺条件下供给的价格弹性较小有关。但问题绝不仅限于此。假定准备购买这些短缺商品的需求者是受利益约束、预算约束的，他们的需求必将受到价格上升的制约，价格上升到一定程度就会遇到需求者的抵制。换句话说，需求曲线向右下方倾斜这一情况表明：需求者对价格上升的抵制方式就是减少购买数量，这种抵制将使得价格的上升会遇到一种障碍，最终使价格上升趋势停顿下来。假定需求者是不受利益约束、预算约束的，那么需求曲线的形状将会改变，即不再是向右下方倾斜的，价格上升的趋势也就不会遇到来自需求方面的抵制了。在现阶段我国经济生活中，企业正是这种不受利益约束、预算约束的短缺商品需求者。只要企业仍然处于这样的地位，短缺商品的双轨价格制取消之后，不仅必定出现两种价格（市场的公开价格和市场的非公开价格），而且两种价格都会不断上升（市场公开价格追赶市场非公开价格，市场非公开价格继续上升，不让市场价格追上来）。既然如此，依靠两种价格之差的牟利行为也就不可以从价格问题本身得到解释。

6.2 REFORMING THE ENTERPRISE OPERATION MECHANISM

6.2.1 Reforming the Enterprise Operation Mechanism and Easing Supply and Demand Mismatch

The analyses above naturally lead us to the following conclusion: In order to resolve the current issue of large commodity supply gap in China, it is necessary to first and foremost turn enterprises into goods producers who are responsible for their own business decisions as well as profits and losses and establish a normal business operation mechanism under which entities pursue the maximization of self-interest and are subject to budget constraints. If the enterprise operation mechanism is not properly reformed, simply hoping to immediately terminate the dual-track price system will only bring about the outcomes that we have discussed above.

To resolve the issue of supply being unable to meet demand, we will undoubtedly have to increase supply. Supply increases need to be ultimately realized by increasing production capacity. Increasing supply means higher productivity. Increasing supply with the purpose of resolving the issue of supply being unable to meet demand is not only effective but also very important.[1]

To increase supply requires additional inputs. When supply is not able to meet demand, if we add inputs excessively or simply regard adding extra inputs as the way to increase supply, demand can increase, which is contradictory to the intention of suppressing demand in the first place. Therefore, we should not hope that supply will increase with additional inputs. Instead, we should do our utmost to increase supply by minimizing additional inputs.

How can we do that? The government can adopt several adjustment measures, such as quantity adjustment measures and price adjustment measures. Keep in mind that if the market has not been fully developed and enterprises are not motivated, not only price adjustment measures but also quantity adjustment measures will be less effective. The fundamental solution to the issue of insufficient supply is to recombine production factors and motivate enterprises and their employees. This is the issue of reforming the

enterprise operation mechanism.

If enterprises have not become goods producers who take responsibility for their business decisions as well as operational profits and losses, or enterprise ownership has not been normalized, or the property right of enterprise fixed assets remains unspecified, it will be very difficult to recombine production factors. Reforming the enterprise operation mechanism refers to changing enterprises that are affiliated with and controlled by government administrative institutions to business entities that operate with clearly specified property rights under profit constraints and budget constraints. During the process of reforming the enterprise operation mechanism, we will see continuous improvement in the recombination of production factors because the reform will clarify enterprises' property rights, specifying who are the owners and the managers of enterprises' fixed assets, which will facilitate mergers and acquisitions, encourage enterprises to invest in other enterprises, accelerate the forming of enterprise conglomerates, and optimize the industrial structure and product structure. As a result, we can reach the goal of increasing the supply of products and services with as minimal additional inputs as possible.

Reforming the enterprise operation mechanism includes reforming how enterprises distribute corporate earnings. The mechanism that enterprises follow to distribute corporate earnings directly impacts the motivation of enterprises themselves as well as that of their employees. Reforming corporate earnings distribution mechanism can only be completed by normalizing enterprises' property rights and by truly transforming enterprises to goods producers who are responsible for their business decisions and operational profits and losses. If enterprises themselves as well as their employees are motivated, which is as important as recombining production factors, they will likely produce more products and services with as minimal additional inputs as possible.

The discussions have demonstrated that there are a series of alternative measures available to the government to increase supply and resolve the issue of supply falling short of demand. If the main hurdle to supply gap alleviation is enterprises' lack of a proper operation mechanism as well as a necessary interest-maximization mechanism and budget constraints, the main measure that the government adopts should not be price adjustment nor quantity adjustment, but the reform of the enterprise operation mechanism, i.e., transforming enterprises to goods producers who are responsible for their

business decisions and profits and losses.

Let us further analyze the issue from the perspective of suppressing demand.

To increase supply is certainly the most important way to resolve the issue of supply being unable to meet demand. Yet to some extent, to suppress demand is also very meaningful, which can be done by applying price adjustment measures and quantity adjustment measures under government regulation. Although some of the adjustment measures to suppress demand may take effect in a relatively short period of time, they are after all temporary relief. These measures are nothing but forcing demand to adjust to the current level of productivity rather than increasing productivity to meet current demand. In addition, we also have to consider the side effects from suppressing demand. Demand needs to be suppressed appropriately. Excessively suppressing demand will bring difficulties to the economy in the future.

The issue that we have to discuss here is as follows: In order to suppress demand, should we start with reforming the enterprise operation mechanism, in addition to price adjustment measures and quantity adjustment measures implemented by the government? The answer is yes. We should point out that to suppress demand by first of all reforming the enterprise operation mechanism when enterprises lack a proper operation mechanism, the indispensable mechanism of pursuing the maximization of self-interest, and budget constraints, will not only be more effective than quantity–price adjustment measures but will also avoid some side effects, such as negatively influencing resource utilization efficiency, discouraging enterprises and their employees, and unfavorably impacting supply growth. We can look at this argument from two different perspectives, suppressing investment demand and suppressing consumption demand.

The primary method of suppressing investment demand should be to create a mechanism for the investment entity, i.e., enterprises, so that they can be self-restrained and make self-adjustments according to changing investment environment. If the investment principal lacks such a mechanism, any quantity–price adjustment measure that the government adopts will fail to produce satisfactory results. In order to create such a mechanism for enterprises as the investment principal, we will have to reform the enterprise operation mechanism so that they can be restrained by their self-interest and budget. As a result, enterprises will take their self-interest into consideration

and stop making inefficient or ineffective investments. It is only on that basis that the price adjustment measures and quantity adjustment measures adopted by the government to suppress investment demand can gradually take effect as enterprises adjust their business behavior.

The primary method that the government adopts to suppress consumption demand is the same, that is, to create the mechanism for the consumption principal so that it can exercise self-restraint and make self-adjustments as the market changes. As for enterprises, controlling their consumption demand is closely related to the enterprise operation mechanism. On the one hand, enterprise is one of the consumption principals in society. If enterprises are not restrained by the maximization of self-interest nor subject to budget constraints, their consumption demand will unlikely be contained, which can be explained by the commonly discussed phenomenon that corporate purchasing power never appears to diminish. On the other hand, consumption demand from enterprise employees is related to their disposable income, which ultimately depends upon various types of income they receive from their employers. If the enterprise operation mechanism is not reformed, it will be impossible to have enterprise employees' income link up with labor productivity as well as the growth of labor productivity. This can also explain why enterprises constantly compare and show off their compensation such as salaries and bonuses, a topic that is commonly discussed.

Therefore, from the perspectives of increasing supply and suppressing demand, we can reach this conclusion: Under economic disequilibrium conditions, the basic approach to easing the mismatch between supply and demand is to reform the enterprise operation mechanism so that enterprises can be restrained by the maximization of self-interest and subject to budget constraints. If the issue of enterprise operation mechanism is resolved, we can increase the supply of products and services from the supply perspective with as minimal additional inputs as possible through recombining production factors and motivating enterprises and their employees. From the demand perspective, through establishing the mechanism under which enterprises exercise selfrestraint in their investment decisions as well as their spending, we can not only control demand effectively but also reduce the side effects that come along with demand suppression.

6.2.2 Reforming Enterprise Operation and Alleviating Structural

Imbalance

Alleviating the supply gap of some key commodities due to structural imbalance can be tackled by following the same basic method as we have discussed above, i.e., reforming the enterprise operation mechanism to increase supply and suppress demand. How do we alleviate the shortfall of demand for some key commodities due to structural imbalance? Should we go with reforming the enterprise operation mechanism as the basic approach to suppressing supply and increasing demand as well? The answer is also positive. If enterprises are not goods producers who take responsibility for their own business decisions and operational profits and losses, or they are not restrained by the maximization of self-interest nor subject to budget constraints, no matter what quantity adjustment measures and price adjustment measures the government adopts, supply will not necessarily decrease and demand will not necessarily increase, which will not necessarily lead to lower commodity demand shortfall. In our previous analysis of the commodity demand shortfall and the counter effects of government price adjustment under economic disequilibrium conditions, we actually explained the necessity of reforming the enterprise operation mechanism. Next, we will discuss in further detail from two different perspectives, suppressing supply and increasing demand.

When the supply of some key commodities exceeds their demand, it is necessary to suppress supply. How can we suppress the supply of these commodities without impacting the income of enterprises, enterprise employees, and the government? Simply relying on the government to adopt quantity–price adjustment measures can lead to lower supply, but these measures will not be able to maintain the income of enterprises, their employees, and the government. Moreover, these adjustment measures may not necessarily be effective when the reform of the enterprise operation mechanism is not complete. In this case, we can use such measures as accelerating resource circulation or transfers to suppress the supply of the commodities that have excess inventories or experience poor sales and to provide the production units that produce shortage commodities with resources via product restructuring or industrial restructuring, which will not only reduce the supply of the products from the units that are being targeted but also grow the units that we plan to grow. Meanwhile, the income of enterprises, enterprise employees, and the government will remain intact. In order to accelerate resource circulation or transfers, it is necessary to clarify

the property rights of enterprise assets and allow enterprises to be goods producers who are responsible for their business decisions and operational profits and losses. All we have discussed so far has demonstrated that it is critical to reform the enterprise operation mechanism in order to suppress the excessive supply of some key commodities.

When the supply of some key commodities exceeds their demand, it is also necessary to increase the demand for these commodities. How can we increase the demand for these commodities without aggravating the demand that has already been somewhat inflated due to structural imbalance? What kind of methods can we use to direct enterprises to consume the commodities that have excessive inventories or poor sales? It appears that one viable solution is to utilize these commodities to produce other commodities that society needs through product restructuring, industrial restructuring, and technological restructuring. All of these are closely related to the reform of the enterprise operation mechanism. If the enterprise operation mechanism is overhauled, enterprises will be restrained by the maximization of self-interest and subject to budget constraints and will be able to choose investment opportunities as well as make independent operational decisions. Consequently, they will be driven by self-interest to pursue technological improvement, merge with other businesses, or set up business alliances to utilize the commodities that have poor sales and design new products. These enterprises are motivated due to the reform of the enterprise operation mechanism, which also makes it possible for enterprises to increase the purchase of commodities that have poor sales.

Of course, while emphasizing the impact of the reform of the enterprise operation mechanism on alleviating excessive supply or excessive demand under disequilibrium conditions, we are not denying the usefulness of quantity adjustment measures and price adjustment measures that the government adopts in a particular period of time according to some specific situations. What we are trying to explain here is nothing but the following: Reforming the enterprise operation mechanism is the premise of various quantity adjustment measures and price adjustment measures. If enterprises are still affiliated with and controlled by government administrative institutions and lack the interest-maximization mechanism and budget constraints, how can quantity–price adjustment measures adopted by the government be effective in tackling supply gap or demand shortfall?

6.2.3 The Progressive Nature of Price Reform

The dual-track price system is a price mechanism during the transition from the old economic system to the new economic system. The transition from the dual-track price system to the mechanism of pure market price is an important condition for the establishment of the new commodity economy. The mechanism of pure market price refers to a system in which price is completely open without direct interference from the government and it is totally determined by market demand and supply, with only indirect influences from government adjustment measures.

The above analyses have revealed that the existence of the dualtrack price system is traced to the existence of commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall, especially the commodity supply gap. We have analyzed earlier that the reasons why commodity supply gap will last for a long time and why the trend of rising price level cannot be kept in check are not only because the market is not fully developed, but more importantly because enterprises are not responsible for their business decisions and operational profits and losses. Moreover, as we have pointed out earlier that to prevent the economy from sliding into recession and prices from rising continuously in the presence of commodity and resource shortages, the government will have to take adjustment measures to reach rationing equilibrium. From these discussions, we can clearly see that the transition from the dual-track price system to the mechanism of pure market price cannot be done by simply removing price controls. The transition is dependent on three basic conditions:

The first condition: Has commodity supply gap shrunk?

The second condition: Are enterprises responsible for their business decisions and operational profits and losses or be restrained by the maximization of self-interest and subject to budget constraints?

The third condition: Has the government adopted various adjustment measures during the period of dual prices and effectively reached ex post equilibrium, or rationing equilibrium, such that the trend of rising price level has been held in check or the inflation rate has declined slightly?

These three conditions must be met. If only two of them are met and one is unmet, then it is not yet the right time to transit from the dualtrack price system to pure market price. Rushing into fully removing price controls before all conditions are met will certainly cause economic fluctuations. Should we do that, it would delay the removal of price controls, forcing the

dual-track price system to maintain its status quo for an extended period of time.

Keep in mind that since dual prices turn out to be a measure to achieve rationing equilibrium under the condition of commodity supply gap, it is necessary to reduce commodity supply gap if we decide to terminate the dual-track price system that is incompatible with the market economy. If commodity supply and demand are balanced, commodity supply gap will disappear, and of course dual prices will no longer be needed. However, reaching the balance between supply and demand is not easy, regardless of aggregate balance or structural balance. It is impossible for us to imagine waiting for the day when the supply and demand of commodities are balanced to come before starting the transition from the dual-track price system to pure market price. That is unrealistic. What can we do then? Generally speaking, we should force commodity supply and demand to gradually approach a balance on the aggregate basis with commodity supply gap gradually shrinking. On the structural basis, we should treat different commodities in different ways. When the supply gap and demand shortfall of certain commodities have shrunk and approached an approximate balance, it demonstrates that the dual prices for these commodities can be terminated. If the supply gap of some commodities is still fairly large, it signals that it is not yet the time to terminate their dual prices and the dual prices should remain for a longer time. In summary, when the conditions for a specific commodity are met, its price can be opened up. When the commodities of the same category are ready, their price controls can be lifted. If conditions are not met, price decontrol should be postponed. In this way, we will gradually realize the transition from the dual-track price system to pure market price.

Regardless of how large commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall are or which commodities have or have not met the requirements of price decontrol, deepening the reform on enterprises is critical to the termination of the dual-track price system. As we have discussed many times before, if enterprises are responsible for their business decisions and operational profits and losses, they will be able to utilize market price signals to adjust production and operation, which helps them adapt to the new economic environment after price decontrol. However, this by no means indicates that we can terminate the dual-track price system in the presence of relatively large commodity supply gap, even though enterprises are responsible for their business decisions and operational profits and losses.

This is because price rises are inevitable when commodity supply gap is relatively large. If enterprises were not responsible for their business decisions or operational profits and losses, it would be very difficult to control the rising price level. The reason why the rising price level can be controlled after enterprises take responsibility for their business decisions and operational profits and losses is that they will be induced to increase supply and decrease demand to alleviate supply gap. Whether or not the rising price level can be really controlled is still dependent on the magnitude of commodity supply gap and the severity of constraints on resource. This demonstrates that allowing enterprises to make independent decisions and take responsibility for profits and losses is a necessary condition, but not the only condition, of the termination of the dual-track price system.

Let us take another look at the third condition we discussed earlier, i.e., the government makes progress in controlling the rising price level by adopting adjustment measures. Let us assume that enterprises have become independent goods producers who are responsible for their business decisions and operational profits and losses after economic reforms and that commodity supply gap has shrunk to some extent. However, prices have not been stabilized due to structural reasons. Meanwhile, government adjustment measures have not been very effective in controlling rising prices. At this time, it is not yet the time to remove price controls. The reason is that society is not completely ready for the removal of price controls nor is the state as far as its financial position is concerned. Since prices have not stabilized, removing price controls may bring about the tremor of instability, which will induce people to increase the purchase of commodities or even withdraw their savings accounts to purchase commodities as inventories. As price has not been stabilized, it is unlikely that the austerity measures adopted by the government have reached its goal. Removing price controls at this time will render government measures self-contradictory and put the government in a difficult position. Price decontrol will not only create barriers to enforcing the austerity measures but may also end up in a new situation in which fiscal revenues are unable to catch up with higher government spending after prices are opened.

Therefore, these three basic conditions discussed above are all required for the transition from the dual-track price system to pure market price. If we understand this, we can naturally understand the following four issues:

A. The transition from the dual-track price system to pure market price

in China can only happen by taking baby steps, i.e., gradually removing price controls step by step. The proposal of "reaching the goal by taking one giant and final step" or "reforming prices by taking giant steps" is both unrealistic and harmful.

B. The transition from the dual-track price system to pure market price in China can only happen in accordance with the progress of the enterprise reform. The progress of the enterprise reform determines that of the price reform. The proposal of using a "breakthrough" of the price reform in the first place to jump-start other reforms (including the enterprise reform) will only throw the economy into chaos and will be harmful to pushing reforms forward.

C. The transition from the dual-track price system to pure market price in China can only be realized when the upward trend in price is under control or the downward trend in price sets in. The proposal that ignores economic environment as well as the tolerance of society and the nation's fiscal situation will not only lead to price reform failure but also disrupt overall economic reforms.

D. In light of current situations in China, the government should continue to maintain the dual-track price system and apply rationing equilibrium to shortage commodities. Although the dual-track price system and the rationing equilibrium for commodities may somewhat harm the economy, it is undoubtedly less harmful than removing price controls right now.

Everyone who studies economic theories as well as the reality of economic reforms will know that the optimal solution in an economic reform does not really exist. Such an optimal solution only exists in the mind of theorists. In real economic reforms, what happens can only be the second best, and it is also a realistic and practical solution. "Price reform first" is perhaps doable in theory. If the Chinese economy were in type I disequilibrium conditions, I would have no doubt about that. My concern is that whether or not "price reform first" is doable under type II disequilibrium conditions. The question is, if the dual-track price system is changed to pure market price while enterprises have not become independent goods producers who make their own business decisions and are responsible for their own profits and losses, how can the enterprise reform proceed? Wouldn't the enterprise reform come to a halt? Therefore, we should follow the reality and go with the second best solution, which is to "first of all shrink supply gap

and then proceed with the enterprise reform and lowering inflation." We should not be fascinated by the proposal of "price reform first," which may sound very appealing according to some "research."

贰　企业运行机制的改造

一、企业运行机制改造与供求矛盾的缓解

以上的分析不能不使我们得出如下结论：要解决我国现阶段的商品供给缺口较大的问题，必须首先使我国的企业成为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，使它们具有受利益约束和预算约束的正常的企业运行机制。如果企业运行机制没有得到应有的改造，单纯寄希望于立即取消价格双轨制，那就只能带来上面所分析的后果。

要缓解供不应求的矛盾，无疑需要增加供给。增加供给，归根到底是在提高生产能力的基础上实现的。供给的增加意味着生产力水平的增长。用增加供给的办法来解决供不应求问题，不仅行之有效，而且具有决定性意义。[1]

增加供给是需要追加投入的。在供不应求的条件下，如果过多地追加投入或只把追加投入看成是增加供给的途径，那就会增加需求，而需求的增加却是同供不应求条件下要求对需求进行抑制的意图相抵触的。因此，不能把增加供给的希望主要寄托在追加投入之上，而应当在尽可能少追加投入的基础上使供给增加。

怎样才能做到这一点？政府可以采取若干调节措施，包括数量调节措施和价格调节措施，但要知道，在市场不完善和企业缺乏活力的情况下，不仅价格调节措施会受到限制，而且数量调节措施也会受到限制。解决供给不足问题的基本途径在于生产要素的重新组合和发挥企业、职工的积极性，这就涉及企业运行机制的改造问题。

如果企业尚未成为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，企业的财产关系尚未规范，企业固定资产的归属问题尚未确定，那么重新组合生产要素是十分困难的。企业运行机制的改造是指如何把作为行政机构附属物的企业的运行机制改造成产权明确的、受利益约束和预算约束的企业的运行机制。在改造企业运行机制的过程中，生产要素的重新组合将不断取得进展。这是因为，通过这一改造，将明确企业的财产关系，使企业的固定资产具有确定的所有者、经营者，于是就可以在此基础上推进企业合并，鼓励企业相互参股，加速企业集团的建立，进行优化产业结构、产品结构的各项调整，从而达到在尽可能少追加投入的条件下增加产品和劳务供给的目标。

企业运行机制的改造包含了企业收益分配机制的改造。企业收益分配的机制直接影响着企业自身的积极性和企业职工的积极性。但要使企业收益分配机制转换，则必须依靠企业产权的规范化，依靠企业真正转变为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者。同生产要素重新组合的作用一

样，只要企业自身的积极性和企业职工的积极性发挥出来了，企业就有可能在尽可能少追加投入的基础上提供更多的产品和劳务。

由此可见，在政府有一系列措施可供选择，以便增加供给和解决供不应求的矛盾时，如果说阻碍供给缺口缩小的主要障碍在于企业缺乏应有的运行机制，在于企业缺乏必不可少的利益约束和预算约束，那么政府应采取的基本措施绝不是价格调节，也不是数量调节，而是企业运行机制的改造，即把企业改造为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者。

再从抑制需求的角度进行分析。

要缓解供不应求的矛盾，增加供给当然是最为重要的，但抑制需求也具有一定的重要意义。抑制需求可以通过政府的价格调节措施和数量调节措施来实现。虽然抑制需求的这些调节措施可以较快地产生一定的结果，但它们毕竟只是治标的办法，它们无非是使需求适应现有的生产力水平，而未能用提高生产力水平的办法来适应现有的需求。加之，抑制需求的后遗症也是必须考虑的。对需求的抑制只能适度而不能过分，否则会给今后的经济带来困难。

这里需要探讨的是：在抑制需求方面，除了政府的价格调节措施和数量调节措施以外，是不是也应当从改造企业运行机制方面着手呢？回答是肯定的。而且应当指出，从改造企业运行机制方面着手来抑制需求，在企业缺乏应有的运行机制和缺乏必要的利益约束、预算约束的场合，不仅要比采取数量—价格调节措施更为有效，而且不会有诸如影响资源的合理利用，挫伤企业和职工的积极性，对供给增长有不利影响等等后遗症。关于这一点，可以从抑制投资需求和抑制消费需求两个不同的角度来分别论述。

要抑制投资需求，基本途径应当是让作为投资主体的企业具有自我制约、自我适应投资环境变化的机制。假定投资主体缺乏这种机制，不管政府采取什么样的数量—价格调节，效果必定不理想。而要让企业作为投资主体具有这种机制，那就必须进行企业运行机制的改造，使企业行为受到利益的约束、预算的约束。这时，企业出于自身利益的考虑，将会自行制止无效益的、低效率的投入。在这个基础上，政府为了抑制投资需求而采取的价格调节措施和数量调节措施，才能通过企业的经济行为的调整而逐渐收效。

要抑制消费需求，政府应采取的基本措施同样是让消费主体具有自我制约、自我适应市场变化的机制。对于企业来说，消费需求的约束是同企业运行机制密切相关的：一方面，企业作为公共消费的主体之一，如果企业不受利益约束和预算约束，那么它的消费需求也就不可能受到约束，通常所说的来自企业的社会集团购买力居高不下的现象，可以由此得到解释；另一方面，企业职工的消费需求同他们的可支配收入有

关，而他们的可支配收入归根到底来自他们从企业取得的各种收入，假定不进行企业运行机制方面的改造，那么要想让企业职工的收入受到劳动生产率及其增长率的制约，也是不可能的事情。人们通常议论的企业之间在工资、奖金方面相互攀比现象也可以由此得到解释。

因此，无论从增加供给还是从抑制需求的角度来看，均可以得出这样的论断：在经济非均衡条件下，要缓解供不应求矛盾，基本途径应当是改造企业运行机制，使企业具有利益的约束、预算的约束。这个问题解决了，从供给方面看，通过生产要素重新组合和发挥企业、职工的积极性，可以在尽可能少投入的条件下增加产品和劳务的供给；从需求方面看，通过企业自我制约投资和自我制约消费基金增长的机制的建立，不仅可以有效地抑制需求，而且可以使得这种抑制需求的方式较少地产生后遗症。

二、企业运行机制改造与结构性失衡的缓解

结构性失衡中的关键性商品供给缺口的缓解，可以根据以上所提出的基本思想进行，即通过企业运行机制的改造来增加供给和抑制需求，拟定对策。那么结构性失衡中的关键性商品需求缺口，又将如何缓解呢？是不是也应当把企业运行机制的改造作为抑制供给和扩大需求的基本途径呢？回答同样是肯定的。这就是：假定企业还不是自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，企业的经济行为不受利益的约束、预算的约束，那么即使通过政府的数量调节和价格调节，供给不一定能减少，需求也不一定能扩大，从而商品的需求缺口不一定能缩小。前面在分析经济非均衡条件下商品需求缺口与政府价格调节的逆效应时，实际上已经把改造企业运行机制的必要性说明了。下面，可以进一步从抑制供给和扩大需求两个不同的角度作一些论述。

关键性商品出现了供大于求的情况，有必要抑制供给。怎样才能既导致供给的下降，又不至于影响企业的收入、政府的收入和职工的收入？单纯采取政府的数量—价格调节措施，即使能够使供给减少，但却无法使得企业、政府和职工的收入不受影响，何况在企业运行机制未得到改造时，这些调节措施还不一定取得成效。因此，在这种情况下，用加速资源的流动、转移的办法来抑制滞销的、过剩的商品的供给，并通过产品结构、产业结构的调整，使短缺商品的生产领域得到资源的供给，这样就可以既导致预定要抑制的那些部门的供给的下降，又导致预定要发展的那些部门的供给的增长，并且企业、政府、职工的收入也不至于受到影响。而要加速资源的流动、转移，则必须明确企业的财产关系，使企业成为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者。这表明企业运行机制的改造对于抑制关键性商品过多的供给的重要意义。

关键性商品出现了供大于求的情况，也有必要扩大对这些商品的需求。怎样才能既导致对这些商品的需求的扩大，而又不至于在结构性失衡条件下使本来已经存在的需求偏大的事实进一步加剧呢？究竟采取什么样的措施才能引导企业去利用这些积压的、滞销的商品呢？看来，一种可行的办法是通过产品结构、产业结构、技术结构的调整，为这些过剩的商品找到销路，并利用这些商品创造出更多的为社会所需要的商品。这就同企业运行机制的改造紧密联系在一起了。如果企业运行机制得到了改造，企业的经济行为有了利益的约束、预算的约束，以及企业有了投资机会的选择权和经营活动的自主权，它们就可以根据自己的利益，或者自行改造技术结构，或者同其他企业合并、联营，利用社会上滞销的商品来开发新商品。企业的这种积极性来自企业运行机制的改造，企业扩大对滞销商品的购买的可能性也来自企业运行机制的改造。

当然，当我们强调企业运行机制的改造对于缓解非均衡条件下供大于求或供不应求的决定性作用时，并不否认政府根据每个具体时期的具体情况采取数量调节措施和价格调节措施的意义。我们想说明的始终是这样一个道理：企业运行机制的改造是各种数量调节措施和价格调节措施得以发挥作用的前提。只要企业仍然处于行政机构附属物的位置上，企业仍然缺乏利益约束和预算约束，在面临供求缺口时，政府的数量——价格调节怎么能取得理想的效果呢？

三、价格改革的渐进性

价格双轨制是从旧经济体制向新经济体制转变过程中的一种价格制度。价格双轨制向单一的市场定价制的过渡，是建立新的商品经济体制的重要条件。单一的市场定价制就是指价格全面放开，政府不直接定价，价格由市场供求力量自发地决定，政府采取间接调控的方式来影响市场上价格的形成。

从以上的分析可以了解到，价格双轨制的存在与商品供给缺口与商品需求缺口的存在有关，尤其是与商品供给缺口的存在有关。前面还分析到，商品供给缺口之所以会旷日持久，物价上涨趋势之所以不易被遏制，不仅取决于市场不完善，而且更重要的是与企业不能自主经营、自负盈亏有关。此外，前面也曾指出，要避免商品短缺、资源短缺条件下出现经济状况的恶化和抑制物价的不断上涨，就需要由政府采取调节措施，实行配额均衡。这样，我们就可以清楚地看到，由价格双轨制过渡到单一市场定价制并不是简单地放开价格就能够实现的。这一过渡取决于三个基本条件：

第一，商品供给缺口是否有所缩小？

第二，企业是否自主经营、自负盈亏，是否受利益的约束与预算的

约束？

第三，在价格双轨制存在的时期，政府通过各种调节措施，是否有效地实现了事后的均衡，即配额均衡，从而抑制了物价上涨的势头，使物价上涨率有所下降？

这三个条件是缺一不可的。假定只有其中两个条件而缺少另一个条件，那就表明双轨价格向单一市场价格的过渡的前提尚未成熟。在前提未成熟时就仓促地全面放开价格，必然导致经济的动荡。从效果上看。这样做反而延误了价格放开的时间，使价格双轨制不得不继续维持下来。

要知道，既然双轨价格作为一个配额均衡的措施是在商品供给缺口存在的条件下产生的，因此要取消这种不符合市场原则的双轨价格，就必须使商品供给缺口缩小。假定商品供求平衡了，商品供给缺口不存在了，那么当然就不再需要双轨价格了。但要实现商品供求的平衡，无论是总量上的平衡还是结构上的平衡，都不是一件容易的事情。我们不可能设想等到某一天商品供求平衡了再来实现由价格双轨制向单一市场定价制的过渡。这是不现实的。那么我们可能做的是什么呢？这就是：在总量上，使商品的供给与需求逐渐接近，商品供给缺口逐渐缩小；在结构上，按不同种类的商品区别对待。某些商品的供求缺口缩小后，已经接近于基本平衡的状态，那就表明这些商品的双轨价格可以取消；如果某些商品的供给缺口仍相当大，那就表明取消双轨价格的条件尚未成熟，双轨价格应当继续保留一段时间。总之，按照商品的类别，条件成熟后，价格就放开，成熟一批，放开一批；条件不成熟的，就暂缓一缓。这样，就可以实现由价格双轨制向单一市场定价制的逐步过渡。

但无论商品供求缺口有多大，也不管有哪些商品已符合放开价格的要求，还有哪些商品不符合放开价格的要求，企业改革的深化对于价格双轨制的取消来说都是不能缺少的。正如前面已经一再提出的，企业的自主经营和自负盈亏将有助于企业利用市场的价格信号来调整自己的生产和经营活动，使得价格放开以后企业能够适应新的经济形势。但这并不意味着在商品供给缺口较大时，只要企业自主经营和自负盈亏了，就可以取消双轨价格。这是因为在商品供给缺口较大时，价格的上涨是不可避免的。如果企业不能自主经营和自负盈亏，那么价格的上涨趋势很难被抑制住；而企业的自主经营和自负盈亏则可以使这种价格上涨趋势受到某种抑制，并且会导致企业设法增加供给和减少需求，以缓和供给缺口。然而价格上涨的势头究竟能否被遏制，还要取决于商品供给缺口的大小以及资源的约束程度。这就表明，企业的自主经营和自负盈亏是取消价格双轨制的必不可少的条件，但不是惟一的条件。

再考察一下前面提到的第三个条件，即政府采取调节措施在抑制物

价上涨率方面所取得的成效。现在假定企业通过改革而成为自主经营和自负盈亏的独立商品生产者了，并且商品供给的缺口也已经有所缩小，但由于结构方面的原因，物价并没有被稳定住，而政府采取的调节措施在抑制物价上涨率方面的成效不大，那么这时仍然不可以着手放开物价。这主要是由于社会心理对价格放开的承受力不大和财政对价格放开的承受力也不大。既然物价没有被稳定住，放开物价就等于给群众一种新的不稳定感，这将诱使群众增购商品，甚至提取存款来囤积商品。既然物价没有被稳定住，政府已经采取的紧缩措施还没有取得应有的效果，那么这时放开物价就会使政府的措施自相矛盾，使政府处于左右为难的境地，而物价的放开不仅会使政府的紧缩措施的继续推行遇到困难，并且还会使财政无法应付物价放开之后政府支出增加的新形势。

由此可见，上述三个基本条件对于从价格双轨制向单一市场定价制的过渡而言，都是必要的。只要我们懂得了这些，那就很自然地会理解以下四个问题：

1．在我国，由价格双轨制向单一市场定价制的过渡只能是“小步走”，即分步骤地逐渐放开价格。那种主张“一步到位”、“价格改革迈大步”的方案，不切实际，有害无益。

2．在我国，由价格双轨制向单一市场定价制的过渡只能随着企业改革的进展而相应地进行。企业改革的进度决定着价格改革的进度。那种主张在价格改革方面先来一个“突破”，然后带动其他各种改革（包括企业改革）的方案，只会使经济陷入混乱而无助于整个改革事业的推进。

3．在我国，由价格双轨制向单一市场定价制的过渡只能在物价上涨的势头被抑制和物价出现下降的趋势时才有可能实现。那种不顾客观经济形势，认为可以置社会心理承受力与财政承受力于不顾的方案，不仅会导致价格改革失败，而且会导致整个改革失败。

4．在我国，根据现阶段的实际状况，政府应当继续保持价格双轨制，实行短缺商品的配额均衡。价格双轨制与商品配额均衡可能给经济带来一些不利，但与目前放开价格所造成的不利相比，无疑小得多。

每一个既研究经济理论、又研究经济改革实际的人都知道，经济改革中的最优选择实际上是不存在的。这种最优选择仅仅存在于理论家的头脑里。在经济改革实践中，所存在的只是次优的选择，也就是具有现实意义的、可行的改革方案。也许，“价格改革先行”可以从理论上说得通。如果我国经济处于第一类非均衡状态中，对这一点，我毫不感到怀疑。我所感到怀疑的是这种“价格改革先行”方案在第二类非均衡条件下的可操作性。试问，在企业尚未成为自主经营和自负盈亏的独立商品生产者的时候，就把价格双轨制改为单一市场定价制，那么企业改革又怎

么可能进行下去？企业改革不就停止了吗？可见，我们还是应当从现实出发，宁肯作出“先着手缩小供给缺口，着手企业改革，着手降低物价上涨率”的次优选择，而不要迷恋那种可能“论证”得很动听的“价格改革先行”方案。

Chapter 7　Industrial Restructuring
第七章　产业结构调整

7.1　DOMESTIC SOURCE OF FUNDING FOR INDUSTRIAL RESTRUCTURING

7.1.1　Funding Gap and Funding Potential Under Disequilibrium Conditions

Current economic disequilibria in China have revealed that domestic funding potential cannot be ignored despite an obvious funding gap. The concurrent existence of funding gap and funding potential is one of the features of the current funding problems in China.

A funding gap refers to insufficient supply of capital. During economic growth, the demand for capital has always been very large and the supply of capital has always been limited. Limited supply of capital in the economy is not able to keep up with the demand for capital, pushing the cost of capital higher. However, because the interest elasticity of capital supply is not large and neither is the interest elasticity of capital demand, purely relying on raising interest rates will not be able to increase capital supply and decrease capital demand. As a result, funding gap is inevitable. The situation forces the financial authority to focus on the credit scale to adjust capital supply and demand in its formulation of policies. In particular, quantity adjustment in the capital market is executed by using capital rationing to meet capital supply shortages, while the adjustment of interest rate is only considered a supplementary measure. The adjustment measures adopted by the Chinese financial authority in recent years turned out exactly the way we are discussing here, i.e., quantity adjustment measures are primary and price adjustment measures are secondary. We should consider that these policies have been largely consistent with current economic disequilibrium conditions in China.

However, we should note that while funding gap and funding potential

coexist, the capacity of funding potential should not be underestimated. Funding potential refers to the domestic capital embedded in the economy that can be discovered but has not yet been utilized. Potential capital is seen in the form of either idle cash or noncash resources. More specifically, it has the following five forms:

First of all, the most common form is personal cash on hand. A person's cash on hand is the person's disposable income after deducting his or her consumption and savings deposit at any financial institution. The amount of cash on hand far exceeds the amount of cash reserved by residents for their daily expenditures. Why is it so? It is because of unmet personal consumption needs and lack of domestic investment instruments, besides just a few available forms of assets such as cash, certificates of deposit, and bonds. In other words, insufficient supply of consumer goods and the lack of personal investment opportunities give rise to potential capital.

The second form of potential capital is petty cash on the hands of small business owners and private enterprises. Small business owners and private enterprises are business operators, and their petty cash on hand is different from personal cash on hand. They are reluctant to continue investing cash in production, as they are uncertain about whether they should expand production and operation or reinvest in their businesses. The amount of cash that is not invested in production is likely to be diverted into consumption and become exorbitant and extravagant spending or be reserved for new opportunities.

The third form of potential capital is cash or inventory that enterprises reserve above and beyond the needs of normal business operation. This refers to an excessive amount of petty cash, raw materials, fuel, or parts that are well above the normal quantity. In the presence of commodity supply gap and capital funding gap, enterprises tend to maintain above-normal cash and inventories out of precaution or for fear of supply interruption or sustained inflation. Regardless of whether it is petty cash or inventory materials that enterprises maintain, capital is unreasonably tied in that form of asset as long as it is above the normal level, which will worsen the capital supply shortages in the economy. If we can persuade enterprises to maintain cash and inventory materials below the normal level, it will be equivalent to decreasing the demand for capital and increasing the supply of capital. Besides enterprises, small business owners and private enterprises sometimes also keep inventory supplies above the normal level. By the same token, that

residents store excessive consumer goods (with the purpose of protecting against supply interruption or rising prices) signals that capital is utilized unreasonably.

The fourth form of potential capital is represented by relatively low capital utilization efficiency. Given a fixed amount of total capital supply in the economy, the more inefficiently capital is utilized, the tighter the capital supply will be. In addition, if capital turnover slows down, capital supply will become tight. This demonstrates that given the total amount of capital supply, relatively low capital utilization efficiency and slow capital turnover have both revealed some funding potential. This conclusion tells us that as long as we can increase capital utilization efficiency by diverting capital from where utilization efficiency is relatively low to areas with relatively high utilization efficiency and accelerate capital turnover, we will be able to alleviate the capital supply gap and the imbalance between capital supply and demand.

The fifth form of potential capital is noncash resources. For example, idle labor or production facilities indicate that potential capital exists in the form of noncash resources. If idle labor and production facilities are put into use, we can generate additional income, part of which will become savings that will in turn be diverted into investment. In this way, noncash potential capital can be turned into real capital in the form of cash. The addition of capital is conducive to alleviating the imbalance between capital supply and demand.

The five points discussed above have led to this conclusion: While we need to pay attention to the funding gap under current economic disequilibrium conditions in China, we cannot ignore domestic funding potential. Both economic growth and industrial restructuring require a relatively large amount of capital. If we see only funding gap but fail to see funding potential, we will likely come up with an overly pessimistic assessment of the situation of domestic capital supply and demand.

7.1.2 Main Approaches to Discovering Domestic Funding Potential

Recognizing the coexistence of funding gap and funding potential will help us formulate the right policies for industrial restructuring.

How to discover domestic funding potential? We can come up with some detailed measures according to the five different situations discussed earlier. The measures available to us are discussed in detail as follows:

First of all, in order to increase the personal savings rate and reduce as

much personal cash on hand as possible, we should create more personal investment opportunities, particularly using the equity market as an investment vehicle to reduce cash on hand.

Secondly, in order to encourage small business owners and private enterprises to reinvest, and so as to reduce their cash on hand or to turn the portion of cash on hand that has been designated for exorbitant and extravagant consumption into production funds, we should introduce appropriate policies to strengthen their confidence in investment as well as property ownership rights.

Thirdly, we should try to eliminate enterprises' concerns over supply interruption or sustained inflation so that they no longer have to maintain above-normal cash and inventory and can instead utilize their capital appropriately. Therefore, we should apply measures to increase the supply of raw materials, fuel, and parts, develop the trading of commodity futures, and reduce the impact of rising prices on normal business activities. These measures will in turn reduce capital demand from enterprises.

Fourthly, in order to increase capital utilization efficiency in society, accelerate capital turnover, and minimize capital deployment by society, we should appropriately adjust the direction and structure of capital deployment by diverting the capital that is utilized less efficiently to the production areas where capital is utilized more efficiently. Meanwhile, we should adopt various measures to accelerate capital turnover, such as improving technologies, shortening manufacturing cycles, organizing balanced production, accelerating the transportation and distribution of finished products, and collecting accounts receivables in a timely manner.

Fifthly, in order to fully utilize idle labor and production facilities to create additional income and increase savings, we should adopt various measures to promote the circulation and recombination of production factors. These measures will help turn potential noncash capital into real cash capital.

From the above discussions, we can understand that as long as appropriate measures are adopted, potential capital can be discovered. The five measures we discussed above can be summarized into the following two points: On the one hand, we should continue pushing economic reforms forward to discover funding potential; on the other hand, we should rely on various measures that aim to adjust product structure, industrial structure, regional economic structure, consumption structure, and technological structure so that we can increase capital utilization efficiency and reduce

unreasonable capital utilization.

The economic reforms hereby referred to cover many areas. In terms of financial reforms, the focus should be placed on allowing the establishment of various financial institutions and the commercialization of state-owned commercial banks. Establishing various financial institutions will help absorb idle capital from society and facilitate the transformation of savings into investment. The commercialization of state-owned commercial banks will not only significantly improve capital utilization efficiency and reduce inappropriate capital deployment but also mobilize and encourage banks to absorb and utilize idle capital in society. Moreover, financial reforms will accelerate the development of the capital market and contribute to the formation of a perfect capital market. Based on how the capital market is developed and perfected, we can gradually remove the controls over interest rate so that it can adjust to changing supply and demand in the capital market.

In terms of the reform of the enterprise operation mechanism, the most important measure applicable to discovering funding potential is to turn enterprises into goods producers who make their own business decisions and are responsible for operational profits and losses and to set up a shareholding system for appropriate enterprises. Recognizing enterprises as independent decision-makers who take responsibility for their own profits and losses will help enterprises save capital and avoid unnecessary capital deployment, hence increasing capital utilization efficiency. To set up the shareholding system by way of stock offering can not only absorb idle capital from society and divert the capital raised to production but also encourage corporate mergers and acquisitions or the formation of business alliances, helping recombine production factors and direct the capital in society to the development of production capacity for the benefit of the economy. These measures are essential to discovering funding potential.

Reforming the social security system will also help discover funding potential. One of the main purposes of the reform is to change the old way of purely relying on the state to provide social security and to establish a social security system that mainly relies on individuals themselves, i.e., a social security system that consists of personal savings, corporate contributions, and state subsidies. Through the reform, pension funds and various social security and welfare funds will have significant amount of capital under management. These funds can be allocated to where they are needed to alleviate the shortages of capital supplies in society.

We cannot underestimate the importance of investment system reform to the mobilization of idle capital in society and the efficient utilization of capital. We should do the following: Establish and perfect the system of fixed asset investment funds, arranging investment according to capital position and leverage funds provided by the state to pay the interest of the capital collected from society and so as to attract more capital; at the same time, the government should no longer concern itself with the details of operational investment projects, but delegate them to commercial investment companies, who are both investors and future operators of these projects. These commercial investment companies will sell or lease the projects once they are completed, contract with other companies to perform project management, or structure them into a subsidiary by issuing stocks to the public. These measures will effectively contribute to the efficient utilization and payback of investment capital.

The series of economic reforms discussed above are the basic approaches to resolving the capital supply and demand imbalance under the current condition of insufficient capital supply.

Next, we will discuss how to discover funding potential in terms of adjustment measures targeting product structure, industrial structure, regional economic structure, consumption structure, and technological structure.

7.1.3 Restructuring Versus Increasing Capital Utilization Efficiency

We still have to start this topic by discussing type II disequilibrium.

If the market is not fully developed and enterprises are not motivated, it will be very difficult to execute restructuring plans (including the adjustments to not only product structure and industrial structure but also regional economic structure, consumption structure, and technological structure), and the attempt to discover funding potential via restructuring will also be fruitless. It is from this perspective that we consider pushing economic reforms forward and encouraging restructuring by means of economic reform the basic approach to discovering funding potential in China. We have discussed this point previously.

Undoubtedly, if economic reforms proceed smoothly, the financial system, the enterprise system, the social security system, and the investment system will all be changed fundamentally and the market will gradually become perfect. Under such circumstances, restructuring will accelerate and capital utilization efficiency will improve. The question we have is: If

economic reforms are still in progress without making any fundamental changes in the underdeveloped market, will it be impossible to proceed with restructuring, which is relatively important to us, or is it absolutely impossible to increase capital utilization efficiency via restructuring? The answer is: Not necessarily. We cannot wait until after the completion of economic reforms before carrying out restructuring. If we did that, we would lose time. By the same token, we cannot wait until everything is ready before proceeding with increasing capital utilization efficiency via restructuring, or we would be struggling with tight capital supply. The right thing to do is to coordinate economic reforms and restructuring so that both can move forward and work together to discover domestic funding potential, increase capital utilization efficiency, and alleviate capital supply and demand imbalance.

In this circumstance, an applicable restructuring measure is quantity adjustment by the government, which mainly includes the adjustment of credit quantity and the adjustment to the rationing of scarce production materials that are intended to increase capital supply and decrease inefficient capital utilization. This does not mean that quantity adjustment performed by the government is the best alternative that supports restructuring. At least it is a practical choice in these circumstances.

The adjustment of credit quantity mainly refers to the changes to the quantitative credit structure initiated by the government in accordance with its goals, provided that the total credit scale is under control, with the purpose of changing product structure, industrial structure, regional economic structure, consumption structure, and technological structure. Restructuring credit quantity is to terminate credit support for those enterprises or units who generate low economic returns or those who demonstrate low capital utilization efficiency and to redirect capital to those enterprises or units that have high economic returns or capital utilization efficiency. Meanwhile, restructuring credit quantity is to adjust economic development across different regions, initiate changes to the structure of personal consumption, and facilitate the coordination of the technological structure with the economy. All these measures will be conducive to gradually realizing the government's restructuring plan. Although the adjustment of credit quantity will not tackle the fundamental issues of the enterprise operation mechanism or the banking system, it will still be very effective during economic reforms when the interest rate elasticity of investment is relatively low and the supply

gap in the capital market is relatively large, which prevents interest rates from floating freely in a short period of time.

Ration adjustment of scarce production materials can be determined by the target principle, which is used by the government to allocate the quota for scarce production materials (such as electricity, nonferrous metal, and certain chemicals) in order to support the sectors that can help alleviate the supply gap, utilize idle labor and production materials more efficiently, and restrict the growth of those enterprises that have low capital utilization efficiency. Ration adjustment of scarce production materials will not only impact product structure and industrial structure but also directly or indirectly accelerate the adjustment of regional economic structure, consumption structure, and technological structure. Although ration adjustment of scarce production materials does not tackle the fundamental issues of the economic system and to some extent even prevents the market from working, which may hinder competition among enterprises, we cannot ignore its importance to the economy in alleviating the insufficiency of capital supply in the current economic situations. We have to keep in mind that quantity adjustment measures(including quota adjustment of scarce production materials) are more powerful than price adjustment measures when supply and demand mismatch is relatively severe, which happens to be one of the features of the disequilibrium economy. Moreover, our main task at the moment is to discover funding potential and increase the supply of domestic capital. To this end, we must cut investment in those enterprises or sectors that have low capital utilization efficiency and increase investment in those that have relatively high capital utilization efficiency. While we are trying to reach this goal via restructuring, quantity adjustment can also play a more significant role than price adjustment. Some of the side effects of quantity adjustment (e.g., dampening the motivation of some enterprises, thus putting certain enterprises and sectors in a difficult position) can only be regarded as the inevitable costs of restructuring and the alleviation of capital supply insufficiency. They are acceptable as long as benefits exceed costs.

From the government's perspective, there will always be potential side effects that come along with the adjustment, whether it is credit quantity adjustment or the ration adjustment of scarce production materials. Therefore, it is necessary to try our best to reduce these side effects. The government can do the following:

A. Determining the restructuring goals and action plans in a more

scientific way by trying to avoid making blind decisions as much as possible and collecting sufficient information to support credit quantity adjustment and the ration adjustment of scarce production materials.

B. Upon determining the restructuring goals and action plans, having the government departments responsible for the execution of credit quantity adjustment and the ration adjustment of scarce production materials strictly stick to the rules set by the government and banning any action in pursuit of illegal personal benefits in the name of quantity adjustment.

C. Introducing a dual-track credit system or a dual-track distribution system for certain production materials. To some extent, this can mitigate the disadvantages of quantity adjustment. The dual-track credit system refers to a system in which the market provides credit in addition to the government adjustment of credit quantity. Credit provided by the market allows interest rates of deposits and loans to be set by the market, and the government only sets the upper limit on floating interest rates. Under the dual-track credit system, the government should strictly prohibit any fund loaned to enterprises via the adjustment of credit quantity from entering into the market. Otherwise, there will be new problems. The dual-track distribution system for certain production materials refers to a system in which the production materials with various degrees of scarcity can be distributed partly by ration adjustment and partly by open-market transactions executed in the production material market, except for some extremely rare and vital production materials that are completely controlled by the government via ration adjustment. The price for openmarket transactions is determined by the market, and the government can choose whether or not to set a price ceiling. The ratio of distribution by ration adjustment to distribution via open-market transactions depends on the scarcity of a particular production material.

7.1.4 The Relationship Between Industrial Restructuring and Economic Growth During the Mobilization of Domestic Capital

Economic growth requires additional input of capital, and so does industrial restructuring. With limited supply of domestic capital, if more additional capital is committed to economic growth, capital allocated to industrial restructuring will have to be lessened. The conflict that arises during the distribution of additional capital is real. Of course, if more domestic funding potential is discovered at time of capital supply shortages, tight capital supply can be somewhat alleviated. However, newly mobilized

capital will face the same issue, i.e., how should it be allocated between economic growth and industrial restructuring. Thus, we still need to decide on who gets more capital and who gets less.

Between economic growth and industrial restructuring, we can neither prefer one to another nor emphasize only one of them. The reason is that if we only emphasize economic growth and ignore industrial restructuring, economic growth under the current industrial structure will encounter more and more difficulties and we will face the coexistence of supply gap and demand shortfall of some production factors during economic growth, which will lower economic growth rate and cause subsequent structural imbalances. On the contrary, if we only emphasize industrial restructuring and ignore economic growth, industrial restructuring will falter. One of the reasons why industrial restructuring will falter is that lowering economic growth will mothball some production factors, thus lowering enterprises' income, personal income, and fiscal income and hindering industrial restructuring from following the goals set by the government.

Therefore, the choice that we have is to balance economic growth and industrial restructuring and to carry out industrial restructuring during economic growth and maintain continuous economic growth by means of industrial restructuring. Specifically, to execute industrial restructuring during economic growth refers to the following: While maintaining an economic growth rate similar to the past, we will increase the percentage of the output from new industrial sectors in aggregate output and decrease the percentage of the output from traditional industrial sectors in aggregate output (as the absolute value of the output from traditional industrial sectors may remain unchanged or change slightly). To maintain economic growth by means of industrial restructuring refers to the following: While the percentage of output from traditional industrial sectors in aggregate output keeps declining, the economic growth engine will mainly rely on higher absolute value of the output from new industrial sectors as well as its rising share in aggregate output. Obviously, to balance economic growth and industrial restructuring requires production factors to circulate and recombine. It is also related to the redistribution of capital among various sectors as well as the guidance on societal consumption, savings, and investment.

The key point that we need to focus on here is how economic growth and industrial restructuring are related to mobilizing domestic capital. If the government mobilizes domestic capital by means of voluntary savings, e.g.,

adjusting interest rates and giving favorable tax treatment to investment to encourage people to increase the share of income allocated to savings and investment, the way that newly discovered domestic capital is actually distributed between new and traditional industrial sectors will depend to a large extent on the differential interest rates and preferential investment tax treatment. The government can determine the differential interest rates and preferential investment tax treatment at a high level according to the current situation and the target model of the industrial structure as well as the probability of economic growth and historical economic growth rates. In summary, mobilizing domestic capital by means of voluntary savings and distributing capital among various sectors appropriately will lead to fewer hurdles, if any, than other ways. If any hurdle does arise, it may originate from the traditional values behind consumption and savings (i.e., people may or may not react to the changes in interest rates or preferential investment tax treatment and correspondingly change their consumption and savings behavior by raising savings rate and increasing the propensity to invest) or from the financing capability of financial institutions (i.e., they may or may not be capable of effectively and efficiently discovering idle capital in society and using the capital to support the development of new industrial sectors).

If the government tries to discover domestic funding potential by means of compulsory savings in an attempt to mobilize domestic capital, for instance, forcing people to buy government bonds, raising direct and indirect tax rates and increasing the prices of some consumer goods, or lowering the level of cash amount that enterprises are required to hold with the purpose of raising additional capital to be invested in new industrial sectors, we will have the following two outcomes. Firstly, the government will be able to raise a certain amount of cash fairly quickly and allocate the capital to various areas and sectors according to its predetermined goals. On the other hand, as this way of raising funds is to mandatorily change personal consumption behavior and directly interfere with how enterprises conduct businesses and distribute income, personal and business motivation may be hurt, economic growth may be influenced, and business growth may be interrupted, which may hurt economic growth. Therefore, even if the government is not absolutely prohibited from using compulsory savings to raise capital during the process of mobilizing domestic capital, it must act appropriately. Otherwise, it will be difficult to balance economic growth and industrial restructuring.

However, we should realize that both voluntary savings and compulsory savings are acceptable as long as they help support industrial restructuring during the process of pursuing economic growth and maintaining sustained economic growth through industrial restructuring. As the economic regulator, the government has to manage voluntary savings and compulsory savings according to the specific situations at different times. Voluntary savings play a more powerful role in motivating individuals and businesses, while compulsory savings, if used appropriately and accounting for appropriate ratio, can raise capital fairly quickly to help promote economic growth and restructure industries. Given the current situations in China, how to manage voluntary savings and compulsory savings in such a way that balances economic growth and industrial restructuring is an important topic on which we need to do further research.

壹　产业结构调整的国内资金来源

一、非均衡条件下的资金缺口与资金潜力

从我国经济目前所处的非均衡状态来看，尽管资金缺口的存在是十分明显的，但与此同时，国内资金潜力也不可忽视。资金缺口与资金潜力的并存，是目前我国资金问题的特点之一。

资金缺口是指资金供给的不足。在经济发展过程中，资金需求量一直很大，而资金的供给总是有限的。有限的资金总是不可能满足社会对资金的需求，资金价格呈现上升的趋势。但由于资金供给的利息弹性不大，资金需求的利息弹性也不大，所以单纯依靠利息率的上升并不能增加资金的供给和抑制对资金的需求。资金缺口不可避免地继续存在着。这种情况迫使金融当局把调节资金供求的政策重点放在信贷规模的调整方面，即放在对资金市场的数量调节上，指望用资金的配额来适应资金供不应求的现状，至于利息率的调整则被看成是辅助性的手段。近年来，我国金融当局所采取的正是这种以数量调节为主、价格调节为辅的调节措施。应当认为，这一做法大体上是符合目前我国经济这样的非均衡状态的。

但值得注意的是，在资金缺口存在的同时，资金潜力同样存在，而且对资金潜力的大小不应低估。资金潜力是指潜藏在经济内部的、有可能被发掘出来而至今尚未被发掘出来的资金。这些潜在的资金或者表现为闲置的货币，或者以非货币资源的形式存在着。具体地说，它们有以下五种形式：

第一，最常见的是居民手头保留的现金。居民的可支配收入中，除去用于消费支出的部分和进入各类金融机构的部分以外，剩下的就是手头持有的现金。这些手头持有的现金远远超出了居民日常备用的现金余额。为什么它们会存在？这正是居民的消费意愿未能实现和国内缺乏除现金、银行存款、债券等少数资产形式以外的其他多种资产形式所造成的。换句话说，居民所需要的消费品供给不足和居民个人投资机会的不足导致了资金潜力的存在。

第二，个体户、私营户手头保留的现金。个体户、私营户是经营者，他们手头保留的现金的性质与居民手头保留的现金的性质不同，他们主要是对扩大生产经营规模和再投资有疑虑，因此不愿继续把货币投入生产领域。这些未被继续投入生产领域的资金有可能转入消费领域，成为挥霍性的、炫耀性的消费支出，但也有可能被个体户、私营户保留在手中，暂时不作安排，待机而动用。

第三，企业的超正常现金和物资储备。这是指：企业保留了超出正

常需要的备用现金，以及企业购置了超出正常储备额的原材料、燃料、零部件等等。在商品供给缺口和资金供给缺口存在的条件下，企业之所以会保持超正常的现金和物资储备，无非是一种预防性措施：或者是害怕供给的中断，或者是害怕价格的继续上涨。但无论是企业超正常的现金储备还是物资储备，都是对资金的不合理的占用，从而都加剧了社会的资金供给不足。假定能让企业把现金和物资储备保持在正常水平线以下，那就等于减少了对资金的需求，增加了资金的供给。除企业以外，个体户、私营户也有类似的超正常储备情况。居民储存过量的消费品（其目的也是为了防止供给中断和防止物价上升），同样意味着资金的不合理使用。

第四，社会资金的利用效率偏低。如果社会的资金供给总量为既定额，那么资金利用效率低的资金投入越多，资金供给就越不足。此外，如果社会的资金周转速度缓慢，那么资金供给也会显得紧张。这表明，在资金供给总量为既定额的条件下，资金利用效率的偏低和资金周转速度的缓慢都表明资金潜力的存在，表明只要提高资金利用效率，把利用效率偏低的资金转投于资金利用效率较高的领域，以及加快资金周转速度，就可以缓解资金的缺口，缩小资金供求的矛盾。

第五，潜在的资金还可能以非货币的形式存在着。例如，劳动力的闲置或生产设备的闲置，就意味着非货币形式的资金潜力的存在。只要把闲置的劳动力、闲置的生产设备利用起来，就可以增加收入，而在所增加的收入中，就有一定的份额作为储蓄，并相应地转化为投资。这样，潜在的非货币形式的资金就成为现实的货币形式的资金了。资金的增加将有助于缓和资金供给与资金需求之间的矛盾。

以上五个方面说明了这样一个问题：在当前我国的经济非均衡条件下，我们要注意到资金的缺口的存在，但也不要忽略国内的资金供给仍然具有潜力。无论是经济的增长还是产业结构的调整，都需要投入较多的资金。如果我们只看到资金的缺口而看不到资金的潜力，那么就可能对国内的资金供求形势作出偏于悲观的估计。

二、发掘国内资金潜力的主要途径

正确地认识资金缺口与资金潜力的并存，有助于我们制定科学的产业结构调整的政策。

怎样才能发掘国内的资金潜力？可以根据上述五种不同的情况设计具体的措施。简要地说，可供选择的措施如下：

第一，为了提高居民的储蓄率和尽量减少他们手头保留的现金数额，应当增加居民个人的投资机会，特别是应利用股票集资的方式把它们动员出来。

第二，为了扩大个体户、私营户的再投资的积极性，使他们手头少保留现金，或者使他们把本来准备用于挥霍性的、炫耀性的消费支出转用于生产资金，应当制定适当的政策，使个体户、私营户对投资前景和财产权有信心。

第三，为了使企业不再保留超正常的现金储备和物资储备，使企业合理地使用自己的资金，应当设法消除企业对于供给中断和价格继续上涨的顾虑。为此，应当采取措施增加原材料、燃料、零部件的供给，并发展期货贸易，减少价格上涨对于企业正常经济活动的干扰。这样就等于减少了企业对资金的需求。

第四，为了提高社会资金的利用效率以及加快资金周转速度，节约社会对资金的使用，应当合理调整资金的使用方向，调整投资结构，把利用效率偏低的资金转投于利用效率较高的生产领域。同时，应当采取各种措施来加快资金周转速度，如改进技术，缩短产品生产周期；组织均衡生产；加速制成品的发送和运输；及时收回销货款等等。

第五，为了充分利用闲置的劳动力和生产设备，增加收入和增加储蓄，应当采取各种措施来促进生产要素的流动，便于生产要素的重新组合。这些都有利于把潜在的非货币形式的资金转化为现实的货币形式的资金。

由此可见，只要措施得当，潜在的资金是可以被发掘出来的。可以把以上提到的五个方面应当采取的措施概括为以下两点，这就是：一方面要推进经济改革，靠经济改革把资金潜力发挥出来；另一方面要依靠各个有关的调整产品结构、产业结构、地区经济结构、消费结构和技术结构的措施，既提高资金的利用效率，又减少对资金的不合理使用。

这里所说的经济改革，范围是广泛的。在金融改革方面，应当把重点放在容许多种金融机构的建立和商业银行的企业化之上。多种金融机构的建立，有利于广泛吸收社会闲置资金，增加储蓄并使之转化为投资。商业银行的企业化，不仅可以大大提高资金的利用效率，减少不合理的资金投入，而且可以调动银行的积极性，促进银行对社会闲置资金的吸收和利用。此外，金融改革的进展将加速资金市场的发展与完善化，在资金市场发展与完善化的基础上，利息率将逐步放开，以适应资金市场的供求变化。

在企业体制改革方面，对发掘资金潜力最为重要的改革措施是使企业成为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，并使其中适宜于实现股份制的企业实现股份制。企业的自主经营和自负盈亏，有利于企业节约资金的使用和避免不合理的资金投入，从而提高资金利用效率。股份制的推广，不仅可以通过股票形式吸收社会闲置资金，把它们用于生产，而且可以促进企业的合并、联营，有助于生产要素的重新组合和把社会资金

导向对发展经济有利的生产领域。这些对于挖掘资金潜力都是必不可少的措施。

社会保障制度的改革同样有助于挖掘资金潜力。这一改革的主要目的在于把过去单纯依赖国家的社会保障制度改造为主要依靠居民自身的社会保障制度，即由居民积蓄、企业缴纳、国家津贴三者合一而形成的社会保障制度。通过这一改革而建立的养老基金会、各种社会保障和福利事业的基金会等等，将拥有大量资金，它们可以被使用于社会需要的领域，以缓和社会资金供给的不足。

投资体制的改革在动员社会闲置资金和有效地利用资金方面的积极意义是不可低估的。应当做到这样一点，即建立和完善固定资金投资基金制，根据资金状况安排投资，国家财政提供的资金在基金中起到酵母作用，依靠它们作为社会集资的利息，以吸收更多的社会资金；同时，政府机构不再过问具体的经营性投资项目，经营性投资项目由企业化的投资公司管理，这些投资公司既是投资者，又是未来的经营者，在项目建成以后，投资公司可以有偿转让它们，或租赁出去，或承包出去，也可以增发股票，吸引社会资金，使之成为一个子公司。这些措施将有力地促进投资资金的合理利用和回收。

以上的一系列经济改革措施就是当前我国在资金供给不足条件下解决资金供求矛盾的基本途径。

下面，再就调整产品结构、产业结构、地区经济结构、消费结构和技术结构方面的措施，对发掘资金潜力问题进行一些论述。

三、结构调整与资金利用效率的提高

这个问题仍应从第二类非均衡谈起。

如果市场不完善而企业又缺乏活力，那么结构调整（不仅是产品结构、产业结构的调整，而且包括地区经济结构、消费结构、技术结构的调整）肯定是困难的，要想通过结构调整来挖掘资金潜力的意图也难免落空。正是从这个意义上说，推进经济改革，用经济改革来促进结构调整，是当前我国发掘资金潜力的基本途径。关于这一点，前面已经作了分析。

毫无疑问，如果经济改革进展顺利，金融体制、企业体制、社会保障体制、投资体制等等都有了实质性的变化，市场也将随之而逐渐趋向完善，在这种情况下，结构调整将会大大加速，通过结构调整而提高资金利用效率的格局也会出现。问题是：如果经济改革仍在继续进行之中，实质性的变化尚未发生，市场仍然是不完善的，那么是不是就不可能进行较重要的结构调整呢？通过结构调整而提高资金利用效率的愿望是不是就毫无实现之可能呢？情况未必如此。我们不能等待经济改革成

功之后再来进行结构调整，如果那样做，就会丧失时间。同样的道理，我们不能等待条件成熟之后再通过结构调整来提高资金利用效率，否则资金供给的紧张将一直困扰着我们。正确的对策应当是，把经济改革与结构调整结合起来，使之相互促进，在经济改革与结构调整并进的过程中发掘国内资金潜力，提高资金利用效率，缓和资金供求矛盾。

在这种情况下，结构调整的一个可行的措施是政府采取数量调节，主要是以信贷数量调节和稀缺生产资料的配额调节为主的数量调节，以便增加资金的供给和减少对资金的不合理使用。这并不意味着政府采取的数量调节是促进结构调整的最佳选择，但至少是现实条件下的一种可行的选择。

信贷数量调节主要是指政府根据自己的目标，在控制信贷总量的前提下改变信贷的数量结构，使产品结构、产业结构、地区经济结构、消费结构和技术结构发生变化。通过这种信贷数量结构的调整，经济效益差、资金利用效率低的企业和部门将得不到信贷的支持，资金将投入经济效益高、资金利用效率高的企业和部门。同时，信贷数量结构的调整还将使地区之间的经济发展得到调整，使居民的消费结构发生变化，以及促进技术结构与国民经济的协调。所有这些，都有助于使政府预定的结构调整意图逐步实现。尽管信贷数量调节并不触及企业或银行体制方面的实质性问题，但在经济改革继续进行的过程中，在投资的利息弹性较小，资金市场上供给缺口较大，从而不可能迅速实现利息率自由浮动的条件下，信贷数量调节仍然是有效的、可行的。

稀缺生产资料的配额调节可以按照目标原则来确定。这是指：为了促进那些有利于缓和供给缺口的部门的增长，为了更好地利用闲置的劳动力和生产资料，以及为了限制资金利用效率低的企业的发展，政府可以按一定的配额来分配稀缺的生产资料（如电力、有色金属、某些化工原料等）。稀缺生产资料的配额调节不仅对产品结构、产业结构的调整起作用，而且也可以直接地或间接地加速地区经济结构、消费结构和技术结构的调整。尽管稀缺生产资料的配额调节并不触及经济体制方面的实质性问题，甚至在一定程度上会削弱市场机制的作用，对企业间的竞争发生消极的影响，但根据当前我国经济的实际情况，看来这种做法在缓和资金供给不足中的作用仍然不可忽视。要知道，数量调节手段（包括稀缺生产资料的配额调节）在供求矛盾较大时，其作用要胜过价格调节手段，这一点正是非均衡经济的特征之一。何况，现在所要解决的主要任务是发掘资金潜力和增加国内的资金来源。为此，就必须压缩某些资金利用效率低的企业和部门的投资，使另一些资金利用效率较高的企业和部门能有较大的发展。在通过结构调整而实现这一任务的过程中，数量调节也可以发挥比价格调节更显著的作用。数量调节所带来的某些

消极后果（如挫伤一些企业的积极性，使某些企业和部门因此而陷于困难地位等等），只能被看成是为了调整结构和缓和资金供给不足而不得不付出的代价。只要利大于弊，就是可行的。

从政府的角度来看，无论是信贷数量调节还是稀缺生产资料的配额调节，既然都可能带来弊端，那么就有必要尽量地减少这些弊端。政府在这方面可以采取的做法有：

1．较科学地制定结构调整目标和结构调整方案，使信贷数量调节和稀缺生产资料配额调节有较充足的依据，减少盲目性；

2．在结构调整目标和结构调整方案制定以后，信贷数量调节和稀缺生产资料配额调节的执行部门应当严格按照政府的规定来实行，禁止在数量调节的名义下以权谋私；

3．二元信贷制度和某些生产资料的二元分配制度的实施可以在一定程度上减少数量调节带来的弊端。二元信贷制度是指：除了采取信贷数量调节以外，还容许市场的信贷业务的存在，后者的存款和贷款利率随行就市，政府可以只规定最高利率作为上浮的限界。在二元信贷制度之下，政府应当严禁通过信贷数量调节而贷给企业的资金转流入市场借贷业务之中，否则将会滋生各种新的弊端。某些生产资料的二元分配制度是指：除了少数极其稀缺而且至关重要的生产资料完全由政府实行配额调节以外，有些稀缺程度不等的生产资料，可以一部分实行配额调节，另一部分则通过生产资料市场进行公开议价交易，其价格随行就市，政府可以规定最高限价，也可以不作这种规定。至于配额调节所占的比例大小，则因该种生产资料的稀缺程度而定。

四、国内资金动员过程中产业结构调整与经济增长之间的关系

经济增长需要追加资金投入，产业结构调整也需要追加资金投入。在国内资金供给有限的条件下，一定量的追加资金投入，用于经济增长的比例大了，可以用于产业结构调整的比例就小一些，这种追加资金分配的矛盾是客观存在的。当然，如果能够在资金供给不足的同时尽可能发掘国内资金潜力，资金供给紧张的问题可以有所缓和，但被动员出来的资金同样会遇到如何在经济增长与产业结构调整两个不同的方面进行分配的问题。这样，仍然会面临这一方面的追加资金投入偏多，则另一方面的追加资金投入偏少的选择。

经济增长与产业结构调整是不能偏废的。我们不可能只强调其中一个方面。这是因为，如果只有经济增长，而没有产业结构调整，那么在现有产业结构之下的经济增长将会遇到越来越大的困难，经济增长过程中就会发生生产要素供给不足和需求不足并存的问题，从而经济增长率将下降，结构性失衡不可避免地会出现。反之，如果只顾调整产业结

构，而忽视经济增长，那么产业结构的调整不可能是顺利的，而造成产业结构调整的困难的原因之一就是：经济增长率下降将导致一部分生产要素的闲置，导致企业收入、居民收入、财政收入的减少，这样就会阻碍产业结构按照政府的预定目标进行调整。

因此，可供选择的做法将是经济增长与产业结构调整的兼顾，力争做到在经济增长过程中调整产业结构，用产业结构的调整来维持经济的持续增长。具体地说，在经济增长过程中调整产业结构是指：基本上维持与过去相近的经济增长率，增加新产业部门的产出，减少传统产业部门的产出在总产出中的比例（传统产业部门的产出的绝对值可能不变，也可能有所增加或有所下降）；用产业结构的调整来维持经济的持续增长是指：在传统产业部门的产出在总产出中的比例逐渐降低的同时，经济增长率将主要依靠新产业部门的产出绝对值的增加及其在总产出中的比例的上升来支持。由此可见，经济增长与产业结构的兼顾涉及生产要素的流动和重新组合，涉及一定资金在部门间的再分配，以及涉及社会的消费、储蓄和投资的引导等问题。

这里需要着重探讨的，是经济增长、产业结构调整与动员国内资金之间的关系。假定政府采用的是自愿储蓄方式来动员国内资金，比如说，政府用利息率的调整和投资税收的优惠等方式来促使人们把收入的较多部分转为储蓄和投资，那么被发掘出来的国内资金究竟如何在新产业部门和传统产业部门之间进行分配，在很大程度上可以依靠差别利息率和差别投资税收优惠来实现。在制定这些差别的利息率和投资税收优惠时，政府可以根据产业结构的现状和目标模式，以及经济增长的可能性和过去已经达到的水平来统筹安排。总之，以自愿储蓄的方式来动员国内资金，并妥善地在部门之间进行分配，阻力是比较小的。如果说在这方面仍然存在着阻力的话，那么阻力既来自传统的消费观念和储蓄观念（即人们是否受利息率和投资税收优惠的吸引，改变消费习惯和储蓄习惯，提高储蓄率，增强投资意愿），也来自金融部门的融资能力（即金融部门有没有足够的力量，能够有效地、合理地把社会闲置资金发掘出来，并把它们主要用于支持新产业部门的发展上）。

假定政府采取的是强迫储蓄方式来动员国内资金，比如说，政府用类似摊派性质的政府债券推销方式，提高直接税和间接税税率的方式，提高某些消费品价格的方式，或降低企业的现金持有定额的方式等等来发掘国内资金潜力，以便把筹集到的追加资金用于发展新产业部门，那么将会发生这样两方面的后果：一方面，政府可以较快地集中一定数额的货币于手中，然后按照自己预定的目标，分配这些资金于不同的领域和不同的部门；另一方面，由于这种资金集中方式是对居民消费行为的强制性的变更，以及对企业经济活动和企业收入分配方式的强制性的干

预，因此它可能挫伤居民和企业的积极性，影响经济增长率；它也可能使企业的发展受到干扰，对经济增长也有消极的影响。因此，在动员国内资金的过程中，政府不是绝对不可以采取强迫储蓄以集中资金的做法，而是说这种做法必须适度，否则就难以兼顾经济增长与产业结构调整这两个方面。

但应当认识到，无论是自愿储蓄还是强迫储蓄，只要有利于在经济增长的同时不断调整产业结构，有利于通过产业结构的调整来维持经济的持续增长，那么它们都是可行的。作为经济调节者，政府有必要根据每个时期的特定条件，使自愿储蓄与强迫储蓄两种方式配合使用，自愿储蓄在进一步调动居民和企业的积极性方面是有较大作用的，而强迫储蓄只要运用得当，比例适度，就能够较快地使政府集中一笔既可以用于促进经济增长，又可以用于调整产业结构的资金。从我国当前的实际情况出发，配合使用自愿储蓄和强迫储蓄以兼顾经济增长与产业结构的调整，正是我们需要深入研究的重要课题。

7.2 INDUSTRIAL RESTRUCTURING AND LONG-TERM ORIENTATION OF CORPORATE BEHAVIOR

7.2.1 Main Reasons for Corporate Shortsightedness and Impediments to Industrial Restructuring

We know that corporate behavior consists of the decisions related to input, output, and income distribution. Whether an enterprise is focused on only its short-term interests is related to the economic benefits it receives from its input, output, and income distribution decisions. If an enterprise is uncertain about its self-interest, it does not care about any long-term benefit from its decisions on input, output, and income distribution. Instead, it will focus on its short-term interests, thus giving rise to corporate shortsightedness. Under the traditional economic system, an enterprise was nothing but a subordinate of its administrative institution, and the interests of its superior administrative department superseded its own interests. The senior management of an enterprise included officials dispatched by its superior administrative department. They followed every instruction from its superior administrative department that managed every specific area. Decisions on input, output, and income distribution were not made by the enterprise itself, and its self-interest related to input, output, and income distribution had no direct impact on the enterprise itself. It is hard to judge whether the behavior of enterprises under the traditional economic system was longterm oriented or shortsighted. We can even objectively say that this issue is not relevant. The reason is this: If a superior administrative department had long-term considerations and arrangements, an enterprise would exhibit long-term-oriented behavior when making decisions on input, output, and income distribution; if a superior administrative department had short-term considerations and arrangements, an enterprise's decisions on input, output, and income distribution would certainly focus on short-term interests. An enterprise as of that time is not yet a real corporation.

After the subcontracting system was implemented during economic reforms, enterprises were given rights to make their own decisions on input, output, and income distribution during the subcontracting period. But these

decisions obviously reflected the shortsightedness of corporate behavior. For example, subcontractors were unwilling to make an investment that would generate long-term returns, especially an investment that brought no returns but only inputs in the short term. Rather than caring about the fixed assets of an enterprise and keeping them well maintained, a subcontractor would try to utilize the assets to the fullest to get every penny out of them. In terms of earnings distribution, they tend to ignore reinvestment and instead try as hard as possible to satisfy their employees' request for higher compensation. All of these are symptoms of corporate shortsightedness. The nature of the subcontracting system demonstrates that corporate shortsightedness is unavoidable. Of course, there are measures to improve the subcontracting system. These measures, for example, include using a comprehensive index of net income and total taxes paid, not just a single index, to evaluate business performance, appropriately extending the term of a subcontracting period or favoring current contractor at contract renewal according to specific business operational situations, and compensating incumbent subcontractors during the subcontracting period for any investment that produced long-term returns and allowing incumbent subcontractors to receive a portion of future benefits. These measures can overcome some of the shortcomings related to the corporate shortsightedness arising from the subcontracting system, but they are still unable to totally eliminate corporate shortsightedness. This is exactly the defect that the subcontracting system fails to overcome.

It is not difficult to understand why corporate shortsightedness is detrimental to economic growth, as has been revealed by the fact that economic efficiency fails to grow sustainably or may even continue to decline and that the size of corporate investment is subject to constraints. In other words, business investment rate is hardly maintained at the existing level due to the shortsightedness of decisions on distributing corporate income and also exhibits a downward trend. We know that economic growth depends on two basic factors, investment rate and investment result. Maintaining a certain economic growth rate requires not only a stable investment rate, but also relatively good results from the investment. Given the corporate shortsightedness, low economic efficiency and the downward trend in investment rate will surely reduce the potentiality of economic growth, which is worrisome.

In that case, it is easy to imagine the difficulty in performing industrial restructuring. From the enterprise perspective, they do not care about

developing new industrial sectors because they, as subcontractors, only care about their short-term interests. And they do not have sufficient capital to develop new industrial sectors either. In addition, production factors were not allowed to flow freely under the subcontracting system, and there were also many economic constraints on the optimization and recombination of production factors. This shows that the subcontracting system is incapable of aligning enterprise decisions on input, output, and income distribution with the needs of industrial restructuring, even though subcontractors understand the importance of industrial restructuring and know that more investment in new industrial sectors will benefit enterprises themselves as well as the national economy. From a macroeconomic perspective, because macroeconomy is based on microeconomy, the shortsightedness of microeconomic units makes it difficult for the economy to achieve higher efficiency and may even lead to lower efficiency. Therefore, the amount of capital allocated to industrial restructuring by the government is obviously insufficient. Industrial restructuring needs fiscal support. When enterprises themselves are incapable of changing current industrial structure, fiscal support becomes particularly important. However, the insufficient funds that the government can tap into limit its capability of realizing the predetermined industrial restructuring goals.

Of course, the difficulties in carrying out industrial restructuring in the current economic environment in China are not only due to corporate shortsightedness. The market is not fully developed, there are obstacles to the free flow of production factors and shortage of some key production materials, goods are not priced reasonably, and new industrial sectors lack technological capabilities. These situations make it even more difficult to carry out industrial restructuring. In spite of many other reasons, corporate shortsightedness is an important one that we cannot ignore. In addition, some of the abovementioned reasons that hinder industrial restructuring are also related to corporate shortsightedness. For example, an underdeveloped market and unreasonable prices for comparable commodities surely forced enterprises under the subcontracting system to focus only on their short-term interests, which in turn made it very difficult for the market to fully develop and impossible for unreasonable commodity prices to turn around to bring on additional supplies. As another example, the free flow of production factors encountered obstacles, some key production materials experienced shortages, and new industrial sectors lacked sufficient technological capabilities. All

these factors were not only influenced by the shortsightedness of enterprises that adopted the subcontracting system but also responsible for causing corporate shortsightedness. It is hard to imagine enterprises that adopt the subcontracting system and care only about its short-term interests would invest a large amount of capital in a major investment project that brings long-term benefits and develops future technological capabilities. They simply would not do that.

7.2.2 Investors' Interests Functioning as Internal Constraint on Corporate Shortsightedness

Now, we have to clarify a theoretical issue: Wouldn't corporate shortsightedness be constrained by the corporate operation mechanism? Why does the subcontracting system fail to eliminate corporate shortsightedness, while the shareholding system is capable of balancing shortterm interests with long-term interests? We should clearly point out that any enterprise that adopts the subcontracting system is not really constrained by its investors' interests. If the interests of the subcontractee were supposed to be aligned with that of the investor, it would only manifest during the competitive bidding process, during which the subcontractee can select a subcontractor from multiple bidders that best fits his or her interests. After the completion of the bidding process, it would be difficult to leverage the investors' interests to constrain the shortsightedness of the subcontractor. In addition, when property rights are not normalized and the government is not separated from enterprise, a subcontractor per se may still be affiliated with and controlled by a government institution and is not yet an entity that makes its own business decisions and is responsible for its profits and losses. Therefore, investors' interests do not really function as a constraint even during the process of soliciting bidders to bid for a contract.

The shareholding system is drastically different. An enterprise under the shareholding system that we are discussing here refers to a normal corporation that has shareholders and is established on the basis of public ownership. The interests of various investors, including the central government, local governments, and state-owned enterprises, are fully manifested. This is because every investor expects two types of income from an investment in a shareholding enterprise, dividend and capital appreciation. Between these two types of income, the latter is likely to be more important and attractive than the former. If an investor has a few alternative investment

opportunities to choose from, he or she will compare both the first and second type of income from different shareholding enterprises. If one enterprise has a higher dividend rate but lower expected capital appreciation, as compared with another enterprise that comes with a lower dividend rate but higher expected capital appreciation, an investor will more than likely choose to purchase the stock of the latter enterprise. The investor would think in the following way: If the purpose of the investment is purely to receive dividend rather than equity appreciation, why do I only invest in a stock? Wouldn't it be more reliable to invest in bonds or certificates of deposit that pay interest without equity investment risks? It is these investment considerations and the ensuing investment decisions that urge a shareholding enterprise to carefully formulate its long-term growth strategy and operating policy.

In this circumstance, a shareholding enterprise must pay attention to how to accumulate capital and reinvest, unlike those operating under the subcontracting system that try to pay out as many dividends as possible. By the same token, shareholding enterprises, unlike their peers under the subcontracting system that try to deplete all resources and skip equipment maintenance, must focus on technological innovation, try to develop new products, and tap into new markets so that business can grow. Only by doing so can they achieve share appreciation and attract more investors. Otherwise, investors who own the stock would sell off their holdings and instead purchase the stock of other enterprises that have higher growth potential and expected share appreciation. This is how investors' interests function as the constraint on corporate shortsightedness.

Hence, the decision-maker of a shareholding enterprise must consider both long-term and short-term interests. A shareholding enterprise cannot afford ignoring the importance of capital accumulation and retained earnings reinvestment to its survival. If it does not have enough growth potential, it may appear unattractive to investors, even though it still pays relatively large dividends or maintains a relatively high dividend payout ratio. What an enterprise operating under the subcontracting system lacks the most is exactly the constraint on the shortsightedness imposed by the self-interest of its investors. If such an enterprise is not transformed into a shareholding enterprise, corporate shortsightedness cannot be eliminated.

7.2.3 Investors' Interests Functioning as External Constraint on

Corporate Shortsightedness

The constraint that investors' interests impose on corporate shortsightedness as we discussed in the above section can be called internal constraint, because it arises from the selection of investment opportunities by equity investors. Next, we will discuss a different constraint, i.e., corporate mergers and acquisitions, one that exists in reality and can control corporate shortsightedness. This can be called the external constraint that investors' interests impose on corporate shortsightedness.

We have to know that in a competitive market, every enterprise falls into its competitors' radar screen. Let us assume that a shareholding enterprise realizes a 10% rate of return, which its management may be happy about. However, its competitor may reach a different conclusion after analyzing the enterprise's current status and business prospect. For instance, the competitor may come to the viewpoint that "it is totally possible to reach a 30% rate of return based on its current technology and equipment, employee quality, business reputation, business contacts, and product sales." The enterprise that is capable of achieving a 30% rate of return only achieves 10%. This reveals that it has earning potential, but its current management is incompetent and lacks sufficient operational and managerial skills. Accordingly, the competitor can start purchasing the stock in the market or even launch a hostile takeover campaign. After the competitor has gathered enough shares, a takeover will take place. It will reshuffle the board of directors of the acquiree and reelect its chief executive officer. The enterprise will be managed in a different way to increase profitability and reach the expected rate of return of 30%.

This demonstrates that as long as the market is competitive, any shareholding enterprise operates in an environment in which it is not only a potential takeover target but also a possible acquiring enterprise. Listing shares on a stock exchange makes mergers and acquisitions possible. Those enterprises that are poorly managed or even those who have earning potential but fail to fully discover it are likely to be taken over by their competitors. Those that are well managed can grow their business by pursuing mergers and acquisitions. This also reveals that a shareholding enterprise, if it wishes to survive in a competitive market, will have to balance its short-term and long-term interests, try its best to improve management and optimize business operations, and maintain a decent earnings retention rate, reinvestment amount, and dividend payout rate. Only after it captures all

potential profits as well as reaches the goals of profitability, earnings retention, and the reinvestment for future growth can it retain current investors and avoid being taken over. On the contrary, if a shareholding enterprise only pays attention to its short-term interests and develops severe shortsightedness, its competitors will notice that its operation and development are on a wrong track. They will work on a plan to take it over, reenergize its growth, and redevelop an operational plan. As a result, they will benefit from the long-term growth and profit from share appreciation.

Here, we can clearly see that the internal and external constraints on shareholding enterprises due to investors' interests are closely connected and work at the same time. From an internal perspective, investors will sell off the shares of any enterprise that fails to support share appreciation or maximize potential profits and invest in other enterprises instead. From an external perspective, the competitors of such enterprise will consider purchasing its shares and launching a takeover. The internal and external constraints arising from investors' interests exert influence at the same time. Every shareholding enterprise will face the following choice: either continuing to focus on short-term interests while ignoring long-term interests and bearing the risk of being acquired or changing its growth strategy and operational plan to balance its longterm and short-term interests while improving business operations and management, increasing reinvestment, and continuing to pursue business growth.

7.2.4 Long-Term-Oriented Corporate Behavior and Rationalization of Industrial Restructuring

The growth of macroeconomic productivity is directly linked to the emphases that enterprises place on capital accumulation, technological innovations, and the discovery of manufacturing and operational potential. All of these will certainly contribute to the rationalization of industrial restructuring.

We will analyze the relationship between long-term-oriented corporate behavior and the rationalization of industrial restructuring from the following three aspects:

First of all, when enterprises place emphasis on long-term development strategy and operational plan, they will certainly adjust earnings distribution, determine reasonable dividend payout, and increase the retention of internal capital. In this way, the tight capital supply, a major issue troubling the

economy, can be alleviated. Regardless of how an enterprise invests in a new industry, using retained earnings or fiscal or financial support, the result is conducive to industrial restructuring.

Secondly, advancing technology, improving labor quality, regularly maintaining equipment, as well as increasing capital accumulation, all of which result from long-term-oriented corporate behavior, will enhance the potential of economic growth. Enhanced potential of business growth indicates enhanced potential of economic growth, thus ensuring sustainable economic growth. As we know, the industrial restructuring during sustained economic growth will be much easier than that during economic slowdown or recession. In other words, the industrial restructuring in an environment that promotes long-term-oriented corporate behavior will be much easier than that in an environment dominated by corporate shortsightedness.

Thirdly, industrial restructuring assumes that production factors can be circulated and recombined. If enterprises adopt the shareholding system, corporate shortsightedness will be constrained by investors' interests. Meanwhile, the shareholding system will support the circulation and recombination of production factors. It is in this sense that we conclude that long-term-oriented corporate behavior and the rationalization of industrial restructuring are closely related.

Based on the discussions above, we can reach the following conclusion: Long-term-oriented corporate behavior or corporate shortsightedness is not an issue that is only related to long-term corporate growth or the fate of a corporation but more of a strategic issue that concerns economic growth and industrial restructuring.

If we dive a little deeper into the issue, it will not be difficult for us to find out that long-term-oriented corporate behavior and the rationalization of industrial restructuring are linked to efficiency.

Efficiency refers to the degree of effectiveness of resource allocation and utilization. When we say a nation, region, sector, or enterprise has relatively high efficiency, we refer to a nation, region, sector, or enterprise where resources are reasonably allocated and effectively utilized, with every kind of resource put to use. If we say someone has relatively high efficiency, we mean that the person tries his or her best or does what he or she is capable of and coordinates seamlessly with other resources, such as production materials and labor (including his or her coworkers). This is also related to the efficiency of resource allocation and utilization. Now, we have to think

about this question: Where does efficiency come from?

In terms of resource allocation and utilization, efficiency comes from three aspects: motivation, quality, and environment. Human resources are the most important resource among all and are represented by the labor force. To achieve relatively high efficiency, the labor force must be motivated. If an enterprise is regarded as an entity consisting of a group of individuals, its production and operation must be driven by motivation, and every member of the entity must also have motivation in order to achieve relatively high efficiency. Motivation varies. They can be economic or noneconomic, such as social responsibility, personal career ambitions, and personal interest or hobbies. In any case, motivation is critical to efficiency.

Efficiency also comes from quality. By quality, we mainly refer to the quality of people. People of high quality can enhance the quality of materials, even when the materials are of relatively low quality. People of high quality can gradually replace the materials of low quality with ones of high quality. The quality of people, including knowledge and technology skills, operational skills, innovation skills, mentality, and moral integrity, also varies. It is less likely for people of low quality to achieve relatively high efficiency.

Efficiency also comes from the environment. People live and work in a certain environment. An enterprise that consists of a group of people also operates in a certain environment. If the environment restricts the motivation of people and enterprise or influences the quality of people or the environment prohibits people from renovating low-quality materials, such environment will not support but limit or kill high efficiency.

We can learn from our discussions that the relatively low efficiency of resource allocation and combination in China is due to relatively poor motivation, quality, and environment. Regarding corporate shortsightedness, a hot topic nowadays, we should ask why enterprises tend to act only out of their short-term interests. If we look at it from the motivation perspective, isn't it because enterprises themselves lack the motivation to operate and grow for the long run and enterprise employees also lack the motivation to work hard for the long run? If we look at it from the quality perspective, isn't it because enterprises themselves lack the quality to organize and achieve major technological innovations and enterprise employees also lack the quality to achieve major technological and managerial breakthrough? If we look at it from the environment perspective, isn't it because the current

environment in which enterprise employees live and work stifles people's motivation and prevents the enhancement of personal quality? Since all three conditions, motivation, quality, and environment, are the way they are, how can enterprises avoid shortsightedness?

Let us look at the industrial structural imbalance that is often discussed and ask why the industrial structure is out of balance and whether it is hard to turn it around in a short time. If we look at the structural imbalance from the motivation perspective, isn't it related to the lack of motivation to recombine production factors as well as the lack of motivation to develop new products and new industries? From the quality perspective, even though we try to turn industrial structural imbalance around in a relatively short period of time, the quality of enterprise employees as well as enterprises themselves are not up to the standard, nor are macroeconomic management institutions staffed with quality personnel who are capable of developing and managing new industries. If we look at it from the environment perspective, a series of issues regarding industrial restructuring are traced back to the environment, including the issues concerning the supply of capital, labor, technology and information, infrastructure, tax and price, and especially property rights. If these issues concerning the environment are not resolved properly, it will still be difficult to proceed with industrial restructuring despite the high quality of enterprises themselves or of their employees.

Therefore, based on the research on corporate behavior and industrial restructuring, we are very clear about the solution to the issue of efficiency. We must systematically resolve the issues concerning motivation, quality, and environment that are related to the creation and increase of efficiency. Only after we resolve these issues can corporate shortsightedness be transformed into long-term-oriented behavior and the industrial structure be gradually rationalized, thus bringing along high efficiency.

7.2.5 Resource Allocation and Long-Term-Oriented Societal Behavior

After we redirect the focus of our research from corporate behavior to societal behavior, and from analyzing the industrial structure to analyzing the economic structure, we will find out that the low efficiency currently in China is not only due to corporate and societal shortsightedness but also due to industrial and economic structural imbalance. This is exactly the issue at which we need to take another look.

Societal shortsightedness means that the behavior of all walks of life in

society, in addition to the behavior of enterprises and their employees, focuses on short-term interests, and even the behavior of some government institutions follows the same pattern. For example, peasants are not willing to grow crops to produce food, students are not willing to study hard in school, and private business owners are not willing to reinvest, all of which demonstrate behavioral shortsightedness. Moreover, the leaders of some government institutions are satisfied with the current situation and fail to have long-term consideration. Some families constantly feel that they are living in uncertainties and are unclear about their future. These examples are all reflective of behavioral shortsightedness. With regard to this issue, I will analyze in further detail in the section on institutional innovation. For now, I will withhold more detailed discussions but only talk about the relationship among economic structure, resource allocation, and societal behavior.

The fundamental cause of societal shortsightedness is the lack of certainty of people's expectations for society. To most enterprises, enterprise employees, peasants, students, private business owners, and government officers, the future is full of uncertainties and very difficult to predict. All sorts of social and economic uncertainties lead people to focus on their short-term interests and to take action without long-term consideration. A society that mainly focuses on short-term interests is one without efficiency and one with ineffective resource allocation and utilization. If we base our analysis on the three aspects we discussed earlier, motivation, quality, and environment, we can reach the same conclusion: Societal shortsightedness is traced to the uncertainty of expectations, which is due to environmental constraints and lack of motivation and required quality. Among various environmental constraints, the most important one is abnormal property rights, which negatively impact economic activities and restrict the motivation of every entity in society. If property rights are normalized, business expectations will stabilize to some extent and businesses will feel motivated at least during the process of business transactions, which may facilitate the transformation from societal shortsightedness to long-term orientation. Of course, it is not enough to merely normalize property rights. Nonetheless, we cannot deny that it is after all the basic solution to societal shortsightedness and it is especially important to China at this time.

When we redirect our discussions on the industrial structure to those on the economic structure, we will see that relatively ineffective resource allocation and utilization is related to not only industrial structural imbalance

but also economic structural imbalance. The economic structural imbalance manifests in the following ways: In terms of ownership structure, cooperative businesses that are more conducive to mobilizing workers and real collective businesses account for a relatively small percentage in the aggregate economy. In terms of regional economic structure, regional advantages are constrained, economic cooperation and specialization among different regions are hindered, and more developed regions that should play a larger role in the economy are restricted in various ways and are forced to go with the flow, while less developed regions are increasingly reliant on state assistance due to their lack of an economic mechanism to grow and improve the regional economy on their own. In terms of technological structure, we see obvious structural imbalance: We have mastered a few top-notch technologies of the world and established some advanced industries, but raw and primitive labor technologies still account for a large share of the economy, especially in rural and remote areas, where those raw and primitive labor technologies are still dominant. The analysis of economic structure is not limited to that of ownership structure, regional economic structure, and technological structure that we have just discussed. As a matter of fact, in a broader sense, some other structures related to those we have just talked about, such as structure of enterprise size, employment structure, energy structure, and foreign trade structure, all exhibit various degrees of imbalance. Therefore, the opinion that the overall Chinese economic structure is out of balance is not blemishing the Chinese economy at all. We can fully understand why resource allocation and utilization is relatively ineffective in this circumstance. When we set the rationalization of resource allocation as one of the targets of economic reforms, we have to reach the following verdict: If economic reforms failed to rationalize the economic structure after the establishment of the new economic operational mechanism, then we had not reached the target of rationalizing resource allocation, just as low efficiency would be inevitable if economic reforms had not transformed societal shortsightedness (not limited to corporate shortsightedness) into long-term-oriented societal behavior through a series of measures to normalize property rights.

Obviously, economic structural imbalance, resource misallocation, and societal shortsightedness influence one another. It is difficult to resolve one issue if there is no significant improvement to the other. In order to achieve a balanced economic structure, effective resource allocation, and long-term-

oriented societal behavior, the key is to deepen economic reforms. Only during the process of deepening economic reforms can we gradually resolve the issues of motivation, quality, and environment that are critical to increasing efficiency; gradually balance the economic structure, including the industrial structure; raise resource allocation and utilization efficiency; and, correspondingly, develop longterm-oriented behavior and prevent society, including enterprises, from behaving only out of their short-term interests.

In our discussions on resource allocation and long-term-oriented societal behavior, we naturally come up with a question that is often perplexing to many economists. When economic downturn sets in, economists are often asked this question: "When will the economy come out of recession?" A common answer to this question will be like this: By analyzing the cyclical economic trend and using the change of output(or economic growth rate) as the primary indicator, we consider the economy as having come out of recession as long as output bounces back after declining for a few consecutive periods, or economic growth rate starts to increase after declining for a few consecutive periods. Economic growth rate is a primary indicator that is widely used in the world to analyze cyclical economic trend. However, for China's economy, which is currently in type II disequilibrium, using economic growth rate to indicate whether the economy has or has not emerged from a recession is obviously questionable.

The change of output can shed some light on current economic situations, but it cannot reveal the true picture. Given the current economic situations in China, especially with enterprise and societal shortsightedness in presence, increasing output does not necessarily indicate that the economy has turned around. As long as enterprises still lack the constraints imposed by self-interest and budget, they will even likely increase production and ignore real losses or real product sales. Under the influences of societal shortsightedness, it is very likely for the public to focus only on short-term interests while ignoring longterm interests during the process of purchasing goods, which may lead to higher production that is not reflective of the real economic condition. The government is also constrained by shortsightedness, as seen in its attempt to artificially recover output for various reasons. For example, if a superior government institution decides to use output increase as the indicator to evaluate the performance of the subordinate government institution, the latter will try its best to increase output while totally ignoring everything else. Let us assume that output keeps declining for a few

consecutive months. If output increase is used as the main metric to evaluate performances, a subordinate government institution will try every way to increase output, e.g., encouraging manufacturing facilities to commence operations by providing various fiscal and credit support, urging various commercial departments to purchase manufactured goods, and encouraging residents to purchase more goods. In other words, when the change of output is used as the main indicator to judge whether or not the economy has emerged from a recession, it is relatively easy for the economy to come out of it since the government can use fiscal and credit measures to artificially increase output. Emerging from a recession in this way is not necessarily indicative of an improving economy, but only glosses over the real economic situation. Since problems are still unresolved, we can surely conclude that the economy will turn south again after some time or run into another recession. To a shortsighted government or enterprise, there is nothing to worry about. The reason is simple. At least we have come out of the previous recession. Even though another recession comes, can't we just do the same and come out of it in the same way? Under disequilibrium conditions, corporate and societal shortsightedness will only lead us to this result.

The main indictor that is truly reflective of whether the economy has emerged from a recession should not be based on the change of output, but the change of enterprise productivity as well as the change of actual fiscal revenues from enterprises. Only from the changes of these indicators can we tell whether the economy has improved or not. Enterprise productivity is reflected in the profitability per hundred- *yuan* capital, or the profitability per hundred- *yuan* output, or the profitability per hundred- *yuan* sales. These profitability ratios can measure the performance of business operations more accurately. If enterprise productivity keeps declining for a few consecutive periods, we can say that the economy has encountered some difficulties. Although output during that time keeps rising, the economy may not be really improving. Enterprise productivity reflects not only the operational results of those enterprises themselves but also the situation of resource allocation and industrial structure. If resources are misallocated and the industrial structure is out of balance, business production cost will surely rise, sales will slow down, and profitability will decline. At the same time, as enterprise productivity is closely tied to state fiscal revenues, actual fiscal revenues can also be used as the main indicator to evaluate whether or not the economy has come out of recession. In particular, actual fiscal revenues are calculated net

of inflation and various debt proceeds. If actual fiscal revenues keep declining for a few consecutive periods, we can also say that the economy has met with difficulties. Even though output during these periods keeps rising, it does not mean the economy has really improved.

From the analyses of whether or not the economy has come out of recession, we can learn that the key to avert declining enterprise productivity and actual fiscal revenues under the current economic conditions in China still lies in the deepening of economic reforms so as to overcome the negative impact of enterprise and societal shortsightedness on resource allocation, industrial structure, and economic structure and to build a solid foundation for economic stability and growth.

贰　产业结构调整和企业行为的长期化

一、企业行为短期化的主要原因及其对产业结构调整的阻碍

我们知道，企业行为是由企业的投入、产出和收入分配行为所组成的。企业行为是否仅仅着重近期利益，与企业通过自己的投入、产出和收入分配所获得的利益有关。如果企业认为自己获得利益的前景是不确定的，那么它就不可能在投入、产出和收入分配上有长期考虑，而把自己所追求的限于近期利益之上，企业行为的短期化便由此产生。以传统经济体制下的企业来说，那时，企业只不过是行政机构的附属物，上级主管部门的利益代替了企业自身的利益；企业领导人只不过是上级主管部门派遣下来的官员，他们一切听命于上级主管部门；企业的投入、产出和收入分配全都不是由企业自身决定的，投入、产出和收入分配的利益与企业自身没有直接的关系。这样，传统经济体制之下的企业行为，很难说究竟是长期化的还是短期化的，甚至可以说客观上不存在类似的问题。理由是：上级主管部门有长期的考虑和安排，企业就可能有长期的投入、产出、投入分配行为；上级主管部门只有短期的打算，企业的投入、产出、收入分配的决策就肯定是短期化的。这时的企业还算不上真正意义上的企业。

在经济体制改革过程中推行企业承包制以后，企业在承包期内开始有了自己的投入决策、产出决策和收入分配决策。但这些决策明显地反映了企业行为的短期化倾向。例如，企业承包者不愿追加有长期收益的投资，特别是近期内只有投入，长期内才有产出的投资；企业承包者对现有的企业固定资产的保养不关心，而总是力求在承包期间尽量利用它们，耗尽它们，企业承包者在企业收入分配方面，忽视再投资，而尽可能地满足企业职工增加现期收入的要求等等，——这些全部是企业行为短期化的表现。承包制本身的性质决定了企业行为的短期化是难以避免的。当然，通过若干完善承包制的措施（例如把单一的税利指标改变为综合性的指标，作为企业考绩的根据；根据企业的经营状况，适当延长原承包者的承包期，或对原承包者的下一期承包作优先考虑；对原承包者在本承包期内进行的有长期效益的投资项目予以作价补偿，或容许原承包者今后能分享一部分利益），可以克服一些承包制企业的行为短期化所造成的弊端，但仍然不可能使企业行为的短期化倾向不再存在。这正是承包制的难以克服的缺陷。

不难理解，企业行为的短期化对经济发展是十分不利的。这种不利性既反映了经济效益不可能持续提高，甚至还可能不断下降；又反映了企业投资规模受限制，即在短期化的企业收入分配决策中，企业的投资

率不仅不易维持原有的水平，而且必然呈现降低的趋势。要知道，经济增长率取决于投资率和投资效果这样两个基本因素。要维持一定的经济增长率，不仅需要有一定的投资率，而且投资应当具有较好的效果。而在企业行为短期化的条件下，经济效益的低下和投资率的下降趋势决定了经济增长的后劲的不足。这是令人忧虑的。

在这种形势下，产业结构调整的困难也就可想而知了。从企业的角度来看，由于承包制企业只注重近期利益，它不可能把注意力放在新产业部门的发展方面，它也没有足够的资金可以用于新产业部门的发展。加之，在承包制之下，生产要素的流动是受阻碍的，生产要素在社会范围内的优化组合也受到限制。这些都表明：即使承包者懂得调整产业结构的重要性，懂得企业投资于新产业部门对国民经济和对企业本身都是有利的，他们也是心有余而力不足，无法使企业的投入、产出和收入分配决策适应产业结构调整的需要；再从宏观经济的角度来看，由于宏观经济以微观经济为基础，而在微观经济单位的行为短期化的影响下，经济效益难以提高，甚至还出现下降的趋势，所以政府用以调整产业结构的资金显然是不足的。产业结构的调整有赖于财政的支持。在企业没有能力来改变产业结构现状时，财政的支持格外重要。然而，政府掌握的资金的不足限制了政府预定的调整产业结构的意图的实现。

当然，在我国当前的经济环境中，产业结构调整的困难的原因绝不仅仅在于企业行为的短期化。市场不完善、生产要素流动的受阻挠、商品比价的不合理、若干关键性生产资料的短缺，以及适合于新产业部门要求的技术力量的不足，都加剧了产业结构调整的难度。但不管怎样，企业行为的短期化毕竟是不可忽视的一个重要原因。不仅如此，上述的其他一些阻碍着产业结构调整的原因也与企业行为短期化联系在一起。比如说，市场不完善和商品比价不合理，必然使承包制企业只顾近期利益，而承包制企业的行为短期化又使得市场难以趋于完善，使不合理的商品比价不可能从供给增长的角度来扭转。又如，生产要素流动的受阻挠、若干关键性生产资料的短缺，以及技术力量的不足是同承包制企业的行为短期化交叉影响的。不能设想一个只顾近期利益的承包制企业会投入许多资金去增加有长期利益的重大投资项目和培养技术力量。它们是不会这样做的。

二、投资者的利益对企业短期行为的内在约束

在这里，我们需要弄清楚的一个理论问题是：难道企业行为的短期化就不受企业运行机制的约束吗？为什么承包制企业避免不了企业行为的短期化，而股份制企业却必定兼顾长期利益和近期利益？应当明确地指出：在承包制企业中，投资者的利益约束实际上是不起作用的。如果

说发包的一方代表投资者的利益的话，那么发包方的利益仅仅体现于竞争性的招标承包阶段，即发包方可以选择最符合自己利益的投标人作为承包者，而在承包开始以后，投资者的利益约束就难以对企业的短期行为进行约束了。何况，在产权关系不规范和政企尚未分开的情况下，承包方本身还不是自主经营、自负盈亏的经济实体，而往往是上级主管部门，即行政机构的附属物，因此，即使在发包过程中，投资者的利益约束也不可能真正得到发挥。

股份制企业的情况与此截然不同。这里所说的股份制企业是指在公有制基础上建立的规范化的股份制企业而言。投资者（包括中央投资者、地方投资者、公有制企业投资者等）的利益约束充分体现出来。这是因为，每个投资者的心目中都存在着对股份制企业投资的两种收入，一是股息、红利收入；二是股票本身的增值。这两种收入中，第二种收入可能比第一种收入更加重要，有更大的吸引力。假定投资者有较多的可供选择的投资机会时，他一定会把不同股份制企业的第一种收入和第二种收入拿来比较。如果某个企业的股息和红利率虽然高一些，但股票本身却难以增值，另一个企业的股息和红利率虽然稍低，但股票本身增值的前景是确定的，那么这个投资者多半会选择后一个企业，购买它的股票。投资者会这样想：如果单纯为了取得股息、红利而不考虑股票本身的增值，那又何必非买股票不可呢？买债券或存银行，既有利息收入，又不至于像买股票那样要承担一定的风险，岂不更稳妥吗？正是这种投资心理以及由此决定的投资者的选择，使得规范化的股份制企业必须对自己的长期发展战略和长期经营方针进行较周密的考虑。

在这种情况下，股份制企业必须重视资金积累，重视再投资，而不可能像某些承包制企业那样尽量把利润分掉。同样的道理，股份制企业必须着重技术创新，不断开发新产品，开拓新市场，使企业规模扩大，而不可能像某些承包制企业那样拼设备，吃老本，把老底子全都耗尽。惟有这样，股份制企业才能使股票增值，吸引更多的投资者，否则，已经购买了该企业股票的社会上的投资者也会把股票卖出去，转购那些有发展后劲的、股票增值的企业的股票。这就是投资者的利益对企业短期行为的约束。

因此，股份制企业的决策者必然既考虑到长期利益，又兼顾近期利益。股份制企业不能不考虑积累和利润再投资对于企业生存的意义。它们如果是没有发展后劲的，那么尽管眼前仍然能够按较高的股息和红利率支付给股票持有人，但仍然缺乏对投资者的吸引力。承包制企业最缺少的就是股份制企业所具有的这种对企业行为的投资者利益约束。不把承包制企业改造为股份制企业，企业行为的短期化就难以消除。

三、投资者的利益对企业短期行为的外在约束

以上所讨论的投资者的利益对企业短期行为的约束，可以称为内在约束，即主要来自股票持有人对投资机会的选择而产生的约束。接着，让我们讨论另一种约束，即客观上存在的企业兼并行为对企业行为短期化的约束，可以称之为投资者利益的外在约束。

要知道，在竞争性的市场上，每一个企业都处在竞争对手的严密注视之下。假定一个股份制企业目前取得了10％的利润率，它的领导人也许聊以自慰。但它的竞争对手通过对这个企业的潜力和现状的分析，却可能得出不同的看法。比如说，竞争对手会认为：“根据这个企业的技术设备状况、职工的素质、过去的信誉与业务联系、产品的销路等等，它完全可以取得30％的利润率。”有条件取得30％的利润率的企业目前只得到10％的利润率，说明这个企业是有盈利潜力的，同时也反映了该企业目前的领导人没有能力，经营管理水平低。于是竞争对手在市场上收购该企业的股票，甚至不惜以抬高了的价格收购该企业的股票。等到收购到一定数额的股票后，竞争对手就接管了该企业，改组董事会，重新任命总经理，按照另一种方式来经营它，以提高利润率，达到预定的30％的利润率目标。

这表明，在竞争性的市场上，任何一个股份制企业都是在既有可能被其他企业所兼并，又有可能去兼并其他企业的环境中生产和经营的。股票上市为这种兼并和被兼并提供了条件。经营不好的、甚至虽有盈利但盈利潜力尚未充分发挥出来的企业，有被竞争对手接管的可能性；而经营得法的企业则可以通过兼并其他企业而使自己不断壮大。这也表明，一个股份制企业要在竞争性的市场环境中立足，必须兼顾长期利益和近期利益，必须尽量改善经营管理，取得最佳效益，必须既保持一定的积累和再投资规模，又保持一定的股息和红利率。只有当它把一切可能得到的利润全都得到了，把有利于自身发展的利润目标、资金积累目标、再投资目标等等都达到了，它才能既吸引住已经持有股票的人，又能使自己免遭被兼并的命运。反之，如果一个股份制企业只着重近期利益，企业行为短期化倾向严重，那么竞争对手也会了解到它的发展战略和经营方针的错误，了解到如何把该企业接管过来，重新制定它的发展战略和经营方针，那么将会因股票增值而获利，因企业的长期发展而获利。

从这里可以清楚地看出，股份制企业的投资者利益的内在约束和外在约束通常是联系在一起，共同起作用的。一个不能使股票增值或不能把可以得到的利润全部拿到手的股份制企业，从内部来看，股票持有人想卖掉所持有的股票，转购其他企业的股票；从外部来看，该企业的竞争对手就会考虑如何通过收购该企业的股票而接管该企业的问题。投资

者利益的内在约束和外在约束一起发生作用，使每一个股份制企业都面临着如下的选择：或者继续使企业行为短期化，使企业陷于被兼并的地位；或者改变原来的发展战略和经营方针，以此兼顾长期利益和近期利益，并改善经营管理，增加再投资，使企业不断发展、壮大。

四、企业行为的长期化与产业结构的合理化

宏观经济效益的提高与企业重视资金积累，重视技术创新，重视生产经营潜力的发挥直接有关。而这一切的结果必然是促进了产业结构的合理化。

为了说明企业行为长期化与产业结构合理化之间的关系，让我们从以下三个方面来进行分析：

第一，当企业把长期发展战略和经营方针作为考虑的重点时，必然调整自己的收入分配，合理安排利润分配比例，增加企业内部的资金积累，这样，资金供给紧张这一宏观经济中的突出问题将会缓和下来。无论是企业自己把追加的资金投入到新产业部门的发展方面还是通过财政、金融等渠道增加了对新产业部门的资金投入，都有利于产生结构的调整。

第二，由于企业行为的长期化，企业将因技术的进步、劳动力素质的提高、设备的保养与维护，以及资金积累的增加而增大了经济增长的后劲。企业的经济增长后劲的增大意味着国民经济的增长后劲的增大，从而经济的持续增长将得到保证。正如我们已经知道的，在经济持续增长过程中调整产业结构要比经济增长率下降或经济停滞情形下调整产业结构容易得多，也就是说，在企业行为长期化的条件下进行产业结构的调整要比在企业行为短期化的条件下进行产业结构的调整容易得多。

第三，产业结构的调整以生产要素流动和生产要素重新组合为前提。如果企业采取了股份制形式，这样，一方面，由于投资者利益约束的存在，企业的短期行为将被制约，另一方面，股份制将促进生产要素的流动和生产要素的重新组合。从这个意义上说，企业行为的长期化与产业结构的合理化是紧密地结合在一起的。

综上所述，我们可以得出这样的结论：企业行为的长期化或短期化所涉及的不仅仅是某一个企业本身的发展前景和命运的问题，而且在更大的程度上是关系到经济增长和产业结构调整的全局性问题。

如果由此再作深入一层的分析，那么我们不难发现企业行为长期化与产业结构合理化全都与效率问题联系在一起。

效率是指资源配置和资源利用的效率。如果我们说一个国家、一个地区、一个部门、一个企业的效率较高，是指在那里资源配置合理，人们能够有效地利用各种资源，使每一种资源都能发挥作用。如果我们说

某个人的效率较高，那也是指这个人能够充分发挥自己之所长，并且能够同其他资源（包括他所使用的生产资料和同他共事的劳动者）配合得很好，所以这也是资源配置和资源利用的效率问题。现在我们要考虑的是：效率究竟来自何处？

从资源配置和资源利用的角度来看，效率主要来自三个方面：动力、素质、环境。资源中最重要的是人力资源，人力资源体现在作为劳动者的人的身上。要有较高的效率，人的工作必须有动力。可以把企业看成是由人们组成的集体，那么要使企业有较高的效率，企业的生产和经营必须有动力，组成企业这个集体的每一分子也必须有动力。动力是多方面的：不仅有经济上的动力，而且有非经济的动力，如社会责任感、个人事业心、个人兴趣与爱好等。但不管怎样，动力对于效率来说是必不可少的。

效率也来自素质。这里主要是指人的素质。人有了较高的素质，即使物的素质较差，但人能够提高物的素质，逐渐用高素质的物来代替低素质的物。人的素质同样是多方面的，除了指人的文化技术水平、经营能力、创新能力以外，也包括思想状况、道德修养等等。人的素质较低，肯定不会有较高的效率。

效率还来自环境。人总是在一定的环境中生活和工作的，作为人们组成的集体的企业也总是在一定的环境中生产和经营的。如果环境限制了人的积极性和企业的积极性，或者，如果环境限制了人的素质的提高和人对低素质的物的改造，那么这样的环境绝不是可以保证效率提高的环境，它只能是抑制效率、扼杀效率的环境。

从这里可以了解到，现阶段我国的资源配置和资源利用效率之所以较低，与动力、素质、环境这三者都较差有不可分割的联系。以目前人们经常讨论的企业行为短期化来说，试问，为什么企业行为会出现短期化的倾向？从动力方面看，难道不是由于企业本身缺少长期发展与经营的动力，企业职工个人缺少长期发奋工作的动力？从素质方面看，难道不是由于企业本身缺少为实现重大技术创新、组织创新所要求的素质，企业职工个人缺少为技术和经营管理工作中的重要突破所要求的素质？从环境方面看，难道不是由于企业职工生活与工作在现存企业环境之中，从而个人的积极性被抑制，个人素质的提高遇到阻力？难道不是由于企业生产与经营在现存的社会经济环境之中，从而企业的积极性被抑制，企业素质的提高遇到阻力？动力、素质、环境这三个条件既然如此，企业的行为怎么可能不是短期化的？

再以目前人们经常议论的产业结构失调来说，试问，为什么产业结构会失调，而且这种失调现象一时难以扭转？从动力方面看，难道不是与生产要素流动的积极性不足有关，不是与开发新产品和发展新产业的

动力的不足有关？从素质方面看，即使想要较快地扭转产业结构的失调，但不仅企业职工的素质、企业本身的素质不易满足要求，而且宏观经济部门工作人员的素质也难以适应新产业部门发展与管理的需要。从环境方面看，调整产业结构涉及一系列与环境有关的问题，例如资金、劳动力、技术、信息的供给问题，基础设施问题，税收与价格问题，尤其是财产关系的确定问题。如果这些与环境有关的问题未能妥善地解决，即使企业本身和企业职工的素质再高，产业结构的调整仍然是困难的。

因此，结合企业行为与产业结构调整来考察，效率问题的解决途径已经十分清楚，这就是必须综合解决与效率产生和增长有关的动力、素质、环境问题。只要这些问题得到了解决，企业行为将会由短期化转向长期化，产业结构将会逐渐由不合理转向合理，高效率也会随之产生。

五、资源配置与社会行为的长期化

一旦我们从企业行为研究转向社会行为研究，从产业结构分析转向经济结构分析，那么我们将会发现，造成我国现阶段低效率的，不仅是企业行为的短期化，而且也是社会行为的短期化；不仅是产业结构的失调，而且也是经济结构的失调。这正是当前值得我们深思的问题所在。

社会行为的短期化是指：除了企业和企业职工的行为短期化以外，社会各阶层的行为也是短期化的，甚至连某些政府机构的行为也短期化了。比如说，农民不愿生产粮食，学生不愿好好学习，个体户不愿再投资，这些都表明行为的短期化。某些政府机构的负责人缺少长远的考虑，得过且过；某些政府主管部门不知道下一步该怎么办，心中无数；某些家庭总感到自己是在动荡不安的环境中生活，不清楚今后的日子该怎么过，如此种种也都是行为短期化的表现。关于这个问题，在本书以下有关制度创新的一章中还要作进一步分析，所以这里不准备展开论述，而只限于就经济结构、资源配置与社会行为的关系问题作些探讨。

归根到底，社会行为短期化的原因在于社会各个方面都缺乏稳定的预期。对企业、企业职工、农民、学生、个体户、政府工作人员等等来说，未来是不可知的，是难以预料的。社会经济生活的不确定性，导致人们主要考虑眼前的利益，采取无远见的对策。一个主要着眼于眼前利益的社会，肯定是低效率的社会，是资源配置不合理和资源利用不合理的社会。如果我们从前面提到的动力、素质、环境三个方面来进行分析，那么所得出的结论是相同的：社会行为的短期化来自预期的不稳定，而预期的不稳定又是由于环境的制约，由于动力的不足，由于应有素质的缺乏。而在环境的制约中，最主要的是财产关系不规范而对社会各方面的经济活动所产生的消极影响，以及对社会各方面的积极性的限

制。财产关系规范化了，至少从经济活动来说，可以使企业产生比较稳定的预期，产生一定的动力，这样也就可以促使社会行为由短期化向长期化转变。当然，仅仅依靠财产关系的规范还是不够的，但不能否认这毕竟是一个解决社会行为短期化的基本措施，对现阶段的我国尤其具有关键意义的措施。

当我们从产业结构的讨论转入经济结构的讨论时，我们将会看到，资源配置和资源利用效率较低，不仅与产业结构失调有关，而且与整个经济结构失调有关。经济结构失调的表现是：在所有制结构上，比较有利于调动劳动者集体积极性的合作经济、名副其实的集体经济所占的比例偏低；在地区经济结构上，地区的相对优势未能发挥出来，地区之间的经济协作和专业分工依然受到阻碍，经济较发达地区在国民经济中理应发挥更大的作用，但由于它们受到各种限制，只能迁就于整个经济形势，而经济落后地区则缺少自我成长和自我改善的经济机制，它们对国家的依赖性有增无减；在技术结构上，一个显著的失调现象是：一方面，我们已经掌握了若干在国际上处于领先地位的尖端技术，并建立了少数相当先进的部门；另一方面，初级技术和原始手工技术仍然在我国经济中占着重要的位置，尤其是在广大农村和边远地区，这种初级技术和原始手工技术依然成为技术的主体。对经济结构的分析不限于对上面提到的所有制结构、地区经济结构、技术结构的分析。实际上，推而广之，在与上述这些结构有关的企业规模结构、就业结构、能源结构、外贸结构等方面，也都存在着程度不等的失调现象。因此，整个经济结构失调，对目前我国经济而言，并不是一种过甚其词的说法。在这种情况下，资源配置和资源利用效率较低是完全可以理解的。当我们把资源配置趋于合理作为经济改革的一个目标来看待时，我们不得不作出如下的判断：如果经济改革尚未通过新的经济运行机制的建立而导致经济结构（包括产业结构）趋于合理的话，那么资源配置趋于合理这一目标就没有达到，正好像如果经济改革尚未通过规范财产关系等一系列措施而导致社会行为（不仅是企业行为）由短期化转向长期化的话，那么效率的低下仍然是不可避免的。

不言而喻，经济结构失调、资源配置不合理、社会行为的短期化三者之间彼此影响；只要其中任何一种情况没有较大的扭转，都会给解决其他一种情况造成困难。要形成经济结构协调、资源配置合理和社会行为长期化三者相互推动的格局，惟有把经济改革深化作为关键。只有在经济改革深化的过程中，促成效率提高的动力问题、素质问题和环境问题才能逐步求得解决，包括产业结构在内的整个经济结构才能趋于协调，资源配置和资源利用效率才能不断提高，相应地，包括企业行为在内的社会行为才能避免短期化，转向长期化。

在资源配置与社会行为长期化问题的讨论中，我们很自然地会遇到一个经常使经济学界感到困惑的问题。这就是，当我们的经济已陷入困境的时候，人们时常向经济学界提出问题："经济什么时候才会走出'低谷'？"对这个问题通常作出这样的回答，即通过经济波动的趋势分析，把产值的变动率（经济增长率）作为主要的指标，似乎只要产值在连续下降之后有了回升，即经济在增长幅度连续降低之后又开始增大，于是就认定经济已经走出了"低谷"。经济增长率是国际上一般采用的分析经济波动趋势的主要标志。但对于处在第二类非均衡经济中的我国来说，以此来说明经济是否走出"低谷"显然是令人怀疑的。

产值的变动率可以说明一些问题。但产值的变动也会掩盖经济的实际情况。在我国经济的现实条件下，特别是在企业行为短期化、社会行为短期化的客观环境中，产值的增加不一定表现经济已经好转。只要企业依然是缺乏利益约束、预算约束的，那么企业就有可能不顾自己的实际损益来增加产值，企业也可以不问市场的真实销路而使产值增加。就全社会而言，在社会行为短期化的影响下对商品的购买很可能采取只顾眼前，不顾长远利益的做法，结果使得产值的增长反映不了经济的真实情况。至于说到政府，那么它同样会受到行为短期化的制约，它会由于种种原因而以人为的方式使产值回升。举一个常见的例子来说，假定上级政府以产值的增长作为对下级政府考绩的指标，那么下级政府就会置其他考虑于不顾，一味地使产值增加。假定过去已连续几个月发生了产值下降的情形，而促使产值回升又成为对经济工作成绩好坏进行考核的主要指标，那么各级政府都会使出一切办法来增加产值，如以财政、信贷方法支持工厂投产，支持商业部门收购，鼓励居民多购买等等。也就是说，在以产值的变动作为判断经济是否走出"低谷"的主要指标时，既然政府有可能以财政、信贷等方式来人为地增加产值，那么这样的"低谷"就是比较容易走出的。以这种方式走出"低谷"，并不意味着经济情况已经真正好转，这只不过是把经济的实际状况作了一番掩饰而已。既然困难依旧存在，那么肯定地说，过一段时间之后经济又会滑坡，又会陷入"低谷"。但对于行为短期化的政府或企业来说，这并没有什么值得忧虑的。理由是：不管怎么说，上一个"低谷"不是走出了吗？尽管新的"低谷"又来到了，如法炮制一通，不也可以再次走出"低谷"吗？在非均衡条件下，企业行为短期化、社会行为短期化的结果不可能不是这样。

真实地反映非均衡的经济是否走出"低谷"的主要指标，不应当是产值的变动，而应当是企业经济效益的变动以及与之有关的财政实际收入的变动。只有它们才能较准确地反映经济情况是否好转。企业经济效益可以通过每百元资金利润率、每百元产值利润率或每百元销售额利润率

等反映出来，它们可以较准确地衡量企业经营状况的好坏。如果在连续一段时间内，企业的经济效益一直是下降的，那就可以认为经济陷入了困境。即使这段时间内产值是上升的，也并不等于经济真正好转了。企业经济效益不仅反映了企业本身的经营状况，而且也反映了资源配置状况和产业结构状况。如果资源配置不当、产业结构严重失调，那就必然形成企业生产成本上升、销售困难、利润率下降。同时，企业经济效益是同国家财政收入紧密联系在一起的，所以也可以采取财政实际收入作为判断经济是否走出“低谷”的主要指标。这就是说，在扣除物价上涨的影响，并且把各种债务收入从财政收入中剔除之后可以算出财政实际收入的数额。如果在连续一段时间内，财政实际收入一直是下降的，那么也可以认为经济陷入了困境。即使这段时间内产值上升了，同样不等于经济已经好转。

从有关经济是否走出“低谷”的上述分析可以了解到，在我国现实经济条件下，要扭转企业经济效益下降和财政实际收入减少的不正常状态，关键的措施仍然在于深化经济改革，克服企业行为短期化、社会行为短期化对于资源配置、产业结构、经济结构所造成的不良后果，使经济的稳定与增长有一个较坚实的基础。

7.3 INDUSTRIAL RESTRUCTURING AND UNBALANCED ECONOMIC GROWTH

7.3.1 A Theoretical Dilemma

One of the unconcluded research topics on the Chinese economy is to find out how to establish a balanced relationship among economic reforms, economic growth, and industrial restructuring so that they can help one another move forward, which will not only lead to effective economic growth during economic reforms but also establish a new resource allocation mechanism by means of economic growth and industrial restructuring and transform the traditional economic system into the new economic system.

This is a challenging task. Keep in mind that the current Chinese economy is in disequilibrium. The market has not been fully developed, resources are in short supply, and enterprises are not real goods producers who act out of self-interest. In this circumstance, if we mainly rely on the market and let it set prices, lack of the constraint by enterprises' selfinterest and the restrictions on the circulation of production factors due to abnormal property rights will drive prices higher and cause market signals to malfunction. As a result, industrial structure will not move toward rationalization, and the industrial structural imbalance that has developed over the long time in history may get even worse, stalling potential economic growth in the future. On the other hand, if we mainly rely on government regulation, i.e., allowing the government to use price limits and commodity quotas, we may to some extent support the relatively fast growth of some industrial sectors while controlling production increases from other sectors, maintaining overall economic growth. However, because enterprises' motivation is contained, they are not motivated to increase efficiency. This will surely delay or block the establishment of a new resource allocation mechanism. The growth of the economy is achieved by sacrificing efficiency. The industrial structure cannot get out of imbalance due to the lack of guidance by accurate market signals. This is the dilemma that Chinese economists are facing. To resolve this issue, we need to start with analyzing the investment principal.

7.3.2 Determining the Investment Principal of Industrial Restructuring

The principal of economic growth is enterprise. The principal of industrial restructuring is also enterprise. The principal hereby discussed refers to an investment principal. If we want enterprise to be a real investment principal, we must first and foremost allow enterprise to become a real entity with its own interests. In other words, enterprise must have its own independent interests, enterprise must care about its own interests, and enterprise must invest to realize its own interests. Also, enterprise must act under self-control during the investing process with the purpose of realizing its own interests. When we devise economic development plans and industrial restructuring policies, we can probably find a new way if we regard enterprise as an investment principal that has its own independent interests and is constrained by self-interest. If we start with this perception, the primary issue is the enterprise system reform, which is to grant enterprise the status of an entity with selfinterest as well as an investment principal and to allow the process of enterprise selecting investment opportunities to constrain and support economic growth and industrial restructuring so that economic reforms, economic growth, and industrial restructuring can coordinate and move forward at the same time.

We know that, in reality, industrial restructuring is to reduce investment in some industrial sectors and increase investment in some other industrial sectors. The industrial structure is reflected not only by the ratio of the outputs from various sectors but also by the ratio of the inputs into various sectors. Inputs constrain outputs and the ratio of input to output also constrains output. The comment of "letting enterprise be the investment principal of industrial restructuring" has two connotations. First, an enterprise chooses its investment direction and decides on whether to increase or decrease inputs in a certain sector according to its self-interest, which influences the ratio of output from various industrial sectors. Second, an enterprise adjusts its own ratio of input to output. To put it in another way, an enterprise increases or decreases output by means of increasing efficiency. In these two connotations, the second one is probably more important. It is because only after an enterprise has become an entity of self-interest will it be relatively better motivated to increase output by means of increasing efficiency. This is a more reasonable way to resolve commodity shortages, especially when resources are in short supply and various inputs are subject to physical constraints.

If we look at this point from a different perspective, allowing enterprise to be an investment principal also means that enterprise becomes a buyer of production factors. When enterprises adjust their investment directions and the combination of production factors in accordance with their self-interest, they change the demand for production factors, which in turn influences the sales of products produced by others. This will also practically influence the production and capacity of some other industrial sectors and meanwhile point out a direction for industrial restructuring. Therefore, after enterprises become entities with self-interest, they will be able to influence industrial restructuring from the perspective of input (including the quantity of resource inputs and the ratio of input to output) and from the perspective of buyers of products made by other enterprises. Economic growth is ultimately dependent upon the growth of output from each and every enterprise. Since the growth of enterprise output is achieved during the process of industrial restructuring, economic growth and industrial restructuring share the same processes. When enterprise with independent self-interest becomes the principal of economic growth, it also becomes the principal of industrial restructuring.

7.3.3 The Role of Rationing Equilibrium in Industrial Restructuring Under Disequilibrium Conditions

When we treat enterprise as an investment principal and place emphasis on the role of enterprise's investment and purchase decisions in industrial restructuring, we should keep in mind that it operates under disequilibrium conditions, in which underdeveloped market and resource shortages will inevitably significantly influence its decisions in selecting investment and purchases. With this in mind, we cannot ignore the importance of the roles that the government plays in industrial restructuring. The greater the degree of economic disequilibrium, the more important the role the government plays in industrial restructuring.

The government must be responsible for nonprofit investment projects. This is directly related to the responsibility of a government, from which no government should try to escape. We hardly need any further proof on this point. What we need to discuss now is as follows: Under the circumstances where the market is not fully developed and resources are in short supply, what should the government do as the economic regulator to influence enterprises' decisions on investment opportunities and commodity purchases

so that the industrial structure can be adjusted and become more reasonable? The government can meet this goal mainly by rationing equilibrium.

Rationing equilibrium by government can be realized according to the target principle, the average principle, or the historical ratio principle. Every principle is applicable in certain areas and has potential shortcomings. Therefore, the principle that the government uses in certain circumstances should be reviewed according to the specifics of the situation before a decision is made.

The target principle means that the government decides on the pecking order according to the level of importance of each industrial sector and allocates limited resources accordingly. The way of allocating resources helps ensure that the target of economic growth and the goal of industrial restructuring set by the government can be reached. It can also fairly quickly support the growth of some industrial sectors while limiting the growth of others. But the questions are as follows: Is the pecking order of the industrial sectors reasonable? Can we make sure that the ratio of limited resources allocated by the government rationing and by open-market transactions contributes to realizing the goals of economic growth and industrial restructuring at the same time? Is such resource rationing consistent with the efficiency criteria of resource utilization? Lastly, can we make sure that the resources allocated to an industrial sector either by government rationing or by open-market transactions will not be utilized for other purposes or resold for undue profits? The side effects of the target principle are as follows: Some sectors and enterprises receive special attention, but they are not necessarily highly efficient, while others are practically excluded from the list of the recipients of resources. Despite being highly efficient, they are forced to lower their efficiency due to insufficient supply of resources. Therefore, in the case where the target principle is applied to rationing (even though the principle is appropriate), yet without corresponding measures to support the flow of resources between sectors and to facilitate product modifications and upgrades, rationing equilibrium under the target principle will have to sacrifice resource utilization efficiency of society.

The average principle means that the government divvies up resources evenly according to the demand and availability of resources. From the perspective of industrial restructuring, the average principle may prevent the government from realizing its predetermined goal of industrial restructuring, because applying the average principle means the industrial structure will

maintain its status quo. From the perspective of maintaining economic growth, rationing equilibrium achieved by using the average principle at least stays away from relatively significant economic fluctuations. In addition, from the perspective of supply and demand of consumer necessities, utilizing the average principle to allocate limited resources also helps maintain social stability. Under the average principle, however, the resource utilization efficiency of society will be lower, but the lowered efficiency is attributed more to the insufficient aggregate resource supply than to the structural changes of the industrial sector, as the industrial structure basically maintains its status quo.

The historical ratio principle means that the government allocates resources among sectors and enterprises according to the historical ratio or the ratio that was being used in the past. The way of allocating limited resources has effects similar to that of the average principle, i.e., basically maintaining the status quo of the industrial structure while staying away from relatively significant economic fluctuations. But the question is: Since the historical resource allocation ratio is used as the basis to allocate current resources, how reasonable is the allocation ratio? In this circumstance, can we at the same time make sure that the resources allocated to certain sectors and enterprises are not used for different purposes or resold to other sectors and enterprises for undue profits? Moreover, the historical ratio is not automatically adjusted according to the ongoing real situations. If we want to make adjustments to the historical ratio, how should we adjust new rations for limited resources?

The analyses have revealed that balancing the goals of economic growth and industrial restructuring without harming the motivation of enterprises or lowering resource utilization efficiency is indeed a very difficult task. Regardless of which principle is used by the government in rationing, the way that target rations, average rations, or historical rations are determined must first of all be reasonable. Only by reasonably determining these ratios can the government reduce as many errors and conflicts as possible during the rationing process. Secondly, regardless of which principle is used, we should try to avoid the leakage of shortage resources, i.e., to prevent the shortage resources that have been allocated to certain sectors or enterprises from being resold to other sectors and enterprises.

A compromise is to apply a portion of all three principles to reach rationing equilibrium under government regulation. Among these three

principles, the target principle is a method that can relatively better facilitate the government's efforts to reach its predetermined goals for industrial restructuring. The historical ratio principle is a method that can relatively better support economic growth and will less likely cause relatively violent economic fluctuations. The average principle is a method that is relatively less likely to cause frictions among buyers or harm enterprises' motivation. If the government intends to utilize rationing equilibrium to perform industrial restructuring under disequilibrium conditions, it can mainly use the target principle while taking the features of the historical ratio principle and the average principle into consideration to come up with a systematic ratio for the allocation of shortage resources.

7.3.4 Applying the Policy on Leading Industries and Unbalanced Economic Growth

Economic growth under the circumstance of resource shortages is linked to resource rations among various sectors. If the allocation of shortage resources mainly relies on the target principle, we can surely achieve economic growth during the process of industrial restructuring, and economic growth realized in this way will be tilted. In other words, economic growth is unbalanced.

Now we have an issue of how to evaluate unbalanced economic growth. Keep in mind that the growth of an economy always takes place against a particular economic backdrop, which we call the initial state of economic growth. After certain periods of time, the economy will grow and end up in an expected situation, which we call the final stage of economic growth. In evaluating balanced and unbalanced economic growth, we must not disregard either the initial state or the final stage of economic growth. If the industrial structure of the initial status of economic growth is balanced and that of the final stage of economic growth is also balanced, it is obvious that balanced economic growth is the ideal way to grow the economy. During this period, unbalanced economic growth may be unnecessary or even detrimental to realizing the goal of a balanced industrial structure. However, since the Chinese economy is currently in disequilibrium and the Chinese industrial structure during the initial state of economic growth has been severely unbalanced, it is not only impossible to achieve balanced economic growth but also inconsistent with the requirements to grow the economy under the rationing equilibrium of shortage resources. Therefore, whether unbalanced

economic growth is right or wrong cannot be judged without taking the reality into consideration.

In terms of whether unbalanced economic growth under rationing equilibrium executed by the government allows it to reach its predetermined goals of economic growth and industrial restructuring, it depends not only upon whether the policy on leading industries adopted by the government is reasonable or not but also upon how well the policy on leading industries is executed. If the government does not propose any policy on leading industries and leaves everything to the market and expects it to establish leading industries on its own, both economic growth and industrial restructuring can be realized. However, this normally occurs in a relatively developed market in which enterprises are constrained by self-interest. Despite that, industrial restructuring may still progress very slowly, because when commodity supply or demand is limited, the rationing adjustment done by the market itself (which allows shortage resources or limited market to be allocated autonomously) can only reach its anticipated results through numerous transactions and resource transfers. Current situations in China have demonstrated that because the market has not been fully developed, enterprises have not been constrained by self-interest, and there have been some difficulties transferring resources autonomously among various sectors, the results of the rationing adjustment by the market itself will not necessarily be consistent with the economic growth and industrial restructuring goals set by the government. Therefore, obviously, it is quite necessary for the government to determine the policy on leading industries and apply it to achieve unbalanced economic growth through rationing equilibrium.

The policy on leading industries is one that favors certain industries. We should, however, note that any leading industry must coordinate with several other industries to which the leading industry is directly related. These industries are further connected to several other industries. Hence, even though the government applies a policy that favors some industries, it cannot only care about one single industry or a few industries while totally ignoring the other related industries. This type of policy can only ration shortage resources according to how closely an industry is tied to the leading industries. This means that when, under disequilibrium conditions, rationing equilibrium is the only way for the government to realize unbalanced economic growth and to consolidate resources in support of leading industries to realize industrial restructuring, the degree of preference (for the

leading industries) of the industrial policy will have to be appropriate rather than excessive. Otherwise, this preference will not only fail to accelerate the growth of the leading industries, but even likely prolong or exacerbate industrial structural imbalance.

From these analyses, we have clearly learned that the struggle between balanced and unbalanced economic growth is not what people have thought it would be, nor is it about whether balanced economic growth is better or worse than unbalanced economic growth. If the initial state of growth is accompanied by unbalanced industrial structure, this hotly debated topic will inevitably fall on the magnitude of the imbalance of economic growth, or the degree of preference of the industrial policy. Excessive preference for some industries is more harmful than no preference. Excessively unbalanced economic growth is likely to exacerbate industrial structural imbalance. If the initial state of economic growth is accompanied by unbalanced industrial structure, balanced economic growth obviously will not help resolve industrial structural imbalance, but more than likely maintain the existing industrial structure rather than worsen structural imbalance. This is exactly what the government should pay attention to when formulating the policy on leading industries.

Now we have come to the question of how to apply the policy on leading industries and how to come up with an appropriate degree of preference of the industrial policy set out by the government. To analyze this issue, we will have to study the roles of enterprise operation mechanism and price signal in the execution of the policy on leading industries.

7.3.5 Enterprise Self-Control and the Constraining Effect on Excessive Preference of the Industrial Policy

The policy on leading industries is initiated and executed by the government. Nonidealized government behavior causes the policy on leading industries to somewhat deviate from the predetermined goals on economic growth and industrial restructuring. It is very difficult for the government to come up with the perfect degree of preference of the industrial policy. In this circumstance, another force is needed to counter the effect of excessive preference of the industrial policy. Now, where does the countering force originate? It is not from the government itself, but from enterprises that are investment principals and entities of self-interest.

If enterprises are unable to sever their subordination to administrative

institutions, they will not be constrained by self-interest nor choose investment opportunities according to their current and expected interests. Undoubtedly, when the government ostensibly favors some industries (by granting excessively preferential status to some industries), which will change the supply and demand in the market as a result, it is unlikely for enterprises to respond to these changes brought about by the government policy. The policy that excessively favors some industries will exacerbate industrial structural imbalance and cause a large supply gap for some commodities and at the same time a large demand shortfall for some other commodities. These problems will remain unsolved until they get worse. Usually, a long time has passed before the government takes action to address those issues. The time lag is usually very long and the consequential damage to the economy is severe. In addition, because the preference for some industries under the industrial policy is tied to the rationing of shortage commodities and enterprises lack the constraint of self-interest, they may take advantage of such industrial policy to earn undue profits. For example, some enterprises may take advantage of shortage resources to develop products that are not urgently needed or to earn profits from activities that are unrelated to manufacturing. These activities not only fail to correct the preference of the industrial policy but may instead cause the industrial policy to be even more unreasonable and heighten the scarcity of shortage resources.

If the abovementioned issues do occur, which is contradictory to the anticipation of the government who initiates the industrial policy that favors certain industries, and in the meantime the government does not believe that the root cause of those issues is that enterprises lack the constraint of self-interest, it may lead the government to a wrong conclusion, i.e., blaming unreasonable prices or the dual-track price system. As a result, the government may try to terminate the dual-track price system and remove price controls to correct severe industrial structural imbalance and resolve commodity supply gap and commodity demand shortfall. These actions seem reasonable theoretically, because the right price signals will guide resources to where they are most needed and the quick reactions of enterprises to price signals will direct them to produce shortage commodities and increase investment in the vulnerable segments of the economy, which can streamline the industrial structure. However, the reality is completely different under disequilibrium conditions. If the government did that, the results would be nothing but further imbalance and more severe economic trouble. The key

issue here is still that it is impossible for an enterprise that is not responsible for its business decisions or operational profits and losses to become an entity with self-interest that can truly function in adjusting the industrial structure.

As we have discussed earlier, it is a known fact that resources are in short supply and the industrial structure is out of balance in its initial state and that the market is not fully developed and that enterprises lack the constraint of self-interest. In the circumstance that resources are short, rationing equilibrium will be inevitable. This has to be completed either by the government or by the market. The dual-track price system indicates that government rationing exists concurrently with market rationing. Government rationing will be carried out on the basis of the target principle (or the average principle, or the historical ratio principle). In this circumstance, if the government decides to replace the dualtrack price system with pure market pricing, this in fact indicates that government rationing will be terminated and it is the market that will take full control of the allocation of shortage resources. The market will do so by following the principle of "first-come, first-served" or the monopoly principle. However, as long as the market has not been fully developed, property rights have not been normalized, and enterprises lack the constraint of self-interest, relatively low price elasticity of supply as well as relatively low price elasticity of demand will certainly generate two new prices, i.e., open market price and hidden market price (or black market price), regardless of which principle that the market applies to allocate resources. Open market price and hidden market price will chase each other but always keep a distance from each other, causing prices to escalate time after time. This is the current Chinese economic reality under disequilibrium conditions. Therefore, replacing the dual-track price system with pure market pricing will not help alleviate industrial structural imbalance, but will only make it worse.

If the government recognizes the economic disequilibrium conditions and considers the fact that enterprises have not become independent goods producers, it surely should not open up prices and terminate the dual-track price system prematurely when it works toward the goal of completing industry restructuring effectively. Instead, it should maintain government rationing while reforming the enterprise operation mechanism and leverage the enterprise self-control mechanism to balance the excessively preferential arrangements of the industrial policy. The analysis presented in Chap. 6 of this book is also applicable to this issue.

As an investment principal and an entity of self-interest, an enterprise, in making decisions on investment and business operations, will exercise self-control if the enterprise operation mechanism functions. That can serve as the offsetting force to balance the excessively preferential arrangements of the industrial policy. The reason is that enterprises adjust the direction and amount of investment on the basis of their own economic interests. If the official industrial policy excessively favors certain industries, an enterprise under the dual-track price system will have the following two alternatives:

The first alternative for an enterprise is to accept market rationing. That is, it adopts the market price that is higher than the fixed price to produce the shortage commodities that meet the market needs as well as its own economic interests. This can relieve the shortages of these commodities due to excessive preference of the industrial policy. Of course, when an enterprise chooses to do so, it will be exposed to some investment and operational risks. However, as an entity with selfinterest, the enterprise is not only empowered to do so but also willing to take these risks. When there are investment and operational risks, there are returns. Motivated by profits, an enterprise will likely pursue this alternative.

The second alternative for an enterprise is to reject market rationing. This is primarily because the excessive preference of the industrial policy can lead to highly concentrated government rations and the enterprise, taking its own economic interests into consideration, feels that the price tag for market rations is too high, which may significantly increase its investment and operational risks. Insufficient government rations will surely cause some enterprises to change production capacity and product lines, including producing different products, shutting down product lines, reducing production volume, and merging with or establishing alliance with other enterprises. The flow of production factors and the recombination of resources are guided by the self-interest of enterprises, which are in turn guided by the demand of the market. This helps alleviate the shortages of some commodities arising from the excessively preferential arrangement of the industrial policy. Motivated by profits, enterprises may go with this alternative.

Regardless of which of the two alternatives an enterprise goes with, its choice will first of all help make up for some of the shortages arising from the excessively preferential arrangement of the industrial policy. We can regard the self-control of enterprises as the constraint on the excessively

preferential arrangement of the industrial policy. In addition, the selfcontrol of enterprises can serve as a different constraint on the excessively preferential arrangement of the industrial policy. Such constraint is manifested in the changes in the marketplace after enterprises choose one of the two abovementioned alternatives, which prompts the government to alter its original industrial policy that excessively favors some industries or its rationing plan that is excessively concentrated on certain industries.

For example, an enterprise chooses the first alternative to produce a shortage commodity by using production materials purchased from the market at a price higher than its fixed price. As a result, the supply of the production materials will increase, and the price of the shortage commodity made of those production materials produced by the enterprise will fall, which can provide the government who rations such production materials and shortage commodities with a signal indicating that its original rationing plan (which excessively favors certain industries and results in overly concentrated rations) has been out of sync with market changes. Therefore, it is possible for the government to adjust rationing according to the development in the market.

If an enterprise chooses the second alternative, i.e., it reacts to excessively concentrated government rations by reallocating production factors and recombining resources, the result from the enterprise reactions will lead to increased supply of some shortage commodities in the market, hence changing the market. When the government sees the changes, it will also reconsider its original rationing plan and make necessary adjustments according to the development in the market.

Therefore, only when enterprises are no longer controlled by government institutions and have become independent goods producers who are responsible for their business decisions and their own profits and losses can the equilibrium of the government rationing help improve the industrial structure and prevent industrial structural imbalance from remaining unresolved for a prolonged period of time due to unreasonable government rationing. On the contrary, if the government hopes to perform industrial restructuring by terminating the dual-track price system before reforming the enterprise operation mechanism, the ultimate results can deviate from the goals predetermined by the government.

These discussions have fully illustrated the relationship of economic reforms, economic growth, and industrial restructuring under disequilibrium

conditions. In short, if we do not first and foremost effectively reform the enterprise operation mechanism, it will be very difficult to realize the goals of economic growth and industrial restructuring and to achieve economic growth and industrial structuring in the future.

叁　产业结构调整与经济的不平衡增长

一、一个理论难题

在当前我国的经济生活中，一个有待于解决的研究课题是如何在经济改革、经济增长与产业结构调整三者之间建立一种彼此推进的协调关系，以便既能在经济改革过程中实现有效的经济增长，又能通过经济增长和产业结构调整来建立资源配置的新机制，实现从传统经济体制向新经济体制的转变。

这一任务是艰巨的。要知道，当前我国经济正处于非均衡状态，市场不完善，资源短缺，而企业还没有成为有真正的利益约束的商品生产者。在这种情况下，假定主要依赖市场机制的作用，让市场定价，那么在企业缺乏利益约束和生产要素的流动仍然受到产权关系不规范的限制的条件下，就会造成物价的迅速上涨，市场信号扭曲，从而产业结构不但难以朝着合理化的方向调整，甚至历史上形成的产业结构失调状况会加剧，并会阻碍今后的经济增长。另一方面，假定主要依赖政府调节的作用，即仍由政府实行价格限制和商品配额，那么虽然在一定程度上有可能促进某些产业部门的较快发展，抑制另一些产业部门的产量的增加，并且也有可能维持一定的经济增长率，但由于企业的积极性是受到束缚的，企业的效率难以提高，因此势必推迟了甚至阻碍了资源配置新机制的建立，经济增长只可能以牺牲效率作为代价而实现，而产业结构最终不得不以缺少正确的市场信号引导而摆脱不了失调的困境。这就是摆在我国经济学界面前的一个难题。对这个难题，我们准备从投资主体的确定着手进行研究。

二、产业结构调整的投资主体的确定

经济增长的主体是企业，产业结构调整的主体也是企业。这里所说的主体，是指投资主体而言。但要使企业成为有效益的投资主体，必须先使企业成为真正的利益主体。这就是说，企业必须具有自己的独立的利益，企业要关心这种利益，企业进行投资是为了实现这种利益，企业在投资中自我约束也是为了实现这种利益。如果我们在制定经济增长政策和产业结构调整政策时，把具有独立利益和接受利益约束的企业作为投资主体来看待，也许可以在这方面走出一条新路。假定以此为出发点，那么首要问题将是企业体制的改革，即赋予企业以利益主体和投资主体的地位，由企业的投资选择来制约经济增长和产业结构调整，促进经济增长和产业结构调整，从而达到经济改革、经济增长、产业结构调整三者协调并进的目标。

我们知道，产业结构调整实际上就是压缩一些产业部门的投资和增加一些产业部门的投资，产业结构不仅体现于各个不同部门的产出的比例，而且体现于各个不同部门的投入的比例。投入制约着产出，投入与产出之比也制约着产出。“让企业成为产业结构调整的投资主体”这句话，具有两个含义：第一，企业根据自己的利益而选择投资方向，决定增加对哪些部门的投入，减少对哪些部门的投入，并由此影响产业部门之间的产出比例；第二，企业根据自己的利益而调整投入与产出之比，也就是通过效率的提高来制约产出，增加产出。这两个含义中，第二个含义可能更加重要。这是因为，只有让企业成为利益主体，企业通过提高效率来增加产出的积极性才能有较大幅度的提高。在资源短缺和投入受到客观限制的条件下，这将是克服某些商品短缺的更为合理的途径。

从另一个角度来看，企业作为投资主体，也就是意味着企业作为生产要素的需求主体或购买主体。当企业根据自己的利益调节投资方向和生产要素组合方式时，通过对生产要素的需求的调整而影响其他企业提供的产品的销售量，这样也就从客观上影响一些产业部门的产量和规模的变化，引导着产业结构的调整方向。因此，在企业成为利益主体时，企业既从自己的投入（包括投入的资源数量以及投入与产出之比）方面，又从自己对其他企业提供的产品的购买方面制约着产业结构调整。经济增长率归根到底是由每一个企业的产出增长率决定的，既然企业的产出增长率总是在产业结构调整过程中实现的，所以经济增长与产业结构调整将是同一个过程。具有独立利益的企业在作为经济增长主体的同时，也就成为产业结构调整的主体。

三、非均衡条件下政府的配额均衡在产业结构调整中的作用

当我们把企业看作投资主体并且重视企业的投资选择与购买选择在产业结构调整中的作用时，应当考虑到企业是在非均衡条件下进行经济活动的，市场的不完善和资源供给的短缺不可避免地会对企业的投资选择与购买选择发生有力的影响。这样，我们就不可能忽视政府在产业结构调整中的重要作用。经济的非均衡程度越大，政府在产业结构调整中所起的作用也越重要。

政府要对非盈利性的投资项目承担责任，这是与政府的性质直接有关的。在任何情况下，政府也不应当回避这方面的投资责任。关于这一点，几乎不需要再作论证了。现在需要探讨的是，假定市场不完善和资源供给短缺，政府作为经济调节者，究竟应当如何影响企业的投资选择与购买选择，进而影响产业结构的调整，使之趋向合理化？这主要是通过政府的配额均衡来实现的。

政府的配额均衡可以通过目标原则，或平均原则，或历史比例原则

来实现。每一个原则都有一定的适用范围，每一个原则也都可能出现弊端，因此，政府在何种情况下采取何种原则，应当根据具体条件进行研究，然后作出决定。

目标原则是指政府根据产业部门的重要程度而制定轻重缓急的顺序，把有限的资源配售给各个有关的部门。这种分配资源的方式有利于贯彻政府预定的经济增长目标和产业结构调整目标，并且能够较快地促进某些产业部门的增长，限制另一部门的增长。但问题是：产业部门发展的轻重缓急顺序的排列是否科学？能不能使有限资源配售的比例有助于经济增长目标与产业结构调整目标同时实现？这样的资源配额是否符合资源利用的效率标准？最后，能不能保证配售到某一产业部门的资源不被挪作他用，不被转卖牟利？从某种意义上说，目标原则的副作用在于：它使某些部门和企业处于特殊照顾之下，而这些部门和企业却不一定是高效率的；至于另一些部门和企业，实际上被排除在资源供给以外了，尽管它们可能是高效率的，但由于资源不足而不得不使效率降低。因此，如果只有配额的目标原则（即使目标原则的确定是科学的），而没有促进部门间资源存量转移的措施和促进企业转产的措施，目标原则下的配额均衡将以社会的资源利用效率下降作为代价。

平均原则是指政府根据需求者所提出的需求数量和可供的资源数量进行平均分配。从调整产业结构的角度来看，平均原则可能是阻碍政府预定的产业结构调整目标的实现的，因为这样做意味着基本上维持产业结构的现状，但从维持经济增长的角度来看，平均原则下的配额均衡不至于导致经济增长率的较大幅度的波动。加之，就居民生活必需品的供求而言，按平均原则来分配有限的资源仍然有着维持社会安定的作用。在平均原则之下，社会的资源利用效率也是会降低的，但这种降低应当主要归咎于资源供给的普遍不足，而不一定是改变产业部门结构所引起的（因为产业结构基本维持现状）。

历史比例原则是指政府根据历史上已经形成的或过去一贯沿用的资源分配比例来确定部门间或企业间的资源配额。用这种办法来分配有限的资源，其效应与采取平均原则相似，即基本上维持产业结构的现状，同时又可以避免经济增长率发生较大幅度的波动。但问题是：历史比例原则的确定既然以既成的资源分配比例为依据，那就涉及既成的资源分配比例的合理程度究竟如何？同时，在这种情况下，能不能保证分配到一定的部门和企业中的资源不再被挪作他用，不再被转卖给其他部门和企业而牟利？还有，历史比例不可能不根据实际情况而有所调整，如果要调整历史比例的话，那么怎样重新制定有限资源的配额？

由此看来，在资源供给不足从而有必要由政府采取配额的情况下，既要兼顾经济增长与产业结构调整目标，又不要挫伤企业经营的积极

性，不要使企业的资源利用效率下降，这的确是一个相当艰巨的任务。不管政府按照哪一种原则来实行配额，目标配额的制定（即产业部门重要程度的顺序的排列）、平均配额的制定、历史比例配额的制定，首先都必须具有科学性。只有科学地制定这些配额，才能尽量减少政府配额过程中的差错和矛盾。其次，无论在哪一种原则之下，都应当防止短缺资源的渗漏现象的发生，也就是要防止被分配到一定部门和企业中的短缺资源因牟利目的而被转卖给其他部门和企业。

一种折衷的做法是兼取三种原则，实现政府调节下的配额均衡。三种原则之中，比较有利于达到政府预定产业结构调整目标的是目标原则；比较有利于维持经济增长，较少地导致经济增长率发生较大幅度波动的是历史比例原则；较少引起需求各方之间的摩擦，并且较少地挫伤所有企业的积极性的是平均原则。这样，要发挥非均衡条件下政府的配额均衡在产业结构调整中的作用，不妨以目标原则为主，兼顾历史比例原则和平均原则的特点，制定一种综合地确定短缺资源分配的比例。

四、主导产业政策的运用和经济的不平衡增长

资源短缺条件下的经济增长与短缺的资源在部门间的配额有关。假定在短缺资源的分配中主要依据的是目标原则，那么这时的经济增长必定是在产业结构调整过程中实现的，而产业结构调整过程中所实现的经济增长也必定是倾斜式的经济增长，即经济的不平衡增长。

这里涉及对于经济不平衡增长的价值判断问题。要知道，任何经济增长都是从一定的经济现实环境中出发的，我们可以把这种现实环境称作经济增长的初始状态。任何经济增长，在经历一定的时间之后，总会达到某个预期的经济境界，我们可以把这种预期的境界称作经济增长的阶段终点。在评价经济的平衡增长与经济的不平衡增长时，既不能脱离经济增长的初始状态，也不能脱离经济增长的阶段终点。假定初始状态是产业结构协调的，而预期的经济增长阶段终点也是产业结构协调的，那么经济的平衡增长显然是理想的增长途径。在这段时间内，经济的不平衡增长也许是不必要的，甚至还可能不利于预定的产业结构协调目标的实现。然而，在当前，我国经济处于非平衡状态并且初始点上的产业结构就已经处于严重失调的情况下，经济的平衡增长既缺乏可行性，又不符合短缺资源配额均衡下经济增长的要求。因此，对于经济不平衡增长的是与非，不应当脱离实际而作出判断。

政府配额均衡条件下的经济不平衡增长的结果，究竟能否达到政府预定的经济增长目标与产业结构调整目标，与政府制定的主导产业政策的科学性有关，也与这一主导产业政策被贯彻的程度有关。假定政府不制定任何主导产业政策，一切听任市场调节来自发地形成经济中的主导

产业，虽然其结果也有可能既实现经济增长，又调整了产业结构，但这通常以市场比较完善和企业具有利益约束为前提。何况，即使如此，产业结构调整过程也可能相当缓慢，因为一旦出现了货源有限或市场有限等情况，通过市场自身的配额调节（短缺资源的自发分配或有限市场的自发分割）总是在无数次交易活动和资源转移之后才达到预期效果的。就当前我国的实际情况来说，由于市场不完善和企业仍然缺乏利益约束，资源的部门间的自发转移有困难，市场的配额调节的结果不一定与政府预定的经济增长目标、产业结构调整目标相吻合，从而由政府制定主导产业政策，并根据这一政策来实现政府配额均衡下的经济不平衡增长，就显得十分必要。

主导产业政策是一种倾斜式的产业政策。但应当注意到，任何主导产业都需要有其他若干产业与之配合，而与主导产业直接有关的其他若干产业又分别与更多的产业联系在一起。这样，即使政府实行的是倾斜式的产业政策，这种政策也只能按照与主导产业的关系的密切程度来实行短缺资源的配额，而不可能倾斜到只顾某一个或少数几个产业而忽略其他有关产业的地步。这意味着，在非均衡条件下，如果说政府惟有通过配额均衡来实现经济的不平衡增长，集中较多的资源发展主导产业，以调整产业结构的话，那么产业政策的这种倾斜只能适度，而不应当过分，否则不仅不能加速主导产业的成长，反而有可能导致产业结构失调现象的延续或加剧。

通过以上的分析，可以清楚地了解到，关于经济增长的平衡与不平衡之争实际上并非如通常所说的，究竟是不平衡增长优越还是平衡增长优越。既然增长的初始状态是产业结构失调，那么争论的焦点就不可避免地成为经济增长的不平衡程度之争，也就是产业政策的倾斜度之争。过度的倾斜的害处更大于完全没有倾斜。经济的过分不平衡增长可能加剧产业结构的失调，而在经济增长的初始状态表现为产业结构已经失调时，经济的平衡增长虽然无助于产业结构失调现象的消除，但较为可能的是基本上维持产业结构现状，而不一定使之加剧、恶化。这正是在政府制定主导产业政策时需要注意的。

于是问题归结为政府究竟如何运用主导产业政策，如何使产业政策的倾斜适度。为了说明这一点，有必要考察一下企业运行机制和价格信号在主导产业政策实施过程中的作用。

五、企业的自我约束及其对产业政策倾斜过度的制约

主导产业政策是由政府制定并由政府推行的。政府行为的非理想化使得政府所制定和推行的主导产业政策同政府预定要达到的经济增长与产业结构调整目标之间存在一定的差距。政府很难使得产业政策的倾斜

恰到好处。这样就需要有一种力量对产业政策倾斜过度加以制约。那么，这种制约的力量主要来自何处？它不是来自政府本身，它主要来自作为投资主体和利益主体的企业。

假定企业没有摆脱行政机构附属物的地位，依然缺乏利益的约束并且不能根据自己的现实利益和预期利益来选择投资机会，毫无疑问，当政府的产业政策严重倾斜（即过度倾斜）时，企业对于由此引起的市场供求比例的变化不可能作出反应。产业政策的过度倾斜所加剧了的产业结构失调，以及具体表现出来的某些商品供给缺口增大和另一些商品需求缺口增大，只有等到问题积累到一定程度，等到政府自己发现它们的严重性了，才有可能纠正过来，但这往往需要较长的滞后期，国民经济因此而受到的损失将是巨大的。不仅如此，由于产业政策的倾斜与政府对短缺资源的配额联系在一起，在企业缺乏利益约束的情况下，企业甚至有可能利用产业政策的倾斜过度来为自己牟利，如利用短缺资源去发展并非市场所急需的生产，或利用短缺资源进行非生产性的盈利活动，其结果，不但不是对产业政策倾斜过度的制约，反而会加剧不合理的产业政策的倾斜，加剧短缺资源的短缺程度。

如果客观上发生上述这些与政府在制定倾斜产业政策时所预计的情况相违的现象，而政府又不把企业缺乏利益约束视为问题的症结所在，那么政府很可能作出一种错误的判断，即认为这一切主要是由价格的不合理或双轨价格的存在所引起的，于是政府试图以取消双轨价格控制和放开价格来纠正产业结构的严重失调，消除商品供给缺口和需求缺口。从理论上说，这样做似乎是有根据的，因为价格信号的正确将导致资源流向市场所需要的领域，企业对价格信号的灵活反应将导致企业转而生产短缺商品，转而投资于经济中的薄弱环节，促进产业结构的合理化。但这与非均衡条件下的实际情况完全不符。假定政府这样做，所带来的恰恰是产业结构的进一步失调和经济的进一步混乱。关键仍在于：尚未自主经营、自负盈亏的企业不可能成为真正起作用的产业结构调整的利益主体。

如上所述，资源短缺和初始状态中的产业结构失调是既成事实，市场不完善和企业缺乏利益约束也是既成事实。在资源短缺的前提下，配额均衡是不可避免的：不是由政府来实现配额，就是由市场来实行配额。价格双轨制意味着既有政府实行的配额，又有市场实行的配额，而政府实行的配额将根据目标原则（或平均原则，或历史比例原则）付诸实现。如果政府决定在这种形势下把价格双轨制转变为市场单一定价制，那就意味着取消政府的配额，而让短缺资源完全由市场来实行配额：市场或者按照“谁先来，谁先买”的优先原则分配，或者按照垄断原则分配。但无论市场按照什么原则来分配短缺资源，只要市场仍然是不

完善的，企业产权关系仍然不规范和企业仍然缺乏利益约束，那么供给价格弹性较小和需求价格弹性较小的事实必然导致新的两种价格的并存，即公开的市场价格或地下的市场价格（黑市价格）的并存。公开的市场价格与地下的市场价格你追我赶，始终保持某种差距，结果导致价格的轮番上涨。这正是我国经济处于非均衡状态下的实际情况。它不仅无助于缓解产业结构失调，而且只会使产业结构失调加剧。

政府如果考虑到经济的非均衡状态，考虑到企业尚未成为独立商品生产者这一客观事实，那么从有效地调整产业结构的目标着眼，绝不能在条件不成熟时放开价格和取消价格双轨制，而只能在保持政府配额的同时，改造企业运行机制，并依靠企业的自我约束来制约产业政策倾斜的过度。关于这些，本书第六章的分析是完全适用的。

企业作为投资主体和利益主体，将具有投资与经营的自我约束力；而这种与企业运行机制联系在一起的企业自我约束力，将成为对于政府的产业政策倾斜过度的一种制约。这是因为，企业是按照自己的利益趋向而进行投资方向的变动和投资数量的调整的；如果政府的产业政策的倾斜过度，在双轨价格条件下，企业将面临以下两种选择：

第一种选择是，企业宁肯接受市场配额，即利用高于固定价格的市场价格来生产既符合自己的利益，又适应市场需要的短缺产品。这样就可以弥补政府的产业政策倾斜过度而导致的该种商品的短缺。当然，当企业作出这种选择时，企业要冒一定的投资风险和经营风险。但企业作为利益主体，它不仅有权这样做，并且也愿意承担这些风险。伴随着企业投资风险和经营风险而来的，将是企业的盈利。有了盈利的动力，企业是有可能作出这种选择的。

第二种选择是，由于政府的产业政策倾斜过度而导致政府配额过于集中，但企业又不愿接受市场配额（这主要是由企业从自身利益出发，感觉到市场配额的价格过高，从而投资风险和经营风险过大），这样，政府配额的不足必将导致企业改变生产规模和生产方向，包括企业转产、停产、减产、与其他企业合并或联营等等。由此涉及生产要素的流动和资源在部门间、企业间的重新组合。生产要素的流动和资源重新组合以企业自身的利益为指导，而企业的利益又以市场的实际需要为转移。于是也就有助于弥补政府的产业政策倾斜过度而导致的某些商品的短缺，有了盈利的动力，企业也会作出这种选择。

无论企业作出第一种选择还是第二种选择，其结果首先是有助于弥补政府的产业政策倾斜过度而导致的某种短缺。这可以被看成是企业的自我约束对于产业政策倾斜过度的一种制约。除此以外，还存在着企业的自我约束对于产业政策倾斜过度的另一种制约。这就是在企业作出上述任何一种选择之后，市场形势都会发生一定的变化，从而促使政府改

变原来的产业政策过度倾斜的做法，修正过于集中的配额方案。

比如说，假定企业作出第一种选择，从市场上用高于固定价格的价格来购买生产资料并用以生产市场所需要的短缺商品，这样，市场上该种生产资料的供给量将增加，而企业所生产出来的该种短缺商品的价格将下降。这将给予实行该种生产资料配额和该种短缺商品配额的政府以一定的信号，使政府感到自己原来制定的配额方案（即产业政策倾斜过度，配额过于集中的方案）已与新的市场形势不相适应了。于是政府就有可能调整配额来适应新的市场形势。

假定企业作出第二种选择，即企业通过生产要素的流动和资源的重新组合来应付政府原定的配额过于集中问题，那么生产要素流动和资源重新组合的结果将会导致市场上某些短缺商品供给量的增加，引起市场形势的变化。当政府接收到这种信号以后，也会重新考虑原来的配额方案，从而根据新的市场形势进行配额的调整。

由此可见，只有企业从作为行政附属物的地位转到自主经营、自负盈亏的独立商品生产者的地位，政府的配额均衡才有助于产业结构的合理化，才能避免因政府配额不当而造成的产业结构失调迟迟不能解决的情况的发生。反之，如果政府在企业体制未变的条件下，指望用取消双轨价格来协调产业结构，那么就只能得到与政府的预定目标相反的结果。

这一切充分说明了非均衡状态中的经济改革、经济增长、产业结构调整三者之间的关系的实质。简言之，如果不首先进行有效的企业体制改革，经济增长与产业结构调整这两个目标不仅难以实现，而且会给以后的经济增长与产业结构调整造成困难。

Chapter 8　Government Regulation of Agriculture

第八章　政府对农业生产的调节

8.1　DEMAND AND SUPPLY OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS UNDER DISEQUILIBRIUM CONDITIONS

8.1.1　Agricultural Disequilibrium

In our analysis on industrial restructuring, we should treat agriculture and the demand and supply of agricultural products in a special way by specifically studying the demand and supply of agricultural products as well as the development of agriculture in a separate section.

If we regard an underdeveloped market and limited supply of resources as the main features of economic disequilibrium, it will be obvious that the Chinese agriculture has exhibited the features of disequilibrium, which are first of all reflected by the limited supply of land and secondly by the substantial constraints on the free transfers of resources in the agricultural industry. Western economists usually regard agriculture as a perfectly competitive sector and the agricultural produce market a perfectly competitive market. If the agricultural industry and the market of agricultural products they refer to are in a developed capitalist country, the viewpoint is more or less applicable. However, to a developing country, especially China in its current situation, this viewpoint is far from the truth. The current agricultural disequilibrium in China is mainly reflected in the following three aspects:

First, in the circumstance of limited supply of resources, resources are substantially constrained from being freely transferred due to the system. Free transfer is constrained not only inside the agricultural sector but also

between agricultural and nonagricultural sectors and between rural and urban areas.

Second, main agricultural products are in short supply, and hence, there are gaps between the supply and demand of these products. There are also constraints on the market of main agricultural products. Government rationing is applied and so is market rationing. The existence of the dual-track price system reflects that the market of main agricultural products is under imperfect competition.

Third, in terms of the agricultural products that are not subject to government rationing, they are traded in the marketplace with high transaction costs, and the competition of these products is imperfect for several reasons, such as incomplete information, various tangible and intangible constraints on product transfers between different geographical areas, underdeveloped intermediary organizations, and the absence of some necessary institutions.

All these demonstrate that we should not rely on the measures that only focus on price and market, but need to take measures that apply to areas beyond price and market according to specific disequilibrium conditions to resolve agricultural problems in China. Moreover, the reality nowadays has indicated that the primary measures are those other than price and market.

8.1.2 Demand and Supply of Agricultural Products Versus Government Regulation

Based on the features of disequilibria in the agricultural sector discussed above, the government should place its regulatory emphasis on motivating producers of agricultural products, supporting circulation of resources, and ensuring the availability of necessary supplies for agricultural product producers to increase production so that the supply of agricultural products can be increased. Of course, emphasizing on these measures does not mean that there is no need for other measures such as raising the fixed price of agricultural products and expanding the scope of the agricultural products that are free to trade without restriction. We only mean that in the case of disequilibrium conditions, regulatory measures beyond price and market are relatively more important.

Measures beyond price and market available to the government to increase the supply of agricultural products include the following:

1. Establishing the agricultural production stabilization fund. The

government will determine the main categories of agricultural products that are in need of price support from the government in order to maintain production volume and producers' income. When the price of a listed agricultural product falls below its support price, the agricultural production stabilization fund will purchase the product at its support price. The agricultural production stabilization fund is mainly funded by the fiscal budget. Profits from using the fund to manage the purchases and sales of these agricultural products can also be a supplementary source of capital for the fund. The support price of each agricultural product is publicized in advance and kept relatively stable during a certain period of time, which can stabilize producers and avoid violent fluctuations in the production volume of the core agricultural products. In the current circumstance, the support price can be set a little bit higher. Even with the increase of supply of agricultural products and the decline of supply gap in the future, the agricultural production stabilization fund, once established, should be maintained in the long run, and the support price for each product should be adjusted in a timely manner according to demand and supply in the market.

2. Developing farm servicing companies and supporting the relative concentration of land via financial intermediaries. When agricultural producers are not highly motivated to plant and grow crops, together with the constrained circulation of agricultural resources, it is necessary to maintain the stability of the labor force engaging in agricultural production. Therefore, the government should encourage and support the establishment of farm servicing companies and allow them to grow relatively quickly. These companies can be formed by funds in the market to sign contracts with those households who do not have sufficient labor to grow crops or the required experience or skills to manage their farmland on their own. Farm servicing companies are staffed by relatively stable farm workers, have high productivity, and make profit by charging service fees or by obtaining a percentage of the actual harvest. They can significantly increase production output given the same area of arable land and hence raise land utilization efficiency.

Supporting relative concentration of land via financial intermediaries means that we establish some financial institutions, such as a land savings bank (or a land savings credit union or a farmers' land savings fund) to accept land as deposit from those households who are neither willing to grow crops nor willing to give up their contracted land by paying certain amount of

interest. These financial institutions can in turn gather the land received from each depositor and lend it to skilled farmers or farm servicing companies, or they can enter into farm servicing contracts with farm servicing companies, who get paid service fees or a percentage of harvest from the land. These financial intermediaries can be established using funds from society and earn profits from the spread between the deposits of land and the loans of land or from managing the land on their own. The combination of financial institutions, skilled farmers, or farm servicing companies will be the way to economies of scale.

3. Establishing a network of specialized distributors of agricultural pro duction materials and cooperative suppliers of agricultural production materials. In light of the shortages of agricultural production materials and market underdevelopment, we should not terminate but rather enhance government rationing of some key agricultural production materials (such as fertilizer, pesticides, farming equipment and fuel, and agricultural film). The exclusive distributor system is a viable way at the moment. Government rations should mainly follow the target principle and meanwhile take into account the average principle and the historical ratio principle. When determining the rationing target for key agricultural production materials, the government should first and foremost focus on grain. However, it is not enough to rely on government rations and exclusive distributors only. We should also establish a network of cooperative suppliers of agricultural production materials as early as possible. The network of cooperative suppliers of agricultural production materials mainly refers to a network that primarily handles and supplies agricultural production materials organized and funded by agricultural producers. The network is not only monitored and managed by agricultural producers but also capable of serving them at the same time.

The above describes the measures that the government can adopt to increase the supply of agricultural products. They can also be coordinated with other measures such as raising the price of agricultural products.

8.1.3 Demand for Agricultural Products Versus Government Regulation

In order to regulate demand for agricultural products, the government can also adopt appropriate regulatory measures. The focus of government regulation applicable to this area should also be placed on measures beyond

price and market. However, this does not mean that government regulation of the price of agricultural products is useless in reducing the supply gap of agricultural products. Rather, it means that government regulation of the price of agricultural products cannot be the primary measure to effectively alleviate the mismatch between the demand and supply of agricultural products under disequilibrium conditions. The government can still perform rationing on some key agricultural products when faced with extreme shortages. However, this is not a fundamental measure that attempts from the demand side to alleviate the mismatch of the demand and supply of agricultural products.

Among measures beyond price or market that aim to adjust the demand, there are mainly three measures available to the government:

1. Applying differential tax rates, differential interest rates and differential credit quota to the users who use agricultural products as raw materials so as to adjust the demand for agricultural products. The users of agricultural products can be categorized into three main groups. The first group is enterprises or other production units. They need agricultural products as raw materials. When certain agricultural products are in relatively severe shortage, the government should try its best to reduce the demand for agricultural products from the users who use agricultural products as raw materials and adjust the structure of their demand for raw materials. Although the government may get the same result by adjusting the price of agricultural raw materials or by rationing agricultural raw materials, the former measure may have a relatively large impact, whereas the latter measure may hurt the motivation of enterprises or other production units who use agricultural products as raw materials, nor will it necessarily guarantee more efficient utilization of agricultural products as raw materials. Therefore, one of the alternatives available to the government is to adopt such measures as differential tax rates, differential interest rates, and differential credit quotas to guide enterprises or other production units to adjust the structure of raw materials and reduce the usage of shortage agricultural products. Adjusting the structure of raw materials requires additional inputs. However, if the government adopts differential tax rates, differential interest rates, and differential credit quotas to benefit the enterprises or other production units that make adjustments to the structure of raw materials and cut the usage of agricultural products as raw materials, these enterprises or production units may feel the benefits of following the government. As a result, such government initiatives will benefit the whole of society, including users who

use agricultural products as raw materials.

2. Using differential tax rates, differential interest rates, and differential credit quotas, as well as differential foreign exchange retention ratios to adjust the structure of export commodities and reduce the export of agricultural products. Among those three main groups of agricultural product buyers, the second group is agricultural product exporter. They handle the export of agricultural products. When some agricultural products suffer from relatively significant shortages, the government can try to reduce the export of agricultural products by those enterprises. Of course, if necessary, the government will not rule out the possibility of using harsh measures such as applying export quota to reach its goal. However, doing so may negatively influence the motivation of exporters. A better way is to use differential tax rates, interest rates, and credit quotas, as well as differential foreign exchange retention ratios so that exporters can adjust the structure of export commodities according to the demand and supply of agricultural products and reduce the export of shortage commodities. In doing so, the government can motivate exporters relatively easily. Meanwhile, the flexibility of these measures also enables exporters to be more empowered when adjusting their export structure.

3. Applying various methods to change the ratio of personal savings to consumption as well as the consumption structure and guiding consumers to reducing the demand for shortage agricultural products. Among the three main groups of agricultural product buyers, the third one is consumer, who is the direct or indirect buyer of agricultural products. For example, food is the main product that consumers purchase directly, while the main buyers of cotton, linen, silk, and wool are enterprises. Since cloth or clothing that consumers purchase is made from agricultural products such as cotton, linen, silk, and wool, these agricultural products can be considered commodities that consumers purchase indirectly (the same is with manufactured food, which is considered agricultural products that consumers purchase indirectly). In order to reduce the direct and indirect purchases of agricultural products, the government can try to change the ratio of personal savings to consumption so as to change consumer consumption structure, including the structure of food, clothing, and housing, besides using price adjustment measures and applying rationing. There are a series of measures available to the government in this regard. Here are some examples:

(a) The government can adjust tax rate or interest rate to adjust the ratio

of savings to consumption.

(b) The government can levy new taxes to change the ratio of personal savings to consumption (including the structure of food consumption by consumers).

(c) The government can sell houses or gold and silver jewelries to change the structure of personal consumption and sell stocks or issue government bonds to change the ratio of personal savings to consumption as well as the consumer consumption structure.

(d) The government can adopt some measures to encourage consumers to increase spending on services (such as tourism, cultural, and educational services) and so as to reduce their direct or indirect purchases of agricultural products.

(e) The government can adopt fiscal and credit measures to reduce the demand for agricultural products when aggregate demand exceeds aggregate supply.

These adjustment measures can be used together with price adjustment or government rationing of agricultural products.

壹　非均衡条件下的农产品供求

一、农业的非均衡状态

在分析产业结构调整问题时，应当把农业放在特殊的位置上，把农产品供求放在特殊的位置上，把农产品供求与农业增长作为专门一章来进行考察。

当我们把市场不完善与资源供给有限作为经济非均衡的重要标志时，农业显然具有较明显的非均衡性质，这首先反映于土地数量为既定的，资源的自由转移在农业中所受到的限制十分突出。西方经济学家通常把农业作为完全竞争部门来看待，把农产品市场作为完全竞争市场来看待。如果说这种看法对于发达资本主义国家的农业与农产品市场来说，多多少少还有所适合的话，那么对于发展中国家，尤其是对于我国目前的情况而言，这种看法与实际有很大出入。我国当前农业的非均衡状态，主要反映于以下三个方面：

第一，在资源供给有限的条件下，由于体制的原因，资源的自由转移受到很大限制。这不仅是指农业内部的资源自由转移受限制，而且指农业与非农业、乡村与城市之间的资源自由转移受限制。

第二，主要农产品供给不足，这些农产品的供求之间存在着一定的缺口。主要农产品市场相应地存在着限制，即一方面存在着政府的配额；另一方面存在着市场的配额。双轨价格的并存反映了主要农产品交易的不完全竞争性质。

第三，即使在不受政府配额限制的农产品市场交易中，由于信息的不充分、地域之间对流通的有形或无形的限制、交易中介机构的不发达和某些必要的制度未建立，因此不仅交易成本很高，而且竞争也是不充分的。

这表明，要解决我国的农业问题，不能仅仅从价格方面和市场方面采取措施，而必须根据非均衡条件，采取价格以外的和市场以外的措施。并且，就现阶段的实际情况来说，价格以外和市场以外的措施将是主要的。

二、农产品供给与政府调节

针对着上述农业中非均衡的特点，为了增加农产品的供给，政府调节的重点应当放在调动农业生产者的积极性、促进资源的流动，以及保证农业生产者获得为增加供给所必要的要素供给之上。这些都属于价格以外和市场以外的调节措施。当然，以这些措施为主，并不意味着不需要采取提高农产品固定价格和扩大农产品自由购销范围等措施。这只是

说，根据上述的非均衡条件，政府在价格以外和市场以外采取调节措施相对说来更为重要。

可供政府选择的增加农产品供给的价格以外和市场以外的措施包括：

1．建立农产品平准基金。由政府确定列入国家用支持价格来维持产量和农户收入的主要农产品种类，当农产品价格低于支持价格时，由农产品平准基金按支持价格收购。农产品平准基金的资金主要来源是财政拨款。农产品平准基金在经营农产品购销过程中的收益也可以成为农产品平准基金的补充资金来源。农产品的支持价格事前公布，并保持一定的期限内的稳定性，这样就可以稳定农业生产者的情绪，避免主要农产品产量的大起大落。在目前情况下，支持价格的起点可以稍高一些。今后，即使农产品供给增加了，农产品供给缺口缩小了，但农产品平准基金一经建立，就应当长期保持，而支持价格的水平则可以随着当时的市场供求状况而调整。

2．发展代耕代收公司，通过金融中介促进土地相对集中。在农业生产者的种植与经营的积极性不高，以及农业中资源流动受限制的条件下，要增加农产品供给，必须有一支稳定的从事农业生产的劳动力队伍，因此，代耕代收公司之类的形式应得到政府的鼓励，较快地建立和发展起来。代耕代收公司由社会集资组成，它们同那些缺乏劳动力或缺乏农业生产经验和技术的土地承包家庭签订代耕代收合同，按付出的劳务收取费用，或根据实际收获量分成。代耕代收公司拥有较稳定的农业工人队伍，劳动生产率高，能在现有土地面积不变的情况下大大增加产量，能够提高土地利用效率。

通过金融中介促进土地相对集中是指：建立土地储蓄银行（或土地储蓄信用合作社，或农民土地储蓄基金会）之类的金融组织，向那些不愿从事农业生产但又不愿放弃所承包的土地的家庭开办土地存入业务，支付一定的利息。它们可以把土地承包者分散存入的土地贷给耕作能手或代耕代收公司，也可以同代耕代收公司签订合同，采取分成制或按劳务付酬。这些金融组织可以通过社会集资方式而组成，土地存贷的利差以及自身经营土地的收益构成这些金融组织的利润。通过这些金融组织，耕作能手或代耕代收公司可以实现集约化的规模经营。

3．农业生产资料专营和农业生产资料合作供应网的建立。考虑到农业生产资料的短缺和市场的不完善，对农业的重要生产资料（如化肥、农药、农用主要机械和燃料、薄膜等）的政府配额制不仅不应取消，而且应当扩大。专营制度在现阶段是可行的。政府的配额应当以目标原则为主，同时参照平均原则和历史比例原则。政府在确定主要农业生产资料的配额目标时，应当把粮食放在首要位置上，但只靠政府的配

额和专营还是不够的，应当及早建立农业生产资料的合作供应网。农业生产资料合作供应网主要是指由农业生产者集资组织的专门经营主要农业生产资料的供应网，它们既受到农业生产者的监督与管理，又能更好地为农业生产者服务。

以上就是政府可以采取的增加农产品供给的措施，它们也可以同提高农产品价格等措施结合起来运用。

三、农产品需求与政府调节

为了调节社会对农产品的需求，政府同样应当采取适当的调节措施，并且政府在这方面的调节重点也应当放在价格以外和市场以外。这并不是说政府对农产品价格的调整等措施无助于农产品供给缺口的缩小，而是说在非均衡条件下它们不可能成为有效地缓和农产品供求矛盾的主要措施。至于政府对某些重要的农产品的配额，在短缺较为严重的情况下仍是可以采用的，但这毕竟不是从需求的角度来缓和农产品供求矛盾的基本措施。

在价格以外和市场以外的调节需求的措施中，可供政府选择的主要有以下三项措施：

1．以差别税率、差别利率、差别信贷额等措施来调节农业提供的原料的用户对农产品的需求量。农产品的需求者可以分为三大类。其中，第一类是企业和其他的生产经营单位，它们需要农产品作为原料。在某些农产品短缺情况较为严重时，应当尽可能使农业提供的原料的用户减少对农产品需求量，调整各自的原料结构。政府固然可以用调整农业提供的原料的价格或采取农业提供的原料的配额方式来达到这一目的，但调整价格的波动面较大，而实行配额的做法对于使用农业提供的原料的企业和其他的生产经营单位的生产积极性是有损害的，并且这种做法并不能保证农业提供的原料的利用效率增长。因此，可供政府采用的一种做法是采取差别税率、差别利率、差别信贷额之类的措施，引导企业和其他生产经营单位调整原料结构，减少对短缺的农产品的使用量。原料结构的调整是需要追加投入的，但如果政府通过差别税率、差别利率、差别信贷额等措施能给那些调整了原料结构，少使用农业提供的原料的企业和其他生产经营单位以实际的利益，使后者感到仍然有利可得，那么对社会和对这些使用农业提供的原料的用户都有好处。

2．以差别税率、差别利率、差别信贷额以及有差别的外汇留成比例等措施来调节出口贸易商品结构，减少农产品的出口量。在农产品需求者的三大类中，第二类是农产品出口企业。它们经营农产品出口业务。在某些农产品短缺情况较为严重时，可以使这些出口企业减少农产品的出口量。当然，在有这种必要时，政府未尝不可以用农产品出口限

额等较硬性的措施来达到这一目的，但这对于调动经营出口商品的企业的积极性不利，不如采用差别税率、差别利率、差别信贷额以及有差别的外汇留成比例等措施，促使出口企业根据农产品供求状况调整出口贸易的商品结构，调整短缺的农产品的出口量，这样，一方面，比较容易激发经营出口业务的企业的积极性，另一方面，这些措施较为灵活，出口企业在调整出口商品结构时有较大的主动权。

3．以各种不同的方式改变居民的储蓄一消费比例，改变居民的消费结构，引导居民少消费较为短缺的农产品。在农产品需求者的三大类中，第三类是居民，他们直接或间接购买农业提供的产品。如食物，主要是居民直接购买的农产品；以棉、麻、蚕茧、羊毛等而言，其主要购买者是企业，而居民购买的衣料或服装则是以这些农产品作为原料的企业的产品，因此棉、麻、蚕茧、羊毛等等可以被看成是居民间接购买的农产品（居民对于加工食品的购买，也可以视为居民对农产品的间接购买）。要使居民减少对农产品的直接和间接购买量，除了可以采取价格调节措施和实行配额以外，政府还可以设法改变居民的储蓄一消费比例，改变居民的消费结构，包括改变居民的食物结构、衣着习惯、居住条件等。而在这些方面，政府有一系列措施可以选用，如：

（1）政府可以通过调整税率或利息率来调节居民的储蓄一消费比例；

（2）政府可以开征新税来改变居民的储蓄一消费比例以及改变居民的消费结构（包括居民的食物结构）；

（3）政府可以通过出售房屋或金银首饰来改变居民的消费结构，还可以采取出售企业股票，发行政府债券等方式来改变居民的储蓄一消费比例以及居民的消费结构；

（4）政府可以采取措施促进居民增加劳务消费（包括旅游支出、文化教育支出等），以减少居民对农产品的直接或间接购买量；

（5）政府还可以通过财政、信贷等多种措施，在社会总需求大于社会总供给的情况下压缩社会总需求，从而起到压缩对农产品的需求的作用。

以上所列举的这些调节措施可以同调整农产品价格或实行配额等措施结合在一起使用。

8.2 TREND OF BALANCED DEMAND AND SUPPLY OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

8.2.1 Long-Term-Oriented Behavior of Agricultural Product Buyers and Sellers

It is not painless to adjust the demand and supply of agricultural products. The difficulty is that these adjustment measures that we have discussed earlier are not directly related to price or market. Those measures change the demand and supply of agricultural products either via fiscal or credit policies or via certain adjustments to the system(such as establishing land savings banks or farm servicing companies). If farmers lack the willingness and motivation to increase scale of production, or they are not interested in changing the structure of raw materials or consumption, or they believe such changes are too costly and bring in low returns, any measure that the government undertakes to change the supply and demand of agricultural products will not be effective at all. In other words, if the buyers and sellers of agricultural products are all only focused on their short-term interests and have no idea of how their short-term interests are related to government measures devised to adjust the demand and supply of agricultural products, it will be impossible for them to operate their businesses following the adjustment goals that the government sets for demand and supply. They probably care less about their long-term interests. In this way, we can easily understand why government regulatory measures are not so effective.

Now we have a question: What kind of regulatory measures should the government apply to guide the buyers and sellers of agricultural products so that they can turn their attention to their long-term interests instead of focusing only on their short-term interests? Basically, whether a microeconomic unit (an enterprise or a person) acts in its long-term interests or not is dependent upon three conditions: Does it have a clear development goal when it engages in economic activities? Is it motivated internally to realize the predetermined development goal? And is it likely to realize the predetermined development goal with its own efforts? On the contrary, if a microeconomic unit does not have a business development goal and only

cares about its short-term interests, or if it is not motivated and believes that its development goal has nothing to do with itself, or if it loses confidence in the long-term prospect or has inconsistent expectations, believing that it will be impossible to realize the development goals regardless of how hard it tries, it will inevitably focus on its short-term interests or ultra-short-term interests. In our discussions on current Chinese agriculture and its development, we will first of all analyze the real situations of agricultural product suppliers from the perspective of the three conditions discussed above that are critical to microeconomic units' long-term-oriented behavior.

(a) The Development Goal of Economic Activities

Here, the most important issue is the determination of the development goal for agricultural product suppliers. Producing agricultural products is just a way to realize their development goal. We cannot regard the development goal of agricultural product suppliers simply as farming, feeding poultry, and providing the market with agricultural products. If they understand that producing agricultural products is making contribution to society, we can regard their development goal as making larger contribution to society. If they believe that producing more agricultural products will bring more income, improve their standard of living, and create more wealth, we can regard increasing material wealth as their development goal. If these two beliefs (social responsibility and material wealth) are combined, the development goal will be more meaningful. Anyway, if the development goal is determined, agricultural product producers will clearly know what they need to do. However, currently, such a goal has become quite vague. Social responsibility is thought to be too general to be a development goal, and material wealth is thought to be unrealistic because, in real life, producers of many other products may create more material wealth than those of agricultural products do. Therefore, many agricultural product producers are more and more unclear about their development goals.

(b) The Motivation to Achieve a Predetermined Goal

Without a development goal, there is no point in discussing motivation. In the circumstance where many agricultural product producers are more and more unclear about their development goals, it is difficult to believe that agricultural product producers are fully motivated, especially in terms of committing additional investment to increase the supply of agricultural products. Of course, this does not mean that they are not motivated at all to do any business. That they do not care about increasing the supply of

agricultural products only indicates that they lack the motivation in this regard. Although pursuing short-term interests can also be considered a "goal," it is not the same as the development goal of economic activities. Because of lack of motivation, any government adjustment measure, be it fiscal, credit, or others, will fail to induce agricultural product producers to adapt their business activities to the intention of the government.

(c) The Confidence in Realizing the Development Goal Through Hard Work

This issue is similar to the motivation problem that we have just discussed. If the development goal is unclear and motivation is insufficient, what is the point of discussing the confidence in realizing the development goal? It is not difficult to find an explanation for behavioral shortsightedness among agricultural product producers. What we need to discuss is as follows: Even though some agricultural product producers may have their own development goals and prepare to increase the supply of agricultural products to realize their goals, can they really do so by working hard on their own? Admittedly, their confidence is low. In the circumstance where the market is underdeveloped and resources are in short supply, agricultural product producers may not necessarily reach their goals by working hard on their own. As their confidence wanes, so do their efforts to increase the supply of agricultural products. Therefore, it will be difficult for the government to fulfill its plan of increasing the supply of agricultural products by means of various adjustment measures.

The above analyses are based on behavioral shortsightedness from the perspective of agricultural product producers. Next, let us look at agricultural product buyers. Let us simplify the categories of agricultural product buyers and classify them into two groups, enterprises and individuals. When the market is not fully developed and enterprises lack the constraint of self-interest and business budget, it is impossible for any enterprise to come up with a development goal, let alone the motivation and confidence to realize that goal. Therefore, it is not easy for an enterprise to cut its purchases of agricultural products as raw materials by adjusting the structure of its raw materials and lowering its production costs. With enterprise shortsightedness, agricultural product buyers will surely care about their short-term interests only. As for individual agricultural product consumers, we cannot deny that they are not free to change their consumption structure, especially food structure, when their income is relatively low. On the other hand, they will

not likely change the way they directly or indirectly purchase agricultural products in response to government measures, because the market is not fully developed, resources are in short supply, and personal expectations are not stable. In other words, unstable personal expectations determine that individual agricultural product consumers only care about their shortterm interests.

These situations can be described as the irregularity of the relationship between government regulation and the demand and supply of agricultural products.

8.2.2 The Optimal Scale of Agricultural Production

One important issue in our research on agricultural disequilibria in China is to find out how to resolve the behavioral shortsightedness of the buyers and sellers of agricultural products. Although the behavioral shortsightedness of agricultural product buyers is closely related to the alleviation of the mismatch between the demand and supply of agricultural products, it is not the primary task we need to deal with in agriculture. The real difficulty we are facing is how to overcome the shortsightedness of agricultural product producers and to increase the supply of agricultural products. It is necessary to provide the producers with a clear development goal and necessary motivation to realize the development goal and to build their confidence in realizing the predetermined development goal through their hard work. Apparently, these are the points that we need to focus on to resolve agricultural issues.

To agricultural product producers, the issue of land ownership and right of use is directly linked to the goal, motivation, and confidence we have discussed. If we can come up with an appropriate proposal for land ownership and right of use according to the actual situations in China, it will not only help motivate agricultural product producers to produce goods but also change the behavior of agricultural product producers and direct them to be more long-term oriented. Now, can we establish private land ownership? Some foreign scholars who propose privatization of land ownership believe that private land ownership can enhance the motivation of agricultural product producers to increase inputs into the land and motivate them to care about their personal properties, harvests, and land, thus leading to higher production. I disagree with this proposal. Public land ownership has been in place for years in China, and people from all walks of life have accepted the

concept of public land ownership. If China were to abolish public land ownership and adopt private land ownership, social disorder would arise with detrimental consequences, especially in rural areas. In addition, private land ownership certainly brings forth the issue of land owners selling their land at will, which would damage agricultural productivity and intensify social conflicts. Moreover, should land ownership be privatized, land owners would care about and preserve their land and cultivate their land with meticulous care, but we cannot rule out the possibility that some land owners profit from land purchases and sell or use their land to engage in some nonagricultural activities. Isn't this behavior also shortsighted? Therefore, we must discuss how to overcome the shortsightedness of agricultural product producers under public land ownership. At the current stage, we can maintain status quo in rural areas, i.e., collective land ownership, and maintain the household responsibility system based on collective land ownership. As for land ownership system in the future, we can imagine the following scenario: First of all, all land inside the People's Republic of China shall be declared as owned by the state at a certain point of time in the future, and a state land commission shall be established to monitor and manage all land in the country, disallowing any encroachment of the land that belongs to the whole nation. Meanwhile, a regulation on land occupancy and utilization under public land ownership shall be promulgated, which would specify that the state is the owner of all land and designate a particular occupier and user to every piece of arable land in the agricultural sector. These specific land occupiers and users are microeconomic units engaging in agricultural production (farmers or agricultural enterprises). The state has the ownership of all arable land in the agricultural sector. A microeconomic unit that specifically occupies and uses a piece of arable land can use, transfer, or leave the land to its successor. As for land transfer or lease, any microeconomic unit (a farmer or agricultural enterprise) that occupies and uses land has no right to determine on its own the transfer or lease of land to another user who intends to use the land for nonagricultural purposes, nor does it have the right to transfer or lease the land to a foreigner because the owner of land is the state and the "transfer" that we are discussing hereby is applicable to the right of use, so is "lease" or "successor." In addition, when a microeconomic unit transfers the land to another land user who intends to use the land for agricultural purposes, it must register with relevant land management agency—the State Land Commission—who represents the

owner of land, records the transfer, and pays certain charges (such as land transfer fees).

Due to the clarification of public land ownership, the property right of land is clearly defined as far as ownership is concerned. Any microeconomic unit that uses land for agricultural purposes can use it for a long term and transfer the right of use to its successor, as long as state ownership of land is not encroached and rule of law on land management is not violated. As a result, microeconomic units will care about land more than before, and land utilization efficiency will increase significantly. Most importantly, it will direct agricultural product producers to be more long-term oriented.

With the long-standing public land ownership and the long-term use of land by microeconomic units, economies of scale in agriculture will make noticeable headway. Keep in mind that it is very difficult to achieve economies of scale with the collective land ownership and the household responsibility system currently in place, not only because land is dispersed and farmers do not have a clear understanding of economies of scale but also because farmers behave in a shortsighted manner without much care about the land or even lack personal interest in economies of scale. Therefore, only a few pilot programs with voluntary participation requirement are currently carried out in a few regions to test agricultural production on an optimal scale. If we could adopt the occupier and user system under public land ownership in the future, arable land would be relatively centralized via leasing or transferring land, and farmers, as they care more about land, would be more interested in agriculture and motivated to engage in optimal agricultural production in various forms(including various degrees of cooperative production). As a result, the trend of balanced demand and supply of agricultural products would become more and more obvious.

贰　农产品供求均衡的趋势

一、农产品供求双方行为的长期化

对农产品供求的调节不是没有困难的。困难在于：以上讨论中所提到的调节方式都是价格以外和市场以外的措施，它们或者通过政府的财政政策、信贷政策来导致农产品供求比例发生变化，或者以一定的体制方面的调整（如土地储蓄制度的建立、代耕代收公司的建立等）作为导致农产品供求比例变化的前提条件。如果农业生产者自身缺乏扩大生产经营规模的志愿和积极性，或者，如果农产品需求者对于改变原料结构、消费结构等不感兴趣，或认为这些改变的成本偏大和收益偏低，那么无论政府采取何种方式来改变农产品的供求都不易收到显著的效果。换句话说，假定农产品的供给者和需求者双方的行为都是短期化的，都认为政府所采取的调节农产品供求的措施与自己的近期利益之间的关系不明确，那么他们很可能不会按照政府预定的调节的供给和需求的目标去安排自己今后的经济活动；至于长期利益究竟如何，他们可能很少关心，这样，政府调节的效果不明显也就不言自明了。

摆在我们面前的一个问题是：通过什么样的政府调节措施，才能导致农产品供给者和需求者克服行为短期化的倾向，才能促成他们的行为的长期化？从根本上说，一个微观经济单位（不管它是企业还是个人）的行为长期化取决于三个条件，这就是：微观经济单位在从事经济活动时要有明确的发展目标；微观经济单位在争取实现自己确定的发展目标时要有内在的动力；微观经济单位在通过自己的努力走向预定的发展目标时，要感到自己是有希望通过努力而实现这一目标的。反之，如果微观经济单位在从事经济活动时没有任何发展目标，而只顾眼前的好处；如果它们本身没有动力，从而认为实现发展目标与否与自己没有什么关系；如果它们对前景失去信心，或预期是紊乱的，即认为不管怎么努力也不可能使发展目标实现，那么行为的短期化，甚至超短期化，都将是不可避免的。在探讨当前我国农业的现状与发展趋势时，让我们就上述三个有关微观经济单位行为长期化的条件，首先结合农产品供给者的实际情况来进行分析。

第一，关于经济活动的发展目标。

这里最重要的是农产品供给者的发展目标的确定，农业生产者提供农产品，只不过是他们为实现自己的发展目标所必需的手段。不能简单地认为农业生产者的发展目标就是种地、饲养家禽家畜、向市场提供农产品。如果说他们认识到提供农产品是在为社会做贡献，那么他们以多做社会贡献作为自己的发展目标。如果说他们认为多提供农产品可以增

加收入，改善自己的生活状况，使自己变得富裕起来，那么就是以物质利益增长作为发展目标。假定这两者（即社会责任与物质利益）是结合在一起的，那么发展目标的内容将更加充实。但不管怎样，只要有一个发展目标，农业生产者就会明确自己将朝什么方向努力。但在现阶段，这样的目标至少已变得含糊不清。社会责任，作为发展目标而言，被认为流于空泛。物质利益，作为发展目标，又被认为不切实际，因为现实生活中，从事农产品供给以外的其他许多经济活动的物质利益很可能大大超过提供农产品所获得的物质利益。于是对于不少农业生产者来说，发展目标变得越来越不确定了。

第二，关于实现预定目标的动力。

没有发展目标，动力问题将无从谈起。在农业生产者的发展目标越来越不确定的前提下，很难认为他们提供农产品（尤其是追加投入以增加农产品供给）的动力是充足的。当然，这并不是说农业生产者从事任何经济活动都没有动力。如果他们不关心增加农产品的供给，只表明他们缺少这方面的动力。尽管他们对眼前利益的追逐也可以被视为他们要达到“目标”，但这与经济活动中所要实现的发展目标不是一回事。正由于动力的不足，所以无论政府采取财政、信贷或其他调节措施，农业生产者不可能以调整自己的经济活动的方式来适应政府的意图。

第三，关于通过努力来实现发展目标的信心。

这个问题与上面所谈到的动力问题是相似的，这就是：如果连发展目标都不明确，连动力都是缺乏的、不足的，那么还谈什么实现发展目标的信心呢？农业生产者的行为短期化不难由此得到解释。现在需要说明的是：即使某些农业生产者有了自己发展的目标，并准备通过增加农产品供给来实现这一目标，但究竟能不能依靠自己的努力而使这一目标得到实现呢？应当说，信心是缺乏的。在市场不完善和资源短缺等情况之下，农业生产者不一定能使自己的努力取得相应的成果，这样，随着他们的信心的减弱，他们在增加农产品供给方面所做的努力也会减弱。政府指望通过各种调节措施来促使农业生产者增加供给的意图也就难以实现。

以上是从农业生产者的行为短期化的角度来分析的。下面，再从农产品需求者的角度进行探讨。现在把农产品需求者简化为企业与居民两类。在市场不完善和企业本身缺乏利益的约束、预算约束的条件下，企业不可能有自己的发展目标，也缺乏争取实现这一目标的动力和信心。因此，企业难以通过调整原料结构和降低成本的途径来减少对农业提供的原料的购买量。企业本身的行为短期化决定了企业作为农产品需求者的行为短期化。至于居民作为农产品需求者，那么一方面，在居民普遍收入水平仍然较低的情况下，居民改变消费结构，特别是改变食物结构

的有限性是无法否认的，另一方面，由于市场不完善和资源的短缺，居民的预期很不稳定，因而他们有可能不按政府调节措施所预定的那种方式来改变自己对农产品的直接或间接购买。换言之，居民本身的预期的紊乱决定了居民作为农产品需求者的行为短期化。

这一切都可以被称为当前我国农产品供求与政府调节之间的关系的不规则性。

二、农业的适度规模经营

关于我国农业非均衡状态的理论研究的一个重要问题是如何解决农产品供求双方的行为短期化。农产品需求者的行为短期化，虽然与农产品供求矛盾的缓和也有密切的联系，但这主要不是在农业中要解决的任务。真正的难点在于克服农产品供给者的行为短期化。根据前面所论述的，为了使农业生产者克服行为短期化，增加农产品的供给，有必要使他们具有明确的发展目标，具有为实现这一目标所必需的动力，以及具有通过自身努力而使预定的发展目标得以实现的信心。看来，要解决农业问题，应当由此着手。

对广大农业生产者来说，与目标、动力、信心直接联系在一起的是土地的占有与使用问题。如果能够根据我国的实际情况制定适宜的土地占有与使用方案，将有利于扭转农业生产者对供给农产品的积极性不足的状况，使他们的行为转向长期化。那么，能不能建立土地私有制呢？主张建立土地私有制的国外一些学者认为土地私有可以使农业生产者增加对土地投入的积极性，使他们关心自己的财产和经营成果，爱惜土地，扩大生产。我是不同意这种主张的。在我国，土地已经公有化多年，社会各界都已经树立了土地公有的观念，如果废除土地公有，变为土地私有，社会的动荡不安、特别是农村的动荡不安将带来十分不利的后果。加之，土地私有必然涉及土地私有者可以根据自己的意志出售土地的问题，而个人任意出售土地，必然导致农业生产力的破坏，导致社会矛盾的加剧。而且，土地私有化以后，固然有的土地私有者会爱惜地力，保养土地，精耕细作，但不能排除这一事实，即也有一些土地私有者从事土地买卖以牟利，或以私有的土地从事与农业无关的活动，这不也是一种行为短期化吗？因此，我们必须在坚持土地公有的基础上讨论克服农业生产者行为的短期化问题。在现阶段，我们可以维持农村土地集体所有制的现状，维持集体土地所有制基础上的家庭联产承包经营的制度。但未来的土地制度究竟如何，我们不妨作如下的设想：首先，在将来的适当时候，宣布中华人民共和国国境内的一切土地均归国家所有，成立国家土地委员会，监督、管理全国的土地，不容许土地这一属于全国人民的财产受到侵占。与此同时，宣布实行土地国有化之下的土

地占有与使用的制度。这是指：土地所有权归于国家，农业中每一块耕地则有具体的占有者与使用者，这些具体的土地占有者与使用者就是从事农业生产的微观经济单位（农户或农业企业组织）。国家拥有这些农业土地的所有权，具体地占有并使用某一块农业土地的微观经济单位，虽然可以使用它，转让它，并可以把它传给自己的继承人，但由于土地所有权属于国家，因此这里所谈到的“转让”是指对使用权的转让，这里所谈到的“出租”或“继承”，也是指对使用权的“出租”或“继承”。而且，即使以“转让”和“出租”而言，由于土地归国家所有，所以占有并使用土地的任何微观经济单位（农户或农业企业组织）无权自行决定把土地转让或出租给非农业的土地用户，也无权自行决定把土地转让或出租给外国人。此外，当这些微观经济单位在把土地转让给农业的土地用户时，要在作为国家土地所有者的代表——国家土地委员会——下属土地管理机构办理过户手续，并缴纳一定的费用（土地转让费等）。

由于确定了土地国有制，因此土地的财产关系在所有权这一层次上被明确了。一切使用农业土地的微观经济单位只要不侵犯国家对土地的所有权，不违背国家的土地管理法规，就有权长期使用土地并把使用权传给继承人。于是使用土地的微观经济单位对土地的关切程度将大大提高，土地的利用效率也将大大提高，更重要的是，这将导致农业生产者行为的长期化。

在土地国有化和微观经济单位长期使用土地的基础上，农业的规模经营将有较大的发展。要知道，在目前的土地集体所有和家庭联产承包经营的条件下，规模经济实际上很难收效。这不仅由于土地过于分散和农民对规模经营的意义还不够了解，而且由于农民的行为短期化，对土地的关切程度低，以至于对规模经营缺乏兴趣。因此目前只可能在少数地区，通过自愿协议，进行适度规模经营的试点。将来，如果实行了土地国有化条件下的占有与使用土地的制度，通过土地的出租与转让，耕地可以相对集中，并且由于农民对土地的关切程度增加了，他们经营农业的积极性提高了，以各种方式（包括不同程度的合作经济形式）形成的适度规模经营也必定会推广开来，这样，农产品供求的均衡趋势也将变得日益明显。

Chapter 9　Establishing the Order of the Socialist Commodity Economy第九章　社会主义商品经济秩序的建立

9.1　ESTABLISHING THE ORDER OF THE SOCIALIST COMMODITY ECONOMY: NECESSITY AND DIFFICULTY

9.1.1　The Connotation of the Order of the Socialist Commodity Economy

As we discussed in Chap. 1 of this book, the socialist economic system can be classified into three types, the traditional economic system, the dual-track economic system, and the new economic system. Among these three types of economic system, the traditional economic system is the product economy. The economic order under the traditional economic system is classified as the order of the product economy. The dual-track economic system is the transitional stage when the traditional economic system and the new economic system overlap and coexist. At this time, the order of the product economy is still largely in place, and the order of the commodity economy that is compatible with the new economic system has not been fully established. To put it differently, the order of the commodity economy is still in its infancy. The new economic system established after economic reforms will be the socialist commodity economy, and the compatible economic order is the order of the socialist commodity economy.

The economic order is a set of rules that people must follow in economic activities. Once the economic order is established, people can act accordingly and avoid economic disorder. All kinds of conflicts may emerge in the economy, but they can be reconciled and resolved in accordance with these

agreed-upon rules. On the contrary, if the economy were out of order and economic activities were not following certain rules, people from all walks of life would lose confidence in the future of the economy, feeling that they would do business in an extremely uncertain environment without any protection of expected profits or even of their personal properties, which would surely lead to shortsightedness. The shortsightedness is applicable to not only enterprises but also individuals, the government, and society. In the absence of an economic order, economic chaos or even social turmoil would be inevitable.

In this sense, any society or era calls for an economic order to regulate personal behavior so that people can carry out economic activities in an orderly way. Even having the order of the product economy, which was not conducive to economic growth, is better than having no economic order at all. In other words, what troubles people most in economic activities is the absence of rules. Without rules, expectations of business activities cannot be stabilized. In that case, people may even think that any type of economic order will do, even one that is not ideal, because having something is better than having nothing.

China is currently under the dual-track economic system. Although the economy is not totally out of order, the real situation is that the order of the product economy still reigns partially, and the order of the commodity economy is still in its infancy. The existence of the dual-track economic system and the dual-track economic order (with one outdated but not totally retired and the other compatible with the commodity economy yet in its infancy) is not only very abnormal but also detrimental to the economy. This can be partially blamed for stagnation, inflation, and stagflation as well as resource misallocation. Therefore, it is an important task for us to establish a set of rules as soon as possible to regulate economic behavior, ones that are conducive to the development of the commodity economy and consistent with the coming new economic system, i.e., the order of the socialist commodity economy.

9.1.2 The Order of the Socialist Commodity Economy and the Furthering of Economic Reforms

It is necessary to establish the order of the socialist commodity economy, not only because it provides people with a set of rules to follow during business transactions and prevents people from developing behavioral

shortsightedness in business activities due to lack of stable expectations, but also because it is critical to the furthering of economic reforms and to the transformation from the dual-track economic system to the new economic system.

The new economic system that we are about to establish is one in which an enterprise as a microeconomic unit makes its own business decisions and is responsible for its profits and losses. Apparently, the order of the commodity economy is compatible with the new economic system. After the new economic system is established, the order of the commodity economy will control all economic activities. This should not be questionable. Here, we should point out that the reason why we emphasize the establishment of the order of the commodity economy is not only to prepare for the new economic system in the future, but more importantly, to accelerate the transformation from the dual-track economic system to the new economic system through establishing the order of the commodity economy so as to terminate the order of the product economy as well as the product economy itself in a relatively short period of time. In other words, establishing the order of the commodity economy represents a step forward to some degree, and establishing a series of rules can accelerate the development of markets and the formation of a mechanism under which enterprises pursue selfgrowth and exercise self-control.

As we know, the economy was in a state of disequilibrium under the traditional economic system and so is the economy under the dual-track economic system. Even after the new economic system is established, there will be signs of resource supply constraints, indicating that economic disequilibrium has not disappeared despite somewhat declining intensity of disequilibrium. In support of a relatively smooth transition from the dual-track economic system to the new economic system under disequilibrium conditions, economic reforms need to go further in at least the following three aspects: (1) furthering the enterprise reform and transforming the enterprises that have not severed from their affiliation with government institutions into goods producers who make their own business decisions and are responsible for their own profits and losses; (2) furthering the reform of the planning mechanism so as to reach rationing equilibrium in the commodity market; and (3) transforming government functions, including separating the function of the government as asset owner and regulator of the economy and having the government gradually use economic regulatory

measures to regulate the economy.

Furthering economic reforms in these aspects facilitates the establishment of the order of the commodity economy and the transformation from the dual-track economic system to the new economic system. In terms of the first aspect we discussed above, asset ownership will be standardized so that the economic and legal status of enterprise can be changed and they can be directed to serve the market. In terms of the second aspect, the relationship between planning and market will be specified, and some rules on the relationship among government, market, and enterprise will be set up so that government and market can fully function during resource allocation. As for the third aspect, the most important task is to clarify government functions and set up certain rules for the government to adhere to as the asset owner and the regulator of the economy. In summary, if we start establishing the order of the commodity economy while under the dual-track economic system, it is unlikely for us to complete the task during the same period, but it is conducive to accelerating the transition from the dual-track economic system to the new economic system.

9.1.3 The Relationship Between Order Establishment in the Socialist Commodity Economy and Institutional Innovation

The establishment of any economic order calls for the consolidation of a set of principles via institutions. The form of institutions reflects economic order. The institutions hereby mentioned are discussed in a broad sense. They include not only the mechanisms that are established by the legislature but also certain norms that were established by culture and tradition. The establishment of a new economic order means the termination of an old economic order. A new economic order is represented by new institutions. Therefore, the replacement of the old economic order by a new one is the replacement of old institutions by new ones. We have every reason to believe that the establishment of the order of the socialist commodity economy can be called a series of institutional innovations.

Institutional innovation is the transition from the old institutions to the new institutions. The order of the product economy, which is compatible with the product economy, is represented by a series of traditional institutions. We can use the relationship between government, market, and enterprises to illustrate the features of the traditional institutions under the order of the product economy.

(a) The Relationship Between Government and Enterprises

To meet the needs of the product economy, the government supervised enterprises. Enterprises were controlled by the government in terms of staff, capital, and assets and became the affiliated entities of various government institutions. Enterprises had no rights to make business decisions, let alone take responsibility for profits and losses. All of these have been consolidated by relevant institutions.

(b) The Relationship Between Enterprises and Market

In the product economy, the market was not only limited in terms of coverage but also unauthentic in terms of nature. Business transactions between enterprises were conducted outside the market. Even though some business transactions were conducted inside the market, the real market did not exist as transaction counterparties lacked other alternatives. All of these are also reflected by the various institutions established during the time of the product economy.

(c) The Relationship Between Government and Market

This relationship has also clearly demonstrated that the market was controlled by the government, as has been confirmed by various institutions applied in the product economy. The government dominated the market. Not only that, but the government also directly controlled and manipulated the market as a complete monopoly. The government obtained all the resources it needed not only from various sources outside the market but also from the market that is under its control.

This is the order of the product economy validated by its institutions. Although the institutions that established the order of the product economy came into being on a gradual basis, some introduced as laws and some not as laws, they had guaranteed that the economy could run in a proper manner in the product economy. Currently, if we wish to establish the order of the socialist commodity economy, the very action we need to take is to replace the traditional institutions with new ones. Whether it is about the relationship between government and enterprises, or between enterprises and market, or between government and market, we need new institutions to reflect the order of the commodity economy compatible with the system of the commodity economy. Without these institutional innovations, the establishment of the order of the commodity economy would be no more than empty talk. Therefore, it could be said that the establishment of the order of the commodity economy is no other than institutional innovation that reflects the

establishment of such a new economic order.

9.1.4 Difficulties in Establishing the Order of the Socialist Commodity Economy

The transition from old institutions to new ones has always been difficult. This is because institutions represent the special interest of a group, a class, or a stratum. The transition of institutions is the transition and reallocation of interests. Even though old institutions may have been outdated for a long time, they will not disappear; new institutions may be able to raise productivity, but the birth of new institutions will encounter many difficulties. All of these are linked to adjusting and reallocating interests. Of course, people may ask this question: Take China as an example, why was it relatively easy to establish the product economy and the economic order compatible with the system in the 1950s, while it was fairly difficult to establish the commodity economy and the corresponding economic order in the 1980s? Since the establishment of a new economic order is in fact a series of institutional innovations, why was the institutional innovation in the 1950s easier than in the 1980s? This is a very interesting question. We have to admit that there are some other reasons, besides the important roles of the adjustment and reallocation of interests that we just discussed.

Next, we will compare the transition of the economic order and the change of institutions during the 1950s and 1980s from five different perspectives:

First of all, China completed the transition from an extremely underdeveloped commodity economy to the product economy during the 1950s.

Because the commodity economy was extremely underdeveloped, it was much easier to transform from the commodity economy to the product economy and establish the corresponding economic order. On the contrary, the Chinese economy transformed from a highly developed product economy to the commodity economy in the 1980s. Because the product economy had been well developed, it was more difficult for the economy to complete its transition into the commodity economy and establish the economic order.

Secondly, the transition from the commodity economy to the product economy during the 1950s had mainly relied upon administrative orders.

History has demonstrated that a series of policies initiated from the top and executed by each level of government institutions in the 1950s, including

centralized purchases and sales of goods in rural areas and centralized rationing of goods in urban areas, managed to establish the order of the product economy within a fairly short period of time. When the product economy started its transition to the commodity economy in the 1980s, the central government was no longer able to enforce from top-down similar policies that distorted the balance among production, distribution, and sales. In addition, it must allow enterprises and rural producers to develop a self-control mechanism and pursue self-growth in the marketplace and straighten out various economic relations during the natural evolvement of markets. As a result, it was a slow and natural process going from the dissolution of the order of the product economy to the establishment of the order of the commodity economy.

Thirdly, the product economy has an obvious feature compared with the commodity economy, i.e., the existence of various rigidities.

Keep in mind that because the market under the commodity economy is fully developed or almost fully developed, not only price is elastic, so are wage, interest, rent, and employment. Meanwhile, the status of enterprises as well as their management positions are also flexible and can be changed if necessary. The elasticity or flexibility energizes economic activities in the commodity economy. The product economy, however, was drastically different. In the product economy, price was rigid, so were wage, interest, rent, and employment. Moreover, the status of enterprises and their management positions were not flexible. Once an enterprise was established, it would go on almost forever. Even though it was unprofitable and unable to cover operating expenses, it could still go on unless its administrative institution decided to shut it down. Despite being shut down, enterprise management and permanent employees would not lose their jobs, and their salaries would not be cut either. The management would likely be assigned to similar positions elsewhere, and workers would likely be relocated to another place. This particular type of rigidity, compared to all other types of rigidities, is the one that is most unlikely to energize the economy, which can be termed "enterprise rigidity." It is because of the various rigidities in the product economy, especially "enterprise rigidity," that have caused many problems during the transition from the product economy to the commodity economy. The institutional innovation in this regard was much more difficult than that during the transition from the commodity economy to the product economy.

Fourthly, if we compare the net interest before and after institutional innovations, we can see that they are very different when the commodity economy transitioned to the product economy versus when the product economy transitioned to the commodity economy.

The net interest we are talking about refers to the total benefit net of related costs. Keep in mind that in initiating any institutional innovation, the initiator and undertaker (who can be an individual, a group, or government) of such institutional innovation will always expect the net interest to be greater than zero. Otherwise, it will not be necessary to perform the institutional innovation. But the question is: What are the criteria for the measurement of net interest from an institutional innovation, how can it be calculated, and most importantly, who is the recipient of net interest? When the commodity economy was transformed into the product economy during the 1950s, it was the government who initiated and undertook the institutional innovation. No one else was able to do that. The government must have believed that net interest was obviously larger than zero and that it would receive all net interest. The government could utilize all resources available to do whatever it wanted to do. When the product economy was transformed into the commodity economy during the 1980s, the government was still the primary entity that initiated and undertook the institutional innovation. In other words, it assumed the leadership role, among all entities, to initiate and undertake the institutional innovation. However, how large was the net interest of the institutional innovation? Who received the net interest? Could the government obtain resources from the net interest and use them to develop various projects? The answers to all these questions are not clear. We can draw a conclusion only by taking a look at the process of the institutional innovation as well as the actual situations during the establishment of the order of the commodity economy. Thus, the government who initiated and undertook the institutional innovation was not as decisive and resolute in developing policies during the transformation of the product economy to the commodity economy as in deciding to break away from the commodity economy and establish the product economy. We can expect the government to have hesitant moments during a certain period of time.

Fifthly, for all other entities who initiated and undertook institutional innovation (except the government), their roles in and attitudes toward an institutional innovation were quite different when the commodity economy was transformed into the product economy compared with when the product

economy was transformed into the commodity economy.

When the commodity economy was transformed into the product economy, the government was the true sponsoring entity of the institutional innovation, and the other entities did not actually exist, or the other entities (such as enterprises and individuals) simply listed their names as initiators and undertakers of the institutional innovation while as a matter of fact they did not act as initiators or undertakers at all. Therefore, when the commodity economy was transformed into the product economy, the relationship among all these entities that participated in the institutional innovation was simple—the government called the shots. All the other entities, except the government, did not act as sponsors and thus had no say in institutional innovation decisionmaking or implementation. However, when the product economy was transformed into the commodity economy, the government, despite being the primary entity of the institutional innovation, was no longer the only sponsoring entity. All these entities worked with the government to initiate and implement the institutional innovation. Hence, the relationship between the government and all other entities was much more complicated. This is because some of a series of rules that constituted the order of the commodity economy were proposed and implemented by enterprises and individuals who participated in market activities, and in the meantime, normal market activities also relied upon various agreements or contracts between these enterprises and individuals. In other words, every enterprise or individual who participated in market activities is a proactive factor that contributed to the establishment of the commodity economy, contrary to the product economy in which they were simply passive entities. Since the establishment of the commodity economy and its economic order was the result of voluntary actions taken by all entities participating in the institutional innovation, including government, enterprise, and individual, it was impossible for these entities to have no conflicts or differences at all. Therefore, to some degree, this sheds some light on why the process of establishing the commodity economy was not as smooth as that of establishing the product economy.

These analyses fully demonstrate that the task of establishing the commodity economy and the economic order compatible with the commodity economy in a highly developed product economy will be difficult and requires a relatively long time to accomplish the goal. However, as long as the economy is on its way of transition from the product economy into the

commodity economy, the trend will be irreversible and the institutional innovation cannot be stopped. The current challenge for our economists is not to study the necessity of institutional innovation, but mainly to analyze how to minimize the difficulties involved in institutional innovation so that a new economic system and economic order can be established relatively smoothly.

壹　社会主义商品经济秩序建立的必要性和困难

一、社会主义商品经济秩序的含义

根据本书第一章所述，社会主义经济体制可以分为传统经济体制、双轨经济体制和新经济体制三种类型。在这三类经济体制中，传统经济体制是产品经济体制，这种体制之下所形成的经济秩序是产品经济秩序；双轨经济体制是新旧经济体制的交叉、并存的过渡状态，这时，产品经济秩序仍然在某种程度上被维持着，而与新经济体制相适应的商品经济秩序则尚未完全建立，或者说，只是处于产生的过程中；而通过经济体制改革以后所建立的新经济体制，将是社会主义商品经济体制，同它相适应的经济秩序是社会主义商品经济秩序。

经济秩序是指人们在经济活动中所遵循的一定的规则。经济秩序建立了，人们都按照这些规则来行动，就可以避免出现经济中的混乱。即使经济中出现了各种各样的矛盾，人们也能够按照既定的规则来加以协调，作出处理。反之，如果经济缺乏秩序，经济活动是不规范的，社会各阶层的成员都对经济活动的前景失去信心，人人都感觉到自己是在一个极不确定的环境中进行活动，感觉到预期的利益、甚至财产本身没有保障，于是必定会出现行为的短期化。这不仅是指企业行为的短期化，而且包括个人行为的短期化、政府行为的短期化、社会行为的短期化。在缺乏经济秩序的情况下，经济的混乱，以至社会的动荡不安，都难以避免。

从这个意义上说，任何社会，任何时代，要使人们的经济活动正常化，都需要有一定的经济秩序作为人们行动的规范。哪怕是不利于经济发展的产品经济秩序，也比没有任何经济秩序的情况要好。换言之，经济生活中最使人们苦恼的，是无章可循，无规则可依；由于无章可循，无规则可依，人们在经济活动中没有稳定的预期，这样，人们甚至希望有任何一种经济秩序，哪怕是很不理想的经济秩序，因为这毕竟优于无经济秩序。

当前，处于双轨经济体制之下的我国经济，虽然不是毫无经济秩序可依，但实际生活中存在的，却是不完全的产品经济秩序和刚刚处于产生过程中的商品经济秩序。双轨经济体制与两种经济秩序（其中一种是过时的，但尚未退出经济领域，一种是与商品经济发展相适应的，但刚开始建立）的存在，不仅很不正常，而且对经济有害。“滞”、“胀”、“滞胀”以及资源配置的失调等等，都可以从这里找到

部分的解释。因此，摆在我们面前的一项重要任务就是尽快建立适应商品经济发展的、适应即将建立的新经济体制的一套经济行为的规则，即建立社会主义商品经济秩序。

二、社会主义商品经济秩序与经济改革的深化

社会主义商品经济秩序之所以有建立的必要性，不仅在于这将使人们在经济活动中有章可循，有规则可依，从而避免因缺乏稳定的预期而导致的经济行为短期化，而且在于这是深化经济改革，也就是促进由双轨经济体制向新经济体制的转变所不可缺少的。

我们所要建立的新经济体制，是一个以自主经营、自负盈亏的企业作为微观经济单位的经济体制。商品经济秩序显然适应着这样的新经济体制。在新经济体制确立之后，存在于经济生活中并发挥作用的只可能是商品经济秩序。关于这一点，是不会引起疑问的。但在这里应当指出，当前之所以强调建立商品经济秩序，并不仅仅是为了同今后的新经济体制相适应，同样重要的是为了通过商品经济秩序的逐渐建立而加速由双轨经济体制向新经济体制的转变，使产品经济体制以及与之相适应的产品经济秩序较快地退出经济领域。这就是说，商品经济秩序的建立具有一定的超前性，通过一系列规则的建立可以加速市场的发育，加速企业的自我成长、自我约束的机制的形成。

正如我们已经了解的，在传统经济体制之下，经济处于非均衡状态；在双轨经济体制之下，经济也处于非均衡状态；即使在建立新经济体制之后，只要资源供给约束继续存在，那么这只表明经济的非均衡程度有所减轻，但经济的非均衡状态并未消失。在非均衡条件下，要让经济较顺利地由双轨经济体制过渡到新经济体制，至少要在以下三个方面深化经济改革。这三个方面是：第一，使企业改革深化，把尚未摆脱行政机构附属物地位的企业改造为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者；第二，使计划体制改革深化，以便较好地实现商品市场的配额均衡；第三，使政府职能有较大的转变，包括使政府作为资产所有者的职能同政府作为经济管理者的职能分离，并且使政府的经济管理逐步转向运用经济调节手段的管理。

建立商品经济秩序主要从这些方面来深化经济改革，促进由双轨经济体制向新经济体制转变。就上述第一个方面来说，使产权规范化，将改变企业的经济和法律地位，使企业转向为市场生产。在上述第二个方面，明确计划与市场之间的关系和确立政府、市场、企业三者之间关系的若干规则，就有可能使政府与市场在资源配置中的作用都得到比较充分的发挥。而在上述第三个方面，主要是明确政府的职能，为政府作为资产所有者和作为经济管理者的行为建立一定的规范。总之，在双轨经

济体制时期就着手建立商品经济秩序，尽管不可能在这一时期内就使这一任务完成，但这对于早日从双轨经济体制过渡到新经济体制是有积极意义的。

三、社会主义商品经济秩序的建立与制度创新的关系

任何经济秩序的建立都需要用制度形式把一定的原则巩固下来。经济秩序体现在制度的成式上。这里所说的制度，有着较广泛的意义，即不仅包括国家立法所确立的制度，也包括民间约定俗成的若干规范。新的经济秩序的建立，意味着旧的经济秩序的消亡。新的经济秩序用一套新的制度来表现自己，因此，新的经济秩序对旧的经济秩序的代替，就是新的制度对旧的制度的代替。我们完全有理由把社会主义商品经济秩序的建立称作一系列制度创新。

制度创新是新旧制度的更替。同产品经济体制相适应的产品经济秩序是体现在一系列传统的制度之上的。我们不妨从政府、市场、企业三者之间的关系来说明这种体现着产品经济秩序的传统制度的特征：

1．政府与企业之间的关系。为了适应产品经济体制的要求，政府是企业的主管者。企业在人、财、物各方面都受政府支配，成为政府所属各个机构的附属物。企业没有自主经营权，更谈不上自负盈亏了。这一切都由一定的制度巩固下来。

2．企业与市场之间的关系。在产品经济体制之下，不仅市场的范围极其有限，而且市场从性质上看也不是本来意义上的市场。企业与企业之间的经济活动，或者不通过市场进行，或者，即使通过市场进行，由于交易双方都缺乏可供选择的机会，所以市场是名不副实的。这些也体现在产品经济体制时期所建立的各种制度之上。

3．政府与市场之间的关系。这种关系同样清晰地表明了在产品经济体制之下采用制度形式所巩固下来的市场从属于政府的关系。政府是市场的主宰者，这还不够，政府还以高度垄断者的身份直接操纵着市场，支配着市场。政府不仅从市场以外的各个方面获得了它所需要的资源，而且也从它所操纵、支配的市场中取走了它所需要的资源。

这就是用制度巩固下来的产品经济秩序。尽管这些用来确定产品经济秩序的制度是逐渐形成的，并且有些以法律形式出现，有些并不以法律形式出现，但它们是以保证产品经济体制下的经济按照一定的方式运转。当前，要建立社会主义商品经济秩序，正是需要通过制度的更替，用新的制度来置换传统的制度。无论在政府与企业的关系上，在企业与市场的关系上，还是在政府与市场的关系上，都需要有新的制度来体现与商品经济体制相适应的商品经济秩序。如果没有这种制度创新，商品经济秩序的建立无非是一句空话。因此，可以这样说，商品经济秩序的

建立与体现着这种新秩序的建立的制度创新是同一回事。

四、社会主义商品经济秩序建立的困难

新旧制度的变更从来都是艰难的。这是因为，任何一种制度都代表着一定集团、一定阶级或阶层的利益，制度的变更过程同时也就是利益的调整过程和利益的再分配过程。旧制度虽然早已不合时宜，但却迟迟没有消失；新制度尽管符合生产力发展的要求，但它的产生却困难重重，这些全部与利益的调整和利益的再分配有关。当然，人们也许会提出一个疑问：比如说，以我国的情况来看，当初，50年代初期，为什么产品经济体制以及与此相适应的产品经济秩序的建立比较顺利，比较容易，而80年代内，为什么商品经济体制以及与此相适应的商品经济秩序的建立却那么困难呢？既然建立一种经济秩序就是一种制度创新，为什么50年代内的制度创新同80年代内的制度创新相比，难易程度会很不一样呢？这是很有意思的问题，应当承认，除了前面已经提到的利益调整和利益再分配因素起着重要作用以外，这里还有另外的原因。

下面，准备从五个不同的角度对50年代内和80年代内经济秩序的变更和制度的更替问题进行比较：

第一，50年代内，我国是从当时很不发达的商品经济体制转入产品经济体制的。

正是由于商品经济很不发达，因此当时转入产品经济体制和建立产品经济秩序要容易些。而80年代内，我国则是从高度发达的产品经济体制转入商品经济体制的，正因为产品经济已高度发达，因此转入商品经济体制和建立商品经济秩序相形之下要困难得多。

第二，50年代内，从商品经济体制转入产品经济体制主要有赖于行政力量的运用。

历史表明，50年代内，主要依靠政府自上而下地推行一系列旨在实行产品经济体制的政策（如农村的统购统销，城市的物资统配等），使产品经济秩序得以迅速建立。而在80年代，当经济从产品经济体制向商品经济体制过渡时，不仅不能再依靠政府自上而下地推行类似的扭曲产供销关系的政策，而且必须让企业和农村的生产者在市场中有自我发展、自我制约的可能性，必须让市场在自然发育过程中理顺各种经济关系，这样，从产品经济秩序的消失到商品经济秩序的建立只可能是一个缓慢的、自然发展的过程。

第三，与商品经济体制相比，产品经济体制具有一个明显的特点，即经济中存在着各种刚性。

要知道，在商品经济体制之下，由于存在着完善的或接近完善的市场，不仅价格是有弹性的，从而工资、利息、租金、就业是有弹性的，

并且企业本身的地位和企业领导人的职务也是灵活的、可变的。这些弹性或灵活性、可变性使商品经济体制之下的经济活动具有充分活力。然而产品经济体制与此截然不同。在产品经济体制之下，价格是刚性的，从而工资、利息、租金、就业也具有刚性。不仅如此，企业本身的地位和企业领导人的职务也都没有灵活性。企业一经建立，几乎就注定要永久存在。即使是亏损的、入不敷出的企业，除非主管部门让它关闭，否则它将一直照常经营下去。而且，即使它被主管部门下令关闭了，从企业领导人直到固定工的职务仍被保留着，收入也不可能减少，企业领导人可能是易地做官，工人则可能易厂劳动。这种刚性是一切刚性中最难以使经济具有活力的刚性，我们不妨称之为“企业刚性”。正由于产品经济体制之下存在着种种刚性，尤其是这种“企业刚性”，所以从产品经济体制转入商品经济体制的道路绝不是顺畅的。这一制度创新所遇到的阻力要比从商品经济体制转入产品经济体制大得多。

第四，从制度变更前后纯利益的对比来看，由商品经济体制转入产品经济体制同由产品经济体制转入商品经济体制是不一样的。

这时所说的纯利益，是指收益减去成本之后的余额。要知道，在进行任何一种制度创新时，倡议这种制度创新和从事这种制度创新的主体（这里可以指个人或团体，也可以指政府）总是考虑到预期纯利益将大于零，否则就会认为不必进行这种制度创新。但问题在于：制度创新的纯利益用什么标准来衡量，如何计算，特别重要的是，这些纯利益归于谁。50年代内，当经济从商品经济体制转入产品经济体制时，倡议并从事这一制度创新的主体就是政府，并且只可能是政府，它认为预期纯利益显然大于零，而且纯利益是归于政府的，政府可以利用所得到的资源从事自己所希望从事的各种事业。80年代内，当经济从产品经济体制转入商品经济体制时，政府仍然是倡议并从事这一制度创新的主体，或者说，在倡议并从事这一制度创新的各个主体中，政府居于首要位置。然而，这一制度创新的纯利益究竟有多大，纯利益究竟主要归于谁，政府能否通过这一纯利益的获得而掌握可以用于各种事业的资源，这些都是不确定的。只有根据制度创新本身的进程和商品经济秩序建立过程中的实际情况，才能对这些作出判断。这样，对于倡议并从事这一制度创新的政府来说，在有关走出产品经济体制和进入商品经济体制的政策选择中，必然不像当初摆脱商品经济体制和建立产品经济体制时那样果断，那样敢于决策。政府的迟疑、犹豫在一段时间内可能是难免的。

第五，再以倡议并从事制度创新的其他主体（即政府以外的主体）来说，在商品经济体制转入产品经济体制时的情况下与产品经济体制转入商品经济体制时的情况下，政府以外的其他主体所起的作用以及它们对待制度创新的态度是很不一样的。

在商品经济体制转入产品经济体制时，只有政府是制度创新的真正的主体，其他主体实际上并不存在，或者，其他主体（如企业与个人）只是挂了个制度创新的倡议者或从事者的名义，实际上丝毫不起主体的作用。于是在商品经济体制转入产品经济体制时，制度创新主体之间的关系是简单的，一切听命于政府这个主体，其他主体由于不起主体的作用，当然也就影响不了制度创新的决策与推行了。但在产品经济体制转入商品经济体制时，虽然政府依然是主要的制度创新主体，但它已经不是惟一的主体了，政府以外的其他主体同样起着倡议制度创新和从事制度创新的作用，于是政府同其他主体之间的关系变得复杂多了。这是因为，在构成商品经济秩序的一系列规则中，有些是依靠参加市场活动的企业和个人提出和实行的，市场活动的正常化也依靠企业和个人之间达成各种协议，订立各种合同来实现。也就是说，参加市场活动的每一个企业和每一个个人都是建立商品经济体制的积极因素，而不像在建立产品经济体制时它们只是被动的一方。既然商品经济体制的建立、从而商品经济新秩序的建立是包括政府、企业、个人都在内的所有的制度创新主体的自觉行动，因此这些主体之间的冲突与不协调也就是难免的。商品经济秩序建立过程之所以不像产品经济秩序建立过程那样顺畅，由此也可以得到一些解释。

以上所分析的这些充分说明，在产品经济高度发达的情况下，要建立商品经济体制以及与之相适应的商品经济秩序，任务是艰巨的，时间也必定是较长的。但只要走上了从产品经济体制转变为商品经济体制的道路，经济的这一前进趋势就已经难以逆转，这一制度创新也已经势不可挡。摆在我国经济学界面前的课题已经不仅仅是论证这一制度创新的必要，而主要是分析如何才能减少制度创新中的困难，使新的经济体制、新的经济秩序的建立较为顺利。

9.2 INTEREST ADJUSTMENT DURING THE PROCESS OF ESTABLISHING THE ORDER OF THE COMMODITY ECONOMY

9.2.1 The Expected Net Interest of Various Institutional Innovation Sponsors

In the previous section, we discussed that when the order of the commodity economy was established, different institutional innovation sponsors assessed their own net interest and came up with their own estimate of net interest they could receive from the institutional innovation so that they could decide on how to participate in the institutional innovation. Now we will be looking at institutional innovation from a different perspective—that of three types of entities: government, enterprise, and individual.

1. The Government Acting as an Institutional Innovation Sponsor During the Process of Establishing the Order of the Commodity Economy

During the transition from the product economy to the commodity economy, we need to establish the order of the commodity economy, which includes specifying property rights, setting out transaction rules and regulations for various markets, clarifying the roles of various economic departments of the government, and institutionalizing and standardizing government behavior. After the new economic order is established, the government will be highly capable and efficient. It will no longer directly manage enterprises. Instead, it will regulate the market via economic adjustment measures and use laws, regulations, and policies to maintain normal operations in the marketplace. This is drastically different from the roles of the government in the product economy and the net interest that the government received from the order of the product economy.

In the product economy, the government could obtain as many resources as possible by all means and control the maximum amount of resources provided by society during each period in history. The net interest that the government receives after the commodity economy is established is certainly lower. With property rights clarified and enterprises retaining a portion of

their income, the government can only impose taxes as the regulator and receive its own share of income as an investor. The government cannot obtain all the resources it wants by fiscal means or by printing money. Establishing the order of the commodity economy, in a sense, serves as a sort of restriction over the approaches that the government can use to obtain resources as well as over its share of resources. As discussed above, the government, as an institutional innovation sponsor, was sometimes hesitant and indecisive, due to lower expected net interest from the institutional innovation.

But there is another side of the story. If the government had ever been hesitant, such hesitation would have been unnecessary. From the dynamic perspective, the government's expected net interest would not decrease, but instead increase if the commodity economy were established. This is because the development of the commodity economy and the new economic order will energize the market and generate significant growth in enterprise and personal income. As a result, we expect the government to gain higher tax revenues as the regulator and higher investment income as an investor. The comment that expected net interest of the government would decrease is merely based on a static interpretation of the decrease in the government's share of total revenues. The upward trend in total revenues is neglected.

We should not consider the restrictions over the approaches that the government adopts to obtain resources and the share of resources obtained after the order of the commodity economy is established a bad thing detrimental to the government. Unrestricted utilization of resources by the government may allow resources to be allocated to inappropriate areas and lead to low efficiency, zero efficiency, or even negative efficiency. On the other hand, it may impede market activities and discourage enterprises and individuals from participating in market activities. In addition, if government behavior (including obtaining resources) were not restricted, the government itself and its officials might be corrupted.

2. Enterprise Acting as an Institutional Innovation Sponsor During the Process of Establishing the Order of the Commodity Economy

What does the order of the commodity economy really mean to enterprises? Basically, it means two things: One, property rights will be normalized; two, transactional activities will be market-oriented and contract-based. As one of the institutional innovation sponsors that establish the order of the commodity economy, enterprise expects its net interest to be greater than zero. The expected positive net interest derives from the

abovementioned two aspects.

After property rights are normalized, investors of an enterprise (including a state-owned enterprise) will become the owner of its assets. The portion of investment made by the state shall be owned by various asset supervisory institutions of the state, whereas the portion of investment made by the enterprise itself shall be owned by such institutions as enterprise foundation. The management of an enterprise has the right to manage its assets. As a result, all enterprises will become goods producers who make their own business decisions and are responsible for their profits and losses. An enterprise is a legal entity and all enterprises are legally equal. The relationship between an enterprise and the government that invested in the enterprise is one between an investee and an investor. The relationship between an enterprise and the government as the regulator is that the enterprise must abide by the law and pay taxes in accordance with relevant rules and regulations. Enterprises' expected net interest will increase in three ways: First, enterprises only pay taxes pursuant to relevant rules and regulations. They are no longer liable for other obligations such as fees, contributions, or allocated charges, nor do they accept any assignment from their administrative institutions. Second, enterprises can take advantage of its capital accumulation and allow assets to appreciate and income to grow. Third, enterprises can take advantage of their accumulated capital to set up business alliance with other enterprises, participate in equity ownership in other enterprises, and establish conglomerates. In summary, normalizing property rights will definitely increase enterprises'net interest.

For every enterprise, market-oriented and contract-based transactional activities are critical to ensuring the steady growth of revenues. In terms of production and sales activities, enterprises will always react to expected prices, expected profitability, and expected interest rate. Without market transactions, contractual protection, and equitable solutions to transactional disputes, enterprises will not maintain stable expectations, which may cause corporate shortsightedness, and in the meantime transaction cost will also increase, lowering enterprises' real income. It is for this reason that enterprises, as institutional innovation sponsors that establish the order of the commodity economy, will proactively participate in institutional innovation activities to execute market-oriented and contract-based transactions, as they are closely related to raising their expected net interest.

Therefore, we can reach this conclusion: If enterprises were neither able

to make their own business decisions nor to take responsibility for their profits and losses in the product economy, no institutional innovation at that time could bring higher expected net interest to enterprises, and enterprises were destined to be passive in an institutional innovation. On the contrary, after the product economy is transformed into the commodity economy, enterprises, in anticipation of higher net interest, will propose and endorse any institutional innovation that normalizes property rights and supports market-oriented and contractbased transactions. The reason is obvious and self-explanatory.

3. Individual Acting as an Institutional Innovation Sponsor During the Process of Establishing the Order of the Commodity Economy

As one of the institutional innovation sponsors during the process of establishing the order of the commodity economy, individual functions in the following three ways:

First of all, as workers, individuals are obviously directly related to establishing the order in the labor market, and the development of market-oriented and contract-based activities in the labor market also influences the expected net interest of every member of the labor force. Therefore, individuals or any group that represents workers will not only actively support the establishment of the order of the labor market and the institutional innovation in this regard, but also make significant contributions to substantiating the new economic order.

Secondly, individuals are suppliers of capital, or savers, who are directly related to establishing the order of the capital market. What concerns people most is the absence of the protection of interest income or even principal after funds are transferred. Individuals are also afraid of fraudulence or breach of contracts in the capital market. Should these incidents happen, people would no longer be willing to offer their money as capital. Therefore, the progress of market-oriented and contract-based activities in the capital market influences everyone's expected net interest. Individuals request that certain institutional innovations in the capital market and the new economic order be established. They function as the originator and supporter of the institutional innovation.

Thirdly, individuals buy goods. As consumers, they are also directly related to the order of the commodity market. Because of the varying degrees of resource supply and demand constraints under disequilibrium conditions, we can often see either shortages or excess of commodities. Especially in the

circumstance of commodity shortages, individual consumers may worry about declining product quality and higher prices, and meanwhile, they are also concerned about monopolies in the market, all of which will hurt consumers. Therefore, as commodity buyers, individuals require that the institutional innovation and the new order in the commodity market be established to minimize losses and bring about higher expected net interest. Individuals actively call for and support the institutional innovation in the commodity market and become an important force that drives market-oriented and contract-based activities in the commodity market.

We can imagine that people's economic requests were suppressed or at least not taken seriously in the product economy. If there were any institutional change in the product economy, which served to consolidate the order of the product economy, individuals would be completely passive. Even though they clearly knew that an institutional change would infringe upon their real net interest or expected net interest, they could do nothing. Only when the product economy started to transform to the commodity economy will it be possible for individuals to actively participate in the institutional innovation to increase their expected net interest.

9.2.2 Conflict of Expected Net Interest Among Different Institutional Innovation Sponsors

Government, enterprise, and individual are institutional innovation entities during the process of establishing the order of the commodity economy. Each of these entities can use institutional innovation to increase their expected net interest. Generally speaking, the interests of government, enterprise, and individual are aligned. This statement has two implications: First, as long as the commodity economy grows and productivity increases, gross domestic product will increase. Even though government, enterprise, and individual keep their respective shares of total national income flat, their total interests will be higher. On the other hand, the interests of government, enterprise, and individual are coexistent and codependent. Should the interests of any one of them be hurt, the other two entities would not benefit in the long run. Many real cases in economic activities have demonstrated that the interests of these entities are aligned as stated. It is the alignment of the interests that drives government, enterprise, and individual to actively pursue the order of the commodity economy and to proactively propose, support, and execute institutional innovation during the process of

establishing the order of the commodity economy.

However, we have to admit that government, enterprise, and individual are different entities in the institutional innovation during the establishment of the order of the commodity economy. Hence, their expected net interest will conflict with each other. For example, as the fiscal relationship and government functions are clearly defined, a series of rules applicable to industrial and commercial administration, price, wage, tax, and auditing will be introduced, which will impose certain constraints on the behavior of each of them. Government, enterprise, and individual must follow the order of the commodity economy to estimate their expected net interest. They cannot fall back on the old order of the product economy. The expected net interest under the old economic order will differ from the one under the new economic order in amount, which brings about changes to expected net interest and results in interest reallocation among various groups of society. Here is another example: When the economic order is established in the capital, labor, and commodity market, enterprise can be the supplier, and individual can be the buyer in a certain market, or it can be exactly the opposite, with enterprise being the buyer and individual being the supplier. If it were under equilibrium conditions where every market had equilibrium prices, the market price were the equilibrium price, transactions were concluded only at the equilibrium price, and demand equaled supply, both suppliers and buyers would be able to realize their expected net interest, and the conflict of interest would not be very obvious or could even disappear. However, this is not the case in real life. Despite the establishment of the order of the commodity economy after the transition to the commodity economy is completed, the economy may still be in the state of disequilibrium, and the equilibrium price may actually be nonexistent in the market as long as there are resource supply or demand constraints. As a result, it is inevitable to see conflicts of expected net interest between enterprise and individual that function as the supplier and buyer in the marketplace. The establishment of the order of the commodity economy can only prevent any conflict of interest between suppliers and buyers from escalating, some nonmarket factors from excessively interfering with the interests of suppliers and buyers, and non-market-based transactions from causing excessive damage to the interests of suppliers or buyers, but it will not completely eliminate the conflict of interest between them. Under disequilibrium conditions, even if property rights are clearly specified, all

transactions are marketoriented and contract-based, and every market participant (enterprise or individual) is able to make its own business decisions and is constrained by its self-interest, there will be occasional commodity shortages or surpluses causing conflict of expected net interest between enterprise and individual. This will happen regardless of whether institutional innovation sponsors like it or not.

9.2.3 Conflict of Interest Between Various Types of Rigidity in the Economy and Institutional Innovation Sponsors

In our discussions on the difficulties of the transition from the product economy to the commodity economy, we have mentioned that "enterprise rigidity," together with some other types of rigidity under the product economy, such as wage rigidity, employment rigidity, and benefit rigidity, had made it very difficult for the economy to make the transition. To some extent, this is related to the conflict of interest between institutional innovation sponsors during the process of establishing the order of the commodity economy.

From the perspective of an individual who is a member of the labor force, a market-oriented and contract-based labor market meets the need of developing the commodity economy as well as his or her personal interest. On the other hand, because of the establishment of some new economic systems, e.g., enterprise employment system has been reformed and permanent employment has been abolished. Thus, enterprises are granted the rights to lay off or terminate their employees, and some workers' income will be lower compared to the past, thus widening income gaps among workers. Those workers who see their income rising at a lowered rate will be disappointed, and they may become a new obstacle to the institutional innovation in the labor market.

The problems do not end here. When the enterprise employment system is reformed, permanent employment is abolished, and layoff or termination is allowed, some workers will become unemployed in some circumstances, and conflict of interest between enterprises and workers will arise. Enterprises hope to eliminate unreasonable wage rigidity and employment rigidity by means of a series of institutional innovations. But workers (at least permanently employed workers) will normally try to maintain some wage rigidity and employment rigidity, which is reflected by a commonly known phrase: "Old rules apply to old people and new rules apply to new people."

This is another obstacle to the institutional innovation in the labor market. It is reflective of the conflict of interest not only between enterprises and workers but also among different groups of workers.

Let us take another look at the conflict of interest among enterprise, government, and individual during the innovation of tax institutions. This will also help illustrate the conflict among these different institutional innovation sponsors. To establish the order of the commodity economy, it is necessary to normalize taxation so that taxes are both reasonable and standardized, clearly specified in laws and regulations, and can be checked and monitored more easily. In this sense, the interests of government, enterprise, and individual are aligned. However, the attitudes toward the types of taxes, the level of tax rates, and penalties for tax evasion, tax omission, or late tax payment vary among government, enterprise, and individual. If we say that there are disagreements among these institutional innovation sponsors, these disagreements can be considered conflict of interest. We can take the analysis one step further by dividing the government into the central government and local governments; the separation of taxes collected by the central government and local governments as well as the allocation of some taxes between them reflect conflict of interest, as the central government and local governments are different institutional innovation sponsors, despite the fact that both of them support the reform of the tax system and the establishment of a new tax system to promote economic development and ensure growth in fiscal revenues.

As a matter of fact, conflict of interest during the innovation of tax institutions is related to the abovementioned "enterprise rigidity" as well as other relevant types of rigidity. Generally speaking, enterprises wish to do business under the commodity economy, and that they can make their own business decisions and take responsibility for their profits and losses gives them hope for a bright future. However, many enterprises are still unable to forget the product economy in which they are not held responsible for any loss, especially when they are under pressures from market competition. They feel that the old way in which the government took care of everything and eliminated the danger of bankruptcy may not be too bad after all. In the old way, enterprises did not care about what types of taxes the government levied or how high tax rates were. The conflict of interest in terms of taxes had been minimized. If enterprises are responsible for their own profits and losses and are subject to shutdown or bankruptcy risks in a new economic

environment, they will surely try to minimize taxes and fight for tax benefits in order to make up for any loss arising from the termination of the "enterprise rigidity." This is a clear conflict of interest between enterprise and government during the tax reform. In addition, as taxpayers, individuals will also consider their benefits from the "enterprise rigidity" and some of the other relevant types of rigidity. In the product economy with different types of rigidity, individuals paid almost zero taxes. Hence, there were no conflict of interest between government and individual in terms of direct taxes. When the economy completes the transition from the product economy to the commodity economy and the "enterprise rigidity" and some other relevant types of rigidity start to disappear, it is easy for people to understand that individuals begin to be sensitive about taxes, especially direct taxes. They start to feel uncertain about living necessities, for enterprises are susceptible to shutdown or bankruptcy; salaries can be suspended, discounted, or changed; employment is no longer stable; and benefits can be impacted. In such an environment, if direct taxes or some relevant measures are adopted, such as the requirement to file personal income tax and register personal properties, people may feel highly uncertain about the security of daily living, despite a relatively high minimum income required to file taxes. As a result, conflict of interest between government and individuals during the tax reform will be exposed.

In addition, we can also see conflict of interest between institutional innovation sponsors due to the "enterprise rigidity" and some other relevant types of rigidity in different areas, such as innovating financial or foreign trade institutions. Take credit as an example: should we lend to selected enterprises, or should we lend to enterprises with the purpose of saving them from bankruptcy, even when they are unprofitable? This represents the conflict of interest among government, banks, enterprises, and workers. Unprofitable enterprises definitely wish to keep the unreasonable "enterprise rigidity" and some other relevant types of rigidity, such as wage rigidity and employment rigidity, and so do the workers of unprofitable enterprises. Therefore, they all believe that banks should lend to unprofitable enterprises. As one of the entities undertaking the innovation of the financial system, banks will undoubtedly oppose that. As for the government, its attitude is rather complicated. From the perspective of the economy, the government believes that it is necessary for banks to issue loans on the basis of the profitability principle. From the perspective of society, however, it believes

that it is not inappropriate for banks to take care of unprofitable enterprises as well as their employees. The conflict of interest among the entities involved in the innovation of financial institutions certainly makes it more difficult to perform institutional innovation. It is the same with the innovation of foreign trade institutions. As the "enterprise rigidity" and some other relevant types of rigidity had been existent for a long time, we have encountered obstacles during the innovation of foreign trade institutions, which requires that specialized foreign trade enterprises be held responsible for their profits and losses and that export goods manufacturers freely participate in the competition in the international market, due to differences in profitability across various enterprises and different attitudes among their employees, despite the acknowledgment of the necessity to pursue institutional innovation by the government.

What we have discussed has once again revealed the difficulties in establishing the order of the commodity economy.

9.2.4 The Roles of the Government in Alleviating Conflict of Interest in Institutional Innovation

As the most important entity of institutional innovation during the process of establishing the order of the commodity economy, the government not only should play a role in alleviating conflict of interest during the process of the institutional innovation, but also has the capacity to do so. This is determined by the position of the government in the economy.

As discussed earlier, in the commodity economy, the government acts as the regulator to monitor and regulate the economy. The government also acts as an owner and investor to protect, own, and operate state assets. Besides, the government represents the interests of the entire nation. In other words, it is the representative of the country's interests and is responsible for reconciling the interests of the nation, collective groups, and individual persons. When the interests of these three parties are not aligned, the government should act out of national interest as well as out of long-term interests and reconcile any inconsistency that may arise. Of course, this does not mean that national interest can replace collective interest and personal interest, nor does it mean that the government can augment national interest by sacrificing collective interest and personal interest. To alleviate conflict of interest during the institutional innovation, the government must consider and reconcile the interests of these three parties.

How much can government do in this regard? We need to analyze this question in a realistic way. Generally speaking, government behavior cannot be idealized. After all, the government has limited information, its assessment of real situations may not be entirely consistent with the reality, and it is difficult for the government to prevent unexpected economic events from happening. What's more, the effectiveness of government policies lags and microeconomic units take precautionary measures. All of these issues may influence the government's efforts to alleviate conflict of interest during the institutional innovation. Therefore, the government cannot completely reconcile and simultaneously satisfy national interest, collective interest, and personal interest on its own. Nevertheless, the government should not feel relaxed. It is still able to work to alleviate conflict of interest to some extent during institutional innovation, which is demonstrated in the following ways:

1. A series of institutional innovations with regard to the establishment of the order of the commodity economy should be validated by laws and regulations. Although some of the innovations may not be complete or perfect enough at a certain time, having some institutions will be better than having no institution at all, and having some laws and regulations will be better than having no laws and regulations. During the process of formulating laws and regulations, the government should listen to all parties and select the best option. These laws and regulations should be reflective of national interest, collective interest, and personal interest at the same time.

2. After laws and regulations concerning the order of the commodity economy are established, even though such laws and regulations reflect national interest, collective interest, and personal interest, it is likely that one party may be neglected during the enforcement of these laws and regulations, causing conflict of interest among the institutional innovation sponsors. Therefore, the government should reinforce the monitoring and supervision of law enforcement so that national interest, collective interest, and personal interest can be effectively protected and that the order of the commodity economy can be established by gradually aligning the interests of the three parties.

3. The economic adjustment measures that the government takes can not only stabilize the economy and support economic growth but also ensure coordinated economic and social development. Simultaneously satisfying national interest, collective interest, and personal interest and alleviating conflict of interest during the process of developing the commodity economy

and the institutional innovation is one of the tasks that ensure coordinated economic and social development. Therefore, the government can consider actual economic situations and use appropriate economic adjustment measures pursuant to laws and regulations to avoid harming the interests of any of the three parties. This also demonstrates the role of the government.

4. During the process of the institutional innovation, the conflict of interest among institutional innovation sponsors not only refers to the battling of real interests but also includes the psychological discomfort arising from increasingly widening gap among these three entities. This means that if any one of the three interest groups (especially enterprise or individual) feels that its secured interest is not as much as that of the other groups or that its interest is not growing as fast as that of the other groups, it may come to the belief that it has incurred losses. It is hard to avoid the psychological discomfort during the process of establishing the order of the commodity economy. During any institutional innovation, it is impossible to guarantee that every interest group receive equal share of benefits, and hence it is difficult to prevent people from developing resentment or contradictory attitudes. In an attempt to resolve this issue, the government, as the superior economic regulator and the representative of national interest, should use ideological education and propaganda to help people gain a relatively correct understanding of different entities' interests as well as the interest gap among different entities so as to minimize the psychological discomfort. We should admit that these education and propaganda efforts by the government are better than nothing.

9.2.5 Adjustment of the Relationship of Various Institutional Innovation Sponsors' Interests

As lawmaker, law enforcement body, economic regulator, and economic administrator, the government can probably alleviate the conflict of interest among the institutional innovation sponsors during the process of establishing the order of the commodity economy. Nonetheless, we will have to mainly rely on market-oriented and contractbased transactions to adjust the interests of the institutional innovation sponsors. Even if the economy could be in disequilibrium after the traditional economic system and the dual-track economic system were terminated, i.e., the market could still be underdeveloped and the supply and demand of resources could be faced with multiple constraints during a certain period of time, the interests of the

institutional innovation sponsors could be naturally adjusted by business transactions as long as these transactions are market-oriented and contract-based. In addition, the results of the adjustment will also be accepted by both parties of a transaction. Therefore, to understand the meaning and function of market-oriented and contract-based transactions is critical to understanding the institutional innovation during the process of establishing the order of the socialist commodity economy.

Why can market-oriented and contract-based transactions play such a critical role in the adjustment of the interests of various entities? Why can't this role be assumed by the government? These questions can be answered from the following four aspects:

First of all, we have clearly learned from the functions of the market in allocating resources that the reason why various interests can be adjusted by market-oriented and contract-based transactions is the establishment of the market mechanism with fair competition.

Fair competition hereby discussed is in relative terms, for completely fair competition is impossible under disequilibrium conditions and equilibrium is only a theoretical assumption. For most Chinese enterprises and individuals, being able to set up a market mechanism with fair competition through the establishment of the order of the commodity economy is already quite impressive. With a market of relatively fair competition, every region, sector, and enterprise, except for extremely few that need special attention, is generally placed on a level field. They are standing on the same starting line. The situation in which some regions can receive favorable treatment or some sectors can obtain cheap supplies of raw materials and fuel or some enterprises are granted favorable prices will no longer exist. There is only one policy that is applicable to all market participants when they do business in the market. As a result, even if competition leads to income gap among market participants, the result will be acceptable to all.

Secondly, all market participants share a common benefit from market-oriented and contract-based transactions, i.e., they can have stable expectations for one another.

Keep in mind that the behavioral shortsightedness of enterprises, individuals, and the government as well as government officials can be traced back to the uncertainty of business prospects. Since the economic prospect is unpredictable, it is hard to prevent people from focusing on their near-term

interests. From the perspective of enterprises and individuals who conduct market transactions, the biggest loss incurred by transactions under volatile expectations will be their inability to effectively estimate costs and benefits, which may lead to missed opportunities for investment or profit or losses that could have been avoided. As a result, they may lose confidence in operating their businesses. If the order of the commodity economy were established, business transactions would be market-oriented and contract-based, and the losses would decrease significantly as transaction participants could develop relatively stable expectations. In the circumstance where expectations are relatively stable, the adjustment of various entities' interests is based on how each entity endeavors to minimize its avoidable losses. In other words, the way that various entities' interests are adjusted is traced to their investment decisions and strategic business plans after they effectively weigh costs and benefits.

Thirdly, market-oriented and contract-based transactions will lower transaction costs significantly, which means a higher expected net interest for every market participant (including enterprises and individuals).

Transaction costs refer to the costs of the services provided by service providers in market transactions. In addition to transportation cost, transaction costs also include information cost (or cost related to obtaining market information), contract negotiation cost (or negotiation cost associated with signing a contract), and contract execution cost(or cost associated with executing a contract). Transaction costs always vary with the size of the market. The more developed and complete the market is, the lower the marginal costs of information, negotiation, and execution will be. In other words, the average transaction cost for every unit tends to decrease as the size of the market increases and the market becomes more developed and complete. If a transaction is not conducted inside the market but done outside the market or a transaction is not conducted in the form of a contract and is not binding on both parties of the transaction, either an enterprise or an individual will be subject to higher transaction costs. Higher transaction costs are not only the direct losses of the enterprises or individuals involved in the transaction but also detrimental to the national economy. This is because the continuous decline in transaction cost is one of the factors that can contribute to economic growth and higher gross domestic product, and also, the adjustment of various entities' interests will be much easier during economic growth and growing gross domestic product than during stagnant gross

domestic product in a sluggish economy. This is the common benefit brought to the various institutional innovation sponsors by the lowered transaction costs through market-oriented and contractbased transactions.

Fourthly, in the circumstance where transactions are done in the market and based on contracts, the average rate of return from different investments tends to converge gradually as long as production factors are allowed to flow freely and property rights are clearly specified. This is another way to adjust the interests of various institutional innovation sponsors.

From a static perspective, conflicts may arise during the distribution of interests among various institutional innovation sponsors during the process of establishing the order of the commodity economy due to certain institutional or historical reasons. It is even likely that every entity believes it has not received enough interest and other entities have obtained too much interest. The conflict is hard to avoid. In a static economic environment, it is very difficult to transfer interest from one entity to another, unless the government uses some administrative adjustment measures. However, if the government were to use some administrative adjustment measures to do so, new conflicts would arise and another entity might be dissatisfied. From a dynamic viewpoint, any conflict of interest may tend to diminish as the average rate of return of investments for each entity converges. Market-oriented and contract-based transactions will allow production factors to flow freely and facilitate the convergence of average rate of return, which to some extent is fair to all institutional innovation sponsors. Of course, marketoriented and contract-based transactions will not eliminate any difference in the rate of return among different investors. The gap in average investment return may get even larger. In this case, can we ask whether this is contradictory to the convergence of average rate of return that we discussed earlier? Why can we believe the average rate of investment return is converging while the gap in investment return may widen on the other hand? As a matter of fact, they are not contradictory.

When we say that the average rate of investment return for each investor will tend to converge when transaction activities are marketoriented and contract-based, we refer to the general trend of cost integration, price integration, and revenue integration due to free circulation of production factors, including capital.

When we say that the gap in investment return for different investors will widen when transaction activities are market-oriented and contractbased,

we have considered the outcomes from the rise and utilization of new investment opportunities, the development of new industrial sectors, the application of new technologies, the establishment of new markets, and the adoption of new managerial styles, which are not contradictory to the convergence of the average rate of investment return for each investor. In many cases, these two scenarios represent two different stages of the same process. That is, after the gap in investment return widens among different investors, there is a certain period of time before the average investment return of different investors gets more or less the same. While the average rate of return for each investor is converging, new investment opportunities, new industrial sectors, new technologies, new markets, and new managerial styles will emerge, pushing the rate of return of various investors to widen once again.

The process of economic activities basically follows this pattern. Therefore, the conflict of interest among different institutional innovation sponsors will likely improve if transaction activities are market-oriented and contract-based. On the other hand, different investors will see their returns vary for various reasons, such as capturing new investment opportunities. Because widening returns among investors are related to the emerging and capturing of new investment opportunities, it is reflective of the existence and consequence of competition in the marketplace. It demonstrates a certain degree of fairness. Normally, market participants recognize and accept the consequences. In addition, as long as the economic order is established and competition is fair, any investor can take advantage of a new investment opportunity and pursue higher returns. The possibility of achieving higher returns is conducive to offsetting the psychological discomfort arising from the widening gap.

These four aspects have illustrated the roles that market-oriented and contract-based transactions play in adjusting the interests of different institutional innovation sponsors. These four aspects are actually correlated. They reveal one important issue: Since the conflict of interest among different institutional innovation sponsors is inevitable under disequilibrium conditions and the government is subject to certain constraints when adjusting the interests of different institutional innovation sponsors, it is necessary, both in theory and in practice, to mainly rely on the market to adjust the interests of these entities so that the conflict of interest among them can be somewhat alleviated.

贰　建立商品经济秩序过程中的利益调整问题

一、制度创新不同主体的预期纯利益

上一节中谈到了商品经济秩序建立过程中，制度创新的各个不同的主体都对制度创新的预期纯利益进行估计，各自从制度创新所能够带来的预期纯利益的大小作出判断，以决定在多大程度上参加制度创新的实践活动。在这里，可以先按政府、企业、个人三类制度创新主体的情况来论述。

（一）政府作为商品经济秩序建立过程中制度创新的主体

在从产品经济体制向商品经济体制转变的过程中，所要建立的商品经济秩序包括明确财产关系，建立各种市场的交易规则和制度，明确政府的经济部门的职能，使政府行为制度化、规范化等内容。在这些新的经济秩序建立后，政府将成为精干的、高效率的政府，它不再直接管理企业，而是通过经济调节手段来调节市场，并根据法律、法规和政策来维持市场的正常运转。这与产品经济体制下政府的作用和产品经济秩序建立后政府所得到的纯利益有很大区别。

在产品经济体制下，政府通过不同途径所获取的资源可以达到最大限度，并且可以在社会每个时期所提供的资源中占据尽可能多的份额。政府的这种纯利益在商品经济体制建立后，毫无疑问是会减少的，财产关系明确以后，企业将保留一定的收入，而国家只是作为管理者取得税金和作为投资者取得应当归于自己的那一部分收入。政府既不可能通过财政渠道，又不可能通过货币发行渠道而使自己得到所希望得到的一切资源。商品经济秩序的建立在某种意义上说是对政府获取资源的方式和份额的一种制约。正如前面已经提到的，在制度创新中预期纯利益的下降使政府作为制度创新的主体有时迟疑不决。

但问题还有另外一面。如果政府曾经有过犹豫的话，那么这种犹豫是不必要的。动态地看，政府预期纯利益在商品经济体制建立后，不仅不会减少，而且将会增加。这是因为，商品经济的发展和新经济秩序建立后市场活跃的结果，会使企业和个人的收入都有较大幅度的增加，从而政府作为管理者而得到的税金以及作为投资者所得到的收入在总量上的上升是可以指望的。所谓政府预期纯利益下降的说法，只不过是以静止的眼光来看待政府收入在总收入中的份额的减少，它忽略了总收入的不断增长的趋势。

至于商品经济秩序建立以后政府获取资源的方式和份额所受到的制

约，也不应该被看成是不利于政府的一件坏事。政府不受任何制约地获取资源，一方面会使资源运用不当，造成资源的低效率、无效率、负效率，另一方面也会使市场活动受到阻挠，使企业和个人的积极性大受挫折。此外，只要政府的行为（包括获取资源的行为）不受制约，那么政府及其工作人员很有可能走向腐败。

（二）企业作为商品经济秩序建立过程中制度创新的主体

对企业来说，与商品经济体制相适应的商品经济秩序，究竟意味着什么？归根到底，这意味着两点：第一，财产关系的规范化；第二，交易活动的市场化、契约化。企业作为商品经济秩序建立过程中制度创新的主体之一，它们的预期纯利益被估计为大于零，这种正值的预期纯利益就来自以上这两点。

通过财产关系的规范，企业（包括国营企业）的投资者就是资产的所有者，国家投资的部分由各级国家资产管理机构持股，企业自己的投资可以由企业基金会之类的机构持股，而资产的经营权则由作为经营实体的企业掌管。于是所有的企业都将真正成为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者。企业之间是平等的法人关系，企业与作为投资者的政府之间是投资关系，企业与作为管理者的政府之间则是企业遵纪守法，照章纳税的关系。企业的预期纯利益将从三个方面增大。一是企业不再承担所规定的纳税义务以外的缴纳、奉献、摊派，更不接受主管部门的平调任务；二是企业可以利用自己的积累，使资产增值，使收入增加；三是企业可以利用自己所形成的企业基金同其他企业联合，参股，建立企业集团等等。总之，财产关系的规范化必然增大了企业的纯利益。

交易活动的市场化、契约化对于一切企业来说都是保证收入稳定增长的条件。企业在产供销活动中，总是根据预期价格、预期利润率、预期利息率作出安排的。不通过市场的交易、没有契约作为保障的交易，以及缺少公正裁决的交易纠纷，不仅会使企业缺乏稳定的预期，从而导致企业行为的短期化，而且必然增大交易成本，使企业的实际收入下降。正因为如此，所以企业作为商品经济秩序建立过程中的制度创新主体之一，在交易活动的市场化、契约化等制度创新活动中，必然采取主动的、积极的态度。这是同企业预期纯利益的增加有密切联系的。

由此可以得出一个结论：如果说在产品经济体制之下企业不能自主经营、自负盈亏，从而当时的任何制度创新都不能使企业预期纯利益增大，企业注定处于制度创新的被动者地位的话，那么在由产品经济体制转入商品经济体制之后，任何制度创新只要是涉及财产关系规范化和交易活动的市场化、契约化的，企业出于增加预期纯利益的考虑，倡议并推动这些制度创新就是不言自明的道理。

（三）个人作为商品经济秩序建立过程中制度创新的主体

作为商品经济秩序建立过程中制度创新的主体之一，个人起着三方面的作用：

第一，个人作为劳动者，显然同劳务市场秩序的建立直接有关，劳动力供求市场化、契约化的进程影响着个人预期净利益的变动。因此，个人以及代表作为劳动者个人的利益的团体，在劳务市场秩序的建立和这方面的制度创新上，不仅起着积极倡议的作用，而且对于新的经济秩序能否巩固下来也有着十分重要的意义。

第二，个人作为资金供给者，即储蓄者，是同资金市场秩序的建立直接有关的，个人最担心的是个人资金提供以后，不仅收入没有保障，甚至本金也没有保证。个人还担心在资金市场上受欺骗，受愚弄，担心发生违约事件。如果出现这类情况，个人是不愿提供资金的。因此，资金供求的市场化、契约化的进程影响着个人预期净利益的变动。个人要求在资金市场上有一定的制度创新，建立新的经济秩序。个人在这种制度创新过程中起着倡议者和支持者的作用。

第三，个人作为商品购买者，即消费者，也同商品市场秩序的建立直接有关。在非均衡条件下，由于资源供给的约束和需求的约束都在不同程度上存在着，商品的短缺或过剩现象也是经常出现的。特别是在商品短缺的场合，个人作为消费者既要担心商品质量的下降和价格的上涨，又为市场上某些垄断现象感到不安，这些都会使个人受到损失。因此，个人作为商品购买者，要求在商品市场方面有制度创新，要求建立商品市场的秩序，以减少自己可能遭到的损失，使个人预期净利益增加。个人是商品市场制度创新的积极倡议者和支持者，他们是推动商品供求的市场化、契约化的重要力量。

可以设想，在产品经济体制之下，个人在经济方面的各种要求都是受压抑的，至少是不受重视的。在产品经济体制之下，如果说当时有各种各样的制度变动，以便巩固产品经济秩序的话，那么个人纯粹是被动的一方，他们即使明显地感觉到现实纯利益、预期纯利益受到侵害，他们也无能为力。只有在从产品经济体制向商品经济体制转变的过程中，个人才有可能并有兴趣为增加自己的预期净利益而积极参与制度创新。

二、制度创新中不同主体之间预期纯利益的冲突

政府、企业、个人分别作为商品经济秩序建立过程中制度创新的主体，各自可以通过这些制度创新而增加自己的预期净利益。从总体方面来说，政府、企业、个人的利益应当是统一的。这种统一有两层含义，即一方面，只要商品经济发展了，生产力水平提高了，整个国民生产总值扩大了，那么即使政府、企业、个人三者在总收入中的比例关系不变，三者的利益也都可以增加；另一方面，政府、企业、个人三者的利

益是相互依存，彼此互为条件的，任何一方的实际利益受到损害，从长远来看，对另外两方的实际利益都没有好处。经济生活中的大量事例证明了三者利益的上述一致性。正是这种利益的一致，使得政府、企业、个人都具有建立商品经济秩序和在这一秩序建立过程中倡议、推动、实现制度创新的积极性。

但必须承认，政府、企业、个人作为商品经济秩序建立过程中制度创新的不同主体，它们之间的预期纯利益是有冲突的。比如说，在明确财政关系和政府的职能的基础上所形成的一系列有关工商管理、物价、工资、税收、审计等制度，对于政府、企业、个人三者的行为都是一种约束，政府、企业、个人三者都必须根据商品经济秩序之下的经济行为来预计自己的纯利益，而不能再援引产品经济体制之下的旧例来预计自己的纯利益。前一种纯利益与后一种纯利益在数量上是有出入的，由此就会造成纯利益的变动，造成社会各方面的利益再分配。又如，当资金市场、劳务市场、商品市场上的经济秩序建立起来之后，企业和个人在某一个市场上，或者此方是供给者，彼方是需求者，或者恰恰相反，此方是需求者，彼方是供给者。如果是在均衡条件下，每一个市场都达到了均衡价格，市场价格是均衡价格，并且只有在均衡价格水平才成交，供给量与需求量总是相等的，那么无论是供给者还是需求者都可以实现自己的预期纯利益，彼此的利益冲突也就不明显，甚至可以消失。但实际情形并非如此，因为即使在转入商品经济体制，建立商品经济秩序之后，在资源供给约束或需求约束继续存在的条件下，经济依然处于非均衡状态，市场的均衡价格实际上也是不存在的。这样，在市场活动中，企业和个人作为供给和需求双方，预期纯利益的冲突也就不可避免了。建立商品经济秩序这一事实只是防止供求双方的利益冲突激化，防止市场以外的因素对供求双方之间的利益有过大的干扰，以及防止非市场交易给供求之间的某一方带来过大的损失，但并不能消除彼此之间的利益冲突。非均衡条件下，即使明确了财产关系，即使做到了一切交易活动的市场化、契约化，即使每一个参加市场交易的企业和个人都是自主的、有利益制约的，但商品短缺或过剩现象的存在势必使得企业和个人之间的预期纯利益发生冲突。这是不依制度创新主体的意愿为转移的。

三、经济中的刚性与制度创新主体的利益冲突

前面在论述由产品经济体制向商品经济体制转变的困难时，曾经提到产品经济体制之下的“企业刚性”以及与此有关的工资刚性、就业刚性、福利刚性等等，这些刚性的存在使经济体制的转变特别困难。这在一定程度上也同商品经济秩序建立过程中制度创新主体之间的利益冲突有关。

从个人作为劳动者这一点来看，一方面，劳动力供求的市场化、契约化固然符合商品经济发展的需要，符合广大劳动者增加利益的要求，但另一方面，由于企业用工制度的改革、劳动岗位终身制的废除，以及容许企业对工人的辞退等经济秩序的建立，必然会有一些劳动者的利益与过去相比增加得较少，而另一些劳动者的利益与过去相比增加得较多，于是劳动者的收入差距扩大了。收入增加幅度较少的劳动者将有一种相对的失落感，这将成为劳务市场制度创新的阻力。

问题还不限于此。当改革企业用工制度，废除劳动岗位终身制，容许企业辞退工人，以及在某些情况下工人将成为待业人员的时候，企业与工人之间的利益冲突也会暴露出来。企业希望通过一系列制度创新来消除不合理的工资刚性和就业刚性，但工人（至少是在职的固定工）却会提出在一定程度上继续维持工资刚性和就业刚性，通常所说的"老人老办法，新人新办法"反映了这种情绪。这又是劳动市场制度创新的阻力。它不仅反映了企业与工人之间的矛盾，而且也反映了这部分工人与那部分工人之间的矛盾。

再从政府与企业、政府与居民之间在税收制度创新中的利益冲突来说，这也有助于说明制度创新的不同主体之间的矛盾的存在。要建立商品经济秩序，就应当使税收合理化、规范化，并运用法律、法规形式使之明朗，使之易于受检查，受监督。从这一点来看，政府与企业、政府与居民的利益是一致的，但究竟征收哪些税，税率定得多高，对偷税、漏税、滞纳税金的处罚规定以多大为合适，这些都有可能引起政府、企业、居民的不同态度。如果说这些制度创新主体之间有分歧的话，那么这种分歧就可以被理解为利益的冲突。还可以作进一步分析。假定把政府分为中央政府与地方政府，那么尽管二者都主张改革税收制度，建立新的税收制度，以促进经济的发展和保证财政收入的增长，但在中央税与地方税的划分上，在某些税的分配比例上，中央政府与地方政府作为不同的制度创新主体，仍有利益冲突。

事实上，在税收制度创新过程中的利益冲突同前面提到的"企业刚性"以及其他有关的刚性是有关的。企业一般说来希望在商品经济体制之下进行活动，自主经营和自负盈亏使企业对自己的前景产生了希望。然而，不少企业仍然忘不了产品经济体制下那种"不负亏"的状况，特别是在市场竞争中受到压力的场合，这些企业感到以往那种一切由政府包下来，"不使企业倒闭"的做法未尝没有好处。如果真的维持过去那种状况，那么无论政府决定征收什么税，税率定得多高，企业是无所谓的。政府与企业在税收问题上的矛盾也就淡化了。而在企业自负盈亏，并且有倒闭、破产的威胁的新经济体制中，企业必然要力争少纳税，多得税收优惠，以弥补取消"企业刚性"之后所受到的损失。这就使企业同政府

在税收制度改革中发生了明显的矛盾。此外，居民作为纳税人，同样会考虑到“企业刚性”以及其他有关的刚性曾经给自己带来的好处。在存在着这些刚性的产品经济体制之下，居民几乎不缴纳直接税，因此政府与居民在直接税问题上几乎没有什么利益冲突。但当经济从产品经济体制转入商品经济体制，并且在“企业刚性”以及有关的其他刚性也随之逐渐消失的情况下，居民对税收（尤其是直接税）的敏感的产生是可以理解的。居民会由此感到生活保障的不确定性，这是因为，在企业可能倒闭、破产，工资可能停发、打折扣或变动，就业可能失去稳定性，福利也可能受影响的环境中，如果实行直接税制度以及与之有关的措施（如个人收入申报、个人财产申报等），尽管起征点并不低，但居民从心理上会认为这是生活保障不确定性的增加，于是政府与居民在税收制度创新过程中的利益冲突也会明显地暴露出来。

除此以外，在金融制度创新、外贸制度创新等方面，都可以看到“企业刚性”以及其他有关刚性所引起的制度创新主体之间的利益冲突。以信贷来说，究竟是择优放款给企业呢，还是“为了不让企业倒闭，即使企业无效益，也必须给它们以贷款”？这就是政府、银行、企业、工人之间利益冲突的具体表现。无效益的企业当然寄希望于不合理的“企业刚性”，无效益的企业的工人当然寄希望于不合理的“企业刚性”以及与之有关的工资刚性、就业刚性。于是他们全都认为银行应当向无效益的企业放款。银行作为金融制度创新的主体之一，无疑是不同意这样做的。至于政府的态度，则比较复杂。从经济的角度来看，它认为银行有必要根据贷款的效益原则来选择放款对象，而从社会的角度来看，它又认为银行未尝不应当照顾一下无效益的企业以及在这些企业中工作的职工。金融制度创新主体之间的这种利益冲突，势必增大了制度创新的难度。对外贸易制度创新所遇到的困难也是相似的。由于“企业刚性”和其他有关的刚性曾经长期存在，所以要建立完全从事外贸的企业自负盈亏的制度，或者要让一切生产可供外销的产品的企业自由参加国际市场的竞争，即使政府认识到这样做的必要性，企业的经济效益的差别以及不同企业中的职工的不同态度仍会使这一制度创新遇到阻力。

以上所说的这些，再一次反映了商品经济秩序建立的困难。

四、政府在缓和制度创新的利益冲突方面的作用

尽管政府作为商品经济新秩序建立过程中制度创新的主体之一，并且是最重要的主体，但在缓和制度创新的利益冲突方面，政府不仅应该发挥自己的作用，而且也能够发挥这样的作用。这是由政府在经济生活中所处的地位决定的。

前面已经指出，在商品经济体制之下，政府作为管理者，起着调节

经济和管理经济的作用；政府作为所有者、投资者，起着保护、占有和运用国家资产的作用。除此以外，政府作为全体人民利益的代表者，也就是国家利益的代表者，负有协调国家利益、集体利益与个人利益之间的关系的责任。三者利益不一致时，政府要从全体人民的根本利益、长远利益的角度出发，对这种不一致之处加以协调。当然，这并不等于说国家利益可以代替集体利益和个人利益，也不等于说政府可以运用有损于集体利益和个人利益的方式来增加国家利益。政府在缓和制度创新的利益冲突时，必须从兼顾三者的利益方面着手。

政府在这些方面究竟可以发挥多大的作用？关于这一点，需要进行实事求是的分析。总的说来，政府的行为是非理想化的。政府所掌握的信息毕竟有限，政府对实际情况的判断不一定与事实完全相符，政府还难以控制经济生活中若干意想不到的事件的发生，再加上政策效应本身的滞后性和微观经济单位的预防性措施的作用等等，这都不能不影响政府在缓和制度创新的利益冲突中所作的努力，国家、企业、个人三者利益的兼顾绝不是政府单方面的设想和努力就能完满地实现的。但即便如此，政府在这些方面的努力依然不能放松，政府通过自己的努力依然可能在缓和制度创新的利益冲突中起到一定的作用。这将通过以下途径表现出来：

1．与建立商品经济秩序有关的一系列制度创新，应当以法律、法规的形式巩固下来。尽管这些制度创新在一定时期内有不完善、不成熟之处，但有制度优于无制度，有法律、法规可依优于无法律、法规可依。在制定法律、法规的过程中，政府应当多方面听取意见，择其善者而采纳。这些法律、法规应当是国家利益、集体利益、个人利益的共同体现。

2．在制定与建立商品经济秩序有关的法律、法规之后，即使法律、法规本身是国家、集体、个人三者利益的体现，但在法律、法规执行过程中，却有可能忽视某一方的利益，从而造成制度创新不同主体之间的利益冲突。为此，政府应加强对法律、法规执行情况的检查、监督，使国家、集体、个人三者利益被有效地维护，使商品经济秩序得以在三者利益趋于协调的情况下建立起来。

3．政府所采取的经济调节手段不仅有维持经济稳定和促进经济增长的作用，而且也有保证经济与社会协调发展的作用。兼顾国家、集体、个人三者的利益，缓和三者之间在发展商品经济和制度创新过程中的利益冲突，就是保证经济与社会协调发展的一项内容。因此，政府可以根据经济生活的实际情况，在以法律、法规为准绳的前提下，通过适当的经济调节手段的运用，避免三者之中的任何一方的利益受到损害。这也充分体现了政府的作用。

4．在制度创新中，制度创新主体之间的利益冲突不仅指实际利益的冲突，而且也包括相对利益差距的扩大所引起的心理上的不协调。这就是说，三者之中的任何一方（尤其是企业或个人）如果感到自己所得到的利益没有另一方那么多，或者感到自己的利益的增长幅度没有另一方那么大，它就会认为自己是吃亏的一方，是受损失的一方。这种心理上的不协调在商品经济秩序建立过程中是难免的。任何一项制度创新都不可能使所有的受益者得到的利益完全相等，于是就难免引起某些方面的埋怨和抵触情绪。针对这种情况，政府作为高层次的经济调节者、全体人民利益的代表者，应当从思想教育工作、宣传工作上着手，使各方对于相对利益及其差距问题有比较正确的认识，以减少心理上的不协调。应当承认，政府进行这些教育、宣传要比不进行教育、宣传好得多。

五、制度创新不同主体之间利益关系的调整

政府作为法律、法规的制定者和执行者，作为经济调节者和管理者，固然有可能在商品经济秩序建立过程中缓和制度创新主体之间的利益冲突，但制度创新主体之间利益关系的调整，主要有赖于交易活动的市场化、契约化。即使经济在摆脱传统经济体制和双轨经济体制之后仍然处于非均衡状态，即在一定时期内仍然遇到市场不完善或资源供给约束、需求约束等限制条件，但只要实现了交易活动的市场化、契约化，制度创新不同主体之间的利益关系自然就会在交易活动中得到调整，而且这一调整的结果将是交易双方都可以接受的。因此，对市场化、契约化的意义和作用的认识，是了解社会主义商品经济秩序建立过程中制度创新问题的关键所在。

为什么市场化、契约化能够起到这样的作用？为什么市场化、契约化在调整利益关系中的作用是政府所不能替代的？让我们从以下四个方面来加以说明：

第一，根据市场在资源配置中的作用可以清楚地了解到，利益关系之所以能在交易活动的市场化、契约化中得到调整，是同公平竞争的市场机制建立有关的。

这里所说的公平竞争，当然具有相对的意义，因为绝对的公平竞争不仅在非均衡条件下难以实现，而且在均衡条件下也只可能是纯理论上的假设。对于我国的企业和个人来说，能够通过商品经济秩序的建立而建立起相对公平竞争的市场机制，已经相当不错了。假定有了相对公平竞争的市场机制，那么除了极少数地区、部门和企业需要享受特殊照顾以外，一般而言，各个地区、各个部门、各个企业被置于同等的位置上，起点将是公平的。那种只给某个地区以特殊的优惠，给某个部门以

廉价的原材料和能源供应，以及给某个企业以价格上的照顾等等情况，将不再存在。一种政策，对所有参加市场活动的单位都是适用的。这样，即使由于竞争的结果而产生利益上的差别，那么市场活动的参加者将认为是可以接受的。

第二，交易活动的市场化、契约化对于一切参加者说来，有一个共同的利益所在，这就是彼此全都可以有较稳定的预期。

要知道，企业行为的短期化、个人行为的短期化，以至于政府和政府官员的行为短期化都同经济前景难以预测有关。既然经济前景难以预测，那么行为的短期化也就不可避免。从参加交易活动的企业和个人的角度来看，在不稳定预期的条件下进行活动，最大的损失就是难以对成本与收益进行有效的估算，从而有可能错过适宜的投资机会、盈利机会，有可能在原来不应该遭受损失的场合受到损失，有可能导致经营信心的丧失。如果建立了商品经济秩序，使交易活动纳入市场化、契约化的轨道，那么随着交易参加者彼此较为稳定的预期的产生，这些方面的损失就有可能大大减少。在较为稳定的预期的前提下，利益关系的调整是与各方尽可能减少不应有的损失结合在一起的，也是与各方通过对成本与收益的有效估算而作出合理的投资、经营战略部署结合在一起的。

第三，通过交易活动的市场化、契约化，交易成本将会明显地下降，这对于每一个参加市场的单位（包括企业和个人）都意味着预期纯利益的增加。

交易成本是指在市场的交易活动中，因得到市场服务部门所提供的劳务而付出的成本。除运输成本以外，组成交易成本的还有信息成本（即为取得市场信息而付出的成本）、合同谈判成本（即为订立合同而进行谈判而付出的成本）、合同履行成本（即为了使合同实现而付出的成本）等。交易成本总是随着市场规模的变动而变动。市场越完善，越发展，每个企业为取得信息和订立、履行合同而付出的边际成本就越少。换言之，平均每个单位产品所担负的交易成本，随着市场规模的扩大和完善而呈递减的趋势。如果交易活动不采取市场交易的形式，而在市场外进行，或者，如果交易活动不采取契约的形式，而对于交易双方都不具有约束力，那么无论是企业还是个人都将为此付出较多的交易成本。这不仅对参加交易活动的企业和个人是直接的损失，而且对整个国民经济十分不利。这是因为，交易成本的不断下降是促进经济增长和国民生产总值增长的因素之一，而在经济增长和国民生产总值增长的格局中，利益关系的调整要比在经济停滞和国民生产总值不变的格局中容易得多。这就是通过交易活动的市场化、契约化而降低了的交易成本对制度创新各个不同主体的共同利益。

第四，在交易活动市场化、契约化的条件下，只要生产要素可以自

由流动，只要财产关系明确，那么单位投资的平均收益率就会有逐渐接近的趋势，这也是调整制度创新不同主体的利益的途径之一。

用静止的观点来看，商品经济秩序建立过程中，由于某种制度上的安排或由于某些历史上的原因，各个不同的制度创新主体之间在利益分配方面可能会有所冲突，甚至每一方都认为自己的利益较少，认为另一方的利益较多。这种冲突是难免的，但在静态的经济环境中，除非通过政府的某种经济调节，把这一方的一部分利益转移给另一方，否则很难调整利益关系。然而，如果真的按这种方式进行利益的调整，肯定又会产生新的矛盾，使另一方不满意。但用动态的观点来看，那些利益的矛盾是会在单位投资的平均收益率趋于接近的情况下渐渐缓和的。交易活动的市场化、契约化将促进生产要素的自由流动，也就是促进平均收益率的接近，这对于各个制度创新的主体来说，具有一定的公平性。当然，在交易活动市场化、契约化的条件下，不同投资者的收益差别始终存在着，而且收益的差别还会扩大。试问，这与前面提到的单位投资的平均收益率有接近的趋势这一点是不是抵触呢？为什么一方面认为单位投资的平均收益率有接近的趋势，另一方面又认为不同投资者的收益差别会扩大呢？其实，这是不抵触的。

当我们说在交易活动的市场化、契约化的条件下单位投资的平均收益率有接近的趋势时，这是就生产要素的自由流动（包括资金的自由转移）所产生的成本一体化、价格一体化、收益一体化的总趋势而言的。

当我们说在交易活动市场化、契约化的条件下不同投资者的收益差距会扩大时，则是考虑到新投资机会的出现和被利用、新产业部门的兴起、新技术的应用、新市场的占领，以及新的经营管理方式的推行等等所导致的结果，这与单位投资的平均收益率的接近并不矛盾。在许多场合，这两种情况代表了一个过程的两个不同阶级，即在不同投资者收益差距扩大之后，有一定的滞后期，然后进入收益一体化的阶段。而当单位投资的平均收益率接近时，又会有新投资机会、新产业部门、新技术、新市场、新经营管理方式的出现，于是再度出现不同投资者的收益差距扩大。

经济运动的过程基本上是按这种顺序进行的，因此一方面，制度创新不同主体的利益冲突在交易活动市场化、契约化条件下有可能得到缓和（这正是单位投资平均收益率趋于接近的结果），另一方面，各个不同的投资者会因新投资机会的出现和被利用等等原因而拉开收益的差距。但正因为这种收益差距的扩大是同新投资机会的出现和被利用等联系在一起的，从而体现了市场竞争及其所造成的结果，体现了某种程度的公平性，这一结果一般说来会被参加市场活动的各方所承认和接受。而且，在市场活动中，只要建立了经济秩序，只要竞争是比较公平的，

那么任何一个投资者都可以利用新投资机会，得到追加的利益。这种获得追加利益的可能性也有助于减少因收益差距扩大而引起的心理的不协调。

以上从四个不同的方面分析了交易活动的市场化、契约化在调整制度创新不同主体之间的利益关系中的作用。这四个方面实际上是联系在一起的，它们说明了一个重要的问题：在非均衡条件下，既然制度创新主体之间不可避免地会出现利益冲突，而政府在调整这些利益关系方面的作用又受到一定的限制，那么无论在理论上还是实践中，都应当主要依靠市场本身来对各方的利益进行调整，使彼此的利益冲突有所缓和。

Chapter 10　The Standardization of Institutional Innovation
第十章　制度创新的规范化

10.1　THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN STANDARDIZING INSTITUTIONAL INNOVATION

10.1.1　Contractual Violations During the Process of Establishing the Order of the Commodity Economy

During the process of establishing the commodity economy, economic growth may face multiple setbacks if business transactions are neither market-oriented nor contract-based. We have analyzed this issue in our discussions about establishing the order of the commodity economy and the institutional innovation. Now, what we have to study is this: Even though business transactions are done in the market and based on contract, how is the commodity economy impacted by breach of contract that may often occur? How can we resolve contractual violations?

The consequences of contractual violations are very obvious. They will not only harm the real interests of stakeholders, but also, and more importantly, lead to uncertainties in the expectation of growth and hinder future transactions as well as the expansion of business connections. More specifically, when violations of contracts increase, people may lose confidence in contract-based transactions, which tends to increase the proportion of cash-based spot transactions. The increasing proportion of cash-based spot transactions is incompatible with the trend of developing the commodity economy.

Many factors can lead to a contractual violation. Under the dual-track economic system, the potential causes of a contractual violation include the

interference by government administrative institutions in enterprise and individual business activities, relatively significant price fluctuations, unfavorable influences of resource supply constraints on the supply of products, the existence of special interest tied to non-market-oriented and non-contract-based transactions, and the lack of legal restrictions on contractual violations. Some of the phenomena under the dual-track economic system, such as breaching a subcontract, a lease contract, or a supply order and nonpayment or delayed payment of payables or loans, are caused by the abovementioned factors. Of course, when we analyze violations of contracts, we will need to distinguish intentional violation and unintentional violation. The existence of either intentional violation or unintentional violation demonstrates, once again, the necessity and importance of establishing the order of the commodity economy and pushing forward the institutional innovation for business transactions.

After the transition of the dual-track economic system to the new economic system, both intentional and unintentional contractual violations may still persist as long as the economy is in disequilibrium, i.e., there are constraints on resource supply or constraints on demand for resources. To a large degree, intentional violation is related to the existence of special interest tied to non-market-oriented and noncontract-based transactions. The special interest from non-marketoriented and non-contract-based transactions originates from constraints on resource supply or constraints on demand for resources. An unintentional violation of a contract is closely related to constraints on resource supply or constraints on demand for resources, even if the violator does not really intend to secure special economic interests. Therefore, if we wish to eliminate violations of contracts, we should rely not only on establishing the order of the commodity economy and institutional innovation but also on reducing the degree of disequilibrium in the economy.

10.1.2 The Government as Institutional Innovation Sponsor

In our earlier discussions on the necessity of establishing the order of the commodity economy and adjusting the interests of various entities during the establishment of the order of the commodity economy, we have talked about the roles of the government as an institutional innovation sponsor. The roles of the government can be summarized as follows: In order to establish the order of the commodity economy, the government must establish a series of laws and regulations that are followed and enforced. For example, market-

oriented and contractbased transactions must follow certain laws and regulations. Hence, the government as an institutional innovation sponsor must play their part in stipulating and enforcing the laws and regulations. Now, what exactly should the government do as an institutional innovation sponsor with regard to the violations of contracts that hinder the growth of the commodity economy?

First of all, as a party of a contract in a transaction, the government must abide by the rules and respect the sanctity of the contract. As a matter of fact, doing so is to respect the rights and status of the counterparty of the contract. A contract is binding on both parties who participate in the transaction. The government as a party of a contract should by no means supersede the counterparty of the contract. Unilaterally terminating, cancelling, or breaching a contract by the government is not allowed in the commodity economy. The government itself must strictly abide by the contract so as to serve as a model for society. In so doing, the government can gain the authority to deal with the contractual disputes in society.

Secondly, because several cases of violations of business contracts are related to abnormal property rights, the government as an institutional innovation sponsor must start the institutional innovation with normalizing property rights, reinforce the legislation with regard to property rights, and strictly execute the laws during the establishment of the order of the commodity economy so as to potentially eliminate violations of contracts. Just as we have discussed repeatedly, if property rights are not normalized, it will be very hard to validate corporate legal identity, and it will be very hard for enterprises to take responsibility for their business transactions independently, which gives rises to various excuses for contractual violations in business transactions. Therefore, to reform property rights is one of the most important institutional innovations during the process of establishing the order of the commodity economy. Our analysis of contractual violations has supported this viewpoint from a different perspective.

Next, some violations of business contracts are intentional. One of the main reasons to do so is the possibility and practicality for the party who violates a contract to easily reap special interest. As for these types of violations, we cannot simply use moral persuasion as a solution. To a party of a binding contract, there should not only be moral constraints(or normally referred to as business ethics), but more importantly, there should also be legal and economic constraints. As one of the institutional innovation

sponsors, the government must draw up laws and regulations to maintain order in the market and to ensure that a contract is executed according to binding terms and conditions. If the economic compensation and the penalty for the party who violates the contract exceed the marginal benefit that the violator can receive from doing so, every party of the transaction who intends to violate the contract in the first place will have to reconsider the costs and benefits of such action. As a result, there will be fewer violations of contracts.

Lastly, as the institutional innovation sponsor, the government should use legislation to minimize or lower the interference by a third party in the behavior of the two parties of a contract during a business transaction. The interference of a third party during the execution of a contract has often been one of the reasons for contractual violations. It should be emphasized that the government has the responsibility to ensure that the process of contract execution is free from interference by any third party as long as the contract is legal. The responsibility of the government is to protect the public interest, support fair competition in the market, and stop or eliminate violations of the law or transactional fraud in businesses. If fraud does happen in business transactions or is included in a binding contract, we should follow the legal procedures instead of allowing a third party to handle it.

All the analysis of the roles of the government in protecting and supporting market-oriented and contract-based transactions is based on the viewpoint that the government is an institutional innovation sponsor. Of course, the government is not only an institutional innovation sponsor. It also plays the role of mediator in business disputes, which is almost as important as the role of institutional innovation sponsor.

10.1.3 The Government as Mediator of Business Disputes

As the dual-track economic system is being transformed into the new economic system, we will not see the government as a party in a business transaction as frequently as before. This is because of changing government functions, i.e., the role of the government as the owner of state assets will be separated from its role as the regulator of the economy, and the government will start regulating the economy indirectly rather than directly. Not only that, the government will standardize property rights so that certain state assets located at an enterprise will be separated from the overall state assets and that the legal person of an enterprise, not the government, will represent the assets of the enterprise. As a result, the representative of state assets in a lease or

subcontract will no longer be a government institution, but a company or a specific economic unit who is the lessor (or lessee) or the contractor (or contractee). Moreover, an entity that signs various business contracts, such as a supply contract, a sales contract, and a credit facility contract, will no longer be a government institution, but a company or a specific economic unit who represents the interests of the state. We should admit that this situation is normal and it is consistent with the nature of the commodity economy as well as the economic development trend.

Under such a new economic system, the government as a mediator of business disputes will play an important role in maintaining marketoriented and contract-based business transactions. When a violation of contract or a contractual dispute arises, regardless of whether it is an intentional or unintentional violation, it needs to be resolved properly. As important as unofficial mediation may be, the government needs to step in to resolve contractual disputes impartially in accordance with the law, which has always been a powerful protection of the order of the commodity economy. Impartial resolution is a resolution based on the law, clearly specifying contractual responsibilities, imposing necessary punishment on the violator, minimizing contract execution costs, and lowering economic losses arising from a contractual dispute.

When the government acts as a judge in a contractual dispute and wins over the trust from all transaction participants, the commodity economy can run relatively smoothly. Before the government takes this role, it used to act as a direct transaction participant and interfered with business activities by giving direct orders. So when there was a business dispute, the government was blamed for it. For example, when a dispute between an enterprise and its workers arose, the workers would see the enterprise and the government as one entity. The dispute between the enterprise and its workers (such as disputes over wages or terminations) would become one between workers and the government. Here is another example. When a seller and a buyer had a dispute (in which the seller failed to deliver an agreed-upon quantity of goods or the buyer failed to pay the amount due), the party who incurred losses would normally regard the party in breach and the government as one entity and thus kept the government involved in the dispute. These situations were very difficult to avoid under the traditional economic system or the dual-track economic system. After the establishment of the commodity economy, the situation has changed. When an enterprise and its workers have

a dispute over wages or employment, the dispute is between the enterprise and its workers. When the enterprise and its workers fail to resolve the dispute appropriately, the government will step in as the judge of business disputes to resolve the issue. By the same token, when there is a dispute between enterprises or between enterprises and consumers, the government will not get involved unless the dispute cannot be resolved appropriately. In that case, the government will act as a mediator of business disputes and help find a resolution. We can see from these examples that the government can play the role as a mediator of business disputes to ensure that the commodity economy can operate normally.

10.1.4 Monopolies in the Socialist Commodity Economy and Government's Solutions

Even after the transition of the dual-track economic system into the new economic system, the market in China is still unlikely to become perfectly competitive. We have discussed this issue earlier. Since the market is not perfectly competitive, it means that monopolies in the commodity economy will still exist. We can only conclude that there will be fewer monopolies under the new economic system than under the traditional economic system or the dual-track economic system and that the damage to the economy caused by monopolies under the new economic system will also be less severe than under the traditional economic system or the dual-track economic system.

Why can we draw this conclusion? Isn't the order of the commodity economy good enough to eliminate monopolies in the economy? Isn't there an institutional innovation that can prevent monopolies from emerging? We can fully understand why people ask these questions. Our analyses of disequilibrium economy and nonidealized government behavior have actually answered these questions. That is, the development of monopolies in the socialist commodity economy has its economic reasons. We cannot explain monopolies simply from the moral or political perspective, nor can we expect to get rid of monopolies simply by taking moral or political measures.

The root cause of monopolies in the socialist commodity economy is the scarcity of some resources and the consequent exclusivity arising from the scarcity. If resources were abundant, these resources would no longer be exclusive to anyone. As long as every market participant has equal access to these resources, nothing but open and perfect competition will happen, and

the foundation of monopolies in the economy will naturally disappear. A monopoly in the socialist economy is after all related to the exclusive control over some resources or production factors. To a market participant, as long as he or she has exclusive control over some resources or production factors, he or she can monopolize the products made from these production factors and have full control over their selling prices. To monopolize the market is actually to monopolize resources. This is not only because any product on its own can be considered a resource, but also because all products are made from certain resources and we can also regard a product as a resource. Therefore, as long as a person monopolizes a resource, he or she can also monopolize any product made from the resource and therefore control the market of that product.

At time of the traditional economic system or the dual-track economic system, monopolies originating from scarce resources were common. Of course, there were some other factors leading to monopolies, e.g., the state granted special economic privileges to some sectors, enterprises, or even individuals and some sectors, enterprises, or even individuals gained monopolistic status in the economy due to their administrative powers. These situations were common. The exact purpose of establishing the order of the commodity economy and the institutional innovation that aims to create fair competition is to eliminate these monopolies. However, the efforts that we have made so far have at most eliminated the monopolies originating from these other factors discussed above. For example, the state will no longer grant special economic privileges to certain sectors, enterprises, or individuals. The state will also prohibit some sectors, enterprises, or individuals from gaining monopolistic status in the economy. Yet monopolies due to the scarcity of resources cannot be eliminated by establishing the order of the commodity economy or proposing relevant legislation. Monopolies originating from the scarcity of resources can still exist in the new economic system.

This explains why different degrees of monopoly will still exist in the market under the new economic system after the establishment of the order of the commodity economy. The degree of monopoly in various product markets varies. Some markets have a relatively high degree of monopoly (such as the mineral materials market, the heavy equipment market, and the raw chemical materials market), while other markets have a relatively low degree of monopoly (such as the market of some light industry products).

Some markets have almost perfect competition(such as agricultural products market), while others are almost completely monopolistic (such as public utilities). The government should pay attention to different characteristics of these markets and do its utmost to minimize potential economic losses caused by the remaining monopolies in the economy.

Generally speaking, after the order of the commodity economy is established, the government can take action in the following four areas to minimize potential economic losses caused by monopolies that originate from scarce resources:

First of all, the government should understand that some monopolies in the economy arise due to resource scarcity. Therefore, it is necessary for the government to initiate laws and regulations to regulate the possession and utilization of scarce resources in accordance with the intensity of scarcity so that everyone can have an equal opportunity to compete for the possession and utilization of scarce resources. Doing so can prevent some enterprises or individuals from having advantageous opportunities to possess and utilize scarce resources and avoid the development of monopolies in the economy due to privileged possession and utilization of scarce resources.

That is to say, although the intensity of resource scarcity varies, the opportunity to possess and utilize resources should always be equally available for everyone. Except for the possession and utilization of resources for the purpose of national security, which needs special consideration, the possession and utilization of any scarce resource for economic purposes should generally be decided by the competition in the market so that the most suitable candidate can be selected. For instance, the process of public bidding can be used to select the most qualified enterprise to invest in a project or to produce a product.

It is necessary to point out that in several areas or industries, we may not necessarily see numerous participants compete for a project. This is because different areas and industries have different production or operation features. Competitors are subject to certain constraints. For example, the requirements of capital and technological skills can be some of the constraints that enterprises have in participating in competition, and only those who meet the requirements of capital funding and technological capabilities will be qualified. But this does not mean we reject the principle of equal opportunity. Keep in mind that if production factors can flow and combine freely, those enterprises who do not meet the requirements of capital funding and

technological capabilities can form business alliances (such as a merger or a joint venture), which will allow them to gain access to new opportunities and raise the odds of winning a bid.

Secondly, even if an enterprise becomes a monopoly via fair competition because of its possession and utilization of scarce resources, we have to know that the price under monopoly and the "monopolistic profit ratio" will be higher compared to that under perfect competition. Therefore, it is necessary for the government to take action so that a portion of the "monopolistic profit" can be collected and used as public fund.

The way that the government treats the monopoly that originates from scarce resources is in accordance with the compensation principle of resource allocation[1]. Here is the reason. If the "monopolistic profit" comes from the possession and utilization of scarce resources, any tax that the government collects from the businesses with "monopolistic profit" because of their possession and utilization of scarce resources, such as resource tax or adjustment tax, will contribute to coordinated economic growth as well as increasing the efficiency of the utilization of scarce resources. The question is whether or not in this case the government should also allow the enterprises that possess and utilize scarce resources to retain a portion of their "monopolistic profit." That is, should the government collect only a portion of the "monopolistic profit" that is above normal profit or all of it? According to our discussions, as the possession and utilization of scarce resources is secured based on competition on a level field with everyone having equal opportunities, the government should only collect a portion of the "monopolistic profit" rather than all of it, especially for the enterprises who need to commit additional resources to organize production factors during their business operations. Otherwise, those enterprises would lose the motivation to operate their businesses to compete in the market. Meanwhile, that will not help increase resource utilization efficiency continuously.

Thirdly, as there are various types of resources, the intensity of the scarcity of various resources varies, and the reasons why and the way how various resources became scarce are also different, the government should adopt different adjustment measures to regulate the "monopolistic profit" that originates from scarce resources by taking each specific situation into consideration, and the adjustment tax rates that the government applies should also vary accordingly.

We should not think that these resources we are talking about refer to

natural resources only. It is relatively easy to understand monopolies can originate from the possession and utilization of natural resources, because natural resources are scarce. However, besides natural resources, other types of resources can be scarce too. For example, technology and information are resources. New technologies and new information are all scarce resources. As another example, labor force can be a scarce resource in a specific area or industrial sector, or capital may be a scarce resource in a specific area during a certain time period. Therefore, if an enterprise has a new technology or a piece of new information that is inaccessible to others, it can be in a monopolistic position due to the scarcity of the resource and hence earns "monopolistic profit." If an enterprise located in a region that has shortages of labor or capital is able to secure the supply of labor or capital, it will also be able to earn "monopolistic profit." As for the "monopolistic profit" in this example, the government should have a different attitude, as the profit is different from that earned by possessing and utilizing scarce natural resources. When determining the tax rate or other adjustment measures, the government should adopt a relatively lenient way and allow such enterprises that earn "monopolistic profit" through the access to new technologies and new information, or through securing sufficient supplies of labor and capital, to retain a relatively large share of their "monopolistic profit." The government should take a relatively small portion or even waive the adjustment tax during a certain time period. It is obviously unfair if the government fails to do so, because it may hurt the motivation of those enterprises that have developed new technologies or secured new information as resources for their businesses or those enterprises that have made significant efforts to secure labor and capital as resources for their businesses in a tight supply environment.

Fourthly, a monopoly originating from scarce resources will experience a waning process. We should note that while one monopoly originating from one type of scarce resource is waning, another monopoly originating from a different type of scarce resource may develop. As a result, monopolies will always exist in the economy. Therefore, it is necessary for the government to understand the reason why monopolies come and go. Thus, the government can adopt the adjustment measures according to real economic situations, follow the trend of the ups and downs of different monopolies, and minimize potential losses caused by monopolies.

Why does a monopoly originating from a scarce resource gradually lose

its power? This issue can be illustrated by the features of different resources. If developing a new technology or obtaining new information leads to a monopoly, sooner or later, the new technology and information will not be scarce any more when it becomes widely known and accessible. If that happens, the enterprises with exclusive access to the technology or information will lose their monopolistic status. If a monopoly formed due to access to sufficient labor or capital in an environment with tight labor or capital supply, it is also unlikely for the monopoly to exist forever, because labor and capital can flow freely in the commodity economy and the profit-seeking principle will direct the flow of labor and capital. Once labor and capital flow under the guidance of this principle, the value of labor and capital will diminish and the monopoly will gradually lose its power.

The most complicated case is the monopoly that originates from scarce natural resources. The constraints of the supply of natural resources, which are different from technology, information, labor, and capital, are likely to allow an entity who possesses and utilizes certain natural resources to maintain monopolistic power for a long time. However, keep in mind that as long as we can achieve breakthroughs in scientific research on substituting some natural resources in a competitive economic environment and apply these substitutes in our daily life, it is still possible for us to see a monopoly that originates from possessing and utilizing some scarce natural resources gradually lose its monopolistic power, and it is impossible for monopolistic price to rise continuously, as the price elasticity of demand will keep a lid on the price escalation and prevent price from being unilaterally determined by the seller. Even though it is a very slow process for the monopoly that originates from scarce natural resources to lose its power, this trend is unstoppable.

Based on these analyses, the government must adopt flexible measures. From the perspective of supporting fair competition, the government should encourage the development and distribution of new technologies and help disseminate new information to facilitate the demise of the monopolies that originate from technologies and information. The government should also apply economic adjustment measures to regulate the supply and demand of labor and capital and to create opportunities for the free flow of these two types of resources so as to facilitate the demise of the monopolies that originate from labor and capital. As for monopolies originating from natural resources, the government can adopt such measures as supporting the

research, experiment, production, and distribution of natural resource substitutes, developing new resources and increasing the potential supplies of new resources. If the government adopts these measures, it will to some extent speed up the waning process of a monopoly that originates from scarce natural resources, which will benefit economic growth as well as consumers. Even enterprises that secure a certain scarce resource via fair competition can benefit from these measures. As a result, the monopolies that still possess some scarce resources would realize that they are still under market competition and thus feel the urge to continue devoting themselves to increasing competitiveness, instead of simply relying on their existing monopolistic position and enjoying the monopolistic privilege.

As we have discussed before, while some monopolies gradually lose their power, others will emerge. Some of them emerge due to the scarcity of certain natural resources, some due to the development of new technologies or information. Thus the government should actually play the dual roles in dealing with monopolies. That is, it should facilitate the trend that some monopolies lose their power, while appropriately regulating any emerging monopoly, including adjusting income. As long as the economy is in disequilibrium and constraints on resource supply still create monopolies, monopolies will remain. The strategies available to the government in response to monopolies should be two-pronged as we discussed above.

壹　政府在制度创新规范化中的作用

一、商品经济秩序建立过程中的违约现象

在商品经济发展过程中，如果交易活动不采取市场化、契约化的形式，那么经济的发展显然要受到阻碍。关于这一点，前面在论述商品经济秩序建立和制度创新问题时，已经作了分析。现在要考察的是：即使交易活动采取了市场化、契约化的形式，但违约现象却经常发生，那又会给商品经济带来什么样的影响呢？怎样才能解决这些违约事件呢？

违约的后果是很明显的。这不仅使当事人的现实利益受到侵害，更重要的是导致不稳定的预期的增长，从而阻碍以后的交易的进行，阻碍经济联系的扩大。具体地说，假定交易活动中的违约现象增多，以至于对于契约形式的交易产生不信任感，这就会促成现金—现货交易在交易中所占比重的扩大，而现金—现货交易所占比重的扩大恰恰是同商品经济的总的发展趋势不适应的。

导致交易中的违约有多种因素。当经济处于双轨经济体制之下的时候，行政机构对企业和个人经济活动的干预、价格的较大幅度波动、资源供给约束对产品供给的不利影响、与非市场化和非契约化的交易活动有关的追加利益的存在、社会习惯势力对企业和个人经济活动的阻挠，以及对不履行契约的法律约束的缺乏等等，都会导致交易中的违约。双轨经济体制之下经济发生的撕毁承包合同、租赁合同、订货供货合同等现象，或拖欠货款、债款和拒付货款、债款等现象，基本上是由上述因素造成的。当然，在对交易中的违约现象进行分析时，需要区分故意违约和被迫违约这两类不同的情况。但无论哪一种情况的出现，都再一次说明了建立商品经济秩序和在交易活动中进行制度创新的必要性和迫切性。

当经济从双轨经济体制转入新经济体制之后，只要经济仍然处于非均衡状态，即只要资源供给约束或需求约束的情况依旧存在，那么故意违约或被迫违约的现象仍会出现。故意违约在很大程度上同非市场化和非契约化的交易活动所提供的追加利益的存在有关，而这种追加利益的存在又是资源供给约束或需求约束所促成的。在被迫违约的场合，即使违约一方并非旨在获取追加利益，但这仍然同资源供给约束或需求约束的存在有密切联系。由此可见，要消除交易活动中的违约现象，不仅有赖于商品经济秩序的建立，有赖于相应的制度创新，而且也有赖于经济的非均衡程度的不断减少。

二、作为制度创新主体的政府

前面，在谈到建立商品经济秩序的必要性和调整商品经济秩序建立过程中的利益关系时，都对政府作为制度创新主体的作用作了论述。可以对这种作用作如下的概括，这就是：要建立商品经济秩序，必须制定并执行一系列法律、法规，即以交易活动的市场化、契约化来说，这也必须以一定的法律、法规为基础，因此，政府作为制度创新的主体，在制定有关的法律、法规并且在执行这些法律、法规方面发挥自己应有的作用。那么，专就阻碍着商品经济发展的交易活动中的违约现象而言，政府作为制度创新主体，它的作用究竟表现在哪些方面呢？

首先，政府作为交易活动中缔约的一方，必须遵守契约的规定，尊重契约的严肃性，实际上也就是尊重缔约的另一方的地位和权利。交易活动中的契约对双方都具有约束力，政府作为缔约的一方绝非处于高踞于他人之上的地位。政府出面来撕毁合同、撤销合同、违背合同规定等行为，是与商品经济秩序不相容的。政府必须自身成为遵守契约的模范，才能对社会尊重契约的行为起示范作用，也才能具有处理社会上契约纠纷问题的权威性。

其次，考虑到交易活动中的违约事件的发生在若干场合与财产关系不规范等情况有关，因此，政府作为制度创新的主体，在关于建立商品经济秩序的制度创新方面，有必要从规范财产关系着手，加强这方面的立法，并严格执行这些法律，这样就有可能消除某些违约事件。这是因为，正如前面已经一再提到的，如果财产关系不规范，企业的法人地位就难以被确认，企业在交易活动中就难以独立负责，这就为交易活动中的违约造成了各种理由。所以说，在建立商品经济秩序的过程中，关于财产关系的制度创新是最重要的制度创新之一。对违约现象的分析从另一个侧面说明了这一点。

再次，考虑到交易活动中的若干违约事件属于故意违约之例，而造成故意违约的一个重要原因是经济中存在着违背契约就可以轻易地获得追加利益的可能性和现实性。对于诸如此类的违约现象，不能单纯从教育的角度来寻找对策。对缔约的任何一方，不仅需要有道德的约束（即通过所说的“商业信义”的约束），更重要的是需要有法律的约束、经济的约束。政府作为制度创新的主体之一，有必要在维护市场正常秩序和保证契约的履行方面制定有关的法律、法规。如果违约一方经济上的赔偿与受到的处罚大大超过因故意违约而获取的追加利益，以至于每个原来准备故意违约的交易活动参加者不得不重新考虑违约的成本与收益之比，这样也就可以减少违约事件的发生了。

最后，政府作为制度创新的主体，还应当通过立法来消除或减少任何第三方对交易活动中缔约双方的行为的干扰。这种来自第三方的对契约履行过程的干扰，往往是造成违约的另一个原因。应当强调，只要契

约本身是符合法律的，那么政府就有责任使契约的履行过程不受局外的干扰。政府的责任在于维护公众的利益，维护市场的公平竞争，防止和取缔交易活动中所出现的违法现象、欺诈行为。如果交易活动中确实存在着这些情况，或者所缔结的契约中有诸如此类的内容，那么也应当通过法律的程序来加以解决，而不能由某个第三者横加干预。

以上关于政府在维护交易活动的市场化、契约化的作用的分析，是从政府作为制度创新主体的角度出发的。但政府的作用不限于此。政府作为经济纠纷裁决者的作用几乎同样重要。

三、作为经济纠纷裁决者的政府

随着经济从双轨经济体制向新经济体制的过渡，政府在交易活动中作为缔约的一方出现的情况将会大大减少。这不仅由于政府的职能转变，即政府作为国家资产所有者的职能同政府作为经济管理者的职能将区分开来，政府对经济的管理将由直接的管理逐步转变为间接的管理等等，而且由于通过财产关系的规范化，国家在某一企业的具体的资源同整个国家的资产区分开来了，某一企业的具体资产的代表者只是这个企业的法人代表，而不再是政府。这样，在租赁合同、承包合同上的国家资产利益的代表者，也就不再是政府主管部门，而是作为出租方（或承租方）、发包方（或承包方）的某个公司、某个具体经济单位。再说，在经济中，各种供货合同、销售合同、借贷合同的签约者也不再是政府主管部门，而是代表国家资产利益的某个公司、某个具体经济单位。应当说，这种情况是正常的，是符合商品经济的性质与商品经济的发展趋势的。

在这样一种新的经济体制之下，政府作为经济纠纷裁决者，在维护交易活动市场化、契约化中的作用将大大突出。当交易活动中出现违约纠纷时，不管它们是属于故意违约还是被迫违约，都需要得到合理的解决。民间的调解工作当然具有一定的重要性，但政府根据法律对契约中的纠纷进行公正裁决，始终是维持商品经济秩序的有力保障。公正裁决的标志就是以法律为尺度，严明契约的责任，对违约一方采取应有的制约措施，并尽可能降低合同的履行成本，减少契约纠纷给当事人造成的经济损失。

当政府以经济纠纷裁决者的身份出现，并取得参加交易活动各方的信任时，商品经济的运行也会顺畅得多。以前，由于政府的职能没有转变，政府在许多场合以直接参与者的身份出现，并以直接管理方式来干预经济活动时，一旦经济活动中发生了纠纷，矛头全都对准了政府。政府成了被责难的对象。比如说，企业与工人之间发生了纠纷，工人便把企业同政府视为一体，工人与企业间的纠纷（如工资纠纷、解雇纠纷

等）就变成了工人与政府间的纠纷；又如，供货企业与购货企业之间发生了纠纷（供货企业不按时按量供货，或购货企业不按时按量付款等），受损失的一方也往往把违约的一方同政府视为一体，这样的纠纷也把政府拉扯到里面去了。在传统经济体制和双轨经济体制之下，这种情况是难以避免的。而在建立商品经济秩序之后，情况肯定会发生变化。如果企业与工人之间因工资或就业问题有了纠纷，那么纠纷仅仅在企业与工人之间存在。当企业与工人之间的纠纷不能得到妥善的解决时，政府便以经济纠纷的裁决者身份出现，处理这一纠纷。同样的道理，当企业与企业发生纠纷、企业与居民发生纠纷时，政府也不介入，只有在这些纠纷得不到妥善解决的情况下，作为经济纠纷裁决者的政府才出现，并着手处理纠纷。由此可见，要保障商品经济的正常运行，作为经济纠纷裁决者的政府可以发挥自己应有的作用。

四、社会主义商品经济中的垄断现象和政府的对策

即使经济由双轨经济体制转入了新的经济体制，在我国所形成的市场也不可能是完全竞争市场，关于这一点，前面已经说明。既然所形成的市场不是完全竞争市场，那就意味着商品经济中的垄断现象是始终存在的。我们只能认为，新经济体制下的垄断现象将少于传统经济体制和双轨经济体制之下，并且垄断现象对经济所带来的损害也将小于传统经济体制和双轨经济体制之下。

为什么会得出这样的论断？难道商品经济秩序还不足以根除经济中的垄断现象吗？难道就不可能进行保证取缔经济中的垄断现象的制度创新吗？提出诸如此类的疑问是完全可以理解的。但我们根据对于非均衡经济的分析，以及对于政府行为非理想化的分析，实际上已经对这些问题作出了回答，即社会主义商品经济中的垄断现象的出现有其经济上的原因，它们既不是单纯依据某种道德的或政治的因素就能加以充分解释的，也不可能仅仅从道德或政治上着手就足以使它们匿迹。

社会主义商品经济中垄断现象产生的最根本原因在于某些资源的稀缺性以及由于这种稀缺性而导致的独占。这是因为，如果资源是充裕的，那么也就不可能形成对这些资源的独占；只要一切经济活动的参加者都有同等的机会利用这些资源，那就必然是公开的、充分的竞争，经济中的垄断现象也就自然而然地失去了存在的依据。在社会主义经济中，垄断，归根到底是对资源的垄断、对生产要素的垄断。经济活动的某些参加者只要垄断了资源，垄断了生产要素，就能垄断地利用这种生产要素生产出来的产品，对它们实行垄断价格。对市场的垄断实际上也就是对资源的垄断，这不仅因为任何产品本身都可以被看成是一种资源，而且因为任何产品既然都是由一定的资源转化而来的，所以任何产

品也都可以被看成是一定的资源的体现。因此，只要垄断了某种资源，就可以垄断某些产品，垄断这些产品的市场。

在经济处于传统经济体制和双轨经济体制之下的时候，由于资源稀缺而导致的垄断处处存在。当然，这时还存在由于其他因素而造成的垄断。例如，国家使某些部门、某些企业甚至某些个人处于经济上的特殊地位，或者，某些部门、某些企业甚至某些个人利用行政的权力而在经济方面占据了一定的垄断地位等等，这些都是常见的。商品经济秩序的建立和有关公平竞争的制度创新，目的正在于消除上述垄断现象。但这些方面的努力充其量也只能使上面提到的其他因素所造成的垄断现象消失，比如说，今后国家不再使某些部门、某些企业、某些个人处于经济上的特殊地位了，国家禁止某些部门、某些企业、某些个人利用行政的权力在经济方面占据一定的垄断地位了。但由于资源稀缺而导致的垄断现象，却不是只靠商品经济秩序的建立或通过有关的法律就能消除的。资源稀缺导致的经济中的垄断，可以存在于新经济体制之下。

这说明在商品经济秩序建立后的新经济体制下的市场，仍然是有着不同程度垄断的市场。不同产品市场的垄断程度不会一样，有的市场的垄断程度较高（如矿产品市场、重型机器市场、化工原料市场），有的市场的垄断程度较低（如轻工业品市场）。还有的市场接近于完全竞争市场（如某些农产品市场），有的市场则几乎是完全垄断市场（如某些公共服务市场）。政府应当注意到这些市场的特点，设法减少经济中仍然存在的垄断现象可能带来的损失。

一般说来，在商品经济秩序建立后，为了减少由于资源稀缺而导致的垄断对经济带来的损失，政府可以采取以下四方面的对策：

第一，政府应当了解经济中的不少垄断现象是由于资源稀缺所引起的，因此，政府有必要根据资源的不同稀缺程度，制定稀缺资源的占有和利用的法律、法规，尽可能造成占有和利用稀缺资源的公平竞争机会，而不应当让某些企业或个人具有对稀缺资源占有和利用的特殊机会，再由它们根据对稀缺资源的特殊占有和利用而形成经济中的垄断。

这就是说，虽然资源的不同程度的稀缺难以避免，但占有和利用这些资源的机会则应当是均等的。除了某些与国家安全等有密切关系的资源的占有和利用需要作特殊处理以外，一般来说，在涉及资源稀缺的经济领域内，应当通过市场竞争，选择条件最适合的企业来占有和利用这些资源。例如，用公开招标投标的方式使条件最适合的企业成为某一项目的投资者或某一产品的生产经营者。

需要指出的是，在若干领域和若干行业中，不一定会出现无数个或许多个竞争者参加角逐的情况。这是因为，根据不同领域和不同行业的生产技术或经营的特点，对竞争者的条件有一定的限制，比如说，资金

规模和技术水平都会构成对参加竞争的企业的限制，达不到一定资金规模和一定技术水平的企业自然被排除在竞争之外。但这并不等于否认机会均等原则。要知道，在生产要素流动和自由组合的情况下，如果达不到一定资金规模和一定技术水平的企业采取联合的方式（合并或联营），那么同样有参加角逐的机会，也就是有中标的可能性。

第二，即使占有和利用稀缺资源所进行的生产和经营是通过机会均等条件下的竞争而形成垄断的，但考虑到这种垄断所造成的垄断价格和“垄断利润率”高于完全竞争条件的市场价格和平均利润率，因此政府有必要采取一定的措施，使“垄断利润”的一部分归于财政，并利用这笔收入作为公共基金。

政府以这种方式来对待由于资源稀缺而导致的垄断，是符合资源配置的补偿原则的。[1]这是因为，如果“垄断利润”来自对稀缺资源的占有和利用，那么政府向占有稀缺资源和利用稀缺资源而获取“垄断利润”的企业征收诸如资源税、调节税之类的税金，将有助于社会经济的协调发展，并有助于稀缺资源的使用效率的提高。问题是，在这种场合，政府是否应该使占有和利用稀缺资源的企业也保留一部分“垄断利润”，即政府是否应该只征收“垄断利润”的一部分，而不把超过平均利润的那部分全部归于政府？根据前面已经提到的必须通过机会均等条件下的竞争才能占有和利用稀缺资源的情况，尤其是企业在占有和利用稀缺资源而进行生产和经营的过程中，需要为组织生产要素而投入一定的追加资源等情况，政府只能取走“垄断利润”的一部分，而不应把超过平均利润的部分全都取走，否则将会使企业失去在这一领域内竞争和经营的积极性，同时也不利于资源利用效率的不断提高。

第三，考虑到资源是多种多样的，不同资源的稀缺程度不同，不同资源的稀缺性形成的原因和途径也不同，因此，政府在对由此而形成的“垄断利润”进行调节时，要按照具体情况制定不同的调节方式，政府在这方面所征收的调节税税率也应有所区别。

我们不应当把资源仅仅理解为自然资源。自然资源具有稀缺性，从而对这些自然资源的占有和利用可以形成垄断，对这一点，较易于理解。但除自然资源以外，其他资源同样存在稀缺问题。例如，技术、信息都是资源，新技术和新信息都是稀缺的资源。又如，劳动力对特定的地区和产业部门来说，或者，资金对特定的地区和时期来说，也可能成为稀缺的资源。因此，一个企业，如果掌握了其他企业所不具有的新技术和新信息，那么它就有可能凭借这种稀缺资源的优势而处于垄断地位，并由此获得“垄断利润”。一个能在劳动力或资金较为稀缺的地区得到劳动力供给和资金供给的企业，也同样有可能获得某种“垄断利润”。对于这种“垄断利润”，政府就应当采取与对待占有和利用稀缺的自然资

源而获得的“垄断利润”不同的态度。政府制定税率或其他调节措施时，应当采取比较宽松的做法，即容许那些因掌握新技术、新信息而获得“垄断利润”的企业，以及那些因得到充足的劳动力供给和资金而获得“垄断利润”的企业，把较多部分的“垄断利润”保留在自己手中，政府只取走较少的部分，甚至在一段时间内不征收调节税。如果不这样区别对待，显然是不公平的，并且还将挫伤企业掌握新技术和新信息并用之于生产经营的积极性，挫伤企业在劳动力和资金供给比较紧张的情况下通过自己的努力而获得较多劳动力和资金，并把它们组织到生产经营中去的积极性。

第四，由于某种资源的稀缺而导致的垄断会有一个逐渐减弱的过程。但应当注意到，在因这种资源的稀缺而导致的垄断减弱的同时，因另一种资源的稀缺而导致的垄断却会产生，从而经济中始终存在着垄断现象。因此，政府有必要在了解某种垄断减弱和另一种垄断产生的原因的前提下，根据经济中的实际情况，采取调节措施，顺应垄断减弱和垄断产生的趋势，把垄断可能造成的损失减少到尽可能小的程度。

为什么由于某种资源的稀缺而导致的垄断会逐渐减弱？这可以按照不同的资源的特点来加以说明。如果是因掌握新技术和新信息而形成了垄断，那么毫无疑问，新技术和新信息迟早将传播开来，一旦传播开来以后，它们就不再是稀缺的资源了，从而也就难以再凭借这种稀缺资源而居于垄断地位了。如果是在劳动力或资金比较紧张的情况下，由于得到了劳动力或资金的充裕供给而获得了垄断地位，那么这种垄断也不可能永久存在。这是因为，在商品经济体制之下，劳动力和资金都是可以流动的，利益原则对劳动力和资金的流动起着导向作用。一旦劳动力和资金按照利益原则而流动，原来因劳动力和资金因素的作用而形成的垄断必定会减弱。

问题比较复杂的是因自然资源的稀缺而形成的垄断。与技术、信息、劳动力、资金的情况不同，自然资源供给的有限性很可能使得占有和利用这些自然资源的单位长期居于垄断地位。但要知道，只要有一个竞争的经济环境，只要关于自然资源的代用品的科学技术研究不断取得成就并不断被应用于实际，那么因占有和利用某种自然资源而形成的垄断仍有减弱的可能性，而需求价格弹性的作用也会使由此而形成的垄断价格不可能一直上升，不可能是只由供给一方单独决定的价格。尽管因自然资源而导致的垄断的减弱过程通常是相当缓慢的，但这种垄断在经历一段时间以后而逐渐减弱的趋势则是不可避免的。

根据这些情况，政府的对策必须是灵活的，从维护公平竞争的立场出发，政府应当鼓励新技术的开发和传播，帮助新信息的推广，以促进与技术资源和信息资源有关的垄断的逐渐减弱。政府还应当通过经济调

节手段来调节劳动力和资金的供求，为这两种资源的流动创造条件，以促进与这两种资源有关的垄断的逐渐减弱。对于与自然资源有关的垄断，那么政府可以采取的措施主要是鼓励代用品的研究、试制、投产和推广，以及尽可能去发现新的资源，增加这些资源可供利用的数量。如果政府采取了以上这些措施，因资源稀缺而形成的垄断的逐渐减弱的过程就会适当地加快，这无论对于国民经济的发展还是对于需求者都是有利的。即使对于某些通过机会均等的竞争而占有和利用某种稀缺资源的企业来说，也不是没有好处的。这样一来，某些因资源稀缺而处于垄断地位的企业仍然会感到自己置身于市场竞争的环境之中，它们必须继续致力于提高自己的竞争能力，而不能躺在已经获得的垄断地位之上，单纯依靠这种垄断地位而舒舒服服地过日子。

正如前面已经提到的，在某些垄断逐渐减弱的同时，又会有另一些垄断产生。它们或者是因自然资源的稀缺，或者是因新技术、新信息等等的掌握而产生的，这样，政府在对待垄断方面所起的作用实际上是双重的，即一方面，政府要促进已经形成的垄断的减弱趋势，另一方面，又要对新产生的垄断进行适当的调节，包括收入的调节，只要经济处于非均衡状态，只要资源的有限供给仍然是形成垄断的原因，那么垄断现象就会一直存在，政府对待垄断的应有的对策就是上述的双重对策。

10.2 THE STANDARDIZATION OF INSTITUTIONAL VARIATION AND INSTITUTIONAL INNOVATION

10.2.1 Two Types of Institutional Variation in Institutional Innovation

During the process of establishing the order of the commodity economy, there is an issue related to institutional innovation, which is worth our attention. That is institutional variation. Institutional variation refers to the deviation of the actual institutional innovation from its original design during the development process or shortly after the completion of the development process. The deviation from its original design causes the new institution to fail to perform its expected functions. For instance, in terms of enterprise system innovation, the original design of the leasing system, the subcontracting system, or the shareholding system all took the interests of both owners and managers into consideration and were supposed to motivate enterprises during economic growth. But in reality, the leasing system, the subcontracting system, and the shareholding system all experienced certain variations, resulting in some deviations from their original designs. Another example is the institution innovation for the market, which was originally designed to achieve smooth circulation within distribution channels so as to ensure fair competition and to facilitate the circulation and recombination of production factors. Yet once in place, these institutions more or less changed. Some changes even hindered circulation and blocked fair competition as well as the circulation and recombination of production factors. These are the examples of the so-called institutional variation.

The variation of an institution can be in total or in part. It is hereby referred to as the total or partial variation of the institution that aims to establish the order of the commodity economy or referred to as the total or partial variation of the institution that occurs to different regions or sectors. Even though partial variation of an institution may occur in some regions or sectors, it is worth further research. People tend to think: Why does the institutional variation occur in that particular region or sector, while not in other regions or sectors? Why some institutions have variations while others don't? Why the variation of the same institution differs across different

regions and sectors? Research on institutional variation can help deepen the study of institutional innovation.

With further analysis, it won't be difficult for us to find out that institutional variation is not necessarily a bad thing. It can be either good or bad. Now, the criterion of good or bad is whether it is helpful to the establishment of the order of the commodity economy. Since the institutional innovation we are discussing here refers to the one that aims to establish the order of the commodity economy, the criterion for evaluating the effectiveness of the institutional innovation obviously is whether it meets the needs of establishing the order of the commodity economy. Whether the design of a specific new institution by an institutional innovation sponsor can meet its anticipated needs must be determined by its performance. In this case, the following scenario may arise: During or after an institutional innovation, the original design of the institution innovation performs differently in reality, and hence variation arises during the execution. The variation can turn out to be even better than the original design and can better satisfy the needs of establishing the order of the commodity economy. In addition, it can be conducive to revising the original design and improving and completing the new institution. This type of institutional variation, regardless of whether it is a total or partial variation, should be considered a good thing. However, what we should pay more attention to is a different type of institutional variation, one that prevents the order of the commodity economy from being established, or a bad institutional variation, so to speak. This type of institutional variation, if we use a derogative term to describe it, can be called "institutional distortion" or "institutional deformation." If we use a colloquial sentence to describe it, it is what people normally say: "These rules are very good, but they are simply off when executed at the grass-root level." Why are they "off?" What do we do when they are "off?" These issues are exactly what we need to resolve in our research on institutional innovation. In the following analysis of institutional variation, we specifically refer to bad institutional variation, or "institutional distortion."

10.2.2 The Primary Cause of Institutional Variation

The primary cause of institutional variation can be analyzed from the following four perspectives: government behavior, enterprise behavior, personal behavior, and market mechanism.

1. Analysis from the Perspective of Government Behavior

Nonidealized government behavior is one of the main causes of institutional variation. As we discussed earlier, we can set aside nonidealized government behavior during the design of an institutional innovation in our analysis and assume that the original design is fairly good, but it has gone off the track during execution. This type of institutional variation is likely to occur in the following three scenarios from the perspective of government behavior:

First, improperly organized government institutions and concomitant ambiguously defined government agencies' responsibilities and functions bring obstruction or even drive them to take action to counter the performance of other agencies with rights and responsibilities endowed by the old institution during an institutional innovation. As a result, even if an institutional innovation is well designed in the beginning, it may be difficult to meet the anticipated requirements during execution. To resolve the issues in this scenario, we should start with political reforms and streamlining government institutions as well as simplifying and clarifying the rights and responsibilities of each government agency. As long as government institutions remain improperly organized, government agencies will continue to obstruct each other, and institutional variation will be inevitable during an institutional innovation.

Second, the quality and capability of government officials cannot meet the requirements of the institutional innovation. It is relatively easy to understand this point. Many examples have demonstrated that the cause of institutional variation was the relatively poor quality and capability of government officials. Some of them misunderstood the meaning of the institutional innovation, some tackled issues using certain measures that were detrimental to the institutional innovation out of habit, some failed to stick to the original plan due to incapability, and some even pursued undue personal benefit from the institutional innovation, all of which would cause institutional variation. Therefore, it is very important to continuously improve the quality and capability of government officials so as to eliminate institutional variation during the institutional innovation.

Third, there are no complementary measures. Any new institutional innovation must have some complementary measures in place if we are to avoid institutional variation. They are put in place to ensure that the institutional innovation can be completed. However, it is not always

necessary to have a complete set of complementary measures in place before we can proceed with new institutional innovations. As a result, institutional variation arises. In this case, can government prepare various complementary measures during the planning of an institutional innovation and then introduce new institution only after these measures take effect? In theory, this is possible. If the government did do that, institutional variation would likely be avoided, at least from this perspective. In reality, however, the situation will be much more complicated than our theoretical assumptions. This is because either the government is unable to precisely predict social and economic changes and the changes of personal behavior after a new institution is implemented or it is impossible for the government to take all contingencies into consideration. Therefore, the government will always feel that there are not enough complementary measures during an institutional innovation. As a result, it is still possible to see institutional variation.

2. Analysis from the Perspective of Enterprise Behavior

Various institutional innovations brought to the economy are traced to the changing interests of enterprises. In response to an institutional innovation, enterprises normally adopt certain strategies to maximize profits or minimize losses from the new institution. If we assume that enterprises are real goods producers who make their own decisions and are responsible for their profits and losses, they will follow the profitability principle as well as their operating budgets and take action by balancing the profits and losses therefrom. In this case, even though some of the action they take may cross the legal boundary, the profitability principle will direct them to consider the consequences of breaking the law. It is for this reason that they have concerns and are forced to behave to some extent. An enterprise that makes its own business decisions, takes responsibility for its profits and losses, and operates under the guidance of the profitability principle will likely take action pursuant to the existing laws and regulations. Generally speaking, such enterprise behavior will not lead to institutional variation, because they are within the boundary of the existing laws and regulations.

Now, let us analyze the scenario where enterprises have not severed their affiliation with administrative institutions. As enterprises are not responsible for profits and losses, or only responsible for profits but not losses, the profitability principle will have limited impact on their behavior or even fail to work, causing enterprise behavioral shortsightedness and driving some enterprises to potentially ignore the consequences of breaking the law.

The results will facilitate or foster institutional variation. In other words, the variation of the proposed institution is closely related to imperfect enterprise operation mechanism as well as enterprise behavioral shortsightedness. Nevertheless, this does not mean that every enterprise that has not been able to make its own business decisions or take responsibility for profits and losses will break the law. If these enterprises act according to the law, institutional variation will be avoided.

Here, we have to answer two questions. The first one: Why won't the actions of the enterprises that make their own business decisions and are responsible for profits and losses cause institutional variation if such actions are permitted by the law? The second one, why are the enterprises that are not responsible for their profits and losses more prone to violate the law than those who are responsible for their profits and losses?

The first question can be answered as follows: Per our earlier assumptions, institutional variation specifically refers to "institutional distortion," excluding any necessary revisions or additions to the original design of an institutional innovation during the execution process. If enterprises act according to the law, it is likely that they have provided the government with some information that will help improve the institutional innovation. With such information, the government can revise and improve the institution. In this sense, we shall conclude that any action that microeconomic units take within the boundary of the law will help the macroeconomic departments of the government improve and revise their decision-making. This scenario, however, does not fall into the institutional variation that we are discussing here.

The second question can be answered in this way: The question is raised based on the premise that the government regular checks, monitors, and punishes all enterprises for any violation of the law. If the government does not check or monitor any violation of the law regularly nor severely punish lawbreaking activities, any enterprise, even those that are responsible for their own profits and losses, may take action beyond the boundary of the law, which contributes to institutional variation. On the contrary, if the government effectively checks and monitors enterprises for any violation of the law and severely punishes them for any criminal activity, such as confiscating assets, levying financial penalties, revoking business licenses, and sending enterprise management to jail if necessary, we will likely see far fewer lawbreaking activities of those enterprises that are responsible for their

own profits and losses. The enterprises that continue to break the law are those that are not responsible for their profits and losses and that are still controlled by government administrative institutions or quasi-government entities. The lawbreaking activities of these entities will to a large extent account for institutional variation.

3. Analysis from the Perspective of Personal Behavior

Basically, individuals should not be blamed for institutional variation. The reason is quite straightforward. Although everyone may have an opinion about an institutional innovation and take action to maximize profits or minimize losses according to his or her own interests, one person has limited power and his or her actions are not powerful enough to cause institutional variation. Compared to government behavior or enterprise behavior, personal behavior plays a much smaller role in institutional variation.

Yet this is what happens in a normal situation. In any one of the following two situations, personal behavior can still play a relatively significant part in institutional variation:

First, when the behavior of a person is no longer representative of that of an individual person but that of a group of individuals, it will exert a much more significant impact on institutional variation. In this case, the individual, be it a consumer, a provider of production factors, or a resident in a community, will likely act collectively according to their own interests, which will lead to institutional variation.

Second, significant changes of personal expectations or extremely unstable or chaotic personal expectations, despite being personal behavior, may have relatively substantial influences on institutional variation. In this case, changing personal expectations and extremely unstable or chaotic personal expectations will be reflected by personal consumption behavior or personal saving behavior. Abnormal changes in personal consumption or saving behavior will cause institutional variation. Keep in mind that even if a single person's behavior has limited influence, we cannot ignore the power of demonstration effects. Under such influence, abnormal changes of personal consumption and saving behavior will influence society and potentially create disorder in the economy, which will cause institutional variation.

4. Analysis from the Perspective of Market Mechanism

Imperfect market mechanism is another important reason for institutional variation. We have to keep in mind that the implementation of institutional innovation in the commodity economy is linked to market

mechanism in every way. For example, the way in which profits and losses of different institutional innovation sponsors are adjusted is always reflected by market activities. To adjust the various economic relations that an institutional innovation requires is actually to adjust the relations among the various market participants in the marketplace. Resource recombination, or the recombination of production factors, that the institutional innovation aims to achieve, cannot come true without the market playing its role in the commodity economy. All these examples have fully demonstrated that the more perfect the market mechanism, the more likely the institutional innovation will meet its anticipated goals. On the contrary, the more imperfect the market mechanism, the more likely an institutional variation will occur.

In view of the current economic realities in China, it is especially important that we pay attention to the impact of the imperfect market mechanism on institutional variation. Because if the market mechanism is not perfect, the market may fail to accurately reflect all information that market participants need, nor will the market be able to quickly deliver economic information in its entirety to every participant. As a result, even if the government may have fully considered the redistribution of economic interests after institutional innovation before its proposition and implementation and have made all necessary arrangements, market participants may react in various ways and disrupt the government's arrangements, as they are unable to collect accurate economic information from the market to make right decisions. The reason why variation occurs during the process of institutional innovation is often traced to the imperfection of the market mechanism as well as the consequences therefrom.

In addition, the imperfection of the market mechanism can also be revealed by transactions that are nonpublic, noncontractual, and nonmonetary. Nonpublic, noncontractual, and nonmonetary transactions can bring two outcomes that are detrimental to institutional innovation:

First, such phenomena prevent the government who initiates the institutional innovation from collecting accurate market information, leading the government to some superficial signs that divert the government away from various nonpublic, noncontractual, and nonmonetary transactions that significantly impact the economy. As a result, institutional variation may arise during the implementation of the new institution.

Second, because transactions are done on a nonpublic, noncontractual, and nonmonetary basis, market participants may feel the market lacks transparency and become more uncertain about market prospect, which causes behavioral shortsightedness and leads to some unintended precautionary measures, such as purchasing extra raw materials, storing excess cash, and accelerating the purchases of consumer goods. All of these play a part in causing institutional variation.

The above analysis of government behavior, enterprise behavior, personal behavior, and market mechanism allows us to understand why we cannot simply rely on the original correct design of an institution initiated by institutional innovation sponsors to eliminate institutional variation during the process of institutional innovation. To minimize and eliminate institutional variation, we need to simultaneously work on government behavior, enterprise behavior, personal behavior, and market mechanism. We should not only improve government institutions, enhance the quality and capability of government officials, and implement complementary measures so that enterprises can be goods producers who are responsible for their own profits and losses but also gradually optimize the market mechanism so that market participants can develop stable expectations of their future.

10.2.3 The Possibility of Standardizing Institutional Innovation

In earlier discussions, we have explained the main reasons for institutional variation and pointed out in theory that we must start with multiple areas to minimize or prevent institutional variation, that is, to standardize institutional innovation. Next, let us analyze these two questions:

First, assuming that an institutional variation has occurred during the process of an institutional innovation, is it possible for us to restore the original design in a certain way after the institution is introduced? Restoring a distorted institutional innovation to its original design is called institutional innovation restoration, or institutional innovation standardization. Second, assuming that we have restored the original design of the institutional innovation by making some adjustments to the variation of the institution, does this mean that the institutional innovation is back on track?

These two questions are worth our attention. They tell us that it is necessary to conduct more in-depth research on the institutional innovation process.

We need to recognize the possibility of institutional innovation

restoration, which is to change nonstandardized institutional innovation back to standardized institutional innovation. Institutional innovation restoration is dependent upon how the interests of various groups are adjusted. In the aftermath of institutional variation, the interests of the sponsor and every other stakeholder of the institutional innovation are somewhat changed. It is the changing interests that make it possible to restore the institutional innovation. To what degree can institutional innovation be restored is contingent upon the actual situation.

Now, let us first look at three possible scenarios of institutional innovation restoration.

1. Let us assume that a new institution to be introduced incurs a variation due to improper government organizational structure, lack of capable or quality government officials, and lack of government complementary measures. When institution variation takes place, the government serving as the institutional innovation sponsor fails to realize its expected benefits. This situation may force the government to take necessary action, such as carrying out government organizational reforms, enhancing the quality and capability of government officials, and initiating complementary measures. These measures will likely restore the institutional innovation. Institutional innovation restoration does not mean the self-adjustment of an institution, but the adjustment to an institution initiated by the government.

2. If the variation of a new institution following its implementation is caused by the fact that enterprises violate the law or that personal expectations are chaotic or extremely unstable, the government will take necessary measures upon seeing institutional variation, because it has not received its expected benefits as the institutional innovation sponsor. These measures include reinforcing legislation and law enforcement, banning various lawbreaking activities, and stabilizing personal expectations. On the other hand, if the government realizes that the main cause of institutional variation is that government administrative institutions are still in control of enterprises, it will initiate enterprise system reform to turn enterprises into economic entities that make their own business decisions and take responsibility for their profits and losses as early as possible. All of these measures will help restore the institutional innovation. Next, let us look at enterprises and individuals. They may or may not react to a new institution and take action that causes the institutional variation. However, as long as

their benefits are still likely to increase under the new institution, they will support the new institution. Especially when the government takes necessary measures to prevent enterprises from breaking the law and to stabilize personal expectations, enterprises and individuals for the sake of their own benefits will gradually avoid the behavior that may cause institutional variation, which supports institutional innovation restoration.

3. If the main cause of institutional variation is the imperfect market mechanism, whether the institutional innovation can be restored or not in this case is dependent on how perfect the market mechanism can be. During the development of the commodity economy, perfecting the market mechanism becomes an inevitable trend driven by market participants' common interests. Therefore, we can come to the belief that the interaction between various interests will likely lead to institutional innovation restoration after an institutional variation occurs.

We need to further point out here that institutional innovation restoration is meant in relation to institutional variation. If institutional variation refers to the degree of deviation of an institutional innovation, institutional innovation restoration will refer to the correction to the degree of the institutional variation or restoring the institutional innovation to its original track to a certain degree. To what degree can an institutional innovation be restored is of course dependent upon the efforts of the government as the institutional innovation sponsor and the corrective action of enterprises and individuals in response to the institutional innovation according to the profitability principle and is also closely related to the degree of the institutional variation. That is, if the degree of the institutional variation upon the implementation of the new institution is relatively low, it will be relatively easy to restore the institutional innovation. On the contrary, the higher the degree of the institutional variation, i.e., the institutional innovation undergoes significant variations, the more difficult the institutional innovation restoration. In other words, not every institutional variation can be restored to its original design. Sometimes, after going through multiple variations, an institutional innovation cannot be restored to its original design. In that case, it is necessary to carry out a different institutional innovation, namely, to give up restoring the institutional innovation and to start the implementation of a new institution from scratch.

In addition, even if an institutional innovation is restored, it may not necessarily return to its original track. Institutional innovation restoration

only means making corrections to an institutional variation to a certain degree. We can explain this by using pendulum as an example. When a pendulum swings back and forth, it may not necessarily swing exactly back to its original position. It may deviate slightly from its original position. Why can't it always return to its original position? Why can't institutional innovation restoration completely eliminate the deviation arising from institutional variation? This exactly illustrates the features of market activities and enterprise and individual behavior.

Keep in mind that it is common that the market mechanism is imperfect from the perspective of market activities. What we see is varying degrees of market imperfection. When we say that the market is becoming perfect, we only mean that the degree of market imperfection is abating. Therefore, regardless of how an institutional innovation sponsor or each stakeholder of the institutional innovation adjusts its behavior according to its own interests in response to an institutional variation, institutional innovation restoration will always be constrained by market imperfection and hence unable to completely eliminate institutional variation. This also reflects the limitation of institutional innovation restoration.

From the perspective of enterprise behavior as well as personal behavior, we cannot ignore the power of behavioral habit. When institutional variation occurs after enterprises and individuals take their own profits and losses into consideration out of their interests, they will likely develop certain behavioral pattern. For example, some enterprises tend to build excess inventories of raw materials, while some consumers tend to change their consumption and saving habits. These habits, once established, can hardly be changed in a short period of time. They will continue influencing economic activities over some periods of time, that is, the influence tends to persist for some time before disappearing, which also restricts the degree to which the institutional innovation can be restored.

In summary, the study on institutional innovation restoration and its likelihood helps us further understand the features of institutional innovation. Our research on the institutional innovation associated with the establishment of order in the commodity economy as well as on the phenomena where some new institutions or measures underwent significant variations at the beginning while experiencing waning variations later is all related to the issue of institutional innovation restoration. Therefore, our discussions are meaningful. Nonetheless, they are still preliminary. If we want to clarify the

relationship between institutional variation and institutional innovation restoration, we will have to analyze every new institution or measure on a case-by-case basis. The overall trend is always straightforward:

During the transition from the product economy to the commodity economy, institutional variation and institutional innovation restoration of varying degrees will exist side by side as long as the government functions properly as the institutional innovation sponsor, and they are not contradictory.

10.2.4 Relative Stability Following Institutional Innovation

After an institutional innovation is implemented, the institution will remain relatively stable for a period of time. The relative stability following an institutional innovation can be called "institutional equilibrium." Institutional equilibrium means that the institutional innovation sponsor has achieved its goal of adjusting the interests of various stakeholders through institutional innovation and there will be no additional benefits for the institutional innovation sponsor if it continues to reform the institution or propose a new one. As a result, all market participants have reached the consensus that there is no need to pursue further institutional innovation, which leads to relative stability after the institutional innovation.

Now, how long can the relative stability following an institutional innovation last? What kind of situations will break the relative stability and drive another round of institutional innovation? It all depends on whether the objective and subjective conditions have changed and how probable the interests of each stakeholder can be readjusted subsequently. In terms of objective conditions, any change in economic conditions, production technologies, and market environment can bring about the prospect of a new institution and allows a market participant to have an opportunity to realize additional benefits. In terms of subjective conditions, if a market participant as an institutional innovation sponsor has gathered sufficient information about the changes in objective conditions, understood the potential changes of various stakeholders'interests due to the new institutional innovation, the benefits to the economy and to the institutional innovation itself as result of such changes, and developed a realistic plan for the institutional innovation, the subjective conditions for the institutional innovation have become mature. When both subjective and objective conditions are met, the relative stability following the original institutional innovation will fall apart, and a new round

of institutional innovation will begin.[2]

From a purely theoretical perspective, the abovementioned process of "institutional innovation—the relative stability following institutional innovation—new institutional innovation" is well grounded and consistent with the overall trend of institutional innovation. The problem is that objective conditions changed fairly quickly during the transition from the product economy to the commodity economy. Thus after the institutional innovation was implemented, it was hard to maintain the relative stability for a relatively long period of time. Sometimes, no sooner was an institutional innovation implemented than the request for a new institutional innovation was raised. On the other hand, during the transition from the product economy to the commodity economy, more than one institution needed innovation in order to establish the order of the commodity economy. There were several institutions that underwent innovation at the same time, such as the enterprise system, the financial system, fiscal policies, the employment and wage system, and the social security system. The institutional innovation in these areas impacted each other. Even though an institutional innovation in one area had been implemented at a certain time, it was very difficult to maintain the relative stability for a relatively long time as long as institutional innovations in other areas were still in progress. In other words, even if the relative stability had been realized, it would break apart fairly quickly. The reason is simple: Every institutional innovation is one part of a complete system. An institutional innovation in one area is only a component of the systemic institutional innovation. Therefore, after an individual institutional innovation, it is very difficult to see the relative stability that comes with the implementation of the systemic institutional innovation, and the relative stability after the implementation of the individual institutional innovation is also temporary. If we also take into consideration institutional variation and institutional innovation restoration that we discussed earlier, it will be much easier to understand the transience of the relative stability following an institutional innovation.

Of course, we do not deny the possibility of realizing relative stability after an institutional innovation, nor do we mean that we have to undertake institutional innovation continuously in one specific area, i.e., immediately starting the preparation for another round of institutional innovation right after an institutional innovation in one area is completed. This is not only impossible but also unnecessary. If we force ourselves to do so, more

institutional variations will likely occur, which will not benefit the institutional innovation sponsors as well as each market participant. The reason why we mention the transience of the relative stability following institutional innovation is based on two considerations:

First of all, understanding the transience of the relative stability helps us further understand the significance of coordinating and balancing various institutional innovations in different areas. We cannot think that an institutional innovation in one area will remain for the long term once implemented. The understanding of institutional innovation as a systematic and coordinated project helps us understand that an institutional innovation in one specific area cannot work without a series of other institutional innovations. The transition from the product economy to the commodity economy is dependent upon how well the systematic institutional innovation performs, not simply upon one component or a few components of the systematic institutional innovation. The institutional innovation during the establishment of the order of the commodity economy should be viewed dynamically rather than statically.

Secondly, having understood the transience of the relative stability, we should hold the belief that it is applicable to each particular institutional innovation. To be specific, we cannot require that everything be perfect right from the start or even wait for the perfect condition by postponing the implementation of an institutional innovation, nor can we hope, on the other hand, that a new institution can be launched once and for all, thinking it will last forever with no need for further revision, addition, or improvement after being implemented. The scientific attitude should be as follows: When the time is right, an institutional innovation shall be launched, and there is no need to wait for the new institution to become flawless; after the new institution is implemented, we should understand that it will be relatively stable over a short period of time and that it will need to be revised, added, or improved according to how well other relevant institutional innovations proceed during economic reforms.

As a result, our understanding of the relative stability following institutional innovation is comprehensive and beneficial to the establishment of the order of the commodity economy.

贰　制度变型与制度创新规范化

一、制度创新中的两类制度变型

在建立商品经济秩序的过程中，与制度创新有关的一个值得注意的问题，就是制度的变型。制度变型是指：一种按照制度创新主体原来的设计而出现的制度创新，或者在它产生的过程中，或者在它形成后不久，就发生了变化，同原来的设计有较大的差异，从而起不到它本来应当起的作用。比如说，在企业制度创新方面，原来设计的租赁制、承包制、股份制等等都是既考虑到所有者的利益，又考虑到经营者的利益，并且力求在经济发展过程中使企业具有较大活力的，但在实际生活中，却发现租赁制、承包制、股份制都有不同程度的变型，同原来的设计有一定的出入。又如，在市场制度创新方面，原来设计的关于促使流通渠道畅通，保证公平竞争的实现，以及有利于生产要素转移和重新组合的若干新制度，一旦产生之后，也在不同程度上变型了，有的甚至成为阻碍流通，阻碍公平竞争，或阻碍生产要素转移和重新组合的制度。这些都可以称为制度变型。

制度变型分为全部的和局部的。这既指一种旨在建立商品经济秩序的制度本身的全部变型或局部变型，也指这种制度在不同的地区和部门全部变型或局部变型。但即使是某个地区和某个部门内发生了某种制度的局部变型，那么这也是值得研究的课题。人们会思考：为什么在其他地区和部门不曾发生制度变型，而偏偏在这一地区和部门发生制度变型呢？为什么有的制度在创新以后没有变型，而有的制度却会变型呢？为什么同一种制度在不同地区和部门变型的程度很不一样呢？对制度变型问题的研究将有助于制度创新问题研究的深化。

再作进一步的分析，不难发现，制度变型并不一定是坏事，即它可能是坏事，也可能是好事。在这里，评判好与坏的标准是有助于商品经济秩序的建立与否。既然我们所讨论的制度创新是指那些旨在建立商品经济秩序的制度创新，那么评价制度创新效果的标准显然就在于能否符合预定的建立商品经济秩序的要求。制度创新主体对某一具体的新制度的设计究竟能否符合预定的要求，必须由实践来检验。这样就不排除下述情况的出现，即制度创新过程中或制度创新以后，原来关于制度创新的设计同实际情况有出入，从而在实行中发生了变型，这种制度变型反而比原来的设计更符合预定的建立商品经济秩序的要求，并且它有助于修改原来的设计，使创新后的制度完善化。这样的制度变型，不管是全部变型还是局部变型，都应该被认为是好事。但在这里我们要着重考察的，并不是这一类制度变型，而是另一类有碍于商品经济秩序建立的制

度变型，即那些可以被称为坏事的制度变型。对于这一类制度变型，不妨用一个贬义词来表示，即称之为“制度的走样”或制度创新的不规范化。如果用通俗的语言来说明，那就是人们口头常说的：“本来是挺好的制度，一到下面，就走样啦！”为什么会“走样”？“走样”以后该怎么办？这正是我们在研究制度创新时要解决的问题。下面，在分析制度变型时，制度变型一词专指贬义的制度变型，即对“制度的走样”而言。

二、制度变型的主要原因

制度变型的主要原因可以从政府行为、企业行为、居民个人行为、市场机制四个方面来进行分析。

（一）从政府行为方面分析

政府行为的非理想化是导致制度变型的主要原因之一。正如前面已经提到的，在作这种分析时，可以把政府在设计制度创新时的行为非理想化撇在一边。我们不妨假定原来的制度设计是较好的，只是在执行过程中走了样。这种制度变型，从政府行为方面来分析，可能与以下三种情形有关：

第一，政府机构组成不合理，从而在实现某种制度创新时，与此有关的各个政府机构职责不明，相互牵制，甚至各自从原来的制度所赋予的职权范围出发，采取彼此抵消作用的行为。这样，即使原先设计的某种制度创新是较好的，但在实现过程中很难符合预定的要求。对于这种情况，应当从政治体制改革和政府机构调整、精简和职责明确化的角度去着手解决。只要政府机构组成仍然不合理，政府机构相互牵制的现象继续存在，制度创新过程中就难免出现制度变型问题。

第二，政府工作人员的素质与能力不能适应制度创新及其实现的要求。关于这一点，是比较容易理解的。不少事例都表明某些制度之所以变型，就与政府工作人员的素质与能力较差有关：他们或者错误地理解制度创新的意义，或者习惯地用一些不利于实现某项制度创新的手段来处理问题，或者由于能力的限制而把工作做偏了，甚至还有可能利用制度创新而谋取私利，从而导致制度变型。因此，不断提高政府工作人员的素质与能力对于消除制度创新过程中的制度变型是十分必要的。

第三，缺乏配套措施。任何一项制度创新，如果要使它不变型，必须有相应的配套措施。配套措施的作用就在于保证制度创新的实现。然而，并不是在任何情况下都是先有了充分的配套措施，才推出一定的新制度的。于是就会发生制度的变型。那么，政府在设计某项制度创新时，能不能事先就把各种配套的工作做好，使配套措施都生效了，然后再推出新制度呢？从理论上说，这种可能性是存在的。如果真的那样做了，至少从这个角度来看就不容易发生制度变型问题。但在实际生活

中，情况要比理论上的假定复杂得多。这是因为，由于政府事先不可能准确地预计到推出新制度之后社会经济的变化、居民行为的变化，以及政府不可能把偶然因素都考虑在内，所以政府在实现某项制度创新时总会感到配套措施之不足，这样，制度的变型仍是有可能发生的。

（二）从企业行为方面分析

经济生活中的各种制度创新都与企业的利益变化有关。企业往往针对某项制度创新，采取一定的对策，以便使自己尽可能在该项制度创新中多得利益，少受损失。假定企业是真正自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，那么它们的行为必然受利益原则支配，受自身的预算的约束，它们的对策也将在衡量利益与损失的基础上被决定和付诸实施。在这种情况下，企业的对策即使有可能超出了法律所容许的范围，但由于企业受利益原则的支配，它们必须考虑违法行为所带来的严重后果，因此它们不得不有所顾忌，在企业行为上有所收敛。自主经营、自负盈亏的企业在利益原则的支配之下，很可能在现行法律、法规所容许的范围内采取一定的对策。但一般说来，这样的企业行为不至于导致制度的变型，因为企业的对策是在现行法律、法规所容许的范围内进行的。

现在，从企业尚未摆脱行政附属物地位的情况来分析。由于企业不负盈亏，或者只负盈、不负亏，所以利益原则对企业行为的约束是有限的，甚至是不存在的。这种情况导致了企业行为的短期化，企业完全有可能不顾后果而采取超出法律容许范围的对策，其结果将是促使制度变型，加剧制度变型。换句话说，所推出的制度的变型是与企业运行机制的不完善与企业行为的短期化密切相关的。当然，这并不意味着一切尚未自主经营、自负盈亏的企业都不会采取法律容许范围内的对策。问题是这些企业如果采取了法律容许范围内的对策，那么也同样不至于导致制度的变型。

在这里还需要说明两个问题：一是，为什么自负盈亏的或不自负盈亏的企业在法律容许范围内所采取的对策不至于引起制度变型？二是，为什么不自负盈亏的企业比自负盈亏的企业较易于超出法律容许的范围来采取对策？

关于第一个问题，可以这样答复：根据前面所给的假设，即“制度变型”专指“制度的走样”，而不包括原来设计的制度创新因不够完善而在实行过程中所作出的必要的修正、补充。如果企业在法律容许的范围内采取了对策，那么这很可能向政府提供了有助于制度创新完善的信息，使政府对制度进行修正、补充。正是从这个意义上说，微观经济单位在法律容许的范围内采取的对策对宏观经济决策部门工作的改进和决策的修正是有益的。这种情况不在我们所讨论的制度变型问题之列。

至于第二个问题，可以这样来考虑，即这个命题之所以能够成立，

以政府对一切违法的企业行为有正常的检查、监督、处罚为前提。假定政府对违法的企业行为缺少应有的检查、监督，处理又不严，那么即使是自负盈亏的企业，也会采取超出法律容许范围的对策，促成制度的变型。反之，如果政府对违法的企业行为检查、监督都很得力，处理又严厉，该没收的没收，该惩罚的惩罚，该取消营业执照的就取消营业执照，企业负责人该被判刑的就判刑等等，那么自负盈亏的企业的违法行为就会大大减少，从事违法活动的企业将主要是那些不自负盈亏的、依然处于行政附属物地位的、带有官办性质的企业。制度变型在很大程度上与它们的违法行为有关。

（三）从居民个人行为方面分析

制度的变型基本上不应该归咎于居民。理由是很清楚的，尽管居民个人对任何一项制度创新都会有自己的评价，也都会根据自己的利益与损失而采取趋利避害的对策，但由于单个居民的力量是有限的，居民个人的行为不至于导致制度的变型。与政府自身的行为、企业的行为相比，居民个人的行为在促使制度变型方面所起到的作用要小得多。

然而，这是就一般情况而言的。如果发生了以下两种情况，那么居民个人的行为对制度变型仍能发生较大的影响。

第一，当居民的行为不再以居民个人的单独行为表现出来，而是以居民的群体行为表现出来时，居民行为对制度变型的影响将显著增大。在这种场合，无论居民是作为消费者、生产要素供给者还是作为生活在一定环境中的住户，他们出于自身的利益的考虑，都有可能联合采取行动，使制度发生变型。

第二，即使是居民个人的行为，但如果居民的预期发生重大的变化，或者居民的预期紊乱、预期极不稳定，那么这也会对制度的变型发生较大的影响。这时，居民个人的预期变化、预期紊乱、预期极不稳定等等或者表现于居民的消费行为上，或者表现于居民的储蓄行为上，并通过消费行为和储蓄行为的异常变动而促成制度的变型。要知道，居民个人的单独行为的作用虽然有限，但个人行为的示范效应却是不可忽视的。在示范效应之下，单个居民的异常的消费变动和储蓄变动所造成的社会影响有可能给经济带来动荡，从而导致制度的变型。

（四）从市场机制方面分析

市场机制的不完善是制度变型的另一个重要原因。要知道商品经济中的制度创新的实现，无论从哪个角度来看，都与市场机制有关。比如说，制度创新主体的利益与损失的调整，总是通过市场活动而表现出来的；制度创新所要求的各种经济关系的调整，实际上也就是不同的市场活动参加者在市场中的关系的调整；通过一定的制度创新而准备实现的资源重新配置，即生产要素的重新组合，在商品经济条件下，离开了市

场的作用也就无法成为事实，等等。这一切充分说明：市场机制越完善，制度创新越有可能符合预定的目的，反之，市场机制越不完善，制度变型的可能性也就越大。

但从我国现阶段的实际情况来看，市场机制不完善对于制度的变型的影响尤其值得注意。由于市场机制不完善，市场既不可能正确地反映参加市场活动的各方所需要的经济信息，又不可能把经济信息迅速地、完整地传递给各方，这样，即使政府在推出某项新制度以前已经就制度创新后的利益再分配问题进行了充分研究，并作了相应的部署，但只要参加市场活动的各方得不到准确的经济信息和不能由此作出判断，那么它们必然会采取各种对策，从而打乱了政府在推出新制度时所作出的部署。制度创新过程中之所以发生制度的变型，与市场机制的不完善以及由此带来的后果有着不可分开的联系。

此外，市场机制的不完善也表现于交易活动的非公开化、非契约化、非货币化等方面。交易活动的非公开化、非契约化和非货币化造成两个不利于制度创新的结果。

第一，这些现象使政府作为制度创新主体在进行制度创新之前得不到有关交易活动的准确的信息，使政府往往只看到一些表面现象，而忽略了对经济生活有重要影响的各种非公开的、非契约的、非货币的交易行为，从而使得所推出的新制度在实行过程中变型。

第二，由于交易活动的非公开化、非契约化和非货币化，参加市场的各方都会感觉到市场的透明度较低，感觉到市场前景有较大的不确定性，从而导致它们往往采取短期行为，采取本来可以不必采取的预防性措施（如超额购买原材料，超额储存现金，提前购买日用消费品等等），这样也对制度的变型发生作用。

从以上关于政府行为、企业行为、居民个人行为和市场机制的分析可以了解到，要消除制度创新中的制度变型，并不是仅仅依靠制度创新主体原先的正确设计就可以做到的。制度变型的减少和消除，有赖于从政府行为、企业行为、居民个人行为、市场机制等方面共同着手，即不仅需要完善政府机构，提高政府工作人员的素质和能力，推出配套措施，以及使企业成为自负盈亏的商品生产者，而且还需要使市场机制趋于完善，使参加市场活动的各方有较稳定的预期。

三、制度创新规范化的可能性

前面已经说明了导致制度变型的主要原因，并从理论上指出，必须从多方面着手才能减少制度变型的发生或防止制度变型的出现，也就是导致制度创新的规范化。接着，让我们考察这样两个问题：

第一，假定在制度创新过程中已经发生了制度的变型，那么这种被

推出的新制度在变型之后还有没有可能通过某种调整而恢复原来的模样？制度创新在扭曲之后返回到预定的轨道上被称作制度创新的复归，或称作制度创新由不规范化到规范化的转变。

第二，假定在制度变型之后通过某种调整而实现了制度创新的复归，那么这是不是意味着制度创新又回到了原来预定的轨道之上呢？

这两个问题是值得注意的。它们表明了制度创新过程的研究很有深入的必要。

应当承认，制度创新的复归，即制度创新由不规范化到规范化的可能性是存在的。制度创新的复归依赖于利益的调节作用。在发生制度变型之后，制度创新主体与受制度创新影响的各方的利益都发生一定的变化，正是这种利益的变化使得制度创新的复归成为可能。至于制度创新复归到什么程度，那就需要根据具体情况才能确定。

现在先考察制度变型之后制度创新复归的三种可能性。

1．假定所推出的新制度是由于政府机构组成的不当、政府工作人员素质和能力的不足、政府的配套措施跟不上而导致变型的，那么在发生制度变型之后，政府作为制度创新主体的预期利益没有实现，这种情况有可能推动政府在改革政府机构、提高政府工作人员素质和能力、推出配套措施等方面采取相应的措施。通过这种方式而导致的制度创新复归，具有一定可能性。制度创新复归并不意味着制度的自行调整，而是意味着在政府起作用的情况下的制度被调整。

2．假定所推出的新制度是由于企业的违法行为或居民个人的预期紊乱、预期极不稳定等原因而发生变型的，那么在发生制度变型之后，政府作为制度创新主体，会因为利益的未能实现而采取措施：一方面通过法制工作的加强，取缔各种违法行为，并促使居民个人的预期趋于稳定；另一方面，在政府认识到企业尚未摆脱行政附属地位的情况是导致制度变型的重要因素之后，它将着手企业制度的改革，使企业早日成为自主经营、自负盈亏的经济实体。这些都有助于制度创新的复归。再从企业与居民个人这方面来说，不管在新制度推出后他们是否采取了可能导致制度变型的对策，只要所推出的新制度仍有使他们的利益增长的可能性，他们同样会促使这些利益得到实现。特别是在政府采取了相应的措施，制止企业违法行为和稳定居民个人的预期的情况下，企业和居民个人出于利益的考虑，也会逐渐减少可能导致制度变型的对策，从而推动制度创新的复归。

3．假定制度变型主要是由于市场机制不完善而引起的，那么这种条件下的制度创新复归将取决于市场机制的完善程度。由于商品经济发展过程中参加市场活动的各方的共同利益都要求市场机制趋于完善，从而市场机制的趋于完善成为参加市场活动的各方的共同利益所驱动的必

然趋势，因此可以认为，利益关系将导致制度创新在变型之后有可能复归。

在这里还需要指出，制造创新复归是就制度变型而言的。如果说制度变型是对于制度创新的不同程度的偏离，那么制度创新复归就是对制度变型的不同程度的纠正，也就是按不同的程度回到制度创新的预定轨道上去。制度创新复归究竟能够复归到什么程度，这固然取决于政府作为制度创新主体的努力程度以及企业和居民个人根据利益原则对于自己所采取的对策的修正程度，同时也与制度变型的程度密切相关。这就是说，如果新制度推出以后，虽然发生了制度的变型，但偏离制度创新的程度较小，那么制度创新的复归也就较为容易。反之，制度变型越厉害，即偏离制度创新的程度越大，制度创新的复归也就越难。换言之，并非任何一种制度变型都有可能向制度创新的原来预定的轨道复归。有时，制度变型过大，制度创新复归也就失去了可能性。这种情况下就需要有另一次制度创新，即不再寄希望于制度创新的复归，干脆从头开始，另外推出一种新的制度。

再说，即使制度创新复归了，它也不一定返回到预定的制度创新轨道之上。制度创新的复归只是意味着对制度变型的某种程度的纠正。举一个例子来说，这就好像钟摆一样，当钟摆向某一侧摆动之后，它可以再摆回来，但不一定摆回原地，而只是偏离原地的幅度小些而已。那么，为什么它不一定回到原地呢？为什么制度创新复归不可能把制度变型所造成的偏离完全消除呢？这正说明了市场活动以及企业行为、居民个人行为的特点。

从市场活动来说，要知道，市场机制的不完善是普遍的，我们所遇到的都是不完善程度不同的市场，如果说市场正在趋于完善，那无非是说市场的不完善程度有所减轻。因此，不管制度创新主体与受制度创新影响的各方在制度变型之后如何根据利益关系的变化而调整了各自的行为，制度创新的复归总要受到市场的不完善性的限制，而不可能使制度变型的程度完全消失。制度创新复归的局限性也正反映于此。

从企业行为、居民个人行为来说，这些行为的惯性作用是不可忽视的。当企业和居民个人已经根据自己的利益与损失的考虑而导致制度发生变型之后，企业和居民个人的行为就会产生某种惯性，比如说，企业超额储存原材料的行为、居民个人的消费行为和储蓄行为的变化等等，在一经开始之后，不是很快就能被扭转过来的，而由此对经济生活发生的影响，也会有一个继续存在的阶段，即通常需要一段时间才能使之消失。这些也限定了制度创新的复归程度。

总之，对制度创新复归及其可能性的探讨有助于我们进一步了解制度创新的特点。在研究与商品经济新秩序建立有关的制度创新时，以及

在研究若干新制度、新措施在实现过程中变型程度有可能先增大、后缩小之类的现象时，都涉及制度创新复归问题。因此，这些探讨是有意义的。当然，这里的探讨仍然只是初步。如果要想把制度变型与制度创新复归之间的关系讲清楚，那就需要结合每一项具体的新制度、新措施来进行分析。但总的趋势始终是明确的。这就是：在从产品经济体制向商品经济体制转变的过程中，在政府作为制度创新主体发挥其应有的作用的条件下，既有制度变型，也会有某种程度的制度创新复归，二者并不矛盾。

四、制度创新后的相对稳定

制度创新实现以后，在一定的时期内可以保持制度的相对稳定。这种制度创新后的相对稳定也被称作“制度均衡”。这是指：制度创新主体原来希望通过制度创新而实现的利益关系的调整这一目的已经达到了，如果继续改变这种制度，再推出新的制度，那么利益关系的再调整不可能使得制度创新主体得到追加的利益，从而参加市场活动的各方中的任何一方都认为没有必要去从事制度创新，这样，制度创新以后的相对稳定局面就会来到。

那么，这种制度创新以后的相对稳定局面究竟会保持多久呢？在什么情形之下会打破这种相对稳定局面，又开始新的制度创新呢？这取决于客观条件和主观条件的变化，以及由于这些变化而引起的利益关系再调整的可能性。从客观条件来分析，经济形势的变化、生产技术条件的变化、市场环境的变化等等都可能提供新的制度创新前景，使参加市场活动的某一方在制度创新的新格局中有获得追加利益的机会。从主观条件来分析，参加市场活动的某一方作为制度创新主体，如果已经掌握了客观条件变化的足够的信息，已经了解到进行新的制度创新可能引起的利益关系的调整以及这种调整对于整个经济的有利性和对于制度创新主体自身的有利性，并且已经具有可供操作的制度创新方案了，那么制度创新的主观条件也已成熟。当主客观条件都成熟时，原来的制度创新以后的相对稳定局面便被打破，一轮新的制度创新就开始了。[2]

从纯理论的角度来看，以上关于“制度创新——制度创新后的相对稳定——新的制度创新”的过程分析是有根据的，而且也符合于制度创新的总的趋势。问题是在从产品经济体制向商品经济体制转变的过程中，客观条件的变化是相当快的。在制度创新实现以后，很难保持一段较长时间的相对稳定局面，有时，一个制度创新刚实现，新的制度创新的要求就被提出来了。另一方面，在从产品经济体制向商品经济体制转变的过程中，为建立商品经济秩序而有待于创新的制度不止一种，同一时间内正在着手的就有好些项（比如说，有企业制度方面的、金融制度

方面的、财政制度方面的、劳动工资制度方面的、社会保障制度方面的，等等）。各个不同领域内的制度创新相互影响。即使在某一时间内实现了某一方面的某项制度创新，但只要其他方面的制度创新仍在继续进行，那就很难使得某一方面制度创新以后出现较长时间的相对稳定局面，或者说，即使形成了这种相对稳定局面，那么它也是很快就会被打破的。道理很简单，所有这些制度创新都是配套的，某一方面的制度创新只不过是整个制度创新体系的一个组成部分，因此不仅难以形成整个制度创新体系实现以后的相对稳定，甚至个别制度创新以后的相对稳定也只能是短暂的。如果我们再把前面已经讨论过的制度变型、制度创新复归等情况考虑在内，那么制度创新以后相对稳定的短暂性就更好理解了。

当然，这并不是否认制度创新以后出现相对稳定局面的可能性，也不是说必须在某一方面不间断地进行制度创新，即刚刚实现了某一方面的某项制度创新，就立即准备推出又一轮新的制度创新。这样做，既没有可能，也没有必要，假定硬要如此，那只可能造成更多的制度变型，对制度创新主体和对参加市场活动的各方都没有好处。我们在这里之所以提出制度创新以后相对稳定的短暂性问题，主要是考虑到以下两点：

第一，认识了这种相对稳定的短暂性，对于各个方面的制度创新的协调、配套的意义也将有进一步的认识。不能认为在某一方面已经实行了制度创新，就有可能使这种新的制度长期维持下来。对制度创新的整体性和协调性的认识，有助于了解某一个个别领域内的制度创新是不能脱离其他一系列制度创新而起到其应有的作用的。从产品经济体制向商品经济体制的转变，取决于整个制度创新体系的成就，而并非仅仅依赖于某一项或少数几项制度创新的实现。在建立商品经济秩序的过程中，对制度创新，应当树立动态的观点，而不应当静止地看待这些创新。

第二，了解到这种相对稳定的短暂性，对于每一项具体的制度创新，都应当持有这样的看法，即一方面不能在一开始时就要求其尽善尽美，甚至为了求其尽善尽美而推迟出台的时机，另一方面不能寄希望于一劳永逸，以为只要推出了某项新的制度，就可以使之长期存在而不必再修正、补充、完善了。科学的态度是：在时机已经成熟时就推出某项制度创新，而不必要求新制度是完美无缺的；在新制度被推出后，对于它的短暂的相对稳定性有所认识，从而随着经济改革的进展，根据其他相关的制度创新的实现情况，及时修正它、补充它、完善它。

这样，对于制度创新以后相对稳定的认识就是全面的、有利于商品经济秩序建立的。

GL0SSARY　专有名词表

板块论 Thesis of infiltration
保值 Maintain value, capital preservation, preserve capital
边际成本 Marginal cost
边际收益 Marginal revenue
不完全竞争 Imperfect competition
不协调 Mismatch
财政支出 Government spending
差别税率 Differential tax rate
差别利率 Differential interest rate
产品经济体制 Product economy, product economic system
产权关系 Property rights
产出决策 Output decision
产业结构调整 Industrial restructuring
产值 Output value, output
超额需求 Excess demand
超额供给 Excess supply
承包制 Subcontracting system
存货 Inventory
单一市场定价机制 Single-market pricing mechanism
地区经济结构 Regional economy structure
动态均衡 Dynamic equilibrium
二元机制 Dual mechanism
房地产市场（房产市场） Real estate market
非均衡 Disequilibrium
非瓦尔拉均衡 Non-Walrasian equilibrium
福利 Welfare, benefit
个体户 Small business, small business owner
供给不足 Undersupply, supply gap, insufficient supply
供给结构 Supply structure
供求矛盾 Supply and demand mismatch
固定价格 Fixed price
固定资产 Fixed assets

股份制 Shareholding system
过剩 Surplus
合同谈判成本 Contract negotiation cost
合同履行成本 Contract enforcement cost
红利率 Dividend rate
货币市场 Money market
汇率制度 Exchange rate system
机会成本 Opportunity cost
技术结构 Technology structure
价格改革 Price reform
价格刚性 Price rigidity
价格双轨制 Dual-price system
价格弹性 Price elasticity
价格调节 Price adjustment
价格信号 Price signal
价格预期 Price expectation
兼并 Merger
交易成本 Trading cost, transaction cost
交易活动 Trading activity, transactional activity
结构性失衡 Structural imbalance
紧缩 Deflation
警戒线 Security line
经济的不平衡增长 Unbalanced economic growth
经济的平衡增长 Balanced economic growth
经济结构 Economic structure
经济体制改革 Reform of economic system
经济调节 Economic regulation
经济效率 Economic efficiency
经济运行机制 Mechanism of the operation of the economy
经济增长 Economic growth
经济增长主体 Agents of economic growth
经济资源 Economic resources
经济纠纷 Economic dispute
净收益 Net return
纠偏 Rectification
就业结构 Employment structure
绝对价格水平 Absolute price level

决策权 Decision rights
均衡价格 Equilibrium price
均衡利息率 Equilibrium interest rate
亏损 Economic loss, loss
可支配收入 Disposable income
凯恩斯经济学派 Keynesian theorists
控股制 Controlling shareholder system
劳动生产率 Labor productivity
劳务 Labor services
劳务市场 Labor services market
劳务支出 Labor expenditure
累进制个人所得税 Progressive income tax
历史比例原则 Principle of historical ratios, the history principle
利息率预期 Expected interest rate
利益刚性 Rigidity of interests
利益分配 Interest distribution
利益机制 Interest mechanism
利益原则 Profitability principle
利益约束 Constrained by self-interest
利益主体 Master of one's own interests
联产承包责任制 Household responsibility system
零短缺度 No shortage
零失业率 Zero unemployment
零通货膨胀率 Zero inflation
流通 Circulation
垄断 Monopoly
垄断价格 Monopoly price
垄断利润率 Monopoly profit margin
摩擦 Friction
目标机制 Goals mechanism
目标吸引 Lure of goals
目标原则（优先照顾原则） Goal-priority principle (the priority principle)
内部经济 Internal economy
逆效应 Counter effect
农村产业结构 Rural economic structure
农业合作化 Movement of Agricultural Collectivization

农业生产率 Productivity in agriculture
农产品平准基金 Agricultural production stabilization fund
配额均衡 Rationing equilibrium
偏好 Preference
平衡增长 Balanced growth
平均成本 Average cost
平均分配原则 Equal distribution principle
平均国民收入 Per capita national income
平均技术熟练水平 Average skill proficiency/level
平均收益 Average revenue
企业行为 Enterprise behavior
企业体制 Enterprise system
企业运行机制 Enterprise operation mechanism
企业制度的改革 Corporate institutional reform, corporate reform
缺口 Gap
商品比价 Commodity price ratio, the ratio of the prices of comparable merchandise
商品供给缺口 Commodity supply gap
商品市场 Commodity market
商品需求缺口 Commodity demand shortfall
商品经济体制 Commodity economy
商品经济秩序 Commodity economy order
商品生产者 Goods producer
社会购买力 Societal purchasing power, purchasing power
生产成本 Production cost
生产过剩 Overproduction
生产力水平 Productivity
生产能力 Production capacity
生产要素 Production factor
生产要素的流动 Flow of production factors
生产资料 Means of production
渗透论 Penetration theory
剩余 Surplus
市场单一定价制 Sole market price
市场的优先原则、垄断原则 The priority principle, the monopoly principle
市场不完善 Market imperfection, underdeveloped market

市场化 Market orientation, market-oriented
市场结构 Market structure
市场配额 Market quota
市场调节 Market regulation
市场机制 Market mechanism
市场经济体制 Market economy system
市场缺口 Demand shortfall
市场选择 Market selection
市场引导 Market leading
适度规模经营 Optimal scale management
失业 Unemployment
收入分配 Income distribution
收入决策 Income decision
数量配额 Quantity rationing
数量限制 Quantity constraint
双轨价格 Dual-track price system
双轨经济体制 Dual-track economic system
生产规模 Production scale
生产资料 Production materials
数量—价格调节措施 Quantity–price adjustment measures
数量调节 Quantity adjustment
税后利润 After-tax profit
税率 Tax rate
私营户 Private enterprises, small business owners
所有制改革 Ownership reform
所有制体系 Ownership structure
体制改革 Institutional reform
贴现 Discount
贴现率 Discounting factor
通货膨胀 Inflation
投入决策 Input decision
投资主体 Investment principal
土地所有权 Land ownership
瓦尔拉均衡 Walrasian equilibrium
外部经济 External economy
外汇收入 Foreign exchange earnings, foreign exchange proceeds
外汇市场 Foreign exchange market

完全竞争 Perfect competition
微观经济单位 Microeconomic unit
无效供给 Ineffective supply
无效投资 Ineffective investment
物质生产部门 Material production sector
物质生产领域 Material production
物质资源 Material resources
现金持有定额 Cash holding quota
相对价格水平 Relative price level
消费结构 Consumption composition
消费品市场 Consumer goods market
消费信贷 Consumption credit
销售收入 Sales income
销路 Market potential
小生产者 Small-scale producer, small producer
效力递减 Diminishing effectiveness
效率标准 Efficiency criteria
效率判断 Efficiency judgment
效率增长潜力 Potential in efficiency growth
信贷量 Credit amount
信贷支出 Credit expenditure
信贷规模控制 Credit scale control
信贷配额制 Credit rationing
信贷平衡 Credit market equilibrium
信贷条件 Credit condition
信贷制度 Credit system
信息不完备 Incomplete information
信息成本 Information cost
新经济体制 New economic system
行政改革 Administrative reform
行政机构附属物 Affiliation with administrative institution
行为的长期化 Long-term oriented (behavior), long-term orientation
需求价格弹性 Price elasticity in demand
需求约束 Demand constraint
需求主体 Buyer, purchaser
需求不足 Lack of demand
需求结构 Demand structure

预防性措施 Precautionary measures
预期 Expectation
预期纯利益 Expected net interest
预算约束 Budget constraint
运行机制 Operational mechanism
政府调节 Government regulation
再投资 Reinvestment
增值 Appreciation
政府调节 Government regulation
政府计划 Government plans
指标 Indicator
指导性计划 Nonmandatory planning;
滞后 Lag
滞销 Poor sales
滞涨 Stagflation
制度创新理论 Theory of institutional innovation
制度创新主体 Sponsoring entity of institutional innovation
制度创新复归 Institutional innovation restoration
制度均衡 Institutional equilibrium
制度变型 Institutional variation
转让 Transfer
资金市场 Capital market
资金周转 Fund turnover rate
资源存量 Stock of resources
资源短缺 Resource shortage
资源分配比例 Resource distribution ratio
资源利用效率标准 Efficiency principle of resource utilization
资源浪费 Resource waste
资源配置 Resource allocation
资源配置不当 Resource misallocation
资源配置机制 Resource allocation mechanism
资源投入和组合 Resource input and combination
自主权 Right(s)
指令性经济 Mandatory economy
总量失衡 Aggregate imbalance
自负盈亏 Liable/responsible for one's own profits and losses
自行调节功能 Self-regulatory function

自主经营 Make one's own business decisions
自主经营权 Decision-making right(s)
总供给 Aggregate supply
总需求 Aggregate demand
租赁 Lease
自主经营 Independent management, independent operation

NOTES　注释

第一章

1 Li, Yining. (1986). *Socialist political economics* (pp. 297–298). The Commercial Press.
1 厉以宁：《社会主义政治经济学》，商务印书馆，1986年版，第297～298页。
2 Li, Yining. (1989). *Perspectives on Chinese economic reforms* (pp. 31–34). China Prospect Press.
2 厉以宁：《中国经济改革的思路》，中国展望出版社，1989年版，第31～34页。

第二章

1 Li, Yining. (1988). *Management of national economy* (pp. 418–424). Hebei People's Press.
1 厉以宁：《国民经济管理学》，河北人民出版社，1988年版，第418～424页。
2 Li, Yining. (1986). *Socialist political economics* (pp. 322–323). The Commercial Press.
2 厉以宁：《社会主义政治经济学》，商务印书馆，1986年版，第322～323页。

第三章

1 Li Yining. (1988). *Management of national economy* (p. 424). Hebei People's Press.
1 厉以宁：《国民经济管理学》，河北人民出版社，1988年版，第424页。

第五章

1 I have discussed this issue in my book, *Management of National Economy* (Hebei People's Press, 1988), with reference to Tables 12–1 and 12–3. The analyses in this book are based on the discussions therein.
1 在我所写的《国民经济管理学》（河北人民出版社1988年版）一书中，已经提到这个问题了。见该书表12—1，表12—3。这里是在该书已经论述的基础上再作进一步分析。
2 I have discussed fairly thoroughly the economic "side effects" as well as the treatments in Chap. 8 of *Management of National Economy* (Hebei People's Press, 1988). This book examines the issue in greater detail on the basis of the discussions therein.
2 我在《国民经济管理学》（河北人民出版社1988年版）的第八章中，也曾对经济中的“并发症”及其对策作了较详细的论述。在这里，将在此基础上作进一步的分析。
3 This topic can be found in Chaps. 8 and 12 of my publication, *Management of National Economy*, Hebei People's Press, 1988.
3 参见我所写的《国民经济管理学》（河北人民出版社1988年版）第八章和第十二章。

第六章

1 Li, Yining. (1986). *Socialist political economics* (pp. 310–312). The Commercial Press.
1 厉以宁：《社会主义政治经济学》，商务印书馆，1986年版，第310～312页。

第十章

1 Li, Yining. (1986). *Socialist political economics* (pp. 365–371). The Commercial Press.
1 厉以宁：《社会主义政治经济学》，商务印书馆，1986年版，第365～371页。
2 Li, Yining. (1982). *The origin and development of institutional innovation theory, foreign economics review* (2nd ed., pp. 64–124). Shanghai People's Press.

2 厉以宁编译：《制度创新理论的产生和发展》，载《国外经济学评介》第二辑，上海人民出版社，1982年版，第64～124页。

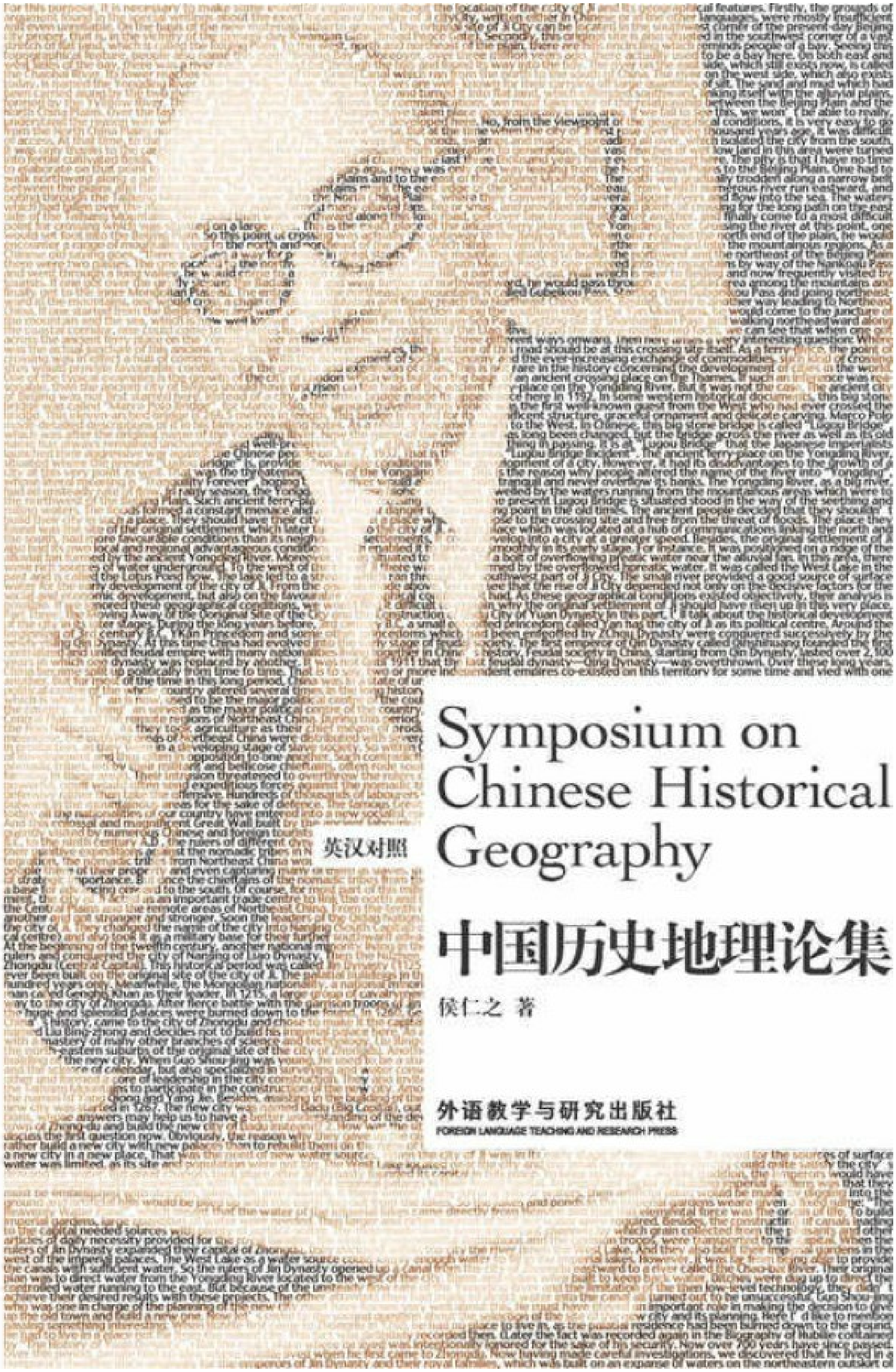
《非均衡的中国经济》自1990年首次出版以来，一直是中国最具影响的理论与政策研究著作之一。该书对非均衡理论及国有企业活力问题的创新式研究，为中国1992年以来成功的所有制改革提供了理论基础。该书英文版的出版为外界了解中国经济改革途径及其理论依据提供了一次绝佳的机会。

——孙来祥
美国马里兰大学经济地理学教授
英国伦敦大学亚非学院商务与管理学教授
英国社会科学院院士

作为中国现代经济学教父式学者，厉以宁教授深深影响了几代学子、经济学家和政府决策者。《非均衡的中国经济》一书探讨中国经济向市场及工业化经济转型期间所遇到的关键问题，并为解决这些问题提供了坚实的理论基础和富有卓见的政策建议。对于想要深入了解中国经济、中国当前的经济改革及中国未来经济发展的读者来说，本书的确不容错过。

——林双林
北京大学教授、中国公共财政研究中心主任
美国奥马哈内布拉斯加大学纳德尔杰出讲座教授

自然的造化与人类的经营，在时间的长河中不断地塑造着地理景观。跟随历史地理学大师，追溯自然人文环境变迁的过程，探究变化背后的原因和规律。



英汉对照

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⑪ ADDRESS AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY
拾壹　1984年7月4日在英国利物浦大学毕业典礼上代表应届毕业生及荣誉学位获得者致辞
⑫ HOU RENZHI'S ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS FOR THE GEORGE DAVIDSON MEDAL
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NOTES　注释
返回总目录

侯仁之（1911-2013），历史地理学家，北京大学教授、中国科学院院士。侯仁之是中国现代历史地理学的重要奠基者和开拓者，主要从事城市历史地理、沙漠历史地理、中国古代地理学史、历史地理学方法论方面的研究，在理论与实践方面为中国历史地理学的发展作出了重要贡献。

主要代表作有《历史地理学的理论与实践》、《历史地理学四论》、《侯仁之文集》、《北平历史地理》等，主编《北京历史地图集》、《北京城市历史地理》等。

“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦

有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社
人文社科出版分社

① B EIJING: ITS CHARACTERISTICS OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION*

Introductory Remarks

Mr. President of the University of British Columbia,

First or all, allow me to express my deep gratitude to you, and to Mr. Chairman and to all members of the Committee of the Cecil H. and Ida Green Visiting Professorships. Thanks to all of you. It's my great honor to visit your beautiful country. And I feel especially happy to be here, for Canada is the fatherland of the great internationalist, Dr. Norman Bethune, of whom we Chinese people will always deeply cherish the memory. Just forty years ago, Dr. Norman Bethune gave his whole life to the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people. He made himself an important bridge linking China and Canada, which has become the symbol of the ever-lasting friendship between our two peoples. The cause to which he had dedicated his own life has turned out to be victorious in China; and the ideal for which he had worked hard has come to be brought to fruition on the land where he had fought bravely. A new China is forging ahead on a new long march towards her modernization, in spite of all the interferences and obstacles from both inside and outside. To attain our goal, we must learn from the West with modesty all their advanced things. Of course, in this respect, there is quite a lot for us to learn from your country. On the other hand, we must also conserve all the valuable and useful items of the cultural legacy left to us by our own ancestors. Thus in the course of forming our new socialist culture, learning from our own past has been found even more significant and complicated.

On this issue, I want to give a simple but concrete example. That is how we are to build up our people's capital in the new socialist era on the basis of the ancient city of Beijing.

Today I am going to deal with my first topic: "The City of Beijing—A

Historical Perspective".

Next time I'll come to my second topic: "The New Metropolitan Planning of the City of Beijing".

The City of Beijing—A Historical Perspective

The city of Beijing has been the capital of the People's Republic of China for only thirty years. But her history can be traced back to remote antiquity.

●Part One: The Pioneers Who Opened Up Beijing Area

As early as half a million years ago, in the place now called Zhoukoudian District, which is located in the southwestern suburbs of Beijing, there lived Chinese ape-men, who are now well-known as "Beijing Man".

In the caves inhabited by Beijing Man were excavated fossils of the skulls and bones of primitive ape-men. Simple tools used by the primitive ape-men and animal fossils were also found out there. These discoveries have provided very important scientific basis for the study of the origin and evolution of mankind. They are not only gems of China's ancient cultural legacy, but also rarities in the treasure-house of the world's culture.

Among these discoveries there are traces of fire used by Beijing Man. In that vast and wild world, Beijing Man succeeded in starting a fire and burning it into raging flames, and learned how to keep fire, thus proclaiming the coming of the age when man would be free from darkness and begin his early cultivation.

Beijing Man made its appearance at the initial stage of primitive society and lived a gregarious life then. With the simplest tools made of sticks and stone, they engaged themselves in fruit-gathering and hunting, so as to keep themselves alive and breed and bring up their offspring. For this purpose, they had to carry on arduous and tenacious struggles against nature.

Hundreds of thousands of years passed and primitive society evolved into its last stage. About 4,000 years ago, it happened that a few tiny dwelling places began to emerge on the plain near the present-day city of Beijing. This is one of the places where those practicing farming and hunting first settled down. They no longer moved round in search of fruit and wild animals as food. Having settled down there, they started to farm and raise livestock as their chief means of life. These earliest settlers were pioneers who opened up

the Beijing Area.

With the rise of productivity, the quantitative increase of surplus products, and the division of labour, there appeared private ownership and a few exploiters who lived on other people's labour. Then primitive society began to disintegrate. At the same time slave society which was the first society with class oppression in human history gradually came into being.

The appearance of the earliest cities marked the formation of slave society.

● Part Two: Beijing's Primitive Settlement—Ji & the Geographical Features of the City of Ji

Over 3,000 years ago, when China was still in her early days of slave society, Beijing's primitive settlement came into existence. At that time, China was basically dominated by the emperors of the Shang Dynasty. In that period, written symbols were invented to keep a record of events. The territory under the rule of the Shang Dynasty covered the area which is now the central part of the North China Plain. The great plain was made up of the alluvial soil left mainly by the Yellow River and some other smaller rivers. So it is also called the Yellow River Alluvial Plain. The central part of the great plain has generally been called "Zhongyuan"(which means "The Central Plain") in history. The Shang rulers founded their capital on the Central Plain, and the primitive settlement in Beijing was located far in a remote place to its north. But the Shang culture which was chiefly characterized by fine bronze wares and was broadly disseminated also found its way to this far-away place.

At the beginning of the eleventh century B.C., the rulers of the Zhou Dynasty which first started in the highland areas of the middle reaches of the Yellow River and later expanded towards the east, eventually conquered the Shang Dynasty on the great plain. As a result, a more developed country with slave-owning system was established. Beijing's primitive settlement was then becoming larger and larger at a high speed, which was to turn into a famous principality called "Ji". And "Ji" is the earliest name of Beijing found in historical records.

Records of the Grand Historian says that Zhouwuwang, the founder of the Zhou Dynasty, for the first time enfeoffed the duke Zhaogong with the "Ji" area, and this realm was known as "Yan Princedom". Soon the realm Yan became one of the most important states in the north under the rule of the

Zhou Dynasty. This state continued for more than 800 years.

Here arises a question we must pay special attention to, that is, how the site of the city of Ji was selected. Or, let's put it in more exact words: what geographical features enabled the primitive settlement of Beijing to expand rapidly and remain prosperous for such a long time without declining.

This is a very interesting question, which has long attracted the attention of both Chinese and foreign geographers. There was scholarly guessing as to the reasons why this spot was chosen and all these can be ignored because we are now fortunate enough to have access to new source material unearthed recently.

Here I cannot but refer to a world-famous scholar who is well-known to the older generation of Canadian geographers. He is none other than Professor Griffith Taylor, who was engaged in teaching at Toronto University for some time.

Before he came to Canada, Professor Taylor had taught at Chicago University for a period of time. And he was elected President of the Association of American Geographers in 1941. In his presidential address delivered to the Association of American Geographers, Professor Taylor talked about the selection of the earlier site of the city of Beijing, on the basis of the result of his personal on-the-spot investigations and research in Beijing. The main content of his presidential address made to the Association of American Geographers was included into a book written by him, which was entitled *Urban Geography*, one of his books dealing with the study of site, evolution, pattern and classification in villages, towns and cities. He devoted several pages to the discussion of the geography of Beijing and paid special attention to the study of the origin and evolution of the city.

On page 26 of the book (2nd ed., 5th imp., 1968), he says,

> Pekin offers a fair example of a large city which has developed under temperate conditions in a gigantic plain.... It is difficult to point to any environmental factor which has led to Pekin's dominance over most of the towns in the deltaic deposits of the Huang-ho.... One would have expected the chief northern city to have developed either in the centre of the plain, or near the main river, or possibly at a good harbour on the coast. Pekin fulfils none of these conditions.

In the following two pages, he raised his point of view:

> It seems clear that a considerable 'human' element is involved in the choice of the site of Pekin. In early days necromancers ascribed to the site a peculiarly fortunate character.... The magical and political factors(briefly referred to earlier) led to the city's birth, perhaps as far back as 723 B.C. At this time 'Chi' was the capital of the Yen kingdom, according to the Encyclopedia Sinica. Given this start, no other city seems to have arisen to compete with it… (pp. 27, 28)

Finally, he came to the conclusion:

> It must be admitted that the choice of the site of Pekin is not due to any marked environmental factors.... We may perhaps grant that Pekin—situated in a vast region of *uniform* environment—is a good example to suggest that the possibility theory does, under such conditions, explain the facts of geographical distribution. (p. 29)

Forty years have since passed. Over this period, especially since the founding of the People's Republic of China, there have frequently been new archaeological finds and new results in scientific research, which are of great help to the study of the original site of the city of Beijing. It is a pity that Professor Taylor, a scholar so enthusiastic about the study of the geography of the city of Beijing had passed away before he could personally read these new materials. It would be unfair if we should make a criticism of some of Professor Taylor's theses by basing ourselves on the newly-discovered materials. What we need to do is to make full use of all the new concerning materials we have so far grasped, and to make further investigations on the origin of the city of Ji and its characteristics.

For this purpose, it is necessary to make some essential explanations about the location of the city of Ji and its geographical features.

Firstly, the grounds of argument found in the special writings about the exact location of the site of Ji City, written either in Chinese or in other languages, were mostly insufficient and even unreliable. On the basis of the new materials hitherto grasped, the original site of Ji City can be located in the southwestern corner of the present-day Beijing city proper, that is, in the vicinity of the present-day Kwang'an Gate (The Gate of Extensive Peace).

Secondly, this original site is also situated in the southwestern corner of a vast stretch of flat land, which is called the Beijing Plain. To the west, north and northeast of the plain, there are continuous encircling mountains, which remind people of a bay. Seeing this topographical feature, people also name this plain "Beijing Bay". This plain was principally washed by two rivers, the Yongding River on the west, the Chaobai River on the east, which had cut through the hills and found their ways into the bay. Like the Yellow River, these two rivers are wellknown for their carrying large quantities of silt. The sand and mud carried along by the two rivers gradually silted up the ancient bay and turned it into flat land, which extended southward, linking itself with the alluvial plain formed by the Yellow River.

Thirdly, talking about the conditions for communications, we must take note of the relationship between the Beijing Plain and the great North China

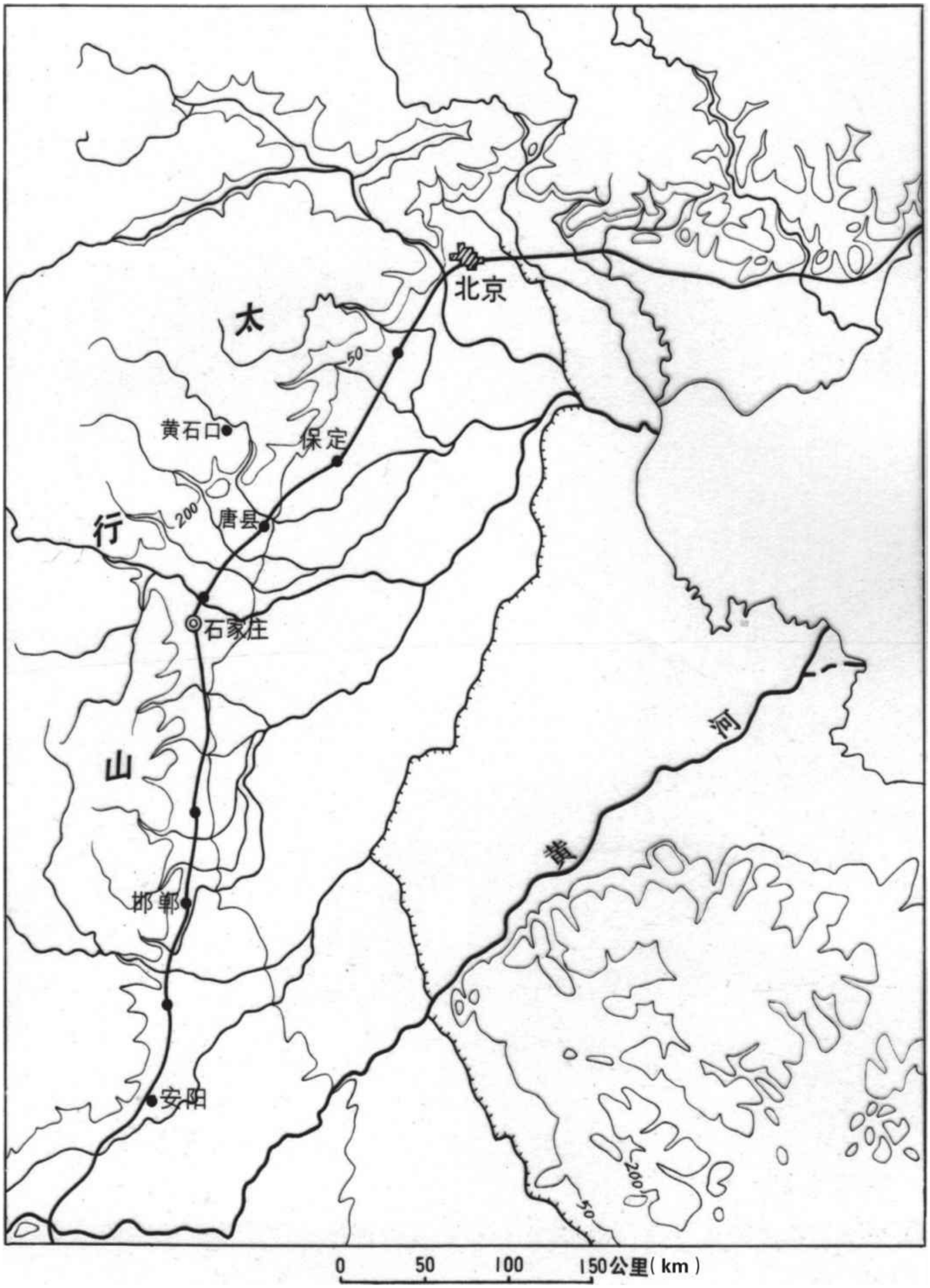
Plain. Over the last three thousand years, great changes have taken place geographically in this area. If we fail to see this, we won't be able to really understand the reason why the ancient city of Ji should have developed here.

Now, from the viewpoint of the geographical conditions, it is very easy to go from the North China Plain northward to the Beijing Plain, and vice versa. But at the time when the city of Ji first rose over three thousand years ago, it was difficult for access. At that time, to the south and southeast of Ji City, there were lakes, ponds, swamps and marshes spreading all over, which isolated the city from the south. It was only thanks to the careful cultivation of the hard-working peasants from generation to generation that vast reaches of wet low land in this area were turned into fertile cultivated fields. This is one of the greatest geographical changes the last three thousand years have ever witnessed here. It is a pity that I have no time to elaborate on that point in this talk.

Over three thousand years ago, there was only one way leading from the North China Plain to the Beijing Plain. One had to walk northward along a path to the west of the North China Plain and to the east of the Taihang Mountains. The path was gradually trodden along a narrow belt between the plains and the mountains. The Taihang Mountains mark the east edge of the Shanxi Loess Plateau, from which numerous rivers run eastward, and cutting through the Taihang Mountains, surge over into the North China Plain, where they converge into several bigger rivers and flow into the sea. The rivers which ran through the mountains into the plains formed many alluvial fans, big or small, and then provided many good points of crossing for the long path on the east side of the Taihang Mountains. One could then walk northward along this long road, get over one crossing site after another, and finally come to the most difficult point for crossing which was situated on a large river. This is the exact place of the ancient ferry-place on the Yongding River. Crossing the river at this point, one would set foot into the Beijing Plain. So this point of crossing was actually the gateway to the Beijing Plain. When he reached the north end of the plain, one would encounter a range of mountains lying to the north and northeast of the plain, which hindered him from going further northward into the mountainous regions.

As a Chinese old saying goes, "there is always a way for people in great straits." In the mountains situated to both the northwest and the northeast of the Beijing Plain there were two passes. The one located to the northwest is called the Nankou Pass (South Mouth Pass). If one entered the mountains by

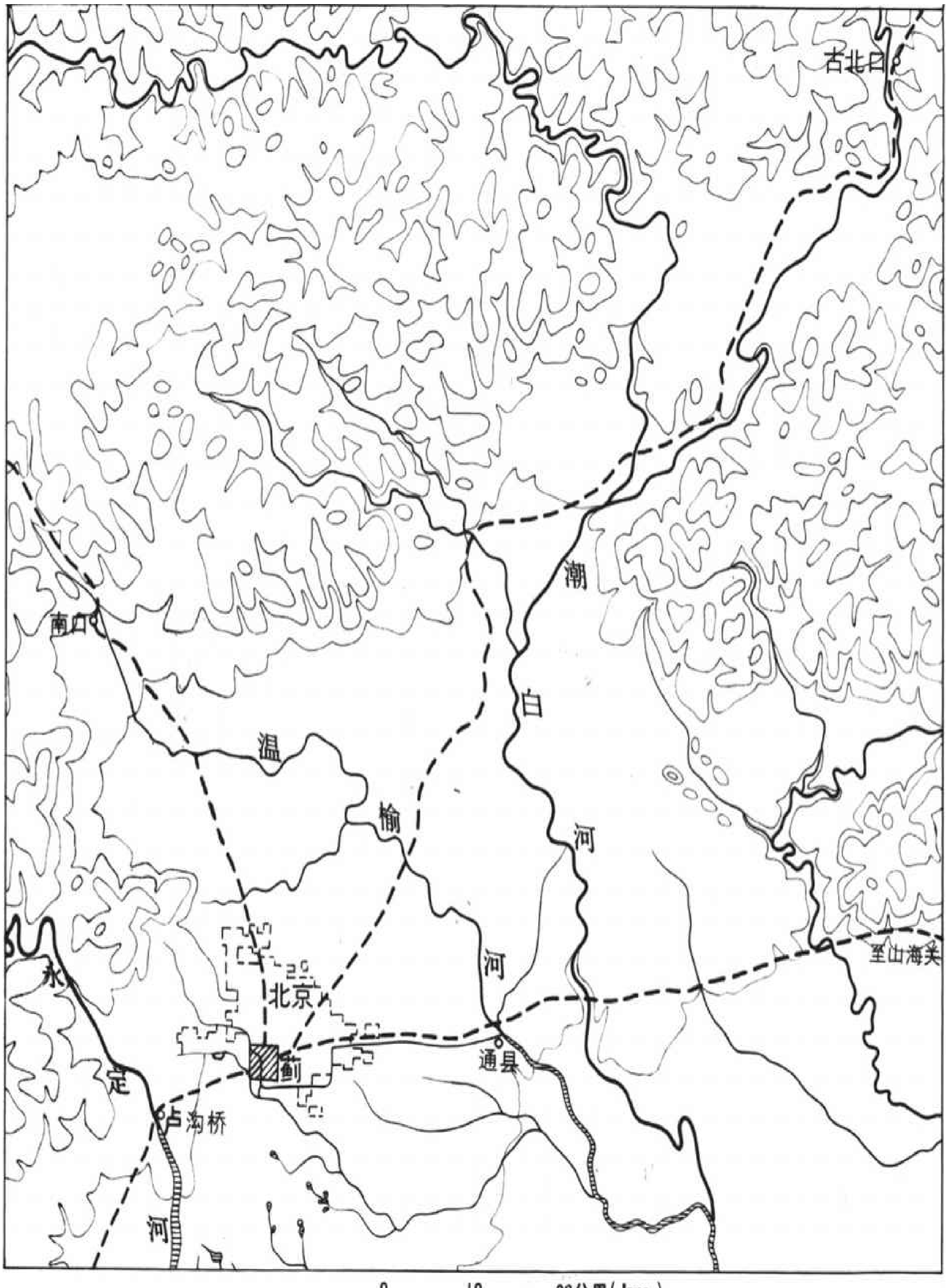
way of the Nankou Pass and went through a long valley, he would come to a place called the Badaling Hill, a part of the Great Wall which is near to Beijing and now frequently visited by tourists. If one got over the gently sloping Badaling Hill and went further northwestward, he would pass through a vast basin area among the mountains and finally get to the Inner Mongolian Plateau.



北京
太
行
山
黄石口
保定
唐县
石家庄
邯郸
安阳
黄
河
50
200
0 50 100 150公里(km)

1-1　East side of the Taihang Mountains　太行山东麓地形略图

Beijing　北京
Taihang Mountains　太行山
Yellow River　黄河



古北口
潮
南口
白
温
榆
河
河
至山海关
永
北京
通县
定
蓟
卢沟桥
河
0 10 20公里(km)

1-2 Ancient way on the Beijing Plain 北京小平原古代大道示意图

Beijing 北京
Ji City 蓟城
Nankou pass 南口
Gubeikou Pass 古北口
Shanhaiguan Pass 山海关
Lugou Bridge 卢沟桥
Yongding River 永定河
Chaobai River 潮白河

The entrance to the northeastern mountains is called Gubeikou Pass. Starting from Gubeikou Pass and going northeastward in the mountains, one would cross a chain of hills in undulation and finally reach the Northeast China Plain.

Besides, there is another way leading to Northeast China. If one started from the Beijing Plain and went onward in an eastern direction along the southern edge of the Yan Mountains, he would come to the juncture of the mountain and the sea, which is now well-known as Shanhaiguan Pass (Mountain-Sea Pass). Getting out of Shanhaiguan Pass and walking northeastward along the coastal corridor, one could come to the plain located in the lower reaches of the Liao River.

From the above-mentioned facts, we can see that when one got across the ancient ferry on the Yongding River in the old times, he could take three different ways onward. Then here arises a very interesting question: Where was the actual juncture of this ancient road?

Under normal circumstances, the juncture of this road should be at this crossing site itself. As a ferry-place, the point of crossing was in effect a hub of communications. With the development of social economy and the ever-increasing exchange of commodities, such kind of the crossing site would provide favourable conditions for the growth and expansion of cities. This is not rare in the history concerning the development of cities in the world. One of the typical examples is the growth of the city of London which was built on the basis of an ancient crossing place on the Thames. If such an inference was reasonable, then the ancient city of Beijing should have first risen on the basis of the ancient ferry-place on the Yongding River. But it was not the case. The ancient city of Beijing did not first start there. Instead of a city, a big stone bridge made its appearance there in 1192. In some Western historical documents, this big stone bridge was called "Marco Polo Bridge", for Marco Polo, the famous traveller from Venice was the first well-known

guest from the West who had ever crossed the bridge. This eleven-arched bridge is 266.5 metres in length. This bridge is noted for its magnificent structure, graceful ornament and delicate carving. Marco Polo made detailed descriptions of it in his famous travelling notes. As a result, it became known to the West.

In Chinese, this big stone bridge is called "Lugou Bridge", which was after the original name of the Yongding River. Now the name of the river itself has long been changed, but the bridge across the river as well as its old name has always remained unchanged, and well-preserved. Here I'd like to mention one thing in passing. It is at "Lugou Bridge"that the Japanese imperialists launched their aggressive war against the Chinese people on July 7, 1937. That is the famous "Lugou Bridge Incident".

The ancient ferry-place on the Yongding River, running under the present "Lugou Bridge", provided favourable conditions for the development of a city. However, it had its disadvantages to the growth of a city at this very point as well. That was the threatening floods of the Yongding River. This is the reason why people altered the name of the river into "Yongding", whose literal meaning is "Tranquility Forever", showing the hope that the river would always remain tranquil and never overflow its banks.

The Yongding River, as a big river, had an unsteady rate of flow. In the rainy season, the Yongding River rose higher and higher, swelled by the water running from the mountainous areas which were to the northwest of the Beijing Plain. Such ancient ferry-place as the crossing site where the present Lugou Bridge is situated stood in the way of the seething and rolling waters. The floods formed a constant menace and an incessant danger to the crossing point in the old times. The ancient people decided that they shouldn't build their city in such a place. They should have their city built up in a place which was close to the crossing site and free from the threat of floods. The place they found was the site of the original settlement which later turned into the city of Ji. As it was located at a hub of communications linking the north and the south, this place had more favourable conditions than its neighbouring settlements. That is why it could develop into a city at a greater speed.

Besides, the original settlement of Ji also had its own local and regional favourable conditions which enabled it to grow up smoothly in its early stage. For instance, it was positioned on a ridge of the alluvial fan formed by the ancient Yongding River. Moreover, it was situated to the east of a belt of

overflowing phreatic water near the alluvial fan. In this area, there were rich sources of water underground. To the west of the city of Ji there was a lake formed by the overflowing phreatic water. It was called the West Lake in the past and is now called the Lotus Pond. The lake led to a stream which ran through the southwest part of Ji City. The small river provided a good source of surface water for the early development of the city of Ji.

From the analysis made above, we can see that the rise of Ji City depended not only on the decisive factors for the social and economic development, but also on the favourable geographical conditions of its own. As these geographical conditions existed objectively, their analysis is possible. If we ignored these geographical conditions, we would find it difficult to explain why the original settlement of Ji should have risen up in this very place.

● Part Three: The Moving Away of the Original Site of the City and the Construction of Dadu City in the Yuan Dynasty

In this part, I'll talk about the historical development of the city at its later stages.

During the long years before the third century B.C. a small enfeoffed princedom called Yan had the city of Ji as its political centre. In the later part of the third century B.C. the State of Yan and all the other states which had been enfeoffed by the Zhou Dynasty were conquered successively by the newly-rising Qin. At this time China evolved into the early stage of feudal society. The first emperor of the Qin Dynasty Qinshihuang founded the first centralized and unified feudal empire with many nationalities living together in China's history.

Feudal society in China, starting from the Qin Dynasty, lasted over 2,100 years in which one dynasty was replaced by another. It was not until 1911 that the last feudal dynasty—the Qing Dynasty—was overthrown. Over these long years, China became split up politically from time to time. That is to say, two or more independent empires co-existed on this territory for some time and vied with one another. But for most of the time in this long period, China was in a state of unification, which promoted the economic and cultural development of the country.

The political centre of the whole country altered several times in the

long history. Two out of the cities which acted as capitals were much more important. Chang'an which is known as Xi'an now, used to be the major political centre of the country in the earlier period of feudal society. Only much later did Beijing become the major political centre of the whole country.

Though Chang'an served as the major political centre of the country, Beijing also played an important political role for it occupied a key position to link the Central Plain and the remote regions of the Northeast China. During this period, the dynasties which ruled the Central Plain were mostly established by members of the Han Nationality. As they took agriculture as their chief means of production, they came to a rather advanced stage in social economy and culture. In the meantime, the outlying areas of Northeast China were distributed with several national minorities who were still leading a nomadic life. They were under-developed in production, as they were in a developing stage of slave society. So within China there existed simultaneously two social structures which were in different stages of development and thus often in opposition to each other. Such contradictions could by no means be solved under the old social system. The valiant horsemen of the nomadic tribes, led by their militant and bellicose chieftains, often rode southward over to the Central Plain, forming a threat to the inhabitants who engaged in farming in these areas. Their intrusion threatened to overthrow the rulers of the areas of the Central Plain. Consequently, the rulers of the Central Plain, when powerful, would often send expeditionary forces against the nomadic tribes inhabiting the remote areas in the North. But they would more often act on the defensive rather than take the offensive. Hundreds of thousands of labourers were driven into the mountains in North China and were forced to build a long-distance bulwark in the mountainous areas for the sake of defence. This is the famous Great Wall. In fact the Great Wall is a witness to one of the most important national contradictions that ever existed in history. And this colossal and magnificent Great Wall built by the ancient labouring people with their own hands has turned into a well-known interesting place which is frequently visited by numerous Chinese and foreign tourists with astonishment, admiration and joyfulness.

From the third century B.C. to the ninth century A.D., the rulers of different dynasties from the Central Plain, when they were powerful, would take the city of Ji as their springboard on their punitive expeditions against the nomadic tribes in the north and northeast. But when the imperial empires

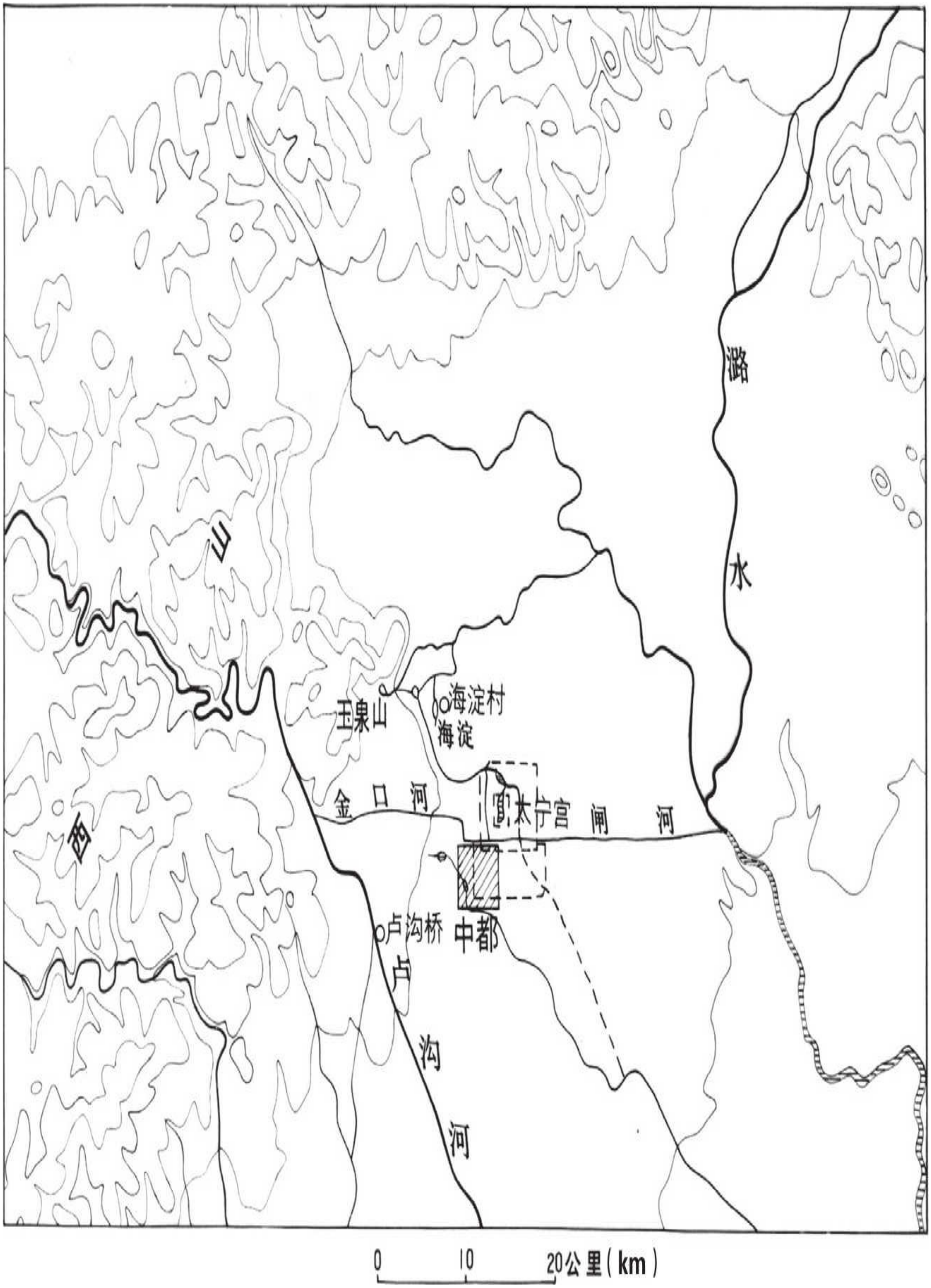
in the Central Plain were on the decline or in a state of disintegration, the nomadic tribes from the north and northeast would seize the chance to go all the way downward and ride roughshod over the Central Plain, robbing the people there of their property and even capturing many of them as slaves. In such cases, the rulers of the Central Plain would turn the city of Ji into a defence place of strategic importance. But once the chieftains of the nomadic tribes from the north succeeded in capturing the city of Ji, they would certainly, in their turn, make it a base for advancing onward to the south. Of course, for most part of this millennium, people lived in peace without any wars. In the time of peace and settlement, the city of Ji acted as an important trade centre to link the north and the south, and also played an active part in promoting the cultural exchange between the Central Plain and the remote areas in the north and northeast part of China.

From the tenth century A.D. on, the national minorities living in Northeast China began to rise up one after another and got stronger and stronger. Soon the leaders of the Qidan Nationality (the Khitans) commanded their troops on a southward expedition and occupied the city of Ji. They changed the name of the city into Nanjing (South Capital) or Yanjing and proclaimed it their "accompanying capital" (the second important political centre) and also took it as a military base for their further southward advancement. This took place in a period called the Liao Dynasty (916-1125) in China's history. At the beginning of the twelfth century, another national minority living in the northeast—the Nuzhen Nationality—sprang up. Before long, they defeated the Qidan rulers and conquered the city of Nanjing of the Liao Dynasty. Then the Nuzhen rulers officially moved their capital to the city of Nanjing and changed its name into Zhongdu (Central Capital). This historical period was called the Jin Dynasty (1115-1234).

The city of Zhongdu of the Jin Dynasty was the last and the biggest city which had ever been built on the original site of the city of Ji. The palatial buildings in the city were luxurious and magnificent. But this new city had a history of less than one hundred years only. Meanwhile, the Mongolian Nationality, a national minority living on the northern plateau, got stronger and stronger, with an outstanding brave man called Genghis Khan as their leader. In 1215, a large group of cavalrymen under Genghis Khan broke through the natural barrier at Nankou Pass and rode all the way to the city of Zhongdu. After fierce battle with the garrison troops of the Jin Dynasty, they forced their way into the city. The town was thrown into confusion and the

huge and splendid palaces were burned down to the ground.

In 1260, Genghis Khan's grandson called Kublai Khan who was the founder of the Yuan Dynasty in China's history, came to the city of Zhongdu and chose to make it the capital of his dynasty. After careful considering, the emperor took the advice of a Han scholar named Liu Bing-zhong and decided not to build his imperial palace here. As a learned man with rich knowledge of and practical experience in city construction and with a mastery of many other branches of science and technology, Liu Bing-zhong suggested that a new city should be built on a new place selected in the northeastern suburbs of the original site of the city of Zhongdu. Another brilliant scientist called Guo Shou-jing also took an active part in the planning and building of the new city. When Guo Shou-jing was young, he used to be a student of Liu Bingzhong. As a scientist, Guo Shou-jing was not only good at astronomy and the science of calendar, but also specialized in surveying and water conservancy. Guo Shou-jing and his teacher Liu Bing-zhong cooperated very well with each other and formed a core of leadership in the city construction. They also invited many skilled masons whose ancestors had engaged in masonry for generations from the Taihang Mountains to participate in the construction of the new city. Among these stonemasons, there were two noted folk artisans of stonework by the names of Yang Qiong and Yang Hao. Besides, assisting in the building of the city were some foreign craftsmen who were from Middle Asia. The construction of the new city started in 1267. The new city was named Dadu(Grand Capital), out of which the present city of Beijing grew.



西
山
玉泉山
海淀村
海淀
金口河
太宁宫
闸河
中都
卢沟桥
卢沟河
潞水
0
10
20公里(km)

1-3 Watercourses in the adjacent areas of Zhongdu City of the Jin Dynasty 金中都城近郊河渠水道略图

Zhongdu City 中都
Taining Palace 太宁宫
Lugou Bride 卢沟桥
West Mountains 西山
Yuquan Hills 玉泉山
Lugou River 卢沟河

Here I'd like to raise the following two questions, whose answers may help us to have a better understanding of the development of the present city of Beijing.

1. What made them decide to give up the old town of Zhongdu and build the new city of Dadu instead?

2. How was the site of the new city of Dadu selected? How was the planning of the new city made?

Let us discuss the first question now.

Obviously, the reason why they gave up the old town was that the original palaces had been burned down to the ground. They would rather build a new city with new palaces than to rebuild them on the ruins of the old town. But there was an even more important factor which made them build a new city in a new place. That was the need of new water sources.

When the city of Ji was in its early stage of development, its need for the sources of surface water was limited, as its size and population were not big. The West Lake located near the city and the small river running by the city could quite satisfy the city's demand for water. But great changes took place after the Jin Dynasty founded its capital in this place. To keep up China's ancient tradition, the emperors would have imperial gardens built in connection with the building of the imperial palaces in their feudal capitals. An important factor of building imperial gardens was that they must be embellished with streams, lakes, hills and mounds. If there weren't any natural hills or waters, then artificial lakes would be made by digging into the ground and artificial hills would be piled up with the earth dug out from the lakes. So the lakes and ponds in the imperial gardens were given a fixed name: "the Heavenly Water Pond", which meant that the water of the imperial lakes came directly from the Heaven and that this elemental force was the origin of life. To build imperial gardens, large quantities of water were needed. Thus larger and richer sources of surface water were required. Besides, for the construction of canals leading to the capital sources with

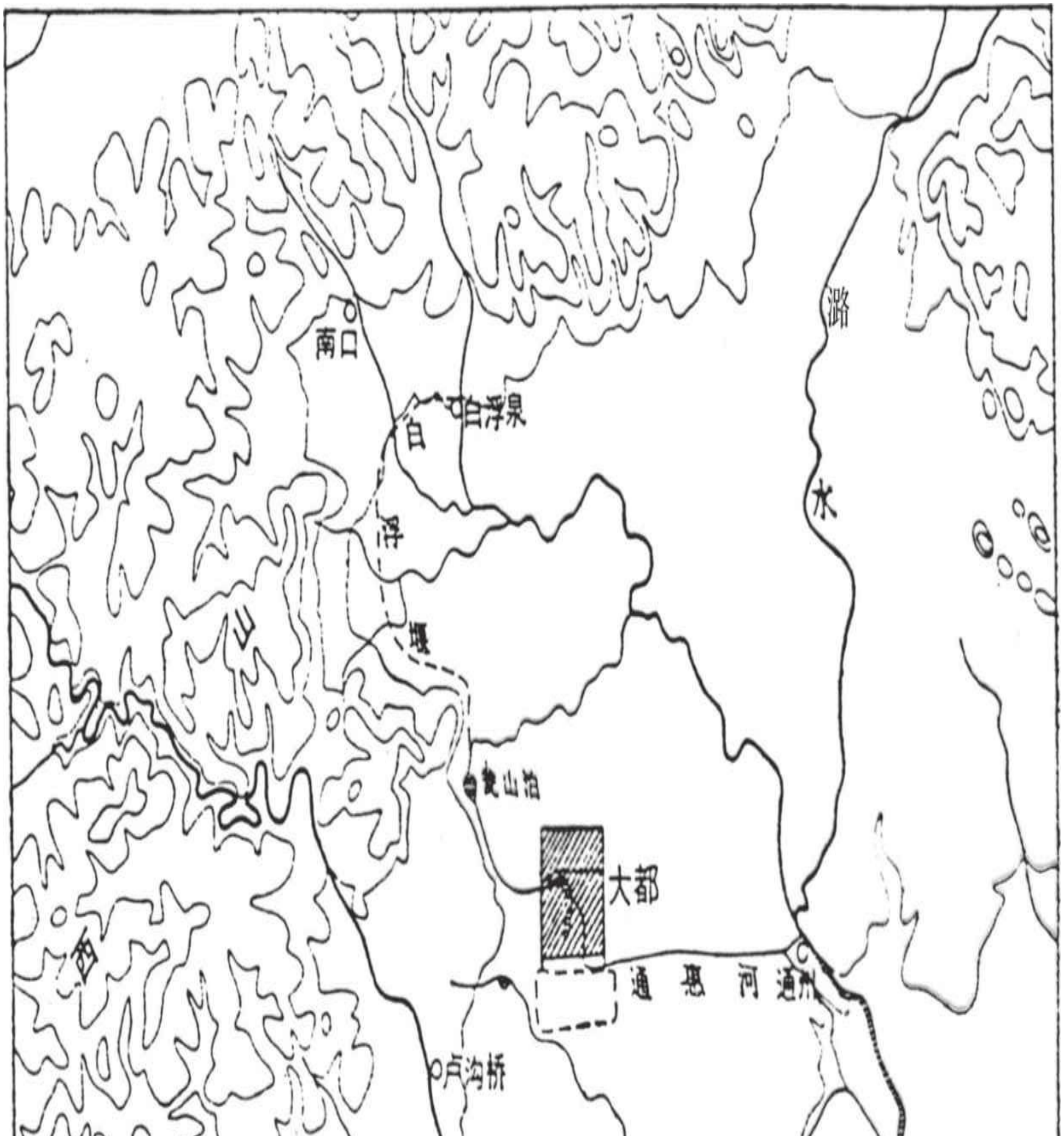
plenty of surface water were also needed. The man-made rivers were important channels by which grain collected from the peasants and other articles of daily necessity provided for the royal families, the central governmental institutions and the garrison troops were transported to the capital.

When the rulers of the Jin Dynasty expanded their capital of Zhongdu, they enclosed the river running into the lower part of the West Lake within the city. And they also built their imperial gardens in the west of the imperial palaces. The West Lake as a water source could supply enough water to fill in the imperial lakes. However, it was far from being able to provide the canals with sufficient water. The rulers of the Jin Dynasty did open up a canal linking the city of Zhongdu eastward to a river called the Chaobai River. Their original plan was to direct water from the Yongding River located to the west of the city. Dams and dykes were built to keep back water. Ditches were dug up to direct the controlled water running to the east. But because of the unsteady flow rate of the Yongding River and the limitation of the low-level technology then, they didn't achieve their desired results with these projects. All the attempts they had made to direct water into the canal all turned out to be unsuccessful. This was the most important reason why the Yuan rulers decided to give up the old town and build a new one.

Now let's come to the second question about the selection of the site of the new city and its planning.

Here I'd like to mention something interesting in passing. When Khublai first came to Zhongdu in 1260, he had no place to live in, as the palatial residence had been burned down to the ground. He had to live in a place not far from the ruined city. This fact was definitely recorded then. (Later the fact was recorded again in the "Biography of Khublai"contained in *The History of the Yuan Dynasty*.) But the exact place where he lived was intentionally ignored for the sake of his security. Now over 700 years have since passed. Over this period, people had no idea where Khublai lived when he first came to Zhongdu. Now having made careful investigations, we discovered that he lived in a summer palace originally built for the emperors of the Jin Dynasty and their royal families, which was built on an expanse of waters on the northeastern outskirt of the capital. This palatial residence during the Jin Dynasty was called Taining Palace (Great Tranquility Palace) whose main building stood on an island in the middle of the lake. The building was named the Lunar Hall, which referred to the mythical palace on the moon. This name

also suggested the scenery here which was as beautiful as on a fairy land. Fortunately, this temporary palatial residence outside the capital remained untouched when the Mongolian horsemen forced into the city of Zhongdu and set fire to the imperial palace inside the city in 1215. The construction of the city of Dadu started in 1267. According to the city planning, the lake around Taining Palace was taken as the centre of the plane designing. This lake was given the name of "the Heavenly Water Pond".



南口
白浮泉
白
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堰
路
水
西
山
瓮山泊
大都
通惠河
通州
卢沟桥
卢
沟
河
0
10
20公里(km)

1-4 Watercourses in the adjacent areas of Khanbaliq of the Yuan Dynasty 元大都城近郊河渠水道略图

Dadu City 大都
Tonghui River 通惠河
Lugou Bridge 卢沟桥
Lugou River 卢沟河
Nankou Pass 南口
West Mountains 西山

From the planning of Dadu City, we can see clearly that on the east bank of the Heavenly Water Pond was built the emperor's palace while on its west bank stood two groups of palatial buildings facing each other, which were respectively inhabited by the empress dowager and the crown prince. A small round island situated in the middle of the lake served as the link of the three palaces. A wooden bridge was put up to connect the east end of the island and the east bank of the lake, while another wooden bridge was built to link the west end of the island with the west bank of the lake. To the north of the small island, a stone bridge was built to span the water between the small island and the big island on which stood the main building of the old temporary palatial residence—the Lunar Hall. This big island was called "Jade Flower Island", which was suggestive of a place where there were richly decorated jade palaces and beautiful flowers in blossom. The buildings around the lake were well-distributed, around which was put up a square bulwark encircling these imperial palaces. The bulwark actually formed the imperial city wall.

To the north of the imperial city, there was a larger lake then called Jishuitan (the Water Storing Pond), which had previously interlinked with the Heavenly Water Pond in the imperial city. The construction of the imperial city cut the two lakes apart. A new canal was dug up to supply water for the Heavenly Water Pond. This canal was named the Golden Water River in keeping with the ancient tradition.

The water of the Water Storing Pond was originally from a natural river called the Gaoliang River. Its former course in the lower reaches supplying water for the Water Storing Pond was perhaps filled up or turned into an underground river, in the construction of the city of Dadu. So a new canal was opened up, which ran along the east wall of the imperial city and flew out of the city of Dadu. This new canal was the last part of the Grand Canal, through which the ships and boats carrying grain collected from South China sailed into the city of Dadu and anchored in the Water Storing Pond. The

ships and boats also transported goods from the south. So the place on the northeastern bank of the Water Storing Pond and its nearby streets became the most busy market-place in the city of Dadu.

Now we can see that superficially, the summer palace of the Jin Dynasty led to the construction of the city of Dadu in this area. But in fact, the new source of water from the Gaoliang River formed the decisive factor of the selection of city site in this very place.

Here is a thing we must pay special attention to, that is, the determination of the central axis of the city which was of the first importance in the plane designing of the city of Dadu. This central axis went along the east bank of the Water Storing Pond. And the centre of the emperor's palace was fixed on the central axis of the whole city and it occupied the most important position. The apex of the central axis was at the northeastern bank of the Water Storing Pond. This point was taken as the geometric centre of the plane designing of the whole city. Here at this very point was erected a designating building which was called "the Central Pavilion". On the right side of the pavilion was set up a stone tablet on which were inscribed four Chinese characters, meaning "the Central Platform". This shows that when the planning and designing of the whole of the new city were made, a precise plane survey was also made.

To the west of the Central Platform was put up the "Drum Tower". And to the north of the "Drum Tower" was built the "Bell Tower". The drum and the bell were instruments to give the standard time in old days. So the two towers became centres telling the time for the whole city. The fact was also clearly recorded in *Marco Polo's Travelling Notes*.

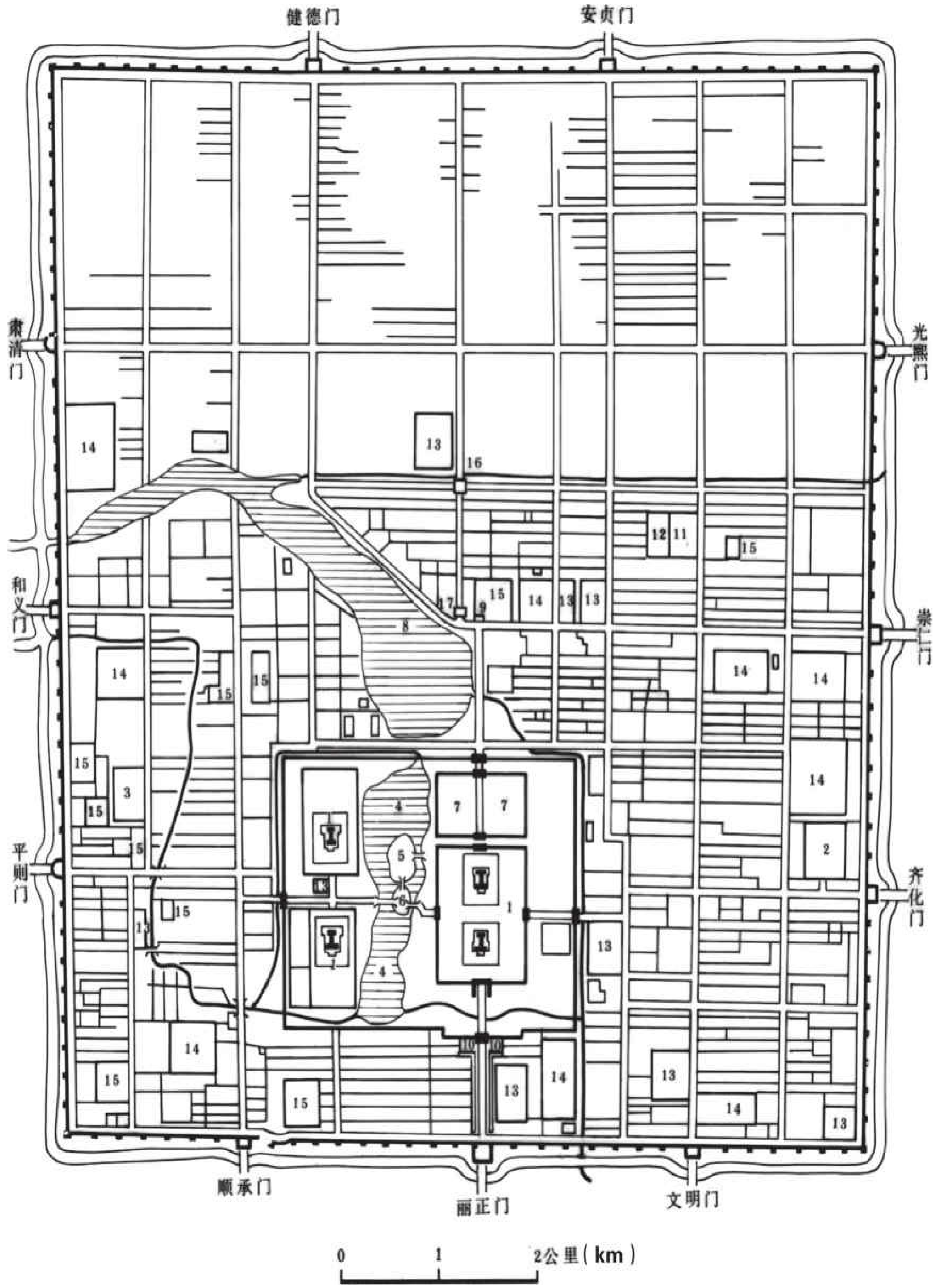
Once the geometric centre of the whole city was determined, the position of the outer walls of the city was also decided. The construction of the city was basically carried out according to the original planning. Only the east wall slightly drew in for the purpose of avoiding some topographical disadvantages.

The east, west and south walls of the city had three gates each. Its north wall had only two gates. Inside each gate there was a straight main road. These roads in the city formed a criss-cross network of communications which resembled a chessboard. The middle gate of the south wall was fixed on the central axis of the whole city. The gate was on the central trunk line, which led northward to the emperor's palace. Inside the emperor's palace, only the main halls which were symbolic of the imperial power, were

arranged on the central axis, while those less important buildings were symmetrically arranged on either side of the central axis.

Outside the imperial city were arranged many horizontal streets and lanes parallel with each other in between meeting these vertical main roads at right angles. These districts were chiefly living quarters of the local inhabitants. These areas were dotted with many central and local government offices and institutions, temples, warehouses and other public buildings. Only two groups of important buildings were laid out in a planned way. The first group of edifices was positioned inside the south gate of the east wall of the big city. This group of edifices was called the Imperial Ancestral Temple, a place where the emperors offered sacrifices to their ancestors. The other group of buildings was situated inside the south gate of the west wall of the big city. It was called the Altar of Land and Grain, a place where the emperors offered sacrifices to the God of Land and the God of Grain.

This plane arrangement of the city of Dadu was similar to a kind of ideal designing of imperial capitals in the ancient time. This ideal designing was first seen in a book entitled "A Study of Engineering" which came out in the fifth century B.C. This book exclusively dealt with engineering and also referred to the designing of imperial capitals. According to *A Study of Engineering*, the imperial city walls in the four directions must form a square. The wall on each side had three gates. Inside each gate there were three main roads parallel to each other. So the main roads and streets in the city formed a criss-cross network of communications. The imperial city was supposed to face the south. In front of the central point of the imperial city (in the south direction) were located the imperial courts. At the back of the imperial city(in the north direction) were concentrated the market-places. To the left of the imperial courts (in the east direction) was located the Imperial Ancestral Temple. To the right of the imperial city (in the west direction) was situated the Altar of Land and Grain. It is clear that the planning of Dadu City was made on the basis of this ancient ideal designing and also in the light of the specific conditions of the distribution of lakes and waterways on the spot. This plane arrangement was aimed at placing the imperial palaces on the most important position of the whole city. This designing embodied the absolute power of feudal emperors.


健德门
安贞门
肃清门
光熙门
和义门
崇仁门
平则门
齐化门
顺承门
丽正门
文明门
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2公里（km）

1-5　Plan of Khanbaliq of the Yuan Dynasty　元大都城平面图

1．Palaces　宫殿
2．Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙
3．Altar of Land and Grain　社稷坛
4．Heavenly Water Pond　太液池
5．Jade Flower Island　琼华岛（万寿山、万岁山）
6．Round City　圆坻（瀛洲）
7．Imperial Garden　御园
8．Jishuitan (Water Storing Pond)　积水潭
9．Central Platform　中心之台
10．Corridor of a Thousand Steps　千步廊
11．Confucian Temple　文庙
12．Imperial College　国子监
13．Yamuns　衙门
14．Barns　仓库
15．Temples　寺观、庙宇
16．Bell Tower　钟楼
17．Drum Tower　鼓楼

（Reproduced on the basis of Xu Pingfang's Atlas of Dadu　根据徐苹芳《元大都城图》原稿复制）

Eight years after the construction of the large-scale well-planned city of Dadu started, Marco Polo came here. He was thought highly of by Khublai and appointed as a high official in the imperial courts of the Yuan Dynasty. In his famous travelling notes, he made a detailed description of the city of Dadu. He called it "Khanbaliq", which meant "the city of the great Khan". His book was read by many people in the West. It is well-known that in the fifteenth century, Christopher Columbus himself hadn't made up his mind to make a voyage to China until he read *Marco Polo's Travelling Notes*. Columbus believed that the earth was round, and thought that he would certainly reach China by sailing westward in a ship, since Marco Polo could succeed in getting to China through going eastward by land. Of course he failed to get to China. But the determination of this brave and talented man led to an unexpected discovery—the discovery of the New Continent.

● Part Four: The City of Beijing in the Ming and Qing Dynasties—A Remarkable Example of the Imperial Capitals for Its Excellent Planning and Designing

The domination of the Yuan Dynasty lasted less than one hundred years only. It was replaced by the Ming Dynasty founded by the Han Nationality.

The Ming rulers rose up in the lower reaches of the Yangzi River and made Nanjing their first capital. Then they began their northern expedition. In 1368 they captured the city of Dadu, and changed its name into Peiping (North Pacification). When the third emperor of the Ming Dynasty came to the throne, he decided to move his capital northward to Beijing (North Capital). This is the first time to use the name of Beijing. At this time a large-scale reconstruction of the city was carried out. In 1420 the rebuilding of the city was basically completed.

When the Ming troops first conquered Dadu City, they leveled down the Yuan imperial palaces to the ground. For the sake of defence, they built up a new bulwark on the bottle-neck of the Water Storing Pond, which was positioned 2.5 kilometres inside the original northern city wall.

The reconstruction work consisted of the following items:

1. The emperor's palace was rebuilt, with the original central axis as the central line. The new emperor's palace moved a bit southward, which was later called the Purple Forbidden City (which is now well-preserved and opened up as the Palace Museum). In the Forbidden City, the six great halls symbolic of the imperial power ranged from south to north on the central axis of the whole city. The other buildings were as usual arranged on either side of the six great halls in strict symmetry.

2. With the southward moving of the emperor's palace, the south wall of the imperial city and the south wall of the city of Beijing proper were also moved southward. And as a result, the imperial city and the big city got larger space each. A new Imperial Ancestral Temple and a new Altar of Land and Grain were respectively put up in the increased space on the two sides of the central trunk line in front of the Forbidden City. The two groups of buildings which were erected in keeping with the old tradition, were more closely connected with the emperor's palace. With these two groups of new buildings, the position of the central trunk line became more conspicuous from the viewpoint of the plane arrangement.

Besides, in the very front of the imperial city was opened up a new T-shape court square, out of which the present Tian An Men Square grew. On the two sides of the court square, many central governmental offices and organs were concentrated symmetrically.

3. As a result of the southward moving of the south wall of the imperial city, there appeared an expanse of open land to the south end of the Heavenly Water Pond. So a new artificial lake was dug out in this place, which linked

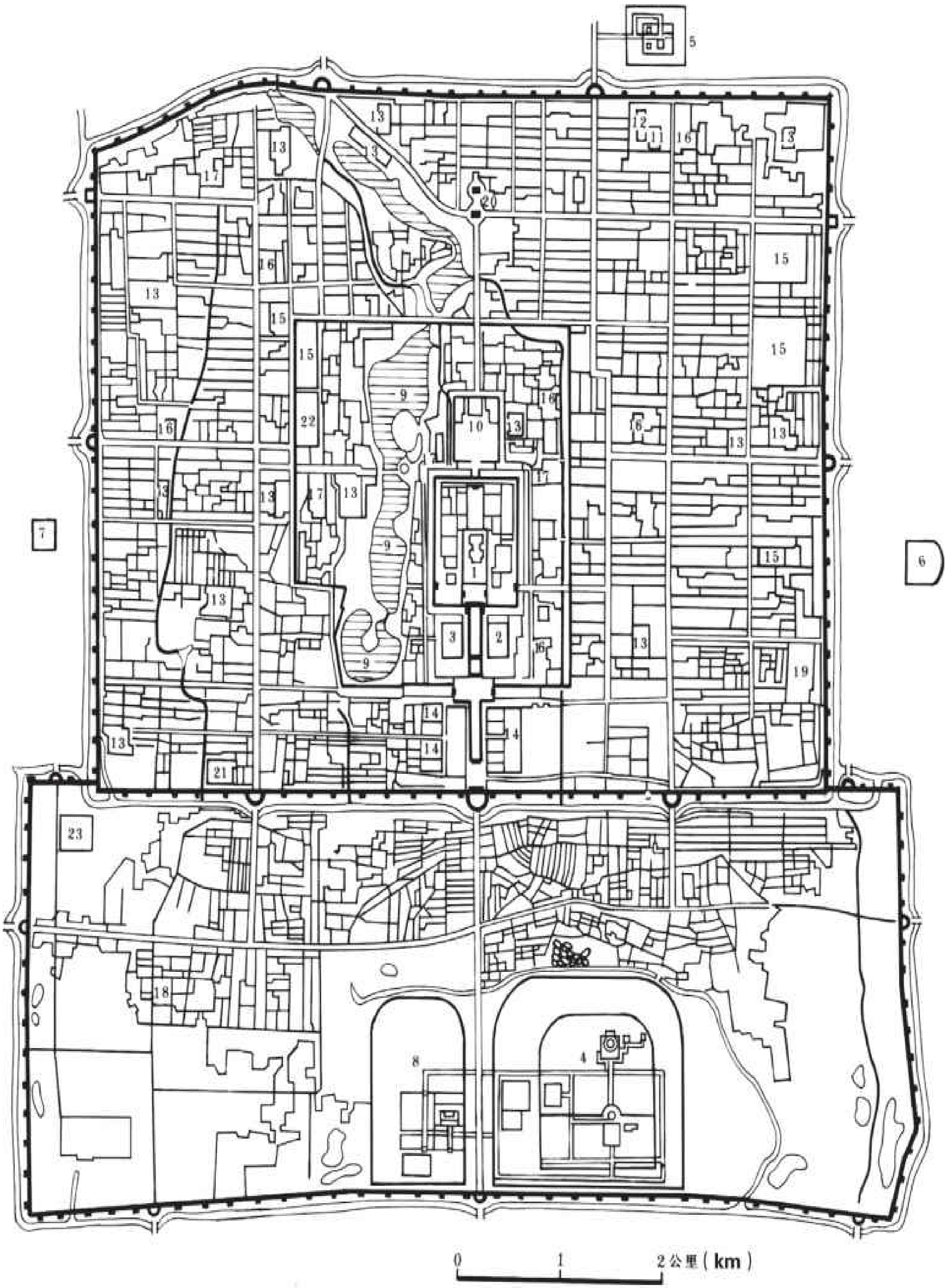
the Heavenly Water Pond and made it much larger. The original parts of the lake were called the Middle Sea and the North Sea while the expanded part of the lake was called the South Sea. Just to the north of the Forbidden City, a new man-made hill was piled up with the earth dug out from the South Sea and from the moat around the Forbidden City. This hill was named the Jing Hill or the Coal Hill. The middle peak of the Jing Hill is 47 metres in height. It formed a remarkable point of the central axis of the whole city and became the new geometric centre of the rebuilt city.

4. On the old site of the geometric centre of the former Dadu City, a new Drum Tower and a new Bell Tower were put up. The two buildings marked the apex of the central axis of the whole of the new city.

5. While the city was reconstructed, two groups of buildings were put up just to the south of the city. The two groups of buildings stood side by side. The one on the east side was called the Temple of Heaven, a place where the emperors offered sacrifices to the Heaven and prayed for good harvests. The one on the west side was called the Altar of Mountain and River, a place where the emperors offered sacrifices to the God of Mountain and the God of River. Between the two groups of buildings, there was a central trunk line which led northward straight to the middle south gate of the big city. This entrance was called Zhengyang Gate or Front Gate. In 1553, an outer city wall was built to reinforce the defence of the imperial capital. This newly-built outer city enveloped the Temple of Heaven and the Altar of Mountain and River (which was later called the Xiannong Altar). The old city in the north was called "the Inner City" while the newly-built city in the south was called "the Outer City". The combination of the two cities formed an outline which resembles a Chinese character "凸" meaning "protruding".

With the Outer City built, the central axis of the Inner City extended southward to the due south gate of the Outer City. The new central axis was as long as nearly eight kilometres. The new central line became even more outstanding in the plane arrangement of the old city of Beijing.

With the Outer City built, the construction of the old city of Beijing was fundamentally completed. In 1644, the Qing Dynasty—the last feudal dynasty in China's history—was founded.[1] The rulers of the Qing Dynasty also took Beijing as their capital. They didn't make any more changes in the construction of the city. The city remained as it had been until the liberation of Beijing City in 1949. This is now what we call the old city of Beijing.



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1-6　Plan of old Beijing City　旧北京城平面图

1．Palaces　宫殿
2．Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙
3．Altar of Land and Grain　社稷坛
4．Altar of Heaven　天坛
5．Altar of Earth　地坛
6．Altar of Sun　日坛
7．Altar of Moon　月坛
8．Xiannong Altar　先农坛
9．Western Garden　西苑
10．Jing Hill　景山
11．Confucian Temple　文庙
12．Imperial College　国子监
13．Residences of princes and princesses　诸王府、公主府
14．Yamuns　衙门
15．Barns　仓库
16．Buddhist temples　佛寺
17．Taoist temples　道观
18．Islamic mosque　伊斯兰教礼拜寺
19．Examination Hall　贡院
20．Bell and Drum Towers　钟鼓楼
21．Elephants stall　象房
22．Catholic church　天主教堂
23．Barrack　营房

（From A Brief History of Chinese Architecture, Vol.1, pp.183-184　采自《中国建筑简史》第一册，页一八三──一八四）

This old city of Beijing which was developed on the basis of Dadu City of the Yuan Dynasty, has been considered an excellent example of the construction of feudal capitals in China's history. It embodied all the better the absolute power of feudal emperors.

But as a Chinese saying goes, "things will develop in the opposite direction when they become extreme." The planning and designing of the old city of Beijing demonstrated that the autocratic feudalism in Chinese history had gone to its extreme. And this extreme autocracy led to its own collapse.

In 1911, the democratic revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen broke out. It put an end to the domination of feudal dynasties which had lasted over two thousand years in China.

In 1919, the May Fourth Movement broke out in the old city of Beijing. It marked the prelude to China's new democratic revolution.

After 30 years' hard and bitter struggles, the Chinese people succeeded in achieving their liberation in 1949. During the most arduous struggles, many people, including the great internationalist Dr. Norman Bethune,

sacrificed their lives.

On October 1, 1949, Comrade Mao Tse-tung solemnly proclaimed the birth of the People's Republic of China, on the rostrum of Tian An Men Gate (Heavenly Peace Gate). The old city of Beijing became the capital of the People's Republic of China.

We were confronted then with a new question: How should we transform the old capital planned and designed in the interest of the feudal emperors into a new capital of the people who live in the new era of socialism?

We know very well that the guiding principle of the planning and designing of the old city of Beijing was to extol the absolute power or autocratic monarch. Now what should be the guiding principle of the overall planning of the new city of Beijing which serves as the people's capital in the new socialist era?

I'll deal with this question in my next talk.

Thank you very much for your attention.

A Discussion on the New City Plan of Beijing

The transformation of the old city of Beijing started as soon as it was made the capital of the People's Republic of China, to meet the needs of a new era. In addition to the establishment of a special city-planning institution, three guiding principles have been formulated: it must serve first, proletarian politics, second, industrial and agricultural production, and third, the labouring people.

To serve proletarian politics means to turn the old city, which was constructed in the past to satisfy the political needs of the feudal emperors, into a new one which will best suit the political demands of a people's capital in the new era of socialism.

To serve industrial and agricultural production means to turn the old city which used to be the largest consumer centre in the country, into a base for modernised industrial production and centre of well-developed suburban agriculture.

To serve the labouring people means to completely reform the slummy districts swarming with working people in the past, and on an overall scale, give preference in our city planning to those projects of urban construction which will satisfy the immediate needs in their lives. Under guidance of these three principles, great achievements have been made in both the city planning

and the construction of Beijing and profound changes have been brought about in its functions and appearance during the last thirty years. There are experiences of success as well as lessons of disappointment in the process. However, to comment on them at length here would be both unnecessary and beyond my power. As a scholar of the historical geography, the question I would like to put forth for discussion is exactly the one which I posed at the conclusion of my last lecture. I shall repeat it here.

How do we transform an imperial capital which was once planned and designed for the benefit of feudal emperors in the past into a people's capital of the socialist new era? Or rather, in contrast with the theme of glorifying the supremacy of feudal monarchs as illustrated in the city planning of the old Beijing, what new theme should we adopt for the city planning of today's Beijing serving as a people's capital and how can such a theme be effectually materialised?

This problem is not merely one of engineering technology, but above all, one of great significance to the development of history and culture. In China today, with the transformation of social system, the values of an age-old tradition are also undergoing unprecedented changes. We could never imagine that a new socialist culture would drop from the sky, nor could it be transplanted from a certain foreign land. It can only grow up out of its native soil. For instance, isn't the Renaissance, which had its root in ancient Greek and Roman culture, and which, in turn, with a completely new mental outlook, created a great new epoch in European culture of the Middle Ages, such a shining precedent?

In China today, people have also been discussing and looking forward to the advent of a great new era of renaissance, sprouting out of its native soil. Consequently, how to regard one's own historical and cultural heritage becomes a problem of considerable importance.

Our basic principle is critical inheritance. During the long period of feudal society, the Chinese people have created a magnificent ancient culture, which, however, also contains some feudal dregs. It is wrong to accept ancient culture without discrimination, and equally wrong to reject it altogether; the only correct attitude, of course, is to assimilate its essence and discard its dregs, to make the past serve the present and weed through the old to bring forth the new, so as to create a new culture characteristic of the epoch, on the basis formed in the course of history. Naturally, during this process of creating a new culture, it is necessary for us to endeavour to

absorb all that is advanced from other countries to serve our own purpose, to use a catch-phrase, "to make foreign things serve China".

So far, we have only touched upon abstract principles. But I've already digressed too far from the point in question. So let us return to it now.

In fact, the old city of Beijing which has been kept intact all through is part of China's historical and cultural legacy. The reconstruction of the city shall also be carried on under the guidance of the principle of critical inheritance. First of all, we should keep one thing in mind; that is, as a people's capital of the socialist new era, it must adopt a theme for its city planning in praise of the people, of their strength, their dignity, of the truth: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the creation of the world." It should not only demonstrate the great creations of the people in the past, but also embody the stark reality that the people have become masters of their country. The fulfillment of this new theme shall serve as a thorough criticism of the old theme centred upon the eulogy of the supremacy of the feudal monarchy.

How to bring about the fulfillment of this new theme is a problem of vital importance in the new city planning of Beijing.

It seems to be a very difficult problem, but actually many valuable experiences have been gathered during the transformation of the old city of Beijing since liberation, and need to be summed up and brought up to a theoretical height so that they may give further guidance to the city planning and construction of Beijing later on. I shall cite only one example here, the reconstruction of the Tian An Men Square for illustration.

Tian An Men Square is closer to the centre of the city now than in the past.

1-7　Sketch map of reconstruction of Beijing's old city　北京旧城平面设计的改造示意图

1．Tian An Men Gate　天安门
2．People's Conference Hall　人民大会堂
3．Museum of Chinese Revolution and Museum of Chinese History　中国革命博物馆、中国历史博物馆
4．Monument of the People's Heroes　人民英雄纪念碑
5．Working People's Palace of Culture　劳动人民文化宫
6．Sun Yat-sen Park　中山公园
7．Palace Museum　故宫博物院
8．Jing Hill Park　景山公园
9．North Sea Park　北海公园
10．Drum Tower　鼓楼北海公园
11．Bell Tower　钟楼

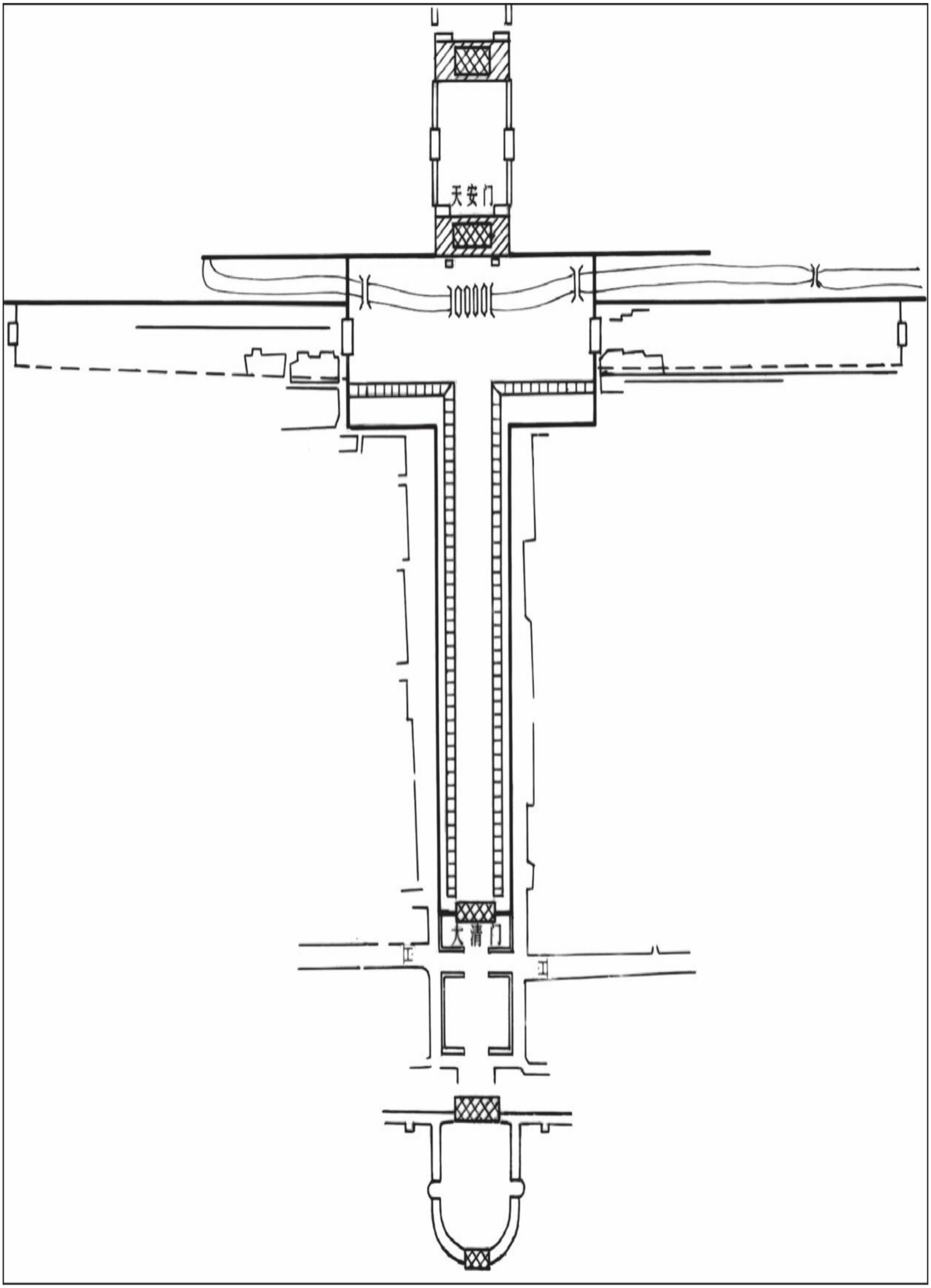
（Redrawn according to Urban Traffic Map in Beijing Tourism Atlas , simplified version, 2nd edition, 1972　根据地图出版社《北京市游览图》1972年第2版中的《市区交通图》缩简改绘）

It was decided in the city planning of an earlier stage after liberation that the reconstruction and extension of Beijing should centre around the old city. Today Beijing's new urban districts have broken the bounds of the former city walls and expanded in every direction. The limit of extension was roughly set at the third suburban ring road which is now under construction. Within this limit, the layout of the streets was to retain, on the whole, the traditional pattern. Beyond it, the main lines of communication were to radiate in all directions. The plane design of the city preserved the traditional character of balance and symmetry, thus enhancing the outstanding position of the Tian An Men Square which used to be a court square in front of Tian An Men, the south gate of the old imperial city. It was nominally a "gate", but in reality, an imperial palace built on a purple terrace. The artisans who undertook the construction of Tian An Men have bestowed upon it such majestic beauty as to illustrate fully the characteristic of ancient Chinese architecture. The feudal emperors' aim in building such an enormous structure on this spot was not merely for the sake of fortification, but also to display the dignity of their kingly abode. According to the tradition of feudal dynasties, here was the so-called "outer court" where receptions of distinguished foreign guests and celebrations of grand occasions took place. The last feudal dynasty, the Qing Dynasty, also used this "outer court" to celebrate the issuing of the imperial edict on the coronation day, that is, to publicise the coronation of a new emperor to the subjects of the kingdom. The imperial edict was placed on a tray carved in the shape of cloud and carried to Tian An Men from the Forbidden City in a miniature "Dragon Pavilion". Then, jubilant music was played on Tian An Men, whose square

was strewn with prostrate civil and military officials and "elders" chosen and dispatched here to represent the common people. After the edict was read by the Edict Reader on Tian An Men, it was placed in the beak of a carved golden phoenix and lowered slowly down along the middle of the gate where it was put back into the "Dragon Pavilion" again and carried to the "Ministry of Rites" to the east of the square, where fair copies of it were made in yellow paper and distributed to the whole kingdom. The sole purpose of this ritual performance was to show that the divine rights of monarchs came directly from the Heaven. This is only an illustration of how feudal emperors used this court square to make a display of themselves and fool the people.

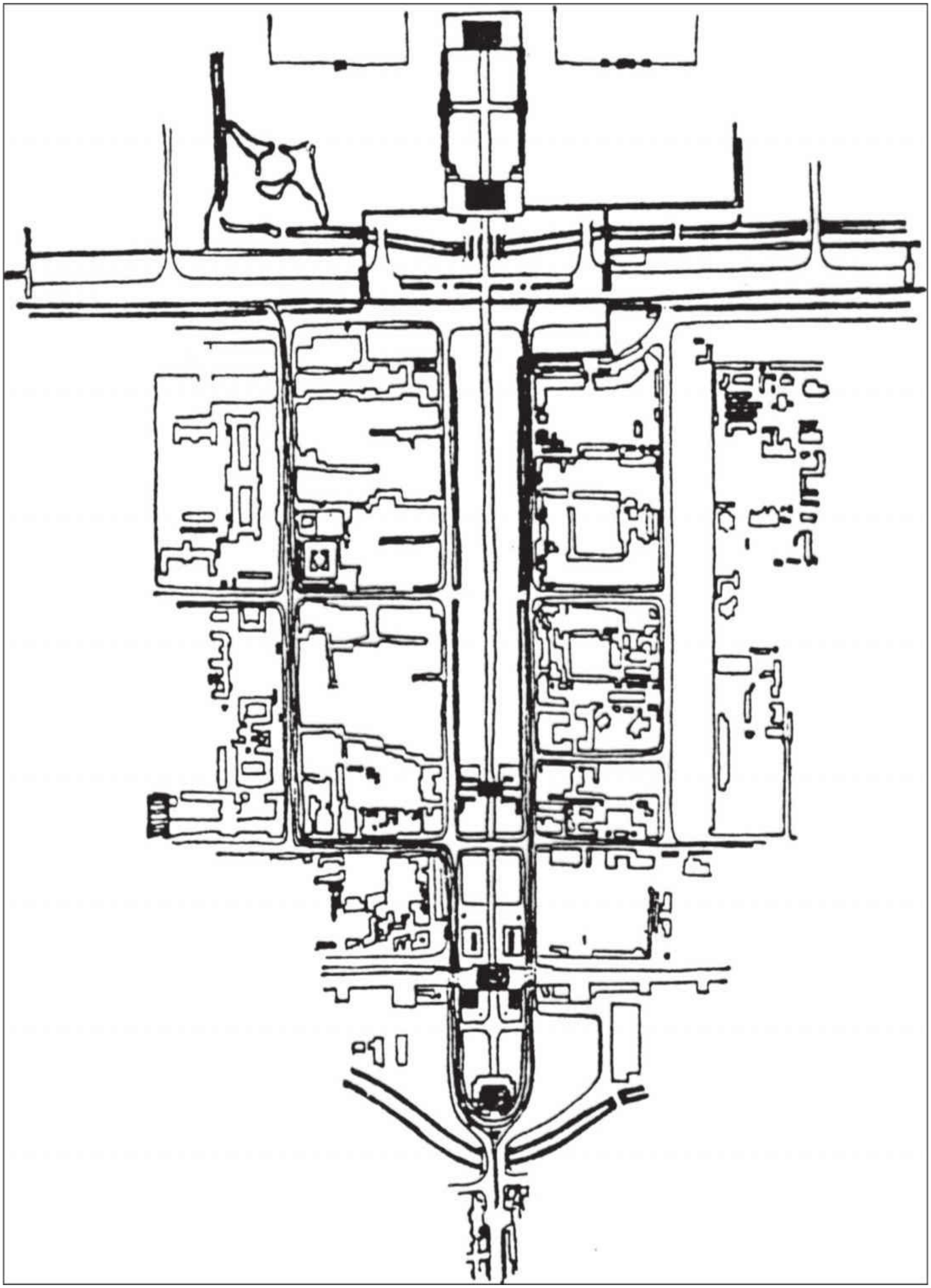
The square was somewhat T-shaped and closely confined by red walls all around, leaving only one entrance on every side for passage. These entrances, however, were strictly forbidden to the common people.

But the dialectics of history is relentless. When the Qing Dynasty was overthrown in 1911, it was this square which had been so strictly forbidden to the ordinary people that became the rallying centre of the revolutionary masses for patriotic demonstrations. And it was here, some sixty years ago, that the May Fourth Movement, which set the new democratic revolution ablaze, broke out. Again, it was here that the last mass movement was launched on the eve of the nation's liberation, against Chiang Kai-shek's attempt to unleash a civil war and his persecution of young students.



天安门
大清门

1-8 The Qing Dynasty's T-shaped imperial square 清乾隆扩建后的天安门宫廷广场



1-9 Tian An Men Square before redevelopment 改建前天安门广场图

Due to this glorious revolutionary tradition, the Tian An Men Square was chosen to be the site for the grand founding ceremony of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. Subsequently Tian An Men, the magnificent structure erected by labouring people in ancient times, was engraved on the national emblem of the republic to symbolize the renaissance of an ancient culture. The square has been transformed from a feudal court square into a people's square in the new socialist epoch. It has now become the centre of the country's political life, cherished by people of all nationalities.

But, at the time when the founding ceremony was being celebrated, the square was still confined on all sides by walls which seriously hindered popular activities by obstructing their sight and compressing their hilarious atmosphere within the square. As we look at it today, Tian An Men represents the essence of ancient Chinese architecture whereas those walls represent the dregs of feudalism. We must preserve the essence part and, according to the principle of making the past serve the present and weeding through the old to bring forth the new, weave it into the urban life of the present day, so that it may better serve the people. As to the feudal dregs, we must discard them in order to clear the way for our advance towards a new life.

On October 1, 1959, when we celebrated the tenth anniversary of the founding of the republic, the first transformation project of the Tian An Men Square was brought to a successful termination in accordance with the new city planning programme. After the reconstruction, the old walls on the three sides had disappeared and an entirely new square, many folds larger than the old one, presented itself to the public. It remains on the same premises, but has taken on a brand new appearance. Its magnificent, solemn, spacious and shining physiognomy is the embodiment of the ocean-like mind and overwhelming power of the people. The Monument of the People's Heroes towering in the centre of the square, had been completed a year before. With the People's Conference Hall that represents the centre of popular power on its west side and the Museum of Chinese Revolution and the Museum of Chinese History which serve to praise the people as the motive force in history-making, the square has become the heart of the political life of China's various nationalities, whence were spread abroad the aspirations of

the Chinese people.

During the reconstruction of the square, its two wings, the East and West Chang An Streets, were extended accordingly. Thus, the great smooth boulevard now forms a new thoroughfare threading the whole city from east to west. By contrast, it has definitely belittled the traditional thoroughfare which runs across the old city from south to north. This is as good as thoroughly negating the theme in the design of the old city, thus giving prominence to the unique position of the people's square in the plane layout of the whole city. The Forbidden City, which perched imposingly in the centre of the city during the old days, is now but a "backyard" of the people's square where only in spare time do people come and enjoy themselves in appreciation of the magnificent palaces built by the labouring people of ancient times and the gems of art in store there.

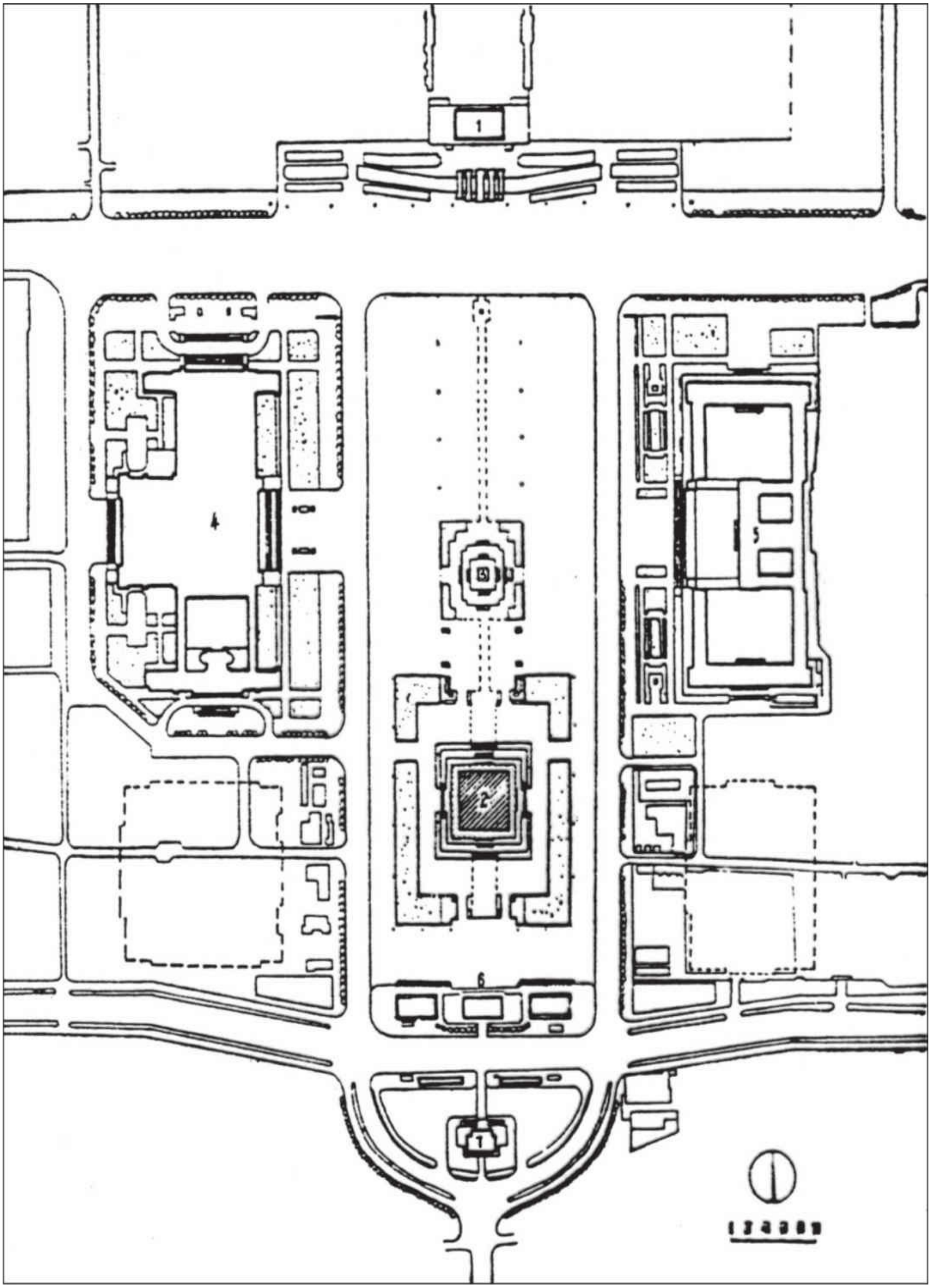
When Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall was completed in July 1977, the people's square was further expanded and endowed with new significance, adding to the serenity and tranquility of the south end. The lofty antique building of Qian Men (or Zheng Yang Men) has been preserved as well as the majestic Tian An Men. But these two age-old gates have now lost their former function as vanguards of the Forbidden City. They now serve with their artistic features as boundary marks of the new people's square on its south and north borders respectively. Once the thoroughfare—South Qian Men Street—from Qian Men to Yong Ding Men is expanded, the prominence of the Tian An Men Square as the centre of the whole city of Beijing will be further enhanced.

The square, which is now still undergoing further planning, is only an example to illustrate that if we persist in critical inheritance on the basis formed in the course of history and in accordance with the principles of making the past serve the present and weeding through the old to bring forth the new, a court square whose theme it was to extol feudal emperors can certainly be transformed into a people's square whose theme it is to praise the strength of the people. By analogy, the city of Beijing whose theme it was to extol feudal emperors, can likewise be transformed into a people's capital whose theme it is to praise the strength of the people.

But we must also acknowledge that there did arise controversies in regard to certain measures taken during the transformation of the old city. Although the demolition of the outer red walls enclosing Tian An Men Square did not give rise to any dissent, it was not the case with that of the old

city walls. When the question of removing the old city walls was first taken into consideration in the new city planning, opinions varied. Now that the city walls have already been removed, we have come to realize through the test of practice that whether it was absolutely necessary to get rid of them is indeed a question worth investigation, especially when part of the city moat has been turned into an undercurrent with their removal, thus reducing the water area in the city, which has proved detrimental to the improvement of its environment. It was particularly true with the moat outside Qian Men which runs through the middle of the city from west to east. If it had been preserved, it would not only have added to the natural beauty of the city, but also promoted its climate conditioning and helped to provide the city with fresh air, which would be extremely advantageous to the improvement of the city's environment and would supply its residents with excellent recreation ground.

It ought to be mentioned here that before the Cultural Revolution, there was a certain project in a district planning for the transformation of Tian An Men Square to bring a section of the moat outside Qian Men into the new plan of the Tian An Men Square. As a result, there would appear in the south of the square, a wooded garden abounding in natural views. If this proposal had been adopted, it would have added to the serenity and tranquility in the southern part of Tian An Men Square by setting off the green lawns around Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall with a riverside park outside Qian Men. But all this has proved to be something irremediable now.



1-10　Plan of Tian An Men Square on completion of Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall　毛主席纪念堂建成时的天安门广场总平面图

1．Tian An Men　天安门
2．Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall　毛主席纪念堂
3．Monument of the People's Heroes　人民英雄纪念碑
4．People's Conference Hall　人民大会堂
5．Museum of Chinese Revolution, Museum of Chinese History　中国革命博物馆、中国历史博物馆
6．Zheng Yang Men (Qian Men)　正阳门（前门）
7．Archery Tower　箭楼

（From Journal of Architecture, 1977, No. 4　采自《建筑学报》1977：4）

This is an example which illustrates that during the transformation of the old city of Beijing, there did exist setbacks in our experience which need to be summed up for future reference when we revise the city plan of Beijing. Of course, this is only my personal view on the matter which may not be correct after all. The heartening thing is that we are free to carry on liberal discussions on controversial issues now. A correct conclusion is sure to be brought about through practice as to the truth and falsehood of an issue. There was a time in the past when academic discussion was confused with political problems, which impeded free discussion and brought about harmful results. For instance, when the question of preserving or demolishing the city walls of Beijing was being discussed, those who favoured its preservation were inclined to be labelled as "conservative", "retrograde" or even "reactionary", thus forcing people to refrain from speaking their mind. Consequently, many valuable opinions were stifled, which proved detrimental to our work. This state of affairs was allowed to develop to an incredible degree during the ten years when the "Gang of Four" was in power, especially in the sphere of culture and learning where "ten thousand horses stood mute. It is most encouraging to see that during the last two years there has emerged once more the flourishing scene of allowing a hundred flowers to blossom and a hundred schools to contend. Emancipation of the mind and free airing of views are considered to be vital conditions of accelerating the realisation of the modernisation.

As has been proved by experience, as far as critical inheritance of history and culture is concerned, it is not always so easy to distinguish the essense from the dregs. Therefore, it becomes quite necessary to carry on thorough discussion and free debate on all controversial matters. Only by this can we really tell the right from the wrong and distinguish the essence from

the dregs, thus achieving the purpose of making the past serve the present and weeding through the old to bring out the new. This is also true with the city construction of Beijing, as well as the cultural construction of the whole nation, only the problem is even more complicated.

In concluding my lecture, I would like to repeat the point that I brought up at the beginning of my talk, i.e. a new China is forging ahead towards modernisation along the road of the new Long March. For this purpose, we have to learn from the West everything that is advanced. Likewise, we shall also absorb all that is valuable from our historical and cultural heritage, which is more important and more complicated a problem in the construction of our new socialist culture. We are quite sure to greet the advent of a new era in our country, which may well be termed a "renaissance", by solving the above-mentioned problem step by step in the process.

It is a great pleasure for me to have obtained this opportunity to come here on the kind invitation of your university, and give a very inadequate introduction of one of the problems confronting my country and my people to my most amiable Canadian friends and colleagues, with the aim to help in my small way to promote mutual understanding and cultural exchange between our two countries, which has been my greatest wish.

Once more, let me give my heart-felt thanks to the revered President of the University of British Columbia, the honourable Chairman and members of Cecil H. and Ida Green Visiting Professorships and all who have come to my lecture today.

壹　北京城：历史发展的特点及其改造*

我深感荣幸有此机会来到你们美丽的国家，这是我国人民所难以忘怀的伟大的国际主义战士诺尔曼·白求恩的祖国。整整四十年前，白求恩大夫为中国人民的解放事业，献出了自己宝贵的生命。他是把中加两国连接在一起的重要桥梁，是中加两国人民友谊长存的象征。当初他为之献身的事业，在我国已经取得了伟大的胜利；他的理想，在他战斗过的土地上已经开花结实。一个新中国在不断排除来自内部和外部的一切干扰和破坏，正在一个新长征的道路上，向着现代化的目标努力前进。为此我们就需要向西方虚心学习一切先进的科学技术——在这方面，贵国就有许多值得我们很好学习的地方；另一方面，我们还需要从自己的历史文化遗产中吸取一切有价值的部分，而这一点，在我们建设社会主义新文化的过程中，乃是更为重要和更为复杂的一个问题。

对于这个问题，我希望能用一个显而易见的例子，作个简要的说明，这就是如何在古老的北京城的基础上，建设社会主义新时代的人民首都的问题。为了充分说明这个问题，概括地回顾一下北京城历史发展的过程及其特点，还是必要的。

北京城作为中华人民共和国的首都，刚刚度过了三十周年，然而它的历史却可以追溯到悠久的过去。

一、北京地区开发的先驱

远在五十万年前，北京西南郊的周口店地区，已经有中国猿人生活在那里，这就是举世闻名的“北京人”。

在“北京人”住过的山麓洞穴里，发现了埋藏的丰富的原始人类的化石和他们使用过的工具以及动物化石，这些发现为研究人类起源和发展提供了非常重要的科学依据。这不但是中国远古文化遗产的瑰宝，也是世界文化宝库中的奇珍。

在这些发现中，还有“北京人”用火的遗迹。“北京人”在洪荒的世界里，燃起了熊熊的火焰，宣告了人类黎明时代的来临。

“北京人”处在原始社会的初期，过着群居的生活。他们用木棒和石头所制造的最原始的工具，从事采集和狩猎，以维持自己的生存和抚育后代，为此他们不得不和自然界进行着艰苦顽强的斗争。

经过了几十万年的漫长岁月，一直到原始社会末期，也就是大约四千年前，在北京近郊的平原上，开始出现了一些最初形成的小居民点，这是最早的农民和牧民集居的地方；他们已经从迁移不定的采集和狩猎生活过渡到以农牧为主的定居生活。这些最早的农民和牧民，正是开发北京地区的先驱。

随着生产力的发展和剩余产品的增加，以及社会劳动的分工，开始出现了私有制和极少数不劳而食的剥削者。原始社会开始解体，人类历史上第一个阶级压迫的社会即奴隶制社会逐渐形成。

最初城市的出现，正是奴隶社会形成的标志。

二、北京的原始聚落：蓟及其城址的地理条件

还在三千多年以前，也就是中国奴隶社会的前期，北京的原始聚落已经存在。那时中国的主要统治者，是已经发明了文字记事的商朝。商朝统治的地区，集中在华北大平原的中部，历史上泛称“中原”。对于建都在“中原”的商朝统治者来说，北京的原始聚落还远在北方，可是以青铜器为重要标志的商朝文化，已经传布到这里。

公元前十一世纪初，兴起于黄河中游高原地区的周朝，向东发展，终于征服了大平原上的商朝，继而建立了一个更加发展了的奴隶制国家。北京的原始聚落也就在这时迅速成长起来，这就是日后闻名的蓟城。蓟也就是北京最早见于文字记载的名称。

史书称蓟原是周初在北方的重要封国之一，在蓟的西南方不远、傍近太行山东麓，还有另一个重要封国叫做燕。后来燕国吞并了蓟国，并迁都到蓟城。

在这里有一个需要特别注意的问题，那就是：蓟的城址是怎样选择的？或者更确切地说：究竟有哪些地理上的因素，使得蓟城的原始聚落得以发展起来，历久而不衰？

这是一个饶有趣味的问题，早已为中外地理学家所注意，而且到今天还仍然是一个值得深入探索的问题。

为了说明这一点，不能不提到加拿大地理学家所熟知的一位负有国际声望的学者，这就是曾在多伦多大学任教的澳洲人G. 泰勒教授。

泰勒教授在到加拿大之前，曾任教于美国芝加哥大学，并于1941年当选为美国地理学家协会主席。正是在这一次当选时的就职演讲中泰勒教授根据他实地考察和研究的结果，讲到了关于北京早期城址选择的问题。这次讲稿的主要内容又编入了他所写的《城市地理学》一书中。现在我就从他这本书中引用几段，以说明他对于北京城址问题的看法。

在这部书的第26页上他写道：

> 要指明北京所以凌驾于黄河冲积平原的绝大部分城市之上的任何环境因素，是困难

> 的。本来可以期待北方的主要城市，或者是在大平原的中心、或者是靠近主要的河流、或者是在沿海的一个良好港口上发展起来。但是这样的条件，北京都不具备。

在以下两页中，他提出了自己的一种看法：

> 看来在北京城址的选择上，显示包含有许多“人”的因素。在古代，巫师们认为这一城址是特别吉利的。
>
> 大约早在公元前723年，由于巫术上和政治上的原因，导致了这个城市的诞生。当时蓟是燕国的首都。以此为起点，似乎再没有其他城市相与颉颃。

最后，他的结论是：

> 必须承认，北京城址的选择，不是由于任何明显的环境上的因素，……我们或许可以认为北京——位于一个具有同一环境的辽阔地区——是一个很好的例子，暗示在这样的情况下，偶然性的理论说明了地理分布的事实。（第29页）

四十年的时间过去了，在这期间——特别是从新中国建立以来，在研究北京城城址起源的问题上，不断有新的考古发现和新的研究成果可供参考。可惜的是泰勒教授未能来得及看到这些新材料就离开了我们。如果根据这些新发现的材料来批评泰勒教授的某些论断，是不公平的。现在极需要做的是利用到目前为止我们所能掌握的新材料，对蓟城的起源和城址的特点，再作些进一步的探讨。

为此，就需要对蓟城的地理位置及其特征，再作些必要的说明。

第一，过去关于蓟城城址的确切地点，无论是在中文或外文的研究著作中，论证多不可靠。到目前为止，根据所掌握的新材料，可以确定蓟城的故址，就在今日北京市区的西南隅，相当于现在广安门附近的一带地方。

第二，这一城址的位置，也正好处于附近一个小平原的西南隅。这个小平原，可以称之为“北京小平原”。从地形的特征来看，也有人叫它做“北京湾”。因为这个小平原的西、北和东北三面，有丛山环抱，其形势有如海湾。二三百万年前，这里也确曾是一个海湾，海湾的东西两侧，各有一条大河，切开山岭，注入海湾。东边的一条河，现在叫做潮白河，其下游曾是旧日南北大运河的一段。西侧的一条河，现在叫做永定河，也和黄河一样以携带泥沙之多而闻名。这两河所携带的泥沙，逐渐把这个古代的海湾淤为平地，向南与黄河冲积平原连成一片。

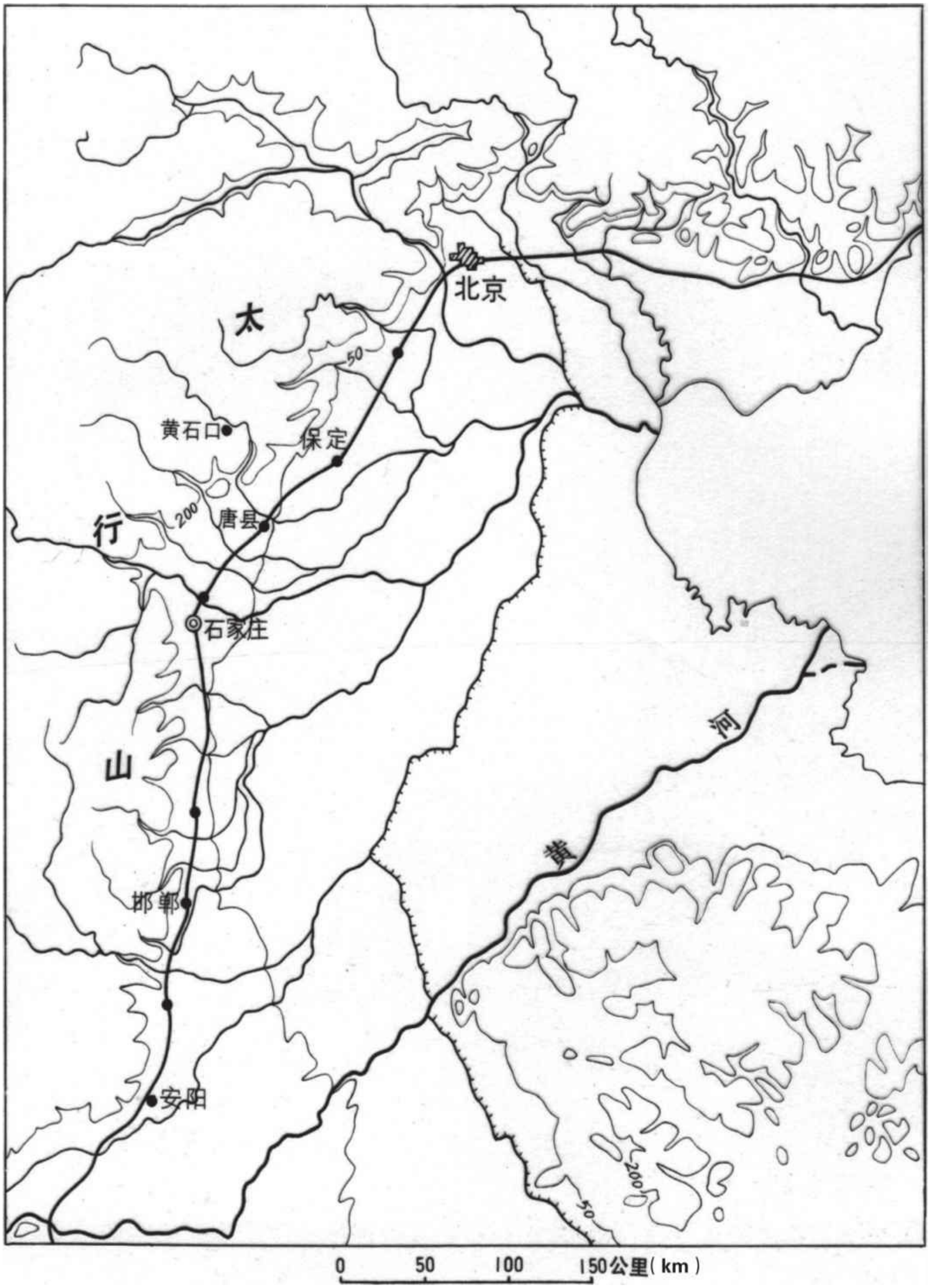
第三，这个北京小平原和华北大平原的关系，从交通条件来看，是特别值得注意的一个问题。因为三千年来这里的地理情况，已经发生了巨大的变化。看不到这一点，就不能真正理解古代蓟城之所以在这里发展起来的原因。

根据现在的地理情况来看，从华北大平原北上进入北京小平原，或者是从北京小平原南下华北大平原，无处不可通行。但是在三千年前，当蓟城开始兴起的时候，情况就大不一样了。那时蓟城的南面和东南一

带，湖泊沼泽，星罗棋布，阻隔了一切南北来往的道路。只是在世世代代勤劳的农民长期经营之下，大片湖沼低地才被改造为肥沃的良田，这是三千年来地理景观上的一大变化，只是在这里无暇细讲了。

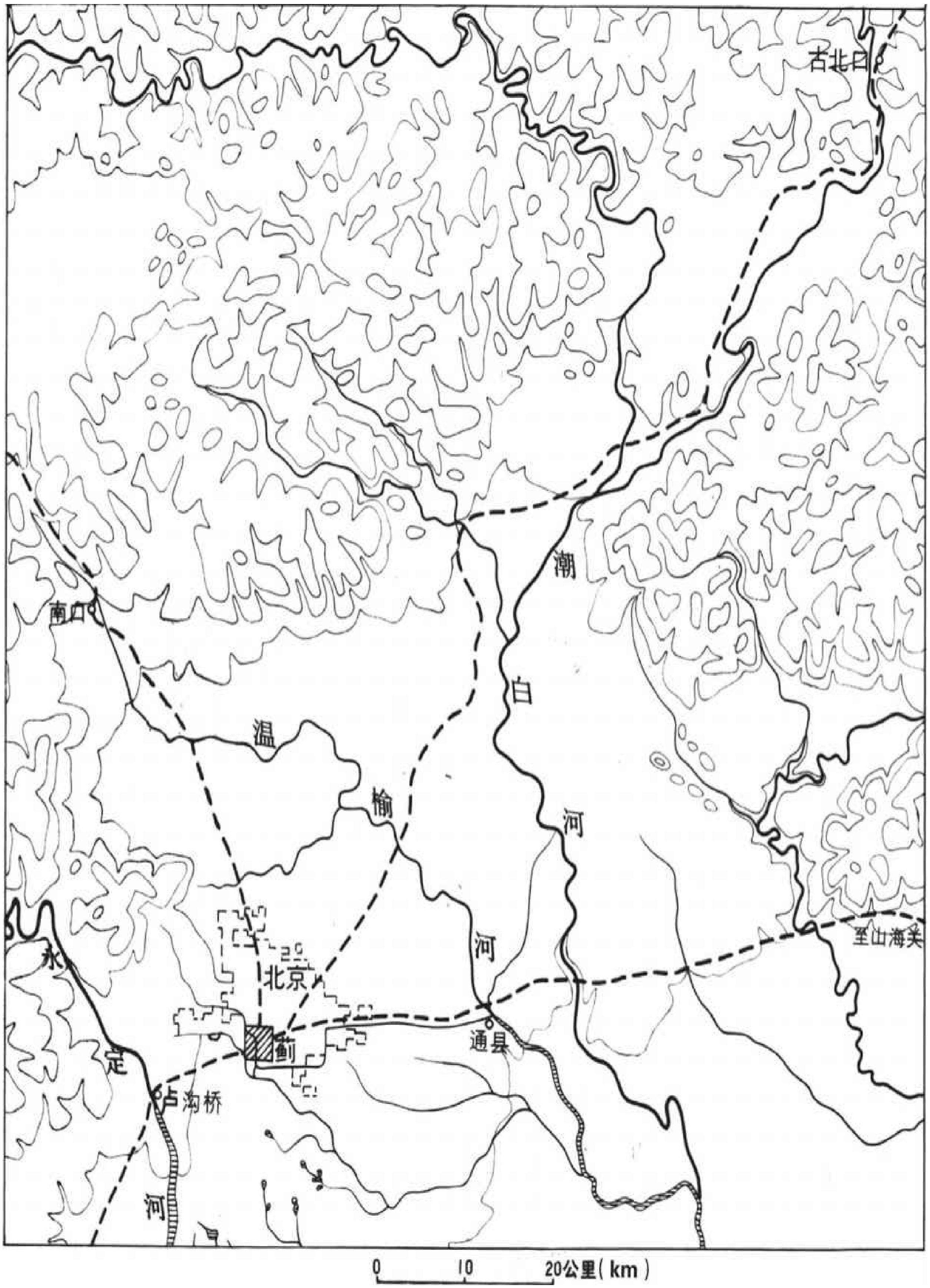
且说在三千年前，假如有人从华北大平原北上进入北京小平原，就只有一条道路可以畅行无阻，那就是沿着华北大平原的西侧和太行山的东麓，步行北上。这条道路是沿着高山与平原之间的一条狭长地带逐渐发展起来的。太行山标志了山西高原的东部边缘，高原上的无数河流，大体都是自西而东，切穿了太行山，奔腾而下，注入大平原，然后汇集入海。河流出山之后，形成了或大或小的冲积扇，为太行山东麓的南北大道，提供了良好的渡口。沿着这条大道北上，越过一个又一个的渡口，最后来到最大河流上的一个最难越过的渡口，这就是永定河上的古代渡口。越过这个渡口之后，就进入了北京小平原。因此这个渡口就等于是小平原的门户。一旦进入小平原之后，如果还要继续前进，越过崛起于小平原北面和东北面的崇山峻岭，以到达遥远的山后地区，那就必须在有天然峡谷提供了南北通道的地方，才有可能。

正如乐观的中国劳动人民一个谚语所说的那样，“天无绝人之路”。在北京小平原的西北隅和东北隅，各有一处山峡缺口。在西北隅的一个叫做南口，从南口入山，穿过一段峡谷，翻过平缓的八达岭——也就是离北京最近的一段“万里长城”所在的地方——转向西北，经过一带宽阔的山间盆地，可以直上内蒙古大高原。


北京
太
行
山
黄石口
保定
唐县
石家庄
邯郸
安阳
黄
河
50
200
0 50 100 150公里(km)

1-1　East side of the Taihang Mountains　太行山东麓地形略图

Beijing　北京
Taihang Mountains　太行山
Yellow River　黄河



古北口
潮
白
河
南口
温
榆
河
永
定
河
北京
蓟
通县
卢沟桥
至山海关
0
10
20公里(km)

1-2　Ancient way on the Beijing Plain　北京小平原古代大道示意图

Beijing　北京
Ji City　蓟城
Nankou pass　南口
Gubeikou Pass　古北口
Shanhaiguan Pass　山海关
Lugou Bridge　卢沟桥
Yongding River　永定河
Chaobai River　潮白河

在东北隅的一个叫做古北口，从古北口入山，偏向东北，穿过连绵不断的丘陵山地，就进入了东北大平原。

此外，还有一条大道，从北京小平原一直向东，沿着燕山南麓前进，直到山与海相接的地方，便是现在有名的山海关。出山海关，沿滨海走廊向东北，直达辽河下游平原。

在说明了上述情况之后，这里就出现了一个饶有趣味的问题，即从华北大平原沿太行山东麓北上的大道，在渡过永定河的古代渡口之后，随即分歧为三，继续前进，那么这个大道的分歧点，应该在哪里？

在一般的情况下，这个大道的分歧点，应该就在渡口上。作为这样的一个渡口，实际上也就是来往交通的枢纽。随着社会经济的发展，交换关系日趋频繁，这样的一个渡口，也就为一个城市的成长，提供了有利的条件。这种情况，在世界城市的发展史上是不乏其例的。例如从泰晤士河的古代渡口上发展起来的伦敦城，就是一个典型的例子。如果这一推断是合理的，那么北京城本来就应该从永定河的古代渡口上成长起来，然而事实并不如此。北京城并没有在这里成长，代替了一个城市而在这里出现的，是公元1192年才在这里建造起来的一座大石桥，去今也已七百多年。这座大石桥在某些西方文献中也叫做“马可·波罗桥”，因为威尼斯的旅行家马可·波罗（1254—1324）是第一个从这座大桥上经过的享有盛名的西方客人。这座长达266.5米、共有十一孔的大石桥，造型壮丽，雕饰精美，马可·波罗在他那部著名的旅行记里，曾有详细的描述，因而传名于西方。

在中国，这座大石桥叫做卢沟桥。“卢沟”乃是建桥时永定河原有的名称，现在河流本身的名称虽然改变了，可是河上的石桥却以其原有名称，十分完好地保存到今天。在这里特别值得一提的，是1937年7月7日，日本帝国主义者，捏造了一个借口，从卢沟桥畔发动了对中国人民的侵略战争，这就是举世周知的“卢沟桥事变”。以此为起点，中国人民在中国共产党的领导下，进行了八年之久的抗日战争，并且取得了最后的胜利。就是在这次战争的初期，白求恩大夫就在离卢沟桥西南只有一百六十多公里的太行山中的一个小农村——黄石口村，为中国人民献出

了他宝贵的生命。

卢沟桥所代表的永定河上的古代渡口，虽然为一个城市的成长提供了有利的条件，但是也还有一个不利的因素，排斥一个城市在这里成长，这就是永定河的洪水威胁。

永定河虽然是一条大河，但是它的流量极不稳定，每当雨季，特别是遇到暴雨在北京西北山区集中下降的时候，永定河的洪水猛涨，从出山之口，一泻而下，卢沟桥所代表的古代渡口，首当其冲。正是由于这种不可避免的洪水威胁，就把原来是应该在古代渡口上成长起来的城市，排斥到过河之后去渡口最近而又开始不受洪水威胁的地方，这个地方就是蓟城的原始聚落所在处，而这里也就成为古代南北交通的枢纽。正是因为这个枢纽地位，蓟城才能超越附近其他居民点而迅速地发展起来。

其次，也要看到蓟城的原始聚落，还有一些局部的有利条件，使它在早期的发展中得以顺利成长。例如它不仅位于古代永定河冲积扇的背脊上，而且还靠近冲积扇上一条潜水溢出带的东侧，这里既有丰富的地下水源，便于凿井汲取，同时在城市的西郊还有一个清澈的小湖，古称西湖，现在叫做莲花池。这个小湖就是潜水溢出所形成的，它的下游是一条小河，正好流经蓟城西南侧，又为蓟城的早期发展，提供了良好的地表水源。

根据以上的讨论，可以说明：蓟城的兴起，除去社会经济发展的决定因素外，它还具备了必要的地理条件。这些地理条件，都是客观存在的，因此也是可以分析的。忽略了这些地理条件，就难以说明北京的原始聚落之所以在这里成长的原因。

以上是在讨论北京城的历史发展时所必须交代清楚的一个问题，如果有不妥之处，还希望得到同行们的批评和指教。

三、原始城址的迁移和元朝大都城的兴建

在分析了蓟城——也就是北京原始城址的地理条件之后，我们再来继续探索这个城市的历史发展。

公元前三世纪晚期，以蓟城为统治中心的燕国，和其他一些为周朝所分封的同一性质的侯国，都先后为新兴的秦所征服。这时中国已经进入封建社会的初期。秦朝的统治者秦始皇，在中国历史上创建了第一个中央集权的、多民族的、统一的封建国家。

从秦朝开始，封建王朝相继更迭，一直延续了二千一百多年，到本世纪初，也就是1911年，最后一个封建王朝——清朝才被推翻。在这期间，中国的政局有时陷于分裂，也就是说有两个或两个以上的王朝同时并存、互争雄长。但大部分时间还是统一的。这种统一时期，是中国的

社会经济与文化发展的重要时期。

全国统一时期的政治中心，前后也有过几次迁移，但是真正称得上是全国最大、最重要的政治中心的，只有两个，在前期是长安，也就是现在的西安，在后期就是北京。

当长安作为全国最大的政治中心的时候，北京以其地理位置的关系，在中原与东北的边远地区之间，起着非常重要的作用。特别是因为在这期间统治中原地区的大都是汉族所建立的王朝，农业是主要的生产手段，社会经济和文化都比较先进。东北的边远地区则是以游牧为主的少数民族分布的地方，还处在奴隶社会的发展阶段，生产比较落后。在一个国家内这两种不同发展阶段的社会结构之间，经常处于相互矛盾的对立状态，而这种矛盾在旧的社会制度下，又是无法解决的。停留在奴隶社会发展阶段的游牧部族是剽悍的骑手，在雄杰好战的首领统治下，就会纵马南下，对中原地区的农业居民造成威胁，并且有颠覆中原统治者的危险。因此中原的统治者在势力强大的时候，也常常组织兵力，主动进攻，向北方的游牧部族进行征讨。但更多的时候，是采取防御手段，役使千千万万的劳动人民，沿着北方的高山峻岭，修建万里长城，以事防御。因此，有名的万里长城实际上就是这种矛盾存在的历史见证。而在今天，这个由古代劳动人民用双手所建筑的庞大而雄伟的建筑物，却已成为中外无数旅游者，怀着无限惊讶与赞叹的心情，兴高采烈地攀登和纵情眺望的一处名胜古迹了。

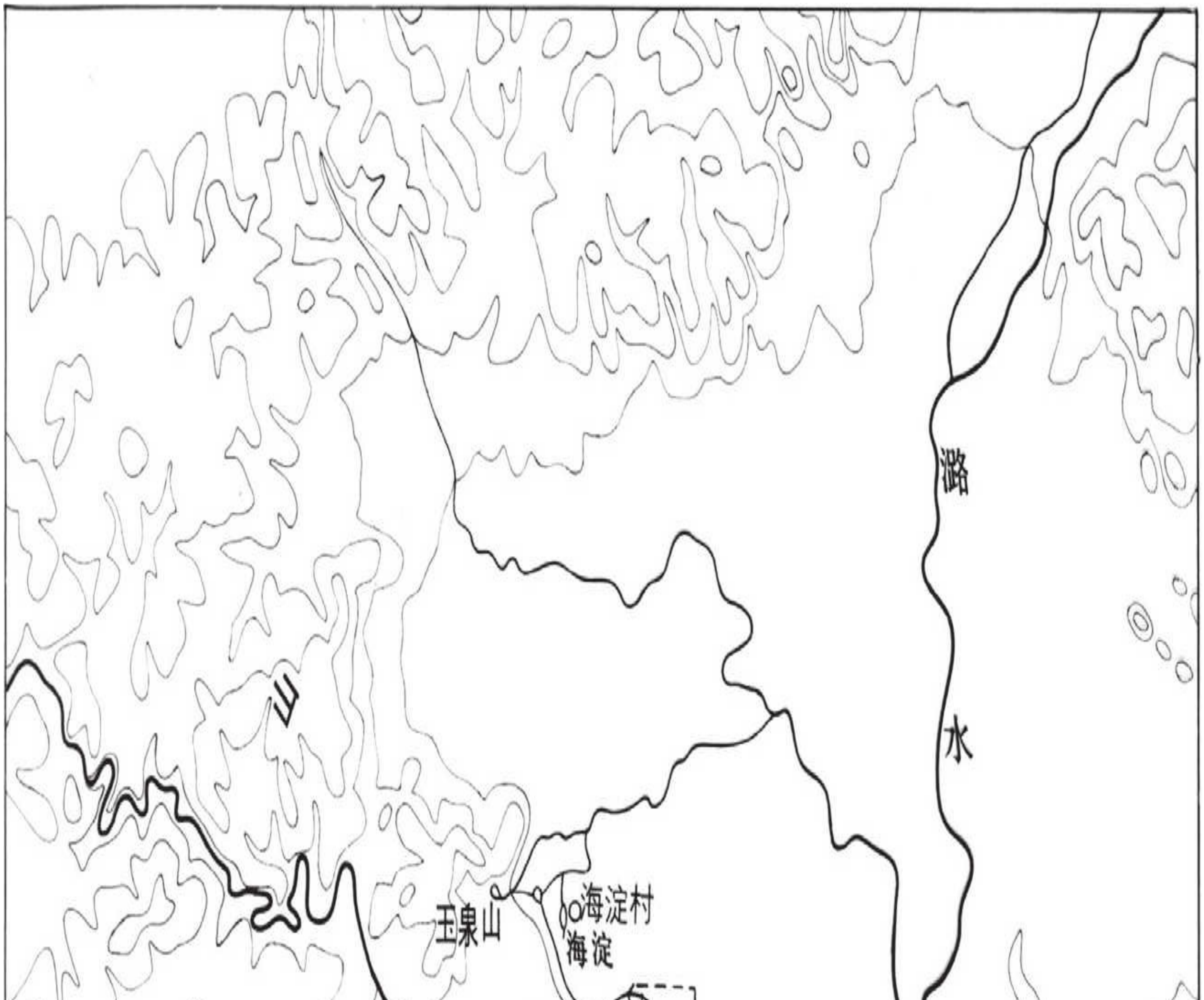
现在，让我们从驰骋于万里长城的遐想中，再回到我们现实的话题上来吧。

简单地说，从公元前三世纪到公元后九世纪的一千多年之间，每当中原统治者势力强大的时候，就常常要以蓟城为前进的基地，对东北游牧部族进行征讨。反之，当中原统治者势力衰微或陷于分裂的时候，东北游牧部族的统治者，又常常乘机南下，掠夺中原地区的财富，甚至俘虏人民充当奴隶，而这时的蓟城又成为中原统治者一个军事防守的重镇。到了防守无效，游牧部族的统治者入侵成功之后，就一定要以蓟城作为进一步南下的据点。自然在这期间，主要的还是和平安定的局面时间最长，在这种局面下，蓟城也就成为一个重要的南北贸易的中心，并促进了中原与东北地区之间的文化交流。

但是，从十世纪开始，东北少数民族的势力，逐渐兴起，首先是契丹族的统治者拥兵南下，占据了蓟城，并以蓟城为陪都（第二政治中心），作为继续向南方推进的据点，并改称蓟城为南京（或叫燕京），这是中国历史上的辽朝（916—1125）。十二世纪初，又一个东北少数民族——女真族，继而兴起，占据了辽朝的南京城后，就正式迁都到这里，并扩建了南京城，改名中都，这就是金朝（1115—1234）。

金朝的中都城，乃是在蓟城的旧址上发展起来的最后也是最大的一个大城。城中的宫殿建筑尤其豪华。可是这座大城兴建之后不到百年，又一个来自北方高原上的少数民族——蒙古族，在它的杰出领袖成吉思汗的领导下，迅速强大起来。公元1215年，成吉思汗部下的一支骑兵，突破南口一带的天险，直捣中都，经过一场激烈的战斗，杀进城中。在混乱的情况下，城内的豪华宫殿，竟被放火焚烧，化为一片废墟。

此后又过了四十五年，也就是公元1260年，成吉思汗的孙子忽必烈——中国历史上元朝的创建人，来到中都城，并决定在这里建都。经过一番考虑之后，接受了当时对城市建筑和科学技术具有丰富学识和实践经验的汉族学者刘秉忠的建议，决定放弃中都旧城，另在东北郊外，选择新址，建设新城。积极参加新城的规划和建设的，还有一位杰出的科学家郭守敬。郭守敬自幼从学于刘秉忠，精通天文历法，又长于测量，也是一位水利学家。刘、郭师生合作，形成了一个专家领导的核心。他们还招来了太行山中一些世代从事石工而且富有艺术才能的匠人，参加新城的建设，其中最有名的就是民间出身的石雕艺术家杨琼和杨浩。此外，还有来自中亚的外籍工匠，也参加了筑城的工事。人才济济，盛极一时。新城的建设，于1267年开始动工，这就是历史上赫赫有名的大都城，也就是现在北京城的前身。


潞水
西山
玉泉山
海淀村
海淀
金口河
太宁宫闸河
中都
卢沟桥
卢沟河
0
10
20公里(km)

1-3　Watercourses in the adjacent areas of Zhongdu City of the Jin Dynasty　金中都城近郊河渠水道略图

Zhongdu City　中都
Taining Palace　太宁宫
Lugou Bride　卢沟桥
West Mountains　西山
Yuquan Hills　玉泉山
Lugou River　卢沟河

这里有两个值得注意的问题：

第一，当时为什么要放弃中都旧城，另建大都新城？

第二，大都新城的城址是怎样选择的？又是怎样规划的？

我们必须回答这两个问题，因为这和了解现在的北京城是有直接关系的。

现在分别讨论如下。

关于第一个问题：

当时放弃中都旧城，有一个明显的原因，那就是旧城的宫阙已被焚毁，与其在一片废墟上重行修建，还不如另筑新宫，营造新城。但实际上，还有一个更为重要的原因，导致了城址的最后迁移，这就是对于开辟新水源的要求。

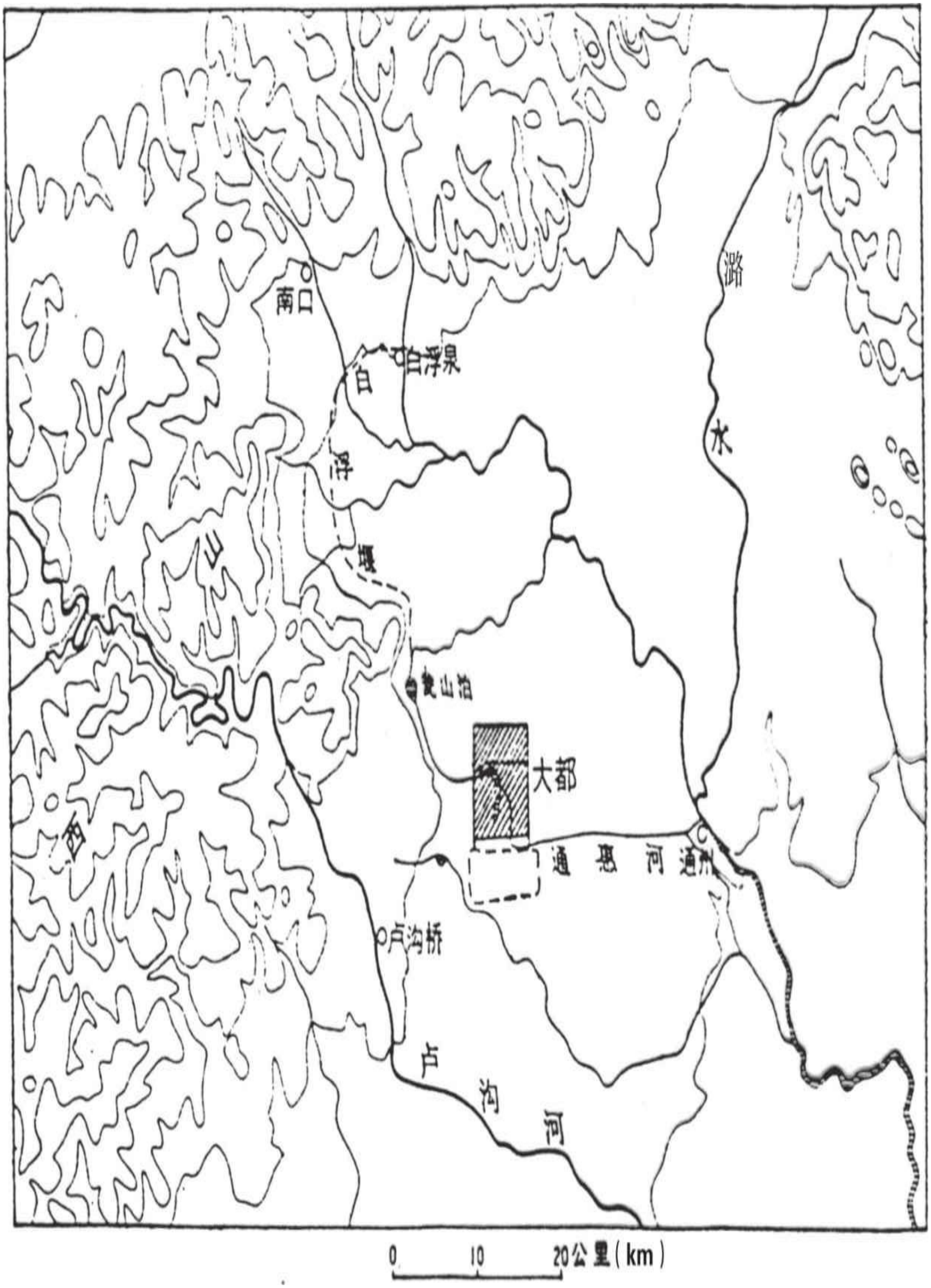
按蓟城早期的发展，城市性质比较单纯，规模也不很大，因此对于地表水源的要求是有限的。近在城郊的西湖和流经城侧的小河，完全可以满足城市用水的需要。可是，到了金朝在这里正式建都之后，情形就大不相同了。按照中国的传统，作为一个封建王朝的都城，照例要结合宫阙的修建开辟皇家园林。园林之中又照例要有河湖岗阜作为点缀，这是造园的重要因素，即使没有天然山水，也要用人工凿地为湖，堆土成山。因此宫苑中的湖泊，也就取得了一个固定的名称，叫做“太液池”。这个名称象征着宫苑里的湖水，直接来自天上，也含有水是生命本源的意思。为了开辟皇家园林，就要大量用水，从而大大增加了对于地表水源的需求。特别重要的是，为了供应皇家以及庞大的中央官僚机构与驻防军队的需要，每年还必须把大量从民间征收的食粮，通过水上运输，送到都城，在中国封建王朝的历史上，这也形成了一种制度，叫做“漕运”。中国有名的大运河，就是因此而开凿起来的。因此，为了运河的开凿，就需要更加丰沛的地表水源。

金朝扩建中都城时，已经把西湖下游的小河，圈入城中，并在宫城的西侧，开辟了皇家园林。西湖的水源虽然满足了宫苑用水的需要，却远远不足以供应运河的用水。金朝的统治者曾经开凿了一条郊区运河，从中都城下顺自然地势，引水东流，直接潮白河。它的上源主要是从城

西永定河上，筑坝拦水，凿渠东下。这本来是个很好的计划，只是由于永定河流量极不稳定，当时的工程技术也有一定限制，未能达到预期的效果。其他引水的尝试，也都未能奏效。这一情况是参加新城规划的郭守敬所十分清楚的。放弃中都旧址，另建新城，郭守敬应该是最有关系的一个人。

那么新城的城址又是怎样选择和怎样规划的呢？这就是必须回答的第二个问题。

在这里顺便提到一个有趣的插话，或许还是必要的。公元1260年，忽必烈初到中都，由于城中宫殿已成废墟，无处可以安身，他只好住到城外一个离城不远的地方，这在当时的记录中是有明确记载的，以后又被转载在重要的《元史》忽必烈的本纪中，但是他所居住的确切地点，都被有意识地避而不记，这大约也是为了他本身的安全而有意保密的缘故吧？现在，七百多年的时间过去了，我们还是经过一番细心的侦察才弄清楚，原来忽必烈初到中都时所居住的地方，就是金朝统治者在东北郊外一片天然湖泊上所兴建的一座离宫，名叫太宁宫。这座离宫的主要殿宇，就建筑在湖泊当中的一个岛上，名叫广寒殿，取名于中国神话中所构想的月亮上的宫殿，同时也暗示了这里风景幽美，有如仙境。


南口
白浮泉
白
浮
堰
西
山
瓮山泊
大都
通惠河
通州
卢沟桥
卢
沟
河
潞
水
0
10
20公里(km)

1-4　Watercourses in the adjacent areas of Khanbaliq of the Yuan Dynasty　元大都城近郊河渠水道略图

Dadu City　大都
Tonghui River　通惠河
Lugou Bridge　卢沟桥
Lugou River　卢沟河
Nankou Pass　南口
West Mountains　西山

需要指出的是：当1215年蒙古骑兵攻占中都城并使城中宫阙化为灰烬的时候，东北郊外这座离宫却幸得保全。相继发生的事实说明：1267年开始营建大都城，正是利用太宁宫的湖泊作为平面设计的中心而进行规划的，从此这片湖泊也就获得了“太液池”的名称。

从大都城的平面图上，可以明显地看到，太液池的东岸建有皇帝的宫城，西岸建有两组宫殿，南北对峙，分别为皇太子和皇太后所居。三宫之间，乃是以太液池中的一个圆形小岛作为相互联系的中心。小岛的东西两侧，各架一座木桥，分别与东西两岸相连接。小岛的北侧另建一座石桥，通向旧日离宫的主体建筑广寒殿所在的大岛上。这个大岛叫做琼华岛，意思是说这里是琼楼玉柱百花争艳的地方，如实地反映了这里已成为太液池上的风景中心。环绕太液池的整个平面布局，构成了一幅匀称的图案，在它的周围修筑了近似正方形的宫墙，就是皇城的城墙。

皇城北侧，有更大的一片湖泊，当时叫做积水潭，原与皇城内的太液池相连。由于皇城的修建，就把这两处湖泊截分为二，并为太液池另外开凿了一条供水渠道，也是根据古代的传统，命名为金水河。

积水潭原为一条天然河流——高梁河所灌注。积水潭下游的高梁河故道，在大都城的规划过程中，可能是已被改为暗渠，或被填埋，因此另开一条新渠道，经由皇城的东墙外，流出大都城。后来郭守敬又利用这条改造后的新渠道，作为南北大运河的最北一段，把来自江南的漕船，一直引进大都城，停泊在积水潭里。随漕船北来的还有南方的百货，因此积水潭东北岸及其附近一带，就成了大都城内最繁华的市场所在。

从以上的讨论中可以看出，从表面现象来说，金朝的离宫似乎是导致兴建大都城的原因，但实际上高梁河的新水源，才是选建大都城城址的重要因素。

这里需要特别注意的是在大都城平面设计中具有头等重要意义的全城中轴线的确定。这条中轴线恰好选定在积水潭的东岸，而皇帝宫城中的中心点，也就正好布置在这条全城的中轴线上，而且占据了最重要的位置。中轴线的顶点，止于积水潭的东北岸，同时把这一点也就定为全城平面设计的几何中心，并在这里建立了一座指示性的建筑物，就叫

做“中心阁”。中心阁的右侧，特意立了一块石碑，刻有“中心之台”四个大字，这就说明在全城进行规划设计的同时，是进行了精密的平面测量的。

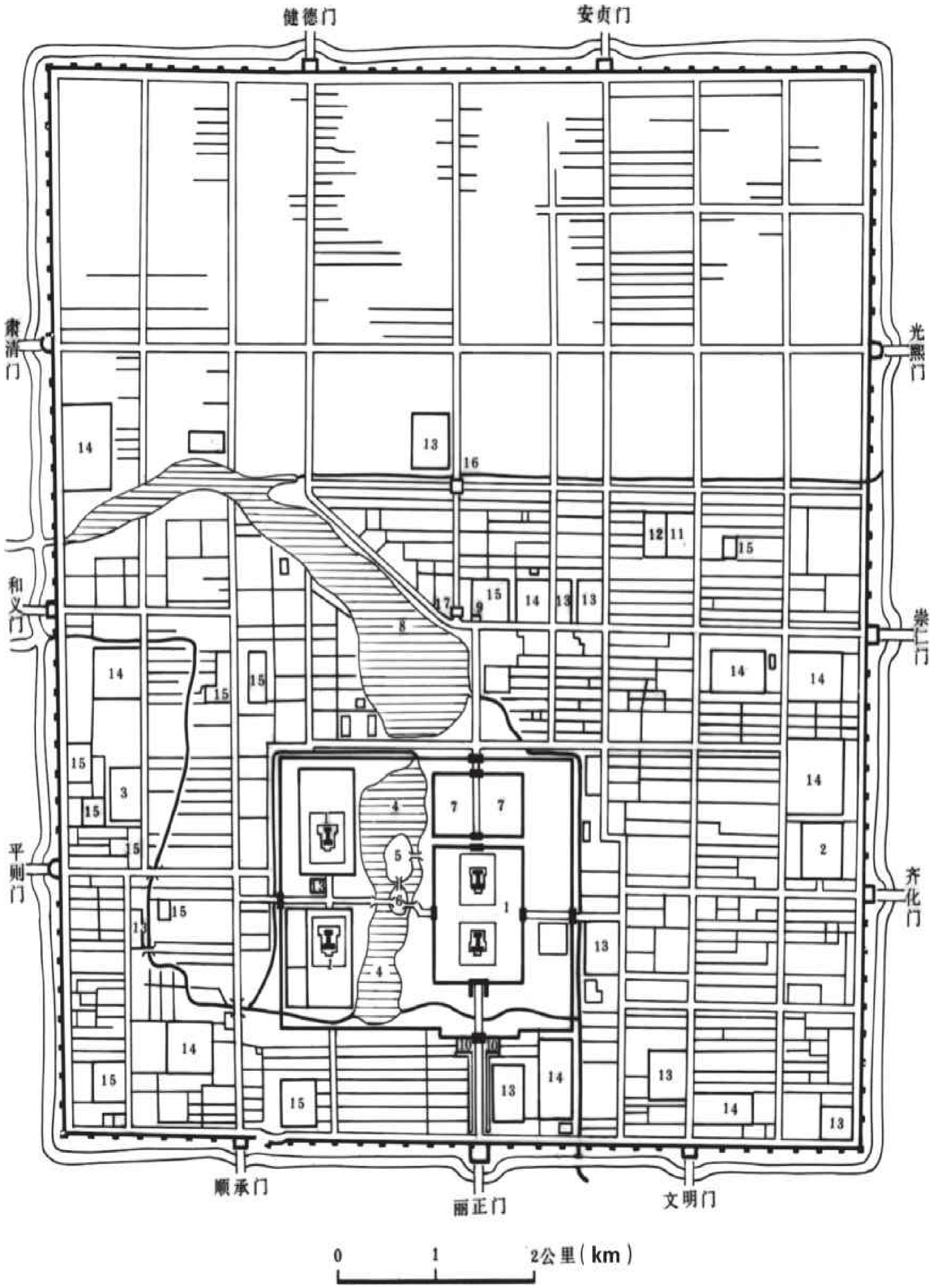
中心阁以西建立了鼓楼，鼓楼之北又建钟楼。钟鼓楼是全城报时的中心。这一点在《马可·波罗游记》中是有明确记载的。

全城的几何中心确定之后，大都城最外围四面城墙的位置，也就相应地确定下来。只是在动工过程中，东面城墙可能是为了避开不利的地形，又向内稍有收缩。这一措施对于全城的平面规划，是无关紧要的。

大都城东、西、南三面城墙，各设三门，北面城墙只设二门。各城门内都有笔直的干道，纵横交错，略成棋盘状。南面城墙的正中一门，也正好设在全城的中轴线上，是中心干道所经，由此北上，直入宫城。宫城之内，也只有代表皇权统治中心的主要大殿，被布置在这条中轴线上，其他次要建筑物，都采取严格对称的形式，排列在中轴线的左右两边。

在皇城以外的南北干道之间，开辟了众多东西平行排列的街巷，主要是居民住宅分布的地区。中央和地方官署以及寺庙、仓库等公用建筑错列其间。只有两组有重要意义的建筑群，是按计划布局的。一组设在大城东墙的南门以内，叫做“太庙”，是皇帝祭祀祖先的地方。一组设在大城西墙的南门以内，叫做“社稷坛”，是皇帝祭祀土地之神与五谷之神的地方。

这里需要指出的是，大都城的这一平面布局，和古代关于帝王都城的一种理想设计，极相近似。这一理想设计，见于大约成书在公元前五世纪时的一部著作，叫做《考工记》，是专门讲工程技术与器物制作的。其中提到帝王都城的设计，四面城墙应作正方形，每面各开三门，门内各有三轨平行的干道，纵横相交。城内中央的前方（南方）是朝廷，后方（北方）是市场，左方（东方）是太庙，右方（西方）是社稷坛。简单地说，就是面朝、后市、左祖、右社。大都城显然是参考了这一古代理想的设计，又结合了地方湖泊水道分布的特点而后进行规划的，它具有特殊的历史意义，就在于此。这一平面布局的主要目的，就是要把帝王的宫殿摆在全城最重要的位置上，它所力求表达的主题思想，就是封建帝王的“唯我独尊”。



健德门
安贞门
肃清门
光熙门
和义门
崇仁门
平则门
齐化门
顺承门
丽正门
文明门
0
1
2公里(km)

1-5　Plan of Khanbaliq of the Yuan Dynasty　元大都城平面图

1．Palaces　宫殿
2．Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙
3．Altar of Land and Grain　社稷坛
4．Heavenly Water Pond　太液池
5．Jade Flower Island　琼华岛（万寿山、万岁山）
6．Round City　圆坻（瀛洲）
7．Imperial Garden　御园
8．Jishuitan (Water Storing Pond)　积水潭
9．Central Platform　中心之台
10．Corridor of a Thousand Steps　千步廊
11．Confucian Temple　文庙
12．Imperial College　国子监
13．Yamuns　衙门
14．Barns　仓库
15．Temples　寺观、庙宇
16．Bell Tower　钟楼
17．Drum Tower　鼓楼

（Reproduced on the basis of Xu Pingfang's Atlas of Dadu　根据徐苹芳《元大都城图》原稿复制）

这座规模宏伟、规划整齐的大都城开始兴建后八年，马可·波罗就来到这里。他深受忽必烈赏识，并且出仕元朝。后来在他那部游记里，他对大都城作了详细的描述。他称大都城为Khanbaliq，也就是“大汗之城”的意思。这部游记的英译本流传甚广，这里就不引述了。但是应该指明的一点，即到了十五世纪，哥伦布正是在读了《马可·波罗游记》之后，才决定要远航中国，由于他相信地球是圆的，如果马可·波罗从陆路东行可以到达中国，那么他从海路西航，也同样可以到达中国。他的这一天才的判断，导致了一个伟大的“发现”，这也是众所周知的事，这里也就无须饶舌了。

四、明清北京城：规划设计的特征

元朝的统治也不到一百年，就被汉族建立的明朝所代替。明朝的统治者兴起于长江下游，首先建都在南京，然后北伐，于1368年攻下大都城，改称北平。到了它的第三个皇帝即位之后，又决定迁都北平，并把北平改称北京。北京的名称就是从这时开始的。与此同时，还进行了大规模的城市改建工作，到1420年基本完工。

明兵最初攻下大都城时，为了便于防守，曾在原来的北城墙内约2.5公里的地方，跨过积水潭上最窄狭之处，另建新墙。同时还平毁了元朝的宫殿。

决定从南京迁都到这里之后，又进行了下列主要的改建工程。

一、重建宫城：仍在原来中轴线的旧址上，只是稍向南移，建造了新宫城，这就是保留到现在的紫禁城（今为“故宫博物院”）。紫禁城内象征皇权统治中心的六座大殿，自南而北，依次奠基在全城的中轴线上。其他一切建筑，照例是严格对称地排列在六座大殿的东西两侧。

二、由于紫禁城南移的结果，旧日皇城的南墙与大城的南墙，也都依次南移，中间的空间距离也都各有增加。在紫禁城前方中心干道左右两侧扩大了的空间里，新建了太庙和社稷坛，既加强了这两组重要建筑与宫城之间的联系，又仍旧保持着左祖右社的传统，同时在平面布局上还进一步突出了中心干道的位置。

其次，在皇城的正前方，开辟了一个新的“T”字形的宫廷广场，这就是现在天安门广场的前身。当时在广场的东西两侧，还集中布置了中央衙署，同样也是左右对称排列的形式。

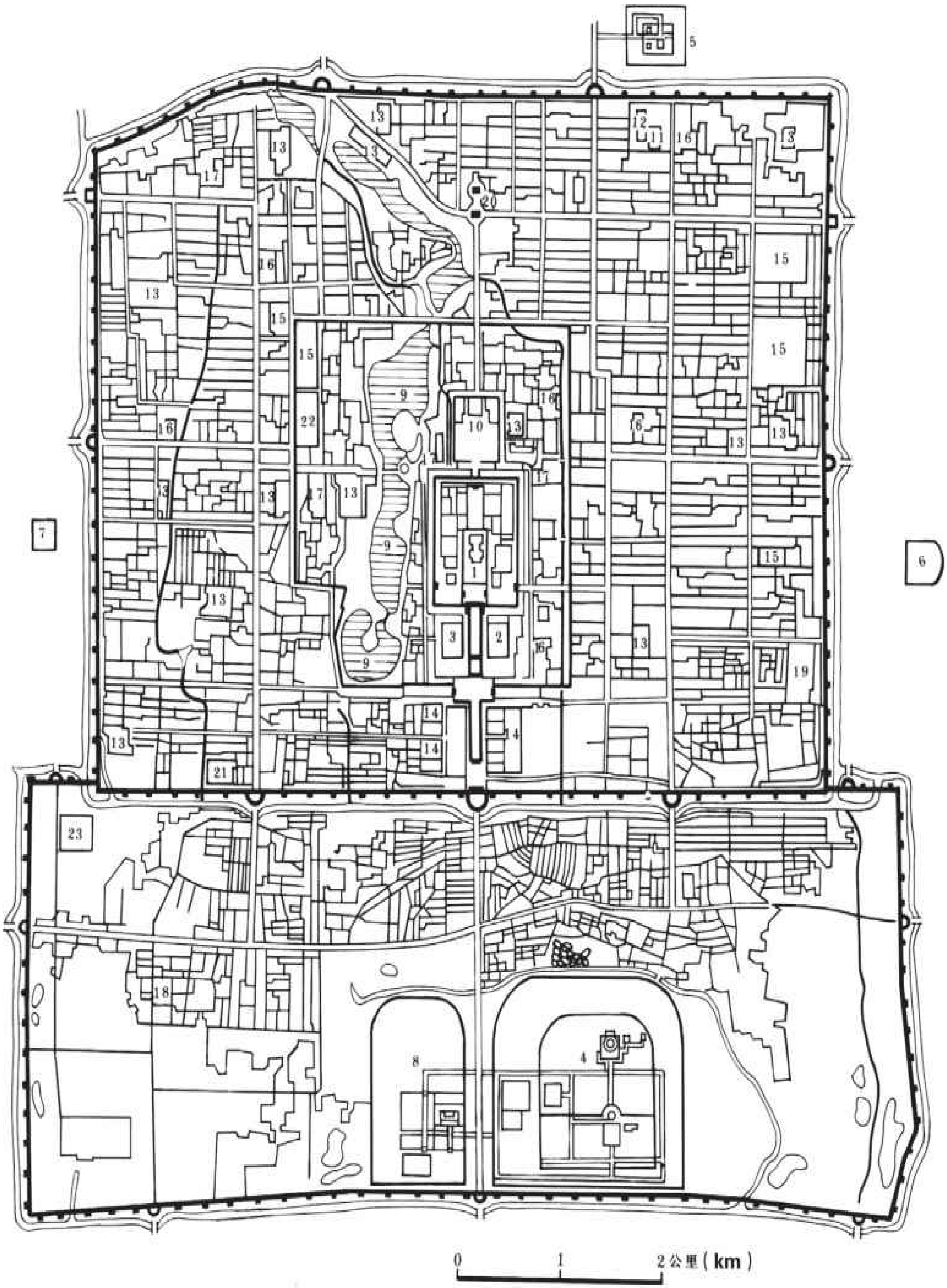
三、旧日皇城南墙向南迁移的结果，原来太液池的南端，也出现了大片空地，于是就在这片空地上加凿了一个新的湖泊，从而扩大了太液池的面积，这扩大的部分也叫南海，原有的部分则分别叫做中海与北海。开凿南海时挖起的泥土，再加上开凿紫禁城护城河时挖起的泥土，都用来在紫禁城的正北方，堆筑了一座土山，俗称煤山，后来正式命名为景山。景山中峰高达47米，也恰好标志了全城中轴线所在的地方，同时也是经过改造后的全城几何中心。

四、在原来大都城几何中心的旧址上，新建了鼓楼与钟楼。这两座建筑物又标志了全城中轴线的顶点。

五、在城市改建的同时，又在大城正南方修建了两组大建筑，东西并列。在东边的叫做天坛，是皇帝祭天和祈祷五谷丰登的地方。在西边的叫做山川坛，是皇帝祭祀山河之神的地方。这两大建筑群之间，也有一条中心干道，向北直达大城的正南门，叫做正阳门（俗称前门）。到了1553年，为了加强城防，又在城南加筑了一个外罗城，正好把天坛与山川坛（后改称先农坛）包入城中，从而形成了北京城所特有的凸字形的城市轮廓。北部的旧城，也叫“内城”；新筑的外罗城，也叫“外城”。

由于外罗城的修建，原来内城的中轴线，又向南延伸到外城的正南门，总长近八公里，这在整个北京旧城的平面布局上，显得最为突出。

历史上北京城的建设，到此基本完成。1644年建立的中国历史上最后一个封建王朝——清朝[1]，完全继承了明朝的北京城作为都城，没有更多的改变，这就是完整地保留到1949年解放前夕的北京城，现在我们叫它做北京旧城。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2公里（km）

1-6　Plan of old Beijing City　旧北京城平面图

1．Palaces　宫殿
2．Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙
3．Altar of Land and Grain　社稷坛
4．Altar of Heaven　天坛
5．Altar of Earth　地坛
6．Altar of Sun　日坛
7．Altar of Moon　月坛
8．Xiannong Altar　先农坛
9．Western Garden　西苑
10．Jing Hill　景山
11．Confucian Temple　文庙
12．Imperial College　国子监
13．Residences of princes and princesses　诸王府、公主府
14．Yamuns　衙门
15．Barns　仓库
16．Buddhist temples　佛寺
17．Taoist temples　道观
18．Islamic mosque　伊斯兰教礼拜寺
19．Examination Hall　贡院
20．Bell and Drum Towers　钟鼓楼
21．Elephants stall　象房
22．Catholic church　天主教堂
23．Barrack　营房

（From A Brief History of Chinese Architecture, Vol.1, pp.183-184　采自《中国建筑简史》第一册，页一八三——一八四）

这个从元朝大都城的基础上发展起来的北京旧城，被认为是中国封建时代都城建设的最杰出的典型，它进一步发展了大都城的平面布局，更加突出地表达了封建帝王"唯我独尊"的主题思想。

但是，正如中国的谚语所说的那样："物极必反"——事物发展到极端，就要转向它的反面。

北京旧城的规划设计，乃是中国历史上封建专制主义发展到极端的一种表现，同时这也就导致了它最后的崩溃。

1911年由孙中山先生所领导的资产阶级民主革命，结束了在中国长达两千多年的封建王朝的统治。

1919年在北京旧城里爆发的五四运动，又揭开了新民主主义革命的序幕。

经过整整三十年艰苦卓绝的流血牺牲——其中包括以白求恩大夫为代表的伟大的国际主义战士的流血牺牲——中国人民才终于获得了解放。

1949年10月1日中华人民共和国宣告成立。历史悠久的北京旧城，又被定为新中国的人民首都，从而迎来了城市建设的一个新起点。

五、改造北京旧城的新起点

中华人民共和国建都北京之后，为了适应新时代的要求，立即着手于北京旧城的改造。

三十年来，北京的城市面貌已经发生了巨大的变化。在这一改造过程中，既有成功的经验，也有失败的教训。在这里一一加以评述，既非必要，也不是我所能胜任的。我作为一个城市历史地理的学者所愿意提出来讨论的一个问题，就是：我们怎么样才能把一个过去为封建帝王规划设计的城市，改造为一个体现社会主义新时代的人民首都？或者更确切地说：和北京旧城城市规划中所表达的那种歌颂封建帝王“唯我独尊”的主题思想相对比，在今天，作为人民首都的北京城，在它的城市规划中所应该表达的主题思想又是什么？

这个问题不是一个单纯的工程技术问题，而首先是一个涉及历史文化发展的大问题。今天在中国，随着社会制度的变革，具有悠久传统的历史文化，也正在经历着前所未有的大变化。我们绝不能设想一个社会主义的新文化会从天上掉下来，或者是从某一个外国移植进来，它只能从自己固有的土壤里发育成长起来。例如：植根在希腊罗马的古文化里、而又以崭新的精神面貌为欧洲中世纪的文化开创了一个伟大的新时代的“文艺复兴”，不就是这样一个光辉的先例么？

今天，在中国，人们也在议论着、期待着一个植根在自己土壤里的伟大的社会主义“文艺复兴”新时代的到来。因此，在这一情况下，如何正确对待自己的历史文化遗产，就成了一个极为重要的问题。

我们的基本原则，就是要批判地继承。

在我国长期的封建社会里，曾经创造过灿烂的古代文化，但是其中也还存在着封建的糟粕。对于古代文化无条件地兼收并蓄是错误的；一律予以排斥，也是错误的。唯一正确的态度，就是吸其精华，弃其糟粕，古为今用，推陈出新，从而在历史形成的基础上，创造出一个富有时代特征的新文化来。当然，在这一创造过程中，去努力吸收外国一切先进的东西，为我所用，也是完全必要的。用我们惯用的一个名词来说，这就是“洋为中用”。

以上所讲，还只是一些抽象的原则，或许已经离题太远了。现在急需回到我们所讨论的具体问题上来。

实际上，被完整地保留下来的北京旧城，也就是中国历史文化遗产的一部分。对于这个城市的改造，也必须遵循批判继承的原则。这里首先必须明确的一点，就是今天作为社会主义新时代的人民首都，它在城市规划上的主题思想，就应该是歌颂人民——歌颂人民的力量、人民的尊严，歌颂“人民，只有人民，才是创造世界历史的动力”。它既要显示出历史上劳动人民的伟大创造，又要体现出当前人民当家做主的现实。

如果做到这一点，这也就是对北京旧城的城市规划上所集中表现的那种封建帝王“唯我独尊”的主题思想，进行了彻底的批判。

怎样才能在北京旧城的改造中，具体实现这一新的主题思想，乃是新的城市规划中一个最为重要的问题。

看起来这是一个十分困难的问题，实际上在解放以来改造北京旧城的过程中，已经创造出一些可贵的经验，需要加以总结，并提升到理论的高度上来，以进一步指导今后北京城的城市规划和城市建设的实践。这里只提出一个例子作为说明，这就是天安门广场的改造。

天安门广场现在比过去更加接近于全城的中心位置了。

1-7　Sketch map of reconstruction of Beijing's old city　北京旧城平面设计的改造示意图

1．Tian An Men Gate　天安门
2．People's Conference Hall　人民大会堂
3．Museum of Chinese Revolution and Museum of Chinese History　中国革命博物馆、中国历史博物馆
4．Monument of the People's Heroes　人民英雄纪念碑
5．Working People's Palace of Culture　劳动人民文化宫
6．Sun Yat-sen Park　中山公园
7．Palace Museum　故宫博物院
8．Jing Hill Park　景山公园
9．North Sea Park　北海公园
10．Drum Tower　鼓楼
11．Bell Tower　钟楼

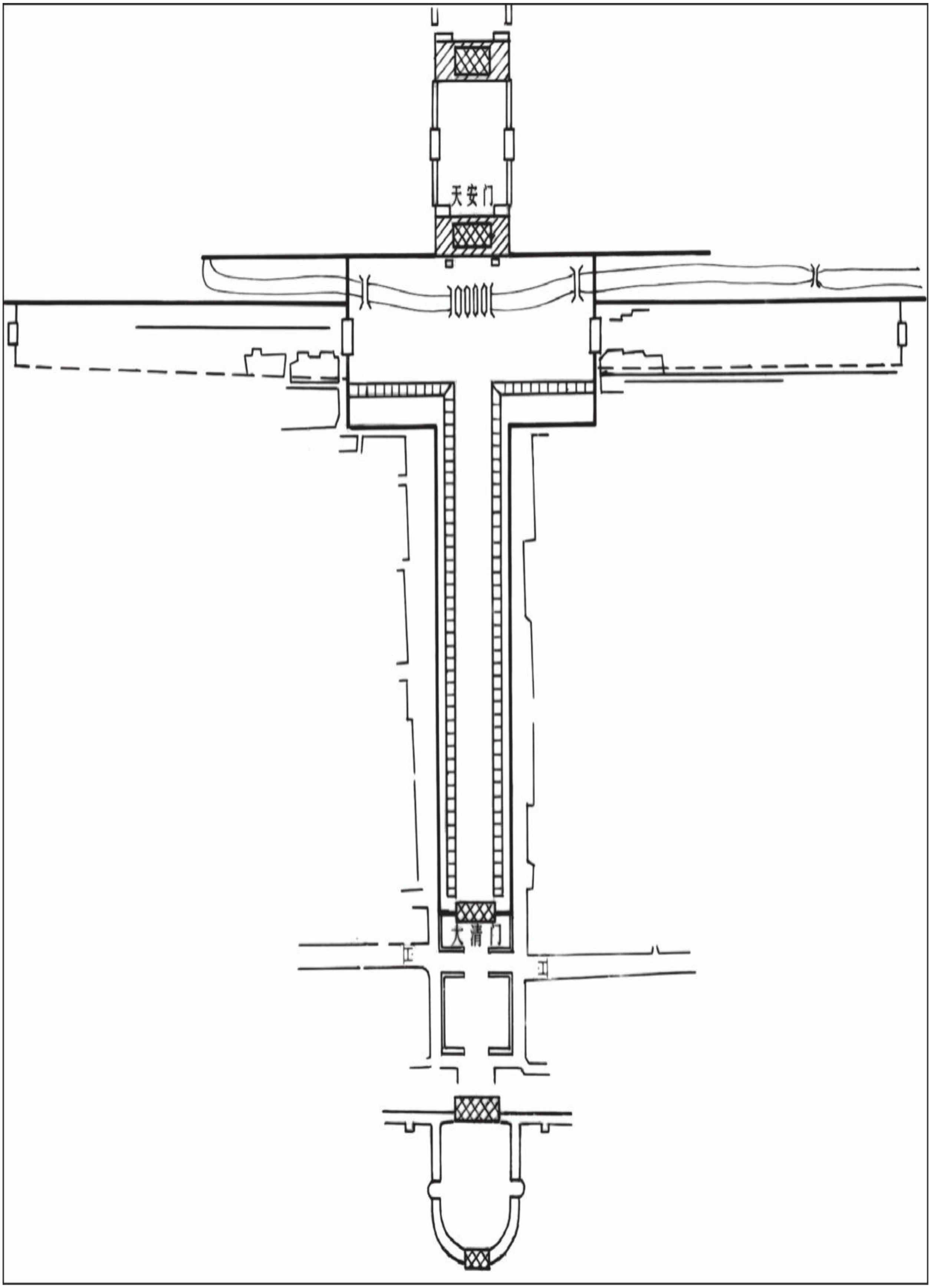
（Redrawn according to Urban Traffic Map in *Beijing Tourism Atlas*, simplified version, 2nd edition, 1972　根据地图出版社《北京市游览图》1972年第2版中的《市区交通图》缩简改绘）

早在解放初期的城市规划中，就已决定北京城的改建，应以旧城为中心，在此基础上进行改建和扩建。现在北京城的新市区，已经突破旧日的城圈，向四外扩展。扩展的范围，大体以正在兴建中的郊区环路（即三环路）作为界限。在此界限以内，街道的布局基本上保持着旧城以内的传统格局。在此界限以外，重要交通干线，呈辐射状、通向四面八方。整个城市的平面设计，继续保持着平衡匀称的特点，因而使天安门广场的位置显得更加明显、更加突出。这个广场原是天安门前的一个宫廷广场，天安门也就是旧日皇城的正南门。它名义上是一座门，实际上是建筑在红色台基上的一座殿堂。当初经手建造天安门的工匠，赋予它以如此庄严壮丽的形象，充分体现了我国古代建筑艺术的特色。封建帝王要求在这里建筑这样一座巨大的建筑物，除去为了加强对宫城的保卫外，更重要的还是为了显示帝王之居的尊严与华贵。按照封建王朝的传统，这里就是所谓“外朝”。“外朝”原来是皇帝接见外国宾客的地方，也在这里举行其他盛大节日的庆典。到了最后一个封建王朝——清朝，还利用这个“外朝”，为皇帝的登基，举行“颁诏”大典，也就是用“诏书”把皇帝即位的事，宣告全国。诏书被放在一只像一朵云彩一样的盘子里，然后用“龙亭”从紫禁城里抬到天安门上。这时天安门上奏起了欢庆的乐章，天安门前的广场上则跪满了文武百官和被选派来代表老百姓的“耆老”。宣诏官在天安门城楼上宣读诏书之后，随即用一个雕制的金色凤凰，口衔诏书，从城楼的正中，徐徐系下，放进“龙亭”里，抬送到天安门广场东面的“礼部”衙门，然后用黄纸誊写，传送全国各地。扮演这套仪式的用意，不外是说“君权神授”、“命自天降”。这仅仅是一个例子，用以说明封建皇帝是如何利用这个宫廷广场，来炫耀自己和愚弄人民的。

这个“T”字形的宫廷广场，周围用红墙严格封闭起来，只留有东、

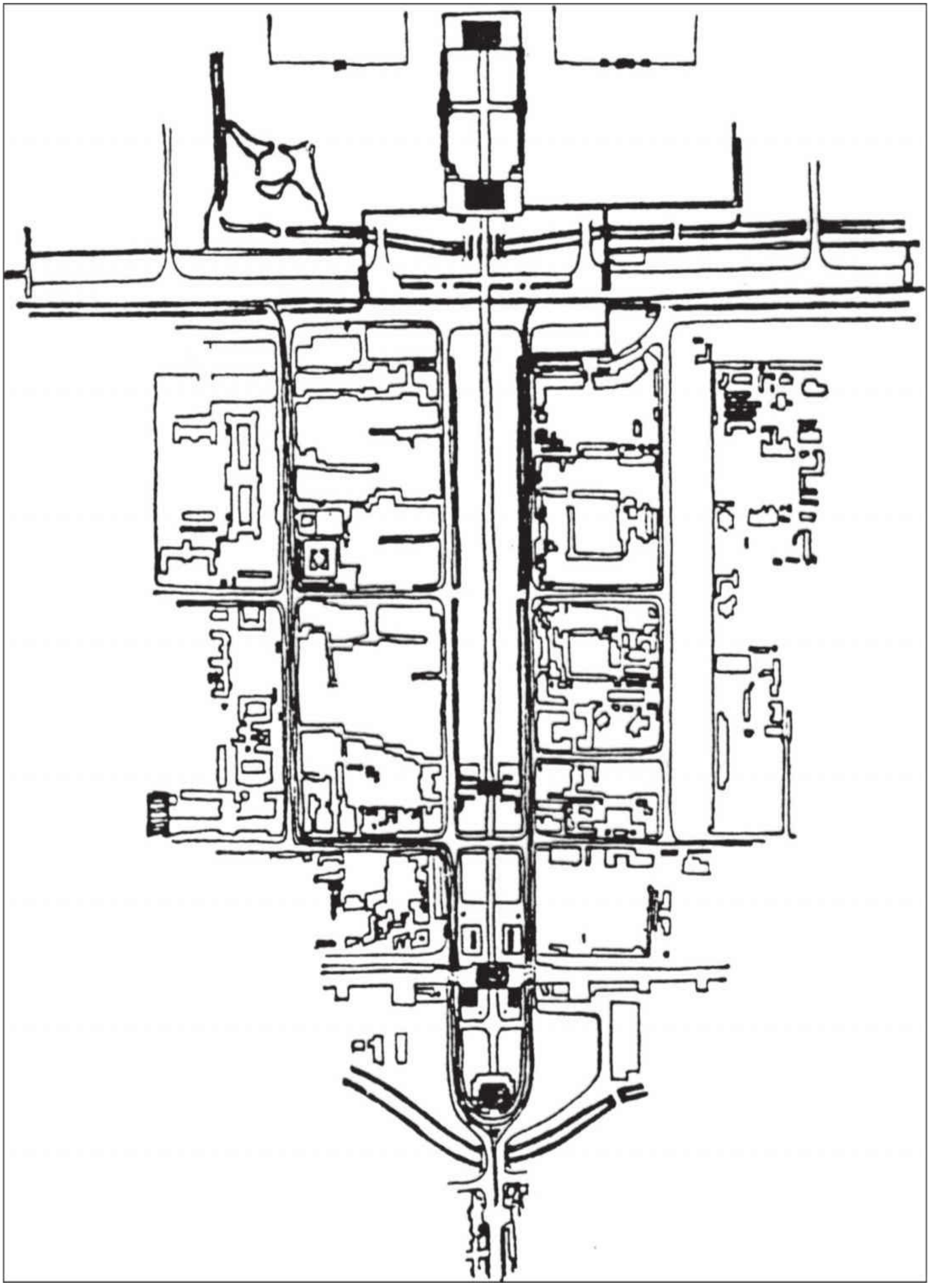
西、南三个大门可以行走，但是人民群众是绝对不准涉足的。

然而历史的辩证法是无情的。在清王朝1911年被推翻之后，也正是这个过去严禁老百姓涉足的广场，却成了革命群众集合起来举行爱国示威游行的中心。整整六十年前点燃了新民主主义革命的熊熊火焰的五四运动，就是从这里开始的。解放前夕最后一次反对蒋介石进行内战和迫害青年学生的群众运动，也是在这里开始的。



天安门
大清门

1-8 The Qing Dynasty's T-shaped imperial square 清乾隆扩建后的天安门宫廷广场



1-9　Tian An Men Square before redevelopment　改建前天安门广场图

正是由于北京古城里的这一光荣的革命传统，1949年10月1日中华人民共和国的开国大典，也就选择在这里隆重举行。从此，天安门这座古代劳动人民一手创造的庄严壮丽的形象，终于出现在中华人民共和国的国徽上，象征着一个古老的文明，从此获得了新生。这样，天安门广场也就从一个封建时代的宫廷广场，转化成为一个社会主义新时代的人民广场，在我国的政治生活里，它已成为各族人民共同向往的中心。

但是，在开国大典举行的时候，这个广场还被包围在东、西、南三面围墙之内。这三面围墙严重地限制了广大群众的活动，阻碍了他们的视野，封锁了他们在广场上的热烈欢腾的气氛。现在看来，如果说天安门所代表的乃是古代建筑的精华，那么广场上的围墙所代表的却是封建性的糟粕。精华的部分，我们一定要保留，并且本着古为今用、推陈出新的原则，把它组织到现代的城市生活中来，使它有更好的条件，为人民服务。封建的糟粕，我们一定要排除，从而扫清我们向新生活迈进的道路。

1959年10月1日，在庆祝建国十周年的时候，根据新的城市规划的要求，第一次改建天安门广场的工程，胜利完成。改建之后，不仅是旧日的三面围墙不见了，而且是一个崭新的广场，以数倍于过去的面积，出现在人们面前。它的基础依旧，而面貌一新。它以宏伟、壮丽、广阔、明朗的景象，象征着人民群众海洋般的胸襟，排山倒海的力量。早一年建成的是矗立于广场中央的人民英雄纪念碑。这时又在广场的西侧建成了人民大会堂，在东侧建成了中国革命和中国历史博物馆。随着这两座现代大建筑物的落成，天安门广场已经形成为全国各族人民政治生活的心脏，从这里传播出中国人民最强烈的心声。

在广场改造的同时，又把作为广场两翼的东西长安街，加以扩建。于是一条宽阔平直的林荫大道，实际上就形成为从东到西横贯全城的新轴线。对比之下，它使得那条传统的自南而北、纵贯旧城的中轴线，相形见绌，这就等于是彻底否定了北京旧城在规划设计上的主题思想，从而突出了人民广场在全城平面布局中独一无二的重要地位。而旧日雄踞全城中心的紫禁城，如今也只能算是人民广场的一个“后院”了。只有在工作之余，人们才到这里来，欣赏古代劳动人民用自己的双手所创造出来的雄伟瑰丽的建筑物，和收藏在这里的世间罕见的艺术珍品。

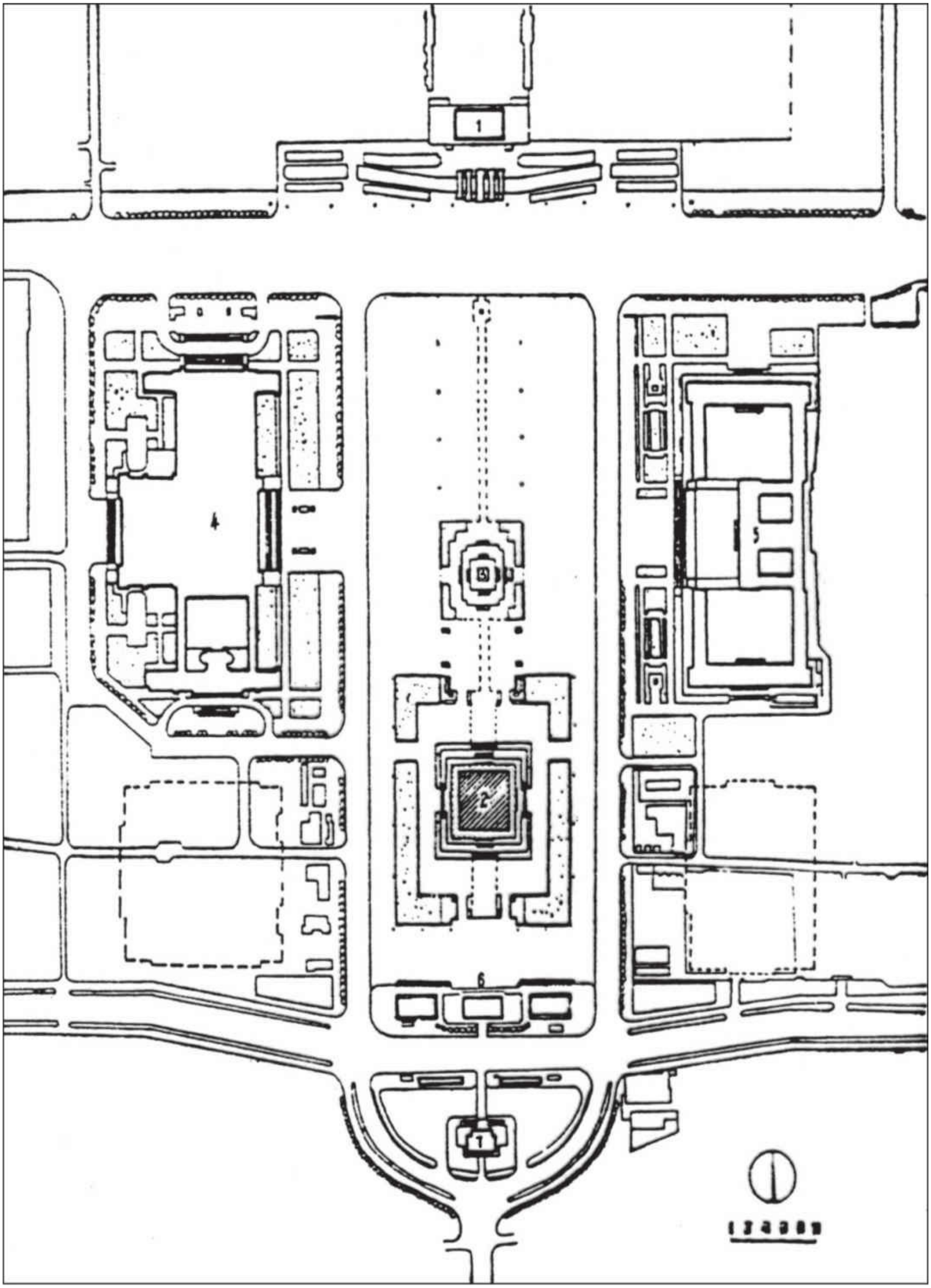
1977年7月毛主席纪念堂建成之后，又进一步扩建了人民广场，并赋予它以新的意义，增加了南半部肃穆宁静的气氛。正阳门这座巍峨屹立的古老建筑，和庄严壮丽的天安门，同样被保留下来，但是这两座旧的城门，作为紫禁城前门的功能，不复存在。相反的，它们却以其固有

的艺术造型，为新出现的人民广场，标志了它的南北界限。将来从正阳门到永定门的干道——前门南大街——展宽之后，就会更加突出天安门广场在北京全城的中心位置。

目前仍在规划和改建中的天安门广场，只是一个例子，足以说明在历史形成的基础上，坚持批判的继承，根据古为今用、推陈出新的原则，原来一个以歌颂封建帝王为主题思想的宫廷广场，是完全可以改造为一个以歌颂人民力量为主题思想的人民广场的！以此类推，原来一个以歌颂封建帝王为主题思想的北京旧城，也是完全可以改造为一个以歌颂人民力量为主题思想的人民首都的。

但是，也要看到，在改造北京旧城的过程中，也有一些措施，是存在着争议的。如果说拆除围绕天安门广场的三面红墙，没有引起任何异议，而拆除围绕北京旧城的城墙，却不是这样。在新的城市规划中，最初考虑要拆除旧城城墙的时候，就曾有过不同的争论。现在在拆除城墙之后，经过实践的检验，使我们进一步认识到，旧日城墙的完全拆除，是否绝对必要，这个问题确是值得讨论的。尤其是随着城墙的拆除，部分护城河也被改造为地下暗渠，这样就减少了城市中的水面面积，是不利于环境条件的改善的。特别是正阳门外的护城河，自西而东正好穿过城市的中心地带，如果保留下来，注满清澈的河水，同时沿河两岸进行绿化，既增加了市容的自然景色，又有利于调节城市气候和向城市中心输送新鲜空气，这是大大有利于城市环境的改善的，同时也就为市民提供了良好的游憩场所。

应该提到，在“文化大革命”的十年动乱之前，在改造天安门广场的小区规划中，曾有一种方案，就是要把正阳门外的一段护城河，纳入天安门广场的规划之中。这样，在广场的南部，就出现了一区富有自然风光的园林。如果当初采纳了这一方案，那么1977年修建毛主席纪念堂之后，除去紧傍纪念堂周围的绿地之外，还有正阳门外的滨河公园作为陪衬，那就更会增加天安门广场南部的肃穆宁静的气氛。但这一切都已是不可挽救的事实了。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1-10　Plan of Tian An Men Square on completion of Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall　毛主席纪念堂建成时的天安门广场总平面图

1．Tian An Men　天安门
2．Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall　毛主席纪念堂
3．Monument of the People's Heroes　人民英雄纪念碑
4．People's Conference Hall　人民大会堂
5．Museum of Chinese Revolution, Museum of Chinese History　中国革命博物馆、中国历史博物馆
6．Zheng Yang Men (Qian Men)　正阳门（前门）
7．Archery Tower　箭楼

（From Journal of Architecture, 1977, No. 4　采自《建筑学报》1977：4）

借此一例用以说明，在我们改造北京旧城的工作中，也还有不少经验教训，需要加以总结，以便在修订新的城市规划时，作为借鉴。当然这也只是我个人的一点看法，并不一定完全正确。可喜的是，现在我们在一些有争议的问题上，是可以充分展开自由讨论了。何是何非，通过实践是会得出正确的结论的。过去有一个时期，在讨论问题的时候，确实有把学术问题和政治问题混在一起的情况，这样就会阻挠自由讨论，以致造成不良的后果。例如，过去在讨论北京城墙存废的问题上，主张保留城墙的人，就容易被扣上“保守”、“复旧”等等帽子，这样就不能使人畅所欲言，因此有些好意见就会被埋没，并使工作遭受损失。这种情况，在“四人帮”掌权的十年间（1966—1976），竟然发展到令人难以置信的程度。尤其是在文化学术领域里，更是“万马齐喑”的局面。令人鼓舞的是，近两年来在我国又重新出现了百花齐放、百家争鸣的繁荣景象。解放思想、广开言路，已被认为是加速实现社会主义现代化的重要条件。

事实证明，在历史文化遗产批判继承的问题上，精华与糟粕并不总是黑白分明和一目了然的。因此，在一切有争论的问题上，充分展开讨论，进行自由争辩，乃是十分必要的。只有这样才能真正明辨是非，才能善加区别精华与糟粕，从而真正达到古为今用、推陈出新的目的。在北京城的城市建设上是如此，在全国的文化建设上来说，也是一样，只是问题会更加复杂罢了。

在结束我的讲演之前，我愿意再一次提出在一开始时我所讲到的那个论点：一个新中国，正在一个新长征的道路上，向着社会主义现代化的目标，努力前进。为此我们就需要向你们、向西方学习一切先进的科学技术，同时我们还需要从自己的历史文化遗产中去吸取一切有价值的部分，而这一点，在我们建设社会主义新文化的过程中，乃是更为重要——也是更为复杂的一个问题。我们满怀信心，在不断解决这个问题的实践中，去迎接我国一个也可以称之为社会主义的“文艺复兴”新时代的

来临！

② T HE TRANSFORMATION OF THE OLD CITY OF BEIJING, CHINA A Concrete Manifestation of New China's Cultural Reconstruction*

In the modern world, China is both a developing nation and a newly emerging socialist state. Coming from an ancient cultural tradition, she now faces a new era of unprecedented social change. While overhauling her backward economy and actively pursuing reconstruction and modernization, she is also rapidly developing a new socialist culture. In the process of modernization and reconstruction, it is necessary for China to adopt the foreign science and technology according to her own needs. But the development of a new socialist culture, however, entails a more important and complex problem: how to identify and preserve the valuable part of China's own traditional culture.

It is impossible, of course, for China's new socialist culture to drop from the sky, or be imported intact from any particular foreign country. It can only grow from China's own native soil. This is not to say that all foreign cultural influence should be rejected, but it can only contribute positively to China's new, modern culture by being first fused with China's unique traditional culture. Taking into account this background of great social change, this essay attempts to describe and explain a concrete example of the issues which must be faced in creating the new socialist culture. In presenting the problem of transforming an old, historical city into a modern, new one, I can only offer the perspective of an historical geographer, not that of a specialist in city planning, but hope this discussion has some value in that context.

The Relevance of Ancient Chinese Planning Theory

With the growth of world urbanization in recent times, city planning as a specialized science has become more complex and more important each day. But it is not a new science, as it was already flourishing in some of the great

civilizations of antiquity. Ancient China was no exception, and Paul Wheatley has drawn particular attention to the symbolic nature of the "ideal" planned layout of ancient China's cities, citing corroborative evidence in the *Book of Artificers (Kao Gong Ji)*. One of the outstanding features of the ideal layout is the north-south axis of the whole city, and "this axial design is superbly executed in Pei-Ching[Beijing]."[1]

The *Book of Artificers* was completed around the fifth century B.C. and deals primarily with manufacturing technology. It also records the plan for the construction of the imperial capital, which is somewhat ambiguous and has been subject to varying interpretations and reconstructions. The main points of the plan include the following. First, the capital should be laid out as a square, surrounded by a city wall; each side should extend nine *li* (Chinese mile, equal to about 1/2 kilometer) and contain three city gates. Second, within the city there should be nine longitudinal and nine latitudinal thoroughfares, or three longitudinal and three latitudinal thoroughfares, each consisting of three chariot lanes. Third, in the center of the capital is the Imperial Palace of the emperor. On the left side of the Imperial Palace is the "Tai Miao," where the emperor pays homage to his ancestors. On the right side is the "Sheji Tan," where he worships the gods of soil and grain. The front part of the Imperial Palace is the emperor's administrative center, and to the rear of the Imperial Palace is the capital's main market and commercial center.

These declarations in the *Book of Artificers* refer to the capital and largest city of the empire; "left," "right," "front," and "back" refer to the four cardinal directions (respectively east, west, south, and north). The Imperial Palace of the emperor faced true south and was located in the geometric center of the whole city. Tai Miao (the Imperial Ancestral Temple) lay to its east, She-ji Tan (the Altar of Soil and Grain) lay to its west, and the city market to its north. The city was aligned along a north-south axis, facing the south and with its back to the north. This orientation bore a close relationship to the residential traditions of the lower reaches of the Yellow River (Huang Ho), where Chinese civilization originated. The plains of the lower Yellow River, small ones such as the Jing-Wei and Yi-Lo Basins as well as the great North China Plain, have a flat and open topography. They are located in the temperate zone, characterized by strong prevailing monsoons and four distinct seasons, with hot, rainy summers and cold, blustery winters. In order to maximize ventilation in summer, while in winter providing maximum

exposure to the sun and shelter from the cold north wind, residential structures in this area were built to open toward the south, with their backs to the north. Over time, these evolved into the *si-he*yuan (house built around a courtyard). The *si-he-yuan* has structures facing the center on all four sides, with the principal one, called the *zhengfang*, on the north.

The *si-he-yuan* is, in fact, the "cell" of traditional Chinese city structure. If the streets and alleys defined by rows of *si-he-yuan* are arranged in a certain pattern and surrounded by a wall, a city is formed. The emperor's palace in the national capital was simply a grand *si-he-yuan*, or a collection of them, surrounded by a palace wall and referred to as the Gong Cheng or Imperial Palace. The Imperial Palace was supposed to have a dominant position, at the center of the city's primary north-south axis, and this central location symbolized the center of the cosmos. Also, according to ancient custom the "Tai Miao" could only be built in the nation's capital.

China is an agrarian nation, and the "She-ji Tan" was an important symbol of the emperor's authority. As for the market, it was a necessity of city life. All these basic elements of the city were clearly set forth in the *Book of Artificers*. Of all the written works concerning the construction of the capital city which have been passed down from antiquity, this is the earliest and most important, and had the greatest influence on the actual design of the ancient capitals.

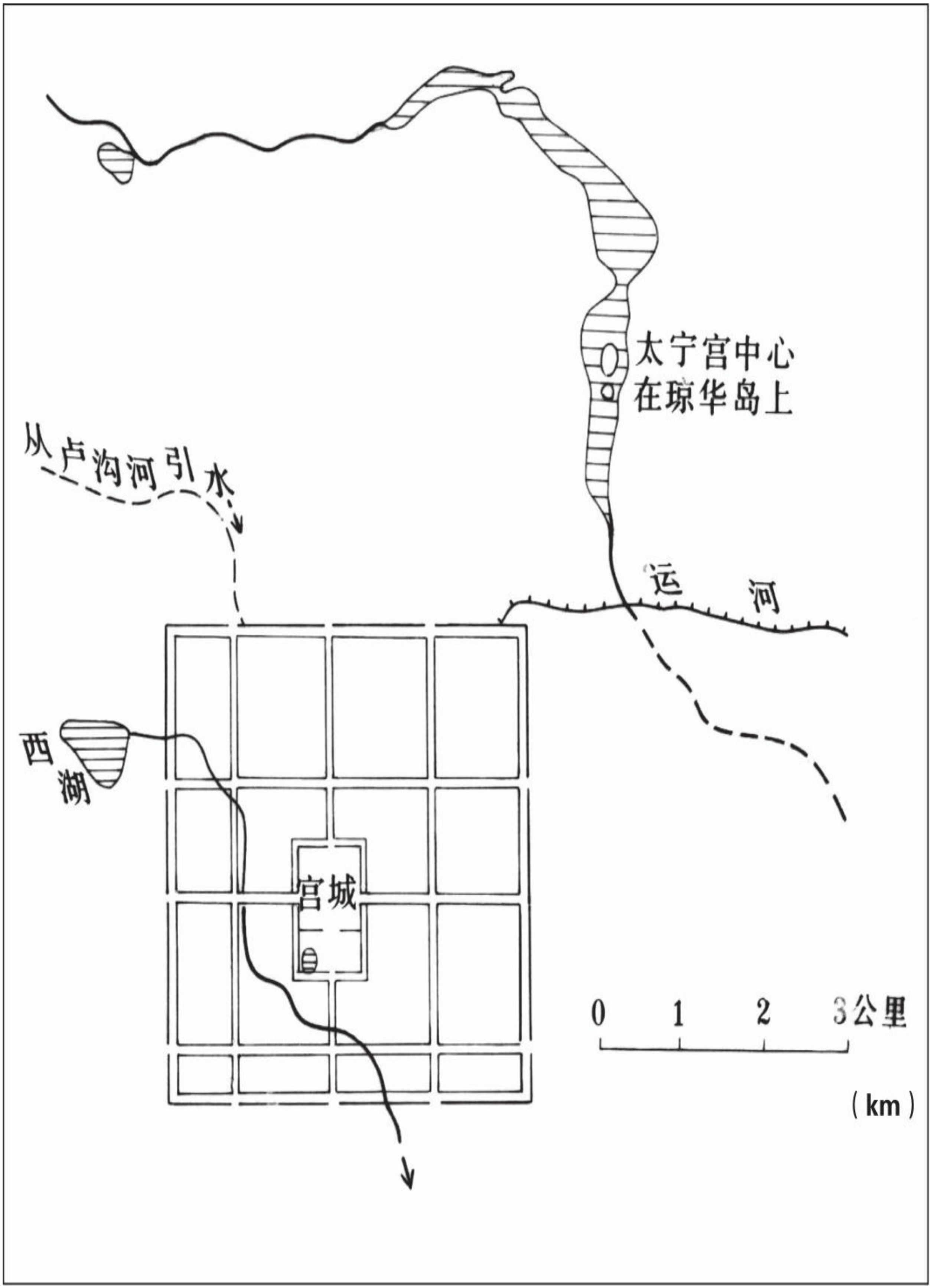
Of the several imperial capitals in Chinese history, the last built was Beijing, or more specifically, that part of modern Beijing referred to as the "Old City," and it is the actual design of this city that comes the closest to expressing the ancient principle of "palace in front, market in back, ancestral temple on left, altar of soil and grain on right." After the foundation of New China, the capital was re-established in Beijing, with its center in the Old City, and work commenced to build a "people's capital" for the new socialist era. Thus, the redevelopment of Beijing's Old City plan became an urgent task. In order to fully understand the nature of this task, it is necessary to examine the plan of Beijing's Old City in some detail.

Early Planning and the Rise of Dadu City

Although Beijing is an ancient city with a history spanning three thousand years, it has been in its present location only since the establishment of Dadu City by the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) in the thirteenth century. The previous location was in what is now the southwest suburbs of the city. The

last and largest city built in this old location was Zhongdu, the capital of the Jin Dynasty(1115-1234). The establishment of Zhongdu marked the beginning of Beijing's emergence as a national political center.

To the northeast of Zhongdu City there was a scenic area with a natural lake, which was utilized by the Jin emperor. The lake was expanded on its southern part and two islands were created and an imperial retreat, called Tai-ning Palace (Palace of Great Tranquility) was built (Fig. 2-1). In the year 1215, the army of the Mongolian leader Genghis Khan swept down from the north, occupying Zhongdu City and razing the Imperial Palace. But Tai-ning Palace outside the city was spared. Forty-five years later, Genghis Khan's grandson, Kublai Khan, in order to consolidate his rule over China, decided to establish his capital in Zhongdu. But the Imperial Palace there was in ruins and would have been extremely difficult to rebuild. Worse yet, Zhongdu had but a meager water supply from a small lake (West Lake, now called Lotus Lake) just west of the city. The complex problems of providing water for the city, and especially channels for water transport, became more critical day by day.


太宁宫中心
在琼华岛上
从卢沟河引水
运河
西湖
宫城
0 1 2 3公里
（km）

2-1 Beijing's early urban nuclei: Zhongdu City and Tai-ning Palace 金朝中都城与太宁宫位置略图

Imperial Palace 宫城
West Late 西湖
Aqueduct from Lu-gou River 从卢沟河引水
Canal 运河
Main buildings of the Tai-ning Palace on the Qiong-hua Island 太宁宫中心在琼华岛上

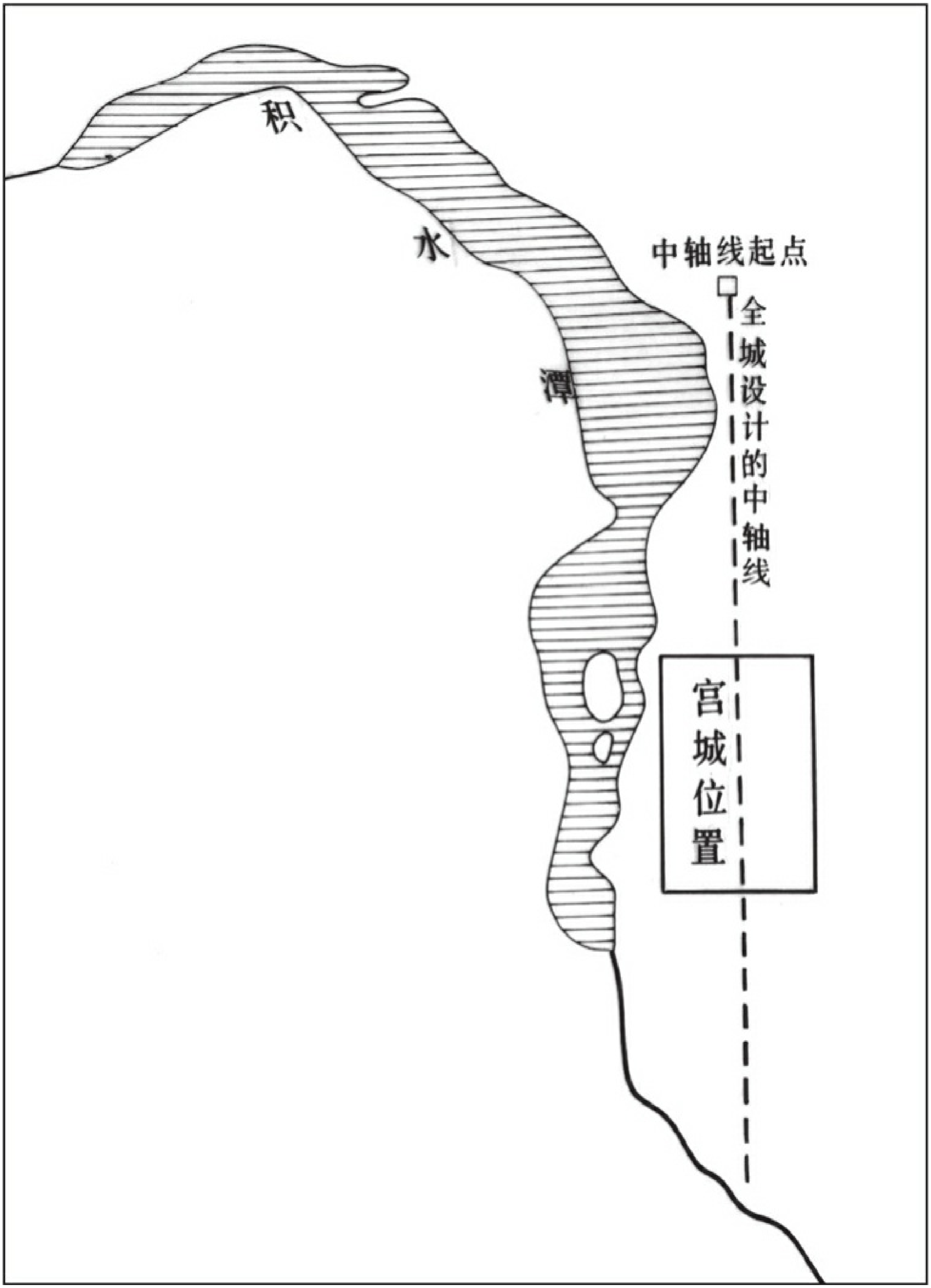
Man-made canals were needed, primarily to ensure that the capital could be supplied with the large quantities of grain it required. During the Jin Dynasty, an aqueduct had been constructed to divert the water of the Yongding River (then called Lu-gou River) eastward, following the natural topography, to the north moat of Zhongdu City. From there a canal continued eastward to Tong-zhou (east of present-day Beijing). The plan was to bring together river shipments of grain and other material at Tong-zhou for transshipment to Zhongdu. But when the Yongding River flooded, however, it could not be effectively controlled, and the scheme proved to be unworkable.

Kublai Khan therefore decided to abandon old Zhongdu City and commissioned the Han scholar Liu Bing-zhong, who was acquainted with the ancient classics as well as experienced in city construction, to draw up plans for a new city centered on the lake by Tai-ning Palace. Liu Bing-zhong and his student Guo Shou-jing, an expert astronomer and hydraulic engineer, began directing the construction of the new city and its canal system in 1267, but the work was not completed until 1285. What they created was the historically renowned Dadu City. It was during the construction of Dadu that Marco Polo visited China and became an official of the Yuan Dynasty. Later, after his return to Italy, he recalled the grandeur of Dadu and the splendor of the palace in his account of "Khanbaliq" in *Marco Polo's Journal*.

This account of the founding and initial construction of Dadu City is well enough documented, but the decisions concerning planning and design of the city are more obscure since no official papers or other accounts have been passed down. The only direct evidence for the city's internal organization consists of a restored map of Dadu City and some incomplete historical records. My own reconstruction of the city's plan development is as follows.

First, it was decided that the north-south axis of the city would be located close by the east bank of the northern part of the lake, which at that time was called Ji-shui Tan (Fig. 2-2). The north end of this axis was set at

the northeast bank of Ji-shui Tan. The emperor's palace, surrounded on four sides by a palace wall, was located on the east bank of the southern part of the lake and centered on the city's north-south axis.

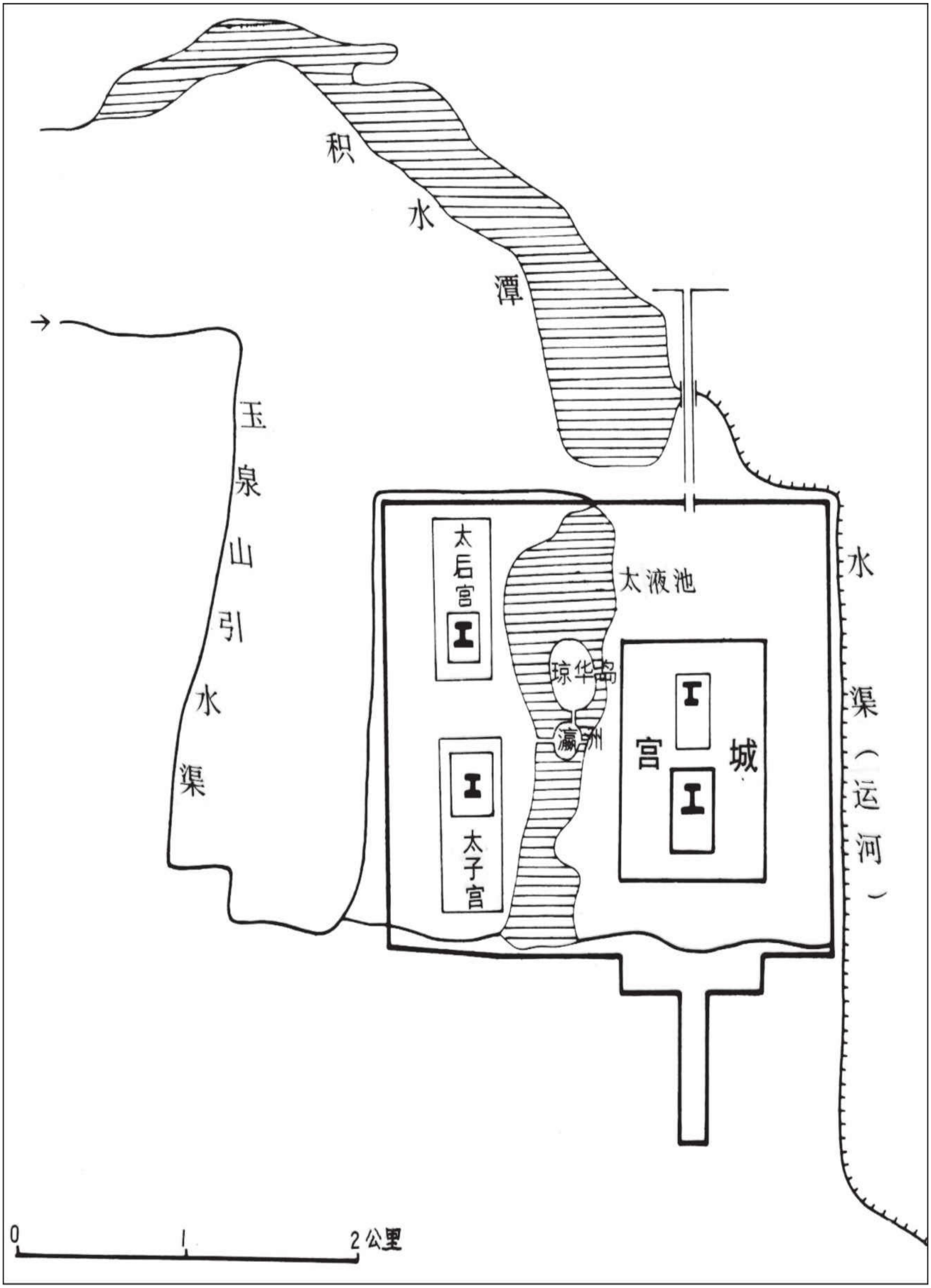

积
水
潭
中轴线起点
全城设计的中轴线
宫城位置

2-2 Set of the axis and location of the emperor's palace 大都城中轴线的选择与宫城位置的确定

Ji-shui Tan 积水潭
Main axis of the city 全城设计的中轴线
Starting point of the main axis 中轴线起点
Location of the Imperial Palace 宫城位置

On the west bank were two palace complexes, the southerly one being the palace of the crown prince and the northerly one the palace of the emperor's mother, or "empress dowager." These two complexes were also surrounded each on four sides by a palace wall, and faced the emperor's palace from afar across the lake. In the middle of the lake, equidistant from the three palaces, was a small island, which remained from the old Tai-ning Palace complex, called Ying-zhou. Bridges extending from Yingzhou Island to the east and west shores of the lake connected the three palaces together. North of Ying-zhou Island was a larger island, called Qiong-hua Island, upon which was the main concentration of buildings of Tai-ning Palace. Surrounding the three palace complexes was a city wall, which defined what was known as the "Royal City." Henceforth the south lake was surrounded by the Royal City, and according to tradition, was given the name "Tai-ye Chi" (Supreme Liquid Lake). Around the shore of Tai-ye Chi an imperial park was planned.

Since the northern part of the lake now lay outside the Royal City, and being separated from the southern part, a canal was constructed to divert its outflow around the east wall of the Royal City and on toward the south suburbs. At the same time, a new source of water was found for the Royal City's Tai-ye Chi; an aqueduct was dug connecting the lake to a spring at the foot of Yu-quan (Pearl Spring) Hill northwest of the city. The outflow from the lake passed along the front of the Royal City, then out to join the canal which drained Ji-shui Tan. (Fig. 2-3)



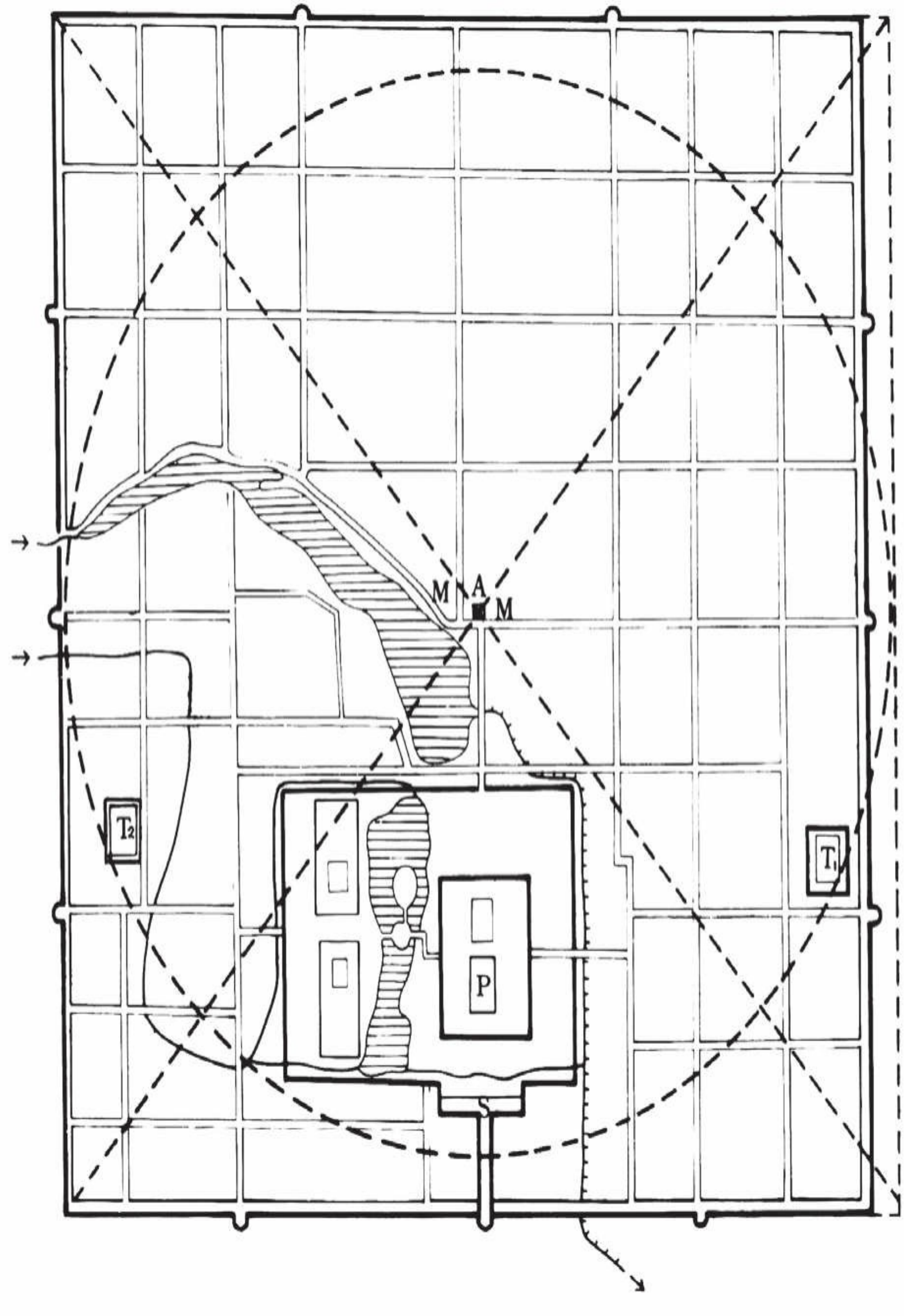
积水潭
玉泉山引水渠
太后宫
太液池
琼华岛
瀛洲
宫城
太子宫
水渠（运河）
0 1 2公里

2-3 Kernel of Dadu City 大都皇城平面略图

Imperial Palace 宫城
Palace of the emperess dowager 太后宫
Palace of the crown prince 太子宫
Tai-ye Chi 太液池
Ying-zhou Island 瀛洲
Aqueduct from the Yu-quan Hills 玉泉山引水渠
Ji-shui Tan 积水潭
Canal 水渠（运河）

A large secular city was constructed around the Royal City. The plan for the large city placed its geometric center at the north end of the axis of the Royal City. At that site a platform was built, and on it were inscribed the four characters "Zhong Xin Zhi Tai," meaning "Central Platform."This shows clearly the careful measurement that went into the city's layout. From the Central Platform on the east to its western end, Ji-shui Tan is about 3.3 kilometers in east-west extent. The location of the west wall of the enlarged city was set a little farther than this from the city center. Ideally, this should have been the standard distance determining the location of the east wall of the enlarged city. The land at that easterly location, however, was swampy and unsuitable for heavy construction, so the east wall could not be placed that far out. The south wall of the enlarged city was located about 3.75 kilometers from the Central Platform, that being the distance which allowed the Royal City to be included within the enlarged city. It was then decided that the north wall should be placed at the same distance. Consequently, the shape of the enlarged city after the construction of the four walls was that of a slightly elongated rectangle.

The east, west, and south walls of the enlarged city each had three gates, but the north wall only two. Inside the southernmost gate of the east wall was built the Tai Miao, and inside the southernmost gate of the west wall was built the She-ji Tan. Spanning the area between the eleven city gates, which were spaced at approximately equal distances from one another, were wide avenues. Including the "wall streets," which ran along the insides of the city walls, there were nine aligned north-south and nine east-west. Many smaller lanes were laid out running east-west between the primary north-south avenues. Thus, the basic layout of all of Dadu City was accomplished (Fig. 2-4).



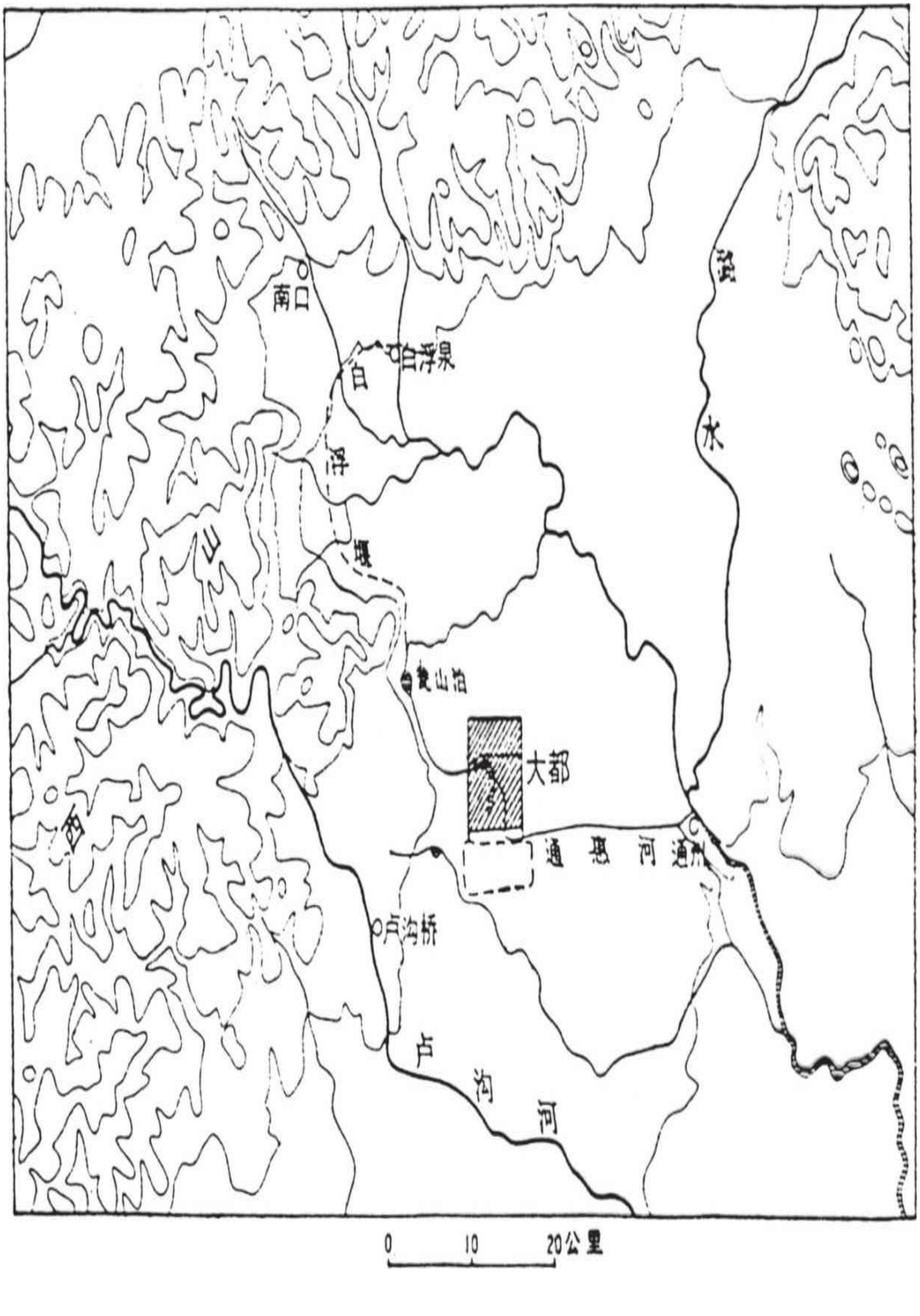
M
A
M
T2
T1
P
S

2-4　The layout of Dadu City (Beijing)　大都城平面设计示意图

A：Central Platform　中心之台
P：Imperial Palace　宫城
M：Market　市场
S：The Palace Square　宫廷广场
T_1：Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙
T_2：Altar of Soil and Grain社　稷坛

At this point, it is important to note the special significance of the location of the central gate of the south city wall, at the south end of the city's north-south axis. Along the sides of the "Imperial Road" which connected this city gate to the south gate of the Royal City, a T-shaped square was built. This was equivalent to the so-called "Wai Chao"(Outer Court) of antiquity. Precisely located along the central axis of the whole city were the chief buildings of the emperor's palace, as well as the emperor's throne. The purpose of this was to demonstrate that the emperor was "number one under heaven," a concept with great symbolic meaning.

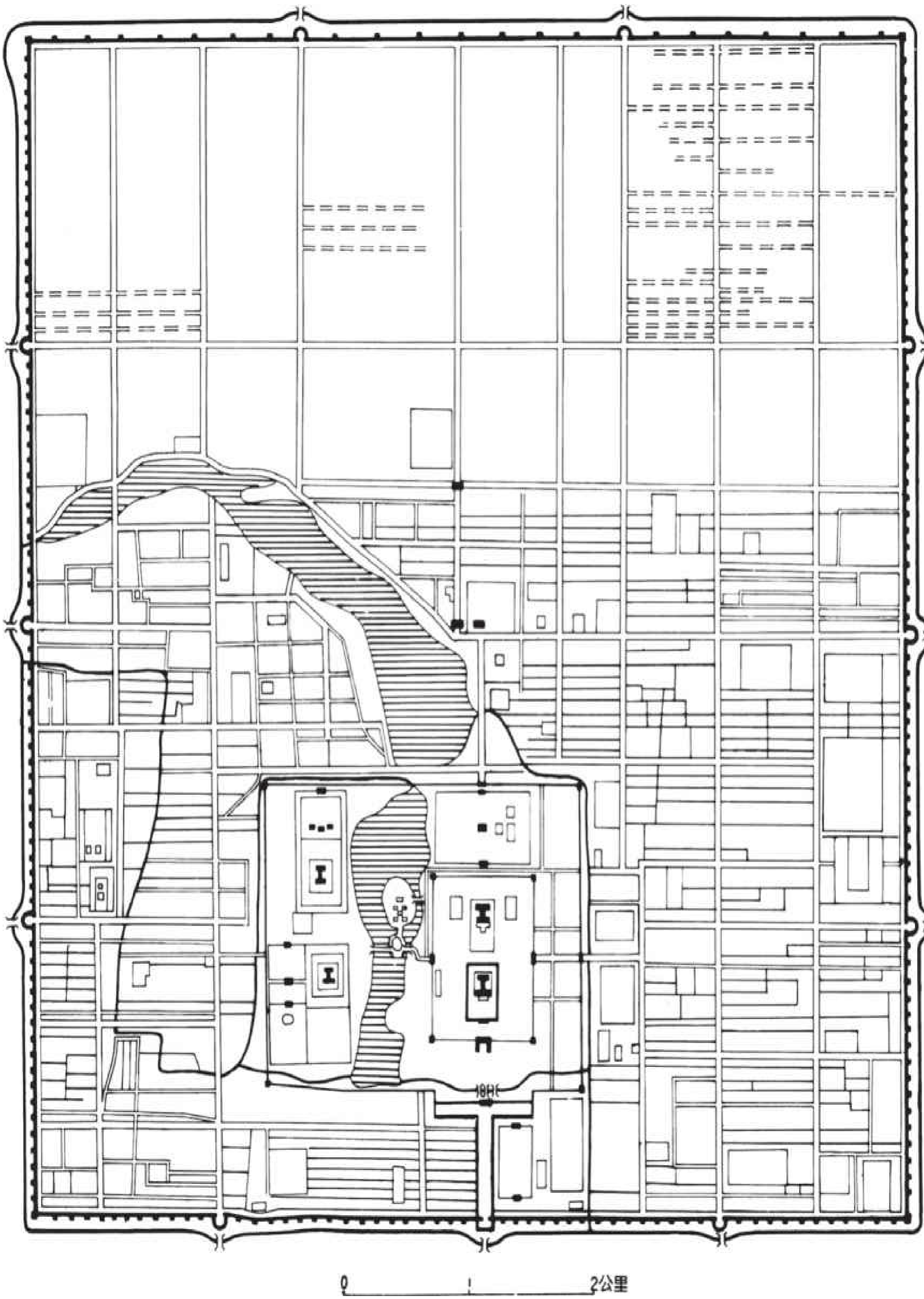
The last major project in the construction of Dadu was the tapping of the springs of the mountains to the northwest to provide the city's water supply(Fig. 2-5). All these springs, except for those of Yu-quan Hill which were used exclusively to feed the Royal City's Tai-ye Chi, were brought together into a single channel which flowed into Dadu City's Ji-shui Tan. From there, these waters were channeled southward around the east wall of the Royal City, joining the old Jin Dynasty canal in the southern suburbs which led to Tong-zhou. At Tong-zhou this joined with the historically renowned Grand Canal, which linked the area to China's southern regions. The northern terminus of the Grand Canal system therefore was Ji-shui Tan, which became a bustling port, crowded with boats laden with grain and goods from the lower valley of the Changjiang (Yangtze River). An area on its northeast shore, including the vicinity of the Central Platform and a street along the north side of the lake, became the most prosperous commercial center of the city (Fig. 2-6).



南口
白浮泉
白浮堰
西山
瓮山泊
大都
通惠河
通州
潞水
卢沟桥
卢沟河
0
10
20公里

2-5　Watercourses in the vicinity of Dadu City　大都城近郊水道略图

Dadu City　大都
Tong-hui River　通惠河
Lu-gou Bridge　卢沟桥
Lu-gou River　卢沟河
West Mountains　西山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2-6 Reconstruction of the layout of Dadu City (Beijing) during the Yuan Dynasty 元朝大都城平面复原图

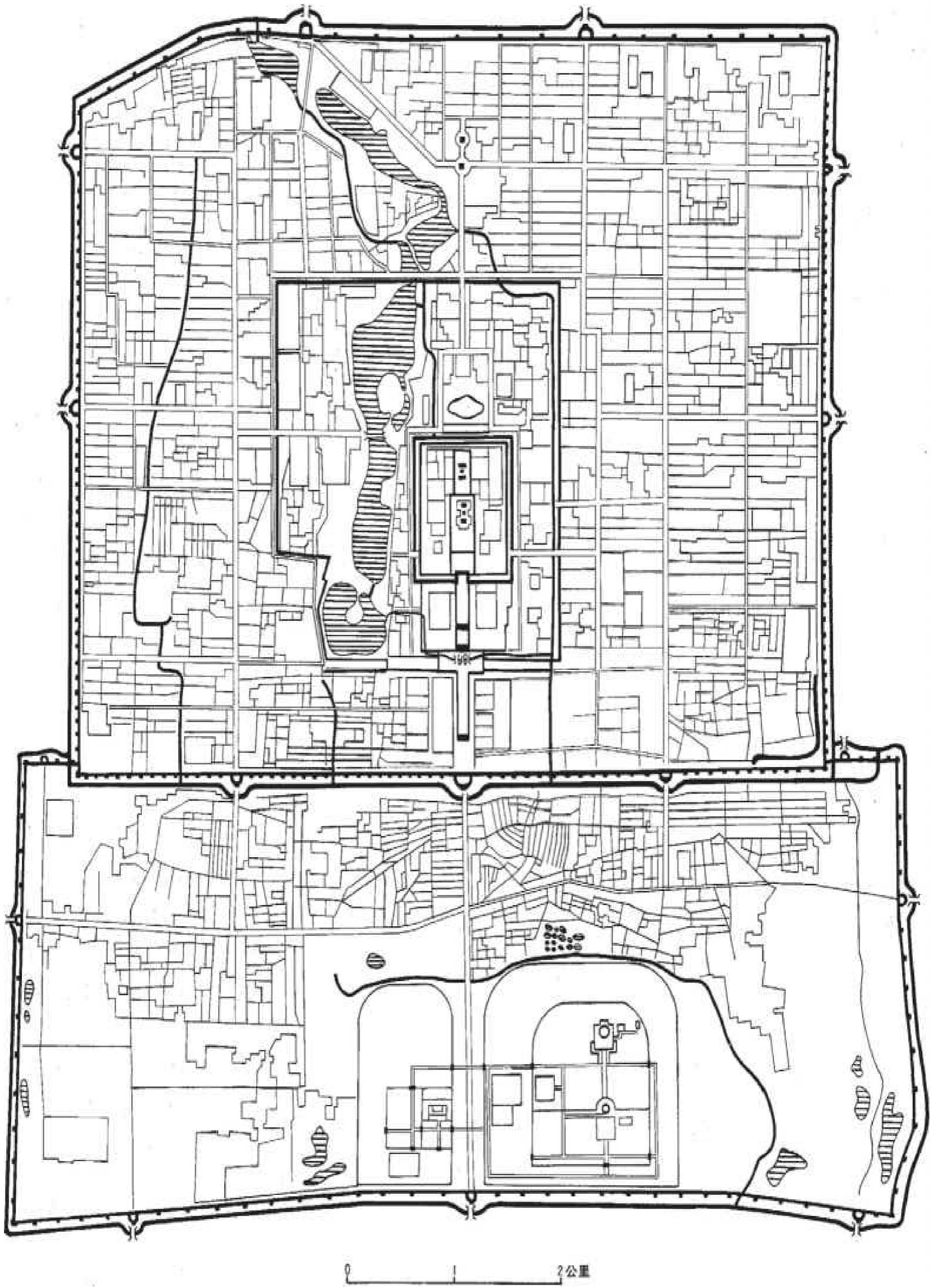
Dashed double lines indicate street locations identified by archeological evidence; in empty areas, archeological evidence is lacking.
双虚线表示经考古证据显示的街道的位置，空白处表示考古证据缺乏。

The Yuan Dynasty's construction of Dadu City required eighteen years from beginning to end. If the design of Dadu is compared to the elements of ideal city layout set forth in the *Book of Artificers*, such as"palace in front, market in back, temple of ancestors on left, altar of soil and grain on right," and the street plan, it can be seen that these principles were completely realized in the construction of the city. Thus, the design of Dadu City without question had its origins deep in Chinese culture. But it was not just a machine-like copy of the ancient ideal form; its sides were not built in the form of a perfect square, but rather the ideal was modified to meet the requirements of reality to produce a creative work. By building the city around a wide body of water and extending its north-south dimension, it was possible to create a great city which combined grandeur with beautiful scenery. Moreover, the main elements of the ideal plan were still strongly represented, and this was no mean achievement.

Planning Changes in the Ming and Qing Periods

Less than a century after Dadu City was built, an uprising in the lower reaches of the Changjiang (Yangtze River) resulted in the establishment of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), which eventually extended its rule over the whole of China. The Ming Dynasty originally had its capital at Nanjing. After it occupied Dadu, it changed that city's name to Beiping or "North Pacification." During the reign of the third emperor, who intended to rule from Beiping, to begin with the name was changed to Beijing, or "Northern Capital," and then the capital function itself was moved from Nanjing to Beijing. Concurrently, a major reconstruction of the city was begun (Fig. 2-7). First, the north city wall was moved about 2.5 kilometers to the south, leaving the northwest part of Ji-shui Tan outside the city. Then both the south city wall and the emperor's palace were rebuilt a little to the south. This reconstruction produced the new emperor's palace, or the Forbidden City, which has been passed down to the present, and is today's Palace Museum. Within the Ming Dynasty's Forbidden City, the most important buildings were a row of six great palaces, built along the city's main axis, which

symbolized the supreme power of the emperor. The geometric center of the whole city was no longer at the Central Platform, but had shifted south to a point just north of the new Forbidden City. In order to clearly mark the new city center, soil excavated from a new artificial lake at the southern end of the Tai-ye Chi and from a newly constructed moat of the Forbidden City was used to build a hill about forty-seven meters high. This was named Wan-sui Shan (Long Life Mountain) and symbolized the eternal ruling power of the emperor.[2] In addition, the Tai Miao and She-ji Tan were moved from their old locations inside the east and west walls to new locations just outside the south gate of the Forbidden City. They were still placed on the left and right sides of the meridional axis, respectively, in keeping with the tradition of "Tai Miao to the left and She-ji Tan to the right." At the same time, the south, north, and east walls of the Royal City were extended a bit, so the Tai Miao, She-ji Tan, and the new lake south of Tai-ye Chi were all contained within them.[3]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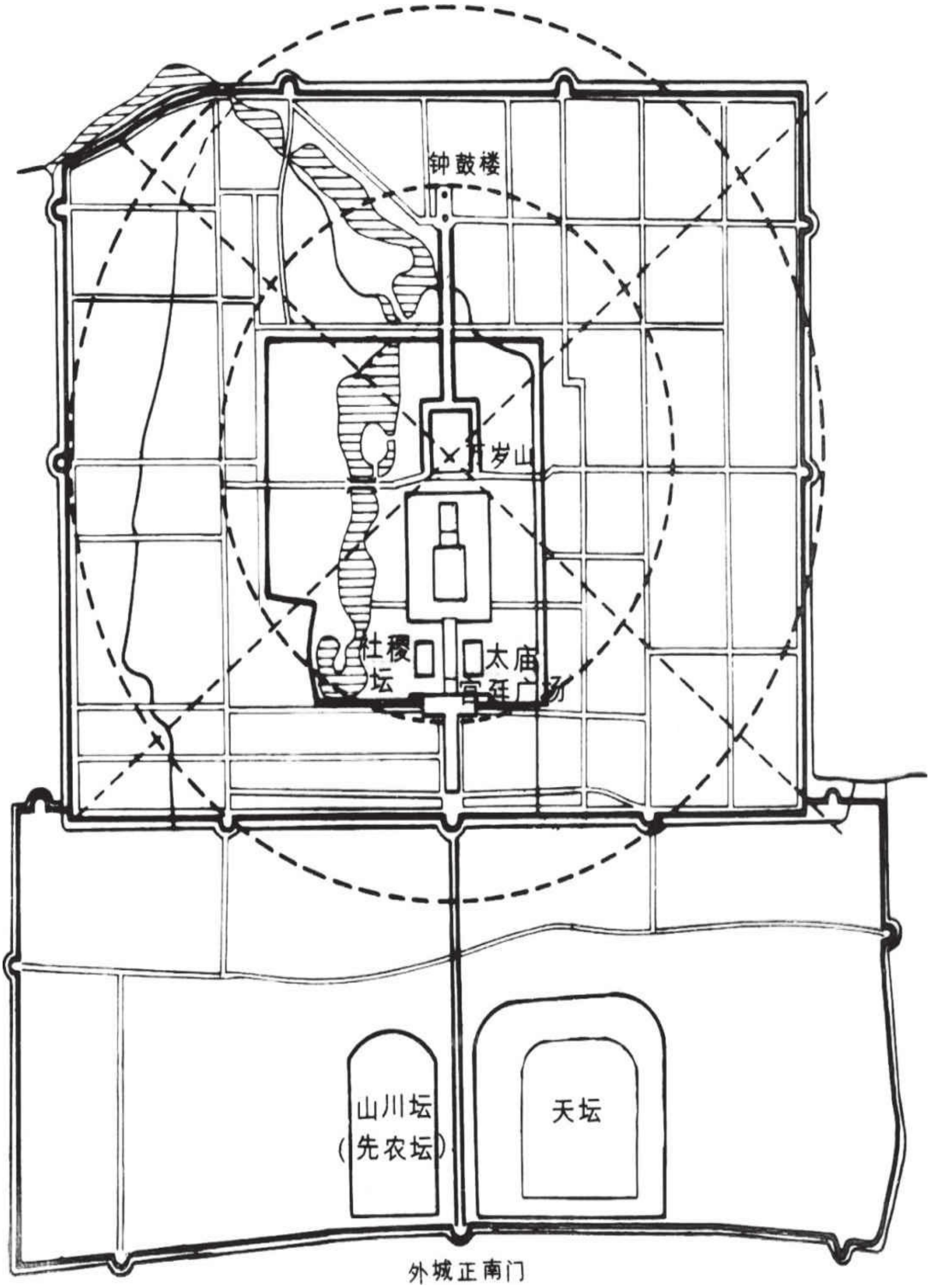
2-7 Plan of the capital of the Ming Dynasty 明代北京城平面示意图

More importantly, two major new groups of buildings were constructed in the southern suburbs, one east and one west of the meridional axis. To the east was the Tian Tan (the Temple of Heaven), where the emperor paid homage to the gods of heaven, and to the west was the Shan Chuan Tan (the Altar of Mountain and River), where he paid his respects to the gods of mountain and river.[4] Up until 1553, this southern part of Beijing was outside the city wall; then an "outer wall" was built to formally incorporate the above-mentioned temple and altar into the city. The middle gate of this new outer wall was situated on the center axis, between these two groups of buildings. The main north-south road within the gate was built along the axis.

At the northern end of the axis, where the old Central Platform was located, two new buildings were constructed: the Bell Tower to the north and the Drum Tower to the south. The newly extended north-south axis had a full length of almost eight kilometers. The Forbidden City occupied the most important location on the axis; to its north, standing like a picture screen, was Wan-sui Shan; to its south, on the left and right, were the Tai Miao and the She-ji Tan. Between these two temples was the Central Imperial Avenue, which started at the Wu Men (Meridional Gate) at the center of the south side of the Forbidden City and extended to the Tian-an Men (Gate of Heavenly Peace)[5] at the center of the south side of the Royal City. After passing through the Tian-an Men, the avenue widened into a T-shaped palace square. The square was bounded on three sides by red brick walls. Inside the east and west walls, long corridors called the "Corridor of a Thousand Steps" were built. Outside the south central gate of the square was the south central gate of the inner city wall. This gate was known as the Zheng-yang Men, or Front Gate, and the part of Beijing which lay beyond it was called the outer city. Along the main axis of the city, which had been extended, the fundamental principles of the design of Dadu City were further developed, and a higher aesthetic level was achieved.

The Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), the last imperial dynasty in China's history, also established its capital in Beijing. Besides erecting more palace buildings in the Forbidden City and in the imperial park around Tai-ye Chi, it did not do much to change the layout of the city. Thus Beijing City—or as we now call it, Beijing's Old City—was preserved until the eve of the birth of New China. Starting with the principles set forth in the *Book of Artificers*

with adjustments made to accommodate local geographical characteristics, and then having gone through numerous reconstructions, Beijing has finally come down to us as the ultimate expression of the ideal traditional Chinese city. (Fig. 2-8)



外城正南门

2-8 Dadu City's transformation into Beijing City under the Ming Dynasty 明清北京城平面设计示意图

Wan-sui Shan 万岁山
Tai Miao 太庙
She-ji Tan 社稷坛
Palace square 宫廷广场
Bell Tower and Drum Tower 钟鼓楼
Tian Tan 天坛
Shan Chuan Tan (Xian-nong Tan) 山川坛（先农坛）

It is just this Beijing City that has been the object of high praise from Western urban planners. For example, the renowned Danish architect Steen Eiler Rasmussen, in the preface to his book T*owns and Buildings*, wrote:

> There are excellent German and Japanese guide books giving detailed information about every single palace and temple in Peking. But they do not contain a single mention of the fact that the entire city is one of the wonders of the world, in its symmetry and clarity a unique monument, the culmination of a great civilization.[6]

Another example is provided by the distinguished American city planner Edmund Bacon, who was Executive Director of the Philadelphia Planning Commission for twenty years and made an important contribution to historic preservation and restoration in that city. In his book *Design of Cities* he wrote this regarding Beijing's Old City: Possibly the greatest single work of man on the face of the earth is Peking. This Chinese city, designed as the domicile of the Emperor, was intended to mark the center of the universe. The city is deeply enmeshed in ritualistic formulae and religious concepts which do not concern us now. Nevertheless, it is so brilliant in design that it provides a rich storehouse of ideas for the city of today.[7]

Bacon's comment is noteworthy. As a center of imperial rule, he said, it was a great design achievement and should be studied by city planners today. At the same time, he points out that it contains much that does not serve the needs of the present. This clearly reveals the dilemma we face today.

Plan Changes in the New China Era

Following the progress of history and the passage of time, old cities—especially those of intricate design—unavoidably face the necessity of continuous redevelopment. This is especially true in the case of Beijing's Old City, since the single underlying motif of all its splendid architecture and ingenious design—namely, symbolizing the supremacy of a medieval sovereign—stands in such sharp contrast to the spirit of the present time. The

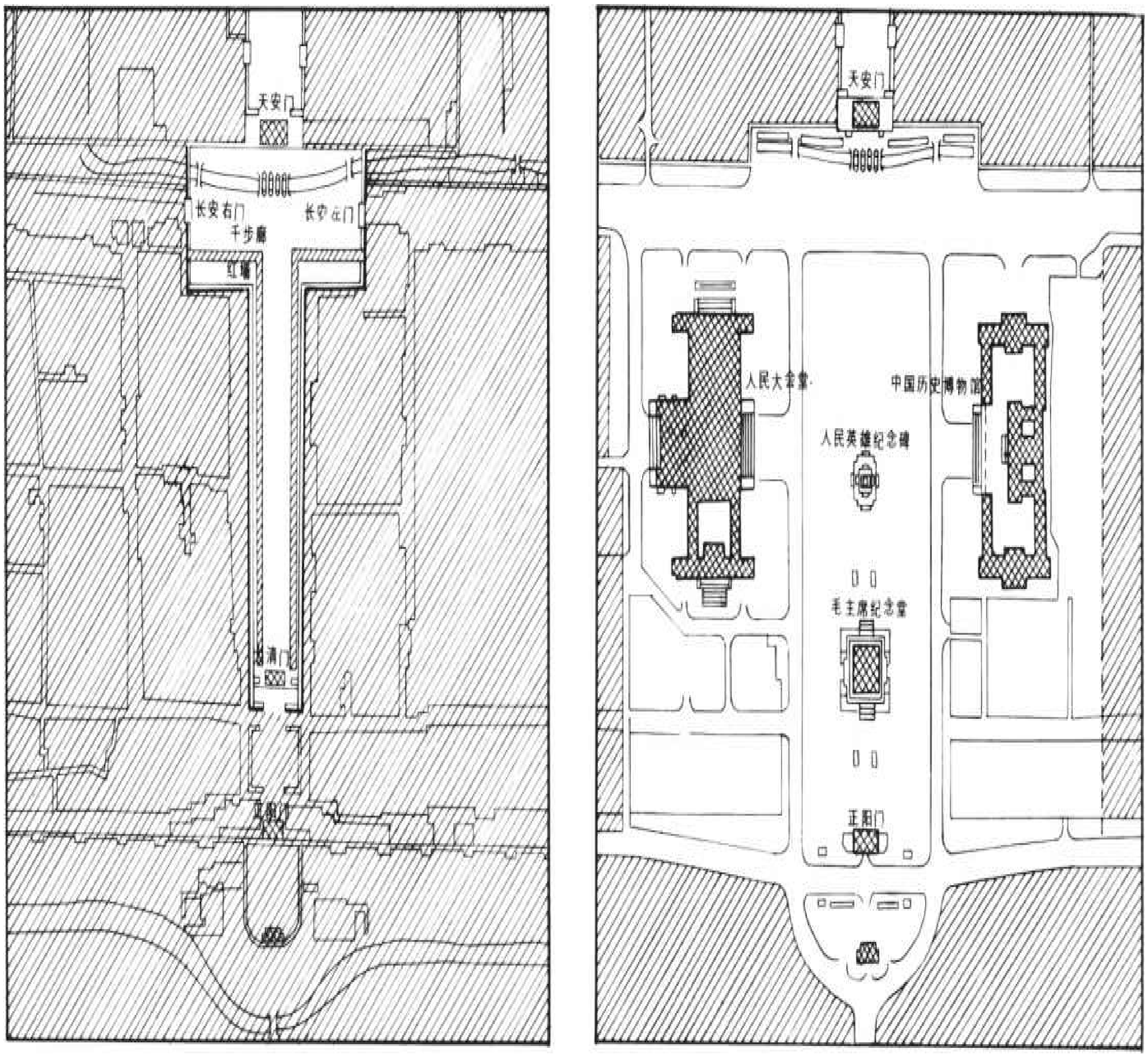
establishment of New China represents the beginning of a new, socialist era. As Beijing is the nation's capital in this new era, the reconstruction of the city should reflect the fact that the people are now the true masters of their country.

How can this reconstruction effectively be carried out? First, it must be seen that this is not simply a matter of engineering and technology, but also a problem concerning our custodianship of a venerable historical and cultural inheritance, as well as the challenge of creating a new socialist civilization.

All of Beijing's Old City is part of China's historical and cultural inheritance. It is a symbol of the magnificent development of China's culture in imperial times. As Rasmussen pointed out, it is a significant monument to the highest achievements of a great civilization. The new Beijing City, as the people's capital and a symbol of the new socialist culture, can only rise from this historical foundation. But as we assume our charge over this historical and cultural legacy, we must adhere to the principle of maintaining a critical perspective. We can neither totally deny the legacy nor totally accept it. It is important to distinguish between the "wheat" and the "chaff"; we must accept and make full use of the wheat, while criticizing and giving up the chaff. In this way we can follow the principles of "making the past serve the present" and "weed through the old to bring forth the new," in order to use our historical foundation to create something new. We must note, however, that the standards for distinguishing the "wheat" from the "chaff" have changed through time. Today, we place a high value on all things which benefit the masses or fully express the people's creative abilities. That which truly embodies this populist spirit should be accepted and developed. That which does not should be criticized and given up. Today, this principle must be applied to the reconstruction of Beijing's Old City.

Some reconstruction work affecting the layout of Beijing's Old City has already been done since the establishment of New China. The most notable example of this is the reconstruction of Tian-an Men Square. As noted earlier the Tian-an Men was originally fronted by a T-shaped square. This was designed to serve as an imperial square—a place where the emperor performed important ceremonies (Fig. 2-9). On its east, west, and south sides were red walls which totally shut off public access. It was thus a great obstacle to east-west communications within the city. Viewed from the south end of this imperial square, the Tian-an Men loomed to the north as a lofty, ornate palace built upon a red platform. In old times, this sight served to

create an impression of grandeur and solemnity. In 1911, after the overthrow of the last dynasty, Tian-an Men Square was opened and people were allowed to pass through, but the red walls were kept as before. On October 1, 1949, the declaration of the establishment of New China took place there. An important reason for this was that Tian-an Men Square was the site of the outbreak of the May 4th Movement of 1919, which set the stage for the New Democratic Revolution. Thus it is one of the places in Beijing's Old City with an honorable revolutionary tradition.



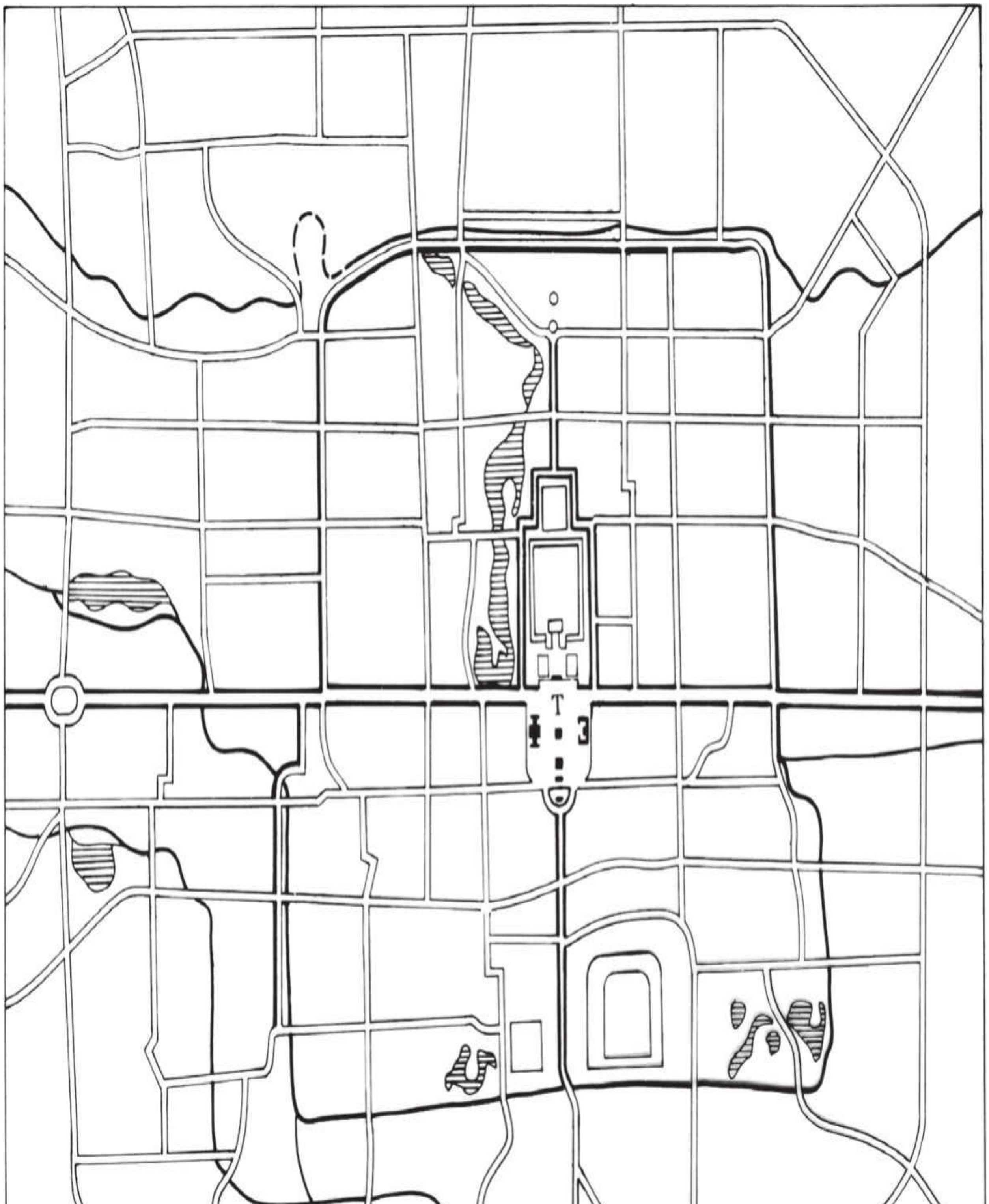
2-9 From imperial square to people's square at the Tian-an Men, Beijing 清朝天安门

Tian-an Men 天安门
Left Chang-an Men 长安左门
Right Chang-an Men 长安右门

Red walls　红墙
Da Qing Men　大清门
Zheng-yang Men　正阳门
Corridor of a Thousand Steps　千步廊
Great Hall of the People　人民大会堂
Museum of Chinese History　中国历史博物馆
Monument to the People's Heroes　人民英雄纪念碑
Memorial Hall of Chairman Mao　毛主席纪念堂

The Tian-an Men, which stands above the square, expresses the full talent and intelligence of China's working people in the art of construction. It could be considered a masterpiece among the ancient structures of Beijing. As for the red walls on the east, west, and south sides of the square, they still obstructed the movement of people and were actually a public nuisance. Therefore, on the tenth anniversary of the founding of the nation, the red walls surrounding the square were totally demolished, and a new square appeared which was several times larger than the old one. On the west and east sides of the square, two modern buildings were constructed. On the west arose the Great Hall of the People, and on the east was built the structure containing the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution. In the center of the square stands the Monument to the People's Heroes. On the eve of the 30th anniversary of the revolution, the Memorial Hall of Chairman Mao was built on the south side of square, just inside the Zheng-yang Men. The transformation of Tian-an Men Square to the center of political activity was essentially complete. Although its location remains the same, its nature and function have totally changed, and it has an entirely new appearance (see Fig. 2-9).[8]

At the beginning of the reconstruction of Tian-an Men Square, its left and right wings extending along Chang-an Street (the street's name was derived from the former left and right Chang-an Men on either side of the old square) were widened and extended to become a broad, tree-lined thoroughfare. This thoroughfare extended to the east and west suburbs and created a major new axis for the whole city (Fig. 2-10). On one hand this reinforced the primacy of Tian-an Men Square's location in the layout of the whole city, and on the other hand it relegated the location of the old Forbidden City to "backyard" status. That ancient symbol of imperial primacy thus lost its exalted position relative to the rest of the city.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2-10 Chang-an Street, Beijing, extending east and west from the Tian-an Men 从天安门广场向东西延伸的林荫大道

Although work remains to be done in the reconstruction of Tian-an Men Square, its position as the center of political activity in the city has been established. The old buildings on the square, such as the Tian-an Men and the Zheng-yang Men, and the modern buildings, such as the Great Hall of the People and the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution, all go together very well, showing at the same time continuity with the past and the new spirit of the present. The principle of "weed through the old to bring forth the new" has been fully realized. With regard to the improvement of the layout of Beijing's Old City, it cannot be said that this was not a success.

There are still many opportunities for today's city planners to apply their creative talents, in accordance with this principle, to the reconstruction of Beijing's Old City. For instance, one such case is the question of what to do with the old Ji-shui Tan. Should we consider it an obstacle to the city's development and fill it in to create land for buildings? Or should we consider it a place of historical significance in the development of the city and protect and improve it?

The Ji-shui Tan of antiquity, as discussed earlier, had a great influence on the location and layout of Beijing's Old City. The city's main axis was set next to the eastern shore of Ji-shui Tan, and the width of the lake determined the location of the east and west city walls. It could be said that had Ji-shui Tan not existed, Beijing would not exist in anything like its present form. In Dadu City of the Yuan Dynasty, Ji-shui Tan was of great importance as the northern terminus of the Grand Canal. After the early period of the Ming Dynasty, when the north city wall was moved southward 2.5 kilometers, the northwest part of Ji-shui Tan was excluded from the city, and the area of the lake inside the city was greatly reduced. Subsequent reconstruction of Beijing's Old City, while further developing the primary themes of the original city plan, resulted in the filling of the Grand Canal's bed within the city and the elimination of its upper reaches. All that remained was the spring from Yu-quan Hill, which flowed into Ji-shui Tan and thence on to Tai-ye Chi. After this rearrangement of Beijing's water system, Tai-ye Chi, which was inside the Royal City, was again enlarged by the addition of a new lake at its southern end. The trees and structures around it increased in number, and it developed into the most scenic park district in the city. The lake

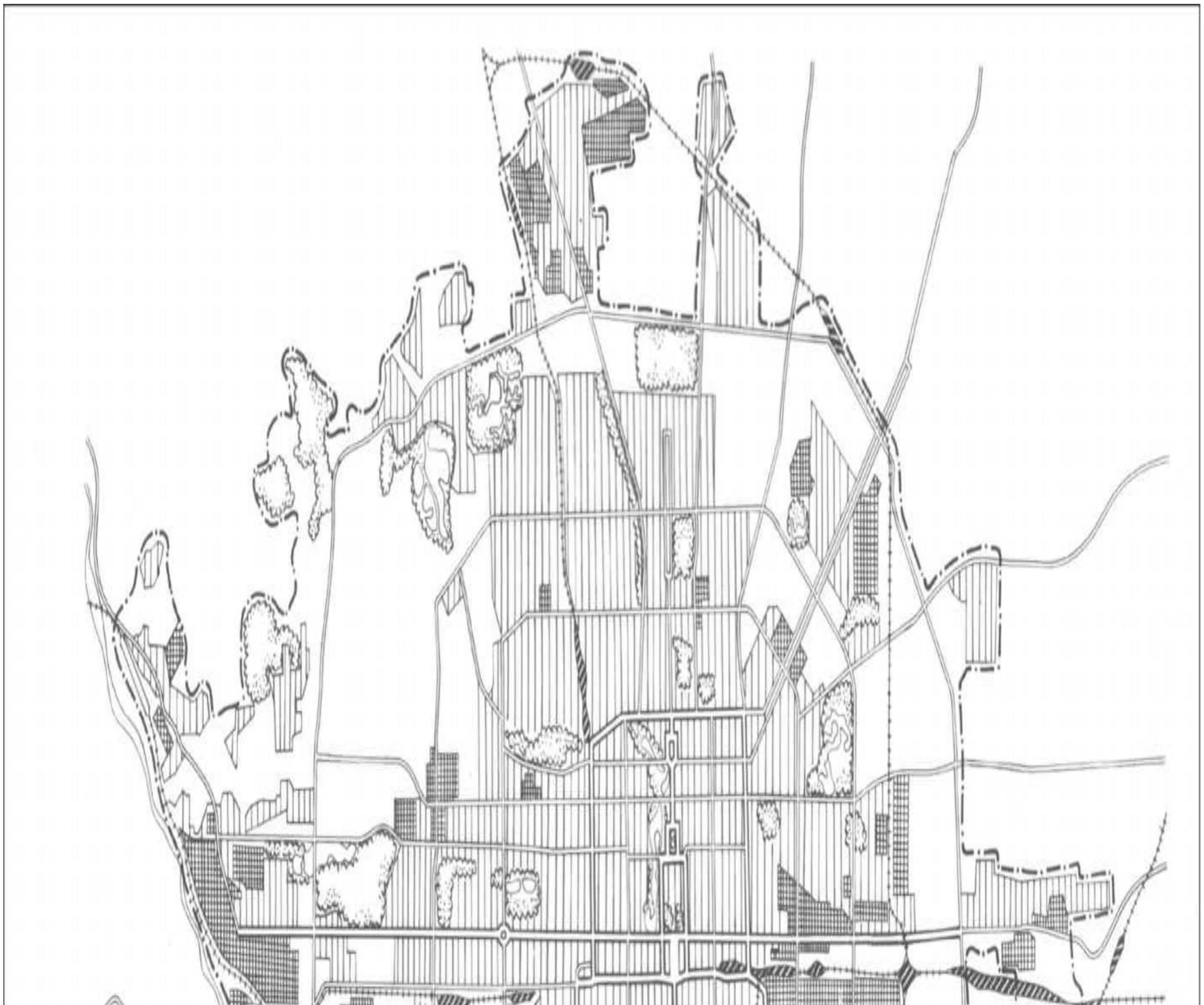
became known as the "Three Seas"—the "South Sea" (Nan-hai), the"Middle Sea" (Zhong-hai), and the "North Sea" (Bei-hai). The "North Sea" has now been opened to the public; known as the Bei-hai Park, it is renowned for its most beautiful scenery. This was the location of the Jin Dynasty's imperial retreat, Tai-ning Palace.

Ji-shui Tan, which lay outside the Royal City, has a much different fate than the "Three Seas," with their imperial parks and gardens. Throughout the Ming and Qing dynasties and up to the establishment of New China, it never received much attention from the highest rulers. Thus it has not benefited from any definite plan or development, and has quite naturally become a neglected backwater. The lake shrank into three parts, and only the northwesternmost part was still called Ji-shui Tan. A larger part of the lake, to the southeast, was called Shi-cha Hai. The area remained, however, one of the most scenic parts of the city. Especially lovely was the view looking west from the east shore of Shi-cha Hai; the reflected peaks of West Mountains seemed like part of the city landscape. Therefore this region in old times, especially during the Qing Dynasty, attracted some of the imperial nobility. They built great houses near the lake shore and channeled lake water into their private gardens. In addition, a number of large, wealthy temples were established around the lake. But, apart from the nobles' houses and temples, the greatest part of the lake region became a public recreation place for the common people. The southern part, especially, evolved naturally into a real "people's park." Concurrently there arose in that place a common people's market, where prices were low and merchandise was good. Because of a profusion of lotus growing along the lake shore there, this market came to be called the "Lotus Market." Up to the eve of the birth of New China, this region remained a haven for the common people, where they could relax and enjoy life in a rustic setting. This informality contrasted sharply with the detailed planning and arrangement of Tai-ye Chi and its imperial gardens.

Now, inside Beijing's Old City, this overlooked lake is still there, and along its shores there are still patches of greenery and glimpses of its former beauty.

Further planning and reconstruction of the Ji-shui Tan district has already been scheduled as part of the effort to improve and reconstruct Beijing's Old City, in coordination with the overall plan for greater Beijing(Fig. 2-11). As this process goes forward, we must consider the historical importance and value of this region. We must consider the strong

association of the common people with this place and the present necessity of creating more spacious, pleasant and culturally meaningful recreation areas for our citizens. We must consider the potential for improving the natural environment and making the city a more beautiful place. We must also build our plan upon the historical base we have inherited, all the while maintaining a critical attitude and doing our best to realize the principle of "weeding through the old to bring forth the new." Ji-shui Tan is waiting for us to make this effort.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2-11 Land use plan for metropolitan Beijing, 1983 北京市区规划示意图（1983）

1．Industry and warehouse 工业仓库
2．Office and residential areas 工作居住
3．Parks and recreation areas 绿地体育
4．Streets and roads 道路用地
5．Railroads 铁路

Conclusion

This essay examines only two examples, from the geographical perspectives of city location and design, in an attempt to assess what attitude we should have and what basic rules we should observe in the process of reconstructing Beijing's Old City.

In July of 1983, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and the State Council approved in principle the Master Plan for the City Construction of Metropolitan Beijing. This plan clearly evaluates Beijing's Old City, and while pointing out those strengths and notable traditional characteristics which should be preserved in the process of reconstruction, it also emphasizes the creation of a new style characteristic of the people's capital in the new era.[9] Thus, we have reason to believe that by the end of this century a new Beijing City will emerge, one which will maintain not only its ancient cultural tradition, but with a new face reflecting a prosperous, new socialist culture. At the same time we also hope that this new culture, which is still developing, can make an important contribution to the civilization of all mankind.

贰　展望首都新风貌：北京旧城城市设计的改造*

一

在当代世界中，中国是一个发展中的国家，同时又是一个新兴的社会主义国家。在经历了具有悠久文化传统的历史发展之后，现在它正面临着一个前所未有的社会变革的新时代，在努力摆脱经济上的落后状态而积极进行现代化建设的同时，一个社会主义的新文化也正在发展中。在进行现代化建设的过程中，结合自己的具体情况，注意吸收外国一切先进的科学技术是必要的。但是在发展社会主义新文化的过程中，如何从自己的历史文化遗产中吸取一切有价值的部分，乃是一个更加重要也更加复杂的问题。绝不能设想一个社会主义的新文化会从天上掉下来或是从某一个外国移植进来，它只能从自己固有的土壤里发育成长。当然这并不排除外来文化的影响，但是这种外来的影响只有在被充分融化于具有自己特色的传统文化之中，它才有可能产生某种真正的社会价值，才能为创造具有时代特征的新文化作出贡献。正是在这一伟大的社会变革的背景下，本文试图以北京旧城城市设计的改造为例，就我们当前所面临的建设社会主义新文化的问题，作一个具体说明。作为一个历史地理工作者，我也只能着重从地理的因素上而不是从城市设计的专门技术上来提出一些个人的观点和看法，或许还可能有值得城市规划学者参考的地方。

二

随着当代世界性城市化的进展，城市规划作为一项专门的科学，已经变得日益复杂、也日益重要。但是这门科学在一些文明古国里，却已早有萌芽，这在古代中国也不例外。惠特利教授的巨著《四方之极》一书，就充分说明了这一点。他在这部著作中，特别强调了古代中国城市建设在理想化平面设计中的象征意义，引证了《考工记》一书关于都城的平面设计作为一例，进行了饶有趣味的探讨。他还对北京旧城城市设计中象征性的格局，作了高度的评价。[1]

在这里，对于《考工记》中的有关记载，再作些进一步的阐述，或许是必要的。

《考工记》大约写成于公元前5世纪左右，主要是讲工艺制作，其中也记载了帝王都城建筑的平面设计，不过文字的描述过于简略，后人也有不同的说明和图解。如果就其主要内容加以阐述，可以包括下列几项：

（1）都城作正方形，四边筑有城墙，每边长4.5公里，各开三个城门。

（2）城内有九条直街，九条横街。也可解释为三条直街、三条横街，每街各有三条并列的车马大道。

（3）全城的中央是帝王的宫城。宫城的左边是太庙，也就是帝王祭祀其祖先的地方；右边是社稷坛，也就是帝王祭祀土地和五谷之神的地方。宫城的前面是朝廷，也就是帝王临朝听政的地方；后面是市场，也就是全城的商业中心。

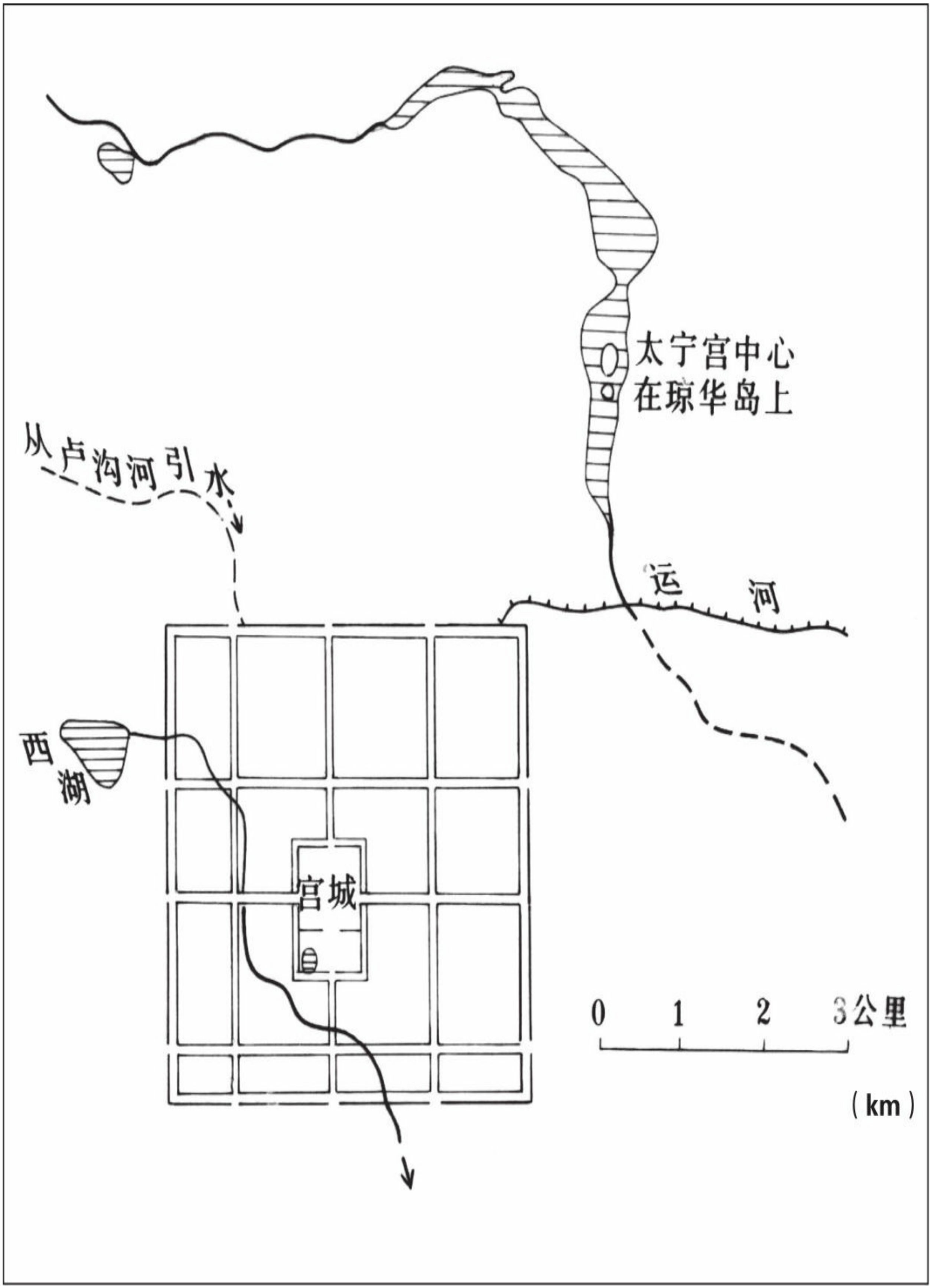
《考工记》的上述记载，指的是帝王的统治中心，也就是国都，是规模最大的城市。记载中的“左祖”、“右社”、“面朝”、“后市”，都是按照正南正北和正东正西的方向排列的。帝王的宫城面向正南，正处于全城中轴线的中心位置。太庙在其东，社稷坛在其西，全城市场在其北。这种城市布局有一条显然存在的南北中轴线，确定了背北面南的主导方向。这一主导方向，和中国古代文明起源的黄河中下游地区有密切的联系。这里的平原地带，大者如华北平原，小者如泾渭盆地、伊洛盆地，地势平坦开阔，又是季风盛行的北温带。春夏秋冬四季分明，夏季高温多雨，冬季北风凛冽。为了夏季通风和降温以及冬季御寒和采光，住宅建筑中的主要房舍，都是背北面南的，由此而发展成为普遍流行的所谓“四合院”。虽然四合院四面房子都面向当中的庭院，但最主要的住房是北房，也叫正房。实际上这种四合院就是城市建筑在结构上的“细胞”。把这些细胞成条地排列起来就是街巷，把大小街巷有计划地组织起来就是方方正正有城墙包围的城市。作为一国的都城，帝王的宫室就是特大的住宅，或是几组住宅的综合体。周围绕以宫墙，这就是宫城。宫城布置在全城最重要的位置上，这就是全城南北中轴线的中心所在地。同时也是宇宙中心的象征。其次，按照古代的传统来说，只有在一国的都城之内，才有皇家太庙的建筑。至于像中国这样一个以农立国的国家，“社”的建筑、或称“社稷”，又是用来作为帝王统治天下的象征。至于市场，更是城市生活中所必有的。因此，这些基本要素都已经明确地包括在《考工记》所记载的关于帝王都城的理想设计之中了。这是保存到现在的中国古代著作中关于都城规划设计的最早也是最重要的记载，对后来的都城建设是有影响的。但是最为近似也可说是最完整地体现了这一理想设计“面朝”、“后市”、“左祖”、“右社”以及全城街道布局的基本特点的都城，只有一个，那就是历代帝王都城中最后建成的北京

城，也就是现在所说的北京旧城。新中国成立后，又决定建都北京，并以北京旧城为中心，开始营建社会主义新时代的人民首都。因此，北京旧城的改造，也就成为当务之急。为了充分说明这一点，就有必要把北京旧城的规划设计，详细介绍如下。

三

北京是一个有三千多年历史的古城，不过她现在的城址是从13世纪中期元朝（1271—1368）大都城的兴建开始的。北京的古城址原在大都城的西南郊。在这个古城址上所建立起来的最后也是最大的一个大城，就是金朝（1115—1234）的中都城。中都城是古代北京城上升为全国性政治中心的开始。

中都城的东北郊外，原有一带天然湖泊，金朝的统治者曾利用这一带湖泊上的自然风光，在其南半部的中心一带，开拓湖面，修筑岛屿，营建了一处风景佳丽的离宫，命名为太宁宫（图2-1）。1215年崛起于北方的蒙古族首领成吉思汗的骑兵南下，攻占了中都城，当时中都城中豪华的宫殿惨遭焚毁，可是城外的太宁宫幸得保全。1260年成吉思汗的孙子忽必烈，决定以中都作为他的统治中心，策划统一中国，但是中都宫殿已成废墟，难于重建。更重要的是中都城的地表水源，只是来自城西的一个小湖——西湖（今莲花池），供水有限。随着城市功能的日益复杂，对于地表水源的需要也日益增加，特别是对于水上运输的要求，更为迫切。因为每年都需要有大量的粮食运送到城市，开凿人工运河尤为必要。金朝的统治者曾开凿了一条人工渠道，把城西永定河（当时叫做卢沟河）的河水，顺地形的自然坡度东流，通过中都北护城河，继续向东直达通州，计划把从华北平原上征收的粮食和物资，沿天然河流北运、集中到通州，然后转运中都城下。但是遇到永定河洪水暴涨，难以控制，终未收到预期的运输效果。由于上述原因，忽必烈决定放弃中都旧城，改以太宁宫的湖泊为中心，命令熟悉古代典章制度并且有筑城经验的汉族学者刘秉忠，进行规划设计，另建新城。刘秉忠和他的一个学生，即长于天文历算和水利工程的郭守敬共同合作，从1267年开始，直到1285年，才把新城连同它的运河系统全部兴建完成。这就是历史上赫赫有名的大都城。正是在大都城修建期间，马可·波罗来到这里，并且出仕元朝。后来他回到意大利，在追忆中对大都城规模的宏伟、宫殿的精美，极口称赞，这就是见于《马可·波罗游记》中的汗八里城。

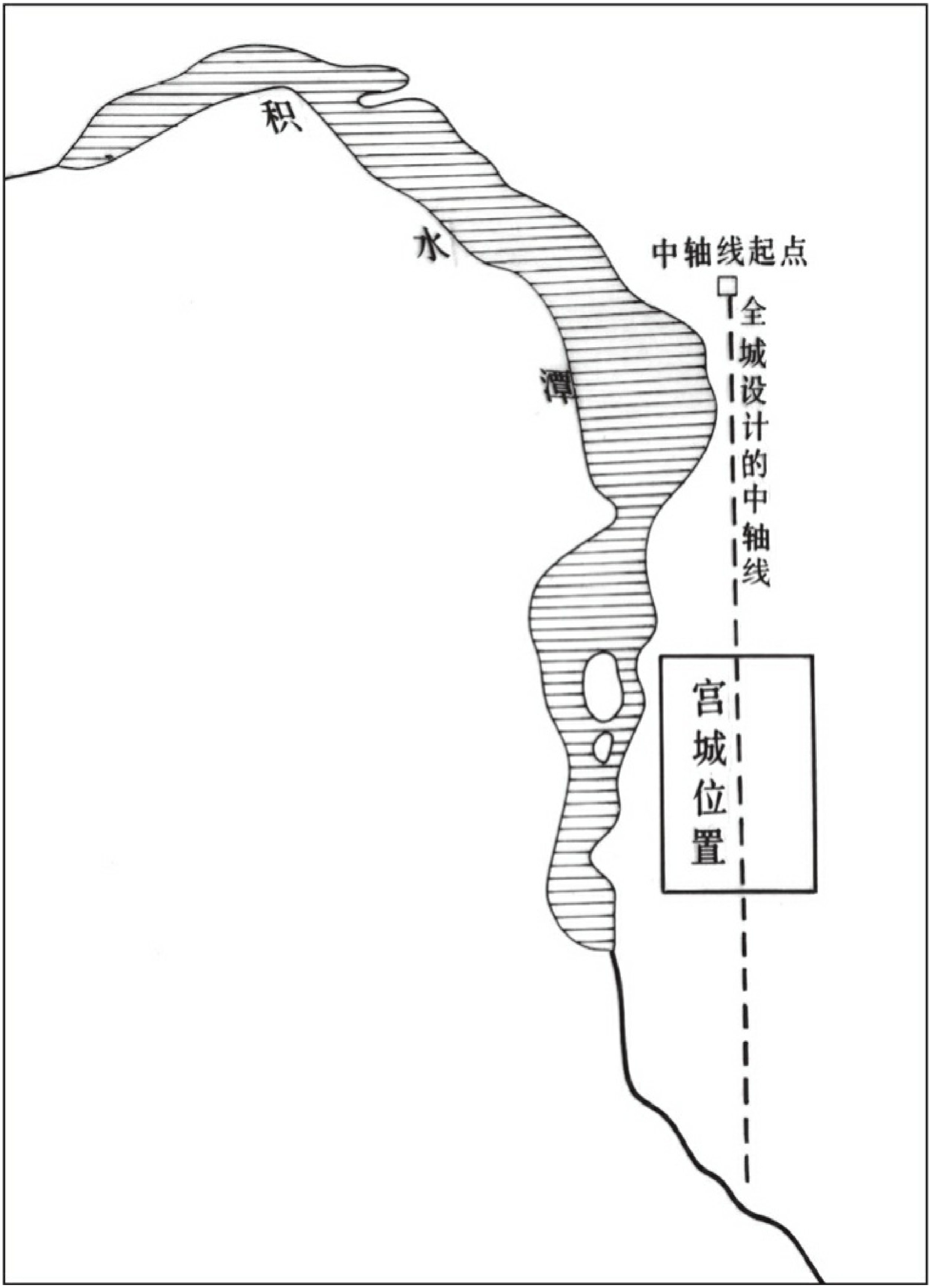

太宁宫中心
在琼华岛上
从卢沟河引水
运河
西湖
宫城
0 1 2 3公里
（km）

2-1 Beijing's early urban nuclei: Zhongdu City and Tai-ning Palace 金朝中都城与太宁宫位置略图

Imperial Palace 宫城
West Late 西湖
Aqueduct from Lu-gou River 从卢沟河引水
Canal 运河
Main buildings of the Tai-ning Palace on the Qiong-hua Island 太宁宫中心在琼华岛上

大都城的修建过程略如上述。至于大都城的规划设计，没有任何档案资料保存下来，因此只好根据已经复原的大都城平面图，参考有关的一些历史记载加以分析。根据个人所见，依照可能的设计程序，试作说明如下：

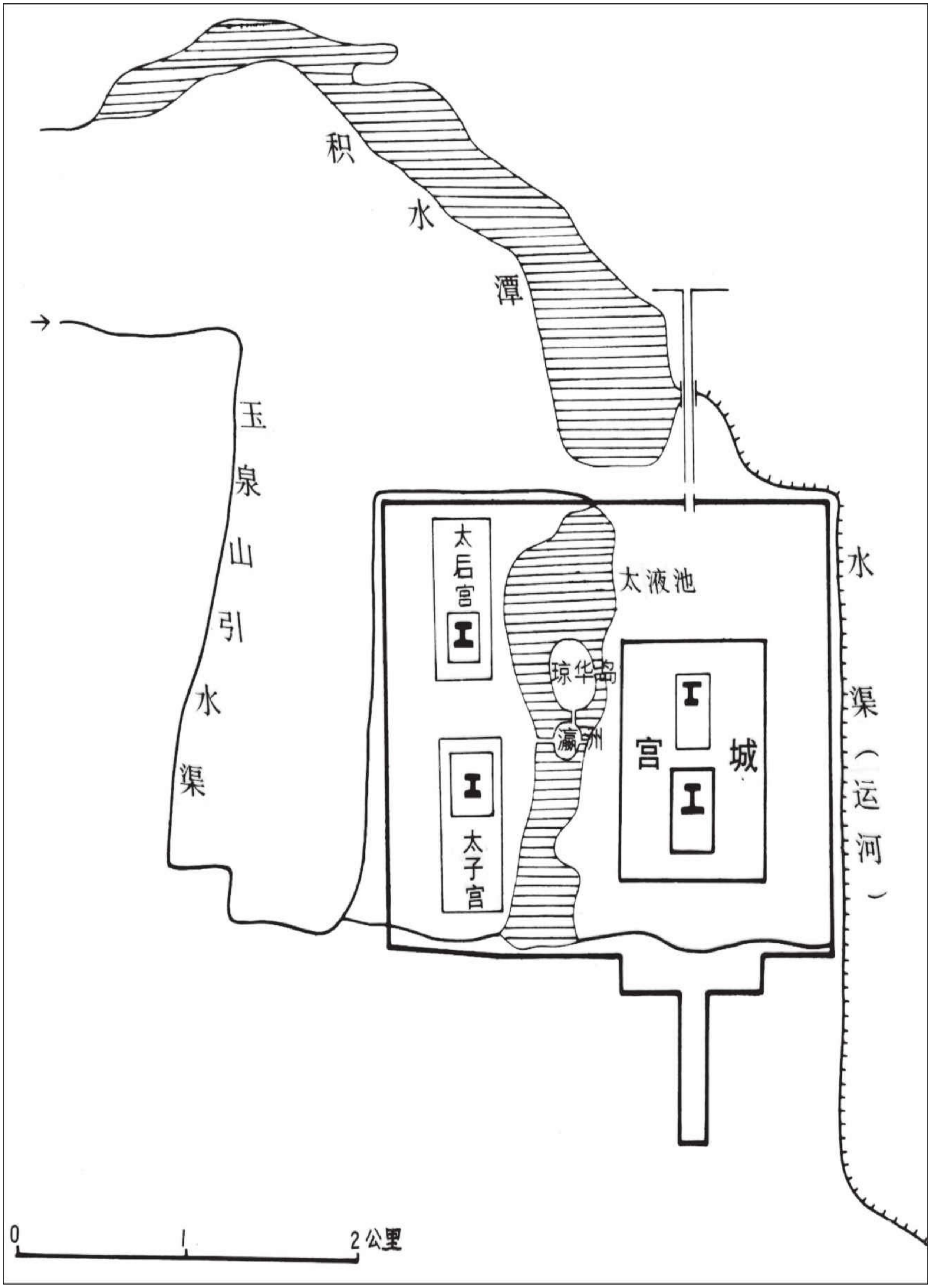
（1）首先是紧傍北部湖泊——当时叫做积水潭的东岸，选定了全城南北中轴线的位置（图2-2）。这条中轴线的北端，确定在积水潭的东北岸上，皇帝的宫殿则确定在南部湖泊的东岸，是为宫城。宫城平面设计的中心，也就正好落在已定的南北中轴线上。


积
水
潭
中轴线起点
全城设计的中轴线
宫城位置

2-2　Set of the axis and location of the emperor's palace　大都城中轴线的选择与宫城位置的确定

Ji-shui Tan　积水潭
Main axis of the city　全城设计的中轴线
Starting point of the main axis　中轴线起点
Location of the Imperial Palace　宫城位置

（2）其次，在南部湖泊的西岸，又分别兴建了南北两组宫殿。南为皇太子的宫殿，北为皇太后的宫殿。这两组宫殿的四面，也都筑有宫墙，和湖泊东岸的皇帝宫城，遥遥相望。旧日的太宁宫，正好居于这三者中间，湖中的一个小岛，原名瀛洲。从瀛洲通向东西两岸，各建一桥，把三组宫殿联系在一起。瀛洲北面另有一个大岛，叫做琼华岛，则是旧日太宁宫主要建筑所集中的地方。三组宫殿的四周又绕以城墙，是为皇城。从此南部湖泊遂被圈入皇城之中。按照传统的惯例，命名为太液池。沿太液池周围开辟为皇家园林。至于北部湖泊因为已经隔在皇城之外，遂另开人工渠道，引水南下，绕经皇城东墙之外，流出南郊。与此同时，又为圈入皇城之内的太液池，另辟新水源，把城西北玉泉山下的泉水，经过人工渠道，直接引入太液池。其下游流经宫城的前方，向东流出皇城，注入积水潭下游的水渠。（图2-3）

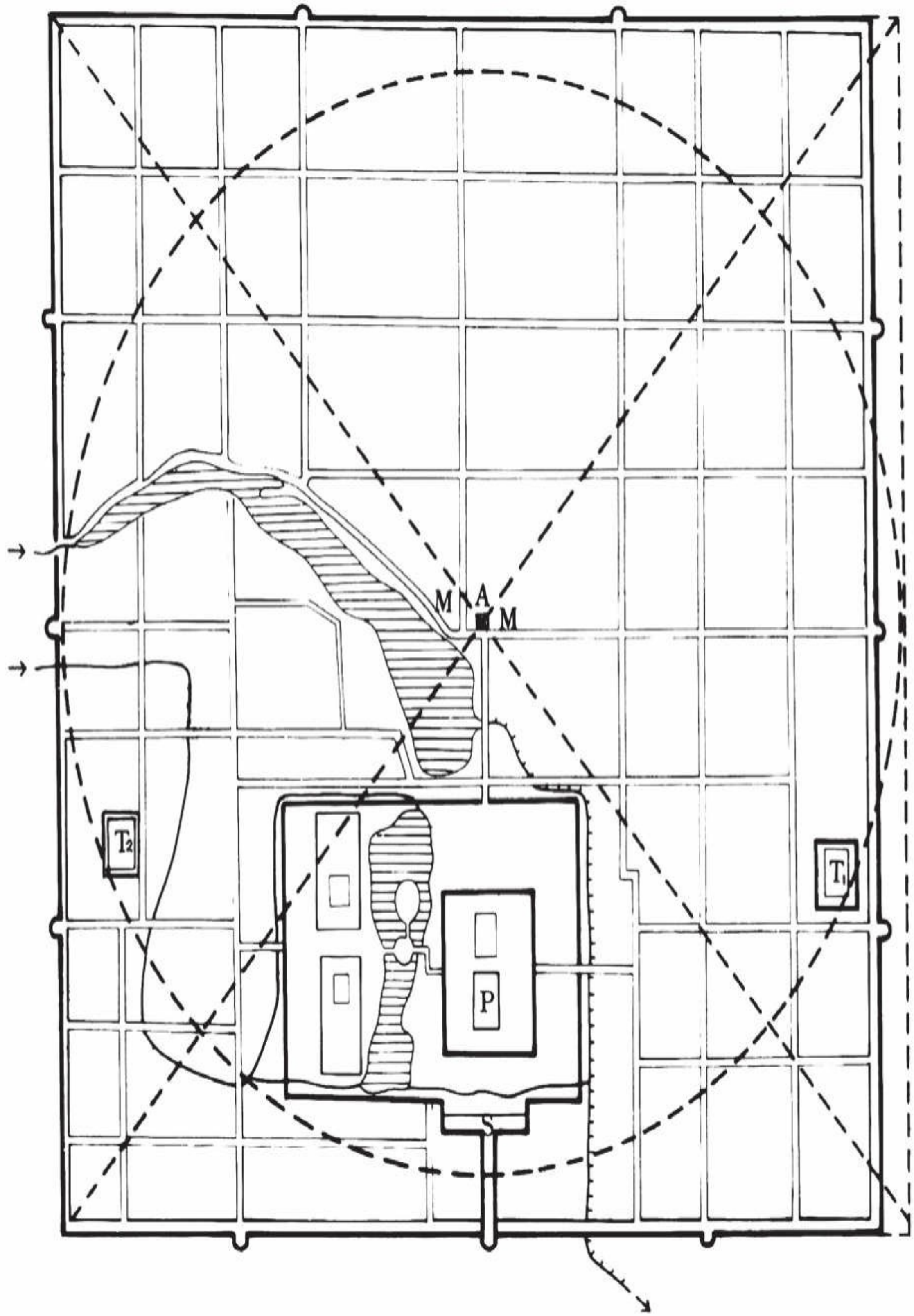


积
水
潭
玉
泉
山
引
水
渠
太后宫
太液池
琼华岛
瀛洲
太子宫
宫
城
水
渠
（运
河
）
0
1
2公里

2-3 Kernel of Dadu City 大都皇城平面略图

Imperial Palace 宫城
Palace of the emperess dowager 太后宫
Palace of the crown prince 太子宫
Tai-ye Chi 太液池
Ying-zhou Island 瀛洲
Aqueduct from the Yu-quan Hills 玉泉山引水渠
Ji-shui Tan 积水潭
Canal 水渠（运河）

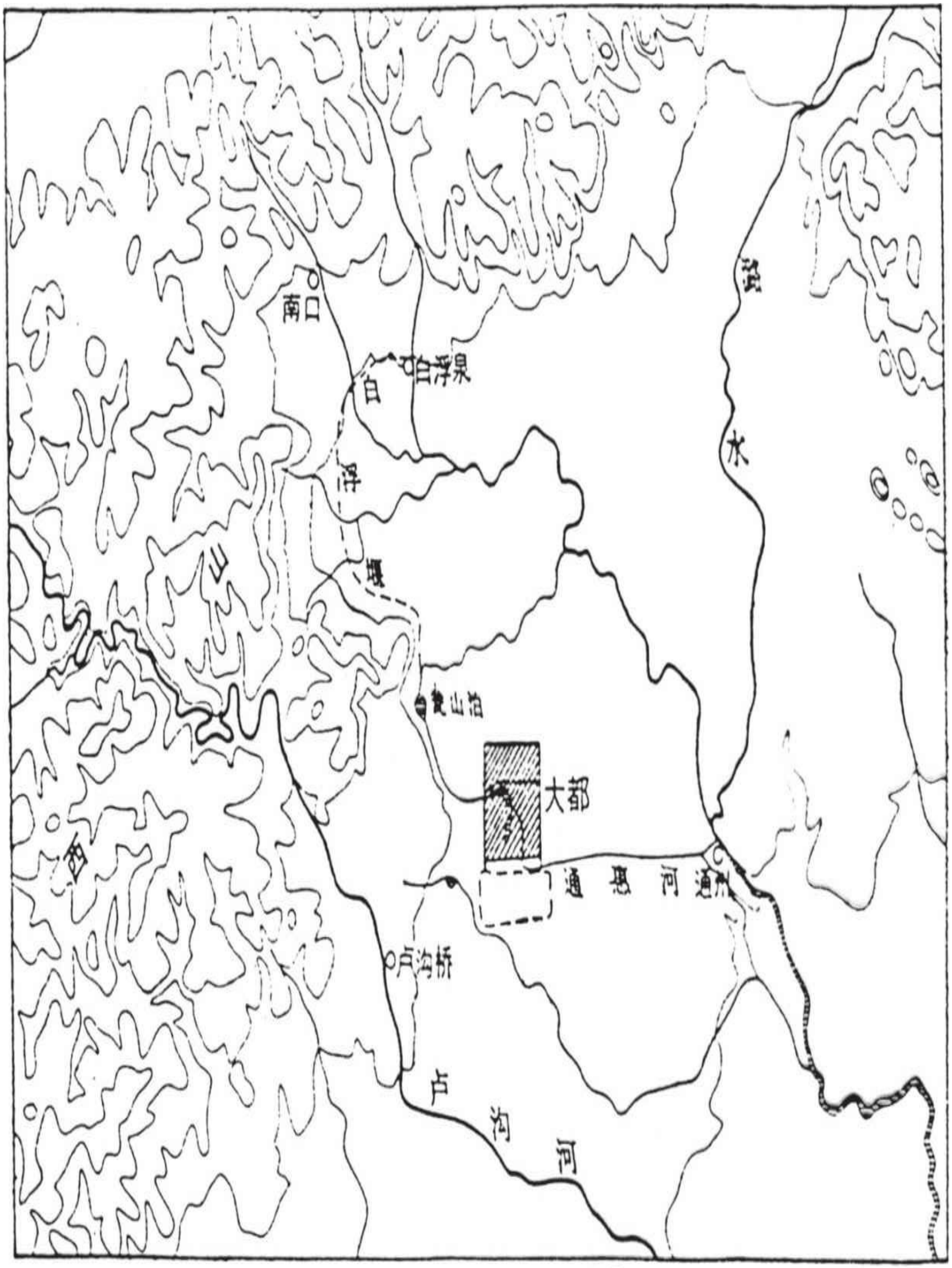
（3）皇城之外又兴建大城。大城设计的几何中心，就定在皇城中轴线的北端，在这里筑台立碑，石碑上刻有四个大字“中心之台”。这就充分说明，全城的平面设计是经过了精密测量的。从“中心之台”向西直到积水潭的西端，约3.3公里，这就是整个积水潭的宽度。以此宽度作为标准稍向外延，确定了大城西墙的位置。本来应该以同一标准尺度确定大城东墙的位置，只是在这一位置上原有一块洼地，不宜筑墙，因此大城东墙的位置，只好稍向内移。从“中心之台”向南，选定相去约3.75公里的距离，确定大城南墙的位置，这样就可以把皇城适当地包括在大城之内。然后再以同等的距离，确定大城北墙的位置。结果，四面大城的城墙建成之后，略呈长方形。东、西、南三面城墙，各开三门，北城墙只开两门。在东城墙最南一门之内，兴建了太庙。在西城墙最南一门之内，兴建了社稷坛。在全城11个城门内以及各个城门中间，大约以相等的距离，开辟了基本上相互正交的宽阔街道，连同紧靠四面城墙之内的所谓“顺城街”在内，全城中正南正北和正东正西的大街，各有9条。然后在南北平行的大街之间，又规划了相互平行的东西向“胡同”。这样，整个大都城的平面格局基本完成。（图2-4）这里应该着重说明的是大城南面正中一门，正当南北中轴线的起点，位置特别重要。从大城南门以内，直到皇城南门之间，沿着中心御道的两侧，开辟了一个丁字形的广场，相当于古代所谓“外朝”。从皇城南门进入宫城，恰好是在全城的中轴线上，兴建起皇宫中最主要的宫殿，而宫殿内正中的宝座也就正好落在这条中轴线上。这一设计的主题，即在说明皇帝“普天之下，唯我独尊”的思想，是具有十分浓厚的象征色彩的。


M
A
M
T2
T1
P
S

2-4 The layout of Dadu City (Beijing) 大都城平面设计示意图

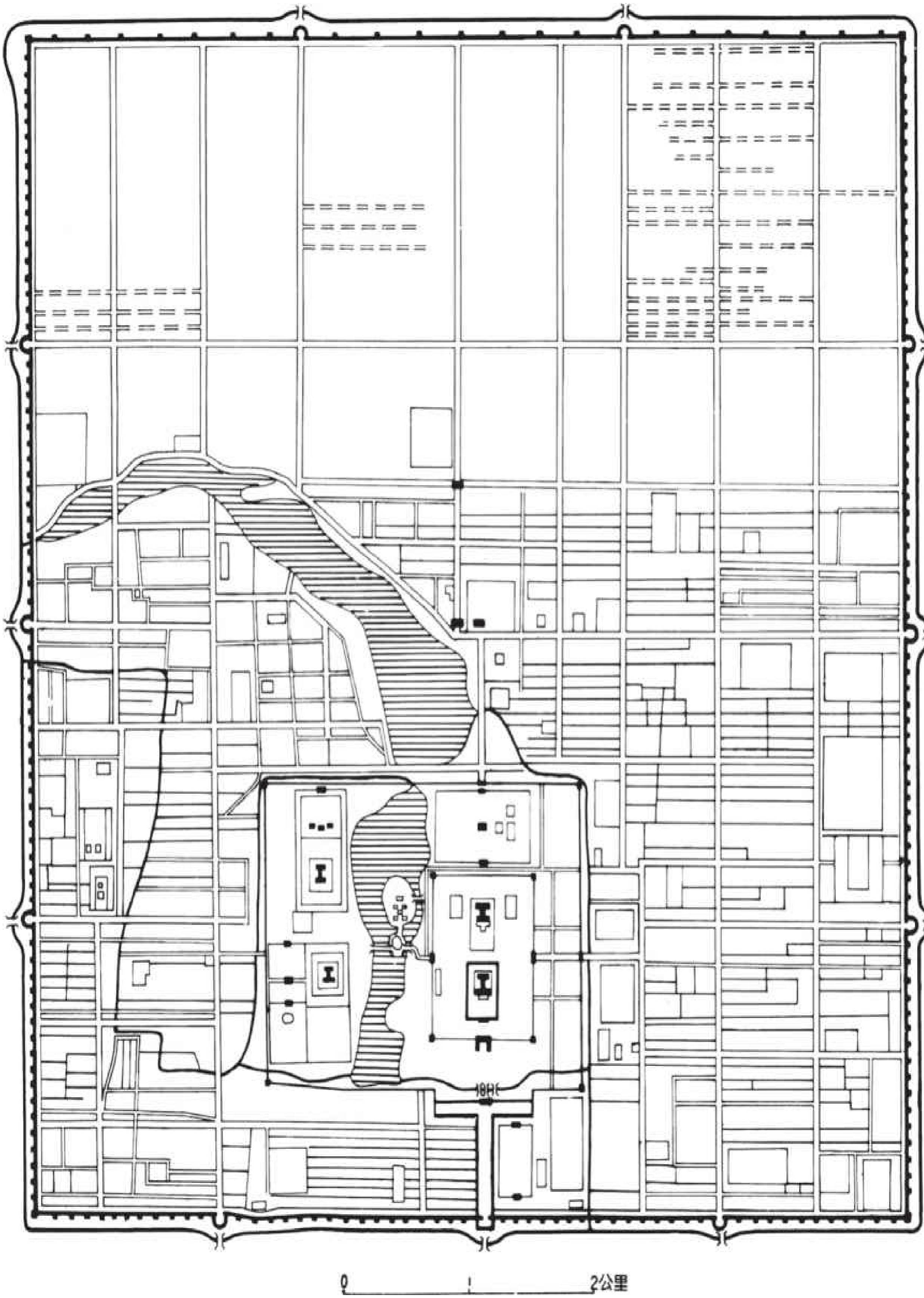
A：Central Platform 中心之台
P：Imperial Palace 宫城
M：Market 市场
S：The Palace Square 宫廷广场
T_1：Imperial Ancestral Temple 太庙
T_2：Altar of Soil and Grain 社稷坛

（4）兴建大都城的最后一项工程，就是从西北山下利用泉水为新建的大都城开辟新水源（图2-5）。当时曾把西北沿山一带的泉水，除去玉泉山的泉水专为皇城内的太液池供水之外，都汇聚入一条渠道，流注大都城内的积水潭，然后绕经皇城东墙外南下，流出城外，与金朝所开旧渠相接，直达通州，这就是历史上有名的南北大运河最北的一段。这大运河航行的终点就在积水潭。运河开成之后积水潭上停泊了满载食粮和南货的江南船只。它的东北岸上“中心之台”周围一带，包括沿湖北岸的一条斜街，就成了全城最繁华的商业中心（图2-6）。


南口
白浮泉
白
浮
堰
瓮山泊
大都
通惠河
通州
卢沟桥
卢
沟
河
西
山
水
0 10 20公里

2-5　Watercourses in the vicinity of Dadu City　大都城近郊水道略图

Dadu City　大都
Tong-hui River　通惠河
Lu-gou Bridge　卢沟桥
Lu-gou River　卢沟河
West Mountains　西山


0
2公里

2-6 Reconstruction of the layout of Dadu City (Beijing) during the Yuan Dynasty 元朝大都城平面复原图

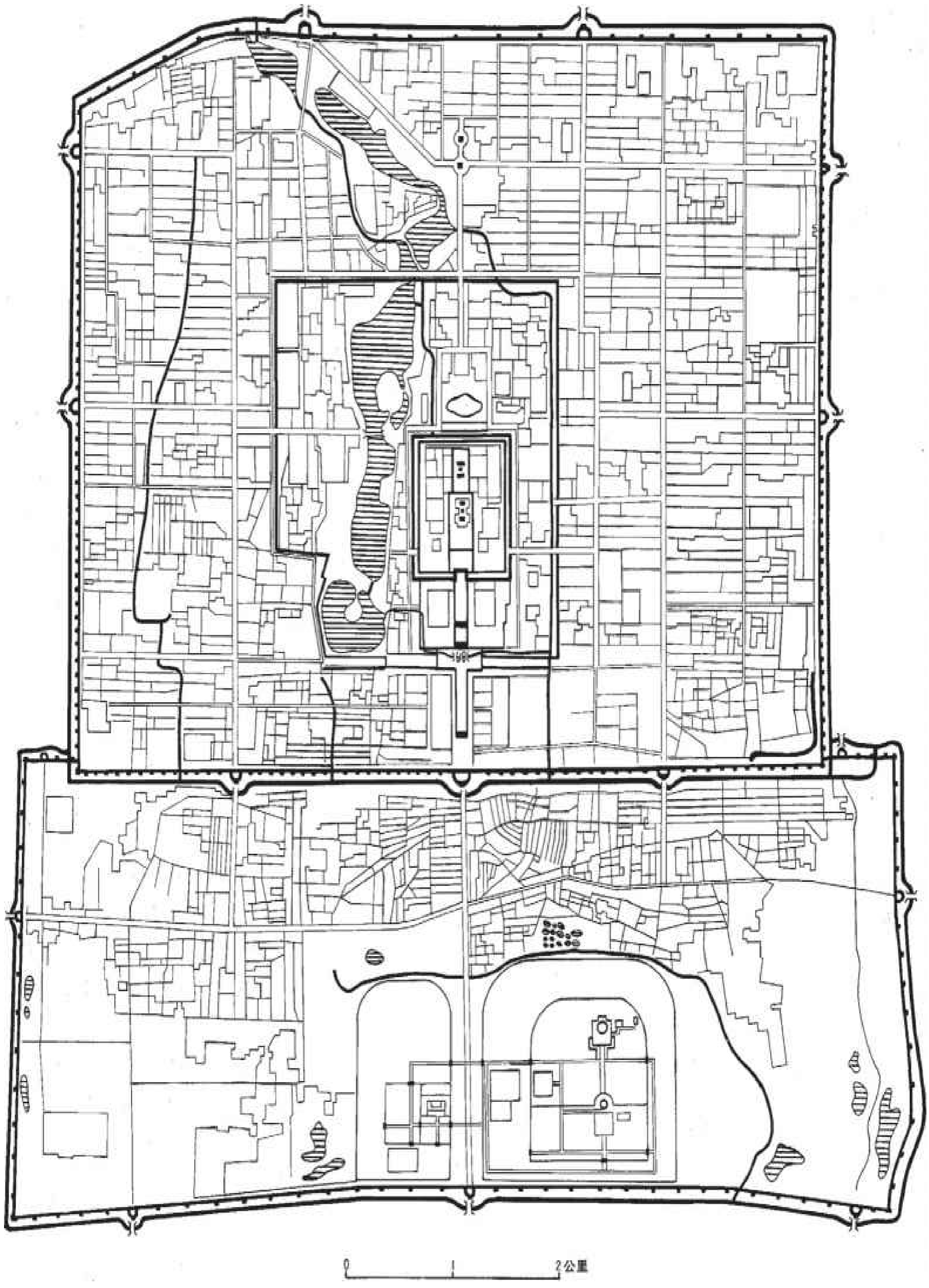
Dashed double lines indicate street locations identified by archeological evidence; in empty areas, archeological evidence is lacking.
双虚线表示经考古证据显示的街道的位置，空白处表示考古证据缺乏。

元大都城的兴建，历时近二十年终于落成。如果把它的平面规划和《考工记》的理想设计作一比较，不难看出《考工记》中“左祖”、“右社”、“面朝”、“后市”以及街道布局的几项基本要素，都在大都城内完全体现出来。由此可见在大都城的规划设计中，是有着深厚的文化渊源的。但是它并非机械地照抄古代的理想设计，不拘泥于大城四面均等的正方形轮廓，而是结合地方上的地理特点和现实要求，进行了创造性的发展，利用一片辽阔的水面为中心，扩大了全城在南北方向上的深度，从而规划出一座规模宏伟而且具有优美自然风光的大城，并强有力地显示了它在设计上的主题思想，这不能不说是一种卓越的成就。

四

大都建成后不到百年，兴起于长江下游的明王朝（1368—1644）夺取了全国的统治权。明朝最初建都南京，攻占大都后先改称大都为北平，其后迁都北平，遂改名北京。北京一名就是从这时开始的。与此同时，又大兴土木，改建了大都城（图2-7）。最初是把北城墙南移2.5公里，因而把积水潭西北一区的水面隔在了城外。其后又把南城墙以及整个宫城的位置稍向南移，因此又重建新宫城，这就是一直保留到现在的紫禁城（即今故宫博物院）。紫禁城内最重要的建筑，也就是象征皇帝至高无上的统治权的前后六座大殿，仍一律建筑在全城的中轴线上，只是全城设计的几何中心，已经不在原来“中心之台”所在的地方，而是相应地南移到新建的紫禁城的正北面。为了充分显示这一新定的全城中心，就以新开凿的太液池南端的湖泊和新挖掘的紫禁城护城河的泥土，在这里堆筑了一个中峰高约47米的土山，命名为“万岁山”，借以象征皇帝的统治权万世长存。[2]此外，还把原在东城墙以内的太庙和西城墙以内的社稷坛，分别迁建到紫禁城南门之外的左右两侧，仍然保持着“左祖”、“右社”的传统规制。同时又把皇城的南、北、东三面城墙稍向外移，于是太庙、社稷坛以及新开凿的太液池南端的湖泊，都被包入皇城之中。[3]更重要的是在全城正南方的郊外，分别兴建了东西两组重要的建筑群，在东边的是天坛，在西边的是山川坛，是皇帝分别祭天和祭山川之神的地方。[4]这两组建筑群的正中间，也正是全城中轴线向南郊垂直延伸的地方。到了1553年又在北京大城的南面，修筑外城，遂把上述两坛正好包入城中。外城正南门就建在这两组建筑中间的全城中轴线

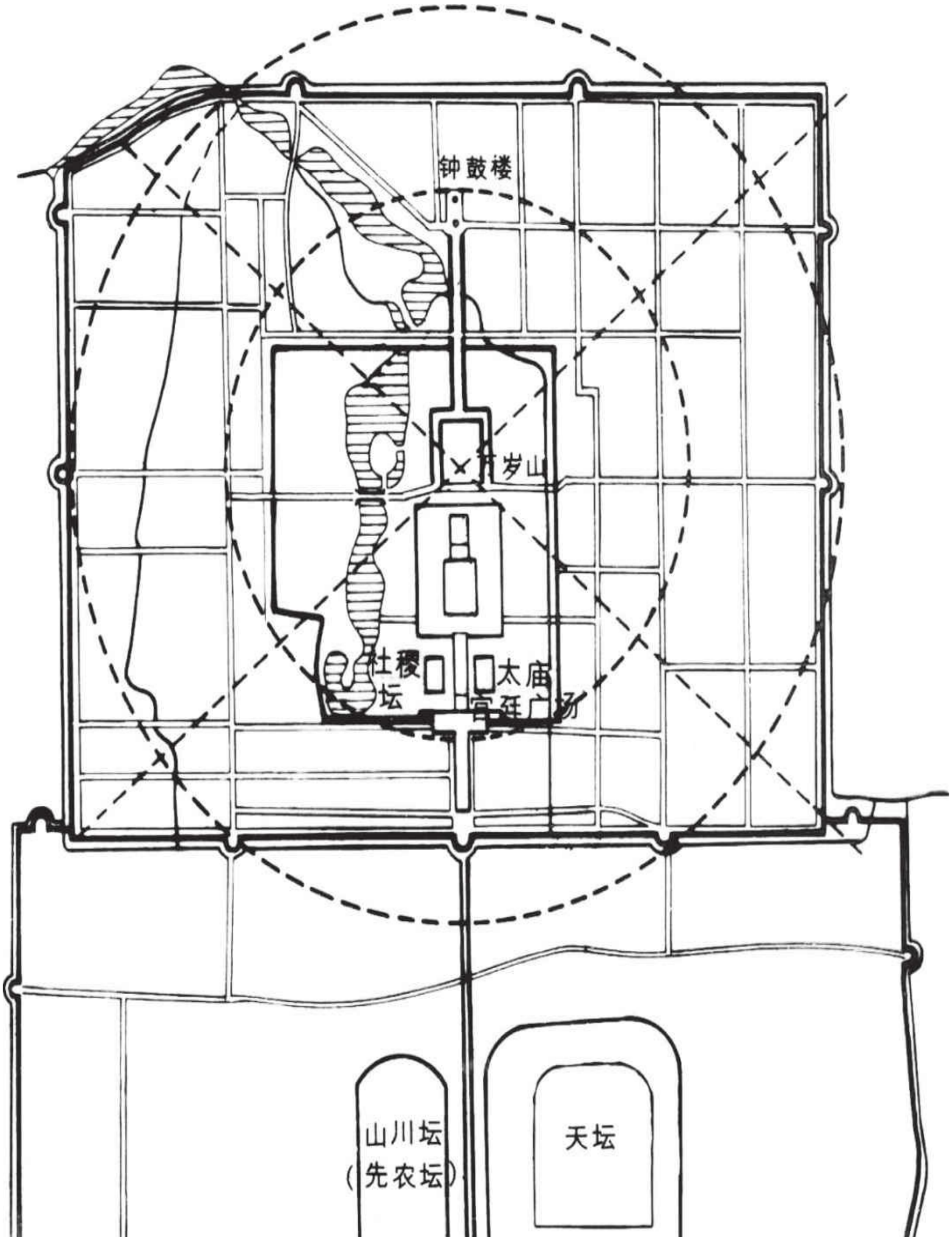
上。门内的南北大道就是沿着这条中轴线开辟的。至于中轴线的北端，则是旧日的“中心之台”所在的位置，为此又在这里新建了南北两座大建筑，在南边的是鼓楼，在北边的是钟楼。这条新延长的南北中轴线，全长接近8公里。紫禁城占据了这条中轴线上最重要的位置，北面有耸立如画屏的“万岁山”，南面有左右并列的太庙和社稷坛。两者之间的中心御道，从紫禁城正南面的午门开始，向南通过皇城正南面的天安门[5]，便是进一步发展了的丁字形宫廷广场。广场三面有红墙包围，沿红墙修建了连檐通脊的“千步廊”。出广场的正南一门，就是内城正南面的正阳门。出正阳门，便是外城。这个进一步改造过的北京城，城市轮廓呈凸形，它通过进一步延长的全城中轴线，把大都城平面设计的主题思想，又作了进一步的发挥，从而取得了更高的艺术效果。


0
1
2公里

2-7　Plan of the capital of the Ming Dynasty　明代北京城平面示意图

清朝（1644—1911）——也就是中国历史上最后的一个封建王朝，继而在北京建都，除去增建宫室和继续辟治以太液池为中心的皇家园林之外，对于整个北京城并没有更大的改变。这个北京城——现在我们称它为“北京旧城”，一直被完整地保留到新中国诞生的前夕。它正是以《考工记》的理想设计为出发点，结合本地的地理特点进行规划，一再改造，终于达到了中国古典城市在建筑上的最高典型（图2-8）。正是这个北京城，获得了西方城市规划学家的高度评价。例如丹麦著名建筑与城市规划学家罗斯穆森，在其所著《城镇与建筑》一书的序文中，就曾这样写道：

> ［……］整个北京城的（平面设计）匀称而明朗，是世界的奇观之一，是一个卓越的纪念物，一个伟大文明的顶峰。[6]



钟鼓楼
万岁山
社稷坛
太庙
宫廷广场
山川坛
(先农坛)
天坛
外城正南门

2-8 Dadu City's transformation into Beijing City under the Ming Dynasty 明清北京城平面设计示意图

Wan-sui Shan 万岁山
Tai Miao 太庙
She-ji Tan 社稷坛
Palace square 宫廷广场
Bell Tower and Drum Tower 钟鼓楼
Tian Tan 天坛
Shan Chuan Tan (Xian-nong Tan) 山川坛（先农坛）

又如在美国，曾主持故都费城城市规划达二十年之久并作出了重要贡献的培根，在他的《城市设计》一书关于北京旧城的一节中也曾写道：

> 在地球表面上人类最伟大的单项工程，可能就是北京城了。这个中国城市是作为封建帝王的住所而设计的，企图表示出这里乃是宇宙的中心。整个城市深深浸沉在仪礼规范和宗教意识之中，现在这些都和我们无关了。虽然如此，它的（平面）设计是如此之杰出，这就为今天的城市（建设）提供了丰富的思想宝库。[7]

培根的这一评论是很值得重视的。它既肯定了北京旧城在过去作为帝王统治中心进行建造的卓越成就，以及它在今天城市设计上所能提供的参考价值，同时也指出了它包含的某些主要内容，现在已经不合时宜。实际上，他所指出的这种不合时宜的地方，也正是我们目前在计划改造北京旧城时所面临的一个主要问题。

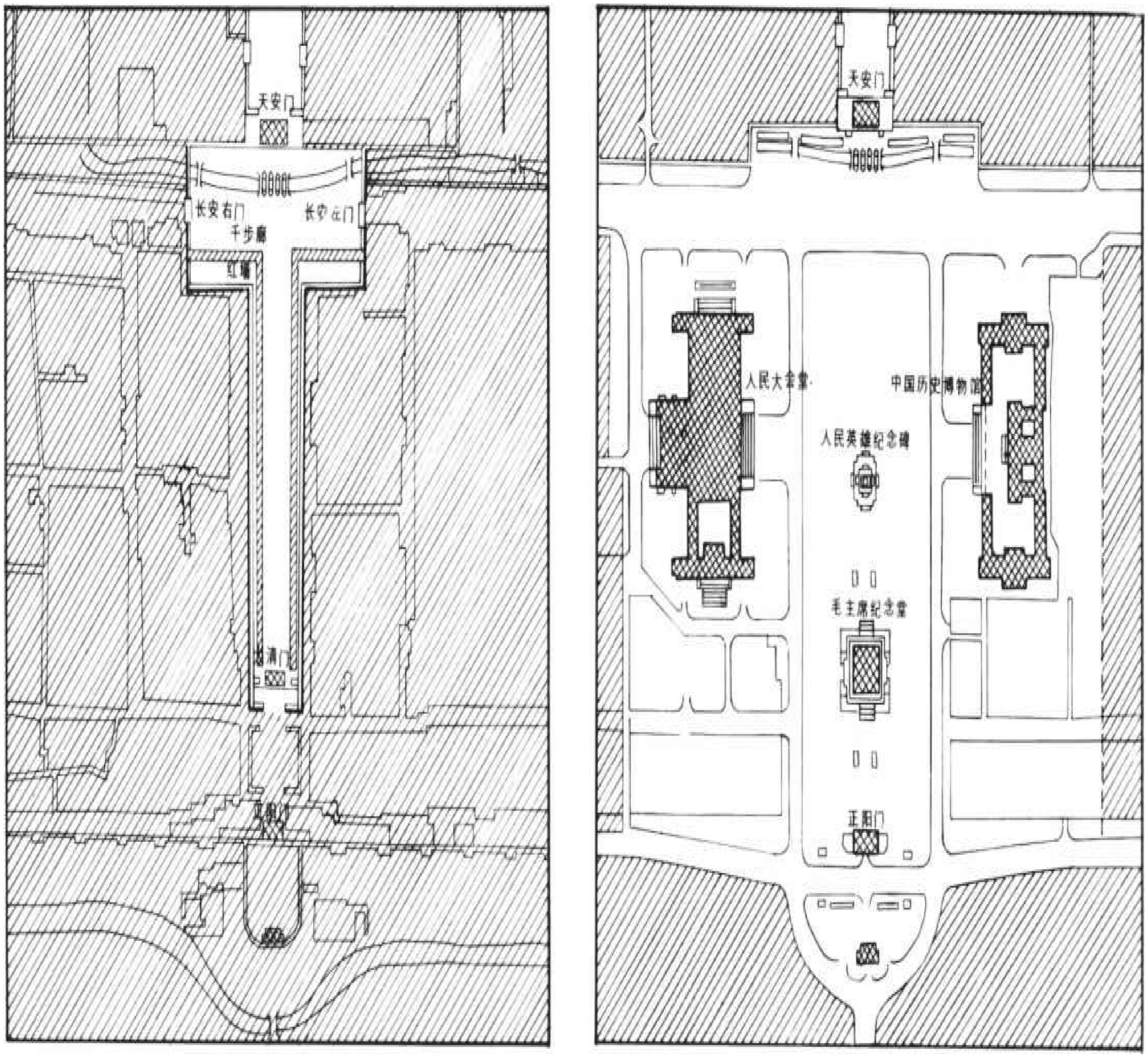
随着历史的发展和时代的前进，古老的城市——特别是经过详细规划设计的城市，必然要面临着不断改造的问题。这个问题在北京旧城的改造上之所以显得特别突出，最根本的原因，就是北京旧城在规划设计上以非凡的艺术手法集中表现的封建皇帝“唯我独尊”的主题思想和当前的时代精神，是完全矛盾的，也是根本不能调和的。新中国的建立，标志着社会主义新时代的开始。北京作为这个新时代人民的首都，人民就有理由要求它在全城的规划上能充分表现出人民的权威、人民的力量、人民已经成为这个国家的真正主人翁的主题思想。怎样才能真正有效地进行这一改造，这首先不是一个单纯的工程技术问题。从本质上来说，这乃是一个如何对待悠久的历史文化遗产的问题，也是直接关系到如何发展社会主义新文化的问题。整个北京旧城正是中国历史文化遗产的一部分，象征着封建时代传统文化的高度发展，正如罗斯穆森所指出的：它乃是一个卓越的纪念物，一个伟大文明的顶峰。而新的北京城，象征着社会主义新文化的先进典型的人民首都，也就只能从历史形成的基础上脱胎成长。但是对于自己的历史文化遗产，我们必须坚持批判继承的原则，既不能全盘加以否定，也不能毫无区别地兼容并蓄。重要的是能区别其精华和糟粕。凡属精华的部分，必须继承和发扬；凡属糟粕的部

分，则必须批判和扬弃。这样就可以达到“古为今用，推陈出新”的目的，就可以在历史形成的基础上获得创新。

但是，区别精华与糟粕的标准，也是因时代的不同而各有差异。在今天，我们认为凡是有益于人民群众的、充分表现出人民群众创造性的，也就是真正具有人民性的东西，就应该继承和发扬。反之，就必须予以批判和扬弃。在今天，这个对于古代文化批判继承的原则，也同样适用于北京旧城的改造。

新中国建立以来，在北京旧城的改造中，仅就原有的城市平面设计这一方面来说，已经取得了一定的经验。突出的一例，就是天安门广场的改造。

如前所述，天安门前原有一个T字形的广场，在当初是专门作为一个宫廷广场来设计的，是皇帝举行重要活动的地方（图2-9）。它的东西南三面有红墙包围，严禁平民百姓进入其中，因此乃成为全城东西交通的一大障碍。从这个宫廷广场的南端，向正北遥望天安门，正是建筑在红色台基上的一座巍峨而华丽的殿堂，在旧日用以显示帝王宫阙的宏伟和庄严。1911年中国历史上最后一个王朝被推翻之后，天安门前的广场开放通行，可是三面红墙保存如旧。1949年10月1日新中国的开国大典，就是选定在这里举行的，一个重要的原因就是这个广场正是1919年揭开了新民主主义革命序幕的五四运动爆发的地方，因此也是北京古城里最具有光荣革命传统的地方。屹立在广场正面的天安门，充分显示了古代劳动人民在建筑艺术上的智慧和才能，算得是古代建筑的精华。至于包围在它东、西、南三面的红墙，却依然是影响人民参加广场上群众活动的一大障碍。因此在建国十周年的时候，广场上的红墙被全部拆除，一个扩大了数倍的新广场展现在人们面前。新广场的西侧和东侧，分别建立起两座现代大建筑，西边的是人民大会堂，东边的是中国历史博物馆和革命博物馆，中间矗立着巍峨高大的人民英雄纪念碑。到了建国三十周年的前夕，又在广场的南部、正阳门的内侧修建了毛主席纪念堂。作为人民首都政治活动中心的天安门广场，从此基本建成。它的位置虽然依旧，可是它的性质和作用已经完全改变，它的面貌也已经是焕然一新（见图2-9）。[8]

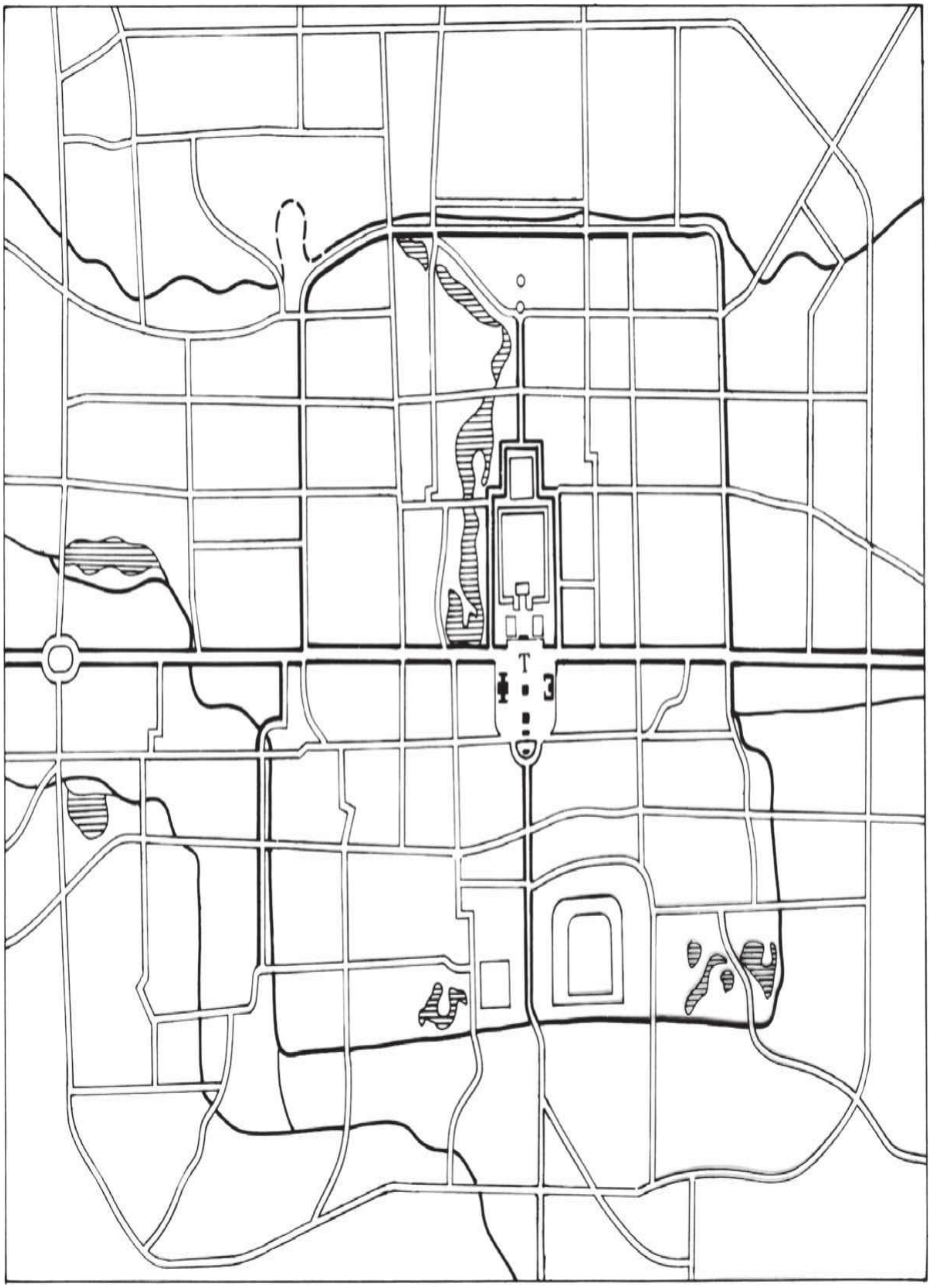


2-9　From imperial square to people's square at the Tian-an Men, Beijing　清朝天安门

Tian-an Men　天安门
Left Chang-an Men　长安左门
Right Chang-an Men　长安右门
Red walls　红墙
Da Qing Men　大清门
Zheng-yang Men　正阳门
Corridor of a Thousand Steps　千步廊
Great Hall of the People　人民大会堂
Museum of Chinese History　中国历史博物馆
Monument to the People's Heroes　人民英雄纪念碑
Memorial Hall of Chairman Mao　毛主席纪念堂

在天安门广场开始扩建的时候，作为它左右两翼的东西长安街——取名于旧日宫廷广场的东长安门和西长安门——也大为加宽和延长，成

为一条宽阔平坦的林荫大道，一直伸向东西郊外，从而形成了一条横贯全城的新轴线，它一方面加强了天安门广场在全城平面布局上的中心位置，另一方面也就等于把旧日的紫禁城推到了“后院”的位置（图2-10）。相形之下，旧日那条象征帝王统治中心的南北中轴线，也就失去了它在全城中独一无二的支配地位。现在天安门广场的改建虽然还有发展余地，但是它作为全城政治活动中心的地位，已经完全确定。广场上古老的建筑如天安门、正阳门和现代的建筑如人民大会堂和历史与革命博物馆，十分和谐地联系在一起，既反映了悠久的历史文化背景，又显示了新时代的精神和面貌，充分体现了“古为今用、推陈出新”的原则。在改造北京旧城的平面设计上，这不能不说是成功的一例。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2-10 Chang-an Street, Beijing, extending east and west from the Tian-an Men 从天安门广场向东西延伸的林荫大道

根据这同一原则，在旧城的改造中，也还大有余地正等待着当代的城市设计者去发挥他们艺术创造的才能。在这里也可姑举一例，作为说明。这就是北京城内旧日的积水潭，今后应该如何去处理它，是把它视同城市发展的障碍而任意填塞改为建筑用地呢？还是应该看到它在城市发展中的重要作用而加以保留和改造？

如前所述，旧日的积水潭和北京旧城的建址关系至为密切，因为从一开始，全城设计的中轴线，就是紧傍积水潭的东岸确定下来的。同时最初大城东西两面城墙的位置，也是以积水潭的宽度为标准而决定的，因此可以说如果没有积水潭，也就不会有现在的北京旧城。在元朝大都城内，积水潭作为南北大运河的终点，是受到一定的重视的。明初把大都北城墙南移2.5公里之后，竟把积水潭的西北部隔在城外，因此城内湖泊的面积大为缩小。其后进一步改建北京城，虽然把原有的全城平面设计的主题思想作了进一步的发展，但是城内大运河的故道已被阻绝，上游渠道也遭淤废。只剩下玉泉山下的泉水，这时被全部引入积水潭，然后流注太液池。经过这次水道系统的重新调整之后，由于太液池南端已开凿了一个新湖，因此圈在皇城之内的太液池的水面又有所开拓，沿湖一带的园林建筑也与日俱增，终于发展成为北京城内规模最大、景色最为秀丽的园林区。这时园中的湖泊已有“三海”之称，即南海、中海和北海。现在北海已经开放，这就是以风景名胜著称的北海公园。它的前身也就是金朝的离宫——太宁宫。

和三海的皇家园林命运悬殊的是隔在皇城之外的积水潭。积水潭自明清以来，一直到新中国成立之前，再没有受到最高当权者的重视。因此也从来没有进行过统一的规划和开发，只是听其淤塞湮废。湖面也被收缩为三部分。最西北的部分仍然叫做积水潭，东南的大部分改名为什刹海。但是沿湖一带仍是旧城之内富有自然风光的一带地方，特别是从什刹海东岸掠过浩瀚的水面，遥见西山峰峦，如在眼前。因此这一带湖上风光，在旧日——特别是在清代，曾经吸引了一些皇室贵族，在沿湖一带修建府第，并引湖水辟治私家园林。另外也有一些富有的寺庙，环绕湖泊周围就地兴建起来。但是在这些贵族府第和大小寺庙之外，广阔的湖滨地区却成了城市广大居民群集游憩和进行娱乐活动的场所，特别是在它的南部，自然形成为一处真正的民间乐园。同时这里也是一处物美价廉的平民市场。后来由于湖泊西岸广种荷花，因此这处市场也就被叫做荷花市场了。直到新中国成立的前夕，这里仍然不失为平民百姓的游乐场所，这和旧日太液池上精心设计、逐事增华的皇家禁园，形成了鲜明的对照。现在，在北京旧城的腹地，还保留着什刹海这一区残存的

湖泊以及滨湖一带若断若续的绿地。考虑到它在历史上的重要作用和价值，考虑到过去它所具有的强烈的人民性、群众性，同时还考虑到它在改善自然环境、美化首都市容上所具有的极大的可能性，以及为广大人民群众创造更广阔、更美好、更富有意义的历史文化风景区的必要性，如何进一步规划和开发这一地区，现在已经提到改造北京旧城的议事日程上来，并已列入北京城市建设的总体规划之中（图2-11）。这也应该是在历史形成的基础上，坚持批判继承的原则，力求能做到古为今用、推陈出新的一个例子，只是还有待我们努力去实现它。

0 2 4 6 Km
1
2
3
4
5

2-11　Land use plan for metropolitan Beijing, 1983　北京市区规划示意图（1983）

1．Industry and warehouse　工业仓库
2．Office and residential areas　工作居住
3．Parks and recreation areas　绿地体育
4．Streets and roads　道路用地
5．Railroads　铁路

本文只是从城址的地理特点和城市的平面设计这两个方面，举出两个例子，借以说明在改造北京旧城的过程中，我们所应该坚持的基本态度和应该遵循的基本原则。

1983年7月，中共中央和国务院已经原则上批准了《北京城市建设总体规划方案》，这个方案对北京旧城作了明确的评价，指出在旧城的改造中，要注意继承和发扬旧城原有的独特风格和优点，又要体现出作为社会主义新时代人民首都的新面貌、新格局。[9]为此我们有理由相信，到本世纪末，一个足以显示具有悠久文化传统的新北京城，将会以崭新的面貌，出现在我们面前，它象征着一个社会主义的新文化已经在这个古老的国家里，发育成长，欣欣向荣！同时，我们也希望这个正在发展中的新文化，也能为全人类的文化发展，作出应有的新贡献。

③ VIEWS ON THREE MILESTONES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF BEIJING CITY*

1

'If you do not understand the past of Beijing City, you are unable to know the present of it and of course it is impossible for you to estimate the future of it too. The development of a city is a continuous process in which the past, present and future are situated on the same chain of time'.[1] Beijing is a world-famous city of history and culture, whose planning and construction has deep historical and cultural origins. Especially on the newly selected location through the Yuan and Ming dynasties, the favorable conditions of river and lake water system were fully utilized. The convex contour of closely combined inner and outer cities in spatial structure was finally completed in accordance with the planning principles which come down in one continuous line of the construction of capital city in China since the ancient time and above all with the consecutive renewals and reforms. At the center of it, there goes through a middle axis from north to south, i.e. starting from the Gulou and the Zhonglou (the Drum-tower and the Bell-tower) in the north running down to the Yongdingmen (a city gate) in the due south, the length of which is approximately 8 kilometers. This spatial structure of organic combination of inner and outer cities had been perfectly preserved up to 1949, the year of the establishment of New China.

New China established its capital again in Beijing and according to the needs of time has carried out the city planning and construction in succession, taking the old city as the core. Judging from the spatial structure of the whole city, the most important thing, and foremost thing too, was the enlargement of the Tian'anmen Square, i.e. to convert the enclosed square of imperial court of old days into a broad and magnificent city square. At the same time, two wings of the Tian'anmen Square, the eastward and westward Chang'an

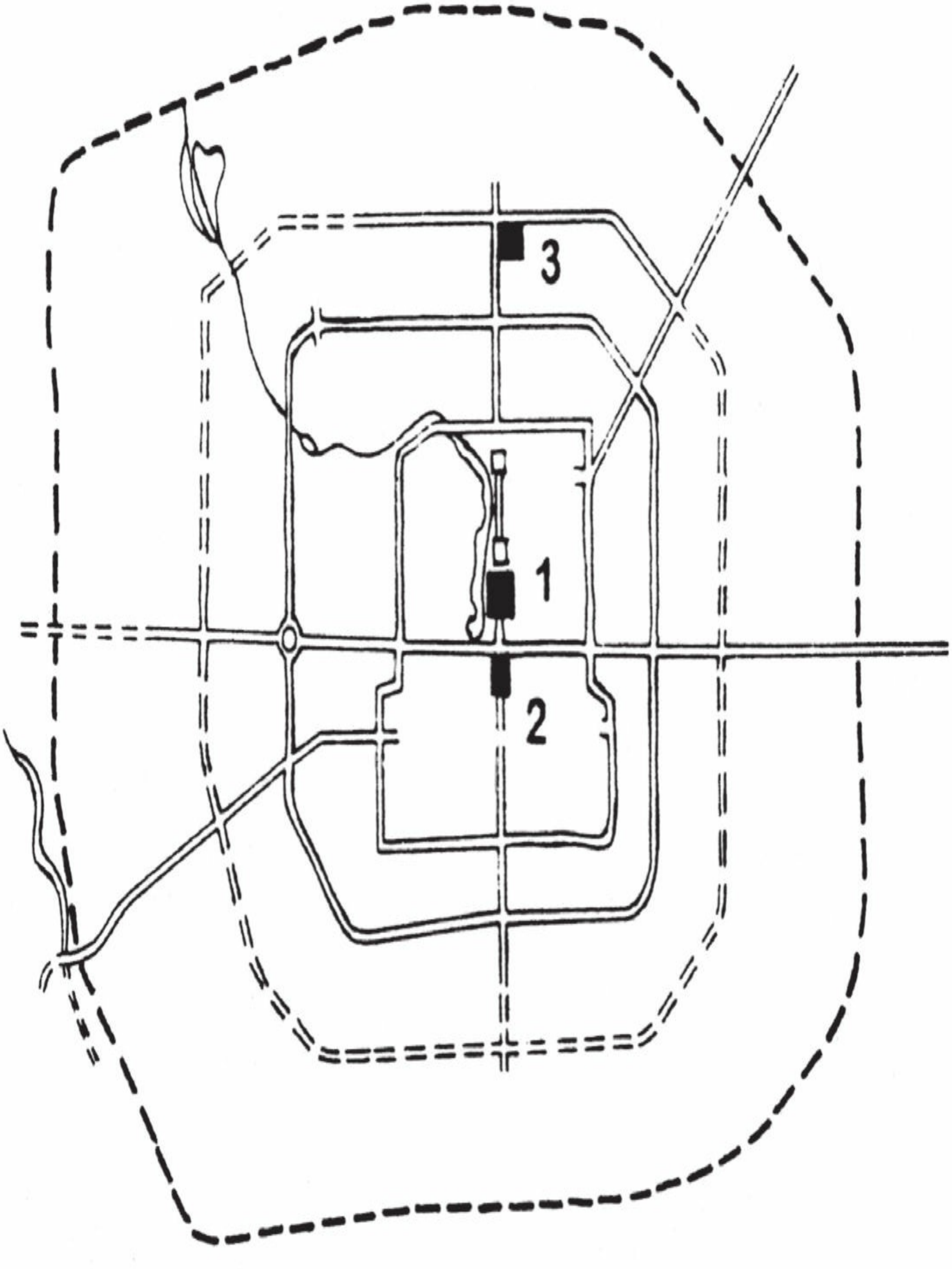
Boulevards, were also broadened and extended, thus making a scene just like a horizontal axis from east to west crossing the vertical axis of old days from north to south at the Tian'anmen Square.

Along with the demolishing of city wall of old days, the construction of the Second, Third and Fourth Ring Roads was carried out one by one. All these ring roads have naturally led to the extension of northto-south middle axis inside the old city. This had been fully shown in the city planning map of the early stage. The south extension line of middle axis inside the old city had as its basis the road bed stretching from the Yongdingmen Gate down to the Dahongmen Gate at Nanyuan. As for the north extension line of the middle axis, there is no basis available because the area from the Gulou and the Zhonglou to the north Second Ring Road was totally blocked by the dwellings. This was directly related to the practice of breaking the historical tradition of the Jin Zhongdu, the middle capital of the Jin Dynasty, and not establishing the due north gate at the time of founding the Yuan Dadu, grand capital of the Yuan Dynasty. There is also no basis available for the further extension to the due north after crossing the residential areas, and there was the blocking of important buildings in between as well.

Therefore, except the portion inside the old city wall, this north extension line of the middle axis hadn't started being opened up until the eve of the convening of the Eleventh Asian Games in 1990, so that it could be linked with the north Fourth Ring Road under construction for the same purpose at that time. The northern portion of it is Beichen Road now. The location of the then-established main venue of the Asian Games, that is, the National Olympic Sports Center, is on the east side of the intersection of Beichen Road and north Fourth Ring Road. To the north sits the Beijing International Convention Center constructed at the same time, and the two face each other across the Fourth Ring Road. This place is just situated to the due north of the old city, wide in area, nearer to the capital airport and rather convenient for the international communication. So far as the selection of geographical location thereof is concerned, therefore, it is very suitable too for this grand international activity, with the call for 'Unity, Friendship, Progress', to have this place as the center to take place.

In fact, it is just the successful convening of the Asian Games in Beijing and the decision of constructing the National Olympic Sports Center thereupon that makes me become conscious that in the planning and construction of Beijing City, the concept which can be called 'Three

Milestones' is taking form (Fig. 3-1). The study reads as follows: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2

3-1　Views on Three Milestones in the construction of Beijing City　北京城市规划建设中的三个里程碑的初步设想

1．Forbidden City (Palace Museum)　紫禁城（今故宫博物院）
2．Tian'anmen Square　天安门广场
3．National Olympic Sports Center　国家奥林匹克体育中心

The First Milestone is the core construction of the Beijing City in history, the Forbidden City. It has been 570 odd years old since it was built, representing the core of the Beijing City construction under the rule of feudal dynasties and being a masterpiece in China's traditional art of architecture as well. Up to now it still erects at the center of the spatial structure of the whole city, but it is not only the art wealth of the Chinese people but has been classified as the 'World Cultural Heritage' with global reputation also.

The Second Milestone is the Tian'anmen Square which symbolizes outstandingly that a new age has arrived after the founding of New China. It has gifted the middle axis of the whole city of long tradition with wholly new significance, reflecting the characteristics of 'making the past serve the present; weeding through the old to bring forth the new' of the age in city construction and the special meaning of inheriting the past and ushering in the future in cultural tradition.

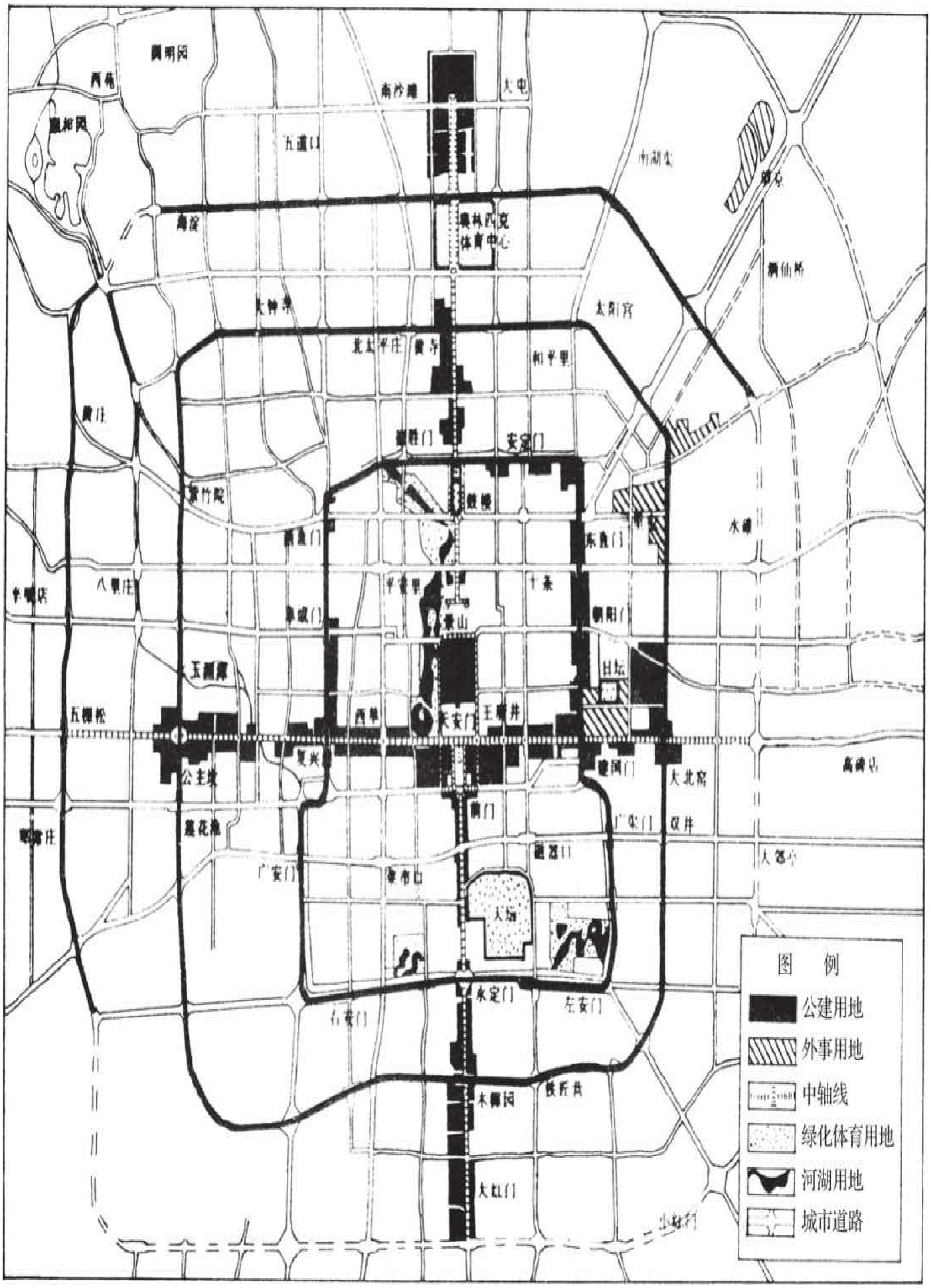
The Third Milestone, as mentioned above, is that in the beginning it was only due to the convening of the Asian Games and the construction of the National Olympic Sports Center that it started showing the arrival of the age of Beijing marching towards an international metropolis. The first time I openly put forward this idea was May 14, 1991 when I was making a report at the academic discussion in Architectural College, Qinghua University. At that time I only indicated it orally and did not write in the text of speech.[2]

Now three years have passed. Facing the 21st century and inheriting the fine tradition of various master plans since the 1950s, the latest Master Plan of Beijing City has further put forward the new target of establishing the modern international metropolis under the new situation of reform and opening to the outside world and of establishing socialist economic system. It is also pointed out in the target 'to protect the famous historical and cultural cities under the consideration of the whole, especially to do this from the view of macroscopic environment of urban layout'.

What was first and foremost to put forward thereon was the 'protection of middle axis of the old city' and the direction that on the north and south extension lines of the middle axis of the old city, the following symbolic

planning and design were to be made out respectively: 'the south extension line should embody the image of the South Gate of the city; along the north extension line should be retained the broad green belts, on the two sides and north point of which the public building complex should be the culmination and the termination of the city axis, reflecting outstandingly the new style and features of the capital in the 21st century'.

What should be specially noticed here is that the west and east sides of the north extension line of middle axis are the very sites of the National Olympic Sports Center and the Chinese Nation Garden under construction. As for the north point of it, it is going to be built into the public building complex, and its completion in accordance with the plan in the area will really be considered the Third Milestone in the history of the city's planning and construction (Fig. 3-2).



圆明园
西苑
颐和园
南沙滩
大屯
五道口
海淀
奥林匹克
体育中心
酒仙桥
大钟寺
太阳宫
北太平庄
黄寺
和平里
德胜门
安定门
紫竹院
鼓楼
东直门
水碓
八里庄
平安里
十条
景山
朝阳门
日坛
玉渊潭
五棵松
西单
天安门
王府井
复兴门
公主坟
建国门
大北窑
高碑店
莲花池
前门
广渠门
双井
磁器口
广安门
菜市口
天坛
永定门
左安门
右安门
木樨园
铁匠营
大红门
图 例
公建用地
外事用地
中轴线
绿化体育用地
河湖用地
城市道路

3-2　The north extension of the middle axis of Beijing City　北京城市中轴线的向北延伸

Public Construction areas　公建用地
Foreign affairs areas　外事用地
Parks and Recreation areas　绿化体育用地
Middle axis　中轴线
Rivers and Lakes　河湖用地
Streets and roads　城市道路
（From Beijing Daily, April 1, 1994　摘自《北京日报》，1994年4月1日）

2

It is necessary to explain further too that the extension towards the due north of this middle axis of the whole city in the planning is actually a new development against historical tradition.

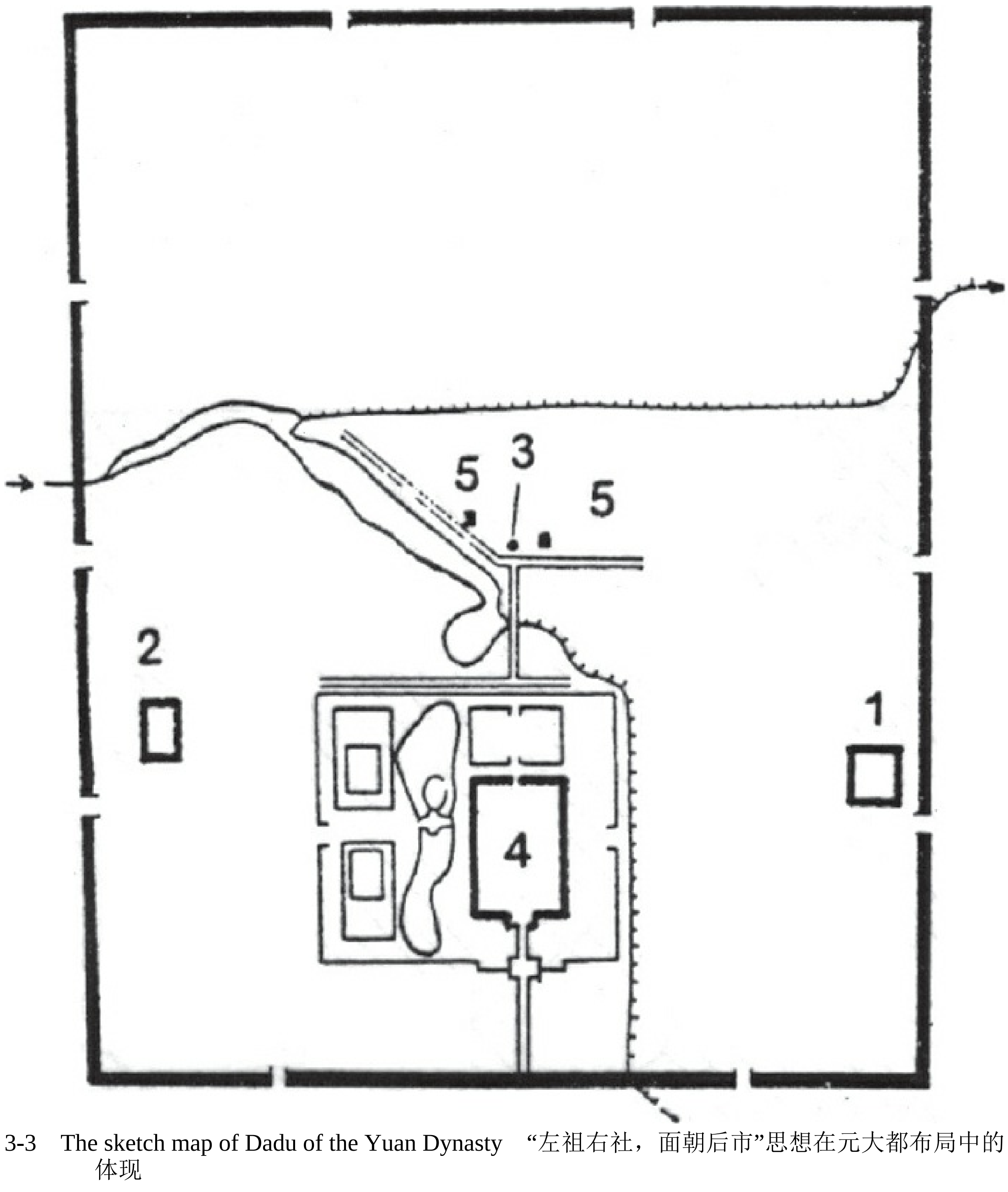
The original middle axis inside the Beijing old city was defined at the time when the Yuan Dadu, the capital city of the Yuan Dynasty, was first constructed, but its historical origins in fact existed very long. What is more important is that it in a concentrated way embodied the traditional thought in the days of the imperial power: Facing the South to Be Emperor, i.e. the emperor should face the due south to rule the world. This was reflected conspicuously in the beginning of the planning and design of the Yuan Dadu.

The planning and design of the Yuan Dadu can be traced up to the description of 'The Way the Craftsmen Build the City-state' in *Kaogongji* of *Zhou Li* (the book recording the work of craftsmen at the Warring States Period, 475-221 B.C.), but the design of the city walls was in fact totally different from the description of the book. Now it is explained separately as follows:

So far as the layout of the core buildings in 'The Way the Craftsmen Build the City-state' is concerned, it reads like this: the Imperial Ancestral Temple on the left side, the Altar of Land and Grain on the right side, Court facing ahead and Market on the back side (*zuozu youshe*, *mianchao houshi*).

By comparison, it is analyzed with the help of sketch map of the Yuan Dadu that by the so-said *zuozu* it means in fact the Imperial Ancestral Temple at the foot of the east wall inside the city. By *youshe* it means in fact the Altar of Land and Grain at the foot of the west wall inside the city. By *mianchao* it denotes the place analogous to the'Grand Inner Portion' on the extension line from the 'Central Terrace towards the due south inside the city, i.e. the predecessor of the Forbidden City. By *houshi* it denotes the bazar area near the 'Central Terrace' on the due north of the 'Imperial Palace' (the Grand Inner

Portion) (Fig. 3-3).



3-3　The sketch map of Dadu of the Yuan Dynasty　“左祖右社，面朝后市”思想在元大都布局中的体现

1．Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙
2．Altar of Land and Grain　社稷坛
3．Central Terrace　中心之台
4．Imperial Palace　大内

5．The distribution area of market　市场分布区

（Redrawn according to Hou Renzhi, Historical Atlas of Beijing, Beijing Publishing House, 1988, pp. 27-28.　侯仁之绘制，《北京历史地图集》，北京出版社，1988，第27—28页）

In accordance with the above mentioned comparison, it explains just as it is in 'The Way the Craftsmen Build the City-state', that the'left' is the east, the 'right' is the west and the 'back' is the north. Only the site where the royal court was located is specially called 'court facing ahead' not 'in front'. Why? After pondering over it scrupulously, I think if the 'court facing ahead' is understood as 'court in front', it seems not so exact. Because the word 'facing' (*mian*) contains the meaning 'looking forward to', that is to say: if you sit in the middle looking forward to the due south, that will be the court; if you turn back looking towards the north, that will be the site of market. Here it implies the meaning of giving priority to the south.

In fact, in the Chinese history, the main palaces of the capitals of successive dynasties all faced the due south in the planning. After the Yuan Dadu in the Yuan Dynasty, the further developed Beijing Capital City of the Ming and Qing dynasties further embodied this point in concentration, i.e. the well-preserved Forbidden City and two sides thereof, the Imperial Ancestral Temple (now the Working People's Palace of Culture) and the Altar of Land and Grain (now the Zhongshan or Sun Yat-sen Park).

Having been aware of above mentioned points, let us now analyze further the general planning of the Yuan Dadu—why it is totally different from the planning system of 'The Way the Craftsmen Build the Citystate' on the city outline and the installation of city gates.

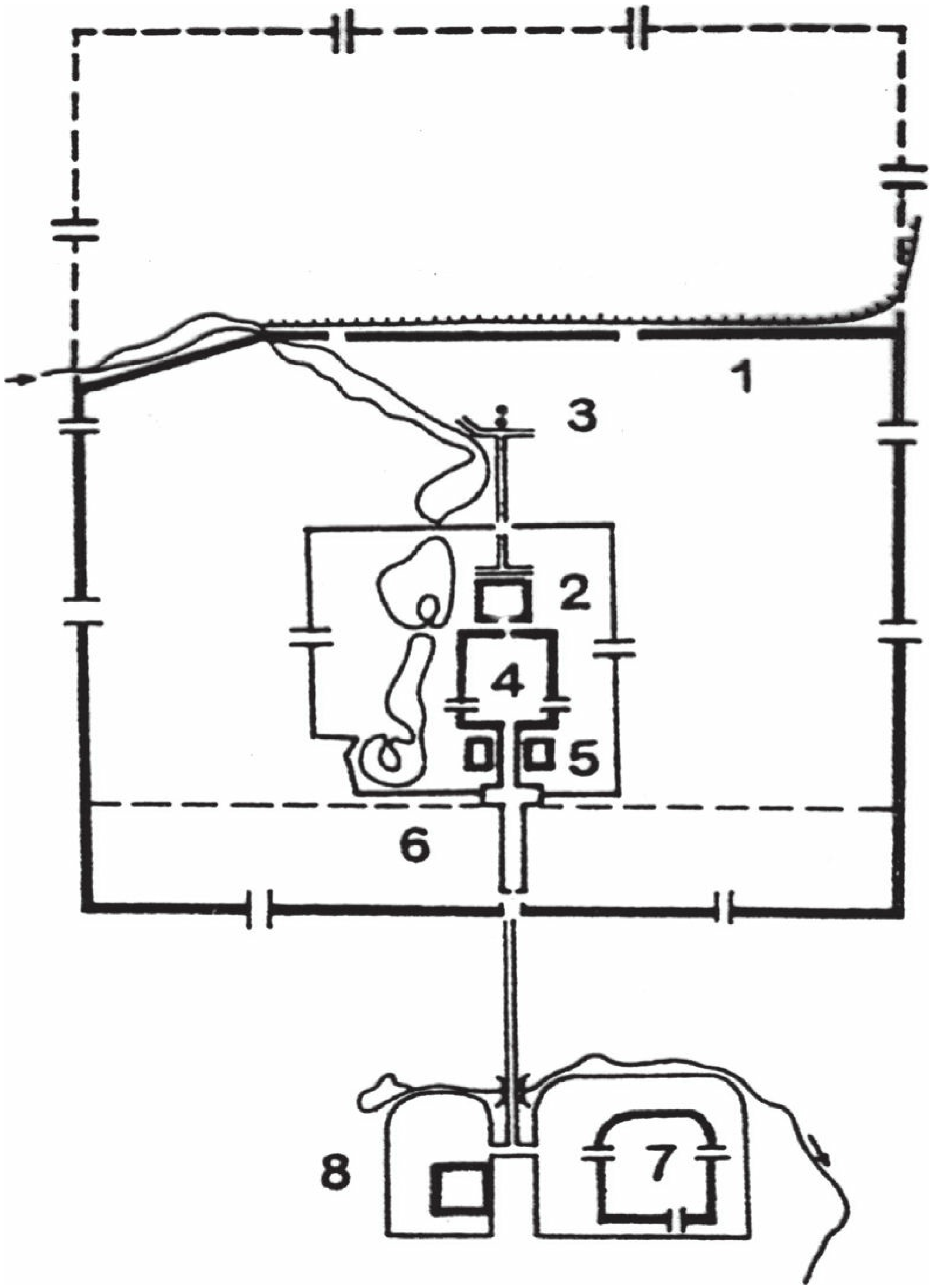
In accordance with the design of the big city in 'The Way the Craftsmen Build the City-state', it is square, each side being nine li, with three gates on each side (f*ang jiuli*, *pang sanmen*). However, the Yuan Dadu is not a square, but a rectangle slightly longer from north to south. Besides three gates each for the east, west and south sides, there are only two gates, the east and west ones, on the north side with the middle portion totally closed. This kind of difference is utterly not accidental.

The reason why the plane structure of the Yuan Dadu is rectangle is directly related to the full use of the natural lakes and rivers which flow from northwest to the due south inside the city. I have another special article to elaborate this and will not talk too much here.[3] As for the fact that there is no gate right in the center of the north city wall is concerned, it is against the traditional regulations of 'The Way the Craftsmen Build the City-state', hence

a very unique issue worth attention.

Actually, it is due to the very fact that the north gate was deliberately omitted that the middle axis running from north to south, which was the basis for the design of the whole city, taking the 'Central Terrace of the whole city as the starting point, only stretched to the south. Just under such circumstances, when the Yuan Dadu was rebuilt at the early years of the Ming Dynasty, it was further extended southward along the original middle axis on the basis of reducing the northern city first, and the Wansui Hill (now the Jing Hill) was piled up in place of the original 'Central Terrace' as the symbol of center for designing the new city. At the same time, on the due south of Wansui Hill, the Imperial Palace, now the Forbidden City, was constructed along the middle axis.

Besides this, the Imperial Ancestral Temple in the east part and the Altar of Land and Grain in the west part of the Yuan Dadu were respectively moved to the east and west sides of the due south part of the Forbidden City, which was still fit for the ancient system of *zuozu youshe*, *mianchao houshi*. Then the newly built six big halls on the middle axis inside the Forbidden City further embodied the traditional system of Facing the South to Be Emperor (Fig. 3-4).[4]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3-4　Surface planes of Beijing City in the middle age of the Ming and Qing dynasties　明中叶北京城空间结构的核心部分最后定型，清代继承不变

1. The rebuilt and newly built north city wall at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty　明初改建、新建北墙
2. Wansui Hill (now Jing Hill)　万岁山（景山）
3. Bell Tower (north) and Drum Tower (south)　钟楼（北）、鼓楼（南）
4. Forbidden City　紫禁城
5. Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙
6. Altar of Land and Grain　社稷坛
7. Temple of Heaven　天坛
8. Altar of Mountain and River (now Xian Nong Tan)　山川坛（先农坛）

（Source: Same as Fig. 3-3, pp. 31-32.　来源同图3-3，第31—32页。）

After the completion of the Yuan Dadu, the middle axis of the whole city kept extending towards the south suburb again in accordance with the tradition of Praying to the Heaven in the South Suburb (*jitian yu nanjiao*). After crossing a small river which flew from west to east, the axis had two imperial building complexes separately built on the east side and west side, the Temple of Heaven on the east and the Altar of Mountain and River (now the Xian Nong Tan) on the west. After that, the city walls on three sides, east, west and south, were built, enclosing these two important complexes inside the city walls, as a result of which, Beijing started having inner and outer parts.

From that onwards, Beijing City, the combination of inner and outer parts, became the last built capital city in the times of the ruling of imperial power. It further embodied the thought 'Facing the South to Be Emperor' in the traditional ideology, and was preserved intact until the birth of New China in 1949 (see Fig. 3-4).

Now only after having the full knowledge of the theme which is embodied in concentration in the original planning and construction of Beijing City, can we really learn that today the creation of the northern extension line of the middle axis of the whole city and the further construction of public architectural complex at the north point thereof,'reflecting outstandingly the new style and features of the capital in the 21st century', are of epoch-making significance.

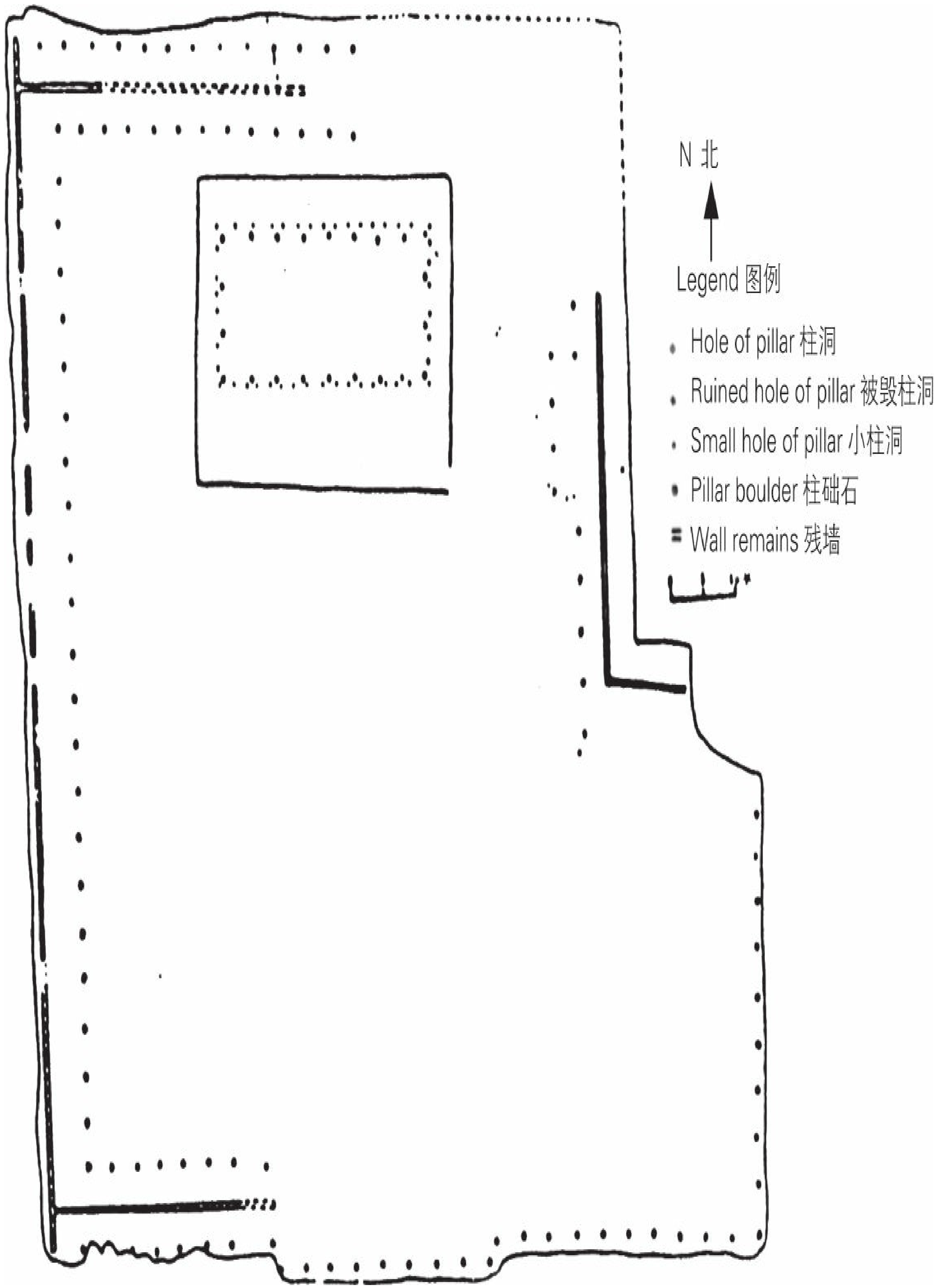
3

Finally, what is to be explained more is that it has been emphasized more than once above that in the palace construction of various dynasties in

China, the traditional thought of 'Facing the South to Be Emperor' was embodied from the beginning to the end, and the southward extension of the middle axis of the Beijing City in old days again and again was also influenced by this traditional thought. Then from where did come this kind of traditional thought?

So far as the answer of this question is concerned, the discovery by archaeologists has provided the most important reference materials.

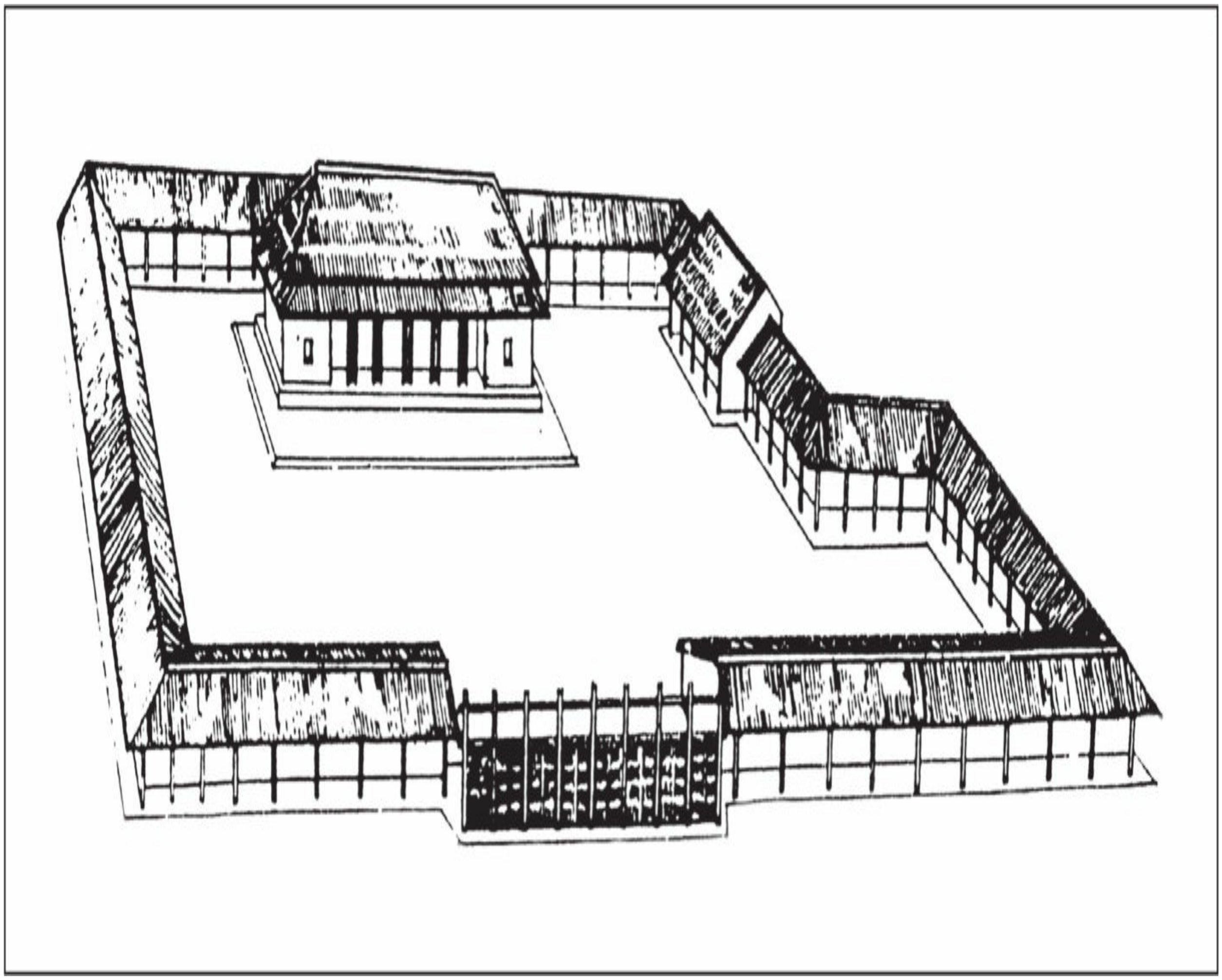
In the early 1970s, the ruins of a palace of no later than the early Shang Dynasty were excavated at Erlitou, Yanshi County, Henan Province. At the middle part of the site, there is an obvious rammed terrace base, about 0.8 meter high above the present ground, 108 meters in length from west to east, 100 meters in width from north to south. At the center of the southern part of the terrace base, there are ruins of doors with eight bays in width. In the middle of the northern part of the terrace base rose the pisé foundation 3.1 meters high, 36 meters from east to west, 25 meters from north to south. In accordance with the arrangement of the pillar holes round it, it can be concluded that this building is eight bays in width and three bays in length. Slightly north of the pisé foundation is the relic of the hall, 30.4 meters from west to east and 11.4 meters from north to south. The whole building structure, with the hall as the principal part, faces southwards as shown in the Fig. 3-5.[5] In accordance with the restored figure made out of the above mentioned discovery, the characteristic is much more explicit that the whole construction of the palace faces the due south (Fig. 3-6).[6]



N 北
Legend 图例
Hole of pillar 柱洞
Ruined hole of pillar 被毁柱洞
Small hole of pillar 小柱洞
Pillar boulder 柱础石
Wall remains 残墙

3-5　Plan of No. 1 palace base at Erlitou, Yanshi County　偃师二里头早商一号宫殿基地平面图

（From: Archaeology, No. 4, 1974　《考古》，第4期，1974）



3-6　Drawing of the restored palace　偃师二里头早商一号宫殿复原图

（Redrawn according to Ancient Architecture of China, 1983, p. 24　根据《中国古建筑》重制，1983，第24页）

Therefore, it can be imagined that the palace hall in the Central Plain Region (comprising the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River) in China from the ancient time on faced the due south. Thereafter, this rule was inherited in successive dynasties without exception. Hence, the socalled thought of Facing the South to Be Emperor gradually took shape in the ideology. This speciality of the dynasties established in the China Central Plain is reflected in the capital planning and design.

The forming of this characteristic was closely related to the geographical environment of the Yellow River Valley. The Yellow River Valley is located just at the region where the semi-tropical monsoon climate of the northern

hemisphere is most typical. In winter, the high atmospheric pressure in the northwest of Asian continent is formed and the cold and strong north wind attacks the middle and lower parts of Yellow River with the severe cold lingering on for months. In summer, the center of high atmospheric pressure moves towards the southeast Pacific Ocean and the south monsoon bringing rain makes the temperature rise in such a way that summer heat even becomes unbearable. As a result of that, it is most suitable for the facade of the house to face the due south with the closure of the northern side to avoid wind and coldness of winter. The opening of doors and windows towards the southern side is not only convenient to get winter sunshine obliquely coming into rooms, but also for the air circulating in summer time. It can be imagined that in order to adapt to this climatic characteristic, the earliest palace buildings in Yellow River Valley since the ancient time, have adopted the style of facing the south with the back to the north, as it is seen in the archaeological discovery at Erlitou, Yanshi County. Having been existing for a long time, this practice became a custom. When it was recorded in 'The Way the Craftsmen Build the City-state', it was quite enough to make clear upon noticing 'the Imperial Ancestral Temple on the left side, the Altar of Land and Grain on the right side, Court facing ahead and Market on the back side' their relative positions. Here the words 'facing ahead' are of great importance. It denotes fronting the southern direction, as a result of which the tradition of so-called 'Facing the South to Be Emperor' in the ideology finally came into being.

In accordance with the geomancy theory in later times there is also explanation concerning the question of facing the south in construction design. For example, Zhang Ziwei of the Song Dynasty wrote in his book entitled *Yu Sui Zhen Jing* that temples, courts, palaces, and prefecture and county offices all face the south without any exception, the reason of which is to manage in the face of brightness.[7] There is no record concerning whether in the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty the absence of the gate of due north was owing to the impact of geomancy theory or not. So let us lay it aside for the time being. However, it is very obvious that the geographical conditions of the Yellow River Valley led to the construction of palace facing the south in the beginning.

Translated by Li Guanghui

叁　试论北京城市规划建设中的三个里程碑[*]

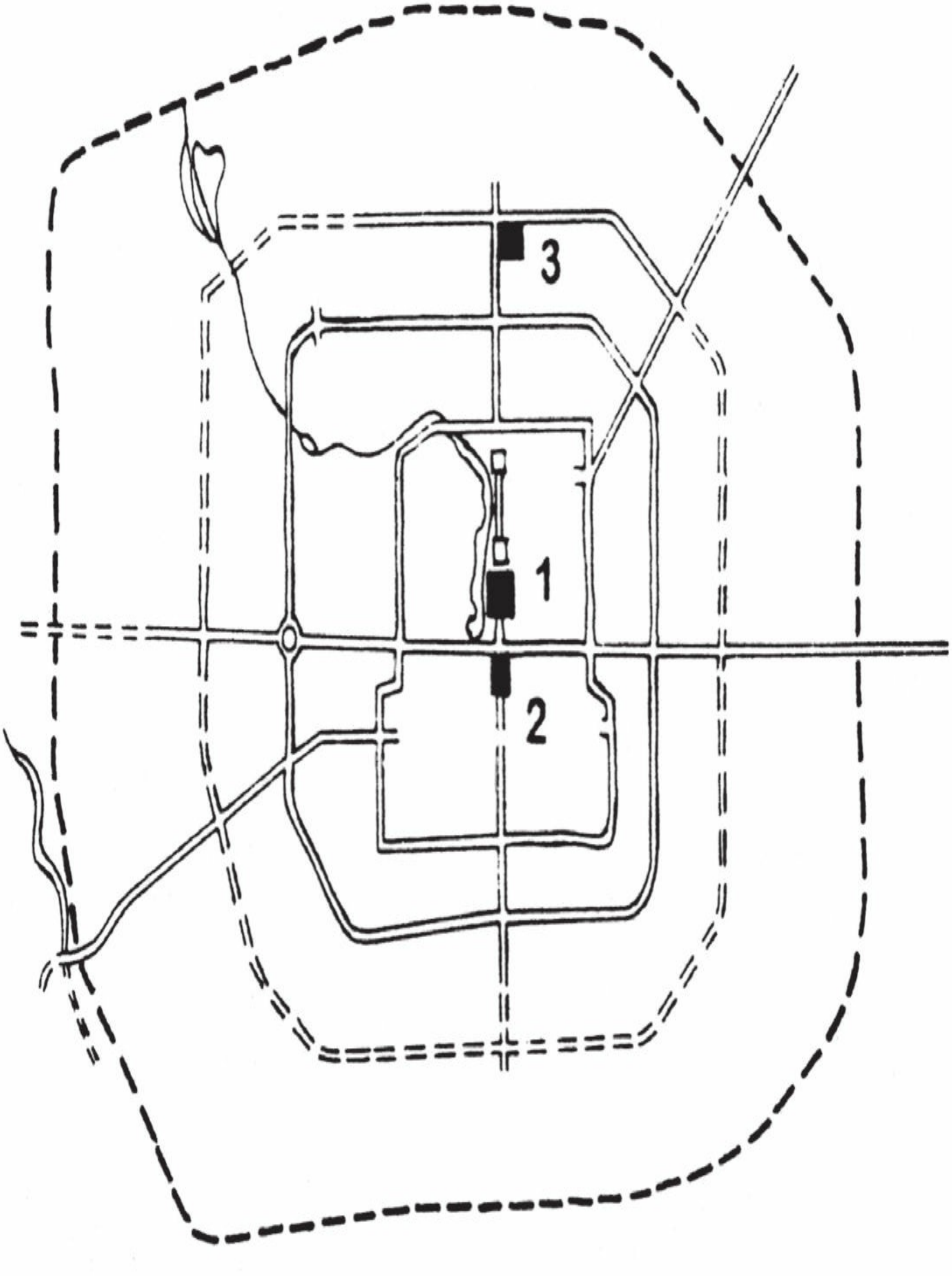
一

“不了解北京城的过去，就无法认清北京城的现在，当然也就不可能预测北京城的未来。城市的发展是一个连续的过程，过去、现在和未来处在同一时间之链上。”[1]北京是举世闻名的历史文化名城，它的规划建设有着深厚的历史文化渊源。特别是经过元明两代在新选择的城址上，充分利用河湖水系的有利条件，根据自古以来我国关于都城建设一脉相承的规划特点，又加以不断的更新和改造，终于在空间结构上完成了内外两城紧相毗连的“凸”字形轮廓，中间贯以自北而南的中轴线，北起鼓楼与钟楼，南至全城正南方的永定门，长近8公里。这一内外两城有机结合的空间结构，一直完整地保留到1949年新中国的成立。

新中国重新建都北京，根据时代的要求，相继进行了以旧城为核心的城市规划和建设。从全城的空间结构上来看，最重要的，也是首先进行的就是天安门广场的扩建，把旧日封闭式的宫廷广场，转变为恢宏开阔的城市广场。同时又将广场两翼的东西长安街加以拓宽和延长，有如一条东西横轴线与旧日自北而南的纵轴线交会在天安门广场上。

其后随着旧日城墙的拆除，又开始进行了二环路、三环路和四环路的设计。这些环路从构图上自然导致旧城内南北中轴线向外的延伸，这在早期的城市规划图上已经充分显示出来。旧城中轴的南延长线，已有从永定门通向南苑大红门的路基作为依据。至于旧城中轴的北延长线，则无所依据。因为从钟鼓楼到北二环，完全为民居所阻隔，这与元大都城初建立时就打破历史传统不设正北门有直接关系。越过这一带民居再向正北方延伸，也同样是无所依据的，其间也还有重要建筑的阻隔。所以这条全城中轴的北延长线，除去旧城墙内的一段外，直到为了迎接1990年第11届亚运会的召开，这才开始打通，以与为了同一目的也正在开辟中的北四环路相接，其北段就是现在的北辰路。当时兴建的亚运会主会场，也就是国家奥林匹克体育中心，就选建在北辰路与北四环相交处的东侧，在其北面隔四环路相望的就是同时兴建的国际会议中心。这里恰处北京旧城的正北方，地域开阔，又去首都机场较近，国际上的来往也比较便捷。因此从地理位置的选择上来说，这次盛大的以“团结、

友谊、进步”为号召的国际活动以这里为中心召开，也是很相宜的。实际上也正是由于这次亚运会在北京的胜利召开，以及由此而决定的国家奥林匹克体育中心的建设，才开始使我意识到在北京城的规划建设中，可以称之为“三个里程碑”的设想正在形成中（图3-1）。试论如下：



3
1
2

3-1 Views on Three Milestones in the construction of Beijing City 北京城市规划建设中的三个里程碑的初步设想

1．Forbidden City (Palace Museum) 紫禁城（今故宫博物院）
2．Tian'anmen Square 天安门广场
3．National Olympic Sports Center 国家奥林匹克体育中心

第一个里程碑是历史上北京城的中心建筑紫禁城。它的建成至今已有五百七十余年，代表的是封建王朝统治时期北京城市建设的核心，也是中国传统建筑艺术的一大杰作。到今天它依然屹立在全城空间结构的中心，但已不仅仅是中国人民的艺术财富，而且已被列为“世界文化遗产”，享誉全球。

第二个里程碑就是新中国建立之后，在北京城的空间结构上，突出地标志着一个新时代已经来临的天安门广场。它赋予具有悠久传统的全城中轴线以崭新的意义，显示出在城市建设上“古为今用，推陈出新”的时代特征，在文化传统上有着承先启后的特殊含义。

第三个里程碑如上所述，最初是由于亚运会的召开和国家奥林匹克体育中心的兴建，才开始显示出北京走向国际性大城市的时代已经到来。我第一次公开提出这一设想，是1991年5月14日在清华大学建筑学院的一次学术报告会上，当时也只是做了口头上的陈述，并没有写出书面的讲稿。[2]

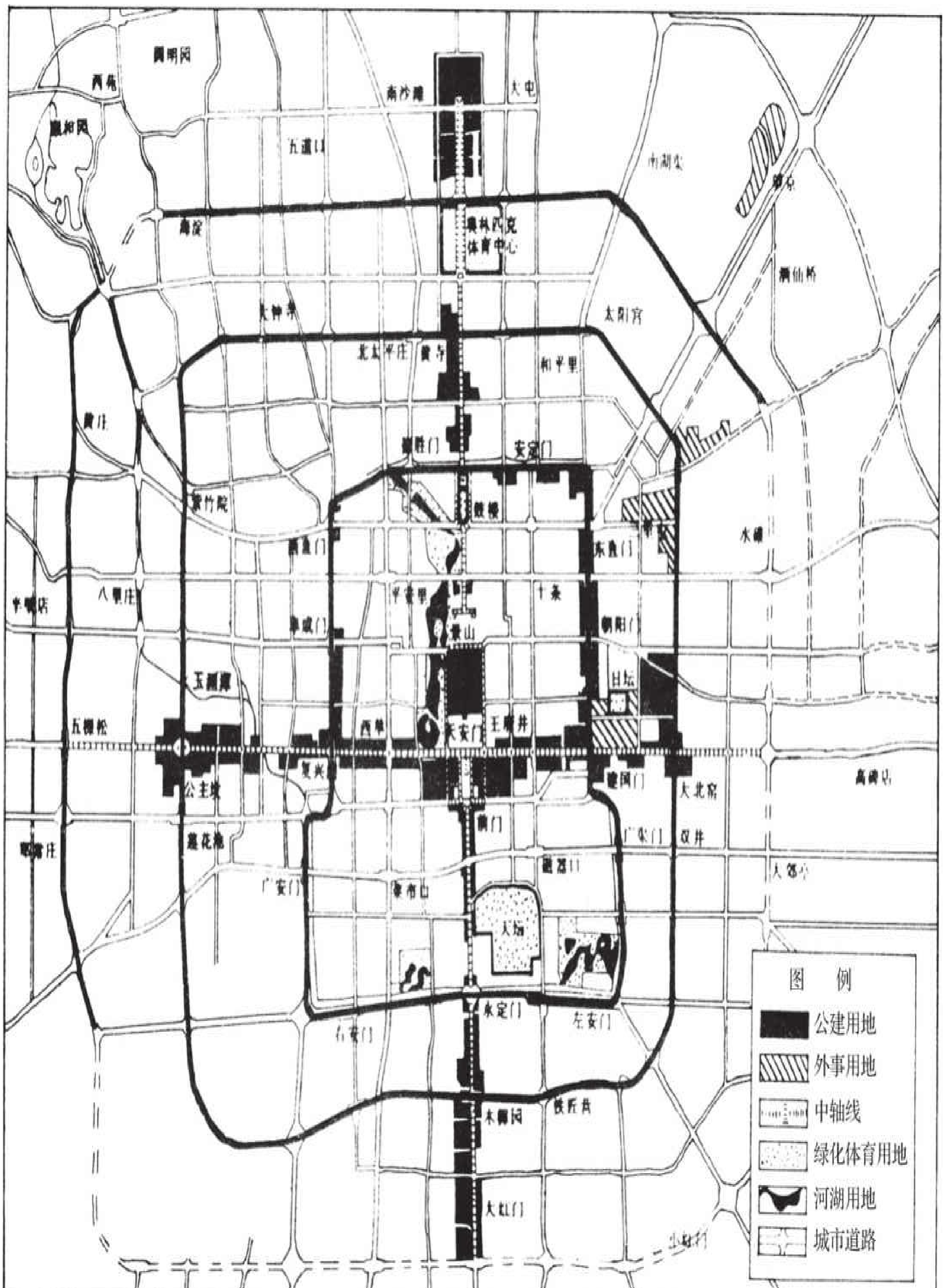
而今时过三年，面向21世纪的《北京城市总体规划》，继承了50年代以来历次城市总体规划的优良传统，又在改革开放和建立社会主义经济体制的新形势下，进一步提出了建设全方位对外开放的现代化国际城市的新目标。其中也包括了“历史文化名城的保护与发展”的重要项目，并且指出“要从整体上考虑历史文化名城的保护，尤其要从城市格局的宏观环境上保护历史文化名城”。

其中首先提出的就是“保护传统城市的中轴线”，并且决定在旧城中轴线的南北延长线上，分别进行下列象征性的规划设计，即“中轴南延长线要体现城市‘南大门’形象；中轴北延长线要保留宽阔的绿带，在其两侧和北端的公共建筑群作为城市轴线的高潮与终结，突出体现21世纪首都的新风貌”（着重号系作者所加）。

这里应该特别注意的是这中轴北延长线的东西两侧，正是国家奥林匹克体育中心和正在兴建的中华民族园所在之地。至于其“北端”，也就是要作为城市轴线的“高潮”和“终结”的所在处，还要建成“突出体现2l世纪首都的新风貌”的公共建筑群。因此，这一区公共建筑群按计划的完成，就真正可以看作是北京城市规划建设中的第三个里程碑了。

总结以上所述，《北京日报》1994年4月1日“图解新闻版”为介绍《北京城市总体规划》所刊载的一幅示意图，正好可供参考，转载如下

（图3-2）。



圆明园
西苑
颐和园
南沙滩
大屯
五道口
海淀
奥林匹克
体育中心
酒仙桥
大钟寺
太阳宫
北太平庄
和平里
黄庄
德胜门
安定门
紫竹院
鼓楼
东直门
水碓
八里庄
平安里
十条
阜成门
朝阳门
景山
玉渊潭
日坛
五棵松
西单
天安门
王府井
公主坟
复兴门
建国门
大北窑
高碑店
前门
广渠门
双井
莲花池
广安门
菜市口
天坛
永定门
左安门
右安门
木樨园
铁匠营
大红门
小红门
图例
公建用地
外事用地
中轴线
绿化体育用地
河湖用地
城市道路

3-2　The north extension of the middle axis of Beijing City　北京城市中轴线的向北延伸

Public Construction areas　公建用地
Foreign affairs areas　外事用地
Parks and Recreation areas　绿化体育用地
Middle axis　中轴线
Rivers and Lakes　河湖用地
Streets and roads　城市道路

（From Beijing Daily, April 1, 1994　摘自《北京日报》，1994年4月1日）

在这里还可以进一步设想，上文提出的三个里程碑在建筑设计上还是应该各有其时代特征的。例如紫禁城作为第一个里程碑，它那巍峨壮丽的宫阙，就充分显示了皇权时代帝王至上的思想。天安门广场作为第二个里程碑，它在扩大宫廷广场为城市广场的基础上，又融合古今建筑为一体，从而呈现出继往开来的新气象。现在作为第三个里程碑，又处在整个城市空间结构的顶点上，其总面积还将超过旧日的紫禁城，对于这一区公共建筑的总体规划必须早做考虑，更重要的是如何设计和营建方能“突出体现21世纪首都的新风貌”，这就为当代建筑学家提出了一个十分重要的新课题。愿拭目以待，早观厥成。

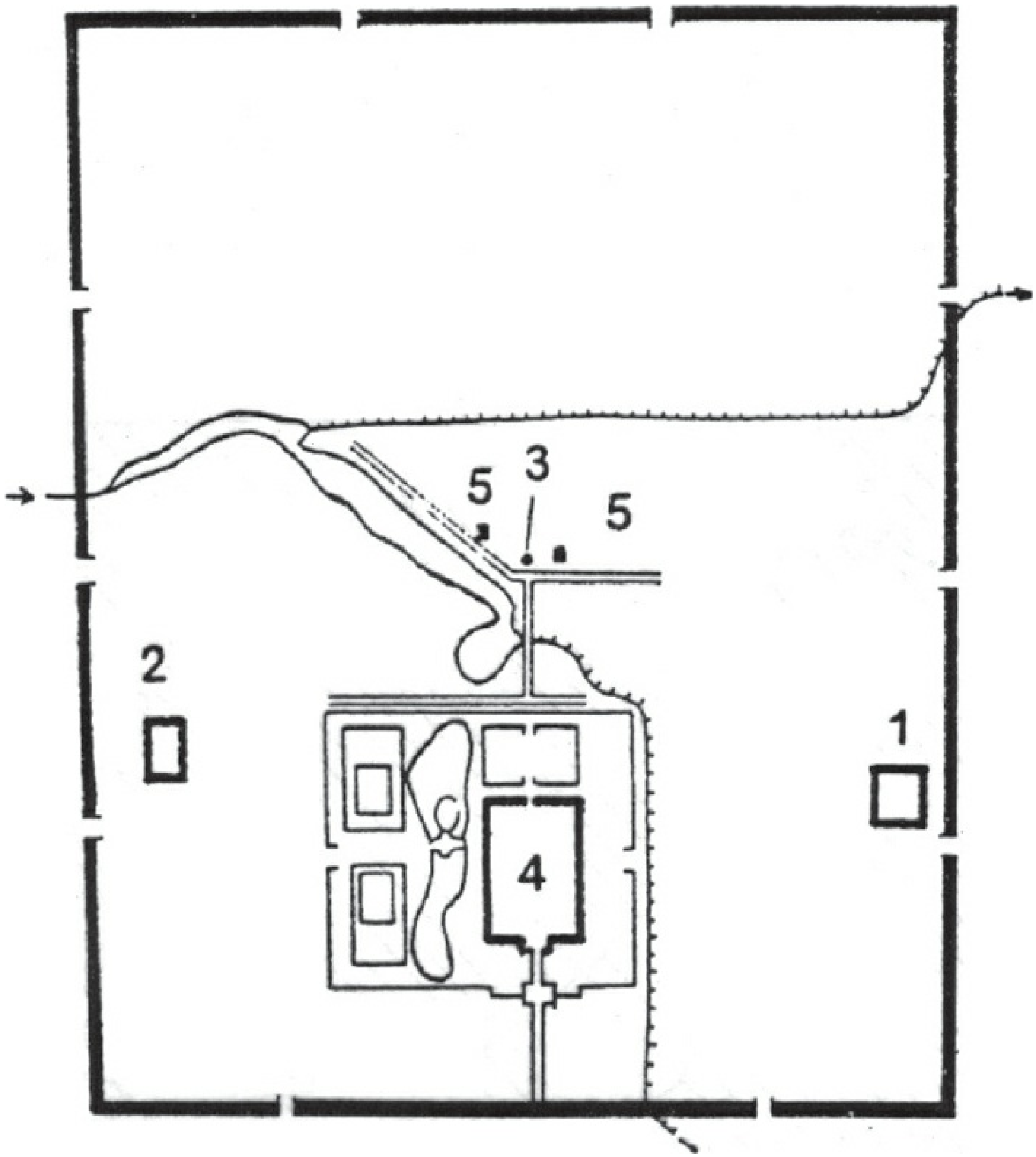
二

还应该进一步说明的一点，就是在北京城总体规划上这条全城中轴线向正北方的延伸，乃是一反历史传统的新发展，是具有划时代的意义的。

北京旧城以内原有的中轴线，是元大都初建时所确定的，但是它的历史渊源却由来已久。更重要的是它还集中体现着一种皇权时代的传统思想，即：“面南而王”，也就是说皇帝要面向正南来统治天下。这一点在大都城的规划设计中，从一开始就突出地反映出来。

大都城的规划设计，其核心建筑的布局，可以追溯到《周礼·考工记》中“匠人营国”的描述，这是明显易见的；可是大都城四面城墙的设计，却与“匠人营国”的描述大相径庭。分别说明如下。

“匠人营国”关于其核心建筑的布局是这样写的：“左祖右社，面朝后市。”对比之下，借助于元大都的略图，进行分析，所谓“左祖”，就是大都城内东城墙下的“太庙”；“右社”就是大都城内西城墙下的“社稷坛”；“面朝”所指，相当于大都城内自“中心之台”向正南方延长线上的“大内”，也就是紫禁城的前身；“后市”所指，就是“大内”正北“中心之台”附近一带的市场（图3-3）。



3-3　The sketch map of Dadu of the Yuan Dynasty　“左祖右社，面朝后市”思想在元大都布局中的体现

1．Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙
2．Altar of Land and Grain　社稷坛
3．Central Terrace　中心之台
4．Imperial Palace　大内
5．The distribution area of market　市场分布区

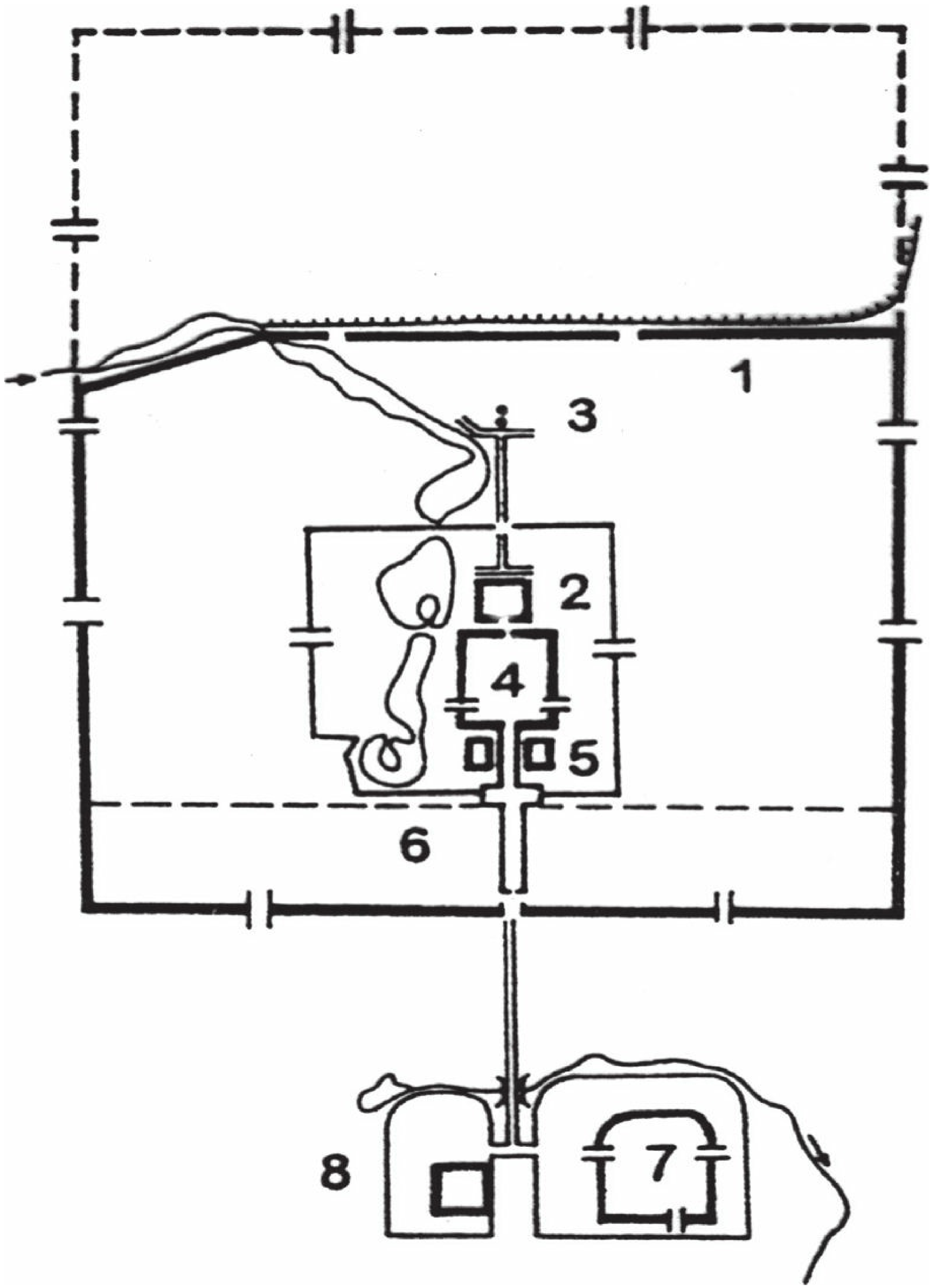
（Redrawn according to Hou Renzhi, Historical Atlas of Beijing, Beijing Publishing House, 1988, pp. 27-28.　侯仁之绘制，《北京历史地图集》，北京出版社，1988，第27—28页）

根据以上的对比，恰好说明“匠人营国”中的“左”就是东，“右”就是西，“后”就是北，只是朝廷所在独称“面朝”，而不称“前”，这是为什么？细加思索，如果把“面朝”二字只是理解为“前有朝廷”，似乎还不甚确切。因为这里的“面”字，含有“前瞻”的意思，也就是说：要居中向正南方望去是朝廷，转身反顾身后的北方，就是市场所在。这里就暗示着以“南”为上的含义。事实上，中国历代都城在规划设计上，其主要宫殿都一律面向正南。继元大都之后，又进一步发展了的明清北京城，更是集中表现了这一点，这就是现在保存完好的紫禁城，以及进一步迁移到紫禁城前方左右两侧的太庙（今劳动人民文化宫）和社稷坛（今中山公园）。

在明确了上述各点之后，再来进一步分析元大都城的总体规划，在城市轮廓和城门设置上，又是如何与“匠人营国”的规制大相径庭的。

按“匠人营国”关于大城的设计是“方九里，旁三门”。而大都城的营建，并非四面等同的正方形，而是南北略长的长方形，而且除去东西南三面各有三门外，北面却只有东西两门，正中间却是完全封闭的。这种差异，绝非偶然。

大都城的平面结构呈长方形，这与充分利用城内从西北转向正南的一带天然湖泊，有直接关系，作者另有专文说明，此不赘言。[3]至于在北面城墙的正中央不设北门，却有悖于“匠人营国”的传统规制，是十分突出的一个问题，应该引起重视。实际上也正是有意识不设北门，因此自北而南作为全城设计依据的中轴线，也只是以全城的“中心之台”为起点向南延伸。正是在这一情况下，明朝初年改建大都城，在首先减缩北城的基础上，又进一步沿着原有的中轴线，继续向南开拓，重新堆筑了万岁山（今景山）以代替原来的“中心之台”作为新城设计中心的标志。同时又在万岁山的正南方，继续沿着中轴线新建大内，也就是现在的紫禁城。此外，又将大都东城下的太庙和西城下的社稷坛，分别改建到紫禁城正南方的东西两侧，依然符合“左祖右社”的古制。于是紫禁城内中轴线上兴建起来的前后六座大殿，也就更进一步体现了“面南而王”的传统体制（图3-4）。[4]


1
3
2
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3-4　Surface planes of Beijing City in the middle age of the Ming and Qing dynasties　明中叶北京城空间结构的核心部分最后定型，清代继承不变

1．The rebuilt and newly built north city wall at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty　明初改建、新建北墙
2．Wansui Hill (now Jing Hill)　万岁山（景山）
3．Bell Tower (north) and Drum Tower (south)　钟楼（北）、鼓楼（南）
4．Forbidden City　紫禁城
5．Imperial Ancestral Temple　太庙
6．Altar of Land and Grain　社稷坛
7．Temple of Heaven　天坛
8．Altar of Mountain and River (now Xian Nong Tan)　山川坛（先农坛）

（Source: Same as Fig. 3-3, pp. 31-32.　来源同图3-3，第31—32页。）

就在上述大城之内核心地区的规划建设完之后，又根据“祭天于南郊”的传统，将全城的中轴线继续向南郊延伸，在越过一条自西而东的小河之后，又分别在东西两侧，兴建了两组皇家建筑群。在东侧的为天坛，在西侧的为山川坛（后改称先农坛）。其后又兴建东、西、南三面城墙，将这两组重要建筑群圈入城内，于是北京始有内外城之分。

从此这内外合一的北京城，就成为皇权统治时代最后建成的一座都城，它又进一步体现了传统的意识形态中“面南而王”的思想，并且完整地保存下来，一直到1949年新中国的诞生（见图3-4）。

现在只有充分认识到北京这座历史文化名城在其原有的规划建设上所集中体现的主题思想，才能真正体会到今天开辟全城中轴北延长线以及进一步在其北端兴建“突出体现21世纪首都的新风貌”的公共建筑群，确实是有着划时代的意义的。

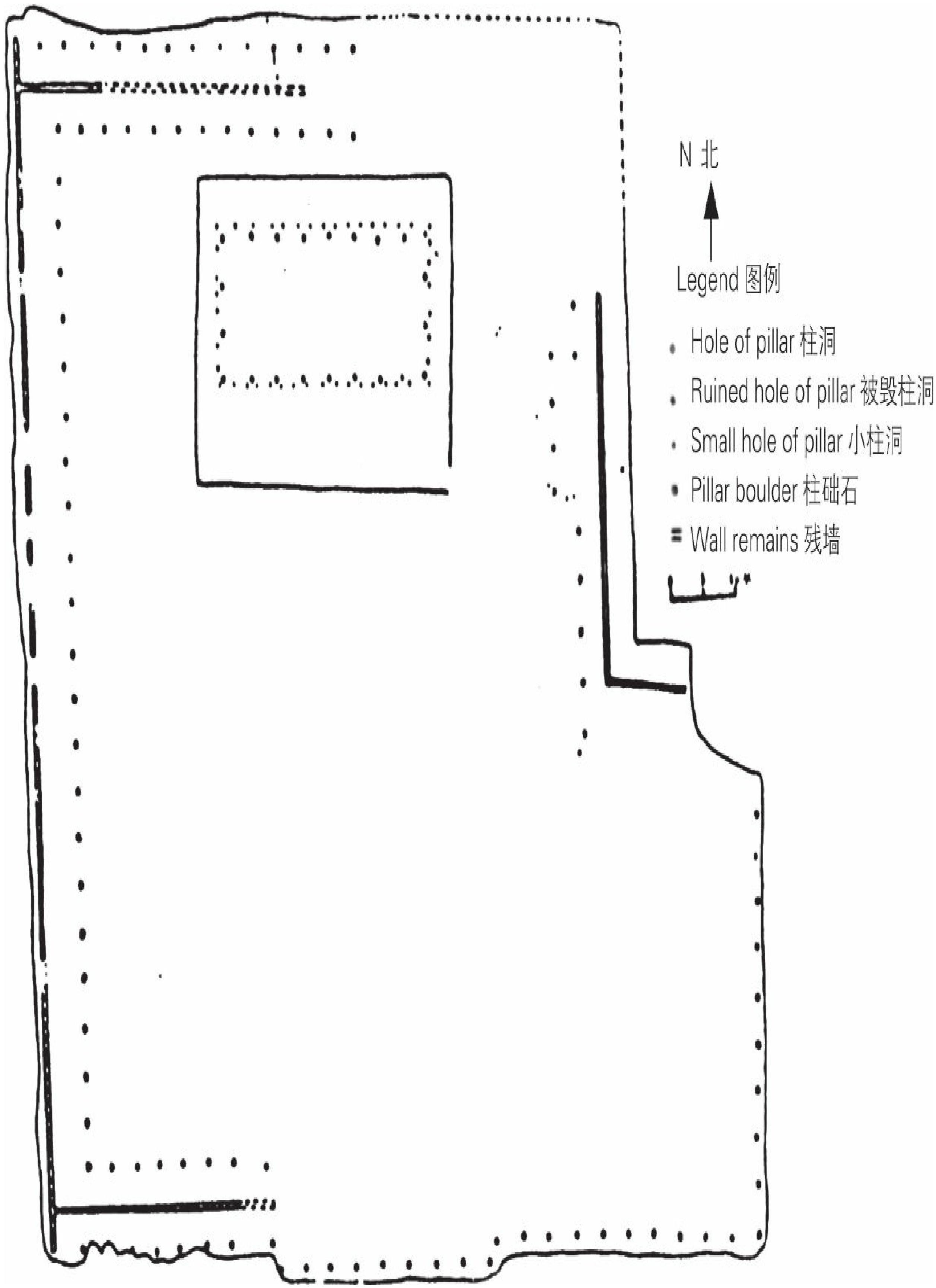
三

最后，还应该说明的是：上文一再强调中国历代宫殿建筑，都始终体现了“面南而王”的传统思想，而且旧日北京城的中轴线一再向南延伸，也同样是这一传统思想的影响。那么这种“面南而王”的传统思想又是如何产生的呢？

关于这个问题的答案，考古学的发现提供了最重要的参考。

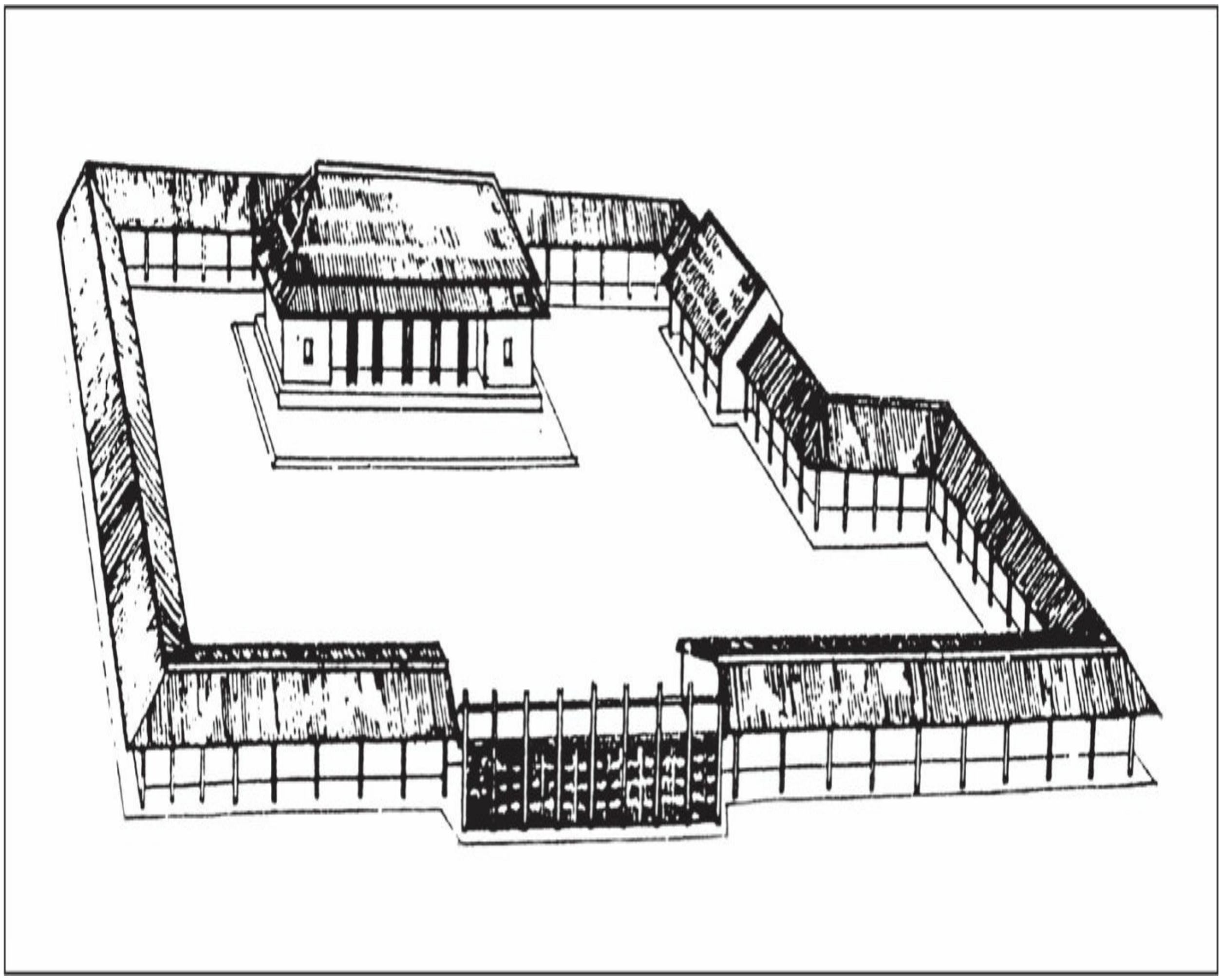
70年代初，在河南省偃师县二里头，发掘出至少是早商时期的一处宫殿遗址，其中部，有一明显的夯土台基，高出地面约0.8米，东西长108米，南北宽100米。台基南侧的中央，有门址遗迹，面阔8间。殿堂地居台基中央之北部，有夯土台，土层厚3.1米。殿堂东西长36米，南北宽25米，根据周围柱洞的排列，可以断定该建筑面阔8间，进深3间。基地中央稍北为殿堂遗址，东西长30.4米，南北宽11.4米。以殿堂为主的整体结构面向南方，如图3-5所示。[5]根据上述发现制为复原图，则整

体宫殿建筑面向正南的特点，就更加显明（图3-6）。[6]


N 北
Legend 图例
Hole of pillar 柱洞
Ruined hole of pillar 被毁柱洞
Small hole of pillar 小柱洞
Pillar boulder 柱础石
Wall remains 残墙

3-5　Plan of No. 1 palace base at Erlitou, Yanshi County　偃师二里头早商一号宫殿基地平面图

（From: Archaeology, No. 4, 1974　《考古》，第4期，1974）



3-6　Drawing of the restored palace　偃师二里头早商一号宫殿复原图

（Redrawn according to Ancient Architecture of China, 1983, p. 24　根据《中国古建筑》重制，1983，第24页）

由此可以设想，中国中原地区自古以来的宫殿建筑就是面向正南方，此后历代相承，莫不如此。因此在意识形态里逐渐派生出所谓“面南而王”的思想。这一特点在中国的中原王朝中，正是历代都城在规划设计上的一大特色。这一特色的形成，和黄河流域的地理环境是有密切关系的。黄河流域正处于北半球亚热带季风气候最为显著的地区，冬季在亚洲大陆西北内部形成高气压，寒冷强劲的偏北风，袭击着黄河流域中下游，气候严寒，长达数月。夏季高气压中心转向东南太平洋上，来自南方致雨的季风，又使温度上升，甚至暑气逼人。于是房屋建筑面向正南最为相宜，北侧封闭以御冬季风寒，南侧开设门窗，既便于冬季阳光斜射室内，又有利于夏季空气流通。可以设想，为了适应这一气候特

点，从古代起，黄河流域最早的宫殿建筑，如偃师县二里头的考古发现所见，就采取了背北面南的形式。这一特点长期延续下来，相沿成习。到了《周礼·考工记》“匠人营国”的记载中，只要记述“左祖右社，面朝后市”，就足以说明彼此之间的方向，而“面朝”的“面”字在这里就特别重要，它指明了是面向南方，由此终于衍生出意识形态中所谓“面南而王”的传统。按后世的风水学说，就建筑设计面向南方，也有解说。例如宋人张子微在所著《玉髓真经》一书中就曾写道：“庙朝宫殿府县治廨，无不向南，盖取向明而治之义。”[7]元初规划大都城，不设正北门，是否也有风水学说的影响，未见有明文记载，姑不具论。只是追本溯源，黄河流域的地理条件，导致了最初宫殿建筑取向正南，则是十分明显的。

④ F ROM BEIJING TO WASHINGTON A Contemplation on the Concept of Municipal Planning*

I. Recommendation of the Topic

Beijing and Washington are two capital cities of two countries with totally different social systems. The design and planning of the two cities have their unique features respectively. Chronologically, there is a long interval between their initial constructions, yet their design and planning both reflect the depth of their own cultural and historical background. The original plan of old Beijing is a masterpiece of city planning in feudal China, while the plan of Washington inherits the elegance of the sixteenth-century Renaissance tradition and the graceful urban design of Western Europe, and is a marvellous specimen of the achievement in the era of rising capitalism.

China, after the lapse of feudal dynasties, suffered from the oppression of semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism. She is now in the era of socialist construction. America, on the other hand, is a highly developed capitalist nation, still following the capitalist road and even casting her influence abroad. The two capital cities, which are the focal point of expression for their respective national cultures and histories, would be confronted with different problems in city planning and design.

For city planning and design, Beijing and Washington share some similarities in form, but they are fundamentally different. The most prominent feature in common is the decision at the infant stage of city construction to fix a central axis line for the layout of the whole city. Nevertheless, their fundamental difference consists in the respective themes to be represented owing to the totally different social systems in the very beginning of their planning.

II. The City of Beijing (Peking)

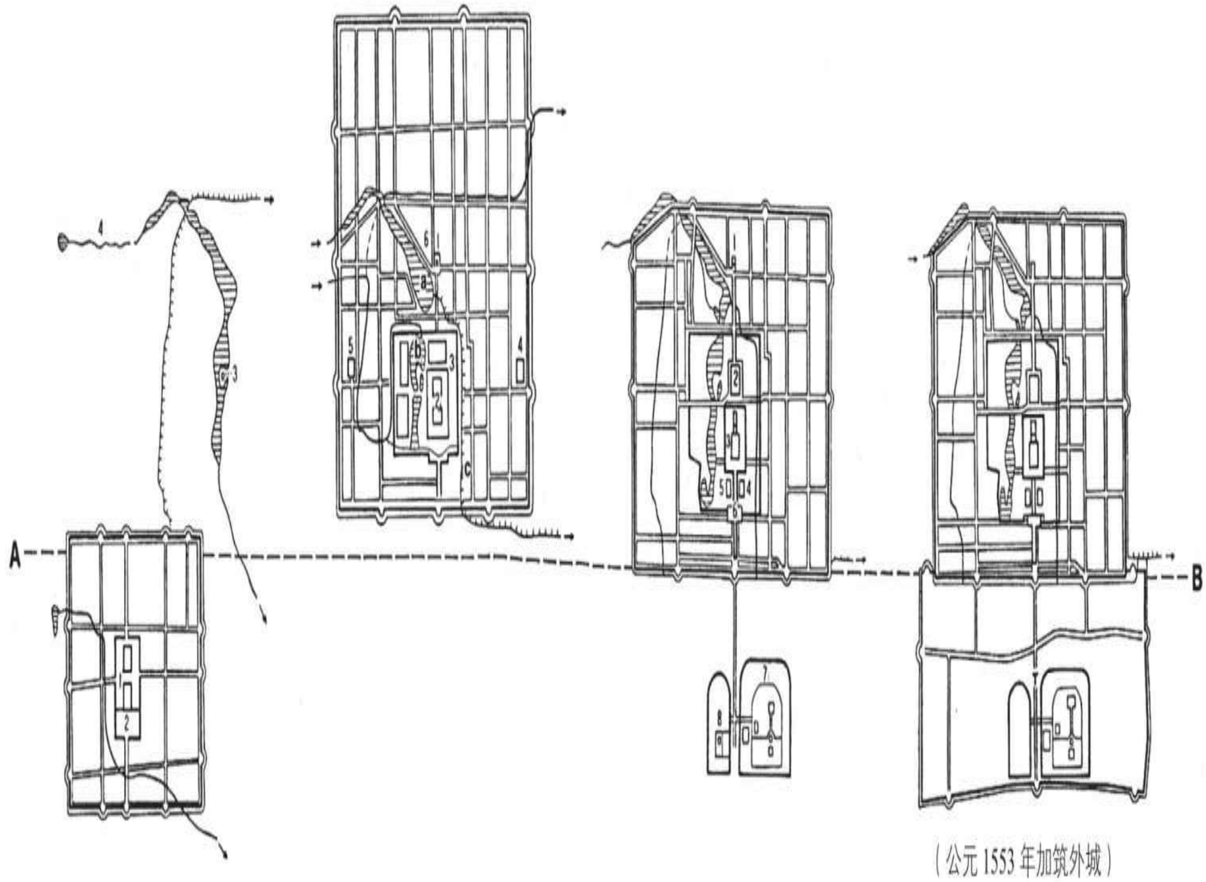
●Changes of Beijing's City Sites and Its Present Location

The origin of the primitive settlement of Beijing could be dated back to over 3,000 years ago. It was located at the southwest part of present Beijing city which had not begun to be built until about 720 years ago(1267 A.D.). The lake district of the ancient Gaoliang River was chosen to be the center for the design and plan of the new city, that is, the Dadu City (the Great Capital) of the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368). The city underwent some reconstruction in the early days of the Ming Dynasty(1368-1644) and a new name Beijing was given to it. In 1553 A.D., an outer wall was added in the southern part of Beijing city. Thus, we have an inner city and an outer city of Beijing, both encircled by city walls. The two combined took the shape of a Chinese character "凸", occupying an area of 62 sq. km. Hence the surface plan of Beijing city was fixed, and it had been preserved as it was until 1949 A.D., when the New China was born. It is now called the Old City of Beijing.

At the beginning of building old Beijing, the southern half of the lake was enclosed within the city and was designed as the central part of the royal garden in the Imperial City. In accordance with the feudal tradition, it was named "Tai Ye Chi" (the Holy Water Pond). In the early part of the Ming Dynasty a new lake was dug at the southern tip of the Holy Water Pond. This is the present Nan Hai (the South Sea). The upper part of the original lake left out of the Imperial City was called Ji-shui Tan (the Reservoir). It was also in the early years of the Ming Dynasty that the northern city wall of the capital was moved southward, thus excluding the northwestern part of Ji-shui Tan from the city. The excluded part was called Tai-ping Hu (the Peaceful Lake), which was filled up during the Cultural Revolution. And the other part inside the northern wall of the great city but outside of the Imperial City is the Shicha Hai of today, made up of Qian Hai (the Front Lake), Hou Hai (the Back Lake) and Xi Hai (the West Lake). The southwestern tip of Qian Hai had also been filled up and reclaimed for building sites recently.

In sum, the original lake district furnished essential geographical conditions for the establishment of the Old City of Beijing. Its original appearance had long been altered, but it still occupies an important place. There is a plan to connect the six south and north lakes (that is, Nan Hai, Zhong Hai and Bei Hai in the south and Qian Hai, Hou Hai and Xi Hai in the north), which is part of the general plan for developing the new Beijing. In

order to illustrate the theme of the plan of the Old City, it's better to show the changes of watercourses and city sites of old Beijing in the following figure. (Fig. 4-1)



A Zhongdu (the Jin Dynasty)
中都（金）

B Dadu (the Yuan Dynasty)
大都（元）

C Beijing (early years of the Ming Dynasty)
北京（明朝前期）

D Beijing (middle ages of the Ming Dynasty and afterwards)
北京（明中叶以后）

1. Palatial City 宫城
2. Imperial City 皇城
3. Tai-ning Palace (Imperial Retreat) 太宁宫（离宫）
4. Gaoliang River 高梁河

1. Central Platform 中心之台
2. Royal Palace (with court in the south and living quarters in the north) 大内（南为前朝，北为后廷）
3. Imperial City 皇城
4. Ancestral Temple 太庙
5. Altar of Harvest 社稷坛
6. Markets 主要市场分布区
   a. Ji-shui Tan (Haizi) 积水潭（海子）
   b. Holy Water Pond 太液池
   c. Tong-hui River (northern end of the Grand Canal) 通惠河（大运河北端）

1. Bell Tower (north) and Drum Tower 钟楼（北）、鼓楼
2. Wan-sui Hill (called Jing Hill or Coal Hill later) 万岁山（后改称景山、煤山）
3. Forbidden City 紫禁城
4. Ancestral Temple 太庙
5. Altar of Harvest 社稷坛
6. Cheng-tian Gate (called Tian An Men Gate later) 承天门（后改为天安门）
7. Altar of Heaven 天坛
8. Altar of Mountain and River (called Altar of Agriculture later) 山川坛（后改称先农坛）

4-1 City sites of old Beijing (from Zhongdu City in the Jin Dynasty to Beijing in the Ming and Qing dynasties) 北京旧城址变迁（金中都到明清北京）

（Broken line from A to B is a reference line to demonstrate the relative positions of city sites vertically AB间虚线表示城址南北移动的相对位置）

●Theme of City Plan

As shown in Figure 4-1, we see clearly that several changes in the shape of the Old City of Beijing, from rectangular to the ingenious shape of a Chinese character "凸", took place. However, the axis line running through the city from north to south, though extended, had no sideward shift. Actually the axis line was the basis of the surface plan of the capital. This is true of the design of the Inner City as it is of the Outer City. It must be pointed out that even before the building of the outer walls, two groups of architecture had been built in 1420 A.D., that is, the Temple of Heaven and the Altar of Mountain and River (later renamed the Altar of Agriculture). They were located symmetrically on the east and west sides of the prolonged axis line. And with building of the outer walls in 1553 A.D., a newly prolonged central axis line with a total length of 8 km., implicitly linking the Inner City and the Outer City, took shape, which impressed one with the sense of unity so much that it appeared that the two parts of the city had been planned and completed at the same time. And the "凸"-shaped capital, when compared with Dadu of the Yuan Dynasty and Beijing in the early years of the Ming Dynasty, renders a greater sense of stableness and security. It is this feature of the layout of the city that has won enormous appreciations and praise from Western architects and city planners for its aesthetic value. The Danish architect S. E. Rasmussen remarked Beijing as "one of the wonders of the world, in its symmetry and clarity a unique monument, the culmination of a great civilization."[1] The American city planner E. N. Bacon praised highly of it, saying "Possibly the greatest single work of man on the face of the earth is Peking.... [I]t is so brilliant in design that it provides a rich storehouse of ideas for the city of today." He also highlighted central axis line and the lakes adjacent in yellow and blue, which appeared prominent and vivid against the greyish surface plan.[2]

One should, however, note more the thought underneath the design of the surface plan. From the architectural perspective, two points should be clarified:

1． Relationship between building of city walls and city plan

According to Chinese tradition, all ancient cities were built with walls. Hence the Chinese character "城" (cheng) has a dual meaning. It may mean "a city" or "the wall of a city." It can also be used as a verb. For example, in "Cart Driving," one poem from Minor Odes, *Book of Poetry*, one of ancient classics, there is a line, "wall the place in the north." Here the word "wall," used as a verb, means "to build city walls." Building of city walls is most essential in the design and plan of a capital city. For example, *Kaogongji* (*A Study of Engineering*), a volume of the ancient classics *Zhou Li or The Rites of Zhou* completed during the Age of Spring and Autumn (770-476 B.C.), had a paragraph "The Way the Craftsmen Build the City," which summarized the experiences in city building since the founding of the Zhou Dynasty, and on its basis established a standard for capital city building as follows:

> A capital city should be square in shape, each side being nine *li* long. There should be three gates on each side. Within the city, there are nine thoroughfares running longitudinally and another nine latitudinally, each wide enough for nine chariots driving abreast. On the left side within the city an ancestral temple should be erected. And on the right side there should be an altar of harvest. The court should be built to face the front while the market square should be placed at the rear of the court.

It is self-evident that the imperial court is in the center of the city. For this idea, reference can be made to He Ye-ju's *Research on the System of Capital City Building*, from which some quotation could be cited as follows:

> Why was the imperial court located in the middle of the capital? I think this is closely related to the doctrine of "to choose the middle" esteemed by the people of Zhou and it cast great influence on the determination of the location of a capital. To build the capital in the middle of a kingdom is not only convenient for the subjects from different directions to pay tributes to the king, but also easier for the king to reign over the country from the center.[3]

It should be noted that of all the capital cities built in the feudal dynasties in China, the Dadu City of the Yuan Dynasty is the one built according to the standards closest to those set by "The Way the Craftsmen Build the City." Certainly this was directly related to the main designer of the city Liu Bingzhong (Liu Kan). Liu was a practicallyminded person and well versed in classics. He had lectured in the Zijin College at the eastern foot of the Taihang Mountains, where the famous astrologist and expert on water conservancy Guo Shoujing studied under him. Before the establishment of the Yuan Dynasty, Liu had been ordered by Kublai Khan to design on the northern shore of the Shandian River on the upper reaches of the present Luan River, Kaiping City (called Shangdu City later), whose remains can still be found today. This achievement won Liu the recognition of Kublai Khan,

so the latter bestowed him the name "Bingzhong"(Adherence to Loyalty). In 1260 A.D., Kublai Khan entered and got stationed in Zhongdu, the last big city that developed on the site of the primitive settlement. Seven years later he decided to build a new city around the Taining Palace (an imperial summer retreat in the lake district) to the northeast of Zhongdu City, and he again appointed Liu in charge of the task. Guo Shoujing was also recommended to participate and made great contribution especially to water conservancy and construction of the Grand Canal.

It is necessary to point out that the shape of the Great Capital was rectangular with the north-south walls longer than the east-west walls, rather than square as prescribed in "The Way the Craftsmen Build the City." This was out of necessity to fully utilize the watercourses. Another discrepancy was that residential palaces in the "Grand Inner Portion"(equivalent to the later Forbidden City) did not lie at the geometric center of the capital but slightly south of it, though it was still situated on the axis line in the plan, which also fitted into the doctrine of "to choose the middle."

From the construction of Dadu of the Yuan Dynasty to the supplement of outer walls in the middle ages of the Ming Dynasty, the surface plan of this city had underwent several alterations, and thus become vastly different from the ideal described in the classics, but the basic concept the city was trying to express was still the same. Moreover, it had been more prominent, especially owing to prolonging the axis line twice. Therefore, the following part will be devoted to the discussion of the design of the axis line and the concept beneath.

2． Implications of axis line design and its historical and cultural background

The artistic effect that the axis line rendered in the layout of the Old City of Beijing has been highly appreciated by city planners home and abroad, while its implications and historical and cultural background are to be further explored.

In another paper "On the Remolding of the Old Beijing City"[4] by the author, it is recorded that Kublai Khan decided to build the new capital before the founding of the Yuan Dynasty and the geometric center of the plan of the capital was fixed on the northeastern shore of the lake Jishui Tan. At this spot was erected a stone tablet with four characters "中心之台"(The Central Platform) carved in it. Taking the platform as the starting point, a straight line was drawn closely along the eastern shore of the Jishui Tan as the central axis of the whole city. The imperial palaces were built on the eastern shore of the

Holy Water Pond, exactly in the middle of the axis, so that the front court Daming Palace (Palace of Brilliance) and the residential palace Yanchun Ge (Prolonged Spring Palace) occupied the most significant sites of the city. Hence, the idea embodied by the central axis became very clear, that is, the absolute power of the emperor. The Ancestral Temple and the Altar of Harvest, the two complexes of symbolic significance, were placed on the left and right sides of the palaces respectively within the city walls as prescribed by "The Way the Craftsmen Build the City." Later, as the capital was rebuilt by the Ming emperors, the original geometrical center of the Inner City was moved south to the Central Peak of the Jing Hill, which was the original site of the Prolonged Spring Palace during the Yuan Dynasty. And these two groups of buildings were also moved southward to the two sides in front of the Forbidden City. The result of this is that the concept embodied by the design of the axis becomes more prominent. With the building of the Temple of Heaven and the Altar of Mountain and River in the southern suburb, the axis was further prolonged to the south. Its influence on the planning and design of the Old City of Beijing became even more significant, also making the theme represented thereby more prominent.

Another question to be further clarified is: How is it decided that the axis of the capital as it appeared on the surface plan runs perpendicularly from north to south and extends this way? The question seems simple, but it concerns the issue of orientation in the design and planning of a capital, that is, it must face towards the due south. From it derives the doctrine of "facing the south to be king." There is no direct reference in documents to when this idea applied to city planning originated. However, in "The Way the Craftsmen Build the City" in *Kaogongji, Zhouli*, there is an implication that the city should be built towards the south. As for the layout of the capital, there are such prescriptions, "left for the Ancestral Temple and right for the Altar of Harvest"—"left" refers to east and "right" west, and "court in the front(south) and market at the rear (north)." The north-south orientation of city had long been accepted by Chinese as a tradition and passed down. Archaeological discoveries have provided concrete evidence. All the ruins of the foundations of the palaces from the early Shang Dynasty attest to that the original structures above were facing south.[5] Two foundations found in the Shang ruins indicate that the palaces not only faced southward but also stood on the same north-south line with one in front of the other, which should be the primitive form of the principle —"court in the front and living quarters at

the rear."[6] The foundations of city walls were also excavated in the capital relics of Shang; they appeared almost square, only the palaces were in the northeast of the city.[7] Most probably the idea of building the palaces in the middle of the city, i.e. on the central axis, hadn't took shape or established as a rule until the Zhou Dynasty. This is the initial thought from which the traditional principle recorded in the classic of *Zhouli* developed. These became the rules for workmen to follow in the building of a capital in later times. The theory of "to choose the middle" was a reflection of that thought as it appeared in the passage of "Judge the Situation" (*Shenshi*) in *The Book of Spring and Autumn by Lü Buwei* (*Lüshi chunqiu*) in the later part of the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) that "All rulers of ancient times did choose the middle place under the Heaven to establish their kingdoms."

The facts mentioned above show that in designing the plan for a capital, the concept was to arrange the building of the city to face southward. This is deeply rooted in historical and cultural background and tradition. This fact is that the central part of China is located in the monsoon land of the northern hemisphere, where strong northwesterly winds blow with fierce coldness in winter. In summer southeasterly winds prevail causing the weather to be hot and humid with heavy rainfall. Thus to keep out the bitterly cold wind and to get the most sunshine and warmth, it was advisable and reasonable to build the houses with windows and doors facing south and the high walls in the back facing north. This requirement of building principle and rule of "facing south" gradually prevailed in the design and planning of municipal construction. And from this principle and rule derived the doctrine of "facing the south to be king." Such a tradition can be traced to the time of slave society. It became a confirmed system during the feudal era. Beijing, a famous historical and cultural city, has preserved these characteristics in the planning and design of its buildings.

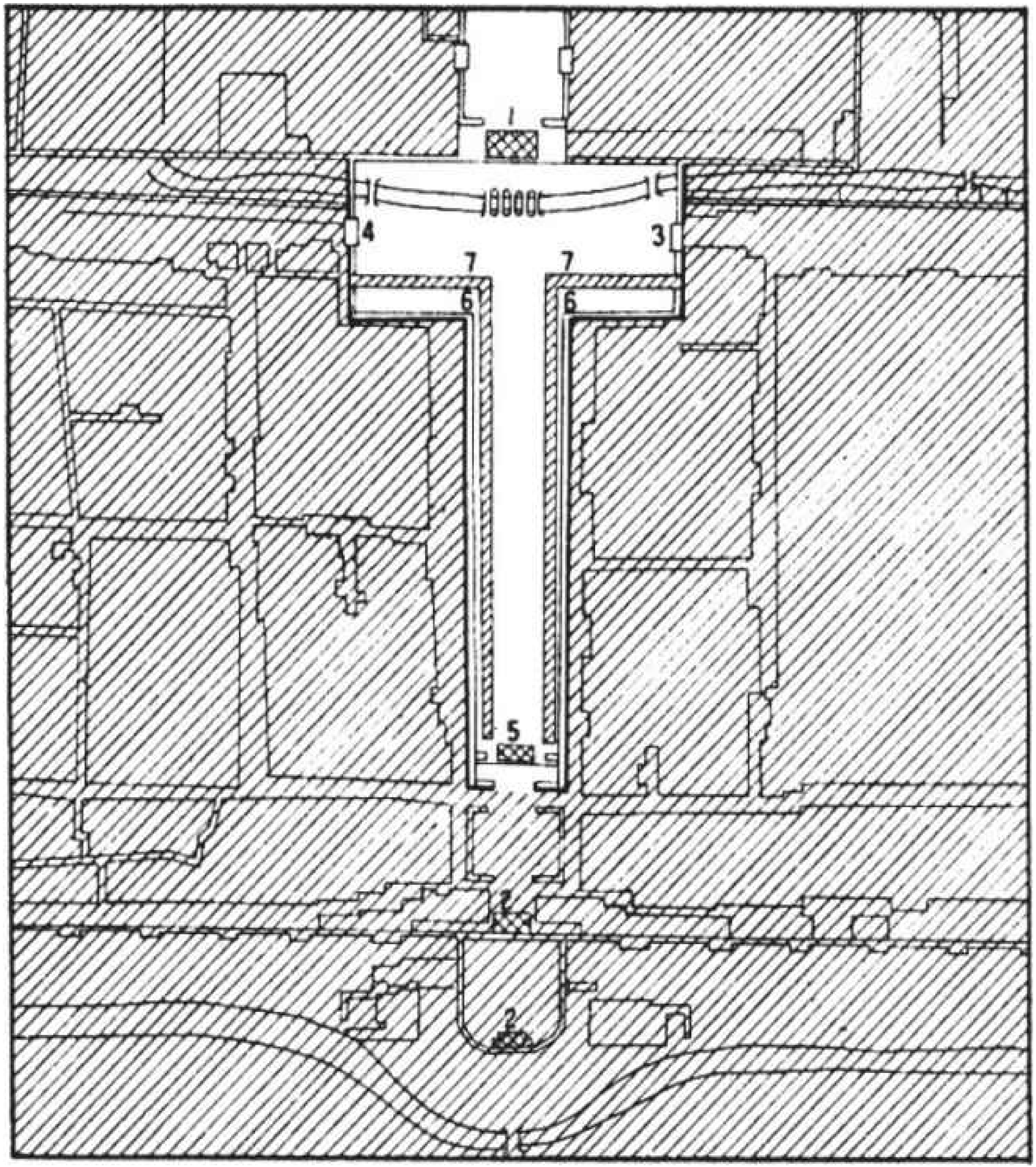
●The Essential Task of Transforming Old Beijing and the Achievements

With the birth of New China, the task of transforming Old Beijing into the capital of the People's Republic of China was put on the agenda. This is to say, while preserving the special characteristics of this famous historic city of cultural richness, we must supply new concepts which reflect the spirit of the new era. This is not an easy task. What we have done in the past thirty years showed that we have committed some irretrievable mistakes and damage.

Nevertheless, we have had some achievements among which the transformation of Tian An Men Square is one.

Tian An Men Square was once the imperial court of feudal sovereignty. It was surrounded on three sides by red walls, along the inside of which there was a long corridor each made up of rooms whose eaves and ridges were connected successively. It was called "A Thousand Steps Corridor."The court within the red walls was in a "T" shape. It had been the place where royal ceremonies took place showing off the absolute authority of the feudal emperors. The place was out of bounds to the common people. The court was located on the central axis which is symbolic in the sense that it expressed the feudal ideology of "the Emperor is the Almighty Sovereign."

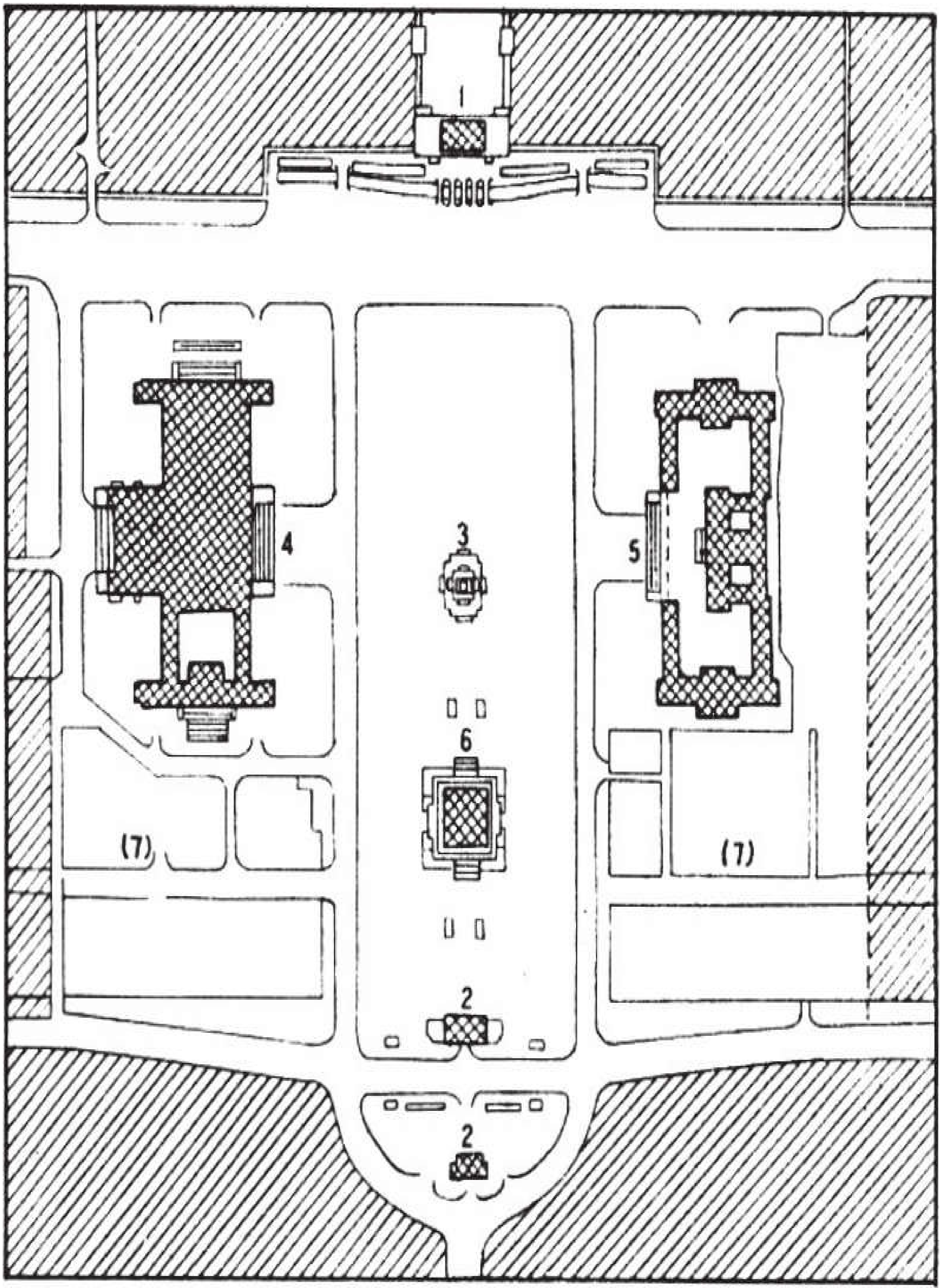
Entering the gate of Tian An Men, one must pass through layers of enclosed space in order to reach the nuclei of the royal buildings. They are the grandest buildings in the Forbidden City—Tai He Dian (the Palace of Prosperity and Peace), Zhong He Dian (the Central Peace Palace), Bao He Dian (the Palace of Preserving Peace), and the royal residential palaces in the rear part of the Forbidden City—Qian Qing Gong (the Palace of Heavenly Purity), Jiao Tai Dian (the Palace of Mutual Prosperity) and Kun Ning Gong(the Palace of Feminine Calmness). (Fig. 4-2)



4-2 Imperial square before Tian An Men in the Qing Dynasty 清代天安门前宫廷广场

1. Tian An Men 天安门
2. Zheng Yang Gate and Archery Tower 正阳门及其箭楼
3. Left Chang An Men 长安左门
4. Right Chang An Men 长安右门
5. Da Qing Men of the Qing Dynasty 大清门
6. The Red Walls 红墙
7. A Thousand Steps Corridor 千步廊

In 1911, the revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen ousted the Manchurian imperial reign, thus ending more than two thousand years of feudalism and it was not until then that the imperial court in front of Tian An Men was open to all. It was in 1919 in Tian An Men Square that the famous May 4th Movement first started and began the overture of the neoDemocratic Revolution. This is one of the most important incidents which took place in the Square in the heart of Beijing. It was the spark that started the prairie fire of a national revolution of the people. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and after thirty years of struggle, the People's Republic of China was born. The inauguration of the People's Republic of China took place in Beijing in the year 1949, on the first of October in Tian An Men Square. This incident gave a new significance to the Square. This grand and gorgeous old building obtained a new significance which symbolized the rebirth of an ancient civilization. When creating the emblem of the People's Republic of China, Tian An Men was designed in the middle of the emblem. In spite of this, the old red walls were still there hindering the common people from going into the Square for their various social, recreational or political activities. Therefore, it was of practical necessity to transform the Square. In order to celebrate the tenth anniversary of New China, Tian An Men Square underwent massive transformation. The old red walls were completely demolished and the Square itself was thereby expanded. Two grand structures were built. They were, on the east the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution, and on the west the Great Hall of the People, which stands for the power of the Chinese people. In the middle of the Square, a monument in memory of the heroes of the people was erected. Thus on the same old location, Tian An Men Square showed its new face and new significance. Here the old concept of "the Almighty Sovereign" was totally eradicated, and in its place the new concept of "the Almighty People" was expressed. The basic layout of the Square was set, although there was much to be improved. All those who have visited Tian An Men Square could grasp the concept of a new era embodied in the Square that is situated on the original axis of the city. Hence, the transformation should be considered successful (Figs. 4-2, 4-3).



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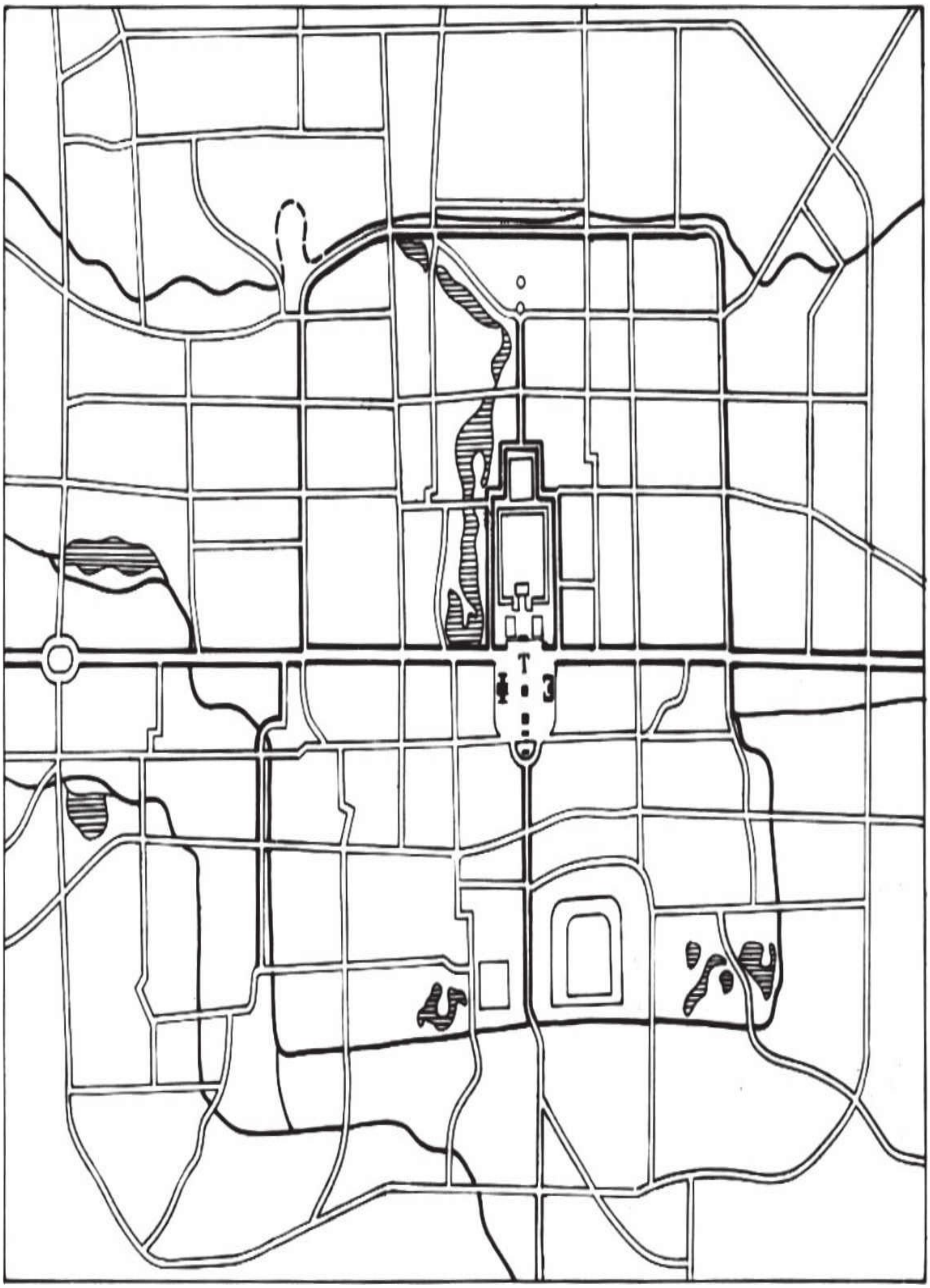
4-3　The enlarged Tian An Men Square after the founding of New China　新中国成立后扩建的天安门广场

1．Tian An Men　天安门
2．Qian Men (Zheng Yang Men) and Archery Tower　前门（正阳门）及其箭楼
3．Monument of the People's Heroes　人民英雄纪念碑
4．Great Hall of the People　人民大会堂
5．Museum of Chinese History and Museum of Chinese Revolution　中国历史博物馆与中国革命博物馆
6．Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall　毛主席纪念堂
7．Dong and Xi Jiao Min Xiang　东、西交民巷

In addition to this, the East and West Chang An Streets were broadened and prolonged and so became a major horizontal axis from west to east across the city. This horizontal axis, to a certain extent, neutralized the dominating effect of the original perpendicular axis from north to south. Meanwhile, it also broadened the field of perception. The Forbidden City, which had always been the focal point of the capital, has now become "the backyard" and support to Tian An Men Square. Its present function as the"Palace Museum" is more appropriately represented. The objective effects mentioned above can clearly be seen on the surface plan of Beijing. Its characteristics as the political centre of China are fully expressed by this transformation of Tian An Men Square (Fig. 4-4).



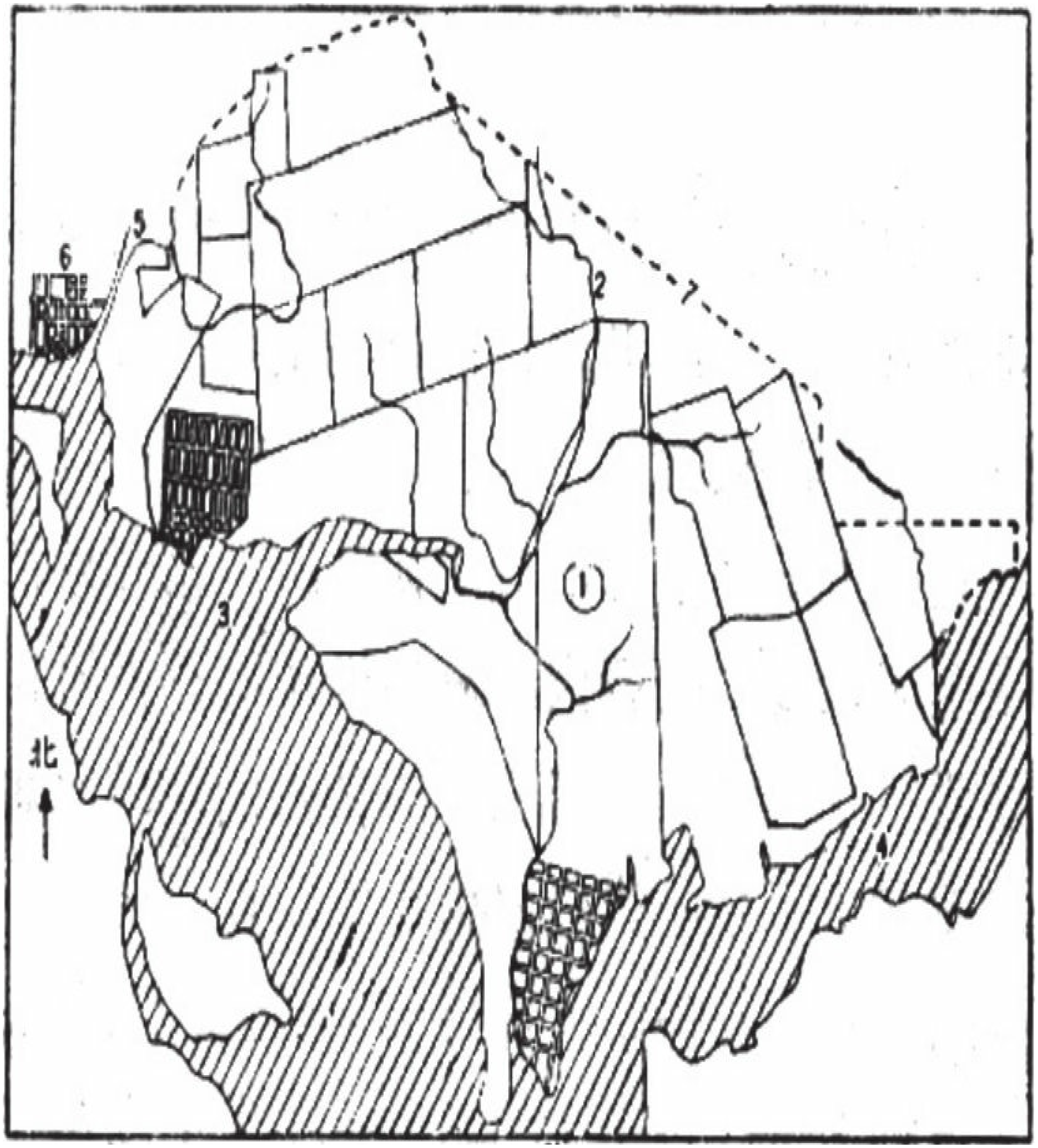
4-4 Boulevards extending eastward and westward from Tian An Men Square respectively— East and West Chang An Streets 从天安门广场向东西延伸的林荫大道——东、西长安街

So much for the discussion of the plan and design of Old Beijing and its future development and transformation. Let us now turn to an exploration of the design and plan of the city of Washington. Comparisons will be made between Beijing and Washington in the discussion.

III. The City of Washington

●Choice of the Site and the Original Design of the City

Early in 1791 (the 56th year of the reign of Emperor Qianlong), the site of Washington was decided and the planning began, and it was only eight years after the announcement of Declaration of Independence.[8] From the very beginning the issue of choosing a permanent seat of government had aroused much controversy and the decision was difficult to make, so it was long delayed. Finally, the Congress authorized President George Washington to decide on the site of the capital. The president surveyed and inspected in person the prospective location and finally decided on the present site of the capital. It is situated in the central part of the Atlantic seacoast, in a triangular area between the Potomac River and its eastern tributary called the Anacostia River or the Eastern Branch. The site is a plain with slightly inclining slopes. There is a hill in the middle of the plain. It looked prominent and was called, at that time, Jenkins Hill. Borderlines of private properties crisscrossed the whole area. Most of the land was covered by wild woods, with marshlands dotted on the plain. It was in fact an area not wholly cultivated. On the northern part of the triangular district, the land rose and several rivers and creeks flowed down the slope. The most well known was Goose Creek which flows along the foot of Jenkins Hill and then turns westward to join the Potomac. Two small settlements were respectively established on the tip of the triangle and at the northwestern corner. Only a few residents lived there, though grid-like streets were shown on the map drawn in the primary survey. Georgetown, located at the northwestern corner opposite to Rock Creek, was the largest settlement of the time (Fig. 4-5).



4-5　Site of Washington with the boundary lines of private properties　华盛顿城址初定时私人地产界线

1．Jenkins Hill　詹金斯山
2．Goose Creek　鹅溪
3．Potomac River　波河
4．Anacostia River　阿河
5．Rock Creek　石溪
6．Georgetown　乔治镇

7．Borderline of the highland in the north　北部高地边缘

（This chart is a simplified copy of the original chart made in 1792 from a book kept in National Archives of the United States.　根据美国国家档案馆藏1792年旧图书复制品加以简化）

The primary survey of the chosen site had been undertaken by Andrew Ellicott, and Pierre Charles L'Enfant responsible for the design and plan of the capital. L'Enfant was a French-born American engineer and architect, possessing great brilliance and passion. He was thirtyseven years old at that time. L'Enfant's father had been the imperial artist at Versailles, and there he had lived when he was a boy. Later he obtained his education at the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris, where his father taught. In 1777 L'Enfant and other French volunteers crossed the Atlantic Ocean to go to America and offer help to the people of the British colonies in their struggle against the British rulers for their independence. His achievements in military engineering won him high esteem from the Commander-in-Chief George Washington so that he was promoted to the rank of Major in the army. In 1791 he was assigned the duty of designing the plan of the capital. With enormous energy and amazing efficiency he had completed the task by the end of August of the same year and submitted the plan to Washington immediately. It was at the very beginning that L'Enfant had spotted Jenkins Hill and realized that it was the perfect foundation for the main buildings of the Federal Government. He thought of the site as God-sent. These buildings together with the later additions and improvements comprised the strikingly magnificent and dignified architecture of the present Capitol. As to Jenkins Hill, it has long since been renamed "Capitol Hill."

With Capitol Hill as the centre, L'Enfant designed the central axis in the plan of the capital. The axis was 5.5 kilometers long, starting from the eastern shore of the Potomac in the west to the western shore of the Anacostia in the east. Along the western section of the axis, that is, from the west of Capitol Hill to the east shore of the Potomac of that time, a space was to be reserved as a large green lawn for the recess and recreation of the people. This part, undergoing plans and development, was the famous "Mall" today. The presidential office and residence, that is, the present White House, was designed to be located to the north of the western part of the Mall rather than on the axis—it moved slightly westward to its present site, which commands a wonderful view of the wide expanse of the lower Potomac when one looks to the south. Linking the White House and Capitol Hill is a broad thoroughfare running in an oblique line, which is the present Pennsylvania

Avenue. The west-east axis stands prominently in the surface plan, and the Mall for whom the space was previously saved, also looks outstanding. Besides, there is often a public square at the meeting point of roads intersecting with each other at right angles or diagonally. The lower section of Goose Creek, running through the centre of the city immediately along the northern side of the Mall before it pours itself into the Potomac, was planned to be canalized to connect with the canal at the foot of the Capitol Hill. It was named the Tiber River, after the Roman Tiber.

For the design and plan of the municipality, the two rivers were used as the boundary of the southern part and the borderline of the highland was to be the boundary of the northern part of the capital. And it was on this principle that the city of Washington was built, developed and expanded. We must acknowledge that without the plan and design by L'Enfant, there would not be the magnificent design of the central part of the world famous city of Washington. It is because of this that the central part of Washington proper is referred to by some people as "L'Enfant City" (Fig. 4-6).[9]

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4-6　Washington, as it was chosen to be the capital, with the central axis and main thoroughfares as designed by L'Enfant　华盛顿城址初定时的地形示意图及朗方设计的全城中轴线及主要街道轮廓

1．Congress　国会
2．White House　白宫（总统府）
3．The green area of the Mall on the horizontal axis　全城中轴线上的绿茵带
4．Pennsylvania Avenue　宾夕法尼亚大道
5．Potomac River　波河
6．Anacostia River　阿河
7．Goose Greek (Tiber River)　鹅溪（台伯河）
8．The boundary region of the upland in the north　北部高地边缘

（The above diagram is a copy of the Ellicott's survey map from 1793.　根据1793埃利科特测量图绘）

Here let me try to make a comparison between the plans of Old Beijing and Washington, which might help the audience understand the further discussion better.

Two essential points are worth our notice:

One, both cities have a central axis line. For Old Beijing, the axis was from north to south, closely following the eastern shore of the natural lakes. The orientation of the axis, though constrained by natural factors, was greatly influenced by cultural elements deeply rooted in the history, as we have discussed above. For Washington, the central axis was from west to east between the two rivers and it was decided solely by natural conditions. There were no historical or cultural factors involved.

Two, in the plan of the Old City of Beijing, the surrounding walls were an integral part of the whole city, while in Washington, rivers and highlands were utilized as the boundaries of the city for there was neither necessity nor tradition of wall building for a city. Actually no cities in the U.S. are equipped with walls.

The above mentioned differences, though superficial, reflect the differences of the cultural traditions between China and the West. It is even more important that such differences are embodied in the key concepts in the capital plan. As the topic pertinent to Beijing has been explored, we would confine the following part to the discussion of Washington's city plan.

●On the Concepts of Municipal Design and Planning

The concept of the design and plan of Beijing Old City originated in the Shang and Zhou dynasties when slavery still prevailed, and was written down

in "The Way the Craftsmen Build the City" in *Kaogongji, Zhouli.* As the centralized reign of the feudal dynasties took shape, the concept of building a capital based on the doctrine of "Almighty Sovereignty" had varied in forms of expression. Then came the time when Dadu of the Yuan Dynasty was built, which not only inherited the standards and system of building a city prescribed in the classic of *Kaogongji, Zhouli,* but also utilized the natural distribution of the water sources, thus laying the foundation of Beijing, the capital city of the Ming and Qing dynasties. Hence, we can claim that the design and plan of the Old City of Beijing is an overarching masterpiece in building capital cities during the more than two thousand years of feudalism in China.

The historical background of the building of the city of Washington is totally different from that of Old Beijing. To study the basic concept embodied in the design and planning of Washington, we must first understand characteristics of its historical background.

1．The characteristics of the period and their reflection on the design and plan of the capital

The construction of the city of Washington was one of the victorious achievements gained by the North American people who fought against the colonization of its suzerain state the Great Britain. The nature of this struggle was fully expressed in the Declaration of Independence approved by the Second Continental Congress convened by delegates from the colonies in North America. The Declaration held "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."In the original draft there was a chapter concerning the abolition of slavery, but it was deleted for the opposition from the representatives of the State of South Carolina. Karl Marx highly esteemed the Declaration and he claimed that "[i]t is the first declaration of human rights"[10]. It was the time of the rise of capitalism in North America, and the people of all classes reacted enthusiastically to the Declaration, including the most oppressed blacks, who also joined in the struggle against the British oppressors and made significant contributions.

After the War of Independence, the ruling class of the new born country came to realize that their acquired social status and power must be further confirmed and consolidated. Hence they started the Constitution Movement, in an attempt to defend their acquired privilege by means of the establishment of the American Constitution. Two years before the founding of the United

States of America, in Philadelphia, the old capital or temporary capital before the building of the city of Washington, the Constitutional Convention took place[11] and created the United States Constitution, which formulated the three divisions of power—the Legislature, the Judiciary, and the Executive, as the principle of governmental organization. Later, when L'Enfant set out to plan the construction of the new capital Washington, this principle was also adopted as the guiding line, which was shown in the layout of the three main structures of the Capitol, the White House and the Supreme Court. It is difficult to identify the exact location of the Supreme Court in today's city plan. The present Supreme Court is built to the northeast of the Capitol, not far away from the latter. Nevertheless, such layout still indicates the idea of the division of power.

The most salient and influential feature of L'Enfant's plan is the determination of main axis line centered on the Capitol Hill, and along the axis he reserved the space for the Mall, which laid the basis for the development of the nuclear area of Washington in the future. This section of the axis resembled that part from the Scenic Hill (Jing Shan) to the Zheng Yang Men on the axis of the Old City of Beijing in its significance to the whole plan of the city. Nevertheless, the concepts represented by the two were totally different for the one in the Old City of Beijing emphasized the doctrine of "Almighty Sovereignty" while its counterpart in Washington tried to demonstrate the importance of human rights. Thus the approaches to municipal design and planning were also different. The former chose the strictly enclosed design, while the latter chose to be "completely open to all". Different concepts gave rise to different forms of expression.

2. Further development of the axis line and the objective effects of the main buildings

L'Enfant's blueprint for the design of Washington and his concept of building the city had not been appropriately noticed and appreciated for the entire century that followed. And the person who made such an outstanding contribution to the construction of Washington hadn't received appropriate acknowledgement in his lifetime either. He was very poor and destitute in the last years of his life. It was only with the financial aid and a piece of land offered by one of his friends that his body could be buried. Not until the beginning of this century were his talent and achievement acknowledged and his remains moved to the National Cemetery of Arlington and buried on top of the hill in 1909. On the headstone was carved the draft plan of the capital

as a memorial to his achievement. Looking to the east from the tomb of L'Enfant, one can see the Mall situated on the original axis line as designed by him across the Potomac between the Lincoln Memorial and the United States Capitol. In fact, one can see all the important buildings laid out in the plan. Indeed, there is no better place for L'Enfant to have his permanent rest.

It seems advisable for us to recall some of the incidents that occurred during the one hundred years of the nineteenth century on the Mall to the west of Capitol Hill.

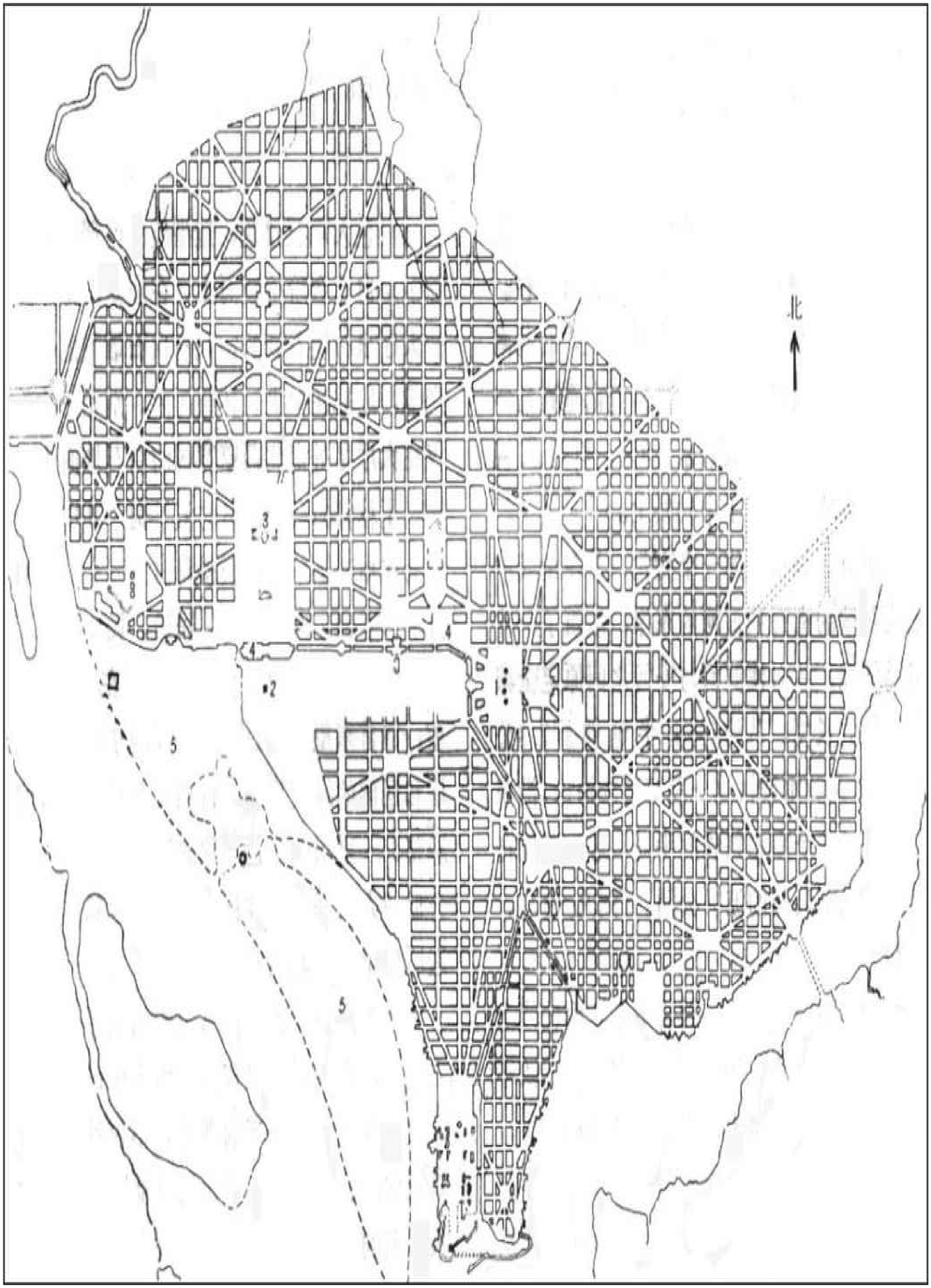
One, L'Enfant's plan to canalize the Tiber River to reach the foot of Capitol Hill had never been taken into serious consideration. As a result, the Tiber became a stinky sewer for litter and rubbish and was filled up and abandoned later. What remained to the date is a small sluice shed not far from the White House, marking the originally designated site of the canal.

Two, the Smithsonian Institution was built in 1847 without reference to L'Enfant's design of the boundary of the Mall, and the Institution went so far as to be situated inside the Mall. A proposal had once been made to tear down the building, but was turned down for the preservation of historical relics and architecture.

Three, the designated location of the White House was moved further westward to its present site.

Four, the present Washington Monument is not built on the originally planned spot due to the weak foundation there. It is now 40 meters south to the original site, and therefore not on the city's central axis line according to the original design. Nor does it fall on the perpendicular line leading southward from the White House, but is 120 meters east of that line. However, one would have such a visual impression that the Monument is still on the horizontal axis line.

Five, the most important change is that the marshy lowland to the south of the western extreme of the axis on the eastern shore of the Potomac has been reclaimed. Thus the original axis line between the two rivers of the Potomac and the Anacostia was prolonged from 5.5 kilometers to 7.3 kilometers. Meanwhile, the broad riverbed of the Potomac was utilized and a narrow stretch of land reclaimed along the eastern shore from south to north, which is the present Potomac River Park beautifully dotted with lakes (Figs. 4-7, 4-8).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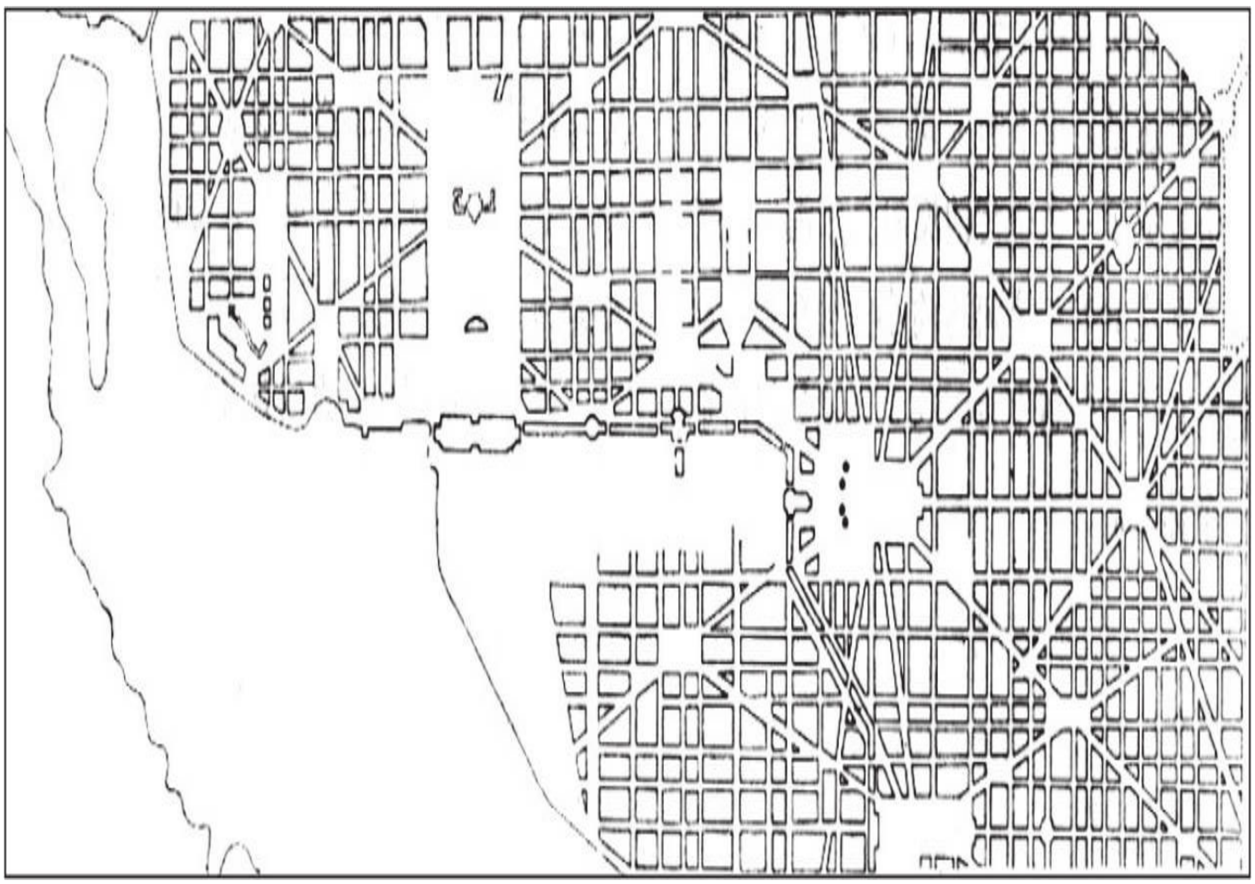
4-7 Reclamation of the marshland on the east shore and the shallow water area of the Potomac 波河东岸沼泽及浅水区填筑的陆地

1. Site of the Capitol Building 国会大厦址
2. The original designated location of the Washington Monument 原定华盛顿纪念塔址
3. The original designated location of the White House 原定白宫址
4. The Canal 运河
5. Potomac River Park 波河公园

--- The dotted lines show the riverside after reclamation. 虚线表示填筑后的河岸

□ New starting point on the east shore of the Potomac. It is the location of the Lincoln Memorial built later. 中轴线在波河东岸的新起点，即日后修建林肯纪念堂的地方

○ The site for the Jefferson Memorial built later. The site of the White House on the above diagram was later moved to a site further west on the perpendicular line north of the Jefferson Memorial. 日后修建杰斐逊纪念堂的地方，此图上的白宫位置后来也稍向西移，与杰斐逊纪念堂在一条南北垂直线上



4-8 The original eastern shoreline of the Potomac where the starting spot of the axis line was located 波河东岸中轴线起点的原始河岸线

The last change is most significant in its influence on the development of the capital's central axis line. It was on the reclaimed land on the western extreme of the central axis that the Lincoln Memorial was constructed in

1922. This signified graphically the starting point of the axis line from west to east of the capital. This horizontal axis of Washington from west to east is less than one kilometer shorter than the perpendicular axis of Old Beijing from north to south. In 1976 the Constitution Gardens on the northern side of the long narrow "Reflecting Pool" in front of the Memorial, were constructed in order to celebrate the 200th anniversary of Independence Day.

It should be highlighted that the construction of the Lincoln Memorial has not only further developed the original central axis designed by L'Enfant, but also furnished the underlying theme embodied by the central axis line with a new implication. The Lincoln Memorial is a structure of white marble, simple and dignified. Mounting the many marble steps in front of the Memorial, one comes to see an immense white marble sculpture of President Lincoln sitting and meditating in the middle of the hall. There is no other thing or decoration around except that in the far end of the hall the two famous speeches by Lincoln were carved on the north and the south sides respectively. One contains the phrase he used to describe a government which has "a new birth of freedom," that is, "of the people, by the people, and for the people." When one comes to pay his/her respect to the Memorial, stands before the statue and looks back eastward beyond the tall Washington Monument and the great span of green lawn of the Mall to the big white dome of the Capitol, he/she would think of the great contribution President Lincoln made to the United States of America.

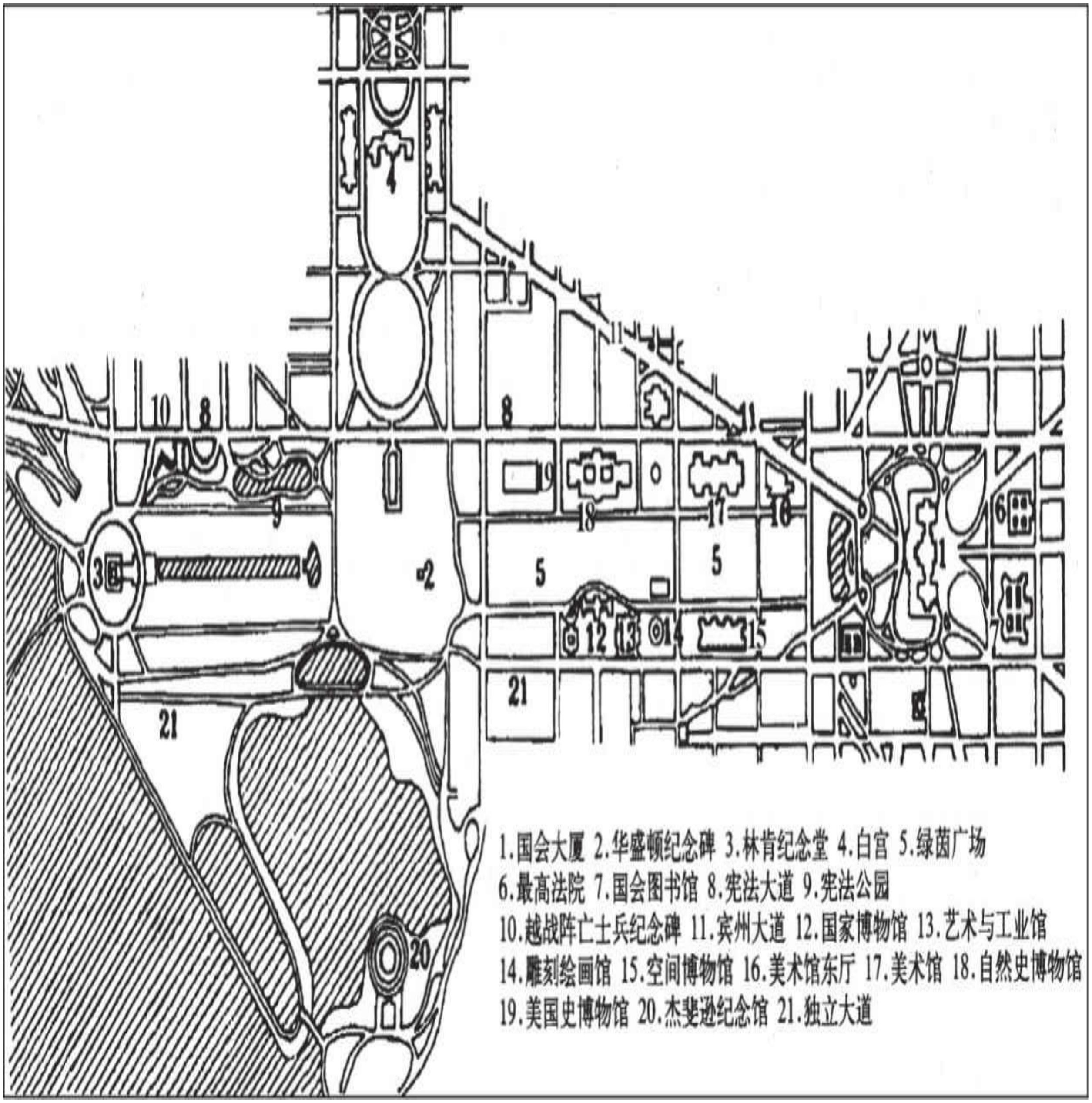
In spite of all these, we must also see that since the establishment of the Federal Government, the principles of human rights and the ideal that all men are born free and equal as expressed in the Declaration of Independence not only had not been truly realized, but the internal conflicts had become even more serious. Among them the major one was the rivalry between the North as represented by the employers of laborers, and the South as represented by the owners of slaves. When Lincoln was elected President of America in 1860, he declared his strong opposition to slavery, and issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. By that time the Civil War had broken out, and the issue of the Proclamation made the situation even more tense. Although the North army won the final victory, Lincoln, after being elected President for the second time in November, 1864, was assassinated by a killer sent by Southern slave owners in April, 1865.

Although the struggle led by President Lincoln saved the United States from falling apart, the problem of racial discrimination still existed. In 1866,

the year after Lincoln was assassinated, a group of Southern racists established a reactionary organization called the KKK(Ku-Klux-Klan), which brutally attacked and murdered black people. In August, 1963, the well-known anti-racism activist, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., delivered his famous speech "I Have a Dream" before over two hundred thousand people in front of the Lincoln Memorial to commemorate the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. Unfortunately, he got assassinated by racists in April, 1968 when he went to Memphis, Tennessee to support a strike for equal pay for equal work, his "dream" yet realized by a long way.

Symbolically the construction of the Lincoln Memorial at the starting point of the central axis of the capital is a further development of the underlying theme prescribed by L'Enfant in his plan, that is, the idea of human rights. However, this ideal has never been fulfilled. Karl Marx once commented on the revolution led by Lincoln that it was "an earnest of a new epoch to come" and that "it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained race and the reconstruction of a social world."[12] It is nevertheless an undeniable fact that the "new epoch to come" remains an age the American people have to strive for (Fig. 4-9).

3. A problem provoking further thinking



4-9 The Mall of Washington on the axis line 华盛顿城中轴线上的绿茵广场

1．The Congress
2．Washington Monument
3．Lincoln Memorial
4．The White House
5．National Mall
6．Supreme Court
7．Library of Congress
8．Constitution Avenue
9．Constitution Gardens
10．The Vietnam Veterans Memorial
11．Pennsylvania Avenue

12. Smithsonian Institution
13. Arts and Industries Building
14. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden
15. National Air and Space Museum
16. National Gallery of Art East Building
17. National Gallery of Art
18. National Museum of Natural History
19. National Museum of American History
20. Jefferson Memorial
21. Independence Avenue

In a warm and sunny morning in the spring of 1980, I visited the Lincoln Memorial for the first time. It impressed me so deeply both emotionally and mentally that the memories never faded away. Later, I visited the United States three times and every time I paid my respects to the Lincoln Memorial to recapture the feeling that I had got on my first visit, no matter how pressing my schedule was. In the summer of 1984 when I visited there again, I came across a statue of three soldiers on the lawn unexpectedly in front of the Memorial in the west of the Constitution Gardens. When I approached the statue, I realized that it was a monument that honors U.S. service members who fought and died in the Vietnam War after the Second World War. The design of the memorial is an open lawn in a wide V shape which gradually sinks towards the interior angle beneath the ground. Along the two sides are two walls made of black gabbro, that is, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Wall, on which are etched the names of the more than fifty thousand Americans dead in the Vietnam War with their rankings. As one walked down along the wall and looked at the names, a mournful sense would well up in the heart, so it was also called "America's Wailing Wall." One wing of the V-shaped memorial pointed to the Washington Monument in the southeast, and the other to the Lincoln Memorial in the southwest. This ingenious design was the work of a ChineseAmerican architect Maya Lin.[13] The implication of this design is also thought-provoking, for the American people had strongly protested sending troops to Vietnam and deemed the war as unjust. The site chosen for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial is on the Mall along the central axis. Looking down the extension of the two walls, one can see the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial in the distance, which would remind one of the vast discrepancy in nature between the ideals embraced by the founding fathers of the United States of America and the unjust Vietnam War. When I, a foreign visitor, stood on the axis of the city of Washington and saw this memorial there, I could not help but think of the difficulties and hardships the common people of America must overcome in

order to realize the ideals of their founding fathers.

IV. Other Mountain's Stone May Polish the Jade—Some Examples Which Can Be Referred to in the Construction of Washington

Right from the very beginning of urban construction, the sister cities of Beijing and Washington both tried their best to express their underlying concepts in the design of the central axis line. In spite of the differences in their historical background, they both aim to reflect the spirit of their ages. At the present time, the urban development of the two cities has far exceeded the original design and plan. Although the city walls of Old Beijing have been torn down and the city expanded rapidly to the areas which used to be outside the city, the Old City is still the nucleus of the overall plan for a new Beijing. The case is the same with Washington which has also exceeded the original limits of the two rivers and the northern highland, but the L'Enfant City still serves as the heart of the plan of the whole city. For Beijing, with the reformation of the social system in China, the problems that it was confronted with in its construction are much different from those for Washington. The most urgent task which should be addressed in its planning and construction is how to preserve the best of tradition and at the same time to add new conceptual elements, in order to reflect the initiation of a new era of socialism. In this respect, the issue of the central axis line is most delicate and important. For example, the transformation of Tian An Men Square is successful in this sense. Furthermore, while considering inheriting the best tradition of China to utilize the old for the benefit of the present, we must also try our best to absorb the best of foreign experience for the benefit of China. We must concede that regarding the issue of urban construction, capitalist countries have a lot of experience worthy of learning, only it is necessary for us to know how to differentiate the truly advanced experience from the bad and to keep away from copying blindly. To learn indiscriminately would bring nothing but harms. Take the plan of Washington for example. Layout of all the buildings along the central axis line and their functions are properly regulated, on which lessons could be drawn. The Capitol stands on the central point of the axis and all other buildings in the city are not allowed to be built higher than it, which contributes to a special skyline of the city. The space stretching from the

Capitol westward to the Mall in front of the Washington Monument is wide and level, commanding a broad view. To the south and north of the Mall, museums and galleries are arranged in order. On the southern side, there are the National Air and Space Museum, the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, the Smithsonian Institution (which contains an exhibition on the history of the capital planning) and others. On the northern side are the National Gallery of Art, the National Museum of Natural History, the National Museum of American History and further north is the National Archives. To the southeast of the Capitol is the world famous Library of Congress with its recently built annex building, standing side by side with the Supreme Court on a north-south line. The heart of the capital here is a concentration of the characteristics of Washington as the national centre of political and cultural activities. The design of the capital in its entirety is of dignity and diversity. All the museums and galleries on either side of the axis, though of the relatively same height, differ from one another in their architectural designs, varying from the classic redbrick-castle style of the Smithsonian Institution to the ultra-modern design of the National Air and Space Museum—they all express the characteristics of their age. And among them the most renowned is the East Wing extension to the National Gallery of Art built recently. This site used to be a piece of triangular land at the northeastern corner of the Mall not far from the Capitol Hill, making it not only the most important but also subtle to deal with in architectural design. Here the world famous Chinese-American architect Ieoh Ming Pei showed his talent and designed a unique building which adds charm to the Mall.

The above discussion reminds me of the construction of the Great Hall of the People and the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution during the transformation of Tian An Men Square on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of New China, as mentioned earlier, which highlighted the identity of Beijing as the national cultural center besides its position of the national political center. However, at that time the dual role of this capital had not been fully recognized or elaborated. Considering the great significance of construction of the spiritual civilization and the requirements of building Beijing as the national cultural center, the overall design and planning of the city should be drawn on the basis of the historical characteristics of the layout of Beijing. The design of the central part along the axis line of Washington discussed above can serve as one of the examples for us.

Translated by Cheung Hon Cha
July 11th, 1988

肆　从北京到华盛顿——城市设计主题思想试探*

北京和华盛顿是社会制度完全不同的两个国家的首都，但在城市的规划设计上，却各有千秋。从历史的发展来看，北京和华盛顿尽管在开始营建的年代上相去很远，但是在规划设计上，却各有自己深厚的文化历史渊源。北京城原有的规划设计，可以说是封建社会时期我国都城建设的一个杰出典型。华盛顿城中心部分的规划设计，从建国之初开始，就继承了自16世纪“文艺复兴”盛行以来欧洲城市建设的优良传统，堪称资本主义上升时期西方国家都城规划的一个光辉范例。

我国在封建王朝衰落之后，又经历了灾难深重的半殖民地半封建社会，现在已经进入了建设有中国特色的社会主义的新时代。

美国作为一个高度发达的资本主义国家，还在沿着它原有的道路徘徊前进，甚至伸张其势力于域外。

因此，这两个首都作为两个国家历史文化集中表现的地方，在其规划设计上所面临的问题，也就各不相同了。

在过去的规划设计上，北京和华盛顿既有形式上的类似之处，又有本质上的区别和差异。在形式上的类似之处，最突出的一点，就是两者从建城之始就各自选定了一条中轴线作为全城设计的出发点。在本质上的区别和差异，则在于两个城市在其最初规划设计上，由于社会性质的根本不同，所力图表达的主题思想，也就大不一样了。

一、北京城

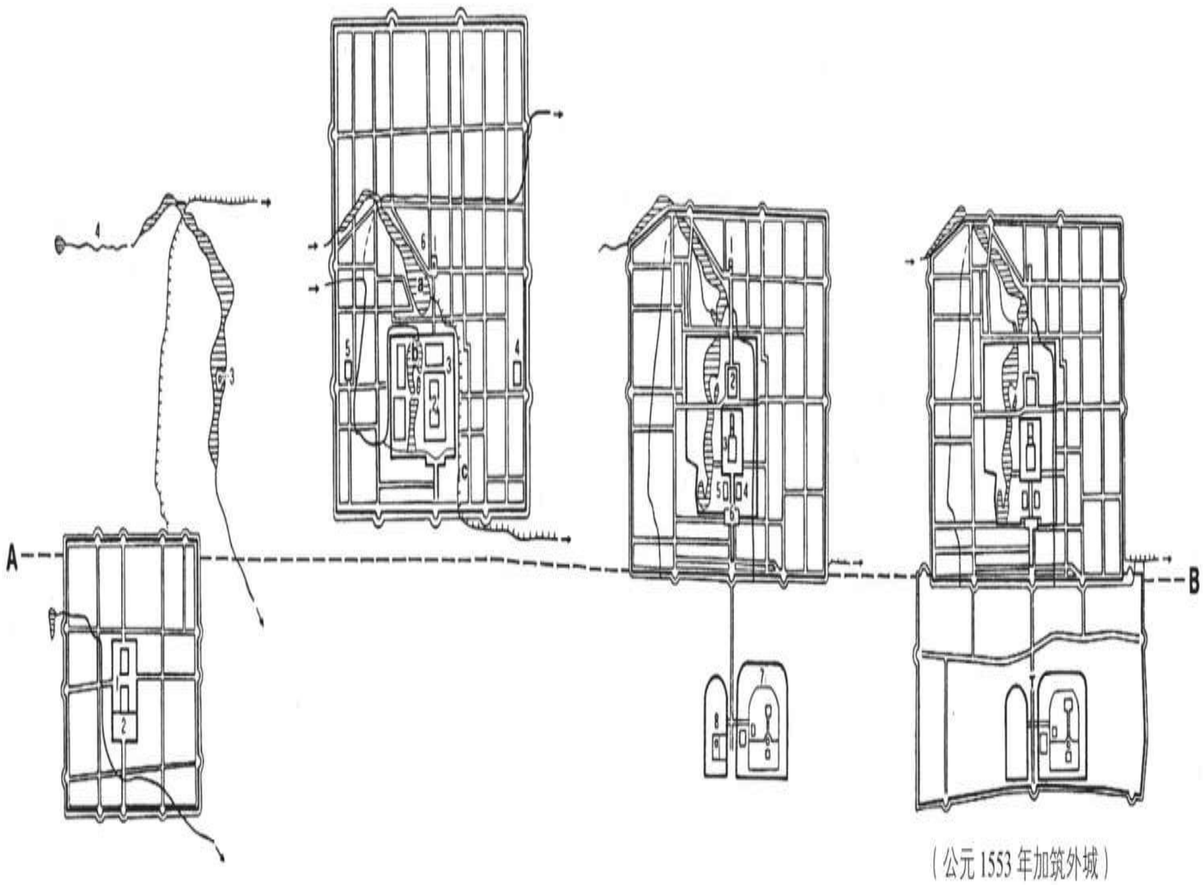
（一）今城的建址与城址的演变

北京城原始聚落的起源，距今已有三千多年。早期的城址原在今城的西南部。今城的建设则是七百二十年前（即公元1267年）才开始的。当时选择了古代高梁河上的一带天然湖泊作为中心进行规划设计，建设新城，这就是元朝的大都城。明朝初年又历经改建，始称北京。到了明朝中叶，也就是公元1553年，又在北京城南加筑外罗城，于是又有北京内城和外城之分，各有城垣环绕，合成凸字形，面积约计62平方公里。全城的平面布局，至此定型，并且一直完整地保留到1949年新中国的诞

生，这就是今天所说的北京旧城。

在北京旧城建设的过程中，城内湖泊的南半部，从一开始就圈入皇城之内，作为皇家园林的中心部分进行营建，并按照封建传统，命名为太液池。明初又在太液池南端新凿一湖，遂有南海、中海和北海之称，流传至今。至于被隔在皇城以外的原始湖泊的上游，原名积水潭。明朝初年，缩减北城，竟将积水潭的上游部分隔在城外，这就是在“十年动乱”期间才被填掉的太平湖。保留在城内的部分就是今天的什刹海，习惯上又分别叫做前海、后海和西海。前海的西南隅一部分也已被填为建筑用地。

总之，为北京旧城的建址提供了重要地理条件的原始湖泊，今天虽然已经不是本来的面貌，却仍然占有十分重要的地位，并且已经有贯通南北六海（即南部的南海、中海、北海和北部的前海、后海、西海）的设想，纳入北京城的总体规划之中。为了便于揭示北京旧城城市设计的主题思想，应将北京旧城河湖水系的变迁与城址的演变，作图说明（图4-1）。



A Zhongdu (the Jin Dynasty)
中都（金）

B Dadu (the Yuan Dynasty)
大都（元）

C Beijing (early years of the Ming Dynasty)
北京（明朝前期）

D Beijing (middle ages of the Ming Dynasty and afterwards)
北京（明中叶以后）

1. Palatial City 宫城
2. Imperial City 皇城
3. Tai-ning Palace (Imperial Retreat) 太宁宫（离宫）
4. Gaoliang River 高梁河

1. Central Platform 中心之台
2. Royal Palace (with court in the south and living quarters in the north) 大内（南为前朝，北为后廷）
3. Imperial City 皇城
4. Ancestral Temple 太庙
5. Altar of Harvest 社稷坛
6. Markets 主要市场分布区
   a. Ji-shui Tan (Haizi) 积水潭（海子）
   b. Holy Water Pond 太液池
   c. Tong-hui River (northern end of the Grand Canal) 通惠河（大运河北端）

1. Bell Tower (north) and Drum Tower 钟楼（北）、鼓楼
2. Wan-sui Hill (called Jing Hill or Coal Hill later) 万岁山（后改称景山、煤山）
3. Forbidden City 紫禁城
4. Ancestral Temple 太庙
5. Altar of Harvest 社稷坛
6. Cheng-tian Gate (called Tian An Men Gate later) 承天门（后改为天安门）
7. Altar of Heaven 天坛
8. Altar of Mountain and River (called Altar of Agriculture later) 山川坛（后改称先农坛）

4-1 City sites of old Beijing (from Zhongdu City in the Jin Dynasty to Beijing in the Ming and Qing dynasties) 北京旧城址变迁（金中都到明清北京）

（Broken line from A to B is a reference line to demonstrate the relative positions of city sites vertically AB间虚线表示城址南北移动的相对位置）

（二）城市设计的主题思想

从插图中可以明显地看到北京旧城的轮廓虽然从长方形到凸字形经过了几次变化，但是自北而南隐然存在的纵贯全城的中轴线，只有延长，并无改变。实际上这条中轴线，也正是全城平面设计的依据。在内城是如此，在外城也不例外。因为外城城垣未建之前，就先已于1420年兴建了天坛和山川坛（后改称先农坛）这两组建筑。其东西并列的位置，显然是由内城中轴线的延长部分所决定的，后来加筑外城（1553年），终于出现了纵贯内外两城长达8公里的新轴线，并且给人一种整体感，好像内外两城是同时设计，一气呵成的。这也显示出凸字形的城垣轮廓，比起任何一种矩形轮廓（如元大都和明初北京城的轮廓），更能给人以一种稳定感。正是这种全城平面布局上的特点，从美学观点上引起了西方建筑学家和城市规划学者的无限赞叹。丹麦的S. E. Rasmussen称道说："北京城乃是世界的奇观之一，它的布局匀称而明朗，是一个卓越的纪念物，一个伟大文明的顶峰。"[1]美国的E. N. Bacon又推崇它"可能是地球表面上人类最伟大的单项工程……它的平面设计是如此之杰出，这就为今天的城市建设提供了丰富的可供参考的实例"。同时他还曾用黄蓝两色把这条中轴线连同和它并列的一带湖泊，突出地显示在全城淡灰色的平面图上，给人以十分突出的印象。[2]然而更加值得注意的却是隐然支配着这整个平面设计的主题思想，从其建筑上来说有最重要的两点，须分别加以说明如下：

1．城垣建筑与城市设计的关系

根据我国的历史传统，最初的城市，都有城垣，因此"城"这个字有双重含义，既指城市，又指城垣，有时还可用作动词，如《诗·小雅·出车》："城彼朔方"，即指在朔方筑城，而城垣的修筑，又与整个城市的规划设计密切联系在一起。例如，成书于春秋时期（公元前770—前476）的《周礼·考工记》在"匠人营国"一节中，总结了周初以来营建国都的经验，又加以规范化，并做了如下的描述：

> 匠人营国，方九里，旁三门，国中九经九纬，经涂九轨。左祖右社，面朝后市。

这段记载的大意是说：国都的营建，应是一座方城，每边长九里，各有三门。城内纵横大道各九条。左有太庙，右有社稷坛。面向外朝，后为市场。这里不言而喻的是帝王的朝廷位居全城的中央。关于这一

点，贺业钜在《考工记营国制度研究》一书中有所说明，摘录如下：

> 为什么要把宫廷区布置在全城中心，这和周人所崇奉的“择中论”的规划思想是分不开的。“择中论”是我国奴隶社会选择国都位置的规划理论，这种理论认为择天下之中建王“国”（即国都），既便于四方贡献，更有利于控制四方。[3]

这一说明指出了国都设计的理论根据，值得注意。按中国历代都城的建设，只有元大都城的规划设计和上述“匠人营国”的描述最为近似。这自然与大都城的主要设计人刘秉忠有直接关系。刘秉忠原名侃，是位熟通经史而又务实的学者，曾设坛讲学于太行山中，元代著名天文历算学家、水利学家郭守敬即出其门下。蒙古首领忽必烈入主中原，建立元朝之前，曾命刘侃在今滦河上游闪电河北岸设计兴建开平城（后改称上都，今遗址尚在），深得忽必烈赏识，因赐名秉忠。1260年忽必烈进驻当时金朝中都城，也就是在北京原始聚落上发展起来的最后一座大城，1267年决定在中都城外东北郊一座湖上离宫（太宁宫）的周围，另建大都新城，仍然任命刘秉忠为主要负责人。郭守敬也被推荐参与其事，特别是在河湖水系的利用与大运河的修建上，做出了卓越的贡献。

这里需要指出的是大都城垣，南北纵长，而非正方，与“匠人营国”的规划稍有区别，这显然是由于在全城的平面布局上要充分利用河湖水系的结果。其次是“大内”（相当于后日的紫禁城）的寝宫，并不在全城的正中央，也与“匠人营国”所暗示的不尽一致，而是稍向南移，但是仍然处于全城设计的中轴线上，也是合乎“择中论”的规划思想的。

元大都建成之后直到明中叶北京外城的兴建，其平面布局历经改造，与“匠人营国”所描写的原始形制，已经相去甚远，但是它所体现的基本内容，却依然未变。不仅如此，它所传达的主题思想却更加突出、更加明显。这一主题思想就集中表现在两度延长的全城中轴线上。因此这条全城中轴线的设计和它所集中表现的思想内容，正是本文所应该进一步探讨的核心问题。

2．全城中轴线设计的含义及其历史文化渊源

北京旧城的中轴线在全城平面布局上的艺术效果，虽然屡为中外规划学家所称道，但是它的含义及其发生和演变的历史文化渊源，还有待进一步阐明。

拙作《论北京旧城的改造》[4]一文已经说明在元朝国号未建以前兴建大都城时，首先在积水潭的东北岸上确定了全城布局的几何中心，就地刻石立碑，命名为“中心之台”，然后以中心台为起点，紧傍积水潭东岸，定下了全城设计的中轴线，从而把宫城“大内”，恰好布置在太液池东岸，也就是中轴线的中间部位上，其结果是大内的前朝大明殿与后宫延春阁，也就占据了全城最重要的位置，这就十分突出地显示了这条中轴线在全城设计上的主题思想，如果用文字来说明，那就是封建帝王

的“唯我独尊”。至于宗庙社稷这两组具有象征意义的建筑群，遵照“匠人营国”的原则，相应地布置在大内左右，也就是东西两面城垣的内侧。其后经过明朝的改建，内城的几何中心虽然由原来的中心台南移到景山中峰（也就是元朝延春阁的旧址），宗庙社稷两组建筑也分别移到紫禁城前的左右两侧，结果是全城中轴线在设计上的主题思想，不仅没有减弱，反而加强。特别是随着南郊天坛和山川坛的兴建，中轴线又继续向南延长，终于使得它在全城平面布局上的支配地位更加突出，它所代表的主题思想也就更加显明。

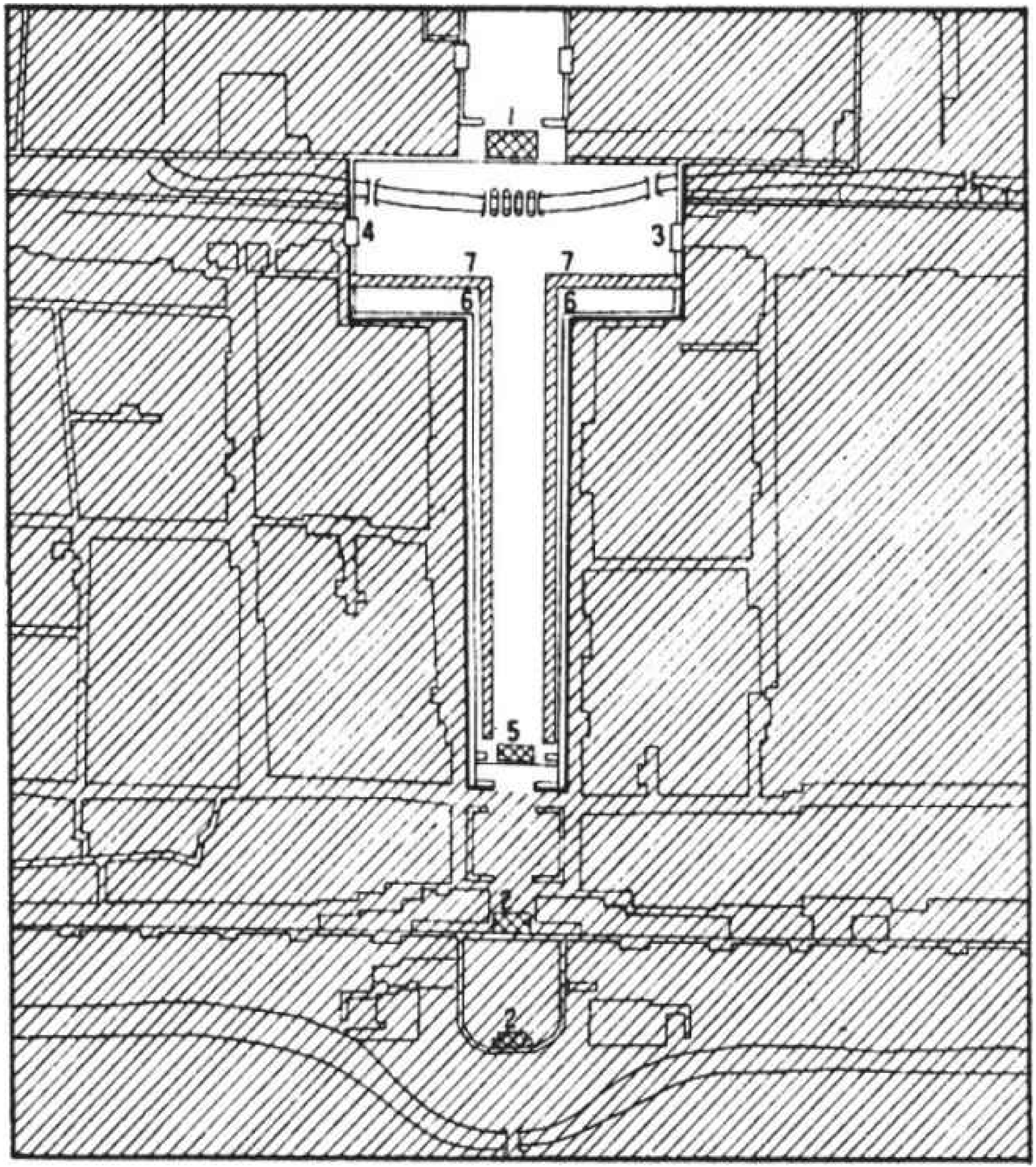
　　但是在这里必须进一步说明的一个问题，就是在北京旧城平面设计上不断得到发展的中轴线，它的自北而南的垂直走向是怎样确定下来的？这个问题看似简单，实际上却涉及我国都城在规划设计上的一个基本定向的问题，那就是城市布局的主导方向，一定要面向正南。由此而派生出来的一个封建统治者的正统观念，就是所谓“面南而王”。这个“面南而王”的思想，在城市的规划设计上最初体现出来始于何时，没有直接的文献记载可供参考，但至少《周礼·考工记》的“匠人营国”一节，已经间接说明了当时的城市建设计划，其主导方向必是面向正南。因此在文中讲到国都的平面布局时，只用“左祖”与“右社”以代表宗庙在东，社稷坛在西；只用“面朝”与“后市”以代表朝廷在南，市场在北。可以设想，这一既定的主导方向，是早已相沿成习而后遗传下来的。关于这一点，考古发现提供了有力的佐证。迄今所见早商时代的宫殿基址，说明当时的宫殿建筑，都是正面朝南。[5]又商代的宫殿基址中还显示出有两座殿址，不仅坐北朝南，而且前后并列，从规划上判断，应即后代“前朝后寝”的原型。[6]其次，商代都城已发现有略呈方形的四面城垣，但宫殿建筑偏在城内东北部。[7]有计划地把面向正南的宫殿修建在方形城垣的中央——也就是全城的中轴线上，应是到周代才成为定制的，这就是《周礼·考工记》中“匠人营国”所根据的传统原则。其后，到了战国末年，为秦国统一天下提供思想武器的《吕氏春秋·慎势》篇中所谓“古之王者，择天下之中而立国”的“择中论”，就是这一历史事实的反映。

　　上述事实说明，在都城的规划设计上，以面向正南为主导方向，是有很深厚的历史文化渊源的。追求其原因，很显明的是和地处北温带的季风地区有关，这里冬季西北寒风强烈，气候严酷；夏季转以东南风为主，炎热多雨。为了避寒和采光，居室的设计，背北面南最为合理。因此由个体建筑扩大到城市布局，逐渐发展为面向正南作为整体设计上的主导方向，进而派生出“面南而王”的传统观念，其起源可以上溯至奴隶社会时期，到了封建社会时期，已成定型。从这一点来说，北京作为历史文化名城，它所保存下来的最大的特殊风貌，也正表现在这里。

（三）旧城改造的一项根本任务及其成就

随着新中国的诞生，又重新建都北京，它所面临的一项根本任务，应该是在力求保护这座历史文化名城的特殊风貌的同时，赋予它以新的主题思想，从而反映出新的时代精神。这是极为困难的一件事。在过去三十多年的实践中，虽然出现了一些难以挽救的损失，但是也取得了一定的成就，天安门广场的改造就是一例。

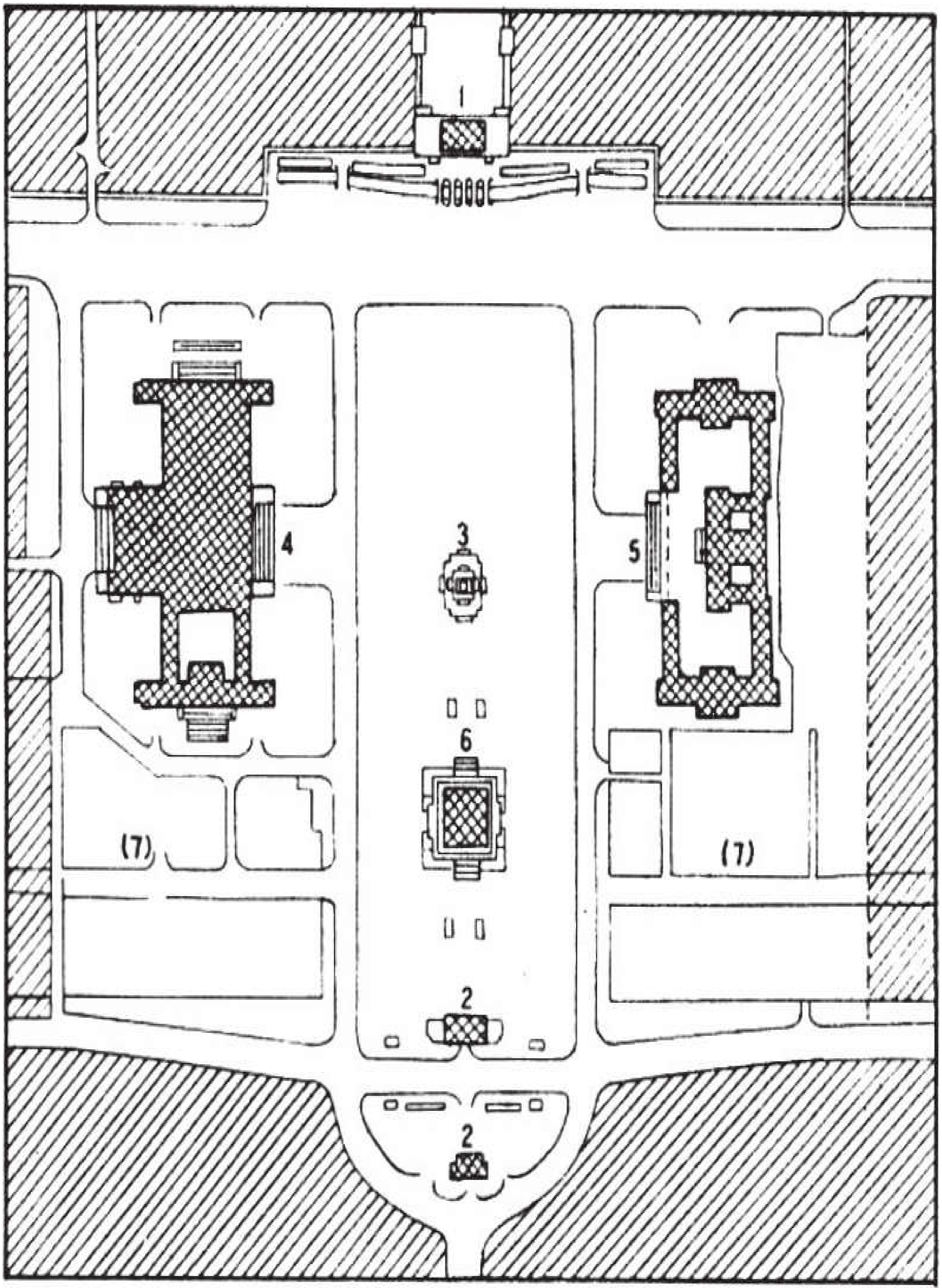
现在天安门广场的前身，原是封建王朝统治时期的一个宫廷广场，三面筑有红墙，沿红墙内侧筑有联檐通脊的千步廊，中间广场呈“T”字形，过去只有炫耀封建帝王无上权威的重大典礼在这里举行，庶民百姓严禁涉足。因此在全城中轴线上所集中表现的封建帝王“唯我独尊”的主题思想，首先在这里显示出来。进入天安门之后，还要穿过层层封闭的空间，才能来到紫禁城内的核心建筑，即雄踞全城之上的前朝三大殿——太和殿、中和殿、保和殿，以及后廷三大宫——乾清宫、交泰殿、坤宁宫。（图4-2）



4-2　Imperial square before Tian An Men in the Qing Dynasty　清代天安门前宫廷广场

1．Tian An Men　天安门
2．Zheng Yang Gate and Archery Tower　正阳门及其箭楼
3．Left Chang An Men　长安左门
4．Right Chang An Men　长安右门
5．Da Qing Men of the Qing Dynasty　大清门
6．The Red Walls　红墙
7．A Thousand Steps Corridor　千步廊

1911年的辛亥革命推翻了历时两千多年的封建王朝的统治，天安门前的宫廷广场才得开放通行，其结果也正是在这里爆发了1919年伟大的五四运动，从而揭开了新民主主义革命的序幕。这是发生在北京城里的具有重大意义的历史事件。以此为起点，经历了整整三十年的革命斗争，在中国共产党的领导下，终于迎来了新中国的诞生。1949年10月1日万民欢庆的开国大典，选择在天安门前举行，这一事实本身就开始赋予天安门以崭新的意义，从此这座由历史上劳动人民在被迫服役下所兴建起来的庄严壮丽的古建筑，以全新的含义出现在中华人民共和国的国徽上，象征着一个古老文明的新生。但是旧日严防庶民百姓涉足广场的红墙依然存在，这就严重阻碍了日益增多的人民群众进入广场开展各项有意义的活动。广场的改造，势在必行。为了迎接建国十周年的纪念日，开始对天安门广场进行了大规模的改造。旧日的红墙被彻底清除，广场的面积因之大为扩展。又在东西两侧分别兴建起中国历史与中国革命博物馆和代表人民权力中心的人民大会堂。广场中央巍然矗立起人民英雄纪念碑，从此天安门广场开始以崭新的面貌出现在人们面前，其地点依旧而气象一新，它在旧日设计上所力求表达的“帝王至上”的主题思想，已经完全为一个崭新的主题思想所代替，这就是“人民至上”。尽管现在天安门广场尚有若干细节有待改进，但是它的基本格局已定。在旧城原有的中轴线上它所体现出来的新时代的主题思想，是身临广场的任何人都感受到的，因此应该承认它的改造是成功的（图4-2、4-3）。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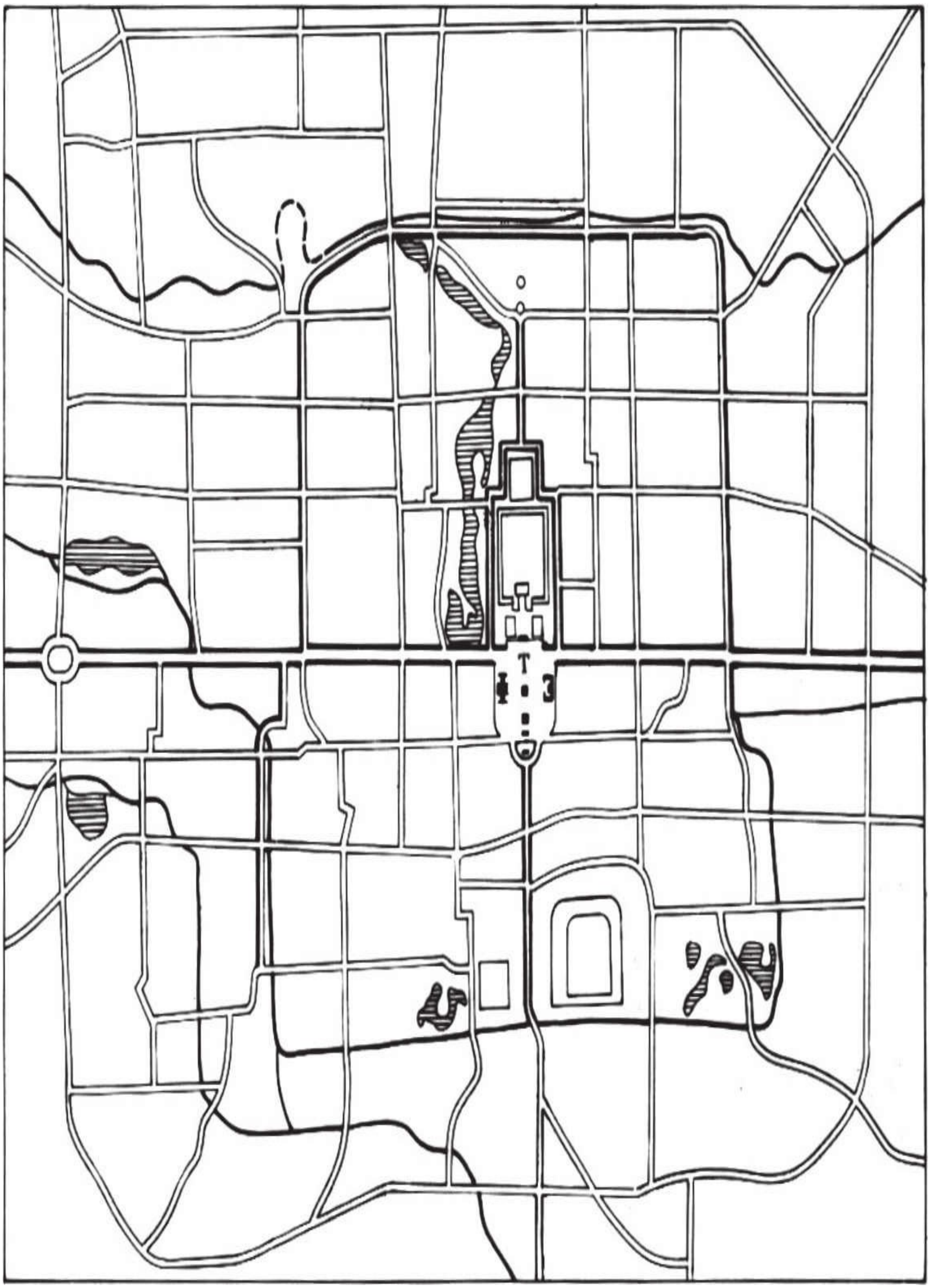
4-3　The enlarged Tian An Men Square after the founding of New China　新中国成立后扩建的天安门广场

1．Tian An Men天安门
2．Qian Men (Zheng Yang Men) and Archery Tower　前门（正阳门）及其箭楼
3．Monument of the People's Heroes　人民英雄纪念碑
4．Great Hall of the People　人民大会堂
5．Museum of Chinese History and Museum of Chinese Revolution　中国历史博物馆与中国革命博物馆
6．Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall　毛主席纪念堂
7．Dong and Xi Jiao Min Xiang　东、西交民巷

不仅如此，随着天安门广场的左右两翼在东西长安街原有的基础上又扩建和延长，从而形成了一条横贯新北京全城的东西轴线，既抵消了那条自北而南的旧轴线在全城布局上独一无二的支配地位，同时也就产生了一种宏观效果，即把旧日全城中心的紫禁城，推移到了类似天安门广场“后院”的位置上，这就更加符合它作为“故宫博物院”的作用。上述的客观效果，从城市的平面布局上来看都是明显可见的。北京城作为全国政治中心的城市特点，已经在改造后的天安门广场上充分显示出来（图4-4）。



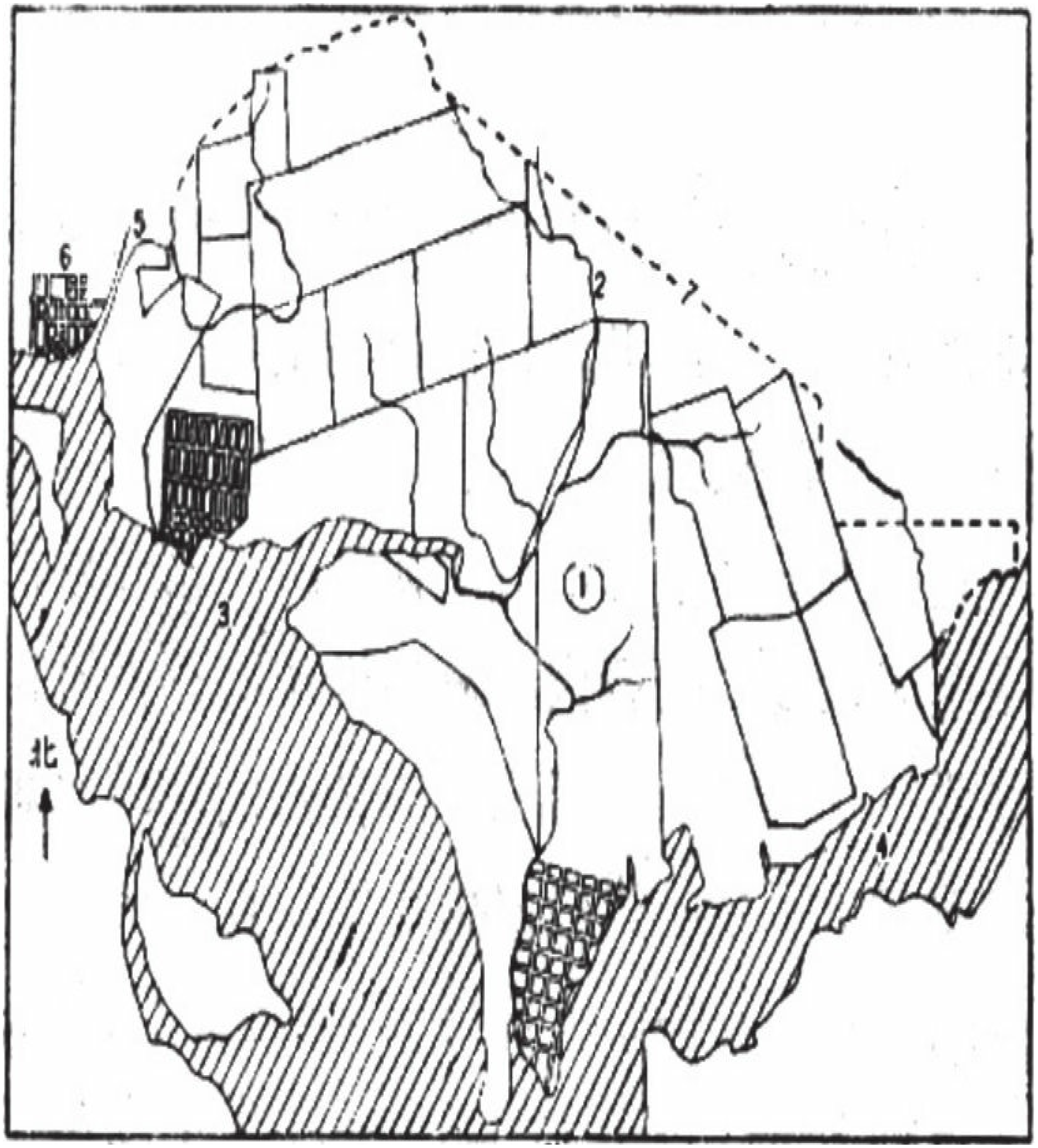
4-4 Boulevards extending eastward and westward from Tian An Men Square respectively—East and West Chang An Streets 从天安门广场向东西延伸的林荫大道——东、西长安街

关于北京旧城城市设计的主题思想以及它的改造和发展，就先写到这里。以下想就华盛顿城市设计的主题思想，从比较的观点上，再做些探讨。

二、华盛顿城

（一）城址的选择与城市的初步设计

华盛顿城城址的选择和着手规划是从1791年（清乾隆五十六年）初开始的。当时离美利坚合众国的建国（1783）也只有八年。[8]建国之初，定都问题颇有争议，迟迟难以决定。最后国会授权合众国第一任总统华盛顿选址建城。经过他本人的实地考察，终于选定了现在的城址。地当大西洋海岸中部，位于波托马克河（以下简称波河）与其东岸支流（以下简称阿河）之间的三角地带，地形平坦，微有起伏，中央最突出的一个小山丘，当时叫做詹金斯山，周围地界纵横，都属私产。大部分林莽丛生，间有沼泽，尚未完全开垦。两河间三角地带的北部，地形逐渐隆起，有几条小河，顺地形坡度下注，其中主要的一条原名鹅溪，流经詹金斯山下，西转注入波河。三角地的尖端和西北隅，各有一个小居民点，虽有方格状的街道见于最初测量的地图上，但住户寥寥无几。只有西北角上隔着一条石溪，遥遥相望的乔治镇算是这一地区一个真正的居民点了（图4-5）。



4-5　Site of Washington with the boundary lines of private properties　华盛顿城址初定时私人地产界线

1．Jenkins Hill　詹金斯山
2．Goose Creek　鹅溪
3．Potomac River　波河
4．Anacostia River　阿河
5．Rock Creek　石溪
6．Georgetown　乔治镇

7. Borderline of the highland in the north　北部高地边缘

（This chart is a simplified copy of the original chart made in 1792 from a book kept in National Archives of the United States.　根据美国国家档案馆藏1792年旧图书复制品加以简化）

城址选定之后，经过安德鲁·埃利科特的初步测量，即由皮埃尔·夏尔·朗方负责进行规划设计。朗方是位热情奔放又富有才华的法籍工程师，年方37岁。父亲原是法国凡尔赛的宫廷艺术家，朗方儿时就在那里居住过。年长肄业于他父亲任教的巴黎皇家绘画雕刻学院。1777年朗方和其他的法国志愿人员，远涉重洋来到北美洲，支援英国殖民地人民正在进行的独立战争，在军事工程中，深得当时陆军统帅华盛顿的赏识，并获得少校军衔。1791年初他接受规划首都的任务，以充沛的精力、惊人的速度，在同年8月底完成了他的规划设计，上报华盛顿总统。他在开始工作之初，就一眼看中了詹金斯山，认为这正是联邦政府中心建筑的天然基座，可以称得上是天造地设了。这座中心建筑经过后日的不断营建，就是现在最引人注目的国会大厦，詹金斯山的名称也早已为“国会山”所代替。

以国会山为中心，朗方拟定了全城设计的中轴线，西起波河东岸，东至阿河西岸，全长约5.5公里，沿这条中轴线的西段，也就是从国会山以西至当时波河东岸，保留为一条开阔的绿地，供人民群众游息其间，几经规划发展，这就是现在有名的绿茵广场。至于总统府也就是现在“白宫”的选址，并不在中轴线上，而是在绿茵广场西头的北侧（后来又稍向西移到现在的位置），由此南望，视野开阔，可以遥见波河下游的浩瀚水面。至于国会山与总统府之间，则由一条斜向的大道直接连接起来，这就是现在的宾夕法尼亚大道。自西而东横贯全城的中轴线在全城的平面布局上，显然占有支配地位，预定的绿茵广场，位置尤为突出。至于全城街道系统，纵横交错，或正交，或斜交，交接点上又多布置有大小广场。流经市中心区的鹅溪，其下游注入波河的一段，紧傍预定的绿茵广场的北侧，计划加以渠化，改为直通国会山下的运河，因仿罗马古城中的小河，改名为台伯河。

全城的规划，南半部以两河为界，北半部以高地边缘为界，现在的华盛顿城，就是在这一规划的基础上不断扩展而逐渐兴建起来的。如果当初没有朗方的设计，也就不会有今天以其中心地区宏伟壮观的空间布局而闻名于世的华盛顿城。因此，现在华盛顿城中心部分，还有人称之为“朗方城”（图4-6）。[9]

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4-6 Washington, as it was chosen to be the capital, with the central axis and main thoroughfares as designed by L'Enfant 华盛顿城址初定时的地形示意图及朗方设计的全城中轴线及主要街道轮廓

1. Congress 国会
2. White House 白宫（总统府）
3. The green area of the Mall on the horizontal axis 全城中轴线上的绿茵带
4. Pennsylvania Avenue 宾夕法尼亚大道
5. Potomac River 波河
6. Anacostia River 阿河
7. Goose Greek (Tiber River) 鹅溪（台伯河）
8. The boundary region of the upland in the north 北部高地边缘

（The above diagram is a copy of the Ellicott's survey map from 1793. 根据1793埃利科特测量图绘）

在这里，不妨先将北京旧城与华盛顿城在规划设计的轮廓上做一对比，这或许有助于读者更好地了解以下的讨论。

首先值得注意的有两点：

第一，两者各有一条中轴线。北京旧城的中轴线自北而南，紧傍一带天然湖泊的东岸。其主导方向如前所述，虽有自然因素的制约，更有深厚的历史文化渊源。华盛顿城的中轴线，自西而东，正好介于两河之间，纯粹是自然条件所决定，不受任何历史文化传统的制约。

第二，北京旧城的规划设计，四面城垣是其有机的组成部分。华盛顿城的规划设计，则完全以河流与高地边缘为界限，没有必要修筑城垣，也没有修筑城垣的传统。实际上在美国就没有一个城市是建有城垣的。

上述区别，虽然只是表面现象，却也反映了我国和西方文化传统上的一些差异。当然更重要的是这一差异在设计的主题思想上也同样地反映出来。北京城在设计上的主题思想，已如上述，在这里仅就华盛顿城在城市设计上的主题思想，试做一些探讨。

（二）城市设计主题思想试探

北京旧城城市设计的主题思想，胚胎于我国奴隶社会的商周时期，到了东周，就以《周礼·考工记》中“匠人营国”的文字描述表达出来。中央集权的封建王朝形成之后，在都城的建设上“帝王至上”的主题思想，曾有过不同形式的表现。及至元朝大都城的兴建，在继承《周礼·考工记》所描述的形制的同时，又结合了地方上河湖水系分布的特点，遂为明清北京城奠定了基础。应该说北京旧城的规划设计乃是我国长达两千多年封建王朝都城建设的最高典型。

华盛顿城市建设的时代背景，和北京旧城完全不同，在探讨其城市

设计的主题思想时，应该首先从它建都时期的时代特征讲起。

1．时代特征及其在城市设计上的初步反映

华盛顿城的建设，是北美洲人民团结起来反抗宗主国英国的殖民统治从而取得了胜利的结果之一，这一斗争由北美殖民地代表召开的大陆会议所通过的《独立宣言》充分表达出来。《独立宣言》宣称：人人生而平等，人民享有生存、自由和谋求幸福的天赋权力不可侵犯等等。在宣言的初稿中，原来还有反对奴隶制的一条，只因南卡罗来纳州的代表反对而被删去。马克思曾高度评价这一宣言，认为这是“第一个人权宣言”[10]。这时北美正处于资本主义上升时期，《独立宣言》在各阶层的人民群众中得到了强烈的反应，包括最受压迫的黑人在内，都卷入了革命斗争的行列，并做出了重要的贡献。

独立战争结束以后，美国统治阶级逐渐感觉到必须进一步巩固本阶级的阶级地位和权力，从而又发起了制宪运动，企图利用宪法作为手段以维护其既得利益。在美利坚合众国正式建国前两年，在费城（全名费拉德尔菲亚，为华盛顿兴建之前的临时都城，因称故都）召开制宪会议[11]，制定联邦共和国宪法，以立法、司法、行政三权分立作为国家机构的组织原则。其后，朗方着手于进行新建首都华盛顿的规划，显然也是本着国家机构三权分立的原则设计的，这在国会大厦、总统府和最高法院三大主要建筑的布局上，明显地反映出来。只是最初设计的最高法院的位置，在今图上已难确指。现在的最高法院，正好建筑在国会大厦的东北方，相去甚近，仍然显示出三权分立的布局思想。

但是朗方设计最突出——也是影响最为深远的一点，就是他确定了以国会山为中心的主轴线，并把主轴线上计划作为绿茵广场的位置固定下来，从而为日后华盛顿城核心地区的发展奠定了基础。华盛顿城主轴线上的这一段和北京旧城中轴线上从景山到正阳门的一段，在全城布局上的重要性极为相似。但是彼此所反映的在设计上的主题思想，却截然不同。在北京旧城力求突出的是“帝王至上”，在华盛顿城则企图反映的是“人权为主”。因此，两者在空间处理上也就截然不同。前者是严格的封闭型，后者则是完全的开放型。思想内容不同，表达的形式也就因之而异了。

2．中轴线设计的进一步发展及其主要建筑的客观效果

朗方为华盛顿城的规划所拟定的蓝图以及他所企图表达的主题思想，在相继而来的整整一个世纪中，并没有得到应有的重视，甚至这样一位为华盛顿城的建设做出了如此卓越贡献的人，在生前也没有得到应有的公正待遇。在他临终之前，生活穷困潦倒，死后靠友人的一片土地和资助才得下葬。直到本世纪初，他的贡献才得到承认，他的遗骸终于在1909年被隆重地迁葬于阿灵顿国家公墓的小山顶上，他所设计的城市

蓝图的示意图也被镌刻在他的墓碑上，这是很有意义的一件事。从朗方墓东望，可以隔着波河遥望他所初步规划的中轴线亦即现在的绿茵广场，从林肯纪念堂一直延伸到国会大厦，整个布局上的主要建筑，历历在目，实在没有比这里更好的地方，可以使朗方永远安息了。

在这里，追述一下19世纪的一百年间，发生在国会山以西现在的绿茵广场上的以下几件事，是必要的。

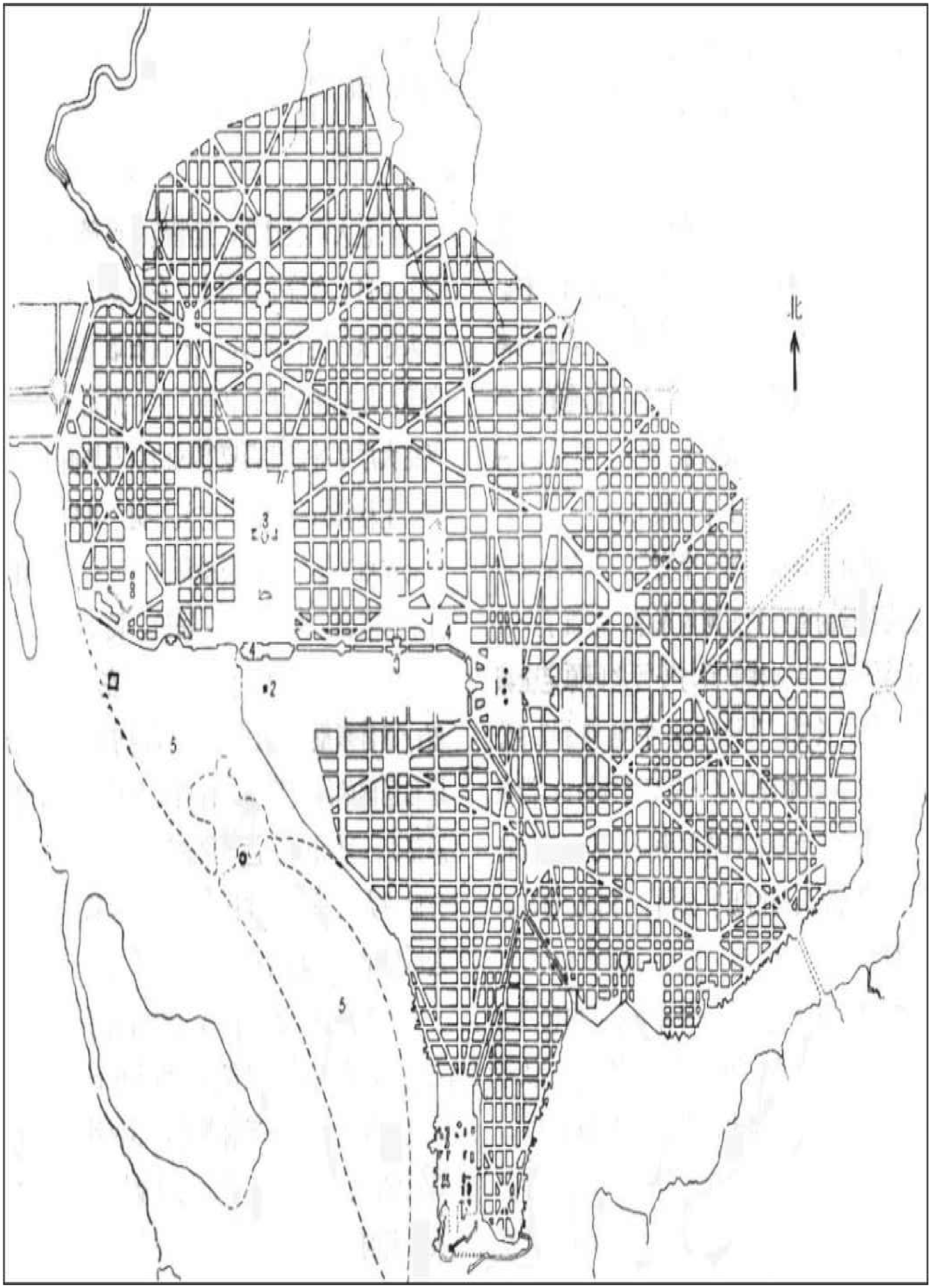
第一，朗方利用台伯河加以渠化，改建为运河直达国会山下的计划，未受重视，结果河道变成了一条藏污纳垢的臭水沟，遂被填废，现在只有一座河边的小闸房在去白宫不远的地方被保留下来，作为当初运河旧址的一个标志。

第二，1847年开始兴建国家博物馆，没有充分考虑朗方最初设计的绿茵广场的边界线，竟然侵入了广场界内。后来虽曾议论拆除，结果还是为了保护古建的原因而保留下来。

第三，原定白宫的位置又稍向西移，进行修建，这就是现在白宫所在的地方。

第四，建成了华盛顿纪念塔，只是原定的塔址，基础不够坚实，不得不稍有迁移。新址已不在原设计的全城中轴线上，而是南移了40米，同时也已不在白宫向南垂直延伸的轴线上，而是在其以东120米，但是从视觉上好像它仍然位于中轴线上。

第五，最重要的一个变化，是在全城中轴线西端的南面和波河的东岸，填筑了一片沼泽低地，从而使波河与阿河之间原定全城中轴线的长度，从约5.5公里延伸到7.3公里，同时又利用波河这一段宽阔的河床，沿东岸筑起了一个南北狭长的半岛，这就是现在有湖泊点缀其间的波河公园（图4-7、4-8）。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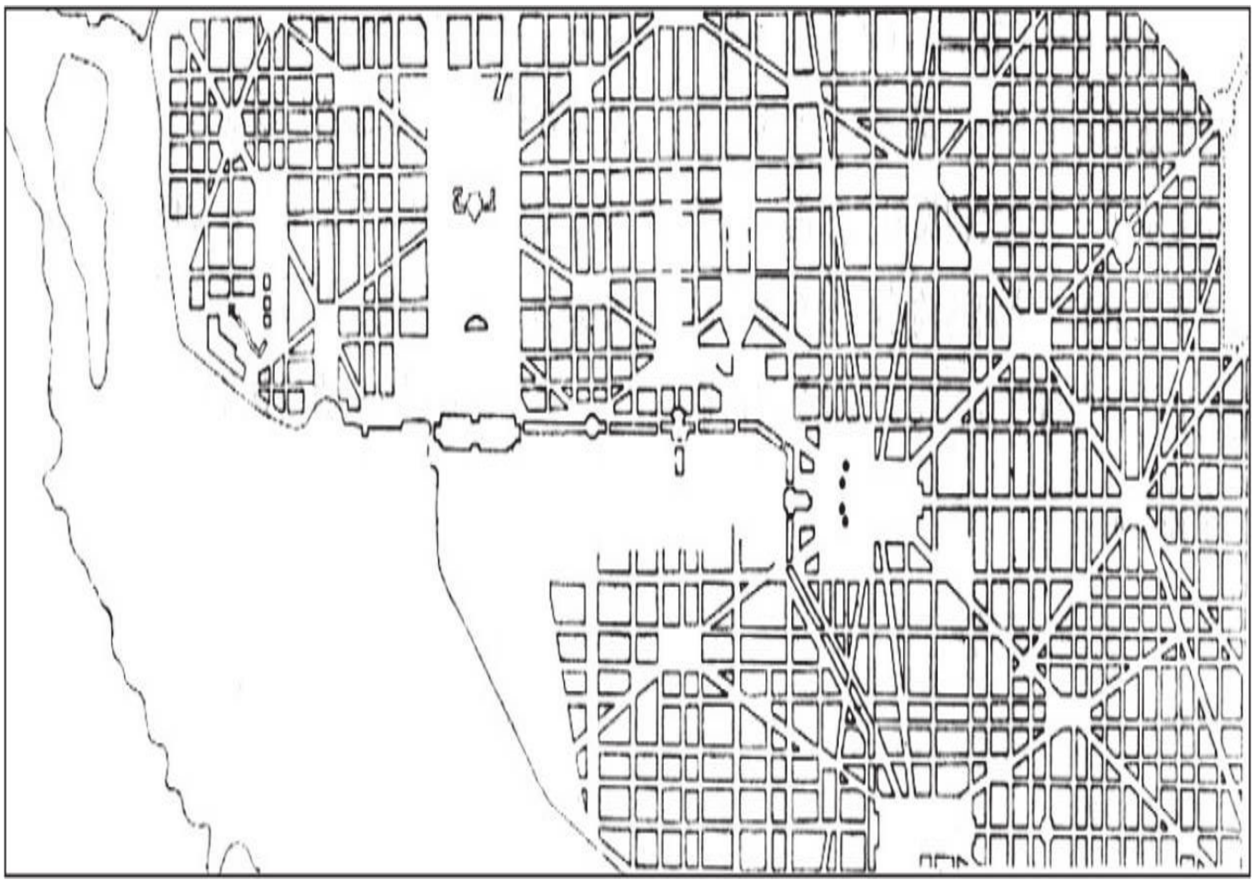
4-7 Reclamation of the marshland on the east shore and the shallow water area of the Potomac 波河东岸沼泽及浅水区填筑的陆地

1. Site of the Capitol Building 国会大厦址
2. The original designated location of the Washington Monument 原定华盛顿纪念塔址
3. The original designated location of the White House 原定白宫址
4. The Canal 运河
5. Potomac River Park 波河公园

--- The dotted lines show the riverside after reclamation. 虚线表示填筑后的河岸

□ New starting point on the east shore of the Potomac. It is the location of the Lincoln Memorial built later. 中轴线在波河东岸的新起点，即日后修建林肯纪念堂的地方

○ The site for the Jefferson Memorial built later. The site of the White House on the above diagram was later moved to a site further west on the perpendicular line north of the Jefferson Memorial. 日后修建杰斐逊纪念堂的地方，此图上的白宫位置后来也稍向西移，与杰斐逊纪念堂在一条南北垂直线上



4-8 The original eastern shoreline of the Potomac where the starting spot of the axis line was located 波河东岸中轴线起点的原始河岸线

这最后一个变化，对后来全城中轴线上的发展至为重要。1922年正是在中轴线西端所填筑的河边低地上，兴建了林肯纪念堂，明显地标志了全城自西向东的中轴线的起点。华盛顿这条自西而东的中轴线较之北

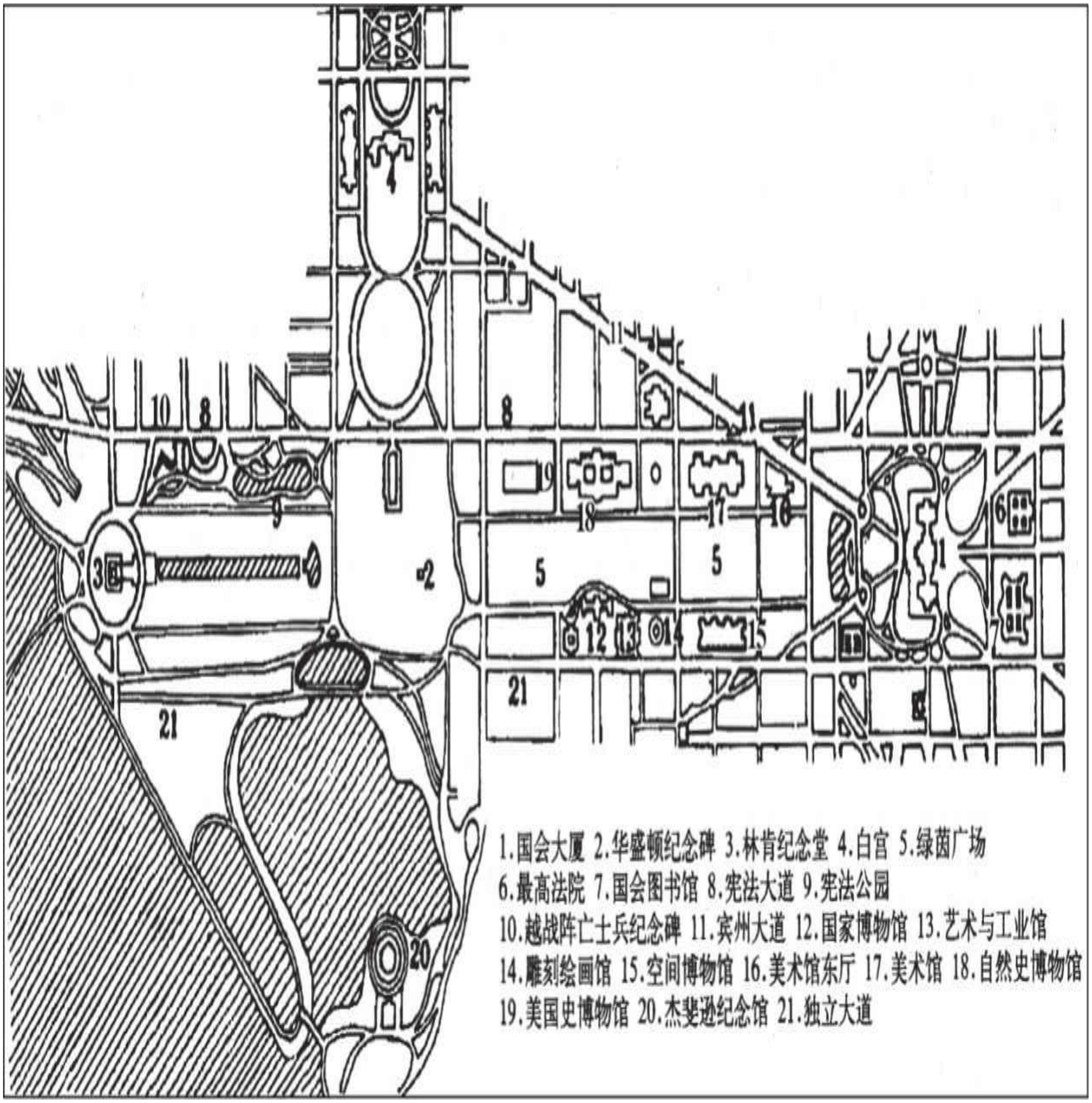
京旧城自北而南的中轴线短了不到1公里。1976年又在纪念堂前狭长的“映像池”北侧，开辟了“宪法公园”作为建国两百周年的纪念。

这里应该着重说明的是林肯纪念堂的兴建，不只是进一步发展了朗方最初确定的全城中轴线，而且还赋予这条中轴线在设计上所代表的主题思想以新的含义。林肯纪念堂这座白色大理石建筑，造型质朴庄严。从堂前多层白石台阶拾级而上，在殿堂内部广阔的大厅里所能看到的，只有白石雕刻的林肯座像，屹立在中央，环顾厅内，别无一物，仅在大厅尽处南北两壁宽阔的白石墙面上，镌刻了林肯的两个著名的演讲词，其中之一就有他用来描写重新获得自由的一个政府的六字形容词，即“民有、民治、民享”。因此来到这座殿堂的巡礼者，立足在林肯像前，回首东望，越过中央耸立的华盛顿纪念塔和辽阔的绿茵广场，自然就会把一个人的思路，一直引向白色穹顶的国会大厦，这也会促使人们联想到林肯为美利坚合众国的缔造所做出的重大贡献。

然而应该看到，自从美国的联邦政府成立以来，它在《独立宣言》中所标榜的天赋人权、人人自由平等的理想，不仅没有得到真正实现，内部的矛盾反而日益突出。其中最重要的是北方以雇佣劳动为主的资本主义制度和南方以奴役黑人为主的奴隶制，两者之间的冲突，越来越尖锐。林肯于1860年被选为总统以后，坚决反对奴役黑人，并颁布了《解放黑奴宣言》，当时已经爆发的南北战争，因此而更加激烈。结果北部军队虽然取得了这次战争的最后胜利，可是林肯却在第二次当选为总统（1864年11月）之后，竟于1865年4月遭到了南方奴隶主刽子手的暗杀。

林肯领导的斗争虽然挽救了国家免于分裂，但是种族的歧视继续存在。1866年，也就是林肯被暗杀的第二年，南方的种族主义者还成立了反动的组织“三K党”（Ku-Klux-Klan的简称），对黑人进行残酷的袭击和杀戮。在本世纪内继续为反对种族歧视而奔走的黑人牧师小马丁·路德·金，也曾于1963年8月在林肯纪念堂前有二十万人参加的群众大会上，为纪念《解放黑奴宣言》的签署而发表了他的著名讲演《我有一个梦想》。可是他的“梦想”还远没有实现，而他本人却于1968年4月在田纳西州的孟斐斯城指导黑人工人争取同工同酬的示威中，也同样遭到种族主义者的暗杀！

从象征意义上说，林肯纪念堂兴建在华盛顿全城中轴线的起点上，应该看作是朗方最初所赋予它的天赋人权这一主题思想的一个发展，可是这始终还是一个远未实现的理想。马克思也曾预言说：“林肯来领导自己国家进行解放被奴役种族和改造社会制度的史无前例的战斗，是即将到来的时代的先声。”[12]可是这个“即将到来的时代”，至今还有待美国人民自己去努力争取。这也是无可讳言的事实（图4-9）。



4-9 The Mall of Washington on the axis line 华盛顿城中轴线上的绿茵广场

1．The Congress
2．Washington Monument
3．Lincoln Memorial
4．The White House
5．National Mall
6．Supreme Court
7．Library of Congress
8．Constitution Avenue
9．Constitution Gardens
10．The Vietnam Veterans Memorial
11．Pennsylvania Avenue

12．Smithsonian Institution
13．Arts and Industries Building
14．Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden
15．National Air and Space Museum
16．National Gallery of Art East Building
17．National Gallery of Art
18．National Museum of Natural History
19．National Museum of American History
20．Jefferson Memorial
21．Independence Avenue

3．一个引人进一步思考的问题

1980年春天一个风光明媚的清晨，作者初访华盛顿的林肯纪念堂，印象之深刻以及思想上的感受，至今难忘。其后又曾三次访美，每次途经华盛顿，总要挤出时间前往林肯纪念堂巡礼，重温初访的感受。可是1984年夏再到华盛顿又访林肯纪念堂时，就在纪念堂前宪法公园的西侧，出乎意料地看到有三个军人一组的雕像出现在草地上，走向前去，才知道这里乃是为第二次世界大战以后美国出兵越南阵亡士兵新建成的纪念碑。纪念碑现场的平面设计，是一个开敞式的“V”字形三角绿地。“V”字形两边以内的绿地，由地面开始向下倾斜，呈坦坡式，逐渐没入地面以下，直到尖端的最深处。沿着两边砌成黑色的石壁也就是纪念碑，碑上成排镌刻着侵越战争中五万多名阵亡士兵的姓名和军衔。沿着石碑走下去，阵亡者的名字历历在目，自然引起人们的悼亡之感，因而有“哭墙”之称。这“V”字形的两壁，一个向东南直指华盛顿纪念塔，一个向西南直指林肯纪念堂。从工程设计上来说，堪称独出心裁，是一位华裔女青年林樱的杰作。[13]至于其含义，则更加耐人寻味，因为当年美国出兵越南，曾引起国内广大人民群众的反对，被认为是一场非正义的战争。这一阵亡士兵的纪念地，选址在全城中轴线的绿茵广场上，沿着其两壁向外的指向看去，华盛顿纪念塔和林肯纪念堂即遥遥在望。这又不能不使人联想到美利坚合众国的缔造者所怀抱的理想与信念，和出兵越南的非正义战争，这两者在性质上的差异，相去何啻天渊。作为一个异国的观光者，在华盛顿城市设计的中轴线上看到这一纪念地时，不能不想到：美国的人民群众为了最终实现其国家缔造者的伟大理想，正不知道还有多少崎岖不平的道路正等待着去跋涉呢。

三、他山之石，可以攻玉——华盛顿城市建设可供借鉴的几例

北京和华盛顿这两个姊妹城市，从建城之初就力求通过全城中轴线的设计来显示其主题思想，尽管两者的历史背景各不相同，但在力图反映其时代精神这一点上，却是一致的。现在北京和华盛顿的城市建设都

已远远超出了最初设计的范围，北京旧城的城垣已被拆除，新市区在旧城郊外迅速扩建起来。但是北京旧城在新的城市建设总体规划中，仍然居于核心地位。华盛顿城的发展也早已超越了东西两河与北部高地边缘的界限向外迅速扩展，但是“朗方城”仍然是全城布局的中心。不过从北京城的建设来说，随着整个社会制度的改革，它所面临的主要问题就和华盛顿大不一样了。当前在北京城的城市规划和建设中，亟须注意的一件事就是如何在继承其优良传统的同时，又能赋予它以新的思想内容，从而反映出一个社会主义新时代的来临。这个问题在全城中轴线的处理上表现得最为敏感，也最为突出。例如天安门广场的改造，在这个意义上来说是成功的；其次，也要考虑到在继承自己优良传统以达到古为今用的目的的同时，还必须积极吸收外国的先进经验，以达到“洋为中用”的目的。应该承认在资本主义国家的城市建设上，确有不少先进的经验，值得我们学习。问题在于区别哪些是真正的先进经验，切忌盲目抄袭，否则有害无益。以华盛顿的城市建设为例，在它的全城中轴线上对所有建筑物的布局及其功能要求，就有可供借鉴的地方。它的国会大厦屹立于中轴线的正中央，城中所有的楼房建筑的高度都不得超过它，它就给整个城市的天际线带来一大特色。从国会大厦向西直到华盛顿纪念塔前的绿茵广场，地势平展，视野辽阔。广场的南北两侧，有博物馆、展览馆等，依次排列，在南侧的有航天空间博物馆、雕刻绘画馆、国家博物馆（内有首都城市规划设计史展览厅）等。在北侧的有美术陈列馆、自然史博物馆、美国历史博物馆等。北侧中间退后一方场地，还有一座国家档案馆。在国会大厦的东南侧与高等法院大楼南北并列的，则是举世闻名的国会图书馆及其最近扩建的新馆。在这个全城的心脏部位上，集中表现出华盛顿作为全国政治中心和文化中心的特点，整个布局严正而富有变化，两侧的各大博物馆、展览馆，虽然高度大体一致，而建筑形式各不相同，从国家博物馆红砖碉堡式的古典建筑，到航天空间博物馆的现代设计，各有其时代特征，其中最负盛名的是建成不久的美术陈列馆的东厅。这里原是绿茵广场东北角上的一块三角地带而又近在国会山下，地点至为重要，在建筑设计上也最难处理。正是在这里，著名华裔建筑学家贝聿铭显示了他卓越的才能，设计了这座独具一格的建筑物，为广场增辉。

写到这里，又不禁想到上文已经讲过，建国十周年时扩建天安门广场，同时兴建了人民大会堂和中国历史博物馆与中国革命博物馆，使得天安门广场在体现全国政治中心的同时，也兼有文化中心的象征。但是在设计的当时，北京作为全国的政治中心之外也是全国的文化中心这一特点，还没有得到充分的认识和说明，现在考虑到今后精神文明建设的重大意义和建设北京作为全国文化中心的要求，在全城的规划设计上，

应该进一步结合城市平面布局的历史特点来加以考虑。上述华盛顿城中轴线上核心地区的建设，只是仅供参考的一例而已。

⑤ OVERSEA COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND EAST AFRICA BEFORE THE SO-CALLED DISCOVERY OF THE NEW SEA-ROUTE*

At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, a series of long-distance sea voyages started out from Western Europe. The earliest and most widely publicized among them were (1) the trans-Atlantic voyage which in 1492 brought Christopher Columbus to districts now known as Cuba and Haiti; and (2) the voyage undertaken by Vasco da Gama, in the course of which he rounded the Cape of Good Hope, crossed the Indian Ocean and eventually reached the modern Kozhikode (formerly known as Calicut, mentioned in ancient Chinese records as *Kuli*) in South India in 1498. With this tremendous expansion of geographical vista, the Europeans landed in a continent where they had never set foot before and found a passageway hitherto unknown to the East. These events they commemorate under the imposing titles of discovery of the new continent and discovery of the new sea-route respectively. With these began the era of "great geographical discoveries", which looms large in the history of European geographical discovery and standard textbooks on European history.

The subsequent expansion of European colonialism has disseminated these ideas to practically every corner of the world. In reality, however, the achievements of Columbus and da Gama may be considered in a certain sense "discoveries" only if one postulates a limited view point—that of the Europeans. Any attempt to enlarge the viewpoint to take in other areas or to endow it with a world-wide significance would be seriously mistaken.

This essay purports to deal exclusively with what the Europeans call the

discovery of the new sea-route.

To begin with, a brief retrospect of the historical facts is perhaps called for. The search for the new sea-route is commonly thought of as entering its last crucial phase with the effort of Bartholomew Diaz, who by continuing to cruise southward along the western coast of Africa in 1487 (many parts of which had repeatedly been touched by former navigators), finally reached the southernmost point of the African continent, later known as the Cape of Good Hope. It was not until ten years later that da Gama pushed the voyage yet further by sailing northward along the eastern coast of Africa, reaching in April, 1498 Malindi in Kenya (mentioned in Chinese records as *Malin* or *Malinti*). Then, starting out from Malindi, da Gama began the last and most important section of his voyage by crossing the Indian Ocean, ending up in Kozhikode in May of the same year.[1]

In this manner was "discovered" the much-vaunted new sea-route to the East. To the Asian and African peoples, however, the route was by no means new, so that any claim to have "discovered" it is out of the question. It can be confidently established that every section of the route had been traversed by Asian and African navigators and explicitly recorded in historical texts.

Let us first take up the route along the African coast. We know from the distinguished Greek historian Herodotus (484-425 B.C.) that the first cruise around the African continent dates back to about 600 B.C. In trying to show that the African continent (then called Libya), except being joined to Asia by a narrow isthmus, was completely surrounded by the ocean, he cited as evidence the following facts. In 600 B.C. or thereabouts, a fleet manned by Phoenicians, who were experienced sailors, left the Red Sea under the orders of the Egyptian Pharaoh Necos, and made its way southward into the open ocean. It took them two years to return safely to Egypt, having finished the voyage in accordance with Necos' plan which necessitated their entering the Mediterranean Sea via the Strait of Gibraltar.[2] That was an astonishing feat in the history of navigation.[3] We may suppose that in rounding the southernmost point of the African continent and sailing up northward, da Gama was not aware that he was following a route which had already been discovered by Phoenician sailors more than two thousand years ago, the only difference being that he was sailing in a direction opposite to that of his predecessors.

Indeed, besides that remarkable voyage made by the Phoenicians, history knows of other instances that men had sailed southward along the eastern coast of Africa, rounded the cape and entered the Atlantic Ocean. In

the 1420s, or about seventy years before da Gamma's eastern voyage, an Arabian navigator had taken exactly that route.[4] The Arabs had then established extensive oversea trade along the eastern coast of Africa, which penetrated as far southward as Mozambique, and it was from none other than those Arabian traders that da Gama obtained the necessary information which enabled him to continue his voyage in a northward direction.[5]

Another point to be stressed is that while the voyage from the eastern coast of Africa across the Indian Ocean to South India is justly regarded by the Europeans as the last and most important section of their so-called new route, since their final objective of reaching the East virtually hinged upon its successful completion, that very route had not only been opened up by the Asian and African peoples long before but had remained in constant use for a considerable period of time. Special mention should be made of Ibn Madjid, a great Arabian navigator, who came from a family of sailors and whose knowledge and experience about the sea was unrivaled in his day.[6] It was with his expert guidance that da Gama finally accomplished the last and most important section of his voyage.

Here it is necessary to recall the magnificent contribution made by the Asian and African peoples toward opening up the trade route across the Indian Ocean.

Trading relations connecting the South China Sea with the Indian Ocean had long existed prior to the end of the fifteenth century. The scale and financial prosperity of these ventures were such that hardly any other areas in the world could offer a contemporary parallel. On this topic, which forms an extremely important chapter in the history of ancient navigation and transportation, many dissertations and books have been written by Chinese and foreign scholars. The scope of this essay permits us merely to cite a few examples from Chinese documents by way of illustration.

The earliest mention in Chinese records of voyages over the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean goes back to the first and second centuries B.C.[7] Since then a long line of messengers, monks and merchants had used the same sea route, voyages back and forth between China and Ceylon[8] or India being especially frequent. A well-known example is that of the Chinese monk Fa Hsien, who in 409 sailed from *Tomoliti* (whose ancient site was located on the western bank of the Hooghly River, near the Ganges Delta in modern India) to *Shihtzukuo* (now Ceylon); and in 412 boarded a large merchant vessel which brought him from *Shihtzukuo* back to China.[9] His

contribution to the cultural exchange between China on the one hand and India and Ceylon on the other has become almost proverbial down to the present day.

The earlier seventh century saw the founding of the T'ang Dynasty(A.D. 618-906) in China and the rise of the Arab Empire (A.D. 632-1258) in Southwest Asia.[10] Contacts between the two were numerous, and a new stage began in East-West trade over the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean. The volume of trade in the two-way traffic over the Indian Ocean continued to swell after the eighth century. In China, throughout the long period of the T'ang, Sung (Northern Sung 960-1127, Southern Sung 1127-1279 A.D.), and Yüan (1279-1368 A.D.) dynasties, there were chartered ports along the southeastern seacoast which made oversea trade their special business, and government officials were specially appointed to take charge of trading affairs. Among these ports, Canton had at first the largest amount of foreign trade.[11] Beginning from the middle of the thirteenth century, however, it was eclipsed by Chüan-chow (Zayton). In the latter, we possess lively sketches by a couple of contemporary witnesses, who arrived in China toward the end of the thirteenth century and in the middle of the fourteenth century respectively, namely the renowned Venetian traveller Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta of Tangier, Africa. This is what Marco Polo wrote:

> At this city you must know is the Haven of Zayton, frequented by all the ships of India, which bring thither spicery and all other kinds of costly wares… I assure you that for one shipload of pepper that goes to Alexandria and elsewhere, destined for Christendom, there come a hundred such, aye and more too, to this Haven of Zayton; for it is one of the two greatest havens in the world for commerce.[12]

Ibn Battuta was even more emphatic:

> I must tell you that the first Chinese city that I reached after crossing the sea was Zayton (now is called Chüan-chou-fu)…. The harbour of Zayton is one of the greatest in the world; I am wrong: it is the greatest! I have seen there about one hundred of first-class junks together; as for small ones, they were past counting.[13]

Ships that voyaged over the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean during the T'ang and Sung dynasties included, besides Chinese ships, those of the following nationalities, all mentioned in Chinese records: Persian ships, *Shihtzukuo* ships, ships from the Western Regions, or simply, "foreign" ships. These seagoing vessels had from a very early time made use of the monsoon in their voyages, which accounted for the fact that most vessels sailing from China started out between autumn and winter when the dry monsoon blew

from the northeast whereas most ships coming to China chose the summer season when the wet monsoon blew from the southwest.

In periods when China's foreign trade was exceedingly active, for instance, in the Sung Dynasty, the number of foreign traders in China was so large that special residential quarters were set apart for them in all chartered ports. Some of these traders elected to stay in China, or even assumed important posts in the Chinese government. A case in point is P'u Shou-keng, responsible official for trading affairs in Chüanchow at the end of the Sung Dynasty, whom research showed to be the descendant of an immigrant Arab who settled in China.[14]

In the first three decades of the fifteenth century, the government of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) in China expended great efforts in developing oversea communications between China and the Indian Ocean. These efforts were crowned by the seven long-distance voyages led by Cheng Ho. As Cheng Ho's expeditions were by all odds the most impressive achievement in the history of navigation prior to the Europeans' sailing for the Orient, which did not begin till the end of the fifteenth century, a short description of those remarkable events may not be out of place here.

The seven voyages of Cheng Ho spanned a period of 29 years (1405-1433).[15] His fleet was composed of more than sixty galleys and a large number of smaller auxiliary vessels, making a total of well over two hundred. On his seventh voyage (1431), he was accompanied by various kinds of nautical technicians, soldiers, interpreters, scribes and medical and service personnel to the number of 27,550.[16] When we recall that sixty-one years later (1492) Columbus had only three ships and eightyseven sailors with him in making his first trans-Atlantic voyage, and that sixty-six years later (1497) da Gama brought only four ships and one hundred and forty-eight (or, according to some authorities, one hundred and seventy) men to the Orient, we may arrive at a truer estimate of the size of Cheng Ho's expeditions.

The farthest points reached by Cheng Ho's fleet in the seven voyages, which headed in somewhat different directions, are: Hormuz (mentioned in Chinese records as *Hulumussu*) on what is now the Iranian Bay, Jeddah (mentioned in Chinese records as *Chihta*) on the eastern coast of the Red Sea, and Mombasa (mentioned in Chinese records as *Manpasa*) on the eastern coast of Africa. The last of these voyages has bequeathed some very valuable legacies to us of the present day, including a tolerably complete sailing record and a copy of the original sailing chart.[17]

Cheng Ho's routes over the Indian Ocean require some attention. Variations were slight among those for east of Ceylon and South India, which may be passed over, but as we follow him further westward, we notice certain interesting features.

It should first be pointed out that the two sea routes leading from the western coast of South India to the Iranian Bay and to the Red Sea had both a long history behind them. However, in early times, oversea communications between those regions were presumably achieved by sailing along the coast. It was only when later navigators learned to make use of the monsoon, which was a familiar phenomenon in that area, that a direct route over the Arabian Sea was opened up.

Who was the first to notice and turn to account the monsoon that blew over the Arabian Sea and thus opened up the above-mentioned route? Some authorities ascribe the discovery of the monsoon to Hippalus, an Alexandrian in the employ of the Roman Empire c. A.D. 40-50. Hence, as one historian puts it, "Hippalus deserves as much honour in Roman annals as does Columbus in modern history." Others contend that before Hippalus the Arabs had already made use of monsoon in sailing over the Arabian Sea. Still others would credit Nearchos, one of the generals who accompanied the Macedonian king Alexander in his Asian expedition in the fourth century B.C. with the so-called "discovery."[18] Be that as it may, the fact remains that navigators over the Arabian Sea had, from a very early time, learned to make use of the monsoon to strike out an oversea route, thus enabling themselves to abandon the tortuous coastal sailing. When Cheng Ho's fleet arrived in the Iranian Bay or entered the Red Sea, these routes were already scenes of busy trafficking.

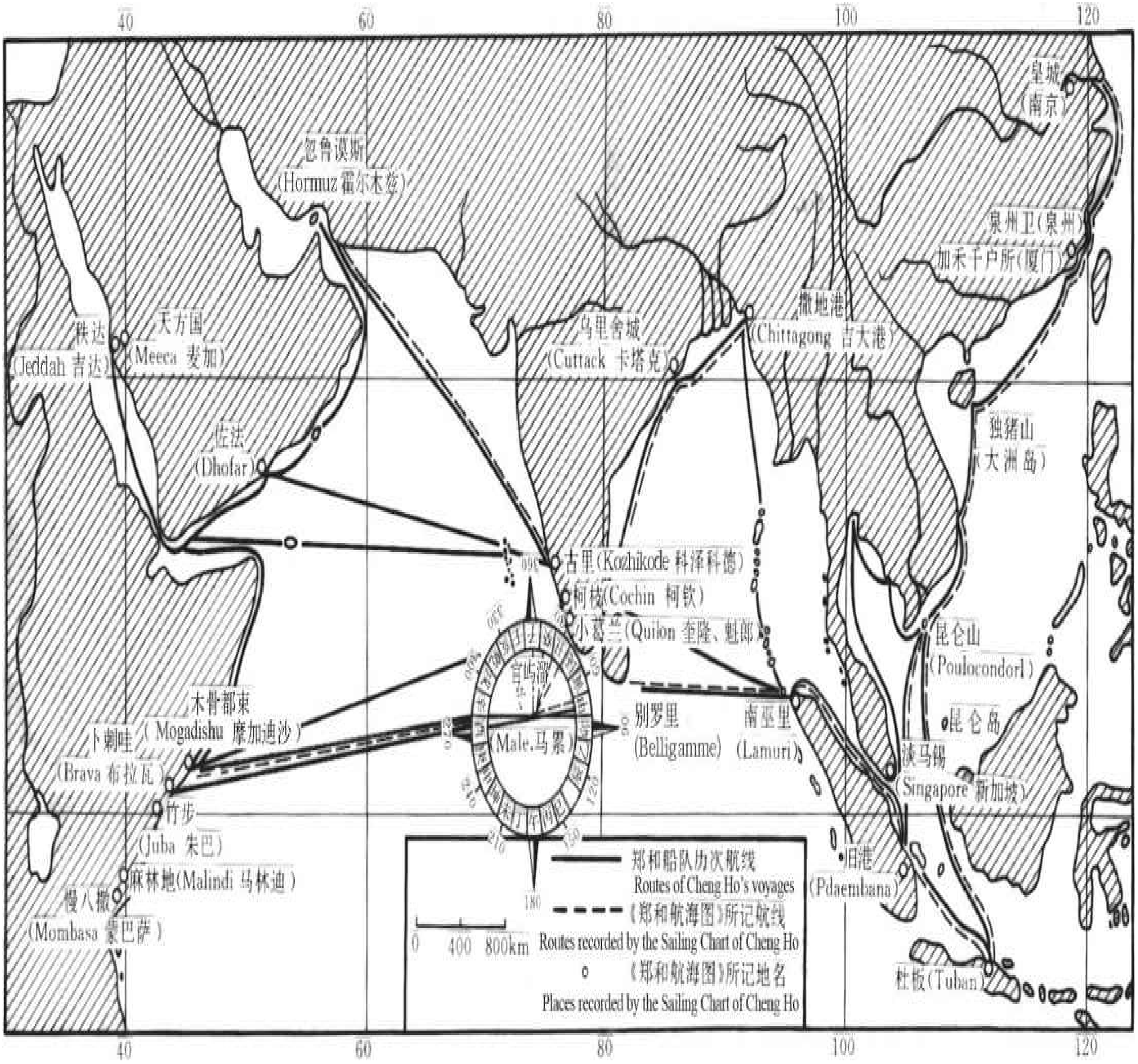
There is another problem that deserves a far more thorough probing. Among the routes shown in Cheng Ho's chart (Fig. 6-1) is one that leads from the present Belligamme in the south of Ceylon or from Kozhikode on the western coast of South India to Brava or to Mogadishu on the eastern coast of Africa. When was this direct route first opened up? We know that oversea communications between the equatorial regions on the eastern coast of Africa and India or China also go a long way back. Indeed, descriptions of the sea coast in what is now Somalia and Kenya may be found in Chinese records as early as the eighth and ninth centuries.[19] In 1071 (or the fourth year of Hsining in the Sung Dynasty), ambassadors from *Tsengtan*, a country on the eastern coast of Africa, after 160 days of sailing along the coast, landed in the

city of Canton in China. A second embassy came in 1083. The Sung rulers obviously thought very highly of this diplomatic relationship and loaded the ambassadors with rich gifts.[20] Now *Tsengtan* is actually a scribal error for *Tsengpa*, which represents a clipped pronunciation of Zanzibar.[21] The two are, however, not strictly identical, as *Tsengtan* in those days embraced the eastern coast of Africa together with the islands off the coast. From the twelfth century on reference to various countries on the eastern coast of Africa occurred with greater frequency in Chinese geographical works.[22] Particularly worthy of notice are the results of recent archaeological excavations on the eastern coast of Africa. These include T'ang and Sung copper coins as well as large quantities of chinawares (fragmentary or otherwise) dating back to the Sung Dynasty, the Yüan Dynasty or a later date. All this is incontrovertible proof that trade relations had long existed between China and the eastern coast of Africa.[23] But the contact (direct or indirect) was exclusively dependent on the route over the Arabian Sea, and remained so up to the middle of the thirteenth century.

It should be recognized that there was a profound difference between the direct route that led from Ceylon or South India across the Indian Ocean to the eastern coast of Africa and the other route over the Arabian Sea. One needed only the monsoon to sail safely along the latter route. In case of the former, however, even with the help of the monsoon, successful voyaging would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, unless one enlisted the additional aid of the compass. Chinese navigators began using the compass in making their voyages in the eleventh or twelfth century.[24] The compass is one of the most significant contributions made by the Chinese labouring people to world civilization. For, with the invention of that instrument, man finally gave up his old way of sailing closely to, or a short distance from, a winding and tortuous seacoast, and launched out boldly for the open ocean. Thus the seemingly unlimited kingdom of billowing waves became another sphere where man could display his power and adventurist spirit.

It has been conjectured that the knowledge and use of the mariner's compass passed from China to Europe via the Arabs.[25] At any rate, European seagoing ships only began using the compass at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. It is conceivable that the direct route across the Indian Ocean joining Ceylon or South India with the eastern coast of Africa could have been discovered before the beginning of the fifteenth century when Cheng Ho made his voyage. But as far as Chinese maps and

documents are concerned, the first unmistakable reference to the route occurred at the time of Cheng Ho's expeditions. The appended sailing chart of Cheng Ho shows clearly that there were two direct routes leading from Ceylon and South India, respectively, to the eastern coast of Africa. The routes might pass through *Kuanyuliu* (the Island of Male), but it was not necessary. We know for certain that in the seventh voyage, *Kuanyuliu* was used as a midway station. Cheng Ho's original chart contains the following note:



5-1 Routes of Cheng Ho's voyages 郑和航海路线略图

> From K*uanyuliu*…one arrives at *Mukutushu* (i.e. Mogadishu), following the *Keng-yu* needle.[26]

We shall find, by checking the route against a modern map, that the

sailing direction is wonderfully accurate, as what he called the *Keng-yu* needle represents roughly 262° on the compass.

The geographical work of Fei Hsin[27], who accompanied Cheng Ho on four of his voyages, tells us:

> Sailing southward from *Peiloli* (Belligamme) in Ceylon…one may arrive at Brava after twenty-one days and nights.
>
> With a favourable wind, it is possible to sail from *Hsiaokelan* (Quilon) to *Mukutushu* in twenty days and nights.

Here are clearly set forth the two direct routes across the Indian Ocean, one leading from Belligamme in Ceylon to Brava on the eastern coast of Africa, and the other from Quilon to Mogadishu, also on the eastern coast of Africa. However, the direction given is incorrect, and Cheng Ho's chart should be regarded as the final authority. The opening up of the sea route was the joint work of the Asian and African peoples who inhabited those districts. As has been pointed out before, it was by following this route, and by enlisting the guidance of the expert Arabian sailor, Ibn Madjid, that da Gama successfully accomplished his voyage at the end of the fifteenth century.

Cheng Ho's voyages must not be looked on as a fortuitous incident. They were an important extension of the oversea communications and friendly trade relations that had long existed between the Asian and African peoples. Official organization enabled these voyages to be carried out on an unprecedented scale, but it did nothing to change their nature, since there is ample evidence to show that these voyages aimed primarily at enlarging oversea trade. That the Ming court was also eager to hunt down foreign treasures and fancy products need not be denied, but the means adopted remained as always one of peaceful exchange and free bartering. Trade relations built on such a basis naturally fostered diplomatic relations. What is more important, following these voyages, private trade also had considerable development. The immense amount of gold, silver, coins, silken fabrics, chinaware and copper ware with which Cheng Ho's fleet was loaded, was a means to promote private trade, in return for such exotic goods as spiceries, dyes, pearls, precious stones and rare birds and animals (lions, zebras, ostriches, leopards, giraffes, etc.).[28] The fleet also carried foreign messengers and merchants back and forth. All in all, China's private oversea trade greatly expanded during this period.

To sum up, Cheng Ho's voyages were a powerful stimulant to the oversea trade and cultural interflow between China on the one hand and

South Asia and East Africa on the other. The direct route connecting China with East Africa marks, in particular, a new stage in oversea communications.

But ever since da Gama "discovered" this route to the Orient, more and more Westerners followed in his wake. Not satisfied with merely reaching India, they kept pushing farther eastward, and it did not take them long to sail through the Strait of Malacca and enter the South China Sea, arriving eventually in 1516 at Canton, which formed the southern entrance to China on the seaboard. In the van were the Portuguese, while many other nations of Western Europe, such as Spain, Holland, Great Britain and France, showed an equally ardent desire not to be left behind.

Since then a totally different chapter in the history of oversea communications between the East and the West has to be written and here is the proper place for the present study to stop.

伍　在所谓新航路的发现以前中国与东非之间的海上交通*

在15世纪末叶和16世纪初期，从西欧开始了一系列的远洋航行，为众所周知的最初两件大事，就是：一、1492年哥伦布横渡大西洋，到达了现在古巴和海地等处；二、1498年达·伽马在绕过好望角之后，越过印度洋，到达了现在印度南部的卡利卡特（中国古籍作古里）。欧洲人的地理视野从此大为扩大，他们登上了还从来没有登上过的大西洋彼岸的土地，找到了从来还不知道的到东方来的航路。前者他们称为新大陆的发现，后者他们称为新航路的发现。这就是欧洲地理发现史以及一般欧洲历史上所大书而特书的“地理大发现”的开始。

随着欧洲殖民势力的扩张，这种观点几乎被传布到世界各地。其实，无论是哥伦布的成就或是达·伽马的成就，只有从欧洲中心论的观点来看时，才能在某种意义上被认做是一种“发现”。如果把这一观点应用于其他地方，或扩大到世界的范围，那显然是错误的。

本文专就所谓新航路的发现这一问题加以讨论。

这里首先需要回顾一下所谓新航路的发现的简单经过。新航路的探寻被认为是从迪亚士才开始进入了最后的关键性的阶段，他在1487年沿着前人已经屡次到达的非洲西部的大部分海岸继续南航，终于来到了非洲大陆的南端（后称好望角）。十年之后，达·伽马又继续迪亚士的航程前进，沿非洲东海岸北上，于1498年4月到达现在肯尼亚的马林迪（中国古籍作麻林、麻林地）。从马林迪出发，达·伽马开始了在他全部航程中最后的也是最重要的一段，那就是横越印度洋的一段，并在1498年5月到达了他全程的终点——卡利卡特。[1]

欧洲一些人所盛加称道的到东方来的新航路就是这样被“发现”的。但是从亚洲和非洲人民看来，这既不能被认为是新航路，自然也就很难说是“发现”了。因为这一航路的每一段，都已经为亚非航海家所航行过，而且已经明确载入史册。

首先，我们来看非洲沿岸的航路。古代希腊大史学家希罗多德（公元前484—前425）告诉我们早在公元前7至前6世纪之间，就已经有环航非洲大陆的壮举了。当他在说明非洲大陆（当时称Libya）除去和亚洲相连的一处外，其余各方面都为大海所环绕时，曾举出了如下的事实：公元前600年左右，埃及法老尼可派遣了一个由有名的航海者腓尼基人

所驾驶的船队，从红海出航，向南驶入大洋。过了两年，他们终于按照尼可的命令，经由直布罗陀海峡进入地中海，安然返航到埃及，[2]这是古代航海史上令人惊异的事件。[3]当达·伽马绕过非洲大陆南端转而向北沿岸航行的时候，他大约还不知道这已经是腓尼基航海家在两千多年前所发现过的航路了，所不同的只是他在逆着他的先行者的航行方向而前进罢了。

其实，沿着非洲东岸南航，并且绕过大陆南端而驶入大西洋的，在历史上还不仅仅是腓尼基人那一次。例如15世纪的20年代，也就是达·伽马东来以前的七十多年，一个阿拉伯的航海家也已经那样航行过了。[4]那时阿拉伯人已经沿非洲东岸自北而南，远到莫桑比克沿岸一带（至南回归线以南之伊尼扬巴内），建立了海上贸易，而达·伽马则正是从这些阿拉伯商人那里获得了有关向北继续航行的情报的。[5]其次是从非洲东岸横越印度洋到达印度南部的航路，这在欧洲一些人所谓新航路中应当是最后一段，也是最为重要的一段，因为只有完成这一段航路之后，他们到东方来的最后目的才算实现。然而正是这一段航路，不但久已为亚非人民所开辟，而且已经连续航行了一个很长的时期了。特别值得注意的是，达·伽马在完成这最后一段，也是最重要的一段航路时，正是借助于一位阿拉伯航海家的导航才顺利成功的，这就是出身于世传的海员家庭而又饱有航海经验和学识的伊本·马吉德。[6]

在这里，回顾一下亚非人民在开辟印度洋的航路上所作出来的卓越贡献，是必要的。

15世纪末叶以前，从中国南海一直到印度洋上的来往贸易已经有了长时期的发展，其巨大规模和繁荣程度，在当时说来，也是世界任何地区所难以比拟的。这是古代世界航运史上非常重要的一部分，关于这一部分，中外学者已经写了不少的论文和专著。在这篇短文里，只拟根据中国的文献，举出几个例子，作为说明。

早在公元前2至前1世纪间，中国南海以及印度洋上的通航来往，已经见于中国记载。[7]此后，中国南海与印度洋——特别是从中国到锡兰[8]与印度之间，使者、僧侣和商人泛海来往，络绎不绝。例如著名的中国僧人法显在公元409年从多摩梨帝（故址在今印度恒河三角洲呼格利河西岸）航行到狮子国（今锡兰），又于公元412年从狮子国乘商人大船经海道返回中国。他在中国与印度以及锡兰之间的文化交流上所作出的贡献，至今传为美谈。[9]

到了7世纪前半叶，在中国有唐朝（618—906）的建立，在亚洲西南部有阿拉伯人大食帝国（632—1258）的兴起[10]，两者之间接触频繁，从而开始了中国南海与印度洋上东西通航的新阶段。8世纪初叶以后，印度洋上东西往来的贸易，日趋繁盛。在中国，自唐历宋（960—

1279，1127年以前为北宋，以后为南宋）至元（1279—1368）在东南沿海一带，都有指定的港埠经营海外贸易，并设专官管理通商事宜。在这些港埠中，先以广州的外国贸易最为繁盛。[11]到了13世纪中叶以后，泉州又凌驾广州之上。在13世纪后期和14世纪中叶先后来中国的大旅行家威尼斯人马可·波罗和非洲丹吉尔人伊本·拔都他，都曾亲到泉州，并作了简明生动的描述。马可·波罗记道：

> 你必须知道，印度所有商船前来泉州港十分频繁，运来的香料和其他贵重物品……我可以肯定地告诉你，如果有满载胡椒的一艘船只驶入亚历山大里亚或其他商港以供应耶稣教诸国，那么就会有一百艘或更多的满载胡椒的船只驶入泉州港，因为泉州乃是世界两个最大贸易港口中的一个。[12]

伊本·拔都他所写更为具体：

> 我必须告诉你，在我渡过海洋之后所到达的第一个中国城市刺桐（现在叫做泉州府）……泉州的港口乃是世界最大港口之一；我错了，它乃是所有港口中最大的。我看到港口里约有大海船百艘，至于小船那真是不可胜数了。[13]

唐、宋时期来往中国南海和印度洋上的船舶，除中国船外，其以国别或地域名称见于中国记载者有波斯舶、狮子国舶、西域舶或简单称为外国舶等，这些海舶从很早起利用了季风航行，因此从中国出航的海舶，多在秋冬东北季风风发之时，而前来中国的海舶，则多在夏季西南季风盛行之时。

中外贸易最繁盛时如在宋代，前来中国的外商，人数众多，中国各通商港埠，都为外商划有一定的居住区。有的外商常住不归，甚至在中国担任了重要的官职。例如宋末元初在泉州负责管理通商事宜的长官蒲寿庚，就是在中国定居的阿拉伯人的后裔。[14]

到了15世纪最初的三十年间，中国的明朝（1368—1644）政府用了很大力量来发展中国与印度洋上的海上交通，其代表事件就是由郑和所领导的七次远航。由于这是15世纪末叶欧洲人东来以前最大规模的航海史上的壮举，因此有稍加介绍的必要。

郑和的七次远航，始于1405年，止于1433年，前后共历二十九年。[15]他所领导的船队有大海舶60多艘，连中小船只计算在内，多至200余艘。第七次出航时（1431），随行各种航海技术人员、士兵以及翻译、书记、医生和服务人员，共计27550人。[16]如果我们想到六十一年后（1492）哥伦布第一次横渡大西洋时只有船3只、船员87人，或者想到六十六年后（1497）达·伽马前来东方时也只有船4只、船员148人（或作170人），我们就可以体会到郑和的远航是在一种什么样的规模上进行的了。

在七次远航中，郑和的船队在不同方向上所到达的最远之地，是现在的波斯湾上的霍尔木兹（中国古籍作忽鲁谟斯），红海东岸的吉达

（中国古籍作秩达），还有非洲东岸的蒙巴萨（中国古籍作慢八撒）。在这七次航行中，最后一次不仅保留了一个比较完整的航海记录到今天，而且还有一幅航海图经过翻刻之后也被保留下来，这是极可珍贵的。[17]

现在有必要把郑和在印度洋上的航路，再作些进一步的分析。这些航路自斯里兰卡和南印度以东的变化不大，可以从略，以西的却是值得特别注意的。

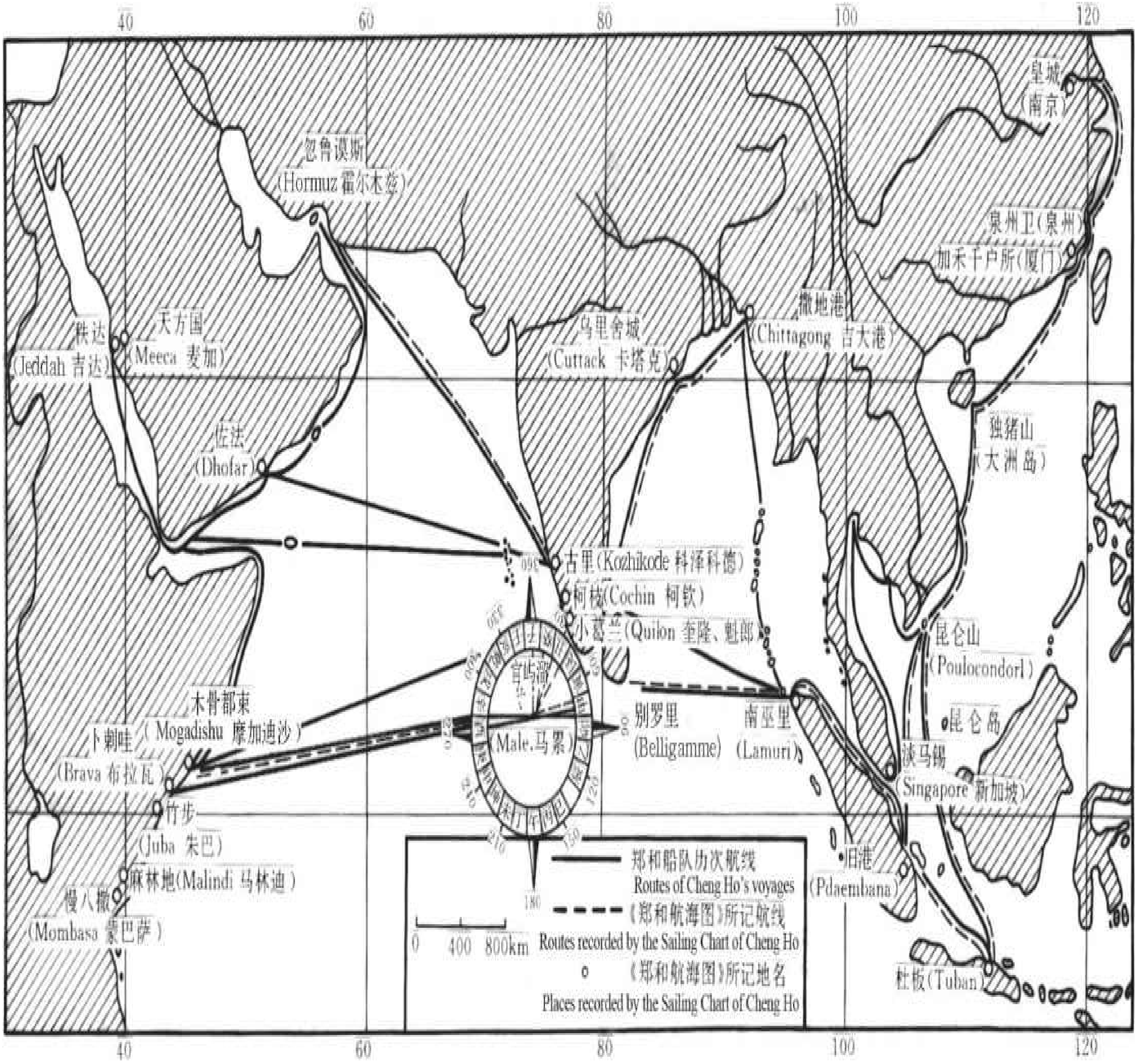
首先应该指出，从印度南部的西海岸，无论是通向波斯湾，还是通向红海口的航路，也都是具有悠久历史的两条航路，不过最早期的印度南部海岸与波斯湾及红海之间的海上来往，应该都是沿着海岸进行的。后来航海家由于认识和利用了这一地区盛行的季风，才终于开辟了上述穿越阿拉伯海的直达航路。

究竟是谁最先认识和利用了阿拉伯海上的季风，从而开辟了穿越海上的直达航路的呢？有人说最初发现阿拉伯海上的季风的是约在公元40—50年之间为罗马帝国服役的一个亚历山大里亚人，名字叫做希帕卢，因此认为“希帕卢在罗马编年史上应该享有像哥伦布在近代史上所享有的那么多的荣誉”。随后又有人指出，在希帕卢以前，阿拉伯人早已在阿拉伯海的航行中利用季风了。更有人把这一“发现”归功于公元前4世纪随马其顿的亚历山大远征归来的一位将军尼耳楚。[18]总之，无论其最初发现者为谁，阿拉伯海上的航海家利用季风离开沿岸曲折的航程而开辟了穿越海上的航路一事，是为时很早的。到了郑和的船队远航到波斯湾口和进入红海的时候，这些海上航路的来往贸易，已经是非常发达的了。

这里需要提出的是，另外一个远为值得注意的问题，即在表示郑和航路的地图上（图6-1），从锡兰南端的别罗里（今贝里格姆）或从南印度西岸之古里到非洲东岸卜剌哇（今布拉瓦）或木骨都束（今摩加迪沙）之间的直达航路，究竟是什么时候开辟起来的？我们知道，非洲东岸赤道附近地区和印度以及中国之间的海上交通，也是开始得很早的。例如公元8—9世纪时，中国已经有了关于现在索马里和肯尼亚沿岸的记载。[19]到1071年（宋熙宁四年）非洲东岸的层檀国还曾派使臣沿海岸航行，经过160天才来到中国的广州登陆，1083年（元丰六年）再使中国。宋王朝很重视这一外交关系，曾向使臣赠送了优厚的礼品。[20]按“层檀”是“层拔”二字传写之误，即今桑给巴尔之对音[21]，不过当时叫做层檀的地方，主要指今非洲东部沿岸大陆和沿海岛屿，而不是专指今天的桑给巴尔。12世纪以后，中国地理书上有了更多的关于非洲东部国家的记载。[22]尤其值得注意的是，近世纪来，非洲东岸一带还曾掘得中国唐代宋代的铜钱以及宋代元代及其以后的大量瓷器、瓷片，更足以作为中国

和非洲东岸很早就有通商贸易的证明。[23]不过上述中国与东非之间的来往，还都是沿阿拉伯海的航路直接或间接进行的，晚至13世纪前半期，仍然如此。

应该认识到从锡兰或南印度到非洲东岸之间的横越印度洋的直达航路，较之穿行阿拉伯海的航路，是有很大差别的。因为后者凭借季风便可安全航行，而前者虽然仍有季风可以利用，但是如果没有航海罗盘的帮助就非常困难，甚至是不可能的了。中国航海家早在11—12世纪之间，就已经利用罗盘于海上航行了。[24]这是中国劳动人民对于世界文明所作出的重要贡献之一。人们一旦掌握了这一工具，就终于离开自古以来沿着海岸或离开海岸不远而行驶的迂回曲折的航路，顺利地驶入了大洋，从而有可能使波涛汹涌、茫无涯际的大洋，开始成为被探险和被征服的人类活动的新领域。有人推测中国关于航海罗盘的使用，首先传给阿拉伯人，然后又经过阿拉伯人传往欧洲。[25]至于欧洲人开始使用罗盘则已是12世纪末到13世纪初叶的事了。可以设想，横越印度洋直接联系锡兰或南印度与非洲东岸的航路，在15世纪初郑和远航之前，是有可能被发现的。但是在中国图籍里关于这条航路的明确记载，则是从郑和远航时开始的。在所附郑和航海路线的地图上，可以看得很清楚：在锡兰与非洲东岸以及南印度与非洲东岸之间，都是直达航线，可以经过官屿溜（今马累岛，Male），也可以不经过它。至于第七次的航行中，官屿溜则被用作中继站，郑和原图上并有下列文字记注说：



5-1 Routes of Cheng Ho's voyages 郑和航海路线略图

官屿溜用庚酉针……收木骨都［束］。[26]

所谓“庚酉针”就是罗盘上的262°左右的方位。按之今图，这一行驶方向是完全正确的。

其次，随从郑和四次出航的费信在所著地理书[27]中也有如下记载：

卜刺哇国……自锡兰山别罗［里］南去二十一昼夜可至。

木骨都束国……自小葛兰顺风二十昼夜可至。

这里所记，也就是从今天锡兰的贝里格姆和印度南部的奎隆分别到达非洲东岸布拉瓦和摩加迪沙的横越印度洋的直达航路。只是所记方向不确，应以郑和航海图为准。在开辟这一航路上，亚非有关地方的人民

都作出了自己的贡献。如前所述，15世纪的末年，达·伽马正是沿着这一航路，再加上伊本·马吉德这位卓越的阿拉伯航海家的领航，这才得以顺利地完成了他的航行。

郑和的远航，不是一个偶然事件，而是长时期以来亚非人民泛海来往和进行友好贸易的重要发展。由于这次远航是官方组织的，因此规模巨大，远远超越前代。但是这并没有改变这次航行的性质，因为事实证明，航行的主要目的就是要开拓海上贸易。无可讳言的是明朝宫廷很想借此猎取海外珍奇，但所采取的手段仍然是和平交易、互通有无。通过这样的贸易关系，也促进了外交关系的发展。值得重视的是随着这种关系所进行的民间贸易。郑和的船队携带大量金银、钱币、丝绸、瓷器、铜器等作为民间交易的媒介，换取回国的则是各地特产如香料、染料、珍珠宝石以及珍禽异兽（如狮子、斑马、鸵鸟、金钱豹、长颈鹿）等等。[28]随着郑和的船队还有外国使者和商人来往，也就在这时期，中国民间的海外贸易也有了很大发展。

总之，郑和的航行大大促进了中国和亚洲南部以及非洲东部诸国之间的海上贸易和文化交流，而中国和东非的直接通航，更是海上交通的新发展。

但是，自从达·伽马找到了这条到东方来的航路之后，后继者跟踪而至。他们并不以到达印度为满足，而是向东方继续前进，很快地就通过了马六甲海峡，进入中国南海，1516年终于来到了中国南方的海上门户——广州。走在最前面的是葡萄牙人，其他西欧国家如西班牙、荷兰、英国、法国等也不甘落后，这是一股汹涌而至的殖民主义的逆流，它冲击着非洲大陆，侵袭着印度洋上以及太平洋西部的众多国家，世代相传友好互惠的亚非人民之间的海上往来，从此被打断，代之而起的却是殖民主义者对财富的掠夺、对土地的征服以及对无辜人民的奴役、贩卖和屠杀。

今天，民族解放运动空前高涨，民族解放革命的胜利不可阻挡。在殖民制度的扩张中被广为传布的所谓新航路的发现这一名词，必须予以纠正。因为这个名词不但歪曲了历史的事实，也抹杀了亚非人民在航海事业中的贡献。

⑥ A MODERN INTERPRETATION OF ANCIENT CHINESE GEOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE*

Example I: A *Commentary on the Book of Rivers*

China is now facing a great historical transformation. In order to get rid of the backwardness of her science and technology and to speed up the effort of the realization of her socialist modernization, it is necessary for us, on the one hand, to learn the advanced knowledge and experience of others countries. And, on the other hand, we must also re-estimate the real value of all the things we have inherited from our forefathers: Chinese culture, old traditions and history. We must absorb and utilize all the things that are beneficial to us. It is through such endeavours that we hope to produce a new culture which is typically Chinese and modern. In other words, we need a new culture for the age of socialism. This great historical transformation is in reality a new Renaissance of China.

Since liberation, this Chinese Renaissance has developed rapidly in the different fields of human knowledge. Indeed, there were serious interruptions and damages during the ten years of political turmoil. Nevertheless, all the things that obey the law of historical development will prosper in spite of the will of the reactionary gangs. And this is true to the Chinese Renaissance.

To give a full account of the Renaissance in this short talk is impossible. It is also out of my personal ability to do so. However, it is possible for me to try to use my personal judgment to re-estimate the real value of ancient Chinese culture and traditions from the field of studies with which I am familiar. Let me illustrate my view point by showing two concrete examples. I sincerely wish that by so doing I may offer some help to my friends who want to know something about New China.

I would like to introduce to you two important books of ancient Chinese geography in order to illustrate how we, the modern Chinese students, make

use of ancient Chinese literature and bring to light from them new value and inspiration.

The first book was compiled in the 6th century A.D. It is a voluminous manuscript called A *Commentary on the Book of Rivers*.

The other book was written 340 years ago by an outstanding Chinese traveller. It was written in the form of a diary with detailed descriptions of his observation and fieldwork. The title of the book is *Hsü Xia-Ke's Travels*, which is named after the author.

Both of these books were written in very beautiful and fluent prose. Indeed they had been preserved because of their literary style and beauty. It is only in modern times that their importance in scientific terms was recognized.

We shall discuss *A Commentary on the Book of Rivers* first. I would like to introduce to you the life of the author and a brief summary of the contents of the book.

Li Tao-Yuan, the author of *A Commentary on the Book of Rivers* was a native of Tsor-Hsien of the present Hopei Province which is about a hundred kilometers southwest of Beijing. He was born between 465 and 472 A.D. and died in 527 A.D., which is about 1453 years ago.

During the time of Li Tao-Yuan, China was divided into the South and the North. In the South, there were several kingdoms of Han nationality which governed the district one after the other chronologically. In the North, there were different minority nationalities fighting against one another for the sovereignty of the district. And throughout the whole era of the South and the North Dynasties, political hostility existed between the two parts of China. However, in spite of the existence of such political hostility, Li Tao-Yuan kept up his studies and research on the geography of China as a united whole. This idea of unity is most important to us modern students of Chinese Geography. We learn from Li Tao-Yuan that political fragmentation does not mean fragmentation of culture. It is this unity within a developing culture that acts as a motivating force which bound the different nationalities in China steadily. Under such controlling force, they influenced and assimilated one another and a new type of culture with Han nationality as the main stem gradually formed and finally yielded a new culture of special Chinese characteristics. But, at the same time, there still existed in the minority nationalities, their own traditions and culture with their special characteristics. Another point to be noted is that in the process of the development of the Chinese culture, there were the continual absorption and

assimilation of foreign civilization and influence. It is an undeniable fact that Chinese culture was enriched by foreign influence.

Li Tao-Yuan's father was a civil officer of a local district. He had to travel on duty to different places in different districts and the young boy Tao-Yuan went with his father on such occasions visiting places. This gave Li Tao-Yuan many chances to travel and thus nurtured his interest in studying geography. When Li Tao-Yuan grew up to be an official himself, he had even more chances to travel and so he visited many more places, which broadened his knowledge and experience. And his interest in studying the geography of his motherland increased by leaps and bounds. In addition to his fieldwork observation and practical experience, Li added to his knowledge by reading a lot of books, ancient materials and manuscripts. It must be mentioned that China of that time was a kingdom which had enjoyed a cultural unity for several hundred years through the prosperous dynasties of Qin and Han, and the Chinese culture had developed rapidly. There were many writings concerning national and regional geography, history, folklore and tradition, and some of them were of good quality. According to a study and calculation of the writings of Li Tao-Yuan, we find that the books and writings he used for reference in his work amount to 437. It is a pity that most of these books have been lost. In addition to these references, he also collected a lot of writings from stone tablets and folklore and folk literature for his own reference. During the time of Li Tao-Yuan, there were some geographical literature and writings circulating among the elite circles. To Li, these were far from being satisfactory, some being too simple, some being too dry and insipid, and others being too confusing with no definite system for reference and research. It must be noted that most of these materials of geographical descriptions were little more than the compilation and gathering of raw materials and rough sketches of all sorts of natural phenomena. And there was no standard system of classification for these geographical records.

Li Tao-Yuan decided to set up a standard and unified system of recording the geographical materials of China. He used the *Book of Rivers*, a book written by some scholar before him, as an outline for his studies. The original *Book of Rivers* was completed in the third century A.D. It had the descriptions and records of 137 rivers in China, with reference to their sources, estuaries, tributaries, etc. It had a definite system of recording of its own. The only defect of the book is that there was little or practically no reference to the geographical condition of the land irrigated by each river. Li

Tao-Yuan used this book as an outline for his research; he filled up many vacancies and supplemented a lot of materials. The number of rivers he studied and recorded increased to 1252. More important is the fact that he compiled detailed descriptions of each river including the geographical condition of it, the natural phenomena of the district concerned and their changes, with reference to the historical development and influences. Many of the descriptions were facts collected and recorded by Li himself. The completed works of Li Tao-Yuan amounted to three hundred thousand words which is about twenty times more than that of the original *Book of Rivers*. As to the system of compiling his book, Li decided that all the rivers originally recorded in the old book (*Book of Rivers*) should be printed in bold type while all the materials supplemented by Li himself should be printed in small type, as references and footnotes. The name of the new book still preserved the name of the old, i.e. *Book of Rivers*, but the only change was by adding the word "Commentary" and thus the full name of the book became *A Commentary on the Book of Rivers*.

In his life time, Li Tao-Yuan had written many books and essays, but only this book got left. This book was preserved to us because of its beauty in writing style, especially its excellence in describing natural scenery. For example, in his records of the Three Gorges of the Yangtze River, the readers would be deeply attracted by his interesting description of lively actions and meditating quietude, its changing colours and poetic sounds of the magnificent pictures of Mother Nature. It is this passage of the Three Gorges of the Yangtze River that students of later times used to recite and memorize as a model of standard prosaic style and literary form.

Recently the Three Gorges of the Yangtze River was opened to all foreign friends and tourists as one of the sight-seeing spots in Central China. Special launch trips are arranged at scheduled time. Our foreign friends are welcome to come to China to enjoy the trip to the Gorges. I regret that I do not have the ability to translate and bring to life the beautiful prose style and literary achievement of Li Tao-Yuan in his descriptions of the magnificent scenery of the Three Gorges. I must confess that his special literary style and accomplishment are very difficult to interpret and translate. Without understanding, it would be difficult for our foreign friends to appreciate the beauty and essence of Chinese literature and prose form.

To consider Li's book from the point of view of a modern scholar, its beautiful literary style is not the only point of attraction and influence. I

would like to point out that the scientific value of his observation and research is even more important. This emphasis is also based on my own personal experience. Let me show my point by telling a short story.

In the summer of 1949, after I concluded my studies in the University of Liverpool, England, I returned to Peking which had just been liberated. The next spring, under the direction of the Municipality of Peking (Beijing), a Committee for City Planning was established. Its duty was to make plans for the reform of old Beijing and the construction of a new Beijing city. I was responsible for the research of the historical geography of Beijing. Actually, I had done some research on this subject during my studies at the University of Liverpool under the guidance and tutorship of Prof. H. C. Darby. But this time the aim of the research was much more concrete: I was to make clear the process of the development of the old city of Peking, especially to make clear why the geographical site of the city had experienced many changes. This was not an easy job, because the long history of Beijing is very complicated. Well, from where should I begin? I was inspired by Prof. Darby's theory when I considered this problem. Prof. Darby emphasized that in the long process of the development of geographical environment, we must try to choose from the different periods in the development some historical cross-sections and endeavour to restore them to their original conditions. Then we line up these historical cross-sections chronologically, and study them by means of comparison and discover the process of development of each restored cross-section. Thus we can obtain a deeper understanding of the geographical outlook of the district concerned.

Under the guidance and inspiration of this theory, I looked through Li Tao-Yuan's *A Commentary on the Book of Rivers*, and extracted from its contents the passages concerning the geographical condition of Beijing and its surrounding areas. I succeeded in restoring a map of Beijing and its surrounding districts of more than 1450 years ago. This is the earliest one which is possible to be reconstructed. With the help of this map, we were able to trace out the origin of the city of Beijing. The same map also offered a reliable guide to the study of the changes and development of Beijing and its surrounding areas in later times. The above story shows that because of the needs of the modernization of China, we revived ancient Chinese classics through the use of modern scientific theory and methods. Considering the above incident from such an angle, we may say that this can be considered as an example of Chinese Renaissance.

Concerning the modern estimation of the value of the book *HsüHsia-Ke's Travels*, I would like to discuss it in the next lecture.

Example II: *Hsü Xia-Ke's Travels*

In my last lecture, I tried to use a specific example to illustrate how we discover the scientific value of Li Tao-Yuan's book: *A Commentary on the Book of Rivers*, which was famous and well-remembered for its beautiful prose form. Today I would like to introduce to you another famous Chinese book which is also well-remembered by the Chinese people for its excellent literary style and prose form. Through the records of the author's geographical observations and investigations in his book, we discovered its scientific value and also the author's achievements and influence in his time. To us modern students of geography, the latter point is more important. The name of the book is *Hsü Xia-Ke's Travels* which I mentioned in my last lecture.

As in Western history, there are also famous travellers in the Chinese history. They also made long and difficult journeys and travels. The records and literature of what they had done broadened our knowledge of geography and also helped to promote the development of human civilization. For instance, in the first half of the second century B.C. (138-126 B.C.) the famous traveller Zhang Qian who by the command of the Central Government of his time, started from Chang-An, the political capital city, travelled westward and crossed the Pamir Plateau and finally reached Central Asia. He made diplomatic contacts with the political sovereignty there. He spent more than ten years in his travels and return journey, conquering numerous difficulties and untold hardship. He became the pathfinder of the famous "Silk Route". Again, for instance, in the last year of the fourth century (399 A.D.), Fa-Xien, a much respected monk, also travelled from Chang-An. After crossing the Pamir Plateau, he turned down south to India. From India, he travelled by boat to Ceylon, then sailed in a big sea-going boat back to China in 412 A.D. Again, in the first half of the seventh century (627 A.D.-645), another famous monk called Shuen-Zhaung, followed a similar route taken by Fa-Xien some two hundred years before. He started from Chang-An, went westward and arrived in India where he stayed for more than ten years. Then he travelled by land back to Chang-An. Without doubt, the achievements of these travellers are never to be neglected. Their achievements helped to broaden the knowledge of the Chinese people. Also,

they brought back the influence of other people from abroad. However, to investigate into the aims of their endeavour, we may obtain the conclusion that their achievements were by-products only. To Zhang Qian, his aim was to carry out a political mission; whereas to Fa-Xien or Shuen-Zhaung, it was religious fervour that motivated them to take the travels and stand all the trials of hardship.

Now, the traveller Hsü Xia-Ke born in the late sixteenth century (1587-1641) is also well known for his daring journeys. Nevertheless, his travels were completely different from that of the people we mentioned above. More than half of his lifetime was spent in travelling. He travelled with neither political assignment nor any religious motives. He travelled because he wanted to seek knowledge and to explore the secrets of Mother Nature. Hsü Xia-Ke was a native of Jiang-Yin Xien in Jiang-Su Province on the southern bank of the Yangtze River. It was at the age of twenty-two, that is, 1607 A.D., that he left his home at the Yangtze Delta and started his planned trips. His aim was to visit the most famous mountains in China. Usually, he completed one trip within a year. The mountains he travelled to visit in the North included the Tai-Shan in the Province of Shantung, and the Pan-Shan which is near the northeast of Peking. He also journeyed to the northern part of the Province of Shansi where he visited the WuTai Mountain. Then he went to the Northwest where he explored the magnificent sceneries of Hua-Shan of Shensi Province and the WuDong Shan of Hupei Province. In Central China, he visited the famous mountains of Huang-Shan in the Province of Anhui and the Lu-Shan of the Province of Kiangsi. Then he made a trip down South to the Lo-Fu Shan of Kuangtung Province, and also to the Southeastern coastline where he explored the Yen-Dang Shan of Chekiang Province. In early 1636, he made a long-distance travel to the provinces of Southwest China, reaching the western border of Yunnan Province. It took him nearly four years to complete the trip back and forth. It was the longest journey he had ever made, a distance of about seven thousand kilometers. In all his travels, he made very detailed records and descriptions of his observation, especially that of the provinces of Kuangsi, Kweichow and Yunnan. He wrote down all the geographical phenomena of these places in a detailed way. I would like to point out that if we find in his earlier travels he only enjoyed the beautiful and magnificent sceneries of Nature, then in his latter journeys we find his interest was that of all the natural phenomena. He persisted to walk in all his tours and very seldom he rode or took a boat.

Thus, he was able to walk to the farthest corners of the countryside and wilderness and climb to the deepest canyons and the loftiest mountains. He nurtured the habit of writing down immediately everything he had a chance to explore and observe. He made detailed records in the form of a diary of all his trips and activities, with also his own personal opinions and deductions from what he had seen, especially his opinions on natural and geographical phenomena. He had very keen observation power and he was not afraid of the dangers in his journey. Very often, he climbed a high cliff or a deep canyon alone or crept into a deep cave without the company of anybody to explore and investigate. Some writers after him described his activities saying "he climbed high like a monkey and explored caves like a snake. In addition to these, he wrote in an excellent prose style, interesting and attractive, with vivid descriptions of natural sceneries. The way he recorded geographical phenomena was accurate and concise in effect. It was actually because of these special accurate records of his observation and fieldwork that he was much respected and esteemed by the scholars of his time. His writings were copied and read and were considered as the finest literary accomplishment. After his death, his writings were collected and compiled into a volume with the title *Hsü Xia-Ke's Travels*. It was a collection of more than four hundred thousand words. It is a pity that some of the contents have been lost during the past years. The present volume is not the original edition.

The book was titled "Travels", but actually it is a classic on geographical research with very important scientific contents. It is important because it opened up a new way in the study of geography in China, using a thoroughly empirical method. Its influence and achievement in the development of Chinese sciences are unique. I must confess that it is out of my ability to convey to you the literary value of Hsü's book. However, it is necessary for me to explain briefly what the author had done in opening up a new way of geographical research.

Even before the time of Hsü Xia-Ke, the study of geography had a long development in China. There were many books which may be classified into the field of Chinese Geography. However, most of these earlier writings and books were nothing more than confusing collections of geographical phenomena. Practically none or very few of them referred to the reasons or factors yielding or influencing such phenomena. Furthermore, most of the writers of this kind of books were "indoor scholars" who did not have any fieldwork experience. All they did was to write books which were based on

some legends from some miscellaneous documents. Very few of them were books of serious research and systematic compilation. The rare exception probably is the work of Li Tao-Yuan's *A Commentary on the Book of Rivers* published in the sixth century A.D. The fact is that the oppression of feudalism lasted for so long a time that the level of production was very low, and as a result of this, geographical research and records were also limited. When it came to Hsü's time, he broke away from the old tradition and walked out of the small study of his house and made long outdoor trips with definite purposes and preparations. He made outdoor observations at first hand. With his keen observation he discovered and accumulated the numerous, colourful geographical phenomena and the knowledge of the internal causes of these phenomena. For instance, he looked into the nature and characteristics of rocks, the power of water in erosion, the use and influence of underground water, the shaping and structure of land forms, the changes of temperature and wind on different levels and latitudes and their influences on vegetations, and many other things which he tried to give scientific explanations of their making. More significant was the travels he made in the latter years of his life when he visited the southwestern part of China where he systematically observed the special nature of topography of the great expanse of karstland there, and made classified descriptions of them. His intense interest in the investigation of the caves in the karstland led him to go into more than one hundred deep caves of which he made very minute observations and detailed records. For example, he went twice to the eastern part of Kweilin in the present Autonomous Region of Kuangxi Zhuang, to explore the famous "Seven Stars Cave". He investigated and recorded the outside and inside details of this great cave in a minute way. The "Seven Star Cave"is one of the most mysterious and complicated caves in the karstland of Southwest China. In 1953, some Chinese geographers surveyed and measured the system of the "Seven Stars Cave" by modern methods and equipment. They drafted the ground plan inside and a rough sketch of the outside environment of the cave. When comparing their survey with the descriptions and records of Hsü Xia-Ke, they were very much amazed by its similarity and accuracy. The conclusion is that we can consider and use Hsü's book and his records as reliable references in the research of these caves and the karstland of China. I would like to emphasize that the distribution of limestone in the provinces of Southwest China is most widespread in areas of limestone topography in the world. And the time Hsü Xia-Ke spent in exploring and investigating this

area was also the longest of all his travels. The records of the distribution of limestone topography, the difference of geographical zones, the different types of topography and the causes of their forming were written down by HsüXia-Ke in details with also his own explanation. Undoubtedly these records of Hsü's are the earliest documents of its kind concerning such a big area of limestone topography.[1]

The facts mentioned above show clearly that by his life-work in the research and investigation outdoor, Hsü Xia-Ke had paved a new way for the studies of geography in China. As a pioneer in the scientific research in geography Hsü is probably comparable to Alexander von Humboldt who laid the foundation of the studies of geography in Germany. Von Humboldt lived about one hundred and fifty years after Hsü Xia-Ke. Von Humboldt also devoted his life in making long-distance travels and investigations. However, von Humboldt lived in a time when the modern industrialization in Europe had already begun and when the studies of natural sciences in the West had also developed rapidly with inventions and making of new scientific equipment and instruments which were of much help to geographical research and fieldwork. These conditions offered necessary facilities to Western geographers for their research which former geographers had been unable to obtain. Alexander von Humboldt was able to use the new equipment and, furthermore, he had also the opportunity to go by sea to the developing South America for his geographical research. Thus, he was able to offer his achievements to the civilization of the whole world. As to Hsü Xia-Ke, although he had the desire and ambition to expand the area of his observation and investigation, and even expressed the wish to go to the countries outside China, owing to the condition of China of his time, he was unable to fulfill his wish. It must be noted also that Chinese society of Hsü XiaKe's time had only just began to witness the spirit of capitalism. But due to the oppression of the feudalistic sovereignty, its development was retarded, and consequently the development of natural sciences was very slow, and thus, having any scientific instruments for fieldwork for Hsü was definitely out of the question. All Hsü Xia-Ke could do was to walk with his two feet in his travels and to work with his empty hands in his research and investigation. Indeed, he collected some rocks or plants as specimens for his studies even they were rare, as he had to carry everything for himself with his two hands and on his bare shoulders. Under such an environment, how could Hsü Xia-Ke's work compare with Alexander von Humboldt who could make

use of sea transportation and use big boats to carry his great amount of specimens and manuscripts?

The story of Alexander von Humboldt is very different. He spent five years in South America. When he returned to Europe in 1804, he brought with him in the boat thirty large cases of specimens and records for his studies and references. He was able to live in Paris for twenty years to study and analyse his records and to write his thirty volumes of research on the New World. After that, he went back to Berlin. Then, again, he travelled to Central Asia. He spent the latter part of his life in studying and writing. He died at the old age of 90 in 1859.

Hsü Xia-Ke spent more than three years in the southwest of China exploring (1636-1640). When he returned to his native land, he brought back only a few rocks as reference plus an exhausted body. And within a year after his being back home, he died of poverty and illness, with the research and exploration of Chinese geography unfinished. According to an account of his life, even when he was seriously ill in bed, he still had his few rocks by his bedside and continued to study them and fondle them until the last moment of his life. He was only 56 when he died. Except the few hundred thousand words of fieldwork diary and records of observation and a few essays on his studies, he left no other writings.

The main reasons that I try to compare Hsü Xia-Ke of China of 340 years ago to Alexander von Humboldt of Germany of 130 years ago are not only to show the difference of their fate, but also to convey to you by means of emphasizing their important influences to the development of the sciences in the East and in the West, how the studies of sciences had developed into two different ways from times of these two prominent geographers on.

The scientific activities of von Humboldt had a far-reaching influence in Europe. For instance, it was under his influence that the British government sent a boat "The Beagle" in 1831 to the seacoast around South America for a scientific survey and research. On board the ship, a young man brought along with him von Humboldt's books. He read the books enthusiastically and sent letters home asking for more of von Humboldt's new books. The name of this young man is Charles Darwin. With this expedition as his starting point for his scientific research, he finally established the theory of"The Origin of Species". And with Darwin, sciences in the West had a big leap from the starting point of von Humboldt.

To return to our consideration of Hsü Xia-Ke's contributions to sciences

in China, we find that in spite of his hard work, he had very little influence in the intellectual circle of his time. Indeed, there were some people who acknowledged his talent as a literary man; there were also some but fewer people who appreciated Hsü's life as an explorer who faced dangers bravely. However, there was practically none who noticed his achievements in geographical research and, after his death, there was no one to follow his footsteps or continue his studies. Even his book of such a mine of geographical wealth was ignored and it was not until recently that its value in geography was discovered. Isn't it most absurd and unreasonable?

I would like to point out that even before the time of Hsü Xia-Ke, science and technology had developed steadily in China. There had been important inventions by the ancient Chinese, such as the compass for sea travelling, the method of printing in block types, etc. These inventions were first used by the Chinese and then they were taken up by the world at large. Their influence on world culture and civilization is great and important. And even in Hsü Xia-Ke's time, there were important scientific writings and literature, such as *Ben Cao Gang Mu*(*The Principles and Index of Herbs and Minerals for Medicine*) by Li ShiZhen (1518-1593). Its influence on botany, mineralogy and pharmacology is undeniably great. There was also the book written by Sung Ying-Sing(born ca. 1600) *Tien Gong Kai Wu* (*Exploitation of the Works of Nature*). We know that its first edition dated to 1637 and it was a very important work on agriculture, textile weaving, pottery, foundry and casting and other contents concerning the making of tools and instruments.[2] These two books and the one written by Hsü Xia-Ke were the forerunners in the scientific research in old China. They opened up new paths for the people after them. Their achievements were undoubtedly among the most advanced in their age and also in the world. Nevertheless, the development of Chinese scientific research after the time of Hsü XiaKe lagged far behind that of the West. Thus, even until recent times, to learn from the advanced science and technology of the West is still our problem which we must acknowledge. How did it happen?

As a student of historical geography I do not have the ability to answer this question in full. However, from the angle of the development of natural sciences, there are some few points which we ought to notice when we look into this problem.

Since we know that as production of social development, natural science and technology also develop accordingly. And as early as the third century

B.C. ancient China had already been in the state of feudalism, a feudalistic kingdom of centralisation of states and sovereignty. In China, the authority of the Emperor is supreme and unquestionable. Since then and for a long time of feudalism of more than two thousand years, the society of China had been built on the economy of small-scale farming; then out of this grew the handicraft workshops. In the early part of feudalism in ancient China, such mode of production developed and with it, the field of science and technology yielded new inventions and discoveries. When it came to the latter part of feudalism, productivity in China continued to develop, but management of individual craftsman workshops gradually changed into that of small workshops with hired labourers. This became the soil for the growth of capitalism.

In Hsü Xia-Ke's time, the districts along the middle reaches and the estuary of the Yangtze River, especially the region of its delta, developed greatly in the capacity of production and with this also grew capitalism. With such social background, the progressive intellectuals of that time naturally paid much attention to the research of natural sciences and technology. Their interest was on the investigation and exploration of Nature and also the summarization and propagation of the techniques of production. Such prominent personalities like Li Shi-Zhen, Sung Ying-Sing and Hsü Xia-Ke were leading representatives of the time. But the reactionary forces and backward influences which supported the feudalistic sovereignty went all out to suppress and shatter this new progress in search of truth. Their tactics were to control the governmental examinations. At that time the means of the Emperor and the bureaucrats to select government officials were to give examinations, the contents and subjects of which emphasised loyalty and fidelity of the persons who took the examinations. Natural sciences were not included in the examinations. All those that worked on scientific studies were considered by society as "Laolies" or manual workers and all manual workers or labourers were looked down upon by "Laohsins" or brainworkers. "Brainworkers are the controllers and manual workers are the controlled." This was the social attitude and public opinion of Hsü's time. Thus, the Chinese society was clearly divided into two categories: those who controlled and those who were controlled. And the Chinese term brainworkers means the social group who knows nothing about the ways of production—all they know is using their ink-brushes to play with words. Thus the few people who devoted their time to the research of sciences were also considered as manual

workers. And in the eyes of the brainworkers, they were lower in social status, or the outcasts of society, and among this lowly group were the medical men. And for them to take and pass the exams was undoubtedly out of the question. For instance, Li Shi-Zhen was among those of this group who had taken the exams several times but failed each time. As to Hsü Xia-Ke, he despised this corrupt and unfair system of examinations. Even when he was a young man, he showed his hatred of the corruption of the bureaucracy. He decided to devote his life to outdoor fieldwork and explorations, making torturous journeys against all hardships in order to find out the secret of Nature. Here, we see a man against the society of his time, a rebel who broke away from the bound of old traditions and society and did become a pioneer of the new era.

Yet, in the age of the supremacy of imperialistic feudalism, Hsü XiaKe was not to live to do what he had wished. Only three years after his death, there began the worst of the feudalistic dynasties in the history of China, that is, the Ching Dynasty, the difficult time under the oppression of the Manchu minority. The intellectuals of the Han society were under strict control of the government. No words or feeling against the Manchus were allowed. Punishment of death was the penalty for all those who wrote anything against the imperial Manchu sovereignty and his relatives. This was called in the Chinese history as the "Criminal Case of the Words", that is, people were put in jail and put to death because of the words they had written. The condition was so bad that many of the intellectuals were driven to hide themselves or to leave their positions. All they could do was to write abstract essays, of no practical use. The beginning or germination of capitalistic thinking and its influence on ideology, that is, the ideas of reacting against the restrictions of feudalism, the efforts to seek freedom and democracy, the new idea of individuality and self-expression, were suppressed and punished. It was the time of the decline of the world of thought in China. There were no more people like Li Shi-Zhen or Sung Ying-Sing or Hsü Xia-Ke in the field of scientific research for over a century. Nevertheless, in the world of literature, there appeared the book by Cao Xue-Chin called *The Dreams of the Red Chamber*, which reflected and echoed the voice of the time. The writer Cao two hundred years ago used his book as a weapon to attack and expose the corruption of the declining feudalism. From this standpoint we may consider Cao's book as a masterpiece of his time.

In China, the age after feudalism is semi-colonial, semi-feudal. Unlike

the West, it was not followed by the age of capitalism. We call it "semicolonialism" because it was the developed capitalist nations that sent troops to China to break down her "closed door policy" and thus put her under the control of the foreign powers. We call it "semi-feudalism"because China still had feudalistic emperors; the only difference was that these feudalistic big heads could no more give orders and be obeyed by the people like former times. Instead, they must rely on the foreign powers to suppress the rebellious people.

In 1911, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen led a revolution successfully against the Manchus and thus ended the imperial dynasties of feudalism which lasted for more than two thousand years. However, it did not end or smash completely the feudalistic forces and their traditional influences. It was in 1919 that the famous "May 4th Movement" broke out; its slogan was: "Anti-imperialism and Anti-feudalism." To us Chinese historians, it means the beginning of the Revolution of Neo-democracy. It was led by the Chinese Communist Party until its final victory in 1949, the liberation of the Chinese People.

In short, from the Opium War in 1840 when the foreign military forces invaded China to the establishment of the People's Republic of China, for a lengthened time of more than one hundred years, the people of China had lived under the yokes of both imperialism and feudalism. They were in most miserable condition, unable to earn their barest living. In such condition, scientist research and technical development were out of the question. The result was the backwardness of China in science and technology.

The birth of New China means the beginning of the age of her socialist reconstruction, which lasts until now for already thirty years. There have been tremendous changes since then through the efforts of her people in the spirit of self-reliance. Nevertheless, because of the backwardness of our science and technology and the weakness of our social foundation, China is still a poor and developing country, especially after the so-called Cultural Revolution during which we experienced the worst possible damage and interruption, not only in production, but also in practically every field. And it is through the ten years of political turmoil that we begin to realize how the left-over poisonous effects of feudalism and their social influences interfere with our socialist construction, for instance,"The Homologized Court" (that is, everything must be decided by the only one top officer as final); "Tenure System" (that is, once you become the head of a government office, you will always and for the rest time of your life stay as the head of that office);

"Personality Cult"; "Isolationist Policy and Self-praising"; "Bureaucracy"; "the social influences and tradition of individual production"; etc. Indeed, these bad points can also be found in capitalist society. However, in China, the destructive effects of such rubbish are much more serious.

Now in New China one of our most important tasks is to restore the spirit of these scientists and scholars, and in geography to rekindle the spirit and method of Hsü Xia-Ke. We have gotten over the bitter experience of the Cultural Revolution. We have brought about greater stability. With the desire to build China into a modern socialist country, we begin the New Long March. But when we raise our heads and look around at the world and the neighbouring countries, we find that their achievements in science and technology have progressed far front before us. We must break away from the former condition of isolation, and learn from our foreign friends their advanced science and technology, so that we can expedite our modernization. Of course, we will still maintain our principle of self-reliance. And by self-reliance we mean that we must also try our very best to discover new value from our ancient civilization. That is to say, we should not simply take everything for granted from the West without any investigations or analyses. Undoubtedly, we shall absorb and utilize everything that is beneficial to our country. But more important is the effort of us to discover the rich hereditary endowments in our history and culture, and to transform them for the use of the modernization of China.

Three hundred and forty years ago, Hsü Xia-Ke had opened up a new way in the seeking of secrets of Nature. Owing to the feudalistic reactionary forces and influences, he had no successor or follower. And now, we the modern Chinese students are determined to sweep away all the rubbish of feudalism, in order to build our New Culture and Civilization. It is because of this determination that I am sure a new age of Renaissance in China will be at hand. We look forward anxiously to its coming, and I am sure that our Western friends will also welcome its appearance.

I thank you.

陆　古代中国地理文献的现代解释*

例一：《水经注》

中国正在经历着一场伟大的变革，企图摆脱长期落后的局面努力在实现社会主义现代化的宏伟目标下迅速前进。为此我们有必要向外国学习一切先进的东西，这是一个方面，另一方面，我们还必须重新估价自己的历史文化遗产，从中吸取一切有益的东西。只有这样，我们才能创造出真正的、富有自己民族特色和富有生命力的新文化，也就是适应社会主义时代要求的新文化。实际上这也可以称之为一次中国式的“文艺复兴”。

解放以来，这个中国式的“文艺复兴”，在知识领域的各个部门里已在蓬勃发展，这中间虽然遭遇到反动势力历时十年的严重摧残和破坏，可是符合历史发展规律的新生事物，不是任何人的意志所能消灭的。

现在要想把这个正在发展中的中国式的“文艺复兴”作个全面的介绍是不可能的，更不是我所能胜任的。我所能做的，只是从自己比较熟悉的领域里，根据个人感觉到的从旧的文化遗产中去发现新价值这件事，举出两个具体的例子，略作论明。这样做，或许对愿意了解新中国的朋友们，不无一点帮助。如果能做到这一点，也就是我最大的愿望了。

我想以中国古代地理学的两部重要著作为例，来说明：我们在今天是如何从旧的文化遗产中，去发现它们的新价值的。

第—部是写成于公元6世纪的一部巨著：《水经注》。

第二部是三百四十年前—位卓越的旅行家所留下的一部以日记为体裁的野外考察记录，后人就以这位旅行家的名字，命名这部记录，叫做《徐霞客游记》。

这两部书都是用极其优美的散文所写成的，首先是以其文学价值流传后世的，只是到了现代，我们才真正认识到它们所包含的极其重要的科学内容。

现在请让我先把《水经注》这部巨著的作者及其主要内容，作个简要的介绍。

《水经注》的作者郦道元，其故乡在今河北省涿县。涿县在北京城西南不到一百公里。他出生的年代在公元465与472年之间，死在527年。去今已有1453年。

郦道元的时代，正处在中国的政局南北分裂的时代。当时南方是几

个汉族小王朝先后统治的地区，北方则是不同少数民族的统治者互相角逐的场所。同时南北两方又长期处于相互敌对的地位。但是这种分裂的局面，并没有妨碍郦道元对于全国地理作为一个统一的整体来进行研究，这一点是很重要的，足以说明政治上的分裂，并不能破坏文化上的统一。正是这种统一的，而且是在不断发展中的文化，作为一种无形的力量，才把中国的各族人民逐渐维系在一起，互相影响，又互相融合，终于形成了以汉族影响为主的独具特色的中国文化，同时在一些少数民族里也还保存着某种固有的民族文化的特征。其次，在中国文化发展的过程中，也曾不断从外部的文化吸取营养，丰富了自己的内容，这也是无可否认的事实。

郦道元从少年时代起，随着他的父亲离开家乡。他父亲作为一个地方官吏，在任职过程中，到过不少地方，道元随行，从而得到了一个旅游的好机会，并且培养了研究地理的兴趣。他自己年长做官，到过的地方更多了，见闻更广了，研究祖国地理的兴趣也就与日俱增。在实地考察之外，他还涉猎了大量的图书资料。因为当时的中国，已经经历了自秦、汉以来几百年之久的统一时期，文化有了迅速的发展，关于全国以及各地区的地理、历史、风土、传说等各种写作，已经积累有很大的数量，种类也很繁多。据统计，道元在他的著作中直接引过的这类图书，就有437种之多，可惜现在大部分已经失传了。此外，他还搜集了一些碑刻文字，采取了不少的民间传说、故事，以备参考。当时也已经有几种描述全国地埋的著作在流传中，可是他看了都不满意，有的太简单，有的太枯燥，有的内容零乱，缺乏系统。应该看到，当时的地理描述，还停在资料堆砌和现象罗列的初步阶段。怎样才能把十分复杂的各种地理现象记录下来，还缺乏很好的办法。

郦道元有志把全国的地理进行统一的描述，他的办法，就是利用前人所写的《水经》一书，作为自己写作的纲领。《水经》一书，大约写成在公元221到279年之间，书中记述了中国的河流共计137条。每条河流都是从上源写到下游，从主流写到支流，脉络相寻，自成体系。可是河流所经各地的地理情况，书中很少叙述。郦道元以这部书为纲领，又大大加以补充，把河流的数目增加到1252条，更重要的是，还把每条河流所经过的地方都作了详细的描述，从一些自然地理现象，一直到地方变化的情况，历史演替的事实，无不包括在内。（许多描述都源于郦道元搜集和记载的资料。）只就补充的字数来说，就多于原书20倍，约近30万字。在书的写作格式上：凡是原书所记每条河流都用大形字体来写，补充的部分，则用小形字体作注。全书仍用《水经》原名，只是加了一个“注”字，就叫做《水经注》，意译就是*A Commentary on the Book of Rivers*。

郦道元生前的著作不只是一部《水经注》，但是流传到现在的，只有这一种。主要原因是这部书的文笔非常优美，描写的自然景物尤为出色。例如，他描写长江三峡壮丽的风景，有动有静，有声有色，不知不觉就把读者吸引到大自然的怀抱中去。因此，这段描写常被选为描写风景的范文，为人所传诵。

现在长江三峡已被开放为外国友人的游览区，有特备的江轮，定期航行，为来自世界各地的游人服务。可惜的是，郦道元描写三峡的优美文字和它特有的风格，很不容易用译文传达出来，供来这里观光的外国朋友，共赏中国散文的精华。

但是现在看来，《水经注》可贵之处还不仅仅在于它的优美的文字，更重要的还在于它所包含的具有科学价值的内容。这一点对我个人来说，也是深有感触的。这里我只能举一个很小的例子来作个说明。

1949年夏，我结束了在英国利物浦大学的学习，回到了解放后的北京。转年春天，在北京市人民政府的直接领导下，成立了一个城市规划委员会，着手进行改造北京旧城和建设新城的规划工作。在这个委员会里，我分担了北京城市历史地理的研究工作。实际上我在利物浦大学时，在H.C.Darby教授的指导下，已经进行过这方面的初步研究。现在在实际任务的要求下，目的更加明确，就是要弄清楚北京这个古老城市的发展过程，特别是要确切了解它的城址在历史上多次变迁的原因，为现在的规划工作提供必要的参考。这并不是一件轻而易举的事，因为历史久远，变迁复杂，从何入手呢？在这个问题上，Darby教授的一个理论，给我以很大的启发，就是要在地理环境长期演变的过程中，尽可能地选择不同时期的历史剖面进行“复原”，然后按着时代的顺序，把这些“复原”了的“剖面”，进行比较研究，找出其前后演变的过程，这样就可以对现在这一地区的地理面貌，获得更为深刻的理解。

正是在这一理论的指导下，我借助于郦道元的《水经注》一书中有关当时北京城及附近地区地理情况的描述，“复原”了一千四百五十多年以前北京及其近郊的一幅地图。根据这幅地图，可以上溯北京城的起源，同时也为研究后来北京城及其郊区的变化，提供了一个可靠的起点。这是一个很小的事例，但是也足以说明：新时代建设事业的要求，借助于现代的科学理论，使古代的经典著作，发射出新的光芒。从这个意义上来说，不是也可以算作中国式的“文艺复兴”的一例吗？

关于《徐霞客游记》的现代评价，下次再进行讨论。

例二：《徐霞客游记》

在上一讲里，我试图用一个具体的例子来说明我们如何从郦道元的《水经注》这部过去以优美散文为人所重视的巨著里，去发现它的科学

价值。今天我想用另外一部同样以优美散文而得流传于世的著作来说明：我们如何从这部著作的地理描述中不但去发现它的科学价值，而且从它的作者从事地理考察的事实中，去发现他之所以从事这项科学活动的时代意义。在今天看来，这一点是更为重要的。这就是我在上一讲中已经提到过的那部《徐霞客游记》。

在中国历史上和在西方历史上一样，曾经出现过一些长途跋涉从而大大开拓了人们的视野的大旅行家。他们的活动增加了人类的地理知识，促进了人类文化的发展。例如，公元前第2世纪前半（公元前138—前126），张骞从当时中国的政治中心长安出发，奉中央政府之命西行，越过帕米尔高原，直到中亚细亚，与那里的统治者进行外交上的联络，往返途中克服了种种困难，经历了十多年的时间，成为开辟有名的“丝绸之路”的先驱。又如，公元4世纪末，中国僧人法显，也是从长安出发，越过帕米尔高原后，转往印度。最后又从印度渡海到达现在的锡兰，再从锡兰乘大船返回中国，也用了十多年时间（399—412）。到了7世纪前半（627—645），又有一位中国僧人玄奘，大体沿着二百多年前法显西行的道路，从长安出发到达印度，在印度各地逗留了十多年，然后仍从陆路返回长安。这些著名的旅行家，虽然对扩大中国人民的地理知识、吸收外来的影响，作出了很大的贡献，但是这只能称是一种副产，而不是他们长途跋涉的目的。他们的旅行，有的是负有政治使命，如张骞，有的是为了求取佛经，是出于宗教上的要求，如法显、玄奘。

出生于16世纪晚期的徐霞客（1587—1641），虽然也是以旅行家见称，但是他的旅行和上述诸人却完全不同。他几乎有半生的岁月都在旅途中度过，既没有任何政治使命，也没有宗教上的动机，完全是为了寻求知识，探索自然的奥秘。他的家乡在扬子江三角洲上的江阴县，靠近扬子江南岸。他从22岁那一年，也就是公元1607年起，开始离开家乡作有计划的旅行，主要目的是访问名山胜景。一般都是当年外出，当年回来。向北，经过山东的泰山，到达北京附近的盘山和山西北部的五台山。向西北到过陕西华山和湖北武当山，中间还访问过安徽的黄山和江西的庐山。向南，直到广东的罗浮山。在东南沿海地区又访问过浙江的雁荡山和福建的武夷山。最重要的是，从1636年起，他更远游西南各省，直到云南西部边境。往返之间，将近四年，路途跋涉约七千公里，这是他一生中旅行路线最长的一次。沿途作了详细的观察和记录，特别是对广西、贵州和云南三省的一些地理现象，描述得最为详尽。如果说他早期的旅行，还是以欣赏大自然的壮丽风景为主，可是到了后来，他的全部注意力，几乎都为自然地理的各种现象所吸引。他在野外一直坚持徒步跋涉，很少骑马和乘船。这样就便于他深入人迹罕至的穷乡僻壤

和深山大野，而且他还养成了随时随地进行观察和随手记录描写的好习惯。他的记录都是以日记的体裁写下来的，十分详细地记载了他每日的行程和观察所得，有时也包括了关于一个地区特点的概括性的论述，或是关于某一地理现象的总结式的评论。他有十分锐敏的观察力，更有不怕一切艰险、只身攀登悬崖峭壁或者潜入洞穴深处进行考察的精神。有人描写说他攀援登高时像一只猴子，探索洞穴时像一条蛇。特别是他还写得一手极好的散文，描写自然景物，逼真生动，富有感染力；记述各种地理现象，又有精确、简明、刻画入微的特点。正是因为这个原因，他的这部野外考察的记录，才受到当时一些人的重视，作为文学读物，争相传抄。他去世之后，又有人把这些记录加以搜集整理，编订成册，定名为《徐霞客游记》，共有四十余万字。可惜已有部分散失，后来刻印成书的，已经不是全稿了。

这部书虽以《游记》为名，实际上却是一部地理考察文献，具有十分重要的科学内容，在中国的科学发展史上，为研究地理学开创了一条新道路。在这里来介绍这部书的文学价值，不是我所能胜任的，但是简要说明一下它的作者所开创的地理学研究的新道路，却是必要的。

在徐霞客的时代以前，中国的地理学已有长期发展的历史，可以列为地理这一门类的书籍，为数也很多。但是，这些书籍，几乎都是表面的地理现象的罗列，极少涉及这些地理现象产生的原因和彼此之间的内在联系。而且这些地理书籍的作者，又多半是一些“书斋里的学者”，很少有野外考察的经验。他们只是根据别人的传说，或是把别人一些零散的记录，编写成书。即使这一类的编辑工作，能做到像郦道元写《水经注》那样广收博采，严加考订的，实在也极少。实际上，在长期的封建社会里，由于生产水平的限制，对地理记载的要求，也就是这样。可是到了徐霞客，他却打破了旧传统，走出了小书房，有目的、有计划地到野外作长途旅行，进行实地考察。他热爱大自然，有锐敏的观察力，从丰富多彩的地理现象中，他逐渐认识到造成这些现象的一些内在原因。例如，他对岩石的性质、流水侵蚀的能力、地下水的作用、地形塑造的过程、高山上下温度风力的变化对于植物的影响、不同气候区域之间植物群落的显著差异，如此等等，他都有合乎科学的解释。尤其重要的是，他在晚年的西南之行，使他对广大石灰岩地区的地形特征，有了系统的观察和分门别类的描述。特别是对石灰岩地区特有的溶洞的研究，更引起了他极大的兴趣。他深入考察过的洞穴就有一百多处，并作了十分详细的观察和记录。例如，他曾两次考察过桂林东部有名的七星岩洞穴，并且对洞内和洞外都作了十分详细的观察和记录。这是一处十分复杂的洞穴体系。1953年地理学家用科学手段对这个洞穴体系进行了测量，绘制了内部的平面图和外部的素描图。令人惊异的是，用三百四十

年前徐霞客对这个洞穴体系所作的描述，与这些图相对比，竟是如此之相似，以至他的这些描述至今仍可作为对照研究这处洞穴的参考。中国的西南诸省，石灰岩分布面积很广，是世界上最广大的石灰岩地貌区域之一，而徐霞客在这一地区考察的时间又最长，对石灰岩地貌的分布、地区的差异、各种类型及其成因，都有详细的论断和记述。这应该是世界上最早的有关大面积内石灰岩地貌的宝贵文献了。[1]

上述事实足以说明：徐霞客半生的野外考察，确实是为中国地理学的研究，开创了一条新道路。从这个意义上来说，他和一百五十年以后在欧洲历史上通过野外的长途旅行和考察，从而为现代自然地理学奠定了基础的德国地理学家洪堡德是颇有相似之处的。不过洪堡德的时代，西方的自然科学随着近代工业的开始兴起，已经有了很大的发展，特别是各种有助于野外考察的科学仪器，为地理学家提供了前所未有的技术装备。而且，洪堡德还有机会远渡重洋，到正在开发中的南美洲进行考察，因此使他有可能在科学发展史上为全人类的文明作出重大的贡献。徐霞客虽然也曾有扩大他的考察范围远到中国以外的遥远地区的强烈愿望，只是由于客观条件的限制，未能如愿。尤其是当时的中国，还停留在封建制度的束缚之下，生产的发展受到很大的限制，各种有关的自然科学还没有相应的发展，更谈不到近代科学仪器在野外考察中的应用。徐霞客只是赤手空拳，徒步跋涉，偶尔也采集岩石和植物标本，但是一切采集品都要靠自己背负携带，哪里能和洪堡德那样利用漂洋过海的轮船作为运载的工具相比呢？

洪堡德在中南美洲进行了五年之久的考察旅行，于1804年回到欧洲的时候，他随船带回来三十大箱的标本资料，随即在巴黎居住下来，开始进行整理研究工作，一直持续了二十年，写成了三十卷的《1797—1804年新大陆热带区域旅行记》。后来他回到柏林，又曾到中亚考察，晚年仍孜孜不息，勤于著述，一直到90岁的高龄（1859年去世）。

徐霞客在中国西南广大地区进行了三年多的野外考察（1636—1640），于1640年回到家乡江阴县的时候，他随身带回来的，是仅有的一些岩石标本，和一个由于过度劳苦而受到严重损害的身体。结果他回家后不到一年，就在病中含着未竟之志与世长辞。有记载说，在他卧病期间，他还把野外带回来的岩石标本放在病床旁边，进行细心观察，直到生命的最后一息。他享年只有56岁。除去几十万字的野外考察日记和几篇专题论文之外，再没有留下其他著作。

在这里，我把三百四十年前中国的徐霞客和一百三十年前欧洲的洪堡德，作个比较，主要目的不仅在于说明他们个人之间命运上的悬殊，更重要的是想以这两位卓越的地理学家的影响为例，来说明东西方科学的发展，从这两位科学家的时代开始，各自走上了完全不同的道路。

洪堡德的科学活动，在欧洲产生了巨大的影响。例如，正是在洪堡德的影响下，英国政府于1831年派遣了The　Beagle号船，去南美洲的一些沿海地带，进行考察测量。参加这次考察的一个青年科学工作者，随身携带着洪堡德的一些著作，热情地阅读着，而且寄信给家人，要求把洪堡德新出版的书籍，继续寄给他。这个青年人就是以这次考察的收获为开端，而创立了进化论的达尔文。达尔文的贡献又超过了洪堡德，对西方自然科学的进一步发展，产生了更为深远的影响。

回过头来看看徐霞客一生的科学活动，在中国知识界所产生的影响，真是微乎其微。有人只是欣赏他的卓越的文学才能，有人只是赞叹他探险搜奇、勇于跋涉的精神，而他所开创的地理学研究的新方向，竟然后继无人，甚至他所遗留下来的唯一的一部著作的科学价值，也只是到了现代才被发现，这不是一个很奇怪的现象吗？

应该看到，在徐霞客的时代以前，中国的科学与技术一直在不断的发展中。有些重要的发明和创造，例如用于海上航行的罗盘、用于传布文化知识的活字版印刷术等，都是首先在中国被广泛应用的，从而为人类文化的发展，作出了重要贡献。就是徐霞客同时代的一些重要科学著作，如李时珍（1518—1593）的《本草纲目》在植物学、矿物学、医药学以及宋应星（生于1587年）的《天工开物》（1637年初版）[2]在农业、纺织、制陶、冶炼以及其他器物制造的研究和应用上，和徐霞客在地理学的考察上所开创的新道路一样，都达到了当时世界上的先进水平。可是从徐霞客的时代以后，中国科学技术的发展，开始落在西方的后面，而且是越落越远。直到现在，向西方先进的科学技术学习，仍然是我们所面临的一项重要任务，这究竟是什么原因呢？

我作为一个历史地理的学生，没有能力来答复这个问题。但是从自然科学发展史的角度来看，在探讨这个问题上，还是有值得注意的地方的。

我们知道自然科学和技术是随着社会生产的发展而发展的。早在公元前3世纪时起，中国就已经进入封建社会，开始建立了中央集权的封建国家，在这里，皇帝的权力高于一切。此后在长达两千多年的封建社会里，小农经济是主要的社会基础，手工业也是在这个基础上发展起来的。在封建社会前期，随着生产的发展，在科学技术的领域里，也不断有新的发明和创造。到了封建社会后期，生产力进一步发展，又从原来个体手工业的经营方式中，开始出现了以雇佣劳动为主的作坊工业。在作坊工业里又逐渐出现了资本主义的萌芽。

到了徐霞客的时代，扬子江中下游一带——特别是三角洲地区，社会生产力有了迅速的发展，资本主义的萌芽日益成长。当时知识界的先进人物，更加注意到自然科学与技术的研究，他们把注意力转向了自然

界的探索以及生产技术的总结和传布。上述李时珍、宋应星以及徐霞客都是这方面的代表人物。但是社会上维护封建统治的落后势力，则是他们前进的严重障碍。当时的封建皇帝利用考试制度来选拔知识分子，补充政府的官僚机构，从而为巩固封建统治服务。因此在考试科目中，主要是以测验应考者是否效忠封建王朝为唯一标准，自然科学技术的考试科目是没有的。而且一切从事科学技术研究的人，都被认为是“劳力”的，也就是体力劳动者，而体力劳动者在封建社会里是受鄙视的。因而自古以来，在中国的封建社会里，就是以“劳心者治人，劳力者治于人”作为社会分工的唯一信条。所谓“劳心”者，指的就是不事生产而只会玩弄笔杆、舞文弄墨的人，连搞科学技术，都被认为是“劳力”，因此在“劳心”者看来，都是“下贱”的，是永远不能通过国家考试的。连为人治病的医生，也得不到社会上应有的重视。李时珍、宋应星都是屡次参加地方上的国家考试而未被录取的人。至于徐霞客，从少年时代起，就鄙视这种国家考试，不屑一顾，对于腐朽没落的封建统治，尤其是深恶痛绝。他决心献身于旅行考察事业，不畏一切艰险去探索大自然的奥秘。从这一点来看，他称得上是一个封建社会的叛逆者，是冲破旧社会的束缚，走向新时代的先驱。

但是，专制主义发展到极端的封建王朝，是绝不容忍这样的时代的先驱者。徐霞客去世后三年，中国历史上由一个少数民族——满族所建立的封建王朝——清朝，统治了中国。汉族知识分子身上，又增加了一副新的枷锁，那就是，任何不满于异族统治者的情绪，一旦见于文字，不仅本人可能要遭杀戮，就是亲属也要受到连累，这就叫做“文字狱”——因文字得罪而被关入的监狱。清朝前期因“文字狱”而惨遭杀害的，在知识分子中大有人在。大批知识分子被迫走向脱离生产、脱离实际的道路。资本主义萌芽及其在意识形态领域里的反映——即孕育着反对封建束缚、努力追求自由民主和个性解放的新思潮，更要受到压制甚至查禁。全国的思想界处于萎靡消沉的状态，在科学技术领域里，再没有出现像李时珍、宋应星和徐霞客那样的卓越人物。文学艺术毕竟还是反映了时代的最强音的，从这个意义上来说，二百多年前伟大作家曹雪芹的《红楼梦》这部小说，在深入揭露处于崩溃中的腐朽没落的封建社会这一点来说，确实是具有划时代意义的杰作。

但是在中国，真正结束了这个封建社会而相继出现的，和西方的历史进程不一样，不是资本主义社会，而是半殖民地半封建社会。说是“半殖民地”，因为是来自西方已经发达了的资本主义国家的军队打开了中国“闭关自守”的门户，把古老的中国，置于它的强权控制之下；说是“半封建”，因为封建统治者（皇帝）依然存在，只是不能像过去那样独裁一切，发号施令，反而必须借助于外来的势力，以压迫中国人民。

1911年以孙中山博士为首的革命运动，虽然推翻了统治中国长达两千多年的封建王朝，但是却没有像西方历史上法国大革命那样彻底摧毁封建势力。因此，到了1919年，又爆发了有名的“五四运动”，明确提出了反对帝国主义和反对封建主义的双重目标。这也就是在我国所说的新民主主义革命的开始。这场革命在中国共产党的领导下一直继续到1949年解放战争的胜利。

总之，从1840年鸦片战争中西方武装力量入侵中国，一直到1949年中华人民共和国的成立，这一百多年间，中国人民在帝国主义和封建主义的双重压迫下，陷入了极其悲惨的境地，求生存都很困难，科学文化的落后就更不必说了。

新中国诞生之后，开始了社会主义建设的新阶段，到现在已经过了三十个年头了。在这三十年的时间里，经过了全国人民的艰苦奋斗，在自力更生的前提下，国家已经发生了史无前例的变化。但是由于基础薄弱，科学技术落后，我们还是个贫穷的、尚在发展中的国家，特别是经过“文化大革命”前后十年的大动乱，不仅在生产上遭到了极大的破坏，在其他各方面也都受到了极大的摧残。如果说“文化大革命”除去破坏之外还给我们带来了什么值得重视的东西的话，那就是它使我们进一步认识到：残存的封建遗毒还在阻碍着我们在建设社会主义的道路上迅速前进。例如“一言堂”、“终身制”、“个人崇拜”、“固步自封”、“官僚主义”、“小生产的习惯势力”等等，这些弊病有的在资本主义社会里也有，但是在我们这里就显得格外突出。

现在我们在吸取了“文化大革命”的惨痛教训之后，重新收拾残破局面，举国上下团结起来，决心在“新长征”的道路上，奋发前进。但是在现代科学技术突飞猛进的形势下，我们发现自己已经远远落后于西方国家，因此我们必须打破过去那种与世隔绝的局面，向西方学习先进的科学技术，以及先进的管理方法，来促进我们自己的“现代化”的建设。更重要的是我们还必须继续坚持“自力更生”的原则。在中文里“自力更生”这个词，也包括着使自己古老的文明获得新生的意思。有人说“现代化”是不能用金钱买来的，也就说不是能够简单地从外国搬运过来的。我们一方面要吸收西方一切先进的东西，为我所用。我们更需要从自己宝贵的历史文化遗产中汲取精华，发扬光大。

如果说三百四十年前徐霞客在探索自然界的奥秘中所开创的新道路，由于封建势力的阻挠而后继无人，那么今天，在我们坚决扫荡封建遗毒，在现代化的道路上奋发前进的时候，我们一定会创造出自己的新文化，正是在这个意义上，我想，一个中国式的“文艺复兴”的新时代，应该到来了吧！我这样殷切地期待着，我相信我们可尊敬的西方朋友们也会是这样期待着的。

谢谢！

北京大学地理系
一九八○年九月

⑦ T HE ANCIENT GREAT WALL IN A NEW ERA*

About one century after the fall of Alexander's empire which extended from Macedonia eastward as far as the Indus River, a great empire began to emerge in the central part of China. It was the Empire of Qin.

The founder of this Qin Empire who came to the throne in 221 B.C., claimed to be the first emperor of China or, in Chinese, Shi Huangdi. It is from the word Qin that the empire was known to the West as China.[1] However, before the Qin Empire China had already had a long period of historical development. The real contribution of Qin Shi Huang is that he was the first ruler in China who created a political system of centralized government by ending the power of the contending feudal states. This marks the beginning of the history of imperial dynasties with absolute power in the hands of a monarch, which lasted for more than 2,000 years until 1911 A.D.

Besides his political achievement, Qin Shi Huang left two material legacies for the present day. One is his tomb with the famous clay army discovered recently. The other is the Great Wall.

Walls were built in China as military fortifications long before Qin Shi Huang's time, but the building of the Great Wall was attributed to Qin Shi Huang. He was the first emperor who mobilized thousands of peasants to connect the walls constructed by three former feudal states along their northern boundaries. In addition, he built new sections both at the east and the west ends. Eventually a great long wall of thousands of miles came into existence; hence the name *Wanli Changcheng* which means a long wall of ten thousand *li*, or simply the Great Wall. Since then the Great Wall was repaired and rebuilt again and again but not entirely along the same line. The last and most well preserved one was built during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Its length is estimated at 12,000 *li*, or 6,000 kilometers with its east end actually making a sheer descent into the Bohai Gulf, symbolizing the dragon's head dipping into the water. Its west end reaches as far as the north edge of the TibetanQinghai Plateau where the famous pass Jia Yu Guan was situated on the ancient Silk Road. The most majestic parts of this Ming Great Wall north

of Beijing have become the best vantage points where modern visitors enjoy a spectacular glimpse of this massive but ingenious engineering achievement made by the sheer hands of man.

I do not intend to give you a full picture of the construction of the Great Wall, which is far beyond my ability. There are quite a number of books in the West devoted to the study of the Great Wall. The most comprehensive and readable English language work is probably that by a colleague, Luo Zhewen and his collaborators, Dick Wilson, Jean-Pierre Drege and Hubert Delahaye.

There is one point I would like to emphasize here. This is the tragic human aspect of the construction of the Great Wall in old China. This tragic nature is fully illustrated by the legend of the girl, Meng Jiang, who lived in the reign of Emperor Qin Shi Huang. Her husband, together with thousands of other peasants, was conscripted to build the wall but few came home healthy or even alive. Meng Jiang, being very anxious to see her husband, trudged hundreds of *li* northward to the foot of the Great Wall, only to find white skeletons piled at the foot of the wall. Her wailing and lamentations shook the heavens, and the newly built wall crumbled.[2] The legend of Meng Jiang comes down via one of the classical works of ancient China. There may have been no real Meng Jiang. However, there were indeed thousands of young women having the same fate as Meng Jiang. She has touched deeply the hearts of later generations with her pure and sincere love. Even more important, the symbolism of Meng Jiang's spirit of opposition against persecution has always inspired people under oppression.

As we look back in Chinese history, there has been no need for a long time to rebuild the Great Wall to protect the central part of China. Now, with the birth of New China, under the guidance of the socialist principle that the different nationalities both within and beyond the Great Wall together with those in other parts of China are united as one big family, the old dream of "all men are brothers" has begun to be realized. As the Chinese proverb goes, the march of history has "turned arms into silk and gold". It has likewise changed the former battlefield along the Great Wall into the good earth of the new epoch.

The Great Wall itself, constructed with the sweat and blood, toil and effort of innumerable peasants, has been transformed into a monument symbolizing the renaissance of an ancient civilization. Due to this transformation, in recent years the work of restoring and repairing the Great

Wall at key points has been started with the enthusiastic support and generous contributions of many Chinese people as well as friends in foreign lands.

At the same time, through recent research, some important features of the Great Wall have been revealed for the first time by using modern techniques of infrared light and remote-sensing.[3] For instance, the real length of the Great Wall within the administrative boundary of the Beijing Municipal Government is 629 kilometers, which is far longer than what had been previously known. Furthermore, the wall itself is by no means a single but rather a complex defensive system following various topographical features, dotted with different kinds of terraces, fortresses, passes and observation towers. Wherever it was necessary for a garrison, a detour wall was added to the main body. The intricacy of the design has never before been mentioned in any records or discussion. Now a full and accurate picture, essential for the purpose of historical presentation, is revealed to us. Besides the Ming Wall, the ruined foundations of some earlier walls have also been discovered. We hope it will be possible to extend the same kind of study to the whole line of Ming Great Wall.

With the growing interest in the Great Wall, an association has been organized in Beijing to sponsor research and promote education about the Great Wall. Members of this association include those who have made substantial contributions either to the study or the preservation of the Great Wall. The most active members, of course, are the sponsors of this organization. Most of them are prominent figures in public affairs. Honorary memberships will also be offered to foreign friends who meet the same requirement for the Chinese members.

Furthermore, for the sake of the increasing number of visitors at Ba Daling, the spot nearest to Beijing where one can get the best view of the Great Wall, a museum is under construction. By means of essential exhibitions and visual aids visitors, especially those who come from abroad, will be able to get a full picture of the history and a better understanding of this great wonder of the world.

In each age, a country, a society, responds to the conditions prevailing in that period. Ancient society in the central part of China, from before the Qin through the Ming Dynasty, responded to the pressing need for secure defence by building this fortification. Now it is no longer needed. Today China is responding to the modern challenge by honoring and preserving its history,

symbolized by the Great Wall, when it is steadily going forward to build a new society for the future.

柒　新时代的万里长城[*]

亚历山大大帝从马其顿一直往东绵延到印度河的帝国倾颓后的大约一个世纪，在中国的中原地区开始崛起了一个伟大的帝国。这就是秦帝国。

秦王朝的创始人于公元前221年登基，成为中国第一个皇帝，史称“始皇帝”。正是因为“秦”这个字，这个帝国在西方以China著称。[1]然而，在秦以前中国已经有了悠久的发展历史。秦始皇的真正贡献在于，他是中国历史上第一个结束纷争的封建诸侯国分庭抗礼、建立中央集权的政治制度的统治者。从此开启了国君独掌大权的王朝更迭史，这绵延了两千余年，一直到公元1911年。

除了他在政治上的作为，秦始皇还给后人留下了两件物质遗产，一件是最近发现的埋葬了兵马俑的陵墓，另一件就是长城。

在中国，早在秦始皇之前，就有作为军事工事的防御墙修建，但长城的兴建确是因为秦始皇。作为帝王，他是第一个征用成千上万的农民，将之前三个诸侯国沿北部边界修筑的防御墙连接起来的。此外，他还在东西两端修筑了新墙，最终建成了一条绵延万里的长城，万里长城由此得名，简称长城。此后，长城不断得到修缮和重建，但并不是完全沿原址所建。最新并且保存最完好的长城是明朝（1368—1644）修建的，全长约为12000里（6000公里），东端一头扎进渤海湾，喻示龙头入水，西端直抵青藏高原北缘古丝绸之路上的著名关口嘉峪关。如今，北京城北明长城最雄伟的部分已成为一个绝佳的景点，游人们可以在这里饱览这座人类用双手建成的浩大而精巧的工程。

我无意涵盖长城的整个修建过程，这也远非我力所能及。西方已经有不少专门研究长城的书籍。其中最全面也最易读的英文著作或许就是我的同事罗哲文与迪克·威尔逊、戴仁、德罗绘合著的《长城》。

有一点我想在这里强调一下。这就是，古代中国修建长城有其悲剧的一面。这通过生活在秦始皇统治下的孟姜女的传说得到了充分的体现。孟姜女的丈夫和数以千计的其他农民一道被征召去修长城，但最后健康甚至活着回家的微乎其微。孟姜女因为急于见到丈夫，向北跋涉了几百里来到长城脚下，结果在那里却只看到累累白骨。她悲恸欲绝，哭声震天，新修的长城也因此倒塌。[2]孟姜女的传说通过古代中国的一部经典著作流传下来。也许历史上并没有真正的孟姜女，但是有成千上万跟孟姜女同样命运的年轻女子。她纯真的爱情深深触动了后人的心。更

为重要的是，孟姜女反抗压迫的精神一直鼓舞着后来受压迫的人民。

当我们回首中国历史，有很长一段时期并没有重修长城以保卫中原地区的需要。现在伴随着新中国的诞生，在长城内外的各族同胞和中国各地的其他民族团结一家亲的社会主义原则指导下，“四海之内皆兄弟”的古老梦想已经开始实现。正如中国一句老话说的，历史的行进已经“化干戈为玉帛”，同样也把过去长城两边的战场变成了新时代的沃土。

长城是数不清的劳动人民的血汗辛劳筑成的，它已变成了象征古老文明复兴的标志。由于这一转变，近年来在一些重要地段的修缮工作得到了广大同胞以及外国友人的热烈支持和慷慨贡献。

与此同时，最近的研究借助红外线和遥感等现代技术，首次发现了长城的一些重要特征。[3]例如，长城在北京市行政辖区内的实际长度是629公里，远远超过之前的估计。此外，长城本身绝不是一个单一的，而是结合地形特征的复杂系统，有墙台、敌楼、券门和瞭望塔布设其间。只要驻军有需要，主体墙上还会加筑迂回墙。设计的精妙之前从未被记载或谈及。现在，一个完整而精确的画面终于展现在我们面前，这对于重现历史非常必要。除明长城之外，更古老的长城基址残迹也被发现了。我们希望把同样的研究扩展到明长城全线。

随着对长城兴趣的与日俱增，北京成立了一个支持长城研究、促进长城相关教育的协会。协会的成员包括对长城的研究或保护作出过巨大贡献的同志。最活跃的当然是协会的赞助人，他们大部分是参与公共事务的杰出人物。达到同样入会要求的外国友人也可以成为荣誉会员。

同时，由于游客数量的激增，距离北京最近的长城景点八达岭正在兴建一座博物馆。通过必要的展览和视觉辅助，游客，尤其是来自外国的游客，将能全面地把握它的历史，更好地了解这一世界奇迹。

每个时代，国家和社会都回应着当时的情势。中国中原地区的古代社会，从先秦一直到明朝，都因安全防御的迫切需求修建这一防御工事。如今，已经没有这种需要了。今天的中国正通过尊重和保护以长城为象征的历史，来回应现代的挑战，稳步向前建设一个面向未来的新社会。

邵冬冬　译

⑧ A NCIENT CITY RUINS IN THE DESERTS OF THE INNER MONGOLIA AUTONOMOUS REGION OF CHINA[*]

During the first century B.C. the Chinese built cities along the Hexi Corridor to protect the ancient Silk Road from raids by Huns. A Hun ruler reciprocated by founding his own city and later Chinese dynasties repeated the process. Urban populations were fed by cultivating oases and by harnessing melt-water streams to irrigate and reclaim areas of grassland. Where trees fell and cultivation broke surface layers of alluvium and clay, water and wind began to erode and expose underlying beds of sand. Blowing sand encroached upon the cultivated area and eventually drifted across the ruins of former cities. Sites of cities that once housed tens of thousands of people are now being explored scientifically. Research into the recurrent history of desertification throws light on present-day problems faced by one-sixth of the world's population living in arid regions and by one-third of the earth's land surface covered by deserts. By learning from past events we may be able to halt future advances of deserts.

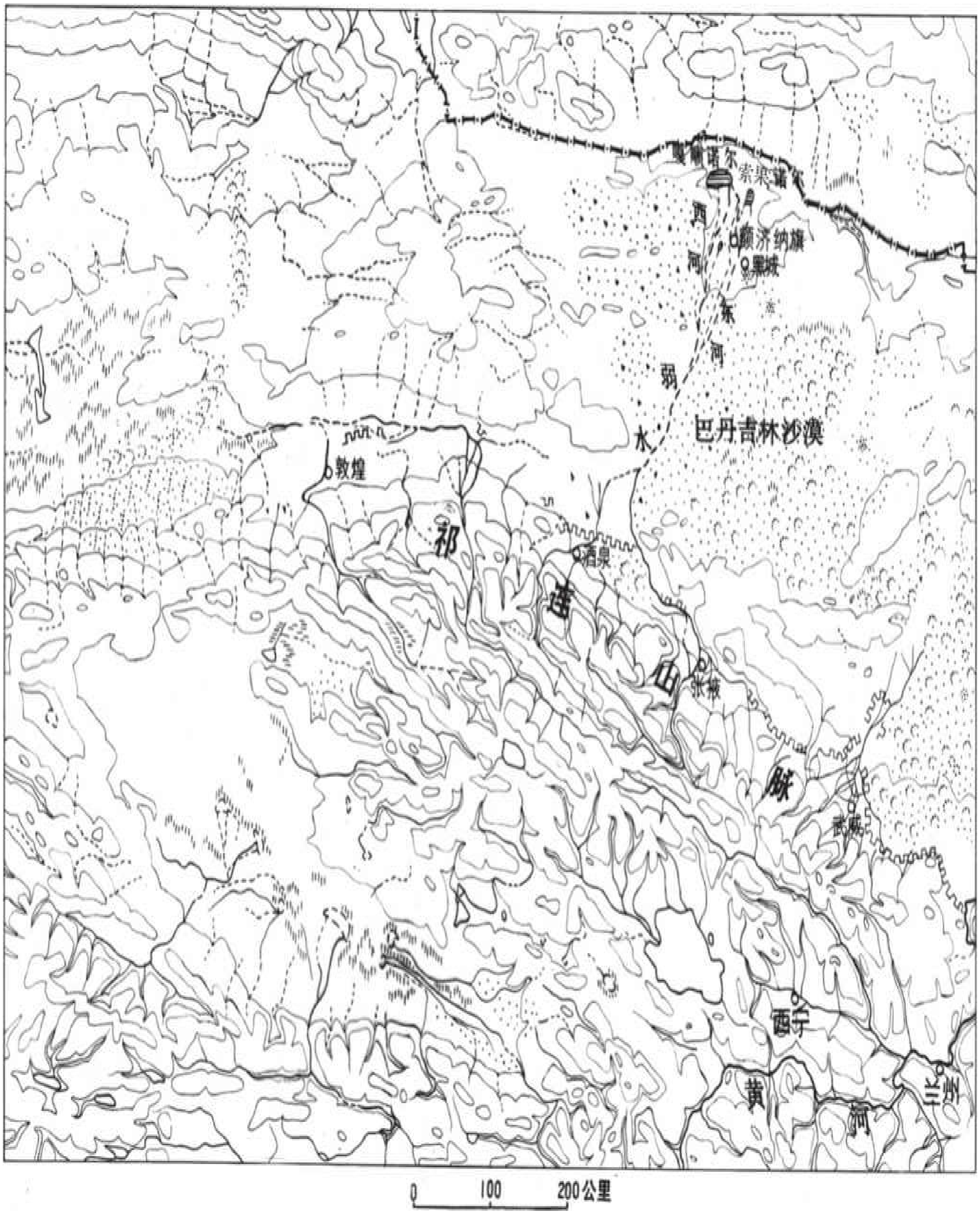
The scenes of my lecture are extremely dreary places, age-old ruins buried, or partly buried, by blown sand for centuries. Nevertheless, these long-forgotten ancient cities have a prosperous past behind them: some have enjoyed great fame in history; others have been visited by travellers of world renown. Now, in today's New China, my young colleagues and I have penetrated into the deserts to investigate these ruins of ancient cities, not to indulge in nostalgic contemplations of the past, nor to revel in the vanished splendours of bygone days. We look back on the past for one purpose only: to make out why such a region that once flourished in history should have turned into a desert. To clarify this point is a matter of great moment. It is for the purpose of creating a better future that we endeavour to understand the past.[1]

Building Cities on the Silk Road

Let us first of all look back on the prosperous stage of this area and start from the world-famous epoch of the Silk Road. As is well known, the historic Silk Road was a most important trade route which spanned the hinterlands of

Asia. Its main line started at the east end, from Chang-an, the greatest political centre of ancient China and predecessor of the present Xi-an, and passed in a northwesterly direction through the Gansu (or Hexi) Corridor where it forked into two routes at Dunhuang, the ancient city which is well known to the world for the art treasures in its caves. These two routes stretched along the southern and northern borders of the Taklamakan Desert in the south part of China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. They joined together again at the present Meru in Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic. Then a single road went on westward to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea where finally it reached the dominions of Rome.

The part of the Silk Road in China was first opened up during the reign of Emperor Wu in the Han Dynasty (140-87 B.C.) when Changan was made the capital. Besides being the political centre of the Han Dynasty, Chang-an was also the greatest economic and cultural centre. The Silk Road, with Chang-an as its starting point, was subject to attacks by the Huns from the Mongolian Plateau in the north, at the narrow strip of the Gansu Corridor which was about 1,000 kilometres in length and varying from 10 to 100 kilometres in width. This narrow belt was called the Gansu Corridor because it was situated in Gansu Province; it was also called the Hexi Corridor because it was situated in the westernmost upper reaches of the Yellow River(Fig. 8-1).[2] It ran along the northern foot of the Qilian Mountains at an average elevation of 1,500 metres. The highlands of Qilian were on the northeastern border of the high Tibetan Plateau, the so-called"roof of the world" with an elevation of 4,000 metres in the eastern part, gradually rising to 5,000 metres and more in the west. The mountain tops were covered with snow all the year round and when snow melted, small patches of oases were formed at the foot of the mountains; and it was through these oases that the Silk Road was directed. To the north lay the boundless Gobi and the desert. The narrow belt through which the Silk Road passed ran between the mountains and the desert, hence the name "corridor".



8-1 The physical features of the Hexi Corridor 河西走廊地形略图

Qilian Mountains 祁连山脉
Sogo Nor 索果诺尔
Gaxun Nor 嘎顺诺尔

Ruo-shui　弱水
Ejin Banner　额济纳旗
Black City　黑城
Yellow River　黄河
Dunhuang　敦煌

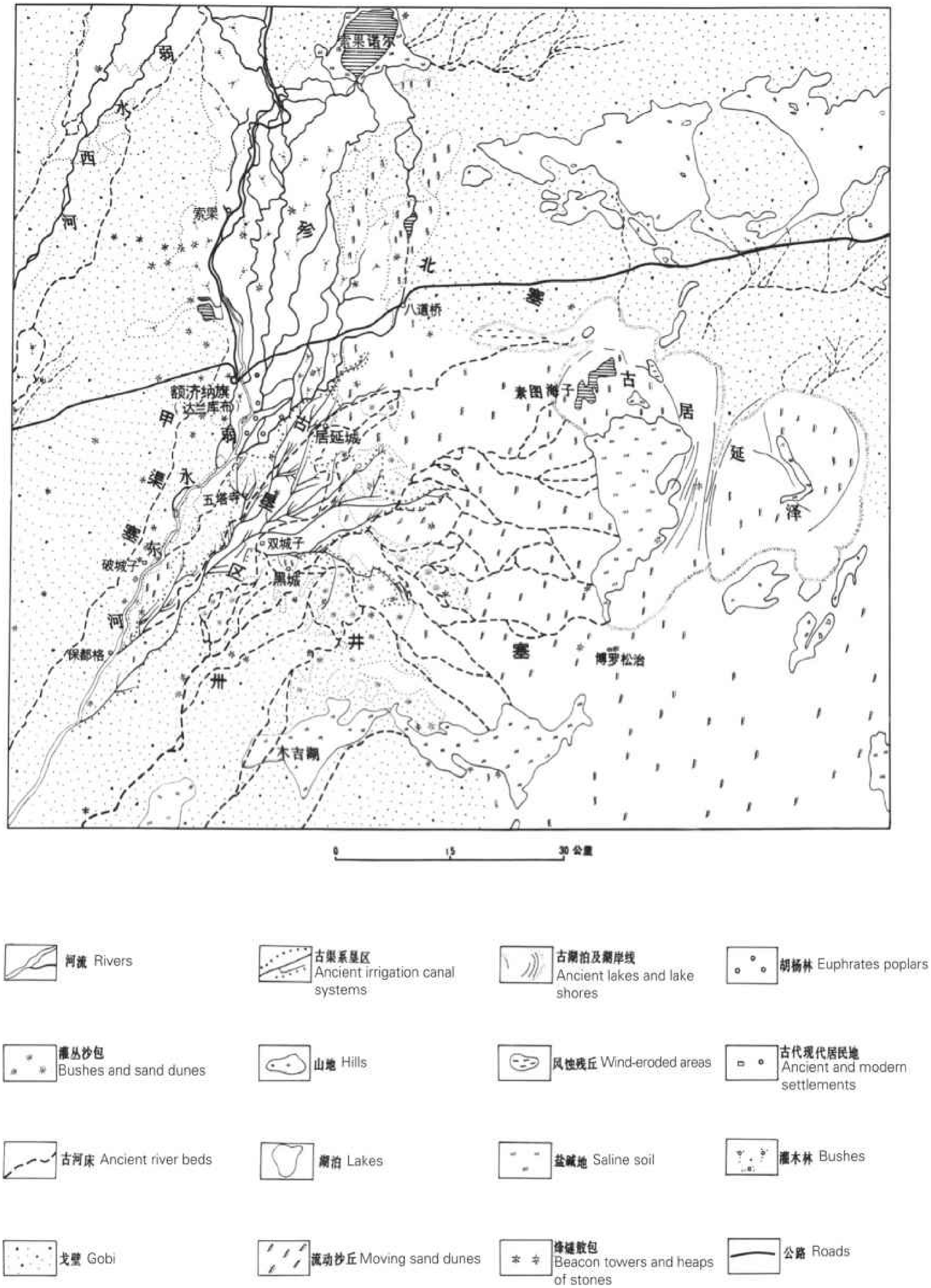
This corridor formed part of the arid area in west China, receiving an average annual rainfall below 100 millimetres in most places and lower than 50 millimetres in its western part. Fortunately, patches of oases scattered here and there were richly endowed with water and grass. The area was then occupied by Huns, a nomadic tribe in the north, who still remained in an uncivilized state and presented a serious threat to the Han Dynasty.

During the reign of Emperor Wu in the Han Dynasty, China, being a powerful country with a flourishing agriculture, industry and commerce as well as increased revenues, was anxious to carry on trade with the world outside. In the decade after 129 B.C. she repeatedly dispatched troops on punitive expeditions against the Huns who fled to the north of the desert. As a result, the Han Dynasty took possession of vast tracts of land in the Hexi Corridor and opened up a trade route leading from Chang-an right to central Asia and Europe, thus bringing an era of prosperity to the Silk Road.

All the while, the Huns who had retreated to the north of the desert were still watching for an opportunity to return south. It was very easy for them to thrust into the middle of the corridor and cut off the Silk Road, for in the central part of the corridor the melted water running down from the north slope of the Qilian Mountains converged into a huge river called the Ruo-shui, now also bearing the name Ejin, which, rising approximately from 40°N latitude, flows north by east and crosses the space between the desert and the Gobi over a span of about 300 kilometres, and finally empties itself by two different channels into Lake Sogo Nor and Lake Gaxun Nor where the elevation drops to 820 metres or so. Thenceforward, the terrain gradually rises again towards the north.

This is the present pattern of surface drainage, but it was not so more than 2,000 years ago when water in the lower reaches of the Ruo-shui emptied itself into a vast lake called Ju-yan situated further to the southeast of the above-mentioned lakes (Fig. 8-2). The climate at that time was also arid enough, but the Ruo-shui River, running by different channels before it emptied itself into the lake, moistened the land along the way and formed a delta area abounding in water and grass, with dense and luxuriant groves of Euphrates poplars covering its banks. On the way southward, the Huns found

it very convenient to assemble at the delta before pushing forward along the Ruo-shui. It provided them with a most ideal route to cross the Gobi and the desert which stretched over hundreds of kilometres from east to west, but it exposed the Silk Road to an extremely serious threat.



索果诺尔
索果
八道桥
额济纳旗
(达兰库布)
古居延城
五塔寺
双城子
黑城
破城子
保都格
木吉湖
素图海子
博罗松治
0
15
30 公里
河流 Rivers
古渠系垦区 Ancient irrigation canal systems
古湖泊及湖岸线 Ancient lakes and lake shores
胡杨林 Euphrates poplars
灌丛沙包 Bushes and sand dunes
山地 Hills
风蚀残丘 Wind-eroded areas
古代现代居民地 Ancient and modern settlements
古河床 Ancient river beds
湖泊 Lakes
盐碱地 Saline soil
灌木林 Bushes
戈壁 Gobi
流动沙丘 Moving sand dunes
烽燧散包 Beacon towers and heaps of stones
公路 Roads

8-2 The ancient delta of the Ruo-shui 弱水下游古代三角洲图

Sogo Nor 索果诺尔
Ancient Ju-yan lake 古居延泽
Ruo-shui 弱水
Ju-Yan City 居延诚
Ejin Banner 额济纳旗

To protect the Silk Road, the Han Dynasty had to enclose the banks of the Ruo-shui and the delta of Ju-yan Lake within their military defence line. By stationing garrison troops in the delta, they opened up an important area for reclamation and developed agricultural irrigation. At that time, the Ruo-shui settlement area was mainly composed of the middle and lower parts of the delta and in the year 102 B.C. the famous Ju-yan City was built at the centre of the area. But if you go there today, you will see that everything has changed. What meets your eyes is a vast stretch of sand dunes. With the help of a local guide we were able to penetrate into this area five and a half years ago. We saw nothing but ruins of castles, beacon towers, houses, abandoned fields and irrigation ditches, broken earthenware, wells choked with sand, slightly worn millstones, antique coins, arrowheads and many other artefacts. The ancient Ju-yan Lake had shrunk to a small lake. Amidst the deep sand to the south-west of this little lake, we found the ruins of an ancient city bordering dried up river beds both on the east and south sides. Inside the ruined city walls, the surface was scattered with Chinese tamarisks and sand-sage. Judging from the ruins, we conjectured that it was a city of considerable size and tentatively inferred that it was the site of the city of Ju-yan.

The city of Ju-yan, associated with an irrigated agriculture that flourished in the Han Dynasty, is now yielding a harvest of an entirely different kind. During the last few decades, excavation has brought to light great quantities of historical relics, which are called by archaeologists"the Ju-yan slips of the Han Dynasty". The Han slips discovered here were not made of bamboo as in south China but of wood, on which were recorded documents and archives referring to the Ju-yan area during the Han Dynasty. They were strung together with cords and meant for preservation. More than 30,000 Han slips excavated in this area have been given the name "Ju-yan". Still more are being dug out to add to the growing collection of historical data, rich and detailed in content. It is no exaggeration to call it a bountiful harvest.

Ruins of another ancient city lie some 15 kilometres south by west of the ruins which we have inferred to be the site of the city of Ju-yan. This is the

famous Black City, much frequented and more than once excavated by native and foreign investigators. Way back in 1934 when I was a young college student, I read an article in the February issue of the same year's British magazine *The Listener*, written by the distinguished Swedish geographer and explorer Sven Hedin, entitled "The 'Black City' of the Gobi Desert". It immediately attracted my youthful interest, but it was not until 50 years later that I was lucky enough to have a chance to visit the scene and see for myself the ruins of the ancient city. Although quite close to Ju-yan, the Black City, completed in 1035 A.D., was constructed much later than the former. Some 950 years ago, it was a local administrative centre, with the attribute "Black Mountain" preceding the name of the administrative division. Later it was shortened to Black City; in the Mongolian language it is called Chara Choto, which bears the same meaning.

This area and the environs of the Hexi Corridor were under the rule of a local regime established by a national minority, known in Chinese history as the West Xia (1038-1227). The West Xia Dynasty was exterminated by the Mongols in 1227, the year when their illustrious chieftain Genghis Khan breathed his last. It was not until Kublai Khan, Genghis Khan's grandson, had unified China and established the Yuan Dynasty that the Black City resumed its position as administrative centre of the region, with a new name Yijinai. The Venetian traveller Marco Polo passed through here in 1272, and by a roundabout route through the Mongolian Plateau, he reached first the city of Shangdu, built by Kublai Khan and later the city of Dadu, predecessor of the present Beijing. Yijinai is now written in Chinese characters as 额济纳 (Ejin), whereas in *Marco Polo's Travels* it is Etsina. Marco Polo stated that he had to acquire stocks of food for forty days there before continuing his journey, which shows that the neighbourhood of the Black City was still an agricultural area at that time.

To reach the Black City today, one has to cross a desolate and unpopulated desert, only a little easier than to approach the ancient city of Ju-yan. The walls of the Black City still stand lofty and magnificent in the desert today. They look as if they were square, but actually the south wall is 425 metres long, 15 metres longer than the north wall; and the east wall is 405 metres long, 48 metres longer than the west wall. On the city walls, we saw stones that had been used as projectiles in ancient times, still piled there as if the garrison had been preparing for a defensive battle. The strange thing is that historically the city was actually taken after a fierce battle. But the stones

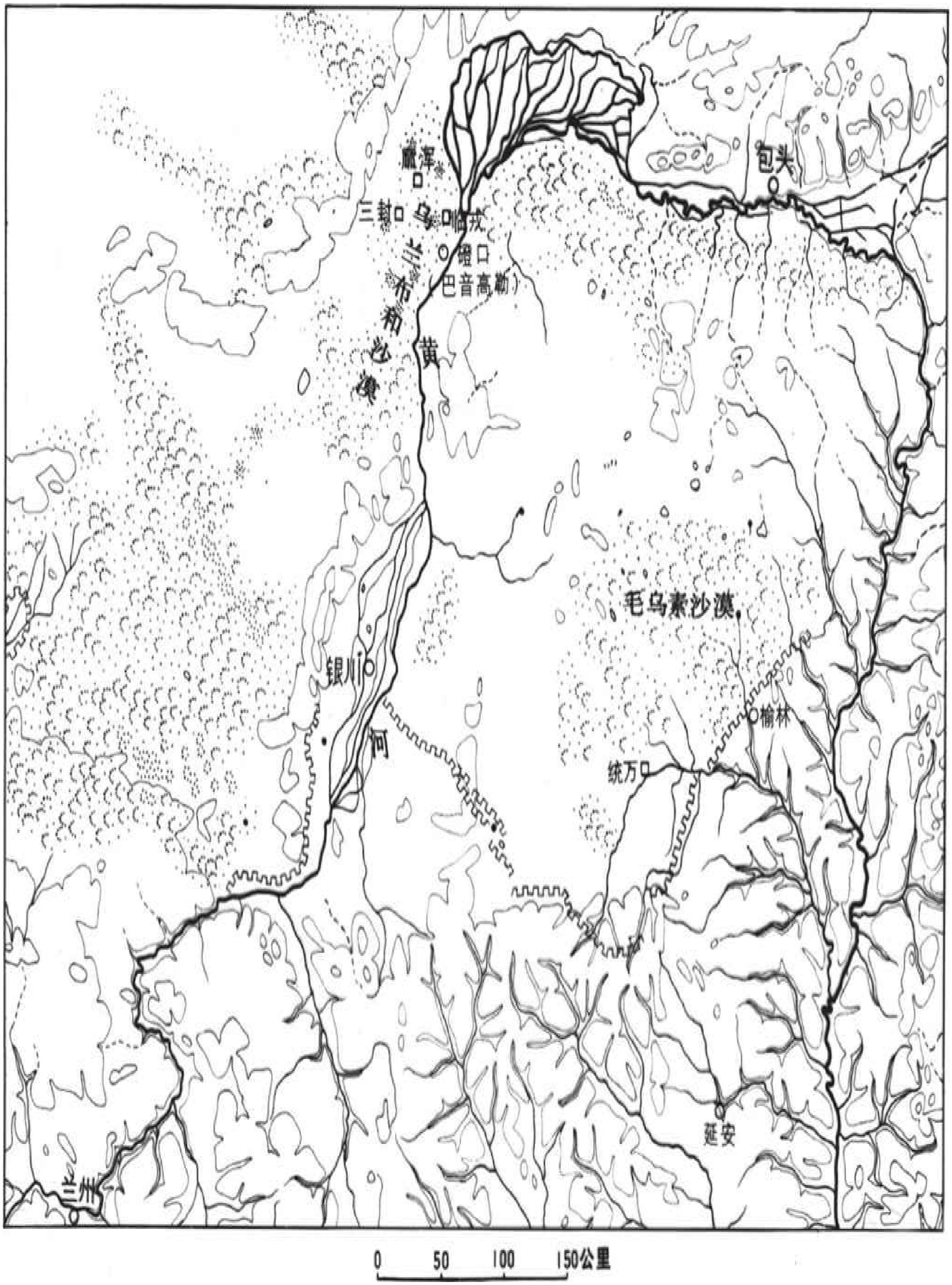
have remained undisturbed on the city walls ever since, suggesting that the city may have been abandoned as soon as the battle was over. That decisive battle took place in the late 1360s when the emergent Ming Dynasty, having captured Dadu and exterminated the Yuan Dynasty, dispatched a contingent of troops to take the Black City in their advance westward. They stormed into the city and reduced its buildings to ashes. When the expedition was finished, not only was the Black City abandoned, but the middle and lower reaches of the Ruoshui River were separated from the Hexi Corridor by the newly-built Great Wall. The Ming Dynasty concentrated the energy exclusively on developing the Corridor. The ancient Ju-yan area, protected by an earlier Great Wall, was now given up as "beyond the frontier" and no further effort was spent on its development.

From our investigations, we are of the opinion that the area reclaimed during the Han Dynasty, with the city of Ju-yan at its core, consisted mainly of the middle and lower parts of the ancient Ruo-shui delta. Reclamation by the West Xia and Yuan dynasties, with the Black City at its core, shifted to the upper middle part of the same delta. Certain places were reclaimed on the basis of work done in the Han period; in fact, the Black City itself may have been built upon the ruins of a Han castle. From the Han Dynasty down to the West Xia and Yuan dynasties, the southward shift of the reclamation area was directly related to the drying up of waterways in the delta area. This, however, is a subject undergoing further investigation.

Land Reclamation and Desertification

The ancient Ju-yan area is an outstanding example of desertification occurring in historic times, but many other places in west Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region have suffered a similar fate. During the early years of the Han Dynasty when the Ju-yan area was first reclaimed, another area of importance was also being reclaimed on the south prairie west of the Yin Mountains. Although the average annual rainfall here was higher than in the ancient Ju-yan area, it nevertheless turned into a desert in the end. This area is situated in the north of the present Ulanbuhe Desert. In Mongolian, "ulan" means "red" and "buhe" means "bull", the whole phrase signifying that the scourge of the wind and sand is like an unruly bull. The north part of the Ulanbuhe Desert was originally an alluvial plain formed by the Yellow River, flowing in ancient times north along the west side of the Ordos Plateau, heading straight for the foot of the Yin Mountains(Fig. 8-3). There it turned

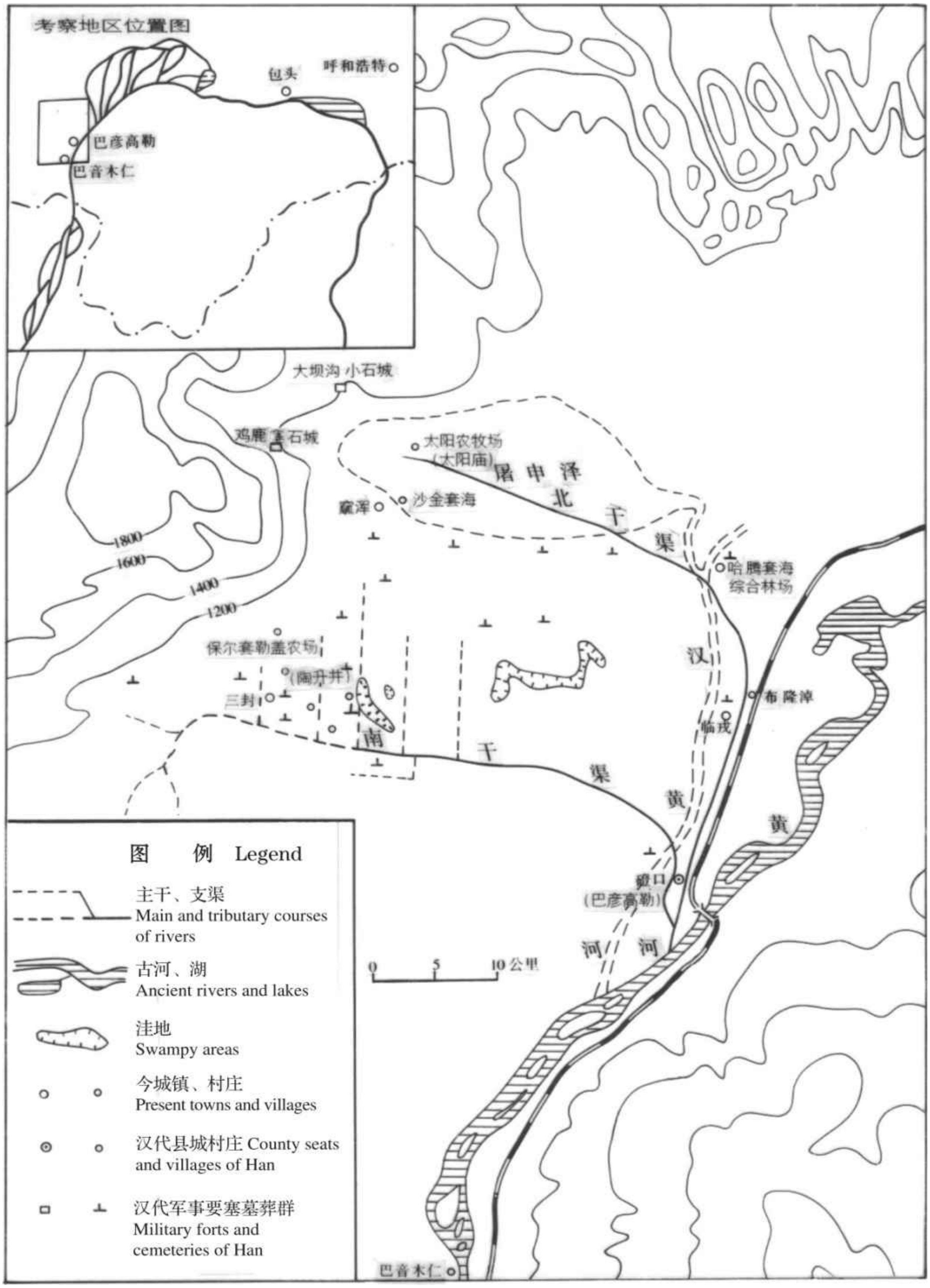
east and formed the first abrupt turn at the Bend of the Yellow River. As early as the late Pleistocene epoch, the river bed had begun to move eastward long before reaching the Bend. This movement still continues gradually to the present day. During the process of eastward turning, water from the Yellow River frequently overflowed into a lake occupying the deserted old river bed, and occasionally flooded surrounding low-lying country. More than 2,000 years ago, when the Han Dynasty first began to open up this area, a long narrow lake ran from east to west at the foot of the Yin Mountains. It was called Tusheng Lake. During the Han Dynasty land was reclaimed on the alluvial plain to the south of this lake. People were moved here to settle on the land and military fortresses were established to defend the new settlements against invasion and plunder by Huns from the north. During this period, hordes of settlers moved from the hinterlands to the banks of the Yellow River near the southern edge of the Yin Mountains, including the northern part of the present Ulanbuhe Desert and the Ordos Plateau. In 127 B.C. alone no fewer than 100,000 people moved here. The western part of the Yin Mountains and the plains south of Tusheng Lake were particularly important as areas for new settlements. A broad and smooth mountain path to the north-west of Tusheng Lake passed through the gorge of the Yin Mountains and afforded an important pass leading to Hun territory beyond the mountains. To defend the southern entrance to this pass, a small stone fort was built on the steep slope to its west. This fort, the renowned Cock and Deer Fort, has been preserved to this day.



8-3 Ordos Plateau and adjacent areas 鄂尔多斯高原及附近地区地形略图

Mowusu Desert　毛罗素沙漠
Ulanbuhe Desert　乌兰布和沙漠
Yellow River　黄河
Yuhun　窳浑
Tongwan　统万

Close to the south-west shore of Tusheng Lake, some 20 kilometres to the south-east of the Cock and Deer Fort, a large city called Yuhun was the city westernmost on the frontier built by the Han Dynasty in this area (Fig. 8-4). It was a place of strategic importance commanding the gorge of the fort, but it was soon reduced to ruins. Remains of city walls are still discernible and sites of blacksmiths' workshops in the city may be identified by fragments of scrap iron, bronze arrowheads and heaps of debris scattered all over the place. Some local shepherds we met told us that there was a huge pit filled with skeletons outside the city, marking the site of an ancient battlefield. Ruins of two other Han cities have been discovered. The first lies some 20 kilometres to the south and the other some 30 kilometres to the south-east of Yuhun. The former was called Sanfeng and the latter Linrong. The space between these two and Yuhun is dotted with groups of Han graves as well as ruins of hamlets and fields, discernible even to this day. As a result of peaceful co-existence between the Han Dynasty and the Huns, the last 50 years B.C. enjoyed an unprecedented spell of quiet and stability. During this period reclamation extended from the neighbourhoods of the three cities to the southern edge of the Yin Mountains. Historical records indicate that population increased, cows and horses flocked in the fields and that cities which had been securely guarded in the past now shut their gates at a very late hour. It really became a scene of prosperity and abundance.



考察地区位置图
包头
呼和浩特
巴彦高勒
巴音木仁
大坝沟 小石城
鸡鹿塞石城
太阳农牧场
(太阳庙)
屠申泽
北
干
渠
窳浑
沙金套海
哈腾套海
综合林场
1800
1600
1400
1200
保尔套勒盖农场
(陶升井)
三封
南
干
渠
汉
布隆淖
临戎
黄
黄
磴口
(巴彦高勒)
河
河
0 5 10公里
巴音木仁
图 例 Legend
主干、支渠
Main and tributary courses of rivers
古河、湖
Ancient rivers and lakes
洼地
Swampy areas
今城镇、村庄
Present towns and villages
汉代县城村庄 County seats and villages of Han
汉代军事要塞墓葬群
Military forts and cemeteries of Han

8-4　Sites of ancient cities in the northern Ulanbuhe Desert　乌兰布和沙漠北部汉代遗址与水系分布示意图

Yellow River　黄河
Course of Yellow River in Han　汉黄河
Tusheng Lake　屠申泽

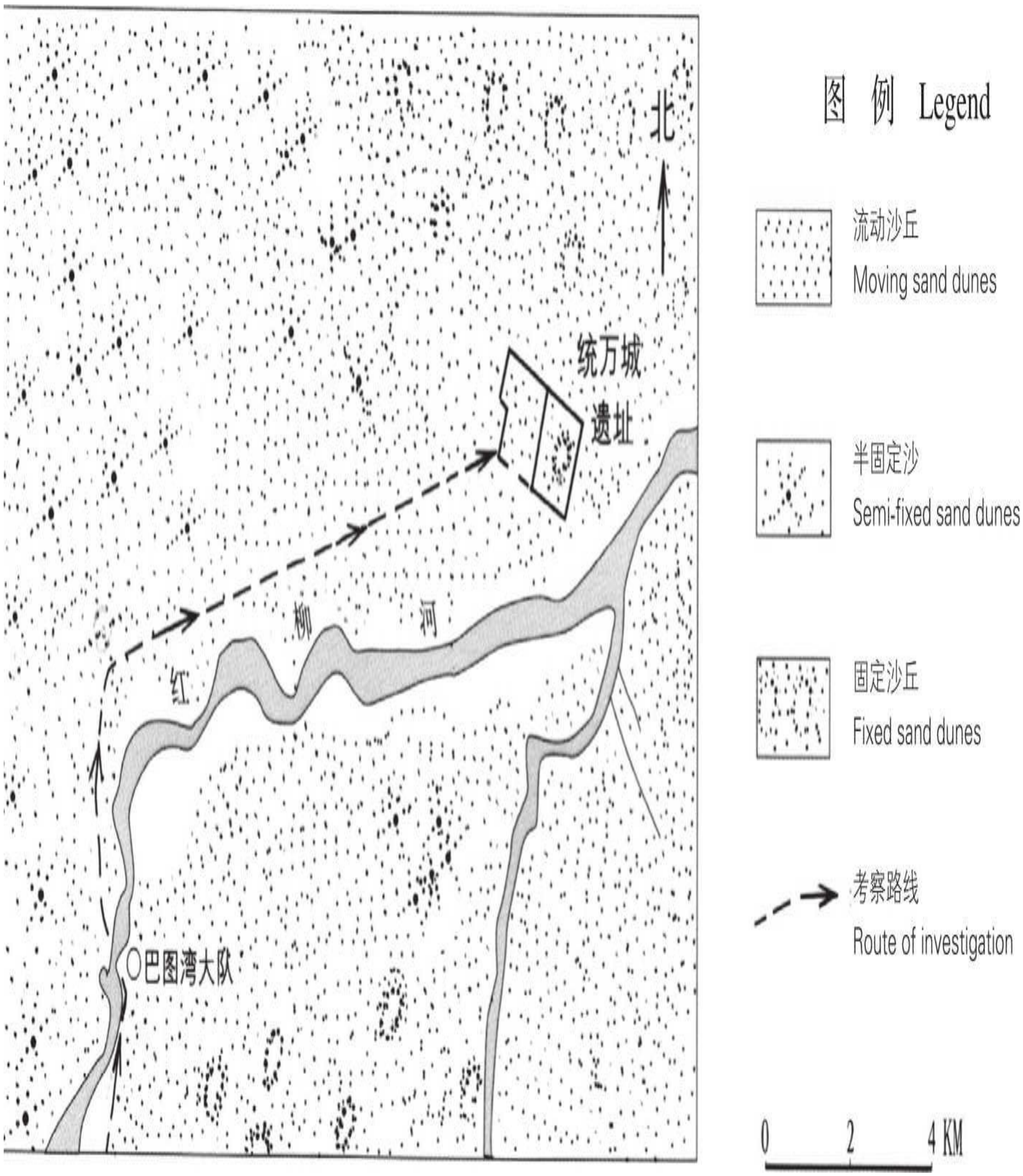
What does it look like now? The Mongolian term "Ulanbuhe" aptly describes the present state of this area, a region devastated by moving sand. The process started long before modern times. In 981 A.D. a traveller named Wang Yan-de crossed the Yellow River at the Ordos Plateau, passed through here and journeyed westward to the Ju-yan area. He took detailed notes of living conditions in this district, recording: "No food crops ever grew here, except a kind of grass called Denshiang, the seeds of which are gathered for food". According to our investigation, Denshiang is what we now call *shami* (sand seeds or *agriophyllum arenarium*), a kind of pioneering plant growing on sand dunes, the first that ever grew on them. The fact that sand seeds could be gathered for food shows that they grew in abundance and yielded large quantities of seeds. It may be inferred that a thousand years ago, this area was still in the early stages of blown sand encroachment and has been entirely desertified in the course of the present millennium.

Near the city of Yuhun, we saw wind-eroded pits of varying sizes, huge pits formed by intense wind erosion. In a natural section at the edge of a wind-eroded pit, we could identify clearly that a horizontallydeposited layer of clay, 70 millimetres thick, had under it nothing but fine sand. It is easy to see that when the surface layer was broken, the fine sand underneath was liable to be blown away by fierce north-west winds. This is the chief source of blown sand in this area. The thickness of the surface layer of clay we saw here varied from place to place, thicker in some places, thinner in others. It was not very difficult to reclaim land where the clay was thick, but where it was thin, if the primeval vegetation was removed and the surface exposed to wind erosion, the place was likely to turn into a sandy tract of its own accord. This is exactly what history has taught us.

The Settlement and Abandonment of Tongwan

Finally, please allow me to touch upon another ancient city in the desert. It is the biggest among the relict sites of ancient cities in the desert of western Inner Mongolia and the most remarkable in architectural engineering I have seen so far. It was built in 413 A.D. as the capital of a short-lived minor Hun

kingdom, but its builder, Helianbobo, gave it the extremely pretentious name Tongwan, which means "ruling over all nations". It must be pointed out that the year when the city of Tongwan was founded corresponds to the third year after the West Goths captured Rome and was nearly half a century before Anglo-Saxons entered Britain. It was recorded in history that Helianbobo conscripted 100,000 men to construct this enormous city and that in the operation, thousands of artisans were killed for failing to achieve the desired solidity. Up to the present, this great city, though long abandoned, has preserved a 24-metre high watch-tower standing aloft amidst the rolling sand dunes, reflecting dazzling rays in a scorching sun. It was situated in the south of the Ordos Plateau, close to the north bank of a river called the Red Willow River (Hangliu River) which crossed the south-eastern corner of the Mowusu Desert, carrying vast amounts of sand and clay with it, turning the water turbid. Consequently, it was called the Salawusu River in Mongolian, meaning "yellow water" (Fig. 8-5). The Salawusu River is important in Chinese archaeology because an important late Paleolithic site was discovered here. The people who lived here some 50,000 years ago were called "men of the River Bend", because the site was near the Bend of the Yellow River.



8-5 The site of the ancient city of Tongwan 统万城城址位置图

Although deeply buried in the desert, the city of Tongwan has been investigated before, but earlier investigations have been satisfied either with mere descriptions of the ruins or with reporting the discovery of relics. No one appears to have been interested in pursuing inquiries into the relationship

between the development of the city and changes in the local environment. In the first instance, was this place a desert when Helianbobo chose the site? How could he have built his capital in a desert? If it was not a desert at the time, when did it turn into one? Where has all that rolling sand come from? As historical geographers, my young colleagues and I visited the historically renowned city of Tongwan with the aim of solving these problems. The visit has left deep impressions on my mind.

It was a summer morning in 1983, the sun had not yet shown its full might. The weather was fine, the sky clear and cloudless. We set out on foot with excitement from our encampment by the Red Willow River towards the city of Tongwan which lay 10 kilometres away. What a splendid tri-coloured picture presented itself to our eyes! Overhead was a spacious, blue sky, arching over the rolling sand which looked like turbulent waves of a vast sea. Suddenly, in the distance between the blue sky and the yellow sand emerged something which looked like an enormous white sail on an ancient seagoing vessel. "Look, the White City!" someone cried out. The White City was the name given to Tongwan by shepherds in the neighbourhood. It is a more appropriate name than the latter, because its lofty walls actually shine with dazzling white rays in the sun. On the instant of seeing it, I was affected with an unforgettable poetic sensation, feeling as if I were facing a huge landscape painting. But what is of greater significance is the clear and unequivocal thread it supplies to our investigation of changes in the environment in this area. If it were not for the tall ancient city towering there, people would be inclined to believe that it had been an unpopulated desert from time immemorial. But no, that is not the case. The city of Tongwan was certainly not built in a desert in the beginning. This place was not a desert, but a vast prairie, richly endowed with water and grass.

In the days of Helianbobo, China was in a state of chaos, rent into separate little kingdoms by many contending forces. Besides the Jin Dynasty established by the Han nationality, fifteen minor kingdoms had been set up by national minorities, rising to power one after another. Helianbobo rose on the Ordos Plateau and founded a small kingdom called Xia, occupying the whole plateau and surrounding grasslands. He once stormed into Chang-an. His courtiers advised him to make it his capital, but he insisted on returning to the Ordos Plateau and personally chose a site to build his future capital, Tongwan. It was recorded in a chronicle that when the construction of the city was about to begin, he appeared on the scene himself and mounting a

high spot nearby, looked about him and declared with pride: "Among the innumerable places I have seen between the north of the Horse Mountain and the south of the Yellow River, there is no country like this, which is surrounded by vast stretches of grassland and a limpid river." Here, "north of the Horse Mountain" refers to an area on the loess plateau north of the present Liupan Mountain, "south of the Yellow River" refers to an area at the southern edge of the Yin Mountains,"the limpid river" refers to today's Red Willow River, noted for its turbid waters, and "vast stretches of grassland" refer to the present Mowusu Desert.

Unlike the delta area where the ancient city of Ju-yan stood and the alluvial plain near the city of Yuhun, both arid regions receiving very little rainfall, the city of Tongwan enjoyed quite good natural conditions, with an average annual rainfall of nearly 400 millimetres and plentiful water sources. Why, then, has it also turned into a desert? The city of Tongwan was the largest among the sites of ancient ruined cities partly buried in the sand of the Ordos Plateau. Around it are many other sand-buried ruins of smaller castles and hamlets. It is note-worthy that these relics of ancient settlement were distributed in the desert in such a way that they seemed to move from the north-west towards the south-east in accordance with a progressive sequence through time. For example, the ruins of the Han Dynasty, 2,000 years ago, extended to the furthest limit of the north-western frontier. Moving backward a little to the south-east, are ruins mostly of the Tang and Song dynasties, hundreds of or even a thousand years later than the Han Dynasty. Ruins from the Ming and Qing dynasties of the last 300 to 400 years, are distributed mostly along the innermost south-eastern border of the desert area. This distinctive pattern of distribution is not only closely related to the growth and decline of the power of the Chinese dynasties but also is directly connected with the chronological order of desertification in these areas: the inevitable consequence of unreasonable utilization of land, caused primarily by the reclamation of places unfit for agriculture and secondly by excessive firewood cutting and pasturing. Details of that process await further examination and study.

In short, the Ordos Plateau is one of the most remarkable examples of desertification in Chinese history. The main reason for its desertification lies not in changes of climate or other natural elements but in the activities of man. The area of such "desertified land" accounts for only 9.2% of the total area of deserts in north China, which occupies 1,095,000 square kilometres or

11.4% of the total area of China's territory. The percentage is small, but the cause of desertification is highly significant.

Now in the world, especially in developing countries, desertification remains a serious problem. Deserts and desertified land occupy one-third of the earth's surface and nearly one-sixth of the world's population live in such areas. For this reason, ways of preventing and curing desertification, as important measures of environmental protection, have become questions of world-wide and outstanding interest in the sphere of desert studies today. Some of the circumstances concerning desertification which developing countries are confronting at present, have repeatedly occurred in our history. To sum up this process scientifically is a task, we may say, of definite relevance to our present and future welfare. In our opinion, it is a task all historical geographers should participate in. I believe the historical geographers of my country will strive to make contributions to this cause which calls for international cooperation.

捌　内蒙古自治区西部沙漠中几个重要的古城废墟*

主席先生，

女士们、先生们：

在我访问英属哥伦比亚大学这个著名学府的同时，又很荣幸地有此机会为温哥华学会这个富有学术特色和国际联系的团体，介绍一点我个人和我的青年同伴在我国内蒙古自治区西部荒凉的沙漠中徘徊探索的片断见闻，这对我来说是一种不平常的际遇，是我当初进入沙漠时绝对没有想到过的。我只是担心不要把沙漠中那种荒凉的气氛，带到你们这个十分活跃而且丰富多彩的学会生活中来。

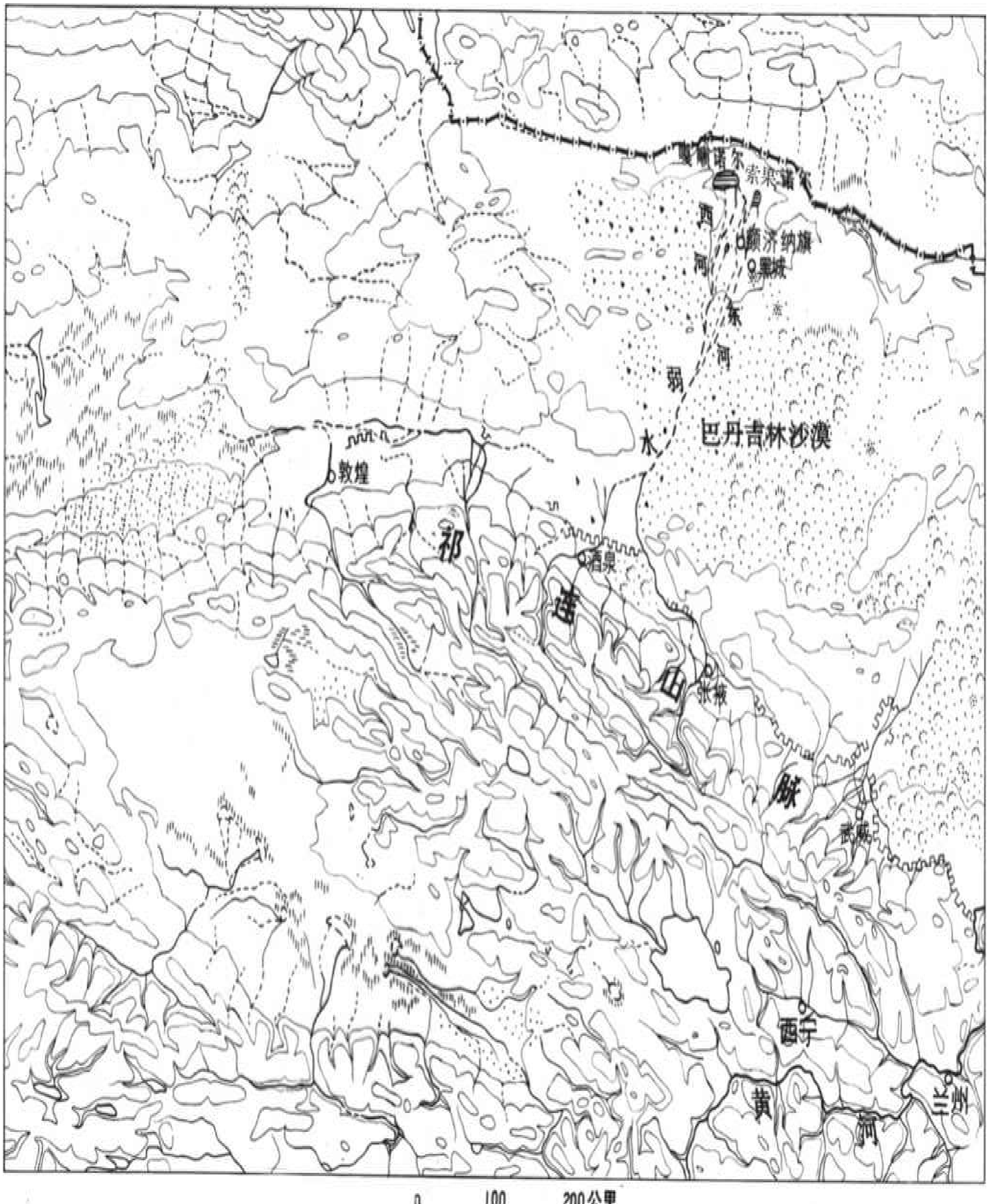
今天我所要讲的，在今天看来确实是一些很荒凉的地方，是多少世纪以来已被流沙湮没的古城废墟。但是，这些地方也有自己繁荣的过去。那些已被人遗忘了的古城，有的也曾在历史上享有盛名，有的还曾为举世闻名的旅行家访问过。现在，在新中国，我和我的青年同伴深入沙漠去考察这些地方——这些古城废墟，不是为了单纯地凭吊过去，更不是为了要陶醉在过去的、已经消失了的荣华之中。我们回顾过去，我们试图弄清楚为什么在历史上繁荣一时的地方，而今竟然沦为沙漠。弄清楚这一点是大有意义的。了解过去，正是为了创造未来。[1]这就是这个新时代所赋予我们的使命。

一

为此，还是让我们先回顾一下过去的繁荣时代吧。这样，我就得从享有国际声誉的“丝绸之路”讲起。众所周知，历史上有名的丝绸之路，是古代横贯亚洲腹地的重要商道。它的主要路线，东起当时中国最大的政治中心长安——也就是现在西安的前身，向西北通过“甘肃走廊”，从敦煌这个今天以洞窟中人类所创造的世间罕见的艺术宝藏而闻名于世的古城，分为两路，分别沿着我国境内新疆南部塔克拉玛干大沙漠的南北边缘，越过帕米尔高原，在苏联土库曼境内相会，然后继续西行，直到地中海沿岸，最后到达当时的罗马各地。

按时间上来说，在公元前第二世纪以后的一千多年间，大量的中国丝和丝织品，经由此路西运，因此叫做“丝绸之路”。其他商品以及东西方的经济文化交流，也多是通过这条道路。它在历史上促进了欧亚非各国和中国的友好往来，因此也可以说是一条和平友好的道路。

在中国境内，最初打开这条道路，是在汉武帝时期（公元前140—前87年）。汉朝建都长安。长安除去作为汉王朝的政治中心之外，它还是当时全国最大的经济中心和文化中心。以长安为起点的丝绸之路，在穿过甘肃走廊的这一条东西长达1000公里，南北宽自10公里到100公里的狭长地带，最容易受到来自北方蒙古高原上的匈奴人的攻击。这一条狭长地带，叫做“甘肃走廊”，因为它在甘肃省境内，也叫“河西走廊”，因为它在黄河上游之西（图8-1）。[2]这条地带正当祁连山地的北麓，平均海拔1500米。祁连山地，实际上也就是号称“世界屋顶”的西藏大高原的东北边缘，其东部海拔约4000米，向西升高到5000米以上。山上终年积雪，冰雪溶化之后，沿北边山麓地带形成片片绿洲，丝绸之路就是沿着山麓的这些绿洲开辟起来的。从此山麓地区再往北去，尽是一望无际的戈壁与沙漠。丝绸之路所经过的这一条狭长地带，介于高山与沙漠之间，是唯一便于东西来往的通道，所以叫做“走廊”。



8-1 The physical features of the Hexi Corridor 河西走廊地形略图

Qilian Mountains 祁连山脉
Sogo Nor 索果诺尔
Gaxun Nor 嘎顺诺尔

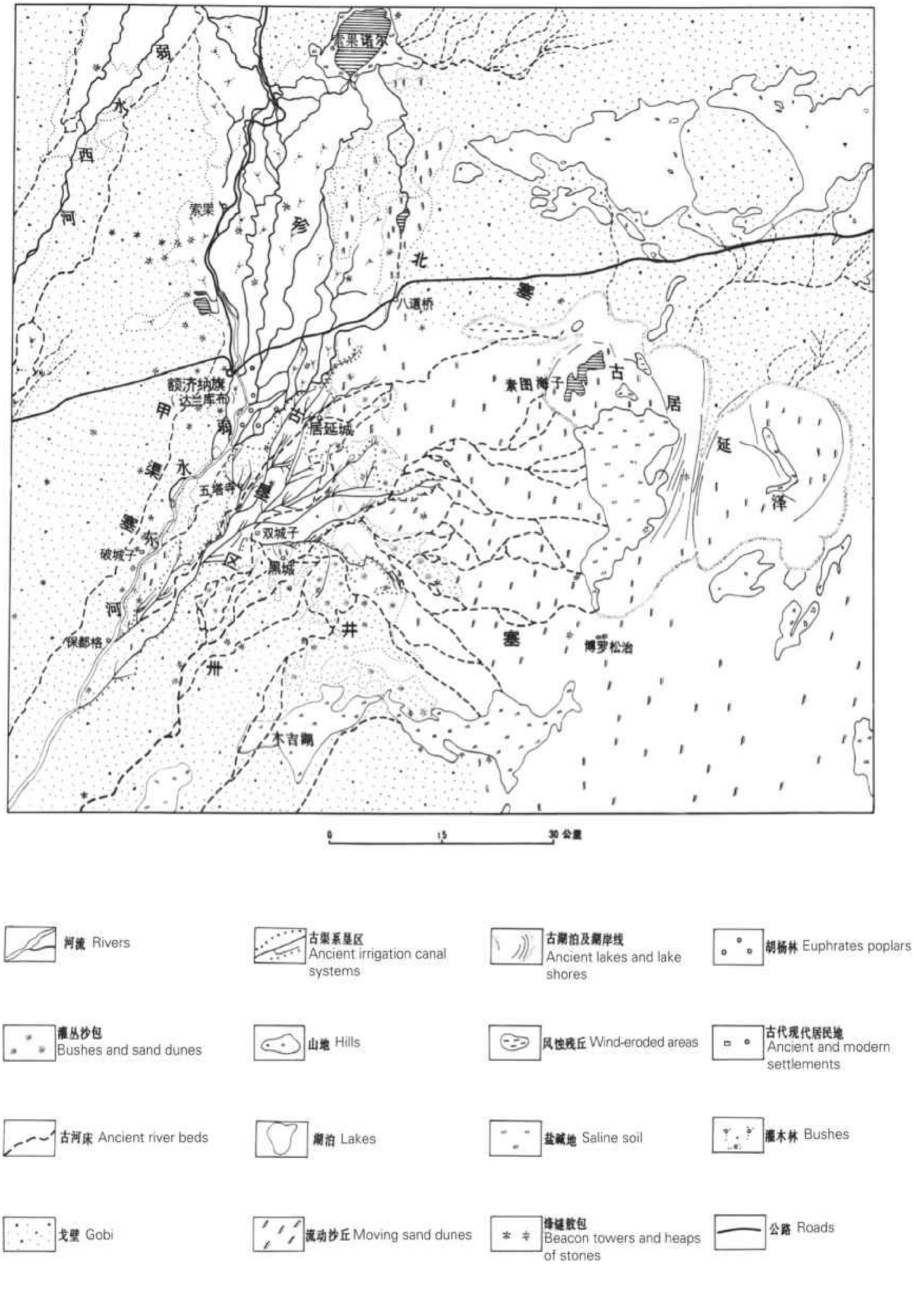
Ruo-shui　弱水
Ejin Banner　额济纳旗
Black City　黑城
Yellow River　黄河
Dunhuang　敦煌

这条走廊上的平均年雨量，大部分都在100mm以下，西部则减少到50mm以下，全部属于干旱区。幸而有片片绿洲散布其间。绿洲上水草丰美，在丝绸之路未曾开辟以前，这里为北方的游牧民族匈奴人所占有。当时匈奴族还处在野蛮时期，全部人口除老弱妇孺外都是战士，习惯于掠夺战争，对汉王朝构成了严重的威胁。

汉武帝时，国力强盛，农业和工商业发展，统治阶级财富增加，也渴望与外部世界通商贸易。从公元前129年以后的十年间，屡次出兵征伐匈奴，匈奴远走漠北，汉王朝占有了河西走廊的广大地带，从而打开了从首都长安直通中亚与欧洲的商道，这就是“丝绸之路”上繁荣时代的开始。

但是退走漠北的匈奴，还是经常伺机南下，很容易插入走廊的中部，把丝绸之路从中切断。因为在走廊的中部地区汇集了自祁连山北坡下注的雪水，流成了一条大河叫做弱水，现在也叫额济纳河。这条河流大约从北纬40°的地方起，沿着正北偏东的方向，穿过近300公里的戈壁与沙漠之间，分道注入索果诺尔与嘎顺诺尔两个湖泊之中，这里的海拔高度已下降到820米左右。再往北去，地形又逐渐升高。

以上所叙，是现在的情况，但在两千多年前却不是这样。那时弱水下游注入一个叫做“居延泽”的大湖，其位置还在上述两个湖的东南方（图8-2）。这里的气候虽也十分干燥，但是在弱水入湖之前，河道分流，土地湿润，从而形成了一片水草茂密的三角洲，河边上胡杨成林，十分繁茂。匈奴人从漠北南来，最便于集结在这个三角洲上，然后沿弱水长驱直下，这是东西数百公里之间穿越戈壁与沙漠的最理想的通道，因此也就构成了对丝绸之路的最大威胁。



索果诺尔
索果
八道桥
额济纳旗
(达兰库布)
古居延城
五塔寺
双城子
破城子
黑城
保都格
木吉湖
素图海子
博罗松治
0 15 30 公里
河流 Rivers
古渠系垦区 Ancient irrigation canal systems
古湖泊及湖岸线 Ancient lakes and lake shores
胡杨林 Euphrates poplars
灌丛沙包 Bushes and sand dunes
山地 Hills
风蚀残丘 Wind-eroded areas
古代现代居民地 Ancient and modern settlements
古河床 Ancient river beds
湖泊 Lakes
盐碱地 Saline soil
灌木林 Bushes
戈壁 Gobi
流动沙丘 Moving sand dunes
烽燧散包 Beacon towers and heaps of stones
公路 Roads

8-2　The ancient delta of the Ruo-shui　弱水下游古代三角洲图

Sogo Nor　索果诺尔
Ancient Ju-yan lake　古居延泽
Ruo-shui　弱水
Ju-Yan City　居延诚
Ejin Banner　额济纳旗

汉王朝为了保卫丝绸之路，不得不把弱水两岸和居延泽上的三角洲，包入军事路线之内，并在三角洲上进行军屯，开辟了一个重要的农垦区，发展了灌溉农业。

当时的垦区，主要在三角洲的中、下部，并于公元前102年在这一垦区的中心，建筑了有名的居延城。

可是现在来到这里，一切都变了。沙丘连绵，一望无际。一年半以前，我们靠了当地的向导，才得深入这一地区。我们所看到的是汉代城堡、烽燧的残迹、居民点的遗址、废弃的田块和渠道，还有房屋的残基、破碎的陶片、被沙填满了的水井、完整的石磨，以及古代的钱币、箭头等等。古居延泽已枯缩成一个小湖了。在小湖西南方的深沙之中，我们找到了一座古城，它的东、南两面都濒临干枯的河床，残破的城墙内部，到处都是柽柳、沙蒿。从残存的遗迹来看，它的规模是相当大的，我们初步推断，这应是居延城的遗址。

如果说居延城的名字在汉代是与繁荣一时的灌溉农业联系在一起的，而现在它却与另外一种完全不同性质的“丰收”联系在一起，这就是近几十年来考古学上所谓“居延汉简”的大量出土。这里的汉简不是写在竹片上而是写在薄木片上的关于汉代居延地区的文书、档案等，木片用绳索穿连着，是有意识地保存起来的，因此是非常可贵的史料，记事的内容也十分丰富。现在从这一地区发掘出来的汉简，统以“居延”为名，已有三万多枚，而且还在陆续出土，说它是考古学上的“丰收”，并不为过。

在我们所推断的居延城故址以南偏西大约十五公里处，有另外一座古城废墟，这是不止一次为中外考察者所访问和发掘过的地方，这就是有名的黑城。

1934年当我还在大学读书的时候，我以一个偶然的机会，在同年2月号英国的《听众》杂志上，读到了瑞典著名地理学者和探险家斯文·赫定的一篇文章，题目是《戈壁滩上的黑城》，引起了我青年时代的极大兴趣。可是经过了整整45年，我才有机会来到现场，看看我久已向往的这座古城废墟。

黑城虽然至居延不远，但是它的建筑年代却要晚得多。它建成于公元1035年，至今945年，是个地方行政中心，但是在这个政区名称的前面，又冠以“黑山”两个字。后来又叫黑城，可能是从黑山演变而来的。

蒙古语叫做Chara Choto，也就是黑城的意思。当时统治这一地区和河西走廊一带的，是一个少数民族所建立的地方政权，这就是中国历史上的西夏王朝（1038—1227）。

公元1227年，西夏为蒙古族所灭。率领蒙古骑兵西征中亚和东欧的著名首领成吉思汗，也就是在这一年去世的。

到了成吉思汗的孙子忽必烈统一了中国并建立了元朝的时候，这个大城又继续成为这一地区的行政管理中心，只是改名叫做亦集乃城。1272年威尼斯的旅行家马可·波罗正是从这里经过，绕道蒙古高原，先到忽必烈初建的上都城，然后再到大都城的。大都城也就是现在北京城的前身。

“亦集乃”现在汉字写作“额济纳”，在马可·波罗的《游记》中，则写作Etsina。马可·波罗在他的《游记》中还提到要在亦集乃城准备好40天的粮食，才能继续前进。这就说明在当时，黑城这一带地方仍然是一个农业区。

现在去黑城，也要穿过荒无人烟的沙漠，只是比进入居延古城要容易一些。现在黑城的城墙依然高大、壮观。看似正方形，实际上南墙长425米，比北墙长出15米；东墙长405米，比西墙长出48米。在城墙上，我们看到还有在古代作为炮弹用的石块，堆积在那里，好像是为了守城的战斗作好了准备的样子。奇怪的是，黑城确实是在一场激烈的战斗中被攻下了，而堆积在城墙上的石头炮弹，却一直未被清理。这大约是在这次战役之后，城市就被放弃了。这次战役发生在14世纪60年代末，当时新兴的明王朝，在出兵攻下大都城和灭亡了元朝之后，又继续西征，分兵一支打进了黑城，城内建筑全部为战火所毁。从此以后，不仅是这座城市被放弃了，就是整个弱水的中下游，也都被隔离在明朝新建的长城以外。明朝的统治者只是集中力量开发河西走廊，古居延地区原是包在汉代长城之内的，这时则被看作是“塞外”，再也没有去经营了。

经过考察，我们认为以居延城为中心的汉代垦区，主要在古代弱水三角洲的中下部。以黑城为中心的西夏和元朝的垦区，则已移至这同一三角洲的中上部，其间也有部分地区是在汉代开垦的基础上，继续开发起来的。黑城本身也可能就是在一处汉代城堡的遗址上建筑起来的。从汉朝到西夏和元朝，前后垦区自北而南的迁移，和三角洲上水道的变迁直接有关，这是还在继续深入研究的问题，这里就不多谈了。

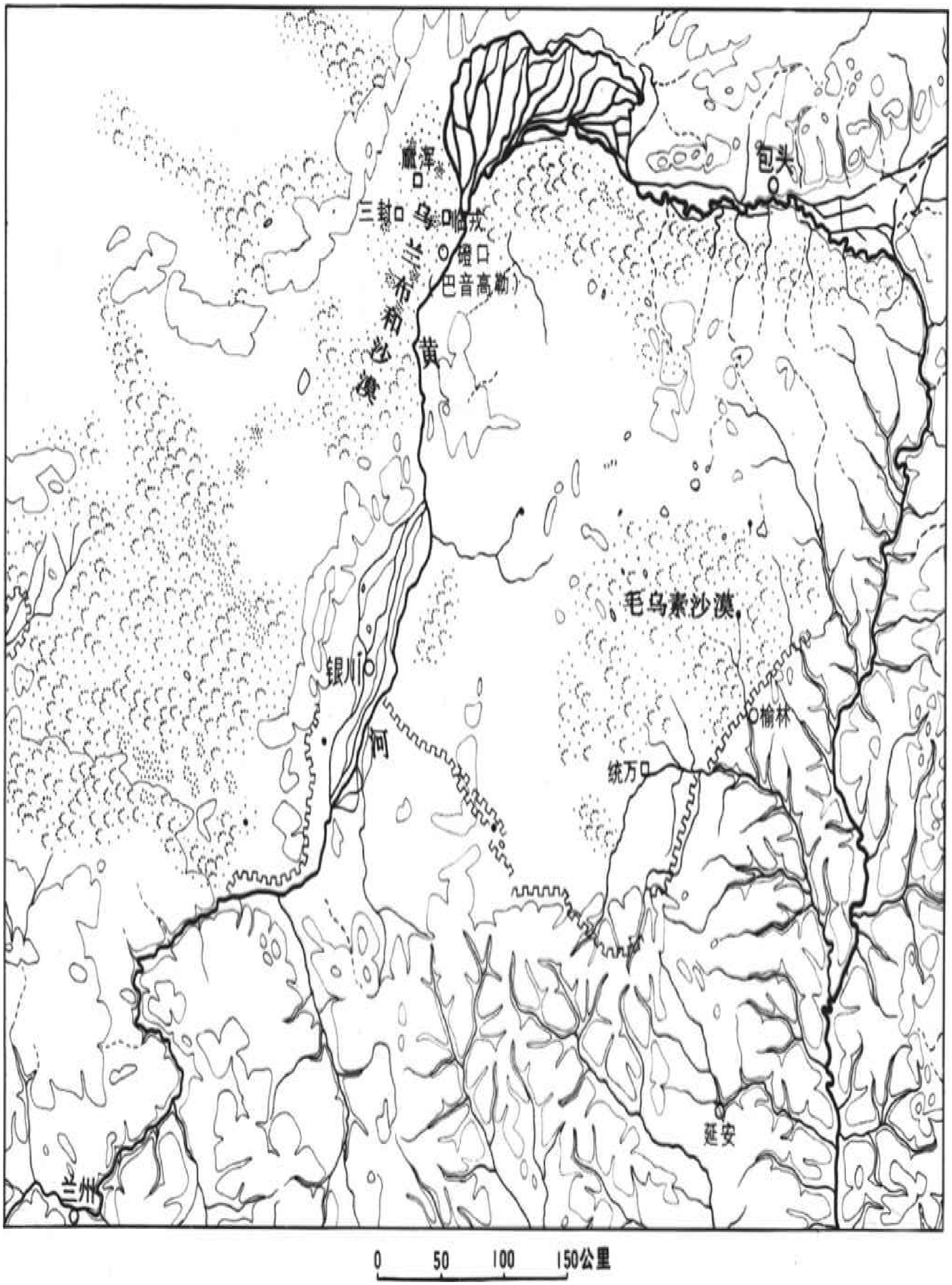
二

古居延地区是历史时期沙漠化的一个十分明显的例子，这种沙漠化的情况，在内蒙古自治区西部干旱地区的其他地方，也曾出现过。

在汉朝初年开辟居延地区的时候，在阴山西端以南的草原上，也有

一个重要的农垦区被开垦起来。这里的平均年雨量，虽然多于古居延地区，但仍然不免变为沙漠，这就是现在叫做乌兰布和沙漠的北部地区。蒙语“乌兰”是红色、“布和”是公牛，全名的含义是说这里风沙为害之烈，有如难驯的红色公牛。

乌兰布和沙漠北部这一带地方，原是黄河的冲积平原。古代的黄河沿着鄂尔多斯高原西侧、从南向北流，直趋阴山之麓（图8-3），然后转而东流，形成了黄河之套的第一个直转弯。从晚更新世以来，这段河道在未转弯之前，就开始向东移动，这种趋势至今还在缓慢地进行中。



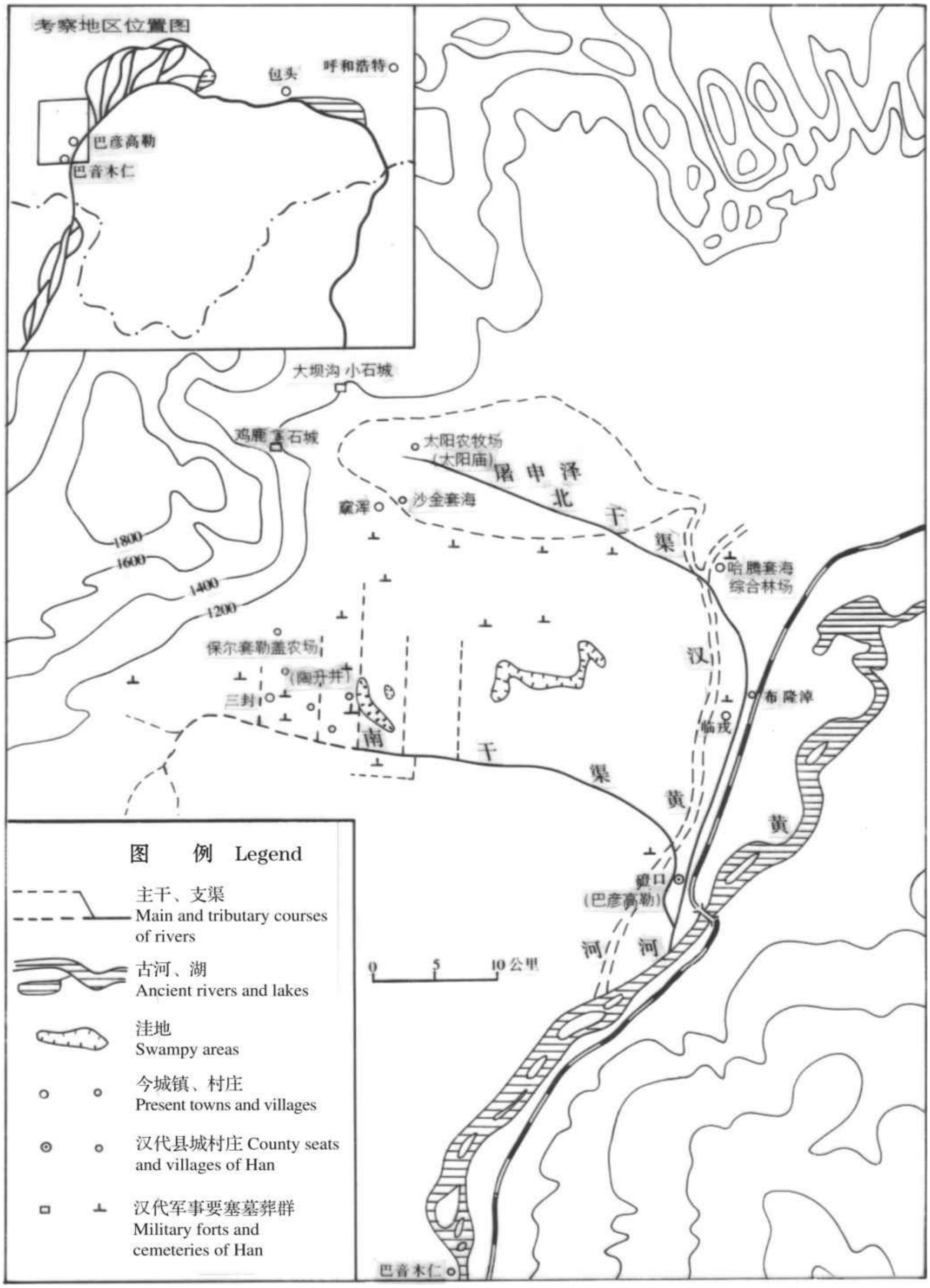
8-3 Ordos Plateau and adjacent areas 鄂尔多斯高原及附近地区地形略图

Mowusu Desert　毛罗素沙漠
Ulanbuhe Desert　乌兰布和沙漠
Yellow River　黄河
Yuhun　窳浑
Tongwan　统万

在河道东移的过程中，因为河水有时漫溢，就在被遗弃的旧河床及其附近低洼处，积水成湖。两千多年前，当汉王朝最初开辟这一带地方的时候，靠近阴山之麓，还曾有一个东西狭长的大湖，叫做屠申泽。汉代的农垦区就是在这个大湖以南的冲积平原上开辟出来的。

汉王朝在这里移民开垦，并建立军事要塞，也是为了防御从北方来的匈奴人的侵扰和劫掠，以保护黄河中上游一带的农业居民。当时傍阴山南麓的黄河两岸、包括现在的乌兰布和沙漠北部和鄂尔多斯高原的北部，曾有大批移民从内地迁来。例如，公元前127年一次移民，即达十万人。在这一新的移民区中，阴山西端、屠申泽以南的平原地带，特别重要。因为在屠申泽的西北，有一条穿越阴山的谷道，宽阔平坦，是通往山后匈奴地区的重要孔道。为了守卫这条孔道的南口，就在山口西侧的峭壁般的阶地上，修建了一座小石城。这座小石城还一直保留到今天，这就是古代有名的鸡鹿塞。

在鸡鹿塞东南约20公里处，傍近屠申泽的西南岸，有一座大城，名叫窳浑城，这是汉王朝在这一地区所建立的最西头的一座县城（图8-4），是控制鸡鹿塞谷道的军事重镇，现在也已经沦为沙漠中的废墟，但是残存的城墙，还明显可见。城内有大片冶铁遗址，到处可以拣到废铁块、铜箭头，无数的残砖断瓦散布地上。偶然遇到的当地牧民说，这座城外有一处大坑，堆满了尸骨，这是古战场的重要标志。


考察地区位置图
包头
呼和浩特
巴彦高勒
巴音木仁
大坝沟 小石城
鸡鹿塞石城
太阳农牧场
(太阳庙)
屠申泽
沙金套海
窳浑
北干渠
哈腾套海
综合林场
1800
1600
1400
1200
保尔套勒盖农场
(陶升井)
三封
南干渠
汉
布隆淖
临戎
黄
黄
磴口
(巴彦高勒)
河
河
0 5 10公里
图 例 Legend
主干、支渠
Main and tributary courses of rivers
古河、湖
Ancient rivers and lakes
洼地
Swampy areas
今城镇、村庄
Present towns and villages
汉代县城村庄 County seats and villages of Han
汉代军事要塞墓葬群
Military forts and cemeteries of Han
巴音木仁

8-4 Sites of ancient cities in the northern Ulanbuhe Desert 乌兰布和沙漠北部汉代遗址与水系分布示意图

Yellow River 黄河
Course of Yellow River in Han 汉黄河
Tusheng Lake 屠申泽

约在窳浑城以南20公里和东南30公里处，还各有一座汉城废墟。三城之间，有成群的汉墓，散布其间，还有村落、田块的遗址，至今明显可见。在公元前的最后半个多世纪，由于汉王朝与匈奴统治者和平相处的结果，阴山南麓的农垦区，包括上述三城在内的地带，出现了前所未有的和平安定生活，史书描写说这一带人口繁盛，田野里牛马成群，过去防卫森严的城市，现在连城门也都关得很晚了。真是一幅繁饶富庶的景象。

可是现在又是什么情况呢？

“乌兰布和”这一蒙语的意思，说明了这里流沙为害的现状。而这种情况，并不是近代开始的。公元981年，也就是整整一千年前，有一位旅行者叫王延德的，从鄂尔多斯高原渡过黄河，经过这里，西行到居延地区。他详细记录了这一带的情况，说这里已是“沙深三尺，马不能行，皆乘橐驼。”又说沿途“不育五穀，沙中生草曰登相，收之以食。”按登相现在叫做“沙米”，是生长在流动沙丘上的先锋植物，也就是流动沙丘上首先生长的植物。当时能采集沙米籽粒为食，说明沙米生长繁茂，结实量大。可以推想一千年前，这一带地方还是流沙初期的阶段，近一千年来，这里已全部沙漠化了。

这里的流沙是从哪里来的呢？

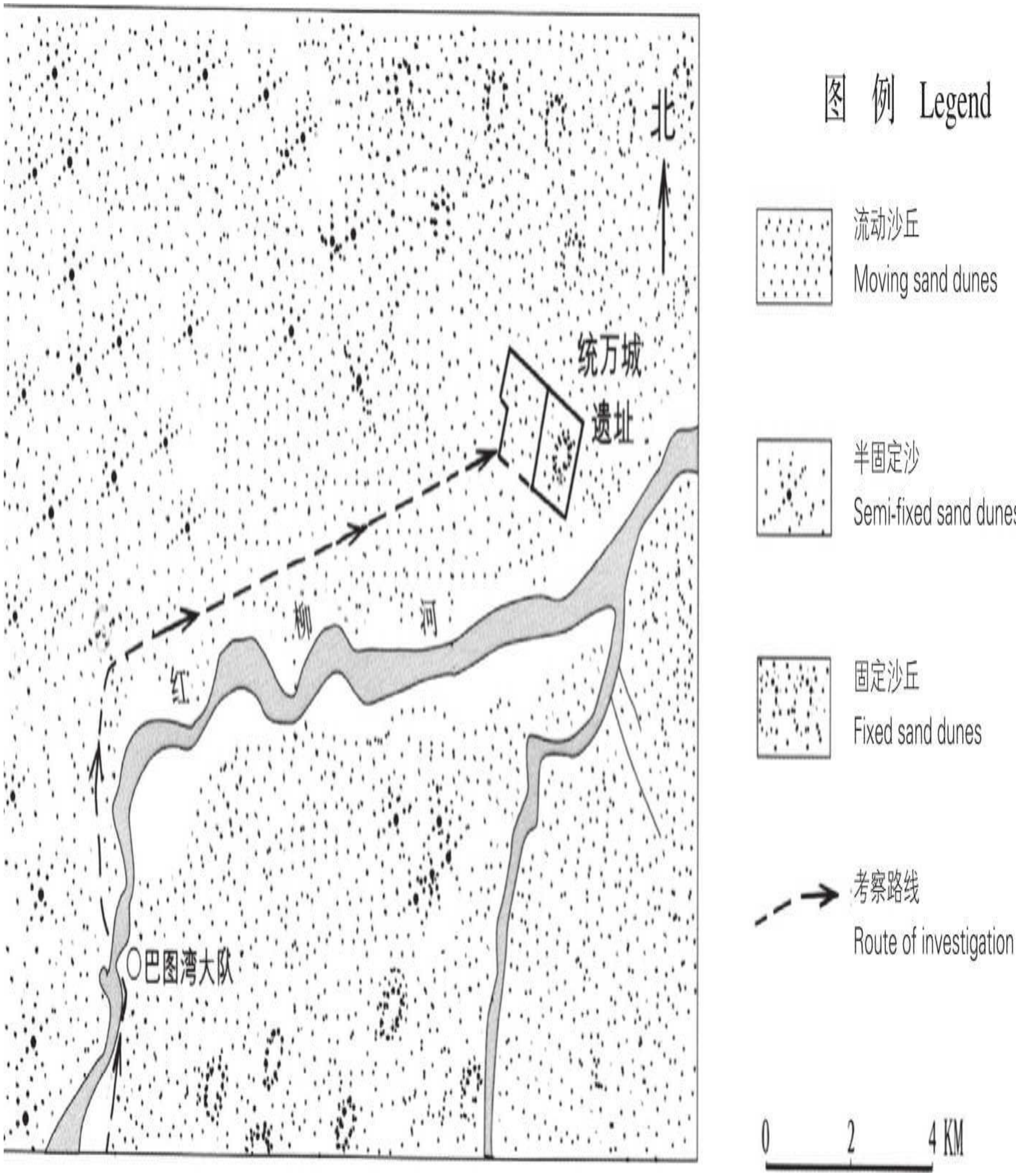
在窳浑城的附近，我们看到了一些大小不等的风蚀坑——由于强烈的风蚀而形成的大坑。在一个风蚀坑的边缘所显示的天然剖面上，可以明显地看到表面是70mm厚的一层水平沉积的黏土层，下面掩埋的则全是细沙。可见表土层被打破之后，细沙就很容易被强烈的西北风吹扬起来，这就是这一地区流沙的主要来源。这里所看到的地表黏土层的厚度，随地而异，有的地方厚，有的地方薄。厚的地方进行开垦，问题不大。薄的地方，如果原始的植被遭受破坏，并继续暴露在强烈的风蚀之下，那就很容易导致就地起沙。历史的教训就是这样。

三

最后，请允许我再讲一个沙漠中的古城。在我所见到的内蒙古西部沙漠中的古城废墟中，这是最大的一个，也是在筑城工程上最值得注意的一个，这是公元413年所修建的一个匈奴族为时短暂的小王朝的都城，但是它的创建者赫连勃勃却为它起了一个大得极不相称的名字，叫

做“统万”，意思就是“统治万邦”。

应该指出，统万城创建的这一年，刚刚在西哥特人攻陷罗马城后的第三年（攻陷罗马城在410年），还在盎格鲁撒克逊人进入不列颠以前不到半个世纪。史书记载说，当时赫连勃勃征调了十万人来修建这座大城。在筑城过程中，由于工程没有达到所要求的坚固程度，就有数以千计的工匠被杀死。至今这座大城虽然已久无人居，但还保留有24米高的敌楼，耸立在滚滚流沙中，在强烈的日照下，放射出耀眼的白色光芒。它的位置在鄂尔多斯高原的南部，靠近一条叫做红柳河的北岸。红柳河穿过毛乌素沙漠的东南一角，携带了大量的泥沙，水色浑浊，因此蒙语叫它做“萨拉乌素河”，也就是“黄水”的意思（图8-5）。



8-5　The site of the ancient city of Tongwan　统万城城址位置图

萨拉乌素河在中国的考古学上是很有名的，因为沿河上游有重要的旧石器时代晚期的遗址在这里被发现，当时住在这里的人被称为“河套人”，至今大约已有五万年。叫他做“河套人”，因为这里也是属于黄河之套以内的地方。

统万城虽然已深陷沙漠之中，但是也早已被人所考察过。奇怪的是过去的考察者只是满足于对古城足迹的描述或古物的发现，都从来没有人把它和周围环境的变迁联系起来进行探讨。比如说：当赫连勃勃在这里建城的时候，这里是沙漠么？他怎样能在沙漠中建立他的都城呢？如果当时这里不是沙漠，那么从什么时候起开始变成了沙漠呢？这些滚滚流沙又是从哪里来的呢？

作为一个历史地理工作者，我和几位年青的同行，正是带着这些问题，访问了这座历史上赫赫有名的统万城的。这次访问，给我留下了十分深刻的印象。

那是夏季的一个早晨，太阳的威力还没有充分显示出来。天晴气朗，万里无云。我们怀着十分兴奋的心情，从红柳河边的驻地出发，步行向着十公里外的统万城前进。举目所见，那是多么壮观的一幅三色的画面呀！蔚蓝如洗的天空，笼罩在有如大海的波浪那样翻滚着的黄沙上。突然间，我们看到了像古代海船上巨大的白帆一样的东西，出现在远方的蓝天黄沙之间，“看！白城子！”有人叫起来了。“白城子”就是附近的牧民给统万城起的名字，它比统万城一名更富于写实的意义，因为它那巍峨的城墙在阳光照耀下，确实是发出了耀眼的白光的。

在这初见的一刹那间，我所感受到的那种诗情画意，是永难忘怀的。但更重要的是白城子在探讨这一地区的环境变迁上所提供的确切无疑的线索。如果眼前不是有这样一座巍峨的古城屹立在那里，人们还会认为这一带地方自古以来就是荒无人烟的沙漠呢。

不，不是这样。

统万城最初绝不是建筑在沙漠里的。

这里原来不是沙漠，而是一片水草丰美的大草原。

赫连勃勃的时代，中国的政局，四分五裂，在汉族建立的晋王朝外，还有十五个少数民族建立的小王朝，先后崛起。赫连勃勃兴起于鄂尔多斯的草原上，他所建立的小王朝叫做“夏”，占有整个鄂尔多斯高原及其外围一些地方。他曾领兵打进长安城，当时他的部下劝他建都长安，他却坚持回兵鄂尔多斯，亲自选择了统万城的城址。史书有明文记载说，在建城之前，他曾亲自来到现场，登上附近一处高地，一面瞭望，一面赞叹说：“这里草滩广大，河流清澈，我跑过很多地方了，从马岑以北，黄河以南，没有一处地方，比得上这里那么好！”他所说的“马岑以北”指的是现在黄土高原上的六盘山以北，“黄河以南”指的是现在阴山南麓的黄河以南。清澈的河流就是现在以浑浊著称的红柳河，广大的草滩就是现在的毛乌素沙漠。

这里的自然条件本来是不错的，和前面所讲的古居延城所在的三角洲和窳浑城附近的冲积平原不同，那里都是干旱区，降水量都很少，而

统万城所在的地方，年平均降水量近400mm，地方上水源丰沛，为什么也会变成了沙漠呢？

统万城是毛乌素沙漠中所淹没的若干古城废墟中最大的一个，此外还有许多较小的城堡和村庄的遗址，也都已被沙淹，值得注意的是这些古代人类活动的遗迹，在沙区内的分布，自西北而东南，有着一定的时代先后的顺序性，例如两千年前汉代的遗址，向西北地区伸展得最远。稍向东南来，则多是比汉代晚了数百年或是上千年的唐、宋时代的遗址。至于近三、四百年明清时代的遗址，大都分布在沙区的东南边缘一带。这一分布的特点，除与中原王朝势力的消长有密切关系外，同时也与沙漠化时期的早晚直接有关。而这一地区的沙漠化，又是不合理的土地利用的必然结果。所谓不合理的土地利用，主要指的是在不宜于农耕的地方进行开垦，其次是过分的樵采和放牧。其具体过程，也有待于更深入的调查和研究。

总之，鄂尔多斯高原是我国历史上沙漠化的发展最显著的地区之一，导致沙漠化的主要原因，是人类本身的活动，而不是气候或其他自然因素的变化。新中国建立以后不久我们注意到这一问题，1963年后才开始从历史地理的角度上进行有计划的考察。可是1966年以后十年间的混乱，中断了这项考察工作的进行。一年半以前，才有可能重新开展这项考察研究工作。我相信，在实现我国社会主义现代化的过程中，这项工作是不可缺少的。

在你们伟大而美丽的国土上，既没有沙漠，也没有遇到沙漠化的问题。但是今天在世界上，特别是在发展中的国家里，沙漠化仍然是个严重的问题。沙漠和沙漠化的土地，占去了地球上陆地面积的1/3，全世界近1/6的人口，生活在这种地方，因此防治沙漠化这一项重要的环境保护的问题，已成为当前国际上关于沙漠研究的一个突出的课题。

第29届联合国大会通过的3337号决议要求采取国家间的联合行动，来同沙漠化进行斗争。贵国的学者，有人在这方面已经作了大量的工作，是值得我们钦佩的。

现在一些发展中国家所遇到的沙漠化的问题，有些情况在我国历史上曾经不止一次地出现过。对这一历史的过程，进行科学的总结，在今天应该说是有一定的参考价值的。我们认为这项研究，也是历史地理工作者所应该积极参加的。我相信，我国的历史地理工作者也将会努力工作，为国际的合作，作出自己应有的贡献。

谢谢大家耐心地听我的发言，现在我准备答复大家所提出的问题，虽然我不一定都能作出令人满意的答复。

⑨ I COME FROM YENCHING UNIVERSITY*

1. Interaction Between the Cultures of East and West and the Trend of the Times

When I came as a first-year freshman to Yenching University, it was the autumn of 1932. At that time almost ten years had passed since construction along a set lay-out had started of the university campus, and it was almost reaching completion.

On the campus the scenery everywhere was very beautiful, overflowing with an ever thriving vitality. This first impression the university had on me when I just arrived, has never left me. Therefore, I will now write down from memory how the very construction of the campus has influenced me. I will discuss this from the following aspects:

1) The campus with its beautiful scenery and classical Chinese architecture.

2) The probe into the campus' history and research on traditional culture.

The recently constructed Yenching University had chosen the northwestern outskirts of Peking as its campus location, an area famous historically for its gardens. The main gate faced west, facing in the distance Xishan, the West Mountains. Inside the main gate one crossed a large marble bridge spanning a pool clear as a mirror, and reached the teaching centre. Large buildings in classical Chinese architectural style stood on three sides, with in the centre a wide space with luscious green grass. From the teaching centre one drifted into the campus' hinterland with its winding hills and dense foliage. The main road rose and fell unobstructed by anything ahead, only small footpaths joining it. But suddenly, after going through a section of hills, the ripples of a vast lake stretched out in front, exceeding all one's expectations. The glint of the water had the colour of the sky, the field of vision was open and wide: it was the magnificent Lake Without a Name. A small island adorned the centre of the lake, adding to the boundless view. The buildings of the men's dormitories were lined up one by one on the northern

shore of the lake. Tucked away behind hills and a dense forest on the southern shore of the lake was the women's dormitories, in the traditional courtyard style. From the first day of entering the university I was captured by the natural scenery of the campus. I came to know only afterwards that here used to be a famous garden called Shuchun Yuan, the "Garden of the Fair Spring, closely connected to the Qing imperial court two hundred years ago. The streams filling the rivers and lakes of the garden came from the adjoining Shaoyuan, a famous garden three hundred years ago in the Ming Dynasty already renowned for its streams. When Yenching University opened up its campus in 1921 however, the structures of these two historic gardens had already disappeared without a trace. Yenching University used exactly the spot of these two famous gardens, and after adopting special designs and using the conditions of the natural environment to the full, a very special university campus was built. Even more important, however, was that for the buildings on the campus classical Chinese architectural forms were used, creating an even closer harmony between historical traditions and modern needs.

Furthermore, it has to be pointed out that the principal lay-out of the campus was carried out under the guidance of the American architect Henry K. Murphy, which proved it was in fact a new creation completed under the influence of the cultural exchange between East and West, representing the trend of the times rather well.[1]

At the Yenching University campus there were several other equally picturesque buildings, like a small bell pavilion on a hill under a pine tree, the "Overlooking the Water Cottage" (Linhu Xuan) on the lakeside, the small "Contemplating Merit Pavilion" (Siyi Ting) on the lake's island, and the "Broad Elegant Pagoda" (Boya Ta) towering over the shore, structures which were all rather spectacular. The expression "glimmering lake reflecting pagoda" became the famed proverbial portrayal of the campus'scenery. The Boya Pagoda and the Siyi Pavilion are well worth talking about in more detail.

The name of the Boya Pagoda had much to do with the American professor at that time at the Philosophy Department of Yenching University, Bo Chenguang or Lucius C. Porter. He was influenced deeply by traditional Chinese culture and had been working at the Peking office of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. More importantly, his elders had done a great deal to develop Tongzhou Union University, one of the predecessors to Yenching

University. When Yenching University started constructing a water-pagoda to add to the streams inside the campus, in order to commemorate these historical origins, the shape of the famous pagoda of Tongzhou, the Randeng Pagoda ("Sparkling Lamp Pagoda") was adopted, and the name Boya Pagoda was chosen. "BO" refers to the first character in Porter's Chinese name, and "YA" implicates an "elegant scholar". In English the pagoda is simply called "Porter's Pagoda".

The name of the Siyi Pavilion has an even more commemorative meaning than the Boya Pagoda's. The "SI" in the name is a diminutive form of "Luce", while "YI" has the meaning of "a magnanimous act undertaken for the public good". In English it is called "Luce Pavilion". It is in commemoration of Henry W. Luce, the first vice-president of Yenching University, who did so much to raise funds to set up Yenching University.[2]

I feel very privileged in arriving at Yenching in the period it had just been completed and being captured by the beauty of its surroundings; I was even more inspired by Professor William Hung's research at that time on the campus' history, which even influenced the direction of my later research.

In the very first beginning, when I had only just enrolled in the university, Professor William Hung's main work on the research of Shaoyuan, "On the Painting and Records of Shaoyuan", had been published smartly by the Yinde Compilation Office of Yenching University Press (the foreword was written on 29 October, 1932). The photo reprint in this book of the hand-drawn "Friends Gathering at Shaoyuan" by the prominent calligrapher Mi Wanzhong, the owner of the garden, drawn in the 45th year of Wanli of the Ming Dynasty(1617 A.D.), makes the scene of three hundred years ago appear vividly before one's eyes. It is said that when Yenching University was established, Professor William Hung had learned from archives that this scroll was still around somewhere, and after painstaking searches he was finally able to purchase it for the Yenching University Library. After the publication of the photo reprint, Professor Hung obtained a poetry text from the late Ming concerning Mi Wanzhong and a description of the lay-out of Shaoyuan, which enabled him furthermore to verify the ancient site of Shaoyuan and its geographical position. At the end of the scroll was added a map of the rivers, lakes and other waterways of the campus and its surroundings, which was extremely valid for reference. Also included was a record stating that the English envoy Lord George Macartney stayed temporarily at the ancient site of Shaoyuan when coming to the Qing court

during the reign of the Qianlong emperor.

Thereafter, Hung wrote in English about his research on the Shuchun Yuan, in which he covered important historical circumstances of most of the places inside the Yenching University campus. Furthermore, he gave his special report in English at the "university lecture", which was very well received by both teachers and students.[3]

This historical research by Professor Hung led me to start an actual investigation in the area of the historically famous gardens in the western suburbs of Peking, then extending it to the research of the development of the whole Peking area.

When teaching students in class, Professor Hung was original and demanding, which made me benefit even more from his wisdom. For example, when I was only a second-year student, I attended his class about "Methods on Elementary Historiography". One of the important things was the exercise in writing scientific papers, in which his requirements were very specific. For example, one had to get hold of first-hand material, to annotate the sources of the material, to have new insights or new explanations, and then to write one's paper following a standard form. Only half the time of the term was used for teaching. After that, every student was given a certain topic and asked to go to the library to find material, write everything down on cards divided by subject, and start to sort out the research. The paper for that term made up the academic record. The topic handed out to me at that time was"Who was the most fervent book collector in history?" After browsing through the materials in the library, I found three scholars fit for the description, and I started comparative research on the materials I had found. In class I made oral reports to Professor Hung, and finally I chose one scholar from the Ming Dynasty, and wrote my "term paper": "The most fervent book collector Hu Yinlin". As a result, I was given a remark by Professor Hung in two black characters, written with a calligraphy brush: "Very Fine". This made me feel immensely encouraged, and I kept his calligraphy. Now 62 years have passed, and even though every side of life has changed, I have kept it until today, because it is the first lesson on academic training I had from Yenching University.

Professor Hung's guidance was not only confined to the classroom, he deliberately created some opportunities for me outside the classes, which gave me an even broader job training. This was even more the case when I became his research student. For example, Professor Alice Boring, Dean of

the Pre-medical Department of the university, invited me to make a report in English for PAUW on the subject "geographical Peking". The full name of this organisation is Peking Association of University Women, and its members, most of them being graduates of American universities, were naturally good at speaking English. However, as I had never written a lecture in English before, I was of course a bit shy and tried desperately to refuse. Only then professor Boring told me straight on the spot that she had originally invited Professor Hung to talk on historical Peking, but he had insisted on recommending me to talk on geographical Peking. After this information I went to see Professor Hung immediately to explain my English was not sufficient to give a talk in public, and to ask him to replace me by somebody else. Professor Hung pointed very solemnly to me and said, "Well, this is an excellent opportunity for you to practise, is it not?" He insisted on me writing out the speech and practising it on him beforehand, before going to the association to do the report. This was a deliberate training for me, and I could not but go along.

Professor Hung had noticed at a very early stage that my academic interest had turned from history to historical geography, so he deliberately arranged for me to go abroad for advanced studies, to get an even better training in the theory of the field. One morning in the autumn of 1938, I was summoned to go to Professor Hung's study at his home, and the first thing he said to me was "there is no school exceeding a master, and there is no master exceeding a famous master". He paused for a while, and then explained, "Harvard is a famous university, but they don't have a department of geography there. The University of Liverpool in England is of course not as famous as Harvard, but they have a famous professor in geography who has also a great knowledge of the geography of China, Professor Percy Maude Roxby. After research by our school it has been decided to send you there next autumn to advance on your historical geography." Professor Hung had close ties with the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and had always sent research students from Yenching's graduate school of history to Harvard for further study, but because of my special interest, he recommended me to go to the University of Liverpool to specialise in historical geography. The following year war broke out in Europe, and I couldn't go. When after the great war had ended I was finally able to go to the University of Liverpool, Professor Roxby had retired, but his successor, Sir Clifford Darby, influenced me deeply. The theories and methods on historical geography initiated by him

were introduced by me in China for the first time, and I made my own contribution to the development in the field of Chinese historical geography. When talking now about these matters, I cannot but think of the opportunity Yenching University gave me in the first place.

Just now I have given a few examples of how William Hung guided and trained me, but it was not only Professor Hung who let me share in his knowledge in my years of study at Yenching. There were two other full-time professors at the Department of History: Gu Jiegang and Deng Zhicheng. Both of them were renowned historians, although they were not as good at English as William Hung, who had a thorough knowledge of both Chinese and Western topics. If William Hung's appointment as professor at Yenching had a historical origin, for he was a Christian convert and had close ties to the founding of Yenching, it needs to be pointed out that Gu Jiegang and Deng Zhicheng were not Christian converts nor proficient in English, but because the two of them had made special contributions to the world of Chinese historiography, they were employed by Yenching University. Professor Deng Zhicheng guided me in my research on Chinese historical treatises, and Professor Gu Jiegang deepened my interest in researching Peking's historical geography(I will talk about that later in more detail). Just like Professor Hung, Professor Gu Jiegang had been employed at the Harvard-Yenching Institute's Peking office, where William Hung even had been in charge. I should add that with financial help of the Harvard-Yenching Institute the magazine *Yanjing Xuebao* was edited and published at Yenching, recognised in China and abroad to be one of the leading academic journals on the research of Chinese literature, history and philosophy. Also, there were the publications in volumes of the Yinde collection, about traditional Chinese books and records, esteemed equally in the academic worlds of both China and the West as the *Yanjing Xuebao*. Professor William Hung contributed enormously to the establishing and printing of the Yinde collection. It has to be added here that although after the merging of Yenching University and Peking University in 1952 the above mentioned publications came to a halt, reprints continued to be in circulation. More significantly, the Alumni of Yenching University in Peking and the Second Campus of Peking University started cooperating in 1993 and established the Yanjing Graduate Institute, in order to continue and expand the spirit and stamina of Yenching. At the same time, the academic efforts of mainly the Alumni of Yenching University were bundled into re-editing and republishing *Yanjing Xuebao*, of which the first

"New Issue No.1" was published in August 1995. Moreover, there are plans in progress for continued compilation of the Yinde collection.

It has to be added here that after Yenching University merged with Peking University in 1952 the campus expanded greatly, but the original campus of Yenching University has been fully preserved, the glimmering lake and pagoda reflected thereon are just like in the old days. In 1990, the Municipal Government of Peking decided to have the area around the "Lake Without Name" of the original Yenching campus site put on the municipal cultural heritage list, and had this engraved on a stele to be remembered forever.

2. The Tradition of Patriotism and the Spirit of Devotion

The campus of Yenching University was as pretty as a Chinese landscape painting, but this didn't mean it was a small paradise closed off from the outer world. It was built on the ancient sites of gardens of former times, but the fate of the whole country was still in the midst of restless movement. The first couple of years after the school was set up, the Peking government was controlled continuously by warlords who strived for power by selling out their country, and bureaucracy. The successive national governments in Nanking were facing against Japanese and other foreign aggressions.

It was at this time that the Japanese aggressors staged the "Mukden Incident" of 18 September 1931, to occupy the three provinces in China's Northeast, and the resistance movement against Japan to save the country, initiated by the Chinese people in all kinds of ways, started to develop from this point in time.

The situation as described above was the historical background for my enrollment at Yenching University as a freshman in 1932. At that time, because the Chinese government had moved south, Peking was renamed Beiping, "northern peace", and after Mukden Incident it came day by day closer to the nation's defence front lines.

One day, not long after I became a student, I was strolling on the campus and arrived at the area close to the library full of hills and streams, when suddenly a stone stele, straight as a brush, appeared in front of me, upon which from the top down in large characters one line was inscribed:

"MEMORIAL STELE TO LADY WEI SHIYI"

Followed by an inscription stating lady Wei Shiyi's life story and a short commemorative text. The last three lines, in small characters, stated the persons who erected the stele and the date it had been put up:

> Erected in honour by all members of the men's and women's student unions of Yenching University, together with the student union of the Yenching high school for girls, in the 16th Year of the Republic.

So this was the stele erected on the campus to remember the second-year female student Wei Shiyi, who only one year before the erection (1926 in fact) on March 18, as a member of the Peking young student patriotism movement, had been killed by the Warlord Regime. This massacre in Peking where so many people were killed and which shocked the whole nation was known as "the March 18 Massacre". My high school was far from Peking when this massacre took place, but I was deeply influenced by the student movement of that time. After coming to Yenching I hadn't expected to experience the profound lesson of that patriotic student movement once again, a lesson which was expressed so well in the inscription on the stele, which reads as follows:

> In the country there are great parasites, the government is without law.
>
> Foxes and rats infest the capital, they vie with each other in unbridled unruliness.
>
> The gates of the government are awash with blood from the killing of our heros.
>
> They slaughtered little me, but in the end there will be a reckoning!
>
> Whether the Dipper stars do not pour wine, or the Sieve conste-llation winnows grain (i.e., whether high officials are aloof or they do care)
>
> The prosperity or decay of the country depends on the support of people!
>
> Please let those who have survived never forget this!

When going over this inscription carefully, I cannot but think that such an stele, so strong in attacking the government and denouncing the warlords, at that time was indeed an important patriotic symbol for the young students of Yenching University, and an indisputable illustration of the protection and development of the young students' patriotic ideals by the Yenching University staff. Thinking back of it now, it must have been the first lesson in patriotism I was taught by Yenching University.

In the four years after I enrolled in Yenching University, the Japanese invaders occupied the three provinces of China's Northeast, and advanced even further to the Great Wall Line in the north. Apart from the normal teaching and studying routine, the staff and students on the campus of

Yenching were incessantly engaged in anti-Japanese activities. Among the professors circulated a publication about promoting resistance against Japan, with big characters "The Torch" in its cover printed; as I remember correctly the calligraphy was by Rong Geng, professor of Chinese literature. Gu Jiegang, professor of history, got everybody in their spare time together to compile propaganda material for resistance against Japan and saving the country, which was published under the name "Popular Literature Editing House". The students were constantly busy with activities supporting the army defending the Great Wall Line to resist the Japanese army. Because of the "non-resistance policy" of the central government in Nanking, a patriotic student movement finally broke out on 9 December 1935, which spread gradually to other cities. From the very beginning of the movement the students of Yenching had an important leading role; moreover, they were supported by their teachers, including several foreign teachers. Two of them were quite extraordinary, one was Randolph Sailer, the very popular American professor of psychology, the other one was the American journalist and part-time lecturer at the Department of Journalism at Yenching, Edgar Snow. At that time, the Chinese Communist Party had already established Yan'an as its base to propagate resistance against Japan and form a united front. It was after this student movement of 9 December that Edgar Snow travelled to Yan'an and subsequently wrote his very influential book, *Red Star Over China*. It was also this student movement that increased the admiration of the students for Dr. Sailer, for he showed enormous care and support for students who, though suffering hunger and cold, had walked for miles to join the demonstrations.

Six months after the 9 December demonstrations I graduated from my department at Yenching University. The evening before my graduation Professor Gu Jiegang told me that the university had appointed him as part-time head of the history department from the next term onward, and he hoped I would stay on as his assistant. From September 1936 till June 1937, Professor Gu tried out a new approach with his class "Exercise in Research on Ancient Sites and Ancient Objects". Every fortnight on Saturday afternoon he would take the students to an old building or ancient site which he had chosen beforehand, either inside Peking's city walls or in the surrounding countryside, to make an on-the-spot investigation. He wanted me to make a written report beforehand on the basis of his reference materials and my own inspection results, and hand this out to the students for reference. It was a

training very precious for me, which deepened my interest in doing research on Peking's historical geography.

On 7 July 1937 the Japanese aggressors staged the "Marco Polo Bridge Incident" or "July 7 Incident" in the outskirts of Peking, and they attacked and occupied the city, setting off the widespread War of Resistance Against Japan. Professor Gu Jiegang left Peking quickly for the south, to escape an arrest by the Japanese. Thereafter, I obtained a scholarship by the Harvard-Yenching Institute and became a M.A. research student under the guidance of Professor William Hung. National University had, just as Peking University and Qinghua University, already after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident moved to the south. Although Yenching University was situated in an enemy-occupied area, it could continue to exist because it was run by an American Christian organisation, and Yenching was like a solitary island where the youth in enemy-occupied north China could still pursue their studies. As a research student the first problem I had was what to choose as the field of research and the subject for my thesis. Actually, William Hung had proposed me a subject long ago, when I wrote my graduation paper. Because he knew my interest had moved to historical geography, he hoped I would take the chapter on Shandong province from the work *Tianxia junguo libing shu*(*The Blessings and Ills of All Regions of the Empire*) of the famous late Ming early Qing scholar Gu Yanwu, and then add a compilation from the early Qing to the late Qing and early Republic. The point was to disclose all good and bad aspects of every place inside Shandong province of the past three hundred years, to be of reference when building up the nation, for although we were occupied by the enemy, everyone believed the war would eventually be won, and the nation would be built up again. The choice of Shandong was made because it is my original home, and also because the library of Yenching had the most Local Gazetteers on Shandong province. These Local Gazetteers are characteristic of China, they are books compiled by the authorities on the situation of all districts in all provinces, usually compiled every odd years. Because I had only limited time then, I could not but choose another subject for my thesis with a rather smaller scope. M.A. research students had enough time to do research. It was very important then that I could get a better understanding of the idea of Gu Yanwu's *Tianxia junguo libing shu*. He was born in the late Ming dynasty, and felt great concern for the deteriorating society and politics which caused the people great suffering. Then he compiled his *Tianxia junguo libing shu*. In the foreword to his work, he wrote

the following: "I am moved by the many ills that beset all the corners of our land, and thus am ashamed of the lack of skill of the students of the Classics". Then he started propagating his idea of "Use the Classics", attacking the shallow style of study of his contemporaries, and he recommended openly "everybody has a responsibility to protect the world". Thereupon, he called out loudly in distress, saying:

> As of today, it is our responsibility (as scholars) to save our people from their state of utter distress and open up an era of peace for ten thousand generations.

Even when the Qing armies had entered through the passes and snatched away the ruling power of the Ming Dynasty, he kept resisting Qing Dynasty rule, and refrained from being employed. When my country was in imminent danger, I was able to understand the deeds of his life much better, and I was deeply moved. In the period that the country's crisis deepened after the occupation of Peking, it took me three years to finish my sequel to *The Blessings and Ills of All Regions of the Empire* on Shandong province. William Hung was there to recommend it, and he had my M.A. thesis published as a special edition of the 19th issue of *Yanjing Xuebao*. This work, written under the enemy puppet regime, was full of ideals of saving the country and rebuilding the land, which without Yenching University and the guidance of Professor William Hung would have never seen the light.

However, when in the winter of 1941 this book had just been published, the Japanese invasion army that had recently occupied China meeting with the persistent resistance of the Chinese people, suddenly attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbour from the air on December 8 (Peking time), setting off the Pacific War. It was very early that day that the Japanese military police surrounded Yenching University quickly and consequently occupied the campus. All students and staff members were expelled from the area, the staff with American nationality were locked up in concentration camps, and a couple of staff and students were arrested and confined in the army barracks of the Japanese military police in Peking, including the university president Leighton Stuart. Eleven people of the staff were arrested in all, among whom I was the youngest. Both my professors, William Hung and Deng Zhicheng, were arrested too.

Here I should go into the reasons of my arrest.

After finishing my M.A. in June 1940, I had decided to stay on at Yenching to teach, and I had already started to prepare classes. Dr. Leighton Stuart the university president, invited me for a talk. He wanted me to be in

charge of some student matters part time besides teaching, because there were many problems the students were facing due to the campus' position on occupied territory. Some students had financial problems because of the war, some students couldn't work quietly because of the puppet regime, they all needed to be given care and support. Because I had been a student here for eight years myself, I was rather good in understanding the students. After three meetings, it was decided to set up a Student Welfare Committee, chaired by Professor Sailer who was very popular with the students, to facilitate tackling the Japanese if they would come to the university to stir up trouble. I was vice chairman of this committee and acted as a contact with the students. One committee member was chosen among the young and enthusiastic professors of the Colleges of Arts, Natural Sciences and Public Affairs, and the Dean was invited to be secretary of the Committee, to make it easier to communicate with the whole school's various administrative organisations and the university president. On 21 June 1940 President Stuart signed a memo and sent it to everybody appointed. I have kept my personal copy until today, and added it to this paper. Therefore, before I even entered a classroom, I walked into the office of the Student Welfare Committee inside the large office building.

The fact that I had accepted this task had to do with the education I was given by Yenching University as well. The Yenching University motto "Freedom Through Truth for Service" was known by heart by all university students. The understanding of this motto by the students might have been profound or superficial, but there was one thing the students themselves could all feel in a minor or major degree: the spirit of helping others, to be found everywhere on the campus. This spirit of helping was most concrete in the relationship between students and staff, and also most obvious there. The establishing of a Student Welfare Committee by the president of the university is a very concrete example of this spirit. Honouring this university motto became my unshirkable duty.

Student life at Yenching University had, apart from compulsory studying, its special characteristics. Especially when the nation's crisis deepened daily and the students' activities outside the classroom became gradually more and more restricted, one characteristic became obvious, and that was the existence of an organisation called Small Christian Fellowship. As a Christian university, Yenching University had established Colleges of Arts, Natural Sciences and Public Affairs, which were officially registered at

the central government in Nanking of that time, but there existed also a College of Religion, which didn't enroll students publicly but attracted students majoring in religion. The College of Religion had its own building, in which was built a small worship hall, where believing and non-believing staff and students could freely attend the Sunday service, although not many people did. There was yet another organisation, called the Christian Fellowship of Yenching University, whose office was inside the building of the College of Religion also. The Fellowship was divided into a number of small fellowships, which were led mainly by student believers. Non-believers could join freely, and some fellowships invited Christian professors to join as advisors. Every fellowship had its own name, some names had to do with religion, like "Friends of Jesus", or "Shining Salt Group", but not all names were like that. For example, there was a fellowship which from the start was organised by six people, and was therefore called the "Group of Six". These fellowships were full of vigour, because they did not only study the Bible and discuss religious doctrine, but touched upon the problems in daily life, most importantly the discussion about current affairs. If it hadn't been under the name of a fellowship meeting, discussions about current affairs wouldn't have been possible, because it was forbidden explicitly by the puppet regime of that time. Later, the fellowship organisations developed into some small groups specialising in discussions about vocational study. I helped organising a small group on vocational study, whereby everybody came together once every weekend to exchange what one had learned when studying vocationally, called the"Saturday Symposium". Actually these student organisations, given the objective situation at that time, really set off the students' self-education, and brought about the spreading of patriotic ideals. Because the same thing had happened to me when I was a student, I was perfectly happy to share some work in caring for the students through an organisation at school.

At the office of the Student Welfare Committee Dr. Sailer and me took shifts, and started our "spare-time" work for the students. I hadn't attended his classes when I was a student, even though his class on"Mental Hygiene" was universally appraised and received enthusiastically by the students. Now I could see with my own eyes how he gave himself totally for his work, and couldn't help thinking about the Yenching motto about "service", a motto which had clearly been manifested in him. He arranged mainly "Self-Help Work" for the students with urgent financial needs, all kinds of odd jobs

being paid for by the hour. Because of the war, the amount of students applying for Self-Help Work increased daily. Sailer's work load increased accordingly, but his attitude towards the students and his work spirit were so admirable that I will never forget.

My main work had to do with the students' problems of quite another nature, problems which were linked with the day-by-day development of the War of Resistance Against Japan. The Japanese invaders were getting crazier every day in "mopping up" the occupied area, so there were a minority of students then who insisted on giving up their personal opportunity to study, and plunged into the struggle to defeat the enemy and save the country. Students whom I was familiar with came directly to me, and there were also students who went straightaway to university president Leighton Stuart to discuss their plans. The president wanted me to be in charge of these matters, but he also established one principle, being that as long as the students dropped out to join the work for"the United Front Against Japan", no matter if they wanted to go to the hinterland (being the land under Kuomintang rule) or the liberated area(being the area of the Eighth Route Army of the Communist Party), they would have to receive equal treatment: to be given support, including making contacts for their route and helping out with travel costs. If they asked to change their subject of study or asked to leave to go to work, that was a different matter. I started to help the students to leave school on this principle, but as it was best to go unnoticed, I could only operate in the strictest secrecy. At that time, there was an international friend of China, Rewi Alley, who set up an organisation in Sichuan called"Chinese Industrial Cooperation", which got together mainly scattered labour groups in the inner provinces to expand production and support resistance against Japan. A very good friend of his, the English lecturer at Yenching E. Ralph Lapwood, had as early as 1939 left Yenching, and travelled through mountains in the west and the liberated area of the Eighth Route Army towards Sichuan, where he worked for this Industrial Cooperation. There were several students of the school who, influenced by him, wanted to leave and support the same Cooperation. There were also students who actively sought to join the direct struggle against Japan with the liberated area of the Eighth Route Army. In the position of vicechairman of the Student Welfare Committee in the period of one year since the autumn of 1940, I helped these students to leave university. For a more detailed record of these affairs please read my account"Reminiscences on the Closing Down of Yenching University" in the

volume *Peking under the Japanese Puppet Regime*[4]. Unfortunately, some messages written by students who had gone south were intercepted, and I was arrested by the Japanese military police. In June 1942 I was sentenced by a Japanese military court to prison for one year with the execution suspended for three years, and was released on bail, but I had no freedom of migration or travel. When my three-year suspension period was just over, the Japanese invasion army lost the war and surrendered. The university president Stuart was released, and he immediately reestablished the university committee, seven people in all, and I was asked to join too, even though I was still quite young.[5] The new university committee set down one strict rule, being that whoever had worked for the enemy when Yenching was closed off by the Japanese bandits, was not allowed to return to university. This rule again proved that Yenching University stuck firmly to its principles, and the rule was resolutely supported by staff and students alike.

Before I end this paper, I should make some additional remarks, being that when I came out of prison and went through my suspension period, in the field of conducting myself in society and the field of studying I received the unremitting guidance and strict demands of William Hung. The couple of letters he wrote to me by hand then are still treasured by me today. Four of these letters I had even photo reprinted, and they will appear in the second issue of the new edition of *Yanjing Xuebao* (*Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*). This Yanjing Xuebao, the magazine that in the past by spreading the splendid Chinese traditional culture became famous at home and abroad, will now, under the enthusiastic support of the Alumni of Yenching University, continue to be published by the Yenching Graduate Institute, keeping its editorial characteristics. How things will develop in the next phase, is a problem I feel should also be considered deeply.

Peking University
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玖　我从燕京大学来*

一、中西文化交流与时代趋向

我作为一年级新生进入燕京大学，是在1932年的秋天。那时大学校园按着预定的规划设计，经历了前后十年时间，已经基本建设完成。整个校园里，风景佳丽，光彩焕发，洋溢着蓬勃向上的朝气。这是我初入学时的第一个印象，至今难忘。因此在这里先追记一下这座校园建设的本身所给我的影响。先从以下两个方面说起：

1．风景如画的校园与中国古典式的建筑。

2．校园历史的探索与传统文化的研究。

新建成的燕京大学校园，选址在北京城的西北近郊，是历史上有名的园林区。校门西向，遥对西山。校门以内，跨过一个波平如镜的池塘上的一座大石桥，就进入了教学中心。中国古典建筑形式的大楼，三面环列，中间场地开阔，绿草如茵。从教学中心深入校园腹地，岗阜逶迤，林木丛茂。大路起伏，畅通无阻。羊肠曲径，经过其间。出人意料的是穿过这一区岗阜，突然展现在眼前的是一片微波荡漾的湖泊，水光天色，视野开阔，这就是享有盛誉的未名湖。湖中有小岛，点缀其间，平添无限景色。男生的宿舍大楼，一座又一座，并列在湖泊的北岸。深在湖泊南岸岗阜密林之后的则是传统庭院式的女生宿舍。从入学的第一天起，我就为这座校园的自然风光所吸引，只是后来我才了解到，这里原是两百多年前与清朝皇室有密切关系的一座名园，叫做淑春园。园中河流湖泊的上游，来自紧相毗连的勺园。而勺园早在三百多年前的明朝，就已经是一座以水取胜的名园了。可是到了1921年燕京大学在这里开始建校的时候，这两处历史名园的建筑，都已荡然无存。燕京大学正是在这两处名园的旧址上，经过独出心裁的规划设计，充分利用其自然条件，建造起一座独具特色的大学校园。还有更重要的一点，即这座校园的建筑物，一律采用了中国古典的建筑形式，这更是历史传统与现代化要求的相互结合。

还须指出，校园的规划设计，乃是在美国建筑师Henry K. Murphy的主持下进行的，实际上这也正是在中西文化交流的影响下所完成的足以代表时代趋向的一种新创造。[1]

需要补充说明的是在燕京大学校园里，还有一些类似景点的建筑物，如小山上古松下的钟亭、俯视水面的临湖轩、湖中小岛上的思义亭

和湖边上凌空而立的博雅塔，都是十分引人注目的，而“湖光塔影”更成为校园风景中颇负盛名的写照。在这里特别值得一提的是博雅塔和思义亭。

博雅塔的命名和当时燕京大学哲学系的美籍教授博晨光有密切关系。他深受中国传统文化的影响，曾兼任哈佛燕京学社在北平办事处的工作。更重要的是他的前辈曾为燕京大学前身之一的通州协和大学的发展作出过贡献。为了纪念这一历史渊源，燕京大学为供给校园内自来水而建成的水塔，就采取了通州有名的古建筑“燃灯塔”的造型而兴建起来，并且取名博雅塔。“博”字是Porter一字第一声的音译，“雅”字有“儒雅学者”的含义。英文就直接叫做Porter's Pagoda了。

比起博雅塔更有纪念意义的是思义亭。在这里“思”字是Luce一字简化的音译，“义”字有“义举”的含义。英文名称就是Luce Pavilion。这是为了纪念燕京大学第一任副校长路思义为燕京大学的筹款兴建所作出的贡献。[2]

我深感幸运的不仅是燕京大学校园新落成时就来到了这里而深受其幽美环境的感染，更重要的是当时洪煨莲教授对于校园历史的研究，又使我深受启发，一直影响到我日后的研究方向。

最初，还是在我入学不久的时候，洪煨莲教授关于勺园研究的重要著作《勺园图录考》由燕京大学引得编纂处精印出版（序文写于1932年10月29日）。这部书影印了明万历四十五年（1617）勺园主人、著名书法家米万钟手绘的《勺园修禊图》，使三百多年前校园一隅的景象重现于眼前。按早在燕京大学建校之初，洪煨莲教授从记载中获悉这幅画卷尚流传在人间，遂刻意访求，终为燕京大学图书馆所购得。煨莲师在影印之后，又进一步收录了晚明以来有关米万钟家世以及描述勺园景物的诗文记载，并且进行了勺园故址及其地理位置的考证。卷末还附有校园以及附近地区河湖水系的略图，极有参考价值。其中也包括了清朝乾隆年间英国使臣马戛尔尼勋爵来朝时暂住勺园故址的记述。随后，他又用英文写成了关于淑春园的研究，涉及燕京大学校园中大部分地方的重要历史情况，而且他还用英文在“大学讲演”中做了专题报告，深得师生欢迎。[3]

正是煨莲师关于校园历史的研究，引导我进行对于北京西北郊区历史上著名园林区的实地考察，进而又扩大到对整个北京地区开发过程的研究。

在课堂教学上煨莲师的独出心裁和严格要求，更使我深受教益。例如我还在二年级的时候，从他学习“初级史学方法”一课，主要内容之一，是科学论文写作的训练，他的要求十分具体，例如必须掌握第一手资料，必须在写作中注明资料的来源，必须有新的发现或新的说明，然

后按照一定的格式写成论文。课堂讲授时间只用了半个学期。然后分配给每一位学生一个问题，要求学生到图书馆去查阅资料，分门别类写成卡片，进行研究整理，写成学期论文，作为学习成绩。当时我所分配到的问题是“历史上最爱藏书的是谁？”经过查阅图书资料，我认为有三位学者符合要求，根据收集所得，进行比较研究，在课堂上向煨莲师作了口头报告，最后选定其中明朝的学者一人，写成我的“学期论文”：《最爱藏书的胡应麟事绩考略》。结果我得到煨莲师两个字的墨笔评语：“佳甚”。这使我深受鼓舞，就把这篇写作珍藏起来，整整六十二个年头过去了，虽然历经沧桑，仍得一直保存到今天，这是燕京大学所给我的学术训练的第一课。

煨莲师对我的教导，还不仅限于课业指导，他还有意在课外为我创造条件，使我得到更为广泛的业务训练。在我作为他的研究生之后，更是如此。例如有一次，学校医学预科主任Alice Boring教授约我为PAUW用英文作一次报告，题目是Geographical Peking。这个组织的英文全名是Peking Association of University Women，它的会员自然都是长于说英语的，可是我从来还没有用英语作过讲演，心里有些胆怯，极力推辞。于是Boring教授就直截了当地告诉我说，她原来是要请洪煨莲教授去讲Historical Peking，而洪教授却一定要推荐我去讲Geographical Peking。我了解到这一情况后，就立刻去看煨莲师，说明我的英语程度还难以作公开讲演，希望他另外推荐别人。可是煨莲师却十分郑重地指点我说：“这正是你练习的好机会嘛！”他一定要我写好稿先面对他试讲，然后再到会上去作报告。这是有意对我进行训练，我也就只好同意了。

煨莲师早已体会到我的学术兴趣已经从历史学转向地理学，就有意为我安排出国深造的机会，便于从学科理论上得到更好的训练。1938年的秋学期，一天上午，我应命来到煨莲师家中的书房，他开头第一句话就说：“择校不如投师，投师要投名师。”随后稍一停顿，他又进一步解释说：“美国哈佛大学是有名的大学，可是那里没有地理系。英国的利物浦大学虽然不如哈佛大学那样有名，可是那里却有一位地理学的名师，对中国地理很有研究，他就是Percy Maude Roxby教授。现在经过学校研究，已经决定明年秋学期送你到那里去进修历史地理学。”煨莲师和哈佛燕京学社有密切关系，曾派遣燕京大学历史系的研究生到哈佛大学去进修。可是为了我的学术兴趣，他推荐我到利物浦大学去攻历史地理学。只是转年欧战爆发，我未能成行。一直到大战结束后，我前往利物浦大学的时候，Roxby教授已经退休，而他的继任者Clifford Darby教授正是现代历史地理学奠基人之一，我深受Darby教授的影响，并把他所倡导的历史地理学的理论与方法，第一次介绍到中国来，并对中国历史地理学的发展作出了自己的贡献。现在讲到这一点，我还是不能不

想到当初燕京大学给我提供的机遇。

以上我举出洪煨莲教授如何教导和培养我的一些例子，我在燕大学习期间所深受教益的，不仅是洪煨莲教授一人。当时历史系还有其他两位专任教授，即顾颉刚和邓之诚。他们两位都是著名的历史学家，却不像洪煨莲那样长于英语，学贯中西。如果说洪煨莲来燕大做教授是有历史渊源的，他既是基督教徒，又与燕大的创办有密切关系，可是顾颉刚和邓之诚两位既不是基督教徒，又不谙英语，但在中国史学界都有特殊贡献，因而受聘于燕京大学。邓之诚教授曾指导我研究中国史学专著，顾颉刚教授又进一步启发了我研究北京历史地理的兴趣（详见下文）。顾颉刚教授和洪煨莲教授一样，都受聘于哈佛燕京学社北京办事处，洪煨莲还曾兼任该办事处的负责人。在这里应该顺便提到，由哈佛燕京学社资助，由燕京大学编辑出版的《燕京学报》，被认为是研究中国文学、历史和哲学的最重要的学术刊物之一，传播于海内外。与《燕京学报》同样见重于中外学术界的，还有关于中国古代图书典籍的“引得丛刊”的编纂出版。洪煨莲教授对“引得丛刊”的规划设计以及印刷，贡献最大。在这里还应该附带提到的是，1952年燕京大学与北京大学合并后，上述两种出版物都停刊了，可是两者的影印本还继续传播于世。更重要的是1993年在北京的燕京大学校友会与北京大学分校又进行合作，成立了燕京研究院，为继承和发扬燕京大学的办学精神而努力。同时又组织以燕京校友为主的学术力量，重新编辑出版《燕京学报》，首期复刊即“新一期”已于1995年8月出版。

还应该附带提到的是1952年燕京大学合并于北京大学后，校址范围已经大为扩展，可是原来燕京大学校园，保留如昔，湖光塔影，无异当年。1990年，北京市人民政府决定将未名湖周围的原燕京大学校园，列为全市文物保护单位，刻石立碑，永作纪念。

二、爱国主义传统与献身精神

燕京大学校园虽然风景如画，却不是“世外桃源”。它虽然是从旧时代的园林废墟上建设起来，可是整个国家的命运还处在动荡不安之中。学校创办的最初几年间，北京政府一直在争权夺利、卖国求荣的军阀与官僚的控制之下。相继而来的南京中央政府，又面临着外患日疾的情况，也就是在这时候，日本侵略者于1931年阴谋制造了“九一八事变”，入侵东北三省，中国人民以不同方式所进行的抗日救亡运动，也就是从这时候进一步发展起来的。

以上情况，就是我在1932年作为一年级新生进入燕京大学时的时代背景。当时，因为中央政府南迁，北京已改称北平，而“九一八”以后的北平，也日渐接近国防的最前线。

在我入学后不久，有一天，我在校园里散步，来到图书馆附近一处溪流环绕的丘岗之间，忽然看到一座笔直的石碑耸立在面前，碑的正面自上而下刻着一行大字：

魏士毅女士纪念碑

碑座上刻着魏士毅女士的小传和纪念她的铭文。最后三行小字刻的是立碑的时间和立碑人如下：

中华民国十六年燕京大学男女两校及女附中学生会全体会员敬立

原来这是为纪念前一年，也就是1926年3月18日在北京青年学生的爱国运动中，被军阀政府所枪杀的二年级女同学魏士毅而竖立在校园中的。这次在北京被杀学生多人，是震动全国的大惨案，就叫做“三一八惨案”。惨案发生时我所在的中学虽然远离北京，可是也深受这次学生运动的影响。没有料到，我在进入燕京大学之后，竟然又一次感受到这次爱国运动的深刻教育，这一点，从石碑上所刻的铭文中又充分地反映出来，兹将铭文抄录如下：

国有巨蠹政不纲

城狐社鼠争跳梁

公门喋血歼我良

牺牲小己终取偿

北斗无酒南箕扬

民心向背关兴亡

愿后死者长毋忘

细读这篇铭文，我不禁联想到，如此强烈谴责当时的军阀反动政府的石刻，既是燕京大学青年学生爱国主义的重要标志，又是燕京大学领导维护和发扬青年学生爱国主义思想的无可争辩的说明。如今回想，这应该是我在燕京大学所接受的爱国主义教育的第一课。

在我进入燕京大学本科后的四年间，正是日本侵略者入侵东北三省之后，又进一步向华北的万里长城沿线推进的时候。燕京大学的校园里在正常的教学工作之外，师生的抗日活动也在不断地进行中。教师中曾流传着一个宣传抗日的内部刊物，封面上印着“火把”两个大字，记得是中国文学系教授容庚所题。历史系教授顾颉刚组织大家利用业余时间，编写抗日救国的宣传材料，用“通俗读物编刊社”的名义出版发行。学生中不断发起支援长城沿线抗日将士的活动。但是由于南京中央政府的“不抵抗政策”，终于激发了1935年12月9日这一天开始的爱国学生运动，逐渐扩展到其他城市。从运动的一开始，燕京大学的学生就起了重要的领导作用，并且得到教师们的支持，还包括了外籍教师在内，最突

出的有两位，一位是在教学上深受欢迎的心理系美籍教授夏仁德，另一位是美籍新闻记者同时又是燕京大学新闻系的兼任讲师Edgar Snow。那时主张抗日统一战线的中国共产党已经在延安建立了根据地。就是在这次“一二·九学生运动”之后，Edgar Snow前往延安从而写出了他那部影响广泛的*Red Star Over China*。也是通过这次学生运动，夏仁德进一步获得了学生们的敬佩，因为他对饥寒交迫中长途奔跑去参加游行的学生们，表示了极大的关怀和支持。

“一二·九学生运动”后的半年，我在燕京大学本科毕业。毕业的前夕，顾颉刚教授告诉我说，学校从下学年起聘他兼任历史系的系主任，要我留校做他的助教。从1936年9月到1937年6月，顾颉刚教授别出心裁地开设了一门课，叫做“古迹古物调查实习”，每两个星期的星期六下午，要带学生到他所事先选定的古建筑或重要古遗址所在地，或在北京城内，或在城外近郊，进行实地考察。事先他要我先根据他所提供的参考资料和我自己的检阅所得，写成书面材料，印发给同学作参考。这对我是个极为难得的训练，也进一步启发了我对研究北京历史地理的兴趣。

1937年7月7日，日本侵略者阴谋制造了北平郊区的“卢沟桥事件”也就是“七七事变”，进而攻占北平城，全民抗日战争从此开始。这时顾颉刚教授为避免日寇的逮捕，仓促离开北平南下。其后，我得到哈佛燕京学社的奖学金，在洪煨莲教授的指导下，做硕士研究生。早自“卢沟桥事件”后，北平的国立大学如北京大学和清华大学都已南迁。燕京大学虽然处在沦陷区，因为是美国教会所创办，得以继续存在，犹如一片孤岛，使华北沦陷区的青年还可以升学进修。我自己作为一个研究生，首先遇到的一个问题，就是研究领域和论文题目的选择。实际上，早在大学本科写作论文时，煨莲师就向我建议过一个题目，因为他知道我的兴趣已经转入历史地理，希望我把明末清初著名学者顾炎武《天下郡国利病书》中的山东一省，加以续修，从清朝初年一直续到清朝末年和民国初期。至于选择山东一省，因为我的故乡在山东，而燕京图书馆所藏山东一省的地方志书又最为丰富。更重要的一点是这时我对顾炎武最初编写《天下郡国利病书》的目的，有了进一步的认识。他生在明朝末年，痛感社会政治腐败，人民生活于困苦患难之中。于是他立志编写《天下郡国利病书》。在全书的序文中，就写下了如下两句话：

> 感四国之多难，耻经生之乏术。

于是他开始提倡“经世致用”之学，痛斥当时读书人的虚浮学风，进而公开提倡“保天下者，匹夫有责”。并且大声疾呼：

> 今日者，拯斯人于涂炭，为万世开太平，此吾辈之责也。

及至清兵入关之后，夺取了明朝的统治权，他却始终反抗清朝的统治，不为所用。我在当时国难当头的情况下，进一步了解他一生的事迹，深受感动。我用了三年时间，在北平沦陷后国难深重的时刻，完成了《天下郡国利病书》山东一省的续编。煨莲师又及时推荐，把这篇硕士论文，作为《燕京学报》专号之十九付印出版，这本书在敌伪统治下包含着挽救祖国、重建家园的思想，如果不是在燕京大学和洪煨莲教授的指导下，是不可能问世的。

可是，就在这本书于1941年冬刚刚出版之后，正在入侵中国遭到中国人民坚决抵抗的日本侵略军，又突然于12月8日（北京时间），空中偷袭美国的珍珠港海军基地，发动了太平洋战争。这天一早，日本宪兵立即包围了燕京大学，继而进侵校园。全体学生与教职员被驱逐出校。美籍教职员被关押到集中营，部分教职员与学生被逮捕，关押在北平日本宪兵队本部，司徒雷登校长也被拘留。被捕的教职员共11人，我也在其中，是最年轻的一个。我的老师洪煨莲和邓之诚两位教授，也同遭逮捕。

这里需要说明一下我被捕的原因。

1940年6月我完成硕士学业后，已决定留校任教，并已开始备课。这时司徒校长忽然约我谈话，要我在教课之外还兼管学生工作，因为当时学校处在沦陷区，学生中所遇到的问题很多，有的学生因军事的影响，经济来源困难；有的学生在敌伪统治下不能安心学习等等，都需要给予关心和帮助。因为我在校做学生，已有八年时间，比较了解学生情况。经过三次商谈，最后决定成立一个“学生辅导委员会”，由深受学生钦佩的夏仁德教授做主席，也便于对付日本人来学校找麻烦。我做副主席，便于和学生联系。从文学院、理学院和法学院的年轻而又热心的教师中各选一人为委员，并特邀教务主任做秘书，便于和全校的教学领导机构，即院长会议进行联系。1940年6月21日司徒校长签字发给任命通知书（我个人收到的这份通知书，保存至今）。因此在我尚未走进课堂之前，就先走进了设在办公大楼的学生辅导委员会的办公室了。

我接受这项任务，也和燕京大学所给予我的教育有关。燕京大学的校训“因真理，得自由，以服务”是每个燕京学生都熟悉的。对于这个校训的理解，或浅或深可能各有不同，但是有一点却是每个学生都能或多或少亲身感受到的，那就是洋溢在校园中的服务精神。这种服务精神体现在师生关系上最为具体，也最为突出。校长所提出的成立学生辅导委员会的设想，也正是这种服务精神的一种具体体现。遵循校训的要求，对我来说也正是“义不容辞”。

从整体来说，燕京大学的学生生活，除去业务学习之外，也自有其特点。特别是国难日深学生的课外活动日益受到限制的时候，这一特点

也就格外突出，这就是基督教小团契的组织。燕京大学作为一所由外国教会举办的大学，师生的宗教信仰是自由的。这些小团契主要是由信教的学生带头组织，非教徒的学生可以自由参加，有的小团契还约请教师中的基督徒参加为顾问。小团契各有名称，有的与宗教有关，如“耶稣之友”、“光盐”，但并不是都如此。例如有一个小团契，开始是由六个人组成的，就叫做“六人团”。这些小团契富有生命力，因为除去研读《圣经》讨论教义之外，还涉及日常生活中的问题，更重要的是时事讨论。如果不是在小团契聚会的名义下，集体的时事讨论是不可能的，因为这在当时的敌伪统治下是被明令禁止的。后来又从小团契的组织形式，发展成一些专门讨论业务学习的小组。我还参加组织过一个与业务学习有关的小组，在每个周末大家聚到一起，互相介绍自己业务学习的心得，就叫做“星期六座谈会”。实际上这些学生中的组织，在当时的客观情况下，真正起到了学生自我教育的效果，而爱国主义的思想也就因之而得到传播。因为我自己在学生时代是这样走过来的，因此在学校组织上分担一些关心学生的工作，也是心甘情愿的。

在学生辅导委员会的办公室里，我和夏仁德轮流值班，开始了我们“业余”的学生工作。我做学生的时候，没有听过他的课，尽管他的“心理卫生”一课，有口皆碑，是深受学生欢迎的。现在我亲眼看到他在工作中的献身精神，我不由得想到燕京大学校训中所强调的“服务”这一点，在他身上已经具体地体现出来。他主要负责为经济上急需的学生安排各种各样的“自助工作”，因工种的不同，计时付酬。当时由于战火的影响，申请自助工作的学生与日俱增。他工作的负担也就有增无减。可是他对待学生的态度和他的工作精神，却使我永远难忘。

至于我所负责的主要工作，则是学生中所遇到的另一方面的问题，即随着抗日战争的日益发展，日本侵略者在沦陷区的“扫荡”也日益疯狂，这时有少数学生宁愿放弃个人学习的机会，要投身到抗敌救国的斗争中去。其中有我所熟悉的学生直接找到我，也有学生径直去找校长司徒雷登提出他们的设想。校长就要我具体负责这件事，但是他也确定了一个原则，只要是停学去参加“抗日统一战线”的工作，无论是自愿到大后方（即国民党统治区），或是到解放区（即共产党八路军的抗战区），都应一律对待，给予支持，包括联系路线和给予路费补助。至于要求转学或就业的，不在此例。就是根据这一原则，我开始了帮助学生离校的工作，只是不得公开进行，只能在严格守秘密的情况下，予以帮助。当时有一位国际友人艾黎在四川办起了“中国工业合作社”，主要是把内地分散的手工业组织起来，扩大生产，支援抗日。他的一位好朋友、燕京大学的英籍讲师赖朴吾已应约于1939年从燕京大学步行，穿越西山，经过八路军解放区前往四川，支援工业合作社的工作。在他的影

响下，有些在校学生自愿前往支援工业合作社。另外也有学生主动要求就近参加八路军解放区的直接抗日斗争。从1940年秋以后的一年间，我以学生辅导委员会副主席的身份，掩护这些学生分批离校。详细情况见于我所写的《燕京大学被封前后的片断回忆》，收入在公开出版的《日伪统治下的北平》[4]一书中。不幸的是，南下大后方的学生有人走漏了消息，因此我遭日本宪兵逮捕。1942年6月，被日本军事法庭判徒刑一年，缓刑三年，取保开释，但无迁居旅行自由。我的缓刑刚期满，日本侵略军战败投降。校长司徒雷登获释，立即召集成立复校委员会共七人，我虽年轻，也被邀参加。[5]复校委员会做出一项严格规定，即凡是在燕京大学被日寇封闭期间，参加了敌伪工作的，一律不得返校复职。这一规定，再一次显示了燕京大学坚持原则的严正立场，得到了全体师生的坚决拥护。

我在燕京学习、工作、生活了近二十年。燕京的一草一木对我是那样的熟悉，燕京的师长和同学对我是那样的难忘。我如今已是八十多岁的老人了，回顾过去，我写了《我从燕京大学来》。

⑩ I N MEMORY OF PROFESSOR P. M. ROXBY From the School of Geography of the University of Liverpool*

A telegram came this morning informing us of the sad news of Professor Roxby's death yesterday in China.

Thus, Professor Roxby lowered his guiding hand!

His help to China has stopped!

May he rest in peace forever!

A great educator of geography, a real scholar in his field and a true friend of China during the hard time of her suffering!

I sincerely believe that when his death is announced in the newspapers, all Chinese geographers, including my senior fellow workers, and especially those who were his pupils, will mourn his untimely death. All those who knew him will remember with grief the loss of a great personality.

I came to the School of Geography at the University of Liverpool drawn by his academic fame and achievements and hoping to further my training under his guidance, in the school established by him. I still remember my Chinese history teacher, Professor William Hung of Yenching University summoning me to say, "It is better to select a teacher than to select a school. But the most happy coincidence is a superior and accomplished teacher in a better school." Professor Roxby was undoubtedly a teacher of utmost accomplishment in the field of geographical education. Unfortunately, by the time I arrived in England, he had already retired from the university and departed for China as a representative of the British Council. In spite of his advanced years, he accepted the responsibility of promoting Sino-British cooperation in science and culture.

Professor Roxby has left behind the School he established and nurtured.

He never considered the possibility of dying in the far-off country which he sympathized with, and which he helped so much during her days of suffering. He offered his life to work in and friendship with China.

Early this morning I ran to the School amidst heavy snow taking with me the sad news. I raised my head and looked at the newly painted door of the School. There I saw the golden words inscribed above it: "School of Geography. Tears filled my eyes. I meditated mournfully: for several decades, hundreds of students of geography had been taught there by the old beloved professor. Now he lay dead in far-off China, my motherland.

I entered the building to seek my tutor, and Professor Roxby's successor, Professor H. C. Darby, intending to inform him of the sad news. I found him in the library reading room. Even before I opened my mouth I noticed his sadness.

"Professor Roxby is dead," I murmured. "Yes, I know," Professor Darby solemnly replied, "Mr. Smith phoned me early this morning. (Mr. W. Smith is a lecturer in Chinese geography whose own specialty is the economic geography of England.) We are waiting for more details. It is a pity indeed. We were to wait for his return in the summer to offer an open-to-all lecture on China." We left the reading room.

Later, I met Mr. F. J. Monkhouse, a young lecturer who taught me cartography. The first few words he said were "As a 'cultural ambassador'to China, Professor Roxby was the best one." I replied, "Undoubtedly. A cultural ambassador is actually an ambassador of friendship. It is not unusual that cultural ambassadors come before any political ambassadors. Such people are pioneers of their age. They are born not made. As a Chinese student of geography my sorrow is twofold. Personally I have lost a respected teacher in my field; as a Chinese student, my country has lost a great friend!" I declared this loudly, standing near the staircase, resembling someone who is making a public speech, but actually it was an expression of my uncontrollable sorrow.

I then went upstairs to the top storey of the building, to the Center for the Study of Chinese Geography. The Center was organized and established by Professor Roxby. Another Chinese fellow-student also came, a Mr. Wu Chuen-Chun from Nanking Central University, who was a lecturer of geography there. We exchanged information concerning Professor Roxby's death. At the end, he suddenly blurted out, "You know, immediately after the Japanese started the war, they tried to buy scrap iron and copper here in

England. I don't know how Professor Roxby came to know of this, but anyway, he wrote to the newspapers practically daily, disclosing the facts, and denouncing the Japanese until he finally stopped their plan." Thus even before England declared war against Japan, Professor Roxby had already become our comrade in the trench.

Just by chance, I looked back at the wall. There, hanging on it, was a glass frame with Chinese calligraphy by Professor Gu Jie-Gang, who had tutored me in China. It was the full text of "Yu Gong," one of the most ancient classics on Chinese geography, taken from *Shang Shu*, an ancient historical scripture. The frame was a present from two Chinese students of Professor Roxby at the opening of the Center. They are Professor Zhang Yin-Tang of Qinghua University at Peking, and Professor Lin Chao of Central University at Nanking. Looking at the glass frame, I couldn't help but reflect, "Now that Professor Roxby has gone, will this Center continue to function? Will the English geographers keep up their interest in studying China?" True sympathy is rooted in real understanding. Real understanding should be built upon thorough investigation and sound research. Professor Roxby is one person who obtained his real understanding of China through his thorough research. His understanding generated sincere sympathy which he offered whole-heartedly in his help to China. Thus, he was a true friend to China during her age of suffering. And now, Professor Roxby has left us. May we wish him rest in peace forever.

I recently wrote two essays for the Chinese periodical *History and Geography Weekly*. Both concerned Professor Roxby. The first is a Chinese translation of Professor Darby's Inaugural Lecture at the time he succeeded Professor Roxby as Dean of the School of Geography at Liverpool University. It contains the following passage concerning Professor Roxby:

> It is customary in an inaugural lecture to render homage to one's predecessors. It is a good custom. But it would be impertinent of me to praise Professor Roxby's 40 years' work here; his own creation, the School of Geography with its long line of devoted students, speaks for itself. Numbered among his students are not only those who have been fortunate enough to study in Liverpool. Others in other universities in Britain are his pupils, and have gained from his idealism and humanity. Beyond Britain, and particularly in China and Egypt, the same generous influence has been felt. Professor Roxby's work on China has not only enriched our knowledge in the more technical geographic sense, but has deepened our understanding of Chinese civilization.

Professor Roxby has gone, and now it is through words such as those of Professor Darby's that we feel his affection and guidance. I admit that when I translated Professor Darby's words I felt he had spoken what I wanted very

much to express from my own heart.

Once again I remember the many people who expressed their affection and respect for Professor Roxby since my arrival in England. Here is a letter from a former English student of Professor Roxby, a mother of two children who graduated from the School of Geography at Liverpool:

> I too studied geography at Liverpool many years ago under Professor Roxby, for whom I have great affection and respect. It is a pity that he is not in Liverpool now.

I would like to change the last sentence of her letter to "It is a pity that he is not in this world now." I know she will mourn for him. Her words not only express her own feeling but that of his many friends in England. Professor Roxby was not only a scholar of geography, but a great teacher in geographical education. As a great teacher he not only offered us his knowledge, but also, in Professor Darby's words, nurtured us with his ideals and personality, which is the most important thing.

As an educator, Professor Roxby leaves behind him such a deep impression and influence that he and his achievements will live after him forever. Truly, the spark of his physical life is no more, but his "ideals and personality" will live and be carried on by those who succeed him.

For me, a student who came from far-off China, hoping to be taught by Professor Roxby personally, this hope will now never be realized. Nevertheless, the moment I arrived at the School, I found myself surrounded by his voice, his image and his influences. This is the place where he had worked for forty years. Every corner reflects his image of warm-heartedness and far-sightedness. Recently, for example, a dance party was organized in honour of Mr. and Mrs. Scott (the leader of the Liberal Party). A few hundred people were invited. I was surprised to also get an invitation and found out that they had done so because Professor Roxby had written from China requesting help for me. Even though I knew nothing about dancing, I nevertheless attended. There I met many of Professor Roxby's friends. All of them talked of him when I was presented to them. I could not help but have the impression that there was an inseparable relationship between every Chinese student here and Professor Roxby. From what these friends told me, I realized what deep affection and consideration the English people have for China, and what influence Professor Roxby has had on his friends. After the party, I wanted to write Professor Roxby a letter, thanking him for his kindness, even though we never got to meet. I have the following draft written in my diary, "Although I had not the opportunity to personally meet

you before I left China, I nevertheless still seem to be meeting you everywhere in England." I had intended to write this to him, but later changed my mind, thinking it not so polite to say so, despite its truthfulness. Thus I delayed mailing the letter and it remained undelivered.

In my second essay for the *History and Geography Weekly* titled"A Review of Wartime English Geographers and Their Present State,"I mentioned the three volumes on China edited by Professor Roxby. Although this work was completed in collaboration with others, it is chiefly the fruit of his own research on Chinese geography.

Professor Roxby wrote many scholarly papers and theses, but never published a book (with the exception of a booklet). Yet all recent English texts on Chinese geography, without exception, mention his name. In addition to his writings for periodicals, he wrote the section on Chinese geography for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Because he never published a book on Chinese geography, not many people in China know him. His achievements are rooted in the field of teaching geography rather than as an author. Yet his academic achievements in geography cannot be denied. An editorial published in the first issue of the *History and Geography Weekly* contains the following passage:

> Many of us consider history and geography as academic topics only for historians and geographers, but not for common people. Such a comprehension is incomplete. If not corrected, it will hinder the development and influence of the study and research of history and geography. Our periodical is preparing to take up the responsibility of media in the popularization of historical and geographical studies. We hope to establish a normal relationship between the research of history and geography and the education of history and geography.

In the eyes of modern geographers, Professor Roxby was the first colleague to accomplish the task of promoting the desired normal relationship between research and education in geography.

On hearing the sad news of Professor Roxby's passing away, I cannot help leaving my daily work undone and planning this short passage to express my feelings about an unforgettable memory. By sending it to this periodical, I hope Professor Roxby's life and work may be an inspiration to all readers. However, do forgive my toughness in writing.

Let us remember Professor Roxby as a great teacher of geography in our time! Let us remember him as our true friend, a friend of China when she was suffering. May we wish that his blessings, ideals and personality be with us, forever!

February 18, 1947. A very cold day.

拾　悼罗士培教授——寄自罗教授手创之利物浦大学地理学院*

今晨电信传来，散布了罗士培教授于昨日在我国首都逝世的噩耗。

罗士培教授放下了他的手！

罗士培教授停止了他对中国的援助！

罗士培教授永远安息了！

一代地理教育的大师，一个真正的学者，一位患难中的中国伟大的良友！

我相信，当这个噩耗在祖国的报纸上传布出来的时候，国内的地理学家——尤其是得以亲炙其教益的诸前辈——一定要为这个不幸的消息流泪。地理学家以外的，其他真正认识罗士培教授的人，也一定要为这个不幸的消息而同声哀悼！

作者今天来到罗士培教授所手创的利物浦大学地理学院继续受益，原是由于先生的吸引。我还记得当初我的老师洪煨莲教授对我说过这样的话："择校不如投师，投师要投名师。"像罗士培教授这样的学者，也算是地理学界的一位名师了。但是，不幸的很，当我来到英国的时候，罗教授却已经跑到中国去。他这次丢下了他手创的利物浦地理学院，以其退休以后的古稀之年，代表英国的交流协会，来到中国，目的乃是在于促进中英两国科学文化事业的合作。但是没想到他老先生就这样死在了他的工作上，他为他所爱的患难中的友邦，奉献了他自己的生命！

今天早上，我带着这个悲哀的消息，在冰天雪地中跑到学校，抬头看看那所刚刚油漆过的大门，与门额上所写的"利物浦大学地理学院"的两行金字，不禁潸然泪下。"在这里出入了几十年，栽培了成百成千个地理学生的那位老教授，他死在了我的祖国！"我心里默默的哀悼。

我走进大门去，找我的导师德贝教授（罗士培教授的继任者），预备把这不幸的消息告诉他。找他一直到书画室，还没等我开口，他已经是满面愁容了。他知道我这么早跑进来找他是什么事，他也一定看透了我哭丧的面孔。

"罗士培教授故去了！"我几乎哭出来。

"是的，"他镇静的说，"史密士先生（英国经济地理及中国地理讲

师，罗教授的学生与同事）一早就打电话来了，现在我们只在等更详细的消息。真可悲，我还盼望他夏天回来，给我们作关于中国地理的公开讲学呢！”

我从书画室出来，正好遇见教我“制图学”的青年讲师孟先生，他开头一句就说：

“我们没有比罗士培教授更好的人选，作为我们的‘文化使节’到中国去了！”

“不错，”我回答说，“‘文化使节’是真正的友善的使节，‘文化使节’是常常走在‘政治使节’的前面的。这样的人，都是时代的先驱，可遇而不可求！在中国学生的立场上，我的悲哀是双重的。在我个人，我丢了一位素所景仰的地理教授；在我的祖国，我们丧失了一位伟大的良友！”我站在楼梯上，好像是对他作公开演讲，实在是发抒我自己不可抑止的悲哀。

于是，我上楼，爬到四层楼顶上残存下来的“中国地理研究室”，中国同学吴传钧兄（南京中央大学地理系讲师）也来了，我们互道罗士培教授逝世的消息。最后，他跳起来说：

“你知道么？卢沟桥战事爆发之后，日本人在这里设法收买废铜烂铁。这事情不知道如何给罗士培教授知道了，他天天在报纸上写文章，大施攻击，一直到把日本人的收买工作完全破坏为止！”

“这样说起来，在他作‘文化使节’之前，在英日还没有宣战之前，他已经作了我们的‘战友’了！”

这时，我蓦然回头，看见挂在墙上的大玻璃镜中，顾颉刚师所手写的《尚书·禹贡》全文，这是当“中国地理研究室”成立时，罗士培教授的高足张印堂教授（清华大学）与林超教授（中央大学）所共同赠送的纪念。我心里不禁想道：“罗教授去世了，英国研究中国地理的中心，还会在这里继续么？英国的地理学者还会像以前那样对中国研究热心么？”真正的同情，基于真正的了解，真正的了解，基于真正的研究。罗教授是真正由研究而了解，由了解而同情，由同情而援助中国的一位患难中伟大的良友！如今他放下了他的工作，他永久安息了！

在我最近寄给《史地周刊》的两篇文稿中，都会涉及罗士培教授。第一是拙译德贝教授的就任演讲。在那篇演讲中，德贝教授对他的前任罗士培教授曾经说过这样的话：

> 在就任演讲中，照例是要对前任表示敬意的。但要本人在这里称赞罗士培教授在本校四十年的工作，未免有些鲁莽。罗教授所手创的地理学院，以及其专诚献身的满门桃李，已自昭彰在人耳目。何况，出身在他门墙之下的，还不仅限于幸能身临利物浦以得亲炙教授的人呢！英国其他大学的好多人，也都是他的小学生，并且因他的理想与人性，而深受陶冶。英国之外，特别是在中国与埃及，也同样沾受了他丰厚的赐惠。罗士培教授关于中国的著作，不但在专门的地理学的意义上，增加了我们的知识，并且使我

们更进一步了解了中国的文化。

现在，罗教授已经去世了。在他去世之后，我们再重读德贝教授对他的评语，尤觉无限亲切。当我最初翻译这一段的时候，我立刻觉得德贝教授也说出了我心中所要说的话；同时，我也立刻回想到自从我来到英国之后，有多少人曾当面对我提起了他们对于罗士培教授的亲切爱慕之情。不久之前，我还接到了未曾晤面的一位英国朋友的信，她是早年在利物浦大学地理学院毕业的一位女生，现在已经作了两个孩子的母亲，在她的信里，她曾这样写道：

……知道你是来研究地理的，尤为高兴。好多年前，我也是在利物浦大学从罗士培教授读地理的，对于他，我心中怀有无限的爱与敬！真可惜，他现时不在利物浦了！

刻下我找出此信，试译在这里的时候，这最后一句，应该改作："真可惜，他已经不在人世了！"她知道这消息时，一定要痛哭一场！

这位朋友的信，不只代表她个人，在英国，不知道有多少人要对这位老教授说出同样的话来："对于他，我心中怀有无限的爱与敬！"是的，他不但是一位地理学者，他更是一位地理教育的大师。一位大师所能授予人的，不止是他的学问，更重要的乃是他人格的感化，乃是他的"理想与人性"的"陶冶"（德贝教授评语）。世之为人师者，果能予人以如此的影响，果能在人心中留下这样的印象，即遗教在人，虽死犹生！他现在生命的火焰停熄了，但是他的"理想与人性"，却要永远活在后继者的心上！

对罗士培教授，我是一个万里投师而未得亲炙教益的小学生；但是在我来到此处之后，我好像无处不听见他的声音，无处不看见他的容颜。这是他工作了四十年的地方，在这地方的每一个角落里，好像都在反映着这一代大师的和煦慈爱深厚博大的音容。比如前本地自由党的领袖司各特夫妇举行社交跳舞大会，被约请的有数百人，承他们的好意也一定要我去，说是他们的朋友罗士培教授从南京写信给他们，要他们多多关照我。他们认为这是交结社会人士的好机会，所以一定要我去。我虽然不会跳舞，也只好勉强去了。到了那里之后，又遇见了许多罗士培教授的朋友。他们看见我，都谈起罗士培教授，好像每一个中国学生都和罗教授有不可分离的关系似的。从他们的谈话中可以知道，罗士培教授实在代表了英国社会人士对中国最高尚最真实最友爱的关切。而此地的人则又似乎无不传染了罗士培教授的影响。当晚回来之后，我想写一封信，谢谢罗教授，因为他虽然知道我来，却是未曾见面，承他如此惦记，实可感激。当时我曾在手册上写下这样两句话："离国之前，未能谒见你，可是来到英国之后，却又无处不遇见你！"但又觉得这样的写法，虽出至诚，然而对于一位年长的前辈，似乎不够尊敬，因此竟然搁置。现在，我再想这样写去时，也没人看了！

其次，在我最近寄给《史地周刊》的第二篇文稿，《战时英国地理学界之回顾及其现状》中，我又提到罗士培教授在“地理丛书”中所主编的《中国地理》三大册，这虽非他独立完成，可是他一生对于中国地理研究的结晶，应当都在这里了。罗教授一生写了不少文章，却没有出版一部书（小册子除外），但是近年以来，凡讨论中国地理的西洋著作，几乎没有一册不提到他。除去在各地理杂志上他所发表的论文之外，早年《大英百科全书》中，关于中国地理的一部分，也是由他执笔的。只因他对中国的研究未出专书，所以国内的一般读者，反而不大知道他。至于他最大的贡献，我觉得与其说是在专门学术上的研究，毋宁说是在地理教育上的推动；与其说他是一位地理学专家，毋宁说他是一位地理教育的大师；自然，他在学术上的贡献也是不可泯灭的。

本刊的编者在第一期的发刊辞上，曾向读者诸君宣告说：

> 一般人提到史地，马上觉得这是史地学专家的专门学问，普通人不敢也不能问津。这种不健全的现象，若不加以纠正，将使史地研究失掉意义和作用。本刊愿意负责介绍人的责任，作些普及化的工作，使史地研究与史地教育发生正常的关系。

在现代地理学家中，罗士培教授可以说是作到了“使地理学的研究与地理学的教育发生正常的关系”的第一人！

作者今日得此噩报，痛悼万端，不得不扔下平日的工作，将痛苦抑郁之情，有所抒发，所以信笔写下了这篇追悼的文字。又因为罗教授一生的工作，正是本刊努力的榜样，所以又大胆把这篇私人追悼的文字，寄呈本刊的读者。假如语无伦次，亦是情不自禁，望读者诸君原谅。最后让我们纪念这位当代地理教育的大师！

让我们纪念这位患难中的中国的良友！

愿他的遗泽长存人世！

愿他的“理想”与“人性”继续不朽！

一九四七年二月十八日大寒中

⑪ ADDRESS AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY*

It is a rare honour to speak on behalf of the graduates and honorary graduates to express our gratitude to the University of Liverpool for all we have received from her in training of our minds and increasing our awarenesses.

The young graduates among us will be discovering more and more of this debt as the years pass by.

Others of us must reminisce.

My membership of the University should have begun in 1940 or 1941. In 1939 Yenching University (a private university in Beijing now absorbed into the National Peking University) awarded me the Blue Funnel Scholarship, established by the Alfred Holt Shipping Company. All told the scholarship has been held by six persons working in Physics, Statistics, Economics and Geography.

I remember clearly how one morning in the autumn of 1938, my professor, the distinguished Chinese historian, William Hung, summoned me to his office and said, "Choosing a teacher is more important than choosing a school. The happiest thing is when the good teacher you need is to be found in a good school." While I was wondering what he was talking about, he continued, "We have nominated you for a scholarship for advanced study in the School of Geography of Liverpool University. There you will find a world-renowned teacher of geography in a university of world-wide connections. He is Professor Percy Maude Roxby."

It was not to be, because the Second World War broke out. In 1941, instead of sitting in a Liverpool University lecture hall, I found myself in a Japanese army prison, along with Professor Hung and other colleagues(including Dr. Lin Chia-Tung, an earlier Blue Funneller who studied Statistics here).

The link between Liverpool University and Yenching University

survived the war, and in 1946 my dream of coming to Liverpool University was realized, but seven years late. By this time Professor Roxby had retired after 40 years of service. Ironically, he had gone to China as representative of the British Council. Professor H.C. Darby succeeded him as Head of the School of Geography. His Inaugural Lecture "The Theory and Practice of Geography" made such an impression on me that I translated it into Chinese and it was published in Tientsin in the *History and Geography Weekl*y, a supplement of the famous *Yi Shi Newspaper* on March 18, 1947. Alas! that same issue also contained an essay I wrote commemorating Professor Roxby who had just died in China. I have brought a photograph of that issue of the *Weekly* together with an English version of my article, for presentation to the Library of the School of Geography.

The many new ideas on historical geography that Professor Darby developed in his teaching have been influential in China, producing a new school of study that has grown especially fast in the past decade. Just before I came abroad early this year, we established a new Research Centre on Historical Geography along these lines in Peking University.

There is a Chinese proverb 饮水思源: "When drinking water remember the water source." I published a book—a collection of my scientific papers which bear on some aspects of the socialist reconstruction of China. It was natural and proper for me to borrow the title of Professor Darby's Inaugural Lecture, simply adding the word "Historical": "The Theory and Practice of Historical Geography." I am giving a copy of the first edition of this little book to the Harold Cohen Library, which itself is a "water source" so ocean-like that I almost drowned in it nearly 40 years ago.

My key thought for this unforgettable day is pride and gratitude that Liverpool University has been such a bounteous source of the living water of creative thought that flows from people to people and gives us all hope for the future.

Some 40 years ago, just after the Second World War, Professor Darby said it for his particular discipline, ending his Inaugural Lecture with the following words with which I would like to end mine:

> As I stand here amid the devastation of war on Brownlow Hill, and in Liverpool, a city with contacts as world-wide as those of any city, I cannot help but think that the point of view of the geographers both abroad and at home is not without some bearing on the New World we hope will be our future.

Thank you.

拾壹　1984年7月4日在英国利物浦大学毕业典礼上代表应届毕业生及荣誉学位获得者致辞*

能够作为毕业生和荣誉毕业生代表发言，以表达对利物浦大学对我们心灵的训练和智识的提升的感激之情，我倍感荣幸。

随着时间的推移，我们中间的年轻毕业生将会越来越多地体会到这份感激。

其他人将会铭记一生。

我跟利物浦大学的联系应该是从1940或1941年开始的。1939年燕京大学（北京的一所私立大学，现在已经并入国立北京大学）颁给我阿尔弗雷德·霍特船运公司设立的蓝烟囱奖学金。先后有六位从事物理学、统计学、经济学和地理学研究的学者获此殊荣。

我清楚地记得1938年秋的一个早晨，我的老师，著名的中国历史学家洪业教授是怎样把我喊到他的办公室，对我说，“择校不如投师，投师要投名师。”当我还在琢磨他说的是什么的时候，他继续说：“我们已经提名你接受去利物浦大学地理学院深造的奖学金了。在这所跟世界广泛联系的大学里，你将会认识一位世界知名的地理学老师。他就是罗士培教授。”

但事情没这么简单。因为第二次世界大战爆发了。1941年，我非但没有坐在利物浦大学的讲堂里，却和洪教授以及其他同事（包括林嘉通博士，之前在利物浦大学攻读统计学的蓝烟囱奖学金得主）一起被关进了日本军队的监狱。

利物浦大学和燕京大学之间的纽带在战火中幸存了下来，1946年我来利物浦大学的梦想终于在七年之后实现。这个时候罗士培教授已经服务四十年退休了。而命运弄人，他却作为英国使馆文化教育处的代表去了中国。德贝教授接替他担任地理学院的院长。他的就任演讲“地理学的理论与实践”给我留下了非常深刻的印象，于是我把它译成中文并于1947年3月18号发表在天津著名的《益世报》的副刊《史地周刊》。同一期还发表了我写的缅怀刚刚在中国去世的罗士培教授的文章。这次我带来了这一期周刊的翻拍照片以及我文章的英译本，将呈献给地理学院图书馆。

德贝教授在教学中形成的关于历史地理学的很多新观点已经在中国产生了很大的影响，并催生了一个在过去十年间飞速发展的新学派。就在今年我出国之前，北京大学新设立了一个这方面的历史地理学研究中心。

中国有句成语叫饮水思源——喝水的时候要记得水的源泉。我出版了一本有关中国社会主义重建若干问题的科学论文集。我顺理成章地借用了德贝教授就任演讲的标题，仅仅加上了“历史”这个词——《历史地理学的理论与实践》。我将拙著第一版赠送给哈罗德·科恩图书馆，四十年前正是在这座图书馆徜徉时我几乎被浩瀚的知识海洋所淹没。

这难忘的一天中我最深的感受是欢愉和感激，利物浦大学是创造性思想的宽广丰沛的活水源头，这活水在人们之间流淌着，带给我们所有的人对未来的希望。

大约四十年前，就在二战后，德贝教授就他的学科说了如下这番话，以此结束他的演说，而我正想用它来结束我的发言：

> 当我站在这里，置身布朗洛山的满目疮痍，在利物浦这样一个跟任何其他城市一样与世界紧密联系的城市，我禁不住想到海内外地理学者的观点都不会不涉及一个新的世界，而它正是我们希望的未来。

谢谢。

邵冬冬　译

⑫ HOU RENZHI's ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS FOR THE GEORGE DAVIDSON MEDAL*

When I was informed that the American Geographical Society was going to award me The George Davidson Medal, I had not thought that in these late years of my life I would receive such a high international honor. This happy news has also brought a considerable and important attention on the part of many of my colleagues in the circle of Chinese geography. I wanted very much to come and to accept this prestigious award personally. Yet, because of my poor health, I cannot but request my good friend, Dr. Diane Obenchain, who is a Visiting Professor at Peking University and who is working with me cooperatively on a project, to represent me. However, if Dr. Murphy or any other member of The Honors Committee of The American Geographical Society has the opportunity to come to China, I ardently hope that we can meet each other at Peking University so that I may in person express my heartfelt gratitude for this award.

What I would like to first explain is that George Babcock Cressey, who, in 1952, was the first to receive The George Davidson Medal, had, in fact, great influence upon me from the very start. Sixty-three years ago, in 1936, the year I graduated from Yenching University, I was fortunate enough to read Cressey's book *China's Geographic Foundations*. This drew my profound interest and is one of the main reasons why I was moved to change from strictly historical studies to research in historical geography. However, because of the eight-year Anti-Japanese War, it was not until the summer of 1946 that I was able to go as planned to Liverpool University in England to specialize in the study of historical geography under the expert guidance of Professor H. C. Darby.

In 1949, Professor G. B. Cressey, as the newly-elected President of the International Geographical Union, was invited to Liverpool University to give a guest lecture entitled "China's Prospects." This occasion remains quite distinct in my memory. The day was April 27th, in the afternoon. A great

many people came to hear the lecture, which indicated a tremendous interest in China's future. I also was very moved by the lecture. Professor Darby presided over the lecture and at his request I was invited to give a few words in gratitude on behalf of the audience at the end of the lecture. This was the first time that I had occasion to meet Professor Cressey and it has remained an unforgettable memory for the rest of my life.

What should be mentioned especially here is that it was only five months and three days after Professor Cressey's lecture that New China was born on October 1st, 1949. And it was just three days before the birth of New China that I returned to Beijing from England.

When New China established the "Beijing City Planning Committee"for reconstruction of the capital, Beijing, I had the honor to be invited as a member of the committee. For research reference and for the purposes of planning construction, my first responsibility was to make geographical investigation of the newly-designated cultural and educational region of the capital. This important region in the northwest suburbs of Beijing city, called the Haidian, was the famous terrain of the summer palaces of the Qing period, and has become today the location of Peking University, Qinghua University, the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Renmin University, the National Library, the Central University of Nationalities, the Agricultural University and several others.

Since the days of those initial tasks on the "Beijing City Planning Committee", fifty years have passed. During these fifty years, except for the few years that I participated in investigations of China's Northwestern desert areas, most of my research work has concentrated upon the historical geography of Beijing city. My intention has been to make a contribution to the planning and construction of the capital.

During the past fifty years, China has undergone enormous changes. Particularly during the last twenty years of reform and opening up to the larger world, cultural exchanges between China and other countries have increased daily. Now, as I look back over the past twenty years, during which I have had the opportunity to visit the United States twelve times, I feel greatly honored to have been invited as a Fulbright Scholar in Residence to give lectures at Illinois University during 1981-1982. I will always remember that significant time.

Following this, I received a letter of invitation from Dr. Alison Casarett, Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School of Cornell University,

requesting that I be their Chinese Scholar in Residence during the years 1983-1984 under the Luce Foundation Program for China Studies. In her letter she said, "I note your recent strong interest in the comparative design and layout of the older city portions of Beijing and Washington, D.C." What she said was exactly true. Therefore, her invitation was indeed a precious opportunity for me. Not only did I spend one semester doing in-house research on the campus of Cornell University, which is full of natural beauty, but I also, while on the "Cornell in Washington Program," was able to carry out on-location investigation of the central part of the city of Washington, D.C. In the end, I was able to complete my piece for Chinese readers entitled, "From Beijing to Washington, D.C.—Explorations into Thematic Design in City Planning."

To look back on the past is at the same time to look ahead to future developments. This year I am eightyeight years old. As I look back to that year when G.B. Cressey gave his lecture "China's Prospects," a new picture now unfolds before my eyes. To have this high honor of receiving The George Davidson Medal is truly a great encouragement to me. I will continue to work hard in carrying out research on the historical geography of Beijing. At the same time I join hands and go forward together with the next generation of excellent young scholars. I am very grateful to Professor Diane Obenchain who has represented me in reading my address to you today and extended once again my heartfelt respect and gratitude toward the Council of the American Geographical Society for awarding me this most precious honor. Thank you.

拾贰　在美国地理学会荣誉委员会授奖仪式上的发言*

在我获悉美国地理学会将要授予我乔治·戴维森勋章的时候，我没有想到在我人生的晚年能够获得如此崇高的国际荣誉。这个喜讯，也引起了中国地理界众多好友的高度重视。我极愿意亲自前来接受这一崇高的荣誉，只因健康关系，不能成行，只好拜托在北京大学任教并且和我有合作关系的好朋友欧迪安博士前来代我领奖。但是如果墨菲博士或是美国地理学会荣誉委员会其他负责者，能有机会前来中国，我殷切希望能在北京大学相会，使我得以亲自表示我衷心的感谢。

在这里我愿意首先说明的是，早在1952年第一位乔治·戴维森勋章的获得者葛德石，原是对我很有影响的一位学者。六十三年前的1936年，也就是我在大学毕业的那一年，我有幸阅读了他的《中国地理基础》。这本书深深吸引了我，也是促使我从历史学转向历史地理学研究的原因之一。只是随后发生的连续八年的抗日战争，使我直到1946年夏才得以前往英国利物浦大学地理系，在德贝教授的指导下，专攻历史地理学。1949年，葛德石教授作为新当选的国际地理学会的主席，应邀前来利物浦大学作学术讲演，题目是“中国的前途”，非常引人注目，时间是在4月27日下午，当时到会的听众很多，这表明人们十分关切中国的前途。我自己听了很受鼓舞。德贝教授主持了这次演讲会，并要我在讲演完毕后，代表听众致谢辞。这是我和葛德石教授第一次会面，使我终生难忘。

现在应该特别指出的是当时葛德石教授演讲的时间，距离1949年10月1日新中国的诞生，只有5个月零3天，也正是在新中国诞生的前三天，我从英国回到北京。

新中国重新建都北京，成立了“北京市都市计划委员会”，我有幸应邀作为委员。我所承担的第一项任务，就是为首都新定的文化教育区，进行地理考察，作为规划设计的参考。

现在五十年的时间已经过去，在这五十年间，除去有几年的时间我参加了我国西北地区的沙漠考察之外，主要的研究工作，都集中在北京城的历史地理研究上，力求为首都的规划建设，作出贡献。

过去的这五十年，中国发生了巨大的变化，特别是近二十年，在改革开放的新形势下，中外文化的交流，日益增加，现在回顾这二十年

来，我曾有十二次来美国访问。其中我深感荣幸的是1981—1982年，我曾应邀作为富布莱特驻校学者前往伊利诺伊大学讲学，这是我永远难忘的。

其后，我又接到康奈尔大学副校长兼研究生院院长艾莉森·卡萨特博士的邀请信，约我作为驻校学者受卢斯基金会中国研究计划资助于1983—1984学年访问康奈尔大学。信中还特别有如下几句话："我注意到您最近对北京城与华盛顿城城市布局设计对比研究的强烈兴趣。"她讲的确是事实。因此，她的邀请，对我来说，实在是一个难得的机会，结果我不仅在康奈尔大学富有自然之美的校园里度过了一个学期的室内研究，而且还得以按照"康奈尔大学华盛顿研究计划"对华盛顿城的中心部分作了实地考察。我终于完成了为中国读者写的论文，题目就是"从北京到华盛顿——城市设计主题思想试探"。

现在回顾过去，正是为了展望未来。今年我已88岁，回顾当年葛德石所用过的讲题"中国的前途"，又有新的景象展现在眼前。我能荣获乔治·戴维森勋章，正是对我极大的鼓励，我将在北京历史地理的研究上继续努力，并和后起之秀携手前进。我非常感谢欧迪安教授代我宣读我的讲话稿，并代替我再一次向美国地理学会理事会表示我的敬意和感激之情。谢谢。

NOTES　注释

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* 中文稿在《历史地理》（第二辑）发表时，作者曾在本文开头简短作注，现照录如下："1980年春，作者应加拿大不列颠哥伦比亚大学的邀请，前往进行短期讲学，曾作公开讲演三次，现在把有关北京历史地理两讲的中文原稿，略加删改合为一篇，重新标题，发表在这里，请国内读者指正。"本版收录的英文即为作者演讲稿原文，由打印稿转录而来。——编者注

1 清建国于1616年，初称后金，1636年始改国号为清，1644年入关。同一问题重复出现不另作说明。各篇文章创作、发表年代不同，人名、地名的拼写、译法或有出入，在单篇文章内保持一致。——编者注

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* 中文稿刊于《城市问题》1984年第6辑，作者曾在本文开头简短作注，现照录如下："美国芝加哥大学地理系为该系著名地理学家C. D.哈瑞斯教授（Chauncy D. Harris）的退休编辑出版了纪念性学术论文集《现代城市变化的世界模式》（*World Patterns of Modern Urban Change*, Michael P. Conzen ed., Chicago: University of Chicago, 1986）。世界各大洲（除南极洲外）都有地理学家应邀撰稿。此文即该论文集21篇论文中的一篇，用英文刊出，这是中文原稿。"——编者注

1 Paul Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters: A Preliminary Enquiry into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1971, p. 425.

2 Later the name was changed to Jing Shan (Scenic Mountain) and also Mei Shan(Coal Hill).

2 后来改名景山，俗称煤山。

3 During this period, the canal formerly outside the Royal City's east wall was incorporated into the Royal City, and shipping on the Grand Canal was thus unable to reach Ji-shui Tan. The lower part of Ji-shui Tan was connected with Tai-ye Chi to the south, and the aqueduct which had been specifically created to supply water to Tai-ye Chi was abandoned. Altogether, the city's water system regressed under the Ming Dynasty's management.

3 这时连同原在皇城东墙之外的运河渠道，也被包入城中，从此大运河的船只，再也不能驶入积水潭，积水潭的下游又恢复了南接太液池的故道，而太液池先前专用的引水渠也就日渐湮废。因此从河渠水道的调整来说，明北京城较前是退步了。

4 The name "Shan Chuan Tan" was later changed to "Xian-nong Tan" (Altar of the God of Agriculture).

4 山川坛后来又改称先农坛。

5 During the Ming Dynasty, the Tian-an Men was called the Cheng-tian Men.

5 明曰承天门。

6 Steen Eiler Rasmussen, *Towns and Buildings*, paperback edition. Cambridge, Mass.: First MIT Press, 1969. Preface, p. v.

7 Edmund N. Bacon, *Design of Cities*, revised edition. London: Penguin Books, 1980, p. 244.

8 The actual work, of course, was not without problems. For instance, in the cases of the demolition of the old city wall and most of the old gates and the filling of the moat, there was serious disagreement in the beginning. From today's point of view, these are simply irretrievably lost.

8 自然，在实际工作中，也不是全无问题的。例如旧日城墙和大部分城楼的拆除以及部分护城

河的填塞，在最初就是有争议的，现在看来已是无可弥补的损失。

9 See *The Beijing Daily* (*Beijing Ribao*), August 3, 1983, and *The Beijing Evening News*(*Beijing Wanbao*), August 4, 1983.

9 见1983年8月3日《北京日报》和8月4日《北京晚报》。

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* 英文稿原发表于*China City Planning Review* (Sept. 1995)，文前摘要如下："This article has made comments on the three milestones in the construction of Beijing City: the Forbidden City, the Tian'anmen Square and the Public Building Complex outstandingly embodying the new style and features of the capital of the 21st century, along the northern extension line of the middle axis of the whole city. According to this demonstration, the author has further pointed out that the development of the third milestone is in fact the break-through in Beijing's traditional thought of design and demonstrated the origin of this traditional thought of design in accordance with the discovery in archaeology."

中文稿自北京大学院士文库《侯仁之文集》（1998）选出。——编者注

1 Zhu Wenyi, *Space, Mark, City*, China Building Industry Publishing House, 1993, p. 167.

1 朱文一：《空间·符号·城市》，中国建筑工业出版社，1993年，第167页。

2 Zhu Wenyi has the narration. Please see "On the Discussion of the Theory of City Sketch" in *Space*, *Mark*, *City*, 1993, p. 248.

2 朱文一同志有记述，参见朱文一：《空间·符号·城市》，中国建筑工业出版社，1993年，第248页。

3 Hou Renzhi, "On the Remolding of the Old Beijing City," in *City Planning Review*(in Chinese), 1983, No. 1, pp. 20-23.

3 侯仁之：《论北京旧城的改造》，载《城市规划》，1983年，第l期。

4 Hou Renzhi, "The Inheritance and Development of Beijing Forbidden City on Planning and Design," in *National Studies*, 1993, No. 1.

4 侯仁之：《北京紫禁城在规划设计上的继承与发展》，载《国学研究》，第一卷，1993年。

5 In accordance with the discovery, there are two palace relics. On the northeast, approximately 150 meters from the No. 1 palace relic, there is No. 2 palace relic, which is smaller in scale but much the same of the model. See Erlitou Work Team, Archaeology Research Institute, Chinese Academy of Science, "Brief Report on the Early Shang Dynasty Palace Ruins Excavation in Yanshi County, Henan Province," *Archaeology*, 1972, No. 4.

5 中国科学院考古研究所二里头工作队：《河南偃师二里头早商宫殿遗址发掘简报》，载《考古》，1974年，第4期。按该文所载上述发现共有二处宫殿遗址，另有二号宫殿遗址，在一号宫殿遗址东北约150米，规模较小而形制略同。

6 China Academy of Architectural Sciences, *Ancient Architecture of China*, China Building Industry Publishing House, 1983.

6 中国建筑科学研究院：《中国古建筑》，中国建筑工业出版社，1983年。

7 "Xue Sui Zhai Xuan", *Yu Sui Zhen Jing*, Vol. 19. Block printed at the period of Emperor Jiajing of the Ming Dynasty. Revised version by Li Wentian of the Qing Dynasty.

7 《玉髓真经》卷十九《穴髓摘玄》，明嘉靖刻，清李文田旧校本。

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* 英文稿前原有关于本研究的背景介绍，现照录如下：Comparison between Chinese and foreign municipalities is one of the most important aspects of scientific urban research. Such research has only begun in China. It will help us to improve the process and development of urban construction, to inherit better the wealth of China's culture, to absorb more appropriately the cultural achievements of foreign countries, and thus, to be able to create the kind of Chinese city and urban

culture that will bear the special characteristics of the Age of Socialism. Professor Hou's paper "From Beijing to Washington—A Contemplation on the Concept of Municipal Planning" is a persuasive study based on a comparison between Chinese and foreign municipalities. He discusses the subject in the aspects of historical, cultural and chronological differences. He points out the special features of Beijing and Washington and the development of the basic conceptual theme in their designs and plans. He puts forth a detailed comparison between the two cities and offers ingenious suggestions on the future construction and development of Beijing. Professor Hou made a special study in 1984 at the College of Architecture in Cornell University on the subject of the comparison between Beijing and Washington, the choice of the sites of the capitals and their design and plan. This is the first article of his research.

中文原载《城市问题》1987年第3期，本次自北京大学院士文集《侯仁之文集》选出，较前者略有删改。——编者注

1 Steen Eiler Rasmussen, *Towns and Buildings*, paperback edition. Cambridge, Mass.: First MIT Press, 1969. Preface, p. v.

2 Edmund N. Bacon, *Design of Cities*, revised edition. London: Penguin Books, 1980, p. 244.

3 中国建筑工业出版社，1985年，第55—56页。

4 《城市规划》双月刊，1983年，第1期。

5 河南偃师县二里头夏代遗址的上层，发现迄今所见我国最早的大型宫殿遗基两座，距今至少在三千六七百年以前，其中一座的遗址，略成正方形，中部偏北处，有一长方台基，根据基址上柱穴的排列，可以复原为一座殿堂，东西长30.4米，南北宽11.4米，殿前为广庭，四周为墙基，墙内有廊庑，大门在基址南墙的中间。详见中国科学院考古研究所洛阳发掘队：《河南偃师二里头遗址发掘简报》，载《考古》，1965年，第5期。又湖北黄陂县以盘龙城命名的商代中期都城，距今约三千五百年，城内大型宫殿基址两处，也都是面向正南。详见湖北省博物馆、北京大学考古专业、盘龙城发掘队：《盘龙城一九七四年度田野考古纪要》，载《文物》，1976年，第2期。

6 详见《盘龙城一九七四年度田野考古纪要》。

7 盘龙城平面略呈方形，中轴线方向为北偏东20度，城垣至1954年仍保存得比较完整。已发现的宫殿基址，在城内东北部，见注5。又郑州所发现的商城中的宫殿基址，也同样是在略呈方形城垣内的东北部，详见河南省博物馆、郑州博物馆：《郑州商代城遗址发掘报告》，《文物资料丛刊》第1辑，文物出版社，1977年。

8 1776年，《独立宣言》发表，宣告美国成立。1783年，英国正式承认美国独立。——编者注

9 朗方设计的城市蓝图的示意图，还镌刻在从白宫到国会大厦的宾夕法尼亚大道中途一个街心广场的石筑台基上，供人鉴赏。1984年8月6日，华盛顿市长正式宣布这一天为“朗方日”，以志纪念。当时作者适在华盛顿的康奈尔大会研究中心工作，因此得到机会参加这次纪念会，进一步体会到朗方在今天美国首都人民心目中的地位。

10 《马克思恩格斯全集》第16卷，人民出版社，1964年，第20页。

11 1787年，制宪会议通过《美利坚合众国宪法》。——编者注

12 《马克思恩格斯全集》第16卷，人民出版社，1964年，第2l页。

13 这是1982年应征入选的设计，当时林樱（Maya Lin）尚在耶鲁大学建筑系学习。

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* 英文稿曾在1964年北京科学讨论会上宣读。中文原载《科学通报》1964年11月刊，本次自《历史地理学的理论与实践》（1979）选出。——编者注

1 J. N. L. Baker, *A History of Geographical Discovery and Exploration*, London, 1931, pp. 63–70.

2 Herodotus, *The History of Herodotus*, translated by G. Rawlinson, New York, 1946, pp. 216–217.

3 The account of Herodotus has raised much controversy, but of late there has been a tendency to belief. See J. Oliver Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography*, Cambridge, 1948, pp. 71–73. J. N. L. Baker points out that "the geographical conditions do not make such a feat impossible." *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

3 曾有人对此表示怀疑，却无法加以否定，见J. N. L. Baker，前引著作，p. 23。Baker且指出："地理条件使得这样一次航行的完成，并非是不可能的。"关于这一问题讨论的趋势是，越来越认为希罗多德的记述是可信的，详见J. Oliver Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography*, Cambridge, 1948, pp. 71–73.

4 *Vsemirnaya Istoriya*, TOM. 4, Str. 88, M. M. Smirin (otechestrennyi redaktor), Moskva, 1958. *World History* (in Russian), Vol. 4, p. 88, M. M. Smirin (chief editor), Moscow, 1958.

4 ［苏］斯米林主编：《世界通史》第4卷，三联书店，1962年，上册第104页。又G. Ferrand引D. Couto的考证，谓爪哇人也在很早以前就已远航到非洲大陆的南端，见《昆仑及南海古代航行考》，冯承钧译，中华书局，1957年，第66页。

5 K. G. Jayne, *V asco da Gama and His Successors: 1460–1580*, London, 1910, p. 48. See also J. N. L. Baker, *op. cit*., pp. 69–70.

6 With reference to the life and work of Ibn Madjid, see article on Shihab al-Din Ahmad Ь Madjid in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, pp. 362–370, London, 1934.

6 关于伊本·马吉德的身世、著作以及与达·伽马的关系，见*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, pp. 362–370, "Shihab al-Din Ahmad B. Madjid", London, 1934。伊本·马吉德的著作32篇原稿现藏巴黎国立图书馆阿拉伯部，编号2292、2559。

7 *Han Shu* (Dynastic History of Han), *Chüan* 28, *Ti Li Chih* (Book on Geography).

7 《汉书》卷二八《地理志》。

8 1978年改称斯里兰卡。——编者注

9 For detailed account of Fa Hsien's travel in India and Ceylon, see his own work *Fo Kuo Chi*.

9 法显于公元399年由长安出发，从陆路前往印度，归途泛海，由印度到锡兰，由锡兰回中国，见所著《佛国记》（或称《法显传》）。

10 The Arab Empire is recorded in ancient Chinese works as *Ta Shih*.

11 A distinguished Chinese geographer Chia Tan in the eighth century made a valuable record on the sea-route from Canton to the Gulf of Iran. See *Hsin T'ang Shu* (New Dynastic History of T'ang), *Chüan* 43, *Ti Li Chih Chi* (Book on Geography, 7).

11 8世纪时中国地理学家贾耽（729–805）曾经记述了从广州到今波斯湾的航路，见《新唐书》卷四三《地理志七》所转载。

12 H. Yule and H. Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, revised 3rd. ed., pp. 234–235, London, 1903.

13 Ibn Battuta, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*: Texte Arabe, Accompagne D'une Traduction, Beniamino Raffaello Sanguinetti and Charles Defremery ed. and trans., Vol. 4, Paris, 1922, pp. 268–269.

14 Situzo Kuwabara has made an extensive study on the life of P'u Shou-keng and his scholarly work has been translated into Chinese by Chen Yü-ch'ing entitled *P'u Shou-keng K'ao* (2nd print, Shanghai, 1954).

14 日本学者桑原骘藏：《蒲壽庚の事蹟》，东京，1935年。此书对蒲寿庚身世有详细考证，兼及唐宋时代中国与阿拉伯海上通商的情况。有陈裕菁汉文译本，题《蒲寿庚考》，上海，1954年。

15 The dates of the seven voyages of Cheng Ho are as follows:

1．1405—1407,
2．1407—1409,
3．1409—1411,
4．1413—1415,
5．1417—1419,
6．1421—1422,
7．1430—1433.

During the last ninety years various studies on the life of Cheng Ho have been published by European and American scholars. The French Orientalist P. Pelliot has written a comprehensive dissertation, Les grands voyages maritimes chinois au début du XVe siècle, *Toung Pao*, 1933, pp. 237–452. Owing to the lack of indispensable source materials, mistakes in his conclusions on

the dates of the last six voyages of Cheng Ho are unavoidable.

15 七次航行年代：1405—1407，1407—1409，1409—1411，1413—1415，1417—1419，142l—1422，1430—1433。近百年来，欧美学者研究郑和及其事迹者颇不乏人，著述亦多。书较晚出、影响较大的是法人P. Pelliot，所著长文：Les grands voyages maritimes chinois au début du XVe siècle，发表于*Toung Pao*, 1933, pp. 237–452。但是由于作者所根据的史料不足，对于郑和后六次航行日期的考订，不免有错误。

16 Chu Yün-ming, *Chien Wen Chi*, article on the voyages of Cheng Ho, *Chi Lu Hui Pien* edition, *Chüan* 202, p. 37.

16 祝允明：《前闻记》，“下西洋”条，《纪录汇编》卷二○二，商务印书馆影印明刻本，页三七引。

17 *Ibid*., and *Cheng Ho Hang Hai T'u* (The Sailing Chart of Cheng Ho), edited by Hsiang Ta, Peking, 1961.

17 航海记录见祝允明：《前闻记》，“下西洋”条。航海图原题《自宝船厂开船从龙江关出水直抵外国诸番图》，近经北京大学向达教授加以考订和说明，作为专书，题为《郑和航海图》，于1961年由中华书局影印出版。书中还另附郑和远航的略图，图上除去第七次航路外，还表示了前六次所曾经航行过的路线，而且把一些已能确考的现在地名，加注在原地名后面，古今对照，一目了然。这是已发表的有关郑和远航路线图中最好的一幅，本文附图即据此图简化复制。

18 For detailed information, see S. A. Huzayyin, *Arabia and the Far East: Their Commercial Cultural Relations in Graeco-Roman and Irano-Arabian Times*, Cairo, 1942, pp. 112–113, and J. N. L. Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–20.

19 Tu Huan (in *Ching Hsing Chi*) and Tuan Ch'eng-shih (in *Yu Yang Tsa Tsu*) of the T'ang Dynasty gave the earliest information in Chinese records about Molin Kingdom. Tuan's work is easily available, while Tu's work is now preserved in the form of citations in other works. A collection of these citations with commentaries has been published recently by Chang Yi-ch'un under the title *Ching Hsing Chi Chien Chu*, Peking, 1963.

19 唐朝杜环所著《经行记》一书中，有关于摩邻国的记载，见杜环著，张一纯笺注：《经行记笺注》，中华书局，1963年，第20页。按摩邻国有的学者认为即是麻林（或麻林地）国。又段成式所著《酉阳杂俎》一书中，有关于拨拔力国的记载，见汲古阁刻本，卷四，“异境”条，页四上。《新唐书》卷二二一下《大食传》引用其文。按拨拔力即Berbera（今译柏培拉）在中国最早之对音。参考冯承钧《诸蕃志校注》，中华书局，1956年，第55页。

20 *Sung Shih* (Dynastic History of Sung), *Chüan* 490, section on *Tsengtan*.

20 《宋史》卷四九○，“层檀”条。

21 Feng Ch'eng-chün, *Chu Fan Chih Chiao Chu*, Shanghai, 1956, pp. 54–55. *Chu Fan Chih* was written by Chau Ju-kua in 1225. It has been translated and annotated by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill (*Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi*. St. Petersburg, 1911).

21 冯承钧：《诸蕃志校注》，第54—55页。此书有F. Hirth和W. W. Rockhill英译本，并加注释，题曰：*Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chu-fan-chi*, St. Petersburg, 1911.本文所根据的冯承钧校注本采用了Hirth与Rockhill的注译，并作了订正和补充。又元代汪大渊在1329—1339年间，乘海舶远游中国南海及印度洋，就所见闻，著《岛夷志略》一书（约写成于1349年），记有层摇罗，即桑给巴尔。

22 See Feng Ch'eng-chün, *op. cit*., and Wang Ta-yüan, *Tao Yi Chih Lueh*, written about 1349.

22 例如写成于1225年的赵汝适的《诸蕃志》，就有下列各国的记载：勿斯里国（埃及）、中理国（索马里沿岸，包括Socotra岛，今译索科特拉岛）、弼琶罗国（Berbera）、层拔国等。

23 Hsia Nai, Porcelain Links in Sino-African History, *Wen Wu Monthly*, Peking, 1963, No. 1, pp. 17–19.

23 早在1888年，桑给巴尔就有宋代中国铜钱和瓷器出土，1898年索马里的摩加迪沙，也发现宋代中国铜钱和瓷器。近年以来，在索马里和埃塞俄比亚交界处的三个古城废墟，和在坦噶尼喀（Lake Tanganyika）沿岸40多处古代遗址，以及松哥玛那拉（Songo Mnara）岛上，都有很多中国瓷器瓷片的发现，其中有宋末元初的龙泉窑青瓷片。在肯尼亚的马林迪附近的给地（Gedi）古城中，还有宋代铜钱出土。此外摩加迪沙还曾有唐代铜钱的发现，详见夏鼐：《作为古代中非交通关系证据的瓷器》，载《文物》1963年第l期。按在12世纪时，中国与东非可能已有直接的通商贸易，中国海舶可能已航驶东非。参看张铁生：《从东非史上看中非关系》，载《历史研究》1963年第2期。

24 Chu Yü, *P'ing Chou K'ê T'an*, Shou Shan Kê edition, *Chüan* 2, 1922, p. 3. Hsu Ching, *Hsüan Ho Feng Shih Kao Li T'u Ching*, T'ien Lu Lin Lang edition, *Chüan* 34, p. 12, 1931.

24 朱彧：《萍洲可谈》卷二，博古斋1922年影印守山阁丛书本，页三下；又徐竞：《宣和奉使高丽图经》卷三四，北京故宫博物院1931年影印天禄琳琅丛书本，页十二上。

25 Situzo Kuwabara, *A Study of P'u Shou-keng* (in Japanese), Tokyo, 1935, pp. 92–93.

25 桑原骘藏：《蒲壽庚の事蹟》，第92—93页。

26 Hsiang Ta, *op. cit*., p. 57.

26 意即从官屿群岛出发，按庚酉方向（约当262度左右）前航到达木骨都束。向达：《郑和航海图》，页五七。

27 Feng Ch'eng-chün, *Hsing Ch'a Sheng Lan Chiao Chu*, Shanghai, 1954, pp. 21, 24. *Hsing Ch'a Sheng Lan* written by Fei Hsin is one of the three important geographical works compiled at the time of Cheng Ho's navigations. The other two works are *Ying Ya Sheng Lan* by Ma Huan and *Hsi Yang Fan Kuo Chih* by Kung Chen. Both Ma and Kung also took part in Cheng Ho's voyages and gave an account of the countries they visited in their works.

27 费信于郑和远航之第三、四、五、七次随同前往，著《星槎胜览》一书，是从行者所著三部重要的地理著作之一。其余两部是马欢的《瀛涯胜览》和巩珍的《西洋番国志》，后者极为罕见，近来向达教授根据一个抄本加以整理注释，于1959年出版。

28 当时交易情况，具见《瀛涯胜览》、《星槎胜览》、《西洋番国志》等书，一般都是在中国船到之时，先以明王朝的名义向有关地方或国家行政当局赠送礼品，然后由该地方或国家行政当局传谕人民，进行交易。

⑥

* 1981年2月11日作者根据中加文化交流的协议前往加拿大，2月11日—3月24日在英属哥伦比亚大学（University of British Columbia）讲学。本文英文为1981年2月13日演讲稿。本版收录的中英文文本均自作者手稿转录而来，原稿约作于1980年。——编者注

1 Probably it is interesting to know how Professor J. Needham, the distinguished author of the voluminous work *Science and Civilisation in China*, writes about HsüXia-Ke, "His notes… read more like those of a 20th-century field surveyor than a 17th-century scholar. He had a wonderful power of analysing topographical detail, and made systematic use of special terms which enlarged the ordinary nomenclature… Everything was noted carefully in feet or *li*, without vague stock phrases." (Vol. 3, London: Cambridge University Press, 1959, p. 524) And it is no wonder that the famous Chinese geologist Prof. Ting Wen-Chiang, who made a great contribution on the study of Hsü's life, once said that Hsü "was essentially a geographical explorer. The spirit of inquiry is so startlingly modern, that it alone would have ranked him as the earliest leader of modern geography in China.(Ting, *The New China Review*, III, 5, Oct. 1921, pp. 325–337.)

2 For an English-language edition, see *T'ien-kung K'ai-wu: Chinese Technology in the Seventeenth Century* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966).

⑦

* 英文选自《国际古迹遗址理事会第八届全体大会暨“新世界中的古老文化”国际研讨会论文

集》第一部。（*Symposium Papers of 8th General Assembly of International Council on Monuments and Sites, and International Symposium "Old Cultures in New Worlds", October 10-15, 1987*, Vol. 1. Washington D. C.: ICOMOS, 1987. Print.）——编者注

1 对China一词的起源有多种解释。一种说法认为，China是在秦的罗马字拼音Chin后面加上-a表示地域。这一观点在1986年出版的《剑桥中国秦汉史》中被肯定。——编者注

2 There is another version of the legend saying that a section of the wall crumbled, exposing to Meng Jiang the bones of her husband.

3 Zeng Zhaoming and Gu Wei, *An Investigation on the Present Condition of the Great Wall in the Beijing District*, Remote-sensing Centre of the Ministry of Geology and Mining, 1985.

⑧

* 1981年11月2日至1982年2月，作者应美国国际学者交换委员会（Council for International Exchange of Scholars）的邀请，作为富布莱特学者（Fulbright Scholar in Residence）到美国伊利诺伊大学厄巴那–香槟分校（University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign）地理系讲学，公开演讲六次。12月9日演讲“Outstanding Ancient City Ruins in the Deserts of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region of China”（《中国内蒙古自治区沙漠中几个重要的古城废墟》）。英文又于1985年发表于《历史地理学刊》（*Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 241–252），附题注“This article is a revised version of a lecture presented at several universities in Canada and the United States during recent visits.”本版英文即摘自《历史地理学刊》，中文自作者手稿转录而来。中英文文本的创作时间均应在1980—1981年间，英文再次发表时对文中提及具体事件距当时的时间跨度有相应更改，故与中文有所出入，在本版中保留这几种不对应之处。——编者注

1 A review of major areas of research and recent progress in historical geography in China has been published by the author in English in *Geography in China* (Beijing: Science Press, 1984, pp. 133–146).

2 The help of Mr. Alick Newman at University College London in redrawing the maps is gratefully acknowledged.

⑨

* 本文为作者1996年在美国克莱蒙·麦肯纳学院（Claremont McKenna College）举行的“燕京大学的经验与中国的高等教育学术研究会”上的发言，演讲为英文。中英文皆为作者所著。——编者注

1 Jeffrey William Cody, *Henry K. Murphy: An American Architect in China, 1914–1935*, Chapter 5 "Old Wine in a New Bottle: Yenching University, 1918-1927."A Dissertation of Cornell University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Cornell University, 1989.

2 Reference: Hou Renzhi, *Anecdotes about Yanyuan* (in Chinese,《燕园史话》), Beijing: Peking University Press, 1988, pp. 74–75.

Susan Chan Egan, *A Latter-day Confucian, Reminiscences of William Hung (1893-1980)*, Cambridge: Harvard University, 1987, pp. 81–85.

3 Recently, with the aid of some newly discovered finds and new investigations in historical geography, I wrote, with William Hung's research as base, the paper "On Mi Wanzhong's 'Map of the Rebuilt Shaoyuan'", published in 1993 in Vol. 1 of *Guo Xue Yan Jiu* (National Studies) by the Research Centre of Traditional Chinese Culture of Peking University.

3 最近，我又借助于一些新发现和历史地理的考察，在煨莲师研究的基础上，写了一篇《记米万钟〈勺园修禊图〉》，刊于北京大学中国传统文化研究中心的《国学研究》第l卷，1993年。

4 See The Research Committee on Historical Materials of the Peking Committee of the Political Consultative Conference of the People's Republic (ed.), *Peking under the Japanese Puppet*

Regime, Beijing Publishing House, 1987.

4 中国人民政治协商会议北京市委员会文史资料研究委员会：《日伪统治下的北平》，北京出版社，1987年。

5 On 19 August 1945, William Hung wrote to inform me that I had been chosen as one of the members of the Yenching University Committee, and urged me to return to Peking to attend the conference. I have added the original letter here, with a translation in English:

> Dr. Leighton Stuart has been released on Friday and we talked for days, which was extremely nice. The new university committee has held its first meeting yesterday. Tomorrow (Monday) early in the morning at nine we will have our second meeting. If you, my young friend, would like to be one of the committee members, you will have to return tonight. I tried to phone you several times but couldn't get through, so had no other way than to ask mister Guo to go to Tientsin to invite you. We will talk later. Hastily I remain, wishing you,… Renzhi, good health.
>
> Written on the 19th.

⑩

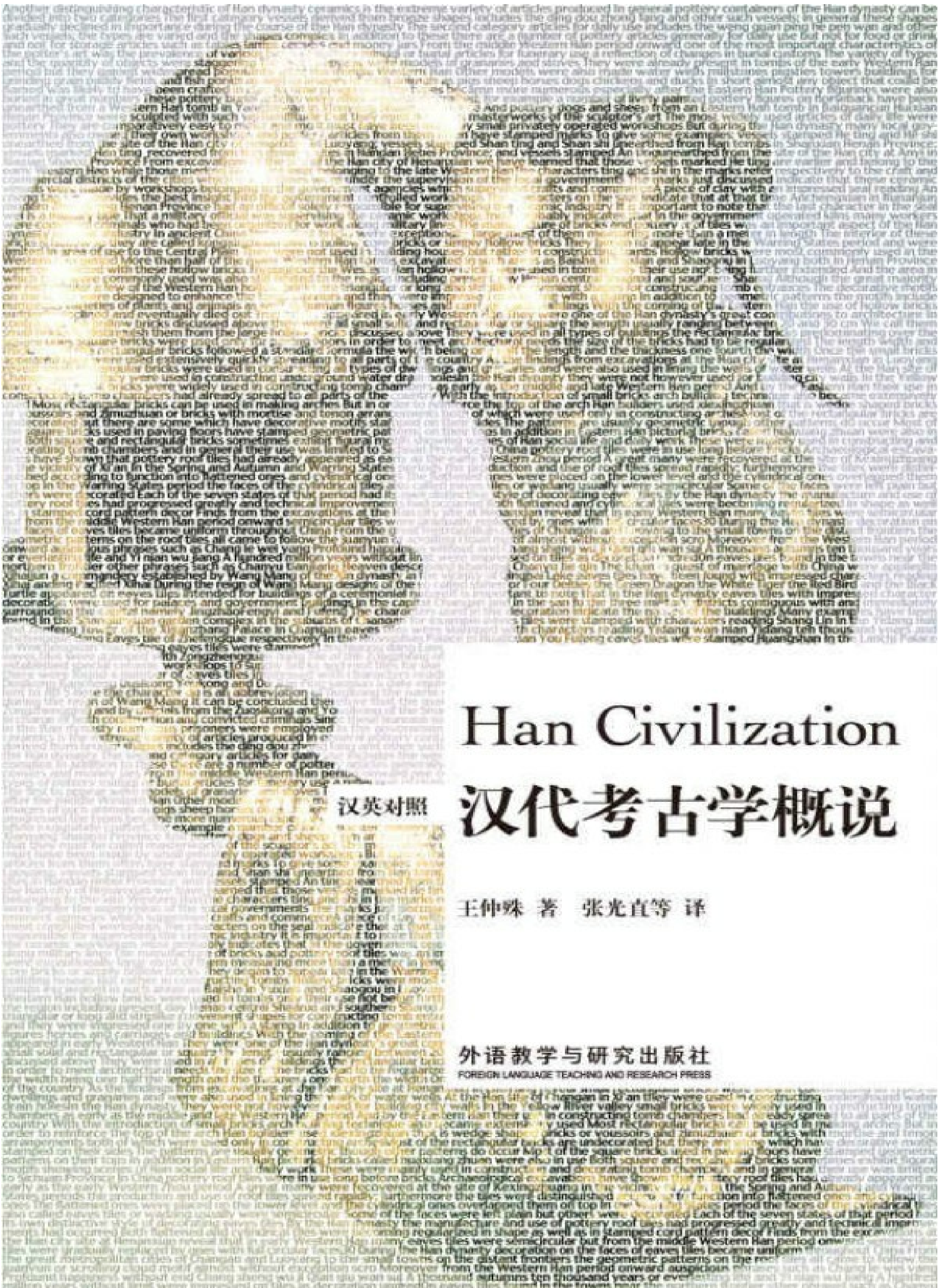
* 本文中文曾发表于《益世报》副刊《史地周刊》1947年3月18日版，英文自作者打印稿转录而来。——编者注

⑪

* 英文为侯仁之于1984年7月4日在英国利物浦大学毕业典礼上的讲话，原文无标题，本版标题为编辑后加。——编者注

⑫

* 中英文均为侯仁之原作。英文于1999年11月11日由欧迪安博士（Dr. Diane Obenchain）代为在纽约美国地理学会上宣读。中文稿中原有少数英文夹杂，已由编辑译为中文。——编者注



Han Civilization

汉英对照

汉代考古学概说

王仲殊 著 张光直等 译

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王仲殊　考古学家。1978年以来，历任中国社会科学院考古研究所研究员、副所长、所长、学术委员会主任，兼中国社会科学院研究生院教授、博士生导师，2006年被授予中国社会科学院荣誉学部委员称号。研究领域主要是中国汉唐时代考古学，兼及日本考古学和日本古代史。先后受聘为秘鲁国立库斯科大学名誉教授、德意志考古学研究院通讯院士、日本亚洲史学会评议员（常务理事），1996年获日本福冈亚洲文化奖大奖。著有考古发掘报告和考古学专著多种，考古学和古代史论文一百余篇。

“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦

有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云："语言的边界，乃是世界的边界"，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对"经典"的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了"研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明"的范式。秉着"记载人类文明、沟通世界文化"的出版理念，我们推出"博雅双语名家名作"系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域"整理国故"，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为"再造文明"、为"向世界说明中国"略尽绵薄之力。

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41. Western wall of the Jinyongcheng of Luoyang and a bastion (the so-called "Horse Face") 洛阳金墉城城墙及墩台（所谓“马面”）
42. Plan of the city of Luoyang during the Northern Wei dynasty (The Jinyongcheng at the northwestern corner was first built during the Cao Wei period.) 北魏洛阳城平面示意图（西北角的金墉城为曹魏时期首次修建）
43. Remains of the Chengmingmen Gate of Luoyang during the Northern Wei dynasty 北魏洛阳城承明门遗址
44. Structural remains on the east side of the Tongtuo Avenue in the Northern Wei city of Luoyang (possibly a portion of the Zongzheng administrative building or the royal ancestral temple) 铜驼街东侧的建筑遗址（或为宗正署或宫庙局部）
45. Eaves tiles unearthed at the structural site on the east side of the Tongtuo Avenue in the Northern Wei Luoyang 铜驼街东侧建筑遗址出土的瓦当
46. Brick engraved with animal face unearthed at the structural site on the east side of the Tongtuo Avenue in the Northern Wei Luoyang 铜驼街东侧建筑遗址出土的兽面砖
47. Remains of the base of a pagoda in Yongning Temple in the Northern

Wei Luoyang　北魏洛阳城永宁寺塔基遗迹
48. Portion of the inscribed monument commemorating the three visits to Pi Yong by Emperor Wu Di of Jin　晋武帝三临辟雍碑
49. Plan and cross-section of the site of Ling Tai of the Eastern Han Luoyang　东汉雒阳灵台遗址示意图及截面图
50. Main structure of Ling Tai in the Eastern Han Luoyang　东汉雒阳灵台遗迹全景
51. Remains of the stairs on the northern side of the main structure of Ling Tai and of the stone-covered banks of the verandas　灵台北面坡道和“散水”遗迹
52. Brick-paved floor of the "dark room" in the west of the main structure of Ling Tai in the Eastern Han Luoyang　东汉雒阳灵台主体建筑西面暗室的砖铺地面
53. Fragment of the Stone Classics engraved during the Xi Ping reign of Han　汉熹平石经残石
54. Fragment of the Stone Classics engraved during the Zheng Shi reign of Wei　魏正始石经残石

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55. Names of agricultural products inscribed on pottery granaries unearthed from Han tombs in Luoyang　洛阳烧沟汉墓出土陶仓上写的农产品名称
56. Ox-drawn plow and millet plants on a pictorial stone unearthed in Mizhi, Shaanxi　陕西米脂出土画像石上的牛耕图和粟
57. Rice ears from a pottery granary unearthed from a Han tomb at Fenghuangshan, Jiangling　江陵凤凰山汉墓出土的陶仓中的稻穗
58. Remains of job's tears from a pottery jar unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳烧沟汉墓出土的陶壶及薏苡
59. Iron spade with wooden handle unearthed from the Han tomb at Mawangdui in Changsha　长沙马王堆汉墓出土的木柄铁锸
60. Stone human figure holding a spade, unearthed in Pixian, Sichuan　四川郫县出土的手握铲的石像
61. Iron rake with two teeth, unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的双齿铁耙
62. Large iron plowshare unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的巨型铁铧

63．Iron plowshare and its crown, unearthed in Longxian in Shaanxi　陕西陇县出土的铁铧和铧冠
64．Iron plowshare and moldboard unearthed in Chang'anxian, Shaanxi　陕西长安县出土的铁犁铧和犁壁
65．Wooden models of ox and plow unearthed from the Western Han tomb at Mozuizi in Wuwei, Gansu　甘肃武威磨咀子西汉墓出土的木牛和木犁模型
66．Plowing with oxen in the pictorial stone art unearthed at Shuanggou, Suiningxian, Jiangsu　江苏睢宁双沟出土的画像石中的牛耕图
67．Use of a seeder depicted in the wall painting of a Han tomb at Zaoyuancun in Pinglu, Shanxi　山西平陆枣园村汉墓壁画中的耧播图
68．Iron blade of a seeder unearthed in Fuping, Shaanxi　陕西富平出土的铁耧铧
69．A harrowing scene depicted (in the lower part) on a pictorial brick in a Wei-Jin period tomb at Jiayuguan in Gansu　甘肃嘉峪关魏晋时期壁画中的耙田图（下）
70．A soil-leveling scene depicted on a pictorial brick in a Wei-Jin period tomb at Jiayuguan in Gansu　甘肃嘉峪关魏晋时期壁画中的耱田图
71．Well canal at the head of the Bai Canal in Jingyangxian, Shaanxi　陕西省泾阳县白渠渠首的井渠
72．Stone statue of Li Bing and its inscription, unearthed at the Dujiang Weir in Guanxian, Sichuan　四川灌县都江堰出土的李冰石像和铭文
73．Pottery models of a well and water trough unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳烧沟汉墓出土的陶井与水槽模型
74．Pottery model of a pond unearthed from a Han tomb in Hanzhongxian, Shaanxi　陕西汉中汉墓出土的陶陂塘模型
75．Pottery model of a pond unearthed from a Han tomb in Chengdu, Sichuan　四川成都汉墓出土的陶陂塘模型
76．Fishing, hunting, and harvesting depicted in a pictorial brick unearthed from a Han tomb at Yangzishan in Chengdu, Sichuan　四川成都扬子山汉墓出土的画像砖上的弋射收获图
77．Pottery models of winnowing machine and treadle-operated tilt hammer unearthed from Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓出土的陶制风车箱模型和践碓
78．Reconstructive drawing of fig. 77　图77的重构图
79．Treadle-operated tilt hammer as depicted in pictorial brick unearthed

from the Han tomb in Pengxian, Sichuan 四川彭县汉墓出土的画像砖上的践碓图

80. Pottery model of treadle-operated tilt hammer unearthed from the Han tomb in Shanxian, Henan 河南陕县汉墓出土的陶践碓模型

81. Stone quern unearthed at the site of the Han city of Chang'an 汉长安城遗址出土的石磨

82. Stone quern and bronze receptacle unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng 满城汉墓出土的石磨及铜承盘

83. Pottery model of pigsty and privy, unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang 洛阳汉墓出土的陶猪圈及厕所模型

84. Taro harvesting depicted on pictorial brick unearthed in Pengxian, Sichuan 四川彭县出土的画像砖上的采芋图

85. Picking mulberry tree leaves depicted on pictorial stone at the Wu Liang Family Shrine in Jiaxiang, Shandong 山东嘉祥武梁祠画像石上的采桑图

86. Picking mulberry bush leaves depicted on pictorial brick unearthed in Chengdu, Sichuan 四川成都出土的画像砖上的采桑图

87. "Granary Records of Zheng Village"–inscribed bamboo slips (partial) unearthed from tomb number 10 at Fenghuangshan in Jiangling 江陵凤凰山十号墓出土的“郑里廪簿”（部分）

88. A manor depicted in a wall painting in the Han tomb at Holingor in Inner Mongolia (copy) 内蒙古和林格尔汉墓壁画中的庄园图（摹本）

89. Grazing horses depicted in wall painting in the Han tomb at Holingor in Inner Mongolia 内蒙古和林格尔汉墓出土的牧马图

90. Grazing cattle depicted in wall painting in the Han tomb at Holingor in Inner Mongolia 内蒙古和林格尔汉墓出土的牧牛图

91. Fortress and watchtower depicted in wall painting in the Han tomb at Holingor in Inner Mongolia 内蒙古和林格尔汉墓壁画中的堡垒和望楼

92. Clay figurine of farmer holding spade and wearing large knife, unearthed from a Han tomb at Tianhuishan in Chengdu, Sichuan 四川成都天廻山汉墓出土的持铲佩刀农夫俑

93. A military barracks in a wall painting in a Wei-Jin period tomb at Jiayuguan, Gansu 甘肃嘉峪关魏晋墓壁画·营垒图

94. A soldiers' farm in a wall painting in a Wei-Jin period tomb at Jiayuguan, Gansu 甘肃嘉峪关魏晋墓壁画·屯垦图

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95. Lacquered ding-tripod unearthed from Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui, Changsha 长沙马王堆汉墓一号墓出土的漆鼎
96. Lacquered box from Mawangdui Han tomb number 1 马王堆汉墓一号墓出土的漆盒
97. Lacquered boxes for toilet articles from Mawangdui Han tomb number 1 马王堆汉墓一号墓出土的漆奁
98. Lacquered tray and plates from Mawangdui Han tomb number 1 马王堆汉墓一号墓出土的漆案和漆盘
99. Lacquered plate with fabric core from Mawangdui Han tomb number 1 马王堆汉墓一号墓出土的夹纻胎漆盘
100. Lacquered ladles with bamboo cores from Mawangdui Han tomb number 1 马王堆汉墓一号墓出土的竹胎漆勺
101. Lacquered hu from Mawangdui Han tomb number 1 马王堆汉墓一号墓出土的漆壶
102. Lacquered fang-vessel from Mawangdui Han tomb number 1 马王堆汉墓一号墓出土的漆钫
103. Designs of silver sheets attached to lacquerware unearthed from a Han tomb in Lianyungang, Jiangsu 江苏连云港汉墓出土漆器的贴银箔花纹
104. Animal designs on lacquerware unearthed from a Han tomb near Pyongyang, Korea 朝鲜平壤出土漆器的动物图案
105. Fish designs on lacquerware unearthed from a Han tomb at Fenghuangshan in Jiangling 江陵凤凰山汉墓出土漆器的鱼纹
106. Lacquerware design depicting human figures in a story, unearthed from Shi Qi Yao's tomb from the Western Han period in Haizhou, Jiangsu 江苏海州侍其繇墓出土漆器的人物故事图
107. Lacquerware design depicting human figures in a story unearthed from Shi Qi Yao's tomb from the Western Han period in Haizhou, Jiangsu 江苏海州侍其繇墓出土漆器的人物故事图
108. Persimmon-butt-shaped bronze decor with inlaid glass beads on a lacquerware unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang 洛阳汉墓出土漆器上的柿蒂形铜饰及琉璃珠
109. The inscription "Dai Hou Jia" ("Marquis of Dai's household") on a lacquerware unearthed from Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui in Changsha 长沙马王堆汉墓一号墓出土漆器上的"轪侯家"字样

110. The inscription "Shang Lin" on a lacquerware unearthed from a Han tomb at Noin Ula in Mongolia 蒙古诺音乌拉汉墓出土漆器上的“上林”字样
111. The inscriptions "Jun xing jiu" on lacquerwares unearthed from Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui in Changsha 长沙马王堆汉墓一号墓出土漆器上的“君幸酒”字样
112. The inscription "Jun xing shi" on a lacquerware unearthed from Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui in Changsha 长沙马王堆汉墓一号墓出土漆器上的“君幸食”字样
113. Inscription on a lacquered tray unearthed from a Han tomb near Pyongyang, Korea 朝鲜平壤汉墓出土漆盘上的铭文
114. The inscription "Pan yu" fire-branded on a lacquerware unearthed from a Western Han tomb in Guangzhou 广州西汉墓出土漆器上的“蕃禺”烙印
115. "Ju shi" and other inscriptions fire-branded on lacquerwares unearthed from a Western Han tomb at Yinqueshan in Linyi, Shandong 山东临沂银雀山西汉墓出土漆器上的“莒市”、“市府”烙印

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116. Zhong-vessel inscribed with "Chu da guan zao zhong," unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng 满城汉墓出土的楚大官糟锺
117. Zhong-vessel inscribed with "Changle siguan zhong," unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng 满城汉墓出土的长乐飤官锺
118. Hu-vessel decorated with bird-seal-script characters, unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng 满城汉墓出土的鸟篆文壶
119. "Bo shan" incense burner with gold inlays, unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng 满城汉墓出土的错金博山炉
120. The Changxin Palace Lamp unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng 满城汉墓出土的“长信宫灯”
121. Bronze jian-basin for use at the Shanglinyuan Park, unearthed at Sanqiaozhen in Xi'an ("Manufactured at Dong Jun in the third year of Chu Yuan") 西安三桥镇出土的上林苑铜鉴（“初元三年东郡造”）
122. Bronze ding-tripod with the inscription "Cheng yu," unearthed in Sanqiaozhen, Xi'an 西安三桥镇出土的“乘舆”铜鼎
123. Bronze zhong-vessel with the inscription "Jiu jiang gong," unearthed in Sanqiaozhen, Xi'an 西安三桥镇出土的上林苑“九江宫”铭文铜锺

124. Bronze fang-vessel unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng 满城汉墓出土的铜钫
125. Bronze juan-vessel unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng 满城汉墓出土的铜
126. Inscriptions on Shanglinyuan Park bronze vessels unearthed in Sanqiaozhen, Xi'an 西安三桥镇出土上林苑铜器铭文
127. Inscriptions on Shanglinyuan Park bronze vessels unearthed in Sanqiaozhen, Xi'an 西安三桥镇出土上林苑铜器铭文
128. Bronze mou-vessel unearthed from a Han tomb in Pingle, Guangxi 广西平乐汉墓出土的铜鍪
129. Square stove of bronze, unearthed in Xi'an ("Manufactured in the second year of Gan Lu") 西安出土的铜方炉（“甘露二年造”）
130. Dripping jar of bronze, unearthed in Yikezhao League in Inner Mongolia 内蒙古伊克昭盟出土的铜漏壶
131. Bronze lamp in the shape of the Red Bird, unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng 满城汉墓出土的朱雀灯
132. Bronze lamp in the shape of a ram, unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng 满城汉墓出土的羊灯
133. Twelve-branch lamp of bronze, unearthed from the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu 甘肃武威雷台汉墓出土的十二连枝灯
134. Incised designs on a bronze tray with three legs, unearthed from a Han tomb in Hepu, Guangxi 广西合浦汉墓出土铜盘上的细线镂刻花纹
135. Incised designs on a bronze table unearthed from a Han tomb in Wuzhou, Guangxi 广西梧州汉墓出土铜案上的细线镂刻花纹
136. Gold-gilded wine zun-cup of bronze, unearthed in Youyu, Shanxi 山西右玉出土的镀金铜酒樽
137. Gold-gilded ink-stone box of bronze, unearthed from a Han tomb in Xuzhou, Jiangsu 江苏徐州汉墓出土的镀金铜砚台
138. Gold-gilded wine zun-cup of bronze, unearthed from the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu 甘肃武威雷台汉墓出土的镀金铜酒樽
139. Bronze model of horsedrawn carriage, unearthed from the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu 甘肃武威雷台汉墓出土的铜质马车模型
140. Bronze figure of warrior on horseback, unearthed from the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu 甘肃武威雷台汉墓出土的骑马武士
141. The "Flying Horse," bronze galloping horse stepping on a flying bird, unearthed from the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu 甘肃武威雷台汉墓出土的足踏飞鸟奔马

142. Bronze mirror with designs of intertwining serpents, unearthed from the Han tomb of Mawangdui, Changsha　长沙马王堆汉墓出土的蟠螭纹铜镜
143. Bronze mirror with grass-leaf designs, unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的草叶纹镜
144. Bronze mirror with designs of stars and clouds, unearthed from the Han tomb in Nanchang, Jiangxi　江西南昌汉墓出土的星云纹镜
145. Bronze zhaoming mirror unearthed from the Han tomb in Xi'an　西安汉墓出土的昭明镜
146. Bronze mirror with designs in the shape of measuring rules ("elbow ruler"), unearthed from the Han tomb in Xi'an　西安汉墓出土的规矩镜
147. Bronze mirror decorated with design of spiritual beasts, unearthed from the Han tomb in Shaoxing, Zhejiang　浙江绍兴汉墓出土的神兽镜
148. Bronze mirror with pictorial designs, unearthed from the Han tomb in Shaoxing, Zhejiang　浙江绍兴出土的画像镜
149. Bronze ingot of the Han dynasty date, unearthed in Xinglong, Hebei 河北兴隆出土的汉代铜锭
150. Gold-gilded bronze wine zun-cup and tray inscribed with manufacturing date (the twenty-first year of Jian Wu), in the collection of the Palace Museum　建武廿一年铭镀金铜酒樽（故宫博物院藏）
151. Inscription on the bronze juan-vessel unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土铜鋗上的铭文

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152. Han dynasty iron implements unearthed in Luoyang, Gongxian, and other localities in Henan　洛阳、巩县及河南其他地区出土的汉代铁器
153. Han dynasty iron implements unearthed in Luoyang, Hebi, and other localities in Henan　洛阳、鹤壁及河南其他地区出土的汉代铁器
154. Iron armor plates unearthed at the Han city site in Huhhot, Inner Mongolia　内蒙古呼和浩特汉城遗址出土的铁铠甲
155. Reconstruction of the iron armor plates unearthed at the Han city site in Huhhot, Inner Mongolia　内蒙古呼和浩特汉城遗址出土的铁铠甲复原图

156. Barbed iron ball unearthed at the site of the Han city of Chang'an in Xi'an 汉长安城遗址出土的铁蒺藜
157. Iron stove and tray unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang 洛阳汉墓出土的铁炉
158. Iron cooking pot unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang 洛阳汉墓出土的铁釜
159. Iron lamp with twelve branches, unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang 洛阳汉墓出土的铁十二枝灯
160. Iron mirror unearthed from the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu 甘肃武威雷台汉墓出土的铁镜
161. Reconstructed decorative designs on the iron mirror unearthed from the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu 甘肃武威雷台汉墓出土的铁镜花纹复原图
162. Clay seal impressed with the inscription "Seal of Qi Iron Office," unearthed in Linzi, Shandong 山东临淄出土的刻有“齐铁官印”的封泥
163. Clay seal impressed with the inscription "Qi Iron Officer," unearthed in Linzi, Shandong 山东临淄出土的刻有“齐铁官长”的封泥
164. Clay seal impressed with the inscription "Qi Iron Office Deputy," unearthed in Linzi, Shandong 山东临淄出土的刻有“齐铁官丞”的封泥
165. Clay seal impressed with the inscription "Iron Deputy of Linzi," unearthed in Linzi, Shandong 山东临淄出土的刻有“临淄铁丞”的封泥
166. Inscriptions cast on Han dynasty iron implements unearthed in Shaanxi, Henan, Shandong, and other provinces 陕西、河南、山东等省出土的汉代铁器上的铭文
167. Remains of the smelting furnace at the Han dynasty iron foundry at Tieshenggou in Gongxian, Henan 河南巩县铁生沟汉代冶铁遗址中的熔炉
168. Remains of the mixing pool at the Han dynasty iron foundry site at Tieshenggou in Gongxian, Henan 河南巩县铁生沟汉代冶铁遗址中的配料池
169. Liu Sheng's personal sword and its accessory jade ornaments, unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng 满城汉墓中刘胜的佩剑及玉饰
170. Iron knife with gold inlays, unearthed from the Han tomb in

Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的错金铁短剑
171．Iron knife and its gold-inlaid inscription, unearthed from a Han tomb in Cangshan, Shandong　山东苍山汉墓出土的铁刀和刀上的错金铭文
172．Iron founding as depicted in a pictorial stone of the Han dynasty discovered at Hongdaoyuan in Tengxian, Shandong　山东滕县宏道院出土的汉画像石中的冶铁图

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173．Large pottery urn unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang (height: 50 cm)　洛阳汉墓出土的陶瓮（高50cm）
174．Large pottery urn unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang (height: 64 cm)　洛阳汉墓出土的陶瓮（高64cm）
175．Pottery kiln of the Han dynasty excavated from the site of the old city of Wuji in Wu'anxian, Hebei　河北武安午汲古城中的汉代陶窑
176．Pottery kiln of the Han dynasty excavated from the site of the old city of Wuji in Wu'anxian, Hebei　河北武安午汲古城中的汉代陶窑
177．Pottery kiln of the Han dynasty excavated from the site of the old city of Wuji in Wu'anxian, Hebei　河北武安午汲古城中的汉代陶窑
178．Gray pottery jar unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓出土的灰陶罐
179．Gray pottery jar unearthed from the Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓出土的灰陶罐
180．Gray pottery ding-tripod unearthed from the Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓出土的灰陶鼎
181．Painted pottery jar unearthed from the Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓出土的彩绘陶壶
182．Painted pottery basin unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的彩绘陶盆
183．Lacquered pottery jar unearthed from the Han tomb at Yinqueshan in Linyi, Shandong　山东临沂银雀山汉墓出土的涂漆陶壶
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190. Hard pottery jar with impressed designs, unearthed from the Han tomb in Shaoxing, Zhejiang　浙江绍兴汉墓出土的印纹硬陶罐

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310. Husband-and-wife burial in an Eastern Han tomb in Luoyang 洛阳东汉墓中的夫妇合葬

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318. Prisoner-laborer brick inscribed with "Si kou," unearthed from prisoner-laborer grave at Xidajiaocun, Yanshixian, Henan 河南偃师西大郊村刑徒墓地中刻有“司寇”字样的砖

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320. Commoner's grave of the Han dynasty, unearthed in Luoyang 洛阳汉代平民墓

PREFACE

In the beginning of 1979, soon after China and the U.S. established diplomatic relations, five scholars from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) were invited to visit and lecture in the U.S. This was done as a part of an agreement between the China Association for Science and Technology and the Committee on Scholarly Communication with China(CSCC). The five people invited were Sun Yefang and Xu Dixin from the Institute of Economics, Xia Nai and Wang Zhongshu from the Institute of Archaeology, and Luo Ergang from the Institute of Modern History. After some deliberations, CASS sent only Xu Dixin and Wang Zhongshu from their respective institutions. Luo was unable to go due to health reasons.

Although the host institute in the U.S. was CSCC, the person directly responsible for receiving my team was Professor Kwang-Chih Chang of Harvard University. We agreed that I would stay three months in the U.S., spending more than one month at Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass., and then stay at University of Washington in Seattle and University of California at Berkeley for four weeks each. During the trip, aside from sightseeing and research, I would devote most of my energy to lecturing about Chinese archaeology of the Han period at these three universities.

In preparation, beginning in April 1979, I started writing my lecture manuscripts. I chose nine topics for the lectures. They were: "Chang'an: The Capital City of Western Han," "Luoyang: The Capital City of Eastern Han," "Han Dynasty Agriculture," "Lacquerware," "Bronzes," "Iron Implements," "Ceramics," "Tombs—I," and "Tombs—II." Two months before I left for the U.S. in early October of that year, I had finished all lecture preparations (including making hundreds of projector slides), and sent the materials to Professor Chang. He invited Sinologists in the U.S. to translate "Luoyang," "Han Dynasty Agriculture," "Lacquerware," "Bronzes,""Iron Implements," and "Ceramics" into English. He himself took on the translation of "Chang'an," "Tombs—I" and "Tombs—II." When I was in the U.S., besides lecturing all the nine topics at the three universities mentioned above, I also delivered speeches "Luoyang" at Columbia University and University of California at Los Angeles, and "Tombs—I, II"at the United States National

Academy of Sciences and Stanford University.

In the 1960s and 1970s, it was popular for Western scholars in countries like the U.S. and U.K. to publish papers regarding the origin of civilizations. Professor Chang recognized this boom in international academia, and initiated the publication of a series of books on early Chinese civilization. This was a collective effort to popularize the study of ancient China. Chang himself wrote *Shang Civilization*, while professor Cho-yun Hsü at the University of Pittsburgh co-authored *Western Chou Civilization*. Later, Li Xueqin at the Institute of History of CASS published *Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations*. The series of the nine lectures was compiled by Chang into a book entitled "Han Civilization," and published in 1982 by Yale University Press. Chang himself contributed the foreword, and Yu Ying-shih of Yale University revised the manuscript.

Xia Nai, who had been in charge of the Institute of Archaeology of CASS for long, was my mentor in my youth. After seeing my lecture manuscripts translated and published in the U.S., he suggested that the original text should also be organized into a book and published in China. I did as he suggested, and brought the nine lectures together to produce the Chinese edition, whose name literally means "A Brief Examination of Han Dynasty Archaeology." This book was published by the Zhonghua Book Company in Beijing in 1984.

By coincidence, Professor Xia was also invited to visit the U.S. in 1981, and gave lectures on "Jade and Silk of Han China." His lecture manuscripts were translated into English and published in book form in the U.S. Some American scholars thought that *Han Civilization* and Professor Xia's book were coherent in content, calling them "sister works."I find this comparison a great honor, and feel very happy.

Now, Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press plans to include both Professor *Xia's Jade and Silk of Han China and my Han Civilization* in the "Bilingual Series of Liberal Arts Masterpieces," so I take this occasion to write this foreword, explaining how these books came into being. I hope readers would like them.

Wang Zhongshu

February 25, 2013

(Translated by Qi Chen at Columbia University)

前言

1979年年初，在中美两国建立外交关系之后不久，按照中国科学技术协会与美中学术交流委员会的协议，美国方面邀请中国社会科学院的五名学者前去访问、讲学，他们是经济研究所的孙冶方、许涤新，考古研究所的夏鼐、王仲殊和近代史研究所的罗尔纲。经商议，社会科学院决定经济所的二人中去许涤新一人，考古所的二人中去王仲殊一人，近代史所的罗尔纲因健康欠佳，不能应邀。

美方的接待单位为美中学术交流委员会，但对我的接待主要是由哈佛大学教授张光直担当的。他与我约定在美国访问的时间为三个月，其中在剑桥城的哈佛大学一个多月，在西雅图的华盛顿大学和加利福尼亚大学伯克利分校各约四个星期。访问期间除参观、考察等活动以外，主要任务是在上述三个大学作学术讲演，主题为中国汉代考古学。

为此，从1979年4月开始，我便着手撰写讲演的文稿。我选了九个专题，作为讲演的题目。它们是：《西汉的都城——长安》、《东汉的都城——雒阳》、《汉代的农业》、《汉代的漆器》、《汉代的铜器》、《汉代的铁器》、《汉代的陶器》、《汉代的墓葬（上）》、《汉代的墓葬（下）》。在同年10月初动身赴美国之前约两个多月，我结束了全部讲演稿的撰写（并制作了数百枚供讲演时放映的幻灯片），将稿件邮送给张光直教授。张光直约请几位美国的汉学家分别用英文翻译《雒阳》、《农业》、《漆器》、《铜器》、《铁器》、《陶器》各专题的讲演稿，他本人则担任《长安》、《墓葬（上）》、《墓葬（下）》三个专题文稿的翻译。到了美国以后，除了在上述三个大学各作九个专题的全部讲演以外，我还分别在哥伦比亚大学和加利福尼亚大学洛杉矶分校讲《雒阳》，在美国国家科学院和斯坦福大学讲《墓葬（上）》和《墓葬（下）》。

在20世纪六七十年代，文明起源为一项时兴的课题，美、英等西方国家的学者们发表了不少相关的论著。张光直教授趁这股国际上的学术热潮，从弘扬中国古代文明的立场出发，筹划了一套中国古代早期文明研究丛书的编撰出版。他自己写了《商文明》，在美国匹兹堡大学任教授的许倬云写了《西周文明》，以后又有中国社会科学院历史研究所的李学勤写《东周与秦代文明》。我的关于汉代考古学的九个专题讲演稿由张光直编译成一本新书，书名定为“Han Civilization”（《汉代文明》）。他为《汉代文明》写了序言，并请美国耶鲁大学教授余英时审

核书稿而于1982年由耶鲁大学出版社出版。

当时，长期任考古研究所所长的夏鼐先生是我青年时代的导师。夏先生看到我在美国的九个专题讲演稿已由张光直及其他美国学者译为英文，并编辑成书在美国出版，他主张我的中文原稿亦应编成一本专书，在中国国内出版。我遵从夏鼐先生的意旨，将九个专题的中文原稿编成一本名为《汉代考古学概说》的书，由北京的中华书局于1984年出版。

事有巧合，夏鼐先生也于1981年应邀访问美国，在美国的大学作题为《汉代的玉器和丝绸》的学术讲演。美国方面将夏鼐先生的原稿译为英文，并编成专书而在美国出版。美国学者称夏先生的《汉代的玉器和丝绸》与我的《汉代文明》（《汉代考古学概说》）属内容连贯、关系密切的姐妹卷，使我深感荣幸，十分欣喜。

最近，外语教学与研究出版社决定要将夏鼐先生的《汉代的玉器和丝绸》和我的《汉代文明》（《汉代考古学概说》）列入其所编“博雅双语名家名作”，我便写了这篇“序言”，以叙明当初的事情、缘由，供读者参考。

王仲殊

2013年2月25日

FOREWORD TO THE ENGLISH EDITION (1982)

Of all the historical dynasties of imperial China, the Han is without question the most archaeologically dependent. On the one hand, because of the Han custom of richly furnishing the brick- and stone-constructed graves, archaeologists have been particularly amply rewarded with Han remains, including many written documents. On the other, because of Han's antiquity, its traditional literary documentation is glaringly incomplete. Therefore, a book on Han archaeology has long been awaited by not only Han scholars but also students interested in Chinese history, art, and archaeology.

The present volume, in which Wang Zhongshu masterfully summarizes the important archaeological data pertaining to the Han civilization, is that long-awaited book. In it the latest data are carefully synthesized and presented by one of China's principal archaeologists of the Han civilization. Wang Zhongshu, research fellow and deputy director of the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, has not only participated in many excavations at Han sites, but also was the director of the excavations of the site of Chang'an in the 1950s and early 1960s.

In October 1979 Wang Zhongshu gave a series of nine lectures on Han dynasty archaeology at Harvard University. He came under the auspices of a senior lectureship program arranged between the Committee on Scholarly Communica tion with China (Washington, D.C.) and the China Association for Science and Technology (Beijing). After speaking at Harvard, Wang delivered some of the same lectures at the University of Washington (Seattle) and the University of California(Berkeley) before returning to China. At Harvard, Wang's visit was sponsored by the American School of Prehistoric Research at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, and his lectures were delivered at the departments of Anthropology, East Asian Languages and Civilizations, and Fine Arts.

Soon after their arrival in Cambridge, Wang and his assistant, Xu Pingfang, who is a senior archaeologist best known for his work at Yuan Dadu, raised with me the possibility of publishing his lectures in this country.

Having received the Chinese texts of his forthcoming lectures beforehand, I was familiar with their rich content and superb quality, and I reacted enthusiastically to the idea. Soon they decided to entrust me with the task that has resulted in the volume that appears before you.

The book could not have been prepared without two sources of generous support. The first is the National Endowment for the Humanities, which awarded me a grant to help prepare the manuscript for publication. I am grateful to the Endowment, which, of course, will not be held responsible for any of the views expressed herein.

The other source of support comes from my Harvard colleagues who served as interpreters during Wang's lectures, given in Chinese, and generously placed at my disposal the English translations of the various chapters they had prepared. They are Professor Ronald Egan of the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, who translated chapters 2 and 3; Dr. Loh Wai-fong, of the same department, chapters 5 and 6; Mr. Robert Mowry, of the Fogg Museum (now curator of the Asia House Gallery in New York), chapter 7; and Ms. Jenny So, of the Department of Fine Arts, chapter 4. (Chapters 1, 8, and 9 were translated by me.) Mr. Thatcher Deane of the University of Washington provided me with his own translation of chapter 6, a particularly difficult chapter to translate, and I frequently consulted it in preparing the final manuscript. I thank all of them for their excellent work and herein acknowledge their respective contributions. As editor, however, I alone am responsible for any errors of translation. Most of the illustrations in this volume appeared previously either in publications of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences or in the journal Wenwu. In each case, the appearance is noted in the endnotes. The author and editor acknowledge their gratitude to the Academy and Wenwu for allowing them to be published here. The footnotes and the captions for illustrations were translated by me, and I prepared the appendix.

Figures 2, 28, 29, 30, 37, and 42, and the frontispiece have been redrawn by Mrs. Nancy Lambert Brown.

Harvard University

K. C. Chang
September 1, 1980

1982年英文版序言

在中国的历朝历代中，汉代无疑是最依赖考古研究的一个。一方面，汉代厚葬的风俗使考古学家在砖石结构的墓室中发现了大量包括文字资料在内的汉代遗迹；另一方面，由于汉代年代久远，很多传统文献已残缺不全。因此，无论是汉学家，还是对中国历史、艺术、考古感兴趣的学生都对有关汉代考古研究的著作期待已久。

《汉代考古学概说》正是这样一部让人期待已久的著作。作者娴熟地总结了与汉文明相关的考古资料，将其经过审慎的整合后在书中呈现。王仲殊是中国社会科学院考古研究所的副所长和研究员，曾参与众多汉代遗址的发掘工作，并于19世纪50年代至60年代初期主持了长安城遗址的发掘，是中国汉代考古的主要研究者之一。

1979年10月，在美中学术交流委员会（华盛顿特区）和中国科学技术协会（北京）联合举办的高级讲师项目支持下，王仲殊以汉代考古学为主题在哈佛大学、华盛顿大学（西雅图）和加州大学（伯克利）分别进行了数场讲座。在哈佛，王仲殊的访问得到了皮博迪考古与民族学博物馆美国史前研究院的赞助，讲座分别在人类学系、东亚语言与文明系以及艺术系举办。

到达剑桥后不久，王仲殊和他的助手——以元大都研究而著称的资深考古学家徐苹芳，问我是否有可能在美国出版这一系列讲座内容。讲座之前我就收到了中文讲稿，深知稿件内容丰富，且质量极高，因此，我积极地回应了这一提议。随后他们将此书的出版工作委托于我，成果便是大家眼前的这部著作。

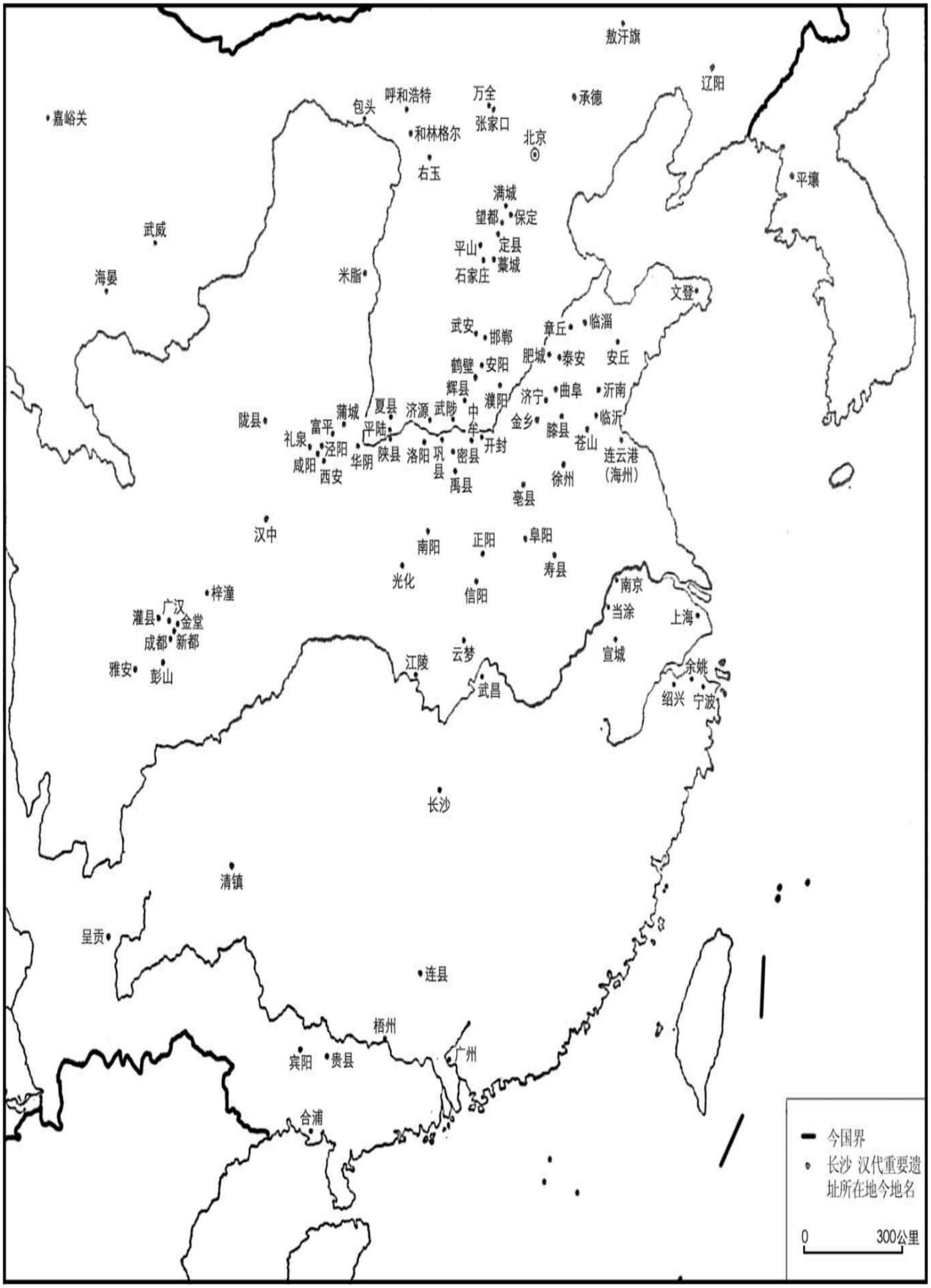
本书的出版有赖于两方面的大力支持。首先，非常感谢美国人文基金会，他们为本书的出版提供了经费。当然，本书观点与基金会无关。

另一方面的支持来自哈佛大学的同事们，他们曾在王仲殊先生讲座期间承担口译工作，又慷慨地将他们准备的各章节的英文译稿提供给我。东亚语言与文明系的艾朗诺教授和陆惠风教授分别翻译了第2、3章和第5、6章；福格艺术博物馆的罗伯特·莫里先生（现纽约亚洲博物馆馆长）翻译了第7章；艺术系的苏芳淑女士翻译了第4章；我翻译了第1、8、9章。华盛顿大学的杜泰池先生向我提供了他自己翻译的第6章，这一章极难翻译，我在准备终稿时曾多次查阅他的译文。在此，我要对所有人的出色工作致以敬意，对他们的贡献表示感谢。译本中若出现任何错误，我作为编者将承担全部责任。书中大部分插图之前都曾出现在

中国社会科学院的出版物或者《文物》杂志上，上述情况都在尾注中作了说明，在此本书作者和编者对社科院及《文物》杂志表示感谢。此外，我翻译了脚注及图说，并编写了附录。（按：不同译者对同一专有名词的译法略有出入，根据作者意见，本版不作改动。）

图2、28、29、30、37、42以及卷首插图由南希·兰伯特·布朗女士重新绘制。

张光直
哈佛大学
1980年9月1日



敖汗旗
辽阳
呼和浩特
包头
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承德
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和林格尔
北京
右玉
平壤
满城
望都
保定
武威
平山
定县
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藁城
海晏
米脂
文登
武安
邯郸
章丘
临淄
安丘
肥城
泰安
鹤壁
安阳
辉县
济宁
曲阜
沂南
蒲城
夏县
济源
武陟
濮阳
陇县
中牟
金乡
滕县
临沂
富平
平陆
礼泉
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密县
连云港
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咸阳
华阴
西安
禹县
徐州
亳县
汉中
南阳
正阳
阜阳
寿县
光化
信阳
梓潼
南京
广汉
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灌县
金堂
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新都
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宣城
江陵
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雅安
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Map of China showing locations of major Han dynasty sites 汉代重要考古遗迹分布图

CHAPTER 1　CHANG'AN: THE CAPITAL CITY OF WESTERN HAN

The ruins of Chang'an, the capital city of Western Han, are located about 3 km northwest of the present Xi'an city, Shaanxi Province, and 2 km south of the Weishui River. Seeing the remnants of its city walls(fig. 1) and the scattered tiles there, one can imagine the magnificent scale and the prosperity of Chang'an in the past. The Qin capital city of Xianyang is north of the Weishui River. Probably the Han dynasty capital was built south of the river because the land here was more level and wider and because the south-of-the-river region had better access to the vast areas east of the Hangu Gate.

The building of the city of Chang'an was accomplished in three stages during the Han dynasty. (1) Under Emperor Gao Zu, the Changlegong Palace was an expansion of Xinglegong, a Qin dynasty resort palace. In addition, the Weiyanggong Palace was constructed to the west of Changlegong, and an armory was built between the two palaces. (2) Under Emperor Hui Di, the city wall was constructed. The building of the wall probably began at the northwestern corner: the west wall was the first to be erected, next the south wall, then the east wall, and finally the north wall. (3) Under Emperor Wu Di, the Mingguanggong Palace was built north of Changlegong; the Guigong and Beigong palaces were built north of Weiyanggong; and the Jianzhanggong Palace was constructed to the west, outside the city. In addition, the Shanglinyuan Park was expanded and the artificial lake called Kunmingchi was opened. At that point, the capital city was basically complete.

City Wall　The plan of the city is basically square, with the city oriented according to the cardinal directions. However, the city wall was constructed after completion of the Changlegong and Weiyanggong palaces and adjusting its course to the locations of these two palaces caused the south wall to zigzag. The north wall also zigzagged, due to topography and the course of the river. The book *San fu huang tu* (*A Guide to the Three Military Districts of the Capital*) claims that the southern part of the city was shaped like the Southern Dipper and the northern part, like the Big Dipper. It appears that these so-called dipper shapes are a later speculation and were not represented

in the original design. Neither Ban Gu nor Zhang Heng, in their famous poems about Chang'an, *Xi du fu and Xi jing fu*, used the dipper analogy.

When archaeologists investigated the Chang'an ruins, they found that most of the wall was still exposed above ground. Many wall sections collapsed, but underground the foundations still remained. According to the two surveys of 1957 and 1962, the east wall was 6,000 m long, the south wall 7,600 m, the west wall 4,900 m, and the north wall 7,200 m. Thetotal length of the four walls was 25,700 m, which corresponds to a little over 62 *li*[*] according to the Han system of measurement. This basically conforms to the recorded 63*li* in*Han jiu yi*. The total area was about 36 km^2 (fig. 2).[1]

The city wall was built of rammed yellow earth. Its height was over 12 m, and the width at base was 12 to 16 m. The description of the wall's dimensions in*San fu huang tu* (3.5*zhang* tall, 1.5*zhang* wideat base, and 9*chi* at top) is not accurate. Despite its construction of earth, without bricks or stones, the wall has proved to be unexpectedly strong (figs. 3, 4). According to*Hanshu* ("Hui Di ji"), the wall was built by conscript labor provided by farmers who lived within a 600-*li* radius of Chang'an and by prisoners sent in by the feudal lords and princes. One wall section required a whole month of work by 145,000 or 146,000 laborers. The completion of all four city walls probably took five years. Outside the city wall was a moat, but 8 m wide and 3 m deep. The excavations in 1962 of the area outside the Zhangchengmen Gate clarified the shape of the moat outside the city gate and also proved that wooden bridges were built over the moat (fig. 5).[2]

City Gates There were twelve city gates, three to each wall. The gates along the east wall, from north to south, were known as Xuanpingmen, Qingmingmen, and Bachengmen; the south wall gates, from east to west, were called Fu'angmen, Anmen, and Xi'anmen; the west wall gates, from south to north, were Zhangchengmen, Zhichengmen, and Yongmen, along the north wall, the gates, from west to east, were Hengmen, Chuchengmen and Luochengmen. (See fig. 2) Of these, the Xuanpingmen, Bachengmen, Xi'anmen, and Zhichengmen gates were excavated in 1957.

The city gates followed strict designs. Each gate had three gateways, and each gateway was 6 m wide. The width of the gateway corresponded exactly to four times the width of a carriage (figs. 6, 7). This fact had been clearly stated in *San fu jue lu*, *Xi jing fu*, and the commentary on *Xi jing fu* by Xue Zong.[3] The distance between each two gateways was 4 m for the Xuanpingmen Gate and Zhichengmen Gate, but it was 14 m for the

Bachengmen Gate and Xi'anmen Gate. The greater the distance between gateways, the wider the whole city gate, of course, and the more majestic it looked. This greater distance in the latter case was possibly because the Bachengmen Gate lay directly opposite the east entrance to the Changlegong Palace and the Xi'anmen Gate lay across the southern entrance to Weiyanggong.[4]

Street Grid The street system within Chang'an was made clear through surveys and excavations in 1961-1962. No large avenues were built inside the four gates that were close to Changlegong and Weiyanggong(i.e., Bachengmen, Fu'angmen, Xi'anmen, and Zhangchengmen). All the other eight gates led into long avenues extending into the city. Therefore, although there were twelve city gates in Chang'an, the city had only eight major avenues within its walls, just as described in *Han jiu yi* and *San fu jiu shi*. These avenues were straight, running north-south or east-west, forming many T-intersections and cross-sections. The longest was the Anmen Gate Avenue, 5,500 m long, followed by the Xuanpingmen Gate Avenue, 3,800 m long. The shortest was the Luochengmen Gate Avenue, 850 m long. The length of each of the other avenues was about 3,000 m, and each had its own name. For example, the Anmen Gate Avenue was probably called Zhangtai Jie; the Zhichengmen Gate Avenue was probably Gao Jie; the Qingmingmen Gate Avenue was probably Xiangshi Jie; and the Hengmen Gate Avenue probably Huayang Jie.[5]

Although their lengths varied, the eight avenues were of equal width; that is, about 45 m. Their width was obviously the result of uniform planning. It is noteworthy that each avenue was divided into three parallel lanes, which were separated by two drainage ditches, each about 90 cm wide and 45 cm deep. The ditches were semicircular in crosssection. The central lane was the widest, about 20 m, and the two on the outside were each about 12 m wide (fig. 8). According to textual records, the central lane was called "Chi dao" and was meant exclusively for the emperor. Even imperial princes were not permitted to use it, let alone mere commoners and officials. These three-lane avenues are referred to in *Xi du fu* in the following line: "[It is] covered with wide avenues with three lanes." The layout of the avenues also explains why each gate had three gateways. The central one was for use of the emperor, and the two lateral gateways, for commoners' use.[6]

Drainage A drainage system is of obvious importance for a city surrounded by gigantic walls. At Chang'an water was drained mainly through large

drainholes buried under the city gates. Finds from beneath the Zhichengmen and Xi'anmen gates indicate that the drainholes were 1.2 and 1.6 m wide, respectively, and 1.4 m deep, built with bricks and rocks, with the top part constructed of brick and forming an arc (fig. 9). Water that accumulated inside the city was carried away through the ditches alongside the avenues and then let out into the moat through the drainholes underneath the gates. *Hanshu* (the "Biography of Liu Qumao") describes a battle in which tens of thousands were killed and blood flowed into the ditches. These must have been the ditches built alongside the roads. In addition, at some locations, when the wall was built, pottery waterpipes, pentagonal or round in cross-section, were buried under the foundation, to drain water away (fig. 10).[7]

Palaces, Armory, and Market Research was undertaken in the areas of the Changlegong and Weiyanggong palaces in 1961-62. Changlegong was located in the southeastern portion of Chang'an, surrounded itself by an enclosure. Changlegong and Weiyanggong were built before the city wall was constructed, and they themselves were enclosed by ramparts over 20 m wide at the base, for defense. Changlegong was an expansion of a resort palace of the Qin dynasty, not according to a separate plan, and therefore it was of irregular shape. From the foundation remains, it can be seen that the enclosure of Changlegong was in toto 10,000 m long, or over 20 *li* according to the Han system of measurement. The total area of Changlegong was about 6 km^2, which is about one-sixth of the total area of the city.[8] According to historical texts, Changlegong had four doors on four sides, the eastern and the western doors being the main ones. Outside the door on the east was a towering monument called *dong que*(East Que), and on the west, one called *xi que* (West Que). *Xi que* was immediately close to the Anmen Gate Avenue.

Located in the southwestern portion of Chang'an, Weiyanggong was not quite in symmetry with Changlegong to its east. Built entirely during the Han dynasty, it had a regular, square shape. The lengths of the enclosures are: 2,150 m for both east wall and west wall, and 2,250 m for south and north walls, with a perimeter of 8,800 m (or 21 *li* according to the Han measurement system) and an area of 5 km^2, about one-seventh the size of Chang'an. The walls are mostly gone, with only the foundations left, but a small section of the west wall 11 m high still stands. The famous *qian dian*, or Anterior Hall (the Audience Hall), is in fact located at the center of the Weiyanggong Palace, its foundation still standing. Its length north-south is 350 m, its width east-west 200 m, and the highest northern end, located on a

natural hill, is about 15 m above ground (fig. 11). The palace was indeed grandiose. No wonder Emperor Gao Zu accusingly questioned Xiao He, who built the palace: "All under heaven is chaotic, and battles are still raging on after several years, their results uncertain. Why are palaces constructed so much beyond their proper limits?" According to *San fu huang tu,* the palace had doors on all four sides. The main ones were apparently the east and the north doors. Two gate towers (*que*) were built outside these two doors: the East Que and the North Que. When feudal lords came in for an audience, they would use the East Que, but the people would use the North Que for petitions. On the west and south sides, no gate towers were built outside the doors. Actually, the south and west walls of the Weiyanggong Palace were so close to the ramparts of Chang'an that in fact no room was left for *que* to be built.[9] *Hanshu* ("Gao Di ji") says, "Xiao He build the Weiyanggong, erected the East Que, the North Que, the Anterior Hall, the Armory, and the Grand Storehouse." *San fu huang tu* places the Armory (*wu ku*) at the Weiyanggong, but according to *Shiji* ("Chulizi zhuan") and other records, the Armory was in fact located between the Weiyanggong and the Changlegong. The *Zizhitongjian* commentary quoted *Yuanhe junxian zhi* as saying that the two palaces were one *li* apart. This information has proved through actual surveying at the site to be incorrect. The western wall of Changlegong and the eastern wall of Weiyanggong were separated by a distance of 950 m, which corresponds to over 2 *li* in the Han system. The Armory was located in this area.

Extensive excavations since 1975 have disclosed the areal scope, form, and structure of the Armory. Walls enclosed a rectangular area, 320 m on the east and west and 800 m on the north and south sides. A partition wall separates the Armory into two courtyards. The eastern courtyard had in it four houses and the western courtyard had three houses (fig. 12). Some of these houses provided shelters for the officials, but most served as warehouses for the storage of weapons. The largest of the warehouses was 230 m long, 46 m wide, and incorporated four storage areas, each about 1,500 m^2 in area (fig. 13). Within the storage area, weapons racks were densely arranged. The wooden racks have long been rotted, but their stone bases still remain, fully testifying to the description of such weapons racks in the *Xi jing fu* (fig. 14). According to the excavated remains, the Armory, like the other structures within Chang'an, was destroyed during the war at the end of the Wang Mang period. Although most of the weapons that were stored here had

been removed, a few remained, including iron armor, *ji*-halberds, spears, swords, knives, and arrowheads as well as bronze arrowheads and *ge*-halberds (figs. 15-18).[10]

According to historical records, the Guigong Palace was north of Weiyanggong, and near Jianzhanggong on the other side (to the west) of the city wall. Accordingly, its location should be north of the Zhichengmen Gate Avenue, west of the Hengmen Gate Avenue, and south of the Yongmen Gate Avenue. Test diggings in 1962 in this area indeed disclose the enclosure of Guigong, which was 1,800 m long on the east and west, 880 m long on the north and south, with a total perimeter of 5,300 m, or about 13 *li* in the Han system. The plan of the palace was rectangular, and its area was 1.6 km^2. As for Beigong and Mingguanggong, we are told by historical records that the former was north of Weiyanggong and east of Guigong and that the latter was north of Changlegong, but these palaces have not yet been located on the ground. Finally, Jianzhanggong outside the western ramparts was identified through test diggings in 1962, but only further excavations will disclose additional details.[11] North of Jianzhanggong was Taiyechi, or the Lake Taiye; its remains are vaguely recognizable. In 1973, a massive fish-shaped stone sculpture, almost 5 m long, was found to the north of the lake site (fig. 19), substantiating various records about stone fishes on the north shore of the Lake Taiye at the time.[12]

According to historical records, there were nine markets within Chang'an, three of them "to the east of the avenue" and six "to the west." These were collectively referred to as Dong Shi (the Eastern Markets) and Xi Shi (the Western Markets). Because the southern and the central portions of Chang'an were all palace areas, the nine markets could only be located in the northern part of the city area. According to *San fu jiu shi* the nine markets were located near the Tumen Gate (also called the Yongmen Gate) and on both sides of the Heng Bridge Avenue (also called the Hengmen Gate Avenue), and we can further narrow the location of the markets down to the northwestern portion of the city. On the surface in this area archaeologists have collected many pottery figurines and molds for coins, suggesting that this northwestern area had handicraft workshops, which may be regarded as a corroboration of the above judgment.[13] According to *Hanshu* ("Hui Di ji"), "the Western Markets of Chang'an were built in the sixth year [or 189 B.C.]," suggesting that the location of the market was chosen even prior to the building of the city wall. *Zhouli kaogongji* describes the ideal city plan of the

Zhou dynasty as follows: "Its area is 9 *li* square; it has three gates on each side; within the city are nine longitudinal lines and nine latitudinal lines; the longitudinal avenues each are nine carriage tracks wide; the ancestral temple is located on the left and the earth altar on the right; the audience hall faces south; and the market is in the north." In actuality, practical considerations have to enter into the planning of a city; and, as the imperial capital, Chang'an was of a scope far greater than the prototype of the *Kaogongji.* But it is evident that Chang'an's planning does conform with the *Kaogongji* ideal. The enclosure was basically square; there were twelve gates, three to each side; each gate had three openings, which were measured according to carriage tracks; all avenues leading from the gates were each divided into three lanes; the principal palaces were located in the south; the markets were in the north. In short, the city of Chang'an built at the beginning of Western Han, like other early Western Han institutions, still retained the supposed Zhou tradition.

The palaces probably occupied more than half the area of the southern and central parts of the city. A few mansions of the nobility were located near the North Que of Weiyanggong, referred to as the "Bei Que Jia Di." Otherwise, the ordinary people, including most officials, resided in the northern part of the city, especially in the northeastern part, the area near the Xuanpingmen Gate. Yu Xin's *Ai jiang nan fu* has the following lines: "Perform rituals at Changle, in the sight of the noble residences at Xuanping." These lines suggest that the Xuanpingmen Gate area was indeed a residential district. In the central and southern parts of the city, because of their extensive occupation by palaces, most of the gates were used exclusively for access to the palaces, and consequently the Hengmen Gate in the northwest and the Xuanpingmen Gate in the northeast were the gates that were used the most often. The Hengmen Gate in fact controlled the communication in the northwestern direction. Not far outside the gate was the famous bridge Zhong Wei Qiao, also called Heng Qiao or Hengmen Qiao, which spanned the Weishui River, with Xianyang on the other bank of the river. The Xuanpingmen Gate, on the other hand, controlled the communication in the southeastern direction. Coming out of this gateway, one traveled along the southern bank of the Weishui River to Hanguguan. Therefore, the Xuanpingmen Gate (also known as the Dongdumen Gate or Dumen Gate) was the most important of the Chang'an gateways and the one most mentioned in *Hanshu* and *Hou Hanshu.*

History of the Xuanpingmen Gate Archaeological excavations have shown that many structures in Chang'an—including the Bachengmen Gate, Xi'anmen Gate, and Zhichengmen Gate—were destroyed during the warfare at the end of the Wang Mang period (fig. 20). The Xuanpingmen Gate suffered the same fate. The two walls of the gateways had been burned to a red color, and parts had collapsed. From the debris under the gateways were found coins of the Western Han dynasty and the Wang Mang period, especially the *huo bu* and the *huo quan* of the latter period, which accurately date the burning of the gateway.[14] Evidence at the Bachengmen Gate and Xi'anmen Gate shows that after they were destroyed the debris was never cleared away, indicating that these gateways were no longer in use during the Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, and the Six Dynasties periods (fig. 21). At a few other gates, such as Zhichengmen, we find that one of the openings was cleared of debris for reuse on a reduced scale. On the other hand, although the Xuanpingmen Gate was destroyed at the same time, it was subsequently cleared of debris and repaired.

There have been at least two repairs of the Xuanpingmen Gate since Eastern Han. The first took place during the early part of Eastern Han, involving rebuilding of new walls of rammed earth at the northern and the southern openings (fig. 22). *Hou Hanshu* ("Du Du zhuan") states that in the nineteenth year of Jian Wu (A.D. 43) the Dongduchengmen (the Eastern Capital City Gate) was repaired in Chang'an. This historical evidence not only confirms judgments formed in the course of archaeological excavations, it also precisely dates the repair. Thenceforth, the Xuanpingmen Gate continued to be used until the end of Eastern Han. From the later years of the dynasty we have many records pertaining to this gate.[15] They indicate that the gate was still in use when Emperor Xian Di was at Chang'an at the end of the dynasty and that it was complete with a gate tower. In the debris under the gateways we have found Eastern Han *wu zhu* coins and some small and poorly manufactured coins possibly of the Dong Zhuo period.[16]

The second repair of the Xuanpingmen Gate consisted of the construction of new wall surfaces in the central and the southern openings, using fired and sundried bricks (fig. 23). Some of the bricks bear the inscription "Shi An" (figs. 24, 25). According to *Weishu*("Dixingzhi"), Shi An was the name of a county under the Xianyang Prefecture, established by Shi Le of the Later Zhao. This evidence suggests that the new repair took place in the middle of the fourth century. Several texts mention that during

the Later Zhao reign of Shi Hu, the city of Chang'an was rebuilt on a rather large scale, and the repair of the Xuanpingmen Gate was probably part of the rebuilding.[17]

As shown from the excavated remains, no major rebuilding occurred after the Later Zhao, but throughout the Sixteen States period and the Northern Dynasties (fourth through sixth centuries), it continued to be used as a principal gateway. Its name, however, had been changed to Qingmen, as we see in the text *Han gongdian ming*. When Liu Yu of Eastern Jin was attacking Chang'an, Yao Hong of Later Qin had planned to come out of Qingmen to surrender himself. During the Northern Zhou dynasty, Qingmen was still an important gate; the *wu xing da bu* coins of the Northern Zhou have been found in later debris under the gateway. The gateway continued into Sui: wheel tracks have been found under it, and *wu zhu* coins of the Sui dynasty suggest that the gateway was in use then.[18] During the Tang dynasty, the three gateways were finally blocked forever.

In short, although Chang'an was badly damaged by war during the final years of the Wang Mang period, it continued to be an important city throughout the Eastern Han, Wei, Jin, Sixteen States, Western Wei, Northern Zhou, and early Sui dynasties, and many of these dynasties even used it as their capital. The Xuanpingmen Gate excavations have, thus, disclosed a cross-section of the whole history of Chang'an.

Royal Parks The Shanglinyuan royal parks were built by the Qin dynasty within its capital city in Xianyang, and they were abandoned at the beginning of the Han dynasty. Emperor Wu Di incorporated Shanglinyuan into the palace parks and expanded them. The vast area southeast to southwest of Chang'an, more than 200 *li* in perimeter, was roped in as a result. In the parks were placed birds and animals for the imperial hunt, and several dozen resort palaces were built. A great number of eaves tiles impressed with the name Shanglin are the most conspicuous remains of these palaces. In 1961, at Gaoyaocun in Sanqiaozhen about 2 km southwest of Chang'an, an architectural site was found consisting of several house floors, the largest being about 340 m long by 65 m wide, probably the remains of an important palatial building within the Shanglinyuan parks.[19] A storage pit was discovered near the house floor, containing more than twenty bronze vessels such as basins, *ding*-tripods, *fang*-jars, and cooking pots. Inscriptions incised on the vessels (fig. 26) indicate that these were used within the Shanglinyuan parks; likely they were intentionally buried during the fighting at the end of

the Wang Mang period.[20]

In the third year of Emperor Wu Di's reign period Yuan Shou (120 B.C.), the artificial lake called Kunmingchi was excavated between the rivers Feng and Jue to the southwest of Chang'an, for the purpose of training a water-bound fighting force (in preparation for war with the state of Kunming) and to help alleviate the water shortage in the capital. After two thousand years the remains of the lake are still vaguely recognizable. The lake site now is a depression more than 10 km^2 in area. An elevated ground in the northern part appears to have been an island within the lake, possibly the site of the Yuzhang Hall described in the *Xi jing fu*. In describing the Kunming Lake, both *Xi du fu* and *Xi jing fu* refer to "the Niu Lang [or Cow Boy] on the left and the Zhi Nü [or Weaving Lady] on the right." A pair of sculptured stone human figures still stand today near Doumenzhen; their style is highly archaistic, apparently dating from the Western Han period.[21] The stone sculpture on the eastern side of the lake is that of a male, presumably the Cow Boy (fig. 27, left), and the one on the western side that of a female, presumably the Weaving Lady (fig. 27, right), completely conforming with their descriptions in the two poems by Ban Gu and Zhang Heng.[22] The floors of many houses were brought to light around the ancient lake site, yielding a few stone foundations and a large number of tiles. These could be the remains that are described in ancient texts of the Xuanqugong, Baiyanggong, and Xiliugong palaces within the Shanglinyuan parks (fig. 28).[23]

Ritual Structures Emperor Wu Di paid great attention to Confucian rituals, and some of his Confucian officials had proposed to him that a new Ming Tang (a ritual hall where the emperor pronounced the new year, officiated at festivities, performed rituals, and received the feudal lords) be built. However, it was not. (It should be mentioned that there was a Ming Tang at that time, located on the Taishan Mountains). Under the reign of Emperor Cheng Di, officials suggested that a "Pi Yong" (a place where the emperor performed rituals and music and promulgated virtuous principles) be built in the south of Chang'an, but again it was not done at that time. At the end of Western Han, when Wang Mang became regent, he had Ming Tang, Pi Yong, Ling Tai (the spiritual terrace), and Tai Xue (the imperial academy) built in Chang'an. After he enthroned himself, Wang Mang went even further, building his Jiu Miao, or "Nine Temples." These "mysterious" buildings, full of religious color, were designed in accordance with both traditional Confucian regulations and Taoist *yin yang* and *wu xing* (Five Elements)

principles; they were of large scale and quite complex. The sites of these buildings, which the archaeologists refer to as ritual structures, were first excavated in 1956, and since then more than ten such structures have come to light (fig. 29).[24]

A ritual structure excavated in 1956, located south-southeast of the Anmen Gate, consisted of a square building surrounded by a square composed of four walls, each 235 m long. Through each of the four walls was a door. At each corner, within the enclosure and close to the wall, were built elbow-shaped houses (fig. 30). At the center of the courtyard was a square hall (with side rooms on four sides) built on a round platform 60 m across (fig. 31). Outside the courtyard was a large circle 360 m long, formed by a ditch 2 m wide. In short, a peculiar architectural plan characterized this building: a square was placed within a circle, and within the square was another circle. These principles are consistent with the textual characterizations of Ming Tang and Pi Yong, such as "circular above and square below," or "circular outside and square inside." What is more, the records all characterize the Pi Yong as a structure surrounded by water on all sides, and as circular as a jade ring. It looks as if the excavated structure was indeed the Pi Yong (fig. 32).[25]

All the other ritual structures are clustered in the area southsouthwest of the Anmen Gate. Their shapes are similar to the Pi Yong above, but they were not surrounded by ditches, and their central halls were not built on round platforms. Thus, they were probably neither the Ming Tang nor the Pi Yong. Artifactual remains found here date from the Wang Mang period, and consequently most archaeologists believe them to be the Nine Temples. It is noteworthy that the eaves tiles used above the four doors of the temple were decorated with designs representing the Four Deities: eaves tiles with Green Dragon designs, over the east gate; White Tiger eaves tiles, over the west gate; Red Bird tiles, over the south gate; and Black Turtle tiles, over the north gate. This usage is consistent with the principle that "the Four Deities were in charge of the Four Directions" (figs. 33-36).[26] All of these ritual structures were destroyed at the end of the Wang Mang period, too, and they were never rebuilt.

壹　西汉的都城——长安

西汉的首都长安城遗址，在今陕西省西安市西北约三公里，北距渭水南岸约二公里。在遗址上，但见残存的城墙绵亘起伏，重重叠叠的瓦片遍地皆是，昔日宏大的规模和繁华的景象于此可以想见（图1）。秦代首都咸阳城，在渭水北岸。汉代将都城建在渭水之南，可能是出于地形方面的选择。特别是从加强首都与函谷关以东广大地区的联系来考虑，这里的交通条件要比渭北便利得多。

长安城的建设，大体上可以分为三个阶段。汉高祖时，将秦代的离宫兴乐宫改建为长乐宫，在长乐宫的西面兴建未央宫，又在长乐、未央两宫之间建武库。汉惠帝时筑城墙（其进程大概是从城的西北方起，先筑西墙，再筑南墙，又筑东墙，最后筑北墙），并建东市和西市。汉武帝时，在长乐宫的北面建明光宫，在未央宫的北面建桂宫、修北宫，在西面城外建建章宫，并扩建上林苑，开凿昆明池，都城的规模至此大备。

长安城的平面形状，基本上呈方形，正方向，经纬相等。但是，由于城墙的建筑是在长乐宫和未央宫已经建成之后，必须迁就两宫的位置，所以南面城墙有多处曲折。北面城墙因地势的关系，主要是由于河道的限制，更有许多曲折、偏斜之处。《三辅黄图》说："城南为南斗形，城北为北斗形。"其实，所谓南斗形和北斗形是出于后世的附会，并非筑城时有意模仿。班固《西都赋》和张衡《西京赋》在叙述长安城的形制时都没有提到南斗形和北斗形，也足以说明这一问题。考古工作者在长安城遗址勘察时，大部分城墙犹高出地面，虽然有不少断缺之处，但仍有墙基遗留于地下。经1957年和1962年两次实测，东面城墙长约6000米，南面城墙长约7600米，西面城墙长约4900米，北面城墙长约7200米；四面城墙总长约25700米，合汉代六十二里强，基本上与《史记·吕后本纪》索引及《续汉书·郡国志》注引《汉旧仪》长安城周围六十三里的记载相符。全城总面积约36平方公里（图2）。[1]

城墙全部用黄土夯筑而成。其高度在12米以上，下部宽度为12—16米。《三辅黄图》说"城高三丈五尺，下阔一丈五尺，上阔九尺"，与实际不符。虽然是土筑的城墙，没有使用砖和石料，但其坚固的程度超出了人们的想象（图3、4）。据《汉书·惠帝纪》记载，当时是征调长安六百里内的农民和各地诸侯王、列侯的徒隶来筑城墙的。十四万五六千人，劳动一个月，只能建成一面城墙。四面城墙的建成，大概经历了五

年的时间。在城墙的外侧，有壕沟围绕。经勘探、发掘，壕沟宽约8米，深约3米，与《三辅黄图》“广三丈，深二丈”的记载近似。1962年在章城门外的发掘，究明了城门前面壕沟的形制，可以判断当时在壕沟上架有木桥，以便出入（图5）。[2]

全城共有十二个城门，平均分布在东南西北四面，每面各三个城门。东面的城门自北而南为宣平门、清明门、霸城门，南面的城门自东而西为复盎门、安门，西安门，西面的城门自南而北为章城门、直城门、雍门，北面的城门自西而东为横门、厨城门、洛城门。（见图2）其中，宣平门、霸城门、西安门、直城门于1957年经过发掘。

城门的设计，按照严格的规制。每个城门都有三个门道，每个门道的实际宽度都为6米，恰好相当于四个车轨（图6、7）。这就是《三辅决录》的所谓“三涂洞开”和《西京赋》的所谓“三途夷庭，方轨十二”。三国时薛综注《西京赋》说：“一面三门，门三道，故云三途，途容四轨，故方十二轨。”[3]这是对长安城城门形制最具体的说明。宣平门和直城门，门道之间的间隔为4米；霸城门和西安门，门道之间的间隔为14米。门道之间的间隔愈大，整个城门也就显得愈为广阔、雄伟。这可能是由于霸城门和西安门分别对着长乐宫的东门和未央宫的南门之故。[4]

1961年至1962年的钻探和发掘工作，究明了长安城内街道的形制。除了霸城门、复盎门、西安门、章城门因入门不远便是长乐宫和未央宫而外，其余八个城门都各有一条大街通入城内，延伸甚长。这就是说，长安城虽有十二个城门，但城内主要的大街是八条，正与《汉旧仪》、《三辅旧事》等的记载相符。这些大街，或作南北向，或作东西向，全街成一直线，毫无曲折。它们互相交错、接合，形成了许多“丁字路口”和“十字路口”。最长的是安门大街，计5500米；其次是宣平门大街，计3800米；最短的是洛城门大街，计850米。其余的大街，长度多为3000米左右。在当时，各条大街都有专门的名称。从文献记载结合实际勘察的情况来看，安门大街可能是章台街，直城门大街可能是稾街，清明门大街可能是香室街，横门大街可能是华阳街。[5]

八条大街的长度虽各有差别，但它们的宽度却完全相同，都在45米左右。这显然是出于统一的规划。值得注意的是，每一大街都分成三条并行的道路，其间有两条宽约90厘米、深约45厘米的排水沟。这两条排水沟，形状很规整，断面成半圆形，它们固然是为了排除雨水而设，但也起了使大街一分为三的作用。中间的一条道路宽度较大，计20米；两侧的两条道路宽度较小，各为12米左右（图8）。据文献记载，中间的一条道路称“驰道”，是专供皇帝行走的；平民和官吏都不得行“驰道”，皇太子亦不例外。《西都赋》所说“披三条之广路”，就是指长安城内的

大街都分为三条并行的道路而言的。这也说明了每个城门为什么都要有三个门道（中间的一个门道为皇帝所专用，一般吏民的出入是经左右的两个门道）。[6]

对于四周筑有高大城墙的都市来说，排水设施是十分重要的。长安城的排水设施，主要是在城门的地下埋筑宽大的涵洞。据在直城门和西安门发掘所见，涵洞的宽度各约1.2米和1.6米，高约1.4米左右，系用砖和石块砌筑，顶部都用砖发券（图9）。城内的积水，通过大街两旁的水沟，从城门地下的涵洞排入城外的壕沟。《汉书·刘屈氂传》说："太子驱四市人，凡数万众，至长乐西阙下，逢丞相军，合战数日，死者数万人，血流入沟中。"此处所说的沟，就是指安门大街两旁的排水沟。此外，在建筑城墙时，还预先有计划地将一些断面成五角形或圆形的陶制水管埋入墙基，也起了排水的作用（图10）。[7]城内许多重要建筑物的地下排水系统，也是普遍使用这种陶制的水管来敷设的。

1961年至1962年，对长乐宫和未央宫的范围进行了勘探。长乐宫在城的东南部，所以又称东宫。宫的周围筑有围墙。由于兴建长乐宫和未央宫时，长安城还没有城墙，为了防卫，两宫的围墙都很宽阔，基部宽在二十米以上。可能是因为长乐宫系由秦代的离宫改建而成，缺乏系统的规划，所以全宫的平面形状不很规整。从埋存在地下的断断续续的墙基看来，长乐宫的围墙全长在10,000米左右，合汉代二十余里；宫的全部面积约6平方公里，占长安城总面积约六分之一。[8]据文献记载，长乐宫四面各有一门，称"司马门"。其中东面和西面的司马门是主要的，门外有阙，称东阙和西阙，后者紧临安门大街。

未央宫在长安城的西南部，当时也称西宫。但是，经勘察，它的位置和东面的长乐宫不很对称。因为完全是汉代新建的，所以和长乐宫相反，它的规划十分整齐，全宫平面为一规整的方形。四周围墙的长度，东墙和西墙各为2150米，南墙和北墙各为2250米，周围全长8800米，合汉代二十一里；全宫面积约5平方公里，占长安城总面积约七分之一。围墙虽已夷平，仅存地下的墙基，但西墙尚有一小段遗留在地面上，其高度竟达11米。有名的未央宫前殿，基本上居全宫的正中，其基址至今犹高耸在地面上，南北长约350米，东西宽约200米，北端最高处高在15米以上，是利用龙首山的丘陵造成的（图11）。萧何营建未央宫，其规模如此宏伟，无怪汉高祖要责问："天下匈匈，苦战数岁，成败未可知，是何治宫室过度也？"据记载，未央宫四面各有一"司马门"，而以东面和北面的"司马门"为重要，门外有阙，称为"东阙"和"北阙"。诸侯来朝，入自东阙；士民上书，则诣北阙。至于西南两面，则有门无阙。从实际情况看来，未央宫的南墙和西墙距长安城的城墙都很近，亦无立

阙的余地。[9]

《汉书·高帝纪》说："萧何治未央宫，立东阙、北阙、前殿、武库、太仓。"《三辅黄图》说："武库在未央宫。"但是，从《史记·樗里子传》和其他许多有关的记载来看，武库不在未央宫内，而在未央宫与长乐宫之间。《资治通鉴》注引《元和郡县志》谓未央宫与长乐宫相隔一里，其实不然。根据实际的勘探，长乐宫的西墙与未央宫的东墙相距为950米，合汉代二里有余，武库的位置便在这一地段上。

1975年以来，对武库进行了全面的发掘，究明了它的范围、形制和结构。它的四周都筑有围墙，整个平面成一规整的长方形，东墙和西墙各长320米，南墙和北墙各长约800米。在内部有一道隔墙，将整个武库划分为两个院落。东院有四个仓库，西院有三个仓库，共计七个仓库（图12）。其中最大的一个仓库，长约230米，宽约46米，包含着四个库房，每一库房的面积在1500平方米以上（图13）。在库房中，紧密地排列着放置各种兵器的木架。木架本身虽已朽坏无存，而木架的础石犹一一可数，充分显示了《西京赋》所说"武库禁兵，设在兰锜"的情形（图14）。发掘工作说明，和长安城中其他许多建筑物一样，武库毁于新莽末年的战火。所藏武器虽然多已被取走，但仍有一些残余，其种类包括铁制的甲、戟、矛、剑、刀、镞和铜制的戈和镞等，完全足以说明它是武库（图15—18）。[10]

据文献记载，桂宫在未央宫之北，西面隔城与建章宫相近。因此，它的位置应在直城门大街之北，横门大街之西，雍门大街之南。1962年，通过钻探，在这一范围内发现了桂宫的围墙，计东墙和西墙各长约1800米，南墙和北墙各长约880米，四面围墙总长约5300米，约合汉代十三里；全宫平面呈长方形，面积约1.6平方公里。至于北宫和明光宫，迄今尚未究明它们的范围，只是根据文献记载，认为前者的位置应在未央宫之北、桂宫之东，后者的位置应在长乐宫之北而已。西面城外的建章宫，经1962年的勘探，大致究明了它的位置和范围，但还待进一步考察才能确定。[11]建章宫北有太液池，其遗迹尚大致可寻。1973年在池址的北侧发现了一件巨型的鱼形石雕，长近5米，证实了各种文献关于太液池北岸当时置有石鱼的记载（图19）。[12]

综合各种文献记载，可以肯定长安城内有九市。三市在街道之东，称东市；六市在街道之西，称西市。由于长安城的南部和中部都属宫殿区，九市只能是在城的北部。《三辅旧事》记述九市的位置在突门（雍门）附近、横桥大道（应即横门大街）的两侧，因而可以进一步判断它们是在城的西北部。在城的西北部一带，有的地方曾发现地面上散布着许多陶俑和钱范，说明这里是手工业作坊的所在，也可以作为上述判断

的一种依据。[13]《汉书·惠帝纪》说：“（惠帝）六年（公元前189年），起长安西市。”由此可见，市的位置早在筑城之初已经选定。

《考工记》说：“匠人营国，方九里，旁三门，国中九经九纬，经涂九轨，左祖右社，面朝后市，市朝一夫。”这是中国古代都城的一种理想化的规划。据考证，《考工记》为东周时所作，但就调查发掘所知，东周列国都城的形制多与《考工记》不符。然而，综上所述，长安城的规划却的确有与《考工记》符合之处。这主要表现在：城的平面形状虽然不很规整，但基本上呈方形，经纬相等；十二个城门平均分布在四面，每面三个城门；每个城门各有三个门道，其宽度按车轨计算；经由城门的主要大街，都各分为并行的三条道路；长乐宫和未央宫在城的南部，东市和西市在城的北部。这可能是由于《考工记》在汉初受到重视，因而在设计长安城时被充分参照，相反，也可能是由于汉儒从长安城的实际情况出发，增改了《考工记》的“匠人营国”部分的关系。

长安城内的宫殿，仅长乐、未央两宫就占了全城总面积的三分之一，再加上桂宫、北宫和明光宫，宫殿所占的面积可能在全城总面积的二分之一以上。由于宫殿集中在城的南部和中部，所以，除了少数权贵人物的邸宅在未央宫北阙附近，即所谓“北阙甲第”而外，一般的居民，包括官吏在内，就只能居住在城的北部，特别是在城的东北部，靠近宣平门的地区。庾信《哀江南赋》有“践长乐之神皋，望宣平之贵里”之句，也说明了宣平门附近一带是汉代的重要住宅区。由于长乐宫和未央宫等宫殿的存在，霸城门、复盎门、安门、西安门、章城门、直城门等城门实际上成为宫廷所专用。因此，西北面的横门和东北面的宣平门就成了长安城中吏民出入最频繁的城门。横门主要是管西北方的交通，门外不远，便是有名的中渭桥，又称横桥或横门桥，横跨渭水，过桥即至咸阳。与此相反，宣平门主要是管东南方面的交通，出门沿渭水南岸东行，出函谷关而达关东广大地区，其重要性更在横门之上。根据各种文献记载，宣平门又称东都门，或称都门，由于位置重要，出入频繁，《汉书》、《后汉书》中有关此门的记载也最多。

发掘工作证明，长安城的许多建筑物，其中包括霸城门、西安门、直城门等城门，都是在新莽末年的战火中被焚毁的（图20）。宣平门亦不例外，门道的两壁都被烧得发赤，并大量崩塌。在门道的堆积层中，发现了西汉和新莽的铜钱，尤以新莽的货布和货泉为多，这就具体地说明了城门焚毁的确实年代。[14]霸城门和西安门，被毁以后，一任崩塌的乱土、碎瓦和灰烬等堆塞在门道中而未加清除，说明了它们在此后的东汉、魏晋、五胡十六国时期和西魏、北周是废弃不用的（图21）；有的城门如直城门，则只修理了三个门道中的一个，以供出入。与此相反，宣平门虽然也在同一时期被焚毁，但堆塞在门道中的乱土和灰烬完全被

清除，门道两壁有着显著的修补遗迹。可以断定，自东汉以来，宣平门至少重建过两次。

第一次重建是在东汉初期，重建的遗迹是在北门道和南门道的旧壁上另用夯土补筑，形成了新壁（图22）。《后汉书·杜笃传》说："（建武十九年，即公元43年）于长安修理东都城门。"这不仅证实了发掘工作中的判断，而且进一步说明重建的具体年份。重建后的宣平门，一直使用到东汉末年，所以东汉末年有着许多关于宣平门的记载。[15]《后汉书·献帝纪》说："（初平二年，即公元191年）三月，宣平门外屋无故自坏。"《三国志·董卓传》说："司徒王允挟天子上宣平城门避兵。"《后汉书·董卓传》说："王允奉天子保宣平城门楼上。"这些记载都说明直到东汉末年献帝居长安时，宣平门仍然存在，而且是一个筑有门楼的完整的城门。在门道的堆积层中发现的一些东汉的五铢钱和可能是董卓时所铸的粗制滥造的小铜钱，都是很好的物证。[16]

宣平门的第二次重建的遗迹，主要是在中门道和南门道用砖和土坯砌筑新壁（图23）。值得注意的是，所用的砖往往印有"石安"字样（图24、25）。据《魏书·地形志》记载，咸阳郡的石安县为后赵石勒所置，这就说明了这次改建的年代是在后赵（公元4世纪中叶）。《晋书·石季龙载记》说："（石虎）以石苞代镇长安，发雍、洛、秦、并州十六万人城长安未央宫。"《十六国春秋·后赵录》也说："（后赵石虎建武）十一年（公元345年），发雍、梁十六万人城长安未央宫。"由此可见，后赵石虎时曾大规模地修建过长安城，其中也包括了宣平门。[17]

从发掘出来的遗迹来看，自后赵以后，宣平门未有重大的改建，但在整个五胡十六国时期和北朝（公元4世纪至6世纪），它一直作为一个重要的城门被使用着。当时宣平门已改名为青门，这可以从《后汉书·逢萌传》注引《汉宫殿名》的记载中得到证明。东晋刘裕攻长安，后秦姚泓曾打算从青门出降。到了北周，青门仍然是一个重要的城门。《周书·宣帝纪》说"（大象元年，公元579年）帝亲擐甲胄，入自青门"，便是最好的说明。在门道的晚期堆积层中发现了北周的"五行大布"铜钱，证明了文献记载的正确。发掘工作还证明，这个城门甚至在隋代还继续被使用着，在门道地面上清楚地遗留着隋代的车辙，而所发现的隋代五铢钱则有力地说明了它们的年代。[18]到了唐代，城门的三个门道才被用夯土全部填塞。

总之，长安城虽然在新莽末年的战火中受到严重的破坏，但它在此后的东汉、魏、晋、五胡十六国时期、西魏、北周以迄隋初，一直是一个重要的城市，不少朝代仍在此建都。从宣平门遗址的发掘工作中，可以看出自西汉直到隋初的长安城全部历史的一个缩影。

上林苑为秦都咸阳时所置，汉初荒废。汉武帝时收上林苑为宫苑，

并大事扩充，长安城东南面至西南面的广大地区都在它的范围之中，周围至二百多里。苑内放养禽兽，供皇帝射猎，并筑离宫别馆数十处，许多印有“上林”字样的瓦当便是它们最明显的遗物。1961年在长安城址西南面约二公里的三桥镇高窑村发现了一处建筑遗址，由好几座房基组成，较大的一座房基长约340米，宽约65米，当为上林苑中重要宫观的遗址。[19]在房基附近发现了一个窑穴，内有铜鉴、铜鼎、铜钫和铜铜共二十余件，器上所刻铭文（图26）表明它们是上林苑中所用之物，大概是因新莽末年的战乱而被有意埋藏起来的。[20]

元狩三年（公元前120年），为了准备与昆明国作战而训练水军，并解决首都水源不足的问题，在长安城西南面沣水和潏水之间开凿昆明池。两千多年后的今日，昆明池的遗迹犹依稀可辨。它是一片面积约十多平方公里的洼地，北部的一处高地像是当时池中的岛屿，应该便是《西京赋》所说的“揭焉中峙”的豫章馆的所在。《西都赋》在叙述昆明池及豫章馆时说“左牵牛而右织女”，《西京赋》说“牵牛立其左，织女处其右”。今斗门镇附近尚遗存石雕人像一对，一东一西，遥遥相对，它们的作风古朴，显然是西汉的作品。[21]东面的石雕是男像，应系牵牛（图27，左），西面的石雕是女像，当为织女（图27，右），前者位于豫章馆所在岛屿的东部，后者位于昆明池址的西侧，与班张两赋的记述完全相符。[22]在池址的周围，发现许多建筑物的基址，遗留着一些石础和大量的瓦片，对照有关文献的记载，它们可能便是上林苑中的宣曲宫、白杨宫、细柳宫等的遗迹（图28）。[23]

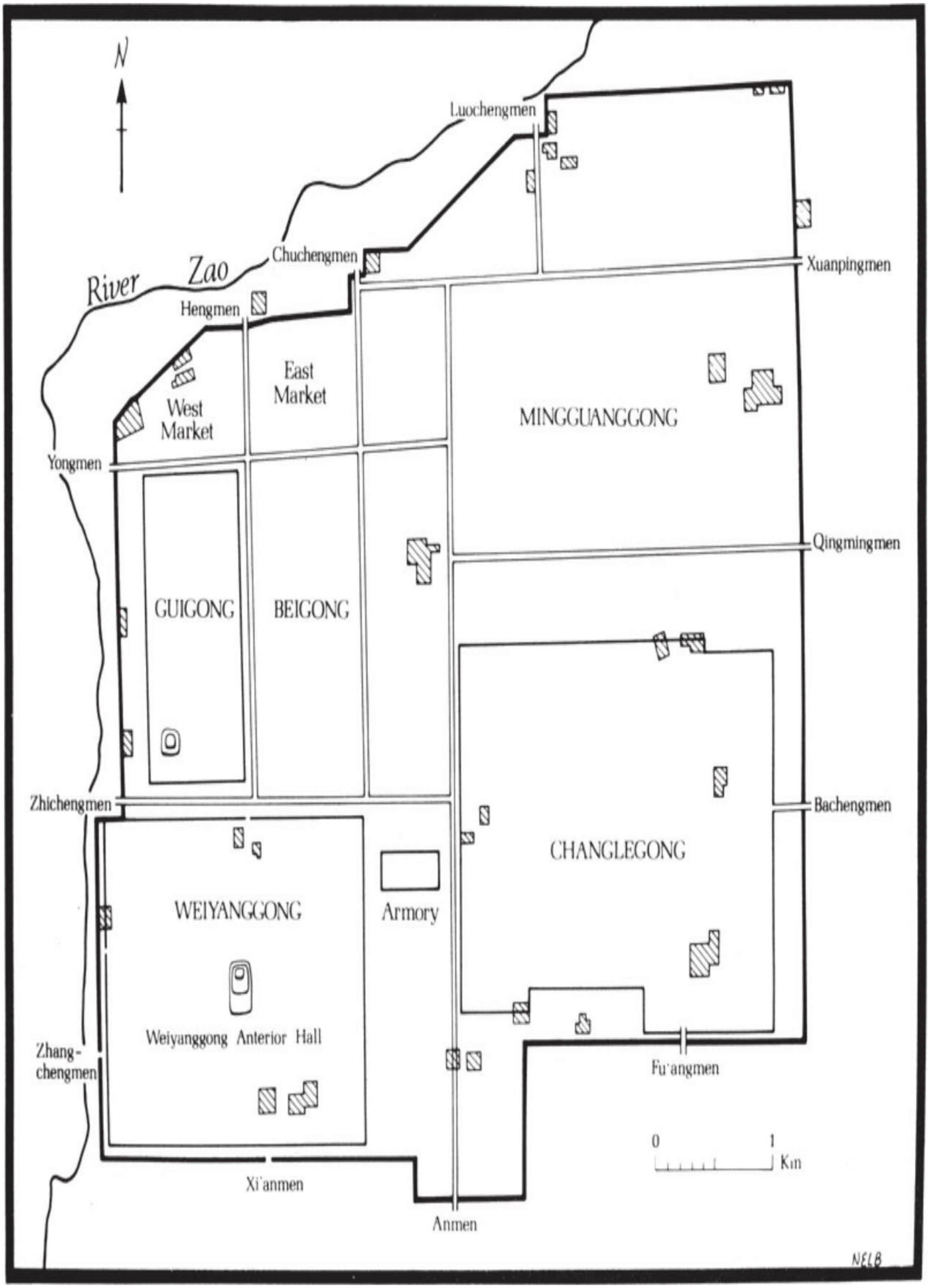
汉武帝崇尚儒术，儒臣们向他建议在长安城南立“明堂”，但未能付诸实施（当时的“明堂”在泰山）。成帝时，大臣们议立“辟雍”于长安城南，亦未成事实。到了西汉末年，王莽执政，才在长安建立“明堂”、“辟雍”，同时兴建“灵台”和“太学”。当了皇帝以后，王莽又大兴土木，建造他的宗庙，即所谓“九庙”。这些神秘的、充满宗教色彩的建筑物，是按照儒家的传统礼制和当时流行的阴阳五行学说设计的，规模宏大，结构复杂。它们的遗址，自1956年以来，在汉长安城安门和西安门外的南郊陆续被发现，达十余座之多，有的已经过发掘。考古学家们统称之为“礼制建筑”（图29）。[24]

1956年发掘的一座“礼制建筑”，位置在安门南面偏东处。它是一个平面呈正方形的大庭院，四面的围墙各长235米，每面设一门，四面共四门。在院内的四隅，紧靠着围墙，都筑有平面成曲尺形的房屋（图30）。院内的中央，则是这个建筑物的主体所在，它是一个在直径为60米的圆形台基上建立起来的厅堂，平面呈正方形，四面附有配室，互相

对称（图31）。在庭院的外面，由宽约2米的水沟围绕成一个直径达360米的大圆圈。总之，这个建筑物的特点，表现在它的整个平面图上，是圆形之中有方形，方形之中又有圆形，正与“明堂”、“辟雍”的所谓“上圆下方”或“外圆内方”的形制相符。由于各种记载中都说“辟雍”是“四面周水，圜如璧”，所以它很可能便是“辟雍”的遗迹（图32）。[25]

其余的许多“礼制建筑”，都集中在安门的南面偏西处。它们的形制虽与上述的“辟雍”有相似之处，但周围没有水沟环绕，中央的厅堂也不是建筑在圆形的台基之上，所以不像是“辟雍”或“明堂”。由于出土的遗物明确地表明它们是新莽时所建，所以考古学家们多认为它们可能便是王莽的九庙。值得注意的是，庙的四门所用瓦当的图纹多属“四神”（图33—36），而青龙瓦当用于东门，白虎瓦当用于西门，朱雀瓦当用于南门，玄武瓦当用于北门，正与“四神分司四方”的说法相符。[26]发掘工作证明，所有这些“礼制建筑”，包括“辟雍”和“九庙”，都和长安城的城门、宫殿一样，是在新莽末年的战火中被毁的，此后一直未曾经过重建。

1. Remains of city wall of Chang'an of the Han dynasty (southeastern corner) 汉长安城的城墙遗迹（东南角）

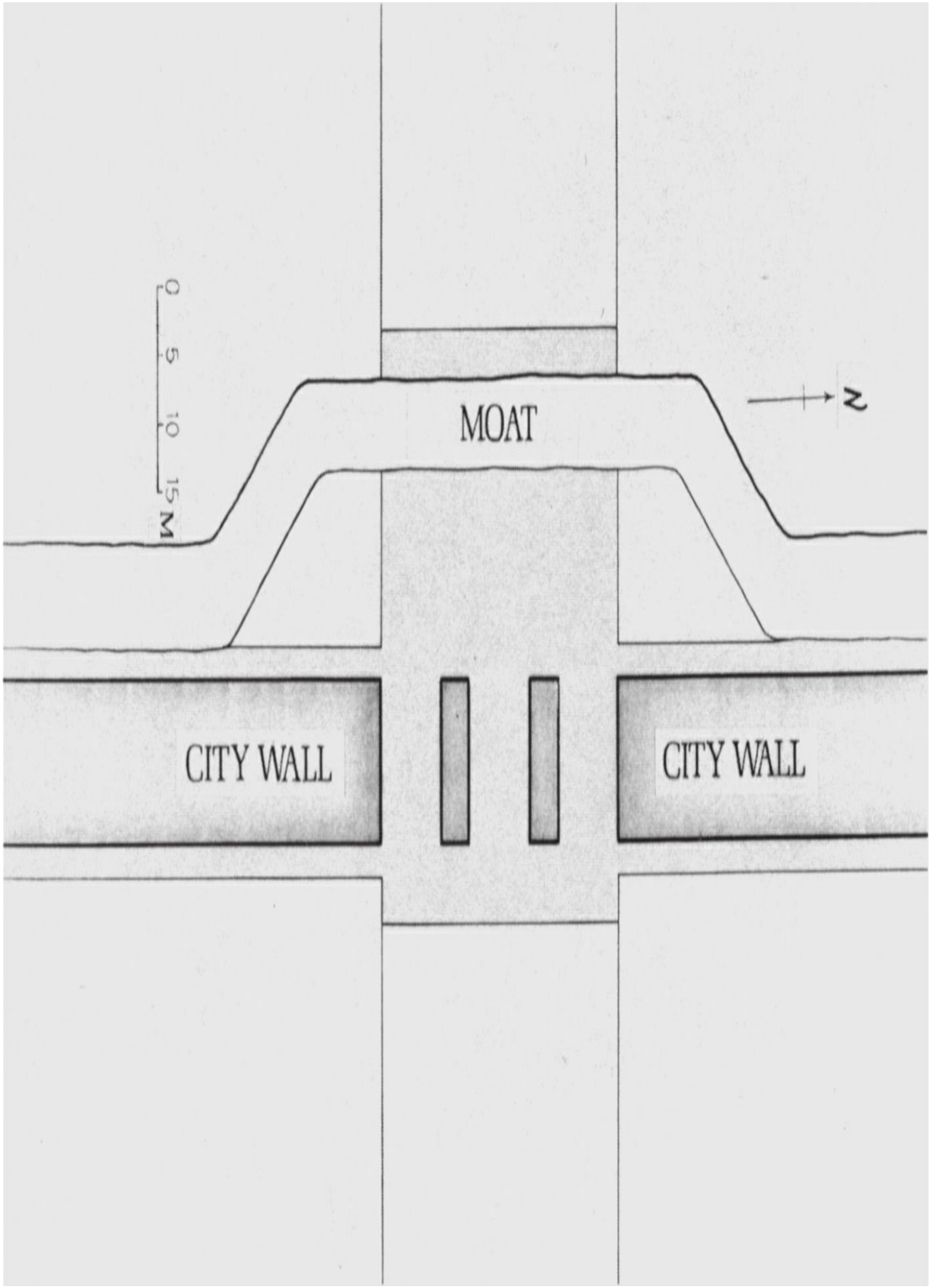

N
Luochengmen
Chuchengmen
Xuanpingmen
River Zao
Hengmen
East Market
West Market
MINGGUANGGONG
Yongmen
Qingmingmen
GUIGONG
BEIGONG
Zhichengmen
Bachengmen
CHANGLEGONG
WEIYANGGONG
Armory
Weiyanggong Anterior Hall
Zhang-chengmen
Fu'angmen
0
1
Km
Xi'anmen
Anmen
NELB

2．City plan of Chang'an of the Han dynasty　汉长安城遗址平面示意图

3．Remains of city wall of the Han Chang'an (stamped earth layers seen on collapsed section)　城墙

断面上所见的夯土层次

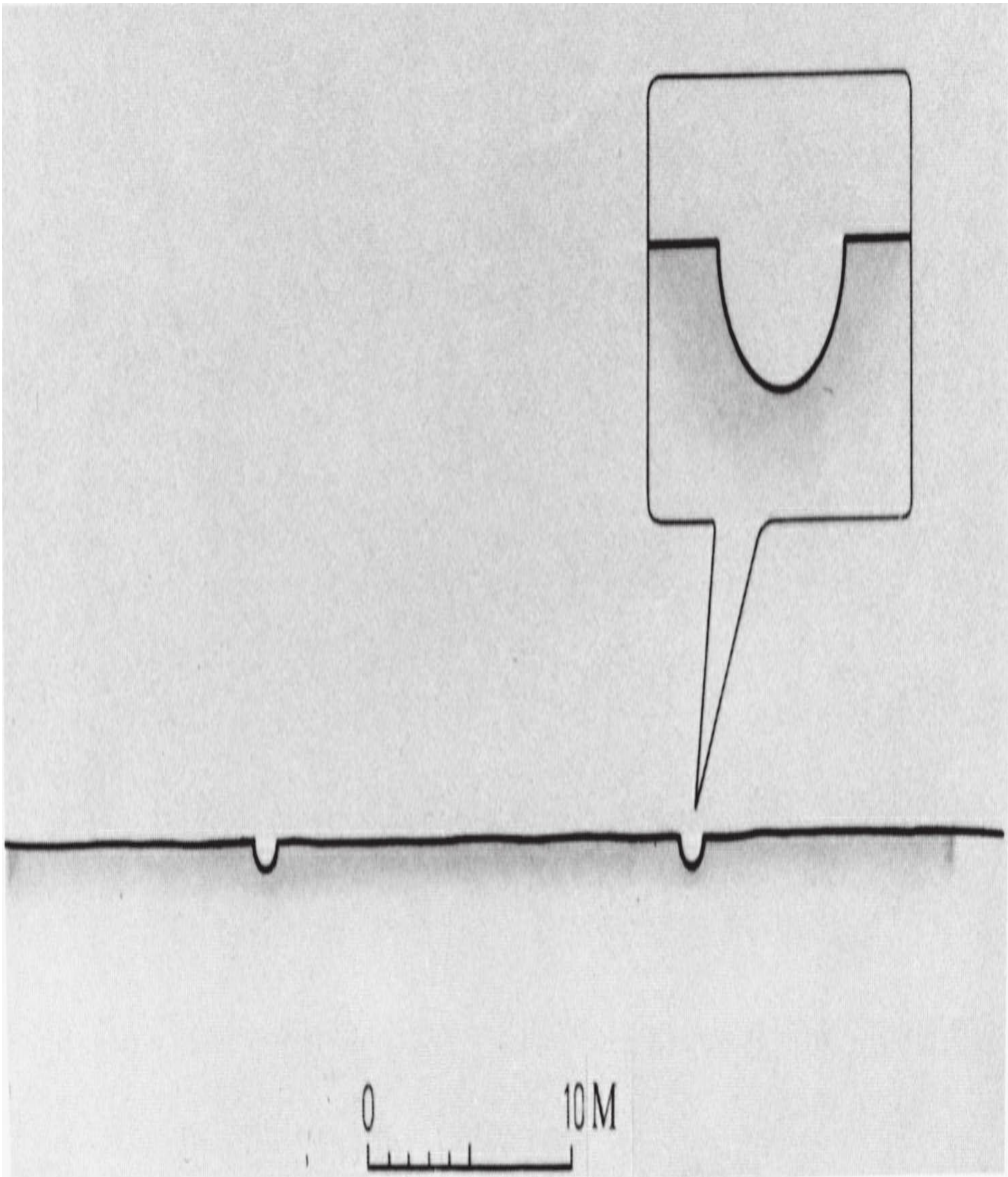
4．Han Chang'an city wall near the Bachengmen Gate　霸城门附近的城墙


MOAT
CITY WALL
CITY WALL
0 5 10 15 M
N

5．Plan of the Han Chang'an's Zhangchengmen Gate and a section of moat outside the gate　章城门及门外城壕平面示意图

6．Remains of the Xuanpingmen Gate　汉长安城宣平门遗迹

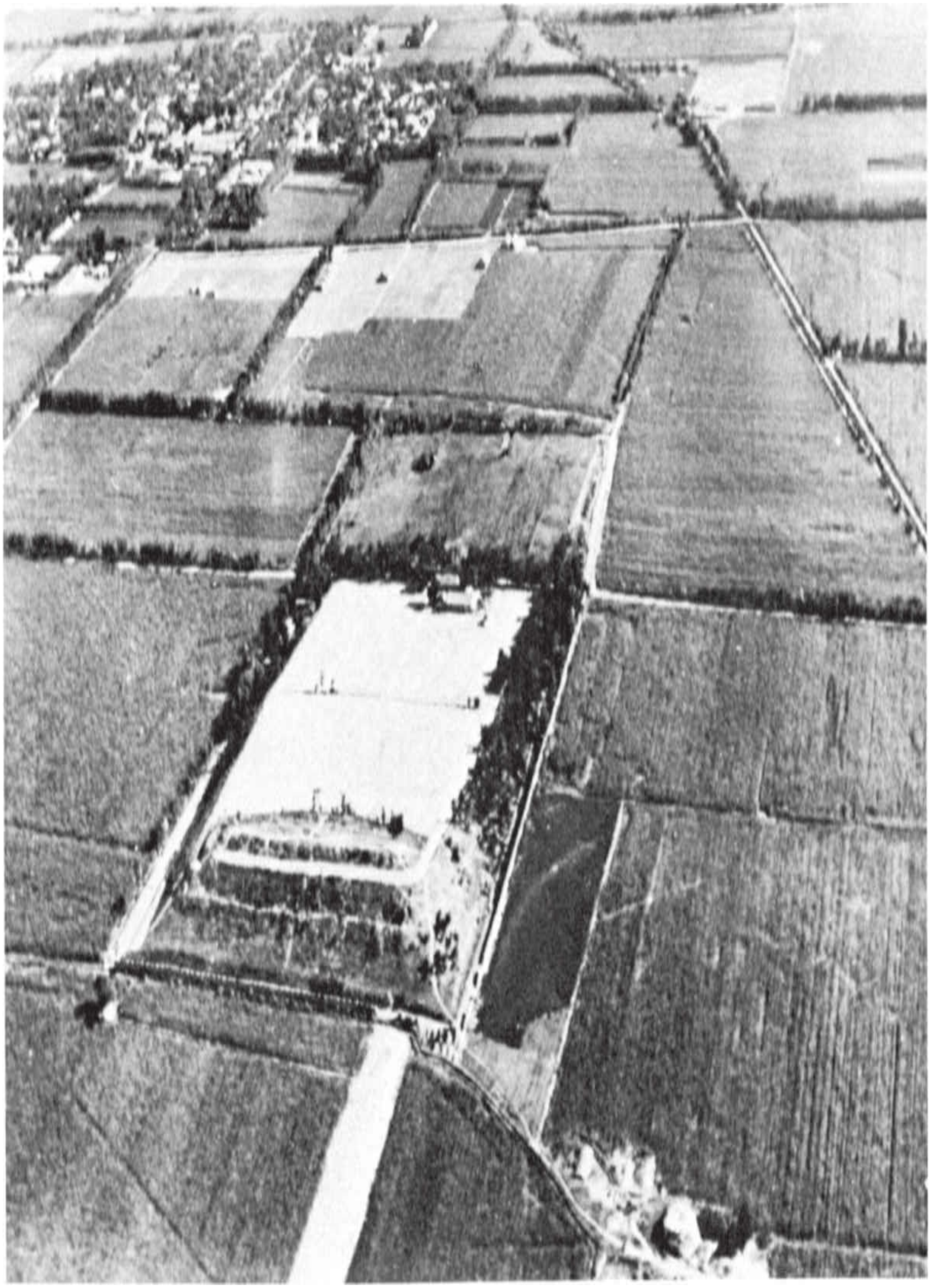
7．The southern gateway and remains of carriage tracks at the Bachengmen Gate　霸城门南门道及车辙遗迹



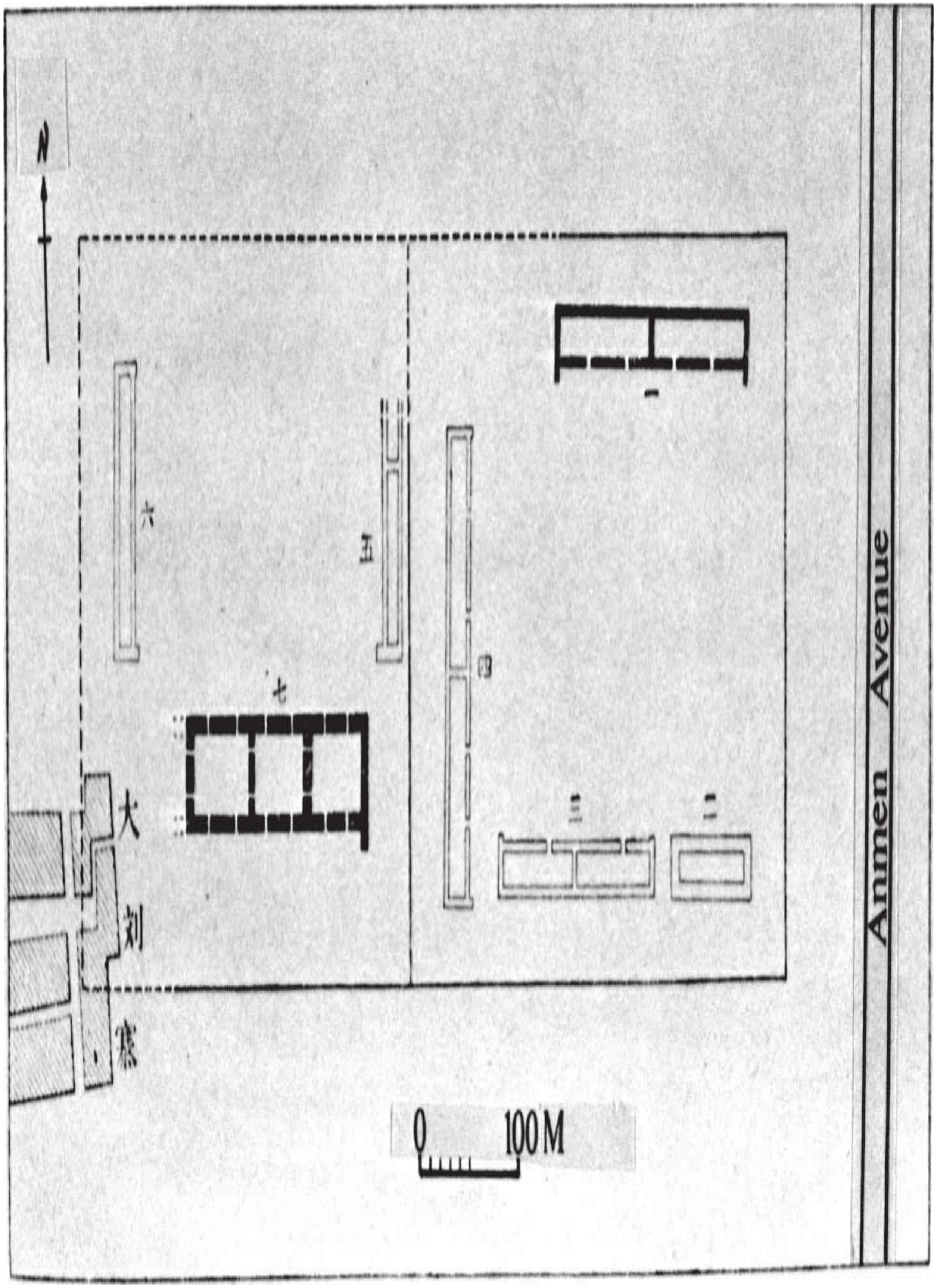
8．Cross-section of street at the Anmen Gate Avenue　安门大街横截面示意图

9．Brick drainhole buried under the Xi'anmen Gate　西安门地下的砖筑涵洞

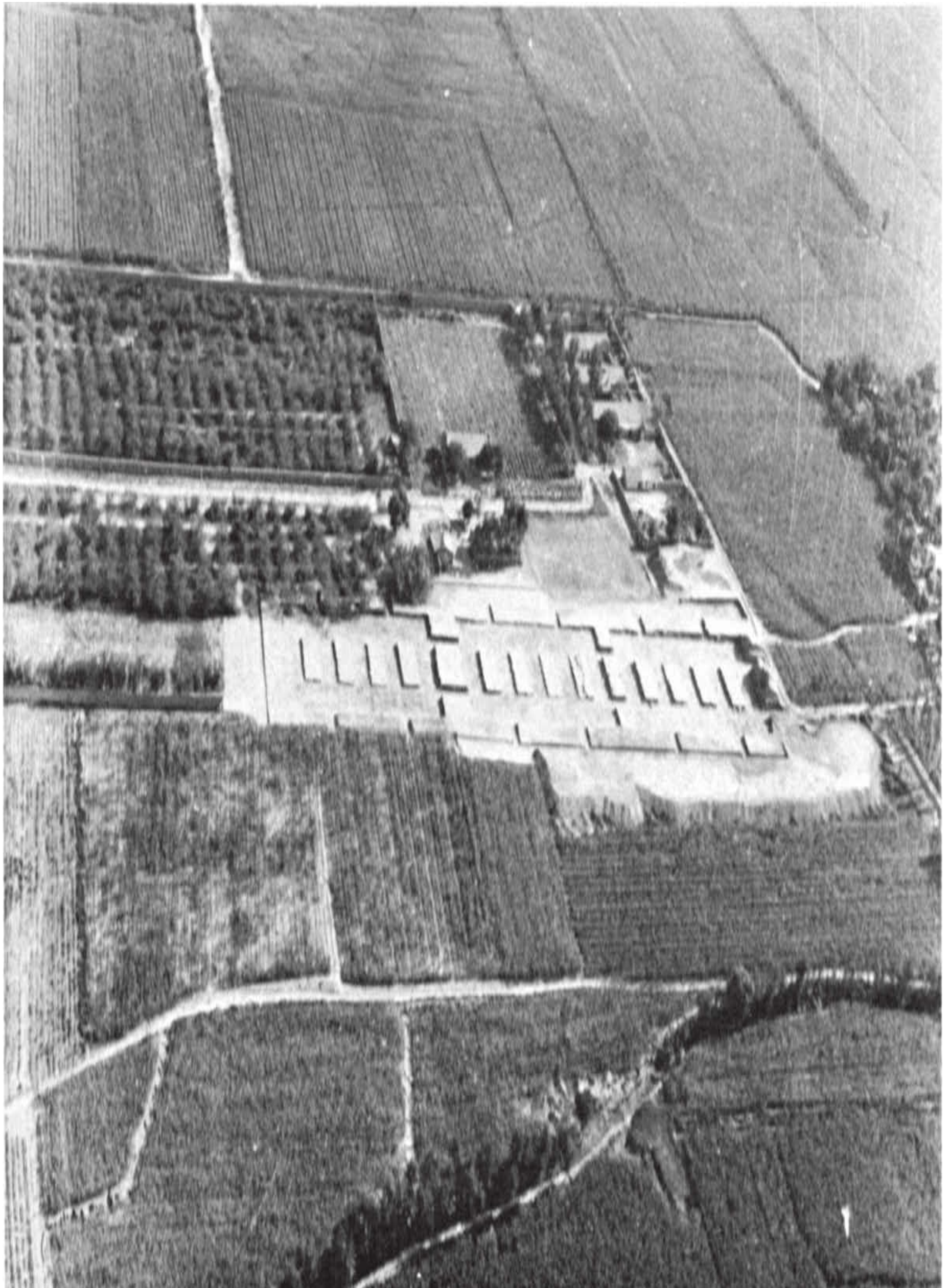
10．Ceramic water main pipes buried under the city wall　城墙基部所埋的陶制水管



11．Remains of the Anterior Hall of the Weiyanggong Palace (aerial photo)　未央宫前殿遗址鸟瞰


N
六
五
四
七
三
二
一
大刘寨
0 100M
Anmen Avenue

12．Plan of the Armory site　武库遗址平面示意图



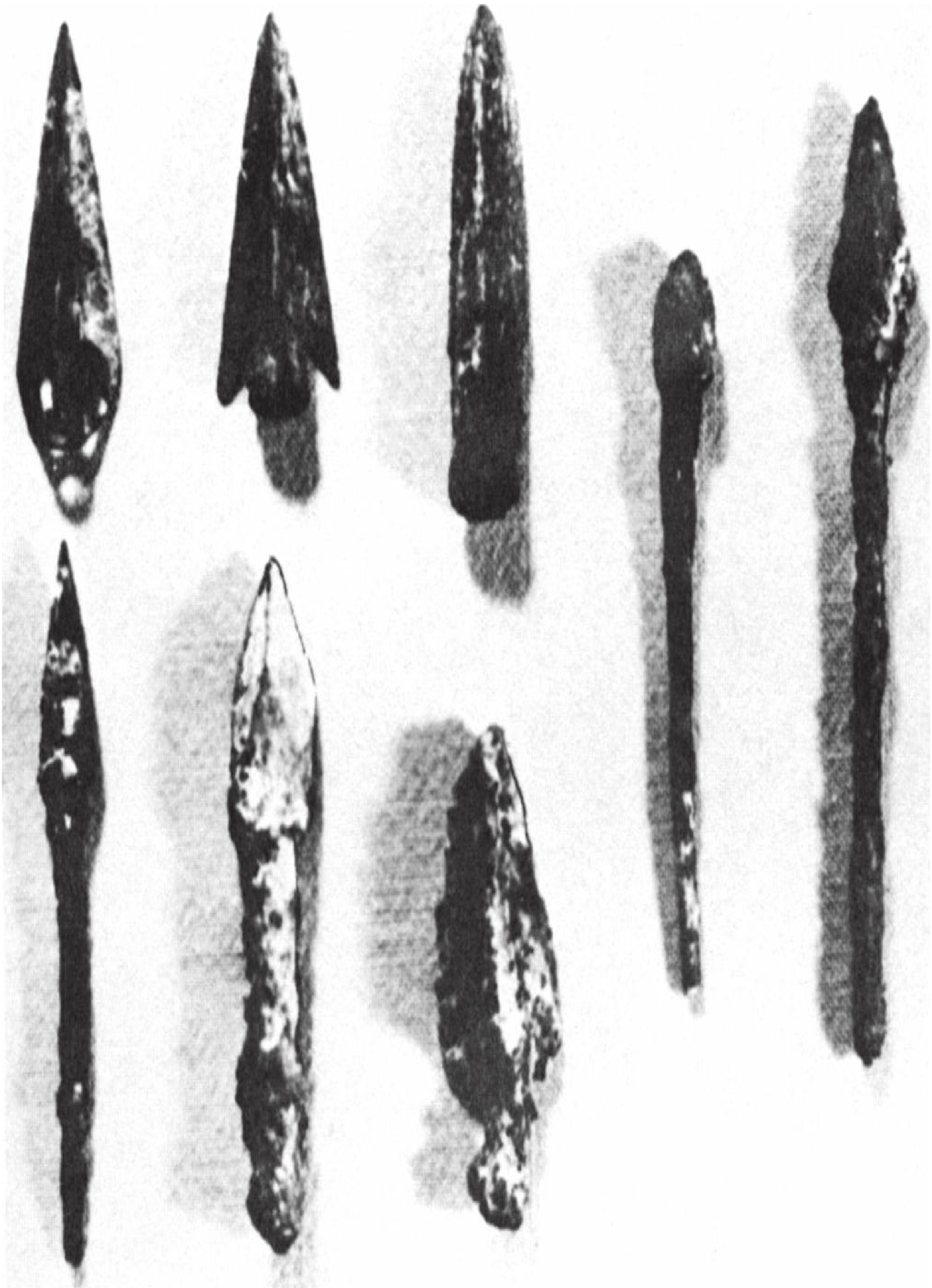
13．Remains of house number 7 of the Armory　武库第七号房址鸟瞰

14．Remains of house number 1 of the Armory and foundation stones of weapons racks　武库第一号房址及其所遗兵器架的础石

15．Iron armor plates unearthed at the Armory　武库出土的铁甲片

16．Iron ji-halberds unearthed at the Armory　武库出土的铁戟

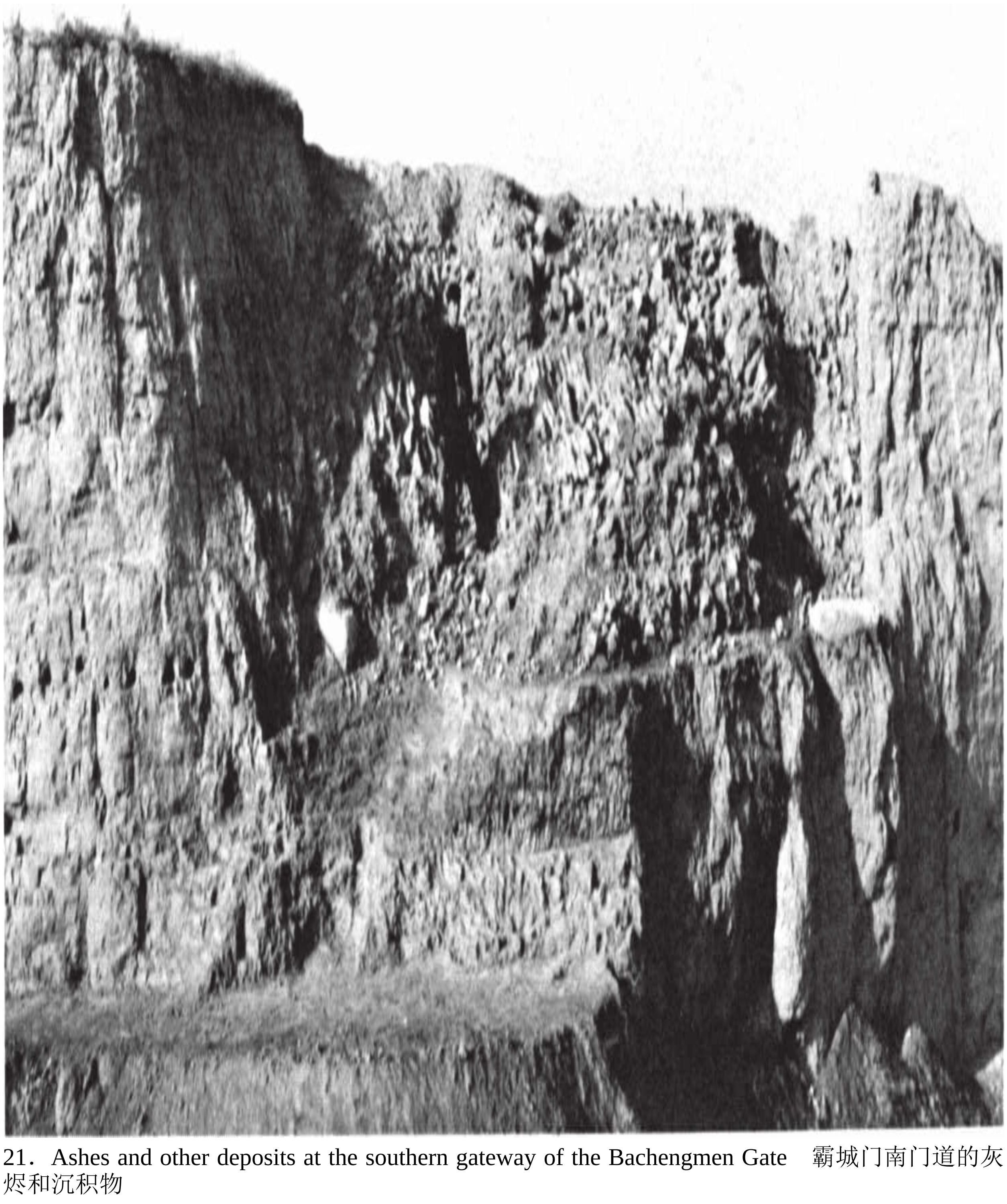
17．Iron sword, knife, and spears unearthed at the Armory　武库出土的铁制的剑、刀和矛



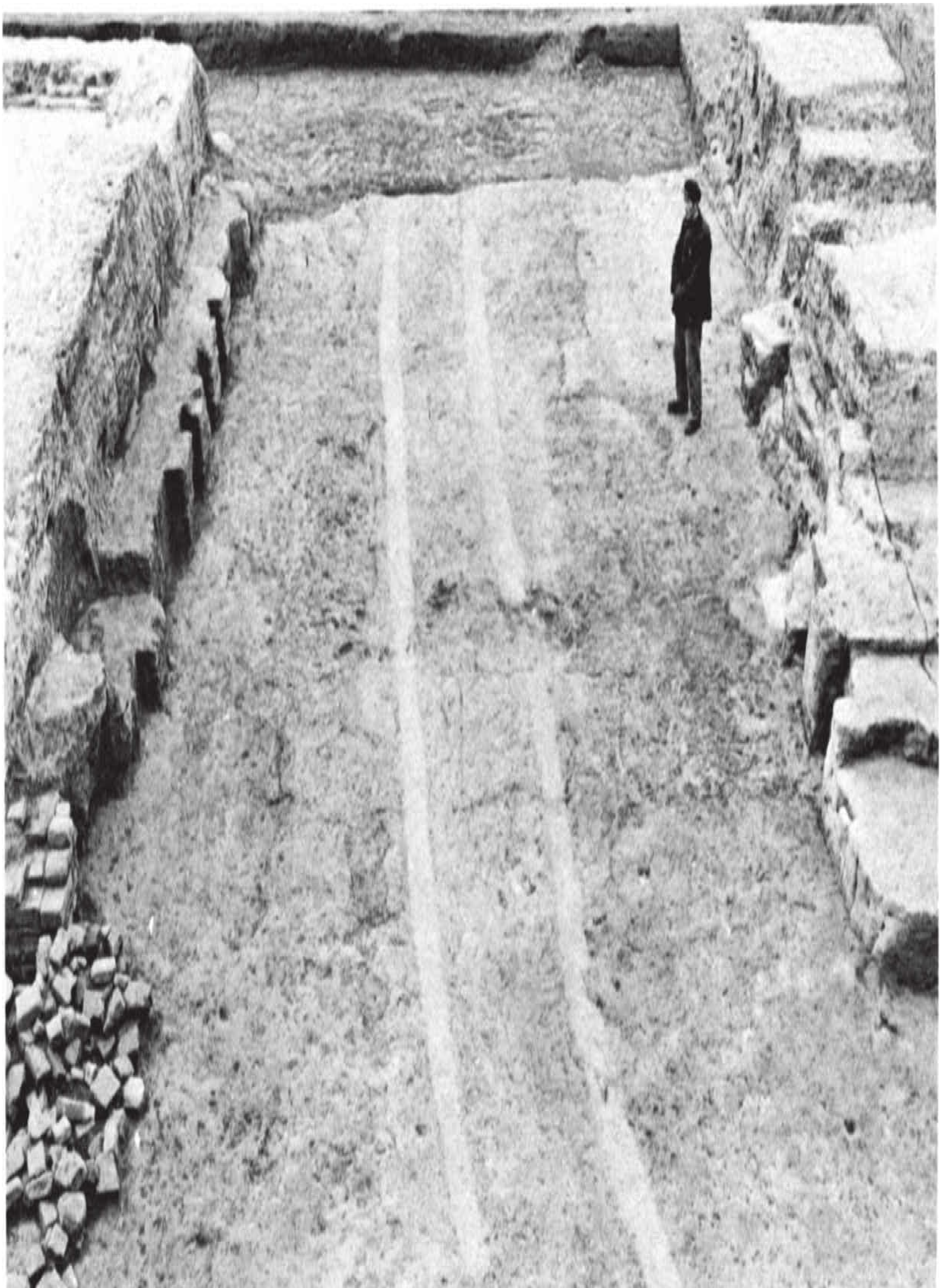
18．Iron and bronze arrowheads unearthed at the Armory　武库出土的铁制和铜制的镞

19．Fish-shaped stone sculpture found at the site of the Lake Taiye　太液池遗址出土的石鱼

20．Burned timber posts at the southern gateway of the Bachengmen Gate　霸城门南门道被烧毁的木柱遗迹



21．Ashes and other deposits at the southern gateway of the Bachengmen Gate　霸城门南门道的灰烬和沉积物



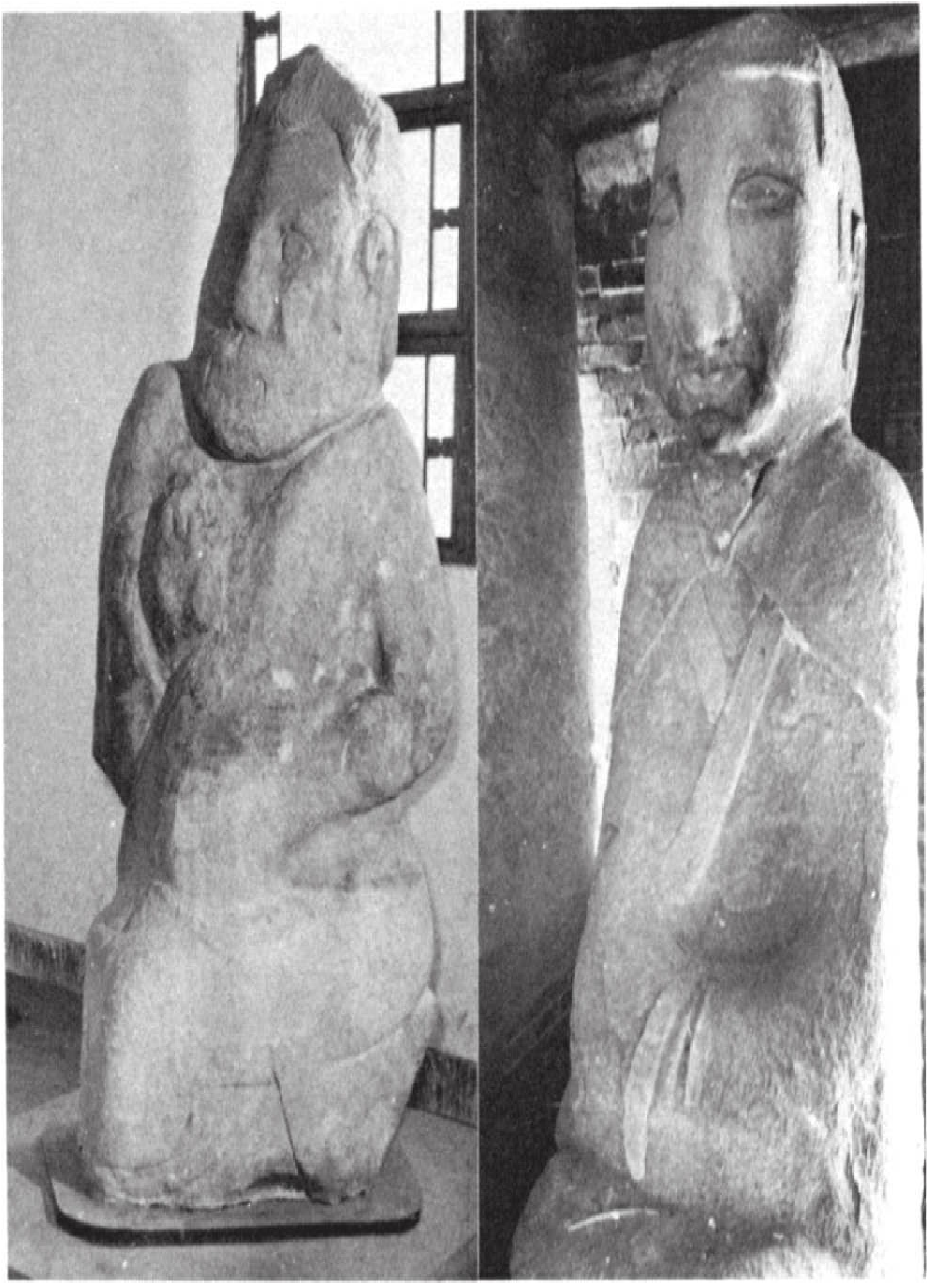
22．Stamped earthen wall rebuilt during the Eastern Han period at the northern gateway of the Xuanpingmen Gate (The carriage tracks were left during the Sui dynasty.)　宣平门北门道东汉补筑的夯土壁（车辙为隋代遗迹）

23．Brick wall built during the Sixteen States period at the central gateway of the Xuanpingmen Gate　宣平门中门道十六国时期用砖砌筑的墙壁

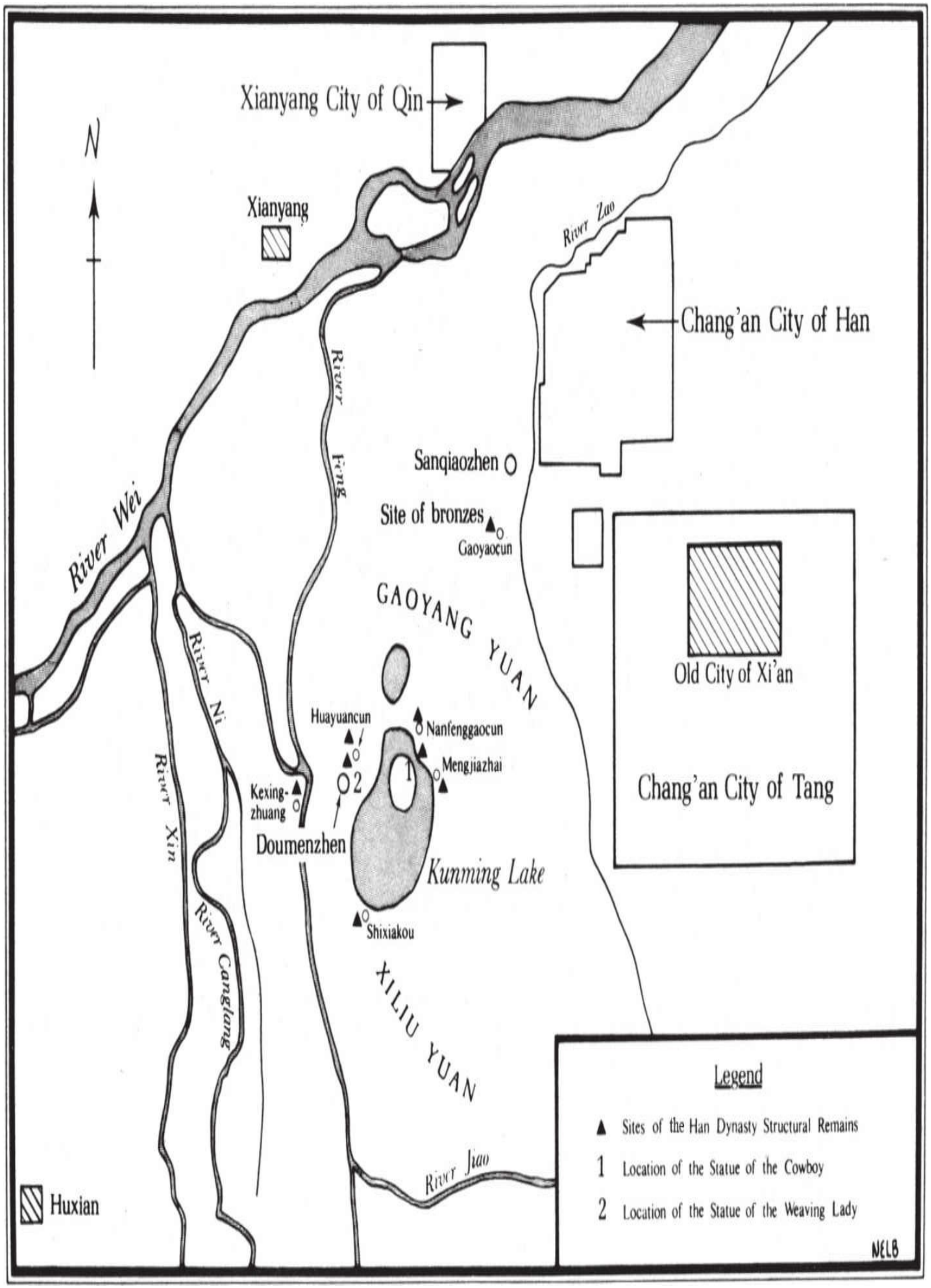
24．Brick (inscribed with "Cao Chu of Shi An") used for rebuilding during the Sixteen States period at the Xuanpingmen Gate　宣平门遗址出土的后赵砖块（“石安曹处”）

25．Brick (inscribed with "Song Li of Shi An") used for rebuilding during the Sixteen States period at the Xuanpingmen Gate　宣平门遗址出土的后赵砖块（“石安宋利”）

26．Inscriptions on bronze vessels in use at the Shanglinyuan royal park unearthed at Sanqiaozhen in Xi'an　西安三桥镇出土，上林苑所用铜器上的铭文

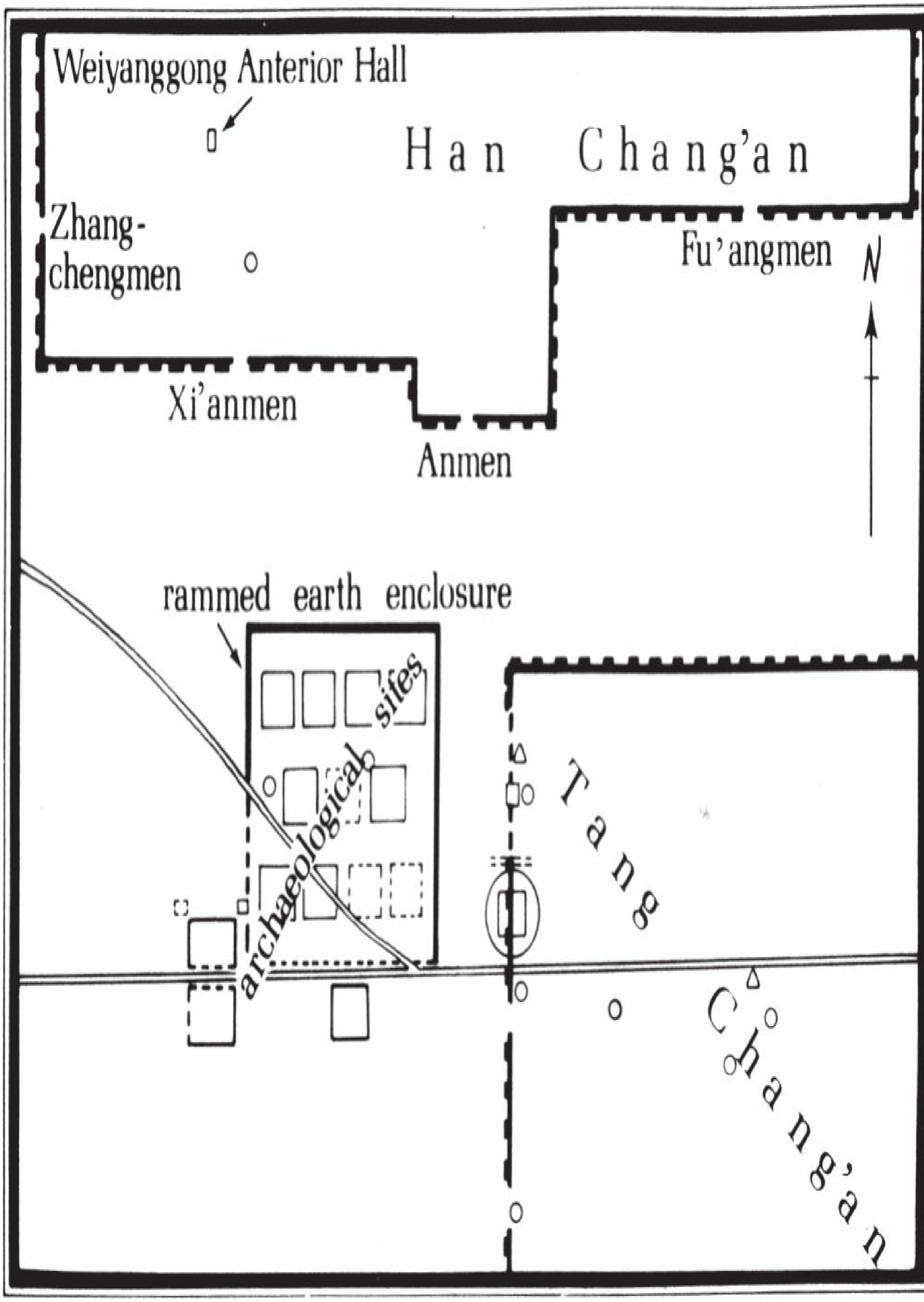


27．Stone statues of the Cow Boy (left) and the Weaving Lady (right) at the site of the Kunming Lake　左牵牛石像，右织女石像



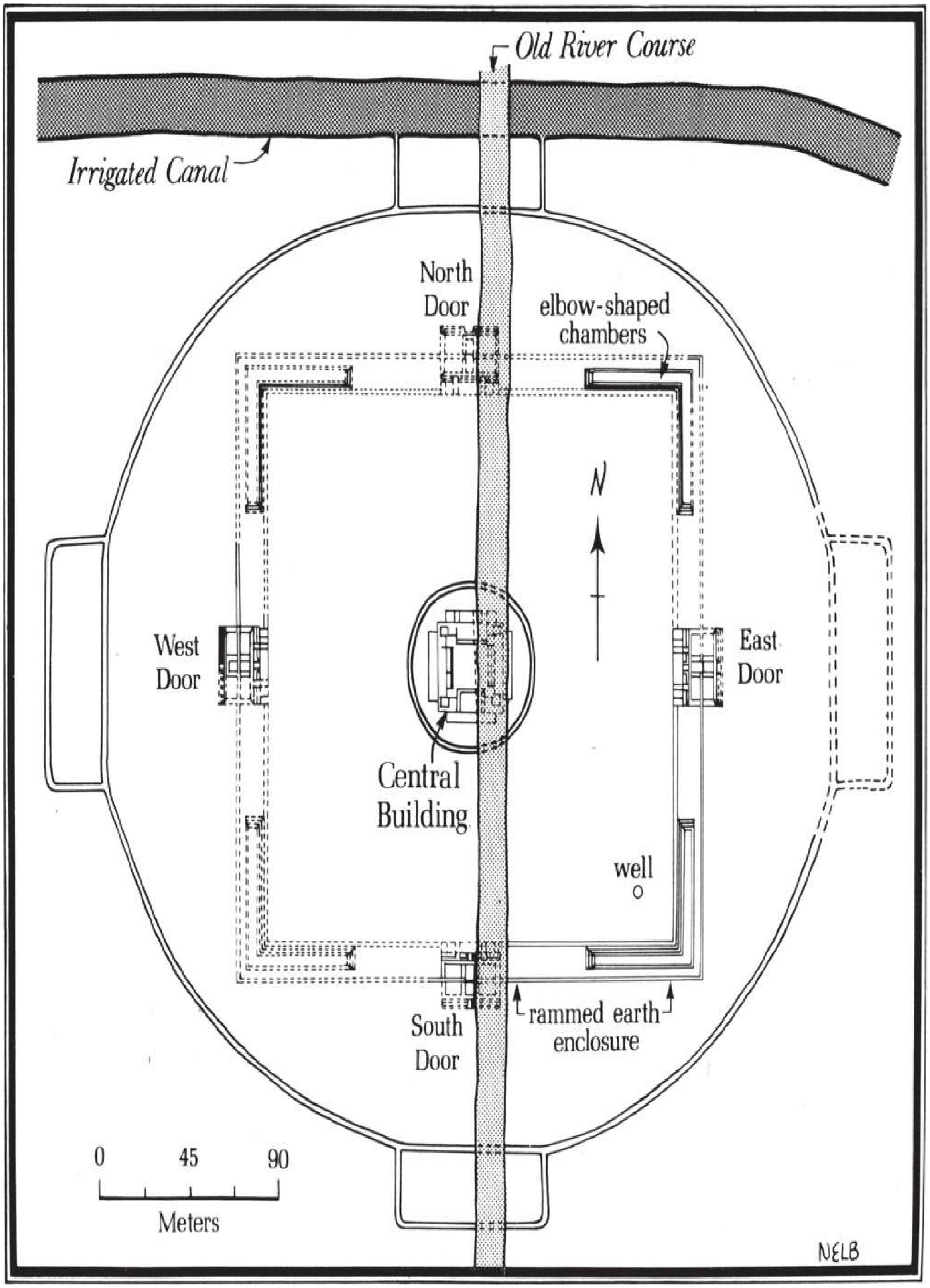
Xianyang City of Qin
N
Xianyang
River Zao
Chang'an City of Han
River Feng
Sanqiaozhen
Site of bronzes
Gaoyaocun
River Wei
GAOYANG YUAN
Old City of Xi'an
River Ni
Huayuancun
Nanfenggaocun
Mengjiazhai
River Xin
Kexing-
zhuang
2
1
Chang'an City of Tang
Doumenzhen
Kunming Lake
River Canglang
Shixiakou
XILIU YUAN
Legend
Sites of the Han Dynasty Structural Remains
1 Location of the Statue of the Cowboy
2 Location of the Statue of the Weaving Lady
River Jiao
Huxian
NELB

28．Map of the Shanglinyuan royal park and the Kunming Lake　上林苑遗址分布示意图

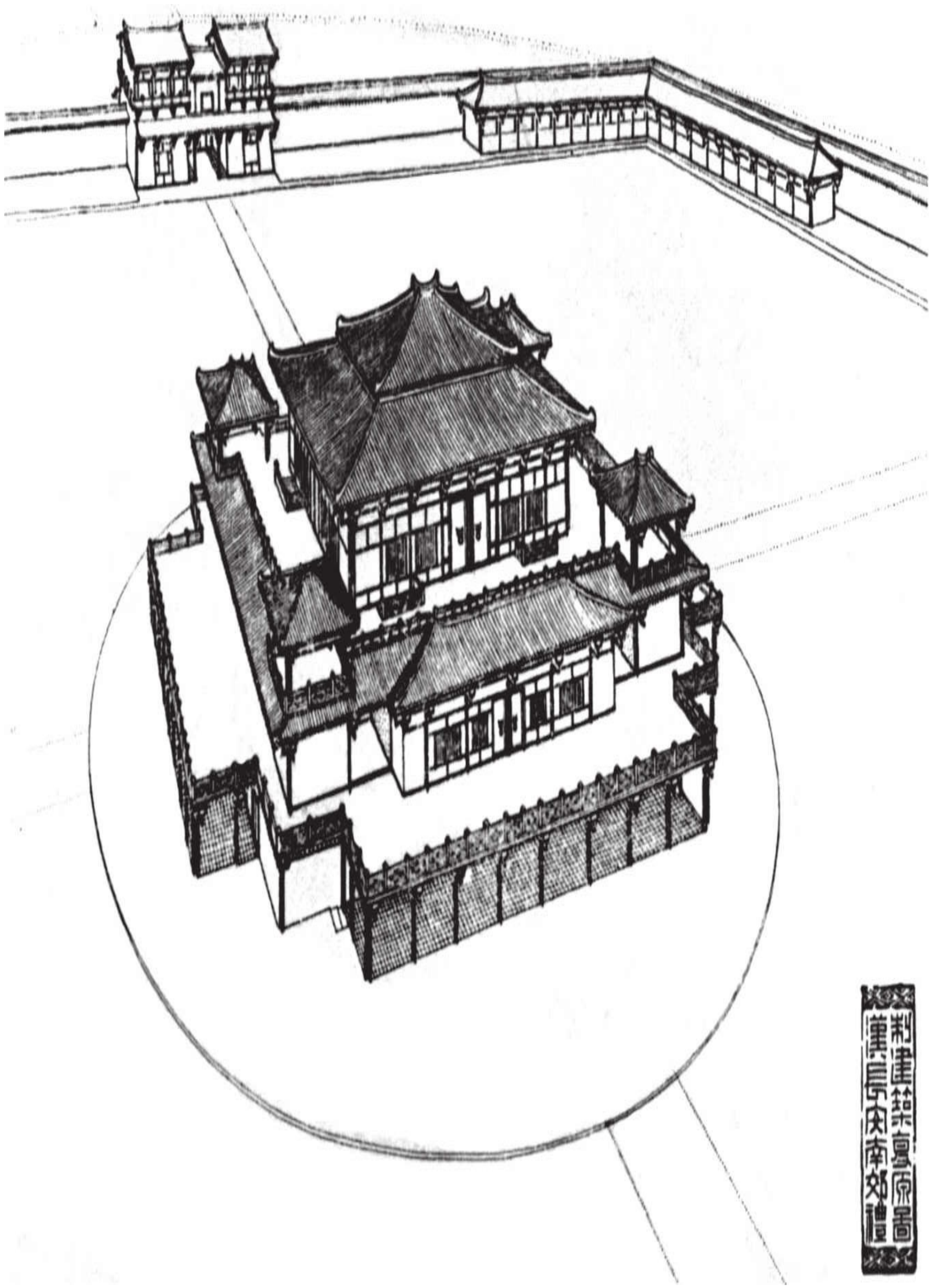


Weiyanggong Anterior Hall
Han Chang'an
Zhang-
chengmen
Fu'angmen
N
Xi'anmen
Anmen
rammed earth enclosure
archaeological sites
Tang Chang'an

29．Distribution of sites of ritual structures in the southern suburb of the Han Chang'an　汉代长安南郊“礼制建筑”分布图

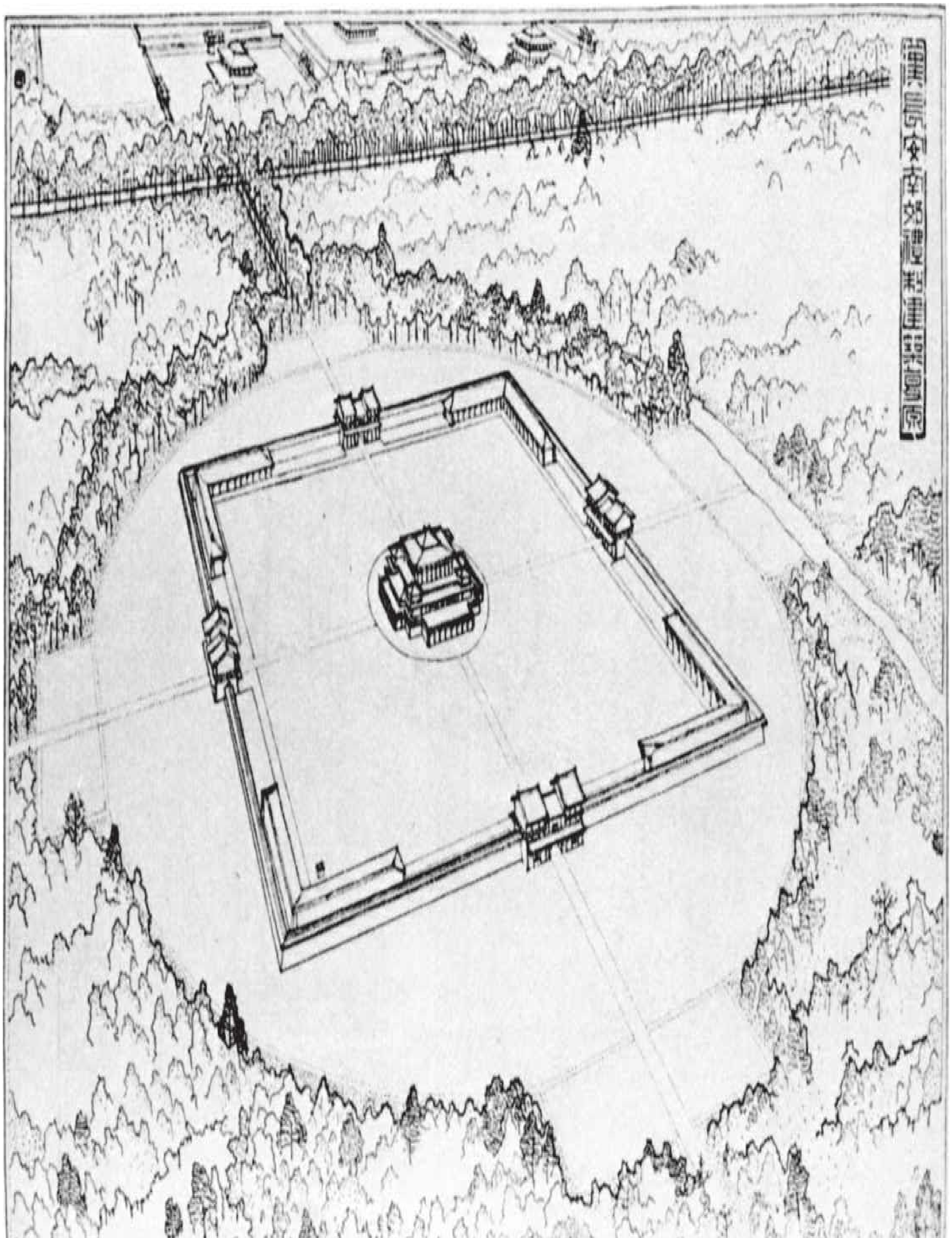

Old River Course
Irrigated Canal
North Door
elbow-shaped chambers
N
West Door
East Door
Central Building
well
rammed earth enclosure
South Door
0
45
90
Meters
NELB

30．Plan of the site of Pi Yong　“辟雍”遗址平面示意图



漢長安南郊禮制建築復原圖

31．Reconstruction of the main central building of Pi Yong　汉长安南郊礼制建筑复原图


漢長安南郊禮制建築復原

32．Reconstruction of the structure of Pi Yong　汉长安南郊礼制建筑复原图

33．An eaves tile with a Green Dragon design (unearthed at the site of the ritual structures in the southern suburb of the Han Chang'an)　青龙瓦当（出土于汉代长安南郊“礼制建筑”遗址）

34．An eaves tile with a White Tiger design (unearthed at the same site as fig. 33)　白虎瓦当（出土地同图33中文物）

35. An eaves tile with a Red Bird design (unearthed at the same site as fig. 33)　朱雀瓦当（出土地同图33中文物）

36．An eaves tile with a Black Turtle design (unearthed at the same site as fig. 33)　玄武瓦当（出土地同图33中文物）

CHAPTER 2 LUOYANG: THE CAPITAL CITY OF EASTERN HAN

The remains of the capital of the Eastern Han dynasty, Luoyang, are situated approximately 15 km east of the present-day city of Luoyang in Henan. Since the site is bordered on the north by the Mangshan Mountains and overlooks the Luo River to the south, it has protective natural barriers and is also at an important junction for transportation and communication (fig. 37). For these reasons, as early as the Western Zhou dynasty a major city, Chengzhou, was constructed there. Chengzhou lasted through the Eastern Zhou times. Subsequently, the Western Han city of Luoyang was built on the same site. In other words, the Eastern Han capital of Luoyang was located not only on the site of the Western Han Luoyang but also on that of the Zhou city of Chengzhou.

Architectural traces of Chengzhou are difficult to find now. However, a cluster of Zhou dynasty tombs, which were originally north of the Zhou city, still exists today. The famous Jincun tombs discovered in 1928 are part of this cluster.[1] From the location of these tombs we can speculate that the area within the boundaries of Chengzhou was much smaller than that of the Eastern Han Luoyang. The Zhou city was closer to the present course of the Luo River and farther removed from the Mangshan Mountains on the north. As for the location and boundaries of the Western Han Luoyang, we can estimate that they must have been roughly the same as those of the earlier Zhou dynasty city. Among the Western Han city's palaces, Nangong, or the South Palace, was the most important. When Emperor Guang Wu Di, the founder of Eastern Han, decided to establish his capital at Luoyang in the first year of his reign period Jian Wu (A.D. 25), he first took up residence in the South Palace. Then he embarked on a project to build a new city wall, expanding the boundaries of the old city and enclosing the site of the Zhou dynasty graveyard within the northern section of the new city. Remains that can still be seen today thus confirm the statement from *Diwang shiji* quoted in the commentary on the "Treatise on Commanderies and Kingdoms" in *Xu Hanshu* that in the northeastern part of Luoyang of Eastern Han there was a

graveyard from the Yin (Shang) dynasty as well as the tomb of King Jing of the Zhou dynasty.

City Wall Today, above ground we still find remains of the eastern, western, and northern walls of the Eastern Han city of Luoyang. When archaeologists went to inspect the site in 1962, there were still walls that stood over 7 m high (fig. 38). As for the southern wall of the city, it was destroyed by water long ago when the Luo River changed its course, so that today no traces of it remain. Fortunately remains of Ming Tang and Ling Tai, which were located in the southern suburb of the Eastern Han Luoyang, can still be seen. According to *Han guanyi* and *Luoyang ji*, the distance from these two structures to the southern city wall was approximately 2 or 3 *li*. Therefore, we can conclude that the southern wall was located in what is now the middle of the Luo River. As in Chang'an, the Western Han capital, in Luoyang the city wall was constructed out of rammed yellow earth and was extremely sturdy (fig. 39). The thickness of the wall at the base was determined by our test diggings to be about 14 m for the eastern wall, about 20 m for the western wall, and about 25 m for the northern wall—all different. The thickness of the western and northern walls may have been increased for defense purposes during the subsequent Wei and Jin dynasties. Measurements show that the remains of the eastern wall are 3,900 m long, those of the western wall 3,400 m long, and those of the northern wall 2,700 m long. Though the southern wall no longer exists, if we calculate the distance between the southern tips of the eastern and western walls, we can determine that it must have been 2,460 m long.[2] Since the southern wall was in the middle of what is today the Luo River, we must add approximately 300 m to the length of both the eastern and western walls to determine their full length. Once we do this, then we can calculate that the total length of the four city walls of the Eastern Han Luoyang must have been approximately 13,000 m, or about 31 Han dynasty *li*. *Diwang shiji*, as quoted by the commentary on the "Treatise on Commanderies and Kingdoms" in *Xu Hanshu*, says "From east to west the city is 6 *li* and 10 *bu*; from north to south it is 9 *li* and 100 *bu*." Also, *Jin Yuankang didao ji* notes that "From north to south the city is 9 *li* and 70 *bu*, while from east to west it is 6 *li* and 10 *bu*." All these figures coincide with our own measurements. Although none of the existing walls is perfectly straight and both the eastern and northern walls have substantial sections that are curved, the basic shape of the city was rectangular (See fig. 37). Since its length, measured north to south, was approximately 9 *li* and its

width, measured east to west, was approximately 6 *li*, it was known as the "nine-six city." The layout of the Western Han capital of Chang'an was square, while the layout of the Eastern Han capital of Luoyang was rectangular; this was but one of many differences between the two capitals.

City Gates According to *Luoyang ji*, *Luoyang qielan ji*, and other documentary sources, Luoyang of Eastern Han had twelve city gates. Although the number of gates was thus the same as in the Western Han capital of Chang'an, there was an important difference in their location: the Luoyang gates were not equally distributed along the four sides of the city. Instead, the eastern and western sides each had three gates, while there were four gates in the south and only two in the north. The three city gates on the east, from north to south, were the Shangdongmen Gate, Zhongdongmen Gate, and Maomen Gate. The three western gates, from south to north, were the Guangyangmen Gate, Yongmen Gate, and Shangximen Gate. The two northern gates, from west to east, were the Xiamen Gate and Gumen Gate. And the four southern gates, from east to west, were the Kaiyangmen Gate, Pingchengmen Gate, Xiaoyuanmen Gate, and Jinmen Gate. During the 1962 survey, clear traces were found of all eight gates on the east, west, and north.[3] Even though the four southern gates have been washed away by the Luo River so that no traces can be found, we can still determine their location from the four large avenues that run north to south through the city, which were found during the same survey. From the city plan, as determined by actual measurements, we can see that the Shangdongmen Gate and Maomen Gate on the east were directly opposite the Shangximen Gate and Guangyangmen Gate on the west. Moreover, the Kaiyangmen Gate, Pingchengmen Gate, Xiaoyuanmen Gate, and Jinmen Gate were more or less equidistantly spaced. This arrangement shows a high degree of planning when the city was constructed. Since we have not done excavation, we are not certain about the precise shape and structure of the gates. But the Xiamen Gate at the western part of the northern wall is unusually well preserved. From what can be seen we can conclude that, just as in the case of the gates of Chang'an, this gate had three separate openings,[4] a fact corroborated by entries found in *Luoyang ji* and other historical records.

City Streets During our survey, traces of many streets were also found. Most of these streets date from the Northern Wei dynasty.[5] However, we can infer that the layout of streets in the Eastern Han capital was basically the same as that of the Northern Wei city. In other words, the streets of the

Northern Wei city followed those of the Eastern Han capital, the only changes being those made to accommodate the relocation of certain palaces and city gates. Therefore, using the remains of the streets found during our survey as a basis, and taking into account what we know about the location of the city gates and the palaces in the Eastern Han city, we can derive the following description of the layout of streets and avenues in the Eastern Han Luoyang.

There were five avenues that ran north to south. The first, which we could call the Kaiyangmen Gate Avenue, ran north from the Kaiyangmen Gate and was 2,800 m long. The second, which we could call the Pingchengmen Gate Avenue, ran north from the Pingchengmen Gate and stopped at the southern gate of the South Palace, a distance of 700 m. The third, which we could call Xiaoyuanmen Gate Avenue, ran north from the Xiaoyuanmen Gate and stopped at the southern gate of the North Palace, a distance of 2,000 m. The fourth, which we could call the Jinmen Gate Avenue, ran north from the Jinmen Gate and was approximately 2,800 m long. The fifth, which we could call the Gumen Gate Avenue, ran south from the Gumen Gate, turned eastward when it met the northern wall of the North Palace, then turned southward again, covering 2,400 m. The street that ran south from the Xiamen Gate stopped 100 m inside the city wall where it met the northern wall of the North Palace, hence we cannot consider it an avenue. There were also five avenues that ran east to west. The first one, which we could call the Shangdongmen Gate Avenue, ran west from the Shangdongmen Gate and stopped at the eastern wall of the North Palace, a distance of 600 m. The second, which we could call the Zhongdongmen Gate Avenue, ran west from the Zhongdongmen Gate, passing between the South Palace and the North Palace, covering approximately 2,200 m. The third, which we could call the Shangximen Gate Avenue, ran east from the Shangximen Gate and stopped at the western wall of the North Palace, a distance of 500 m. The fourth, which we could call the Yongmen Gate Avenue, ran east from the Yongmen Gate and stopped at the Jinmen Gate Avenue, a distance of about 500 m. The fifth, which we could call Maomen-Gate-to-Guangyangmen-Gate Avenue, crossed the entire width of the city between those two gates, a distance of 2,460 m. These various avenues formed a network of crossroads and T-shaped intersections. If we count the number of avenue segments marked off by the intersections we come up with a total of twenty-four segments. *Hanyi*, as quoted by the commentary on the

"Treatise on the Bureaucracy" in *Xu Hanshu*, says that Luoyang had twenty-four "streets" (*jie*); it is probably these avenue segments that the statement refers to. Except for some of the smaller avenues that were 20 m wide, most of the avenues measured 40 m across. Without excavations we cannot have a complete understanding of how they were constructed. But according to *Luoyang ji*: "The large avenues within the city and those running through the palace gates all have three lanes. The middle lane is the imperial byway and is bordered on either side by a mud wall that stands over 4 *chi* high. Only the noblemen and high officials are allowed to use this middle lane. Pedestrians must use the side lanes, the left-hand one for entering and the right-hand one for exiting." This passage indicates that the avenues of Luoyang, with their three parallel lanes, were just like those of the Western Han capital of Chang'an.[6]

Palaces Among the palaces of Luoyang, the most important were Nangong, or the South Palace, and Beigong, or the North Palace. They already existed during the Western Han dynasty, but then they were much smaller than during Eastern Han. Nevertheless, the South Palace was already famous during Western Han and is often referred to in the historical records. The "Annals of Emperor Gao Zu" in *Hanshu* says that in the fifth year of that emperor's reign (202 B.C.), "The emperor held a banquet in Luoyang's South Palace." Again, the "Biography of Wang Mang" in *Hanshu* records that in A.D. 22, "The chancellor, Wang Xun, led more than ten thousand troops to camp at Luoyang; he occupied the South Palace." We can thus deduce that from the beginning to the end of the Western Han dynasty, the South Palace was the major palace in Luoyang. In 1961, a bronze *zhong*-jar was found in the ruins of the Western Han Chang'an with the words "South Palace *zhong*" [7] inscribed on it. It must have come from the South Palace of Luoyang of Western Han (fig. 40).[8] In the first year of the reign period Jian Wu of Eastern Han (A.D. 25), Emperor Guang Wu Di decided to establish his capital at Luoyang and took up residence in the Quefei Hall of the South Palace. The Quefei Hall must have been part of the legacy of the Western Han Luoyang. Subsequently, with continuous construction, the South Palace grew steadily until A.D. 38, when its most important structure, the Anterior Hall, was completed.

Since there has not been thorough excavation, remains of the South Palace have not yet been uncovered. But, as mentioned above, we already have some knowledge of the layout of Luoyang's gates and avenues. Based

on this, we can make certain general statements about the location of the South Palace and its boundaries. From a map based on our measurements, we can tell that in the southern section of Luoyang—that is, south of the Zhongdongmen Gate Avenue, north of the MaomenGate-to-Guangyangmen-Gate Avenue, west of the Kaiyangmen Gate Avenue, and east of the Xiaoyuanmen Gate Avenue—there was a large rectangular space, which was approximately 1,300 m north to south and 1,000 m east to west. This must have been the location of the South Palace. According to the "Treatise on the Five Phases" in *Xu Hanshu*, the Pingchengmen Gate was the city gate that faced directly south and also the one that provided access to the South Palace. When the suburban sacrifices were held, the emperor's carriage came out from this gate; it was the most important of the city gates. During our test diggings, we found that the Pingchengmen Gate Avenue led directly from the southern suburb into the city and continued on into the space we described above, which according to our estimate must have been the location of the South Palace. The path of this avenue confirms the accuracy of our estimate.[9]

The South Palace was the most important construction project undertaken by Emperor Guang Wu Di. Under the next emperor (Emperor Ming Di), the North Palace was rebuilt; this rebuilding lasted from A.D. 60 to A.D. 65. Within the North Palace, the Deyang Hall was the most important palace building. It held ten thousand people and stood atop a twenty- *chi*-high flight of steps, and the Zhuque Que in front of the hall was high into the clouds, allegedly visible 40 *li* away. During our survey, we could not definitely determine the boundaries of the North Palace. But from the layout of the avenues, we could determine that the North Palace must have been situated north of the Zhongdongmen Gate Avenue, east of the Jinmen Gate Avenue, and west of the Gumen Gate Avenue. This last avenue, the Gumen Gate, which ran south from that gate, turned eastward after a short distance; this bend must have been made in order to circumvent the northern wall of the North Palace. If this is so, then we could conclude that the northern wall of the North Palace was very close to the northern city wall. The North Palace was probably even larger than the South Palace, and its location was not only north but also slightly to the west. According to textual records, the distance between the South Palace and North Palace was 7 *li*; this figure, however, could not be confirmed by our survey work. Possibly the correct figure was 1 *li*, which later became corrupted into 7 *li*. Between the two palaces there were covered passageways, built to provide security for the

emperor as he moved back and forth.

In the Western Han capital of Chang'an, the two major palaces, Changlegong and Weiyanggong, were both located in the southern part of the city, side by side. In the Eastern Han capital of Luoyang, however, the two major palaces were located in the northern and the southern parts of the city, respectively, and had connecting passageways between them. This is another distinct difference in the design of the two Han capitals. Yet from another point of view, the capitals were similar in the respect that their palaces, wherever they were located, occupied over half the entire area of each city. In addition to the South Palace and North Palace, Luoyang also had the Yong'angong Palace, situated northeast of the North Palace, near the Shangdongmen Gate. Furthermore, in the northwestern part of the capital there was Zhuolongyuan, an imperial park. Southeast of the South Palace, near the Maomen Gate and Kaiyangmen Gate, stood the ministries of the grand commandant (*taiwei*), the imperial secretary (*sikong*), and the chancellor (*situ*). These were the highest administrative bodies of the empire. Northeast of the North Palace, right next to the northeastern corner of the city wall, stood the Grand Storehouse (*taicang*) and the Armory (*wuku*). The residential districts of the high officials and aristocrats, such as the Buguang and Yonghe precincts, were mostly located near the Shangdongmen Gate. The residence of Dong Zhuo, for example, was in the Yonghe Precinct.[10] As for the common people, they lived outside the city, just beyond the city gates. The residential areas of the commoners were mostly outside the city wall immediately by the gates, similar to those of the Western Han Chang'an. As for industrial and commercial centers, there were three markets: Nanshi (the South Market), Mashi (the Horse Market), and Jinshi (the Gold Market). The South Market and Horse Market were both located outside the city, the former in the southern suburb and the latter in the eastern suburb. The Gold Market was located inside the city, northeast of the Yongmen Gate, southwest of the North Palace and northwest of the South Palace.

In A.D. 25, Emperor Guang Wu Di established his capital at Luoyang. One hundred and sixty-five years later, in 190, the rebel Dong Zhuo forced Emperor Xian Di to flee from the city and seek refuge in Chang'an. We read that Dong Zhuo "burned the palaces, temples, and houses of Luoyang," and "the fire lasted more than three days, until the city of Luoyang was reduced to ruins." In this way, the prosperous Luoyang was totally destroyed. In 196, when Emperor Xian Di returned to Luoyang, we read "the palaces were

completely burned, and the officials had to clear away brambles and seek shelter between tumbled walls." There was no building left in which Emperor Xian Di could reside; he had no choice but to bow to Cao Cao's wish and move his capital to Xuxian.

Luoyang in Wei and Jin Dynasties Nevertheless, because of Luoyang's strategic location the capital was reestablished there during the succeeding Wei dynasty, ruled by the Cao clan. Emperor Wen Di of the Wei (Cao Pi) rebuilt parts of the North Palace. Then, in the year 235, under the direction of Emperor Ming Di (Cao Rui), a major reconstruction was undertaken. The Taiji Hall, Zhaoyang Hall, and other buildings were constructed on top of the old foundations of the Chongde Hall in the South Palace of Eastern Han. At the same time, several parks, including Fanglinyuan, were restored and expanded. Since the destruction at the end of Eastern Han had been so severe, it was an enormous feat to rebuild the capital on top of the ruins. According to the "Biography of Gao Tanglong" in *Weizhi*: "There were tens of thousands involved in the labor. Everybody from ministers of state to students joined in the task. The emperor himself led the others, taking part in the digging." It is safe to assume that the size of Luoyang during the Wei dynasty did not exceed that of the Eastern Han Luoyang. The Western Jin dynasty, which followed Wei, continued to construct new buildings, but did not make any major changes in the design of the city.

However, it should be mentioned that Emperor Ming Di (Cao Rui) of the Wei dynasty built the Jinyongcheng Fortress at the northwestern corner of the city. (He was following the example of his grandfather, Cao Cao, who had built three defense towers, Tongquetai, Bingjingtai, and Jinhutai, at the northwestern corner of his stronghold, Yecheng.) The Jinyongcheng Fortress was built for military purposes. Its walls and ramparts were particularly strong. And because it stood against the Mangshan Mountains and was situated on high ground that commanded a view of all of Luoyang, it was of critical military importance. In the final years of the Western Jin dynasty, that is, during the rebellions of the Yong Jia period (307-313), this fortress was fought over intensely by those who were contending for control of Luoyang. At that time, it was known as the Luoyang Rampart. In the survey done in 1962, it was determined that the Jinyongcheng Fortress measured 1,080 m from north to south and 250 m from east to west. The fortress consisted of three separate fortifications, whose walls were 13 m thick. The northern fortification and the middle one were outside the Luoyang city wall; the

southern fortification was just inside it. These fortifications had connecting doors and ramps.[11] It is also noteworthy that along the walls of the Jinyongcheng Fortress there were projecting bastions at intervals of 60 or 70 m. These bastions were about 15 m long and 8 m wide (fig. 41). Similar bastions were found on the northern and western city walls of Luoyang, where they were about 18 m long and 8 m wide, and they were constructed at about 120 m intervals. These bastions, like the Jinyongcheng Fortress itself, were apparently constructed during the Wei or possibly the Western Jin dynasty.[12] No other examples of such bastions built on the outer edges of city walls have been found from any remains dating from the Han to the Sui-Tang period, except for those on the fortress walls built in border regions. Such bastions were used again in the Northern Song dynasty capital of Bianliang. In the Song dynasty, they were called "Horse Faces" and were used to supplement the city's defenses, ensuring that enemy forces who approached or scaled the city wall would be attacked from three sides. The appearance of these bastions on the city walls of Luoyang during the Wei and Jin dynasties is indicative of constant fighting during that period. They were an innovation made in response to special military needs.

During the year 311, the Xiongnu chieftain, Liu Cong, led his army to invade Luoyang. In the intense battle that ensued, most of its palaces, temples, government offices, and houses were burned down. The Luoyang which had been slowly rebuilt over a seventy-year period during the Wei and Jin dynasties was again reduced to ashes.

Luoyang in the Northern Wei Dynasty One hundred eighty years later, in 493, the Northern Wei dynasty established its capital at Luoyang, the last dynasty to do so. Emperor Xiao Wen Di of Northern Wei decided to shift his capital from Pingcheng to Luoyang that year. Subsequently, after many years of development and reconstruction, Luoyang not only became a prosperous city once again, but also was given a new layout that made it, as the Northern Wei capital, different in many respects from the Luoyang of earlier dynasties. Since Northern Wei was the last dynasty to make Luoyang its capital and afterward the site was abandoned, the remains are quite well preserved. After our survey, we were able to make a relatively accurate and reliable plan of the city (fig. 42).

The most important change in the Northern Wei Luoyang was the abolition of the custom of having two palaces, the South and the North palaces, which had existed since Eastern Han. Instead, a single, walled palace

was built. This palace was in the northern part of the city, slightly off to the west, built on the foundation of the North Palace of the Han and Wei dynasties. It had a neat rectangular plan, enclosed by four walls. The eastern and western walls each measured 1,400 m, and the northern and southern walls were 660 m. The palace occupied approximately onetenth of the area of the entire city. Near the west end of the southern wall of the palace, the remains of an enormous gate have been found. This was the Changhemen Gate, the main palace gate.[13]

The names of the twelve city gates of the Eastern Han Luoyang were all changed by now, with the exception of the Kaiyangmen Gate at the east end of the southern city wall. Actually, some of the gate names had already been changed during the Wei and Jin dynasties, some were not changed until Northern Wei, while still others were changed twice. The former Shangdongmen Gate was now the Jianchunmen Gate, the Zhongdongmen Gate was now the Dongyangmen Gate, the Maomen Gate was now the Qingyangmen Gate, the Pingchengmen Gate was now the Pingchangmen Gate, the Xiaoyuanmen Gate was now the Xuanyangmen Gate, the Jinmen Gate was now the Jinyangmen Gate, the Guangyangmen Gate was now the Ximingmen Gate, the Yongmen Gate was now the Xiyangmen Gate, the Shangximen Gate was now the Changhemen Gate, the Xiamen Gate was now the Daxiamen Gate, and the Gumen Gate was now the Guangmomen Gate. All twelve gates were rebuilt, eleven of them on their former Han and Wei dynasty sites. But the Xiyangmen Gate on the western wall was moved from the old site of the Yongmen Gate 500 m to the north, so that it was now directly opposite the Dongyangmen Gate on the eastern wall. Furthermore, when Emperor Xiao Wen Di first arrived at Luoyang, the palaces were not ready, and so he resided temporarily in the Jinyongcheng Fortress. While there, he created a new city gate near the fortress at the north side of the west wall of the city. This new gate was called the Chengmingmen Gate (fig. 43), thus now Luoyang had thirteen city gates.[14]

Since the boundaries of the palaces and the location of some of the city gates had been changed, the streets within the city also underwent changes. For example, because the South Palace had been totally demolished, it now became possible for an avenue to span the length of the entire city, north to south, from the Guangmomen Gate to the Pingchangmen Gate. Since the Yongmen Gate of Eastern Han no longer existed, the Yongmen Gate Avenue was probably also done away with. Due to the opening of the Chengmingmen

Gate, there was now a new avenue leading from that gate eastward into the city. It should be pointed out that now there was also an avenue that cut across the city in an eastwest direction from the Jianchunmen Gate to the Changhemen Gate. This avenue cut across the walled palace, running through the palace's own east and west gates, dividing it in two halves, north and south. The southern half was used for palace audiences, while the northern half was the site of the imperial residence. More important, since the newly constructed Xiyangmen Gate was directly opposite the Dongyangmen Gate, the Zhongdongmen Gate Avenue of Eastern Han was extended to cross the entire city. This was thus a second avenue that cut across the entire city, east to west. This avenue passed by the southern wall of the walled palace and formed a kind of interior boundary within the city. North were the imperial palaces and parks; south were the government offices, temples, and houses of the aristocrats. Last, we should note that since the walled palace was in the north of the city, slightly west of center, and its southern gate, the Changhemen Palace Gate, directly faced the Xuanyangmen Gate on the southern city wall, the avenue that connected the two gates, the Tongtuo (Bronze Camel) Avenue, became a kind of major artery, just as the Pingchengmen Gate Avenue had been during Eastern Han.[15] All the high officials' offices, all the temples and ancestral halls, as well as the other important buildings were arrayed along the two sides of the Tongtuo Avenue (figs. 44-46).[16] The famous Yongning Temple was on the west side of the avenue, where its remains are still preserved today and have recently undergone excavation (fig. 47).[17] So it was that the Xuanyangmen Gate became the most important city gate in the Northern Wei Luoyang, as the Pingchengmen Gate had been during Eastern Han.

As mentioned above, when Northern Wei rebuilt the Eastern Han city of Luoyang, it gave the city a new appearance and design. But this new Luoyang we have been describing so far was actually only the inner city of the Northern Wei Luoyang. Far beyond the old city wall, another wall was erected, known as the outer city wall, enclosing a much larger area. According to *Luoyang qielan ji*, the outer city wall was 20 *li* long from east to west and 15 *li* long from north to south—very long indeed. The city within was divided into 320 wards, each of which was square and enclosed by walls. These ward walls were 300 *bu* on a side, about one *li* by contemporary reckoning. The city had a very exact and neat layout. According to the "Annals of Emperor Shi Zong" in *Weishu*, the construction of this outer city

began in 501, during the reign of Emperor Xuan Wu Di, eight years after Emperor Xiao Wen Di moved to Luoyang and made it the site of his new capital, and the actual construction required tens of thousands of laborers. The wards outside the inner city were occupied by the common people, who were kept under strict control and regulation. The markets—that is, the centers of industry and commerce—were also located in the outer city. Dashi (the Big Market) was in the western part of the city, west of the inner city. Xiaoshi (the Small Market) was east of the inner city. Sitongshi (the Four-Way Access Market) was south of the inner city, just outside the Xuanyangmen Gate. Jinshi (the Gold Market), which had been inside the Luoyang of the Han and Jin dynasties, was demolished and a Buddhist temple was constructed on its former site. These changes thus ended the Eastern Han tradition of having a market just north of the main palace.[18] In summary, we can say that the structure and layout of the Northern Wei Luoyang, when compared to that of the two Han capitals, shows epoch-making changes, and established a precedent later adopted for the Sui capital of Daxing and the two Tang capitals of Chang'an and Luoyang.

Ritual Structures According to the "Annals of Emperor Guang Wu Di" in *Hou Hanshu*, the Pi Yong (Hall of Learning), Ming Tang (Ritual Hall), and Ling Tai (Spirit Terrace) were all built in A.D. 56. All documentary references indicate that the three structures were located just south of the Eastern Han Luoyang, outside the Kaiyangmen Gate and Pingchengmen Gate. This location has been confirmed by archaeological excavations.[19]

The Pi Yong was situated on the eastern side of the large road outside the Kaiyangmen Gate. The remains show that the ground plan was square and that it was surrounded by a wall that was 170 m on each side. Within this large square enclosure there were four clusters of buildings evenly spaced apart. Each cluster consisted of three structures.[20] According to *Han guanyi*, the Pi Yong was surrounded on all sides by a moat, over which there were bridges. However, archaeological excavation has not yet turned up any remnants of such of a moat. During the Wei dynasty and the Western Jin dynasty, the Pi Yong was rebuilt, probably on the site of the Eastern Han Pi Yong. In 1930, a stele was discovered on the site commemorating three visits to the Pi Yong by Emperor Wu Di of the Jin dynasty (reigning from A.D. 265 to 290) (fig. 48), and in recent years the base of this stele has likewise been found. This discovery proves beyond a doubt that the ruins on this site are those of the Pi Yong of the Han and Wei dynasties.[21] During the Northern

Wei dynasty, reconstruction of the Pi Yong was undertaken, but it was never completed.

The Ming Tang was located on the western side of the large road outside the Kaiyangmen Gate, and was 150 m west of the Pi Yong. The remains show that the ground plan was square and that the building was surrounded on all sides by a wall which was 400 m on a side. Within this large square enclosure there was a round terrace, 62 m in diameter, that was the site of the main structure. Thus, the remains have some correspondence with the description in *Shuijingzhu*, which states that the design of the Ming Tang was circular at the top and square at the bottom.[22] During both the Western Jin and the Northern Wei dynasties, the Ming Tang was reconstructed on the same site.

The Ling Tai was on the western side of the large road outside the Pingchengmen Gate, 80 m west of the Ming Tang. The remains indicate that the Ling Tai also had a square ground plan and a wall around it. The walls on the east and west sides were each 220 m long, while those on the north and south were 200 m long. Within this large square enclosure there was a high terrace that had a square ground plan. Its base was approximately 50 m on a side, and it was the site of the main structure(fig. 49). What remains today of this terrace stands 8 m high. The top has been destroyed. According to historical records, the terrace was flat and had no superstructure on top (fig. 50). Other buildings or structures flanked the terrace on all sides, mainly on two levels. The upper level was 1.86 m higher than the lower level and was approachable by ramps. The structures on the lower level in reality were verandas, whose banks or aprons were covered with oval river stones (fig. 51). The structures on the higher level on each side of the central terrace consisted of five rooms. The floors of these rooms were lined with rectangular tiles and the walls were painted various colors. The eastern rooms were painted green, the western ones white, the southern ones red, and the northern ones black. Obviously, these colors were related to the Four Deities that the structures represented (i.e., the Green Dragon, the White Tiger, the Red Bird, and the Black Turtle). It is noteworthy that the five rooms on the western side had dark inner chambers that were sunk below the central terrace. In these dark inner chambers the door was lined with square tiles (fig. 52). According to the "Treatise on Astronomy" in *Jinshu*, Zhang Pingzi (Zhang Heng, A.D. 78-139) constructed a bronze armillary sphere in a sealed room; it is perhaps these chambers that the text refers to. During the Wei and

Western Jin dynasties, the Eastern Han Ling Tai continued to be used. But since it suffered severe damage during the fighting of the last years of Western Jin, it was abandoned during Northern Wei and a Buddhist pagoda was built on top of the terrace. The Buddhist images carved on bricks which were found during our excavation date from Northern Wei.[23]

Academies The Tai Xue (Imperial Academy) occupied a very large area. Because of the pilfering of stone classics from the Tai Xue site before the founding of the People's Republic of China, the remains have been severely damaged. But our reconnaissance and excavations showed that it consisted of two distinct sections. The first section was north of the Pi Yong. Its ground plan was rectangular, the eastern and western sides being approximately 200 m long, and the northern and southern sides 100 m long. In the past, fragments of stone classics were mostly dug up just north of this section. Hence, we can assume that this was the most important part of the Eastern Han Tai Xue. The second section was approximately 100 m northeast of the first section, and its remains are very well preserved. Its ground plan was also rectangular. The northern and southern sides were approximately 200 m long; the eastern and western sides 150 m long. It was surrounded by a wall.[24] The construction of the Tai Xue began in A.D. 29. Later, the Tai Xue was expanded several times and it did not reach its completed form until A.D. 132. At that time, the number of students enrolled in the Tai Xue occasionally exceeded 30,000. In 175, Emperor Ling Di had the Confucian classics cut on stone at the Tai Xue; hence, these works are referred to as the "Xi Ping Stone Classics," taking their name from Emperor Ling Di's reign period(fig. 53). So many people were eager to look at and copy from the stone classics that more than a thousand carriages arrived at the Tai Xue every day, jamming the streets nearby. At the end of Eastern Han, when Dong Zhuo burned the palaces and temples of Luoyang, the Tai Xue was also damaged. In 224, Emperor Wen Di of the Wei dynasty rebuilt the Tai Xue on its former site. Sometime between 240 and 249, another set of stone classics was cut in three calligraphic styles (fig. 54). At the beginning of the Western Jin dynasty, the Tai Xue was established in accordance with the Han and Wei precedents. In 276, the Guo Zi Xue (National Academy) was established to exist side by side with the Tai Xue. Therefore, in his "Xianju fu," Pan Yue says, "The two academies stand side by side, identical in appearance. The right-hand one is for the descendants of the imperial clan, and the left-hand one for talented common people." Moreover, according to *Shuzhengji*, the Tai Xue stood 200

bu east of the Guo Zi Xue. Therefore, we can deduce that the Tai Xue of Western Jin occupied the northeastern part of the grounds occupied by the Tai Xue during the Han and Wei dynasties. And the southwestern part of the Han and Wei Tai Xue was converted into the Guo Zi Xue.

贰　东汉的都城——雒阳

东汉首都雒阳城的遗址，在今河南省洛阳市以东约十五公里。这里北靠邙山，南临洛河，不仅有天然的屏障，而且是交通的要冲（图37）。所以，早在西周时，便选择在这里建立成周城，一直延续到东周。因在洛河之北，战国时改称雒阳。西汉时的雒阳城，基本上是成周城的旧址，东汉的雒阳城是在西汉的雒阳城的基础上扩建的，新的城墙和城门大约建成于光武帝建武十四年（公元38年）前后。

成周城的建筑遗迹，已经很难找到了。但是，城址北面的周代墓群却遗留至今，1928年发现的著名的金村大墓便是其中的一部分。[1]西汉雒阳城的位置和范围，估计大概与成周城差不多，其中的南宫是当时雒阳城中的主要宫殿。东汉光武帝于建武元年（公元25年）定都雒阳，先居住在南宫，以后全面建筑城墙，扩大城的范围，把成周城北面的周代墓地也包括在都城之内。《续汉书·郡国志》注引《帝王世纪》说，东汉雒阳城内的东北部有“殷之墓地”及“周景王塚”，总的说来，是与实际情况相符的。

东汉雒阳城的东面、西面和北面的城墙，至今犹残留在地面上，1962年考古工作者前往勘察时，有的地段上的城墙犹高达7米多（图38）。至于南面的城墙，则早因洛河改道而被冲毁，已无遗迹可寻。幸好当时在城的南郊所建的“明堂”和“灵台”的遗迹仍然存在，据《后汉书·光武帝纪》注引《汉官仪》和《文选·闲居赋》注引《洛阳记》记载，它们与雒阳城的南面城墙相距为二里或三里，可以由此判定南面城墙的位置大约在今洛河河道的中央。与西汉的长安城一样，这里的城墙亦系用黄土夯筑而成，十分坚固（图39）。经钻探了解，城墙的基部厚度，东墙约为14米，西墙约为20米，北墙约为25米，各不相等。这可能是由于魏晋时为了加强防御，增加了西墙和北墙的厚度的缘故。经实测，东面城墙残长约3900米，西面城墙残长约3400米，北面城墙全长约2700米；南面城墙已不存在，其长度若按现存东墙和西墙在南端的距离计算，应约为2460米。[2]假定南面城墙的位置在今洛河河道的中央，则东墙和西墙的长度应在现存的长度之上各增加约300米。这样，四面城墙的总长度应约为13000米，合汉代约三十一里。《续汉书·郡国志》注引《帝王世纪》说“城东西六里一十步，南北九里一百步”，又引《晋元康地道记》说“城内南北九里七十步，东西六里十步”，是符合实际情况的。虽然现存的三面城墙都不成直线，特别是东面城墙和北面城墙各有

一处较大的曲折，但全城的平面形状基本上呈长方形（见图37）。由于自南至北的长度约九里，自东至西的宽度约六里，所以这个都城被称为“九六城”。西汉长安城平面形状基本上呈正方形，东汉雒阳城平面形状基本上呈长方形，这是两汉都城形制的许多相异处之一。

据文献记载，东汉雒阳城有十二个城门。城门的数目虽与西汉长安城相等，但与长安城不同的是，它们不是平均分布在城的四面，而是东面和西面各三个城门，南面四个城门，北面二个城门。东面的三个城门，自北而南为“上东门”、“中东门”、“旄门”；西面的三个城门，自南而北为“广阳门”、“雍门”、“上西门”；北面的二个城门，自西而东为“夏门”、“谷门”；南面的四个城门，自东而西为“开阳门”、“平城门”、“小苑门”、“津门”。在1962年的勘探工作中，发现了东面、西面和北面的八个城门，它们都有很明显的遗迹存在。[3]南面的四个城门，虽然都已被洛河冲毁，无遗迹可寻，但可以根据勘察工作中所发现的城内的四条南北向的大街分别确定它们的位置。从实测的城的平面图上可以看出，东面的上东门和旄门分别与西面的上西门和广阳门对直，而南面的开阳门、平城门、小苑门和津门的位置也相当均称，这说明了筑城时的计划性较强。由于没有经过发掘，城门的形制和结构不甚清楚。但是，北面西头的夏门，遗迹保存得特别好，可以根据钻探所得的情况，判断它和西汉长安城的城门一样，有三个门道。[4]这与文献的记载是相符的。

在钻探工作中，发现了许多街道的遗迹，它们主要是属于以后的北魏时期的。[5]但是，可以认为，东汉时的街道分布情况，基本上与北魏时的街道分布情况相似；换言之，北魏时的街道，主要是沿用东汉以来的街道，只是因宫殿和个别城门位置的改变而有所增筑或改修而已。因此，可以以钻探出来的街道遗迹为主要根据，并参照东汉时期的宫殿范围和城门的位置，来判断东汉雒阳城内街道的分布情形。

南北纵行的大街，共有五条：第一条可称“开阳门大街”，自开阳门往北，全长约2800米。第二条可称“平城门大街”，自平城门往北，遇南宫的南门而止，长约700米。第三条可称“小苑门大街”，自小苑门往北，至北宫的南门而止，全长约2000米。第四条可称“津门大街”，自津门往北，全长约2800米。第五条可称“谷门大街”，自谷门往南，遇北宫的北墙而东折，然后再折而向南，全长约2400米。至于自夏门南行的街道，因入城不到100米即遇北宫的北墙而止，所以实际上算不了一条大街。东西向横行的大街，亦有五条：第一条可称“上东门大街”，自上东门往西，遇北宫的东墙而止，长约600米。第二条可称“中东门大街”，自中东门往西，穿南宫与北宫之间而过，全长约2200米。第三条称“上西门大街”，自上西门往东，遇北宫的西墙而止，长约500米。第四条称“雍门大街”，自雍门往东，遇“津门大街”而止，长约500米。第五条

可称“旄门——广阳门大街”，自旄门至广阳门，横贯全城，全长2460米。以上各条大街，互相交叉结合，形成许多十字路口和丁字路口，若以每二个路口之间为一段，则共有二十四段。《续汉书·百官志》注引《汉仪》说“洛阳二十四街，每街一亭”，可能是指此而言的。除个别大街宽约20米以外，一般的大街宽在40米左右。由于没有经过发掘，街道的形制不能得到明确的了解。但是，《太平御览》引《洛阳记》说：“宫门及城中大道皆分作三，中央御道，两边筑土墙高四尺余外分之，唯公卿、尚书章服从中道，凡行人皆行左右。”这说明了雒阳城内的大街也是由三条并行的道路组成，与西汉长安城的街道相似。[6]

东汉雒阳城内的宫殿，主要是南宫和北宫。它们在西汉时即已存在，但规模不如东汉。西汉时的南宫是很有名的，常在文献记载中被提到。《汉书·高帝纪》说，“（高帝五年，公元前202年）帝置酒雒阳南宫”，《汉书·王莽传》说，“（地皇三年，公元22年）司徒王寻将十余万屯雒阳，填南宫”，可见从西汉初年到西汉末年，南宫一直是雒阳城中主要的宫殿。1961年在西安西汉长安城外上林苑遗址发现的一件铜钟，刻有“南宫锺”字样，[7]应系当时雒阳南宫中所用之物，后来才被征调到长安的（图40）。[8]建武元年（公元25年），光武帝定都雒阳，居住在南宫的却非殿，它可能是西汉遗留的旧建筑。以后，由于不断进行扩建，南宫的规模日益增大，建武十四年（公元38年）终于在南宫中建成最重要的“前殿”。

由于还没有经过全面的发掘，南宫的遗迹迄今未被揭露出来。但是，如前所述，东汉雒阳城的城门和街道的分布情形已经究明，所以对于南宫的位置和范围也就可以据此作大概的判断。从实测图中可以看出，在雒阳城的南部，“中东门大街”之南，“旄门——广阳门大街”之北，“开阳门大街”之西，“小苑门大街”之东，有一片范围广大的长方形的区域，南北长约1300米，东西宽约1000米，应该便是南宫之所在。《续汉书·五行志》说，平城门是“正阳之门”，与南宫相连，举行郊祀的典礼时，皇帝的车驾从此门而出，是最重要的城门。在钻探工作中发现的“平城门大街”，由南郊向北通入城内，直达上述南宫所在的范围，这就证明了以上的判断是正确的。[9]

光武帝在位时，主要是修建南宫。到了明帝时，又营建北宫，自永平三年（公元60年）开始，历时五年，至永平八年（公元65年）才全部建成。北宫中的“德阳殿”，是最重要的宫殿，“周旋容万人，陛高二丈”，殿前的朱雀阙高耸入云，据说从四十多里以外就可以望见。在勘察工作中，尚未明确究明北宫的遗迹。但是，可以根据街道分布的情形，判断北宫应在“中东门大街”之北，“津门大街”之东，“谷门大街”之西；由于“谷门大街”入城后南行不远便折而向东，这显然是由于遇到了

北宫的北墙，从而可以认为北宫的北墙离雒阳城的北面城墙很近。和南宫比较起来，北宫的范围可能更大，它的位置在南宫之北，而略为偏西。据文献记载，南北两宫相去七里，但从上述实际的勘察工作看来，七里恐系一里之讹。两宫之间有复道相连，以保证皇帝往来时的安全。

西汉长安城中的长乐宫和未央宫，都在城的南部，左右并列；东汉雒阳城中的南宫和北宫则各在城的南部和北部，前后相接。这是两汉都城在形制和布局上的又一重大的不同之处。但是，从另一方面来看，都城中将近一半的面积都为宫殿所占，则是长安城和雒阳城所共同的。除了南宫和北宫之外，雒阳城中还有永安宫，其位置在北宫的东北，靠近上东门处。在城的西北部，则有濯龙园，也是皇家的宫苑。在南宫的东南，靠近旄门和开阳门，则有太尉府、司空府和司徒府，是全国最高的行政机构。在北宫的东北方，紧靠城的东北角，则是太仓和武库之所在。达官贵族的居住区，如步广里、永和里，多在上东门内，董卓的住宅即在永和里。[10]至于一般的人民，则多居住在城外，尤其是靠近城门的地区，与西汉长安城的情况相似。工商业区有南市、马市和金市。南市和马市都在城外，前者在南郊，后者在东郊。金市在城内，其位置在北宫的西南，南宫的西北。

从建武元年汉光武帝定都雒阳以来，经历了一百六十五年，到初平元年（公元190年），董卓胁迫汉献帝迁都长安，“焚洛阳宫庙及人家”，“火三日不绝，京都为丘墟矣”。繁华的雒阳城，遭到了彻底的破坏。建安元年（公元196年），汉献帝自长安回到雒阳时，这个都城已是“宫室烧尽，百官披荆棘，依墙壁间”，连可供居住的地方都没有了，所以只好在曹操的挟持下，迁都于许县。

但是，由于洛阳在地理上的重要性，曹魏继东汉之后，仍然选择在这里建都。魏文帝曹丕时，主要是修复了北宫的一部分建筑物。到魏明帝曹叡青龙三年（公元235年），才大兴土木，在东汉南宫崇德殿的旧基上建太极、昭阳诸殿，同时又增饰芳林园等。由于东汉末年的破坏太严重了，在废墟上重建都城，工程艰巨。据《魏志·高堂隆传》记载，当时的情形是“百役繁兴，作者万数，公卿以下，至于学生，莫不展力，帝乃躬自掘土以率之”。看来曹魏时洛阳城中的建设，不会超过东汉的规模。西晋都洛阳，继续有所兴建，但在城的形制和布局上也并没有什么大的变化。

但是，应该特别提出来的是，魏明帝曹叡，仿效他祖父曹操在邺城的西北角筑铜雀台、冰井台和金虎台等“三台”的经验，在洛阳城的西北角也建筑了金墉城。它实际上是一种军事性的城堡，壁垒坚固，由于紧靠邙山，地势高亢，可以由此俯瞰洛阳全城，在军事上具有制高点的作用，在西晋末年“永嘉之乱”的洛阳争夺战中是交战双方的必争之地，当

时称为“洛阳垒”。1962年的勘查工作，究明了金墉城南北长约1080米，东西宽约250米，系由三个城堡组成，墙垣厚达13米。北面的一个城堡和中间的一个城堡筑在洛阳城的城墙之外，南面的一个城堡筑在城墙之内，三者互相连接，有门道相通。[11]值得注意的是，在金墉城的城壁上，每隔六七十米，就设有一个墩台，长约15米，宽约8米（图41）。同样的墩台，还见于洛阳城的西面和北面的城墙上，长约18米，宽约8米，相互之间的距离约120米，它们和金墉城一样，显然是魏晋时所增设的。[12]这种设在城墙外壁的墩台，除了边塞的城鄣以外，在从两汉以迄隋唐的城墙上是没有类例的，直到北宋建汴梁城时才开始被普遍采用，当时称为“马面”，其作用在于加强防守，使攻城者在接近或扳登城墙时三面受敌，攻势受阻。它们在魏晋洛阳城的城墙上出现，充分说明了当时战乱频仍，出于军事上的需要，乃有这种特殊的发明。

西晋永嘉五年（公元311年），匈奴族的刘聪率军攻入洛阳，在激烈的战争中，城内的宫庙、官署和住宅多被焚毁。在东汉末年的废墟上经魏晋两朝七十余年的经营才重建起来的洛阳城，再一次化为灰烬。

从这以后，过了一百八十余年，最后在这里建都的朝代是北魏。北魏的孝文帝于太和十七年（公元493年）自平城迁都到此，经过多年的经营，不仅使洛阳重新成为繁华的城市，而且在都城的形制和布局上改变了汉和魏晋的旧制，出现了许多新的变革，由于北魏的洛阳城年代最晚，废弃以后，不再有别的朝代在这里建都，所以它的遗迹保存较好，经过勘察以后，能够绘制出一幅比较明确可靠的城的平面图（图42）。

和前代比较起来，北魏洛阳城最重要的改变，是在宫殿方面废除了东汉以来分为南北两宫的制度，建立了单一的宫城。宫城的位置在全城的北部而略为偏西，是在汉和魏晋的北宫的基础上兴建的。它的平面成一规整的长方形，四面筑围墙，计东墙和西墙各长约1400米，南墙和北墙各长约660米，其面积约占全城的十分之一。在宫城的南墙近西端处，发现了一处巨大的门址，它便是宫城的正门——阊阖门。[13]

东汉以来的十二个城门，除南面东头的开阳门以外，都改变了名称。有的是魏晋时就改名的，有的是北魏时才改名的，也有的是魏晋改名以后，北魏又改名。上东门改称建春门，中东门改称东阳门，旄门改称青阳门，平城门改称平昌门，小苑门改称宣阳门，津门改称津阳门，广阳门改称西明门，雍门改称西阳门，上西门改称阊阖门，夏门改称大夏门，谷门改称广莫门。十二个城门，都经过重建，其中十一个城门仍然建立在汉和魏晋的旧址上，但西面的西阳门却从汉代的雍门旧址北移约500米，使得它恰好与东面的东阳门对直。此外，孝文帝初到洛阳时，因宫室未就，暂居金墉城，为了出入方便，在西面北头紧靠金墉城处新开了一个城门，称为承明门（图43），使得洛阳城有了十三个城

门。[14]

由于宫城的范围和个别城门位置的改变，城内的街道也在东汉以来的基础上有许多变更。例如：南宫已经被彻底废弃，所以在广莫门和平昌门之间有了一条纵贯全城的南北向大街。东汉的雍门已经废绝，所以东汉以来的“雍门大街”可能已不再存在。由于新辟了承明门，所以增添了由承明门往东通入城内的大街，其北即为华林园。值得注意的是，建春门和阊阖门之间有了一条横贯全城的东西向大街，它从宫城的东门和西门穿过，将宫城分为南北两半，南半部是朝会之处，北半部为寝宫所在。更重要的是，由于新建的西阳门正好与东阳门对直，所以东汉以来的中东门大街被延长而贯通于西阳门和东阳门之间，成为又一条横贯全城的东西向大街，它在宫城南墙外通过，是全城的一条分界线。它的北面主要是皇家的宫殿和园囿，它的南面则分布着官署、佛寺和贵族的邸宅。最后，特别要提出来的是，由于宫城的位置在全城的北部而略为偏西，它的南门——阊阖门与南面城墙上的宣阳门对直，所以自阊阖门至宣阳门的南北向大街——铜驼街就成了全城的中轴线，代替了东汉时的平城门大街。[15]当时的司徒府、太尉府等高级官署和宗庙、社稷等重要建筑物，就分布在铜驼街的两侧（图44—46）。[16]有名的永宁寺在街的西侧，其塔基遗迹至今犹保留在地面上，最近已经过发掘（图47）。[17]这样一来，宣阳门也就代替了东汉时的平城门，成为北魏洛阳城的最重要的城门。

如上所述，东汉以来的洛阳旧城，经过重建，面貌一新。但是，随着都市建设的进一步发展，它在北魏的整个洛阳城中，只是作为内城而存在，在它的外围还筑有郭城，即外城。据《洛阳伽蓝记》记载，外郭城“东西二十里，南北十五里”，范围极其广大，在全城的范围内，划分为三百二十坊，每个坊都呈正方形，四周筑围墙，每边长三百步，即当时的一里，规划十分严密而整齐。据《魏书·世宗纪》记载，它们都是在宣武帝景明二年（公元501年），即孝文帝迁都洛阳以后的第九年，发动数万人夫兴建起来的。在内城以外的各个坊内，居住着一般的人民，他们受到严格的管理和控制。作为工商业区的“市”，也设置在内城之外的郭城中。其中的“大市”在内城以西的西郭，“小市”在内城以东的东郭，“四通市”在内城以南、宣阳门外的南郭，三市的方位都在宫城以南，而汉和魏晋以来建在城内的金市则废为佛寺，从而完全改变了西汉以来在宫城北面设市的所谓“面朝后市”的老传统。[18]总之，北魏洛阳城的形制和布局，和两汉以来的都城相比，出现了划时代的变革，而为此后隋代的大兴城、唐代的长安城和隋唐的洛阳城开创了先例。

据《后汉书·光武帝纪》记载，东汉的辟雍、明堂和灵台都建于建武中元元年（公元56年）。各种记载都说明它们的位置在雒阳城南，在

开阳门和平城门外，这已得到了考古发掘工作的证实。[19]

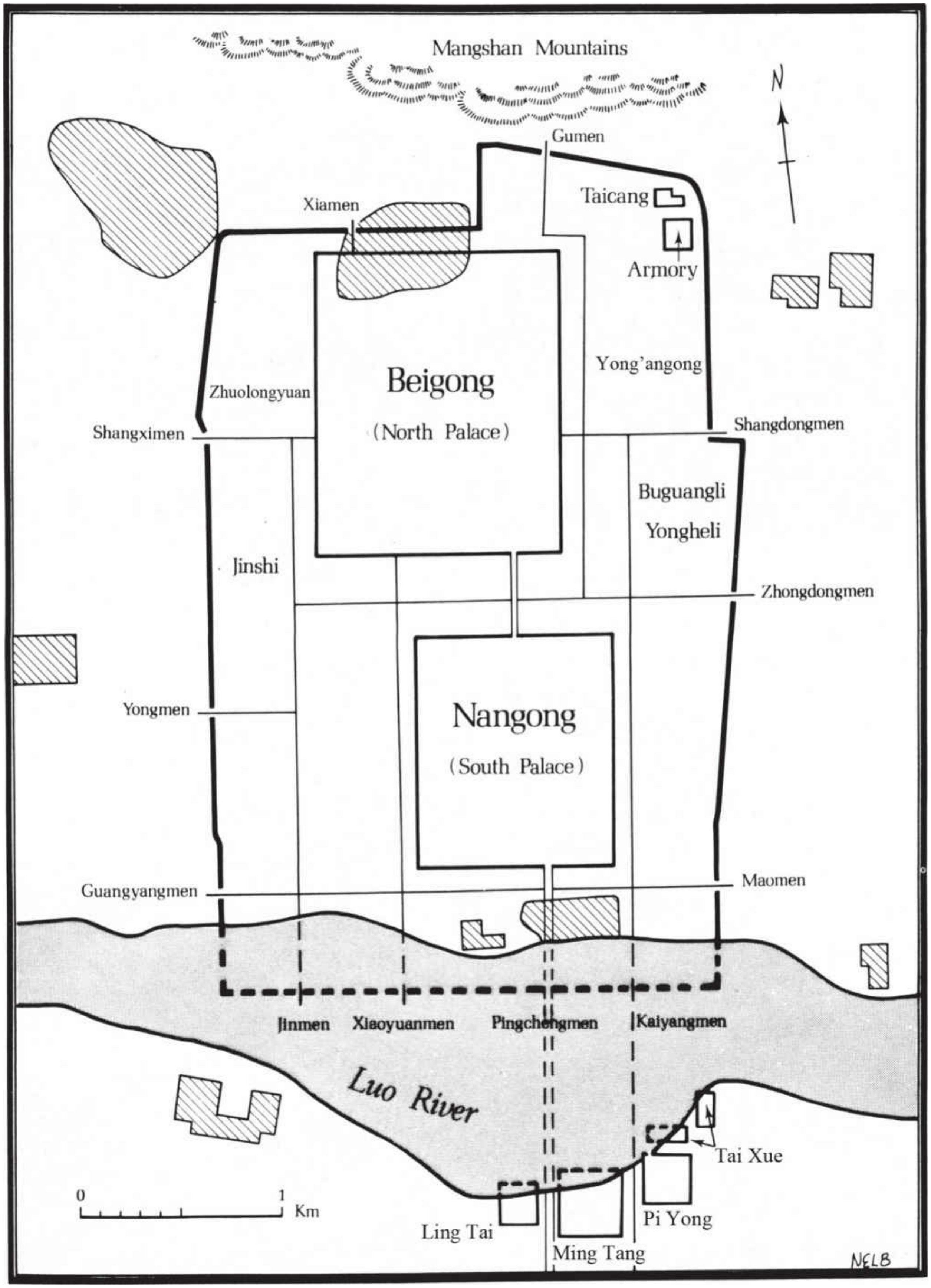
辟雍在开阳门外大路的东侧。遗址平面呈正方形，四面筑有围墙，每面长约170米。在这正方形的大院内，均称地配置着四组建筑物，每组各由三座房屋组成。[20]据《后汉书·光武帝纪》注引《汉官仪》记载，辟雍四面都设沟堑，其上架桥，东、南、西三面堑中有水。曹魏和西晋时重建辟雍，应系在东汉的旧址上。1930年曾出土晋武帝三临辟雍的纪念碑（图48），近年又发现了它的碑座，可证此遗址为汉和魏晋的辟雍无疑。[21]北魏虽曾修辟雍，但未完成。

明堂在开阳门外大路的西侧，平城门外大路的东侧，东距辟雍约150米，遗址平面呈正方形，四面筑有围墙，每面长约400米。在这正方形的大院的正中，有一直径为62米的圆形台基，即系主体建筑之所在，与《水经注》所说“寻其基构，上圆下方”的情形不无相符之处。[22]西晋和北魏时，都曾重建明堂，当系在东汉明堂的旧址上。

灵台在平城门外大路的西侧，东距明堂约80米。遗址的总平面基本上亦呈正方形，四面筑有围墙，东墙和西墙各长220米，南墙和北墙各长200米。在这正方形的大院的正中，有一座平面成正方形的高台，其基部约为50米见方，是主体建筑之所在。（图49）高台残存高度约8米，顶部已塌毁，据记载，当时是“上平无屋”（图50）。房屋筑在高台的四周，可分上下两层，上层比下层高出1.86米，有坡道可以升登。下层的房屋实际上是回廊，廊外有用河卵石铺成的“散水”（图51）。上层房屋每面各五间，屋内地面用长方砖铺砌，墙壁上涂有色彩。东面房屋所涂为青色，西面房屋所涂为白色，南面房屋所涂为红色，北面房屋所涂为黑色，显然是按照“四神”——青龙、白虎、朱雀、玄武分别代表四方的学说设计的。值得注意的是，西面的五间房屋，都设有深入于土台之中的暗室，室内用正方砖铺地（图52）。《晋书·天文志》说“张平子（张衡）既作铜浑天仪于密室中”，也许就是指此而言的。曹魏和西晋，都沿用东汉的灵台。由于在西晋末年的战乱中灵台受到严重的毁坏，所以北魏时就废弃不用，而在台上筑佛塔。在发掘工作中发现的一些砖雕的佛像，便是北魏的遗物。[23]

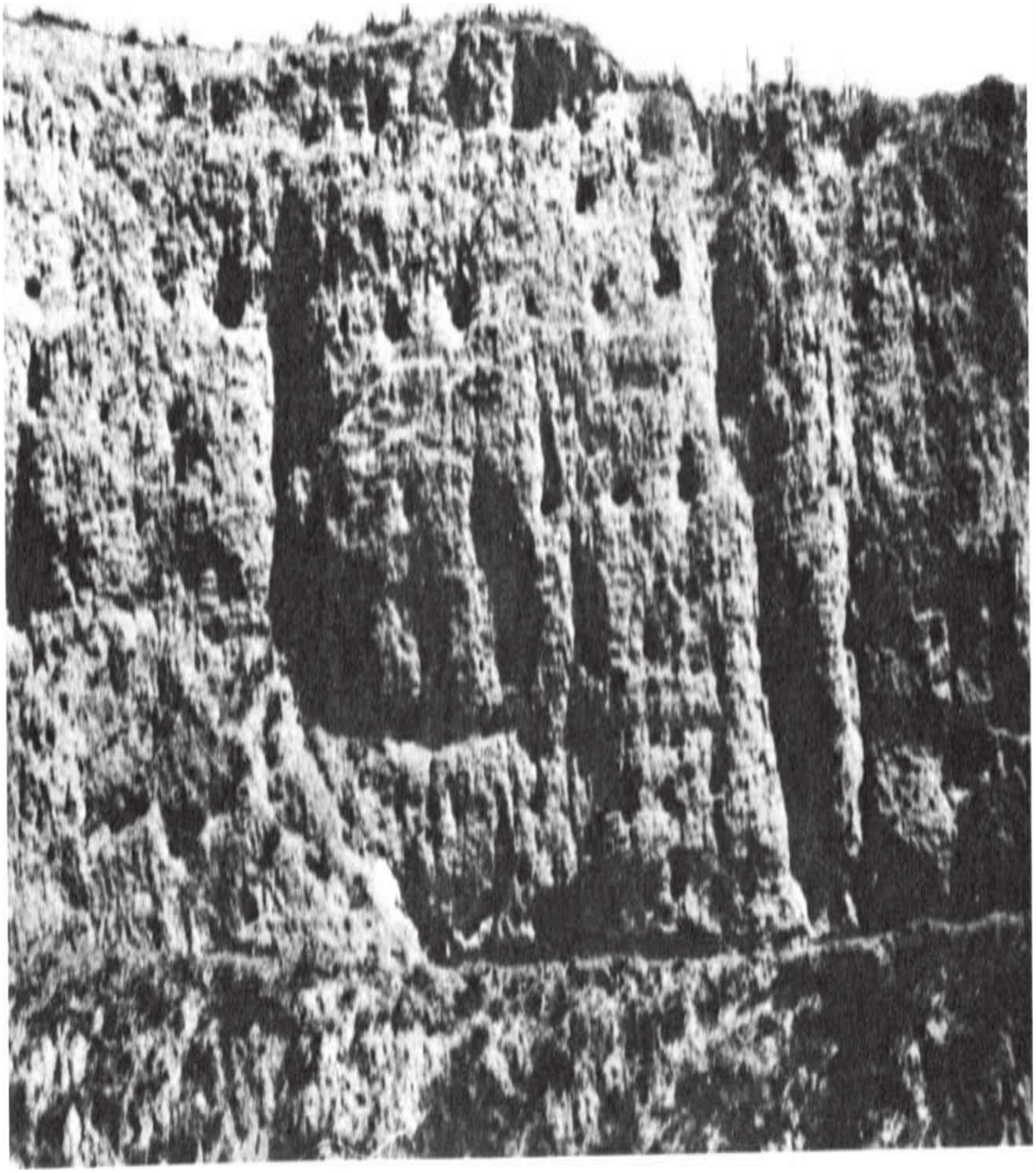
太学的范围很大。由于新中国成立前在这里盗掘石经，遗址遭到严重的破坏。经过勘探和试掘，可以确认其主要遗迹可分为两部分。一部分在辟雍之北，其范围略呈长方形，东西长约200米，南北宽约100米，过去许多石经碎片大多是在这里的北面附近出土的，从而可以认为是东汉太学的主要部分之所在。另一部分在它的东北约100米处，遗迹保存较好，其范围亦成长方形，南北长约200米，东西宽约150米，四周筑有围墙。[24]东汉的太学始建于光武帝建武五年（公元29年），以后屡经扩建，至顺帝阳嘉元年（公元132年）才全部完竣，当时太学生多达三万

余人。灵帝熹平四年（公元175年）立石经于太学，称“熹平石经”（图53），观摹者“车乘日千余辆，填塞街陌”。汉末董卓烧洛阳宫庙，太学亦遭殃及。魏文帝黄初五年（公元224年）在东汉的旧址上重建太学，正始（公元240至249年）中又立三体石经（图54）。西晋初年，依汉魏之制兴太学，而咸宁二年（公元276年）又另立国子学，与太学并存。所以，潘岳《闲居赋》有“两学齐列，双宇如一，右延国胄，左纳良逸”之句。据《述征记》记载，“太学在国子学东二百步”。因此，推测西晋的太学在汉魏太学的东北部分，而将汉魏太学的西南部分改设国子学。

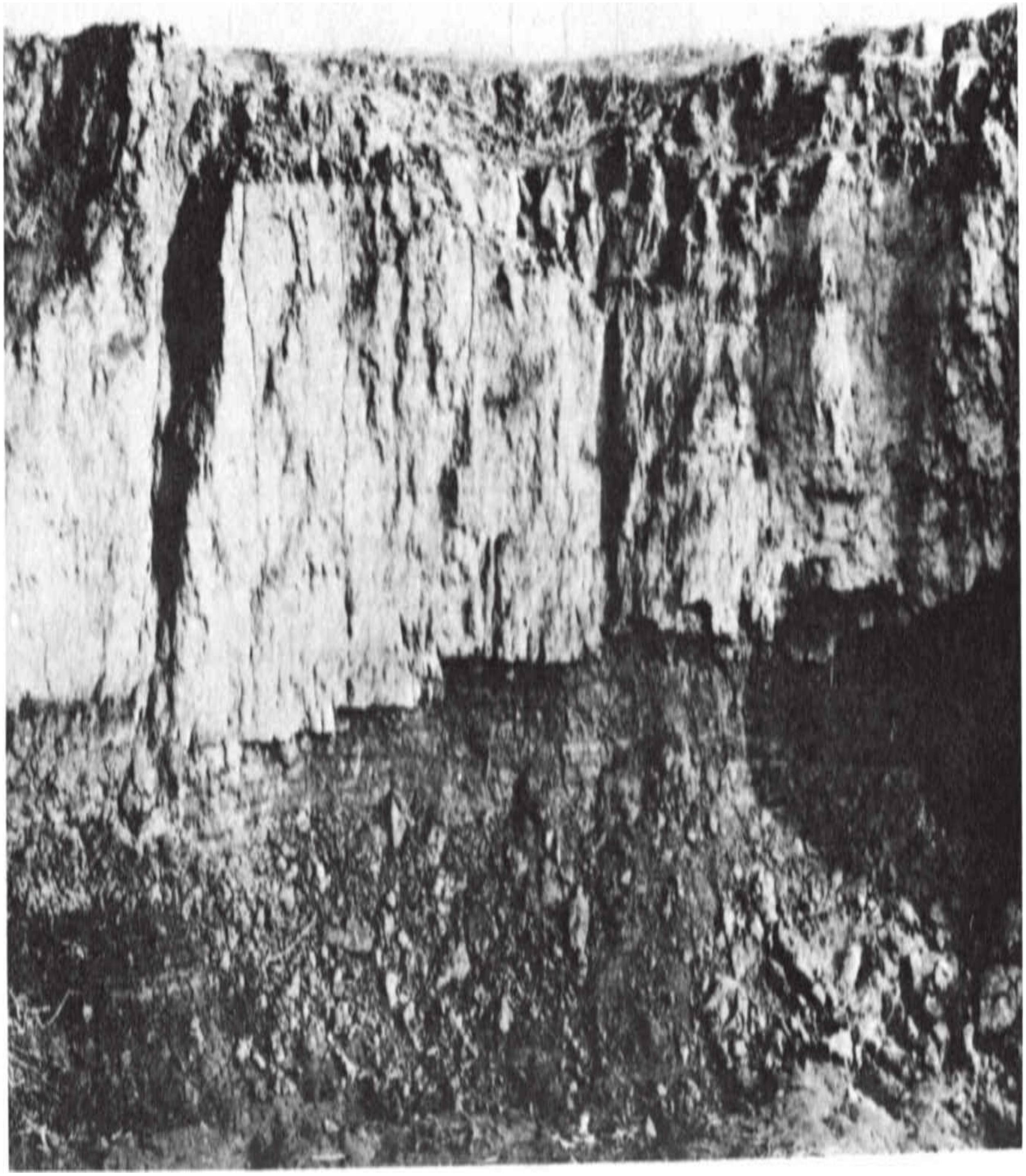


Mangshan Mountains
N
Gumen
Taicang
Xiamen
Armory
Yong'angong
Beigong
(North Palace)
Zhuolongyuan
Shangximen
Shangdongmen
Buguangli
Yongheli
Jinshi
Zhongdongmen
Nangong
(South Palace)
Yongmen
Guangyangmen
Maomen
Jinmen
Xiaoyuanmen
Pingchengmen
Kaiyangmen
Luo River
Tai Xue
0
1
Km
Ling Tai
Pi Yong
Ming Tang
NELB

37．Plan of the Eastern Han city of Luoyang　东汉雒阳城平面示意图

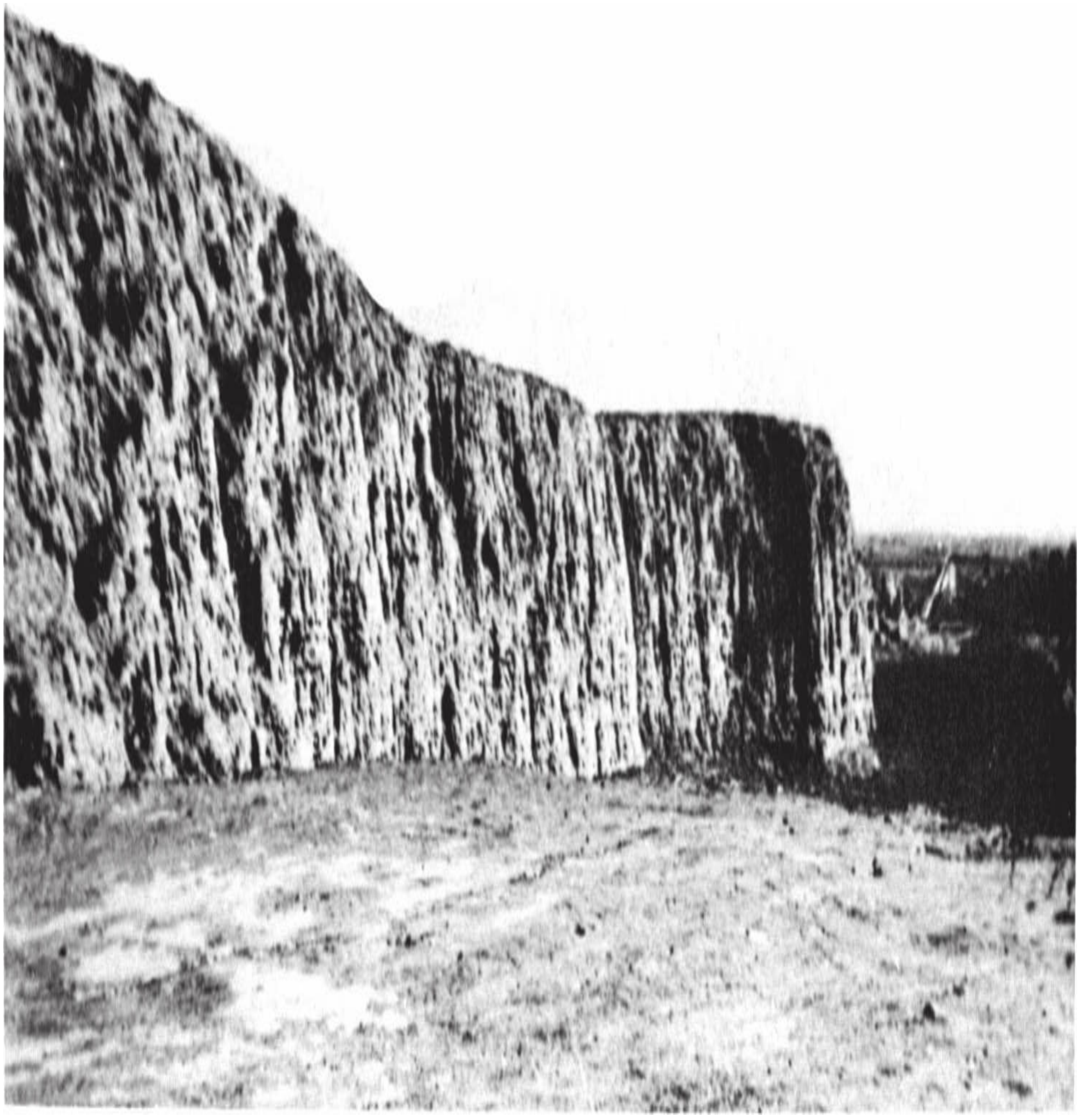


38．Remains of a section of the northern wall of the Eastern Han Luoyang　东汉雒阳城城墙遗迹

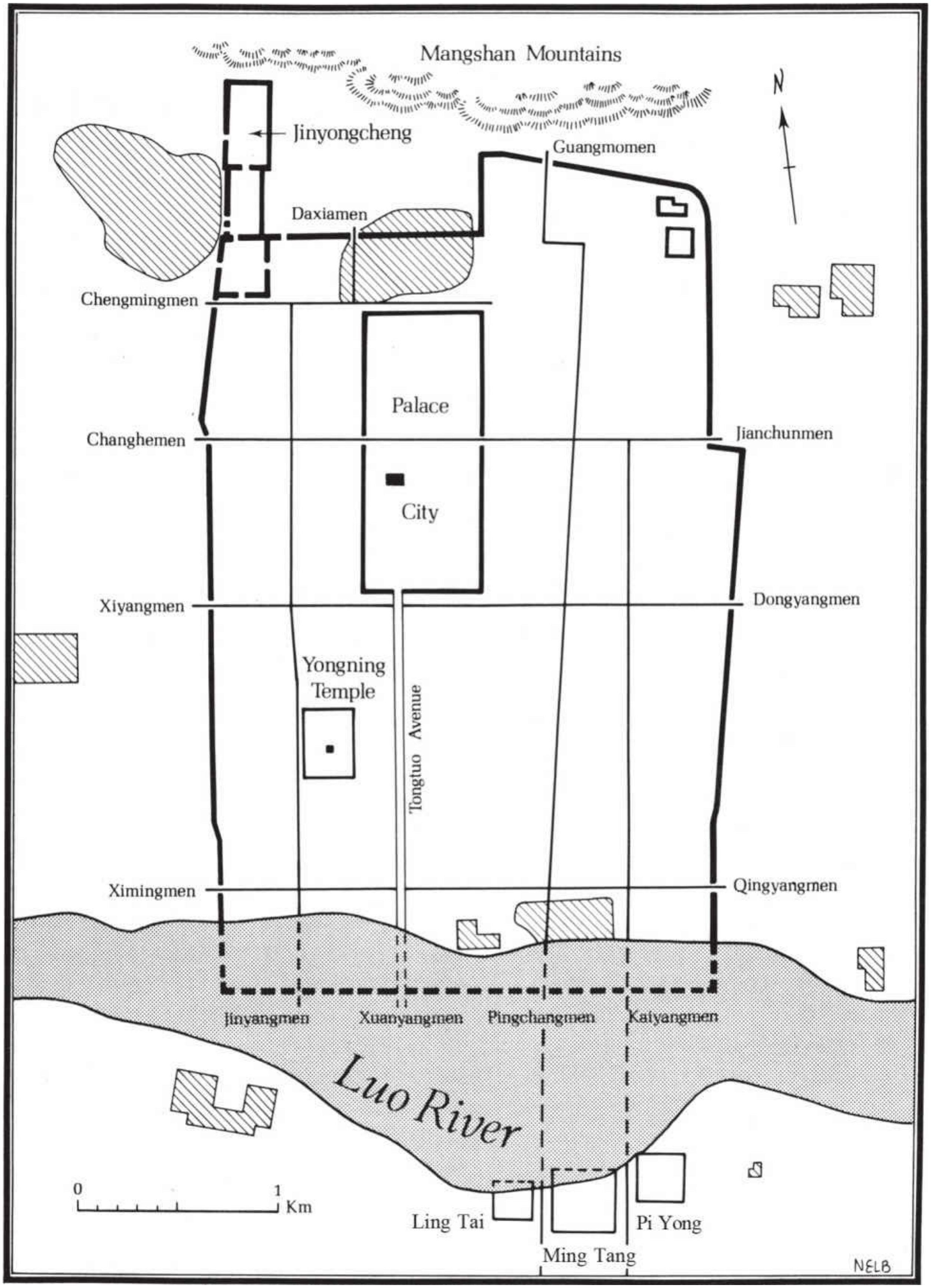


39．Stamped earth layers on a section of the eastern wall of the Eastern Han Luoyang　东汉雒阳城城墙上的夯土层次

40．"Nangong zhong," a *zhong*-vessel of the South Palace of Luoyang, unearthed at Sanqiaozhen, Xi'an “南宫钟”，西安三桥镇出土



41．Western wall of the Jinyongcheng of Luoyang and a bastion (the so-called "Horse Face") 洛阳金墉城城墙及墩台（所谓“马面”）



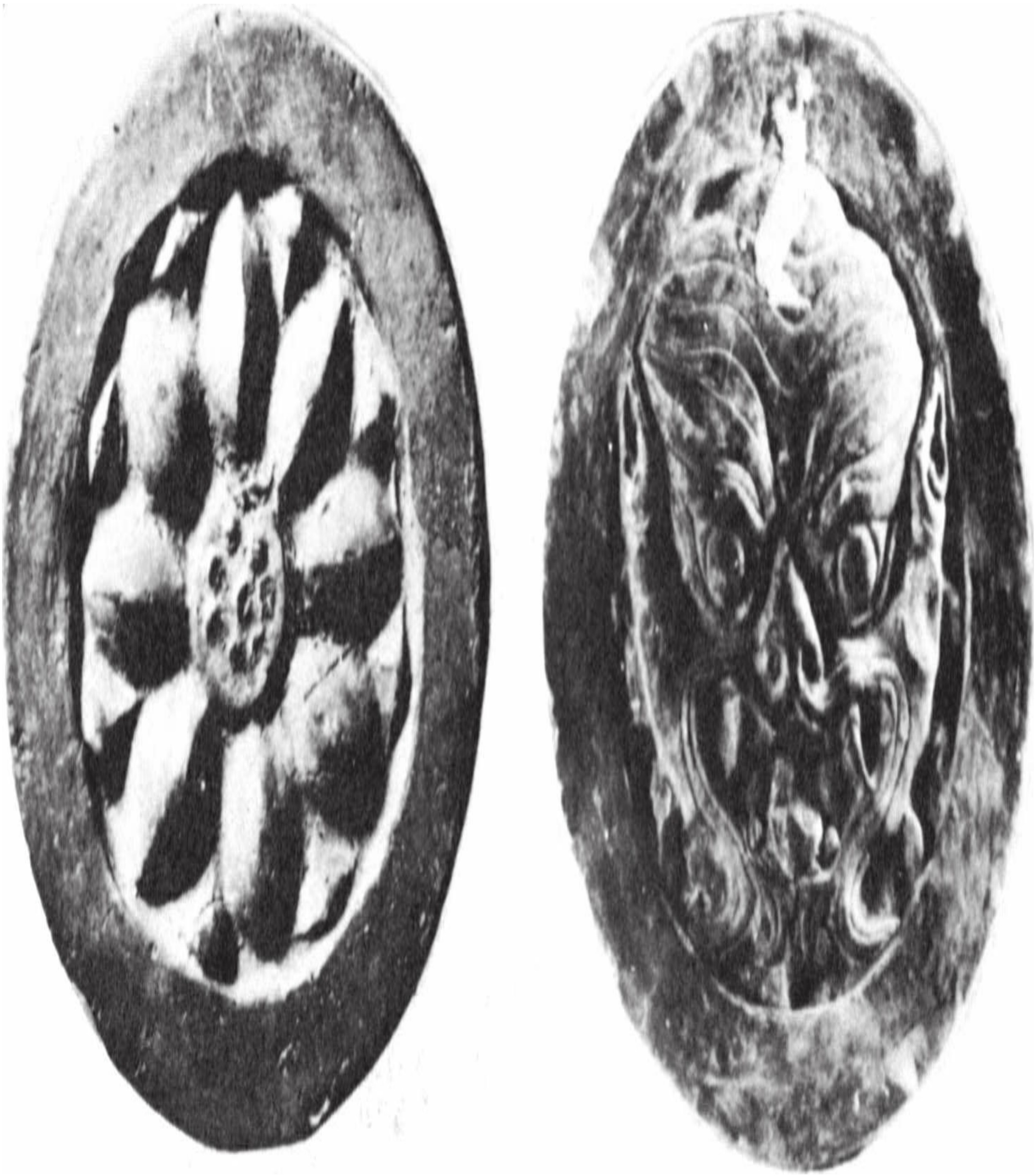
Mangshan Mountains
N
Jinyongcheng
Guangmomen
Daxiamen
Chengmingmen
Palace
City
Changhemen
Jianchunmen
Xiyangmen
Dongyangmen
Yongning
Temple
Tongtuo Avenue
Ximingmen
Qingyangmen
Jinyangmen
Xuanyangmen
Pingchangmen
Kaiyangmen
Luo River
0
1
Km
Ling Tai
Pi Yong
Ming Tang
NELB

42．Plan of the city of Luoyang during the Northern Wei dynasty (The Jinyongcheng at the northwestern corner was first built during the Cao Wei period.)　北魏洛阳城平面示意图（西北角的金墉城为曹魏时期首次修建）

43．Remains of the Chengmingmen Gate of Luoyang during the Northern Wei dynasty　北魏洛阳城

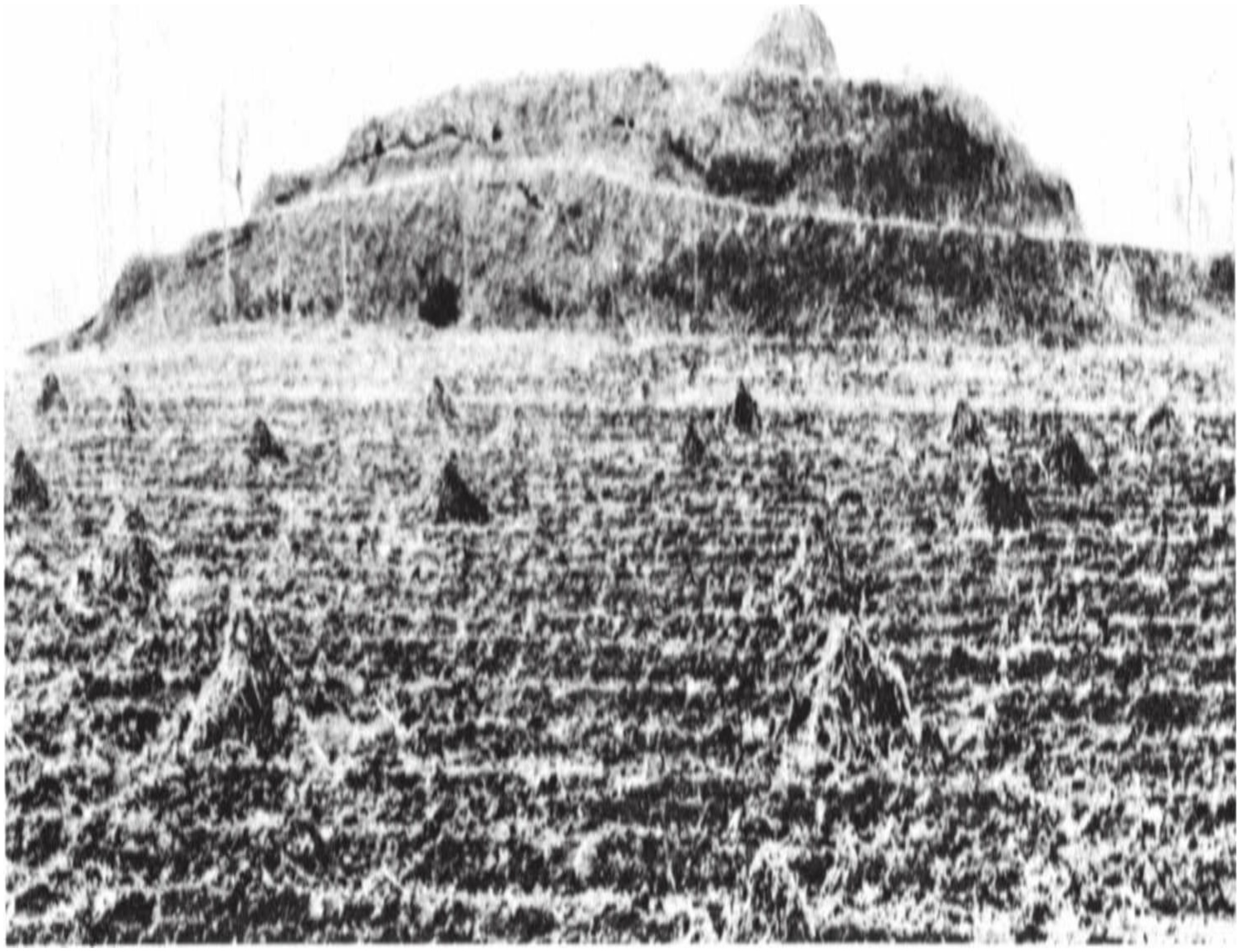
承明门遗址

44．Structural remains on the east side of the Tongtuo Avenue in the Northern Wei city of Luoyang (possibly a portion of the Zongzheng administrative building or the royal ancestral temple)　铜驼街东侧的建筑遗址（或为宗正署或宫庙局部）



45．Eaves tiles unearthed at the structural site on the east side of the Tongtuo Avenue in the Northern Wei Luoyang　铜驼街东侧建筑遗址出土的瓦当

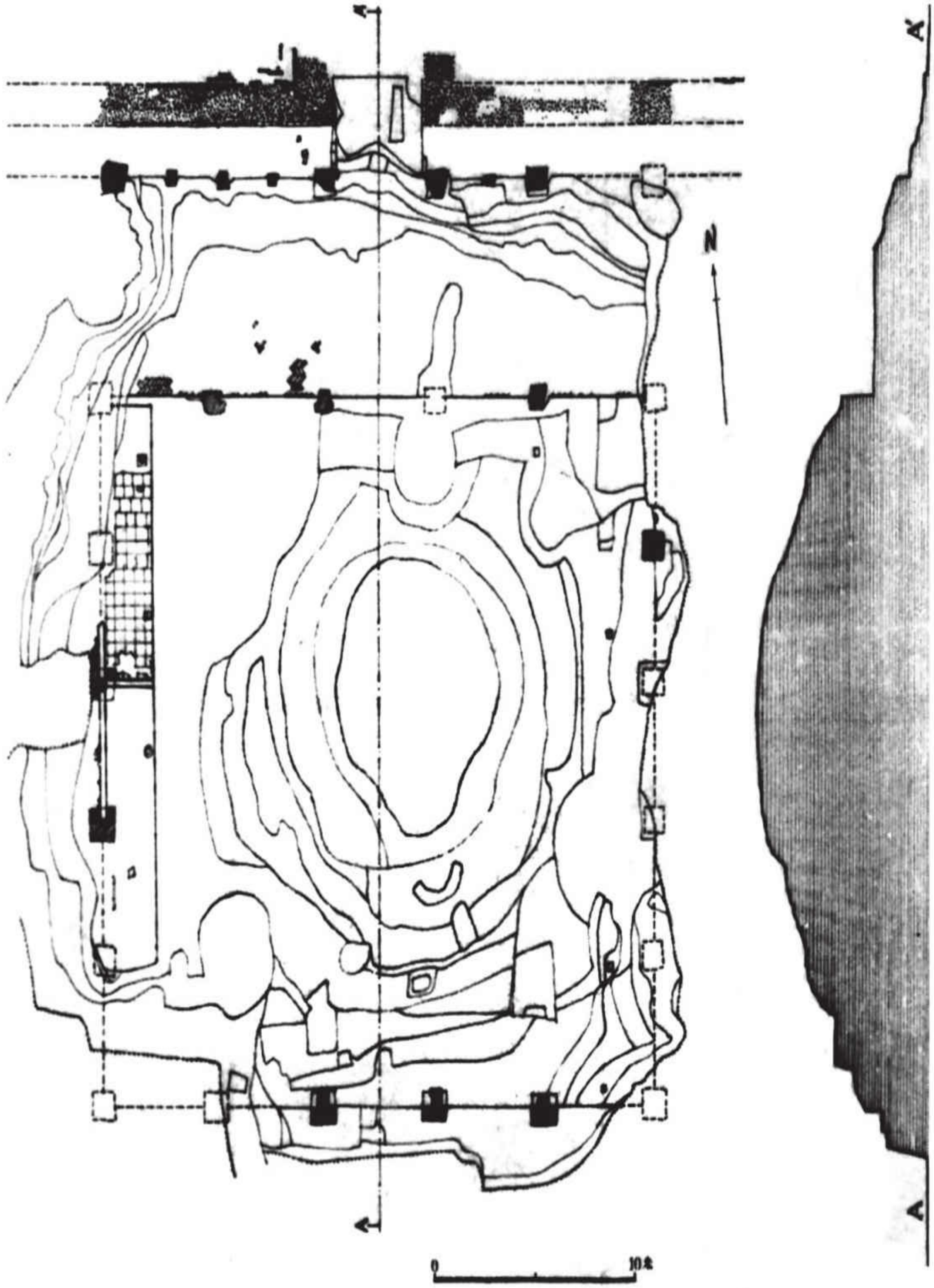
46．Brick engraved with animal face unearthed at the structural site on the east side of the Tongtuo Avenue in the Northern Wei Luoyang　铜驼街东侧建筑遗址出土的兽面砖



47．Remains of the base of a pagoda in Yongning Temple in the Northern Wei Luoyang　北魏洛阳城永宁寺塔基遗迹

大晉龍興
皇帝三臨辟廱
皇太子又再莅之
盛德隆熙之頌

48．Portion of the inscribed monument commemorating the three visits to Pi Yong by Emperor Wu Di of Jin　晋武帝三临辟雍碑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49．Plan and cross-section of the site of Ling Tai of the Eastern Han Luoyang　东汉雒阳灵台遗址示意图及截面图

50．Main structure of Ling Tai in the Eastern Han Luoyang　东汉雒阳灵台遗迹全景

51. Remains of the stairs on the northern side of the main structure of Ling Tai and of the stone-covered banks of the verandas　灵台北面坡道和“散水”遗迹

52．Brick-paved floor of the "dark room" in the west of the main structure of Ling Tai in the Eastern Han Luoyang　东汉雒阳灵台主体建筑西面暗室的砖铺地面

53．Fragment of the Stone Classics engraved during the Xi Ping reign of Han　汉熹平石经残石

在今
家誕淫厥逸
大喪惟天弗畀
辭于罰王若曰
有命曰割殷告
適予其曰惟
即于殷大戾
西爾非我
王曰
殷革

54．Fragment of the Stone Classics engraved during the Zheng Shi reign of Wei　魏正始石经残石

CHAPTER 3 HAN DYNASTY AGRICULTURE

Agricultural Products We begin our discussion of Han dynasty agriculture by talking about the agricultural products of the period evidenced by archaeological finds.

Remains of agricultural products have been discovered in many tombs dating from Western Han and Eastern Han, including tombs found in Xianyang in Shaanxi, Luoyang in Henan, Jiangling and Guanghua in Hubei, Changsha in Hunan, Xuzhou and Haizhou in Jiangsu, Guixian in Guangxi, and Guangzhou in Guangdong.[1] The tombs that contain the largest variety of agricultural products and the most well preserved products are the Mawangdui tombs in Changsha. Moreover, the pottery models of granaries found in the Shaogou tombs in Luoyang and the bamboo slips contained in the Mawangdui tomb have the names of various agricultural products written on them (fig. 55). To summarize, the most important food products of the Han dynasty were grains such as foxtail millet, rice, wheat, barley, panic millet, and beans. The rices included short-grain, long-grain, and glutinous rice. The beans included soybeans and red beans. In the Yellow River region of the North, the primary products were foxtail millet and wheat. A scene of a farmer tilling the soil with an ox-drawn plow found on a pictorial stone in the Mizhi district of Shaanxi has engraved on it a picture of full-grown foxtail millet, which must have been an important grain in that area(fig. 56).[2] We have also found remains of foxtail millet in the tombs in Xianyang, Luoyang, Jiangling, Guanghua, Changsha, Xuzhou, and Guangdong. These finds indicate that the cultivation of foxtail millet was very widespread. Wheat and barley were also cultivated in the Yangtze River region as well as in the Yellow River region. Remains of these were found in the Han Mawangdui tomb. Similarly, rice was cultivated in the Yellow River region (in addition to the South); a grain found in a Han Luoyang tomb has been identified as short-grain rice.[3] Furthermore, the word *shudao* written on the pottery found in that tomb must stand for glutinous rice.[4] In the Yangtze River region and other southern areas, rice was of course the most important grain. It has been

determined that, the rice found in the Han tomb excavated at Guangzhou was long-grain rice, whereas the rice found in the Mawangdui tomb in Changsha included all three varieties, short-grain, long-grain, and glutinous; references on the bamboo slips of the same tomb corroborate the physical reclaim.[5] In a Fenghuangshan tomb of Jiangling, we found four very well preserved sheaves of rice in a pottery granary. The ears measured 18.5 cm, and every ear had on the average fifty-one grains of rice. They have been identified as a kind of short-grain rice (fig. 57).[6] In addition, it has been reported that remains of sorghum have been unearthed from Han tombs in Xianyang, Luoyang and Guangzhou as well as from a Han village site at Sandaohao in Liaoyang,[7] but they have not been scientifically examined. Besides these grains, there were of course other agricultural food products, including job's tears, taro, mallow, mustard green, sweet melon, bottle gourd, bamboo shoot, lotus root, and ginger (fig. 58). Among the fruits were the chestnut, Chinese jujube, pear, peach, plum, apricot, Chinese plum, red bayberry and olive. For weaving cloth, there was hemp, already quite common. In the Shaogou tombs in Henan, a pottery granary had the words "ten thousand piculs of hemp" written on it; and actual remains of hemp seeds have been found in the Han tombs at Changsha Mawangdui and at Luobowan in Guixian.

Agricultural Implements One of the distinguishing characteristics of Han agriculture was the widespread use of iron agricultural implements. They have been found throughout the nation; that is, not only in the Central Plains area but also on the frontiers. Archaeological excavations have turned up a variety of types of iron agricultural implements, from such distant places as Inner Mongolia and Liaoning in the northeast to Yunnan and Guizhou in the southwest; from Guangdong and Fujian in the southeast to Gansu in the northwest.[8] The types of implements include the spade, shovel, pick, and plow, all used for tillage; the hoe, used for weeding; and the sickle, used for harvesting (figs. 59, 60). Furthermore, two- and three-toothed rakes, used for loosening the soil (fig. 61), have been found in Liaoyang in Liaoning, Mancheng and Baoding in Hebei, and Xuzhou in Jiangsu.[9]

The plowshares attached to Han plows were commonly made entirely of iron. They were a vast improvement over the wooden plowshares dating from the Warring States period, whose only iron part was the blade. The Han plowshares varied according to the soil type. Some were small and light, suitable for cultivated soil. Some were sharp and heavy, as would be needed to open uncultivated land. There was also a kind of giant plowshare, found in

Sandaohao in Liaoyang, Liaoning, as well as in the village of Changcheng in Tengxian, Shandong, and the village of Donggangtou of Shijiazhuang, Hebei. Their length and width exceed 40 cm.[10] The famous Han tomb at Mancheng also contained one of these giant plowshares (fig. 62).[11] Because it was so heavy an enormous amount of power must have been required to move it and it would not have been suitable for normal land conditions. Therefore, some people have speculated that these giant plowshares were used in irrigation projects, in other words, used to dig ditches. However, the "Treatise on Irrigation" in *Hanshu* says that the *cha* serves to produce "clouds," and that ditches serve to produce "rain." In Yan Shigu's commentary he states, "the *cha* is a spade, to open irrigation ditches"; thus the plow does not seem to have been an important implement in irrigation projects. In excavations in Pucheng, Liquan, Xi'an, and Longxian, all in modern Shaanxi, we have found evidence of a technique of using a plowshare crown—that is, of attaching a crown at the leading end of the plowshare to prevent damage to the plowshare itself (fig. 63).[12] Since this crown was narrow and fit only onto the blade part of the plowshare, it must have been relatively inexpensive to make and readily replaceable once worn down.

The use of the moldboard had already begun in the Han dynasty. Moldboards of the Han dynasty date have been found in Anqiu of Shandong, Zhongmu and Hebi of Henan, and in Chang'an, Liquan, Xi'an, Xianyang, and Longxian in Shaanxi.[13] Moldboards (*libi*, also called *lijing*) were attached on top of the plowshare and used in combination with the plowshare to turn the soil (fig. 64). Among the moldboards found in Shaanxi Province were ones with only a single leaf, used to turn the earth on a single side, as well as ones with double leaves, forming a saddle shape, which were used to turn the soil on both sides. From this evidence we can see that the design of moldboards during that period had already reached a high degree of sophistication.[14]

In the Han dynasty, the use of oxen as draft animals was also widespread. The wooden model of ox and plow dating from the last years of Western Han, found in Mozuizi in Wuwei, Gansu (fig. 65); that depicted in the mural of the Wang Mang period found in the Shanxi village of Zaoyuancun in Pinglu; that on the engraved stone of Eastern Han found at Shuanggou in Suining, Jiangsu (fig. 66); that on the engraved stone of Eastern Han found at Hongdaoyuan in Tengxian, Shandong; that on the engraved stone of Eastern Han found in Mizhi, Shaanxi; and that in the mural depicting soil tillage of Eastern Han found in Holingor, Inner Mongolia—all

these are valuable sources for the study of the use of oxen as draft animals.[15] In the pictures on the stamped bricks and in the murals, we usually see two oxen pulling a plow. The oxen bear a yoke that draws a plow with a long shaft, which a single farmer holds as he drives the oxen. This is the most common way oxen were used during the Han dynasty. The passage in *Hanshu*'s "Treatise on Food and Money" which says, "in the use of the double harness plow, there are two oxen and three men," has been interpreted in several different ways. Yet the archaeological material now available to us leaves no doubt that the socalled "double harness plow" refers to a plow drawn by two oxen. At the end of Eastern Han, and especially during the Wei and Jin dynasties, technology involving the use of oxen in plowing improved. In Gansu's Jiayuguan, a mural has been found that shows a single ox pulling a plow.[16]

Another noteworthy matter is the use during the Han dynasty of the seed plow for seeding. In the Wang Mang period mural mentioned above, found in Pinglu, Shanxi, in addition to the scenes of tillage there are also scenes showing the use of a seeder (fig. 67).[17] Since the mural has become faint, the depictions are unclear. The seeder seems to have three legs, but the body is not clearly shown. There is, however, no question that the implement pictured is a seeder. The mural confirms references to such an implement found in entries about sowing in the "Treatise on Food and Money" in *Hanshu* and in Cui Shi's *Zhenglun*. Although this is our only archaeological evidence of the use of the seeder during the Han dynasty, there is a feeling among archaeologists that what had seemed to be a small version of an iron plowshare found in the Han sites at Sandaohao, Liaoyang, and in the town of Qinghe, Beijing, and in Fuping, Shaanxi, might actually have been the legs for seeders; if so, these implements could be called "seeder-shares" (fig. 68).[18] In contrast to plows drawn by two oxen, the seeder depicted in the Han mural is drawn by a single ox. Obviously, the power needed to draw a seeder was far less than that required to draw a plow. With a three-legged seeder, three rows of seeds could be planted simultaneously. This method was of course much more efficient than sowing seeds by hand, and the results were also superior.

In the Wei and Jin period murals found in Jiayuguan, Gansu, there were also scenes of harrowing and leveling. Both the harrow and the leveler were drawn by oxen. The farmer stood on the implements as they moved, to increase the downward pressure (figs. 69, 70).[19] These murals supply us with

our earliest pictorial information concerning the two implements. After the earth was tilled by a plow, the resultant lumps of earth had to be broken up by big harrows with teeth on them. After sowing, the seeds had to be covered; the leveler used in this stage of the process helped to make the soil even more fine while it also pressed and leveled the ground, protecting the soil against erosion. The use of the leveler was confined to the dry fields of the North. The harrow was used not only in the dry northern fields but also in the wet fields of the South. We find this fact attested by the pottery models of plowed and harrowed fields in the Western Jin tombs excavated at Lianxian, Guangdong.[20] In historical records, the use of harrows and levelers is first mentioned in *Qimin yaoshu*, a text dating from Northern Wei of the sixth century; the implements are not referred to in Han or Jin writings. But since archaeological evidence shows that their use was already extensive during the Wei and Jin (they have been found even on the distant frontiers), it does not seem impossible that they were first used as early as Eastern Han.

Irrigation The widespread use of iron implements also permitted developments in irrigation. Large-scale irrigation projects were sponsored and managed by the government. One early example is the Zhengguo Canal built during the Qin dynasty in the Guanzhong area. During Western Han this canal was renovated and maintained, and a branch canal, the Bai Canal, was added to it. In 1973, archaeologists found remains of the Zhengguo Canal and the Bai Canal in Jingyangxian, Shaanxi. At the head of the Bai Canal, they discovered a "well canal" section, over 300 m long. The well canal was a new development in canal technology during Han (fig. 71).[21] The Dujiang Weir built during the Qin dynasty in Guanxian of modern Sichuan was also renovated and maintained during Han. In 1974, a stone statue of Li Bing, sculpted by an Eastern Han official in charge of local irrigation in A.D. 168, was found at the bottom of the Dujiang Weir. The statue stands almost 3 m high. It was placed in the middle of the water not only to commemorate Li Bing's deeds but also to serve as a gauge of the water level (fig. 72).[22]

The use of a crossbar and ropes to pull water out of river or well to irrigate farming fields was a common practice during Han, and it is depicted in engraved stones in tombs.[23] Use of wells for irrigation was extensive in the Yellow River valley and other northern areas. Pottery models showing wells have been found in many places, and in some of them it is clear that the wells were for irrigation. For example, a pottery well excavated from a Han tomb at Luoyang has a well frame complete with winches; two buckets were used

alternatively to draw water. Alongside the well there is a long water trough. This model seems to indicate that after water was drawn from the well it flowed through the trough into canals to irrigate the fields (fig. 73). In the Yangtze River valley and other parts of southern China, in addition to the extensive use of river water, artificial ponds with embankments were also built to hold water for irrigating rice fields. In the tombs of the Han and the Wei and Jin periods located at Shaanxi's Hanzhong, and Sichuan's Chengdu and Pengshan, Yunnan's Chenggong, and Guangdong's Lianxian, we have found pottery models of ponds with embankments which are connected to rice paddies.[24] Such ponds were artificial reservoirs, which were equipped with sluice-gates in order to regulate the amount of water needed to irrigate the nearby fields (figs. 74, 75). The Shao Embankment built in Lujiangjun (modern Lujiang, Anhui) in the early years of Western Han was renovated during Eastern Han. It was a largescale irrigation project. The Anfeng Pond in Shouxian, Anhui, is the old site of this Shao Embankment. In 1959, archaeologists also found a weir on that location dating from Eastern Han. Iron implements used in the construction of the weir were found nearby; among them was an iron hammer incised with the words *Dushuiguan* ("Water Conservancy Official"), indicating that the irrigation project was carried out under government supervision.[25]

Harvesting and Food Processing To harvest grains, iron sickles were widely used. A pictorial brick of the Eastern Han period excavated from Yangzishan of Chengdu, Sichuan, depicts a rice-harvesting scene. The picture shows very clearly how rice was harvested.[26] First the ears were cut off, then a long-handle, hooked scythe was used to cut the straw (fig. 76).

After grains were harvested, threshing and winnowing had to be done; these are also featured on certain pictorial bricks and murals. It is noteworthy that in the Han tombs in Luoyang and Jiyuan of Henan we have also found pottery models of winnowing machines (figs. 77, 78).[27] Generally speaking, millet and wheat were planted in the North, and the threshing process was necessary to separate out the chaff; whereas in the South, where rice was cultivated, the winnowing machine was needed to separate out the husks. However, from the Han tombs excavated at Luoyang and Jiyuan, we see that some winnowing machines were also used in the northern Central Plains area.

To process grains, a *jiandui* (treadle-operated tilt hammer) was commonly used. It was a simple machine operated by foot whose purpose

was to pound grain. Pictures of this machine appear on pictorial stones and bricks as well as in pottery models found in many places (figs. 79, 80). From historical records we know that during the Wei and Jin dynasties there was also widespread use of water-powered tilt hammers. Mills, consisting of two rotating stone slabs, were also common during Han. Actual mills as well as pottery models of them have been discovered at many Han archaeological sites and tombs (fig. 81). The earliest stone mill was found in a Han tomb in Mancheng. Underneath the mill there was a large bronze bowl, used to catch the flour ground out by the mill (fig. 82).[28] A pottery model of a similar mill has been found in a Han tomb in Yinqueshan in Linyi, Shandong, which is even older than the actual mill found in Mancheng and probably predates the reign of Emperor Wu Di of Han.[29] The widespread use and manufacture of such large, rotary stone mills must have been closely tied to the development of iron implements. In the pottery models found in various Eastern Han tombs, we often see the treadle-operated tilt hammer and the mill placed together in a single room to facilitate grain processing.

Domestication of Animals and Silkworms During the Han dynasty, there were also many other, supplementary kinds of food production. The most common was raising domestic fowl and animals. From archaeological evidence we know that the types of domestic fowl that were kept included chickens, ducks, and geese; among domestic animals there were horses, cows, sheep, pigs, and dogs. In pottery models found in Han tombs, pigpens are often connected to the privies, the arrangement indicating that pig excrement was used to fertilize the fields (fig. 83). In addition to these domestic animals, camels were also domesticated in the North to help in transportation. The archaeological evidence for the camel includes, in addition to the camel-shaped handles of some seals, a funerary statue of a man riding a camel, found in 1969 in Dingxian, Hebei, in the tomb of Prince Mu of Zhongshan (Liu Chang), who lived at the end of Eastern Han, and also images of camels on Eastern Han pictorial bricks found in 1978 in Xinduxian of Sichuan Province.[30] At that time hunting also served to supplement agriculture. Wild rabbit and sika deer were among the food found in the Mawangdui Han tomb of Changsha; the fowls found there included turtledove, wild goose, owl, bamboo partridge, magpie, ringed pheasant, and crane.[31] Hunting scenes have been found on pictorial stones and bricks recovered from many sites, and a pictorial brick from Yangzishan in Chengdu, Sichuan, shows hunting of birds;[32] this is the kind of material that

throws much light on contemporary practices. In addition to the fish and other water animals caught from rivers and lakes, fish and turtles were also obtained from artificial ponds. This practice is evidenced by pottery models of ponds found in Hanzhong, Shaanxi.[33] Archaeological evidence has also been found of the consumption of various kinds of aquatic plants such as lotus root and water chestnut (fig. 84).

The cultivation of mulberries and silkworms was also an important supplementary industry in agricultural villages. As early as the Warring States period, two kinds of mulberry trees are found depicted on bronze vessels. The taller kind we could call "mulberry trees," and the shorter kind we could call "mulberry bushes." The latter were not only easier to pick but also juicier and more tender, hence more suitable for feeding the silkworm. These two different types of mulberries have also been found on pictorial stones and bricks of the Han period (figs. 85, 86). According to the section on methods for improving the mulberry in *Fan Shengzhi shu*, mulberry bushes were artificially developed.[34] During the Han dynasty, the cultivation of mulberries and silkworms spread from the Yellow River region to the frontiers. Needless to say, there was abundant production of silk in the area of modern Sichuan. According to the "Treatise on Geography" in *Hanshu*, the region of modern Guangxi and Guangdong also had a silk industry as early as Western Han. From the "Biography of Wei Sa" in *Hou Hanshu*, we can see that there was mulberry and silkworm cultivation in the Guiyang Prefecture of modern Hunan in the early part of Eastern Han. The mural in the Holingor Han tomb shows that toward the end of Eastern Han at the latest Dingxiang Prefecture (with its seat in the north of modern Shanxi, transferred there from Inner Mongolia) also had mulberry cultivation.[35]

Population and Economy Tomb number 10 excavated in 1973 at Fenghuangshan in Jiangling, Hubei, was occupied by a certain Zhang Yan, who was buried in A.D. 153. He was a landowner and a local official in his hometown of Jianglingxian. His duty was to collect government taxes from the farmers. His tomb contained many bamboo and wooden slips which were the official records of the local government administration. Among them was a group of bamboo slips called "Granary Records of Zheng Village," which were local government receipts for grain seeds loaned to twenty-five families of farmers of Zheng village. These receipts record the amount of farmed land and the population of Zheng village (fig. 87).[36] According to these records, the twenty-five families of Zheng village consisted of 105 persons; sixty-nine

of them were capable of agricultural labor. The village had a total of 617 *mu* of land. Thus, there was on the average 24.6 *mu* per family, or less than 6 *mu* per person (with each *mu* equivalent to 456 m^2).[37] From these figures we can see that even in the first part of the Western Han period, the average independent farmer was quite limited in the amount of land he farmed. The "Zhushuxun" chapter of *Huainanzi* says that for middle-quality fields, the grain produced in a year did not exceed four *dan* (piculs) per *mu*. According to the "Biography of Zhong Changtong" in *Hou Hanshu*: "The harvest from the highest quality fields is about three *hu* per *mu* [a *hu* being equivalent to a *dan*(picul)]." We can determine, therefore, that the average farmland during the Han dynasty produced three to four piculs per *mu*. Therefore, 6 *mu* of land (the average per person) could only produce about 20 piculs (each picul being equivalent to approximately 20 liters). If we estimate that a person's daily food requirement is about 5 *sheng* (or roughly one liter), then the annual requirement should be 18 piculs. We can thus see that the harvest realized from a whole year of the farmer's hard labor left him with little surplus in addition to what was needed to fill his stomach. According to the receipts, there was a certain farmer named Ye whose family consisted of eight people, and yet he only had 15 *mu* of land. This averages out to less than 2 *mu* per person, which would have made living conditions harsh indeed.

Furthermore, the farmers were responsible for taxes and corvée labor. According to the records found in tomb number 10 at Fenghuangshan, these taxes and corvée labor requirements were quite heavy. Under such circumstances, some farmers were forced into bankruptcy. Then, the big landowners would take advantage of the opportunity to buy up the farmland of the bankrupt farmers. In order to live, the bankrupt farmers had to become tenant farmers or hired laborers of the landowners; some even had to sell themselves as slaves. In time, these conditions became more and more severe. Because of this process of land aggrandizement, we read that toward the end of Western Han, "the wealthy families owned huge numbers of formerly independent farms." Therefore, there is the emergence at this time of many privately owned manors.

In Eastern Han, due to the lenient policies of the court, the land aggrandizement problem became more severe and the influence of the powerful landowners increased; manors became both more numerous and larger. Agricultural production on the manors was carried out by the landowners' slaves and others who were personally dependent upon them,

that is, the so-called bond-servants. The salient point about the economy of the manors was diversification. Agriculture was still primary, but it was supplemented by related activities and various crafts. The manors became self-sufficient. And one step beyond self-sufficiency was the landowners' involvement in commercial enterprises, that is, the marketing of a portion of their manors' products.

As mentioned several times before, a tomb in Holingor, Inner Mongolia, was excavated in 1972, the occupant of which had risen to the post of colonel of the Wuhuan army. He was an important official and landowner. Many murals were found in this tomb, among which, on the south wall of the posterior room, was one that depicts in a lively and concrete fashion the activities of the tomb occupant's manor (fig. 88).[38] In the center of the mural are the manor's houses. Far in the northeast corner there is a large field. Farmers hold plows and drive oxen, tilling the land. Closer to the dwellings there are vegetable gardens where two farmers are working intently with hoes. Walls surround the vegetable garden to prevent the fowl and other animals from straying in. Near the dwellings there are stables and pens for oxen and sheep. The presence of young as well as full-grown animals gives evidence of continuous breeding. Outside the pens, there are scattered groups of chickens and pigs. Nearby the dwellings there is a mulberry grove where four women appear, holding ropes, hooks, and nets, picking mulberry leaves. Close by, there are bamboo baskets and screens used in silkworm cultivation. On the far west side, there are three pools in which bundles of hemp are placed. Workers stand beside the pools, netting the hemp. Nearby, there is also a structure to house vehicles. In addition to this mural on the south wall, murals in the front room of the tomb likewise depict piles of harvested foods, oxcarts used in transporting the food, grain bins for storing the food, and people in the process of hulling the grain with tilt hammers. On the mural found in the middle room, brewing is also shown. This indicates that not only was food processed on the manor, wine and vinegar were also made there. There are also several murals in the front room depicting the pasturing of horses, cattle, and sheep. These show that aside from agriculture the manors engaged in animal husbandry. This tomb is located in the northern grasslands, where animal husbandry must have been especially widespread (figs. 89, 90).[39]

It is noteworthy that in the center of the mural on the south wall in the rear room of the Han tomb at Holingor there is a watchtower situated beside

the dwellings. Similarly, in the upper corner of the mural that depicts sheepherding in the front room there is a walled fort. At the rear of the fort is a tall watchtower at a corner (fig. 91). Hence we can see that the manor's buildings included those used for military or defensive purposes. The farmers who worked on the estate were not only the wards of the powerful landlord, they were also members of his private militia. Many of the historical records corroborate this fact, indicating that especially in the last years of Eastern Han the men who were attached to powerful landlords had military as well as agricultural duties. From a late Eastern Han tomb at Tianhuishan in Chengdu, Sichuan, archaeologists found clay figures of farmers and soldiers; they not only are wearing the same kind of clothes, the farmers are also shown wearing large battle knives. This evidence further corroborates the military roles of the farmers at that time (fig. 92).[40]

At the end of Eastern Han when Cao Cao seized control of the government he curbed the power of the landlords, prohibited land aggrandizement, and established the *tuntian* ("agriculture colony") system. There were two kinds of *tuntian*, the commoners' and the soldiers'. In the first, common farmers who did not have their own land or oxen were recruited to farm government land under the direction of various agriculture officials. Fifty to sixty percent of their harvest had to be turned over to the government. In the second kind of *tuntian*, soldiers were organized to engage in agricultural production and the harvest was used by the military. In the tomb mentioned above dating from the Wei and Jin periods found in the Jiayuguan district of Gansu, there are two extremely precious wall murals depicting a military *tuntian* colony.[41] The first mural shows the military camp. In the middle there is a large tent occupied by a military official, which has guards stationed outside. The guard on the right holds a banner and seems to be the runner. On the right of the tent there are six serrated banners implanted in the ground in two rows. They evidently mark the entrance to the headquarters tent. On the remaining three sides many smaller tents are arrayed in rows. In front of each tent, *ji*-halberds and shields stand in the ground (fig. 93). The second mural depicts the cultivation of land by the military. In the center a military officer gallops about on horseback; on each side there is a platoon of foot soldiers marching with *ji*-halberds and shields. Beside each platoon there are two men driving oxen and tilling the land. One of them wears a hat and looks like a member of the Han race. The other, with untied hair, wears the clothes of one of the minority ethnic groups(fig. 94).

These two murals, viewed together, provide us with a realistic picture of the military cultivation of land west of the Yellow River during the Wei and Jin dynasties. During the Wei dynasty, military cultivation of land was also widely practiced in the Central Plains area. However, we have not yet uncovered archaeological evidence of it.

叁　汉代的农业

在谈到汉代的农业时，首先要根据考古工作中的发现，说一说当时有哪些农产品。

在陕西省的咸阳，河南省的洛阳，湖北省的江陵、光化，湖南省的长沙，江苏省的徐州、海州，广西壮族自治区的贵县，广东省的广州等地的西汉和东汉的墓中，都发现了当时农产品的遗留[1]，其中以长沙马王堆汉墓出土的种类最多，保存最好。洛阳烧沟汉墓的陶仓和长沙马王堆汉墓的竹简上，还书写着各种农产品的名称（图55）。归纳起来，在汉代作为食物的农产品中，粟（小米）、稻、小麦、大麦、黍（黄米）、豆等谷物是最重要的。稻有粳、籼、糯等品种，豆有大豆和赤豆等。在黄河流域和北方地区，以种植粟和小麦为主。陕西米脂画像石的牛耕图中，刻绘着成熟的粟，可见它是当地主要的谷物（图56）。[2]由于在咸阳、洛阳、江陵、光化、长沙、徐州、广东等地也发现了粟，可见它的种植是很普遍的。除了黄河流域以外，长江流域也种小麦和大麦，马王堆汉墓中即发现了它们的遗品。黄河流域也种稻，洛阳汉墓出土的稻谷经鉴定为粳稻[3]，而墓中陶器上所书的“秫稻”则应系糯稻[4]。长江流域和南方地区，稻是主要的谷物。经鉴定，广州汉墓出土的稻谷为籼稻；长沙马王堆汉墓出土的稻谷，从竹简上的文字，并从实物的鉴定看来，有籼稻，也有粳稻和糯稻。[5]江陵凤凰山汉墓发现有稻穗四束，放在一个陶仓中，保存得很好，稻穗长约18.5厘米，每穗平均有51粒，经鉴定，是一种粳稻（图57）。[6]此外，据报道，咸阳、洛阳、广州等地的汉墓和辽阳三道壕的汉代村落遗址中都曾发现高粱的残迹[7]，只是还没有经过正式的鉴定。除了上述的谷物以外，作为食物的农产品还有薏苡、芋、葵（冬苋菜）、芥菜、甜瓜、葫芦、笋、藕、生姜等类（图58），果品方面则有栗、枣、梨、桃、李、杏、梅、杨梅、橄榄，等等。作为主要纺织材料的大麻，已普遍种植，洛阳烧沟汉墓中有写着“麻万石”字样的陶仓，长沙马王堆和贵县罗泊湾汉墓更发现了大麻子的实物。

汉代农业生产的特点之一，是铁农具的普遍使用。当时的铁农具，不仅在中原一带，而且在边远地区广泛使用，普及全国。在考古调查发掘工作中，从东北的辽宁、内蒙古到西南的云南、贵州，从东南的广东、福建到西北的甘肃，都发现了汉代的各种铁农具。[8]它们的种类，包括翻土用的锸、铲、、犁，除草用的锄，收割用的镰，等等（图59、

60）。在辽宁省的辽阳、河北省的保定和满城、江苏省的徐州等地，还发现了一种三齿耙和双齿耙，用于耙地松土（图61）。[9]

安在犁上的铧，一般都系“全铁制”，比之战国时代套在木铧上的“铁口铧”显然要进步得多。铁铧因耕作对象的不同而有各种类型。有的小而轻巧，适用于翻耕熟地。有的锐利而厚重，适用于开垦生地。也有一种巨型铧，如在辽宁辽阳三道壕、山东滕县长城村、河北石家庄东岗头村等处出土的，长度和宽度都在四十厘米以上[10]；在有名的满城汉墓中，也发现了这种巨型的铁铧（图62）[11]。由于形制特别厚重，牵引极费力，不适于翻耕一般的农田，所以颇有人认为这种巨型铧大概是适应水利工程的需要，用于开沟作渠的。但是，《汉书·沟洫志》说“举锸为云，决渠为雨”，颜师古注“锸，锹也，所以开渠者也”，可见汉代开渠主要还是用锸而不用犁。如在陕西省的蒲城、礼泉、西安、陇县等地的发掘工作中所见，为了防止铁铧的口刃部分被磨损，往往采取在铧的前端套接“铧冠”的方法（图63）。[12]“铧冠”也系铁制，甚锐利，但它实际上只相当于铧的口刃部分，形体较狭，所以铸造比较节省，损坏后易于更换。

在汉代，犁壁的使用也已经开始了。在山东的安丘，河南的中牟、鹤壁，陕西的长安、礼泉、西安、咸阳、陇县等地，都发现了汉代的犁壁。[13]犁壁又称犁镜，它安装在犁铧的上边，是铧的一种复合装置，其效用在于翻土起垄（图64）。在陕西省各地发现的犁壁，有向一侧翻土的单叶壁，有向左右两侧翻土的马鞍形双叶壁，说明当时对于犁壁的设计和使用已经达到相当的水平。[14]

在汉代，牛耕已经相当普遍。甘肃武威磨咀子西汉末年的木牛和木犁模型（图65）、山西平陆枣园村新莽时期的壁画、江苏睢宁双沟的东汉画像石（图66）、山东滕县宏道院的东汉画像石、陕西米脂的东汉画像石及内蒙古和林格尔的东汉壁画中的牛耕图，都是研究当时牛耕的珍贵资料。[15]画像石和壁画中的牛耕图，大多数是所谓“二牛抬杠”。两头牛抬着犁衡，牵引着一张长辕的犁，一人扶犁并驱牛，这是汉代牛耕的最通常的形式。对于《汉书·食货志》“用耦犁，二牛三人”的记载，迄今有许多不同的解释。但是，从上述的考古资料看来，所谓“耦犁”，是指二牛牵引一犁，大概是没有疑问的。到了东汉后期，特别是魏晋时期，犁耕的技术有了改进。甘肃嘉峪关魏晋时期壁画中的牛耕图有只用一牛牵犁的，便是例证。[16]

一个值得注意的问题是，汉代已经开始用耧车播种。在前面提到的山西平陆枣园村的新莽时期的壁画中，除了牛耕图以外，还有耧播图（图67）。[17]壁画已经漫漶，不甚清晰。耧车似为三足，耧斗表现得不清楚。但是，壁画所绘系耧车，则是没有疑问的，从而证明了《汉书·

食货志》和崔寔《政论》关于耧播的记载。关于汉代的耧车，在考古资料方面虽然只有上述的一个孤例，但考古学家们认为，在辽阳三道壕、北京清河镇、陕西的富平等地的汉代遗址里发现的一种小型铁铧可能便是安装在耧车的足上的，可称之为耧铧（图68）。[18]1930年在内蒙古居延西汉遗址中发现的一件木制的农具，它的尖端应附有小型的铁铧，应该便是耧车的足。与耕犁用二牛牵引不同，壁画中的耧车只用一牛牵引，这显然是由于牵引耧车所需的力远比牵引耕犁所需的力为小之故。用三足的耧车播种，一耧可播三行，比之人工撒播，效率大大提高，效果也较好。

在甘肃嘉峪关魏晋时期的壁画中，还有耙田图和耱田图，耙和耱都用牛牵引，农夫站在它们的上面，以增加重量（图69、70）。[19]这是迄今发现的关于操作这两种农具的最早的形象资料。田地经耕犁翻起后，用带有排齿的大耙将土块切碎，使田地平整，播种以后，用土覆盖，又用不带齿的耱进一步将土块压碎、压平，以达到保墒的效果。耱的使用，限于北方的旱地。耙则不仅限于北方的旱田，而且也适用于南方的水田。广东连县西晋墓出土的犁田和耙田的陶制模型，便是例证。[20]关于耙和耱的使用，始见于北魏时的《齐民要术》（公元6世纪），汉和魏晋文献上并没有这方面的记载。但是，由于魏晋时使用得相当普遍，而且已普及到边远地区，所以认为东汉时已经开始有了这种耕作技术，这也并不是完全没有可能的。

铁工具的广泛使用，使水利建设具备了优越的条件。大规模的水利工程，是由当时的政府主持的。例如，秦代在关中地区兴建的郑国渠，西汉时又经维修和改建，并增设了一条支渠，称为白渠。1973年，考古工作者在陕西省泾阳县调查了郑国渠和白渠的渠首遗址，发现白渠的渠首长约三百余米的一段是“井渠”，这是汉代开凿水渠的一种新技术（图71）。[21]秦代在四川灌县修建的都江堰水利工程，汉代也继续维修和改进。1974年，在都江堰的江底发现了东汉建宁元年（公元168年）当地主管水利的官吏所建的李冰石像，高近三米，它被置立在江水中，不仅表示对李冰的纪念，而且实际上起了测量水位的作用（图72）。[22]

利用桔槔汲取河水或井水以灌溉农田，在汉代是相当普遍的，它们的具体形状可以在画像石中见到。[23]在黄河流域和北方地区，大量利用水井灌溉。水井的陶制模型，在各地汉墓中被发现，有的显然是灌溉用井。例如，洛阳汉墓出土的陶井，设有辘轳井架，用两个汲水桶交替汲水，井旁附设长条状的水槽，表示从井中汲出的水经水槽流入沟渠，灌溉农田（图73）。在长江流域和华南地区，除了充分利用河流以外，还多筑陂塘，塘中蓄水，灌溉稻田。在陕西的汉中、四川的成都和彭山、云南的呈贡、广东的连县等处的汉和魏晋时期的墓中，发现了陶制的陂

塘模型，往往与水田相连。[24]这是一种人工开凿的蓄水池，设有闸门，表示可以调节水流，灌溉附近的稻田（图74、75）。西汉初年在庐江郡（今安徽庐江）开凿的芍陂，东汉时加以修复，是一项大规模的水利工程。安徽省寿县的安丰塘，便是当时芍陂的旧址，1959年考古工作者在这里发现了东汉时期的水堰。在附近发现的修筑堰坝的铁工具中，有一件刻有“都水官”铭文的铁锤，说明了这一水利工程是由官府主管的。[25]

收割成熟的谷物，已经普遍使用了铁镰。四川成都扬子山出土的东汉画像砖上，有一幅水稻收割图，形象、生动地说明水稻的收割情形。[26]从这画像上可以看出，当时收割水稻，是先割取稻穗，然后再用长柄的钩形镰刀刈割稻草（图76）。

谷物收获后，要经过打场、扬场，其情形可以在画像石和壁画中看到。值得注意的是，河南省洛阳和济源的汉墓中，发现了陶制的风车箱模型（图77、78）。[27]一般说来，北方多种粟和小麦，所以往往在场地上用扬弃的方法去除草秕。南方多种稻谷，需要用风车箱扇去秕糠。洛阳和济源汉墓中的发现，说明了风车箱不仅在南方，而且在中原地区也被使用。

谷物的加工，已普遍使用“践碓”。这是一种简单的机械装置，用人力践踏，以舂捣谷物。它们的具体形象，可以在各地发现的画像石、画像砖和陶质模型中看到（图79、80）。据文献记载，到了魏晋时期，还普遍应用了利用水力的水碓。石制的转盘式的双扇磨盘，在汉代也已普遍使用。它们的实物和陶质模型，在汉代的遗址和坟墓中多有发现（图81）。年代最早的石磨实物，是在满城汉墓中发现的，石磨下面置一大铜盘，以承受磨出来的粉（图82）。[28]山东临沂银雀山汉墓出土的，是上述石磨的陶质模型，其年代比满城汉墓还要早一些，可能在汉武帝时期之前。[29]这种转盘式的大型石磨的普遍制作与使用，显然是与铁工具的发达分不开的。在各地东汉墓中出土的陶质模型中，往往可以看到践碓与磨盘同时装置在一个碓房中，以进行谷物的加工。

汉代的农副业是多种多样的，豢养家禽与家畜是其中最普遍的一项。从各种考古资料来看，家禽是鸡、鸭和鹅，家畜则有马、牛、羊、猪、狗等。汉墓中出土的陶制猪圈，往往与厕所相连，说明了当时已经注意养猪积肥，以粪肥田（图83）。在北方和西北地区，还饲养骆驼，以供运输之用。在河北省定县发掘的东汉后期中山穆王刘畅的墓中曾发现骑骆驼的陶俑，在四川省新都县发现的东汉画像砖上也有骆驼的图像。[30]射猎也是一种农副业。长沙马王堆汉墓随葬的肉食品中，走兽有野兔、梅花鹿等，飞禽有斑鸠、雁、鸮、竹鸡、喜鹊、雉、鹤等。[31]各地画像石和画像砖中有狩猎图，四川成都扬子山画像砖上还有弋射图[32]，都是很能说明问题的资料。除了在河流、湖泊中捕捞鱼类和其他水

产动物以外，在人工开凿的陂池中也养殖鱼、鳖之类，以供食用，陕西汉中出土的陶制陂池模型很生动地说明了这种情形。[33]利用各种水面，种植荷藕、菱角之类，采取以供食用的情形，也可以在有关的考古资料中看到（图84）。

植桑养蚕，也是农村的一项重要副业。至少在战国时代，据铜器上的图纹所见，桑树已有两种。一种可称为“树桑”，甚高大；一种可称为“地桑”，较低矮。后者不仅便于采摘，而且叶多而嫩润，比前者更宜于饲蚕。汉代的桑树，据在画像石和画像砖上所见，亦有“树桑”与“地桑”两种（图85、86），而《氾胜之书》有关改进栽桑方法的记载则说明了低矮的“地桑”正是用改进了的方法培植出来的。[34]在汉代，植桑养蚕已从黄河流域推广到边远地区。四川省境内，盛产丝绸，自不待言。据《汉书·地理志》记载，广东、广西一带，早在西汉时便有蚕桑之业。《后汉书·卫飒传》则记载东汉初期，湖南省南部的桂阳郡一带亦已开始种桑养蚕。据和林格尔汉墓壁画所见，至迟在东汉后期，山西北部和内蒙古境内的定襄郡（其治所西汉时在今内蒙古和林格尔，东汉时在山西省右玉）也有了蚕桑。[35]

1973年发掘的湖北省江陵凤凰山十号墓，墓主人名为张偃，葬于西汉景帝四年（公元前153年）。他是一个地主，在当时江陵县他的家乡任乡吏，替政府向农民征收赋税。在他的墓里，随葬着许多竹简和木牍，是乡里行政机构的文书和簿册。其中有一组竹简称为“郑里廪簿”，是乡里行政机构向“郑里”这个农村的二十五户农民放贷种子的账簿，记录了农户的人口和土地数量（图87）。[36]据这本账簿的记录，郑里农民25户，105人，能从事生产劳动的69人，共有土地617亩，平均每户24.6亩，每人不到6亩（每亩合今约456平方米）。[37]由此可见，即使在西汉前期，一般的自耕农也只能有少量的土地。《淮南子·主术训》说“中田之获，卒岁之收，不过亩四石”，《后汉书·仲长统传》说“今通肥饶之率，计稼穑之入，令亩收三斛”。由此可见，汉代一般农田的产量大约为每亩三石至四石，六亩田只能产粮二十石左右（每石合今约20公升）。每人每天的食量以五升（合今1公升）计算，一年就需粮十八石，这就是说，农民们辛勤劳动一年的收获，除了勉强糊口之外，就没有什么剩余。至于账簿里所记一个名叫“野”的农民，全家八口，只有十五亩土地，平均每人不到二亩，那就更难于生活了。

而且，农民们还必须负担国家的赋税和徭役。从凤凰山十号墓出土的文书和簿册的记录也可以看出，当时的赋税和徭役是相当繁重的。在这种情况下，有的农民就不免破产。于是，大地主们就趁机收买破产农民的土地，而破产农民为了维持生活，就不得不成为大地主的雇农和佃户，有的甚至卖身为奴。随着时代的推移，这种情况愈来愈严重。到了

西汉后期，由于土地兼并，结果，“富者田连阡陌”，就出现了许多私人占有的大庄园。

到了东汉，由于朝廷的纵容，土地兼并愈益激烈，豪强地主的势力愈益强大，庄园也愈来愈多，愈来愈大。豪强地主们使用他们的奴婢和与他们有人身依附关系的农民，即所谓“徒附”，在庄园中进行各种生产活动。庄园经济的特点，是从事多种经营，以农业生产为主，同时也包括各种农副业和手工业，从而能够做到“自给自足”。自足有余，庄园主也搞商业活动，将一部分产品出售。

如前面已经多次提到过的，1972年在内蒙古和林格尔发掘了一座东汉后期的墓，墓主人官至“护乌丸校尉”，是一个大官僚兼大地主。墓中有大量的壁画，其中后室南壁的一大幅壁画是庄园图，生动而形象地描绘了当时庄园的各种情形（图88）。[38]在画面的中部，是庄园的房舍。在它的东北方远处，是大片的原野，农夫们扶着犁，驱赶着牛，正在耕地。在房舍的附近，则另有园圃，以种植蔬菜之类，两个农夫手执锄头，正在精耕细作；为了防止家禽、家畜的侵扰，园圃四周还筑有围墙。房舍附近还有马厩、牛圈和羊圈，其中既有壮畜，也有幼畜，表示牲畜不断繁殖。在圈栏之外，还有一些散放着的鸡群和猪群。在房舍的周围，有一片桑林，四个女子拿着绳索、长钩和网子，正在采桑，旁边还有一些筐箔之类，以表明庄园中有蚕桑之业。在西面较远处，则有三个方形的池坑，里面堆放着麻，有人正在池坑旁边进行着沤麻的操作。在附近，还有一个车库，存放着一些备用的车辆。除了南壁这一大幅庄园图以外，在墓的前室壁画中还可以看到收获下来的成堆的粮食、运粮的牛车、存贮粮食的囤困，以及人们正在利用“践碓”舂捣谷物。在中室的壁画中，则有酿造图，表示庄园中自行加工谷物，而且还自制酒、醋之类。在前室的另几幅壁画中，则又有牧马、牧牛、牧羊图，表示庄园中除了农业以外，还从事畜牧业，特别是因为这里是北方草原地带，所以牧畜业尤其兴盛（图89、90）。[39]

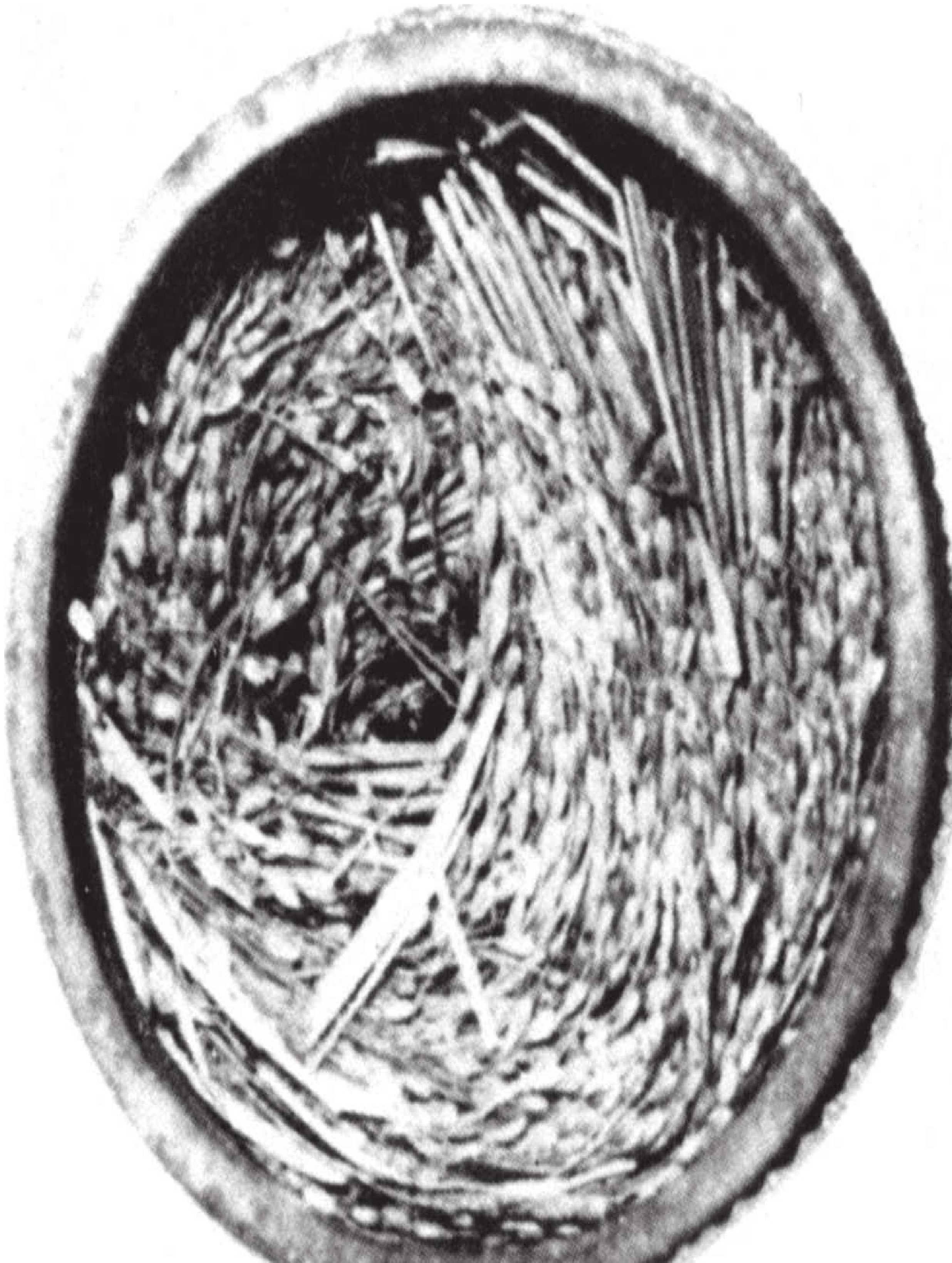
值得注意的是，在和林格尔汉墓后室南壁庄园图中部的房屋旁边有一座望楼。在前室牧羊图的上方，则有四面筑有围墙的堡垒，在堡垒后部的一角也建有一座高大的望楼（图91）。这些都显示了庄园中的建筑物是带有军事防御性质的。在庄园中从事生产劳动的农夫，也就成了豪强地主的部曲，即他们的私人武装部队。在许多文献记载中，也都说明在东汉，特别是在东汉的后期，豪强地主的部曲是具有亦农亦兵的性质的。四川成都天廻山东汉晚期墓出土的农夫俑和武士俑，衣著完全相同，而且前者和后者一样，也佩有作战用的大刀，正生动而形象地说明了这一问题（图92）。[40]

东汉末年曹操掌握政权后，抑制豪强地主，严禁土地兼并，实行屯

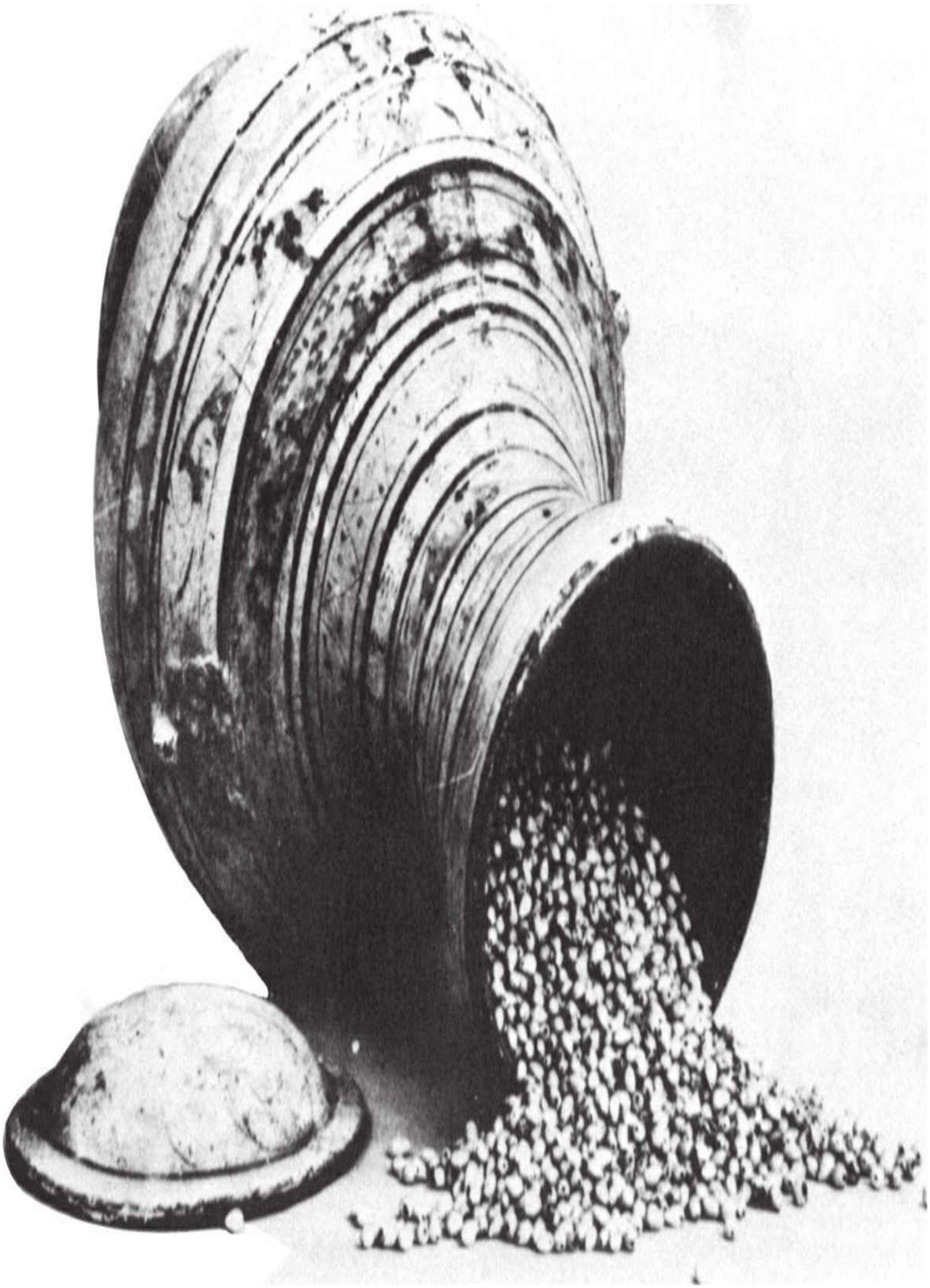
田制。屯田制分民屯与军屯两种。前者是招募无地或无牛的农民，在各级典农官统率下耕种官田，将收获的五成或六成交纳给官府；后者则是组织士兵从事农业生产，以其所获供军用。在前面多次提到的甘肃嘉峪关魏晋时期的墓中，有两幅关于当时军屯的壁画，是十分珍贵的材料。[41]一幅可称为“营垒图”，正中绘一大军帐，帐中坐一军官，帐外左右两侧各立一军士，右立者手执一旗，似为传令官。大军帐的右方，树牙旗六面，分为两列，似为营门之所在；其余三方则排列着许多较小的军帐，重重叠叠，帐前立戟与盾牌（图93）。另一幅可称为“屯垦图”，其中部画着一个骑马驰驱的武将，两侧各有一队荷戟持盾的步兵在行进。在兵队的旁边，则有二人正在驱牛耕地，一人戴帽似汉人模样，一人披发作少数民族装束（图94）。“营垒图”和“屯垦图”结合起来，正是当时河西地区军队屯田的真实写照。曹魏的屯田制，在中原地区也广泛推行，只是有关的考古资料迄今还付之阙如。

55. Names of agricultural products inscribed on pottery granaries unearthed from Han tombs in Luoyang　洛阳烧沟汉墓出土陶仓上写的农产品名称

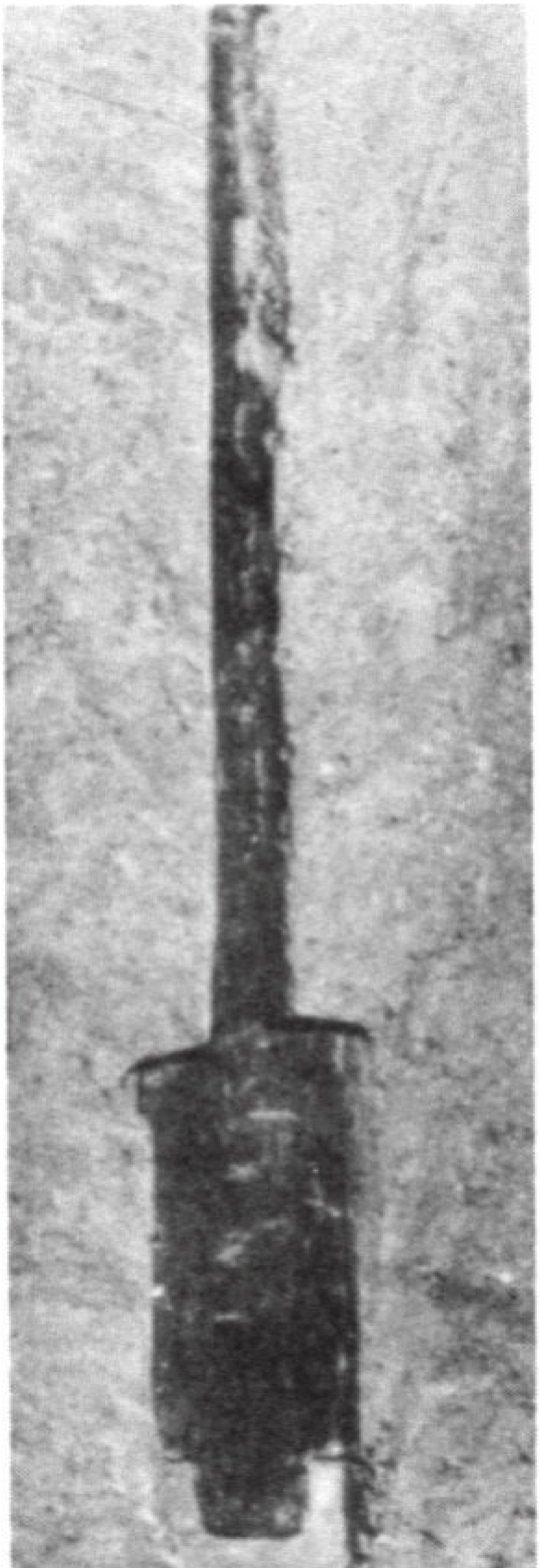
56．Ox-drawn plow and millet plants on a pictorial stone unearthed in Mizhi, Shaanxi　陕西米脂出土画像石上的牛耕图和粟



57．Rice ears from a pottery granary unearthed from a Han tomb at Fenghuangshan, Jiangling　江陵凤凰山汉墓出土的陶仓中的稻穗



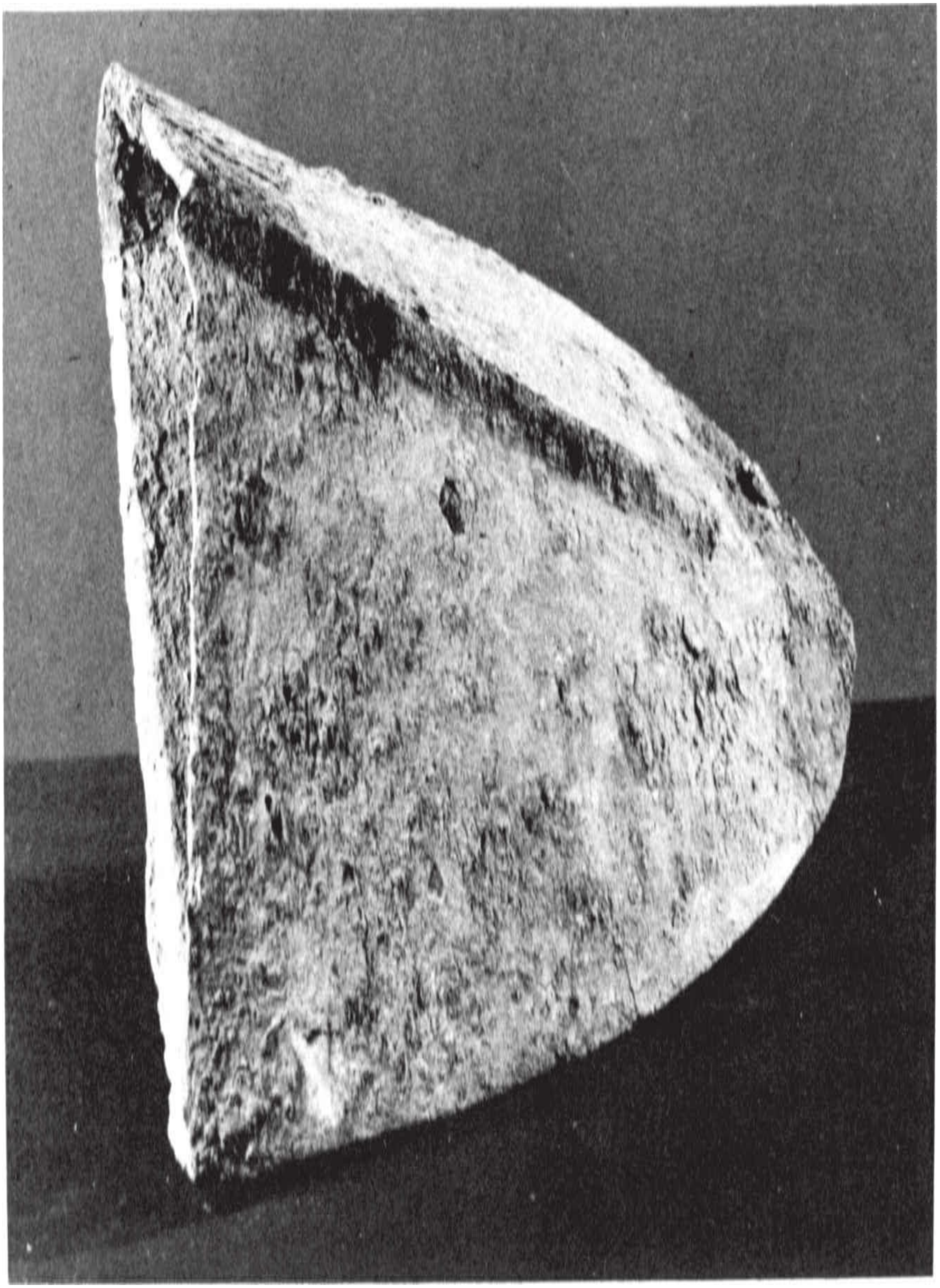
58．Remains of job's tears from a pottery jar unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳烧沟汉墓出土的陶壶及薏苡



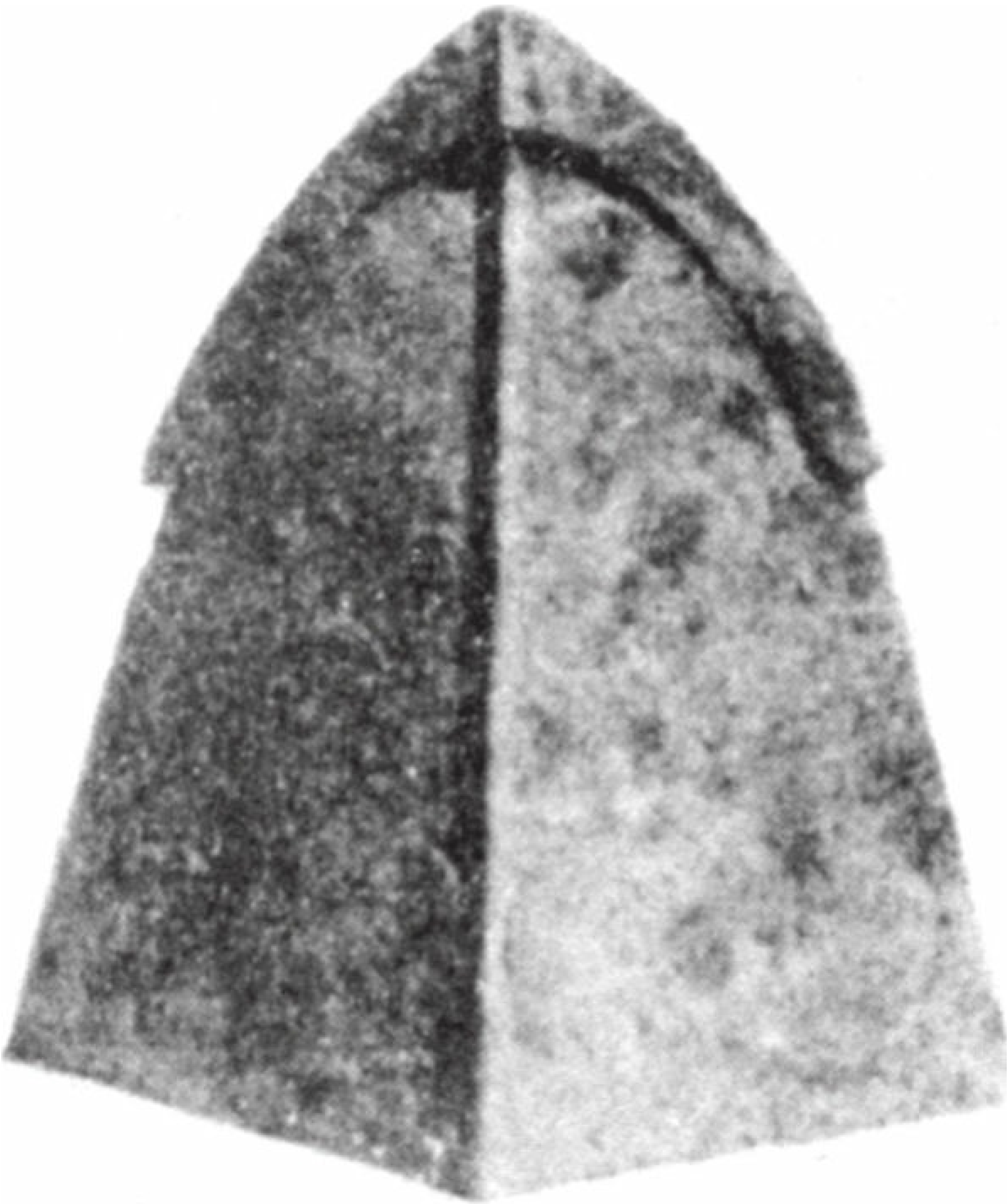
59．Iron spade with wooden handle unearthed from the Han tomb at Mawangdui in Changsha　长沙马王堆汉墓出土的木柄铁锸

60．Stone human figure holding a spade, unearthed in Pixian, Sichuan　四川郫县出土的手握铲的石像

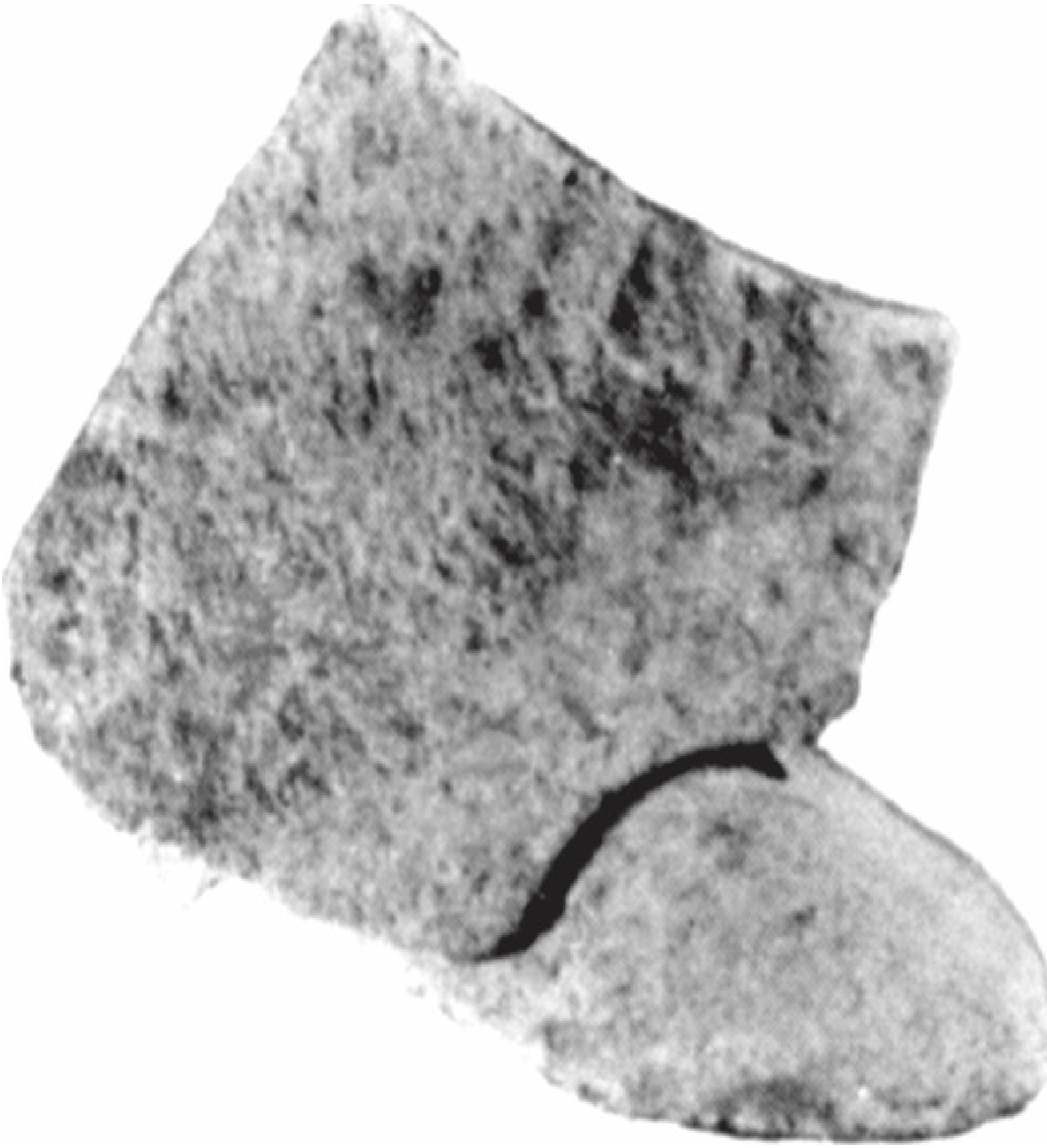
61．Iron rake with two teeth, unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的双齿铁耙



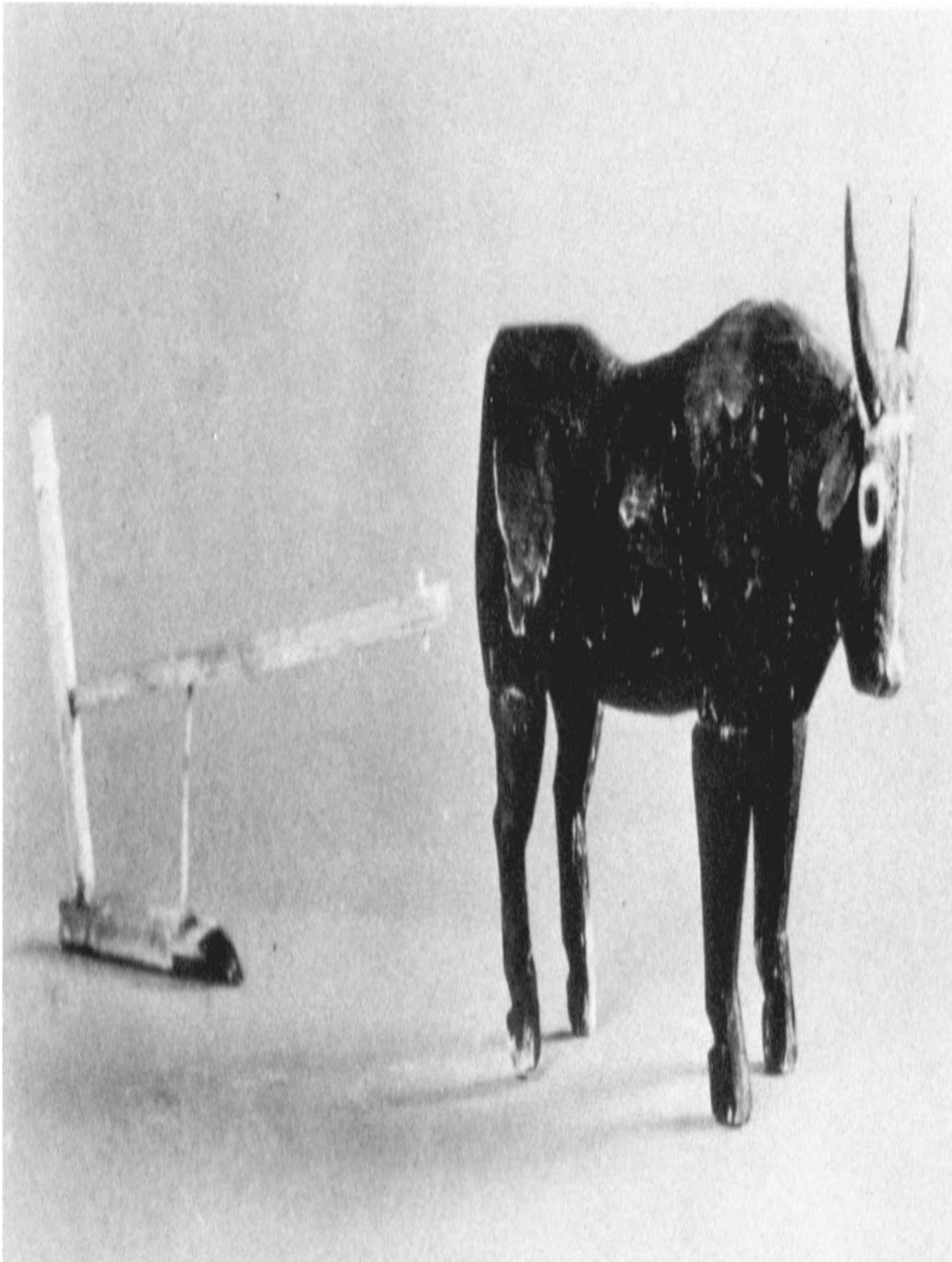
62．Large iron plowshare unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的巨型铁铧



63．Iron plowshare and its crown, unearthed in Longxian in Shaanxi　陕西陇县出土的铁铧和铧冠



64. Iron plowshare and moldboard unearthed in Chang'anxian, Shaanxi　陕西长安县出土的铁犁铧和犁壁

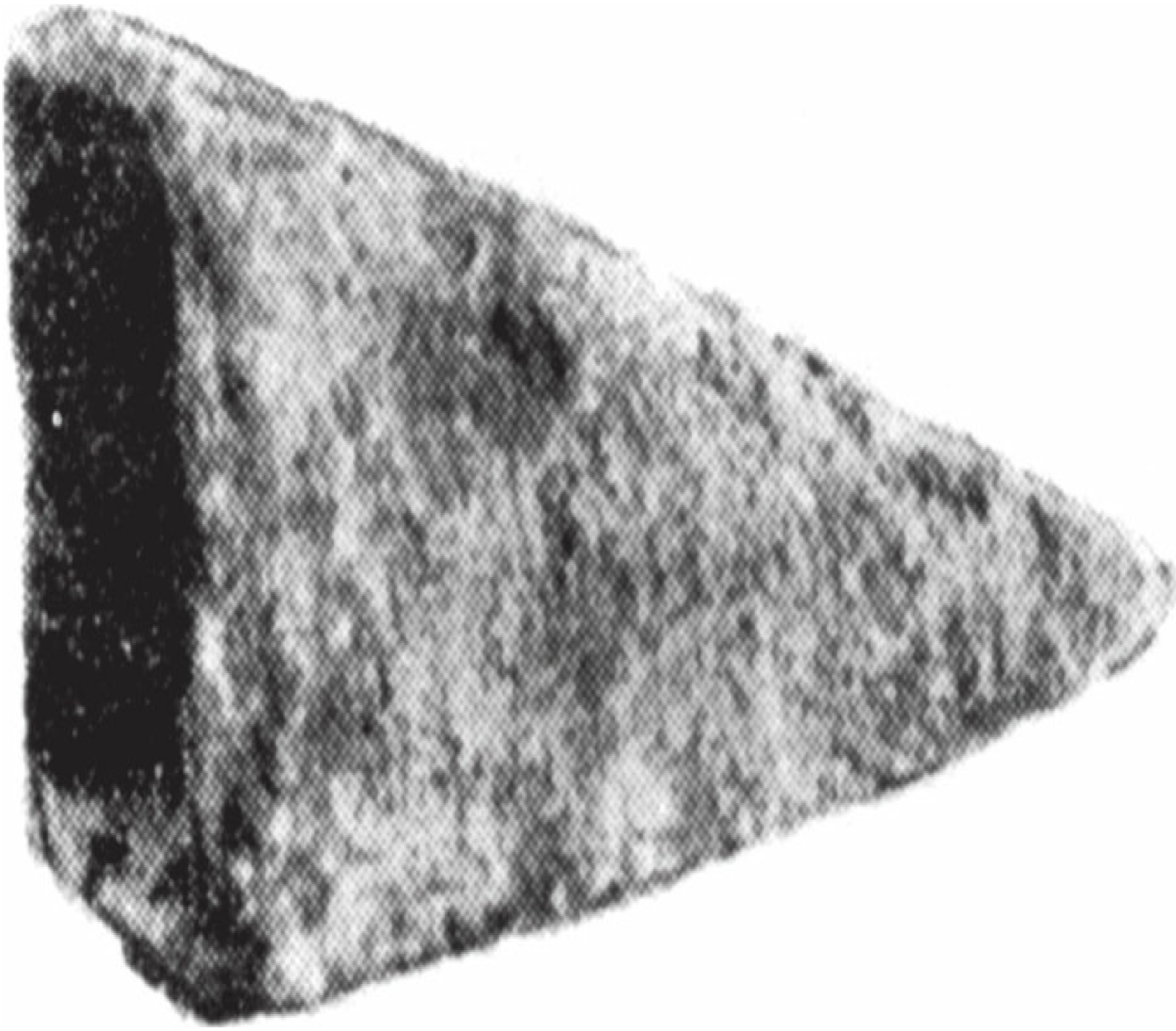


65. Wooden models of ox and plow unearthed from the Western Han tomb at Mozuizi in Wuwei,

Gansu　甘肃武威磨咀子西汉墓出土的木牛和木犁模型

66．Plowing with oxen in the pictorial stone art unearthed at Shuanggou, Suiningxian, Jiangsu　江苏睢宁双沟出土的画像石中的牛耕图

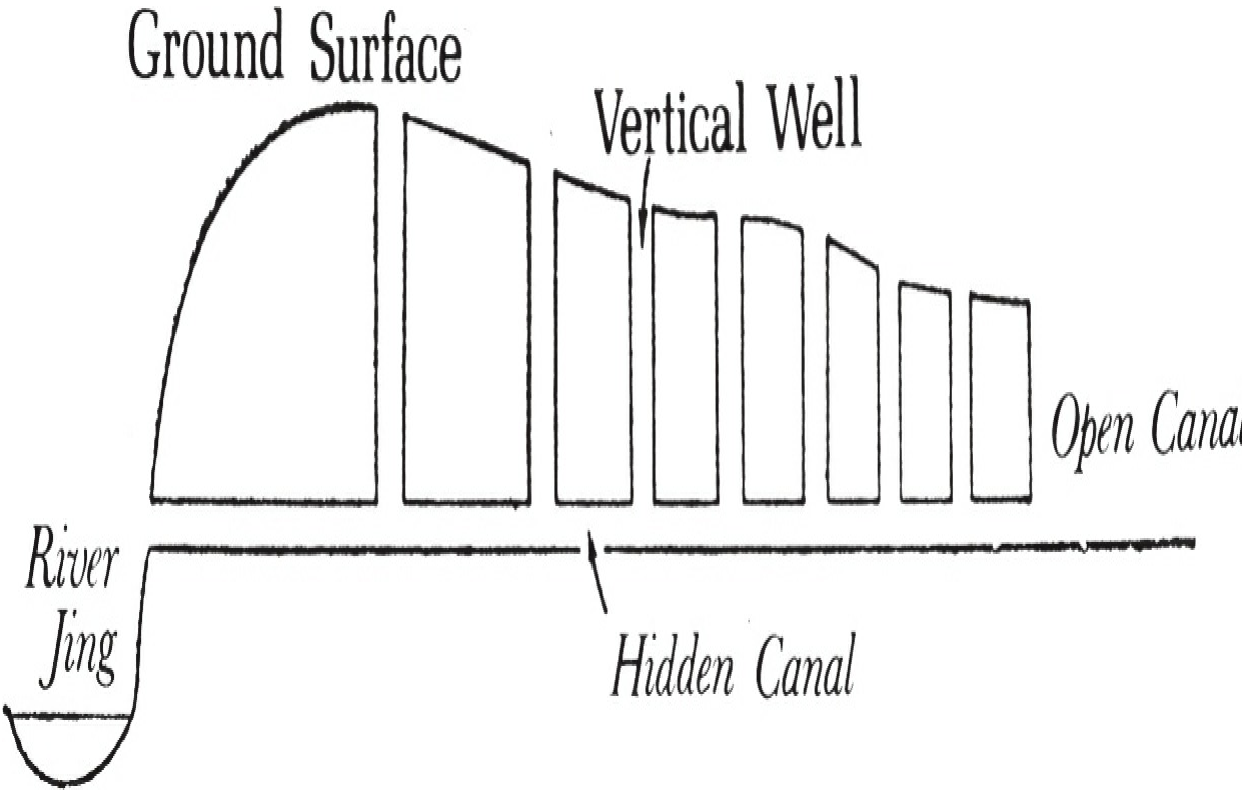
67．Use of a seeder depicted in the wall painting of a Han tomb at Zaoyuancun in Pinglu, Shanxi　山西平陆枣园村汉墓壁画中的耧播图



68．Iron blade of a seeder unearthed in Fuping, Shaanxi　陕西富平出土的铁耧铧

69．A harrowing scene depicted (in the lower part) on a pictorial brick in a Wei-Jin period tomb at Jiayuguan in Gansu　甘肃嘉峪关魏晋时期壁画中的耙田图（下）

70．A soil-leveling scene depicted on a pictorial brick in a Wei-Jin period tomb at Jiayuguan in Gansu　甘肃嘉峪关魏晋时期壁画中的耱田图

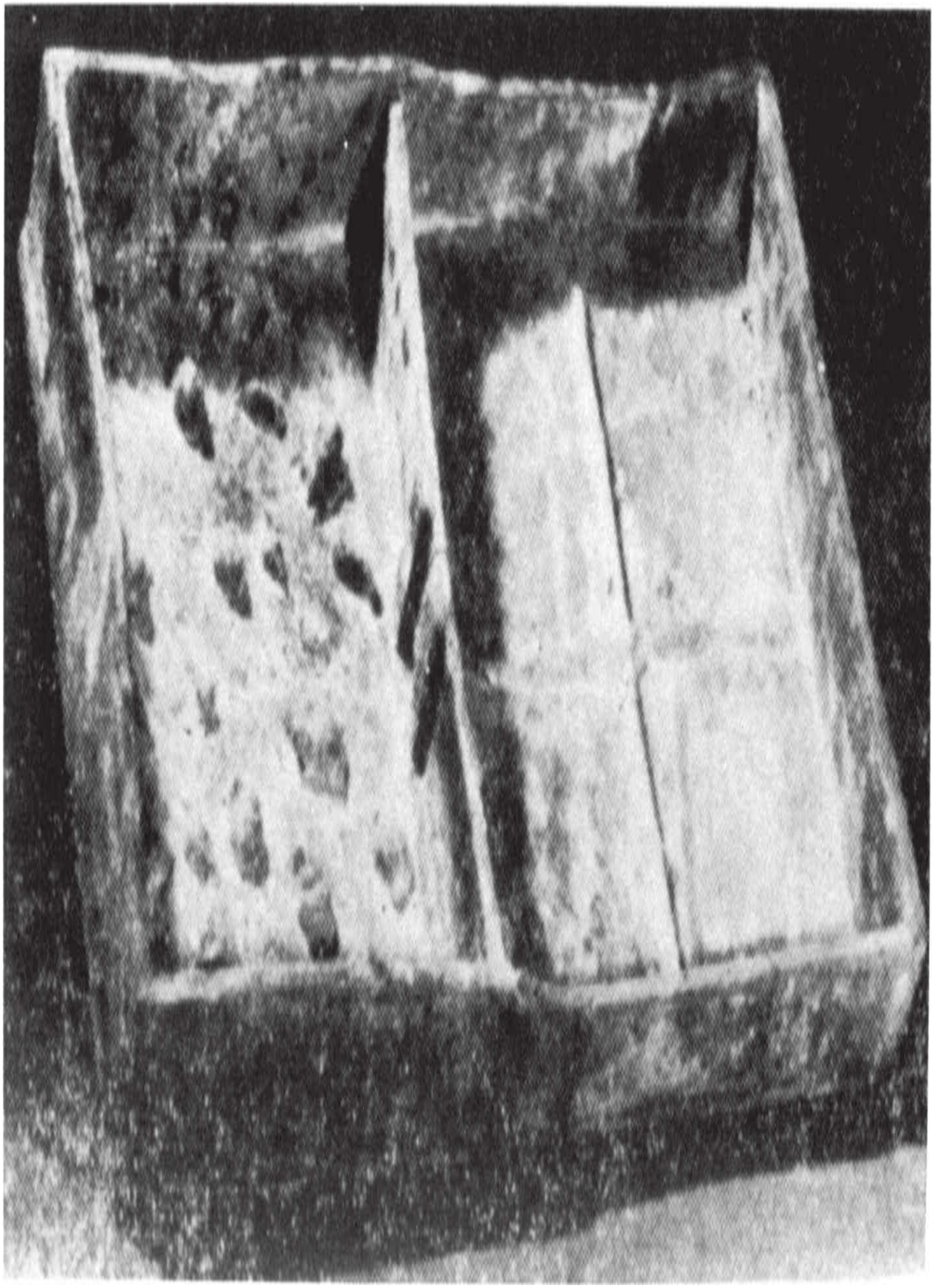


71．Well canal at the head of the Bai Canal in Jingyangxian, Shaanxi　陕西省泾阳县白渠渠首的井渠

故蜀郡李府君諱冰
建寧元年閏月戊申朔廿五日都水掾
尹龍長陳壹造三神石人珍水萬世焉

72．Stone statue of Li Bing and its inscription, unearthed at the Dujiang Weir in Guanxian, Sichuan 四川灌县都江堰出土的李冰石像和铭文

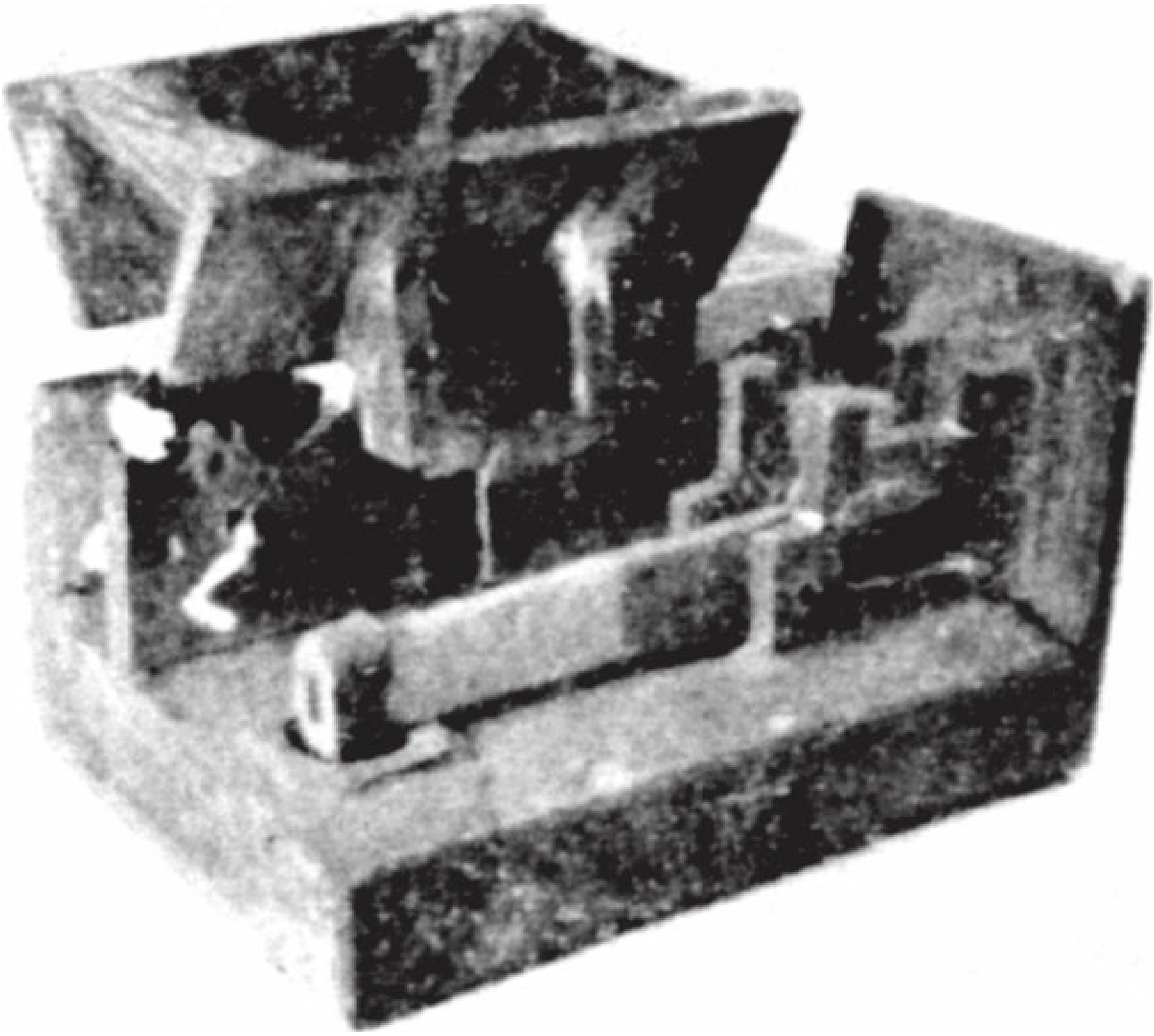
73．Pottery models of a well and water trough unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳烧沟汉墓出土的陶井与水槽模型



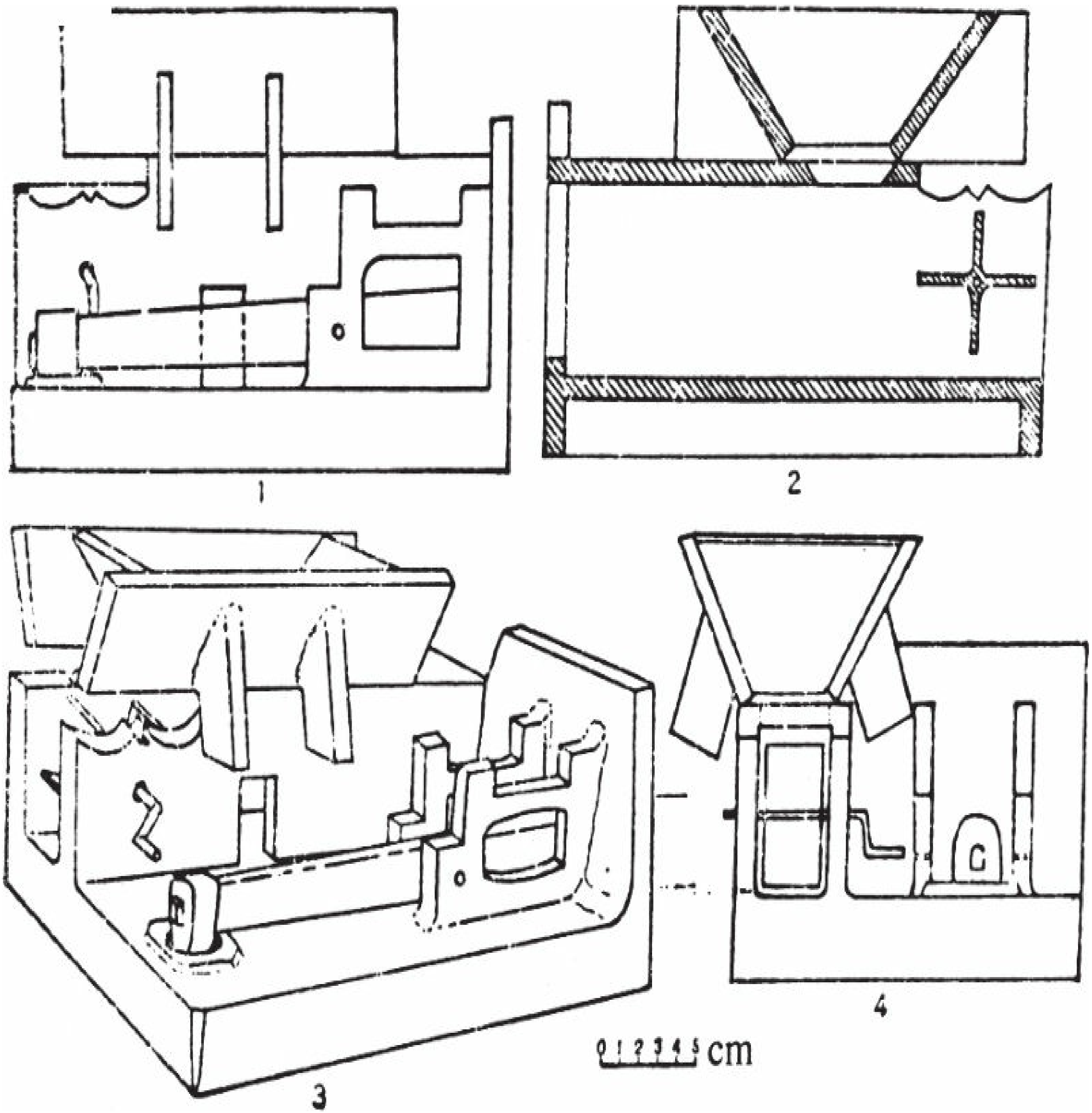
74．Pottery model of a pond unearthed from a Han tomb in Hanzhongxian, Shaanxi　陕西汉中汉墓出土的陶陂塘模型

75．Pottery model of a pond unearthed from a Han tomb in Chengdu, Sichuan　四川成都汉墓出土的陶陂塘模型

76．Fishing, hunting, and harvesting depicted in a pictorial brick unearthed from a Han tomb at Yangzishan in Chengdu, Sichuan　四川成都扬子山汉墓出土的画像砖上的弋射收获图

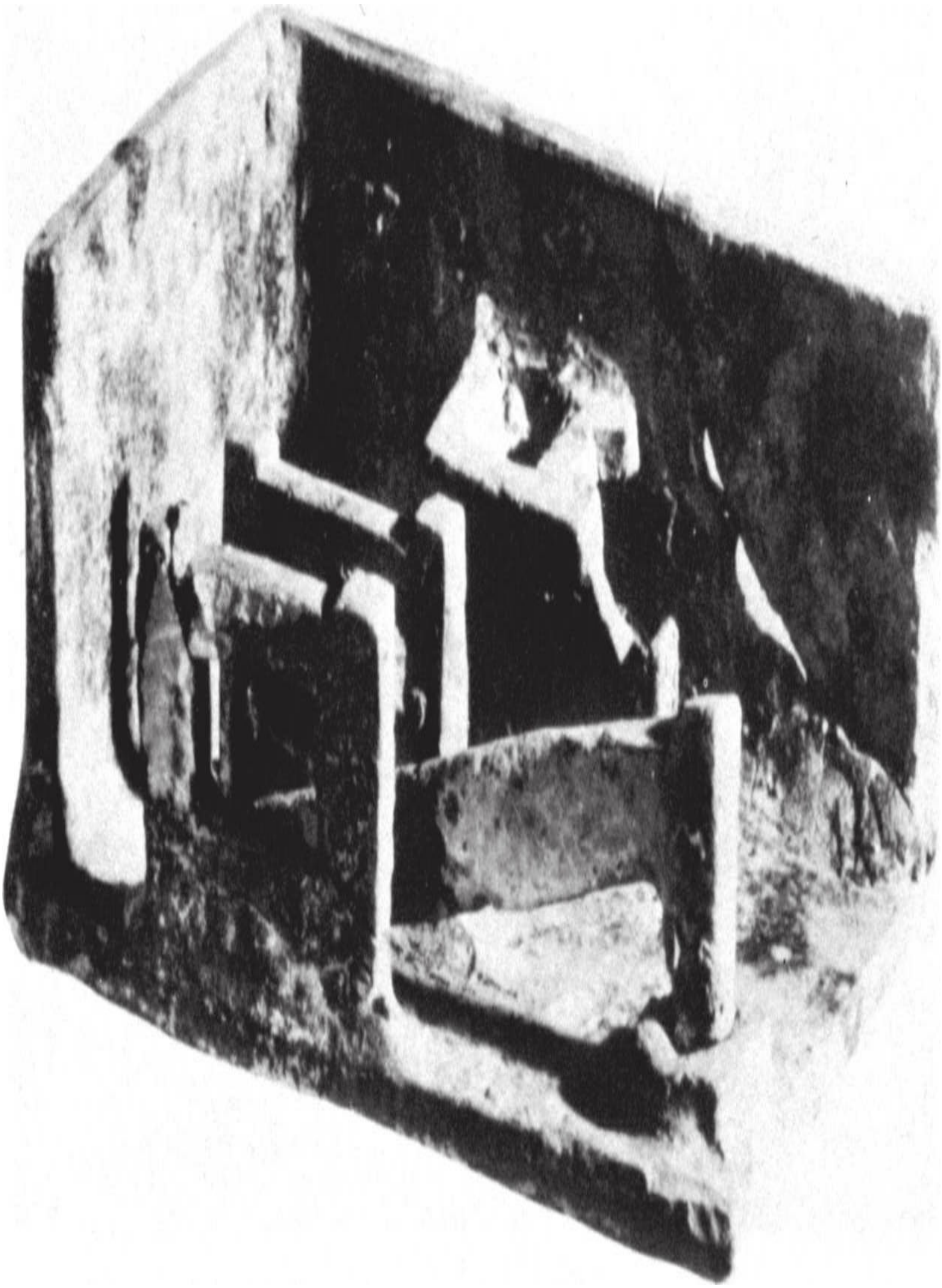


77．Pottery models of winnowing machine and treadle-operated tilt hammer unearthed from Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓出土的陶制风车箱模型和践碓

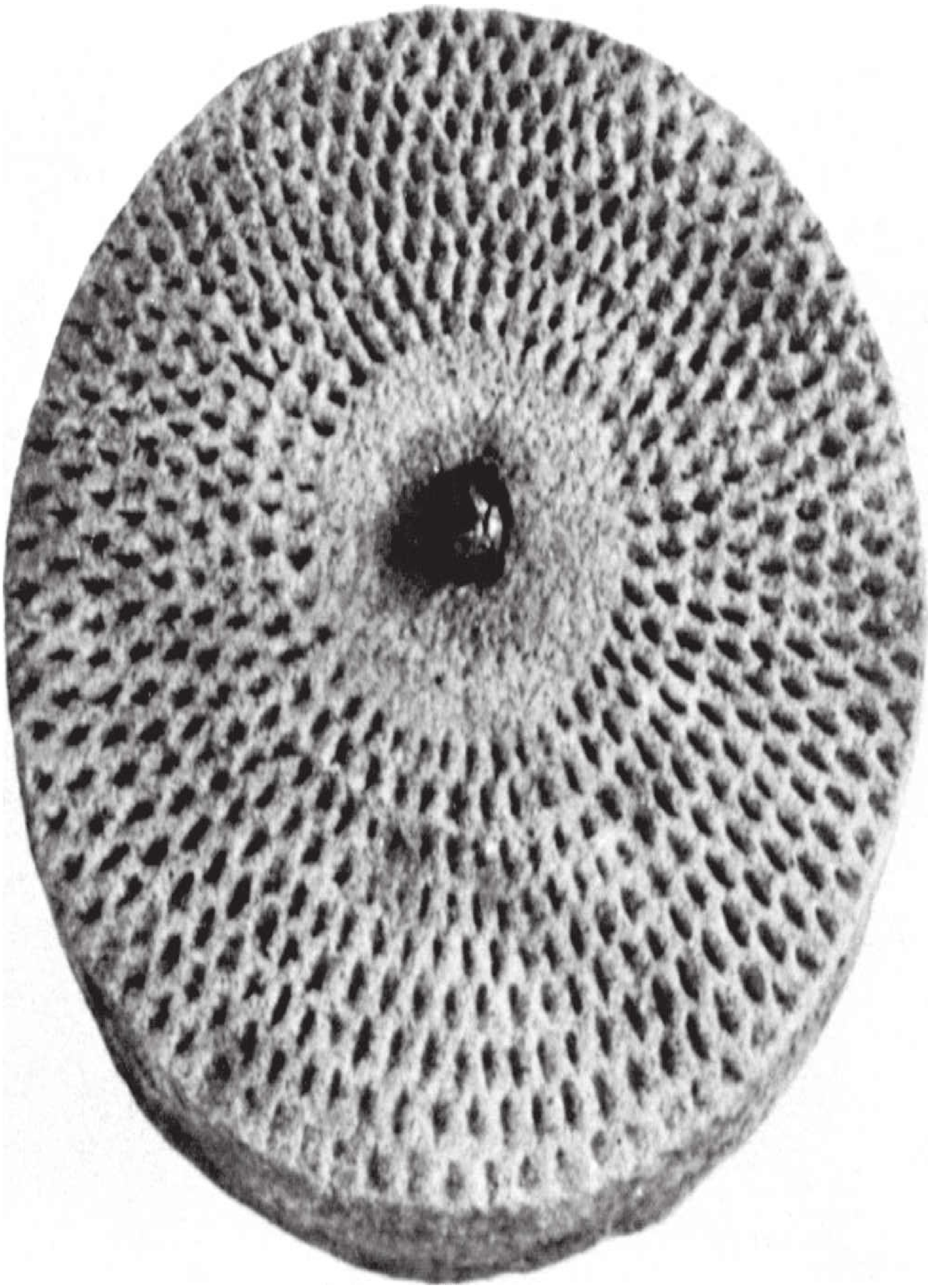


78．Reconstructive drawing of fig. 77　图77的重构图

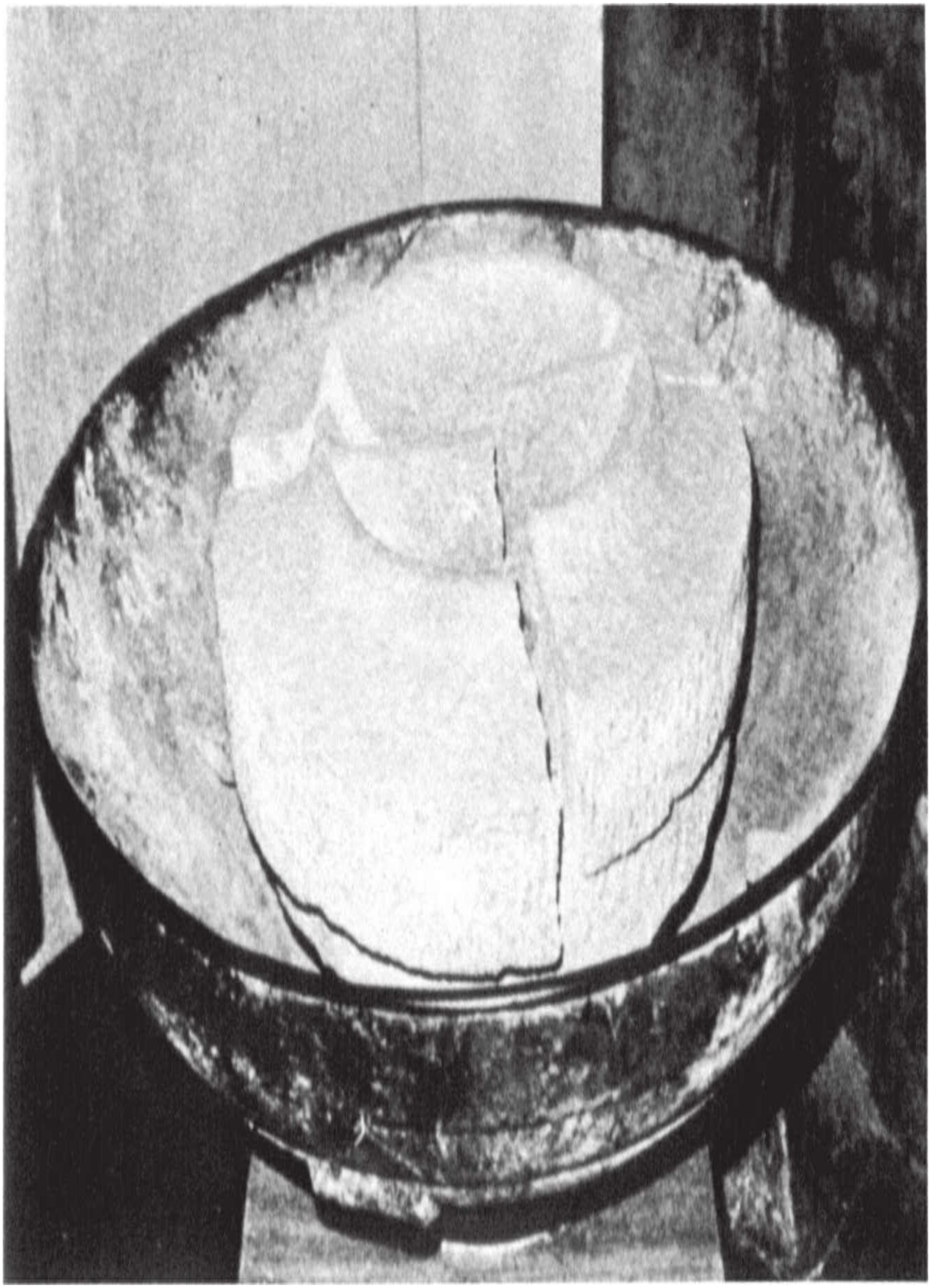
79．Treadle-operated tilt hammer as depicted in pictorial brick unearthed from the Han tomb in Pengxian, Sichuan　四川彭县汉墓出土的画像砖上的践碓图



80．Pottery model of treadle-operated tilt hammer unearthed from the Han tomb in Shanxian, Henan
河南陕县汉墓出土的陶践碓模型



81．Stone quern unearthed at the site of the Han city of Chang'an　汉长安城遗址出土的石磨



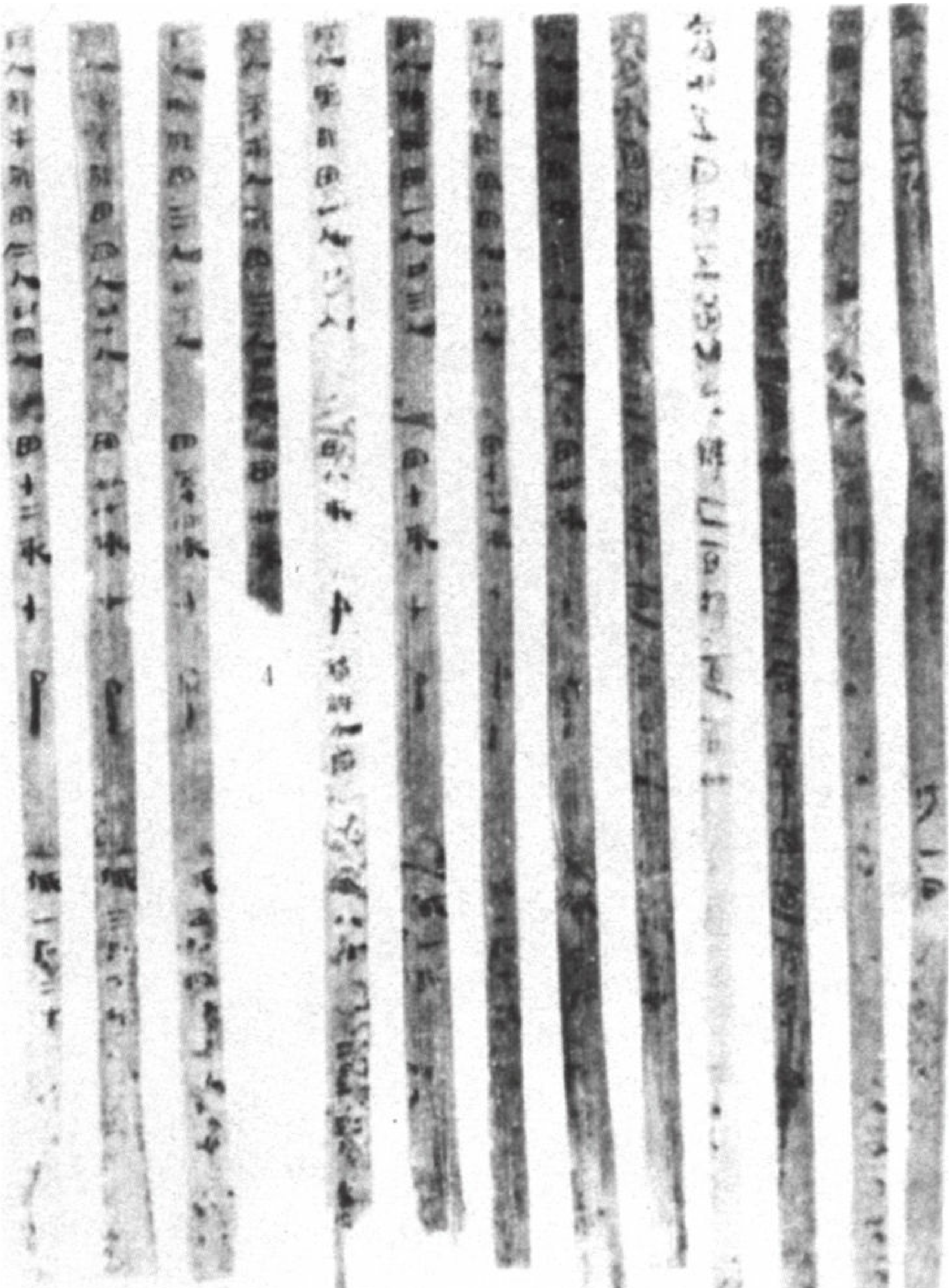
82．Stone quern and bronze receptacle unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的石磨及铜承盘

83．Pottery model of pigsty and privy, unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓出土的陶猪圈及厕所模型

84．Taro harvesting depicted on pictorial brick unearthed in Pengxian, Sichuan　四川彭县出土的画像砖上的采芋图

85. Picking mulberry tree leaves depicted on pictorial stone at the Wu Liang Family Shrine in Jiaxiang, Shandong 山东嘉祥武梁祠画像石上的采桑图

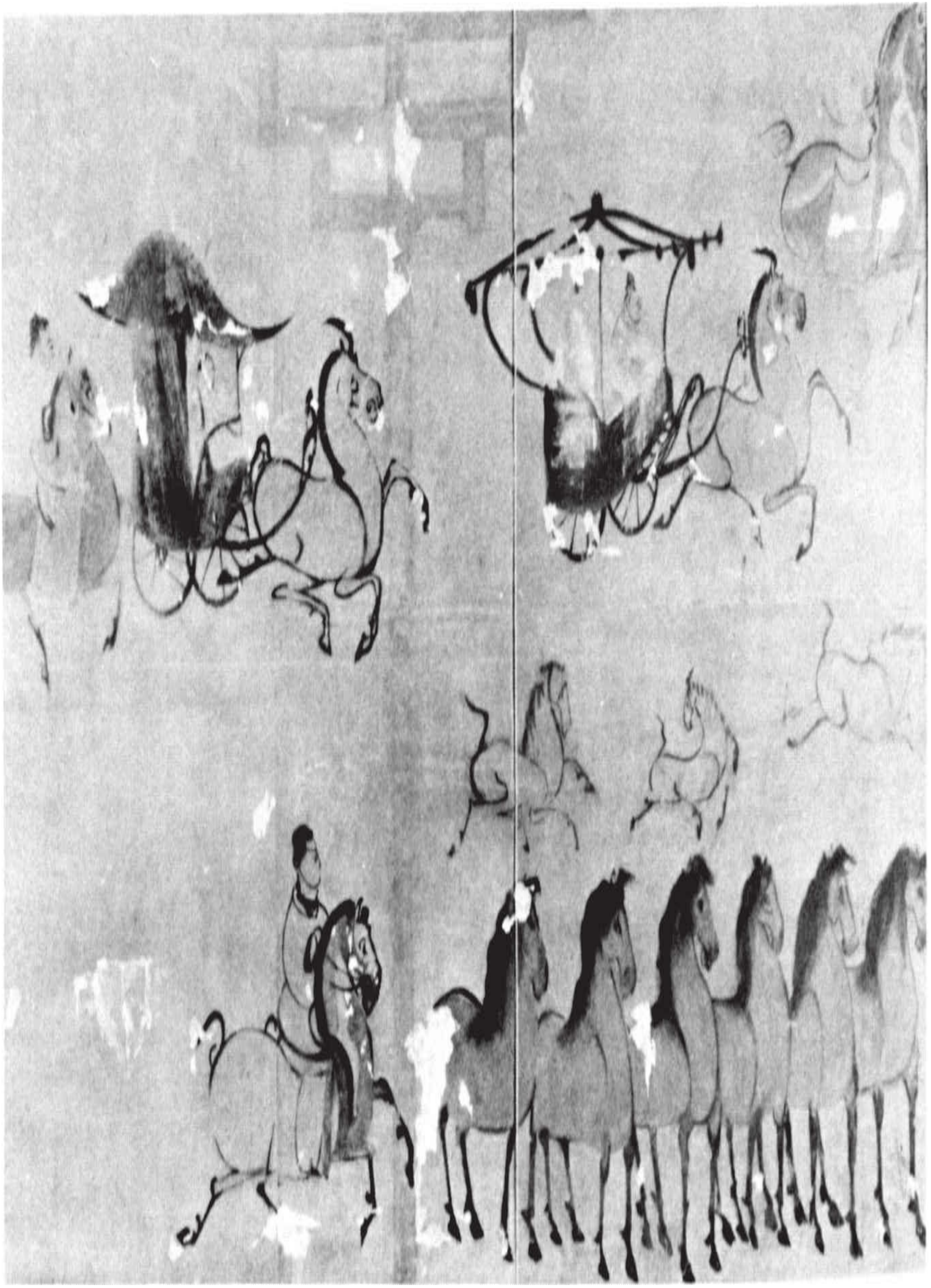
86. Picking mulberry bush leaves depicted on pictorial brick unearthed in Chengdu, Sichuan 四川成都出土的画像砖上的采桑图



87. "Granary Records of Zheng Village"–inscribed bamboo slips (partial) unearthed from tomb number 10 at Fenghuangshan in Jiangling　江陵凤凰山十号墓出土的“郑里廪簿”（部分）

88. A manor depicted in a wall painting in the Han tomb at Holingor in Inner Mongolia (copy)　内蒙

古和林格尔汉墓壁画中的庄园图（摹本）



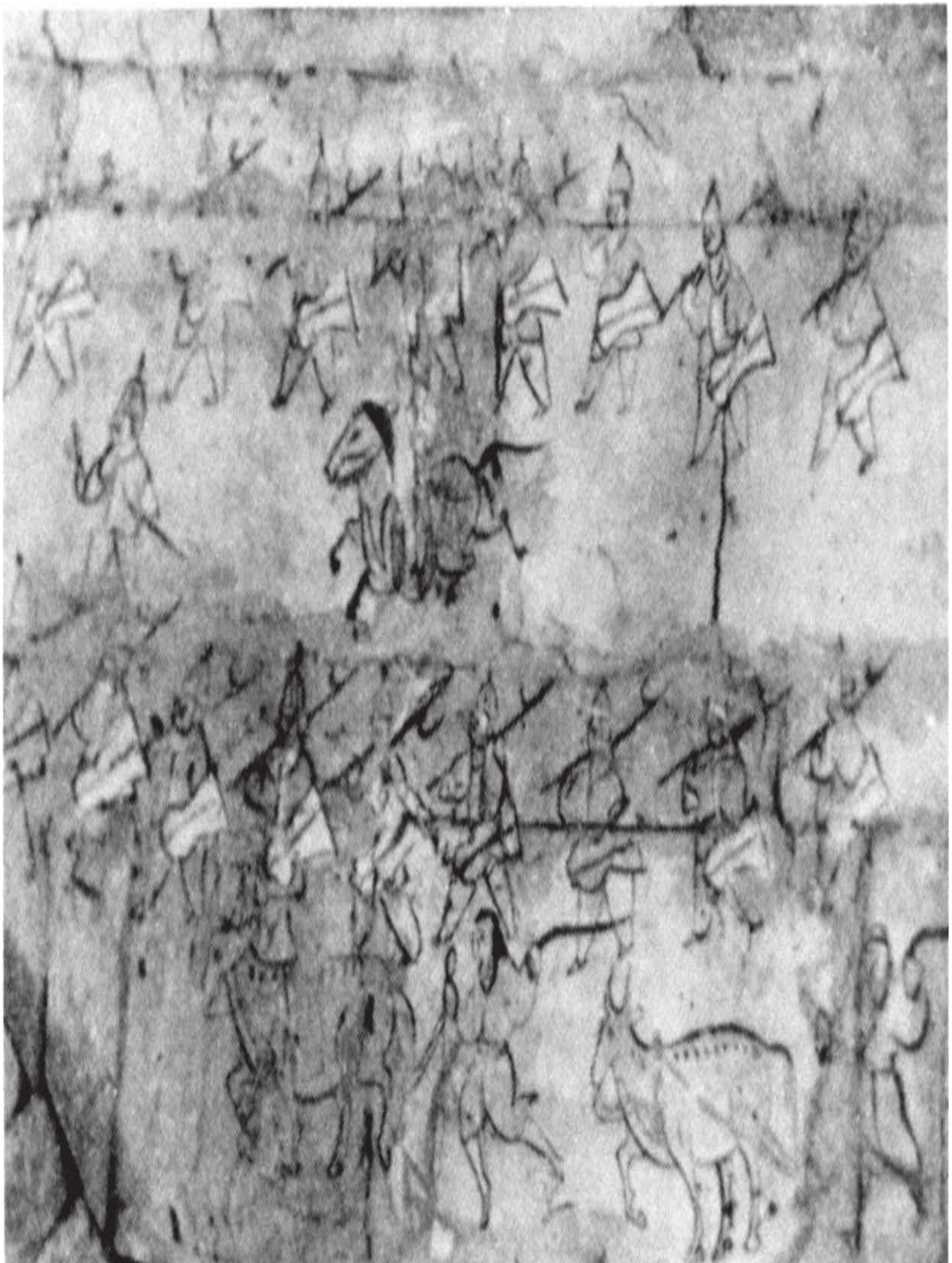
89．Grazing horses depicted in wall painting in the Han tomb at Holingor in Inner Mongolia　内蒙古和林格尔汉墓出土的牧马图

90．Grazing cattle depicted in wall painting in the Han tomb at Holingor in Inner Mongolia　内蒙古和林格尔汉墓出土的牧牛图

91．Fortress and watchtower depicted in wall painting in the Han tomb at Holingor in Inner Mongolia　内蒙古和林格尔汉墓壁画中的堡垒和望楼

92．Clay figurine of farmer holding spade and wearing large knife, unearthed from a Han tomb at Tianhuishan in Chengdu, Sichuan　四川成都天廻山汉墓出土的持铲佩刀农夫俑

93．A military barracks in a wall painting in a Wei-Jin period tomb at Jiayuguan, Gansu　甘肃嘉峪关魏晋墓壁画·营垒图



94．A soldiers' farm in a wall painting in a Wei-Jin period tomb at Jiayuguan, Gansu　甘肃嘉峪关魏晋墓壁画·屯垦图

CHAPTER 4 LACQUERWARE

Lacquerware Before the Han Dynasty Archaeology tells us that lacquered wares existed in China probably as early as the Neolithic period. In 1978, many wooden objects were found at the site of Hemudu, Yuyaoxian, Zhejiang Province. One of the wooden bowls is covered both inside and out with a bright red pigment that appears to be a lacquerlike substance.[1] The Hemudu site has been dated by radiocarbon to about 7,000 B.P. If the pigment on the bowl proves to be lacquer, then it will be the earliest known lacquered vessel in China.

By the Shang period, the decoration on lacquered vessels was already quite accomplished. Many fragments of lacquered vessels, which included types like basins and boxes, were found in 1973 at a middle Shang site at Taixicun, in Gaochengxian, Hebei Province. The designs were in black against a red background, and included *taotie*, leaf, thunder-cloud, and dragon motifs, all closely comparable to bronze motifs. Some fragments were even decorated with turquoise inlays or gold sheets. Fragments of lacquered vessels have also been frequently found at Yinxu at Xiaotun in Anyang, Henan, the site of the late Shang dynasty capital, but they are so poorly preserved that neither the vessel shape nor the decoration can be distinguished clearly.[2]

It is, in any event, certain that the production of lacquer wares was quite advanced in the Shang period. As a result of the far-ranging influence of Shang civilization, lacquered vessels were also found in distant regions. For example, a burial belonging to the Lower Xiajiadian culture excavated in 1977 at Dadianzi, Aohan Banner, in Liaoning Province, yielded two well preserved red lacquered vessels, somewhat like the Shang bronze *gu* in shape.[3] Radiocarbon dates place the site at Dadianzi at about 3,500 B.P. These two *gu*-shaped lacquered vessels may be regarded as the earliest well preserved examples of lacquered vessels.

Lacquer vessels are also known from excavated sites of the Western Zhou period. For example, they have been found in the early Western Zhou tombs at Pangjiagou, at Luoyang, Henan, excavated in 1964, and at the late Western Zhou to early Eastern Zhou burials of the Guo state at Shangcunling

in western Henan, excavated in 1956. The vessels from both sites are decorated with inlaid shell discs. The early Western Zhou burials excavated in 1953 at Puducun, Chang'anxian, in Shaanxi Province, also contained lacquered fragments with what appears to be shell disc inlays.[4]

Rapid and astounding advances in the development of the lacquer industry were made only with the beginning of the Warring States period. Large numbers of well preserved lacquered vessels were found before the founding of the P.R.C. in sites in Changsha, Hunan, and in Luoyang, Henan; and, after the founding of the P.R.C., in Changsha, Hunan, in Jiangling and Suixian, Hubei, in Xinyang, Henan, and in Chengdu, Sichuan.[5] In addition to lacquered vessels, these finds included various types of lacquered home furnishings, grave goods, musical instruments, and weapon accessories, indicating that lacquered items were widely used for various aspects of social life. Considering only lacquered vessels, for example, most early Warring States vessels have wood cores, which tend to make them heavy and bulky.

From the mid-Warring States period on, vessel cores made with thin wooden sheets or fabric began to appear. By the late Warring States period, inlaid bronze discs (gold or silver gilded) were added to thincored lacquered vessels, making them sturdier as well as more elaborate and beautiful. The painted designs on these are also very rich and elegant. In short, Warring States lacquerware had reached very high standards in every respect. Han period lacquerware represents a further develop ment from the foundations laid in the Warring States period.

Han Lacquer Wares Han lacquerware has been discovered at many localities; only the most notable finds will be mentioned here. Finds before 1949 include the large numbers of well preserved vessels from Pyongyang in Korea and Noin Ula in Mongolia.[6] Many of these are dated by inscription and are extremely valuable for research. Since the establishment of New China, lacquer vessels in various states of preservation have come from Han burial sites in Luoyang in Henan; Wendeng in Shandong; Yancheng and Lianyungang in Jiangsu; Ningbo in Zhejiang; Changsha in Hunan; Guangzhou in Guangdong; Qingzhen in Guizhou; and Wuwei in Gansu.[7] The lacquer vessels from Qingzhen and Wuwei also carry detailed inscriptions with dates like those from Pyongyang. In the past ten years or so, finds of Han lacquerwork have been virtually innumerable: at Hepu and Guixian in Guangxi, Haizhou in Jiangsu, Linyi in Shandong, Mancheng in Hebei, and Fuyang in Anhui, to name only a few.[8] Particularly notable are the rich finds

from the Han tombs at Mawangdui in Changsha, Fenghuangshan in Jiangling, and Dafentou in Yunmeng, which yielded large numbers and varieties of lacquered vessels in pristine con dition, all of which are valuable new material for the study of Han lacquerware (figs. 95-98).[9]

The core materials used in Han lacquerware are mainly wood and fabric (fig. 99); bomboo cores were also used, but only rarely (fig. 100). The method of constructing the cores has been learned by both observing the excavated ex amples and experimenting.[10] Wood cores were made in three ways. (1) For circular-shaped objects, a round shape would first be carved with the help of a turntable and then the interior would be hollowed out. This method is generally used to make *ding*(tripods), boxes, *hu* (wine vessels), and *yu* (basins) (fig. 101). (2) For more regularly shaped vessels, the core would still be carved from a single piece of wood, but without using a turntable. Ear-cups (that is, cups with earlike handles), spouted *yi* vessels, and square wine vessels (*fang*), low tables, and other noncircular objects would be made by this method (fig. 102). (3) The core would be formed with thin pieces of wood, curved and fitted to each other with wooden nails to form a thin cylinder, with the bottom of the vessel attached as a separate sheet. Cylindrical vessels with straight walls like *zun* or *lian* were made in this way. This method requires a covering of hemp cloth to be spread over the thin wood core before lacquering to cover the seams. In fabric-cored vessels, numerous layers of hemp or silk cloth would be built over a model of the vessel constructed of wood or clay. After the layers of fabric had dried and hardened, the inner wood or mud core would be removed, leaving only the fabric armature. This is known traditionally as *tuotai*. Generally speaking, the majority of lacquer vessels of the early Western Han period were wood-cored. Among the twenty-odd lacquered vessels from the Han tombs at Fuyang, Anhui, almost half had fabric cores, but among the over 180 lacquer vessels from the early Western Han tomb number one at Mawangdui, Changsha, only a few vessels like *zhi* and *lian* had fabric cores.

From mid-Western Han on, in the lacquered remains from sites such as Changsha, Mancheng, Qingzhen, and Pyongyang, for example, fabric cores were increasingly used for vessels like ear-cups, trays, *zhi*, boxes, and *lian*, although wood-cored lacquer vessels were still common.

Decoration was applied on lacquerware in the following ways. (1) Painting with lacquer: the most common method, which involves the mixing of pigments with the semitranslucent lacquer and applying this mixture to the

lacquered surface of the vessel. The colors thus applied are brilliant and durable. (2) Painting with oil: here, pigments were mixed with oil (possibly tung oil) and applied to the lacquered surface of the vessel. The oil and pigment mixture deteriorates with age, and the decoration painted in this way is not very durable and rubs off easily.[11] (3) Incising: decoration is incised into the lacquered surface of the vessel with a pointed needlelike instrument. Bamboo slips from tomb number 3 at Mawangdui, Changsha, record that this method was known as *zhuihua*.[12] On two lacquered *zhi*-vessels unearthed at a Han tomb at Guanghua in Hubei, the incised tiger, hare, bird, and other animals and cloud-scroll designs were filled in with gold so that they resembled the gold- and silver-inlaid decorations on bronzes.[13] (4) Finally, individual motifs were cut out from thin sheets of gold or silver and attached to the lacquered surface of the vessel, resembling what was later known as *pingtuo* (fig. 103).[14] The most common designs found on Han lacquerware include conventionalized dragon, bird, "scrolling cloud" (*juanyun*), floral, and geometric motifs, as well as more realistic animal, bird, and fish motifs(figs. 104, 105). In general, these designs are all delicate and flowing. The designs on early Western Han lacquer vessels are rich and complex; those on Eastern Han vessels appear simpler. The isolated finds of vessels from Pyongyang decorated with scenes from mytho logy and stories of filial piety are unusual themes,[15] but they nevertheless are representative of a new trend, or a trend which had existed as early as the middle and late Western Han period as shown by the finds from the tomb of Shi Qi Yao in Haizhou, Jiangsu (figs. 106, 107).[16] Gold and silver sheet motifs on lacquerware from places such as Changsha, Hepu, and Lianyungang include a colorful variety of birds, animals, horses and carriages, human figures, and various geometric patterns.[17]

From the late Warring States period on, and especially since midWestern Han, gilt or silvered bronze mountings were often added to the rims of lacquered *pan*-basins, *zun*-vessels, boxes, and cosmetic boxes; also, gilded buttons were inlaid onto the handles of lacquered cups. These are the so-called "silver rims and yellow handles" referred to in *Yan tie lun* (*Discourses on Salt and Iron*) or the "button objects" referred to in the "Biography of He Xi Empress Deng" in *Hou Hanshu*. In the Eastern Han period, lacquered cosmetic boxes from Luoyang and Pyongyang carried quatrefoil decorations in bronze, and were even inlaid with crystal or glass beads (fig. 108).[18]

The durability of lacquered wares is illustrated by the discovery of Western Han lacquered vessels in the Eastern Han tombs at Qingzhen in Guizhou Province. In the Western Han tombs at Shiyanli at Pyongyang, lacquered ear-cups dated 85 B.C. and A.D. 3 were found together,[19] clearly indicating that such vessels can last for at least eighty years or more.

In other words, the high level of workmanship, beautiful colors, exquisite designs, and durability of Han lacquer vessels made them the most valuable vessels of the period, and needless to say, the price of Han lacquerware was accordingly high. Hence it was recorded in the *Yan tie lun* that the price of one lacquered cup equaled that of ten bronze ones, and that it required a hundred workmen to make one lacquered cup and the effort of a thousand workmen to make one lacquered screen.

Because lacquer goods were so valuable, Han nobles and highranking officials often inscribed them with their clan names or official titles as signs of ownership. For example, the lacquer cups from tombs of Wang Xu and Wang Guang at Pyongyang are inscribed with the characters "Li Wang" and "Wang Shi Lao."[20] The lacquered cup in the tomb of Geng Ying in Yanggao, Shanxi Province, was inscribed with the character "Geng."[21] The char acters "Yang zhu jia pan" were inscribed on the lacquered *pan* found in the tomb of Liu Jiao in Changsha, Hunan.[22] The lacquered *pan* found from a tomb at Yangjiashan in Changsha, traditionally alleged to be the grave of a queen, was inscribed with the following phrase: "Yang zhu jia pan, jin Changsha Wang hou jia pan."[23] Lacquer pieces from the tombs of the Marquis of Dai, his wife and son, buried in tombs number 1, 2, and 3 at Mawangdui, Changsha, are inscribed with "Dai Hou Jia," etc. (fig. 109). [24] Some lacquer items are inscribed with the characters "Shang Lin" (fig. 110), signifying that they were used in the Shang Lin Palace. [25] Some are inscribed "Da Guan" or "Tang Guan," indicating that they were used in the royal kitchens.[26] Some lacquer vessels carry inscriptions dealing with their actual functions. For example, many ear-cups and *pan* basins from Mawangdui are inscribed with such auspicious phrases as "Jun xing jiu" ("Auspicious Drinking") and "Jun xing shi" ("Auspicious Banqueting") (figs. 111, 112), and lacquered ear-cups from Han tombs in Ningbo carry "Yi jiu" ("Desirable Wine") inscriptions.

The eating and drinking vessels of the Han ruling class were often decorated with gold and silver mounts. A passage in the "Biography of Gong Yu" in *Hanshu* says: "I once followed His Majesty to the Eastern Palace [Changlegong] and was given cups and tables, all adorned with gold and

silver." A passage in the "San bu zu" section of *Yan tie lun* notes: "The wealthy today possess *shu* cups with silver rims, gold handles, and inlays of gold." Another in *Han jiu yi* says, "Gold-mounted wares are used by the highest officials, and silver-mounted wares by the middle level and the imperial household officials." These texts indicate that not only were lacquer vessels widely used in royal and noble households, they were also exquisitely beautiful. Two lacquered *pan* dating to the Wang Mang interregnum (beginning of first century A.D.) from Pyongyang are inscribed, stating that they belonged with *pan* Nos. 1,450-4,000[27] and 2,173-3,000[28] respectively. Hence there must have been thousands of *pan*-vessels alone in use in the royal kitchens in the Changlegong, not to mention other vessel types (fig. 113). The astounding number of lacquered vessels in the royal household illustrates the extravagance and luxury of the lives of the Han ruling elite, as well as the advanced state of the lacquermanufacturing industry in the Han period.

Lacquerware Industry in the Han Dynasty In the Han period, lacquer articles were manufactured in many regions. It is important to note that many of these lacquer workshops were government managed. Lacquer wares found in an early Western Han tomb at Shitougang in Xicun, Guangzhou, were fire-branded with the characters "Pan yu" (fig. 114).[29] Fire-branded characters "Bu shan" and "Shi fu" were found on lacquer wares from the early Western Han tomb at Luobowan in Guixian, Guangxi.[30] Lacquer wares from the early Western Han tomb at Yinqueshan in Linyi, Shandong, were fire-branded with the names "Ju shi" and "Shi fu" (fig. 115).[31] Fire-branded characters "Cheng shi" and "Shi fu" appear on lacquer items from the early Western Han tombs at Mawangdui, Changsha and Fenghuangshan, Jiangling.[32] These characters in dicate that these lacquer wares were manufactured at Panyu in what was then Nanhai Prefecture (now Guangzhou), at Bushan in Yulin Prefecture (now Guiping in Guangxi), in Juxian in Chengyang Principality (now Juxian, Shandong), and in Chengdu in Shu Prefecture (now Chengdu). These were all administrative seats of prefectures or principalities. They also indicate that these early Western Han lacquer goods were manufactured under the supervision of the Shi Fu, that is, the local department of commerce and handicraft. As the lacquer industry of Sichuan was especially prosperous, large numbers of lacquer goods from Chengdu were sold as far away as Changsha and Jiangling.

Among the numerous lacquer wares unearthed in 1977 from the early

Western Han tomb of the Marquis of Ruyin at Shuanggudui in Fuyangxian, Anhui Province, many carry incised inscriptions.[33] For example, a lacquered *zhi* is inscribed *"Zhi* belonging to the Marquis of Ruyin, capacity 5 *sheng*; made in the third year by the Ku official of Ruyin, named Ji, and the workman Nian." An inscription on a lacquered *pan* says, "Flat, fabric-cored *pan* belonging to the Marquis of Ruyin, diameter one [Chinese] foot three inches; made in the seventh year by the officer Hui and the workman Su." Some vessels are branded with "Ruyin" shopmarks, clearly indicating that they were made locally. References to the same officials and workshops on an inscribed bronze lamp from the same tomb at Fuyang indicate that as early as the beginning of Western Han, local lords often established their own workshops for the production of lacquered and other wares. Since their power extended over rather limited territories one workshop often served to produce all types of wares, and the same officials were put in charge of the production of different types of wares.

According to the "Treatise on Geography" in *Hanshu*, handicraft officials were established in modern-day Luoyang, Wuzhi, Yuxian, and Nanyang in Henan Province, in Zhangqiu and Tai'an in Shandong, in Chengdu and Zitong in Sichuan, and these were directly controlled by the central government. Government-controlled industries were probably founded during the reign of Emperor Jing Di and the early part of Emperor Wu Di's reign. *Hanshu*("Biography of Gong Yu") also records that the workshops in Shu and Guanghan prefectures of Sichuan manufactured both lacquered and gold and silver vessels. Most of the mid-Western Han to early Eastern Han lacquer goods found in Pyongyang, Noin Ula, and Qingzhen are inscribed with the names of the Shu and Guanghan workshops of Sichuan, confirming the textual records. Many of these also carry gilt or silvered bronze mounts, clearly illustrating what was maintained by *Hanshu.* The workshop of the prefecture of Shu was located in Chengdu and that of Guanghan was in Zitong, which was renamed Zitong during the Wang Mang Interregnum. Hence, lacquer goods made in these two workshops during the inter regnum were inscribed with "Chengdu Jun" and "Zitong Jun."[34]

As previously mentioned, the burials in Mawangdui (Changsha) and in Fenghuangshan (Jiangling) date from the early Western Han period, and many of the lacquer wares from these burials carry Chengdu workshop marks such as "Cheng shi" and "Shi fu." This evidence suggests that the locally controlled workshops at Chengdu had, by the midWestern Han period,

already passed under the direct control of the central government. These government-controlled workshops at Shu and Guanghan in Sichuan were mainly responsible for the supply of lacquer goods to the royal court and high officials' households; those lacquer goods inscribed with "Cheng yu" were used specifically by the emperor. The discovery of these lacquer wares as far away as Qingzhen, Pyongyang, and Noin Ula probably indicates they were imperial gifts to officials guarding the frontiers, to the leaders of minority groups, or to foreigners.

The lacquer wares from Qingzhen, Noin Ula, and Pyongyang all carry detailed and dated inscriptions. The earliest is dated 85 B.C., the latest, A.D. 102. These inscriptions mention the year of manufacture, the name of the workshop, the type of vessel and its capacity, and the names of officials and workmen involved; thus, they provide detailed information on the organization of the two largest lacquer workshops at Shu and Guanghan and on the actual processes of production. The inscription on a lacquered cup unearthed in Qingzhen in Guizhou may be given as an example:

In the third year of reign period Yuan Shi [of Emperor Ping Di, A.D. 3], the Guanghan Prefecture official workshop manufactured this Cheng yu lacquered, incised, painted, wood-cored, yellow ear-cup, with a capacity of one *sheng*, sixteen yue. It was manufactured by Sugong Chang, Xiugong Li, Shanggong Jie, Tong'erhuangtugong Chang, Huagong Fang, Diaogong Ping, Qinggong Kuang, Zaogong Zhong, under the supervision of Hugongzushi Yun, Shou Chang Yin, Cheng Feng, Yuan Lin, Shoulingshi Tan.

From the list of craftsmen named, we can see that there was detailed division of labor between the various workmen and the different stages of lacquer produc tion. First comes the "Sugong," who made the wood core(he would not be mentioned if a fabric core was used); then the "Xiugong" who applied the lacquer. He is followed by the "Shanggong," who was also responsible for the application of lacquer, but in contrast to the "Xiugong," he applied the final layers. It has been argued that the Shanggong attached bronze parts, but since his name also appeared on lacquer items without bronze parts, this interpretation cannot stand. The Shanggong is followed by the workman responsible for gilding the bronze handles of the plate or pot, the "Tong'erhuangtugong"; then the workman who painted the decoration, called the "Huagong." The job of the "Diaogong" has been greatly disputed,

and he has been thought to have been responsible for carving decor ation and inscriptions on the lacquers. However, although many lacquer wares from Dafentou in Yunmeng, Hubei, did not have carved inscriptions, the word "diao," was still mentioned in the inventory tablet found in the grave.[35] Hence, it seems likely that his job involved not the carving of decorations or inscriptions but the final polishing and buffing of the lacquered surface to make it shine. He is followed by the "Qinggong" who makes sure it is cleaned—i.e., a kind of product inspector—and, finally, the "Zaogong," the general supervising foreman of the entire workshop. The order presented above suggests that the processes involved were as follows: (1) making of the core; (2) application of the base layers of lacquer; (3) application of top layers of lacquer; (4) attachment of metal parts; (5) painting the surface designs; (6) buffing;(7) final cleaning and inspection. In the earlier lacquer vessels dated to 85 B.C., the only stages named by the inscriptions were, lacquering, painting and buffing, but inscriptions dating from the reign of Cheng Di(late first century B.C.) included also the second lacquering process, the attachment of metal parts, and the final cleaning and inspection. This evidence suggests that the manufacturing process became increasingly more refined.

Among the lacquer wares from Pyongyang and Qingzhen with more complete inscriptions, two were made in A.D. 3 and two in A.D. 4 by the Guanghan workshop, and three were made in A.D. 3 and seven in A.D. 4 by the Shu workshop, as can be seen in table 1 and table 2. Looking at the seven lacquer vessels made by the Shu workshop in the year A.D. 4 alone, we notice that the names of the various workmen are different. Evidently, not only were there different workmen responsible for different stages of lacquer production, but there were also many different workmen trained in a given skill. In general, the largest numbers of workmen were employed in the application of lacquer, fol lowed in number by those in charge of adding bronze parts, painting the designs, and applying the final layers of lacquer. Polishers occupy a relatively small number, probably because the job is relatively simple. There must have been only a few inspectors and foremen, for the same inspector's name, Ping, appeared on all seven lacquers, while the same foreman's name, Zong, appeared on five of the seven lacquer pieces. This evidence supports our interpretation of their responsibilities (tables 1, 2).

We should note, however, that although there was a clear division of labor among the workmen, many workmen were capable of different jobs.

For instance, workman Tan applied the top layers of lacquer as well as painted in designs; the workman Feng carved wood cores, made bronze mounts, painted designs, and polished; the foreman Zong occasionally also helped with lacquer application. And based on information derived from known dated lacquers, each workman functioned over a considerable length of time. For example, the foreman Zong was in charge for eighteen years from 4 B.C. to A.D. 14; and the workman Feng, responsible for wood-core carving, painting, and polishing, worked for as long as twelve years, from 4 B.C. to A.D. 8.[36]

Table 1 Titles and Names of Workmen and Officials at the Government Lacquer Workshop at Guanghan Jun in the 3rd and 4th Years of the Reign Yuan Shi (A.D. 3-4) of Emperor Ping Di

Guanghan Jun Workshop	Lacquered cup of A.D. 3 (found in Qingzhen)	Lacquered cup of A.D. 3 (found in Qingzhen)	Lacquered tray of A.D. 4 (found in Qingzhen)	Lacquered cup of A.D. 4 (found in Pyongyang)
Sugong	Chang	Chang		
Xiugong	Li	Long	Ze	Xuan
Shanggong	Jie	Sun	Liang	Hu
Huangtugong	Chang	Hui	Wei	
Huagong	Fang		Yi	Wu
Diaogong	Ping	Ping	Ping	
Qinggong	Kuang	Kuang	Lang	
Zaogong	Zhong	Zhong		Ren
Hugong Zushi	Yun	Yun	Yun	Yun
Zhang	Yin	Yin	Qin	Qin
Cheng	Feng	Feng	Feng	Feng
Yuan	Lin	Lin	Zhong	Zhong
Ling Shi	Tan	Tan	Wan	Wan

表一：元始三年至四年广汉郡工官工人、官员名字表

广汉郡工官	素工	髹工	上工	黄涂工	画工	泪工	清工	造工	护工卒史	长	丞	掾	令史
元始三年漆杯（清镇）	昌	立	阶	常	方	平	匡	忠	恽	音	冯	林	谭
元始三年漆杯（清镇）	昌	隆	孙	惠		平	匡	忠	恽	音	冯	林	谭
元始四年漆盘（清镇）		则	良	伟	谊	平	郎		恽	亲	冯	忠	万
元始四年漆杯（平壤）		玄	护		武			仁	恽	亲	冯	忠	万

Table 2 Titles and Names of Workmen and Officials at the West Workshop of Shu Jun in the 3rd and 4th Years of the Reign Yuan Shi (A.D. 3-4) of Emperor Ping Di

West Workshop of Shu Jun	Lacquered cup of A.D. 3 (found in Qingzhen)	Lacquered cup of A.D. 3 (found in Pyongyang)	Lacquered cup of A.D. 3 (found in Pyongyang)	Lacquered box of A.D. 4 (found in Pyongyang)	Lacquered plate of A.D. 4 (found in Pyongyang)	Lacquered plate of A.D. 4 (found in Pyongyang)	Lacquered cup of A.D. 4 (found in Pyongyang)	Lacquered cup of A.D. 4 (found in Pyongyang)	Lacquered cup of A.D. 4 (found in Pyongyang)	Lacquered cup of A.D. 4 (found in Pyongyang)
Sugong	Feng	Feng	Jin				Yi	Yi	Yi	Yi
Xiugong	Jian	Gan	Ji	Lü	Gong	Shi	Shun	Zong	Li	Bian
Shanggong	Chang	Tan	Qin	Huo	Zhou	Tan	Kuang	Huo	Dang	Kuang
Huangtugong	Wu	Chong	Wu	Gu	Wei	Feng	Gui	Gui	Gu	Gui
Huagong	Dian	Tan	Feng	Qin	Fu	Zhang	Cen	Meng	Ding	Feng
Diaogong	Wan	Rong	Yi	Rong	Feng	Rong	Rong	Feng	Feng	Zhong
Qinggong	Zheng	Zheng	Zheng	Ping	Ping	Ping	Ping	Ping	Ping	Ping
Zaogong	?	Yi	Yi	Zong	Zong	Zong	Zong	Yi	Zong	Yi
Hugong Zushi	Zhang	Zhang	Zhang	Zhang	Zhang	Zhang	Zhang	Zhang	Zhang	Zhang
Zhang	Liang	Liang	Liang	Liang	Liang	Liang	Liang	Liang	Liang	Liang
Cheng	Feng	Feng	Feng	Feng	Feng	Feng	Feng	Feng	Feng	Feng
Yuan	Long	Long	Long	Long	Long	Long	Long	Long	Long	Long
Ling Shi	Kuan	Kuan	Kuan	Bao	Bao	Bao	Bao	Bao	Bao	Bao

表二：元始三年至四年蜀郡西工工人、官员名字表

蜀郡西工	素工	髹工	上工	黄涂工	画工	涓工	清工	造工	护工卒史	长	丞	掾	令史
元始三年漆杯（清镇）	丰	建	常	武	典	万	政	?	章	良	凤	隆	宽
元始三年漆杯（平壤）	丰	赣	谭	充	谭	戎	政	宜	章	良	凤	隆	宽
元始三年漆杯（平壤）	禁	给	钦	武	丰	宜	政	宜	章	良	凤	隆	宽
元始四年漆盒（平壤）		吕	活	古	钦	戎	平	宗	章	良	凤	隆	褒
元始四年漆盘（平壤）		恭	周	威	辅	丰	平	宗	章	良	凤	隆	褒
元始四年漆盘（平壤）		石	谭	丰	张	戎	平	宗	章	良	凤	隆	褒
元始四年漆杯（平壤）	囟	顺	匡	段	岑	戎	平	宗	章	良	凤	隆	褒
元始四年漆杯（平壤）	囟	宗	活	段	孟	丰	平	宜	章	良	凤	隆	褒
元始四年漆杯（平壤）	囟	立	当	古	定	丰	平	宗	章	良	凤	隆	褒
元始四年漆杯（平壤）	囟	便	匡	段	丰	忠	平	宜	章	良	凤	隆	褒

In Han handicraft workshops, the workmen involved in actual production were often from one of three groups. The same division also

occurred in the Shu and Guanghan lacquer workshops. They consisted of (1) exiled peasant laborers, (2) convicts, and (3) skilled workmen, discussed in detail above. The first two groups were primarily responsible for all the odd jobs and the dirty work around the workshop. Although the workmen of the third group were distinguished by their special skills, they were nevertheless still slave-laborers, with no personal freedom, and hence were hardly different from the other two groups.

Lacquer inscriptions also tell us that there were five administrative posts attached to the lacquer workshops at Shu and Guanghan. They are:(1) the Zhang, the chief administrator, and (2) the Cheng, his assistant, with positions and salaries comparable to those of district magistrates and assistant magistrates respectively; (3) the Yuan, their subordinate, whose job was to see that orders were carried out properly (i.e., a type of executive officer); (4) the Ling Shi, in charge of paperwork; and (5) the Hugong Zushi, or head supervisor. This last rank was generally used for rather ordinary supervisory posts throughout the Han administrative system, but since he was sent directly by the prefectural government, and answerable only to it, he possessed authority and power even above the chief administrator (Zhang), and his name was therefore usually placed first in the inscriptions.[37] In the inscription dated to 85 B.C., the name of the head supervisor (Hugong Zushi) was listed after those of the chief and assistant administrators; only in inscriptions dated 23 B.C. and later did his name appear at the head of the list, and this order of listing became the rule thereafter. This development suggests that the central government had tightened its grip over the workshops at Shu and Guanghan from the time of Cheng Di on (late first century B.C.).

As shown in the tables, four lacquer items from Pyongyang and Qingzhen were produced by the Guanghan workshop and ten were produced by the Shu work shop between A.D. 3 and 4. We can also see that the names of the five adminis trators continue to show up, clearly indicating that there was only one person attached to each administrative post. But on lacquer wares made in more widely separated years, different names usually appear, suggesting that, in contrast to the workmen, who worked in the shops for long years, there was higher turnover in the administrative posts. One Zhang is known to have been in office from A.D. 3 to 8—even so, no more than six years—while other administrators were often transferred after one or two years.

Besides the Shu and Guanghan workshops, lacquer wares were also made at the official workshops at the Western Han capital of Chang'an(modern Xi'an). Some of the lacquers found in Wuwei, Gansu, and in Pyongyang, Korea, have inscriptions stating they were made by "Kaogong," "Yougong," or "Gonggong." Kaogong and Yougong were workshops under the Department of Imperial Household Supplies; Gonggong is believed by some to be another name for Kaogong, or it may be another workshop under the same department. These Chang'an workshops manufactured both bronze and lacquer vessels. These lacquer inscriptions contain terms for various workmen specializing in painting, polishing, and gilding, but usually only a single workman's name is given—the name of the workman comparable to the foreman in the Shu and Guanghan workshops. Among the officials at the workshop were "Ling," "You Cheng," "Yuan," "Ling Shi," and "Se Fu." Some of these titles refer to responsible officials, but only You Cheng were in charge of lacquer working. The relatively few finds from Chang'an workshops suggest that they might have not been as productive as the Shu and Guanghan workshops.

A passage in the "Biography of He Xi Empress Deng" in *Hou Hanshu,* relates: "In A.D. 105, the metal-mounted vessels of Shu and Guanghan and the long swords with silken sashes are no longer available." This may indicate that these two famous Sichuan workshops had stopped supplying lacquer wares to the court. As mentioned earlier, the latest inscription on the lacquers found at Pyongyang is dated A.D. 102. This date corresponds well to the *Hou Hanshu* comment. From these data, we may assume that the government-controlled lacquer industry was already in decline from mid-Eastern Han on, its place taken by the privately owned workshops controlled by the local warlords and wealthy landowners.

To summarize, the lacquer industry that began its rapid development only in the Warring States period reached its height in Han. As with all things that have reached their zenith, the lacquer industry's decline was inevitable. There were many different types of lacquered wares, and the superb quality and beauty of the lacquered food and wine vessels had made them more desirable than bronze vessels. But from the time of the late Eastern Han, Wei, and Jin dynasties, celadon wares became increasingly popular and in many instances came to replace lacquer wares. However, lacquer techniques still continued to develop and advance throughout the post-Han periods.

肆　汉代的漆器

考古发掘工作说明，早在新石器时代，中国可能已经有了漆器。1978年，在浙江省余姚县的河姆渡遗址中发现了许多木器。其中有一件木碗，里外施朱红色涂料，色泽鲜艳，其物理性能与漆相同。[1]经放射性碳素测定，河姆渡遗址的年代距今约七千年。上述的木碗，其涂料如果的确是漆，那末它便是中国迄今发现的最早的漆器。

到了商代，漆器上的花纹和装饰已经相当精致。1973年，在河北省藁城县台西村的商代中期遗址里，发现了许多漆器的残片，可以辨认的器形有盘、盒之类，它们是朱红色地，黑色花纹，纹样有饕餮纹、焦叶纹、云雷纹、夔纹等，与铜器上的花纹相似，有的还镶嵌着绿松石，有的则贴金箔，作为装饰。在商代后期都城遗址——河南省安阳市小屯村的殷墟，也常常发现漆器的残迹，可惜由于保存情况不好，器形和纹饰已不清楚。[2]总之，可以肯定的是，商代的漆器已经相当发达。在商文化的影响下，边远地区也出现了漆器。例如，1977年在辽宁省敖汉旗大甸子的夏家店下层文化的墓葬中也发现了二件朱红色的漆器，外形保存得比较完好，有些像商代的觚。[3]经放射性碳素测定，大甸子遗址的年代距今约三千五百年。上述的二件觚形的漆器，可以说是迄今发现的年代最早的器形保持比较完整的漆器。

属于西周时代的漆器，在考古发掘工作中也有发现。例如，1964年在河南省洛阳庞家沟发掘的西周早期墓和1956年在同省陕县上村岭发掘的西周晚期或东周早期的虢国墓里，都发现了漆器。它们的共同的特点是用蚌壳制成的圆泡镶嵌，作为装饰。1953年在陕西省长安县普渡村发掘的西周早期墓中，也发现过类似的镶有蚌泡的漆器的残迹。[4]

漆器制造业的进一步迅速发展，突飞猛进，是在战国时代。新中国成立前在湖南省的长沙和河南省的洛阳，新中国成立后在湖南省的长沙、湖北省的江陵和随县、河南省的信阳、四川省的成都等地的战国墓中都发现了大量的漆器，保存情况良好。[5]它们的种类，除了器皿以外，还包括各种家具、丧葬用具、乐器以及兵器上的附件等等，说明了漆器已被广泛应用于社会生活的各个方面。就器皿来说，战国初期的漆器多系木胎，厚重有余，轻巧不足。从战国中期以后，漆器的胎壁有系用薄木片制成的，而且开始有了夹纻胎。到了战国晚期，有时在薄胎的漆器上镶铜扣，其上镀金银，不仅加强了器物的牢固，而且增进了它们的精致和美观。漆器上的花纹，也绘描得十分富丽和精美。总之，无论

从哪一方面来说，战国时代的漆器已经达到了很高的水平。汉代的漆器，便是在战国时代的基础上进一步发展起来的。

汉代的漆器，发现地点甚多。举其主要者而言，新中国成立前在朝鲜的平壤、蒙古的诺音乌拉发现的漆器，数量多，保存好，且多有纪年的铭文，研究价值很高。[6]新中国成立以后，在河南省的洛阳、山东省的文登、江苏省的盐城和连云港、浙江省的宁波、湖南省的长沙、广东省的广州、贵州省的清镇、甘肃省的武威等地的汉墓中，都有漆器出土，有的已经朽坏，有的保存尚好，[7]而清镇和武威的漆器有详细的纪年铭文，可以与朝鲜境内发现的漆器相比较。最近十多年来，各地汉墓出土漆器，更是不胜枚举；广西壮族自治区的合浦和贵县、江苏省的海州、山东省的临沂、河北省的满城、安徽省的阜阳等地的汉墓中都发现了许多漆器。[8]特别要提出来的是，长沙马王堆、江陵凤凰山、云梦大坟头汉墓中随葬的漆器，数量大，种类多，保存极好，往往完美如新，为研究汉代漆器提供了新的珍贵的材料（图95—98）。[9]

汉代漆器的胎质，主要有木胎与夹纻胎二种（图99）。另外也有竹胎的，但很少（图100）。根据对出土实物的观察，并作了一些模拟试验，了解了器胎的制作方法。[10]木胎的制法大概有三种：一种是用轮旋刮削的方法制成器物的外壁，然后再剜空其内部，鼎、盒、壶、盂等圆形器物多用此法（图101）。一种是用割削、剜凿的方法制成，而未经轮旋，杯、匜、钫、案等非圆形器物用此法（图102）。另一种是用几块薄木片卷曲成弧形的器壁，用木钉拼接成一个圆筒，另接器底；有些直壁的圆筒状器如樽、奁等即用此法。用后一种方法制成的木胎，要用麻布裱起来，然后再涂漆，使得不露接缝。夹纻胎是先用木头或泥土制成器型，作为内模，然后用多层麻布或缯帛附于内模上，干实以后，去掉内模，便剩下麻布或缯帛的夹纻胎，这便是所谓“脱胎”。一般说来，西汉前期以木胎漆器为多。安徽阜阳双古堆汉墓中的二十余件漆器，夹纻胎的虽然将近半数，但长沙马王堆一号汉墓中共有一百八十多件漆器，夹纻胎的仅有少数卮、奁等器而已。西汉中期以后，如长沙、满城、清镇、平壤等处的遗品所见，木胎漆器虽然仍不少，但杯、盘、卮、盒、奁等器物用夹纻胎的颇有增多。

在漆器上施花纹，有下列几种方法：一种是漆绘，用生漆制成半透明的漆液，加上各种颜料，绘描于已经涂漆的器物上，色泽光亮，不易脱落，大多数漆器的花纹都用此法绘描。一种是油彩，用油汁（可能是桐油）调颜料，绘描于已经涂漆的器物上，所绘花纹往往因油脂年久老化，易于脱落。[11]一种是针刻，用针尖在已经涂漆的器物上刺刻花纹，长沙马王堆三号墓出土的竹简记录着这种技法在当时称为“锥画”。[12]值得注意的是，湖北省光化汉墓中的二件漆卮有针刻的虎、兔、鸟等动物

纹及流云纹的纹样，在刺刻出来的线条内填入金彩，产生了类似铜器上金银错的花纹的效果。[13]此外，还有一种方法是用金、银箔制成各种图纹，贴在器物的漆面上，呈现了类似“金银平脱”的效果（图103）。[14]

汉代漆器上所描花纹的纹样，最常见的有图案化的龙凤纹、云气纹、花草纹，也有各种几何形纹，以及许多近于写实的兽类、鸟类和鱼类的图纹（图104、105）。总的说来，纹样的特点是细致而流利。西汉前期的漆器，花纹富丽而复杂；东汉的漆器，其花纹则显得比较简单。朝鲜平壤附近出土的个别东汉的漆器有神仙及孝子等人物故事画[15]，虽系很少见的特殊的例子，却代表了一种新的作风，而江苏海州侍其繇墓的发现则又说明这种以人物故事为题材的漆器图纹早在西汉中晚期即已存在（图106、107）。[16]金银箔贴的纹样，如长沙、合浦、连云港等处的遗品所见，有飞禽、走兽、车马、人物及各种几何图案，可以说是丰富多彩。[17]

从战国晚期以来，特别是西汉中期以后，在盘、樽、盒、奁等漆器的口沿上镶有镀金或镀银的铜箍，在漆杯的双耳上镶有镀金的铜壳。这就是《盐铁论》中的所谓“银口黄耳”，也就是《后汉书·和熹邓皇后纪》中的所谓“扣器”。东汉时，有些漆器如盒和奁的盖上附有柿蒂形铜饰，同时镶嵌水晶或琉璃珠，在洛阳和平壤曾发现过这样的遗物（图108）。[18]

漆器的耐用程度相当高。在贵州省的清镇，西汉时制作的漆器在东汉的墓中出土，便说明了这一问题。在平壤石岩里的一座西汉墓中，始元二年（公元前85年）的漆杯与元始三年（公元3年）的漆杯共存[19]，说明了前者至少被保存达八十余年之久。

总之，汉代的漆器制作精巧，色彩鲜艳，花纹优美，装饰精致，而又相当耐用，是当时最珍贵的日用器物，而其价值之高昂也就不言而喻。所以，《盐铁论》说“一文杯得铜杯十”，又说“一杯棬用百人之力，一屏风就万人之功”。

由于漆器珍贵，所以当时的贵族和官僚们往往在漆器上书写姓氏或官爵之类的文字，作为所有权的标志。例如：朝鲜平壤王盱墓和王光墓中的漆杯有“利王”和“王氏牢”字样[20]，山西省阳高耿婴墓中的漆杯有“耿”字[21]，湖南省长沙刘骄墓中的漆盘有“杨主家般”字样[22]，长沙杨家山传“王后冢”出土的漆盘有“杨主家般、今长沙王后家般”字样[23]，长沙马王堆轪侯利苍家属墓中的许多漆器都有“轪侯家”字样（图109）[24]，等等。有些漆器书写“上林”字样（图110），说明它们曾是上林苑宫观中所用之物[25]；有的漆器则刻有“大官”、“汤官”字样，说明它们本是少府属官中主管皇家膳食的官署所藏之器[26]。有些漆器上还书写着有关器物的用途的文字，如马王堆汉墓出土的许多杯、盘等器都书有“君幸

酒”、“君幸食”（图111、112），宁波汉墓中的漆杯也有“宜酒”的字样，它们都兼有祝福吉祥的意思。

汉代统治阶级日常所用的饮食器皿，往往是带有金银装饰的漆器。《汉书·贡禹传》说：“尝从之东宫（长乐宫），见赐杯案，尽文画金银饰。”《盐铁论·散不足》说：“今富者银口黄耳，金错蜀杯。”《汉旧仪》说：“大官令尚食，用黄金扣器；中官长、私官长尚食，用白银扣器。”以上说明，当时宫廷和贵族所用的器皿，主要是漆器，而漆器的制作又是如何的精致。朝鲜平壤附近出土的二件新莽时期的漆盘，在底部分别刻有“常乐大官，始建国元年正月受，第千四百五十至四千”[27]和“常乐大官，始建国元年正月受，第二千一百七十三至三千”[28]字样，说明在当时的长乐宫（新莽时改称“常乐室”）中主管皇家膳食的官署中所用的漆器，仅漆盘一种，即达数千件，其数量之多到了惊人的程度（图113）。这说明了统治阶级的奢侈和铺张，同时也说明漆器制造业的发达。

在汉代，许多地方都出产漆器。值得注意的是，制造漆器的手工业作坊有很多是官营的。广州西村石头冈西汉初年墓中的漆器有“番禺”的烙印（图114）[29]，广西贵县罗泊湾西汉初期墓中的漆器有“布山”、“市府”的烙印[30]，山东临沂银雀山西汉前期墓中的漆器有“莒市”、“市府”等烙印（图115）[31]，长沙马王堆和江陵凤凰山西汉前期墓中的漆器有“成市”、“市府”等烙印[32]。这说明了这些漆器是分别在南海郡的番禺（今广州）、郁林郡的布山（今广西桂平）、城阳国的莒县（今山东莒县）和蜀郡的成都（今成都）制造的，它们都是郡国的治所所在地；同时也说明了在西汉前期，漆器是由这些城市中主管商业和手工业的官府——“市府”经管的。由于四川的漆器制造业特别兴盛，所以成都的产品大量地远销到长沙和江陵。

1977年在安徽省阜阳县双古堆发掘的西汉初年的汝阴侯墓中出土了许多漆器，其中有不少器物刻有铭文。[33]例如：有一件漆卮，其铭文为“女（汝）阴侯卮容五升，三年女阴库己、工年造”。又有一件漆盘，其铭文为“女阴侯布平盘，径尺三寸，七年吏讳、工速造”。铭文中的“库己”、“吏讳”是汝阴侯国中掌管财务和器材的官吏，“己”、“讳”是他们的名字；“工年”、“工速”是制器的工人，“年”、“速”是他们的名字。有些器物还烙有“女阴”字样的戳记，表明它们的制作地点便在汝阴（今安徽阜阳）。汝阴侯墓中还出土许多铜器，其中的一件铜灯有铭文，表明它也是“库己”和“工年”所造。由此可见，在西汉初期，分封在各地的诸侯王和列侯也有自设手工业作坊以制造各种器物的，其中包括漆器。侯国规模不大，所以它的手工业作坊是综合性的，有关的官员同时管理着漆器和铜器等其他器物的制造。

据《汉书·地理志》记载，汉朝在河南郡（治所在今洛阳）、河内郡的怀县（今河南武陟）、颍川郡的阳翟县（今河南禹县）、南阳郡的宛县（今河南南阳）、济南郡的东平陵县（今山东章丘）、泰山郡及其属县奉高（今山东泰安）、蜀郡的成都县（今成都），广汉郡（治所在今四川梓潼）及其所属雒县（今四川广汉）设有工官，由中央政府直接控制。这些工官的设置，大概是在景帝至武帝的前期。《汉书·贡禹传》说："蜀、广汉主金银器，岁各用五百万。"如淳注："地理志，河内怀、蜀郡成都、广汉皆有工官，工官主作漆器物者也。"可见蜀郡和广汉郡的工官制造金银器，同时也制造漆器。在平壤、诺音乌拉、清镇发现的西汉中期至东汉前期的大多数漆器，都在铭文中记明它们是蜀郡和广汉郡工官的产品，从而证实了上述史书的记载。漆器上多镶有镀金或镀银的铜扣，正说明蜀郡、广汉郡的工官也制作金银器。蜀郡的治所在成都，广汉郡的治所在梓潼（新莽时改为子同），所以在新莽时期的漆器铭文中称蜀郡工官为"成都郡工官"、称广汉郡工官为"子同郡工官"。[34]

前面曾经说过，长沙马王堆汉墓和江陵凤凰山汉墓的年代属西汉前期，墓中随葬的漆器有许多烙有"成市"、"市府"的戳记，说明它们是成都县市府所属作坊的产品。因此，可以认为，西汉前期由成都市府经管的漆器制造业，到了西汉中期已经归中央政府直接控制了。蜀郡和广汉郡工官所制的漆器，主要是供宫廷中使用；有的漆器在铭文中有"乘舆"字样，正说明它们是皇帝的御用品。这些漆器在清镇、平壤、诺音乌拉等地出土，大概是由于当时的朝廷用它们来赏赐边郡的官吏和少数民族的首领，或赠送给外国。

平壤、诺音乌拉、清镇出土的漆器，有详细的纪年铭文，年代最早的为西汉昭帝始元二年（公元前85年），最晚为东汉和帝永元十四年（公元102年）。铭文中记录着制作的年份、工官的名称、器物的名称和容量、制器工人和各级官员的名字，由此可以了解蜀郡和广汉郡工官的组织体制和制作漆器的工序。兹举贵州省清镇出土的一件漆杯的铭文为例：

元始三年，广汉郡工官造乘舆髹洀画木黄耳杯，容一升十六龠；素工昌、休工立、上工阶、铜耳黄涂工常、画工方、洀工平、清工匡、造工忠造，护工卒史恽、守长音、丞冯、掾林、守令史谭主。

从铭文中可以看出，工人按工作性质不同，分为"素工"、"髹

工”、“上工”、“铜耳黄涂工”、“画工”、“洀工”、“清工”、“造工”。“素工”是制木胎的工人；如系夹纻器，则不用“素工”。“髹工”是漆工。“上工”有时作“汜工”，可见也是漆工，它与“髹工”的区别可能在于“髹工”是初步涂漆，“上工”是进一步涂漆。有人认为“上工”是镶嵌铜扣的工人，但不镶铜扣的漆器在铭文中也有“上工”，可见此说不可信。“铜耳黄涂工”的任务是在漆杯所镶的铜耳上镀金；如系镶有铜箍的漆盘和漆壶等，则铭文中称“铜扣黄涂工”。“画工”是在器物上画花纹的。“洀工”的性质曾引起许多争论，但看来以系“雕工”的可能性为大，其任务或认为在于雕刻花纹和铭文。但是，有些漆器并无雕刻的花纹，而铭文中仍有“洀工”的名字；湖北省云梦大坟头汉墓中的许多漆器没有雕刻的铭文，但该墓的“赗方”中仍称它们的“髹洀画盂”等等[35]，可见“洀”字的意义不在于雕刻花纹或铭文，可能是指在漆器上精心刮摩，使其发生光泽。“清工”是将制成的漆器加以修整、洗净，实际上负有检验产品的责任，也可以说是检验工。“造工”则是工场中的工人主任。各种不同工种的工人名字在铭文中的排列次序，说明了制造漆器的工序先后是制木胎，初步涂漆，进一步涂漆，镶铜耳或铜扣，绘描花纹，刮摩使发光泽，最后加以修整、洗净，经过检验，全部制作过程乃告结束。在年代较早的始元二年（公元前85年）的漆器铭文中，工人只有“髹工”、“画工”和“洀工”，只是在成帝以后的漆器铭文中才增加了“上工”、“黄涂工”与“清工”。这可能是说明起初分工较简单，到后来才越分越细。

在平壤和清镇出土的铭文较完整的漆器中，属于元始三年（公元3年）广汉郡工官制造的共有二件，元始四年（公元4年）广汉郡工官制造的共有二件，元始三年蜀郡西工制造的共有三件，元始四年蜀郡西工制造的共有七件。以同属元始四年蜀郡西工所造的七件漆器为例，各器的髹工、上工、黄涂工、画工的名字各不相同，可见在工场中不仅有着许多不同工种的工人，而且同一工种的工人也各有多人。总的说来，髹工人数最多，这是由于髹漆的任务最为繁重。上工、黄涂工、画工人数

亦较多，但次于髹工。洀工人数较少，可能是由于刮摩漆器比较容易之故。值得注意的是，七件漆器的清工都是“平”，其中五件的造工都是“宗”，说明了清工和造工的人数最少，从而也进一步说明了清工是检验工，造工是工人主任（见表一、表二）。

值得注意的是，工场中虽有明确的分工，但工人们却往往兼有各种技能。例如工人谭既能任上工，又能做画工；工人丰既是素工，又兼任黄涂工、画工和洀工；造工宗有时也兼任髹工。从全部有纪年的漆器铭文看来，工人们的任期相当长。例如：造工宗自建平三年（公元前4年）至天凤元年（公元14年），任职达十八年；素工兼画工和洀工丰自建平三年（公元前4年）至居摄三年（公元8年），任职达十二年之久。[36]

据铭文所见，蜀郡和广汉郡工官中的官吏职称有“护工卒史”、“长”、“丞”、“掾”、“令史”等。“长”是工官中主要的行政负责官员，“丞”是他的副职，他们的地位和待遇相当于县长和县丞。“掾”是“长”、“丞”之下的办事官吏，“令史”则是掌管文书的官吏。汉代在官营手工业作坊中从事生产劳动的人，往往有卒、徒、工匠三种，蜀郡和广汉郡工官的作坊当亦不在例外。卒是被迫服徭役的民夫，徒是罪犯，他们在工场中都担任粗杂工；工匠即上述的素工、髹工、上工、黄涂工、洀工、清工和造工，他们有专门的技术，但也没有人身自由。“护工卒史”是监督工官的官员，其监视的对象自然也包括人数众多的卒、徒和工匠。但是，就“护工卒史”这一职称来说，“卒史”是一种官吏的名称，“护工”则是他的具体任务。汉代九卿及郡太守的属吏都有“卒史”。被派到工官中担任监督职务的卒史，则称“护工卒史”。一般卒史的秩位不高，但“护工卒史”为少府所派，在工官中居监视、督察的职位，权力很大，所以在漆器铭文中列名于长、丞之前而居于首位。[37]在始元二年（公元前85年）的漆器铭文中，护工卒史名在长、丞之后，只是在阳朔二年（公元前23年）的漆器铭文中才开始将护工卒史之名列于首位，以后乃成为定制。这说明了大概从成帝以后，中央政府对蜀郡和广汉郡工官的控制进一步加强了。

如前所述，平壤和清镇出土的元始三年和四年广汉郡工官所造的漆器共四件，元始三年和四年蜀郡西工所造的漆器共十件。值得注意的是，各器铭文中所见“护工卒史”、“长”、“丞”、“掾”、“令史”的名字几

乎完全相同，这就说明了工官中的各种官吏每职只有一人。但是，在不同年份的漆器铭文中所见的官员名字则往往不相同，从而说明了与工匠们的任期甚长相反，各种官吏是常常更换的，任期很短，任免频繁。任职年限较长的护工卒史章，自元始三年（公元3年）至居摄三年（公元8年），前后亦不过六年。其他的官员，往往有任职才一二年即被更替的。

除了蜀郡和广汉郡的工官以外，设在首都长安的工官亦制作漆器；甘肃武威和朝鲜平壤出土的一部分漆器在铭文中记明系“考工”、“右工”、“供工”所制，即是例证。“考工”和“右工”都系少府属下的工官；“供工”可能即系“考工”，也可能是另一工官，但亦应系属少府管辖。这些设在长安的工官，既制造铜器，亦制造漆器。所制漆器的铭文表明，作坊中的工人亦有画工、洀工、涂工等分工，但在铭文中却往往只举一人之名，作为代表，此人即相当于蜀郡和广汉郡工官中的造工。工官中的官员有“令”、“右丞”、“掾”、“令史”、“啬夫”等，“令”和“左丞”、“右丞”是负责的官员，但主管漆器制造的是“右丞”。从考古发现的情形看来，长安工官的产品可能不如蜀郡和广汉郡工官的产品多。

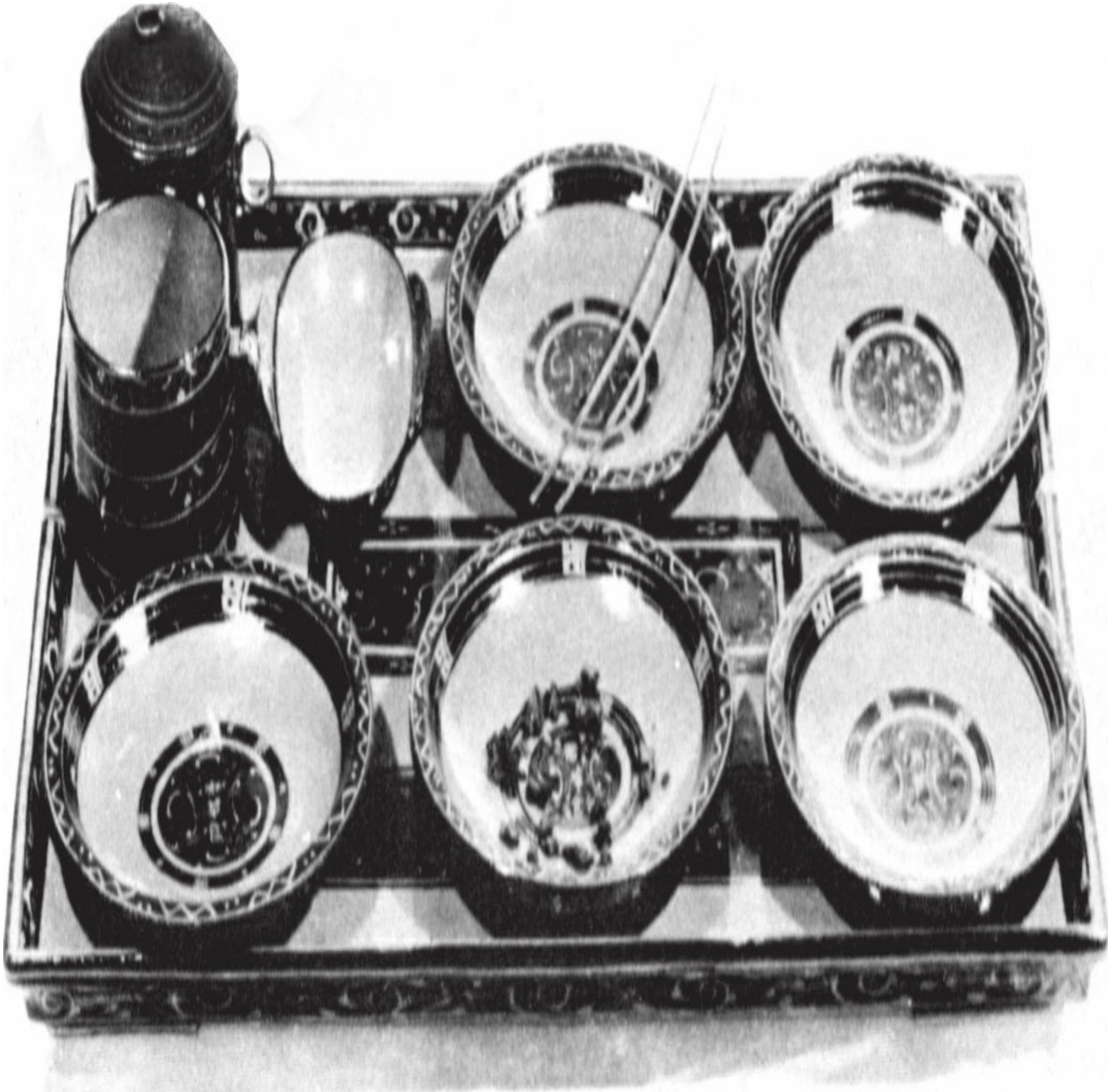
《后汉书·和熹邓皇后纪》：“元兴元年（公元105年）……，其蜀汉扣器、九带佩刀，并不复调。”这可能说明，蜀郡和广汉郡工官从此不再为宫廷制造漆器了。前面已经说过，在朝鲜平壤地区发现的大量有纪年铭文的漆器中，年代最晚的为永元十四年（公元102年），这一事实正与上述《后汉书·和熹邓皇后纪》的记载相符。因此，可以推测，到了东汉中期以后，官营的漆器制造业可能已经衰落，代之而起的则是由各地豪强地主经营的私营手工业。

总之，从战国时代开始突飞猛进的漆器制造业，在汉代度过了它的黄金时代。但是，与任何事物一样，漆器制造业也是盛极而衰。漆器种类很多，其中属于饮食器皿的一类漆器曾因它具有一定的优越性而取代了青铜器。但是，到了东汉以后的魏晋时代，青瓷器兴起，漆制的器皿有相当一部分逐渐被瓷器所取代。当然，就制作技术而言，在汉以后的各个时期中，各类漆器仍然不断在发展，不断在进步。

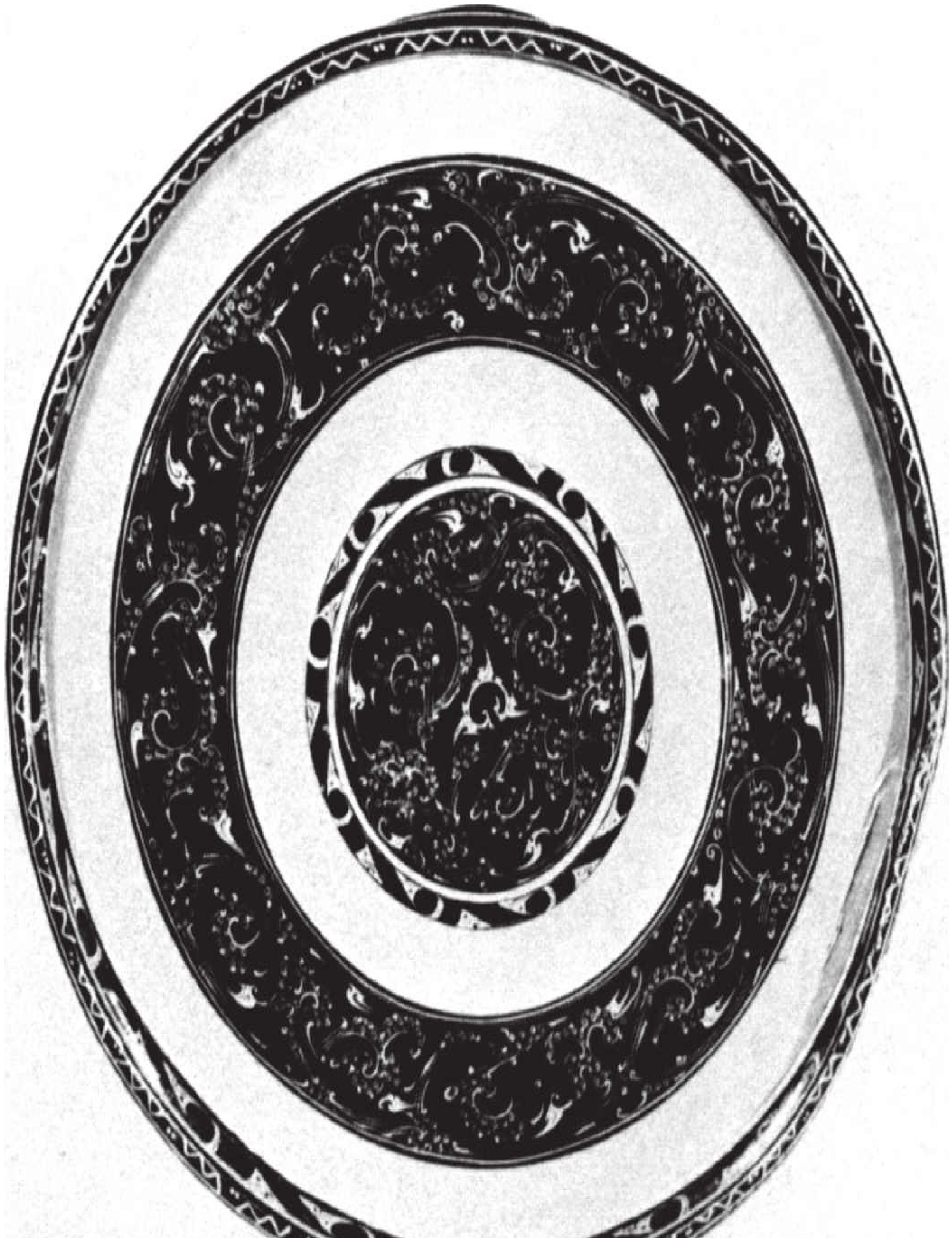
95．Lacquered ding-tripod unearthed from Han tomb number 1 at Ma wangdui, Changsha　长沙马王堆汉墓一号墓出土的漆鼎

96．Lacquered box from Mawangdui Han tomb number 1　马王堆汉墓一号墓出土的漆盒

97．Lacquered boxes for toilet articles from Mawangdui Han tomb number 1　马王堆汉墓一号墓出土的漆奁



98．Lacquered tray and plates from Mawangdui Han tomb number 1　马王堆汉墓一号墓出土的漆案和漆盘

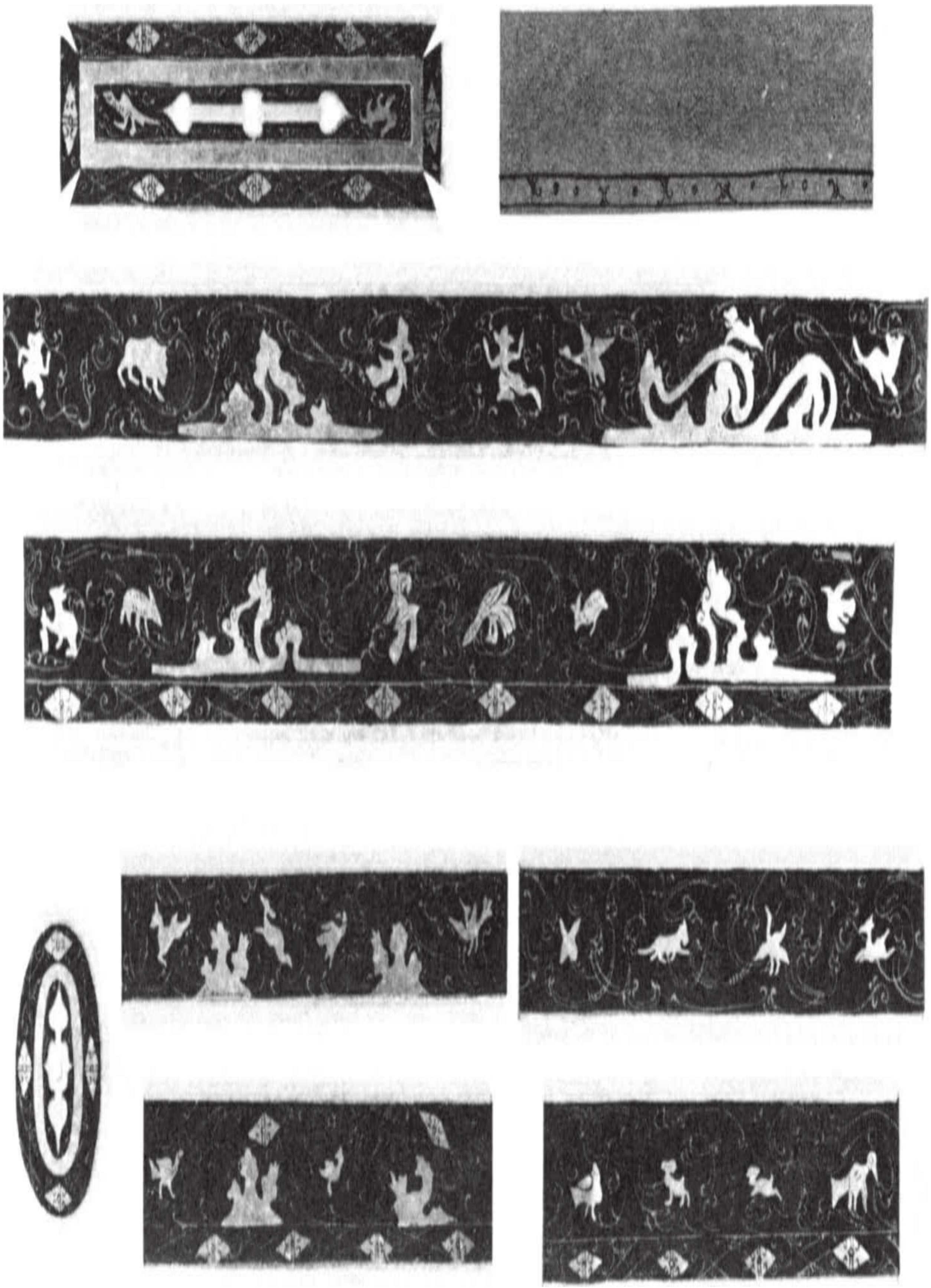


99．Lacquered plate with fabric core from Mawangdui Han tomb number 1　马王堆汉墓一号墓出土的夹纻胎漆盘

100．Lacquered ladles with bamboo cores from Mawangdui Han tomb number 1　马王堆汉墓一号墓出土的竹胎漆勺

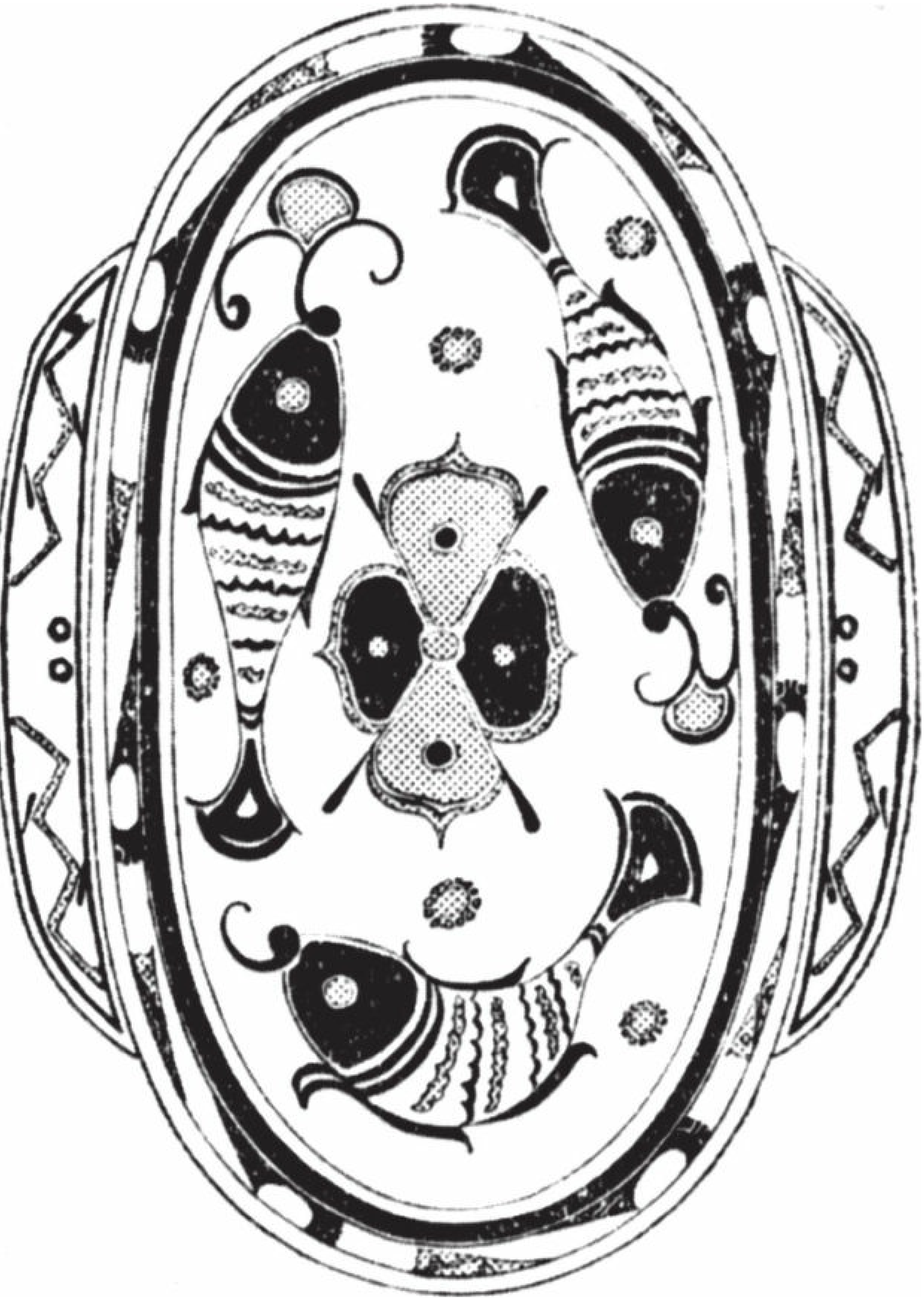
101．Lacquered *hu* from Mawangdui Han tomb number 1　马王堆汉墓一号墓出土的漆壶

102．Lacquered *fang*-vessel from Mawangdui Han tomb number 1　马王堆汉墓一号墓出土的漆钫



103．Designs of silver sheets attached to lacquerware unearthed from a Han tomb in Lianyungang, Jiangsu　江苏连云港汉墓出土漆器的贴银箔花纹

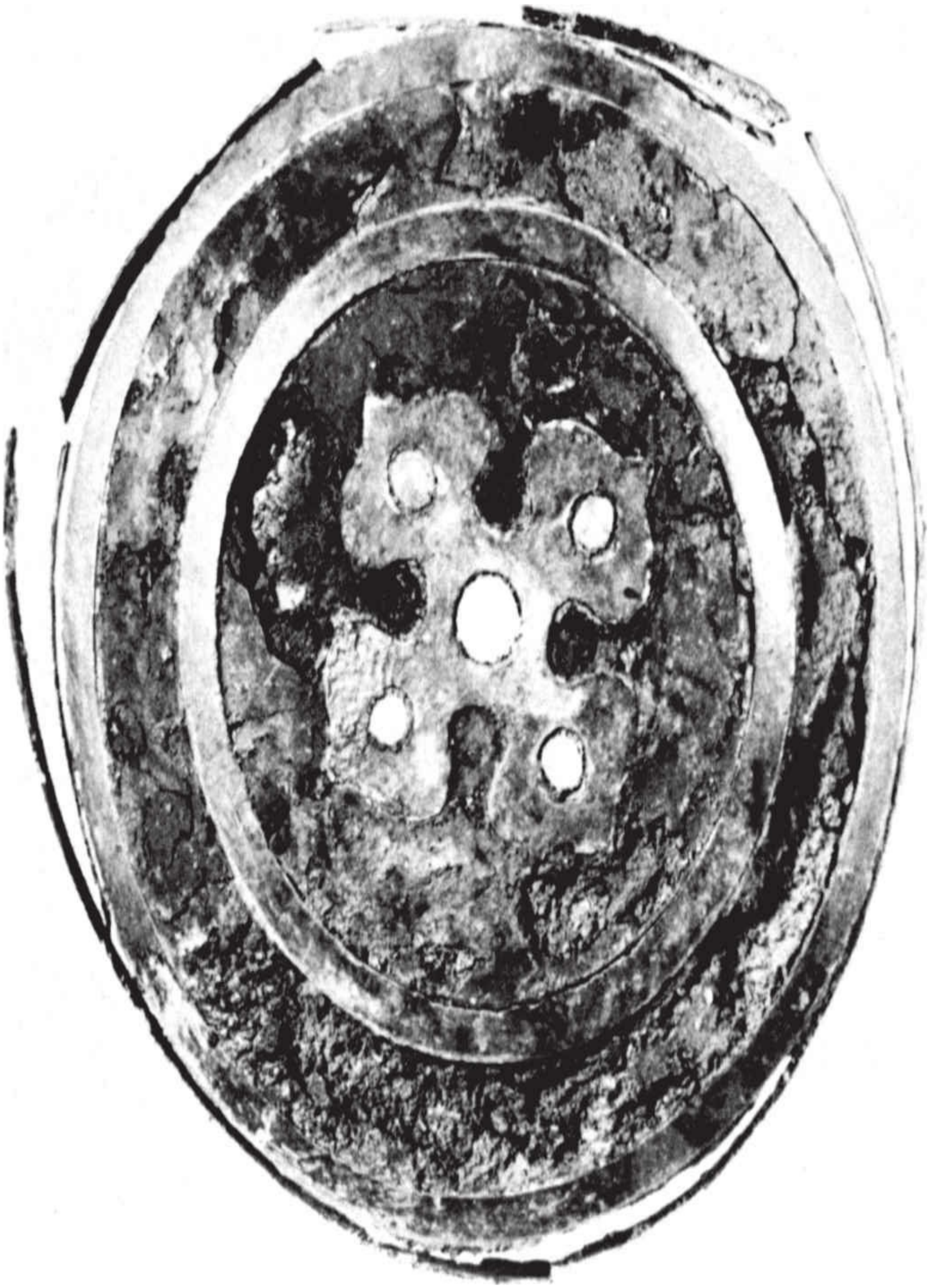
104．Animal designs on lacquerware unearthed from a Han tomb near Pyongyang, Korea　朝鲜平壤出土漆器的动物图案



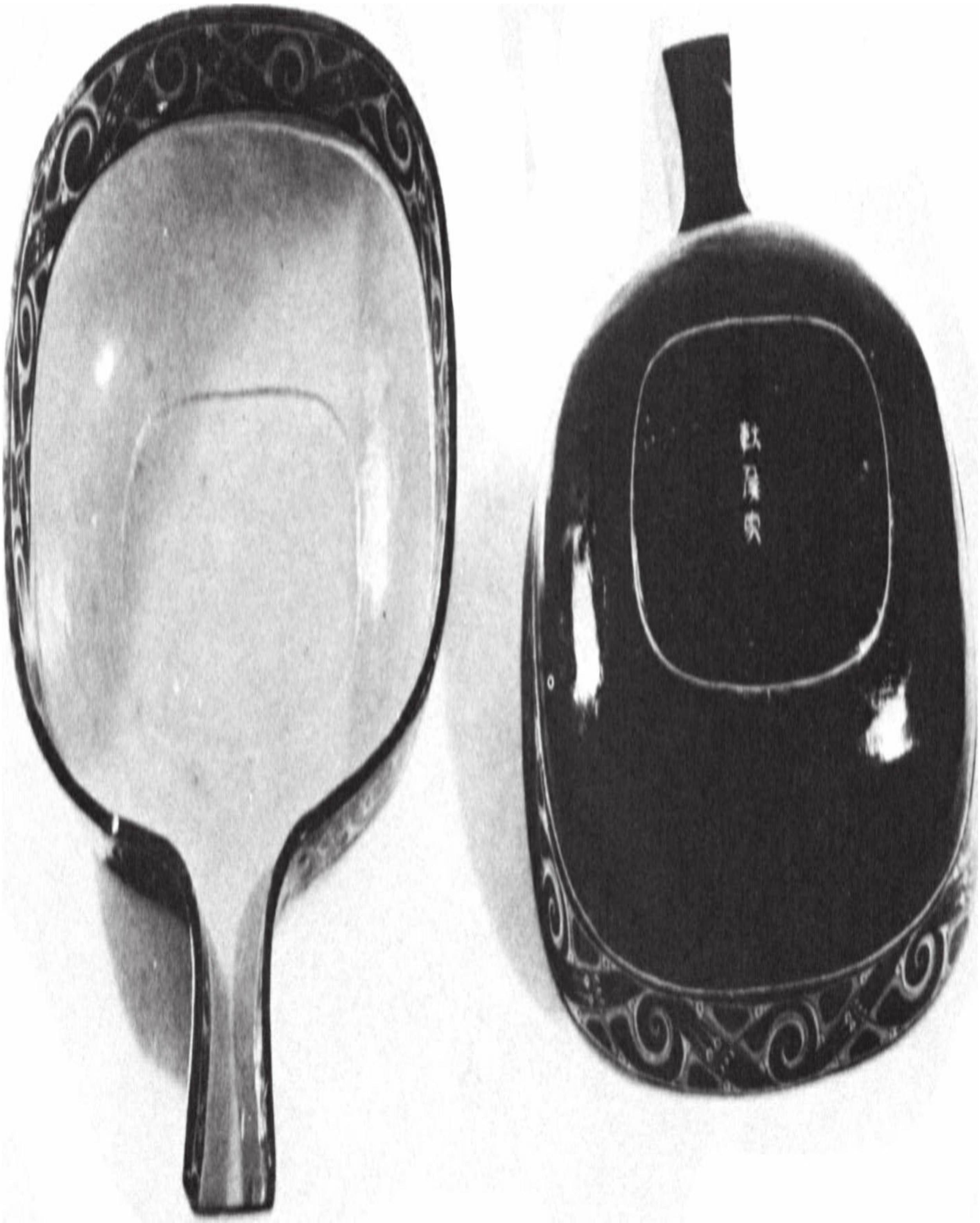
105．Fish designs on lacquerware unearthed from a Han tomb at Fenghuangshan in Jiangling　江陵凤凰山汉墓出土漆器的鱼纹

106．Lacquerware design depicting human figures in a story, unearthed from Shi Qi Yao's tomb from the Western Han period in Haizhou, Jiangsu　江苏海州侍其繇墓出土漆器的人物故事图

107．Lacquerware design depicting human figures in a story unearthed from Shi Qi Yao's tomb from the Western Han period in Haizhou, Jiangsu　江苏海州侍其繇墓出土漆器的人物故事图



108．Persimmon-butt-shaped bronze decor with inlaid glass beads on a lacquerware unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓出土漆器上的柿蒂形铜饰及琉璃珠

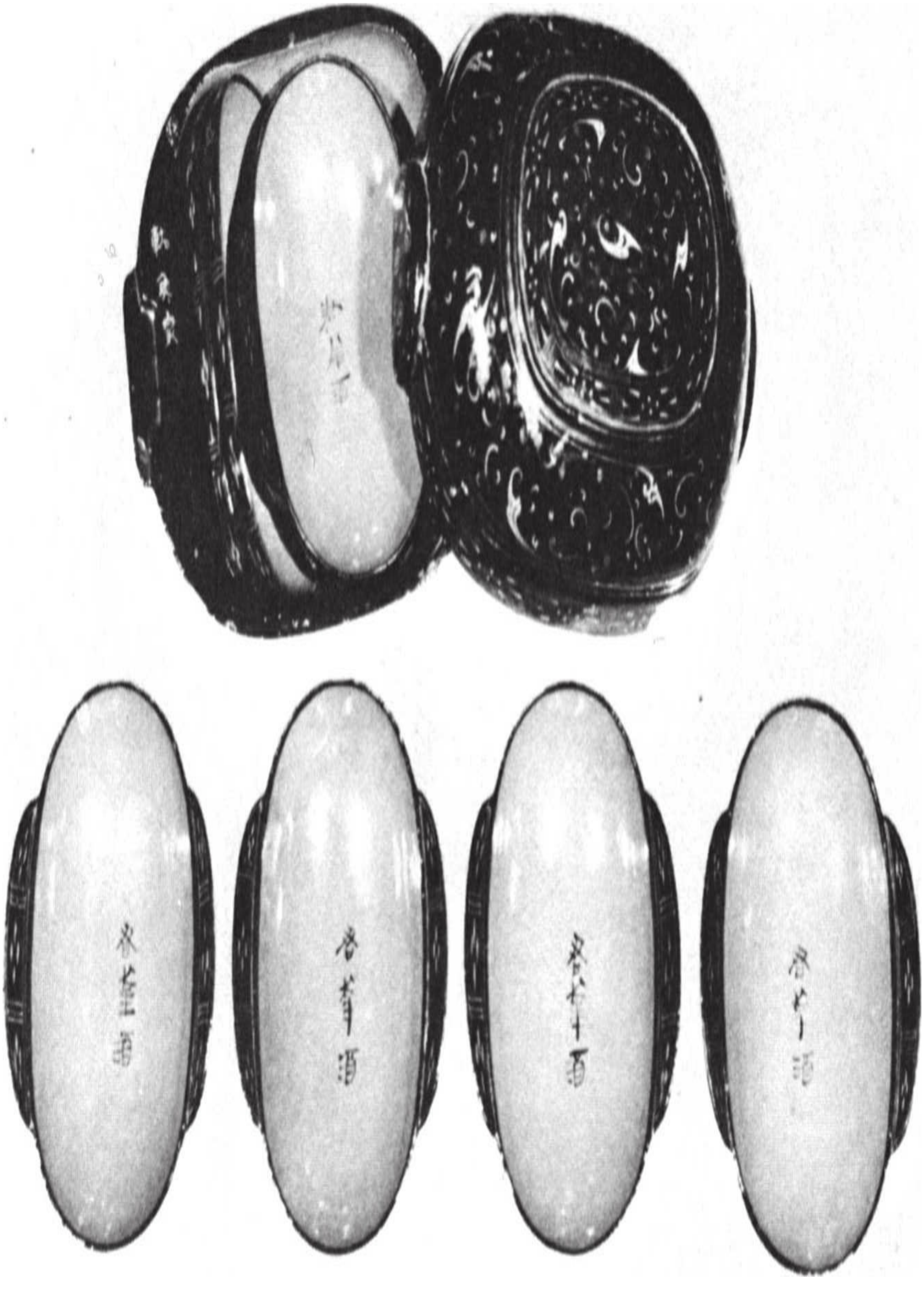


109．The inscription "Dai Hou Jia" ("Marquis of Dai's household") on a lacquerware unearthed from

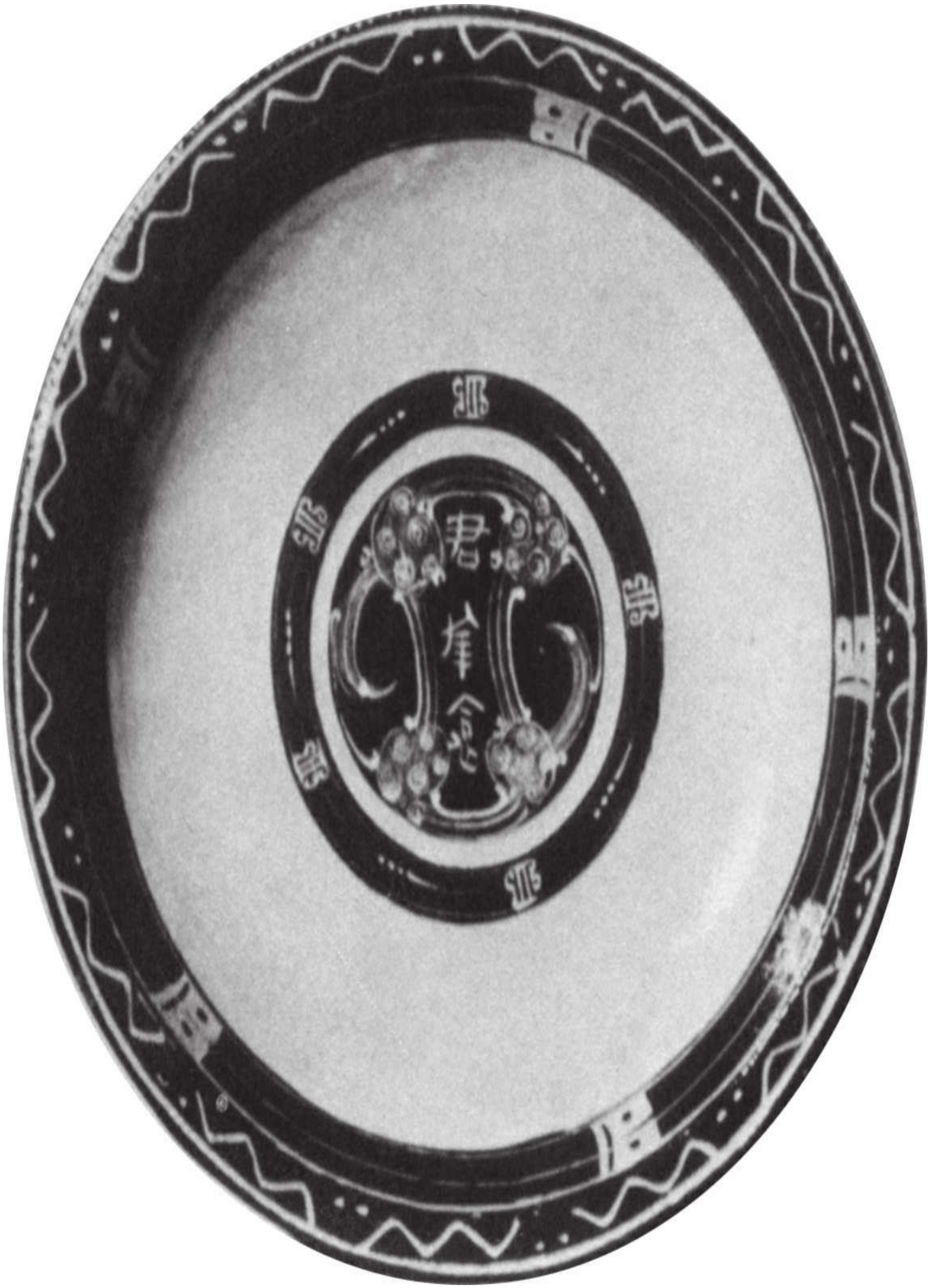
Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui in Changsha　长沙马王堆汉墓一号墓出土漆器上的“轪侯家”字样

110. The inscription "Shang Lin" on a lacquerware unearthed from a Han tomb at Noin Ula in

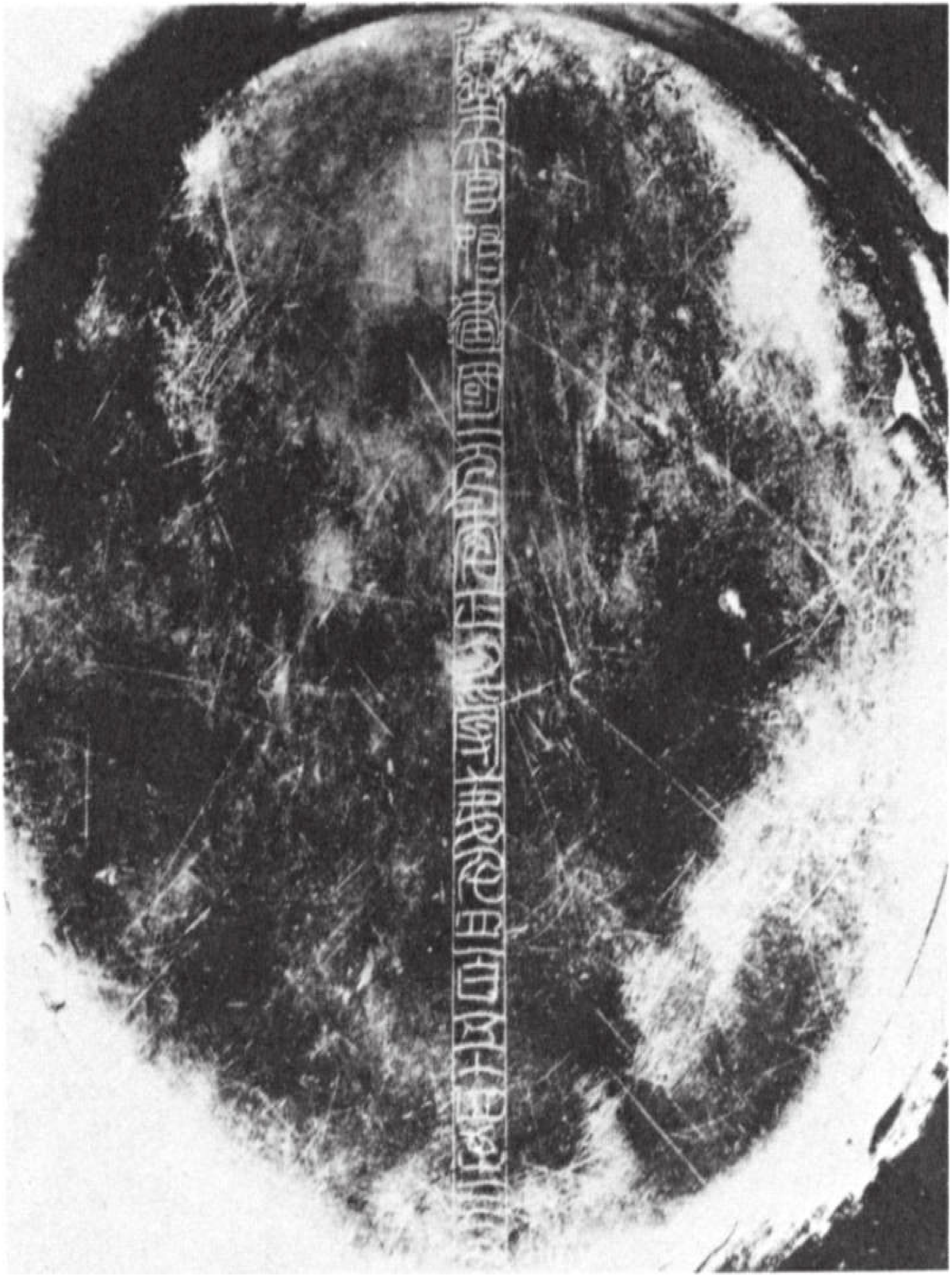
Mongolia　蒙古诺音乌拉汉墓出土漆器上的“上林”字样



111．The inscriptions "Jun xing jiu" on lacquerwares unearthed from Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui in Changsha　长沙马王堆汉墓一号墓出土漆器上的“君幸酒”字样


君幸食

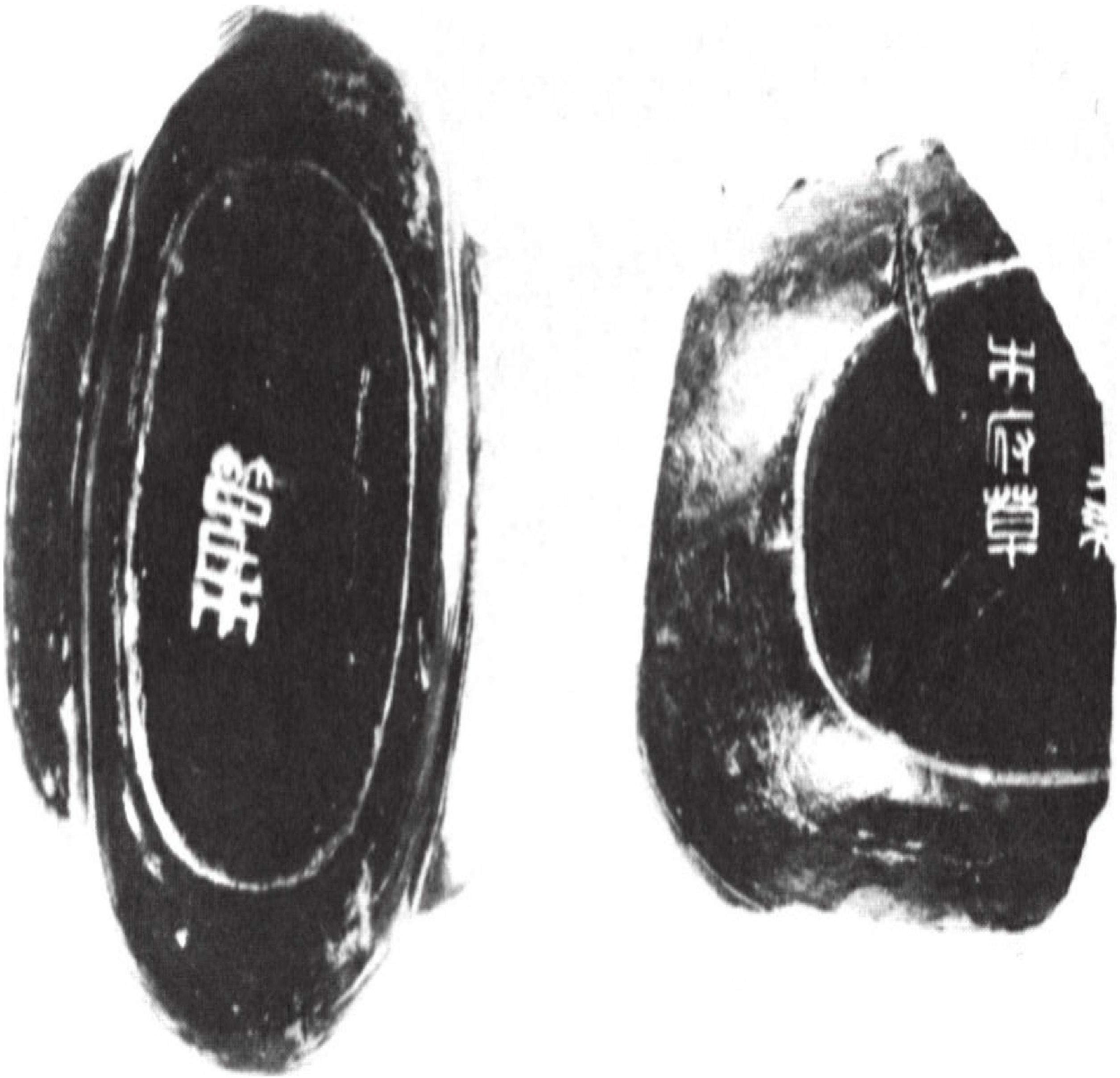
112．The inscription "Jun xing shi" on a lacquerware unearthed from Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui in Changsha　长沙马王堆汉墓一号墓出土漆器上的“君幸食”字样



113. Inscription on a lacquered tray unearthed from a Han tomb near Pyongyang, Korea　朝鲜平壤

汉墓出土漆盘上的铭文

114．The inscription "Pan yu" fire-branded on a lacquerware unearthed from a Western Han tomb in Guangzhou　广州西汉墓出土漆器上的“蕃禺”烙印



115．"Ju shi" and other inscriptions fire-branded on lacquerwares unearthed from a Western Han tomb at Yinqueshan in Linyi, Shandong　山东临沂银雀山西汉墓出土漆器上的“莒市”、“市府”烙印

CHAPTER 5 BRONZES

In 1968, in Mancheng, Hebei Province, a large number of valuable bronze vessels were excavated from the tombs of the prince Liu Sheng and his wife Dou Wan of the Western Han period.[1] Among them was a *zhong* inscribed "Chu da guan zao zhong" and gilded with shining gold and silver, with four golden dragons coiled around it and clouds in the background (fig. 116). Another item was the "Changle culinary officer's *zhong*" (*Changle siguan zhong*). On it golden or silver stripes dotted with silver beads formed diamond or triangular shapes in which pieces of green glass were inlaid. It is an extremely colorful and pretty work of art (fig. 117). There were also a pair of *hu* covered with characters in seal script, each character decorated with bird or insect motifs. The characters are decorative, but they also form a literary composition of mysterious content (fig. 118).[2] Another item was a "Bo shan" *lu*, an incense burner. The burner and its lid were made in the form of layers of mountains with trees, animals, and hunters on them. These decorations were patterned with gold threads, some of which were as thin as fine hair. The details of animals, human figures, trees, and hills were delicately depicted with these golden lines (fig. 119). The best-known item among them in the Mancheng find was the Changxin Palace Lamp, gilded with bright gold, in the form of a kneeling palace maid holding the lamp in her hands. Not only was the palace maid beautifully sculptured, the lamp and its cover were cleverly designed so that both the lamp's illuminating power and the direction of its rays were (and still are) adjustable. Since the smoke was absorbed into the body of the maid through her arms, it was in fact an antipollution design (fig. 120). In short, it can be said that the bronzes in the tombs of Liu Sheng and his wife represent the epitome of Han bronze craftsmanship.

The Spring and Autumn-Warring States era was a transitional period for Chinese bronzes. The Warring States bronzes had changed from the solemn, heavy, solid, and archaic style of the Shang and Western Zhou periods to a new style, which was delicate, lively, and full of variation. The new techniques of gold- and silver-gilding and inlaying with gold, silver, and precious stones made bronzes more colorful and attractive. In the light of the

treasures found in the Mancheng Han tombs, we can conclude that the Western Han bronze craft represents a step forward from that of the Warring States period. Forms became more suitable to the needs of real life and decorations became richer and more handsome.

It should be pointed out that the bronzes found in the tombs of Liu Sheng and Dou Wan were objects available only in palaces or residences of princes. For example, the *Chu da guan zao zhong* was originally owned by the household of the Yuan Prince of Chu, Liu Jiao. In 154 B.C., the grandson of Liu Jiao participated in the rebellion of the seven feudatories and was killed. This *zhong* was confiscated and later given to Liu Sheng by the central court. The same is true for the Changxin Palace Lamp. It originally belonged to the Marquis of Xinyang, Liu Jie. Confiscated in 151 B.C. together with his other property and his title, the lamp was turned over to the Changxin Palace due to an offense committed by the marquis' son. Later the lamp was probably given to Dou Wan by her relative the Empress Dowager Dou.[3] As for the two *hu* vessels with birdseal inscriptions, although they contained no inscriptions about their owner or the craftsman who made them, because the bird-pattern seal characters were popular in the South during the Spring and AutumnWarring States periods, it was likely that they were in the collection of the Prince of Wu or that of the Prince of Chu. They were perhaps given to Liu Sheng after being confiscated from their previous owners as a consequence of the latter's participation in the rebellion of the seven feudatories. The bronze known as the Changle culinary officer's *zhong* was originally an item in the imperial palace, and it must have been given to Liu Sheng by the empress dowager. The changing of hands of these items tends to indicate that even in the imperial palace or in the palaces of princes, these beautifully made bronzes were rare, highly valued items. Probably because most of these bronzes were made during or before the reign of Han Wen Di, they preserve a certain likeness in decorative technique to the Warring States bronzes on the one hand, and, on the other, they indicate that new techniques were developed. The similarity in form, pattern, and decorations between the Changle culinary officer's *zhong* and a bronze *hu* found in 1928 in Jincun, Luoyang, in a Warring States tomb is obvious evidence of this transition.[4]

Generally speaking, after mid-Western Han, sophisticated patterns and rich decorations on bronzes gradually became rare; instead, plain bronzes became popular—even the imperial utensils of the palace were no exception. In 1961, twenty-two bronze pieces were found buried in Sanqiaozhen, in the

city of Xi'an in Shaanxi Province. They included ten basins, five *ding*-tripods, five *zhong*, one *fang*, and one *juan* (fig. 121).[5] With only one exception, all have rather detailed inscriptions. They were imperial utensils of the Shanglinyuan imperial park located near the capital city of Chang'an. The characters "Cheng yu" inscribed on one of the five tripods make it clear that it was an imperial vessel (fig. 122). They were made in the middle to late Western Han period (i.e., 97-18 B.C.). Most of them were made in Chang'an, some were from Taishan Prefecture (today's Tai'an district in Shandong), some were from Dong Jun (today's Puyang in Henan) or from the palaces in Luoyang. Some were tributes from the provincial officials of Dong Jun, Yingchuan(today's Yuxian, Henan), or Jiujiang (today's Shouxian, Anhui) (fig. 123).[6] We notice that despite their being used in the palace, they were all plain bronzes, with little pattern or decoration. In fact, except for the very special treasures made in the earlier period, those *zhong* and *fang* that were made during the later years of Liu Sheng's life and those *fang* and *juan* acquired by his palace officials from Hedong (today's Xiaxian, Shanxi) and Luoyang were plain bronzes similar to the ones excavated in Sanqiaozhen in Xi'an (figs. 124, 125). The popular plain Han bronzes have often been considered an indication of a decline in bronze craftsmanship. This plainness, however, may be due to the fact that as the delicate and handsome lacquer wares became more efficient utensils for daily use than bronze vessels, the ruling class began to prefer lacquerware to bronzes. On the other hand, the plain and simple patterns of the bronzes might have been a new fashion of the time.

Despite the simplification of the patterns and decorations of the bronzes, the scale of the Han bronze industry was by no means reduced. On the contrary, it was further developed. The items found in Sanqiaozhen provide very good evidence of this development. According to the inscriptions on the eight basins made by the craftsmen who produced for the Shanglinyuan Palace, we know that during the ninth month in the first year of Yang Shuo (24 B.C.), craftsman Yang Zheng had made ten pieces; as of the fifth month in the fourth year of Yang Shuo (21 B.C.), craftsmen Li Jun and Zhou Bo had made 240 pieces each; as of the sixth month in the second year of the Hong Jia reign (19 B.C.) craftsmen Yang Fang and Zhou Ba had made 300 pieces each; as of the fourth month in the third year of Hong Jia (18 B.C.) craftsmen Huang Tong and Zhou Bo had made 84 pieces each. Within the seven years from 24 to 18 B.C., 1,258 bronze basins were made, certainly an amazing

number (figs. 126, 127). Regarding *ding*- tripods, in 51 B.C., craftsman Wang Yi made 116 pieces, and as of the sixth month in 19 B.C., craftsman Zuo Yun made 200.[7] Needless to say, the numbers of other utensils made were also large. Bronzes were used not only in the palaces; they were popular among the nobility, bureaucrats, and even middle and small landowners. Their popularity has been substantiated by the excavation of many Han tombs. It is fair to say that precisely because of the simplification of bronze patterns it was possible to produce large quantities of bronzes, thus making them widely popular during Han.

Compared with bronzes of the previous period, Han bronzes had undergone many changes. The food vessels *fu*, *gui*, *dui*, and *dou*, popular in the Zhou dynasty, had already disappeared by Han. Instead, *ding*, *zhong*, *hu*, and *fang* were the main vessels used at the time. They inherited the form and style of those of the previous period, with some variation. *Fang* was popular during only Western Han, and had disappeared in Eastern Han. Among other vessels, *juan*, *xi*, *mou*, *zun*, *pan*, *zhi*, *bei*, *jiao dou*, *fu*, and *zeng* were the most frequently seen vessels, apart from the four main ones mentioned above. All types bear Han characteristics, and some were first intro duced during Han (fig. 128). Lamps, incense burners, tables, irons, stoves, and dripping jars became popular during Han, but had not yet appeared or were rare during the pre-Han period(figs. 129, 130). This evidence indicates that, apart from being used for the serving of drink and food, storage, and cooking, bronzes had also been put to use in other areas of daily life. Among them, in particular, were lamps and incense burners, often elegantly made. In addition to the Changxin Palace Lamp mentioned above, from the Han tombs in Mancheng came the "red bird lamp" (fig. 131), the "sheep lamp" (fig. 132), and the "*danghu* lamp." There were also the "phoenix lamp" found in the Han tomb in Hepu in Guangxi and the "twelve-branch lamp" found in the Leitai Han tomb in Wuwei in Gansu Province (fig. 133).[8] Of clever and innovative design, these were at the same time very efficient utensils. Although bronze lamps existed during the Warring States period, Han lamps greatly exceeded those of the Warring States in variety, quantity, and popularity.

Although plain bronzes became prevalent after mid-Western Han, gilded bronzes were also quite popular, and some bronzes had patterns composed of thin engraved lines. A *zun* wine jar excavated in a late Western Han tomb in Changsha is covered with an elegantly engraved cloud pattern. Its detail and flowing style resemble lacquerware.[9] A *hu* with loop handle, *a pan* with three

legs, and other bronzes discovered in the late Western Han tomb in Hepu in Guangxi are all decorated with various types of geometric patterns, as well as phoenixes, deer, or other animals (fig. 134). All patterns were compositions in which thin, engraved lines depict details.[10] A bronze table from an Eastern Han tomb in Wuzhou, Guangxi, is decorated with a similar pattern(fig. 135).[11] This kind of pattern engraved on bronze vessels had first appeared in the Warring States period, it was further developed during Han and was popular mainly in the South. In addition, it should be especially mentioned that in 1962 two gilded bronze goblets were found in Youyuxian in Shanxi Province, both bear ing inscriptions testifying that they were made in Western Han in 26 B.C. On the goblets, lively patterns of monkey, camel, ox, rabbit, sheep, deer, tiger, fox, bear, wild goose, crow, goose, duck, and other animals and birds were cast in relief instead of being engraved. This relief casting has not been found among pre-Han bronzes (fig. 136).[12] In short, although the Han bronzes showed signs of decline in pattern and decoration, they nevertheless displayed certain innovations. Nor was the technique of inlaying with gold, silver, and precious stones lost during Han. In recent years, in an Eastern Han tomb in Xuzhou in Jiangsu, we have found an ink-stone box which was inlaid with corals, turquoise, and blue gems (fig. 137).[13] A gilded bronze goblet found in an Eastern Han tomb in Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu, had on it pictures of strange birds and animals with clouds and mist, composed of inlaid silver threads (fig. 138).[14] However, there is no denying that these are extremely rare finds for that period.

Apart from the utensils that were intended for practical use, many bronze models of carriages, horses, and mounted horsemen—which were made par ticularly for funeral purposes—have been found in Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu, in 1969. The casting technique reached a highly advanced level (figs. 139, 140). This sophistication is fully demonstrated in the "Flying Horse," now known through out the world, a running horse with a bird underneath one of its hooves (fig. 141). The date of the Leitai tomb was late Eastern Han. Utilitarian bronzes found in the same tomb include *hu, pan, wan, jian, xi, jiao dou,* iron, as well as the aforementioned lamp and wine goblet; the abundance and diversity of types indicate that bronzes were popular throughout the Han dynasty.[15] It is evident, however, that bronzes declined after the Wei-Jin period. This decline could have been caused by the flourishing of porcelain, which took the place of bronze in daily life.

China is one of the first civilizations to invent the bronze mirror.

According to recent excavations, we are now certain that bronze mirrors already existed during the Shang dynasty. By the Warring States period the technique for making mirrors was developing rapidly, and Han mirrors, which had proceeded a step further from those of the Warring States period, became quite widespread. As opposed to ancient Japan, where in Yayoi culture and Tomb culture imported mirrors were considered sacred treasures, in China mirrors have always been mainly utilitarian objects. Because the form and decorations of mirrors changed continuously from one period to another, providing significant chronological data, bronze mirrors have become important objects for archaeological study.

The form and decoration of mirrors of the Warring States period were pre served in those of the early Western Han period. The most common mirror is the type with a *panchi* ("intertwining serpents") design on a ground pattern and with a belt-like knob. The mirrors found in the Han tombs at Mawangdui, Changsha, are of this type (fig. 142).[16] Unlike the mirrors of the Warring States period, mirrors after the beginning of early Western Han began to bear inscriptions. The early Han mirrors, strictly speaking, still belong to the Warring States style. The "Han style" mirror began to appear in mid-Western Han during Wu Di's reign. The earliest type is the so-called grass-leaf pattern mirror, such as those found in the Mancheng tomb (fig. 143).[17] A later style is the so-called star-cloud pattern mirror, also called the "hundred nipple" mirror. The design on this mirror was probably developed from the early Western Han *panchi*-pattern mirror, but the ground pattern had disappeared, as it had in the grass-leaf pattern mirrors (fig. 144). The mirrors most typical of late Western Han were the "*riguang*" mirror and the "*zhaoming*" mirror. They were so named because of their inscriptions. Their designs are characterized by regularity and simplicity. The handle now becomes a hemispheric knob (fig. 145). During the Wang Mang interregnum the Taoist ideology of the *yin yang wu xing* school was reflected in the design of bronze mirrors. A large number of mirrors have as their pattern the Four Deities (Green Dragon, White Tiger, Red Bird, and Black Turtle) and also the duodenary cyclical characters. This type is known as the "*guiju*," or "elbow ruler," mirror (in the West it is sometimes called the TLV mirror). The designs of these mirrors were relatively complicated. They were popular up to the mid-Eastern Han period (fig. 146). Mirrors with dated inscriptions began to appear during the Wang Mang interregnum and became more and more popular in the course of the Eastern Han dynasty. A new style appeared

after mid-Eastern Han. The decorative designs of these mirrors were in relief, and they depict either deities and spiritual beasts or human figures and horses and carriages. The former mirrors are referred to as "immortal and animal" mirrors and the latter, as "pictorial" mirrors. Their designs were becoming increasingly lively at the same time that the hemis pheric knobs on them were becoming larger and larger (figs. 147, 148). It should be noted that at least since mid-Western Han, the style of bronze mirrors was uniform throughout the empire, but the "immortal and animal" and the "pic torial" mirrors that appeared after mid-Eastern Han were first developed in the Zhejiang area, to the south of the Yangtze River. Thus, in the late Eastern Han and the Three Kingdoms periods, there was a certain degree of difference between the northern and southern mirrors. According to the inscriptions on mirrors ex cavated in Japan, the craftsmen of Luoyang enjoyed the highest reputation, but those of Kuaiji Jun (modern Shaoxing in Zhejiang) were almost comparable. These inscriptions thus indicate that without question by the late Eastern Han Kuaiji had become a mirror production center.[18]

The inscriptions on mirrors made around the time of Wang Mang often contain a line reading, "good copper produced from Danyang." Danyang Pre fecture, with its capital located in today's Xuancheng, Anhui Province, was thus the location of the most famous copper mine during Han. According to the "Treatise on Geography" in *Hanshu,* the Han government had established the post of copper official in Danyang Prefecture. A mirror of the Wei-Jin period unearthed in Liaoyang of Liaoning and many mirrors excavated in Japan bear a different line reading "copper produced in Xuzhou."[19] Xuzhou was located in presentday southern Shandong and northern Jiangsu, with its capital in modern Xuzhou, Jiangsu, and these inscriptions furnish evidence that it was a well-known copper production center during the Wei-Jin period. However, in point of fact, no copper mines are actually known in this area and the problem is yet to be solved. To be sure, many copper mines were actually explored during Han; and according to historical records, Sichuan and Yunnan also had rich copper mines.

In 1953 an investigation of a Western Han copper-mine site in Xinglong, Hebei Province, disclosed shafts, ore-selection ground, and smelting workshops. The mine shafts were more than 100 m below the ground surface, and led to spacious mining areas. Iron hammers and pegs found near the shafts were the mining tools. Tunnels were dug around the mining area. Ores were selected near the exits of the tunnels and then taken to

four nearby smelting workshops. The furnaces seem to have been round brick structures, according to what is left of them. The finished product was in the form of large disc-shaped ingots, each weighing from 5 to 15 kg. The characters meaning "East 60" or "West 53" were incised on the ingots. "East" and "West" could refer to the location of the workshop, and the numbers might indicate serials. Some ingots bear the characters "Second Year," perhaps indicating that the ingots were made before the reign title system was established by Han Wu Di (fig. 149).[20] In 1955, ten rectangular copper ingots were found at a site near the Han capital Chang'an, each weighing 34 kg, containing 99 percent copper, and all inscribed with weight and serial number. One has a line reading, "Sold by Tian Rong of Wanli in Fubo district in Runan Prefecture." The inscription indicates that the government not only ran copper mines itself but also made purchases from private miners in order to satisfy its demand for bronze manufacturing and cash minting.[21]

The scale of the production of bronze objects under Han-government management was quite large. Government-managed production supplied mainly the palace and other government offices. Two subordinate officials of the Shaofu (Lesser Treasury Ministry) in the central government, the Shangfang *ling* (Shangfang Office) and the Kaogong *ling* (Kaogong Office), were in charge of bronze production for imperial and governmental uses at the capital. The Shangfang Office, according to inscriptions, was by the time of Wu Di's reign already divided into the three offices of Left, Right, and Center, and this division continued into Eastern Han. The Central Shangfang Office had the largest capacity in terms of variety of products. The bronzes it produced included *ding*- tripods, *zhong, hu, jiao dou,* lamps, and so on. The crossbow was an item produced by all three offices. The Kaogong Office which by Eastern Han became subordinate to the Taipu Qing (The Grand Servant) produced more or less the same items as produced by the Central Shangfang Office with the exception of mirrors, which were made only by the Shangfang Office. Another subordinate office of the Lesser Treasury Ministry called the Yougongshi also produced some bronzes. Both the Kaogongshi and the Yougongshi also produced lacquerware.

Bronzes were also produced by some of the workshops run by the prefectural manufacturing offices of the Han central government. For example, the manufacturing offices in Shu and Guanghan prefectures, apart from making lacquerware, were also famous for the bronzes they produced. According to the "Biography of Gong Yu" in *Hanshu,* "Shu and Guanghan

produce mainly golden and silver wares." However, archaeological excavations have shown that the manufacturing of golden and silver wares was not that popular in Han. We therefore suspect that what are here referred to as "golden and silver wares" in fact were bronze vessels and utensils gilded with gold or silver. The Palace Museum in Beijing has in its collection a bronze goblet with a saucer. The set was made in A.D. 45 by the Western Manufacturing Office of Shu Jun. Both the goblet and its saucer were gilded with gold. Turquoise and crystal were inlaid on the goblet and on the three bear-shaped legs of the saucer (fig. 150).[22] There is a detailed inscription on the saucer that reads: "In the twenty-first year of the Jian Wu reign, the Western Manufacturing Office of Shu Jun made an imperial goblet with saucer. The saucer is decorated with carved bear-shaped legs. [Both] were inlaid with turquoise. The diameter of the bronze saucer is 2 *chi* 2 *cun*. [The set] was made by these craftsmen: Chong, coppersmith; Ye, carver; Kang, metalsmith; and Ye, artisan; [they were] under the supervision of [the follow ing manufacturing officials]: Yun, craftsman supervisor; Fan, superinten dent; Meng, assistant director; Xun, secretary; and Yun, director." The format and the titles of craftsmen and craft officials in this inscription were similar to those on lacquerware. This similarity indicates that the same manufacturing office produced both lacquerware and bronzes.

In 1925, a lacquer cup made in A.D. 52 by the same manufacturing office was excavated in Wang Xu's tomb in Pyongyang in Korea. The inscription on it reads: "In the twenty-eighth year of the Jian Wu reign, the Western Manufacturing Office of Shu Jun made an imperial soupcup, with a capacity of 2 *sheng* 2 *he*. It was made by craftsmen: Hui, molder; Wu, lacquerman; Wen, polisher; Ting, lacquerman; and Zhong, artisan; [they were] under the supervision of the following manufacturing officials: Han, craftsman su pervisor; Fan, superintendent; Geng, assistant director; Xi, secretary; and Mao, director."[23] Comparing the two inscriptions, we find that the lacquer cup was made seven years later than the bronze; thus, names of many of the manu facturing officials were different. However, the name of the superintendent, Fan, was still found in the later inscription. This evidence indicates that Fan served for quite a long time, at least seven years, and that the same manufacturing officials were in charge of both bronze and lacquerware production.

Private bronze-making workshops were also quite numerous. Inscriptions on some privately produced bronzes mark their prices. Eight

hundred and forty copper cash was the price of a bronze *juan* bought from Hedong Prefecture by officials of the Prince of Zhongshan, whose tomb was excavated in Mancheng (fig. 151). Another bronze *fang* produced in Luoyang was also bought by officials of the Prince of Zhongshan. Both are believed to be products of private manufactories.[24] Private mirror producers often made use of mirror inscriptions to advertise the superior quality and elegant design of the mirrors they made. The contents of the inscriptions often claimed that the user of the mirrors "will live long, will continue to enjoy wealth and prestige." To cite some examples: "The substance of this mirror is pure and bright; the rays it radiates could be compared to those of the sun and the moon"; "The mirrors made by the Ye family are handsome and great. They are as bright as the sun and the moon; indeed, they are rare to find!"; "I record here the mirrors I made; they will make the user live longer, likewise his sons and grandsons." It is evident that these mirrors were produced for the market. Many of them, nevertheless, although produced by privately owned workshops, bear inscriptions reading "Made by [the imperial workshop] Shangfang Office," in order to heighten their value. This was probably a cus tomary practice among the private producers.

伍　汉代的铜器

1968年在河北省满城发掘了西汉中山靖王刘胜及其妻窦绾的墓，墓中有着许多珍贵的青铜器。[1]其中如“楚大官糟锺”，通体镀金银，光彩夺目，主要的花纹是四条金龙，上下蟠绕，其间配置一些云朵，表示龙在云中（图116）。又如“长乐飤官锺”，器身由镀金银的平行的横带和交叉的斜带构成许多菱形和三角形的空格，其中满嵌碧琉璃，在镀金的斜带上又点缀着许多半球状的银珠，彩色缤纷，绮丽异常（图117）。又有“鸟篆文壶”一对，从壶盖到壶身，全部都用金丝和银丝镶嵌出许多图案化的美术字，这种美术字是在篆体文字上装饰着象征性的鸟，有时也有虫的形象，所以称为“鸟篆文”或“鸟虫书”，它们不仅是壶上的花纹，而且构成了一篇奇妙的文章（图118）。[2]还有一件“错金博山炉”，炉身和炉盖的形状铸成层层起伏的山峦，其间有树木、野兽和猎人，花纹用金丝镶嵌，金丝有粗有细，细的有如毫发，用以刻划人物、动物、树木，山峰的细部，制作得极其精致（图119）。最有名的是一件称为“长信宫灯”的铜灯，通体镀金，灿然发光，它的全体形状是一个跪坐着的宫女用双手执灯，不仅宫女的形象塑造得十分优美，而且灯盘和灯罩的设计也非常巧妙，既可以调节灯光的亮度和照射的方向，又可使蜡烛燃烧时的烟烬通过宫女的手臂纳入其体内（宫女体内是空的），以保持清洁（图120）。总之，上述刘胜夫妇墓中的铜器，可以说是集中了汉代青铜器工艺的精华。

中国古代的青铜器，发展到春秋战国之际，风格为之一变。战国时代的青铜器，在器形和花纹方面，已经摆脱了商代、西周以来那种庄严、厚重、古拙的旧作风，代之而起的则是比较轻巧、生动和多样化的新风貌，而镀金、镀银以及用金银、宝石之类镶嵌花纹的新技术则使得青铜器更加绚丽、美观。从满城汉墓中的珍贵遗品看来，西汉的青铜工艺可以说是在战国的基础上又向前发展了一步，不仅器物的造型越来越适应现实生活的需要，而且在装饰方面也显得更加丰富多彩。

应该指出的是，刘胜夫妇墓中的这些青铜器，是当时宫廷、王府的专用品。例如，“楚大官糟锺”原是楚元王刘交家里的器物，景帝前元三年（公元前154年）刘交的孙子参与“七国之乱”败死，此器乃被朝廷抄没，以后转赐刘胜。又如“长信宫灯”，原是信阳侯刘揭家里的器具，景帝前元六年（公元前151年）他的儿子有罪，被削除封爵，撤消封地，此灯亦被朝廷没收，归长信宫中使用，以后可能是由居住在长信宫中的

窦太后将它赠送给她的亲族女窦绾的。[3]两件“鸟篆文壶”，虽然没有有关它们的制作和所有主的铭文，但鸟篆文是春秋战国以来流行于南方的美术字，所以它们也很可能本是吴王或楚王府中的藏品，“七国之乱”以后被朝廷没收而转赐刘胜的。至于“长乐飤官锺”，则本是长乐宫中的御用器物，应该也是由居住在长乐宫中的皇太后赐给刘胜的。以上都说明满城汉墓中的那些青铜器，即使在当时的宫廷、王府之中，也是不可多得的珍品，所以制作得特别精美。另外，可能是由于这些青铜器多系文帝时或文帝以前所制，年代较早，所以在装饰方面保留着战国以来的工艺技术，而且还有所发展。“长乐飤官锺”的形制、花纹和装饰，与1928年在洛阳金村的战国墓中发现的铜壶极相似，便是最明显的例证。[4]

但是，一般说来，从西汉中期以后，铜器上复杂的花纹和富丽的装饰已经越来越少见了，素面的青铜器则普遍流行，即使是宫廷中的御用品亦不例外。1961年在陕西省西安市三桥镇发现了一批窖藏的铜器，包括铜鉴十件、铜鼎五件、铜锺五件、铜钫和铜銗各一件，共二十二件（图121）。[5]除一件铜锺以外，所有的器物都有详细的铭文，说明它们都是首都长安城郊区上林苑的皇家宫馆中所用之物；其中的一件铜鼎，在铭文中还有“乘舆”字样，表明它是皇帝的御用品（图122）。它们的制作年代，自汉武帝天汉四年（公元前97年）至成帝鸿嘉三年（公元前18年），属西汉的中晚期。除大部分系在长安铸造之外，有的是从泰山郡（今山东泰安）、东郡（今河南濮阳）和雒阳的宫观中征调来的，有的则为东郡、颍川郡（今河南禹县）和九江郡（今安徽寿县）的地方官所贡献（图123）。[6]值得注意的是，这批铜器虽然都是宫廷所用的器物，但却都是素面的，没有什么花纹和装饰。其实，即使就满城汉墓来说，除了那些年代较早的特殊的珍品之外，在刘胜在位的晚期，应中山王府的需要而铸造的铜锺、铜钫以及王府派官员到河东（今山西夏县）、雒阳等地购置的铜钫和铜銗等，正与西安市三桥镇出土的铜锺、铜钫和铜銗一样，也都是素面的（图124、125）。人们往往将汉代素面青铜器的普遍流行看作是当时青铜工艺的衰落。这可能是由于精巧、美观的漆器，作为日常生活中所用的容器，有时要比青铜容器更具有优越性，从而使统治阶级的爱好从青铜器转向漆器的缘故。但是，从另一方面来说，铜器纹饰的简素，也可能是当时的一种新风尚。

虽然铜器的花纹和装饰变得简素了，但汉代铜器制造业的规模不仅没有衰退，反而有所发展。上述西安市三桥镇出土的铜器，在这一问题

上提供了很好的说明。例如，根据三桥镇的八件铜鉴的铭文，就可以知道，仅就上林苑宫馆中所用的铜鉴来说，阳朔元年（公元前24年）九月工匠杨政造十件，阳朔四年（公元前21年）五月工匠李骏、周博各造二百四十件，鸿嘉二年（公元前19年）六月工匠杨放、周霸各造三百件，鸿嘉三年（公元前18年）四月工匠黄通、周博又各造八十四件，从阳朔元年到鸿嘉三年的短短七年内共造铜鉴一千二百五十八件，数量之多达到了惊人的程度（图126、127）。又如铜鼎，甘露三年（公元前51年）工匠王意造一百十六件，鸿嘉二年六月工匠左恽造二百件，铸造数量也甚大。[7]其他各种器物，也有相似的铸造量，当然是无待于言的。除了宫廷中大量使用以外，各地的贵族、官僚，以及一般的中小地主阶级，都相当普遍地使用青铜器，这可以从大量汉墓的发掘工作中得到说明。可以认为，正是因为青铜器的纹饰简素，所以才能得到大量的制作和普遍的使用。

和前代比较起来，汉代铜器在种类和器形上有许多变化。周代流行的簠、簋、敦、豆等食器，到汉代已经不见了。鼎、锺、壶、钫是当时最主要的容器，它们继承了前代的形制而略有改变，其中钫仅流行于西汉，到东汉也就绝迹了。其他的容器，以铜，洗、鋬、樽、盘、卮、杯、鐎斗、釜和甑等饮食器皿和炊事用具为最常见，它们在形制上具有汉代的特点，有的是汉代才有的（图128）。另一方面，汉代又出现了许多新兴的铜器，如灯、博山炉、案、熨斗、炉、漏壶之类，都是前代所未见或少见的（图129、130），这说明除了供饮食、贮藏、烹饪用的容器以外，青铜器已被推广到日常生活的其他各个方面。在这些新兴的铜器之中，灯和博山炉往往制作得很精致。就铜灯而言，仅以近年来的出土品为例，满城汉墓中除前面说过的“长信宫灯”外，还有“朱雀灯”（图131）、“羊灯”（图132）、“当户灯”，广西合浦汉墓有“凤鸟灯”，甘肃武威雷台汉墓有“十二连枝灯”（图133）[8]，它们都是设计精巧，式样新颖，实用效果也好。战国时代虽然也已经有了铜灯，但汉代铜灯种类之多，制作数量之大，使用之普遍，又大大超过了战国时代。

虽然从西汉中期以后，素面无纹的青铜器已成为主流，但镀金的铜器却相当流行。此外，也还有一些铜器施有花纹，纹样是由镂刻的细线构成的。例如，湖南长沙西汉后期墓中的一件镀金的铜酒樽，自器身到器盖，全部镂刻着细线流云纹，纹样细致、流畅，很像漆器上的花纹。[9]广西合浦西汉后期墓中的提梁壶和三足盘等多件铜器，都装饰着由镂刻的细线构成的各种几何图案和凤、鹿等动物的纹样，相当精致

（图134）。[10]广西梧州东汉墓出土的一件铜案，也有类似的花纹（图135）。[11]这种在铜器上镂刻花纹的工艺，在战国时代已经出现，到汉代又得到进一步的发展，但主要流行在南方地区。此外，特别值得提出来的，是1962年在山西省右玉县发现的二件镀金的铜酒樽（所刻铭文说明它们的制作年代为西汉河平三年，即公元前26年），它们的花纹是铸出来的，纹样有猿、骆驼、牛、兔、羊、鹿、虎、狐狸、熊、雁、鸦、鹅、鸭等各种兽类和禽类，都作浮雕式，形态生动，这在汉以前的铜器花纹中是甚少类例的（图136）。[12]总之，汉代的青铜器工艺，虽然在纹饰方面显得衰退，但也不是完全没有创新。而且，在铜器上用金银、宝石之类镶嵌的技术也并没有失传；就近年来的发现为例，江苏徐州东汉墓里的一件镀金的铜砚盒镶嵌着红色的珊瑚、蓝色的绿松石和青金石（图137）[13]，甘肃武威雷台东汉墓里的一件镀金的铜酒樽用银丝镶嵌出细致的云气纹和各种奇禽异兽的纹样（图138），便是例证。[14]但是，像这样的青铜器，当时确实是极少见了，这也是不可否认的事实。

除了实用的器物以外，应该提到的是，1969年发掘的甘肃武威雷台汉墓出土了许多专为随葬而作的铜质的车辆模型、马匹及骑马武士等人物的偶像，它们的铸造技术达到了高度的水平（图139、140）。特别是其中的一匹足踏飞鸟的奔马，形象逼真，姿态生动，已成为世界闻名的优秀艺术作品（图141）。雷台汉墓的年代属东汉晚期，而墓中出土的实用的青铜器除上述的灯和酒樽外，还有壶、盘、碗、鉴、洗、镳斗和熨斗等等，种类和数量都相当多，说明了青铜器在汉代一直是流行的。[15]但是，到了魏晋以后，青铜器制造业显然是衰落了。这可能是由于瓷器兴起了，它取代了青铜器在日常生活中所占的地位。

中国是世界上最早发明铜镜的国家之一。根据近年来的考古发掘，可以肯定在殷代已经出现了铜镜。到了战国时代，铜镜的铸造发展得很快，而汉代的铜镜又在战国以来的基础上进一步得到普及。中国的铜镜，始终只是一种日常的生活用具，并不像日本的弥生时代和古坟时代那样把从中国输入的铜镜当作珍宝或神器。只是由于铜镜的形制和花纹随着时代的推移而不断演变，在考古年代学上有较大的意义，所以就成为一种比较重要的研究对象。

在西汉前期，铜镜的形制和花纹保留着战国时代的作风。最常见的是一种带有“地纹”的“蟠螭纹镜”，镜钮呈带状，长沙马王堆汉墓出土的铜镜即属此类（图142）。[16]与战国铜镜不同的是，从西汉前期开始，有的铜镜上已经有了铭文。由于西汉前期的铜镜保留着战国铜镜的作风，所以严格地说来，它是属于“战国式”的，而不是“汉式”的。到了西汉中叶的汉武帝时期，才出现了真正的“汉式镜”。最初出现的是所谓“草叶

纹镜”，满城汉墓中即曾发现过（图143）。[17]比“草叶纹镜”稍晚，又出现了一种“星云纹镜”（或称“百乳鉴”），它的花纹可能是由西汉前期的“蟠螭纹镜”演变而来，但和“草叶纹镜”一样，完全取消了“地纹”（图144）。西汉后期的铜镜，最典型的是“日光镜”和“昭明镜”，它们都是因铭文的内容而定名的，其花纹的特点是规整而简洁，而镜钮则普遍成为半球状（图145）。到了新莽时期，阴阳五行的思想反映到铜镜上，就大量出现一种带有“四神”（青龙、白虎、朱雀、玄武）纹样和“十二辰”（子、丑、寅、卯、辰、巳、午、未、申、酉、戌、亥）文字的所谓“规矩镜”，镜面上的图纹显得比较繁复，这种铜镜一直到东汉中后期仍然流行（图146）。从新莽时期开始，有的铜镜在铭文中有了纪年，东汉时纪年的铜镜越来越多。东汉前期的铜镜，是继承西汉后期和新莽时期的铜镜而有所演变。到了东汉中期以后，铜镜中出现了一种新的型式，它们的花纹是浮雕式的，其题材有的是神仙和灵兽，有的是人物和车马，前者称为“神兽镜”，后者称为“画像镜”，图纹显得很热闹，而半球状的镜钮则变得越来越大（图147、148）。值得注意的是，至少自西汉中期以来，汉代铜镜的样式是全国统一的，但东汉中期以后的“神兽镜”和“画像镜”却首先是在长江流域开始兴起。因此，在东汉后期和此后的三国时期，南方和北方的铜镜存在着一定的区别。根据日本出土的许多铜镜的铭文，当时洛阳的制镜技师是最有名的，但会稽郡（今浙江省绍兴）的技师也可以与洛阳的技师相比。总之，在东汉的中后期，江南的会稽郡无疑也已成为制作铜镜的一个重要的中心了。[18]

新莽时期及其前后的许多铜镜，常常有“善铜出丹阳”的铭文，可见丹阳（今安徽省当涂）是汉代最有名的铜矿所在。据《汉书·地理志》记载，汉朝政府在丹阳郡（其治所在今安徽省宣城）设有铜官。辽宁省辽阳出土的一件魏晋时期的铜镜和日本出土的许多相当于魏晋时期的铜镜，则有“铜出徐州”的铭文。[19]从镜铭来看，到了魏晋时期，徐州（今山东省东南部和江苏省北部，其治所在江苏省徐州市）继丹阳之后成为全国有名的铜矿所在地。但是，从实际情况来说，今徐州市及其附近一带自古未闻有铜矿。因此，这便成了一个十分费解的问题，有待进一步探讨。当然，汉代开发的铜矿是比较多的；据文献记载，四川、云南一带的铜矿也相当丰富。

1953年在河北承德地区调查了一处西汉的铜矿遗址，其中包括矿井、选矿场和冶炼工场等。矿井深达一百多米，有宽广的采矿场。矿井附近发现的铁锤和铁钎，便是当时的采矿工具。采矿场四周有坑道，从坑道运出来的矿石就在井口的附近进行挑选。冶炼工场共发现四处，都在附近不远处。从遗留的炉砖形状来看，炼炉是圆形的。冶炼出来的成品是圆饼状的铸锭，每锭重约五公斤至十五公斤不等。铸锭上面刻

有“东六十”、“西五三”等字样，数字是它们的编号，“东”和“西”则可能是指炼铜工场的位置。有的铸锭还刻有“二年”字样，表明它们的制作年代可能在汉武帝建立年号之前（图149）。[20]1955年，在西安汉代首都长安城遗址附近发现了当时的铜锭十块，都作长方形，重各三十四公斤，纯铜率为99％。铜锭都刻有重量和编号，其中一块刻“汝南（郡）富波（县）宛里田戎卖”的字样，说明当时政府为了铸造铜器和铜钱，除了控制采矿业以外，有时还收购民间的铜材。[21]

汉代官营的铜器制造业，规模很大，其产品主要供宫廷和官府使用。中央政府中少府的属官尚方令和考工令（东汉时属太仆），在首都负责制造御用和官用的铜器。根据铜器上的铭文，在西汉武帝时，尚方已分为左、右、中三部分，至东汉仍然。中尚方所制器物有鼎、锺、壶、鐎斗、灯等，种类最多。弩机则为左、右、中三尚方所共制。考工室所制铜器有鼎、锺、钫、灯、弩机等，其种类与中尚方所制似无多大区别。但是，铜镜则为尚方所制，不由考工制作。曹魏时，制作铜镜的是右尚方。此外，少府属官右工室亦制作铜器。

汉朝政府还在各地设工官，其所属作坊亦有制造铜器的。蜀郡和广汉郡的工官，除制造漆器以外，还以制造铜器而闻名。《汉书·贡禹传》说：“蜀、广汉主金银器。”从考古发掘的实际情况来看，汉代的金银器并不发达。所谓“蜀、广汉主金银器”，主要应系指制造镀金或镀银的铜器而言。北京故宫博物院收藏的东汉建武二十一年（公元45年）蜀郡西工所造的一件铜酒樽，附有托盘，通体镀金，并在樽和托盘的三个熊形的足上镶嵌绿松石和水晶，制作极其精致（图150）。[22]值得注意的是，托盘上有详细的铭文：“建武廿一年蜀郡西工造乘舆一斛承旋，雕蹲熊足，青碧闵瑰饰，铜承旋径二尺二寸，铜涂工崇、雕工业、冻工康、造工业造，护工卒史恽、长汜、丞萌、掾巡、令史郎主”。铭文的格式及其所记工官的体制与漆器的铭文完全相同，可见在同一工官中既制造漆器，也制造铜器。

1925年在朝鲜平壤发掘的王盱墓中，有一件建武廿八年（公元52年）蜀郡西工所造的漆杯，其铭文如下：“建武廿八年蜀郡西工造乘舆侠纻量二升二合羹杯，素工回、髹工吴、泪工文、汜工廷、造工忠，护工卒史旱、长汜、丞庚、掾翕、令史茂主”。[23]与上述铜酒樽铭文中的各职官吏的名字相比，这件漆杯由于制作的时间晚了七年，所以护工卒史、丞、掾、令史等官吏的名字都不相同，但长的名字却没有改变，仍然是“汜”。这不仅说明了“汜”的任期甚长，至少达七年之久，而且也说明了在蜀郡的工官中各职官吏既管漆器的生产，也经管铜器的生

产。

私营的铜器作坊也很多，其产品有时在铭文中标明价格。满城汉墓出土的中山王府派官员从雒阳买来的一件铜钫和从河东买来的一件铜銗，大概也是私营作坊的产品，铜銗的买价为八百四十钱（图151）。[24]许多铜镜，往往在铭文中自夸铜质的优良、制作的精致，使用者可以长寿富贵，如云“内清质以昭明，光辉象夫日月”，“叶氏作竟佳且好，明如日月世少有”，“吾作明竟自有纪，令人长命宜子孙”等等，充分说明了它们是作为商品而生产的。也有许多铜镜，虽系私营作坊的产品，但也在铭文中套用“尚方作镜”的字句，这可能已成了一种习惯，其目的是为了提高产品的声誉。

116． *Zhong*-vessel inscribed with "Chu da guan zao zhong," unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的楚大官糟锺

118． *Hu*-vessel decorated with bird-seal-script characters, unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的鸟篆文壶

117. *Zhong*-vessel inscribed with "Changle siguan zhong," unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的长乐飤官锺

119．"Bo shan" incense burner with gold inlays, unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的错金博山炉

120．The Changxin Palace Lamp unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的“长信宫灯”

121．Bronze *jian*-basin for use at the Shanglinyuan Park, unearthed at Sanqiaozhen in Xi'an ("Manufactured at Dong Jun in the third year of Chu Yuan")　西安三桥镇出土的上林苑铜鉴（“初元三年东郡造”）

122．Bronze *ding*-tripod with the inscription "Cheng yu," unearthed in Sanqiaozhen, Xi'an　西安三桥

镇出土的“乘舆”铜鼎

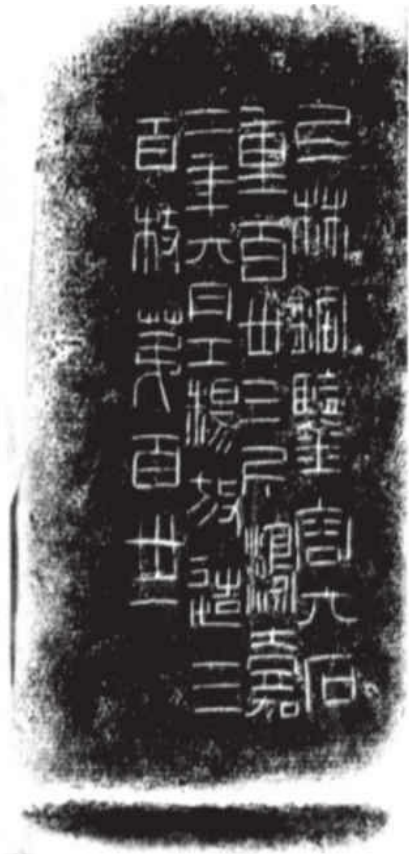
123．Bronze *zhong*-vessel with the inscription "Jiu jiang gong," unearthed in Sanqiaozhen, Xi'an 西安三桥镇出土的上林苑“九江宫”铭文铜锺

124．Bronze *fang*-vessel unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的铜钫

125．Bronze *juan*-vessel unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的铜

上林銅鑒容五石
重百卅四斤陽朔四年
五月工李駿造三百
卅枚第廿四

上林銅鑒容五石
重百廿五斤陽朔四年
五月工周博造三百卅
枚第八十二


上林銅鑒容六石
重百卅二斤鴻嘉三
年六月工楊政造三
百枚第百廿

上林銅鑒容五石重
百卅二斤鴻嘉二年
六月工番禹造三百
枚第百五十八

上林銅鑒容五石
重百卅斤陽朔元
年九月工楊放造
十枚第十

上林銅鑒容五石
重百廿斤陽朔四年
五月工尾譚造三百
卅枚第百六

126．Inscriptions on Shanglinyuan Park bronze vessels unearthed in Sanqiaozhen, Xi'an　西安三桥镇出土上林苑铜器铭文

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127. Inscriptions on Shanglinyuan Park bronze vessels unearthed in Sanqiaozhen, Xi'an　西安三桥镇出土上林苑铜器铭文

128. Bronze *mou*-vessel unearthed from a Han tomb in Pingle, Guangxi　广西平乐汉墓出土的铜鍪

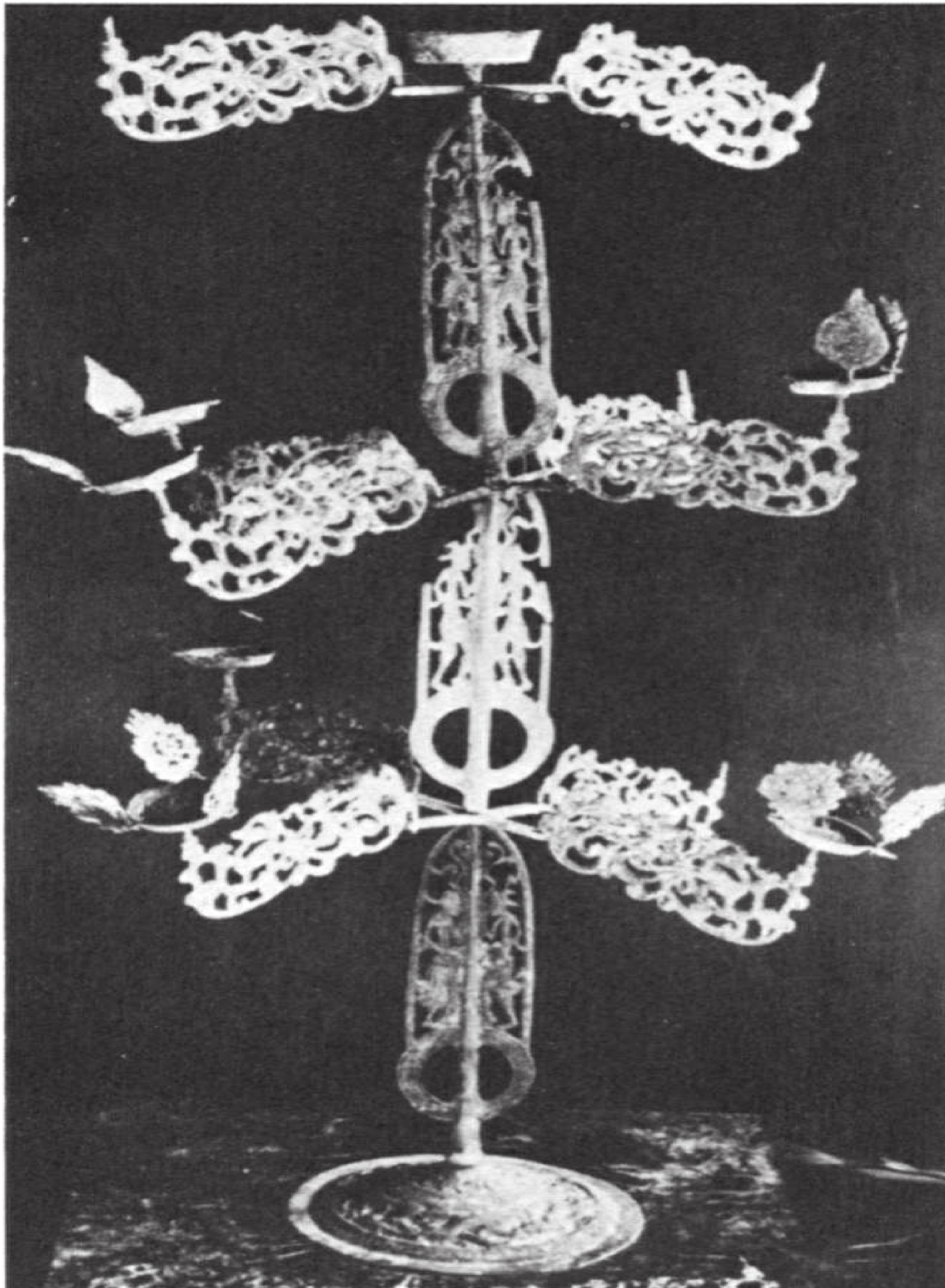
129．Square stove of bronze, unearthed in Xi'an ("Manufactured in the second year of Gan Lu")　西

安出土的铜方炉（“甘露二年造”）

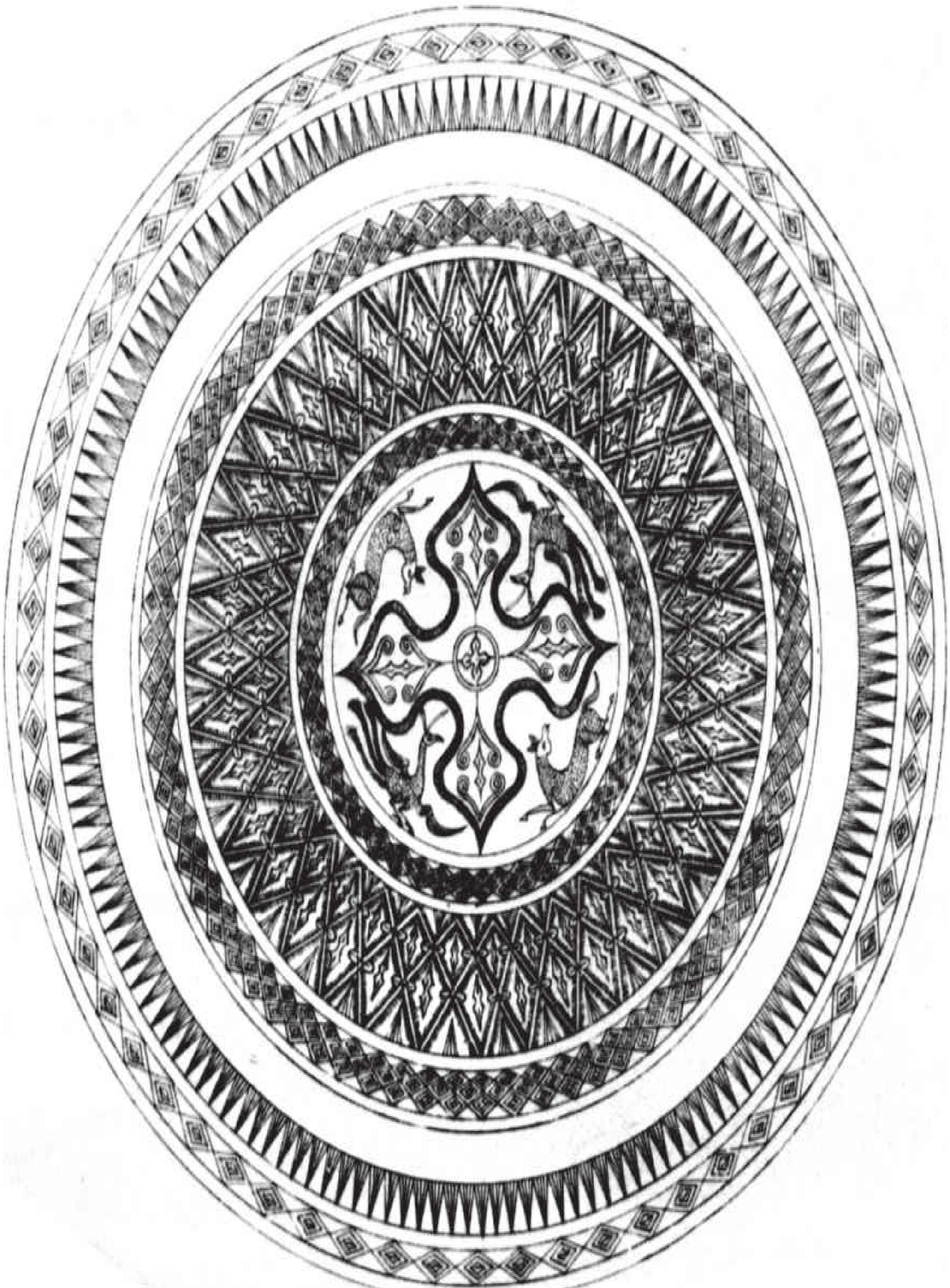
131. Bronze lamp in the shape of the Red Bird, unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng 满城汉墓出土的朱雀灯

130．Dripping jar of bronze, unearthed in Yikezhao League in Inner Mongolia　内蒙古伊克昭盟出土的铜漏壶

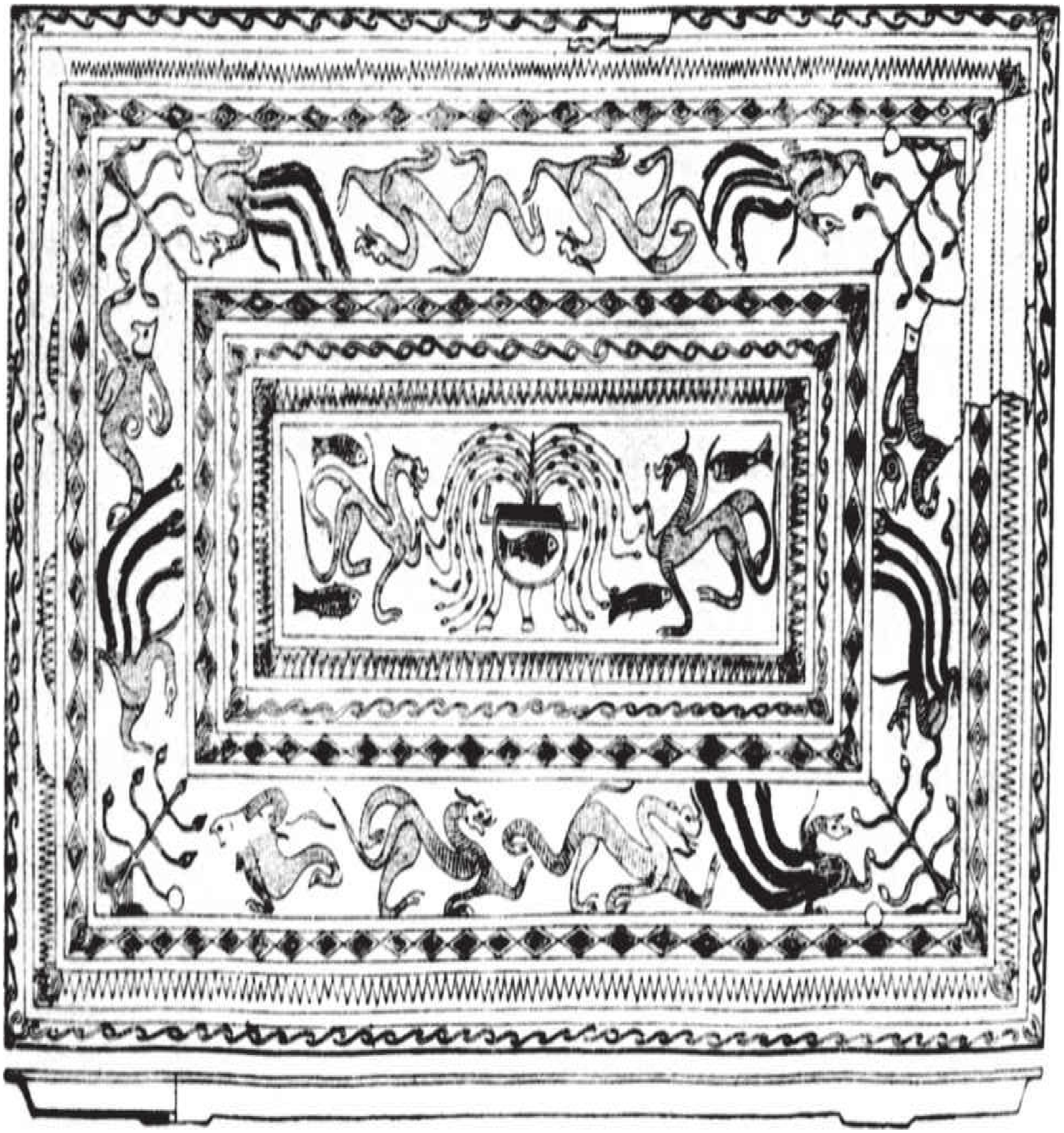
132．Bronze lamp in the shape of a ram, unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的羊灯



133．Twelve-branch lamp of bronze, unearthed from the Han tomb at Leitai, in Wuwei, Gansu　甘肃武威雷台汉墓出土的十二连枝灯

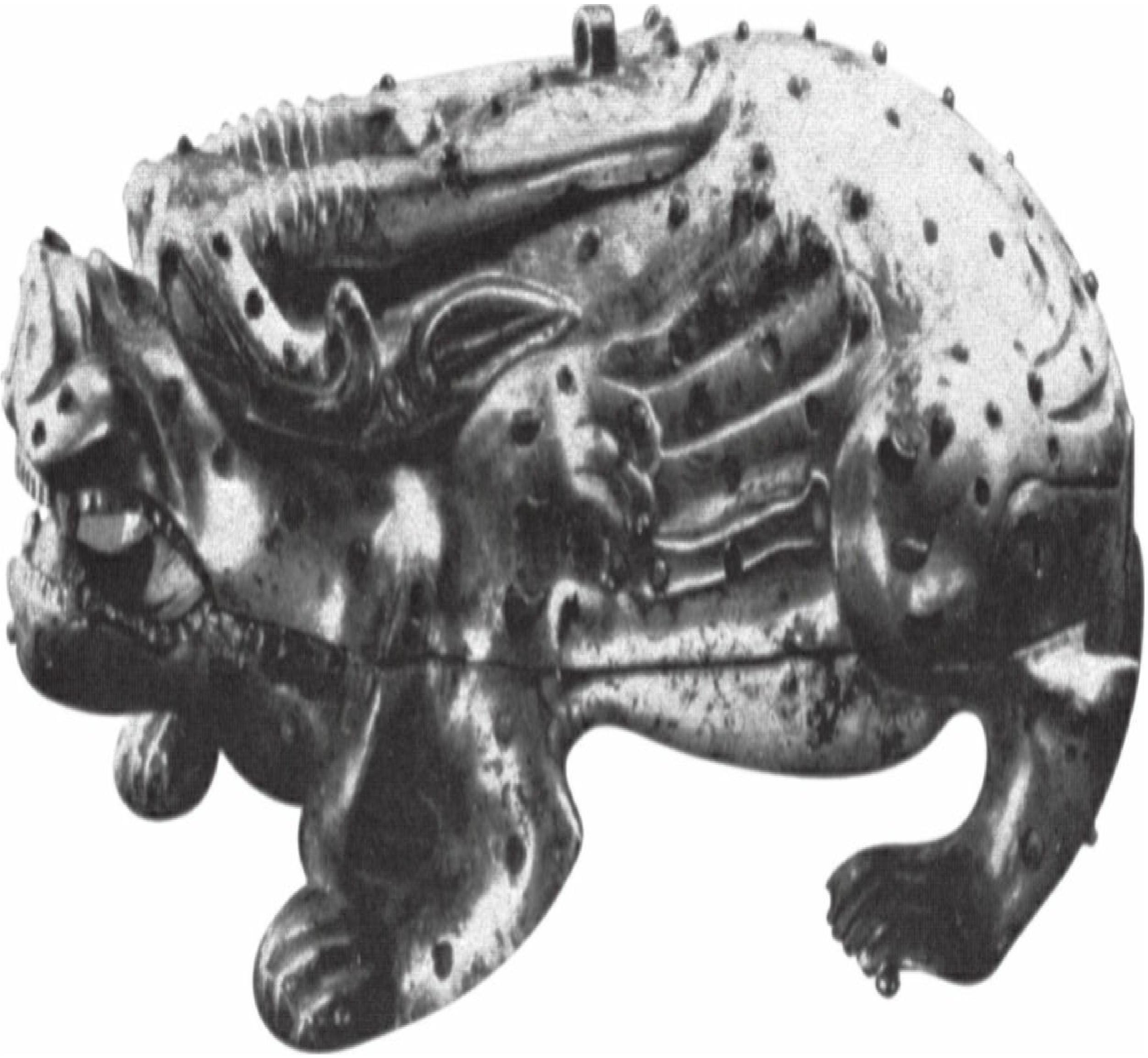


134. Incised designs on a bronze tray with three legs, unearthed from a Han tomb in Hepu, Guangxi 广西合浦汉墓出土铜盘上的细线镂刻花纹



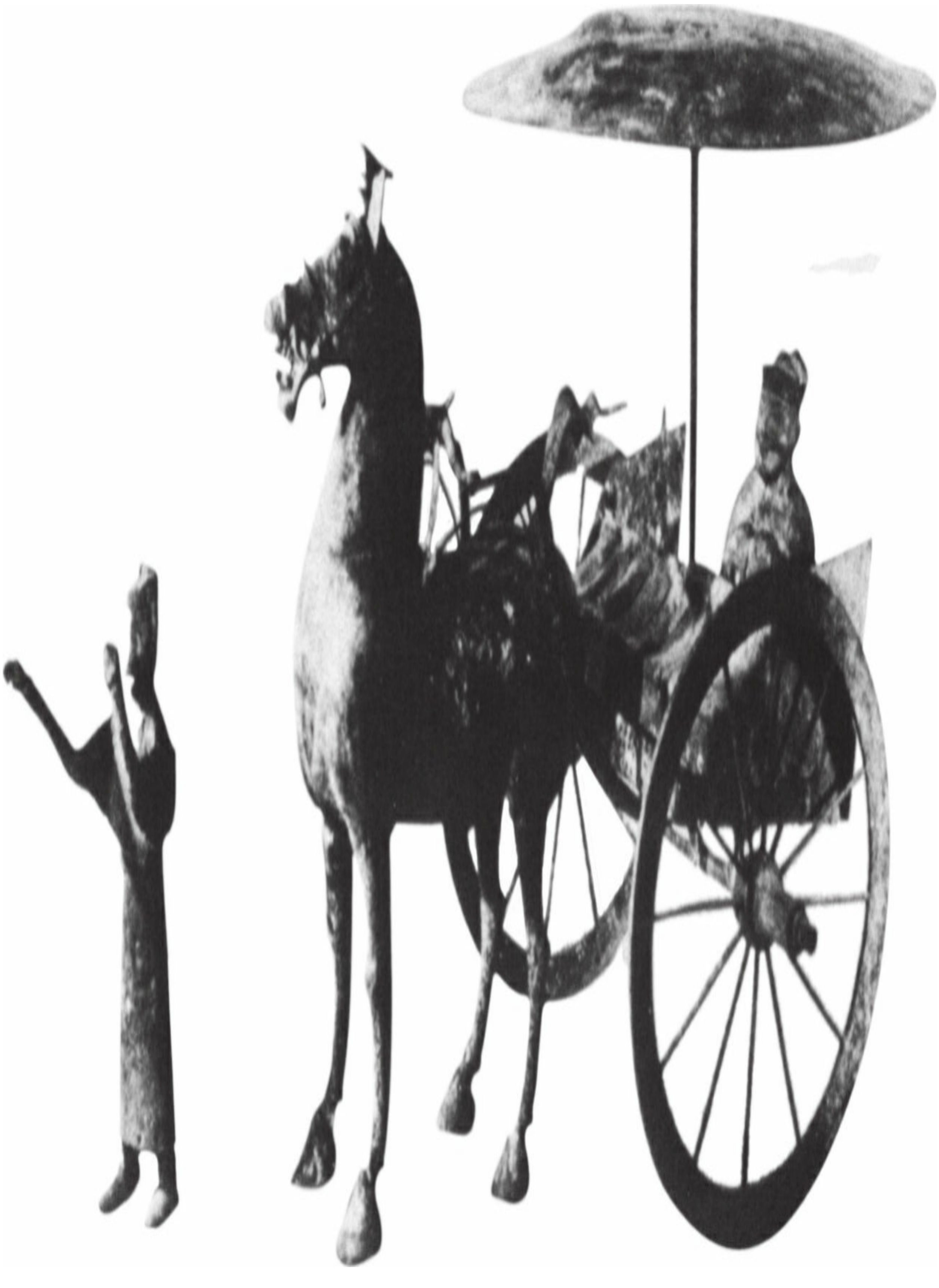
135. Incised designs on a bronze table unearthed from a Han tomb in Wuzhou, Guangxi 广西梧州汉墓出土铜案上的细线镂刻花纹

136. Gold-gilded wine *zun*-cup of bronze, unearthed in Youyu, Shanxi 山西右玉出土的镀金铜酒樽



137. Gold-gilded ink-stone box of bronze, unearthed from a Han tomb in Xuzhou, Jiangsu 江苏徐州汉墓出土的镀金铜砚台

138．Gold-gilded wine *zun*-cup of bronze, unearthed from the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu
甘肃武威雷台汉墓出土的镀金铜酒樽

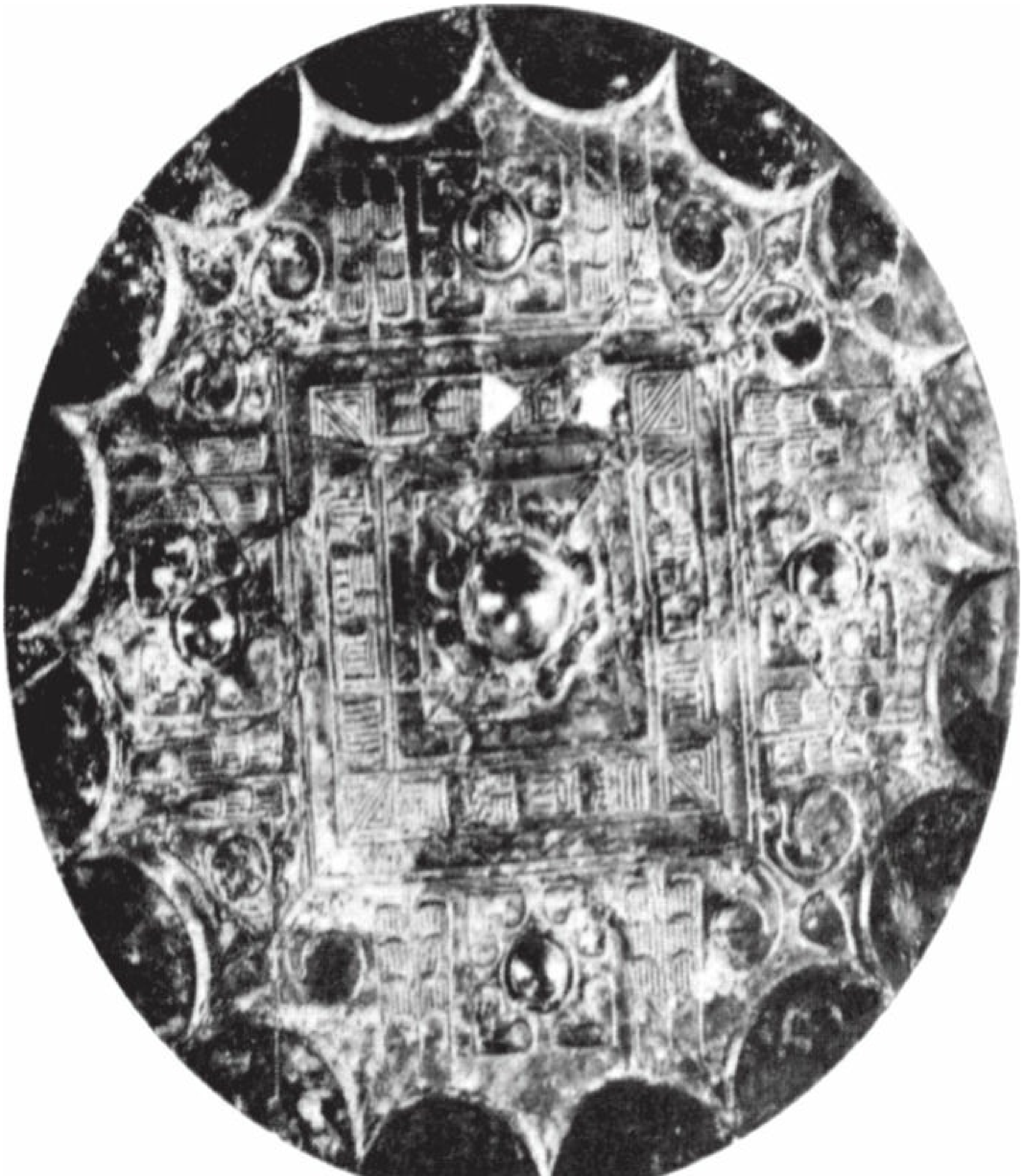


139．Bronze model of horsedrawn carriage, unearthed from the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu　甘肃武威雷台汉墓出土的铜质马车模型

140. Bronze figure of warrior on horseback, unearthed from the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu　甘肃武威雷台汉墓出土的骑马武士

141．The "Flying Horse," bronze galloping horse stepping on a flying bird, unearthed from the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu　甘肃武威雷台汉墓出土的足踏飞鸟奔马

142．Bronze mirror with designs of intertwining serpents, unearthed from the Han tomb of Mawangdui, Changsha　长沙马王堆汉墓出土的蟠螭纹铜



143．Bronze mirror with grass-leaf designs, unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的草叶纹镜

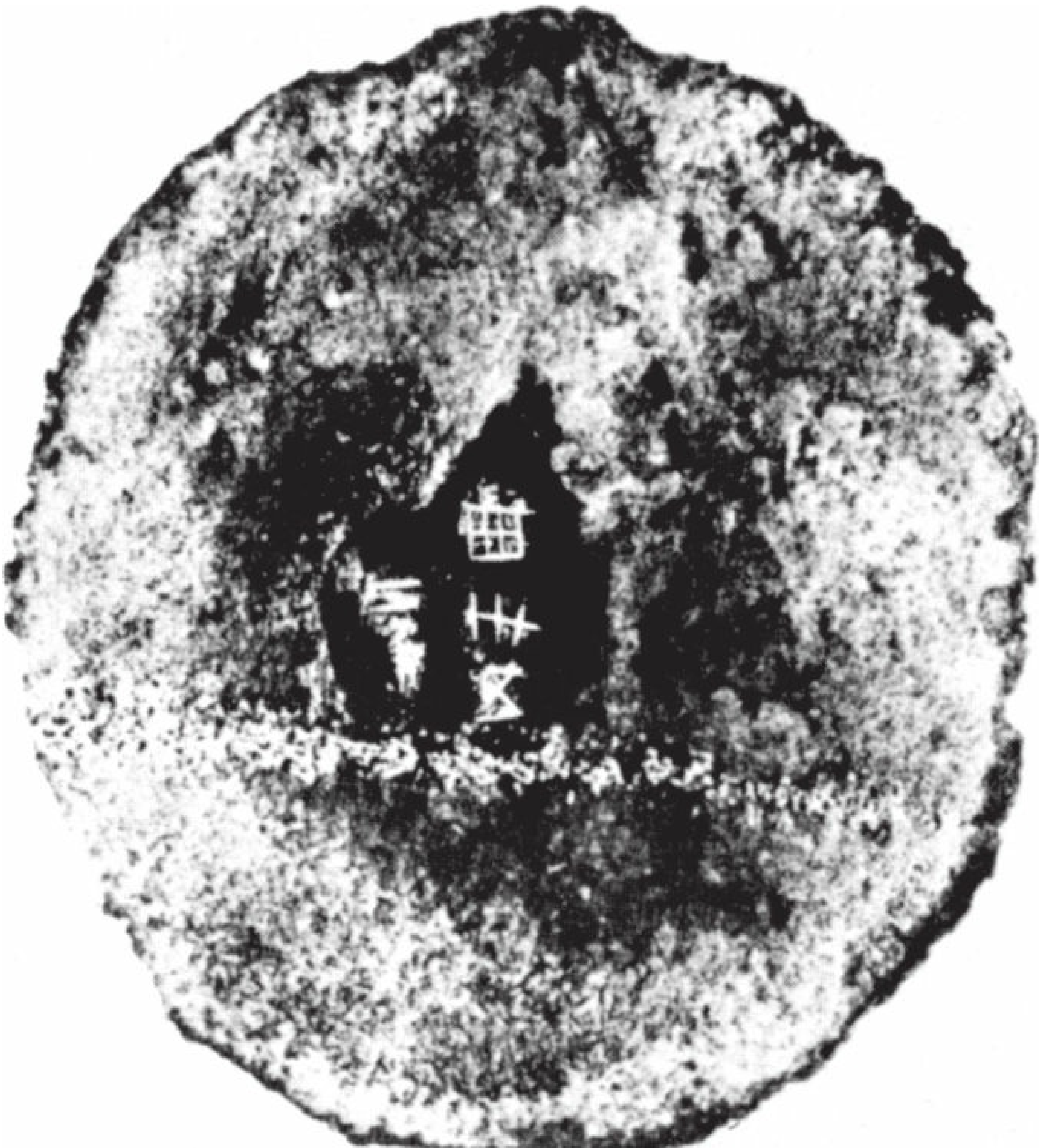
144. Bronze mirror with designs of stars and clouds, unearthed from the Han tomb in Nanchang, Jiangxi 江西南昌汉墓出土的星云纹镜

145．Bronze *zhaoming* mirror unearthed from the Han tomb in Xi'an　西安汉墓出土的昭明镜

146. Bronze mirror with designs in the shape of measuring rules ("elbow ruler"), unearthed from the Han tomb in Xi'an　西安汉墓出土的规矩镜

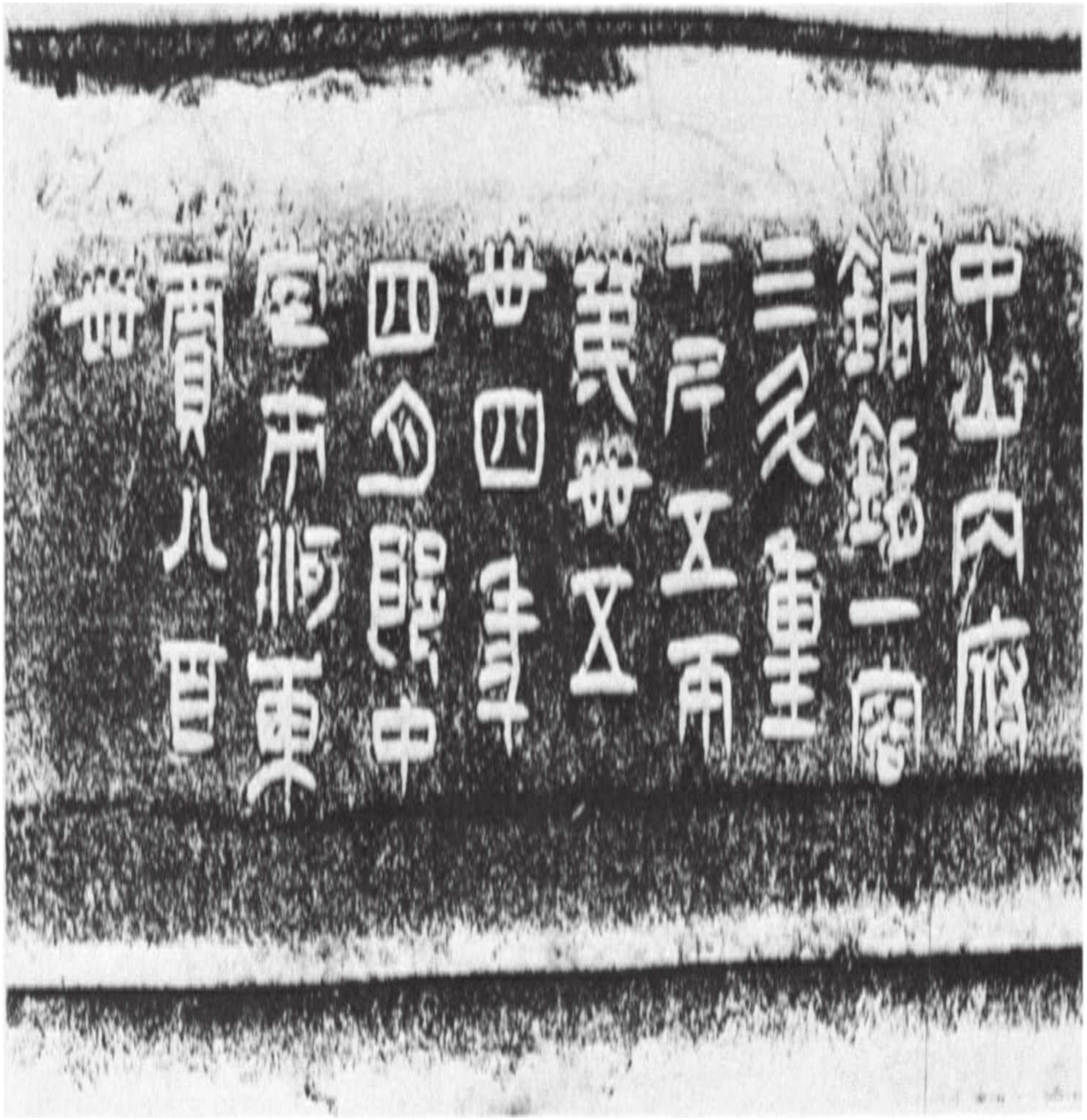
147．Bronze mirror decorated with design of spiritual beasts, unearthed from the Han tomb in Shaoxing, Zhejiang　浙江绍兴汉墓出土的神兽镜

148．Bronze mirror with pictorial designs, unearthed from the Han tomb in Shaoxing, Zhejiang　浙江绍兴出土的画像镜



149．Bronze ingot of the Han dynasty date, unearthed in Xinglong, Hebei　河北兴隆出土的汉代铜锭

150．Gold-gilded bronze wine zun-cup and tray inscribed with manufacturing date (the twenty-first year of Jian Wu), in the collection of the Palace Museum　建武廿一年铭镀金铜酒樽（故宫博物院藏）



151．Inscription on the bronze juan-vessel unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土铜鋗上的铭文

CHAPTER 6 IRON IMPLEMENTS

According to archaeological excavations, Chinese iron metallurgy began in the late Spring and Autumn period. By the Han dynasty, the use and manufacture of iron implements had become common and widespread. It can be said that iron tools became indispensable for every aspect of daily life and production. As we have mentioned earlier, farm tools like the plow, the pickax, the spade, the shovel, the hoe, and the sickle were widely used in all parts of China, and their use caused a noticeable increase in agricultural productivity (fig. 152). According to a historian's estimate, at the end of the Warring States period the total population of the seven major states was about twenty million.[1] It increased drastically after mid-Western Han. According to the "Treatise on Geography" in *Hanshu*, the population reached almost sixty million by the end of the Western Han dynasty. This population growth would have been inconceivable had it not been for the widespread use of iron tools both in farming and in waterworks, the latter having greatly increased productivity of food crops and other farm products.

Craftsman's tools—such as the ax, the adz, the hammer, the chisel, the knife, the saw, the awl, nails, and so on—increasingly raised the efficiency of carpenters, bamboo craftsmen, stonemasons, and earth builders, making possible completion of large-scale construction projects(fig. 153). Concurrent with increasing water transport during the Han dynasty, the shipbuilding industry developed rapidly. In 1975, a shipyard of the late Qin or early Han period was excavated in Guangzhou. The yard comprised three building platforms.[2] These are estimated to have been capable of building large wooden ships 30 m long, 8 m wide, with a weight capacity of 60 metric tons.[3] The discovery offers us a glimpse of the scope of the Han shipbuilding industry, which cannot be separated from the use of iron tools. The rotary quern, a small hand mill for grinding grain, was an important tool that concerned the daily life of everyone. Without iron tools, the widespread use of this particular device would have been impossible. Masterpieces of stone, such as the carved pictorial stones and the gate towers and stone animals often found erected in front of Eastern Han tombs, were also the result of skillful application of fine quality iron tools by artists.

The superior quality of iron became all the more evident when it was used in weapons. By the early Western Han period, long iron swords had completely replaced the short bronze swords of the Warring States period. The length of the Warring States bronze sword was in general less than half a meter, whereas the length of the Han iron sword often measured about one meter. The superiority of steel was able to lengthen the sword blade by a hundred percent. In Western Han, a large iron knife with a ring at the end of its handle appeared. Its length was also one meter. This new weapon, unknown to previous periods, became one of the major weapons of the Eastern Han period. Fighting soldiers holding a shield in one hand and this kind of knife in the other are often depicted on pictorial stones. Although the form of bronze *ge*-halberd of the Shang and Zhou periods changed in the course of time, they were still being made and used in Western Han; but before long, they also were completely replaced by iron spears and *ji*-halberds. The length alone of the iron spearheads and *ji*-halberd heads was about half a meter, and the total length of these weapons, including their wooden shafts, could reach more than 2.5 m.[4] While arrowheads were still made of bronze in the Han dynasty, the stem of the arrowhead was made mostly of iron. However, gradually arrowheads made wholly of iron became popular, and finally they came to replace bronze ones. Due to the advancement in iron technology, the quality of armor improved noticeably. Archaeologists have excavated quite a number of specimens of Han iron armor. Among the best-preserved specimens are one excavated at the site of a frontier town in Dingxiang Prefecture (its capital located in present Holingor, Inner Mongolia) (figs. 154, 155) and another found in the tomb of Liu Sheng, the Han Prince Jing of Zhongshan, in Mancheng, Hebei.[5] The latter was an example of so-called fish-scale armor; it was made of more than 2,800 small iron plates. As a defensive device, large numbers of barbed iron balls were made to be placed on the ground outside the city walls. The thorny iron balls were so devised that no matter how each piece was placed, there was always one sharp thorn pointing upward. Their function was to deter marching soldiers and horses (fig. 156).[6] It was precisely these sorts of superior iron weapons that made it possible to deal with the powerful horsemen from the northern tribes. When Chao Cuo analyzed the military situation between the Han and the Xiong Nu during the reign of Emperor Jing Di of Western Han, he pointed out that one of the advantages the Han had over the Xiong Nu was superior weaponry. The fact that the Han dynasty, following Qin, was able to

establish a united empire over such a vast area was, in addition to social, economic, and other factors, also closely related to the application of superior iron weaponry in military affairs.

Let us now turn to household utensils. Iron also played an important role in everyday life. Iron provided material for making *ding*-tripods, stoves, cooking pots, belt buckles, tweezers, fire tongs, scissors, kitchen knives, fishhooks, and needles (figs. 157, 158). The widespread use of iron cooking pots greatly facilitated household cooking. A huge iron pot, with a diameter measuring about 2 m, was found in Wafangzhuang, Nanyang, Henan Province; it was possibly used for boiling salt.[7] The kitchen knife—especially made to meet culinary needs—become differentiated from other knives. The Han scissors, like primitive scissors of other civilizations, were made of a bent iron rod with its two sharpened ends facing each other. The resilient nature of steel makes them operable. The convenience offered by scissors in cutting cloth and hair cannot be overemphasized. The iron needle was an indispensable item in the daily life of the Han people. Unfortunately, due to their small size and propensity to rust, needles are difficult to find. Up until today, the needle found in tomb number 167 at Fenghuangshan in Jiangling, Hubei Province, is the only example we have of Han needles. It was this kind of iron needle that was used in sewing and embroidering.[8] Rulers for measuring also were often made of iron. The marks and decorative patterns on an iron ruler found in the Mancheng Han tomb were inlaid with gold threads.[9] In Eastern Han, iron lamps were as popular as bronze lamps. An iron "twelve-branch lamp" found in a Han tomb in Luoyang exhibits the clever and elegant style of the artisan(fig. 159).[10] Even iron mirrors are often found in late Eastern Han tombs. Unfortunately, because of their tendency to rust, they have received much less attention than bronze mirrors. In fact, some of their decorative patterns are quite attractive. For example, through X rays we found that the decoration on the iron mirror discovered in the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu, was elegantly inlaid with gold and silver threads in a phoenix design (figs. 160, 161).[11] It should not surprise us that when Cao Cao presented gifts to the emperor, he preferred iron mirrors to bronze.

In short, during the Han dynasty iron implements were closely related to national defense, on the one hand, and to economic life of the country, on the other. Therefore, the iron-manufacturing industry came to be an increasingly important sector of the economy, over which the ruling class found it

essential to have control. According to the records in the "History of the Southern Yue" in *Shiji* and in the "Biography of the King of South Yue" in *Hanshu,* in early Western Han when the prince Zhao Tuo of the Southern Yue advocated separatism and independence, Empress Dowager Lü Hou ordered that shipment of iron implements to that area be banned. The court's punitive move brought on a drastic reaction from Zhao Tuo: he led an army and marched toward Changsha, threatening the central government. This incident demonstrates the importance of iron at that time. In early Western Han, the iron industry was sometimes controlled by the central government and sometimes by provincial lords and principalities. Each lord or prince installed his own iron officials to control iron manufacturing. For example, in the Linzi area of Shandong Province, seals have been found with such inscriptions as "Seal of Qi Iron Office," "Qi Iron Officer," "Qi Iron Office Deputy," and "Iron Deputy of Linzi" (figs. 162-65).[12] In addition, rich merchants, in an attempt to increase their wealth, ran privately owned iron manufactories. Thus, strong competition for control over the iron industry existed between the central government, the principalities, and the wealthy merchants. The strength of the central government greatly increased after the rebellion of the seven states in the Wu and Chu area was crushed by Emperor Jing Di. Eventually, in Wu Di's reign, the central government was able to monopolize the iron industry completely. Like salt, iron implements were manufactured and distributed by government offices.

According to the "Treatise on Geography" in *Hanshu,* more than forty iron offices were established, and they were located as far as Shandong and Jiangsu in the east, Gansu in the west, Liaoning in the northeast, and Sichuan and Yunnan in the southwest, covering a vast area. Inscriptions sometimes can be found on the objects made by the official manufactories. To mention some examples from the excavated finds, those made in the manufactories of the Henan Prefecture (present Luoyang) have the inscriptions "He 1," "He 2," "He 3"; those from the Nanyang Prefecture bear the characters "Yang 1," "Yang 2"; those from the Hedong Prefecture (present Xiaxian, Shanxi Province) have "Dong 2," "Dong 3." The characters "He," "Yang," and "Dong" represent names of prefectures, while the numbers "1," "2," and "3" designate the particular manufactory or workshop of that prefecture (fig. 166).[13]

Extensive investigations carried out since the founding of New China have uncovered many iron foundry sites in Qinghezhen in Beijing, Tengxian

in Shandong, and Liguoyi in Xuzhou in Jiangsu.[14] Especially in Henan Province in the Central Plains area, more than a dozen such workshops and foundries have been found. Of these, large-scale excavations were carried out in the site located at Tieshenggou in Gongxian and the one at Wafangzhuang in Nanyang.[15] The former is dated from mid-Western Han to the Wang Mang period, the latter, from mid-Western Han to Eastern Han.

Tieshenggou iron foundry is located in a basin at the foot of Mount Song. There were workshops for smelting, casting, and forging. Only a few kilometers away in the mountains was a rich iron mine from which ore was obtained. Thus, this manufactory in fact encompassed facilities for the whole process from mining and smelting to manufacturing. Within the 2,000 m^2 already excavated, we have found an ore-dressing yard, eighteen smelting furnaces, one crucible furnace, and one forging furnace, as well as mixing pools, storage pits, and other auxiliary facilities(figs. 167, 168). From the excavated remains and objects, we can see that the ore was first delivered to the dressing yard, where it was crushed by hammers and screened so that the ore pieces were more or less the same size. After that, a certain proportion of limestone as a flux was mixed with the ore in the mixing pool. The mixture was then put in the smelting furnace, together with the fuel. The eighteen smelting furnaces can be divided into several types according to their different structures and functions. Some could be called "solid reduction furnaces." In this type of furnace the iron ore was reduced at low temperatures into spongelike bloom iron pieces. Others could be called "blast furnaces," where liquid cast iron was produced at high temperatures. There is another type that could be called a "steel puddling furnace." Smelted cast iron was put in this type of furnace. When it melted, the liquid was constantly stirred by the founder. Steel or wrought iron could be produced by this process. Most of the smelting furnaces were semisubterranean with walls made of refractory bricks, and both the bricks and the bottom of the furnace were covered with refractory clay. The smelted iron blooms produced were stored in the storage pit. The function of the "crucible furnace" was to melt cast iron. Various clay molds were found near it. They were used for casting various tools and utensils. Near the "forge furnace," used in tempering bloom iron and making implements, an iron anvil and a quenching pool were found. Three types of fuel were used: wood, coal, and coal cakes. The coal cakes were made of coal powder mixed with clay and quartz.[16] We found at this site many smelting furnaces, but only a few forging and crucible furnaces and

casting molds, so we concluded that the main function of this foundry was smelting, and that forging and casting were secondary.[17]

The iron foundry at Wafangzhuang in Nanyang was located in Wanxian, the administrative seat of Nanyang Prefecture.[18] The iron office of Nanyang Prefecture was the most famous of its time. The Wafangzhuang site is probably one of the many foundries under the Nanyang iron office. Because the remnants of the ancient city walls of Wanxian still stand, we know that this foundry was located in the central part of the walled city. Because its location was far from the mines, its main function was to cast and forge, using cast-iron ingots smelted elsewhere or recycling old and worn-out iron utensils. Its main function was to manufacture various implements and utensils, just the opposite of the Tieshenggou foundry. Within the 3,000 m^2 already excavated, seventeen furnaces have been found. Some were crucible furnaces to melt cast iron for casting. At the site a large number of clay molds were found, including molds for vessels, such as *ding*-tripods, pots, and basins; agricultural implements and tools, such as pickaxes, spades, shovels, plowshares, axes, adzes, hammers, and chisels; and such carriage parts as axle-pins and bearings. It is evident that this foundry had a remarkable capacity, casting large numbers of a variety of items. Some furnaces were steel stirring furnaces, in which cast iron was melted and stirred into steel or wrought iron and was then forged into various tools and utensils. A large number of hammers and anvils for forging as well as many finished products like knives, sickles, and spearheads were also found. Unlike the Tieshenggou foundry, the sole fuel used here was wood.[19]

In recent years, excellent results have been achieved by the combined research efforts of archaeologists and metallurgists, especially of metallurgists in analyzing archaeologically excavated iron implements.[20] It has been shown that by the Spring and Autumn period at the latest (late sixth century B.C.) China had already employed the method of reducing iron ore with charcoal at relatively low temperatures (800-1,000°C) to a relatively pure but spongelike iron bloom. This method is called the "low temperature-solid reduction," or "bloom smelting" method. The product is called bloom-smelted iron (commonly known as wrought iron) and it can be forged into implements. A short piece of iron bar found in 1974 in a tomb of the late Spring and Autumn period in Liuhexian in Jiangsu was forged from this type of bloom-smelted iron.[21] By the late Warring States period, ironsmiths already knew how to produce steel out of wrought iron by the method of

solid state carburization of the wrought iron. The technique was to heat pure iron in charcoal for an extended period of time at a temperature above 900°C, or to keep heating the iron in charcoal while forging. As a result, when enough carbon was absorbed by the iron, it turned into steel. A late Warring States sword excavated in 1973 in Yanxiadu in Yixian, Hebei, was made of steel produced by this method.[22]

In the two centuries following the late Warring States period, along with accumulated experience, forging technique also improved. The main technique was repeated forging. By means of repeated beating of the heated metal, the carbon content was evenly alloyed with the metal and impurities were reduced, thus greatly improving the quality of the steel. This early technology was known as "hundred-time forged steel." The sword worn by Liu Sheng and later found in his tomb was a product of this technology during its early stage (fig. 169). The new technology of mid-Western Han was developed from the old technique known as the "solid state carburization method" of the late Warring States period. The cast iron and the carbon infiltration method of the Han period were similar to the material and technique of the late Warring States, the difference being that the Han method extended the hammering and heating process. The hammering process not only forged the metal into the desired shape; it also reduced the number and size of impurities and alloyed the carbon evenly with the metal, thus raising the quality of the steel produced. If we compare the Yanxiadu sword from the Warring States period mentioned above and the Han sword found in Liu Sheng's tomb, we find that the raw materials were both solid-state carboninfiltrated steel, but the former has an unevenly alloyed carbon content and a high content of larger-sized impurities, whereas the latter has an evenly distributed carbon content with fewer and smaller impurities. The main reason for the difference was that the latter had been produced by a repeated hammering and heating process. This is considered a major development in the history of metallurgy occurring between the late Warring States period and mid-Western Han.

In order to increase its sharpness, Liu Sheng's sword had also undergone the processes of "surface carbonization" and blade-edge quenching. Quenching was a technique of dipping heated steel in cold water in order to increase the strength and hardness of the metal. Only the edge of the blade of Liu Sheng's sword was treated with the quenching process. The result is that only the blade edges are hard and sharp while the body of the sword (the

middle thicker part) remains relatively elastic and non-brittle. The same idea was applied in the surface carbonization process so that only the outside of the sword was hardened.

Other weapons such as the knife, the *ji*-halberd, and the short sword excavated from the Han tomb in Mancheng also indicate a higher quality(fig. 170). A beautifully made desk knife inlaid with gold thread was also found there. Its forging process was similar to that of Liu Sheng's sword, only the body of the blade was made of a steel with lower carbon content and thus of lesser hardness. By reducing its hardness, the craftsman was able to carve the knife and inlay it with gold thread. However, since the blade edge had been infiltrated with carbon and quenched, the knife was hardened and the edge could easily be sharpened.[23]

On the other hand, as early as the early Warring States period in the fifth century B.C., shortly after the bloom smelting technique was developed, the Chinese founder invented a technique which produced cast iron that had more than 2 percent carbon content. An early Warring States iron adz excavated in Luoyang in 1975 was determined to be the earliest tool made of this kind of cast iron.[24] This is 1,800 years earlier than the development of similar techniques in other civilizations. The main factor in founding cast iron is high temperature. Because of the long history of bronze technology and improvements made in the bellows systems, it became possible to bring temperatures up to 1,100-1,200°C or more. At this high temperature the charcoal-reduced iron would rapidly absorb carbon, thus greatly lowering its melting point. When the temperature exceeds 1,146°C the iron with more than 2 percent carbon content begins to melt and its speed of carbon absorption increases. When the process accelerates, the result is completely melted cast iron. This kind of cast iron has a lower content of silicon, and no graphite. It is called white iron because its fracture appears white. It is hard but brittle in character.

In order to improve the quality of white iron, the early Warring States artisans treated it with an extended heating process, causing graphite to separate from the carbonized iron. The resulting cast iron, called elastic cast iron, was not brittle. This kind of iron was widely used for farm tools and weapons in the middle and late Warring States period. A great number of these were found in Warring States period sites and tombs in Changsha of Hunan, Daye of Hubei, and Yanxiadu in Yixian of Hebei. Many iron tools found in the Mancheng Han tomb of mid-Western Han were also made of

this elastic cast iron.[25]

It is noteworthy that gray iron pieces were also found in the Mancheng Han tombs. These are the earliest gray iron items ever found in China. The gray iron was produced by raising the heating temperature and speeding up the cooling process. During the treatment, the carbon content in excess of 2 percent would be separated from the cast iron in the form of thin graphite pieces. Gray iron is so named because the color of its fracture is gray. Its hardness is lower than white iron, but it is not as brittle. It stands up to wear and its surface can be smoothened. The pickax in the Han tomb of Mancheng was made of elastic cast iron, while the carriage bearings were made of gray iron, indicating that the characteristics of various kinds of cast iron were understood and utilized accordingly.[26]

The agricultural implements, tools, utensils, and weapons that were described initially can be divided into forged and cast items. Until midWestern Han, forged items and cast items were invariably made of "bloomery iron" and cast iron, respectively. Cast items became more and more popular as the size of the furnace became larger and the bellowing system improved. However, the brittleness of cast iron greatly limited its use. On the other hand, the carburization method involved a great deal of labor in forging and both productivity and efficiency were low. In this situation, a new technique was invented to induce decarbonization of cast iron in solid state to become steel. An iron chisel excavated from Wafangzhuang in Nanyang has the appearance of a cast item. However, the structure of surface metal of the chisel, according to metallographic analysis, was clearly steel. Another chisel shows a carbon content of 0.6 to 1 percent. At the current technological level, a temperature above 1,500°C could not have been achieved. Moreover, there was no refractory material which could withstand such heat. Therefore this steel could not have been liquid. Hence we concluded that this type of steel must have been produced by decarburization in the solid state by some kind of heat treatment.[27] Because an arrowhead excavated from the Mancheng Han tomb was also made of this type of cast steel, we are quite sure this new technique had been developed by mid-Western Han.[28]

A more important new technique developed in late Western Han was the "puddling" steel method. Cast iron was heated into a semiliquid state. By constant agitation in an oxidizing atmosphere the hot metal could be decarburized. Wrought iron or steel, depending on the level of carbon

content, could be produced by this process. Using cast iron, which could be easily produced in large quantities, as material for producing steel was a revolution in metallurgical history. Thus "hundred-time forged steel" could be obtained either by puddling cast iron into wrought iron and then carbonizing and forging it into steel, or by puddling cast iron until the desired carbon content was reached and then forging it into steel implements. A large iron knife excavated in a Han tomb at Cangshan in Shandong in 1974 has a gold-inlaid inscription which reads "thirty-time forged large knife" and is dated the sixth year of Yong Chu (A.D. 112) (fig. 171).[29] Metallurgists who made analyses of this knife concluded that it was made of puddled steel.[30]

From Emperor Wu Di to the end of Western Han, the iron indus try was a monopoly of the state. Among those who worked in the governmentrun industrial mines and foundries, apart from the specialized artisans, were convicted criminals and corvée laborers. The large scale of the Han iron industry is shown by the fact that, according to the records in the "Biography of Gong Yu" in *Hanshu*, more than a hundred thousand miners were mobilized every year to mine copper and iron ores for the purpose of minting coins and smelting iron. In the late Western Han period, ironworkers in Yingchuan Prefecture (with its capital in modern Yuxian, Henan) and Shanyang Prefecture (its seat in today's Jinxiangxian, Shandong) rebelled in protest of repressive measures against them. In the early Eastern Han period, following the Western Han system, the government still monopolized the iron industry. But influential local power-holders often operated private foundries. The government was unable to enforce the law. Finally, in A.D. 88, Emperor He Di gave in and lifted the ban on private iron and salt production. From then on, both the iron and salt industries were gradually further controlled by local powers.

The Shandong Provincial Museum in its collection has a carved pictorial stone that depicts an iron foundry.[31] Among the twelve artisans shown working, four are bellowing the furnace with leather bellows, the rest are hammering and forging (fig. 172).[32] The stone was excavated at Hongdaoyuan in Tengxian, Shangdong, in 1930. Its date indicates it was made after the ban was lifted. It appears that the tomb's occupant, a powerful landlord, was engaged in the iron industry and for that reason had the manufacturing scene carved on the wall of his tomb. This stone not only provides us with a vivid depiction of iron manufacture, it also may furnish evidence that iron industry was then controlled by privately owned

enterprises. However, it is also possible that this scene was carved on the walls of the tomb of a former iron official of the state.

陆　汉代的铁器

根据考古发掘，中国炼铁的历史开始于春秋晚期。到了汉代，铁器的制造和使用已经很普遍。可以说，在社会生产和生活的各个方面，都离不开铁器。首先，如前面已经讲过的，在农具方面，有犁、镬、锸、铲、锄、镰等，它们在全国范围内被广泛使用，使得当时的农业生产有显著的提高（图152）。历史学家估计，战国末年，燕、赵、韩、魏、齐、楚、秦七国人口总共二千万左右。[1]西汉中期以来，人口激增，据《汉书·地理志》记载，到西汉末年全国已将近六千万人。如果不是普遍使用铁农具耕作，以及使用铁工具来兴修水利工程，使粮食和其他农作物的产量提高，那是不能想象的。

在工具方面，有斧、锛、锤、凿、刀、锯、锥、钉等，它们使得各种木工、竹工、石工、土工等的效率不断提高，并使大规模的建筑工程得以顺利完成（图153）。汉代水上交通频繁，造船业突飞猛进。1975年在广州发掘了一处秦汉之际的造船工场，发现了三个造船台[2]，据估计，可以造长约30米、宽约8米、载重量可达60吨的大木船。[3]汉代造船业的规模于此可见一斑，而这正是与铁工具的使用分不开的。谷物加工用的转盘式的双扇石磨盘，关系着全国人民的最基本的日常生活，如果不是用铁工具来制作，就不可能得到迅速的普及。东汉大墓里常见的石刻画像，以及墓前所立的石阙和石兽之类，正是由于使用了优质的铁工具，才能成为雕刻家们的优秀的艺术作品。

在兵器方面，铁器的优越性更为突出。铁制的长剑在西汉前期就完全取代了战国以来的青铜短剑。战国时代的青铜剑，长度多不足半米，而汉代的铁剑则往往长达一米左右，钢铁的优越性使剑的长度增加了一倍。柄首成环状的大铁刀，在西汉时就出现，长度亦多达一米；它完全是一种新兴的武器，为前代所未见，到了东汉就成为最主要的武器之一，在石刻画像上常可见到士兵们一手执盾，一手持刀，正在进行战斗的情形。殷周以来的铜戈，其形制随着时代而改变，直到西汉时还有被制作、使用的，但不久也被铁制的矛和戟所完全代替。汉代的铁戟和铁矛，仅戟头和矛头就有长近半米的，加上它们的木柄，全长可达两米半以上。[4]汉代的矢镞，虽然仍有不少是铜质的，但其铤部已多改为铁制，而铁镞也开始盛行，到后来终于代替了铜镞。由于制铁技术的发

展，铠甲的质量和性能有了显著的提高。在考古发掘工作中，已经发现了不少汉代铁甲的实物，其中以内蒙古呼和浩特附近汉定襄郡（治所在今内蒙古和林格尔）的边境城镇遗址出土的一件（图154、155）和河北满城中山靖王刘胜墓内出土的一件为最完整[5]，它们的制作都很完备，特别是后者，是由二千八百多片细小的铁片编成的鱼鳞甲，尤为精致、完善。为了防止敌兵来袭，大量的铁蒺藜被散布在城墙以外的广大地段上，它们的设计很巧妙，系由四个方位均称的锐刺组成，无论怎样放置，总有一个尖刺是向上的，从而可使人足和马足受创（图156）。[6]正是由于掌握了各种先进的铁兵器，所以才能对付北方民族强大的骑兵。西汉景帝时，晁错分析汉朝与匈奴作战的军事形势，就指出汉朝优越的武器是克敌制胜的有利条件之一。继秦代之后，汉代建立统一的大帝国，它的版图达到了空前的规模，除了政治、经济等多方面的原因而外，这也是与军事装备上充分利用铁器的优越性分不开的。

在生活用具方面，铁器也占重要的地位，从鼎、炉、釜等容器、炊具到带钩、镊子、火钳、剪刀、厨刀，以及钓鱼钩和缝衣针之类，无不应有尽有（图157、158）。铁釜的广泛使用，为炊事提供了方便；河南省南阳瓦房庄发现的一件大铁锅，直径达二米左右，可能是煮盐用的。[7]厨刀从别的各种刀类中分化出来，专门按庖厨的需要而制造。汉代的剪刀，虽然和世界各地的初期剪刀一样，是用一根两端具有锋刃的铁条弯曲而成，利用钢铁的弹性而操作，但它在裁剪布帛乃至剪除须发等生活方面所提供的方便也是不可低估的。在汉代，铁制的缝衣针是日常生活中不可或缺的，但由于极其细小，锈蚀之余，难于发现，因而湖北江陵凤凰山一六七号墓出土的缝衣针就成为迄今唯一保存完好的遗品；当时缝制各种衣物以及在丝织品上刺绣美丽的花纹，用的就是这种铁针。[8]1975年在陕西省咸阳市发掘的一座西汉后期墓中，发现了一件漆盒，内有铁针七八枚，放在针筒里，但多已锈蚀断缺。度量用的尺子，也有许多是铁制的；满城汉墓出土的铁尺，其刻度和花纹系用金丝镶嵌。[9]汉代虽盛行铜灯，但东汉时铁灯也很流行，洛阳等地汉墓中出土的“十二枝灯”等（图159），制作得相当精巧。[10]甚至是镜子，也有不少是铁制的，往往在东汉后期的墓中被发现，只是由于已经锈蚀，有时不被人们所重视，其实它们的花纹是相当优美的。例如，甘肃武威雷台汉墓中的一枚铁镜，经X光透视，可以看出是用金丝和银丝镶嵌成夔凤纹，十分精致（图160、161）。[11]这就无怪汉末的曹操要用许多铁镜，而不是铜镜，来赠送给皇帝。

总之，当时的铁器，关系到军备国防，关系到国计民生，所以制铁业就越来越成为特别重要的经济部门，统治阶级必须加以控制。据《史记·南越列传》和《汉书·南粤王传》记载，西汉初年，南越赵佗搞分裂

割据，闹独立，吕后就下令实行铁器禁运，以作为制裁，引起赵佗的强烈反应，甚至出兵进犯长沙，威胁朝廷，从这里也可以看出铁器的重要性。西汉初年，冶铁业有的控制在中央政府手里，有的却被控制在各地的诸侯王手里。诸侯王自设铁官，经营冶铁业，在山东临淄一带就有“齐铁官印”、“齐铁官长”、“齐铁官丞”和“临淄铁丞”等封泥流传下来，便是例证（图162—165）。[12]也有一些大商人，为了谋求巨富，私自经营冶铁业。因此，中央政府和各地诸侯王及富商大贾们互相争夺对冶铁业的控制权，相当激烈。汉景帝击败了吴楚七国的叛乱以后，中央政府的权力大大增强，终于在汉武帝时完全垄断了全国的冶铁业。铁器和食盐一样，由政府设铁官经营，实行官卖政策。

据《汉书·地理志》记载，汉代全国设铁官四十余处，其分布东起山东、江苏，西到甘肃，东北到辽宁，西南到四川、云南之间，范围十分广大。铁官所制的铁器，有时有铭文，作为它的标志。例如，根据出土的遗物，河南郡（今洛阳）所制的有“河一”、“河二”、“河三”字样，南阳郡（今河南南阳）所制的有“阳一”、“阳二”字样，河东郡（今山西夏县）所制有“东二”、“东三”字样；“河”、“阳”、“东”等字是郡名的简称，“一”、“二”、“三”等数字则是各郡铁官所属作坊和工场的编号（图166）。[13]

新中国成立以来，经过广泛调查，在北京清河镇、山东滕县、江苏徐州利国驿等许多地点发现了制铁工场的遗址。[14]特别是中原地区的河南省，迄今已发现的制铁工场和作坊的遗址已达十余处之多，其中巩县铁生沟和南阳瓦房庄两处已经过大规模的发掘。[15]前者的年代约自西汉中期至新莽时期，后者的年代则自西汉中期至东汉。

巩县铁生沟制铁作坊，坐落在嵩山脚下的一个盆地。作坊中有冶炼工场，也有铸造和锻造工场。附近相距仅数公里的山中有丰富的铁矿，所用矿石便是从那里开采的。因此，这个作坊实际上包括了从开矿、冶炼到制造成品的全部生产过程。在已经发掘的两千平方米的范围内，发现了矿石加工场一处、各种炼炉十八座、熔炉和锻炉各一座，并有配料池、储铁坑等附属设施（图167、168）。从发掘出来的遗迹和遗物可以看出，矿石运到矿石加工场，用铁锤击碎，筛子筛过，使其成为大小均匀的颗粒，并配以一定比例的石灰石作为熔剂，在配料池中搅拌后，与燃料一起放入炼炉。十八座炼炉的型式、结构和功效各有不同。有的可称“固态还原炉”，是用低温将铁矿石还原，炼成海绵状的“块炼铁”。有的可称“高炉”，用高温炼出液态的生铁。还有一种可称“炒钢炉”，是将已经炼好的生铁放在炉内，加热熔化时，不断进行搅拌，使生铁“炒”炼成钢或熟铁。各种炼炉多作半地穴式，用耐火砖砌成炉壁，壁上又涂耐火泥，炉底铺耐火土。炼出来的铁块，放在储铁坑内。熔炉一座，是熔

化生铁用的，附近有一些泥范，用以铸造各种器物。煅炉一座，用于锻炼块炼铁并将它制作成器，在附近发现了锤打器物用的铁砧和淬火池。作坊中所用的燃料，据说有木柴、煤和煤饼三种，后者是用煤末掺以粘土和石英制成的。[16]由于发现的炼炉很多，而锻炉、熔炉和铸范却都较少，因而可以认为这个制铁作坊以冶炼铁料为主，锻铸器物为次。[17]

南阳瓦房庄制铁作坊，在汉南阳郡的治所宛县城内。[18]南阳郡的铁官是当时最有名的，瓦房庄作坊当为南阳郡铁官所属的许多作坊之一。宛县的古城墙至今犹有不少遗留在地面上，从而可以判断这个制铁作坊的位置是在城内的中部。由于作坊设在大城市中，远离矿区，所以它的主要业务是利用从别处运来的已经炼好的生铁锭和废旧铁器作原料，在这里进行熔炼，重点在于制造各种器物，这与上述巩县铁生沟的情况恰好相反。在已经发掘的三千平方米的范围内，发现了十七座炉子。其中一部分炉子是熔炉，将生铁熔化，以供铸造。在遗址中发现了大量的泥范，其种类包括鼎、罐、盆等容器，䦆、锸、铲、铧、斧、锛、锤、凿等农具和工具，以及軎和轴承等车具，可见所铸器物种类和数量之多。另外一些炉子则为“炒钢炉”，将生铁炒炼成钢或熟铁，以锻制各种器物。锻制时所使用的铁锤和铁砧，以及已经锻制成的刀、镰、矛头等器物，在遗址中都有多量的发现。与巩县铁生沟不同，这里所用的燃料只是木柴。[19]

最近几年来，考古研究与冶金史研究相结合，主要是冶金学家们对考古发掘所得的铁器进行分析、研究，取得了很好的成绩。[20]研究工作证明：至迟在春秋晚期（公元前6世纪末），中国已经使用在较低温度（800℃—1000℃）中用木炭还原铁矿石的方法得到比较纯净但质地疏松的铁块。这种炼铁的方法，称为“低温固体还原法”，或称“块炼法”，其产品称“块炼铁”（一般也称熟铁），可以锻造成器。1974年江苏省六合县春秋晚期墓中出土的小铁条，便是用这种“块炼铁”锻制的。[21]到了战国晚期，冶铁工匠们已掌握了把上述的“块炼铁”用固态渗碳的方法制钢，将纯铁于木炭中以900℃以上的温度长时间加热，或锻造时将铁在木炭中反复加热，使碳渗入铁内而成为钢。1973年河北易县燕下都出土的战国晚期的铁剑，就是用“块炼铁”渗碳成为低碳钢制成的。[22]

从战国晚期以后的一二百年中，随着经验的积累，技术的提高，主要是采取越来越多的反复锻打的方法，使钢内碳的均匀性不断改善，夹杂物的含量不断下降，从而使钢的质量有较大的提高，形成了早期“百炼钢”的工艺。满城汉墓中的刘胜佩剑，便是属于当时正在形成的“百炼钢”工艺的早期产品（图169）。西汉中期的这种处于初级阶段的“百炼钢”，是在上述战国晚期的“块炼渗碳钢”的基础上直接发展而来的。所

用的铁料和渗碳的方法都和战国晚期的相同，但增加了反复加热锻打的次数。锻打不仅起着器物加工成型的作用，而且更重要的是使钢铁中的夹杂物减少、减小，使碳分布均匀化，使钢的质量提高。拿上述燕下都的剑和刘胜佩剑相比，它们的原料同属“块炼渗碳钢”，但前者钢里含碳不均匀，杂质较多、较大，而后者则相反，钢内碳的分布均匀，杂质少而小，这主要便是由于后者大大增加了反复折叠锻打的次数。要之，从战国晚期的“块炼渗碳钢”到西汉中期的反复锻炼成钢，这是冶炼技术史上的一个大进展。

为了提高剑的锋利程度，刘胜佩剑还经过表面渗碳和刃部淬火。淬火是一种热处理技术，即将加热的钢放入水中，迅速冷却，以提高其强度和硬度。刘胜佩剑只在刃部淬火，所以剑刃坚硬、锋利，而脊部仍保持较好的韧性。表面渗碳，也是为了使作为剑的外层的刃部因渗碳而提高坚硬的程度。

满城汉墓出土的铁器，除上述佩剑而外，还有其他的兵器如刀、戟、短剑等，它们也都具有较高的质量（图170）。另外还有一把错金的“书刀”，其制作工艺尤为精湛。它的冶炼过程和佩剑相似，只是刀身用含碳较低的钢锻成，硬度较低，便于刻槽镶嵌金丝，而刃部则渗碳、淬火，使其坚硬、锋利。[23]

另一方面，早在战国初年（公元前5世纪），即在开始掌握用“块炼法”炼铁之后不久，我国还发明了炼制含碳量在2％以上的生铁，用以铸成器具。1975年洛阳出土的战国早期铁锛，便是经过鉴定的最早的用生铁铸成的工具。[24]这比世界各国要早出一千八百年。冶炼生铁，主要是依靠高温。由于长期以来青铜冶铸技术的高度发展，鼓风的进一步加强，使冶炼时的温度能达1100℃—1200℃以上。在这样的高温之下，被木炭还原而成的固态铁就迅速吸收碳，因而使它的熔点比纯铁大大降低。当冶炼温度超过1146℃时，含碳量达到2％以上的铁就开始局部熔为液体，而它吸收碳的速度也就进一步提高，含碳量越来越高，熔化越来越快，终于全部熔化为生铁。这种生铁，含硅量低，不含石墨，由于断口光亮，故称“白口铁”，其性质脆而且硬。

为了改善生铁的性能，在战国初期也就已经掌握了将“白口铁”长时间加热，使碳化铁分解为铁和石墨，克服了“白口铁”性脆的缺点。经过这种柔化处理的生铁，称展性铸铁。这种展性铸铁，在战国中晚期已被广泛应用于制造农具和兵器等，在湖南长沙、湖北大冶和河北易县燕下都等战国遗址和墓葬中都有发现。到了西汉中期，以满城汉墓为例，亦有不少铁器是展性铸铁的制品。[25]

值得注意的是，在满城汉墓中还发现了一批“灰口铁”的铸件。这是迄今已发现的我国最早的“灰口铁”制品。所谓“灰口铁”，就是通过提高

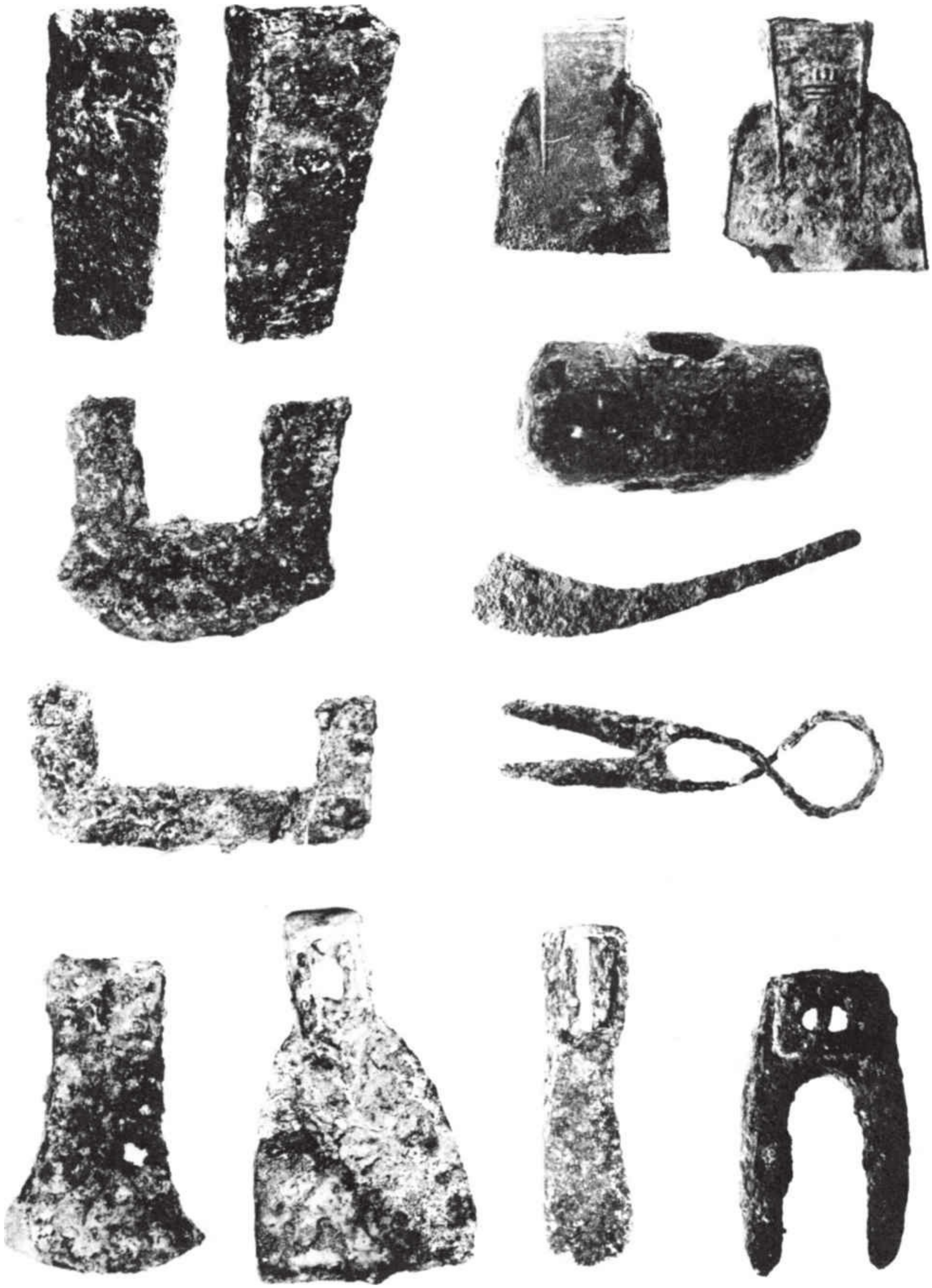
冶炼温度和降低冷却速度，使生铁中超过2％的那一部分碳成为片状石墨在凝固时析出，铁的断口呈灰色，所以称“灰口铁”。它具有硬度比“白口铁”低、脆性较小、耐磨、滑润性能良好等特点。满城汉墓出土的铁是展性铸铁的制品，而车轴承则为“灰口铁”铸件，这说明了当时已经掌握了不同种类的铸铁的性能特点，而加以具体的应用。[26]

我在讲演开始时就列举汉代在农具、工具、兵器、生活用具等方面的各种各样的铁器，它们有的是锻件，有的是铸件。直到西汉中期以前，锻件和铸件总是分别用块炼铁和生铁作为原料的。随着炼炉的加大，鼓风设施的改进，生铁冶炼技术不断发展，生铁铸件得到了越来越广泛的应用。但是，由于生铁质脆，其用途又不能不受到限制。块炼铁虽然可用以制成渗碳钢，但必须经过反复锤炼，要花费很大工夫，产量和效率是很低的。在这种情况下，遂又发明了一种新的工艺，使铸铁在固体状态下脱碳成钢。例如，南阳瓦房庄出土的一件铁凿，从外形看来无疑是铸件，但表面的金相分析证明它是钢的组织。有的铁凿经分析，其含碳量为约0.6％或约1％。在当时的条件下，不可能有高于1500℃的高温和与此相应的耐火材料，所以不可能是液态铸钢。因此，可以肯定，汉代的这种钢件，是利用热处理使铸铁在固态下脱碳成钢的。[27]由于满城汉墓出土的铁镞也是属于这种固态脱碳成钢的铸件，可以肯定这种工艺早在西汉中期即已存在。[28]

更为重要的是，到了西汉后期，随着冶炼技术的进一步发展，终于出现了将生铁“炒”炼成钢的新方法。所谓生铁“炒”钢，就是将生铁加热成为半液体状态，加以不断地搅拌，利用空气中的氧使其脱碳，以获得不同含碳量的钢或熟铁。用生产效率很高的生铁作为制钢的原料，这是炼钢史上的一次革命。这样一来，“百炼钢”既可用生铁“炒”成的熟铁为原料，经过渗碳锻打成钢，又可把生铁“炒”到所需要的含碳量，成为“炒钢”，然后反复加热锻打成为钢制品。1974年在山东苍山汉墓出土一件大铁刀，刀上的错金铭文称此刀为“三十炼大刀”，并记明其制作年代为永初六年（公元112年）（图171）。[29]冶金学家将此刀进行分析、研究，认为它就是用“炒钢”为原料而制成的。[30]

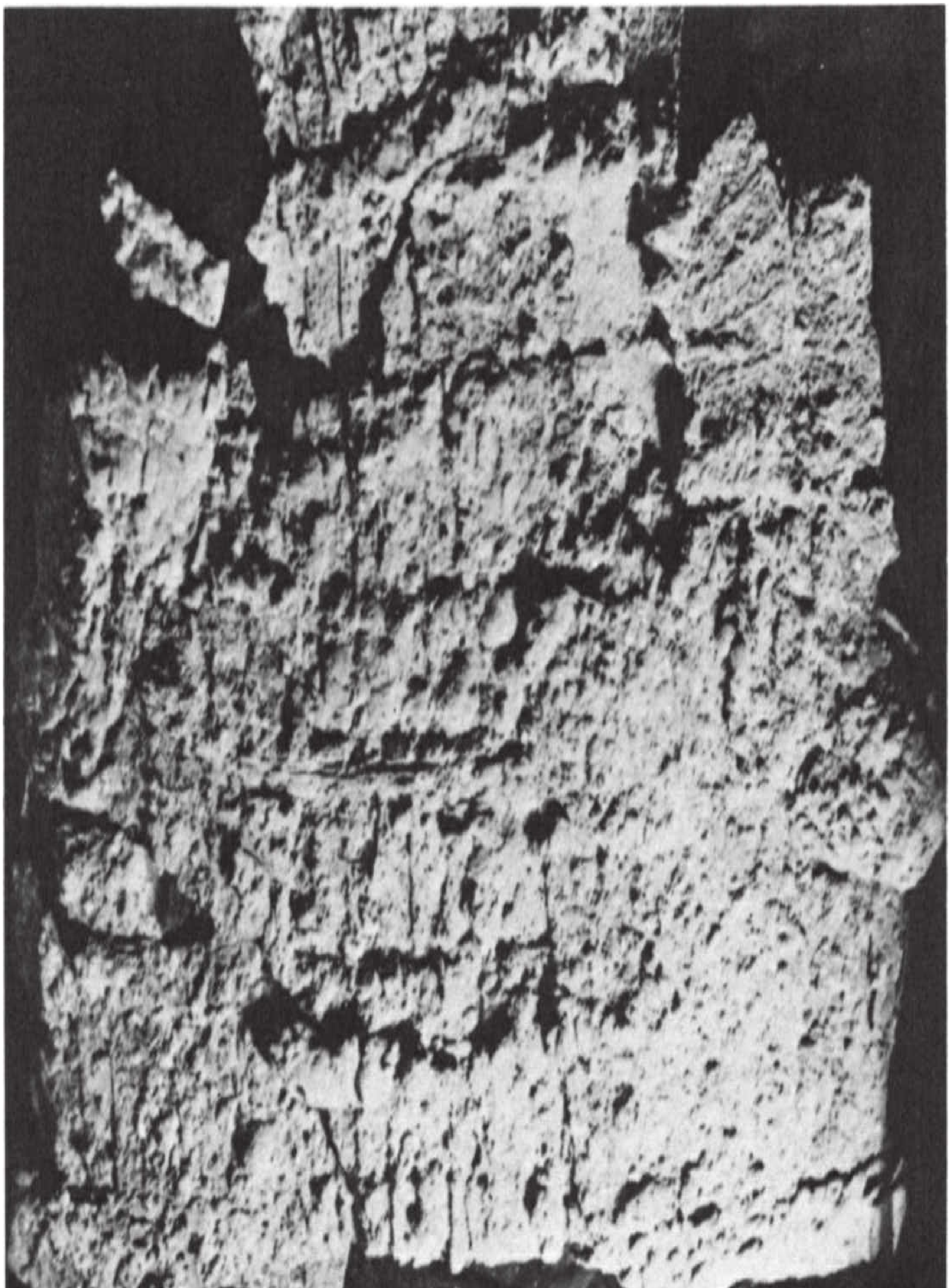
自汉武帝时由国家垄断冶铁业以来，一直到西汉末年，仍然如此。在官营的工矿作坊中，参加劳动的除一些专门的工匠以外，有许多是被判罪的刑徒和被迫定期服徭役的民工。据《汉书·贡禹传》记载，为了铸钱及冶铁，到矿山开采铜铁所动用的劳动力每年在十万人以上，可见其规模之大。西汉晚年，颍川郡（其治所在今河南省禹县）和山阳郡（其治所在今山东省金乡县）的铁官徒因不堪压迫，曾先后起义。东汉初期，承袭西汉的制度，冶铁业仍由国家专营。但是，当时的豪强地主势力强大，他们往往私设工场，自造铁器，官府不能禁止。章和二年

（公元88年），和帝即位，东汉中央政府终于不得不作出让步，宣布盐铁开禁。于是，冶铁业和制盐业一样，就被逐渐进一步控制在各地豪强地主的手中。山东省博物馆珍藏着一块画像石，上面刻绘着一幅冶铁图。[31]图中有十二个工匠正在工场中操作，其中四人在用皮橐为炼炉鼓风，其余的人则在持锤锻制器物（图172）。[32]这块画像石是1930年在山东省滕县宏道院出土的，其年代当在东汉盐铁开禁之后。正是由于豪强地主生前经营冶铁业，所以才将冶铁图刻绘在自己的墓壁上。画像不仅描绘了工场中的冶炼的情形，而且说明了制铁业已转入私人手中。当然，就这块画像石来说，也不能排除另一种可能性：一个生前曾任铁官的官僚，为了纪念其生平事迹，所以在墓内刻绘了一幅冶铁图。

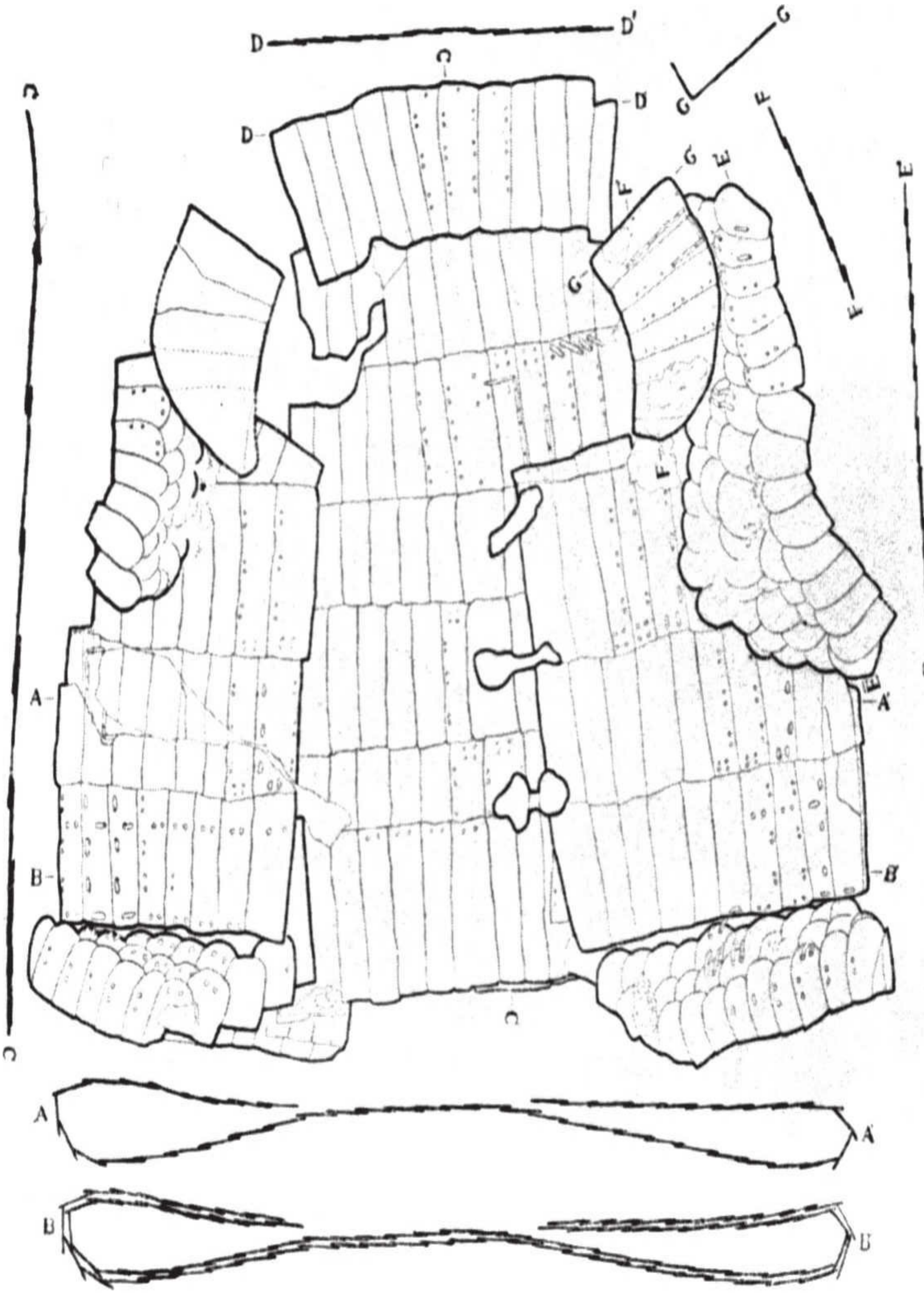


152．Han dynasty iron implements unearthed in Luoyang, Gongxian, and other localities in Henan
洛阳、巩县及河南其他地区出土的汉代铁器

153．Han dynasty iron implements unearthed in Luoyang, Hebi, and other localities in Henan 洛阳、鹤壁及河南其他地区出土的汉代铁器



154．Iron armor plates unearthed at the Han city site in Huhhot, Inner Mongolia　内蒙古呼和浩特汉城遗址出土的铁铠甲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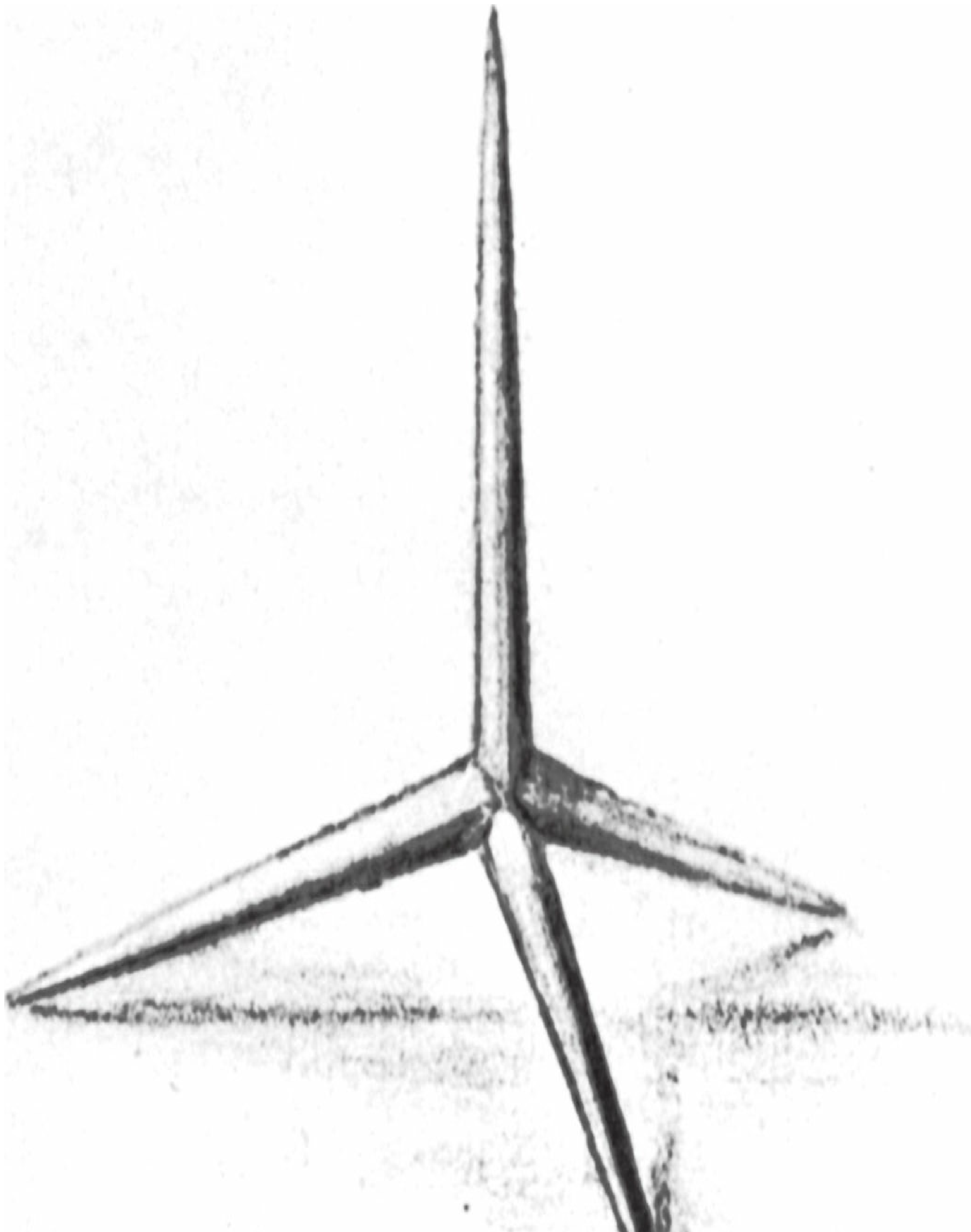
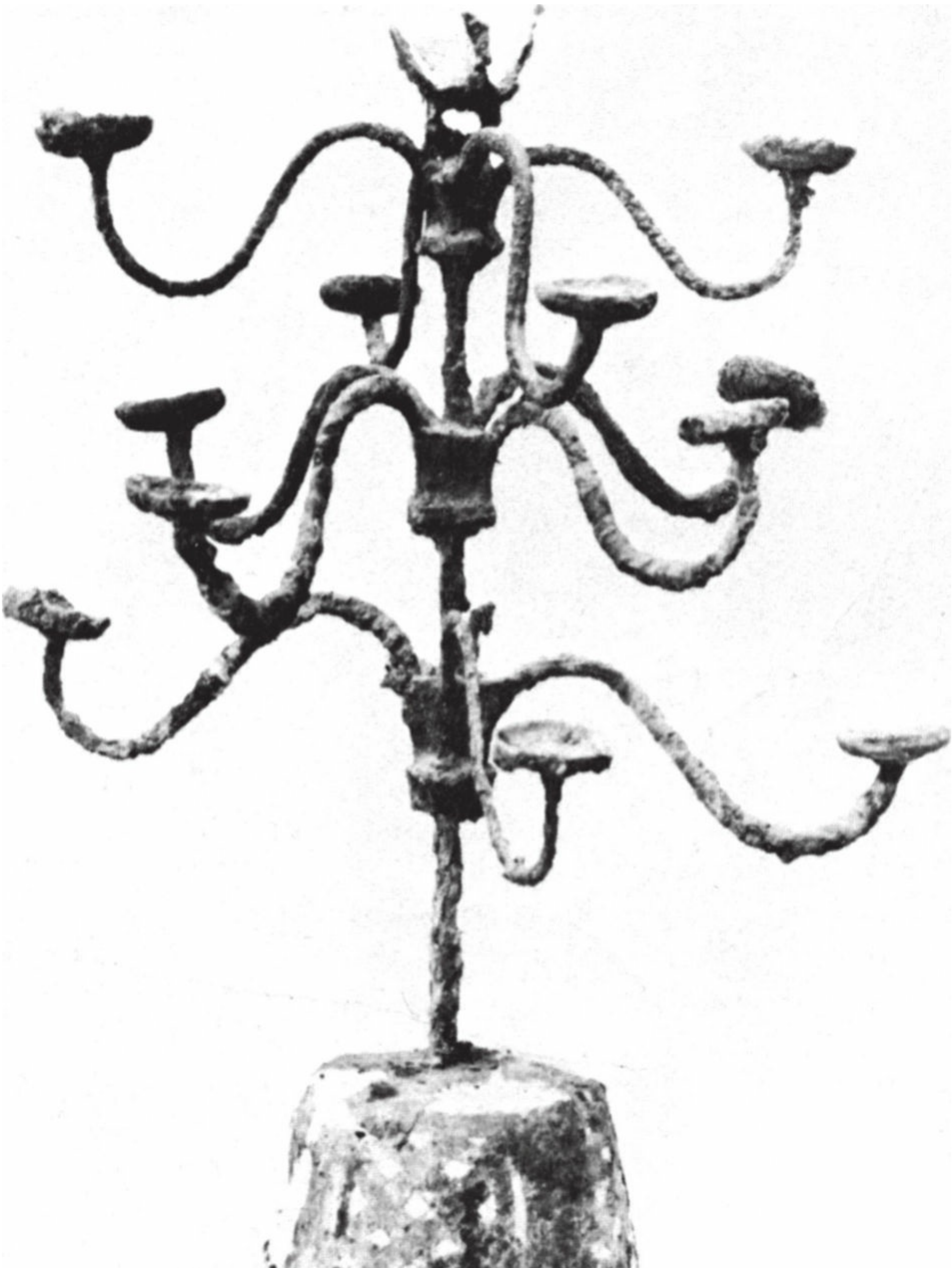
155．Reconstruction of the iron armor plates unearthed at the Han city site in Huhhot, Inner Mongolia　内蒙古呼和浩特汉城遗址出土的铁铠甲复原图



156．Barbed iron ball unearthed at the site of the Han city of Chang'an in Xi'an　汉长安城遗址出土的铁蒺藜

157. Iron stove and tray unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓出土的铁炉

158. Iron cooking pot unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓出土的铁釜



159．Iron lamp with twelve branches, unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓出土的铁十二枝灯

160．Iron mirror unearthed from the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu　甘肃武威雷台汉墓出土的铁镜

161．Reconstructed decorative designs on the iron mirror unearthed from the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu　甘肃武威雷台汉墓出土的铁镜花纹复原图

162．Clay seal impressed with the inscription "Seal of Qi Iron Office,"unearthed in Linzi, Shandong
山东临淄出土的刻有“齐铁官印”的封泥

164. Clay seal impressed with the inscription "Qi Iron Office Deputy," unearthed in Linzi, Shandong　山东临淄出土的刻有“齐铁官丞”的封泥

163．Clay seal impressed with the inscription "Qi Iron Officer," unearthed in Linzi, Shandong　山东临淄出土的刻有“齐铁官长”的封泥

165．Clay seal impressed with the inscription "Iron Deputy of Linzi," unearthed in Linzi, Shandong
山东临淄出土的刻有“临淄铁丞”的封泥

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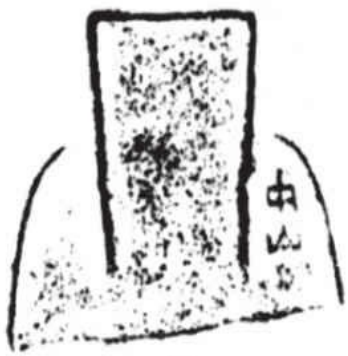
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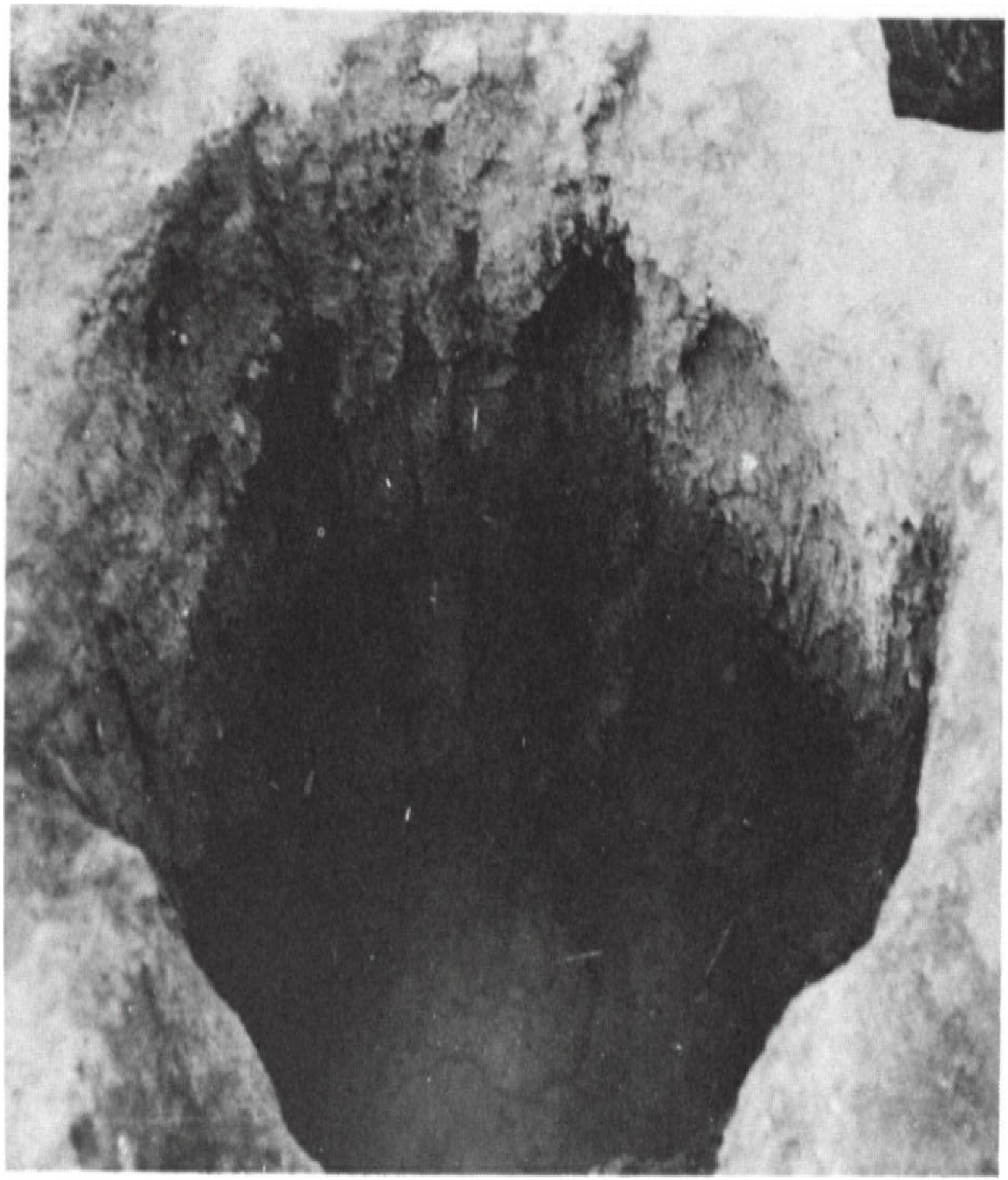
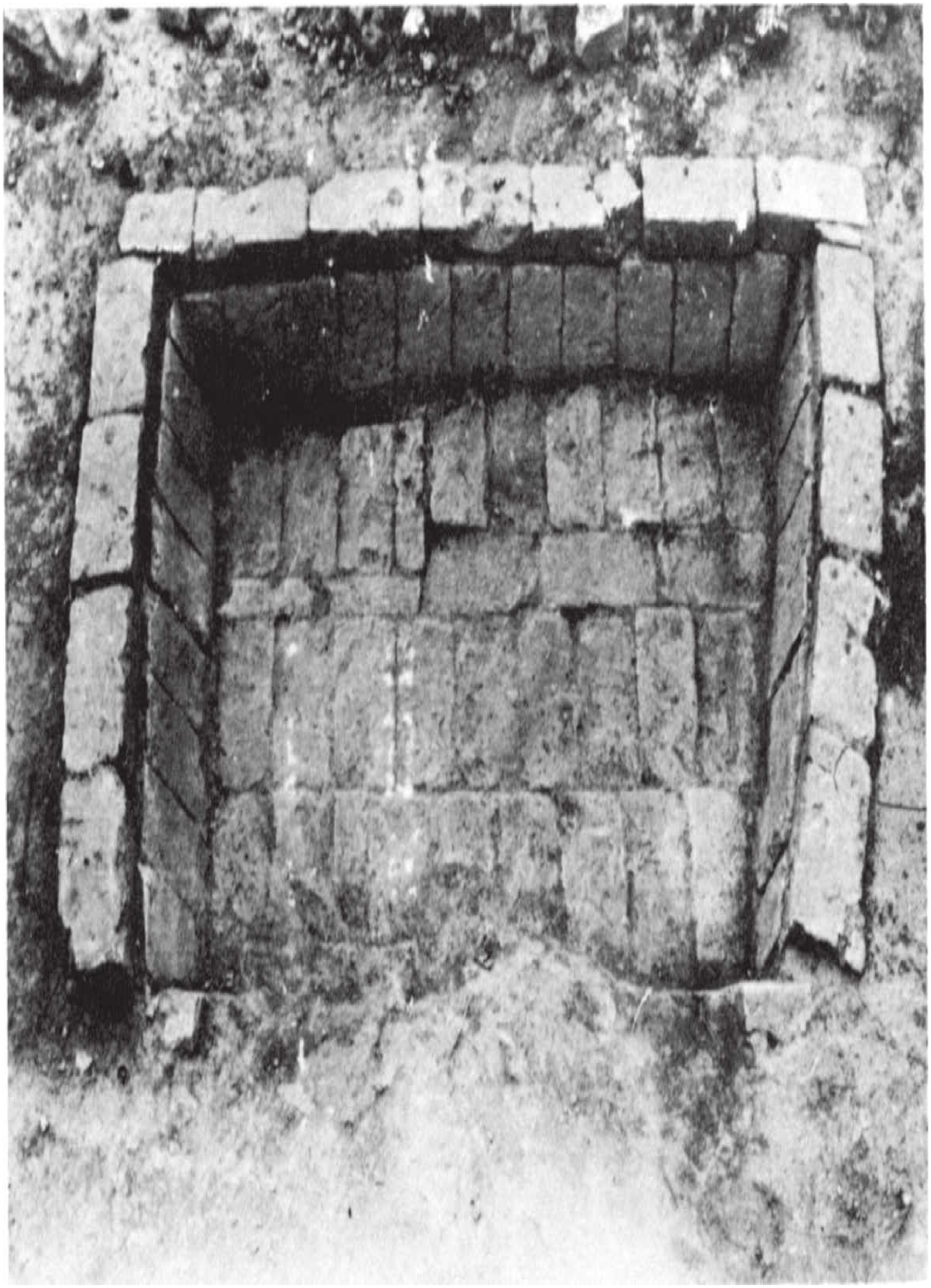
166．Inscriptions cast on Han dynasty iron implements unearthed in Shaanxi, Henan, Shandong, and other provinces　陕西、河南、山东等省出土的汉代铁器上的铭文



167．Remains of the smelting furnace at the Han dynasty iron foundry at Tieshenggou in Gongxian, Henan　河南巩县铁生沟汉代冶铁遗址中的熔炉



168．Remains of the mixing pool at the Han dynasty iron foundry site at Tieshenggou in Gongxian, Henan　河南巩县铁生沟汉代冶铁遗址中的配料池

169．Liu Sheng's personal sword and its accessory jade ornaments, unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓中刘胜的佩剑及玉饰

170．Iron knife with gold inlays, unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓出土的错金铁短剑

171. Iron knife and its gold-inlaid inscription, unearthed from a Han tomb in Cangshan, Shandong 山东苍山汉墓出土的铁刀和刀上的错金铭文

172. Iron founding as depicted in a pictorial stone of the Han dynasty discovered at Hongdaoyuan in Tengxian, Shandong 山东滕县宏道院出土的汉画像石中的冶铁图

CHAPTER 7 CERAMICS

Gray Pottery In the realm of gray pottery, which already had a history stretching back to the Shang and Zhou periods, the Han potters attained an unsurpassed level of quality, basing their work on the achievements of the Warring States period. It is no exaggeration to say that in succeeding periods the techniques of gray pottery manufacture did not advance beyond the level attained by the Han potters. Their improvements in techniques of gray pottery firing are manifest in the pottery's color, which is gray; the firing, which was even and uniform; the firing temperature, which was above 1,000°C; the clay ware, which is hard; as well as in the increase in the number of large vessels. As to the last named—that is, large vessels—this statement is borne out by pottery *weng* from Han tombs in the vicinity of Luoyang, which often stand more than 50 cm in height (figs. 173, 174), and *jiugang* from the Han tombs at Mancheng, which often reach more than 70 cm in height.[1] Such aspects as hardness of ware and greater numbers of large vessels cannot be explained apart from improvements in the kilns. In 1956, more than twenty kilns from the Warring States, Western Han, and Eastern Han periods were excavated at the site of the old city of Wuji in Wu'anxian, Hebei Province; a comparison of these kilns reveals that the Han kiln chambers are larger, their fire tunnels longer, and their chimneys much improved in design(figs. 175-77).[2]

The bodies of all of the rounded Han dynasty gray pottery vessels were turned on the potter's wheel. Vessel shapes are regular and their surfaces are relatively smooth. In general, with the exception of occasional parallel bowstring lines incised on the wheel and some localized incised geometric designs and stamped patterns, the vessels lack decoration and can be called "plain" (figs. 178-80). In the early Western Han period a few vessel types, such as the *weng* and the *guan,* were still occasionally decorated with faint cord patterns;[3] but from the middle Western Han period onward, few vessels have cord marks. Popular for more than three thousand years—from Neolithic times down to early Han—the cord pattern finally died out (except in pottery roof tiles). The decline of the cord pattern must be considered one of the important characteristics of Han ceramics.

In Han tombs of all areas, pottery vessels with decoration painted in

colors can be found. These wares also belong to the gray pottery family, the painted decoration having been applied after firing. Several pottery *hu* vessels have been discovered in Han tombs in Luoyang and a number of pottery *hu* and *pen* vessels have been recovered from the Han tombs at Mancheng.[4] The colors are bright and the painting refined; all are handsome works of art (figs. 181, 182). Since the decoration was applied only after the vessels were fired, however, the pigments tend to flake readily. These painted wares have been found only in tombs; not a single one has been recovered from a residential area. Thus, we can surmise that they were made for funerary use only. In addition to the painted wares, there are also gray pottery vessels of the Han period whose surfaces were coated with lacquer, in imitation of (true) lacquerware vessels. A number of gray pottery vessels coated with thick black or brown lacquer have been discovered in Han tombs in Yinqueshan in Linyi, Shandong Province; in Shuanggudui in Fuyang, Anhui Province; and in Dafentou in Yunmeng, Hubei Province.[5] All of these closely resemble lacquerware(figs. 183-85). A lacquer-coated pottery *hu* from the Han tomb at Dafentou is called a *xiuhua waweng*, or "lacquer-painted pottery vessel," in the inventory tablet of that tomb.

In terms of shape, among the few early Western Han vessels with cord-marked decoration, such as the *weng* and *guan* mentioned above, are ones which have rounded bases (fig. 186).[6] From the middle Western Han period on, however, almost all of the pottery vessels have flat bottoms, with the exception of three-legged and ring-footed vessels. Already at some time before the advent of the Han dynasty, the pottery *li*—current from the Neolithic through the Shang and Western Zhou periods—had disappeared. The pottery *dou*, which was popular in the Warring States period, was still frequently seen in early Western Han, but not long thereafter it too disappeared. The pottery *fang* did not appear until in the late Warring States period; it was most popular in the Western Han period but is very seldom seen in Eastern Han. In both Western and Eastern Han, the pottery *ding* and *zhong* are the most commonly encountered bronze-derived shapes. Even these, however, were seldom seen from the Wei and Jin periods onward, subsequent to the decline of bronze vessels. In addition to these, there is the *yadanhu*, or "duck-egg jar," a vessel of unusual shape which appeared in the closing years of the Warring States period. It continued to be an important and popular shape in the Qin and early Western Han periods but then disappeared in middle Western Han (fig. 187). The forms of the various other

members of the gray pottery facility—such as the *weng, guan, he, zun, pen,* and *wan*—also changed through time, never ceasing to evolve. In short, in Han dynasty gray ceramic wares, the types are numerous and the functions varied; their popularity was not restricted to the Yellow River valley or even to the North in general, but spread to all parts of the country. They were the mainstay of Han ceramics.

Hard Pottery At the same time, however, to the south of the Yangtze River, in that vast area including Guangdong, Guangxi, Hunan, Jiangxi, Fujian, Zhejiang, and southern Jiangsu, there was another common type of ceramic ware called *ying tao,* or "hard pottery," coexisting with the gray pottery described above. These hard pottery pieces were made from a dense and strongly adhesive clay native to the South. In contrast to gray pottery, hard pottery vessels were fired at a higher temperature and the ceramic paste was much harder. On the surface of the vessels there is often a stamp-impressed checkerboard pattern, or there may be an incised wave or sawtooth pattern, in marked distinction to the plain, undecorated gray pottery vessels discussed above (figs. 188-91). Vessel types include the *weng, guan, hu, he,* and *wan.* But, in comparison with the various types of the gray pottery family, the hard pottery pieces have their distinctive style. In the Guangzhou area, for example, there is a type of *hu,* called the *pao hu,* or "gourd-shaped jar," whose shape resembles a gourd (*pao-gua*)(fig. 192). And in Guangzhou and Changsha there are the *silianguan,* or "four-linked *guan,*" and *wulianguan,* or "five-linked *guan,*" in which four or five small *guan* vessels are connected (fig. 193). A number of vessels have loop handles at their shoulders or waists for tying cords. And there are also a few small *he* and *guan* with three short legs attached at their bases (fig. 194).[7] In short, the ceramic paste, the firing, the decoration, and the shapes of the vessels all reveal that this hard pottery from the Jiangnan ("South of the Yangtze") area inherited the traditions of the so-called "hard pottery with impressed geometric patterns" which had been developing in that area since late Neolithic times. In the Han dynasty it established itself as a separate tradition.

Glazed Pottery A new invention of the Han dynasty potters was a ceramic ware with a thick brown or green glaze. This ware began to appear in the late middle Western Han period, especially around Guanzhong in Shaanxi Province and Luoyang in Henan Province.[8] Afterward it developed rapidly, and by the late Western Han period it was already common, being used throughout a larger area. By Eastern Han not only had it spread throughout

the entire Yellow River valley and the North of China in general, it was often seen in the Yangtze River valley as well. Generally speaking, the brown glazed ware appeared earlier, the green glazed ware later. However, the green glazed ware enjoyed great popularity during Eastern Han and became much more widespread than the brown glazed ware. Its glaze contains a large amount of oxidized lead and its firing temperature was relatively low—no more than about 800°C—so it is often called "lead glazed" or "soft glazed" ware. And since it was popular mainly in the Yellow River valley and in the North of China, it can also be termed "Northern glazed ware." The types include the *ding* and *zhong* and a few other bronzederived shapes. In addition, there are models of granaries, stoves, water wells, and towers, as well as images of such animals as the chicken and dog (figs. 195-97). For several reasons these are considered to have been made for funerary purposes only, not for actual use: first, the red core of this ware is not too hard; second, the glaze readily flakes or deteriorates; and, especially, they were buried in tombs, almost never being found in residential areas.

Although China has had glazed ceramics ever since the Shang and Western Zhou periods, the glazes of those early wares are all light green ones fired at high temperatures, unrelated to the low-fired brown or green lead glazes discussed above. Thus, it was once assumed that the sudden appearance of lead glazes in the late middle Western Han period might be attributable to the influence of glazed wares from Western Asia that were transmitted to China at the time of Han Wu Di, who sent envoys to the West to establish relations and trade. It is widely known that, as early as the Assyrian empire and the Achaemenid empire of Persia, numerous types of glazed ceramic wares had appeared in the area of such modern West Asian countries as Iran and Iraq. By the time of the Parthians, who were contemporaneous with the Han dynasty, vessels with monochrome glazes in green or brown had gained currency; green glazes especially were often used for ceramic coffins. This Parthian glazed ceramic ware was also low-fired, and in appearance it bears a strong resemblance to that of the Han dynasty wares. The "Xiyu Section" of the *Hanshu* relates that after the Han envoys crossed Central Asia and established ties with Parthia, Parthian articles of various types flowed into China. Thus, the appearance of lead glazes in the late middle Western Han period might be the result of influence from Parthian glazed wares. However, another school of thought believes that the Chinese must have invented lead glazes first, without reference to West Asian

glazed wares, even though the latter and the Han dynasty lead wares are both lowfired; this is because the components of the glazes are not identical and the appearance of Chinese lead glazes might date as early as the Warring States period.[9] But, from a great number of Warring States and Western Han period tombs excavated since the founding of New China, we know that lead glazed vessels may not necessarily have appeared so early as the Warring States period. An answer to the question of whether or not West Asian glazed ceramics and Han dynasty lead glazed wares are physically identical will have to await further research and analysis. Archaeological excavations have revealed that, although lead glazes continued to be used through the Wei, Jin, and succeeding periods, their quality declined significantly. The art of lead glazing was revived in the Tang dynasty, whereupon great progress was made and glorious achievements attained.

Hard pottery pieces coated with a thin layer of glaze have been discovered in many places in the South, but this glaze is quite different from the lead glazes of the Northern glazed wares. Whether yellow or green, the color is always light. The pieces are always very high-fired, and they belong to the family of celadon (or light green) glazed wares. Moreover, *ping*, or bottles with two ears or handles, have been found in late Western Han tombs in such places as Changsha in Hunan Province and Haizhou in Jiangsu Province.[10] The clay body of these is purplish brown in color and extremely hard. The green glaze on the neck and shoulder portions of this *ping* tends to be relatively thick. These pieces also belong to the Southern group of glazed wares (fig. 198). In addition, several identical glazed bottles, perhaps imported from the South, have been discovered in late Western Han tombs in Luoyang (fig. 199).[11] These hard-bodied glazed potteries, which were popular mainly in the South, are most certainly related to celadon glazed stonewares of the Wei and Jin periods. All characteristics considered, however, there is still a great distance between the glazed hard potteries of the South and the celadon glazed stonewares.

Celadon It was formerly believed that true celadon, or green-glazed stoneware, first appeared in the state of Wu during the Three Kingdoms period and that the various types of green-glazed stoneware vessels unearthed from tombs in the area of Wuchang and Nanjing, the capital area of the state of Wu—dating to A.D. 227, 251, and 265 are standard examples of that ware.[12] From recent investigation, excavation, and research, however, we now believe that green-glazed stoneware vessels had already appeared as

early as the late Eastern Han period, first in Zhejiang Province in the region of Shaoxing and Shangyu. Archaeologists have investigated many old kiln sites in the Shangyu area, among which are a number that belong to Eastern Han; their shape and structure are those of the so-called dragon kilns. In this type of kiln, which was built on the side of a small hill, the kiln chamber is low and narrow, but quite long, a shape advantageous in circulating the air, and thus, in elevating the temperature. In the shreds unearthed at the kiln sites, the glaze is light green in color, and after careful scrutiny it shows all the characteristics of standard stoneware. A complete *sixiguan*—that is, a *guan* with four loops for tying a cord—from the late Eastern Han period was obtained near one of the kiln sites, and it is typical of the green-glazed stoneware of the period.[13] Similar *sixiguan* have also been recovered from late Eastern Han tombs in Luoyang, Henan Province, and in Boxian, Anhui Province;[14] their shape implies that they also belong to the Southern group. Preserved in tombs of relatives of Cao Cao discovered in 1977 in Yuanbaokengcun and Dongyuancun, Boxian, are a large number of greenglazed stoneware vessels characterized by the *sixiguan.* Their shiny glaze and the absence of impurities in their bodies indicate that by late Eastern Han the technique of manufacturing green-glazed stoneware vessels was already quite advanced.[15] In summary, the development of green-glazed stoneware must be considered another important mark of the creativity of the Han dynasty potters.

Pottery Types Another distinguishing characteristic of Han dynasty ceramics is the extreme variety of articles produced. In general, pottery containers of the Han dynasty can be divided into two categories. The first category—vessels derived from bronze shapes—includes the *ding*, *dou, zhong, fang*, and other such vessels; in general these shapes gradually declined in importance during the course of the Han dynasty. The second category—articles for daily use—includes the *weng, guan, ping, he, pen, wan,* and other such vessels; the types are varied and the shapes complex. In addition to these, there are a number of pottery articles generally for daily use, but not for food or drink and not for storage, articles such as tables, lamps, censers, and money jars (figs. 200-02). From the middle Western Han period onward, one of the most important characteristics of the potter's art was the prevalence of various types of pottery *mingqi,* or burial articles, for funerary use—a reflection of changes in burial customs. The variety of types and the quantity of objects were staggering. The first to appear were models

of granaries and stoves. They were already present in tombs of the early Western Han period, but they gained widespread popularity after middle Western Han. Other models were also made—water wells, millstones, pigsties, towers, buildings for grinding grain, paddy fields, and fish ponds—as well as images of such animals as pigs, sheep, horses, dogs, chickens, and ducks. In short, almost any object that could be named was likely to have been crafted in clay. As time progressed, the types became more numerous, especially after Eastern Han. Pottery figurines were also buried in great numbers. These pottery burial articles were often exquisitely crafted; for example, a number of lively, painted pottery figures on horseback have been unearthed from a Western Han tomb in Yangjiawan in Xianyang, Shaanxi Province.(fig. 203).[16] And pottery dogs and sheep (from an Eastern Han tomb in Baiquancun, Huixian, Henan Province) were sculpted with such verisimilitude that they must be called masterworks of the sculptor's art(figs. 204, 205).[17]

Ceramic Industry The most widely used articles of daily life were pottery. They are comparatively easy to make and most must have been made by small, privately operated workshops. But, during the Han dynasty, many local governments also owned their own workshops and pottery articles from them often have stamped marks. To give some examples: vessels stamped "He ting" and "He shi," unearthed from the site of the Han city of Henanxian in Luoyang (fig. 206); vessels stamped "Shan ting" and "Shan shi," unearthed from Han tombs in Shanxian, Henan Province (figs. 207, 208); vessels marked "Han ting," recovered from Han dynasty sites in Handan, Hebei Province (fig. 209); and vessels stamped "An ting," unearthed from the site of the Han city at Anyi in Xiaxian, Shanxi Province (fig. 210).[18] From excavations at the site of the Han city of Henanxian we have learned that those vessels marked "He ting" are earlier and belong to early Western Han, while those marked "He shi" are later, belonging to late Western Han.[19] The characters "ting" and "shi" in the marks refer respectively to the craft and commercial districts of the cities, which in Han times were under the supervision of the local governments. The marks just discussed indicate that these ceramic vessels were made by workshops belonging to the government agencies which supervised crafts and commerce.[20]

A piece of clay with an impressed seal reading "An cheng tao wei" provides the best insight into the government-controlled workshops (fig. 211).[21] The characters on the seal indicate that at that time Anchengxian in

Runan Jun (modern Zhengyang, Henan Province) had an official solely responsible for supervising the ceramic industry.[22] It is important to note that the last character in the seal, "wei," is a military title. That a military official was supervising the ceramic workshops most probably indicates that in the government-operated kilns many workers were convicted criminals who had been organized for work along military lines.

Bricks The manufacture of bricks and pottery roof tiles was an important aspect of the Han dynasty ceramic industry. In ancient China, the earliest bricks were exceptionally large, most of them measuring more than a meter in length. The interior of these bricks is hollow, so they are called *kongxinzhuan*, that is, "hollow core bricks," or simply "hollow bricks" (fig. 212). They began to appear in the late Warring States period and were limited in area of use to the Central Plains. They were not used in building houses, but rather in constructing tombs. Hollow bricks were most commonly used in the Western Han period. More than half of the many Western Han tombs excavated in such areas as Baisha in Yuxian and Shaogou in Luoyang (both in Henan Province) were constructed with these hollow bricks.[23] Throughout the Western Han, hollow bricks were used in tombs only, their use not being further extended. And the area in which they were commonly used was also still limited to the region including present-day Henan, central Shaanxi, and southern Shanxi. Although the great majority are rectangular, a few of the Western Han hollow bricks are triangular or long and strip-like, convenient shapes for constructing tomb entrances. The decorative motifs on the bricks were designed to enhance the tomb interiors, and they were impressed one by one with a stamp. In addition to geometric patterns, the motifs include numerous varieties of plants and animals as well as human figures, horses and carriages, and buildings.[24] With the coming of Eastern Han, the use of hollow bricks suddenly declined and eventually died out.

True bricks appeared in early Western Han. They were one of the Han dynasty's great contributions to architecture. In contrast to the hollow bricks discussed above, they were all small, solid, and rectangular or square, the length usually ranging between 20 and 30 cm. We call them "small bricks" to distinguish them from the large, hollow bricks discussed above (fig. 213). They were used in all types of buildings, the rectangular bricks predominating over the square ones. Square bricks were used only for paving floors (fig. 214). In order to meet architectural needs, the size of the bricks had to be regularized. The length, width, and thickness of the rectangular

bricks followed a standard formula, the width being one-half the length and the thickness one-fourth the width. Once the small bricks appeared, they were used extensively, quickly spreading to all parts of the country. As the findings from excavations at the Han city site at Henanxian in Luoyang reveal, small, rectangular bricks were used in constructing all types of dwellings and granaries and were also used in lining the walls of water wells (fig. 215).[25] At the Han site of Chang'an in Xi'an, they were used in constructing underground water drain holes.[26] In the Han dynasty, they were not, however, used for building city walls. In the Yellow River valley, small bricks were widely used in constructing tomb chambers as early as middle and late Western Han period. And by Eastern Han, their use in constructing tomb chambers had already spread to all parts of the country. With the introduction of small bricks, arch-building technique also became extensively used. Most rectangular bricks can be used in making arches. But in order to reinforce the top of the arch, Han builders used *xiexingzhuan*, that is, "wedge-shaped bricks" or voussoirs, and *zimuzhuan*, or bricks with mortise and tenon arrangements, both of which were used only in constructing arches (figs. 216, 217).[27] Most of the rectangular bricks are undecorated, but there are some which have decorative motifs stamped on their sides. The patterns are usually geometric, though other patterns do occur. Most of the square bricks used in paving floors have stamped geometric patterns on their tops. In addition, in Eastern Han pictorial bricks, called *huaxiang zhuan*, were also in use. Both square and rectangular bricks sometimes exhibit figural motifs showing scenes of Han social life and daily work. These were mainly used in constructing and decorating tomb chambers, and, in general, their use was limited to Sichuan Province (fig. 218).[28]

Tiles In China, pottery roof tiles, or *wa*, were in use long before bricks. Archaeological excavations have shown that pottery roof tiles had already appeared as early as the early Western Zhou period. A great many were recovered at the site of Kexingzhuang in the vicinity of Xi'an.[29] In the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods the production and use of roof tiles spread rapidly; furthermore, the tiles were distinguished according to function into flattened ones and cylindrical ones. The flattened ones were placed on the lower level and the cylindrical ones overlapped them on top. In the Warring States period, the faces of the cylindrical tiles (also called eaves tiles, or *wadang*) usually were semicircular. Some of the faces were left plain, but others were decorated. Each of the seven states of that period had its own

distinctive style of decorating eaves tiles.

By the Han dynasty, the manufacture and use of pottery roof tiles had progressed greatly and technical improvements had occurred. Both flattened and cylindrical tiles were becoming regularized in shape as well as in stamped, cord-pattern decor. Finds from the excavations at the Han city site at Henanxian reveal that in early Western Han many eaves tiles were semicircular, but from the middle Western Han period onward semicircular tiles were gradually replaced by ones with full, circular faces.[30] During the Han dynasty, decoration on the faces of eaves tiles became uniform throughout China. From the great metropolitan cities of Chang'an and Luoyang to the small towns on the distant frontiers, the geometric patterns on the roof tiles all came to follow the *juanyun* or "scrolling cloud" motif, almost without exception (figs. 219-22). Moreover, from the Western Han period onward auspicious phrases such as "Chang le wei yang" ("Profound happiness without end"), "Chang sheng wu ji" ("Long life without limit"), "Qian qiu wan sui" ("A thousand autumns, ten thousand years" or "Everlasting life"), and "Yi nian wu jiang" ("A hundred million years without limit") were impressed on tiles as decoration (figs. 223-26). On eaves tiles found in the towns near the northern frontier other phrases such as "Chanyu tian jiang" ("Heavendescended khan") and "Chanyu he qin" ("The khan in quest of marriage with Han") were applied (figs. 227, 228).[31] In Xihai Jun (a commandery established by Wang Mang of the Xin dynasty) in the vicinity of Qinghai Lake, eaves tiles have been found with impressed characters reading "Xihai an ding" ("Pacified Xihai") (fig. 229). [32] During the reign of Wang Mang, designs of the so-called *sishen* or Four Deities—the Green Dragon, the White Tiger, the Red Bird, and the Black Turtle—appeared on eaves tiles intended for buildings of a ceremonial nature.[33]

It is important to note that in the Han dynasty eaves tiles with impressed character decoration were used for palaces and government buildings in the capital Chang'an, and in the *san fu*—the three military districts contiguous with and immediately surrounding the capital(namely, Jingzhao, Fengyi, and Fufeng). The characters used in the decoration indicate the names of the buildings. Many examples have been found. In the Shanglinyuan garden complex in the suburbs of Chang'an, for example, eaves tiles were stamped with characters reading "Shang lin" (fig. 230). In the Yidang Hall and Zhefeng Tower of the Jianzhang Palace west to Chang'an, eaves tiles were stamped with characters reading "Yidang wan nian" ("Yidang ten thousand

years") and "Zhefengque dang" ("Eaves tile of Zhefengque") respectively (figs. 231, 232). In the Huangshan Palace in Huailixian, You Fufeng, eaves tiles were stamped "Huangshan" (fig. 233). In the Lanchi Palace in Weichengxian, You Fufeng, eaves tiles were stamped "Lanchigong dang" ("Eaves of Lanchigong") (fig. 234). And in the Zongzheng government building, within the city of Chang'an, eaves tiles were stamped with "Zongzhengguan dang" ("Tile of the Zongzheng official [building]") (fig. 235).[34] The examples cited above indicate that at that time the government had established special ceramic workshops to supply bricks and roof tiles for use in palaces and government buildings. In the excavations of the Han capital at Chang'an, there were found a number of eaves tiles impressed with characters reading "Dusikong wa" ("Tile of Dusikong") (fig. 236), as well as tiles impressed with characters reading "Dusikong," "Baocheng Dusikong," "Youkong", and "Du Jian Ping sannian" (a date equivalent to 4 B.C.), "Du Yuan Shou ernian" (equivalent to 1 B.C.), and "Du Yuan Shi wunian" (equivalent to A.D. 5) (figs. 237-39). Here, the character *du* is an abbreviation of Dusikong, the name of a government bureau which was changed to "Baocheng dusikong" for a brief period during the reign of Wang Mang. It can be concluded, therefore, that the manufacture of these tiles was supervised by officials from the Dusikong bureau of the Zongzhengqing and by officials from the Zuosikong and Yousikong of the Shaofuqing. [35] According to the *Hanshu*, the Dusikong, Zuosikong, and Yousikong were bureaus in charge of both construction and convicted criminals. Since these bureaus supervised the manufacture of bricks and tiles, the evidence from the *Hanshu* reveals that, in the Han dynasty, numerous prisoners were employed in the government-operated ceramic workshops.

柒　汉代的陶器

在讲述汉代的制陶业时，首先要提到的是，自商周以来的泥质灰陶系统的陶器，在战国时代的基础上，又向前发展了一步，达到了很高的水平。如果说此后历代的灰陶制作技术基本上是停留在汉代已经达到的水平上，这也并不是过于夸张之辞。汉代灰陶烧制技术的提高，表现在器物都呈青灰色，火候均匀，烧成温度约在摄氏1000度以上，质地坚实，同时也表现在大型器物的普遍增多。关于后者，洛阳等地汉墓中的陶瓮往往高达五十余厘米（图173、174），满城汉墓中的陶酒缸高达七十余厘米，便是明显的例证。[1]陶质的坚硬和大型器物的增多，是与陶窑的改进分不开的。1956年在河北省武安县的午汲古城遗址中发掘了二十余座战国、西汉和东汉的陶窑，可以看出，汉代的窑与战国的窑相比，窑室的体积增大，火道加长，烟道的设计改善，就说明了以上的问题（图175—177）。[2]

在制坯方面，汉代凡属圆形的灰陶器，无不采用轮制的方法。器物的形状规整，表面比较光滑，除了随着陶轮的旋转而刻划的少许平行的弦纹以及一些局部的几何形划纹和印纹以外，一般都没有什么花纹，基本上可以说是素面的（图178—180）。西汉前期有少数器物如瓮、罐之类偶而还带有一些不甚明显的绳纹[3]，但到了西汉中期以后，带有绳纹的陶器几乎可以说是不复存在了。自新石器时代以来流行达三千余年之久的绳纹终于绝迹（除瓦以外），这不能不说是汉代陶器的重要特点之一。

在各地汉墓中，往往可以发现一些绘有彩色花纹的陶器。这些陶器也属灰陶，彩色的花纹是在陶器烧成以后才绘描的。例如，洛阳汉墓中发现的一些陶壶和满城汉墓中发现的许多陶壶和陶盆[4]，色彩鲜艳，绘描精致，都是优美的艺术品（图181、182）。但是，由于花纹是器物烧成以后才绘描的，所以易于脱落，而且除了在坟墓中发现的以外，在居住址里没有发现过这种彩绘的陶器，因而可以肯定它们是专为随葬而作的。此外，汉代还有在灰陶的表面涂漆，以模仿漆器的。山东临沂银雀山汉墓、安徽阜阳双古堆汉墓和湖北云梦大坟头汉墓中的许多灰陶器，涂有浓厚的黑色或褐色漆，很像漆器（图183—185）。[5]大坟头汉墓的一件涂漆陶壶在该墓的“赗方”中被称为“髹画瓦瓮”，便是例证。

在器形方面，上述西汉前期的少数瓮、罐等带有绳纹的器物有时还有系圆底的（图186）[6]，从西汉中期以后，除了三足器和圈足器以外，

几乎所有的陶器都是平底的。从新石器时代到商代和西周一直流行的陶鬲，在汉代之前早已绝迹。战国时代流行的陶豆，在西汉初期还偶有所见，但不久就消失了。陶钫是战国晚期才开始出现的，西汉时很流行，但到东汉也就极少见了。无论是西汉或东汉，陶鼎和陶锺都是最常见的仿铜的陶器，但到了魏晋以后，随着青铜器的衰落，终于近于绝迹了。此外，战国末年出现的一种造型奇特的“鸭蛋壶”，主要流行于秦代和西汉前期，西汉中后期以后也就消失了（图187）。其他各种属于泥质灰陶系统的器物，如瓮、罐、盒、樽、盆、碗之类，其形态也随着年代的推移而不断演变。总之，汉代的灰陶，种类繁多，用途各异，它们不仅流行于黄河流域和北方地区，而且普及于全国，可以说是当时陶器的主流。

但是，另一方面，必须指出的是，在长江以南，包括广东、广西、湖南、江西、福建、浙江及江苏南部等广大地区，除了上述的灰陶以外，还普遍存在着另一类陶器，称为硬陶。这种硬陶，是用当地的一种密度较大、粘性较强的粘土制成，与灰陶相比，烧制火候更高，陶质更坚硬。器物的表面往往拍印着细密的方格纹，或刻划有水波形纹、锯齿形纹等等，与上述基本上是素面无纹的灰陶迥然相异（图188—191）。器物的种类有瓮、罐、壶、盒、碗等，与灰陶系统的各种陶器相比，它们的器形也别具风格。例如，广州地区有一种壶，称为匏壶，其形状有如匏瓜（图192）；广州、长沙等地有一种“四联罐”或“五联罐”，系由四个或五个小罐互相接合而成（图193）。有许多器物，在肩部或腹部附有系绳用的钮；也有一些小型的盒和罐，在底部附有低矮的三足（图194）。[7]总之，从陶质、火候、纹饰和器形等各个方面看来，可以认为，长江以南广大地区的这种硬陶是继承了当地自新石器时代晚期以来的所谓“几何印纹硬陶”的余绪，在汉代陶器中自成一个系统。

汉代制陶业的一项新的发明，是一种浓厚的棕黄色和绿色的釉陶。它们的开始出现，是在西汉的中后期，地区主要是在陕西省的关中和河南省的洛阳一带[8]，但以后发展很快，到西汉后期即已相当盛行，流行的地区也有所扩大。东汉时，这种釉陶不仅已普及到整个黄河流域和北方地区，甚至在长江流域也颇有所见。一般说来，棕黄色的釉陶出现较早，绿色的釉陶出现较晚，但后者在东汉时大量流行，又远较前者为普遍。这种浓厚的棕黄色和绿色的釉陶，所用釉药中含有大量的氧化铅，烧制的火候并不高，仅约摄氏800度左右，所以被称为“铅釉”或“软釉”，由于主要流行于黄河流域和北方地区，因而在这里也可称为“北方釉陶”。它们在器形上的种类，有鼎、锺等仿铜的容器，也有仓、灶、井、楼阁等模型及鸡、犬等动物偶像（图195—197）。由于这种釉陶的内胎（一般呈砖红色）并不很坚实，釉也易于脱落或变质，特别是由于

它们只是作为随葬品而存在于坟墓中，在居住址里极少发现，所以使人怀疑它们可能是专为随葬而作，不是真正的实用器。

应该指出的是，虽然中国自商代和西周以来即有釉陶，但所施的釉都属浅色的青釉，烧成温度甚高，与上述棕黄色和绿色的低温的铅釉并不相同。因此，曾经有一种看法认为，铅釉在西汉中后期的突然出现可能与汉武帝时通西域，加强了中国与西亚的交通和贸易，从而受到西亚地区釉陶的影响有关。如所周知，在西亚的伊朗、伊拉克等地，早在亚述帝国和波斯的阿契美尼德王朝时期，就盛行各种釉陶制品。到了与汉代同时的安息王朝时，则流行绿、褐等单色的釉陶器，甚至在陶制的棺材上也多施绿色釉。安息的这种釉陶，亦系低温烧成，从外表看来，与汉代的铅釉很相似。据《汉书·西域传》记载，汉通西域以后，与安息的交往频繁，安息的各种事物颇有传入中国的。因此，可以认为，铅釉在西汉中后期的出现，正是由于受到安息釉陶影响的结果。但是，也有不同的意见认为，西亚的釉陶与汉代的铅釉虽然同属低温烧成，但釉的成分有所不同，而中国铅釉出现的年代则又可以上溯到战国，从而认为铅釉为中国所首创，与西亚的釉陶无关。[9]其实，从新中国成立以来对大量的战国和西汉墓葬的发掘来看，铅釉陶器的出现未必能早到战国时代。至于西亚的釉陶与汉代铅釉的性质是否相同，则需要进一步作分析研究。考古发掘工作表明，到了魏晋以后，陶器上施铅釉的工艺虽然继续存在，但和汉代相比，显然是衰落了。

与“北方釉陶”所施的“铅釉”不同，在南方各地发现的各种硬陶上往往有一层薄薄的釉，或黄或绿，颜色都很浅，烧成温度甚高，属于青釉的系统。此外，在湖南长沙、江苏海州等地的西汉后期墓中有一种附有双耳的陶瓶，胎壁呈紫褐色，甚坚硬，颈部和肩部施较厚的绿色釉，亦属南方系统的釉陶（图198）。[10]在洛阳的西汉晚期墓中也发现了同样的釉陶瓶（图199），估计可能是从南方传来的。[11]这些主要流行于南方地区的硬质釉陶，与魏晋时期的青瓷有一定的渊源关系，但从各方面的条件看来，它们与青瓷器之间还存在着很大的差距。

以往认为，真正的青瓷器是在三国时代的吴地开始出现的，在吴的首都武昌和南京附近发现的有黄武六年（公元227年）、赤乌十四年（公元251年）、甘露元年（公元265年）等纪年的墓中所出土的各种青瓷器便是典型的代表。[12]但是，经过近年来的调查、发掘和研究，可以认为，早在东汉的后期，首先是在浙江省的绍兴、上虞一带，已经出现了青瓷器。考古工作者在上虞地区调查了许多古窑址，其中有不少是属于东汉时期的，它们的形制和结构属于所谓“龙窑”。这种窑是利用山坡的斜面筑成，窑室较狭、较低，但却很长，有利于通风，从而使温度提高。窑址中出土的瓷片，釉呈淡青色，经鉴定，各方面都符合瓷器的标

准。在窑址附近采集的一件东汉晚期的完整的“四系罐”，便是当时典型的青瓷器。[13]类似的“四系罐”，在河南洛阳和安徽亳县的东汉后期的墓中也有发现[14]，从它们的器形看来，似乎也属南方的产品。特别是1977年在亳县元宝坑村和董园村发现的曹操的宗族墓中，存在着以四系罐为代表的大量青瓷器，釉色光亮，质地纯净，说明了东汉晚年制造青瓷的技术已经相当成熟。[15]总之，青瓷器的开始出现，是汉代制陶业的又一重要的创造。

汉代制陶业的特点，还表现在器物种类的极其多样化。汉代作为容器的陶器，大体上可分两类。一类是鼎、豆、锺、钫等模仿铜器的器物，总的说来，它们在汉代是在逐渐趋向衰落。另一类是瓮、罐、瓶、盒、盆、碗等日常用器，种类繁多，器形复杂。除此以外，还有不少陶器，如案、灯、熏炉以及扑满之类，既非饮食器，亦非贮藏器，而是一般的生活用具（图200—202）。在制陶工艺上最富特色的是，随着丧葬习俗的改变，在西汉中期以后，还盛行制作各种专为随葬用的陶质明器，种类之多，数量之大，达到了惊人的程度。最初出现的是仓和灶，它们在秦和西汉前期的墓中即有所见，但普遍流行则在西汉中期以后。其他诸如井、磨、猪圈、楼阁、碓房、农田和陂塘等模型，以及猪、羊、马、狗、鸡、鸭等动物偶像，应有尽有，不一而足，时代越晚，特别是东汉以后，种类越多。有些地区的汉墓中有一种小型的陶瓶，外形像枭，过去曾被误认为“三代器”，其实是汉代特有的一种随葬陶器。各式各样的陶俑，亦被大量制作以随葬。这些陶质的明器，有时制作得很精致。例如：陕西咸阳杨家湾西汉墓中的大量骑马陶俑，造型生动，并施彩绘（图203）。[16]河南辉县百泉村东汉墓中的陶狗和陶羊，塑造得十分逼真，堪称塑像艺术中的杰作（图204、205）。[17]

陶器是日常生活中最普遍的用品，制作又比较容易，所以应该多为私营的小规模的手工业作坊所制造。但是，在汉代，各地的官府也普遍经营陶器制造业。由各地官府经营的手工业作坊，所制陶器往往印有戳记。例如：洛阳汉河南县城遗址出土的陶器印有“河亭”、“河市”字样（图206），河南陕县汉墓中出土的陶器印有“陕亭”、“陕市”字样（图207、208），河北邯郸汉代遗址出土的陶器印有“邯亭”字样（图209），山西夏县安邑汉城遗址出土的陶器印有“安亭”字样（图210），等等。[18]根据汉河南县城遗址的发掘，可以认为，印有“河亭”字样的陶器年代较早，属西汉前期，印有“河市”字样的陶器年代较晚，属西汉晚期。[19]戳印中的“亭”和“市”的意义是相同的，是指汉代各地城市中的手工业和商业区，它们是由官府来管理的。上述的各种戳印，说明了这些陶器是由各地官府中主管手工业和商业的机构所属的作坊制作的。[20]

最能说明汉代各地存在着官营的制陶手工业的，是一块传世的“安

城陶尉”的封泥（图211）。[21]它说明了当时汝南郡的安城县（今河南省正阳）设有专门管理制陶业的官吏。[22]值得注意的是，“尉”是一种武官的职称。由武职的官吏来主管制陶业，可能是由于在官营的制陶手工业作坊中从事劳动的主要是许多被判刑的刑徒，他们大概是按照军事性的编制被组织起来的。

制砖和造瓦，是汉代陶业的一个重要的方面。在中国古代，最初的砖是一种体积庞大的特殊的砖，长度一般都在一米以上，内部是空的，所以称为空心砖（图212）。它开始出现于战国晚期，地区限在中原，其用途主要不在于建筑房屋，而在于造墓。西汉是空心砖的极盛时期，在河南禹县白沙和洛阳烧沟等地发掘的大量的西汉墓，几乎有半数是用这种空心砖建筑的。[23]但是，在汉代，除了筑墓以外，空心砖的用途并未被推广，它的流行地区亦仍限于河南省及陕西省的中部、山西省的南部一带。除了大多数是长方形的以外，西汉的空心砖也有少数是三角形或长条状的，以便砌造墓门。砖面上的花纹是作为墓室的装饰而设计的，系用戳印逐个打印，纹样除几何图案以外，还有各种动物、植物，以及人物、车马和房屋，等等。[24]到了东汉，空心砖突然衰落，乃至绝迹。

在西汉前期，真正的砖出现了。这是汉代在建筑方面的一大发明。与上述的空心砖相比，它们都系小型、实心，长方形或正方形，长度一般从二十多厘米到三十多厘米不等，这里称之为“小型砖”（图213），以区别于上述庞大的空心砖。小型砖用于各种建筑物，大量使用的是长方砖，正方砖只用于铺地（图214）。为了符合建筑上的要求，砖的尺寸必须整齐划一。长方砖的长、宽、厚，都按一定的比例，一般说来，长与宽是二比一，宽与厚多为四比一。小型砖一经出现，就被广泛使用，迅速普及到全国各地。以洛阳的汉河南县城遗址的发掘所见为例，小型长方砖用于建筑各种住房和粮仓，也被用来砌筑水井（图215）。[25]在西安的汉长安城遗址，则可以看到它们被用以砌筑排水的涵洞。[26]但是，在汉代，它们还没有被用来建筑城墙。在黄河流域，早在西汉中后期，就盛行用小型砖建筑墓室。到了东汉，用它们来筑造的砖室墓已普及到全国各地。随着小型砖的出现，发券的技术也就被广泛使用。一般的长方砖都可以用以发券，但为了增加券顶的强度，也有专门用于发券的“楔形砖”和“子母砖”（图216、217）。[27]长方砖以素面的为多，但也有不少在侧面印有花纹，纹样以几何图案为主，有时也有其他各种图纹。铺地用的正方砖，则多在正面印几何图案。此外，东汉时还有一种“画像砖”，或为正方形，或为长方形，砖面上印着各种有关社会生活和生产活动的图纹，主要是用于构筑并装饰墓室，流行的地区主要限于四川（图218）。[28]

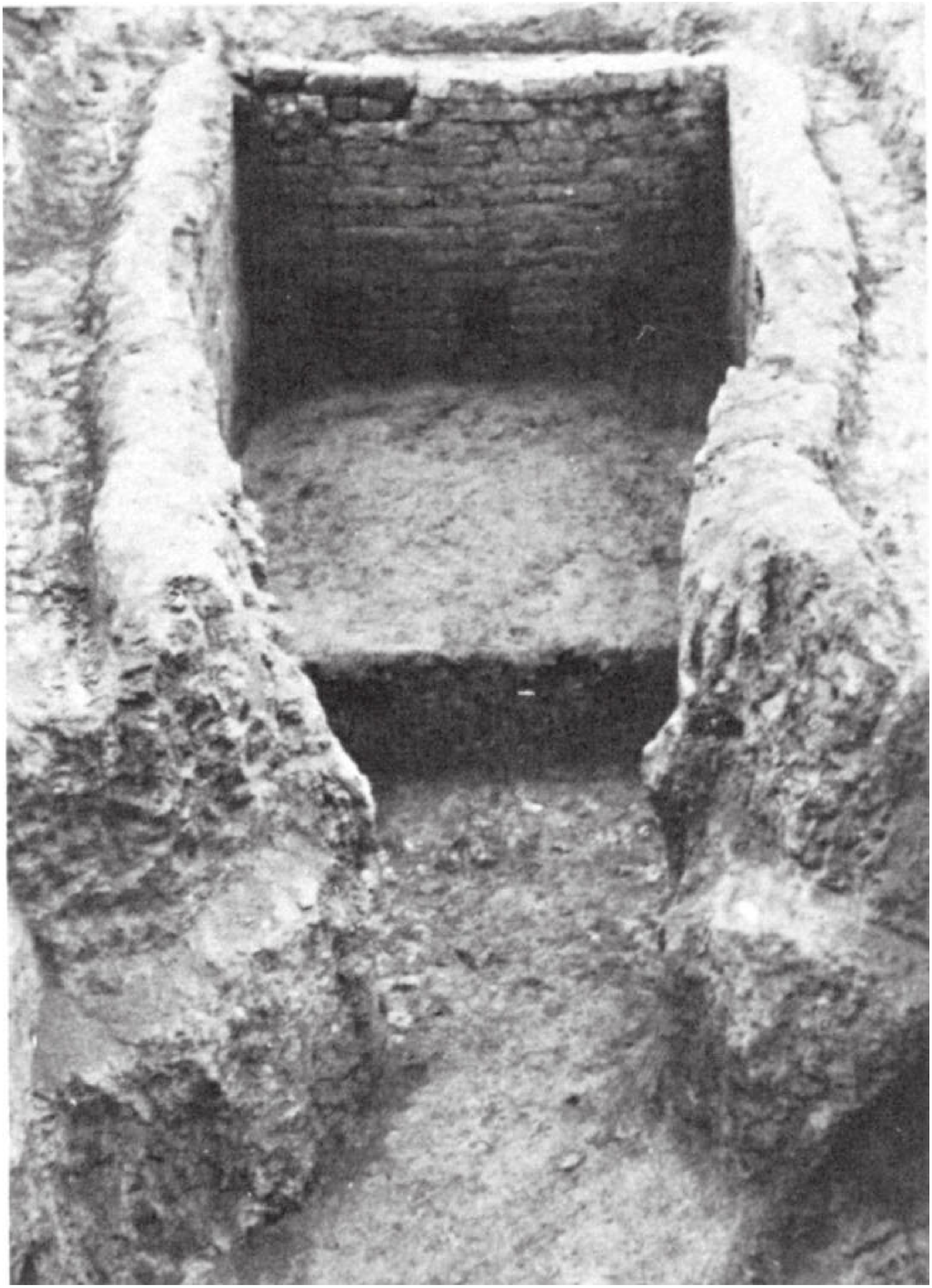
在中国，瓦的使用比砖早。根据考古发掘，早在西周初期就有了瓦，在西安附近的客省庄遗址中就有大量的发现。[29]到了春秋战国时期，瓦的制作和使用迅速推广，并已按其用途分为板瓦和筒瓦，前者铺在下面，后者覆在上面。在战国时代，筒瓦前端的瓦当多为半圆形的，有的为素面，有的有花纹。当时的七个主要国家，瓦当上的花纹各有特点，互不相同。

到了汉代，瓦的制作和使用又进一步得到了发展，制瓦的方法也有所改进。无论是筒瓦或板瓦，形状都比较规整，表面上拍印的绳纹也显得比较整齐。根据洛阳汉河南县城的发掘，在西汉前期，除了圆形的瓦当以外，仍有不少瓦当是半圆形的；到了西汉中期以后，半圆形的瓦当才逐渐消失。[30]在汉代，瓦当上的花纹也统一了。从长安、雒阳等大城市到边远地区的小城镇，瓦当上的几何图案几乎都是属于所谓卷云纹，绝少例外（图219—222）。用“长乐未央”、“长生无极”、“千秋万岁”、“亿年无疆”等吉祥文字作为瓦当上的装饰，也是从西汉开始的（图223—226）。北方边境城镇所用的瓦当有“单于天降”、“单于和亲”的文字（图227、228）。[31]青海湖附近的西海郡（新莽时所置）所用的瓦当则有“西海安定”的字样（图229）。[32]在新莽时期，还流行用“青龙”、“白虎”、“朱雀”、“玄武”的所谓“四神”的图纹作为瓦当上的装饰，这种瓦当主要用于礼仪性的建筑物上。[33]

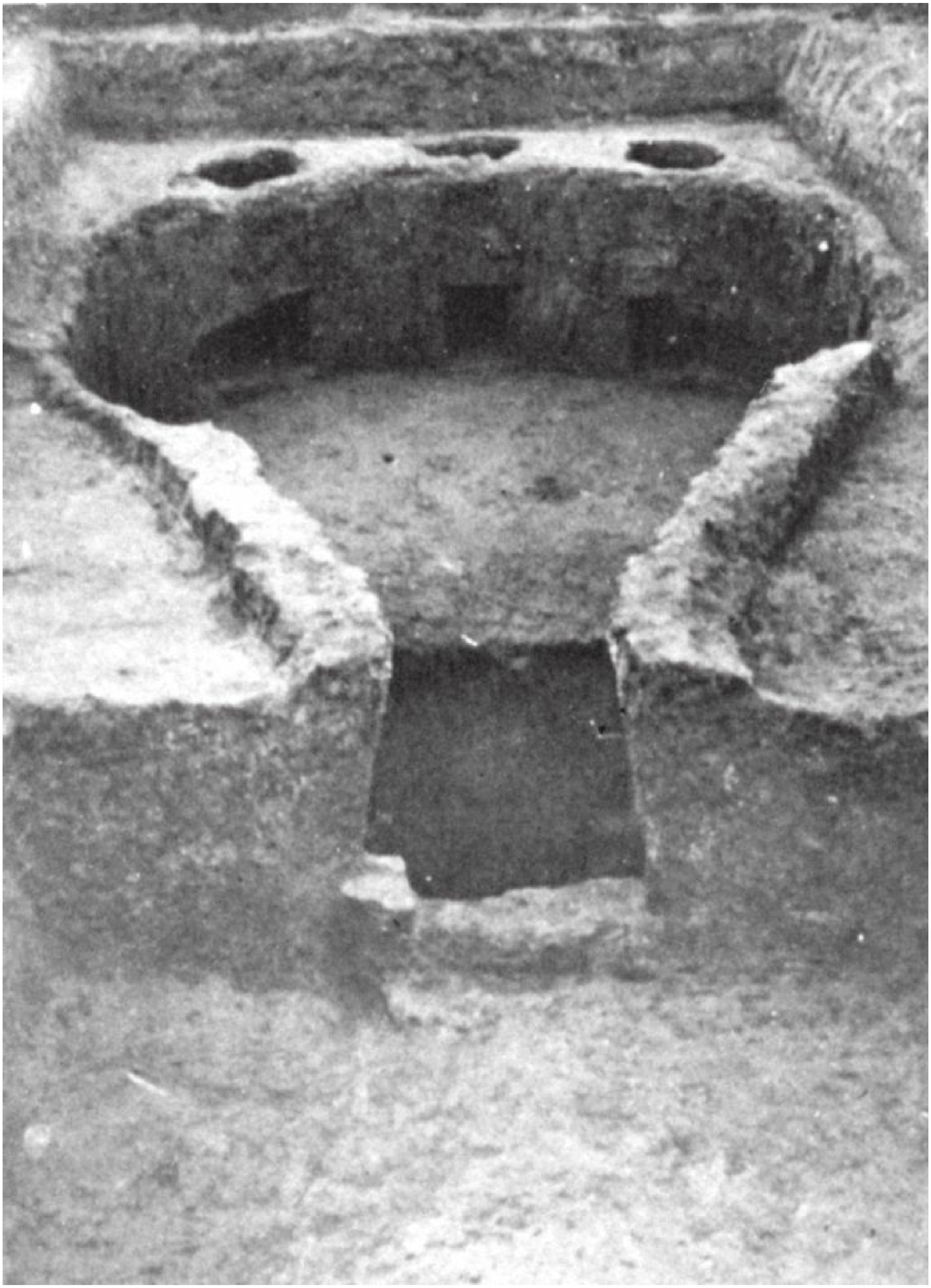
值得注意的是，在西汉首都长安城及三辅地区的宫殿、官署所用的瓦当，往往用文字作为装饰，而这些文字正是宫殿和官署的名称。例如：长安郊区上林苑中的各宫观用“上林”瓦当（图230），长安城西建章宫中的骀荡殿和折风阙分别用“骀汤万年”、“折风阙当”瓦当（图231、232），右扶风槐里县的黄山宫用“黄山”瓦当（图233），右扶风渭城县的兰池宫用“兰池宫当”瓦当（图234），长安城内的宗正署用“宗正官当”瓦当（图235），等等。[34]这说明了当时的政府设有专门的制陶作坊，制造专供宫廷和官署使用的砖瓦。在长安城遗址的发掘工作中，发现了许多印有“都司空瓦”文字的瓦当（图236），并发现在大量的瓦片上印着有“都司空”、“保城都司空”、“右空”及“都建平三年”、“都元寿二年”、“都元始五年”等字样（图237—239）（“都”是都司空的简略）的戳记，充分说明了这些瓦的制作是由宗正的属官“都司空令”（新莽时改称“保城都司空”）和少府的属官“左司空令”、“右司空令”所主管。[35]《汉书·百官公卿表》说“（宗正）属官有都司空令丞”。颜师古注引如淳曰：“律，司空主水及罪人。贾谊曰，输之司空，编之徒官。”可见“都司空”、“左司空”和“右司空”等管理工程的机构同时也是管理刑徒的机构，由它们主管砖瓦的制造正说明了汉代官营的制陶手工业作坊中使用大量的刑徒作为劳动力。

173．Large pottery urn unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang (height: 50 cm)　洛阳汉墓出土的陶瓮（高50cm）

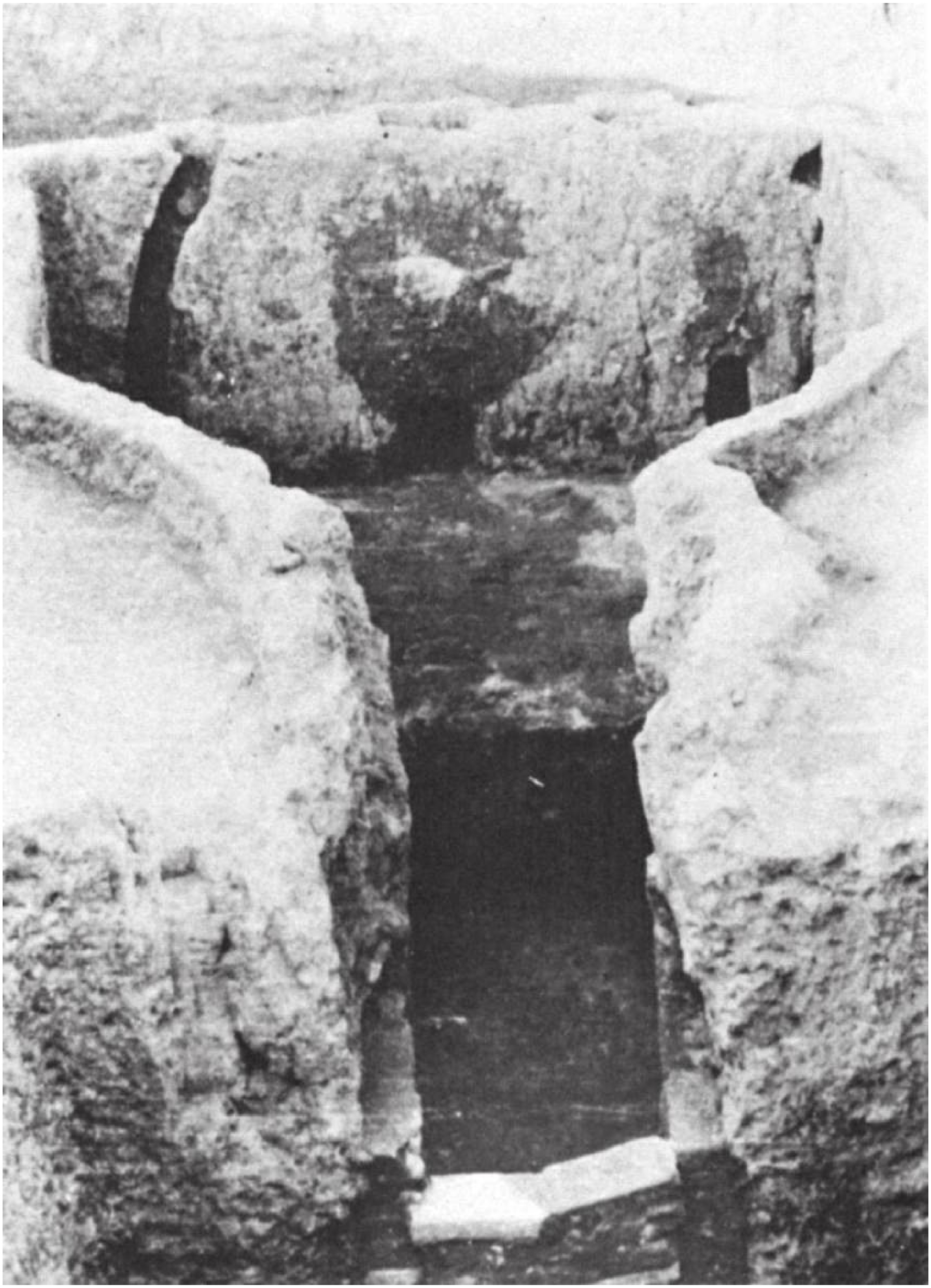
174．Large pottery urn unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang (height: 64 cm)　洛阳汉墓出土的陶瓮（高64cm）



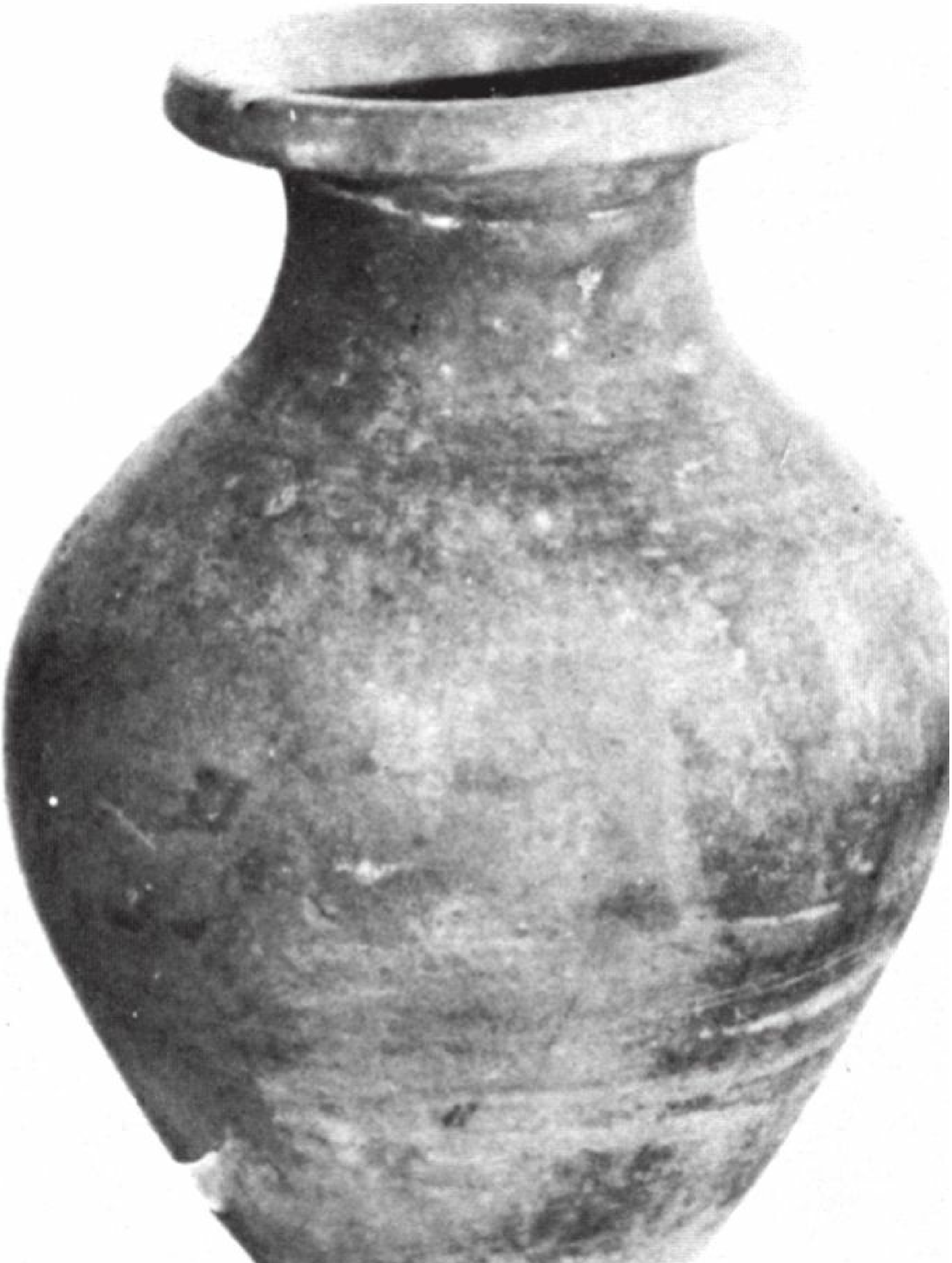
175．Pottery kiln of the Han dynasty excavated from the site of the old city of Wuji in Wu'anxian, Hebei　河北武安午汲古城中的汉代陶窑



176．Pottery kiln of the Han dynasty excavated from the site of the old city of Wuji in Wu'anxian, Hebei　河北武安午汲古城中的汉代陶窑



177．Pottery kiln of the Han dynasty excavated from the site of the old city of Wuji in Wu'anxian, Hebei　河北武安午汲古城中的汉代陶窑



178．Gray pottery jar unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓出土的灰陶罐

179．Gray pottery jar unearthed from the Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓出土的灰陶罐

180．Gray pottery *ding*-tripod unearthed from the Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓出土的灰陶鼎

181．Painted pottery jar unearthed from the Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓出土的彩绘陶壶

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183．Lacquered pottery jar unearthed from the Han tomb at Yinqueshan in Linyi, Shandong　山东临沂银雀山汉墓出土的涂漆陶壶

184．Lacquered pottery *ding*-tripod unearthed from the Han tomb at Yinqueshan in Linyi, Shandong
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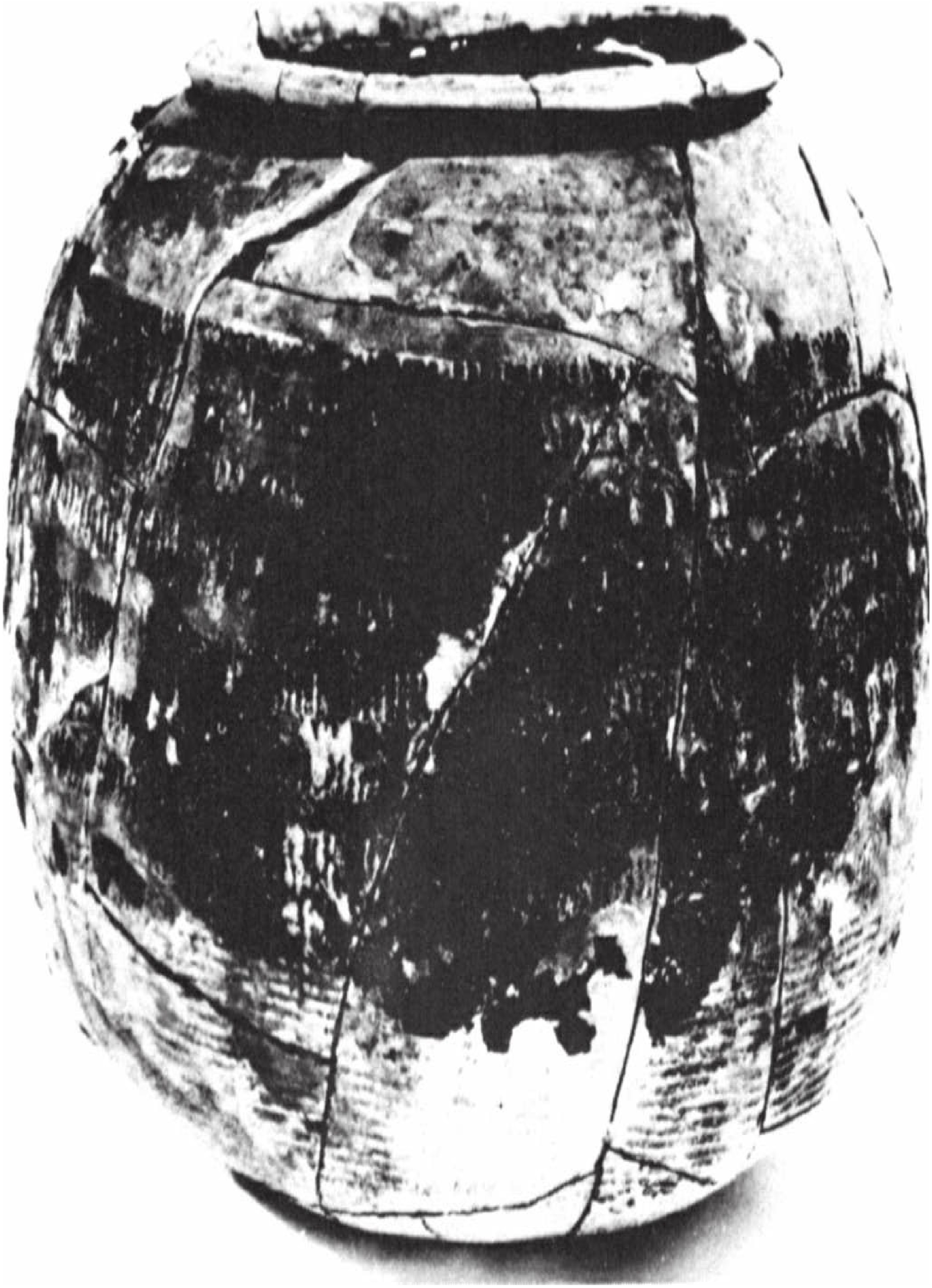
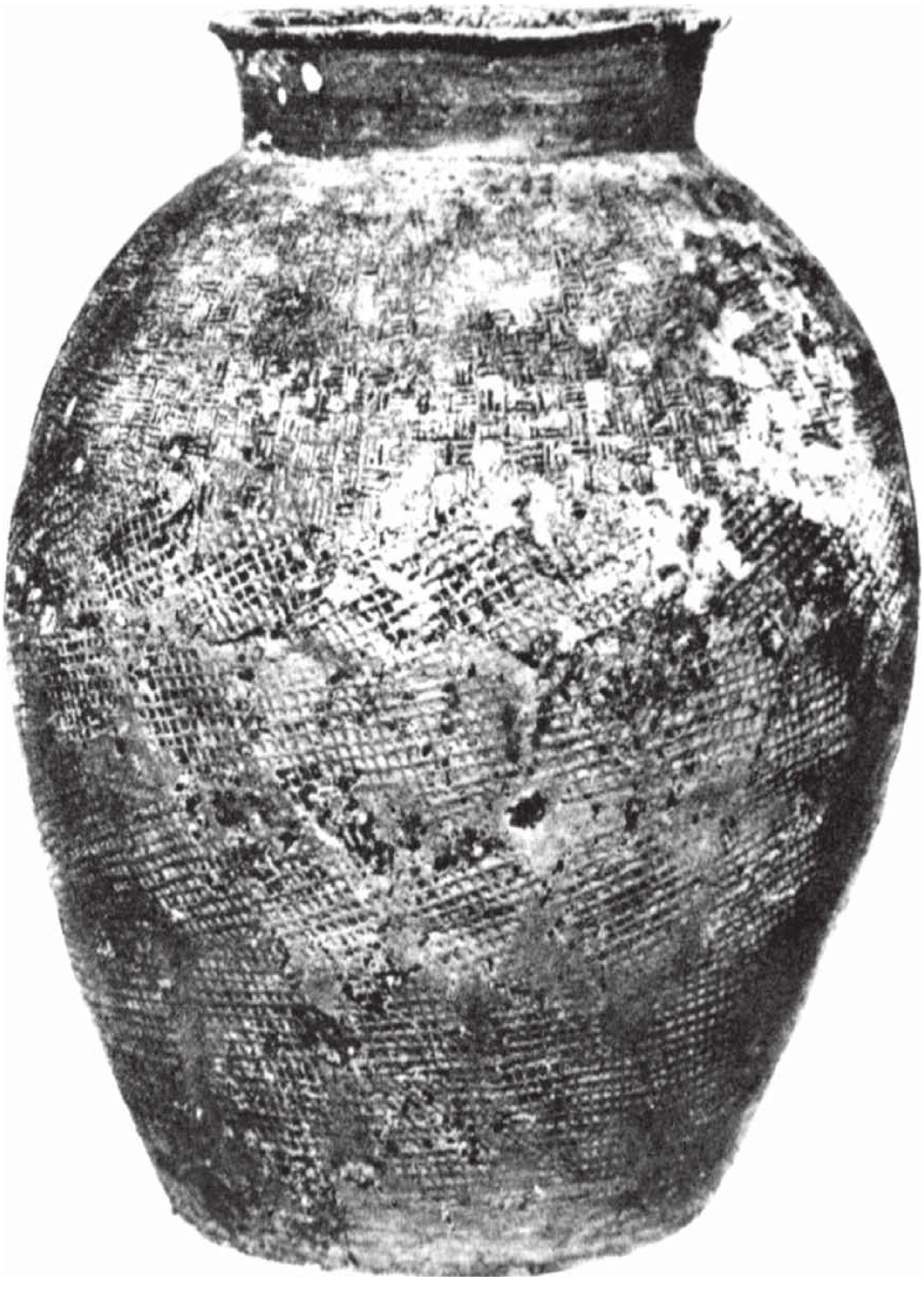


186．Round-based pottery urn unearthed from the Western Han tomb in Guanghua, Hubei　湖北光化西汉墓出土的圆底陶瓮

187. "Duck-egg jar" unearthed from the Han tomb in Xinxiang, Henan 河南新乡汉墓出土的彩绘“鸭蛋壶”



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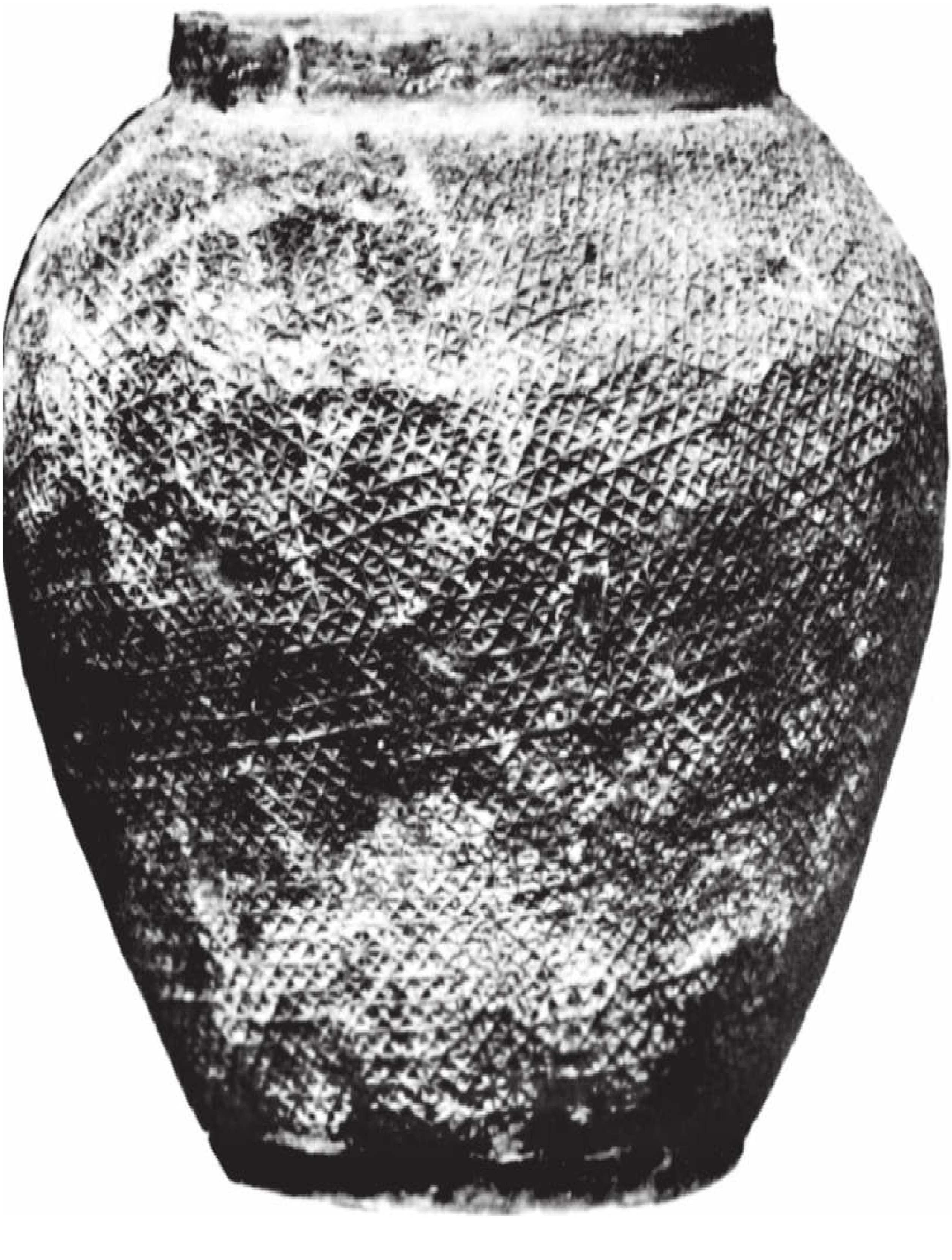
189．Hard pottery jar with impressed designs, unearthed from the Han tomb in Shaoxing, Zhejiang
浙江绍兴汉墓出土的印纹硬陶罐



190．Hard pottery jar with impressed designs, unearthed from the Han tomb in Shaoxing, Zhejiang
浙江绍兴汉墓出土的印纹硬陶罐

191．Hard pottery jar with impressed designs, unearthed from the Han tomb in Shaoxing, Zhejiang
浙江绍兴汉墓出土的印纹硬陶罐

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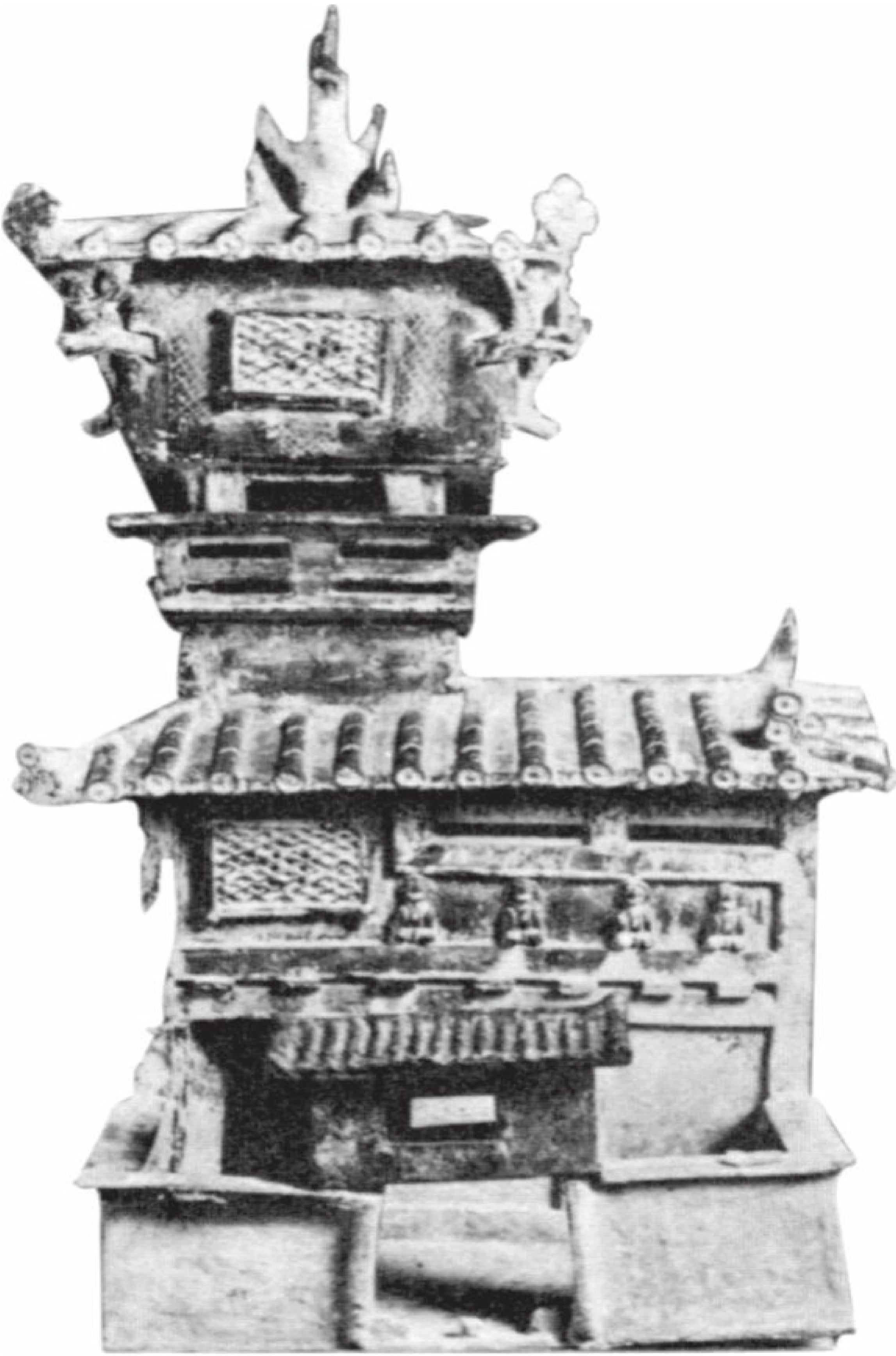

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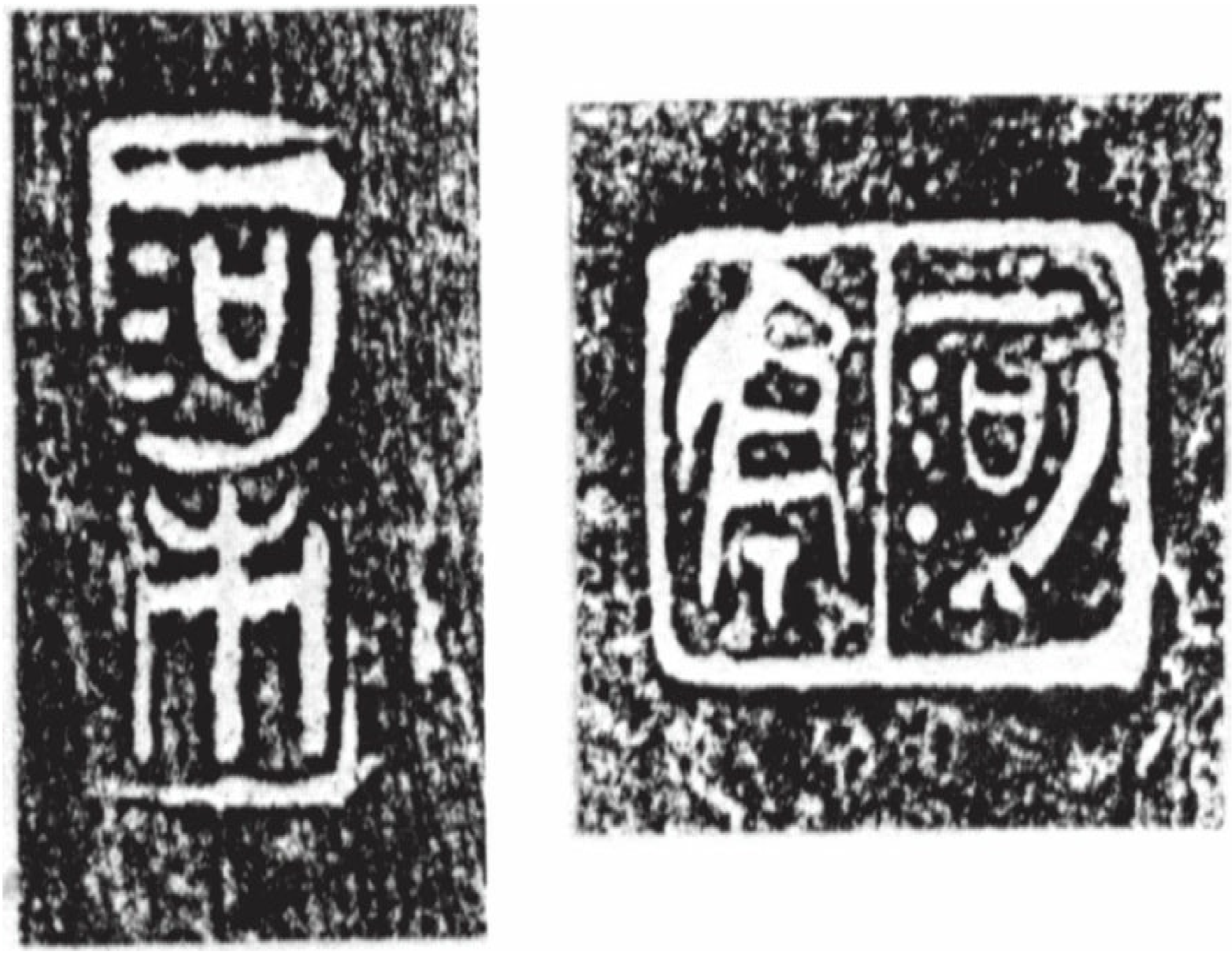

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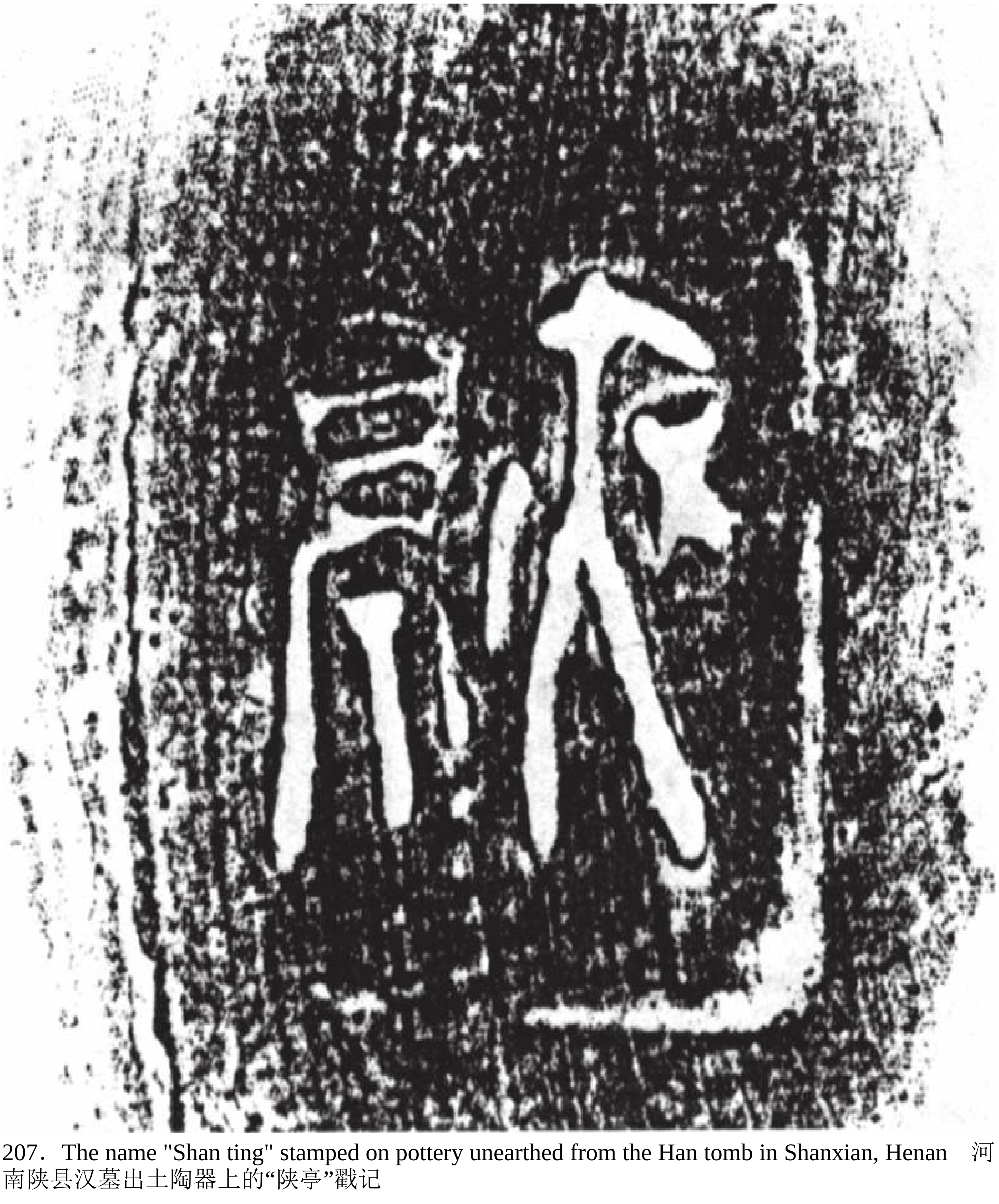
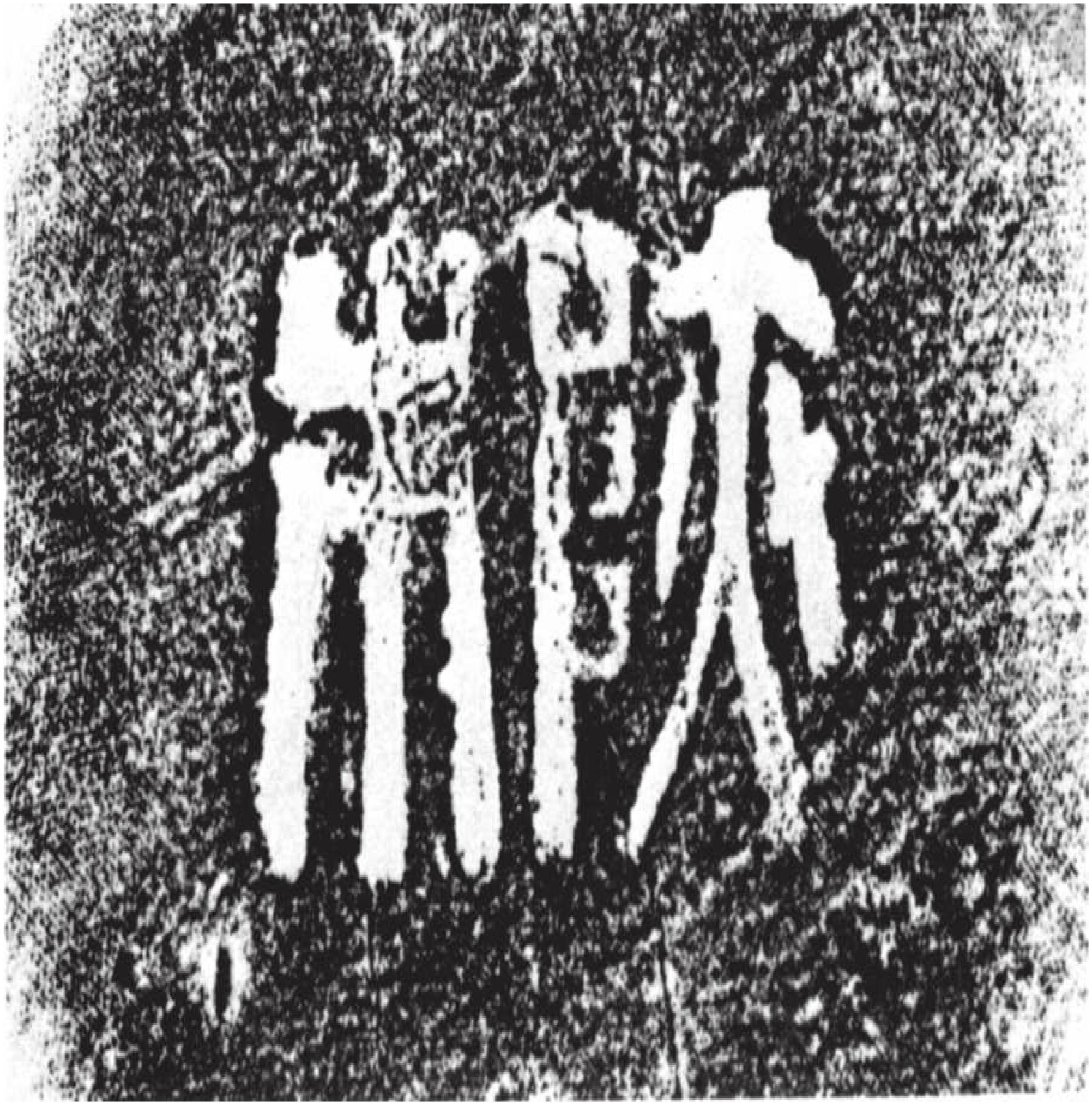


207．The name "Shan ting" stamped on pottery unearthed from the Han tomb in Shanxian, Henan　河南陕县汉墓出土陶器上的“陕亭”戳记



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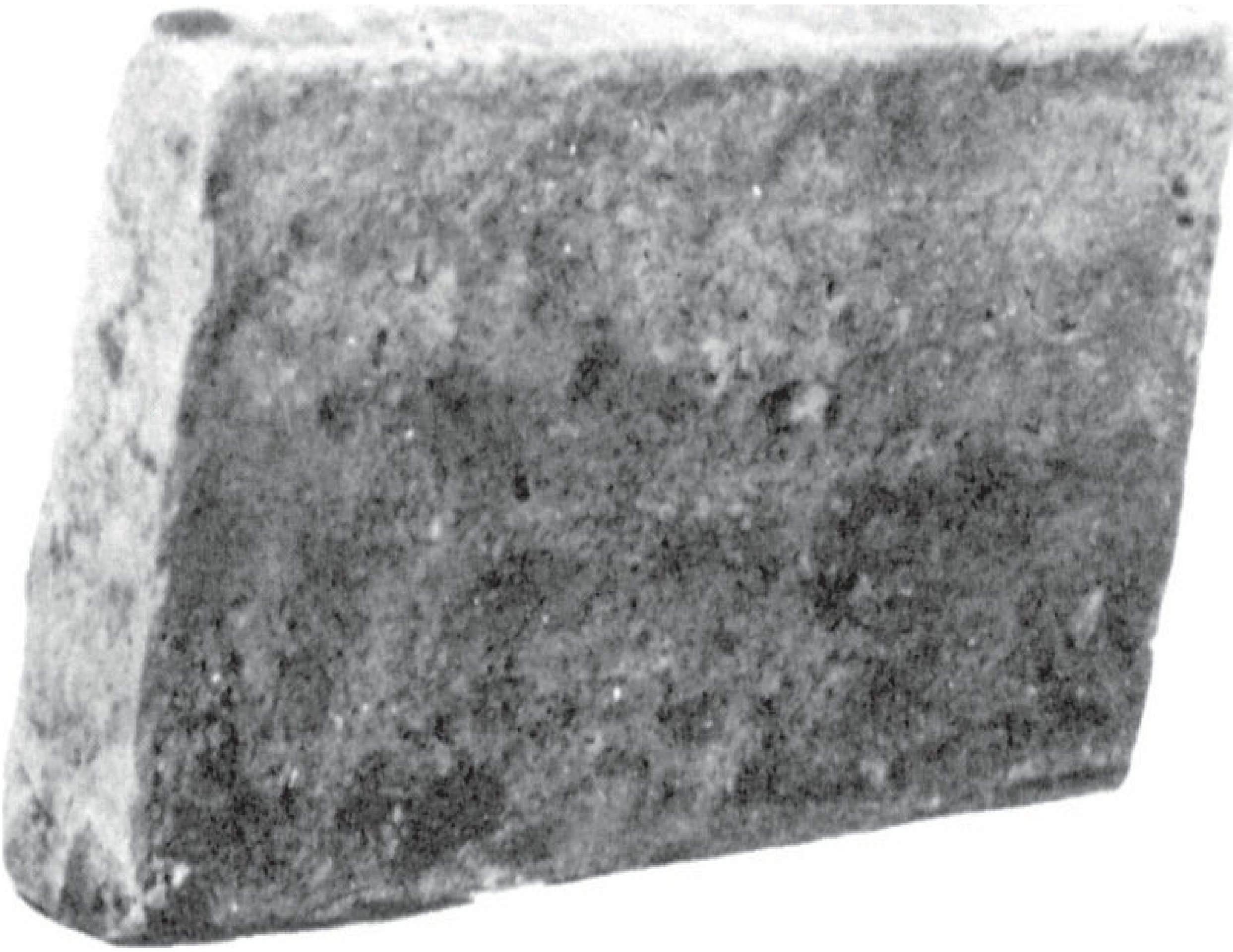

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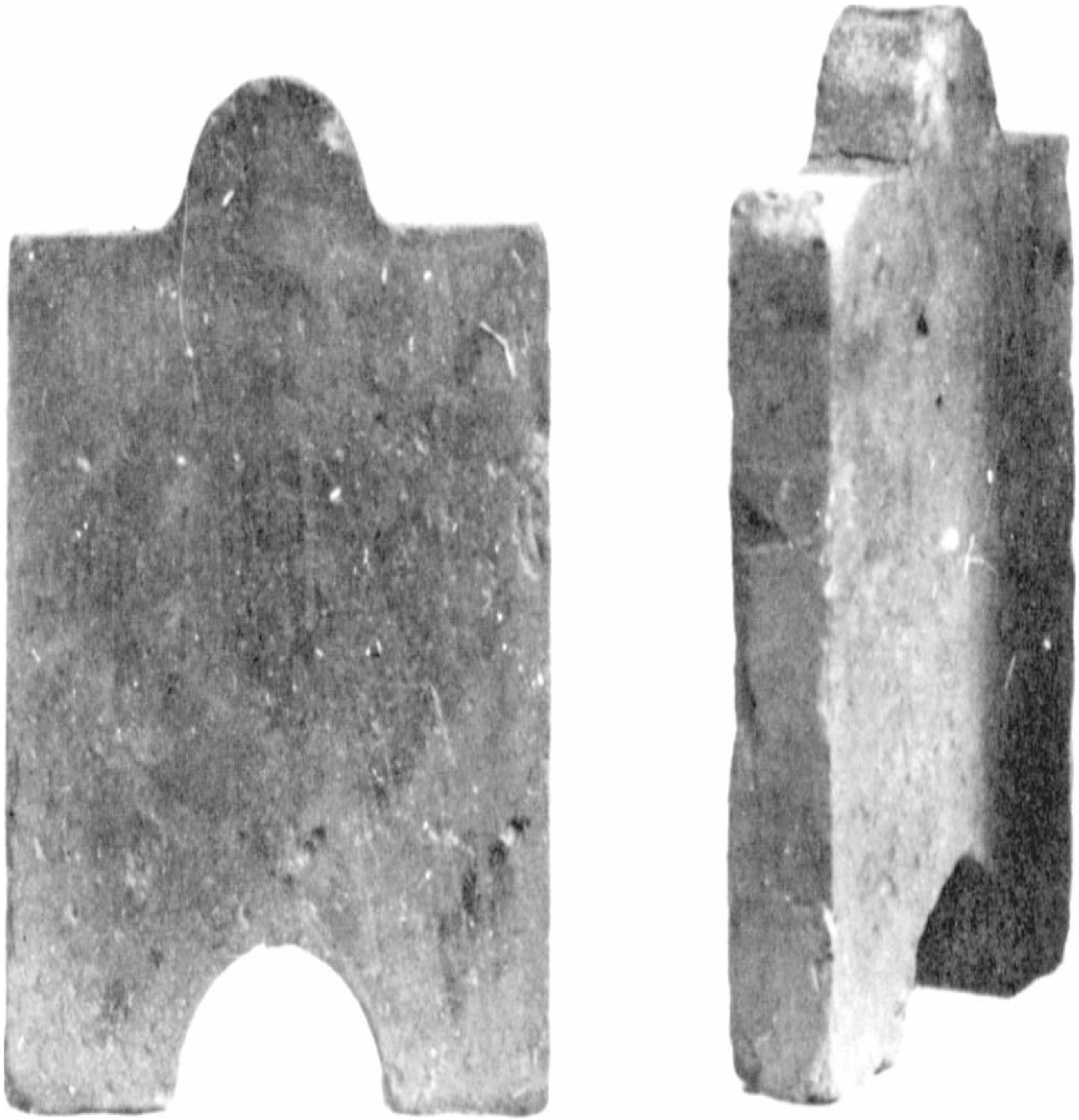

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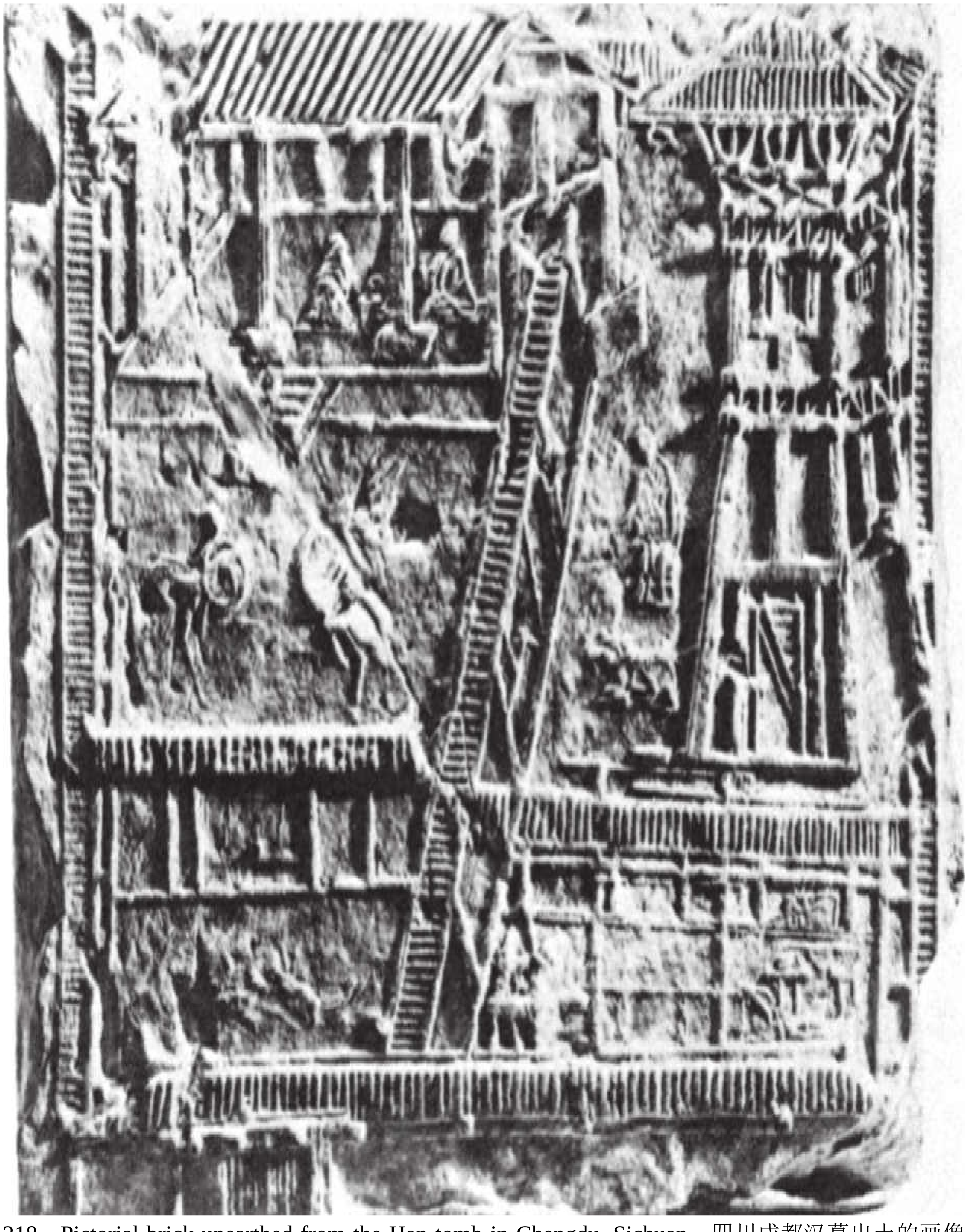

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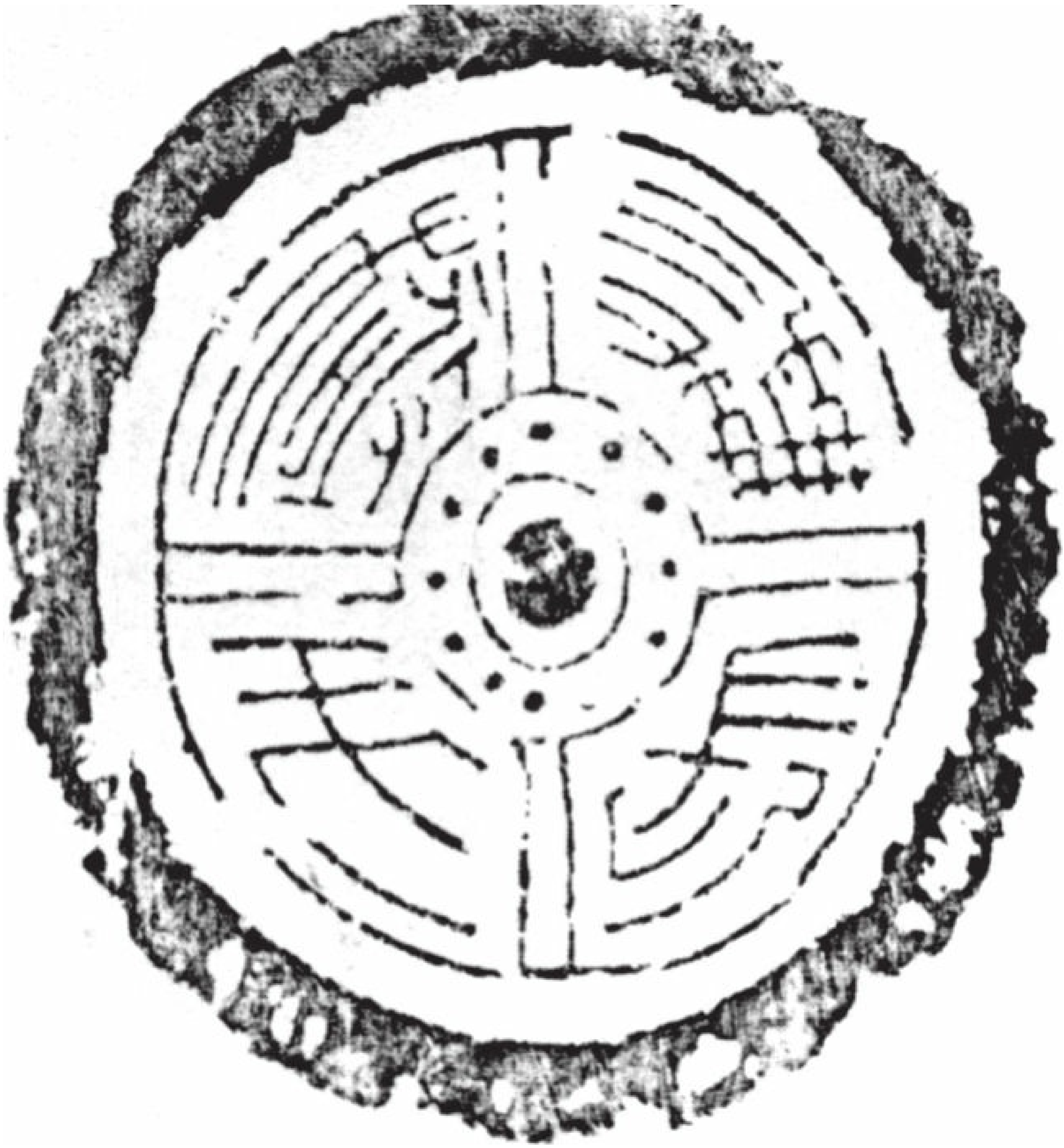
222．Eaves tile with "scrolling cloud" design, unearthed from the site of the Han city of Chang'an in Xi'an　汉长安城遗址出土的卷云纹瓦当



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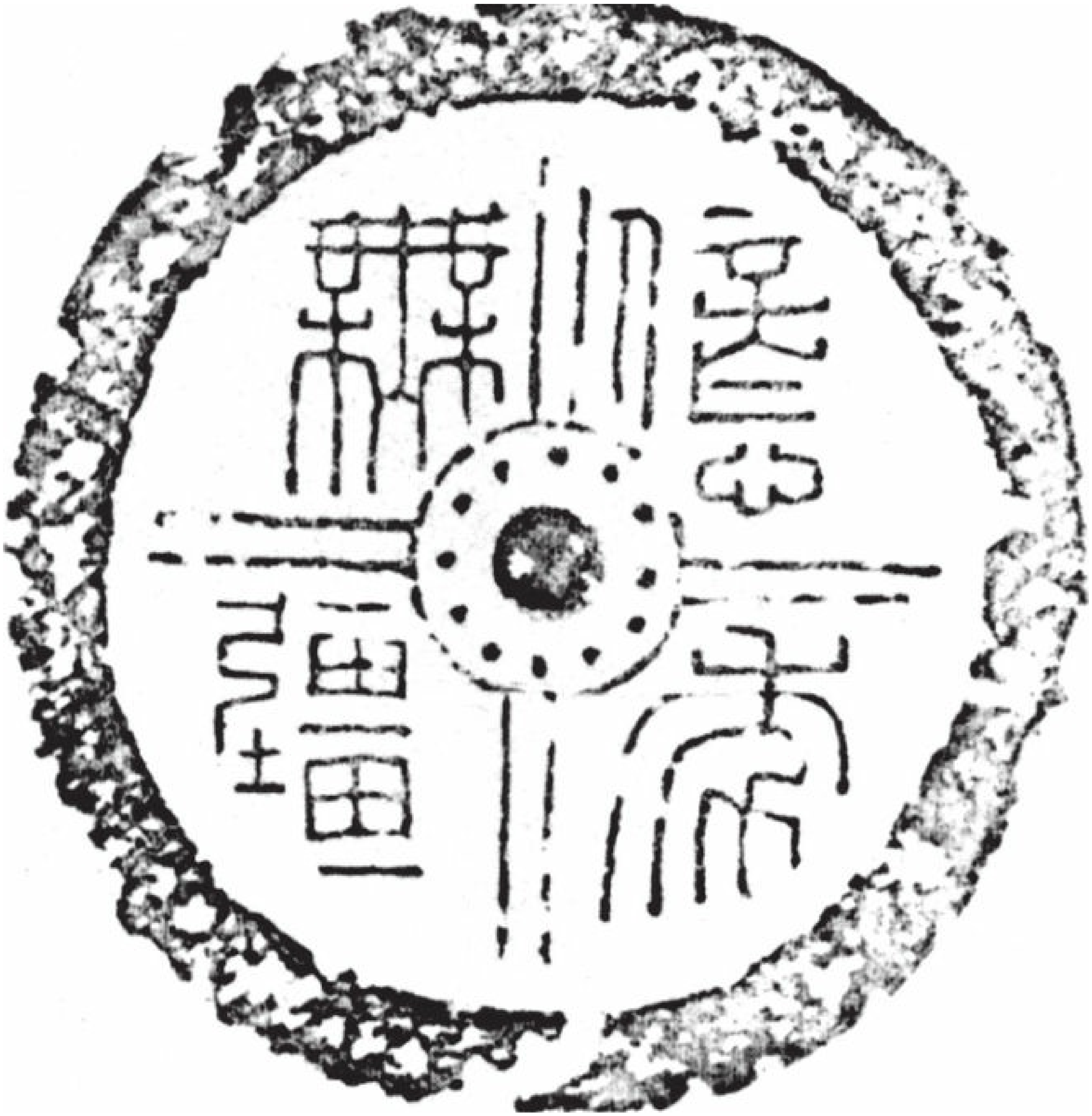

226. Eaves tile from the same site as fig. 223, with the inscription "Yi nian w jiang"　汉长安城遗址出土的“亿年无疆”瓦当

227. Eaves tile with the inscription "Chanyu tian jiang," unearthed from the Han tomb in Baotou, Inner Mongolia　内蒙古包头汉墓出土的“单于天降”瓦当

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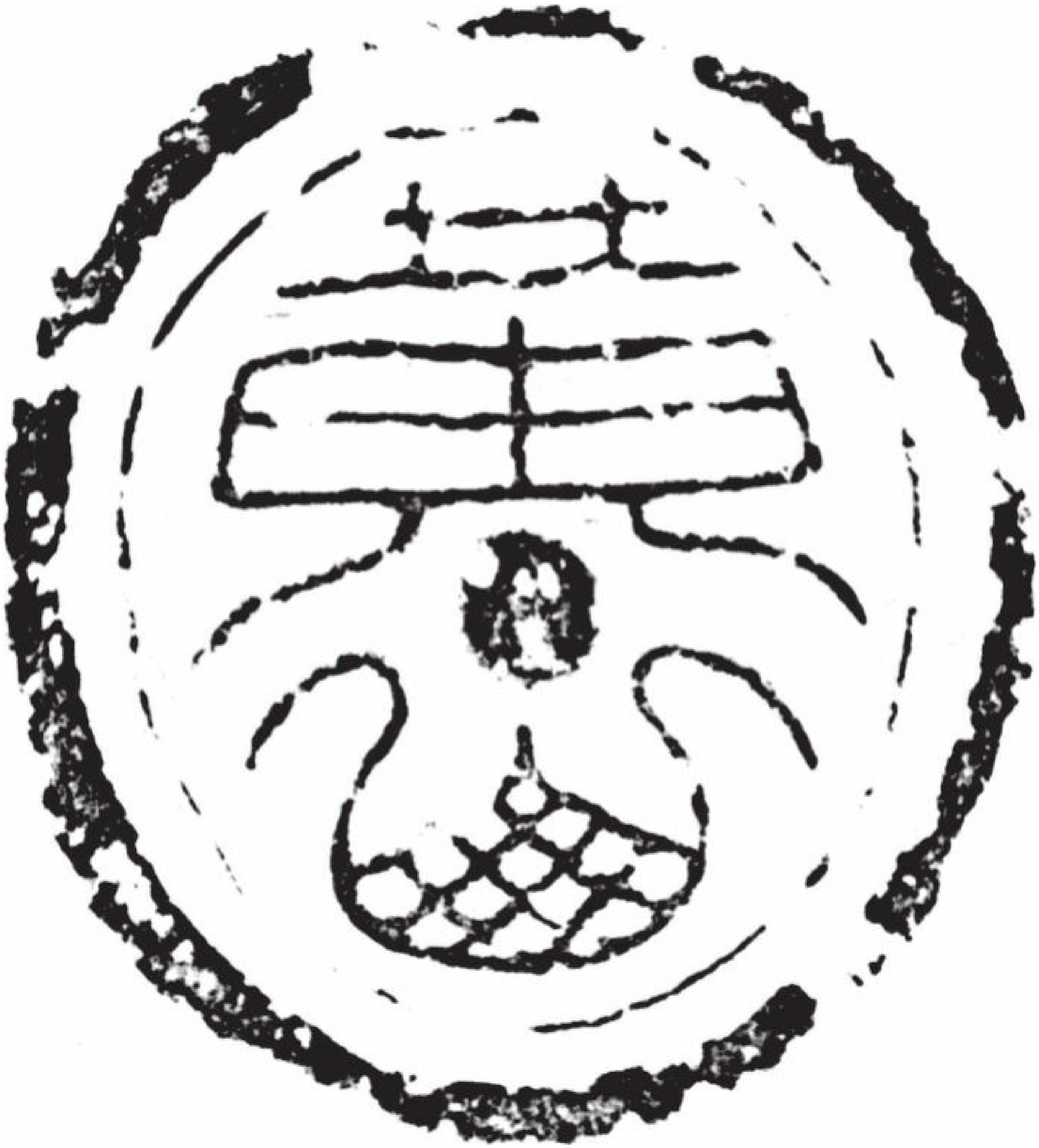
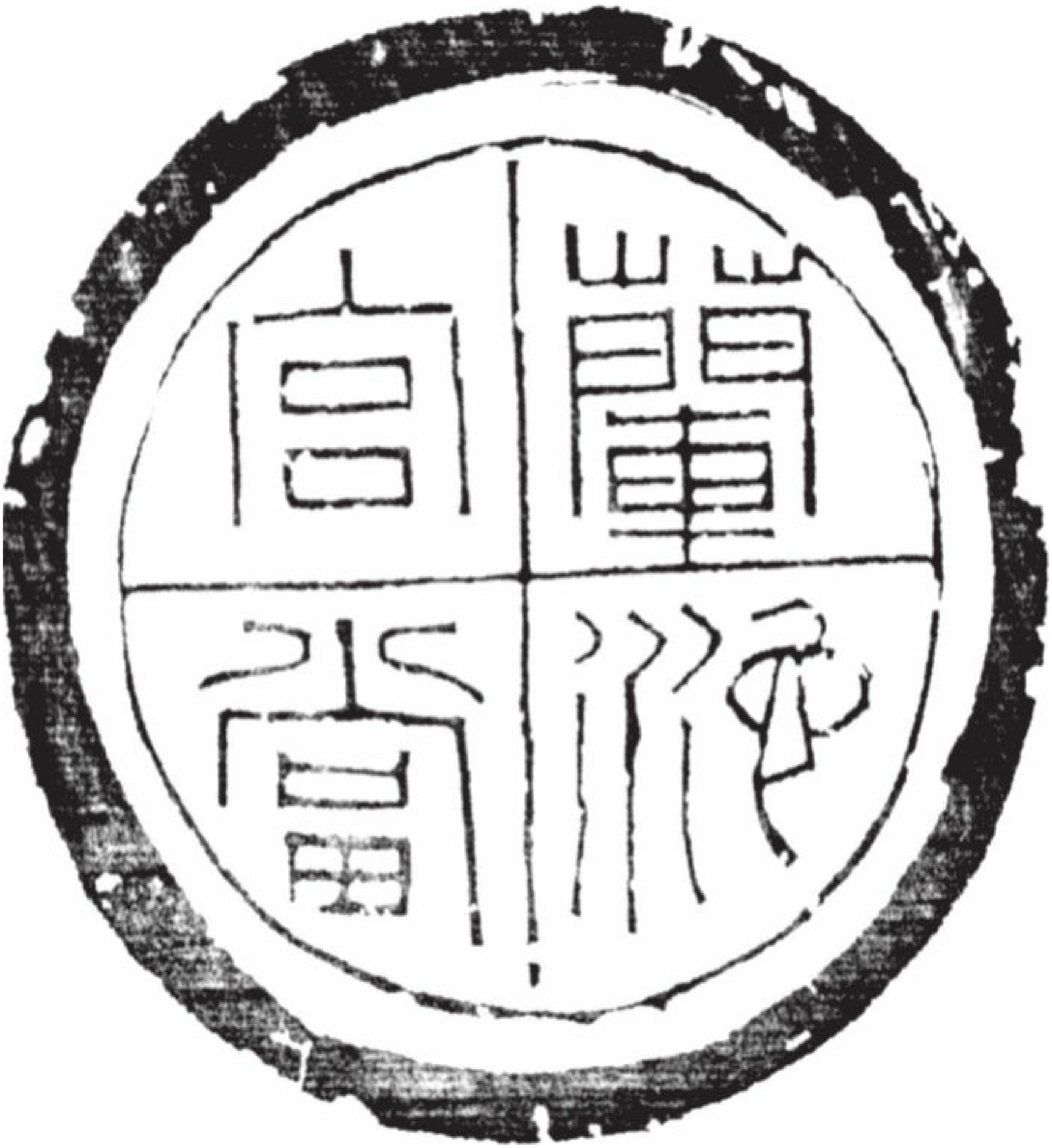
231．Eaves tile with the inscription "Yidang wan nian"　“骀汤万年”瓦当



233．Eaves tile with the inscription "Huangshan"　“黄山”瓦当

230．Eaves tile inscribed with the name "Shang lin," unearthed at the site of the Han city of Chang'an in Xi'an　长安汉城遗址出土的“上林”瓦当

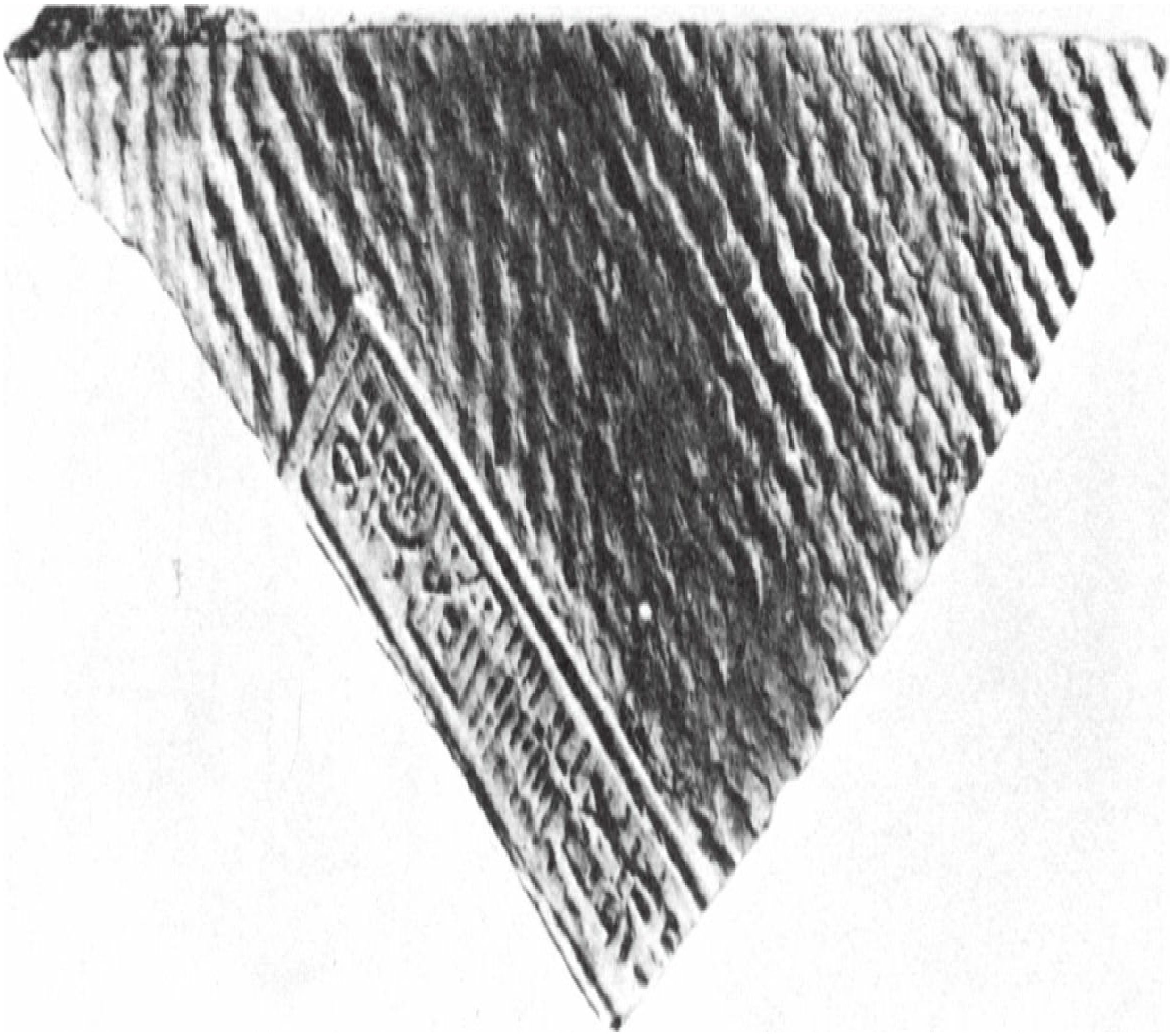
232．Eaves tile with the inscription "Eaves Tile of Zhefengque"　“折风阙当”瓦当



234．Eaves tile with the inscription "Eaves Tile of Lanchigong"　“兰池宫当”瓦当

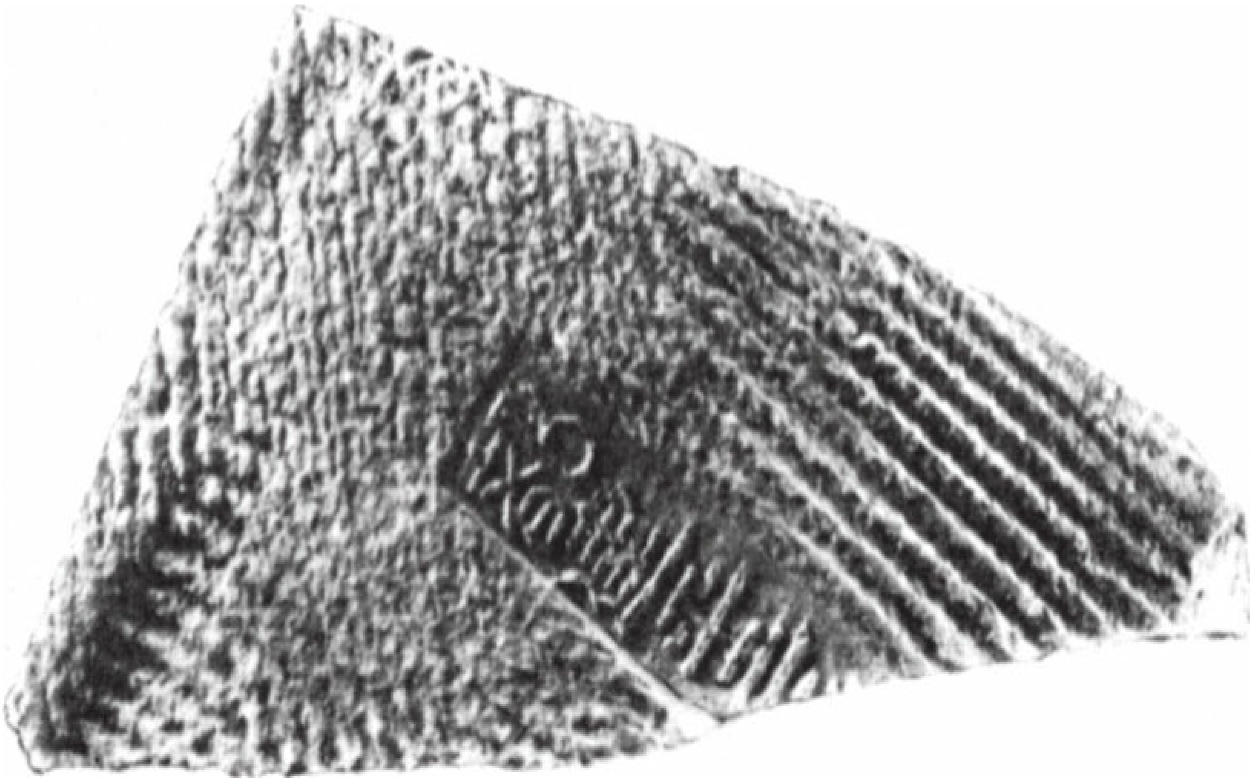
235．Eaves tile with the inscription "Eaves Tile of the Zongzheng official,"unearthed at the site of the Han city of Chang'an in Xi'an　汉长安城遗址出土的“宗正官当”瓦当

236. Eaves tile from the same site as fig. 235, with the inscription "Tile of Dusikong"　汉长安城遗址出土的“都司空瓦”瓦当



237. Tile from the same site as fig. 235, with the inscription "Shi Jian Guo sinian Baocheng Dusikong"　汉长安城遗址出土的“始建国四年保城都司空”瓦

238．Tile from the same site as fig. 235, with the inscription "Du Jian Ping sannian"　汉长安城遗址出土的“都建平三年”瓦



239. Tile from the same site as fig. 235, with the inscription "Du Jian Ping sannian"　汉长安城遗址出土的“都建平三年”瓦

CHAPTER 8 TOMBS—I

Han dynasty tombs have been encountered in the course of industrial or agricul tural construction as well as during archaeological investigations and excavations with great frequency. This stems from several factors. First, the Western and Eastern Han dynasties lasted for more than four hundred years. During that time China was a unified empire, its political situation relatively stable, its economy relatively prosperous, and its population dense. Han landowners and officials were fond of furnishing their graves richly; consequently, in their graves there are large numbers of many kinds of objects. Burial chambers, furthermore, were often built of brick and stone, which helped to preserve the remains. We estimate that since the founding of New China, at least ten thousand Han dynasty tombs have been found as a result of archaeological work throughout the country. These discoveries have made possible a relatively good understanding of the mortuary institutions and customs of the Han dynasty.

Characteristics of Han Tomb Construction Compared with tombs of previous periods, Han dynasty tombs have many distinctive features. Prior to the Han, during the Neolithic, Shang, and Zhou periods, tombs were mostly placed in rectangular earthen pits. Of varying sizes and depths, these pits were excavated from the ground downward and are referred to as "vertical pits." Beginning in middle Western Han in the Yellow River valley, the custom originated of digging the burial chamber laterally or horizontally underground, resulting in "horizontal pits." In the Western Han period, large hollow bricks were used to build the burial chamber, mainly in the Central Plains area. In Eastern Han, throughout China, in the Central Plains and in the northern and the southern border regions, small bricks were univers ally used to build a burial chamber with arches and a domed top. Tombs of stone began in late Western Han. In addition, during both Western and Eastern Han, horizontal burial chambers were excavated into mountain cliffs in some regions. In short, the principal formal and structural features of Han dynasty tombs that distinguish them from those of earlier periods are, first, the use of horizontal pits for burial and, second, the use of bricks and stones for the construction of the tomb chamber. These features came from an effort to

imitate the houses of the living.

It should be noted that such changes in tombs began in the middle Western Han period, starting in the Yellow River valley and then spreading throughout the country. Previously, in early Western Han, members of the ruling class were still entombed in the vertical pit graves with wooden encasements that continued from the Warring States period. In fact, this older style of tomb, known as the "vertical pit-wooden chamber grave," continued to be built into late Western Han or even early Eastern Han in the Yangtze River valley and in the southern and northern border regions.

Examples of these vertical pit-wooden chamber graves of early and middle Western Han are the tombs found at Mawangdui (Changsha), Fenghuangshan (Jiangling), and Dabaotai (Beijing). Construction of the coffins and wooden chambers in these graves still followed the older customs of the Zhou dynasty. Both *Zhuangzi* ("Tianxiapian") and *Xunzi*("Lilunpian") describe burial caskets of varying degrees of elaborateness, as follows: "The caskets of the emperor are of seven layers; of the feudal lords, five layers; of the Da Fu class, three layers; and of the Shi class, two layers." Han tomb number one of Mawangdui was the tomb of the wife of Li Cang, Marquis of Dai, and her caskets consisted of four coffins and one wooden encasement, the prescribed number for a feudal lord (fig. 240). In Han tomb number 168 at Fenghuangshan in Jiangling was buried a certain Sui Shaoyan, a Da Fu of the fifth rank. His rank was the ninth grade on a scale of twenty, corresponding to that of a county magistrate, and his grave contained two coffins and one wooden encasement (fig. 241). Tomb number 1 of Dabaotai in Beijing was probably the tomb of the Prince of Yan. What survives of his caskets appears to be the remains of five coffins and two outer encasements, a burial which corresponds to the grade of emperor, a full grade higher than a feudal lord (fig. 242). It goes without saying that rules for burial according to rank could not have been strictly followed at all times. Li Cang, the Marquis of Dai, who was buried in tomb number 2 of Mawang dui, was himself buried within two coffins and one outer encasement.[1] In the tombs of Dabaotai in Beijing and Xianjiahu in Changsha, a wooden structure named "Huang chang ti cou" was built outside the chamber.[2]

Good examples of the new horizontal pit graves that appeared in the middle Western Han dynasty are the tombs of Prince Jing of Zhongshan, found in Mancheng, Hebei, and of Prince Lu of Qufu in Shandong.[3] In both cases the tomb chambers were caves dug into cliffs, and the caves were

divided into several compartments, such as side chambers, frontal hall, and rear hall. In the tomb of Liu Sheng, Prince Jing of Zhongshan, the southern side chamber was for horses and carriages (fig. 243). The northern side chamber was for storage, and large numbers of pottery vessels were placed there (fig. 244). The front hall is of large dimensions, and in it were placed drapes and the principal grave goods (fig. 245). The rear hall was an interior room where the coffin was placed. Within the front hall and the side chambers, houses made of timber had been erected, with tiles on the roofs. In the rear hall, stone slabs had been used to build another house which had two stone doors. In short, the form and the structure of the tomb imitated residential architectures above ground: thus the term, "underground palaces" *dixia gongdian* (fig. 246).[4] In this new kind of tomb, the coffins also assumed new settings. In fact, the wooden outer encasements in the tomb of Liu Sheng were basically different from those of Zhou tombs, for they were no longer linings of pits and became in fact outer caskets. It follows also that the number of casket layers is no longer an indication of the status of the master of the grave. Since this new burial custom adopted by Liu Sheng and other nobles is evidently different from the older burial customs continued from the Zhou dynasty as adopted by Li Cang and other nobles, some scholars have maintained that Liu Sheng represented the Legalists, who were progressive and innovative, and that Li Cang represented the Confucians, who were conservative. Actually, tomb customs cannot be related to the Legalist-Confucian struggles; Liu Sheng was not a Legalist, and Li Cang was not necessarily a Confucian.

Another manifestation of the new burial customs of the Han dynasty is the emergence of hollow-brick tombs in the Central Plains area (fig. 247). The Han dynasty hollow-brick tombs differed from the hollowbrick tombs of the Warring States period in that the Han tombs were generally built within horizontal pit caves. These tombs were usually of moderate scale and possibly belonged to members of the middle and small landowner class. In early Western Han, the burial chamber of the hollow-brick tomb was rectangular, shaped like the wooden chamber that it replaced. In middle and late Western Han, the typical hollowbrick tomb was shaped more like a house, with gabled roof and doorshaped front wall (fig. 248).[5] The hollow bricks were often stamped with designs and scenes which constituted the interior decoration of the burial chamber. Polychromic murals begin to appear in some of the tombs. A hollow-brick tomb found in Luoyang has

murals with images of sun and moon, of Green Dragon, White Tiger, and Red Bird, and of Fu Xi and NüWa (figs. 249-51).[6] Another tomb found in Luoyang not only has sun, moon, and stars depicted in its murals, some of its pictures even depict historical stories such as "Using two peaches to kill three gentlemen," and "The banquet at Hongmen" (figs. 252-54).[7] The mural scenes and stone engravings in tombs of the Eastern Han dynasty developed even further these sky charts and representations of the Four Deities, myths, and historical stories.

Sometime after middle Western Han, tombs with chambers built of small bricks began to appear in the Central Plains and in central Shaanxi; these we refer to as "brick chamber tombs" to distinguish them from the hollow-brick tombs. As soon as it appeared on the scene, the brick chamber tomb became rapidly adopted everywhere, replacing the hollow-brick tombs in the Central Plains and replacing the vertical pitwooden chamber graves in the Yangtze River valley and the southern and northern border regions. By the Eastern Han dynasty, brick chamber tombs were the prevailing form of burial throughout the country (figs. 255, 256). The brick chamber tombs of high nobles—such as the tomb of the Prince Jing of Pengcheng in Xuzhou, Jiangsu, and the tomb of Prince Jian of Zhongshan, in Dingxian, and the tomb of Taiyuan Taishou in Wangdu, Hebei—are of large scale and complex construction with a layout similar to the mansions these princes inhabited during their lifetimes.[8] Some of the brick chamber tombs also were decorated with frescoes, the well-known ones including those found in the family tomb of the Marquis of Fuyang, in Wangdu, Hebei, and in the family tomb of Hongnong Taishou in Mixian, Henan. The Wangdu tomb has murals depict ing the various officials and attendants of the tomb master (fig. 257), causing the chamber to look like his official quarters.[9] The Mixian tomb has murals depicting processions of horses and carriages and scenes of banquets and entertainments, fully attesting to the luxurious life of the tomb master (fig. 258).[10]

A huge brick chamber tomb was excavated in 1972 at Holingor in Inner Mongolia. The master of the grave was a military colonel of the Wuhuan district, and the murals in the tomb mainly illustrate the history of his official career through scenes of horse and carriage processions. From the inscriptions that accompany the various segments of the murals, we know that he was a native of Dingxiang Jun, where he qualified for officialdom by being selected as a Xiaolian candidate. Then he was assigned various

administrative positions until he finally reached the military colonelcy of the Wuhuan district. The murals show scenes of the various towns in which he had worked—their streets, official buildings, warehouses, and markets—and various activities in which he had engaged in during his career (figs. 259-61). At the time, high officials also were owners of large manors. In the murals is a scene of a manor, depicting such productive activities as cultivating fields, preparing tree nurseries, raising cattle, feeding animals and picking mulberry leaves. Possibly the occupant-to-be of the tomb had retired to his manor, but in any event the manor was in all likelihood his home. The Holingor murals were indeed an unprecedented discovery, fully exemplifying such murals and their objectives and significance.[11]

Beginning in early Eastern Han, a new kind of tomb known as the "stone chamber grave" came upon the scene, and it became even more popular after middle Eastern Han. The burial chamber was constructed with neatly dressed stones on which were engraved designs and scenes—thus the name, the "tomb with pictorial stones" (*hua xiang shi mu*)(fig. 262). Seen mostly in Shan dong, northern Jiangsu, Henan, and northern Hubei, these tombs also occur in middle Sichuan, northern Shaanxi and western Shanxi. During the past centuries, many of them were destroyed and the stone reliefs scattered about. Since the founding of New China, a few have been archaeologically excavated. Some of these, such as the Han tombs in Tanghe (Henan) and in Anqiu, Cangshan, and Yi'nan (Shandong), are preserved well enough to show that again the layout of the burial chamber imitated the house of the tomb master in his real life (fig. 263).[12] The most obvious case is the Han tomb in Yi'nan, excavated in 1954. A scene in the tomb depicts the courtyard house in which the master lived during his lifetime, and the layout of the tomb is identical with the layout of the house (fig. 264). Many scenes are depicted in the engravings, all pertaining to scenes of his life and his career history. The master of the Yi'nan tomb was probably a military general. Above the tomb entrance, in a most prominent location, a battle scene was engraved in fine detail. In it a squad of Han dynasty foot soldiers is in the act of defeating mounted and foot soldiers from a northern nomadic group. The occupant of the tomb, standing in a carriage, is seen behind the soldiers supervising the battle. Obviously this must have been the most memorable scene in his career (figs. 265-67).[13] The Yi'nan tomb with stone reliefs and the fresco tomb of Holingor may be called the two best examples of the tomb art of Eastern Han.

During the Eastern Han period, many of the brick chamber tombs in the

Sichuan region had a kind of pictorial brick fitted onto the walls of the burial chamber. The pictorial bricks are square or rectangular; the square ones are found mostly near Chengdu, but the rectangular ones are widely seen. The designs were stamped on the bricks before they were dried and some were also painted after the bricks were fired. They depict such life scenes as lectures, banquets, musicales and dances, and carriage processions. Such productive activities as harvesting, hunt ing, mulberry-leaf picking, taro digging, pestling of rice, wine making, and salt making are also shown—the latter scenes full of local flavor (figs. 268-72). These pictorial bricks were mass-produced, and identical scenes are often seen at tombs in different places. For this reason, it is clear that the scenes shown on these bricks were not directly related to the individual occupants of tombs.[14] In addition, in various places in Sichuan there were many cliff burials during the Eastern Han period. Excavated into high mountain cliffs, these were of varying scales and sizes. Sometimes several tens of tombs have been found clustered together, forming a large cemetery.[15]

Burial Mounds All that has been described above pertains to the underground portion of the burial chamber. The portion of the tomb above ground in Han tombs also has distinctive features. During the Shang and Western Zhou periods, even large tombs were not covered with an earthen mound above ground. As *Li ji* ("Tan gong") states, "In the past the tombs were without mounds." Earthen mounds began to be built in the Warring States period, such as the mounds over some of the Chu tombs in Jiangling in Hubei,[16] but they were not yet widely distributed. But during the Han dynasty, earthen mounds became universal. The tombs of the emperors and the upper nobility were, *Yan tie lun* records, covered with accumulated earth as tall as a hill. To build them required a vast outlay of manpower and much time.

Funerary Shrines In the Warring States period funerary shrines were built atop the tombs of some feudal lords. The Wei tomb at Guweicun in Huixian, Henan, and the tomb of the king of Zhongshan in Pingshanxian, Hebei, are examples.[17] In the Han dynasty, funerary shrines and monumental towers became very popular, especial ly in Eastern Han. In his *Shuijingzhu*, Li Daoyuan makes mention of many Han funerary shrines and monumental towers. Since most of these were built of masonry, some survive to this day. The better-known ones are the Guo lineage shrine at Xiaotangshan in Feicheng, Shandong; the Wu lineage shrine and monumental tower in

Jiaxiangxian (now Jining); and the funerary tower at Wang Zhizi's tomb in Xinduxian and that at Gao Yi's tomb in Ya'anxian, both in Sichuan (fig. 273).[18] In front of some of these tombs were erected stone sculptures. Stone animal sculptures occur in front of the Wu family tomb and the Gao Yi tomb mentioned above, and additional finds have been made in recent years.[19]

Steles Beginning in Eastern Han, a stone stele was sometimes erected in front of the tomb, with inscriptions describing the birth and death dates of the persons buried and their life histories.[20] Tomb inscriptions, the preparation of which became popular in the Wei and Jin dynasties, were a further development of the Han dynasty tomb steles. The earliest tomb inscriptions, such as the inscribed bricks of 287 and the inscribed stone of 297, both found in Luoyang, were very similar to Han tomb steles in shape.[21] The difference was that the Han tomb steles were large and placed on the ground, whereas tomb inscriptions were written on small tablets placed inside the tomb.

Caskets In ancient China, *guan* and *guo*, or inner and outer caskets, were both used, and this practice continued into early Western Han in the vertical pit-wooden chamber graves of that time. However, as stated earlier, in the horizontal pit graves (after the middle of Western Han), and especially in the brick chamber and the stone chamber tombs (of Eastern Han), the burial chamber itself functioned as an outer casket. It may be referred to as the brick *guo* or the stone *guo* (as against the wooden *guo)*, and within the chamber there was only an inner casket but no *guo* or outer casket. The coffins themselves are of wood and are mostly wider and higher in the front than in the rear—except for the coffins found in wooden chambers, which are of equal width and height from front to rear. In the Western Han dynasty, the wooden coffins were put together with tenons and mortises, and the lid was secured onto the coffin by means of hourglass-shaped wooden wedges placed into notches on both lid and coffin, but in the Eastern Han iron nails were universally used. Liu Xi of Eastern Han said, in his *Shiming*("Shi sang zhi"): "In the past the coffins were not nailed." The coffins for the nobility were beautifully and elaborately made, as illustrated by the two lacquered coffins in tomb number 1 at Mawangdui. *Qianfulun* ("Fuchipian") states that "to make a coffin required the labor of thousands and tens of thousands." This has indeed been borne out (figs. 274, 275).[22]

Funerary Banners Han practice continued the Zhou custom of using a funerary banner in funerary processions. At the time of burial the banner would be placed over the coffin. The typical banner is over 2 m long,

identical with the length of the coffin. These banners have been found at tomb number 1 of Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan, number 3 of Mawangdui, and number 9 at Jinqueshan in Linyi, Shan dong(fig. 276).[23] The Mawangdui banners are slightly wider at the top, forming a T shape, and the Jinqueshan banner is rectangular, with the top and bottom of equal width. They are all of silk and are painted with fine colored pictures. The picture is divided into three sections, depicting, from top to bottom, heaven, man's world, and the underworld. Both heaven and the underworld are represented by mythological images; the heaven picture has sun, moon, and sometimes stars, and the sun has a golden crow and the moon has a toad and a white rabbit, and sometimes a picture of Chang'e, the goddess of the moon (fig. 277). The underworld picture shows various aquatic animals, representing an aquatic palace at the bottom of the sea. As for man's world, the picture depicts scenes from daily life and also a portrait of the master of the tomb (fig. 278). The three banners from Mawangdui and Jinqueshan have elaborate pictures and are valued as art objects. Similar, but much coarser, banners have been found in the Han tombs at Mozuizi in Wuwei, Gansu; some were made of silk, others hemp. All were covering coffins. Some of them have no pictures, others were painted only with the sun and the moon, but all bear inscriptions containing the names and the homeplaces of the masters of the tombs (fig. 279), the inscriptions substituting for the portraits of the silk paintings.[24] Presumably the funerary banners were widely used in Han dynasty funerary rituals, but few of them have survived because they were made of perishable materials such as silk and hemp. They did survive at Mawangdui and Mozuizi because the former tombs had special preserva tion conditions and the latter tombs were in an especially dry region.

Jade Shrouds The emperor and nobles of Han were buried wearing jade shrouds. Made from small square jade plates, these shrouds had small holes at the corners, through which gold, silver, or copper threads were strung in order to piece them together to form shrouds with gold, silver, or copper threads.[25] Since 1949, more than ten jade shrouds have been discovered from Han dynasty tombs, and five have been completely restored. Of the five, two were found at Mancheng, Hebei; one was worn by Liu Sheng, the Prince Jing of Zhongshan of Western Han, and one by his wife Dou Wan (fig. 280). One was worn by Liu Xing, the Prince Xiao of Zhongshan of Western Han; it was found in Dingxian, Hebei (fig. 281). One was worn by Liu Gong, the Prince Jing of Pengcheng, of Eastern Han; it was found in Xuzhou, Jiangsu (fig.

282). The last was worn by a Mr. Cao of late Eastern Han, a lineage relative of Cao Cao; it was found in Boxian, Anhui.[26]

The two Mancheng shrouds are excellent examples. The Liu Sheng shroud consisted of 2,498 jade plates and used 1,100 grams of golden threads, and the Dou Wan shroud used 2,160 jade plates and 700 grams of golden threads. The man power and wealth represented by these figures are astonishing. Combining evidence from archaeological finds and historical records, we believe that Western Han jade shrouds used golden threads, and Eastern Han jade shrouds used golden, silver, or copper threads. According to *Xu Hanshu* ("Li Yi zhi"), for the emperor golden threads were used, for imperial princes and first-generation feudal lords, silver threads, and for others, copper threads. The Dingxian shroud used copper threads gilded in gold,[27] which probably corresponded to silver in quality. So far the earliest complete jade shrouds to be discovered are the two from Mancheng, but shroud fragments have occurred in tomb number 5 at Yangjiawan, in Xianyang, Shaanxi, which dates from Wen Di or Jing Di.[28] It appears that jade shrouds began to be used in early Western Han, and their use continued until the end of Eastern Han. The latest shroud is the one found in Boxian, worn by Mr. Cao. It is recorded in *Sanguozhi* ("Wei zhi") that Cao Pi, Emperor Wen Di of Wei, banned the use of jade shrouds in A.D. 222. Archaeological excavations have failed to uncover any shroud remains from Wei or Jin sites. The use of the jade shroud seems clearly confined to the Han dynasty. The Eastern Han court occa sionally presented jade shrouds as gifts to the chiefs of minority groups. It is stated in "Biography of Fu Yu" in "Wei Zhi" of *Sanguozhi* that the king of Fu Yu was buried in a jade shroud and that the Han court stored a jade shroud at Xuantu Jun, where it would be picked up when the king of Fu Yu died. When Sima Yi exterminated Gongsun Yuan of Liaodong, a jade shroud was found in the warehouse at Xuantu Jun. This incident happened after the ban by Cao Pi. Perhaps this was an exceptional situation involving policy toward minority groups. The purpose of using jade for funerary shrouds was to preserve the body. *Hou Hanshu* (the "Biography of Liu Penzi") claimed that the bodies in jade shrouds in the imperial mausoleums of the Western Han were all so well preserved that they looked like living people. This is, of course, not true. Cao Pi was perhaps more on the mark when he said, in banning the practice, that the use of jade shrouds was a "stupid and vulgar act."

Inventories of Grave Goods Many early Western Han tombs, such as the

Han tombs at Mawangdui in Changsha and at Fenghuangshan in Jiangling, have yielded books of bamboo slips that give an inventory of the grave goods—their names and quantities.

These are called *qian ce*, or inventory slips, from the phrase, "inscribe the grave goods on slips," in *Yi li* ("Ji xi li") (fig. 283).[29] Within some other Han tombs, such as the ones at Dafentou in Yunmeng, Hubei, and the tombs of Huo He and Shi Qi Yao in Haizhou, Jiangsu, rectangular wooden tablets were found, on which are inscribed the names and quantities of the grave goods.[30] These were called *feng fang*, or inventory tablets, following the statement, "inscribe grave goods on tablets" in *Yi li*("Ji xi li") (fig. 284). By consulting these inventories, archaeologists may be able to achieve an understanding of the names and uses of a variety of objects from the Han era.

捌　汉代的墓葬（上）

在工农业基本建设的施工动土的过程中，或是在考古学家们的调查发掘工作中，汉墓是最容易遇到的。这是由于西汉和东汉两朝共达四百余年之久，年代很长；也是由于当时中国是统一的大帝国，政治局面比较安定，经济比较发达，因而人口兴旺。此外，汉代地主官僚阶级讲求厚葬，墓中随葬器物种类多，数量大，易于被人发现，而墓室又往往采用砖石结构，不易毁坏，这些也都是重要的原因。新中国成立以来，全国各地考古工作中所发现的汉墓，估计已达万座之多。这使得对于汉代的丧葬制度和习俗能够有比较充分的了解。

和前代比较起来，汉代的墓葬可以说是最富有时代的特色的。汉以前的墓，包括从新石器时代、商代、西周以迄春秋、战国时代的墓，其墓圹主要是长方形的土坑，不论大小深浅如何，都是由地面一直往下掘，所以称为“竖穴”。西汉中期，在黄河流域开始流行在地下横掏土洞，作为墓圹，所以称为“横穴”。西汉时，主要是在中原地区，盛行用庞大的空心砖堆砌墓室。到了东汉，无论是在中原还是在南方和北方的边远地区，都普遍用小型砖来券筑墓室。从西汉末年开始，还流行石室墓。此外，从西汉到东汉，在有些地区，还有一种“崖墓”，其墓圹亦属横穴式。总起来说，用横穴式的洞穴作墓圹，用砖和石料构筑墓室，是汉墓与汉以前的墓在形制和构造上的主要区别，其特点在于模仿现实生活中的房屋。

但是，如上面所指出的，汉代墓制的这种变化，从时代上说，主要是在西汉中期才开始的，从地区上说，首先发生于黄河流域，然后逐渐普及到各地。在西汉前期，统治阶级仍然习惯于沿用战国以来的竖穴式土坑墓，墓中筑木椁。在长江流域以及南方和北方的边远地区，这种竖穴式木椁墓一直延续到西汉晚期，甚至到东汉。

长沙马王堆汉墓、江陵凤凰山汉墓、北京大葆台汉墓，可以作为西汉前期和中期的土坑木椁墓的代表。墓中的棺椁，沿袭着周代以来的礼制。《庄子·天子篇》和《荀子·礼论篇》都说：“天子棺椁七重，诸侯五重，大夫三重，士再重。”长沙马王堆一号汉墓所葬为轪侯利苍的夫人，其棺椁按诸侯的规格，是四棺一椁（图240）。江陵凤凰山一六八号汉墓所葬为“五大夫”遂少言，他的爵位在汉代二十等爵中属九等，略高于八等“公乘”以下的所谓“民爵”，身份相当于县令，所以是二棺一椁（图241）。北京大葆台一号墓所葬可能为燕王，墓中棺椁保存不大

好，但仍可看出是五棺二椁，比列侯又高了一等，而与天子的“棺椁七重”之制相同（图242）。当然，有的时候也并不严格按礼制的规定办事，如长沙马王堆二号墓所葬为轪侯利苍本人，但却只有二棺一椁。[1]在北京大葆台汉墓和长沙咸家湖汉墓中，还使用了所谓“黄肠题凑”。[2]

在贵族的大墓中，河北满城的中山靖王墓和山东曲阜的鲁王墓可以作为西汉中期新兴的横穴式墓的代表。[3]它们都是在山崖中穿凿巨大的洞穴，作为墓室，所以称为“崖墓”。全墓可分为耳室、前室和后室等部分。以中山靖王刘胜墓为例，墓中的南耳室为车马房，放置车辆和驾车的马匹（图243），北耳室为仓库，贮存大量盛有食物的陶器（图244），前室是宽大的厅堂，陈列着帷帐和各种主要的随葬器物（图245），后室是内室，放置棺材。前室和两个耳室，都用木材搭成房屋，屋顶铺瓦；后室也用石板搭成房屋形，并在前方设两扇石门，门上装有铜质镀金的铺首。总之，墓的形制和结构完全模仿地面上的居住建筑，所以称为“地下宫殿”（图246）。[4]在这种新式的墓中，棺椁也就摆脱了旧的礼制。实际上，刘胜墓中的木椁也与周代以来的木椁不同，它只不过是一种套棺而已。在这里，棺椁的层数多少已经不是衡量墓主人身份的标准了。刘胜等人采用这种新的墓制，与利苍等人沿袭周代以来的旧墓制迥然不同。因此，曾有人从墓制的新旧出发，认为刘胜是代表革新势力的法家，利苍是代表保守势力的儒家。其实，墓制与儒法斗争并没有什么关系。刘胜不是什么法家，利苍也未必是儒家。

汉代的新的墓制，还表现在中原一带盛行“空心砖墓”（图247）。与战国晚期的空心砖墓不同的是，汉代的空心砖墓往往是在横穴式的土洞内砌筑墓室。空心砖墓的规模，一般并不很大，大概是属于当时的中小地主阶级的。在西汉前期，空心砖墓的墓室呈长方形，形状像木椁，到了西汉中晚期，它的顶部往往搭成两面坡的屋顶状，并将前壁搭成门的样子，更显得像房屋（图248）。[5]砖面上所印的花纹和图像，成了墓室内的装饰，有的墓里还开始有了彩色的壁画。在洛阳发现的一座空心砖墓，所绘壁画有日、月、青龙、白虎、朱雀及伏羲、女娲的形象（图249—251）。[6]同地发现的另一座墓，其壁画除了日、月、星辰的天象图以外，还有以“二桃杀三士”、“鸿门宴”等历史故事为题材的（图252—254）。[7]这种“天象图”、“四神图”、神话传说和历史故事图，在以后的东汉墓的壁画和石刻画像中得到了进一步的发展。

大约在西汉中期以后，在中原和关中一带开始出现了用小型砖建筑的墓，这里称为“砖室墓”，以区别于上述的空心砖墓。砖室墓一经出现，便迅速普及，它在中原地区逐渐取代空心砖墓，在长江流域以及南方和北方的边远地区则代替了当时尚在延续的土坑木椁墓。到了东汉，砖室墓在全国各地流行，成为最常见的一种墓（图255、256），大贵

族、大官僚的砖室墓，如河北定县的中山简王墓、望都的太原太守墓，规模宏大，结构复杂，其布局有如他们的府第。[8]有的砖室墓里，有彩色的壁画。比较有名的壁画墓，如河北望都的浮阳侯墓和河南密县的弘农太守家族墓，前者所绘主要是墓主人的属吏和侍从等人物（图257），把墓室布置得像他的官署一样。[9]后者所绘有车马出行图和宴会百戏图等，表现了墓主人生前的豪奢的生活（图258）。[10]

1972年在内蒙古和林格尔发掘的一座庞大的砖室墓，墓主人官至护乌丸校尉。墓内壁画的内容十分丰富，主要是以车马出行图的形式描绘了墓主人生前的全部仕途经历，这可以从壁画上所书的文字得到说明：首先是在他的家乡定襄郡（其治所西汉时在内蒙古和林格尔，东汉时在山西省右玉）被选拔为“孝廉”，取得了做官的资格，不久便按照常例被分配到首都雒阳担任“郎”官。他首次出任地方官是担任西河郡的“长史”，郡的治所在离石（今山西省离石县）；以后又被提升为上郡属国都尉，其治所在土军（今山西省石楼县）。他曾一度被调到中原地区的魏郡繁阳县（今河南省内黄县）任县令，在这里曾受到皇帝的褒奖。最后，他又迅速被提拔，到边境地区的上谷郡宁城（今河北省万全县，或以为在张家口附近）担任护乌丸校尉的大官。结合着上述车马出行图中的仕途经历，还有许多画面绘描着离石城、土军城、繁阳城和宁城的城郭、官府、仓库、市场等等（图259—261），以及墓主人在任职期间的各种活动场面。当时的大官僚，同时也是大庄园地主，所以壁画中还有一大幅庄园图，描绘着庄园中的耕种、作圃、放牧、饲养、采桑等各种生产活动。不论墓主人晚年是否有一段退职还乡的生活，壁画中的庄园应该是在他的家乡。总之，和林格尔汉墓中的壁画，是一项空前的大发现，它明确地说明了壁画的内容及在墓中绘描壁画的意义和目的。[11]

从西汉末年开始，还新兴一种石室墓，到东汉更为盛行。墓室由许多整齐的石块筑成，石块上雕刻着各种画像，所以称为“画像石墓”（图262）。它们的分布，以山东省到江苏省的北部、河南省到湖北省的北部为最多，四川省的中部、陕西省的北部和山西省的西部一带也颇不少。长久以来，许多墓都被破坏，只剩下大量的画像石，分散在各处。新中国成立以来，在考古发掘工作中发现了一些画像石墓，其中如河南省的唐河汉墓、山东省的安丘汉墓、苍山汉墓、沂南汉墓等，保存甚好，结构完整，可以看出墓室的布局也是仿照现实生活中的住宅（图263）。[12]最明显的是1954年发掘的沂南汉墓，墓内有一幅画像是刻绘墓主人生前居住的宅院，而墓室的布局正和画像中的宅院一致（图264）。画像的题材十分广泛，但主要也是表现地主官僚阶级的生活和事迹。沂南汉墓的主人，生前大概是一位将军，所以在墓门的上方以最显著的位置雕刻着一幅精致的攻战图：一队占优势的汉朝步兵，正在战

胜北方游牧民族的骑兵和步兵，而墓主则乘车在阵后督战，以表示这是他生前最值得纪念和宣扬的重要事迹（图265—267）。[13]沂南画像石墓与和林格尔壁画墓，可以并称为东汉画像石墓和壁画墓中的双绝。

东汉时，四川省境内的砖室墓，往往在墓室的砖壁上另嵌一种“画像砖”，作为装饰，故称“画像砖墓”。画像砖有正方形和长方形两种，砖上的画像都是趁泥坯未干时用模子印成，烧成后还有施加彩色的。画像的题材很广泛，既有讲经、宴饮、乐舞、车骑等地主官僚阶级的生活场面，也有收获、射猎、采桑、采芋、舂米、酿酒、煮盐等各种社会生产活动的情景，而后者具有浓厚的地方色彩（图268—272）。这种画像砖是成批制作的，所以常常可以在几个不同地方的墓中发现完全相同的砖。因此，画像的内容并不是直接与墓主人有关的。[14]此外，在四川各地，东汉时还普遍流行崖墓。它们系在山崖中开凿，规模大小各有不同，往往几十座墓聚集在一处，形成一片很大的墓地。[15]

以上所说，都是关于地下的墓室。在地面上，和前代比较起来，汉墓也有许多新的特点。在殷代和西周，即使是规模很大的墓，地面上也没有坟丘，这就是《礼记·檀弓》所谓的“古者墓而不坟”。春秋晚期和战国时代，有些地区的大墓，已经在地面上筑有坟丘[16]，但从全国来说，还不很普遍。到了汉代，坟丘普遍流行。皇帝、贵族和官僚墓上的坟丘，如《盐铁论》所说，“积土如山”，要集中大量的人力，费很多的时间，才能筑成。坟丘的形状，多为截尖方锥状。据《汉书·卫青霍去病传》记载，卫青墓的坟丘像庐山，霍去病墓的坟丘像祁连山，则是特殊的例子。

战国时代，在诸侯陵墓的地面上，已有建“享堂”的，河南辉县固围村魏王墓和河北平山县中山国王墓便是例证。[17]到了汉代，地主官僚们则盛行在墓前设祠堂，并在墓域的前方立墓阙。郦道元的《水经注》中，有很多关于汉代祠堂和墓阙的记述。东汉墓前的祠堂和墓阙多用石材建成，所以有一直保留到今天的，山东肥城孝堂山的“郭巨祠”、嘉祥县（今济宁）的武氏祠和阙，四川新都县的王稚子墓阙和雅安县的高颐墓阙，是其中最有名的（图273）。[18]有的墓前还置立动物的立体石雕像，除上述武氏墓和高颐墓前的石兽外，近年来在各地还颇有新的发现。[19]墓前置石雕立体人像的，亦颇不乏例。

从东汉开始，还流行在墓前立石碑，碑文记述墓主人的死亡日期和平生的主要事迹，加以宣扬，这就是所谓“树碑立传”。[20]从魏晋时期开始流行的墓志，就是从汉代的墓碑演变而来的。初期的墓志，如在洛阳发现的西晋太康八年（公元287年）的砖质墓志和元康七年（公元297年）的石质墓志，在形式上就和汉代的墓碑相似。[21]所不同的是，墓碑甚大，立在地面上，墓志较小，放在地下的墓室里。

中国古代，一般是棺椁并称，两者都属葬具。西汉前期的竖穴式木椁墓，仍然如此。但是，如同前面已经说过的那样，西汉中期以后的横穴式墓，特别是东汉的砖室墓和石室墓，墓室本身就起了椁的作用，可称为“砖椁”和“石椁”，而墓室内的葬具则有棺无椁。一般说来，除有的木椁墓里的棺材形状与战国时代的一样，前后两端的宽度、高度相等而外，汉代的木棺多是前端较宽较高，后端较狭较低。西汉时的木棺多用榫卯相接，“细腰”合盖，东汉则普遍使用铁钉，所以东汉刘熙在《释名·释丧制》中说“古者棺不钉也”。贵族们的木棺，采用上好木料，制作得十分精致、美观，极其奢侈。只要看过长沙马王堆一号汉墓的三具彩绘的漆棺，就可以知道《潜夫论·浮侈篇》所说“计一棺之成功将千万夫”之语不虚（图274、275）。[22]满城窦绾墓的漆棺，在棺盖和棺的外壁嵌饰圆形的玉璧二十余块，在棺的内壁更满镶长方形或方形的玉版近二百块，简直像是一具玉棺，其设计可能是出于对玉的迷信，以为可使棺内的尸体不朽。

按照周代以来的丧礼，汉代出殡时张举着的一种旌幡，入葬时被覆盖在棺材上；旌幡长二米余，正与棺材的长度相等。在湖南长沙马王堆一号墓、三号墓和山东临沂金雀山九号墓中，都发现了这种旌幡（图276）。[23]长沙马王堆的二幅，上部较宽，全体呈T字形；临沂金雀山的一幅，上下等宽，全体成长方条状。它们都系由绢帛制成，绘有精致的彩色图画。图画的内容，自上而下分三段，分别表示天上、人间、地下。天上和地下，都是根据各种神话传说绘描的，前者主要是绘太阳和月亮，有时也有星辰，太阳中有金乌，月亮中有蟾蜍和玉兔，有时还有奔月的嫦娥（图277）。后者则绘各种怪异的水族动物，实际上是表示海底的“水府”。至于人间，则绘墓主人日常生活的情景，并突出地绘有他本人的肖像（图278）。上述长沙马王堆和临沂金雀山的三幅旌幡，由于有着细致、精美的彩色图画，所以称为“帛画”，被作为珍贵的艺术品而受到重视。类似的旌幡，在甘肃武威县磨咀子汉墓中也有发现，有的为丝织品，有的为麻织品，都系覆盖在棺上，它们或者完全没有图画，或者只简单地绘太阳和月亮，但都书写着墓主人的姓名和籍贯等，代替了上述帛画中的墓主人肖像，这便是所谓“铭旌”（图279）。[24]可以认为，在汉代的丧礼中，使用这种旌幡，是相当普遍的，只是由于它们都系丝麻织物，易于腐朽，所以没有被保留下来。长沙马王堆汉墓和临沂金雀山汉墓由于有特殊的防腐设施，武威磨咀子汉墓由于当地气候干燥，所以独能得到保存。

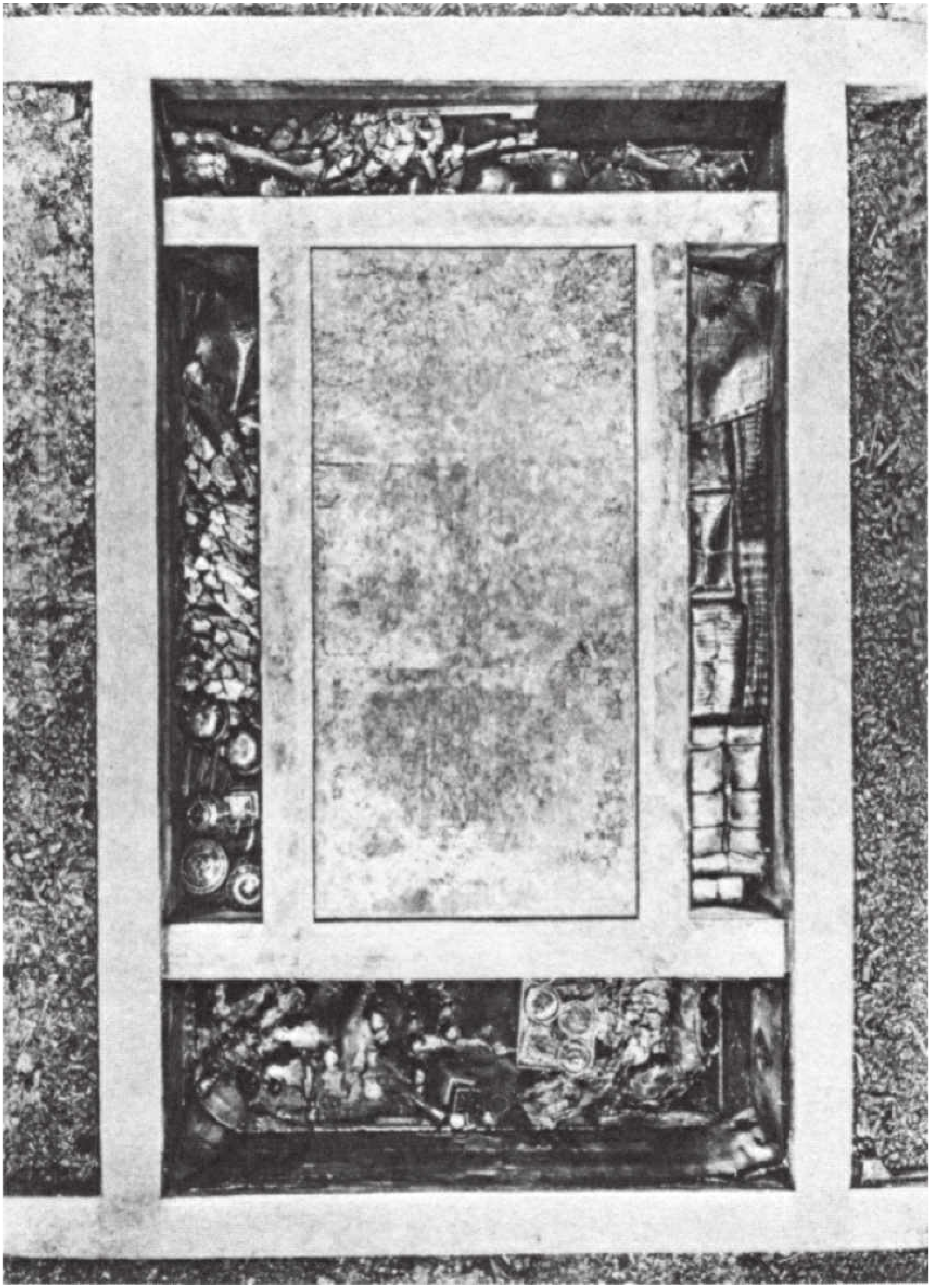
尸体在棺内的放置，一般都采取仰身伸直的方式。战国时代在黄河流域各地流行的屈肢葬，到汉代已经绝迹。大概是为了企图使尸骨不朽，有时使用各种小玉具遮盖或充塞死者的七窍。塞在口中的称“琀”，

往往被制成蝉的形状。《汉书·杨王孙传》说，“口含玉石，欲化不得，郁为枯腊”，这当然是不可信的。

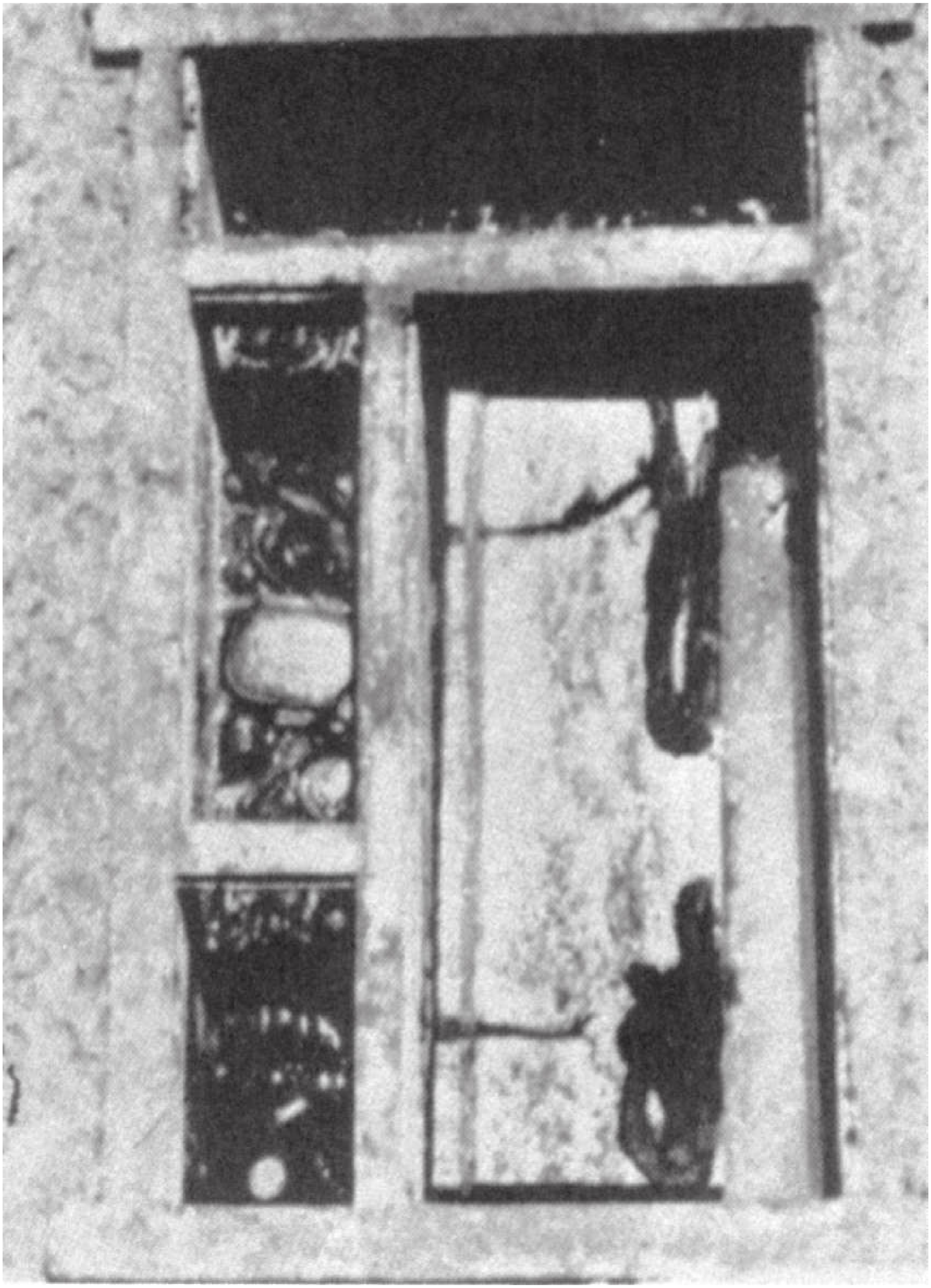
汉代皇帝和贵族，死时穿“玉衣”（又称“玉匣”）入葬，它们是用许多四角穿有小孔的玉片，用金丝、银丝或铜丝编缀起来的，分别称为“金缕玉衣”、“银缕玉衣”、“铜缕玉衣”。[25]新中国成立以来，汉墓中所发现的玉衣已在十件以上，其中河北省满城西汉中山靖王刘胜及其妻窦绾的二件（图280）、定县西汉中山孝王刘兴的一件（图281）、江苏省徐州东汉彭城靖王刘恭的一件（图282）、安徽省亳县东汉末年曹操的宗族曹某的一件，共五件，已经完全复原。[26]以满城汉墓的二件为例，刘胜的玉衣共用玉片2498片，金丝重1100克，窦绾的玉衣共用玉片2160片，金丝重700克，其制作所费的人力和物力是十分惊人的。从出土的实物，并结合文献的记载来看，西汉的玉衣似乎多属金缕，东汉的玉衣则有金缕、银缕、铜缕之分。据《续汉书·礼仪志》记载，皇帝用金缕，诸侯王和始封的列侯用银缕，其他多用铜缕，估计袭爵的列侯也在用铜缕之列。河北定县东汉中山简王刘焉的玉衣是鎏金的铜缕[27]，其等级可能与银缕的相当。迄今发现的完整的玉衣，以满城汉墓（武帝时期）的二件为最早。由于在陕西咸阳杨家湾五号墓（其年代在文帝或景帝时）中也发现了玉衣上的玉片[28]，可见西汉前期即已开始使用玉衣，以后一直沿袭到东汉。亳县董园村东汉末年曹氏墓中出土的玉衣，应该是年代最晚的。据《三国志·魏志》记载，魏文帝曹丕于黄初三年（公元222年）下令禁止用玉衣，而在实际的考古发掘工作中也没有发现过魏晋以后的玉衣，可见它的使用限于汉代。东汉的政府还以玉衣赠送给少数民族的首领。据《魏志·扶余传》记载，扶余国王葬时用玉衣，汉朝政府将玉衣存放在玄菟郡（其治所在今辽宁省沈阳附近），等扶余王死时派人前来领取。司马懿消灭割据辽东的公孙渊时，玄菟郡库房中尚存留玉衣一件。这时已在曹丕下禁令之后，但大概由于事关对少数民族的政策，所以是一种例外。以玉衣为葬服，其目的是企图保存尸骨不朽。《后汉书·刘盆子传》说，西汉诸帝陵墓内凡穿有玉衣的尸体都完好如生人，这当然是无稽之谈，不足为信。曹丕在下禁令时就说，用玉衣之类随葬是“愚俗之所为”。

长沙马王堆汉墓、江陵凤凰山汉墓等许多西汉前期的墓，和战国时代的许多墓一样，墓中存放着用竹简编成的簿册，记录着各种随葬品的名称和数量，根据《仪礼·既夕礼》“书遣于册”的记载，可以称之为“遣策”（图283）。[29]考古学家们按照“遣策”中的记录，可以了解当时各种器物的名称和用途。湖北云梦大坟头汉墓、江苏海川霍贺墓和侍其繇墓中则有长方形的木版，书写着随葬器物的名称和数量[30]，根据《仪礼·既夕礼》“书赗于方”的记载，可称之为“赗方”，其性质与“遣策”相似。发

掘工作证明，直到三国和晋代仍然流行这种“赗方”。



240．Top view of wooden chamber of Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui, Changsha　长沙马王堆一号汉墓棺椁俯视



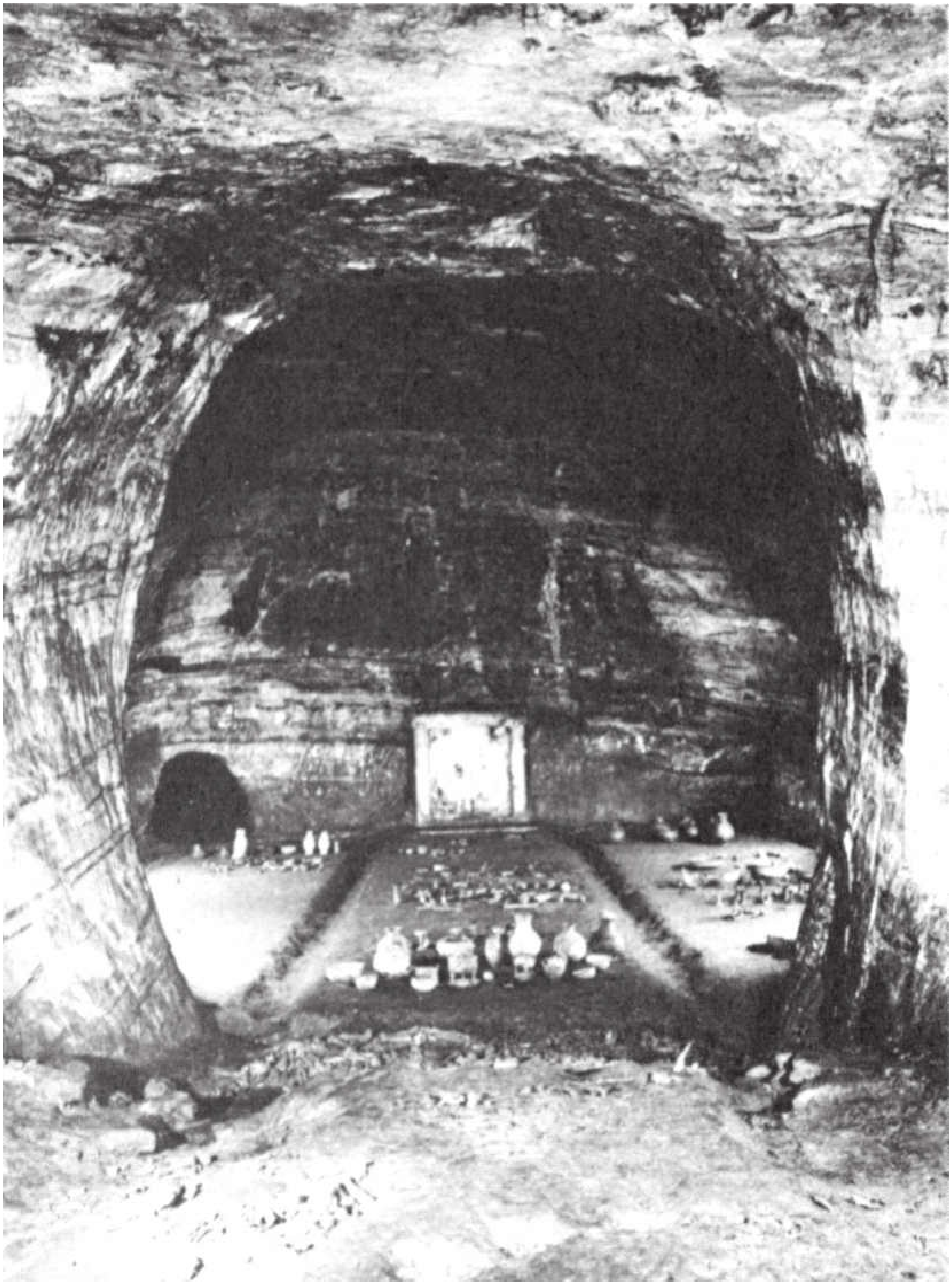
241．Top view of wooden chamber of Han tomb number 168 at Fenghuangshan, Jiangling　江陵凤凰山一六八号汉墓棺椁俯视

242．View of the entire burial chamber of the Han tomb at Dabaotai, Beijing　北京大葆台汉墓

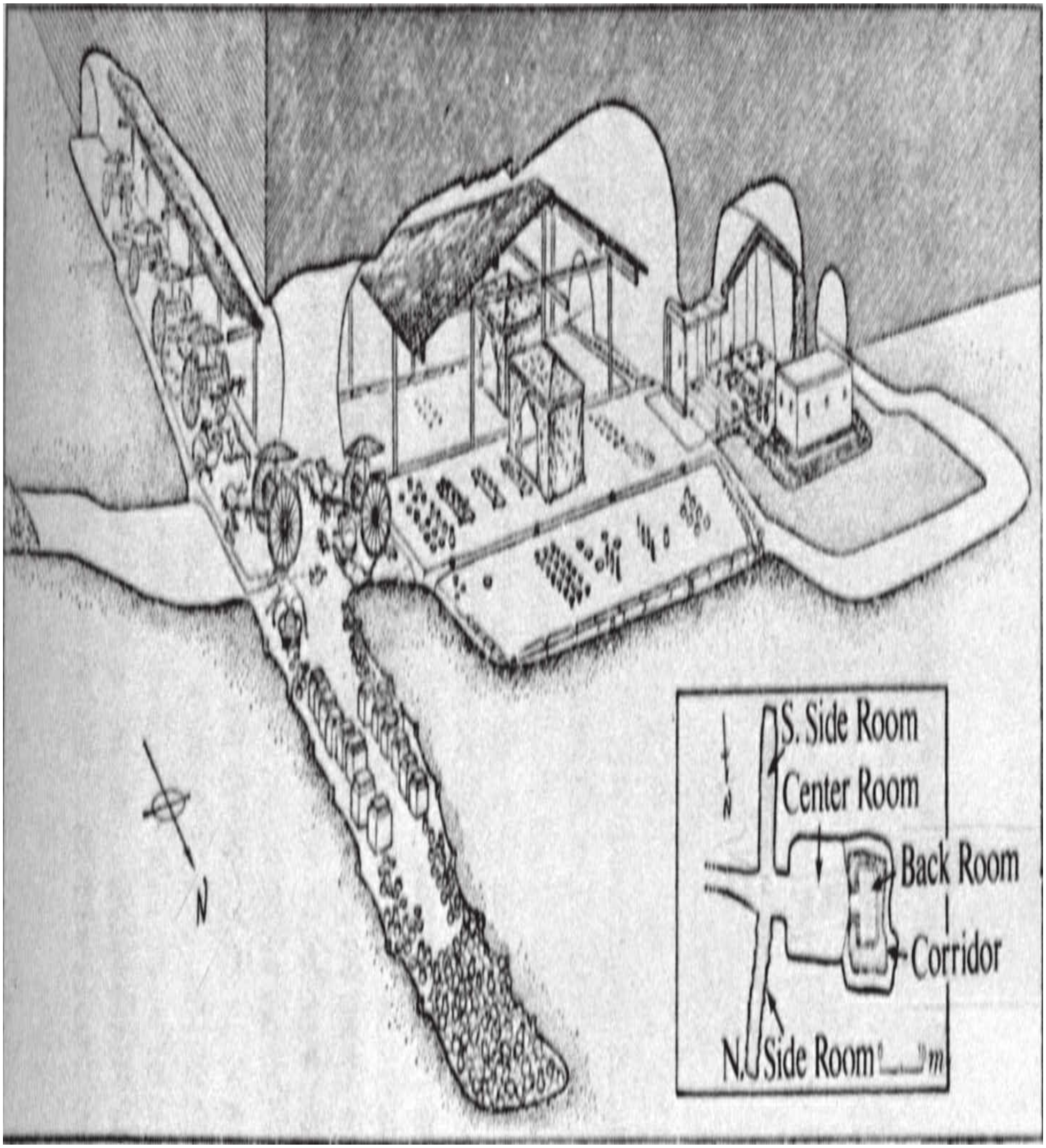
242．View of the entire burial chamber of the Han tomb at Dabaotai, Beijing　北京大葆台汉墓

243．The southern side chamber and remains of carriages and horses in the tomb of Liu Sheng in Mancheng　满城刘胜墓的南耳室及车辆马匹遗址

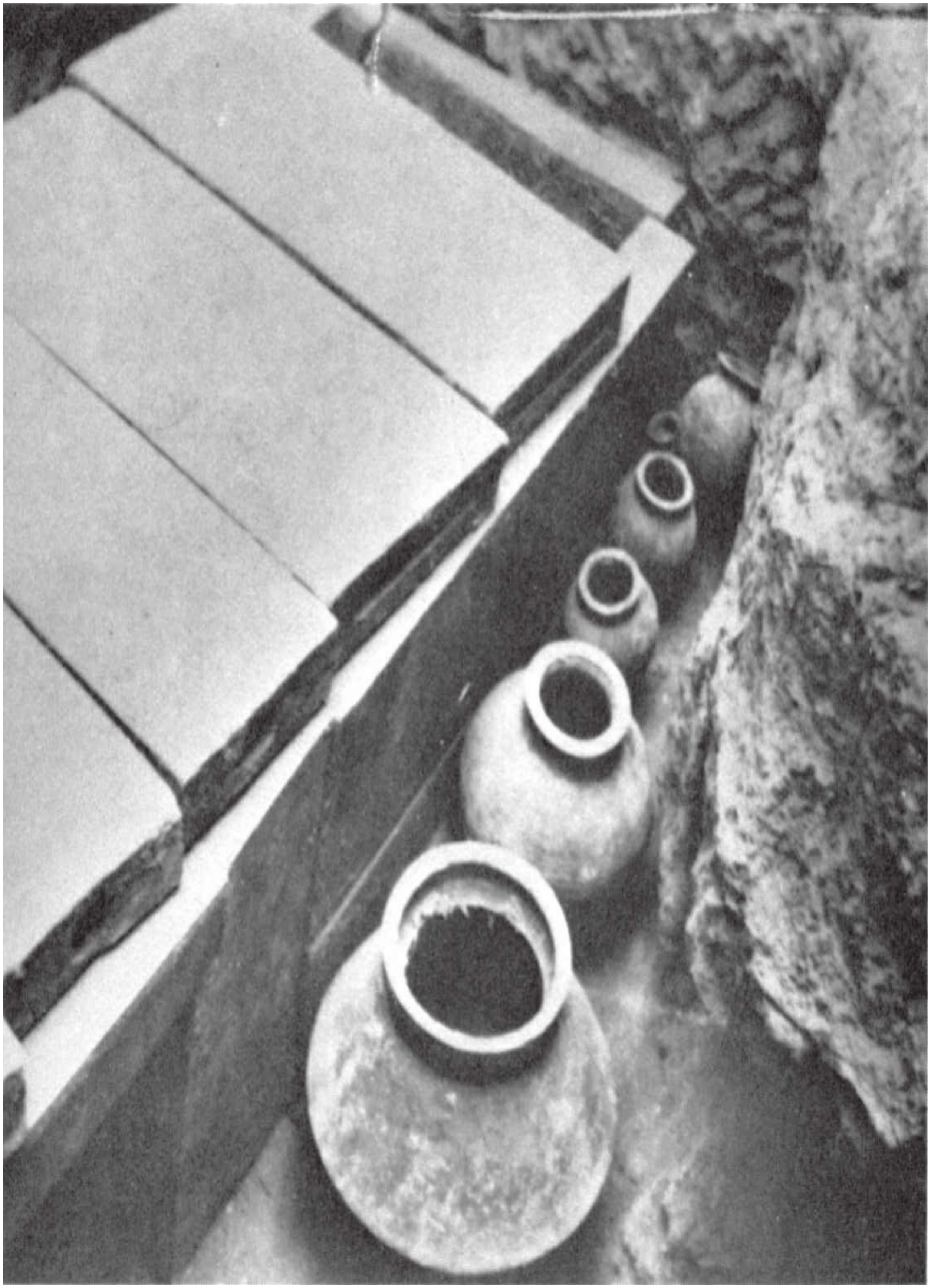
244. The northern side chamber with its furnished pottery vessels, in the tomb of Liu Sheng in Mancheng　满城刘胜墓北耳室及陶器



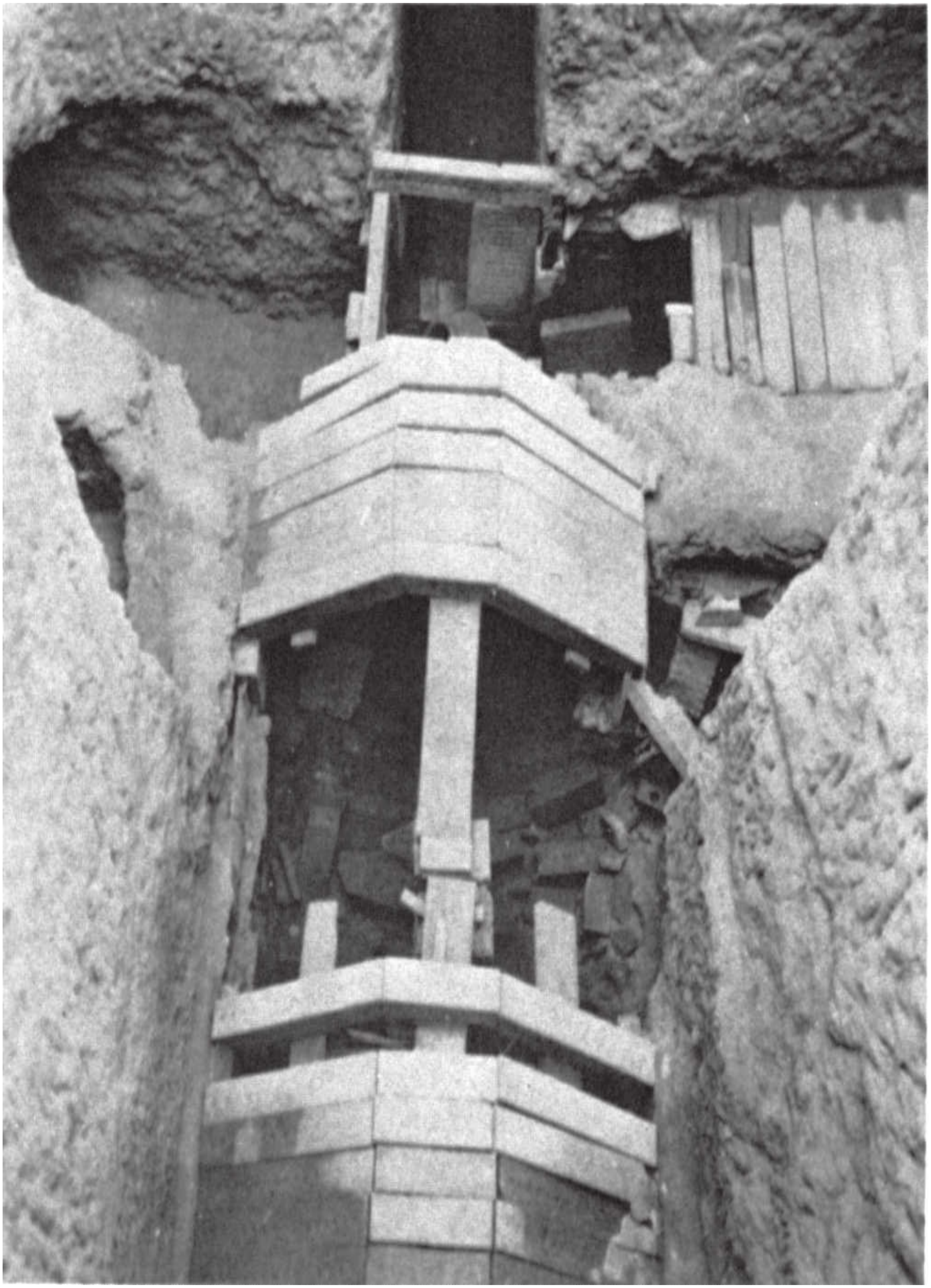
245．The anterior chamber of Liu Sheng's tomb in Mancheng　满城刘胜墓前室



246．Reconstruction of Liu Sheng's tomb in Mancheng　满城刘胜墓复原图



247．Hollow-brick tomb of Western Han, excavated at Shaogou, Luoyang　洛阳烧沟的西汉空心砖墓



248. Structure of the top of the hollow-brick tomb of Western Han, excavated at Shaogou, Luoyang
洛阳烧沟空心砖墓顶部结构

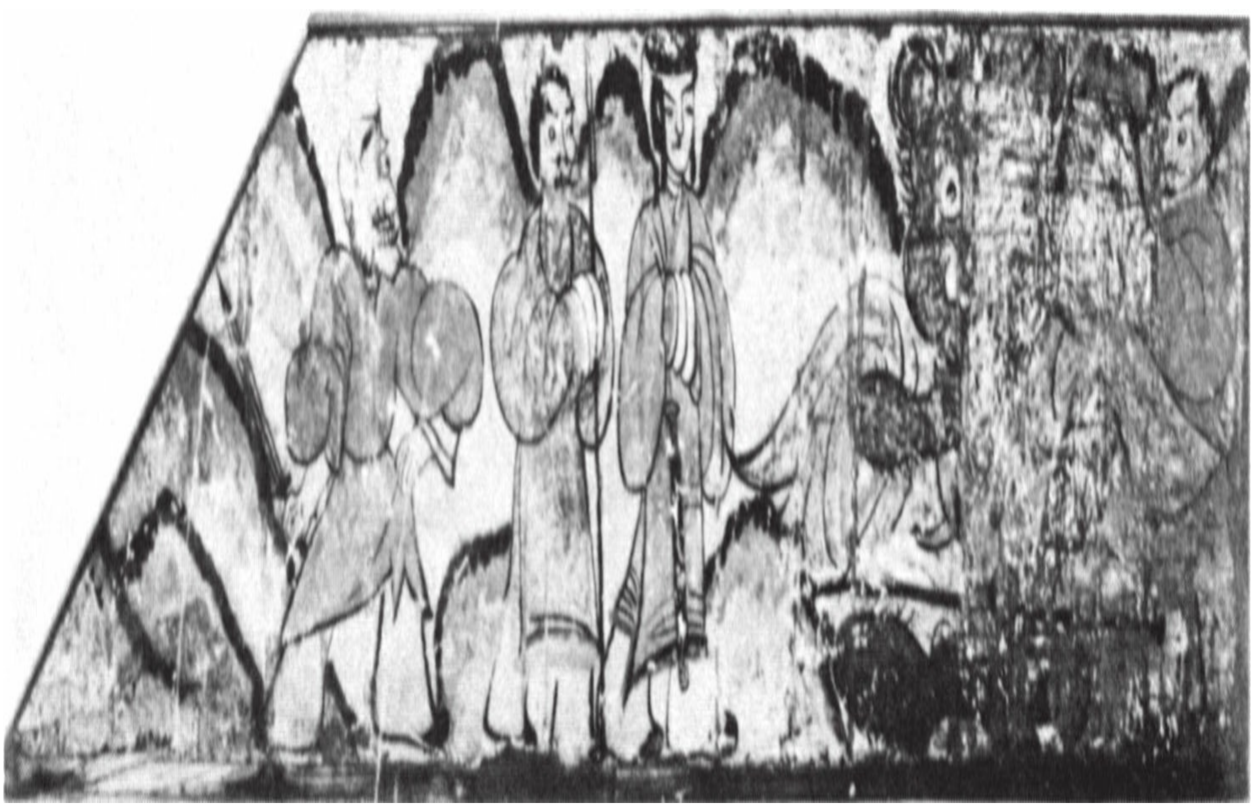
249．Green Dragon and White Tiger in the murals of a Han tomb (tomb of Bu Qianqiu) in Luoyang
洛阳汉墓（卜千秋墓）壁画中的青龙、白虎像

250．Portrait of Fu Xi in the mural of a Han tomb (tomb of Bu Qianqiu) in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓（卜千秋墓）壁画中的伏羲像

251．Portrait of Nü Wa in the mural of a Han tomb (tomb of Bu Qianqiu) in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓（卜千秋墓）壁画中的女娲像

252．Mural scene depicting the story "Using two peaches to kill three gentlemen" in a Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓壁画“二桃杀三士”

253. "The Banquet at Hongmen" (right half) in the mural of a Han tomb in Luoyang 洛阳汉墓壁画“鸿门宴”（右半部分）



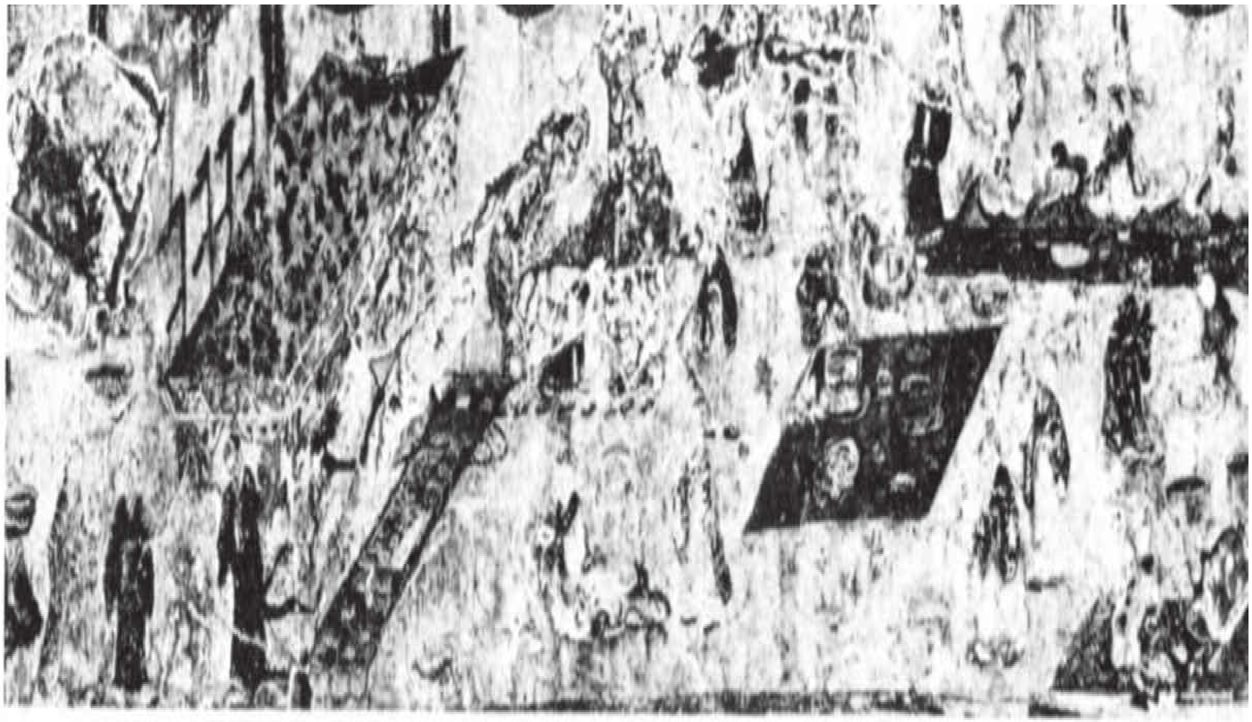
254．"The Banquet at Hongmen" (left half) in the mural of a Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓壁画“鸿门宴”（左半部分）

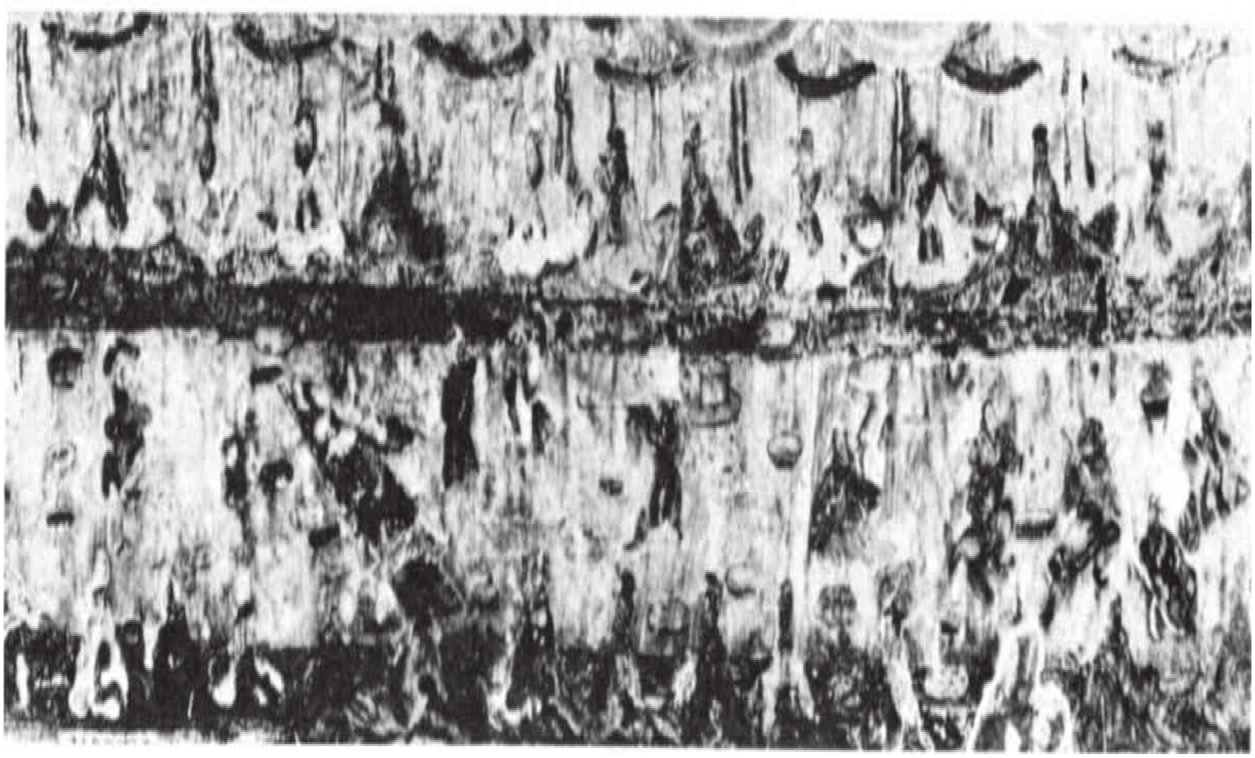
255．Brick chamber tomb of Eastern Han, excavated in Luoyang　洛阳发掘的东汉砖室墓

256．Structure of the top of a brick chamber tomb of Eastern Han, excavated in Luoyang　洛阳发掘的东汉砖室墓顶部结构

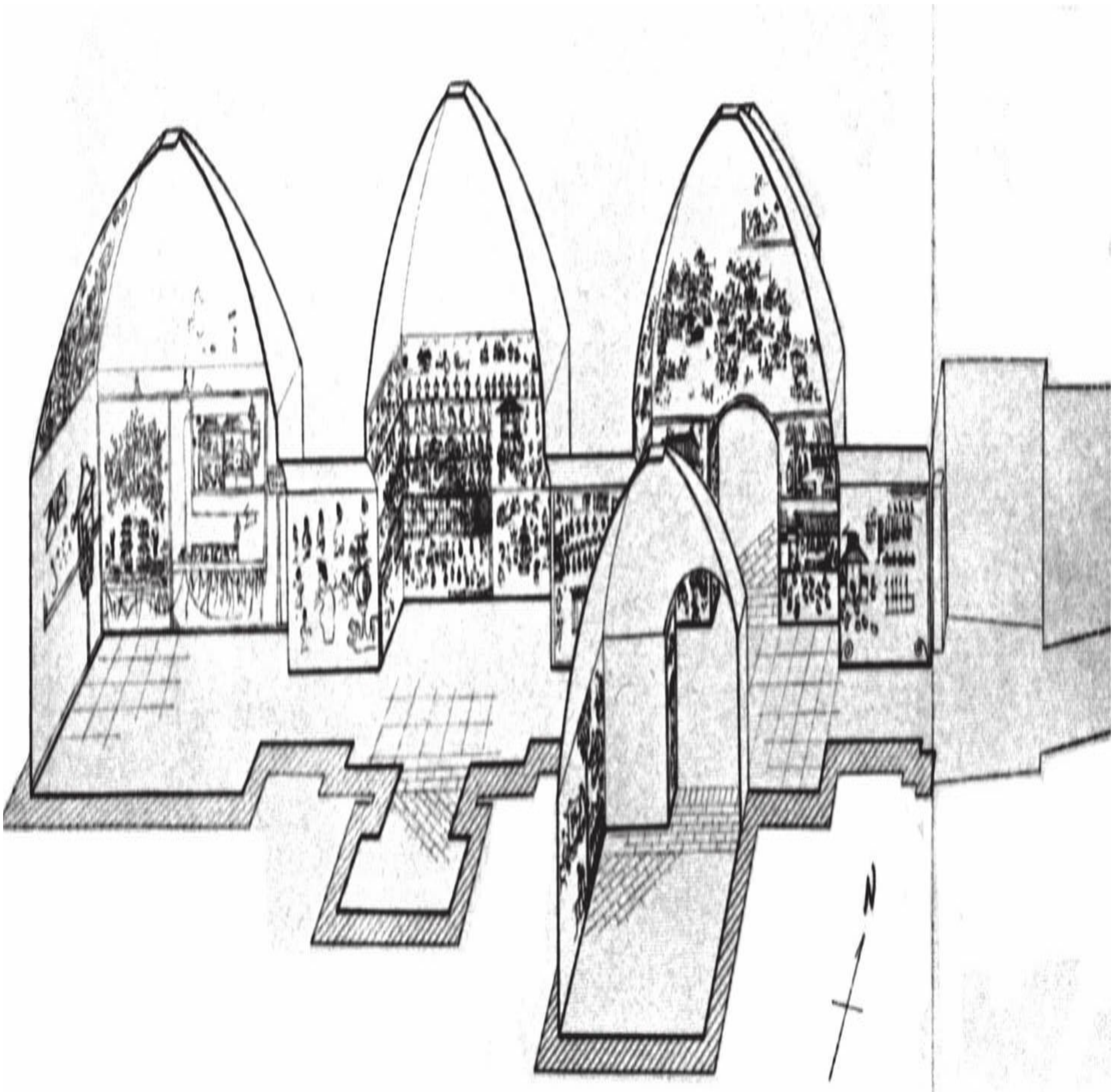
辟車伍百八人

257．Subordinates, servants, and other human figures in the wall painting of a Han tomb in Wangdu, Hebei　河北望都汉墓壁画中的“辟车伍佰”

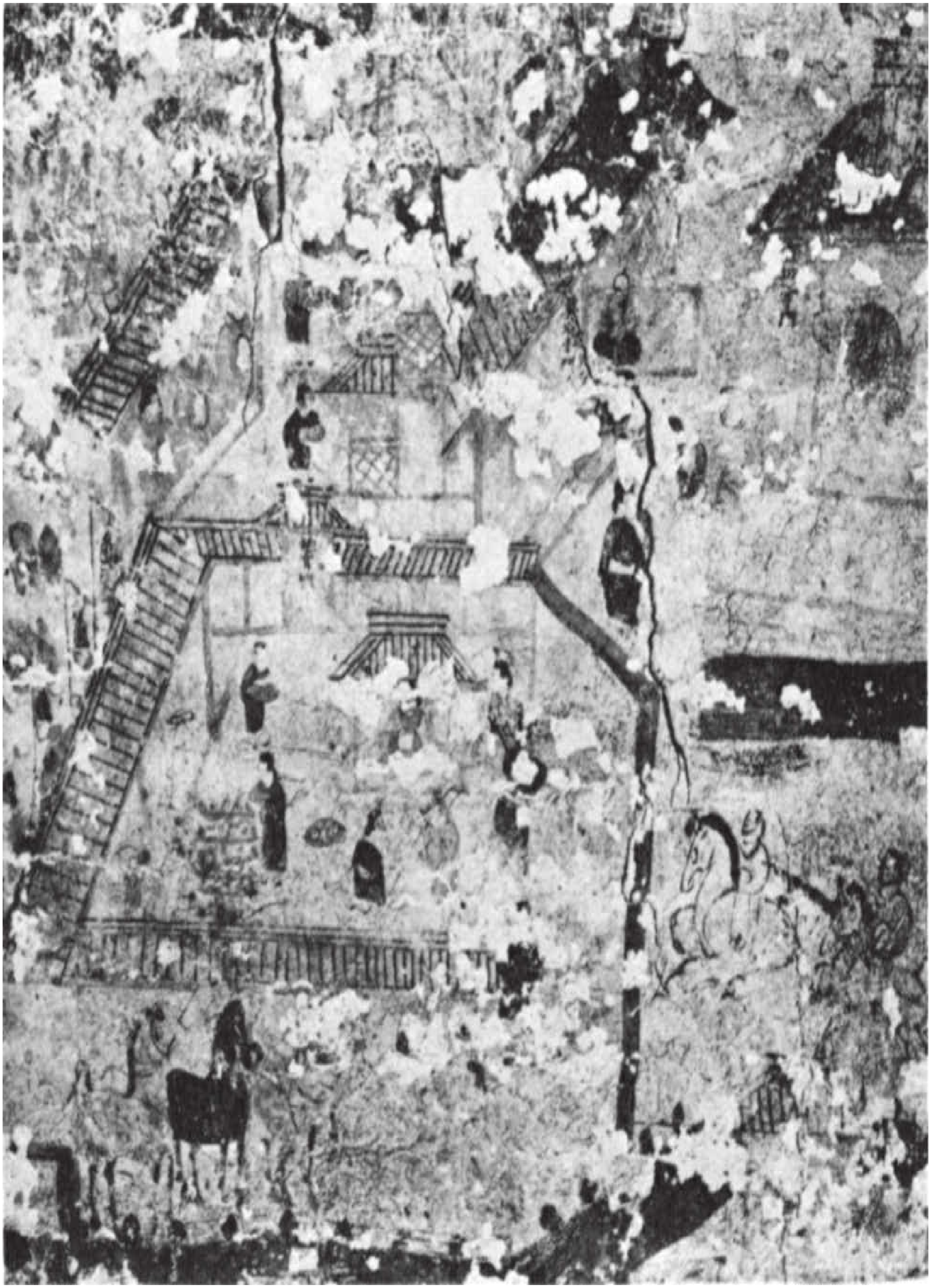




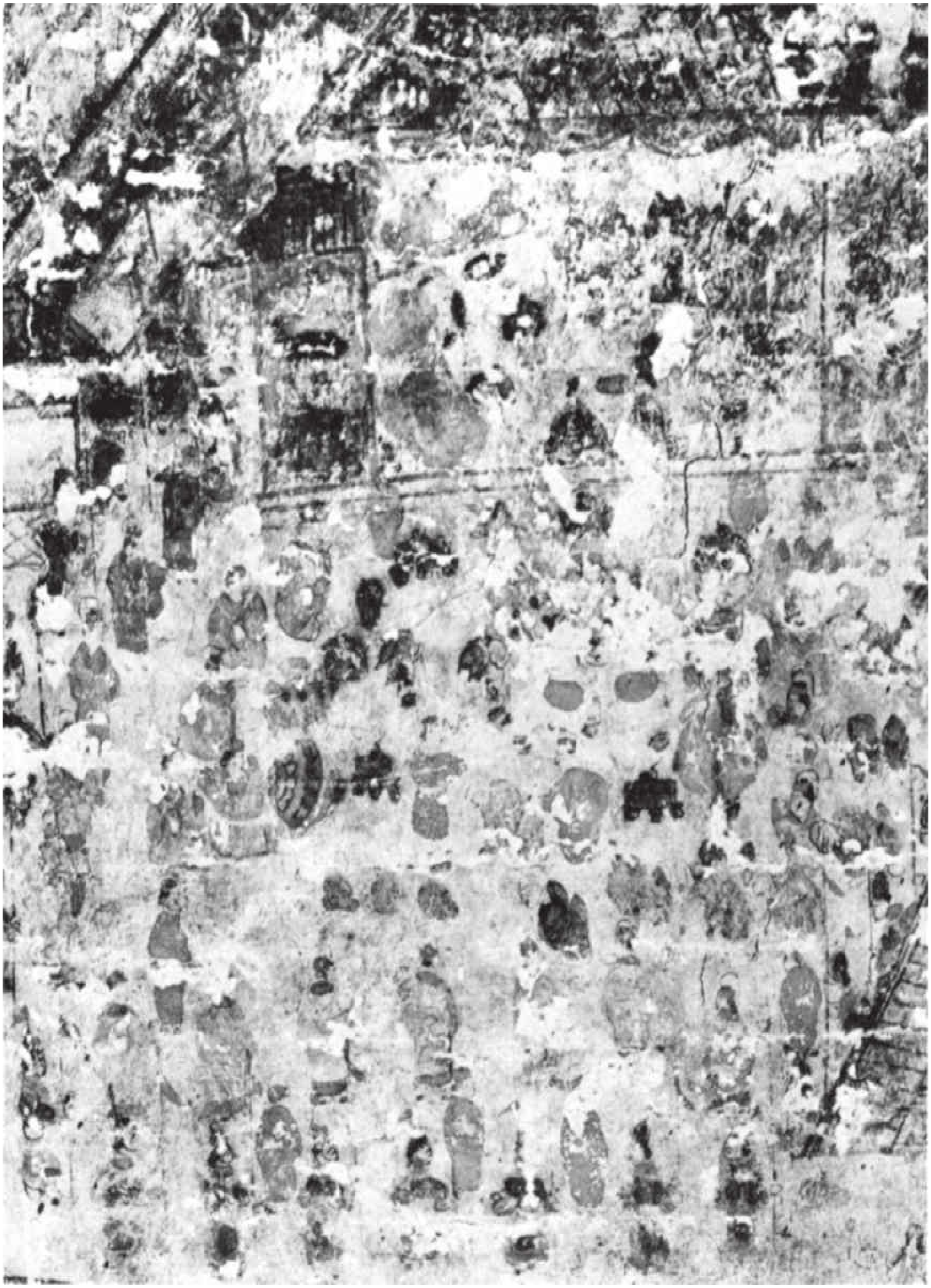
258．A feast and a performance in wall painting of a Han tomb at Dahuting in Mixian, Henan　河南密县打虎亭汉墓壁画中的宴会百戏图



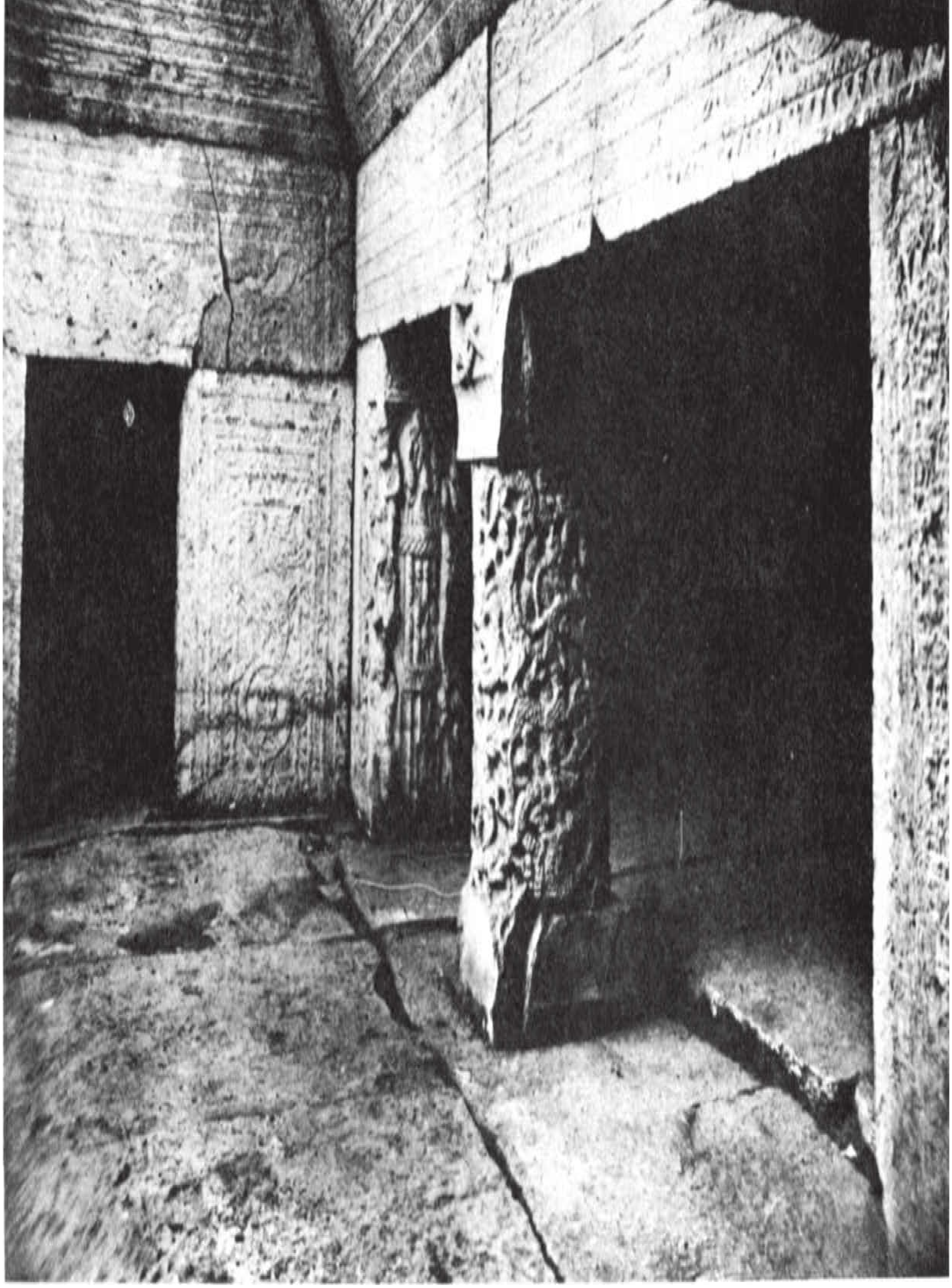
259. Diagram of the chamber of the Han tomb in Holingor, Inner Mongolia　内蒙古和林格尔汉墓墓室透视图



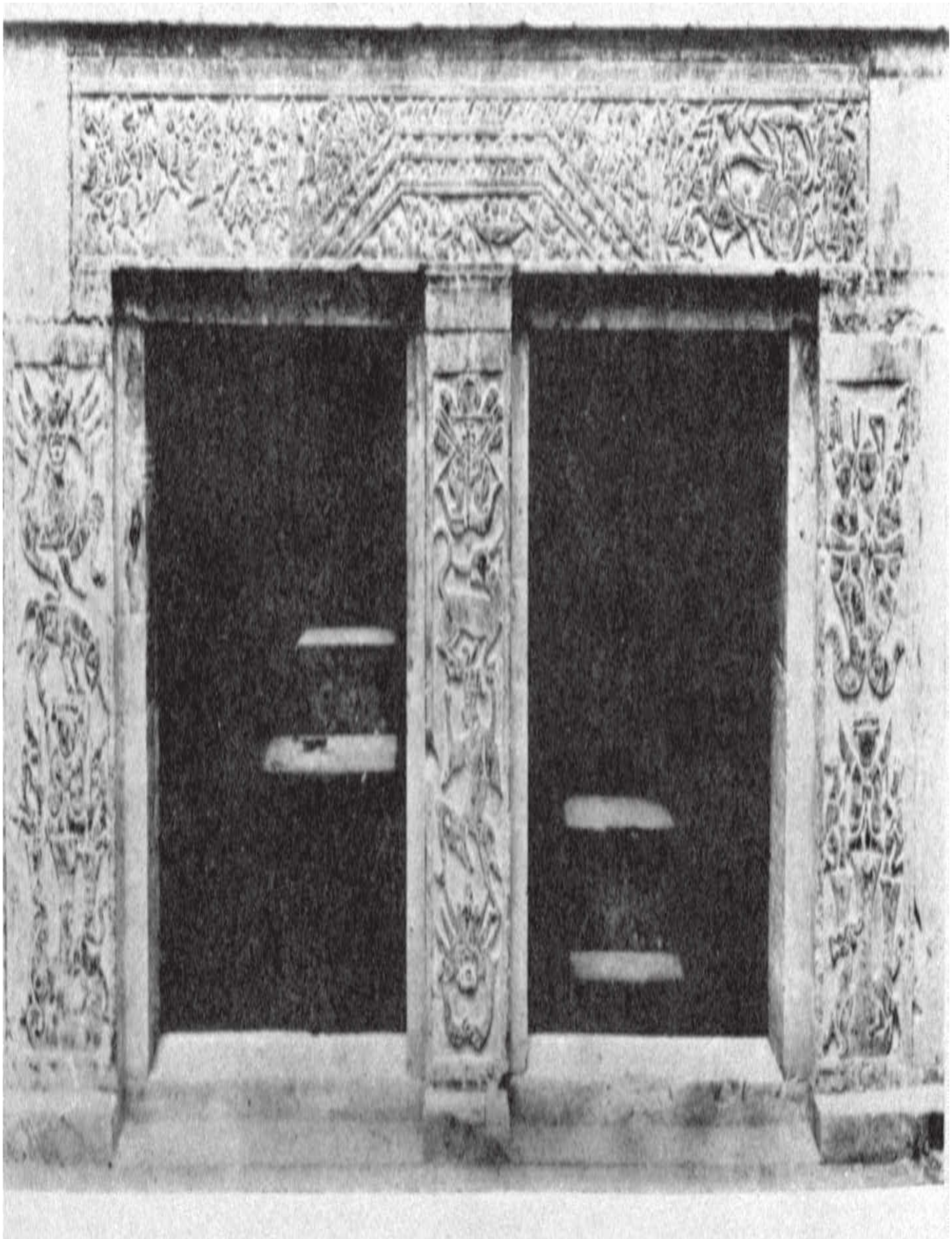
260．Scene of Ningcheng (partial) in the wall painting of the Han tomb in Holingor, Inner Mongolia
内蒙古和林格尔汉墓壁画中的宁城（部分）



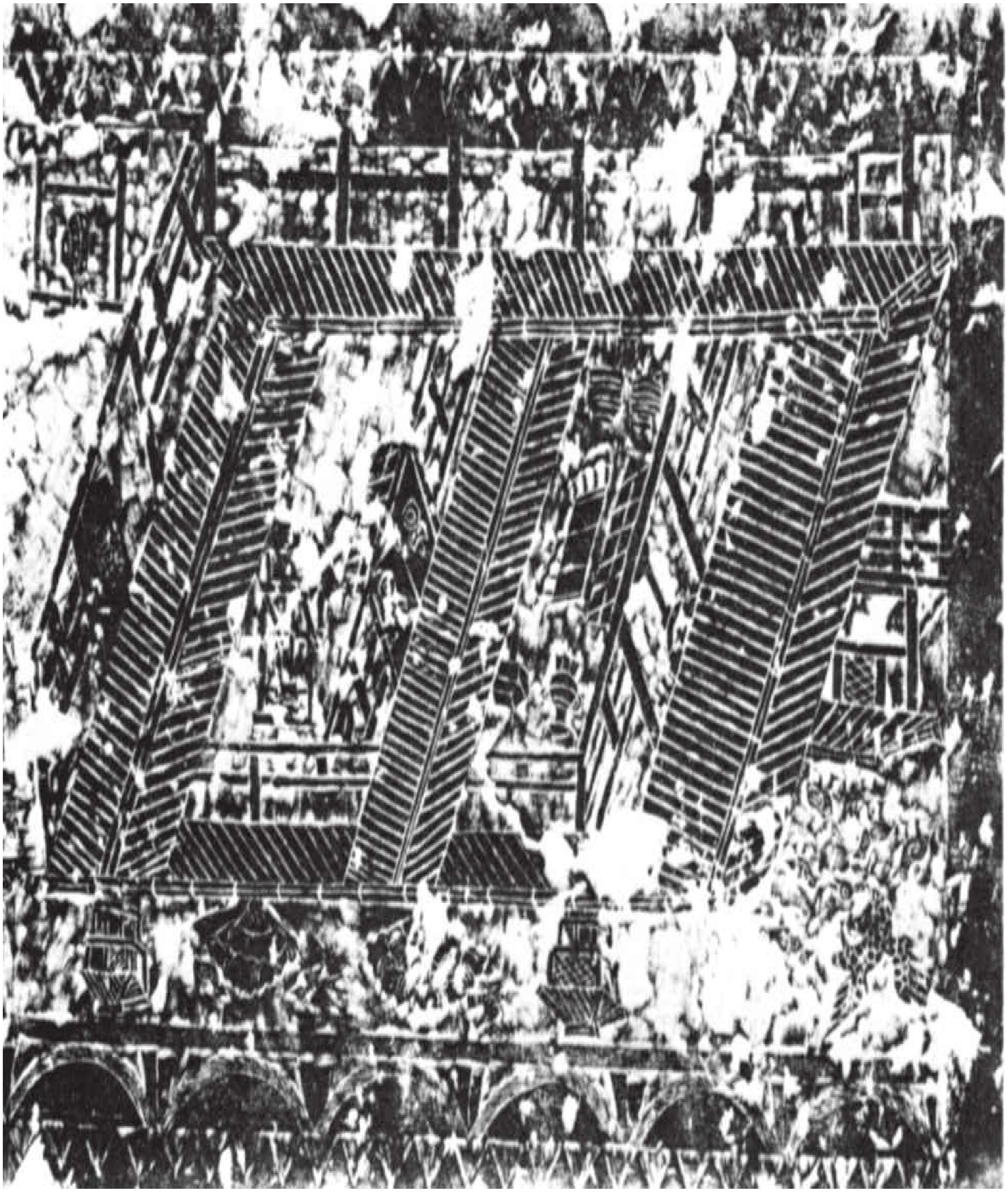
261．Scene of Ningcheng (partial) in the wall painting of the Han tomb in Holingor, Inner Mongolia
内蒙古和林格尔汉墓壁画中的宁城（部分）



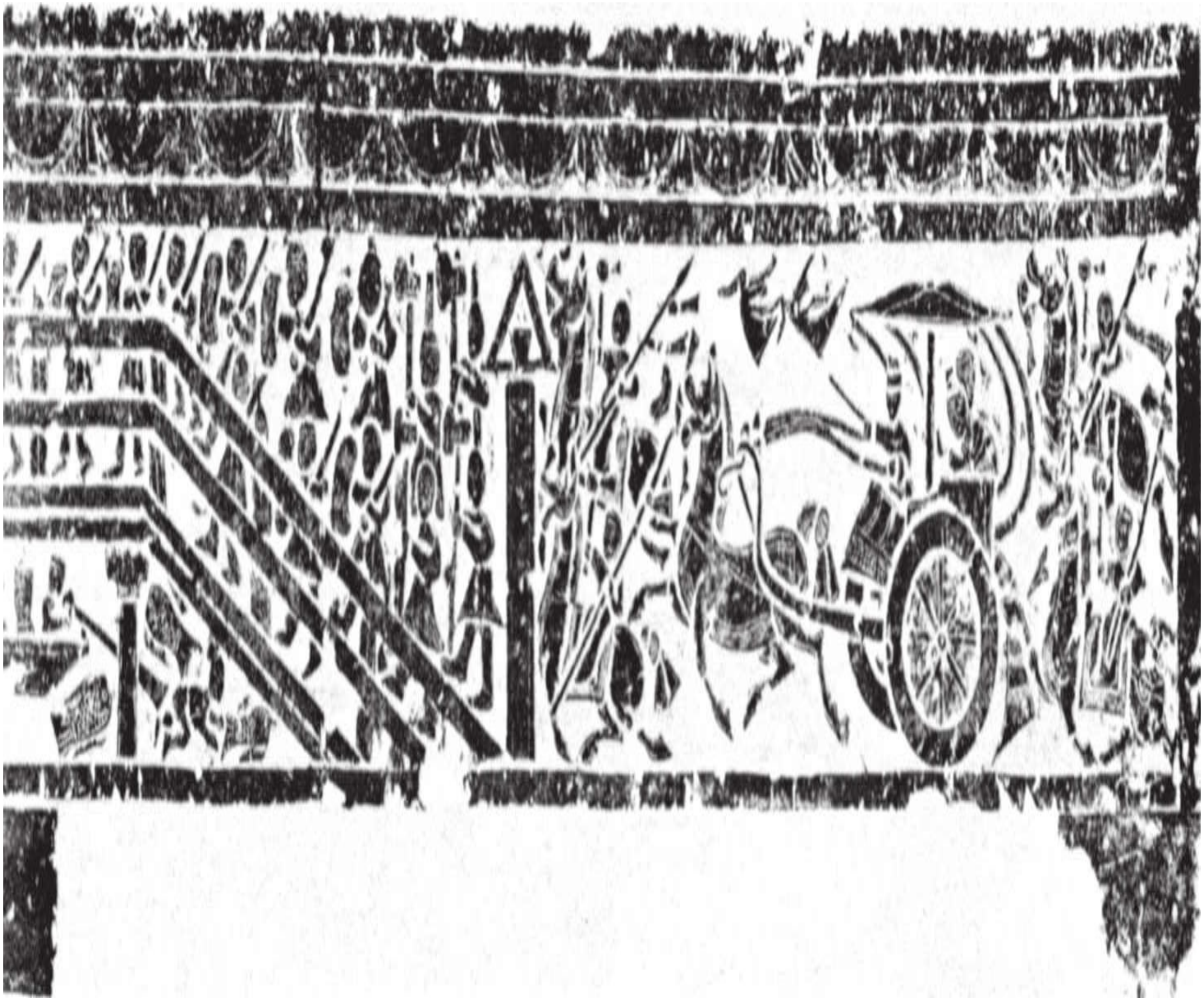
262．Structure of the burial chamber of the Han tomb in Anqiu, Shandong　山东安丘汉墓墓室结构



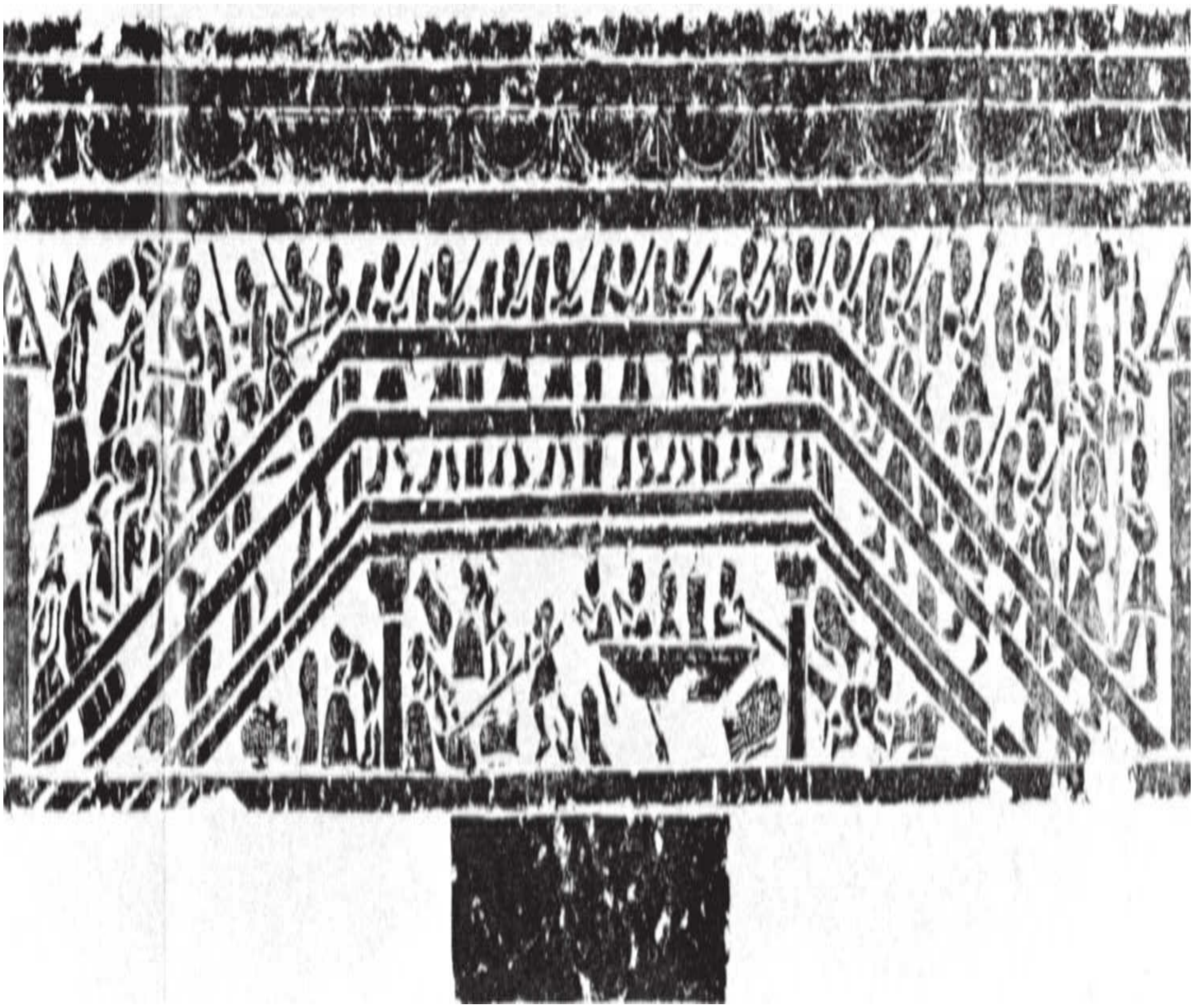
263. The doors of the Han tomb in Yi'nan, Shandong　山东沂南汉墓墓门



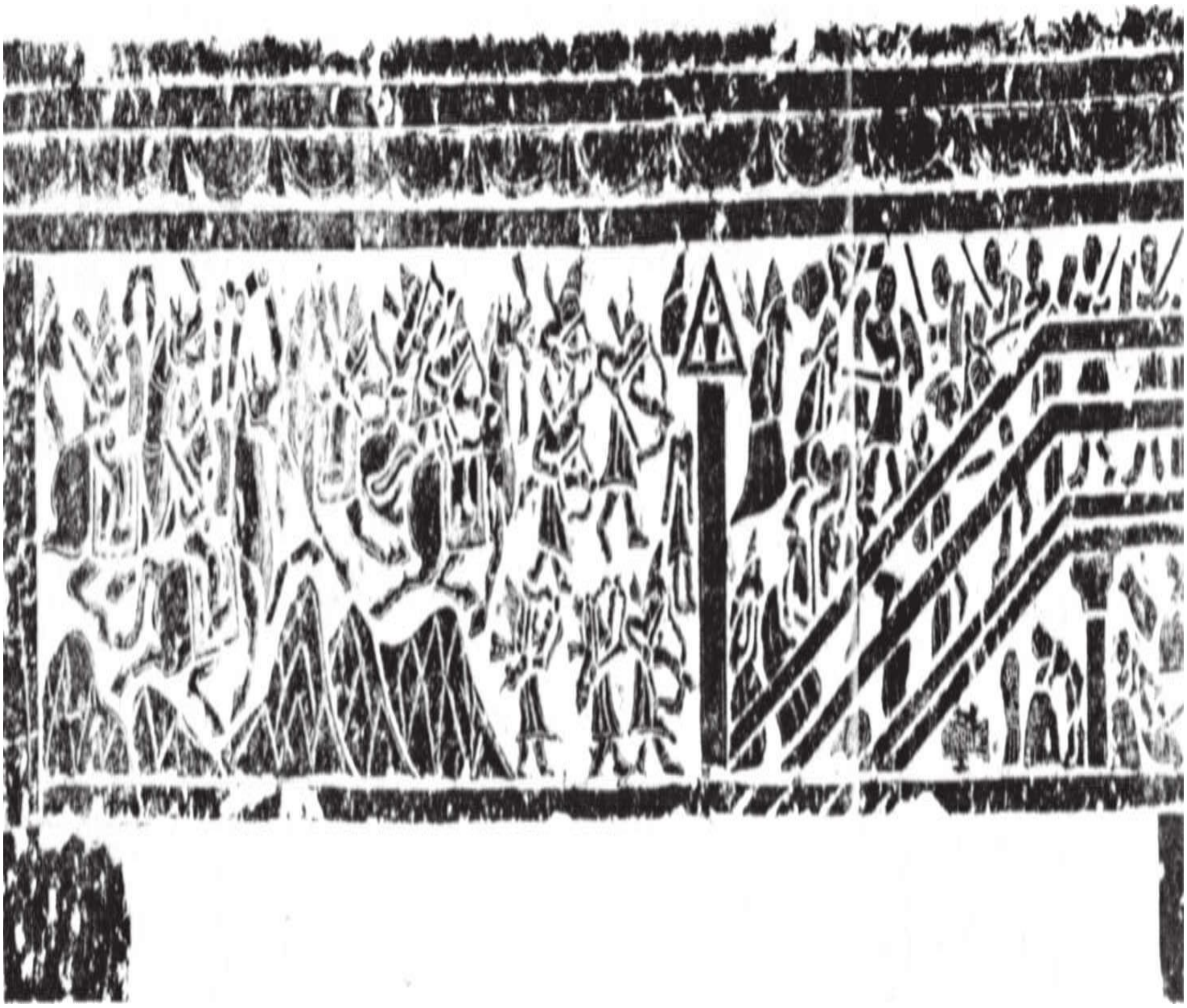
264. Rubbing of the courtyard scene in the stone engravings in the Han tomb in Yi'nan, Shandong
山东沂南汉墓石刻画像中的宅院（拓片）



265．Rubbing of the right third of the battle scene in the stone engravings in the Han tomb in Yi'nan, Shandong　山东沂南汉墓石刻画像中的攻战图（右侧三分之一，拓片）



266．Rubbing of the middle third of the battle scene in fig. 265　沂南汉墓石刻画像中的攻战图（中间三分之一，拓片）



267. Rubbing of the left third of the battle scene in fig. 265　沂南汉墓石刻画像中的攻战图（左侧三分之一，拓片）

268．Pictorial brick depicting a lecture scene, unearthed in Deyang, Sichuan　四川德阳出土的讲经画像砖

269. Pictorial brick depicting a feast scene, unearthed in Chengdu, Sichuan　四川成都出土的宴饮画

像砖

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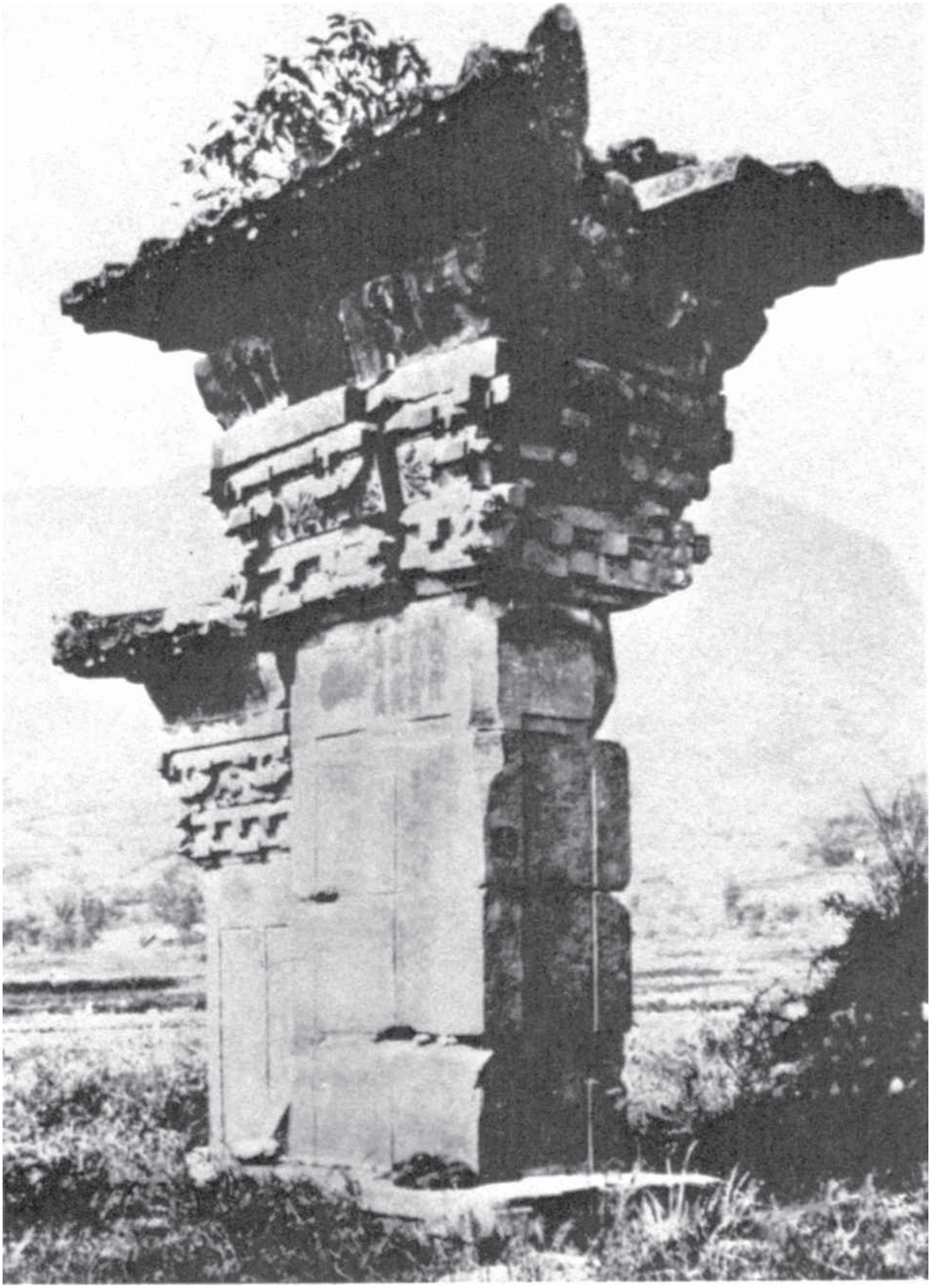
270．Pictorial brick depicting music and dance, unearthed from the Han tomb in Chengdu, Sichuan
四川成都汉墓出土的乐舞画像砖

271．Pictorial brick depicting carriages and horseback riding, unearthed from the Han tomb in Chengdu, Sichuan　四川成都汉墓出土的车骑画像砖

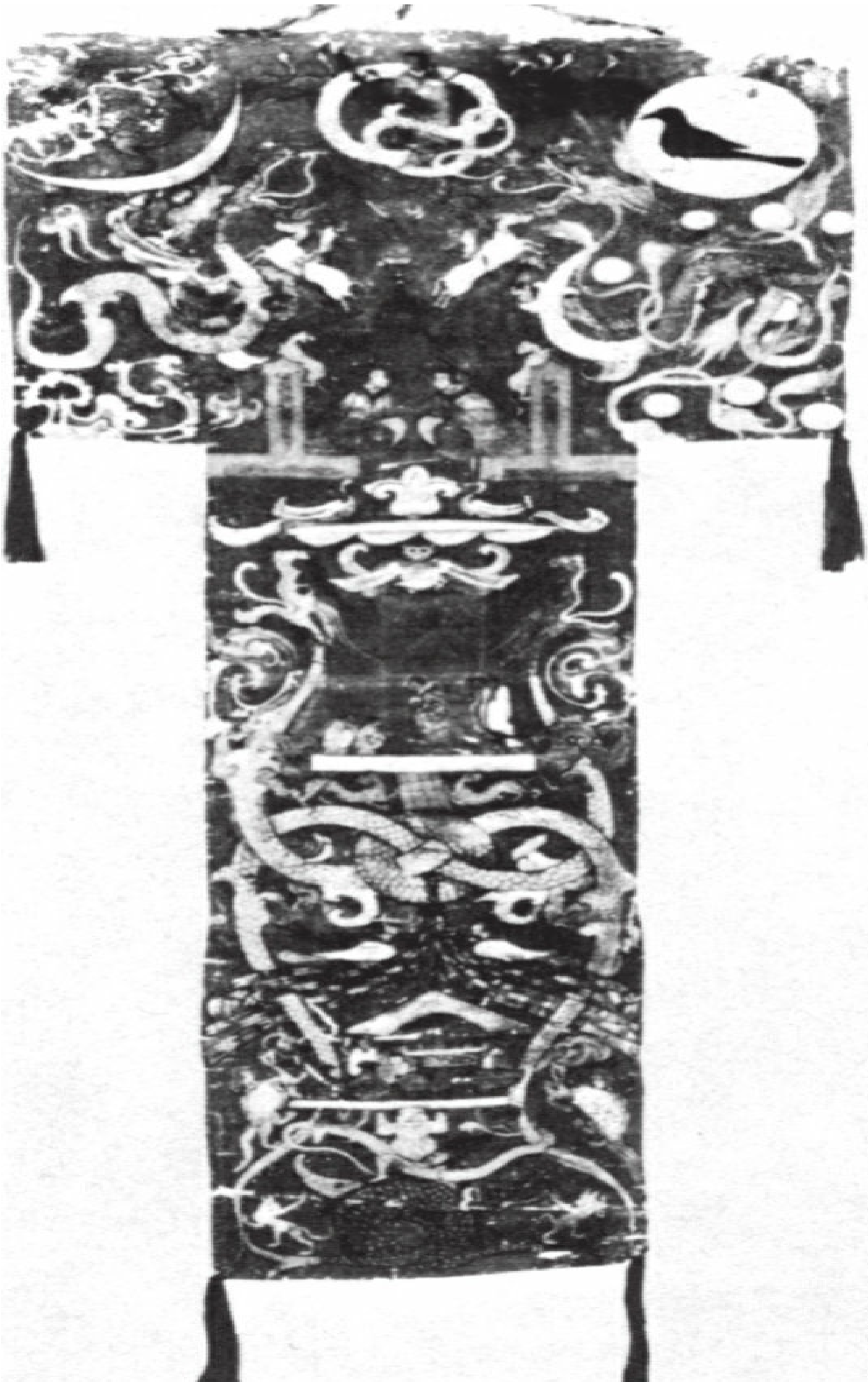
272．Pictorial brick depicting salt making, unearthed in Chengdu, Sichuan　四川成都出土的煮盐画像砖



273．Monumental tower (*que*) in front of the grave of Gao Yi in Ya'an, Sichuan　四川雅安高颐墓阙

274．Painted lacquered coffin from Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui, Changsha　长沙马王堆一号汉墓中的黑地彩绘漆棺

275．Second painted lacquered coffin from Mawangdui　马王堆一号汉墓中的朱地彩绘漆棺

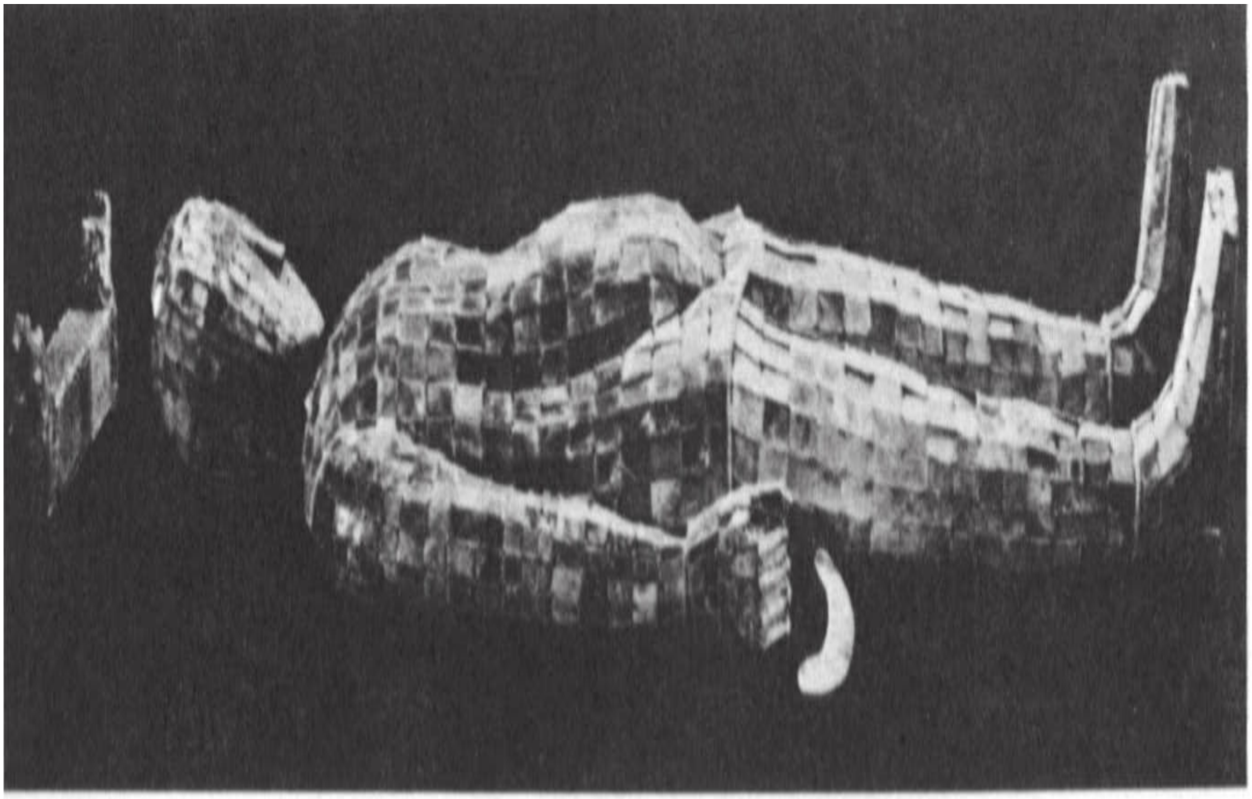


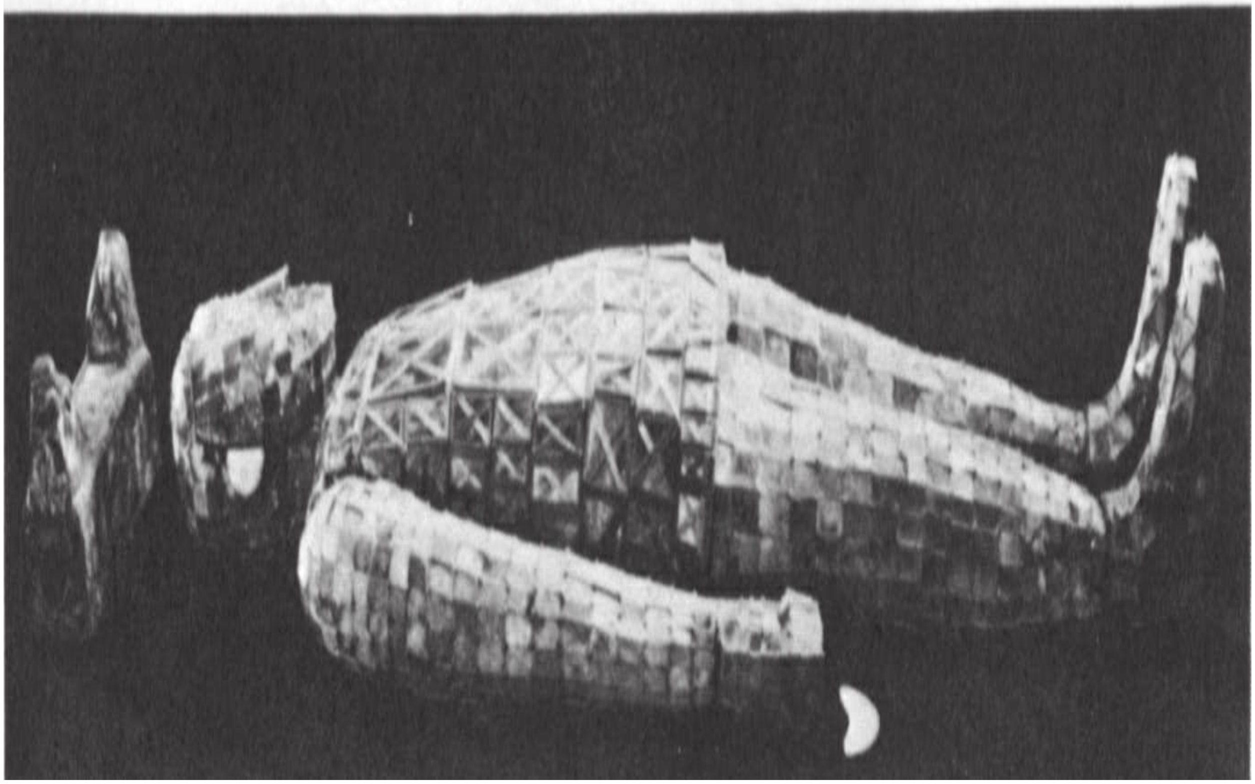
276．Funerary banner unearthed from Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui, Changsha　长沙马王堆一号汉墓出土的旌幡

277．The heaven scene in the funerary banner unearthed from Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui, Changsha　长沙马王堆一号汉墓中旌幡上的“天上”部分

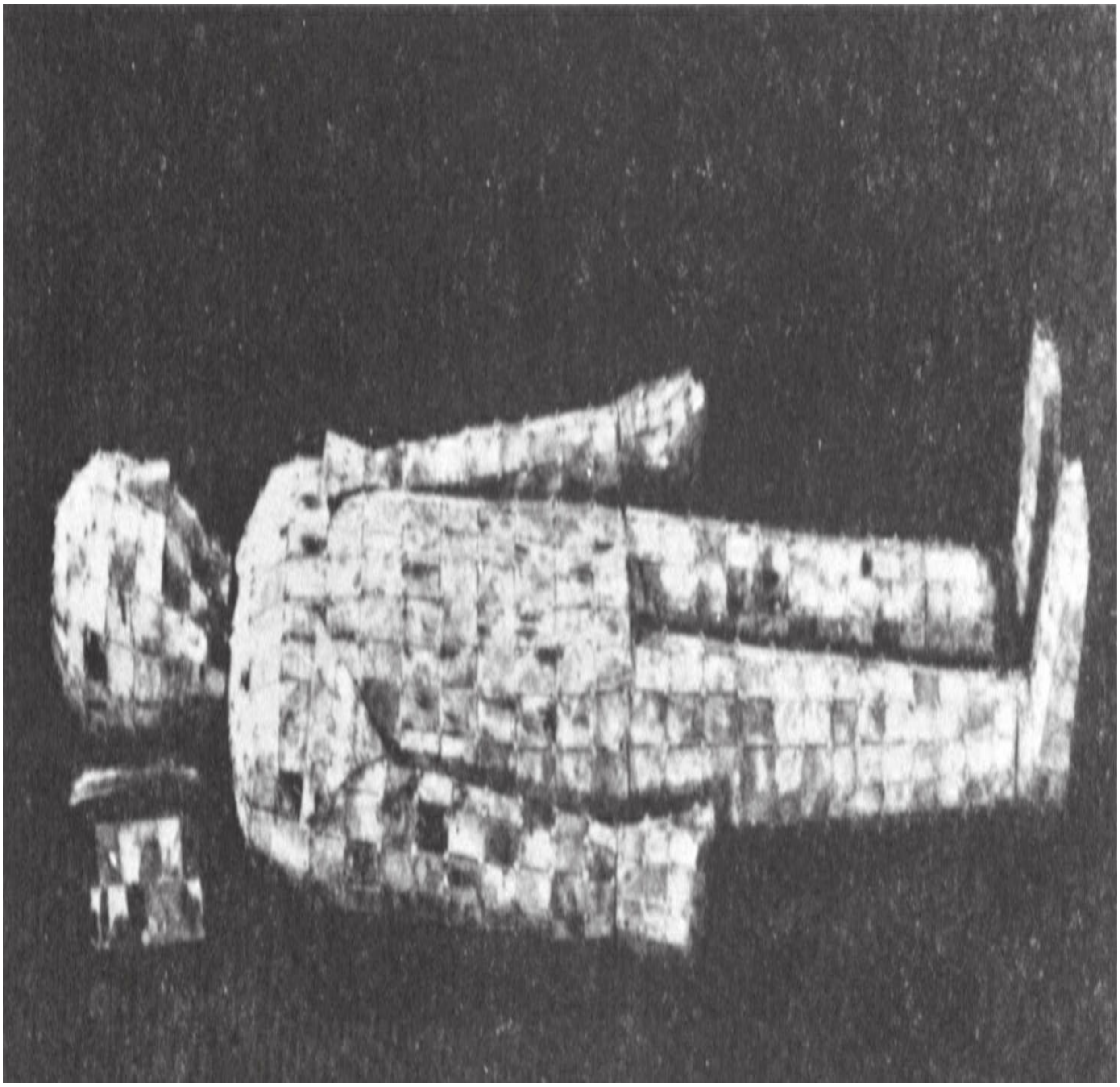
278. Portrait of the tomb master in the funerary banner unearthed from Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui, Changsha　长沙马王堆一号汉墓中旌幡上的“人间”部分

279．Funerary banner unearthed from the Han tomb at Mozuizi in Wuwei, Gansu　甘肃武威磨咀子汉墓出土的旌幡

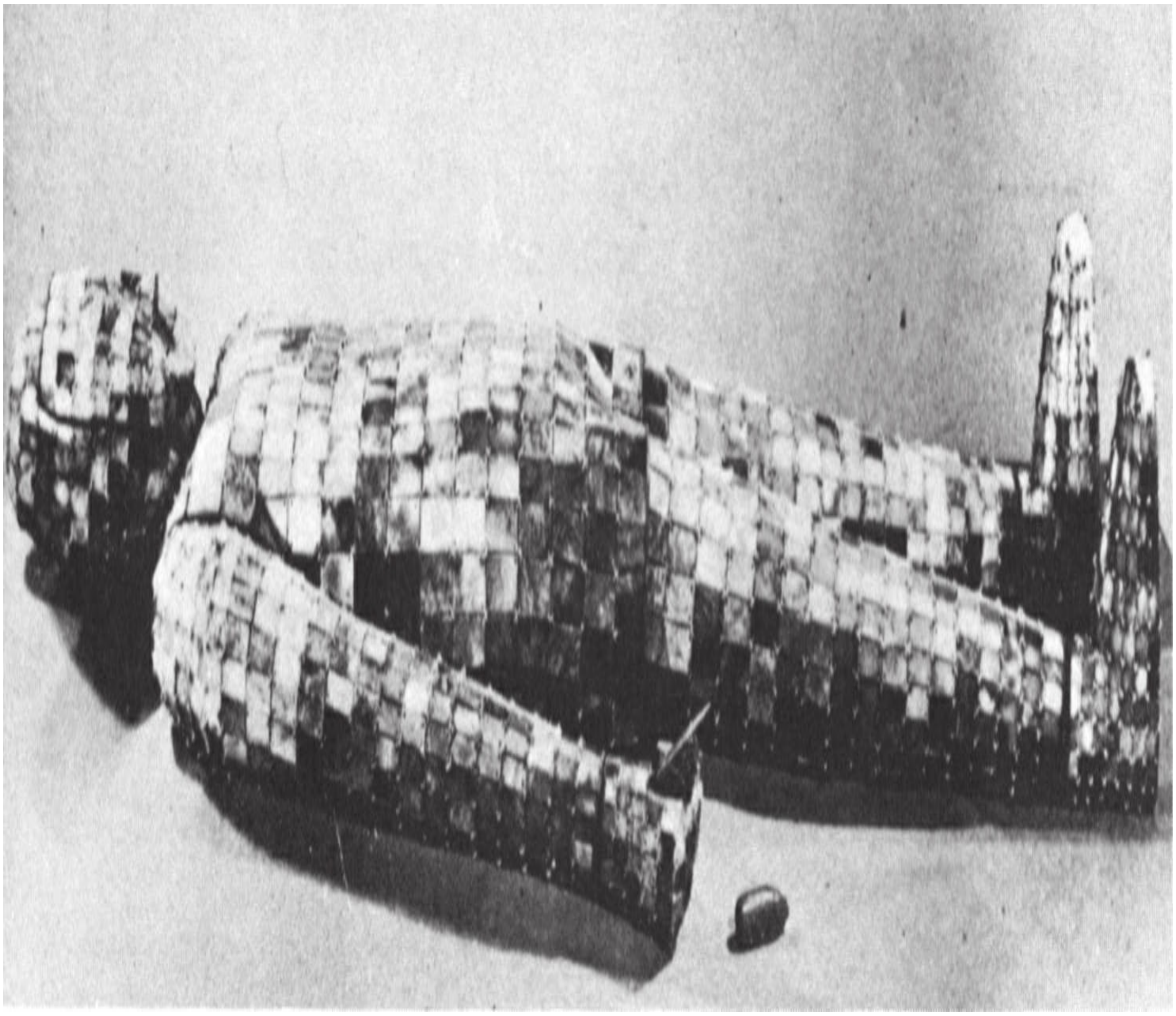




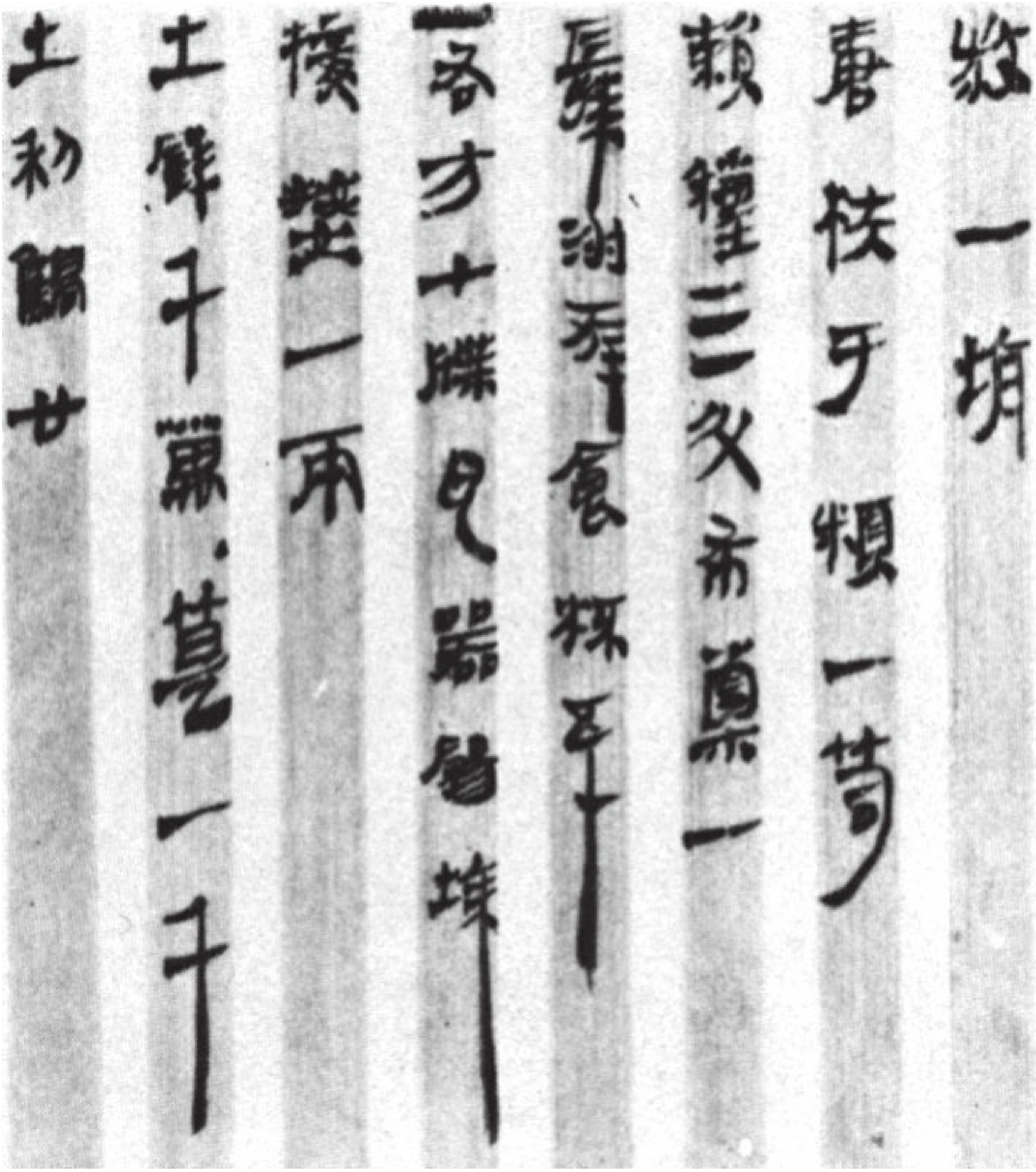
280．Jade mortuary shrouds with gold threads, unearthed from the Han tomb in Mancheng (upper: Liu Sheng's; lower: Dou Wan's)　满城汉墓出土的金缕玉衣（上：刘胜、下：窦绾）



281．Jade shroud with gold threads, unearthed from Han tomb number 40 in Dingxian, Hebei　河北定县四十号汉墓出土的金缕玉衣



282．Jade shroud with silver threads, unearthed from the Han tomb in Xuzhou, Jiangsu　江苏徐州汉墓出土的银缕玉衣



283. Details of *qian ce*, or inventory slips, unearthed from Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui, Changsha　长沙马王堆一号汉墓出土的遣策

聖王繡複襖綿紅羅緣一領衣
聖王繡複衣□紅緣一領衣
敵繡衣一領衣
紋複錦一領白羅緣衣
雜繡錦一領白羅緣衣
白羅複絳一衣
紺繡複衣漆黃羅緣一領
白聖王繡複衣一領
漆黃沐複襖綿一領

紅皁羅複香錦一領
紗紋複衣一領
綠繡錦二 足衣
漆黃羅複絳一
白羅複絲一
白羅吉繡一
紗紋複製一
罵羅吉衣上紫絳皁繡上繡衣各一領
青斯錦一

羅複錦一
錦繡紋複一
紺白複紋一
馬羅複衣練四上繡各一
枝紋衾衣縵上繡各一
紗羅複衣一
復皁沐小襖綿一

284. *Feng fang*, or inventory tablet, unearthed from the tomb of Shi Qi Yao of Western Han in Haizhou, Jiangsu　江苏海州西汉侍其繇墓出土的赗方

CHAPTER 9 TOMBS—II

Grave Goods One of the central ideas of the funerary rites prevailing among the landowners and bureaucrats of the Han dynasty was that the dead should be treated in the same way as the living. As stated in "Bo zang pian," *Lun heng*, "treat death as life." Consequently, not only did the form and the structure of the burial chamber imitate a real-life house, the grave was also provided with as complete a complement of furnishings and provisions as possible. No utensils and objects that were used by the living were barred from the tomb.

First off, in order that the dead person be able to continue a comfortable life in the other world, foods of various sorts were supplied as the principal grave goods (figs. 285-86). Take tomb number 1 of Mawangdui as an example. The following food items were discovered in the tomb: cereals and legumes including rice, wheat, barley, panic millet, foxtail millet, soybeans, and red beans; fruits and vegetables including melons, jujubes (Chinese dates), pears, plums, Chinese strawberries, malva, mustard greens, lotus roots, and bamboo shoots; animals including pigs, cattle, sheep, dogs, deer, and rabbits; birds including chickens, ducks, cranes, turtledoves, owls, wild geese, magpies, sparrows, mandarin ducks, bamboo pheasants, and ringed pheasants; fish including carp, crucian carp, two other kinds of carp, perch, and bream.[1] These foodstuffs were prepared into cooked cereals, cakes, and various other dishes, with the addition of condiments such as sweetener, honey, soy sauce, salt, and several kinds of wine. The names of the dishes were listed on *qian ce*, or inventory slips in the tomb; the classes were complex and the names numerous.[2] Liu Sheng, the Prince Jing of Zhongshan, buried in the Han dynasty tomb of Mancheng, was famous for his fondness of drinking. In the tombs in which he and his wife were buried there were more than thirty large pottery urns, each 70 cm tall. Some of the urns were inscribed in red on the outside: "15 piculs of Grade A panic millet wine"; "15 piculs of sweet liqueur"; "11 piculs of rice wine"; and the like. Traces of wine were still visible inside the urns at the time of excavation. It is estimated that more than 5,000 kg of wine—a remarkable amount—were contained in these urns (fig. 287).[3]

Another major part of the grave goods of that time consisted of various garments and fabrics. The clothing from tomb number 1 of Mawangdui included padded robes, double-layered robes, single-layered robes, single-layered skirts, shoes, socks, and mittens—most of them made of silk (figs. 288, 289). In addition, many silk fabrics were placed in large bamboo-matted suitcases, including warp-patterned fabric and embroidery, common silk, damask and brocade, the leno (or gauze) weave—their quality excellent, their colors bright, and their designs beautiful (figs. 290, 291).[4] Presumably clothing and fabrics were placed in many other Han dynasty tombs, but elsewhere the conditions for preservation have not been as favorable and they have not survived. But inventory tablets (*feng fang*) in some of these tombs, such as the tombs of Huo He and Shi Qi Yao, in Haizhou, Jiangsu, listed names and quantities of clothing, although very little of the clothing itself has survived.

Bronze, lacquer, and pottery items were the most common Han grave goods. Most of these were containers in which food and drink were originally placed. Utensils such as lamps, incense burners, irons (for ironing clothes), toilet article boxes, mirrors, as well as weapons such as knives and swords, were also commonly found in tombs. Ornaments were found also: various beads and pendants of such materials as jade, opal, amber, quartz, gold, and silver. In short, so numerous were the grave goods that they cannot be exhaustively listed. They varied in quality and quantity from grave to grave, depending upon the status and wealth of the grave's occupant; on the other hand, their characteristics changed along with changes in social conditions and manners and customs. In general, in early and middle Western Han, what the nobility and the bureaucrats would place in tombs were the real thing—various valuable objects that they would use in real life. But after middle Western Han fashions changed, and mortuary pottery made specifically for burial purposes increased in quantity. The earliest to appear were pottery granaries and pottery stoves; they had appeared in early Western Han and became popular in middle Western Han (figs. 292, 293). After that, pottery models of wells, querns, pigsties, multistoried buildings, pestling shops, and farm fields, along with pottery images of domestic animals and fowl such as pigs, dogs, sheep, chickens, and ducks, made a gradual appearance. The later the grave (especially after Eastern Han), the more numerous were these pottery models. In Eastern Han tombs, the grave goods consisted mostly of pottery vessels and such pottery mortuary models as described above. There

was a decrease in the more valuable utilitarian vessels of bronze and lacquerware. Even the large graves of bureaucrats and nobility are no exception. What is indicated is that, with the development of the manorial economy, the ideology pertaining to grave goods among the members of the landowning class underwent a significant change. They may have felt that, rather than placing valuable objects of limited quantity underground, it might be better to make symbolic pottery models of everything in the manor and to place them in the tomb.

What is amply reflected in the grave goods is that landowners of the Han dynasty paid special attention to the possession of land. In tomb number 167 at Fenghuangshan in Jiangling, which is dated to early Western Han, was found a piece of hardened clay wrapped in dark red silk. This was referred to as *bu tu* on the *qian ce* found in the same grave, meaning that it was a legally owned piece of land that had been officially registered. This piece of clay is rectangular, 20 by 14 by 12 cm. Placed in the tomb, it probably symbolized the continued possession of this piece of land by the master of the tomb.[5] The use of pottery models of farm fields in Eastern Han probably carried the same implication (fig. 294).

During the Shang, Western Zhou, and Eastern Zhou dynasties, graves of rulers were often accompanied by nearby pit burials of horses and chariots or of carriages. Real carriages and horses were still used in some tombs of the nobility in middle Western Han, examples being the tombs of the Prince Jing of Zhongshan in Mancheng and the Prince Lu in Qufu.[6] Special pits containing chariot and horses were placed in front of the burial chamber of the tomb of the Prince of Yan at Dabaotai in Beijing, a continuation of the traditional Shang and Zhou custom(fig. 295).[7] But in late Western Han and Eastern Han, wooden and pottery models of carriages and horses replaced real ones. The burial of human victims as part of grave furnishings was by then legally banned, as recorded in *Hanshu* ("Biography of the Prince Jingsu of Zhao") and other texts. Therefore, with a few exceptions, human victims no longer are found in Han tombs, and wooden or pottery figurines take the place of servants and maids (fig. 296).

Tombs number 4 and 5 found at Yangjiawan, in Xianyang city of Shaanxi, are dated to emperors Wen Di and Jing Di of Western Han; their occupants probably were important military generals. Some archaeologists speculate that these were the tombs of Zhou Bo and his son Zhou Yafu, based on the descriptions of their tombs in *Shuijingzhu*, but this hypothesis is by no

means a certainty. Ten pits to the south of the graves contain a large number of pottery figurines. Altogether there are more than 1,800 figurines of foot soldiers and more than 580 figurines of mounted soldiers. The soldiers are holding weapons in their hands and wearing armor and are arranged in neat formations.[8] It is recorded that in the Han dynasty when important military officials died the imperial court would give them elaborate funerals and use military formations in the funerary processions. The large group of pottery figurines at Yangjiawan could be a model of such a funeral formation (fig. 297).

Although most of the models of carriages, people, and horses were wooden or ceramic in Han dynasty tombs, there are exceptions. A remarkable example of bronze models of carriages, horses, soldiers, and servants has been found in the Han tombs at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu(figs. 298-300).[9] As I described in a previous chapter, processions of carriages and horses constituted an important motif in Eastern Han murals found in brick chamber tombs. The Han tomb of Leitai does not have such murals, but instead used bronze models. In the front of the procession were soldiers mounted on horses and holding spears and *ji*- halberds. The rear of the procession was made up of various carriages and attendants who were either handling the carriages and the horses or were simply in attendance. Altogether in the procession were seventeen soldiers, twenty-eight servants and attendants, thirty-nine horses, and fourteen carriages, forming a remarkable and unique sight. To acquire such furnishings obviously required vast sums of manpower and money. In late Eastern Han, officials and generals in border regions very often were wealthy and powerful and were capable of indulging in anything they wanted. The Han tomb of Leitai is a true indication of this fact.

Perhaps because money was becoming increasingly important in the Han dynasty, the use of coins in graves became quite fashionable. Even in the large graves of nobility and bureaucrats, where there were already many valuable goods, some coins would be included to symbolize their wealth. In Western Han, although coins were used in tombs, the number used was often small. It increased in Eastern Han. In the Han tomb of Leitai, mentioned earlier, which dates from late Eastern Han, there were more than 28,000 coins.[10] In some regions, such as Changsha of Hunan, clay (mortuary) coins were used in addition to bronze coins. These are not a reflection of the frugality of the tomb master but of prevailing custom. In the Han tomb of Mawangdui, for example, with its quantities of valuable grave goods, clay

coins were still used instead of bronze coins(fig. 301).[11]

The nobles, bureaucrats, and landowners of the Han dynasty were fond of burying books as grave goods. Books at the time were often on silk or on slips of bamboo or wood. Such written materials have been unearthed in large quantities from Han tombs since 1949. At the Western Han tomb at Mawangdui were found silk books of *Laozi*, *Yi jing*, *Zhan guo ce* (figs. 302, 303) and in the Western Han tomb at Shuanggudui were found bamboo books of *Shi jing* and *Cang Jie pian*.[12] From a Western Han tomb at Yinqueshan in Linyi, Shandong, came *Sunzi bing fa*, *Sun Bin bing fa*, *Yanzi chun qiu* and other bamboo books (fig. 304).[13] A wooden slip book of *Yi li* was found in an early Eastern Han tomb at Mozuizi, Wuwei, in Gansu (fig. 305), and wooden slips of medicinal texts were found from an early Eastern Han tomb at Hantanpo in Wuwei.[14] These books have been preserved because either special, effective preservation measures were taken, or the tombs were submerged in water, or they were preserved by extremely dry conditions. Presumably books were a common grave furnishing in Han dynasty tombs, but in most cases they have not survived.

Seals were another object that was used by landowners and bureau crats of the Han dynasty for burial. Some of the seals were private seals, others official seals. Almost a hundred have been found in the Han tombs in the Changsha area alone in the last two decades or so.[15] From tomb number 2 at Mawangdui came three seals, the inscriptions being "Seal of Marquis Dai," "The Chengxiang [Chancellor] of Changsha," and "Li Cang." The first two are of gilded bronze, and the third is of jade. They helped determine the name and identity of the master of the tomb (fig. 306).[16] Most of the seals of the Han dynasty belonged to men, but there were exceptions. Tomb number 2 of Mancheng was the tomb of Dou Wan, the wife of Liu Sheng, the Prince Jing of Zhongshan. From her tomb came seals inscribed with the characters "Dou Wan" and "Dou Jun Xu" (fig. 307).[17]

In Eastern Han tombs were sometimes found sales contracts for the purchase of the tomb plot, in the form of elongated lead plates called *mai di quan*.[18] They were probably symbolic contracts, placed in the tomb for the security of the deceased, testifying to his right of possession. Sometimes the inscription included the admonition that all persons who were buried within the plot area should become his servants. Although such sales contracts were for the use in the afterlife, they also reflect the fierceness of the struggles for land in real life and some of the situations which led peasants to become

bond servants.

Tombs of the middle and, especially, the late Eastern Han period often contained what are called "tomb security jars." These bottles were inscribed in red on the outside; the inscriptions often began with a notation on the year, month, and date, and always end with the phrase *ru lü ling* ("as ordered by the spell") (fig. 308).[19] As suggested by the red inscriptions, the function of these jars was to assure the tranquility of the remaining members of the family, to assure the security of the tomb of the dead, and in the name of "the angels of the god" to eliminate the guilt of the living and seek blessing for the dead. In late Eastern Han Taoism became quite popular, and these bottles were probably indicative of Taoist concepts. Their use was by this time quite common and they even found their way into the tombs of famous upper-class people among the bureaucrats and landowners, such as those of the Yang lineage at Hongnong in Huayin, Shaanxi.[20]

Family and Lineage Graves There were literary records pertaining to the burial of husband and wife in the same tomb before Han, but such burials have not yet been found in the archaeological record at such an early date. Excavations have shown that the husband-and-wife burials of the Warring States period were in fact two separate burials in two grave pits next to each other. The same custom was followed even in early and middle Western Han. After middle Western Han, however, husband-andwife burials in the same pit became popular; in late Western Han and throughout Eastern Han such burials were the rule (figs. 309, 310).

The manorial economy of the Han dynasty caused the family members among the landowning class to be very close, especially in Eastern Han. This intimacy was reflected in mortuary practices in long-continuing family tombs. Members of the same family of several generations were often buried together. Persons who died away from home, no matter how far away, had to be brought back home to be interred in the family tomb, the so-called "return to the old cemetery." An example is the Yang lineage cemetery at Hongnong in Huayin, Shaanxi. The Hongnong Yang lineage was a famous lineage during Han, and their cemetery in Huayin was the center of much attention. The monuments erected at the cemetery have often been mentioned in books since the Tang and Song dynasties. Archaeological excavations in 1959 disclosed seven tombs in orderly arrangement; namely, the bodies were buried from east to west according to generation. Those who were buried here were Yang Zhen, Yang Mu, Yang Rang, Yang Tong, Yang Zhuo, Yang

Fu, and Yang Biao. They belonged to four generations and succeeded each other over a period of a whole century.[21]

Imperial Mausoleums The tombs of the highest rank among all noble burials were, of course, those of the emperors. The scale of the imperial mausoleums was not to be compared to the tombs of mere nobles and officials. Aside from Ba Ling, the tomb of Wen Di, and Du Ling, the tomb of Xuan Di, which are located in the southeastern suburbs of Chang'an, all the other imperial tombs of Western Han, nine mausoleums in all, were constructed on the high ground northwest of Chang'an and north of the Weishui River.[22] The imperial tombs of Eastern Han, other than the Yuan Ling of Guang Wu Di, which is at Mengjin north of Luoyang, are all thought to be situated on Mang Shan north and west of Luoyang.[23] In general, Western Han imperial tombs were modeled on the Qin Shi Huang tomb, and Eastern Han imperial tombs followed the Western Han tradition. No archaeological excavations have yet taken place at any of the Han imperial mausoleums, and our understanding of them is confined to the structures above ground. The Ba Ling of the Western Han emperor Wen Di was built on a natural hill, but all the others had large mounds of rammed earth built over them; the mounds were mostly rectangular, similar to the Egyptian pyramids. Each of the mounds was then surrounded by a large, square enclosure, with a door on each of the four sides. Sleeping and working halls were built inside the enclosure, and temples were built for ritual purposes. Mao Ling, Emperor Wu Di's tomb, is the largest example. According to investigations in 1962, the enclosure was 430 m east to west and 414 m north to south, about one *li* square according to the Han system. The walls of the enclosure were about 6 m thick. The earthen mound at the center of the enclosure was 67,600 m^2 and 46 m tall, truly a majestic sight (fig. 311).[24] In the neighborhood of imperial mausoleums, there were often satellite graves in which were buried meritorious officials and imperial relatives. Near Mao Ling are the graves of Wei Qing and Huo Qubing nearby, and of Huo Guang, a little farther away.[25] To the northeast of Chang Ling, the tomb of Han Gao Zu, more than seventy satellite tombs have been located. The two tombs at Yangjiawan mentioned earlier are among them and are the only ones that have been excavated.[26] In the Han dynasty, as soon as an emperor was enthroned he began to build his own grave, calling it his Shou Ling, or "longevity grave." It is said that probably a third of all national income in taxes and tributes was spent on the construction of this longevity grave and its furnishings. In addition, under the

Internal Revenue Department there was an office called the Dong Yuan Jiang; it along with the Kao Gong Shi and the You Gong Shi were known as the Three Construction Offices. The Dong Yuan Jiang specialized in the preparation of imperial funerary articles such as caskets, jade shrouds with gold threads, and various mortuary objects. These treasures, collectively called the Dong Yuan Mi Qi, cost in the tens of millions annually.

Graves of Prisoner-Laborers and of the Poor Exploited by the ruling class, Han dynasty peasants often became bankrupt and turned into bond servants, or they were found guilty of crimes and turned into prisoner-laborers. Prisoner-laborers engaged in heavy work in handicraft shops managed by the state. They were also sent into the labor force for construction projects, such as road and bridge construction, opening of mountain passes, irrigation and canal work, building of city walls, and construction of palaces and imperial mausoleums. The imperial mausoleums, like the Qin Shi Huang tomb, were often built using prisoner-laborers in the tens of thousands brought in from all over the country. In 1972, in an area about 1.5 km northwest of Yang Ling (the imperial tomb of the Han emperor Jing Di) in Xianyang of Shaanxi, a satellite cemetery was excavated, in which, in an area of about 80,000 m^2, were buried an estimated number of ten thousand plus prisoner-laborers.[27] The tomb pits were irregularly arranged, some rectangular, some amorphous. In each pit was buried either a single person or many persons. Some of the skeletons had iron shackles on their necks and some on their feet, indicating that these mausoleum builders were the category of prisoner-laborers called *kun qian*, those who labored with their shackles on. *Shiji* ("Jing Di ben ji") states that "those prisonerlaborers who participated in the construction of Yang Ling were given an amnesty." *Hanshu* ("Jing Di ji") also states that "prisoner-laborers who constructed Yang Ling were pardoned from the death penalty." These passages suggest that the construction of Yang Ling was mainly done by prisoner-laborers, a hypothesis that has been confirmed by archaeological excavations. The magnificent imperial mausoleums were built on top of the bodies of thousands of slaves!

Another cemetery of prisoner-laborers was found in Xidajiaocun, in Yanshixian, Henan, at a spot about 2.5 km from the Eastern Han capital city of Luoyang. For a long time farmers in that area have turned up skeletons during farm work, and they call that area the "Ditch of the Skeletons." In the early years of the twentieth century, many inscribed bricks were found here.

Referred to as "prisoner-laborer bricks," they have been noted in scholarly works, bringing this area to the attention of archaeologists. The whole area of the cemetery was over 50,000 m^2. In 1964, about 2,000 m^2 of this cemetery were excavated, bringing to light in excess of five hundred graves of prisoner-laborers (fig. 312).[28] The graves were rectangular pits, about 2 m long and half a meter wide, less than 1 m deep. The pits were placed one alongside another, with little room in between (figs. 313, 314). Among the skeletons that were found, 96 percent were men and 4 percent were women. Most of them were in their youth and early adulthood and many showed signs of wear on their bones. A few graves contained one or two coins, but the overwhelming majority of the graves were empty of any furnishings. One or two broken bricks were found in each grave, with incised inscriptions on them recording the name of the supervising unit, the skill if any of the prisoner, the presence of shackles, the original prison, the organizational unit to which the prisoner belonged, and the date of death and the name of the penalty. On the last point, there are such terms as "Kun qian", "Wan cheng dan," "Gui xin," "Si kou," and so forth, with the first two the most common (figs. 315-18). From studies of these inscriptions it is clear that the overwhelming majority of the prisoners were laboring people; very few of them were nobles or officials. They came to Luoyang from prisons all over the country to engage in forced labor. The 500-plus graves date from A.D. 107 to 121, namely, a brief interval of less than fourteen years. Obviously the prisoner-laborers died continually, probably from heavy labor and extremely poor living conditions, and when they died they were buried in shallow, small graves. Sometimes, after only a few years their graves would be turned over to make room for new dead prisoners.

Other aspects of Han tombs also illustrate the opposition between rich and poor during the Han dynasty. In 1955 a group of poor people's graves were excavated in Luoyang, Henan; they date from late Western Han to late Eastern Han. The cemetery was quite far from the Henanxian seat of the time and was located in a low, depressed area. The caskets were extremely simple: some bodies were buried in pottery, some pits were lined with brick fragments, some pits were covered with tiles, and other pits were bare. The grave furnishings were also extremely simple, usually consist ing of a few coarse pottery vessels or a few coins (figs. 319, 320).[29] These stand in sharp contrast to the large graves described earlier of the emperors, nobility, bureaucrats, and landowners.

玖　汉代的墓葬（下）

在汉代地主官僚阶级中流行的丧礼和葬俗，其中心思想之一，是把死人当作生人看待，即《论衡·薄葬篇》所说的“谓死如生”。所以，不仅在墓室的形制和结构上模仿现实生活中的房屋，而且在随葬品方面也尽量做到应有尽有，凡是生人所用的器具、物品，无不可以纳入墓中。《盐铁论·散不足》所谓“厚资多藏，器用如生人”，也正说明了这一事实。

首先，为了使死者能在另一世界继续过着美好的生活，各种各样的食物就成为主要的随葬品（图285、286）。以长沙马王堆一号汉墓为例，墓中发现的食物，包括稻米、小麦、大麦、黍、粟、大豆、赤豆等粮食，甜瓜、枣、梨、梅、杨梅、葵（冬苋菜）、芥菜、藕、笋等瓜果和蔬菜，猪、牛、羊、狗、鹿、兔等兽类，鸡、鸭、鹤、斑鸠、鸮、雁、喜鹊、麻雀、鸳鸯、竹鸡、雉等禽类，鲤鱼、鲫鱼、鳜鱼、银鲴、鳡鱼等鱼类[1]，它们多被制成饭、饼，烹调成各种羹肴，加上糖、蜜、酱、盐等调味品和各种酒类，其名称见于墓中的“遣策”，品类之繁，名目之多，举不胜举。[2]满城汉墓所葬中山靖王刘胜是以嗜酒出名的，在他和他的妻子窦绾的墓中有着三十余个高达七十厘米的大陶缸，有的缸上写着朱红色的文字，如云“黍上尊酒十五石”、“甘醪十五石”、“黍酒十一石”、“稻酒十一石”、“甘醪十石”等，出土时缸内都清楚地遗留着酒的痕迹，估计当时所装的酒共达五千多公斤，达到了惊人的程度（图287）。[3]《论衡·死伪篇》说，汉元帝傅后墓内多藏食物，腐朽猥发，改葬时发棺，臭气熏天，以致身临现场的洛阳丞闻臭而死，这是对当时统治阶级厚葬的莫大讽刺。

各种衣物和衣料，也是当时主要的随葬品。马王堆一号汉墓中的衣物，计有棉袍、夹袍、单衣、单裙、鞋、袜和手套等类，多系用丝绸制成（图288、289），并有大量成幅的丝绸放置在大型的竹笥中，其种类包括绢、纱、罗、绮、锦和刺绣，质地精致，颜色鲜艳，花纹美丽（图290、291）。[4]可以认为，各地许多汉墓中都有不少衣物和衣料随葬，只是由于缺乏保存的条件，年久朽坏，没有能够遗留下来而已。有些汉墓，如江苏省海州的霍贺墓和侍其繇墓，虽然没有发现较多的衣物，但在它们的“赗方”中却记录着各种衣物的名称和数量，便是例证。

各种铜器、漆器和陶器，是汉墓中最常见的随葬品，它们主要是容器，当时应该是装有食物和饮料的。灯、熏炉、熨斗、奁、镜等生活用

具及刀、剑等武器，也在墓中普遍地存在。装饰品方面，则有各种珠佩等类，其质料包括玉石、玛瑙、琥珀、水晶及金银等。总之，墓中随葬品的种类极多，不胜枚举。它们往往视墓主人的身份和财富的不同而有厚薄、多寡之分。但是，另一方面，随着时代的推移，社会情况和风俗的改变，随葬品的种类和性质也有所变化。总的说来，西汉前期和中期，贵族、官僚们往往主要是将生前实用的各种珍贵器物纳入墓中。值得注意的是，西汉中期以后，风气为之一变，专为随葬而作的陶质明器开始显著地增多。最初出现的是陶仓和陶灶，它们在秦和西汉前期即已存在，但普遍流行则在西汉的中期（图292、293）。以后，诸如井、磨、猪圈、楼阁、碓房、田地等模型，以及猪、狗、羊、鸡、鸭等家畜和家禽的偶像，陆续出现，应有尽有，时代愈晚，特别是东汉以后，种类和数量愈多。在东汉的墓中，大量的随葬品主要是各种陶制容器和上述的各种陶质明器，而比较贵重的实用品如铜器和漆器等则反而逐渐减少，即使是官僚、贵族们的大墓亦不在例外。这说明随着庄园经济的发展，地主阶级对随葬品的观念已经有了改变。他们可能觉得，与其将一些有限的珍贵器物带到地下，还不如将庄园中的全部动产和不动产都制作成象征性的陶质明器，纳入墓中。

汉代的地主阶级，对土地的占有特别重视，这在随葬品方面也得到充分的反映。在属于西汉前期的江陵凤凰山一六七号墓中，发现了一块用绛红色绢布包裹着的土块，对照该墓的遣策，可知它的名称为“簿土”，意即在官府的簿册中经过登记的合法的土地；土块呈长方形，长二十、宽十四、厚十二厘米，它被放在墓中随葬，象征着墓主人对土地的占有权。[5]凤凰山八号墓和一六八号墓，据遣策的记录，也有同样的簿土；八号墓的竹笥中有泥土一堆，应该便是它的实物。到了东汉，则又盛行用陶质的田地模型随葬，其含意正与上述用“簿土”随葬相同（图294）。

自商代、西周以来，直至战国时代，在统治阶级的陵墓附近，往往另设坑穴，埋置车马。在西汉中期的贵族墓中，仍然有用真车、真马随葬的，满城的中山靖王墓、曲阜的鲁王墓[6]和北京大葆台的燕王墓（图295）[7]便是例证。但是，到了西汉晚期，特别是东汉，一般也都用木制或陶制的车的模型和马的偶像来代替了。杀人殉葬在法律上已被禁止，这可以从《汉书·赵敬肃王传》等记载得到说明。所以，除了个别例外，汉墓中已没有人殉的现象，一般也是用木俑或陶俑随葬，作为奴婢的替身（图296）。

陕西省咸阳市杨家湾四号墓和五号墓，年代相当于西汉的文帝和景帝时期，墓主人可能是当时重要的将领。有人根据《水经注》的记述，认为它们也许是周勃、周亚夫父子二人的墓，但不能肯定。在墓的南面

附近，附设有十个坑穴，埋藏着大量的陶俑，其中步兵俑共一千八百余，骑兵俑共五百八十余，士兵们手执武器，身被铠甲，行列整齐有序。[8]在汉代，重要的将领死后，朝廷给以隆重的礼遇，用军阵送葬。杨家湾汉墓的庞大的陶俑群，正是这种军阵的模拟（图297）。

虽然在大多数汉墓里用以随葬的车的模型和人、马的偶像是木制或陶制的，但也不无例外。在甘肃省武威县雷台汉墓中，随葬着一批铜质的车马模型和兵士、奴婢的铸像，便是最突出的一例（图298—300）。[9]如前所述，在东汉砖室墓的壁画中，常有车马出行图。雷台汉墓中没有这种壁画，却用铜质的车的模型和人、马的偶像来模拟出行时的行列，前面是手执矛、戟的骑马武士，后面则是各种车辆以及御车、牵马和随从的奴婢，共计武士十七人、奴婢二十八人、马三十九匹、车十四辆，排列起来，颇为壮观，可以说是别出心裁。当然，这要耗费很大的人力和物力。东汉后期，边郡的大吏和将领们往往拥有很大的财富和权力，可以在当地为所欲为，雷台汉墓正反映了这种情形。

在长江流域和南方地区，水上交通发达，所以除了车马之外，船的模型也成为墓中的随葬品。在江陵的西汉前期墓、长沙和广州的西汉后期墓中，都曾发现木船的模型，在广州的东汉墓中还曾发现陶船的模型。这些木船和陶船模型，都制作得相当细致，形状和结构逼真。有的模型显示了是用于运输的船，它们在墓中随葬，可能与墓主人从事商业活动有关。

大概是由于对货币的重视在汉代已日益加深，所以在墓中用铜钱随葬已成为风气。即使是贵族、官僚们的大墓，墓中有着各种各样贵重的随葬品，也免不了要再添上一些铜钱，作为财富的象征。西汉时，虽然已盛行用铜钱随葬，但所用铜钱的数量往往并不很多，到了东汉，才逐渐增多。上述东汉后期的雷台汉墓，随葬铜钱竟达二万八千余枚之多。[10]有的地区，例如在湖南省的长沙一带，除了铜钱以外，还盛行用泥质的冥钱随葬。必须指出，这并不是出于墓主人的节约，而是一种风俗。马王堆汉墓随葬着大量珍贵的器物，但却用泥钱来代替铜钱，便是最好的说明（图301）。[11]

汉代的贵族、官僚和地主们，往往喜欢用书籍随葬。当时的书籍，有的是书写在丝织品上，称为帛书，有的书写在竹简和木牍上，可称之为竹书和木书。新中国成立以来，在汉墓中发现的帛书、竹书和木书，已经达到相当大的数量。例如，湖南长沙马王堆西汉墓中发现了《老子》、《易经》、《战国策》等帛书（图302、303），安徽阜阳双古堆西汉墓中发现了《诗经》、《苍颉篇》等竹书[12]，山东临沂银雀山西汉墓中发现了《孙子兵法》、《孙膑兵法》、《晏子春秋》等竹书（图304）[13]，甘肃武威磨咀子东汉初期墓中发现了《仪礼》的木书（图

305），武威旱滩坡东汉初期墓中发现了有关医药的木书[14]，它们都是十分珍贵的文物。上述这些西汉和东汉的墓，有的由于有特殊的防腐设施，有的由于墓穴较深而使棺椁被长期浸泡在地下水中，有的则由于当地气候干燥，所以墓中的书籍能够得到保存，可以认为，汉代用书籍随葬的风气是相当普遍的，只是由于大多数的墓不具备保存书籍的条件，所以没有能够遗留下来而已。

汉代的地主官僚阶级，还流行用印章随葬，有的为私印，有的为官印。仅就湖南省长沙一地而言，近二十余年来，汉墓中出土的各种印章已有近百枚之多，可见当时用印章随葬的风气之盛。[15]在长沙马王堆二号汉墓中，发现了三枚印章，印文分别为“轪侯之印”、“长沙丞相”和“利苍”，前二者为铜质鎏金，后者为玉质，它们的发现确定了墓主人的姓名和身份（图306）。[16]在汉代，使用印章的虽多为男子，但亦颇有例外。满城二号汉墓所葬为中山靖王刘胜之妻，墓中出土的铜印刻有“窦绾”、“窦君须”字样，便是一例（图307）。[17]

在东汉的墓中，有时还随葬着一种买卖墓地的契约，多数是刻在长条状的铅板上，称为“买地券”。[18]它是作为一种象征性的证券，放在墓里，使得死者有所凭持，以保证对墓地的所有权不被侵犯，券上所刻文字还往往强调要墓地范围内所埋葬的其他死者都成为他的奴婢。这种买地券虽专供“阴间”使用，但也反映了现实生活中土地兼并的激烈，以及广大农民因破产而沦为奴婢的情况。

此外，在墓中随葬的还有一种所谓“镇墓瓶”，流行于东汉中期，特别是东汉的后期。陶瓶上的文字多为朱书，有的冠以年月日，最后都以“如律令”的字样结束（图308）。[19]如朱书文字本身所表明的那样，“镇墓瓶”的作用在于使生人的家宅安宁，使死者的冢墓稳定，以“天帝使者”之类的名义为生人解罪，为死者求福，安慰并约束亡灵，使其认识死生有别，勿事纠缠。东汉后期，巫道流行。从“镇墓瓶”上的文字看来，当与巫术有关。应该指出的是，“镇墓瓶”的用意虽十分荒诞，但它的使用却相当普遍，即使是官僚地主阶级中极有名望的士大夫亦不能免俗，陕西华阴的弘农杨氏墓中也有这种“镇墓瓶”的存在，便是证明。[20]

汉代以前，文献上虽有关于夫妇合葬的记载，但在考古发掘工作中迄今极少发现有同墓合葬的情形。发掘工作证明，汉以前的合葬，一般是夫妇分别葬于两个并排紧靠的墓坑中，可称为“异穴合葬”。直到西汉前期和中期，夫妇合葬仍然多采用这种方式，长沙马王堆汉墓和满城汉墓即如此。西汉中期以后，制度为之一变，除帝陵以外，逐渐流行夫妇同墓合葬，从此以迄东汉，遂成为定制，绝少例外（图309、310）。横穴式的、砖石结构的墓室，为同墓合葬提了方便。

汉代的庄园经济，使地主阶级的家族关系十分紧密，东汉时尤其如此。表现在丧葬制度上，家族的墓地往往被长期延续，一家数世，父子兄弟并葬。死在异乡的人，即使是千里迢迢，也必须归葬于故乡的家族墓地，即所谓“归旧茔”。在这方面，陕西华阴的弘农杨氏家族墓地是一个典型的例子。汉代弘农杨氏是一个有名的家族，其在华阴的墓地也长期受到世人的重视，墓地上树立的石碑还曾经在唐宋以来的书籍中被著录。1959年的发掘工作证明，杨氏墓地中共有七座墓，排列整齐，自东而西按辈分定次序，分别埋葬着杨震、杨牧、杨让、杨统、杨著、杨馥和杨彪，祖孙四代，前后相继，竟达百年之久。[21]

汉代统治阶级的坟墓，以帝陵为最高级，其规模之大则又远非一般贵族、官僚的坟墓所能比。西汉的帝陵，除文帝的“霸陵”和宣帝的“杜陵”在长安城的东南郊，其余九陵都在长安西北方渭水北岸的高原上。[22]东汉的帝陵，除光武帝的“原陵”多认为是在洛阳北面的孟津以外，其余诸陵的位置尚难确定，但估计有不少是在洛阳北面和西面的邙山。[23]大概西汉帝陵的形制系模仿秦始皇陵，而东汉的帝陵则又系承袭西汉的制度。由于未经发掘，所以对汉代帝陵的了解只限于地面上的建筑。除西汉文帝的“霸陵”系依山为陵以外，其余的帝陵都有用夯土筑成的截尖方锥状的巨大坟丘，有些像埃及的“金字塔”。陵园的范围很大，平面呈正方形，以坟丘为中心，四面筑围墙，每面围墙的正中设一门，四面共四门。陵园建寝殿和便殿，陵旁立庙，以供奉、祭祀。以规模最大的汉武帝的“茂陵”为例，据1962年的勘察所知，陵园东西长430米，南北宽414米，大约为当时的一里见方，围墙厚约6米；陵园正中的坟丘，每边长260米，高46米，可称宏伟之极（图311）。[24]在皇帝陵园的附近，往往有许多功臣、贵戚陪葬，称为陪陵。汉武帝“茂陵”的附近有卫青、霍去病墓，稍远处则有霍光的墓，它们都系陪葬墓。[25]在汉高祖“长陵”的东北方，已发现的陪葬墓达七十余座之多，前面说过的杨家湾四号墓和五号墓便是其中已经发掘的两座。[26]汉代皇帝即位之后，就开始经营自己的陵墓，称为寿陵。为了建筑寿陵和筹备各种珍贵的随葬器物，据说要耗费全国贡赋收入的三分之一，达到了惊人的程度。少府属官中有东园匠，它与考工室、右工室并称为三工官；东园匠专门为皇帝制作丧葬用品，诸如棺椁、金缕玉衣及各种明器之类，称为“东园秘器”，每年所费达数千万。

在统治阶级的残酷剥削和压迫下，汉代的农民往往因破产而沦为奴婢，或被判罪而成为刑徒。刑徒们被强迫从事各种繁重的体力劳动，除了在官营的手工业作坊中充当各种粗杂工以外，还被大批地投入诸如修路架桥、开凿栈道、治水挖河、筑城、建宫殿和造陵墓等工程中。两汉的帝陵，和秦始皇陵一样，往往是从全国各地集中数以万计的刑徒来营

建的。1972年，在陕西省咸阳市汉景帝“阳陵”西北约一公里半处，发现了一片丛葬的墓地，经勘探，面积达八万平方米，埋葬着筑陵的刑徒，估计人数在万人以上。[27]墓坑排列无序，有的呈长方形，有的不成形状，坑内或埋一人，或埋多人。发掘出来的尸骨，有在颈上带铁钳的，有在脚上带铁钛的，证明他们是刑徒无疑，刑罚的性质属于所谓“髡钳”。可以肯定，这些刑徒是带着刑具参加劳动的。《史记·景帝本纪》说“免徒隶作阳陵者”，《汉书·景帝纪》说“赦徒作阳陵者死罪”，都说明了在“阳陵”的营建工程中所用的劳动力主要是刑徒。考古发掘工作的结果，正与文献的记载相合。规模宏伟的帝陵，正是建筑在成千上万的奴隶们的尸骨之上，生动而形象地说明了统治阶级的残酷！

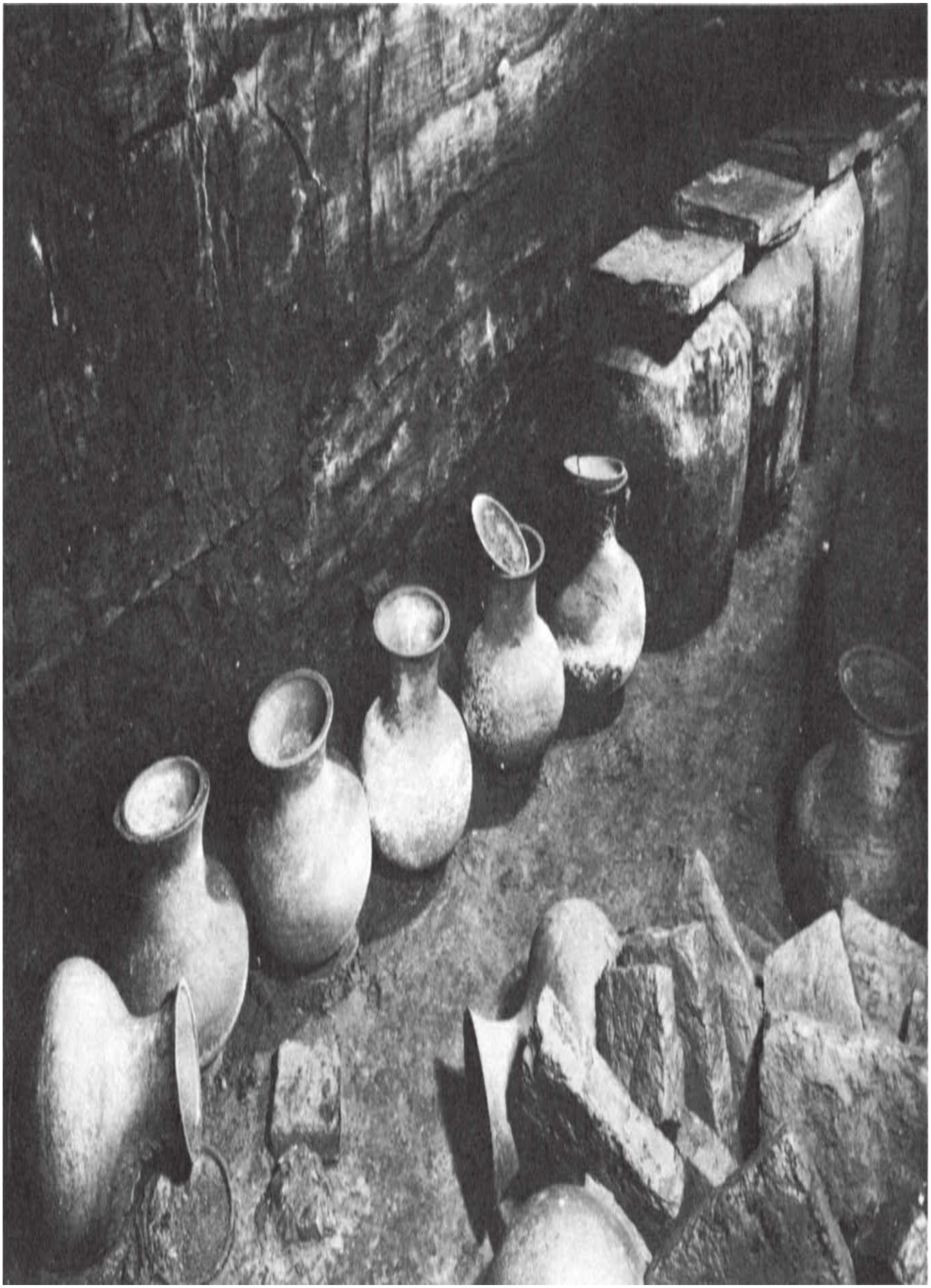
在河南省偃师县西大郊村，离东汉的首都雒阳城遗址约2.5公里处，存在着另一处属于东汉中期的埋葬刑徒的墓地。长期以来，附近的农民们在掘地翻土时，常常发现尸骨，因而称其地为“骷髅沟”。早在20世纪初期，这里出土的一些称为“刑徒砖”的刻有文字的砖块已被作为一种古物，著录在有关的书籍中，引起研究者的注意。墓地的面积，在五万平方米以上。1964年，发掘了其中约二千平方米，发现了刑徒墓五百余座（图312）。[28]刑徒们的墓是一个长方形的土坑，长约二米，宽约半米，深不足一米，仅能容身。它们被紧紧地排列在一起，相互之间没有什么余地（图313、314）。刑徒们的性别，男的占96％，女的占4％，绝大多数是青壮年，尸骨上往往有明显的劳损痕迹。除少数墓内有一二枚铜钱之外，绝大多数的墓没有任何随葬品。墓中放置一二块残缺的砖，砖面上刻文字，记明刑徒所属的监管机构、有无技能、是否戴刑具、来自何处监狱、编制组织、死亡日期，刑罚的名称有“髡钳”、“完城旦”、“鬼薪”、“司寇”等，而以前二者为绝大多数（图315—318）。对砖文的研究说明，刑徒中绝大多数是劳动人民，贵族、官吏被判罪而成为刑徒的极少。他们从全国各地的监狱被押送到雒阳，被强制从事各种劳役。发掘出来的五百余座墓，年代自东汉安帝永初元年（公元107年）至永宁二年（公元121年），前后不到十四年。这说明了繁重的劳动、极端低劣的生活条件，使刑徒们不断死亡，而被草率埋葬在一个仅能容身的浅坑中。过不了几年，他们的尸骨往往又从墓坑中被掘了出来，以便另葬新死的刑徒。

除了上述的刑徒墓以外，汉代贫富悬殊、阶级对立的情形也可以在其他的墓葬方面得到生动的说明。例如，1955年在河南省洛阳市发掘了一批西汉后期至东汉后期的贫民墓。墓地离当时的河南县城甚远，处在低洼地带。死者的葬具都很简陋，有的使用陶棺，有的用砖块稍加垒砌，有的则用瓦片覆盖，甚至也有根本没葬具，以身亲土的。随葬品极

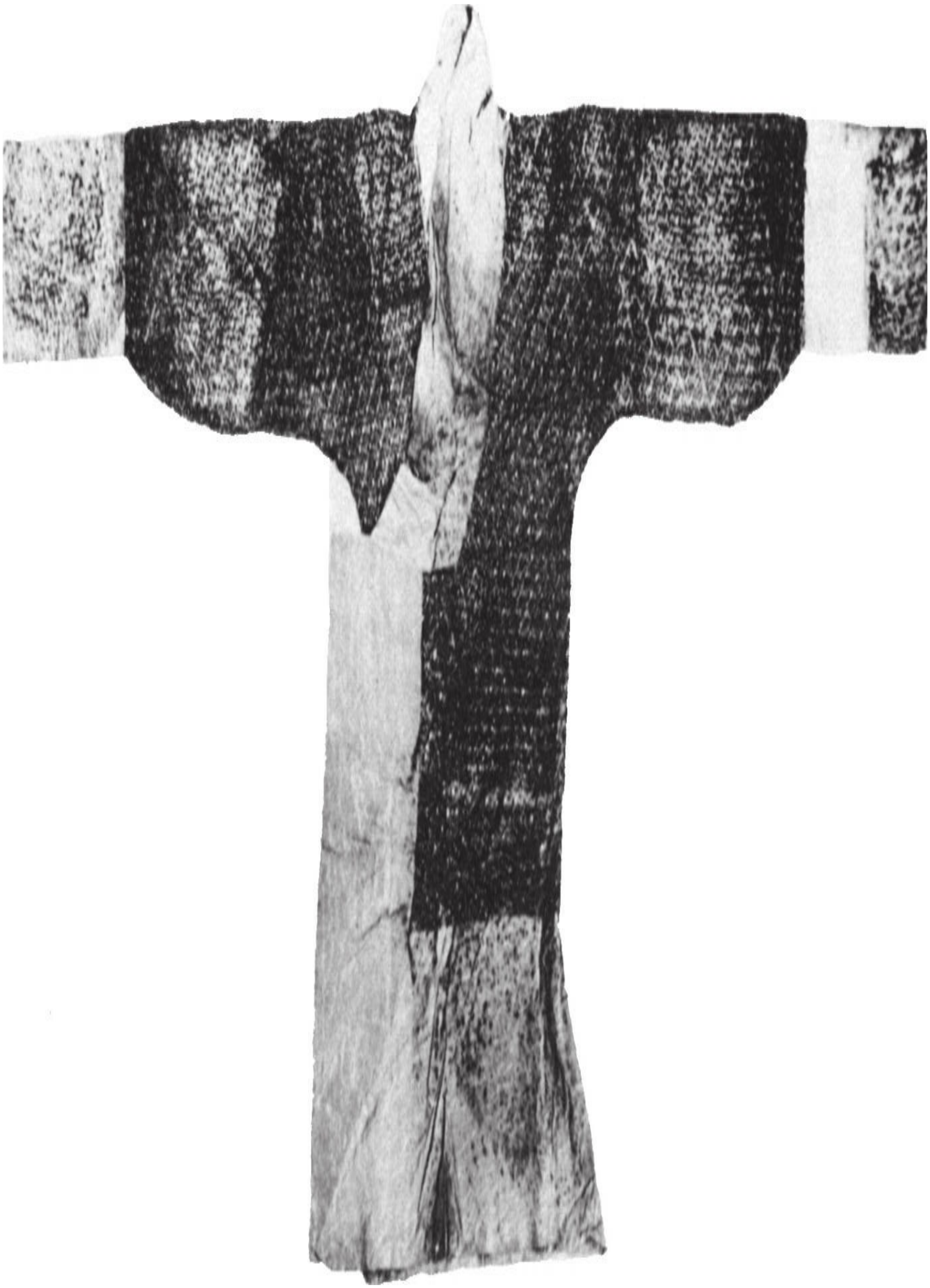
为贫乏，往往仅有几件粗陋的陶器或几枚铜钱（图319、320），[29]这与以上所说的皇帝、贵族、官僚、地主们的陵墓形成了鲜明的对比。

285．Various foods furnished in Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui, Changsha　长沙马王堆一号汉墓中随葬的食物

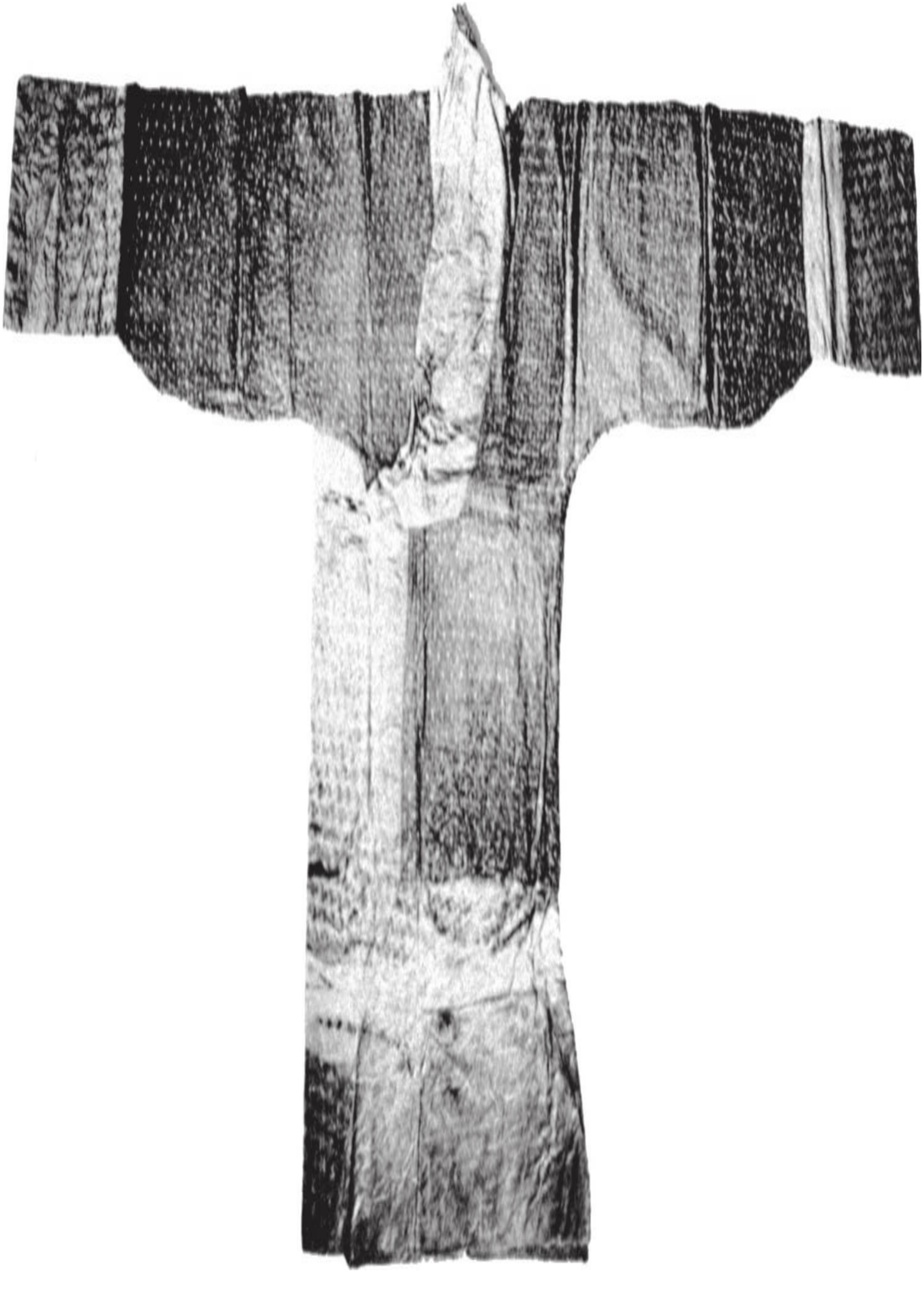
286．Bamboo basket containing food in Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui, Changsha　长沙马王堆一号汉墓竹笥中的食物



287．Large wine urns from the Han tomb in Mancheng　满城汉墓中的大酒缸

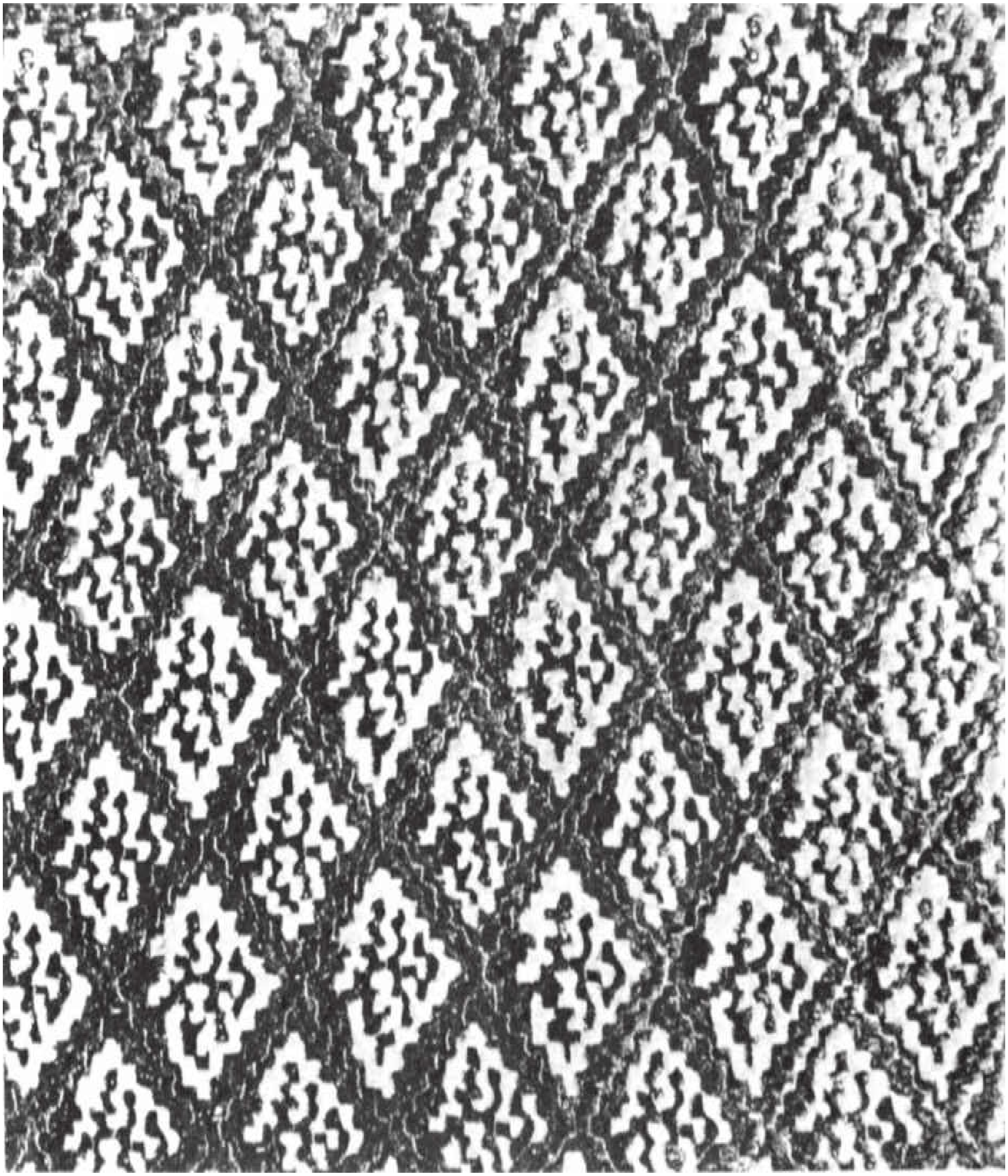


288．Silk robe buried in Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui in Changsha　长沙马王堆一号汉墓出土的锦袍

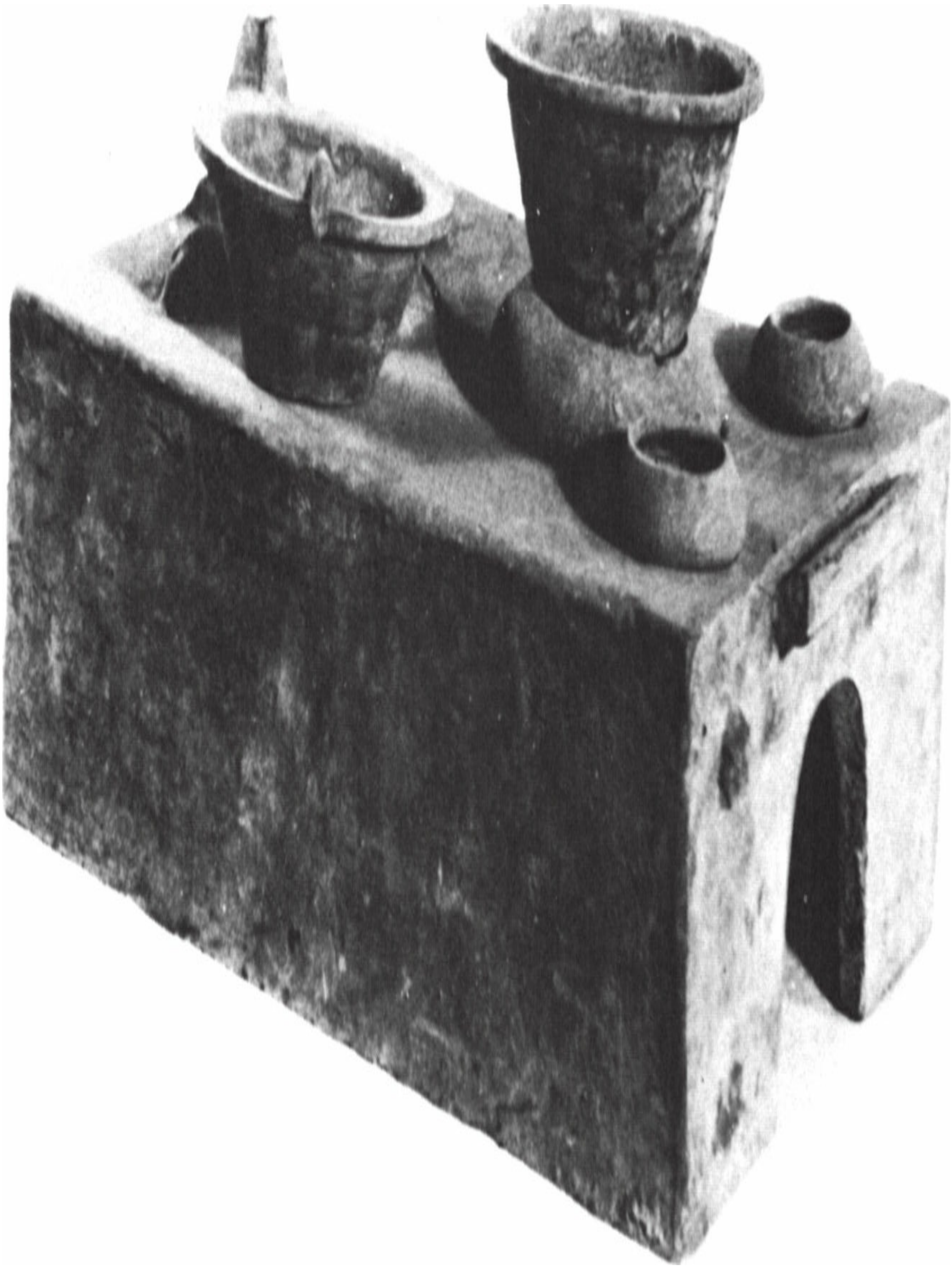


289．Another silk robe found in the same tomb as fig. 288　长沙马王堆一号汉墓出土的又一锦袍

290．Silk gauze with printed patterns and painted colors, buried in Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui in Changsha　长沙马王堆一号汉墓出土的彩绘印花纱



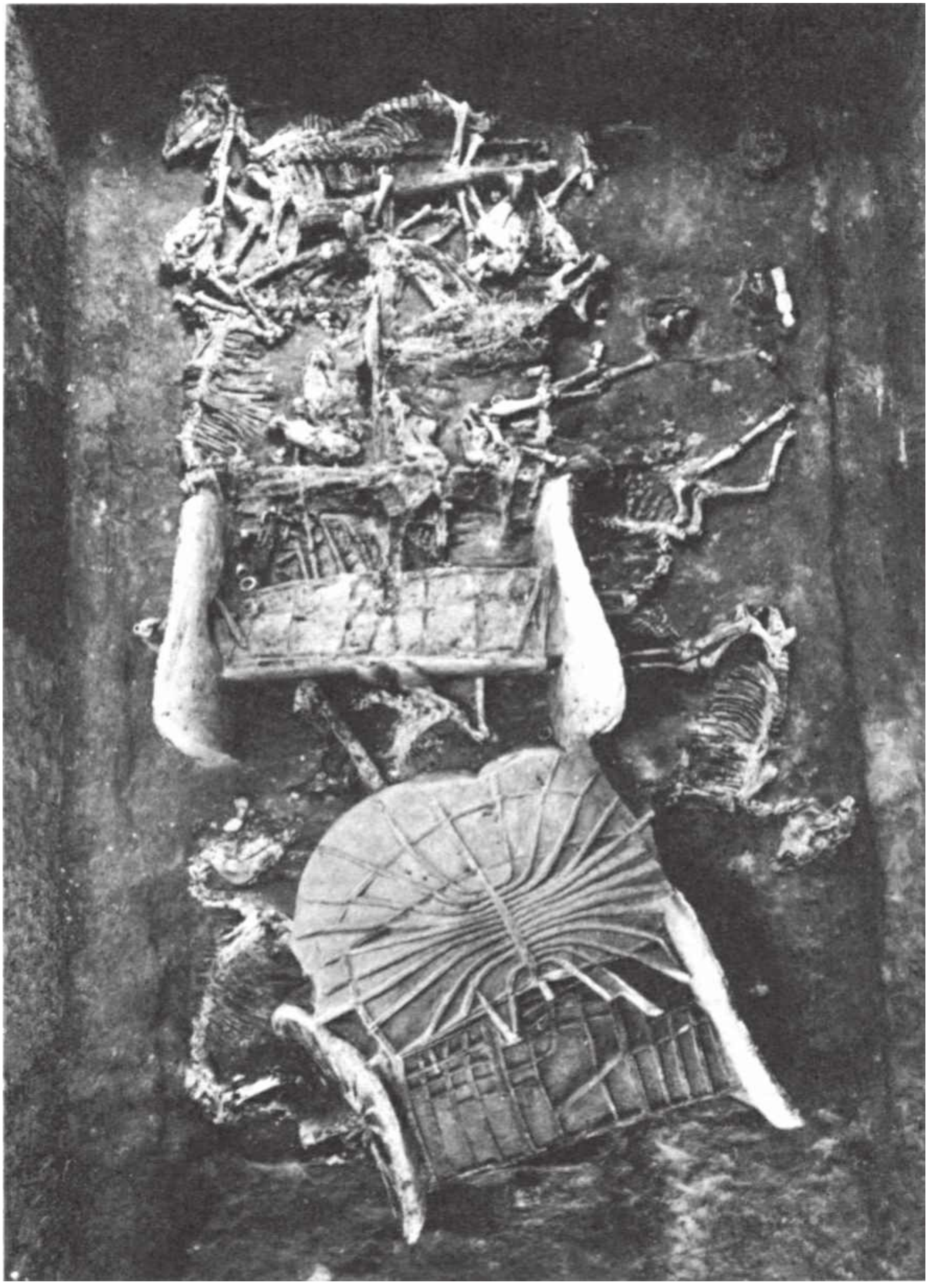
291．Silk brocade with attached feathers and embroidery, buried in Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui in Changsha　长沙马王堆一号汉墓出土的羽毛贴花绢



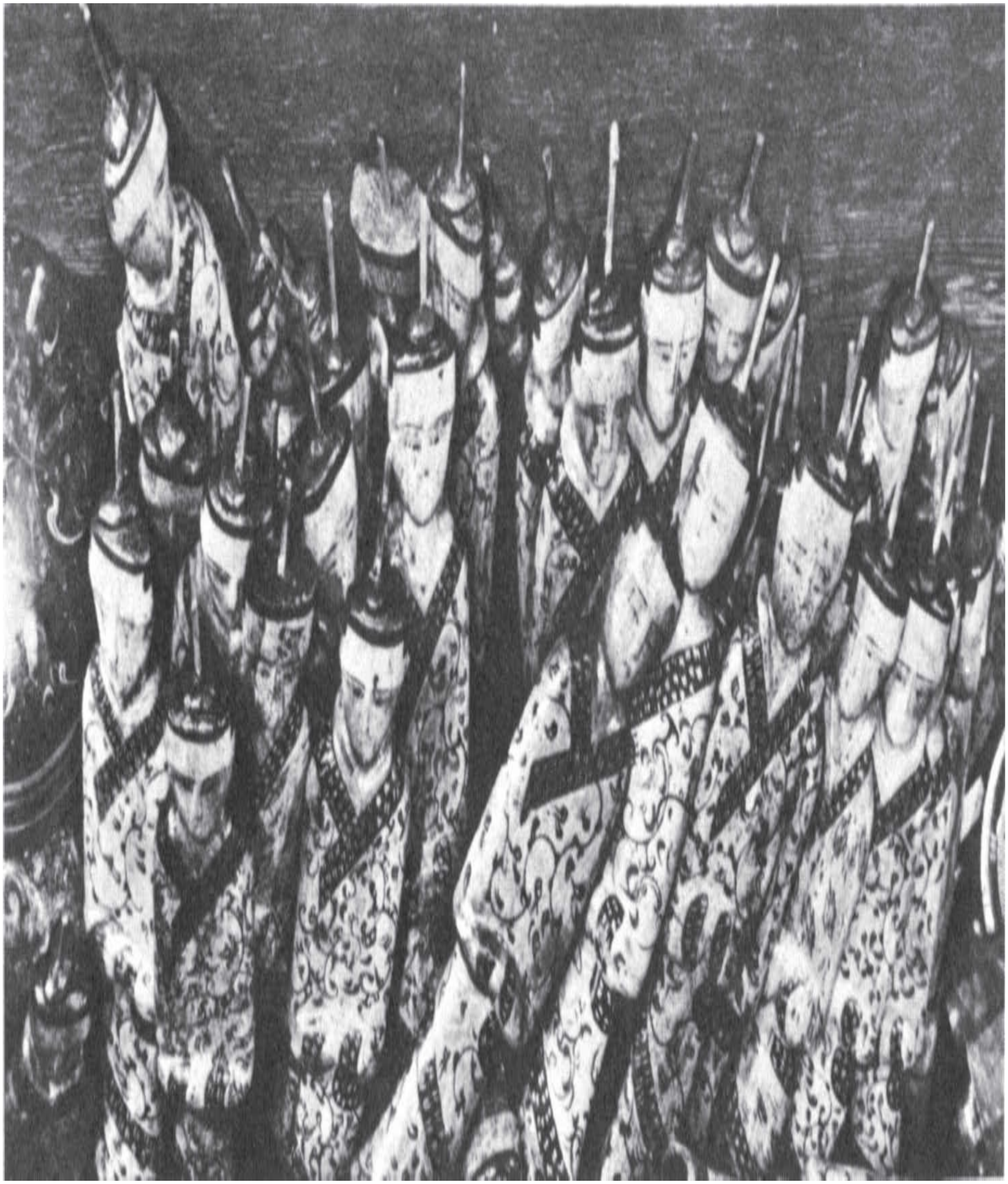
292．Pottery model of stove, unearthed from the Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳汉墓出土的陶灶

293. Pottery model of multistoried granary, unearthed from the Han tomb in Xingyang, Henan　河南荥阳汉墓出土的陶仓

294. Pottery model of farm field, unearthed from the Han tomb in Lianxian, Guangdong　广东连县汉墓出土的陶水田模型



295．Horse-and-chariot pit burial in the Han tomb at Dabaotai, Beijing　北京大葆台汉墓随葬的车马

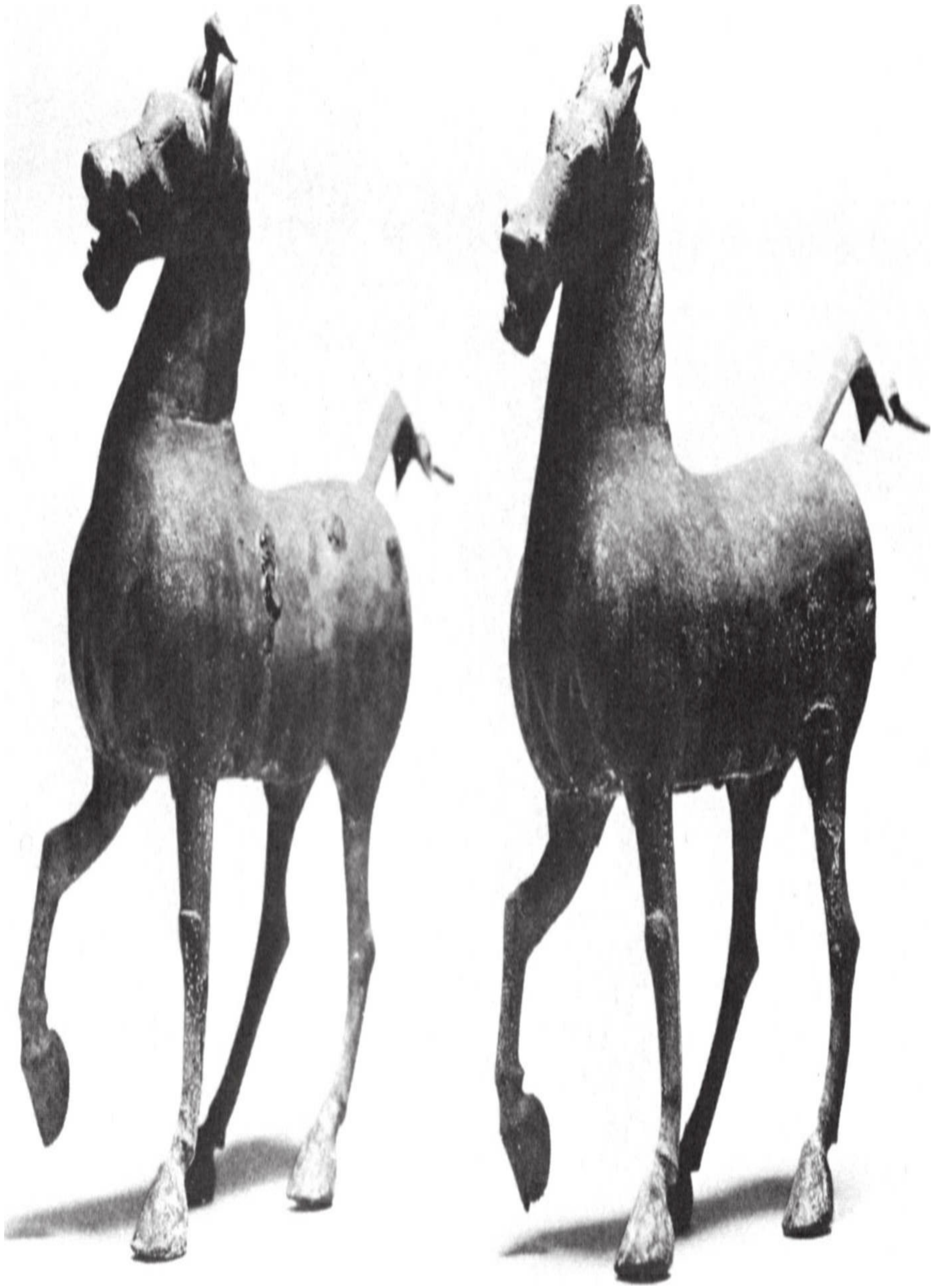


296．Wooden human figures buried in Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui, Changsha　长沙马王堆一号汉墓出土的木俑

297. Pottery figures of warriors on horseback, unearthed from the Han tomb at Yangjiawan in Xianyang, Shaanxi　陕西咸阳杨家湾汉墓出土的骑马陶俑

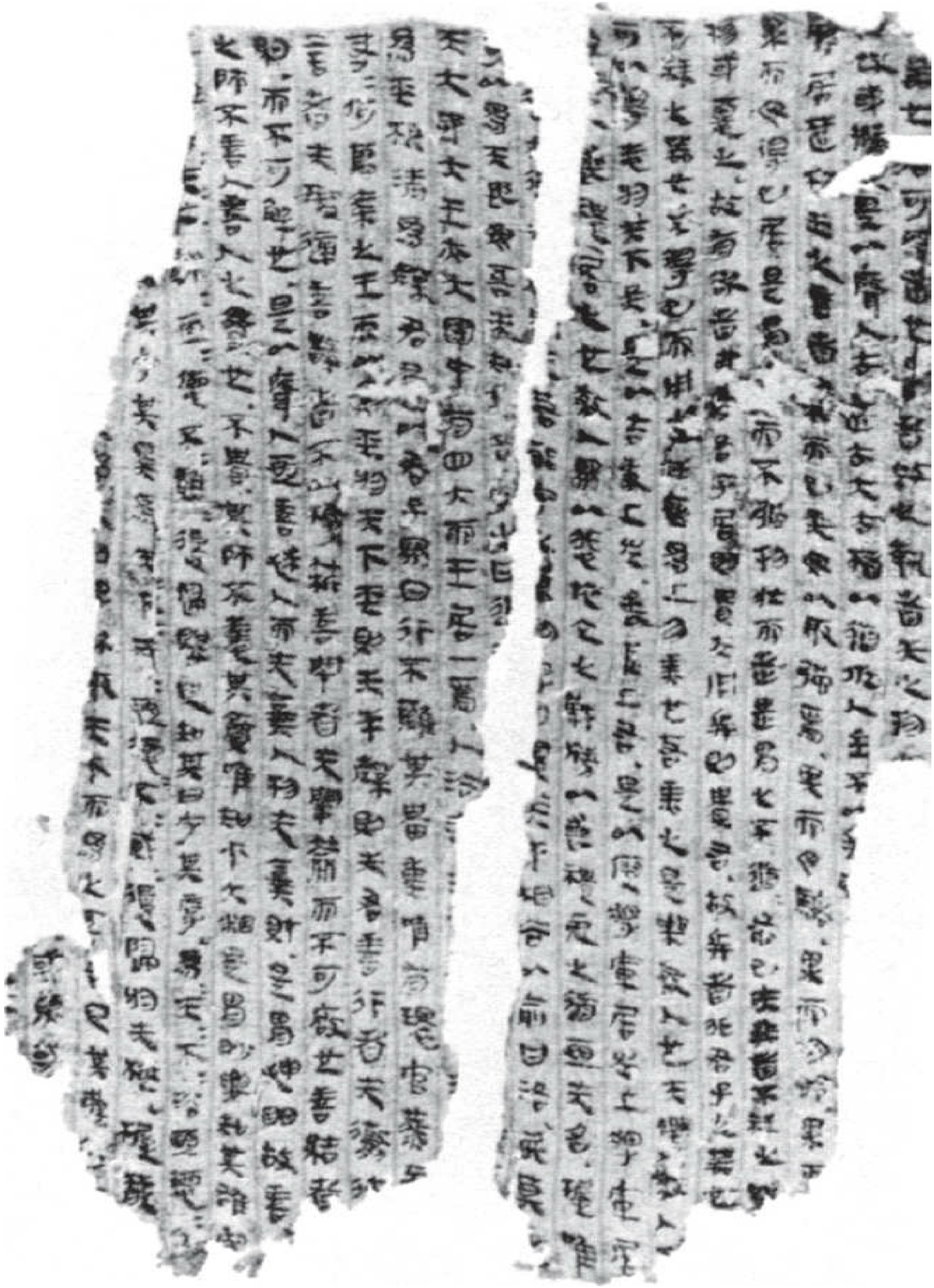
298．Bronze carriage and horse buried in the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu　甘肃武威雷台汉墓中的铜质车马模型

299．Bronze carriage and horse buried in the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu　甘肃武威雷台汉墓中的铜质车马模型



300. Bronze horses buried in the Han tomb at Leitai in Wuwei, Gansu　甘肃武威雷台汉墓中的铜马

301．Clay coins unearthed from Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui, Changsha　长沙马王堆一号汉墓出土的泥钱



302．Silk book unearthed from Han tomb number 1 at Mawangdui, Changsha (Laozi, version A, in part)　长沙马王堆一号汉墓出土的帛书（《老子》，甲本，部分）

聖人以[illegible]天[illegible]名以[illegible]下[illegible]

[illegible]是以知[illegible]

[illegible]其中[illegible]

[illegible]天[illegible]

[illegible]天[illegible]長[illegible]王[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]天[illegible]

[illegible]人[illegible]

[illegible]天下[illegible]天下[illegible]

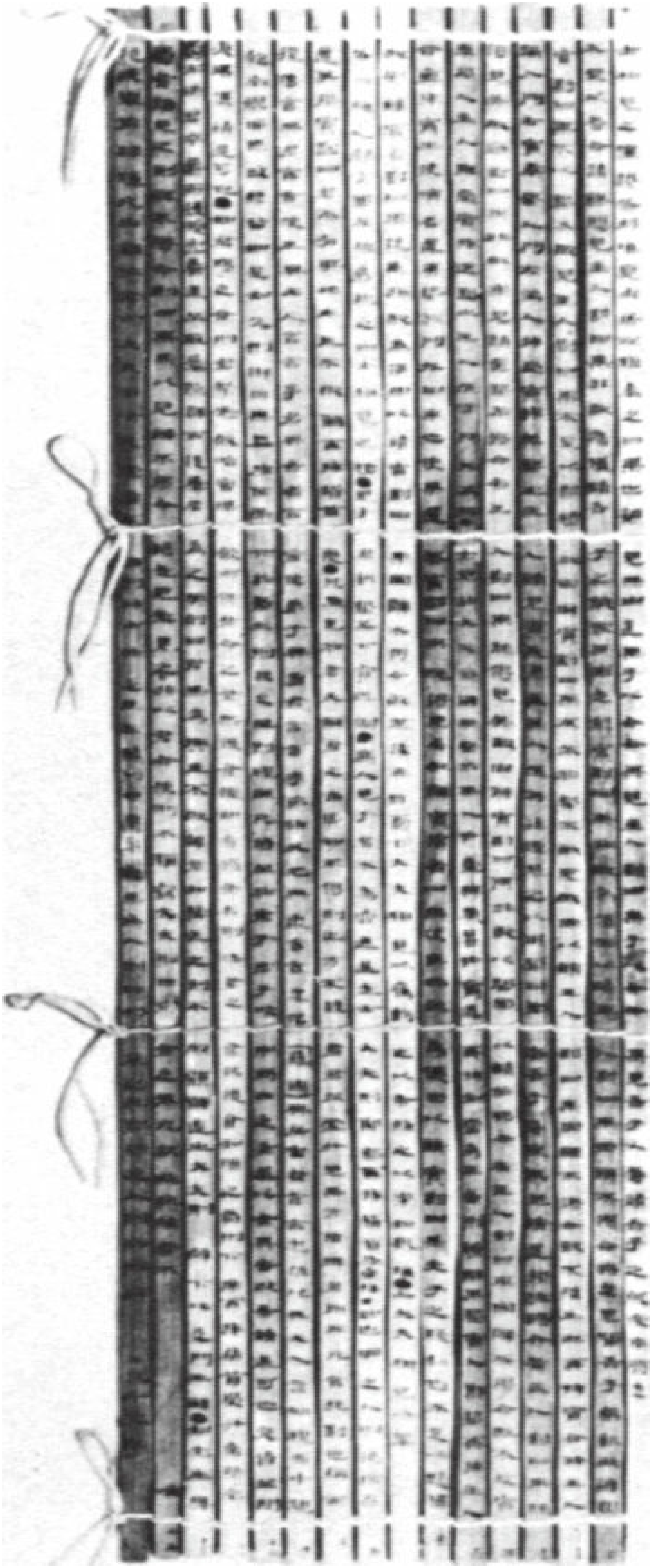
[illegible]

[illegible]聖人[illegible]

[illegible]

303．Silk book unearthed from Han tomb number 3 at Mawangdui, Changsha (Laozi, version B, in part)　长沙马王堆三号墓出土的帛书（《老子》，乙本，部分）

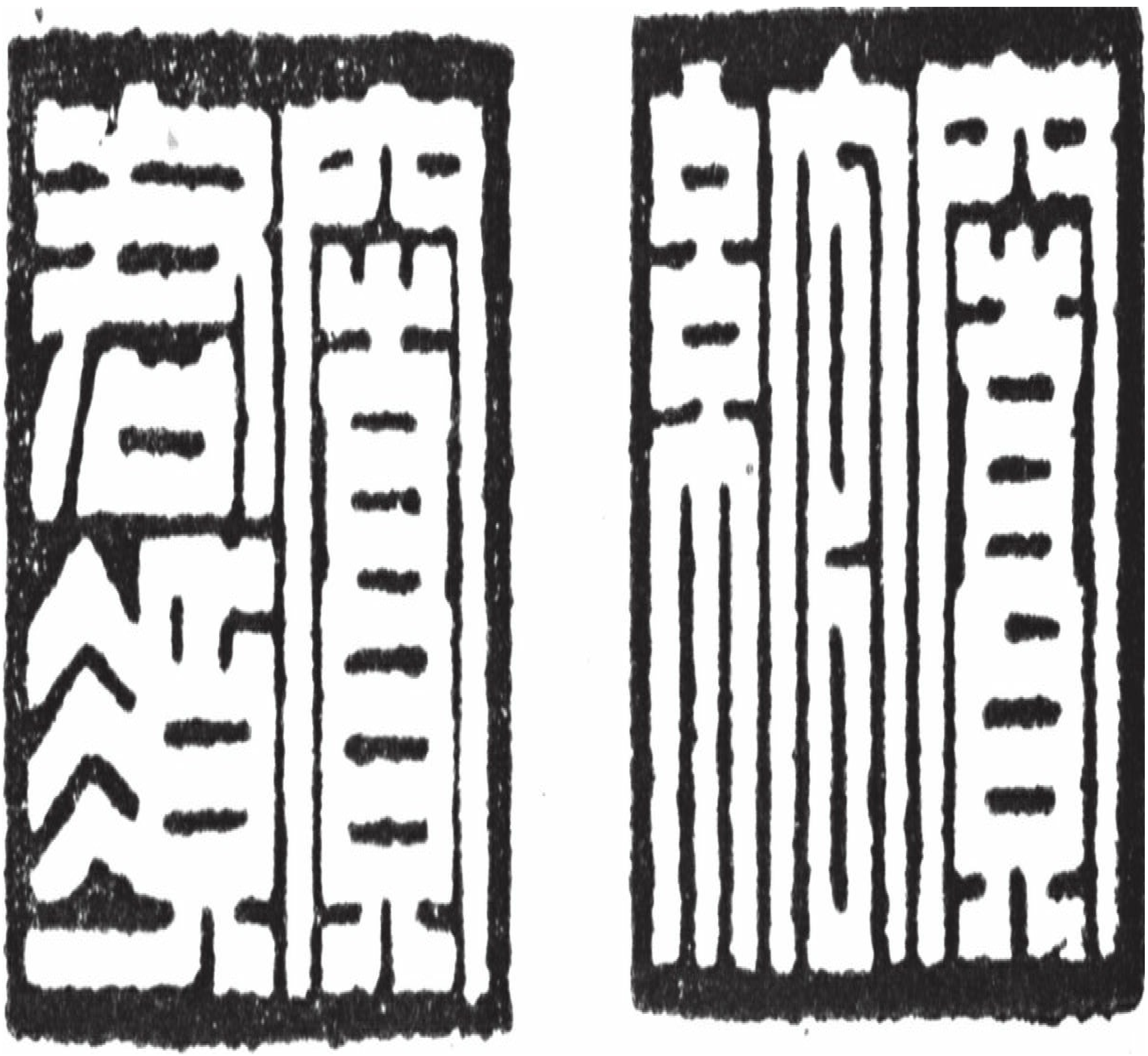
304．Bamboo slips of Sun Bin bing fa (in part), unearthed from the Han tomb at Yinqueshan, Linyi, Shandong　山东临沂银雀山汉墓出土的竹书（《孙膑兵法》，部分）



305. Wooden slips of Yi li, unearthed from the Han tomb at Mozuizi, Wuwei, Gansu (reproductions) 甘肃武威磨咀子汉墓中木书（《仪礼》，复制品）

306. Seals with the inscriptions "Seal of Marquis Dai," "The Chengxiang of Changsha," and "Li Cang," unearthed from the Han tomb number 2 at Mawangdui, Changsha　长沙马王堆二号墓出土的

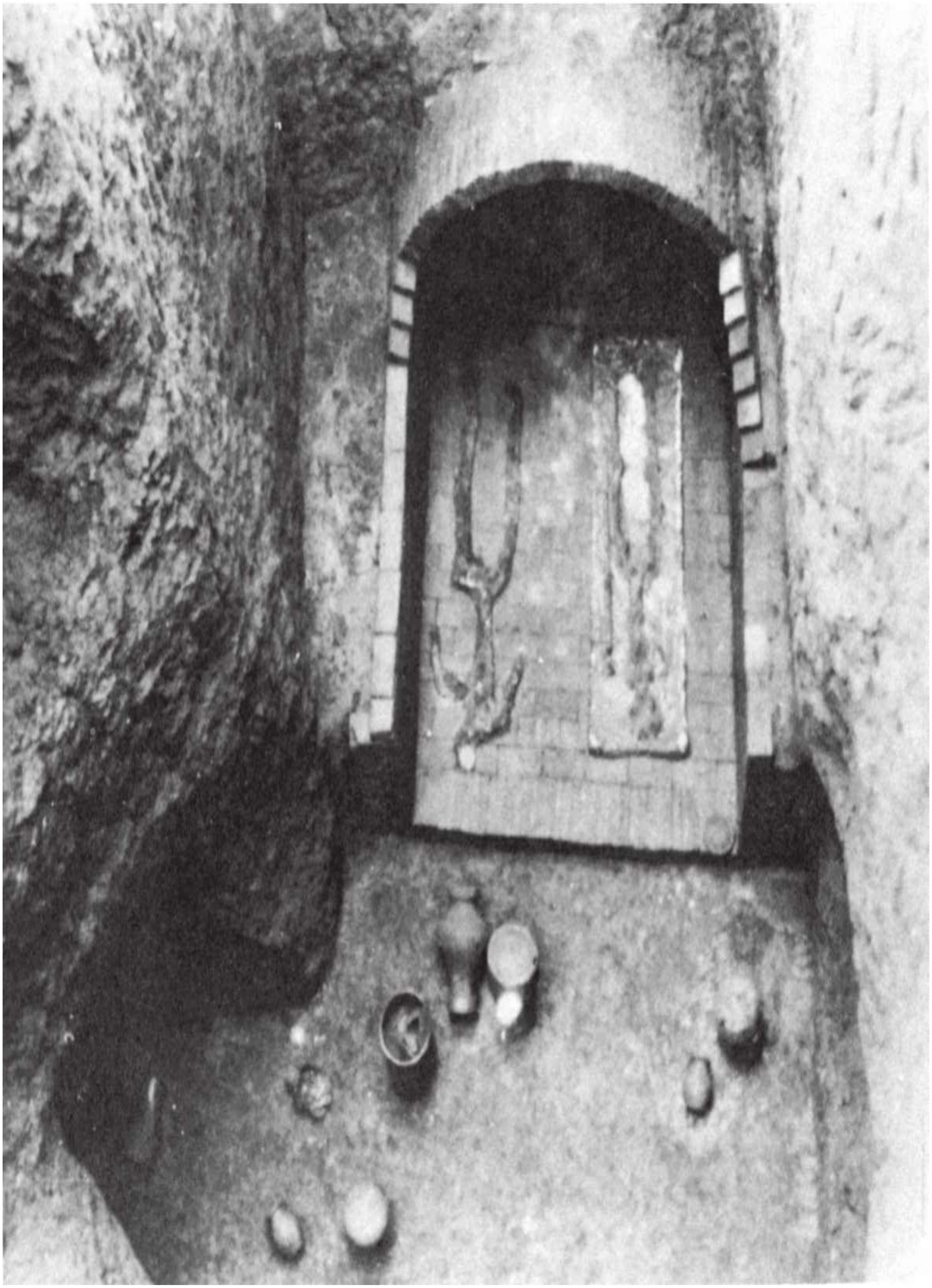
印有“轪侯之印”、“长沙丞相”和“利苍”的印章



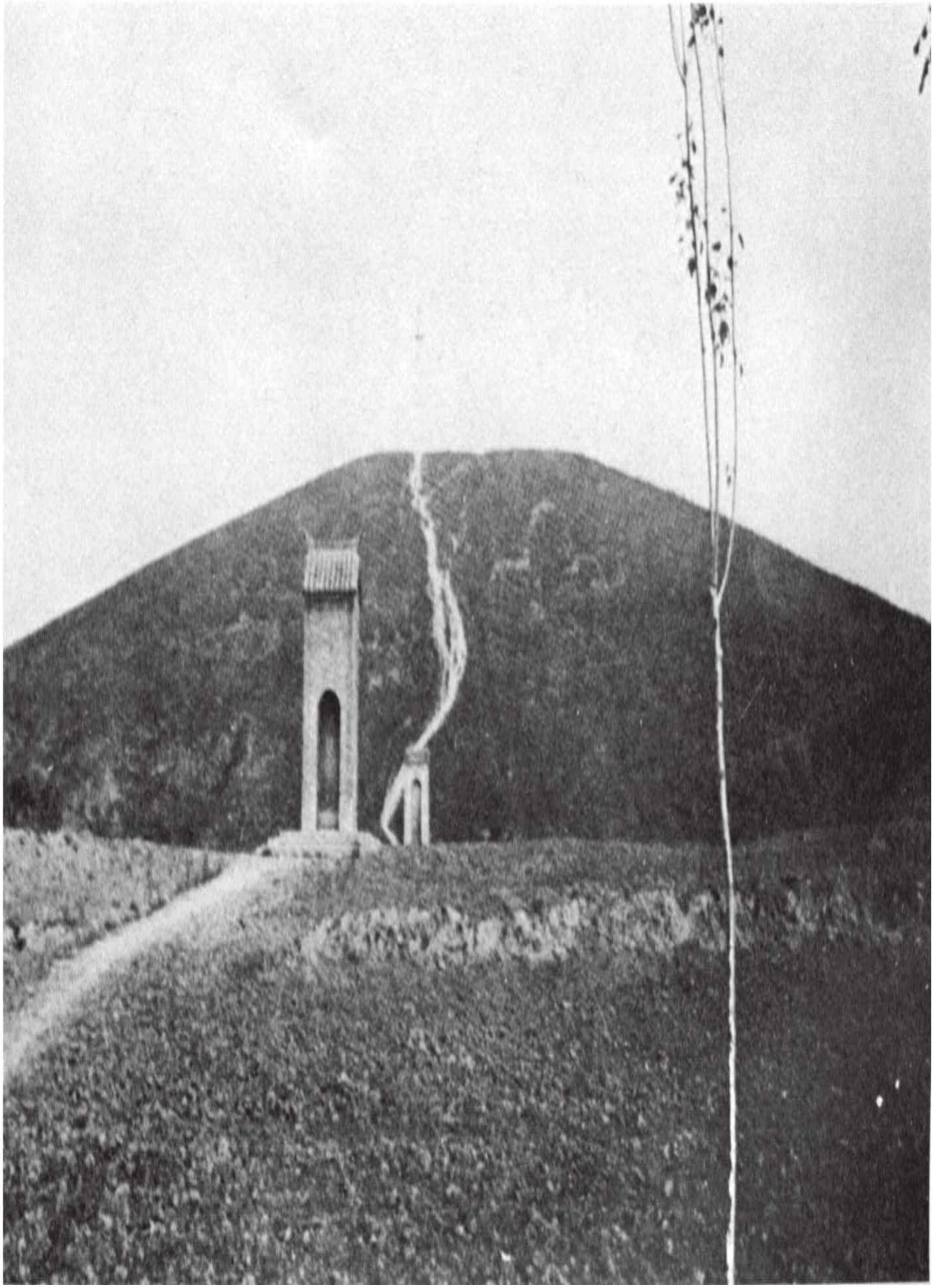
307．Bronze seals with the inscriptions "Don Wan" and "Dou Jun Xu," unearthed from Han tomb number 2 in Mancheng　满城二号汉墓出土的刻有“窦绾”、“窦君须”字样的铜印

308．"Tomb security jar" (dated the third year of Chu Ping), unearthed from a Han tomb in Luoyang
洛阳汉墓出土的初平三年镇墓瓶

309．Husband-and-wife burial in a Western Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳西汉墓中的夫妇合葬

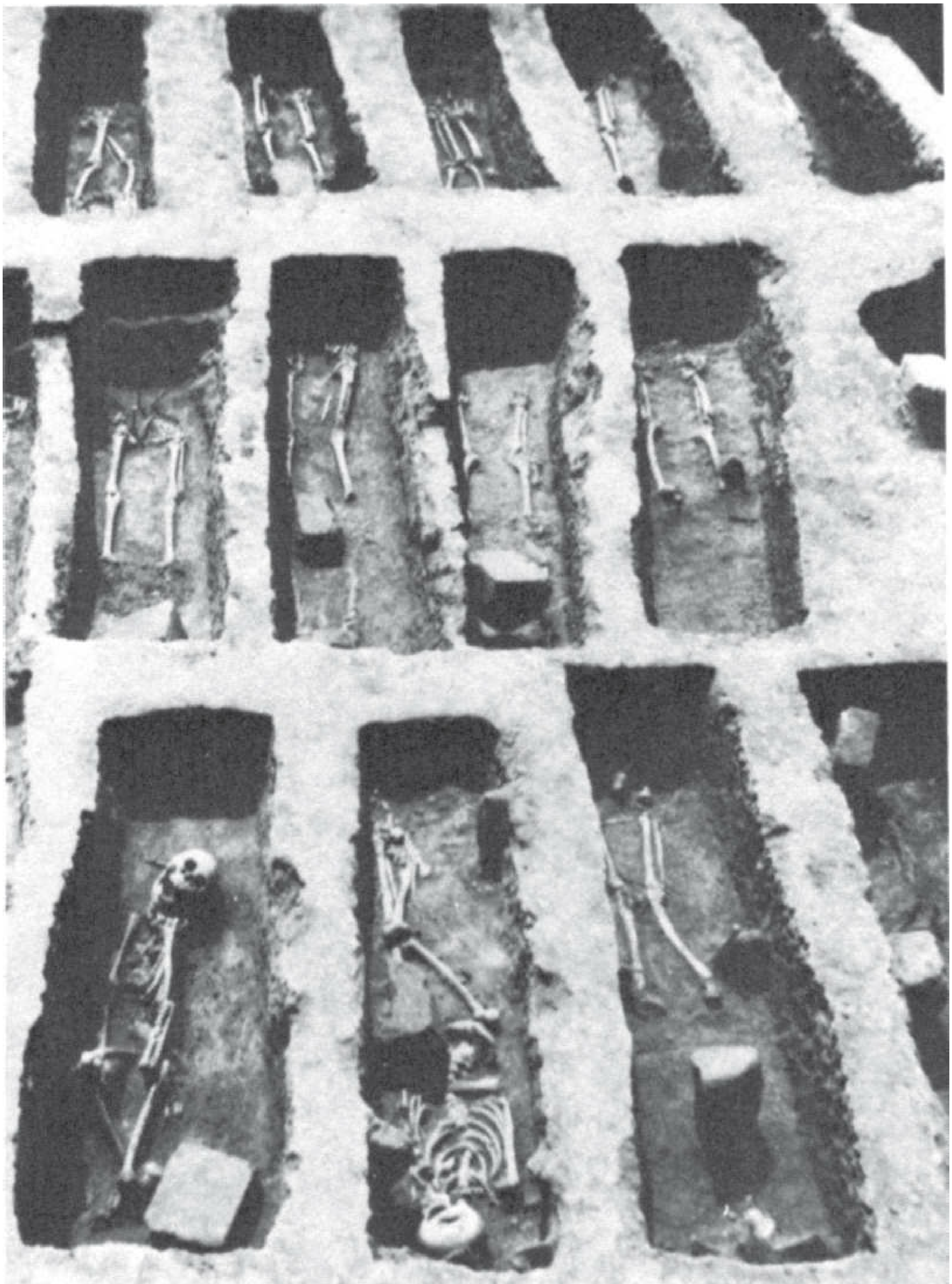


310. Husband-and-wife burial in an Eastern Han tomb in Luoyang　洛阳东汉墓中的夫妇合葬

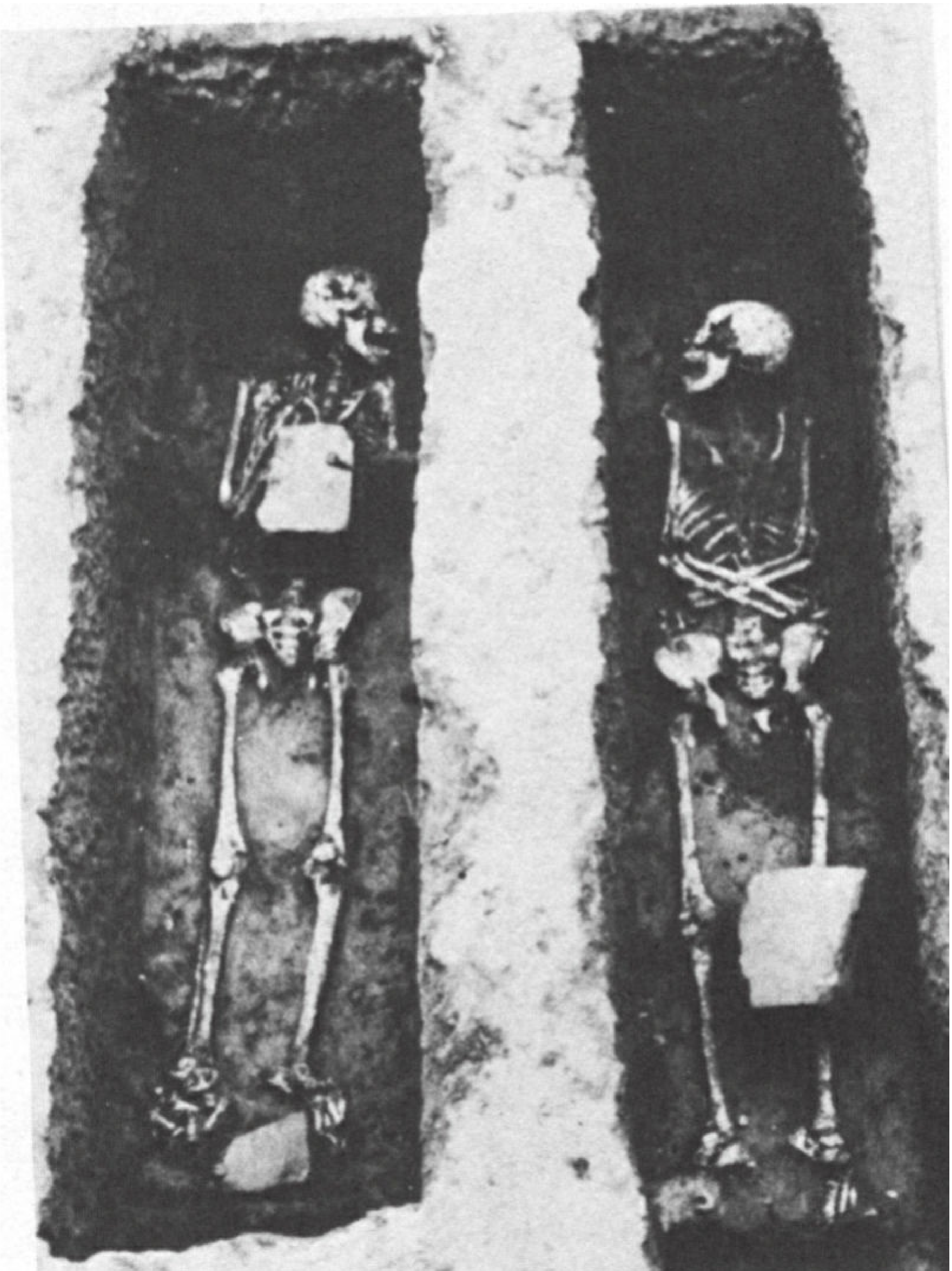


311．Earthen mound of the mausoleum of Emperor Wu Di ("Mao Ling") in Xingpingxian, Shaanxi
陕西兴平的汉武帝陵（茂陵）

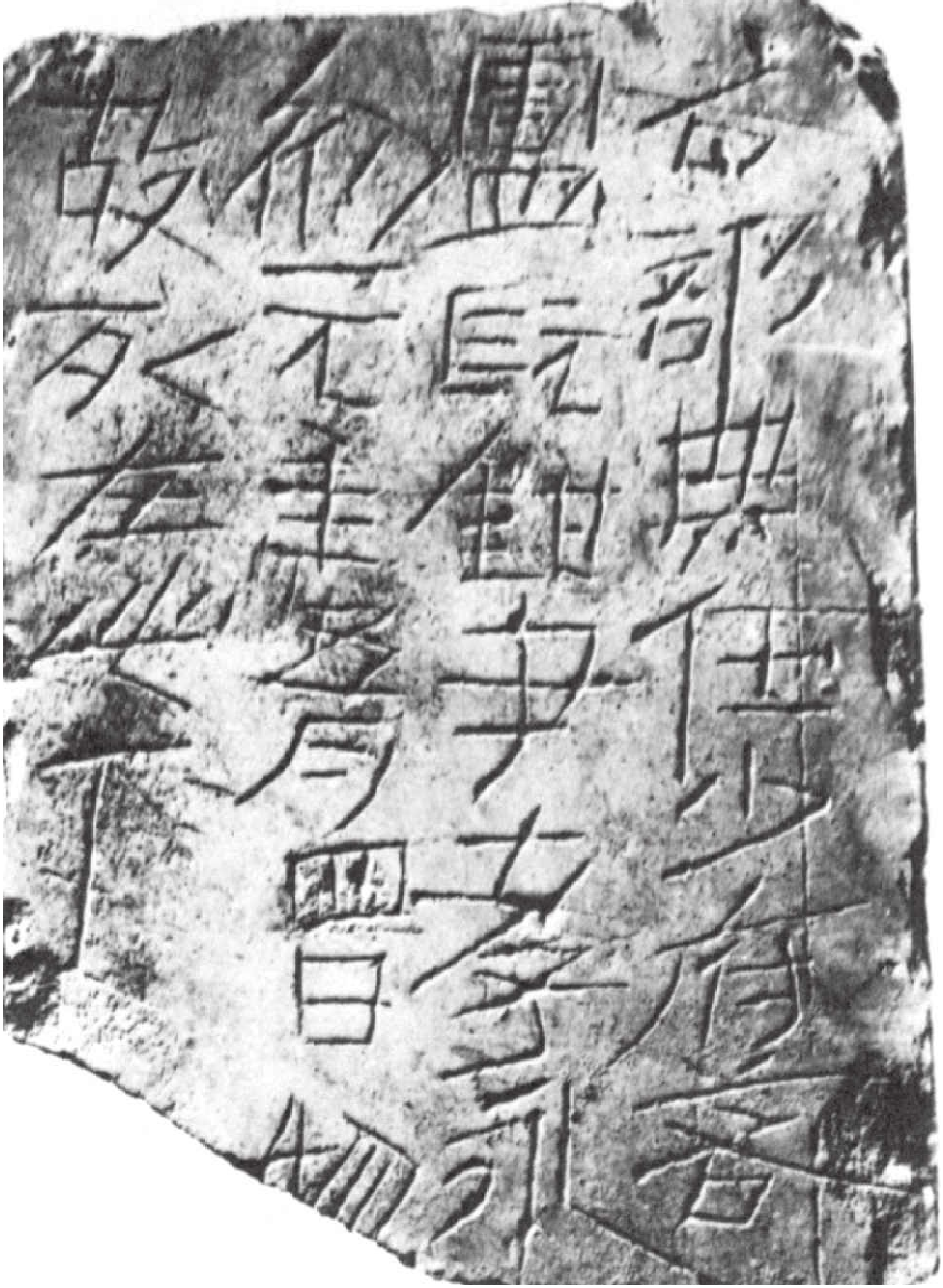
312．Cemetery of prisoner-laborers of Eastern Han, excavated at Xidajiaocun, Yanshixian, Henan　河南偃师西大郊村出土的东汉刑徒墓地



313．Tombs of prisoner-laborers of Eastern Han, excavated at Xidajiaocun, Yanshixian, Henan　河南偃师西大郊村的东汉刑徒墓地



314. Skeletons and inscribed bricks in the tombs of prisoner-laborers of Eastern Han, excavated at Xidajiaocun, Yanshixian, Henan　河南偃师西大郊村的东汉刑徒墓地中的尸骨和刻有文字的砖



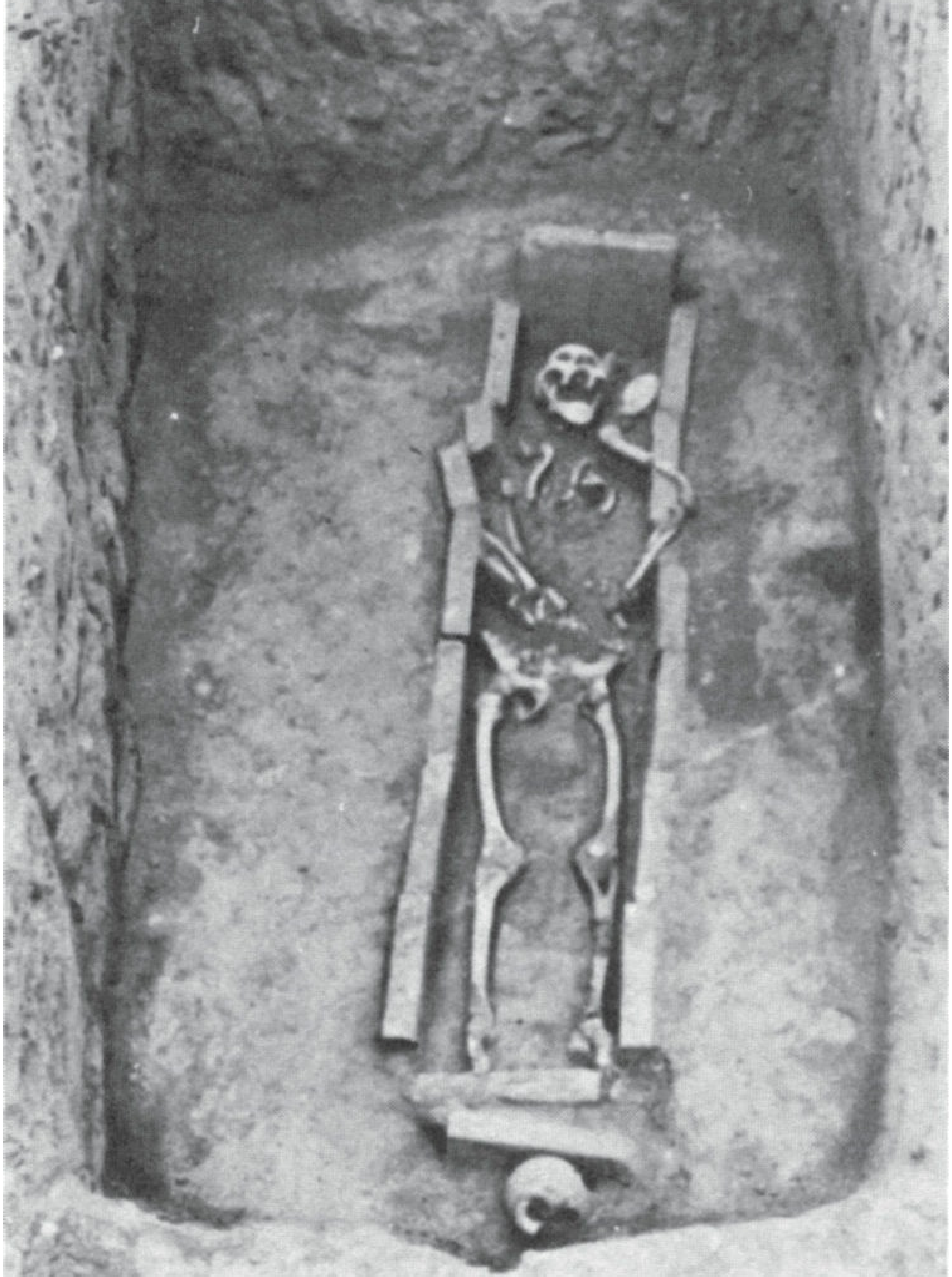
315．Prisoner-laborer brick inscribed with the designation "Kun qian," unearthed from a prisoner-laborer tomb at Xidajiaocun, Yanshixian, Henan　河南偃师西大郊村刑徒墓地中刻有“髡钳”字样的砖

316．Prisoner-laborer brick inscribed with "Wan cheng dan," unearthed from prisoner-laborer grave at Xidajiaocun, Yanshixian, Henan　河南偃师西大郊村刑徒墓地中刻有“完城旦”字样的砖

317. Prisoner-laborer brick inscribed with "Gui xin," unearthed from prisoner-laborer grave at Xidajiaocun, Yanshixian, Henan　河南偃师西大郊村刑徒墓地中刻有“鬼薪”字样的砖

318. Prisoner-laborer brick inscribed with "Si kou," unearthed from prisoner- laborer grave at Xidajiaocun, Yanshixian, Henan　河南偃师西大郊村刑徒墓地中刻有“司寇”字样的砖

319．Commoner's grave of the Han dynasty, unearthed in Luoyang　洛阳汉代平民墓



320．Commoner's grave of the Han dynasty, unearthed in Luoyang　洛阳汉代平民墓

NOTES 注释

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* Editor's note: It might be useful to note here that in the Han system of measurement a *chi* is divided into 10 *cun*, 6 *chi* make a *bu*, and 300 *bu* make a *li*. Most scholars agree that a Han *chi* is approximately 0.23 m.

1 Wang Zhongshu, "Han Chang'an cheng kaogu gongzuo de chubu shouhuo"[Preliminary results of the archaeological investigation of the Han dynasty city of Chang'an], *Kaogu Tongxun*, 1957, no. 5, pp. 102-04.

1 王仲殊：《汉长安城考古工作的初步收获》，《考古通讯》，1957年，5期，102—104页。

2 Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, *Han Chang'an cheng yizhi fajue baogao* [Report of the excavation of the ruins of the Han dynasty city of Chang'an]. In preparation.

2 中国社会科学院考古研究所：《汉长安城遗址发掘报告》，待刊。

3 The Han text *San fu jue lu* is said to contain the phrase, "san tu dong kai," or "the three roads [or the three-laned road] opened wide." The *Xi jing fu* contains the line, "san tu yi ting, fang gui shi'er," or "the three roads are level and straight, and they have twelve parallel tracks." Xue Zong's commentary explains this line thus: "Each side has three gates, and each gate has three lanes; therefore, it refers to the three roads. Each road contains four wheel tracks; therefore, it refers to having twelve tracks."

4 Wang Zhongshu (see n. 1 above), pp. 104, 105.

4 同注1，104、105页。

5 See n. 2 above.

5 同注2。

6 Wang Zhongshu (n. 1 above), pp. 106-08.

6 同注1，106—108页。

7 See n. 2 above.

7 同注2。

8 See n. 2 above.

8 同注2。

9 See n. 2 above.

9 同注2。

10 Han City Work Team, Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, "Han Chang'an cheng wuku yizhi fajue de chubu shouhuo"[Preliminary results of the excavation of the site of the armory in the Han dynasty city of Chang'an], *Kaogu*, 1978, no. 4, pp. 261-69, pls. 9-11.

10 中国社会科学院考古研究所汉城工作队：《汉长安城武库遗址发掘的初步收获》，《考古》，1978年，4期，261—269页，图版玖——拾壹。

11 See n. 2 above.

11 同注2。

12 Hei Guang, "Xi'an Han Taiyechi chutu yijian juxing shi yu" [A gigantic stone fish unearthed near Han dynasty Taiyechi in Xi'an], *Wenwu*, 1975, no. 6, pp. 91, 92.

12 黑光：《西安汉太液池出土一件巨形石鱼》，《文物》，1975年，6期，91、92页。

13 Yu Weichao, "Han Chang'an cheng xibeibu kancha ji" [Notes on the investigations in the northwestern part of the Han dynasty city of Chang'an], *Kaogu Tongxun*, 1966, no. 5, pp. 20-26, pl. 7.

13 俞伟超：《汉长安城西北部勘查记》，《考古通讯》，1956年，5期，20—26页，图版柒。

14 Wang Zhongshu, "Han Chang'an cheng kaogu gongzuo shouhuo xuji" [Further notes on the results of archaeological work at the Han city of Chang'an], *Kaogu Tongxun*, 1958, no. 4, p. 25, pl. 4.

14 王仲殊：《汉长安城考古工作收获续记》，《考古通讯》，1958年，4期，25页，图版肆。

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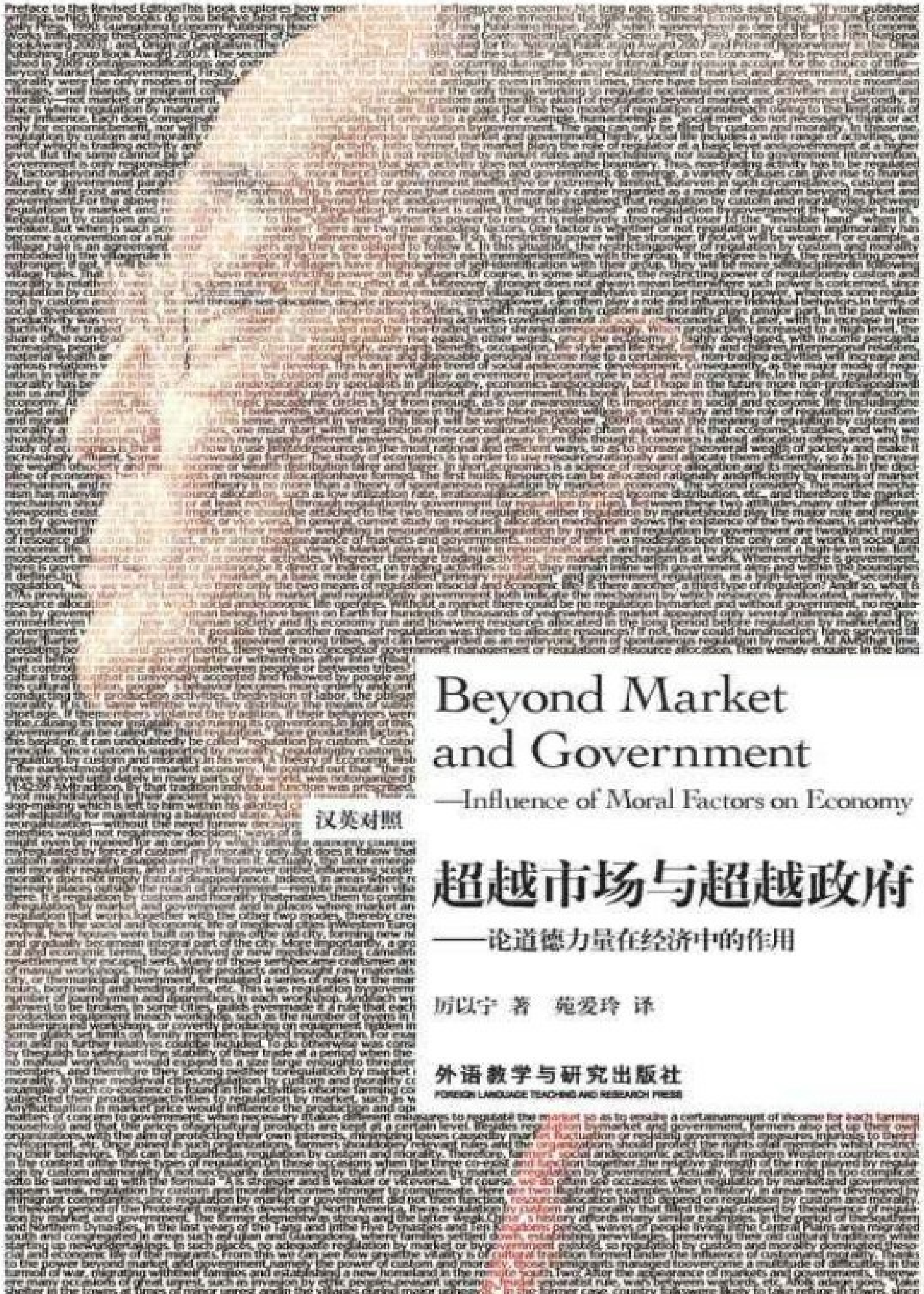

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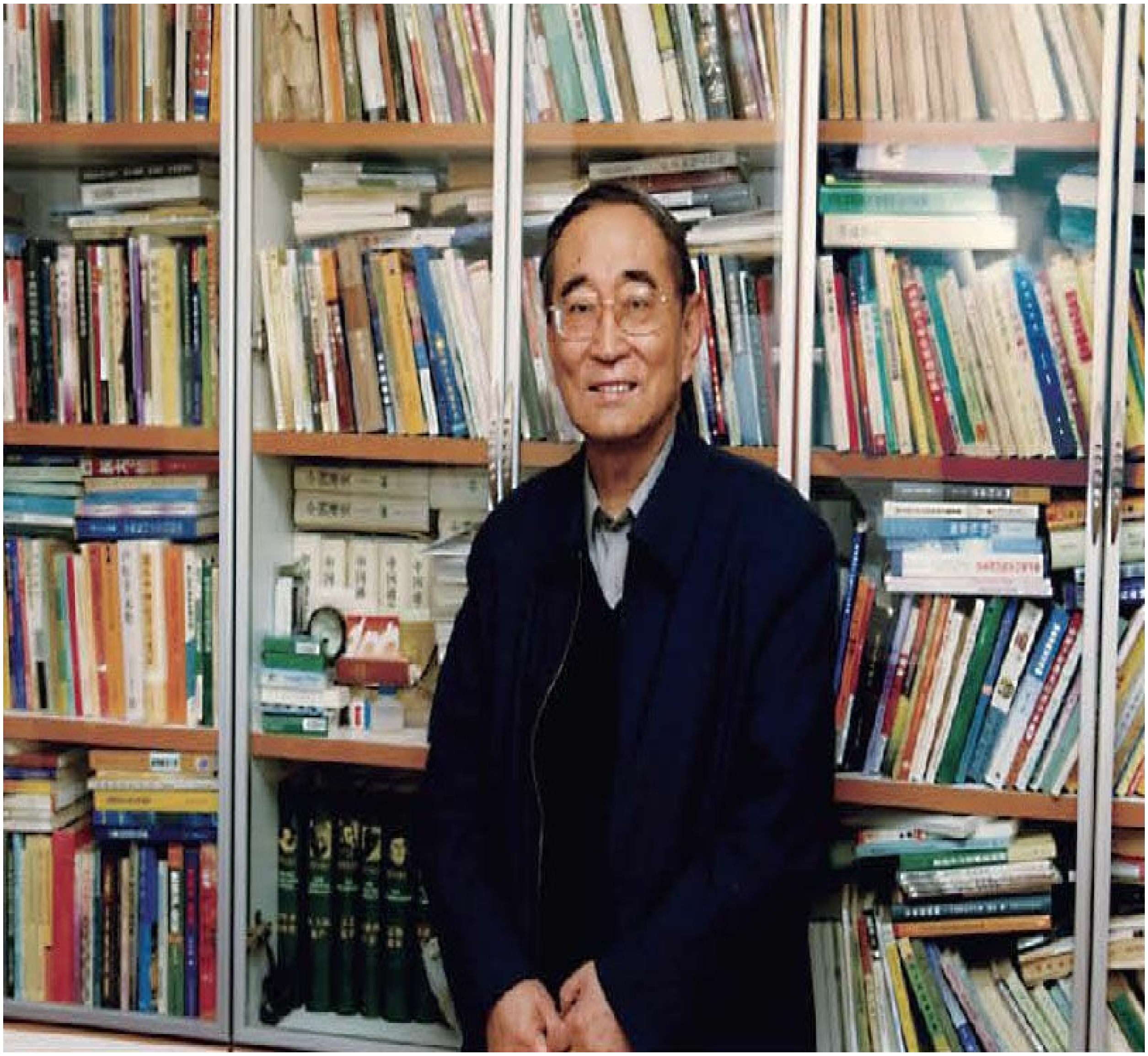

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“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（*Wilma C. Fairbank*）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（*MIT Press*）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（*Routledge*）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（*Guy S. Alitto*）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（*W. T. de Bary*）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（*Liberal Education*）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、

数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社
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PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

This book explores how moral factors exert influence on economy.

Not long ago, some students asked me, "Of your published writings, which three books do you believe best reflect your academic standpoint?" I recommended the following: *Chinese Economy in Disequilibrium*(Economic Daily Press, 1990; Guangdong Economy Publishing House, 1998; Encyclopedia of China Publishing House, 2009), which was reviewed as one of the "Top Ten Economic Works Influencing the Economic Development of New China"); *Beyond Market and Government*(Economic Science Press, 1999, nominated for the Fifth National Book Award 2003) ; and, *Origin of Capitalism* (The Commercial Press, 2003, nominated for the National Publication Award 2007 and Prize of Honor winner in the China Publishing Group Book Award 2007). The second of these, first published in 1999, had the subtitle "Influence of Moral Factors on Economy." This revised edition published in 2009 contains modifications and extra material to reflect the changes occurring during the 10-year interval.

Four reasons account for the choice of title—*Beyond Market and Government.* Firstly, as the book says, in the long period before the emergence and establishment of market and government, custom and morality were the only modes of regulation. This is not only true of remote antiquity: even in modern times, there have been isolated tribes, remote mountain villages, small islands, or migrant communities cultivating virgin land, where the only things working to regulate social and economic activities are custom and morality—not market or government. Therefore, we are justified in calling custom and morality a kind of regulation beyond market and government.

Secondly, in places where regulation by market or government does work, there are still some gaps that the two modes of regulation cannot reach owing to the limitations of their influence. Each does compensate for the other's limitations, but only up to a point. For example, human beings as "social men" do not necessarily think or act only for economic benefit, nor

will they always be passively subject to regulation by government. The gap can only be filled by custom and morality. In this sense, regulation by custom and morality can be viewed as a regulatory mode beyond market and government.

Thirdly, social life includes a wide range of activities, one part of which is trading activity and another is non-trading activity. In the former, the market plays the role of regulator at a basic level and government at a higher level. But the same cannot be said of non-trading activity, which is not restricted by market rules and mechanisms nor is subject to government intervention. Government is only responsible for defining its scope and ensuring that such activity does not overstep the boundary. Thus, non-trading activity has to be regulated by factors beyond market and government; namely, moral force.

Fourthly, once markets and governments do emerge, a variety of causes can give rise to market failure or government paralysis, rendering regulation by market or government ineffective or extremely limited. But even in such circumstances, custom and morality still exist and continue working as normal. This is another reason that custom and morality can be regarded as a mode of regulation beyond market and government.

For the above reasons, this book is titled *Beyond Market and Government*. It must be explained that regulation by custom and morality lies between regulation by market and regulation by government. Regulation by market is called the "invisible hand" and regulation by government the "visible hand." Regulation by custom and morality is closer to the "visible hand" when its power to restrict is relatively strong and closer to the "invisible hand" when it is weaker.

But when is such power stronger or weaker? There are two main deciding factors. One factor is whether or not regulation by custom and morality has become a convention or a rule universally accepted by all members of the group. If so, its restricting power will be stronger; if not, it will be weaker. For example, a village rule is an agreement among all villagers and they are obliged to follow it. In this situation, the restricting power of regulation by custom and morality embodied in the village rule is stronger. The second factor is the degree to which each member identifies with the group. If the degree is high, the restricting power is stronger; if not, it will be weaker. For example, if villagers have a high degree of self-identification with their group, they will be more self-disciplined in following

village rules. That is to say, the rules have more restricting power on the villagers.

Of course, in some situations, the restricting power of regulation by custom and morality is relatively weak, but this does not imply that it has no effect at all. Moreover, stronger does not always mean better where such power is concerned, since regulation by custom and morality takes many different forms. The above-mentioned village rules generally have stronger restricting power, whereas some regulation by custom and morality formed through self-discipline, despite involving no restricting power, can often play a role and influence individual behaviors.

In terms of social development trends, we note a continual increase in non-trading activities, in which regulation by custom and morality plays a major part. In the past when productivity was very low, trading activities barely existed, whereas non-trading activities covered almost all social and economic life. Later, with the increase in productivity, the traded sector gradually increased and expanded and the non-traded sector shrank correspondingly. When productivity increased to a high level, the share of the non-traded sector in socio-economic life would gradually rise again. In other words, once the economy is highly developed, with income per capita increasing, people's values and attitudes will change accordingly, as regards benefits, occupation, life style and life itself, family and children, interpersonal relations, material wealth and spiritual enjoyment, etc. When national revenue and disposable personal income rise to a certain level, non-trading activities will increase and various relations within the non-traded sector will develop. This is an inevitable trend of social and economic development. Consequently, as the major mode of regulation in the non-traded sector, regulation by custom and morality will play an ever more important role in social and economic life.

In the past, regulation by morality has been an issue of interest to and exploration by specialists in philosophy, economics and sociology, but I hope in the future more non-professionals will join us and think earnestly how regulation by morality plays a role beyond market and government.

This book devotes seven chapters to the role of moral factors in economy. At present, discussion on this topic in academic circles is far from enough, as is our awareness of its importance in social and economic life (including the traded and non-traded sectors). That said, I believe this situation will change in the future: More people will join us in this study and

the role of regulation by custom and morality will be fully deployed. In this sense, my effort in writing this book will be worthwhile.

October, 2009

修订版前言

这是一部讨论道德力量在经济中的作用的著作。

不久以前，曾经有一些学生问我：“在您已经出版的若干部著作中，能告诉我们哪三本书是您认为最能反映自己学术观点的代表作吗？”我的回答是这样三本书：《非均衡的中国经济》（经济日报出版社1990年版，广东经济出版社1998年版，中国大百科全书出版社2009年版，被评为“影响新中国经济建设的10本经济学著作”之一）；《超越市场与超越政府》（经济科学出版社1999年版，获得2003年第五届国家图书奖提名奖）；《资本主义的起源》（商务印书馆2003年版，获得2007年中国出版政府奖图书奖提名奖、2007年中国出版集团图书奖荣誉奖）。

《超越市场与超越政府》一书有一个副标题：论道德力量在经济中的作用，初版于1999年，距今已经10年。我作了一些修改、补充，现在准备出修订版。

为什么这本书以《超越市场与超越政府》命名？当时主要是考虑到以下四个方面：

第一，书中提出，在市场尚未形成与政府尚未出现的漫长岁月里，那时既没有市场调节，也没有政府调节，习惯与道德调节是这一漫长时间内唯一起作用的调节方式。不仅远古时期的情况是如此，即使在近代社会，在某些未同外界接触或同外界接触不多的部落里，在边远的山村、孤岛上，甚至在开拓荒芜地带的移民团体中，市场调节不起作用，政府调节也不起作用，唯有习惯与道德调节才是在社会经济生活中起作用的调节方式。因此，完全有理由把习惯与道德调节称做超越市场与超越政府的一种调节。

第二，书中提出，在市场调节与政府调节都能起作用的范围内，由于市场力量与政府力量全都有局限性，所以这两种调节之外会留下一些空白。当然，在某些情况下，政府调节可以弥补市场调节的局限性；在另一些情况下，市场调节也可以弥补政府调节的局限性。但政府调节是不可能完全弥补市场调节的局限性的，正如市场调节不可能完全弥补政府调节的局限性一样。一个明显的例子就是：由于人是“社会的人”，人不一定只从经济利益的角度来考虑问题和选择行为方式，人也不一定只是被动地接受政府的调节，所以市场调节与政府调节都难以进入到人作为“社会的人”这个深层次来发挥作用。市场调节与政府调节留下的空白

只有依靠习惯与道德调节来弥补。从这个意义上说，习惯与道德调节是超越市场与超越政府的一种调节。

第三，书中提出，社会生活是一个广泛的领域，其中一部分是交易活动，另一部分是非交易活动。在交易活动中，市场调节起着基础性调节的作用，政府调节起着高层次调节的作用。

而在非交易活动中，情况便大不一样了。由于这些活动是非交易性质的，所以不受市场规则的制约，市场机制在非交易活动中是不起作用的。至于政府调节，则只是划定了非交易活动的范围，使它们不至于越过边界，而并不进入非交易活动范围之内进行干预。这样，非交易活动就要由市场调节与政府调节之外的道德力量来进行调节。

第四，书中提出，在市场出现与政府形成之后，由于种种原因，市场可能失灵，政府可能瘫痪，市场调节与政府调节都有可能不发生作用或只发生十分有限的作用。但即使在这些情况之下，习惯与道德调节也依然存在，并照常发生作用。这又是可以把习惯与道德调节称做超越市场与超越政府的调节的理由之一。

以上就是本书以《超越市场与超越政府》为书名的依据。

接着需要说明的是，习惯与道德调节是介于市场调节与政府调节之间的。市场调节被称做“无形之手”，政府调节被称做“有形之手”，习惯与道德调节介于“无形之手”与“有形之手”之间。在习惯与道德调节的约束力较强时，它接近于政府调节；而在其约束力较弱时，又接近于市场调节。那么，为什么习惯与道德调节的约束力有时较强，有时却较弱呢？这主要取决于两个因素：

一是习惯与道德调节是否已经成为一种被群体内的各个成员认同的约定或守则。如果它已经成为各个成员认同的约定或守则，约束力就较强；否则就较弱。比如说，乡规民约是一个群体的所有成员共同约定的，成员们就有遵守的义务，这时，体现于乡规民约中的习惯与道德调节就会有较强的约束力。

二是群体的各个成员对群体的认同程度的高低。如果成员对群体的认同程度较高，习惯与道德调节的约束力就较强；否则就较弱。不妨仍以乡规民约为例。乡规民约是某一群体的成员所制定的，如果该群体的成员对群体的认同程度较高，他们遵守乡规民约的自觉性较高，从而乡规民约对成员行为的约束力也就较强。

当然，即使习惯与道德调节在某些场合的约束力较小，这也并不意味着习惯与道德调节不起作用，而且，也不是任何情况下习惯与道德调节的约束力越强越好。这是因为，习惯与道德调节的形式多种多样，乡规民约这种形式下的习惯与道德调节一般会有较强的约束力，而自律这种形式下的习惯与道德调节虽然没有什么约束力，但却经常发挥作用，

对个人的行为产生影响。

从社会发展的趋势来看，由习惯与道德调节起主要作用的非交易领域内的活动有可能不断增多。这是一个值得注意的现象。历史上，在生产力发展水平极低的时候，交易领域几乎不存在，那时非交易领域几乎覆盖全部社会经济生活。以后，随着生产力的发展，交易领域逐渐扩大，非交易领域则相应地逐渐缩小。而在生产力发展水平大大提高以后，非交易领域在社会经济生活中所占的比例又会逐渐增加。也就是说，在经济高度发展之后，随着人均收入的增长，人们的需要也将随之发生由较低层次向较高层次的转变，人们的价值观念必然相应地发生变化，包括对利益的看法、对职业的看法、对生活方式和生活本身的看法、对家庭和子女的看法、对人与人之间关系的看法、对物质财富和精神享受的看法等，都处于不断变化之中。于是非交易领域的活动也将随着国民收入和个人可支配收入上升到一个新阶段之后而增多，非交易领域内的各种关系也会因此而得到发展。这是社会经济发展的必然趋势。习惯与道德调节既然在非交易领域内起着主要作用，那么显而易见，随着非交易领域的不断扩大，习惯与道德调节在社会经济生活中的作用也将越来越突出。

过去，如果说超越市场和超越政府的道德调节还只是哲学界、经济学界、社会学界的专业人士感兴趣和不断探讨的问题，我希望今后更多的非专业人士能认真思考道德调节超越市场和超越政府的作用。

关于道德力量在经济中的作用，本书将分七章对其加以论述。虽然迄今为止，学术界对习惯与道德调节的探讨远远不够，而且在社会经济生活中（包括交易领域和非交易领域），人们对习惯与道德调节的重视程度也远远不够，但我深信，这种情况以后是会改变的。我撰写这本著作的主要目的，就是希望我的论述能够引起社会各界的重视，大家一起来加强这方面的研究工作，并让习惯与道德调节的作用发挥得更加充分。

2009年10月

CHAPTER 1 THE ISSUE OF REGULATION BY CUSTOM AND MORALITY
第一章　习惯与道德调节问题的提出

1.1 Historical Review

1.1.1 The Meaning of Regulation by Custom and Morality

To discuss the meaning of regulation by custom and morality and its past and present roles, one must start with the question of resource allocation.

People often ask what it is that economics studies, and why we should study economics. Different schools may supply different answers, but none can get away from this thought: Economics is about allocation of resources and the study of economics is the study of how to use limited resources in the most rational and efficient ways, so as to increase the overall wealth of society and make it increasingly affluent. Some scholars would go further: The study of economics is in order to use resources rationally and allocate them efficiently, so as to increase the wealth of society and make income or wealth distribution fairer and fairer. In short, economics is a science of resource allocation and its mechanisms.

In the discipline of economics two standpoints on resource allocation have formed. The first holds: Resources can be allocated rationally and efficiently by means of market mechanism, and resource allocation theory is no more than a theory of spontaneous regulation by market on economy. The second considers: The market mechanism has many limitations in resource allocation, such as low utilization rate, irrational allocation, unbalanced income distribution, etc., and therefore the market mechanism should be

replaced or at least rectified through regulation by government (or regulation by plan). Between these two attitudes, many other different viewpoints exist, such as: Equal importance should be attached to the two means of regulation; either regulation by market should play the major role and regulation by government the auxiliary role; or vice versa. In general, current study on resource allocation mechanism shows the existence of the two means is universally accepted and the only disagreement is on their relative weighting in resource allocation.

Regulation by market and regulation by government are two distinct modes of resource allocation. But in fact, ever since the appearance of markets and governments, neither of the two modes has been the only one at work in social and economic life. In a market economy, a more realistic view is: Market plays a basic role in resource allocation and regulation by government a high-level role. Both modes exert influence on social and economic activities. Wherever there are trading activities, the market mechanism is at work. Wherever there is government, there is government supervision or guidance, be it direct or indirect, on trading activities so that they remain in line with government aims and within the boundaries it defines. In this sense, regulation by market as a basic mode can be called "primary regulation" and government regulation, as a high-level mode, "secondary regulation."

Now we want to ask: Are there only the two means of regulation in social and economic life? Is there another, a third type of regulation? And if so, what is it?

As previously stated, the terms regulation by market and regulation by government both indicate the mechanism by which resources are allocated, namely, the resource allocation rules by which social and economic life operates. Without a market there could be no regulation by market and without government, no regulation by government. However, human beings have been on Earth for hundreds of thousands of years whereas market appeared only several millennia ago and government even later, so how did human society and its economy run and how were resources allocated in the long period before regulation by market and by government were established? Is it possible that another means of regulation was there to allocate resources? If not, how could human society have survived till today?

Barter, a type of transaction, first appeared among tribes, and can be regarded as an embryonic form of spontaneous regulation by market. At that

time, predating both states and governments, there were no concepts of government management or regulation of resource allocation. Then we may enquire: In the long period before the appearance of barter or within tribes after inter-tribal dealing emerged, given that there was no market force or government force, what was it that controlled resource allocation between people or between tribes? It could only be force of custom or morality. Factors of custom and morality constitute a cultural tradition that is universally accepted and followed by people and through which they handle and adjust their interpersonal relations. Under the influence of this cultural tradition, people's behavior becomes more orderly and conforming. Even in remote antiquity this was the case. For example, the way of tribal members conducting their production activities, the division of labor, the obligations and rights of the members, etc., were and could only be regulated by custom and morality. It is the same with the way they distribute the means of subsistence among tribal members and the way they distribute food, especially when it was in shortage. If the members violated the tradition, if their behaviors were not normalized or if resource allocation was in disorder, it would be a disaster for the tribe, causing its inner instability and ruining its conventions.

In light of this, regulation that relies on the force of custom or morality—a regulation beyond market and government—can be called "the third regulation." Since production factors are provided and employed according to custom, and production outputs are distributed on this basis too, it can undoubtedly be called "regulation by custom." Custom comes from tradition and group identification, the foundation of which is moral belief and principle. Since custom is supported by morality, regulation by custom is inseparable from regulation by morality. Hence, they can be compounded under the term regulation by custom and morality.

In his work *A Theory of Economic History*, the British economist John Hicks used the term "customary economy" and considered it the earliest model of non-market economy. He pointed out that "the economy of a neolithic or early mediaeval village, as well as of the tribal communities which have survived until lately in many parts of the world, was not organized by its Ruler (if such existed); it was based upon a corpus of tradition. By that tradition individual function was prescribed, and continued to be prescribed."[1]

According to Hicks, in "customary economy," people are "not much

disturbed in their ancient ways by external pressures. Their economy can function, with every member performing his allotted task, including the decision-making which is left to him within his allotted circle; overriding decisions from the 'centre' will scarcely ever have to be made."[2] Such "customary economy" is self-adjusting for maintaining a balanced state. As Hicks wrote, "once such a system has attained an equilibrium, it can continue for long ages without the need for reorganization—without the need for new decisions of an organizational character. The ordinary emergencies, such as harvest failures or attacks by the 'usual' enemies would not require new decisions; ways of dealing with them could be incorporated within the traditional rules. So long as this equilibrium persisted, there might even be no need for an organ by which ultimate authority could be exercised."[3] Without doubt, the "customary economy" described by Hicks was an economy regulated by force of custom and morality only.

But does it follow that, with the emergence of markets and governments and regulation by them, regulation by custom and morality disappeared? Far from it: Actually, the later emerged market and government regulations are a partial substitute for the long existing custom and morality regulation, and a restricting power on the influencing scope of the latter as well. The diminished importance and influence of regulation by custom and morality does not imply its total disappearance. Indeed, in areas where regulation by market and government cannot reach, it still plays a major role. For example, there are places outside the reach of government—remote mountain villages, isolated islands, wilderness areas—but there are people living, working and multiplying there. It is regulation by custom and morality that enables them to continue living and producing there.

We come to a preliminary conclusion: Before the appearance of regulation by market and government and in places where market and government factors cannot reach, regulation by custom and morality is the only form of regulation that works.

1.1.2 Co-existence of the Three Modes of Regulation

Since the appearance of markets and governments, there have been occasions when regulation by custom and morality comes into play together with the other two modes, thereby creating a situation of the three types of

regulation co-existing and co-functioning.

A typical example is the social and economic life of medieval cities in Western Europe.

In Western Europe, since the 10th century or so, some old cities in decline experienced a revival. New houses were built on the ruins of the old city, forming new neighborhoods, or industrial and commercial districts emerged along the old city boundaries and gradually became an integral part of the city. More importantly, a group of new cities appeared. Different from the ancient cities in Western Europe both in political and economic terms, these revived or new medieval cities came into being and developed as something different from serfdom and as places of refuge and resettlement for escaped serfs. Many of those serfs became craftsmen and their organizations were called guilds. Members of a guild, or guild-masters, were owners of manual workshops. They sold their products and bought raw materials in the market, so their behaviors were regulated by the market. The administration of the city, or the municipal government, formulated a series of rules for the market and the production and operation of the workshops in terms of product price, operating hours, borrowing and lending rates, etc. This was regulation by government in action.

The guilds also had their own rules. For example, they set a ceiling on the number of journeymen and apprentices in each workshop. And each workshop had very limited number of journeymen and apprentices and the ceiling was not allowed to be broken. In some cities, guilds even made it a rule that each guild-master could have only one workshop. In some cities, guilds also set restrictions on production equipment in each workshop, such as the number of ovens in bakeries, the number of looms in textile workshops and so on. Some guilds forbade opening underground workshops, or covertly producing on equipment hidden in other people's houses. All facilities should be for self-use only and hiring was not allowed. Some guilds set limits on family members involved in production. For example, only sons, brothers and nephews of an owner were allowed to participate in production and no further relatives could be included. To do otherwise was considered covert hiring and an obvious violation of the rules. All rules and restrictions were set by the guilds to safeguard the stability of their trade at a period when the cities of medieval Western Europe were in their initial stage of development. By this means, no manual workshop would expand to a size large enough to threaten other workshops. The rules set by the guilds were based on traditions

accepted by all members, and therefore they belong neither to regulation by market nor to regulation by government, but to regulation based on the power of custom and morality. In those medieval cities, regulation by custom and morality co-existed with regulation by market and government, all of them playing a role.

Another example of such co-existence is found in the activities of some farming communities in modern Western countries. With the maturity of the market, farmers likewise subjected their producing activities to regulation by market, such as what crops to plant, what livestock to raise and at what price to sell their products, etc. Any fluctuation in market price would influence the production and operation of farming households. Price changes, surplus and shortage of farm products are matters of concern to government; when necessary it takes different measures to regulate the market so as to ensure a certain amount of income for each farming household and that the prices of agricultural products are kept at a certain level. Besides regulation by market and government, farmers also set up their own organizations, with the aim of protecting their own interests, minimizing losses caused by market fluctuation or resisting government measures injurious to their development, etc. Once joined in such organizations, farmers should obey relevant rules and the organizations should protect the rights of all members whilst restricting their behaviors. This can be classified as regulation by custom and morality. Therefore, farmers' social and economic activities in modern Western countries exist in the context of the three types of regulation.

On those occasions when the three co-exist and function together, the relative strength of the role played by regulation by custom and morality is not necessarily determined by that of regulation by market or regulation by government. Actually, their relationship is too complicated to be summed up with the formula "A is stronger and B weaker or vice versa." Of course, we do often see occasions when regulation by market and government appears weak, regulation by custom and morality becomes stronger to compensate. Here are two illustrative examples.

One: In history, in areas newly developed by immigrant communities, since regulation by market or government did not then function, resource allocation had to depend on regulation by custom and morality. In the early period of the Protestant migrants developing North America, it was regulation by custom and morality that filled the gap caused by the absence of regulation by market and government. The former element was strong and

the latter weak.

China's history affords many similar examples. In the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties, in the last years of the Tang and in the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period, waves of people living in the Central Plains area migrated south and congregated in areas such as Fujian and Guangdong, where families settled down, establishing new villages, preserving their old cultural traditions while starting up new undertakings. In such places, no adequate regulation by market or by government existed, so regulation by custom and morality dominated the social and economic life of the migrants. From this we can see how great the vitality is of cultural tradition formed under the influence of custom and morality. Thanks to the power beyond market and government, namely the power of custom and morality, those immigrants managed to overcome a multitude of difficulties in the turmoil of war, migrating with their families and establishing a new homeland in the remote South.

Two: After the appearance of markets and governments, there were many occasions of great unrest, such as invasion by ethic peoples, peasant uprisings, feudal separatist rule, wars between warlords, etc. A folk adage goes, "take shelter in the towns at times of minor unrest and in the villages during major upheaval." In the former case, country folks were likely to take refuge in towns, since these were guarded by soldiers and people were safer there, a proof that regulation by government still worked in towns and that social and economic order was maintained. At times of major upheaval, townspeople were likely to flee to the countryside, to remote villages or mountain areas in particular, since towns, usually being places of military and strategic importance and therefore fiercely contested, faced the risk of siege and running out of water and food. Even government forces could not maintain normal order, so people had to flee to the countryside, putting as much distance as possible between themselves and the towns. At such times of great upheaval, trade was suspended, and regulation by market could not function. With government paralyzed, regulation by government failed too. However, in remote villages or mountain areas far from the towns, there were still residents living and working. So how did such communities and economy run? How were resources allocated? All these depended on a regulating force beyond market or government; namely, the force of custom and morality, which, in times of great upheaval, helped to keep social and economic order and enable people to live, survive and multiply. This

illustrates the increase in strength of regulation by custom and morality with the weakening of regulation by market and government.

Nevertheless, as previously stated, the three types of regulation relate with each other in a complicated way. There are situations where A is strong and B weak or where A is weak and B strong. But there are also situations where both are strong or weak. For example, in situations where the market is immature and the market mechanism imperfect, the role of regulation by market in resource allocation will be restricted; at the same time, if the government fails to set certain rules or fails to enforce them seriously or allows rule-infringement to go unchecked, it means regulation by government in resource allocation is weak. When regulation by market and government are both weak, one cannot generalize on whether the role of regulation by custom and morality is weak or strong. The answer requires analysis of the specific situation.

One should point out that a custom is something that most people accept and follow, and a moral is a belief, a principle for treating oneself and others and conducting oneself in society. For regulation by custom and morality to play an important role in social and economic life, a precondition would be the majority's endorsing and following the custom and their belief in and support of certain morals and principles. In situations where regulation by market and government are both weak, if the majority in society do not accept a custom formed by tradition or do not totally endorse it, they cannot be said to follow it; if the majority in society lack a certain moral belief or do not adhere to a certain moral principle, then the role of regulation by custom and morality will be insignificant. Here we have a situation where all three types of regulation are weak, social and economic life is bound to fall into chaos, resource allocation will be disorderly and inefficient. On the contrary, in occasions when both market and government regulations are weak, as long as people accept and follow their traditional habit, embrace and stick to certain moral belief and principles, the role of custom and morality regulation will be significant and fill the gap caused by the weakness of the other two regulations. An example of this is the experience of migrant societies in Chinese history.

This shows that the strength or weakness of regulation by custom and morality is not necessarily directly linked to that of regulation by market or government: it very much depends on the degree of people's subjective effort, on how important they deem such regulation and how actively they exercise

it in their life.

Similarly, at times when regulation by market can fully play its role, when government seriously exercises its responsibility for high-level regulation, the strength of regulation by custom and morality will depend on specific situations. With the emergence of markets and governments, once their regulating functions began to come into effect, the scope of regulation by custom and morality shrank, and regulation by market and government replaced it in many areas. Importantly, however, the shrinking of scope is not the same thing as a diminution in strength. In the larger context where regulation by market and government fully play their due roles, provided people regard regulation by custom and morality as important and ensure that it plays its role, its influence will be both striking and beneficial. In short, human effort is a decisive factor. This will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

壹　历史的回顾

一、习惯与道德调节的含义

在讨论习惯与道德调节的含义及其在历史与现实生活中的作用时，有必要先从资源配置问题谈起。

人们常常问道：经济学究竟是研究什么的？为什么要研究经济学？不同的学派会有不同的回答。但无论怎样回答，学者们总离不开这样一种思路：经济学是研究资源配置的，研究经济学是为了使有限的资源被用于最合理、最有效的方面，以便增加社会总的财富，使社会日益富裕。有些学者再深入一步，作出这样的解释：研究经济学，是为了寻找一种令人满意的机制，以便合理利用资源，有效配置资源，既能增加社会财富，又能使财富或收入的分配趋于公平，因此，经济学是研究资源配置及其机制的科学。

在经济学中，历来有关资源配置机制的研究有两种趋向。一种趋向是：认为市场机制能够合理地、有效地配置资源，资源配置学说无非是一种通过市场对经济自发进行调节的学说。另一种趋向是：认为市场机制在资源配置方面具有相当大的局限性，如资源利用率低、资源配置不合理、收入分配失调等，因此要以政府调节（或计划调节）来取代市场机制，至少应用政府调节来纠正市场机制的局限性。上述两种趋向是基本的趋向，介于两者之间的是这样一些观点：或者认为市场调节与政府

调节应当并重；或者认为市场调节应当为主、政府调节应当为辅；或者认为政府调节应当为主、市场调节应当为辅。总之，从经济学中有关资源配置机制的研究状况可以看出，社会经济生活中两种调节（市场调节和政府调节）的存在是被公认的、没有引起疑问的。问题只是在于各派对市场机制在资源配置中的作用估计程度的分歧，以及对政府调节在资源配置中的作用估计程度的分歧。

市场调节与政府调节是两种不同的资源配置方式。实际上，自从有了市场和政府以后，社会经济生活中就不存在唯一依靠市场调节或唯一依靠政府调节的问题。在市场经济条件下，比较符合实际的说法是：市场对资源配置的调节是基础性调节，政府对资源配置的调节是高层次的调节。无论是市场调节还是政府调节，都对整个社会经济活动发生影响，即只要存在交易活动，市场机制就会时时处处起作用；只要存在着政府，政府也会对这些交易活动进行直接或间接的管理，或进行指导，使之既符合政府预定的目标，又不至于越过政府规定的范围。正由于在市场经济中市场调节是一种基础性调节，所以可以把市场调节称做第一次调节；由于政府调节是一种高层次调节，所以可以把政府调节称做第二次调节。

现在我们准备探讨的是：难道社会经济生活中只有市场调节与政府调节这两种调节？在市场调节与政府调节这两种调节之外，还有没有另外的调节，或称之为第三种调节？如果社会经济生活中存在着第三种调节，那么它究竟是什么？

正如前面已经谈过的，无论是市场调节还是政府调节，都是指资源按照什么样的机制在进行配置，也就是说，社会经济生活遵循什么样的资源配置原则在运行。我们不妨设想一下，人类社会的产生已经有多少万年了，市场的出现大概是几千年前的事情，政府的形成要晚于市场的出现，至多也不过几千年。没有市场，就不会有市场调节；没有政府，也不会有政府调节。既然人类社会的历史悠久，市场的出现要晚得多，政府的形成更晚，那就要问一句：在市场调节与政府调节出现之前的漫长岁月里，人类社会经济是如何运行的？资源是如何配置的？在远古时代，既没有市场调节（因为那时还没有市场），又没有政府调节（因为那时还没有政府），在资源配置方面是不是还存在着市场调节与政府调节之外的另一种调节？否则人类社会如何能存在并延续下来？

具体地说，物物交换最初出现于部落与部落之间，这也许可以被称为萌芽状态中的市场自发调节，那时，国家还没有形成，政府也还没有成立，所以也就谈不上什么政府对资源配置的管理或调节。试问，在交换出现以前的长时间内，以及在部落与部落之间的交换出现之后的一个部落内部，支配着人与人之间或部落内部的资源配置的，既不可能是市

场力量，也不可能是政府力量，那又是什么呢？只能是一种习惯力量或道德力量。习惯力量或道德力量形成一种文化传统，被人们普遍认同并且共同遵守，人们依靠这种文化传统来调整彼此之间的关系，处理彼此之间的关系。人们的行为在习惯力量或道德力量形成的文化传统影响下，逐渐有序，逐渐规范化，哪怕在远古时期，也是如此。比如说，远古时期，一个部落内部的成员是如何进行生产活动的？各人担负什么样的工作，应当尽哪些义务，享有哪些权利？这只可能以习惯力量或道德力量为依据。又如，在一个部落内部，在人与人之间，生活资料是怎样分配的？特别是在食物十分短缺的情况下，部落内部如何进行食物分配？这也只可能按照习惯与道德原则来调节。当时，假定人们违背已经形成的传统，人们的行为不规范，资源的配置紊乱无序，那只会引起部落内部的不稳定，破坏人们所接受的秩序，结果将造成一场灾难。

由此可见，按习惯力量或道德力量进行的调节，就是超越市场调节与政府调节的另一种调节，可以称之为第三种调节。由于生产要素是按照习惯方式提供的，生产要素的使用是按照习惯方式进行的，生产的成果也按照习惯方式分配，所以理所当然地称做习惯调节。习惯来自传统，来自群体的认同，而群体认同的基础是道德信念、道德原则，道德支持了习惯的存在与延续，因此，习惯力量的调节与道德力量的调节是不可分的。可以把两者结合在一起，合称为习惯与道德调节。

已故英国著名经济学家约翰·希克斯（John Hicks）在所著《经济史理论》一书中，使用了“习俗经济”一词，他认为这是最早的非市场经济模型。他指出，“新石器时代的或中古初期村社的经济以及直到最近在世界许多地区仍残存的部落共同体的经济，都不是由它的统治者（如果有的话）组织的，而是建立在传统主体上的。个人的作用是由传统规定的，而且一直如此。”[1]根据希克斯的论述，在“习俗经济”中，“人们的许多古老方式不大受外来压力的干扰。他们的经济可以运行，因为每一个成员都在完成指定给他的任务，包括由他在指定的范围内作出决定；几乎从来不必从‘中心’作出凌驾一切的决定”。[2]这种“习俗经济”是能够自我调整，以维持均衡状态的。希克斯写道：“一旦这种系统达到了均衡状态，它就能长期持续，无需改组——无需作出组织方面的新决定。普通的紧急情况，比如作物歉收或‘平常的’敌人来犯，都不需要新的决定；可以把应付这些情况的办法并入传统的章程之中。只要这种均衡状态持续下去，说不定连行使最高权力的机构都不需要。”[3]可以肯定地说，希克斯笔下的“习俗经济”，就是唯一依靠习惯与道德力量来进行调节的经济。

后来，市场出现了，政府也形成并发挥作用了，习惯与道德调节是否因市场调节、政府调节的出现而消失了呢？事实并非如此。已经出现

的市场调节与政府调节，既是对久已存在的习惯与道德调节的某种程度的替代，也是对习惯与道德调节发挥作用的范围的一种限制。即使如此，习惯与道德调节在社会经济生活中的作用只是缩小了范围，降低了在调节方面的重要程度，但从未消失过。在市场力量与政府力量都调节不到的领域内，习惯力量、道德力量的调节依然起着主要作用。例如，在偏僻的小山村、在孤岛上、在荒原上，那里还有人们居住、生活、劳动。市场力量达不到那里，政府力量也达不到那里，而人们不仅在那里生存了下来，而且繁衍了后代。正是习惯与道德力量的调节使当地的生产和生活持续进行着。

可以得出一个初步的结论：习惯与道德调节是在市场调节与政府调节出现以前唯一起调节作用的调节方式，也是在市场力量与政府力量达不到的领域内唯一起调节作用的调节方式。

二、市场调节、政府调节、习惯与道德调节的并存

市场和政府出现以后，在市场调节与政府调节都起着作用的场合，习惯与道德调节也可能同时发挥自己的作用，于是就形成了市场调节、政府调节、习惯与道德调节三者并存，共同发挥调节作用的格局。

西欧中世纪城市的社会经济生活是一个典型的例子。

在西欧，大约从公元10世纪起，原来衰落不堪的一些古代城市开始复兴，旧城市的废墟上又盖起了新的房屋，形成新的居民区，或者沿着旧城市的边缘，兴起了新的工商业区，它们渐渐同旧城市连成一片。更重要的是，出现了一批新的中世纪城市。无论是复兴了的旧城市还是新出现的城市，它们在政治意义和经济意义上都不同于西欧古代的城市，它们是作为农奴制度的对立物而产生和发展的，它们成为逃亡农奴的避难所和安身立命之地。来到城市的农奴，不少人成了手工业者。这些城市手工业者的组织是行会，参加行会的是各个手工作坊的主人，又称行东或师傅。当时，手工作坊的产品在市场上销售，它们的原材料来自市场，原材料的购进和产品的销售都受到市场的调节。城市的管理部门即市政当局，对市场和手工作坊的生产经营活动，有一系列规定，包括产品价格、营业时间、借贷利率等，这是政府调节行为的表现。但行会自身也有不少规定。例如，有的城市中的行会规定了每个手工作坊的帮工和学徒的最高限额，通常是少数帮工和少数学徒，超过限额要取缔。有的城市中的行会规定，一个行东只准拥有一个作坊。还有的城市中的行会连作坊内生产设备的数目也作了限制，如烘面包业规定作坊内烘炉的数目，织布业规定作坊内织布机的数目等。有的行会还禁止开设地下作

坊，不准把生产设备藏在别人家里偷偷地生产，生产设备只准自己使用而不得出租。此外，有的行会规定，手工作坊家庭成员参加生产的范围应有所限制，比如家庭成员仅限于行东的儿子、兄弟和侄子，不得把更多的亲戚包括在内，否则就等于变相雇工了。行会所作出的上述规定或限制，都是为了在西欧中世纪城市发展初期维护行业自身的稳定，不让任何一家手工作坊的规模扩大到足以挤垮其他作坊的程度。从性质上说，行会的规定是以成员所认同的传统为基础的，这既不属于市场调节，也不属于政府调节，而是一种习惯与道德力量的调节。习惯与道德调节在这些西欧中世纪城市中是同市场调节、政府调节并存且共同起作用的。

近代西方国家中的一些农民团体的活动，可以被看成是市场调节、政府调节、习惯与道德调节三者并存的又一例证。在一些西方国家，由于市场的发展日益完善，农户们是为市场而进行生产的，农户种植什么作物、饲养什么禽畜、按什么价格销售，都接受市场的调节。市场价格的波动关系到每一个农户的生产和经营。政府对于农产品的价格变化和农产品过剩或短缺的程度是关心的，政府在必要时采取不同的手段来调节农产品市场，以保证农户的一定收入或维持农产品价格的一定水平。政府调节的作用是不容忽视的。但在市场调节与政府调节起作用的同时，农户自己也建立了各种团体，这些团体的宗旨在于保障农户的利益，减少因市场情况的变化而可能造成的损失。此外，对于政府的某些被认为对农户的发展不利的措施进行抗争，等等。农户参加这类团体之后，要遵守团体的有关规定，团体也为保护成员的权益进行工作。农户对团体有关规定的遵守，团体对参加者的行为的约束，就属于习惯与道德调节。近代西方国家农户们的社会经济活动，正是在市场调节、政府调节、习惯与道德调节三者共同起作用的环境中进行的。

在市场调节、政府调节、习惯与道德调节共同起作用的场合，习惯与道德调节作用的强弱并不一定取决于市场调节、政府调节的作用的强弱。三者之间的关系是复杂的，很难用“此强则彼弱，此弱则彼强”的模式来概括。当然，不排除下述情况的一再出现，即在市场调节与政府调节所起的作用较弱的场合，习惯与道德调节的作用会增强，以填补市场调节与政府调节的不足。这里可以举两个例子来说明。

一个例子是，历史上，在新开发地区的移民社会中，由于市场调节与政府调节都还没有发挥应有的作用，这时主要依靠移民们的传统，即习惯与道德力量来进行资源配置的调节。新教徒在北美的早期开发活动中，习惯与道德力量所起的调节作用恰恰填补了当时因缺少市场调节或政府调节而留下的空缺。这是“市场调节弱或政府调节弱而习惯与道德调节强”的例证。类似的例证在中国历史上也可以发现很多。南北朝时

期、唐朝末年和五代十国时期，中原居民一批批南下福建、广东，家族聚居，自成村落，南下的中原居民保存了自己的文化传统，在新的地区开始了新的事业。市场调节与政府调节在这些地区都是不充分的，习惯与道德调节起着支配南下移民们的社会经济生活的作用，也反映了一种由习惯与道德力量所形成的文化传统及其顽强的生命力。移民们之所以能在战乱中不顾艰难险阻，举族南迁，并重振家园，开拓进取，有赖于一种超越市场与超越政府的力量，即习惯与道德力量。

另一个例子是，历史上，自从市场出现和政府形成之后，有过许多次大动乱，如外族入侵、农民起义、诸侯割据、军阀混战等。中国民间流传着两句话，叫做“小乱居城，大乱居乡”。小乱时，乡下的人不少跑到城里去避难。这是为什么？因为城里一般有兵把守，治安比较好，说明政府的管理与调节在城里仍然起着作用，城里的社会经济秩序得以维持。大乱时，城里的人为什么纷纷到乡下去避难呢？而且往往到很偏僻的乡村或大山沟里去避难？这是因为，城市通常是兵家必争之地，战火激烈，甚至会被包围，断粮断水，住在城里难逃一劫，这说明政府的力量连城里的正常秩序都维持不下去了，人们只好往乡下躲，逃离城市越远越好。在这样的大动乱年代，市场交换停顿了，市场调节起不了什么作用；至于政府，这时已瘫痪了，政府调节已失灵了。但在远离城市的偏僻的山沟里、小村寨里，仍有人居住、生产、生活，这里的社会经济是如何运行的呢？资源是如何配置的呢？靠的正是市场调节与政府调节以外的力量，即习惯与道德力量。习惯与道德调节在大动乱的年代维持着社会经济的秩序，使人们得以生存和繁衍。这也可以说明习惯与道德调节的作用是在市场调节与政府调节的作用减弱之后增强的。

然而正如前面所说，市场调节、政府调节、习惯与道德调节三者之间的关系是复杂的。不仅存在着“此强彼弱，此弱彼强”的情况，而且还存在着“此弱彼也弱，此强彼也强”的情况。比如说，在某些场合，如果市场发育不良，市场机制不完善，市场调节在资源配置中的作用是受限制的，这表明市场调节的作用弱；与此同时，如果政府对于社会经济秩序的维持，或者缺乏一定的规则，或者不认真执行这些规则，或者对于违背这些规则的行为不闻不问、听之任之，从而政府调节在资源配置中的作用是有限的，这表明政府调节的作用弱。但是，在市场调节作用和政府调节作用都弱的情况下，习惯与道德调节作用究竟是弱还是强，不可一概而论，要根据具体情况才能作出分析。

应当指出，习惯是大多数人认同并遵循的，道德是一种信念，是一种待己、待人、处世的原则。要让习惯与道德调节在社会经济生活中起重要作用，应以大多数人对习惯的认同和遵循、对一定的道德信念和原则的信奉与坚持为前提。在市场调节作用和政府调节作用都弱的条件

下，如果社会上大多数人不以某种传统所形成的习惯为然，即对此缺少认同，那就更谈不上对此的遵循；如果社会上大多数人缺乏一定的道德信念，也不去坚持一定的道德原则，那么习惯与道德调节的作用就不可能明显，于是就会形成市场调节、政府调节、习惯与道德调节都弱的格局。这种情况下的社会经济秩序必定混乱不堪，资源配置必然在无序中低效率地、甚至负效率地进行。反之，尽管客观上市场调节作用弱，政府调节作用也弱，但只要人们遵循传统所形成的习惯，信奉并坚持一定的道德信念和道德原则，习惯与道德调节就能在社会经济生活中发挥应有的作用，并可以填补因市场调节与政府调节不足而留下的空白。前面提到的历史上某些移民社会的发展，就是市场调节与政府调节虽弱，但习惯与道德调节作用却强的例证。

这说明：习惯与道德调节作用的强弱不一定与市场调节、政府调节的弱或强有直接的联系，而在很大程度上取决于人们主观上的努力程度，取决于人们是否重视并积极发挥习惯与道德调节的作用。

同样的道理，在市场调节作用得到充分发挥时，在政府认真地执行高层次调节任务时，习惯与道德调节究竟能起多大的作用，习惯与道德调节的作用究竟是弱还是强，也要根据具体情况而定。前面已经谈到，自从市场出现和政府形成以后，由于市场调节与政府调节发挥了作用，所以习惯与道德调节的范围要比市场出现和政府形成以前缩小了，本来由习惯与道德调节起支配作用的领域，不少由市场调节或政府调节来替代。但要指出的是：习惯与道德力量的调节范围的缩小同习惯与道德调节作用的强弱并不是一回事。在市场调节与政府调节都能充分发挥应有的作用的大环境中，只要人们重视并注意发挥习惯与道德调节的作用，习惯与道德调节的作用就显著，效果就好。事在人为，千真万确。关于这些，留在本书以下各章中再详加阐述。

1.2 Non-traded Sector

1.2.1 Various Relationships in the Non-traded Sector

In the first section, we clarified this issue: A third type of regulation beyond market and government did exist in history, namely regulation by custom and morality. Its strength or otherwise, its clear results or otherwise, depend on whether people attach importance to it and whether they care that it plays its role. In other words, the crucial factor is people's subjective effort. In this section, we analyze the various relationships in the non-traded sector.

In social and economic life, the traded sector and the non-traded sector co-exist. In the former, market rules play the major role in terms of regulating resource allocation, etc. Government guides and manages the market, makes up for the limitations of regulation by market and rectifies the defects of the market. In the traded sector, regulation by market is basic in nature whereas regulation by government is at a higher level. But the same is not true of the non-traded sector, since market rules have no role here and the market mechanism does not exist here. Because of the absence of regulation by market in the non-traded sector, the role of regulation by government differs from its role in the traded sector.

To better explain the features of the non-traded sector, let us first discuss human needs, human behaviors and interpersonal relations. In real life human beings are "social men" living in communities, having their own needs, pursuits, aspirations and emotions. They have relatives, friends, colleagues and townsmen with whom they are in contact. In social contacts, they have to consider various relationships, follow conventions and take care not to overstep boundaries. They are influenced by their surroundings and may influence others as well. They persuade others and are themselves persuaded. Their experiences constantly change, as do their emotions and their ways of thinking. As "social men" they behave thus in the traded sector and in the non-traded sector this is even more the case. Therefore, the study of various activities and relationships in the non-traded sector is in a certain sense the study of countless individual "social men" and the various groups they form.

The non-traded sector not only exists but constitutes a rather large part of social and economic life. The American economist Kenneth Boulding pointed out that a price-centered trading economy is far from capable of including all human economic activities. As well as the exchange economy, there is the "grants economy," an economy that is not founded on exchange but on bestowal. According to Boulding, the "grants economy" has three origins: love, fear and ignorance.[4]

What is "bestowal" originating from "love"? People have relatives and other close ties. Out of "love", they are willing to grant part or all of their properties and incomes to others, a behavior that has nothing to do with price-centered exchange economy.

What is "bestowal" originating from "fear"? For example, a man is threatened by robbers whose goal is to take his belongings. This man has to choose between money and life. Obviously he will choose the latter by giving

his money to the robbers. This is also "bestowal behavior," but "bestowal" engendered by "fear."

What is "bestowal originating from "ignorance"? According to Boulding, when two parties conduct an unequal exchange, one party takes advantage of the "ignorance" of the other, gaining more whereas the other suffers losses. This is the equivalent of bestowal behavior, bestowal out of "ignorance," and is plainly different from an exchange economy situation.

Boulding came to the conclusion that the "grants economy" was different from the exchange economy and that traditional economics could analyze phenomena only in the exchange economy, not in the "grants economy."

Boulding's statement is not without merit and his proposal of "grants economy" is educative. But it is hard to sum up relationships and activities in the non-traded sector as "grants." To be more precise, though social and economic life can be classified into traded and non-traded sectors, to say it comprises only exchange economy and "grants economy" is incomplete. The traded sector might be equivalent to exchange economy, but the non-traded sector is far more complicated than a "grants economy" and the relationships within do not stop at "love," "fear" and "ignorance." Those relationships, such as ties among families, clansmen, relatives, neighbors, townsmen, schoolmates, friends, or teachers-andstudents, are not trade-centered, so they cannot be summarized under the three origins. Academic activities, social gatherings, charitable events, etc., are generally non-trade-oriented, but they cannot be summarized under the three origins, either. Therefore, it is more accurate to say "various relationships and activities in the non-traded sector" than merely use the word "grants."

Relationships and activities in the non-traded sector are not in the realm of regulation by market, nor are they subject to market rules. The market mechanism does not intervene in the non-traded sector. As for regulation by government, its main role in the sector is to set boundaries for those relationships and activities, namely, that none of them should overstep the limits established by law or violate laws, at pain of punishment for infringement. However, government does not involve itself in how the activities are conducted or how the relationships are handled, but allows the force of custom and morality to play the main role here. This is an important distinction between the non-traded and the traded sectors.

1.2.2 Rationality of Individual Behaviors in the Non-traded Sector

A society is formed by countless individuals, who have dealings with each other and sometimes conflicts. Individuals have individual goals but the important issue is how to avoid one person's goals conflicting with those of others. If realizing one person's goal entails damaging that of the other, then the rationality of their behavior and goals should be probed. The question of rational behavior and rational goals applies in economic and social activities alike. A person's rational economic behavior and goals may well be at one with his own rational social behavior and goals, but they might be irrational when considered from the perspective of social activities. Therefore, as "social persons," we have to consider the rationality of our behavior and goals from an economic perspective and from a social perspective too. Why do we raise such a question in discussing the relationships and activities in the non-traded sector? It is because this question is linked to the limitation of regulation by market and by government as well as to the effectiveness of regulation by custom and morality.

Of course, society expects the behavior of individuals to be in line with social norms and individual goals to be in line with those of social development. If an individual's behavior is not in line with social norms but will not actually harm normal social and economic operation or hamper achieving society's development goals, there is no need for society to regulate it. If an individual's goal is not in line with that of social development, provided it will not harm the interests of other individuals or hamper the realization of their goals, there is no need for society to regulate this, either. The need for society to regulate arises only when individual behavior and goals are at odds with social norms, with the goals of social development and the interests of others or overstep the limits set for them.

In the traded sector, regulation appears simpler: On the basis of regulation by market, regulation by government can roughly coordinate individual behavior and goals with social norms, so regulation by custom and morality plays only a supplementary role here. In the non-traded sector, things get more complicated. As addressed above, relationships and activities here are independent of the market mechanism, i.e. regulation by market has no role in this sector. Nor does regulation by government interfere too much here: Its main role is to set boundaries for those relationships and activities,

i.e. none of them should overstep or violate laws. This leaves considerable space for regulation by custom and morality, which is the form of social regulation most relied on and acceptable to the majority when individual behavior and goals are out of line with social norms or overstep boundaries.

Then we hit a problem: In the non-traded sector, individual rational behaviors may be legal, but to be rational does not imply legality, nor does legality imply that a behavior is rational. But we have to ask: Why does the traded sector have no such problem of rationality/legality in individual behavior? In the traded sector, provided the market mechanism is complete, regulation by government is effective and laws are executed seriously, individual behaviors usually can be legal and rational at the same time. In trading activities, even incomplete laws in need of modification are still effective and have to be abided by. Only thus can the trading parties be protected by law. Since a trade involves the economic interests of both parties, it has to be both rational and legal. No trading activity or individual behavior, even if it is considered rational, will go on happening if it is not legal: at most it will be a one-off. In general, in the traded sector, economic interests determine that legality is generally equivalent to rationality.

Things are different in the non-traded sector. Laws only set boundaries within the non-traded sector and no activity should overstep them. Relationships and activities within this sector are mainly regulated by custom and morality. Therefore there is a direct correlation between the boundaries of rationality of non-trading behaviors and the scope defined and endorsed by custom and moral beliefs and principles. In the non-traded sector, the fact that a behavior on the part of an individual is rational does not equate to its being legal, and it certainly does not mean such a behavior is illegal. In fact, within the boundaries defined by law, many relationships are not managed by specific laws, but depend on regulation by custom and morality and by cultural traditions. The fact that an individual's behavior is legal does not equate to its being rational, and it certainly does not imply that legal behavior is irrational. Since there are no specific laws to follow in handling many relationships in the non-traded sector, when a law is brought in it might not be in accord with custom or traditions, thus giving rise to a situation which is legal but not rational.

Unlike in the traded sector, if the situation arises in the non-traded sector where an individual behavior is rational but not legal or legal but not rational, this is considered quite normal. This is because when we talk about legal or

non-legal in this context it does not mean whether those relationships or activities have or have not overstepped boundaries defined by laws: it is about whether or not there are specific laws to follow within those boundaries. The reason we say regulation by custom and morality is extremely important to the non-traded sector is because the greater the lack of specific laws to follow, the greater the need for this type of regulation; the more individual behaviors need to be in harmony with social norms, the greater the need for regulation by custom and morality.

The fact that people are "social men" is more obvious in the non-traded sector. Since people are "social men," the ability of regulation by market and government to deal with issues involving people is rather limited, and regulation by custom and morality is more applicable here. If we consider this argument from the angle of "social men," we will have a deeper understanding.

贰　非交易领域

一、非交易领域内的各种关系

在第一节，我们主要阐明这样一个问题：从历史上看，社会经济生活中的确存在着市场调节与政府调节以外的第三种调节，即习惯与道德调节。习惯与道德调节作用或强或弱，其效果或明显或不明显，关键在于人们是否重视习惯与道德调节，是否注意发挥它的作用，换言之，关键在于人们主观上努力与否。

在这一节，我们将转入非交易领域内的各种关系的分析。

在社会经济生活中，交易领域与非交易领域并存。在交易领域内，市场规则起着作用，市场机制调节着资源的配置，政府指导市场，管理市场，对市场调节的局限性加以弥补，对市场的缺陷进行纠正。市场调节作为基础性调节，政府调节作为高层次调节，是就交易领域而言的。

而在非交易领域内，则是另一种情况。既然是非交易领域，市场规则是不起作用的，市场机制也进入不了这个领域。同时，由于不存在市场调节这样的基础性调节，政府调节在这里所起的作用也就不同于交易领域了。

为了更好地说明非交易领域的特点，让我们先着手讨论人的需要、人的行为、人与人之间的关系。现实生活中的人，是“社会的人”，是一个生活在人群之中的人，他有自己的需要、自己的追求、自己的抱负，

以及自己的喜怒哀乐。他同别人接触、往来，他有自己的亲戚朋友、同乡同事。他在社会交往中，要考虑各种各样的关系，要遵守社会中习惯形成的约束。他会受到周围环境的影响，他也会影响别人。他会听从别人的劝说，他也会劝说别人。特别是，他的经历仍在变动之中，他的情绪也会有波动，他的思想方式不是固定不变的。他正是这样一种“社会的人”，在交易领域内是这样，在非交易领域内更是这样。因此。对非交易领域内各种活动和各种关系的研究，从某种意义上说，就是对无数个“社会的人”以及由他们组成的各种各样的群体的研究。

非交易领域不仅存在着，而且占据了社会经济生活中相当大的份额。美国经济学家肯尼思·包尔丁（Kenneth Boulding）曾经指出，以价格为中心的交换经济远远不能包括人类社会的全部经济活动，除了交换经济而外，还存在着一种“赠与经济”，即不通过交换而通过赠送产生的经济。据包尔丁的解释，“赠与经济”有三个来源：一是出于“爱”，二是出于“害怕”，三是出于“无知”。[4]

什么是由“爱”产生的“赠与”？这是因为，人与人之间存在着亲属关系或其他密切的关系，赠与者出于“爱”，自愿地把财产或收入的一部分或全部赠送给被赠与者。这种赠送同以价格为中心的交换经济无关。

什么是由“害怕”产生的“赠与”？比如说，一个人被强盗拦住了，强盗索取的是财物，于是这个人只好在“要命还是要钱”两者之间作出选择，乖乖地把财物交给强盗。这也是一种赠与，但这是出于“害怕”而产生的“赠与行为”。

什么是由“无知”产生的“赠与”？包尔丁举例说，假定交易双方进行的是一种不等价的交换，较强的一方利用自己的优势，在交易中占了便宜，较弱的一方则由于自己“无知”而在这场不等价交换中吃了亏。这同样相当于赠送，因为较弱一方是“无知”的。这显然不同于交换经济中的情况。

包尔丁由此认为，“赠与经济”与交换经济不一样，传统的经济学只适宜分析交换经济中的现象，而解释不了“赠与经济”中的现象。

包尔丁的上述论述不是没有道理的，“赠与经济”的提出有启发性。但我们很难把非交易领域内的关系与活动简单地归结为“赠与”。准确地说，社会经济生活可以分为交易领域和非交易领域。如果把它分为交换经济与“赠与经济”，那就不够完整了，因为交易领域与交换经济是一致的，而非交易领域内的问题则要比“赠与”复杂得多，非交易领域内的关系要比“爱”、“害怕”、“无知”所造成的关系复杂得多。在非交易领域内，存在着多种多样的关系和活动。例如，家庭内部关系、家族内部关系、亲戚关系、街坊邻居之间的关系、同乡关系、同学关系、师生关系、朋友关系等，都不属于交易关系，也不是用“爱”、“害怕”或“无

知”就能概括的。又如，学术活动、社交活动、联谊活动、公益活动等，一般都是非交易性质的，同样难以包含在“爱”、“害怕”、“无知”所产生的活动范围之内。因此，用非交易领域内的各种关系和活动，要比采用“赠与”一词更为准确。

非交易性质的关系和活动，是不在市场调节之列的。这些关系和活动不按照市场规则进行，市场机制也就不介入非交易领域。至于政府的调节，则主要为非交易领域内的关系和活动划定边界，即所有这些关系和活动，都不得越过法律所划定的边界，不得同法律相抵触。超越了法律划定的边界是违法行为，要被追究。但非交易领域内的这些活动是如何进行的，这些关系是如何处理的，政府并不介入，而让习惯与道德力量在这里起主要作用。这就是非交易领域与交易领域的一个重要的区别。

二、非交易领域内个人行为的合理性问题

社会是无数个个人组成的。人与人之间有交往，有冲突。各人有各人的目标。具有重要意义的是如何使一个人的目标与另一个人的目标不冲突。假定为了实现一个人的目标而不得不使另一个人的目标受到损害，那就要探讨这个人或那个人的行为的合理性以及他们各自的目标的合理性。行为的合理与否和目标的合理与否都不仅是指经济活动方面的，而且也包括社会活动方面的。不仅如此，一个人经济活动方面的行为合理或目标合理，有可能同他在社会活动方面的行为合理或目标合理一致，也有可能从社会活动方面来看是不合理的或不尽合理的。所以，人作为“社会的人”，在行为和目标上不能不同时考虑经济与社会这样两个方面的合理与否。在讨论非交易领域内的关系和活动时，为什么要提出这个问题？因为这涉及市场调节与政府调节的局限性，以及习惯与道德调节的有效程度问题。

如果个人的行为与社会规范一致，个人的目标符合于社会发展的目标，那当然是社会所期望的。如果个人的行为与社会规范并不一致，但这种不一致还不至于影响到社会经济的正常运行，不会损害社会发展目标的实现，那么这种不一致并不需要社会加以调节。如果个人的目标虽然并不符合社会发展目标，但只要这既不会损害其他人的利益，也不会妨碍其他人去实现自己的目标，那么这种不一致同样不需要社会加以调节。只有在个人行为和个人目标与社会规范和社会发展目标，以及其他人的利益不一致而又超过上述限界时，才需要由社会来加以调节。交易领域内的调节比较简单，在市场调节的基础上由政府进行调节，大体上

可以使个人行为与目标同社会规范协调一致，习惯与道德调节在交易领域内可以起到补充作用。而非交易领域内的调节要复杂些。正如前面所指出的，非交易领域内的关系和活动与市场机制无关，因此谈不上什么市场调节，而政府调节则是划定限界，让所有的关系和活动不得超过法律规定的范围，政府并不深入到非交易领域之内去过问或干预各种关系和活动的处理。这就给习惯与道德调节留下了相当大的空间。无论是经济活动还是社会活动，在个人行为与个人目标同社会规范不一致并且超过了上述限界，从而需要社会加以调节时，主要应当依靠习惯与道德力量，这既是人们易于理解的，也是大多数人可以接受的一种调节。

这里会遇到一个难题，这就是：非交易领域内，个人行为的合理可能是合法的，但合理不等于合法；同样的道理，个人行为的合法可能是合理的，但合法不等于合理。为什么这里需要突出的是非交易领域内个人行为的合理与合法问题，而不是交易领域内个人行为的合理与合法问题？主要是因为，在交易领域内，只要市场机制是完善的，政府调节是有效的，法律的执行是认真的，那么个人行为的合法与合理一般可以统一起来。即使某些法律还不够完善，但在这些法律尚未被修改与通过之前，它们仍然有效，交易活动唯有按照现行法律所规定的去做，当事人才能得到法律的保护。这涉及交易双方的经济利益，因此交易行为的合理只可能在合法的前提下被确认，否则，即使交易活动被认为是合理的，个人的行为也被认为是合理的，但由于不合法，那就很难持续进行下去，至多也只是一次性的交易而已。所以在交易领域内，交易双方的经济利益决定了合法与合理一般是一致的。

然而非交易领域内的情况有所不同。如上所述，法律只规定了非交易领域内活动的边界，即各种活动都不得越过这条边界，至于内部关系的处理和非交易活动的运作则由习惯与道德调节起主要作用，所以合理还是不合理的界定同习惯与道德信念、道德原则所认可的范围直接相关。在非交易领域内，所谓个人行为的合理不等于合法，并不意味着合理的个人行为一定不合法，而是说，在法律划定的边界之内，对许多关系的处理并没有法律细则可循，于是只好依靠习惯与道德来调节，依靠文化传统来调整关系。所谓个人行为的合法不等于合理，也并不意味着合法的个人行为一定不合理，而是说，既然非交易领域内对许多关系的处理没有法律细则可循，于是当有人沿用某些法律条文来处理非交易领域内的关系时，很可能同习惯或传统不符，从而出现合法但不合理的情况。

与交易领域内的情况不一样，在非交易领域内处理各种关系时如果发生了个人行为虽然合理但不一定合法，或者虽然合法但不一定合理，应该认为这仍是正常的。因为这里所说的合法还是不合法，并不是指非

交易领域内的关系或活动是不是越过了法律所划定的边界，而是指在法律划定的边界之内有没有法律细则可循。习惯与道德调节对非交易领域之所以非常重要，正因为越是缺少法律细则可循，就越需要习惯与道德调节；在个人行为同社会规范之间越是需要协调的场合，就越需要有习惯与道德调节。

人作为“社会的人”，在非交易领域内更能体现出来。人作为“社会的人”，市场调节与政府调节在对待人的问题上都会遇到较大的局限性。习惯与道德调节对非交易领域有更大的适用性，假定从人作为“社会的人”的角度来理解，可以理解得更深刻些。

1.3 Between the "Visible Hand" and the "Invisible Hand"

1.3.1 The Nature of Regulation by Custom and Morality

As modes of resource allocation, regulation by market is usually called the "invisible hand" and regulation by government the "visible hand." So, is the third mode, regulation by custom and morality, an invisible hand or a visible one? We may approach this interesting question by analyzing the nature of these modes of regulating resource allocation.

The nature of regulation by custom and morality falls between that of the "invisible" and "visible" hands. Regulation by market is called the "invisible hand" because it is based on the mechanism of supply and demand, is by nature a form of spontaneous regulation beyond the will of people and the result of the continuous contest and interaction of two forces, namely, supply and demand. Regulation by government is called the "visible hand" because it is regulation by departments of government on social and economic life through the application of different measures, is by nature a form of man-made and conscious regulation, the result of administration's effect on economy, and its execution is based on laws, rules and policies. Regulation by custom and morality shares common ground with but also differs from the other two modes of regulation. Therefore, in terms of its nature, it falls between the "invisible" and "visible" hands: Just like the Way of Nature in Daoism, it is visible yet invisible; invisible yet visible.

The similarities between regulation by custom and morality and

regulation by market are as follows. One: Regulation by custom and morality originates within the behavioral agents, who influence social and economic life in the light of the cultural traditions, moral beliefs and principles with which they identify, and bring about changes in resource use efficiency and allocation patterns. By contrast, regulation by government relies on an external force, namely, administrative power, to intervene in social and economic life, and to influence resource allocation and allocation patterns. Two: Like regulation by market, regulation by custom and morality acts in a spontaneous and gradual way to bring order to disordered resource allocation. By contrast, regulation by government attempts to establish order from the outset, an order that exists, unfortunately, only in the government's mind or plan, but not necessarily in real social and economic life. The outcome of regulation by government might be true orderliness or lack of it. It could even turn an orderly state into disorder.

Regulation by custom and morality and regulation by government are similar in that neither mode is separable from people's conscious behavior and both perform in social and economic life as a man-made means of guiding, adjusting or restricting resource allocation; unlike regulation by market, these modes of regulation can be changed if there is the will to do so. Of course, when discussing man-made guidance of economic life and resource allocation, the following difference between the two should also be noted: In regulation by government, the regulator is government, manifested as an external administrative power, whereas in regulation by custom and morality, the regulator is the agent personally or a group he identifies with and is a part of. That is to say, in regulation by government, guidance, adjustment and restriction are realized by an external administrative power, whereas in regulation by custom and morality, it is the members of society themselves who regulate socioeconomic life and resource allocation: it is they who restrict their own behavior.

Considering all those similarities and differences, we can say that regulation by custom and morality is similar to but not equivalent to the "invisible hand": Although it is not equivalent to the "visible hand," there are some points of similarity. Actually, it lies in the space between the two "hands." If each "hand" represents an extremity, where then is the location of regulation by custom and morality?

Regulation by custom and morality is sometimes closer to the "invisible hand" and sometimes closer to the "visible hand." In other words, it comes in

many different forms. Why so? It is because this regulation is manifested by agents influencing social and economic life through self-or mutual-restriction, restrictions that come from the agents themselves, from identification with a group, from respect for and insistence on certain cultural traditions. On different occasions such restriction can take different forms and can be more powerful or less. These different forms and degrees of power can cause this type of regulation to keep shifting position, moving closer to invisibility or closer to visibility. Suppose the restricting power is stronger, for example taking the form of village rules, articles of associations, then regulation by custom and morality is closer to the "visible hand." When the restricting power is weaker, such as in self-discipline, or a group persuading one of its members, then this type of regulation is closer to the "visible hand." But beware: "Closer" does not mean "equivalent," and "closer" to one end is bound to mean "farther" from the other. Therefore, we may conclude as follows: No matter what form it takes or how strong its restricting power is, regulation by custom and morality always lies between regulation by market (the "invisible hand") and regulation by government(the "visible hand").

Among many ethnic groups, regulation by custom and morality often appears as a historical or cultural phenomenon: For example some groups practice cremation, others water burial, others interment and others sky burial. Every group thinks its own practice is better than other forms, in that it is a respectful send-off for the deceased, whereas all other practices are unthinkable. Can one actually say which practice is the most respectful? Since each group has its own unique customs and moral norms, it's hard to say; but respect for the dead is universally seen as essential and the only difference is the form that respect takes.

1.3.2 Forms of Regulation by Custom and Morality—Corporate Culture

Let us examine this question further.

Many researchers have turned their attention to how the corporate culture of an enterprise influences its production, operation and management. But the effect of corporate culture on social and economic life does not fall within the scope of regulation by market or government. Rather, corporate

culture is both an expression of regulation by custom and morality and a result of it.

In the micro sense, the impact of corporate culture on resource allocation is firstly manifested in its influence on how each employee feels about the enterprise. Of all resources, human resource is the most precious, in terms of quantity as well as quality. Quality is manifested in aspects such as technical skills, range of knowledge, health condition and mental attitude. When the number of staff is fixed, the high quality of staff is a reflection of rich human resource. People often ask: What are the most important factors for developing economy and enterprise? Capital, technology and information are very important indeed. But capital needs people to raise and utilize it, technology needs people to develop and operate it, and information needs people to gather and process it. But in every one of these tasks, a good mental attitude is especially important. Without it, the roles of capital, technology and information cannot be brought into play. Accordingly, the most important factor for economic and enterprise development is people, people of enterprising and pioneering spirit. If a society's material wealth is destroyed, new wealth will rise to replace it provided that society still has people of enterprising and pioneering spirit. If it is pioneering spirit and not wealth that is lost, that wealth will wither away in the future, society fall into poverty, its economy incapable of recovery.

So, there is a direct correlation between an enterprise's ability to prosper and the quality of its human resources and of its employees' pioneering spirit. The spirit of the enterprise is embodied in every employee as is the quality of human resources, though this is more evident in some individuals than others. The major target in building a corporate culture is that the enterprise's pioneering and enterprising spirit be strongly expressed in every employee, forming a spiritual driving force. It is a reflection of the improved and enriched quality of its human resources. So, how is such a spirit formed and developed? It is not through regulation by market or government, although both can, up to a point, inspire people to pioneer new fields and make progress. The formation of such a spirit within an enterprise, apart from the related qualities that employees already have prior to joining it, relies mainly on educating its staff and on the influence of its cultural environment. In this sense, regulation by custom and morality plays a role far more important than the other two types.

An enterprise's employees form a group. The harmony of their

relationship is significant to the performance and cohesion of the enterprise. If there is internal disunity, interpersonal friction, lack of harmony, maneuvering for position, departmentalism and back-biting, and unwillingness to listen and cooperate, the resource advantage of the enterprise cannot be leveraged. Moreover, the enterprise will be damaged as the result of lowered or even negative efficiency. An approach to solving this problem could be to put greater effort into management and into building the corporate culture. Firm but fair enterprise rules are helpful in defining the responsibilities of every unit and post, in order to raise the efficiency of the enterprise. The building of corporate culture is beneficial for harmonizing interpersonal relations within the business, improving cohesiveness and transforming negative factors into positive ones. Resource utilization and competitiveness can be improved thereby. Moreover, the influence of the cultural environment thus shaped can improve the quality of new starters and inspire them to be enterprising and pioneering. These things are the embodiment of regulation by custom and morality. They are also the fruits of such regulation.

As one form of regulation by custom and morality, corporate culture has some points of similarity with regulation by government, but the two are different in nature. Under the latter form, government uses regulatory techniques to influence supply and demand of products and labor, thereby influencing cost, price and profit. In this process, production factors are recombined and resource allocation patterns are changed. An enterprise can also recombine production factors and influence resource allocation patterns just as government does, but in developing its corporate culture the mode of regulation it takes is different from that of government. Three points are worth noting here:

One: When regulation by government starts to exert influence on the production and operation of an enterprise, the enterprise has actually been put in a passive position. If regulation by government is direct, the enterprise must accept such regulation irrespective of its own considerations. Even when such regulation is indirect, if it influences the production, operation, cost, price and profit of the enterprise, the enterprise must consider these influences, adjust its own actions and adapt to the changes caused by those influences. Corporate culture is different: because the factor influencing production and operation comes from a force within the enterprise—its employees' own efforts—the enterprise is in an active position. If a business

does not value the development of its corporate culture, that culture will have little influence on its production and operation. Conversely, the more it values corporate culture and the better it builds it, the greater influence the culture will have on the enterprise's production and operation and the greater the likelihood of improved performance.

Two: Study of efficiency involves distinguishing three concepts: production efficiency, resource allocation efficiency and X-efficiency. Production efficiency indicates the ratio of output to input, reflecting an enterprise's utilization efficiency of production factors. Resource allocation efficiency refers to the rationality of resource allocation and its resultant efficiency: Rational allocation improves efficiency and irrational allocation lowers it. X-efficiency refers to the efficiency (or inefficiency) caused by reasons other than output to input ratio or resource allocation. X-inefficiency is a loss of efficiency for reasons as yet unidentified but have to do with insufficient effort on the part of individuals, interpersonal discord or employee dissociation with the goals of the enterprise.[5] An enterprise has advanced facilities and its resource allocation is proper, it will still suffer from lower efficiency (X-inefficiency) if its workers lack enthusiasm and slack off in their duties, do not work for a single purpose but follow their own agenda. Regulation by market as the "invisible hand" can influence production efficiency and resource allocation efficiency, but has basically no effect on the formation or elimination of X-inefficiency. Exactly the same can be said of regulation by government as the "visible hand." The main thing that can influence, reduce or eliminate X-inefficiency is regulation by custom and morality, and corporate culture is a form of such regulation. Why can regulation by custom and morality do this when the other two forms of regulation cannot? It is because X-efficiency is linked to whether employee enthusiasm has been brought into play and whether interpersonal relations are harmonious. Such issues come within the scope of regulation by custom and morality, and more exactly, are the task of corporate culture.

Three: In the second section of this chapter we examined the various relationships and activities within the non-traded sector, noting that the effective agency here is regulation by custom and morality, not regulation by market or government. We should further note that although we have made a distinction between traded and non-traded sectors, the two can often influence each other and the activities of both have an economic and social impact. Regulation by market functions only in the traded sector, regulation

by government also operates mainly in this area, not interfering with activities in the non-traded sector apart from defining boundaries for them by means of law. Only regulation by custom and morality plays a role in both sectors. As a form of this, corporate culture plays such a role as well, supplying what the other two modes lack. Hopefully, in building corporate culture, interpersonal relations in the non-traded sector will be harmonized and employee enthusiasm be brought into play, which in turn will exert positive influence on these same aspects in the traded sector. At the same time, developing corporate culture should help the enterprise shape its unique style, spirit and objectives, something that can only be achieved through regulation by custom and morality, not the other two modes.

The analysis on corporate culture clearly illustrates the special feature of regulation by custom and morality. In addition to corporate culture, community culture and school culture play a similar role in harmonizing interpersonal relations, encouraging an enterprising and pioneering spirit and restricting behaviors. As two other forms of regulation by custom and morality, they should also be given their due weight.

叁　介于“无形之手”与“有形之手”之间的调节

一、习惯与道德调节的性质

市场调节作为资源配置的一种方式，通常被称做“无形之手”。政府调节作为资源配置的另一种方式，通常被称做“有形之手”。那么，习惯与道德调节作为资源配置的第三种方式，究竟是“无形之手”还是“有形之手”呢？这是一个有趣的问题。让我们从资源配置调节方式的性质来着手分析。

从习惯与道德调节的性质来看，它是介于“无形之手”与“有形之手”之间的。市场调节之所以被称做“无形之手”，因为市场调节所依靠的是市场供求机制，从性质上说是一种自发的、不以人们的意志为转移的调节，是市场上供给与需求两种力量反复较量、反复起作用的结果。政府调节之所以被称做“有形之手”，因为政府调节是政府部门运用各种手段对社会经济生活所进行的调节，它依靠的是法律法规和政策措施，从性质上说是一种人为的、有意识的调节，是市场外部的行政力量对经

济起作用的结果。习惯与道德调节同市场调节相比，既有相似之处，又有区别；习惯与道德调节同政府调节相比，也是既相似，又有区别。所以从性质上说，习惯与道德调节介于“无形之手”与“有形之手”之间：道是无形却有形，道是有形又无形。

习惯与道德调节同市场调节的相似之处在于：一方面，它也来自经济中的行为主体内部，即来自每一个行为者自身，它表现为各个行为者按照自己的认同所形成的文化传统、道德信念、道德原则来影响社会经济生活，使资源使用效率发生变化，使资源配置格局发生变化，而不像政府调节那样由来自外部的行政力量介入社会经济生活，对资源配置进行干预，影响资源配置格局；另一方面，它同市场调节一样，使资源的配置自发地、逐渐地从无序走向有序，而不像政府调节那样一开始就想建立某种有序状态，其实，这种所谓的有序还只是政府心目中的有序、计划中的有序，不一定等于实际经济生活的有序。政府调节的结果可能真正有序，也可能依然无序，甚至还有可能把本来多多少少的有序变成无序。

习惯与道德调节同政府调节相似之处在于：无论是政府调节还是习惯与道德调节，都同人们的自觉行动分不开，都表现为对于社会经济生活，对于资源配置的一种人为的引导、调整或约束，而不像市场调节那样不依人们的意志为转移。当然，在谈到对社会经济生活和资源配置的人为的引导、调整或约束时，也应当注意到两者的下述区别，即在政府调节之下，调节者是政府，它表现为一种外部的行政力量，而在习惯与道德调节之下，调节者是行为者本身，或者是行为者认同并参加的群体，也就是说，在政府调节之下，是由外部的行政力量对社会经济生活和资源配置进行人为的引导、调整或约束，而在习惯与道德调节之下，则是由社会成员自己来调整社会经济生活和资源配置，由他们自己来约束行为。

正由于习惯与道德调节既与市场调节、政府调节相似，又与市场调节、政府调节不同，所以它既相似于“无形之手”，但又不等于“无形之手”；它既不等于“有形之手”，却又与“有形之手”有相似之处。实际上，它介于“无形之手”与“有形之手”之间。假定“无形之手”为一端，“有形之手”为另一端，两端之间有一段距离，那么习惯与道德调节的位置究竟在哪里呢？

可以这么说，有时习惯与道德调节比较接近“无形之手”，有时则比较接近“有形之手”。或者说，习惯与道德调节有各种不同的形式，有些形式距离“无形之手”近一些，有些形式距离“有形之手”近一些。为什么会这样？这是因为，习惯与道德调节表现为行为者对社会经济生活中的行为的自我约束或相互约束，这种约束来自行为者自身，来自行为者对

群体的认同，来自行为者对某种文化传统的尊重和坚持。在不同的场合，这种约束可能以不同的形式出现，而且约束的力度有大有小。约束形式的不同和约束力度的不同，使得习惯与道德调节在“无形之手”这一端与“有形之手”另一端之间游移不定，其位置或者靠拢这一端，或者靠拢那一端。比如说，假定习惯与道德调节的约束力较强，例如体现于乡规民约、行会章程之类的形式中，它就比较接近“有形之手”；假定习惯与道德调节的约束力较小，例如体现于行为者的自律、群体对某一成员的劝说之类的形式中，它就比较接近“无形之手”。应当指出，接近、靠拢毕竟不是相等、一致。而且，接近这一端必定远离另一端，这样，可以作出如下的判断：习惯与道德调节不管以何种形式出现，不管约束的力度如何，它始终位于市场调节（“无形之手”）与政府调节（“有形之手”）之间。

从各个民族的历史文化的角度看，习惯与道德调节往往表现为一种历史文化现象。比如说，有的民族实行火葬，有的民族实行水葬，有的民族实行土葬，还有的民族实行天葬。实行某一种葬法的民族总认为自己的葬法要优于其他葬法，认为这是尊重死者的葬法，而认为其他各种葬法不可思议。能认为究竟哪一种葬法最为尊重死者？很难说清楚，因为每个民族都有自己行之多年的风俗习惯和道德规范。然而，尊重死者却被所有的民族认为是必要的。不同的葬法，只不过是不同的尊重死者的形式而已。

二、习惯与道德调节的形式之一——企业文化

让我们对这个问题再做进一步的考察。

企业文化对企业的生产、经营、管理的影响，已被研究者们所注意到。企业文化建设对社会经济生活的作用既不属于市场调节的范围，也不是政府调节的内容。企业文化建设是习惯与道德调节的表现，也是习惯与道德调节作用的成果。

企业文化对微观意义上的资源配置的影响首先表现于对企业中每一个成员的精神状态的影响。在资源中，人力资源是最宝贵的。人力资源不仅由人力的数量来表示，而且也由人力的素质来表示，人力的素质体现在技术水平、知识面、体质、精神状态等方面。在人力数量为既定的条件下，人力的素质越高，越能反映人力资源的充裕。人们常问道：什么是经济发展、企业发展最重要的因素？当然，资本、技术、信息都很重要。但资本是靠人来筹集和运用的，技术是靠人来改进和操作的，信息是靠人来收集和加工的，而人的精神状态在资本的筹集和运用、技术

的改进和操作、信息的收集和加工方面所起的作用尤其重要；否则资本、技术、信息的作用也就发挥不出来。因此，经济发展、企业发展的最重要因素是富有进取精神、开拓精神的人。如果社会的物质财富被破坏了，但只要人还存在，体现在人的身上的进取精神、开拓精神仍然存在，那么很快就会有新的物质财富来代替被破坏的物质财富。如果失去的是进取精神、开拓精神而不是物质财富的话，那么财富将会枯竭，社会将陷于贫困，经济将一蹶不振。

就一个企业来说，企业能否兴旺发达，同企业人力素质的高低、企业成员是否具有进取精神、开拓精神有着直接的关系。企业的进取精神、开拓精神体现于企业的每一个成员身上。这种素质可能在某些人身上较为明显，而在另一些人身上则可能不明显。企业文化建设的成绩主要是使进取精神、开拓精神在企业各个成员身上都能强烈地表现出来，并形成一种精神上的动力。这反映出企业人力素质的提高、企业人力资源的丰富。

进取精神、开拓精神是怎样产生与发展的？主要不是靠市场调节而来，尽管市场调节在一定程度上能够激发人们进取与开拓。这也主要不是靠政府调节而来，尽管政府调节在一定程度上也能促进人们去进取、去开拓。在一个企业内部，进取精神、开拓精神的形成，除了同每一个成员在进入企业以前就已具备的素质有关之外，主要依靠的是企业对成员进行的教育和企业文化环境对成员的影响，习惯与道德调节在这里所起的作用远远大于市场调节与政府调节所能够起的作用。

企业成员组成一个群体。人际关系的融洽对于企业效益的增加和企业凝聚力的增强也有着重要意义。如果企业内部不团结，人与人之间存在着摩擦、不协调，甚至钩心斗角，车间之间、班组之间、职能部门之间如果互不服气、不合作，那么不仅资源优势无从发挥，而且一定会带来低效率、负效率，使企业遭受损失。对这样的问题，可以从加强企业管理和企业文化建设两个角度来解决。加强企业管理，严明企业纪律，有助于明确企业内部各单位、各个岗位的人员的责任，以促进企业效率的提高；加强企业文化建设，则有利于企业成员之间关系的协调，增强凝聚力，化消极因素为积极因素，这样，一方面可以由此达到提高资源使用效率、增大企业竞争力的目的，另一方面又可以由此形成一种文化环境，对以后进入企业的人员施加影响，提高他们的素质，激发他们的进取精神、开拓精神。这些正是习惯与道德调节的体现，也是习惯与道德调节的成果。

从习惯与道德调节的形式之一——企业文化——的性质来看，它同政府调节虽有相似之处，但却是两类不同性质的调节。在政府调节之下，政府运用调节手段来影响社会经济中产品和劳务的供给量与需求

量，影响成本、价格和利润，并导致生产要素的重新组合，进而影响资源配置格局。在企业文化建设中，企业虽然也能产生生产要素的重新组合，影响资源配置格局等结果，但企业所采取的调节方式与政府所采取的调节方式不一样。具体地说，有以下三点值得注意：

第一，在政府调节之下，当政府的调节手段对企业的生产经营发生影响时，企业在这方面实际处于被动的地位。如果政府的调节是直接的，那么不管企业自身如何考虑，企业都不得不接受这种调节。即使政府的调节是间接的，但由于政府的间接调节也会对企业的生产经营、成本、价格和利润发生影响，从而企业也需要考虑这些影响，并通过调整自己的行为来适应由此发生的变化。然而企业文化则是通过企业成员自身的努力，从企业内部来影响企业的生产经营过程的。企业在这种调节中处于主动的地位。企业的这种主动性表现为：企业不注重企业文化建设，企业文化起不了多大作用，对企业生产经营过程就不会有什么影响或影响很小；反之，企业越是注重企业文化建设，企业文化建设越有成效，对生产经营活动的影响就越大，企业的效益也就越有可能增长。

第二，在有关效率的研究中，要区分生产效率、资源配置效率和X效率。生产效率是指企业投入与产出之比，反映的是企业生产过程中生产要素的使用效率。资源配置效率是指资源配置是否合理以及由此而带来的效率。资源配置合理，效率得以提高；资源配置不合理，效率必定下降。X效率是指由于投入产出比例与资源配置以外的原因而产生的效率或低效率。X低效率就是一种尚未查明原因的效率损失，它与个人的努力程度不足有关，与人们之间的不协调有关，也与企业目标同职工目标不一致有关。[5]这就是说，即使采用了先进的设备而且资源配置得当，但只要职工的积极性不高、混日子、出工不出力，或企业内部人心涣散、各有各的打算，那就照样会出现低效率，即X低效率。市场调节作为“无形之手”，能影响生产效率和资源配置效率，但对X低效率的形成或消除基本上是不起作用的。政府调节作为“有形之手”，也能影响生产效率和资源配置效率，但同样解决不了X低效率问题。能够对X效率或X低效率产生影响，并能减少或消除X低效率的，主要是习惯与道德调节。企业文化作为习惯与道德调节的一种形式，不仅可以影响生产效率和资源配置效率，还可以影响X效率，使X低效率减少或消除。为什么市场调节与政府调节难以对X低效率发生作用，而习惯与道德调节则有可能减少或消除低效率呢？这是因为，X效率的高低同人的积极性是否发挥、一个单位内部人际关系是否协调有关。这是习惯与道德调节起作用的范围。企业文化作为习惯与道德调节的一种形式在减少或消除X低效率方面之所以能起作用，原因正在于此。

第三，本章第二节曾专门对非交易领域内的关系和活动作了考察，

并指出在非交易领域内起作用的不是市场调节，也不是政府调节，而是习惯与道德调节。现在需要进一步说明的是，尽管我们可以把社会经济生活分为交易领域和非交易领域，但这两个领域彼此会发生影响，并且两个领域的活动都对社会经济产生作用。由于市场调节只是在交易领域内起作用，政府调节也主要在交易领域内起作用，政府调节并不介入非交易领域而只是为非交易领域内的活动划定法律的边界，因此，唯有习惯与道德调节在交易领域和非交易领域这两个领域内都发生作用。企业文化作为习惯与道德调节的一种形式，正具有市场调节或政府调节所缺乏的在交易领域和非交易领域都起作用的特点。在企业文化建设过程中，非交易领域内的人际关系协调了，个人的积极性发挥出来了，肯定会对交易领域内人际关系的协调和个人积极性的发挥起积极的作用。同时，企业文化建设的成果是形成一个企业独有的企业风格、企业精神、企业目标，这些都要依靠交易领域和非交易领域内习惯与道德调节发挥作用，这也是市场调节或政府调节无法完成的使命。

以上我们通过对企业文化的分析，清楚地说明了习惯与道德调节的特点。除企业文化而外，社区文化、校园文化也都与企业文化相同，都有协调人际关系，使人们焕发进取精神、开拓精神，以及对人们的行为进行约束的作用。社区文化、校园文化作为习惯与道德调节的形式，同样应当引起重视。

1.4 Moral Standards and the All-round Development of the Person

1.4.1 Reflection on the Monotonization of Life

In trying for a deeper understanding of regulation by custom and morality we could start by discussing the monotonization of life, something caused by industrialization, a process that every developed country has gone through. Industrialization brings with it more in the way of material goods, but brings greater monotony to people's lives. This has been an important topic for many economists in recent years. For example, in *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, Halford J. Mackinder asked: What are the toxins of modern industrial life? In his view it was the monotony of work, boring social life and the monotony of the boring collective life. He thought it no wonder that the British bet on football matches in order to escape the monotony of their

reality.[6]

Mackinder compared pre-and post-industrialization Europe to the effect that: In ancient Greece and medieval Europe, social organization was fragmented, but every town of a certain size had considerable scope to develop. In Florence, people shaking hands in its streets or people related by marriage, were actually rival masters in the same industry or competing merchants on the same exchange. A young and talented Florentine did not need to pursue a career in some faraway capital since he had many choices to work for and within his own city. He could be the mayor, the prime minister, a general or a commanding officer; he might lead an army to war, a small-scale one admittedly but big enough to call on all his mental resources and his leadership skills. If he were a painter, sculptor or architect, he might be given sole responsibility for designing a commemorative building in the city, rather than watch the work go to a big name architect from elsewhere.[7] In the end, Mackinder says regretfully: Of course no one suggests that you should or could return to institutions on the Athenian or Florentine scale, but the fact remains that you have drained your local life of most of its value and interest by the development of nationwide class organization…If you pursue relentlessly the idols of efficiency and cheapness, you will give us a world in which the young will never see life but only an aspect of life…[8]

We cannot say for sure whether urban life in ancient Greece or medieval Europe was truly so humanistic and full of variety, but what is certainly true is that post-industrialization urban life was as monotonous as Mackinder asserted. If technological progress and automated production are inevitable, it is also inevitable that workers become more and more tightly fettered to assembly lines. As a result, their feelings of boredom, depression and apathy will get worse. Since an industrialized country has no way to revert to a pre-industrial society, the sense of depression can only increase.

Here comes a question of practical significance: With technology advancement and social progress, the content of man's foremost needs will expand. When essential material goods are in short supply, man's foremost needs are food, clothes and shelter. But once these material essentials are adequate, man will seek self-development including the need for a spiritual life being met, and these should count as basic needs too. A society is seriously defective if it possesses material but not spiritual wealth, or if it can satisfy material but not spiritual needs. The two kinds of needs are closely connected. Once material needs are met, people will have spiritual needs that

they hope to satisfy. The meeting of spiritual needs will further develop material production, which in turn will engender higher spiritual needs. Through the interaction and mutual promotion of the two needs, people will develop in an all-round way rather than partially.

The monotony of post-industrialization life can only be overcome by meeting material and spiritual needs. But the questions do not stop there. How can we ensure that both are met? Can we rely solely on economic growth to do so? Will economic growth inevitably result in fully rounded people? Once one form of monotonous living is overcome will it not be replaced by another? What should we focus on in order to avoid the re-emergence of monotony? These questions all merit exploration. Let us now analyze the relations between morality, belief and the all-round development of people.

1.4.2 Definition of "All-round Development of the Person"

What is meant by all-round development of the person? Scholars have yet to reach a conclusive answer. However, no matter what the differences of opinion, there is at least some consensus regarding the premise of this concept. There are three points.

Firstly, the all-round development of people should be based on productivity being developed to a high level. Without this, there will be insufficient supply of material goods and thus the material conditions necessary for all-round development of people and for satisfying their material and spiritual life needs will be absent. At the same time, a sufficiency of free time is also necessary for such development, but there has to be higher productivity before working hours can be cut or annual leave increased.

Secondly, such development should be based on a certain level of education. Without this, a person's material needs may not be met, let alone his spiritual life needs. If the average educational level in a society is low, this will severely limit the development of productivity in that society; consequently, neither material nor spiritual needs can be met and all-round development of people becomes impossible.

Thirdly, such development should be based on a certain belief and level

of morality. A society without morality and belief cannot help its members realize all-round development even if its productivity is high and can provide material products in abundance. In such a corrupt atmosphere people will dissemble, cheat and jostle for advantage in order to be spared difficulty and people's all-round development becomes a pipe dream. Furthermore, these negative elements will surely undermine public security, people will feel unsafe and talk of personal development will be pointless.

Not one of the three points of the premise is dispensable. Highly developed productivity, better education, and good morals and customs are all essential to it. The all-round development of the person means one should not only be equipped with knowledge but also be a person of virtue. No matter what interpretation is put on "all-round development of the person," education and morality are unquestionably components of the premise.

I wrote in my book *System, Targets and People: Challenges Facing Economics*: "People always aspire to improve their lives. In the process of improving it, they increasingly sense that their individual improvement is connected to the improved lives of those around them.… Even if one person's life improves, but that of others does not or actually deteriorates and the social environment becomes more unstable than before, then it's hard to say that life quality overall shows improvement."[9] This passage actually pertains to the connection between moral standards and interpersonal relations, as well as to the understanding of "all-round development of the person."

Morality as a norm is both a power to encourage or constrain individuals and also a principle to be followed in handling relations between people. Everyone hopes his life can improve, i.e. that his material and spiritual needs can be satisfied. However, if his environment lacks a good moral ethos, if those around him do not trust each other, lack a sense of security or have a worsening life situation, then his aspiration cannot become reality. If he alone is well fed, well clothed and well housed, can this really be called a better quality of life? Sadly, the conclusion must be this: In a society without a good moral environment or moral standards it can hardly be said that he is more blessed or that his life quality has improved.

The all-round development of people needs a normal environment, at least in the opinion of the majority. In an anomic society where people must lie to survive, can they be carefree and happy even if they do have food, clothes and shelters? Can their quality of life improve? To understand the concept of all-round development it is crucial to know that an individual is

inseparable from a group, from the people around and from the social environment in which he lives and grows. This awareness helps in understanding the role of morality in the all-round development of people.

1.4.3 Fostering a Fine Social Ethos

The all-round development of people relies on the formation of a fine social ethos and for this to take place there must be moral constraints on individual and group behaviors. As mentioned above, without necessary moral constraints society and economy will fall into disorder and the social ethos will be poor. From an economic operation perspective, if a behavioral agent does not have moral constraints and if there is no mutual moral constraint between agents, the behavior will be short-term oriented, since the agents will anticipate lack of stability and thus lose confidence in the prospects for the economy.

The term "behavioral agent" here covers a very wide range and variety of people: investors reluctant to invest, short-sighted consumers, staff uncertain of the future who just muddle along without initiative or enthusiasm, students unwilling to study hard because of an uncertain future. All are illustrative of anticipated disorder. Granted, there are various reasons for this but there is no denying that lack of moral constraint and an unhealthy social atmosphere number amongst them. The resulting short-termism will distort resource allocation and bring down resource utilization efficiency. Therefore, through regulation by moral force, by establishing moral standards and by fostering a fine social ethos the agents' behavior will be normalized, thereby preventing the emergence of anticipated disorder and short-termism.

Social ethos, visibly or invisibly, guides people in the forming of their beliefs and this guidance is especially important in market economy. Where both the market mechanism and government sectors exert regulation, there are at least two types of guidance on enterprises and individuals: guidance by market and guidance by government. The former can be summed up as profit-led, with "economic man" as its premise, since "economic man" will do all in his power to seek maximum personal profit at the minimum cost. Governmental guidance can be summed up as target-led, although it too can be profit-led sometimes. That is to say, when governmental guidance operates, it too takes "economic man" as its premise. Since man as "economic

man" aims for maximum personal profit and minimum loss, the government can take measures to guide people in the direction the government wants them to take. In this way the individual's interest can be guaranteed and government targets reached. As for an individual, he will always approach things from the angle of cost and profit. If he does not act in accordance with government policies he will pay more and get less, but if he does he will get more and pay less. In this sense, government's guidance can help individuals to achieve a healthy combination of target and profit.

Man is not just "economic man." He is also "social man." Government should ensure people understand what is worth doing and what is not, what should they strive for and what they should not. It amounts to guidance of people's belief but is expressed in the target-led guidance of government. Predominantly by means of education, government manages to get people to see the achievement of government's targets as their own belief. In regulation by government, there is no possibility of belief orientation that is divorced from government targets. But actually, belief orientation can stand alone: this is the task of regulation by moral force. Independent belief orientation is exercised by the individual or a group formed of individuals. However, since individual or group targets are not those of the government, the individual or group belief orientation is different from that of government. For example, adherence to a particular religion may provide a belief orientation, but that orientation can also be independent of religion. Also, adhering to a principle of how to treat others can provide a belief orientation, and this too can be independent.

In the formation of a fine social ethos, the belief orientations of government, of an individual or of a group are often mutually potentiating. Social ethos has an influence on people, helping them develop, strengthen or change their belief, whereas belief orientation can play a positive role in fostering a fine social ethos and thereby further influences the allocation of society's resources. A clear illustration of this is the influence of social ethos on consumer behavior, and the changes in consumer spending and structure in turn influence resource allocation. This is because consumption has a demonstration effect, an effect that is by nature a social one. What society does or does not uphold can find reflection in consumer behavior. For instance, extravagance is a form of irrational consumption that may have a negative impact on the social ethos, since it may exceed one's income or financial capability, or it may excessively take up resources, causing limited

resources be used in an irrational way. To take another example: There are often undesirable spending customs in less developed societies that people feel obliged to follow. Cases in point include the staggering outlay on extravagant funerals, building expensive tombs even during the lifetime of the intended occupant, expensive betrothal gifts from the groom's family, preparing costly dowries, lavish wedding banquets, etc. Such undesirable consumption customs reflect a backward culture. But it is difficult for poor families to resist the invisible pressure exerted by customs; hence the consumption behavior thus formed has a detrimental effect on resource allocation.[10]

Another illustration is that a fine social ethos has a positive influence on the caliber of citizenry and efficiency and that improvement here will in turn have a positive influence on resource allocation. Raising the caliber of the people—in education, health, mentality, morality—can also have a positive impact. History makes abundantly clear, when a country is in transition towards the developed state it should be alert to the possibility of social problems that can occur pursuant to achieving economic development and take measures to nip them in the bud. One such problem is how, in the context of ever higher incomes and ever more abundant material goods, to make people's lives more colorful and meaningful. An advanced society cannot be materially rich but spiritually void: it should meet all material, spiritual and self-development needs. The social ethos should not be allowed to slide downhill, but should be directed towards better and healthier development. And this is where regulation by morality comes in.

1.4.4 Fine Social Ethos and People's Self-development

A society undergoes constant change during its progress from non-developed to developed condition. But one must not confuse social changes with acceptance of those changes by members of society. They are two different things—a distinction between human society and the natural world. Changes in the natural world can be observed and understood by human beings and they can discover the laws behind such changes, but nature will not change its laws as the result of such knowledge. Human society is different. Society's activities are people's activities and through them they come to understand that society. They can not only observe and understand

social changes but also adjust their behaviors to adapt to those changes. They can also take measures to change society. That is to say, human beings and society are mutually influential and adaptive: In adjusting, societies advance and in adapting men develop. In this interaction, the influence of social ethos on social development and on people's self-development is revealed. On the one hand, a fine social ethos helps people to a correct understanding of social change and to timely adjustment of behavior. On the other hand, when there is a fine social ethos, people's behaviors are more conforming and their understanding improves, which is helpful in tackling problems that emerge as society develops.

Undoubtedly, the creation and nurturing of a fine social ethos is a much tougher job than managing or building culture in an enterprise or community. Even at the surface level, in creating a fine social ethos there are no hard targets to meet, nor are there obvious reliable indicators for evaluating whether or not that ethos has been created. That is to say, the fine social ethos concept is an elastic one. However, on further analysis, we will find it does follow certain rules: The higher people's educational and moral level, the better they love life, care about others and support public welfare, and the easier it is to foster and promote a fine social ethos. It is true that effective management or culture building of an enterprise or community can help foster a fine social ethos, but they cannot replace the joint efforts of society at large to enhance the national caliber and foster such an ethos.

People's self-development, the fostering and promoting of a fine social ethos are mutually complementary. The higher the level of man's pursuit, the stronger his sense of social responsibility will be. Such dedication to the public interest will have a beneficial role model effect and help foster and promote a fine social ethos.

Here we need to clear away a misconception, namely the supposition that if a society is economically underdeveloped, people's self-development and caliber improvement will be constrained and it therefore follows that there is no fine social ethos to foster and promote. The reason that this is wrong is because it treats as an absolute the relationship between the degree of economic development and the fostering and promotion of a social ethos, as if a developed economy is the sole factor bearing on the latter. In actual fact, in some very underdeveloped areas (including the underdeveloped stage common to every nation in history) or even in comparatively poor remote villages in developed countries, the social ethos can be a very good one. In

general, the correlation between ethos and economy is rather complex and deserves further research before coming to any conclusions.

But history also demonstrates that the corruption of a country or area often sets in during the transition stage from economic underdevelopment towards developed state. In such a period, the impact of external influences, both good and bad, begins to increase. Moreover, because old social organizations or structures are falling apart and new ones are taking shape and there may be a long period of dividing and re-forming, then social usage and customs, people's mental attitudes, social values and standards will inevitably undergo some changes, drastic changes even. The question of whether the social climate is heading in a good or bad direction involves how we evaluate the changes. If we look at these changes through the prism of the original social structures, values or customs, we may find nothing positive about them. However, if we look at the changes from a different perspective, from the angle of the tobe-reached state of social development, our perception might be reversed and all will seem positive. To speak objectively, in the transitional period, the two trends co-exist, except that negative changes are more easily perceived, and therefore more likely to be discussed and cause dissatisfaction. This situation tends to persist for quite a long time and may not turn for the better until the economy develops, average income rises and national caliber improves. In this process, pure economic growth is not enough: the role of education and culture building cannot be neglected since they will have a positive influence on people's self-development, thereby helping mitigate changes for the worse in the social environment or even prevent such changes.

It's necessary to point out the relation between two works of Adam Smith: *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* and *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. In my book *The Birth and Development of Macroeconomics* (1997) I wrote: "In his books *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) and *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), Adam Smith used the term 'invisible hand.' What he really meant was: A good social order that promotes the public good can be the spontaneous and unintended consequence of human behavior."[11]

In fact, the "invisible hand" in *Wealth of Nations* mainly refers to regulation by market, whereas in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* it encompasses the role of the law of market and the role of moral sentiments. In the history of economic thinking, the idea of "invisible hand" first

appeared in *The Fable of the Bees* (1714), a book written by the Dutch philosopher Bernard Mandeville.[12] Mandeville put forward a proposition that is indicated in the book's subtitle: *Private Vices, Publick Benefits*. In his opinion, individual greed and selfish behavior promote social prosperity and if people abandon their vices and live a poor and simple life, it will spell desolation for society. Adam Smith did not agree. In his opinion, the notion that private vices could create public benefits was an ultra-egotistic and unbridled system. Man, in Smith's view, is more than "economic man" seeking only private benefits. Instead, he must follow rules, respect the interests of others and have a sympathetic heart. Professor Zhao Xiuyi has made a thorough explanation of this point. He points out that Adam Smith's system "affirmed the rationality of people pursuing private interest and well-being on the one hand; on the other, it stressed that such pursuit must be proper, i.e. it must conform to general social rules, and not be intemperate and greedy."[13] Then how did Adam Smith integrate his two books into his theory? According to Zhao's analysis, "Smith's desire was that a country and people's enrichment by market force must rise in step with the maintaining and promoting of morals."[14] In my opinion, Zhao's analysis is both true to Smith's true meaning and brings a fresh insight. Something deserving mention here is that, although Smith did not talk about government intervention functioning as the "visible hand," he always put great emphasis on the role of market rules and laws. In the traded sector, the consequences of violating laws and the consequences of offending moral standards were equally serious and equally not to be dismissed.[15]

肆　道德规范与人的全面发展

一、生活单调化所引起的思考

对习惯与道德调节的理解还可以再深入一步。不妨先从工业化进程中所造成的生活单调化谈起。

一个国家从不发达状态进入发达状态，要经历工业化的过程。工业化固然给人们带来较多的物质产品，同时也使人们的生活变得单调。这是近些年来经济学界所关心的重要课题之一。麦金德（Halford J. Mackinder）在其所著的《民主的理想与现实》一书中，曾以相当大的篇幅来讨论工业化进程中所带来的生活单调问题。他指出：现代工业生

活中的毒素是什么，是工作的单调、无聊的社会生活和无聊的集体生活的单调，怪不得英国人要买足球票来打赌，为的是逃避现实中的单调。[6]

麦金德把欧洲工业化以前和工业化以后的情况作了有趣的对比。他说，在古希腊时代和中世纪的欧洲，尽管社会的组织十分分散，但任何一个相当规模的城镇都有很大的发展余地。当时的佛罗伦萨，在城区街道上握手的人、家庭彼此通婚的人，就是同一行业互争雄长的首脑人物，就是同一交易场所抢做生意的商人。年轻有为的佛罗伦萨人有多少机会可以选择进行什么活动，并且记住，是在本城为了本城而从事活动，不必到某个遥远的首都。他可能当市长、当首相、当将军、当长官，统领人马打仗，当然是一场小规模战争，但足够他绞尽脑汁，运筹帷幄。如果他是个画家、雕刻家、建筑师，他便会被请去担任本地纪念建筑物的工作，而不是眼看哪里来的一位大师设计这些建筑物。[7]麦金德最后不无感慨地说：当然没有人建议你应该或者能够回到佛罗伦萨的体制去，但工业化开始以后，生活越来越单调，以前城市生活中的价值和利益就被汲走了，留下的是死气沉沉、单调的气味：一味以效率和廉价作为追求的偶像所给予人们的，是永远看不到生活，而只能看到生活的一面的世界。[8]

且不说古希腊和中世纪欧洲的城市生活是不是真的那么丰富多彩和富有人情味，至少麦金德所揭示的工业化以后城市生活的单调，仍是事实。如果说技术进步和生产自动化是不可避免的，那么劳动者越来越被束缚在流水作业线上也是必然的。在这种情况下，工人会越来越感到单调、苦闷、没有生气。一个国家已经走上工业化的道路，要想再倒退到工业化以前的社会，根本行不通，于是沮丧的情绪只可能有增无减。

由此涉及一个有现实意义的问题：随着生产技术的发展和社会的进步，人们的基本生活需要的内容将不断丰富。缺乏必需的物质产品时，人们首先需要的是吃饭、穿衣、住房方面的满足。必需的物质产品得到满足以后，人们就要求自身的发展，包括精神生活能得到满足，这些也应该包括在基本生活需要之中。一个社会，如果只有物质财富，而精神上的财富却是贫乏的；如果只能给人们以物质生活上的某种满足，而不能满足人们在精神生活上的需要，那么这样的社会是有重大缺陷的。加之，人们物质生活上的需要与精神生活上的需要紧密联系。在一定的物质生活上的需要得到满足的基础上，人们就会产生精神生活方面的一定的需要，并希望它们得到满足。精神生活需要的满足，又将促进物质生产的进一步发展，并在此基础上使人们产生更高的精神生活上的需要。正是在物质生活需要与精神生活需要相互推动、相互促进的前提下，人将不再是片面发展的人，而成为一个全面发展的人。

工业化以后所出现的生活单调，只有在物质生活需要与精神生活需要都能得到满足的基础上被克服。但问题还不仅限于此。试问：怎样才能使物质生活需要与精神生活需要都能被满足呢？单靠经济增长能解决这个问题吗？经济增长的结果就一定能使人们成为全面发展的人吗？一种形式的生活单调被克服以后，难道不会出现另一种形式的生活单调吗？为了不再出现生活单调感，我们更应当强调什么？所有这些问题都是值得探讨的。下面，让我们转入有关道德、信念与人的全面发展之间关系的分析。

二、对人的全面发展的理解

人的全面发展是指什么？这是一个在学术界尚无定论的问题。但无论在这个问题上有什么看法的分歧，至少在有关人的全面发展的前提方面是有比较一致的认识的。这是指：

第一，人的全面发展应该建立在生产力高度发展的基础上。没有生产力的高度发展，就不可能有充裕的物质产品供给，那么，人的全面发展就缺少必要的物质条件，人的物质生活需要和精神生活需要的满足也就缺少物质前提。同时，人的全面发展是需要在工作之余有较多的自由支配时间的，工作日长度的缩短和年休假日的增多也只有在生产力高度发展之后才能实现。

第二，人的全面发展应当建立在具有一定的文化知识的基础上。一个人，如果没有一定的文化知识，不仅他的物质生活需要不易得到满足，而且他的精神生活需要也很难满足。一个社会，如果平均每人的文化知识水平低，那么社会的生产力发展将受到极大限制，从而无论是人们的物质生活需要还是人们的精神生活需要都是无法得到满足的，这样，人的全面发展也就成为不可能的事。

第三，人的全面发展应当建立在具有一定的道德、信念的基础上。一个社会，即使生产力发展程度较高，能够提供比较丰裕的物质产品，但如果社会风气败坏，人们缺乏良好的道德，没有信念，社会上尔虞我诈，相互倾轧，人们必须靠虚伪才能立足，甚至要靠欺骗才能免于受难。在这样的社会环境中，人的全面发展简直成为一种空想。不仅如此，由于社会风气败坏，道德沦丧，社会治安状况也必定恶化，人们缺乏一种安全感，人的全面发展也就无从谈起了。

作为人的全面发展的前提，上述三个方面是缺一不可的。没有生产力的高度发展，固然不行；没有文化知识水平的提高和良好的道德风尚的形成，同样是不行的。人的全面发展，包括了人的文化知识水平的提

高和良好的道德的具备。不管对人的全面发展有什么样的解释，对文化知识和道德应当成为人的全面发展的考核内容这一点，看来并无争议。

我在所著《体制·目标·人：经济学面临的挑战》一书中曾有这样一段论述："人们有不断改善自己的生活的愿望。人们在改善自己的生活的过程中，会越来越感觉到个人生活的改善同周围的人的生活的改善是联系在一起的。……尽管个人的生活改善了，但如果周围的人的生活不仅没有改善，反而有恶化的趋势，从而个人生活的社会环境比从前更不安定了，那么这也很难说明生活质量是否真的有所提高。"[9]这一段实际上涉及了道德规范同人际关系之间的关系，也涉及了对人的全面发展的理解问题。

道德是一种规范，它不仅是对个人的一种激励或约束，而且也是处理人与人之间关系的一种原则。每个人都希望自己的生活能够改善，也就是物质生活需要与精神生活需要都能得到满足。但如果他生活在一个缺乏良好的道德风尚、人与人之间缺少信任感、个人缺少安全感的环境中，如果周围的人的生活状况在恶化，那么无论如何他的改善生活的愿望是无法实现的。难道单单自己有吃、有穿、有住，吃得好、穿得好、住得好，这就叫做生活质量的提高？这就算幸福了？恐怕得不出这样的结论。在社会缺少良好的道德风尚和人际关系之中缺少道德规范的条件下，很难把这称做幸福或生活质量的提高。

再说，人的全面发展需要有一个正常的环境，至少对社会上大多数人来说是如此。假定社会的道德沦丧，人们为了求生存而不得不顺应那种不说假话就难以自保的潮流，吃得、穿得、住得再好，难道精神上就会舒畅、痛快？生活质量就会上升？人离不开群体，离不开周围的人，离不开赖以生存和发展的社会环境，这就是了解人的全面发展的关键所在。懂得了这些，对道德力量在人的全面发展中的作用也就易于理解了。

三、优良社会风尚的培育

人的全面发展有赖于优良的社会风尚的形成。要形成优良的社会风尚，必须在社会上建立对个人行为和群体行为的道德约束。道德约束对于优良社会风尚的培育有着重要作用。

如上所述，在社会经济生活中，如果各个行为主体自身没有道德约束，相互之间也缺少必要的道德约束，社会肯定是无序的，经济生活肯定是紊乱的，社会风气也肯定不正。从经济运行的角度看，行为主体如果缺少道德约束而彼此之间又没有相互的道德约束，行为必定短期化，

因为行为主体会因缺乏稳定的预期而对经济前景失去信心。

这里所说的行为主体所包括的范围是很广泛的，可以把各种各样的人都包括在内。比如说，投资者不愿投资；消费者只顾眼前，不顾将来；职工认为未来是不可知的，得过且过，没有主动性、积极性；学生不愿好好学习，因为前途未卜；等等，都表明预期的紊乱。人们预期的紊乱必然导致行为短期化。当然，造成预期紊乱的因素很多，但不可否认，道德约束的缺乏和社会风气的不正也是原因之一。行为短期化的结果必然是资源配置的扭曲、资源使用效率的下降。因此，通过道德力量的调节，通过道德规范的建立和优良社会风尚的培育，将有利于行为主体行为的规范化，防止出现因预期紊乱而导致的行为短期化。

社会风尚有形或无形地对人们进行信念的引导。在市场经济中，这种引导尤为重要。在市场机制与政府部门共同进行调节的条件下，对企业和个人这些行为至少有以下两种类型的引导：一是市场本身的引导，二是政府所进行的引导。市场的引导可以归结为利益引导，它是以人作为“经济人”为前提的，因为人作为“经济人”，追求自身利益的最大化，力争以尽可能小的代价去获取尽可能多的利益。政府的引导可以归结为目标引导，但也不排斥利益引导。这就是说，政府在进行引导时，主要也以人作为“经济人”为前提。既然人作为“经济人”，要实现自己的最大利益，要趋利避害，所以政府就有可能采取措施，把人引导到政府希望达到的目标方面去，这样，个人的利益可以得到保证，政府预定的目标也就能实现。至于个人，他总是从代价和收益两方面来考虑。如果不遵照政府的政策措施，代价就大，收益就小，如果遵照政府的政策措施去做，收益就大，代价就小。从这个角度来看，政府对个人的目标引导与利益引导可以相容、统一。

但要知道，人不仅仅是“经济人”，人还是“社会的人”。政府要让人们懂得，什么是值得去做的，什么是不值得去做的；什么是应该争取实现的，什么是不应该实现的。这种引导就是信念引导。政府也对人们进行信念引导，但政府的信念引导体现在目标引导之中。政府主要是通过宣传教育来引导人们把实现政府预定的目标作为一种信念。在政府调节中，不可能有脱离政府目标的信念引导。

信念引导实际上是可以独立存在的，这是道德力量调节的任务。独立存在的信念引导由个人自身或由个人组成的群体来进行。个人会有自身的目标，群体也会有自身的目标，独立存在的信念引导在不同程度上同个人的目标或群体的目标有联系，但由于个人目标或群体目标毕竟不是政府目标，因此个人自身的信念引导与群体的信念引导毕竟不同于体现在政府的目标引导中的政府信念引导。比如说，信仰某种宗教，可以给人们以一种信念引导，后者可以独立存在。又如，恪守某种待人处世

原则，也可以给人们以一种信念引导，后者同样是可以独立存在的。

优良社会风尚的形成与来自政府的、个人的、群体的信念引导往往是相互促进的。社会风尚本身有一种潜移默化的功能，它能够使人们产生某种信念，或加强某种信念，或转变某种信念。而信念引导又会对社会风尚的培养产生积极作用，进而通过社会风尚的发扬对社会的资源配置发生作用。

一个明显的例子就是社会风尚对人们的消费行为发生影响，进而通过消费支出数量的变化和结构的变化影响资源配置。这是因为，消费是有示范效应的，而示范效应则具有社会性。社会崇尚什么，不崇尚什么，从消费行为中可以反映出来。比如说，奢侈性消费是不合理的消费行为中的一种，它会对社会风尚产生消极的影响，以至于某些消费的支出超过了与个人收入或财力相适应的程度，或者，奢侈性消费所占用的资源过多，使社会本来有限的资源用于不合理的方面。又比如说，在社会上经常存在一种迫于落后的习惯势力而不得不令人屈从的消费陋俗，如为死者大办丧事，修造坟墓，甚至为活着的人预修坟墓，或婚前高索彩礼，大置嫁妆，嫁娶之日大摆宴席，耗资惊人。消费陋俗代表一种落后的文化，但家境贫寒的人则难以违背习惯势力的无形压力，由此所形成的消费行为显然对资源配置是不利的。[10]

另一个明显的例子是社会风尚对国民素质和效率的影响，国民素质在优良的社会风尚影响下的提高，效率在优良的社会风尚影响下的增长，都会对资源配置产生影响。国民素质既包括文化素质、身体素质，也包括思想素质、道德素质。国民素质的提高，又会对优良的社会风尚的发扬起着积极的作用。

历史经验已充分说明，一个国家在由不发达状态向发达状态过渡时，应当及早注意经济逐渐发达以后可能发生的社会问题，并及早采取措施来加以预防。这里所说的社会问题，包括了如何使人们在收入水平不断提高和物质产品不断丰富的条件下日益充实生活的内容，使生活更有意义的问题。一个发达的社会不应当只是一个单纯追求物质产品而精神空虚的社会。在人们的物质生活需要得到满足的同时，精神生活的需要、发展自身的需要也应得到满足。社会风尚不应该滑坡，而应该朝着更好、更健康的方向发展。这些都属于道德力量调节的任务。

四、优良社会风尚与人自身发展之间的关系

一个国家从不发达状态向发达状态转变的过程中，社会将不断发生变化。但社会变化本身是一回事，社会成员对社会变化的认识又是另一

回事，两者不可混同。这是社会与自然界的区别。自然界发生的变化可以被人们观察到、认识到，人们能发现自然界变化的规律性，然而自然界并不因它被人们认识而改变自己的活动规律。社会与此不同。社会活动是人们进行的活动，人们在社会活动中逐渐认识了社会。人们不但会察觉、认识社会的变化，而且会调整自己的行为来适应社会的变化。人们还会采取一定的措施来改变社会，从而社会的活动作为人们进行的活动，在被人们察觉到、认识到之后也会发生变化。这就是说，人与社会是双方连续彼此影响、彼此适应的，社会在调整中前进，人在适应中发展。社会风尚对社会发展的影响以及对人自身的影响，正是在社会与人的相互适应过程中表现出来的。优良的社会风尚一方面有助于人们正确认识社会的变化，及时调整行为以适应社会的变化，另一方面，在优良的社会风尚影响下，人们的行为规范了，认识提高了，从而也有助于社会发展过程中新出现的问题的解决。

毫无疑问，优良社会风尚的培育和形成要比一个企业或一个社区的管理或文化建设困难得多。尽管从表面上看，优良社会风尚的形成是没有硬性指标的，而且也难以选择若干硬性指标作为考核优良社会风尚是否形成的依据。也就是说，优良社会风尚具有较大的弹性。但如果深入地进行分析，我们就会发现，优良社会风尚的形成仍有一定的规律可循，这就是：社会成员的文化程度越高，道德水准越高，社会成员越热爱生活，越关心其他人，越支持公益事业，那么优良的社会风尚就越容易形成，也越容易发扬。一个企业、一个社区的管理或文化建设如果有成效，对优良社会风尚的培育是有帮助的，但这代替不了社会各界共同的努力以促进国民素质的提高，促进优良社会风尚的形成。

人自身的发展同优良社会风尚的形成和发扬也是相辅相成的。当人的追求走向更高层次时，人的社会责任感会逐渐增大，为公共利益作出贡献的思想将对社会起着有益的示范作用，这些都将有助于优良社会风尚的形成和发扬。

在这里有一种不正确的认识需要澄清，这就是，认为经济不发达时，人的自身发展受到限制，国民素质的提高受到限制，从而优良的社会风尚也缺乏形成和发扬的前提。这种认识之所以不正确，是因为它把优良社会风尚的培育同经济发达程度之间的关系绝对化了，似乎经济发达是培育和形成优良社会风尚的唯一因素。实际上，在有些经济很不发达的地区（包括历史上每个民族都曾经历过的经济十分落后的阶段），以及在经济发达国家中发展相对滞后的某些偏远的乡村里，社会风尚可能是很好的。优良的社会风尚同经济发达程度之间的关系，相当复杂，这是一个值得深入研究的课题，现在下结论似乎为时过早。

但历史经验也表明，一个国家或地区，社会风气的败坏常常发生在

经济不发达状态开始走向经济发达的转变阶段。在这个阶段，外界对这个国家或地区的影响增大了，其中既有好的影响，也有坏的影响。加之，在转变阶段，这个国家或地区原来的社会组织与结构在解体中，新的社会组织与结构则在形成中，社会的分化与重组可能持续较长的一段时间，于是社会的风俗习惯、居民的心理状态、社会的崇尚和评价都不可避免地会发生一些变化，甚至是激烈的变化。在这种情况下，社会风气既有可能朝坏的方向变化，也有可能朝好的方向变化。这涉及对这些变化的评价问题。假定只从原来的社会组织与结构、社会的崇尚与习惯的角度来看，可能发现不了社会风气朝好的方向的变化，所看到的尽是社会风气朝坏的方向的变化。假定换一个角度，即从将要达到的社会发展状态的角度来看，有可能发现不了社会风气朝坏的方向的变化，所看到的尽是社会风气朝好的方向的变化。客观地说，在一个国家或地区从经济不发达状态向经济发达状态转变的过程中，社会风气变好或变坏这两种趋向是并存的，只是社会风气的变坏更容易被人们所察觉，由此产生的问题更明显些，也更易于被人们所议论或引起人们的不满。这种情况一般会持续相当长的时间，往往要等到经济发达和人均收入水平上升以及国民素质提高以后才有比较显著的好转，而且单纯依靠经济的增长是不够的，教育和文化建设的作用不可轻视。教育和文化建设将对人自身的发展产生影响，从而有助于减轻经济转变阶段社会风气变坏的程度，并有可能防止社会风气的变坏。

在这里，有必要重提一下亚当·斯密的《国富论》和《道德情操论》这两部著作之间的关系。我在1997年出版的《宏观经济学的产生和发展》一书中曾写下这样一段话："亚当·斯密在《道德情操论》（1759年出版）中与《国富论》（1776年出版）中都用过'看不见的手'这个术语。亚当·斯密的本意是说：由于个人行为的非故意性，即自发性，客观上形成了一种可以促进社会利益的良好的社会秩序。"[11]应当说，在《国富论》中提到的"看不见的手"主要是针对市场调节而言，而在《道德情操论》一书中提到的"看不见的手"，既包括了市场规律的作用，也包括了道德情操的作用。从经济思想史的角度来看，关于"看不见的手"的思想在荷兰哲学家孟德维尔1714年出版的《蜜蜂的寓言》一书中即已出现。[12]但孟德维尔却提出了一个命题，即正如《蜜蜂的寓言》一书的副标题所显示的：私人的恶德即公众的利益。在孟德维尔看来，个人的贪婪和自私行为，促成了社会的繁荣，而个人放弃邪恶，清贫自守，却会带来社会的萧条。亚当·斯密是不同意孟德维尔这一观点的。他认为，所谓"私人恶德即公众利益"的说法是一个极端利己主义的体系、一个"放荡不羁的体系"。人，在亚当·斯密的体系中并不是一个只顾追逐个人利益的"经济人"，人还必须遵守规则，必须尊重他人的利

益，必须具有同情心。关于这一点，赵修义教授作了很好的阐释。他指出，在亚当·斯密的体系中，“一方面，他肯定了人们对自身利益和幸福的追求有其合理性；另一方面，他强调这种追求必须是合宜的，也就是必须符合社会一般规则，而不是无节制和贪婪的”。[13]那么，亚当·斯密的这两本书在自己的体系中是如何统一的呢？赵修义分析道：“斯密期望，经由市场达致富国裕民，必须与道德的维系和提升一致起来。他对此持乐观的态度，相信‘富之路’与‘德之路’能够统一。”[14]这种对亚当·斯密体系的解析，我认为是符合亚当·斯密本意的，也是有新意的。当然，在这里还应提到的是：虽然亚当·斯密并未提出政府干预这只“有形的手”的作用，但他一直重视市场规则的作用、法律的作用；在市场交易领域中，不遵守法律的结果和不讲道德的后果同样严重，同样不容忽视。[15]

CHAPTER 2 EFFICIENCY AND COORDINATION
第二章　效率与协调

2.1 The True Source of Efficiency

2.1.1 Mechanism for Low or High Efficiency

As mentioned in the first chapter, regulation by custom and morality can increase allocation efficiency. In order to clarify why such regulation can promote higher efficiency we need to discuss further the source of efficiency.

Efficiency is a category of economics and has to do with the effective use and allocation of resources. In the realm of economics, all resources are limited, only to different degrees of scarcity, both current and future. The key point is: How to utilize and allocate resources effectively? If both utilization and allocation are rational, a given resource can be used to greater effect, and the result is greater efficiency. Conversely, irrational use and allocation will mean resources are unused or wasted, resulting in lower efficiency. Therefore, from the perspective of resource use and allocation, rationality and irrationality in these areas are the respective sources of high and low efficiency.

In recent years, economic circles in China have come to value efficiency more and more. One reflection of this is the effort directed to transforming the economic growth mode, namely, a shift from the extensive mode of production and operation to the intensive mode. Compared with the long neglect of efficiency in the past, this is a welcome change. But probably quite a number of people have an incorrect understanding of efficiency and where its source lies. Some people think that to emphasize efficiency is to emphasize profit, that if profit is high efficiency must be high, and that low profit equals low efficiency. Some people think output value reflects efficiency, that high efficiency means high output value, and vice versa. It is

one-sided to equate efficiency with profit or output value: Output value involves valuation, and profit also has to take into account taxation or price subsidy. Some people think efficiency is connected with input; that high efficiency comes from high input and low efficiency from low input. Some even say, "Our enterprise provides a living for many, which is our contribution to society and represents our efficiency." The foregoing interpretations all misunderstand efficiency by simply looking at input and ignoring output. Irrespective of how many employees an enterprise has, it cannot account for the level of efficiency. These examples prove that many do not correctly understand the word "efficiency."

What efficiency reflects is the ratio of input and output, and change in efficiency shows change in resource utilization. From a macroeconomic perspective, in a country or a region, if people and materials are brought into full play, goods are delivered smoothly and land use optimized, then it signals rational use and allocation of resources, which is an indication of efficiency. The smooth delivery of goods implies speedier circulation, lower inventory and idle resources. This is greater efficiency.

The relationship between efficiency and resource allocation is as follows: From the perspective of economics any resource is considered limited, so society as a whole must consider into which production and services to rationally invest resources. Input of one particular resource might well produce different outputs, which are needed by society to different degrees. In this sense, investing one kind of resource can produce different results and therefore different efficiency. To output one kind of product rather than another can result in higher or lower efficiency, so one cannot consider different outputs from the same input as having equal efficiency. This is the relationship between efficiency and resource allocation.

On the other hand, when the resources invested are of different degrees of scarcity, even if the eventual output is the same the efficiency will not be. This is because using lower-scarcity resources is more beneficial to socio-economic development; hence resource allocation is more efficient.

Having understood the foregoing, we can move on to another question: Since input of the same resource can have different outputs, since different scarcity of resource can cause different efficiency, then why don't investors invest only in high-efficiency areas and leave low-efficiency areas well alone? Is it through compulsion, ignorance or other considerations? Perhaps high or low efficiency is neither here nor there to these investors. Since one

resource can produce high efficiency and a different one low efficiency, why do investors sometimes choose the latter instead of the former? Surely they cannot prefer low efficiency, can they? Behind the selection of investing fields and resources, and behind efficiency, there must be a mechanism at work, a mechanism more worth exploring than efficiency *per se*.

This output efficiency mechanism actually involves the source of efficiency. Efficiency comes from a mechanism and the mechanism determines the level of efficiency; when resources are of different degrees of scarcity the crucial nature of this mechanism becomes particularly apparent. Therefore, we must study under what kind of mechanism it is that people choose the efficiency increase mode of minimum input or maximum output, and how it is that people start caring about increased efficiency and figuring out how to achieve it.

As previously noted, efficiency cannot be understood purely on the basis of the amount of profit or output value. In the production process, if resources are wasted or the environment polluted and destroyed, we cannot call it "efficient," no matter how huge the profit or output value. Nor can we call it "efficient" if there is excess inventory of product. The mechanism behind efficiency is simply benefit-driven and target-led. Benefit-driven means: If an investor is strongly concerned with the result of his input, then high efficiency will bring him gains and low efficiency loss, so he is bound to compare cost, price and profit so as to select the investment area or mode likely to produce the highest efficiency. Targetled means: An investor has his own target or targets, and to realize them, he will consider in which fields and which ways to invest. If increased profit is his target, then the two aspects—benefit-driven and targetled—combine into one. If his targets are multiple and increased profit is only one element, the situation will be more complicated and the mechanism behind efficiency will be determined by how the two aspects are combined.

2.1.2 The Roles of Efficiency and Moral Force

In the market economy, efficiency is regulated by market and the benefit motivator is one manifestation of such regulation. In order to achieve interests, an investor must improve efficiency by combining production factors on the basis of supply-and-demand and price conditions. Therefore

the mechanism behind efficiency is actually the benefit mechanism or market mechanism. In a market economy situation the investor seeks to maximize benefits, so two aspects—benefit motivation and target orientation—combine in the issue of efficiency.

Suppose, as well as regulation by market, that there is also regulation by government, then behind efficiency there must be the influence of the latter, and the effect of this can be seen mainly in target orientation. Government has its own diverse, multiple targets. To realize them, it needs to exert influence on investors by various means of regulation so that the investment fields and modes they choose are in line with its own targets, thereby influencing changes in efficiency.

Since regulation by market and by government function at the same time, efficiency is actually influenced by both of these. However, our analysis should not stop at this level. This is because those who conduct activities in the market are traders, and every trader is an investor of resource. It is government that applies its regulation on the market, it is itself an investor. It is the traders on the market who are affected by government regulation; as agents of investment they should consider their own interests as well as how government regulatory measures may affect their own interests. So we have to ask: What are the investors' considerations? Apart from regulation by market and government, are there other factors at work that may impact efficiency?

Let's take the example of an enterprise. Inside an enterprise there are people-to-material relations and people-to-people relations. The former is mainly reflected as the relation between the user of production materials and the production materials. The condition of production materials and the average amount of materials used per worker basically reflect the technical level of the enterprise, which in turn influences efficiency. The people-to-people relation is more complicated than the former, in the sense that it can be classified into different types, such as executives-to-ordinary workers, cooperative relations within the executive tier, executives-to-managers, managers-to-managers at all levels, cooperative relations among managers and relations between ordinary workers. Not all those relations are harmonious. Some are harmonious, some not quite, and others absolutely not, and the harmony can vary in certain situations. The degree of harmony will influence efficiency, an influence that is different from that of the technical level. Technical level and efficiency can both be increased if the enterprise

increases input, purchases new equipment, builds new factories, trains employees or encourages research into new technology. But if peopleto-people relations are not harmonious, can increased investment have much effect or surely efficiency would improve as a result?

When technology reaches a certain level, human factors become more prominent, and the efficiency of an enterprise depends on how great the role played by human factors. Of these, working hours, the educational level and clarity of duties of every employee are known quantities. But others are unknown quantities; for example, the degree of effort each worker puts in is hard to determine. All have a certain level of laziness, but the smaller its influence, the more a worker's initiative and creativity come into play, and vice versa. But the degree to which workers can overcome laziness is an unknown quantity too. Moreover, if their personal targets are in harmony with those of the enterprise, efficiency will increase. If not, the opposite will be true. But the degree of harmony between their targets is an unknown quantity likewise. The influence of those unknown factors on enterprise efficiency is a subject worthy of research, and it is a knotty problem that regulation by market or government may not be capable of solving.

Study of efficiency must go beyond regulation by market and government. But this is not to imply they are not important factors in raising or lowering efficiency, just that their influence has limits, particularly so when it comes to analyzing the source of efficiency. For example, in the study of people-to-people relations, analysis of human factors such as workers' diligence or slackness needs to go deeper. In other words, in many aspects moral factors influence human behaviors and thus efficiency. Then what is the true source of efficiency? The true source lies in bringing people's initiative and creativity into full play. In achieving this, the role of moral force cannot be ignored. Through its influence, people's initiative and creativity come fully into play and efficiency greatly increases.

It must be emphasized that the above-mentioned analysis is based on the premise of a fixed technology level. From the people-to-material perspective, the relative level of technology has a bearing on efficiency. It's hard to compare two countries, two regions or two enterprises in terms of the degree of the influence of moral factors on efficiency if the technology level of one side is much higher than the other's. Only on the assumption of a fixed technology level can the influence of moral factors on efficiency be shown accurately and can the comparison be meaningful.

2.1.3 Two Kinds of Cohesion: Group Cohesion and Society Cohesion

To recap: in the context of a certain technology level, the true source of efficiency lies in bringing fully into play people's initiative and creativity, and for this to happen there must be a rational economic operation mechanism, and there must be harmonious interpersonal relations.

The degree of cohesion shows the existence and extent of harmonious interpersonal relations. There are two types: group cohesion and society cohesion. Both have to do with interpersonal relations, the former with those in a group and the latter with those in a society. Cohesion engenders efficiency, group cohesion produces group efficiency and society cohesion produces social efficiency.

A group can be an enterprise, a community, an association, a village or a family, etc. Large or small, each has its own cohesion. Some are tightly organized and others are looser, but tight organization does not mean stronger cohesion nor does looseness imply the converse. Whether a group has cohesion and the extent of its cohesion is directly related to whether there is a harmonious relation between the group and its individual members, and between individual members themselves. A tightly-organized group cannot be cohesive if its members scheme and plot against each other or if its members are at odds with the leadership. By contrast, a loosely organized group may have strong cohesion if its members maintain harmonious relations with each other and with the leadership and if its members unite and work together for the development of the group.

An enterprise is a group formed by its employees, and its cohesion is group cohesion. Developing corporate culture helps build enterprise cohesion. Strong cohesion can help constantly increase efficiency and also help the enterprise come through difficult times, of which there is little doubt. But how is cohesion formed? Is there a connection between group cohesion and society cohesion? How to correctly handle this connection so as to achieve both types?

Society cohesion means all its members unify as one and try their best to realize their common purpose. For example, when a country or ethnic group is hit by a terrible natural disaster or is invaded, its people will show their spirit of unity, resilience and self-sacrifice. Such cohesion can bring high efficiency and is capable of producing miracles. Even in peacetime,

harmonious interpersonal relations can also strengthen social cohesion and harmony and thereby increase efficiency.

Group cohesion and society cohesion may be mutually-promoting or mutually-restricting, depending on the nature and targets of the group. If it is a separatist political group aiming to change the *status quo*, the more cohesive that group, the more harmful it is to society and its cohesion. Of course, this is an extreme case: Generally, group targets are compatible with and even in total accord with those of society. As a result, group cohesion and society cohesion are usually mutually-promoting. Let us stay with the enterprise example.

In market economy, since an enterprise as commodity producer makes its own management decisions and takes full responsibility for its own profits and losses, it will take as its prime target the achievement of optimal benefits. It is in a competitive relationship with other enterprises, and in order to win it constantly adjusts its production and management direction and enhances its internal cohesion. On the premise of fair and legal competition, enterprises share common interests: The more stable a society and the more prosperous its economy, the more they are benefited. The prosperity of one enterprise is not necessarily predicated on the decline of another. In a stable and prosperous social environment, every enterprise has opportunities for development and for realizing its aspirations. However, reality shows that even in a benign environment, some enterprises, owing to poor production management, wrong investment decisions, inability to adapt to rapidly changing technology, are obliged to shrink production, go bankrupt or be merged with other enterprises. But these are normal reflections of resource restructuring. Provided such restructuring can enhance the efficiency of national economy and create new investment opportunities, cutbacks, bankruptcies or mergers will not harm the common interests of the enterprise community as a whole.

Group cohesion and society cohesion are of two different types. Whether strengthening group cohesion can promote society cohesion is closely related to an important stimulating factor of group cohesion, namely, the development of a culture (such as corporate culture, community culture, campus culture, etc.). Staying with the enterprise example, let us suppose that an enterprise's corporate culture sets store by both its own aims and those of society, that it cares about its own, its employees' and the public's interests, and that it strives to foster its own corporate spirit and a fine social ethos too.

This being so, then its building of corporate culture will strengthen its own internal cohesion and society cohesion as well. Such accordance of enterprise and society cohesion truly manifests the social function and value of successfully developing corporate culture. Conversely, if an enterprise values only its own and its employees' benefits but neglects the social role and value of corporate culture, then, even with stronger internal cohesion, such cohesion cannot help in promoting society cohesion or even keep pace with the latter. This point should not be ignored when analyzing the source of efficiency.

If we take this analysis one step further, we will find that increase in national wealth, economic prosperity and the development of culture and education are all interlinked. A prosperous society with developed economy, culture and education is more advantageously situated for building culture and promoting society and group cohesion. The role of regulation by custom and morality in promoting both types of cohesion is especially obvious, and cannot be substituted by market regulation or government regulation: only moral force can make group members realize that their group aims are basically at one with those of society and that their individual and group interests are basically at one with public interests. With the members' recognition and acceptance of society's aims, both group and social cohesion will be strengthened. Similarly, under the influence of moral force, both group efficiency and social efficiency will increase constantly.

This brings us to the following conclusion: Previous studies on the source of efficiency focus only on economic and technological factors at the neglect of non-economic and non-technological factors, on the influence of interests but not on the effect of awareness of social responsibility and public aims, emphasizing only the realization of material value but neglecting human value. Guided by such traditional ways of thinking and methodology, these studies cannot really explore efficiency changes at a deeper level, neither can they reveal the fact that the real source of efficiency lies in the role of people and person-to-person relations, not exclusively in the role of material or the people-to-material relationship. Group cohesion produces group efficiency and society cohesion produces social efficiency. This being the case, we should not go looking to the market mechanism or regulation by government to find out how efficiency is produced and increased, but to moral force and its influence on people.

壹　效率的真正源泉

一、产生高效率或低效率的机制

第一章已经谈到，习惯与道德调节对资源使用与资源配置的作用表现为效率的提高。因此有必要在这里再就效率的源泉问题作一些探讨，以便阐明为什么习惯与道德调节能够促进效率提高。

效率是一个经济学范畴，这是指资源的有效使用与有效配置。在经济领域内，任何资源都是有限的，不同的资源主要的区别在于有效供给不一样。有的资源最为稀缺，有的资源则比较稀缺；有的资源目前已经稀缺，而有的资源今后将越来越稀缺。问题在于：既然任何资源都是有限的，所以必须考虑如何才能有效地使用资源，以及如何才能有效地配置资源。如果使用合理，配置合理，一定的资源可以发挥更大的作用，其结果将是效率的增长；反之，如果使用不合理，配置不合理，形成资源的闲置或浪费，那么一定的资源只能发挥较小的作用，其结果必定是效率的下降。从资源使用与配置的角度看，高效率或低效率的原因在于资源的使用合理还是不合理，资源的配置合理还是不合理。

近年来，国内经济界已经越来越重视效率。实现经济增长方式的转变，即从粗放型生产经营向集约型生产经营的转变，就是对效率问题日益重视的反映。与过去长时期内不注意效率的情况相比，这无疑是一个可喜的变化。但社会上相当一部分人对效率的理解未必那么正确，对效率的源泉的认识也未必那么正确。例如有人认为，重视效率就是重视利润，利润大表示效率高，利润小则表示效率低。还有人认为，产值反映了效率，效率高时产值就多，效率低时产值就少。应当指出，把效率等同于利润或产值，都是片面的。产值有一个计价问题，利润还涉及税率或价格补贴问题，产值多少或利润大小不能同效率的高低画上等号。也有人说，效率来自投入，投入意味着效率，多投入才有高效率，低效率必定是由于投入太少了。甚至还有人说，“我们这个企业养活了多少人，这就是给社会作出的贡献，也就是我们的效率”。诸如此类的看法，同样是对效率一词的曲解。单看投入，不看产出，怎能说明效率？至于一个企业能吸纳多少人就业，无论从哪个角度来分析，都不能说明效率的高低。这些看法反映了社会上不少人还没有弄懂“效率”一词的真正含义。

效率反映的是投入产出之比，效率的变化表明资源使用状况的变化。从宏观经济看，在一国或一个地区范围内，能做到人尽其才，物尽其用，货畅其流，地尽其利，就表明资源使用合理，资源配置合理，这

就代表效率。人尽其才，物尽其用，地尽其利，意味着各种资源都得到了有效利用。货畅其流，意味着流通速度的加快和闲置、积压的资源数量的减少，这就是效率的提高。

从效率同资源配置之间的关系来说，由于任何资源从经济学的角度来看都是有限的，所投入的一切资源都是有限的资源，所以社会必须考虑资源究竟投入到哪一种产品和服务的生产之中。投入某一种资源，可以有各种不同的产出。社会对这些不同的产出有不同的需求程度。从这个意义上说，一种资源投入会有不同的结果，从而效率也是不一样的。不生产这一种产品而生产另一种产品，效率可能较高，也可能较低，不能认为同一种投入的不同产出会有相等的效率。这就是效率同资源配置之间的关系。

另一方面，在社会各种资源的稀缺程度不相等的条件下，不利用这些资源去投入而利用另一些资源去投入，即使最终的产出是相同的，但效率却不一样。这是因为，能够利用稀缺程度较低的资源而不用资源稀缺程度较高的资源，对社会经济的发展更有利些，从而资源配置的效率也就会更高一些。

了解了上述这些，我们就可以再深入一步来考察这样一个问题：既然投入某一种资源可以有不同的产出，也就是在资源稀缺程度不等时有不同的效率，既然同一种产出可以利用这种资源或另一种资源，在资源稀缺程度不等时会产生不同的效率，那么，投入资源的主体为什么不把某一资源投入效率高的领域，偏偏要把它投入效率低的领域呢？是迫不得已，还是无知？或是另有考虑？或是效率高低对于投入资源的主体来说是一种无所谓的事情，即“与己无关，听之任之”？既然投入资源的主体利用这种资源可以带来较高的效率，而利用另一种资源只能带来较低的效率，那么，为什么他不利用这种资源而偏偏利用另一种资源呢？难道他偏爱低效率吗？……可见，在投入领域的选择和资源的选择的背后，在效率高低的背后，肯定有一个机制问题。产生高效率或低效率的机制，比效率高低本身更值得经济学界去探讨。

这里所说的产生高效率或低效率的机制问题，实际上已经涉及效率的源泉问题。效率来自机制，机制决定效率的高低，在资源稀缺程度不等的条件下，机制的关键意义尤为明显。因此需要研究在什么样的机制之下，人们才会选择投入最少或产出最多的效率增长方式，人们怎样才会关心效率的增长并为效率的不断增长而动脑筋、想办法。

正如前面已经指出的，不能单纯根据利润的大小或产值的多少来理解效率。对有限的资源的浪费，在生产过程中造成严重污染而使环境破坏和资源破坏，即使利润再大，产值再多，绝不等于有效率。产品生产出来之后如果积压在仓库中，也不等于有效率。效率背后的机制问题，

无非是利益的驱动和目标的吸引。利益的驱动是指：如果投入资源的主体对投入的结果有很高的关切度，效率高将给他带来利益，效率低将使他受到损失，那么他一定会根据成本、价格、收益的比较，选择最有利的资源投入领域，或选择可以带来最大效率的资源投入方式。目标的吸引是指：投入资源的主体有自身所要达到的目标，而且目标很可能不是单一的，这样，为了实现自己的目标，他就会考虑选择什么样的资源投入领域和什么样的资源投入方式。假定某个资源投入主体的目标就是利益的增加，那么利益的驱动和目标的吸引就会合而为一。假定某个资源投入主体的目标是多元的，利益的增加只是多元目标的一个组成部分，除了利益增加以外还有其他的目标，那么问题就会复杂些，效率背后的机制将取决于利益驱动与目标吸引两者的结合状况。

二、效率与道德力量的作用

在市场经济条件下，效率是受市场调节的。利益的驱动就是市场调节起作用的表现。每一个资源投入主体为了取得利益，必须根据市场上生产要素的供求状况和价格水平来组合生产要素，提高效率。因此，效率背后的机制实际上就是利益机制或市场机制。在市场经济条件下，资源投入主体的利益最大化就是其所追求的目标，这样，利益驱动与目标吸引在效率问题上就统一起来了。

假定在市场调节之外还有政府调节，那么在效率的背后必定存在着政府调节的影响，目标的吸引主要是政府调节起作用的表现。政府有自己的目标，政府目标不是单一的，而是多元的。政府为了使自己的目标得以实现，就需要通过各种调节手段对资源投入主体产生影响，使他们在资源投入领域的选择上与资源投入方式的选择上作出符合政府目标的选择，从而影响效率的变动。

由于市场调节与政府调节是共同起作用的，所以高效率或低效率的产生实际上受到市场调节与政府调节的共同影响。但对这个问题的分析不应到此为止，还需要作深入一层的探讨。这是因为，在市场上进行活动的是各个交易人，每一个交易人就是一个资源投入主体。对市场进行调节的是政府，政府自身也是资源投入主体，受到政府调节的是市场上的交易人，他们作为资源投入主体，既要考虑自己的利益，也要考虑政府采取的调节手段对自己利益的影响。于是就出现了另一个问题：资源投入主体是怎样考虑的呢？他们的行为受哪些因素影响呢？效率除了受到市场调节与政府调节而外，是不是还受其他力量的影响呢？

让我们先以一个企业为例。

一个企业内部的关系可以分为人与物之间的关系和人与人之间的关系。人与物之间的关系主要反映为生产资料使用者与生产资料之间的关系。企业的生产资料状况和平均每个劳动者所使用的生产资料数量的多少，基本上反映了这个企业的技术水平，技术水平的高低影响着效率的高低。从人与人之间的关系来看，问题要比人与物之间的关系复杂些。可以把企业内部的人与人之间的关系分为若干种关系，例如，企业领导层同一般职工之间的关系，企业领导层内部的合作共事关系，企业领导层与各级管理人员之间的关系，各级管理人员内部的合作共事关系，一般职工相互之间的关系，等等。这些人际关系中，有的协调，有的不那么协调，还有的完全不协调。有些人际关系在这种情况下比较协调，在另一种情况下却不协调。人际关系的协调程度影响着效率的高低，而且对效率的这种影响同技术水平对效率的影响是不一样的。如果技术水平低，企业通过增加投入，或增添新设备、修建新厂房，或进行职工培训、鼓励职工钻研技术，就可以大幅度提高技术水平，达到效率增长的要求。但如果企业内部人际关系不协调，增加投入能有多大成效？难道效率会因此而大幅度提高？

再从企业从业人员（包括各级管理人员与工人）的角度来看，在一定的技术水平之下，人的因素被摆到了显著的位置，企业的效率取决于人的因素所发挥的作用。在人的因素中，职工的工作时间、每个人已达到的文化技术等级、每个人在自己的工作岗位上的责任明确程度都是已知的。但在人的因素中，还有一些未知数。例如，职工的努力程度就是未知的，因为每个人在工作中究竟使出了多大的劲，不易确定。又如，每个人都有一定的惰性，惰性的影响小，积极性、创造性就发挥得充分；反之，惰性的影响大，职工的积极性、创造性的发挥就受到阻碍。职工自身能在多大程度上克服惰性，也是一个未知数。再如，如果职工个人的目标同企业目标是协调的，效率将会增长；反之，职工个人目标同企业目标不协调，效率将会下降。但职工个人目标同企业目标究竟在何种程度上协调或不协调，同样是未知的。这些未知因素的存在对企业效率的影响，是值得研究的课题，也是市场调节或政府调节都难以解决的难点。

由此可见，对效率的研究有必要在市场调节与政府调节以外展开。这并不意味着市场调节与政府调节对效率的增减不重要，这只是表明市场调节与政府调节在影响效率方面有局限性，特别是在分析效率的源泉方面有局限性。比如说，在企业内部人与人之间关系的研究中，在与人的工作努力程度、人的惰性等有关的若干未知因素对效率的影响的研究中，都需要深入到更深的层次。这就是说，道德力量在许多方面对人的行为发生作用，进而影响效率。什么是效率的真正源泉？效率的真正源

泉在于人的作用的充分发挥、人的积极性和创造性的充分发挥。而要做到这一点，道德力量的作用不可忽视。在道德力量作用之下，人的作用充分发挥了，人的积极性和创造性充分发挥了，效率将会大大提高。

应当强调的是，上述分析是以技术水平既定作为前提的。技术水平的高低，从人与物之间的关系的角度来看，关系到效率的大小。比如有两个国家、两个地区或两个企业，如果一个国家、地区、企业的技术水平高出另一个国家、地区、企业很多，那么道德力量对效率发生作用后所产生的后果就难以进行比较。因此，只有把技术水平作为既定，道德力量对效率的作用才能准确地显示出来，这样的对比才有意义。

三、两种凝聚力：团体的凝聚力和社会的凝聚力

前面已经指出，在一定的技术水平的条件下，效率的真正源泉在于人的积极性、创造性的充分发挥，而要充分发挥人的积极性、创造性，必须有合理的经济运行机制，必须做到人际关系的协调。

凝聚力的大小是人际关系是否协调或协调到何种程度的体现。凝聚力基本上分为两类，一是团体的凝聚力，二是社会的凝聚力。团体的凝聚力以团体内部人际关系的协调为条件，社会的凝聚力则以社会中人际关系的协调为条件。凝聚力产生效率：团体的凝聚力产生团体的效率，社会的凝聚力产生社会的效率。

这里所说的团体，包括企业、事业单位、社区、社团、村、家庭等。团体有大有小，各有各的凝聚力。团体的组织有松有紧，紧密不等于有较大的凝聚力，松散也不等于缺少凝聚力。团体组织的松散或紧密，是从组织形式上说的，团体有没有凝聚力或凝聚力有多大，则同团体与成员协调与否、各个成员之间协调与否有直接的关系。比如说，某个社团，有严密的组织，但成员彼此之间可能钩心斗角，难以形成一股力量；或者成员对社团的领导层离心离德，存在着强烈的离心倾向，那么不管社团的组织形式多么严密，照样没有凝聚力。反之，某个社团尽管组织形式上是比较松散的，但成员之间的关系协调，成员同社团的领导层的关系协调，成员们为社团的发展齐心协力，这样的社团不仅有凝聚力，而且凝聚力还可能是很强的。

企业是由企业工作人员组成的一个团体。企业的凝聚力是团体的凝聚力中的一种。企业文化建设有助于企业凝聚力的形成。一个企业，如果有较大的凝聚力，不仅能够促使企业效率不断增长，而且在企业遇到困难时，能够使企业克服困难，闯过难关。关于这一点，人们一般是不会产生疑问的。

需要深入探讨的问题是：社会的凝聚力如何形成？团体的凝聚力同社会的凝聚力之间存在什么样的关系？怎样正确处理这两种凝聚力之间的关系，以便既有团体的凝聚力，又有社会的凝聚力？

社会的凝聚力是指社会成员们能够团结一致，各尽所能来实现共同的目标。最显著的例子就是，一个国家、一个民族在反侵略战争时期或遇到严重自然灾害时，社会成员所表现出来的齐心协力、艰苦奋斗和自我牺牲的精神。社会的这种凝聚力带来社会的高效率，会出现许多奇迹。即使在正常的情况下，如果社会上人际关系协调，社会凝聚力强，那么也会出现社会协调的环境，同样有利于效率的增长。

至于团体凝聚力与社会凝聚力之间的关系，应当认为，两者之间可能存在着相互促进的关系，也可能存在着相互制约的关系，关键在于团体的性质与团体的目标是什么样的。社会上有各种各样的团体，性质互异，目标互异。假定某个团体是政治性的组织并具有分离主义政治倾向，它的目标是要求改变现状，使某个区域从一个国家分离出去，那么，这样的团体内部越有凝聚力，对社会越不利，社会的凝聚力越会受到损害。当然，这是极端的例子，我们可以把这一类团体作为特例，略去不谈。在一般情况下，团体的目标同社会的目标是相容的，也是可以协调一致的，因此团体的凝聚力与社会的凝聚力通常有着相互促进的作用。这里仍以企业为例。

在市场经济中，企业作为自主经营、自负盈亏的商品生产者，有自己的目标，而首要的目标就是争取实现最大利益。企业之间存在着竞争的关系。为了使自己在竞争中取胜，企业不断调整生产和经营方向，也不断改进管理，增加内部凝聚力。正当竞争、合法条件下竞争，是处理企业之间关系的前提。在这一前提下，企业之间有着共同的利益。这就是：社会越稳定，经济越繁荣，企业越能受益。一个企业的兴旺并不是必定以另一个企业的衰败为条件的。在社会稳定和经济繁荣的大环境中，企业都有发展的机遇，并且都能实现这一愿望。从现实生活中可以看到，即使在这样的大环境中，也总有一些企业由于生产经营不善，或投资决策失误，或适应不了技术迅速变化的形势，发生生产收缩、企业倒闭或被其他企业兼并等情况，但这是正常的，这只不过是资源重新组合的反映。只要资源的重新组合能给国民经济带来效率的增长，为投资者创造新的机遇，那么某些企业收缩、倒闭或被兼并不会损害企业界的共同利益。

团体的凝聚力同社会的凝聚力是两种不同类型的凝聚力。团体的凝聚力能否同社会的凝聚力统一起来，或者说，团体凝聚力的加强能否促进社会凝聚力的加强，与作为促进团体凝聚力的重要因素的文化建设（如企业文化建设、社区文化建设、校园文化建设等）的内容和成效有

密切关系。不妨仍以企业为例。在一个企业中，假定企业文化不仅强调企业自身的目标，而且同样强调社会的目标；不仅关切企业自身的利益和本企业职工的利益，而且也关切公共的利益；不仅致力于企业精神的培育，而且也致力于优良的社会风尚的培育——这样，企业文化建设的成就既表现于企业凝聚力的加强，也表现于社会凝聚力的加强，企业凝聚力与社会凝聚力是一致的。这正体现了成功的企业文化建设的社会功能和社会价值。反之，假定一个企业单纯看重企业自身利益与本企业职工利益的追求而忽略了企业文化建设的社会功能与社会价值，这样，尽管企业的凝聚力也有可能在某种程度上加强，但却无法使企业的凝聚力同社会的凝聚力协调一致，也无法使企业凝聚力的加强带来加强社会凝聚力的结果。在分析效率源泉问题时，我们不应当忽视这一点。

如果再作进一步的分析，那么可以了解到，国民财富的增加、社会的经济繁荣、文化教育事业的发展是联系在一起的。一个经济繁荣、文化教育事业发达的社会，将更有条件来进行文化建设，促进社会凝聚力和团体凝聚力共同加强。习惯与道德调节作用在促进社会凝聚力和团体凝聚力共同加强方面表现得尤为明显，习惯与道德调节的这种作用是市场调节或政府调节无法替代的。这是因为，只有运用道德力量，才能使团体的成员认识到团体目标的实现从根本上说是同社会目标一致的，个人的利益、团体的利益从根本上说是同公共利益一致的，于是团体的成员就会从内心认同社会目标，其结果将是既增强了团体的凝聚力，又增强了社会的凝聚力。团体的效率和社会的效率将在道德力量的影响下不断提高。

由此可以得出下述结论：以往在效率源泉问题的研究中，通常只看重经济因素和技术因素而忽略非经济因素和非技术因素，只注意利益的影响而不注意社会责任感和公共目标的作用，只强调物的价值实现而忽视人的价值实现。在这种传统的思想和方法的指引下，实际上研究不了效率变动的深层次问题，也揭示不了效率的真正源泉还在于人的作用以及人与人之间的关系，而不仅仅在于物的作用以及人与物之间的关系。团体凝聚力产生团体的效率，社会凝聚力产生社会的效率，在这种情况下，效率的产生和提高的原因不应当到市场机制中去寻找，也不应当到政府的调节行为中去寻找，而只能到道德力量及其对人的影响中去寻找。

2.2 Coordination and Adaptation

2.2.1 The Significance of Coordination and Adaptation

In the first section we pointed out that factors such as social and interpersonal harmony, people's adaptation to society and to others are of very great significance to the increase of efficiency. In this section, we will follow and further explore this train of thought.

As we know, a society is formed by countless individuals. Once established, a society like a human being is capable of self-adjustment so as to maintain or recover balance, a mechanism to ensure its survival and development. In *Economics and Political Science of Socialism*, I made this statement on society as a whole: Like a society, human beings also have the ability of self-adjustment. Once this ability is lost or weakened, a person will get sick, just as a society will lose balance. Such ability of a human body or society divides into two types: sthenic and inhibiting. Sthenic ability plays a role that is outer-directed, animated and positive, whereas inhibiting ability's role is inner-directed, conservative and negative. In normal circumstances, the two play their roles simultaneously, helping the human body or society to self-adjust, to maintain or recover balance. That is to say, normally the human body or society will not be over-sthenic or over-restrained. Even if there are occasions when the former surpasses the latter or vice versa, they will return to equilibrium naturally after a certain process.[1]

Now what we must discuss is this: In the absence of regulation by government, would a society still be able to adjust itself? The answer is obviously yes: otherwise, how could human society survive for so long a time prior to the emergence of government and regulation by government? If there were no regulation by government or by market, would society still have this ability? The answer is still obviously yes: otherwise, before the emergence of regulation by government and market, or in areas where neither regulation can reach, or in periods of serious disturbance when neither regulation functioned normally, how could human society still exist and run normally? So, where exactly does this self-adjustment and self-balancing ability come from, and how does it exert its effect?

A society is formed by myriad individuals, who live or work together and are associated in various relationships. For every individual member of society, order is one of the most important things determining whether that person can settle down and enjoy a peaceful life and normal work. Order in society is something desired by all. Irrespective of its nature, the existence of

order is always better than lack of it. Lack of order always results in confusion which in turn harms people's normal working and living, even threatening their continued survival. Accordingly, for members of society, order is imperative to avoid such things. Regulation by market and regulation by government are both forms of order. Once regulation by market emerged, the reason that all places with market activities had order under regulation by market is because order is what people want. Once government has formed, why is it that wherever there is government or wherever government power can reach, government always wants to maintain a kind of order? Because people wish for order and are glad to accept it, and because governments also wish for order and require people to follow it.

Since people generally want order and abhor disorder, this gives society the ability to self-adjust and to recover balance. Self-adjustment means to incline towards and to adapt to order. Recovering balance can be seen as recovering order or rebuilding it anew. When a society's economy is overheated or too cold, it indicates damage to the normal rhythm of that economy and disruption to its order. This being so, through people's need to recover balance, i.e. recovering order or building it anew, the economy will undergo constant self-adjustment. Therefore, even without regulation by market or government, after a period, possibly a long period, characterized by sthenic or restraining action, a society's economy will gradually regain equilibrium. This tells us that the desire of the vast majority of people for normal, orderly life and work gives a society's economy an internal balancing mechanism. If on top of that there is appropriate regulation by market or government, balance will be recovered more quickly.

Normal order has something to do with the harmonized and adaptive nature of a society. Since man is not purely "economic man" but also "social man," social coordination or harmony cannot be achieved through economic development alone. As regards adaptation of people to society and to other people, this can still less be summed up as economic adaptation. The significance of harmonization and adaptation goes way beyond questions of economy. Let us take real enterprise situations to illustrate this point.

To improve efficiency, enterprise management often uses such economic tools as granting or withholding bonuses, increasing or reducing wages, etc. Although material incentives and penalties certainly work, exclusive reliance on such methods evidently has considerable limitations. In cases where the mentality of employees has changed, or their income has

reached a certain level and the bonus or fine represents only a small part of their wages, or the commodities they can afford are unavailable because of market shortage, the employees will no longer care about bonuses or fines, rendering such methods less effective than previously. So, in the area of enterprise management, it has become an inevitable trend to replace the "incentive principle" with the "adaptation principle." The latter emphasizes adaptation between the subject and the object, aiming to make the object feel that the subject is indispensable and vice versa. Such adaptive relationship has been called "oneness," referring to the coordination, in its most complete and perfect sense, of interpersonal relations. Take, for example, the interpersonal relations in an enterprise or between the leaders and the led. The "adaptation principle" implies that employees feel inseparable from the enterprise, seeing it as a family of which they are a part; the leaders feel that they and the employees are one, and that the employees' concerns are theirs also. The enterprise and its employees share the same fortune and their relations are harmonized. When technology reaches a certain level, such adaptation between the subject and the object is bound to produce high efficiency.

Adaptation is not limited to interpersonal relations within an enterprise; the principle is also applicable to relations among various social forces and is similarly capable of raising efficiency. We may analyze the relationship between government and public as follows: the maintenance of social order is among the duties of government, and to achieve this it has to resort to compulsive means. But the latter do have limitations, so in addition, the government must do all in its power to establish an adaptive relationship so that the public feels the government is their own, its target is their own target and that they and government are inseparable. This is a manifestation of "oneness" of subject and object in the socio-political field. From the point of view of government, if it has truly built adaptive relations in socio-political life, the cost of maintaining social order will greatly reduce and its management effect will constantly improve. In short, in the social field, coordination and adaptation are both sources of efficiency.

It's hard to imagine that efficiency will not decrease when the subject feels alienated from the object. Similarly, it's hard to see how efficiency can increase when the object feels it can never agree with or unite in concerted efforts with the subject whether in thinking or in action. What is true of an enterprise is true of society also.

2.2.2 Coordination and Adaptation in a Changing Society

It is easier to realize social coordination and adaptation in a static society than in a dynamic one, where it is much more difficult to do so.

For a very long period, human society was basically a static one, which is to say a fixed society. In this, the scope of activity in an individual's life was usually very limited because of low social mobility. Life was lived from childhood to adulthood in the same environment and among the same narrow range of people. Moreover, from that person's childhood environment it would be possible to predict with a great degree of accuracy what that person's future career, life, spouse and children would be like. This is the nature of static society. Being thus, it is very much simpler for individuals to adapt to the people with whom they come into contact.

But it is not possible for modern society to be like this. It is a dynamic, constantly changing and non-fixed society. Not only is its social mobility higher, it will keep on getting higher, and its pace of change will get ever faster. Development of science and technology gives rise to such changes, and along with social changes, interpersonal relations are in a state of constant change. In a static society, the knowledge and manual skills acquired in youth can enable a person to earn a lifelong living; in a dynamic society, what is learned in youth soon becomes outmoded, and one must keep on learning, never able to discontinue learning because of the ever-quickening pace at which knowledge is updated. In such a society, from childhood to adulthood, activities are conducted in various environments and contacts are made with different groups. The circumstances of an individual's childhood cannot predict that person's future. Opportunities keep coming up, but may disappear before being grasped. Everything is in constantly accelerating flux. In order to survive and develop, it is vital to learn how to adapt to the environment, to social changes and to changes in interpersonal relations. In general, adaptation is a life essential.

In static society, despite the minimal changes in an individual's life, despite the fact that incomes and living standards remain very low because of slow or no economic development, the great majority of people derive from it a feeling of stability; stability seems to equate to well-being, and therefore contentment. Moreover, it tells people: This is what life is like, you don't have to change it and no one can change it, either. In such a society, one

usually knows spontaneously how to adapt to the surroundings. There are numerous groups, including groups formed by blood ties, regional ties, and by economic or political relationships; every person can belong to more than one group. Following group standards forms the normal order: Individual behavior obeys group standards and individual interests are subordinate to group interests. Such things stem from people's desire for normal order and also from their desire for stability and their dislike of unnecessary change. The more stable and contented people feel, the less likelihood there is for social change.

A dynamic society is totally different. The fast development of economy and technology brings people many opportunities and improves their income level and material life, but it also brings them a sense of instability. It seems that instability is a source of worry and that to live in a constantly changing society is to live in never-ceasing worry. Moreover, because groups are also changing, the sense of that stability they provide members is shattered. People frequently relocate, change jobs, or even spouses and adult children live separately from parents, all of which means they change from one group (community, trade, profession or family) to another. Sometimes the groups are incompatible or even opposed. This will undoubtedly exacerbate the sense of instability.

It's inevitable for a society to move from static to dynamic. However, those in whom the change process produces a sense of instability cannot adapt to the reality, and are very likely to find the changes unacceptable or even feel hostile to the dynamic society. They want to return to the static society, the only one they feel able to adapt to and accept. They are unhappy with reality, hoping to find their consolation and spiritual moorings in memories, which always seem better than current reality even if life in the past was actually harder. They will have no passion or positivity for work, so efficiency improvement becomes impossible. In some people the strong hankering to go back to the old ways becomes a barrier to efficiency improvement and social progress. This is really just a problem among some ill-adapted individuals, but it has the potential to gradually become a problem for society, a socio-psychological problem.

Why do we say this? Once a society leaves the static phase, it cannot return to it. Some people who are quite clearly at odds psychologically with the change but can do nothing to stop it may well form a countercurrent against the tide of social progress. In his analysis of this problem, sociologist

Elton Mayo found there to be just two principles of social organization: the "established" society and the "adaptive" society. the former, at the lowest level we may look to the ritual procedures of Aboriginal Australians, and at the higher level to British society in the Victorian age, early industrial society in New England of the United States, or some Australian cities in the 1880s. With the advent of socio-economic development the established society ceases to exist. Since return is impossible, some will be discontented with reality. In Mayo's opinion, most modern liberal or revolutionary movements had their origins in a fervent desire to return to the established society from the current unsettled situation, and these aspirations were really reactionary and counter to the spirit of the age.[2]

There are four main aspects to adaptation to a changing society:

One, accepting reality: One should accept the fact that society cannot return to the past and that the reality is unchangeable. As long as there are important scientific discoveries and application of new technology, there will be corresponding change in social organization or life. This is the reality, and if one cannot accept it, hankering after the static society, there can be no talk of adaptability. Therefore, accepting reality is the starting point for adaptation.

Two, understanding the reality: Accepting the reality is a prerequisite for understanding it. Compared with the past, the social environment has changed in many aspects. But deeper comparison is necessary to discover where these changes come from and where their significance lies. An obvious example is an individual living in agricultural society, almost totally isolated from and having very limited contact with the outside world, knows little of the real situation there. Hence, he believes society is stable and adaptable. Once an agricultural society becomes an industrial society, everything changes. Those long accustomed to life in the agricultural society may feel things have changed too fast and too much, feel unable to get a handle on the outside world and themselves unable to adapt to it or even discarded by it. And with the advent of the information society, those long accustomed to life in industrial society may also feel things are changing too abruptly, exacerbating their sense of feeling outmoded and discarded by the world, which contributes to their inability to adapt. In light of this, for an individual to adapt to the social environment, to feel in harmony with the outside world, he should get a deep understanding of the social reality, and understand where this inability to adapt comes from.

Three, change of thinking mode: Once reality is accepted and understood, he should change his way of thinking in line with reality, and abandon the misconception that he is destined not to adapt to the changing society, and so as to recover self-confidence. For example, the transformation from a planned economy to a market economy is a profound social reform, a change that calls for a corresponding updating of one's concepts. Those who lived and worked in the planned economy for many years got used to the "iron rice bowl" (lifelong secure job) and "big pot meal" (egalitarianism), but with the advent of the market economy those things have disappeared, and new challenges have arisen, such as lay-offs and re-employment. It is by no means impossible to adapt oneself to a new reality and a changing social environment. On any occasion, provided one exerts oneself, it is possible to increase one's adaptability. Complaining and sighing will only make the discontentment worse; society will carry on changing, but the gap between them will only get wider and wider.

Four, positive engagement: One should actively engage with socio-economic development and help society move toward its target, positively adapting oneself to social changes rather than passively accepting them. In terms of China's current stage, it is of particular practical importance to adapt to systemic changes. When a society undergoes change, so do its systems and people live within systems that are always changing. Systems are the products of social accumulation that build the social environment for life and work. Changes to systems are occasionally rapid, but more usually gradual. In fact, all are involved in gradual systemic change without necessarily being aware of it. Such gradual change is imperceptible in the short term, but it becomes apparent after a few years or decades. Hardly have people got used to the change before the next round of systemic change has quietly got underway. Therefore, only by actively participating in social and economic development can people better adapt to social and systemic change.

2.2.3 Relieving Individual's Sense of Depression or Loneliness

In a context of constant social change, if an individual cannot adapt to the changing society or the changing interpersonal relations—neither of which is reversible—his psychological equilibrium will be disturbed,

possibly resulting in depression and loneliness, a state of mind engendered by disturbed balance, a reflection of feeling helpless and a strong wish to escape society. In other words, in a changing society, the reason that some people feel depressed and lonely is because, after their relatively stable life is broken, they feel unable to adapt to the changes, increasingly alienated, "forgotten" and "discarded." Even though society has never actually abandoned anyone, some people at odds with reality believe themselves abandoned.

In a changing society, such feelings are not confined to a handful of individuals. When such people get together, pouring out their discontent with real life, a "group sense of depression" or "group sense of loneliness" will emerge. It is one source of the discontented mood that appears in the process of social change, and possibly one manifestation of the clash as the old culture is replaced by a new one. As a society changes, its culture changes from old to new. An old one incapable of adapting to a changed society will inevitably be replaced by the new one.[3]

Individuals or groups harboring a sense of depression and loneliness will be, whether consciously or not, inclined to champion old culture, distancing themselves from new culture or rejecting it. When reflected in social and economic life, this is bound to reduce efficiency in an enterprise, an institution or the whole society. Generally, such loss is not directly linked with the technology or educational level of its employees, but comes from lack of adaptability and coordination.

An individual's sense of depression and loneliness might also be connected with aging and life experiences. Social adaptability might decrease as a person's age increases, giving rise to the phenomenon of being able to keep pace with social change as a young person, but not when old. When young, there is no sense of depression or loneliness, but when old it is present. Of course, this problem is not an insoluble one. It should be noted that in a dynamic society, even though there are clashes between new and old cultures everywhere, some people can fit themselves only to old culture and never the new; others like neither, there are still many narrow cracks between the old and the new cultures. People who like neither culture can find a shelter in these cracks or can just hang around by the entrance to the new culture. In real life such situations are not at all uncommon.

In fact, when a society is in flux, the new culture waxing and the old culture waning, the cracks between the two are also changing and to run

away from reality is no solution. People must always make choices. In the main it is the individual who can relieve his own sense of depression and isolation. The only way to solve the problem is: Whoever you are, however old and whatever your experiences, reality must be accepted and understood, outmoded concepts and ways of thinking must change to reflect the demands of real life, and you must actively engage in socio-economic development so as to help society to proceed along the right track.

In its long process of socio-economic development, a changing society has a transitional character: It never can be and never should be a terminal point. It is always a "work in progress," and will hence have shortcomings. Compared with static society, a dynamic society will certainly have other defects apart from giving people a sense of instability. The fact that an individual does adapt to a changing society does not imply he considers that society to be defect-free, still less that he interprets its defects as good points: all it indicates is an acceptance of reality and an ability to adapt to reality's demands by adjusting his behavior and way of thinking. If those defects are the inevitable results of the change process and not readily overcome, or if they are the price that must be paid for the change, then a person understanding the reality should see the situation clearly, try hard to adjust and participate actively in socio-economic development in a bid to rectify those defects and mitigate their negative impact.

In general, harmony and adaptation produce efficacy whereas lack of them brings about loss of efficiency. The three are constant companions. In the process of social change, only with constant harmonization and adaptation can efficiency constantly improve.

贰　协调与适应

一、协调与适应的意义

第一节已经指出，从效率源泉的角度来看，社会的协调、人际关系的协调、人对社会的适应，以及人们彼此之间的适应，对效率的增长有着十分重要的意义。在这一节，让我们循着这一思路作进一步的探索。

要知道，社会虽然是由无数个个人组成的，但人们一旦组成社会之后，社会就同人一样，也有一种自我调节以保持平衡或恢复平衡的功能，这是社会得以持续存在并得到发展的机制。在《社会主义政治经济

学》一书中，我曾对作为一个整体的社会作了如下的论述：

人同社会一样，都具有一种自我调理的功能。一旦这种自我调理的功能消失了或减弱了，人就会生病，社会就会失调。人体的自我调理的功能，以及社会的自我调理的功能，如果细分一下，可以分为亢进性的和抑制性的功能。亢进性的功能指外向的、活动的、积极的作用的发挥，抑制性的功能指内向的、保守的、消极的作用的发挥。一般情况下，两种功能同时发挥作用，使人体或社会自我调整，保持和恢复平衡。这就是说，在正常状态下，人体或社会既不会过于亢进，也不会过于抑制，而且即使有时亢进多于抑制或抑制多于亢进，在经历一个过程后也会自然恢复过来，又回到平衡之中。[1]

现在需要讨论的是：假定不存在政府调节，社会还有没有这种自我调理以恢复平衡的功能。显然是有这种功能的，否则在政府尚未形成、政府调节尚未出现时，人类社会怎会持续存在了那么多年？假定既不存在政府调节，又不存在市场调节，社会还有没有这种自我调理以恢复平衡的功能。显然也是有这种功能的，否则，正如本书第一章中已经谈到的，在市场调节与政府调节都还没有出现时，人类社会怎会持续存在了那么多年？在市场调节力量与政府调节力量都达不到的偏远地区，或者，在市场调节与政府调节都已不起作用的社会大动乱的年代里，人类社会不是照样存在，照样运转吗？那么，社会的这种自我调理以恢复平衡的功能究竟来自何处？它是怎样起作用的？

社会由无数的个人所组成，人们在一起生活，一起工作，人与人之间存在着各种各样的联系，秩序对于每一个社会成员来说，都是关系到自己能否安定地生活和正常地工作的头等大事。人人要求社会有秩序，不管什么样的秩序，有秩序总比无秩序好得多。无秩序必然造成混乱，混乱不仅使社会成员无法进行工作，生活上遭到损害，甚至连继续生存都有问题。因此，社会成员对秩序的要求是迫切的，为的是避免混乱，避免受到损害。市场调节提供的是一种秩序，政府调节提供的也是一种秩序。市场调节一经出现，为什么在凡是有市场活动的地方都有市场调节下的秩序，是因为人们希望有一种秩序。政府一经形成，为什么凡是在有政府的地方，或者说，凡是在政府的力量能够达到的地方，政府总是要维持一种秩序？原因在于，一方面，人们希望有秩序，从而能够接受某种秩序；另一方面，政府也希望有秩序，并要求人们遵守这种秩序。

由于人们普遍要求秩序，谁也不愿意看到无秩序状态的出现，于是社会便具有一种自我调理以恢复平衡的功能。自我调理，意味着趋向秩序，适应秩序；恢复平衡可以看成是恢复秩序或重新建立秩序的另一种表述。社会经济的过热或过冷，都表明社会经济正常运行的节奏被破

坏、社会经济的秩序被打乱了。在这种情况下，通过人们对恢复平衡，也就是恢复秩序或重新建立秩序的要求，社会经济自身就会不断地进行调整。因此，即使没有市场调节与政府调节，社会经济在经历一段时间的亢进或抑制之后，也会逐渐地恢复过来，逐渐趋向于平衡，只不过所需要的时间可能较长而已。这就告诉我们，对绝大多数社会成员来说，对正常的生活和工作秩序的要求使社会经济有一种内在的趋向平衡的机制。如果再有市场调节，那么这种使社会经济趋向平衡的过程就会加快；如果再有政府调节，而且政府调节是适当的，那么社会经济也可以较快地趋向平衡。

正常的秩序同社会的协调与适应有关。由于人不是单纯的“经济人”，而是“社会的人”，所以社会的协调不仅是从经济上着手就能实现的问题。至于人同社会的适应、人们彼此之间的适应，那就更不可能归结为经济方面的适应，协调与适应的意义远远超出经济问题以外。可以用企业中实际存在的情况作为例证。

在一个企业中，为了提高效率，在管理中经常使用经济手段，例如发放奖金或扣发奖金，增加工资或降低工资，等等。依靠物质奖励或处罚的做法固然有用，但不难发现，诸如此类的做法具有较大的局限性。当职工的想法发生了变化，或者当职工的收入达到一定的水平而奖金或罚款相形之下只占较小的份额，或者市场上可供职工选择的商品很少，职工即使有钱也买不到自己所想要的商品时，职工会感到有没有奖金是无所谓的，罚不罚款也是无足轻重的，于是奖金或罚款就不再像以往那样起作用了。在企业管理领域内，以“适应性原则”来代替“激励原则”，便成为不可避免的趋势。“适应性原则”强调的是主体与客体的适应，即如何使客体感到自己与主体是不可分的，也使主体感到自己与客体是不可分的。这种适应关系有时被称做“视为一体”，也就是指人际关系中的充分的、完整意义上的协调一致。以企业内部的人际关系或领导与被领导之间的关系来说，“适应性原则”的实现意味着：职工感到自己同企业是不可分的，“企业就是我的家，我就是企业的一分子”；企业领导人则感到自己同职工是合为一体的，职工的事情就是自己的事情。于是在企业工作中，企业与职工共命运，两者的关系协调一致。在一定的技术条件下，这种主体与客体的适应必然产生高效率。

适应不限于企业内部的人际关系。社会各种力量之间的关系，也适用于“适应性原则”。“适应性原则”在社会范围内，同样能产生高效率。可以把政府与民众之间的关系作如下的分析：维持社会秩序是政府的任务之一，要维持社会秩序，政府有必要依靠强制手段。强制手段是不可少的，但强制手段存在着局限性。因此，政府在维持社会秩序的过程中，除了要依靠强制手段以外，还应当尽可能有效地建立适应关系，让

人们感到政府是自己的政府，政府的目标就是自己的目标，自己同政府是不可分的。这就是社会政治生活领域内主体与客体的“视为一体”。而从政府的角度来看，如果在社会政治生活中真正建立了适应关系，不仅管理成本，即维持社会秩序的成本会大大减少，而且管理的效果也会不断提高。在社会领域内，协调与适应同样是产生效率的源泉。

很难设想，当一个主体感到自己同客体总是格格不入时效率会不下降？也很难设想，当任何一个客体处处感到自己同主体“想不到一起”、“做不到一起”、“力量使不到一起”时效率会有所提高？企业如此，社会也如此。

二、社会变动中的协调与适应

在一个静态的社会中，社会的协调与适应一般是比较容易实现的。而在一个动态的社会中，在一个不断变动着的社会环境中，社会的协调与适应就会困难得多。

长期内人类社会基本上是一个静态的社会。静态的社会也就是一种定型的社会。在这样的社会中，一个人一生的活动范围往往是很有限的，因为社会流动性很小。一个人，从小到大，几乎都在相同的环境中活动，同相同的一些人来往，人与人的交往范围是很窄的。不仅如此，从一个人小时候的处境，大体上就可以预测到他今后会从事什么职业，怎样生活，同什么样的人结婚，他的孩子会怎么样，等等。这种预测基本上是准确的，这就是静态社会的特征。既然如此，一个人同他所交往的人们的适应，无疑简单得多。

现代社会已经不可能再是这样的社会。现代社会是动态的社会，也可以称做变动中的、非定型的社会。在这样的社会中，社会流动性不仅相当大，而且会越来越大，社会的变动也会越来越快。这种变动是由科学技术的发展所引起的。随着社会的变动，人际关系也在不断变动之中。在静态社会中，一个人在青少年时代所学到的知识、手艺，一辈子都有用，他完全可以靠那时掌握的技能生活下去，而在动态社会中，一个人在青少年时代所学到的一切很快就不适用了，他必须继续学习，而且随着知识更新速度的加快，继续学习一直不能放松。在动态社会，一个人，从小到大，是在各种不同的环境中活动的，同一批又一批不同的人交往。一个人小时候怎样，不能由此预料他将来会怎样。机遇会不断涌现，但机遇如果未被抓住，又会迅速丧失。总之，一切都是变动的，变动的速度还在加快。人为了生存，为了发展，就必须学会如何去适应环境，适应社会的变动，适应人际关系的变动。适应，已经成为生活的

必需。

在静态的社会中，尽管每个人的生活变化不大，尽管由于社会经济的缓慢发展甚至停滞而使人们的收入水平很低，生活质量也很差，但却给绝大多数人一种稳定的感觉。稳定似乎等同于幸福，这样绝大多数人身在静态社会之中，也就知足了。静态社会给人们带来的这种稳定感，甚至还告诉人们：生活就是这样，不需改变它，而且谁也改变不了它。一个人往往不需要思索就知道如何同周围的环境相适应。在静态的社会中存在着一些团体，包括由血缘关系组成的，由地域关系组成的，或由经济或政治关系组成的，个人总会属于某些团体，这时，遵守团体的规范就形成正常的秩序，个人行为服从团体的规范，个人利益从属于团体的利益，这些都出于人们想有一种正常秩序的愿望，也同人们不愿变动或认为不必变动的稳定感有关。人们越是有稳定感，越是感到知足，社会变动的可能也就越小。

动态社会的情况与此截然不同。尽管由于社会经济的发展加快和技术进步的加快而给人们带来不少机遇，带来收入水平的上升，带来物质文化生活条件的改善，但却给人们一种不稳定的感觉。不稳定似乎就是烦恼产生的源泉，生活在变动的社会环境中仿佛就是生活在无休止的烦恼之中。不仅如此，团体给团体成员以稳定的感觉也破灭了。团体本身同样在变动。比如说，人们多次迁移就意味着不停地由一个团体（社区）转移到另一个团体（社区）；人们多次改变职业也意味着不停地由一个团体（行业或职业组织）转移到另一个团体（行业或职业组织）；甚或婚姻的变故、成年子女同父母的分居和自立门户，同样意味着由一个最小的团体（家庭）改换到另一个最小的团体（家庭）。甚至有的团体同另一个团体处于不和谐或对立的状态，这就加重了人们的不稳定感。

社会从静态转向动态是不可避免的。然而，在社会变动过程中有不稳定的感觉的人，不仅适应不了现实社会，而且很可能看不惯社会的变动，对动态的社会有反感，而总想再返回到静态的社会去，自认为只有过去那种静态的社会才是可以适应和可以接受的。在他们看来，现状总是不能令人满意，回忆似乎更好些，哪怕过去的日子并不如现在，但从回忆中仍可以得到某种安慰，找到一种精神上的寄托，这样，既谈不到有什么激情，也不会有什么积极性，效率当然不可能提高，因为有这种情绪的人是不会有什么工作动力的。返回静态社会的愿望在有些人身上会表现得比较强烈，于是就会形成效率增长的障碍、社会前进的障碍。本来这只是一部分人对变动中的社会不适应的个人问题，但却有可能逐渐变成社会问题、社会心理问题。

为什么说这可能成为社会问题、社会心理问题呢？要知道，社会一

旦走出了静态社会的阶段，就再也不会回到那个阶段去。在一些人身上，心理的不协调表现得很明显，但又无可奈何，这样，在社会前进的大潮中很可能形成一股逆流。社会学家梅欧（Elton Mayo）对这个问题曾作过分析，他指出，社会组织有两种不同的原则，一是已经定型的社会，一是适应变动的社会。定型社会的例子，在最低的层次上，例如澳大利亚土著居民的成套仪式；在较高的层次上，例如维多利亚时代的英国社会、美国新英格兰的早期工业社会，或19世纪80年代澳大利亚的城市等。社会经济发展起来了，定型社会不再存在了，人们想回到过去是不可能的，于是就会产生不满，即对于现实社会的不满。梅欧认为，现代大部分自由主义运动或者革命运动，正是起源于从目前的不安定局面返回到定型社会的一种强烈的愿望，而这种愿望实际上是反动的，同时代的精神是相反的。[2]梅欧的分析有事实根据，对变动中的社会的适应已经成为现代社会经济生活中的一个重要问题。

对变动中社会的适应大体上包括四个方面：

第一，承认现实。要承认社会已经不可能返回到过去了，现实是难以更改的。只要有重大的科学发现和新技术的应用，便会有社会组织或社会生活方面的相应变化。这就是现实。如果不承认现实，总是留恋静态社会，那么任何适应也就无从谈起。所以承认现实是适应的出发点。

第二，了解现实。了解现实以承认现实为前提。现实的社会环境与过去的社会环境相比，有许多不同之处。但不能只看表面现象，而需要深入进行比较，才能发现这些不同从何而来，其意义何在。一个明显的例子是：当一个人生活在农业社会中时，他同外部世界几乎是隔绝的，他同外部世界的联系局限于十分狭窄的范围内，外部世界的实际情况并不被他所了解，因此，他认为社会是稳定的，是可以适应的。从农业社会转变到工业社会后，一切都改变了，一个在农业社会中长期生活的人会感到变化太大，也太快，对外部世界难以把握，总是感到自己不但不适应外部世界，甚至被外部世界所遗弃，不适应主要由此而来。而一旦进入信息社会之后，在工业社会中长期生活的人，同样会感到变化太大太快，落伍于时代的感觉、被世界所遗弃的感觉会更加突出，这样就产生了不适应。由此可见，一个人要取得同社会环境的适应，要实现同外部世界的协调，就应当深入了解现实社会的特征，了解这种不适应的原因何在。

第三，在承认现实和了解现实之后，就应当按照现实社会的要求来改变自己已经不适应的观念和思考问题的方法，而不能认为自己是注定不能同变动中的社会相适应的，不能信心丧失。例如，从计划经济体制向市场经济体制的转变就是一场深刻的社会变革，相应地需要有观念的更新。在计划经济体制下生活和工作多年的人，已经习惯了“铁饭

碗”、“大锅饭”，而在市场经济体制下，过去习惯的东西消失了，过去不习惯的东西涌来了，下岗与再就业就是一个新问题。如何适应于现实社会，如何同变动中的社会环境保持协调，这并不是不能解决的。在任何场合，只要通过努力，总会增加自己的适应能力。如果对变动中的社会与周围的人际关系只是抱怨，只是嗟叹，不仅问题无法解决，而且不满情绪还会增长，结果，社会在继续变动，自己同现实社会的距离却越来越远了。

第四，用自己的行动来参与现实条件下的社会经济发展，使现实社会继续朝着符合社会经济发展目标的方向变化，在社会变动过程中成为一个主动的适应者，而不仅仅是一个被动的适应者。对现阶段的中国人来说，适应体制的变化尤其具有现实意义。社会在变化，体制也在变化，人们总是生活在逐渐变化中的体制之中。体制是社会积累的产物，它构成人们生活和工作的社会环境。体制的变化，有些是急剧的，但更多的是渐进的，每一个人实际上都在参与体制的逐渐的、缓慢的变化，但可能自己并未意识到。体制的渐进式的变化，不是每天、每月，甚至每年都能察觉的，但隔了一段时间，几年、十几年、几十年，再回头看一看，体制的变化就明显了。人们也许刚刚适应目前已经发生的体制的变化，而下一步的体制的渐进式变化却又悄悄地起步了。所以人们只有用自己的行动来参与社会经济发展，才能更好地适应社会的变化、体制的变化。

三、个人压抑感或孤独感的化解

从另一个角度来考察，在社会不断变动的过程中，一个人如果不能同变动中的社会相适应，不能同变动中的人际关系相适应，而无论社会还是人际关系又都不可能返回到以往的状态，那么个人心理上的不协调就有可能形成一种压抑感或孤独感。这是一种相对稳定的平衡状态崩溃时所产生的个人压抑感或孤独感。这种压抑感或孤独感的存在，表明个人在不适应社会时产生了一种从心理上远离社会，甚至躲避社会的无可奈何的思想情绪。换句话说，在变动的社会中，某些人之所以会有压抑感或孤独感，主要原因在于自己感到相对稳定的生活遭到破坏之后而又不能同变动了的社会相适应，从而感到自己越来越不合群，越来越感到自己成为“被遗忘的人”。尽管社会并未抛弃任何人，但某些不能适应于现实的人总认为自己被社会所抛弃了。

变动中的社会不可能只有个别人存在着压抑感或孤独感。当一些有压抑感或孤独感的人相聚在一起时，当倾吐对现实生活的不满成为他们

共同的话题时，就会出现一种“集团性的被压抑感”或“集团性的孤独”。这是社会变动过程中不满情绪产生的根源之一，也可能是新旧文化交替过程中新旧文化冲突的表现之一。社会发生变动时，新旧文化也一直处于不断交替之中，旧文化无法适应变动着的社会，新文化不可避免地逐渐取而代之。[3]有压抑感、孤独感的个人或集团，自觉或不自觉地倾向于维护旧文化，疏远或拒绝新文化。这反映在社会经济生活中必然导致效率的损失，包括某个企事业单位的效率损失和整个社会的效率损失。这种效率损失一般说来同技术水平或工作者的文化程度没有直接的联系。效率损失主要来自不适应、不协调。

个人的压抑感或孤独感还可能来自个人年龄的增大和经历的变化。社会的变动是不间断的，当人的年龄增大后，同社会的适应程度却有可能随着年龄的渐增而逐渐下降，于是将出现这样一种情况，即年轻时能跟上社会变动的节奏而同社会的变动相适应，年纪大时却跟不上社会变动的节奏了。年轻时不感到压抑或孤独，年纪大时却渐渐产生了压抑感或孤独感。当然，这绝不是不可改变的状况。应当明确，在动态社会中，尽管处处都有新旧两种文化的冲撞，总会有人只适应旧文化而不适应新文化，或者有人既不喜欢旧文化也不喜欢新文化，然而新旧文化的夹缝也是处处存在的。既不喜欢旧文化也不喜欢新文化的人，有可能在新旧文化的夹缝中暂且栖身，或在新文化的入门口附近徘徊。现实生活中这种情形并不是罕见的。

其实，既然社会在不断地变动，旧文化在渐渐退却，新文化在悄悄成长，那么变动的社会中的新旧文化的夹缝也是变动的，逃避现实总不是办法。人们总要作出选择。已经形成的压抑感或孤独感，主要应由个人自己设法去化解，而解决这个问题的途径只能是：不管什么人，多大年纪，有过什么样的经历，在变动的社会中都需要承认现实，了解现实，按照现实社会的要求来转变过时的观念和思想方法，以及不断用自己的行动来参与社会经济的发展，促使社会朝着符合社会经济发展的方向变化。

还需要指出，在社会经济发展的漫长过程中，变动着的社会依然带有过渡性质，它不可能、也不应该是终点站。变动着的社会仍处在继续变动之中，所以它不会是一个完美无缺的社会。与静态社会相比，动态社会除了给人们以一种不稳定的感觉而外，肯定还有某些缺陷或不足之处。一个人同变动着的社会相适应，并不等于他认为这样的社会是没有缺陷或不足之处的社会，更不是说他会把这些缺陷或不足当成优点，这只是表明他承认现实，接受现实，按现实的要求来调整自己的行为和思想方法，以适应现实。假定这些缺陷或不足之处在社会变动过程中很难避免，也很难立即被克服，甚至它们是作为社会变动中必须付出的代价

而出现的，那么一个了解现实的人就应当清楚地认识到这些，并力求在与变动着的社会相适应的同时，在自己所参与的社会经济发展中，为纠正这些缺陷，弥补这些不足之处，以及尽量缩小它们的不利影响而出力。

总之，不协调、不适应带来效率损失，协调、适应产生效率。效率始终伴随着协调与适应。在社会变动过程中，只有不断协调，不断适应，效率才会不断地提高。

2.3 Mutual Relief and Efficiency Improvement

2.3.1 On Flood Containment and the Traditional Chinese Spirit

In Section 2.2 we proposed that harmonization and adaptability is connected with the replacement of old culture by new. To further understand culture, we begin our analysis by looking into Chinese history and the containment of flooding.

Historical materials show that ancient China frequently suffered from catastrophic floods and rulers in all periods attached great importance to taming the waters. Some foreign sinologists concluded that it was the need for flood containment that catalyzed the birth of highly centralized autocracy in China, reasoning that such enormous flood containment projects could hardly be organized without a highly centralized autocracy. It seems that the autocracy of ancient China was born of frequent flooding and flood control projects. Flood control, centralization and autocracy seem to be three inseparable elements. This opinion has appeared in foreign publications on Chinese history. Some even regard the high degree of centralization and autocracy necessary for flood control as oriental traditions.

The establishment of a highly centralized autocracy in ancient China is too complex a topic to go into here. There is no denying that large flood-control projects were connected in some degree with autocratic governments, organizers of those projects. However, from the perspective of flood control, we see that what history has given to the Chinese people is certainly not the highly centralized and autocratic "oriental tradition." If there is a relationship

between the flood containment cause and Chinese tradition, it should be described as follows: to channel rather than to obstruct; to ease off rather than let stagnate; to act together on all fronts rather than going it alone; to help each other rather than forget all moral principles at the sight of profits. This is China's spiritual wealth, the legacy of millennia of flood containment.

To channel and not obstruct is one of the most precious crystallization of experience from the flood control efforts of many generations. From feudal dynastic monarchs down to government officials of different levels, whoever had experience of water conservancy and managing flood prevention completely understood the rightness of it. Obstruction might work in the short term but would only lead to failure. To channel was the only effective path to taming the waters. It was the natural way. This experience was later widely applied in other fields of social and political life, exerting a far-reaching and not to be under-estimated influence on China's past and present. People even use channeling and persuasion to address family conflicts and neighborhood disputes. The connotations of easing and channeling are similar, and are invariably involved when dealing with the accumulated grievances produced by conflicts and frictions in interpersonal relations. It would not be going too far to claim that the greatest influence of hydraulic history on the Chinese people lies in their valuing the concepts of channeling and easing. It was certainly no accident that "harmony is precious" became the principle for dealing with others among the Chinese people.

Through the lens of economics, human factors play an important role in efficiency improvement. Running production, just like managing flood containment, calls for the human factor to be used to its fullest possible effect. Similarly, in dealing with interpersonal relations, it's important to create channels rather than obstructions, to clear conflicts rather than deposit problems like silt. Such actions are both the source and guarantee of higher efficiency.

Thanks to the emphasis on "creating channels" and "clearing," Chinese history has enjoyed long periods of peace and prosperity. It was in such periods that the spirit of "creating channels" was mainstream and many social conflicts were solved. By contrast, periods of turmoil and chaos were perhaps, in a certain sense, caused by government's departure from this principle.

There are two characters in the Chinese expression "to channel": the first means to dredge and the second to guide. Similarly, the Chinese expression

"to clear," contains "to dissolve" and "to resolve." To dissolve means to spate and dilute. To resolve means to dissect, untie, and disperse. These concepts are based on tolerance. Addressing friction and conflicts in interpersonal relations in a spirit of tolerance can gradually dissolve grievances accumulated over years, whereas an obstructive approach will pile even more grievances on top of those already built up and make it even tougher to solve problems. For this reason, the experience drawn from flood control is so precious for Chinese.

To tame a great river needs cooperation and help from different sides, such as the upper and lower-and-medium reaches, the left bank and right bank, towns and villages, this county and that one, this village and that one, the whole forming a huge cooperative net. For the prevention and containment of floods channeling and cooperation are both essential. Whether under the rule of a highly centralized regime, or the fragmentary regimes of dukedoms, without inter-regional cooperation, flooding and consequent disasters would have been hard to eliminate or mitigate. Regional cooperation, non-governmental cooperation in particular, is an excellent part of China's national tradition. Cooperation produces and consolidates group and social cohesion, a cohesion that has enabled the Chinese people, the nation and its economy to survive numerous civil disturbances, foreign aggressions, wars and natural disasters. This is a high efficiency, an efficiency that few economists have studied or even noticed, and behind it lies the cooperative spirit of a society and enormous social cohesion.

2.3.2 Lessons from Mutual Help and Relief

Out of the history of flood containment from dynasty to dynasty rose a national tradition, one characterized by a spirit of "channeling," "easing off," "tolerance" and "cooperation." A historical and cultural tradition such as this is beyond market and government: society cohesion comes out of it and efficiency is born of it.

For thousands upon thousands of years, China has suffered disaster after disaster, of which flooding is only one: floods, earthquakes, wars and banditry have all inflicted enormous losses on the people. After flooding, riverbanks and homes needed rebuilding; after earthquakes, towns and villages needed reconstructing; and after the chaos of wars and banditry,

people needed to return to their homeland and resume normal life. As refugees or in rebuilding homes, people needed to help each other. By mutual relief and support the Chinese people have not only survived countless adversities but have kept on developing output, economy and culture. The spirit of mutual help has equipped Chinese with more resilience in combating various disasters.

This spirit originates with the general public. When a disaster strikes, people come from all directions to help the victims, donate or provide shelters for relatives, friends and strangers, embodying this spirit. Such non-governmental mutual help is a special social underpinning, because it is spontaneous in nature. If it were not spontaneous, could help to the disaster-stricken people last long? Or could the spirit of mutual help be promoted and passed on generation after generation? This spirit embodies the force of custom and morality, and the role of these factors in building this special social underpinning cannot be replaced either by market or government.

Of course, once governments took shape they naturally took on responsibility for social relief, spending more or less on helping refugees or the needy out of consideration for safeguarding social stability. But government relief for, say, refugees, was more often than not insufficient, thus popular relief and help always played a very important role in this respect, especially in disaster years. The main priority of government relief was keeping social peace, whereas popular relief, though having an element of this, stems more from sympathy and concern for the lives of others in trouble. People give, not for the sake of any return to themselves, but to fulfill a social responsibility. The greatest distinction between regulation by custom and morality and regulation by market and government lies in the fact that, under the influence of the former, people's assistance is purely voluntary and comes from the heart.

What connection is there between mutual help and efficiency? In preventing, containing and fleeing floods, in rebuilding homes, villages and towns after floods, mutual help promoted higher efficiency. Had there been no popular mutual help, the loss of lives and property sustained by the disaster-stricken people would have been much worse and subsequent recovery and rebuilding nowhere near as effective. With the existence of mutual help, people's daily lives were to some degree guaranteed and their confidence as regards resisting disasters, self-help and reconstruction increased. With greater confidence comes greater efficiency. History has

proved this true on countless occasions. Therefore, the legacy of flood containment, quite apart from our valuing "channeling" and "easing off" and our cherishing of the cooperative and tolerant spirit, is the tradition of mutual help. Efficiency is something that springs from interpersonal cooperation and increases constantly as relations become more harmonious, thanks to channeling, easing off, cooperation and mutual help.

2.3.3 Further Analysis of Mutual Help Behavior in History

Let us return to the newly emerged medieval cities of Western Europe for an example of mutual help behavior, so as to understand further the correlation between mutual help and greater efficiency: this will give a different perspective on the source of increased efficiency. In medieval Western Europe, newly emerged cities suffered from frequent natural disasters and wars and citizens had to rely for food and other daily necessities on outside sources. But the supply was not guaranteed, and once cut, the social order and normal economic activities could not be sustained; even daily life could not carry on. When simply surviving was a big problem, how can one talk of efficiency at all, let alone increased efficiency!

Under such special conditions, some of these cities took certain measures and set rules to regulate the urban economy and life, measures that were greatly supported by the citizens. The setting of such measures and the fact that they were respected reflect the spirit of mutual help. For example, some rules forbade coemptive buying of foodstuffs, some prohibited bakers buying wheat surplus to their actual needs, some forbade urban workshops or citizens making forward purchases of grain in the countryside. Some cities set a limit on food purchases per household per period. All these rules were to prevent any one family dying from hunger for lack of access to food.[4]

Some cities forbade "privileged purchase." This meant that all commodities brought in from outside had first to be sold in designated markets and in retail within a certain period, with equal access for all residents. For example, in Würzburg, Germany, when a ship with coal arrived, for the first eight days the coal could only be sold retail and, moreover, each household could buy no more than 50 baskets. After eight days, wholesale selling of the remaining coal was allowed.[5] In some British

cities such as Liverpool, all necessities arriving at the port would first be bought by the city authority, which then allocated them to merchants, craftsmen and residents so that everyone could have one portion. In some French cities such as Amiens, salt, as a necessity of daily life, was distributed by the city authority. And in Venice, all trade in food was the monopoly of the city authority to ensure the needs of all Venetians would be met. Some Western European cities in the Middle Ages practiced a system along the following lines: When a merchant ship arrived carrying goods from elsewhere, the merchants aboard had to attest on oath to the cost and transportation expenses of their cargo. This oral declaration formed the basis on which the city government's price commissioner set the selling price, and only then could the goods be offloaded and sold. Granted, all of the above were government actions to ensure normal supplies in their city, but they were undertaken in the spirit of mutual help, a spirit prevalent in cities in those days and one that contributed to citizens' receptiveness to regulation by government and economic measures.[6]

These mutual help measures were not limited to the supply of daily necessities. Some cities even set up "public ovens" for poor families to bake bread. Some cities reserved public woods and pastures for urban residents to cut twigs as firewood or to feed their livestock freely. Some cities set up publicly operated pawnshops, charging low or no interest so that the poor were not victimized by usurious rates.[7] In medieval Western Europe, city streets were narrow and flanked either side by tightly-packed timber houses vulnerable to fire. To prevent fire disasters, many cities set up community service fire brigades and took fire prevention as an important part of urban life. In order to maintain the peace, some cities set up night patrol systems requiring all adult males to do night patrol service.

The above examples show how, in medieval Western European cities influenced by the mutual help spirit, both city authorities and residents were fully aware of the importance of civic service and facilities. Economically speaking, this had to do with the low social productivity and the adversity prevailing in these newly emerged cities. Given low productivity, inadequate supply of necessities, isolation from and even opposition to the country areas, how could these cities have survived without taking such measures? It was the mutual help spirit that helped those cities stand the test of hardship and made them centers where more and more merchants and serfs gathered. If we bring this factor into our analysis of efficiency it becomes very clear that the

ability of cities to survive and grow was itself a manifestation of efficiency, a kind of efficiency inseparable from the mutual help spirit. Mutual help not only protected the weak within the cities, but also safeguarded the common shelters of the weak and the strong alike, namely the medieval cities of Western Europe as a whole. In this sense, mutual help was a protection for every city dweller. No matter his origin, occupation or wealth, as long as he came to the city he would receive its protection, including the protection by its mutual help spirit.

2.3.4. The Never-fading Spirit of Mutual Help

From these examples it is evident that the spirit of mutual help truly did play an important role in ensuring and promoting efficiency. But it brings us to another question: Since measures by the city authorities later become obstacles to technological progress and inimical to increased efficiency, does this mean that mutual help also had something of a negative and oppositional effect?

To approach this question we need to begin with the medieval cities of Western Europe. When the cities were still in their infancy, in the interests of maintaining stability and creating good prospects for their trade and to ensure a peaceful life for its practitioners, urban craftsmen took a series of measures to restrict market competition. For example, in many cities, the guilds set rules for their members: Those running shops were not allowed to engage in transportation business; workshops were not allowed to post advertisements to attract customers, to pull customers into their shops or to sell goods at discounted prices. In some cities, the guilds did not allow its members to provide door-to-door services. For example, in early 14th-century Germany, tailors in Helm were not permitted to solicit customers from door to door, and in mid-14th-century Frankfurt shoe-makers were also prohibited from selling their making and repairing services in this fashion. Door-to-door selling was regarded as a practice that would sharpen competition, deepen friction and widen income disparities among people of the same trade.

According to guild rules, working hours of the manual workshops were restricted. Normally, the production and running hours were from sunrise to sunset; workplaces could only be illuminated by natural light, no work should be done by lamplight and night shifts were strictly forbidden. The guilds had

rules on payment too: Apprentices had board and keep supplied but no wages. The wage level and working day duration for journeymen were both fixed and no extra payment or bonus was allowed. They were paid once a day or a week. Piece-rate payment was forbidden in many cities lest it should intensify competition, but later, when epidemics left many cities short of workers, this was relaxed somewhat and piece-rate payment was adopted in some fields. Even so, the payment level was still subject to a unified standard. The guilds also forbade its members to affiliate or merge with each other in a bid to prevent the formation of large-scale workshops.

The role of such restrictive measures on competition shall be analyzed from a historical view. In the early period of the medieval cities, such restrictions played a positive role in promoting urban stability and development, the peaceful life of the inhabitants and increased efficiency. However, with economic development and enlargement of market scale, those measures became obstacles to productivity development because they bound the initiative and creativity of the producers and hindered the progress of technology and efficiency increase. As a result, they were gradually abandoned. The question we now need to discuss is this: how do we see the mutual help spirit? Since the competition restricting measures taken in the light of this spirit played a positive role in the early stage of medieval cities in Western Europe, this spirit should be regarded as positive. When those measures became obstacles in the later Middle Ages, does it mean this spirit had become outmoded? The answer is no. The fact that the measures had become outmoded does not at all mean that the mutual help spirit was obsolete.

As discussed previously, the mutual help spirit is spontaneous, emerging from a sense of sympathy and social responsibility: people are motivated to help those in difficulties, not by what return they might get. Under its benign influence, in different historical periods and situations, governments or organizations took measures aimed at ensuring that none should starve, particularly the most vulnerable poor. We should evaluate the objectives of the measures taken by medieval Western European cities.

Evaluation of measures taken by government or organizations, including the city authorities and guilds of medieval Western Europe, is impossible without taking into account the historical context. Once the economy had developed to a certain stage in the above-cited medieval cities the measures became obstacles to productivity development and efficiency increase and

were inevitably abandoned. But this means only that the measures had become obsolete, not the spirit of mutual help as an embodiment of moral force. In a new historical period with a new social and productivity level, this spirit can and should be manifested in forms appropriate to the time. To hold that the mutual help spirit can only be manifested under such old measures and that they therefore should remain unchanged is to misunderstand and distort that spirit. Changes in historical conditions may necessitate specific changes to policies and measures, whereas the spirit of mutual help will live forever.

In his famous work *Mutual Aid*, P. Kropotkin has a brilliant statement to this effect: The absorption of all social functions by the State necessarily favoured the development of an unbridled, narrow-minded individualism. In proportion as the obligations towards the State grew in numbers the citizens were evidently relieved from their obligations towards each other. In the guild—and in medieval times every man belonged to some guild or fraternity; two "brothers" were bound to watch in turns a brother who had fallen ill; it would be sufficient now to give one's neighbour the address of the next paupers' hospital. In barbarian society, to assist at a fight between two men, arisen from a quarrel, and not to prevent it from taking a fatal issue, meant to be oneself treated as a murderer; but under the theory of the all-protecting State the bystander need not intrude: it is the policeman's business to interfere, or not. And while in a savage land, among the Hottentots, it would be scandalous to eat without having loudly called out thrice whether there is not somebody wanting to share the food, all that a respectable citizen has to do now is to pay the poor tax and to let the starving starve.[8]

Arresting though Kropotkin's statement is, it fallibly smacks more of emotional reaction than rational analysis. State behavior is not the same as popular mutual help and the two should not be mixed up. The mutual help spirit should be championed and will carry on, though in certain circumstances it is stronger and in others weaker. State policies and measures, on the other hand, should be adjusted in accordance with historical conditions rather than copied blindly irrespective of the age. Kropotkin used three examples here: that of the medieval age, of barbarians, and of the unenlightened.

As regards the example of the medieval age, the group (guild) behavior, i.e. guild members taking turn to care for the sick, was not a government behavior, but a behavior of mutual help and a duty its members willingly

took on in accordance with their spirit of mutual help. The guilds disbanded, but such spirit should be preserved and continued; as to how people should take care of their sick neighbors or colleagues, that is another question and it is not essential to follow the ways of the old guilds. The real problem, and one that must concern us, is that with the disintegration of guilds and the change of times, the mutual aid spirit has faded.

In Kropotkin's example of the barbarians blurred the boundary between law and custom, or between law and morality. In a pre-legal age everything had to be dealt with in the light of custom or moral principles. Therefore an onlooker failing to intervene to stop a fight would be punished according to these principles. This means that the barbarians respected mutual help as a moral principle. However, with the coming of government and laws, things changed. Murders had to be handled by policemen, not by following tribal custom as the barbarians did; otherwise, social order would be lost. No longer could a non-intervening onlooker be convicted as a murderer for not stopping a fight, but this did not imply the acceptability of a third party to look on without helping. From the perspective of social order, that third party should not idly stand by with folded hands: there is a social responsibility to try to prevent it.

As to Kropotkin's example of the unenlightened, sharing food was normal at that stage, as well as reflecting custom and morality. But were modern people to emulate the Hottentots' behavior by yelling three times before eating it would be unworkable or quite likely to bring disorder to distribution and consumption in society. But surely modern people have their own equivalent of the Hottentots' sharing. They have their own way of caring for the needy without having to adopt the customs of primitive society: The spirit of mutual help should be preserved and promoted, but its forms should change in line with the historical situation.

叁　互助共济与效率增长

一、从治水与中国传统精神说起

第二节中曾提到协调与适应同新旧文化的交替有关。为了对文化问题有较深刻的理解，让我们先对中国历史上的治水问题作一些分析。

史料表明，中国古代屡遭严重的水灾，历朝历代的政府都把治水当

做一件大事。由于中国古代就着重治水，于是国外有的研究中国历史的人便由此断言，出于治理洪水的需要，在中国这块土地上很自然地形成了高度集权的专制制度。他们的逻辑是这样的：没有一个高度集权的专制政府，怎能组织如此宏大的治水工程？似乎中国古代的专制制度渊源于经常性的洪水泛滥和庞大的治水工程。于是治水、集权、专制制度三者就不可分割地被拴在一起了。这种观点曾经在国外出版的一些有关中国历史的书籍中被宣传过，以至于有人把治理洪水所需要的高度集权与专制制度称做东方的传统。

为什么在中国古代会形成高度集权的专制制度，这是一个十分复杂的问题，不可能在这里展开讨论。庞大的治水工程同专制政府作为治水的组织者之间有一定的关系，看来也不能完全予以否认。但就从洪水泛滥与治水事业来考察，历史所给予我们民族的影响，绝不是用以高度集权与专制制度为特色的所谓东方传统所能概括的。如果说中国的民族传统同治水事业有关的话，那么所得出的结论应当是这样的：是疏导而不是堵截，是化解而不是瘀结，是多方协调而不是独断独行，是互助共济而不是见利忘义，这就是几千年治水经验所留给后人的精神财富。

重在疏导而不在堵截，这是中国人历代治水宝贵经验的汇集。从封建王朝的最高统治者到各级政府官员，只要办过水利，处理过水灾水患，全都明白这个道理。堵截，至多成功于一时，但最终没有不失败的。疏导，才是有效的治水途径。疏导就是顺应自然。重在疏导，这个由治水得到的经验后来被广泛用于社会政治生活的其他方面，从而在中国历史上和现实中产生了深远的、不可低估的影响。即使在民间，人们也往往用疏导二字来处理家族矛盾、邻里纠纷。化解的含义同疏导是相似的。人际关系中经常会发生一些摩擦或冲突，甚至逐渐留下了积怨。怎样对待它们？离不开疏导，离不开化解。如果说历年治水对中国民族传统的重大影响之一在于对疏导的重视和对化解的重视，可能并不过分。和为贵之所以成为中国民间待人处世的原则，不是偶然的。

从经济学的角度来看，人的因素在效率增长中起着重要作用。生产经营和管理同治水一样，都要尽可能地发挥人的因素的作用。而在处理人际关系时，同治理水灾水患一样，重在疏导而不在堵截，重在矛盾的化解而不在问题的淤积，这是效率增长的源泉，也是效率增长的保证。

正因为重在疏导，重在化解，所以在中国历史上的某些年份出现了盛世。盛世，是疏导精神占据主流的年代，是社会上不少矛盾得以化解的年代。至于中国历史上某些年份之所以发生大的动荡、混乱，从某种意义上说，可能恰恰是由于政府背离了疏导原则和以化解为主的处理矛盾的方式。

疏导，既有疏，又有导。疏是疏通、疏散之意，导是指引、分流之

意。化解，既有化，又有解。化是指化开、稀释，解是指剖析、松绑、消散。疏导和化解包含着宽容。矛盾宜疏不宜堵，宜解不宜结。以宽容的精神来处理人际关系中的摩擦、冲撞，即使是多年累积而成的疙瘩，也会逐渐消散。如果用堵截的方法来处理社会上的矛盾和纠葛，更有可能使矛盾越积越多，使日后的处理更加困难。治水给中国人的宝贵经验正在于此。

治理一条大江大河，需要多方协调，需要互助共济。上游与中下游，左岸与右岸，城市与乡村，这一州县与另一州县，这一村庄与另一村庄，无不处于同一个大协作网之内。对洪水的防治，对水灾水患的治理，既要靠疏导，也要靠协作。无论是在高度集权的政治结构之下还是在诸侯割据的政治格局之下，没有各个地区的协作，洪水及其造成的灾害依然是难以消除或减轻的。与治水有关的地区协作，尤其是民间的协作，历史久远，它们同样形成了中国的民族传统中的优秀部分。协作意味着齐心，团体的凝聚力、社会的凝聚力是在协作的基础上产生并巩固的。正由于有这种凝聚力，使得中国在历史上尽管曾遭到多少次内忧外患、战乱和灾难，但社会没有解体，民族没有衰亡，经济照常运转，人民照常生息、繁衍。什么是效率？这就是最大的效率，是经济学家一般不考察或不注意的效率。效率的背后是社会的协作精神，是社会的巨大凝聚力。

二、互助共济的启示

从中国历朝历代的治水可以清楚地了解到，在中国这块辽阔的土地上，存在着以疏导、化解、宽容、协作精神为特征的民族传统，这是一种超越市场与超越政府的历史文化传统。社会的凝聚力由此而来，效率也由此而生。

几千年来，中国这块土地是多灾多难的。水灾，只是若干种灾难中的一种。洪水、地震、兵灾、匪乱，都给人民造成巨大损失。洪水过后要重修堤岸，再建家园。地震过后要在废墟之上新盖民居，新建村镇。兵灾匪乱之后，人们重返故土，恢复平常的生活。在避难中，离不开人们的互助共济；在重建家园时，同样离不开人们的互助共济。正是依赖这种互助共济，中国人在历尽磨难之后，不仅生存下来了，而且继续发展生产、发展经济和文化。互助共济，使中国人增添了同各种灾难抗争的毅力。

互助共济是来自民间的。一方有难，八方支援。捐资解囊，是互助共济；投亲靠友，也体现了互助共济。来自民间的这种互助共济，是一

种特殊的社会保障，因为它是非组织性质的、自发的，而这种非组织性质和自发性质的互助共济，依旧带有一种浓厚的自觉成分。假定人们缺乏自觉性，对受灾受难的人的帮助能持续存在吗？互助共济的精神能发扬吗？能被一代一代继承吗？互助共济的精神是习惯与道德力量的体现，而习惯与道德力量在建立这种特殊的社会保障中的作用是市场与政府都无法替代的。

当然，在政府形成以后，政府理所当然地承担了社会救济的责任。在政府的支出中，不管数额多少，用于社会救济的支出总是支出项目之一。政府用财政支出来救济灾民或给鳏寡孤独者以补助，是从维持社会安定的角度来考虑的。以对灾民的救济来说，政府的救灾支出通常满足不了需要，所以来自民间的互助共济性质的社会救济始终起着重要的作用，在某些大灾之年，这种社会救济的作用更为突出。此外，与政府救济灾民主要着眼于维持社会安定这一出发点不同，来自民间的社会救济尽管也含有维持社会安定的意思，但更为重要的，则是出自人们对受灾受难的人的同情心，出自人们对其他人的命运和遭遇的一种关怀。捐资解囊的人并不打算从自己的捐助中得到什么回报，他们这样做，只是表明自己在尽到一份责任。如果说习惯与道德调节同市场调节、政府调节相比有种种区别的话，那么在习惯与道德力量影响下，人们出于同情心和责任感而对灾民或其他受难者的救济，就是区别之一，因为这种救济行为纯粹发自人们的内心。

互助共济与效率之间是什么关系？在防御洪水侵袭的过程中，在洪水成灾迫使居民逃难的过程中，以及在水灾过后人们重建家园、重建村镇的过程中，互助共济促使效率增长。不妨设想一下，如果没有来自民间的互助共济，受灾地区人民的生命财产损失不知会增加多少！水灾过后，灾区的恢复重建工作怎会取得这么大的成效？这不是效率的增长又是什么？有了互助共济，灾民不但生活上有了一定的保障，而且抗灾、自救、恢复重建的信心会增大。有了充沛的信心，效率将会提高，这已被无数史实所证明。因此，治水和战胜水灾的历史所留给我们民族的，不仅是对疏导和化解的重视，也不仅是对协作精神和宽容精神的强调，而且还包括这种互助共济的传统。效率是在人际关系协调中涌现的，疏导、化解、协作、互助共济，在促进人际关系协调的同时，也带来了效率的不断增长。

三、对历史上互助共济行为的进一步分析

让我们再以西欧中世纪城市刚刚兴起时的互助共济行为作为例子，

对互助共济与效率增长之间的关系作进一步的分析。这将有助于我们从另一个侧面来了解效率增长的源泉。

在中世纪的西欧，在城市刚刚兴起之际，自然灾害频繁，战争时常发生，城市居民所需要的食物和其他生活必需品要靠外界供应。但这种供应并不是有保证的，一旦供应中断，不仅城市的社会秩序和正常的经济活动无法维持，连城市居民的日常生活也维持不下去，效率增长问题就无从谈起。简言之，连人都活不下去了，还谈什么效率或效率增长！

为此，一些中世纪的西欧城市在当时的特殊条件下，采取了组织城市经济生活的措施，城市居民拥护这些措施，遵守城市立下的规章制度。城市组织经济生活的措施以及城市居民对城市有关规定的遵守，都体现了互助共济精神。例如，有的城市规定不许囤购粮食，不许面包作坊购买超过实际需要的小麦，不许城市里的作坊或居民到农村去预购粮食。有的城市还规定每个居民家庭一定时间内或一次购置粮食的最高限额。诸如此类的规定为的是不要让任何一个居民家庭因断粮而饿死。[4]

又如，有的城市公开宣布禁止“优先购买”，这就是说，由外地运入本城市的商品，必须先运送到城市指定的公开市场去出卖，供市民们自由选购，在一定的时间内，只零售，不批发。例如，在德国的符茨堡，当外地一条运煤的船到达该城市后，前八天只准零售，每户居民都可以来购买，但至多不超过50筐煤。八天以后，剩下的煤才准许批发出售。[5]在英国的利物浦等城市，规定到达港口的全部生活必需品，都先由城市当局以城市的名义买下，再由城市配售给商人、手工业者和一般城市居民，人人都得到规定的一份。在法国的亚眠等城市，盐作为生活必需品，是由城市配售的。在意大利的威尼斯，一切粮食的买卖都由城市经营，以保障每个城市居民的需要。在中世纪的西欧，有些城市还实行过这样一种制度：外来的商船靠码头时，船上的商人要立誓，说明货物的成本和运费，然后由城市派遣的价格评议员根据商人的申报，定出价格，这才准许商船卸货，在本城发售。以上所列举的这些，尽管都属于中世纪西欧城市为保证城市供应正常的政府行为，但政府的行为仍同当时城市中流行的互助共济精神有关，而市民们之所以接受这些政府调节经济生活的措施，也同当时城市中的互助共济精神的影响有关。[6]

中世纪西欧城市在刚刚兴起时所采取的互助共济性质的措施有较广的范围，不限于组织生活必需品的供应。例如，为了更好地组织城市经济生活，有些城市设立了“公灶”，让家里有困难的人到那里去烘烤面包；有些城市在郊外保留了公共林地和公共牧场，允许市民到那里去砍伐树枝，作为燃料，或在牧场自由放牧；有些城市中还设立了公营的当铺，在建立之初往往不收利息，或者只收很低的利息，其目的是使城市中的穷人免受高利贷的盘剥。[7]在中世纪的西欧，城市刚兴起时，街道

狭窄，住户拥挤，许多房屋是用木料建造的。为了防止火灾，不少城市很早就成立了义务消防队，把防火作为城市生活中的一个重要组成部分。有些城市为了保证本城市的居民能正常生活，还规定义务的巡街值夜制度，成年男子都有巡街值夜的义务。

以上所有这些都清楚地说明了在中世纪的西欧城市中，在互助共济精神的影响下，公益性的、公共服务性的设施被城市当局和城市居民们看得何等重要。从经济上看，这显然是与当时社会较低的生产力水平和城市在兴起时的艰难处境有关的。在社会生产力水平低下，城市生活必需品供应不足，而城市与乡村又处于彼此对立、彼此隔绝的状态中，不采取这样一些措施，城市怎能继续存在下去？怎能进一步发展？可以认为，是一种互助共济的精神，使城市在艰难的年代里经受了考验，使城市以后逐渐成为吸引商人前来和吸引农奴前来的中心。如果要联系到效率问题来进行分析的话，十分明显的是：城市能够持续存在，能够不断发展，这本身就体现了效率，而且这种效率是同城市中的互助共济精神分不开的。互助共济，既保护了城市中的弱者，也保护了无论是弱者还是强者的共同庇护所——中世纪西欧的城市。从这个意义上说，互助共济是对每一个城市居民的保护，不管他来自何处，从事什么职业，身边有多少财富，只要他来到这座城市中，他就受到城市的保护，包括城市中的互助共济精神的保护。

四、互助共济的精神不会消失

从中世纪西欧城市兴起时的情况可以看出，互助共济精神在历史上确实发挥过促进效率增长和保证效率增长的重要作用。但这也涉及另一个问题，城市当局所实行的组织城市经济生活等措施后来又变成了阻碍技术进步和不利于效率增长的措施，那么这是不是说，互助共济也有其消极的、反面的作用呢？

怎样看待这个问题？有必要仍从中世纪西欧城市的措施谈起。在城市刚刚兴起时，在当时的历史条件下，城市手工业者为了维持行业稳定，对于市场竞争采取了一系列限制性措施，其出发点也是想使本行业有较好的发展前景，并想使本行业的从业者有安定的生活。例如，在不少城市中，由手工业者所组成的行会对会员的生产经营有下述规定：开店的手工业者不准从事贩运活动，即不准兼做行商；手工作坊不许招贴广告以招徕顾客，不准拉顾客上门，不准削价出售商品。在某些城市，行会还禁止手工业者游街串巷，上门服务。例如，14世纪初年，德国赫尔姆城禁止裁缝师傅上门干活；14世纪中期，德国法兰克福城禁止鞋匠

上门补鞋做鞋。上门干活被认为会加剧竞争，扩大同行业人员之间的摩擦，并使他们之间的收入差距拉大。

又如，在当时的手工作坊中，按照行业的规定，劳动时间的多少也是有限制的。一般只允许从日出到日落之间进行生产和营业，只准利用自然照明，不许在灯光下干活，夜班被严格禁止。关于工资制度，行会也有规定。学徒只供食宿，没有工资。帮工的工资水平和发放工资的日期都有规定，禁止超过标准支付额外的工资或奖金。工资一般实行日工资制或周工资制。由于计件工资会增加产品数量，加剧竞争，所以许多城市禁止采取计件工资制，只是后来由于瘟疫流行，城市一度缺乏劳动力，计件工资制度才被某些部门采用，即使如此，计件工资的支付标准仍然统一规定。此外，行会还禁止行东们采取任何形式的联营或合并，以防止大型作坊的出现。

对中世纪西欧城市的限制竞争措施的作用，要有历史的分析。在城市兴起的初期，这些限制竞争的措施对城市的稳定和发展、对城市居民生活的安定及效率的增长，都起过积极的促进作用。互助共济精神在这些措施的制定与实行中也表现得比较明显。但后来，随着城市经济的发展和市场规模的扩大，这种限制竞争的措施束缚了生产者的主动性、积极性、创造性，阻碍了技术的进步和效率的提高，它们与发展生产力的要求是抵触的，从而这些限制市场竞争的措施便逐渐被摒弃。现在要探讨的问题是：如何看待这种互助共济精神？如果说中世纪西欧城市兴起之初，带有互助共济性质的城市组织经济生活的措施、行会限制竞争的措施是有积极作用的，因此对互助共济精神应当予以肯定，那么到了中世纪西欧发展的后期，当这些措施已经阻碍技术进步，阻碍效率增长，同社会生产力的发展要求相抵触时，是不是认为互助共济精神过时了？不能得出这样的论断。限制竞争的行政措施过时了，但这不等于互助共济精神的过时。

前面已经谈到，人们的互助共济精神是发自内心的，它出于对他人的同情心和对社会的责任心，因此在他人遇到困难的时候给予帮助而不要求有什么回报。在这种精神的影响下，在不同的历史时期和不同的场合，政府或团体会实行一些措施，目的在于保证所有的人都能免于饥饿，尤其是使贫困的家庭不至于无法生活下去。对中世纪西欧城市采取的有关措施，应当结合这些措施的目标来进行评价。

然而，对任何政府措施或团体措施的评价，包括对中世纪西欧城市当局的措施和行会这样的团体的措施的评价，都不能脱离历史条件而孤立地进行。当中世纪西欧城市的经济发展到一定阶段后，城市当局和行会的措施已成为生产力发展和效率增长的障碍时，历史上曾经起过积极作用的措施丧失了那种积极作用而变成了过时的东西，摒弃它们是必然

的。但这只是表明具体的政策措施的过时，互助共济精神作为道德力量的一种体现，是不会过时，也不应消失的。在新的历史时期、新的社会生产力水平下，人们的互助共济精神可以而且应该体现于另一些与时代相符的形式。如果认定只有以前那种政策措施才能体现互助共济精神，从而不准备改变过时的政策措施，那是一种误解，其结果必定是互助共济精神的扭曲。历史条件变了，具体的政策措施可变，互助共济精神则会长存。

克鲁泡特金在其名著《互助论》中曾有一段精彩的论述。他写道：国家吞没了一切社会职能，这就必然促使个人主义得到发展。对国家所负义务愈多，公民间相互的义务愈来愈少。在中世纪，每一个人都属于一个行会和兄弟会，两个“弟兄”有轮流照顾一个生病的弟兄的义务；而现在，只要把附近的贫民医院的地址告诉自己的邻居就够了。在野蛮人的社会里，当两个人由于争吵而斗殴的时候，第三个人如果在场而没有劝阻，致使它发展成命案，这样的行为意味着他本人也将被当做一个凶手看待。但是，按照现在的一切由国家保护的理论来说，旁观者是用不着去干涉的：干涉或不干涉，那是警察的事情。在蒙昧人的土地上，在霍屯督人中，如果在吃东西之前不大叫三声，问问有没有人来分享，就被认为是可耻的行为；而现在，一个可敬的公民，只要缴纳济贫税就够了。他可以坐视饥饿的人在挨饿。[8]

应当指出，克鲁泡特金的这段论述虽然相当精彩，但却犯了感情胜过理性分析的通病。国家行为是一回事，民间的互助共济行为又是一回事，两者是不可混淆的。互助共济的精神是值得提倡的，而且这种精神会一直存在下去，只不过在某些情况下强烈些，在另一些情况下较弱而已。国家的政策措施则应随着历史条件的变化而调整，不能不顾客观情况而照搬以往采用过的办法。

克鲁泡特金在这里一共举了三个例子：中世纪的，野蛮人的，蒙昧人的。

关于中世纪的例子，可以这么说，这里所提到的是团体（行会）行为而不是政府行为，行会让成员们轮流照顾患病的成员，这属于互助共济的行为，而且同成员们出于互助共济精神而愿意承担这一义务有关。在行会解体以后，这种精神是应当保存下来的，至于人们采取什么方式来照顾患病的邻居或同事，那是另一个问题。不能认为必须沿用行会实行过的那种办法。真正的问题在于：随着行会的解体与时代的变迁，互助共济的精神淡薄了。这才是应当注意的。

关于野蛮人的例子，可以这么说，克鲁泡特金把法律与习惯，或法律与道德之间的界限弄模糊了。在野蛮人那里，法律尚未出现，只能按习惯或道德原则来处理，所以当两个人发生斗殴时，如果在场的第三个

人不出来劝阻，就要受到习惯或道德的制裁。这体现了互助共济作为一种道德原则在野蛮人中间是被人们遵守的。然而，在政府形成并有了法律之后，情况便不同了。命案照例应当由警察部门去处理，不能再像原始社会那样按照部落的习惯来处置，否则社会反而会变得无秩序。在场的第三个人的劝阻与否，不能视为是否把他定为凶手之一的依据。但这并不意味着第三个人可以袖手旁观或见死不救，从维护社会秩序的角度来看，第三个人应当前去劝阻，因为这也是一种社会责任。

关于蒙昧人的例子，可以这么说，在蒙昧阶段，众人分享食物是正常的，当时的习惯或道德规范正是如此。假定在现代社会仍要照搬霍屯督人的做法，不仅是行不通的，而且也有可能给社会的分配秩序和消费生活增添麻烦。难道现在能做到在吃东西之前大叫三声要周围的人来分享吗？一个人应当关心饥饿的人的生活，但现代有现代的做法，怎能沿袭原始社会的习惯？

由此可见，互助共济的精神要保持，要发扬，而互助共济的形式则是随着历史条件的变化而改变的。

2.4. The Moral Basis of Efficiency

2.4.1 The Dual Basis of Efficiency

It is generally accepted that efficiency has a material and technological basis. This basis is constituted by possession of certain production equipment and raw materials, a certain technology level and workers with a certain level of technical skills, and a certain level of social infrastructure (transportation and communication facilities, water and heat supply, energy supply, etc.). The importance of this material and technological basis is also widely recognized: Without improving this basis, efforts to improve efficiency will be hampered.

However, is this the only sort of basis? If one has the requisite material and technology basis does it inevitably follow that efficiency will rise? The first three sections have made clear that a pure material and technology basis is not in itself enough reason for efficiency increase. There is another basis, namely morality. It is people who make use of production facilities and raw materials, and the deployment of technology is something determined by the qualification, initiative and creativity of people. People, a component in the material and technology foundation of efficiency, are animate beings with

thoughts, ideas, emotions and goals: they are not machines. They have individual attitudes, some being enthusiastic about work and others indifferent. They are not isolated entities, but have various contacts and relationships with different degrees of harmony. All these form another basis of efficiency, namely, a moral basis.

The two bases co-exist and neither one on its own can account for an increase or decrease in efficiency. Suppose two enterprises have the same material and technology level and produce the same products with the same level of demand, but one has high efficiency and the other low. Why? The answer lies in their different moral bases. Therefore, the correct point to draw is that efficiency has a dual basis: a material and technology basis and a moral basis.

In any age and for any group—a family, an enterprise, a village, a society or a country—there is a need for spiritual cohesion, a moral standard as behavioral guide, and ethical concepts. They do not conflict with or disrupt science. In handling interpersonal relations, an area where science is impotent, regulation by custom and morality comes into play. When interpersonal relations become harmonious and individual creativity and initiative are fully deployed, efficiency will increase naturally. This shows that efficiency does have a moral basis.

The follow-up discussion is as follows: Economic development, technology progress, technical improvement and the updating of workers' knowledge have changed the material and technology basis of efficiency, and this is a constant, ongoing process. This being so, is the moral basis subject to change also? Is there any constant moral principle as the moral basis of efficiency? If the moral basis does change along with the material and technology basis, is this pro-active change or adaptive change? "Pro-active change" indicates that the change of moral basis is directly caused by the factors forming the moral basis, such as moral norms, code of conduct, evaluation standards, etc. "Adaptive change" means the change of moral basis comes about because of change in the material and technology basis. Of course, distinguishing pro-active change from adaptive change can be difficult, since they often co-exist and are interwoven with each other.

To better explain this point, we will explore the relation between the two types of basis.

2.4.2 The Relation Between the Two Bases of Efficiency

Changes in moral norms, code of conduct and evaluation standards are influenced by changing economic and technological conditions and the development of productivity, but we cannot regard changes in the moral basis of efficiency simply as adaptations to changes in the material and technology basis.

If we take as example the change of the attitude toward interest on loans in Europe, this can show why changes in ideas of morality do not necessarily have a close or direct connection with the material and technology basis of efficiency. In medieval Western Europe, the Roman Catholic Church forbade charging interest on loans, and regarded it as immoral. According to J. W. Thompson, the position of the church drew on Aristotle's maxim— "Money cannot bear fruit" —and a quote from the New Testament "lend, expecting nothing in return." Strict observance of this teaching was required and it was generally practiced. Any charging of interest was forbidden by the Church as an immoral act contravening Christian doctrine.[9] Given this perspective, the ban was an unquestionable moral truth for the Church and the common people. In the 12th and 13th centuries, papal decrees were issued that people need not pay any loan interest and that interest already charged should be returned. Naturally enough, this papal instruction was received with enthusiasm among the people, who thought it the embodiment of morality.

However, the real situation is not as simple as how the Church envisaged it when issuing the banning decree. People dislike the charging of interest on loans, regarding it as against morality, but in reality loans are a necessary evil. If interest charges were banned, the following consequences would ensue: Those in need of funds would have no way to borrow, or loaning activities would be carried out in secret at higher interest rates, or interest would be charged in disguised forms. Hence, the belief that "interest on loans is immoral" gradually began to waver and their doubts about the ban grew day by day. The theory that "money should not produce money" also lost ground. "There was a huge gap between theory and reality, and the monasteries themselves often violated the Church's banning decree. Nevertheless, the religious spirit had left such a deep impression on the world that it took several centuries before people got accustomed to new routines fitting the subsequent economic recovery, became used to regarding as legal such concepts as commercial profit, employment of capital, and loan interest

without a lingering sense of guilt."[10]

The question of interest on loans never went away, despite changes in people's belief or their re-evaluation of moral principles. When it came to the Protestant reformation period, the problem intensified with the divergence of different Christian denominations. The Lutheran and the Calvinist churches, despite both being reformist, had opposite attitudes on the issue of loan interest and influenced their followers with their respective doctrines, which later become moral principles for their adherents. According to Eric Roll, "The same divergences existed even among the leaders of the Reformation, in spite of the fact that Protestant teaching was in general more in harmony with the economic trends of the time. Luther held views which were not very different from those of the Canonists. … and his condemnation of usury was as strong as that of any of the schoolmen. Calvin, on the other hand, in a celebrated letter written in 1574, denied that the taking of payment for the use of money was in itself sinful. He repudiated the Aristotelian doctrine that money was infertile and pointed out that money could be used to procure those things which would bear a revenue. He nevertheless distinguished instances in which the taking of interest would become sinful usury, as in the case of needy borrowers oppressed by calamity."[11]

From this it appears that people's judgment on loan interest is linked to particular beliefs or ethical principles and not necessarily directly connected to changes in economy and technology. Otherwise it's hard to explain why, on the issue of interest charging, there should be divergence of opinion between the Lutheran Church and Calvinist Church and why two different moral principles formed among their respective followers.

The moral basis of efficiency is independent of its material and technology basis and, for this reason, change to it is positive in nature. But change in the material and technology basis may to some extent produce change in the moral basis. Changed attitudes toward consuming are a case in point: When new kinds of consumer products appear, because of their scarcity and high price, they are affordable to just a few elite families but are beyond the reach of ordinary families, who regard consuming luxuries as degenerate behavior rather than virtuous. For example, when tea was first imported to Britain by the East India Company, it was undoubtedly a luxury item, but as tea imports increased, by the mid-18th century it had become a popular beverage among ordinary people too. When coffee first came to Britain, it was drunk only by wealthy families and the London coffee houses

were the exclusive preserve of gentlemen; it was not until the 1830s that cafés for the general public appeared, and even later that working people started drinking coffee. As to smoking, it was originally seen as an upper class indulgence in Europe, and took a long time to spread to the lower social classes. There are countless similar cases. In *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, T. Veblen wrote: "It frequently happens that an element of the standard of living which set out with being primarily wasteful, ends with becoming, in the apprehension of the consumer, a necessary of life; and it may in this way become as indispensable as any other item of the consumer's habitual expenditure. As items which sometimes fall under this head, and are therefore available as illustrations of the manner in which this principle applies, may be cited carpets…waiter's services, silk hats…. The indispensability of these things after the habit and the convention have been formed, however, has little to say in the classification of expenditures as waste or not waste in the technical meaning of the word."[12] This explains why consumers' judgment on the rights and wrongs of consumption behavior changes as the economic and technological situation changes and, obviously, the latter will lead to changes in people's ethical values.

In conclusion, the moral basis of efficiency is independent of but capable of being influenced by changes in its material and technology counterpart. The former will react to changes in the latter, producing corresponding changes. This is adaptive change in the moral basis of efficiency.

2.4.3 Potential for Efficiency Increase and Supranormal Efficiency

Since efficiency has a dual basis, the next questions to be posed are: Where does potential for efficiency increase lie? Where does supranormal efficiency come from? Which of the two bases makes the greater contribution to efficiency?

The supranormal efficiency of migrant societies in history has always interested scholars. In ancient China, for example, wars and chaos drove the Hakka people away from the Central Plains of China to Guangdong and Fujian in the southeast, where they blazed trails, drained the land for agriculture, totally changing the wild landscape. More recently, people from

Shandong and Hebei provinces moved to northeast China and cultivated large tracts of land into fertile arable fields, making the region a huge granary of China. In Europe, from the 12th century on migrants started to reclaim wasteland in the north of the Netherlands. They built water conservancy projects, developed agriculture and animal husbandry, and formed autonomous organizations such as village associations for water conservancy, turning what had been deserted wasteland into bountiful fertile fields. In North America, wave after wave of European migrants came, built new communities and then spread westward, opening up vast areas of land. These are examples of high efficiency. Strictly speaking, they are supranormal, that is to say, they are rarely seen outside non-migrant societies. With crude tools, inadequate manpower and harsh conditions, how could such supranormal efficiency keep coming? During the course of migration and in the considerable period after the formation of an immigrant community, in the absence of regulation by market and government, what power was it that made people so enthusiastic and produced such high efficiency? We are drawn to the inevitable conclusion that it was the effect of moral factors, of cohesion and of creativity.

We may also conclude as follows: Migrants in history completed their mission of reclaiming wasteland with supranormal subjective powers in supranormal objective circumstances and even their social organizations were supranormal. They can be seen as miracles of human history. Without a corresponding moral basis, supranormal immigrant organizations and individual subjective power would be impossible, as would supranormal efficiency.

The many examples of supranormal efficiency demonstrate the potential for increased efficiency. To develop this potential the main keys are the existence of a moral basis and the role of moral force. There are many further examples to illustrate how moral force, belief or faith can inspire man's resolution and capability: heroic resistance to invaders regardless of personal danger, selfless efforts in fighting natural disasters and in safeguarding the targets and honor of a group (e.g. family, clan, religious organization, nation). This is how supranormal efficiency comes about. Does the material and technology basis also contribute to supranormal efficiency? Of course, efficiency increase is always inseparable from material and technological conditions: For example, in the case of migrants opening up uncultivated land, irrespective of their levels of energy and enthusiasm, certain means of

production were essential, and the same goes for combatting natural disasters. But we should be aware that without the effect of moral force, belief or faith, and with reliance on materials and technology alone, the best one could hope for would be normal efficiency: supranormal efficiency would be unachievable.

The contentious academic debate about the conflict between the efficiency standard and morality standard has actually been settled in our discussion of supranormal efficiency. The so-called conflict between the two standards usually refers to the existence of two different standards for judging economic behavior, namely, efficiency-oriented standard and morality-oriented standard. Under the first, efficiency increase is regarded as good and decrease as bad. Under the second, conformity to ethical principles is regarded as good and violation of them as bad. It is said that the two standards are often at odds, because sometimes efficiency increase is not consistent with ethical principles and sometimes what is consistent with them may result in reduced efficiency. This is an age-old conundrum: the intractable difficulty being that one's judgment of what is right and wrong depends on one's perspective.

Efficiency standard and efficiency judgment are both research topics of economics, but moral standard and moral judgment are not. But when the question involves the relation between moral standard and efficiency standard, or whether moral judgment and efficiency judgment are identical, then it enters the sphere of economic debate. In *Economics and Political Science of Socialism,* I make the following statement on this topic: "Moral judgment on economic behaviors must be integrated with testing in practice. Otherwise, ethical principles in economy will be elusive… We can use 'workers' maximum interests' as a moral standard of economic behavior. That is to say, anything meeting the requirement of 'workers' maximum interests' is 'right' or 'good' and whatever does not is 'wrong' or 'bad'." [13]

This is one way of coordinating efficiency standard and moral standard, and also a reference for judging certain economic behaviors. However, in judging other economic behaviors, conflict between the two standards persists, something that has long troubled economists. From the phenomenon of supranormal efficiency, we may well find efficiency standard is actually at one with moral standard. The generation of supranormal efficiency in itself means a substantial increase in efficiency, so efficiency standard is totally applicable here. But how is supranormal efficiency born? As discussed

above, it is directly linked to the effect of moral force. Without its influence, supranormal efficiency would not appear in migrant communities, in wartime resistance or in combatting natural disasters. Therefore, using moral standard as our measure, we can say the birth of supranormal efficiency is consistent with both efficiency standard and moral standard.

2.4.4 More Thoughts on Moral Standard in Economic Behaviors

There are various viewpoints in society regarding moral standard in economic behaviors. For example, is it justifiable to award a huge amount of money to someone for a significant invention or for a great contribution to society? Is it justifiable to pay a very high salary for success in turning a loss-making enterprise into a highly profitable one? Responses range from "absolutely," "not entirely" to "absolutely not." How should we look at such questions? Obviously, they cannot be discussed in the abstract, because any economic behavior should be analyzed by bringing in specific situations, without which one cannot come to a judgment.

At least one thing is clear: moral evaluation cannot be divorced from estimation of the objective effect. Judging what is morally right or wrong has to do with the objective effect of certain economic behaviors. If someone is rewarded for an invention with a huge amount of money it is surely because that invention has produced a good objective effect and benefited society greatly. If an executive is paid a very high salary it must be because that person has brought huge profit for the enterprise. By comparison, what the society or enterprise receives is much larger than the inventor or the executive does. In this sense, a prerequisite for getting a reward bonus or high salary is extraordinary innovation or effective management, which makes the reward justifiable.

On further analysis, we may find that the great benefit to society is not confined to the innovation itself, and similarly it is not just effective management that benefits an enterprise: Effective management not only benefits the enterprise itself, but the society at large shares in it. This is because the reward has an exemplary effect in society.

A huge reward for a great innovation is public declaration that rewards are forthcoming for important innovations. The hope is that more people will

devote themselves to science and technology and produce innovations. In the final analysis, the society will be the biggest beneficiary.

Similarly, paying a high salary for success in helping make a loss-making enterprise profitable is a declaration to all executives that rewards await those who can emulate such achievement. The hope is that executives will be spurred on to greater things and that capable talents will be attracted to the enterprise. Moreover, other enterprises may be inspired by such economic behavior and its objective effect: to pay capable managers a high salary will make the enterprise the biggest beneficiary. When many enterprises follow this example, thereby improving their performance and profit, is society at large not the biggest beneficiary?

This makes it possible to assert that in economic behaviors such as rewarding innovators or capable executives, efficiency standard and moral standard are not in conflict; rather they are organically combined and internally unified. Efficiency is measured according to the objective effect of a behavior; i.e., whether the behavior can benefit society and to what extent. Similarly, judgment on morality is inseparable from measuring the objective effect of a behavior; i.e., whether it can benefit society and to what extent.

We may shift to a new vantage point to examine the above-mentioned economic behaviors.

Suppose society is indifferent to a great innovator and the huge benefits he brings to society, makes no comment and bestows no reward. Suppose it is generally believed that what the innovator has done is no more than duty and no reward is necessary at all. The result of such thinking will be unhelpful to society because people will not devote themselves to science and technology or to innovation, believing that society pays it no respect and the effort will not be worthwhile. Their enthusiasm will disappear, and efficiency decreases correspondingly. It will be the same with an enterprise if it fails to reward capable and effective executives.

Suppose society decides to reward an innovator but that person does not go accept the prize or an executive refuses to accept the high salary the enterprise will pay him for his effective management, what would the result be? In discussing this question, let us begin with two stories in Zhang Yuyan's article "To Know What Is Righteous and Act Heroically" published in *Dushu* (Reading) magazine in July 1996.

During the Spring and Autumn Period of ancient China, the State of Lu had a law that if a man of Lu came across a fellow citizen enslaved in another

state, he could pay to redeem that person and on return to Lu he could apply to the state treasury to be reimbursed. It is said that one of Confucius' disciples paid to redeem a fellow citizen in a foreign state, but he did not submit a reimbursement claim on his return to Lu, this as an expression of his determination and sincerity in pursuing "righteousness." When Confucius heard this, he took the disciple to task, saying: Your action will prevent more Lu people being rescued from slavery. You were noble, paid to save another and asked for no return. You may be celebrated by society, but from now on, when any Lu person encounters a fellow citizen in slavery in another state, he will think: "Should I pay to free him or not? If I do, shall I get the money back when I return to Lu? If not, won't I lose a great amount of money? If I do submit a claim, will I be sneered at by others as a miser?" The most likely outcome is that if he does come across an enslaved fellow citizen he will pretend not to see. Will your behavior not deter others from rescuing enslaved citizens of Lu?

The second story goes like this. A disciple of Confucius, seeing someone falling into the water, jumped in and rescued him. The man gave his rescuer a cow as a gesture of thanks and he accepted it. Confucius highly praised his action, on the grounds that a rescuer's acceptance of gift of thanks would encourage more people to take a risk and rescue others, and therefore more people would be saved from drowning.[14]

In the final part of his article, Zhang comments: "People usually think 'righteousness' and 'gains' as being diametrically opposed. In the stories of Confucius and his disciples, the situation seems a little different. For Confucius, the 'great righteousness' is fulfilled by setting aside the 'lesser righteousness,' doing which will undoubtedly satisfy people's need for 'lesser gains'."[15] The only possible conclusion must be: "Individual behavior of 'benevolence and righteousness' may have results in opposition to the aims of society at large, whereas making 'righteousness' and 'gains' compatible may result in the needs of society being met."[16]

Now we come back to discuss the moral standard of economic behaviors. The previous analysis looked at rewarding innovators and paying high salaries to effective executives. If the innovator does not wish to accept the reward or the executive the salary, that depends on his own will and has to do with a spirit of dedication, a precious spirit indeed. The question would be much simpler if the majority of people had this spirit. But the reality is that they do not: most people hope to be rewarded for their efforts. Therefore,

refusing rewards or high salary may lead to the following: Will it influence other great innovators to accept rewards? Will it influence other high-achieving executives to accept high payment? They might think acceptance could lay them open to being sneered at as inferior in character compared with those who refuse. The objective effect of such ambivalence, doubt and misgiving is not conducive to socio-economic development. In the end, it will be the society and enterprises that suffer losses. Some accept the reward and some forgo it, some accept high salary and some reject it. Do any of the refusers ever wonder how such behavior might embarrass or upset others? Efficiency standard and moral standard are capable of being compatible and unified, but such behaviors make a simple situation complicated.

What is the right way to handle things? One way is simply to accept. To do so is in line with both efficiency standard and moral standard. A second option, if the amount is considered excessive, is just to take it and then donate an amount to charitable organizations, which is also in line with both standards.

There is a supplementary point here: If some dedicated people only want to work hard but don't want to take rewards or high salary, we should on the one hand affirm their work achievements and their choice and on the other hand ensure that they understand the reward or high salary to be totally justified as society's acknowledgement of them. Moreover, such reward plays a role of encouraging more people to work harder and contribute more to society. So they should be persuaded to take the reward or high salary. In this way, both efficiency standard and morality standard have been taken into account.

There is another question which should be conscientiously explored. What are the rules determining rewards? If an enterprise hopes to reward its employees (including executives) when it makes profits, it has to follow some rules, and the rule-making must also follow certain procedures. Once the rules are set, everything should be done according to them and any subsequent revisions must go through certain procedures too. Making rules without following procedures is wrong, and as well as inhibiting the stimulatory effect of rewards it may also lead to a variety of negative effects.

It reminds us of an ancient allocation method. Suppose a pot of food or a big pie is to be shared out so that everyone receives a portion. The fairest method is that whoever spoons out the food or cuts the pie should take the last portion. Shouldn't such a method be considered in discussing the

payment or reward of senior executives of an enterprise?

2.4.5 Individual Autonomy and Harmonizing of Interpersonal Relations

In discussing the moral basis of efficiency, we need first to explore the following questions: Is it true that the stronger an individual's autonomy, the bigger the potential efficiency will be? Or is it true that the weaker an individual's autonomy, i.e. the closer the individual's affiliation to a group, an organization, or even society, the greater the potential efficiency will be?

Why do we raise such questions? They have to do with the moral basis of efficiency. When the technology level and the objective conditions of production are certain, and when the educational and technical level of an individual producer or worker are known, if an individual has greater autonomy, his initiative and creativity will be greater, which means greater potential efficiency. In other words, the more autonomous producers or workers in the economy, the more dynamic it will be, the greater efficiency potential it will have and the more easily that potential can be deployed. Therefore, it is incorrect to think of autonomy of producers or workers as not benefiting the economy. But seen from a different perspective, since the source of efficiency is in harmonious interpersonal relations and in individual's adaptability to group or society, when an individual subordinates himself to a group, an organization or society as a whole, it is more likely that interpersonal relations will be harmonious and individual's adaptability to group or society will be strong. Does this not mean greater potential for efficiency increase?

In fact, the two aspects, individual autonomy on the one hand and subordination to group, organization or society on the other can be compatible and co-exist rather than the reverse. The moral basis of efficiency encompasses both full exercise of people's initiative and creativity, and coordination and adaptation in interpersonal relations. It is wrong to emphasize one and neglect the other. It's hard to imagine efficiency increasing constantly in a society where individuals subordinate themselves to group, organization or society but are without autonomy, initiative and creativity. Nor can we imagine efficiency increase lasting long in a society where people have autonomy, initiative and creativity but where interpersonal

relations are not harmonious or inadaptability keeps on worsening. Therefore, a reasonable situation would be one in which individual autonomy co-exists in a balanced way with harmonious and adaptive interpersonal relations; subordination of the individual to group, organization or society should co-exist with encouragement of individual initiative and creativity. It is co-existence that ensures constant increase of efficiency.

However, although individual autonomy is compatible and co-exists with subordination to group, organization or society, is it possible that the two have different priorities? This is another contentious question. In the history of economic thought, we have not seen extreme emphasis on either one. Rather, we see some theories focusing more on the former, some on the latter. Actually, the debates on different economic doctrines such as liberalism versus statism, individualism versus collectivism, etc., took place around this central question.

However, in those debates, we sometimes find the main theme distorted by one side. One manifestation is this: They represent individualism as being self-seeking and caring solely for profit; liberalism as acting on one's own will and ignoring any restriction; statism or collectivism as a denial or obliteration of individual autonomy and pioneering spirit, an ideology that sees the nation or organization as overwhelmingly more important than individuals. Of course, this is not to claim that no such extreme opinions have been voiced in history of economic thought, but they are not the mainstream. The mainstream still focuses on individual autonomy and subordination to group, organization and society.

Individual autonomy should be put first, because groups, organizations and societies are formed of individuals. An individual should have self-respect, strive for self-improvement and be capable of using personal initiative and creativity. The group, organization or society should respect an individual and his autonomy, which is the prerequisite of his subordination to them. For efficiency to be increased constantly and for supranormal efficiency be produced and sustained, individual subordination must be whole-hearted; it cannot be reluctant or forced. If an individual or his autonomy is not respected, how can there be any sincere allegiance to the group, organization or society? Furthermore, to maintain harmonious interpersonal relations, in addition to having self-respect, there should be respect for others too.

Real life is like this: Anyone who lives in a society is *per se* a member

of society and will surely be part of some group or organization. At the very least he belongs to a family, the smallest grouping of a society. If he works for an enterprise, he is possibly in a workers' union. If he is a farmer, he may be a member of the village autonomous organization. If he is an urban resident, he belongs to the street or community where he lives. If he owns a private enterprise or is a self-employed businessman, he belongs to some trade or professional association. In short, he is both a member of society and of groups or organizations. In this sense, he has to keep good relationship with others, seeking mutual accommodation and adaptation. At the same time, he has his own aspirations and needs, and his own principles in dealing with others, so he must feel autonomous before his initiative and creativity can be manifested. In other words, he is an animate creature. Autonomy is a prerequisite for his proper handling of interpersonal relations and adapting to group, organization or society. If he has not the least autonomy, vitality or energy, like a tool to be manipulated and ordered about by others, it will be meaningless for him to build good relations with others, let alone keep the relations harmonious and adaptive. Does this not mean that individual autonomy should take precedence over harmonious interpersonal relations?

Furthermore, a society is formed of countless individuals and in a group or organization there are a certain number of individuals. If all of them have autonomy and dynamism, if all can make use of their initiative and creativity and can conduct activities in light of their own personal aims while trying to coordinate and adjust their aims in line with those of the group or society, they will surely handle their relations with others well, which will in turn help efficiency to increase more rapidly and more widely. Is this not precisely what a group or a society hopes to see?

From the above analysis we see the moral basis of efficiency does objectively exist. However, efficiency increase may be realized or may just be a possibility. In order to bring this potential fully into play, one must respect individual autonomy so as to stimulate initiative and creativity. By the same token, individuals should coordinate their interpersonal relations and adapt themselves to the group, organization or society.

肆　效率的道德基础

一、效率双重基础的探讨

效率具有物质技术基础，这是人们所公认的。一定的生产设备和原材料，一定的技术条件和具有一定技术水平的工作者，以及一定的社会基础设施（如交通运输设施、通讯设施、供水供热设施、能源供应设施等），构成一定的效率的物质技术基础。效率的物质技术基础的重要性也得到了公认。没有效率的物质技术基础的改进，效率的提高会遇到障碍。

但是，效率是不是仅有一个基础，即物质技术基础呢？是不是只要具有效率的物质技术基础，效率就必定增长呢？从以上三节的论述中已经可以清楚地了解到，单有效率的物质技术基础是不足以充分说明效率增减的原因的。我们必须讨论效率的另一个基础，即道德基础。生产设备和原材料由人来使用，技术条件的发挥同人的素质有关，也同人的积极性、创造性有关。即以作为效率的物质技术基础的组成部分之一的具有一定技术水平的工作者来说，这些工作者是活生生的人，而不是机器人。他们有思想，有主张，有感情，也有目标。对待生活，他们可能持这种或那种态度；对待工作，他们可能热情，也可能冷漠。加之，他们一个个都不是孤立的人，他们同其他人交往，构成各种各样的人际关系，而这些关系的协调程度是不一样的。这一切成为效率的另一个基础，可以称之为效率的道德基础。

效率的物质技术基础和道德基础是并存的。单纯用物质技术基础或道德基础都解释不了效率的增长或下降。两家企业，假定物质技术条件完全相同，生产出来的产品也相同，并且都被消费者所需要，但为什么其中一家企业的效率高而另一家企业的效率低？效率的道德基础的比较分析将会提供答案。

因此，正确的说法应当是：效率具有双重基础，即物质技术基础和道德基础。

在任何时代，小到一个家庭、一家企业、一座村庄，大到整个社会、整个国家，都需要有一种精神上的凝聚力，一种以道德规范为准则的行为引导，一种伦理观念。这些同科学是可以并行不悖的，而且也互不干扰。在处理人际关系时，凡是科学无能为力之处，就需要有习惯与道德力量来调整。人际关系融洽了，个人的积极性、创造性发挥了，效率自然会增长。这表明效率确实有自己的道德基础。

效率有双重基础，已如上述。接着要讨论的是：效率的物质技术基础是变化的，因为经济发展了，技术进步了，工艺改进了，使用生产资料的工作者的知识也更新了，效率的物质技术基础肯定发生变化，而且这种变化是不间断的；那么，效率的道德基础是不是也这样呢？难道会

有一成不变的道德原则作为效率的道德基础吗？再如，既然效率具有物质技术基础和道德基础这样两个基础，物质技术基础是不断变化的，难道效率的道德基础就不会随之变化吗？如果说效率的道德基础是变化的，那么这种变化是主动的变化还是适应性的变化？所谓主动的变化，是指构成效率的道德基础的那些道德规范、行为守则、评价标准等自身发生了变化，从而导致了效率的道德基础的变化。所谓适应性的变化，是指适应于效率的物质技术基础的变化而引起的效率的道德基础的变化。当然，主动变化与适应性变化有时是很难分开的。效率的道德基础的变化可能既有主动变化，又有适应性变化，两者往往交织在一起。

为了较详细地阐明这一点，让我们转入下一个问题的讨论，即效率的两种基础之间的关系。

二、效率的道德基础同物质技术基础的关系

道德规范、行为守则、评价标准的变化虽然同经济、技术条件的变化和生产力的发展有联系，并受到后者的影响，但不能把效率的道德基础的变化简单地看成是适应于效率的物质技术基础变化的变化。

以欧洲人对借贷利息的看法的转变为例，可以说明道德观念的变化不一定同物质技术基础有密切的、直接的联系。在西欧中世纪，天主教会禁止放债收息，认为收取借贷利息是不道德的。“教会从亚里士多德得来的理论：‘金钱是不结果实的’以及‘福音’的成语：‘放款，不希望再获得什么’，必须严格遵守而予以普遍实行；它把收取利息作为违反基督教义的和不道德的行为，而予以禁止。”[9]从教义的角度来看，借债而收取利息既然是不道德的行为，禁止收息也就成为天经地义之事了。这就是当时的道德规范，从教会到民间都奉行这一准则。12～13世纪内，罗马教皇们曾一再发布谕旨，规定俗世间欠债权人的钱不必支付利息，已经收取了利息的要退还，尚未收取的不准再索取。教皇的谕旨当然得到民间的拥护，大家都认为这就是道德标准的体现。

然而，实际生活中的情形并不像教会颁布禁令时所设想的那么简单。人们厌恶借贷收息的行为，认为这违背道德，但实际生活中又往往离不开借贷。如果禁止借贷收息，结果是：或者确实需要钱的人借贷无门，或者借贷活动转入隐蔽状态，利率反而更高，或者变相的收息方式应运而生，同样会使借债人受盘剥。于是民间有关“借贷收息不道德”的信念逐渐动摇，对教会的禁令的怀疑不断滋长，所谓“货币本身不应增殖”的理论也站不住脚了。“理论与实际的距离很大，寺院本身也经常违反教会的禁令。但是，尽管如此，宗教精神给世界留下了极其深刻的印

象，以致人们经历了几个世纪才逐渐习惯于日后经济复兴所需要的新惯例，才习惯于把商业利润、资本运用、放款取息看成是合法的，而在精神上没有太大的保留。”[10]

而借贷收息问题也并未因为人们信念的转变和对道德准则的重新考察而就此结束。到了宗教革命时期，这一问题又随着教派之间的观点分歧而激化了。路德派与加尔文派同属宗教改革派，对待借贷利息的态度却截然不同，各自有自己的信条，并以此影响各自的信徒，成为后者的道德准则。“尽管新教的教义一般是更符合当时的经济趋势的，在宗教改革运动的领袖们之间也存在着同样的分歧意见。路德所持的见解和经典学者们没什么两样……他对于高利贷的斥责正与任何经院哲学家们一样激烈。另一方面，在1574年写的一封著名的信件里，加尔文否认借钱使用收取报酬是一种罪恶。他拒绝亚里士多德认为货币不增殖的论点；他指出货币是可以用来取得那些会产生收入的东西。不过，他也把情况加以区别，例如在借款给为灾害所迫的穷人时收取利息，便是罪恶的高利贷”。[11]

由此看来，人们对借贷收息行为的评价主要同某种信念或伦理观念有关，不一定同经济、技术条件变化有直接的关系，否则就很难解释路德派与加尔文派对利息的两种评价，也很难解释路德派的信徒们与加尔文派的信徒们为什么在利息问题上会形成两种道德准则。

效率的道德基础是独立存在的，它并不依附于效率的物质技术基础，这就是效率的道德基础变化的主动性。但效率的物质技术基础的变化也会导致效率的道德基础的变化。可以举人们对消费行为的评价的变化为例。一种新的消费品刚出现时，由于数量少，价格昂贵，所以只被少数上层家庭所享用，明显地被看成是与平民无缘的奢侈品，而享用奢侈品，在平民看来，不是一种善行而是一种堕落。例如，茶叶最初由东印度公司输入英国时，是一种昂贵的奢侈品，直到18世纪中叶，由于输入数量增多了，才成为大众的饮料。咖啡输入英国后，只被有钱的家庭饮用，在伦敦只有绅士咖啡馆，而到了19世纪30年代，开始出现平民咖啡馆，到更晚以后才成为工人的饮料。烟草的情况也相似。抽烟在欧洲一直被当做上流社会的奢侈性的嗜好，后来才普及于下层社会。类似的例子还可以举出许多。正如凡勃仑在《有闲阶级论》一书中所说，“生活水准下的某一因素，在开始时根本是属于浪费性的，而结果在消费者的理解下却变成了生活必需品。举例说，如地毯、服务员的侍应、礼帽等等。这类事物的使用习惯一旦形成，就具有必要性”。[12]这说明了对消费行为的是非的评价是随经济、技术条件的变化而变化的。经济、技术条件变化所引起的人们伦理观念的变化，是正常的。

因此，效率的道德基础既是独立存在的，也是受效率的物质技术基

础变化的影响的。效率的道德基础随着效率的物质技术基础变化而发生相应的变化，这就是效率的道德基础变化的适应性。

三、效率增长的潜力与超常规效率

既然效率具有双重基础，即物质技术基础和道德基础，那么接下来便会出现一个问题：效率增长的潜力来自何处？超常规的效率来自何处？是效率的物质技术基础为此作出较大贡献还是效率的道德基础为此作出较大贡献？

历史上移民社会的超常规效率，一直是学术界感兴趣的课题。在中国，中原战乱期间客家人分批南下，在广东、福建一带披荆斩棘，排水造田，改变了当地蛮荒的面貌；后来，山东人、河北人闯关东，把东北大片大片肥沃的土地变成良田，使东北成为大粮仓。在欧洲，从12世纪起，移民们就开始在尼德兰北部地区从事垦荒事业，他们兴修水利，发展农牧业，并建立了村水利会这样的群众自治性组织，把本来荒无人烟的地带变成富庶的区域。在北美，来自欧洲的一批又一批移民，建立了自己的社区，并逐渐西进，开发了大片土地。这些都是高效率的例证。严格地说，这些移民们所表现的高效率，是超常规的，也就是在移民社会以外的地方不易看到的。工具，是简陋的；人力，是单薄的；环境，是艰苦的。为什么会涌现超常规的效率呢？在移民迁移过程中，甚至在移民社会形成后的较长时期内，既没有市场调节，也没有政府调节，那么是什么力量使他们产生如此大的热情，提供如此高的效率呢？这就不能不归因于道德力量的作用、凝聚力的作用、人的创造性的作用。也许可以下这样一个结论：从历史上看，这些移民都是在超常规的客观条件下以超常规的主观力量来完成拓荒任务的，甚至移民们的社会组织也是超常规的。这些可以被看成是人类历史上的一种奇迹。如果没有相应的道德基础，就不可能有超常规的移民社会组织，也不可能有超常规的个人主观力量，从而也就不可能有超常规的效率。

超常规的效率涌现向人们充分显示：效率增长是有潜力的。效率增长潜力的发挥，主要依靠效率的道德基础的存在，依靠道德力量的作用。除了前面提到的以移民社会为例而外，还可以列举一些例证，例如，反侵略战争时期人们种种奋不顾身的行为，在抗御重大自然灾害袭击时人们作出的种种努力，甚至在为了团体（小至一个家庭、一个家族，大至一个宗教组织、一个民族或国家）的目标的实现或团体尊严、荣誉的维护方面，都可以看到道德力量、信念、信仰在激发人们的意志和能力中的作用，超常规的效率正是这样产生的。那么，效率的物质技

术基础是不是也能为效率的超常规作出贡献呢？当然，效率的任何增长总是离不开物质技术条件的。例如，移民拓荒过程中，无论人的积极性多么大，总需要有一定的生产资料；抗御重大自然灾害时，也需要有一定的物质技术条件。但要知道，假定没有道德力量、信念、信仰等在这些场合发生巨大的作用，依靠物质技术条件，人们仍然只能产生常规的效率，而不可能产生超常规的效率。

在学术界曾经长期引起争论的所谓效率标准与道德标准之间的冲突问题，通过对超常规效率的分析，这个问题实际上已经得到了解决。所谓效率标准与道德标准之间的冲突，通常是指：对一种经济行为究竟如何判断，有两个标准，一是效率标准，即以效率是增长还是下降作为标准，效率增长是善，效率下降是恶；二是道德标准，即以伦理上的是非作为标准，符合伦理原则的是善，违背伦理原则的是恶。据说这两种标准在许多场合是不一致的，因为效率的增长很可能不符合伦理原则，而符合伦理原则的却可能引起效率的下降。这是一个由来已久的老问题，它之所以难以解决，主要在于伦理上的是非究竟是从什么角度来判断的。

效率标准是经济学的标准，效率判断也是经济学中的判断，而道德标准和道德判断都不是经济学的研究对象或研究任务。但是，当问题涉及道德标准同效率标准之间的关系，以及涉及道德判断同效率判断是否一致时，这些问题便进入了经济学的讨论范围。我在所著的《社会主义政治经济学》中，曾对这些问题作过如下的论述："经济行为的道德判断必须和实践检验统一起来，否则经济中的伦理原则也就会变得难以捉摸……我们可以用'劳动者的最大利益'作为经济行为的伦理标准。也就是说，凡是符合'劳动者的最大利益'的，就是'是'或'善'，不符合'劳动者的最大利益'的，就是'非'或'恶'。"[13]这是可以用来协调效率标准和道德标准的方法之一。如果采取这种方法，也许可以作为某些经济行为评价的依据。

但不管怎么说，在另一些经济行为的评价中，效率标准和道德标准的冲突仍有可能出现。这也是至今使经济学研究者感到困惑的事情。然而，单就超常规效率的产生来看，我们不难发现，效率标准和道德标准实际上已经一致了。超常规效率的产生，本身就已经表明效率的大大提高，所以效率标准在这里是完全适用的。而超常规效率是怎样产生的呢？正如前面已分析的，这与道德因素的作用直接有关。没有道德因素的作用，在移民社会中，在反侵略战争期间，在重大自然灾害来临时，是不会产生超常规的效率的。因此，用道德标准来衡量，可以说明超常规效率的产生在符合效率标准的同时也符合道德标准。

四、关于经济行为道德标准的进一步思考

关于经济行为道德标准问题，在社会上有各种各样的观点。比如说，一个人有重大的发明创造，或为社会作出了巨大的贡献，从而取得一大笔奖金，这究竟是不是合理？这个人该不该领取这笔奖金？又如，一个人经营管理一家企业，使企业扭亏为盈或盈利很多，企业给予他很高的报酬，这合理不合理？这个人该不该取得这些报酬？这些行为都是有争议的。有人认为合理，有人认为不尽合理，也有人认为不合理。应当怎样看待这样的问题呢？显然，不能抽象地议论，因为任何一种经济行为都需要结合具体的情形来进行分析，脱离了具体的情形很难下判断。

但有一点是明确的，这就是道德的评价离不开客观的效果的估算。道德上的是非判断，同一定的经济行为的客观效果有关。如果给予某个有重大发明创造的人以高额奖金，那么这必定是由于该项发明创造有良好的客观效果，使社会得到巨大的收益。如果给予某个企业的经营管理者以很高的报酬，那么这也必定是由于企业因此而得到巨大的收益。相形之下，社会因该项发明创造而得到的收益，肯定大大超过给予那个有重大发明创造的人的奖金数额，企业因经营管理得法而得到的收益，也肯定大大超过那个从事有效经营管理的人所获得的报酬的数额。从这个意义上说，取得奖金和报酬的行为以重大的发明创造与有效的经营管理为前提，所以取得奖金和报酬是合理的。

如果再作深入一步的分析，那么还可以了解到，社会所得到的巨大收益并不限于该项发明创造本身，企业所得到的巨大收益也并不限于有效的经营管理本身，而且，有效的经营管理所带来的好处不仅使有关的企业得到，甚至还使全社会享有。这是因为，奖励是有社会示范效应的。

在社会对某项重大的发明创造给予高额奖金之后，这就无异于向社会公开宣告：只要能有重大的发明创造，社会都会给以重奖，于是社会上将会有更多的人去钻研科学技术，提供更多的发明创造成果，这不是大大有利于社会吗？

在企业给经营管理卓有成效，使企业扭亏为盈或盈利很多的人发放很高的报酬之后，也就无异于向企业所有的经营管理人员公开宣告：只要能采取切实有效的经营管理措施而使企业扭亏为盈或盈利很多的，企业就会给予很高的报酬，于是企业中一切有经营管理能力的人的积极性就明显地被调动起来了，企业以外的有经营管理能力的人就被吸引过来了，这不正是企业发展壮大的有力保证吗？而对其他企业来说，它们同样会从这一经济行为及其客观效果中得到启示：给有经营管理能力的人

发放很高的报酬这一行为，更大的受益者是企业。于是它们便会仿效那个先行一步的企业，也采取以高报酬激励经营管理人员的做法。假定许多企业都这样做，它们的业绩都增强了，盈利都上升了，最大的受益者不正是全社会吗？

因此可以断言，在给予重大发明创造者以重奖以及给予有业绩的企业经营管理者以很高的报酬这些经济行为中，效率标准与道德标准不仅不是冲突的，而且是有机结合的、内在统一的。效率标准要以行为的客观效果来衡量，也就是以对社会是否有利和使社会得到多大好处来衡量；道德标准也离不开对行为的客观效果的判断，离不开是否有利于社会以及在多大程度上有利于社会这一判断尺度。

我们不妨再换一个角度来考察上述经济行为。

假定社会对于有重大发明创造者的发明创造成果及其带来的巨大效益无动于衷，不置可否，不予奖励；假定社会上流行着这样一种看法，即认为有重大发明创造者为社会所做的贡献是他的义务，是他本来应当做的事情，因此，给不给奖励是无所谓的。那么由此造成的后果将十分不利于社会，因为这样一来，人们就会想到：既然社会不尊重发明创造者的成果，那又何必去孜孜不倦地钻研科学技术，致力于发明创造活动呢？人们的积极性消失了，效率减退了，这岂不是既失去了对经济行为判断的效率标准，又失去了对经济行为判断的道德标准吗？同样的道理也适用于对企业给不给有效的经营管理者以高报酬这一经济行为的判断。

再说，如果社会决定给重大发明创造者以重奖，但有重大发明创造的人却不去领奖；或者，如果企业决定给有效的经营管理者以高报酬，但有效的经营管理者却拒绝接受这一报酬，试问这些经济行为又会带来什么样的结果？在讨论这个问题之前，让我们先从张宇燕先生发表于《读书》杂志1996年7月号的一篇文章谈起，那篇文章的标题是《“见义”与“勇为”》。文内讲了两个故事：

春秋时期的鲁国有这样一条法律，如果鲁国人在其他国家中遇见有鲁国人沦为奴隶的，可以垫钱把这个奴隶赎出来，回国后再到鲁国的国库去报销。据说孔子的一位弟子有一次在国外遇见了一个已沦为奴隶的鲁国人，于是便花钱把他赎出来了，但孔子的这位弟子事后并不到国库去报账，以显示自己追求“义”的决心和真诚。孔子知道此事后，严厉地训斥了这个学生，理由是：你的这种行为将阻碍更多的已沦为奴隶的鲁国人被解救出来。这是因为，你品格高尚，自己掏钱救人，受到社会的赞扬，但今后，当别人在国外再遇见沦为奴隶的鲁国人时，他就会想：垫不垫钱去赎人？如果垫钱赎出了人，回国后去不去报账？不去报账，岂不是白白丢掉一大笔钱？如果去报账，岂不是在行为上会遭旁人讥

笑，显得自己的品格不高？于是就会装作没有看见有鲁国人已沦为奴隶，这岂不是阻碍了对至今仍沦为奴隶的鲁国人的解救？这是故事之一。

另一个故事是：孔子的另一位弟子有一次见到有人掉进水里了，他奋不顾身地跳进水中，把遇难者救上岸来，被救者酬谢这位弟子一头牛，他收下了。孔子对这个学生的行为大加赞赏。为什么？这将会使得今后有更多的溺水者受到营救，因为救人于难是可以收受谢礼的，这就激励更多的人去冒险救人。[14]

张宇燕先生在该文的最后部分就此作了如下的评论："人们通常认为，'义'与'利'针锋相对、此消彼长、水火难容。然而，在孔子的故事中，它们似乎或多或少有点儿不同。在孔子那里，'大义'的实现是通过'小义'的被放弃来完成的，而放弃'小义'又无异于对人们的'小利'网开一面，给予满足。"[15]结论只可能是："个人的'仁义'行为可能引发与社会目标相反的结果，而'义利'相容反而可能会满足社会的需要。"[16]

现在让我们再回到经济行为的道德标准问题上来。以上的分析适用于对重大发明创造者的奖励和对企业有效经营管理者的高报酬。如果有重大发明创造的人不愿领奖，或者有效的企业经营管理者拒绝企业给他的高报酬，这当然取决于他本人的意志。这与他的奉献精神有关，而奉献精神是难能可贵的。如果社会上大多数人都有这种奉献精神，问题会简单得多。但现实生活中，多数人还缺少这样的思想，他们希望通过自己的努力而得到相应的报酬。于是，某些人拒领奖金、高报酬可能引发如下的效应：其他有重大发明创造者愿不愿意去领奖呢？其他在经营管理上有很大业绩的企业工作者愿不愿意接受高报酬呢？他们会不会认为自己一旦领奖或接受高报酬之后就会被别人嘲笑"在品格上不如某位放弃领奖或拒绝高报酬的人"呢？这种犹豫、这种疑惑、这种顾虑在客观效果上都是不利于社会经济的发展的。结果，受损失的是社会，是企业。假定有人领奖、有人放弃领奖，有人接受企业给予的高报酬、有人拒绝高报酬，那位放弃领取奖金或高报酬的人想过没有：这会不会使其他获奖者感到为难？使其他得到高报酬的人感到不安？效率标准和道德标准本来是可以相容、可以统一的，这样一来，本来简单的事情又变得复杂了。

正确的做法如何？一是，该领奖的就领，该接受高报酬的就接受，这既符合效率标准，又符合道德标准。二是，如果某人认为奖金多了，报酬高了，那么不妨先领了再说，然后在其他场合再捐给公益事业，愿意捐多少就捐多少。这也可以在符合效率标准的同时，符合道德标准。

这里应当补充说明这样一点：如果社会上有些有奉献精神的人只顾辛勤工作而不愿领取奖金、高报酬，那么一方面需要肯定他们的工作成

绩，肯定他们不计报酬的思想，另一方面则需要向他们说明，给予他们的奖金、高报酬是合理的，也是社会对他们工作成绩的肯定。不仅如此，这种奖励对社会上许多人有着激励作用，因为社会希望有更多的人能出色地工作，为社会作出更多贡献。所以应当奉劝他们收下这笔奖金、高报酬。这也就兼顾了效率标准和道德标准。

在这里，还有一个问题需要认真探讨，这就是奖励的规则问题。假定一个企业对自己的工作人员（包括高层管理人员在内）在企业盈利的前提下，究竟给他们多少奖励，这必须有规则可依，而规则的出台总是要经过一定程序的。在规则已被确认的条件下，一切按规则办理。事后可以根据实际情况修改这样的规则，这同样要经过一定的程序。违背了规则制定的程序，是不对的。这不仅起不到奖励本来可以发挥的激励作用，而且还会引发各种消极后果。

在这里可以提及一种古老的分配办法。假定由大家共享一锅菜或一张大饼，都要分成若干份，那么最公平的做法是：谁掌勺分菜或谁持刀切饼，谁就领取最后一份菜或最后一块饼。在谈到企业高管的报酬或奖励时，是不是也应当考虑这种做法呢？

五、个人自主性与人际关系的协调

在谈到效率的道德基础时，还有一个问题需要作进一步的探讨，这就是：是个人越有自主性，效率的增长潜力越大呢？还是个人的自主性越少，个人越是从属于某个团体、某个组织，甚至从属于整个社会，效率的增长潜力越大？

为什么会提出这个问题？这与效率的道德基础有关。在生产资料的技术性质和生产的客观条件为既定的前提下，在个人作为生产者、工作者的文化技术水平已知时，如果个人有较大的自主性，那也就会有较大的积极性和创造精神，从而效率增长的潜力较大。这就是说，经济中自主的生产者、工作者越多，经济就越具有活力，经济增长的能力就越强，效率增长的潜力就越容易发挥出来，所以不能认为生产者、工作者的自主性越大对经济越不利。但从另一个角度来看，既然效率的源泉也在于人际关系的协调，在于人同团体或社会的适应，那么在个人从属于某个团体、某个组织，甚至从属于整个社会时，人际关系协调的可能性、人同团体或社会相适应的可能性也就越大，这岂不是表明效率增长的潜力越大吗？

其实，上述问题并不是不易弄清楚的。个人的自主性与个人对某个团体、组织，甚至社会的从属，可以相容并存，不能作出必然非此即

彼、必须两者择一的结论。效率的道德基础，既包括了人的积极性和创造性的发挥，也包括了人际关系的协调与适应。只强调前一方面而忽视后一方面，或者，只强调后一方面而忽视前一方面，都是不对的。不能设想在个人从属于某个团体、组织，甚至社会，同时个人又缺乏自主性、积极性与创造性的情况下，效率会持续地而不是暂时地增长。也不能设想在个人虽有较大的自主性，而人际关系不协调、不适应的现象却不断加剧的情况下，效率会持续增长。因此，合理的情况应当是：既有个人的自主性，又有人际关系的协调与适应，两者不可偏废。个人对某个团体、组织，甚至社会的从属，与团体、组织、社会对个人的尊重，对个人发挥积极性、创造性的鼓励应当是并存的。这种并存保证了效率的不断增长。

那么，尽管个人自主性与个人对某个团体、组织，甚至社会的从属两者是并存的、相容的，两者之中是不是也有主次轻重之分呢？这可能又是一个有争议的问题。在经济思想史上，那种一味强调前者或后者的学说并不多见，常见的则是侧重于前者或侧重于后者的学说。自由主义经济思想与国家主义经济思想之争，或个人主义经济思想与集体主义经济思想之争，实际上都是围绕着上述问题而进行的。

然而，在经济思想史上的有关争论中，我们有时会看到，一方在反驳另一方时把讨论的主题扭曲了。表现之一就是：把个人主义说成是个人唯利是图或自私自利，把自由主义说成是个人为所欲为或摆脱任何约束，或把集体主义、国家主义说成是对个人自主精神、进取精神的否定或抹杀，国家或组织压倒一切，个人是无足轻重的。当然，并不是说在经济思想史上不曾存在过持有上述主张的人，但应该说这些毕竟不是主流。主流依然是侧重于个人自主性的发挥还是侧重于个人对团体、组织，甚至社会从属的有代表性的学说。

个人自主性应当放在首位。团体、组织、社会都是由个人组成的。个人应当自重、自强，个人应有发挥自己的积极性、创造性的可能性，然后才能谈得上如何发挥这种积极性、创造性。团体、组织、社会对个人的尊重和对个人自主性的尊重，是个人对团体、组织、社会从属的前提。要使效率持续地增长，要产生超常规的效率并使之持续，个人对团体、组织、社会的从属应当是发自内心的，而不是强加的、被迫的。如果团体、组织、社会不尊重个人，不尊重个人的自主性，怎会出现个人发自内心的对团体、组织与社会的从属呢？要人际关系保持协调的状态，人与人之间也应当在各自自重的基础上相互尊重。

现实中的情况正是如此。一个人生活在社会中，他必然是社会的成员。一个人在社会中总会参加一定的团体、组织。家庭是最小的团体，一个人总属于某个家庭。如果他是职工，他会在一家企业中工作，也许

他还加入工会。如果他是农民，他所在的那个村，或许有村民自治组织。如果他是城市居民，他从属于他所在的那个社区、街道。如果他是私营企业主或个体工商户，那么他有自己的协会之类的组织。总之，他既是社会的成员，又是某个团体、组织中的一员，为此，他必须尽可能地处理好人际关系，以求得相互协调，彼此适应。但与此同时，作为一个人，他有自己的愿望，自己的要求，自己待人处世的原则，他必须有自主性，然后才有积极性和创造性。换言之，他是有活力的。一个人的自主性，是他处理好人际关系的前提，也是他同团体、组织、社会协调与适应的前提。假定他连一点自主性都没有，纯粹被当做一件工具似的被别人所使唤、支配，他没有活力，没有生气，处理好人际关系又有什么意义？人际关系的协调、适应等又从何谈起？这不正说明个人的自主性同人际关系的协调相比，应处于首位吗？

进一步说，社会上有无数个个人，一个团体、组织中有若干个个人，如果这些个人都有自主性，都有活力，都能发挥积极性、创造性，也都能够按自己的目标进行活动并力求同社会的目标、团体的目标相协调、相适应，那么人际关系必定处理得更好，效率的增长会更快，幅度更大，这不正是社会或团体所希望实现的吗？

以上的分析告诉我们，效率的道德基础是客观存在的。但效率的增长既有可能是现实的，也有可能是潜在的，效率增长的潜力不一定能充分发挥出来。要发挥这种潜力，一要靠对人的自主性的尊重，以便人的积极性、创造性能得到发挥，二要靠人际关系的协调，靠人同团体、组织、社会的适应。

CHAPTER 3 FAIRNESS AND IDENTIFICATION
第三章　公平与认同

3.1 A Deeper Understanding of Fairness

3.1.1 A Rational Income Divide

The issue of fairness has been a perennial subject of study and contention in the history of economic theory. For quite a few people, the very existence of disparity of income and property demonstrates unfairness. On a superficial level this is not wrong. Since all are born equal, how does it come about that some are rich and others poor, that some have plenty and others little? The distribution gap does indeed reflect unfairness in society. But this is not the right way to look at things. If we look deeper, we must enquire: What are the causes of wealth and poverty, and how wide is the gap between them? Without clarifying these issues judgments on what is fair and unfair will be difficult.

For example, some get rich by dint of hard work whereas others are poor because they are too lazy to work, or indulge their every whim and squander all their money. Can we call this unfair? Similarly, suppose two people work in the same place. One works hard with outstanding achievements, so he earns much money. The other is lazy, with no achievements at all, so he earns little. Is this unfair? How wide must be the income disparity before it is considered unfair, and how narrow to be considered fair? There is much to be said on the subject and it is plain that judgment on fairness and unfairness in income distribution will not be easy.

If equality of income and property is seen as a symbol of fairness, to suppose that fairness has been achieved if everyone has the same income and property is a more serious misinterpretation, and one that does great harm to economic development and efficiency. I have expressed my views on this

topic in several of my books.[1] I outline below the main ideas about this question as set out in my writings:

First and foremost, fairness means equality of opportunity; i.e., in socio-economic life everybody begins from the same starting line and objectively there is no discrimination against anyone. Equalizing income and property is a manifestation of egalitarianism, which cannot be taken as fairness without distorting the concept. It is more reasonable to understand fairness as equality of opportunity.

Can fairness be understood as coordination of income distribution? Yes, to some extent it can, but we need to remember that coordination of income is not equivalent to equalizing income. Actually the concept of coordinated income distribution here implies a rational disparity of income, since the existence of a disparity is a form of coordinated income distribution. In addition, this understanding is compatible with seeing fairness as equality of opportunity. This is because it is only through engaging in economic activities on an equal opportunity footing that people truly get what they deserve in return for their efforts. Thus, although there is still an income gap, the size of the gap can be kept within reasonable bounds. Conversely, if there are no equal opportunities to engage in economic activities, an excessively large income divide will inevitably appear, causing uncoordinated income distribution.

This gives rise to a further question: Can equality of opportunity be realized? If not, fairness remains an empty phrase and the discussion is rendered meaningless, but to look at the question in such terms is to be too absolute. In real socio-economic life, people have different family and educational backgrounds and live in different places, so unequal opportunity is an objective fact of life. But this does not mean we cannot draw close to equal opportunity through regulation by government. Government can do something about it, such as forbidding discrimination by law, setting up rules on fair and open competition, fixing penalties for unfair competition, etc. Even if equality of opportunity in the fullest sense cannot be realized, at least it is possible to gradually get closer and, by and large, the conditions for equal opportunity will appear. With effective government regulation, coordinated income distribution will gradually be realized.

Since coordination of income distribution implies shrinking income disparity; i.e., keeping the gap within reasonable bounds; and when fairness is seen as coordinated income distribution predicated on equality of

opportunity, there is bound to be a gap. So, what constitutes a reasonable gap? How to decide whether it is reasonable or not? In my book *Ethical Issues in Economics*, I distinguish between the economic sense and the social sense of the term reasonable income gap, which is a key to the meaning of fairness at a deeper level.[2]

In the economic sense, the rationality or otherwise of the income gap hinges on whether or not income is distributed according to the profit principle. In a market economy situation, provided the income distribution is the result of activities of production factor suppliers in the market with equal opportunity as a prerequisite, and provided every supplier gets income distributed according to profit principle, then, irrespective of the size of the gap, the primary distribution can be regarded as reasonable and coordinated. If the government, from its policy and target considerations, deems it necessary to adjust the result of the first round distribution, it can reduce the gap by such measures as individual income tax and inheritance tax or by means of poverty-relief, subsidies, etc. The result of regulation by government, or secondary income distribution, however, does not negate the reasonable nature of the gap in the primary distribution, i.e. the distribution focusing on economic results. What the government adjustment of income distribution focuses on is whether or not the distribution is reasonable in the social sense.

Undoubtedly, to demarcate the boundary between rational and irrational income gap in the social sense is far more difficult than to do so in the economic sense. This is because:

Firstly, when coming to a judgment on whether the gap is reasonable in the economic sense one can consider whether production factor suppliers have, by and large, equal opportunities for market activities and whether their income is based on the profit principle. But in judging the disparity in its social sense, it is harder to find strict standards than it is with the economic sense.

Secondly, provided the income gap in terms of economic results is rational in the economic sense, irrespective of its size, the economic results it reflects will be efficiency increase, productivity improvement and increase in per capita income. Therefore we can say the existence of a gap that is rational in the economic sense will produce positive results, results that are perceptible within a short time frame.

However, if the income gap in the social sense is dramatically out of

balance, it may lead to social instability, even if the gap is rational in the economic sense. But such instability cannot be perceived in the near term, since the problems accumulate over a long period, becoming more acute by the day before ultimately exploding. This shows the similar difficulty in judging the rationality of the income gap in the social sense on the basis of the results it produces. Despite this, given no other choice, one can still come to a judgment on the basis of whether it will lead to social instability.

One important aspect of making a distinction between the social and economic rationality of income gap is that it provides an objective basis for judgment on fairness, namely the existence and size of a gap. Moreover, it also considers people's feelings; i.e., whether they feel fairly treated or unfairly in the distribution. Such feelings will influence their level of satisfaction with their income, to what degree they accept the gap and further influence the level of social stability. In light of this, we need shift our focus to absolute income and relative income of individuals.

3.1.2 Individual Absolute Income and Relative Income

Before delving into this topic, we should first briefly review the points made by J. A. Geschwender.[3]

In his analysis, scholars make five hypotheses about why a social group can become dissatisfied and revolt.

The first hypothesis is absolute deprivation: When a group feels its living conditions are worsening, it will become dissatisfied and ultimately revolt.

The second is increased aspiration: Although the living conditions of a group are improving, the group's aspirations are growing faster than the pace of the former. This leads to discontent and revolt.

The third is relative deprivation: Although the living conditions of a group are improving, it notices that living conditions of other groups are improving faster. This leads to discontent and revolt.

The fourth is rise and fall: On the heels of improvement, a group's living conditions then go into decline. Since the process is irreversible, people will be dissatisfied and rise up.

The fifth is status inconsistency: Income level and living conditions are just two of many status attributes apart from educational status, career status,

and racial equality status, etc. Therefore, even if a group experiences improved living conditions, if it believes its other status attributes to be inferior to those of other groups, it may still become dissatisfied and revolt.

Geschwender gave the example of the black Americans in the early 1960s. He argued that the black men's discontent and revolt could not be explained by the first hypothesis, since their living conditions were not worsening. Nor could it be explained by the fourth hypothesis, since their living conditions had not declined subsequent to improvement. The second hypothesis of increased aspiration could not explain it either, since, as Geschwender pointed out, this hypothesis had neither been proven nor refuted by any data. That left only the third and the fifth. The third hypothesis, relative deprivation, was supported by the data, which showed that black Americans were dissatisfied with the society because by comparison with white Americans, they felt their own living conditions had not improved as much. The fifth hypothesis, status inconsistency, was also proven by the data. There was a widespread sense among black Americans at that time they were not treated equally with whites in terms of education, employment, income, etc. He concluded that a combination of the third and fifth hypotheses would provide a convincing explanation for the social instability of American society at that time. In addition, in Geschwender's opinion, the two hypotheses were the same in character, except that the fifth had richer content.

Although Geschwender's discussion was about the situation of black Americans in the 1960s, it remains inspirational for studies of how changes of absolute income and relative income may cause social unrest. The question of social unrest is one of great complexity since irrational income gap is just one among many possible influencing factors, and social unrest is not necessarily the result of an irrational income divide. People's living standards may rise and then fall, but even a small fall after a large rise may lead to social unrest, but this has nothing to do with the rationality or otherwise of any income gap. A more typical situation would be: Even if the income gap is constant, a decline in absolute income level across the board may lead to social unrest. However, social unrest is always to a great extent linked to change in relative income, since people are inclined to compare themselves with those around them in terms of income, employment, benefits, promotion opportunities, etc. Few will seriously consider the real meaning of "fairness" when they make such comparisons. For the most part, people consider

themselves unfairly treated on the grounds of lower income, less good careers or fewer benefits than others. If the number of people experiencing feelings of unfairness is small this will not generally lead to social unrest, but if a great many do or if their level of dissatisfaction grows, this may develop into trouble. It means, social unrest originates with the disappointment, complaints and dissatisfaction of some members of society when they deem themselves unfairly treated by society. The degree of individual's satisfaction with relative income refers to the extent of one's satisfaction or dissatisfaction when he compares his income with others. It is a concept different from the degree of individual's satisfaction with absolute income, namely, one's own income. Although the latter is the basis of the former, the two differ as regards how they influence social instability: The former is often more influential than the latter, since comparison is more likely to ignite feelings of unfairness and dissatisfaction with society.

For instance, under the planned economy system, despite limited productivity growth, very low personal incomes, frequent product shortages and rationing, the income divide was small and the degree of individual satisfaction with relative income was passable. The mindset of "everyone getting roughly the same" mitigated social dissatisfaction. "Leveled-down income" characterizes that time, but it did give people a sense of "fairness," albeit a distorted one.

With the change to a market economy, productivity and incomes improved, product supplies became sufficient and coupon rationing came to an end. However, because income improvement did not happen everywhere at the same rate, the income gap grew wider. As a result, the degree of individual's satisfaction with relative income fell, giving a sense of "unfairness" and social discontentment among some people, which could clearly impact social stability.

Then, how are we to regard the income gap in real life? It has always been a fundamental task to develop economy and raise the absolute income level of society's members. To achieve this goal, the government needs to employ certain adjustment measures to shrink the income gap without hampering efficiency increase, to rectify discrimination in socio-economic life, and to create equal opportunity conditions so as to reduce the sense of "unfairness" experienced in certain parts of society. Government also needs to educate people in the true meaning of "fairness," to clear up misunderstanding so that they will no longer mistake "egalitarianism" for

"fairness." The more that "fairness" is properly understood the greater the benefit to social stability.

Of course, it is not always easy to help everyone correctly understand "fairness" from their own rank and situation. People with different ranks and situations surely have different feelings on the issue. It is not hard to imagine that the question of "fairness" will continue to bother people so long as there is any income gap at all, whatever the government's efforts to regulate and to educate the public as to the real meaning of "fairness." Moreover, there is no objective standard to judge individual satisfaction or dissatisfaction with relative income. The degree of satisfaction may actually be higher when the economy or income per capita is at a low level, since all are in the same boat. In a situation where the economy and income per capita have grown but some incomes have improved more than others, the degree of individual satisfaction will inevitably decline and the sense of "unfairness" will intensify. As a result, society will have to work hard constantly to dispel such feelings, which, though genuinely experienced, are nevertheless a misperception.

It at least reveals one point to economists: Exploring the concept of fairness from the angle of the rationality of income gap leads only to a dead end and a new road must be opened up. In light of this, we will discuss fairness from a new angle: identification.

壹　对公平的深层次理解

一、收入分配的合理差距问题

公平问题在经济思想史中是一个反复被人们所研究和争论的课题。在不少人看来，收入分配有差距，财产持有状况有差距，都表明了不公平的存在。从表面上看，这种看法并不算错：既然人人生而平等，为什么分配的结果却是有人有钱，有人没钱？有人钱多，有人钱少？分配的这些差距反映了社会中的不公平。但这种看法是不确切的。如果要深入研究的话，那就要询问：有钱没钱，原因何在？钱多钱少，因何而来？钱多钱少的差距有多大？这些疑问不弄清楚，很难得出公平还是不公平的论断。

比如说，有钱，是依靠自己出力挣的；没钱，是因为懒而不愿去工作，或者是恣意享受，大把大把地挥霍掉了，能说这不公平吗？又如，

两个人在同样的环境中工作，一个人勤勤恳恳，成绩卓著，挣的钱多，另一个人疲疲沓沓，成绩平平，挣的钱少，能说这不公平吗？再说，收入差距多大可称做不公平，收入差距多小可算公平，这也是大可讨论的。可见，我们一下子很难就收入分配的差距作出公平还是不公平的判断。

反过来说，假定把收入的平均、财产的平均看成是公平，似乎只要人人的收入、财产一样多就实现了公平，那将是更大的误解。这种误解对经济的发展、效率的增长都是十分有害的。

我已经在自己的好几本著作中就收入分配与公平问题发表过看法，[1]现在先把我在那些著作中陈述过的观点作一些归纳：

公平首先意味着机会的均等，即在社会经济生活中，人们站在同一条起跑线上，客观上不存在对某些人的歧视。收入、财产的平均化是平均主义的体现。把平均主义理解为公平，是对公平概念的曲解。把公平理解为机会均等，要合适得多。

那么，能不能把公平理解为收入分配的协调呢？这种理解是有道理的，但需要指出，收入分配协调不等于收入分配的均等，实际上，收入分配协调已经包含了收入分配合理差距的意思，因为合理差距的存在也是收入分配协调的一种形式。加之，把公平理解为收入分配的协调，同把公平理解为机会均等是统一的。这是因为，只有在机会均等的前提下参与经济活动，人们才能真正凭借自己的努力程度而获得应有的收入，从而尽管收入分配有差距，但这种差距大体上能保持在合理的范围内。反之，如果人们是在机会不均等条件下参与经济活动的，那么收入分配差距的过大将会难以避免，其结果必然是收入分配不协调。

由此引起一个问题：能不能实现机会的均等？假定实现不了机会均等，那么公平就始终只是一句空话，讨论公平问题还有多大的现实意义呢？如果这样看问题，可能把问题绝对化了。应当说，在现实的社会经济生活中，由于各人家庭背景不同，居住的地域不同，受教育状况不同等等原因，机会不均等是客观存在的。但这并不是说在政府的调节下不可能向机会均等的方向靠拢些。政府是可以有所作为的。例如，用法律来规定不得有歧视，规定竞争的公平性、公开性，规定对不公平竞争的处罚，等等，这样，即使不能完全实现机会均等，至少可以逐渐接近机会均等，大体上机会均等的条件也是可以出现的。政府的调节如果能做到这些，收入分配的协调在政府有关调节措施起作用的情况下也就可以逐渐实现了。

由于收入分配的协调意味着收入分配差距的缩小，即收入分配的差距大体上保持在合理的范围内，所以在把公平理解为机会均等条件下收入分配的协调时，收入分配保持一定差距是必然的。于是又引出另一个

值得探讨的问题：什么是收入分配的合理差距？如何衡量收入分配差距合理还是不合理？我在《经济学的伦理问题》一书中，把收入分配差距的合理性区别为经济意义上的收入分配差距的合理性与社会意义上的收入分配差距的合理性。这是从较深层次上考察公平含义的一个关键性步骤。[2]

经济意义上收入分配差距的合理与否，取决于收入是否按效益分配原则进行分配。在市场经济条件下，只要收入分配是以机会均等为前提的生产要素供给者参与市场经济活动的结果，并且各个生产要素供给者都按照效益分配原则取得了收入，那么不管收入分配差距的大小，就收入的第一次分配而言，都属于收入的合理分配，从而都可以被看成是收入分配协调的表现。假定政府从政策目标的角度考虑，收入的第一次分配的结果仍需要加以调节，那么政府可以通过征收个人所得税、遗产税等方法，以及通过扶贫、救济、补贴等方法，使第一次收入分配后形成的差距缩小些。政府调节的结果就是收入的第二次分配的结果。但这并不排除经济意义上第一次收入分配所形成的差距的合理性。政府进行的收入调节所着重的是社会意义上的收入分配的合理与否。

毫无疑问，社会意义上的收入分配差距合理还是不合理的界定，要比经济意义上的收入分配差距合理还是不合理的界定困难得多。这是因为：

第一，在判断经济意义上的收入分配差距合理与否时，通常可以按照各个生产要素供给者是不是在大体上机会均等条件下参与市场经济活动，以及各个生产要素供给者是不是根据效益分配原则取得各自的收入而作出判断。但在判断社会意义上的收入分配差距合理与否时，却找不到像判断经济意义上收入分配差距合理与否那样严格的标准。

第二，经济意义上收入分配的差距只要是合理的，那么不管差距有多大，在经济上所反映出来的结果将是效率的增长、生产力的发展、人均收入水平的提高。于是可以认为，经济意义上收入分配合理差距的存在将带来积极的后果。这一积极的后果在近期内就可以被观察到。然而，社会意义上收入分配的差距如果偏大，却会导致社会的不安定，而不问这种差距在经济意义上是否合理。加之，由于社会意义上收入差距偏大而引起的社会不安定，不一定是近期内就可以被观察到的，这往往需要经过一段时间，等到问题越积越多，矛盾越来越尖锐时，才会爆发出来。这就表明，要从所产生的后果方面来判断社会意义上收入分配差距的合理性，同样不是一件容易的事。尽管如此，我们在没有其他选择的情况下，仍然可以把收入分配差距的存在是否引起社会不安定看成是判断社会意义上的收入分配差距合理与否的一种依据。

把社会意义上的收入分配的合理差距同经济意义上的收入分配合理

差距分开来论述，一个重要的意义在于：公平与否的判断不仅有客观上的依据，即收入分配差距的存在及其大小，而且也同每个人的自我感觉有关，即人们从收入分配的差距中感觉到自己受到了公平的对待呢，还是受到了不公平的对待？这种自我感觉会影响到个人对收入的满意程度，以及个人对收入分配差距的接受程度，进而会影响社会的安定程度。因此，我们有必要从收入分配合理性问题转入个人绝对收入与相对收入问题的研究。

二、个人的绝对收入与相对收入

在讨论个人的绝对收入与相对收入问题之前，让我们先回顾一下1964年格施温德（J. A. Geschwender）发表的下述观点：[3]

他认为，关于一个社会集团之所以会有不满，会奋起反抗，学术界曾经有过五种不同的假设。

第一种假设：当一个集团感觉到自己的生活状况越来越坏时，它将越来越不满意，终于起来反抗。这就是绝对贫困的假设。

第二种假设：虽然一个集团的生活状况比过去有所改善，但它的欲望也在增长，而且欲望增长的速度比生活状况改善的速度更快，于是它也会感到不满，于是起来反抗。这就是欲望增长的假设。

第三种假设：虽然一个集团的生活状况比过去有所改善，但它同时注意到其他的集团的生活状况正以更大的速度在改善，于是感到不满，起来反抗。这就是相对贫困的假设。

第四种假设：当一个集团感觉到自己的生活状况比过去改善之后，接踵而来的却是生活水平的下降。由于生活水平的提高是不可逆的，于是人们对这种情形感到不满，便起来反抗。这就是先升后降的假设。

第五种假设：一个集团拥有许多地位属性，收入多少、生活状况好坏，只是这些地位属性中的两个，除此以外还有其他一些地位属性，例如受教育状况、职业状况、种族上的平等性等。一个集团即使自己的生活状况比过去改善了，但它如果感到自己在其他地位属性上仍不如其他集团，它同样会产生不满，进而起来反抗。这就是地位不一致性假设。

格施温德认为，以60年代初美国黑人为例，美国黑人为什么对社会不满而有反抗行为，不能用第一种假设来解释，因为他们的生活状况并非越来越坏；也不能用第四种假设来解释，因为他们的生活水平上升后并未发生逆转的情况。至于上述第二种假设，即欲望的增长比生活状况改善的速度更快，从而引起不满的假设，格施温德指出这既未被资料所证实，也未被资料所否定，所以无法用它来进行解释。于是剩下的只有

第三种假设和第五种假设了。第三种假设，即相对贫困的假设，已被资料所证实，这表明美国黑人之所以对社会不满，是由于他们在同白人对比时，总感到自己生活状况的改善不如白人。第五种假设，即地位不一致性假设，也被资料证实了，因为当时美国黑人普遍感到自己在受教育、职业、工资待遇上不如白人。所以第五种假设可以同第三种假设一起，用来解释美国社会不安定的原因。此外，格施温德认为第三种假设和第五种假设在性质上是相同的，只是第五种假设所包含的内容更多一些。

尽管格施温德是就60年代初美国黑人的处境进行讨论的，但上述分析对于我们研究个人绝对收入和相对收入的变动对社会不安定的影响仍然有所启发。社会不安定问题的复杂之处在于：影响社会不安定的因素很多，收入分配差距不合理虽然会导致社会不安定，但社会不安定不一定来自收入分配差距不合理。以收入因素而言，比如说，人们生活水平先上升，后下降，即使是大上升，小下降，也会引起社会不安定，但这不涉及收入分配差距的合理与否。更为典型的是，即使收入分配差距不变，如果绝对收入水平普遍下降，同样会引起社会的不安定。但无论如何，社会不安定在相当大的程度上总是同人们的相对收入变动有联系的。人们经常在收入分配、工作岗位、福利待遇、升迁机会等方面把自己与周围的人作比较。不少人并不能从自身的收入与别人的收入的对比中，或从自身的就业和福利状况与别人的就业和福利状况的对比中，去认识公平的真实含义。他们在同别人对比时，多半感到收入不如别人多，职业没有别人好，福利也不如别人，从而认为自己在这方面或那方面受到了不公平待遇。如果有这种不公平的自我感觉的人数较少，一般还不至于引起社会的不安定，但如果有这种感觉的人多了，或他们的不满程度在增长，那么这种情况就有可能发展为社会的不安定。这说明，社会不安定可能来自一部分社会成员自认为受到不公平待遇，来自他们在同别人相比后所产生的一种失望、埋怨、不满。个人的相对收入满意度是指一个人在同别人进行收入对比之后满意或不满意的程度，以区别于个人的绝对收入满意度，即一个人对自己的收入满意或不满意的程度。尽管个人绝对收入满意度是个人相对收入满意度的基础，但两者对社会不安定的影响大小是不一样的：个人相对收入满意度的影响常常会大于个人绝对收入满意度的影响，因为个人相对收入满意度涉及同别人的比较，从而更容易使人产生不公平感，产生对社会的不满。

比如说，在计划经济体制下，生产力发展受限制，居民的收入水平都很低，商品供应非常紧张，生活必需品要凭票证供应，但由于收入分配差距小，个人的相对收入满意度还过得去，人们相互比较后得出的较一致看法是“大家差不多”，于是对社会的不满就有所缓解。“低水平下

的收入平均化”正是当时实际情况的写照，但它却给人们一种“公平感”，尽管这是一种被扭曲的“公平感”。

而在从计划经济体制逐步过渡到市场经济体制之后，生产力发展了，居民的收入水平普遍提高了，商品供应充裕了，生活必需品敞开供应而不再需要发票证了，但由于各人收入增长的幅度不一样，收入分配的差距扩大了，于是个人相对收入满意度的下降使一些人产生了“不公平感”，产生了对社会的不满，这显然会使社会的安定受到影响。

那么，应当怎样对待现实生活中的收入分配差距呢？发展经济，提高社会成员的绝对收入水平，始终是基础性的工作。此外，这既要靠政府采取适当的收入调节措施，在不至于妨碍效率继续增长的条件下使得收入分配的差距有某种程度的缩小，特别要设法纠正社会经济生活中存在的歧视现象，为接近机会均等创造条件，以减少社会上一部分人的“不公平感”，同时，也要正确宣传公平的含义，避免人们把平均主义当做公平，消除人们对公平的各种误解。社会上正确理解公平含义的人越多，越有利于维持社会的安定。

当然，要让各人从自身的地位与遭遇出发来正确地理解公平的含义，很不容易。地位不同，遭遇不同，感受必然不一样。因此，可以设想，只要存在着一定的收入分配差距，尽管政府采取了收入调节措施，尽管社会上对公平的正确含义作了不少宣传，但公平问题仍会长期存在，并会困扰着人们。这是因为，相对收入满意还是不满意始终没有一个客观的评价标准。甚至可以说，经济发展水平低和人均收入水平低时，人们的相对满意度可能还好一些，因为“你穷我也穷，大家都穷嘛！”经济发展水平提高了，人均收入水平上升了，在各人收入增长幅度不一的情况下，人们的相对满意度的下降是难免的，“不公平感”的增长也是难免的。结果，社会将不断地为消除这种尽管是扭曲的、但却是客观存在的“不公平感”而努力。

这对经济学研究者意味着什么？至少说明了这样一点：从收入分配差距合理性的角度来探讨公平问题，原来的路可能已经走到头了，再也深入不下去了，必须另辟新径。本书准备在研究新思路的探索中迈出一步：从认同的角度来讨论公平问题。

3.2 Meaning of Identification

3.2.1 Identification and Outlook on Common Fate

A person is a member of a group and the term identification refers to the

relationship between an individual and the group. As a member of a group, an individual should feel it is his/her own organization, adapting to and coordinating with the group and with other members. In other words, identification means recognizing the self and the group as one, and being part of that entity.

Groups of whatever size are formed by a certain number of people. A country, ethnic group and society are examples of big groups. A block, village, community, small enterprise, and a small family are examples of small groups. A family can be big or small depending on the number of members. But whatever the size, all groups face the question of whether its members identify with it or to what extent they do so in essence, not just superficially.

An individual probably belongs to several groups. For example, a college student is firstly a member of his immediate and extended family, then of a college, a department, a class, a team. If he joins a student association, he is an association member. Before college, he has been a member of a high school. According to his local origin, he is also a member of the association of fellow townsmen. If he has religious belief he will be a member of a religious group, and if politically active a member of a party. It goes without saying that he is a member of his motherland. Belonging to so many groups, he inevitably identifies with many, although to varying degrees.

The degree of identification reflects the level of concern a person feels for a particular group or the extent of the "oneness" experienced. The degree of group or society cohesion discussed in Chapter Two also reflects the extent to which an individual identifies with a group or society. The extent varies among different individuals and different situations. An enterprise is a case in point: Its employees, though all being members of it, have different degrees of identification with it, which means that their individual attitudes toward it and their passion for work vary. When the enterprise is booming, the differences are not so obvious, but when it encounters hard times, the different degrees of identification will become glaringly obvious. Employees with a low degree of identification are indifferent to the enterprise's current and future situation, and if it gets into real difficulties their only concern is to find a new job. Those who identify more with the enterprise feel real concern for its troubles, regard them as their own troubles and will do all in their power to help minimize them. In light of this, an alternative interpretation of

identification is: Individuals regard the group as their own organization. They and the group form a community sharing a common fate, honor and frustration— "we're all in this together." The greater the level of identification, the more obvious the belief in a common fate will be.

What makes an individual identify with a group cannot be merely summed up as "self-interest." Though this may be a consideration, on many occasions there are other considerations that transcend one's own interests. For instance, identification with a family or clan cannot be interpreted as self-interest. Some people join an academic association and greatly identify with it, not for any benefit they may derive but because of interest in the field or they respect and trust it, or out of a sense of duty to promote academic research. Joining a charity or public welfare organization may have nothing to do with self-interest but is motivated by a passion for such activity. Therefore, we cannot write off considerations beyond self-interest, since these factors may be more dominant in identification with a group.

Identification with a native country can better explain that self-interest is not necessarily a basis for identification, nor do people always identify with a group for this consideration.

We should bear in mind that country and government are two different concepts. Who exercises government power and whether they care about the people and protect the interests of the nation, is determined by the character of those in power. Citizens might support or even oppose some governments, but this has nothing to do with how they identify with their country. China's history has given many examples of this. In some dynasties, the ruler was incompetent, the court corrupt and people were opposed to the government, but they still loved their country and identified with it. Their opposition to the government was for national salvation. Although dissatisfied with or actually opposed to the government, in the face of foreign invasion citizens would risk death in fighting to save their country. So it is plain that self-interest is an inadequate explanation for identification: Patriotism, sense of national honor, society cohesion or national cohesion trump self-interest by a mile.

3.2.2 Identification and Interest Groups

The last section elaborated that on many occasions group identification is not spurred by self-interest, but this does certainly not imply that a person's

interests do not play a role. There are many different types of groups, especially in the economic world. For instance, if some investors co-found an enterprise the relation of individual investors with the enterprise is bound to be profit-oriented. There is also an interest relationship between the enterprise and the employees working for it.

We can analyze such interest-oriented relations further. Sometimes people use the term "interest group" to describe such relations, but its meaning is not very precise and there are different interpretations of the term. But a generally agreed view is this: people who share the same or roughly the same social, political and economic interests, and who accordingly have similar propositions and aspirations, work together to maintain and expand their interests and thus form, tangibly or intangibly, an interest group.[4]

In his famous work *An Economic History of Modern Britain*, J. H. Clapham illustrated the nature of interest groups by citing the examples of the West Indies interest group and that of mine-workers in British history. He pointed out the long tradition of interest groups. The West Indies interest group, a lasting and powerful political group, was formed by people living in London but with links to the sugar producing British colonies of the West Indies. As to the mine-workers, in the 18th century, isolated from urban life, they kept some old clan traditions, refusing to marry with the outside world and seldom going to church. Even in the mid-19th century when they had moved from the mine area into towns, they remained isolated and had little to do with other manual workers.[5]

The two interest groups in Clapham's book are similar to classes or social ranks. But both in history and in real life, some interest groups cannot be pigeonholed as class or rank groups. In his *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, H. J. Mackinder pointed out the important role of dialect and education in forming interest groups: Speakers of the same dialect were more likely to congregate, and a society with diverse dialects was likely to have different groups. The same went for education. In England, the professional and upper class and landowners went to the same schools and universities, and important men of business circle sent also their children to the same institutions.[6] Of course, after graduating, they belonged to the same group, a group that cannot be defined in terms of class or social rank but of interests. Sometimes interest groups have a tangible form, but in most cases they do not.

One point is certain, namely that in analyzing individual identification

with a group, we can approach it from the perspective of interests, of non-interests, or of transcendence of interests. Since an interest group does not equate to class or social rank, an individual can belong to more than one interest group. Take, for example, a number of privately owned food production and export enterprises in a region. In terms of export production and operation, the owners have interests in common with their business counterparts in other forms of ownership, so they can be included in the same interest group. In terms of food production and operation, the owners have common interests with other food producers and can be included in the same interest group. In terms of private ownership, they have interests in common with privately owned enterprises in other regions and can be included in the same interest group. In terms of local enterprise, they can be included in the same interest group with all other enterprises in the region. This situation is a good illustration of the point raised above that one individual may belong to several different groups and identify with all of them.

The different groups one belongs to are not necessarily mutually incompatible. One group's gain is not necessarily built on the loss of another group. Different interest groups do have conflicts, but they also have common interests. If the economy is developing, there is every reason to believe that all groups can benefit. In this way, the significance of identification can be further elaborated: Even if an individual belongs to different groups and identifies with them all there is not necessarily a conflict. Even if he does act from interest considerations, it is still possible for him to identify with this or other groups.

The above analysis took a social perspective, but things might appear different when taking a historical perspective. In the course of history, the relative status of an interest group will change, rising or falling, its power waxing or waning. Especially in periods of social disturbance, some interest groups will leave the stage of history and new ones emerge. Conflicts between the old and new groups undeniably exist. Old groups feel they are less and less valued, are being overtaken by the new ones, and are losing more and more whilst the new ones are gaining. But is this surely to be expected as the inevitable result of social change? Not necessarily. The rise of certain interest groups and the decline of others is just one possible result of social change. The result might be that an old interest group, after some differentiation, gradually integrates with a new one and forms a different new interest group. The interests of the old and the new are both reflected in the

integrated group, but with a different weighting.

Now we may discuss how people's identification changes. Membership of a group or of an interest group is not necessarily a permanent thing. Changes in an individual's income, status, outlook and aims may alter the extent of his identification with a particular group or interest group: As this identification diminishes, he may become estranged from the old group and join a different one with which he increasingly identifies. It is understandable that such things happen, especially in periods of social change, with changes in the relative status of old and new interest groups and the likelihood that they will merge.

3.2.3 Identification and Factors Beyond Interests

We have seen that what causes an individual to identify with a group cannot be merely summed up as self-interest. Although this factor is a consideration on some occasions, on others considerations beyond one's own interests weigh much more heavily. Therefore, we should explore the relationship between these latter considerations and identification.

To explain what these considerations are, we need begin with the relationship of an individual with a group. An individual's membership of a group can be classed into four different situations: (1) non-optional;(2) optional; (3) from non-optional to optional; (4) from optional to non-optional. All of the four situations actually exist in reality.

Non-optional: One belongs to a group not from free will but because there is no room for choice. For example, one cannot choose family, birthday, birth place and how and where he lives and studies in childhood. One's relationship with these places and groups are not subject to choice.

Optional: Having reached a certain age a person is free to make choices regarding education, job, and life, also which groups to be part of. For example, a high school graduate can choose his/her future major, college, degree, career and, as a consequence with which groups he/she wants to be linked. He/She is free to choose a spouse and thus becomes a member of the spouse's family. The same goes for decisions on political party, social organization or religion, the kind of people he/she wants to make friends with, therefore becoming a member of those groups.

From non-optional to optional: This is relatively unusual but a typical

case would be a change of nationality. One's nationality by birth is non-optional, but one may change it in adulthood, shifting from nation A to nation B. Correspondingly, he has a further group with which to identify, namely nation B. For another example, in a society where careers are hereditary, it is a convention for a son to inherit the career of his father. But later on, he may change his career for some reason and it follows that the group with which he identifies will also change.

From optional to non-optional: This is even more uncommon, but a possible example would be clandestine religious sects or mysterious organizations whose members are not permitted to quit. Before joining such a group the individual is free, but having made the choice to join lifelong identification is obligatory and quitting is impossible.

Non-optional membership of a group has nothing to do with either interest or interest-transcendent considerations, since belonging to the group is not a choice. People consider interest or interest-transcendent factors mainly in situations where they are free to join in or leave a group. On some occasions, interest weighs heavily with them, on other occasions interest-transcendent factors are the more important, and on others both types play a role. There is nothing strange about this. After all, man is both "social man" and "economic man." So his considerations are multi-faceted, and he may consider any identification with a particular group and the extent of that identification from many angles.

There are five types of interest-transcendent considerations in optional identification with a group.

One, emotion: For instance, in choosing a spouse and thus being a member and identifying with the spouse's family, emotion is often a major factor.

Two, faith or convictions: For example, when one is free to choose which religious group or political party to join, identification in these aspects plays an important role.

Three, reasoning: After careful consideration, one believes that compared with other groups, the group chosen is more suitable for practice of his/her ideals or more consistent with his/her own moral standards. For instance, someone feeling a responsibility to develop the economy, education and culture of his hometown or believing charitable causes beneficial to society will choose to be part of group he finds better suited for realizing his goals and will identify with it greatly.

Four, personal enthusiasms: This consideration may prompt someone to join an association or club.

Five, a sense of honor: One may choose to become a member of a group enjoying social prestige and respect in order to share in these things by association.

The above mentioned five interest-transcendent motivations in free-choice situations (emotion, beliefs, reasoning, personal enthusiasm, sense of honor) are not mutually exclusive: indeed they may overlap. For example, identification with a particular group might derive from one's belief, reasoning, sense of honor, or all three. In sum, in free choice situations, interest-transcendent factors cannot be neglected when considering identification.

Having discussed the meaning of identification, we can proceed to further discuss sense of fairness with a view to a new understanding of the concept.

贰　认同的含义

一、认同与共同命运观

人是群体中的一员，认同是就个人同群体之间的关系而言的。认同的含义是：一个人作为群体中的一员，他把这个群体看成是自己的组织，他不仅同这个群体协调、适应，而且也同这个群体中的其他成员彼此协调、适应。换言之，认同就是一个人承认自己同群体是一致的，是合为一体的。

群体一般也可称之为团体，它是若干人的组合。群体有大有小。有的群体很大，例如国家、民族或全社会。有的群体很小，例如一条街道、一个小村庄、一个小社区、一个小企业、一个小家庭。家族也是一个群体，它可大可小，大的家族人数众多，小的家族人数不多。群体无论大小，无论成员人数多少，都存在成员对本群体是否认同或究竟认同到何种程度的问题。这里所说的认同，是实质上的，而不是形式上的。

社会上有各种各样的群体。一个人生活在社会之中，可能是若干个群体的成员。以一个大学生来说，首先，他是自己家庭的一员、家族的一员；其次，他是学校的一员，学校中某个院系、某个年级、某个班组的一员；如果他加入了某个学生社团，他还是这个学生社团中的一员；他在读大学之前，毕业于某所中学，那么他也是自己曾经就读过的那所

中学的校友；他的籍贯是某省某市某县或某个乡镇，从同乡这个角度来看，他也是同籍贯者组成的群体中的一员；他如果有宗教信仰，他就成为那个宗教团体的一员；他如果加入了党派，他就成为那个党派的一员。至于他作为国民，是国家这个大群体中的一员，那就不在话下了。一个人作为这么多的群体中的一员，认同必然是多重的，只不过对不同的群体，认同的程度有所差别而已。

认同程度的高低反映了一个人对某个群体的关切程度，或他对某个群体“视为一体”的程度。第二章所谈到的团体凝聚力的大小、社会凝聚力的大小，就是成员们对群体的认同程度高低的反映。认同程度因人而异，也因客观形势不同而异。以一家企业为例，企业中有若干名职工，所有的职工尽管都是企业这个群体的一员，但由于各人的认同程度不一，各人对待企业的态度和工作热情也就不一样。在企业兴旺发达时，职工们认同程度的差别可能表现得不很明显。假定企业因某种原因而陷入了困境，职工们认同程度的差别就会显著地反映出来。比如说，有的职工对企业的认同程度较低，他们不关心企业的现状和前景，企业遇到困难了，他们就竭力寻找自己新的去处。也有的职工对企业的认同程度较高，他们关心企业的困难，认为企业的困难就是自己的困难，于是出主意，想办法，并在自己的工作中尽心尽力，以便减少企业的困难。可见，认同的另一个解释就是：群体的一员把群体看成是自己的组织，他同这个群体形成了“命运共同体”，一荣俱荣，一损俱损。认同程度越高，俱荣俱损的共同命运观就表现得越明显。

个人对某一群体的认同，不能简单地用“利益”二字来概括。认同，固然有利益方面的考虑，但在许多场合，还有超越利益的考虑。不妨举几个常见的例子来说明。例子之一是：一个人属于自己的家庭、家族，他对家庭、家族的认同，是不能用“利益”二字来解释的。另一个例子是：一个学术团体，如某某学会、某某研究会之类的组织，有若干成员，这些成员之所以参加某一学术团体，并对它有较高程度的认同，不一定同利益有关，他可能是出于对学术的兴趣、爱好，或出于对该学术团体的尊重和信任，也可能出于一种责任感，即认为自己有责任振兴学术。还可以举一个例子：一个人参加了某个公益团体、某个慈善组织，他热心于公益、慈善事业，而根本不考虑什么利益。因此，超越利益的考虑是不能抹杀的。有各种各样的群体，个人对某些群体的较高程度的认同，超越利益的考虑可能占据主要地位。

怎样解释一国国民对国家这个群体的认同呢？这个问题更能够说明利益不一定是认同的依据，也不一定是出于利益的考虑，人们才认同群体。

要知道，国家和政府并不是一个概念。政府由谁掌权，掌权者是否

关心国民，是否维护国家的利益、国民的利益，依掌权者的性质而定。国民可能拥护某届政府，也可能不拥护某届政府，甚至有可能反对某届政府，但这与国民是否认同国家不是一回事。历史上经常出现这样的情况。某些朝代，君主昏聩，朝政腐败，国民同政府处于对立状态。但国民是爱国的，对国家是认同的，国民反对政府，是为了拯救国家。历史上也经常发生这样的事，尽管国民不满意政府，甚至同政府相对立，但在外族入侵，国家处于危急关头时，国民仍奋不顾身地抗御入侵者。由此看来，国民对国家的认同绝不是用“利益”两个字就能作出解释的。爱国心、国家的荣誉感、社会的或国民的凝聚力远远超越对利益的考虑。

二、认同与利益集团

以上谈到了在某些场合，人们对某些群体的认同不是从利益的角度来考虑的，但这并不意味着利益关系在认同中没有作用。由于群体是多种多样的，经济领域内的群体为数甚多，例如，一些投资者共同发起组建一个企业，投资者个人同这个企业之间的关系肯定属于利益关系之列；职工在企业中工作，他们同这个企业之间也存在着利益关系；等等。

关于利益关系，还可以作进一步的分析。人们有时使用“利益集团”一词，实际上，“利益集团”一词的含义不是很明确的。究竟什么是利益集团，解释不一，但大体上形成这样一种看法，即社会上有一些人，彼此有着共同的或基本上一致的社会、政治、经济利益，因此他们往往有共同的或基本上一致的主张和愿望，使自己的利益得以维持与扩大，这些人有形或无形地构成了一个利益集团。[4]

克拉潘（J. H. Clapham）在其名著《现代英国经济史》中曾以英国历史上的西印度利益集团和矿区工人利益集团为例来说明利益集团的性质。他指出，“利益集团”是历史留下的一种传统，比如说，西印度利益集团就是由居住在伦敦但又与产糖的英属西印度殖民地有关的人们所组成的一个集团，这是一种绵延不绝的、强有力的政治势力。至于矿工们，在18世纪内，他们自成一体，与城市生活隔绝，他们有些还保留了古老的氏族传统，不与外界通婚，很少上教堂，甚至到了19世纪中叶，他们不住在矿区而搬到城镇居住了，他们仍然是一个封闭性的集团，很少与其他手工业者们来往。[5]克拉潘列举的这两个利益集团类似于阶级或等级，但历史上和现实生活中有些利益集团是很难套用阶级或等级这样的概念的。麦金德在《民主的理想与现实》一书中，曾提到方言与教育在利益集团的形成中起着重要的作用。比如说，同一种方言会使得使

用这种方言的人结合在一起，一个社会中如果有多种方言，那就会形成若干个不同的集团。受教育的情况也如此，在英格兰，专业人员上层与地主出自同一所学校、同一个大学，工商界头面人物也把自己的子弟送到这个学校中来。[6]可以设想，这些人毕业以后便成为同一个集团中的人，这就很难用阶级或等级概念来替代利益集团。利益集团可能是有形的，但多数却是无形的。

在讨论个人对群体的认同时，既可以从利益关系上进行分析，也可以从非利益或超越利益的角度进行分析，但不能仅仅从利益关系上考虑，这是可以肯定的。由于利益集团不等于阶级或等级，所以一个人可能既属于这一利益集团，又属于第二个或第三个利益集团。比如说，假定某一地区有一些私营企业主经营食品的出口生产和经营。就出口商品的生产和经营而言，这些企业主同其他所有制形式的企业主有着共同的利益，他们可以归入一个利益集团；就食品的生产和经营而言，这些企业主同其他从事食品生产和经营的企业主一样，有共同的利益，他们也可以归入一个利益集团；再就私营企业而言，这些企业主同其他地区的私营企业主之间也有共同的利益，他们又可以归入一个利益集团；而就同一个地区的企业而言，所有这些企业都有地区的利益，于是同样可以归入一个利益集团。这正同以上所说的一个成员可以属于若干个群体或团体，从而将同各个群体或团体分别发生认同关系一样。

一个人属于不同的群体，而这些群体不一定是彼此不相容的。同样的道理，一个人被列入不同的利益集团，但这些利益集团之间也不一定是不可协调的。不能简单地认为这一利益集团得到的好处必定以另一个利益集团受到损失为条件。不同的利益集团之间固然有矛盾，但也有共同的利益。如果经济是增长的，完全有理由相信这些利益集团都会在经济增长过程中受益。认同的意义也可以从这里得到进一步的说明。尽管一个人可以属于不同的群体，与各个群体之间都发生认同关系，但这也可以是不冲突的。一个人，即使是出于利益上的考虑，那么也有可能既认同这个群体，又认同其他群体。

以上是从社会的横截面所进行的分析。如果从历史的角度，从纵向进行分析，情况可能有所不同。这是因为，社会是发展的，历史是一个过程，在这个过程中，各个利益集团的相对地位会有升有降，各个利益集团的力量也有增有减。特别是在社会变动时期，总有一些利益集团渐渐退出历史舞台，同时又会出现一些新的利益集团。新老利益集团的冲突往往是客观存在的，不容否认。老利益集团会感到自己越来越不受重视，感到新利益集团在超过自己。老利益集团也会认为自己失去的越来越多，而新利益集团得到的却越来越多。这种情况不值得奇怪，因为社会变动的结果正是这样。但是，是不是社会变动在利益集团相互关系中

所造成的结果只可能这样呢？不一定。一个利益集团兴起而另一个集团衰亡，只是社会变动的一种结果。可能还有另一种结果，即在社会变动的过程中，老利益集团在经过分化之后逐渐融入了新利益集团，并与后者一起形成了另一个利益集团。新老利益集团融合而成的另一个利益集团往往既反映了老利益集团的一部分利益，也反映了新利益集团的一部分利益，只是这一部分所占的比重和另一部分所占的比重不一样而已。

由此涉及人们的认同的变化。人作为某一群体或某一利益集团的一员，不是永恒不变的。一个人自身的收入、地位、观念和目标等的变化会引起他对某个群体、某个利益集团的认同程度的变化，也会使他同原来所属的某一个群体渐渐疏远，认同程度渐渐降低，而使他参加或归属于另一个群体，对后者的认同程度渐渐提高。特别是在社会变动时期，随着新老利益集团相对地位的变化，随着新老利益集团可能的融合，人们对某一利益集团认同程度的下降或对另一利益集团认同程度的上升，也是可以理解的。

三、认同与超越利益的考虑

正如以上已经指出的，个人对自己所属的某一群体的认同，不能简单地用利益关系来概括。认同固然在某些场合有利益方面的考虑，但在另一些场合则出于超越利益的考虑，甚至在某些情况下，超越利益的考虑要比利益的考虑重要得多。因此，我们有必要在这里就认同与超越利益的考虑之间的关系作较深入的探讨。

什么是超越利益的考虑？应当从一个人与某个群体之间的关系谈起。一个人之所以会成为某个群体的成员，大体上可以分为四种不同的情况：

（1）不可选择的；

（2）可选择的；

（3）由不可选择的变为可选择的；

（4）由可选择的变为不可选择的。

这四种情况都存在于现实生活之中。

不可选择的是指：一个人之所以属于某个群体，是不以个人意志为转移的，他对此没有选择的余地。例如，一个人出生在某个家庭、某个家族，他本人无法选择。一个人出生于何地，祖籍是何地，年幼时生活、学习于何地，从而同什么样的地区有关，同什么样的群体有联系，这也是不可选择的。

可选择的是指：一个人在达到一定年龄之后，在学习、工作、生活

方面自己可以作出选择，对于参加什么样的群体也有自己的主意。例如，一个人在可以选择升学志愿的前提下，他选择什么学校、什么专业，取得何种学历、学位，将来从事何种职业，从而会同什么样的群体发生关系，这些都是可以选择的。在婚姻可以自主的条件下，一个人选择什么人作为配偶，从而成为配偶的家族中的一员，这同样属于可以选择之列。更为普遍的是：一个人参加什么党派、什么社会团体，信仰什么宗教，经常同什么样的人交往从而成为某个群体中的一员，这些都取决于本人的选择。

由不可选择的变为可选择的，则是一种比较特殊的情况。一个常见的例子是国籍的更换。一个人的国籍，出生时不依他本人的意志为转移，但成年之后却有可选择的机会：由甲国的国民变为乙国的国民，相应地，他所要认同的群体也就增加了一个，即除甲国之外，还有乙国。又如，在职业世袭的社会中，子承父业被认为是惯例，不依他本人的意志为转移，但以后，他可能出于某种考虑，变更了自己的职业，这样，他所要认同的群体也就改变了。

由可选择的变为不可选择的，也许是更加特殊的情况。比如说，某些秘密的教派组织或其他带有神秘色彩的团体，是不允许自己的成员脱离的。一个人在未加入这种组织或团体时，是自由的，但一旦他作出了选择，成为这种组织或团体的成员后，就必须终身认同，不得离去。

就一个人不可选择地成为某一个群体的一员来说，这就谈不到什么利益或超越利益的考虑，因为他是不由自主地从属于这个群体的。利益的考虑或超越利益的考虑主要出于可以选择的个人与群体的关系中，即一个人在经过考虑之后，为什么会选择这一群体而不是另一群体，为什么会放弃这一群体而加入另一群体，总是有自己的想法的。在某些场合，利益的考虑是主要的，在另一些场合，超越利益的考虑是主要的，或者利益的考虑与超越利益的考虑起着同样重要的作用。这并不奇怪。既然人不是单纯的“经济的人”，而是“社会的人”，所以人的考虑是多方面的，人对某一群体的认同和认同程度的高低也就会从多方面考虑。

在人对某个群体的认同可以作出选择时，超越利益的考虑大体上可以分为以下五种：

一是出于某种感情。比如说，在一个人可以自主地选择配偶的场合，他之所以会成为配偶的家族中的一员并同配偶的家族有认同关系，感情因素往往是主要的。

二是出于一种信仰或信念。比如说，一个人在可以作出自由选择时，为什么他会参加某个党派或某个政治团体，为什么他会信奉某个宗教，这种认同在很大程度上同信仰或信念有关。

三是出于一种理性的选择。这里所说的理性的选择，是指一个人经

过考虑，认定自己所选择的某个群体与其他群体相比，更适合于实现自己的理想，或更符合于自己的道德判断标准。比如说，一个人认为自己有责任帮助家乡发展经济、教育或文化，或者一个人认为发展慈善事业是有利于全社会的，当他发现某个群体更加适合于从事此项工作时，他便作出选择，参加这个群体，对它有高度的认同。

四是出于个人的兴趣和爱好。出于这种考虑，他可能选择某个协会或俱乐部，成为其中的成员。

五是出于一种荣誉感。这是指，某个群体在社会上的声望高，受人们敬重，一个人认为自己如果能成为这样群体中的一员，是一种荣誉，于是他便作出这种选择。

以上所说的五种在个人可以选择时的超越利益的考虑（感情因素、信仰或信念、理性的选择、个人兴趣和爱好、荣誉感）并不是相互排斥的，它们之间可以有交叉、重叠。比如说，一个社团的成员对本组织的认同，从超越利益的角度考虑，既可能出于一种信念，也可能同时出于理性的选择，还可能出于一种荣誉感，也许三者兼有。总之，认同在个人可以选择时，超越利益的考虑是不可忽视的。

在对认同的含义有了上述了解之后，我们就可以进而讨论公平感的问题，并可以对公平概念有一种新的认识。

3.3 The Relationship Between Fairness and Identification

3.3.1 Individual Sense of Fairness in a Group

Where should we look for fairness criteria? As previously concluded, it's hard to find answers if we confine the analysis to income distribution and income gap. From the perspective of either absolute or relative income there is no objective and standardized measurement for fairness. As for the perspective of equal opportunity, the difficulty lies in defining an equal start line, since in reality not all start from the same. Therefore, we need approach the question of fairness from a different angle, and perhaps identification may lead us to the answer.

To put it simply, fairness is based on an individual's identification with a group. The more its members identify with the group, the greater sense of fairness they will have. Conversely, the less they identify with it, the weaker

their sense of fairness will be. If members do not identify with their group but nevertheless remain part of it, they are likely to have no sense of fairness at all.

Why is there such a correlation between the level of identification and sense of fairness? Through his interpersonal relations with other group members an individual member will get a sense of his position and other members' attitude toward him. If he gets along with others and handles those relations well, he will have greater identification with the group and stronger sense of fairness. Conversely, if he fails to maintain harmonious relations with others, always feeling being left out in the cold, marginalized or discriminated against, he will certainly have little identification with the group, giving rise to a sense of unfairness. From the perspective of the relation between individuals and their group, the sense of fairness or otherwise reflects the degree to which the individual identifies with the group.

Groups can be big or small, comprising different numbers of individuals. We may start our analysis with small groups and work our way up.

The family is possibly the smallest group. Being a member of a family is not usually a matter of personal choice, but an individual's identification with the family is a different matter. Provided there is strong family identification, he will not quibble over differential treatment of him, for example parents favoring a sibling. A sense of fairness comes from identifying with the family itself. Of course, there are exceptions: People whose relations with family become strained or whose identification decreases when they find themselves less well treated than a sibling. Of course, such occasions are not very common. Generally, despite some sense of unfairness, it does not decrease his identification, and the individual still loves his family.

In an enterprise, big or small, employees' sense of fairness is directly linked to the degree of identification with this group. There may be different salaries for different people, different promotion opportunities and different levels of labor intensity. As long as there are such differences, even though rational in an economic sense, employees may not see this rationality as fairness. What if there were no differences? Some people would probably regard the lack of differential in salaries and benefits as unfairness. Only from the angle of individual identification with the group can we get to a reasonable explanation of sense of fairness.

We may say, therefore, that when employees identify highly with the enterprise and their salary differentials are economically rational, they will accept such differences and have no sense of unfairness. Even when salary differentials are not so rational economically and a sense of unfairness is aroused, provided employees identify with the enterprise and can voice their opinions via proper channels this need not give rise to disharmony in employee-enterprise relations. Conversely, if employees have little or no identification with the enterprise, they will have a sense of unfairness even if the salary difference is economically rational. If the difference is not so rational economically, staff with low or no identification will have a strong sense of unfairness and may even go against the enterprise.

Stepping up the scale, society is a large group in which an individual is just one of countless individual members. But irrespective of that society's size, the individual's level of identification with it will influence his judgment on whether he has had fair treatment in many areas, including income, job, education and social status. Through comparison with other members he will form his sense of fairness or unfairness. Assuming a high level of identification with society, he will accept rational differences in those respects and will not have a sense of unfairness. He will express his dissatisfaction but will not go against society. The sense of unfairness increases as social identification decreases and vice versa. In other words, the higher the social identification, the stronger one's sense of fairness and the weaker the sense of unfairness.

3.3.2 Further Explanation on the Correlation Between Fairness and Identification

Based on the above examination of the correlation between fairness and group identification, we can proceed to further explanation.

Firstly, although the above analysis has shown us that the degree of identification directly produces a cause of sense of fairness or unfairness, it does not deny the point that income gap rationality is related to fairness. Nor does it deny the proposition that equal opportunity implies fairness. The latter two concepts, namely, rational income gap and equal opportunity, are useful for understanding the meaning of fairness, except that their limitations in judging fairness standards do not facilitate further exploration of the fairness

issue. Therefore we must return to the identification perspective so as to make up for what is lacking in previous studies. In addition, as previously stated, even if the income gap is rational, if members have little identification with the group they will still feel it unfair. Conversely, when their identification is great, even if the income gap is not so rational, they will still accept the gap, express their opinions, and not go against the group. This is enough to show that income gap rationality is too limited to be a criterion for fairness.

Secondly, groups can vary greatly in size. The smaller the group, the easier it is for an individual to identify with it, and the more helpful that level of identification is in showing the source of a sense of fairness or unfairness. It is a little difficult for members to identify with too large a group and the degree of identification will be of less importance in explaining fairness or unfairness. Take the case of two different enterprises, one with tens of thousands of employees and the other with fewer than one hundred. Staff in the larger one may find group identification more difficult than do those in the smaller one. Correspondingly, those employed in a small enterprise are more likely to have sense of fairness based on their high degree of identification; those employed in a large enterprise are less likely to have a sense of fairness and more likely to feel unfairness.

Thirdly, if employees find it difficult to identify with a large enterprise and producing a sense of fairness is difficult, does it not follow that citizens will find it difficult to identify with their country, this being a group much larger than an enterprise? And would it not also follow that for citizens to have sense of fairness would be difficult? But as also mentioned above, citizens' identification with their country is different from employees' identification with their enterprise, since the latter is based on interests and the former on interest-transcendent considerations. Therefore, even though a country is much bigger than an enterprise, this does not make it harder for citizens to identify with a country. Interest-transcendent considerations play an important role. If a big enterprise can cause its employees to identify with it from interest-transcendent considerations, a high degree of identification will more easily be achieved.

Fourthly, one can be member of several different groups—family, community, company, academic society, association or club, to name just a few. No matter the group, all will engender a feeling of fair or unfair treatment within the group. Therefore, a sense of fairness is multi-sourced,

and the number of groups will determine how many kinds of fairness or unfairness the individual senses. He may feel one group to be fair, another group unfair, and other groups to have varying degrees of fairness, from minor to extreme. To an extent this is related to group size: the smaller the group, the more easily its members coordinate with each other and vice versa. On the other hand, it is linked to the nature of the group, and to whether its individual members are in it for the sake of their interests. The more important to them such considerations are, the harder it will be for the individual to identify with the group and the greater the sensitivity to fairness and its opposite. Conversely, the more important the interest-transcendent considerations, the easier group identification becomes and the less the sensitivity to issues of fairness.

Fifthly, precisely since fairness is linked to social stability, an acute sense of unfairness may lead to social instability. It will be conducive to the maintenance of social stability and reduction of destabilizing factors if the correlation between fairness and identification is clearly understood, since a sense of fairness or unfairness comes from more than just income differences (including individual absolute income level and income gap) or equal or unequal opportunities. The more a society is in tune with its members and the more its members identify with it, the easier it will be to reduce any sense of unfairness and the more stable the society will be. This is a seemingly indisputable conclusion, but achieving such social coordination and group identification so that members identify highly with society is no easy matter. Those working in social coordination should make a particular effort to solve this problem.

Sixthly, if an individual joins a group for interest-transcendent considerations, it is very likely that this group has lofty ideals and aims and it is these factors that inspire great identification from its members. However, if the group's leaders or responsible persons do not work hard to realize these ideals, do not live up to their words or are incompetent to achieve the goals, the members will be disappointed, seeing the truth. As the level of identification falls, the members' sense of unfairness will intensify, thinking that they have been cheated and taken for fools by those above them. They feel duped by the leaders and squeezed out or discriminated against by their followers; in consequence, their sense of unfairness grows more acute by the day.

3.3.3 Identification with Fairness of Starting Point and Fairness of Outcome

Fairness of starting point and fairness of outcome are not the same concept, but identification with the two can be unified.

The general explanation of starting point fairness is that all stand at the same starting line. Equality of opportunity implies fairness of starting line. But in reality, owing to differences of family background, place of residence or educational level the same starting line for one is difficult, so equality of opportunity may not necessarily be achievable.[7] Even so, equality of opportunity is always better than discrimination. The fact that laws do not discriminate against anyone is a major stride toward achieving a fair starting line. If jobs or trade are open to every person with the requisite qualifications, and if the discrimination and exclusiveness in careers and competition are eliminated, this will be the best form of equal opportunity we can achieve in real life. This is the only way for us to interpret starting point fairness.

The general interpretation of outcome fairness is that, as the results of fair competition, jobs go to the most qualified or outstanding persons, and that income in all trading is in accordance with the quantity and quality of production factors supplied. It is reasonable to see outcome fairness in this way despite differences still existing. It stands counter to the egalitarianist concept of outcome fairness, which is a serious distortion, but even so it does have its limitations in interpreting outcome fairness.

For example, it is true that jobs should go to the most qualified or outstanding candidates through competition, but why should we not ask: What is the standard for being "most qualified or outstanding"? Is the judgment comprehensive and accurate? Are the decision makers just and disinterested? Do they have a complete grasp of the information? In other words, are the decision makers themselves proven to be the most qualified persons?

For another example, distribution based on labor was once regarded as manifesting outcome fairness, being consistent with the principle that income produced in trading activities should be distributed in accordance with the quantity and quality of production factors supplied. Distribution based on labor is at least an applicable standard for judging whether an individual's absolute income is fair or not. But it has defects. What does "labor" exactly mean here, the qualification for income that one has achieved through one's

"labor" in the past or the "labor" one is contributing to current work? Can we convert all kinds of "labors" into one universally accepted "labor"? Furthermore, who is the allocator of labor here? How can he do his job in a proper way? These theoretical questions still await solution. Besides, as a standard of judging outcome fairness, distribution based on labor faces many problems in operation. Who can tell which salary levels for government or enterprise employees are reasonable and consistent with this distribution principle? Since it is hard to say distribution based on labor is a manifestation of outcome fairness, it is harder to make the case for distribution based on production factors. However, pending the appearance of anything better, the principle of being "in accordance with quantity and quality of production factors supplied" is still feasible, because at least it links outcome fairness with supply of production factors and with economic outcome.

For people to accept starting point and outcomes as fair, we must first help them correctly understand the meaning of fairness, and this is by no means an easy task. Each person will understand the concept in the light of personal experience and current status, and they are bound to have different feelings about it.

A person may count the starting point as being fair only when, in addition to equality of opportunity, his status, income or financial circumstance at the starting point are roughly comparable with others. Suppose he has equal opportunities but none of the other aspects are of comparable status at the starting point, he probably will feel unhappy; perhaps he can tolerate this, perhaps not. If he has generally the same social rank, etc., but not equal opportunities, he will also feel unhappy; perhaps he can tolerate this, perhaps not. If he is far behind others in social rank, etc., and moreover does not have equal opportunities, he will surely not tolerate it since he believes the starting point to be patently unfair. Therefore we see, only when all conditions are met—equal opportunities, roughly equal rank, income and property status at the starting point—will people deem the starting point fair.

Acceptance of the fairness of outcomes might be more difficult to achieve. If the starting point is believed unfair, then whatever the outcome—for example the absolute income level and income gap being within rational range—then the outcome will still be deemed insufficiently fair. If a person believes the starting point is fair, then he will make his own judgment regarding fairness of the outcome on the basis of specific

circumstances: When absolute income level lies within a rational range, he might think the outcome is fair and acceptable. If he thinks the relative income level—i.e. the income gap—is not rational he will still deem the outcome insufficiently fair. If one believes in the fairness of neither the starting point nor outcome, one is bound to regard this as unacceptable. Social stability can only deteriorate if there are increasing numbers who feel this way.

From the above analysis we know that we should not only consider people's feelings about the starting point and outcome fairness, but also help them to integrate the two: Accepting the starting point as fair but not the outcome is not enough and neither is the converse. So how can we approach this question of integration? We shall need to return to the discussion of harmonization between individuals and the group.

If an individual has harmonized relations with the group and other members, he will more easily integrate his acceptance of fair starting point with his acceptance of fair outcome. Even if neither aspect is totally satisfactory, provided such things are quite easily pursued through proper channels, the contradiction will generally not intensify. For a large group such as a society, the more its members identify with it, the easier it is for them to integrate their acceptance of starting point fairness with outcome fairness. Just as pointed out previously, in the absence of an objective or universally accepted standard for fairness, we only have harmonious interpersonal relations to increase the sense of fairness and reduce the sense of unfairness.

叁　公平与认同的关系

一、关于个人在群体中的公平感

公平的标准何在？前面已经指出，如果仅仅在收入分配及其差距方面寻找答案，这个问题是不容易解决的。无论从收入的绝对水平还是从收入的相对水平来看，对公平的衡量都不可能有客观的、统一的尺度。甚至从机会均等的角度来考虑，由于在现实生活中并非人人都处在一条起跑线上，所以也很难把某一条起跑线称做公平的起跑线。这样，我们不得不另找解决或近似地解决公平问题的途径。从认同的角度分析，也许可以走出一条新路来。

简要地说，公平以对群体的认同为基础。在一个群体内部，成员对这个群体的认同程度越高，他们的公平感就越强；反之，成员对这个群体的认同程度越低，他们的公平感也就越少。假定成员完全不认同这个群体而他们却依然留在这个群体之中，他们可能就没有公平感。

那么，为什么一个人对某一群体的认同程度同公平感有关呢？这是因为，一个人在某一群体之中，就会同群体的其他成员发生联系，并从这些人际关系中感受到自己所处的位置和其他人对自己的态度。如果他同群体中的其他成员相处得比较协调，人际关系处理得较好，他对这个群体的认同程度就比较高，于是他在群体中的公平感也比较强；反之，如果他同群体中的其他成员的关系不协调，总感到自己在这个群体中受冷落，受排挤，受歧视，他肯定对这个群体的认同程度较低，他在群体中的不公平感即由此而来。由此看来，从个人同一个群体之间的关系的角度来看，公平感还是不公平感都是他对这个群体的认同程度的反映。

群体有大有小，群体中的人数有多有少。我们不妨按小群体到大群体的顺序作一些分析。

家庭可能是最小的群体。一个人成为家庭的成员，通常不依自己的意志为转移。尽管一个人同父母、兄弟姐妹的血缘关系是不可选择的，但他对家庭的认同程度仍然因家庭而异，因人而异。如果他同家庭的其他成员（如兄弟姐妹）相比，即使感到自己所受到父母的宠爱程度不如兄弟姐妹，在家庭中所得到的照顾也不如兄弟姐妹，但只要他对家庭的认同程度高，他不会对上述的差别待遇斤斤计较，也不会由此产生不公平感。他在家庭这个群体中的公平感来自对家庭的认同。当然，也会有如下的情况：在他发现自己在家庭中受到的对待不如兄弟姐妹之后，他同家庭的关系疏远了，认同程度下降了。但这毕竟不是普遍的。也就是说，尽管他多多少少有一种不公平感，但他仍是热爱这个家庭的，他的认同程度并未因此而降低，大多数情况正是如此。

再以企业的情况为例。企业是一个群体，不管企业规模大小和职工人数多少，职工对这个群体的认同程度同职工在企业产生公平感与否有着直接的关系。在企业内部，职工们的工资总是有差别的，各种工作岗位的工作劳累程度、待遇高低、升迁机会大小也是不一样的。只要有上述这些差别，即使这些差别在经济上是合理的，但职工们不一定把这种经济上的合理性看成是公平性。如果没有这些差别呢？那么同样会有人认为这种无差别的工资和待遇是不公平性的反映。因此，这是一个从这边看有人认为不公平，从那边看又有人认为不公平的难题。只有从个人对群体的认同程度的角度来考虑，个人的公平感或不公平感才能得到较好的解释。

可以这样说，假定某个职工对本企业这个群体的认同程度高，而且

企业内部所存在的工资和待遇等方面的差别在经济上是合理的，那么这种差别就能够被职工所接受，他不会由此产生不公平感。即使企业内部所存在的工资和待遇等方面的差别在经济上还不尽合理，职工在对企业认同的基础上也会通过正当渠道向企业反映自己的想法，但不至于由此因不公平感而同企业处于不协调的状态。反之，假定某个职工对本企业这个群体的认同程度很差或者缺乏认同。那么，尽管企业内部所存在的工资和待遇等方面的差别在经济上是合理的，职工仍会产生不公平感；如果企业内部所存在的工资和待遇等方面的差别在经济上不尽合理，那么职工不仅会产生强烈的不公平感，而且有可能同企业相对立。

接着，让我们对社会作为一个群体进行分析。社会是一个大群体，一个人在社会这个大群体中，只是无数个成员中的一员。但无论群体的大小，成员对社会的认同态度也影响着他在许多问题上对自己是否被公平对待的感受。收入、就业、受教育状况、受尊重的程度等，都会使一个人在同社会的其他成员比较后产生公平感或不公平感。假定他对社会的认同程度较高，他会接受社会上存在的合理差别，不会产生不公平感；即使他认为社会上的某些差别还不合理，他会陈述自己的看法，但不会因此而同社会处于不协调状态。他的不公平感，是随着对社会的认同程度的下降而递增或随着对社会的认同程度的上升而递减。还可以得出这样的结论：对社会的认同程度越高，社会成员的公平感就越浓，不公平感则越淡。

二、公平与认同之间关系的进一步说明

以上是把公平与对群体的认同联系在一起所作的考察。在这一考察的基础上，可以就公平与认同之间的关系再作一些说明。

第一，尽管通过上述分析，我们已经了解到个人对群体的认同程度同公平感或不公平感的产生有着直接的联系，但这并不否定有关收入分配差距的合理同公平之间的关系的论点，也不否定机会均等意味着公平的论点。收入分配差距的合理和机会的均等，对我们理解公平的含义是有用的，只是由于它们在公平标准的判断上存在着这样或那样的局限性，使得公平问题的研究难以深入下去，所以我们认为有必要再从认同的角度展开讨论，以弥补以往对公平问题研究的不足。加之，正如前面已经指出的，在一个群体内部，即使收入方面的差距合理，但如果成员对群体的认同程度低，成员仍会感到不公平；反之，如果成员对群体的认同程度高，即使收入方面的差距不尽合理，群体的成员也会接受它，同时陈述自己的看法，而不会因此而同群体对立。这就足以表明用收入

差距合理与否作为公平与否的依据是有局限性的。

第二，群体有大有小，而且大小相距甚多。群体越小，个人对群体的认同越容易，个人对群体的认同程度也就越有助于揭示公平感或不公平感产生的原因。群体太大，个人对群体的认同就难些，个人对群体的认同程度在解释公平或不公平方面的重要性也就会降低，这是完全可以理解的。比如说，一个企业有职工好几万人，另一个企业的职工不到一百人，前一个企业中的职工对企业的认同必定难于后一个企业中的职工对企业的认同。也就是说，小企业较容易实现职工对本企业的较高程度的认同，企业过大则很难做到这一点。相应地，小企业既然较容易实现职工对企业较高程度的认同，那么小企业的职工在较高程度认同于企业的基础上，将比较容易地产生公平感，而企业过大时，职工在本企业中则不容易产生公平感，更容易产生不公平感。

第三，按照以上所说的来推论，国家是一个比大企业还要大得多的群体，既然大企业都不容易实现职工对本企业的认同，公平感的产生都这么难，那么要一国的国民对国家的认同岂不是还要困难得多？要一国的国民产生公平感岂不是也要困难得多？的确如此。但前面也曾提到，一国的国民对国家的认同与一个职工对企业的认同是不一样的：职工对企业的认同，一般说来主要出于利益的考虑，而国民对国家的认同则主要出于超越利益的考虑。正因为如此，所以尽管国家比大企业还要大得多，但要实现国民对国家的认同并不会难于大企业的职工对本企业的认同。超越利益的考虑在这里起着重要的作用。如果一个大企业也能使得本企业职工出于超越利益的考虑来认同本企业，那么它也未尝不可以实现职工对本企业的较高程度的认同。

第四，一个人可以是若干个群体的成员，比如说，他是家庭的成员，家族的成员，社区的成员，所在工作单位的成员，某个或某些学会、社团、俱乐部的成员，社会的成员，等等。他作为任何一个群体的成员，都会产生自己在这个群体中是否被公平对待的感觉，因此他的公平感或不公平感并非只有一种，而是他参加多少个群体，就有多少种公平感或不公平感。很可能有如下的情况：在这个群体中，他感到很公平；在另一个群体中，他感到比较公平；在第三个群体中，他感到比较不公平；而在第四个群体中，他却感到很不公平。出现上述情况，应该说是正常的。一方面，如上所述，这在一定程度上同群体的大小有关，即群体越小，群体的各个成员之间容易彼此协调，个人对群体的认同程度比较高，而群体越大，则越不容易做到这些。另一方面，则同群体的性质有关，同个人是出于利益的考虑还是超越利益的考虑而成为某个群体的一员有关：利益方面的考虑越占重要位置，个人对群体的认同就越不容易，个人对公平还是不公平的感受也就越敏感；反之，超越利益的

考虑越占重要位置，个人对群体的认同就越容易，个人对公平感或不公平感也就不那么敏感了。

第五，正由于公平同社会安定有关，不公平感的加剧会导致社会的不安定，而且公平或不公平作为人们的一种感觉并非仅仅来自收入方面（包括个人绝对收入水平与收入分配差距的大小），也并非仅仅来自机会均等与否，所以弄清楚公平与认同之间的关系，对于维持社会的安定和减少社会上的不安定因素是有好处的。在社会中，越能够使社会成员同社会这个大群体相协调，使社会成员对社会的认同程度提高，就越有助于减轻他们的不公平感，从而也就越有利于社会的安定。这个结论虽然看起来不会引起多大争议，但要真正做到个人同社会这样的大群体的协调，使社会成员们产生对社会的较高的认同，这不是一件容易的事情。这也正是社会协调工作中特别需要注意解决的问题。

第六，在一个成员们出于超越利益的考虑而参加的群体中，群体很可能有崇高的理想和目标，成员们正是注意到这些崇高的理想和目标而对群体产生高度认同的。但问题往往出在群体的领导者或实际负责人并未为实现这些理想和目标而努力，他们或者口是心非、言行不一，或者缺乏领导群体去实现这些理想和目标的能力，这样就使得成员们失望，从而大大降低了对这个群体的认同程度。因此，即使当初成员们是出于超越利益的考虑而参加群体的，但随着群体领导者或实际负责人的真相被成员们所识破，随着成员们对群体的认同程度的下降，成员们的不公平感也必定增大，因为他们首先会感到自己被群体的领导者或实际负责人所欺骗了，愚弄了，同时他们也会感到自己同那些追随口是心非与一味谋取私利的群体领导者或实际负责人的成员们相比，在群体内部是处于被排斥、被歧视的位置上，于是就会产生不公平感，一种特殊的不公平感。

三、对起点公平性的认同与对结果公平性的认同

起点的公平性与结果的公平性不是一个概念，然而，对起点公平性的认同与对结果公平性的认同却是可以统一的。

对起点的公平性的一般解释是：大家都站在一条起跑线上。机会均等意味着公平，是对起点的公平而言。实际上，由于各人家庭背景不同、所在的地区不同、受教育状况不同等原因，所有的人很难站在同一条起跑线上，所以机会均等不一定能成为现实。[7]尽管如此，机会均等总是优于对一些人的人为的歧视，法律面前人人平等总是向起点的公平性方面迈进了一大步。通过努力，能够做到职位向一切有资格的人开

放，交易让一切有条件的人参加，消除歧视，消除职业和竞争的排他性，这就已经可以称做现实生活中能够做到的机会均等了，对起点的公平性也只能按这种方式来理解。

对结果的公平性的一般解释是：作为公平竞争的结果，所有的职位让最有资格或最优秀的人取得，交易中的收入按所提供的生产要素的数量和质量而取得。如果这样来理解结果的公平性，那么差别虽然存在，但却是合理的。这种理解是同把平均主义看成是结果公平性反映的观点对立的，后者显然是对结果公平性的严重歪曲。实际上，即使按上述这种方式来理解结果的公平性，仍然有较大的局限性。

例如，所有的职位在通过竞争之后让最有资格或最优秀的人取得，这并不错，但不妨再追问一句：最有资格或最优秀的人的确定究竟依据什么？这种判断是不是全面的、准确的？裁判者是不是公正无私？是不是掌握了完整的信息？或者说，裁判者本人是不是通过竞争而被证明是最有资格成为裁判者的人？

又如，按劳分配曾经被认为是结果公平性的一种体现，因为这符合交易中的收入按所提供的生产要素的数量和质量而取得的原则。至少，在判断个人绝对收入是否公平这个问题上，按劳分配被认为是适用的标准。其实，这个标准仍然存在缺陷。按劳分配，按的是什么“劳”？是过去的“劳”所形成的取得收入的资格，还是实际工作中付出的“劳”？是不是存在可以把各种“劳”统一折算为某种通用的“劳”的办法并被普遍接受？再说，按劳分配由谁来进行分配？怎样才叫做按劳分配？这些问题至今并未在理论上得到很好的解决。何况，按劳分配作为一种判断结果公平性的标准，在操作时是会遇到困难的。对政府工作人员来说，什么样的工资水平是合理的，是符合按劳分配原则的，谁能说得清楚？即以一个企业来说，能说得清职工们的收入在何种程度上符合按劳分配吗？既然按劳分配能否成为结果公平性的体现都这样难以确定，那么按其他生产要素的分配就更加难以被视为结果公平性的体现了。但无论如何，在缺少比“按所提供的生产要素数量和质量”更好的判断方式时，采取这种判断方式仍是可行的，因为这至少把结果的公平性同生产要素的提供联系在一起，同经济效益联系在一起。

要人们认同公平，包括认同起点的公平和结果的公平，都需要先让人们对公平的含义有正确的认识，这是很不容易的。由于各人都从亲身的遭遇和现实中所处的地位来理解公平，而彼此遭遇不同，地位不同，感受必定不一样。

从对起点公平性的认同来说，当一个人感到不仅机会均等，而且在起点上地位、收入或财产状况也大致相同时，他也许会认为这才算起点的公平。假定只有机会均等而没有起点上地位、收入或财产状况的大致

相同，他会感到不满意，从而他可能容忍这一点，也可能容忍不了这一点。假定只有起点上地位、收入或财产状况的大致相同而没有机会的均等，他同样会感到不满意，从而他可能容忍，也有可能认为这是无法容忍的。假定既无机会的均等，起点上的地位、收入或财产又有较大差别，那么他肯定容忍不了，因为他认为这是明显的起点不公平。由此可见，只有全部满足了下列条件，即机会是均等的，起点上地位、收入或财产状况大致相同，人们才会感受到起点的公平。

再从结果的公平性来看，对结果公平性的认同可能比对起点公平性的认同更困难。这是因为，一个人如果认为起点就是不公平的，那么无论结果如何，比如说，即使绝对收入水平和收入分配差距在合理范围之内，他也会认为结果的公平性有所缺陷；一个人如果认为起点是公平的，那么结果究竟是否公平，他将根据具体情况作出判断：如果绝对收入水平在合理范围之内，他可能接受这一结果，认为结果是公平的，但他也有可能认为相对收入水平还不合理，即收入分配差别还不合理，所以他仍然会认为结果的公平性有所缺陷。假定一个人认为起点既不公平，结果也不公平，那么他肯定会认为这是无法接受的事实，于是社会的不安定程度将因有这种感受的人数的增多而加剧。

通过以上的分析可以了解到，不仅应当注意人们在起点上是否公平或者对结果的感觉是否公平，而且还应当使得人们对起点公平性的认同与对结果公平性的认同统一起来，单有起点公平性的认同，或者单有结果公平性的认同，都是不够的。那么，怎样才能使人们对起点公平性的认同与对结果公平性的认同统一呢？问题仍然需要回到前面已经谈过的个人与群体是否协调上来。

如果个人在群体中既同群体处于协调状态，又同群体内的其他成员处于相互协调之中，对群体内的起点公平性与结果公平性的认同比较容易统一，即使在起点公平或结果公平方面还有某些不能令人满意之处，但一般说来，这些不满较易于通过正常渠道来陈述，而不至于使矛盾激化。甚至对于社会这样的大群体而言，社会成员如果对社会的认同程度较高，他们对起点公平性与结果公平性的认同也比较容易统一，这正如前面已经指出的，在公平尚缺少客观的、公认的判断标准的条件下，公平或不公平作为群体中的成员的一种感受，只有人际关系的协调才能增加公平感，减少不公平感。

3.4 Identification and Mutual Understanding and Accommodation

3.4.1 Historical Overview of Correlation Between Identification and Mutual Understanding and Accommodation

In a group, mutual understanding and accommodation are very important for harmonizing members' relations and enhancing their group identification. It is also an effective way of abating an individual's sense of unfairness within the group.

Mutual understanding and accommodation among members has been present. Without this, members or groups could hardly survive in difficult circumstances, let alone make progress. Even in favorable conditions, this spirit is still indispensable for strengthening group cohesion, improving group efficiency and enhancing members' identification with the group. Otherwise, friction or disharmony among members might lead to the group splitting, possibly even to its collapse and extinction.

In static society, small producers provide the most obvious illustration of mutual understanding and accommodation helping the survival and development of groups and their members. Unfortunately, when discussing small producers, it is often their conservatism, egalitarianism and fear of reform that is emphasized, while ignoring their spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation and related attributes of tolerance, diligence, teamwork spirit and group cohesion. In his *Mutual Aid*, Kropotkin had the following passage:

"As to the social characters of the medieval guild, any guild-statute may illustrate them. Taking, for instance, the skraa of some early Danish guild, we read in it, first, a statement of the general brotherly feelings which must reign in the guild; next come the regulations relative to self-jurisdiction in cases of quarrels arising between two brothers, or a brother and a stranger; and then, the social duties of the brethren are enumerated. If a brother's house is burned, or he has lost his ship, or has suffered on a pilgrim's voyage, all the brethren must come to his aid. If a brother falls dangerously ill, two brethren must keep watch by his bed till he is out of danger, and if he dies, the brethren must bury him—a great affair in those times of pestilences—and follow him to the church and the grave. After his death they must provide for his children, if necessary; very often the widow becomes a sister to the guild."[8]

Mediation, as an approach for solving disputes between people has been

around for a long time, probably even longer than guilds existed in Medieval Western Europe. Mediation is carried out according to custom, and moral force plays an important part too. Effective mediation relies not just on the authority and prestige. If one of them refuses to compromise in the slightest, the mediation will be in trouble and reconciliation will be impossible no matter how much authority and prestige the mediator enjoys. Mutual understanding and accommodation is more than a question of "who suffers more losses and who suffers less" or that of "who enjoys more benefits and who enjoys less," but a question of how to co-exist in the same group. The two parties to the argument could be members of a small group, such as two brothers in a family. They might not be in the same group, family, village, or community, etc., but they are members of society as a large group. Thus, what mutual understanding and accommodation is really about is this: In the same group and for the common interests of the group and its members, it is necessary on some occasions for parties to give ground for the sake of harmony. This applies in good times and in bad.

Mutual understanding and accommodation of members cannot be regarded as a negative force. Being negative or positive depends on how it influences socio-economic development. In fact, it can strengthen group cohesion, raise members' identification with the group, and reduce their sense of unfairness. Isn't it helpful to group growth as well as socio-economic development? So it's convincing to say mutual understanding and accommodation is a positive force.

A group may be a temporary organization, but the same spirit is essential. This is clearly reflected in a record of a Hanseatic League voyage in medieval times:

When the captain of a Hanseatic League ship called a meeting of crew and passengers on deck, according to the record of one witness, he made this announcement: " 'As we are now at the mercy of God and the waves,' he said, 'each one must be equal to each other. And as we are surrounded by storms, high waves, pirates and other dangers, we must keep a strict order that we may bring our voyage to a good end. That is why we shall pronounce the prayer for a good wind and good success, and, according to marine law, we shall name the occupiers of the judges' seats(Schoffenstellen).' Thereupon the crew elected a Vogt and four scabini, to act as their judges. At the end of the voyage the Vogt and the scabini abdicated their functions and addressed the crew as follows: 'What has happened on board ship—we must pardon to each

other and consider as dead (todt und ab sein lassen). What we have judged right, was for the sake of justice. This is why we beg you all, in the name of honest justice, to forget all the animosity one may nourish against another, and to swear on bread and salt that he will not think of it in a bad spirit. If any one, however, considers himself wronged, he must appeal to the land Vogt and ask justice from him before sunset.' On landing, the Stock with the fredfines was handed over to the Vogt of the sea-port for distribution among the poor."[9]

Without mutual understanding and accommodation, it's hard to envisage crew and passengers remaining in harmony when cooped up together on the same ship for days on end, especially in the economic and technical conditions of that age. It was precisely that accommodating spirit that enabled this temporary group to overcome all difficulties and arrive safely.

Of course, we cannot claim that tolerance and yielding has no negative influence at all on socio-economic development. Actually, this may have extended the life of the outmoded traditional socio-economic structures and thereby slowed down socio-economic reforms. However, if we look at the process of economic development through history, the positive effects still predominate. Now, let's turn to the question of how to evaluate the role of mutual understanding and accommodation in modern socio-economic times.

3.4.2 Identification and Mutual Understanding and Accommodation in Modern Socio-economic Times

In modern socio-economic times, the positive influence of mutual understanding and accommodation extends beyond small groups such as family, reaching large groups such as entire societies and moderately large groups such as enterprises. We may begin our analysis with the partnership enterprise.

A partnership enterprise is a group founded on mutual understanding and accommodation, and this is its distinctive feature. As we know, a partnership enterprise is established on the basis of agreement between all partners who invest, share benefits, assume risks together and bear unlimited joint and several liabilities. Such liability in particular needs mutual trust between partners. Besides, harmonious relations and mutual respect are a premise for the sound operation and development of such an enterprise. If the

partners cannot accommodate each other or put the overall interests of enterprise first, it's hard to imagine they will coalesce.[10]

Partnership is a long-standing form of enterprise. Some countries have established laws for partnership enterprises, but in the long period before those laws existed and in countries that still have no such laws how did partners found partnership enterprises for which they bore unlimited joint and several liabilities? The answer is reliance on custom and identification on the basis of moral force. Only by such means could they establish an enterprise and ensure its survival and growth. In fact, legal provisions, though being specific in rights and obligations of partners, under what circumstances they can transfer assets, when one partner should compensate others, when a partner can withdraw from the enterprise, etc., are not exhaustive, and cannot cover every detail of running an enterprise. The special feature of a partnership enterprise is "people together," in other words "people in harmony." Without mutual trust and respect, there is no harmony, and no partnership enterprise. If partners quarrel fiercely over every disagreement, their business cannot go soundly. All in all, the partners are well aware that without harmonious relations the enterprise has no chance of surviving.

Moreover, since partners are investors with unlimited joint and several liabilities, they identify themselves with the group to a high degree. Each partner is expected to feel a sense of fairness; i.e., each one thinks he has the same status as all the other partners and is treated equally. Otherwise, no partner would shoulder the liabilities. In other words, in a group like a partnership enterprise, if one partner has a sense of unfairness, he will eventually withdraw from the group. How could he be willing to carry unlimited joint and several liabilities for other partners if he thinks himself discriminated against?

In modern socio-economic times, the limited liability company is a common form of business organization. Like a stock corporation, it is a kind of stock company but it differs from the former in its method of stock transfer: In a stock corporation, a stockholder does not need the approval of other stockholders to transfer his stocks, but in a limited liability company, a stockholder must have the approval of the majority of stockholders before he can do this. This shows that in a limited liability company, harmonious people-to-people relations are still very important even if each investor shoulders only limited liability; i.e., each stockholder bears responsibility based on the amount of his investment and the company assumes full

liability, with its total assets as pledge. With harmonious human relations, a limited liability company can be built up, survive and grow. Without these, the company may be established but will not survive. Therefore, the stockholders' identification with the company and their mutual understanding and accommodation are vital and inseparable. All limited liability companies are required by law to protect the rights of investors, but the law cannot cover each and every specific issue relating to business operations. When there is dispute or disagreement among investors, only negotiation, mutual understanding and accommodation can work to resolve the problems. Mutual understanding and accommodation functions on the premise of protecting the rights of investors; they result in better cooperation among them and smoother development of the company. An investor's sense of fairness comes from his identification with the group, i.e., the limited liability company and the shareholder committee, since he believes his status equal to that of all other group members. A sense of fairness will in turn foster mutual understanding and accommodation, since no one thinks he will be forced to give way. Mutual understanding and accommodation and the good it does the company will further strengthen the sense of fairness among stockholders, because they all consider themselves benefited by the company's development and their mutual understanding has deepened too.

Apart from relations between investors (partners in partnership enterprises or shareholders in limited liability companies), mutual understanding and accommodation has a positive role in building relations between employees, traders or different interest groups. Mutual understanding and accommodation does not equate to weakness, surrender, or a deviation from principles, but tells us that since there are all kinds of relations involved in the modern socio-economic age and only with sound development can everyone benefit, if all yield a little problems are more readily solved. This point can be seen more clearly from the perspective of human beings as "social men."

Even in a modern family, the smallest group, identification and its inseparable partner—the spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation—have positive importance. With the highly developed economy and great increase of income per capita, family size has become smaller and smaller: Once grown up, children leave their parents and form their own families. They have less and less contact with their parents, the lonely residents of the "empty nest." Consequently, within the family a

feeling emerges of *ennui*, or boredom with family life. In this context, it is extraordinarily important to advocate family identification and mutual understanding and accommodation among all generations of family members. It is not only an issue of restoring pleasure and confidence in family life, but one of better deploying the role of the family group.

Now, we have a new interpretation of the sense of fairness or unfairness: Identification and mutual understanding and accommodation will increase group members' sense of fairness and reduce any sense of unfairness. This is particularly so in the absence of a universally accepted standard for evaluating equality of opportunity and coordinated income distribution.

肆　认同与互谅互让

一、认同与互谅互让之间关系的历史考察

在一个群体中，要使得成员之间关系协调，以便增加每一个成员对群体的认同程度，成员之间的互谅互让是非常重要的。这也是使每一个成员减少在群体中的不公平感的一种有效的方式。

群体的各个成员之间的互谅互让，可以说是自从群体出现以来就已经存在的事实。在群体和群体的成员们处境艰难的条件下，如果没有成员间的互谅互让精神，群体就难以维持生存，更谈不到进一步发展了。即使在群体和群体的成员们处境比较顺利的条件下，成员之间同样需要有互谅互让的精神，只有这样，群体的凝聚力才会增强，群体的效率才会增长，群体的成员对群体的认同程度也才会提高。否则，群体成员之间的摩擦、失和很可能导致群体的分裂，甚至导致群体的瓦解和消亡。

在静态社会中，尤其是在小生产者那里，互谅互让而使得群体和群体的成员们得以生存和发展的情况是最为明显的。可惜的是，一般在讨论到小生产者意识时，往往只注意到小生产者的保守主义、平均主义、害怕变革等精神，而忽略了互谅互让精神以及与此有关的容忍和顽强拼搏精神，忽略了同互谅互让不可分的团结精神和群体的凝聚力。克鲁泡特金在《互助论》一书中有这样一段论述：

“关于中世纪行会的社会性，任何一个行会的规章都可以用来阐明它。以早期丹麦人的某一行会的规章为例。我们在其中看到的，首先是一段陈述支配整个行会的兄弟般的情感的说明文，其次便是关于两个会友之间或一个会友和外人之间发生争执时的独立裁判的规定，最后是列举会友们的社会职责。如果一个会友的房子被烧掉了，或者他的船遭了

难，以及他在朝香的途中遭遇了不幸，那么所有的会友都必须帮助他。如要一个会友患了重病，那么所有的会友都必须帮助他。如果一个会友死了，会友们必须把他送到教堂的墓地去埋葬……在他死后，如果需要的话，他们还必须抚养他的子女，他的寡妻则时常成为行会的一个姊妹。”8

调解作为解决人与人之间纠纷和冲突的一种方式，也是由来已久的。很可能比中世纪西欧的行会的历史还要早得多。调解按照习惯进行，道德力量在这里起着重要的作用。要使调解取得成效，不仅要依靠调解人的权威和信誉，而且要依靠当事人的互谅互让。如果当事人中有一方，拒不作任何让步，调解将遇到困难，即使这时运用调解人的权威和信誉，也难以达到和解的目的。互谅互让，并不单纯是“谁吃的亏大一些，谁吃的亏小一些”，或“谁占的便宜多一些，谁占的便宜少一些”之类的问题，而是如何在一个群体中共处的问题。当事人双方可能在一个很小的群体之中，比如说，兄弟两人发生纠葛，他们是家庭的成员。当事人双方也可能不在同一个小群体之中，例如不是一个家庭或家族的成员，不是同一村镇或社区的成员，但他们都是社会这个大群体的成员。因此，互谅互让所涉及的是，同在一个群体之中，为了群体和群体的成员的共同利益，在某些场合是需要各自后退一步以取得协调的，在群体处境艰难或处境顺利时都应如此。

不能把群体成员之间的互谅互让看成是一种消极的东西。对消极还是积极的评价，离不开对社会经济发展的影响的看法。成员之间互谅互让，将增强群体的凝聚力，提高他们对群体的认同程度，减少各自心中的不公平感，从而有利于群体的发展，而对于社会经济的发展也起着推动的作用。这就是对互谅互让的积极作用的认识。

群体也可能是一种临时性的组合。这同样需要有成员之间的互谅互让精神。一段有关中世纪汉撒同盟航海的记载清楚地反映了当时的情况：

当汉撒同盟的一条船在离开港口完成了它的第一个半天航程时，船长便把所有的船员和旅客召集到甲板上，向他们发表如下的一段谈话（根据当时一个人的记载）：“船长说：‘由于目前我们是在上帝和大海的摆布之下，人与人必须平等相待。由于我们被狂风巨浪以及海盗和其他危难所包围，我们必须保持严格的秩序，以便顺利完成我们的航行。这就是为什么我们要祈祷一帆风顺，并且按照航海法的规定，提出坐裁判席位的人。’于是船员们便推举出一位裁判长和四位裁判。旅行终了，裁判长和裁判便辞去职务，并且对船员说：‘在船上发生的一切事情，我们必须彼此原谅，把它们看作已成过去了。我们裁判得当的，是为了正义。这就是为什么我们要以诚实的、正义的名义请求你们忘掉可

能产生的互相仇恨，并且以面包和盐为誓，决不以错误的精神看待这种仇恨。任何一个人，如果认为他受了委屈，可以向陆地上的裁判长提出申诉，并且请他在日落以前秉公裁判。’在上岸的时候，便把收存的罚款和资财交给海港的裁判长去分给穷人。”[9]

完全可以设想，在当时的经济技术条件下，如果没有互谅互让精神，海船的船员和乘客怎能协调一致地在一艘船上共处若干天？不管航行中会遇到多大困难，正是依靠这种互谅互让，才使这个由船员和乘客共同组成的临时群体得以战胜风浪，渡过难关。

当然，容忍和退让的做法，在社会经济发展过程中也不是没有一点消极作用的，因为它可能在某种程度上使已经不合时宜的传统社会结构和传统经济结构不适当地延续较长久的时间，从而延缓了社会经济变革的速度。但从社会经济发展的整个历史进程来看，积极作用仍是主要的。那么，在现代社会经济中，如何对容忍和退让的做法进行评价呢？让我们接着就这个问题作一些探讨。

二、现代社会经济中的认同与互谅互让

在现代社会经济中，认同与互谅互让的积极意义不仅依然存在于家庭这样很小的群体中，而且也存在于社会这样的大群体中。在企业组织中，认同与互谅互让所起的作用也是不可忽视的。我们可以从合伙企业分析起。

每一个合伙企业都是一个建立在认同与互谅互让基础上的群体，而且合伙企业中的互谅互让具有明显的特征。要知道，合伙企业是各个合伙人根据协议而建立的共同出资、共享收益、共担风险的企业，合伙人对合伙企业的债务承担无限连带责任。合伙人由于承担了连带责任，因此合伙人之间的相互信任尤其重要。合伙人之间的关系融洽，相互信任，相互尊重，是合伙企业经营顺利和发展的前提。如果合伙人之间不能互谅互让，不以合伙企业的大局为重，那么合伙人就不可能集合在一起。[10]

一些国家制定了有关合伙企业的法律，但在相当长的历史时期内，这些国家还没有合伙企业的法律。此外，世界上还有一些国家并没有制定合伙企业法。然而，合伙形式却是一种古老的企业组织形式。在没有关于合伙企业的法律的条件下，合伙人是怎样建立起由合伙人负无限连带责任的合伙企业的呢？靠的是惯例，靠的是以道德力量为基础的认同。合伙人正是依靠这些才能建立合伙企业并使它存在和发展。即使有了关于合伙企业的法律，但仅仅依靠法律条文是不够的。法律可以规定

合伙人的权利与义务，可以规定在什么情况下合伙人之间能转让财产，什么情况下合伙人应对其他合伙人进行赔偿，以及什么情况下合伙人可以退伙等等，但法律不可能把合伙经营中的一切细节都规定得十分具体。合伙企业的特征是“人合”，或者说，是“人和”。合伙人相互不信任，不尊重，就谈不到什么“人合”，合伙企业就无法建立。合伙人之间凡事都争得面红耳赤，不可开交，合伙企业的业务就无法展开，人不和，合伙企业必定存在不下去。合伙人对这一点是非常清楚的。

不仅如此，还应当指出，由于合伙人是负有无限连带责任的投资者，所以合伙人作为投资者，对于合伙企业这个由若干个投资者组成的群体应有高度的认同，而且每个合伙人在这个群体中应当有公平感，即认为自己与其他合伙人所处的地位和所受到的对待是相同的，否则合伙人就不愿意承担无限连带责任。换言之，在合伙企业这个群体中，有不公平感的合伙人即使参加了合伙企业的组建，但最终还是会退伙。一个合伙人认为自己在这个群体中是受歧视的，他难道肯为其他合伙人承担无限连带责任吗？

在现代社会经济中，有限责任公司是一种普遍的企业组织形式。有限责任公司和股份有限公司都是股份制企业，两者的区别之一是股份转让方式不同：在股份有限公司中，股东要转让自己持有的股份，不需要征得其他股东的同意；而在有限责任公司中，股东要转让自己持有的股份，则必须事先取得其他股东多数人的同意，否则转让是不被允许的。这表明，在有限责任公司这种企业组织之下，即使每个投资者只负有限责任，即每个股东以自己的出资额为限对公司承担责任，公司以自己的全部资产对公司的债务承担责任，但“人合”或“人和”因素仍然十分重要。人合，则有限责任公司得以建立、生存和发展；人不合，有限责任公司很可能建立不起来，就算当初建立了，也维持不下去。因此，在有限责任公司的股东们所组成的一个投资者群体（股东会）之中，互谅互让不可缺少，认同与互谅互让是不可分的。投资者各自的权益要得到保护，这是法律的规定，任何有限责任公司都必须做到这一点，但业务经营的各种各样的具体问题又岂是法律所能全部写进去的？投资者之间难道会没有矛盾，没有不一致之处？这些都需要协商，需要互谅互让。互谅互让是在保护投资者权益这个大前提下起作用的，互谅互让的结果只会使投资者之间合作得更好，使公司的发展更加顺利。投资者对自己这个群体，即有限责任公司及其股东会的认同，将使每个投资者感到自己在群体中与其他成员处于同等的位置上，他由此将产生公平感。公平感使得股东之间的互谅互让易于成为事实，因为谁也不认为自己是被迫作出让步的。互谅互让的实际行动及其对公司发展所产生的有利结果，又增强了股东们在这个群体中的公平感，因为大家都会认为自己从公司发

展中获得了利益，而且通过互谅互让，彼此进一步了解了。

以上是就投资者之间的关系（合伙企业中合伙人的关系、有限责任公司中的股东们的关系）而言的，除投资者之间需要互谅互让而外，在企业职工之间、市场上的各个交易人之间，以及社会中各个不同的利益集团之间，互谅互让也是有积极作用的。互谅互让不等于怯懦，不等于屈膝投降，也不等于在原则问题上的背离。互谅互让主要是表明，既然在现代社会经济中人与人有着各种各样的联系，只有在发展中才能使大家都得到好处，那么在一些问题上，各自从原有的位置上退后一步，事情反而容易得到解决。从人是“社会的人”的角度来考察，可以更清楚地认识到认同与互谅互让的意义。

即使在现代社会的家庭这个最小的群体内，认同以及与此不可分割的互谅互让精神也是具有积极意义的。在经济高度发展和人均收入水平较大幅度地提高之后，家庭规模通常越来越小，子女一成年就离开父母的家庭而单独成立家庭，原来的家庭逐渐变成“空巢”，只剩下老人独立生活，与子女的联系减少了。于是一些家庭会出现没有生气的状况，所谓的“人生疲倦感”便相应地产生。“人生疲倦感”在某种意义上是对家庭生活感到乏味的一种情绪。在这种背景下，提出对家庭的认同，并提出家庭成员之间、上一代人与下一代人之间的互谅互让，就显得格外重要。这不仅是恢复对家庭生活的乐趣和信心的问题，也是更好地发挥家庭这个群体的作用的问题。

至此，我们可以对公平感或不公平感作一个新的解释：认同与互谅互让增加群体中各个成员的公平感，减少他们的不公平感，在机会均等与收入分配协调依然缺少公认的评价标准的情况下尤其如此。

CHAPTER 4 LAW AND SELF-DISCIPLINE
第四章　法律与自律

4.1 Market, Government and Law

4.1.1 Regulation by market and regulation by government must be in accordance with law

In modern society, regulation by market and regulation by government must operate in accordance with law.

It is extremely important that market operation is underpinned by a sound legal system and strict legal enforcement. Markets comprise multiple traders, each one of them independent from and in competition with other traders; they are the market actors and their behavior must be subject to standards and their competition must be carried on in the economic context of a normal market order. The lack of a complete legal system makes it hard for traders to make judgments and choices or to understand other traders' choices. We can imagine that in a market without a reliable and enforced legal system, traders will have difficulty in formulating strategic decisions.

Law can prevent illegal operation and unfair competition in trading activities and at the same time protect legal operations and fair competition. Any infringement on the legal rights of traders, namely, enterprises or individuals, will be investigated. Without law, the market will suffer from chaos and nobody wins. Even supposing some enterprises or individuals benefit from a disorderly market, there is no guarantee that it won't crash in the next round of disorderly competition. Therefore, regulation by market must be in accordance with law. Provided there is law, even incomplete law, and it is strictly followed, traders can make proper choices and their trading will be sustainable.

Regulation by government, manifested in government socio-economic administration and control of the macro-economy, also needs the support of a legal system. The government itself should act within the legal framework. Regulation by government and regulation by law are not opposites and nor can one replace the other. When a government organ acts as a party in a trading activity, such as procurement, hiring new staff or selling assets, it must be subject to law and the stipulations of the contract. As a party to the contract, out of respect for the contract and for the legal rights of the other party, the government position should be equal to that of the other party, not higher. In this way, government behavior in market economy can be normalized.

It is worth making the point that, whether under regulation by market or by government, integrity and credit are principles that must be observed. In regulation by market, all competitors enjoy equal legal rights and bear equal responsibilities and traders violating the principles of integrity and trust are subject to legal penalties. Under regulation by government, the government, in the capacity of socio-economic manager, should also follow this principle and earn respect from the public. Without this its management will be ineffective. The government cannot circumvent the principle of integrity simply because it is not in the role of trader. When a government organ is one party of a contract and a trade, it should follow the principle of integrity and credit, so that it does not encroach on the rights of other traders. In short, government, both as manager and trader, is subject to the restricting power of law. This premise is an important guarantee of effective regulation by government.

History has proven this to be the case on countless occasions. Any government that is not bound by law, no matter how powerful the state machine or how mighty its control, would forfeit the trust of the people when trespassing beyond legal boundaries. What's worse, the loss would be huge and not quickly retrievable. Unfortunately, those governments behaving this way would mistakenly assume they were omnipotent and could succeed forever, getting deeper and deeper into this delusion and ultimately being unable to extricate themselves.

In short, the authority of law lies in its generality, equality and openness. Law is universally applicable, rules that all see as having to be followed, and treating everyone by the same standard. At the same time, the law must be known in order for people to obey it. Such things embody the authority of

law, without which it would serve no useful purpose.

The above-cited attributes of law—generality, equality and openness—also apply to government employees. Regulation by government implies that government staff should know, obey and handle affairs in accordance with law. This often involves the relationship between power and law and the perennial question of which one is superior. Is power subordinate to law or vice versa? We now proceed to discuss how this conflict should be handled, strict observance of law ensured and legal violations investigated and punished.

4.1.2 Contradiction Between Power and Law in Regulation by Government

Regulation by government is implemented by government departments and organs, whose leaders wield power proportional to their positions. They may employ their power in regulation, sometimes conducting normal and effective socio-economic management, but sometimes seeking private benefits for themselves or their relatives. This is what is meant by the term "abuse of power for personal gain."

To extirpate this abuse phenomenon, the government's management and regulation should be conducted in accordance with law. Of course, the first problem is to establish a legal system. Once a legal system is established, will things be handled according to law? Will those who have power be spared penalties if they ignore the law? Will such people put power over law in their regulation and management? These questions are the crucial points of the law-power relation. If those who have power think law is not essential and things can be handled without following the law, if they think provided they have power they can just discard a law or change its articles, if they think law is just for restricting people other than themselves and has no personal significance, if they think provided they wield power they can interpret law according to their own will, if they think their words are law and that their authority is higher than law … this is not law bestowing, restricting and standardizing power but power controlling and overriding law. The conflict between law and power is a millennia-old struggle that still awaits a very good solution.

This question is particularly important for developing countries

undergoing the change from traditional political and socio-economic structures to modern structures. Socialist countries are no exception. To develop their economy, developing countries must break through many barriers including the above-mentioned two closely related traditional structures. The traditional political structure protects the traditional socio-economic structure and vice versa; both are pre-capitalist in nature, mainly feudalist. Under a feudal political structure, no matter how the rulers have gained their power, the governments they form are autocratic in character. The power of the supreme ruler overrides everything. There is no law and even if there is, it exists in name only, being subordinate to power and interpreted at will by the ruler. In such a society, the government's control of or intervention in socio-economic life is direct, arbitrary and peremptory. The conflict between power and law exists in all developing countries but to different degrees of intensity.

In some developing countries, especially in rural areas, rule by family or rule by a family elder or clan elder, is part of the traditional political structure, and the same can be said of religious power in some areas. Rule by family, rule by a family elder or clan elder, or rule by religious power, is usually the basis of the political structure in underdeveloped urban or rural areas. What is law to them? Family elders, clan elders or religious power are the true authority in local life. Law is an alien concept for local people. Even if there is law, it plays no role or is subordinate to those in power locally.

In fact, an important question involved in the conflict is the relative importance of power and rights. Power is both bestowed and defined by law; rights are something safeguarded by law and defined by it too. A further manifestation is that those given power should use it to protect the rights stipulated by law. The two aspects can be unified. Over-emphasis on power to the detriment of rights is a violation of legal principles and tantamount to riding roughshod over law. When an ordinary person acts this way it reflects a weak legal awareness, but for a ruler it is much more than that: It reflects a sense of superiority and privilege cultivated in the traditional political structure, and reflects contempt for law.

The central question for law is how to guarantee rights. To emphasize power only will give insufficient prominence to this aim. In the power-rights relation rights should take priority, and power should be regarded as a means of protecting rights. Rights should also take precedence over obligations in the rights-obligations relation. Obligations are formulated to ensure the

realization of rights, so in the absence of rights, obligations become meaningless. The abuse of law or riding roughshod over law often begins with solely emphasizing citizens' obligations and neglecting their rights. Such distortion of law should be supervised so that power will be standardized and restricted by law, no power abused and no law overstepped. In Chapters Six and Seven, there is more detailed discussion on the question of supervision. Now let us discuss the relation between custom, morality and law.

壹　市场、政府与法律

一、市场调节与政府调节都必须依法

在现代社会中，存在着市场调节与政府调节，但两者都需要依据法律来进行。

市场运行中，有法可依和有法必依是十分重要的。要知道，市场上有众多交易人，每个交易人都独立地作出选择，这些选择是分散的，因此交易人之间存在竞争。交易人就是市场主体，市场主体的行为必须规范化，他们之间的竞争必须在市场秩序正常的经济环境中进行。法律不完善，会使得每一个交易人无法作出判断，无法选择，也无法了解其他交易人可能作出的选择。法律不完善时尚且如此，那么在缺少法律（即无法可依），或法律不起作用（即有法不依，不按照法律办事）时，交易人难以作出决策就更可理解了。

法律既制止市场交易过程中一切企业和个人的非法经营与不正当竞争，又保护一切企业和个人的合法经营与正当竞争，于是企业和个人的合法权益受到保护，侵害企业和个人合法权益的行为将被追究。没有法律，市场交易一片混乱，谁都得不到好处。即使有的企业或有的个人在这场无规则的竞争中有可能占一些便宜，谁能保证他们在下一场无规则的竞争中不会输掉？在无规则的市场竞争中，赢家究竟在哪里，谁也说不清楚。所以市场调节必须依法。尽管某些法律还不完善，但只要有了法律，并依照法律，交易人就可以作出选择，交易也就能持续下去。

再以政府调节来说，政府对社会与经济的管理，政府所实行的宏观经济调节，同样需要有法律作为依据，政府行为也应当以法律作为准则。政府调节与法律的制定和实施不是对立的、或可以彼此替代的。假定政府机构作为交易活动中的一方出现，如政府采购、政府雇用工作人员、政府出售资产等，政府机构必须守法，必须遵守合同的规定，并受合同的约束。政府尊重合同，就是尊重缔约的另一方的平等地位与合法

权益。政府作为缔约的一方不应处于高于另一方的位置上。如果做到了这些，政府在市场经济中的行为也就规范化了。

应当指出，无论在市场调节之下还是在政府调节之下，诚实信用原则都是需要遵循的。在市场调节之下，一切竞争主体都依法平等地享有权利，平等地承担责任。各个交易人在进行交易时，都应当诚实，讲信用，守信用，杜绝欺诈行为。违背诚实信用的原则将受到法律的制裁。而在政府调节之下，当政府以社会与经济的管理者的身份出现时，政府仍然应当遵循诚实信用原则，应当取信于公众，这才能使政府的管理有效，否则公众会以种种方式来抵制政府不讲诚实信用的行为。这时，政府不能认为自己不是市场的交易者而违背诚实信用原则。至于政府机构在以合同当事人的身份出现时，政府机构作为交易的一方、合同的一方，同样应当遵循诚实信用原则，否则就会侵害其他交易人的权益。法律对于政府作为管理者与交易人都是具有约束力的。这是政府调节有效的重要保证。

这一点已为历史上无数事实所证明。任何一个不受法律约束的政府，不管它有多大的威权，也不管它所掌握的国家机器多么强大，但只要政府越过法律的界限，实际上它就成为一个失去民众信任的政府，失信于民给政府带来的损失是沉重的，也是难以在短期内能够弥补的。不幸的是，不受法律约束的政府反而会因此产生错觉，以为自己无所不能，无往不利，结果，政府在错误的泥沼中会越陷越深，最终不能自拔。

总之，法律的权威在于法律的一般性、平等性和公开性。法律是普遍适用的，法律对任何人来说都是必须遵守的一种规则，法律对任何人都按同一个标准来对待，同时，法律必须让任何人都事先知道，知法才能守法，这些就体现了法律的权威。如果法律没有权威，它就会失去作用。

以上所说的法律的一般性、平等性和公开性，对一切政府工作人员同样是适用的。政府调节要依法，意味着政府工作人员要知法、守法，并依法办事。但这往往涉及权与法之间的关系。权大还是法大？权服从法还是法屈从权？这是一个长期存在的老问题。究竟如何处理权与法的矛盾，如何切实做到有法必依，执法必严，违法必究，还需要从理论上再作一些阐述。下面，让我们对这个问题进行讨论。

二、政府调节中权与法的矛盾

政府调节由政府有关部门主持。政府部门的掌权者手中有权力，他

们在主持或执行政府调节工作的过程中，可以动用手中的权力，这种权力是同他们的职务联系在一起的。因此，政府部门的掌权者既有可能运用权力对社会与经济进行正常的管理，对经济进行有效的调节，也有可能运用权力来为个人及亲属谋取利益。通常所说的“以权谋私”就是指此而言。

为了杜绝种种以权谋私现象，政府的管理和调节都应当依法进行。有没有法律可依，这当然是需要首先解决的问题。在有了法律之后，是不是根据法律来办事；在不根据法律办事时，掌权者是不是免于法律的追究；在掌权者进行管理和调节时，是不是以权压法，以权代法，所有这些都是法律与权力之间的关系的关键所在。权力是归掌权者握有的。如果掌权者认为，法律是可有可无的，不依法律一样能办事；如果掌权者认为，只要有权，可以随意摒弃法律而不顾，或者可以随意更改法律的规定；如果掌权者认为，法律只对别人有效，对自己是没有约束力的，甚至是没有实际意义的；如果掌权者认为，只要手中有权，没有法律可以制定一条法律来为自己的行为作诠释，即使有法律也可以按照自己的意图来解释它；如果掌权者认为，什么是法律，我说的话就是法律，甚至比法律更有权威性……那就不是法律赋予权力，法律制约权力，法律规范权力，而是权力支配法律，权力凌驾于法律之上了。人类历史上权与法的冲突已经有几千年的历史，这个问题直到现在也还没有很好地得到解决。

对于由传统政治结构和社会经济结构向现代政治结构和社会经济结构转变的发展中国家来说，这个问题尤为重要。社会主义制度下的转型发展中国家，也不例外。发展中国家的经济发展都是在突破重重障碍以后实现的。发展中国家在经济发展中必须突破的巨大障碍是传统的政治结构与传统的社会经济结构，这两者是紧密地联系在一起的。传统的政治结构维护着传统的社会经济结构，而传统的社会经济结构又必然地支撑着传统的政治结构。无论是传统的政治结构还是传统的社会经济结构，都是前资本主义性质的，主要是封建的。在封建的政治结构之下，不管掌权者以何种方式取得了政权，但取得政权以后所建立的政府都是专制的政府，最高掌权者高于一切，权力大于一切，没有法，或者法律形同虚设，法律屈从于权力，法律替掌权者的行为作诠释。在这样的社会中，政府对社会经济生活的支配或干预，是直接的。由于没有法或法律屈从于权力，所以政府对社会经济生活的支配或干预也必然是任意的、专横的、个人说了算的。权与法之间的冲突在所有的发展中国家都存在，只不过冲突的激烈程度有所不同而已。

在一些发展中国家，特别是在农村，家族制度、家长或族长统治，也构成传统的政治结构的一部分。在某些地区，宗教势力同样被包括在

传统政治结构之中。家族制度、家长或族长统治、宗教势力的统治，往往是经济不发达的城乡的政治结构的基础。什么是法律？对当地来说，是完全陌生的。没有法律，当地有权有势者不照样进行统治吗？家长、族长或宗教势力代表着当地实际生活中的权威，法律或者不存在，或者不起任何作用，或者屈从于当地的掌权者。

实际上，权与法的冲突中所涉及的一个重要问题是权力与权利孰轻孰重。权力是法律所授予的，并经法律确定下来；权利是法律所要维护的，也由法律加以确定。法律保护权利，对权力进行制约，这是权力与权利之间关系的一个方面。法律授予权力，权力的被授予者要运用这种权力来保护法律所确定的权利，这是权力与权利之间关系的另一个方面。这两个方面是统一的。重权力而轻权利，与法律的原则相违背，这等同于重权力而蔑视法律、践踏法律。如果说普通居民重权力而轻权利，是法律意识淡薄的表现，或者说是受传统政治结构的影响所致，那么掌权者的重权力而轻权利，就绝不仅仅表现了法律意识的淡薄，而是反映了一种来自传统政治结构的优越感和特权思想，反映了对法律的轻视。

法律的中心问题是对权利的保障。只强调权力，必然把法律所要保障的权利置于无足轻重的地位。不仅在权力与权利的关系中应把权利放在首位，把权力看成是维护权利的手段，而且在权利与义务的关系中，权利同样应处于首位，保障权利才是法律的目的；没有权利，义务也就失去了意义。如果说权利与义务是对称的，有此必定有彼，那么应当做这样的理解：义务是为了保证权利的实现而设定的。只重视公民应尽的义务而忽视公民应得到保障的权利，往往为权力的不受制约或权力的滥用埋下伏笔。这是对法律的一种曲解。为什么需要监督？监督是使得权力受法律的规范和约束的必要手段。监督的基本目的是防止越权，防止权力被滥用。关于这个问题，本书第六章和第七章中都将较细致地进行分析。下面，让我们考察习惯、道德与法律之间的关系。

4.2 Custom, Morality and Law

4.2.1 The Role of the Third Type of Regulation Since the Birth of Law

In Chapter One we defined the notion of regulation by custom and morality as the third mode of regulation, one distinct from regulation by market and regulation by government, and in the first section of this chapter

we discussed the relationship between regulation by market, regulation by government and law in modern society. In this section, we will discuss the relationship between the third-mode regulation and law.

As mentioned above, regulation by custom and morality emerged long before the other two modes. It is only after government is formed and its rule is effective that laws are enacted and implemented. Therefore, when regulation by custom and morality or even when regulation by market were at an early stage, there was really neither government nor law. That is to say, in the absence of law, both regulation by custom and morality and regulation by market were at work.

With the appearance of law, although regulation by custom and morality continued to have a role, it must act within the boundaries defined by law and never break it. The question is: What is the relation between regulation by custom and morality and the law? Can we say the former is subordinate to the latter? Apparently, we cannot reach that conclusion. To say that regulation by custom and morality must stay within legal bounds and not violate the law is not the same as saying it is subordinate to law.

We begin our discussion with the supplementary role of regulation by custom and morality following the emergence of regulation by market and by government, especially when regulation by market is the basic regulatory form. We can examine this in three aspects:

Firstly, in the market economy one must have and protect fair competition, in order to maintain normal trading order and prevent panic if trading order is at odds with traders' anticipation. How to ensure fairness of competition and allay the fears of traders? As we know, regulation by market is a mechanism in which changes of supply and demand will cause prices to rise or fall. The price movement has nothing to do with morality: it is obeying the objective law of supply and demand. But in the market, whether one party in a trading behavior has business morality or not and whether this behavior breaks the principle of fair competition or not, they will certainly influence price. The market is not short of traders violating business ethics, cheating other parties and making exorbitant profits; punishment for such behavior is necessary under a complete and effective legal system. But this is not enough. Since trading activities are going on at every moment of every day and countless traders are involved, even the most complete legal system has loopholes and even the strictest legal provisions cannot ensure that every law breaker gets his just deserts. It's obvious that one cannot rely purely on law to

maintain fair competition, maintain trading order and eliminate cheating behavior. Cultivating and promoting business ethics is important too. On the one hand, trading activities should be restricted and standardized by law and violators should be punished. On the other hand, traders should be educated in law; business ethics should be inculcated, teaching how to resist behaviors inconsistent with business ethics. Traders should exercise self-discipline. The greater their self-discipline, the greater will be the likelihood of their following business ethics and keeping their trading activities within the law. Consequently, regulation by market will better exercise its role as the basic form of regulation, and the role of law in maintaining fair competition and trading order will be more prominent. This is one embodiment of the supplementary role of regulation by custom and morality to regulation by market.

Secondly, enterprises and individuals are both behavioral agents in market economy. An enterprise is a group formed by a certain number of individuals and has many different person-to-person relations such as between investors and between managers. Interpersonal relations in an enterprise would normally include those of investor-to-manager, senior executive-to-manager, manager-to-lower level employee, and employee-to-employee. In a market economy situation, if an enterprise harmonizes those relations well, its efficiency will be improved, an effect discussed in Chapter Two. In harmonizing those relations, improving efficiency, fully motivating all individuals involved (investors, managers and staff), it is essential to keep to the law: But one should not rely totally on law since it cannot reach such details as interpersonal relations. The role of law in regulating interpersonal relations boils down to putting standards on those relations so that they do not violate law and at the same time protect the rights of everyone. These relations need to be made harmonious through regulation by custom and morality. Customs and morality regulation is helpful for coordinating the common interpersonal relations in an enterprise, particularly when they are at odds with but not actually violating any law. This is regulation by custom and morality supplementing the role of regulation by market.

Thirdly, from the perspective of trading activity we can regard enterprises and individuals as behavioral agents in a market economy. But as pointed out in Chapter One, socio-economic activity covers diverse fields, some belonging to the traded sector and others to the non-traded sector, the latter often accounting for the lion's share. Even in a developed market

economy, a large portion of socio-economic activities are non-traded in nature, and in these regulation by custom and morality plays an important role, the law just defining boundaries for these activities so they will not overstep them. Within these boundaries, they rely on regulation by custom and moral force. This is the third aspect of the supplementary role of regulation by custom and morality.

From these three aspects it is evident that even in market economy, in the presence of regulation by market and government and where law is seriously enforced, regulation by custom and morality not only exists but plays a role that neither law nor the other two forms of regulation can replace. Even if its role is supplementary, it is nevertheless indispensable. With this third form of regulation, the other two forms are more effective and the role of law is better deployed.

4.2.2 Relationship Between Law and Regulation by Custom and Morality

Since regulation by custom and morality plays an irreplaceable role in supplementing the other two forms of regulation, then in modern-day society its relation with law is very clear. There are two aspects to this relation.

Firstly, law defines the boundaries within which all the three types of regulation must operate. Take regulation by custom and morality for example. It can function both in a very small group (family, small village or small enterprise) and a large group (society), but once effective law is operating the regulation cannot overstep the boundaries defined by law. This does not mean there is no such thing as conflict between law and regulation by custom and morality or that it does not play a role. But since this form of regulation transcends legal boundaries, there will be friction and conflict with law, accumulating, intensifying and finally becoming an obstacle to normal order, and possibly losing its original role.

Take the question of property inheritance for example. Different places have different customs governing inheritance of family property, for example the oldest son being the heir, the youngest son being the heir, all sons co-inheriting, all family members co-inheriting, etc. The inheritance mode is decided by many factors. Before the establishment of relevant laws on inheritance, people followed the customary ways and no one raised

objections: even if there were objections, it would not change the custom at all. However, once laws on property inheritance were stipulated, such as all children, sons and daughters alike having the right to inherit, conflict between law and regulation by custom and morality became apparent on this question. Some advocate property inheritance according to convention, but this is inconsistent with legal requirements; others advocate inheritance according to law, but this is inconsistent with convention. The result is confusion, and when regulation by custom and morality oversteps the boundaries defined by law, crisis occurs. At the very least, the convention of family property inheritance is shaken and will no longer be embraced by so many people, the fissure between law and this form of regulation will widen and in the fullness of time inheritance conventions are gradually replaced by legal stipulations.

The hiring of apprentices is another case in point. Small enterprises, especially manual workshops, frequently hire apprentices. In different periods of historical and different places different conventions have applied in the hiring of apprentices. There were situations where apprentices received no payment at all, received very low pay, or paid to become apprenticed. There were similar variations concerning whether masters or bosses had the right to inflict physical punishment on their apprentices. In some places, apprentices were even required to sign a disclaimer exempting the master from liability in the event of their death. Apprenticeship periods also differed from place to place, lasting three years in some and seven years in others. The way apprentices were hired was determined by many factors, not just on the say-so of the master or boss. The conventional ways were followed by local people for many years without any objections raised, because this was how things were always done. Apprentices had to work in excess of 10 hours a day, not only doing productive labor, but domestic service for the master or boss. However, with the setting of legal rules on hiring apprentices, the clash between custom and law would become evident. For example, law might set the maximum daily or weekly working hours of apprentices, their minimum age, minimum wage, prevent employers from meting out physical punishments or getting them to sign disclaimers. The customary modes of apprenticeship were unreasonable in many places and the legal rules aiming to rectify these shortcomings were to protect the apprentices. However, since these conventions have been accepted for a very long time, the clash between law and convention may not be correctly understood by all. Consequently, the retreat of customary apprenticeship from the stage of history will be a

slow one, and the process of making convention subject to law will be a long one.

On the other hand, there are other situations in the relation between law and regulation by custom and morality. On some occasions, certain aspects of custom and morality or some of its regulatory methods could be adopted and written into law, becoming permanent legal articles. This is a quite normal phenomenon since the laws of a society are always a reflection of its values and concepts, and one function of law is to regulate the interests of all sides. Hence, in enacting laws certain moral principles have to form the basis for regulating these interests. If certain specifics of regulation by custom and morality are inconsistent with law, then the friction or clash between law and this mode of regulation will intensify. Although the clash will persist for a rather long period, regulation by custom and morality will gradually draw close to law and finally become subject to it. If some ways of regulation by custom and morality conform to law, it is entirely possible that they will be absorbed into law.

One example of this is the autonomous organizations that have existed and evolved in various forms in rural areas. In many places, under the chronic influence of feudal rule, the autonomous organizations of rural residents were autonomous in form only, mere appendages to power-wielding clans, with a strong tinge of feudalism and superstition. But, undeniably, in some places, despite the feudal influence, since the autonomous organizations are of a mass character, they still have a certain function in mediating disputes between residents, in initiating social programs and in promoting mutual aid among residents; hence they are supported and trusted by local people. This helps to account for the longevity of such autonomous organizations of rural residents. Here the role of law is: in line with ethical principles, to discard the unhealthy and irrational content of those organizations and their activities; to introduce things consistent with the aims of law into the legal articles on autonomous organizations, so that the majority interests of residents will be protected. If this can be realized, regulation by custom and morality will not weaken; instead, its role will become more important.

For another example, non-governmental associations have been around for a very long time. Formed on people's own initiative and in accordance with custom, they have their own objects, activity modes, and discipline. They regulate the custom and morality of their members within a certain scope. As they evolve through history, some associations gradually fall apart

and disappear; others change their properties. These are all normal phenomena and show that it is impossible to prohibit non-governmental organizations. Governments usually deal with them in three ways: to ban those that are harmful for achieving social targets; to let them run their own course, neither banning them nor acknowledging their legality; to set up rules and bring those conforming to the rules into the scope of legal restriction and protection. The third of these entails establishing law on associations and absorbing into law relevant aspects of regulation by custom and morality. In this way, regulation and law can be unified. Of course, there is no conflict between the third way and the first. In other words, government can admit the legal status of associations that conform to the rules and ban those that do not.

4.2.3 The Relation Between Law and Self-Discipline

Self-discipline is a manifest effect of regulation by custom and morality. The fact of some aspects being absorbed into law does not mean this mode of regulation itself has lost importance; it means these aspects now have a legal basis and can play their role better within the scope of law. Furthermore, these aspects account only for a small part of regulation by custom and morality.

Whether adopted as part of the law or not, regulation by custom and morality will still play a role according to their own nature, because they regulate people's behavior and define their behavioral and social norms, i.e., principles all members of society should follow in their daily activities and life. Individuals may have various activities and life styles motivated by their own will, interests, hobby, sense of responsibility, public spirit or pursuit of personal advantage. But all behaviors should conform to social norms; otherwise, they will be harmful to society, to others and to the individual personally. As one of countless individuals of a society, an individual should not seek advantage or pursue aims at the cost of other peoples' advantage and aims. If harm transpires, the rationality of such aims and behavior should be questioned. What seems reasonable to one person may not seem so to another, and social norms, i.e. the principles all are required to follow, can be the only standard for judging the rationality of the behavior. If a person's behavior does not conform to social norms, in other words if his aims and his

way of realizing them violate these principles, he should have restrictions imposed—by society and by himself. If law reflects social norms or social norms have been absorbed into law, a society's restriction on individual aims and way of achieving them is tantamount to legal restriction and self-restriction amounts to being law-abiding and self-disciplined. Self-discipline amounts to spontaneous observance of social norms.

It is important to point out the significance of self-discipline in circumstances when law is in effect. In market economy, the role of law lies in maintaining market order and guaranteeing the legal rights of traders or every behavioral agent in the market. No matter what his occupation, if an individual can always and everywhere restrict himself with social norms, the effect of regulation by market and government will be evident and socio-economic order will become normal. Law requires self-discipline on the part of individuals for it to operate more effectively.

Self-discipline means following a certain code of conduct established by regulation by custom and morality, a code that defines what an individual in a society "should" and "should not" do, "how to do" and "how not to do." As repeatedly stated in previous chapters, individual behavior is not driven just by personal interests. Otherwise, it would be difficult to account for their sense of social responsibility, public spirit, their awareness and protection of public interests and goals. But it would also be off the mark to say individual behavior is driven by public interests and goals, since for most individuals, their initiative and motivation is not separate from their personal interests. In other words, you cannot set up a code of conduct for people without considering their own benefits. In an economy, an individual's self-discipline is based on an awareness of both public and personal interests and goals, and such self-discipline is consistent with legal rules.

The consistency can be explained as follows: How an individual considers public interests and goals is influenced both by legal rules and by regulation by custom and morality; the same goes for his personal interests and goals. Since an individual belongs to and identifies with one or several groups, he must participate in group activities within the boundaries defined by law. At the same time, under regulation by custom and morality, his concern for and identification with the group equates to concern for and identification with the public interests represented by the group. His personal interests are connected with his group identification as well as whether he obeys law. Therefore, his self-discipline, from the perspective of observing

the law and identifying with group interests and goals, includes consideration of his personal interests and goals.

贰　习惯、道德与法律

一、法律产生以后第三种调节的作用

本书第一章中已经说明习惯与道德调节是市场调节、政府调节以外的第三种调节。关于现代社会中市场调节、政府调节与法律之间的关系，本章第一节作了论述。在这一节，准备就现代社会中第三种调节与法律之间的关系进行分析。

如前所述，习惯与道德调节的出现远远早于市场调节与政府调节。法律的颁布和施行是在政府建立并有效地实行统治之后。因此，不仅习惯与道德调节最初发挥作用时客观上不存在政府，也不存在法律，而且在市场调节最初发挥作用时，政府和法律都是不存在的。可见，习惯与道德调节、市场调节都曾经在没有法律的情形下发挥过作用。

自从有了法律之后，虽然习惯与道德调节继续发挥着自己的作用，但它必须以法律的规定作为边界，习惯与道德调节不得违背现行的法律，这是没有疑问的。问题在于：习惯与道德调节同法律之间究竟是什么关系？能不能说习惯与道德调节是从属于法律，依附于法律的？看来是得不出这样的结论的。习惯与道德调节必须以法律的规定作为边界，习惯与道德调节不得违背现行的法律，不等于它对法律的从属或依附。

让我们先从市场调节与政府调节出现以后习惯与道德调节的补充作用谈起。在市场调节中，市场调节是基础性的调节。习惯与道德调节在市场发挥基础性调节作用的条件下究竟如何起补充作用，可以从以下三个方面来分析：

第一，在市场经济中需要有公平竞争，要维护公平竞争，以保证交易秩序的正常，使每个交易人的预期不会因交易秩序的不正常而紊乱。怎样才能保证竞争的公平性，保证交易秩序的正常，以及使得交易人放心呢？要知道，市场调节是一种机制，在这种机制之下，供给的变化与需求的变化都会引起价格的上升或下降，价格水平的这种上下波动与道德无关，因为这是由客观的供求规律所引起的。但在市场上，某一具体交易行为的当事人是否具有商业道德，以及这种行为是否违背公平竞争原则，对价格的升降仍然是有影响的，市场上不乏交易人违背商业道德、欺骗对方、牟取暴利的现象。对于这种行为，固然要依赖法律的健全，依赖法律的有效执行，使一切违反公平竞争规定的人受到惩戒，但

这显然是不够的。再完善的法律也并非没有空隙可钻。法律中对不公平竞争、欺诈行为和破坏正常交易秩序的现象处分的规定再严厉，也并不意味着某些人不会设法逃脱法律的制裁。何况，交易时时刻刻都在进行，每天发生许多次交易，而交易者的人数多得数也数不清。难道单靠法律的规定，就能维护竞争的公平性吗？就能保证交易秩序的正常化吗？就能杜绝交易中的欺诈行为吗？当然不能。于是就产生了培育和发扬商业道德的问题。在依靠法律约束交易者的行为、规范交易者的行为，以及制裁各种违法事件的同时，要教育交易者守法，培育商业道德，抵制种种不符合商业道德的行为。交易者应当自律。交易者越能增强自律性，越能自觉地遵守商业道德，越能用法律来规范自己的交易活动，那么市场调节就越能充分发挥基础性调节作用，而法律的维护公平竞争和维护交易秩序的作用也就越能体现出来。这就是市场调节之下习惯与道德调节的补充作用的体现。

第二，企业和个人都是市场经济中的行为主体，而企业又是由若干个个人所组成的群体。企业中的人际关系是多种多样的，既包括投资者内部的关系、管理者内部的关系、一般职工内部的关系，也包括投资者与管理者之间的关系、高层管理者与基层管理者之间的关系、基层管理者与一般职工之间的关系等。在市场经济条件下，如果能够协调好上述这些人际关系，企业效率肯定会提高，关于这一点，在本书第二章中已有论述。但要协调好企业中的人际关系，促进企业效率的提高，使企业中的个人（包括投资者、管理者和职工）的积极性和潜力发挥出来，既不能脱离法律的规定，又不能完全依赖法律，因为法律不可能深入到企业内部的人际关系之中。也就是说，法律在协调企业内部人际关系的作用主要表现于规范这些人际关系，使之不违背法律的规定，同时，法律保护每一个人的权利，使之不受侵害，法律的作用也就到此为止了。企业的人际关系在许多方面要靠习惯来调节，靠道德力量来调节。习惯与道德调节有助于一般地协调企业中的人际关系，特别是对于那些并不违法而又处于不协调状态下的各种人际关系，唯有通过习惯与道德调节，才能使这种关系由不协调转为协调。这同样体现了习惯与道德调节在市场调节下的补充作用。

第三，把企业和个人作为市场经济中的行为主体，是从交易活动的角度来考察的。但正如本书第一章所指出的，社会经济活动是一个广泛的领域，其中有交易活动，也有非交易活动，而且非交易活动所占据的比重还相当大。即使在发达的市场经济中，社会经济活动中仍有很大一部分是非交易活动，或称之为交易以外的活动。在这些活动中，习惯与道德调节起着重要的作用。法律只是规定了非交易活动的边界，使这些活动不得越过法律规定的界限，而在界限以内，要依靠习惯与道德力量

的调节。这同样反映了习惯与道德调节在市场经济中的补充作用。

从以上三个方面的分析可以清楚地了解到，即使在市场经济中，在市场调节与政府调节都起作用的场合，在法律产生并被执行的场合，习惯与道德调节不仅存在着，而且它的作用是市场调节与政府调节所替代不了的，也是法律所替代不了的。尽管这里所说的是习惯与道德调节在市场调节作为基础性调节之下的补充作用，但这种补充作用却是不可缺少的。有了习惯与道德调节，市场调节与政府调节的效应就越明显，也越有效，而法律的作用也将发挥得更好。

二、习惯与道德调节同法律之间的关系

既然习惯与道德调节在市场调节与政府调节都起作用的条件下的补充作用是存在的，而且是不可替代的，那么在现代社会中，习惯与道德调节同法律之间的关系也就十分清楚了。概括地说，这种关系包括两个方面：

一方面，法律既是市场调节与政府调节的边界，又是习惯与道德调节的边界，无论是市场调节、政府调节还是习惯与道德调节都应当在法律规定的范围内进行。以习惯与道德调节来说，它可以在一个很小的群体（如一个家庭、一个小村或一个小企业）中起作用，也可以在一个很大的群体（如全社会）中起作用，但在法律产生并被执行之后，不能越过法律规定的边界。同法律相抵触的习惯与道德调节，不是不可能存在的，也不是不可能发生作用的，但既然它越过了法律规定的边界，那么就会产生习惯与道德调节同法律之间的摩擦或冲突，而且矛盾会越积越多，不断激化，终于成为维护正常秩序的一种障碍，并且会使习惯与道德调节渐渐失去原有的作用。这里不妨举两个例子。

例子之一是有关家庭财产的继承问题。不同地方有不同的家庭财产继承的习惯，例如长子继承、幼子继承、诸子析产、家族成员均沾等。某一地方采取什么样的家庭财产继承方式，是由多种因素决定的，在没有关于家庭财产继承的法律之前，习惯的家庭财产继承方式被当地的人们所遵守，没有人提出异议，即使提出异议也没有用处，改变不了这种习惯。然而，一旦法律对于家庭财产继承方式作出了规定，比如规定了无论儿子或女儿全都享有继承权。这样，习惯与道德调节同法律之间的矛盾，在家庭财产继承问题上便公开化了。有人主张按习惯方式继承财产，但这与法律不符，有人主张依照法律来继承财产，而这又与习惯不合。于是便产生混乱，不管怎样都会使习惯与道德调节在越过法律规定的边界之后发生危机，至少习惯的家庭财产继承方式开始动摇了，不再

被那么多人所信奉了，而且习惯与道德调节同法律之间的裂缝还会扩大，久而久之，习惯的家庭财产继承方式会逐渐被法律的规定所替代。

例子之二是有关企业雇佣学徒方面的问题。小型企业，特别是手工作坊，经常雇佣学徒。历史上不同地方、不同时期对于学徒的雇佣有各种不同的惯例。例如，学徒在学艺期间有没有工资收入，有的地方不付任何工资，有的地方可以付少量工资，有的地方还要学艺的人自己付钱；又如，师傅或老板是否有权对学徒实行体罚，各地也有不同的习惯，有的地方甚至要学徒先立下生死合同；再如，学徒学艺的时间长短，各地的习惯不一样，多则七年，少则三年。某一地方采取什么样的雇佣学徒的方式，是由多种因素决定的，并不是师傅或老板一个人说了算，习惯的雇佣学徒方式被当地的人们遵守，实行了多年，谁也没有异议，因为习惯就是如此。学徒当然是要干活的，劳动时间长，常常一天十几小时，而且不仅从事生产性劳动，还帮助师傅或老板干家务活。但是，一旦法律对企业雇佣学徒事项作出了规定，习惯同法律之间便会明显地发生冲突。比如说，法律可能规定学徒每天或每周的劳动不得超过多少小时；规定学徒的最低年龄不得小于多少岁，否则就是违法使用童工；规定雇主对学徒参加劳动应当付以一定的报酬，最低工资标准为多少；规定雇主不得对学徒施行体罚，更不得订立生死合同，等等。习惯的雇佣学徒方式中确有若干不合理之处，法律如果针对这些不合理之处作出了规定，显然是对受雇的学徒的一种保护。但是，既然习惯的学徒制在许多地方已长时期被人们所接受，所以法律同习惯的学徒制之间的冲突就不一定能被人们理解，从而习惯的学徒制只会缓慢地退出历史舞台，习惯服从于法律将是一个相当长的过程。

另一方面，在有关习惯与道德调节同法律之间的关系中还存在着下列情况，即在某些场合，习惯与道德的一定的内容或调节的方式有可能被某些法律所吸收，被写进这些法律之中，成为法律中的某些条款，甚至还可能被政府以法律的形式把习惯与道德调节的某些内容固定下来。如果出现这种情形，那是很正常的。这是因为，一定社会中的法律总是反映那个社会中的价值观念的，法律要调节一定社会中的各种利益关系。因此，法律不可能不以一定的伦理原则作为各种利益关系调整的依据。假定习惯与道德调节的某些内容同一定社会的法律不相符，那么如前所述，习惯与道德调节同法律之间的摩擦或冲突会越来越尖锐，尽管在相当长的时间内会出现法律同与之不相符的习惯与道德调节并存的现象，但最终，习惯与道德调节将缓慢地、逐渐地向法律靠拢，服从于法律。假定习惯与道德调节的某些内容是同一定社会的法律相符的，那么法律完全有可能采纳习惯与道德调节的这些内容，使之成为法律的一部分。这里不妨也举两个例子。

例子之一是有关农村居民的自治组织。无论在历史上还是在现实生活中，农村居民中间都存在过不同形式的群众性自治组织。它本身也有随着时代的变迁而渐渐演变的历史。在不少地方，由于长期封建统治的影响，农村居民的自治组织或者徒有自治的形式，实际上成为当地有权有势家族进行统治的附属物，或者在其活动中带有封建文化和迷信的色彩。但不可否认的是，在有些地方，即使受到封建传统的影响，农村居民的自治组织由于具有群众性，所以在调解居民纠纷，兴办公益事业，以及推动村民互相帮助等方面仍有一定的作用，从而受到当地村民的信任。这种农村居民的自治组织之所以会长时间存在，不是没有道理的。法律的作用在于：按照社会的伦理原则，摒弃农村居民自治组织及其活动中的不健康、不合理成分，而把其中同法律的宗旨相符合的内容吸收到有关群众性自治组织的法律之内，这将保护广大村民的利益，防止出现损害村民利益的现象的发生。如果能够做到这一点，农村中的习惯与道德调节不仅不会削弱，反而会发挥更大的作用。

例子之二是有关民间结社的情形。民间结社由来已久。有各种各样的民间结社，民间自发结成的社团，有自己的宗旨、自己的活动方式、自己对成员的要求。它们通常是在自愿的基础上按照习惯而组成的，它们在一定的范围内对社团的成员起着习惯与道德调节的作用。在历史演进的过程中，有的民间结成的社团活动一段时间后，渐渐解体了，消失了；有的又转变为另一种社团。这些都属于正常的现象，表明民间结社是禁止不了的。政府对待民间结社一般可能采取以下三种做法，一是取缔被认为不利于实现社会目标的结社；二是既不取缔它，也不承认它，任其自发地结社和进行活动；三是作出规定，把符合规定的社团纳入法律约束与保护的范围内。假定采取的是上述第三种做法，那就需要制定有关社团的法律，并把与民间结社有关的习惯与道德调节的某些内容纳入法律之中。这样，法律同习惯与道德调节在民间结社问题上便可以统一起来。当然，上述第三种做法与第一种做法也不是抵触的，即承认符合法律规定的社团，取缔不符合法律规定的社团。

三、法律与自律的关系

自律体现了习惯与道德调节的作用。即使在习惯与道德调节的一部分内容被吸收到法律之中并成为法律的一部分之后，这不仅不意味着习惯与道德调节就此失去了意义，而且还表明习惯与道德调节的一部分内容已有了法律的依据，从而可以在法律的范围内更好地发挥作用。何况，被纳入法律之中的只是某些同法律相符的习惯与道德调节的一部分

内容而已。

纳入了法律也好，未纳入法律也好，习惯与道德调节始终按照自己的特点发挥着作用，因为它们调节着人们的行为，它们所要确立的是人们行动的规范，也就是社会的规范。社会规范是指社会各个成员在一切行动和生活中都应当遵守的原则。个人根据自己的志愿、兴趣、爱好、责任感、公益心或出于自己的追求利益的动机，可以有各种不同的行为和生活方式，但这些行为和生活方式要符合社会规范，否则对社会是不利的，对别人是不利的，归根到底对个人也不利。社会由无数个个人组成，一个人的利益或个人目标的实现应以不损害其他人的利益或其他人目标的实现为条件。如果这里确实存在着损害，那就要探讨个人目标及其实现方式的合理性了。对某一个人来说是合理的，并不一定对社会上的其他人也是合理的。判断个人行为的合理性的标准只能是社会规范，即人人都应当遵守的原则。如果个人行为不符合社会规范，或者说，如果个人目标及其实现方式违背了人人都应当遵守的原则，那么它们就应当受到约束，包括社会对他的约束和他的自我约束。如果法律体现了社会规范或社会规范已被法律所吸收，那么社会对个人目标及其实现方式的约束就等于法律的约束，个人的自我约束就是守法，就是自律。自律等于一个人自觉地遵守社会规范。

在这里，特别需要指出在法律起作用的条件下个人自律的意义。在市场经济中，法律的作用在于维护市场的秩序和保障交易人或市场上每一个行为主体的合法权益。一个人，不管他从事什么工作，如果他能够时时处处以社会规范来约束自己，那么市场调节与政府调节的效应就会明显地表现出来，社会经济秩序也就能正常化。法律要求个人自律，个人自律使法律能更好地被执行。

自律所遵守的是由习惯与道德调节确定的一种行为准则。这种行为准则表明一个人在社会上“应该做什么”，“怎么做”，“不应该做什么”和“不应该那么做”。当然，正如本书前几章已经反复阐明的，个人行为不可能只受个人利益因素的影响，如果那样的话，个人的社会责任感、公益心或个人对公共利益、公共目标的认识和维护就得不到解释了。另一方面，如果认为个人行为仅仅受公共利益、公共目标的影响，那也是片面的，因为对社会上的多数人来说，要使个人有主动性、积极性，不能离开个人利益关系去规定一个人“应该做什么”和“怎么做”。市场经济条件下个人的自律，实际上把个人对公共利益、公共目标的考虑和对个人利益、个人目标的考虑结合在一起。这种自律与法律规定是一致的。

对自律与法律规定的一致性可以作出这样的解释：个人对公共利益、公共目标的考虑，既来自习惯与道德调节的作用，也来自法律的规

定；个人对个人利益、个人目标的考虑，同样来自习惯与道德调节的作用和法律的规定。由于个人总是属于某一个群体或若干个群体，他同自己所属的群体有认同关系，因此，他必须在法律所规定的限界内参与群体的活动，同时，在习惯与道德调节之下，他对群体的关心和认同就是对以群体为代表的公共利益的关心和认同。他的个人利益既与他对群体的认同有关，也与他对法律的遵守有关。他的自律，从守法和对群体利益、群体目标认同的角度来看，也包含了他对个人利益、个人目标的考虑。

4.3 Further Discussion on Self-discipline

4.3.1 Self-discipline and the Heidegger Controversy

We have clarified the nature and meaning of self-discipline, so now let us discuss this question further. Traders are required to follow business ethics and administrators to follow professional ethics. That is to say, people in all walks of life, businessmen, enterprise or government employees, etc., should be self-disciplined. But self-discipline is more than business or professional ethics. It also means law observance and the restriction of moral factors on people's behavior.

In the intellectual world, the meaning of self-discipline might be broader. One feature of this community is that intellectuals involve in social, political and economic activities not only by action but by expressing their thoughts and opinions on those fields. Any government that hopes to realize its goals must rely on the support of intellectuals and their knowledge and technology. Their academic status, influence and reputation serve as a standard and demonstration for the public. Therefore, intellectuals face bigger tests than other social groups, since in their view they face a severe choice between the so-called truth and power.

The actions, words and writings of scholars in relation to the Nazi regime provide a good example of the extreme and necessary self-discipline exercised by intellectuals in that period. The prominent German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) was regarded as "perhaps the most influential philosopher of this century…whose thought shook the world of philosophy,"[1] but that did not prevent him being a controversial figure. He was elected rector of the University of Freiburg in late April 1933, just three months after

Hitler took office as Chancellor. His predecessor had been dismissed for forbidding pro-Nazi students to stick up anti-Jewish posters. The predecessor and some professors supported Heidegger for the rectorship, believing his international reputation would help preserve academic freedom and stop the most destructive behavior of the Nazis. Heidegger agreed to stand and the school Board passed the proposal unanimously.[2] In his inaugural address on May 27 "The Self-assertion of the German University," he expressed his support of Nazism and many of his proposals were exactly in tune with Nazi propaganda. But in February 1934, he resigned the rectorship and refused to attend the ceremony handing over to the incoming Nazi rector. His lectures about Nietzsche starting in 1936 marked his separation from the Nazi movement, and thereafter he was subjected to Nazi surveillance and persecution. In summer 1944, he was drafted to dig trenches on the west bank of the River Rhine, the oldest of the enlisted teachers, because he was not on the list of 500 most prominent scholars, scientists and artists exempted from hard labor. After Germany was liberated by the Allies, Heidegger was forbidden to teach because of his Nazi connections and the ban was not lifted until 1951, shortly before he retired.[3] The words, actions and thoughts of such a scholar with a short record of Nazi cooperation left commentators many topics to explore. In his book *Introduction to Heidegger's Philosophy* Chen Jiaying comments: "Heidegger's involvement in the Nazi movement was no mistake or accident. He always detested civilian politics and longed for elite rule. Even in his twilight years, he made clear his distrust of democracy. He probably still sympathized with Nazism, even if disappointed with it. Scholars have long been aware that even though Heidegger cut his connection with Nazism later, he never directly condemned the Nazis for their crime against humanity."[4] An intellectual's academic viewpoint and standpoint, what he approves and opposes is one thing; his political attitude, particularly if he yields to and cooperates with a dark force even for a very short period is quite another. It is his self-discipline in his political attitude that is germane to our discussion.

In his article "Don't Let Bygones Be Bygones: On the Heidegger Controversy," Zhang Rulun commented: "If intellectuals do not act in defense of the truth and justice they claim to believe in and advocate, what is the value of justice and truth? And what indeed is the value of intellectuals? Not every intellectual has the courage of Bruno, but at the very least they should not tell lies if they cannot tell the truth; even if they are not strong

enough to resist the Devil, they should never sell their souls to him."[5] He also made the point: "In modern society, an intellectual should be the inheritor and creator of culture, the critic of reality and represent the conscience of society, which are three of his basic obligations. He should be both pro-science and pro-democracy. A convincing example is the contrast between the great scientist Albert Einstein and the philosopher Martin Heidegger. Both thinkers exerted important influence on human culture, but when justice was being trampled on, Einstein stood up to safeguard the conscience and justice of humanity, whereas Heidegger compromised with the Devil, fancying it could produce good. So, Einstein became the perfect role model for modern intellectuals whereas Heidegger has a stain on his character that can never be washed clean even if his great academic achievements were the greater."[6] These two passages are indeed very insightful comments on Heidegger.

Let us further analyze some of Zhang's comments, bringing in specific times and places. "Even if they are not strong enough to resist the Devil, they should never sell their souls to him" is the right attitude to have on whatever occasion. An intellectual's self-discipline, indeed any person's self-discipline should encompass this. "At the very least they should not tell lies if they cannot tell the truth" is correct too. But there are lies and lies: In circumstances where one has no choice and where even silence is not permitted, the insincere parroting of a formula, going through the motions, such lies are pardonable. But Heidegger's lies in his cooperation with the Nazis clearly do not fall into this category. They were either the truth, i.e., his opinions were in line with Nazism, or they were a different sort of lie, i.e., he did not agree with the behavior of the Nazis, but he flattered them for his personal purposes. This is why Heidegger has been blamed in German academic circles for so long. Even though his cooperation with the Nazis was of short duration, the stain on his character is indelible. The Heidegger controversy tells us how essential self-discipline is for intellectuals.

4.3.2 More on the Relation Between Observing Law and Self-discipline

Above we discussed the relation between observing law and self-discipline, but since this question involves how intellectuals could exercise self-discipline in the context of Nazi Germany, it is necessary to go deeper

into the issue of observing law.

Normally, observance of law goes hand in hand with following moral standards. We often say an individual who does not observe law does not follow moral standards or the generally recognized code of conduct either. However, this statement makes the assumption that the law is consistent with moral standards and embodies the generally recognized code of conduct. The question is: Who makes the law? Who interprets and enforces it? Without law, the question of abiding by law is meaningless; moreover, in its absence no one knows where the boundaries of individual behavior lie and moral restriction will replace legal restriction. However, if law is made, interpreted and enforced by a tyrannical regime, how can it be in tune with moral standards or the generally recognized code of conduct? Must people at any time in history and in any country unconditionally accept laws made in their times? Clearly not. But are all laws created in conformity with legal procedure and voted through by representatives consistent with public interests and goals? Not necessarily. Nazi Germany is a case in point. As we know, Hitler came into power, not through a military coup, but by due process of German law, in the sense that he was voted into by the majority of the German people. The electorate chose him because they were misled by the guiding principles of his party, were attracted by his personal charisma or pinned all their hopes on him, believing he could rescue the German nation from crisis. That majority included many German intellectuals. Of course, at the time of that election they might have not foreseen the dramatic change of politics, a change that would take the German people into the abyss. But surely they could see the possible disaster when Hitler enforced the measures enacted immediately after assuming power? Surely violence against Jews on city streets would waken them to the danger? This brings us to the question of intellectual self-discipline, without which, black can be seen as white in terms of legal issues.

When an autocratic government uses laws it brought or interprets at its will in order to strangle truth and justice, it isn't hard to tell the character of such laws. But why do some people retreat in the face of morality? Why does the spirit of self-discipline fall apart? It undeniably has to do with personal interest. In other words, they do so either in defense of or to increase their individual interests. One might ask, since the government issued the laws, surely they should abide by them? What's wrong with that? Under Nazi rule, how could German intellectuals not obey law as they had always done since

there were laws to obey? This is actually self-deception. As previously pointed out, as soon as Hitler took office the injustice of the policies he implemented was plain for all to see. An individual might not have the power to resist such government and rule, but at least he could keep silent. Isn't silence also a form of observing law? Couldn't such famous scholar, professor and philosopher as Heidegger keep silent if he had self-discipline? And if remaining silent was not permitted, could he not have uttered a few empty phrases? Why did he have to cooperate even for a short time with the Nazis? Why did he defend and even praise them? The answer is he lacked self-discipline. Therefore, he ended in retreating and falling apart in the face of morality.

Let us subject individual interest to further analysis. On the assumption that motivation comes from individual material interest, individual behavior is controlled by this, and the term material interest usually refers to the increase of individual income or property. We also assume that individual behavior is controlled by material as well as non-material interests such as getting more honors, spiritual fulfillment, etc. As individual income increases, non-material interest accounts for an ever greater proportion of individual interest in the broad sense. On the assumption that motivation comes from not only personal interest(including material and non-material interest), but also from factors beyond interest (concern for public interests and targets, etc.) it follows that individual behavioral standards are actually influenced by two coexisting factors, namely personal interest and public interest. Law and self-discipline play a positive role in both factors. Whether in striving in one's own or the public interest, individuals should never overstep legal boundaries. Self-discipline means abiding by law. Individuals striving to achieve public interests and targets are usually inspired by morality. In drawing up personal goals, in evaluating personal gains, and especially in striving to achieve them, individuals should restrict themselves with the moral standard that they should not fight for what is not worthwhile and abandon measures that are not proper. Self-discipline is shown as moral restriction.

Self-discipline is probably an individual's last line of defense: it is through this that moral strength is fully displayed. Why is keeping to the law not the last line? It is because, as discussed above, before following the law, we need to judge what kind of law it is, who makes it, who interprets it and who executes it. Under tyrannical regimes are the laws consistent with moral

principles? In circumstances where "one cannot tell the truth but should not utter lies" to remain silent is to observe law, but more important is self-discipline. Suppose a ruler, in the name of law violates moral standards and does as he pleases, then strictly self-disciplined people will never be his blind followers or try to win his favor. Strict self-discipline will cause them to at least keep silent even in the most dreadful circumstances and safeguard their last line of defense—their moral standard.

Thus we learn that since individual behavior is influenced by both private and public factors, an individual's code of conduct too is influenced by these things and individual behavior is restricted by moral standards, therefore, in judging a person's behavior we should not forget the public interest principle, one that comes above private interests and should be followed by all. Although individual behavior differs between members of society, provided such behavior does not harm the public interest, this is a normal and reasonable thing to happen. Self-discipline makes us safeguard our last line of moral standard, namely, not going against the public interest.

4.3.3 Fairness of Punishment and Limitations of Self-discipline

Since self-discipline is an embodiment of regulation by custom and morality, we must ask: In practicing self-discipline what are the criteria for judging between good and bad? For regulation by custom and morality, such criteria do really exist, not criteria drafted by the minority that wields power but gradually formed and accepted by the majority. We can take public interests and targets as the criteria, which people will accept. So, by what criteria do we judge public interests and targets when, as we know, public interests and targets have been used as a pretext for many shameful and immoral actions in history? And are there not many different interpretations of public interests and targets? Sometimes, they are used as a fig leaf, covering up all kinds of disgraceful deals. Even among dark forces have "martyrs to the cause" who disregard their personal interests, but can we say such people are without self-discipline? We cannot. Though the aims of the dark forces are unworthy of protection and practice, they see them as public targets. This shows self-discipline has its limitations, in that when there is no precise knowledge of what constitutes public interests and targets, self-

discipline can lead individuals along a dark road counter to public interests and targets. In such situations, the greater one's self-discipline the deeper and more inextricable the pit one may dig for oneself.

Let us take fairness or justice as the basis for judging right and wrong in self-discipline. Then what is fairness and what is justice? In *Living Issues in Ethics* by Nolan et al. there is a passage to this effect: Since Aristotle, people have usually divided fairness into *retributive* fairness and*distributive* fairness. *Retributive* fairness means to punish those who violate other people's rights or to restore enjoyment of a right. *Distributive* fairness means to ensure, on the basis of *proper* differences, *fair* allocation of rights and privileges among members of society.[7] In Chapter Three we discussed fairness of distribution. Now we will discuss the issue of fairness of retribution, which involves whether justice can be upheld. Fair retribution means, as a Chinese folk saying puts it, "bad deeds, as well as good, may rebound upon the doer. If it hasn't rebounded, it is because it is not yet the time." Unfair retribution means: not distinguishing evil from good, turning good and bad on their head; the good cannot get a good outcome; the bad escape their due punishment. When moral force exerts its effect, even if a person cannot change the perverse situation, he can at least by self-discipline, tell right from wrong, refuse to do or support evil but despise and condemn it. However, self-discipline cannot realize fair retribution or punish the bad.

It is quite plain that, since the emergence of governments, fair retribution has never been realized through the self-discipline of individuals. "Bad things redounding on the bad" cannot be brought about by self-discipline. Fair retribution must rely on fair legal verdicts, and if law cannot produce them other means are needed to bring law onto the road of upholding justice, and people's self-discipline is not one of them. This illustrates the limitations of self-discipline.

Therefore, to uphold fairness and ensure that it lasts depends on the joint functioning of law and self-discipline. Law can do things that self-discipline cannot, and the self-discipline of the makers and enforcers of law can ensure its fairness. In other words, in terms of fairness, if more people in society have self-discipline and constrain themselves with moral standards, bad things will greatly decrease: in terms of law, it ensures that the good are protected and the bad are punished, and thereby achieve fair retribution.

In life we often come across the following situation: the legislators are fair and the laws are fair, but because the enforcers of law do not follow the

law, and citizens' rights, though guaranteed by law, come to nothing: for example, law enforcers' arbitrary arrest and detention of citizens, random body searches, constraints on citizens' freedom, and even siding with offenders. Retributive fairness cannot be realized at all in such situations. Of course, the above violations of law and justice cannot happen if law enforcers are self-disciplined. But what if they are not? Self-discipline on the part of others is no substitute for law enforcers' self-discipline, nor can it rectify the lack. Only law can do that job, rectifying the behavior of law enforcers and punishing all offenders including the law enforcers.

4.3.4 Self-restriction in Abnormal Situations

Ever since the emergence of governments, corruption of government employees, bribery and other such problems have been present. At times when supervision departments had tighter control, corrupt practices would decrease or be more covert; when control was looser, such practices would increase greatly and even be more flagrant. But corruption in the supervision department itself was an even tougher problem to eradicate.

In a market economy the market needs fair competition and normal trading order. Normal trading order in turn helps the market mechanism play its regulating role to good effect and helps to prevent corruption in socio-economic life, because the breeding and spreading of corruption is connected with market disorder and unfair competition based on power, and this in turn is connected with unsupervised and unchecked abuse of power. Those who abuse their power support unfair competition and get benefits from it, and traders who try to gain benefits by unfair competition always count on those in power and their abuse of power to achieve this. So, inevitably, embezzlement, bribery and other corrupt practices grow and spread. In general, the joint effect of law and self-discipline includes not just the maintenance of market and trading order and prevention of corruption, but also restraining those in power and preventing abuse of power.

In this sense, for government employees, self-discipline has at least two aspects: One, they should expect the very best of themselves, not violate professional ethics under any circumstances but particularly when the market is in disorder, obey law and perform their duties well; two, they should be careful in using the power at their disposal, not abusing power in their private

interest or applying it according to their own likes and dislikes. The self-discipline required of government employees is to protect social justice. Any casual and arbitrary use of power and deciding policy is a violation of social justice. The law forbids such behaviors and self-disciplined government employees should keep their distance from them, prevent them and expose people who act this way. Detachment from, prevention and exposure of wrongdoing are manifestations of moral constraint; they are the results of the influence of moral force.

The great importance of stronger self-discipline on the part of government employees can be more clearly seen through further analysis of the abnormal situations that actually exist on a large scale in reality. In normal situations, the legal system is complete, law enforcement is strict, and lawsuits follow formal procedures. Abnormal situations are characterized by incomplete legal system, haphazard law enforcement and lawsuits not following formal procedures. In normal situations, all actions have legal basis, boundaries and responsibilities are clearly defined and people are allowed to express their opinions on and appeal against government actions. In abnormal situations, the basis of law is absent, boundaries and responsibilities are unclear, people are without freedom of speech and thought, etc. The most worrisome thing for enterprises is to operate in abnormal situations and what individuals fear most is to work and live in such an environment. In both cases, this is because they don't know what to do: in the absence of traffic rules, with no one on traffic duty and no traffic lights, drivers don't know how to drive and any action on the part of a driver faces a high possibility of penalty, without possibility of appeal. How could the driver not worry?

Abnormal situations give the best opportunity for government employees with no self-discipline to abuse their power to further their own interests, or to attack anyone they dislike. They are also a breeding ground for all manner of corrupt phenomena in socio-economic life. In abnormal situations, there are either no game rules at all, or they have ceased to be effective; they are increasingly likely to be interpreted at will, or not followed at all. Given such a situation and add to this government employees without self-discipline, then deterioration in the socio-economic order is quite conceivable. It should be pointed out that in abnormal situations supervision of government employees is often ineffective: even worse, some employees under inspection actually use the supervisors to work in their service. When

government employees are not self-disciplined, can legal restriction have any effect on them? It is a question worth further study and needs to be solved. It is discussed further in Chapter Six.

叁　自律问题的进一步探讨

自律的性质和自律的意义，上文已经作了说明。现在让我们再对自律问题作进一步的探讨。

自律不仅是个人遵守商业道德与职业道德的问题。交易者要遵守商业道德，管理者要遵守职业道德。工商界人士、企业职工、政府机构工作人员等，当然都要自律。自律既意味着守法，也意味着道德力量对人的行为的约束。

对知识界来说，自律的含义可能还要广泛些。知识界的特点在于他们既用自己的行动来参与各种社会、政治、经济工作，也用自己的思想和言论来表达自己对社会、政治、经济的看法，并以此影响社会上的其他人。任何一个政府，为了实现自己的目标，都需要知识分子来为政府目标的实现出力，包括让他们提供各自的文化、技术和知识，也包括以他们的学术地位、声望、信誉作为标榜，向社会产生示范作用。于是知识界便面临着比社会上其他人更大的考验，因为通常所说的真理与权势之间的选择对知识分子来说是更为严峻的。

关于纳粹统治时期德国知识界某些人的所作所为，所言所书，可以作为知识分子需要有高度自律性的例证。德国著名哲学家马　丁·海德格尔（Martin Heidegger，1889～1976年）是一个有争议的人物，不妨就学术界对他的评价作一些讨论。海德格尔被认为“也许是本世纪最有影响的哲学家……他的思想震撼了整个哲学界”。[1]他于1933年4月底当选为德国弗莱堡大学校长，这时距离希特勒任总理（1933年1月底）刚好三个月。他的前任校长之所以被解职，是因为曾经禁止纳粹倾向的学生在校园内张贴反犹太人的布告。前任校长和一些教授希望由海德格尔出任校长，据说是由于他们当时相信海德格尔的国际声誉将有利于保存部分学院自由和阻止纳粹党的极端破坏行为。海德格尔同意出面，校委会一致通过。[2]海德格尔于1933年5月27日发表的题为《德国大学的自我主张》的就职演说中，有大量拥护纳粹和与纳粹宣传合拍的提法。1934年2月他辞去校长职务，并拒绝参加与纳粹党人新校长交接的典礼。1936年开讲的尼采课表明他同纳粹运动的分手，从此他受到纳粹的排挤、监视和迫害。1944年夏天，他被送到莱茵河对岸去挖战壕，他是被征召的教师团体中年纪最大的一个，而免除500个最著名的学者、科学家和艺术家战时劳役的名单上却不包括他。盟军解放德国以后，海德格尔因其

与纳粹的牵连被禁止授课，直到1951年解禁。解禁后不久，他就退休了。[3]正是这样一个在纳粹德国时期同纳粹有过短期合作经历的著名学者，其所言所行所思却留给评论者们不少值得探讨的东西。陈嘉映先生在其所著的《海德格尔哲学概论》一书中有如下的评述："海德格尔之卷入纳粹运动却又不是一个偶然的失误。他一直厌恶平民政治，憧憬优秀人物主政的往昔，直到晚年仍明言不信任民主制度。纳粹运动确实颇合他的口味。即使在他对纳粹的实际发展失望之后，恐怕仍怀有不少惋惜。研究者们早注意到一个事实：海德格尔后来虽愿辩清自己和纳粹的牵连，却从未正面谴责纳粹犯下的滔天罪行。"[4]一个知识分子，本人持有什么样的学术观点和赞成什么、反对什么，是一回事，他的政治态度，特别是他对黑暗势力的屈从，以及同黑暗势力的合作，哪怕只是短时期的合作，则又是一回事。自律主要不是指前者而言，而是针对后一种情况而言的。

张汝伦先生在《既往可咎：谈海德格尔公案》一文中曾这样写道："如果标榜服膺真理，主张正义的知识分子不能因自己的行动来维护真理和正义，那么真理和正义还有什么价值？知识分子本身又还有什么价值？并非每个人都有布鲁诺的勇气，但至少应该做到：在不能说真话的情况下，也决不说假话，在无力与魔鬼抗争时，也决不把灵魂抵押给魔鬼。"[5]文内还指出："在一个现代社会中，知识分子应该既是文化的传承者和创造者，又是现实的批判者和社会的良心。这是他的三种基本责任。知识分子应该既是赛先生，又是德先生。在这方面，把爱因斯坦和海德格尔加以对照是很说明问题的。一个是大科学家，一个是大哲学家，两人都对人类文化产生了重要的影响。但是，在正义遭到践踏的时候，一个挺身而出，维护人类的良知和正义；一个却幻想魔鬼能做好事而与魔鬼妥协。爱因斯坦是现代知识分子的完美典范，而海德格尔的艺术成就再大也无法洗刷他人格上的耻辱。"[6]这两段对海德格尔的评论是相当深刻的。

如果要根据每个时代、每个地方的具体情况来进行考察的话，那么还可以对上述第一段评论中的两句话再作些分析。"在无力与魔鬼抗争时，也决不把灵魂抵押给魔鬼"，这是应有的态度，适用于任何场合。知识分子的自律，或者说，一切人的自律，都要做到这一点。"在不能说真话的情况下，也决不说假话"，这也是正确的，但对假话本身，似乎需要分析得再深刻些。有不同的假话——如果处于某种不得已的环境中，连沉默都不被允许，那也只好人云亦云，言不由衷地说几句应付性的套话、假话。这是可以谅解的。但海德格尔在同纳粹合作时，显然不是在说应付性的、套话式的假话。海德格尔要么说的是真话，即他的想法同纳粹主义的想法是合拍的；要么说的是另一种假话，即内心虽然不

同意纳粹的所作所为，但出于个人的某种目的，却说些恭维纳粹的假话，向纳粹讨好的假话，等等。这正是海德格尔多年以来一直在德国学术界受到人们谴责的原因。尽管他只是短时间内同纳粹合作过，这仍是洗刷不掉的耻辱。知识分子的自律之所以必要，从海德格尔的经历可以得到启示。

二、再论守法与自律的关系

前面已经谈到法律与自律之间的关系。但既然这里的问题涉及在纳粹德国的环境中知识分子如何自律，那就有必要对守法问题再作深入一层的探讨。

照理说，遵守法律同遵守道德规范应当是统一的。一个人，如果不遵守法律，通常也就谈不上什么遵守道德规范或遵守社会公认的行为准则。但这种说法应当有一个前提，即法律是符合道德规范的，法律体现了社会公认的行为准则。问题在于：法律是谁制定的？由谁来解释？由谁来执行？如果是无法可依，那就无所谓守法还是不守法，而且，既然没有法律可依，个人行为的边界究竟在何处，谁也不清楚，这样，道德约束自然而然地代替了法律的约束。但是，如果法律是由专横暴虐的统治者所制定的，由他们来任意解释并由他们来执行，难道这种“有法可依”、“执法必严”、“违法必究”能同道德规范一致，同社会公认的行为准则一致？难道各国历史上一切被制定和实施的法律都应当无条件地被该国当时的人民所接受吗？显然不能如此。即使某一法律的制定是符合法律程序的，并且是代表们投票通过的，难道它必定符合公共利益、公共目标？也不一定。仍以纳粹德国的统治为例。众所周知，希特勒不是靠军事政变上台的，而是在符合德国当时法律的条件下取得政权的，当时大多数德国人投票选择了希特勒。当时的选民之所以选择了希特勒，或者是被他所在政党的纲领所迷惑，或者是被他个人的魅力所吸引，或者是寄希望于他，以为这样一来，危机中的德意志民族就有救了。当时德国知识界中不少人正是这样看待希特勒及其政党的。但是，如果说希特勒竞选时，知识界中不少人还不了解德国政坛可能发生的剧烈的变化——一种将把德国人民引入深渊的变化，难道在希特勒执政后立即颁布的措施被推行后还不了解这一点？难道德国城市大街上公开对犹太人施暴的行为不能让德国知识界惊醒过来？这就同知识分子的自律有关了。不自律，就会在法律问题上分不清是非。

当一个专制的政府试图用自己所制定或随意解释的法律来扼杀真理与正义时，并不是很难识别这种法律的实质。但为什么会有人在道德面

前退却与溃散呢？为什么自律精神竟丧失殆尽呢？不能不认为这同个人利益有关，即或者是为了保住个人既得利益，或者是为了谋取个人的更多利益。也许有人会问，既然政府已颁布了法律，难道不应该守法吗？守法有什么不对？比如说，在纳粹统治时期，德国就是这样，有法律可依，一贯守法的德国知识分子怎能不守法呢？这实际上是一种自欺之词。正如前面已经指出的，在希特勒上台后所推行的政策已明显地暴露其不公正性和非正义性时，即使个人无法同这样的政府与统治者抗争，沉默依然是可行的。沉默不也表现为守法吗？像海德格尔那样的著名教授、大哲学家、国际知名学者，如果自律的话，保持沉默不也可以吗？退一步说，即使沉默也不被允许，讲几句套话应付一下，也说得过去。但为什么一定要同纳粹合作（哪怕只是短暂的合作）呢？为什么要为纳粹赞美或为之辩护呢？不自律，就必定落得在道德面前退却和溃散的下场。

关于个人利益问题，还可以再作一些分析。根据动力来自个人物质利益的假设，个人行为是受自己的物质利益支配的，并且通常所说的物质利益是指个人收入或财产的增加。根据动力来自个人的广义利益的假设，个人行为要受到自己的物质利益和非物质的利益的支配，通常所说的非物质的利益是指个人得到的荣誉的增加、个人在精神上的满足等。随着个人收入水平的上升，非物质的利益在个人广义利益中所占的比例将逐渐增大。根据动力并非全部来自个人利益（包括个人物质利益和个人非物质的利益）的假设，个人行为还要部分地受到利益以外的因素（如对公共利益、公共目标的关心等）的影响。这样，对个人来说，实际上存在着两种因素共同影响之下的行为准则，这两种影响个人行为的因素就是个人利益因素和公共因素。法律与自律是对这两种因素都发生作用的。在法律的约束下，个人无论在争取实现个人利益与个人目标时，还是在为公共利益与公共目标的实现而努力时，都不应越过法律所规定的边界，自律就是守法。在道德力量的影响下，个人为公共利益和公共目标的实现所做的努力通常受到道德的激励，而个人在制定个人目标时，在评价个人利益时，尤其是在争取实现个人利益和个人目标时，都应当以道德标准来约束自己：不值得争取的，就不应当去争取；不应当采取的方法，就坚决摒弃。自律表现为道德的约束。

由此可见，自律很可能是个人的最后一道防线。通过自律，道德力量的作用将充分显示出来。为什么守法不是个人的最后防线呢？这是因为，正如前面指出的，需要判别要守的是什么样的法律，是谁制定、谁解释、谁执行的法律？难道专横暴虐的统治之下的法律能符合道德原则？“在不能说真话的情况下，也决不说假话”，沉默也是守法，但沉默更主要是自律。假定统治者在法律的名义下违背了道德规范而胡作非

为，那么严格的自律会使得人们不附和，不趋炎附势，不盲从，不献媚。严格的自律会使他们即使在恶劣的环境中至少能保持沉默，守住道德规范这道防线。

从这里还可以了解到，由于个人行为受到个人因素和公共因素的共同影响，个人行为准则是个人因素和公共因素共同影响之下的行为准则，以及由于个人行为要受到道德规范的制约，所以在评价个人行为时要记住，在个人利益之上存在着社会上人人都应当遵守的原则，即公共利益原则。尽管不同的社会成员之间在个人行为方面存在着差异，但这是正常的现象，只要个人行为不违背公共利益，它们就是合理的，就有理由存在。自律所把住的道德规范的防线，就是不违背公共利益的防线。

三、报应的公正与自律的局限性

既然自律体现了习惯与道德调节，那就要问：在自律时，有什么可以判断是非的标准呢？虽然习惯与道德规范都不是少数人所能拟定的，而是长期内逐渐形成并被大多数人所承认的，但判断是非的标准始终是客观存在的。我们可以用公共利益和公共目标作为标准，这样人们都可以接受。那么公共利益和公共目标又按什么标准来判断呢？在公共利益和公共目标的名义下，历史上不也曾发生过多次违反道德规范的事件吗？对公共利益和公共目标，不也有各种各样的解释吗？有时，公共利益和公共目标会变成一种遮羞布，遮住了形形色色见不得人的勾当。腐朽势力也会有“殉道者”，或者说，“殉葬者”，他们之中有些人也能置个人利益于不顾，能说他们没有自律性吗？不能。原因恰恰在于他们不把腐朽势力的目标看成是不应当争取实现和不值得维护的目标，而把它当成了公共目标。这表明，自律也是有局限性的。这种局限性反映为在不明确究竟什么是公共利益和公共目标的情况下，自律可能把人引导到为反公共利益和反公共目标而努力的邪路上去。在这种情况下，一个人越是自律，可能在错误的立场上陷得越深，越不能自拔。

让我们姑且用公正或正义作为自律时判断是非的依据。那么什么是公正？什么是正义？在诺兰（Richard T. Nolan）等人所著的《伦理学与现实生活》一书中有这样一段话：“从亚里士多德以来，人们通常把公正区分为报应的公正和分配的公正。报应的公正要惩处侵犯他人权利的行为，或者恢复对一种权利的享受。分配的公正，只根据恰当的差别，来确保所有社会成员之间权利和特权的公平分配。”[7]关于分配的公正或公平分配问题，本书第三章中已经进行了论述，这里只讨论报应的公正

问题。报应的公正涉及正义是否得到伸张，用中国民间的语言来说，报应的公正意味着“善有善报，恶有恶报，不是不报，时候未到”。不公正则指：善恶不分，甚至善恶颠倒，善得不到善的结果，恶得不到应有的惩处。在道德力量发挥作用的条件下，一个人即使无法扭转善恶不分、善恶颠倒的大局，但通过自律，可以分清是非善恶，做到心中有数，不作恶，不从恶，不扬恶，鄙视恶，斥责恶。但自律不能实现报应的公正，自律无法惩恶。

毫无疑问，自从政府形成之后，报应的公正从来不是每个人的自律就能实现的。自律不能实现“恶有恶报”。报应的公正要依靠法律的公正裁决。如果法律还做不到公正的裁决，那就需要通过其他途径来促使法律走向维护正义的道路，这仍然不是靠人们的自律就能解决的。自律的局限性也表现于此。

因此，公正的维护与公正的持久存在，要依靠法律与自律的共同作用。法律能做到自律所做不到的事情，立法者和执法者的自律能保证法律的公正性。换言之，从自律的角度看，社会上有更多的人用道德规范来约束自己，恶可以大大减少；从法律的角度看，法律能使善得到保护，使恶得到惩处，从而报应的公正就可以实现了。

在社会生活中有时会遇到这样一种情况：立法者是公正的，所制定的法律也是公正的，但执法者不公正，不遵照法律行事，以至于法律所保障的公民权利落空，比如说，执法者违背法律，随意扣押、拘留公民，随意搜查和限制人身自由，甚至偏袒违法的一方等等，这样，报应的公正就实现不了。当然，执法者应当自律。如果执法者能够自律，那么上述这些违背法律、违背执法公正性的事情就不会发生了。如果执法者不自律，怎么办？其他人的自律代替不了执法者的自律，或许也纠正不了执法者的不自律现象。所以，在这种情况下，唯有诉诸法律，才能纠正执法者的不公正行为，也能惩罚一切违法者，包括违法的执法人员。

四、非正常状态下的自我约束

自从政府出现之后，政府工作人员的贪污、受贿、腐败问题几乎一直伴随着政府而存在着。在政府监察部门抓得紧的时候，这类丑恶现象可能减少一些或隐蔽一些，而在监察工作放松时，这类丑恶现象便大大增加，甚至公开化。监察部门本身的贪污、受贿和腐败，更是一个不易消除的问题。

以市场经济中的情况来说，市场需要有公平竞争，需要有正常的交

易秩序，而正常的交易秩序也有助于发挥市场机制的调节作用，有助于遏制经济与社会生活中的腐败现象，因为腐败现象的滋长与蔓延是同市场秩序混乱、以权力为基础的不正当竞争有关。以权力为基础的不正当竞争又同权力不受监督、不受制约的滥用联系在一起。滥用权力者支持不正当竞争，并从中捞取种种好处，而一切指望通过不正当竞争获得利益的交易人总是把希望寄托在掌权者身上，依靠后者对权力的滥用使自己达到目的。这样，权与钱之间的交易便不可避免，贪污、受贿和各种腐败现象就滋长和蔓延开来。因此，法律与自律两者的共同作用，不仅在于使市场有秩序，使交易正常化，从而遏制腐败，而且也在于对权力的制约，对掌权者的监督，防止出现对权力的滥用。

从这个意义上说，对政府工作人员而言，自律至少包含两方面的含义：一是政府工作人员要严格要求自己，在任何情况下，尤其是在市场秩序不正常时，不违背政府工作人员的职业道德，遵守法律，奉公尽职；二是政府工作人员要谨慎使用手中的权力，切不可滥用权力来为自己谋取私利，也不可凭个人的好恶滥用权力。政府工作人员的自律，正是为了维护社会的公正。一切不受规则约束的、变化无常的、随意性的决策，一切带着偏见来运用权力和规则的行为，一切任意地、专断地使用权力和作出决策的行为，都是违背社会公正的。法律禁止这些行为，自律使政府工作人员不仅自己远离这些行为，抵制这些行为，而且要揭露别人的类似行为。这种远离、抵制和揭露，是来自道德的约束，是道德力量起作用的结果。

政府工作人员加强自律的重要性，还可以通过对非正常状态的分析而得到进一步的认识。非正常状态，在实际生活中是大量存在的。正常状态中，法律是完善的，执法是认真的，诉讼按一定的程序进行；而常见的法律不完善，执法不认真，诉讼不按程序，都属于非正常状态。正常状态中，工作有法可依，界限清晰，责任明确，人们对政府的行为有意见可以发表，可以申述；而常见的无法可依，界限模糊，责任不清，人们缺乏言论自由，思想受压抑等等，就属于非正常状态。企业最担心的是在非正常状态中经营，个人最害怕的是在非正常状态中工作与生活。这是因为，非正常状态使得企业与个人无所适从，正如一个驾驶汽车的司机最发愁的就是在缺乏交通规则、交通无人管理、红灯绿灯显示不明的情况下行车，这样开，可能遭罚，那样开，也可能遭罚，而且罚款者爱怎么罚就怎么罚，答辩无用，躲又躲不掉，怎不让司机愁煞？

非正常状态恰好是某些缺乏自律的政府工作人员最容易利用手中的权力来获取私利或凭个人好恶来打击他人的机会，也是社会经济生活中各种腐败现象滋生的温床。在非正常状态中，游戏规则或者不存在，或者不那么有效了，随意解释游戏规则的可能性增大了，甚至谁也不遵循

游戏规则了，如果政府工作人员缺乏自律，社会经济秩序的恶化是可想而知的。还应当指出，在非正常状态中，对政府工作人员的监督形式往往无效。这些工作人员作为被监督者，不仅不受监督，甚至还操纵监督者，使后者为自己服务。假定政府工作人员不自律，法律约束又能对他们起多大作用呢？这是一个值得研究和设法解决的问题。本书准备在第六章中再就此展开论述。

4.4 Moral Inspiration

4.4.1. Source of Enduring Initiative and Positivity in Individuals

Self-discipline is usually regarded as a kind of voluntary moral restraint but this is a rather narrow understanding of the concept. Self-discipline also has positive and enterprising aspects: Whatever the profession or occupation pursued, an individual should be dedicated and enterprising and should work hard to make achievements. The spiritual motivation is important, so moral inspiration can be regarded as another aspect of self-discipline, one that complements moral restraint.

Concerning the relation between one's moral inspiration and the spirit of dedication and of enterprise, we could do worse than start by discussing the driving force of economic life. In economic analysis, the assumption that motive comes from personal material benefits has its limitations since personal interests are not just material gains. Man is "social man," whose interests range wider than purely material or economic considerations. Therefore we make the assumption that motivation does not completely lie with interests. At any income level, individual behavior will be influenced by factors other than this, and when personal income rises non-interest considerations come increasingly to the fore. That is to say, when a person's income reaches a certain level, his initiative and positivity will become less driven by material considerations, his perspective will increasingly consider non-material benefits, and these may become a bigger, or perhaps the biggest, source of initiative and enthusiasm in his economic activities.

Precisely because some motivation comes from non-interest factors, a person's motivation in economic activities is less likely to diminish. Diminished motivation is the phenomenon in which an individual's initiative

and positivity weakens as his economic activities go on and his income increases. When motivation has its only source in material benefit, diminished motivation may well occur, since income is no longer the spur it once was. Here we come to the substitution relationship between getting income and the effort expended in order to get that income. When an individual's income has increased, he will consider whether it is worth continuing to invest the same effort in order to get a certain income, as time and energy are now possibly more important to him. This is how income and material interests lose their incentivizing power. However, when factors other than material benefits take a more and more important part in a person's economic activities, it does not necessarily follow that his motivation drops off as his income rises. On the contrary, he may be as active and positive as ever and perhaps even more so, because he no longer has economic worries and can invest most of his time and energy in non-benefit-driven causes.

From this perspective the limitations of the premise that motivation has its source in personal material benefits become plain, and we can now proceed to further explore the source of lasting initiative and positivity in an individual's socio-economic activities.

Of course, in considering this topic we should not solely take the individuals' perspective: Analysis of objective conditions is equally necessary. Personal effort is undoubtedly important for lasting initiative and positivity, but equally important is the capacity of the enterprise to inspire these qualities among its employees. If it neglects such things, it will be hard for an employee to sustain initiative and positivity. An enterprise's attention to these things is very closely linked to the economic system operating. For example, when the market mechanism has replaced the plan and control mechanism, when fair competition has replaced differential treatment, and when sole responsibility for enterprise financial performance has replaced State unified revenue and expenditure, an enterprise has no choice but to stimulate the initiative and enthusiasm of its employees.

So, supposing economic and enterprise mechanisms are consistent with the requirements of a market economy, how is personal initiative and positivity generated and made long lasting? This question leads us to the issue of moral inspiration, because of its connection to the source of lasting initiative and positivity among individuals.

4.4.2 Compatibility of Morally-inspired and Interest-driven Motivation

Is it possible for a person's own moral inspiration to be compatible with his benefit-oriented motivation? To discuss this question, we cannot simply say that the moral inspiration will disappear once he is benefit-oriented. Nor can we refuse to admit that he is still influenced to a certain degree by benefit even though he has formed lasting initiative and enthusiasm because of moral inspiration. The qualities under discussion may be motivated partially by interest and inspired partially by personal morality. The same can be said about the enduring character of these qualities, except that moral inspiration plays a bigger part here. Furthermore, when one's activities are interest-driven, one still needs to be dedicated and trustworthy in dealing with others, which is also an aspect of moral inspiration.

Most people in society probably take personal benefit as their target whilst also wanting the public targets to be achieved, since they do not consider the two as contradictory. For example, an entrepreneur may believe that if he succeeds and his enterprise booms, his personal gains will increase and society will benefit too, and this surely helps the achieving of public targets. An employee believes if he does well in his job, he can improve the living conditions of his family as well as help improve the enterprise's results, which will in turn benefit society. In this way, the motivation of personal benefit and public targets is unified in that individual. Granted, every period in history has had totally selfless individuals considering only public targets, but they are very few indeed.

For anyone valuing personal benefits and public targets, it is a big challenge to make a choice between the two considerations when they clash. Most of the time, for most people personal benefits and public targets are a single, combined consideration, which means they need not choose between them, since achieving the former will benefit the latter and vice versa. However, when it is compulsory to choose one, no means everyone can make the right decision. On these occasions, moral force comes into full play. Those who choose private interest over public targets obviously have shrunk back before moral force. History and modern life is full of such cases. Nevertheless, many people still put public targets ahead of their own interests, a result of their self-discipline. Self-discipline means they are both constrained and inspired by morality. Their personal restraint causes them to

guard the defense line of moral standards, doing nothing injurious to public interests and targets. Meanwhile, if they are forced to choose between private interest and public targets, they will not sacrifice the latter for the former. Moral inspiration will drive their enthusiasm and concern for public interests and targets, causing them to put public targets ahead of private interest if ever the two should clash. In general, morality-inspired restraint and inspiration are equally important.

The concept of personal morality inspiring one's socio-economic activities is sometimes misunderstood: it is believed wherever there is an element of interest motivation in an individual's socio-economic activities and he gains benefits, then he is seen as acting from his private concerns only. Self-imposed moral restraint exists but the moral inspiration does not, and has no role. According to this analysis we can make the following judgment. Such misunderstanding is based on the premise that moral inspiration is incompatible with benefit-oriented motivation. According to the above analysis, we can infer as follows:

When a person does not need to choose between private interest and public targets, the two things seem mutually compatible, and both are helped by personal moral inspiration. Here, moral inspiration and private interest motivation are in line with each other because, inspired by his spirit of dedication and principle of integrity, an individual will do a better job to realize his private interest goals and his products and services will be better received in society.

When an individual has to make a decisive choice between his private interest and public targets, whether he chooses the former and gives up the latter or vice versa, he will feel the conflict of the two. If he opts to follow his private interest over public targets, then clearly moral inspiration has not had an effect or his moral inspiration is not in line with his private interest motivation. If he chooses public targets this shows that moral inspiration is at work and that moral inspiration is compatible with his private interest motivation. Consequently, he is making the right choice. Therefore, whether he strives for one's personal interest without harming public interests and targets or chooses to give up his own interests if they conflict with public targets, both choices demonstrate that moral inspiration is at work in him and that this is not incompatible with private interest motivation. This compatibility is based on the recognition that public targets encompass personal benefits.

From this we see that moral inspiration and private interest motivation can be compatible, but not necessarily in each and every case. If an individual must choose between his private interest and public targets and opts for the former at the expense of the latter, the incompatibly of the two motivating forces is exposed.

4.4.3 Self-discipline as the Unification of Moral Self-restraint and Inspiration

Previous analysis shows the undoubted importance of one's own moral restraint and moral inspiration. In socio-economic life, if individuals have the former but not the latter, society may lose its vitality and enterprising spirit and its people are likely to be ultra-cautious, concerned only not to make a mistake. If there is only individual moral inspiration and no moral restraint people might let slip their standards of behavior and possibly fail to safeguard the moral standard defense line. Only when these two driving forces work together can a society be energized and give due attention to both public targets and individuals' benefits. A producer or worker with strict self-discipline is likely to be a dedicated and enterprising person, one whose income constantly rises. This dedication, enterprising spirit, career success and increasing income are all linked to his own moral inspiration and restraint.

In abnormal situations it is even more necessary for an individual to have his own moral restraint and moral inspiration. Just in terms of modern-day life, in order to live in society man must survive, develop and adapt to all kinds of living and working environments. Apart from the ability to survive and progress in normal situations, he needs such abilities to face the challenges of abnormal situations, for without them, he will be too fragile to survive or to endure any frustration or attack. The often used term "adaptability" means more than just an ability to adapt to normal situations: It means an ability to adapt to the abnormal. An important standard for judging a person's ability and vitality is whether he can survive and progress in abnormal situations and whether he can adapt to various adverse circumstances.

But, given the same abnormal situation, why do some people get depressed while others remain enthusiastic? Why do some go to the bad

while others rise above things? It is the joint effect of personal moral restraint and inspiration. The reason for an individual's ability to maintain enthusiasm and morale in abnormal situations should be sought in attitude of spirit, in particular the effect of moral inspiration. Having moral inspiration in the service of his convictions, ideals and goals, allows an individual to squarely face and overcome difficulties, treating the hard environment as character-building. Moral inspiration helps him adapt to abnormal situations and develop his capabilities. In this sense, the worse the situation, the greater the need for moral inspiration and the more obvious the role of moral strength.

No matter who the person, on occasion apathy can be a problem and a restraint on action. How can it be overcome? We need depend on the formation and influence of a good social ethos on the one hand, and on unflagging individual moral inspiration on the other. Under the influence of the former, when those around can overcome apathy and remain creative and enterprising, it is more likely that the apathetic person can shake off this feeling. But personal moral inspiration is more important in such circumstances for this reason: Irrespective of the morale of those around, provided the individual draws on moral inspiration to try hard, he will not only overcome his own apathy but also influence others, giving them the resolve to emulate him.

To sum up, as a unified manifestation of personal moral restraint and inspiration, it goes without saying that self-discipline is highly valued by society. Moral restraint requires people to be strict with themselves in socio-economic activities and to do nothing that violates moral standard or harms public interests and targets. Moral inspiration requires people to be enterprising and dedicated, qualities that enable them to defeat apathy, overcome difficulties and achieve more in their work even if conditions are adverse.

肆　道德激励

一、个人持久主动性、积极性的源泉

自律通常被理解为个人的一种道德上的自我约束。这种理解未免有些狭窄。自律还有积极的、进取的一面，这就是：一个人，不管从事哪一种工作，不管在什么样的岗位上，都应当有敬业的精神、进取精神，

在自己的工作岗位上努力工作，做出成绩来。精神上的动力是重要的，可以把道德的激励称做自律的另一面，它与道德的约束是相辅相成的。

关于自我的道德激励同敬业精神、进取精神之间的关系，不妨从经济生活中的动力谈起。在经济分析中，动力来自个人物质利益的假设是有局限性的。前面已经提到，个人利益不以物质利益为限。人是“社会的人”，他的利益要比单纯的物质利益或经济利益广泛。动力并非全部来自利益的假设正是这样被提出来的。在任何一级收入水平上，个人的行为都会受到利益以外的因素的影响，而在个人收入增长后，非利益的考虑往往更加突出。这就是说，在个人收入达到一定水平后，物质利益对个人主动性、积极性的激发会有所减退，个人会较多地从利益以外的角度来考虑问题，而他在经济活动中的主动性、积极性的一部分或较大部分也可能由此而来。

正因为个人的动力中有来自非利益的部分，所以在经济活动中一般不可能出现个人动力递减的现象。这里所说的动力递减，是指个人在从事经济活动时，随着经济活动的进行和收入的增长，他的主动性、积极性会逐渐减弱。在动力唯一地来自个人物质利益的条件下，动力的递减是可能出现的，因为收入不再像过去那样有那么大的刺激作用了。这里涉及收入的取得和为了取得这种收入而付出的努力之间的替代关系。对个人来说，当收入水平增长后，个人将考虑是否值得继续投入同过去一样多的努力去取得一定的收入，时间和精力也许对他更为重要些。个人收入激励作用的递减、物质利益动力的递减就是这样形成的。而当利益以外的考虑在个人经济活动中占据越来越大的位置时，即使个人的收入水平上升了，但个人的动力不一定下降，这时，他完全可能同以往一样地有主动性、积极性，甚至比以往更加主动，更加积极，因为经济方面的顾虑已经解除，他可以把主要的时间和精力投入非利益动机的事业之中。

如果我们从这个角度来考察，那么动力来自个人物质利益的假设的局限性就很清楚了，我们可以由此进一步探讨社会经济活动中个人持久的主动性、积极性的源泉。

当然，我们也不能忽视，个人持久的主动性、积极性不能只从个人的角度来考虑，对客观条件的分析同样是必要的。一个人能否持久地有主动性、积极性，他自身的努力固然重要，但如果他在某个企业中工作，那么，那家企业是否注意发挥职工的主动性、积极性，也是十分重要的。如果那家企业漠视对职工主动性、积极性的调动和发挥，个人就很难迸发出持久的主动性、积极性。而要让企业注意调动和发挥职工的主动性、积极性，又同经济体制有关。比如说，市场机制取代了计划指令，公平竞争代替了对企业的差别对待，企业的自负盈亏代替了国家对

企业的统收统支，这样，企业就必然重视调动职工的主动性、积极性。

假定经济体制与企业体制都符合市场经济的要求，那么人的主动性、积极性怎样才能产生并能够持久化呢？让我们转入道德激励问题的讨论，因为个人持久的主动性、积极性的源泉与此有关。

二、道德激励与利益动机的相容性

一个人自我的道德激励，同一个人在工作时具有利益动机是不是可以相容？这个问题是值得探讨的。不能简单地认为一个人有了利益动机，道德的自我激励就消失了；也不能简单地因为一个人在道德激励之下产生了持久的主动性、积极性，就不承认他还受到利益动机的某种程度的影响。一个人的主动性、积极性很可能部分地来自利益动机，部分地来自自我的道德激励；持久的主动性、积极性也可能如此，只是道德激励起的作用更大一些而已。再说，当个人以利益作为活动的动机时，也需要有敬业精神，在同其他人进行交易的过程中应当讲信用，这里也包含了道德的自我激励的内容。

对社会上大多数人来说，可能既以个人利益为目标，同时也有实现公共目标的愿望，因为他们认为个人利益的实现与公共目标的实现是不矛盾的。比如说，一个人兴办某个企业，他认为，如果他成功了，企业越办越兴旺，不仅他的个人利益增长了，而且对社会也有好处，这不也有利于公共目标的实现吗？又如，一个人在某个企业中工作，他想，自己的这份工作不仅能给家庭带来收入，改善生活，而且工作的出色将使得企业的效益增加，而企业效益增加对社会是有利的，这样，个人利益动机与公共目标在他的身上也就统一起来了。不考虑个人利益而只考虑公共目标的人，虽然每个时代都有，但毕竟只是少数人。

当个人利益与公共目标发生冲突，而且两者只能择一时，对每一个既考虑个人利益又考虑公共目标的人是一场考验。如上所述，社会上大多数人是把个人利益与公共目标结合在一起考虑的，个人利益与公共目标的兼顾使他们不需要作出两者只能择一的决策，因为实现了个人利益，对公共目标的实现也有利，而公共目标的实现中也包含了个人利益的实现，没有两者只能择一的必要。然而一旦个人利益的实现与公共目标的实现只能两者择一时，并不是所有的人都能作出正确的决策和选择。道德力量的作用在这种场合将充分地显示出来。选择个人利益而放弃公共目标的人，在道德力量的面前退缩了。在历史上和现实生活中不乏这方面的例子。但仍然有不少人能选择公共目标而舍弃个人利益。这也是自律的结果：自律使他们既有道德的约束，又有道德的激励。道德

的自我约束，使他们谨守道德规范的防线，不做违背公共利益和公共目标的事情，在个人利益和公共目标只能两者择一时，不会为了个人利益而牺牲公共目标。道德的自我激励，激发了他们为公共利益和公共目标的实现而努力的热情，自愿地在个人利益和公共目标冲突时把公共目标的实现置于个人利益之上。道德的自我约束与道德的自我激励是同等重要的。

在社会经济活动中，道德的自我激励有时会被人们所误解，即认为凡是个人在经济活动中因存在利益动机而获利时，就会被看成是出于个人的利益考虑，道德的自我约束可能还存在，而道德的自我激励却不存在了，不起作用了。这种误解之所以出现并会被人们所接受，是因为他们把道德激励与利益动机说成是互不相容的。根据以上的分析，我们可以得出如下的论断：

在某些个人利益与公共目标之间不需要作出两者只能择一的场合，对个人来说，个人利益的实现与公共目标的实现可以相容。道德的自我激励既有助于公共目标的实现，也有助于个人利益目标的实现。在这种情况下，道德激励与个人利益动机也是一致的，因为个人受到敬业精神和诚实信用原则的激励，为了实现利益目标，工作应当做得更好，提供的产品和劳务应当更加得到社会的欢迎。

在个人利益与公共目标之间存在着只能两者择一而且必须作出果断决策的场合，对个人来说，无论是选择公共目标而放弃个人利益还是选择个人利益而放弃公共目标，都能感受到个人利益与公共目标的冲突。假定他选择个人利益而放弃公共目标，那么道德激励没有起到作用，道德激励同他的利益动机是不协调的。假定他选择了公共目标而宁肯放弃个人利益，那就表明，在这种情况下道德激励已经发生了作用，道德激励与个人利益动机可以相容，从而个人作出了应有的选择：一个人在不违背公共利益和公共目标的条件下争取实现个人利益，以及他在个人利益与公共目标有冲突时选择公共目标而放弃个人利益，都有可能受到道德激励的影响。这都表明了道德激励与个人利益动机不是不可以相容的：两者的相容表现为认定公共目标中包含了个人利益。

由此可见，道德激励与个人利益动机可以相容，但又并非必然相容，因为在个人利益与公共目标之间存在着只能两者择一，而个人选择个人利益而放弃公共目标时，道德激励与个人利益动机的不相容就暴露出来了。

三、自律是道德自我约束与道德自我激励的统一

以上的分析已经说明，道德的自我约束固然重要，道德的自我激励同样重要。社会经济生活中，假定只有个人的道德自我约束而没有道德自我激励，社会也许会失去生气，失去活力，失去进取精神，人们可能谨小慎微，但求无过。假定只有个人的道德自我激励而没有道德自我约束，人们在行动中可能失去应有的警惕而放松自己行为的检点，也就是有可能守不住道德规范的防线。只有道德的自我约束与道德的自我激励并重，才能使社会既能充满生气和活力，又能兼顾公共目标和个人利益。一个严于自律的生产者、工作者，可以是一个具有奉献精神的人，也是一个具有进取心的人；可以是一个有敬业精神的人，也是一个收入不断增长的人。他的奉献精神、进取心、敬业精神，以及事业成功并取得不断增长的收入的事实，都同他的道德自我激励和自我约束有关。

一个人在非正常条件下不仅更加需要有道德的自我约束，而且也更加需要有道德的自我激励。历史上的情况暂且不谈，就以现实生活中的例子来说，人生活在社会中，要生存，要发展，要适应各种不同的生活环境和工作环境。他除了要能够在正常条件下生存和发展而外，还要有在各种非正常条件下生存和发展的能力，否则，这个人的生存能力是脆弱的、经不起挫折和打击的。还应该看到，人们通常所说的适应能力，主要不是指适应正常条件的能力，而是指适应非正常条件的能力。判断一个人的能力大小和生命力是否旺盛，一个重要的标准就是看他能否在非正常条件下生存和发展，能否适应种种逆境。

然而，在处于相同的非正常条件下的若干人之中，为什么有些人消沉，有些人奋进？为什么有些人堕落，有些人却能自持不屈？道德的自我约束和自我激励同时发挥了作用。一个人，如果在非正常条件下能够自持、奋进，应当从精神方面去寻找产生适应非正常条件的能力的原因。这里尤其应当提到的是道德的自我激励的作用。在道德的自我激励之下，为了一种信念、一种理想、一种目标，他会正确对待困难，克服困难，把艰苦的环境作为对自己的磨炼。道德的自我激励会使他学会如何适应非正常条件，从而使自己得到发展。从这个意义上说，一个人越是处于非正常条件下，就越需要有道德的自我激励，道德力量的作用也更能显示出来。

任何一个人，有时都难以避免惰性的产生及其对自己行为的牵制。如何克服惰性？一方面，这与良好的社会风尚的形成和影响有关；另一方面，又与个人不断的道德自我激励有关。在良好的社会风尚的影响下，当周围的人都能战胜惰性，不断创造与进取时，一个人即使存在着惰性，但摆脱惰性的可能性也将增大。而道德的自我激励在这种情况下之所以显得更加重要，原因在于：不管周围的人是否战胜了惰性，是否创造或进取，只要自己在道德的激励下能够奋发，那么不仅能克服惰性

的牵制，还能影响周围的人，使他们有信心和毅力去战胜惰性。

总之，自律作为道德自我约束和道德自我激励的统一，理所当然地会引起社会的重视。当人们有道德的自我约束时，就会在社会经济活动中严格要求自己，不做任何违背道德规范的事，抵制一切损害公共利益和公共目标的行为。当人们有道德的自我激励时，就会有进取心、奉献精神、敬业精神，就会摆脱惰性，战胜困难，即使处于逆境之中也能使工作更有成绩，更为出色。

CHAPTER 5 THE THIRD DISTRIBUTION
第五章　第三次分配

5.1 Overview of the Third Distribution

5.1.1 Definition of the Third Distribution

In Chapter Four we discussed moral inspiration, a concept that involves dedication, enterprising spirit, adaptability to abnormal situations, ability to overcome apathy and determination to overcome adversity, etc. All the foregoing can have a positive impact in the area of production and thereby stimulate efficiency and national wealth to a great extent. Now, let us turn our attention to the field of distribution. Through the following analysis we may conclude that regulation by custom and morality, including moral restraint and inspiration, exerts considerable influence on income distribution.

In the market economy, income distribution via the market is usually called the first distribution and that via government the second distribution. The first distribution is conducted according to the economic results of the market. All suppliers of production factors get income corresponding to the quality and quantity of the production factors they provide, and through examination and endorsement by the market. The basic principle of the first distribution is: The higher the economic returns, the higher the income; no returns, no income. That is to say, in a market economy, we cannot just use the supply of production factors to judge whether there is income, and if so how much, because it involves examination and recognition by the market. Market is ruthless. If the production factors supplied are not endorsed by the market, cannot stand up to its examination or cannot produce economic returns, then there will be no income. The second distribution is conducted by government. Government has its own targets and can adopt various regulatory tools to realize them. For example, on the one hand it collects

personal income tax from those whose income reaches a certain threshold and collects legacy tax, gift tax, property transfer tax, etc., from those who transfer properties. On the other hand, it provides subsidies or allowances to the needy so as to coordinate income distribution. In works about economics, personal income after tax is called disposable personal income, income that can be used in consumption or be saved.

So, is there a third distribution following the first two; if so what is its nature? In my book *The Shareholding System and Modern Market Economy*, I made a preliminary discussion on the third distribution: "Besides the two distributions, there is a third distribution, a kind of income distribution based on moral belief."[1] It shows that the first distribution is the effect of regulation by market, the second the effect of regulation by government, and the third the effect of regulation by custom and morality.

The third distribution is transfer of private income. "Under the influence of morality, the transfer of private income, voluntary payments and donations may happen across a broad range. For example, an individual may be willing to donate to his hometown, to disabled welfare organizations, to disaster-stricken areas, and to various cultural, sports, educational, healthcare and religious groups. These are not compulsory actions, but made under the influence of morality."[2] In other words, "The third distribution, or distribution under the influence of morality, has to do with personal belief, sense of social responsibility or a feeling for particular causes. Government regulation or compulsion is not involved here. That is to say, it is a voluntary transferring of some of one's private income to others."[3]

Income distribution out of personal faith, sense of social responsibility or feeling for particular causes (e.g. education, arts, charity, religion, etc.) is actually a behavior resulting from moral inspiration. People are under no outside pressure to donate. If they do not, they are breaking no law or group rule (assuming they belong to the group). So why do they donate of their own accord? They do so under the influence of their own moral inspiration, because they see making a donation as their social responsibility or contribution to society. Some people possibly do so from religious enthusiasm, from humanist considerations, or from compassion, and are all based on moral inspiration, since they are very likely to see donating as a way of moral improvement.

With moral inspiration, many people work hard to create new business, increase income, accumulate wealth and then donate again. The increase of

private property always accompanies the increase of private donation. The former can stimulate the latter and the latter can encourage people to keep on working hard and accumulating wealth. Such cases are not rare both in history and today. As I pointed out in *The Shareholding System and Modern Market Economy*: "The greater the number of people with such belief, sense of social responsibility or feeling for particular causes, the greater the amount of money they volunteer to pay or to donate, the more prominent becomes the role of morality in narrowing the income gap. At the present stage, the number of people willing to transfer part of their income to others is very small and so the narrowing influence is small, but in the long term, the role of morality in narrowing the income gap, is becoming increasingly important, albeit slowly."[4]

5.1.2 Several Points on the Third Distribution

Having defined the third distribution, we need to elaborate a few things.

Firstly, suppose a society has no first or second distribution, how is its distribution conducted?

This brings us once more to the "gap-filling" role of regulation by custom and morality. In the long period before the appearance of market and government, distribution of means of subsistence at the early stage of human society was conducted on the principles of custom and morality. Otherwise, old people and children could not survive. After tribes were formed, for a long time the distribution within the tribe, including distribution of means of production and means of subsistence, was regulated by custom and morality. At that time, there was no distribution regulated by market or second distribution regulated by government. Later, even with the advent of market and government, in remote villages or in times of great social chaos without market or government regulation of income distribution, it was the role of regulation by custom and morality in income distribution that ensured normal socio-economic operation.

History makes it very plain that distribution in light of regulation by custom and morality not only existed but played its due role. However, it is only when regulation by market and by government have a role in income distribution that distribution under regulation by custom and morality can be called the third distribution. When neither regulation by market nor by

government operates, distribution under regulation by custom and morality is the sole mode of distribution.

Secondly, following the appearance of market and government, the role of the third distribution became supplementary. The degree of its influence on income distribution depends on the amount of income put into the third distribution, which in turn depends on the amount of gross income, the amount net of government taxes, and the extent to which morality can influence behavior.

If we merely recognize the first and the second distribution by market and by government respectively, while neglecting the third distribution which is beyond regulation by either of these, it is actually to over-simplify socio-economic activity and to deny the fact that human beings as the main body of economic activities have different targets and that income distribution is influenced by moral inspiration. Without the third distribution, the economy can still run normally because of the effect of the first and second distributions. But with it, income distribution in society can become more coordinated and the economy runs more smoothly. Furthermore, under the influence of morality, the third distribution can help promote cultural and public welfare causes, etc.

Thirdly, the third distribution happens more frequently in smaller groups. The smaller the group, the more common third distribution among its members will be. The bigger a group, the rarer the distribution will be.

The family is the smallest group, and within a family the individual members have different earning capacities and different income levels. One embodiment of mutual help among family members is income transfer, and this has nothing to do with market or government regulation, but is purely a result of regulation by custom and morality.

The clan is also a small group, although larger than the family. Under the market economy, it is no longer common in urban areas that people from the same family voluntarily transfer their income inside the clan. But in rural areas, it is still quite a common phenomenon, especially when natural disasters strike, or at weddings, funerals or ceremonies for celebrating newborn babies. One important reflection of mutual help among clan members is still income transfer.

When it comes to a very large group with many members, such as a city, province or country, income transfer among members cannot possibly be common, but influenced by custom and morality factors some members still

volunteer to donate part of their income to help others.

Generally speaking, the donors either give directly to group members who are even strange to them or via intermediary organizations (charity organizations, public institutions, etc.): the donors firstly donate to intermediary organizations, which then donate to other members or use the donation for public welfare undertakings. The bigger a group is the more commendable is the income transfer taking place under the influence of regulation by custom and morality and the more strongly the power of morality is displayed.

Fourthly, income distribution regulated by custom and morality can be classified into two types. The first type is voluntary personal donation after the first and the second distribution, and is motivated by individual belief, sense of social responsibility, feeling for particular causes, etc. This voluntary giving is called the third distribution because it is a further distribution following the first and second ones. It is a manifestation of individual moral inspiration. The second type is a mode of distribution operating in the absence of regulation by market or government or when both have ceased to have effect, and it relies on regulation by custom and morality. The reason it is called the third distribution is because it results from factors of custom and morality.

However, the main distinction between the two types of distribution is the extent to which they are voluntary. The first type, under regulation by custom and morality, is totally a voluntary donation. None are forced to donate, but they do so anyway. For the second type, because there is no regulation by market or by government on income distribution, the distribution is conducted in light of customs and group rules based on those customs. Therefore, the degree of members' identification with the group, with its customs and rules, and with the distribution outcomes will influence how willingly people conduct such distribution. If a member identifies highly with those things, he will be more likely to follow and accept the distribution rule of the group. Conversely, if his identification with these things is poor, he will be less willing to support this kind of distribution despite still observing group rules and customs. Whether his disagreement on distribution within the group is openly expressed or not, he will inevitably feel estranged from the group and other members. If the majority of group members have low identification with their income distribution based on customs and if their disagreements increase, they will drift apart from the group, and crisis may

result.

In such situations there will be two possible results: The group accepts the different views of its members and makes some adjustment to the custom-based mode of distribution so as to increase the members' identification with the group; or, the divergence inside the group continues to grow until the group falls apart or ceases to exist except in name. Such cases are not rare, neither in the past nor in the present.

Fifthly, income distribution regulated by custom and morality after the first distribution by market and second distribution by government is obviously a kind of voluntary or non-compulsory income transfer, but it is not totally disconnected from market or government. For example, if the government has drawn up measures on collecting inheritance tax, including a rule that donations to charity or public welfare can be deducted from the value of the inheritance and therefore not subject to tax, it will encourage people to donate or make a will leaving part of or all their income to charity or public welfare. It is true that donating is voluntary, non-compulsory behavior and directly connected with the donor's own moral inspiration, but we cannot deny that measures on inheritance tax collection also act as a stimulus.

For another example, under regulation by market, the quality and quantity of production factors supplied have a bearing on economic results and consequently on income. Suppose an investor starts an enterprise in an under-developed county or town and at the same time donates toward building a school or hospital. The former investment is market behavior prompted by market considerations, whereas the latter is a behavior for public welfare and prompted by moral considerations. But the two aspects are related to some extent: (1) A school will help raise the educational level of the local people and improve labor qualification, which will in turn benefit the donor's enterprise. Similarly, a hospital will help to improve local healthcare conditions, make the workers stronger, reduce diseases and improve attendance rate, which will also in turn benefit the donor's enterprise. (2) With a school, hospital and a stable labor force, the enterprise will attract more talents, which is beneficial for the long-term development of the enterprise. (3) An investor who starts an enterprise and at the same time builds a school and a hospital will gain a reputation among local people, which means the enterprise will enjoy good public relations. In spite of this, we should remember that a donation toward building a school and hospital is

not a market behavior, but an outcome of regulation by custom and morality and belongs to the third distribution, since the donor is not forced to do it.

壹　第三次分配概述

一、第三次分配的定义

第四章所讨论的道德激励问题，涉及敬业精神、进取心、对非正常条件的适应、对惰性的摆脱，以及战胜逆境的决心和毅力，等等，所有这些都会对生产领域发生积极的影响，从而将大大促进效率的增长与国民财富的创造。现在，让我们把讨论的范围延伸到收入分配领域。通过分析可以了解到，习惯与道德调节的作用，包括道德约束与道德激励的作用，对收入分配的影响同样是非常显著的。

在市场经济中，人们通常把市场进行的收入分配称做第一次分配，把政府主持下的收入分配，称做第二次分配。第一次分配是按照市场的经济效益进行的。各个生产要素的供给者按照各自提供的生产要素的数量和质量，经过市场的检验与认可，取得相应收入。市场经济中第一次分配的基本原则是：经济效益越高，收入越多；无经济效益，则没有收入。也就是说，在市场经济中，不能简单地用是否提供了生产要素和提供了多少生产要素来判断有没有收入或收入多少，因为这里存在着市场的检验与认可问题。市场是无情的，如果所提供的生产要素不被市场所认可，经不起市场检验，没有经济效益，那么还是不会有收入。第二次分配是由政府主持的，政府有自己的目标，为了实现这一目标，政府可以采取各种收入调节手段，例如，一方面向达到一定收入数额的个人征收个人所得税，向转移财产的个人征收遗产税、赠与税、财产转移税等，另一方面给贫困户以补助、津贴，以促进收入分配的协调。在经济学书籍中，把纳税以后的个人收入称做个人可支配收入，个人可支配收入或用于消费支出，或用于储蓄。

那么，在第一次分配和第二次分配之后，是不是还存在着第三次分配？如果存在的话，第三次分配是什么性质的？关于收入的第三次分配，我曾在所著的《股份制与现代市场经济》一书中作了初步探讨，我写道："在两次收入分配之外，还存在着第三次分配——基于道德信念而进行的收入分配。"[1]这表明，第一次分配是市场调节的效应，第二次分配是政府调节的效应，第三次分配则是习惯与道德调节的效应。

第三次分配是个人的一种收入转移。"在道德力量作用之下，个人收入转移与个人自愿缴纳、捐献的范围是较广泛的。比如说，个人自愿

为家乡建设捐赠，为残疾人福利组织捐赠，向灾区人民捐赠，向各种文化、体育、教育、卫生、宗教团体捐赠等等，都是非强制性的，这些行为与道德力量的作用有关”。[2]换言之，“第三次分配，即在道德力量作用之下的收入分配，与个人的信念、社会责任心或对某种事业的感情有关，基本上不涉及政府的调节行为，也与政府的强制无关。这就是说，这是在政府调节之后，个人自愿把一部分收入转让出去的行为”。[3]

这里所谈到的出于个人的信念、社会责任心以及个人对某种事业（如教育事业、艺术事业、慈善事业、宗教事业等）的感情而进行的收入分配，实际上就是出于道德激励的行为。捐赠财物的人并未受到任何来自外界的压力。他如果不捐赠，既不违法，也不违背某个团体（假定他参加该团体）的规定。那么，他为什么会自觉自愿地捐赠呢？是道德的自我激励使他这样做的，因为他把这种捐赠看成是自己的社会责任，是一种为社会作出奉献的行为。还有一些人，可能是出于宗教的热忱，或出于人道主义的思考，或出于爱心而这样做的，这同样以道德自我激励为基础，因为他们可能把这种捐赠看成是个人在道德上追求完美的行为。

在道德的激励之下，不少人可能不断地创业，增加收入，积累财富，而在收入增长和财富增长后，又一再捐赠。个人财产的增加和个人捐赠的增加，相伴而行。个人财产的增加会促使个人捐赠的增加，而个人捐赠行为又会推动个人继续致力于敬业创业，积累财富。在历史上和现实生活中不乏这样的例子。正如我在《股份制与现代市场经济》中所指出的：“社会上有这种信念、社会责任心或对某种事情有感情的人越多，个人自愿缴纳或捐献的数额就越多，道德力量对缩小社会上收入分配差距的作用也就越大。在现阶段，社会上可能只有少数人自愿转移出一部分收入，从而对缩小收入差距的影响很小，但从长期来看，道德力量对于缩小收入分配差距的作用是会逐渐地（尽管是缓慢地）增大的。”[4]

二、关于第三次分配的几点说明

在说明了第三次分配的定义之后，还需要再对第三次分配作一些解释。

第一，假定社会上不存在第一次分配和第二次分配，社会的分配是怎样进行的？

这就是我们在前面已经讨论过的习惯与道德调节“填补真空”的问题。比如说，在市场和政府出现以前的漫长岁月里，人类社会最早的生

活资料分配是按习惯与道德准则进行的，否则老人和小孩就无以为生了。部落形成以后，很长时间内部落内部的分配，包括生产资料的分配和生活资料的分配，也由习惯与道德力量来调节。这时既没有市场对分配的调节，也没有政府主持下的第二次分配。以后，尽管市场和政府相继出现了，但在偏远的山村，或在社会大动乱的年代，在市场对收入分配的调节和政府对收入分配的调节都难以生效的场合，又是习惯与道德调节在分配中发挥作用，使社会经济照常运行。

历史十分清楚地告诉我们，在人类社会中，按习惯与道德调节方式进行的分配确实存在着，并起着应有的作用。只不过在市场和政府都对收入分配进行调节的情况下，习惯与道德调节下的分配才是名副其实的第三次分配；而在市场调节与政府调节都不起作用的场合，习惯与道德调节下的分配便成了唯一的分配方式。

第二，在市场形式和政府出现之后，在分配领域内，第三次分配是起着补充作用的分配。第三次分配对社会的收入分配的影响程度，取决于被用于第三次分配的收入数额的多少，而被用于第三次分配的收入数额的多少，既取决于总收入的多少和收入总额中扣除政府征收的税额之后剩余的多少，也取决于道德力量对人们的行为有多大的影响。

假定我们只承认有市场进行的第一次分配和政府主持下的第二次分配，而忽视市场调节与政府调节之外的第三次分配，实际上就是把社会经济活动过于简单化，不承认人作为经济活动主体的目标的多元性，不承认人们的道德自我激励对收入分配的影响。虽然在社会中不存在第三次分配时，经济仍可以照常运行，因为有了第一次分配和第二次分配，经济运行已趋于正常。但由于有了第三次分配，一方面，社会的收入分配可以由不协调走向协调，社会的经济运行可以更为顺畅，另一方面，在道德力量的影响之下，社会文化领域、公共服务领域以及其他领域内的一些事业可以在第三次分配调节之下较快地发展起来。

第三，第三次分配在一个小群体内部是经常存在并起作用的。群体越小，成员的第三次分配越有普遍性；群体越大，成员的第三次分配越有特殊性。

家庭是最小的群体。家庭成员中，各人赚取收入的能力大小不一，收入多少不一。家庭成员之间的相互帮助表现之一就是收入的转移。这种收入转移与市场调节、政府调节都无关，它纯粹是习惯与道德调节的结果。

家族是比家庭稍大的一个群体，但也属于小群体之列。在市场经济条件下，生活在城市中的同一家庭的成员，尽管在家族内部仍然存在自愿的收入转移现象，但这已经不很普遍了；而在农村中，家族内部的成员间收入转移仍是比较常见的，尤其是在天灾发生之际，以及在嫁娶、

丧葬、添儿添女时，家族成员的相互帮助的表现之一仍然经常在于收入转移。

如果群体很大，例如一个城市、一个省区，甚至全社会，成员人数众多，在这种情况下，一个群体的成员之间的收入转移就不可能是普遍性的或经常发生的，但有些成员仍会自愿地捐出一部分收入去帮助其他成员，这同样是习惯或道德力量起作用的结果。

总的说来，群体的成员如果捐赠自己的部分收入的话，那么或者是直接捐赠给某些素不相识的群体成员，或者是通过中介组织（如公益机构、慈善机构等）进行的，即先捐赠给中介组织，再由后者捐赠给其他成员，或由后者举办公益事业等。因此，群体越大，人们在习惯与道德调节之下的收入转移也就越难能可贵，这种捐赠越能显示道德力量的作用。

第四，我们可以把习惯与道德调节下的收入分配分为两类。一类是在市场调节所进行的第一次分配和政府调节所进行的第二次分配之后，当个人收入已经成为个人可支配收入时，个人出于某种信念、社会责任感、爱心或对某种事业的感情而自愿作出的捐赠。这种自愿的捐赠之所以被称为第三次分配，因为这是第一次分配和第二次分配之后对个人收入的再一次分配。它是个人的道德自我激励的表现。另一类则是在不存在市场调节与政府调节的情况下，或者是在市场调节与政府调节都不起作用的情况下的一种分配方式，这时要依靠习惯与道德调节进行分配。它之所以被称做第三次分配，因为它也是习惯与道德力量起作用的结果。

但是，这两类习惯与道德调节下的收入分配是有区别的。区别主要在于自愿程度的不同。在前一类习惯与道德调节之下，个人完全出于自愿而捐出自己的收入。没有人强迫他必须这么做，但他却这么做了。而在后一类习惯与道德调节之下，由于没有市场对收入分配的调节，也没有政府对收入分配的调节，而是依靠某种习惯以及在此种习惯基础上形成的群体内部规则来进行分配的，因此，群体的成员对群体的认同程度，对某种习惯以及在此种习惯基础上形成的群体内部分配规则的认同程度，对分配的后果的认同程度等等，都会影响到习惯与道德调节下的分配的自愿程度。如果某个成员在上述各方面的认同程度较高，他会遵从群体的分配规则，他对这种分配的自愿程度就比较高；反之，如果某个成员在上述各方面的认同程度较差，虽然他仍会服从群体的规则，遵守习惯，但他的自愿程度却是比较低的。他在群体内部的收入分配方面的分歧意见，不管是不是公开显露出来，他同群体的关系都会因此而疏远。这样，就会逐渐影响他本人同其他成员之间的关系。假定一个群体中有比较多的人对群体内部按习惯进行的收入分配的认同程度降低了，

他们的异议增大了，他们同群体的关系疏远了，群体的危机就会产生。

如果出现了这种情况，不可避免地会导致以下的结果：或者群体吸收有异议的成员们的意见，对习惯所形成的分配方法作某种调整，以换取他们对群体的认同程度的增加；或者群体中的裂痕扩大，引起群体瓦解或名存实亡。历史上和现实生活中都可以找到一些例子。

第五，在市场调节与政府调节之后通过习惯与道德调节而进行的收入分配，虽然是一种自愿的、非强制性的收入转移，但并不是同市场与政府完全没有关系的。比如说，如果政府制定了遗产税的征收办法，并且规定向公益事业、慈善事业的捐赠可以从遗产中扣除，免于缴纳遗产税，这将会鼓励人们在生前向公益事业、慈善事业捐赠，或立下遗嘱，把收入的一部分或全部捐赠给公益事业、慈善事业。这种捐赠行为仍然属于自愿的、非强制性的行为，同捐赠人的道德自我激励直接有关，但不能否认的是，遗产税征收办法起了推动、促进的作用。又如，在市场调节之下，生产要素供给者所提供的生产要素数量和质量与经济效益有关，从而与收入有关。假定某一个投资者在一个经济较不发达的县或乡镇办了一家企业，同时他又捐款在那里办了一所学校或一家医院。前一种投资是市场行为，出于市场的考虑；后一种投资（捐赠）是公益行为，出于道德方面的考虑。但两种投资可能有某种联系，这就是：（1）办了学校，将会提高当地的文化教育水平，提高劳动力素质，对企业的发展有利；办了医院，将会改善当地的医疗卫生条件，使劳动者的体质增强，减少疾病率，提高出勤率，从而也有利于企业的发展。（2）有了学校和医院，企业职工队伍稳定了，企业对人才的吸引力增加了，从较长时期考察，这也是对企业发展有利的。（3）同一个投资者，在兴办企业的同时又在当地办了学校和医院，将增加当地人民对该企业的好感，公共关系的改善对企业的发展同样是有利的。尽管如此，仍应当注意到，捐款办学校、办医院，是习惯与道德调节的结果，是第三次分配的内容，它不是市场行为。没有人命令投资者这样做，他的捐赠是自愿的。

5.2. The Role of the Third Distribution in Coordinated Social Development

5.2.1 The Gap Left by the First and Second Distributions

The role of the second distribution by government in harmonizing social development in a market economy has had plenty of academic attention and research. On the other hand, the role of the third distribution under regulation by custom and morality has not even had academic notice, let alone research. This is an undeniable gap in income distribution studies.

The basic principle of the first distribution is to distribute according to economic results, which will encourage suppliers of production factors to pay more attention to the quality of their products and the extent of market demand for them so that they can adjust their supply accordingly. At the same time, those requiring the various production factors will pay more attention to their usage of them, increase the utilization efficiency and reduce the situations that production factors are used irrationally or are set aside. In this way, gross national income will increase, which is in turn an essential condition for harmonious and coordinated social development. Therefore, the three aspects, distribution according to economic results, increase of national income and harmonious social development, are consistent. However, based on the experience of China's economic reform and development in the last 20 years, researchers recognize that fairness should also be considered even in the first distribution. This is because, in the transformation of economic system, the original status of production factor owners was different; i.e., their starting points were unequal. In the first distribution, some people have privileges and some (in particular large numbers of farmers) are disadvantaged, leading to a rather large income disparity that can only increase with the passage of time. Therefore, it is necessary for the government to pay attention to fairness in the first distribution and ensure that the proportion of labor income in the first distribution will increase appropriately rather than continue falling.

In the second distribution, the government should follow the principle of joint consideration to efficiency and fairness. Neglect of fairness will stretch the income gap even wider and make it hard to realize harmonious social development. Neglect of efficiency will impede the growth of national income and thus have a negative effect on social development. Therefore, to consider both efficiency and fairness in the second distribution will promote coordinated social development.

However, both distributions have some limitations in this regard, mainly because the market economy principle of distributing according to economic results itself has limitations. Since human beings are not only economic

beings but social beings too, non-material benefits will play a more important role once per capita income has risen to a certain level. People's outlook values will also change with it and the importance of the economic results principle to national income increase might progressively decrease. The government, by second distribution and through regulating measures such as taxation and poverty relief, may make social development more harmonious than before the second distribution, but it is not so easy for government to give joint consideration to efficiency and fairness all the time. When its regulating measures are effective the two goals may both command attention, but most of the time there is lack of balance, sometimes efficiency being over-emphasized at the expense of fairness, sometimes too much weight is put on fairness and the result is less than ideal efficiency improvement. If government regulation is not working well or its measures are seriously flawed, then neither efficiency nor fairness will materialize. The two main reasons for this are as follows: one, inappropriate government policies and systems that are unable to produce a balance of efficiency and fairness; two, the absence of necessary supervision systems in the implementation of policies, resulting in the systems or policies going off course. To address these problems, government needs to rectify weaknesses in its policies and systems, whilst also beefing up supervision of how they are implemented and improve the qualification of relevant government departments and employees.

The above analysis shows that following the first and second distributions, there is still a space for development of social coordination. When the first and second distributions are correct, the gap will be smaller and when the two, in particular the second, are not right, the gap will be bigger. Whether the gap is small or big, more needs to be done for harmonized social development.

Hence, from the perspective of income distribution, the importance of the third distribution becomes more obvious. Since it is a form of voluntary donation, its influence is far-reaching and the fields it can affect are beyond those of regulation by market or government. Moreover, since the third distribution is a result of regulation by custom and morality, it is a kind of income transfer with compassion, unlike the first distribution regulated by the indifferent market. It is also a kind of non-compulsory and non-utilitarian income transfer, unlike the second distribution regulated by government, which is usually compulsory and utilitarian. In light of this, the third

distribution can play a better role in filling the space for coordinated social development.

5.2.2 Interpretations of Coordinated Social Development and the Role of the Third Distribution

Before discussing the role of income distribution (all three types) in coordinated social development, we should first clarify what is meant by that term. In my book *Transformational Development Theory*, I explain it in three ways.[5]

One: coordination of income distribution, i.e. the income gap between regions and families, should be appropriate rather than excessive.

Two: harmonized development of all social sectors. Apart from economic development, sectors such as culture, education, health, environmental protection, welfare, public service, etc., should also develop correspondingly so as to meet the multi-faceted needs of society's members.

Three: improving life quality. Only when people's life quality is in line with the requirements of modern society can we say coordinated social development has been achieved.

The three explanations, as reflections of the content of coordinated social development from different perspectives, all have their basis, and using them we can better discuss the role of the third distribution in promoting coordinated development. But first it needs observing that no matter how coordinated social development is interpreted, it could not be achieved under the planned economy system. In planned economy the policy is to paper over conflicts. Ostensibly there is problem-free social development when in fact discord is getting more acute by the day, conflicts accumulate and the situation worsens, until ultimately there is an explosive social crisis. For example, in planned economy, peasants are enclosed in small areas, toiling hard for miniscule incomes. Their mobility is severely restricted. It is against the way of harmonious development. For another example, also under the planned economy, people cannot choose their own careers and their strengths cannot be used to the full. As the economy is under-developed, real jobs are limited, but there is over-staffing in government offices, and there are many in disguised unemployment. This cannot be called coordinated social development, either. And again, in planned economy, productivity is low

with few consumer goods on the market, and supply in exchange for tokens is extremely unreasonable, excluding peasants from the consumer market. Such things, supply-by-token or shortage of goods, mean great lack of coordination, rather than signaling harmonized social development. In short, the planned economy system must be abandoned in order to achieve coordinated social development. This is a basic premise.

Now, with reference to the three points made above, we will discuss the role of the third distribution in promoting coordinated social development.

1. The Third Distribution and Coordination of Income Distribution

Point one: coordinated social development means the coordination of income distribution.

Under regulation by market, all kinds of production factors are supplied to society at a certain quantity and quality according to market demand. Because income distribution is conducted according to economic results, the income gap is bound to exist and to be of long duration.

Moreover, in this situation the gap in income distribution may very well get wider because, from a dynamic view, the income situation of the earlier stage will influence that of the later stage. Suppose there are two different groups of market participants, and leaving aside any differences in their talent, the first group is superior to the second in terms of family background and living area, so it has more advantages and higher income level than the second, which is in an inferior position and has lower income level. This can be regarded as the result of first-round market competition. Then the second round follows right on. In the market, those already advantaged will continue to be so and those in an inferior position will continue to be disadvantaged. After rounds and rounds of development, the income gap between them will keep on growing. This reflects the limitations or shortcomings of income distribution on the principle of economic results under market regulation.

As to the limitations of the second distribution by government, it has been pointed out above that whether or not the government regulating measures are right, there are just four situations that can ensue: (1) both efficiency and fairness are achieved; (2) efficiency is achieved but fairness is low; (3) fairness is realized but efficiency is low; (4) neither efficiency nor fairness is achieved. The first result would obviously be the best and the hardest outcome to achieve. The other three will leave a distribution gap, one waiting to be filled by the third distribution; i.e., narrowed down by people's voluntary giving. This will on the one hand make social development more

harmonized and on the other hand, under the impact of moral force, help to strengthen society cohesion, ease interpersonal friction and improve efficiency. Even if that happy outcome is realized, this does not mean the third distribution is unnecessary: this is because there is still potential for efficiency improvement and the realization of fairness to a great extent hinges on identification with fairness. Thus the third distribution can still play a role in harmonizing social development.

We should not or need not ask about the motivation of those who voluntarily donate part of their income to low-income families or public welfare causes: to do so would only make things more complicated. We cannot deny that there are differences between one person and the next: different people have different considerations and even the same person may think differently about donating on different occasions. Many donate from a certain ideal, belief or sense of responsibility, others do so out of sympathy, some for self-fulfillment, regarding donation as a symbol of career success or as another form of career; for others it is for spiritual consolation or to redeem a pledge along the lines of promising to donate part of one's property to society if surviving a catastrophe. Some possibly donate in order to get free of mental burden, believing themselves undeserving of this income or property and that giving will make them feel better. In general, donors may differ in what and why they give, but we do not need to know their motivation. All we need to know is that voluntary donation can help narrow the income gap and promote harmonized social development.

2. The Third Distribution and the Coordinated Development of Various Social Sectors

Point two: Coordinated social development means the coordinated development of all social sectors including economy, culture, education, health, environmental protection, welfare, public service, etc.

Under regulation by market, culture, education and health sectors, although socially highly beneficial, are of low economic interest. Therefore, they often face the problem of inadequate investment, which has hindered their normal development. This is a reflection of the limitation of regulation by market on harmonized development of the social sectors. Under government regulation, if government has enough funds and effective measures, it is possible to effect improvement in the uncoordinated structure of those sectors. But without the right funds and measures, the condition will be made worse rather than improved.

Thus, after regulation by market and by government, a gap is left for the harmonized development of these sectors, a gap that needs to be filled up by the third distribution. Some people donate because of their ideals, belief, sense of social responsibility, or a passion for causes such as education, health, environmental protection, public welfare, public service, etc. Society may create various groups like foundations to receive such donations and to work for the development of those causes. These are bound to promote harmonized social development.

The influence of the third distribution on the development of those sectors is sometimes direct and sometimes indirect. Direct influence is: after some people donate part of their income or property directly to culture, education, health, environmental protection, etc., or to foundations working for the development of those sectors, those sectors will have rather rapid and harmonious development. Indirect influence is: when people use part of their income or property to help develop poor areas or to help its inhabitants out of poverty, the per capita income in those areas will improve, which will in turn stimulate local development in culture, education, health, environmental protection, etc., and thus promote the harmonized development of those sectors.

3. The Third Distribution and Improved Quality of Life

Point three: harmonized social development means improved quality of life, a concept that generally includes but is not limited to the following issues: To what degree can people's basic living needs be satisfied? To what degree can people's dwelling conditions be improved? How much can be provided in terms of education, health, culture and entertainment services? How much leisure time can people spend? In what kind of environment can people work and live? Improved life quality is an indicator of social development heading in the direction of harmony.

Since improved life quality depends on both economic growth and how much society can invest in it, the role of regulation by market and government in promoting such improvement is still evident. Under regulation by market, economic growth will continue, which creates a favorable condition for improvement. Under regulation by government, apart from maintaining continuous economic growth, the government can also adjust the amount of investment into improvement and thus help improve life quality as well as promoting coordinated social development.

It should be noted that regulation by market and by government have at

least three limitations in improving life quality. Firstly, the investment of the market or government in this aspect is limited, so non-governmental investment is needed. Secondly, good life quality also includes good social atmosphere, harmonious interpersonal relations, more concern and better care for the elderly, the weak, the sick and the disabled, things that cannot be realized by the power of market or government only. Thirdly, good life quality includes people's being able to spend their leisure time reasonably, change outlook on spending pattern, etc., which also cannot be achieved solely by market or government. It is evident that, after regulation by market and government, a gap is left for life quality improvement, a gap that the third distribution and regulation by moral factors can fill.

If there is a third distribution after the first and second distributions, i.e., donations from members of society that are used to develop sectors bearing on life quality (such as culture, education, health, environmental protection, public welfare and public service), these sectors will develop more rapidly. Moreover, through the third distribution and the effect of moral factors, the social ethos will change for the better and the public will have more concern and better care for the elderly, the weak, the sick and the disabled. In this way, coordinated social development will be achieved more smoothly. As to how people will spend their leisure time reasonably or how they will correctly treat consumption behavior and pattern, such things are not directly connected with the third distribution. However, when more and more people care about life quality and are willing to devote themselves to its improvement, when they invest their time, energy and some of their disposable income in it, they actually do know how to spend their leisure and consume rationally. This too is conducive to coordinated social development.

贰　第三次分配在社会协调发展中的作用

一、第一次分配与第二次分配后留下的空白

在市场经济条件下，关于政府主持的第二次分配在社会协调发展中的作用，已经得到学术界的重视，并对之进行了研究。至于习惯与道德调节下的第三次分配在社会协调发展中的作用问题，直到现在还没有被学术界注意到，研究工作就更谈不上了。这不能不说是收入分配领域内研究的不足。

在第一次分配中，按经济效益进行分配是基本原则。按经济效益进行分配，将促使生产要素供给者更加注意自己所提供的生产要素的质量，以及自己的产品被市场需要的程度，从而就会根据市场的需要来调整供给。与此同时，各种生产要素的需求者在按经济效益分配的原则的指引下，也会更加注意生产要素的使用状况，提高生产要素的利用率，减少对生产要素的不合理使用或闲置。其结果必然是国民收入总量的增长，而国民收入的增长又是促进社会协调发展的必不可少的条件。因此，按经济效益分配、国民收入增长、社会协调发展三者是一致的。但根据最近20年来我国经济改革和发展所提供的经验，研究者感觉到，即使在第一次分配中也应当注意到公平问题。这是因为，在经济体制转型过程中，各个生产要素拥有者和持有者原先的地位是有差异的，他们并未处于机会平等的出发点，所以在第一次分配中往往有些人拥有优势，而另一些人（尤其是人数较多的农民）处于弱势，彼此在第一次分配中所得的收入存在较大的差距，日积月累，彼此的收入差距会不断增大。这样一来，政府就有必要在第一次分配中关注公平，使劳动收入在第一次分配中的比重不仅不能继续下降，而且要有适当扩大。

在第二次分配中，政府遵循的是效率与公平兼顾的原则。如果只顾效率而不顾公平，收入分配差距将扩大，社会的协调发展难以实现。如果只顾公平而不顾效率，那么国民收入的增长将受到阻碍，这也不利于社会的协调发展。所以第二次分配中政府对效率与公平的兼顾将促进社会发展的协调。

然而，无论是第一次分配还是第二次分配，在实现社会协调发展方面都会受到一定的限制。这主要是因为，市场经济中按经济效益分配原则本身有局限性。由于人不是单纯的“经济人”，而是“社会的人”，非物质利益因素在人均收入提高后起着越来越重要的作用，人的价值观念也将在人均收入提高过程中发生变化，按经济效益分配对国民收入增长的积极作用可能是递减的。再说说第二次分配的情况。通过政府主持下的第二次分配，即通过税收调节措施和扶贫措施的实行，社会的协调发展状况会比第二次分配前有所改善，然而效率与公平兼顾的原则往往是很难掌握的。在政府的调节措施比较有效时，效率与公平两者都可能被注意到，但有时偏重于效率一端，公平的实现就不尽理想，有时又偏重于公平一端，效率的提高也不尽理想。如果政府的调节不得力，或者政府的调节措施有严重偏差，其结果将是既无效率又不公平。造成这种情况的主要原因有两个：一是制度设计、政策设计时考虑欠妥，以致不能兼顾效率和公平，或者偏重于这一侧，或者偏重于另一侧，甚至形成既无效率又缺少公平的结果；二是在执行过程中，缺少监督机制，以致制度变型或政策走样。假定出现了这两种情况，有必要双管齐下，既纠正制

度设计、政策设计中的不完善之处，又强化执行过程中的监督的机制，提高政府有关部门和工作人员的素质。

以上的分析还表明，在第一次分配和第二次分配之后，社会协调发展方面依旧会留下一个空白。只不过在第一次分配和第二次分配得当时，留下的空白较小；而在第一次分配，特别是第二次分配不当时，留下的空白较大。不管留下的空白较大还是较小，都意味着在社会协调发展方面还有一些工作需要去做。

因此，从收入分配的角度来看，第三次分配的重要性就突出了。由于第三次分配是人们出于自觉自愿的一种捐赠，因此它的影响是广泛的，它所发挥作用的领域是市场调节与政府调节无法比拟的，或者说，是市场调节与政府调节力所不及的。不仅如此，由于第三次分配是习惯与道德力量起作用的结果，它是有情的收入转移，而不像市场调节那样是一种无情的收入转移；它是非功利性、非强制性的收入转移，而不像政府调节之下的收入转移往往带有某种功利性或强制性。正因为如此，在社会协调发展过程中，由第三次分配来填补空白，效果更为显著。

二、对社会协调发展的不同解释和第三次分配的作用

当我们谈到收入分配（包括第一次、第二次和第三次分配）对社会协调发展的作用时，还应当事先明确一下，即社会协调发展的含义究竟是什么？它包括哪些内容？我在所著的《转型发展理论》一书中，曾提及对社会协调发展的三种不同的解释：[5]

第一种解释是：社会协调发展是指收入分配的协调，即社会上各个地区之间、各个家庭之间的收入差距应该适当而不宜过大。

第二种解释是：社会协调发展是指社会上各个部门能协调发展，比如说，除了各个经济部门得到一定发展而外，文化、教育、卫生、环保、福利、公共服务等部门也能相应地发展，从而可以满足社会成员的多方面的需要。

第三种解释是：社会协调发展是指生活质量的提高，只有在生活质量上符合现代社会的要求，才能称做社会的协调发展。

这三种解释都是有根据的，它们从不同的角度反映了社会协调发展的内容。第三次分配对社会协调发展的促进作用，可以根据这三种不同的解释来加以论述。在论述之前，需要指出的是：当我们讨论社会协调发展时，不管对社会协调发展有什么样的解释，社会协调发展都不可能在计划经济体制下实现。计划经济体制采取掩盖矛盾的做法，表面上似乎社会发展中没有出现什么大问题，实际上却使社会发展的不协调程度

日益加剧，以至于矛盾越积越多，不协调状况越来越严重，最后终将爆发成一场社会危机。比如说，计划经济体制之下，农民被关闭在很狭小的区域内，从事劳动，获得微薄的收入，农民的流动受到极大限制，这是与社会协调发展背道而驰的。又如，在计划经济体制下，不仅人们不可能根据自己的专长来选择职业，专长得不到发挥，人不能尽其才，而且由于经济不发达，就业岗位有限，各个单位人浮于事，不少人处于隐蔽性失业状态，这也就谈不上社会发展的协调。再如，在计划经济体制下，生产力发展受到限制，短缺现象严重，市场十分狭小，而且仅限于一些消费品，凭票证供应消费品的做法又极不合理，例如把农民排除在凭票证供应之外等，这些都只能说明社会不协调问题的严重性，根本不能把凭票证供应与短缺看成是社会协调发展的标志。总之，要实现社会的协调发展，必须抛弃计划经济体制，这是社会得以协调发展的前提。

下面，可以按照上述对社会协调发展的三种不同的解释来说明第三次分配在促进社会协调发展中的作用。

（一）第三次分配与社会收入分配的协调

上述第一种解释是：社会协调发展是指收入分配的协调。

前面已经指出，在市场调节之下，各种生产要素供给者根据市场的需要向社会提供一定数量和质量的生产要素，收入分配是按经济效益分配的，人们之间的收入差距必定存在，而且会长期存在。

不仅如此，人们之间的收入差距在按经济效益分配的条件下还有扩大的可能性。这是因为，从动态上看，前期的收入状况将影响后期的收入分配。假定社会上有两组不同的市场参与者，姑且不谈他们的天赋差别，专就他们的家庭背景和居住地区而论，一组市场参与者的家庭背景优于另一组市场参与者，其居住地区的条件也优于另一组市场参与者，于是前者在市场竞争中处于优势，收入较多；后者在市场竞争中处于劣势，收入较少。可以把这看成是第一轮市场竞争的结果。接着，第二轮市场竞争又开始了。在市场上，已经处于优势地位的，将继续处于优势，处于劣势地位的则继续处于劣势，如此一轮一轮发展下去，两组市场参与者的收入差距会更大，这反映了市场调节下按经济效益分配原则进行的收入分配的局限性或缺陷。

至于政府主持下的第二次分配的局限性，前面也已经指出，无论政府的收入调节措施是否得当，总会产生以下四种情况中的一种，这四种情况是：（1）既有效率又实现公平；（2）虽有效率但公平程度较差；（3）虽实现公平但效率低下；（4）既无效率又不公平。如果政府调节之后出现了上述第一种情况，当然是最好的结果，但这是很难做到的。其他三种情况之下，都在收入分配方面留下空白，有待于第三次分配去填补，即社会上一些人自愿的捐赠将有助于收入分配差距的缩小，从而

促进社会发展的协调，同时，通过道德力量的作用，社会的凝聚力有可能增强，人际关系中的摩擦有可能缓解，效率也可以提高。即使在上述第一种情况下，也并非不再需要第三次分配了，因为效率的增长总还有潜力，公平的实现在很大程度上要依赖于人们对公平的认同，所以第三次分配仍能起到协调社会发展的作用。

对那些自愿把可支配收入的一部分用于帮助低收入家庭的行为或用于资助公益事业的行为，不应当、也不需要去探寻捐赠者的动机是什么。如果追问动机，问题将复杂化。不能否认人与人之间的差别，不同的人会有不同的考虑，同一个人在不同的捐赠场合也会有不同的想法。不少人是出于一种理想、一种信念、一种责任感；也有些人可能出于同情心；还有些人可能出于一种自我实现感，即认为自己已经取得了成就，于是把捐赠行为看成是个人事业有成就的表示，或看成是个人事业的另一种形式；另有一些人可能出于某种精神上的寄托，通过捐赠而得到安慰，或者过去曾经许过愿：如果能够渡过某场灾难，将来一定要捐赠若干财产，于是捐赠行为便以还愿的方式出现；也不排除社会上个别人可能出于某种求解脱的心理，即认为自己本来不应该有这些收入或财产的，对此总抱有某种愧意，捐赠以后心理上会平衡些。总之，各种各样的人都有可能自愿捐赠，多少不拘，动机不一，动机是说不清楚的，何必去探寻呢？只要从客观效果上看，自愿捐赠的行为有助于收入分配差距的缩小，有助于社会协调发展，就行了。

（二）第三次分配与各部门的协调发展

接着，就前面提到的对社会协调发展的第二种解释作一些讨论。第二种解释是：社会协调发展是指经济、文化、教育、卫生、环保、福利、公共服务等部门的协调发展。

在市场调节之下，文化、教育、卫生等部门虽然社会效益很高，但经济效益却很少，因此常常苦于投入不足而难以正常地发展。这是市场调节在部门协调发展方面的局限性的反映。在政府调节之下，如果政府的经费充裕，调节措施又得力，那么部门结构不协调的状况可以改善；反之，如果政府的经费短缺，调节措施也不得力，那么部门结构不协调的状况不但得不到改善，甚至有可能恶化。

这样，市场调节与政府调节之后，在部门的协调发展方面也会留下一个空白，这个空白同样要依靠第三次分配来弥补。社会上，有些人出于理想、信念、社会责任感，或出于对文化、教育、卫生、环保、福利、公共服务等事业的热忱和感情，自愿地为这些事业的发展而捐赠。社会上也有可能建立各种基金会之类的团体，从事这些事业的发展，它们将接受人们的捐赠，为发展这些事业而出力，结果必将有助于社会的协调发展。

第三次分配对各部门协调发展的影响可以分为直接影响和间接影响。直接影响是指：当一些人把自己的一部分收入或财产直接捐赠给文化、教育、卫生、环保等部门，或捐赠给发展这些事业的基金会之类的团体后，这些部门由于得到了追加的投入而能较快地发展，从而促进了各部门发展的协调。间接影响则是指：当一些人把自己的一部分收入或财产用来帮助贫困地区发展经济时，或用来帮助贫困地区的人们脱贫时，虽然这些收入或财产并未直接投入文化、教育、卫生、环保等部门，但由于贫困地区的经济发展了，贫困地区的人均收入提高了，这样也就会促进当地的文化、教育、卫生、环保等事业的发展，从而也有助于各部门发展的协调。

（三）第三次分配与社会生活质量的提高

关于社会协调发展的第三种解释是：社会协调发展是指社会生活质量的提高。生活质量大体上包括如下内容：人们能够在多大程度上满足基本生活需要？能够在多大程度上改善自己的居住条件？能够得到多少社会提供的教育、医疗、文化娱乐的服务？能够有多少供自己支配的闲暇？能够在什么样的环境中工作和生活？生活质量的内容当然还不止这样几项，还可以列举一些。生活质量水平的上升表明社会发展不断趋向协调。

由于生活质量的提高既取决于经济增长，也取决于社会可用于改善生活质量的投入的多少，所以市场调节与政府调节在促进生活质量提高方面的作用仍是明显的。在市场调节下，经济增长将持续，这就为生活质量的提高创造了条件；在政府调节下，政府除了能维持经济的持续增长而外，还能调整用于改善社会生活质量的投入量，从而有助于生活质量的提高，促进社会的协调发展。

应当指出，市场调节与政府调节在促使生活质量提高方面至少存在着以下三个局限性：一是靠市场和政府所提供的改善生活质量的投入毕竟是有限的，提高社会的生活质量往往需要有来自民间的追加投入。二是社会生活质量还包括了诸如社会风尚良好，社会上人际关系融洽，社会对老弱病残者的进一步关心和照顾等内容，而这些并非仅仅依靠市场或政府就能解决。三是社会生活质量也包括了人们合理支配闲暇、人们对消费方式的观念的转变等内容，这些也不是市场或政府所能解决的问题。由此看来，在市场调节与政府调节之后，在不断提高社会生活质量方面同样留下了空白，第三次分配以及发挥道德力量的调节作用将有助于填补这方面的空白。

假定在第一次分配和第二次分配之后还存在着第三次分配，社会成员的自愿捐赠的一部分将被用于发展与生活质量有关的部门，如文化、教育、卫生、环保、福利、公共服务等部门，这些部门有了追加的投

入，将加快发展。此外，通过第三次分配，通过道德力量的作用的发挥，社会风尚的好转和社会对老弱病残者的进一步关心和照顾都将比第三次分配之前有所进展，这样，社会的协调发展也会更加顺利一些。至于人们如何合理地支配闲暇，以及人们如何正确对待消费行为和评价消费方式，尽管与第三次分配之间没有直接的联系，但可以认为，当社会上有越来越多的人更关心社会的生活质量，并且自愿地投身于社会生活质量的提高时，当他们不仅用自己的时间和精力，而且也用个人可支配收入的一部分致力于社会生活质量的提高时，人们实际上也就会合理地支配闲暇并使自己的消费行为理性化。这同样是有助于社会的协调发展的。

5.3 The Third Distribution and the Relation Between Generations

5.3.1 "Life Hopes" and the Third Distribution

For a clan, especially a family, the relation between generations is inevitably involved in the transfer of individual disposable income. When an individual volunteers to donate part of his income or property, he will have less left for his children or other relatives, which might cause some conflict between custom and morality. The conflict forms in this way: It is a tradition, a convention, a custom or even a moral recognition that a person should leave one's property to one's children or junior relatives. However, the decision, prompted by one's ideals, sense of responsibility, etc., to donate to families, non-families, public welfare or charity organizations, is one made mainly under the influence of moral factors. It may have some connection with custom, but to a minor degree.

To further explain this question let us begin by discussing "life hopes."

All members of society hope for gradual improvement in their own lives and that their children will have better lives than their own generation. This is what we mean by "life hopes" and the drive for economic development across society comes from the same source. Those despairing of their lives or believing that irrespective of their efforts a better life will elude them have no such drive. From another perspective, having life hopes for oneself and the next generation actually implies a certain dissatisfaction with the current

situation; dissatisfaction will generate drive and make people try all kinds of means to realize their life hopes. It is so for individuals, families, clans and the whole society: a society that is not satisfied does not lack drive for progress.

A family or clan usually uses the standard of another family or clan enjoying a better life as a spur to reach that standard as early as possible, and once this goal is reached, it is spurred on by a new standard, a higher one. Life hopes are thus realized step by step. Why does a family or clan aspire to a life one step up? The main reason is because the next step up is achievable through hard work in the foreseeable future. No one wants a life standard lower than the existing one, and a standard wildly higher than the current one is not a realistic goal for the near future. Therefore, a family or clan usually compares its own life with life one level higher.

For a family or clan, the standard of living they currently enjoy encourages them to prevent any fall-off in life quality and to strive for something even better. In normal circumstances, what is meant by their life goals means pursuit of something rather better than what they currently enjoy. "Life hopes" encompass such pursuit, but also imply the hope that this goal can be made reality for the next generation and the current one too.

However, in the eyes of most family or clan members, that group has a dual role. On the one hand, they hope it can help them improve their life or at the very least not obstruct this; on the other hand, they take it as an insurance institution, one on which they can rely for help (specifically financial help) if in a desperate plight. Public opinion often sympathizes with the underdog, so if a family or clan refuses, without good reason, the request of a member for help or shelter, it will be condemned by public opinion. This is particularly common in Eastern cultures.

People hope that the next generation of their family will have a better life, but their outlook on the next generation is gradually changing. That is to say, with economic and social development, parents' opinions about their children are undergoing constant change. For example, in Western society where market competition is intense, parents may find having children an obstacle to improving their quality of life and the expenditure on children a heavy burden on family finances. They do not count on their children making a contribution to the family or shouldering any responsibility for the family in the future. In Eastern cultures, this change in outlook is much slower, but a similar trend is discernible.

The fact that parents hope their children's lives will be an improvement on their own is not the same thing as and should not be confused with the fact that parents expect a material return from their children or that they can contribute something to the family. If the life quality of a family keeps on improving, children will become more and more a comfort or even a treasure for the family. Moreover, having children will become a family goal, and parents will not place hope of material return on their offspring: the family's only aspiration will be that the next generation gets as many development opportunities as possible. This sentiment will influence the pattern of family expenditure. One influence is: in order to create more opportunities for the younger generation, parents may spend more on their education, so educational spending will take up an increasingly large share of family income. Another influence is: since parents do not count on their children to keep them in their old age, nor do they expect any material return from their offspring, they are likely to put aside more money for their retirement. When a considerable part of individual savings is for this purpose, it too will influence the pattern of family expenditure. The third influence is: parents might not give much consideration about how much to leave to their children. If the parents die before the children reach adulthood, they might leave enough for their children to complete higher education and start their own families. If the parents die when the children are self-supporting adults, there is no need to leave all of their property to them. Such influences are not difficult to understand.

Thus we can see how the change of parents' outlook on offspring can influence the third distribution. Since the third distribution refers to voluntary transfer of disposable personal income, including donation to public welfare, charity, or a favorite cause, the above influences on family spending pattern will consequently affect the third distribution. The degree of influence differs between high-income families and averageincome families.

(1) When educational spending accounts for an increasing share of family income.

In average-income families, when educational spending from their disposable income increases there is a corresponding decrease in what they can save as assets; consequently, less of their assets will be available for the third distribution. High-income families might increase their donation to the cause of education.

(2) When parents put aside more money for their retirement.

In average-income families, when more of their disposable income is saved for retirement, their assets available for the third distribution will decrease. High-income families might donate more for building welfare facilities for the elderly.

(3) Parents may not leave much for their children, apart from sufficient funds for their non-adult children to finish higher education and start their own families.

In average-income families, this consideration does not have evident influence on the third distribution. High-income families may increase their donations to various public welfare and charity causes.

In general, the change in outlook on offspring will have considerable influence on the third distribution by high-income families. It is not contradictory to the wishes of most families (including rich ones) for realizing life hopes. As mentioned above, the fact that parents hope their children's lives will be an improvement on their own is not the same as expecting a material return or contribution from their children, nor isthis wish the same thing as the third distribution (mainly from high-income families) increasing with economic and social development.

5.3.2 The Third Distribution and Family Conflict

As mentioned above, the change of parents' outlook on offspring will influence their attitude toward the third distribution (mainly from high-income families). But their attitude may not be the same as their children's and this may give rise to conflicts between family members or between generations. To explain this point, it must take the issue of "life hopes" as our starting point once more.

Compared with past expectations, children are not as burdened with the mission of making the family richer in future, but neither this nor changes in parental attitude mean that "life hopes" have ceased to be the driver of a family's development. The wider the gap in life quality between different families, the more dissatisfied many families will be when they compare themselves with families a step up from themselves, and the stronger their drive for a better standard of life. If there are any obstacles to this, the main one is the limited horizon of the family itself. For example, if some family members do not identify "life hopes" with increase of family income or a

better living standard, are satisfied with an impoverished life, make a virtue out of asceticism, or believe any effort to increase family income is futile and it is best to be content with one's lot, etc., then they are unlikely to work hard to improve the family income and its standard of living.

The psychological factors hindering the achievement of higher family income are also expressed as being risk-averse, fearing little gain and great loss, fear of appearing different, fear of competition, etc. When the system allows people to become rich by dint of hard work, the obstacles to increasing family income, in addition to lack of technical skills, include lack of enterprise, insufficient competitive sense, lack of confidence, and of resolve to change one's situation by hard work. Such inertia is a negative factor for the development of any family.

Such things have a bearing on the attitude taken by the younger generations of different families to property left by their parents. The issue is not how much the grown-up children own, but their mental dependence on their parents, how content they are with the *status quo* and whether they fear risk and competition. If they depend little on the family mentally, have strong enterprising spirit and competitive sense and will take risks, then even with few assets and little income, they will not quibble about their parents' morality-inspired donations nor about how much their parents will leave them. Conversely, if they are seriously mentally dependent on the family, lack enterprise, competitive sense and willingness to take risks, then even if they own a lot or have a high income, they will still quibble about their parents' charitable giving and how much their parents will leave them. In such a situation, conflict between custom and morality will be evident. In other words, the third distribution will meet much more resistance in the second situation than in the first.

Thorstein Veblen pointed out that: What is known as living standard is in essence a custom, an accustomed standard and pattern in response to certain spurs. It is usually difficult to fall back from an accustomed level, i.e. to break the custom. Since an individual's current living standard is integrated into his life style, he will stubbornly believe this standard to be right, and since his living standard is known to those around, he believes he will be looked down on and excluded if he doesn't keep to this standard.[6] Veblen's opinion is enlightening for discussing the third distribution and the relation between generations. For the younger generation of a family, since the current living standard has become a custom, they must follow it in order to

have the respect of those around: they cannot fall back from it. For most families, when donations by parents will impact the living standards of their offspring, it is totally understandable if tension materializes between the generations and if resistance from family members strengthens. This is perhaps an internal checking mechanism of the third distribution.

In discussing how the relation between generations is linked to the third distribution, there is another point worth making: The younger generation will to a great extent shuffle off the influence of traditional values and thus change greatly their views on family property and personal future. Generally speaking, the more a region or a country is influenced by market economy, the larger its strides toward modernization, the greater its marketization and modernization, the more the younger generation's notions of family will change. We can imagine that more and more young people will realize that a rich life comes mainly from personal industry, not from legacies from the parents' generation. The main task of the older generation is to provide proper condition and opportunities for their development and the younger generation must improve their living standard through their own efforts. Without hard work it is impossible to raise one's living standard no matter how excellent the conditions are or how many opportunities are provided. The older generation's enthusiasm for and donations to public welfare causes and charities, their sense of social responsibility and beliefs, will set a good example to the younger generation.

In study of the third distribution or of legacy amounts, we cannot deny the problem of generational conflict within a family, but the general trend is that with the gradual change of the younger generation's values, the conflict will ease. As I pointed out in *Ethical Issues in Economics*: "Whether it is the current or the next generation, they should both help toward creating a social ethos along the following lines: Give more consideration to other people and to the next generation. There will always be self-indulgent pleasure-seekers who greedily consume resources. But they are not likely to be in the majority. Most are still hard working and social development depends on their efforts. Even if some of the younger generation think only of pleasure, they are nevertheless in the minority."[7]

叁　第三次分配与代际关系

一、“生活中的希望”与第三次分配

对一个家族，特别是家庭来说，个人可支配收入的转移不可避免地涉及代际关系。这是因为，在个人自愿把一部分收入或财产捐赠出去之后，个人留给子女、晚辈亲属的财产就减少了，于是在习惯与道德力量之间可能发生冲突。冲突是这样形成的：个人把财产留给子女或晚辈亲属是一种传统，出于约定的或认同的习惯，其中也包括了道德上的考虑；而个人出于理想、信念、社会责任感等而把财产捐赠给家庭、家庭范围以外的社会成员，或捐赠给社会上的某个公益机构、慈善机构，则是在道德力量影响之下作出的决策，其中虽然在某种程度上同习惯有关，但主要不是出于习惯。

为了进一步说明这个问题，让我们先从“生活中的希望”谈起。

社会成员总希望生活渐渐好起来，总希望子女的生活能过得比自己这一代好一些。这就是“生活中的希望”。经济发展的动力，从整个社会来说，也来自“生活中的希望”。对生活已经感到绝望的人，或者自认为无论怎样努力也不能改善生活的人，是不会有动力的。所以从另一个角度来看，对生活寄以希望，对下一代会过上较好的生活的希望，实际上意味着对生活的不满足。不满足，就会有动力；不满足，就会设法使“生活中的希望”得到实现。个人是这样，家庭、家族是这样，社会也是这样。不感到满足的社会，就是不会缺乏前进的动力的社会。

在社会上，一个家庭或家族通常会用生活水平比自己高一个档次的标准来督促自己，以便及早达到这个档次的生活水平；在达到了这个档次生活水平后，接着又会用比这个档次更高一个档次的标准来督促自己，“生活中的希望”往往就是这样一步一步实现的。为什么一个家庭或家族通常所要争取达到的是高一个档次的生活水平呢？主要是因为，这是近期内通过努力就可以达到的。比自己生活水平低的那个档次，没有人认为这是争取实现的目标；比自己生活水平高很多的那个档次，看来近期内不容易达到。因此，一个家庭或家族通常先同比自己高一个档次的生活水平相比。

现有的生活水平对一个家庭或家族来说，既起着阻止从现有生活水平下降的作用，又起着推动家庭或家族成员去努力争取达到较高的生活水平的作用。一个家庭或家族在生活上的追求，在通常情况下，就是指这种实现较高生活水平的追求。“生活中的希望”不仅包含了这种追求，而且包含了下一代人，甚至本代人就能够使这种追求变为现实的希望。

然而，在一个家庭或家族的大多数成员看来，家庭或家族有着双重作用。一方面，他们希望家庭或家族将帮助自己实现生活的改善，至少不要成为自己实现生活改善的障碍，另一方面，他们又把家庭或家族当

做一种保险机构，在处境不利时可以依赖家庭或家族的接济，尤其是能够得到家庭或家族中某些成员的具体的资助，直到最后——在万不得已时，把家庭或家族当做落难时的庇护所。社会舆论往往是同情弱者的。假定一个家庭或家族的成员在落难时希望得到接济或庇护的请求被家庭或家族所拒绝而又没有正当的拒绝理由，家庭或家族就会受到舆论的谴责。这种情况在东方文化背景之下尤其普遍。

在家庭或家族中，尽管上一代有一种希望下一代生活得更好的愿望，但家庭或家族对下一代成员的看法却会逐渐发生变化，也就是说，随着经济和社会的发展，父母对子女的评价处于不断变化之中。比如说，在市场激烈竞争的西方社会，父母会发现生儿育女是改善家庭生活的一种障碍，用于子女的支出是家庭财政的一个沉重包袱，而且还认为子女将来对家庭的贡献是无所谓的，父母也不指望子女将来对家庭承担什么义务。在东方文化背景之下，这种变化可能缓慢得多，但仍能看到有相同或近似的变化趋势。

家长希望子女的生活过得比自己这一代好一些，同家长想从子女那里得到物质上的回报或家长希望子女为家庭作出贡献是两回事，不可混为一谈。子女在家庭生活水平不断提高的条件下，越来越成为一种安慰，子女甚至被当做家庭的一种珍藏物。生儿育女被渐渐看成是目的本身，父母并不在子女身上寄予得到回报的愿望，家庭只希望下一代有尽可能大的发展机会。这种思想情绪对家庭的支出格局是有一定影响的。影响之一在于：为了使下一代有更大的发展机会，家长为子女受教育的支出可能较多，从而使教育支出在家庭收入中所占比例有上升的趋势。影响之二在于：由于家长不指望靠子女来赡养自己，也不打算从子女那里得到回报，所以家长可能为自己多准备一些养老的费用，个人储蓄中的较大部分是留做养老的，这也会影响家庭支出格局。影响之三在于：至于父母会留下多少财产给子女，父母不一定考虑得很多。如果父母去世时子女还未成年，可能会留下足以供养子女升学和成家立业的费用；如果子女已经成年，并且自立，父母不需要把所有的财产都留给子女。上述这些影响的存在，是可以理解的。

由此可以看到家庭对子女评价的变化所给予第三次分配的影响。第三次分配既然是指个人可支配收入的自愿转移，包括对公益事业、慈善事业的捐赠，以及出于个人对某种事业的感情而作出的捐赠，那么上述有关家庭支出格局的三个方面的影响也将是对第三次分配的影响。具体地说，对第三次分配的影响可以分为高收入家庭和一般收入家庭来分别讨论：

（1）教育支出在家庭收入中所占比例有上升的趋势。

对一般收入的家庭而言，个人可支配收入中因用于教育的支出的增

加会使得财产的积余有所减少，也就是会减少可供第三次分配的财产数额。对高收入的家庭而言，则有可能增加个人对教育事业的捐赠。

（2）个人储蓄中有较大部分是为本人留作养老的需要。

对一般收入的家庭而言，个人可支配收入中，因用于养老的部分的增加而会减少可供第三次分配的财产数额。对高收入的家庭而言，则有可能增加个人对老年福利设施的捐赠。

（3）除了为未成年的子女留下足以供养子女升学和成家立业的费用而外，父母不一定会给子女留下很多财产。

对一般收入的家庭而言，这种考虑对第三次分配的影响不明显。对高收入的家庭而言，则有可能增加个人对社会各种公益、慈善事业的捐赠。

总之，家庭对子女的评价的变化将在不同方面对高收入家庭的第三次分配发生较大影响。这与多数家庭（包括高收入家庭）使“生活中的希望”得以实现的愿望是不矛盾的。前面已经指出，家长希望子女的生活过得比自己这一代好一些，同家长想从子女那里得到物质上的回报或家长希望子女为家庭作出贡献是两回事；现在可以再补充一句：家长希望子女的生活过得比自己这一代好一些，同第三次分配（主要指高收入家庭的第三次分配）随着经济与社会的发展而增长的趋势也不是一回事。

二、第三次分配与家庭内部的矛盾

家长对子女的评价的变化会影响家长对第三次分配的态度（主要对高收入家庭而言），已如上述。但应当认识到，家长对第三次分配的态度不等于子女对第三次分配的态度。家庭内部的矛盾，或家庭的代际矛盾，可能因此而产生。为了说明这一点，我们仍有必要以“生活中的希望”的实现问题作为讨论的出发点。

要知道，尽管家庭对下一代的看法会发生变化，尽管子女已经不再像过去那样被赋予为家庭的未来增加收益的使命，但这并不使得“生活中的希望”不再成为家庭发展的动力。不同家庭之间在生活水平方面的差距越大，意味着不少家庭在同高一个档次的家庭比较时的不满足感越明显，于是家庭为提高生活水平的动力也越大。如果说在这方面会存在阻力的话，那么主要的阻力来自家庭自身在观念上的受束缚。比如说，某些人如果认为“生活中的希望”并不在于家庭收入的增加和生活水平的上升，或乐于过清贫的生活，或崇奉禁欲主义，或认为争取提高家庭收入的努力是白费心机，不如乐天知命等等，这样，他们也就不会致力于

提高家庭收入和改善生活状况了。

阻碍着某些家庭增加收入这一愿望实现的心理因素还表现为一种怕冒风险、怕得不偿失、怕出人头地、怕竞争的思想。在体制上容许人们通过努力而致富的条件下，家庭增加收入的障碍除了缺乏赚取更多收入的技能而外，还有可能在于缺乏进取精神，缺乏竞争意识，缺乏自信心，缺乏依靠个人努力来改变现状的决心和毅力。这就是一种惰性。这种惰性的存在，对任何一个家庭来说，都是发展中的消极因素。

以上所说的这一切，都关系到不同家庭的下一代对父母留下的财产的态度。问题不在于已成年的子女自身拥有的财产的多少，而在于他们身上保留了多少依赖思想、安于现状的思想、害怕冒风险和害怕竞争的思想。假定他们对家庭的依赖思想较少，或者具有较强的进取精神、竞争意识和风险意识，那么，即使他们自身拥有的财产较少，或收入较少，他们不会计较家长出于道德信念的捐赠行为，也不会计较家长为下一代留下财产的多少。反之，假定他们对家庭的依赖思想较重，既缺乏进取精神，又缺乏竞争意识和风险意识，那么，即使他们自身拥有的财产较多，或收入较多，也会计较家长出于道德信念的捐赠行为，计较家长究竟留下了多少财产给后人。习惯同道德之间的冲突就会明朗化。换言之，第三次分配在上述后一种情况下所受到的来自家庭内部的阻力会远远大于前一种情况下所受到的来自家庭内部的阻力。

凡勃仑曾经指出：所谓生活水平，本质上是一种习惯，它是对某些刺激发生反应时一种习以为常的标准和方式。从一个已经习以为常的水平退却时的困难，就是打破一个已经形成的习惯时的困难。由于已有的生活水平已经同本人的生活方式合而为一了，因此一个人会认为执行这个消费水平是对的。由于已有的生活水平已经被周围的人所承认，所以一个人也会认为不遵守这个水平是要受到轻视、排斥的。[6]凡勃仑的这一论述，对于有关第三次分配与代际关系的探讨具有启发性。在家庭的下一代成员看来，既然已有的生活水平已经成为一种习惯，要遵守这种习惯并以此得到周围的人的尊重，那么要从已有的生活水平上后退是不可能的。所以当家长的自愿捐赠会影响子女的已有生活水平时，对大多数家庭来说，代际关系的紧张和来自家庭内部的阻力的增大就完全可以理解了。这也许是第三次分配的一种内在制约机制。

在讨论家庭代际关系同第三次分配之间的关系时，还有一个问题值得提出，这就是：下一代人将在较大程度上摆脱传统观念的影响，从而对家庭的财产和个人的前途的看法也可能有较大的变化。一个地区、一个国家受市场经济的影响越大，在现代化道路上迈出的步子越大，市场化程度与现代化程度越高，一般说来，后代人在家庭观念上的转变也就越大。可以相信，必将有越来越多的下一代人懂得，生活的富裕主要靠

自身的努力而不能依靠上一代人的遗产；上一代人主要为下一代人的发展提供适当的条件和机会，但下一代人必须通过自身的努力才能使自己的生活日益好起来。自己不努力，上一代人提供的条件再好，机会再多，生活水平的提高依然无望。上一代人对公益事业、慈善事业等的热忱和捐赠，他们的社会责任感和信念，都将为下一代人作出良好的榜样，对下一代人起到示范作用。

家庭内部的代际冲突，在第三次分配或留下多少遗产等问题的研究中虽然不可被否认，但总的趋势仍然是：随着下一代人的观念的逐渐转变，代际冲突也会缓和下来。正如我在《经济学的伦理问题》一书中说过的："无论对于本代人还是对后代人，都应当树立这样的社会风气：多为他人着想，多为下一代着想。社会上总有一些人贪图享乐，尽情消费资源。但社会不可能主要由这些人构成。社会上大多数人是勤奋工作的。社会的发展依赖着大多数社会成员的努力。即使后代人当中有一些人成了专门享乐的人，那也只是少数而已。"[7]

5.4 Trend of the Third Distribution

5.4.1 How People Understand Quality of Life

What is the trend of the third distribution? The question was brought up at the end of the previous section, so let us now explore it further, bringing in how people understand quality of life.

In any society, production is not an end in itself, because people are not put on this earth purely as a labor force. Production is for people, not people for production: it is for improving their life and providing better care and nurture. If more and more goods are produced but living standards or educational levels do not improve, this is at odds with the purpose of production. Based on this simple reason we know that for every member of society the important thing is not by how much output value increases, but how to use that increased value to improve and enrich their lives, to make and provide better education, care and nurture.

If the purpose of production is to deliver a better material and cultural life, then how do people understand quality of life? Does it only mean having enough to fill your belly and clothe your back? If quality of life can be expressed as "happiness," then what does "happiness" mean?

In the traditional outlook, "happiness" is always connected with high

income. It seems that happiness and income rise in tandem, but as the economy develops and incomes grow, "happiness" takes on new connotations, as does quality of life. In fact, the more abundant the material goods the higher the demand for cultural life becomes. People need more than just material comfort but a good environment, good health and spiritual enjoyment too. As they become richer in material things people's attitude to time starts changing also: In the past, property was seen as most important, but now time is more precious to them than money. Money can be saved, but time cannot. A more worthwhile use of time will bring people more happiness.

This means that the understanding of quality of life will become deeper as the economy develops and incomes rise generally. This kind of change is related to the trend of the third distribution: On the one hand, with deeper understanding of quality of life people will pay greater attention to the development of culture, education, health, environment, public welfare and public service, etc., and they will donate to those causes so as to improve quality of life in society as a whole. At the same time, as incomes rise and charitable giving takes up a bigger share of their disposable income, people will come to a new understanding of the meaning of life and will care more about its quality, about society and the future.

On this issue, an important question is how to get people in the process of economic development to discard their "old notions" and change their ideas. By "old notions" we are mainly referring to two long influential concepts, namely: "warm clothes and a full stomach: don't ask for more" and "charity begins at home." These notions prevent a correct understanding of the meaning of life, and have a negative impact on the third distribution.

Some people, especially farmers in under-developed regions, are often content with the *status quo,* having adequate food and clothing, but still on a low income. Their ambitions stretch no further than these important things. The influence of attitudes such as "warm clothes and a full stomach: don't ask for more" plus a lack of enterprise, competitive sense, technical skills and market information accounts for this. With such old notions, the economy and income will stagnate; consequently, there will be no prospect of pursuing a better quality of life and the amount of income available for the third distribution will be very modest indeed.

The "charity begins at home" notion is bound to hinder the development of public welfare and charitable causes, and its influence prevents the

potential of the third distribution being brought into play. Moreover, since socio-economic development needs better communication and cooperation between people, if this notion spreads, further economic development will be blocked. As a result, it will be hard for the amount of income available for the third distribution to increase.

Therefore, a society must help people in the process of economic development toward a deeper understanding of the meaning of life, so as to gradually dispel old attitudes regarding higher income and public welfare and charitable causes.

5.4.2 From the Material Approach to Making People the Key

To understand the trend of the third distribution, we should analyze from the perspective of socio-economic development strategy, which leads us to the vital question: which is more important, man or material?

When material goods become plentiful, the driver of socio-economic development will be not just meeting people's material needs but also meeting their spiritual needs, and there can be many ways of understanding the latter.

For some, doing something oneself is a spiritual enjoyment. For example, once an individual gets rich, preferring to do the housework in person, regarding it as a distraction, spiritual pleasure and satisfaction of a "spiritual need."

For some, spending more on culture, arts, sports, travel, etc., is a spiritual enjoyment and a satisfaction of spiritual needs.

Some believe donating to public welfare and charities is more in line with their inclinations and satisfies their "spiritual needs."

It should be pointed out that there is no conflict between these things—doing things for oneself, spending more on culture, arts, etc., and charitable giving—and that one person might do all three. Although charitable giving is still the behavior of just some people, their numbers will increase as material goods become more plentiful and income level rises.

Whether it is self-service, spending more on culture, arts, etc., or it is donating for public welfare and charity, all three behaviors should be seen as countering the traditional approach of putting the material first and people

second, since all of the behaviors imply prioritizing people and putting greater emphasis on improving life quality than on supplying material goods. From the perspective of socio-economic development strategy, if a society can shift its focus onto making people the key, it amounts to a change of development strategy, which will in turn greatly influence the role of the third distribution in income distribution. This is because the third distribution is born out of morality, convictions, sense of social responsibility, sympathy, etc.: in other words, it proceeds from a concern for the care and nurture of others. With such a change, the trend of social development will be roughly in line with the trend of the third distribution. The more a society cares about people, the greater the role of the third distribution in the changed socio-economic development strategy. When the number of donors increases, the role of morality in social income distribution will be more important, as will be the influence of the third distribution.

When a society changes its orientation from prioritizing the material to making people the key, this does not equate to ceasing to put effort into increasing production of material goods, nor that it will concern itself only with people's spiritual needs to the exclusion of their material needs. The fact is society will keep on producing more and more material goods, and will engage with satisfying people's increasing spiritual needs but with a greater focus than before on improving life quality. Such a situation cannot correctly be formulated as "prioritizing people at the expense of material considerations." It might also give equal weight to both elements. To emphasize people means making their care and nurture the priority, one that takes precedence over output increase. Just as pointed out above, people are not for production, production is for people and for providing better care and nurture. The connotations of focusing on the material are: Without solid economic and material foundations, it would be impossible to improve quality of life, let alone provide better care and nurture. Therefore, the reason behind proposing a material focus was ultimately to focus on people. The view that a material focus sees only this as important and gives scant regard to people's care and nurture is a distortion of the conception. In this sense, society must change its traditional development strategy, shifting its center of gravity to making people the key.

Basically speaking, making people the key is not just a development strategy. More importantly, it should be established by society as a basic principle to be strictly followed. Moreover, it should not only find expression

in income distribution: it should be an unwavering principle in social issues, economics, politics and culture too.

肆　第三次分配的趋势

一、关于人们对生活质量的认识

第三次分配的趋势如何？上一节的结尾部分已经提到了这个问题。现在让我们结合人们对生活质量的认识进行较深入的探讨。

在任何社会中，生产本身都不是目的，因为人不是单纯作为劳动力而生活在世上的。人不是为了生产，生产是为了人。生产的目的是使人们的生活不断得到改善，使人们得到关心和培养。如果只顾生产出越来越多的产品，而人们的生活水平没有提高，人们的文化教育水平没有提高，这就不符合生产的目的。根据这个朴素的道理可以了解到，对社会的每一个成员来说，重要的不是社会的产值增长了多少，而是如何使社会产值的增长被用来改善人民的生活，使人民能够过富裕的生活，有较高的文化教育水平，使人民得到社会更多的关心和培养。

如果说生产的目的是让人们能够过上更好的生活，包括物质生活和文化生活，那么，人们对生活的质量又是怎么理解的呢？难道生活质量仅仅意味着吃穿不愁吗？假定生活质量高可以用“幸福”二字来表示，那么“幸福”又是对什么而言呢？

在传统观念中，“幸福”总是同收入多联系在一起的，似乎收入越多就越“幸福”。随着经济发展和收入水平的普遍提高，“幸福”便有了新的含义，生活质量也有了新的含义。实际上，物质产品越丰富，人们对文化生活的要求就越高，人们不仅要求有物质上的舒适，而且要有良好的环境，有健康的身体，有精神生活的享受。物质产品丰富以后，人们的时间观念也发生了变化。过去人们认为，财产最为重要；后来人们认为，物质产品丰富后，时间比金钱更可贵。货币可以储蓄，而时间是不能储蓄的。时间的更有价值的利用，会给人们带来更多的幸福。

这一切表明，人们对生活质量的认识将随着经济发展和收入水平的普遍提高而逐渐深化。这种认识的转变同第三次分配的趋势有关，即一方面，由于人们对于生活质量的认识的深化，将促使他们重视文化、教育、卫生、环保、福利、公共服务等部门的发展，并自愿地向这些部门捐赠，以便提高社会的生活质量；另一方面，随着人们收入水平的上升和可支配收入中用于自愿捐赠的部分所占比例的增长，人们对生活的意义也会有新的认识，人们将更加关心生活质量，关心社会，关心未来。

在讨论人们对生活的意义的认识时，一个重要的问题是如何让人们能在经济发展的过程中摆脱旧观念的影响，不断转变观念。这里所说的旧观念，主要是指以下两种历来影响人们的观念，一是“温饱即安，无所奢求”，二是“各人自扫门前雪，休管他人瓦上霜”。这两种旧观念不仅影响人们对生活意义的正确认识，而且对于第三次分配也有消极的影响。

在“温饱即安，无所奢求”的观念的影响下，社会上一些人，尤其是经济不发达地区的农民，由于缺乏进取精神和竞争意识，以及既缺乏技术又缺乏市场信息，常常会满足于已经达到的虽然温饱但仍然是低水平收入的生活，似乎生活目标就在于粗具温饱，得过且过。在这种旧观念的影响下，经济就会趋于停滞，收入也难以增长，结果，不仅谈不到对高生活质量的追求，而且可用于第三次分配的收入数额也必定是很少的。

在各人只顾自己的旧观念的影响之下，社会公益事业、慈善事业等等的发展必然受到极大的限制，第三次分配的潜力也就无从发挥。不仅如此，社会经济发展的趋势是人与人之间交流、协作的增加，如果“各人自扫门前雪，休管他人瓦上霜”的观念滋长，经济的进一步发展也会受阻，这样，可用于第三次分配的收入数额是难以增长的。

因此，社会有必要针对这些情况，在经济发展过程中，让人们对生活的意义的认识不断深化，使得阻碍人们收入提高和对公益事业、慈善事业关心的旧观念逐渐消失。

二、从“重物轻人”到“以人为本”

要了解第三次分配的趋势，还应当从社会经济发展战略的角度进行分析。社会经济发展战略研究中的一个重要问题是：人与物相比，孰重孰轻？

物质产品丰富以后，社会经济发展的动力不完全是在物质上满足人们的需要，而且包括了在精神上满足人们的需要。对“精神上满足人们的需要”这一点，可以有不同的理解。

在一些人看来，自我服务就是一种精神上的享受。比如说，一个人有钱后，偏要自己动手做家务，从事体力的家务劳动，他认为这种自我服务是一种消遣，也是精神上的享受，可以满足自己“精神上的需要”。

在另一些人看来，增加文化、艺术、体育、旅游方面的消费支出是为了精神上的享受，他们会把这些看成是“精神上的需要”的一种满足。

还有一些人则认为，捐资赞助公益事业、慈善事业更加符合于自己

的意向，也更加符合于“精神上的需要”的满足。

应当指出，自我服务、增加文化艺术等方面的消费支出、捐资赞助公益事业和慈善事业，三者是不矛盾的。在同一个人身上，可能三者并存。尽管捐资赞助公益事业、慈善事业的行为还只是一部分人的自愿行动，但它会随着物质产品的丰富与收入水平的上升而呈增长的趋势。

无论是看重自我服务、增加文化艺术等方面的消费支出，还是对公益事业、慈善事业的捐赠，都应当被看成是对“重物轻人”这一传统的抵制，因为上述三者之中的任何一项都意味着要把人的需要放在首位，把提高生活质量看得比提供物质产品更加重要。从社会经济发展战略的角度来看，如果社会能够改变“重物轻人”的传统做法，由“重物轻人”转为“以人为本”，那么这就是发展战略的转变，它将对第三次分配在社会收入分配中的作用发生重大的影响。这是因为，第三次分配来自人们的一种道德信念、社会责任感、同情心等，或者说，第三次分配以对人的关心和培养作为出发点。社会经济发展战略转变以后，社会发展趋势与第三次分配的趋势基本上是一致的。社会越是关心人，第三次分配在实现转变后的社会经济发展战略中所起的作用也越大。社会上出于道德信念、社会责任感、同情心等而自愿捐赠的人越多，意味着道德力量在社会收入分配中所起的作用越大，第三次分配的影响也越大。

社会从“重物轻人”向“以人为本”的转变，并不等于社会今后不再致力于物质产品的增产，也不等于社会今后只注意如何满足人们的“精神上的需要”，而不再注意如何满足人们的“物质上的需要”。实际情况将是这样的：社会仍将致力于物质产品的增产，致力于满足人们不断增长的“物质上的需要”，但由于社会越来越重视生活质量的提高，越来越重视对人们不断增长的“精神上的需要”的满足，因此，不宜采取“重人轻物”的提法，或者说，“重人轻物”实际上是一种不很确切的说法，“重人”不一定“轻物”，而很可能出现的是“既重人，也重物”，但“重人”指的是把关心人、培养人放在首位，而不能把单纯增加产量、产值作为主要任务，因为正如前面所说，人不是为了生产，生产是为了人，生产的目的在于关心人，培养人。“重物”的含义在于：没有坚实的经济基础、物质基础，生活质量的提高可能是力所不及的，对人的关心和培养也可能因物质条件的不足而难以成为现实，所以“重物”是为了落实“重人”而被提出的。假定把“重物”理解为“只重物”，而把对人的关心和培养置于无足轻重的地位，那就是对“重物”的一种曲解。正是在这个意义上，社会有必要从传统的“重物轻人”发展战略转变为“以人为本”的发展战略。

从根本上说，“以人为本”不仅仅是一种发展战略，更重要的是，它应当被社会确定为必须遵守的基本原则。而且，不仅在收入分配中才体现“以人为本”，而且在社会、经济、政治、文化各种领域中都应坚

持“以人为本”的原则，毫不动摇。

CHAPTER 6 MORAL CHECKS AND BALANCES IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC OPERATION
第六章　社会经济运行中的道德制衡

6.1 Restriction and Oversight Mechanism

6.1.1 Uniting Mechanisms for Screening, Guarantee and Incentive, Restriction and Oversight

In Chapter Four, we discussed law and self-discipline. In this chapter, we discuss the relation between moral regulation and society's checks and balances in socio-economic operation via an analysis of these check-and-balance factors.

Whatever the country, government employees should be empowered as necessary to help realize government targets, but they should also be subject to restriction and oversight to prevent them abusing their power, failing in or neglecting their duties. In ancient China, systems of reviewing and supervising government officials were established and at the same time "proper salaries were paid to officials to keep a clean government." In modern times, some countries have established quite complete systems for reviewing and supervising officials, and in addition, as a way of preventing official corruption, they also "give a high salary to encourage integrity." The ancient system and the modern one both had reasonable measures for preventing corruption in public service. Without decent conditions of service the government will struggle to attract and keep outstanding persons; moreover, poor remuneration might cause corruption among some officials, such as abuse of their powers or seeking personal benefits. However, the high salary approach has limitations. Therefore, to keep a clean government, three

types of mechanism are needed: screening, guarantee and incentive, restriction and oversight, all of which are discussed in my book *Transformational Development Theory*.[1]

Screening: all appointments and promotions of civil servants should be conducted by competition, which is in effect a selection mechanism. All vacancies are open, as is the competition. With such a mechanism anyone with the right qualifications has the chance to be appointed or promoted.

Guarantee and incentive: In order to keep a stable team of civil servants and solve any living concerns, when a person is employed by the government, his employment terms should not be inferior to those of people with the same level of education and working experience employed in other institutions. Also, once in service, there is a regular review system for deciding promotions and salary increases.

Restriction and oversight: The behavior and working attitude of civil servants should be supervised from every angle. They must follow the code of practice for civil servants and be punished for any violation of it. They should also be self-disciplined and expect very high standards of themselves.

The three mechanisms should be unified. The lack of any one will undermine the stability of the civil service, make it difficult for their initiative to come into play, and make it harder to root out corrupt practices.

From this we can further explore the sources of government employee power. According to *Comparative Economic Systems* co-authored by Egon Neuberger and William J. Duffy,[2] power has four basic sources: tradition, force, ownership and information. They are not necessarily incompatible and the decision makers can get power from more than one source.

Tradition: Tradition is custom, the earliest base and source of power. Before countries were established, tribes or similar organizations ruled, their power coming from tradition and custom. After countries took shape, community-level institutions probably still relied on tradition for their power.

Force: Force is also violence. Rule of government relies on force and its power is also built on this foundation. Under an autocratic regime, government power is certainly based on force or violence, but even democratic government needs force or violence to take power. The difference between the two is whether, when wielding the force or violence, the government must follow a certain procedure and whether there are restrictions on the government before and after using force or violence.

Ownership: Ownership is possession of economic power. Without

economic power as its base, or without clear ownership of scarce production factors, a government may either not get power or lose the power it once had. This is particularly obvious in a market economy.

Information: Information is a special kind of resource. Those who have it will be in a more advantageous position than those without it, and thus win power.

The analysis of power sources drives home the need to build a restriction and oversight mechanism for government employees. Since power might come from tradition or custom, we should really know the nature of the tradition or custom, and how rational they are. Citing tradition or custom when taking power similarly needs restriction and oversight; even more important is restriction and oversight when power comes from the force mechanism, including restriction and oversight. This is because the "force-to-power-to-force" situation can be divided into two parts. The first is "force-to-power": i.e., winning power through violence; the second is "power-to-force," i.e., using force or violence once in power. If restriction and oversight applies not to the getting of power but only to the procedures and circumstances for government use of force, this is both woefully inadequate and neglects an important duty of restriction and oversight.

Restriction and oversight is of great importance in the areas of ownership, control of information and the exercise of power. This is a base from which government can exercise its power on the economy. If we want to restrict and supervise the exercise of power by government employees, it is necessary to increase transparency and keep the public informed about the extent of government ownership, information resources, and monopoly. This openness will benefit efficiency in restriction and oversight. A further point is that oversight by public opinion is also a counter to abuse of power. Power should be exercised in line with the government code of conduct, and the key to oversight by public opinion lies in checking whether government and its employees behave in conformity with the code of conduct.

It is not by moral norms, but by law that power is bestowed on government and its employees. Abuse of power is firstly a violation of law and then a violation of moral norms. Therefore, to restrict and supervise the behavior of government and its employees, both law and self-discipline are indispensable. At a time when old systems are being replaced by new, because of over-rapid political change or because economic activity leaps ahead while legal construction lags, a policy or legal vacuum appears, and

there may be no legal base for restriction and supervision of government and its employees. In this situation, restriction by moral norms and supervision by public opinion become exceptionally important.

6.1.2 Moral Restriction and Limiting of Power

Limiting the powers of government and its employees means that anyone in a government post should exercise power under restriction and oversight, in order to prevent abuse of power or exploiting it for personal gain. To do this, the exercise of power should be standardized and transparent. For example, procedures should be strict and open to public scrutiny. All should be handled in line with procedures, not creating new rules or delays, not sitting on hands. In this way it will be possible to reduce the incidence of exceeding powers.

From a broader view, the exercise of power is inseparable from a certain macro-environment and organization. The famous philosopher Bertrand Russell expounded in his influential book *Power: A New Social Analysis*[3] that power must be exercised within an orderly structure and in an organized manner. Deng Yong, summarizing Russell's argument, said that all power relies on orderly structure and must be run within this structure. This orderly structure is what we call organization. When organization falls apart, it leaves the scattered individuals with no power to speak of. Where there is organization, power can emerge. According to Russell, an organization is a group of people who gather together and act for the same goals; therefore the birth of power must be connected with this grouping for the same purpose. He makes the distinction between traditional power and newly won power: the former has the force of tradition behind it and is therefore more dependent on public opinion; the latter, including power won by arms, is a power united around a particular new doctrine, manifesto or sentiment. Its salient feature is that a new faith replaces an old one.[4] Deng's conclusion of Russell's argument clearly reflects this point: Since power comes from and resides in organization, restriction and oversight of power is inseparable from restriction and oversight of the organization by society, and that of its members by the organization itself.

The restriction and oversight of organizations by society means: Since an organization is a group of people gathered for the same goals, society

should have restriction and oversight on how the organizations are formed, what power they possess and how they exercise it, lest they harm public interests for sake of their group interests in this process. Restriction and oversight of its members by an organization means: Since those who exercise power are members of an organization, the organization should have restriction and oversight on how they exercise that power, lest its members' personal interests harm those of the organization as a whole. The restriction and oversight of the organization by society and that of its members by the organization itself are two aspects of restriction and oversight, neither of which should be neglected.

Now let's discuss the relation between abuse of power and information as a special resource. Possession of information is hugely significant. If the person concerned is given sufficient information it helps reduce risk in his conduct and may help him gain by it. The value of information lies in accuracy, timeliness and usability. Those in power enjoy a special and even monopolistic position of getting and giving information, so their privileged access may allow them to profit by having such information or by providing it to others. Monopoly on information creates opportunities for abuse of power. That is to say, abuse of power often occurs when competition is forbidden or when the terms of competition are unfair. In a certain sense, competition is an effective counter to the abuse of power. This illustrates the necessity of the open competition mechanism in restricting and supervising the exercise of power.

Restriction and oversight can be prevented from playing its role effectively by factors such as confused concepts, muddled standards of right and wrong, mistaken values and distorted mentality. Such phenomena are closely linked to the long existing official-oriented outlook and reality, as illustrated in such folk sayings as "high official with absolute control over those below," "no matter how high your rank, direct control is best," "use your power before it expires." These comments have deep social roots: they tell us that it is far from enough to rely purely on establishing a mechanism for restriction and oversight of government employees. To make the mechanism effective, we need to explore more deeply in search of a social method of checks and balances.

It is undoubtedly essential to punish whoever abuses power, but it is similarly essential to establish a compensation system for victims of the abuse. This would amount to a restriction on power, since potential power

abusers would probably refrain when considering the possible penalties, including economic compensation (state compensation will be calculated separately and here it solely refers to compensation made by the power-abusers) payable to the victim out of their own pockets. Although the punishment (including compensation) would still have limitations in practice, such a mechanism is better than not having it. Oversight of government employees should include supervision of how the compensation system is put into practice.

After these discussions, we can return to the topic of regulation by morality. Government employees need moral restriction and inspiration. As discussed previously, moral restriction is manifested in self-discipline, whilst moral inspiration is displayed as sticking to and promoting the spirit of devotion, serving the public and dedication. Now we need to discuss several questions: Since power relies on organization and the macro-environment, how then to get morality to play a role in the inner workings of an organization, and make restriction and oversight on the organization and its members more effective? How to make morality play a role in the macro-enviroment so that more people will be concerned with the issue of checks on power, and so that the issue of restricting and supervising the exercise of power becomes a focus of public opinion?

Those questions go beyond the self-discipline of government employees; they pertain to the self-discipline of an organization on which power is based. According to Russell, an organization is a group of people acting for the same goals. The self-discipline of an organization means its individual members should exercise restraint on themselves in order to achieve their common purpose and no member should be allowed to hinder it by abusing power. Self-discipline of an organization is equally important as individual self-discipline. The organization should behave itself and its behavior should never conflict with its purpose. This is a manifestation of moral restriction. The existence of norms for an organization's conduct and its behavior conforming to a certain code constitute the premise and guarantee of normalizing the behavior of its members. For them, dismissal from the organization for abuse of power terminates their road to power.

From the macro-environment perspective, to prevent government employees abusing power or using it for personal gain, the public's involvement in oversight is necessary. But can the public be free of fear from those in power and their possible revenge? Can they speak boldly in defense

of justice? Dare they take on those who abuse power? This can be seen as a question of the national caliber as a whole. There are always people in society who, motivated by the public interest, reveal abuses of power by government employees, but if this is an act of just one person with a grievance, it is not enough to constitute public oversight. The person is likely to become isolated since many would keep their distance despite admiring him at heart. If more and more people, in the public interest, take on government employees who abuse power, this would reflect an improvement of national caliber as a whole. Only when this happens can public oversight be effective. Therefore, we cannot neglect the role of morality in improving national caliber or its role in making effective public supervision over those with power.

In discussing the role of morality in the restriction and supervision of power (including the self-discipline of those exercising power and, in the public interest, the public's oversight on them) there is another question to be clarified, namely this: even if government is the manager of social order and regulator of the market, does this mean it can place itself above society? It must be said, it's not right to regard government as a manager in a superior position to society. If such is the prevailing opinion, building a mechanism of public restriction and oversight of government behavior becomes problematical. A society is formed by the public and the public needs social order. As the keeper of social order, government is responsible for setting standards of behavior for all(including government employees) in accordance with law, established procedures and the protection of people's legitimate rights. But this does not mean it can set itself above society. If it thinks itself so or is regarded as so, this can only lead to abuse of power and damage to socio-economic order.

壹　约束与监督机制

一、筛选机制、保障与激励机制、约束与监督机制的统一

本书第四章已经就法律与自律问题作了分析。在这一章，准备从社会经济运行中的制衡因素的角度来讨论道德调节与社会制衡之间的关系。

在任何国家，一方面要赋予政府官员必要的权力，以便他们实现政

府的目标；另一方面又要对这些官员进行约束和监督，以防止他们滥用手中的权力或渎职、失职。在中国古代就有对政府官员的考核制度和监督制度，同时又有“以俸养廉”的说法。在近代，有些国家除了建立比较完善的对官员的监察制度外，也以“高薪养廉”作为防止官员腐败的方法之一。“以俸养廉”或“高薪养廉”是有一定道理的。政府官员待遇偏低，可能留不住优秀人才，吸引不了优秀人才，而且还有可能使一些政府官员靠手中权力谋取私利，造成腐败现象。然而高薪的作用仍是有限的。对于政府机构工作人员，需要有三种机制：筛选机制、保障与激励机制、约束与监督机制。我在《转型发展理论》一书中对这三种机制作了解释：[1]

筛选机制是指：国家公务员的任用和提升应当通过竞争，竞争就是一种筛选。筛选机制就是择优机制。职务是公开的，竞争也是公开的。这种机制能够使得一切符合条件的人都有被任用和提升的可能。

保障与激励机制是指：国家公务员在被任用以后，生活待遇应当不低于相同学历和经历的其他事业人员，以保证国家公务员队伍的稳定，并解除其生活上的后顾之忧；而且在定期考核后，有职务提升与收入增加的规范化的制度。

约束与监督机制是指：国家公务员的行为和工作态度应当受到各方面的监督，他们必须遵守国家公务员的工作守则，违者受到规定的处分；国家公务员自身也必须加强自律，严格要求自己。

上述三种机制是统一的。缺少其中任何一种机制，或者政府机构工作人员的队伍难以稳定；或者他们的积极性难以充分发挥；或者不容易消除腐败现象。

由此可以进一步探讨政府机构工作人员手中权力的源泉问题。根据埃冈·纽伯格（Egon Neuberger）和威廉·达菲（William J. Duffy）等人在《比较经济体制》一书中的论述，[2]权力共有四个基本的来源：传统、强制、所有权、信息，权力的这四个来源不一定彼此排斥、互不相容。决策者可以从几个来源（而不仅是某一个来源）取得权力。具体地说：

传统——传统也就是习惯。权力的最早来源以传统和习惯为基础。国家形成以前，部落或类似的组织在行使统治，这种权力来自传统和习惯。国家形成以后，基层的机构也有可能仍依靠传统和习惯取得权力。

强制——强制也就是暴力。政府的统治依靠强制，权力也是建立在强制基础之上的。专制政体下的政府权力固然依靠强制或暴力，即使在民主政体之下，政府权力同样要依靠强制或暴力，区别主要在于政府行使强制或暴力是否有一定的程序可循，是否必须按程序行使强制或暴力，以及政府在行使强制或暴力之前、之后是否受到制约。

所有权——所有权也就是指拥有经济力量。没有经济力量作为基

础，没有对稀缺的生产要素的明确的所有权，可能得不到权力，或者，有了权力也会失去。在市场经济条件下，这一点尤其明显。

信息——信息是一种特殊的资源，这种特殊的资源使拥有它的人比未拥有它的人处于优势地位，并能得到权力。

对权力的来源的分析有助于理解建立对政府机构工作人员的约束与监督机制的必要性。由于权力可能来自传统或习惯，那就要分析究竟是些什么样的传统或什么样的习惯，它们的合理程度如何。对援引传统或习惯而取得的权力也同样要有约束，要有监督。更加重要的是对于来自强制的权力的约束与监督。这里包括了对政府行使强制的程序及其履行情况的约束与监督，也包括对政府如何取得权力的过程的约束与监督。这是因为，“强制—权力—强制”的情况可以分为两个过程，一是“强制—权力”，即依靠暴力取得了权力，二是“权力—强制”，即有了权力之后就行使强制或暴力。如果不对取得权力的过程进行约束与监督，仅仅有对政府行使强制的程序及行使强制的情况进行的约束与监督，那是很不够的，而且往往忽略了约束与监督的重要职责。

至于对所有权和信息的掌握情况以及由此行使权力的情况进行约束与监督，也具有重要意义。这是政府在经济方面行使权力的凭借。如果要对政府机构工作人员在权力行使方面有约束与监督的话，有必要使政府掌握的所有权和信息资源及其垄断程度增加透明度，使公众对之了解。这种公开性有助于约束与监督的有效程度的提高。还应当指出，舆论监督的作用也是对权力滥用的抵制。权力的行使要符合政府的行为准则，舆论监督的要点在于监督政府本身以及政府机构工作人员的行为是否同规定的行为准则相符。

政府及其工作人员的权力，不是道德规范所赋予的，而是法律所赋予的。而政府及其工作人员对权力的滥用，首先是对法律的违背，同时也是对道德规范的违背。因此，要约束和监督政府工作人员的行为，法律与自律都是不可缺少的。在新旧体制交替时期，由于政治形势变化过快，或经济活动超前，法制建设相对滞后，从而在政策上或法律规定上出现某种真空，对政府工作人员的行为的约束与监督可能缺乏法律依据。在这种形势下，道德规范的约束和舆论监督就显得格外重要。

二、道德约束与对权力的限制

对政府及其工作人员的权力的限制，意味着任何一个政府职务和担任这一职务的政府工作人员在行使权力时，既要受到制约，又要受到监督检查，以免其滥用权力或利用权力谋取私利。为此，就要求权力的行

使规范化、公开化。比如说，程序是严格规定的，并公之于众，一切按规范的程序操作，经办人员不得另立规章，不得拖延不办。这样就可以减少越权的操作。

从较广泛的范围来看，权力的行使与一定的宏观环境和一定的组织是分不开的。著名哲学家罗素（B. Russell）撰写过一本有影响的著作《权力论》，[3]阐述了权力的行使必须在有序的结构中进行，权力的行使必定是组织化的。邓勇先生在概括罗素的论点时这样指出：权力都要依赖于一种有序结构，必须在有序结构中栖身运行。这种有序结构就是组织。当组织瓦解，在溃败后的散兵游勇之间就没有权力可言。哪儿有组织，哪儿就会产生权力。罗素把组织解释为一批因追求同一目标的活动而结合在一起的人，因此，权力的产生必然是同一群人有目的地聚集在一起有关。按照罗素的组织观，权力可以分为传统的权力和新获得的权力两类。传统的权力拥有习惯的力量，所以更依赖于舆论。新获得的权力包括以武力形式取得的赤裸裸的权力，以及依赖于一个因某种新教义、纲领或情感而团结一致的革命的权力，其特点是新信仰取代了旧信仰。[4]对罗素论点的上述概括，清楚地反映了这样一点，这就是：既然权力来自组织，权力栖身于组织，所以对权力的制约与监督的关键也离不开社会对组织的制约与监督，以及组织对成员的制约与监督。

社会对组织的制约与监督是指：既然组织是追求同一目标的一群人的集合，那么社会对于组织的形成及其取得权力和行使权力的过程就要有所制约，有所监督，以免组织在取得权力和行使权力的过程中为了这一群人的利益而损害公众的利益。

组织对成员的制约与监督是指：既然行使权力的人是组织中的一员，那么组织对于自己的成员行使权力的过程就要有所制约，有所监督，以免成员在行使权力的过程中为了个人的利益而损害组织的利益。

社会对组织的制约与监督，以及组织对成员的制约与监督，是制约与监督的两个方面，缺一不可。

接着，让我们再讨论信息作为一种特殊的资源同权力滥用之间的关系。信息的提供有重要意义，给当事人提供足够的信息不仅有助于减少当事人行为的风险，而且有助于使当事人获得利益。信息的价值取决于所供给的信息的准确性、及时性和适用性。掌握权力的人由于自身处于一种获得信息和给予信息的特殊地位，甚至垄断地位，这既有可能使他们在获得信息方面占有优势，并借此获利，又有可能使他们将权力的行使与信息的给予相结合，从中获利。信息垄断为权力的滥用创造了机会。也就是说，权力往往是在不容许竞争或只容许某种不正当竞争的条件下被滥用的。竞争从一定意义上说就是对滥用权力的有效抵制。这说明了在约束与监督权力行使方面运用公开竞争机制的必要性。

观念上的混乱、是非标准的模糊、错误的价值取向，以及人们被扭曲的心态，都有可能使得对权力的约束与监督起不到应有的作用。可以说，这是与长期存在于社会中的官本位观念及现实密切有关的。“官大一级压死人”、“现官不如现管”、“有权不用，过期作废”等虽然是民间流行的语言，但却有深刻的社会根源。这反映出单纯靠建立对政府机构工作人员的约束与监督机制是远远不够的。要使得约束与监督有效，还需要从更深入的层次进行探讨，找到社会制衡的方法。

对滥用权力者的惩罚固然必要，但同样有必要的是对因被滥用权力而遭到损害的人实行赔偿制度。确立对受害者的赔偿制度，是对权力的又一种限制。滥用权力者如果考虑到因滥用权力而会受到处罚，包括对受害者的经济上的赔偿（国家赔偿另行计算，这里指的是滥用权力者的个人赔偿），他们也许在行使权力时有所约束。虽然处罚（包括赔偿）在实行中仍会有局限性，但有赔偿制度要优于缺少这样一种制度。对政府机构工作人员的监督，应当包括对受害者实行赔偿制度的情况的监督。

在讨论了上述这些之后，我们可以回到道德调节这个课题上来。政府机构工作人员需要有道德的约束与道德的激励。道德的约束体现为政府机构工作人员的自律。关于这一点，前面已经作了论述。道德的激励体现为政府机构工作人员的敬业精神、为公众服务的精神、奉献精神的坚持和发扬，对此，前面也已分析过。现在要讨论的是：既然权力的行使同组织有关，也同宏观环境有关，那么，如何使道德力量在作为权力所依托的组织内部发生作用，使得对组织及其成员的约束与监督更为有效呢？如何在权力所依存的宏观环境中使道德力量发生作用，使得更多的人来关心对权力的制约问题，使约束与监督权力行使问题成为舆论所关注的焦点之一呢？

这里提出的问题已经不限于政府机构工作人员个人的自律，而且包括了作为权力所依托的一个组织的自律。罗素把组织解释为一批因追求同一目标的活动而结合在一起的人，组织的自律意味着这批结合在一起的人要为同一目标的实现而约束自己的行为，不容许组织内部任何一个成员因滥用权力而阻碍同一目标的实现。组织的自律同组织成员的个人自律一样重要。组织的自律将从组织自身做起，即组织的行为不能同组织目标的实现发生抵触。这是道德约束的体现。组织行为的规范化和组织行为符合一定的行动准则，是组织中任何一个成员的行为规范化的前提和保证。对组织的成员来说，如果因滥用权力而被组织所清洗，那就意味着通往权力的道路的终结。

从宏观环境来看，要使得政府机构工作人员不滥用权力，不利用手中的权力谋取私利，需要有公众对监督工作的参与。但公众能不能不畏

权势，不怕报复，仗义执言呢？公众敢不敢同滥用权力的掌权者进行抗争呢？这可以被看成是整体的国民素质问题。这是因为，社会上总有人会从公共利益出发来揭发政府机构工作人员滥用权力的行为，但如果这只是个别人的义愤行为，那还不足以形成公众的监督，个别有义愤的人在社会上很可能是孤立的，不少人甚至心里佩服他，但却敬而远之。如果社会上有越来越多的人从公共利益出发，同滥用权力的政府机构工作人员进行斗争，这就反映了整个国民素质的提高。只有整体国民素质提高后，公众的监督才是切实有效的。因此，我们不能忽视道德力量在提高整体国民素质方面的作用，也就是不能忽视道德力量在发挥公众对掌权者的有效监督方面的作用。

讨论道德力量在实现对权力的约束与监督中的作用（包括行使权力的人的自律和公众从公共利益出发对行使权力的人的监督）时，还需要明确一个问题，即尽管政府是社会秩序的管理者、市场的调节者，但政府是否有凌驾于社会之上的地位呢？应当说，把政府看成是凌驾于社会之上的管理者是不正确的。如果受这种看法的支配，那就很难建立公众对政府行为的约束与监督机制。

社会由公众组成，公众需要社会秩序。政府作为社会秩序的维持者，责任在于按照法律的内容和规定的程序去规范所有的人（包括政府机构工作人员）的行为，保护人们的合法权益。这并不等于政府凌驾于社会之上。假定政府自认为或被认为是凌驾于社会之上的，只会导致权力被滥用，造成社会经济秩序的破坏。

6.2 Selection and Competition

6.2.1 Psychological Factors in Selection and Competition

In socio-economic life, without selection or competition, it would be hard to give play to people's initiative and enterprise; apathy could not be overcome, society would stagnate and malpractices such as abuse of power and wanton conduct would remain unexposed and uncontested. Public involvement in supervision is inseparable from enthusiasm for achieving public targets and public interests. It's hard to imagine someone with no concern for the public interest or enterprising spirit having any enthusiasm for getting involved in oversight of power.

The checks and balances in socio-economic life firstly rely on law and

then on the self-discipline of every member of society. Self-discipline means being both restricted and inspired by a code of conduct based on moral standards. Law depends on people to make and to enforce it, and a code of conduct needs people to identify with it, accept it and observe it. Social restriction and supervision applies not only to those in power and those exercising power, but to every member of society. Even for those who don't have power, individual behavior needs to be restricted and supervised, including oversight by public opinion.

The effectiveness of restriction and oversight depends on national caliber as a whole and the function of selection and competition is to ensure improvement in this regard. However, selection must be based on equality of opportunity and on free, fair and open competition. Free competition means no human factors interfering with or restricting the competition process. Fair competition means all competitors have equal opportunities, with no individual having monopolistic or exclusive qualification. Open competition means the competition rules and relevant notices should be announced to all competitors. In general, in selection and competition, all principles should be universally applicable, no major factor should be excluded in advance of the competition and no selection should be conducted behind closed doors. To do otherwise is grossly unfair, and can do only harm to social checks and balances.

In discussing the importance of selection and competition to society's checks and balances, we should note the particular significance of equal employment opportunities and fair competition for vacancies. Restrictions and exclusivity in occupations will cause frustration and economic stagnation. Actually, this is by no means a recent problem: In feudal times, aristocrats occupied the highest ranks and the hereditary right system was universal in appointing officials. So as to hang on to their privileges and wealth, officials employed all manner of stratagems including political marriage, etc. The result was deeper conflict between the upper class and the middle and lower classes; it also made enmity and conflict among upper class families inevitable. Whether in China or in Europe, the hereditary nature of appointment and career was socially and economically detrimental, and both took measures to break its power. In China, perhaps the best known example is the imperial examination system. In medieval Europe, the churches had enormous power, and to prevent this power being hereditary, Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085) enforced celibacy for the priesthood. As Russell observed,

"When priests were married, they naturally tried to pass on Church property to their sons. They could do this legally if their sons became priests…. Therefore clerical celibacy is essential to the moral authority of the Church."[5] Pope Gregory's decision was supported by the public, and, as Russell noted, "The laity, however, everywhere preferred their priests celibate. Gregory stirred up riots of the laity against married priests and their wives, in which both often suffered brutal ill-treatment."[6] The public's hatred of church property becoming hereditary and absorbed into families reflected a desire for fair and open selection and competition.

Increased social mobility, including both horizontal and vertical mobility, is an important measure for opening up job opportunities and breaking down career restriction. Horizontal mobility means that people may choose among regions, sectors and enterprises for occupations and positions that play to their strengths and can best stir their enthusiasm. Social mobility is often inseparable from competition: competition gives rise to mobility and where there is mobility there is competition. In this way, career restriction will gradually be broken down. Vertical mobility can help break free from restriction on occupational ranks and counter attempts at appointment by right of heritage. Apart from functioning to arouse enthusiasm, vertical mobility challenges those who occupy high government positions by virtue of inheritance and social rank. In China's imperial examination system and the European Church, personnel promotion regardless of family background helped account for the longevity of those institutions in their respective historical conditions. It was an important breakthrough for social vertical mobility.

The cancellation of career restriction, open appointment and fair competition are undoubtedly beneficial to checks and balances in society. However, once competition is instituted there will be winners and losers, usually a very few winners but many losers. The losers may not see the winners as better in every aspect than themselves; they may think the selection is unfair to some extent and complain that competition is still strewn with obstacles. Their complaints are not always unfounded. However, even if one loses, at least one knows that even imperfect selection and competition is way better than none at all, and that the conditions are being created for improving competition and realizing true fairness. From the complaints of the losers we may discover that in addition to the obstacles in selection and competition, people's psychological barriers cannot be

overlooked either. Such barriers mainly present as lack of enterprise and competitive sense, apathy or willingness. Something else to bear in mind is that systemic obstacles may make people pessimistic and disappointed, aggravating their mental burdens. This is because when people experience unreasonable restriction on selection and competition, they will feel that hard work will bring little reward. As a result, the enterprise and competitive sense they once had will dwindle almost to nothing; apathy will increase and even end up as fatalism.

The difficulty in selection and competition should get attention. To those competing for employment, equal opportunity may seem simply a promise for the future. For example, according to law, occupations should be open to anyone suitably qualified, any unwarranted exclusivity is forbidden, as is any career or job monopoly created by the privileged. The law cannot guarantee that a particular position will go to the best qualified candidate, but what it can guarantee is that it will not go to an unqualified person. Law can make rules on unfair competition, but it cannot guarantee the accuracy of selection. Selection, after all, has a rather high degree of freedom, which consequently leaves room for regulation by morality.

Set procedures should be drawn up for the opening up of occupational opportunities, selection and competition. To act according to established process is very important for removing systemic and psychological barriers in selection and competition. Open selection and putting competition on a procedural footing calls for the following: The job description and requirements should be made public in advance so candidates can apply on this basis; the competition process should be open and fair; the selectors should have no bias for or against any candidate, choosing the most suitable person on the basis of the original criteria. All of the above should be subject to oversight. Provided selection and competition are put on a procedural footing and are monitored, the selection will produce better results and the psychological barriers will gradually be erased.

6.2.2 Legal and Moral Constraints in Selection and Competition

Now let's go a little deeper into the issue of selection and competition.

To make selection and competition fair and orderly, it is necessary to

legislate on the rules of selection and competition and on monitoring the execution of these rules. Law is used to constrain those who would abuse their power and damage the rules, as well as to constrain the candidates and selectors. But as mentioned above, law is only able to prevent the exclusion of qualified candidates from competition: it cannot guarantee that a particular post will go to the most qualified person, which boils down to the fact that, in selection and competition, legal constraint is necessary but not enough by itself.

An enterprise will serve as example. For ongoing efficiency increase and development progress, an enterprise must bring its outstanding personnel to the fore. Law cannot guarantee it. Managers can make all manner of rules to govern personnel selection, recruitment, dismissal, etc. They are undoubtedly useful but cannot guarantee that the best personnel are appointed to important positions. Why should this be so? It is because in daily life, including that of enterprises, the phenomenon of "mediocrity rising to the top" is not uncommon. In other words, the excellent do not stay long whereas the mediocrities stay. This is incompatible with fair competition. It causes society to lose its vigor, enterprises to become moribund and inefficient, and it may lead to disunity and discord. On top of this, promotion of mediocrities means that social operations lack element for check and balance, undermining the effectiveness of restriction and oversight.

Why is it that the mediocre rise to the top in some workplaces? I looked at this issue in *Transformational Development Theory*.[7] Generally speaking, the phenomenon has to do with the incompleteness of mechanisms for competition and mobility. The less complete these things are the more serious and intractable the problem will be. Therefore, it would be worthwhile to do broader and deeper studies on how to conduct effective personnel selection, how to bring excellent talents to the fore rather than allowing them to be overlooked, excluded, driven out or attacked; and on how to fully deploy the competition mechanism in selecting and appointing personnel.

To make sure that more people obtain work more suited to their talents through fair competition and that all can use their abilities to the full inside an enterprise, recruiters have to know more about their potential employees, and job-hunters and job-changers have to understand the vacancy and relevant duties in greater detail. On this matter the law seems impotent, because it only creates fair and open conditions for selection and competition, defines the boundaries within which selection and competition activities must

remain, but it cannot ensure that employers will select the most suitable persons, nor can it guarantee that those competing will find the most suitable employers. It only tells both sides of the selection process that they should understand and obey the law and have a duty to resist and disclose any violation, but it cannot guarantee that those selecting will get the most suitable people or that job candidates will find the most suitable employers. Regulation by morality is the only thing that can fill the gap, and its role in selection and competition is truly multi-faceted.

Firstly, we will discuss the existence of moral restriction and the necessity for it. In selecting talented people, moral restraint applies to selectors and candidates alike. The selectors should follow norms recognized by society, behave with justice, appoint on the basis of merit and never be swayed by selfish interests. Candidates should also follow the norms, be honest and trustworthy, not resorting to deception. In other words, both sides should be self-disciplined in the process of selection and competition to guarantee its effectiveness and orderliness. Although this guarantee is not compulsory, provided all concerned can restrain themselves according to moral standards, the abuses and shortcomings of this process will diminish and ultimately disappear.

Regulation by morality is also reflected in the selectors' and candidates' own moral inspiration. As mentioned above, self-discipline encompasses personal moral restriction and moral inspiration. Since the selection and appointment of talented personnel is highly pertinent to the future efficiency and prospects of the enterprise, then the selectors should approach their task with a sense of responsibility and dedicated spirit, and thereby do a good and conscientious recruitment job. The dedicated spirit will allow selectors to do a better job and better meet the needs of the enterprise. As for the competing candidates, they also need their moral inspiration. Since they see the process as an opportunity to find a suitable enterprise, they should treasure it, display their enterprise and down-to-earth spirit, be unafraid of challenges and not fixated on ephemeral reputations. If they have these qualities, even if they lose out more than once, they will not lose heart and give up; they will keep on going.

Corporate culture in the workplace is very important for harmonious interpersonal relations, but its role may be even more important in selection and hiring, increasing understanding between people and promoting communication and trust between selectors and aspirants. It cannot totally

eradicate the rise of the mediocre, but it can help an enterprise find talented people, know everyone's strengths and weaknesses, keep the management tier in the picture as to how things stand below, and thereby reduce the rise of the mediocre. Building corporate culture is a product of regulation by morality.

In selection and competition, "unreasonable but not illegal" conduct is frequent. It is impossible to punish such conduct since there is no legal basis to do so. That does not mean they are not subject to moral judgment nor does it make it unnecessary to use regulation by morality to improve personnel selection and appointment in the enterprise. The role of regulation by morality in this respect cannot be replaced by law. If we look at issue from the higher vantage point of building check-and-balance mechanisms for socio-economic life, then we will have a deeper understanding of the significance of an enterprise's corporate culture.

贰　选择与竞争

一、选择与竞争中的心理因素

在社会经济运行过程中，如果没有选择，没有竞争，不仅人的积极性、进取精神、创业精神不可能发挥出来，惰性不可能被克服，社会必定出现停滞和僵化，而且权力被滥用及掌权者肆意横行等丑恶现象也不可能受到抵制和被揭露。公众参与对权力的监督，是与公众有参与公共目标、公共利益实现的积极性分不开的，也是以公众具有进取精神为前提的。不能设想一个既不关心公共利益，又不思进取、创业的人会有参与权力监督的积极性。

社会经济运行中的制衡首先要靠法律，同时要依靠每个社会成员的自律。自律就是以道德规范所形成的行为准则来约束自己和激励自己。法律依靠人们制定与执行，行为准则则需要人们的认同、接受与遵从。社会上的约束与监督，既是对掌权者、权力行使者而言，也是对每一个社会成员自身而言。即使不是掌权者，同样需要有对个人行为的约束与监督，包括舆论的监督。

约束与监督的有效程度取决于整体国民素质，选择与竞争的作用在于保证整体国民素质的提高。但是，选择必须是机会均等条件下的选择，竞争必须是自由的竞争、公平的竞争、公开的竞争。竞争的自由性是指竞争过程中不应受到人为因素的干扰和限制。竞争的公平性是指参加竞争的各个主体的机会是均等的，不存在垄断性的、排他性的竞争资

格。竞争的公开性是指应该向一切可以参加竞争的主体公布竞争的规则和竞争的应知事项。总之，对选择与竞争而言，原则应普遍适用，不能事先就把某些主体排除在竞争活动之外，不能把“选择”关闭在黑箱中操作，否则就是最大的不公平，对社会制衡只有弊而无利。

在讨论选择与竞争对于社会制衡的重要性时，应当注意到，就业机会的均等和职位的公平竞争尤其重要。职业的限制、职业的排他性，只能挫伤大多数人的积极性，引起经济的停滞、僵化。实际上，历史上早已注意到这样的问题。封建时代，贵族占据了社会的高级职位，世袭制渗透到政府官员职务的安排之中。他们为了保住世袭的地位和财富，采取了各种手段，包括政治性的联姻。其结果，不仅社会上层与中下层之间的矛盾加深了，而且在社会上层，家族之间的仇恨与冲突也难以避免。无论在欧洲还是中国，职位的世袭化和职业的世袭化都给社会经济带来了危害。为了打破这种职位和职业的世袭制，封建时代的欧洲和中国也都曾采取过一些措施。在职位的非世袭化方面，中国的科举制度所起过的作用是人所共知的。在欧洲，中世纪的教会拥有巨大的权力。为了制止教会权力的世袭化，教皇格雷高里七世（Gregory Ⅶ，1073～1085年）强行贯彻僧侣独身主义。正如罗素所说，“僧侣们一旦结婚之后，他们自然企图将教会的财产传给他们的子嗣。假如他们的子嗣当了僧侣，那么他们更可以进行合法地授与……僧侣的独身对于教会的道德权威来说是必不可少的。”[5]格雷高里七世的决定当时是受到民众的支持的，所以罗素接着评论道：“俗众到处渴望他们的祭司过独身生活。格雷高里煽起俗众暴乱用以抵制结婚的祭司和他们的妻子，这时僧侣夫妻经常遭到令人发指的虐待。”[6]不管怎样，民众对教会财产世袭制与家族化的痛恨，反映了他们对于选择与竞争的公平性和公开性的希望。

实际上，促进职业机会开放和打破职业限制的重要措施是增加社会的流动性，包括水平的流动和垂直的流动。社会的水平流动使人们可以在地区、部门、企业之间选择最能发挥自己长处的岗位，以调动他们工作的积极性。同时，社会流动与竞争往往是不可分的，有竞争，就会促进社会流动；有社会流动，竞争就是必然的，于是职业的限制将被逐渐打破。社会的垂直流动则可以使人们摆脱职业的等级限制，抵制想把职位世袭的企图，它除了在调动人们的积极性方面有更大的作用而外，还向一切依靠职位世袭和等级制而占据政府高位的人提出了挑战。中国的科举制度和欧洲教会的不问出身而提拔教职人员的制度在当时的历史条件下之所以长期维持，正是由于在社会的垂直流动方面有重要的突破。

职业限制的取消、职位的开放和公平竞争，对社会运行中的制衡无疑是有利的。但一旦进行竞争，必定有失败者和胜利者，而且胜利者可能是少数，失败者是多数。失败者中不少人并不认为胜利者在各方面都

优于自己，他们会认为选择有欠公正，也会抱怨竞争中仍存在种种障碍。这种抱怨不一定没有根据。然而，即使是失败者，至少可以知道有选择与竞争要比没有选择与竞争好得多。这就为改善竞争状况和真正实现公平竞争创造了条件。从失败者的抱怨中还可以了解到，除了在制度上可能存在着对选择与竞争的各种障碍以外，人们心理上的障碍也是不可忽视的。心理上的障碍主要表现为个人缺乏进取精神和竞争意识，或存在惰性，甘愿放弃被选择的机会。同样不容忽视的是，制度上的障碍还会导致人们产生悲观失望的情绪，加重了他们的心理负担，这是因为，当人们感到制度上存在着对选择与竞争的不合理的限制时，他们会感到即使个人付出很大的努力，但收效甚微，于是原有的进取精神和竞争意识就减退了，几乎消失了，惰性将随之增大，甚至最终产生一种听天由命的思想。

选择与竞争本身的难度也应当引起注意。机会均等对于职位的竞争而言，很可能停留在一种承诺之上。比如说，通过法律可以规定职位向一切有资格的人开放，禁止任意的排他性，禁止有特权的人造成某种职业的垄断、职位的垄断。但法律并不能保证最有资格获胜的人一定能取得某个职位，法律只能保证没有资格的人不可能取得这个职位。法律对竞争的不正当性可以作出规定，但法律对选择的准确性却无法作出保证。选择毕竟有相当的自由度，这就给道德调节留下了空间。

无论如何，职业机会的开放以及职务的公开选择与竞争，应当程序化。一切按规定的程序办事，对消除有关选择与竞争的制度障碍和心理障碍是十分重要的。职务公开选择与竞争的程序化主要包括以下内容：需要什么样的人来填补什么样的职务空缺，应当事先按一定程序公布，以便人们在了解情况之后参加竞争；被选择者参与竞争的过程应当公开、公平；选择者对于参加竞争的被选择者不应抱有偏见，而应当按照原来规定的标准来挑选合格的人。所有这些都应当受到监督。只要选择与竞争能够程序化并受到监督，那么不仅选择的效果会改善，而且人们对选择与竞争的心理上的障碍也会逐渐消除。

二、选择与竞争中的法律约束与道德约束

让我们对选择与竞争问题再作一些探讨。

为了使选择与竞争公正有序，应当制定有关选择与竞争规则的法律以及监督这些规则实施情况的法律。法律对那些滥用权力来破坏选择与竞争规则的人进行约束，也对一切参加选择与被选择的人、参加竞争的人进行约束。但正如前面已经指出的，法律能做到的是不排斥有资格参

加竞争的人参加竞争，法律无法保证让最能胜任的人在竞争中胜过其他人。这就是说，选择与竞争之中，法律约束是必要的，但仅靠法律是不够的。

不妨以一个企业为例。为了使企业不断提高效率和不断发展，要让优秀人才脱颖而出。如果仅仅依靠法律，则无法保证做到这一点。企业管理中也可以制定若干规则，如人员选拔规则、人员录用规则、人员辞退规则等，这些规则当然有用，但依旧不能保证优秀人才在企业中一定得到重用。为什么这么说？因为在日常生活中，包括在企业日常工作中，经常可以发现一种不正常的情况，这就是“庸才沉淀”。“庸才沉淀”是指：在一个单位内，优秀人才留不住，平庸之辈往往留下来了。“庸才沉淀”与公平竞争是不相容的，它使得社会失去生气，使得一些单位失去活力，暮气沉沉，效率低下，而且会产生离心离德现象。不仅如此，“庸才沉淀”还使得社会运转中缺乏制衡的因素，使得约束与监督机制不发生作用。

为什么一些单位内会出现“庸才沉淀”？对此，我在《转型发展理论》一书中曾作了分析。[7]总的说来，“庸才沉淀”是同竞争机制、人员流动机制的不完善联系在一起的。竞争机制、人员流动机制越是不完善，“庸才沉淀”现象就越显著、越不容易解决。因此，究竟怎样进行人才的有效选择，怎样让优秀人才脱颖而出而不至于被埋没、被排挤、被逐走、被打击，以及怎样让竞争机制在人才选拔和使用方面充分发挥作用，值得进行更广泛、更深入的研究。

为了使社会上有更多的人能通过公平竞争而从事更加适合自己的才干的工作，为了让一个单位内部能真正做到人尽其才，需要让用人单位对于供选择的人有更多的了解，也需要让那些正在寻找工作的人、待更换工作的人、被挑选的人对于某项工作和某个工作岗位有更多的了解。在这种情况下，法律显得无能为力，因为法律只是为选择与竞争创造公平与公开的条件，法律只是规定限界，即选择与竞争活动不得越过法律规定的范围，法律并不能保证用人单位通过对被选择者的了解而选择到最适合的人，也不能保证参加竞争的人通过对工作岗位的了解而找到更适合自己的用人单位。法律的约束只是表明，无论是选择者还是被选择者，都应当知法、守法，都有责任对一切违法现象进行抵制和揭露，但法律的约束依然不可能使选择者一定能选择到最适合的人，或使被选择者一定能找到更适合自己的用人单位。

留下的空白只能由道德调节来弥补。道德调节在选择与竞争方面的作用实际上是多方面的。

首先要讨论的是道德约束的存在及其必要性。在人才选拔过程中，道德约束既表现在选择者身上，也表现在被选择者身上。选择者应遵守

社会所承认的规范，公正行事，任人唯贤，不徇私情。被选择者同样应遵守社会所承认的规范，诚实信用，不弄虚作假。换言之，选择者和被选择者都有必要在选择与竞争过程中加强自律。这是使得选择有效和竞争有序的一种保证。尽管这种保证是非强制性的，但只要大家都能以道德规范来约束自己，选择与竞争过程中的弊端和不足就会减少，直到消除。

道德调节也反映于选择者和被选择者的道德自我激励方面。正如前面已经指出的，自律既包括对自己的道德约束，也包括道德的自我激励。既然人才的选择与使用对一个单位来说是关系到单位的效率和单位的前途的大事，那么，选择者就应当有一种责任感、一种事业心，从而兢兢业业、认真负责地把人才选拔和使用的工作做好。这就是选择者不可缺少的敬业精神。有了这种敬业精神，选择者会把工作做得更仔细，更符合用人单位的要求。至于被选择者，在参加竞争的过程中同样需要有道德的自我激励。既然他们把工作岗位的选择当做寻找更适合发挥自己才能的单位的机遇，他们就应当珍惜这样的机会，在参加竞争时充分体现自己的进取精神和务实精神，不畏困难，不图虚名浮誉。有了这种进取精神和务实精神，即使在一次竞争中失利了，他们也不会泄气、自弃，而会继续进取。

在一个单位中，文化建设对于人际关系的协调固然十分重要，但就人才的选拔和使用来说，文化建设可能还有更重要的作用，即增加人们的相互了解，促进选择者与被选择者之间的交流和信任。文化建设尽管还不可能从根源上消除“庸才沉淀”现象，却有助于单位发现人才，了解每个人的所长和所短，使下情上达，从而减少“庸才沉淀”现象的发生。而文化建设正是道德调节的产物。

在选择与竞争过程中，经常遇到所谓“不合理但并不违法”的行为。对这一类行为，不可能施以法律惩罚，因为对一种行为进行法律上的惩罚，必须有法律上的充分依据。既然这一类行为并不违法，所以施以法律惩罚的依据不足。但不施行法律惩罚，不等于不进行道德评价，更不等于不需要采取道德调节方式来改进一个单位的人才选拔和使用工作。道德调节在这方面的作用是法律无法替代的。如果我们把选人和用人的问题提到建立社会经济运行中的制衡机制的高度来认识，那么对一个单位的文化建设的意义也将有更深入的了解。

6.3 Belief and Social Check and Balance

6.3.1 Understanding Belief

Check and balance in social and economic running also involves the issue of belief. This is both an important component of moral regulation and an important factor for effective regulation. It is inseparable from politics and from economic development.

In some senses, belief is a question of loyalty, but it doesn't mean a person with belief must be loyal to a specific person, family or clan. In feudal society, the loyalty of a subject to the monarch and his family or clan, that of a subject to his lord and his family or clan, and that of a servant to his master, might or might not have something to do with belief. Loyalty in those situations was basically a consequence of control by power, involving some political or economic benefits, and might also involve a ritual or pledge. However, in this analysis of social check and balance, the loyalty we refer to is closely linked to belief, and basically does not involve control by power or personal benefits. Belief means loyalty to an ideal, a principle of how to conduct oneself and treat others, a moral principle, etc. For a person to abandon his original belief and loyalty is to abandon long held ideals, principles and morality.

Belief-linked loyalty is a product of personal volition and thus can be called loyalty to one's own belief. Talking about Confucian culture, Du Weiming remarked, "Unfortunately, what has actually affected China's politics and culture is not the concept of 'be a saint to be a king,' but that of 'be a king to be saint.' The two are completely opposite. In the former, only those of outstanding morality and dignity were qualified to be political leaders. In the latter, after becoming a political leader, having won power through political struggle, uprising or violence, he does not require democratic loyalty, but loyalty in politics and morality…I believe that if morality and politics are combined and used well, it will be obvious which one has precedence. Of course, morality comes first and politics second. If the order is reversed an extremely harsh method of control is likely to emerge."[8] This passage reflects a fact: There is first belief based on one's own volition and moral loyalty, and after that comes political loyalty; this is, after all, consistent with the humanistic Confucian tradition. If loyalty to politics based on force comes first and then unity of thinking and loyalty to morality, this not only goes against the humanistic Confucian tradition, it is a form of tyranny. Such loyalty is the total opposite of the social checks and balances

under discussion.

Setting aside the topic of Confucian culture, let us now discuss how belief and loyalty to a faith are related to social checks and balances. Generally speaking, a belief based on some ideal, principle or morality is always connected to corresponding behaviors. A person with belief will act in some way to show his belief, which will develop into a spiritual drive for socio-economic development. A person is more likely to be optimistic and enterprising, more composed and braver in the face of challenges. Inspired by his belief, he believes his ideals, principles and morality are bound to win and the victory will benefit society. This is the spiritual power that gives courage to people of different regions, occupations and classes and those dedicated to the public interest to resist authorities whose conduct they deem at odds with moral standards. Without their belief or loyalty to it, they would perhaps not risk offending those authorities.

Therefore, moral check and balance in socio-economic life firstly means that those who are loyal to their beliefs will, from their commitment to their ideals, principles and morality, and based on self-restriction, will resist and fight authorities that go against moral standards. Such resistance and fight will greatly strengthen society's restriction and oversight mechanism. The belief we are talking about here includes religious faith but it is more than that. It also includes adhering to a certain social ideal or political belief, demanding change in unreasonable social and political structures and insisting on certain principles or morality, etc. For those who have belief, belief and practice are mutually constraining and intermingled. Belief encourages practice, which in turn justifies and enriches belief. Without belief, practice will lack spiritual support, lose its purpose and not endure. Without practice, belief will remain just that and finally become empty and illusory. Society is not short of people who practice a lot but have no belief, and vice versa, but there are still many who have both. They care about the public interest and participate in public political life, and this adds an element of moral check and balance into socio-economic life.

There is a broader understanding of belief, one that draws in some life philosophy. Such belief might be combined with religious faith; i.e., someone with a particular life philosophy might simultaneously be a pious follower of a religion. Or, a person might not follow a particular religion, but simply in the belief that his life philosophy is right, will conduct himself and treat others in light of that conviction. Whether he is a religious person or not, as

long as he believes in this life philosophy, he will have spiritual drive and confidence, determination and courage in life, which is also beneficial for social check and balance.

6.3.2 The Role of Belief in Social Checks and Balances

The conclusion that belief is beneficial for checks and balances in socio-economic operation is not drawn only from an individual perspective. From such a perspective, if a person acts according to his belief, he will use that belief as his yardstick for deciding right and wrong: he will make demands of himself and judge others by it. This brings an element of check and balance into socio-economic life. It is possibly a strengthening of self-discipline and possibly resisting and fighting abuse of power. We can describe this as social moral check and balance, i.e., producing social check and balance by relying on moral force. Moreover, when the law stipulates that abuse of power is a violation punishable under law, moral check and balance might prompt law to pay greater heed to the exposed abuse of power, and to whether those responsible for restriction and oversight have dealt with it according to law. In this way, moral check and balance is combined with legal check and balance (i.e. legally based check and balance). Thus we can see that analysis from the individual perspective is useful and indispensable.

But the role of belief in social check and balance goes further than this. We need also explore this question from a group perspective.

As frequently reiterated, an individual is a member of one or several groups. His identification with the group(s) will, as a moral factor or spiritual support, play a bigger role in socio-economic life. We can discuss the question by separating religious belief from non-religious belief.

Religious people form a group or, more precisely, religious people join an existing religious organization. They are influenced by this group in terms of ideals, principles and morality, and their judgment of right and wrong follows the group's standards. At the same time, they have influence, albeit perhaps very weak, on group behavior. The question is: all religious groups require the believers to be self-disciplined, not to do anything against the group's moral standard, and to resist any behavior detrimental to it. If a member violates that moral standard, there would be no forgiveness, because this would adversely affect realization of group ideals and damage its image.

Under such influence, the believers will be more self-disciplined and more willing to follow the guidance of common ideals, principles and morality, to resist and fight abuse of power or any behavior against moral standards. This will consequently help the social check and balance mechanism play a more effective role.

A person with belief of a non-religious nature may join an existing group or form a new group of people with common ideals, principles and morality. Once a member, his belief and behavior will influence those of other members and his in turn will be influenced by theirs. Thus, group belief and individual belief become virtually indivisible. Although in a non-religious group the extent to which members identify with the group will vary among them, this will not prevent them, under the guidance of common ideals, principles and morality, from strengthening self-discipline and resisting any behavior counter to the group's ideals, principles and morality. Therefore, group belief and behavior play a bigger role in check and balance in socio-economic life than do individual belief and behavior.

A society whose members have no beliefs is a society without hope. Such a society will fall into disorder and there will be no social check and balance to speak of. Belief, whether of the religious or non-religious variety, is always a loyalty to some established ideal, principle or morality, a restriction on the believers themselves, an oversight on others and check and balance for society. This is summation of the role of belief in socio-economic operation.

Even in an individualistic society, a group still has obvious influence on its individual members. For example, the sense of responsibility a member feels for the group and the group's concern for individual members, are both based on a shared belief. Only with the common belief can they identify with each other. Within a group, individuals' rights co-exist with their obligations. Among individuals, a set of interpersonal relations is formed, and if the members only demand rights and shirk obligations, if they expect the group to care about them but have no sense of group responsibility in return, then they will leave it sooner or later, or the group will ultimately cease to exist even in name. The relationship between the individual and group forms a foundation from which belief plays an important role in check and balance in socio-economic life. Since the precondition of the existence and activities of a group is shared belief, and this implies the existence of order, it follows that the relation between members and group is also built on state of order. Each

and every group has its own purpose, target or mission, which, major or minor, always represents a certain belief and ideal. That is to say, the effectiveness and orderliness of group activities are ultimately built on the beliefs of its members. Check and balance in socio-economic life is carried out in the process of various groups' practicing their beliefs and ideals. Sometimes, a group also depends on the efforts or even dedication of its members to resist activities that damage social order. In practicing their beliefs and ideals, a group or its members might not be aware of its role in promoting social order, but it is nevertheless the case.

6.3.3 Reason and Belief

Groups come in many shapes and sizes. Is it true that every group has an ideal or principle? Is it true that people become members of a group because they are attracted by its ideals or principles? Is it true that every member in every group will be in step with the group in belief, be loyal to the belief and therefore willing to work hard to realize its ideals or principles? These are complicated questions. Actually, it is not just groups that are diversified: individuals join groups for different reasons: Some volunteer to join a group after careful thought; some join because they have no option; some join without careful prior consideration and just remain for some reason even though they are not completely at one with the group's ideals or principles. All this reflects the complexity of the situation. In some groups, members are loosely connected, not by a definite ideal or principle, but by leisure interests. When this is the case, it cannot be said that there is unanimity of belief within the group. Such groups can be excluded from this discussion.

Generally speaking, most groups have their ideals or principles. At the very least they will take continuous development of their group as an ideal and protecting its interests as a principle. As long as its members identify with this, they can be in step with the group and the power of belief will be born. For example, every individual is a member of a small group such as a family, a small village, a city street. A family always aspires to prosperity and a village or city street wishes to be a peaceful and happy place to live. Individual members feel the same way as their family, village or street. Groups such as political parties, religious organizations and social organizations have more definite ideals or principles, and provided group

members identify with these they will be in step. The role of check and balance in socio-economic life is connected with such identification and the group behavior that stems from this. But, irrespective of group size, does belief come first for its members, or is it reason?

In fact the two situations co-exist. When belief comes before reason, it may result in greater spontaneity, whereas reason may make belief play a bigger role in practice. When reason comes before belief, belief may become conscious and help to deepen reason. On some occasions, belief tends to come before reason; on others the reverse situation is the case. The same variance of priorities is seen in people too: it depends on the actual situation.

Whether "belief comes before reason" or vice versa, it shows that belief and reason can be combined. But in daily life we may come across "belief beyond reason" or "non-reasonable belief," situations that have no benefit for social check and balance or can even drain vitality from the society and economy and cause both to stagnate. Let us take an illustration from the planned economy that had dominated China for a considerable period. Individual rights and freedom were strictly restricted. People, in common with means of production, were allocated under a centralized plan. They had no right of free choice as regards career, home, where they lived or how they lived. Their conduct was totally subject to government arrangement. In this situation, the government took sole charge of economic risk. "Everything is arranged" meant individuals did not need to make choices or shoulder any risk. Although the living standard was very low, both unemployment and inflation were kept hidden. Despite being called the "sharing a big pot" system, people actually did not eat from the same pot: there were "different levels of pot."[9] Even so, there was actually a pot to eat from. The term "iron bowl" did not mean people need no longer worry about losing their food "bowls" any more, but that they would have a "bowl" provided they accepted the planned economy arrangement. Conversely, it would result in having no "bowl," having the "bowl" taken away or being dismissed from office.[10] But in the eyes of those accepting the planned economy arrangement they did, after all, have "iron bowls," and the situation gave people the impression that the planned economy system was superior: it even gave rise to the idea that "sharing a big pot" and "iron bowl" equated to a socialist society. Thus was born a belief beyond or without reason. Such belief can also produce a spiritual drive, such as striving hard to safeguard the "sharing a big pot" and "iron bowl" system. But this was an unsustainable belief, being so far

divorced from reality. It could not play a social check and balance role since the system it upheld was at odds with reality and hindered social productivity. It resulted in individual abilities atrophying for lack of use, the loss of willingness to take risk and absence of personal enterprise. Society lost its vitality. More serious still, under the planned economy, those who carried out the plan quotas wielded great power: the system was itself a source of power abuse. They could use their power to attack anyone trying to slip the bounds of the system. Even so, given such belief in the system, however unjustified, there was a submissive rather than resistant attitude to such abuse, blind following rather than doubt. No social check and balance mechanism could possibly take shape in circumstances like these.

To repeat: a society whose members have no belief is a society without hope. We can fill out this point: A society whose members have belief beyond or without reason is not just without hope: it is a society in despair.

叁　信仰与社会制衡

一、对信仰的理解

社会经济运行过程中的制衡还涉及人们的信仰问题。在道德调节中，信仰既是一个重要的组成部分，又是促使道德调节有效的重要因素。信仰不仅同政治不可分开，而且也同经济发展不可分开。

信仰在某种意义上是一个效忠问题。这不是指有某种信仰的人需要对某一个人、某一个家庭或家族效忠。在封建时代，臣民对君主及其家庭或家族的效忠、受分封的藩臣对分封者及其家庭或家族的效忠、奴仆对主子的效忠等，可能同某种信仰有关，也可能同信仰无关。这种情况下的效忠，基本上是一种权力支配的后果，包含着政治或经济的利益。这种情况下的效忠，还可能是一种仪式或誓约。在讨论社会制衡问题时，我们所要分析的效忠，是同信仰紧密地联系在一起的，基本上不涉及权力的支配，基本上与个人的利益无关。这是指人们对一种理想的效忠，对一种待人处世原则的效忠，或对一种伦理观念的效忠，等等。一个人，如果放弃了原来的信仰，放弃了原有的效忠，那就意味着放弃了原来曾经坚持和信奉过的理想、原则、伦理观念。

同信仰紧密联系在一起的效忠，是出于自愿的，因此可以称之为对于自己信仰的效忠。杜维明先生在谈到中国儒家文化时，曾有一段精彩的论述。他指出：“不幸的是，在中国政治文化中实际发生作用的，不

是圣王思想，而是王圣思想，王圣与圣王思想是截然相反的。圣王思想认为只有具备高超道德尊严的人才有资格当政治领袖。王圣思想指的是一个通过权力斗争、叛乱或暴力而夺权的政治领袖在当政后，不要求民主的效忠，而是要求政治及道德上的效忠……我想如果这种道德与政治的结合运用得当，何者为优先的观念应该是很清楚的，也就是道德为先政治其后。但如果情况刚好相反，就可能出现一种非常严峻的控制手段。”[8]这段话反映了这样一个事实，即先有出于自愿的信仰并有道德上的效忠，然后再有政治上的效忠，那么这毕竟还是符合儒家人文主义传统的；反之，如果先有强制性的政治上的效忠，然后再统一思想而有道德上的效忠，那不仅违背了儒家的人文主义传统，而且正是专横暴虐的统治者所施行的一种统治手段，这种所谓效忠与我们在这里讨论的社会的道德制衡恰恰相反。

现在，让我们撇开儒家文化这个主题，仅就信仰与对信仰的效忠同社会制衡之间的关系进行论述。一般说来，对某种理想、原则和伦理观念的信仰总是同相应的行为结合在一起的。有信仰的人，为了忠于自己的信仰，总要在行动上有所表现，这样就会形成社会经济发展中的一种精神动力。有信仰的人在社会经济生活中往往有乐观精神、进取精神，而且也会比较沉着，敢于面对所遇到的困难。他在信仰的激励之下，总是相信自己的理想必胜、原则必胜、伦理观念必胜，并且认为这种取胜将会给社会带来好处。正是这样一种精神上的动力，成为社会上不同地区、不同职业、不同阶层的热心公共利益的人奋不顾身地同被他们认为不符合道德规范的掌权者抗争的力量。没有信仰，没有对自己的信仰的效忠，他们可能不会去冒犯那些掌权者。

因此，社会经济运行中的道德制衡，首先是指有信仰并效忠于信仰的人，出于对理想、原则、伦理观念的坚持，在约束自己行为的基础上，对违背道德规范的掌权者进行抵制与抗争。这种抵制与抗争大大增强了社会的约束与监督机制。

这里所说的信仰当然不仅是指宗教信仰，非宗教性的信仰也包括在内，例如对某种社会理想或政治信念的坚持，要改变某种社会政治的不合理结构，或要贯彻某种原则和伦理观念等。对于有信仰的人来说，信仰与实践彼此制约，互相渗透。信仰鼓励实践，实践印证并丰富信仰。没有信仰，实践时缺乏精神支柱，实践不可能持久，也可能没有目标。没有实践，信仰始终是信仰，而且会逐渐变得空泛、虚幻。社会上不乏只有实践而没有信仰的人，或只有信仰而没有实践的人，但毕竟仍有不少人把信仰与实践两者结合在一起。这些人对公共利益的关心和对公共政治生活的参与，给社会经济运行过程加入了道德制衡的因素。

对于信仰，还可以有一种更为广泛的理解，这就是把某种人生哲理

的信奉也纳入信仰之中。这种信仰有可能同某种宗教信仰相结合，即信奉某种人生哲理的人同时也是一名虔诚的教徒；但也有可能同任何宗教信仰都无关，即信奉某种人生哲理的人并不信奉任何宗教，他只是认为这种人生哲理是正确的，待人处世都应按照这种人生哲理的要求去做，等等。不管对某种人生哲理的信奉者是不是教徒，只要他信奉了这种人生哲理，他就有了精神上的动力，并在自己的经历中依靠这一精神上的动力而产生信心、毅力或生活的勇气，这也有利于社会的制衡。

二、信仰在社会制衡中的作用

信仰之所以有利于社会经济运行中的制衡，并非仅仅是从个人的角度进行分析的结果。从个人的角度来看，如果一个人有信仰并根据自己的信仰来行动，他将会用自己的信仰作为判断是非曲直的尺度，一方面以此要求自己，另一方面也以此衡量别人，从而社会经济运行中就增添了制衡的因素。这有可能是自律的强化，也有可能是对社会上权力滥用现象的一种抵制和抗争。可以把上述这些称做社会的道德制衡，即依靠道德力量使社会产生制衡。不仅如此，在法律规定了权力滥用是一种违法行为并应受到惩罚时，道德制衡可能促使法律重视已被揭露的权力滥用问题，监督法律的执行者是否依法处理了这种问题，于是道德制衡便同法律制衡（即依靠法律使社会产生制衡）结合起来了。可见，从个人的角度进行分析是有用的，也是不可缺少的。

但信仰在社会制衡中的作用不限于此。还有必要从群体的角度对这个问题作一些考察。

前面已经多次指出，人总是一个或若干个群体中的一员。个人对群体的认同和群体对个人的认同，将使得体现为一种道德力量或精神支柱的信仰在社会经济运行中发挥更大的作用。可以把宗教信仰与非宗教性的信仰分开来阐述。

以宗教信仰来说，有宗教信仰的人组成了一个群体，说得更确切些，有宗教信仰的人加入了已经存在的宗教组织这样一个群体。有宗教信仰的人在理想、原则和伦理观念上受到宗教组织这个群体的影响，个人的是非判断要服从这个群体的标准，同时，个人也在影响群体的行为，尽管这种影响可能是很微弱的。问题在于：任何宗教都要求信教者加强自律，不做违背本宗教的道德规范的事情，并要抵制有损于道德规范的行为。即使本宗教组织中有人违背了道德规范，也不应宽恕，因为这将使本宗教的理想的实现遭到损害，使本宗教的形象遭到破坏。在宗教组织这个群体的影响下，信教者们不仅自律性加强了，而且能在共同

的理想、原则、伦理观念的指引下抵制社会上滥用权力或其他违背道德规范的行为，并同这些行为抗争，从而使社会的制衡机制能更好地发挥作用。

再以非宗教性的信仰来说，一个有非宗教性信仰的人可能参加有共同理想、原则、伦理观念的人已经组成的群体，或者联合有共同理想、原则、伦理观念的人新组建一个群体。一旦有非宗教信仰的人成为这样的群体中的一员时，他的信仰与行为会影响群体的其他成员，而群体的信仰与行为又会对他发生影响，于是群体的信仰与个人的信仰很难再分开。尽管在这些非宗教性质的群体中，成员个人与群体之间的认同程度会有差异，但这并不妨碍他们在共同的理想、原则、伦理观念这一前提下，既加强自律，又抵制违背群体的理想、原则、伦理观念的行为。可见，群体的信仰以及由此产生的群体行为在社会经济运行中的制衡作用肯定要大于单个的个人所起的作用。

由没有信仰的成员所组成的社会，是一个没有希望的社会。社会的成员如果没有信仰，社会将变得无序，社会制衡也就无从谈起。不管是宗教信仰还是非宗教性的信仰，信仰都是对一种既定的理想、原则、伦理观念的效忠，对有信仰者本人是约束，对其他人是监督，对社会是制衡。这就是对信仰在社会经济运行中的作用的概括。

哪怕是在一个以个人为中心的社会中，个人作为这一群体或那一群体中的一员，群体对于个人的影响仍是显而易见的。比如说，个人对群体有一种责任感，群体对成员个人的关心，都建立在信仰一致的基础上，有一致的信仰才会有彼此的认同。在群体中，个人的权利与个人的义务是并存的。群体各个成员构成了一套人际关系，群体是靠成员对群体本身的信任和认同，以及成员之间的协调来维持存在的。如果群体中的成员只要求对自己权利的承认而不承认所担负的义务，如果他们只要求群体对自己关心而缺乏对群体的责任感，其结果，要么是个人迟早离群体而去，要么群体将名存实亡，甚至名亡实也亡。个人与群体之间的上述关系，正是信仰得以在社会经济运行中发挥较大制衡作用的基础。道理很清楚，因为群体的存在和活动既然是在信仰一致的前提下进行的，那就意味着有序，群体与成员个人之间的关系也建立于有序状态之中。任何群体总有自己的宗旨、目标或任务，不管这些宗旨、目标或任务多大还是多小，它们总代表着一定的信念和理想，也就是说，群体活动的有效性和有序性最终建立在成员的信仰之上。社会经济运行中的制衡就是在各个群体实现自己的信念和理想的过程中进行的。有时，群体还要依靠成员们的努力，甚至献身，才能抵制破坏社会秩序的行为。群体及其成员们在实现自己的信念和理想时可能并未意识到这对于社会制衡、对于维持社会的有序状态会有多大的促进作用，但结果却必然如

此。

三、理性与信仰

群体多种多样。是不是所有的群体都会有一种理想或原则呢？是不是所有各个群体的成员都会因群体的理想或原则对自己的吸引而成为群体的一员呢？是不是所有各个群体的成员都会同群体保持信仰的一致，都效忠于这一信仰，从而愿为群体的理想或原则的实现而努力呢？这是一个比较复杂的问题。事实上，不仅群体各不相同，而且个人参加群体的情况也是很不一样的：有的人经过思考以后而自愿参加某一群体；有的人则是不容选择地加入到某一群体；还有的人事先并未经过思考而参加了某一群体，参加之后虽然发现同群体的理想或原则有不一致之处，但却因种种原因而未退出。这些正反映了情况的复杂性。另有一些群体，是松散的，或者并没有什么明确的理想或原则，只是出于某种兴趣、爱好而组成的，这样，成员们也就谈不上同群体之间有什么信仰上的一致了。这样的群体可以不列入本章所讨论的范围。

总的说来，大多数群体总是有自己的理想或原则的，至少会把群体自身的不断发展作为一种理想，把维护群体自身的利益作为一个原则。只要成员们认同这一点，那就可以同群体保持一致，信仰的力量也就产生了。举例来说，群体之小莫过于一个家庭、一个小村庄、一条街道，一个人必定是家庭的成员、村庄或街道的居民。家庭总希望自己能够兴旺，村庄或街道总希望这里平安无事，家家安乐。家庭成员同家庭这个群体、村庄或街道这个群体在这方面是一致的。至于一个政党、一个宗教组织、一个社会团体，它们的理想或原则就更清楚了，这些群体的成员在认同群体的理想或原则的基础上，就会同群体保持一致。社会经济运行过程中的制衡作用，正是与这种认同以及由此产生的群体行为联系在一起的。但无论群体的大小，究竟是成员们的信仰先于理性呢，还是理性先于信仰，这是有争议的。

其实，信仰先于理性与理性先于信仰这两种情况是并存的。信仰先于理性，可能使信仰带有更大的自发性，而理性则可以使信仰在实践中发挥更大的作用。理性先于信仰，会使信仰带有更大的自觉性，而且信仰还可以起到使理性进一步深化的作用。在一些场合，多半是先有信仰，再有理性认识，而在另一些场合，则多半是先有理性认识，再有信仰。对一些人，可能是信仰先于理性，而对另一些人，则可能是理性先于信仰。这也符合实际情况。

“先信仰，后理性”或“先理性，后信仰”都表明信仰同理性是结合

的。但在日常生活中还会遇到一种"超理性的信仰"或"非理性的信仰"，这样的信仰对于社会的制衡不会有什么好处，甚至还会使社会经济停滞，失去活力。不妨以中国在计划经济体制下的情形作为一个例证。在中国，计划经济体制曾经在相当长的时间内占据着支配地位。个人权利和个人自由在计划经济体制下是受到严格限制的。那时，个人同物质生产资料一样受到统一的计划分配，对于职业、住所、居住地区、生活方式，个人缺乏自由选择的权利。既然缺乏自由选择，个人的行为就往往是被动的、受安排的。在这种情况下，国家实际上包揽了个人的经济风险，"一切是受安排的"意味着个人既不必选择，也不需要承担风险。尽管人们生活水平很低，但社会上只有隐蔽的失业而没有公开的失业，只有隐蔽的通货膨胀而没有公开的通货膨胀；尽管"大锅饭"并非大家都在一口大锅中吃饭，而是实行着"分档次的大锅饭"[9]制度，但毕竟有"大锅饭"可吃；尽管"铁饭碗"并不意味着任何人都不愁会丢掉饭碗，而是意味着，只要顺从计划经济体制的安排就会有一个饭碗可捧，如果试图摆脱计划经济体制的束缚或对计划经济体制持有不同意见，那么，没有捧上饭碗的就不会有饭碗可捧，已经捧上饭碗的则会丢掉饭碗，包括被开除公职等等[10]，但对于服从计划经济体制安排的人来说，"铁饭碗"毕竟是存在的。上述这一切，就给人们一种有关计划经济体制优越性的观念，甚至使人们形成了"大锅饭"、"铁饭碗"等于社会主义的想法，于是一种超理性的或非理性的信仰就产生了。这种超理性的或非理性的信仰也能产生某种精神上的动力，如为维持"大锅饭"、"铁饭碗"制度而努力，为坚持"'大锅饭'、'铁饭碗'等于社会主义"的信念而努力，等等。但这样的信仰不可能持久，因为它同事实有相当大的差距；这样的信仰也起不到社会制衡的作用，因为它是在坚持一种不符合实际的体制、一种阻碍社会生产力发展的体制，它引起的结果则是个人能力的钝化、风险意识的丧失、进取精神的缺乏，社会也就没有生气可言。更为严重的是，在计划经济体制之下，由于主持和执行计划配额的人握有很大的权力，他们滥用这种权力的现象是有体制上的根源的，他们可以用这种权力来打击一切企图摆脱计划经济体制束缚的人。然而，在存在着对计划经济体制有超理性的或非理性的信仰的情况下，对滥用权力的现象实际上采取的是驯服而不是抵制的态度，是盲从而不是怀疑的态度，于是社会制衡机制也就不可能形成。

　　前面曾经说过，由没有信仰的成员所组成的社会是一个没有希望的社会。现在可以再补充一句，由有着超理性的或非理性的信仰的成员所组成的不止是一个没有希望的社会，甚至可以说是一个绝望的社会。

6.4. Safety Valves in Social and Economic

Operation

6.4.1 Limitations of Government in Easing Social Contradictions

By the expression "safety valves in social and economic operation" it is meant that there should be an outlet for channeling conflicts and dissatisfaction before such sentiments become intensified or accumulate to the point that they can no longer be contained. That is to say, contradictions should be solved rather than allowed to build up, and discontent should be channeled rather than blocked. Society should possess internal buffering and channeling mechanisms for this purpose—in other words, safety valves.

Here, we need to explain the limitations of regulation by government on easing social contradictions and channeling feelings of discontent. Although government has the initiative in regulation, regulating when it thinks necessary and vice versa, this does not mean that government is necessarily able to regulate in an ideal manner and the result is not bound to be ideal. Regulation by government is reality-focused rather than perfect. Generally speaking, the limitation lies in the following: restricted by some subjective and objective conditions, government does not possess all the necessary facts and thus its decisions are based on incomplete information. Moreover, from the perspective of relations between government and the general public, the former takes an ideal view of its actions, whereas the latter assesses the reality and the possibilities on the basis of its past experience, making its own judgment and preparing countermeasures. Thus the actual situation cannot be as perfect as assumed by government and neither will the outcome live up to expectations. Furthermore, there is just one government but very many enterprises and people. The former, on which all eyes are focused, cannot itself focus on every enterprise and person. Government behavior can be easily known by the public but the converse is not the case. In light of this, it is an undeniable fact that regulation by government is not in every sense ideal.

For a long time in the past, some people had the wrong idea about regulation by government. It seemed to them that whenever government tried to indoctrinate the public with a particular thought, they would accept it and

the regulation would go smoothly. This view was based on two false premises: one, that the public trusts government totally, accepting any government measure as correct and in line with their interests, so whatever government says is fine by them; two, the public has no choice but to accept the government's indoctrination. That is to say, to do otherwise is not allowed, that any disagreement with government regulating measures is forbidden. So, ready or not, the public must accept the indoctrination. Obviously, these are false premises, even in the planned economy situation. Over-estimating the effect of indoctrination can only get government intoxicated with itself and fall deeper and deeper in idealized delusion. It is true that government needs to explain things fully to the public before implementing its regulatory measures: Explanation of policies is a condition for making them more effective, since adequate explanation beforehand and dispelling people's doubts will indubitably help the regulatory program. However, explanation is not the same as indoctrination, which is applicable only to those whose belief in government behavior is not one based on reason. Actually, for people already in that category, indoctrination will be superfluous. Even without it they will still believe that the government is omnipotent and always right.

The side effects of indoctrination are plain for all to see. When the public are treated as passive receivers, information flows only in a top-down direction with little upstream feedback. Moreover, the information source is unitary, i.e., the public gets information from its sole provider, namely, government. In this situation, individuals only exist as subjects of government departments. Although rather many people will not or dare not resist government measures openly, at the least they will still resist them secretly or find ways around them. As a result, the effects of government regulation will decrease.

Having understood the various limitations of regulation by government, let us specifically discuss its limitations in easing social conflicts and channeling feelings of dissatisfaction. There are three different scenarios to discuss: one, government is unaware of and gets little information about the reality of social conflicts and dissatisfaction; two, government knows something about the reality and decides to take alleviating measures, but the wrong ones; three, government knows the situation, decides on alleviating measures and these are apposite.

1. Government is unaware of and gets little information about the reality

of social conflicts and dissatisfaction. If government knows nothing about the problems and believes all is normal in society, it will not believe there is easing and channeling to do, and hence no need to build an internal social buffer. But since conflicts and dissatisfaction do exist, they may build up, grow and end up causing great social disturbance and even social and political crisis. This situation is not unknown in history.

2. Government knows something about the reality and decides to take alleviating measures, but the wrong ones. We can liken the situation to a doctor treating a patient. The doctor finds the patient to be seriously ill but prescribes the wrong treatment, producing only slight improvement in his condition, but no cure. The illness may also be aggravated because of the doctor's delay or wrong prescription. Similarly, in dealing with conflicts and dissatisfaction in society, even if government knows how serious they are, but takes the wrong countermeasures, the problems will continue to exist and even intensify. This is because government receives inadequate information, overestimates the efficacy of its measures and underestimates the side effects, or fails to adjust its measures according to changing situations, etc. All the foregoing illustrates the shortcomings of regulation by government.

3. Government knows the situation, decides on alleviating measures and these are apposite. In the normal course of events, government measures should be effective in this situation. However, many past incidents illustrate that those regulating measures had limitations and were not always in line with government wishes. On the one hand, all social conflicts spring from two sides being out of harmony. Each side believes itself in the right and to have suffered loss of income, jobs, welfare, living standard, etc. It's often hard to sort out which side is correct and which not. Such disputes and arguments are unlikely to be eased through government arbitration as an administrative agency. Government might come up with the correct decision, but it might not satisfy both sides. Such problems can only be solved through non-governmental harmonization, on the basis of a spirit of mutual forgiveness and mutual reconciliation, which is beyond the reach of government as the administrative agency. It is not always necessary to decide who is right and who is wrong. Pragmatic "smoothing over" is a common folk solution to such problems and is not always a bad idea. But government regulation is unlikely to adopt the "smoothing things over" approach. The government measures may be theoretically correct, however, they often appear impotent in solving social conflicts and dispelling dissatisfaction. On

the other hand, many of these problems have been a long time forming and getting more intense. If they can be eased or channeled whilst still in their infancy, the measures might be very effective. However, as an administrative agency, government has its established working procedures, and the information it gets is not always timely or complete; by the time government gets involved, the conflicts and dissatisfaction are well past the infancy stage and the impact of regulation will thus decrease to a great extent even if the measures taken are correct. This is a limitation of regulation by government. Therefore, to ease social conflicts and channel dissatisfaction, it is necessary to build an internal social buffer other than regulation by government. Again, the role of regulation by custom and morality makes its presence felt.

6.4.2 Building Buffering and Channeling Mechanisms into Society

So, looking further, let us ask where, in non-idealized government regulation, should we look for safety valves in social and economic life? How does one go about building buffering and channeling mechanisms into society? Taking a perspective other than regulation by government, we can say that producing a new balancing power in society will be conducive to setting up such mechanisms.

The new balancing power referred to involves neither market nor government. The market is a kind of balancing power that brings about the effective distribution of resources through the mechanism of supply and demand and maintains a balance among the providers of various production factors; i.e., suppliers can get income according to the quality and quantity of the production factors they supply, factors that have stood the test of the market. Meanwhile, the market also maintains a balance between the trading parties; i.e., it coordinates their relations according to the principle of fair competition. It is a traditional balancing power, but it has two obvious limitations at least. Firstly, its balancing power is not applicable to activities and relations in the non-traded sector, because here trade is not conducted according to market principles. Secondly, even in the traded sector, the balancing power of the market is still limited because regulation by market only takes into account economic benefits rather than a raft of non-economic considerations. However, since man is more than "economic man" but also

"social man," in handling relations between people, market power alone is not enough.

Government is another balancing force, with a role that cannot be replaced by market in coordinating income distribution, region-to-region or sector-to-sector relations and the relation between economic growth and social development. However, as mentioned above, apart from its imperfections, government has another characteristic: When addressing people-to-people relations, it appears as an administrative organ superior to individuals, so it is difficult to satisfy both sides in disputes. That is to say, the disputes or conflicts among people cannot be eased purely through administrative intervention. Moreover, with socio-economic development and technological progress, it has become harder and harder for government to play a role in balancing people-to-people relations. Take the relations between an enterprise and its employees for example. If government intervenes when a dispute occurs, the enterprise, being mostly concerned about profits and economic results, often feels that what the government is trying to safeguard is something remote, something the enterprise can only partly enjoy but will entail it paying higher costs (more tax, higher spending on employee welfare, increased wages, etc.). Therefore, the enterprise is often dissatisfied with government behavior, but does not always say so. But sometimes the employees feel the enterprise is what government cares about more, especially when their job, wage and welfare demands are not met. Their feeling of discontent will grow and usually, unlike the enterprise, they will not keep it to themselves but express it. Government intervention may sometimes ease the conflict, but it can sometimes intensify or deepen it.

Where, at the end of the day, should we look for a new social balancing power? If it does exist, how would it work, how important would its role be, and surely it would have some limitations? These questions deserve exploration. In my book *The 20th Century British Economy: A Study of "the British Disease,"* I made the following point: The general public is a new balancing power.[11] The public is not a single homogenous entity but comprises several different classes or ranks. Take the scenario of a three-sided conflict involving government, enterprise and employees: When the government seems impotent, the enterprise helpless and the employees angry, the balancing power of the general public comes into play. The public, as members of society and citizens, make their own demands. What they want is normal social order, guarantee of citizens' legal rights and a peaceful living

and working environment. Suppose that normal life in a city is affected by strikes or parades and demonstrations: students cannot get to school, buses and subways stop running, airports are shut down, garbage piles up uncollected on the streets, milk supplies dry up, hospitals turn away patients, and even water, electricity and gas supplies are cut, etc. The public will start to see these actions as destructive of order and a violation of law and, far from supporting the strikers and demonstrators, will begin feeling less sympathy with them than they did previously. When this point is reached, even the wives of strikers and demonstrators will start complaining to their husbands, and then children, relatives, friends and neighbors will come out to blame them. The strikers or demonstrators may feel isolated from the public and ask themselves whether there might be some problem with the organizers, planners and decision makers of this action, whether things have gone too far, and whether they should quit while ahead. Thus we can see the public as a new balancing force in socio-economic life. It is taking effect quietly and gradually in easing social conflicts.

Similarly, if an enterprise pollutes the environment, putting at risk and harming its neighbors, conflict between the enterprise and the residents around will be exacerbated. Government might then put pressure on the enterprise, ordering it to suspend production or shut down, but this might mean laying off employees, who then petition the government for reemployment, which puts it between a rock and a hard place: nobody involved—the enterprise, its workforce, the local residents—feels satisfied with the government. If government shows partiality to any side it will cause the others to complain against it. In a situation like this, the public will play a role as a balancing force in harmonizing relations between the three. What enables the public to play such a role is that it always considers things from the perspective of maintaining social order, and public targets and interests are their top consideration. The residents whose living environment is polluted are part of the public, as are the employees of the polluting enterprise; government is elected by representatives of the public, and subject to the check of the public; the enterprise's management tier or decision makers are also part of the public and their behavior is also subject to the check of the public. In this way, social conflicts arising from environmental pollution can be solved through talks and negotiations, lest the situation goes to extremes. The role of the public as a social balancing force is intangible; neither regulation by market nor by government can substitute for it.

So, objectively, does an inbuilt social buffering and channeling mechanism actually exist, and if so where and how was it built? We may draw the following conclusions: It does indeed exist and it exists in the public's concern for and participation in social affairs. The more the public cares about and involves itself actively in social affairs, the more important its harmonizing role as a social balancing force will be and the more helpful it will be in easing social contradictions. However, the public's concern for and participation in social affairs is based on the premise that they put high value on social order, public targets and interests, and are willing to work hard for these things. Therefore, the greater the public's sense of responsibility towards society, the public interest and social affairs, the greater its social balancing role will become. Conversely, if the majority of the public care only about themselves rather than social order, public targets and interests and have no enthusiasm for participating in social affairs, the public will be no social balancing power at all, which will make it very hard to create in-built social buffering and channeling mechanisms.

While the public is playing its role as a balancing force its individual members are in the course of adapting to the changing society and building new concepts that suit the changes. For good or bad, individuals influence each other: if many people concern themselves with public targets and interests and act positively to promote social harmony, that will influence more and more people to care about social affairs and the social balancing role of the general public will grow. This is the positive side of mutual influence. On the negative side, if the majority cares only for itself rather than society, such influence will encourage indifference to social affairs among more people. Thus we can see how an individual's enthusiasm or indifference toward social affairs is influenced by those around. The more adaptive the individual to changing society and the more receptive to new notions that suit the changes, the more easily will he change his traditional attitude to interpersonal relations and become an active participant in social affairs, which is to say, although some people remain indifferent to social affairs, this does not alter the general trends that people increasingly care about social affairs and that the public's role as a balancing power is gradually getting stronger.

6.4.3 Tangible and Intangible Social Safety Valves

Now, armed with a deeper understanding of social buffers and channels, we can proceed to discuss psychological factors pertaining to the creation of social safety valves.

Social safety valves are sometimes tangible and sometimes not. We have mentioned that the public as a new balancing power can ease social conflicts and channel feelings of discontent; this belongs to the category of intangible social safety valve. The term tangible social safety valve mainly refers to the existence of a resource that can ease social conflicts, or an organization that can channel dissatisfied sentiments, etc.

History is rife with examples of migrant settlement and development of large tracts of virgin land beyond existing borders functioning as a social safety valve. Cohorts of people who were capable but could not make use of their talent in their current circumstances could take over such available land to produce and operate, consequently easing social contradictions. The existence of such territories allowed a chance for the discontented to seek their fortune there, thereby reducing their dissatisfaction level. Both when North America was a British colony and after American Independence, the territory gradually expanded westward; it was this huge land that attracted a great number of immigrants from Europe. They hailed from different European countries, from cities and from villages; their numbers embraced rich and poor, noble and humble alike. But in all cases their leaving their place of origin had the effect of easing social contradictions there. North America therefore became a social safety valve for Europe, a situation that lasted for at least two or three centuries.[12] We can find quite a few parallels in Chinese history: Northeast China received a great number of pioneers from Shandong and Hebei provinces; people from Guangdong and Fujian provinces migrated to Southeast Asia and started new businesses there. Such migrations undoubtedly eased social contradictions in their places of origin. We cannot say migration would eliminate local contradictions, i.e., we should not overestimate the role of migration in solving social contradictions in the place of origin, but at least it relieved the pressure of population, employment and land and reduced discontent there. In this sense, the existence of land at home or abroad for immigration and development is a social safety valve that will last for a long period. We should also acknowledge that the development of social relief undertakings and the existence and function of social relief organizations and agencies can also be tangible social safety valves. Social relief can be roughly grouped into three classes: government relief,

community relief and non-governmental charity relief. Their commonalities are: Through using social relief funds, disaster victims can be helped through catastrophe, to survive hunger and cold; impoverished families can be helped figure out more ways to make a living; the lives of the disabled and those without family support can be improved. The more developed the relief undertakings, the greater the role they will play and the more easily social contradictions will be eased. Therefore, the role of social relief undertakings and organizations as social safety valves is plain for all to see.

Autonomous mass organizations of urban or rural residents could be another kind of social safety valve for easing social conflicts and channeling dissatisfaction. The word "could" is a deliberate choice: it depends whether the nature of such organizations has changed or not. Those that have changed their nature, no longer being autonomous or mass-oriented, cannot ease social conflicts; indeed, under the control of certain people, they become bullies and would make conflicts more acute. If they have remained true to their nature, then they can represent the will and interests of the masses and will negotiate with them on everything pertaining to their interests. Consequently they can play a role in easing social conflicts and channeling dissatisfaction.

Migration to undeveloped land, social relief organizations and autonomous mass organizations are three examples of tangible social safety valves. For these valves to function effectively, we cannot ignore the importance of moral factors. As pioneers, immigrants need strong cohesion and enterprising spirit in order to overcome numerous hardships and for their migration to achieve things. The development and work of social relief organizations depend, in addition to their staff's strong sense of responsibility and compassion, on the generous donations of those supporting charitable and public welfare causes. For an autonomous mass organization, what keeps it true to its nature, really representing the interests of and working for the masses, is that its leaders exercise strict self-discipline, live up to the expectations of the masses and are honest and responsible. On the other hand, the masses have sense of responsibility toward the organization, stick to their principles and contest behaviors that go against mass interests. Thus we can see that it is moral force that backs up tangible social safety valves and without its support they could hardly play their due role.

Turning to intangible social safety valves, it should be pointed out that the psycho-spiritual safety valve is more effective than those of a tangible nature. It can both dissolve social contradictions and guide the trend of

thoughts. To be specific, the psycho-spiritual safety valve refers to people's identification with society, their confidence in how society and their lives will develop in the future; i.e., the belief that as long as they work hard together, social development targets can be realized, living conditions improved and their abilities used to the full. Identification with society is also manifested as follows: If there are various things in life that are not totally perfect, this is not too serious, because these imperfections can be reduced or eliminated through reform, adjustment or the establishment and improvement of social check and balance mechanisms. With a psycho-spiritual safety valve, social contradictions can be dissolved and the trend of thought can be guided in a right direction. It is something that cannot be replaced by market or government regulation.

For any society, there is nothing more fearsome than the existence within it of a group of despairing people. History shows us situations where some people because of poverty and ill luck, lived lives without hope, having completely lost confidence in their future. Having despaired of people and of society, identification with society would be out of the question. Those in despair may have a destructive social influence in the sense that they may break laws and social order, and they could have a depressing influence on the emotions of those around, thereby reducing social vitality. If such people are very few, they will not greatly impede socio-economic development. But if they are more than just a handful and constitute a fairly large social segment, that may very well create social problems and conflicts that will cost society a great deal of time and energy to resolve. Therefore, the need to reduce, perhaps to nothing, the number of people in despair, can lead us to a better understanding of why social safety valves are so important.

Changed outlook is hugely important to the formation of a psycho-spiritual safety valve. As mentioned many times above, the role of moral force is not just to shape people's behavior through standards and restrictions, but to inspire and encourage them to improve themselves. The speed and the degree of economic development are important criteria, but from the social development perspective, we should also adopt the criterion of whether people can enjoy society's care, respect and nurture. This is because even if society neglects such things, the economy can still grow rapidly for a short period. What's worse, it will intensify and increase social conflicts and dissatisfaction, perhaps leading to social unrest as more and more people feel devoid of hope. One important aspect of changed outlook is to take care,

respect and nurture of people as a social development target and judgment criterion. Only in this way can regulation by morality function to the full and a psycho-spiritual safety valve smoothly take shape.

6.4.4 Transition from Old Balance to New Balance

Societies always follow a cycle of moving from control to confusion, back to control and returning to confusion, but in different periods of history and amid different contexts, the degree of control/confusion is different: great, average or little control might be the case, as might great, average or little confusion. What we term control is the maintaining of equilibrium; the term confusion means disequilibrium once balance has been destroyed. The "control-confusion-control" cycle means the original long-sustained balance is first broken and later replaced by a newly formed balance. In some sense, social safety valves are helpful in maintaining balance and, should it be broken, in establishing a new one. This is because social safety valves, tangible or not, can dissolve contradictions before they become intensified and go out of control.

This brings us to an important question, namely, how to understand such terms as reconciliation, compromise and mediation? In some books or conversations, "mediation" and "compromise" often seem to be derogatory terms, especially when the suffix "-ism" is attached. In fact, whether it is mediation or compromise, they both contain the wisdom that "it is better to dissolve conflicts rather than create them." So does the term "reconciliation."

How is a new balance formed and maintained? Not necessarily by one side defeating another: that might be the case in some situations, but in others situations, it might be the product of reconciliation. Reconciliation means each side steps back a little, puts aside minor differences and seeks common ground so as to form a new balance. Compromise, mediation and reconciliation are similar in their meaning. Even if one side defeats or actually crushes the other, does it mean a new balance can form smoothly and be sustainable? Not necessarily so. The victory of one side is just one precondition for forming and maintaining a new equilibrium: reconciliation, compromise and mediation are also necessary, otherwise relations between people would be inordinately tense and the new equilibrium would be of short duration. Therefore, after one side defeats or crushes another,

reconciliation, compromise and mediation will often follow. Only thus can the new balance be sustained.

There is an opinion that reconciliation implies weakness and betrayal, as if only uncompromising and continuous resistance would not mean these things. Obviously, this opinion is a gross over-simplification of an intricate and complicated social environment. A society is diverse, as are the interests and targets of its individuals and groups. We live in a complex world where absolute black and absolute white do not exist, except in the theoretical models of some idealists. As well as these extremes, the world has yellow, red, green, gray, and many other shades. Mediation is important because it means a way towards harmony. Compromise is necessary because it tells us the in-between state does exist. Reconciliation is necessary because it reflects the possibility of various options. These concepts do not equate to "weakness" and "betrayal" and cannot be mixed up with them.

Are we justified in coming to the following conclusions? A society without safety valves is one that struggles to maintain stability and is replete with potential for crisis; when a society's mode of thinking and behavior is centered on fighting and resistance rather than reconciliation, compromise and mediation, then it will find it hard to develop effective safety valves to eliminate potential social crises. Fighting and resistance are indeed necessary and inevitable, but a society also needs reconciliation, compromise and mediation. We can even say the three are normal and even ubiquitous. Without them, social safety valves could not be established, nor could social equilibrium be maintained.

Those who look down on reconciliation as timidity are themselves timid, since their fear of facing the complexity and challenges of reality drives them to escape into such simplifications, retreating into an unrealistic world of their own design.

Those who contemptuously regard reconciliation as betrayal are in fact mocking themselves. Who has never resisted? Who has never compromised? Fighting and reconciliation are both inevitable. People should fight when necessary and reconcile when necessary. There is no exception in reality, even for those who scorn reconciliation as betrayal.

Betrayal should of course be condemned, but reconciliation should never be confused with it. The result of such confusion is socially damaging. Such an unreasonable opinion should surely carry no weight: no one, I believe, would agree with its untenable conclusion.

肆　社会经济运行中的安全阀

一、关于政府在缓解社会矛盾方面的局限性

社会经济运行中的安全阀，是指在社会经济运行过程中，如果社会矛盾比较尖锐，社会上一部分人的不满情绪比较大，应当使这些矛盾和不满情绪有一些泄放口，以免矛盾越来越激化，不满情绪越积越多，最后弄到难以收拾的地步。也就是说，在社会经济运行过程中，矛盾宜化解而不宜蓄积，社会上的不满情绪宜疏导而不宜堵截。社会应当具有一种内在的缓冲机制、疏导机制。社会经济运行中的安全阀就是对这种内在的缓冲机制、疏导机制而言的。

在这里有必要对政府调节的局限性作一些阐述。这里所谈的是政府在缓解社会矛盾和疏导社会不满情绪方面的局限性。

应当指出，尽管政府在调节中往往掌握着主动权，即政府认为需要调节时就进行调节，不需要调节时就不进行调节，但这并不等于说政府的调节一定能够按照理想的方式进行，政府调节的结果也不一定就是理想化的。政府的调节是现实的调节，而并非理想化的调节。一般说来，政府调节的局限性主要在于：政府由于主观条件和客观条件的限制而不可能掌握全部必要的信息，从而不可能在掌握了全部必要的信息之后再作出决策。而且，从政府与公众之间关系的角度来看，在政府把自己的行为理想化的同时，公众也在根据以往的经验对现实和未来进行估计，作出判断，拟定准备实行的对策。这样，现实的状况不可能像政府所设想的那样完满，它会同预期的效果有一定的距离。何况，政府是一个，企业和个人是无数个，无数个企业和个人的眼睛都集中到政府身上，而政府却无法把眼光具体地投向每一个企业和个人。政府的行为易于被公众所认识，而政府却不易了解每一个企业和个人的行为。由此看来，政府调节的非理想化是一个不可能被否认的事实。

过去长时期内，有些人对政府调节有一种不正确的看法，似乎只要政府向公众“灌输”一种思想，公众就会接受这种思想，于是政府调节也就没有什么障碍了。这种看法实际上设定了两个并不存在的前提。一是假定公众对政府是绝对信任的，公众认为政府的任何措施都是正确的，是符合公众利益的，所以政府说什么，公众就接受什么。二是假定公众除了接受政府的“灌输”之外没有任何可供选择的余地，即如果公众不接受政府的“灌输”，那是不容许的，如果公众对政府的调节措施有任何异议，那更在被取缔之列。于是不管公众想通了还是没有想通，都得接受这种“灌输”。显而易见，即使在计划经济体制之下，这两个前提也是不

存在的。过高地估计“灌输”的作用，只能使政府自我陶醉，并在政府行为理想化的幻觉中越陷越深。

不错，在政府采取调节措施之前是需要向公众进行解释的。政策的宣传是使政策增加效果的条件。政府在采取某项调节之前如果能先对公众作充分的说明，化解公众的疑虑，这无疑有利于该项调节的推行。然而，向公众作解释不等于向公众“灌输”。“灌输”仅仅适用于对政府行为的非理性信仰者。其实，既然某些人已经成了对政府行为的非理性信仰者了，“灌输”可能是多余的，因为即使不“灌输”，他们也相信政府万能或政府永远正确。

不可否认，这种“灌输”的副作用是十分明显的。由于把公众当成被动的接受者，在信息流程上只有自上而下的输入，而往往缺少自下而上的反馈，并且信息来源单一，即由政府发布信息，公众缺少从其他来源得到信息的机会。在这种情况下，个人仅仅作为行政部门的附属物而存在。如果说公众中有相当多的人还不至于或不敢公开抗拒政府的某些调节措施的话，至少仍会默默地抵制或另找躲避的办法，这样也会使政府的调节效果下降。

在了解了政府调节的上述种种局限性之后，让我们再就缓解社会矛盾和疏导社会不满情绪方面所存在的政府调节的局限性进行讨论。可以分三种情况来谈。这三种情况是：第一种情况，政府不了解下情，得不到有关社会矛盾和社会不满的真实情况；第二种情况，政府对社会矛盾和社会不满的真实情况有所了解，决定采取措施来加以缓解，但措施不当；第三种情况，政府对社会矛盾和社会不满的真实情况有所了解，决定采取措施来加以缓解，并且措施是正确的。

1. 政府不了解下情，得不到有关社会矛盾和社会不满的真实情况。

假定政府对下面所产生的社会矛盾和社会不满情绪不了解，以为社会一切正常，那就会认为没有什么化解和疏导工作可做，从而也就谈不到建立社会内在的缓冲机制的必要性了。但社会上不可能不存在社会矛盾，也不可能没有对社会的不满情绪。于是矛盾就会越积越多，社会不满情绪也会不断增长，最终会导致社会的动荡，甚至爆发一场社会政治危机。这种情况在历史上不是没有出现过的。

2. 政府对社会矛盾和社会不满的真实情况有所了解，决定采取措施来加以缓解，但措施不当。

这正如医生治病一样。一个医生，如果他发现病人患了病，并且病情较重，但开出的处方却不合适，其结果，或者只是让病情稍有减轻，但却没有治好；或者拖延了时间，使病情加重；或者由于处方不对路，病情恶化。政府在处置社会矛盾和社会不满问题时，即使了解了社会矛盾和社会不满情绪的存在及其严重程度，但由于措施不当，结果不仅有

可能使这些矛盾和不满情绪继续存在，甚至有可能使矛盾进一步激化，使社会的不满情绪进一步加剧。原因在于，政府信息不充分，或对措施的效果估计过高而对措施的副作用估计不足，或政府的调节不能随着客观形势的不断变化而及时调整，等等。这些都反映了政府在这方面的调节的局限性。

3. 政府对社会矛盾和社会不满的真实情况有所了解，并且采取了正确的措施。

照理说，在这样的情况下，政府有关缓解社会矛盾和社会不满情绪的调节措施应当是有成效的。然而，正如历史上许多事件已经表明的，政府调节措施依然存在着局限性，这些措施未必能够符合政府的设想。可以从两方面进行分析：一方面，任何社会矛盾总是由两方之间的不协调引起的，每一方都认为自己是有理的，都认为自己吃了亏，在收入分配上是如此，在就业、福利、生活状况等方面也是如此，很难断言究竟哪一方正确，哪一方不对。诸如此类的纠纷、争议，都不是依靠政府作为行政主管机构做一个裁决就能化解的。政府可以作出公正的裁决，但不一定使双方都满意。这一类问题只有通过民间的协调，本着互谅互让的精神来处理，才能缓解。这就超出政府作为主管机构的力量之外了。有许多问题不一定非要判断谁对谁错不可，“和稀泥”是民间常用的办法，这句话不见得总是错的。但政府调节很难去“和稀泥”，从而尽管从理论上说政府的措施十分正确，而在化解社会矛盾和消除社会不满方面却似乎常常无能为力。另一方面，许多社会矛盾和社会不满情绪是日积月累而形成并激化的，如果在它们处于萌芽状态时就能予以化解、疏导，也许是很有效的。然而，政府作为行政主管机构，总有自己的既定决策程序和办事程序，再加上政府的信息不一定及时和完整，因此即使政府事后能采取正确措施，但社会矛盾和社会不满情绪通常已经不是处于萌芽状态了。在这种情况下，政府调节的效果就会减少很多。这也表明了政府调节的局限性。

由此看来，为了化解社会矛盾，为了疏导社会的不满，有必要在政府调节以外去寻找社会内在的缓冲机制的建立途径。习惯与道德调节的作用将在这个领域内再次呈现出来。

二、社会内在缓冲机制、疏导机制的建立

接着，让我们探讨一下在政府调节非理想化的条件下，社会经济运行中的安全阀究竟在哪里？怎样才能建立社会内在的缓冲机制、疏导机制？从政府调节以外的角度来考察，可以认为，使社会中产生一种新的

平衡力量，对建立社会内在的缓冲机制、疏导机制是有利的。

这里所说的是社会中的一种新的平衡力量，未把市场和政府包括在内。市场是一种平衡力量，它通过供求机制的作用而使资源得到有效配置，使各个生产要素的供给者之间维持一种平衡关系，即各自按照经过市场检验的、所提供的生产要素的数量和质量而取得收入。同时，市场也在交易双方之间维持一种平衡关系，即按照公平竞争的原则来协调买方与卖方的关系。市场是一种传统的平衡力量，但它至少有两个显著的局限性：第一，市场力量的平衡作用对于非交易领域内的各种活动和各种关系是不适用的，因为非交易领域不按市场规则来处理问题。第二，即使在交易领域内，市场的平衡作用也有局限性，因为市场调节仅仅考虑经济利益方面而不可能把一系列非经济因素考虑在内，但人不仅仅是“经济人”，还是“社会的人”，所以，在处理人与人之间的关系时，仅靠市场力量是不够的。

政府也是一种平衡力量。政府通过调节手段的运用，在协调收入分配，协调地区之间与部门之间的关系，以及协调经济增长与社会发展之间的关系时，有着市场调节所无法发挥的平衡作用。但是，正如前面所指出，政府调节除了有非理想化这一特点而外，还有另一个特点，即政府在处理人与人之间的关系时是以凌驾于个人之上的行政主管机构身份出现的，所以在发生某些社会纠纷时难以使冲突的双方都感到满意。人与人之间的纠纷或冲突并不是单纯依靠行政力量的介入就得以缓解的。加之，随着社会经济的发展和技术的进步，政府要在人与人之间的关系中起到平衡作用，已经越来越不容易了。以企业与职工之间的关系来说，如果在发生纠纷时政府介入了，这时，由于企业关心利润，关心经济效益，企业往往感到政府所维护的是遥远的东西，是自己只能享受到部分利益的东西，而自己为此付出的代价（如税金，根据政府的规定而承担的福利支出，在政府介入后提高了的工资标准等）过大。所以企业并不经常满意政府的行为，只是有时不流露而已。而职工有时则感到政府更关心的是企业，特别是在就业、工资、福利等要求未得到满足时，他们的不满情绪会更大，他们不像企业那样含蓄，而常常会流露出来。政府介入之后，企业与职工之间的矛盾在某些场合可能缓和一些，而在另一些场合甚至还有可能激化或深化。

那么，社会上新的平衡力量究竟在哪里呢？新的平衡力量如果存在的话，它又是如何起作用的呢？它能够起多大的作用？难道它没有局限性吗？……所有这些问题都值得我们探讨。

在《二十世纪的英国经济：“英国病”研究》一书中，我们曾提出了这样一种观点：社会上的公众是一种新的平衡力量。[11]公众并不成为一个阶级或阶层。它包括了社会上一些不同阶级和阶层的成员。比如说，

当政府、企业、职工三者之间发生矛盾而政府显得无能为力、企业显得无可奈何、职工又愤愤不平时，公众这个平衡力量就发挥作用了。公众是以社会成员的身份、公民的身份提出要求的。他们要求的是正常的社会秩序，是对公民合法权益的保障，是个人工作和家庭生活安定的环境与条件。假定某一个城市内，罢工或游行示威活动使社会正常生活受到了损害，当孩子们上不了学，公共汽车或地铁停止运行，飞机场关闭，街头上的垃圾无人清扫，牛奶供应停顿，医院里不收病人，或者连水、电、煤气的供应都中断了的时候，公众便把这些看成是破坏秩序和违背法律的行为，从而减少了对本来可以给予同情的罢工者、游行示威者的同情，更不必说支持罢工者、游行示威者了。到那时候，连罢工者、游行示威者的妻子也会埋怨自己的丈夫，他们的孩子也会责怪自己的父亲，他们的亲戚、朋友、邻居都会出来说话。罢工者、游行示威者会感到自己被孤立了，感到自己脱离了群众。于是他们会自省：是不是罢工和游行示威的组织者、策划者的决策有问题？是不是做过了头？是不是应当“适可而止”、“见好就收”？所以公众成为社会经济生活中的一个新的平衡力量，这个平衡力量在悄悄地起作用，使社会矛盾逐渐走向缓解。

同样的道理，当企业造成环境污染，附近居民受到威胁和损害时，企业与附近居民之间的矛盾加深了。这时，政府有可能对企业施加压力，命令企业停产或关闭，但企业中的职工却可能因此而失业，于是职工又向政府请愿，要求再就业，政府在这种情况下常常处于两难境地，结果，企业、职工、附近居民都感到不满意。政府偏向这一方，另一方抱怨政府；政府偏向另一方，这一方又抱怨政府。公众是这种场合能够协调各方之间关系的一种平衡力量。公众之所以能够发挥协调各方关系的平衡作用，主要是因为公众总是从维护社会秩序的角度来考虑问题的，公众考虑得更多的是公共目标和公共利益。居住在污染地带附近的居民，是公众的一部分；造成污染的企业的职工，也是公众的一部分；政府是公众的代表选举出来的，要受到公众的制约；企业的管理层、决策层本身也是公众的组成部分，他们的行为同样要受公众的制约，这样，有关环境污染等原因所引起的社会矛盾都可以通过协商方式来解决而不致把问题弄得太僵、太绝。公众在这方面作为社会平衡力量的作用，是无形的，也是市场调节与政府调节都无法替代的。

那么，究竟客观上是不是存在社会内在缓冲机制、疏导机制？社会内在缓冲机制、疏导机制究竟在哪里？它是如何建立的？可以得出如下的结论：社会内在缓冲机制、疏导机制是存在的，它存在于公众对社会事务的关心和参与之中。公众越是关心社会事务，越是积极参与社会事务，公众作为社会平衡力量所起的协调作用就越重要，从而就越有助于

化解社会矛盾，疏导社会的不满情绪。而要公众关心社会事务，积极参与社会事务，则又以公众对社会秩序的重视，对公共目标和公共利益的关心并愿意为之而努力作为前提。因此，公众越有社会责任感，越有公益精神，越关心社会事务，公众的社会平衡作用就越大。相反的，如果社会上多数人只关心自己而不关心社会秩序、公共目标和公共利益，缺少参与社会事务的积极性，那就谈不到公众的社会平衡作用，社会内在缓冲机制、疏导机制的建立也就异常困难。

公众发挥自己所特有的平衡作用的过程，同时也是个人适应于变动中的社会并建立与变动中的社会相适应的新观念的过程。社会上的个人都是相互影响的：既有积极的影响，也有消极的影响。假定社会上有较多的人重视公共目标和公共利益，并用自己的实际行动来促进社会的协调，那么在他们的影响下，会有更多的人关心社会事务，公众的社会平衡作用也将不断增大。这就是个人之间的积极影响的表现。反之，假定社会上许多人只关心自己而不关心社会，那么在他们的影响下，社会上会有更多的人也对社会事务采取冷漠的态度。这就是个人之间的消极影响的表现。可见，个人对社会事务的冷与热，或变冷与变热，都会受到周围的人的影响。个人越能适应变动中的社会，越容易接受与变动中的社会相适应的新观念，个人也就越有可能转变对人际关系的传统看法，而成为关心社会事务的积极参与者。这就是说，尽管社会上总有一些人对社会事务是冷漠的，但改变不了人们越来越关心社会事务的大趋势，改变不了公众的社会平衡作用逐渐加强的大趋势。

三、有形的社会安全阀和无形的社会安全阀

在对社会内在的缓冲机制、疏导机制有了较深入的了解之后，我们就可以进一步探讨与社会安全阀的建立有关的心理因素。

社会安全阀有的是有形的，有的是无形的。前面所谈的关于公众是一种新的平衡力量，对社会矛盾有化解作用，对社会不满有疏导作用，这就属于无形的社会安全阀之列。至于有形的社会安全阀，主要是指一种资源的存在，它可以缓解社会的冲突；或一种组织机构的存在，它可以对社会的不满情绪进行疏导；等等。

比如说，对国内外大片未开发地带的移民和开发，在历史上曾经起过社会安全阀的作用，即有了这片可供移民、开发的土地，社会上一批有能力而在现实环境中无法发挥出来的人到这片土地上去生产经营，从而缓解了社会矛盾；也可以让社会上一些有这种或那种不满情绪的人到这片土地上去寻找发展机会，从而减少他们的不满程度。当年北美作为

英国的殖民地时，以及美国独立以后领土逐渐向西部扩张时，这一大片土地就曾经吸引了欧洲大量移民。移民的成分是复杂的，他们来自欧洲的不同国家，来自城市和乡村，有穷有富，有贱有贵，但不管怎样，他们离乡背井来到北美，使家乡的社会矛盾因此有所缓解。北美成为欧洲的一个社会安全阀，在历史上持续了二三百年甚至更长的时间。[12]在中国历史上也可以找到不少例证。当年中国的东北就曾经容纳了山东、河北的大量拓荒者，广东、福建的城乡居民到东南亚一带开创自己的事业，这都使移民的原籍的社会矛盾有所缓解。这些事实也是不可否认的。尽管我们不能认为移民能够消除当地的社会矛盾，即不能过高地估计移民在解决社会矛盾方面的作用，但移民至少可以减轻当地的人口压力、就业压力、土地匮乏的压力，移民至少在一段时间内使社会的不满情绪减少了。从这个意义上说，国内外可供开发和移民的土地的存在，是一个可以持续一段时间的社会安全阀。

我们也应当承认，社会救济事业的发展、社会救济组织机构的存在和发挥作用，同样可以成为社会经济运行中的有形的社会安全阀。社会救济大体上分为三类，即政府（包括中央政府与地方政府）的救济、社区的救济、民间慈善团体的救济。这三类社会救济的共同点在于：通过社会救济款项的运用，有助于帮助灾民渡过难关，免于饿死、冻死；有助于扶植贫困家庭，增加谋生能力；有助于接济社会上的鳏寡孤独和残疾人，使他们生活上有所改善，等等。社会救济事业越发展，社会救济组织机构越能发挥作用，社会矛盾越容易化解。因此，社会救济事业和社会救济组织机构作为一种有形的社会安全阀，其作用是有目共睹的。

城乡居民的自治性群众组织，有可能成为另一种化解社会矛盾、疏导社会不满情绪的社会安全阀。为什么这里使用了“有可能”三个字？这主要是同城乡居民的自治性群众组织变质与否有关。变质的群众组织不仅起不了缓冲社会冲突的作用，反而会加剧社会的冲突，因为群众组织的变质已经使得它的自治性质、群众性质荡然无存，这样的组织被某些人把持以后已成为欺压群众的组织了。如果城乡居民的自治性群众组织没有变质，它们能代表群众的意愿，代表群众的利益，凡涉及群众利益的事情都同群众商量，那么，它们就能够发挥化解社会矛盾、疏导社会不满情绪的作用。

以上所列举的对未开发地带的移民、社会救济组织机构、自治性群众组织，都是有形的社会安全阀。要使这些有形的社会安全阀有效地起作用，仍然不可忽视道德因素的重要性。正如前面曾经提到的，移民们在拓荒开发的过程中，需要有强大的凝聚力，需要有顽强的进取精神、创业精神，才能克服种种困难，使移民事业取得成就。社会救济组织机构的发展及其工作的开展，除了依靠从事社会救济工作的人员有高度责

任心和爱心而外，还要依靠来自社会上热心公益事业、慈善事业的人们的慷慨捐赠。自治性群众组织之所以能够不变质，能够真正代表群众的利益来为群众办事，一方面是由于这些群众组织的领导人能严格自律，不辜负群众对自己的信任，认真负责，另一方面是由于群众出于对本组织的责任感，敢于坚持原则并同违背群众利益的行为抗争。由此看来，有形的社会安全阀的背后实际是道德力量的支持。没有道德力量的支持，有形的社会安全阀是难以发挥应有的作用的。

下面，让我们对无形的社会安全阀再进行一些考察。应当指出，人们心理上的、精神上的安全阀，也许是一种比有形的社会安全阀更为有效的安全阀。它既有化解社会矛盾的作用，又有引导社会思潮的作用。具体地说，人们心理上的、精神上的安全阀，是指人们对社会这个大群体的认同，对社会发展前景和生活前景的信心，即认为只要经过共同努力，社会发展目标是可以实现的，人们的生活状况会越来越改善，人们的聪明才智就会有施展的机会。人们对社会这个大群体的认同还体现在：如果现实生活中还存在着各种不尽如人意之处，那么这不要紧，通过改革，通过调整，通过社会制衡机制的建立与完善，不尽如人意之处将会减少或消失。有心理上的、精神上的安全阀，社会矛盾可以化解，社会思潮也会有正确的导向。这是市场调节、政府调节都无法替代的。

对任何一个社会来说，最可怕的莫过于存在一批绝望的人。从历史上看，某些人生活贫困、潦倒，生活在一种绝望状态之中，他们对前景丧失了信心。他们既然对社会、对个人前途都绝望了，对社会的认同也就无从谈起。绝望者的存在将给社会带来破坏性的影响，这种破坏性既可能表现于绝望者本人的各种破坏法律、破坏社会秩序的行为上，也可能表现为一种对周围的人有影响的消沉、沮丧情绪，从而使社会的活力减退。如果只是单个的绝望者，那么即使他绝望了，对社会经济发展的阻碍也不会很大。如果绝望的不只是少数几个人，而是较多的社会成员，那就会造成社会问题，社会需要耗费不少时间和精力来化解由此引起的社会矛盾，平息由此引起的社会不安。因此，对于社会经济运行中为什么需要有安全阀这一点，可以从减少绝望者人数和使绝望者消失的角度来加深认识。

观念的转变同人们心理上的、精神上的安全阀的形成有重要关系。前面已多次提到，道德力量的作用不仅在于对人们的行为进行规范和约束，而且也在于对人们的激励，在于促进个人得以自我发展与自我完善。以经济发展速度和经济发展程度作为判断是非的标准，当然是重要的，但从社会发展的方面来分析，还应当把是否对人的关心、尊重、培养作为是非判断的标准之一，因为在一段时间内，即使忽视了对人的关心、尊重、培养，经济也有可能以较快的速度增长，而从长时期考察，

忽视了对人的关心、尊重、培养，经济的持续增长固然要受到阻碍，更严重的是将引起社会矛盾的加剧和社会不满情绪的滋长，最终会引起绝望者人数的增加并使社会动荡不安。观念转变的一个重要方面就是要把对人的关心、尊重、培养作为社会发展的目标，并作为是非判断的标准之一。只有这样，道德调节的功能才可以更充分地发挥出来，在社会经济运行中，心理上的、精神上的安全阀也就可以较顺利地形成。

四、从原有的平衡状态向新的平衡状态的过渡

社会总是从治走向乱，从乱又走向治，从治再走向乱。只是在不同的历史时期，在不同的情况下，治和乱都有程度的差异，有大治、中治、小治之分，有大乱、中乱、小乱之别。所谓治，无非是一种平衡状态的形成；所谓乱，无非是原有的平衡状态被打破。所谓“治——乱——治”，就是指原有的平衡状态在维持一段时期之后被打破了，然后又形成了新的平衡状态。

社会经济运行中的安全阀的作用，从某种意义上说，是有利于原有的平衡状态的维持，以及有利于在原有的平衡状态被打破以后再建立新的平衡状态的。这是因为，社会安全阀的存在可以化解矛盾，使矛盾不至于激化而达到不可收拾的地步。不管是有形的社会安全阀还是无形的社会安全阀，都具有这种作用。

由此我们将涉及一个重要的问题，即如何理解和解、折中、调和这些名词？在某些书籍里或在人们言谈时，调和肯定被看成是一个贬义词，折中也常常含有贬义，特别是加上“主义”二字时更是如此，诸如“调和主义”、“折中主义”之类的用语多半是用于贬损的。实际上，调和也好，折中也好，都含有“矛盾宜解不宜结”的意思，和解更是如此。

一种新的平衡状态是如何形成并维持的？难道只不过是一方战胜另一方或一方吃掉另一方的结果？不一定如此。在某些情况下，新的平衡状态确实是一方战胜了另一方、吃掉了另一方之后而形成的。但在另一些场合，则很可能是双方和解的产物。和解，意味着各自后退一步，寻找某个共同点，求同存异，从而形成了新的平衡状态。调和、折中，其意义和作用与之相似。即使是一方战胜了另一方，或一方吃掉了另一方，难道新的平衡状态就此就形成了？建立了？并一直维持下去了？也不一定。通常的情况是：这仅仅是形成并维持新的平衡状态的一个前提。在这个前提下，仍然需要有所调和，有所折中，有所和解。新的平衡状态不可能是一种关系异常紧张的状态，否则新的平衡关系即使形成了，又能维持多久？因此，在一方战胜了另一方，甚至吃掉了另一方之

后，紧接而来的通常仍然是这个大前提之下的调和、折中、和解。唯有这样，才能使新形成的平衡状态维持下去。

还有一种说法，即认为调和意味着怯懦和背叛。按照这种说法，似乎只有一直对抗下去，毫不妥协，才表明既不怯懦，又不背叛。显然，这是一种把本来错综复杂的社会环境极其不恰当地简单化的想法。社会是多元的，一个人或一个群体的利益和目标也是多元的。在这个复杂的世界上，并非只存在“要么是黑，要么是白”的两极状态，也许“非黑即白”的两极状态仅仅存在于某些理想主义者的理论模式之中。世界上固然有黑有白，但也有黄色、红色、绿色、灰色等。调和之所以必要，因为这意味着走向一种和谐。折中之所以必要，因为这表明中间状态的存在。和解之所以必要，因为这反映了有各种可能性可供选择。调和与怯懦、背叛是两类截然不同的概念，不可混为一谈。

我们可不可以得出如下的论断呢？一个缺少社会安全阀的社会，是一个难以维持社会稳定并且充满着危机因素的社会；一种只知道斗争、对抗而不知道调和、折中、和解的思想方式、行为方式，一旦成为某个社会中占主流地位的思想方式、行为方式，那么这样的社会也就难以建立起有效的社会安全阀，社会中的危机因素也就消除不了。必要的斗争、对抗，既是回避不掉的，也是社会所需要的，但社会同样需要有调和、折中、和解，甚至可以认为，调和、折中、和解经常存在，处处存在。没有调和、折中、和解，不仅建立不了社会安全阀，而且连社会的平衡状态也难以维持。

把调和贬为怯懦的人，本身就是另一种形式的怯懦者，因为他不敢正视多元化世界的现实，不敢面临这一现实的挑战，而只得以简单得不能再简单的方式来逃避现实，遁入自我设计的非现实世界中。

把调和贬为背叛的人，对他本人来说则是绝大的讽刺。谁没有抗争过？谁没有妥协过？抗争与调和都不可避免，该抗争时抗争，该调和时调和。现实生活中的人莫不如此，难道唯独把调和贬为背叛的人例外？

背叛当然是应受谴责的。但把调和视为背叛，却把两件绝不相同的行为混淆在一起了。混淆的结果，对社会显然有害。难道对这种混淆就置之不理，听之任之？我想谁也不愿得出这种结论。

CHAPTER 7 MORAL RENEWAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
第七章　道德重整与社会经济发展

7.1 Introducing Max Weber's Thesis

7.1.1 Weber's Emphasis on Ethical Factors

In discussing the role of regulation by morality and custom in socio-economic development, it is necessary to explore the theories of Max Weber, the prominent German historian, sociologist and economist. Weber wrote on a wide range of subjects and his work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*[1] has been globally influential. On publication in the early 20th century, it attracted the notice of academics, but not the general public; however after World War II, especially since the 1960s, a surge of interest in Weber swept around the world. Why such interest in Weber the man and his arguments? Why did this vogue appear long after his demise? The reason lies in the arguments themselves and the post-war situation of the world.

Weber's thesis concerns the spiritual drive in economic development. He gives material factors their due importance in economic development but gives greater weight to spiritual factors. He believes that spiritual drive comes from ethical notions and these are often linked to religious ethics. With spiritual drive, economic development will be faster. According to Weber, the spirit of capitalism is a prerequisite for the production of capitalist society. For example, in Western Europe, without the Protestant ethic there would have been no spiritual drive for the development of capitalism, *ergo* no capitalist society. His analysis goes as follows: Why did capitalism emerge first in Western Europe rather than in Southern Europe? After all, economic development in Southern Europe started earlier in history: by the 14-15th

centuries, prosperous commercial cities with manual workshops had already emerged in Italy. But the economy of Southern Europe was never able to break away from feudalism and cross the threshold into capitalism. In Weber's opinion, the answer must be sought from the perspective of religious ethics. Catholicism ruled in Southern Europe and influenced every corner of its society. According to its dogma, man is the servant of God and is born with original sin. What to do? One way was to atone for their sins through penances and abstinence; another way was to atone by donating money to the Church. At that time, the Church sold indulgences to people. "They were total or partial remissions for such sins as yet unpunished, without which they would be punished both in this life and in Hell, even if the sinner tried hard to win absolution through severe penance and sacrament and had got remission. Getting Divine mercy was a prerequisite. In addition, the Church required men to pray, fast and restrain themselves, to practice acts of charity, such as donation and benefaction, worship at various churches, pay for masses, and to initiate philanthropic and public welfare causes such as building churches, bridges, roads and dykes, etc. Those measures were intended to help the development of religion, but they actually became just one of many techniques that the Church had for ruthlessly exploiting people."[2]

In Weber's opinion, penance, abstinence and donation to the Church could not help promote economic development and the emergence of capitalism. Catholicism could not give birth to the spirit of capitalism and was thus incapable of leading society to the capitalist age. According to Weber, although commerce brought economic prosperity to Southern Europe for a while, it was still medieval Roman Catholic morality that dominated society. St. Thomas characterized the desire for gain as *turpitudo* (which term even included unavoidable and hence ethically justified profit-making), which was considered genuine.[3] In places where such doctrine ruled minds, even when businessmen did amass money they still could not slip the shackles of the old teachings. "Their life-work was, so long as they clung to the tradition of the Church, at best something morally indifferent. It was tolerated, but was still, even if only on account of the continual danger of collision with the Church's doctrine on usury, somewhat dangerous to salvation. Quite considerable sums, as the sources show, went at the death of rich people to religious institutions as conscience money, at times even back to former debtors as *usura* which had been unjustly taken from them."[4] "Mediaeval ethics not only tolerated begging but actually glorified it in the

mendicant orders. Even secular beggars, since they gave the person of means opportunity for good works through giving alms, were sometimes considered an estate and treated as such."[5] How could such ethical values promote the emergence and development of capitalism?

While the economy of Southern Europe was booming, in the East, in China especially, the economy was probably even more vigorous. So why did capitalism not emerge in China? Weber attributes this to religious ethics, considering that Oriental and Chinese religious ethics were not suitable for producing capitalism. He cites the example of Buddhist monks valuing lives to come not the current one, but since the afterlife is vague and reincarnation unbelievable, the emphasis on afterlife could never result in capitalism. Taoism, suggests non-involvement and returning to the simple state, a concept clearly inimical to the engendering of capitalism. Later, Taoism changed: The upper class followed it for longevity and personal enjoyment whereas insurrectionary peasants followed it for egalitarian purposes. Neither provided suitable soil for capitalism to take root.

Weber called Confucian thought Confucianism, a system of ideas with great influence in the East, especially in China. But Confucianism emphasizes self-cultivation, pursues perfection of moral character and hopes to replace pursuit of material benefits with spiritual satisfaction. Later when Confucianism became the orthodoxy in China's feudal society, it advocated loyalty to the monarch and self-sacrifice while despising commerce and wealth. Here again, an ethical outlook that provides no fertile soil for cultivating capitalism. The influence of these ethics made it easier for the ordinary folk of China to endure a life of poverty and hardships. As a result, the agriculture-based *status quo* was taken as the natural order, the pursuit of commercial gain was despised, and aspiration and drive to amass wealth and develop the economy was hugely enfeebled. Therefore, although China had been prosperous in the past, capitalism was still an impossibility. Being so dominated by Confucian thinking, China could never manage to cross the threshold to capitalism.[6]

So why did capitalism emerge in Western European countries such as the Netherlands and Britain during the 16th and 17th centuries? In Weber's view, it was because both were Protestant countries and it was Protestantism that fostered capitalism. According to Protestant ethics, men are servants of God and all are sinners and must redeem themselves. But how? By dint of hard work, thrift and amassing wealth. To work was to work for God, so man

must be diligent and not fear hardships. To live thriftily was for accumulating fortune, which in turn was for enlarging the scale of the undertaking and ultimately for God. The greater their achievements, the better the work they were seen as doing in the service of God. Consumption was inferior to accumulation. Puritans always dressed simply and shunned extravagance. Some Puritan groups displayed their resolve by willingly committing to a lifetime of frugality and hard work. But such commitment and behavior were different from both the ascetic practices of the Catholic Church and the behavior of Confucianists in China who were satisfied with a poor but clean life. The ascetics of the Old Church redeemed their sins by ascetic practice: They did not start undertakings, still less amass wealth. Confucian followers were content to be poor in order to perfect their morality. What they upheld and pursued was to be an official of integrity and competence, loyal to the monarch and looking after the populace rather than starting an undertaking and amassing wealth. The Protestant ethic was: Hard work, thrift and amassing wealth are the best ways to salvation. Hard work and thrift are helpful for starting undertakings and amassing wealth. A lifetime of thrift and hard work will result in more and more wealth and correspondingly greater achievements.

In Weber's opinion, capitalism in Western Europe was born and developed under the guidance of the Protestant ethic. He asserts, "For if that God, whose hand the Puritan sees in all the occurrences of life, shows one of His elect a chance of profit, he must do it with a purpose. Hence the faithful Christian must follow the call by taking advantage of the opportunity. 'If God show you a way in which you may lawfully get more than in another way (without wrong to your soul or to any other), if you refuse this, and choose the less gainful way, you cross one of the ends of your calling, and you refuse to be God's steward, and to accept His gifts and use them for Him when He requireth it…'"[7] This passage fully reflects the Protestantism ethic of "working hard and amassing wealth in the service of God."

The Puritan understanding of poverty may explain the issue better. "To wish to be poor was, it was often argued, the same as wishing to be unhealthy; it is objectionable as a glorification of works and derogatory to the glory of God. Especially begging, on the part of one able to work, is not only the sin of slothfulness, but a violation of the duty of brotherly love according to the Apostle's own word."[8] This is what distinguishes the Protestant ethic from those of Catholicism and the Orient.

7.1.2 The Reason for "Weber Fever"

How do we evaluate Weber's thesis? There are various explanations on the origin of capitalism and Weber's differs from those of other scholars, because of his emphasis on ethical factors, i.e. cultural factors.

According to Weber, the Roman Catholic ethic was incompatible with the spirit of capitalism, making it hard for capitalist economy to develop in Catholic countries. But people with a different view might argue: France is a Catholic country, isn't it? So why did its economy grow so fast later? How come French capitalism was not inferior to the capitalism of Protestant countries? The rapid development of the French economy might be attributable first and foremost to political factors, the fact that the revolution of 1789 severely hit its old systems and cleared the path for a capitalist economy. Therefore, over-emphasis on ethical factors is perhaps not a correct interpretation.

According to Weber, in countries of the Orient the influence of religious ethics made it hard for capitalism to develop, citing Confucianism as hardly compatible with the spirit of capitalism. But a contrary argument might be put: History demonstrates that the rapid development of capitalist economy is not limited to Protestant countries, since Eastern countries like Japan, South Korea and Singapore have their own cultural traditions but have also experienced rapid development of a capitalist economy. Therefore, capitalism can be compatible with both Protestant and Confucian ethics. It's even possible for the combination of capitalism with Confucianism ethics to create greater miracles.

Nevertheless, Weber's thesis is still considered valuable by academics, and even dissenting voices acknowledge that the thesis is very enlightening. The role of ethical and cultural factors emphasized by Weber is actually a mode by which multiple factors stimulate system change and economic development. In other words, only in combination with social, political and economic factors can ethical and cultural factors result in the emergence and development of capitalism. It thus discards the theory on the origin of capitalism that regards economy and politics as the only decisive factors.

The "Weber fever" that took hold around the world after World War II relates to the world's political situation at the time and with Weber's emphasis on ethics and culture. In the aftermath of war, the defeated nations of Japan and Germany faced the urgent task of rebuilding their countries, and newly

independent countries in Asia and Africa needed to advance toward modernization by way of faster economic development. The inspiration that people derived from Weber's works is this: Spiritual drive is necessary for economic development. Without it, economic development will struggle. Of course this spiritual drive is not limited to the Protestant ethic discussed by Weber, but possibly it is an ethical outlook adaptive to the cultural tradition of a nation. But in the Protestant ethic, we can find some correspondences, among them the concept of "the calling." It meant: all have a moral obligation to be diligent in and dedicated to their work. Even though the work is in a secular environment, they have a duty to do it well, because they are working for God. This is what the Protestant ethic taught people, but what do non-Protestant ethics teach? Whether or not they use the specific concept of "the calling," there are correspondences: they don't say working for God, but say working for the country, the nation and society and it is everyone's obligation to make the country strong and wealthy, revitalize the nation and make society prosperous. To work with dedication is to do one's duty for the country, the nation and society. For economic development there must be a spiritual drive and this is it.

In the Protestant ethic, for an individual to amass wealth was not a matter for reproach. The amassed wealth itself was no sin, unless used for frivolous personal extravagance. If the wealth was used for the welfare of human beings it could be regarded as a dedication to God. Protestant ethics also had the notion that wealth could and should be accumulated provided it was by just means, and, moreover, if the accumulation benefited economic development, it could be regarded as a dedication to society. Thus, although non-Protestant ethics are different in form from the Protestant ethic, their essence is the same, and this both inspired interest in Weber's works and made people feel they could learn something useful from them.

7.1.3 Weber's Thesis and the Rationality of Historical Process

In studies of modernization, scholars often raise the questions: Why did industrial revolutions develop to different degrees in different countries and regions? What factors stimulated industrial revolutions in this country or that one? What were the most important factors? Researchers come up with

different answers to this last question according to their different perspectives, since Weber's thesis is one among a number of theories about modernization. One of its main lessons is this: For a nation, even if the requisite material and technical conditions are present, industrial revolution will be hard if the right ideological and moral conditions are absent or if there is no spiritual drive for revolution or modernization. Even if it has started its modernization, the process will still be hindered or even interrupted. In other words, Weber's thesis tells us that behind industrial revolution and modernization, there is a kind of invisible spiritual power leading people to strive hard for economic fruits and encouraging them to pioneer and operate unflaggingly, to make profit, to amass and to start new undertakings.

According to Weber's thesis, since capitalism represents a spirit and an outlook that will encourage people to pioneer and progress, then an internal contradiction appears, namely this: On what grounds did he assert that capitalism was a phenomenon specific to Western Protestant culture? He could at most draw the following conclusion: Capitalism was born in Western Europe between the 16th and 17th centuries, but this is only the first historical example to illustrate the importance of ethics to economic development: It is not proof that only the Protestant ethic could produce capitalism and promote modernization. The Catholic ethic could change or be interpreted from a new angle. Specifically, the medieval buying of indulgences and ascetic practices in penance for sins could be abandoned. Did the vast majority of Catholics not do so later? To interpret and understand Catholic ethics from a new angle, did capitalism not develop rapidly in Catholic countries also? This reasoning can also account for the relation between Confucianism and economic development in countries of the East. This has become a hot academic issue from the middle of the last century.

According to Weber, the process of industrial development is also a process of adjustment of relationships, pre-industrialization relations such as hierarchy, hereditary system, clan rule, and personal bondage not being conducive to industrial development. Therefore, if capitalism is to play a dominant role in a country and if its industry is to develop greatly, its interpersonal relations should also change correspondingly, a change often accompanied by a change in ethical outlook. Weber's penetrating analysis posits a close link between socio-economic development and change in interpersonal relations and ethical outlook. That is, behind every great

historical event, there is an intangible spiritual force. Without it, a nation's economy will be moribund, but with such a force there is hope of rapid growth. Any country hoping to develop its economy rapidly should nurture such spiritual force. Non-Protestant regions such as the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa post-World War II would develop very slowly if they could not find a spiritual counterpart to the Protestant ethic, but by fostering such a power, they could hope to catch up with the developed countries.

Another important lesson from Weber is this: Deepening the study of modernization demands a broader discussion in the areas of society, economy, culture, ethics, politics, etc., and a discussion limited to politics or economy is far from enough. In the Chinese academic community, among those with an interest in Weber's work there is virtually unanimous acceptance of this point. In their opinion, the value for China's modernization studies lies more in Weber's method of analyzing historical process than in Weber's thesis itself.

From Weber's thesis it is possible to draw out an important issue, namely, understanding the rationality of the historical process. What is meant by this? According to Weber, it means that the behavior of people or society has changed from being emotional to being rational. People originally had no clear goals, nor, accordingly, did primitive societies. At that time, simple survival was enough, avoiding death from hunger, cold or wild beasts, but these could not count as definite goals. Later, although society was developing and economy was getting active, people's goals were still to survive and multiply. An individual's lifespan was finite but that of the clan infinite, so the survival of generation after generation became a goal for all traditional society. But it was still not a specific goal. Only after a society had passed through its traditional stage into the modern civilization stage did the rational nature of the historical process appear. For example, according to the Protestant ethic, people should be hard working and thrifty, amass wealth and start undertakings, so as to fulfill their "calling," in other words, the rationalization of behavioral goals. Human society always moves in the same direction—from being without clear goals toward having clear goals—and the rationality of historical process always becomes more and more clear. This is a law of historical development.

What does Weber's thesis tell us? It can be encapsulated thus: The rationality of historical process is displayed as human and social behavior

having clearer and clearer goals rather than being limited to survival and multiplication. In the absence of spiritual power and ethics at the heart of the rational goals, a society could not possibly achieve sustainable progress.

壹　韦伯理论引起的思考

一、韦伯对伦理因素的强调

在讨论习惯与道德调节在社会经济发展中的作用时，有必要联系德国著名历史学家、社会学家、经济学家马克斯·韦伯（Max Weber）的理论作一些探讨。韦伯一生写了不少著作，涉及的范围很广，尤其是他的《新教伦理与资本主义精神》一书[1]，是一部很有影响的世界名著。这本书在20世纪初年刚刚问世时，只是学术界中有人注意到它，而没有引起社会各界的兴趣。但第二次世界大战结束以后，特别是60年代以后，却在世界上掀起了一阵“韦伯热”。为什么会出现对韦伯本人及其学术观点的强烈兴趣？为什么这种兴趣是在韦伯去世后若干年才出现？这既同韦伯的论点有关，也同第二次世界大战结束后的形势有关。

韦伯的理论涉及经济发展的精神动力问题。他一方面强调经济发展中物质因素的重要性，同时更加强调精神因素的作用。他认为，精神动力来自伦理观念，而伦理观念往往同宗教的伦理联系在一起。有了精神的动力，经济发展就会加快。

根据韦伯的论述，资本主义精神是资本主义社会产生的前提。在西欧的社会经济发展过程中，如果没有新教伦理，就不会有发展资本主义的精神动力，从而也就不会有资本主义社会。他是这样进行分析的：

资本主义为什么首先兴起于西欧而不是南欧？从历史上看，南欧的经济发展较早，意大利在十四五世纪就已经出现了繁华的商业城市，手工工场也已产生，但南欧的经济始终没有越过封建主义的界限，跨不过资本主义入门的门槛。韦伯认为，这只有从宗教伦理着手分析，才能找到正确的答案。旧教统治着南欧，旧教的影响渗透到南欧社会的各个领域。按照旧教的观点，人是上帝的仆人，人都是有罪的，那该怎么办呢？一是要苦苦修行、禁欲，以便赎罪；二是把钱捐给教会，这也是为了赎罪。在当时，教会出售的赎罪券，“是对仍须受惩罚的罪恶的全部赦免或部分赦免，否则要在现世或炼狱中受罚，即使罪人经过苦行赎罪圣礼，罪行已获赦免，亦在所难免。蒙受圣恩是一个必不可少的先决条件。此外，教会还规定要祈祷、斋戒和克己，以及从事各种善行，如捐赠和施舍，朝拜各个教堂，出钱朝圣，兴办慈善事业甚至公益事业，如

建造教堂、桥梁、道路和堤坝。这种做法本应有助于促进宗教事业的发展，但实际上它成为教会横征暴敛的许多手段之一”。[2]

在韦伯看来，无论是苦苦修行、禁欲还是把钱财捐赠给教会，都不能促进经济的进一步发展，不能导致资本主义的产生。旧教伦理被认为无法产生资本主义精神，从而无法把社会带入资本主义阶段。韦伯指出，尽管商业曾造成南欧经济的一度繁荣，但支配着社会的是中世纪的天主教伦理。“圣·托马斯将追求财富的欲望斥为卑鄙无耻（这一用语甚至还用来指责那种不可避免的因而在伦理上是完全正当的获利），他的这一论点在当时被奉为真理”。[3]在这一教义统治着人们思想的地方，即使有些人经商赚了钱，但仍摆脱不了旧教伦理的束缚，“只要他们不肯放弃教会的传统，他们毕生从事的工作充其量不过是某种在道德上毫无建树的东西……各种资料表明，富人们往往在临终之际将巨额钱财捐献给教会，用心补赎自己良心上的愧怍”。[4]更有甚者，“中世纪的伦理观念不仅容忍乞讨的存在，而且事实上在托钵僧团中还以乞讨为荣。甚至世俗的乞丐，由于他们给有钱人提供了行善施舍的机会，有时也被当做一笔财产来对待”。[5]这种伦理观念怎能促进资本主义的产生与发展？

在南欧经济曾经兴盛的同时，在东方国家，尤其是中国，经济可能更加繁荣、兴旺。那么，资本主义为什么没有产生于当时的中国呢？韦伯认为这也可以从宗教伦理中得到解释。东方的、中国的宗教伦理被认为是不适宜产生资本主义的。比如说，佛教徒重来世而不重现世。来世是渺茫的，轮回之说不可信，重来世的思想无论如何不可能导致资本主义的产生。再如，道教是中国土生土长的宗教，道教主张清静无为，清静无为的思想显然对资本主义的产生不利。以后，道教的思想还有如下的转变，如社会上层信奉道教，是为了长生不老，个人享乐；农民起义军信奉道教，所追求的是平均主义，这同样不利于产生资本主义。

韦伯把儒家思想称做儒教，在东方，尤其是在中国，儒家思想的影响大，但儒家注重修身，追求个人道德的完善化，希望以精神上的满足来替代对物质利益的追求。以后，儒家思想成为封建社会的正统之后，宣扬忠君和牺牲自我，以商为耻，以富为耻，这是一种不适合资本主义产生与发展的伦理观念。正是在这种伦理观念的支配下，广大的中国平民百姓对生活中的贫困较易忍受，对艰苦的环境有忍耐力，以农业为本的现实被认为理所当然，对商业利益的追求却受到鄙视，努力积累财富以发展经济的愿望和动力大大减弱了。因此，尽管中国在历史上曾经是繁荣的，但中国不可能产生资本主义。在儒家思想占统治地位的情况下，中国迈不过进入资本主义大门的门槛。[6]

那么，为什么资本主义于十六七世纪能在西欧国家，例如荷兰和英国产生呢？韦伯指出，这是由于荷兰和英国都是新教国家，新教伦理孕

育了资本主义。根据新教伦理，人是上帝的仆人，人都是有罪的，需要赎罪。靠什么来赎罪？只能靠工作勤奋，生活节俭，积累财富。工作，是为上帝而工作，所以必须勤奋，不怕艰苦。生活节俭，是为了积累财富，积累财富又是为了把事业的规模扩大，因此，积累财富也是为了上帝。事业上的成就越大，表明为上帝服务的工作做得越好，工作越有成绩。至于消费，那是服从于积累的。清教徒们总是衣着朴素，不尚奢华，某些清教徒团体甚至以甘愿一辈子节俭生活但一辈子勤奋工作来表明自己的决心。但这种立誓节俭的许诺和实际行为，既不同于旧教徒中一些人的苦行，也不同于中国信奉儒家思想的人的安于清贫。旧教中的那些苦行者，以苦行本身来赎罪，他们不开创事业，更不会积累财富把事业越做越大。中国信奉儒家思想的人安于清贫，是为了使个人的道德操行臻于完善，他们所崇尚的、追求的是做清官，做好官，忠于君主，爱护黎民，而不是开创事业，也不是积累财富。新教的伦理观念则是：勤奋、节俭、积累财富，都是人们最好的赎罪方式，勤与俭是同开创事业、积累财富相联系的。一辈子过节俭生活但一辈子勤奋工作，积累的财富越来越多，成就也越来越大。

韦伯认为，西欧的资本主义正是在这种新教伦理的指引下产生与发展起来的。关于这一点，韦伯有如下的论述："在清教徒的心目中，一切生活现象皆是由上帝设定的，而如果他赐予某个选民获利的机缘，那么他必定抱有某种目的，所以虔信的基督徒理应服膺上帝的召唤，要尽可能地利用这天赐良机。要是上帝为你指明了一条路，因循它你可以合法地谋取更多的利益（而不会损害你自己的灵魂或者他人），而你却拒绝它并选择不那么容易获利的途径，那么你会背离从事职业的目的之一，也就是拒绝成为上帝的仆人，拒绝接受他的馈赠并遵照他的训令为他而使用它们。"[7]这一段话充分反映了"为上帝而辛劳致富"的新教伦理观。

也许更能说明问题的是清教徒对贫穷的认识。"清教徒时常争辩说，期待自己一贫如洗不啻是希望自己病入膏肓；它名为宏扬善行，实为贬损上帝的荣耀。特别不可容忍的是有能力工作却靠乞讨为生的行径，这不仅犯下了懒惰罪，而且亵渎了教徒们所言的博爱义务"。[8]这正是新教伦理同旧教伦理以及东方伦理的重大区别。

二、"韦伯热"的原因

如何评价韦伯的理论？在资本主义起源问题上，有各种各样的解释。韦伯的解释不同于其他学者之处，主要在于他对伦理因素的强调，

也就是对文化因素的强调。

根据韦伯的理论，旧教伦理同资本主义精神是不相容的，所以旧教国家的资本主义经济不容易发展。但持有不同观点的人却争辩说，法国不也是旧教国家之一吗？为什么法国经济后来会迅速发展呢？为什么法国的资本主义不比新教国家逊色呢？法国资本主义经济的迅速发展，也许首先应当归功于政治因素，即1789年革命对旧制度的打击为法国资本主义经济的发展开辟了道路，可见，过分强调伦理因素未必是一种正确的解释。

根据韦伯的理论，在东方国家，由于宗教伦理的影响，资本主义是难以发展的，比如说，儒家伦理就很难同资本主义精神相容。但持有不同意见的人却反驳道，历史实践已经表明，资本主义经济的迅速发展不限于新教国家，东方的日本、韩国、新加坡等国都有自己的文化传统，它们的资本主义经济迅速发展起来了，可见，资本主义既可以同新教伦理相容，又可以同儒家伦理相容，甚至儒家伦理同资本主义的结合会创造出更大的奇迹等。

尽管如此，韦伯理论仍被学术界评定为是有价值的。即使对韦伯理论持不同意见的人，也承认韦伯的理论给人们以不少启示。韦伯强调伦理因素、文化因素的作用，实际上所提出的是一个多因素促成制度转换和经济发展的模式，即伦理因素、文化因素唯有同社会、政治、经济等因素综合地起作用，才导致资本主义的产生与发展，从而摒弃了那种把经济或政治视为单一的决定性因素的资本主义起源论。

第二次世界大战结束以后世界范围内的“韦伯热”的形成，既同第二次世界大战结束以后的世界政治经济形势有关，又同韦伯对伦理因素、文化因素的强调有关。第二次世界大战结束后，日本、德国战败后面临重建的迫切任务，亚洲、非洲出现了一些新独立的国家，要求加快发展经济，走上现代化道路。人们从韦伯的著作中所得到的重要启示是：要发展经济，必须有一定的精神的动力。没有精神的动力，经济是上不去的。这里所说的精神的动力，当然不限于韦伯所讨论的新教伦理，而可能是同本民族的传统文化相适应的一种伦理观念。但从新教伦理中，也可以找到某种对应物。比如说，新教伦理中的“天职”观念就是可以借用的。“天职”是指：每个人都要勤于本职工作，忠诚于本职工作，这是个人的道德义务。尽管这是人们在世俗环境中的工作，但人人都有责任把这项工作做好，因为这就是为上帝而工作。新教伦理是这样教导人们的，那么新教以外的其他伦理观点又是怎样教导人们的呢？不管它们是不是采用“天职”这个概念，但对应物仍然存在，这就是把为上帝工作转换成为国家、为民族、为社会而工作；使国家富强，使民族振兴，使社会繁荣昌盛，成为每个人应尽的责任，人们勤于本职工作，忠诚于本职

工作，就是向国家、民族、社会尽到了义务。经济发展中需要有精神的动力，这就是精神的动力。

又如，在新教伦理中，个人财富积累在道德上本来是无可非议的。积累财富本身无罪，只有财富被用于骄奢淫逸的个人享乐时才有罪，财富的积累如果造福于人类，则被认为是对上帝的奉献。新教的这一伦理在新教以外的伦理中也存在，这就是：可以而且应当积累财富，只要财富是通过正当途径得到的，那也无可非议。而且，如果财富的积累对发展经济有利，那就是对社会作出贡献。可见，尽管其他伦理在形式上与新教伦理不一样，但实质并无区别。这就使得人们对韦伯的著作不仅感兴趣，而且感到有所借鉴。

三、韦伯理论与历史进程的合理性

在研究现代化进程时，人们常常提出如下的问题：为什么工业革命在不同的国家和地区有不同的发展过程？是哪些因素促成了这个国家或那个国家的工业革命？在促成工业革命的若干因素中，最重要的因素是什么？研究者们由于观点的不同而会提出不同的因素作为最重要的因素，韦伯的理论是若干种有关现代化的理论中的一种。但韦伯给人们的主要启示在于：一个民族，虽然在某个发展阶段已经具备了物质技术条件，但如果不具备意识形态方面的条件，不具备伦理道德观念方面的条件，如果缺乏产生工业革命或现代化的精神的动力，那么工业革命仍然难以发生，现代化的进程即使开始了，也会受阻、中断。换句话说，韦伯理论告诉人们，在工业革命的背后、现代化进程的背后，存在着一种不易被察觉的、无形的精神力量，它引导人们去努力争取经济的果实，鼓励人们孜孜不倦地去开拓、经营，获取利润，积累财富，再创新业。

按照韦伯的理论，既然资本主义代表着一种精神、一种理念，而这种精神、理念将促使人们去开拓、进步，那么韦伯的理论就出现了一个内在的矛盾，这就是：有什么理由把资本主义说成是西欧新教文明所特有的现象呢？至多只能得出这样的结论：十六七世纪在西欧产生了资本主义，那仅仅是历史中出现的第一个例证，可以用以说明伦理观念对经济发展的重要意义，但不能说明只有新教伦理才能产生资本主义，才能推动现代化的进程。旧教伦理是可以变的，也可以从新的角度来解释，具体地说，中世纪那种向教会购买赎罪券的做法、那种苦苦修行以求解脱和赎罪的做法是可以放弃的，后来不也被旧教徒中的绝大多数人所放弃了吗？从新的角度来解释、领悟旧教伦理，资本主义不也在旧教国家中迅速发展起来了吗？同样的道理也适合于儒家伦理同东方国家经济发

展之间关系的解释。这正是20世纪中期以后学术界研究的热点问题之一。

按照韦伯的理论，工业发展的过程同时也是人际关系的调整过程，前工业社会的人际关系，如等级关系、世袭关系、家族统治、人身依附等，都不利于工业发展。因此，资本主义要在某个国家内取得支配地位，工业要有较大发展，人际关系也必须相应地变革，这种变革往往是同伦理观念的转变相伴而行的。韦伯这种把社会经济发展同人际关系的变革、伦理观念的转变紧密地联系在一起的分析，十分精辟。这就是说，在任何一个重大的历史事件的背后，都存在一种无形的精神力量，哪个民族缺乏这种精神力量，那里的经济就死气沉沉；哪个民族有这种精神力量，它就有迅速成长的希望。谁要想迅速发展经济，就必须培育和发展这种精神力量。新教文明以外的地区，例如第二次世界大战结束后亚洲、非洲新独立的国家，如果找不到同当年的新教伦理相对应的精神力量的话，发展只可能迟缓、滞后，而一旦培育和发展了相应的精神力量，后进国家赶上先进国家就是有希望的。

从韦伯的理论研究所得到的一个重要启示是：对现代化问题的深入研究要求在社会、经济、文化、伦理、政治等领域内开展广泛的探讨，仅仅拘泥于政治或经济领域内是远远不够的。中国学术界中一些对韦伯的著作感兴趣的人几乎全都察觉到了这一点。他们认为，韦伯的著作所给予中国现代化研究者的启发，与其说是韦伯的理论本身，不如说是韦伯所提供的一种可以用来分析历史进程的方法。

从韦伯的理论还可以引申出一个重要的问题，这就是对历史进程的合理性的认识。什么是历史进程的合理性？按照韦伯的理论，这是指人们的行为或社会的行为从激情转入了理性。人们本来没有明确的目标，原始社会就是如此。当时，只要饿不死，冻不死，不被野兽吃掉，能活下来，就行了。这谈不上有什么明确的目标。后来，尽管社会发展了，经济活跃了，但人们仍然是以生存作为目标，以繁衍后代作为目标。个人的生命是有限的，家族的生命是无限的，因此生存与繁衍便成为目标，整个传统社会都这样。这仍然不是明确的目标。只有当社会越过了传统阶段，进入现代文明阶段之后，历史进程的合理性才显现出来，因为只有到了这个时候，人们才认真地思考自己的目标，使行为的目标理性化。例如，在新教伦理中，工作勤奋，生活节俭，积累财富，创造事业，以尽“天职”，这就是行为目标的理性化。在新教文明以外的伦理观念中，同样存在着为一定的目标而工作和生活的精神动力，行为目标也趋向理性化。人类社会总是从缺乏明确的目标走向明确的目标，历史进程的合理性总是越来越明朗的。这就是历史发展的规律。

韦伯的理论在这方面告诉我们什么呢？归结起来就是这样一点：历

史进程的合理性体现于人们的行为、社会的行为逐渐有了明确的目标，而不限于生存和繁衍；假定缺少精神力量，没有一定的伦理观念作为行为目标理性化的内核，社会的持续进步将是不可能的。

7.2 The Urgency of Moral Renewal

7.2.1 Old Culture and Ethics Replaced by New

Now let us shift our focus from Weber to the issue of China's modernization.

At the present stage, China faces an urgent task of moral renewal. This is actually a question of how to replace the old culture and ethics with new ones. At the heart of the old culture were deities and officials, in contrast with our people-centered new culture. The former emphasized worship, authority and bondage in contrast to the latter's stress on science, knowledge, independence and self-esteem. The old ethic protected the old culture and order whereas the new ethic safeguards the new.

Due to its emphasis on worship, power and bondage, old culture was intrinsically a deity-and-official-oriented culture. New culture is bound to center on people, science and knowledge because of its emphasis on science, knowledge, independence and self-esteem. In this lies the biggest distinction between the old culture and the new.

Looking at the political dimension, we can take the year 1949 as the dividing line between old and new. But culturally, the line is far from clear, since the old culture existed for a long time before 1949 and did not disappear after that, although some of it took on new forms. Both pre-1949 culture and new forms of old culture shared the common ground of superstition and worship of power rather than proceeding from science and centering on people. This was because old culture had dominated China for so long, had a solid economic base and was deeply, deeply rooted in the soil of feudalism. Therefore, even post-1949, apart from stubbornly surviving, it reappeared in different guises. In my book *Whither China's Economy* I labeled pre-1949 old culture "the standard old culture," and old culture in new forms "old culture in new clothes."[9] What actually survived in China from the 1950s to the end of the 1970s were two versions of old culture. The Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) was a classic period when the two old-

culture versions co-existed and dovetailed. Such a situation has also appeared in some historical stages in some other countries, but it was most conspicuous in China from the 1960s to 1970s.

The old culture needed to be cleared away, but how? It is often claimed that economic development is vital and higher per capita income indispensable and that once such aims are realized old culture will be more easily uprooted since the poverty that fostered it is a thing of the past. Such thinking does make sense but it has a major flaw. We cannot root out old culture purely by economic development and increasing per capita income. Compared with 1949, mid-1960s China had experienced economic development and increase of income per capita, but the old culture still survived and remained influential. The "standard old culture" had by no means left the stage when "old culture in new clothes" made its entrance. This is surely worth some consideration.

The old culture denies the status of people as the main body of society, and is characterized by ignorance, blind obedience and superstition, so in order to really get rid of it and develop new culture, the most important task is to reform the system from which old culture draws its lifeblood, in particular the system that fostered "the standard old culture" and "old culture in new clothes." System reform is more important than economic development. On the foundation of system reform, with educational and economic development progressing in tandem, and per capita income increasing along with rising educational level, old culture can be more effectively eradicated. Moreover, the purpose of education goes further than imparting knowledge and skills. More important is to improve the national caliber via education and to take "making people the key" and "modernization of people" as major tasks. Without these, there can be no modernization of society, economy, science and technology, still less the introduction of new culture and ethics to replace the old.

Apart from relying on ignorance, blind obedience and superstition, old culture and ethics were also sustained by a hierarchical estate system and rank relationships, visible or invisible. These constituted a component part of the old system. The countryside is a case in point: It is here that "the standard old culture" has most stubbornly clung to life and where rank relations are at their strictest. Rank relations are closely connected to traditional values and ethics. Why is the power of deities, the gentry, clans and husbands hard to break? It has to do with the rank relations sustained by the traditional values

and ethics. In rural areas, "the standard old culture" will exist forever if the traditional values and ethics and the long-existing rank relations are not expunged. In the cities, the estate system and the rank relations are usually invisible, but they too cause people to be constrained by traditional values and ethics. Being invisible, the estate system and rank relations in urban areas are not easily detectable; indeed, some people tacitly accept them, not daring or wanting to stir them up. In system reform a prolonged conflict is most likely to occur in the area of values and ethics. "Making people the key" and "modernizing people" mean abandoning the estate system and rank relations, establishing new individual-to-group relations, including identification, cooperative and contractual relations. Once this is understood, we can understand the profound and far-reaching significance of moral renewal.

Old systems will not collapse of their own volition; neither will old traditions and powers dissolve by themselves. Old culture and ethics may reappear in new garb. In the 1960s, young Chinese joined in the Cultural Revolution in the name of "smashing the four olds," but this generation was fooled and cheated. The so-called "smashing the four olds" turned out to be safeguarding old culture, especially "old culture in new clothes." Ignorance, blind obedience, superstition and extremism made them guardians of old culture and destroyers of the new. Fortunately, most of them woke up fairly soon to the harsh reality and a realization that they had become victims of the old culture. Such is history, cold and neutral. Every Chinese should surely draw a lesson from the freakish phenomenon of "old culture in new clothes" after 1949, including how it was conceived, born and raised.

What must happen for the old culture and ethics to be replaced by new? Apart from system reform, economic and educational development, people also need to realize the harm of the old cultures, both versions. The young intellectuals sent down to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution, fooled and hoodwinked by old culture, would later be among those harboring the most bitter hatred for it. Is this not a convincing proof?

However, replacing of the old culture and ethics by the new is far from easy. It involves the issue of moral renewal, a mission impossible to complete in a generation or two.

7.2.2 Moral Renewal and "Re-launch"

No one can deny the great achievements made in economic construction since the founding of New China in 1949. For a long time after 1949, China's culture seemed a mish-mash of good and bad. On the one hand, the "standard old culture" continued to exist and exert influence, while the "old culture in new clothes" grew rapidly, with its influence increasing. On the other hand, the new culture that represented the *zeitgeist* grew and exerted ever greater influence on people as well. For this period, the growing influence of new culture was indispensable to China's achievements in economic construction.

To be specific, after long years of wars and chaos, the Chinese people warmly embraced the new regime; yearning for a prosperous revitalized China, they were ready to create a better future through their toil, enterprise and dedication. Their enthusiasm was undoubtedly a manifestation of the growing new culture and new ethics. Borrowing from Weber's thesis, we can say that a concept similar to Weber's "calling" now existed in Chinese society of that time. For the sake of national prosperity and better lives for more and more people, many people volunteered to relocate to border regions, remote areas and harsh environments where they worked hard, regardless of return. For them, it was their "calling" to do so. We may call such spirit the "start-up spirit." It animated and was essential to "start-up practice" and to the successes of economic construction.

Why was the "start-up spirit" so short-lived? The reasons are many, but in terms of system, the planned economy strangled individual initiative and creativity, giving birth and nurture to egalitarianism. Importantly, ideological campaigns such as the "anti-rightist" and "anti-right deviation" movements and the Cultural Revolution put a dead hand on people's spirits, and any enterprise or creative enthusiasm ebbed away. During the Cultural Revolution when black was called white and all sense of judgment was lost, people could hardly be expected to throw themselves into economic development. As it became more and more common to trample creativity and stifle enterprise, only disappointment and despair remained, so how could people still have any passion to selflessly give their all for economic construction? The spiritual trauma was not something quickly healed. By the later stage of the Cultural Revolution, many people were spiritually void and inert, seemingly indifferent to anything and everything. Its aftermath of nihilism, listlessness and negativity still exists to a degree. After the Cultural Revolution ended and as China entered the market economy with reform and opening-up, some people went from one extreme to the other. Driven by the

spur of economic gain, such people disregarded commercial and professional ethics, earned indecent money, or openly declared their living creed that individual benefit was paramount, that money came first, there was nothing money couldn't achieve. Neither extreme is aligned to the goals of modern development. In such context, it is urgent to raise the issue of "re-launching" and cultivating a "re-launch spirit." To go on developing our economy, there must be a spiritual drive; we must inculcate in society the notion of striving hard for China's prosperity and modernization. Of the lessons we can draw from Weber's thesis the most important is this: Without spiritual drive, breakthroughs in economic development will not come easily.

This brings us to the question of moral bankruptcy, a frequent talking point in recent years. In looking at the underlying reasons, rational analysis is more useful than emotional judgment. Morally damaged and unscrupulous people are produced by any age or time; it is just the numbers that vary. The reasons for moral bankruptcy are complex and arise from different circumstances, so we must use a holistic analysis rather than a single-element approach. What we need to clarify is this: Why, after a period of benign social ethos post-1949, should so much terrible and amoral behavior have emerged in China? How does one account for the gradual disappearance of the fine social ethos? In this context, the question of moral renewal has been raised. When people become hypocritical, they will lie and hide the truth, and wear a mask in dealing with others, thereby distorting morality. But why do people become hypocritical? There is spontaneous hypocrisy and forced hypocrisy. Spontaneous hypocrites are the minority: most people only resort to hypocrisy under duress, but there are some who fall somewhere between the two types. Forced hypocrisy for reasons of self-protection without any wish to harm others can be called "moral distortion." Spontaneous hypocrisy is different, not for self-protection, but motivated by the prospect of personal benefit, and this deserves to be called moral bankruptcy. Whether forced by pressure of circumstances or spontaneous, springing from selfishness and greed, hypocrisy is always a betrayal of man's nature. Of course, even in the hardest circumstances, there are still non-hypocrites: but in the prevailing moral climate they could do little to prevent the good social ethos ebbing away, since most people had been forced into hypocrisy.

A classic example is how people saw the domestic political and economic situation in the later stage of the Cultural Revolution. Those who spoke the truth were toppled. Some people lied because they had to for the

sake of self-protection and so as not to meet the same fate as the truth tellers. They saw telling a lie as expedient, figuring perhaps that to speak the truth now could lose them any chance of speaking anything at all in future. In circumstances like this, forced lying was completely forgivable, even though it contributed to the ebbing away of a good social ethos. The willing liars did so not to protect themselves, but to flatter and fawn on those with power for their own personal gain. In full knowledge that China's economic situation was a mess, they would come up with fantasies such as "the situation is peaceful and the masses are all happy" and "history has never known times as good as these." Some were actually proud of their ability to concoct facts and frame others in order to achieve their own purpose. Those willing hypocrites bear the greater blame for the waning of the good social ethos. Even worse, when they got their way and were rewarded for their hypocrisy, this had a very bad demonstration effect on society and accelerated its moral corruption.

The question of moral renewal was raised after almost 20 years of political purges and campaigns culminating in the Cultural Revolution caused grave moral distortion in society; it was also raised when China started out on the road of reform and opening-up, as people began to feel the urgency and necessity of "re-launching" and establishing the "re-launch spirit" to drive it forward.

贰　道德重整的迫切性

一、新文化、新伦理对旧文化、旧伦理的代替

让我们从关于韦伯理论的讨论转到对中国现代化问题的讨论上来。在中国现阶段，道德重整是一个迫切任务。

道德重整实际上是一个如何以新文化、新伦理代替旧文化、旧伦理的问题。扼要地说，旧文化以神为中心，以官为中心，新文化以人为中心；旧文化强调的是崇拜，是权力，是依附，新文化强调的是科学，是知识，是自立自尊。旧伦理维护的是旧文化、旧秩序，新伦理维护的是新文化、新秩序。

正因为旧文化强调崇拜、权力、依附，所以旧文化本质上必然是一种神化的、官本位的文化，而由于新文化强调科学、知识、自立自尊，所以新文化必然以人的利益为出发点，以尊重科学和尊重知识为出发点。这是新旧文化的最重要的区别。

从政治上说，可以把1949年作为一条分界线，但从文化的角度来看，这条分界线远不是那么清楚的，因为旧文化在1949年以前固然长期存在过，而在1949年以后，旧文化却并未消失，只不过其中有些内容采取了新的形式。无论是1949年前的旧文化还是1949年以后以新形式出现的旧文化，其共同点都是迷信，对权力的膜拜，而不以科学为出发点，不以人为中心。正由于旧文化在中国历史上长期占据支配地位，它在经济中有坚实的基础，它在封建主义的土壤中扎根扎得太深了，所以1949年以后，除了原来的旧文化照样存在而外，又增添了新形式下的旧文化。我在《中国经济往何处去》一书中，把1949年以前的旧文化称做“标准的旧文化”，把1949年以后出现的新形式下的旧文化称做“改装的旧文化”。[9]从20世纪50年代到70年代末这段时间内实际存在于中国的，就是这两种旧文化。其中，“文革”时期（1966～1976年）是“标准的旧文化”与“改装的旧文化”两者并存和巧妙地结合的典型时期。这种情况在世界其他一些国家的历史上某个阶段内也曾出现过，但在20世纪60年代与70年代的中国却最为明显。

旧文化当然需要清除，但旧文化要靠什么来清除？人们常说，经济发展是必要的，人均收入水平上升是不可少的，经济发展和人均收入提高后，旧文化所借以生存的贫困状态消失了，清除旧文化就会容易些。这种观点不是没有道理的，但仍有较大缺陷。单纯依靠经济发展和人均收入的提高不足以清除旧文化。20世纪60年代中期同1949年相比，中国的经济发展了，人均收入水平上升了，但旧文化的影响消除了吗？没有。不仅“标准的旧文化”没有退出历史舞台，甚至又增添了“改装的旧文化”。这些难道不值得反思吗？

由于旧文化否定人作为社会主体的地位，旧文化以愚昧、盲从、迷信为特征，所以要真正清除旧文化和促进新文化的发展，最重要的是变革旧文化赖以栖身的体制，特别是要改变“标准的旧文化”和“改装的旧文化”两者得以滋长的体制。体制的变革比经济发展更重要。在体制变革的基础上，在发展经济的同时发展教育，在人均收入水平上升的同时提高人们的教育水平，对旧文化的清除工作才会有效。而且，教育的目的不仅仅是传授知识和技能。更重要的是提高国民素质，把“以人为本”和“人的现代化”作为一项主要内容。没有“以人为本”和“人的现代化”就谈不上社会经济的现代化和科学技术的现代化，也不可能以新文化、新伦理代替旧文化、旧伦理。

要知道，旧文化、旧伦理除了依靠人们的愚昧、盲从、迷信来维持而外，还要依靠有形或无形的等级制和身份关系来维持，这种等级制和身份关系就是旧体制的组成部分。以农村来说，农村历来是“标准的旧文化”的势力最顽固的地盘，也是身份关系最严格的场所。身份关系同

传统的价值观念、伦理观念紧密地联系在一起。神权、绅权、族权、夫权的统治为什么不易打破，这些都与传统价值观念、伦理观念所支撑的身份关系有关。在农村中，如果不破除传统价值观念、伦理观念，不破除相沿已久的身份关系，“标准的旧文化”就会一直存在下去。在城市中，等级制和身份关系往往是无形的，它们也使得人们受到传统的价值观念、伦理观念的束缚。同时，也正因为城市中的等级制和身份关系往往是无形的，所以它们不易被人们察觉，甚至会被一些人默认而不敢或不想触动它们。制度变革中一场持久的冲突，很可能发生在价值观念、伦理观念的领域内。“以人为本”和“人的现代化”意味着人们对等级制和身份关系的摒弃，树立个人与群体之间的新关系，包括认同关系、协作关系、契约关系等。只有了解了这些，我们才能懂得道德重整的深远意义。

旧体制不会自动瓦解，旧传统、旧势力不会自行消失，旧文化、旧伦理还可能以改装的形式出现。20世纪60年代内，一批年轻人曾经以“破四旧”的名义参加了“文化大革命”。他们是被愚弄、被欺骗的一代，他们参加的是名为破除旧文化，实为维护旧文化，特别是“改装的旧文化”的逆流。愚昧、盲从、迷信，再加上偏激，使他们成为旧文化的维护者和新文化的毁坏者。幸而冷酷无情的现实使他们中的大多数人较快地醒悟过来了，使他们中的大多数人真正领悟到自己最终成为旧文化的受害者。历史就是这样冷酷无情，难道每一个人不应当从1949年以后“改装的旧文化”这个怪胎的孕育、出生到成长的过程中汲取教训吗？

新文化、新伦理怎样才能代替旧文化、旧伦理？除了前面所提到的要依靠制度变革，依靠发展经济和发展教育而外，还必须让人们深刻懂得旧文化的害处，包括“标准的旧文化”的害处和“改装的旧文化”的害处。一些曾经受旧文化的蒙蔽、愚弄的上山下乡的知识青年，后来之所以会成为最痛恨旧文化的队伍中的一员，不正说明了这一点吗？

然而，旧文化、旧伦理被新文化、新伦理的代替，远不是那么容易的。这涉及道德重整问题，而道德重整很可能不是一两代人就能完成的任务。

二、道德重整与“第二次创业”

不能否认1949年以后经济建设的巨大成就。1949年以后的相当长一段时间内，中国的文化领域似乎是鱼龙混杂的格局：一方面，“标准的旧文化”继续存在，继续发生影响，而“改装的旧文化”则以较快的速度在滋长，其影响越来越明显；另一方面，代表着时代精神的新文化也在

成长之中，并且同样地对人们产生影响。这段时间内中国经济建设的成绩同成长中的新文化的影响是分不开的。

具体地说，在中国社会经历了长期战乱之后，好不容易盼来了新政权的建立，人们渴望国家从此强盛，民族从此振兴，人们有一种强烈的创业精神、进取精神、奉献精神，并有信心通过自己的艰苦努力来创造美好的未来。这种创业、进取、奉献的精神，无疑是当时正在成长之中的新文化、新伦理的体现。如果借用韦伯的理论来叙述的话，那么可以认为，当时在中国社会上已经产生了类似韦伯所说的“天职观念”。为了国家的繁荣昌盛，为了让广大人民的生活越过越好，当时有许多人自愿地到边疆去，到偏僻的地带去，到艰苦的环境去，勤奋工作，不计报酬，因为在他们看来，这就是“天职”。我们可以把这种精神称做“第一次创业精神”。有了“第一次创业精神”，才有“第一次创业”的实践，也才会有经济建设的成绩。

为什么“第一次创业精神”未能持久保持呢？原因很多，从体制上说，计划经济体制扼杀了人们的积极性、创造性，使平均主义思想得以滋生。而从意识形态领域来看，一个重要的原因是“反右”、“反右倾”直到“文化大革命”，把人们的精神挫伤了，进取、创业的热情消失了。“文化大革命”期间，黑白颠倒，是非混淆，人们还有什么发展经济的积极性呢？当人们看到创造性被践踏和进取心被扼杀的情况已经越来越普遍的时候，剩下的只是失望、绝望，哪里还有奋不顾身地投身于经济建设的热情呢？精神上的创伤绝不是短时期内就能治愈的。于是到了“文革”的后期，社会上不少人在精神上处于一种空虚状态，仿佛把什么都看淡了，看穿了，看透了，得过且过，无所作为。这种虚无、颓丧、消极的思想至今仍有一定的市场。而在“文革”结束，逐步转入以市场经济为目标的改革开放过程中，由于经济利益的驱动，有些人又从这个极端转到另一个极端，不顾商业道德和职业道德，大赚昧心钱，或者公开声称个人利益至上，金钱第一，金钱万能，以此作为人生信条。这两个极端都是与现代化建设的目标不符的。在这种情况下，提出“第二次创业”和培育、树立“第二次创业精神”尤其必要。中国经济的进一步发展，必须有精神上的动力，要在社会上树立如何为中国的繁荣昌盛而奋发图强的观念，为实现现代化目标而努力的思想。韦伯理论中如果说有一些可供我们思考和给予启示的话，那么最重要的启示应当是——没有精神的动力，经济就难以取得新的突破。

由此涉及近来社会上议论颇多的道德沦丧问题。究竟怎样看待道德沦丧的原因？在这个问题上，我们应当多一些理性的分析，而不能仅仅从感情出发。必须指出，在任何一个时代，任何一个地方，都会出现道德败坏、无恶不作的人，只不过有的年代多一些，有的年代少一些，有

的地方多一些，有的地方少一些而已。道德沦丧的原因是复杂的，而且是多种情况，不能用某一因素来代替综合分析。历史上的例证就不必再提了，我们需要弄清楚的是，为什么在中国这块土地上，在经历了1949年以后一段时间良好的社会风尚之后，后来却会出现不少不顾道德的恶行呢？为什么良好的社会风尚逐渐褪色了呢？这是值得深思的。道德重整问题的提出，与此有直接的关系。

良好的社会风尚的褪色是从虚伪开始的。人们虚伪以后，假话充斥，真话绝迹，人以虚伪面貌待人，道德便被扭曲了。那么，为什么人们会变得虚伪了呢？实际上，虚伪分为两种类型，一种是自觉的虚伪，另一种是被迫的虚伪。自觉虚伪的，毕竟只是极少数人。大多数人是被迫虚伪。还有一部分人介于自觉虚伪与被迫虚伪之间，或者说是半自觉虚伪、半被迫虚伪。被迫虚伪只不过是一种自保、自卫的做法，并无害人之心，是不得已而为之。这可以称做“道德的扭曲”。自觉虚伪就不同了，这不是为了自保、自卫，而是另有所图，借虚伪而牟取私利。这可以称做“道德的沦丧”。无论是被迫虚伪还是自觉虚伪，都是对人的本性的一种背叛。这种背叛，前一种情况下应归因于环境的压力，后一种情况下则主要归因于私利或贪婪的作祟和驱使。当然，不虚伪的人，即使在环境最恶劣时，也是存在的。但在环境恶劣这个大气候中，他们难以扭转良好的社会风尚逐渐褪色的趋势。这时，社会上大多数人不得不被迫虚伪。

一个典型的例子是“文化大革命”后期如何看待当时国内的政治经济形势。说真话的人被整下去了，说假话的人中有被迫的，也有自觉的。被迫说假话，只不过为了保全自己，不至于落得与说真话的人同样的下场。被迫说假话，也可能是一种策略，即今天说假话是为了以后有机会再说话，否则以后连说话的机会都没有了。对于被迫说假话的情形，在当时的环境下是完全可以谅解的，但即使如此，也会对良好社会风尚的褪色起着不好的作用。至于自觉说假话的，与此有所不同。他们不是为了保全自己，而是明知当时国内经济形势很糟，却一定要说当时的经济形势怎么好，什么“莺歌燕舞”，什么“历史上从来没有这么好过”，等等，这种自觉的虚伪是为了奉迎、献媚，为了由此获取个人的利益。自觉虚伪的人中间，还有一些则以捏造事实为能事，陷害他人以达到个人的目的。良好的社会风尚的褪色、一些人道德的沦丧，应由形形色色的自觉虚伪者负更大的责任，特别是当他们自觉虚伪的做法一时得逞，并且还得到了奖赏时，就对社会产生了恶劣的示范效应，加速了社会风尚的败坏、道德的败坏。

道德重整问题正是在经历了将近二十年的“反右”、“反右倾”、“文化大革命”等政治运动，使社会的道德严重扭曲之后被提出的，也是在

走上改革开放的道路，人们感到“第二次创业”的迫切性和树立“第二次创业精神”的必要性后被提出的。

7.3 The Long-term Nature of Moral Renewal

7.3.1 Moral Renewal and Improvement of National Caliber

From the foregoing analysis we learn that the urgency of moral renewal right now has to do with the stubborn persistence of old cultures and their serious social impact, and also with the negative feelings in society such as emptiness, depression, suspicion and helplessness. Moral renewal means building new culture and ethics to replace the old, to foster and establish the "re-launch spirit," to raise the national caliber, so as to engender a spiritual drive in the modernization process.

Although new culture and new ethics will eventually be established and developed on the foundation of economic growth, the task of moral renewal cannot wait. The only way appropriate to China's realities is to set about the task on the basis of real life, to constantly improve the national caliber and put effort into practicing moral renewal. Certainly, moral renewal and the replacement of old culture and ethics with new ones is a long-term process and cannot be completed within a short period, but that does not mean we cannot do or achieve anything in moral renewal at the present stage. The urgency of the task tells us we must start on it right away.

Passive waiting is not the right attitude, but it is equally wrong to rush at the job. The replacement of old culture and ethics with new is a historical trend and cannot be realized so quickly. The victory of new culture means society has made the transition from the "material age" to the "age of man." New culture discovers and respects man's value, and puts man at the center of things rather than the material, and this can only be achieved via a long process. For China, the victory of new culture will be much harder won than we imagined, since feudalism dominated social ideology and people's lives for over a thousand years and survived in the planned economy as "old culture in new clothes," the costume change fooling many people for a while

that it was a brand new culture. In China's moral renewal process, even more important than renewing people-to-people and people-to-material relations is the need to instill in people the belief that only a new understanding of the value and significance of life will make it possible to "liberate" oneself, have internal moral inspiration and restraint and have strong enterprising and creative spirit.

Here it is necessary to discuss the question of moral standards, of which there are usually two in life—internal and external. Concerning the differentiation, we may refer to passages in Max Weber's *General Economic History*, in which he wrote: "Furthermore we find everywhere else a primitive, strictly integrated internal economy such that there is no question of any freedom of economic action between members of the same tribe or clan, associated with absolute freedom externally."[10] This means that, in a group, even a primitive tribe, there might be an internal moral standard for internal affairs and an external moral standard for external affairs. Behavior is regulated by two different standards. He continues, "In contrast with this, the second characteristic of western capitalism is the lifting of the barrier between internal economy and external economy, between internal and external ethics, and the entry of the commercial principle into the internal economy, with the organization of labor on this basis."[11] This passage is instructive for an understanding of the moral renewal's long-term nature.

The erasing of the demarcation between external and internal moral standards has a direct bearing on the openness of a society or a group. The more open the society, the more readily the two standards merge. The development of capitalist society testifies to this fact. The same is true of groups, too. In a closed group the demarcation will always be definite no matter what the group's nature is. Its internal standard will probably be unsuitable for dealing with external matters and vice versa. Only when it becomes less closed will the boundary gradually fade away.

China is in transition between the planned economy and the market economy. Under the former, it basically adopted the closed society model, and for members of that society the demarcation between two moral standards was very clear-cut. The same behavior was thought a violation of moral standard if directed internally but thought permissible in external affairs. The same speech was deemed permissible internally but a violation of moral standard externally. Over many years, the Chinese became accustomed to the differences, so the contradiction itself and its potential impact on the

social ethos went unconsidered. In plain terms, people identified with the dual standard as a custom, when it was actually a distortion of morality: Utilitarianism won out over judgment of right and wrong and moral standards were subordinated to political and economic needs.

The problem did not stop there. As previously discussed, in an environment inimical to truth telling, the majority were forced to lie and be hypocritical for reasons of self-protection, whilst a minority did so willingly for their own benefit. The forced hypocrisy can be called "moral distortion" and spontaneous hypocrisy "moral bankruptcy." All in all, the question becomes more complicated when talking about a situation in which people could not treat each other sincerely, behave with integrity or regulate their behavior according to an inbuilt moral standard, added to which there was a clear-cut demarcation between external and internal moral standards. This is because the demarcation already constituted a moral distortion, one made more acute by forced hypocrisy. If some were spontaneously hypocritical for personal benefit, this constitutes moral bankruptcy on top of moral distortion. As a result, the dual standard became a multiple moral standard, or a moral standard expressed in several forms. Truth and falsehood become impossible to judge, the two being so messed up and mixed. This was the reality China had to face in the early stage of reform and opening-up. Only by admitting the reality can we have a deep understanding of the mental state of the Chinese under the impact of one political campaign after another—the "anti-rightist," "anti-right deviation" movements and the Cultural Revolution. Only then can we truly appreciate the long-term nature and difficulty of moral renewal.

7.3.2 Moral Renewal: Fantasy and Reality

Max Weber cited the pioneering process of Puritans in New England to illustrate the role of Protestantism in promoting the emergence and development of capitalism, and to demonstrate the importance of establishing a moral standard. To our previous examples of insights from Weber's thesis we can now add one more: There was an element of fantasy contained in the Puritan notion of "the calling" and their ethic, although this in no way prevented the Protestant ethic playing a positive role in economic development. Daniel J. Boorstin wrote in *The Americans: the Colonial*

Experience: "IF THERE WAS ever a people whose intellectual baggage equipped them for a journey into Utopia it was the New England Puritans. In their Bible they had a blueprint for the Good Society, their costly expedition to America gave them a vested interest in believing it possible to build Zion on this earth."[12] At that time New England was a colony of Britain and the migrants had to accept British law to protect their own interests, a reality that diluted the tinge of fantasy, but this does not negate the fact that they crossed the ocean and came to North America with the fantasy of building their "kingdom of heaven" on the earth.

It should be noted that despite the fantasy element in the migrants' aspirations, their moral inspiration and restraint were always real. Today, in its "re-launch," China has taken moral renewal as a mission, but it is not comparable with the situation of the Pilgrim Fathers because of the differences in terms of character, conditions, mission and goals. In China, if we can achieve moral renewal, both moral inspiration and restriction will be realistic, and the development goals will be reachable ones. To put it simply, moral renewal and improving the national caliber are not fantasy aspirations: Our development goal is not to create an ideal "paradise" and modern society is not a Utopian one. The approach to moral renewal and improving caliber should proceed from real life and have realistic steps and goals. As for abhorrence of old culture in its many forms, we cannot afford a purely emotional or purely theoretical awareness. The nurturing of a good social ethos should start from reality, relying on everyone's effort in regulating personal behavior. Only thus can achievements in moral renewal stop being one-off and accidental phenomena and good social ethos will no longer be a vague abstraction.

There is another significant aspect to removing the fantasy element from moral renewal, namely, to design an "ideal society" but without divorcing it from reality. In the past, all designs for an "ideal society" were on paper or in the mind only, hard to put into practice. Such experiments that did get off the ground were limited in scope and ended in failure within a couple of generations. Theoretical constructs cannot stand up to the test of practice. It is worth noting that if a politician wants to turn a large-scale design for an "ideal society" into a policy and impose it by force, what may emerge will not be paradise, it could well be socially catastrophic.

Friedrich Hayek looked at this question. According to him, in history idealist politicians had put forward various guidelines or proposals for

achieving an "ideal society" and expended a lifetime of effort for this goal. However, judging from the results, those idealists frequently delivered disaster rather than happiness. Convinced of the loftiness of their ideals, they went to any lengths, regardless of the consequences, resorting to unscrupulous tactics with a clear conscience. The greater their allegiance to their ideals and goals, more zealous they were in promoting their ideas. The more interventionist and destructive their actions against the invisible and spontaneous force controlling socio-economic life, the more dire were the consequences for society.[13]

What is the invisible and spontaneous power controlling socio-economic life that Hayek talked about? It is usually thought of as the market mechanism. According to Hayek, regulation by market as an "invisible hand" spontaneously takes a role wherever there is trading activity. But this seems a narrow interpretation: Aside from market mechanism, the force of custom and morality constitutes another invisible and spontaneous power dominating socio-economic life. It existed before the appearance of regulation by market and afterwards too, being particularly apparent in the non-traded sector. The reforms implemented by the idealist politicians in order to make their "ideal society" reality not only destroyed the market mechanism but damaged the invisible and spontaneous power of regulation by custom and morality, thus destroying the cultural traditions shaped by custom and morality. They only trusted in individual strength and government strength, and relied only on the latter. So they forced through the program that they espoused, producing breakdown of social disorder, leading to deaths from hunger and cold, people being compelled to leave their native places, becoming homeless and vagrant. Such tragedies are not rare, neither in the past nor the present, neither in China or abroad.

Why should things go this way? In Hayek's view, the politicians made a common theoretical mistake: Namely, seeing their own will as more elevated than anything else, they thought of themselves as saviors of the world, in other words God, and their actions were "enforcing justice on behalf of Heaven." They regarded it as an unquestionable moral imperative to transform the world according to their vision. Aside from this, they made the mistake of regarding regulation by government as omnipotent and government measures as a panacea for any "social malady" (some of them not actually "maladies" at all). In their view, provided their plans were followed to the letter, and with strict policies strictly enforced, they could

bring people a better life and lead them into "paradise." However, although they promised a better life, they were unaware that society would have to pay a very heavy price for nothing but a multitude of after-effects and a dire social legacy. This is because with the abandonment of the market mechanism and regulation by custom and morality, what awaited society was a "worse life" and disaster. As mentioned above, socio-economic life is usually comprised of the traded sector and the non-traded sector. When the market mechanism is abandoned, the traded sector ceases to exist in actuality, because it has become distorted and changed into the non-traded sector. When regulation by custom and morality is abandoned, the various relations in the non-traded sector are also distorted and become false and hypocritical relations. Is this not a disaster?

It is because an "ideal society" contains elements of fantasy and its forcible implementation by idealist politicians often brings unforeseen social catastrophes that, when proposing moral renewal and nurture and establishing a good social ethos, we should do so from the standpoint of realistic analysis: It is better to see the problems as hard and complex rather than over-simplify them, better to have a long-term, incremental plan than to act with undue haste, better to focus on normalizing behavior through laws, enlightening people by education, making more people realize wholeheartedly the necessity of following social morality than attempting to unify minds and normalize behavior through administrative measures. It is especially important that we should make constant progress in raising people's material living standards while satisfying their spiritual needs, but we should not define every detail for our future society. Two passages in *Socialist Politics and Economics* are of significance here.

"Every generation has its own historic mission. This generation of scholars of economic theory should focus on the problems of socialist economy in its developing stage."[14] "If we bite off more than we can chew, worry about several generations further down the line, design details for future social and economic development, then later generations will only see us as a joke."[15]

叁　道德重整的长期性

一、道德重整与国民素质的提高

通过以上的分析，我们可以了解到，当前，道德重整之所以具有迫切性，不仅同旧文化（包括"标准的旧文化"和"改装的旧文化"）的顽固及其对社会的严重影响有关，而且同社会上存在的空虚、颓丧、怀疑或茫然不知所措的情绪及其滋长有关。道德重整意味着要建设新文化、新伦理以取代旧文化、旧伦理，也意味着要培育和树立"第二次创业精神"，提高国民素质，使现代化进程中产生一种精神的动力。

虽然新文化、新伦理终将在经济发达的基础上确立并发展，但道德的重整不能等到经济发展以后才作为任务而提出。从现实生活着手，不断提高国民素质，着力于道德重整的实践，这才符合中国的实际。由于道德重整以及新文化、新伦理对旧文化、旧伦理的取代都不是短期内就能完成的，所以我们应当理解道德重整的长期性。另一方面，道德重整的长期性不等于现阶段在道德重整方面是无所作为的或不可能取得成就的。道德重整的迫切性表明从现在起就必须着手于道德重整工作。

消极等待的想法固然不对，但急躁情绪也同样错误。新文化、新伦理取旧文化、旧伦理而代之，是历史发展的趋势，却不会迅速实现。新文化的胜利意味着社会从"物的时代"过渡到"人的时代"。新文化发现并尊重人的价值，承认以人为中心而不再以物为中心，这是一个长期实现的过程。就中国来说，由于封建主义曾经在长达千年以上的时间内支配着社会的意识形态和人们的生活，而在计划经济体制之下旧文化还以"改装了的形式"存在过，并一度使人们误认为这就是一种崭新的文化，因此，新文化的胜利远比人们想象的要艰难。在中国，在道德重整过程中，不仅要着重于调整人际关系，调整人与物之间的关系，更重要的是要使人们自身建立一种信念，即只有对人生的价值和意义有新的认识，才能做到"人的解放"，才会产生发自内心的道德激励与道德约束，也才会产生强烈的进取精神、创业精神。

在这里，还有必要考察一下道德标准的问题。这就是：在生活中往往有两个道德标准，一是对内道德标准，二是对外道德标准。关于对内道德标准与对外道德标准的区分，可以参看马克斯·韦伯在《世界经济通史》中的有关论述。他写道："我们到处都可以看到一种原始的、严密的整体化内部经济，以致在同一部落或氏族的成员之间就根本不存在经济行动自由的问题，但在对外贸易方面有绝对的自由。"[10]这表明，在一个群体内部，可能存在着一种内部的道德标准，对什么事情有自己的一套规定，哪怕在原始的部落中都如此，而在对外交往中，则又有另一种道德标准，即对外道德标准，用不同的标准来规范成员的行为。韦伯接着写道："相形之下，西方资本主义的第二个特征就是消除内部经济

和外部经济、对内道德标准和对外道德标准之间的界限，以及把商业原则连同在这个基础上的劳动组织纳入内部经济。”[11]这段话对于了解道德重整的长期性是有启发的。

把对内道德标准与对外道德标准之间的界限消除，同一个社会或一个团体的对外开放程度有直接的关系。社会对外开放程度越高，对内道德标准与对外道德标准就越容易合而为一，资本主义社会的发展过程证实了这一点。对一个团体来说，情况同样如此。如果一个团体是严格封闭性的组织，那么不管团体的性质如何，它的对内道德标准与对外道德标准之间的界限总是明显的，适用于对内的道德标准不一定适用于对外，适用于对外的道德标准也不一定适用于对内。只有随着该团体的封闭性的减弱，两种道德标准之间的界限才会逐渐淡化。

中国正在经历从计划经济体制向市场经济体制的转变。在计划经济体制下，基本上采取的是封闭社会的模式。对于社会成员，两种道德标准的区别是清晰的。同一种行为，在对内时被认为是违背道德标准的，在对外交往时可能被看成是可以容许的行为；同一种言论，在对内时被看成是可以容许的，在对外交往时可能被认为是违背道德标准的。多年以来，社会成员已经习惯了这些区别，因此不去考虑这里所存在的矛盾或不一致会对社会风尚产生什么样的影响。可以简要地说，社会上对内与对外两种道德标准的存在并被社会成员作为一种习惯而认同，实际上是一种道德的扭曲：功利主义压倒了对是非的判断，道德规范服从于政治经济的需要。

问题还不止于此。前面已经指出，在不容许说真话的大环境中，社会上大多数人为了自保、自卫而被迫虚伪，即口是心非地说假话，另有少数人则出于个人获取私利的意图而自觉虚伪。如上所述，被迫虚伪可以称为“道德的扭曲”，自觉虚伪可以称为“道德的沦丧”。总之，在人们不能以诚相待，不能表里一致，不能按照内心的道德判断来调节自己的行为的情况下，再加上社会上存在着对内道德标准与对外道德标准的明显界限，于是问题就变得更加复杂。这是因为，两种道德标准的存在已经是一种道德的扭曲了，如果人们仍然被迫虚伪，不得不说假话来保全自己，那就是道德扭曲的加剧；如果一些人仍然自觉虚伪，企图借此获取私利，那就是在道德扭曲基础上的道德沦丧。于是两种道德标准很可能变成多种道德标准或多种道德的表现形式，真真假假，真假难辨，真就是假，假中又有假，这正是我们在转入改革开放之初不得不面对的现实。只有承认这一现实，才能对经历了“反右”、“反右倾”、“文化大革命”以后中国的社会心态有比较深入的了解，也才能懂得道德重整工作的艰巨性和长期性。

二、道德重整：空想与现实

马克斯·韦伯曾以新英格兰清教徒的创业过程为例，说明新教伦理在促进资本主义产生与发展中的重要作用，并由此论证道德规范的确立的意义。关于韦伯这一理论的启示，前面已经作了阐释。但在这里需要补充一点，即清教徒的“天职”观念和他们的伦理带有空想的成分，尽管这种空想的成分并不妨碍新教伦理在经济发展中的积极作用的发挥。正如丹尼尔·布尔斯廷（Daniel J. Boorstin）在《美国人：开拓历程》一书中所说：北美“新英格兰清教徒的思想基础实在比任何人都接近乌托邦思想。他们的《圣经》中有‘美好社会’的蓝图；他们历尽艰辛来到北美洲，必然相信在人间这块地方能够建设‘天国’”。[12]虽然由于新英格兰当时还是英国的殖民地，移民在这块殖民地上必须接受英国的法律，以保障实际的利益，从而空想的色彩在现实面前有所减弱，但这并不否定他们漂洋过海来到北美时，是带着在人间建设“天国”的空想前来的。

应当指出，清教徒希望通过移民和创业在北美建设“天国”的设想固然带有空想的成分，但道德的激励与道德的约束始终是现实的。今天，在中国“第二次创业”的过程中，提出道德重整的任务，显然不能同当年向北美移民开拓时的情况相提并论，因为性质不同，条件不同，任务或目标也不同。在我们这里，如果实现了道德的重整，不仅道德激励与道德约束是现实的，而且建设的目标也是可以达到的。简言之，在我们这里，提出要重整道德和提高国民素质，并不是一种空想，建设的目标也不是去创造某种理想的“天堂”，现代化的社会不是乌托邦式的社会。国民素质的提高和道德的重整，都应当从现实生活中开始，目标是现实的，步骤也是现实的。对于形形色色的“标准的旧文化”和“改装的旧文化”的厌恶，不应仅仅出自感情上的痛恨或纯理论的认识。从现实生活中开始，从每个人的周围开始，通过个人行为的规范，养成良好的社会风尚。这样，道德重整方面所取得的成绩，就不再是偶然的、个别的，良好的社会风尚也不再是空泛的、抽象的。

不使道德重整带有空想的成分，还有一个重要的意义，即不要脱离实际地去设计某种“理想社会”，因为历史上所有关于“理想社会”的设计都是纸面上的东西，或者是思想家头脑里的东西，难以付诸实施，而小范围内的实验也至多维持一两代人，最终不得不以失败告终。理论上的构想经不起实践的检验。更值得注意的是，假定某个政治家想在大范围内把“理想社会”的设计变成政策，强行推行，其结果不仅不可能把人们带入“天堂”，而必然会给社会带来一场灾难。

哈耶克（F. A. Hayek）曾对此进行过分析。哈耶克认为，人类历史上曾经出现过一些有理想的政治家，他们提出过各种关于实现“理想社

会”的纲领或主张，他们的一生曾为此作过不小的努力，然而从实行的后果来衡量，这些理想主义者给人们带来的往往不是幸福，而是灾难。他们自认为理想是崇高的，因此无所顾忌，不计后果，甚至不择手段，因为这无愧于心。他们越是忠实于自己的理想与目标，他们就越是竭力推行自己的主张，越是干预与破坏在社会经济生活中起着支配作用的无形的力量、自发的力量，而这种无形的力量、自发的力量受限制和受破坏的程度越大，给社会造成的恶果也就越大。[13]

哈耶克在这里所谈到的在社会经济生活中起支配作用的无形力量、自发力量，究竟是什么呢？通常被认为是对市场机制而言。市场调节是一只“无形之手”，在存在着交易活动的场合时时处处自发地起作用。这是哈耶克的原意。但这种理解似乎比较狭窄。在社会经济生活中起着支配作用的无形力量、自发力量，除了市场机制以外，还有习惯与道德力量。在市场调节出现之前固然如此，在市场调节出现之后也如此，特别是在非交易领域内，情况更加明显。那些有理想的政治家为了实现某种“理想社会”的模式而推行的改革措施，不仅破坏了市场机制这种无形力量、自发力量，而且也破坏了习惯与道德调节这种无形力量、自发力量，也就是破坏了习惯与道德力量所形成的文化传统。他们只相信个人的力量和政府的力量，也只依靠政府的力量，于是就硬性推行自己所信奉的那一套纲领，结果就导致社会秩序的混乱，甚至发生人民饿死、冻死、离乡背井、到处流浪的惨剧。这种例子在古今中外都是屡见不鲜的。

那么，为什么会发生这种情形呢？在哈耶克看来，这些政治家有一个共同的理论上的错误，就是把个人的意志看得高于一切，似乎自己就是救世主，就是人间的上帝，自己的所作所为就是“替天行道”。按照自己的意图来改变世界，被看成是天经地义。此外，他们还犯有把政府调节当做无所不能的错误，似乎政府的措施是医治“社会百病”（实际上其中有些不一定是“病症”）的法宝。在这些政治家的心目中，只要按自己的意图去做，政策措施严厉些，再严厉些，似乎就能给社会带来更好的生活，把平民百姓引入“天堂”。但是，尽管他们给了社会以“更好的生活”的许诺，却不了解他们不仅首先使社会为此付出极其高昂的代价，而且事后往往全部落空，并给社会留下了一大堆后遗症。这是因为，市场机制的被摒弃，特别是习惯与道德调节的被摒弃，给社会带来的是“更坏的生活”，是一场灾难。前面已经谈到社会经济生活在通常情况下包括交易领域和非交易领域两大部分，市场机制被摒弃后，实际上交易领域就不再存在了，交易领域已被人为地扭曲，从而变形为非交易领域了；习惯与道德调节被摒弃后，实际上非交易领域内的各种关系也被人为地扭曲了，甚至变形为虚伪的关系、矫揉造作的关系。这不是灾难

又是什么？

正因为“理想的社会”中往往带有空想的成分，而通过某些有理想的政治家的硬性贯彻会给社会带来一场意想不到的灾难，所以当我们提出道德重整和培育、树立良好的社会风尚时，立足点应当放在现实的分析上，宁可把问题看得艰巨些、复杂些，而不应简单化；宁可有一种长期的、渐进的设计，而不应操之过急；宁可把工作的重点放在用法律规范人们的行为，用教育来启迪人们，使更多的人能发自内心地认识到遵守社会道德的必要性，而不应试图通过行政措施来达到统一人们思想和规范人们行为的目的。尤其重要的是，我们应当朝着既使得人们在物质上能不断提高生活水平，又使得人们在精神上能不断得到满足和享受的方向前进，但不能规定未来的社会应当如何如何等具体的细节，这才是正确的思路。我在《社会主义政治经济学》一书中曾写下这样两段话，我把它们转引如下，我想这是很有意义的。

“一代人有一代人的历史使命。作为经济理论工作者，我们这一代要着重研究的，应是发展阶段的社会主义经济问题。”[14]

“如果我们不自量力，硬要为以后若干代的人们操心，去设计未来的社会经济发展和演变的细节，那只能使自己成为后人的笑柄。”[15]

7.4 Rule of Law, Democracy and Moral Renewal

7.4.1 Rule of Law and its Opposite

In discussing moral renewal in the real world, the argument between rule of law and rule of man immediately confronts us. Let us begin by asking what the essential nature of this argument is.

What is the opposite of rule of law: rule of man or rule of morality? Both positions have their proponents and both have arguments to justify their stance.

The argument of those who take the opposite to rule of law as being rule of man goes as follows: Under rule of law, everything goes by law, law is above everything, people are equal before law, law should be strictly followed, and violations of it must be punished. Under the rule of man, man's words are more powerful than law, and man is superior to law. Therefore, what we need is rule of law and not rule of man, which is its antithesis.

Those who think that the opposite of rule of law is rule of morality argue thus: Rule of law proceeds from the thesis that "man's nature is evil" whereas the basis of rule of morality is that "man's nature is good." Rule of law emphasizes deterrence and punishment, without which society cannot be peaceful and orderly. Therefore, under rule of law, law should be strictly followed, and violations of law must be punished. Rule of morality emphasizes moral influence and education. It values giving methodical and patient guidance and being tireless in teaching others so as to bring about social peace and order. Moreover, it can help every member of society become a person of high moral character. Hence, rule of law and rule of morality are opposites.

How, then, are we to view the arguments on rule of law, rule of man and rule of morality? Both positions have some sense to them, but careful scrutiny will reveal that both are partial and fail to make clear what the opposite of rule of law is.

To put it simply, the opposite of rule of law is actually non-rule-of-law. If rule of law requires strict observance of law, punishment of violations, and equality of all before, then non-rule-of-law means law need not be observed, violations can remain unpunished, and there is no equality before law. If there is something that tramples on law, then it is nothing else but non-rule-of-law.

Let us turn now to rule of man. Those who take rule of man as the opposite of rule of law actually treat rule of man as non-rule-of-law. The feature of non-rule-of-law is arbitrary rule, a feature it shares with rule of man. In this sense, it is not at all inappropriate to take rule of man as the opposite of rule of law. However, there can be another interpretation of rule of man, namely: Law is determined by and executed by man. If rule of man is not regarded as arbitrary rule or as trampling on law but as man determining and executing law and carrying out rule of law, then it is consistent with rule of law, not opposite to it. Those who disagree that rule of man is the opposite of rule of law interpret rule of man from this perspective precisely. They do not advocate arbitrary rule or replacing law by man's will; what they do emphasize is that rule of law cannot be implemented without man and that man's caliber is very significant to rule of law. Since there are two different understandings of rule of man, the argument over rule of law and rule of man will be interminable. If we define rule of man as non-rule-of-law, i.e., that rule of man is arbitrary rule and tramples on law, then there can be no more

argument.

Now let's discuss the understanding of rule of morality. The question of whether man's nature is evil or good has never been settled, and we can leave it aside here. It is partial to see rule of morality as the opposite of rule of law, because advocates of rule of law have never denied the role of moral education and neither have they denied the significance of legal restriction and punishment.

The argument over rule of law and rule of morality boils down to an argument over which of the two is "fundamental." The idea that "rule of law is fundamental" does not deny the role of moral education, so "rule of law is fundamental" actually means "rule of law is major and rule of morality is supplementary." "Rule of morality is fundamental" means "rule of morality is major and rule of law is supplementary." Since the argument boils down to which one is major and which supplementary, then the two cannot be called opposites.

In light of this, it is more realistic and convincing to take non-rule-of-law as the opposite of rule of law.

The long period of feudal rule in Chinese history was less rule of man than non-rule-of-law. The term non-rule-of-law can best reflect the nature of feudal rule. The imperial power was supreme, absolute and not to be profaned—a classic example of non-rule-of-law. If we insist that it was rule of man, this is the only way to interpret it: The so-called "rule of man" was no more than a cover for "rule of emperor" or "rule of monarch." In other words, only law that can restrict imperial power or the behavior of emperors themselves counts as law consistent with rule of law. More importantly, true rule of law that is worthy of the name means that law for restricting the highest authorities and the makers of law can be really carried out.

There is a specious argument to the effect that what Shang Yang, the famous reformer of ancient China, espoused was rule of law to replace rule of man, and that what the first emperor, Qinshihuang, implemented was also rule of law. Such argument is clearly wrong. In the state of Qin and the later Qin Dynasty and in an age when imperial power was paramount, how could they change the general situation of "rule of emperor" or "rule of monarch"? And was not "rule of emperor" or "rule of monarch" essentially rule of man? Considering Shang Yang's words and actions, without "rule of monarch" what could he achieve at that time? The so-called "rule of law under imperial power" or "rule of law under the rule of monarch" is far from same as true

rule of law. In my opinion, this is proven by the history of the state of Qin and later the Qin Dynasty and there is no point in wasting more words on it.

In feudal society, since rule of man means "rule of emperor" or "rule of monarch," then there was inevitably "rule of officials under imperial power." The officials ruled for the monarch, and if there was law to cite, the officials executed it on monarch's behalf. However, although law was made and executed by officials, since it was all done under the "rule of emperor," it was not something you could call "rule of law."

All in all, the concept of rule of man is itself somewhat hazy. The point that imperial power is supreme and greater than law puts it in the category of non-rule-of law rather than rule of man (unless rule of man is seen as synonymous with non-rule-of-law). After 1949, what existed in China, dominated by "old culture in new clothes," was not rule of man but non-rule-of-law. There can be no more accurate term than non-rule-of-law to describe the various arbitrary and law-trampling phenomena, such as the "anti-rightist," "anti-right deviation" movements and the Cultural Revolution. This being the case, why not just propose that "China should go from non-rule-of-law to rule of law" or "China must replace non-rule-of-law with rule of law"? Is this not more easily acceptable to the public than "going from rule of man to rule of law" or "replacing rule of man with rule of law"? Would that not cause less controversy or indeed none at all?

7.4.2 Not Every Legal Act Equates to Rule of Law

It is necessary to go deeper into rule of law.

In real life, the authority of law should be established and everything should be subordinated to law. But does any act done according to law equate to rule of law? Although we have discussed this question previously, we need to return to it. For example, in the 1930s, Hitler's coming to power was completely in line with the German constitution and once in charge he won unlimited powers, all of them legal. In the name of law he could and did have arrested, tried and convicted anyone opposed to him, anyone not supporting Nazi rule, or anyone he simply disliked. In terms of law itself, at least in the mid-and late-1930s, Hitler's behavior was still legal because he did it according to law. But does this allow the verdict that Germany practiced rule of law after Hitler took power? Clearly, we cannot draw the equals sign

between legal and rule of law, or between acting according to law and rule of law.

Wearing the hat of legality, some people can exploit existing law as a tool for autocracy or strongman politics. If there is no such law in reality, then it can be immediately made, passed and put into effect. Therefore, when there is legal basis to cite, autocracy or strongman politics can most definitely be dressed up in a cloak of legality. As to constitutional or legal articles unhelpful to autocracy or strongman politics, these can be amended through so-called legal procedures, thereby removing any contradiction to the principle of acting according to law. This shows autocratic rule may present itself as legal rule and strongman politics as law-based politics, both consistent with the principle of acting according to law. Instances of this are not rare at any time in history or in any country.

It becomes necessary, therefore, to elaborate on the true meaning of "rule of law" in a scientific way. An essential point is that law should be the product of democracy and also its guarantee. We should start by analyzing the essence of law. Only law as a product and guarantee of democracy can be used as the basis of rule of law. In situations when democracy is stripped away, even though law exists, there can be no rule of law worthy of the name. Therefore, in discussing what rule of law is, we must note: Laws themselves must be consistent with the democratic spirit and be made under the condition of democracy and their execution must have democratic supervision. Otherwise, although law does exist and affairs are handled according to law, it does not necessarily constitute rule of law.

Some might contend that since democracy is in a continual process of development and perfection and law is always made and executed in this process, it follows that there can never be such a thing as totally perfect law. As the situation changes and democracy improves, law will be amended, enriched and added to. And surely will this not influence the rule of law? As we know, even if democracy is an ongoing, developing and imperfect process, in a certain period and under certain conditions, law still can be the product and guarantee of democracy, which is a thing entirely different from destroying democracy and providing a cloak of legality for autocracy and strongman politics. The amending, enriching and supplementing of law can be conducted on the basis of democracy, which is something totally different from the autocratic behavior of forcible revision of law heedless of democracy.

Opinions such as "anything goes provided there's no law against it" are simply mocking rule of law and whitewashing autocracy and strongman politics in legal form. In China this is very likely the residual influence of feudalism in the political area. At the end of the 1980s, there was a wave of "new authoritarianism," which amounts to no more than a pirated version of "open absolutism." It took the cover of legality, and brandished the banner of rule of law but what it actually pushed forward was an improved version of autocracy, namely "new authoritarianism." Its appearance and the fact that it was actually commended by some at that time make us more alert to the need for democratic and legal construction and the relation between democracy and rule of law.

Democracy is a manifestation of the existence of order. It will never mean disorder. Rule of law is inseparable from democracy and without democracy there will be no rule of law. Under rule of law, no behavior of autocratic rule or so-called "open absolutism" that waves the banner of legality is allowed to exist. When "new authoritarianism" first appeared at the end of the 1980s, one pretext advanced by its proponents was that the current administrative organs were not efficient and the neo-authoritarian approach would improve efficiency. The excuse did not have a leg to stand on. One might ask how low efficiency in administration came about. It was the inevitable outcome of lack of democracy, lack of rule of law and lack of restriction and oversight mechanism on government stretching back for years. With no check-and-balance power on administrative organs, no inner self-restriction mechanism, and with government servants lacking self-discipline, the result is bound to be low or even negative efficiency. Therefore, in trying to improve administrative efficiency, we can never resort to methods destructive to democracy and rule of law, which is to say, the methods espoused by "new authoritarianism." Resort to such methods might seem to improve efficiency at the speed of lightning, but democracy, the basis of rule of law, will be destroyed. The seemingly high efficiency will be short-lived. Furthermore, the arbitrary, non-democratic and unscientific decision-making process will result in more serious loss of efficiency. For China at the present stage, democracy and rule of law are works in progress, gradually advancing, not halting, still less retreating. But what "new absolutism" advocated was "going into reverse," a movement against the tide of the age. It claimed to accelerate modernization, but if we were to follow it, modernization would remain beyond our reach. With democracy destroyed, rule of law could not

be achieved and we would be farther, not closer, from the goal of modernization.

7.4.3 Moral Renewal and the Building of Democracy

The formulation and execution of law cannot be separated from the role of people. If legislators lack democratic thinking and law-executors lack democratic style, it will be hard to achieve rule of law, so we cannot underestimate the role of people. Moreover, the public also need democratic thinking so they can understand the need to safeguard the dignity of law and the importance of observing it, and so they can supervise those who execute law. A precondition for realizing rule of law is public oversight. The extent of the role of the public in building democracy will be determined by how strong their awareness of rule of law and democracy is. The traditional idea of local officials being "parent officials" is a display of "standard old culture," and a mainstay of that culture's persistence.

Given the millennia-long dominance of feudal thinking, and the tenacity of old culture, it is unsurprising that cultivating democratic consciousness among the public is an uphill task in China. Another factor militating against realization of rule of law is the long-nurtured mentality of dependence on officials. The long-standing mindset reflects the long-enduring minor status of the public. For example, when an ordinary citizen is wronged by some administrative agency, he always hopes there will be an "impartial official" to uphold justice on his behalf, rehabilitate his reputation and punish the corrupt officials or those abusing law for personal benefit. Of course, one has to acknowledge that, in the absence of democracy, ordinary citizens had no choice and they cannot be blamed for having such a mindset. What should be held responsible is the system that made the public so insignificant.

Building democracy is a question of systems. To build a democratic system there needs to be effective reform of the political system, making the public real masters able to exercise their rights rather than being masters in name only. This goal cannot be realized overnight, but it is something we must strive hard toward. In this process, the public's democratic consciousness will gradually strengthen and their dependency on officials will eventually be overcome or eliminated. This brings us to an important task in moral renewal: Moral renewal should include the building of

democratic thought. More specifically, all should know how to exercise their rights, how to elect suitable persons as representatives of the people and be leaders of government agencies, how to remove incompetent representatives and leaders from office, and how to view and comment on politics, government measures, and the capability and achievements of government officials. Moral renewal can be complete and adequate only if such things come into its scope. How individuals nurture creativity and enterprise, how to build group consciousness, how to be self-disciplined, how to safeguard social, commercial and professional ethics, and how to stand up for right, etc., are all necessary, but if the scope of moral renewal went no further than this, it would not be helpful for building democracy, for promoting rule of law on the basis of democracy, let alone for turning a society or a whole country into one where rule of law holds sway.

As discussed above, the opposite of rule of law is non-rule-of-law, the features of which are monarchs and officials being higher than law, their behaviors contemptuous of law and the trampling of law. If moral renewal does not encompass the building of democratic thought or awareness of exercising one's rights, non-rule-of-law will not exit the stage of history of its own volition. Even in a society of non-rule-of-law, people might also have enterprise and creativity (albeit often frustrated), have self-discipline, know the importance of social ethics, stand up for right and enjoy helping others, but these cannot help realize rule of law. This tells us that an all-round understanding of moral renewal is necessary, one that does not exclude the building of democratic thought. When people have enterprise, creativity and dedication to the public weal, as well as democratic consciousness, courage to participate in and review government affairs and courage to exercise their right of supervision over government officials, the task of moral renewal shall be completed. All in all, in the environment of rule of law, law is not only the means for guaranteeing people's rights, but also the basis for restricting the power of the authorities.

肆　法治、民主与道德重整

一、法治的对立面是非法治

在讨论现实条件下的道德重整问题时，法治与人治之争自然而然地

会展现在我们面前。关于这场争论，我们不妨先研究一下：争论的实质究竟是什么？

法治的对立面是人治还是德治？有些人认为，法治是同人治相对立的，但也有些人说，法治的对立面应当是德治。各有各的论据，并且也都有一定的道理。

把人治作为法治的对立面的理由主要是：在法治之下，一切依法而行，法高于一切，法律面前人人平等，有法必依，违法必究；而在人治之下，人言大于法，人的行为可以凌驾于法律之上，于是法律便遭到了践踏。因此，要法治而不要人治，法治的对立面正是人治。

把德治作为法治的对立面的理由主要是：法治的出发点是“人性恶”，德治的出发点是“人性善”；由于法治从“性恶”出发，所以强调的是告诫，是处罚，非如此不足使社会安定、有序，所以要贯彻有法可依，有法必依，执法必严，违法必究的原则；由于德治从“性善”出发，所以强调的是道德感染与教化，是循循善诱，诲人不倦，从而不仅可以使社会安定、有序，而且可以使每个社会成员都成为道德高尚的人。因此，法治与德治是对立的。

怎样看待以上有关法治与人治以及法治与德治之争呢？正如我在本节一开始就说过的，主张法治与人治相对立和主张法治与德治相对立的人，都有一定的道理。然而，只要仔细地考察一下，那么不难发现，这两种主张都有片面性。它们全都没有说清楚法治的对立面应该是什么。

扼要地说，法治是与非法治对立的，非法治才是法律的对立面。如果说法治所要求的是一切依法而行，有法必依，违法必究，法律面前人人平等，那么非法治所表明的却是并非依法而行，有法可以不依，违法可以不究，法律面前也不是人人平等的。如果说是对法律的践踏，那么这恰恰是非法治，而不是其他。

下面，让我们转入对人治的理解。在上面提到的把人治作为法治的对立面的解释中，是把人治当做非法治来看待的。非法治的特征是治理的任意性，这也正是人治的特征。从这个意义上说，把法治与人治相对立，并无任何不妥之处。然而，对人治还可以有另一种理解，即法是由人制定的，并且由人来执行的。假定不是把人治理解为治理的随意性或理解为对法律的践踏，而是指要依靠人来制定法律和执行法律，靠人来贯彻法治，那么法治与这种理解的人治就是统一的，而不是对立的。某些不同意把法治与人治相对立的人正是从这个角度来理解人治的，他们也不赞成治理的任意性，不主张以个人的意志来代替法，他们所强调的只是法治离不开人和人的素质对于法治的重要意义。既然对人治可能有前一种理解，又可能有后一种理解，所以人治与法治之争总是没完没了。如果明确地把人治定义为非法治，即人治是指治理的任意性和对法

律的践踏，那就不会有争议了。

再看看关于德治的理解。“人性善”还是“人性恶”，这是一个长期未能解决的问题，在这里可以略去不谈。把法治与德治相对立，看来是不全面的。这是因为，主张法治的人并不否定道德教化的作用；主张德治的人也并不否定法律约束与制裁的意义。法治与德治之争可以归结为“以法治为本”还是“以德治为本”之争。“以法治为本”并不排斥道德教化的作用，所以“以法治为本”实际上是“法治为主，德治为辅”，而“以德治为本”实际上是“德治为主，法治为辅”。既然法治与德治之争最终归结为孰主孰辅之争，那就谈不上法治以德治为对立面或德治以法治为对立面了。

由此看来，还是把法治的对立面看成是非法治，更符合实际，也更有说服力。

中国历史上长期的封建统治，与其说是人治，不如说是非法治。用非法治来反映封建统治的本质，是最准确不过的。皇权至高无上，皇权是绝对的、不容亵渎的，这是典型的非法治。如果一定要把这说成是人治，那么只能这样理解：所谓人治无非是“皇治”、“君治”的遮羞布。换言之，只有能够限制皇权或皇帝本人行为的法律，才是符合法治原则的法律。更重要的是，只有能够限制最高统治者权力和能够制约法律制定者行为的法律真正得以实施，这才是名副其实的法治。

有一种似是而非的论点是：商鞅推行的是法治，以代替人治；秦始皇实施的是法治，以法治国。这种论点显然是不妥当的。在皇权高于一切的秦国、秦朝，怎么可能摆脱“皇治”、“君治”的大格局？而“皇治”、“君治”实质上不仍然是人治吗？即以商鞅的所言所行来看，离开“君治”，他能有什么作为？所谓“皇权之下的法治”、“君治之下的法治”，同真正的法治相差很远很远，我想这已被秦国、秦朝的历史所证实，用不着再赘言了。

在封建时代，人治既然是“皇治”、“君治”，那么，就必然会有“皇权之下的官治”。官是代表君主来统治的。如果有法律可援引，那么官是代表君主来执法的。这时，尽管已制定了法，并由官来执行，但都处于“皇治”之下，从而也就谈不上什么法治。

总之，人治的概念本身是不清楚的。皇权至上，权大于法，这些只能被说成是非法治，很难用人治来表述（除非把人治看做非法治的同义词）。1949年以后在“改装的旧文化”的支配之下，存在于中国社会上的，与其说是人治，还不如说是非法治。用非法治来反映“反右”、“反右倾”、“文化大革命”以及各种治理的任意性和对法律践踏的现象，同样是最准确不过的。既然如此，何不直接地用“中国应由非法治走向法治”、“中国必须让法治取代非法治”之类的提法呢？这岂不比使用“由人

治走向法治”或“让法治取代人治”之类的提法更容易被公众所接受吗？岂不会较少地引起争议，甚至不会引起争议吗？

二、并非任何一种依法办事都等于法治

关于法治问题，有必要再作进一步的探讨。

在现实生活中应当建立法律的权威，唯法是从。但是不是任何依法办事都等于法治呢？这就需要认真思考了。关于这个问题，前面已经讨论过，现在不妨再简述一下。比如说，在20世纪30年代，希特勒上台执政是完全合乎德国宪法的，他上台后又根据法律获得了无限的权力。他对一切反对他的人、对纳粹统治有不同意见的人，以及他看不顺眼的人，都根据法律加以逮捕、审判、定罪。从法律本身而言，至少在20世纪30年代中期和后期，希特勒的所作所为仍属于合法的行为，因为他并没有不依法办事。但能够由此判断希特勒执政后的德国实行了法治吗？可见，合法与法治之间不能画等号，依法办事也不一定等于法治。

在合法的幌子下，有些人完全可以利用现有的法律作为推行专制统治或强人政治的手段。如果现实中还缺少这样的法律，那么并不排除可以立即制定它，通过它，让它早日生效。因此，实行专制统治或强人政治完全可以在有法律根据的情况下披上一种合法的外衣。至于原有的宪法或法律中有些不利于推行专制统治或强人政治的条件，那也可以按照法定的程序进行修改，这同样与依法办事是不矛盾的。这表明专制统治可以表现为合法的专制统治，强人政治可以表现为有法可依、依法办事的强人政治。中外历史上这样的事例并不罕见。

为此，就需要科学地阐明“法治”二字的真正含义。法应当是民主的产物，又是民主的保障，这是问题的关键。对于法治的含义，应当从法律的实质来着手分析，只有作为民主的产物并且又能保障民主的实施的法律，才能作为法治的依据。在剥夺了民主的场合，可以有法律，但不可能有名副其实的法治。因此，在讨论究竟什么是法治时，必须强调的是：法律本身必须符合民主的精神，而且是在民主的条件下制定的，法律的执行必须受到民主的监督，否则，即使有法可依和依法办事，也不一定就是法治。

也许有人会提出，民主是一个不断发展与日益完善的过程，法律总是在民主走向完善的过程中被制定和被执行的，任何时候都不可能有尽善尽美的法律。法律在经历一段时间之后，随着客观形势的变化，随着民主的不断发展与日益完善，将被修改、充实和补充。这样，法治不就受到影响了吗？这种疑问是可以解释清楚的。要知道，即使民主有一个

发展与完善的过程，但这并不妨碍在一定的时期和一定的条件下，法律仍然可以是民主的产物并成为民主的保障，这同破坏民主来为专制统治和强人政治制造合法外衣根本不是一回事。法律的修改、充实、补充也完全可以在民主的基础上进行，这同置民主于不顾的强行修改法律的专制行为根本不是一回事。

那种认为“只要合法就什么都可以干”的主张，无非是对法治的嘲弄和对合法形式下的专制统治、强人政治的粉饰。在中国，这很可能是政治领域内封建主义影响的表现。20世纪80年代末在中国曾经热闹过一阵子的“新权威主义”，戳穿了无非是所谓“开明专制主义”的翻版。“新权威主义”未尝不可以接过合法的外衣，打着法治的旗号，而推行的却是改良的专制统治，即“开明专制”。“新权威主义”的出现及其在当时居然还得到了一些人的赞赏，使我们更加懂得了民主与法制建设的必要性，以及民主与法治两者之间的关系。

民主是有序的表现，民主绝不等于无序。法治同民主是不可分割的。没有民主，就没有法治。所以法治条件下，绝不容许也绝不可能存在任何打着合法旗号的专制统治或所谓“开明专制”的行为。20世纪80年代末，当“新权威主义”刚出现时，鼓吹“新权威主义”的人的借口之一是目前的行政机构缺乏效率，推行“新权威主义”据说正是为了提高行政效率。这个理由是站不住脚的。试问，现实生活中的行政缺乏效率是怎样产生的？这正是多年以来缺乏民主、缺乏法治、缺乏对政府的约束与监督机制的必然结果。多年以来，对行政部门缺乏制衡力量，而行政部门自己又没有约束机制，行政部门的工作人员也缺乏自律，于是低效率就难以避免，甚至还可能产生负效率。因此，要消除行政低效率或负效率，决不能依靠破坏民主、破坏法治的办法，即“新权威主义”所主张的那些办法。如果那样，一段时间内表面上似乎雷厉风行，办事效率可能提高，但由于法治的基础——民主——被破坏了，表面上的高效率不但不可能持久，而且更可能的是由于独断独行，决策不民主、不科学，从而造成更大的负效率。对中国现阶段来说，民主是渐进的过程，法治也是渐进的，渐进毕竟是“进”，既不是“停”，更不是“退”。“新权威主义”的主张却是倒退，是逆时代潮流而动的。“新权威主义”声称要加速现代化的来临。其实，按照“新权威主义”的主张去做，现代化目标根本无法实现，因为民主被破坏了，法治实现不了，同现代化目标的距离只可能越来越远而不可能缩小。

三、道德重整与民主建设

前面已经谈到，法律的制定和执行都离不开人的作用。制定法律的人如果缺乏民主思想，执行法律的人如果缺乏民主作风，那么法治就很难实现，因此人的作用是不可低估的。不仅如此，公众同样需要有民主思想，只有这样，他们才知道维护法律尊严的必要，才知道守法的必要，也只有这样，他们才能对执政者进行监督。监督来自公众，这是实现法治的必要条件。公众在民主建设中的作用的大小，取决于公众自身的法治观念与民主意识的强弱。那种把地方政府官员称做“父母官”的传统思想，是“标准的旧文化”的表现，也是“标准的旧文化”得以延续的支柱。

法治之所以不易实现，除了公众的民主意识不易确立而外（这是可以理解的，因为在中国这块土地上，封建思想毕竟统治了这么多年，旧文化不易清除），还同公众长期养成的一种对官员的依赖思想有关。公众对官员的依赖思想由来已久，这正是长期以来公众被置于无足轻重的地位的反映。比如说，一个普通老百姓在受到行政部门的不公平对待时，总希望有一位“青天”出来主持正义，为自己平反并惩办贪官污吏或徇私枉法者。应该承认，在缺乏民主的条件下，普通老百姓也只好如此，这不能责怪他们有这样或那样的依赖思想，而只能责怪那种把公众置于无足轻重的地位的制度。

民主建设是一个制度问题。要建立民主制度，需要进行有效的政治体制改革，让人民不再是名义上的主人，而要成为真正行使自己权利的主人。尽管这不是迅速就能实现的，但我们必须朝这个方向努力去做。在这个过程中，人民自身的民主意识应逐渐增强，对官员的依赖思想也将被克服、被消除。于是就涉及道德重整方面的一项重要内容，这就是：道德重整应包括民主思想的建立，包括人人懂得如何行使自己的权利，选举能为人民服务的人担任人民代表和政府部门的负责人，罢免一切不称职的人民代表和政府部门的负责人；还包括懂得如何评论政治，评论政府的措施，评论政府官员的能力和政绩。把这些内容列入道德重整的范围内，道德重整才是全面的、充分的；否则，假定道德重整只包含个人如何培育进取精神和创业精神，如何树立群体观念，如何自律，如何维护社会公德、商业道德、职业道德，以及如何见义勇为、助人为乐等等，尽管这是必要的，但却无助于民主建设的进展，无助于在民主的基础上推进法治，并使得法治社会、法治国家的设计得以实现。

前面已经指出，法治的对立面是非法治，非法治的特征是君大于法、官大于法，个人的行为可以凌驾于法治之上，法律遭到践踏。如果道德重整中不包含民主思想的建立，不包含公民行使自己权利的观念的确立，那么非法治的格局是不会自动退出历史舞台的。而在非法治的条件下，人们也可以有进取精神和创业精神（尽管它们会受到挫折），有

自律，有注重社会公德的表现，并且也会有见义勇为、助人为乐的行为等等，但法治却不可能因此而实现。这就告诉我们，对道德重整必须有全面的理解，不能把民主思想的建立排除在外。只有既使人们树立进取精神、创业精神、为公益事业做奉献的精神，又使人们建立民主意识，勇于议政参政，敢于行使自己对政府官员进行监督的权利，才可以称做实现了道德重整的任务。总之，在法治环境中，法律不仅是保障权利的手段，而且是限制权力的依据。

7.5 Rebuilding Social Trust

7.5.1. The Need to Rebuild Social Trust: From the Perspective of Enterprise Survival and Development

In a market economy, enterprises of all types of ownership (private, state-owned or whatever form) are the blood cells of the economy and should be based on integrity: No enterprise can survive or develop without the trust of its investors, clients and other enterprises in the same trade.

In the traded sector, every enterprise has the status of a trader. The enterprise-to-enterprise relation is one of trader-to-trader, as is that between enterprise and clients. Even the enterprise-to-investor relation can be seen as trader-to-trader. When the credibility of an enterprise is gone or weakened, this relationship may loosen to breaking point. A classic example could be found in a long existing partnership business. In this organizational form, partners shoulder unlimited and joint liability, so there must be complete trust between them. Otherwise, who would be willing to shoulder the other partners' liabilities? Without this trust, partnership enterprises would hardly survive. For the widely existing limited liability companies or corporations, credibility is also very important. Whether the shareholders trust the corporation depends on whether the board exercises its right to examine the corporation's operation performance and profit allocation plan and all its important actions such as capital growth, issuing of shares, mergers, staff movement and dismissal, liquidation, etc. Top executives of limited liability companies or corporations must earn the trust of shareholders in order to stay in post, and companies must earn the trust of investors in order to enjoy sound growth.

In day-to-day business, a credibility crisis might arise for many different

reasons: The producing or selling of shoddy or fake products will make clients lose confidence in the enterprise; late payment for goods or services or tardy repayment of bank loans will damage its credibility; unilaterally scrapping a contract to the detriment of the other party will result in collaborators and clients losing trust in the enterprise. Such practices as false accounting, misleading advertising, or release of inaccurate information will cause an enterprise's credibility to fall and to stir up opposition from other businesses in the same line. An enterprise with a bad reputation will lose potential for growth.

According to modern economics, for an enterprise to survive and grow, it needs material, human and social capital. Material capital includes factory buildings, machinery equipment, raw materials, spares and accessories, energy supply, etc. Human capital is embodied in the skills, knowledge, wisdom, experience and perseverance of the workers and management. Social capital refers to social relations, interpersonal communications, brands, and reputation that are conducive to the survival and growth of an enterprise. Social relations and interpersonal communication are built on a foundation of mutual trust. If an enterprise has a good reputation and trustworthy people at the top, other enterprises will be willing to trade or work with it. Without social capital, an enterprise will find it hard to grow, even if its material capital is plentiful and of good quality. Such an enterprise will be isolated in the commercial world; business opportunities and new markets will come hard.

Some enterprises or their top executives are actually aware that their lack of credibility will lead to the enterprise getting into dire trouble and damage to their personal reputation, so why do they persist in producing shoddy or even fake products, delay payments owed, make empty advertising claims and cheat customers? One reason is the temptation of personal gain and the other is the "trusting to luck mentality." The former is the basic reason whereas the latter encourages risk-taking in the belief that things will remain undiscovered and the pay-off is worth the gamble. This mindset is dangerous and can lead into serious error.

In fact, every enterprise and every enterprise leader faces a legal bottom line and a moral bottom line, neither of which can be overstepped. Overstepping a legal bottom line is not allowed by the law and doing so makes the enterprise and its leaders legally liable for the consequences. Similarly, the moral bottom line cannot be ignored. On some occasions they

may overstep both, but on others perhaps they engage in "edge ball," only overstepping the moral line whilst staying within the law. This is not right either. An enterprise and its leaders must be aware that they must violate neither the legal bottom line nor the moral one. Things that legal provisions do not allow are definitely forbidden, and crossing the moral bottom line should similarly be forbidden. They should remember that observing these co-existing restraints is the only way to maintain credibility and win public trust. In the Ming and Qing dynasties, one of the most important reasons for the enduring prosperity of merchants from Anhui and Shanxi was their ability to discipline themselves with Confucian teachings, thus remaining trustworthy and honest in business.

Such transgressions as outlined above are not the monopoly of private enterprises or their leaders: State-owned enterprises and their leaders have been known to take such risks. The temptation of personal benefit refers not only to monetary gain, also to promotion and increased salary and other rewards. Promotion is especially attractive for leaders of state-owned enterprises. Lured by such prospects, they may manage to increase the output value and profit of the enterprises even at the cost of their credibility. In other words, some state-owned enterprises will also risk breaking legal and moral restrictions and doing things that are injurious to their reputation.

One reason for this "taking a chance and trusting to luck" is the belief that their behavior will remain undiscovered and unexposed. The second reason is that even if they are exposed and punished, the punishment is usually very light, so, calculating that "the benefits outweigh the costs," the enterprises think the risk worthwhile. In other words, if their violation of rules and laws succeeds, they gain a great deal personally, and if their wrongdoing is discovered and punished, they pay too small a price, and so such violation goes on despite being forbidden. What's worse, in the case of leaders of state-owned enterprises, the fine is usually paid by the enterprises, so the leaders don't consider themselves as actually having a real loss.

What the foregoing tells us is that "the benefits outweigh the cost" situation must be eliminated, and that punishment should be severe; moreover, the punishment should fall specifically and personally on those responsible, so they will no longer take irresponsible chances.

To build trust between enterprises in the same line, we must strengthen the role of industry associations. Apart from guiding production and operation and coordinating mutual help between enterprises, an industry

association should play a bigger role in promoting self-discipline and mutual discipline among its member enterprises. Both forms of discipline are means by which the association can help enterprises raise their legal and moral awareness. Only by enterprises practicing self-and mutual discipline, reminding, stimulating and supervising other enterprises in the same line can the overall credibility of that industry keep on growing. Within the scope of an industry association, all its member enterprises are equal regardless of ownership type, scale, capitalization or length of time in business. This facilitates the practice of mutual discipline. Self-discipline, including legal and moral restriction, of every member enterprise is voluntary, but whether and to what degree an enterprise has self-discipline is supervised by the industry association and other enterprises of the same trade. Oversight will help an enterprise to be more self-disciplined.

It should be pointed out that the social responsibility borne by an enterprise does not stop at supplying quality products and services, being progressive and innovative, and creating wealth and jobs: it also includes caring about public welfare, being ready to help the poor and adhering to the principle of trust, treating clients, public and traders in honest fashion. An enterprise that betrays society's trust, destroying its own credibility or even causing a crisis of social credibility cannot be said to be socially responsible.

Therefore, it is of real importance to propose "the necessity of rebuilding social trust from the perspective of the survival and development of enterprises." From the perspective of international economy, the subprime lending crisis that hit the USA in 2007–2008 and the consequent global financial crisis were intrinsically deep and broad credit crises and crises of social credibility. The long-term low bank interest rate caused investors to endlessly expand their profit-seeking behavior. The unchecked spread of financial derivatives made the financial bubble more and more fragile and the quality of loans worsened by the day. Under the impact of company bankruptcies and bank failures the credit system collapsed. People lost their belief in banks and other financial bodies; neither did they trust agreements and contracts with trading partners. For those reasons, as the global financial crisis continued, its impact on the real economy became more and more evident; it even started to influence consumer attitudes and behavior in the West, which in turn may have far-reaching influence on Western society. The exposure of problems in powdered milk, liquor, rice, pork, soy sauce, duck eggs, salt, etc. has caused worries over food safety. For example, although

only a few brands of milk powder were actually involved, the exposure influenced the reputations and sales of all milk powder enterprises in China and there was a scramble to buy imported brands. If the government had taken no countermeasures, the crisis of credibility would have continued to deteriorate. Thus we can see the importance and urgency of reconstructing social trust.

Market order is maintained by social trust. An enterprise is supported by its own credibility. Consumers vote for an enterprise on the basis of their trust in its products. Aren't these persuasive enough arguments for the importance of self-discipline, mutual discipline and moral and legal restriction to the fate of enterprises and market prosperity?

7.5.2 The Need to Rebuild Social Trust: From the Perspective of Harmonious Interpersonal Relations

Everyone belongs to at least one group and, however large or small, it always consists of more than one person, and relations between people always involve the issue of trust. Trust is essential to the survival of a group or the maintenance of interpersonal relations.. Without trust, there will be no harmonious interpersonal relations, no social organizations or even no society.

Trading activities can only be launched on the premise of trust. Everything that happens between traders—the buying and selling of goods and services, hiring and being hired, the lending of money, renting or transfer of real estate, extending credit, insurance, entrusted agency, etc.—starts from the premise of mutual trust. Similarly, mutual trust is a precondition for cooperation between traders, such as co-investing to establish or purchase an enterprise, joint research and development of a project, discussing segmentation and coordination of market share, distribution of benefits, united action against another trader, or employees preparing united action to demand more from employers. Only with trust can they reach an agreement or a tacit understanding. If they doubt each other, their cooperation or trade will struggle to continue.

As previously stated, in social life, the non-traded sector is often much larger than the traded sector. In the non-traded sector, relations such as ties among families, clansmen, neighbors, townsmen, schoolmates or teachers-

and-students are not based on trading rules, but trust is essential here too. Without it, these relationships will be harmed. For the basic order and stable life of a group as small as a family, a village or a residential block, the building of social trust is essential. Money is also involved between neighbors, townsmen or schoolmates but, unlike the market, it does not follow rules of trade. For example, if someone urgently needs to borrow money from neighbors, relatives or friends, must they first negotiate, write an IOU, fix a rate of interest and make pledges? This is usually not the case, because they rely on mutual trust. If there is no mutual trust between a childless couple, how long will their marriage last? A couple without trust will break up sooner or later.

Interpersonal relations should be harmonious, and harmony must be based on mutual trust. People need to cooperate and cooperative relations are not purely about benefits: They are first and foremost a requirement of social exchange, i.e., everyone is willing to cooperate with others in the interest of survival, overcoming difficulties, and common development. You want to cooperate with others and them with you. Seen in this light, trust is an intrinsic need: it comes from within.

So we can distinguish two different scenarios: cooperation based on trust and trust based on cooperation. The former is the more important.

Let's start with the life and work of the earliest human beings. In remote antiquity, people had to trust each other in order to survive. Without market and government, people gathered and formed a group with the same aim: to survive in the extremely hard environment. "You survive, I survive and we all survive" was the moral foundation that gave birth to trust. Otherwise how could an individual find enough food by himself, or defend himself against wild beasts? How could he survive cold winters, snowstorms, forest fires and floods? Just take hunting for example. Without working together what success could be expected? Cooperation was indispensable: once there was trust there could be trust-based cooperation.

As humans made more and more contact over a greater range of activities, groups became more populous, group-to-group contacts became more frequent, as did communications between individuals. We cannot say mutual trust had emerged between the members of one group and those of another, or between their respective leaders, but the need for cooperation between groups did emerge naturally. For instance, if one's own group was attacked by another coming to steal property, abduct people and occupy land

it had to cooperate with other groups to resist the enemy. In such cases, the need for cooperation was usually put first. But in such cases, perhaps their cooperation was based on pre-existing mutual trust, built up in the course of previous dealings. An alternative is that there had been little previous contact and the groups had not built up any mutual trust, but that this emerged gradually, resulting from their necessary cooperation to resist the incursions. This is cooperation-based trust.

As interpersonal relations expand over a wider field, there is a concomitant increase in people-to-people contact and cooperation in non-traded sector. It is not possible to confine one's dealings and cooperation to old friends: such things will inevitably involve new people. Therefore trust-based cooperation and cooperation-based trust actually co-exist. Trust is absolutely essential to both. Without it there can be no cooperation and even if there has been in the past, it will be short-lived.

In a group, big or small, organized or non-organized, consultation and election among members complement each other; this is a precondition for the stability and development of the group. Election is a form of democracy and consultation implies democracy. To recognize electoral democracy but deny consultative democracy is not right, but nor is the converse. In the development of human society, consultative democracy has a much longer history than electoral. In remote antiquity, it was the first form of democracy, and with the subsequent emergence of election both forms were used. The consultative form could better ease the atmosphere and enable all sides to fully exchange ideas in search of a generally acceptable solution whilst retaining mutual trust and understanding. The use of election can be regarded as a result of consultation. Of course, this is not to discount the advantages and significance of election: but if there was only electoral democracy and nothing else, the results, on the principle of "the minority subordinate to the majority," might be less satisfactory than those combining the two types.

We have learned that in history, in the handling of group internal affairs and external dealings with other groups, the main principle was consultation. Election was used only when it was necessary to make, modify or abolish regulations and conventions in a group, when it was to elect or dismiss a leader or a major functionary of a group, when a group was to sign or end a contract with other groups or when it was to leave an organization formed with one or more other groups. But usually in such cases consultative and electoral democracy were used in tandem.

In handling interpersonal relations, both these democratic forms are products of civilization passed down over thousands and thousands of years. Each historical period had its own particularities, and each nationality and country used both, as determined by its own customs. There was no uniformity, but the common foundation was mutual trust. That the group and its members should have a moral bottom line was a necessary condition for the normal running of consultative and electoral democracy.

Actually, interpersonal relations in the non-traded sector encompass much more than consultation and election. Trust is also a basic element for forming harmonious interpersonal relations in these sectors. For example, within a family, if a child is forced by the parents to marry someone against his or her personal choice he or she may leave home and perhaps even commit suicide. Trust in the parents has been lost. In a clan, if bullying elders hog common clan properties or take advantage of the weak, the clan members will rise in resistance, no longer trusting the elders. If someone, disregarding honor, cheats, extorts or entraps others, he will cut himself off from his friends, colleagues and neighbors, who will find him loathsome. If someone inside an academic group is exposed for plagiarism or faking data, he will be ostracized, because no one trusts him anymore; if the academic group allows such things to go unchecked, its reputation will be seriously damaged and fewer people will want to join in it. Clearly, the importance of trust or mutual trust in non-traded sector, and the consequences of their loss are no less considerable than in the traded sector.

In conclusion, the issue of social trust crops up everywhere. In the traded sector, if society has lost trust, the market will be in disorder, the traders will not be sure of their goals, cash trading will replace trading on credit, barter trade may even replace trade by cash, and human society will go back to the primitive stage. This is not to be contemplated. The consequences would be even more pronounced in the non-traded sector. If society no longer had trust, no one would trust or be trusted. All interpersonal relations would fall apart and all social organizations collapse. Could such a society still enjoy stability and development?

7.5.3 The Need to Improve Government Credibility

The building of social trust is a process, one in which interpersonal

contacts and enterprise-to-enterprise trading activities are begun and expanded through the constant accumulation of trust. As a behavioral agent, government has contact with the public and enterprises at every moment, which also involves issues of mutual trust: The general public and enterprises trust the government and vice versa. Such mutual trust accumulates with time. If the behavioral agents, including the government, do not trust each other, society will be in disorder and the social ethos will deteriorate. Once again, we may analyze from the perspectives of the traded and the non-traded sectors.

Once people enter the traded sector, they act in the capacity as traders and according to the rules of these sectors while never crossing the legal and moral bottom lines. Government, as one of the behavioral agents, is no exception. For example, as a purchaser, government needs to buy all kinds of products and services from enterprises. Government and the enterprise, as buyer and seller respectively, should trade in accordance with relevant laws, rules and regulations and on the principle of trust. To give a further example, in land transactions, there is a supply-demand relationship between government (the supply party) and the realtor (the demand party). The latter gets land by following certain laws, rules and regulations. Trust between the two parties is, as ever, the norm to be observed. There is no exception for government. In the traded sector, sellers and purchasers are equal, and whether it is buyer or seller, government cannot ride roughshod over the other party. Only when both sides are equal and both follow the rules of these sectors can they build mutual trust.

In the non-traded sector the situation is somewhat more complex. In addition to person-to-person contact, clan-to-clan contact, relations within clans or within various social groups, there are also relations between government and communities, social groups, clans, families and individuals. For example, when an individual pays tax to government or its affiliated department, this is not a trading relation between seller and purchaser. Nor is it a trading relation when the government and its affiliated departments are required to aid natural disaster victims, orphans and low-income families. As to the role performed by legislation and security departments in handling disputes among the public, this is even less of a trading relationship. In spite of this, government or its affiliated departments must be trustworthy, build mutual trust with the people concerned, and never violate laws, rules or regulations in the course of their duties.

Then how does government win trust from the public and enterprises in traded as well as non-traded sector? How is mutual trust between them established? Such questions exist even in autocratic societies. When China was under autocratic rule, imperial power was paramount and subjects were absolutely subordinate to the royal court. But it is evident from the importance attached to the imperial examination system during the Ming and Qing dynasties and the severe punishment meted out to violators of the system that imperial power of that time always tried to ensure the fairness and impartiality of the examination. Why so? It was to safeguard credibility of the imperial power among the public. If this was diminished, the strength of imperial power would be threatened. For another example: why did Chinese imperial power throughout the ages always honor "clean officials"? This too was for strengthening popular trust in the royal court, because for the common people a "clean official" was a measure of imperial credibility. Under democratic systems in capitalist and socialist countries alike, society is turning more attention to popular trust in government An important distinction between democratic and autocratic systems is that under the former, the public and enterprises have many more free choices: If unrequired in one place, they can go elsewhere; they can migrate between cities and even between countries; they can change occupations; investors can withdraw their investment or switch it to a different sector. The general public and enterprises also have more channels for complaint or expressing a personal view, criticizing the behavior of responsible departments, including exposing bribery and perversion of justice among government organs and staff. So, for government to maintain popular credibility is a tougher task than in the past. The forcefully executed measures habitually resorted to under autocratic systems such as blocking information or suppressing public opinion, have already lost their base under democratic systems.

In other words, under a democratic system, because the public and enterprises have freedom to choose, the government has to find more ways to increase its credibility to suit the new situation. This is exactly what distinguishes a society with rule of law from a non-rule-of-law society. For example, in the traded sector, whether the government engages in the capacity of seller, purchaser or joint investor, it must observe laws, rules and contracts. Only thus can it be trusted by the other party to the trade or the co-investor. At pre-contract stage the other party can take into account the government's track record in fulfilling commitments and on the basis of this

decide whether to sign the contract or to withdraw. If the contract has been signed and the trade is underway to the detriment of the other party, then, once bitten twice shy, it will not cooperate with government again. If the government does not comply with the contract or fulfill its promises, it is destroying its own credibility and will hardly be trusted by the public and enterprises. In the traded sector, both parties are equal: both parties are free agents in the choice and neither should cross the legal and moral bottom lines.

In the non-traded sector, the role of the government is special: It usually appears in the capacity of manager and servant of public affairs and not as a trader. In such cases, to keep and improve its public credibility, the foremost issue is positioning itself correctly, not the observance of trading rules or similar. In traded sector, although the government can be a trading party or a joint investor, it is at the same time the manager and servant of public affairs. Irrespective of whether both or just one of the trading parties are enterprises, the government still plays that public affairs role. Therefore, in the non-traded sector, if the government wants to maintain and improve its credibility, its priority should be to fulfill that role in a way that wins it public trust. If government staff abuse their power, show partiality to some and treat others unfairly, engage in cover-ups and cheat the public, and if they exploit their positions of authority, break the law and cross legal and moral bottom lines for personal gain, this will drag down public trust in government.

In both sectors under discussion, government credibility is something that builds up gradually, but can be destroyed in an instant. Just like a big dam, it has to be built, maintained and reinforced over a long time, but it is vulnerable to sudden collapse after a huge storm and deluge. The government should keep alert to this, be vigilant and never let such disaster strike its credibility.

To improve government credibility with the public, these four aspects will need to be tackled:

One: Although laws, regulations and policies are not necessarily perfect in their new-born form, they are still better than none at all. A situation devoid of laws and policies will make government staff more casual in managing public affairs and thus government credibility will decrease. Of course, laws, regulations and policies should be made as scientific and rational as possible and take into account the opinions of experts, scholars, experienced civil servants and representatives of the public. Once put into

effect, the government should try by various methods to monitor how they are being implemented, discover problems and defects and revise them according to official procedures. But before revising, one should protect the stability of laws, regulations and policies and not change them casually; such an approach will damage government credibility.

Two: Government staff must become more integrity-conscious. This is because they directly handle public affairs and, being at the interface of public and government, represent its image. Low credibility is in many cases caused by government staff failing to handle affairs according to law, ignoring policies or being untrustworthy. And corrupt behaviors like gaining personal benefits by abusing power, receiving and even extorting bribes are even more deadly to government credibility. Therefore, there must be a mechanism to supervise government staff and to keep them clean and just, so as to safeguard their own image and that of the government.

Three: In a time when China is still in transition between the planned and the market economy and further reform is needed, it is necessary to combine efforts to raise government credibility with efforts to deepen system reform, since measures for handling public affairs under the planned system are not suitable for the market economy. In the traded sector, once power gets involved in trade, there will be rent-seeking, a phenomenon very liable to emerge in the economic transition. This is because the formulation and allocation of quotas, prevalent under the planned system, often came about through the manipulation of power and provided a hotbed for rent-seeking. In the transitional period, the quota system lingers on in some industries, so the double-track system becomes a feature of this period, one that can also give rise to rent-seeking. All these make the public more suspicious of government. In the non-traded sector, because the supply of some public products often does not meet demand, when supply and demand are under stress, the competent departments and government staff may use their power to intervene. Some recent frequent examples in China are parents competing for places at the choicest kindergartens, primary and middle schools for their children, patients competing for their preferred hospitals and doctors, applicants for affordable housing demanding decent locations, etc. Thus, deeper system reform is necessary in the traded and the non-traded sector alike. The persistence in the traded sector of quotas, government procurement, double-track and industrial monopoly systems has a great deal to do with the imperfections of system reform. In the non-traded sector the

question of fairness in supply and distribution of public goods can be resolved only through deeper system reform. In light of this, system reform is very pertinent to government credibility.

Four: Since modern economy is a credit economy, government as one of its behavioral agents must be credible and trustworthy both in the trade and non-traded sector. However, a modern economic system as a credit-based system cannot be perfected with sole reliance on a certain kind of behavioral agent. In this kind of social credit system, the government is not only a trader but an administrator and servant of public affairs. As such, it is responsible for helping advance the establishment of social credit, which will in turn help improve mutual trust between government, the public and enterprises. In other words, building a social credit system is a measure for improving government credibility.

What is a social credit system, how does one build it and where can government play a role? We will discuss these questions in the next part.

7.5.4 Building a Social Credit System

There are three main aspects of social credit: individual credit, intermediary agency credit and enterprise credit. Individual credit means: In a credit society and credit economy, the credit of an individual as a member of society and trader in the market should be known by others and the intermediary agencies before he can have dealings with others or be accepted by other parties to the trade. To build a social credit system, a suitable individual credit rating system and the compiling of individual credit records are both necessary.

Credit of intermediary agency credit: Intermediary agencies engaged in credit surveys, credit collection, credit information, credit evaluation and credit guarantee, etc., also face questions of credibility. Are they themselves credible, fair and just, are their ratings authoritative, and are their responsibilities as important as their powers? If banks, insurance companies, securities companies, or loan and trust companies have departments for collecting data on individual or enterprise credit, they should come under the intermediary agency credit system.

Enterprise credit: Apart from intermediary agency credit, all enterprises including insurance companies, securities companies, and loan and trust

companies, face questions of credibility. As regards an enterprise, the true situation of its assets, balance sheet, ability to repay, profitability, reputation and credit management are all of concern to society. Financial enterprises face special issues in addition to the above listed questions of credibility: for example bank risk in lending to enterprises, in issuing credit cards, of granting personal loans, the possible impact of international finance and risk resilience. All of the above concern society.

Therefore, a social credit system is actually a tripartite one that comprises individual credit system, intermediary agency credit system and enterprise credit system. One opinion holds that the scope of the intermediary agency credit system should be expanded to encompass asset evaluation agencies, accounting firms, auditing offices, law firms, etc., since their business also involves credit evaluation and one of their outputs is to clearly show society the credit status of some individuals and enterprises. Therefore, the credibility of these agencies themselves is very important. Otherwise, how much trust can one have in the output of an intermediary agency that is itself non-credible?

So, what should be the government role in building a social credit system? Should the credit of the government itself be included? These are questions of a different order and we shall discuss them separately.

The first question: What should be the government role in building a social credit system? There are four aspects to this: Firstly, it is expected to provide a sound legal environment for the building of this system, so that individual, intermediary agency and enterprise credit systems all have laws or rules to follow. Secondly, it is expected to provide technical support for the building of such a system. In particular, the building of a credit database should be accelerated with government support. That is to say, it is far from enough for the intermediary credit agencies alone to concern themselves with the building of a credit database, so government must play a leading role and help to realize the sharing of information resources by the whole society. Thirdly, the government should be a role model, improving the credibility of its staff and itself, spurring all practitioners of credit business to improve their own credibility and stick to legal and moral bottom lines, thereby increasing mutual trust between themselves and the public. Fourthly, the government should put more effort into the administration of social credit, especially the credit status of intermediary credit agencies and of enterprises. The role of the government in this respect is irreplaceable by any social group(including

industry associations), because the credit information relating to an enterprise is widely dispersed among banks, tax, customs, quality supervision, justice and business administration departments, etc. It is hard to learn or to make a realistic evaluation of an enterprise's credit standing without combining the information from all departments and making a holistic analysis. No intermediary credit agency has the same competency as government to undertake such a role. After all, the credit status of such agencies is also under the administration of relevant government departments.

The next question: Should the credit of the government itself be included in this system? We will approach it from two angles.

One angle is: The credit of the government is the credit of the country. To maintain the country's credit the government must have the trust of its own people plus the trust of other countries and international organizations. But these things are not what the social credit system is intended to solve. In terms of technology, we can rely on intermediary credit agencies to assess the credit of enterprises; we can rely on government departments to integrate information and administer the credit status of enterprises and evaluations by intermediary agencies; we can also evaluate the credit status of enterprises and intermediary credit agencies on the basis of certain criteria. But how are we to rate government credit? Are intermediary credit agencies competent to do this job? What criteria can they adopt as quantitative measures? Would their evaluation have any validity? This is a tough and as yet unsolved question that requires further study. If foreign rating agencies produced evaluations of China's national credit, what degree of credibility would the results show?

The other angle is this: The credit of individual government staff cannot be taken as representative of the whole country, nor can the credit of a local government be taken as representative of the country and the central government. The reason is simple: Individual government employees conduct themselves differently: some are honest and clean in performance of their official duties, whereas some violate laws and regulations, take bribes or are derelict in their duties. The latter types will be deemed as harming the government image, and if they work in agencies relating to foreign affairs they will be deemed as harming the national image, but this is not the same thing as the credit status of a country or a government. Furthermore, the behaviors of local governments (from provincial and municipal to county and town) such as breaking contracts and refusing to repay debts will harm the

image of these governments. If those behaviors involve the interests of foreign businessmen, they will harm the national image: but they do not equate to the credit status of a country, either, since the credit of any local government cannot be taken as representing that of the central government and the whole country.

Of course, the behavior of government employees should be checked and supervised so that they will not do anything injurious to the government image. Local government behaviors such as reneging on promises to domestic and foreign enterprises should be given due attention and addressed according to law lest they harm the image of the government and the country. This is essential if government credibility and the national image are to be improved. If foreign businessmen dealing with specific government employees or negotiating with specific local governments encounter violations of law, untrustworthy behaviors and attempts to extort bribes, how can this not be detrimental to the national image?

Finally, one must analyze the role of trade associations in building a social credit system. Trade associations and chambers of commerce are intermediary organizations and can play a larger role in building a social credit system, such as promoting self-discipline and self-management of the trade, launching activities among enterprises in the same line involving mutual trust, mutual discipline, mutual protection and mutual loaning, etc., actively taking over some functions transferred from government and filling the gap left after the government role changes. When some or the majority of enterprises in a particular trade face losing credit for various reasons, the trade association or chamber of commerce can appeal on behalf of the trade and its members to protect their rights. At the same time, the rather rapid development of a trade and the constant emergence of new trades will encourage the establishment of new trade associations and chambers of commerce. The founding should be based on the principles of voluntary start-up, independent election of presidents, collection of funds and hiring of staff. All in all, by increasing the self-discipline of enterprises, supporting and encouraging the development of private enterprises, and improving the caliber of private entrepreneurs, trade associations can play a rather important role in building a complete social credit system.

伍　社会信任的重建

一、从企业的生存和发展看重建社会信任的必要

在市场条件下，企业（不管是什么所有制的和什么组织形式的企业）是经济的细胞，企业都应当以诚信为本。如果企业失去了投资人的信任，失去了客户的信任，失去了同行的信任，企业是不可能生存和发展的。

这是因为，在交易领域内，每一个企业都以交易者的身份出现。企业同企业之间的关系是交易者之间的关系，企业同客户之间的关系同样是交易者之间的关系。即使是企业同投资人之间的关系，也可以看做是交易者之间的关系。只要失去了信任，哪怕信任削弱了，这种交易关系就会淡化，直到断裂。最典型的例子就是从古代一直延续到现代的合伙制。合伙制作为一种企业组织形式，合伙人承担的是无限责任和连带责任，合伙人之间必须有充分的信任，否则谁愿意为合伙的伙伴承担无限连带责任？合伙制企业必定无法存在下去。广泛存在的有限责任制企业（如有限责任公司和股份有限公司），信任同样是十分重要的。以股东们对公司的信任来说，关键在于股东会是否履行了对公司的经营业绩和盈利分配方案的审查权，以及对公司增资、发行股票、合并、转让、解散和清算等重大事实的审查权。有限责任公司和股份有限公司的高层管理者必须取得股东们的信任，才能任职，公司必须取得投资者的信任，才能发展壮大。

在日常交易活动中，企业的信任危机可能来自各个不同方面。例如，某个企业生产或销售劣质产品，甚至假冒产品，从而失去客户的信任；某个企业拖延其他企业的货款不还，拖欠银行贷款不还，从而使诚信受到损失；某个企业单方毁约，使合同的另一方受损，从而也失去了合作者或客户的信任，等等。至于企业伪造账目，做虚假广告，或公布不准确的信息等，不仅诚信丧失，而且会遭到同行们的抵制，企业的声誉扫地，发展的空间也就失去了。

关于企业的生存和发展，现代经济学认为通常需要三种资本。一是物质资本。厂房、机器设备、原材料、零配件、能源供给等，都属于物质资本之列。二是人力资本。体现于劳动者和管理者身上的技能、知识、智慧、经验、毅力等，都包括在人力资本之中。三是社会资本。这里所指的社会资本，是指一种适合于企业生存和发展的社会关系、人际交往、品牌、信誉等。社会关系和人际交往是建立在相互信任的基础上的；品牌要靠信任来支撑；信誉是扩大人际交往和确立良好的社会关系的基石。企业和企业领导者的信誉好，其他企业愿意同该企业交易、合作；企业领导者个人信誉好，别人愿意同你交往，在你遇到困难时愿意伸出援助之手。这就是社会资本。任何一个企业如果缺少社会资本，即

使有较多、较好的物质资本，也难以发展。这样的企业在业界通常是孤立的。没有社会资本，企业很难找到商机，也很难开拓市场。

有些企业和企业领导人并不是不知道丧失信用和缺少社会信任会使企业陷入困境，使企业领导人身败名裂，但为什么还会从事生产和销售假冒伪劣产品、赖债不还、炮制虚假广告、欺骗客户等活动呢？这只能归结为以下两点：一是被私利所诱惑，二是存在侥幸心理。被私利所诱惑是根本性的，存在侥幸心理导致这些企业和企业领导人去冒险，认为这多半不会被发现，而在私利诱惑之下这样做还是值得的。所以任何人都不应心存侥幸，否则都会被侥幸心理所误导。

实际上，摆在每一个企业和每一位企业领导人面前的有两条底线，即法律底线和道德底线，这两条底线都是不能逾越的。越过了法律底线，当然为法律所不允许，企业和企业领导人无疑会承担由此产生的后果和相应的法律责任。但不能忽视的是还存在一条道德底线。在某些情况下，企业和企业领导人既越过了法律底线，又越过了道德底线；但在另一些情况下，企业和企业领导人可能使自己的所作所为并未越过法律底线（即所谓“打擦边球”的作为），但却越过了道德底线。这同样是不对的。企业和企业领导人必须有如下的认识：不仅不能触犯法律底线，而且也不能触犯道德底线。为法律法规所不容固然是严禁的，逾越了道德底线同样需要严禁。在企业经营中，企业和企业领导人要牢记两种约束的并存，即法律约束和道德约束的并存，这样才能保持自己的信用，取得社会的信任。从中国明清两代的商业史可以了解到，徽商、晋商之所以长期兴盛不衰，一个重要的原因是坚持用儒家的道德来约束自己，在商场上笃守诚信。

在谈到私利诱惑问题时，不能认为只有私营企业和私营企业的领导人才会因私利的诱惑而冒风险去突破法律底线和道德底线。国有企业和国有企业领导人同样是有这种可能的。这里所说的私利诱惑不仅是指货币收入的诱惑，还包括企业领导人职务提升和工资、奖金增加的诱惑，尤其是职务提升的诱惑。如果以信用受损为代价而使国有企业的产值增加了，利润增加了，国有企业的领导人或国有企业内的有关管理人就有了职务提升和工资、奖金增加的希望，这也属于私利诱惑的范畴。否则，我们怎能解释为什么有的国有企业也会丢掉法律约束和道德约束去从事有损于企业信誉的事情呢？

无论是私营企业还是国有企业，在从事损坏企业信用的行为时，之所以存在侥幸心理，主要有两个原因：一是前面提到过的，以为这样做不会被发现、被揭露；二是即使被发现、被揭露了，受到了处罚，但通常是相对轻微的，于是就会产生“成本与收益不对称”的状况，使企业认为这样做还是合算的。也就是说，假定冒险违法违规得手了，个人收益

很大；即使冒险违法违规被逮住了，受到处罚，但损失不大，于是冒险违法违规行为屡禁不止。尤其是国有企业领导人冒险违法违规后，被罚的款项是由国有企业偿付的，所以他们认为自己实际上没有什么损失。

上述这种情况告诉我们，在处理企业违法违规时，一定要消除经济生活中存在的"成本与收益不对称"的状况，处罚要严，而且处罚要落实到具体的企业负责人、责任人，使他们不再存在侥幸心理。

为了在企业与企业之间重建社会信任，有必要加强行业协会的作用。行业协会除了有指导本行业各企业生产经营和协调企业之间展开互助等任务外，更有促进各个企业自律和互律的作用。自律和互律都是引导企业增加法律意识和道德意识的手段。只有企业有了自我的法律约束和道德约束，同行业的企业又在法律的约束和道德约束方面起着相互帮助、相互提醒、相互促进和相互监督的作用，本行业的信誉才能不断提升。在一个行业协会的范围内，所有参加行业协会的企业都是平等的，不分所有制，也不分规模的大小、资本的多少和企业建立时间的早晚，这样才便于企业之间的互律。至于参加行业协会的每个成员的自律，包括法律约束和道德约束，尽管是自觉自愿的，但由于有了行业协会这样的组织，一个企业是否自律，或自律达到何种程度，则会受到行业协会和同行们的监督，这也将有助于企业自律程度的提高。

应当指出，企业的社会责任不仅在于为社会提供优质产品和优质服务，不断进行自主创新，为社会创造更多的财富和提供更多的就业机会，也不仅在于关心公益事业，帮助穷人，而且还在于坚持诚信原则，以诚信对待客户、对待公众、对待一切交易者。背离了社会信任，企业就谈不上自己的社会责任，更不必说企业破坏了社会信任，甚至制造了社会信任危机了。

因此，在这里提出"从企业的生存和发展看重建社会信任的必要"，是有现实意义的。从国际经济的角度来考察，2007～2008年发生的美国次贷危机，以及由此引发的国际金融危机，从本质上就是一场深刻和广泛的信用危机、社会信任危机。银行的长期低利率使投资者的逐利行为不断膨胀，金融衍生产品的泛滥使得金融泡沫越来越严重，贷款质量日益恶化，信用制度在企业破产和银行倒闭的冲击下崩溃了。人们不再相信银行和其他金融机构，甚至不再相信交易对方的承诺和合同。正因为如此，所以国际金融危机持续下去，对实体经济的影响越来越显著，而且已经开始影响美国民众和西方其他发达国家的民众消费观念的改变和消费行为方式的调整，进而将会对西方社会产生深远的影响。再从我国国内考察，引起社会普遍关心的事件之一就是食品安全。奶粉、白酒、大米、猪肉、酱油、鸭蛋、食盐等问题食品被曝光以后，引起了人们对食品安全的关注。比如说，尽管有问题的奶粉只是某些厂家生产出来

的，但问题一被揭露，便影响到所有的生产奶粉的企业，国产奶粉的声誉立即受到严重损毁，销量锐减，一段时间内人们纷纷抢购国外生产的奶粉。如果不是政府有关部门迅速采取应对措施，奶粉的信用危机还会继续扩大。从这里可以清楚地了解到重建社会信任的任务是多么重要，多么迫切。

市场是靠社会信任维持的，企业是靠自身的信用支撑的，广大消费者凭着信任给生产消费品的企业投票。上述这一切还不足以说明企业的自律和互律、企业的法律约束和道德约束关系到企业的命运和市场的兴衰吗？

二、从人际关系的和谐看重建社会信任的必要

前面已经指出，人总是生活在一定的群体之中的，群体有大有小，但至少是一个人以上才组成群体。人与人之间始终存在信任问题。群体的存在和人际关系的维持，离不开信任。没有信任，不会有人际关系的和谐，不会有社会组织，甚至社会都难以存在。

交易活动只有在信任的前提下才能开展。交易活动中交易者之间的关系，无非是商品和劳务的买卖，雇用和被雇用，货币借贷，不动产租赁或转让，信托，保险，委托代理，等等，这些都以交易双方的相互信任为前提。同样的道理，交易者与交易者的合作，包括共同出资，建立企业，收购企业，或共同研发一个项目，甚至商议市场份额的分割与协调，利益的分配，或交易者们准备采取一致行动抵制另一个交易者，雇工们准备采取一致行动对雇主提出这样或那样的要求，也都以相互间的信任为条件，这样才能达成某种协议或默契。如果信任削弱了，互不相信，他们之间的交易关系、合作关系也就难以继续下去。

也正如前面已经指出的，在社会生活中，非交易领域通常远远大于交易领域。在非交易领域内，人与人之间的关系，包括家庭关系、家族关系、街坊邻里关系、同乡关系、同学关系、师生关系，尽管全都不按市场交易规则办事，但信任却是永远存在的。没有信任，这些人际关系全都会受到损害。小到一个家庭、一个村落、一栋居民住宅，基本秩序的维持和民间生活的进行，无不要求建立社会信任。有了社会信任，基本秩序就维持了，稳定了。街坊邻里之间、同乡之间和同学之间，并不是没有金钱往来的，但不像市场中那样一定要按市场交易规则办事。比如说，一个人有某种急需，向同村的居民借钱，向亲戚朋友借钱，难道非得先谈判，立字据，定利率，抵押，质押不可？一般情况下不是这样的。这就是仰赖相互信任而产生的关系。再如，即使是只有夫妻两人的

小型家庭，在互不信任的条件下究竟能维持多久？缺少信任的夫妻二人，迟早是会分手的。

人与人的关系需要和谐，而和谐必定以相互信任为基础。人与人之间需要协作，而协作关系的建立绝不单纯是一种利益关系，而首先是一种社会交流的需要，即每个人出于生存的需要而愿意同别人协作，共同渡过困难，或谋求共同发展。这样，你就会要求同别人协作，别人也希望同你协作。从这种角度来看，信任是内在的需要，也就是说，信任是内生的。

由此可以区分以下两种情况，一是基于信任的协作，二是基于协作的信任。两者是有差别的，而且前者一直是主要的。

不妨从人类最早的生活和生产活动开始分析。远古时代，人出于生存的愿望，必须相互之间有信任。大家聚集于一个群体之中，当时既没有市场，又没有政府，大家都抱着一个宗旨：在异常艰苦的环境中如何生存下来。“你活我也活，大家都要活”——这就是产生信任的道德基础。否则，一个人怎能寻觅到食物？一个人怎能防御野兽的攻击？一个人怎能经受得了严冬、暴风雪、山火、洪水的袭击？即以捕捉野生动物来说，不靠大家一起围猎，能有多大收获？协作是必不可少的。于是有了信任，才会有基于信任的协作。

人类交往的范围越来越大，不仅本群体的人数由于生育后代而增多，而且由于群体的活动领域扩展了，本群体同其他群体的接触也越来越频繁，从而个人之间的交往也越来越多。这时还谈不到本群体同其他群体的成员之间已经产生了信任，或本群体的领导同其他群体的领导之间已经产生了信任，但协作的需要却自然而然地出现了。比如说，当另一个外来的群体前来抢劫财物，掠走人口，或占领土地时，本群体需要同其他的群体联合起来去抵抗敌人，协作的需要通常被放置在前面。这时，可能依然是先有信任，再有协作，即这一群体同某个群体在过去交往的关系中已建立了信任，所以这种协作仍是基于信任的协作；但也可能出现另一种情况，即这一群体同某个群体过去接触不多，尚未建立信任，然而在共同对付另一个群体前来侵犯时，是先有协作，再逐步建立相互信任。这就是基于协作的信任。

随着人际关系的扩展，非交易领域内人与人之间的交往和协作也越来越多。一个人不可能总是和某些老相识交往和协作，总要同某些新相识交往和协作。所以基于信任的协作和基于协作的信任是并存的。但无论是基于信任的协作还是基于协作的信任，都离不开信任二字。没有信任，不可能有协作，即使有过协作，也只能是短暂的。

在一个群体中，不管群体是大还是小，有组织形式还是不存在组织形式，成员们的协商与选举总是相辅相成的。这是群体得以稳定和发展

的条件。选举表现为民主，协商同样意味着民主。只承认选举民主而否定协商民主，是不对的；同样的道理，只承认协商民主而否定选举民主，也是不对的。协商民主的历史，从人类社会成长过程来看，要比选举民主久远得多。在远古时代，群体内部最初形成的就是协商民主，后来才出现选举民主，而且协商与选举两种方式总是兼用的。两种方式相比，协商方式可以使气氛缓和，不至于那么紧张，各方可以充分交换意见，寻找各方都可以接受的方案，使得整个过程保持信任和互让互谅。选举方式的采用可以成为协商的成果。当然，这并不排斥选举民主的优点，也不否定选举民主的意义。但如果只有选举民主，结果形成的"少数服从多数"的结果很可能不如协商民主和选举民主两者兼用的结果。

从这里可以了解到，在社会上各个群体内部和各个群体之间历史上通行的处理事务的原则主要是协商。只有在需要产生、修改和废除群体的规章、公约时，或在需要产生和罢黜领袖或主要办事人员时，以及在与另一个群体或另外若干个群体订立和废止协议时，或加入和退出另一个群体或另外若干个群体组成的组织时，才采用选举民主。何况在这种场合，协商民主和选举民主也通常兼用。

人际关系中协商民主和选举民主都是人类文明的产物，是历经数千年甚至更为长久的过程而传承下来的。各个历史时期有各自的特点，各个不同的民族、国家也各有依据自己的习惯而采取的协商方式和选举方式。这里并不存在统一的做法。但所有这些方式或做法都不能没有相互信任作为基础。群体和成员的道德底线是协商民主和选举民主赖以正常运作的必要条件。

实际上，非交易领域内的人际关系要远比协商民主和选举民主广泛。信任同样是构成人际关系和谐的基本要素。非交易领域内的人际关系靠信任维持。比如说，在一个家庭内部，如果家庭对子女实行包办婚姻，违背子女的意愿，子女会离家出走或以死抗争，这就表明子女对家长失去了信任；如果一个家族内部，家族长辈霸占家族公产或欺辱孤儿寡母，族人会起来抗争，这表明族人对族中长辈失去了信任；如果朋友之间、同事之间、邻居之间有人不顾信义，欺骗别人，甚至敲诈别人，陷害别人，这个人就会自绝于朋友、同事、邻居，成为人所不齿者；如果在学术团体中出现了剽窃、作假、伪造数据等恶劣现象，剽窃者、作假者、伪造数据者同样在被揭露后会陷入孤立，因为他已失去了别人的信任；而如果该学术团体对此事不闻不问，听之任之，这个学术团体的声誉便会大幅下降，人们也就不愿意再参加这样的学术团体了。可见，非交易领域内信任或相互信任的重要性绝对不亚于交易领域，非交易领域内信任或相互信任丧失的严重性也绝对不轻于交易领域。

综上所述，从交易领域到非交易领域，社会信任问题是处处存在

的。在交易领域，由于社会信任的丧失，市场秩序必定紊乱，交易者的预期无法确定，现金交易将取代信用交易，甚至实物交易将取代现金交易，人类社会将退回到原始的物物交换的阶段。这简直是不可思议的。而在非交易领域，情况则更加难以想象。社会信任丧失了，谁都不敢相信别人，谁也不被别人信任，一切人际关系都崩溃了，一切社会组织都解体了，社会还能稳定和发展吗？

三、提高政府公信力的必要

社会信任是一个过程。在这个过程中，人与人之间的交往和企业与企业之间的交易活动，都是依靠信任的不断累积而展开和扩大的。政府作为一个行为主体，它时时刻刻同公众打交道，同企业打交道，这里同样存在着相互信任问题：公众和企业信任政府，政府也信任公众和企业。这种相互信任也是不断累积的。如果包括政府在内的各个行为主体之间缺少信任，社会肯定紊乱无序，社会风气也肯定不正。

我们仍然可以从交易领域和非交易领域这两个不同的领域进行分析。

以交易领域来说，所有的人只要一进入交易领域，便都以交易者的身份出现，他同对方的关系都以交易领域通行的规则为准，不能逾越法律底线和道德底线。政府作为行为主体之一，同样应当如此。比如说，政府作为采购者，它要从企业那里采购所需要的各种产品和服务。在这种场合，政府作为买方，企业作为卖方，买方与卖方应当按相关的法律法规和规章制度进行，诚信是双方共同遵守和奉行的准则。又如，政府作为土地供给方，它向房地产商提供土地，房地产商作为需求一方，依循一定的法律法规和规章制度取得土地，诚信依旧是双方共同遵守和奉行的准则，政府也不例外。在交易领域内，买卖双方的地位是平等的，政府无论作为买方还是作为卖方，都不能凌驾于另一方之上。只有双方地位平等，又都遵守交易领域的规则，相互信任才能建立。

非交易领域内的情况要比交易领域内复杂一些。要知道，非交易领域内，除了人与人之间的交往、家族与家族之间的交往，以及家族内部、各种社会团体内部的成员间关系而外，还包括了政府同社区、社会团体、家族、家庭和个人之间的关系。比如说，个人向政府和政府下属部门缴纳税费，这就不是买卖双方之间的交易关系。又如，社会上存在着灾民、孤儿、低收入家庭，政府和政府下属部门按照规定给他们的救济，这也不是买卖双方之间的交易关系。至于政府的司法机构、治安机构等处理公众之间的各类纠纷时所扮演的角色，那就更不是交易双方的

关系了。尽管如此，政府和政府下属部门都必须讲信用，同当事人之间建立相互信任的关系，而不能违背法律法规和规章制度而自行其是。

需要进一步讨论的是，无论是在交易领域还是在非交易领域，政府如何取得公众和企业的信任？政府同公众、企业之间的相互信任是如何建立的？即使在专制社会中，这类问题也是同样存在的。虽说在专制制度下的中国，皇权至上，臣民俯首听命于朝廷，但从明清两代对科举制度的重视和对违法违规行为的严厉惩处可以看出，皇权总是力图保证科举制度的公平和公正。为什么会这样？这正是为了维护皇权在公众面前的公信力，因为公信力降低了，皇权的巩固也就受到了威胁。又如，在中国过去历朝历代，为什么皇权一直表彰“清官”，同样是为了增强朝廷的公信力。因为公众认为“清官”代表了皇权的可信度。在民主制度之下，无论是资本主义国家还是社会主义国家，政府的公信力更加引起社会的关注。政府自身更要不断提高公信力。民主制度和专制制度的重要区别之一在于：在民主制度下，公众和企业都具有比专制制度之下多得多的自由选择机会。“此处不留人，自有留人处”：移民国外，从这一城市迁往另一城市，从这种职业改为另一种职业，作为投资者还可以撤走自己的投资，或从这一投资领域转向另一投资领域，等等。公众和企业可以有较多的机会通过不同的渠道申诉自己的意见，批评某一主管部门的所作所为，包括揭露某些机构和某些办事人员的贪赃枉法行为。这样，政府要维护自己的公信力就比过去难得多。专制制度下政府惯用的封锁信息、强制推行某些措施，甚至用高压手段来钳制舆论的做法，在民主制度下已经失去了制度的基础。

换言之，在民主制度下，公众和企业正因为有了自由选择的机会，所以政府必须适应新的情况采取增加自身公信力的办法。这正是法治社会同非法治社会的区别。比如说，在交易领域内，政府无论是以买方身份出现，还是以卖方身份出现，或者以合作投资者的身份出现，都应当遵守法律法规，遵守合同。这才能取得交易另一方或合作投资另一方的信任。如果合同尚未签订，交易的另一方或合作投资的另一方可以根据政府以往的履约状况作出选择：签约还是不签约。如果合同已签，交易已在进行，交易的另一方或合作投资的另一方至多吃亏一次，下一次就不会再同政府来往了。政府不履行合同，不实践承诺，就是自毁信用，难以得到公众和企业的信任。交易领域内双方是平等的，甲方在选择乙方，乙方也在选择甲方，法律底线和道德底线谁也不敢突破。

在非交易领域内，政府的作用是特殊的。正如前面已经指出的，政府并不以交易者的身份，而通常是以公共事务管理者和服务者的身份出现。在这种场合，要维护、提高政府的公信力就不是遵守交易规则之类的问题，而且首先是摆正政府位置的问题。政府在交易领域内虽然可以

成为交易的另一方或合作投资的另一方，但政府同时也是公共事务的管理者和服务者。无论交易的双方都是企业，还是交易的一方是企业，政府作为公共事务管理者和服务者这一职能始终是存在的。而在非交易领域，政府则一直充当公共事务管理者和服务者的角色，为公众而管理公共事务，为公众服务。因此，在非交易领域，政府要维持和提高自身的公信力，主要应在充当公共事务管理者和服务者时取得公众的信任。如果政府工作人员滥用权力，偏袒某些人而使另一些人受到不公正待遇；或者隐瞒事实真相，欺骗了公众；甚至利用管理公共事务的权力，破坏法律法规，突破道德底线，获取私利，那只能使政府的公信力降低，使公众对政府的信任度大大降低。

政府无论在交易领域内的公信力还是在非交易领域内的公信力，都是逐渐累积而成的。增加政府的公信力要靠日积月累，而损毁政府的公信力则很可能只在顷刻之间，正如修筑一条大堤一样，筑堤靠长期的垒土、维护、加固，而大堤被冲垮，却可能在一场特大暴雨之后。政府对这一点必须有清醒的认识，时时保持警惕，不要使自身的公信力毁于一旦。

要提高政府的公信力，主要应从以下四个方面着手：

第一，尽管法律、法规和政策在开始制定时不一定是完善的，但有法律、法规和政策可遵循总比缺少法律、法规和政策要好，否则便会形成无法可依、无政策可循的格局，进而造成政府工作人员在公共事务管理中的随意性扩大，使政府的公信力降低。当然，法律、法规和政策的制定应当尽可能科学、合理，并听取专家学者、有经验的政府工作人员和公众代表的意见，在出台后要通过多方面的调查了解法律、法规和政策的实施状况，发现问题和不足，再根据程序进行修改。而在修改前，仍应维持法律、法规和政策的稳定性，不能随意变更，否则同样会降低政府的公信力。

第二，政府工作人员的诚信意识必须加强。这是因为，公共管理事务是具体的政府工作人员从事的，正是他们代表了政府的形象，处在同公众接触的第一线。公众对政府的信任度降低，在不少场合是由于具体的政府工作人员不依法办事、不遵循政策、不守信用等所造成的。至于政府工作人员倚仗手中的权力获取私利，接受贿赂，甚至索取贿赂等行为，更会败坏政府的公信力。因此，必须有一定的监督政府工作人员诚实守信、廉洁奉公的机制，以维护政府工作人员和政府部门的形象。

第三，由于我国至今仍处在由社会主义计划经济体制向社会主义市场经济体制转轨的过程中，改革有待于深化，所以要把提高政府公信力与深化体制改革结合起来。在计划体制下所实行的公共事务管理办法，早已不适合市场经济体制。交易领域内，权力一旦介入了交易，就会有

寻租活动，这在计划体制下和体制转轨时期是容易发生的。这是因为，在计划体制下盛行着配额的制定和分配，这些都是在权力操纵下实现的，于是寻租活动便有了滋生的温床。在体制转轨时期，配额制度在某些行业还保留着，而双轨制的施行则是体制转轨时期的特点，双轨制之下同样有可能引发寻租活动。这些都会增加公众对政府的不信任。非交易领域内，由于社会上某些公共产品的供给往往少于公众对公共产品的需求，所以在供求关系紧张时，主管部门和相应的政府工作人员便有可能利用手中的权力介入公共产品的供求关系之中。社会上近年来反映较多的是：中小学校的学生择校，幼儿园的进入，患者的择医院和择医师，保障性住房供给中需求方的择地点，等等。这样，无论是交易领域还是非交易领域，深化体制改革都是必要的。交易领域内的配额制度、政府采购制度、双轨制度、行业垄断制度的继续存在，在很大程度上与体制改革未能到位有关。而非交易领域内的公共产品的供给和公共产品分配中的公平问题，也只有在深化体制改革中才能解决。可见，深化体制改革是同提高政府的公信力紧密联系在一起的。

第四，由于现代经济是一种信用经济，在这样的经济中，政府作为行为主体之一，无论是在交易领域内还是在非交易领域内，都必须讲诚信、守信用。然而，现代经济体系是一个信用体系，并不是单靠某一类行为主体就能构建完善的信用体系。政府不仅作为交易者，而且作为公共事务管理者和服务者，置身于这样的社会信用体系之中。因此，作为公共事务管理者和服务者的政府有责任帮助和促成社会信用的建设，这也是有助于提高政府与企业和公众之间的互信度的。换言之，建成社会信用体系是提高政府的公信力的措施之一。

究竟什么是社会信用体系，如何建设社会信用体系，以及政府在这方面可以发挥哪些作用，将在下文进行论述。

四、社会信用体系的建设

社会信用主要包括三个方面：一是个人信用，二是信用中介机构的信用，三是企业的信用。

个人的信用是指：个人作为社会成员和作为市场中的交易者，其信用究竟如何，应当被他人所了解，被信用中介机构所了解，这样才能在信用社会和信用经济中同别人交往，被交易对方所认可。要建设社会信用体系，就应当对个人的信用有合适的评估制度，并建立个人的信用档案。

信用中介机构的信用是指：从事信用调查、信用征集、信用咨询服

务、信用评估、信用担保等信用中介业务的机构本身就有一个信用问题，它们是否可信，它们是否公平公正，以及它们作为信用评估机构所评估的结果是否具有权威性。它们的权利与责任是否对称，也同样被人们所关注。如果银行、保险、证券、信托等企业中设立了有关收集个人、企业信用的征信部门，它们也应包括在信用中介机构体系之内。

企业的信用是指：除了信用中介机构以外的一切企业，包括银行、保险、证券、信托等行业的企业，都存在信用问题。对企业来说，企业资产的实际状况、企业负债状况、企业负债的偿还能力、企业盈利状况、企业信誉状况及企业信用的管理状况等，都是社会关心的问题。对金融业的企业来说，除了上述企业的信用问题外，还有特殊的问题，例如，银行向企业贷款的风险，银行发出的信用卡的风险，银行向个人贷款的风险，银行可能遇到的国际金融冲击，银行的抗风险能力，等等。这些同样是社会所关心的。

因此，社会信用体系实际上由三个体系所组成，即由个人信用体系、信用中介机构信用体系和企业信用体系所组成。有一种看法是，信用中介机构信用体系的范围应当拓宽些，除了信用评估机构外，还应当把资产评估机构、会计师事务所、审计机构、律师事务所等包括在内，因为它们的工作也涉及信用评估问题，它们工作的结果之一也是向社会表明某些个人和企业的信用状况，因此，这些机构自身的信用是十分重要的。一个自身的信用不可靠的中介机构的工作结果能有多大的可信度呢？

那么，政府在社会信用体系的建设中应当发挥什么样的作用？政府本身的信用是否也应纳入社会信用体系呢？这是两个性质不同的问题，需分别论述。

首先，政府在社会信用体系的建设中应当发挥什么样的作用？扼要地说，政府应在以下四个方面发挥作用：第一，通过法律法规，为建设社会信用体系提供良好的法制环境，使得个人信用体系、信用中介机构信用体系、企业信用体系有法可依，有规可循；第二，为社会信用体系的建设提供技术支持，其中最为重要的是，在政府支持下加快信用数据库的建设，也就是说，仅有信用中介机构关心信用数据库的建设是不够的，必须在政府主导下完成社会的信用数据库建设，并实现信息资源的社会共享；第三，以政府工作人员提高诚信、增进政府公信力作表率，带动全社会各行各业从事信用业务的人员提高诚信，坚守从业者的法律底线和道德底线，增加从业者和公众的相互信任；第四，政府应当加强对社会信用的监管工作，目前尤其需要对信用中介机构的信用状况和企业的信用状况进行监管，政府在这方面的作用是任何社会团体（包括行业协会）所无法替代的，这是因为，企业的信用信息分散于银行、税

务、海关、质监、司法、工商管理等多个部门内，如果不把这些来自各部门的信息综合起来，统一整理和分析，就难以了解某一个具体企业的实际信用状况，也就难以对这个企业的信用作出符合实际的评估。政府的这种作用是任何信用中介机构无法胜任的，何况任何一家信用中介机构自身的信用状况也在政府有关部门的监管之列。

其次，政府本身的信用是否也应纳入社会信用体系呢？对这个问题，可以从两个角度进行论述。

一个角度是：政府信用就是国家信用，为了维护国家信用，对内要取信于民，对外要取信于世界各国和国际组织，但这些并不是上述所要建立的社会信用体系所要解决的问题。从技术上看，我们可以依靠各种信用中介机构对企业信用进行评估，可以依靠政府有关部门的信息整合来监管企业信用状况和信用中介机构的评估结果，并且可以根据一定的标准对企业信用状况和信用中介机构的信用状况作出评估，但我们怎样给政府信用打分评级呢？信用中介机构能胜任这项任务吗？它们对政府信用的评估用什么标准可以作为量化的依据？即使有了某种评估，可信吗？这是一个至今尚未解决的难题，有待于深入研究。国外的评估机构如果对中国的国家信用作出评估，又有多大的可信度？这个问题，不经过深入研究和讨论依旧是一个难题。

另一个角度是：任何一名政府工作人员的信用状况都不能代表整个国家的信用状况，任何一个地方政府的信用状况也都不能代表国家和中央政府的信用状况。道理是清楚的：政府工作人员个人有自己的操行，有廉洁奉公的政府工作人员，也会有违法、违规、渎职、贪污受贿的政府工作人员。假定出现了后者，可以认为他们损害了政府的形象；假定他们工作于涉外机构，可以认为他们毁坏了国家的形象，但这同国家、政府的信用状况不是一回事。再说，地方政府（从省、市直到县、乡、镇）有违约、撕毁合同、欠账不还等情况，这也会损害地方政府自身的形象；假定这涉及外商的利益，也会毁坏国家的形象，但不能简单地把这些同国家的信用状况画上等号。这是因为，任何一个地方政府的信用代替不了中央政府的信用和整个国家的信用。

当然，对政府工作人员的操守和行为是要进行考核和监督的，不允许他们损坏政府的形象；对地方政府失信于中外企业的状况，要关注，要依法处理，不允许他们作出损坏政府形象、国家形象的事情。这是提高政府公信力和国家信用所必需的。特别是在外商看来，他们总是同某些具体的政府工作人员打交道的，总是同某个具体的地方政府洽谈的，这些政府工作人员和地方政府的违法失信行为，或索贿行为，不可避免地会损害国家的形象。

最后，有必要对行业协会在社会信用体系建设中的作用再做一些分

析。行业协会、商会是社会中介组织，它们在建设社会信用体系方面可以发挥更大的作用，如推动行业的自律和行业的自我管理，开展本行业内企业互信、互律、互保、互贷等活动，并主动承接政府某些职能的转移，填补政府职能转变后所出现的空缺。在本行业的部分企业甚至多数企业遇到各种原因造成的信用方面的损失时，行业协会、商会可以代表行业和行业成员的权利，反映行业的诉求，维护行业的权益。同时，行业的发展较快，新行业不断出现，应当推动新的行业协会、商会的筹建。筹建行业协会、商会的原则应当是：自愿发起、自选会长、自筹经费、自聘人员、自主会务。总之，为了增强企业的自律性，支持和鼓励民营企业的发展，提高民营企业家的素质，为了建设完善的社会信任体系，行业协会是可以发挥更大作用的。

CONCLUSION

I believe, on the basis of the foregoing, most readers will agree that regulation by custom and morality should be a focus of academic study in economics research.

Normally, morality and ethics are not in themselves the objects of economic studies, since the main issue of concern to economics is allocation of resources. The efficacy of resource allocation directly influences the degree and fluctuation of efficiency, which in turn has a bearing on normal social and economic operation and improvement or decline in living standards. Therefore, for a long time academic economists have focused on the following questions:

(1) In certain productivity conditions, what kind of economic system or mechanism can bring about more effective resource allocation, more regular social and economic operation and faster improvement in living standards?

(2) Under a certain economic system or mechanism, what means of regulation can bring about more effective resource allocation , more regular social and economic operation and faster improvement in living standards?

(3) In certain productivity conditions, how to make the existing economic system or mechanism transit to a system or mechanism capable of bringing about more effective resource allocation, more regular social and economic operation and faster improvement in living standards?

(4) Under a certain economic system or mechanism, how to make existing means of regulation transform into means capable of bringing about more effective resource allocation , more regular social and economic operation and faster improvement in living standards?

Those questions of interest to economists are beyond the sphere of scholars in other fields including that of ethics. Each discipline has its own specific research subject and topics.

However, as expounded in this book, what affacts resource allocation, socio-economic operations and living standards is not just the power of market or government, but that of custom and morality, not only regulation by market and government, but regulation by custom and morality. Thus, it is impossible for economists to exclude from their research the economic role

of regulation by custom and morality. In this sense, research on regulation by custom and morality, like that on regulation by market and government, will bring greater depth, thoroughness and realism to the study of resource allocation, socio-economic operation and living standards. Obviously, such study can be taken as a task of economists or at least a common task of economists and scholars of ethics.

The important role of regulation by custom and morality in resource allocation, socio-economic operation and living standards is reason enough for economists to include it in their research. For further understanding, we can examine the question from two more perspectives, namely the mission of economics and the levels of economics research.

Let us first talk about the mission of economics. In *Economics and Political Science of Socialism,* I have a paragraph: "Having studied economics, one should know what 'is worth aiming for,' what 'ought to be fought for,' what 'is not worth aiming for' and what 'ought not to be fought for' in economy. To be specific, to study economics is for telling right from wrong in economy and for defining what one should approve and what one should deny. Only in this way can one have direction and a sense of right and wrong. This is the social instruction function of economics….Having studied economics and knowing what 'is worth aiming for' and what 'ought to be fought for,' one should further learn how to go about making those aspirations reality as soon as possible. This is the social design function of economics."[1]

Therefore, we define economics as a science of social instruction and social design. Proceeding from this definition, we are clear that things such as moral norms, ethical standards and criteria for judging right and wrong play important roles not only in economic life but in economics research too. As we know, both prescriptive research and empirical research are indispensable for economics. And each method has its application scope. But in economics, prescriptive research is different from empirical research in the fact that the former only involves the judgment of right and wrong whereas the judgment of right and wrong is the precondition of the latter. If prescriptive research has ascertained whether certain economic behaviors should be affirmed or condemned from a moral standpoint, then the empirical research on such economic behaviors will be very meaningful. That is to say, only when there are established criteria for judging right and wrong can economics combine these two kinds of research and play its due role of social instruction and social design.

From a macro perspective, economics as a science of social instruction tells us how to evaluate a system or mechanism, how to formulate and realize social development targets, including how to mobilize initiative and creativity so that people will spontaneously work hard for these targets. The role of moral factors finds full embodiment in such spontaneous effort. As a science of social design, economics tells us how to make reality of the goals that ought to be fought for and how to work out feasible measures. Here the judgment of economic right and wrong is still indispensable: what meaning could such measures have if we cannot explain what social development targets we should be striving for?

Now, let us analyze the levels of economics research and explain why we must give weight to moral factors in economic research.

On this question, I refer readers to what I said in *System, Target & People: Challenges of Economics*: "The reason we call the three research levels of system, target and people the key research topic of our time is because, from the perspective of the rapid development of science and technology, each level reflects a specific aspect of the relation between science and technology and socio-economic change and each level has a direct bearing on the development of science and technology. Take research on 'system' as a case in point. What kind of economic system can effectively allocate resources and spur the development of science and technology? What new requirements will non-stop development of science and technology make on their economic system? In the course of developing science and technology, in which direction will economic mechanisms evolve? …Now take research on 'target' as an example. When considering the development of science and technology, how does one integrate economic demands with social demands when drawing up development targets? How to be more realistic when drawing up enterprise targets and suit them to actual state of development of science and technology? …Take the research on 'people' for example. When science and technology are developing all the time, how will the connotations of welfare change? How are we to understand quality of life? How to ensure that development of science and technology benefits rather than sacrifices the development of people? …"[2]

Of these three research levels, the "people" level is seen as the highest. For many years post-1949, when "standard old culture" still existed and the "old culture in new clothes" dominated behavior and distorted minds, all research on "people" was forbidden, as was any discussion on the subject.

Referring once more to *System, Target & People: Challenges of Economics*, I ask: "Is 'not starving to death' the meaning of 'welfare'? If people have consumer goods that can maintain the lowest living standard, is that enough? Should workers be satisfied with their life and never ask for better, provided that life now compares favorably with pre-Liberation times when people survived on chaff? What kind of logic is that? Asceticism should never be taken as the moral standard of socialist society. The basic living standard should not be a frontier that people can never cross. In those unprecedented times, many acts violating the interests of the people and of the revolution were performed 'in the name of the people' and 'in the name of revolution.' The formula 'in the name of the people,' so righteous and convincing, spread asceticism among workers and required them to be self-restrained, while people spending the country's wealth so lavishly 'in the name of revolution' always seemingly so justified and at ease. Your enduring hardship is 'in the interests of the people,' and his unrestrained indulgence is 'in the interests of the people' too. For making things like this seem reasonable, obscurantist policy was essential. Under the rule of such ideology, it is meaningless to talk about improving living standards or realizing socialist production targets."[3]

In view of this, economics research must foreground the question of concern for, respect for and cultivation of people. In economics, many questions of a fundamental nature can be explained only when they are examined at the level of "people." We should also remember that economic research is conducted by "people," and that they are subjects as well as objects of such study. In other words, economics research is "people-on-people" research, the former being the subjects carrying it out and the latter the objects. But both people are "social people," who live in reality, have their own ideas, aspirations and sentiments and their own judgment of right and wrong, their own choices, experience and lessons. At the same time, people always live as members of one or more groups, and must coordinate with the group, coexist with people around and work hard to realize group target on the basis of their identification with the group. In this process, moral factors keep on influencing them both as subjects and objects, adjusting their attitudes and actions. Without studying the role of moral factors in economics, it is obviously not easy to clarify "people-level" questions, nor will it be easy to offer correct and penetrative explanations to questions at the other two levels— "system" and "target." It follows that economics research cannot avoid going into morality and ethics.

结束语

我相信，读者在阅读了本书的前言和以上七章之后，大多会对经济学界是否应当研究习惯与道德调节问题有一个肯定的回答：应当进行这方面的研究。

照理说，道德、伦理问题本身并不是经济学的研究对象，经济学是不专门讨论这一领域的问题的，经济学关心的主要问题是资源的配置。资源配置的有效程度直接影响效率的高低与升降，进而关系到社会经济运行的正常与否，关系到社会生活水平的增长与否，因此，长期以来引起经济学界注意的主要问题一直是：

（1）在一定的生产力条件下，什么样的经济制度或经济体制可以使资源的配置较为有效，使社会经济的运行较为正常，以及使社会生活水平得以较快地增长？

（2）在一定的经济制度或经济体制之下，通过哪些调节方式或手段可以使资源的配置较为有效，使社会经济的运行较为正常，以及使社会生活水平得以较快地增长？

（3）在一定的生产力条件下，如果说某种经济制度或经济体制比现行的经济制度或经济体制较有助于资源的有效配置、社会经济的正常运行，以及社会生活水平的增长，那么，怎样才能从现行的经济制度或经济体制过渡到该种经济制度或经济体制呢？

（4）在一定的经济制度或经济体制之下，如果说某种调节方式或手段比现在采用的调节方式或手段较有利于资源的有效配置、社会经济的正常运行，以及社会生活水平的增长，那么，怎样才能从现在采取的调节方式或手段转变为该种调节方式或手段呢？

经济学家所关心的和研究的这些问题，正是包括伦理学家在内的其他学者们不研究的。每一门学科都有自己的特定研究对象、研究课题。

然而，正如本书中已经阐明的，对资源配置、社会经济运行，以及社会生活水平发生作用的，不仅仅是市场力量和政府力量，而且还有习惯与道德力量；能够使资源配置较为有效，使社会经济运行较为正常，以及使社会生活水平得以增长的，不仅仅是市场调节和政府调节，而且还有习惯与道德调节。这样，一直关心资源配置、社会经济运行和社会生活水平的经济学界，就不可能不涉及对习惯与道德调节在经济中的作用的研究。从这个意义上说，经济学家对习惯与道德调节的研究同他们对市场调节、政府调节的研究一样，都是为了把资源配置、社会经济运

行和社会生活水平增长问题研究得更深入、更透彻，也更接近于客观实际。这些研究显然可以被列为经济学的任务，至少可以认为这是经济学家和伦理学家共同的研究任务。

单凭习惯与道德力量对资源配置、社会经济运行和社会生活水平增长的重要作用来判断，就已经有足够的理由说明经济学界应当研究习惯与道德调节问题了。如果我们再从以下两个角度对这个问题进行考察，那将会有进一步的认识。这两个角度是：第一，从经济学的使命的角度来考察；第二，从经济学研究层次的角度来考察。

先谈谈经济学的使命。我在《社会主义政治经济学》一书中这样写道：

“学习了经济学之后，应当了解在经济中什么是‘值得向往的’、‘应该争取的’，什么是‘不值得向往的’、‘不应该争取的’。具体地说，学习经济学，是为了明辨经济中的是非，明确应该肯定什么，应该否定什么。因为只有这样，才会有方向，有是非感。这就是经济学的社会启蒙作用。

……

学习了经济学，并且在明确了什么是‘值得向往的’、‘应该争取的’之后，就应该进一步去了解，为了使那种‘值得向往的’或‘应该争取的’目标得以尽快地实现，应该怎么做，应该做些什么。这就是经济学的社会设计作用。”[1]

因此，我把经济学定义为社会启蒙和社会设计的科学。根据这样的定义，我们可以十分清楚地了解到，道德规范、伦理标准、是非判断等，不仅在经济生活中有着重要作用，而且在经济研究中也有着重要作用。要知道，经济学中的规范研究和实证研究都是不可缺少的，各有各的适用范围，但经济学的规范研究之所以不同于实证研究，关键在于规范研究涉及了是非判断，而是非判断往往是实证研究的前提。假定通过经济学的规范研究已经明确某种经济行为在道德上是应当予以肯定的或应当予以否定的，那么对这种经济行为的实证研究才更有意义。也就是说，只有在既定的是非判断的前提下，经济学的实证研究才能同规范研究一起，发挥应有的社会启蒙和社会设计的作用。

从宏观的角度来看，经济学作为社会启蒙的科学，告诉人们应当怎样评价一种制度或体制，应当制定什么样的社会发展目标，并告诉人们如何去实现这一社会发展目标，包括激发人们的积极性、创造性，自觉地为这一目标的实现而努力。道德力量在这方面的作用是充分体现于人们的这种自觉性之上的。经济学作为社会设计的科学，告诉人们怎样把应当争取的社会发展目标变为现实，提出切实可行的实施方案。但这仍然离不开经济学中的是非判断，因为如果不能说明什么样的社会发展目

标是应当争取的，实施方案又有什么意义呢？

接着，让我们来分析一下经济学研究的层次，并由此说明经济学研究中重视道德力量的作用的必要。

关于这个问题，我在《体制·目标·人：经济学面临的挑战》一书中曾说过：

“我们之所以把‘体制’、‘目标’、‘人’这三个研究层次的问题称做时代所提出的重大研究课题，从科学技术迅速发展的角度来看，是因为其中每一个层次反映了科学技术同社会经济变化之间的特定方面，每一个层次的研究都与科学技术的发展直接有关。

以‘体制’的研究为例。什么样的经济体制能有效地配置资源，以促进科学技术的发展？科学技术的不断发展又将对经济体制提出哪些新的要求？科学技术发展过程中，经济体制将会朝着什么方向演变？……

以‘目标’的研究为例。考虑到科学技术的发展，在发展目标方面应当如何把经济上的要求与社会上的要求联结在一起？企业单位在制定目标时，应当如何趋于现实化，以适应科学技术发展的形势？……

以‘人’的研究为例。在科学技术日益发展的条件下，福利的含义会有什么样的变化？如何认识生活质量问题？怎样才能使科学技术的发展真正有益于人的发展，而不至于把人变成科学技术发展的牺牲品？……”[2]

在三个研究层次中，“人”这个层次被看成是最高层次。在1949年以后的很长时期内，在“标准的旧文化”依然存在而“改装的旧文化”却不断支配着人们的行动、腐蚀着人们的思想的年代里，对“人”的研究是一个禁区，不容许讨论与“人”有关的理论问题。在《体制·目标·人：经济学面临的挑战》一书中，我写道：

“难道‘饿不死人’就是福利的含义么？人们能有维持最低生活标准的消费品就行了么？劳动者的生活只要同解放前吃糠咽菜的日子回忆对比就理应满足，不必再提出生活质量提高的要求了么？这究竟是一种什么样的逻辑呢？禁欲主义决不是社会主义的道德规范，起码的生活标准也决不应当成为劳动者不可逾越的界限。何况，在史无前例的那些年内，不少违背人民利益、革命利益的事情，正是‘以人民的名义’或‘以革命的名义’进行的。‘以人民的名义’向劳动者宣传禁欲和要求他们在生活上一再克制的人，总是那么理直气壮，振振有词。‘以革命的名义’大肆挥霍国家财产的人，总是那么心安理得，处之泰然。你们吃苦，是为了‘人民的利益’；他恣意享受，也是为了‘人民的利益’。为了把当时的现实生活中所存在的这一切说成是合理的，愚民政策显然不可缺少。在这种意识形态的统治下，哪里还谈得上提高居民的生活质量，谈得上实现社会主义生产目的呢？”[3]

由此可见，经济学研究必须把对人的关心、尊重、培养放在突出的位置上：经济学中许多带有根本性的问题，只有提到“人”这个层次来考察时，才能最终说明。不仅如此，我们还应当懂得，经济学研究是由“人”来进行的，“人”既是经济学研究的主体，又是经济学研究的对象。换言之，经济学研究是“人”对“人”的研究，前一个“人”是指经济学研究的主体，后一个“人”是指经济学研究的对象。但无论是前一个“人”还是后一个“人”，都是“社会的人”，是一个生活在现实社会中，有自己的思考、自己的抱负、自己的喜怒哀乐的人，也是一个有自己的是非判断、自己的取舍、自己的经验和教训的人。同时，他总是生活在一定的群体之中，是这个或那个群体中的一员，他要同群体相协调，要同周围的人共处，还要在与群体认同的基础上为实现群体的目标而努力。道德力量对作为经济学研究主体的“人”和作为经济学研究对象的“人”不断地施加影响，调整他们的观念，调整他们的行为。不研究道德力量在经济中的作用，“人”这个层次的问题显然不可能说清楚，即使是“体制”这个层次的问题或“目标”这个层次的问题，也可能不易得到正确的、深刻的解释。这就表明经济学研究不能回避道德伦理的研究。

NOTES 注释

第一章

1 Hicks, John. *A Theory of Economic History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973: 13.

1 约翰·希克斯：《经济史理论》，商务印书馆1987年版，第15页。

2 Ibid.

2 同上，第14页。

3 Ibid.

3 同上，第14～15页。

4 Boulding, et al. "The Grants Economy", in R. Fels & J. J. Siegfried [ed.]. *Recent Advances in Economics*. Illinois: Homewood, 1974: 183.

4 包尔丁等：《赠与经济学简论》，载费尔斯和西格弗里德编，《经济学的最新进展》，183页，伊利诺伊州霍姆渥德，1974年版。

5 For a detailed discussion of this question, see Harvey Leibenstein's *General X-Efficiency Theory and Economic Development* (1978) and *Inflation, Income Distribution and X-Efficiency Theory* (1980).

5 哈维·莱宾斯坦在所著《一般X效率理论与经济发展》（1978年版）、《通货膨胀、收入分配和X效率理论》（1980年版）中对这些问题有充分的阐述。

6 See Mackinder, H. J. *Democratic Ideals and Reality*. Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1965: 164.

6 参阅麦金德：《民主的理想与现实》，商务印书馆1965年版，第164页。

7 Ibid.: 164-165.

7 同上，第164～165页。

8 See Mackinder, H. J. *Democratic Ideals and Reality*. Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1996: 134, 140.

8 同上，第165、172页。

9 Li, Y. *System, Target and People: Challenges Facing Economics*. Harbin: Heilongjiang People's Publishing House, 1986: 315.

9 厉以宁：《体制·目标·人：经济学面临的挑战》，黑龙江人民出

版社1986年版，第315页。

10 See Li, Y. *Ethical Issues in Economics*. Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 1995: 136-139, 151-853.

10 参阅厉以宁：《经济学的伦理问题》，生活·读书·新知三联书店1995年版，第136～139、151～153页。

11 Li, Y. *The Birth and Development of Macroeconomics*. Changsha: Hunan People's Publishing House, 1997: 41.

11 厉以宁：《宏观经济学的产生和发展》，湖南人民出版社1997年版，第41页。

12 Ibid.

12 同上。

13 Zhao, X. "Expounding the Theory of Moral Sentiments". *Wenhui Daily*, April 11, 2009.

13 赵修义：《<道德情操论>究竟是一本什么样的书》，载《文汇报》，2009年4月11日。

14 Ibid.

14 同上。

15 See Qiu, F. "Background of the Market". *Essay*, issue 1, 2006, p. 150.

15 参阅秋风：《市场的背景》，载《随笔》，2006年第1期，第150页。

第二章

1 See Li, Y. *Economics and Political Science of Socialism*. Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1986.

1 参阅厉以宁：《社会主义政治经济学》，商务印书馆1986年版。

2 See Mayo, E. *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*. Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1964: 25-26.

2 参阅梅欧：《工业文明的社会问题》，商务印书馆1964年版，第25～26页。

3 See Jiang, B. "Dig Well of Sweet Water in Desert". *Dushu*, issue 9, 1988.

3 参阅江滨：《自荒漠中开掘甘泉》，载《读书》，1988年第9期。

4 See Pirenne, H. *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1964: 156.

4 参阅皮朗：《中世纪欧洲经济社会史》，上海人民出版社1964年版，第156页。

5 See Kropotkin, P. M*utual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*. Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1963: 167.

5 参阅克鲁泡特金：《互助论》，商务印书馆1963年版，第167页。

6 See Cipolla, C. M. *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*. vol. 1. "The Middle Ages". Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1988: 63-64, 278-279.

6 参阅奇波拉主编：《欧洲经济史》，第1卷，"中世纪时期"，商务印书馆1988年版，第63～64、278～279页。

7 See Cipolla, C. M. *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*. vol. 2. "Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries". Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1988: 457-458.

7 参阅奇波拉主编：《欧洲经济史》，第2卷，"十六和十七世纪"，商务印书馆1988年版，第457～458页。

8 See Kropotkin, P. *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*. St. Louis: Dialectics, 2013: 135-136.

8 参阅克鲁泡特金：《互助论》，商务印书馆1963年版，第205～206页。

9 Thompson, J. W. *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages*. vol. 2. Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1984: 323.

9 汤普逊：《中世纪经济社会史》，下册，商务印书馆1984年版，第323页。

10 Pirenne, H. *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1964: 13.

10 皮朗：《中世纪欧洲经济社会史》，上海人民出版社1964年版，第13页。

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14　See Zhang, Y. "To Know What Is Righteous and Act Heroically". *Dushu*, issue 7, 1996: 74.

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16　Ibid.

16　同上。

第三章

1　See Li, Y. "The Question of Fairness of Income Distribution". Section 1, Chapter 6, in *Economics and Political Science of Socialism*. Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1986; "A Further Discussion on the Relationship Between Market Economy and Income Distribution". Section 3, Chapter 2, in *The Shareholding System and Modern Market Economy*. Nanjing: Jiangsu People's Publishing House, 1994; "Further Thinking on Efficiency and Fairness". Section 3, Chapter 1, in *Ethical Issues in Economics*. Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 1995.

1　参阅厉以宁：《社会主义政治经济学》，第十六章第一节“收入分配的合理性问题”，商务印书馆1986年版；《股份制与现代市场经济》，第二章第三节“市场经济与收入分配之间关系的进一步探讨”，江苏人民出版社1994年版；《经济学的伦理问题》，第一张第三节“关于效率与公平问题的深层次思考”，生活·读书·新知三联书店1995年版。

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5 参阅克拉潘：《现代英国经济史》，上册，商务印书馆1986年版，第255、275页。

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6 参阅麦金德：《民主的理想与现实》，商务印书馆1965年版，第168～169页。

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7 参阅厉以宁：《经济学的伦理问题》，生活·读书·新知三联书店1995年版，第10～12页。

8 See Kropotkin, P. *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*. St. Louis: Dialectics, 2013: 102.

8 参阅克鲁泡特金：《互助论》，商务印书馆1963年版，第158～159页。

9 Ibid.: 101.

9 同上，第157页。

10 For further discussion on mutual trust in enterprises, see Chapter 7, Section 5.

10 在本书第七章第五节“社会信任的重建”中，对企业的互信问题将有进一步的论述。

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2 See Chen, J. *An Introduction to Heidegger's Philosophy*. Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 1995: 11-112.

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3 Ibid.: 14-15,19.
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5 张汝伦：《既往可咎：谈海德格尔公案》，载《读书》，1989年第4期，第105～106页。
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2 Ibid.: 78.
2 同上，第78页。
3 Ibid.: 79.
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4 Ibid.
4 同上。
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6 参阅凡勃仑：《有闲阶级论》，商务印书馆1981年版，第82页。
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Publishing Company, 1995: 216.

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1 See Li, Y. *Transformational Development Theory*. Beijing: Tongxin Press, 1996: 291.

1 参阅厉以宁：《转型发展理论》，同心出版社1996年版，第291页。

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6 Ibid.: 415.

6 同上，第506～507页。

7 Li, Y. *Transformational Development Theory*. Beijing: Tongxin Press, 1996: 279-282.

7 厉以宁：《转型发展理论》，同心出版社1996年版，第279～282页。

8 Du, W. "Value of the Confucian Tradition and Democracy". *Dushu*, 1989, issue 4: 97.

8 杜维明：《儒学传统价值与民主》，载《读书》，1989年第4期，第97页。

9 In my book *The Shareholding System and Modern Market Economy*,

I wrote: "'Sharing a big pot' was undoubtedly egalitarianism, but in reality it never meant 'eating from the same pot.' If you are curious enough, please read the novel *Outlaws of the Marsh*. Among the rebels gathered on Liangshan there were two big pots. Each pot itself meant egalitarianism, and two pots meant egalitarianism at two levels. Which pot you ate from depended on the level you belonged to." (See Li, Y. *The Shareholding System and Modern Market Economy*. Nanjing: Jiangsu People's Publishing House, 1994: 69)

9 我在《股份制与现代市场经济》一书中曾这样写道："吃大锅饭无疑是一种平均主义。但'大锅饭'，从来不是一口锅里吃饭。如果读者有兴趣，不妨看一看《水浒传》……（梁山泊）有两口大锅，在每一口锅内部是平均主义。这是两口锅的'大锅饭'……你属于那一个档次，就在那口锅里吃大锅饭；你属于这一个档次，就在这口锅里吃大锅饭。"（厉以宁：《股份制与现代市场经济》，江苏人民出版社1994年版，第69页）

10 "Under the planned economy, citizens actually stood in a subject-master relationship to administrators. Both the nature and place of work for individuals were fixed by labor or personnel departments without reference to personal preference. To resist the arrangement was to forfeit the change of a job." (See Li, Y. *The Shareholding System and Modern Market Economy*. Nanjing: Jiangsu People's Publishing House, 1994: 446)

10 "在计划经济体制之下，居民个人实际上也处于行政部门附属物的地位。个人作为劳动者，在什么工作岗位上就业和担任什么工作，都由劳动人事机构按计划安排好，流动难以如愿，抵制这种安排等于自己断送了再工作的机会。"（厉以宁：《股份制与现代市场经济》，江苏人民出版社1994年版，第446页）

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1 Weber, M. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 1987.

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2 《新编剑桥世界近代史》，第1卷，中国社会科学出版社1988年版，第122页。

3 Weber, M. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Routledge, 2001: 34.

3 马克斯·韦伯：《新教伦理与资本主义精神》，生活·读书·新知三联书店1987年版，第53页。

4 Ibid.: 35.

4 同上，第54页。

5 Ibid.: 120.

5 同上，第139页。

6 For a detailed discussion of the origin of capitalism and why feudalism existed so long in China, see my book *Origin of Capitalism: Comparative Studies on Economic History* (The Commercial Press, 2003).

6 关于资本主义的起源和中国封建社会长期存在的问题，我在《资本主义的起源：比较经济史研究》（商务印书馆2003年版）一书中进行了详细的论述。

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11 Ibid.

11　同上。

12　Boorstin, D. J. *The American: the Colonial Experience*. New York: Vintage-Random, 1964: 29.

12　丹尼尔·布尔斯廷：《美国人：开拓历程》，生活·读书·新知三联书店1993年版，第32页。

13　See Hayek, F. A. *The Road to Serfdom*. Second edition. London: Routledge, 1976: 100-101; *Laws, Legislation and Liberty*, vol. 2, "The Mirage of Social Justice". Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976: 142.

13　参阅哈耶克：《通向奴役之路》，第2版，伦敦，1976年版，第100～101页；哈耶克：《法律、立法和自由》第2卷，《社会正义的幻景》，芝加哥，1976年版，第142页。

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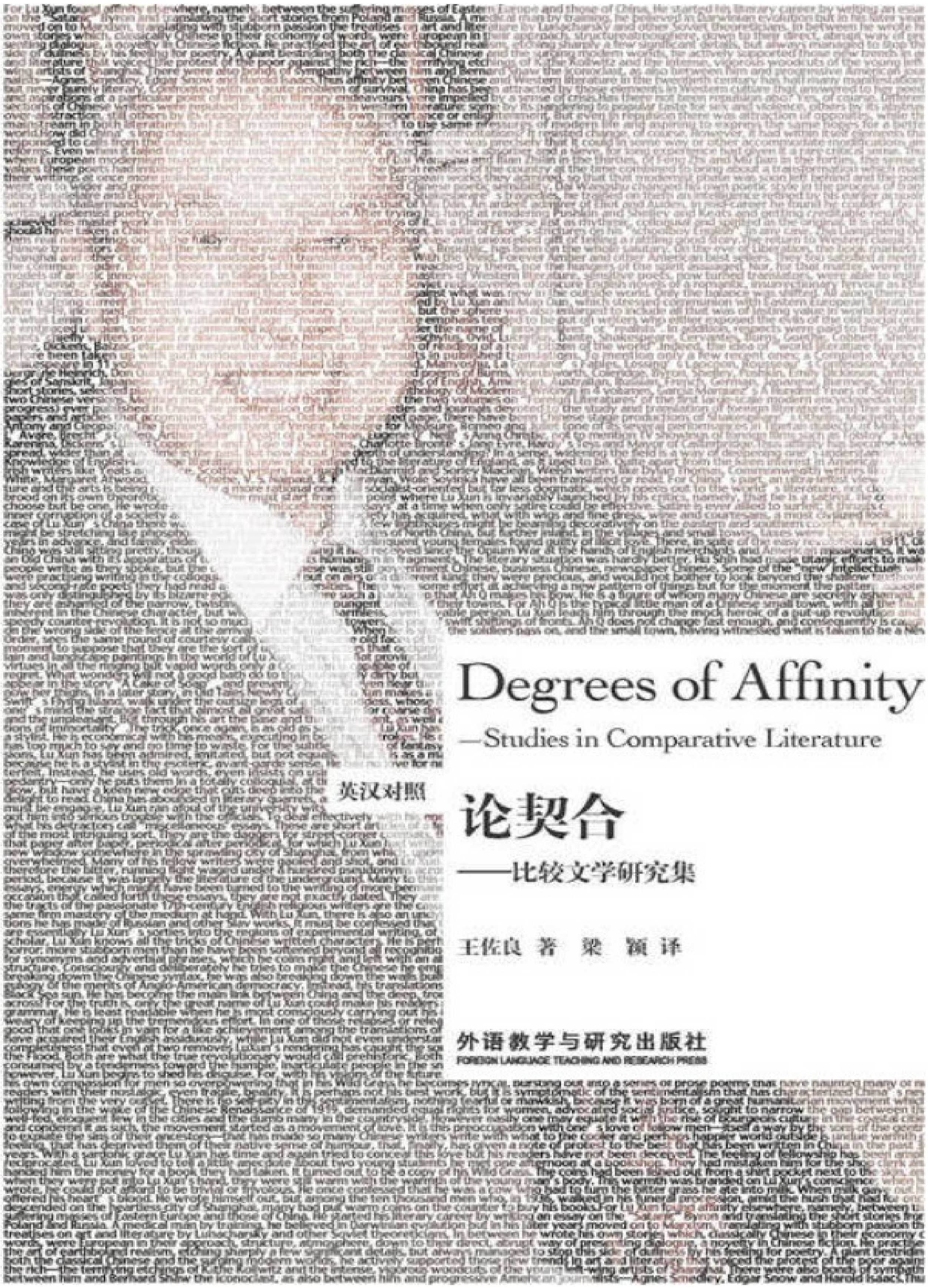
15　Ibid.

15　同上。



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王佐良（1916-1995），学者、诗人、翻译家，浙江上虞人。专于英国文学和中西文学比较研究。曾任北京外国语学院副院长、外国文学研究所所长，《外国文学》主编，国务院学位委员会外国文学评议组组长，全国政协委员，中国莎士比亚学会副会长，中国英语教学研究会会长等职。

主要代表作有《英国文学史》、《英国诗史》、《英国散文的流变》、《莎士比亚绪论》等

“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future?—Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦

有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

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Degrees of Affinity

论契合

Studies in Comparative Literature

比较文学研究集

PREFACE

These essays, mostly written after 1980, a few dating back to the nineteen forties, all have one central idea: affinity between authors and between literatures. The idea must have been at the back of my mind for many years, but only recently did I fully realize its importance. Momentous changes often occur when a foreign literature satisfies a sore need of an indigenous literature, thus developing a strong affinity, which is however seldom purely literary, for social, cultural, economic and other factors are always at work. A more dramatic situation arises when an old literature meets a new, the former backed up by a long and resilient classical tradition, the latter armed with an innovative aesthetic or a militant ideology. Such has been the case of Chinese literature vis-à-vis Western literature in the twentieth century. Such, too, is my main enquiry in the essays in Part One.

Part Two deals with affinity of other kinds. The first essay, excerpted from my earlier book *The Literary Reputation of John Webster* (Salzburg, 1975), takes up the affinity between Charles Lamb and the Jacobean dramatists. The other two reveal a Chinese concern for Celtic works, itself a sign of this country's expanding interest in world literature.

Nearly all the essays have appeared in periodicals in China or abroad, including *Chinese Literature* (Beijing), *Life and Letters Today* (London), *O' Casey Annual* (London), *Studies in Scottish Literature* (University of South Carolina), *Wai Guo Yu* (Shanghai), *Waiyu Jiaoxue yu Yanjiu* (Beijing) and *Wen Yuan* (Beijing).

Various friends and colleagues have helped, in the course of my writing these essays, with suggestions, criticisms, or stimulating discussions. To my tutor at Nanyue and Kunming, the late Sir William Empson, I owe my initiation into poetics. My supervisor at Oxford, Professor F. P. Wilson, also much missed, taught me the rigours and delights of literary scholarship. Still another teacher, Professor Qian Zhongshu, sets all of us an example of broad erudition that traverses many centuries and literatures. My boon companions in intellectual and other matters have been, since we were classmates together at Tsing Hua or Lianda, Professors Li Funing and Yang Zhouhan of Beijing University and Professors Xu Guozhang and Zhou Jueliang of Beijing

Foreign Studies University. My wife, who edits and transcribes nearly all my MSS and typed portions of this one, has over the years shared with me the exhilaration of seeing a job finished as well as the dismay in finding it less than perfect afterwards. What she will think of this work a year hence I am not at all sure, but as with all my earlier publications I alone am responsible for all errors and deficiencies. I also owe a debt to my young colleagues in the Institute for Researches in Foreign Literatures, newly set up within the Beijing Foreign Studies University, where the lively sessions on Tuesday afternoons have never failed to sharpen my wits as well as to broaden my outlook. Indeed, it is to the young that one looks for bringing about greater affinity between literatures and peoples.

Wang Zuoliang
March 1985
Beijing Foreign Studies University

序言

本论文集中的文章大多在1980年以后写成，有几篇可追溯至20世纪40年代，但所有的文章都围绕一个中心：作家之间、文学之间的契合。这个主题一定萦绕在我心头多年了，只是近期我才完全意识到其重要性。当外国文学的输入解决了本土文学的迫切需求时，本土文学就会应时而动，发生巨变，并同时与外国文学产生契合；而这时的契合就不仅是文学间，也涉及到社会、文化、经济和其他方面。倘若一种古老的文学与一种新兴的文学相遇一处，前者有着悠久而弹性十足的古典传统，后者又拥有富有创意的美学或激进的意识形态，契合与碰撞就会更加精彩。这即是20世纪中国文学与外国文学的相遇，也是本书第一部分主要探讨的内容。

第二部分探讨几类不同的契合。第一篇摘自我之前写的《约翰·韦伯斯特的文学声誉》（萨尔斯堡，1975），探讨查尔斯·兰姆和詹姆士一世时代剧作家[1]之间的契合。另外两篇探讨中国人对凯尔特文学的关注，这本身就体现了中国对世界文学愈发广泛的兴趣。

几乎所有这些文章都在中国或外国的期刊上发表过，比如《中国文学》（北京）、《今日生活与来信》（伦敦）、《奥凯西年鉴》（伦敦）、《苏格兰文学研究》（美国南卡罗来纳大学）、《外国语》（上海）、《外语教学与研究》（北京）和《文苑》（北京）。

我写作期间，很多朋友和同事给予了莫大的帮助，或给出建议，或提出批评，或促发讨论。感谢我在南岳和昆明的导师，已故的威廉·燕卜荪爵士，是他带我走进了诗学的大门。牛津的导师F. P. 威尔逊教授也是我常怀念的人，他教会了我文学研究的严谨与愉悦。另外还有一位导师是钱锺书教授，先生经年累月学贯中西的素养实为我们所有人的楷模。还要感谢从清华和西南联大以来就是学术上以及其他方面的良师益友——北京大学李赋宁教授、杨周翰教授，北京外国语学院许国璋教授、周珏良教授。

我的妻子几乎编辑和誊写了我的所有手稿，本书的一部分内容也是她打出的。这些年来她与我一起分享完成工作时的喜悦以及后来发现瑕疵时的沮丧。本书出版一年后，她将怎样看待它，我丝毫不知；但就如同我之前出版的所有著作一样，我对书中的所有错误和不足负全责。我还要对北京外国语学院新创建的外国文学研究所的年轻同事们表示感谢。每周二下午，这里热烈的学术讨论都能让我开拓思路并产生新的思

想火花。的确，文学之间、民族之间更多的契合要仰仗年轻人去开拓。

王佐良
1985年3月
于北京外国语学院

I ON AFFINITY BETWEEN LITERATURES

When one reads James Wright's poem, entitled: As I Step Over a Puddle at the End of Winter, I Think of an Ancient Chinese Governor, and comes to lines like:

> Did you find the city of isolated men beyond mountains?
> Or have you been holding the end of a frayed rope
> For a thousand years?

one finds unmistakable affinity between an American poet writing about his solitude on the bank of the Mississippi in the 1960s and a Chinese poet sitting uneasily in a boat being towed upstream on the Yangtze in the ninth century. When one marvels at Dai Wangshu's Chinese translation of Baudelaire's *Fleurs du Mal* or of Federico García Lorca's "Romance de la Guardia Civil Española", one finds affinity too between translator and poet, though it varies in scope, depth or intensity from poem to poem.

Affinity works in all sorts of ways. It is not restricted to any one period, but can cut across centuries. Revival of interest in ancient authors shows affinity at work between one generation and another. Charles Lamb's *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets Who Lived About the Time of Shakspeare* revealed a Romantic interest in Jacobean drama which was to find a modernist sequel in T. S. Eliot's revaluation of Webster and Tourneur in the next century.

Perhaps the most thought-provoking kind of affinity is to be found where people least expect it: between literatures of widely divergent languages and traditions.

There has been such affinity between Chinese and European literature from 1900 onwards. On the face of it, nothing could be wider apart than these two, each with a distinct social and cultural background of its own.

Yet after the Chinese had suffered repeated military defeats at the hands of the Europeans in the second half of the nineteenth century, a cultural situation arose in China marked by a mounting interest in Western technology and institutions. From 1896 to 1908, Yan Fu took it upon himself to introduce to the scholar-mandarins a whole new ideology by translating

some of its basic books, ranging from *De l'esprit des lois* and *The Wealth of the Nations* to *On Liberty*. There was still some doubt about whether the Europeans, devilishly clever as they appeared to be in building steamships and forging howitzers, had any polite literature. This was effectively dispelled by Lin Shu's translations of Western novels, ranging from Alexandre Dumas fils's *La Dame aux Camélias* to Charles Dickens's *David Copperfield*, which revealed the depth of their feeling as well as, in some cases, the refinement of their manners. Mrs. Harriet Stowe's "protest" novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which Lin also translated, made both the translator and his readers indignant over black slavery and apprehensive about yellow slavery, a fate that seemed to be hanging over the heads of the Chinese.

English Romantic poetry made its impact too, at first mainly by quotable lines of a political significance. Three Chinese versions of Byron's "Isles of Greece" appeared in quick succession in Shanghai at the turn of the century and the translators were, respectively, a half-Japanese monkpoet, a German-trained educationist and Dr. Hu Shih, a disciple of the American pragmatist philosopher John Dewey. These versions, of varying degrees of accuracy and poetic felicity, appealed to an intelligentsia who were getting daily more restive under the rule of the Qing emperors. Thus they were extraordinarily stirred when they came to lines like:

> 'Tis something, in the dearth of fame,
> Though link'd among a fetter'd race,
> To feel at least a patriot's shame,
> Even as I sing, suffuse my face;
> For what is left the poet here?
> For Greeks a blush—for Greece a tear.
>
> Must we but weep o'er days more blest?
> Must we but blush?—Our fathers bled.

Soon enough, they also bled, in insurrections which eventually overthrew the Manchu Dynasty[1] and established a Republic.

Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind", translated somewhat later by the poet-historian Guo Moruo, stirred a new generation of Chinese intellectuals. The line most often quoted—and not by poets alone, but also by revolutionaries in prison and even on the eve of their execution—was the ending:

> If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?

Perhaps that was precisely the kind of effect Shelley meant to achieve, but did he have any idea that it would be so fully realized in distant China?

In all this, one sees affinity.

With the rise of the New Culture Movement of 1919, things took a more decisive turn. There occurred a gigantic language reform. All writings, except official notices, antiquarian essays, and polite verses for ceremonial occasions, were henceforth to be done in *baihua*, the plain speech, instead of *wenyan*, the literary medium which had remained virtually unchanged for over a thousand years. Many to this day lament this rash change, particularly poets of the old school, but it certainly facilitated, among other things, translation of foreign works, literary and otherwise. *The Communist Manifesto* was translated from a Japanese version in 1920, and soon China was convulsed in changes that shook the world. For that slim book showed the Chinese intelligentsia and the nascent working class that there could be a juster, more equitable society than the bourgeois democracy many of their elders had been hankering for. The immediate task, however, was to deal with problems arising out of a medievalism which was supposed to be moribund but actually still had plenty of kicks left. Here again translation of foreign literary works proved to be helpful. Ibsen's *A Doll's House* touched a chord in every feminist heart in China, which however only caused the sardonic Lu Xun to ask, "What happened to Nora after she left her husband?"

For Lu Xun found affinity elsewhere, namely, between the suffering masses of Eastern Europe and those of China. He started his literary career by writing an essay on the "Satanic" Byron and translating the short stories from Poland and Russia. A medical man by training, he believed in Darwinian evolution but in his later years moved on to Marxism, translating with stubborn passion the treatises on art and literature by Lunacharsky and other Soviet theoreticians. In between he wrote his own stories which, classically Chinese in their economy of words, were European in their approach, structure, atmosphere, down to their direct, abrupt way of presenting dialogue, a novelty in Chinese fiction. He practised the art of earthbound realism, etching sharply a few significant details, but always managed to stop this side of dullness by his feeling for poetry. A giant bestriding both the classical Chinese and the surging modern worlds, he actively supported those new trends in art and literature that voiced the protest of the poor against the rich—the terrifying etchings of Käthe Kollwitz and the intense, vigorous woodcuts of the young left-wing artists of Shanghai. There were also bonds of sympathy between him and Bernard Shaw the iconoclast, as also between him and progressive American journalists—Agnes Smedley, Edgar Snow and

Harold Isaacs.

Thus affinity between Chinese and Western literature in the twentieth century has had many manifestations, but never purely literary. Confronted with an acute problem of survival, China has been attracted by those elements in Western culture that answered to her needs and aspirations at a particular point of time. Many literary endeavours were impelled by a sense of crisis.

Has there not been repulsion also? Yes, of course. Different sections of Chinese writers were repulsed by different things in Western literature: some by its pandering to popular taste for sex and violence, others by its abstruse over-abstraction, still others by its exaggerated sense of its own importance or enlightenment. But even in repulsion there was attraction of opposites, while the mainstream in both literatures had a lot in common, being subject to the same pressures of modern life and aspiring to express the same hopes for a better world.

How did China's long classical tradition react in these encounters and confrontations? It resisted change, of course. However, it had within itself elements that responded to calls from the outside world. The reason why it had such resilience was precisely that it could in some way or other accommodate modifications and reforms. Even when it failed to contain the onslaught of the new, it acted as a shock absorber and a sieve, for long experience had given it a rare critical sense. Thus when European modernism made its presence felt in the poetry of Dai Wangshu and Bian Zhilin in the thirties, of Feng Zhi and Mu Dan in the forties, the sense of values these poets had imbibed from their classical masters and the harsh realities of the country at the time combined to bring about a transformation which made their writings at once more polished and more earthbound than the European works they admired, so that that modernist phase was soon left behind and the poets went on to wider and greener pastures.

Yet the experience sharpened Chinese poetic sensibility. Dai Wangshu changed his own poetic style in the process of translating Baudelaire and éluard. When Bian Zhilin later turned to translating Shakespeare's tragedies, he trained on them an intelligence refined by his earlier acquaintance with Mallarmé and Valéry. Perhaps the most significant case is that of Mu Dan. An ardent admirer of Eliot and Auden, in mid-career he found he couldn't go on writing modernist poetry and so took refuge in translation. After trying his hand at rendering Pushkin and Shelley and Keats and getting creditable results, he achieved his master work in his translation of Byron's *Don Juan*,

all 16 cantos of it, in a Chinese verse just as rhythmic, colloquial and spirited as the original. It is odd that it should have taken a Chinese modernist to appreciate the real qualities of Byron, in spite of Eliot's strictures on his "schoolboy English". In any case, Zha Liangzheng (Mu Dan's real name) brings out to the full Byron's satirical power, conversational ease and unexcelled gift of telling a rattling good story.

The return to Western classics by Chinese translators after 1949, the year of the establishment of the People's Republic, has been on the whole salutary. On the eve of Liberation, the book markets of Shanghai and other cities had been inundated with translations of *Gone With the Wind*, *Forever Amber* and other American best sellers. They too satisfied a need of the common reader. But the deeper recesses of the mind could not be reached by them, nor the hungers of the spirit assuaged. Nor, for that matter, were they models of artistic innovation. Hence, in falling back upon the classical masters of Western literature, sensitive poets, now turned translators, were able to instil a higher sense of values, which also counterbalanced the spread of such Soviet rediscoveries of obscure English novels of a romantic, insurrectionary fervour as Ethel Lilian Voynich's *Gadfly* (1897).

But this does not mean that windows were shut against what was new in the outside world. Only the balance was shifted. All along there had been a strong current in twentieth-century Chinese literature, represented by Lu Xun and Mao Dun, which stressed communion with Eastern European literatures. After 1949, increased attention was paid to contemporary Soviet works, but the sphere was also enlarged to include all that was of lasting value in world literature or what Lenin called "the whole cultural heritage of man". In actual practice emphasis tended to be put on writers who either exposed the evils of the old social order or embraced utopian, socialist or communist ideals, lumped together under the name of "progressives" or "realists". In addition, respects were paid to the "cultural giants", chiefly writers praised or discussed by Marx himself—Homer, Aeschylus, Ovid, Lucretius, Dante, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Burns, Goethe, Cobbett, Shelley, Heine, Dickens, Balzac, etc., an impressive list which bears out the width of reading of a real "citizen of the world".

Indeed, the idea of "world literature" has never before been taken up with such seriousness and such tangible results in published translations. To mention only a few recent ones: a *Complete Works of Shakespeare* in 11 volumes, *Ramayana* in 7 volumes, *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Aeneid*, *Manyoshu*, La

Fontaine's *Fables*, Lessing's *Laocoon*, Rousseau's *Confessions*, Keller's *Dergrüne Heinrich*, *Don Quixote*, *Don Juan*, *Ivanhoe* (a new version), selected poems of Burns, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Pushkin, Emily Dickinson, anthologies of Sanskrit, Japanese, French, English, Scottish, American poetry, anthologies of English, American, Australian, Russian, French, German, Japanese, Burmese, Mexican short stories, selected plays of Brecht and O'Casey, a comprehensive anthology of *Modernist Writings* in 4 volumes, García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude* in two Chinese versions. Mention may also be made of the publication of the two volumes on "Foreign Literatures" of the first large-scale modern encyclopedia (still in progress) ever published in China, the proliferation of learned societies and journals devoted to the study and translation of foreign literatures and the spate of papers and articles that accompany such activities. Outside the printed page, there have been Chinese stage productions of Shakespeare's *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *Lear*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *The Tempest*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Measure for Measure*, *Romeo and Juliet* (one of its several performances in Tibetan dialect), of Molière's *L'Avare*, Brecht's *Galileo*, Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, Eugene O'Neill's *Anna Christie*, not to mention TV showings of foreign films such as Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*, Dickens's *David Copperfield* and *A Tale of Two Cities*, Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, Hardy's *Tess* and *Mayor of Casterbridge*.

Thus affinity has become widespread, wider than at any time in the past. But how about the depth of understanding? In a sense, widening the field is a way of deepening one's understanding of it. Knowledge of English-language literature is now not confined to the literature of England, as it used to be. Quite apart from the keen interest in American writers, Irish writers like Yeats and Joyce, Scottish writers like Hugh MacDiarmid and Sorley Maclean, Welsh writers like Dylan Thomas, Commonwealth writers like Patrick White, Margaret Atwood, Chinua Achebe, V. S. Naipaul, R. K. Narayan, Wole Soyinka have all been translated or read. For China's part, an ultra-leftist view of literature and the arts is being replaced by a more rational one, still socialist-oriented but far less dogmatic, which opens out to the world's literature, not closes in to brood on its own theoretical niceties.

Hence there will be deeper as well as wider affinities between Chinese and other literatures.

Literary traffic is rarely one-way. Here, only a Chinese view of the scene is sketched. Another book waits to be written to tell the view from the other

side.

What next? Large questions remain. In an age marked by worldwide nuclear threat, how will literature survive? For the moment, how should literature cope with the tremendous technological advances? How will the rapid new means of communicating with each other and the use of ever more sophisticated computers affect the world's creative writing?

Those who believe in one world naturally look forward to the kind of literature that traverses languages and cultures, as is advocated by Hugh MacDiarmid in his later years:

> Knowledge and, indeed, adoption *(Aneignung)*
> Of the rich Western tradition
> And all the wisdom of the East as well
> Is the indispensable condition for any progress;
> World-history and world-philosophy
> Are only now beginning to dawn;
> Whatever the tribulation may yet be in store for men
> Pessimism is false.

—In Memoriam James Joyce [2]

Yet the core remains the earth, the solid stones:

> We must be humble. We are so easily baffled by appearances
> And do not realise that these stones are one with the stars.
> It makes no difference to them whether they are high or low,
> Mountain peak or ocean floor, palace, or pigsty.
> There are plenty of ruined buildings in the world but no ruined stones.
> No visitor comes from the stars
> But is the same as they are.

—On a Raised Beach [3]

Perhaps one may add: not just stones for metaphysical contemplation or aesthetic enjoyment, but stones with people living on them. After all, it is the people's sufferings that have made literature poignant, as their aspirations have made it noble. Vast areas of the world are still ravaged by desease, hunger, oppression, exploitation, age-old problems that afflict people with a new ferocity. It is heartening to find a major contemporary writer like García Márquez wanting to end all this, to break the cursed century-old solitude in his part of the world, by "building a utopia"—a word that seems to have fallen out of use in these pragmatic days. Thus along with MacDiarmid's "world history and world philosophy", national literatures will endure, with their folk realism and their utopian ideals. Indeed, it is by the interplay between them that the world is enriched and made vastly more lovable.

壹　论文学间的契合

当我们手捧詹姆斯·赖特[1]的诗篇《冬末，越过泥潭，想到了古中国的一个地方官》，恰逢此句：

你在山那边找到孤独人的城市了吗？
还是紧握着那条磨损了
的纤绳的一头，
一千年都没有放手？

20世纪60年代，一位美国诗人在密西西比河畔写下己身的寂寥；九世纪，一位中国诗人惴惴不安地乘一叶小舟，被纤夫拉着船在长江上逆流而上——你无疑可以感觉到这两位诗人之间的契合。当你对诗人戴望舒所译之诗叹为观止，无论是波德莱尔的《恶之花》还是费德里科·加西亚·洛尔迦[2]的《西班牙宪警谣》，你会发现译者和诗人之间也有契合，尽管在不同的诗篇上契合的广度、深度和强烈程度有所不同。

契合有诸多呈现形式。它不囿于某一时代，可跨越数个世纪。对古代作者重燃兴趣意味着时代虽不同，作品仍可契合。查尔斯·兰姆的《莎士比亚同时代英国戏剧诗人之范作》从浪漫主义角度阐述了詹姆士一世时代的戏剧。无独有偶，一个世纪之后，艾略特也跨越时代，用现代主义视角对韦伯斯特和特纳[3]进行全新的评价。

也许最发人深省的契合见于最让人意想不到的文学之间：语言与传统都大相径庭的文学之间。

1900年以来的中国文学和欧洲文学间的契合就是如此。表面看来，它们各自有着独特的社会和文化背景，没有什么比这两者之间的差异更大的了。

但是中国人在19世纪后半叶多次败在欧洲列强手里之后，一种文化现象得以在中国萌生，即国人对西方科技和制度的兴趣日益浓厚。1896年至1908年间，严复敢为天下先，翻译了一系列介绍西方的重要著作，包括《法意》《原富》《论自由》等，从而担负起向旧式文人宣扬全新意识形态的使命。当时的国人依旧存有疑虑，认为欧洲人虽说在汽船和枪炮方面十分高明，却不一定有高雅的文学。而林纾翻译的西方小说有力地驱散了这一疑云。从小仲马的《巴黎茶花女遗事》到查尔斯·狄更斯的《块肉余生述》，西方人丰富的情感和娴雅的举止（在某些情况下）展露无遗。林纾还翻译了斯托夫人的“反抗”小说《黑奴吁天录》。无论林纾本人还是广大读者都对黑人奴隶制度深恶痛绝，也为黄种人可能会沦为奴隶而忧虑不安，因为中国人似乎正面临着同样的命运。

英国浪漫主义诗歌也对国人产生了影响，起初主要是具有政治影响力的、脍炙人口的诗句。在这个世纪之交的上海，拜伦《哀希腊》的三个中译本接踵而至；译者一个是有一半日本血统的僧侣诗人，一个是有德国学习经历的教育家，一个是美国实用主义哲学家约翰·杜威的弟子——胡适博士。这些译本虽在准确性和诗性语言的贴切程度上各有千秋，但都受到对清政府统治日益不满的知识分子的推崇。因此，当他们读到如下诗句时，心中波澜起伏：

> 也好，置身在奴隶民族里，
> 尽管荣誉都已在沦丧中，
> 至少，一个爱国志士的忧思，
> 还使我的作歌时感到脸红；
> 因为，诗人在这儿有什么能为？
> 为希腊人含羞，对希腊国落泪。
>
> 我们难道只好对时光悲哭
> 和惭愧？——我们的祖先却流血。【4】

很快，知识分子揭竿而起，不惜流血牺牲，最终推翻了清政府，建立了中华民国。

此后不久，诗人兼历史学家郭沫若翻译了雪莱的《西风颂》，激发了新一代中国知识分子。最常被引用的——不仅诗人爱引用，监狱里的革命者也爱引用，他们甚至在行刑的前一晚都还在吟诵——是末尾一句：

> 冬天已经来了，春天还会远吗？

也许这正是雪莱想要的效果，然而他可曾料到自己的愿望竟是在遥远的中国才得以完全实现呢？

从这一切，我们看见了契合。

1919年新文化运动兴起，局势有了决定性转机，巨大的语言变革应运而生。除了官方公告、古籍、仪式颂词，所有写作都用简明的白话，而非千年未曾变化的文学介质——文言。时至今日，很多人还在哀叹那次的语言变革过于草率，特别是旧派诗人。不过这一变革确乎好处良多，其中之一就是为外国文学或非文学作品的翻译提供了便利。《共产党宣言》于1920年经由日文版译成中文，中国很快陷入巨变，整个世界为之震动。因为这本薄薄的小书让中国的知识分子和新兴工人阶级看到，还存在一个比他们很多父辈期盼的资本主义民主还更加公正、更加平等的社会。但是眼下最紧要的问题是解决封建社会遗留的问题，因为封建社会虽然理应死亡，实却余孽未消。外国文学作品的翻译在此再次发挥了作用。易卜生的《玩偶之家》触动了中国每个女权主义者的心弦，虽然擅长嘲讽的鲁迅唱起了反调：“娜拉走后怎样？”

鲁迅则在同样受苦受难的东欧民众和中国民众之间发现了契合。他

通过写一篇论述“恶魔诗人”拜伦的文章以及翻译一些波兰和俄国的短篇小说开启了自己的文学生涯。鲁迅原本学医，信奉达尔文进化论，后转向马克思主义，凭借顽强的意志和满腔的热情翻译了卢那察尔斯基[5]和其他苏联理论家关于文学和艺术的论文。此间，他还进行文学创作。虽说其简练的言辞颇具中国语言的特色，但写法、结构、氛围甚至直截了当的对话呈现形式都是欧式的，在中国小说界实属创新。他采用现实主义写法，着重描写少量的重要细节，但总能运用诗歌上的造诣来抵消白描的无趣。鲁迅是横跨中国古典文学和现代文学界的巨人，他积极支持那些反映穷人对富人表示抗议的文学和艺术新趋势，如凯绥·珂勒惠支[6]的悲凉蚀刻版画和上海左翼青年艺术家充满激情的木刻版画。他和反传统的萧伯纳惺惺相惜，和美国左翼进步记者艾格尼丝·史沫特莱、埃德加·斯诺以及伊罗生[7]也有类似情谊。

因此，20世纪的中西文学间的契合在多方面表现出来，但从来就不仅仅体现在文学上。面临严峻生存问题的中国被西方文化中的某些因素吸引，这些元素能解决该国时下的需求和向往。危机感也催生了大量的文学作品。

难道中国人对西方文学就没有反感吗？当然有。不同类型的中国作家反感的东西有所不同：有的反感西方文学中迎合大众喜好性爱或暴力的成分，有的讨厌其中过于抽象和艰深的部分，有的讨厌其过于夸大自身的重要性或启蒙性特征。但即便是反感，也掺杂着反向吸引。中外的主流文学之间有很多相似之处，毕竟两者都遭遇了现代生活的压力，且都满怀对更美好世界的向往。

面对这种相遇，中国悠久的古典文学传统又会作何反应呢？当然是拒绝变化。但是，它自身也带有对外来的呼唤作出回应的因子。中国文学之所以如此灵活，正是由于它总有办法来适应变革。长久以来的积淀使它具有一种罕见的批判视野，即使未能同化入侵的外来文学，它至少也能荣辱不惊，并筛去相抵触的因素。因此，当欧洲现代主义于30年代出现在戴望舒和卞之琳的诗中，继而于40年代现于冯至和穆旦的诗中时，这几位诗人一方面从中国古典文学中汲取营养，一方面又直面当时中国的残酷现实，他们的作品因而兼具阳春白雪与下里巴人特征，比他们效仿的欧洲现代文学更精致，更接地气。因此欧洲现代主义在中国转瞬即逝，而受其影响的中国诗人则大踏步迈向更广阔、更浩瀚的天地。

但这次接触使中国诗人的触角变得更灵敏了。戴望舒在翻译波德莱尔和保罗·艾吕雅[8]的过程中改变了自身的诗风。卞之琳后来翻译莎士比亚的悲剧时，就带着自己早年因为翻译马拉美[9]和瓦雷里[10]而变得更加敏感的诗歌鉴赏力。可能还是穆旦的例子最有说服力。他是艾略特和奥登的狂热崇拜者，在事业中期发现自己不能再创作现代诗，于是

偏安一隅，转而从事翻译。穆旦成功地翻译了普希金、雪莱、济慈之后，推出了自己的代表译作，拜伦《唐璜》的全部16个诗篇。译作和原作一样韵律优美，朗朗上口，极富灵动。说来也怪，竟会是穆旦这样的中国现代派诗人方能欣赏拜伦的真风采，尽管艾略特讥讽拜伦的英语是“小学生英语”。不管怎样，是查良铮（穆旦的本名）把拜伦的讽刺才能、随意的语体和无可比拟的叙事艺术全部展现给了国人。

1949年中华人民共和国成立之后，中国译者重拾西方经典的做法大体有益。在那之前，上海和其他一些城市的图书市场充斥着中文版的《飘》《除却巫山不是云》等美国畅销书。它们满足了大众的需要，但却不能拨动人们心灵深处的琴弦，抚慰心灵的饥渴，而且也非艺术创新的典范。因此，敏感的诗人们（现已成了译者）通过再次翻译西方经典文学，给中华民族输送了更有价值的外国文学作品。而且，这次翻译浪潮在一定程度上也可与当时苏联重新发现以伏尼契【11】的《牛虻》（1897）为代表的默默无闻的左翼浪漫主义英文作品的热潮相抗衡。

但这并不意味着他们对外界的新生事物关上了大门，只是天平的倾斜方向有所不同罢了。20世纪的中国文学一直有个很强的声音，以鲁迅和茅盾为代表，强调与东欧文学的紧密联系。1949年以后，这些作家对当代苏联文学作品的关注度越来越大，但同时也拓宽视野，关注着囊括了世界文学中所有经久不衰的作品，或者列宁所说的“人类全部的文化遗产”。在实际操作中，这些作家更重视那些揭露旧社会的丑恶或拥护乌托邦、社会主义、共产主义理想的作家，即所谓的“进步作家”或“现实主义作家”。另外，他们还重视“文化巨人”，多为马克思本人赞赏或评论过的作家——荷马、埃斯库罗斯、奥维德、卢克莱修、但丁、莎士比亚、塞万提斯、彭斯、歌德、科贝特、雪莱、海涅、狄更斯、巴尔扎克等。这是一份令人赞叹的名单，展现了一个真正的“世界公民”是多么博览群书。

事实上，在此之前，“世界文学”从未受过如此重视，从未如此大规模地被译成中文。只举新近出版的一些译作为例：11卷《莎士比亚全集》、7卷《罗摩耶那》、《伊利亚特》、《奥德塞》、《埃涅阿斯纪》、《万叶集》、《拉封丹寓言》、莱辛的《拉奥孔》、卢梭的《忏悔录》、高·凯勒的《绿衣亨利》、《堂吉诃德》、《唐璜》、《艾凡赫》（新版），彭斯、华兹华斯、柯尔律治、拜伦、雪莱、普希金、狄更生的诗选，梵文诗集，日本、法国、英国、苏格兰、美国的诗集，英国、美国、澳大利亚、俄国、法国、德国、日本、缅甸、墨西哥的短篇小说选集，布莱希特【12】和奥凯西【13】的喜剧作品选，4卷本详实的《现代主义作品选》，加西亚·马尔克斯《百年孤独》的两个中译本。还值得一提的是中国第一部覆盖面极广的现代百科全书（尚在进行中）的两

本外国文学卷已经出版，研究和翻译外国文学的学术团体和期刊大量涌现，学术论文也不甘落后，如雨后春笋般涌现。舞台剧演出的成绩也不同凡响。莎士比亚的《奥赛罗》《麦克白》《李尔王》《安东尼和克莉奥佩特拉》《暴风雨》《威尼斯商人》《一报还一报》《罗密欧与朱丽叶》（多次演出，其中一次用藏语），莫里哀的《悭吝人》，布莱希特的《伽利略传》，阿瑟·米勒的《推销员之死》，尤金·奥尼尔的《安娜·克里斯蒂》都被搬上了舞台。电视上也开始播映外国电影，比如托尔斯泰的《安娜·卡列尼娜》，狄更斯的《大卫·科波菲尔》和《双城记》，夏洛蒂·勃郎特的《简·爱》，哈代的《德伯家的苔丝》和《卡斯特桥市长》。

可见，契合发生的范围很广，广度上超过了以往任何一个时期。但在理解的深度上又如何呢？从某种程度上看，横向范围的拓展也意味着纵向理解的加深。如今，对英语文学的了解也不像过去那样只局限于英国文学了。国人除却对美国作家有着浓厚的兴趣外，还翻译和阅读爱尔兰作家叶芝和乔伊斯，苏格兰作家休·麦克迪尔米德和索利·麦克林，威尔士作家狄兰·托马斯，英联邦作家帕特里克·怀特、玛格丽特·阿特伍德、切努亚·阿契贝、V. S.奈保尔、R. K.纳拉扬、沃莱·索因卡。中国文学和艺术上的极“左”思潮已被更理性的观点所取代，虽然仍沿着社会主义道路前进，但远不像以前那样教条。它不再幽居暗室，津津乐道于自己思想的细致精微，而是敞开大门，放眼世界文学。

因此，中国与他国文学间将会产生更深、更广的契合。

文学间的交流很少单向进行。这本书只是从中国人的角度来阐述这个问题。期待有从外国文学的角度论述与中国契合的著作产生。

接下来呢？还有诸多重要的问题。在一个全球核威胁的时代，文学如何生存？文学怎能和日新月异的科技进步抗衡？全新快速的沟通方式以及更精密的计算机的使用又会对文学创作产生何种影响？

那些世界大同的信奉者自然向往一种超越语言和文化界限的文学，正如休·麦克迪尔米德在晚年的一首诗中所倡导的那样：

> 了解，而且吸纳，
> 丰富的西方人文传统
> 以及一切东方的智慧
> 是任何进步的必要条件；
> 世界历史和世界哲学的光辉
> 才刚刚开始显现；
> 不管人类将面临什么磨难，
> 悲观都不可取。

——《悼念詹姆斯·乔伊斯》

但立足点还是大地，还是坚硬的石头：

> 我们要谦卑。我们很容易被表象欺骗，

> 意识不到这些石头与天上的星辰实为一体。
> 但石头就是石头，
> 不管它来自天上，还是地下，
> 来自山峰还是海底，来自琼楼还是茅舍，
> 亭台楼阁能变作颓垣败瓦，但顽石不会灰飞烟灭。
> 星辰上不会有访客下临尘寰，
> 但是石头依然如故。

——《一片凸起的海滩》

也许可以补充一句：这里说的不光是供人冥想或供美学鉴赏的石头，也是人们立足的地球。毕竟，是人的痛苦成就了文学的深度，是人的渴望成就了文学的崇高。世界上还有很多地方依然饱受疾病、饥荒、剥削和压迫之苦，这些由来已久的问题呈现出愈发猛烈的态势。看到加西亚·马尔克斯那样的当代大家不遗余力地想要解决这些问题，想要用建构乌托邦的方式结束被诅咒的百年孤独，让人颇为欣慰，尽管“乌托邦”一词已经离当今务实的社会渐行渐远了。因此，各国的民族文学会同麦克迪尔米德的“世界历史和世界哲学”一道长存下去，不管其是描绘一方水土的现实主义还是表达理想的乌托邦主义。事实上，正是各国文学的交相辉映，才使得我们的世界更丰盈、更可爱。

1984

PART ONE ACROSS LITERATURES 第一部分 文学之间

II TWO EARLY TRANSLATORS

1

There had been a spate of translations of Western works, mostly thrillers and romances, running high in the book market of Shanghai in the 1880s, but the literati took little notice. Their interest was only aroused when two men of their own breed came on the scene.

Yan Fu (l853–1921) had gone to England to train as a naval cadet but soon found that building a navy was no solution to the problems confronting China. He returned to take up political journalism, founding in 1897 a periodical called *Guo Wen* in Tianjin, which published serially his own translation of Thomas Henry Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* (1893). The famous rendering of the opening passage is worth quoting:

> 赫胥黎独处一室之中。在英伦之南。背山而面野。槛外诸境。历历如在几下。乃悬想二千年前。当罗马大将恺彻未到时。此间有何景物。计惟有天造草昧。人功未施。其借征人境者。不过几处荒坟。散见坡陀起伏间。而灌木丛林。蒙茸山麓。未经删治如今日者。则无疑也。……[1]

Huxley's original reads:

> It may be safely assumed that, two thousand years ago, before Caesar set foot in southern Britain, the whole countryside visible from the windows of the room in which I write, was in what is called "the state of Nature". Except, it may be, by raising a few sepulchral mounds, such as those which still, here and there, break the flowing contours of the downs, man's hands had made no mark upon it; and the thin veil of vegetation which overspread the broadbacked heights and the shelving sides of the coombs was unaffected by his industry.[2]

If we compare the two, we'll see that Yan Fu shakes the whole passage loose and rearranges it, following not the English sentence order, but structuring it the Chinese way—notice the short sentences and the absence of syntactical subordination. His treatment of scientific terms is also noteworthy. While he avoids unnecessary jargon—thus Huxley's "state of nature" in this passage

becomes 天造草昧—he is not afraid of coining new terms where they are called for, as may be seen in a few random examples culled from other passages:

nerve 涅伏
political nature 群性
ether 伊脱
Man's Place in Nature 化中人位论
logic 名学
pure reason 清净之理
Nature 性

He was keenly aware of the difficulty of doing this. In fact, there is a whole section in his Preface to the translation which deals with this specific problem:

> 新理踵出。名目纷繁。索之中文。渺不可得。即有牵合。终嫌参差。译者遇此。独有自具衡量。即义定名。……一名之立，旬月踟蹰。
>
> (New ideas come one after another, with a multiplicity of new names. No equivalents can be found for them in Chinese. Straining for resemblances, one gets only contrarieties. The translator is obliged to use his own discretion, doing his best to find a term suited to the sense.... A single term often took weeks and months of deliberation.)

But the result has been happy. For one thing, his translation of the key Darwinian phrase, "natural selection", as 物竞天择 has come to stay.

Stylistically, one notices in Yan's rendering a certain tendency towards dramatization. Huxley opens the chapter ponderously, impersonally:

> It may be safely assumed that...

while Yan's rendering, if translated back into English, would read:

> Huxley sits alone in a room, at a place south of London, with hills at its back and fields before it. From the window he commands a clear view, seeing everything as though they were on his desk. His thoughts carry him back to 2,000 years ago, when the Roman general Caesar had not yet arrived....

which is more lively, more like the opening of an historical account. While there are other reasons behind the changes made—the switch from the first person "I" in Huxley's original to the third person "Huxley" in the translation, for instance, is done to conform with the stylistic requirements of classical Chinese prose[3]—the livening up, the dramatization, is Yan's own. To cite another instance, Huxley's simple statement, "unceasing struggle for existence", becomes in Yan's rendering almost a battle account:

> 战事炽然。强者后亡。弱者先绝。年年岁岁。偏有留遗。
>
> (Fierce war raged. The weak became extinct. The strong perished later. This went on year after year, with few survivors.)

Why does Yan take the trouble to dramatize what purports to be a scientific-philosophical treatise? My guess is that, Sima Qian the historian being the model of all self-respecting Chinese prose writers, Yan wants to write like the master and heighten the historical sense—a perfectly legitimate

thing to do in an important work on the evolution of mankind.

One aspect of Yan's work has received scant attention and that is his few sorties into the realm of English poetry. Here in this translation of *Evolution and Ethics*, one finds these famous lines from Pope's *Essay on Man*:

> All Nature is but art, unknown to thee;
> All chance, direction, which thou canst not see;
> All discord, harmony not understood;
> All partial evil, universal good:
> And, spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,
> One truth is clear, Whatever is, is right.

Rendered into Chinese, thus:

> 元宰有秘机。斯人特未悟。
> 世事岂偶然。彼苍审措注。
> 乍疑乐律乖。庸知各得所。
> 虽有偏沴灾。终则其利溥。
> 寄语傲慢徒。慎勿轻毁诅。
> 一理今分明。造化原无过。[4]

A very creditable translation indeed! Unlike some later translators, Yan renders verse as verse and manages to communicate some of Pope's supreme assuredness and epigrammatic polish.

Having seen something of Yan's practice as a translator, we may now examine his translation theory. It is in this same Preface that Yan presents his three-point theory:

> 译事三难信、达、雅。求其信已大难矣。顾信矣不达。虽译犹不译也。则达尚焉。……
>
> 易曰修辞立诚。子曰辞达而已。又曰言之无文。行之不远。三者乃文章正轨。亦即为译事楷模。故信达而外。求其尔雅。
>
> (Translation has to do three difficult things: to be faithful, expressive, and elegant. It is difficult enough to be faithful to the original, and yet if a translation is not expressive, it is tantamount to having no translation. Hence expressiveness should be required too....
>
> *The Book of Change* says that the first requisite of rhetoric is truthfulness. Confucius says that expressiveness is all that matters in language. He adds that if one's language lacks grace, it won't go far. These three qualities, then, are the criterion of good writing and, I believe, of good translation too. Hence besides faithfulness and expressiveness, I also aim at elegance.)

Here we have the most influential translation theory in modern China, which has been quoted and requoted by nearly every writer on translation. However, few have seen fit to quote what comes immediately after:

> 此不仅期以行远已耳。实则精理微言。用汉以前字法句法。则为达易。用近世利俗文字。则求达难。往往抑义就词。毫厘千里。审择于斯二者之间。夫固有所不得已也。岂钓奇哉。
>
> (I strive for elegance not just to make my translations travel far, but to express the original writer's ideas better, for I find that subtle thoughts are better expressed in the vocabulary and syntax of pre-Han prose than those of the vulgar writings of today. Using the latter often leads to distortion of meaning, which, however slight, results in vast misunderstanding. Weighing the

pros and cons, I opted for the former, as a matter of necessity, not trying to be different.)

Leaving aside the question whether pre-Han prose is really a better vehicle for the communication of "subtle thoughts", we see that Yan's point about elegance is really closely related to his first and most important point, namely, faithfulness to the original. Perhaps elegance does not mean, as has so often been taken to mean, beautification, for obviously it would be quite inappropriate to give elegance to a piece of writing which is in the original language inelegant, but signifies an effort to communicate something higher and subtler than the plain sense of words and phrases, a climate of mind, a heightened sense of the significance of the original. Yan's tendency towards dramatization, earlier commented on, is perhaps a move in that direction.

And perhaps the real point about pre-Han prose is not a linguistic or even a stylistic one, either. Yan took up translation with a purpose: to attract the attention of people who he thought really mattered, namely, the intelligentsia. Several milleniums of self-sufficiency had bred in these people a deep-seated xenophobia, so that even when repeated defeats in foreign wars made them look to the West for some quick, practical remedy for the country's ills, they did so with the greatest reluctance and not a little resentment. More far-sighted than these gentlemen, Yan knew that something more drastic, more fundamental had to be done—indeed, nothing short of a complete overhaul of Chinese society—and the task could only be approached by introducing a new ideology. The books he was translating—Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois*, John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* and *System of Logic*, Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, as well as Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics,* were the great basic books of modern Western thought which shaped an efficient capitalist society. He knew what a bitter pill these books contained for minds still taking refuge in medieval dreams and so he sugar-coated it with something they treasured, a polished antique style. Elegance, in other words, was Yan's salesmanship.

Within a few years, his translations won a large readership. His ideological onslaught proved successful, perhaps a trifle too successful. Even reform was to give way to revolution. The genii were out of the bottle, and there was no turning them back.

2

If Yan Fu provoked the mind of the Chinese intelligentsia, Lin

Shu(1852–1924) touched their heart. Like Yan, Lin was a master of classical prose. Unlike Yan, however, Lin knew not a word of English, or any other foreign language. His is the case of a great translator working at two or three removes from the original works. In fact, he had to work with the help of an oral interpreter. The interpreter read and explained: the master took down what he heard on the spot. He kept pace with the running interpretation; indeed, he often finished before the interpreter had quite uttered his last word, and the miracle was, what he put down in a hurry needed little revision, so ready was his pen and so flexible his style. They worked at a terrific pace, averaging 6,000 words for each 4-hour session.[5] The products of such a collaboration could not be expected to be free of errors. Indeed, they abound, and not just verbal ones, for Lin treated some of the original works with scant respect—he invaded foreign literature like the proud mandarin-scholar that he was, and often slashed and added at will. But he tampered little with works that really impressed him. One such was Mrs. Harriet Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Lin was touched by the sufferings of the black people depicted in that book, but it also occurred to him that a similar or worse fate was hanging over the heads of the Chinese at that critical time around 1900. He wrote in the Translator's Preface:

> 黄人受虐或更甚于黑人。……就其原书所著录者，触黄种之将亡，因而愈生其悲怀耳。……而倾信彼族者又误信西人宽待其藩属，跃跃然欲趋而附之。则吾书之足以儆醒之者，宁可少哉。
>
> (The yellow race has been subject to worse treatment than even the black…. I noted what the book relates about the Negroes and when I reflected that the yellow race too are facing subjugation, my indignation increased.… Some Chinese think too well of the white race and, believing that Western powers treat their vassal states leniently, are actively campaigning for affiliating with them. To such people, this book I have translated ought to serve as a necessary warning.)

Thus Lin took up translation with a patriot's anxiety and made no bones about it.

This does not mean, however, that Lin was blind to the literary merits of the works he was translating. For he also praised *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for its superior structure. He applied to it the same criterion that he would apply to any piece of narration in classical Chinese prose—namely, that it should have a proper opening, good "veins" of development, anticipations and echoes, skilful "dovetailing", and so on—and found Mrs. Stowe not wanting. Indeed, he was not a little surprised that a Western work could acquit itself so well in that respect.

More than that, his heart was won over by another Western novel,

Alexandre Dumas fils's *La Dame aux Camélias*. In a humorous sketch about himself, he refuted the charge that he was insensitive to love by referring to his translation of the Dumas work:

> 生平好著书，所译巴黎茶花女遗事，尤凄惋有情致。尝自读而笑曰：“吾能状物态至此，宁谓木强之人，果与情为仇也耶？”[6]
>
> (He was fond of writing books. His translation of *La Dame aux Camélias* was an especially sad and moving book. Reading it again the other day, he said to himself with a chuckle: "If I can describe sentiment like that, should I be called 'cold', an enemy to love?")

La Dame aux Camélias was the first Western work he ever translated, and it was an immediate success. It not only established his fame as a superior translator, but made Chinese intellectuals aware of Western sentiment and Western art of fiction. That a courtesan could be capable of true love was nothing new in Chinese literature. One has only to recall the story of *Peach Blossom Fan*, a 17th-century drama, to see that the theme had been explored with great success in China. But Marguerite's special appeal lay in her self-sacrifice and her ailing health—Chinese readers have always had a weakness for fragile beauties succumbing to consumption. The locale of the novel, that glittering metropolis, Paris, also fascinated those Chinese readers just then witnessing the rise of treaty-port cities like Shanghai, with their veneer of cosmopolitanism. Dumas's craftsmanship, especially his masterly handling of the plot, attracted the more discerning of the Chinese critics. Tired of traditional Chinese novels which, with some notable exceptions, invariably contrive to end happily, they were pleased to have a chance to shed tears over the heroine's tragic death.

For Lin Shu's part, he established firmly the superiority of classical literary prose as a medium for translating fiction. Some earlier translators, notably Zhou Guisheng (周桂笙) and Xu Nianci (徐念慈), had experimented on using the vernacular in translating detective stories and romances, but Lin's translations swept all their work aside not only by the superior literary qualities of the originals, but also by the translator's Chinese prose. It was not exactly the kind of prose that Lin would have used in writing his own essays.[7] He had "modernized" it by loosening up the sentence structures and introducing a number of new words and expressions: colloquialisms like 小宝贝, 爸爸; facetious names like 梁上君子, 土馒头, 夜度娘; new terms like 程度, 热度, 社会, 个人, 反动之力, 活泼之精神; even phonetic coinages like 马丹, 密司脱, 安琪儿, 苦力, 俱乐部, 列底 (尊闺门之称也). But despite these and other concessions, Lin's Chinese remained literary, elegant and supple. The suppleness may surprise those who, following the earlier

champions of the *bai hua* or vernacular literature, tend to think all classical prose stiff and unnatural. Lin proved the contrary. Not only did his prose cope successfully with all the intricateness of a Victorian romance like Rider Haggard's *She*, being equally adept in describing violent action as in depicting love, but its purity and appropriateness often improved on the original. Read Lin's rendering:

> 乃以恶声斥洛巴革曰：“汝何为恶作剧？尔非痫当不如是。”（《斐州烟水愁城录》第五章）

and compare it with Haggard's original:

> What meanest thou by such mad tricks? Surely thou art mad.

and one will be struck by the English author's laborious mixture of the archaic and the slangy in his dialogue, shown to particular disadvantage beside the translator's clean, efficient Chinese.[8] That is perhaps why, while many more recent and more accurate Chinese versions of 19thcentury English novels make rather dull reading, Lin's earlier translations in classical prose remain eminently readable. Indeed, Lin's skilful use of *wen yan*, seen in hindsight, makes those of us reared in the vernacular tradition look at that matchless, almost timeless literary medium with a new sense of wonder.

Rider Haggard was the best-selling Victorian novelist whose appeal still fascinates some of the most perceptive critics today.[9] If Lin was unduly impressed by Haggard's romances, he and his collaborators showed taste and discernment in the range and quality of the other Western works they selected for translation. In less than 30 years (1896–1924), Lin accomplished the translation of over 180 works,[10] averaging 6 a year—surely a proud record for any translator even without Lin's handicaps! The works translated included Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, Scott's *Ivanhoe*, Hugo's *Quatre-vingttreize*, Tolstoy's *Caucasian Prisoner*, a lot of Dickens, Ibsen's *Ghosts* adapted as a novel, *Aesop's Fables*, *Tales from Shakespeare* by the Lambs, Washington Irving's *Sketch Book*, as well as Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Dumas fils's *La Dame aux Camélias*. All in all, not a bad first list of Western fiction for any non-Western reading public!

Lin's prefaces to his translations contain interesting revelations and some literary criticism. They show the translator perpetually preoccupied with China's destiny, believing at the same time that his translation of the work on hand was going to do some good to his fellow countrymen—by enlightening their minds or boosting their morale. Lin also took the occasion to refute some of the charges levelled at China. In discussing Shakespeare, for

instance, he pointed out that this poet, "whose genius matches that of China's Du Fu" (莎氏之诗，直抗吾国之杜甫[11]), often resorted to the supernatural in his plays but was not on that account condemned as superstitious by his countrymen. Lin also made known his disapproval of extreme measures in his preface to a French work called *Two Patriotic Boys*, where he urged Chinese students to work with greater application and not clamour for revolution or plot assassinations.

All this underlines once again the sense of crisis that never left Lin Shu as he was taking down—with almost the speed of a modern shorthand expert—in elegant Chinese prose the running interpretation of his assistant. But the literary man was never wholly submerged in the patriot. We have seen that he admired *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for its structure. In his preface to *Ivanhoe*, he pays a glowing tribute to the art of Scott the novelist. He enumerates seven virtues of Scott's work, namely:

> the ability to fill up a book of over 120,000 words with the events of only 15 days;
>
> the ability to distinguish the characters by their speeches;
>
> the ability to depict the Catholics in all their wickedness;
>
> the ability to depict the Jews in all their wretchedness as a people without a country, which may serve as a warning to the yellow race as well;
>
> the ability to depict the contrasting heroic and villainous types among the Saxons;
>
> the ability to make the Jewish race shine in the moral character of Rebecca to further spite the Catholics;
>
> and, finally, the ability to make the rebel leader eloquent even when he is openly agitating for seizure of power.

In conclusion, Lin finds that Scott has "a talented pen that is nothing short of magical" (文心奇幻) and would rank him with Sima Qian and Ban Gu, supreme masters of Chinese historical writing. Coming from a scholar-stylist like Lin Shu, this is very high praise indeed.

Even more perceptive is Lin's appreciation of Dickens, before whose brilliance the translator finds that even the best China can offer looks somewhat dim. In preface after preface, Lin discusses Dickens's unique strength:

> 余虽不审西文，然日闻其口译，亦能区别其文章之流派，如辨家人之足音。其间有高厉者，清虚者，绵婉者，雄伟者，悲梗者，淫冶者，要皆归本于性情之正，彰瘅之严，此万世之公理，中外不能僭越。而独未若却而司·迭更司文字之奇特。天下文章，莫易于叙悲，其次则叙战，又次则宣述男女之情。等而上之，若忠臣孝子，义夫节妇，决娸溅血，生气凛然。苟以雄深雅健之笔施之，亦尚有其人。从未有刻划市井卑污龌龊之事，至于二三十万言之多，不重复，不支厉，如张明镜于空际，收纳五虫万怪，物物皆涵，涤清光而出，见者如凭栏之观鱼鳖虾蟹焉，则迭更司者，盖以至清之灵府，叙至浊之社会，令我增无数阅历，生无穷感喟矣。（《孝女耐儿传》序）
>
> (Although I do not understand any Western language, yet listening daily to the oral interpretation, I have come to appreciate the different types of Western writers, just as I can distinguish people in my family by their footsteps. Their styles range from the shrill and severe,

the serene and subtle, the soft and sentimental, the grand and eloquent, to the melancholic and meretricious, but all aim at purifying human nature by extolling virtue and condemning vice, a goal shared throughout the ages by writers of all countries. No one, however, has Dickens's strange fascination for me. Now sorrow is the easiest thing to write about, next war, still next love. Going up the scale of difficulty there is the portrayal of loyal ministers and filial sons, of courageous men and chaste women, with their resolute, heroic deeds. These are not beyond the reach of writers with a ready, powerful pen. But Dickens alone is capable of depicting the meanest and most sordid things in society at great length, running often to 200,000 or 300,000 words, without ever repeating himself or unduly branching out, but showing all the strange creatures he had collected in their true light, as though he were holding a mirror in the air, to make the readers see these creatures as clearly as if they were watching over a balustrade the fish, turtles, shrimps and crabs in a pond. Dickens, then, is a writer who describes the most hideous things in society with the noblest intelligence, thereby enriching our experience and provoking endless thoughts.)

Then, once again he resorts to comparisons:

中国说部，登峰造极者，无若《石头记》，叙人间富贵，感人情盛衰，用笔缜密，著色繁丽，制局精严，观止矣。其间点染以清客，间杂以村妪，牵缀以小人，收束以败子，亦可谓善于体物。终竟雅多俗寡，人意不专属于是。若迭更司者，则扫荡名士美人之局，专为下等社会写照，奸狯驵酷，至于人意所未尝置想之局，幻为空中楼阁，使观者或笑或怒，一时颠倒，至于不能自已。则文心之邃曲，宁可及耶？（《孝女耐儿传》序）

(Chinese fiction reaches its culmination in *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. In so far as it narrates the changes of fortune and the vicissitudes of life, in a refined, meticulous style, with rich, varied colourings and a carefully worked-out overall plan, it is perfection itself. The narration is also interspersed with the comings and goings of hangers-on, country women, servants and spendthrifts, all very lifelike. Still, the novel deals more with the well-bred than with the vulgar, since it does not aim at a full representation of the latter. Dickens, however, sweeps aside lords and ladies, to concentrate on depicting the low society, taking in the wicked, the crafty, the rough and the cruel, putting them in situations never before thought of, fantasy worlds that make the readers laugh with pleasure or shout in anger, quite in spite of themselves. Where could one find an equal to a writer with such a deep, ingenious mind?)

Indeed, Lin thinks that Dickens has done something even more difficult than whatever Sima Qian did in *Historical Records*, namely, depicting everyday life, particularly that of the lower orders, in all its unspectacular commonness.

As an example of the special Dickens touch, Lin singles out Nell's death in *The Old Curiosity Shop*:

而此书……精神专注在耐儿之死。读者迹前此耐儿之奇孝，谓死时必有一番死诀悲怆之言，如余所译茶花女之日记。乃迭更司则不写耐儿，专写耐儿之大父凄恋耐儿之状，疑睡疑死，由昏愦中露出至情，则又茶花女日记外别成一种写法。盖写耐儿则嫌其近于高雅，惟写其大父一穷促无聊之愚叟，始不背其专意下等社会之宗旨。此足见迭更司之用心矣。（《孝女耐儿传》序）

(This book focuses its attention on Nell's death. Since Nell is so devoted to her grandfather, readers would expect her to utter many sad words on her deathbed, perhaps something like what the Dame aux camélias confides to her diary, in the story I earlier translated. Dickens, however, does not deal with Nell, but concentrates on describing how the grandfather clings to her, seeing her only as asleep, refusing to think her dead, thus revealing by his dotage his true love for her. That marks a way different from Dumas's of treating death in literature. Had Dickens written about Nell, he would have had to use genteel language. Writing instead of the

poor fond grandfather, Dickens succeeds in keeping to his original plan of depicting the low society. That shows Dickens's originality.)

Here we see Lin comparing Dickens with Dumas, as earlier he had compared him with Cao Xueqin and Sima Qian. Perhaps he wasn't quite aware of the fact that he was undertaking some of the earliest exercises in comparative literature in China.

Lin reserves his best analysis for *David Copperfield*:

此书为迭更司生平第一著意之书，分前后二编，都二十余万言。思力至此，臻绝顶矣！……大抵文章开阖之法，全讲骨力气势，纵笔至于灏瀚，则往往遗落其细事繁节，无复检举。遂令观者得罅而攻。此固不为能文者之病。而精神终患弗周。迭更司他著，每到山穷水尽，辄发奇思，如孤峰突起，见者耸目。终不如此书伏脉至细，一语必寓微旨，一事必种远因，手写是间，而全局应有之人，逐处涌现，随地关合，虽偶尔一见，观者几复忘怀，而闲闲着笔间，已近拾即是。读之令人斗然记忆，循编逐节以索，又一一有是人之行踪，得是事之来源。综言之，如善奕之着子，偶然一下，不知后来咸得其用，此所以成为国手也。（《块肉余生述》前编序）

(This is Dickens's own favourite among his novels. Divided into two books, totalling over 200,000 words, it marks Dickens's crowning achievement.... The art of writing attaches great importance to force and sweep, but as the pen races along, it often leaves behind some incidents and details unattended, so that a careful reader can always pick holes in the writing. Hardly a real fault, this does show the difficulty of keeping up the effort throughout. Dickens has the knack of throwing off surprises just when he seems to be at the end of his tether, so that a reader is startled, finding himself looking at a new peak coming out of nowhere. Admirable as that is, this novel does something even better, namely, the planting of numerous little details either in anticipation or in response, so that every incident has its cause and effect, every word its significance, the writer having the whole plan in mind even as he is busy with one particular episode. The characters appear, some fleetingly, and then disappear, seemingly forgotten, yet readily, though unobtrusively, within call. The reader is suddenly reminded of something and when he looks back, chapter by chapter, he will see that many characters have left traces behind and every incident is accounted for. In short, Dickens is like a first-rate chess player whose every casual move contributes to the final effect. No wonder he is such a master!)

Beside such mastery, such sustained effort, Lin finds two of China's supreme novels, *Water Margin* and *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, inadequate, the former for failing to follow up the brilliance of its early chapters, after which the characters are less individualized; the latter for tackling a less difficult job, that of depicting love between men and women, to which "readers are naturally attracted". One is not sure how kindly the "Redologists" would take to such a view, but perhaps the real question here is: why did a haughty mandarin-scholar like Lin Shu come under the spell of an English novelist who specialized in depicting "the low society", something which, we have every reason to think, Lin would abhor?

No doubt he was fascinated by Dickens's unique power of "turning the putrescent into the magical,"[12] but I think he was even more impressed by Dickens's moral uprightness in exposing social abuses. Indeed, Lin was not a little surprised to find that England, the leading Western nation, had been

afflicted with the same social ills that were then bedevilling China:

> 英伦在此百年之前，庶政之窳，直无异于中国，特水师强耳。迭更司极力抉摘下等社会之积弊，作为小说，俾政府知而改之。……天下之事，炫于外观者，往往不得实际。穷巷之间，荒伧所萃，漫无礼防，人皆鄙之。然而豪门朱邸，沉沉中喻礼犯分，有百倍于穷巷之荒伧者，乃百无一知。此则大肖英伦之强盛，几谓天下观听所在，无一不足为环球法则。非得迭更司描画其状态，人又乌知其中尚有贼窖耶？顾英之能强，能改革而从善也。吾华从而改之，亦正易易。所恨无迭更司其人，能举社会中积弊，著为小说，用告当事，或庶几也。
>
> (One hundred years ago, English misrule was no better than Chinese today, except for the fact that England had a powerful navy. In his novels Dickens did his best to expose social abuses in the underworld to call the government's attention to them, so that reforms might be introduced.... Now as the world goes, people are often dazzled by appearances and fail to grasp realities. All condemn what goes on in the slums, where ruffians gather and live without law or decorum. Yet few see the lawlessness and depravity, a hundred times worse, that lurk behind the vermillion doors of proud mansions. It was the same with England. Strong and prosperous, she gave the impression that she was a model for the world in everything she did. Had Dickens not described it, who would ever know that there existed in England a thieves' den? However, English authorities listened to advice and carried out reforms. That is why England has become strong. It would not be difficult for China to follow her example. Much to our regret, however, we have no Dickens in our midst, no one who can write novels to make the authorities aware of the social abuses in our country.)

Here, once again, spoke Lin Shu the patriot. He was really explaining why he had been translating Dickens with such passion. To him as to Yan Fu, translation was no idle pursuit, but something with a deadly serious purpose, an instrument of social and political reform.

Nor was his cry for a Chinese Dickens a voice in the wilderness. For, even as he was making these remarks, a number of Chinese novels, with such titles as *Bureaucrats Shown Up* and *Odd Things Witnessed over Twenty Years*, had already been published or written. They contributed, as did Lin's translations of Dickens and others, to the general climate of opinion that was severely critical of the bureaucratic abuses and the corruption and ineptitude of the officials then scandalizing all decent people. Indeed, then and in the succeeding decade, with more exposés pouring from the press, Chinese fiction reached a new peak of development.

Yet even these were soon to be replaced. A much bigger change was approaching. A literature of an entirely new kind—new in outlook and new in the very medium used—was on the way. Just as Yan Fu's introduction of a capitalist ideology played a part in ushering in reform and revolution and civil war and a bigger revolution, so the translations of an old Chinese classical scholar prepared the ground for the radical social novels of the more turbulent times to come. Giants both, Yan Fu and Lin Shu brought on some vast change which Yan perhaps dimly foresaw but which Lin had certainly

not bargained for. In the end, they both turned against what they had helped to initiate. Yan Fu the reformer became a Monarchist and Lin Shu bitterly attacked the new learning centred in Beijing University. They lived to rue the day when they first took up translation, but then translation has always been in the subtlest sense of the word an act of betrayal.

1981

贰　两位早期的译者

（一）

19世纪80年代的上海图书市场上西方小说汉译本盛行，多为恐怖小说和爱情小说，但文人学士少有问津。待到严复、林纾这样的同道步入译坛，方才引起他们的关注。

严复（1853—1921）曾赴英国学习海军，但是发现建设海军无法解决中国面临的问题。回国后，他创办政治期刊，于1897年在天津创办《国闻报》，并将自己译的赫胥黎的《天演论》（1893）在上面连载。他那极富盛名的开头一段译文值得一引：

> 赫胥黎独处一室之中。在英伦之南。背山而面野。槛外诸境。历历如在几下。乃悬想二千年前。当罗马大将恺彻未到时。此间有何景物。计惟有天造草昧。人功未施。其借征人境者。不过几处荒坟。散见坡陀起伏间。而灌木丛林。蒙茸山麓。未经删治如今日者。则无疑也。

赫胥黎的原文是：

> It may be safely assumed that, two thousand years ago, before Caesar set foot in southern Britain, the whole countryside visible from the windows of the room in which I write, was in what is called "the state of Nature". Except, it may be, by raising a few sepulchral mounds, such as those which still, here and there, break the flowing contours of the downs, man's hands had made no mark upon it; and the thin veil of vegetation which overspread the broad-backed heights and the shelving sides of the coombs was unaffected by his industry.

如果把原文与译文对比，我们就会发现严复把原文彻底打散，然后依汉语句序而非英语句序进行重组——译文以单句译复句，以平列代主从。他对科学术语的翻译也值得一提。他避免不必要的术语——因此赫胥黎原文中的“state of nature”被其译成了“天造草昧”——如有需要，他大胆造新词，仅从该书其他段落随意选取几个为例：

> nerve　涅伏
> political nature　群性
> ether　伊脱
> Man's Place in Nature　化中人位论
> logic　名学
> pure reason　清净之理
> Nature　性

他深知这样的尝试何其艰难。事实上，在译者序中他用了整整一节谈这个问题：

> 新理踵出。名目纷繁。索之中文。渺不可得。即有牵合。终嫌参差。译者遇此。独有自具衡量。即义定名。……一名之立，旬月踟蹰。

但是结果喜人。比如，他将“natural selection”这个关键的达尔文术语译成“物竞天择”，此译法一直沿用至今。

从文体上看，严复的翻译有“化平实的叙述为生动的敷演”[1]的倾

向。赫胥黎原文第一章的开头生硬，客观：

我们可以有把握地设想……

而严复的译文，若回译成英文，则是：

Huxley sits alone in a room, at a place south of London, with hills at its back and fields before it. From the window he commands a clear view, seeing everything as though they were on his desk. His thoughts carry him back to 2,000 years ago, when the Roman general Caesar had not yet arrived....

这比赫胥黎的英文原文欢快很多，也更像历史著作的开头。尽管严复对原文意思的加工还另有原因——原文中的第一人称“我”，译文中变成了第三人称“赫胥黎”。这是为了使译文合乎中国古文的传统体式——但活泼的文风和“化平实的叙述为生动的敷演”则是严复个人的选择。再比如，赫胥黎笔下的一个简单表达“unceasing struggle for existence”，在严复的译笔之下就几乎成了战事描述：

战事炽然。强者后亡。弱者先绝。年年岁岁。偏有留遗。

严复为何费此周折把一篇本应是平实的科学–哲学论文化为生动的敷演呢？我猜原因是他想效仿史学家司马迁的笔法来增加读者的历史感，因为司马迁是中国所有散文家的典范——这对一篇论述人类进化的重要著作而言，完全说得通。

严复译作有一点鲜有人关注，那就是他为数不多的几次涉笔诗歌的经历。在他翻译的《天演论》中，读者会发现蒲柏《原人》中的脍炙人口的诗句：

All Nature is but art, unknown to thee;
All chance, direction, which thou canst not see;
All discord, harmony not understood;
All partial evil, universal good:
And, spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,
One truth is clear, Whatever is, is right

严复翻译如下：

元宰有秘机。斯人特未悟。
世事岂偶然。彼苍审措注。
乍疑乐律乖。庸知各得所。
虽有偏沴灾。终则其利溥。
寄语傲慢徒。慎勿轻毁诅。
一理今分明。造化原无过。

的确是非常值得称道的译文！和后来的一些译者不同，严复以格律诗译格律诗，成功地把蒲柏无比的自信和充满警句的优雅呈献给国人。

领略了一番严复的翻译实践，我们现在不妨来看看他的翻译理论。也正是在这篇序言里，严复发表了他的“信达雅”论：

译事三难信、达、雅。求其信已大难矣。顾信矣不达。虽译犹不译也。则达尚焉。……

易曰修辞立诚。子曰辞达而已。又曰言之无文。行之不远。三者乃文章正轨。亦即为译事楷模。故信达而外。求其尔雅。

这是近代中国最有影响力的翻译理论，几乎每个翻译研究者都会引用、再引用。但很少有人记得严复接下来的话：

> 此不仅期以行远已耳。实则精理微言。用汉以前字法句法。则为达易。用近世利俗文字。则求达难。往往抑义就词。毫厘千里。审择于斯二者之间。夫固有所不得已也。岂钓奇哉。

且不论汉以前的文章是否真能更好地传达“精理微言”，但我们发现严复关于“雅”的观点同其第一条、也是最重要的一条宗旨紧密相连，那就是“信”。也许严复的“雅”并不像人们通常认为的那样，是为了美化（很显然，如果原文不美，却把它译成美的，就很不适宜）；而是为了超越原文的直白，传达出某种更高深更细微的东西，传达出一种心境，传达出原文的深意。前文讲到严复“化平实的叙述为生动的敷演”的倾向，或许就是在朝那个方向努力。

或许严复采用汉以前文章的字法句法并非真正出于语言或者甚至是文体上的考虑。严复从事翻译是有明确目的的：为了吸引那些他认为至关重要的人士，也即士大夫阶层。经过几千年的闭关锁国和自给自足，士大夫阶层的唯我独尊根深蒂固，即使对外屡战屡败，不得不向西方寻求解决本国弊病的快速实用的良方，他们也是不情不愿，满怀怨恨。严复比他们要有远见卓识，深知中国需要更激烈、更根本的变革——实际上，无异于对中国社会来个彻底大变革——只有引入一种全新的意识形态，方可达此重任。他翻译的书——亚当·斯密的《原富》、孟德斯鸠的《法意》、约翰·穆勒的《群己权界论》和《名学》、斯宾塞的《群学肆言》【2】，以及赫胥黎的《天演论》，都是西方现代思想的奠基著作，对一个高效资本主义社会的形成起了很大作用。严复知道这些书对仍然沉醉于“天朝大国”封建美梦的中国士大夫阶层来说无异于一剂苦药，因此他给这些书裹上糖衣，也即士大夫钟情的古雅文体。换言之，“雅”是严复的招徕之术。

几年之内，他的译作就赢得了大量读者。他引入西方意识形态的努力很是成功，或许过于成功了，连改革都要让位于革命。妖魔已逃出瓶子，再也收不回去了【3】。

（二）

如果说严复致力于洗涤中国士大夫的头脑，林纾（1852—1924）则直抵他们的心灵。和严复一样，林纾也是古文大师。和严复不同，林纾不谙英语或其他任何一种外语。他创造了从其他语种转译再转译的神话。事实上，他得仰仗口译的帮助方可工作。口译朗读并解释，他则当场笔述。他的笔述与口译同步进行；事实上，往往口译话音还未落林纾译文就已完成。神奇之处在于，他飞速记下的文字几乎不需修改，浑然天成。他们翻译的速度极快，每4小时平均译6000字。当然不能指望这

样的译文没有错误，事实上，错误很多，而且不仅仅是语言上的错误。因为林纾对某些原著不太尊重——他，一个骄傲的中国文人，涉入外国文学领地，经常肆意增删。但是对于真正打动他的作品，他从不轻加篡改。斯托夫人的《黑奴吁天录》就是一例。林纾深为书中描写的黑奴的悲惨遭遇所感动，同时也痛感国人在1900年前后的危机时刻也面临同样的命运，甚至有过之而无不及。他在译序中写道：

> 黄人受虐或更甚于黑人。……就其原书所著录者，触黄种之将亡，因而愈生其悲怀耳。……而倾信彼族者又误信西人宽待其藩属，跃跃然欲趋附之。则吾书之足以儆醒之者，宁可少哉。

因此，林纾以满腔的爱国热忱从事翻译，丝毫不加掩饰。

但这并不意味着林纾对其所译作品的文学美质视而不见。他也赞赏《黑奴吁天录》的高超构思。他用评价中国古体散文的标准评价这部小说——也即是，应有良好的开头，清晰的发展脉络，伏笔和呼应，切合实际，等等——发现《黑奴吁天录》完全符合这些标准。事实上，一部西方文学作品竟有如此优秀的品质，着实让他意外。

不仅如此，另一部西方小说，小仲马的《巴黎茶花女遗事》也赢得他的倾心。曾有人说他对爱情漠然，他援引自己翻译小仲马的这部著作一事幽默地加以反驳：

> 生平好著书，所译巴黎茶花女遗事，尤凄婉有情致。尝自读而笑曰："吾能状物态至此，宁谓木强之人，果与情为仇也耶？"

《巴黎茶花女遗事》是他翻译的第一部西方小说，一经出版，立刻引起轰动。这不仅奠定了他作为翻译大家的地位，而且也让中国学者知道了西方人的情感和西方的小说艺术。描写交际花的真爱，在中国文学史上并不鲜见。只需想想17世纪的戏剧《桃花扇》就可知道中国文学对于那一主题的诠释已经相当成功。但是茶花女玛格丽特的格外牵动国人之处在于她的自我牺牲和纤弱的体质——中国读者对患有肺病的弱柳扶风的女子总是情有独钟。故事发生的地点也起了作用，因为故事发生在巴黎，那个光鲜炫目的大都会，而当时的中国读者刚刚领略到像上海那样披着大都会浮光掠影的新兴沿海城市的风采。小仲马的精湛技艺，尤其是高超的情节设计，也引起了一些有见地的中国评论家的注意。中国的古典小说，除少数外，基本都是大团圆的结局。厌倦了这种传统叙事方法的评论家们，现在终于有机会为女主人公悲惨的离世洒下涟涟泪水了。

林纾根深蒂固地认为文言文是翻译小说的优势语言。更早一些的翻译家，比如周桂笙和徐念慈，尝试用白话翻译侦探小说和爱情小说，但是林纾的译作超越了他们所有人，不仅所选作品的文学水平一流，而且译文语言出色。林纾自己写文章未必就用这种文体。他把这种文体加以"现代化"，将原文结构弄散，引入一些新词汇：一些诸如小宝贝、爸

爸之类的口语词，梁上君子、土馒头、夜度娘之类的滑稽称呼，程度、热度、社会、个人、反动之力、活泼之精神之类的新词，甚至还有马丹、密司脱、安琪儿、苦力、俱乐部、列底（尊闺门称也）之类的音译词。尽管有诸多朝现代化靠拢的努力，林纾的中文仍然精美、雅致、灵动。这种灵动可能会让早期白话文运动倡导者的追随者们大为吃惊，因为他们倾向认为所有的文言文都是生硬、不自然的。林纾的译文恰恰相反。他的古体散文不光能把爱情的美妙写得细致入微，同样也能成功地刻画暴力，譬如他所译的维多利亚时代的哈格德【4】的传奇《三千年艳尸纪》；而且语言纯正精准，比原文更上一层。读读林氏的译文：

乃以恶声斥洛巴革曰："汝何为恶作剧？尔非痫当不如是。"（《斐州烟水愁城录》第五章）

与哈格德的原文相比：

What meanest thou by such mad tricks? Surely thou art mad.

你会发现哈格德在对话中把古语与俗语混搭，造成文风艰涩，而林氏译文则干净妥帖。两相对比，高低立现。这可能解释了为什么很多更新、更准确的19世纪英语小说的中译本读起来索然无味，而林纾的古文译本却隽永异常。事实上，我们这些生于白话文长于白话文的现代人，今天再看林纾的文言，必满载惊叹，因为那是无法企及、永不褪色的文学语言。

哈格德是维多利亚时代的畅销小说家，至今仍在文学界魅力不减。如果说林纾对哈格德的传奇倾心得过了头，那他和助手在其他西方文学作品的选择上，无论是广度，还是原著的文学品质，都颇有品味和见识。在不到30年的时间里（1896—1924），林纾翻译了180多部作品，平均每年6部——对任何一个译者来说都是值得骄傲的事情，即便他没有林那样的不利因素！他翻译的作品包括：塞万提斯的《魔侠传》、笛福的《鲁滨孙飘流记》、斯威夫特的《海外轩渠录》、司各特的《撒克逊劫后英雄略》、雨果的《双雄义死录》、托尔斯泰的《现身说法》、狄更斯的多部作品、易卜生的《梅孽》（从舞台剧本改成的小说）、《伊索寓言》、兰姆姐弟的《莎氏乐府本事》、欧文的《拊掌录》，以及斯托夫人的《黑奴吁天录》和小仲马的《巴黎茶花女遗事》【5】。总之，对任何非西方的读者来说，都堪比盛宴！

林纾会在译者序里透露一些有趣的心得和文学批评。从中可以看出他时时以国家前途为念，深信自己的译著有裨于同胞，可启发其心智，鼓舞其士气。林纾还利用翻译的机会反驳一些对中国的控诉。比如在谈到莎士比亚时，他指出"莎氏之诗，直抗吾国之杜甫"，却在戏剧中使用神灵意象，但其国人却不视其为迷信。在一部名为《爱国二童子传》【6】的法语作品译序中，林纾表示了对极端革命措施的不满。他鼓舞中国学生把学到的知识更好地运用到中国实际，而不是走革命或暗杀之类

的极端路线。

这一切再次表明，当林纾以几乎同现代速记员媲美的速度，随着助手的口译写下优雅的文言文译文时，危机感从未离开过他。但是他的文学品味也并非完全被爱国热情所淹没。前文讲过他赞赏《黑奴吁天录》的精妙构思；在《撒克逊劫后英雄略》的译者序中，他也大力赞赏司各特的文学技巧，列举了七条优点：

> 虽每人出话，恒至千数百言，人亦无病其累复者，此又一妙也。书中主义，与天主教人为难，描写太姆不拉壮士，英姿飒爽，所向无敌，顾见色即靡，遇财而涎，攻剽椎埋，靡所不有；其雅有文采者，又谲容诡笑，以媚妇人；穷其丑态，至于无可托足，此又一妙也。《汉书·东方曼倩传》叙曼倩对侏儒语及拔剑割肉事。孟坚文章，火色浓于史公，在余守旧人眼中观之，似西文必无是诙诡矣。顾司氏述弄儿汪霸，往往以简语泄天趣，令人捧腹；文心之幻，不亚孟坚，此又一妙也。且犹太人之见唾于欧人久矣，狗斥而奴践之，吮其财而尽其家，欧人顾乃不怜，转以为天道公理之应尔。然国家有急，又往往假资于其族，春温秋肃之容，于假资还资时，斗变其气候。犹太人之寓欧，较幕乌为危，顾乃知有家，而不知有国；抱金自殉，至死不知国为何物。此书果令黄种人读之，亦足生其畏惕之心，此又一妙也。包本王裔之于拿破仑，漆身吞炭，百死无恤，又日为秦廷之哭；英俄怜之，挟以普奥之怒，因得复辟。虽为祚弗修，其复仇念国之心，可取也。今书中叙撒克逊王孙，乃嗜炙慕色，形如土偶，遂令垂老亡国之英雄，激发其哀厉之音，愚智互形，妍媸对待，令人悲笑交作，此又一妙也。吕贝珈者，犹太女郎也，洞明大义，垂青英雄，又能以坚果之力，峻斥豪暴，在犹太中，未必果有其人。然司氏既恶天主教人，特高犹太人以摧践之，文心奇幻，此又一妙也。华德马者，合贾充、成济为一手者也，其劝喻诸将，虽有狡诈者，亦将为之动容。天下以义感人，人固易动，从未闻用篡窃之语宣之广众，竟似节节可听者；则司氏词令之美，吾不测其所至矣，此又一妙也。

总之，林纾认为司各特具有“文心奇幻”，并将之与司马迁和班固媲美，这两人都是中国杰出的历史学家。出自学者兼文体家的林纾之口，这可谓是极高的称赞了。

林纾对狄更斯的评价更具洞察力，他认为中国最优秀的作家在狄更斯面前也黯然失色。在一篇接一篇的译者序中，林畅谈狄更斯的独特长处：

> 余虽不审西文，然日闻其口译，亦能区别其文章之流派，如辨家人之足音。其间有高厉者，清虚者，绵婉者，雄伟者，悲梗者，淫冶者，要皆归本于性情之正，彰瘅之严，此万世之公理，中外不能僭越。而独未若却而司·迭更司文字之奇特。天下文章，莫易于叙悲，其次则叙战，又次则宣述男女之情。等而上之，若忠臣孝子，义夫节妇，决脰溅血，生气凛然。苟以雄深雅健之笔施之，亦尚有其人。从未有刻划市井卑污龌龊之事，至于二三十万言之多，不重复，不支厉，如张明镜于空际，收纳五虫万怪，物物皆涵，涤清光而出，见者如凭栏之观鱼鳖虾蟹焉，则迭更司者，盖以至清之灵府，叙至浊之社会，令我增无数阅历，生无穷感喟矣。（《孝女耐儿传》序）

然后，他又一次进行对比：

> 中国说部，登峰造极者，无若《石头记》，叙人间富贵，感人情盛衰，用笔缜密，著色繁丽，制局精严，观止矣。其间点染以清客，间杂以村妪，牵缀以小人，收束以败子，亦可谓善于体物。终竟雅多俗寡，人意不专属于是。若迭更司者，则扫荡名士美人之局，专为下等社会写照，奸狯驵酷，至于人意所未尝置想之局，幻为空中楼阁，使观者或笑或怒，一时颠倒，至于不能自已。则文心之邃曲，宁可及耶？（《孝女耐儿传》序）

事实上，林纾认为狄更斯所做的事情比司马迁写《史记》还要难，因为狄更斯描写的是寻常百姓的寻常生活，尤其是社会底层的民众。

为了向读者展现狄更斯的独特魅力，林纾选了《孝女耐儿传》中的耐儿之死作为例子：

> 而此书……精神专注在耐儿之死。读者迹前此耐儿之奇孝，谓死时必有一番死诀悲怆之言，如余所译茶花之日记。乃迭更司则不写耐儿，专写耐儿之大父凄恋耐儿之状，疑睡疑死，由昏愦中露出至情，则又茶花女日记外别成一种写法。盖写耐儿则嫌其近于高雅，惟写其大父一穷促无聊之愚叟，始不背其专意下等社会之宗旨，此足见迭更司之用心矣。（《孝女耐儿传》序）

这里，我们看到林纾把狄更斯与小仲马相比较，正如之前将之与曹雪芹和司马迁相比较一样。也许他没意识到自己是中国最早踏足比较文学研究的人。

林纾对《块肉余生述》的分析最为精彩：

> 此书为迭更司生平第一著意之书，分前后二编，都二十余万言。思力至此，臻绝顶矣！……大抵文章开阖之法，全讲骨力气势，纵笔至于灏瀚，则往往遗落其细事繁节，无复检举。遂令观者得罅而攻。此固不为能文者之病。而精神终患弗周。迭更司他著，每到山穷水尽，辄发奇思，如孤峰突起，见者耸目。终不如此书伏脉至细，一语必寓微旨，一事必种远因，手写是间，而全局应有之人，逐处涌现，随地关合，虽偶尔一见，观者几复忘怀，而闲闲着笔间，已近拾即是。读之令人斗然记忆，循编逐节以索，又一一有是人之行踪，得是事之来源。综言之，如善奕之着子，偶然一下，不知后来咸得其用，此所以成为国手也。（《块肉余生述》前编序）

面对如此杰作，林纾认为中国最优秀的两部小说，《水浒》和《红楼梦》，也难望其项背。《水浒》虎头蛇尾，后面章节不如前面精彩，人物也变得千人一面；《红楼梦》涉及的主题相对简单，男欢女爱本来就“很容易吸引读者”。不知红学家们能否平心静气地看待林纾的评论，但可能真正耐人寻味的是，为什么一个高傲的中国旧式文人会醉心于一个擅长描写“下层社会”的英国小说家呢？我们有理由相信林纾对此应该不以为然才对。

毫无疑问他是被狄更斯“化腐为奇”的独特魅力所吸引，但我认为他更欣赏狄更斯公正不阿地揭露英国豪门富户罪恶的做法。实际上，林纾震惊地发现，英国，这个西方的头号强国，竟然曾跟中国一样为同样的社会积弊所困扰：

> 英伦在此百年之前，庶政之窳，直无异于中国，特水师强耳。迭更司极力抉摘下等社会之积弊，作为小说，俾政府知而改之。……天下之事，炫于外观者，往往不得实际。穷巷之间，荒伧所萃，漫无礼防，人皆鄙之。然而豪门朱邸，沉沉中喻礼犯分，有百倍于穷巷之荒伧者，乃百无一知。此则大肖英伦之强盛，几谓天下观听所在，无一不足为环球法则。非得迭更司描画其状态，人又乌知其中尚有贼窖耶？顾英之能强，能改革而从善也。吾华从而改之，亦正易易。所恨无迭更司其人，能举社会中积弊，著为小说，用告当事，或庶几也。

这里再次显示了林纾的爱国热忱。他实际是在解释自己为何倾注如此情感来翻译狄更斯。对他而言，就像对严复一样，翻译不是无谓的消遣，而是相当严肃的事业，是实现社会和政治改革的手段。

他对中国狄更斯的呼唤也并非荒野之声。就在他作此呼唤之时，中国已有诸如《官场现形记》和《二十年目睹之怪现状》一类的小说出现。如同林纾的汉译狄更斯和其他小说一样，这些汉语小说也促成了新风气：人们群起揭露官场的腐败，谴责官吏的贪污无能。事实上，在此后十年中，随着媒体报纸越来越多的揭露，中国小说也进入了一个新的创作高潮。

但是，即便是这样的作品也很快被取代了。一场更大的变革悄然而至。一种全新的文学——新的观念，新的介质——正在兴起。正如严复引入的西方资本主义意识形态对中国的改革、革命、内战和更大的革命起到推波助澜的作用一般，一位旧式中国文人翻译的西方作品也为之后更加动乱的岁月中激进社会小说的兴起奠定了基础。严复和林纾都是时代的巨人，对自己引发的巨大变革，严复可能隐约预见，林纾则完全始料未及。最后，他俩都转而反对他们曾致力发动的变革。主张维新的严复转而拥护帝制；翻译西方文学的林纾则猛烈抨击发轫于北京大学的新文化运动。想必他们余生都在为自己开启翻译事业的那天追悔莫及吧，但翻译本身一直就是非常微妙的背叛。

1981

III LU XUN

One must start from the point where Lu Xun is invariably launched by his critics, namely, that he is a satirist. He could not choose but be one. He wrote his *Ah Q* and his "miscellaneous essays" at a time when only satire could be effective. Satire is ever allied to surfeit; it thrusts open the inner corruption of a society at the very moment when the society has acquired, what with wigs and fine dress, wine and courtesans, a most civilized look. In the case of Lu Xun's China there was not even that surface glitter. A few lighthouses might be beaming decoratively on the eastern and southern coasts, a few railways might be stretching like phosphorescent ribbons into the dark plains of North China, but further inland, in the villages and small towns, taxes were being collected 60 years in advance, and family elders could still punish by death delinquent young females found guilty of illicit love. There, in spite of the easy revolution of 1911, Old China was still sitting pretty, though after the bad mauling it had received since the Opium War at the hands of English merchants and American missionaries, it was an Old China with its apparatus of torture intact but its humanism in fragments. The literary situation was hardly better. Hu Shih had made titanic efforts to make people write as they spoke, but the old *wenyan* Chinese was still government Chinese, business Chinese, newspaper Chinese. Some of the "new" intellectuals who were practising writing in the colloquial manner had put on airs of a different kind: they were precious, and would not bother to look beyond the shallow textbooks and second-rate poets they had read at Western universities. There was some effort at achieving a new pattern of things but for the moment the pattern adopted was only distinguished by its bizarre eclecticism.

It is before such a backdrop that Ah Q makes his bow. He is a figure of whom many Chinese are secretly ashamed, as they are ashamed of the narrow, twisting streets and the pungent smells of their towns. For Ah Q is the typical little man of a Chinese small town, with all the faults inherent in the Chinese character, but withal an honest, harmless, even lovable person. Lu Xun leads him through the mock heroic of a put-up revolution and a speedy counter-revolution. It is not so much a time of falling towers, as one of swift shiftings of fronts. Ah Q does not change fast enough, and consequently is caught on the wrong side of the fence at the arrival of the

hangman. When he is shot, the soldiers pass on, and the small town, having witnessed what is taken to be a New Order, sees the same round of courtesy calls among the same old faces of the local gentry.

They are the imperishable, the local gentry. But one is not allowed for a moment to suppose that they are the sort of urbane characters that occidental lovers of China have fondly taken the Chinese to be. There is no talk of art, of porcelain and landscape paintings in the world of Lu Xun. There is a flat provinciality. The gentry never miss an opportunity to flaunt their morality and their solid burgher virtues in all the ringing but vapid words only a Confucian is capable of mustering, and yet the moment they see a female beggar their first reaction is a gnawing regret. What wonders will not a good bath do to that outwardly dirty but none the less warm young body! Thus thinks Mr. Shih Ming, one of the imperishables who appear in the story "A Cake of Soap", and presently he could even hear the noise made by her soapy hand as it rubs now her back, now her neck, now her bosom, now her thighs. In a later story, in *Old Tales Newly Collected*, Lu Xun makes a gentry-scholar, one of the "scientific" historians, who easily reminds us of the savants on Swift's Flying Island, walk under the outsize legs of a giant goddess, whose mythological origin he has discredited. Coarse, one would say, though the word calls to one's mind the strange fact that almost all great satirists care for coarse details. Lu Xun is under no obligation to be shabby-genteel. He must go down to the base and the unpleasant. But through his art the base and the unpleasant, as well as the dullness and ennui of a dusty Chinese town, suddenly take on "the huge proportions of immortality".

The trick, once again, is as old as satire itself. Lu Xun has been able to achieve all this because he is what all great satirists are, a story-teller and a stylist. He is economical with his means, executing in bold rapid strokes. His classicism in this matter is in sharp contrast to the verbosity of other Chinese writers: he has too much to say and no time to waste. For the subtle blending of fantasy and verisimilitude, of the bitter and the tender, of general situations and topical allusions, Lu Xun has been admired, imitated, but not equalled. But it is as a master of words that Lu Xun has fascinated even his bitterest enemies. Not, however, because he is a stylist in the esoteric, *avant-garde* sense. He has no love for newfangled terms, which the Western-educated academics are only too ready to counterfeit. Instead, he uses old words, even insists on using the old forms of common words—there is something definitely coquettish about his etymological pedantry—only he puts them in a

totally colloquial, at times very Western, syntax. As a result, the old coinages from the classics not only shine with a rich antique glow, but have a keen new edge that cuts deep into the marrow.

This sense of style has come to the rescue of even his most occasional writings and made them a delight to read. China has abounded in literary quarrels, and in his time Lu Xun was the stormcentre of the particularly venomous ones. With his views that literature must be *engagée*, Lu Xun ran afoul of the university wits who were then talking languidly of Art in their perch in Beijing and Shanghai. His radical political opinions got him into serious trouble with the officials. To deal effectively with his enemies, who were thus many and powerful, he has invented a new genre of writing, of what his detractors call "miscellaneous"essays. These are short articles of a few dashing, biting lines, full of point, all teeth and claws, but also packed with innuendo of the most intriguing sort. They are the daggers for street-corner combats, the terrible commandoes out on a sudden raid. In Lu Xun's hands they were so deadly that paper after paper, periodical after periodical, for which Lu Xun had written, had to be closed down by government orders. But always Lu Xun managed to find a new window somewhere in the sprawling city of Shanghai, from which, under a different penname, he continued to snipe and kill, until after a few rounds it too was overwhelmed. Many of his fellow writers were gaoled and shot, and Lu Xun himself barely avoided arrest by changing his address once every few hours. His was therefore the bitter, running fight waged under a hundred pseudonyms across the desert of despair. There is something heroic about the polemic literature of that period, because it was largely the literature of the underground. Many to this day lament Lu Xun's tremendous atrophy of energy in the writing of these disputatious essays, energy which might have been turned to the writing of more permanent literature. But perhaps one may also venture to suggest that lamentable as was the occasion that called forth these essays, they are not exactly dated. They are not the casualties of a polemic war, any more than the writings of Defoe and Swift, or the tracts of the passionate 17th-century English religious writers are the casualties of a pamphleteering war. There is the same vigour, the same human interest, the same firm mastery of the medium at hand. With Lu Xun, there is also an undying faith in the future of man.

This faith has taken the strange form of the many translations he has made of Russian and other Slav works. It must be confessed that to at least

one reader a great part of these translations are unreadable. But translations are essentially Lu Xun's sorties into the regions of experimental writing, of which the first startling feature is his torture of the Chinese language. A good classical scholar, Lu Xun knows all the tricks of Chinese written characters. He is perhaps not a little fascinated by them. But he knows also that in this fascination lies the horror: more stubborn men than he have been softened beyond all recognition by the things that these square characters stand for. He strives, therefore, not merely for synonyms and adverbial phrases, which he coins right and left with an abandon alarming probably to Hu Shih himself, but he must have an exact similarity in structure. Consciously and deliberately he tries to make the Chinese he employs in the translations read like a foreign language. It is as if he had thought that by breaking down the Chinese syntax, he was also breaking down the walls built round the Chinese spirit. He does not chime in with the Western-educated professors' eulogy of the merits of Anglo-American democracy. Instead, his translations have endeared to the Chinese imagination the collective farms basking in the warm Black Sea sun. He has become the main link between China and the deep, troubled mind of Eastern Europe. But to get there, what strange country one has to travel across! For the truth is, only the great name of Lu Xun could make his readers plod through those heavily written pages, difficult, halting, dark with an alien, imposed grammar. He is least readable when he is most consciously carrying out his own theories of translation. But there were times when even he seems to have been weary of keeping up the tremendous effort. In one of those relapses or releases, he turned out his most satisfying piece of translation, Gogol's *Dead Souls*. It is so good that one looks in vain for a like achievement among the translations of Western European and American works, in spite of the fact that most Chinese writers have acquired their English assiduously, while Lu Xun did not even understand Russian. He had to work through a Japanese version, but Gogol fits him with such a completeness that even at two removes Lu Xun's rendering has caught the soul of the original. Gogol, indeed, fits Lu Xun better than do the Soviet Neanderthals after the Flood. Both are what the true revolutionary would call prehistoric. Both are masters of the grey, torturing mood before the dawn. Both are unhappy, bitter, consumed by a tenderness toward the humble, inarticulate people in the small towns buried deep in the two vast, dark continents called China and Russia.

Here, however, Lu Xun begins to shed his disguise. For, with his visions

of the future, and his intolerable wrestle with the past, Lu Xun is only disguised as a satirist. He finds his own compassion for men so overpowering that in his *Wild Grass* he becomes lyrical, bursting out into a series of prose poems that have haunted many of his readers with their nostalgic, even fragile, beauty. It is perhaps not his best work, but it is symptomatic of the sentimentalism that has characterized China's new writing from the very outset. There is no self-pity in this sentimentalism, nothing tearful or mawkish, because it was born of a great humanitarian movement which, following in the wake of the Chinese Renaissance of 1919, demanded equal rights for women, advocated social justice, sought to narrow the gap between the well-fed, eloquent few in the cities and the dumb many in the countryside. However easily one may equate it with the rise of bourgeois culture in the coastal cities and condemn it as such, the movement started as a movement of love. It is this preoccupation with one's love of fellow men—itself a way by the sons of the gentry to expiate the sins of their ancestors—that has made so many Chinese writers write with what to the cooler and perhaps happier world outside is undue warmth of feeling, that has deprived them of their native sense of humour, that, finally, has given a note of protest to the best that has been written in China in the past 30 years. With a sardonic grace Lu Xun has time and again tried to conceal this love but his readers have not been deceived. The feeling of fellowship has been amply reciprocated. Lu Xun loved to tell a little anecdote about two young students he met one afternoon at a bookshop. They had mistaken him for the shop clerk and handed him the money for a book they had taken. It turned out to be a copy of his *Wild Grass*. The coins had been fished out from a shirt pocket next to the skin, and when they were put into Lu Xun's hand, they were still warm with the warmth of the young man's body. This warmth was branded on Lu Xun's conscience; when he wrote, he could not afford to be trivial or frivolous. He once confessed that he was a cow who had to turn the bitter grass he ate into milk. When milk gave out he offered his heart's blood. He wrote himself out, but among the ten thousand men who, in 1936, walked in his funeral procession, amid the hush that had for once descended on the heartless city of Shanghai, many had put warm coins on the counter to buy his books.

* * *

Thus I wrote in 1949. Over 30 years have passed, but Lu Xun has defied

the usual fate meted out by history to the heroes of yesterday: no eclipse, only added lustre.

And more surprises. Only the other day, turning over the volume of short stories he edited in 1935 for the *Comprehensive Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature 1917– 27*, I came upon such a passage in his Introduction:

> The prevailing mood of the awakened young intellectuals of the time was one of enthusiasm mixed with bitterness. Even when they saw a ray of light, that only accentuated the surrounding darkness.... What nourishment they got from abroad, too, turned out to be the bitter fruit of the *fin de siècle*, administered by Oscar Wilde, Nietzsche, Baudelaire, Andreev and the like. They were quite ready "to sink their boat", if only "to find a way out by risking all". Some of their works revealed the feeling that they were pleased with neither spring nor autumn. Indeed, black-haired, fair-complexioned youths were found singing songs of inexpressible grief, as if life's burden proved too much for them. This was a mood that neither the lyricism of Feng Zhi nor the pastoralism of Sha Zi could disguise....
>
> However, the Sunken Bell Society remained China's toughest, sincerest, longest fighting group of writers. For a moment it looked as though they were...working themselves to death, like the maker of the Sunken Bell who even while drowning in water would make the bell ring with a huge sound by striking it with his very feet. This, however, they were destined not to do. They survived to see the world change and the times become different. They meant to sing again, only to find their listeners asleep, dead, or scattered, leaving a waste land before them. Buffeted by wind and dust, they laid up their lyre in loneliness and sorrow.

Unexpected lyricism? But then there was always the poet in Lu Xun, only he tried to suppress it, though not always successfully. Indeed, this whole Introduction surprises one with its many touches of tenderness and nostalgia and the sheer elegance of the writing. But that's not all. There is also plenty of shrewd criticism expressed wittily:

> Yang Zhensheng's pen became more lively... but in order to be "true to his subjectivity" he endeavoured to create idealized characters by artificial means.... He completed a novelette, called *Yu Jun*.... He had decided on "making Nature artistic", which he would do through "telling lies", for in his view "the fiction writer is one who tells lies". Following this rule and incorporating many people's suggestions, he created the character of Yu Jun. This much, however, is certain: Yu Jun was only a puppet and her birth also marked her demise. Since then we have not seen any more work from this writer.

Or this about Feng Wenbing, a writer noted for his delicacy:

> Feng Wenbing, later known as Fei Ming, also made a fleeting appearance in *Qian Cao*, without showing his strengths. It was only when the *Tales from a Bamboo Grove* appeared in 1925 that readers became aware that behind his unadorned simplicity there lurked what he himself termed "discernible sadness". However, perhaps because the writer was over fond of his rather exclusive sadness, he soon refrained from showing his true feelings, so much so that he appeared, in the eyes of plain-speaking readers, to be deliberately ladidaing, a lone soul in love with his own shadow.

No one could have put it more gracefully, or with greater economy, or with more telling effect. But what's even more striking is the penetration and justness of Lu Xun's views. He is scrupulously fair, giving the pertinent facts, often letting the author speak for himself, but at the same time he leaves us in

no doubt about what he thinks of the matter under discussion. Time after time, he winds up with a memorable sentence or two, placing the writer or work neatly in a niche which later history has found no cause but to endorse.

Altogether 47 writers are treated, over half of them in some detail, grouped according to the literary society or magazine with which they were associated. Thus we find, of magazines, *New Youth, New Tide, Modern Review* and the literary supplements of two Beijing dailies; of literary societies, the "Musai", the "Sunken Bell", the "Wild Plain" and the "Society of Unknowns". If the magazines listed are still dimly remembered, the literary societies are not. Thanks to the vivid account Lu Xun gives of them in the Introduction—the passage earlier quoted on the Sunken Bell Society is a fair specimen—as well as the generous selections he makes of their works, many of the near-forgotten names have taken on a second lease of life.

Reading the Introduction today, one is also struck by the fact that writers were already debating in the 1920s some of the questions that are still with us today. For Lu Xun takes care to weave into his running account of writers and works another account, that of the major controversies of the time. These controversies eddied around four questions: literature for the sake of humanity, which means literature as a weapon of social reform; art for art's sake; native-land literature, or literature from the provinces or border areas; and satire in literature. Here again Lu Xun presents the relevant facts, the pros and cons, but never without comments of his own, such as this *aperçu* on satire:

> Satirical literature can perish of its own effort at deliberate fun.

Coming as it does from a great satirist, this serves as a warning that satire should never degenerate into mere wisecracking.

Thus combining fact and comment, narrative skill and critical acumen, a firm grasp of the fundamentals and lyrical flights of the imagination, Lu Xun examines and interprets a whole decade's fiction within the short space of 17 gracefully written pages (no more than 14,000 words).

It is an astounding feat. For Lu Xun demonstrates in one unforgettable essay just how literary history should be written, an object lesson that is still badly needed today. No doubt, Lu Xun has his thesis, his historical perspective, which starts from the view that literature is to serve the people. No doubt, he uses the realist mode as his only criterion. But this has not prevented him from treating the works of writers of other literary persuasions with understanding and respect, or from treating literature as literature. His

consistent critical position has only enhanced the unity of his treatment. But the balance and shapeliness of the essay are all his own. Where plenty of literary histories read like catalogues of names and titles, Lu Xun writes with a leisurely pace, highlighting this, pinpointing that, savouring the fine things as he goes along. Where others deal out dry generalities, he is pleasingly factual—his skilful use of quotations alone is an inspiration—but factual only to illustrate his general point. And how well do his deftly drawn thumbnail sketches of individual writers fit into a masterly presentation of schools, movements and the general background! Finally, amid the almost universal lament over the undistinguished style of the literary historians of today, East and West, how our eyes catch fire at the sight of Lu Xun's prose, that unique blending of classical and modern!....

If a single essay has so much to offer, how much more the major works of Lu Xun.

1980

叁　鲁迅

提到鲁迅，不得不从他被评论家们一贯认定为讽刺家说起。鲁迅别无选择。他的《阿Q》和“杂文”都写于唯有讽刺才有效验的时代。讽刺与放纵向来形影相随；它猛然刺破一个社会在衣香鬓影花天酒地里幻化出的文明伪装，现出它腐朽的内里。而鲁迅所在的中国甚至连这点浮光都没有。东南沿海一带或许装点着几座灯塔，华北平原的黑土地上或许蜿蜒着几条微亮的缎带般铁路，然而内陆深处的村庄小镇仍然实行提前60年征税的制度，家族长老仍然可以自行处死偷情的少女。辛亥革命虽然迅速推翻了清王朝统治，但旧中国仍然得以安富尊荣，只不过在鸦片战争后受过英国商人和美国牧师粗劣摆弄的旧中国摧残人性的根本制度毫发无伤，人道主义却已支离破碎。文艺界的情形也好不到哪里去。胡适曾大力倡导用白话文写作，但当时文言文仍是官方、商务和媒体用语。一些用白话文写作的“新”知识分子却摆出另一副姿态：他们矫揉造作，视野仅局限于西方大学里接触到的肤浅教科书和二流诗作。也有人为建立一种写作新模式而努力，然而一时间得以采用的新模式也只是一种奇怪的大杂烩而已。

阿Q就是在这样一个背景下面世的。这个人物是很多中国人私底下引以为耻的那种人，就像他们深以家乡小镇那狭窄弯曲的街道和刺鼻的气味为耻一般。因为阿Q就是中国小镇上一个典型的小人物，带着中国人的劣根性，大抵却还老实、无害，甚至有点可爱。鲁迅以戏仿英雄体把阿Q带进一场革命闹剧，其后又迅速让他走向反革命。这一时期与其说势力纷纷倒台，不如说阵营时时变换。阿Q倒戈得不够快，于是就被刽子手当作反革命抓了去。阿Q被处决了，革命党也走了，而在这个见识过所谓“新制度”的小镇里，仍是一样的乡绅在互道着一样的寒暄。

这些乡绅的形象是不朽的。但他们绝不是碰巧爱上中国的西洋人自作多情想象出来的那类中国市民。鲁迅笔下没有关乎艺术、瓷器和风景画的雅论，有的只是平实的乡土风情。乡绅们从不错过任何一个机会，以儒家独有的响亮而枯燥的字眼展现他们的伦理说教和根深蒂固的市民道德，可是一看见女乞丐他们即刻就感到一种揪心的惋惜。这年轻的姑娘外面看着脏，要是能给她咯支咯支遍身洗一洗，好得很哩【1】！《肥皂》里不朽的主人公四铭就是这样想的，他几乎能听见她满是皂沫的手擦洗后背、脖颈、前胸、大腿时发出的咯支咯支的声音。在后来的一则收入《故事新编》的故事中【2】，鲁迅让一位古衣冠的小丈夫，一位很容易让人想起乔纳森·斯威夫特的飞岛中的学究，在女娲的两腿之间出现了【3】，那女娲被刻意抹掉了神话色彩。你可以说这种写法粗俗，但

怪异的是，几乎所有的讽刺家都喜欢粗俗的细节。鲁迅没有必要来酸文假醋那一套。他就是要深入到鄙俗的令人生厌的所在。而经过他的艺术加工，那些鄙俗的令人生厌的事物，连同那死气沉沉、灰扑扑的中国小镇，一下子沐上了“不朽的光芒”。

其中的玄机，也与讽刺的历史一般悠久。鲁迅之所以能做到这一切，是因为他与所有的讽刺大家一样，是个讲故事高手，是个文体家。他以精练的手法进行粗线条白描。他的古朴文风与其他中国作家的冗长繁琐形成鲜明对比：他要说的太多，没时间浪费。鲁迅那巧妙地融合了荒诞和写实、苦涩和温情、一般叙述和影射叙事的方式一直被景仰和模仿，却始终无人企及。鲁迅之所以连宿敌都能吸引是因为他是语言大师，并非因为他那晦涩前卫的文风。那些受过西方教育的学者热衷于模仿的时髦词，鲁迅从不青睐。相反，他使用旧词，甚至坚持使用常用词的旧形式——他在词源方面的墨守成规确乎有些矫情——只是他把旧词放在通俗化、有时还明显西化的句法结构中。这样一来，古书中的旧词不仅散发着丰富的古玩艳泽，又有了刺入骨髓的新锐角。

这种文风使得鲁迅的应景文都成了赏心悦目之作。中国向来不乏文学论战，而鲁迅当时正被最恶毒的批判推到了风口浪尖。鲁迅认为文学必须服务于社会，结果得罪了京沪两地那些安坐高椅、漫谈艺术的学院派文人。他激进的政治观点也触怒了当权者。为了有效地对付众多强大的敌人，鲁迅发明了一种新文体，即他的讨伐者所谓的“杂文”。这些文章有时短至几行，辛辣而振奋人心，观点鲜明直白，同时又巧妙地含沙射影。如同巷战中的一把把匕首，给人冷不防的骇人突袭。在鲁迅笔下它们致命的威力使得一家家他供稿的报纸杂志被政府勒令停刊。但鲁迅总能在当时恣意扩展的上海找到新窗口，换个笔名，继续狙击，继续射杀，直到几番下来这个窗口再次被封。鲁迅的很多同行被捕被杀害，他自己每几个小时换一个地方，才幸免于难。所以鲁迅是顶着上百个假名在绝望的荒漠打着艰苦卓绝的游击战。那时的论战文学有些英雄主义的意味，因为主要是在地下进行。很多人时至今日仍痛惜鲁迅当年为写这类文章伤耗了巨大心力，而他本来可以创作更经久的作品。但或许我们也可以说，虽然那些杂文成文的背景让人叹惋，但也未必就是一时之物。它们并非论战的牺牲品，正如笛福和斯威夫特的作品或者17世纪英国虔诚的信徒作家的宗教册子并非宣传战的牺牲品一样。鲁迅的这些杂文同样充满活力，同样着眼于人性，同样技艺纯熟。此外，鲁迅也有着对人类未来的永恒信念。

这种信念以一种奇特的方式体现出来，即体现在鲁迅对俄国和其他斯拉夫民族诸多作品的翻译之上。不得不说，这些译作有很大一部分可读性差（至少对笔者而言），但从本质上讲翻译是鲁迅进行试验性创作

的尝试，其首要的骇人特征是对中文的扭曲。作为一个传统文化造诣颇深的学者，鲁迅通晓汉字的奥妙，也许对之还很痴迷。但他也知道在这份痴迷之中还藏着恐惧：比他更倔强的人都曾在这硬挺挺的方块字所代表的含义面前软化成了绕指柔。因此在翻译过程中他不但极力寻找同义词和副词短语（他任意造词，或许到了连胡适都会为之骇然的地步），甚至连句法结构都要极为相像。他有意、甚至刻意把自己的译文弄得像外文。他似乎觉得，打碎中文的句法就是拆掉禁锢民族魂的藩篱。他并不附和受过西方教育的学院派教授对英美民主制的优越性加以赞美，而是通过翻译使国人通过想象对那沐浴在黑海暖阳下的集体农场产生亲近感。鲁迅成了中国与忧思深沉的东欧之间的主要纽带。可是要到达那里需要跨过多么奇异的国界啊！说实话，恐怕只有鲁迅的大名才能使读者肯在那样晦涩难通、充满生搬硬套的奇特文法的书页中艰难跋涉。他越是有意识地奉行自己的翻译理念，他的译文也就越难懂。有时似乎连他自己都厌倦了这种坚守。但也正是在他放弃了坚守或有所松懈之际，他最令人满意的译作，果戈理的《死魂灵》，出炉了。这本译作如此出色，以至于想在西欧和美国的汉译作品中找到类似之作，只能是徒劳，尽管大多数中国作家都苦心钻研过英语，而鲁迅甚至不懂俄语。他只能通过日译本转译，但果戈理与鲁迅精神上的完美契合使得哪怕经过两次语言的抽离，鲁迅仍能抓住原著的精髓。事实上，果戈理比“大洪水”之后的苏联蛮人更合鲁迅的意：二者都会被真正的革命者称为“史前人”；二者都善于刻画黎明前灰暗、痛苦的心境；二者都含悲忍怨，为中俄两国腹地深处小镇上的那些卑微、不善言辞的小人物寸寸柔肠。

然而，在这里鲁迅开始卸去伪装。在对未来的诸多想象中，在与过去那令人无法承受的搏斗中，鲁迅只是伪装成讽刺家罢了。他对人类如此悲悯，以至于在《野草》中他成了抒情诗人，一篇篇散文诗喷薄而出，其怀旧柔美令很多读者无限缱绻。这也许不是鲁迅最好的作品，却从一开始就预兆着以感伤主义为标志的中国新文学的出现。这种感伤没有眼泪汪汪、无病呻吟的自怨自艾，因为它脱胎于1919年中国新文化运动之后的人道主义运动，要求妇女平权，倡导社会公正，力求缩小城乡差距。尽管人们很容易把它与沿海城市新兴的资产阶级文化等同起来，并加以责难，该运动自始都是以爱为宗旨的运动。正是这种对同胞的爱——本身就是绅士阶层的子孙替先辈赎罪的方式——才使得很多中国作家在写作时倾注了在更冷静、或许也更快乐的外界看来，过于深切的情感；才削弱了中国人与生俱来的幽默感；才对中国过去30年来最优秀的作品发出了不谐音。含蓄嘲讽的鲁迅曾三番五次试图隐藏这种爱意，但读者的眼睛是雪亮的。他与读者惺惺相惜。鲁迅对某日下午在书店遇到两个青年学生一事津津乐道。他们误认为他是店员，付钱给他，买的正

是《野草》。银元是从最里层衣衫的口袋里掏出来的，放入鲁迅掌心时还带着青年的体温。这温度深深烙印在鲁迅的心口上；他的写作因此不敢流于肤浅或琐碎。他曾说过自己是一只牛，吃的是草，挤出来的是奶【4】。奶挤完了，他便付出一腔热血。鲁迅为写作殚精竭虑，直至油尽灯枯。1936年上万人为他送葬，在无情的上海滩出现了一次难得的肃穆，这万人中很多都曾掏出带着体温的银元买他的书。

* * *

上文写于1949年。时间过去逾30年，鲁迅抵制住了历史通常赋予昔日英雄的宿命：不但没有褪色，反而愈焕光彩。

另外还有更多惊喜。就在前几天翻阅鲁迅1935年编纂的《〈中国新文学大系〉小说二集》时，我看到他在序中有这样一段话：

> 但那时觉醒起来的智识青年的心情，是大抵热烈，然而悲凉的。即使寻到一点光明，“径一周三”，却是分明的看见了周围的无涯际的黑暗。摄取来的异域的营养又是“世纪末”的果汁：王尔德（Oscar Wilde），尼采（Fr. Nietzsche），波特莱尔（Ch. Baudelaire），安特莱夫（L. Andreev）们所安排的。“沉自己的船”还要在绝处求生，此外的很多作品，就往往“春非我春，秋非我秋”，玄发朱颜，低唱着饱经忧患的不欲明言的断肠之曲。虽是冯至的饰以诗情，莎子的托辞小草，还是不能掩饰的……
>
> ……但在事实上，沉钟社却确是中国的最坚韧，最诚实，挣扎得最久的团体。它好像真要如吉辛的话，工作到死掉之一日；如“沉钟”的铸造者，死也得在水底里用自己的脚敲出洪大的钟声。然而他们并不能做到，他们是活着的，时移世易，百事俱非；他们是要歌唱的，而听者却有的睡眠，有的槁死，有的流散，眼前只剩下一片茫茫白地，于是也只好在风尘澒洞中，悲哀孤寂地放下了他们的箜篌了。

出人意料的抒情？其实鲁迅体内一直蛰伏着一位诗人，只不过他竭力压抑罢了，有时却也压抑不住。事实上，整篇序言语调之感伤怀旧，文笔之优雅十足都令人惊奇。但这不是全部。文中还有大量诙谐而敏锐的批评：

> 杨振声的文笔，却比《渔家》更加生发起来……他“要忠实于主观”，要用人工来制造理想的人物……这才完成一本中篇小说《玉君》……他先决定了“想把天然艺术化”，唯一的方法是“说假话”，“说假话的才是小说家”。于是依照了这定律，并且博采众议，将玉君创造出来了，然而这是一定的：不过一个傀儡，她的降生也就是死亡。我们此后也不再见这位作家的创作。

还有这段对以文风精巧而闻名的冯文炳的评价：

> 后来以“废名”出名的冯文炳，也是在《浅草》中略见一斑的作者，但并未显出他的特长来。在一九二五年出版的《竹林的故事》里，才见以冲淡为衣，而如著者所说，仍能“从他们当中理出我的哀愁”的作品。可惜的是大约作者过于珍惜他有限的“哀愁”，不久就更加不欲像先前一般的闪露，于是从率直的读者看来，就只见其有意低徊，顾影自怜之态了。【5】

没人能比鲁迅更委婉、更简练或达到更显著的效果了。但更惹人注目的是其论点的深刻和公正。他极为公平，摆出相关事实，让作者自行表达观点，但同时他对自己的立场也绝不含糊其辞。一次又一次他以一两句令人难忘的话来结束对某一作家或作品的点评，对其作出简练的定位，后人对此唯有心悦诚服。

鲁迅一共评价了47位作家，其中超过半数较为详尽。这些作家都按其当时所属的文学社团或供职的杂志来归类。我们看到被提及的杂志有《新青年》《新潮》《现代评论》和《北京日报》的两份文学副刊；文学社团有弥洒社、沉钟社、莽原社和未名社。人们对那些杂志或许还有些许模糊印象，而文学社团则早已湮没无闻了。幸而鲁迅在序中对它们进行了生动的描绘——前面关于“沉钟社”的引文就是很好的例证——并大量选用它们的作品，很多几乎被遗忘的名字才得以获得第二次生命。

现在读鲁迅的序，我们也会惊讶地发现20世纪20年代的作家已经在争论一些今天仍然困扰我们的话题了。鲁迅着意在对作家和作品的叙述中交织另外一条线，即当时争论的焦点。这些争论围绕四个问题：肩负社会使命的文学，即作为社会改革工具的文学；为艺术而艺术的文学；乡土文学，即地方文学或边界地区的文学；讽刺文学。鲁迅再一次摆出相关事实，分析各自优缺点，但绝不会没有自己的观点，例如这一条对讽刺的评价：

> 讽刺文学是能死于自身的故意的戏笑的。

这句话出自讽刺大家之口，自是向人们警示讽刺永远不应沦为纯粹的插科打诨。

这样事实与论点结合、叙述技巧与批评锐度结合、对基本原理的牢牢把握与抒情想象的自由驰骋结合，鲁迅在短短17页内（不超过14,000字）笔调优雅地分析了整整十年的小说。

这是一个惊人的成就。鲁迅在一篇令人难以忘怀的散文中展示了应该如何书写文学史，而这至今仍是个难题。毫无疑问，鲁迅的论题和他的历史视角都出自文学应该服务于人民这一根本观点。毫无疑问，他把写实作为唯一的标准。但这并未妨碍他用理解与尊重的心态去对待其他文学派别的作品，也未妨碍他客观地看待文学本身。他一贯的批评立场只是增强了他评论的一致性，而其协调平整的文风仍是他独有的。太多文学史读起来都像姓名和头衔组成的流水账了，鲁迅写来却游刃有余，此处一突出，彼处一点明，一路行着细致的鉴赏。别人枯燥地泛泛而谈，鲁迅却善用生动的事实——熟练地穿插引文——但事实还是为了阐释观点。他对个体作家娴熟的简描与他巧妙呈现的文学流派、文学运动和时代大背景又是多么相得益彰！最后，当时下的文学史家，无论东方还是西方，那毫无特点的文风惹来一致浩叹之时，鲁迅将古典与现代融为一体的独特文风，多么让我们双目为之一眩啊！……

一篇散文便能令人收获如许，鲁迅的主要著作更该让我们如何受益！

1980

IV LU XUN AND WESTERN LITERATURE[1]

Literary history of a near contemporary period is notoriously difficult to write. It often reads like a catalogue of names and titles or the sort of annual summary one finds in the *New York Times Book Review*. The writers and works covered are not "distanced" enough to be seen in true perspective, and yet not near enough so as not to require too much background knowledge. As literary fashions come and go, literary reputations have their ups and downs, and the particularly popular names of one generation often suffer a particularly bad eclipse in the generation immediately after.

However, so far as modern Chinese literature is concerned, one name has not eclipsed and that is Lu Xun. Indeed, the more one reads him, the more firmly becomes one's conviction that his is an achievement that has not been equalled, much less surpassed.

Not just as a short story writer, though in that genre his penetration and his economy of means remain to be studied and emulated. Nor just as a writer of essays, which many have derided as "miscellaneous", though they contain the best literary criticism, the most pungent political satire and the most daring translation theory of his time. Nor yet as an acute textual critic with several definitive editions of classical works to his credit, or as a literary historian—indeed, many seem to have forgotten that he has ever been one, despite his *Outline History of Chinese Fiction* (1920), a seminal work displaying a classical scholarship beyond the reach of most of his contemporaries and nearly all latter-day writers on the subject.

He is a combination of all these and something more. Whoever has read him and not come under the strange fascination of his style, that unique blending of classical and modern? Nor should we forget the poet and the artist in the pamphleteer. He didn't think much of the poems he wrote in the classical mode, yet they rank among the best of the modern period. A motive force behind some of the most daring art movements of the 1930s, he encouraged and nurtured the new woodcuts and, almost simultaneously, published a large collection of the traditional prints of Beijing. His lyricism comes out in some of the least expected places—for instance, in that astounding introduction he wrote to a volume of short stories he edited in

1935 for the *Comprehensive Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature 1917–27*:

> 但那时觉醒起来的智识青年的心情，是大抵热烈，然而悲凉的。即使寻到一点光明，“径一周三”，却更分明的看见了周围的无涯际的黑暗。摄取来的异域的营养又是“世纪末”的果汁：王尔德（Oscar Wilde），尼采（Fr. Nietzsche），波特莱尔（Ch. Baudelaire），安特莱夫（L. Andreev）们所安排的。“沉自己的船”还要在绝处求生，此外的许多作品，就往往“春非我春，秋非我秋”，玄发朱颜，低唱着饱经忧患的不欲明言的断肠之曲。虽是冯至的饰以诗情，莎子的托辞小草，还是不能掩饰的……
>
> ……但在事实上，沉钟社却确是中国的最坚韧，最诚实，挣扎得最久的团体。它好象真要如吉辛的话，工作到死掉之一日；如“沉钟”的铸造者，死也得在水底里用自己的脚敲出洪大的钟声。然而他们并不能做到，他们是活着的，时移世易，百事俱非；他们是要歌唱的，而听者却有的睡眠，有的槁死，有的流散，眼前只剩下一片茫茫白地，于是也只好在风尘澒洞中，悲哀孤寂地放下了他们的箜篌了。
>
> ——《＜中国新文学大系＞小说二集序》（1935）
>
> (The prevailing mood of the awakened young intellectuals of the time was one of enthusiasm mixed with bitterness. Even when they saw a ray of light, that only accentuated the surrounding darkness—as the old saying goes, one in diameter yields three in circumference. What nourishment they got from abroad, too, turned out to be the bitter fruit of the *fin de siécle*, administered by Oscar Wilde, Nietzsche, Baudelaire, Andreev and the like. They were quite ready "to sink their boat", if only "to find a way out by risking all". Some of their works revealed the feeling that they were pleased with neither spring nor autumn. Indeed, black-haired, fair-complexioned youths were found singing songs of inexpressible grief, as if life's burden proved too much for them. This was a mood that neither the lyricism of Feng Zhi nor the pastoralism of Sha Zi could disguise….
>
> However, the Sunken Bell Society remained China's toughest, sincerest, longest fighting group of writers. For a moment it looked as though they were, in the words of George Gissing, working themselves to death, like the maker of the Sunken Bell who even while drowning in water would make the bell ring with a huge sound by striking it with his very feet. This, however, they were destined not to do. They survived to see the world change and the times become different. They meant to sing again, only to find their listeners asleep, dead, or scattered, leaving a waste land before them. Buffeted by wind and dust, they laid up their lyre in loneliness and sorrow.)

Pithy, elegant, in the best tradition of Chinese classical criticism—one is reminded of Cao Pi's essay *On Writing* and Zhong Rong's preface to his *Ranks of Poetry*—and yet fully alive to the changing moods and manners of the young, Lu Xun is able to evoke an atmosphere even as he makes his shrewd comments. How rarely does one come across this kind of writing in the works of critics and literary historians of today!

Lu Xun, then, is a giant of many accomplishments. Against this background one may perhaps speak about the part he played in the exchanges between Chinese and Western literature.

At first sight Lu Xun appeared to be the least likely sort of person to have much to do with Western literature. Indeed, the Western-educated professors of literature generally looked upon him as a country cousin, at best

a stolid scholar of the old type. Others have accused him of indulging in petty literary squabbles, a trait they ascribed to the fact that he had been born in the town of Shaoxing, in East Zhejiang, proverbially the home of captious, hair-splitting drafters of legal briefs.

His friends on the left didn't treat him any more kindly—certainly not at first. When he went to Shanghai to live by writing around 1930, the group of left-wing romantics already entrenched there, who called themselves the Creationists, jeered at him for his alleged ignorance of Marxism. These people had mostly gone to study in Japan, where they had made a heterogeneous collection of Western authors, from Oscar Wilde, Poe, Baudelaire to Herzen and Tolstoy. They were aesthetes turned revolutionaries. They, too, dismissed Lu Xun as a provincial.

Sniped at from both right and left, Lu Xun felt not so much embittered as saddened. He had more important things in mind than mere contentions between one literary group and another. Yet when he surveyed the cultural scene, this was what he saw:

> We know too little and have too few materials to help us to learn. Liang Shiqiu has his Babbitt. Xu Zhimo has his Tagore. Hu Shih has his Dewey. Oh yes, Xu Zhimo has Katherine Mansfield too, for he wept at her grave. And the Creationists have revolutionary literature, the literature now in vogue.
>
> —Some Thoughts on Our New Literature (1929)

To Lu Xun, none of these new gods—Irving Babbitt, Rabindranath Tagore, John Dewey, the lot—would do for China. He found the hullabaloo of their worshippers offensive. He was particularly disgusted with the Western-educated academics, and for a crucial reason:

> There were the gentlemen-scholars who had studied in America, who took literature to be the prerogative of ladies and gentlemen. If not ladies and gentlemen, then the chief characters in literary works must be men of letters, scholars, artists, professors, socialites—and they must all speak English, just to show they are the elite. [One of these gentlemen-scholars...] wrote an article saying he could not understand why some people liked to write about the lower orders.
>
> —A Glance at Shanghai Literature (1931)

To write for the élite or for the lower orders: that was the real quarrel between Lu Xun and the gentlemen-scholars. On the other hand, he would give only of his best to the lower orders and not try to pass off a few intellectuals' emotional outpourings as genuine proletarian literature, as he found the Creationists were doing at the time. Hence his conclusion:

> That is why, as I always say, if we want to increase our understanding we must read more foreign books, to break through the cordon around us.... After reading more foreign theoretical and literary works we'll be able to assess our new Chinese literature with a clearer head.

—Some Thoughts on Our New Literature (1929)

It is significant that for all his earthbound qualities and his vast classical Chinese learning, he yet looked to "foreign books" for inspiration and a sense of direction.

This conviction did not come to him all of a sudden. Years back, in 1908, while yet a young student in Tokyo, he had written a long article in a little known magazine, under the title "The Power of Satanic Poetry". The hero of the piece was Byron. Now Byron had been made known to Chinese readers through several translations of his "Isles of Greece",[2] an extract from *Don Juan*, Canto III. That song had moved Chinese readers deeply, but no one had yet given Byron's poetry an intelligent appraisal.

This Lu Xun did, in his essay. Reading the essay today, one marvels at its scope. It treats of Byron's rise to eminence in the turbulent years following the French revolution. It reviews Byron's activities and works. It highlights Byron's love of liberty and hatred of hypocrisy, in these words:

> English society then was full of hypocrites, who held up affectation and ceremoniousness as a moral code. Any liberal-minded person who questioned this was denounced as a blackguard. Byron, rebellious and frank by nature, would not keep silent but used Cain as his mouthpiece when he made him say, "Satan is a man who tells the truth". Thus he antagonized the public and incurred the opposition of all moralists.

The essay, however, doesn't stop with Byron's own work but goes on to deal with Byron's impact on Europe, particularly Eastern Europe. Country after country is examined to trace the spread of Byron's "Satanic"poetry. We are told how it inspired Pushkin and Lermontov in Russia, Mickiewicz in Poland, Petofi in Hungary. These were no ordinary names; indeed, they were to loom large in the Chinese consciousness as translations of their works began to pour out from the printing presses in Shanghai and Beijing in the fateful years to come.

Just before the essay ends, the author springs us a surprise. For in the summing-up he refutes the very name "Satanic":

> For the truth is that despite the name "Satanic", Byron and Shelley were men of this earth. There was no such thing as a "Satanic school", only kindred spirits, such as are always to be found in this world, who were awakened by the same earnest voice and united by the same sincere conviction.

Finally, Lu Xun winds up the whole essay by casting a look back at China:

> Now when we look back at China, where are those who fight for the human spirit? Where can we hear the voice of conviction that can lead us to the good, the beautiful and the strong? Where is the voice of love that can lift us out of the desolation of spirit?

A cry of pain from the very depth of a young patriot's heart. From the very

beginning, for Lu Xun, literature is not just words, imagery, form, structures, but something closely bound up with the destiny of a people.

In this light we can perhaps better understand his impatience with the academics and the aesthetes. We also see his consistency. The young man eating his heart out over the desolation of the human spirit matured into the writer voicing his disgust with the gentlemen-scholars who wanted to put literature out of the reach of the lower orders. Twenty years had passed, but he remained steadfast to his original conviction.

He set the pattern, too, for later people, writers and translators, in what he did with foreign works. After translating a number of Japanese works, he retranslated, largely through Japanese versions, East European short stories and, later on, Russian novels like Gogol's *Dead Souls* and Fadeyev's *Débacle*. He looked for a theory of literature and towards that end read and translated the treatises on art by the Marxist critics Plekhanov and Lunacharsky. Gaining experience as a translator, he also formed a translation theory of his own, which, for once not repeating the parrot cry of Yan Fu's three principles, namely, fidelity, expressiveness and elegance, stressed accuracy at all cost, even to the extent of imposing an IndoEuropean syntax on the Chinese language. He didn't work all alone, but gathered around himself a number of young translators. To help to get their work published, he founded in 1934 a literary magazine devoted exclusively to translation. This magazine, *Yi Wen* or *Literature in Translation*, played a vital role in acquainting Chinese readers with the writings of many countries, particularly those of left-wing and minority groups.

Here clearly was a bias towards politically orientated literature, above all that of Eastern Europe. Also a bias towards works that may be loosely described as realist. Both tendencies had been found among the more serious-minded Chinese translators long before Lu Xun, but he gave them a new emphasis. His prestige and example—his version of *Dead Souls* was hailed as an outstanding achievement—helped to bring about a new translation boom and a greater interest in world literature.

But why were Lu Xun and his friends so attracted by the heavy, brooding works of the Russians?

Lu Xun himself provided an answer. He wrote:

> Russian literature is our guide and friend, because in it we see the good soul of the oppressed, their anguish and their struggles. Russian works of the 1840s light us up with hope, while those of the 1860s sadden us. Not that we forget that in those years the Russian Empire was an aggressor to China; but the point is, we have learned from Russian literature an important

> fact, namely, that there are two sorts of people in the world, the oppressors and the oppressed.
>
> —Celebrating the Literary Friendship Between China and Russia (1932)

Now of course Russian writers also have their intrinsic excellences. There is something deeply moving about their ceaseless strivings, some spiritual quality that gives their works a rare profundity. And, artistically, who among us, however hypercritical, would dare to gainsay the towering genius of a Tolstoy, a Dostoevsky, or a Gorky? Chinese intellectuals were sensitive to these qualities, yet they were more curious about the use to which literature had been put by the great Slav writers. They thought that the vast masses in Russia and other East European countries had been, and many still were, in a political situation analogous to their own—an absolutist regime at home and a ruthless foreign foe threatening or actually occupying their territory. What did their literature do to bolster and cheer them up? In other words, the Chinese were looking for a literature that answered to the sore needs of a nation faced with the problem of survival. They had looked for it in Western Europe and America, but in vain; they found it in Eastern Europe and Russia. The October Revolution gave the Russians the added lustre of an example, that of a real, tangible, at first sight altogether different society rising out of the ruins of a vast backward empire resembling China. With their own yearnings also for a better society, great numbers of Chinese intellectuals devoured Russian works to find solace and hope. Hence the many translations.

But Lu Xun's mind was never shut against other literatures. His interest in Western literature did not stop with that youthful encounter with Byron. Indeed, even in that earliest of his essays, he had discussed, along with Byron, also Burns, Scott, Shelley. The section on Shelley was especially perceptive. Keats was also mentioned, though he took care to point out that Keats didn't really belong to the "Satanic" school.

Now it was the 1930s, a particularly difficult time for any upright writer in China. Living largely in the underground, dying slowly of tuberculosis, in the thick of the grim fight against the White Terror, Lu Xun yet found time to read and comment on two major Western writers.

There is first the preface he wrote to a Chinese translation of Mark Twain's *Eve's Diary*, published in Shanghai in October 1931. Lu Xun calls Twain's piece "a minor work", and his own preface is equally a slight thing, no more than 1,000 words in length. Yet it throws light on his knowledge of American writings. He divides U.S. literary history into two periods, with the

Civil War as the watershed. He mentions Poe, Hawthorne and Whitman as belonging to the first period, when writers "did not have to put up a false front". After the Civil War, however, "the United States became an industrial society which would put all individuals into one mould". Self-expression was discouraged and writers had to find ways of winning readers. Or "they exiled themselves to Europe, like Henry James, or told jokes, like Mark Twain".[3]

Lu Xun goes on to say:

> Twain became a humorist, then, by force of circumstances. Yet there is resentment and satire in his humour, which shows that he was discontented with life. Because of this little note of protest, the children of the new lands say amid laughter: Mark Twain belongs to us.

As to *Eve's Diary* itself, Lu Xun takes a judicious view:

> A minor work, it shows that innocence has its failings. The author packs satire into the narration, so that the portrait of the American girl of the time, which he takes to be the image of all women, is really dated, despite the smile on her face. Twain's superb skill, however, makes this difficult to detect and so the work remains lively.

Lu Xun lays no claim to an intimate knowledge of American literature, but he is nobody's fool.

When Bernard Shaw visited Shanghai in 1933, Lu Xun met him at a reception given by Madame Sun Yat-sen. Since Lu Xun spoke no English and Shaw no Chinese, they couldn't have had much conversation with each other. Rather Lu Xun used the occasion to observe with amusement how others, mostly foreign pressmen and Chinese gentlemen-scholars, disported themselves before the Irishman. He wrote three articles on that occasion, in one of which he declared: "I am an admirer of Shaw". But the most perceptive appraisal is to be found in a fourth article, the one written to commemorate the first anniversary of a magazine founded by his friend, Lin Yutang. Lu Xun began by saying that he disagreed with Lin on many things, including the founding of that magazine, one devoted exclusively, like *Punch*, to humorous writings, because China being what she was, the oppressed people could not afford that kind of luxury. However, he thought the magazine's special number on Shaw a very good thing. Then he reflected on the different receptions accorded by the Chinese to Shaw and Ibsen:

> In 1919 Ibsen was introduced to Chinese readers and he was well received. This year Shaw was introduced, and he was thought to be outrageous. To this day many people can't stomach him.

The cause lay, according to Lu Xun, in the Irish playwright's total ruthlessness in exposing sham and hypocrisy. He wrote:

> 他们的看客，不消说，是绅士淑女们居多。绅士淑女们是顶爱面子的人种。易卜生虽然使他们登场，虽然也揭发一点隐蔽，但并不加上结论，却从容的说道“想一想吧，这到底是些什么呢？”绅士淑女们的尊严，确也有一些动摇了，但究竟还留着摇摇摆摆的退走，回家去想的余裕，也就保存了面子。至于回家之后，想了也未，想得怎样，那就不

成什么问题，所以他被绍介进中国来，四平八稳，反对的比赞成的少。萧可不这样了，他使他们登场，撕掉了假面具，阔衣装，终于拉住耳朵，指给大家道，“看哪，这是蛆虫！”连磋商的工夫，掩饰的法子也不给人有一点。这时候，能笑的就只有并无他所指摘的病痛的下等人了。在这一点上，萧是和下等人相近的，而也就和上等人相远。

这怎么办呢？仍然有一定的古法在。就是：大家沸沸扬扬的嚷起来，说他有钱，说他装假，说他“名流”，说他“狡猾”，至少是和自己们差不多，或者还要坏。

——《＜论语一年＞——借此又谈萧伯纳》（1933）

People who go to Ibsen's and Shaw's plays are no doubt mostly ladies and gentlemen. Now ladies and gentlemen are the most respectable, face-loving species in the world. When Ibsen puts them on the stage, he exposes them somewhat, but doesn't pass any judgement on them, only asks in a mild tone,"Now please think. Why all this?" Ladies and gentlemen find their composure somewhat shaken, but are nevertheless left with the recourse of withdrawing with some show of dignity to reflect on the question in the privacy of their homes. In that way, their face is saved. Whether they really think about the question at home and, if so, what answers they've found is then nobody's business. That is why when Ibsen was introduced to China, he had a smooth passage, meeting more admirers than opponents. Not so Shaw. He lines up ladies and gentlemen in the limelight, tears off their masks, strips them of their fine clothes and then, grabbing each by the ear, announces triumphantly to the audience, "Look! A vermin!" He won't allow them even time for manoeuvre or disguise. No wonder on such occasions only the lower orders can afford to laugh, for they happen to be free from the ugly diseases just shown up. For this reason Shaw endears himself to the lower orders and alienates all superior people.

Now what can one do with a chap like that? Well, there is a way yet, an old way—that is, kick up a row, say that Shaw is a rich man, a fraud, a VIP, a sly fellow, not a bit better than the ladies and gentlemen themselves, indeed, much worse.

—*Lun Yu's* First Anniversary, and Further on Shaw (1933)

I think Shaw himself, had he been able to read Chinese, would have appreciated such incisive writing as this, so like Shaw's own in language and tone, yet so different in background and outlook.

Lu Xun's connection with Western writers, however, was not confined to meeting them at parties and writing occasional articles about them. He was also closely associated with three Americans in their literary work, but this time in an entirely new undertaking, namely, the introduction of twentieth-century Chinese literature to the Englishspeaking world, which meant, in the context of the turbulent history of the time, the introduction of left-wing Chinese literature.

Of the trio, Agnes Smedley, the author of *Daughter of the Earth*, was perhaps the most deeply involved in the revolutionary movement in China. She was indefatigable in reporting both the savage repression of left-wing intellectuals in Shanghai and the successful battles being fought by the nascent Red Army in Central China. A close friend of Madame Sun Yat-sen, she joined in the latter's efforts to shield and rescue young writers from the White Terror. She knew Lu Xun well and through him contacted some of the

younger men active on the literary front. As a result, she was able to put together a small volume of *Short Stories from China* (London, 1934), which contains six pieces, including the "Slave Mother" by Rou Shi (柔石), a young Communist executed by the Kuomintang authorities in 1931. In her last years, despite the McCarthyite witchhunt, her own ill health and poverty, she completed her book *The Great Road*, a biography of General Zhu De, one of the truly heroic figures of twentieth-century China.

More widely known perhaps as a reporter of the China scene, the Kansas-born Edgar Snow not only wrote the influential book *Red Star Over China*, but compiled an anthology of modern Chinese short stories called *Living China*, published in New York in 1936. He had taken up the project with one question in mind: "What is happening to the creative mind of modern China?" Looking for an answer, he met with almost insurmountable difficulties and nearly gave up the whole thing. However:

> It was meeting Lu Hsun and Lin Yutang that finally decided me to undertake the task myself. Lu Hsun as a personality so impressed me with his breadth of humanity, his warmth of sympathy, and his keen perceptivity of the life around him that I felt sure his writing would provide interpretations of interest. And Lin Yutang's wit and a facile way with words in English, his skilful and mature and penetrating satire and good-natured "old-roguism" (to borrow Lin's own phrase), were a promise that equally important talent must lie hidden in recent writing in the Chinese language, and be worth bringing into English.[4]

With the help of Lu Xun, Lin Yutang and others, Snow was able to produce the first comprehensive collection of contemporary Chinese stories in English, comprising seven by Lu Xun, two each by Mao Dun, Ding Ling and Tian Jun, and one each by Ba Jin, Shen Congwen, Lin Yutang, Guo Moruo, Rou Shi, Xiao Qian, Sha Ting, etc., making up a total of twenty four. There were some surprises, such as the inclusion of Guo Moruo and Lin Yutang, neither of them noted for short stories. But by and large, this was a representative anthology, unquestionably, as Snow himself writes in the Introduction, "a wholly fresh and authentic expression of a decisive new cultural stage, attained by a process of history in its march of centuries across the vast and wonderful country within whose borders dwells a fifth of the family of men."[5]

While Snow's *Living China* was in the making, another young American, also a journalist, Harold R. Isaacs, started to compile another anthology under the title *Straw Sandals*. This contains 25 titles, five stories by Lu Xun, three by Mao Dun, two each by Ding Ling and Shi Yi, and one each by another fifteen writers, but it also includes an abridged version of a three-act history play, *Zhuo Wen Jun*, by Guo Moruo and a poem by Yin Fu,

another young writer executed in 1931. Again, Lu Xun was generous with help to the young American. He made suggestions about what to include, supplied background information on the authors included, wrote a foreword as well as the Chinese characters of the title in his elegant calligraphy, but declined to accept any remuneration, not even the fee paid by the American magazine *Story* for the use of his work "Gust of Wind". He and Mao Dun corresponded with Isaacs and in one of the letters Lu Xun wrote:

> We are happy to hear that you plan to translate more Chinese works. We feel there has been nothing in the West like your collection of Chinese short stories, *Straw Sandals*. Revolutionary youths of a literary bent will certainly thank you for the meaningful work you are doing. We, too, thank you for the effort you've made to have our rather feeble works translated. Revolutionary young writers keep emerging and they are making steady progress. We hope that when you start translating again, there will be more and better new works ready for you, so that you won't have to bother with oldsters like us but can concentrate on introducing the new men. That is our sincere wish and we trust it's yours too.
>
> —Letter dated August 22, 1934

Characteristic is Lu Xun's modesty about his own writings—calling them"feeble"—and the great hopes he places on the young, on those who"would walk into the literary garden wearing straw sandals", to use Lu Xun's own phrase from which the American editor has derived the title of his anthology.

But precisely because they wear straw sandals—and not "the shiny leather boots" of the intellectual aristocrats—the young writers have had to wage a long and bitter fight against repression and persecution. Lu Xun writes feelingly in the Foreword:

> After some ten years, as with the raising of their class consciousness progressive writers became revolutionary writers, this oppression became even more severe. Publications were banned. Books were burned. Writers were executed. In this darkness many young people paid with their lives for what they wrote.
>
> ...Since we have just started new experiments, it is only natural that there is some immaturity. Still, these stories may be seen as young plants growing under a big rock. They do not exactly thrive but, twisting this way and that, they grow nevertheless.

This explains why Lu Xun was ever so ready to do what he could to help his fellow writers, particularly the younger ones, for he had taken it upon himself to protect the "young plants". But there were also others in this world who were indifferent or even hostile to young plants of this dangerous kind. No wonder it took Isaacs forty years to find a publisher for his anthology.[6]

The story of Lu Xun's connections with Smedley, Snow and Isaacs seems unrelated to our enquiry, yet in fact it is not. In the first place, as Lu Xun himself says, again in the Foreword to *Straw Sandals*, "the appearance

of the writer of fiction [in China]... has come about partly as a response to the social demands of the time and partly to the influence of Western literature." The new fiction of China bears witness to the fact that the work of translators like Lu Xun has borne fruit in a field most important, namely, China's creative literature. In the second place, to Lu Xun's mind, all good literature, East and West, serves the same social purpose. Steeped as he is in classical Chinese literature, he is yet eager to absorb the new and significant in the art and literature of all lands, from Käthe Kollwitz's stark lithographs depicting the sufferings of the German unemployed to the Black writings of America. The only criterion he uses is whether the story, poem, essay, play or drawing or woodcut represents an earnest effort to help man see his world a little more clearly and to support and cheer him on his difficult journey ahead.

In the end, we see that the heart-rending cry lamenting the desolation of the human spirit was never really muffled in Lu Xun. He cast about for an answer and found it in the revolutionary movement of his day. He was glad that he had moved on with the younger writers. He had no idea of what lay ahead; he died too early to have a glimpse of the shape of things to come. But he had known too much of that desolation, that despair, to ever want to retrace a single step. There was no going back for him and literature must serve the forward cause, whatever the consequences.

1980

肆　鲁迅与西方文学

一部近乎当代的文学史向来难写，写不好，就会像由姓名和头衔组成的流水账，或《纽约时报书评周刊》上的年度总结。所涉及的作家、作品与我们“若即若离”，既非遥远得令人能置身事外、见庐山真容，又非熟稔得无需相应的背景知识。而且，文学思潮一波波更替，文学家的声名起起伏伏：最受一代人欢迎的作家在紧接着的一代人眼中光彩骤逊，也是家常便饭。

然而以现代中国文学而论，有一位作家的光环却从未褪去，他就是鲁迅。事实上，越是读他的作品，就越让人深信鲁迅无人能及，遑论超越。

他不只是个短篇小说家，虽然他的短篇小说洞见之深刻、笔法之精炼值得研究并效仿；他也不只是个杂文家，虽然他那被很多人揶揄为“杂文”的文章蕴含最出色的文学批评、最尖锐的时事针砭和那个时代最前卫的翻译理论；他也不只是个编纂了数本可堪信赖的中国古典文学选集的敏锐评论家或文学史家——事实上，很多人似乎全然忘记了他这方面的成就，尽管他那部极具影响力的《中国小说史略》（1920）中表现出的古典学识令多数同时代的与几乎所有后来的文学史家都望尘莫及。

鲁迅是上述所有身份的集合体，还不止于此，哪一个读过鲁迅的人不为他集古典和现代于一身的独特风格所折服？我们也不该忘记这位檄文执笔者同时还是诗人和艺术家。尽管他从不认为自己的古体诗能登堂入室，那些诗却在现代同类诗中位列翘楚。作为20世纪30年代一些最为大胆的文艺运动的发起人，他倡导并扶持了新兴的木刻艺术，几乎还在同一时期出版了厚厚一册北京传统版画。他的抒情也会在最令人意想不到处自然流露，例如他为1935年编纂的《〈中国新文学大系〉小说二集》而写的惊世骇俗的序：

> 但那时觉醒起来的智识青年的心情，是大抵热烈，然而悲凉的。即使寻到一点光明，“径一周三”，却更分明的看见了周围的无涯际的黑暗。摄取来的异域的营养又是“世纪末”的果汁：王尔德（Oscar Wilde），尼采（Fr. Nietzsche），波特莱尔（Ch. Baudelaire），安特莱夫（L. Andreev）们所安排的。“沉自己的船”还要在绝处求生，此外的很多作品，就往往“春非我春，秋非我秋”，玄发朱颜，低唱着饱经忧患的不欲明言的断肠之曲。虽是冯至的饰以诗情，莎子的托辞小草，还是不能掩饰的……
>
> ……但在事实上，沉钟社却确是中国的最坚韧，最诚实，挣扎得最久的团体。它好象真要如吉辛的话，工作到死掉之一日；如“沉钟”的铸造者，死也得在水底里用自己的脚敲出洪大的钟声。然而他们并不能做到，他们是活着的，时移世易，百事俱非；他们是要歌唱的，而听者却有的睡眠，有的槁死，有的流散，眼前只剩下一片茫茫白地，于是也只好在风尘澒洞中，悲哀孤寂地放下了他们的箜篌了。

——《＜中国新文学大系＞小说二集序》（1935）

精辟，优雅，传承了中国古典批评的最优传统——可与曹丕的《典论·论文》和钟嵘的《诗品》序相媲美——又能完全体察青年人不断变化的精神面貌和行事方式。即便出语犀利，鲁迅也能制造一种氛围。如今的文学批评与文学史中哪里见得到这样的文笔！

因此可以说，鲁迅是集多项成就于一身的巨匠。或许可以在此前提之下谈谈他在中西文学交流方面所作的贡献。

乍一看鲁迅似乎是最不可能与西方文学产生交集的那类人。事实上，受过西方教育的文学教授们通常认为鲁迅不过一介乡佬，充其量是个古板的旧式文人。还有的人指责鲁迅沉溺于打无谓的嘴仗，因他生于浙江绍兴，便说他的这一特质得益于出了名的“绍兴师爷”吹毛求疵、琐碎到家的本领。

鲁迅的左翼同行们对他也不见得好到哪里去，尤其是刚开始。1930年前后鲁迅前往上海卖文为生时，因自称对马克思主义无知，便遭到当时已在沪扎根的一批自称“创造社”左派浪漫主义作家的嘲笑。这批作家大都曾留学日本，收罗了门类纷杂的西方作家的作品，从王尔德、爱伦·坡、波特莱尔到赫尔岑、托尔斯泰。这些脱胎于美学家的革命者们同样不屑一顾地将鲁迅视为“乡佬”。

左右两派的抨击带给鲁迅的，与其说是恼火不如说是悲哀。他自有比肤浅的文学派别之争更重要的事需要考虑。当他审视当时的文坛现状，看到的却是：

> 我们知道得太不多，而帮助我们知识的材料也太少。梁实秋有一个白璧德，徐志摩有一个泰戈尔，胡适之有一个杜威，——是的，徐志摩还有一个曼殊斐儿，他到她坟上去哭过，——创造社有革命文学，时行的文学。

——《现今的新文学的概观》（1929）

对鲁迅而言，此类文学新偶像——欧文·白璧德、拉宾德拉纳特·泰戈尔、约翰·杜威一干人等——对中国全无用处，因而他很反感对这些人的盲目崇拜。他尤其厌恶受过西方教育的学者，关键原因在于：

> 一方面是留学过美国的绅士派，他们以为文艺是专给老爷太太们看的，所以主角除老爷太太之外，只配有文人，学士，艺术家，教授，小姐等等，要会说Yes，No，这才是绅士的庄严，那时吴宓先生就曾经发表过文章，说是真不懂为什么有些人竟喜欢描写下流社会。

——《上海文艺之一瞥》（1931）

文章是写给上等人看还是写给“下流社会”看，这是鲁迅和绅士派作家之间的真正分歧。另一方面，鲁迅会尽其所能将最好的文艺奉献给“下流社会”，而不是像当时的创造社那样，拿几个知识分子的情感宣泄充作真正的无产阶级文艺。他因此得出结论：

> 因此我想，倘要比较地明白，还只好用我的老话，“多看外国书”，来打破这包围的

圈子……多看些别国的理论和作品之后，再来估量中国的新文艺，便可以清楚得多了。

——《现今的新文学的概观》（1929）

值得注意的是，鲁迅尽管讲求实际，又有着深厚的中国古典修养，却仍通过“多看外国书”来寻求灵感和方向。

鲁迅的这一信念也并非从天而降。早在1908年在东京求学时，他就曾在一个不知名的杂志上发表过一篇名为《摩罗诗力说》的长篇论文，讨论的中心人物是拜伦。当时节选自《唐·璜》第三章的《哀希腊》已有几个中文译本，也深深打动了中国读者，但还从未有人从学术的角度对拜伦的诗作过任何评价。

鲁迅的这篇论文讨论的就是拜伦的诗。今日读来，我们仍不由感叹其涉猎之广：文章介绍了拜伦如何在法国大革命之后的动荡年月里崭露头角，拜伦的社会活动和文学作品，并在如下一段中强调了拜伦对自由的热爱和对虚伪的痛恨：

盖英伦尔时，虚伪满于社会，以虚文缛礼为真道德，有秉自由思想而探究者，世辄谓之恶人。裴伦善抗，性又率真，夫自不可以默矣，故托凯因而言曰，恶魔者，说真理者也。遂不恤与人群敌。世之贵道德者，又即以此交非之。

然而，鲁迅的这篇文章并不止于评论拜伦的作品，而是进一步探讨了拜伦对欧洲、尤其是东欧的影响。文章一一追踪他的“恶魔”诗歌在这些国家的传播情况。我们从而得知拜伦如何启发了俄国的普希金和莱蒙托夫，波兰的密茨凯维奇，匈牙利的裴多菲。这些人都非等闲之辈，在此后决定中国命运的那些年月，他们作品的中译本将通过京沪两地的出版社大量涌现，而他们的名字也将深深烙在国人心中。

接近篇尾时，鲁迅笔锋一转，反驳了“恶魔”这一叫法：

顾裴伦修黎，虽蒙摩罗之谥，亦第人焉而已。凡其同人，实亦不必口摩罗宗，苟在人间，必有如是。此盖聆热诚之声而顿觉者也，此盖同怀热诚而互契者也。

最后，鲁迅回顾彼时之中国，以此结篇：

今索诸中国，为精神界之战士者安在？有作至诚之声，致吾人于善美刚健者乎？有作温煦之声，援吾人出于荒寒者乎？

这是一位青年爱国者发自内心的疾呼。从一开始，对鲁迅而言，文学就不仅仅是文字、意象、形式、结构，而是某种与民族命运息息相关的东西。

明白了这一点，我们或许可以更好地理解鲁迅为何无法容忍学院派和为艺术而艺术的作家学者了。我们也可看出他的一贯性：那个面对荒芜的人性而心如刀割的热血青年已经成长为一位作家，其憎恶的笔端直指把文学与下层民众完全隔离的绅士派学者们。时光荏苒二十年，鲁迅还是初衷不改。

鲁迅在翻译外国作品方面也给后来者，无论是作家还是译者，树立了典范。在翻译几部日文著作之后，鲁迅又间接重译（主要通过日译本）了一些东欧短篇小说，后来还间接重译了一些俄国小说，比如果戈

理的《死魂灵》和法捷耶夫的《毁灭》。为寻求一种文学理论，他阅读并翻译了马克思主义批评家普列汉诺夫和卢那察尔斯基关于艺术的文论。通过翻译积累，他还形成了自己的一套翻译理论，头一次没有鹦鹉学舌地重复严复的信达雅三原则，而是绝对强调翻译的精准，甚至到了将印欧语系的句法套在中文上的程度。鲁迅并非孤军作战，他聚拢了一批青年译者。为了帮助他们发表作品，他于1934年创办了一份专登译文的文学刊物——《译文》。该刊在向中国读者介绍外国作家，尤其是各国的左派作家和少数群体作家方面，发挥了重大作用。

这里可以清楚地看到，鲁迅偏好有政治倾向的文学，尤其是东欧国家的此类文学，同时也偏好那些大体上可划入现实主义类别的文学。早在鲁迅之前，一些忧国忧民的译者就有此种关注，但鲁迅赋予了其新的意义。他的威望与榜样作用——他译的《死魂灵》被誉为翻译绝笔——带动了中国新一轮的翻译热潮，并激发国人对世界文学的更大兴趣。

但鲁迅和其同仁究竟为何对沉闷的俄国大部头如此着迷？

对此鲁迅给出了自己的答案：

> 那时就知道了俄国文学是我们的导师和朋友。因为从那里面，看见了被压迫者的善良的灵魂，的酸辛，的挣扎；还和四十年代的作品一同烧起希望，和六十年代的作品一同感到悲哀。我们岂不知道那时的大俄罗斯帝国也正在侵略中国，然而从文学里明白了一件大事，是世界上有两种人：压迫者和被压迫者！
>
> ——《祝中俄文字之交》（1932）

当然俄国作家也有卓越之处。他们不懈的抗争动人心弦，某种内在的精神特质使得他们的作品别具深意。且以艺术水准来论，再挑剔的读者也无法否认托尔斯泰、陀思妥耶夫斯基或高尔基的惊世才华。中国的知识分子虽能感知上述优点，却对这些伟大的斯拉夫裔作家如何将文学运用于实际更感兴趣。他们认为俄国及其他东欧国家的民众曾经经历的或正在经历的政治形势与中国相似——内遭专制压迫，外受强敌威胁或领土侵犯。这些国家的文学是如何鼓舞民众士气、使之振作起来的呢？换言之，中国人当时正力图寻找一种能在生死存亡关头救民族于水火之中的文学。他们在西欧与美国寻之未果，终得之于东欧与俄国。十月革命的成功更为俄国平添了一份榜样的光辉：一个真实的、触手可摸的、乍看上去迥然不同的社会从一个如中国一般没落的大帝国的废墟上拔地而起。同样渴求美好新社会的众多中国知识分子贪婪地从俄国作品中寻求慰藉和希望，因此涌现出大量的译作。

但鲁迅从来就不排斥其他类型的文学。他对西方文学的兴趣也并未止于早年对拜伦的研究。事实上，就在那篇最早写成的论文中，除了拜伦，他也对彭斯、司各特、雪莱一一作了评价，其中对雪莱的评价尤见洞察力。另外对济慈也有提及，不过他着意指出济慈并不是严格意义的“恶魔”派诗人。

时值20世纪30年代，对任何一个具有刚正人格的中国作家来说都是尤为困窘的时代。鲁迅当时大部分时间住在地下室，为肺结核所累，病体沉疴，又与“白色恐怖”鏖战，但仍抽出时间阅读并评论了两位西方大家的著作。

首先是他为1931年10月在上海出版的马克·吐温《夏娃日记》的中译本作的序。鲁迅称马克·吐温这部作品为“小品”，他的序也是不足1000字的小文。篇幅虽短，却折射出鲁迅对美国文学的熟悉程度。他以美国内战为分水岭将美国文学划为两个阶段：爱伦·坡、霍桑和惠特曼属于第一阶段，这一时期的作家“都不是这么表里两样的”；但在内战之后，“美国已成了产业主义的社会，个性都得铸在一个模子里”，作家们不能再自我主张了，而是要设法去迎合读者。或者“有的跑到外国，如詹谟士（Henry James），有的讲讲笑话，就是玛克·土温”。

鲁迅接着说：

> 那么，他的成了幽默家，是为了生活，而在幽默中又含着哀怨，含着讽刺，则是不甘于这样的生活的缘故了。因为这一点点的反抗，就使现在新土地里的儿童，还笑道：玛克·土温是我们的。

对于《夏娃日记》这篇“小品”，鲁迅的评价颇有见地：

> 虽然不过一种小品，但仍是在天真中露出弱点，叙述里夹着讥评，形成那时的美国姑娘，而作者以为是一切女性的肖像，但脸上的笑影，却分明是有了年纪的了。幸而靠了作者的纯熟的手腕，令人一时难以看出，仍不失为活泼泼的作品。

鲁迅并未自诩精通美国文学，但他显然独具慧眼。

1933年萧伯纳访问上海时，鲁迅在宋庆龄举办的欢迎宴上见到了他。鲁迅不说英文，萧伯纳不通汉语，彼此想必对话寥寥。鲁迅倒是利用这次机会带着几分消遣的心情看足了其他人，主要是外国媒体人和中国绅士派学者，如何在这位爱尔兰作家面前要宝似地卖弄。有关这次会面鲁迅写过三篇文章，在其中一篇中他声称：“我是萧伯纳的崇拜者”。但他对萧伯纳最有见地的评价是在第四篇，那是他应友人林语堂之邀为纪念林创办的刊物《论语》一周年而写的文章。在那篇文章中，鲁迅首先说，他和林语堂在很多事情上意见不一，包括创办这份类似英国*Punch*的专侍幽默的期刊，因为这是当时受压迫的中国民众尚无福消受的奢侈品；但他却认为《萧伯纳游华专号》办得很好，接着他就国人给予萧伯纳和易卜生的不同对待进行了反思：

> 五四时代绍介了一个易卜生，名声倒还好，今年绍介了一个萧，可就糟了，至今还有人肚子在发胀。

鲁迅认为原因在于萧伯纳揭露伪装和虚伪时毫不留情：

> 他们的看客，不消说，是绅士淑女们居多。绅士淑女们是顶爱面子的人种。易卜生虽然使他们登场，虽然也揭发一点隐蔽，但并不加上结论，却从容的说道“想一想吧，这到底是些什么呢？”绅士淑女们的尊严，确也有一些动摇了，但究竟还留着摇摇摆摆的退走，回家去想的余裕，也就保存了面子。至于回家之后，想了也未，想得怎样，那就不成什么问题，所以他被绍介进中国来，四平八稳，反对的比赞成的少。萧可不这样了，他使他们登场，撕掉了假面具，阔衣装，终于拉住耳朵，指给大家道，“看哪，这是蛆

虫！”连磋商的工夫，掩饰的法子也不给人有一点。这时候，能笑的就只有并无他所指摘的病痛的下等人了。在这一点上，萧是和下等人相近的，而也就和上等人相远。

这怎么办呢？仍然有一定的古法在。就是：大家沸沸扬扬的嚷起来，说他有钱，说他装假，说他“名流”，说他“狡猾”，至少是和自己们差不多，或者还要坏。

——《＜论语一年＞——借此又谈萧伯纳》（1933）

我想如果萧翁通晓中文，必定会赞赏鲁迅非同一般的洞察力，二人尽管文化背景和人生观相去甚远，文笔、口气却相像如斯。

然而鲁迅与西方作家的关联绝不仅仅限于宴会上的碰面和偶尔写几篇评论文章。他还与三位美国作家有着密切的联系，不过这次是为了一项新任务，即是将20世纪中国文学介绍到讲英语的国家，而在当时的动荡年代，也就是介绍中国的左翼文学了。

在这三位作家中，《大地的女儿》的作者艾格尼丝·史沫特莱与中国革命事业的关系也许最为密切。她坚持不懈地报道上海左翼知识分子遭受的残酷压迫和初期革命红军在华中取得的战果。作为宋庆龄的密友，她协同后者致力于保护和营救青年作家，使其免受“白色恐怖”之灾。她与鲁迅相熟，通过他结识了一些活跃在文学前线的青年，因此得以集结一小本《中国短篇小说集》（1934年版于伦敦），收录了六篇小说，包括1931年被国民党政府杀害的年轻共产党员柔石的代表作《为奴隶的母亲》。晚年的史沫特莱虽遭“麦卡锡”迫害，兼之贫病交加，却依然完成了她为中国20世纪一代伟人朱德写的传记——《伟大的道路》。

另一位是以报道中国而更闻名的美国记者，出生于堪萨斯的埃德加·斯诺，不仅著有名震中外的《红星照耀下的中国》，还编译了中国现代短篇小说集《活的中国》（1936年版于纽约）。他着手这项工作是因为想了解“现代中国创作界在做什么”。为找到答案，他遇到了几乎无法克服的巨大阻力，险些全盘放弃。但：

我是在会见了鲁迅和林语堂之后，才决定由我本人来担负起这项任务的。鲁迅那胸襟宽广的人道主义精神，对人的满腔热情以及对周围事物的洞察力，给我留下了深刻的印象。我相信他的作品一定很有意思。林语堂的机智和他流畅的英语，他那巧妙、成熟和入骨三分的讽刺以及他那“狂荡不羁的诙谐”（借用他本人的话），都使我感到新近中国文学界一定也有同样重要的、有才华的作家，并且写下了值得译成英文的作品。

在鲁迅和林语堂等人的帮助下，斯诺编译了第一部覆盖全面的近代中国短篇小说英译集，包括鲁迅作品七篇，茅盾、丁玲、田军作品各两篇，巴金、沈从文、林语堂、郭沫若、柔石、萧乾、沙汀等作品各一篇，总共二十四篇。郭沫若和林语堂的作品入选颇令人意外，因他二人皆不以短篇小说闻名。但总体看来，这本选集无疑是很有代表性的精品荟萃，正如斯诺本人在编者序里所说：“至少也可以了解到这个居住着五分之一人类的幅员辽阔而奇妙的国家，在经过几千年漫长的历史进程而达到一个崭新的文化时期后，具有怎样簇新而真实的思想感情。”

当斯诺忙于编译《活的中国》时，另一位同为记者的美国青年哈罗

德·伊罗生也开始编译一部名为《草鞋脚》的文集，共收录二十五篇作品，其中短篇小说有鲁迅五篇，茅盾三篇，丁玲、楼适夷各两篇，其他十五位[1]作家每人各一篇；另外还收录了郭沫若所著三幕历史剧《卓文君》的精编版，以及一位于1931年被杀害的青年作家殷夫的诗作一则。鲁迅同样也给予了伊罗生大力支持。他对甄选哪些作品给出建议，提供入选作家的相关背景信息，为文集写引子，还以优雅的字体书赠“草鞋脚”这个书名，但却拒绝任何酬谢，甚至包括美国《故事》杂志刊登他的《风波》应付的稿费。他和茅盾两人多次与伊罗生通信，在其中一封信中鲁迅写道：

> 您说以后打算再译些中国作品，这是我们很喜欢听的消息。我们觉得像这本《草鞋脚》那样的中国小说集，在西方还不曾有过。中国的革命文学青年对于您这有意义的工作，一定是很感谢的。我们同样感谢您费心力把我们的脆弱的作品译出去。革命的青年作家时时刻刻在产生，在更加进步，我们希望一年半载之后您再提起译笔的时候，已经有更新更好的作品出世，使您再也没有闲工夫仍旧找老主顾，而要介绍新人了，——我们诚心诚意这么希望着，想来您也是同一希望罢！
>
> ——《致伊罗生的信》，一九三四年八月廿二日

此处可见鲁迅一贯的自谦（把自己的作品说成是“脆弱的”），以及他对年轻一代的殷切希望，用他自己的话说，是对“穿着草鞋踏入文艺园地”的人的希望，而这也正是伊罗生文集名字的由来。

但正因为他们穿的是草鞋——而非资产阶级文人光亮的“皮鞋”——青年作家们才必须与压制和迫害长久苦战。鲁迅在小引中动情地写道：

> 大约十年之后，阶级意识觉醒了起来，前进的作家，就都成了革命文学者，而迫害也更加厉害，禁止出版，烧掉书籍，杀戮作家，有很多青年，竟至在于黑暗中，将生命殉了他的工作了。
>
> ……因为在我们还算是新的尝试，自然不免幼稚，但恐怕也可以看见它恰如压在大石下面的植物一般，虽然并不繁荣，它却在曲曲折折地生长。

这也解释了鲁迅为何总是不遗余力地帮助扶持同行，尤其是青年作家，因为他将保护“幼苗”视为己任。但这个世界总有另外一些人漠视、甚而仇视这种危险的幼苗，也难怪伊罗生花了四十年才找到愿意出版这本文集的出版社。

鲁迅与史沫特莱、斯诺和伊罗生的交往表面看来似乎与我们探讨的话题无关，但事实并非如此。首先，正如鲁迅在《草鞋脚》小引中所说：“（在中国）小说家的侵入文坛……一方面是由于社会的要求的，一方面则是受了西洋文学的影响。”中国的新小说见证了像鲁迅这样的译者的工作对中国原创文学这一极为重要的领域所作的贡献。第二，对鲁迅而言，所有好的文学，无论东西方，其服务于社会的宗旨都是一致的。他虽精通中国古典文学，但却也热衷于吸收各国文艺中重要的新东西，从凯绥·珂勒惠支表现德国失业者困境的悲凉版画，到美国的黑人作品。鲁迅评判外国文学的唯一标准是：视乎小说、诗歌、散文、戏

剧、绘画或版画是否为帮助人们看清世界以及给予他们在荆棘路上前行的勇气方面作了切实的努力。

最后，我们可以看到鲁迅悲叹人类精神荒芜的痛心疾呼从未真正停止过。他四处寻觅，终在当时的革命运动中找到了答案。他为自己能和青年作家一同进步而快慰。他不能预知未来会怎样，英年早逝的他没能看到后来的情形。可是他太了解那种荒凉、那种绝望了，所以从不愿撤回一步。他无法回头，而文学必须为前进的事业服务，无论结果如何。

1980

V MODERNIST POETRY IN CHINA

Modernism may have spent its force as a literary movement, but there are still repercussions. The on-going debate in China over "obscure poetry" and the stream-of-consciousness technique in fiction is a case in point. Listening to the arguments for or against, one sometimes gets the feeling that the Chinese seem never to have known modernism. Yet that is not the case. For quite a few Chinese writers, modernism was once a direct, intimate experience.

1

Take the case of the "new poetry". The literary revolution around 1919 was a tremendous event by any standard. For one thing, all of a sudden poets turned their backs on the classical tradition and started to write a colloquial free verse. The classical tradition, however, was not to be repudiated so easily. Except for some of Liu Fu's work, which used the vernacular with some degree of success, most of the "new" poems read like poor imitations of the *ci* poetry of the Song Dynasty. Hence, when a younger generation of poets came on the scene, they found that, unless they were content to write insipid prose poems or vernacular doggerel, they would have to find new models and perhaps a completely new aesthetic. Hitherto all the talk had been about using the spoken language to treat new themes demanded by a democratic new age; no one had bothered to look into aesthetic problems. Now people found Guo Moruo, leader of the Creationists in Shanghai, imitating Walt Whitman, Xu Zhimo and the Crescent group imitating the English Romantics, and Wen Yiduo, the painter-poet, trying, by imposing discipline as regards metre and rhyme, to give a formal beauty to the new poetry. But there were other aesthetics, other voices. Soon some of the younger Creationists were borrowing cadences and motifs from the French Symbolists:

我从café中出来
身上添了
中酒的
疲乏……

——王独清：《我从Café中出来》

(I step out from a café
My body afflicted

With the fatigue of drink

—I Step Out From a Café)

Thus Wang Duqing, striking the pose of a *fin-de-siècle* Parisian decadent, spotlighted the novel typographical device of inserting the French word *café* into his Chinese lines. Also, Feng Naichao was heard singing "Life's Elegy", thus:

今霄轮到我唱生命的哀歌
外间哀哀哭泣的夜雨成河
怎得心里的泪泉如注地再涌
洗涤我哀愁浸蚀的心窝

——冯乃超：《生命的哀歌》

(Tonight it's my turn to sing life's elegy
Outside it's pouring floods of bitter tears
Oh that I could open my fountain of tears too
To wash my heart eroded by sorrows)

Which is surely an echo, or re-echo, of Verlaine's lines:

Il pleure dans mon coeur
Comme il pleut sur la ville;
Quelle est cette langueur
Qui pènétre mon coeur?

—Ariette

The borrowing is obvious. All the same, to have discovered a poetry of modern sensibility, of new nuances and resonances, at a time when most other Chinese poets were copying a tired English romanticism, was something of an achievement.

Two other poets also wrote in the Symbolist mode—with better results. Li Jinfa packed startling images into elliptical lines:

我们散步在死草上，
悲愤纠缠在膝下。

粉红之记忆
如道旁朽兽，发出奇臭。

——李金发：《夜之歌》

(We stroll on dead grass,
Sorrow and bitterness entangling our legs.

Pink memories,
Like animals decaying by the roadside, emitting stench.)

These come from a poem entitled, appropriately, "Nocturne". Li was capable of turning out lines worthy of Baudelaire himself:

夕阳之火不能把时间之烦闷

化成灰烬

——《弃妇》

(No fire of a setting sun can burn
Time's ennui to dust.

—Forsaken Woman)

But it was a Baudelaire who had learned his mother tongue the wrong way. While indubitably Li had a fine sense of form and his metaphors were arresting, his Chinese was a medley of archaisms and colloquialisms, strung together somehow with the antique connective "之". This was a weakness immediately pounced on by his detractors, who were offended by his exotic "decadence" anyway.

Li's confrère, Dai Wangshu, wrote more elegant Chinese, being steeped in the classical tradition. He started out with rather conventional stuff, then, having read French poetry, evolved a new music:

撑着油纸伞，独自
彷徨在悠长，悠长
又寂寥的雨巷，
我希望逢着
一个丁香一样地
结着愁怨的姑娘

——戴望舒：《雨巷》

(Holding a paper umbrella, alone,
Wandering in the long, long,
Deserted alley in the rain,
I hope I may meet
A girl lilac-like
With sorrow in her heart.

—The Alley in the Rain)

The resonant, melodic lines, with its long syllables, remind one of Verlaine's "Chanson d'automne":

Les sanglots longs
Des violons
De l'automne
Blessent mon coeur
D'une langueur
Monotone

But the situation and the atmosphere in Dai's poem are classical-Chinese, calling a Chinese reader's mind back to the well-known lines of the Tang and Song dynasties:

丁香空结雨中愁

小楼一夜听春雨
深巷明朝卖杏花

There is thus a blending of Chinese-classical and French-Symbolist qualities. Soon, however, the poet announced:

> Poetry should not rely on music, but should do away with the musical element altogether.[1]

And, sure enough, a new manner emerged, colloquial, prose-like, rhythmically loosened up:

我底记忆是忠实于我的，
忠实甚于我最好的友人。

——《我底记忆》

(My memory is faithful to me,
More faithful than my best friends...

—My Memory)

It is a speaking, rather than singing, voice that is addressing us. This loosening-up yielded some very good poems: "Nostalgia for Heaven" "Autumn Dream" "Country Girl" "Autumn Fly" "Paradise Bird", etc. The poet seemed to have acquired a new ease, which enabled him to try out experiments, such as putting classical quotations into a very modern context:

士为知己者用，
故承恩的灯，
遂做了恋的同谋人。

——《灯》

(A scholar gives glad service to those who value him.
So the much-favoured lamp
Becomes a conspirator in love.

—Lamp)

Or striving for a *haiku* effect:

木叶的红色，
木叶的黄色，
木叶的土灰色：
窗外的下午！

——《秋蝇》

(Leaves in red,
Leaves in yellow,
Leaves in earth-grey:
Afternoon outside the window!

—Autumn Fly)

Or adapting a French philosophe's maxim:

我思想，故我是蝴蝶，
万年后小花的轻呼，

透过无梦无醒的云雾，
来振撼我斑斓的彩翼

——《我思想》

(I think, therefore I'm a butterfly...
Flowers' whispers across ten thousand years
Will pierce mists where one doesn't dream or wake up
To flutter my bright-hued wings.

—I Think)

Here, in the first line, Descartes (*Cogito ergo sum*) meets Zhuang Zhou, the third-century B.C. Chinese philosopher who is supposed to have in a dream seen himself transformed into a butterfly. Reading these poems, one finds it hard not to speculate a little on what would have happened to Chinese poetry if Dai had gone on experimenting like this?

Experimentation stopped, however. The causes were domestic strife—the poet's wife left him—as well as the general political situation: the White Terror in Shanghai, the Kuomintang suppression of progressive literature and the counter measures adopted by the Left-wing Writers League, Japanese armed invasion and, finally, the full-scale Sino-Japanese war. Dai couldn't help but be drawn in. The magazine *Xian Dai*, or *Les Contemporains*, to which Dai Wangshu contributed, assumed an outwardly neutralist stance, but the poet himself underwent a slow but perceptible change. The poem "A Finger Cut Off" marked the beginning of this change:

关于他的“可怜又可笑的爱情”我是一些也不知道，
我知道的只是他是在一个工人家里被捕去的；
随后是酷刑吧，随后是惨苦的牢狱吧，
随后是死刑吧，那等待着我们大家的死刑吧。

——《断指》

(I know nothing of his "ridiculous, pitiful love affairs",
Only that he was arrested in a worker's place,
And there followed torture, and horrible prison,
And execution, a fate which awaits us all.)

If here the poet was just beginning to see that beyond the world of his imagination there existed another, harsh world of realities, soon he had a full taste of the latter when he wrote:

我用残损的手掌
摸索这广大的土地：
这一角已变成灰烬，
那一角只是血和泥……

——《我用残损的手掌》（1942）

(I let my mangled palm

Move over the vast map of our land:
One corner I touch is in ashes,
Another just blood and mire...

—I Let My Mangled Palm, 1942)

For Dai had, following the outbreak of the hostilities in Shanghai, moved to Hong Kong and when the latter city fell to the Japanese in the initial stage of the Pacific war, he was persecuted by the occupation forces. Hence the "mangled palm". But the poem does not end on a note of lamentation:

无形的手掌掠过无限的江山，
手指沾了血和灰，手掌沾了阴暗，
只有那辽远的一角依然完整，
温暖，明朗，坚固而蓬勃生春。
在那上面，我用残损的手掌轻抚，
像恋人的柔发，婴孩手中乳。
我把全部的力量运在手掌
贴在上面，寄与爱和一切希望，
因为只有那里是太阳，是春，
将驱逐阴暗，带来苏生，
因为只有那里我们不像牲口一样活，
蝼蚁一样死……那里，永恒的中国！
(My invisible palm moves over our infinite land,
Fingers smeared with blood and ashes, palm soiled by darkness.
One remote corner alone is intact,
Warm, bright, solid, thriving.
I caress that corner with my mangled palm,
It feels soft as a girl's hair to her lover, or a mother's breast to her baby.
I put all my strength into my palm
And place it over that corner, with all my love and hope,
Because only there is found sunshine and spring,
Which will dispel darkness and bring back life,
Because only there we do not live like beasts,
Or die like ants. There, the eternal China!)

This is a poem admired by many of his fellow poets. Ai Qing comments thus:

> In the poem "I Let My Mangled Palm" the poet relates how he moves his palm over a map of China. In highly concise language, he gives an overview of the vast areas under enemy occupation, his grief filling every line of the verse. Later on, however, his mood suddenly changes, when he expresses his deepest love for the Communist-led liberated areas (I think by "that corner" he means Yan'an).[2]

Bian Zhilin adds:

> This poem must be considered one of a dozen or so best poems written by Dai Wangshu throughout his poetic career, even if judged by artistic standards alone.[3]

Significantly, both Ai Qing and Bian Zhilin underwent a similar change, each in his own way, but eventually leading to the same destination.

Ai Qing is still actively writing poetry. Only a few months ago, his

volume *Songs of Return* was awarded first prize for poetry by the AllChina Writers Association. People are apt to forget, though, that he had gone to Paris to study art in the early thirties and, while there, started to write poetry under the influence of Emile Verhaeren and G. Apollinaire. Two lines of Apollinaire stuck in his memory and he used them as the epitaph of one of his own poems:

J'avais un mirliton que je n'aurais pas échangé
Contre un baton de marechal de France

What a proud affirmation of the glory and integrity of poetic art! But Ai Qing's own poem has a different tale to tell:

我从你彩色的欧罗巴
带回了一支芦笛，
同着它
我会在大西洋边
象在自己家里般走着，
如今
你的诗集“Alcool”是在上海的巡捕房里，
我是“犯了罪”的，
在这里
芦笛也是禁物。

——艾青：《芦笛——纪念故诗人阿波里内尔》

(From your many-coloured Europe
I brought back a reed pipe.
It had kept me company
When I wandered on the shores of the Atlantic
As though I was walking about in my own home.
Now
Your volume *Alcool* is in the police office of the
Shanghai International Settlement,
And I am a "convicted *criminal*",
Here
Even a reed pipe is forbidden.

—Reed Pipe, in Memory of the Poet G. Appollinaire)

That was the sort of situation a poet found himself in in a Shanghai ruled jointly by foreign bankers and Kuomintang officers. Any talk about the integrity of poetic art became just silly when there wasn't the least security for the poet's person. Ai Qing came to this realization much earlier than Dai Wangshu, his later poetic career also differed from Dai's, but both went through the same kind of change—from adoption and then renunciation of European symbolism to reaffirmation of Chinese realities, and in the process their reed pipes gave out different melodies.

Bian Zhilin, too, treasured his reed pipe. Avid for the new, he laid

himself wide open to nearly all the modernist poetic voices from Western Europe: Baudelaire, Verlaine, Eliot, Yeats, Rilke, Valéry, Auden, Aragon, Brecht. This list and the order in which the names are placed are Bian's own.[4] These, he recalls, have been the influences he had been subjected to in various stages of his writing career. However, Bian is also steeped in classical Chinese poetry. His early work, he tells us himself, had been affected "by the end-of-the-world mutterings of the poetry of late Tang and Southern Song dynasties as much as by the *fin-de-siècle* moods of the West."[5] Later on, he absorbed largely from contemporary English poetry. A line like

伸向黄昏的道路象一段灰心

——卞之琳：《归》

(The road stretches into the dusk like a twinge of despair

—Return)

is obviously inspired by

Streets that follow like a tedious argument
Of insidious intent
To lead you to an overwhelming question...

—T. S. Eliot, The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock

Only the Chinese poet wrote with greater concision, the result of being brought up on classical Chinese poetry, with its concern for neatness, polish and formal beauty.

By the middle 1930s, Bian, a young man still in his twenties, reached the peak of his poetic art. He wrote a very modernist poem entitled "Distances Organized", with a last line that astounded his readers:

友人带来了雪意和五点钟。
(A friend brought the feel of snow and five o'clock.)

So many readers complained about its incomprehensibility that Bian felt obliged to append notes, to wit, seven notes to a poem of no more than ten lines, probably a record in the ratio of notes to lines in any twentiethcentury poem, East or West! But he could very well write a good poem without the aid of a single note, as in "Fragment":

你站在桥上看风景，
看风景人在楼上看你。
明月装饰了你的窗子，
你装饰了别人的梦。

——《断章》

(You watched the sight from a bridge,
As a sightseer watched you from a tower.
The moon adorns your window,

And you adorn another's dream.)

His best work of the period is indubitably "Chiba":

象候鸟衔来了异方的种子，
三桅船载来了一支尺八，
从夕阳里，从海西头。
长安丸载来的海西客
夜半听楼下醉汉的尺八，
想一个孤馆寄居的番客
听了雁声，动了乡愁，
得了慰藉于邻家的尺八，
次朝在长安市的繁华里
独访取一支凄凉的竹管……
（为什么霓虹灯的万花间
还飘着一缕凄凉的古香？）
归去也，归去也，归去也——
象候鸟衔来了异方的种子，
三桅船载来了一支尺八，
尺八乃成了三岛的花草。
（为什么霓虹灯的万花间
还飘着一缕凄凉的古香？）
归去也，归去也，归去也——
海西人想带回失去的悲哀吗？

（1935年6月19日）

(Like a migrant bird bringing seeds from afar,
A three-masted ship brought a *chiba*
From the evening sun, from the ocean's west shore.
Choan Maru brought a passenger from the ocean's west shore.
He sat up at midnight listening to a drunken man playing a *chiba* downstairs,
And imagined a foreign lodger in a lone hotel in Chang'an
Feeling homesick when he heard the wild geese cry,
And finding relief in the music of a *chiba* played next door,
So that the next morning he walked the streets of the thronging metropolis,
Looking solely for that sad-sounding bamboo instrument...
(Why is there a wisp of sadness, an ancient scent
Floating in a neon-lit, flower-decked hall?)
Homeward, homeward, homeward bound!—
Like a migrant bird bringing seeds from afar,
A three-masted ship brought a *chiba*
Which has since become a plant of the Three Isles.
(Why is there a wisp of sadness, an ancient scent
Floating in a neon-lit, flower-decked hall?)
Homeward, homeward, homeward bound!—
Does the stranger from the ocean's west shore want to take home some forgotten sadness?)

Chiba is a 5-or-6-holed clarinet made of bamboo, now rarely seen in China, its place of origin, but still played a lot in Japan where it had been introduced in the 7th century.[6] The poet heard it played during his short stay in Japan in 1935, and the music made him homesick. But the homesickness, he confides,

is not unmixed with "regret over China's sad decline in national power".[7] He had gone to Japan to see for himself the true face of Japanese militarism:

> The more the other side inflicted gunfire on us, the more I wanted to see what was going on in their rear. Thus I experienced at first hand how detestable and ludicrous were the police and secret agents of a militarist regime, and how wretched and withal how good were the common people under the fascist yoke.

This mood was shared by many other twentieth-century Chinese poets. However dedicated to the perfection of their art—and in this Bian's sensitivity and fastidiousness were unparalleled—they felt deeply about their country's plight, a feeling not often found in the modernist poetry of Western Europe and North America. Also, the poem testifies to another phenomenon in contemporary Chinese poetry, namely, the presence, as yet strong and all pervading, of the classical poetic tradition. The poet adopts a Western form, free verse, and a 3-or-4-pause line, rather in the manner of the English iambic pentametre, but the poem is structured around three refrains, chiefly the line totally archaic in diction:

> 归去也，归去也，归去也
> (Homeward, homeward, homeward bound!)

which has refrains within a refrain: three cries, desolate but determined, conveying with its medieval resonance the special quality of the instrument as well as the emotional response of the poet on hearing it played.

Thus the poem reveals the change the poet was undergoing. When the anti-Japanese war eventually started, Bian went to where Dai Wangshu had longed, but failed, to go: Yan'an. It was in early 1938. The whole nation was in an elated mood, because at last China was locked in full-scale war with the long-hated enemy. Bian toured the front and wrote a series of poems later collected in *Letters of Salutation*, a volume which has perhaps not received its due credit. Here is war poetry of an original kind. Each "letter" is a vignette of someone involved in the war effort: a sharpshooter, a new recruit, two kids on guard-duty, a girl who had the quickness of mind and hand to puncture an intruder's bicycle tyre with a sewing needle, villagers evacuated into the hills, villagers tearing up and carrying off sections of a railway used by the enemy, people building a military airfield, youths opening up new land, a commissar, a general, the chief strategist himself:

《论持久战》的著者

> 手在你用处真是无限。
> 如何摆星罗棋布的战局？
> 如何犬牙交错了拉锯？
> 包围反包围如何打眼？

下围棋的能手笔下生花，
不，植根在每一个人心中
三阶段：后退，相持，反攻——
你是顺从了，主宰了辩证法。

如今手也到了新阶段，
拿起锄头来捣翻棘刺，
号召了，你自己也实行生产。

最难忘你那“打出去”的手势
常用以指挥感情的洪流
协入一种必然的大节奏。

（1938年11月20日）

(The Author of *On Protracted War*

Hands have infinite uses for you.
How place the pieces on the checkerboard of a war?
How keep the enemy interlocked as with dog's teeth?
How counter encirclement with a prior move?

The *go*-master is also skilled in using a pen.
Implanted in everyone's mind your "three stages"—
Retreat, stalemate, counterattack.
You obey and so master dialectics.

Now your hands have also reached "the new stage”,
When they lift a hoe to overturn brambles.
You urge others to produce as you do it yourself.

Most unforgettable your hands thrusting out for a "breakthrough",
A gesture you use in conducting the floodtide of emotion
Into the rhythm of an inevitable harmony.)

This is addressed to Mao Zedong—admiring, but without any feeling of awe, just one poet talking to another, and so wholly different from the thousands of hymns that would appear in the years to come. Bian also manages to put in the major happenings of the time: the mobile guerrilla war, the master strategy, the campaign for everyone to take a hand in producing more food, the titanic organization work for the eventual counter offensive—all within the small compass of a short poem and through one central image: hands, hands playing the chess of war, hands writing the strategic plans, hands working in the fields, hands gesticulating before a mass meeting. Yet the form of the poem is thoroughly Western—in fact, a neatly written sonnet, with not a single rhyme out of order in its fourteen polished lines!

At almost the same time, a young English poet was also writing a sonnet

sequence to record his impressions of the fighting in China. This was W. H. Auden and the sonnets appeared in the book *Journey to a War* on which he collaborated with Christopher Isherwood. A little later, Bian Zhilin translated several of these sonnets into Chinese, apparently a labour of love, performed with neither condescension nor unctuousness, but with a new assurance acquired from a difficult task just completed: he had succeeded, in his *Letters of Salutation*, in filling a compact literary form of the West with the floodtide of emotion surging on the China front.

2

What ensued, however, was a long silence. Bian came out of the mountains of the northwest to arrive at Kunming in 1939 and for the next eleven years he did not write a single poem. But he wasn't wholly lost to poetry. Teaching at the Southwest Associated University, he gave courses on poetry and translated Auden and other Western modernists; indeed, he arrived just in time to witness a new wave of Chinese modernism arising out of the campus of that wartime institution.

For the Southwest Associated University, or Lianda for short, was a university of refugees. It was made up of three of China's most prestigious universities from the north, namely, Peking and Tsing Hua in Beiping and Nankai in Tianjin. Driven out of their original sites by the advancing Japanese army in autumn, 1937, they had moved, by stages, to the country's southwestern corner, the province of Yunnan, where eventually they settled down in its capital city, Kunming. Conditions were appalling: cramped quarters, no proper equipment and, what hurt most, almost no books. But people, particularly the young, didn't mind the hardships too much in the first flush of a national war. There was a wartime camaraderie and a sharpened sense of intellectual quest. The faculty had many noted writers: Wen Yiduo, Zhu Ziqing, Shen Congwen, Feng Zhi, Li Guangtian, etc. Qian Zhongshu lectured on European Renaissance literature and 20th-century Western novel, and the Englishman William Empson gave a course on contemporary English poetry. From among the students emerged poets like Mu Dan, Du Yunxie, Zheng Min and a host of others.

Modernism did not exactly take over the university, but it became a powerful trend there and this time, along with French symbolism and Pound-Eliot modernism, Rainer Maria Rilke also made his influence felt.

This last was seen in the work of Feng Zhi. Feng was no newcomer, but

had established his fame back in the 1920s, when Lu Xun, leading light of the new literature, praised him, perhaps on the strength of his long poem *Northbound Journey* (1929), as "China's most outstanding lyric poet"[8]. Then he dropped out of sight, burying himself in Goethe studies at Heidelberg. When he surfaced in Kunming around 1940, he had acquired a new poetic voice. He began to write sonnets, completing twenty-seven of them within the year 1941. Sonnet 27 would be a fair specimen:

从一片泛滥无形的水里
取水人取来椭圆的一瓶，
这点水就得到一个定形；
看，在秋风里飘扬的风旗，
它把住些把不住的事体，
让远方的光、远方的黑夜
和些远方的草木的荣谢，
还有个奔向远方的心意，
都保留一些在这面旗上，
我们空空听过一夜风声，
空看了一天的草黄叶红，
向何处安排我们的思想？
但愿这些诗象一面风旗
把住一些把不住的事体。

——冯至：《十四行》之二十七

(When from an expanse of flowing water
A carrier takes a round bottleful,
He is giving the formless form.
Look, the vane fluttering in the autumn wind
Is catching what is uncatchable.
Let far lights and far nights
And plants growing and decaying in far places,
And a mind that soars into far space,
All leave something on the vane.
We listened to the wind all night,
And watched all day grass yellowing and leaves reddening,
Without finding a place to settle our thoughts.
Will these verses act like the vane
And catch what is uncatchable?)

Here one finds the poet not only musing, but also exploring into the ways of artistic abstraction. Hence the metaphors, which are unusual for Chinese poetry: a round bottle to give form to the formless, a vane to catch what is uncatchable. There is, however, enough of the ordinary and tangible to reassure the reader: autumn wind, far lights, plants growing and decaying, while the poet's voice, low, unhurried, slightly sad, is wholly enticing. At the same time, one hears echoes of Rilke's *Duineser Elegien*:

... also

lauter Unsägliches...
Bringt doch der Wanderer auch vom Hange des Bergrands
nicht eine Hand voll Erde ins Tal, die Allen unsägliche, sondern
ein erworbenes Wort, reines, den gelben und blaun Enzian...

—Die Neunte Elegie

Both poets are intent on expressing the inexpressible—Feng's "uncatchables" and Rilke's "purely untellable things". Feng's water carrier plays much the same role as Rilke's wanderer, personae speaking for the poets themselves. Both look to man's creative writing—Feng's "these verses" and Rilke's "pure word"—for a way out. Above all, there is the same atmosphere of impassioned contemplation.

Feng has other moods, less Rilkean but equally modernist, as may be seen in Sonnet 21:

我们听着狂风里的暴雨，
我们在灯光下这样孤单，
我们在这小小的茅屋里
就是和我们用具的中间

也有了千里万里的距离：
铜炉在向往深山的矿苗，
瓷壶在向往江边的陶泥，
它们都象风雨中的飞鸟

各自东西。我们紧紧抱住，
好象自身也都不能自主。
狂风把一切都吹入高空，

暴雨把一切又淋入泥土，
只剩下这点微弱的灯红
在证实我们生命的暂住。

(Listening to the rough wind and the pelting rain,
We feel so lonely beside the lamp.
In this tiny thatched hovel of ours,
Even between the utensils and ourselves

There is a distance of ten thousand miles:
For the copper kettle is looking back to the ore in the mountains,
And the china pot to the clay on the river bank.
They are like the birds tossed by the storm

Each to his own destiny. Tightly we cling to each other,
Not sure if we are our own masters.
The rough wind sends everything flying to the sky:

The heavy rain pelts them back again to the earth,

With only this dim glow of a lamp remaining
To confirm the transience of our lives' stay.)

Man's helplessness in a hostile universe: a theme pretty well worked over by various European poets. The original thing is perhaps the point about the utensils, the dialectical relationship between the raw material and the finished product, between nature and art, expressed in images that are quite Chinese: the copper kettle, the china pot, the ore in the mountains, the clay on the river bank. And if we scrutinize the sonnet a bit more closely, we'll find poems within the poem, made up of something left over from Du Fu's famous lamentation over the West Wind breaking into his thatched cottage and echoes of a thousand classical Chinese 8-line poems dealing with "Night Thoughts". Of the latter, two specimens may be cited, both written around 1900, another crisis hour:

千声檐铁百淋铃，雨横风狂暂一停。
正望鸡鸣天下白，又惊鹅击海东青。
沉阴噎噎何多日，残月晖晖尚几星。
斗空苍茫吾独立，万家酣梦几人醒。

——黄遵宪：《夜起》

(After a thousand sounds from the eaves bells buffeted by the rains, The storm has subsided for the moment.
Time after time scanning the sky for the dawn,
Only to be shocked by the eagle striking in the east.
Dull and cloudy days seem never ending,
Only a few stars glimmer around the waning moon.
Under a boundless sky I stand alone, wondering
How many are awake as the multitudes sleep?

—Huang Zunxian: Rising at Night)

苦月霜林微有阴，灯寒欲雪夜钟深。
此时危坐管宁榻，抱膝乃为梁父吟。
斗酒纵横天下事，名山风雨百年心。
摊书兀兀了无睡，起听五更孤角沉。

——谭嗣同：《夜成》

(Wan moon, shrivelled frost, a little cloud,
The lamp feels cold, with snow coming and the nighthours deepening.
Bolt upright I sit on my recluse's couch.
Holding my knees, I sing a dirge of hopes abandoned.
A measure of wine induces reckless talk about affairs of the world.
Storm-swept, the famed mountain yet holds my everlasting longing.
Opening a book, sick with thoughts, all sleep gone,
I rise to hear a lone bugle announcing five o'clock.

—Tan Sitong: Composed at Night)

Feng Zhi may not have actually read these two poems, but the point is, there is in his innermost ear the insistent whisper of hundreds of classical poems dealing with a similar situation, poems which moreover urge on him certain moods, reflections, even stock phrases, as well as certain requirements of form. Why did Feng, and Bian Zhilin for that matter, choose the sonnet as a favourite form? Was it not because there are certain similarities between the sonnet and the Chinese 8-line poem in both form and content structure? Even the medial balanced couplets of the latter are not absent from Feng's Sonnet 21, to wit:

狂风把一切都吹入高空
暴雨把一切又淋入泥土
(The rough wind sends everything flying to the sky:
The heavy rain pelts them back again to the earth)

Willy-nilly, he was writing a sonnet in the manner and spirit of a Chinese *lvshi*!

There are of course differences. While the two classical poets directed their night thoughts to national affairs, Feng Zhi was concerned with an individual's uneasy feeling in an alien universe. The former, politically conscious, wrote to reach the public's ear; the latter, inwardly drawn, wrote to express his private feelings. Yet it isn't private enough, when one remembers the case of Rilke. Feng speaks only of "a mind that soars into far space", while Rilke's elegies are a record of some tremendous spiritual adventure, a long, sustained quest of one single, timeless event in which life and death are just two aspects of the same process. Hence he has an intensity not found in Feng, who is much milder, as befitting a Chinese scholar reared in the humane Confucian tradition. In the final analysis, Rilke's influence on Feng was but skin-deep, while the Chinese classical poetic tradition had long been working, unobstrusively but subtly, in his bones.

Nor did his feeling of cosmic loneliness last. Even as he was writing the sonnets cited above, he was aware of the mutterings of a world of suffering and strife outside. Sonnet 14 seems to be concerned with art, revealing his impressions of the paintings of Van Gogh, yet he tells how his eye is caught, not only by the sunflowers and cypresses, but also by the wretched prisoners "peeling potatoes in a prison yard", who are "lumps of ice never to be melted", not even by the fierce burning sun of a passionate genius like Van Gogh, a situation which draws a query from the poet:

这中间你画了吊桥，

画了轻盈的船：你可要
把那些不幸者迎接过来？

——《十四行》之十四

(In the middle you've painted a hanging bridge
And several lithesome boats. Did you want
To ferry over some of the unfortunate ones?)

A query light in tone, almost a whisper, but really a cry, much like E. M. Forster's: Only connect!

And connect he did. When enemy air raids caused the populace of Kunming to take to the hills behind the university, Feng Zhi was elated by the "togetherness":

和暖的阳光内
我们来到郊外，
象不同的河水
融成一片大海。……

——《十四行》之七

(Under the warm sun
We came outside the city,
Like many rivers flowing
Into one harmonious ocean...

—Sonnet 7)

The short, staccato lines—a new note—sound like the quick footsteps of people dodging the Japanese bombers. The nation was united in the face of foreign invasion. The poet was enthused, but he also raised the warning: Let us not fall apart again the moment we're out of danger! Like Dai Wangshu, Ai Qing and Bian Zhilin before him, Feng Zhi had now completed his metamorphosis, from a poet of private concerns to one filled with anxiety about the nation's future. But the warning went unheeded. Almost immediately after victory over Japan, civil strife came to a head again. Then, in December 1945, government soldiers shot to death four students at the gate of the university's Teachers College. This was the sort of situation that drew the poet-scholar Wen Yiduo into the fight for democracy which soon cost him his life; it also caused Feng Zhi to stop writing his Rilkean sonnets altogether.

Among the students, there were also poets writing in the modernist mode. Du Yunxie resorted to Audenesque irony in writing about his misadventures as an army interpreter on the chaotic Burma road. Zheng Min, a woman student of the philosophy department, another devotee of Rilke's, wrote quiet, sensitive metaphysical poetry admired by many. But the person

who gave modernism a boost was Mu Dan, who majored in foreign languages. He excelled in expressing a mood of anguish and self-torture:

我知道
一个更紧的死亡追在后头。
因为我听见了洪水，随着巨风，
从远而近，在我们的心里拍打，
吞蚀着古旧的血液和骨肉！
……
在一瞬间
我看见了遍野的白骨
旋动

——穆旦：《从空虚到充实》

(I feel
A more binding death behind my ear,
As I hear the waters and the winds,
Beating from afar and in our hearts,
Devouring our ancient blood and bones.
……
In an instant
I see the white bones on the plain
Whirling

—From Void to Fullness)

Alongside this preoccupation with death, almost Jacobean in its intensity, there was also a fascinated absorption in violence:

勃朗宁，毛瑟，三号手提式，
或是爆进人肉去的左轮，
它们能给我绝望后的快乐，
对着漆黑的枪口，你就会看见
从历史的扭转的弹道里
我是得到了二次的诞生

——《五月》

(Browning, Mauser and Model Three
Or the revolver which explodes into man's flesh,
All give me the sudden joy of a moment's despair.
Looking into the dark muzzle, you will see
From the twisted rifle-groove of history
I get another incarnation.

—May)

Which at once plunges us into the 20th century, an age of *Angst* and terrorism. And there is nothing *literary* about it; for Mu Dan's generation had experienced exile and war. The young poet himself had walked all the way from Hunan to Yunnan, a distance of over one thousand kilometres, which enabled him to see an interior China made up of villages and small towns.

Then he took part in the fighting against the Japanese in Burma, surviving the disastrous retreat into India by a fluke. Hence the bitterness. Hence also the abandon.

His love poetry, too, was different from the usual sort:

你底眼睛看见这一场火灾，
你看不见我，虽然我为你点燃；
唉，那燃烧着的不过是成熟的年代，
你底，我底。我们相隔如重山！

——《诗八首》之一

(Your eyes have seen this disaster of fire
But not me, though I have been ignited by you.
Alas, what is burning is only our mature years,
Yours and mine. We are separated by mountains!

—Eight Poems, I)

静静地，我们拥抱在
用言语所能照明的世界里，
而那未成形的黑暗是可怕的，
那可能和不可能的使我们沉迷。

——《诗八首》之四

(Quietly, we embraced
In a world lit up by words,
Frightened by darkness yet unformed,
Fascinated by what's possible and impossible.

—Eight Poems, IV)

When one reads these lines with one's memory still fresh of the elegant, tentative love poems of the Chinese classical poets, or even of an earlier vernacular poet like Xu Zhimo, one senses the impact of European modernism.

Compared with his teachers like Feng Zhi and Bian Zhilin, Mu Dan seems to have had the least to do with the Chinese classical tradition. His diction, imagery and syntax are all westernized, e.g. "death's womb" "the jungle of ideas" "I hanged my erring youth" "I cry from the wilderness of my heart" "You gave us abundance and the pangs of abundance" "Water flowing down mountain rocks deposited you and me", etc.[9] When he made an occasional sortie into Chinese classical poetry, it was to appropriate moods and modes of an antique quaintness to set off the new and modern:

负心儿郎多情女
荷花池旁订誓盟
而今独自依栏想
落花飞絮满天空

而五月的黄昏是那样的朦朦！
在火炬的行列叫喊过去以后，
谁也不会看见的
被恭维的街道就把他们倾出，
在报上登过救济民生的谈话后，
谁也不会看见的
愚蠢的人们就扑进泥沼里，
而谋害者，凯歌着五月的自由，
紧握一切无形电力的总枢纽。

——《五月》

(The disdainful man and the sentimental girl
Pledged to love beside the lotus pond.
Leaning on a balustrade, lost in thought,
She saw a sky full of falling flowers.

But the May evenings are such a blur.
When the shouting torchlight processions have passed,
The flattered street, without anybody noticing,
Empties them all into the gutters.
After the papers reported speeches of poor relief,
The dupes immediately plunged into the puddle,
While the Murderer, singing gleefully of the freedom of May,
Held tight the main switch of all unseen electricity.

—May)

How like the early Auden are the last two lines—the personification, the industrial metaphors, the ironical political touch! Yet Auden, coming from a Western, and so less old, tradition, did not hear so many ancient poetic voices as Mu Dan inevitably did—he was captivated by them even as he consciously rebelled against them. It is also questionable whether the English poet was as seriously concerned. For his part Mu Dan had an earnestness positively Shelleyan, which however didn't make him Romantic, only more complex.

Complexity is a mark of modernism, but in Mu Dan's case it was a complexity that came first of all from the condition of China. If Feng Zhi and Bian Zhilin had to pass through a period of artistic self-perfection before they succumbed, so to speak, to the pull of Chinese realities, the younger poet was keenly aware, throughout his poetic career, of the strife and contradictions in life. He had grown up with the Japanese threat and lived through the years of war and exile in constant anxiety. He was in the thick of the real, rough world from beginning to end. But this doesn't mean that he stood still; he too had developed. Emotionally he outgrew mere helpless anger to become aware of

more fundamental questions, and self-torture soon gave way to self-examination, which combined to give his poetry greater depth. Stylistically he purified his poetic language, so that the early rude "abundance and the pangs of abundance" evolved into a stage where he could "light up a world with words", where, indeed, he became one of the most original users of modern Chinese, least afflicted with the ageold problem of clichés. This two-fold development yielded a number of good poems, like "Fissure" "May" "Precursor" "Eight Poems", etc.

But he was destined not to write any more poetry. For all his brilliance, his work had been flawed by a certain lack of focus, reflecting a lack of a sense of direction. In 1946, when jubilance over victory in the foreign war was being rapidly replaced by worries about the renewal of the civil war, Mu Dan, who had been a dreamy idealist at the beginning of his poetic career, now found himself "lodged between two darknesses, one past, the other to come".[10] Just turned 30, he felt old, "consumed by the fires of destruction".[11] He had come to the end of his tether, emotionally as well as poetically. His fellow poets dispersed. His readers, never numerous in any case, soon turned to poetry of other modes.

Thus the second wave of modernism subsided, leaving only some eddies in Beiping and Shanghai. Meanwhile, the main stream of the new poetry surged ahead. This was the poetry which Ai Qing, after renouncing French symbolism, had helped to nurture, until now it became a powerful, mass-based literature in the Liberated Areas and in cities where the internal conflict was particularly sharp, like Chongqing and Guilin. Its impact was felt even in the university in Kunming. One man in particular listened to the distant voices. He was the one-time singer of the Crescent Group, the poet-scholar Wen Yiduo. He read and was impressed by the poems of Tian Jian, an activist in Yan'an. Wen called Tian "the Drummer of Our Time" and commented on his work thus:

> Here there is nothing hidden between the lines, no lingering effect, no half-rhyme, no stylistic tricks, only plain words, straightforward, sincere, brief but full of matter; indeed, only drum beats, monotonous perhaps, but loud, powerful, forcing their way into your ears and your heart…
>
> It is a roll of drums, goading you to love, inciting you to hate, urging you to live with the maximum heat and strength, on this earth of ours.[12]

Here, Wen not only praised the poetry of Tian Jian, but also criticized, if only by implication, other kinds of poetry, certainly those that had resorted to "hiding between the lines" "lingering effects" "half-rhymes" "stylistic tricks".

Did the latter also include the works of the Kunming modernists? We only know that Wen selected a number of poems by Mu Dan, Du Yunxie and others for the *Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry* he was then compiling.[13] He had stopped writing poetry himself, but was still keenly interested in what the young poets around him were doing. Indeed, he was generous with help to anybody in or out of the university who approached him on questions of poetry. Yet his own views on poetry were never in doubt. He had all along advocated—and himself practised—writing poetry to express one's feelings about the larger issues confronting the nation. The erstwhile Chicago art student who had returned to China to shock the bourgeoisie by once painting his rooms all black, never really went in for art for art's sake; all his famous poems, from the chants of a Chinese laundryman in America to "Dead Water"and "Cold Night", were the outpourings of a stout patriotic heart. Now, in the midst of intense activities for the democratic cause, he once more came out to commend, in speeches and writings, a vernacular poetry rooted in the soil of the vast territories of the northwest, where alone the Chinese people could, as he put it, "live with the maximum heat and strength". He spoke these words in reference to that combative, massbased poetry, but, given the time and the place, could he not also have had in view the modernist productions of his younger colleagues at the university?

It would be unhistorical, however, to dismiss the modernist trend as consisting only of a technique of suggestiveness or stylistic tricks. Modernism meant more than that. It brought a sense of the new to China, which sharpened the poetic sensibility of two generations. Yet it did not develop into a powerful movement. It had come to China at a crisis hour, when the country, engulfed in war and revolution, wanted desperately to ward off foreign aggression and to find ways to feed its vast population. Chinese poets were seriously concerned with these problems. Many of them, then or later, joined in the effort to build a just society. Moreover, they had been reared in one of the most splendid and longest-living poetic traditions in world literature. Thus there never arose a situation where a superior, more enlightened poetry descended from Western Europe to succour an outworn native poetry, either ideologically or artistically. Even from the point of view of technique, European modernism had surprisingly little to teach the Chinese poets. Apart from urban rhythms, industrial metaphors and some novel theories of psychology, a cultivated Chinese found most of the Western modernist ways of writing *déjà-vu*. He thought his own classical masters had

achieved similar effects by ways more economical a long time ago. This explains why it was relatively easy for Chinese poets to adopt the European modernist mode. This also explains why they could pick and choose, keeping what they found useful and rejecting the rest, and why in the end their Chinese qualities reasserted themselves. All the important poets discussed above—Dai Wangshu, Ai Qing, Bian Zhilin, Feng Zhi, Mu Dan—underwent this process of change and each wrote his more enduring work when his modernist sensibility responded, sympathetically and intimately, to Chinese realities.

1982

伍　中国的现代诗[1]

现代主义作为一种文学运动也许风头已减，但余波还未止。如今中国人对“朦胧诗”和意识流小说技巧的争论就是明证。支持也好，反对也罢，有时让人感觉中国人似乎从未弄明白现代主义为何物似的。但情况并非如此。很多中国作家都曾与现代主义有过直接的、亲密的接触。

（一）

以“新诗”为例，1919年前后的文学革命无论按照哪个标准来看，都算是影响深远的大事。首先，诗人们突然摒弃了古典传统，转而去写白话自由诗。然而古典传统不是能够轻易推翻的。除了刘复的诗作比较成功地运用口语以外，多数读来像是不甚高明的宋词仿作。因此，当又一代诗人踏入文坛，他们看到，除非自己愿意写淡而无味的散文诗或白话打油诗，否则就得寻找新的典范，以及一整套新的美学。在此之前，人们谈的主要是用白话去表达一个民主的新时代的新题材，没人考虑过美学问题。现在大家发现创造社的领袖郭沫若在模仿沃尔特·惠特曼，新月派的徐志摩等在学英国浪漫主义诗人，诗人兼画家的闻一多在用英语诗的格律约束新诗，赋予新诗格律美。另外还有别的声音，别的美学观。不久，创造社里的年轻一代借用了法国象征派的节奏和主题。

我从café中出来
身上添了
中酒的
疲乏……

——王独清：《我从Café中出来》

因此，王独清带着世纪末巴黎的颓废调子，在中文诗里用了一个法文单词café。冯乃超则唱《生命的哀歌》：

今霄轮到我唱生命的哀歌
外间哀哀哭泣的夜雨成河
怎得心里的泪泉如注地再涌
洗涤我哀愁浸蚀的心窝

——冯乃超：《生命的哀歌》

自然是呼应、再呼应法国诗人魏尔伦[2]的诗句：

泪流在我心里，
雨在城上淅沥：
哪来的一阵凄楚
滴得我这般惨戚？[3]

——《泪流在我心底》

借用的痕迹是很明显的。尽管如此，想想当时大多数中国诗人都毫无新意地一遍遍模仿英国浪漫主义，冯乃超则能发现法国诗中的现代特征，识别出别样的细微与精妙，已是不菲的成就了。

另外还有两位诗人也学象征派而写下了更好的诗。李金发把惊人的意象置于简短的诗行之中：

我们散步在死草上，
悲愤纠缠在膝下。

粉红之记忆
如道旁朽兽，发出奇臭。

——李金发：《夜之歌》

这首诗的题目《夜之歌》也恰如其分。李金发的诗句可与波德莱尔的相媲美：

夕阳之火不能把时间之烦闷
化成灰烬

——《弃妇》

但他却是个用错误的方式学习母语的波德莱尔。尽管李金发无疑对诗体颇有感觉，比喻的运用也很高超，但他文白掺杂，用一个"之"字将两者串联。反对者立刻抓住这一点对他进行抨击，对其异域的"颓废"很是不满。

李金发的同伴戴望舒写出的文字更优雅，古典造诣颇深。起初戴的诗作都是些寻常俗套，后来受法国诗歌的影响，奏出了一种新的乐感：

撑着油纸伞，独自
彷徨在悠长，悠长
又寂寥的雨巷，
我希望逢着
一个丁香一样地
结着愁怨的姑娘

——戴望舒：《雨巷》

其响亮、律动的诗句以及曳长的韵律宛如魏尔仑的《秋歌》：

秋日里
呜咽的
小提琴
单调的
忧郁里
慰我心。[4]

但《雨巷》中的意境则是中国古典的，令人想起脍炙人口的唐宋名句：

丁香空结雨中愁[5]

小楼一夜听春雨

深巷明朝卖杏花【6】

因此，《雨巷》是中国古典与法国象征派的结合。但戴望舒不久就宣称：

诗不能借重音乐，它应该去了音乐的成分。

果然也出现了一种新风格：口语化，散文化，把原来严谨的韵律放松了：

我底记忆是忠实于我的，
忠实甚于我最好的友人。

——《我底记忆》

不再是歌唱的声音，而是絮谈的声音。这种放松的韵律倒是产生了一连串好诗：《对于天的怀乡病》《秋天的梦》《村姑》《秋蝇》《乐园鸟》等。诗人显得自由自在，在语言上也进行了各种试验，例如把古典引语放进现代语境中：

士为知己者用，
故承恩的灯，
遂做了恋的同谋人。

——《灯》

或追求一种日本和歌式的效果：

木叶的红色，
木叶的黄色，
木叶的土灰色：
窗外的下午！

——《秋蝇》

或改造法国的哲学名言：

我思想，故我是蝴蝶……
万年后小花的轻呼，
透过无梦无醒的云雾，
来振撼我斑斓的彩翼

——《我思想》

诗的第一行，是把笛卡尔（“我思故我在”）同庄子（庄周梦蝴蝶）合而为一了。看着这些作品，我们不禁悬想：如果戴沿着这条路继续实验下去，中国新诗又会出现什么局面？

然而，实验停止了，而其原因除了诗人家庭生活上的波折——妻子离开了他——就是中国的现实：上海的“白色恐怖”，文艺上的围剿和反围剿，日本的武力侵略，以及终于到来的抗日战争的全面爆发。诗人想要避免卷入而不可得。《现代》杂志登出了标榜“第三种人”的文章，但是为这个杂志写作的戴望舒却在经历着缓慢然而明显的变化。《断指》一诗已见其端：

关于他的“可怜又可笑的爱情”我是一些也不知道，

我知道的只是他是在一个工人家里被捕去的；
随后是酷刑吧，随后是惨苦的牢狱吧，
随后是死刑吧，那等待着我们大家的死刑吧。

——《断指》

如果说在这里诗人还只是开始意识到在他的想象世界之外，还存在着一个残酷的现实世界的话，那么不久他就对于这残酷有了亲身体验：

我用残损的手掌
摸索这广大的土地：
这一角已变成灰烬，
那一角只是血和泥……

——《我用残损的手掌》（1942）

戴望舒在上海发生“白色恐怖”之后去到香港，而当香港在太平洋战争沦陷后，他又被日本占领军关押和迫害，因此写下《我用残损的手掌》。然而诗并不以哀叹告终：

无形的手掌掠过无限的江山，
手指沾了血和灰，手掌沾了阴暗，
只有那辽远的一角依然完整，
温暖，明朗，坚固而蓬勃生春。
在那上面，我用残损的手掌轻抚，
像恋人的柔发，婴孩手中乳。
我把全部的力量运在手掌
贴在上面，寄与爱和一切希望，
因为只有那里是太阳，是春，
将驱逐阴暗，带来苏生，
因为只有那里我们不像牲口一样活，
蝼蚁一样死……那里，永恒的中国！

几位有眼光的同行诗人赞赏这首诗。艾青就评论过：

诗人在《我用残损的手掌》里，写自己用手抚摸祖国的地图，用高度压缩的词句，概括地描述了祖国的广大的陷落了的土地，句句都充满了哀痛；到后来笔锋一转，对解放区（我想他指的是延安）寄予极深的爱。

卞之琳也评论道：

这首诗应算是戴望舒生平各时期所写的十来首最好的诗篇之一，即使单从艺术上看也是如此。

有意思的是，艾青和卞之琳经历了同样的虽然程度不同的变化，但最后殊途同归。

此时的艾青仍积极作诗。就在几个月前，他的诗集《归来的歌》还获得了全国作协一等奖。人们容易忘记这位诗人曾于30年代早期去巴黎学习艺术，并在维尔哈仑【7】和阿波里内尔【8】的影响下开始创作诗歌。阿波里内尔有两行诗句他深深铭记于心，还将之作为自己诗篇前面的引句：

当年我有一支芦笛
拿法国大元帅的节杖我也不换【9】

多么有气概的宣言，道出了诗歌艺术是何等的灿烂和气节！但艾青在自

己的诗中却有不同的故事要讲：

我从你彩色的欧罗巴
带回了一支芦笛，
同着它
我会在大西洋边
象在自己家里般走着，
如今
你的诗集“Alcool”是在上海的巡捕房里，
我是“犯了罪”的，
在这里
芦笛也是禁物。

——艾青：《芦笛——纪念故诗人阿波里内尔》

在外国列强和国民党联合统治的上海，这就是艾青当时的处境。连最起码的人身安全都不能保证，更谈不上保持艺术的纯洁和独立性了。在这一点上，艾青远比戴望舒觉醒得早，后来的诗歌创作道路也不同，但他们两个人都经历了同样性质的变化——从拿来后又放弃欧洲象征主义到重回中国现实，而在这过程里他们的芦笛改了调子，吹出了不同的声音。

卞之琳也是珍惜他的芦笛的，而且细心倾听来自西欧的几乎全部有新意的芦笛声：波德莱尔、魏尔伦、艾略特、叶芝、里尔克、瓦雷里、奥登、阿拉贡、布莱希特。这名单，连同名字的次序，是他自己开列的。据他回忆，这些人都在他不同的创作阶段影响过他。当然他也深受中国古典诗歌的熏陶。他自己就说过，他前期的诗“出现过晚唐南宋诗词的末世之音，同时也有点近于西方‘世纪末’诗歌的情调”。后来，他更多地从英国现代诗吸收，比如这句

伸向黄昏的道路象一段灰心

——卞之琳：《归》

就明显受艾略特的启发：

街连着街，象一场冗长的辩论
带着阴险的意图
要把你引向一个重大的问题……

——艾略特：《普鲁弗洛克的情歌》

只不过这位中国诗人写得更简练，而这正是讲究整齐、优雅、形式美的中国传统格律诗多年熏陶的结果。

20世纪30年代中期，二十几岁的卞之琳达到了他诗艺上的高峰。他写了非常现代主义化的诗篇，题名《距离的组织》，末行令人惊叹：

友人带来了雪意和五点钟。

很多读者抱怨这首诗难懂，卞之琳不得不加注说明用意，结果一首不过十行的短诗加了七个注。这在20世纪诗歌史上，无论东方还是西方，可

能是自注比例最大的诗篇了。但他也能写出不需任何注解的好诗，例如《断章》：

你站在桥上看风景，
看风景人在楼上看你。
明月装饰了你的窗子，
你装饰了别人的梦。

——《断章》

他这时期的最好作品，无疑是《尺八》：

象候鸟衔来了异方的种子，
三桅船载来了一支尺八，
从夕阳里，从海西头。
长安丸载来的海西客
夜半听楼下醉汉的尺八，
想一个孤馆寄居的番客
听了雁声，动了乡愁，
得了慰藉于邻家的尺八，
次朝在长安市的繁华里
独访取一支凄凉的竹管……
（为什么霓虹灯的万花间
还飘着一缕凄凉的古香？）
归去也，归去也，归去也——
象候鸟衔来了异方的种子，
三桅船载来了一支尺八，
尺八乃成了三岛的花草。
（为什么霓虹灯的万花间
还飘着一缕凄凉的古香？）
归去也，归去也，归去也——
海西人想带回失去的悲哀吗？
（1935年6月19日）

尺八是五孔或六孔的竹管乐器，原产于中国，七世纪时传到日本，现在在中国已很少见，但在日本却还盛行。卞之琳1935年在日本暂住期间听过有人在吹奏它，动了乡愁。但是他承认，这乡愁之中，也有“对祖国式微的哀愁”。因为他在日本见到了日本军国主义的真实面目：

> 对方越是凶猛地朝我们开枪，我越想看看他们身后是何等的软弱。我第一次看到了军国主义的警察和特务是多么可鄙和可笑，也看到了法西斯统治下的百姓是多么可怜和善良。

很多20世纪的中国诗人情同此心。但无论多么追求艺术的完美——卞对艺术的敏感和对完美的追求是少有的——中国诗人仍心系祖国的命运，这在西欧和北美的现代主义诗人当中是少见的。而且这首诗还揭示了中国当代诗歌的另一个特征，即中国的古诗传统仍然强大有力。卞之琳虽采用西洋的自由体和一行三或四顿的英国式格律，诗的支柱却在三个复句，特别是那用纯粹的旧文体、旧词句写出的一行：

归去也，归去也，归去也

复句本身又有复句：三声呼叫，哀怨而又毅然决然，其响亮的长音和中

世纪的余韵表达了这一乐器的特点和诗人听它时的心情。

因此，诗作显示了诗人正经历的变化。抗日战争爆发后，卞之琳去了戴望舒神往而未能到达的地方：延安。那是1938年初。当时全中国情绪激昂，因为终于和中国人民痛恨的敌人全面开战了。卞之琳在战斗第一线遍地考察，写下了《慰劳信集》，但这部诗集似乎并未受到应有的重视。其中都是很具创造力的战争诗。每封“信”都是生动的参战人员的侧影：神枪手、新兵、两个哨兵娃、用绣花针扎破敌人自行车胎的眼疾手快的姑娘、被转移到山里的村民、拆毁敌人铁路线的村民、造军用机场的人们、开荒的青年、政委、将军，还有大战略家本人：

《论持久战》的著者

手在你用处真是无限。
如何摆星罗棋布的战局？
如何犬牙交错了拉锯？
包围反包围如何打眼？

下围棋的能手笔下生花，
不，植根在每一个人心中
三阶段：后退，相持，反攻——
你是顺从了，主宰了辩证法。

如今手也到了新阶段，
拿起锄头来捣翻棘刺，
号召了，你自己也实行生产。

最难忘你那“打出去”的手势
常用以指挥感情的洪流
协入一种必然的大节奏。

（1938年11月20日）

这是写给毛泽东的——带着欣赏和佩服，但并无一丝畏怯，就像一位诗人跟另一位诗人在交谈，完全不同于后来出现的千万首颂歌。这首诗也涵盖了延安的大事：游击战、开荒种地、丰衣足食、最后的反围剿。他把这些全部写进一首小诗，通过一个“手”的意象：下围棋的手，指挥战役的手，开荒种地的手，在军民面前做着“打出去”手势的手。但诗的形式则完全是西方的，事实上，是一首格律整齐、一个韵脚也不出错的十四行！

几乎在同一时间，有一个青年英国诗人也在用十四行体写他在中国战场的感受，那就是奥登，这些十四行诗发表在由他与伊修伍德[10]合著的《战地行》中。之后不久，卞之琳译了其中几首，显然是出于喜爱，没有屈就，也没有高攀，而是带着自信，因为他刚完成了一项艰难的工作：在《慰劳信集》中用严谨的西欧诗体写出了中国战场上的“感

情的洪流”。

（二）

而此后是长长的空白。1939年卞之琳离开西北山区，来到昆明，接下来十一年没写过一首诗，但是诗并没有完全离开他。他在西南联合大学讲诗，译诗（翻译了奥登和其他西方现代诗人的诗）；事实上，他正好看到另一个现代主义诗歌潮流在那所战时大学兴起。

西南联合大学，简称联大，是流亡者的大学，由中国北方最著名的三所大学，北平的北京大学、清华大学及天津的南开大学，共同组成。1937年秋，面对入侵的日军，三所大学的师生被迫一步步南迁，直至到达中国西南角的云南省，最终在省会昆明落脚。条件极其艰苦：校舍狭窄，没有必要的设备，最可怕的是几乎无书可读。但是师生，尤其是年轻师生，面对民族战争的第一次热潮，并不在意困难。大家同仇敌忾，求真知，为国强。教师中有不少著名作家：闻一多、朱自清、沈从文、冯至、李广田等。钱锺书教授欧洲文艺复兴时期的文学和20世纪西方小说，英国人燕卜荪开了一门当代英国诗。学生中也诞生了多位诗人，如穆旦、杜运燮、郑敏等等。

现代主义并没有真正风靡联大，但它有一种新锐的势头，而且这一次，在法国象征派和庞德–艾略特的现代主义之外，还出现了德语诗人赖内·马利亚·里尔克【11】。

这影响见于冯至。冯至并不是新人，在20世纪20年代就已出名。当时作为新文学主将的鲁迅赞其为“中国最为杰出的抒情诗人”，可能归于他的长诗《北游》（1929）。接着他便销声匿迹了，去海德堡潜心研究歌德。待到1940年前后他出现在昆明时，其诗歌趣味已经有了改变。他开始写十四行诗，1941年一年间就写了27首。第27首是个很好的例子：

从一片泛滥无形的水里
取水人取来椭圆的一瓶，
这点水就得到一个定形；
看，在秋风里飘扬的风旗，
它把住些把不住的事体，
让远方的光、远方的黑夜
和些远方的草木的荣谢，
还有个奔向远方的心意，
都保留一些在这面旗上，
我们空空听过一夜风声，
空看了一天的草黄叶红，
向何处安排我们的思想？
但愿这些诗象一面风旗
把住一些把不住的事体。

——冯至：《十四行》之二十七

这里诗人不只在沉思，也有对艺术抽象的探索。因此便出现了中国诗中不常见的比喻：用椭圆的瓶子给泛滥无形的水以定形，又靠风旗把住一些把不住的事体。但是诗里有足够的实在东西来稳住读者：秋风、远方的光、草木的荣谢，而诗人低沉、不紧不慢、略带忧伤的声音又很动听。同时，这也让人听到了里尔克《杜伊诺哀歌》的回响：

……因此
纯粹是无法说出的事情……
漫游人从山坡带回山谷的
不是一把无法说出的土，而是
抓到了一个词，纯净的词，那黄蓝色的龙胆花。……

——哀歌之九

两位诗人都致力于表达无法表达的东西——冯至关注“把不住的事体”，里尔克关注“无法说出的事情”。冯至的取水人和里尔克的游荡者都起着同一作用，也即替诗人自己说话。两位诗人都把创作——冯至的“这些诗”，里尔克的“纯净的词”——看作出路。最重要的是，两者还有同样饱含感情的沉思气氛。

冯至还有其他特质，与里尔克不同，但仍很现代主义，比如第21首十四行诗：

我们听着狂风里的暴雨，
我们在灯光下这样孤单，
我们在这小小的茅屋里
就是和我们用具的中间

也有了千里万里的距离：
铜炉在向往深山的矿苗，
瓷壶在向往江边的陶泥，
它们都象风雨中的飞鸟

各自东西。我们紧紧抱住，
好象自身也都不能自主。
狂风把一切都吹入高空，

暴雨把一切又淋入泥土，
只剩下这点微弱的灯红
在证实我们生命的暂住。

人在一个有敌意的宇宙里的无助感：一个已被很多欧洲诗人写了又写的主题。创新之处可能在于对“用具”、原料和成品之间的辩证关系以及自然与艺术之间的辩证关系的处理。这一切都用颇具中国特色的意象传达出来了：铜炉、瓷壶、深山的矿苗、江边的陶泥。如果我们再加以细读，还会发现这里诗中有诗：有杜甫“茅屋为秋风所破歌”的遗痕，也有千百首写夜思的中国古诗的回声。后者可用两首大约作于1900年——另

一个危机时刻——的律诗为例：

千声檐铁百淋铃，雨横风狂暂一停。
正望鸡鸣天下白，又惊鹅击海东青。
沉阴噎噎何多日，残月晖晖尚几星。
斗空苍茫吾独立，万家酣梦几人醒。

——黄遵宪：《夜起》

苦月霜林微有阴，灯寒欲雪夜钟深。
此时危坐管宁榻，抱膝乃为梁父吟。
斗酒纵横天下事，名山风雨百年心。
摊书兀兀了无睡，起听五更孤角沉。

——谭嗣同：《夜成》

冯至未必真读过这两首诗，但是他内心肯定有对这些和其他类似中国古诗的回响，不仅给他以某些场景、情调的暗示，而且使他对于某些惯用词句以及诗的形式也有一种特殊的约定目标。冯至和卞之琳为何选择十四行诗？难道不是因为十四行诗与中国传统律诗在结构和用意上有诸多相似？甚至连律诗中间的对仗在冯至的第21首十四行诗中也不难看到：

狂风把一切都吹入高空
暴雨把一切又淋入泥土

冥冥之中，冯至是把十四行当作中国的律诗在写！

他们当然有所不同。那两位古典诗人在深夜忧国忧民时，冯至则关心人在一个有敌意的宇宙里的不安心绪。前者抒写政治，是写给大众看的；后者吐露内心，是表达私密感受的。但如果说起里尔克，又不算太私密。冯至只写“还有个奔向远方的心意”，里尔克的挽歌则记录某种巨大的心路历程，一个漫长的、无尽追索的历程，生与死只是同一过程的两个方面。因此，里尔克具有冯志所没有的深度，冯至更温柔敦厚，正是受到儒家传统熏陶的中国文人应有的风范。总之，里尔克对冯至的影响只是流于表面，而中国古典诗歌传统的影响则是“润物细无声”般深入骨髓的。

冯至的那种人在宇宙间的孤独感也是不持久的。即使在写上面几首十四行诗时，他也没有忘记外面世界的苦难与纷争。第14首十四行诗看似是写艺术，写他对凡高画作的印象，但他的眼睛不仅看到了向日葵和柏树，也看到了“在监狱小院里剥着土豆”的不幸的囚徒。他们就“象永不消溶的冰块”，即使凡高这样激情如火的天才炽热的笔端也不能将其融化。这引得诗人问道：

这中间你画了吊桥，
画了轻盈的船：你可要
把那些不幸者迎接过来？

——《十四行》之十四

貌似轻轻的一问，几乎可说是喃喃自语，实则一声呐喊，如同E. M. 福

斯特的呐喊一般：团结起来吧！

他的确做到团结了。当昆明遭遇日军空袭，师生不得不退到西南联大的后山时，冯至为民众的聚集而鼓舞：

和暖的阳光内
我们来到郊外，
象不同的河水
融成一片大海。……

——《十四行》之七

诗句的短促有力——一个新调子——使我们听到跑空袭警报的人们的脚步声。面对外敌的入侵，全国人民团结起来了。冯至满心鼓舞，但仍不忘警醒世人：国难结束时，我们别再一盘散沙了！同之前的戴望舒、艾青和卞之琳一样，冯至也从一个抒写个人情感的诗人变成了一个焦虑民族命运的诗人。但是他的警钟无人聆听。几乎就在抗日战争结束的同时，内战开始了。1945年12月，国民党在联大师范学院门口开枪打死四名学生。就是这种时局使得诗人兼学者闻一多投入到争取民主的战斗中，不久献出了生命；也是这种时局使得冯至从此再不写里尔克式的十四行诗了。

联大的学生中也涌现出来一批现代派诗人。杜运燮用奥登式讽刺，描写他在战火纷飞的滇缅公路上担任战地翻译的经历。哲学系女生郑敏也是里尔克的崇拜者，她写的诗静谧、细腻、充满冥想，深受多人喜爱。而把现代主义更加推进一步的则数外语系的穆旦。他擅长描写苦恼和自我折磨：

我知道
一个更紧的死亡追在后头。
因为我听见了洪水，随着巨风，
从远而近，在我们的心里拍打，
吞蚀着古旧的血液和骨肉！
……
在一瞬间
我看见了遍野的白骨
旋动

——穆旦：《从空虚到充实》

伴随着对死亡的关注（强烈程度不亚于詹姆士一世时代的作家），还有对暴力的凝思：

勃朗宁，毛瑟，三号手提式，
或是爆进人肉去的左轮，
它们能给我绝望后的快乐，
对着漆黑的枪口，你就会看见
从历史的扭转的弹道里
我是得到了二次的诞生

——《五月》

这一下子把我们推进20世纪，一个充满焦虑与恐怖主义的年代。没有任何文学性可言，因为穆旦和其同代人都经历了流亡和战争。这位青年诗人曾从湖南徒步一千多公里来到云南。途中他看到了中国内地的村庄和小镇。接着他又参加了中国军队在缅甸同日本侵略军的作战，在随后向印度丛林的大撤退中几乎丧了命。所以才有这样的沉痛，所以才会这样的恣意纵情。

他所写的情诗也异乎寻常：

你底眼睛看见这一场火灾，
你看不见我，虽然我为你点燃；
唉，那燃烧着的不过是成熟的年代，
你底，我底。我们相隔如重山！

——《诗八首》之一

静静地，我们拥抱在
用言语所能照明的世界里，
而那未成形的黑暗是可怕的，
那可能和不可能的使我们沉迷。

——《诗八首》之四

如果你还记得中国古典诗人那些优美、朦胧的情诗，或者新月派里的徐志摩等人是怎样咏唱爱情的，我们就会看出西欧的现代主义已经在中国造成了多大的影响。

同他的师辈冯至、卞之琳相比，穆旦对于中国古典传统是摄取最少的。他用的词、形象、句法都明显欧化，譬如“死的子宫”“观念的丛林”“我缢死了我错误的童年”“我从我心的旷野里呼喊”“你给我们丰富和丰富的痛苦”“水流山石间沉淀下你我”，等等。当他偶有兴致写一首古诗时，也是为了借古衬今，突显新的、现代的元素：

负心儿郎多情女
荷花池旁订誓盟
而今独自依栏想
落花飞絮满天空

而五月的黄昏是那样的朦朦！
在火炬的行列叫喊过去以后，
谁也不会看见的
被恭维的街道就把他们倾出，
在报上登过救济民生的谈话后，
谁也不会看见的
愚蠢的人们就扑进泥沼里，
而谋害者，凯歌着五月的自由，
紧握一切无形电力的总枢纽。

——《五月》

这最后的两行多么像奥登的早期诗！那拟人手法，那工业性比喻，那带

着讽刺口气的政治笔触！但来自没有这般古老的西方传统文化的奥登不像穆旦那样听过这么多古诗——即便是有意抵触，穆旦也不免对之着迷。再说，奥登是否如穆旦一样对现实充满关切，也是个问题。穆旦像雪莱一样积极主动，但那并没让他成为一个浪漫诗人，只是让他更加变得复杂罢了。

复杂是西方现代主义的标志，但穆旦的复杂却首先是由中国的现状造成的。如果说冯至和卞之琳都要经过一段追求艺术至上的时期才能被中国的现实拉回的话，穆旦则在写诗的整个生涯里，都强烈地意识到现实世界里的矛盾和冲突。他在日军铁蹄的阴影下长大，在焦虑中度过战争和流亡的岁月，对残酷的现实世界有着切实的体会。但这并不意味着他没有发展。情绪上，他从无助的愤怒进到对更根本的问题有所体悟，自我折磨很快让位于自我反省，这一切都让他的诗更加深刻。诗歌语言上的逐渐净化，从初期的复杂——“丰富和丰富的痛苦”——进到能用言语“照明世界”，使他成为中国新诗里最少成语、套话的新颖的风格家。这两者的结合产生了像《裂纹》《五月》《先导》《诗八首》等出色作品。

但是他注定不会再写诗了。尽管满腹才华，他却缺少中心和方向指引。1946年，抗日战争的喜悦迅速被对内战的担忧所取代。从创作伊始就是爱做梦的理想主义者的穆旦，如今发现自己身处“过去和未来两大黑暗间”。刚到三十岁，他就感觉自己老了，落“在毁灭的火焰之中”。无论是情感上，还是诗艺上，他都精尽力竭。他的诗友们也散了，而他的读者们——在任何时期也是人数不多的——也很快转向了别种样式的诗歌。

就这样，现代主义的第二个浪潮消退了，只在北平和上海还有一点余波。同时，新诗的主流还在澎湃向前。这个主流就是艾青在放弃法国象征主义后帮助形成的，现在在解放区和重庆、桂林等内战尤其激烈的地区，以更强有力的声势滚腾着。甚至在西南联大，也有人听到了这远方浪潮的声音。这个人就是昔日新月派的倡导者，诗人兼学者闻一多。他深受延安活动家田间[12]的诗歌启发，称其为“时代的鼓手”，并这样评价他的作品：

> 这里没有“弦外之音”，没有“绕梁三日”的余韵，没有半音，没有玩任何“花头”，只是一句句朴质、干脆、真诚的话，（多么有斤两的话！）简短而坚实的句子，就是一声声的“鼓点”，单调，但是响亮而沉重，打入你耳中，打在你心上……
>
> 它只是一片沉着的鼓声，鼓舞你爱，鼓动你恨，鼓动你活着，用最高限度的热与力活着，在这大地上。

这里，闻一多在赞赏田间的同时，也间接批评了其他类型的诗，即那些有“弦外之音”“余韵”“半音”或玩了“花头”的诗。后者是否也包括联大现代派诗人的诗呢？我们只知道闻一多也把穆旦、杜运燮等人的作品多首

收进了他编的《中国诗选》[13]。那时，他自己已不写诗，但仍对周围的年轻诗人十分关注。事实上，联大内外无论谁就诗歌问题向他求助，他都不吝赐教。然而他自己的文学观又不容置疑。他始终主张——并且曾经出色地实践——诗歌要抒写对国家大事的关切。这位昔日芝加哥艺术系的学生回国后把自己的房屋刷得漆黑，着实吓到了小资产阶级，但他从没有为艺术而艺术。他所有的好诗，无论是在美国写的那首歌咏华侨洗衣工的诗，还是《死水》或《冬夜》，都出自一颗拳拳爱国之心。而现在国难当头，他又在讲演和文章里高度赞扬了生根于西北广大地区的白话诗，认为只有在那里中国人才能“用最高限度的热与力活着”。这些话是指着群众性的战斗诗说的，但是就时间和地点而言，也未必同他联大的年轻同事的现代主义诗毫无关联吧？

然而，仅仅把现代主义看成一系列有“弦外之音”或玩了“花头”的技巧，是不合乎历史进程的。现代主义当然不止如此。它为中国带来了新鲜事物，提升了两代人的诗歌敏感度。只是它没有发展成具有影响力的运动。它于一个危机时刻来到中国，当时处在战争与革命境况里的中国人迫切需要抵御外侵和保证民生的手段。中国的诗人也深切关心这些问题。他们当中的很多人都在为建造一个公正的社会而努力，而在他们背后则是世界文学里一个最最绚烂、最最持久的诗歌传统。这里并没有什么西欧先进诗歌降临落后地区的局面，思想上如此，艺术上也如此。即便从写作技巧上讲，欧洲现代主义诗人也几乎没有什么可以教给中国诗人的东西。除了大城市节奏、工业性比喻和心理学上的新奇理论之外，一个有修养的中国人会觉得大部分西方现代主义写作技巧都似曾相识，会认为中国古典文学大师们早已用更精简的方式达到相似的效果了。这足以说明为什么中国诗人能够那样容易地接受西方现代主义的风格技巧，这也说明为什么他们能够有所取舍，能够驾驭和改造外来成分，而最终则是他们的中国品质占了上风。本章讨论的所有重要的中国诗人——戴望舒、艾青、卞之琳、冯至、穆旦——个个都经历了这一变化，而只有当他们饱含深情、感同身受地把对现代主义的感知与中国的现实结合起来时，才写下了他们最能持久的诗。

1982

VI A CHINESE POET

A just estimate of wartime Chinese poetry must await better days of Chinese politics. A large tract of land north of the Yellow River remains to be explored. One hears vaguely that Yanan, where most poets of pre-war eminence are, has experimented on new forms. They are not academic, these forms, nor pretty-pretty ivory tower. They are, one hears, adaptations of folk songs, very often strung together with harvest dances. But here one must end one's hearsay, and come back to the young Kunming group.

This group is not very well-known. Most of them are printed in the ephemeral magazines; one or two have published their first volumes. But the thin copies of flimsy, yellowish native paper never get very far; there are still transport difficulties and postal restrictions. Their merit is, however, already recognized by friends, among whom can still be found circulating an occasional manuscript.

These poets have been in one way or another connected with the Southwest Associated University, the Lianda, where, despite the low roofs of the classrooms and dormitories, and the haggard, almost beggarly, appearance of the scholars, there is still the old excitement for things of the mind. The library was even smaller in the early years of the war, but what few books it had, especially the precious new books from abroad, had been devoured with the hunger and its attendant lack of table manners of a Dr. Johnson. These still lie dog-eared, crumpled all over, often with the title-pages gone. But the young poets of Lianda have not read their Eliot and Auden in vain. Perhaps the Western world will find its own ignorance of the cultural East shocking when the truth is told of how, with what gusto and what dreamy eyes, these two poets are being read in distant China. For the strange thing is that China, though lamentably out of touch with real political trends, is almost up to the minute in intellectual matters.

Of an afternoon, over a cup of nothing better than plain China tea, amid the clatter and chatter of farmhands and small tradesmen, the young Chinese scholars discuss eagerly the technical details. The heated arguments sometimes stretch well into the evening, when they take long walks round and round the university campus. But life has not been easy for them. They lived on meagre government grants in their student days. After graduation, as junior members of the university faculty or middle school teachers or bank

clerks or merely as loafers, they have had to wage a continual despairing fight against the rise of prices. Some of them got married and have since come under a back-breaking burden of debts and still more debts. They wash, they buy, they cook, they fetch the doctor to care for the sick in the family, they haggle, quarrel, and are disgraced at the market place and before the landlords. There has never developed among them an exclusive, aristocratic society. They are deep in the mud, but every now and then, when things ease a little bit, when the year runs its round to spring again, from among the grindings of daily routine, they steal time and mind out to write.

War, however, meant more than prices. Some of them got much nearer to it than that or dodging the air-raids in cities. Two joined the artillery. One fought with the American Volunteers Group. Several became Ministry of Information officials. Others helped build the Burma Road or cleared it of the enemy. But one man has gone through the bitterest experience of them all. That was the Burma Retreat in 1942. He fought hopeless, almost suicidal, rearguard actions. He was hotly pursued by the Japanese. His horse fell. His orderly died. He had been haunted for day on end by the staring eyes of dead comrades. His legs became swollen under the tropical monsoon. Fatigued as no one had ever thought man could be so fatigued, banished from time and almost from space as well, the gloom and silence of the Assam jungles growing every day heavier and more intolerable, sick with a deadly dysentery, bitten by leeches and huge jungle mosquitoes, and, above all, driven crazy by starvation, this young man of twenty-three had yet dragged his battered body to India. He has never been the same person. Afterwards, he almost died of overeating in recuperation, which took him a good three months. But the slender, consumptive-looking poet had a toughness unexpected of him. He survived and has lived to tell of it all.

But no! He never did tell. In fact, he treats it all casually, or else is too shy even for that. Only once, when hard pressed and up to his neck in friends' requests, did he say anything about it and even then it was simply his horror of the earth, the elemental rains, the strange, sickly exuberance of jungle growths among which he found the skulls of the men who marched before him, perhaps his friends.

His name is Mu Dan. He has published two volumes and a third is appearing. But it is not so much his poetry as his mother that is on his mind these days. For eight years he has not seen her, and he is no longer a boy of eighteen.

This boy has not really grown up into a man. He is not sophisticated as most established Chinese poets are. He had a good education, but that has taught him only the necessary rudiments of technique. He is still eighteen years old in his curiosity, in his being able to see things as elementals:

当我呼吸，在山河的交铸里，
无数个晨曦，黄昏，彩色的光，
从昆仑，喜马，天山的傲视，
流下了干燥的，卑湿的草原，
当黄河，扬子，珠江终于憩息……

(I breathe in the fusion of rivers and mountains,
When innumerable mornings, evenings and the lights of all colours,
Avalanche from the proud stare of the Kunlun, Tianshan and the Himalaya ranges,
Across the arid and misty prairies,
Until reposeful become the Yellow, Yangtze and Pearl rivers...)

If it be said that there is the grandiloquent in it, it should be pointed out that it was composed as early as 1939, when the country was still in the flush of the early upheavals of the war. What may be extraneous in others is an inner passion in this young, wild-eyed poet.

The pure lyric gift, for which our poet is noted, is hard to get, especially in China, where much of what is being written is a lifeless copy of the dubious masters of the West—dubious, because one of the commonplace ironies in comparative literature is that often the secondrate gains an influence in another tongue. Mu Dan has the best English poets at his fingertips, yet he rarely imitates and never writes with a voice not his own. His anguish is authentic:

我从我心的旷野里呼喊，
为了我窥见的美丽的真理。
而不幸，徬徨的日子将不再有了，
当我缢死了我的错误的童年，
（那些深情的执拗和偏见）

(I cry from the vastnesses of my heart,
Because I have a glimpse of the beautiful word.
But misfortune fell when the days of doubt came to an end,
When I hanged my erring youth,
The passionate stubbornness and fast-held ideas!)

The dominant tone is one of pain:

在坚实的肉里那些深深的
血的沟渠，血的沟渠，灌溉了
翻白的花，在青铜样的皮上！
是多大的奇迹，从紫色的血泊中
它抖身，它站立，它跃起，
风在鞭挞它痛楚的喘息。

(On the solid flesh the deep gullies
Of blood, where on greenish copper
The blood nourished flowers of white!
Through what miracle, from the purple red,
It shook, stood and of a sudden rose,
The wind beating out the rhythms of its agony.)

Indeed, it is this feeling for suffering which distinguishes Mu Dan from other Chinese writers. One would expect modern Chinese literature to be poignant about life and death. Yet apart from flashes of the savagely biting wit of Lu Xun and a few solitary cases of bitter outburst, Westerneducated Chinese writers are singularly apathetic. Deaths are a common sight in the streets of China, yet many Chinese intellectuals choose to ignore them. Not so Mu Dan. He is a fiery Leftist, a veteran of many demonstrations and mass meetings. However, he distrusts verbal politics:

在犬牙的甬道中让我们反复
行进，让我们相信你句句的紊乱
是一个真理。而我们是皈依的，
你给我们丰富，和丰富底痛苦。

(You make us walk the long corridor, zigzagging,
To and fro, and accept your riot of words
As truth. Still, we are converted, because
You fill out our life and stuff it with agony.)

He goes deeper into the sources, where the death is one of the heart:

然而这不值得挂念，我知道
一个更紧的死亡追在后头，
因为我听见了洪水，随着巨风，
从远而近，在我们的心里拍打，
吞蚀着古旧的血液和骨肉。

(But this does not matter. I feel
A more binding death behind my ear,
As I hear the waters and the winds,
Beating from afar and in our hearts,
Devouring our ancient blood and bones.)

Even when he is confronted with a contemporary situation, he is consumed by a dark passion:

勃朗宁，毛瑟，三号手提式，
或是爆进人肉去的左轮，
它们能给我绝望后的快乐，
对着漆黑的枪口，你们会看见
从历史的扭转的弹道里，
我是得到了二次的诞生。

(Browning, Mauser and the Model Three,
Or the revolver which explodes into man's flesh,
All give me the sudden joy of a moment's despair.
Looking into the dark muzzle, you will see
From the twisted rifle-groove of history
I get another incarnation.)

There is always something physical about him. Something that is there because the poet has "thought with his body". His senses are always sharpened, almost to kill:

在一瞬间
我看见了遍野的白骨
旋动

(In an instant
I see the white bones on the plain
Whirling)

Even with love he is best in sensuous images:

你底眼睛看见这一场火灾，
你看不见我，虽然我为你点燃，
唉，那燃烧着的不过是成熟的年代，
你底，我底。我们相隔如重山。

从这自然底蜕变底程序里，
我却爱了一个暂时的你。
即使我哭泣，变灰，变灰又新生，
姑娘，那只是上帝玩弄他自己。

(Your eyes have seen this disaster of fire
But not me, though I have been ignited by you.
Alas, what is burning is only our mature years,
Yours and mine. We are separated by mountains!
In this process of natural metamorphosis,
I have loved a transient you.
Though I sob, become ashes, become ashes and rejuvenate,
Madam, that is only God mocking himself.)

I don't know how others will take it, but to me, this blending of the physical with the metaphysical is one of the best love poems to have come from modern Chinese writers.

But the really paradoxical thing to be said about Mu Dan is that while he expresses best the tortured and torturing state of mind of young Chinese intellectuals, his best qualities are not Chinese at all. He is definite and says things with a bang where other Chinese poets are vague and mealy-mouthed. Amid the general thinness, his richness of texture and associations is a bit offending. That, perhaps, explains why he is little read and definitely not

acclaimed. The achievement is, however, also one of language. For the problem facing a contemporary Chinese poet is essentially the choice of a medium. The old style is abolished, but its clichés have come through to weigh down the new writings. Mu Dan triumphs by a wilful ignorance of the old classics. Even his conceits are Western. He manipulates the unwieldy Chinese characters and exposes them to new rigours, new climates. There are all kinds of unexpected juxtapositions and combinations. He makes a daring use of the spoken idiom. In such poems as "May", he deliberately contrasts the old and new styles to achieve the effect of "time is out of joint". The result is, there is a suddenness, a razor-edge sharpness:

负心儿郎多情女
荷花池旁订誓盟
而今独自依栏想
落花飞絮满天空

而五月的黄昏是那样的朦朦，
在火炬的行列叫喊过去以后，
谁也不会看见的
被恭维的街道就把他们倾出，
在报上登过救济民生的谈话后，
谁也不会看见的
愚蠢的人们就扑进泥沼里，
而谋害者，凯歌着五月的自由，
紧握一切无形电力的总枢纽。

(The disdainful lord and the sentimental girl
Pledged to Love beside the lotus pond.
Leaning on a balustrade, lost in thought,
She saw a sky full of falling flowers.
But the evenings of May are such a blur.
When the shouting torchlight processions have passed,
The flattered street, without anybody noticing,
Empties them all into the gutters.
After the papers reported speeches of poor relief,
The dupes immediately plunged into the puddle,
And the Murderer, singing of the freedom of May,
Held tight the main switch of all unseen electricity.)

Mu Dan has renounced a language to get a language. The style suits his sensibility perfectly.

But by far the greatest contribution Mu Dan has made to the new literature of China is in the way of creating a God. He has no theological battles to wage for any church, or any of the accepted religions, but there is a hunger of his flesh and spirit that cries for relief and consolation from something outside man. He has noted with dissatisfaction the hollowness of

many Chinese writers. They are not atheists, they simply believe in nothing. In this they are perfectly traditional. Religious poetry has not flourished in the climate of the extremely balanced mind of China. To this dearth of great spiritual upheavals can also be attributed the apathy I mentioned earlier. But Mu Dan, with his childlike curiosity, his sounding of the deeps of the soul, is at least alive to struggle and doubt:

虽然生活是疲惫的，我必须追求，
虽然观念的丛林缠绕我，
善恶的光亮在我的心里明灭。

(Though life is wearing, I must quest;
Though the jungles of ideas surround me,
There glimmers in my heart the light
Of Good and Evil.)

And a more straightforward resolution:

看见到处的繁华原来是地狱，
不能够挣脱，爱情将变做仇恨，
是在自己的废墟上，以卑贱的泥土，
他们匍匐着竖起了异教的神。

(Seeing that prosperity everywhere is only Hell
Where there is no escape and love becomes hate,
On their own ruins and from the humble soil
The prostrate erect the heathen God.)

And the problem of identity, expressed with such torturing, clogging rhythm in the poem "I":

从子宫割裂，失去了温暖，
是残缺的部分渴望着救援，
永远是自己，锁在荒野里，

从静止的梦离开了群体，
痛感到时流，没有什么抓住，
不断的回忆带不回自己，

遇见部分时在一起哭喊，
是初恋的狂喜，想冲出樊篱，
伸出双手来抱住了自己
幻化的形象，是更深的绝望，

永远是自己，锁在荒野里，
仇恨着母亲给分出了梦境。

(Since the womb splitting, I have lost warmth,
An uncompleted part crying for help,
The forever I, locked in vastnesses.

In dreams of quiet I have left the body of Many,
Painfully conscious of the time-flow, gripping nothing,
Incessant recollection does not bring back me.

Meeting a part of me we cry together,
The mad joy of first love. Fleeing the prison,
I stretch both hands to hold.

My metamorphosed image, to find only deeper despair,
The forever I, locked in vastnesses,
Hating mother for separating me from the dreams.)

This is a strange poem and has baffled many. There is the element of sex. The mother-motif. The love of a girl, "a part of me", who looks like the mother. I am reminded of the dialogues of Plato which Mu Dan and I read together in 1936, on a university campus in Peking. Parenthetically, I wish also to call attention to the word "womb" which, though quite common in English poetry, has seldom been used in Chinese. But when a poet questions the secret of the womb, he is questioning the darkness of things. Sex and religion are related in blood.

For the time being, one must protest that the religion in Mu Dan is only a passive one. He knows suffering, but not beatitude. But that may be because he is only twenty-six this year. His mind is still groping. The fluidity is perhaps more satisfying for modern Chinese poetry than perfect piety. The God he eventually arrives at may not be a god at all, but Satan himself. The effort is laudable and the artistic process to climb such forbidding heights of the soul, almost totally new in China, will be worth watching.

1946

陆　一个中国诗人[1]

对于战时中国诗歌的正确的评价，大概要等中国政治局面更好的一日。黄河以北一大块土地尚待发掘。模糊地听见延安方面的一些诗人——在战前就建立了声誉的——曾实验过一些新的形式，既非学院气息，也不花花绿绿。有人说这些形式大体是民歌的改造，常常还以秧歌作为穿插。但是我们必须结束这些传闻，回到那年青的昆明的一群。

这一群不甚有名。他们的文章大都出现在很快就夭折的杂志上，有一两个人出了他们的第一个集子。但是那些印在薄薄土纸上的小书从来就无法走远，一直到今天，还是有运输困难和邮局的限制。只有朋友们才承认它们的好处，在朋友之间，偶尔还可以看见一卷文稿在传阅。

这些诗人多少与西南联大有关，联大的屋顶是低的，学者们的外表褴褛，有些人形同流民，然而却一直有着那点对于心智上事物的兴奋。在战争的初期，图书馆比后来的更小，然而仅有的几本书，尤其是从国外刚运来的珍宝似的新书，是用着一种无礼貌的饥饿吞下了的。这些书现在还躺在那里，纸边都卷如狗耳，到处都皱叠了，而且往往失去了封面。但是这些联大的年青诗人们并没有白读了他们的艾略特[2]与奥登。也许西方会吃惊地感到它对于文化东方的无知，以及这无知的可耻，当我们告诉它，如何地带着怎样的狂热，以怎样梦寐的眼睛，有人在遥远的中国读着这二个诗人。奇怪的是，中国虽然与真正的政治思潮严重脱节，在学术思想上却一直走在世界前列。

在一个午后，饮着普通的中国茶，置身于乡下来的农民和小商人的嘈杂之中，这些年青作家迫切地热烈讨论着技术的细节。高声的辩论有时伸入深夜：他们离开小茶馆，而围着校园一圈又一圈地不知休止地走着。但是对于他们，生活并不容易。学生时代，他们活在微薄的政府公费上。毕了业，作为大学和中学的低级教员、银行小职员，或仅仅是一个游荡的闲人，他们同物价作着不断的、灰心的抗争。他们之中有人结婚，于是从头就负债度日，他们洗衣，买菜，烧饭，请医生来家里看病人，同人还价，吵嘴，在市场上和房东之前受辱。他们之间并未发展起一个排他的、贵族性的小团体。他们陷在污泥之中，但是，总有那么些次，当事情的重压比较松了一下，当一年又转到春天了，他们从日常琐碎的折磨里偷出时间和心思来——来写。

战争，自然不仅是物价。也不仅是在城市里躲警报，他们大多要更接近它一点。二个参加了炮兵。一个帮美国志愿队作战，好几个变成宣传部的人员。另外有人帮忙修建过滇缅公路，或将敌人从这路上打退。但是最痛苦的经验却只属于一个人，那是1942年的滇缅撤退，他从事毫

无希望的、几乎是自杀性的殿后战。日本人穷追，他的马倒了地，传令兵死了，不知多少天，他给死去战友的直瞪的眼睛追赶着，在热带的毒雨里，他的腿肿了。疲倦得从来没有想到人能这样疲倦，放逐在时间——几乎还在空间——之外，胡康河谷[3]的森林的阴暗和死寂一天比一天沉重了，更不能支持了，带着一种致命性的痢疾，让蚂蝗和大得可怕的蚊子咬着。而在这一切之上，是叫人发疯的饥饿。但是这个二十三岁[4]的年青人结果是拖了他的身体到达印度。虽然他从此变了一个人，以后在印度三个月的休养里又几乎因饥饿之后的过饱而死去，这个瘦长的、外表脆弱的诗人却有意想不到的坚韧，他活了下来，来说他的故事。

但是不！他并没有说。事实上，他本人对于这一切淡漠而又随便，或者便连这样也觉得不好意思。只有一次，被朋友们逼得没有办法了，他才说了一点。而就是那次，他也只说到他对于大地的惧怕，原始的雨，森林里奇异的、看了使人害病的草木怒长，而在繁茂的绿叶之间却是那些走在他前面的人的腐烂的尸身，也许就是他的朋友的。

他的名字是穆旦。他已经有了二个集子，第三个快要出了，但这些日子他所想的可能不是他的诗，而是他的母亲。有整整八年他没见到母亲了，而他已不再是一个十八岁的孩子。

这个孩子实际上并未长大成人。他并没有普通中国诗人所有的派头。他有一个好的正式的教育，而那仅仅给了他技术方面的必要的知识。在好奇心方面，他还只有十八岁；他将一些事物看作最初的元素：

当我呼吸，在山河的交铸里，
无数个晨曦，黄昏，彩色的光，
从昆仑，喜马，天山的傲视，
流下了干燥的，卑湿的草原，
当黄河，扬子，珠江终于憩息……

如果说是这里有些太堂皇的修辞，那么让我们指出：这首诗写在1939年，正当中国激动在初期的挫败里。在他人那里应该是外在的陌生的东西，在这个年青的无经验的手中变成了内在的情感。

我们的诗人以纯粹的抒情著称，而好的抒情是不大容易见到的，尤其在中国。在中国所写的，有大部分是地位不明白的西方作家的抄袭——之所以说他们地位不明白，是因为比较文学的一个普通的讽刺是：只有第二流的在另一个文字里产生了真正的影响。最好的英国诗人就在穆旦的手指尖上，但他很少模仿，而且从来不借别人的声音唱歌。他的焦灼是真实的：

我从我心的旷野里呼喊，
为了我窥见的美丽的真理。
而不幸，徬徨的日子将不再有了，
当我缢死了我的错误的童年，
（那些深情的执拗和偏见）

主要的调子却是痛苦的：

在坚实的肉里那些深深的
血的沟渠，血的沟渠，灌溉了
翻白的花，在青铜样的皮上！
是多大的奇迹，从紫色的血泊中
它抖身，它站立，它跃起，
风在鞭挞它痛楚的喘息。

事实上，是这一种受难的品质，使穆旦显得与众不同的。人们猜想现代中国写作必将生和死写得分明生动，但是除了几闪鲁迅的凶狠地刺人的机智和几个零碎的悲愤的喊叫，受过西方教育的中国作家大多是冷淡的。死在中国街道上是常见景象，而中国的很多知识分子选择视而不见，穆旦却不是这样。他是愤怒的左派，经常参加各种集会和群众大会，但是他不信任口头式政治：

在犬牙的甬道中让我们反复
行进，让我们相信你句句的紊乱
是一个真理。而我们是皈依的，
你给我们丰富，和丰富底痛苦。

他更深入，更钻进根底，问题变成了心的死亡：

然而这不值得挂念，我知道
一个更紧的死亡追在后头，
因为我听见了洪水，随着巨风，
从远而近，在我们的心里拍打，
吞蚀着古旧的血液和骨肉。

即使在谈论当下的状况时，他也是在让一个黑暗的情感吞蚀着：

勃朗宁，毛瑟，三号手提式，
或是爆进人肉去的左轮，
它们能给我绝望后的快乐，
对着漆黑的枪口，你们会看见
从历史的扭转的弹道里，
我是得到了二次的诞生。

他总给人那么一点肉体的感觉，这感觉，所以存在是因为他“用身体思想”。他的五官锐利如刀：

在一瞬间
我看见了遍野的白骨
旋动

就是关于爱情，他的最好的地方也是在那些官能的形象里：

你底眼睛看见这一场火灾，
你看不见我，虽然我为你点燃，
唉，那燃烧着的不过是成熟的年代，
你底，我底。我们相隔如重山。

从这自然底蜕变底程序里，
我却爱了一个暂时的你。
即使我哭泣，变灰，变灰又新生，
姑娘，那只是上帝玩弄他自己。

我不知道别人怎样看这首诗，对于我，这个将肉体和形而上的玄思混合的作品是现代中国最好的情诗之一。

但是穆旦的真正的谜却是：他一方面最善于表达中国知识分子的受折磨而又折磨人的心情，另一方面他的最好的品质却全然是非中国的。在别的中国诗人闪烁其词，像羽毛般轻轻细语时，他却掷地有声，言之凿凿。在普遍的单薄之中，他的组织和联想的丰富有点似乎要冒犯别人了。这一点也许可以解释他为什么很少读者，而且无人赞誉。然而他的在这里的成就也是属于文字的。现代中国作家所遭遇的困难主要是表达方式的选择。旧的文体是废弃了，但是它的词藻却逃了过来压在新的作品之上。穆旦的胜利却在他对于古代经典的彻底的无知。甚至于他的奇幻也是新式的。那些不灵活的中国字在他的手里给揉着，操纵着，它们给暴露在新的严厉和新的气候之前。他有很多人家所想不到的排列和组合。他还大胆使用了白话俗语。在《五月》这类的诗里，他故意将新的和旧的风格相比，来表示“一切都在脱节之中”，而结果是，有一种猝然，一种剃刀片似的锋利：

负心儿郎多情女
荷花池旁订誓盟
而今独自依栏想
落花飞絮满天空
而五月的黄昏是那样的朦朦，
在火炬的行列叫喊过去以后，
谁也不会看见的
被恭维的街道就把他们倾出，
在报上登过救济民生的谈话后，
谁也不会看见的
愚蠢的人们就扑进泥沼里，
而谋害者，凯歌着五月的自由，
紧握一切无形电力的总枢纽。

穆旦之得着一个文字，正由于他弃绝了一个文字。他的风格完全适合他的敏感。

穆旦对于中国新写作的最大贡献还是在他的创造了一个上帝。他自然并不为任何普通的宗教或教会而打神学的仗，但诗人的皮肉和精神有着那样的一种饥饿，以至喊叫着要求一点人身以外的东西来支持和安慰。大多数中国作家的空洞他看了不满意，他们并非无神主义者，他们什么也不相信。而在这一点上，他们又是完全传统的。在中国式极为平衡的心的气候里，宗教诗从来没有发达过。我们的诗里缺乏大的精神上的起伏，这也可以用前面提到过的“冷漠”解释。但是穆旦，以他孩子似的好奇，他的在灵魂深处的窥探，至少是明白冲突和怀疑的：

虽然生活是疲惫的，我必须追求，
虽然观念的丛林缠绕我，
善恶的光亮在我的心里明灭。

以及一个比较直接的决心：

看见到处的繁华原来是地狱，
不能够挣脱，爱情将变做仇恨，
是在自己的废墟上，以卑贱的泥土，
他们匍匐着竖起了异教的神。

以及“辨识”的问题，在《我》这首诗里用了那样艰难的、痛苦的韵律所表示的：

从子宫割裂，失去了温暖，
是残缺的部分渴望着救援，
永远是自己，锁在荒野里，

从静止的梦离开了群体，
痛感到时流，没有什么抓住，
不断的回忆带不回自己，

遇见部分时在一起哭喊，
是初恋的狂喜，想冲出樊篱，
伸出双手来抱住了自己

幻化的形象，是更深的绝望，
永远是自己，锁在荒野里，
仇恨着母亲给分出了梦境。

这是一首奇异的诗，使很多人迷惑了。里面所牵涉到的有性，母亲的“母题”，爱上一个女郎，自己的一“部分”，而她是像母亲的。使我想起的还有柏拉图的对话，在1936年穆旦与我同时在北平城外一个校园里读的。附带的，我想请读者注意诗里“子宫”二字，在英文诗里虽然常见，中文诗里却不大有人用过。在一个诗人探问着子宫的秘密的时候，他实在是问着事物的黑暗的神秘。性同宗教在血统上是相联的。

就眼前说，我们必须抗议穆旦的宗教是消极的。他懂得受难，却不知至善之乐。不过这可能是因为他今年还只二十六岁[5]。他的心还在探索着。这种流动，就中国的新写作而言，也许比完全的虔诚要更有用些。他最后所达到的上帝也可能不是上帝，而是魔鬼本身。这种努力是值得赞赏的，而这种艺术的进展——去爬灵魂的禁人上去的山峰，一件在中国几乎完全是新的事——值得我们注意。

1946

VII THE POET AS TRANSLATOR[1]

Verse translation is thriving in China today. A publishing house in Hunan has launched a whole series of foreign poetical works in Chinese translation[2] ranging from Sanskrit Vedas to Japanese *haiku* and is, from all reports, doing brisk business on them. The literary journals, too, are giving generous space to poetry from abroad. A rough check of some of the Beijing-based magazines published in the last six months or so finds the following names among the poets translated: Margaret Atwood, Baudelaire, Robert Bly, Burns, Giosuè Carducci, T. S. Eliot, Kenneth Koch, Robert Frost, Hugh MacDiarmid, Sorley Maclean, Mallarmé, Yunna Moritz, Edwin Muir, Bulat Okudzhava, Giuseppe Ungaretti, Valéry, Yuri Voronov, William Carlos Williams, etc.

Does a parallel situation exist in any Western country as regards Chinese or Asian poetry? One doesn't know. But in China, verse translation has always been a prominent feature of the new poetry, itself the child of the New Culture Movement of 1919. Many poets have tried their hand at translating. A number have turned out good translations. A few, like Bian Zhilin in connection with Shakespeare, Zha Liangzheng in connection with Byron, have had a second lease of their poetic lives as accomplished translators.

What follows is a study of one of these poet-translators, Dai Wangshu.

1

Dai was a major poet who had won many admirers in the 1930s with his symbolist poems. Recently a volume of his collected verse translations[3] came out to remind us that he had all along been translating other people's poetry even as he was writing his own. Indeed, it is surprising to find this volume a good deal thicker than the rather slim collected edition of his own poems, being 340 and 165 pages respectively. Particularly important work was done around 1940, when he translated Baudelaire and García Lorca.

The twenty-four items from *Les Fleurs du Mal* which he translated included such well-known pieces as "l'Albatros" "Correspondences" "l'Homme et la Mer" "Harmonie du Soir" "l'Invitation au Voyage" "Chant d'Automne", etc. Baudelaire had never been translated adequately into Chinese; but Dai managed to capture his quintessence in passage after passage of a rare felicity:

A travers ma ruine allez donc sans remords,
Et dites-moi s'il est encor quelque torture
Pour ce vieux corps sans ame et mort parmi les morts!

—Le Mort Joyeux

请毫不懊悔地穿过我臭皮囊，
向我说，对于这没灵魂的陈尸，
死在死者间，还有甚酷刑难当！

——《快乐的死者》

Le Poète est semblable au prince de nuées
Qui hante la tempête et se rit de l'archer;
Exilé sur le sol au milieu des huées,
Ses ailes de géant l'empêchent de marcher.

—L'Albatros

诗人恰似天云之间的王君，
它出入风波间又笑傲弓弩手；
一旦堕落在尘世，笑骂尽由人，
它巨人般的翼翅妨碍它行走。

——《信天翁》

Il me semble, bercé par ce choc monotone,
Qu'on cloue en grande hate un cercueil quelque part.
Pour qui?—C'était hier l'été; voici l'automne!
Ce bruit mystérieux sonne comme un départ.

—Chant d'Automne

为这单调的震撼所摇，我好象
什么地方有人匆忙把棺材钉……
给谁？——昨天是夏；今天秋已临降！
这神秘的声响好象催促登程。

——《秋歌》

He learned to deal with Baudelaire's abstractions and personifications, always a problem to translators:

—Et de long corbillards, sans tambours ni musique,
Défilent lentement dans mon ame; l'Espoir,
Vaincu, pleure, et l'Angoisse atroce, despotique,
Sur mon crane incliné plante son drapeau noir.

—Spleen (LXXVIII)

——而长列的棺材，无鼓也无音乐，
慢慢地在我灵魂中游行；“希望”
屈服了，哭着，残酷专制的“苦恼”
把它的黑旗插在我垂头之上。

——《烦闷（二）》

He could be terse and sharp as the original:

Race d'Abel, dors, bois et mange;
Dieu te sourit complaisamment.

Race de Caïn, dans la fange
Rampe et meurs misérablement.
……
Race d'Abel, vois tes semailles
Et ton bétail venir à bien;

Race de Caïn, tes entrailles
Hurlent la faim comme un vieux chien.
……

—Abel et Caïn

亚伯的种，你吃，喝，睡；
上帝向你微笑亲切。

该隐的种，在污泥水
爬着，又可怜地绝灭。
……
亚伯的种，你的播秧
和牲畜，瞧，都有丰收；
该隐的种，你的五脏
在号饥，象一只老狗
……

——《亚伯和该隐》

He could also be warm and erotic, with Baudelaire's own sublime hankerings:

Quand, les deux yeux fermés, en un soir chaud d'automne,
Je respire l'odeur de ton sein chaleureux,
Je vois se dérouler des rivages heureux
Qu'éblouissent les feux d'un soleil monotone;

—Parfum Exotique

秋天暖和的晚间，当我闭了眼
呼吸着你炙热的胸膛的香味，
我就看见展开了幸福的海湄，
炫照着一片单调太阳的火焰；

——《异国的芬芳》

He conformed religiously to Baudelaire's verse forms, rhyme schemes, structural shifts, all the startling images:

Car je serai plongé dans cette volupté
D'évoquer le Printemps avec ma volonté,
De tirer un soleil de mon coeur, et de faire

De mes pensers brûlants une tiède atmosphère.

—Paysage

因为我将要沉湎于逸乐狂欢，
可以随心任意地召唤回春天。
可以从我心头取出一片太阳，
又造成温雾，用我炙热的思想。

——《风景》

The superiority of Dai's rendering will be seen more clearly when compared with two other Chinese versions of the same passage:

1. 心田种火生红日，
思路涵春起暖烟。
窗外喧嚣关底事？
低头澄念写诗笺。[4]

Thus Wang Liaoyi's, which bears little resemblance to the original, quite apart from the translator's deliberate choice of the metre and diction of classical Chinese verse as the fit medium to present this precursor of European modernism in.

2. 这欢乐会使我沉醉、入迷，
随意啜饮着春风，多么欢愉，
它将使我的心头升起来一个太阳，
用我燃烧的思想制造暖热的空气。[5]

Thus Chen Jingyong's, which is the newest version so far, being published only in the summer of 1984. The translator is a poetess of no mean stature and yet here she is wordy and woolly where the original is hard and clear. Neither Wang nor Chen translates the crucial image

De tirer un soleil de mon coeur

which is kept in Dai's

可以从我心头取出一片太阳

just as he keeps the original rhyme scheme—the only one to do so in the three versions compared.

Above all, Dai reproduced wholes as wholes. Indeed, there is hardly a single one of these twenty-four poems that doesn't come over as a unified whole, with its mood and atmosphere intact. One more example must suffice:

Chant d'Automne

II

J'aime de vos longs yeux la lumière verdatre,
Douce beauté, mais tout aujourd'hui m'est amer,
Et rien, ni votre amour, ni le boudoir, ni l'atre,
Ne me vaut le soleil rayonnant sur la mer.

Et rien, ni votre amour, ni le boudoir, ni l'atre,
Ne me vaut le soleil rayonnant sur la mer.
Et pourtant aimez-moi, tendre coeur! soyez mère,
Même pour un ingrat, même pour un méchant;
Amante ou soeur, soyez la douceur éphémère
D'un glorieux automne ou d'un soleil couchant.
Courte tache! La tombe attend; elle est avide!
Ah, laissez-moi, mon front posé sur vos genoux,
Goûter, en regrettant 1'été blanc et torride,
De l'arrière-saison le rayon jaune et doux.

秋歌

二

我爱你长睛碧辉，温柔的美人，
可是我今朝觉得事事尽堪伤，
你的爱情和妆室，和炉火温存，
看来都不及海上辉煌的太阳。
然而爱我，温柔的心！做个慈母，
纵然是对刁儿，纵然是对逆子；
恋人或妹妹，请你做光耀的秋
或残阳的温柔，由它短暂如此。
短工作！坟墓在等；它贪心无厌！
啊，容我把我的头靠在你膝上，
怅惜着那酷热的白色的夏天，
去尝味那残秋的温柔的黄光。

Superb! As evocative, as full of autumn sunshine, and as suggestive of approaching decay, as the original.

What made Dai succeed where the others failed?

There were many reasons. Two may be mentioned here.

First, he took Baudelaire seriously and verse translation seriously. Second, he was aware that what mattered most in verse translation was how the translator solved the problem of poetic language.

These are his own words:

> I should like to make two points as regards the significance of translating Baudelaire.
>
> First, this is an experiment—to see how much of Baudelaire's qualities and his exquisite, pure forms can be kept when he is transformed into Chinese. Second—which follows from the first—to let the readers of our country see something actually written by a modern, rather special poet whom they have heard about so much but read so little.
>
> To let Baudelaire appear in his true light, the translator expended great, perhaps futile, efforts. The differences between the two language systems and between the two ways of thinking often made it extremely difficult to try to reproduce the original qualities and forms—more so in the case of Baudelaire than that of any other foreign poet. Still, an experiment, once launched, is not deterred by thoughts of failure. The translator has no regrets if he has done his best.[6]

He went on to deal with the technical details—how he rendered the alexandrin, décasyllabe and octosyllabe in 12-, 10-, and 8-character lines and

kept all the rimes suivies, rimes croisées and rimes embrassées—"a stupid thing to do, no doubt, even ridiculous," he admitted, insisting however that Baudelaire was worth all the trouble, because he was "a modern classic".

By contrast, Wang Liaoyi, one of the two other translators just cited, sounded casual:

频年格物叹偏枯，
偶译佳诗只自娱。
不在文辞呆刻画，
要将神态活描摹。[7]

(To relieve tedium of studious years,
Rendering fine verse only to please self,
Aiming not at stiff word-for-word translation,
I strive to catch the live expression.)

But the "live expression" cannot be caught with the over-familiar rhythm and worn-out phraseology of classical Chinese poetry chosen by Wang; indeed, Baudelaire himself had dismissed all attempts at classical revival as "pastiche inutile et dégoûtant" and stressed the special quality of his own poetry thus:

Toute notre originalité vient de l'estampille
que le temps imprime à nos sensations.[8]

This was a point grasped by Dai, who moreover saw, with a poet's rapport with another poet, that the special fascination of Baudelaire lay in a curious combination of two seemingly opposing qualities, classicism and modernism. He was a classicist in his delicacy, fastidiousness and sense of form; he was a modernist in his tireless search for new rhythms, new images, new confrontations and juxtapositions, indeed in a whole new way of writing that would give full expression to the new sensibility. Dai felt a special kinship with Baudelaire because he himself was that kind of poet, at once a classicist and a modernist. Translation was an affirmation and a continuation of what he had all along been doing in his own poetry. Hence the happy results.

2

Dai had other triumphs.

The Russian poet Sergei Yesenin, for instance, comes out surprisingly well in Dai's rendering:

Если голоден ты—будешь сытым.
Колъ несчастен—то весел н рад.
Толъко лишъ не гляди открыто,
Мой земной неизвестный брат.
Как подумал я—так и сделал,

Но увы! Всё одно и то ж!
Видно, слишком привыкло тело
Ошушать эту стужу и дрожь.
Ну, да что же? Ведь много прочих,
Не один я в миру живой!
А фонарь то мигет, то захохочеґ
безгубой своей головой.
Только сердце под ветхой одеждой
шепчет мне, посетившему твердь:
"друг мой, друг мой, прозревшие вежды
Закрывает одиа лишьс мерть"

如果你饥饿

如果你饥饿，你会饱的，
不幸的人，你会愉快而满意；
可是不要望着那张开的眼睛
我世上的陌生的弟兄啊。

我做了我所想过的事。
可是啊，那总是一般无二；
我的躯体无疑是太习惯于
感到寒冷，太习惯于战栗。

没有关系，别的人多着呢……
我不是世上唯一的活人；
那生着没有嘴唇的老头的街灯，
一会儿眯眼睛，一会儿笑。

唯有在我的旧衣衫下面的心
对升到苍穹上去的我低语：
“我的朋友，那张开的眼睛，
只有死亡能合上它们！”

One is astounded on coming to such a stanza:

Догорит золотистым пламенем
Из телесного воска свеча,
И луны часы деревянные
Прохрипят мой двенадцатый час.
……

—Я последний поэт деревни

脂蜡的大蜡烛
将发着金焰烧尽，
而月的木钟，
将喘出了我的十二时。

——《最后的弥撒》

which should please all modernists!

There are also renderings of Pushkin, Blake, Ernest Dowson ("In Tem

Pore Senectutis", etc.), in varying degrees of accuracy, but all readable. It is not clear where Dai learnt his Russian, probably he had consulted other translations. The languages he was most at home in were French and, perhaps to a less degree, Spanish. Certainly the bulk of his translations were from these two languages.

In addition to Baudelaire, Dai had translated a host of other French poets. Some famous names are only represented by single poems: Hugo (1 poem), Valéry (1), Apollinaire (1). But the symbolists and post-symbolists appear in impressive quantity: Remy de Gourmont (11), Paul Fort (6), Francis Jammes (7), Pierre Reverdy (5), Jules Supervielle (8) and Paul Eluard (14).

He made various experiments with poetic language. He translated the musical Verlaine with versions equally musical:

Le ciel est, par-dessus le toit,
Si bleu, si calme!
Un arbre, par-dessus le toit,
Berce sa palme.

—Le Ciel Est, Par-Dessus le Toit

瓦上长天
柔复青！
瓦上高树
摇娉婷。

——《瓦上长天》

O bruit doux de la pluie
Par terre et sur les toits!
Pour un coeur qui s'ennuie
Oh! le chant de la pluie!

—Ariette

霏霏窗外雨；
滴滴淋街宇；
似为我忧心，
低吟凄楚声。

——《泪珠飘落萦心曲》

However, the diction and the phrases are a trifle too refined, and the metrical arrangement too much like classical Chinese poetry, so that they verge on preciosity. In fact, they are in Dai's own earliest poetic manner, which may be exemplified by the following:

来到此地泪盈盈，
我是飘泊的孤身，
我要与残月同沉。

——《流浪人的夜歌》

There is the same kind of diction and metrical arrangement, there is the same mood, saved from sentimentality only by the poet's sincerity. (The last line, which may be rendered as "I want to sink with the wan moon", reminds one of what another poet wrote:

The wan moon sets behind the white wave,
And time is setting with me, O:

which is from Burns's poem, "Open the Door to Me, O". There are of course great differences between the tightly controlled Chinese verse and a more open Scots folk song. Still, both are wonderful poetry and use the same image.)

When Dai came to Remy de Gourmont and other post-symbolists, he had acquired a new manner, more colloquial and more relaxed, which comes out in his translations as well:

Tu auras l'odeur des pommes
Sur ta robe et sur tes mains,
Et tes cheveux seront pleins
Du parfum doux de l'automne
Les pommiers sont pleins de pommes
Allons au verger, Simone,
Allons au verger.

—Remy de Gourmont: Le Verger

你将有林檎的香味
在你的衫子上和你的手上，
而你的头发将充满了
秋天的温柔的芬芳。
林檎树上都已结满了林檎，
到果树园去吧，西茉纳，
到果树园去吧。

——果尔蒙：《果树园》

Read this side by side with Dai's own lines:

——给我吧，姑娘，那朵簪在发上的
小小的青色的花，
它是会使我想起你的温柔来的。
……
——给我吧，姑娘，你的像花一样燃着的，
象红宝石一般晶耀着的嘴唇，
它会给我蜜的味，酒的味。

——不，它只有青色的橄榄的味，
和未熟的苹果的味，
而且是不给说谎的孩子的
……

——戴望舒：《路上的小语》

and one can see that there was a parallel development as regards style and poetic language, in addition to affinity in mood.

How much affinity was there between Dai and Eluard, fourteen of whose poems he had translated? Well, they had both experienced a transformation—from being avante-garde in artistic sensibility to being avante-garde in the anti-fascist fight. Certainly at the time, both were confronted with a similar situation—war and enemy occupation. Whatever the reason, Eluard inspired Dai to reach a new height in translation. Take the very first poem in his collection:

Avis

La nuit qui précéda sa mort
Fut la plus courte de sa vie
L'idée qu'il existait encore
Lui brûlait le sang aux poignets
Le poids de son corps l'écoeurait
Sa force le faisait gémir
C'est tout au fond de cette horreur
Qu'il a commencé à sourire
Il n'avait pas UN camarade
Mais des millions et des millions
Pour le venger il le savait
Et le jour se leva pour lui.

—Au Rendez-Vous Allemand

公告

他的死亡之前的一夜
是他一生中最短的
他还生存着的这观念
使他的血在腕上炙热
他的躯体的重量使他作呕
他的力量使他呻吟
就在这嫌恶的深处
他开始微笑了
他没有“一个”同志
但却有几百万几百万
来替他复仇他知道
于是阳光为他升了起来

All preciosity, all sentimentality, all over-refinement are gone, but there is no undue looseness either. The tone is colloquial, but the structure is compact. Poetic language is used in its essence: bare, clear, resonant, with the sole image emerging at the very end, to round up the poem and also to open

triumphantly onto a fresh day:

Et le jour se leva pour lui
于是阳光为他升了起来

Naturally all that is in the original, but much would have been lost if the translator had not got the sensibility or the poetic language to reproduce it.

3

In translating García Lorca, Dai tackled a new problem—how to bring out his folk element. Lorca must have appealed to Dai in all sorts of ways—he had colour, music, verve, a very pleasing sense of form and the contemporary European sensibility both artistic and political, but these were all fused together by his love of the old ballads. His stanzas are usually short, as in the ballads. His diction is simple and striking, as in the ballads. His repetitious key phrases, his catching melodies, his dramatic effects, all come from his roots in the Andalusian ballad tradition. But Dai seems never to have written that kind of poetry. He had been nurtured on a different poetic tradition, which had by his time become over-literary, cliché-ridden, burdened with a thousand years of allusiveness.

Linguistic problems were also formidable. Dai's friend Shi Zhecun has remarked on his inability to bring out the full musicality of some of Lorca's lines. Thus the line from the "Romance de la Guardia Civil Española"

en la noche platinoche,
noche que noche nochera

is rendered by Dai as

在这白金的夜里，
黑夜遂被夜色染黑。

which strikes Shi as "very clumsy".[9]

Yet all this did not prevent Dai from turning out beautiful versions such as:

Arbolé arbolé
seco y verdé.

树呀树，
枯又绿。

La niña del bello rostro
está cogiendo aceituna.
El viento, galán de torres
la prende por la cintura.

脸儿美丽的小姑娘

正在那里摘青果，
风，高楼上的浪子，
来把她的腰肢抱住。

Pasaron cuatro jinetes,
sobre jacas andaluzas,
con trajes de azul y verde,
con largas capas de oscura.
"Vente a Córdoba, muchacha"
La niña no los escucha.

走过了四位骑士，
跨着安达路西亚的小马，
披着黑色的长大氅，
穿着青绿色的短褂。
“到哥尔多巴来呀，小姑娘。”
小姑娘不听他。

Pasaron tres torerillos
delgaditos de cintura,
con trajes color naranja
y espadas de plata antigua.
"Vente a Sevilla, muchacha"
La niña no los escucha.

走过了三个青年斗牛师，
腰肢细小够文雅，
佩着镶银的古剑，
穿着橙色的短褂。
“到塞维拉来呀，小姑娘。”
小姑娘不理他。

Cuando la tarde se puso
morada, con luz difusa,
pasó un joven que llevaba
rosas y mirtos de luna.
"Vente a Granada, muchacha"
y la niña no lo escucha.

暮霭转成深紫色，
残阳渐暗渐西斜，
走过了一个少郎，
带来了月亮似的桃金娘和玫瑰花。
“到格拉那达来呀，小姑娘。”
小姑娘不睬他。

La niña del bello rostro
sigue cogiendo aceituna,

con el brazo gris del viento
ceñido por la cintura

Arbolé arbolé
seco y verde.

脸儿美丽的小姑娘，
还在那里摘青果，
给风的灰色的胳膊，
把她的腰肢缠住。

树呀树，
枯又绿。

——《树呀树》

The beauty, of course, must first be ascribed to Lorca, whose use of the folk tradition and the ballad form is seen here at its quintessential best. At the same time, one marvels at the translator's ability in bringing the poem across, with its gaiety, its colour and verve, all intact. The refrain

树呀树，
枯又绿。

is simple and very terse, consisting of only three characters—three sounds—in each line; colloquial without being loquacious, familiar without being cheap, concrete, transparent, opening onto fresh pastures—just the kind of poetic language every sensitive poet has been looking for, over and above all the diversities of style, period and nationality.

The story—for as in nearly all ballads, there is a story—is told with parallel structures and subtle variations, again a Lorca forte, here matched by the translator's artistry—notice the neatness of the rendering and the gradation in his use of verbs in the parallel lines:

小姑娘不听他。
小姑娘不理他。
小姑娘不睬他。
来把她的腰肢抱住。
把她的腰肢缠住。

There is thus a cumulative dramatic force fully in accord with the original.

How was Dai able to achieve all this?

Naturally his own poetic sensibility and experience accounted for much of the success. But curiously enough, one also finds his earlier poetic education, his steeping in classical Chinese poetry, playing a hand here. Phrases like "高楼上的浪子" "腰肢" "佩着镶银的古剑" "少郎"，etc. savor of the atmosphere of some old Chinese songs, reminding one of snatches like:

青青河畔草，郁郁园中柳，
盈盈楼上女，皎皎当窗牖。……

——古诗十九首

何用识夫婿？白马从骊驹。
青丝系马尾，黄金络马头。
腰中鹿卢剑，可值千万余。……

——陌上桑

Echoes of this kind add to the resonance of the Chinese version, evoking a richer, more romantic mood.

Such loveliness, however, never lasts, in China or in Spain. Lorca's idyllic world was soon intruded by a force that combined old cruelty with new ruthlessness:

Sobre el rostro del aljibe
se mecía la gitana.
Verde came, pelo verde,
con ojos de fría plata.

那吉卜赛姑娘
在水池上摇曳着
绿的肌肉，绿的头发，
还有银子般沁凉的眼睛。

Un carámbano de luna
la sostiene sobre el agua.
La noche se puso intima
como una pequeña plaza.
Guardias civiles borrachos
en la puerta golpeaban.

—Romance Sonámbulo

一片冰雪似的月光
把她扶住在水上。
夜色亲密得
象一个小小的广场。
喝醉了的宪警
正在打门。

——《梦游人谣》

Notice the shift from the green flesh, the green hair, the eyes of cold silver and that icicle of a moon—all images of purity and beauty—to something urban and promiscuous—"The night became as intimate as a little square"—and then the end comes with a bang: "Drunken civil guards were knocking at the door!" The sequence is crucial, and the imagery all important.

The translator reproduces all these. Indeed, he packs more dramatic force into the last line by making it extra short—only four characters as against the usual seven or eight.

His handling of the "Romance de la Guardia Civil española" is equally effective:

Los caballos negros son.
Las herraduras son negras.
Sobre las capas relucen
manchas de tinta y de cera.
Tienen, por eso no lloran,
de plomo las calaveras.
Con el alma de charol
vienen por la carretera.
Jorobados y nocturnos,
por donde animan ordenan
silencios de goma oscura
y miedos de fina arena.
Pasan, si quieren pasar,
y ocultan en la cabeza
una vaga astronomía
de pistolas inconcretas.

黑的是马。
马蹄铁也是黑的，
他们大氅上闪亮着
墨水和蜡的斑渍。
他们的脑袋是铅的
所以他们没有眼泪。
带着漆皮似的灵魂
他们一路骑马前来。
驼着背，黑夜似的，
到一处便带来了
黑橡胶似的寂静
和细沙似的恐怖。
他们随心所欲的走过，
头脑里藏着
一管无形手枪的
不测风云。

One notices in the poem a montage-like technique, as well as a different kind of poetic language, marked by a more conversational tone and a number of surrealist metaphors. The folk element is still there, in the descriptions of gipsy life—flags, festoons and so on—but the modernist sensibility informs all. It is a sensibility as much political as artistic, for the poet was concerned with combating fascism, then rearing its head in Western Europe. Dai, who also hated fascism, turned out a version that caught the spirit of the original

and he did this by overcoming a special difficulty, namely, reproducing the startling images without recourse to a private language acceptable only to a few. Thus expressions like 漆布似的灵魂，黑橡胶似的寂静，细沙似的恐怖 are at once surrealistic and intelligible, while the phrase 一管无形手枪的不测风云 combines the very real "pistol" with the elusive but wide-ranging "fateful astronomical changes": a good example of poetic telescoping with all the dramatic force of the original.

When he came to the "Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejias", another memorable poem of Lorca's, Dai did something more than reproducing the original effects: he presented to his Chinese readers a new poetic form and a new hero.

For although Chinese poetry was full of short poems that mourn the death of loved ones and friends, there had been no elegies of some length, nothing to compare with *Lycidas*, *Adonis*, *In Memoriam*, or even "In Memory of W. B. Yeats". These latter had come from a European tradition. What added to the novelty of Lorca's elegy, in Chinese eyes, was that it was devoted to a bullfighter.

Once again the translator rose to the occasion. He reproduced Lorca's praise of the toreador with an equal combination of exultation and sorrow:

No hubo príncipe en Sevilla
que compararsele pueda,
ni espada como su espada
ni corazón tan de veras.
Como un río de leones
su maravillosa fuerza,
y como un torso de mármol
su dibujada prudencia.
Aire de Roma andaluza
le doraba la cabeza
donde su risa era un nardo
de sal y de inteligencia.
iQué gran torero en la plaza!
iQué buen serrano en la sierra!
iQué blando con las espigas!
iQué duro con las espuelas!
iQué tierno con el rocío!
iQué deslumbrante en la feria!
iQué tremendo con las últimas
banderillas de tiniebla!

塞维拉没有一位王爷
能比得上他，
也没有一柄剑比得上他的，

也没有他那样一颗热心。
他的惊人的膂力
象一条狮子的洪流，
他的细致如画的机敏
象一尊大理石的胴体雕像。

安达路西亚式的罗马的风
给他头上镀了金，
这个头颅的微笑，
是一枝智慧的玉簪花。
在场上他是个多伟大的斗牛师！
在山上他是个多卓越的爬山家！
他对麦穗多么温和！
对马距又多么刚强！
在露水里多么娇嫩！
在节日里又多么光辉！
对黑暗的最后一支短矛
又显得多么惊人！

There is but one false note, the rendering of *serrano* as 爬山家 (mountaineering expert), an example of Dai's occasional overreaching himself for effect.

He was all sensibility again in coping with the unusual third section, "Cuerpo Presente" ("The Laid Out Body"), Lorca's reflections on life and death, sober, probing, metaphysical:

con una forma clara que tuvo ruiseñores
y la vemos llenarse de agujeros sin fondo.

一个曾经和夜莺做伴的光明的肉体，
现在我们看它充满了无底的创伤。

All the astounding metaphors are kept:

Yo quiero ver aquí los hombres de voz dura.
Los que doman caballos y rominan los ríos:
los hombres que les suena el esqueleto y cantan
con una boca llena de sol y pedernales.

我要在这里看见声音刚强的人，
那些能够降服野马和大江的人，
那些躯干响朗的人，和那些
用一张充满了太阳和燧石的嘴唱歌的人。

Some of these metaphors had never before been seen in Chinese poetry, yet Dai not only made them stand out, as rightly they should, but also phrased them in such a way that they did not sound unduly exotic in a Chinese text. They would impress, indeed astound, but not repel an ordinary Chinese reader.

This showed Dai's own accomplishment in poetic language. But other

factors were also at work. The flexibility of the Chinese language was one. However, had it not gone through a literary revolution, a shift from the classical *wenyan* to the spoken idiom, the *baihua*, as a literary medium, it would not have become so accomodating to foreign metaphors, particularly of a complicated kind, like:

> los hombres que les suena el esqueleto y cantan
> con una boca llena de sol y pedernales.
>
> 那些躯干响朗的人，和那些
> 用一张充满了太阳和燧石的嘴唱歌的人。

or, like the earlier example:

> una vaga astronomía
> de pistolas inconcretas.
>
> 一管无形手枪的
> 不测风云。

As it happened, persistent experiments made by Dai himself and earlier poets in new ways of writing, modelled mostly on European masters, had so familiarized Chinese lovers of poetry with strange collocations and startling images that they were ready for almost anything.

But how did Lorca appeal to Chinese readership in general? Did he make much of an impact? Hardly. In spite of the efforts made by Dai and other translators, Lorca remained an honoured name, but not much read outside a small circle of left-wing poets. One explanation lies in the circumstances of the day. Dai's translations of Lorca came out at a time when both Spain and China were busy with a war that had been inflicted on them by powerful foreign states allied with traitorous elements within. The problem of survival was so acute that no one was in a mood to pay much attention to artistic innovations.

What remains is the question: how did the translation of Lorca affect Dai's own work? We have seen that, in connection with other European poets translated, there was often a parallel development in the translator's own poetry. But one finds few verbal echoes of Lorca in Dai's work of this period or any time afterwards.

Still, no major literary effort would go for nothing. Perhaps the response was more subtle and the effect more pervasive than people at first thought. Certainly in the late nineteen thirties, after translating Lorca and other anti-fascist poets of Spain, Dai began to write a less self-centred, more public-oriented poetry expressing his hatred of the Japanese aggressor. As lyrical as

ever, he acquired a new power, even a hard-hitting militancy, in lines like:

元日祝福

新的年岁带给我们新的希望。
祝福！我们的土地，
血染的土地，焦裂的土地，
更坚强的生命将从而滋长。

新的年岁带给我们新的力量。
祝福！我们的人民，
坚苦的人民，英勇的人民，
苦难会带来自由解放。

一九三九年元旦日。

(The new year brings us new hope.
Greetings! Our earth,
Blood-stained earth, cracked earth,
Tougher life will come out of it.

The new year brings us new strength.
Greetings! Our people,
Hardy people, heroic people,
From suffering will come your freedom and liberation.

—New Year Greetings, 1939)

This was certainly a far cry from the days when he wrote like Baudelaire:

心头的春花已不更开，
幽黑的烦忧已到我欢乐之梦中来。

我的唇已枯，我的眼已枯，
我呼吸着火焰，我听见幽灵低诉。

去吧，欺人的美梦，欺人的幻象，
天上的花枝，世人安能痴想！……

——《忧郁》

(No flower blooms again in my heart.
Grey ennui invades my sweet dreams.

My lips parched, my eyes dry,
I breathe fumes and hear ghosts whisper.

Go! deceitful dreams, deceitful fantasies!
How dare earthly beings reach for heavenly flowers!

—Ennui)

While it would be going too far to say that Dai owed all this transformation to Lorca alone, would it be entirely fanciful to claim that the Spanish poet had a hand in turning his attention to new themes as well as in shaping his new poetic style?

4

Having come to the end of this lengthy study, and in the light of not just Dai Wangshu's performance alone, one may perhaps risk a few general observations.

The first obvious thing to be said is: it takes a poet to translate poetry.

Second, translation of poetry does good to both the original poet and the translator. The former wins readers in new territory. The latter opens himself up to new influences, even as he is subjected to new rigours.

It takes all a translator has got to turn out a good verse translation. He needs the right kind of sensibility and the right kind of poetic language. But translation is also a good school to cultivate the requisite sensibility and fashion the needed language, which in turn will affect the translator's own writing.

The case of Dai is also illuminating in that it shows under what conditions the best results are achieved in verse translation. Other than the translator's own poetic gift, the language he uses must be fluid enough to take on any change and virile enough to withstand any rough handling. The Chinese language was in a particularly open state when Dai started to translate; there had just occurred a literary revolution of the first magnitude. No revolution, however, could have wiped out at a stroke the classical heritage of a country like China, and that too helped matters. Early steeping in the classics kept alive in the translator some of the old virtues such as good sense, a feeling for form, an emphasis on quality, which prevented his translations from becoming too raw, too rough, too lacking in depth and resonance so as to repel readers who would otherwise be well disposed to what's new in art and literature. Thus tradition and innovation meet in a good translation.

In a deeper sense, translation benefits the very fabric of any national literature, indeed, any culture. It does something more than opening new windows; it helps rejuvenate a culture, in a way that touches the very inner being of it, by giving its language a shakeup and a sharpening so that it becomes sensitive and alive again. Any culture would be immeasurably

impoverished if it were to be stripped of the translations, particularly those of the poetical works, from a different culture. Indeed, the whole world would become shabbier without the splendid translations of literary works from all nationalities.

Hence no translator of verse need lose heart. In the teeth of all the talk by all the sensible and knowledgeable people, from Goethe downwards, that poetry cannot be translated, Dai Wangshu showed, quietly and without fanfare, that it can be done. To this day people regret that he died just when, after his successes in translation, he seemed to be poised for a new poetic leap. Fate denied him this, but not before he had communicated the best of contemporary European poetry to a small but grateful Chinese readership. He had certainly written some of his best poetry in his translations; in fact, his translations are an extension of his own poetry. Just as Arthur Waley's translations of Chinese Tang poetry have become classics of twentieth-century English verse, so will Dai Wangshu's translations of Verlaine, Baudelaire, Eluard, Francis Jammes, Rafael Alberti, Pedro Salinas, Gerardo Diego and García Lorca rank among the glories of modern Chinese literature.

1984

柒　译诗与写诗[1]

诗歌翻译在今天的中国很兴盛。湖南一家出版社已经组织起了外国诗歌的汉译工作，从梵文的吠陀经到日本的和歌都有涉及，据各方消息，市场形势还不错。文学期刊也大篇幅介绍外国诗歌。以北京的期刊为例，过去六个多月中汉译的外国诗人有玛格丽特·阿特伍德、波德莱尔、罗伯特·勃莱、彭斯、乔祖埃·卡尔杜齐、艾略特、肯尼思·科克、罗伯特·弗罗斯特、麦克迪尔米德、索利·麦克林、马拉美、云娜·莫里茨、埃德温·缪尔、布拉特·奥库扎瓦、朱塞培·翁加雷蒂、瓦雷里、尤里·沃洛诺夫、威廉·卡洛斯·威廉斯等。

西方国家也如此大量地译介中国或其他亚洲国家的诗人吗？谁也不知道。但是在中国，诗歌翻译一直是新诗的重要组成部分，新诗本身就是1919年新文化运动的产物。很多中国诗人也译诗，不少人有翻译佳作呈现。有些人更是通过杰出的诗歌翻译获得了第二次诗歌生命，如卞之琳译莎士比亚，查良铮译拜伦。

接下来将探讨其中的一位诗人兼译者，戴望舒。

（一）

戴望舒是个重要诗人，在20世纪30年代以象征主义诗歌赢得众多仰慕者。最近出版了他的一部译诗集，让我们知道他在写诗的同时，也在翻译别人的诗。实际上，他的诗集只有165页，但这本译诗集却有340页之厚，着实让人吃惊。他的译诗以1940年前后为重中之笔，此间他翻译了波德莱尔和加西亚·洛尔迦。

他译了《恶之花》中的二十四首，其中包括一些著名诗篇：《信天翁》《应和》《人和海》《黄昏的和谐》《邀旅》《秋歌》等。波德莱尔诗作的汉译情况从来就不理想，但戴望舒深得波德莱尔的精髓，将一篇篇译得出神入化：

A travers ma ruine allez donc sans remords,
Et dites-moi s'il est encor quelque torture
Pour ce vieux corps sans ame et mort parmi les morts!

—Le Mort Joyeux

请毫不懊悔地穿过我臭皮囊，
向我说，对于这没灵魂的陈尸，
死在死者间，还有甚酷刑难当！

——《快乐的死者》

Le Poète est semblable au prince de nuées
Qui hante la tempête et se rit de l'archer;

Exilé sur le sol au milieu des huées,
Ses ailes de géant l'empêchent de marcher.

—L'Albatros

诗人恰似天云之间的王君，
它出入风波间又笑傲弓弩手；
一旦堕落在尘世，笑骂尽由人，
它巨人般的翼翅妨碍它行走。

——《信天翁》

Il me semble, bercé par ce choc monotone,
Qu'on cloue en grande hate un cercueil quelque part.
Pour qui?—C'était hier l'été; voici l'automne!
Ce bruit mystérieux sonne comme un départ.

—Chant d'Automne

为这单调的震撼所摇，我好象
什么地方有人匆忙把棺材钉……
给谁？——昨天是夏；今天秋已临降！
这神秘的声响好象催促登程。

——《秋歌》

波德莱尔的抽象和拟人手法通常对译者是个挑战，戴望舒却应付自如：

—Et de long corbillards, sans tambours ni musique,
Défilent lentement dans mon ame; l'Espoir,
Vaincu, pleure, et l'Angoisse atroce, despotique,
Sur mon crane incliné plante son drapeau noir.

—Spleen (LXXVIII)

——而长列的棺材，无鼓也无音乐，
慢慢地在我灵魂中游行；"希望"
屈服了，哭着，残酷专制的"苦恼"
把它的黑旗插在我垂头之上。

——《烦闷（二）》

他可以做到和原诗一样简洁、尖锐：

Race d'Abel, dors, bois et mange;
Dieu te sourit complaisamment.

Race de Caïn, dans la fange
Rampe et meurs misérablement.
……
Race d'Abel, vois tes semailles
Et ton bétail venir à bien;

Race de Caïn, tes entrailles
Hurlent la faim comme un vieux chien.

……

—Abel et Caïn

亚伯的种，你吃，喝，睡；
上帝向你微笑亲切。

该隐的种，在污泥水
爬着，又可怜地绝灭。
……
亚伯的种，你的播秧
和牲畜，瞧，都有丰收；
该隐的种，你的五脏
在号饥，象一只老狗
……

——《亚伯和该隐》

他亦可以热情而魅惑，保留了波德莱尔本身崇高的渴望：

Quand, les deux yeux fermés, en un soir chaud d'automne,
Je respire l'odeur de ton sein chaleureux,
Je vois se dérouler des rivages heureux
Qu'éblouissent les feux d'un soleil monotone;

—Parfum Exotique

秋天暖和的晚间，当我闭了眼
呼吸着你炙热的胸膛的香味，
我就看见展开了幸福的海湄，
炫照着一片单调太阳的火焰；

——《异国的芬芳》

他虔心地忠于波德莱尔的诗体、韵律、结构转换以及所有那些新奇的意象：

Car je serai plongé dans cette volupté
D'évoquer le Printemps avec ma volonté,
De tirer un soleil de mon coeur, et de faire
De mes pensers brûlants une tiède atmosphère.

—Paysage

因为我将要沉湎于逸乐狂欢，
可以随心任意地召唤回春天。
可以从我心头取出一片太阳，
又造成温雾，用我炙热的思想。

——《风景》

与另外两个中译本相比，戴望舒的精彩，一望便知：

1．心田种火生红日，
思路涵春起暖烟。窗外喧嚣关底事？低头澄念写诗笺。

王了一的译文与原文几无相似之处，尽管译者有意采用中国古典诗词的

韵律和语言来译这位欧洲现代主义先驱的诗作。

2．这欢乐会使我沉醉、入迷，
随意啜饮着春风，多么欢愉，
它将使我的心头升起来一个太阳，
用我燃烧的思想制造暖热的空气。

这是陈敬容的译文，迄今为止最新的版本，1984年夏刚出版。译者也算是名气不小的女诗人了，但坚硬、清朗的原文却被她译得冗长、混沌。王了一和陈敬容都没有把关键的意象

De tirer un soleil de mon coeur

翻译出来，而戴的译文：

可以从我心头取出一片太阳

不仅保留了原来的意象，还保留了原来的韵律——在上述三种译文中，只有戴做到了。

最重要的是，戴还原了诗歌的整体风貌。实际上，他译的这二十四首中，几乎没有一首不是浑然一体的，原作的情感和意境完好无损。再举一例足矣：

Chant d'Automne

II

J'aime de vos longs yeux la lumière verdatre,
Douce beauté, mais tout aujourd'hui m'est amer,
Et pourtant aimez-moi, tendre coeur! soyez mère,
Même pour un ingrat, même pour un méchant;
Amante ou soeur, soyez la douceur éphémère
D'un glorieux automne ou d'un soleil couchant.
Courte tache! La tombe attend; elle est avide!
Ah, laissez-moi, mon front posé sur vos genoux,
Goûter, en regrettant l'été blanc et torride,
De l'arrière-saison le rayon jaune et doux.

秋歌

二

我爱你长睛碧辉，温柔的美人，
可是我今朝觉得事事尽堪伤，
你的爱情和妆室，和炉火温存，
看来都不及海上辉煌的太阳。
然而爱我，温柔的心！做个慈母，
纵然是对刁儿，纵然是对逆子；
恋人或妹妹，请你做光耀的秋
或残阳的温柔，由它短暂如此。
短工作！坟墓在等；它贪心无厌！
啊，容我把我的头靠在你膝上，
怅惜着那酷热的白色的夏天，
去尝味那残秋的温柔的黄光。

好极了！与原诗一样令人产生共鸣，眼前满是秋日的残阳，暗示着渐进的萧索。

戴望舒为什么能为他人所不能为？

原因很多。在此谈两点。

第一，他认真钻研波德莱尔，亦认真钻研诗歌翻译。第二，他领会到诗歌翻译最重要的是译者如何处理诗的语言。

下面是他自己的话：

> 对于我，翻译波特莱尔的意义有这两点：
>
> 第一，这是一种试验，来看看波特莱尔的质地和精巧纯粹的形式，在转变成中文的时候，可以保存到怎样的程度。第二点是系附的，那就是顺便让我国的读者们能够看到一点他们听说了长久而见到得很少的，这位特殊的近代诗人的作品。
>
> 为了使波特莱尔的面目显示得更逼真一点，译者曾费了极大的、也许是白费的苦心。两国文字组织的不同和思想方式的歧异，往往使同时显示质地并再现形式的企图变成极端困难，而波特莱尔所给与我们的困难，又比其他外国诗人更难以克服。然而，当作实验便是不顾成败，只要译者曾经努力过，那就是了。

接下来他谈技巧上的细节——他是如何把alexandrin，décasyllabe，octosyllabe译作十二言、十言、八言的诗句，又把rimes suivies，rimes croisées，rimes embrassées都照原样押韵的——“也许笨拙到可笑，”他承认，但波德莱尔这样一位“现代经典诗人”值得他呕心沥血。

相形之下，王了一就显得随意了：

> 频年格物叹偏枯，
> 偶译佳诗只自娱。
> 不在文辞呆刻画，
> 要将神态活描摹。

但是在王了一稀松平常的韵律和用词中实难见“神态活描摹”；事实上，波德莱尔自己对古典的复兴很不以为然，认为那是“无用且令人作呕的模仿”，并指出自己诗歌的特殊性就在于：

> 几乎所有的与众不同都来自
> 时间在我们感觉上打下的烙印。

戴望舒牢牢抓住了这一点。因为一个诗人与另一个诗人的契合，他看出了波德莱尔最吸引人的地方在于两种似乎相对抗的品质的结合——古典主义和现代主义的结合。他的古典主义见于他的精致，严格，对形式的关注；他的现代主义见于他对于新的音韵、新的形象、新的拼合和对照方式的不倦的追求，也就是用新的诗歌语言来表达新的敏感的巨大努力。戴望舒对波德莱尔有一种特别的亲近感，因为他自己也是这样的一个诗人，在他身上也有古典主义和现代主义的结合。对于戴，译诗是写诗的一种延长和再证实，因此他取得了非凡的成就。

（二）

戴望舒还有其他出色译文。

比如，俄国诗人叶塞宁，在戴的译笔之下就让人觉得出乎意料般精

彩：

Если голоден ты—будешь сытым.
Колъ несчастен—то весел н рад.
Толъко лишъ не гляди открыто,
Мой земной неизвестный брат.
Как подумал я—так и сделал,
Но увы! Всё одно и то ж!
Видно, слишком привыкло тело
Ошушать эту стужу и дрожь.
Ну, да что же? Ведь много прочих,
Не один я в миру живой!
А фонарь то мигет, то захохочеґ
безгубой своей головой.
Только сердце под ветхой одеждой
шепчет мне, посетившему твердь:
"друг мой, друг мой, прозревшие вежды
Закрывает одиа лишь смерть"

如果你饥饿

如果你饥饿，你会饱的，
不幸的人，你会愉快而满意；
可是不要望着那张开的眼睛
我世上的陌生的弟兄啊。

我做了我所想过的事。
可是啊，那总是一般无二；
我的躯体无疑是太习惯于
感到寒冷，太习惯于战栗。

没有关系，别的人多着呢……
我不是世上唯一的活人；
那生着没有嘴唇的老头的街灯，
一会儿眯眼睛，一会儿笑。

唯有在我的旧衣衫下面的心
对升到苍穹上去的我低语：
“我的朋友，那张开的眼睛，
只有死亡能合上它们！”

看到这样的诗节你会惊诧：

Догорит золотистым пламенем
Из телесного воска свеча,
И луны часы деревянные
Прохрипят мой двенадцатый час.
……

—Я последний поэт деревни

脂蜡的大蜡烛
将发着金焰烧尽，
而月的木钟，

将喘出了我的十二时。

——《最后的弥撒》

这样的译文会让所有的现代主义者叹服！

戴还译了普希金、勃莱克、道生（“In Tem Pore Senectutis”等），虽准确程度各异，但都还算上口。戴在哪里学的俄文，不得而知，也许他参考了其他译本。他最拿手的语言是法语，其次是西班牙语。当然，他译得最多的也是这两种语言。

除了波德莱尔，戴还译了其他很多法语诗人。有些著名诗人的诗，他只译了一首：雨果（1首）、瓦雷里（1首）、阿波里奈尔（1首）。但是他译的象征派和后象征派的诗歌数量惊人：果尔蒙（11首）、保尔·福尔（6首）、雅麦（7首）、比也尔·核佛尔第（5首）、苏佩维艾尔（8首）、保罗·艾吕雅（14首）。

他在诗歌语言上也有诸多尝试。比如，他用同样具有乐感的语言翻译乐感十足的魏尔论：

Le ciel est, par-dessus le toit,
Si bleu, si calme!
Un arbre, par-dessus le toit,
Berce sa palme.

—Le Ciel Est, Par-Dessus le Toit

瓦上长天
柔复青！
瓦上高树
摇娉婷。

——《瓦上长天》

O bruit doux de la pluie
Par terre et sur les toits!
Pour un coeur qui s'ennuie
Oh! le chant de la pluie!

—Ariette

霏霏窗外雨；
滴滴淋街宇；
似为我忧心，
低吟凄楚声。

——《泪珠飘落萦心曲》

但是用词过于雕琢，韵律太像中国古诗，以至有矫饰的嫌疑。事实上，戴早期的诗风也是如此，请看下例：

来到此地泪盈盈，
我是飘泊的孤身，
我要与残月同沉。

——《流浪人的夜歌》

同样的用词和韵律，同样的情愫，只因诗人情感真挚，才使此诗不至流于伤感。（最后一句，可译成英语：“I want to sink with the wan moon”，让人想起彭斯的诗《为我打开门，哦》：

残月沉落白水中，
时间也随我沉落，哦。【2】

当然，这首牢牢把控的中国诗和那首开放的苏格兰民歌之间存在很大差异，但两者无疑都是好诗，也都使用了同样的意象。）

待到翻译果尔蒙和其他后象征派诗人的时候，戴已有了新的诗风，韵律松散，絮语口气，这在其译作中也有体现：

Tu auras l'odeur des pommes
Sur ta robe et sur tes mains,
Et tes cheveux seront pleins
Du parfum doux de l'automne
Les pommiers sont pleins de pommes
Allons au verger, Simone,
Allons au verger.

—Remy de Gourmont: Le Verger

你将有林檎的香味
在你的衫子上和你的手上，
而你的头发将充满了
秋天的温柔的芬芳。
林檎树上都已结满了林檎，
到果树园去吧，西茉纳，
到果树园去吧。——果尔蒙：《果树园》

与戴望舒自己的诗句放在一起读：

——给我吧，姑娘，那朵簪在发上的
小小的青色的花，
它是会使我想起你的温柔来的。
……
——给我吧，姑娘，你的像花一样燃着的，
象红宝石一般晶耀着的嘴唇，
它会给我蜜的味，酒的味。

——不，它只有青色的橄榄的味，
和未熟的苹果的味，
而且是不给说谎的孩子的
……

——戴望舒：《路上的小语》

就会发现，除了意境的契合，戴的译诗和写诗在风格和语言上也有了同步发展。

戴译了14首艾吕雅，两人有多少契合之处呢？呃，两人都经历了同样的转变——从追求先锋派艺术到成为反法西斯先锋诗人。当然，他们

两个当时都面临同样的时局——战争和外敌入侵。且不管什么原因，总之是艾吕雅让戴登上了一个新的译诗高峰。以其《译诗集》中的第一首为例：

Avis

La nuit qui précéda sa mort
Fut la plus courte de sa vie
L'idée qu'il existait encore
Lui brûlait le sang aux poignets
Le poids de son corps l'écoeurait
Sa force le faisait gémir
C'est tout au fond de cette horreur
Qu'il a commencé à sourire
Il n'avait pas UN camarade
Mais des millions et des millions
Pour le venger il le savait
Et le jour se leva pour lui.

—Au Rendez-Vous Allemand

公告

他的死亡之前的一夜
是他一生中最短的
他还生存着的这观念
使他的血在腕上炙热
他的躯体的重量使他作呕
他的力量使他呻吟
就在这嫌恶的深处
他开始微笑了
他没有“一个”同志
但却有几百万几百万
来替他复仇他知道
于是阳光为他升了起来

所有的矫饰、感伤、过分雕琢都不见了，但也没有过分松散凌乱。絮语口气，但结构紧实。语言取其精华：利索、清澈、悠扬，唯一的意象到最后一行方才出现，以此结束全诗，并得意洋洋地开始新的一天：

Et le jour se leva pour lui
于是阳光为他升了起来

当然，所有这些皆因原作极佳，但如果译者没有这份敏感或语言的驾驭能力，原诗的韵味将会大减。

（三）

翻译加西亚·洛尔迦时，戴要解决一个新的问题——如何把洛尔迦的民歌特征传达出来。洛尔迦方方面面都让戴喜欢——他有色彩，有音乐，有气韵，有对诗歌形式的良好把握，还有当时欧洲的现代性，在艺

术和政治上皆然，而这一切都因他对古民歌的热爱而被糅合在了一处。同民歌一样，他的诗节很短，他的用词简单有力。关键词汇的重复使用、有感染力的旋律、戏剧化的效果都源于他深深根植的安达路西亚民歌传统。而戴本人似乎从未写过那样的诗。他深受另外一种诗歌传统的熏陶，而彼时那一传统已变得文雅得过了度，满是陈词滥调，充斥着积淀千年的互文暗指。

语言转换问题也不好处理。戴的朋友施蛰存就曾说过戴没能力完全传达出洛尔迦诗句的乐感。《西班牙宪警谣》中的两行

en la noche platinoche,
noche que noche nochera

被戴译成：

在这白金的夜里，
黑夜遂被夜色染黑。

施认为“这就显得非常笨拙”。

但所有这些都没妨碍戴译出好诗：

Arbolé arbolé
seco y verdé.

树呀树，
枯又绿。

La niña del bello rostro
está cogiendo aceituna.
El viento, galán de torres
la prende por la cintura.

脸儿美丽的小姑娘
正在那里摘青果，
风，高楼上的浪子，
来把她的腰肢抱住。

Pasaron cuatro jinetes,
sobre jacas andaluzas,
con trajes de azul y verde,
con largas capas de oscura.
"Vente a Córdoba, muchacha"
La niña no los escucha.

走过了四位骑士，
跨着安达路西亚的小马，
披着黑色的长大氅，
穿着青绿色的短褂。
“到哥尔多巴来呀，小姑娘。”
小姑娘不听他。

Pasaron tres torerillos
delgaditos de cintura,
con trajes color naranja
y espadas de plata antigua.
"Vente a Sevilla, muchacha"
La niña no los escucha.

走过了三个青年斗牛师，
腰肢细小够文雅，
佩着镶银的古剑，
穿着橙色的短褂。
“到塞维拉来呀， 小姑娘。”
小姑娘不理他。

Cuando la tarde se puso
morada, con luz difusa,
pasó un joven que llevaba
rosas y mirtos de luna.
"Vente a Granada, muchacha"
y la niña no lo escucha.

暮霭转成深紫色，
残阳渐暗渐西斜，
走过了一个少郎，
带来了月亮似的桃金娘和玫瑰花。
“到格拉那达来呀， 小姑娘。”
小姑娘不睬他。

La niña del bello rostro
sigue cogiendo aceituna,
con el brazo gris del viento
ceñido por la cintura

Arbolé arbolé
seco y verde.

脸儿美丽的小姑娘，
还在那里摘青果，
给风的灰色的胳膊，
把她的腰肢缠住。

树呀树，
枯又绿。

——《树呀树》

诗的美，当然首先要归功于洛尔迦，他对民歌传统和民歌体的驾驭在此

有了绝佳的呈现。但同时，戴能把原诗的欢快、色彩和气韵完整地传达出来，也着实让人惊叹。这个叠句

树呀树，
枯又绿。

简洁明快，每行只有三个字——三个音；通俗但不碎叨，熟稔但不轻浮，具体，透明，清新——正是每个敏感诗人都梦寐以求的那种语言，不论哪种风格，哪个国家，哪个时期。

个中的故事——几乎所有的民歌里都有个故事——用平行结构讲述，每节只有微妙的变化，这又是洛尔迦的特长，此处译者的巧妙传达与之相得益彰——请注意译文的匀称和平行诗行中逐层推进的动词：

小姑娘不听他。
小姑娘不理他。
小姑娘不睬他。
来把她的腰肢抱住。
把她的腰肢缠住。

戏剧化的效果层层递进，与原诗完全一样。

戴是如何做到这一切的？

他的诗感以及写诗经历当然起了很大的作用。但奇怪的是，我们也发现，他早期接受的诗歌教育，他的中国古典诗歌造诣，在此也发挥了作用。比如“高楼上的浪子”“腰肢”“佩着镶银的古剑”“少郎”等都带着中国古诗的味道，唤起了我们对某些古诗的回忆：

青青河畔草，郁郁园中柳，
盈盈楼上女，皎皎当窗牖。……

——古诗十九首

何用识夫婿？白马从骊驹。
青丝系马尾，黄金络马头。
腰中鹿卢剑，可值千万余。……

——陌上桑

这种回声增强了中译本的效果，唤起一种更丰富、更浪漫的情怀。

但是这样美好的意境在中国和西班牙都没能长久。洛尔迦的田园世界很快就被旧的残酷与新的无情构成的合力所侵扰：

Sobre el rostro del aljibe
se mecía la gitana.
Verde came, pelo verde,
con ojos de fría plata.

那吉卜赛姑娘
在水池上摇曳着
绿的肌肉，绿的头发，
还有银子般沁凉的眼睛。

Un carámbano de luna
la sostiene sobre el agua.
La noche se puso intima
como una pequeña plaza.
Guardias civiles borrachos
en la puerta golpeaban.

—Romance Sonámbulo

一片冰雪的月光
把她扶住在水上。
夜色亲密得
象一个小小的广场。
喝醉了的宪警
正在打门。

——《梦游人谣》

注意，诗人从绿的肌肉，绿的头发，银子般沁凉的眼睛，冰雪似的月光——全都是纯与美的意象——转到城市和色情——“夜色亲密得象一个小小的广场”——最后砰地一声：“喝醉了的宪警正在打门！”诗歌的情节顺序很是关键，意象也都重要。译者把这一切全都传达了出来。事实上，他把最后一句处理得极短，使之更有戏剧感染力——通常每行有七八个字，这里只有四个字。

他译的《西班牙宪警谣》也同样有力：

Los caballos negros son.
Las herraduras son negras.
Sobre las capas relucen
manchas de tinta y de cera.
Tienen, por eso no lloran,
de plomo las calaveras.
Con el alma de charol
vienen por la carretera.
Jorobados y nocturnos,
por donde animan ordenan
silencios de goma oscura
y miedos de fina arena.
Pasan, si quieren pasar,
y ocultan en la cabeza
una vaga astronomía
de pistolas inconcretas.

黑的是马。
马蹄铁也是黑的，
他们大氅上闪亮着
墨水和蜡的斑渍。
他们的脑袋是铅的
所以他们没有眼泪。
带着漆皮似的灵魂

他们一路骑马前来。
驼着背，黑夜似的，
到一处便带来了
黑橡胶似的寂静
和细沙似的恐怖。
他们随心所欲的走过，
头脑里藏着
一管无形手枪的
不测风云。

我们注意到诗中用了一个类似蒙太奇的技巧以及另外一种诗歌语言，兼之轻松家常的语气和几个超现实主义的比喻。民歌情调依旧还在，在描绘吉普赛人的生活时——旗子、花彩等等——但现代主义情愫占据主导。这种情愫不仅是艺术上的，也是政治上的，因为洛尔迦正与在西欧露头的法西斯主义作斗争。戴也痛恨法西斯主义，所以能够抓住原诗的灵魂。他克服了一个特殊的困难，也即没有采用只有少数人听得懂的私密语言，但同样再现了诗中的惊人意象。因此，诸如“漆布似的灵魂”“黑橡胶似的寂静”“细沙似的恐怖”这样的词汇既超现实，又明白晓畅，而“一管无形手枪的不测风云”这种表达，却把实体的“手枪”和无形但外延极广的“不测风云”结合起来：一个极好的压缩诗句，完全保有了原诗的戏剧力。

待到翻译洛尔迦的另一首令人难忘的诗《伊涅修·桑契斯·梅希亚思挽歌》时，戴不单单再现了原诗的效果，还向中国读者呈现了一种新诗体和新英雄。

中诗中尽管也有不少哀悼爱人或友人长辞的短诗，但却没有长点篇幅的挽歌能与《利西达斯》[3]、《阿多尼斯》[4]、《悼念》[5]或甚至短一点的《怀念叶芝》[6]相媲美。这是来自欧洲的文学传统。更让中国读者感到新奇的是，洛尔迦的挽歌还是献给一个斗牛士的。

戴望舒再一次出色地应对了挑战。他用悲喜参半的心情再现了洛尔迦对斗牛士的赞美：

No hubo príncipe en Sevilla
que comparársele pueda,
ni espada como su espada
ni corazón tan de veras.
Como un río de leones
su maravillosa fuerza,
y como un torso de mármol
su dibujada prudencia.
Aire de Roma andaluza
le doraba la cabeza
donde su risa era un nardo
de sal y de inteligencia.
iQué gran torero en la plaza!
iQué buen serrano en la sierra!

¡Qué blando con las espigas!
¡Qué duro con las espuelas!
¡Qué tierno con el rocío!
¡Qué deslumbrante en la feria!
¡Qué tremendo con las últimas
banderillas de tiniebla!

塞维拉没有一位王爷
能比得上他，
也没有一柄剑比得上他的，
也没有他那样一颗热心。
他的惊人的膂力
象一条狮子的洪流，
他的细致如画的机敏
象一尊大理石的胴体雕像。

安达路西亚式的罗马的风
给他头上镀了金，
这个头颅的微笑，
是一枝智慧的玉簪花。
在场上他是个多伟大的斗牛师！
在山上他是个多卓越的爬山家！
他对麦穗多么温和！
对马距又多么刚强！
在露水里多么娇嫩！
在节日里又多么光辉！
对黑暗的最后一支短矛
又显得多么惊人！

但是有一处错误，那就是把serrano译成“爬山家”，这说明戴为了营造效果偶尔也会过度发挥。

在处理那别具一格的第三节“存在的肉体”时，戴又变得感性起来。洛尔迦在此谈论生死，冷静，深刻，充满形而上的玄思：

con una forma clara que tuvo ruiseñores
y la vemos llenarse de agujeros sin fondo.

一个曾经和夜莺做伴的光明的肉体，
现在我们看它充满了无底的创伤。

原诗中所有新奇的比喻都被保留了下来：

Yo quiero ver aquí los hombres de voz dura.
Los que doman caballos y rominan los ríos:
los hombres que les suena el esqueleto y cantan
con una boca llena de sol y pedernales.

我要在这里看见声音刚强的人，
那些能够降服野马和大江的人，
那些躯干响朗的人，和那些
用一张充满了太阳和燧石的嘴唱歌的人。

其中有些比喻从未在中国诗歌中出现过，戴不仅让它们突显出来了，而且措辞也不显得太过异域，会让中国的普通读者留下深刻印象，实际上还会让他们瞠目结舌，但不会惹他们反感。

这证明了戴本人在诗歌语言上的造诣。但其他因素也在起作用，汉语本身的灵活性是为其一。如果没有经过新文化运动，没有从文言变成白话，汉语作为一种文学语言也就不会如此到位地传达外国的比喻，尤其是那种复杂的比喻，譬如：

los hombres que les suena el esqueleto y cantan
con una boca blena de sol y pedernales.

那些躯干响朗的人，和那些
用一张充满了太阳和燧石的嘴唱歌的人。

或者前面提过的例子：

una vaga astronomía
de pistolas inconcretas.

一管无形手枪的
不测风云。

事实上，戴望舒和其他早期诗人对新的作诗方式的不断尝试（大都以欧洲先驱为师），已经让中国的诗歌爱好者对任何奇怪的搭配和新奇的意象都见怪不怪了。

但洛尔迦何以吸引中国的普通读者呢？是否影响巨大呢？几乎是否定的。尽管戴和其他译者付出了巨大努力，洛尔迦依然只是个受人尊重的名字而已，除了一小群左翼诗人外，鲜有其他读者。一个原因是时机问题。戴译洛尔迦的时候正是西班牙和中国忙于战争，外有强敌，内有叛贼，民族生存的紧要关头。生存问题如此紧迫，没人有心情去关注文艺创新。

那接下来的问题就是：翻译洛尔迦对戴自己的诗歌创作有何影响呢？以上我们看到，在翻译其他欧洲诗人时，译者自己的诗作通常也会有同步发展，但是戴此时和以后的诗歌创作中却鲜有洛尔迦的痕迹。

虽如此说，翻译洛尔迦付出的巨大心血不会白费，也许这影响更为隐秘，不易察觉吧。当然，20世纪30年代晚期，在翻译了洛尔迦和其他西班牙反法西斯诗人的作品之后，戴不再那么关注“小我”，而是有了公众意识，开始写诗表达自己对日本侵略者的愤恨。尽管与往日一样抒情，他却有了一种新的力量，甚至是一种斗志昂扬的士气：

元日祝福

新的年岁带给我们新的希望。
祝福！我们的土地，
血染的土地，焦裂的土地，

更坚强的生命将从而滋长。

新的年岁带给我们新的力量。
祝福！我们的人民，
坚苦的人民，英勇的人民，
苦难会带来自由解放。

一九三九年元旦日。

这当然与他早年模仿波德莱尔而作的诗大相径庭：

心头的春花已不更开，
幽黑的烦忧已到我欢乐之梦中来。

我的唇已枯，我的眼已枯，
我呼吸着火焰，我听见幽灵低诉。

去吧，欺人的美梦，欺人的幻象，
天上的花枝，世人安能痴想！……

——《忧郁》

如果把戴的所有这些转变都归功于洛尔迦一人有点言过其实，那说这位西班牙诗人在促使他关注新主题、形成新诗风方面起到一定的作用，应该不为过吧？

（四）【7】

长篇论述至此，从戴望舒的例子扩展开来，我们或许可以大胆得出几个结论：

首先显而易见的一点：只有诗人才能把诗译好。

其次，译诗对原作者和译者都有益处。原作者有了新读者，译者接触了新的影响力量，尽管受限于新的格律。

译者必须殚精竭虑，需要恰当的感知和恰当的诗歌语言。但翻译本身亦可使诗人练就感知，打磨语言，反过来又会对诗人自己的创作产生影响。

戴的成就还告诉我们在什么情况下译诗能取得最好的效果。除了译者个人的天才之外，他所使用的语言必须处于活跃状态，即一方面有足够的灵活性能够适应任何新的用法；另一方面又有足够的韧性能够受得住任何粗暴的揉弄。在戴着手译诗的时候，汉语正处于那样一种活跃、开放的状态，因为刚刚发生了意义非凡的文学革命。然而任何革命都不能一下子抹掉中国这种国家的古典传统，而这也有助于翻译，因为译者早年所受的古典诗的熏陶会使他保有高尚的趣味，对于形式的严格追求，对于质的强调等等，这些形成了一种价值标准，使他的译文不至于变得太幼稚，太生硬，太无深度与余音，因而也不会使好心的读者望而

却步，这样也就有助于树立和推广文艺上的新事物。因此，在好的译作里面，传统同创新是并存的。

更深一层看，诗的翻译对于任何民族文学、任何民族文化都有莫大好处。不仅仅是打开了若干朝外的门窗；它能给民族文学以新的生命力，由于它能深入语言的中心，用新的方式震撼它，磨练它，使它重新灵敏、活跃起来。如果去掉翻译，尤其是诗歌翻译，每个民族的文化都将大为贫乏；整个世界也将失去光泽。

因此，诗歌译者无须自馁。面对着从歌德以来的所有“明智、懂事”的人所有关于诗无法译的断言，戴望舒用他的实践默默地回答了他们：诗是可以译的。至今人们都在惋惜戴望舒的早逝；正当他在经历了一段译诗的巨大收获之后，像是创作上要有一次飞跃的时候，命运制止了他。然而命运却夺不走他的翻译成果。他在搁下诗笔以前，已经把现代西欧诗歌的精华传达给了中国爱诗的人群——他们人数也许不多，然而是真正的热心者。他在所译的诗中写下了自己的佳作；实际上，译诗延续了他写诗的生命。正如亚瑟·威利译的唐诗成了20世纪英语诗歌中的经典一样，戴望舒翻译的魏尔伦、波德莱尔、艾吕雅、耶麦、阿尔倍谛、沙里纳思、狄戈和洛尔迦等人的作品也位于现代中国文学的经典之列。

1984

VIII ON TRANSLATING JOYCE, BURNS AND OTHERS[1]

What was the first book you translated and when was that?

The first book I translated was written by James Joyce. It was *Dubliners*, a collection of his short stories. I did that in the early forties, when I was a young instructor at the Southwest Associated University in Kunming, which was called "Associated" because it was made up of three universities from the north, Beijing, Tsing Hua and Nankai. They had been driven out of their original sites by the Japanese, who were then occupying north China. I was a junior member of the English faculty. One day I got hold of this volume of short stories by Joyce. I was curious. I'd heard so much about his novel *Ulysses*. I wanted to know what his short stories were like. Well, they turned out to be excellent. One story in particular fascinated me. It was "The Dead" and it was a real masterpiece. I thought I'd like to translate it into Chinese and before I knew I'd translated all the stories in the volume.

Did you get your translation published?

Well, no. I sent the manuscript to a publisher in Guilin. Guilin is the resort city in Guangxi where you see all those strange-shaped hills. One day the Japanese sent their bombers over the city. Parts of the city went up in flames, my manuscript with them.

What a pity! ... What other works did you translate after that?

I translated Burns in 1958. That was the year when we were getting ready to celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of Burns's birth, which fell due in 1959. A publishing house in Beijing wanted to put out a new volume of Burns in Chinese and I was commissioned to do the translation. I'd never translated Burns before but as I liked his poetry I didn't mind having a try. I found the work challenging but also exhilarating. In the end, I got something like forty of his poems translated and they made a slim volume, which was published in 1959.

What were some of the poems included in that volume?

They included the usual lyrics, like "Scots Wha Hae" "A Man's a Man for A' That" "A Red Red Rose" "Auld Lang Syne" "Comin Thro' the Rye", and so on. But I also managed to put in a few other things, such as his epigrams. You know, sometimes Burns wrote a few lines for a special

occasion. There is an interesting piece called "Lines Written on a Banknote", which I translated. But these were not the main thing. The main thing was, I translated some of his longer works, such as "The Twa Dogs" "The Jolly Beggars" "Tam o' Shanter", and that wonderful satirical poem, "Holy Willie's Prayer". This last group of poems opened the eyes of the Chinese reading public to an aspect of Burns's genius hitherto not revealed—to the Chinese, I mean. His lyrical quality and his musical quality had always been appreciated in China. After Liberation, the fact that he was a farm labourer, an actual tiller of the land, increased his appeal. But no one, I believe, had translated any of his narrative poems. Yet there is a special quality in them which you don't find easily in other people's works—a dramatic quality, a kind of verve, a playfulness, which is extremely delightful.

One can see how you enjoyed your work. Then you went on to translate other poets?

After Burns I translated several of Bacon's *Essays*. That was an interesting experience too. Here you have an epigrammatist writing a very terse prose. What sort of Chinese are you going to use to put him across? That was the problem. Well, I tried out a sort of *wenyan*, or classical prose, and my friends rather liked the result. However, that was the only time I resorted to *wenyan*. Otherwise I've stuck to the contemporary spoken language. And on the whole I haven't had much to do with prose works. The only other prose work I translated was parts of William Cobbett's *Rural Rides*, which is another book I love. So delightfully English in a John Bull sort of way and also so tender-hearted. With these two exceptions, all my translations have been from the poets.

Who, for instance, other than Burns?

Shelley, among others. Some Wordsworth too, and a bit of Blake, mainly in quotations to illustrate some point or other in the *History of English Poetry* I've been writing in Chinese for some time.

Any twentieth-century poets? *You seem to be interested only in the Romantics*.

I like the Romantics all right, but I've also translated some contemporary poets. Hugh MacDiarmid, for instance. He's Scottish and he's very good. I like the way he combines the Scots folk tradition with a modern European sensibility. He's also a Marxist who wrote the three Hymns to Lenin. I translated ten of his poems and had them published in the magazine *World Literature* in 1979.

How about contemporary American poetry? *Have you translated any?*

I've translated two American poets. There is first of all Robert Bly. I met Bly in Australia in 1980, when we were attending the Adelaide Festival of the Arts. One night he came into our hotel and started to recite a poem called "Seclusion", accompanying himself on a strangelooking instrument which he called dulcimer. He's a big tall fellow, wearing a red waistcoat and a large red cravat, very friendly, exuding warmth and enthusiasm wherever he went. I had read some of his poems before I went to Australia, so I was very pleased to meet him there. Then, after a few weeks, I met him again, this time in Minneapolis, for after Adelaide I went to the States to teach for a spell at the University of Minnesota. My wife and I spent a long evening in his house near a lake—Lake Harriet, if I remember right. Oh, how we talked! About poetry, of course. He told me he and some of his friends in Minnesota had learned from Latin American poets like Neruda and Vallejo and also from classical Chinese poets like Bai Juyi (Po Chu-i). In fact, "Seclusion", which he recited in my hotel room in Adelaide, is a poem by Bai.

How interesting! ... *And who's the other American poet you translated?*

The other one is James Wright, a good friend of Robert Bly's, who unfortunately died of cancer in 1979. One of his poems I translated has a long title: "As I Step Over a Puddle at the End of Winter, I Think of an Ancient Chinese Governor". The poem is about Bai Juyi. It begins almost playfully:

> Po Chu-i, balding old politician,
> What's the use?
> I think of you,
> Uneasily entering the gorges of the Yang-Tze,
> When you were being towed up the rapids
> Towards some political job or other
> In the city of Chungchou.

It ends reflectively, wistfully:

> Did you find the city of isolated men beyond mountains?
> Or have you been holding the end of a frayed rope
> For a thousand years?

The frayed rope refers to the rope used by the trackers in towing a boat upstream. They do it against the pitiless might of the rushing current, and the rope gets frayed with time and usage, so that it may snap at any moment. Thus both the boat and the old poet are in a precarious position. The "I" in the poem, the American poet asking the question, fares no better. For the poem is also about his feeling of loneliness as he stands looking at the Mississippi near Minneapolis. Indeed, it is this feeling of loneliness that links up the two poets across the vast differences of time and place. This I think is very good

writing. Another poem of James Wright's, which I also translated, is the well-known anthology piece "A Blessing", with its tremendous ending:

> Suddenly I realize
> That if I stepped out of my body I would break
> Into blossom.

I liked that very much. Certainly I did my best to keep these tremendous metaphors, the frayed rope and the blossom, in my translation.

What exactly do you mean by "keeping the metaphors"?

I mean, if there is a striking metaphor in the original poem, it should be translated literally, so that its impact and freshness will not be lost. But there is a bit of problem here. Sometimes a metaphor may be fresh in the original language but becomes quite hackneyed when it comes out in the target language, usually because the translator has used a familiar phrase which conveys more or less the same idea. In Burns's poem "A Red Red Rose", you remember, there is a line where the man says that his love for his girl will still be there even after all the seas have gone dry and the rocks have melt with the sun. I suppose this metaphor about the seas and the rocks is something fresh in the original poem. Well, we happen to have in Chinese a familiar phrase which also says, "I will remain faithful to my love even after the sea has gone dry and the rocks have decayed". You might say that here we have a perfect equivalent. Yet the phrase has been used so often and so widely that it's become a cliché. So in my translation I deliberately avoided using it. I adopted a less idiomatic formulation but kept the metaphors intact.

However, the problem is a bit more complicated than that. What if an author one is translating uses a cliché himself? After all, clichés are part of life and no author can be original throughout. Also in the poem "A Red Red Rose", there are two lines which go like this:

> And I will luve thee still, my dear,
> While the sands o' life shall run.

Now the phrase "sands of life" is suspect. I wouldn't exactly call it a cliché, but it isn't fresh—it wasn't when Burns used it, for people had used it before, Shakespeare in the sixteenth century and Pope in the eighteenth. It was Burns's momentary lapse into genteelism, a kind of concession to the prevailing literary taste of his time. When I came to translate it, I did not try to keep the metaphor but used an equally familiar, unfresh expression, something like "while there is still breath in me".

I see. Language certainly works in mysterious ways.

Anyway, this simple lyric "A Red Red Rose" gave me more trouble than

other poems. Even after repeated revisions, I still felt my version wasn't adequate. As a translator, I always feel I must keep my Chinese clean and sharp-edged. Also, I think one should translate only writings that are akin to one's own in style. No one can be a master of all styles. Generally a translator is good for one kind of writing only. He should stick to that and not try to venture out too much.

But I should think the ideal translator is one who can adapt himself to whatever comes his way.

How many of us have this chameleon quality? Besides, in the course of adapting oneself, one also imposes one's own personality, which would produce a deadly sameness to whatever one's hand has touched. Imagine Shakespeare, Milton, Donne, Dryden, Pope, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Keats all reading alike! That would be the end of translation, or of literature, for that matter.

What other things do you think a translator should pay attention to?

I think it important for a translator to get the tone right. If the work is satirical, then his translation should also be satirical; if it succeeds merely in being facetious, then it must be considered a failure.

One last point: the importance of the whole. Too often too much attention is given to details, and not enough to the work as a whole. Yet a poem or story has a unity of its own. And when a translator has grasped the atmosphere or impact of the whole poem, he sometimes finds he can take liberties with certain details that do not exactly contribute to the total effect. In that way he acquires a new freedom, a lifting of the spirit which will make him daring and innovative. He will begin to feel that translation is no hack work but something creative.

1982

捌　我译乔伊斯、彭斯和其他

您译的第一本书是什么，是在什么时候？

我译的第一本书是詹姆斯·乔伊斯的短篇小说集《都柏林人》，是40年代早期我还在昆明西南联大做年轻教员时译的。西南联大之所以叫“联大”，是因为它是由北方三所大学（北大、清华、南开）联合组成的。当时日军已经占领华北，这三所大学被迫南迁。我当时是英语系的青年教师，有一天看到了乔伊斯的这本短篇小说集，很好奇。之前听说过很多他的长篇小说《尤利西斯》，所以很想看看他的短篇小说怎样。嗯，结果还真不错。其中一个故事尤其让我着迷，那就是《死者》，真是佳作。我就想把这个故事译成中文，不知不觉就把这个集子中所有的故事都译了出来。

您的译稿出版了吗？

没有。我把译稿给了桂林一家出版社。桂林是广西一个旅游城市，到处奇山怪石。一天日军空袭桂林，城市的部分地区付之一炬，我的书稿也在其中。

真可惜！那之后您又翻译了什么作品？

1958年我译了彭斯。因为1959年是彭斯两百年诞辰，北京一家出版社想出一本新的中文版彭斯诗集，找我来译。在那之前我没译过彭斯，但我喜欢他，所以试试无妨。我发现这项工作很有挑战，但也令人振奋。最后我译了40来首，薄薄的一册，1959年出版。

那册诗集中都包括哪些诗？

有那些耳熟能详的抒情诗，比如《苏格兰人》《不管那一套》《一朵红红的玫瑰》《往昔的时光》《走过麦田来》等。但我还设法译了一些其他风格的，比如讽刺诗。你知道，彭斯有时也会在某些特殊场合有感而发写几句，比如我译的一首名叫《写在钞票上的诗行》的诗。但这不占主体，主要是我还译了他的一些长诗，比如《两只狗》《欢乐的乞丐》《汤姆·奥桑特》，还有那首著名的讽刺诗《威利长老的祷词》。这最后一组诗让中国读者看到了彭斯不为人知的天才的一面——我是说对中国读者而言。他的抒情性和音乐性一直为中国读者赏识。解放后，彭斯的农民身份，他真正耕过田的经历更是让他平添了几分魅力。但是我相信，还没人译过他的任何一首叙事诗。他的叙事诗有一种别人的诗作没有的特质——一种戏剧效果，一种神韵，一种欢快，相当令人愉悦。

可以看得出您很享受翻译的过程，那接下来您还译过其他诗人吗？

彭斯以后，我又译了《培根随笔集》。那也是个很有趣的经历。这次我面对的是一个警句作者，写的是一种非常紧凑的散文。该用什么风格的中文来翻译他呢？是个问题。呃，我尝试用文言或古汉语，结果我的朋友很喜欢。但那是我唯一一次使用文言，其他都是现代汉语。总体来说我散文译得不多。除了培根，唯一还译过的散文就是威廉·科贝特的《骑马乡行记》的一部分，那是另外一本我很喜欢的散文。它那典型的英国特色非常让人愉悦，另外还相当温柔。除了这两个，我译的都是诗。

彭斯之外，还有哪些诗人？

比如雪莱、华兹华斯的一些诗，另外还有几首布莱克，主要是当初用中文写《英国诗史》时需要引用。

可有**20**世纪的诗人？您好像只对浪漫主义诗人感兴趣？

我是喜欢浪漫主义诗人，但也译了一些当代诗人。比如休·麦克迪尔米德，一个苏格兰诗人，非常好。我喜欢他把苏格兰民歌传统和现代欧洲特点相结合的做法。他还是个马克思主义者，为列宁写过三篇颂。我译了他的十首诗，1979年在《世界文学》杂志上发表。

当代美国诗歌呢？您译过吗？

我译过两个美国诗人。第一个是罗伯特·勃莱。1980年在澳大利亚的阿德莱德艺术节上，我见过勃莱。一天晚上他来到我们的宾馆，吟诵一首名为《想到＜隐居＞》的诗[1]，并用一个怪模怪样的他称为杜西莫琴的乐器给自己伴奏。他又高又大，穿一件红色马夹，系一根红色大领结，非常友好，足迹所到之处无不洋溢着温暖与热情。在去澳大利亚之前，我读过一些他的诗，所以非常高兴在那里见到他。几周后，我又一次见到他，这次是在明尼阿波利斯，因为阿德莱德艺术节后我去美国明尼苏达大学短期讲学。我和妻子在他位于湖畔的家中彻夜长谈——是哈里特湖，如果我没记错的话。我们谈得真是酣畅淋漓！当然是谈诗。他告诉我，他和他明尼苏达的一些朋友从拉丁美洲诗人（比如聂鲁达和巴列霍）以及中国古代诗人（比如白居易）身上受到不少启发。事实上，他上次在我宾馆房中吟诵的就是仿白居易而写的《想到＜隐居＞》一诗。

真有趣！那您译的另外一个美国诗人是谁？

詹姆斯·赖特，罗伯特·勃莱的好友，1979年不幸死于癌症。我译过的他的诗中，有一首名字非常长，叫做“冬末，越过泥潭，想到了古中国的一个地方官”，是写白居易的，开头很欢快：

> 白居易，落发纷纷的老政客，
> 何苦徒劳呢？
> 我想起你
> 惴惴不安地进入长江三峡。

纤夫拉着你的船逆流而上，
送你去忠州城里，
混一个什么官差使。

诗以玄思结尾，怅然若有所失：

你在山那边找到孤独人的城市了吗？
还是紧握着那条磨损了的
纤绳的一头，
一千年都没有放手？【2】

“磨损的纤绳”指纤夫和无情的激流作战、逆流把船拉上岸时用的绳索。天长日久绳子磨损，随时可断。因此，船和老诗人处境都很危险。诗中的“我”，那位问问题的美国诗人，境况也好不到哪里去。这首诗也传达了他在近明尼阿波利斯的地方眺望密西西比河时的孤独。就是这种孤独，把两位时空相隔的诗人联系起来了。这首诗我认为好就好在这儿。我还译了赖特的另一首诗，是他的名诗，收在很多选集里，叫《祝福》，结尾很出彩：

我突然意识到，
如果我步出我的身体，我将
开出花来。

我非常喜欢。当然，我在翻译时，尽量把这些比喻（比如磨损的纤绳和花朵等）都保留下来。

您说的“保留比喻”究竟是什么意思？

我是说，如果原诗有独特的比喻，就要直译，以保留原诗的效果和鲜活的意象。但是也有难度。有时一个比喻在原文中是鲜活的，但在译文中就显得陈腐，通常因为译者选用了意思大体相同的熟语。在彭斯的那首《一朵红红的玫瑰》中，男孩说他对女孩的爱永不变，即使大海干枯，太阳把岩石烧作灰尘。我想，这海水和岩石的比喻在原文中是鲜活的，但我们汉语中恰巧也有“海枯石烂，永不变心”的类似说法。你可能认为这样正好契合，但是“海枯石烂，永不变心”已被滥用。所以我在翻译时，故意避开这样的陈词滥调。我选了一个不那么常用、但又能完整保留比喻的说法。

但是，这样仍有问题。如果原作者就已用了陈词滥调呢？毕竟，陈词滥调是生活的一部分，任何作家都不可能从头到尾一直创新。《一朵红红的玫瑰》中，有这样的两行诗句：

亲爱的，我永远爱你，
只要我一息犹存。

“sands o' life”这个表达就有问题。我不是说它完全就是陈词滥调，但也不新鲜。因为它并非始于彭斯，16世纪的莎士比亚和18世纪的蒲柏都用过。彭斯在此处不幸落入了当时流行的高雅文学的俗套。所以我译的时候，就没有保留这个比喻，而是用了同样常见、不甚新鲜的说法“只要我一息犹存”。

明白了。语言可真神奇。

总之，这首小小的抒情诗《一朵红红的玫瑰》与其他诗比起来，让我感受到了更多的挑战。我改了多次，仍不满意。作为译者，我想把中文锤炼得干净、洗练。而且我觉得译者应选择与自己的风格相契合的作品来译。没人能够把握各种风格。一般说来，译者只能胜任一种风格，那就应该坚持走在这条路上，而不是尝试转向其他。

但我认为理想的译者应该是随时为原文而变身的。

这种变化多端的本领，有几人能有？而且，即使为原文而变身，译者也在译文中留下了自己的痕迹，这就形成了译千言、终一面的结局。想想看，莎士比亚、弥尔顿、邓恩、屈莱顿、蒲柏、华兹华斯、拜伦、雪莱、济慈都是一个模样！那就是翻译的末路，或者文学的末路了。

您认为一个译者还要注意什么？

调子要对。原文是讽刺的，译文也要讽刺。如果译文成了滑稽的，那就是失败。

最后一点，就是整体的重要性。我们太容易关注细节，而忽略整体了，但一首诗或一个故事有自己的整体性。当译者把握了全诗的气韵和效果，有时就可灵活地处理某些无关的细节。这样他就有了一种新的自由，能为诗歌的神韵而大胆创新。那时他也会觉得翻译不是苦差，而是创造。

1982

PART TWO KINDS OF AFFINITY 第二部分 几类不同的契合

IX CHARLES LAMB AND JOHN WEBSTER

1

With Charles Lamb, Webster came into his own. Hitherto he had been in the company of scholars and booksellers, and his fortunes had been made in the catalogues, the dictionaries, at best the anthologies. But Lamb was the first critic to approach Webster's plays seriously as literature.

While Swinburne's large claims[1] made for Lamb must be modified by our knowledge of the scholarly activities in Elizabethan research since Theobald, there is nothing to revise radically the old belief—and Lamb's own belief[2]—that Lamb came to the rescue of the old dramatists virtually single-handed. For it is wide of the mark to suggest, as Octavius Gilchrist[3] did in Lamb's own time and some still do today,[4] that there had been before Lamb such things as Dodsley's *Old Plays*, Thomas Hawkins's *Origin of the English Drama*, and Baker's *Biographia Dramatica*. Lamb readily confessed to a knowledge of these, but he knew that they did not attempt the task he had set himself, namely, to evaluate the old drama critically. The early collections were antiquarian in nature. When a stray remark escaped from their editors to reveal what they thought of the old drama, we today know at once that they did not look at it in the same way as Lamb did. Dodsley, for instance, loved the old drama for its comic wit. But listen to Lamb:

> the kind of extracts which I have sought after have been, not so much passages of wit and humour, though the old plays are rich in such, as scenes of passion, sometimes of the deepest quality, interesting situations, serious descriptions, that which is more allied to poetry than to wit, and to tragic rather than to comic poetry.

There is nothing in common between Lamb and the early enthusiasts. Tragic

poetry is not necessarily better than comic wit, but it is at least different. In placing emphasis on a quality hitherto only slightly, if at all, touched, and touched only to be denounced as "wild" and "untutored", and in glorifying it as one of the major reasons why these dramatists are as immortal as Shakespeare himself, lies the originality of Lamb. To say that he was in a field thoroughly tilled by the Oldyses and the Giffords is no less a confusion of issues and values. Apart from the fact that these diligent tillers were dull and not very much sought after by the common reader, their chief concern was with the biographical, bibliographical, and textual problems connected with the old dramatists, in none of which was Lamb interested. He did not accompany his selections with any biographical notices, for which he simply referred the readers to Dodsley and Baker. In textual matters, though Lamb exhibited his insight in assigning the first two scenes that he quotes from *The Two Noble Kinsmen* to Shakespeare,[5] he did not hesitate to cut, "without ceremony", not only the superfluous lines, but "all that which the writers had better never have written". For these sins the scholars could go on crucifying him, but none of them did what he did with such success—to take the reader by the hand and show him in no uncertain terms the beautiful scenes in the old drama.

On the other hand, there are indications that he was more affected by the compilers of the popular anthologies immediately before him. Henry Headley's *Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry*, 1787, and George Ellis's *Specimens of the Early English Poets*, 1790, were accorded a measure of success which could not have been a matter of complete indifference to Lamb. Ellis's work was expanded into three volumes in 1801, when Lamb had got ready a second note-book, after the first was burned in 1796. The word "Specimens" was used again by Ellis for the companion volume, *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, 1804, as well as by George Burnett for his *Specimens of Early English Prose Writers*, 1807.[6] Southey himself, who wrote to Coleridge in June 1804 about an anthology which he said Lamb could very well edit,[7] compiled *Specimens of the Later English Poets*, 1807, as a sequel to Ellis's anthology. The word "Specimens", in short, was common currency in Lamb's time, and this should at once dispose of William Watson's charge that Lamb treated the old writers as "museum" pieces.[8] The attention Lamb gave to contemporary anthologies can be further borne out by his comment on Vicesimus Knox's *Elegant Extracts*, a series of school anthologies of prose and poetry in separate volumes which had gone

through many editions in the last years of the eighteenth century.[9] The two volumes published in 1796 are devoted to "useful and entertaining Pieces of Poetry, Selected for the Improvement of Young Persons", and contain a section of dramatic poetry. Writing to Coleridge at the end of June that year, Lamb said:

> I wish you would try and do something to bring our elder bards into more general fame. I writhe with indignation when in books of Criticism, where commonplace quotation is heaped upon quotation, I find no mention of such men as Massinger, or B[eaumont] and F[letcher], men with whom succeeding Dramatic Writers (Otway alone excepted) can bear no manner of comparison. Stupid Knox hath noticed none of 'em among his extracts.[10]

Lamb was not really urging Coleridge. He was turning over in his own mind the idea of an anthology. The note-book he kept for dramatic passages was being steadily added to. But the *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets Who Lived About the Time of Shakspeare* came tardily, as twelve years had to elapse between the first conception of the idea and its final realisation in 1808.[11]

Once published, however, the book made literary history. Though upon its first appearance the scholars snubbed it, yet all through the nineteenth century, in spite of hostile criticism, it remained *the* anthology for the Elizabethan drama. The common reader was now able to read in one compact volume all the important old dramatists except Shakespeare. The manner of representation is a cross between the meagre epigrams of the early miscellanies and the complete plays of Dodsley. To follow Dodsley would make Lamb just another, and probably much inferior, Isaac Reed, and possibly Lamb's greatest objection to Dodsley and Isaac Reed is that the forbidding look of their solid eight or twelve volumes discourages, even repulses, the advances of timid readers. He, on the other hand, wants to hold their attention. So he thinks in terms of separate scenes, and selects only "scenes of passion, sometimes of the deepest quality, interesting situations, serious descriptions, that which is more allied to poetry than to wit, and to tragic rather than to comic poetry". His reader is forever kept on the crest of huge emotional waves, and there can be no better alias for the *Specimens* than "a collection of dramatic crises". But we must also note the word "poetry". Lamb's approach to the old drama is not that of a practitioner in the theatre; he treats the Elizabethan plays as literature fit for quiet reading in the solitude of a study. Not however because he is blind to the dramatic effects, to which no one can bring a keener and more discerning appreciation; but he believes that certain effects are so subtle that ordinary stage performance can only

result in spoiling the wonderful illusion that one got during the reading of the plays. Even the great actors are of no avail:

> Never let me be so ungrateful as to forget the very high degree of satisfaction which I received some years back from seeing for the first time a tragedy of Shakspeare performed, in which these two great performers[Kemble and Mrs. Siddons] sustained the principal parts. It seemed to embody and realise conceptions which had hitherto assumed no distinct shape. But dearly do we pay all our life after for this juvenile pleasure, this sense of distinctness. When the novelty is past, we find to our cost that instead of realizing an idea, we have only materialized and brought down a fine vision to the standard of flesh and blood. We have let go a dream, in quest of an unattainable substance.[12]

What is true of Shakespeare can only be doubly true of his fellow dramatists: he was by far the most dramatic of them all. Lamb's emphasis on the desirability of reading a play, and not seeing it, is understandable. A word-lover all his life, he was naturally more fascinated by the lasting beauty of the printed page. Nor can we object to his culling of memorable scenes, which was probably the best course open to him for a handy but comprehensive anthology of his kind. But, torn from the context of an anthology, his words and his practice have led to a belief that there can be a dichotomy between drama and poetry. While Archer sharply distinguishes between the dramatic effectiveness—or the lack of it—of the Elizabethan plays and their absolute poetic value, Swinburne and Gosse simply call them "poems".[13]

For the *Specimens*, however, his preoccupation with poetry has given Lamb those sudden flashes of insight into the characters and the situations in the plays, flashes that are happily crystallised into the form of notes. Dr. Johnson called notes evils, however necessary, but apparently he had reckoned without such fascinating evils as his own note on Polonius and all of Lamb's notes in this anthology. They are exactly what a helpless reader would expect of a literary critic. The critic should map out the paths that the reader is to take in his wanderings in the unknown country of an author's mind, but he should not do the walking or the thinking for the reader. Now the notes in the *Specimens* contain some of Lamb's happiest and most glorious writing—they are what give the anthology as anthology immortality—and yet they are no substitute for the reader's own judgement. By their fine exaggerations they stimulate the reader into an impatience to read the text for himself. For Lamb's enthusiasm is infectious. He glows as he talks, until finally he identifies himself with the suffering heroes and heroines. Here again we see the difference between the scholars and Lamb. The scholars were more concerned with history, with changes that mark one age off from another, while Lamb the critic pure and simple was passionately interested in

the universal values of literature.[14] He had very little historical sense, and readily read himself into the dramatists. The dangers of this kind of criticism have been pointed out,[15] but the greatest, as far as the *Specimens* is concerned, is the lack of a sense of proportion. Lamb's habitual use of Shakespeare as a yardstick is a case in point. Perhaps it is difficult not to compare them with Shakespeare, but in comparing them Lamb seems never to have made up his mind as to who comes nearest to him. Heywood is "a sort of prose Shakspeare". Ford is "of the first order of English poets" and "the man after Shakspeare". "All poets after Shakspeare yield to" Beaumont and Fletcher "in variety of genius". "Of all the English playwriters, Chapman perhaps approaches nearest Shakspeare in the descriptive and didactic, in passages which are less purely dramatic." And, of course, the famous comparison of Webster's dirge in *The White Devil* with Shakespeare's ditty in *The Tempest*. While it is true that we have been doing Lamb injustice by considering these utterings in isolation and without due regard for the modifications he carefully attaches to them, one's first impression is bound to be that poor Shakespeare is made too often to serve as avoirdupois on Lamb's critical balance. One explanation lies perhaps in that he is always absorbed in the dramatist of the moment. Once he takes a man up, he must pour out his whole heart before him. There can be no half measures. If this method is one of exaggeration, it is also the reason why he has been able to revive such tremendous interest where the antiquarians and anthologists created merely lukewarm curiosity. His notes, in short, were the greatest single factor in bringing attention again to the less familiar names of Marston and Heywood, Middleton and Rowley, Dekker and Tourneur and Webster, all of whom had not been edited properly by the scholars or known to the general public.

Lamb's method of selecting is particularly favourable to a dramatist like Webster. Webster has been, until very recently,[16] looked upon as a dramatist of separate scenes of great power and beauty rather than one whose strength lies in the shapeliness of a complete play. What Lamb has selected are exactly those startling scenes. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that any one, given the same limited space to represent Webster in, could do better. No better specimens can be had. From *The Devil's Law-case*, Lamb quotes the scene in which Contarino and Ercole are getting ready to fight a duel, which strikes him as being "the model of a well-managed and gentlemanlike difference". *Appius and Virginia* furnishes him with the scene in which a father kills with his own hand his only and much beloved daughter. But fuller

representation is rightly given to the two great tragedies on which Webster's name has since been built. Of *The Duchess of Malfi* we read not only the bed-chamber scene in which the Duchess secretly marries Antonio, but the greater part of the fourth act, from the sad spectacle of the waxen bodies, through the madmen's dance, to the strangling of the Duchess and the remorse of Ferdinand. From the equally rich mine of *The White Devil* Lamb quarries the dirge scene and the whole of the arraignment of Vittoria. Perhaps we can make the same selections from Webster, but assuredly we cannot write Lamb's notes to illustrate and illumine Webster's genius:

> All the several parts of the dreadful apparatus with which the death of the Duchess is ushered in, the waxen images which counterfeit death, the wild masque of madmen, the tomb-maker, the bellman, the living person's dirge, the mortification by degrees,—are not more remote from the conceptions of ordinary vengeance, than the strange character of suffering which they seem to bring upon their victim is out of the imagination of ordinary poets. As they are not like inflictions of this life, so her language seems not of this world. She has lived among horrors
>
> till she is become "native and endowed unto that element". She speaks the dialect of despair; her tongue has a smatch of Tartarus and the souls in bale. To move a horror skilfully, to touch a soul to the quick, to lay upon fear as much as it can bear, to wean and weary a life till it is ready to drop, and then step in with mortal instruments to take its last forfeit: this only a Webster can do. Inferior geniuses may "upon horror's head horrors accumulate", but they cannot do this. They mistake quantity for quality; they "terrify babes with painted devils"; but they know not how a soul is to be moved. Their terrors want dignity, their affrightments are without decorum.
>
> This White Devil of Italy sets off a bad cause so speciously, and pleads with such an innocence-resembling boldness, that we seem to see that matchless beauty of her face which inspires such gay confidence into her, and are ready to expect, when she has done her pleadings, that her very judges, her accusers, the grave ambassadors who sit as spectators, and all the court, will rise and make proffer to defend her in spite of the utmost conviction of her guilt; as the Shepherds in Don Quixote make proffer to follow the beautiful Shepherdess Marcela, "without making any profit of her manifest resolution made there in their hearing".
>
> So sweet and lovely does she make the shame,
> Which, like a canker in the fragrant rose,
> Does spot the beauty of her budding name!
>
> I never saw any thing like the funeral dirge in this play, for the death of Marcello, except the ditty which reminds Ferdinand of his drowned father in the Tempest. As that is of the water, watery; so this is of the earth, earthy. Both have that intenseness of feeling, which seems to resolve itself into the element which it contemplates.

That is Lamb at his very best. It is difficult to imagine how, having read these notes, one could stay long behind without wanting to tear into Webster at once. But they also share with his notes on Ford's *Broken Heart* the distinction of being the most controversial of all Lamb's writings. Roughly speaking, the Romantics have hailed these notes as containing some of the most inspired ideas on Webster, while the champions of modern realistic theatre have held them up as a particular example of how Lamb, an exquisite

stylist, yet floundered most wretchedly as a critic. But pro or con, argument has raged most heatedly round a few points. Has Webster really moved horrors skillfully, has he not in fact mistaken quantity for quality, the very thing which Lamb praises him for not doing? Reviewing the *Specimens*, a critic in *The Annual Review* wrote:

> The Duchess of Malfy is one of those plays which Mr. Lamb admires most warmly, yet surely it contains nothing half so fine as the praise he has misbestowed upon it... There is something as absurd as it is monstrous in what is thus commended. The brother of the duchess, to punish her for marrying an inferior, torments her with masks and mockeries of cruelty, waxen images representing the dead bodies of her husband and children are exhibited; madmen are turned loose to dance before her to mad music; a coffin, cords, and bell are produced; the grave-digger comes in: and lastly she is strangled. Is this moving a horror skilfully!! The surgeon may as well be called a great master of the passions, for giving pain where he cuts to the quick, as a dramatist who can employ such means as these.[17]

This was said in 1808, and was to be echoed in 1893 by William Archer when he asserted, "My point is that in the *Duchess of Malfy* (and, to a minor degree, in *The White Devil*) the horrors are *un* skilfully moved—that they are frigid, mechanical, brutal."[18] But the review as a whole was friendly, ending in such magnificent eulogy of Lamb:

> Yet our dramatic writers have never been commented on with such kindred power: the remarks are even more original than the text.—The writers of that day were many, and spoke one language, but we have seen no such critic.

In fact, in the general conspiracy of silence over the *Specimens*— both *The Edinburgh Review* and *The Quarterly* were conspicuously silent—this represented the only favourable notice that had been taken of Lamb. Lamb himself believed the writer of the article to be Coleridge. Writing to Coleridge on June 7, 1809, he said, "I am also obliged, I believe, for a review in the 'Annual', am I not?"[19] Coleridge does not seem to have replied to this, or if he did, the letter has not yet come to light. If, however, Lamb's identification of the writer is true, then the article also contains all that Coleridge has said on Webster, as the only other important mention of Webster's name occurs in connection with a passage imperfectly reported by a contemporary newspaperman at one of Coleridge's lectures:

> In other words, the learned would have had English tragedians to be mere reflections of the Greek, or of the oratorical declamation in dialogue under the name of Seneca.[20]

The passage was reported as a quotation from Webster made by Coleridge, but it is obvious that at best it was but a paraphrase of a part of Webster's "To the Reader" before *The White Devil*.

But Coleridge's favourable view of the notes[21] was not shared by the only other contemporary reviewer. Writing in *The Monthly Review* [22] in 1809,

the reviewer expressed his dissatisfaction with Lamb's opinion of Webster:

> The notes before us, indeed, have nothing very remarkable; except the style, which is formally abrupt, and elaborately quaint. Some of the most studied attempts to display excessive feeling we had noted for animadversion, but the task is unnecessary. We will not even say a word of comparison made between the *Dirge* in the White Devil, and the *Ditty* in Shakespeare's Tempest, "the one of the earth, earthy, the other of the water, watery: both have that *intenseness of feeling,* which seems *to resolve itself into the elements* which it contemplates";—nor will we discuss "the dilaceration of the spirit and the exenteration of the inmost mind", sustained by the light-heeled Calantha, or the "dignified terrors and *decorous* affrightments" which have *bewildered* Mr. Lamb into such unqualified and exaggerated admiration of the Duchess of Malfy. Such phrases may possibly have been adopted for their resemblance to the theatrical language of those times, and unquestionably the resemblance exists:—but the language imitated is that of Pistol and Holofernes, or the mock heroics of the play-king in Hamlet; as far removed from the gentlemanly eloquence which flows from the lips of Hamlet himself, as Mr. Lamb's satirical pleasantry is distant from the easy playfulness of Mercutio, Benedick, and Orlando.

The real grudge is against that other favourite habit of Lamb's, of comparing the lesser Elizabethans with Shakespeare himself. Webster is no Shakespeare just as the play-king is no Hamlet. It was this same reviewer who occasioned these of Lamb's words to Coleridge:

> The "Monthly Review" sneers at me, and asks "if 'Comus' is not *good enough* for Mr. Lamb?" because I have said no good serious dramas have been written since the death of Charles the First, except "Samson Agonistes"; so because they do not know, or won't remember, that "Comus" was written long before, I am to be set down as an undervaluer of Milton! O Coleridge, kill those reviews, or they will kill us—kill all we like! Be a friend to all else, but their foe.[23]

A rare outburst of temper on gentle Elia's part. But his comparison of Webster with Shakespeare has weathered the storms of opposition. All through the nineteenth century, many critics had been in the habit of naming Webster as second only to Shakespeare in tragic art. The same dirge in question, which Lamb compared with the song in *The Tempest*, reminded a writer in 1833 of another portion of Shakespeare. "It has" he wrote, "all the hopeless distress, the vague, bewildered, terrrific sorrow of Ophelia. With what beauty and feeling is the dirge composed which she [Cornelia] mutters, as reason and misery are struggling for the mastery of her mind."[24] If the timid took care to modify their statements, often couched in a web of inter-comparisons involving many other dramatists,[25] the bolder spirits of Swinburne, Gosse, and Symonds were ready to go to any length:

> Webster is far beneath Ben Jonson in scope and freshness of invention, in learning, and in the more obvious forms of comedy; in versatility and in natural ease of dialogue we must confess him also inferior to that great master. But, like Shakespeare, he is transcendental; his strong muse wings itself out of the common world, and sees things with the eyes of a visionary.[26]
>
> He does not use the vulgar machinery of revenge and ghosts in order to evolve an action. In so far as this goes, he may even be said to have advanced a step beyond *Hamlet* in the evolution of the Tragedy of Blood.[27]
>
> ...in the deepest and highest and purest qualities of tragic poetry Webster stands nearer to

> Shakespeare than any other English poet stands to Webster; and so much nearer as to be a good second; while it is at least questionable whether even Shelley can reasonably be accepted as a good third... For it is only with Shakespeare that Webster can ever
>
> be compared in any way to his disadvantage as a tragic poet: above all others of his country he stands indisputably supreme. The place of Marlowe is indeed higher among our poets by right of his primacy as a founder and a pioneer: but of course his work has not—as of course it could not have—that plenitude and perfection of dramatic power in construction and dramatic subtlety in detail which the tragedies of Webster share in so large a measure with the tragedies of Shakespeare.[28]

The last quotation is from Swinburne. In the same essay, he calls Webster "a limb of Shakespeare" and "the right arm". Elsewhere,[29] he spoke of Webster and Dekker as "gulfs or estuaries of the sea which is Shakespeare",[30] a statement which was to call forth the rebuttal of William Watson:

> A gulf or estuary of the sea which is Shakespeare! The image is picturesque but hardly veracious, conveying as it does a suggestion of open sunlight and bracing briny air which is utterly foreign to Webster's talent. His art is no breezy inlet of any ocean, but rather a subterranean chamber where the breath and light of morning never penetrate. In the palace of life he seems to inhabit, by preference, some mouldy dungeon peopled with spectral memories, and odorous of death.[31]

But that is not all. Swinburne must also compare Webster with the Greeks.[32] Webster is greater than Sophocles, because Sophocles lacks that "instinctive righteousness" which is shared only by Aeschylus, Shakespeare, and Webster. As to Euripides? He is far lower in rank, being inferior to Webster not only in moral sentiments, but even in dramatic art. We see to what strange blind alleys of criticism Lamb has led the enthusiasts of Webster.

But if there is one phrase of Lamb's that has aroused more controversy than any other, it is the phrase "the innocence-resembling boldness" in his notes on the character of Vittoria. A harmless enough phrase, which would probably have been passed over with no comment by the critics of today. But Lamb wrote it at a time when critics and readers alike were busily prying into the hearts of the characters in the old plays. The London literary world had just been taken by storm by the vogue of character-study. The vogue, initiated by Whately and Morgann in the eighteenth century, established and sustained by such brilliant Shakespearean critics as Coleridge and Hazlitt, was not to abate until after the publication of *Shakespearean Tragedy* in 1904. The critics read their fellow critics with the same ingenious curiosity and minute care as they read the old poets. Even a casual remark, an aside, a careless slip of the pen, was pounced upon, provided it touched a dramatic character. Hence the amount of attention, of the learned and the pious alike, that had been focused on this simple phrase of Lamb's offered without ceremony or fanfare as an explanation of "this White Devil of Italy". Dyce,

the first editor of Webster, loved the character of Vittoria, but questioned her "innocence":

> For my own part, I admire the dexterity with which Webster has discriminated between that simple confidence in their own integrity which the innocent manifest under the imputation of a great crime, and that forced and practised presence of mind which the hardened offender exhibits when brought to trial. Vittoria stands before her judges, alive to all the terrors that surround her, relying on the quickness of her wit, conscious of the influence of her beauty, and not without a certain sense of protection, in case of extreme need, from the interposition of Brachiano. She surprises by the readiness of her replies; but never, in a single instance, has the author assigned to her any words which were likely to have fallen from an innocent person under similar circumstances. Vittoria is undaunted, but it is by effort. Her intrepidity has none of the calmness which belongs to one who knows that a plain tale can put down his adversary; it is a high-wrought and exaggerated boldness,—a determination to outface facts, to brave the evidence she cannot refute, and to act the martyr though convicted as a criminal.[33]

Henry Hallam, who in his *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth*, *Sixteenth*, *and Seventeenth Centuries*, 1837-39, put Webster after Heywood, but nevertheless gave him the dignity of separate treatment, concurred with Dyce on the extravagance of Lamb's phrase. To him, the part of Vittoria "is rather a delineation of desperate guilt, losing in a counterfeited audacity all that could seduce or conciliate the tribunal".[34] The discussion, we see, had gradually drifted away from the character of Vittoria into the problem of evil. Evil could not be combated with more vigour and indignation than it was in the middle of the nineteenth century by Charles Kingsley. Naturally the Elizabethan dramatists as a whole and Webster in particular did not escape his attention. In his *Plays and Puritans*, Kingsley examined in some detail Webster's two tragedies as symptomatic of the dark, unhealthy mentality of the seventeenth century. They are conceded to be "the two best tragedies written since Shakspeare's time", and yet there is in them "no development of the human soul for good and evil, which is Shakspeare's especial power". Hereupon Lamb's phrase comes in amid the sighs of the impulsive parson-novelist: "Poor Elia, who knew the world from books, and human nature principally from his own loving and gentle heart, talks of Vittoria's 'innocence-resembling boldness'". Not that Lamb's words are not sincere, but Kingsley wonders if Lamb realises that "the strength of Webster's confest master scene lies simply in intimate acquaintance with vicious nature in general".[35] A. W. Ward supplied the academic verdict, pronouncing Lamb's phrase "utterly erroneous, and destructive of the consistency which the character throughout maintains".[36] Even Sir Edmund Gosse, whose fault was certainly not one of indifference to Webster, admitted that Lamb "exaggerates the effect of Vittoria's 'innocence-resembling boldness' upon our

minds; surely Monticelso's altogether extravagant abuse has as much to do with the favour we feel for her as her own rather brazen confidence".[37] But Swinburne was not to allow people to maul his Lamb and Webster without a protest. Discussing the objection of Dyce and Kingsley to the phrase, he said:

> I should hesitate to agree with them that he has never once made his accused heroine speak in the natural key of innocence unjustly impeached: Mary's pleading for her life is not at all points incompatible in tone with the innocence it certainly fails to establish—except in minds already made up to accept any plea as valid which may plausibly or possibly be advanced on her behalf; and the arguments advanced by Vittoria are not more evasive and equivocal, in face of the patent and flagrant prepossession of her judges, than those put forward by the Queen of Scots. It is impossible not to wonder whether the poet had not in his mind the actual tragedy which had taken place just twenty-five years before the publication of this play: if not, the coincidence is something more than singular.[38]

We are not for the moment concerned with the reputation of Webster among the poets and scholars of the later nineteenth century, but an acquaintance with some of their views on Lamb's criticism of Webster shows what an influential book the *Specimens* has been. People respect it even in their strong opposition to it. In the case of Webster, the very stimulating, not to say suggestive, nature of Lamb's notes has brought so much intelligent, even if at times hostile, attention to the dramatist that his position among the greater Jacobean playwrights is secure. Whether, as Lamb suggested, Webster comes nearest to Shakespeare in tragic intensity, whether he has moved horrors skillfully, whether his Vittoria pleads with an innocence-resembling boldness, his name is now firmly put back on the map of literature, the name of a major city with its myriad lighted windows and its dark, vicious archways.

2

In the meantime, there were many signs of increased interest in Webster in the years immediately following the publication of Lamb's *Specimens*. In 1810, Sir Walter Scott edited anonymously a collection of old plays under the title *The Ancient British Drama*, in the third and last volume of which appear both *The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfi*. In the Preface, Webster's name is mentioned along with those of Beaumont and Fletcher, Jonson, Ford, and Massinger as fit to be put beside "the immortal Shakspeare", while Shirley, Marston, and Dekker are merely "lesser, yet respectable names". Scott must have been strongly impressed by Webster, as we find him quoting, in 1814,[39] before the ruins on the island of Iona, these two familiar lines:

> You never tread upon them but you set
> Your feet upon some ancient history

which we know to have come out from that favourite piece of eighteenth-century anthologists, namely, Antonio's speech on the "Ruins" in the fifth act of *The Duchess of Malfi*. This strong impression even followed Scott to his very grave, as years later, in 1831, not long before his death, writing to Dyce, Scott called Webster "one of the best of our ancient dramatists".[40] Even Webster's minor works began to be objects of attention. In 1812, Sir Egerton Brydges printed the madmen's song (*DM*, IV, ii, 65-76) in the second volume of *The British Bibliographer*.[41] *Appius and Virginia,* a hitherto comparatively neglected work, was collected in 1815 by C. W. Dilke in his *Old English Plays*, and was subsequently to be reprinted in 1827 in the last volume of John Payne Collier's edition of Dodsley's *Old Plays*. When Nathan Drake came to write his *Shakspeare and His Times* in 1817, he saw fit to insert an account[42] of Webster in the chapter entitled "A Brief View of Dramatic Literature and its Cultivators during Shakspeare's Connection with the Stage". Drake was a critic who had earlier written on Ossian poems and Highland superstitions. But if he had long been a lover of the Gothic and the melancholic, his conversion to the Elizabethans was slow, as in 1798, he was still taking Henry Headley to task for the anthologist's view that the moderns had lost forever "that Key...given by Nature to Shakspeare, and which was likewise in the hands of some few of his contemporaries, 'that oped the sacred source of sympathetic tears'".[43] Now, writing under the impact of a new enthusiasm for the old drama, he became aware of the importance of assigning a place to the minor Elizabethans, if only because they made "the times". His ideas on Webster were definite and explicit. Webster he would put "immediately after Ford, as next, perhaps, in talent", but resembling Ford "in a predilection for the terrible and the strange, but with a cast of character still more lawless in impetus".[44] He too could not refrain from comparing Webster with Shakespeare:

> ...the fifth act of his *Vittoria Corombona* shows, also, with what occasional skill he could imbibe the imagination of Shakspeare, particularly where its features seem to breathe a more than earthly wildness. The danger, however, which almost certainly attends such an aspiration after, what may be called inimitable excellence, Webster has not escaped; for, where his master moves free and etherial, an interpreter for other worlds, he but too often seems labouriously striving to break from terrestrial fetters; and, when liberated, he is, not unfrequently, "an extravagant and erring spirit". Yet, with all his faults, his tragedies are, most assuredly, stamped with, and consecrated by, the seal of genius.[45]

What is noteworthy here is the new treatment given to Webster by the men who wrote the "surveys" of literature. Before Lamb, the innumerable writers of the Rise and Progress of English Poetry rarely mentioned the name of

Webster, even when they touched upon Elizabethan dramatic poetry; after Lamb, literary historians have not only mentioned Webster, but generally discussed him at some length. If Nathan Drake is not to be ranked among the historians, we have also the instance of Henry Hallam, whose work, mentioned on an earlier occasion, was at least European in scope. Hallam lumped together such men as Marston, Chapman, Rowley, Tourneur, and Middleton, and dismissed them summarily in one paragraph,[46] but to Webster he extended the courtesy of three pages.[47]

The periodicals, too, felt more inclined to look in Webster's way. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* atoned for its earlier silence over the *Specimens* by doing several things at the same time. It made use of the opportunity of the publication of *The Works of Charles Lamb* in 1818 not only to review Lamb's achievement as a whole, but to discuss Lamb's views on the old drama in particular.[48] In the same year, the periodical also printed a series of "Analytical Essays on the Early English Dramatists". The first three of these essays dealt with Marlowe, but the object for the discussion in the next two essays turned out to be Webster, whose two tragedies were considered at great length. The first article, appearing in the number for March,[49] dealing with the more popular *Duchess of Malfi*, starts with a general discussion of the differences between Shakespeare and his fellow dramatists. The writer, who signed himself "H. M.", thinks that though all write great poetry, yet none can compete with Shakespeare in the understanding of man. None can really draw characters. Least of all Webster, who, in spite of his "truly original genius", is essentially a dramatist of "some single scenes". He paints vices and crimes with an extravagance "which nevertheless makes them impressive and terrible". But there is nothing of "what Wordsworth calls 'a mighty stream of tendency' in the events of his dramas, nor, in our opinion, is there a single character that clearly and boldly stands out before us, like a picture". This being the case, the writer is reduced to present a few extracts from the play by way of illustrating the plot. Before he ends, however, "H. M." takes care to quote Lamb's passage on "all the several parts of the dreadful apparatus".

There is even less criticism in the second article, appearing in August,[50] which consists in the same manner of extracts from the play strung together by a few explanatory remarks, mostly on the plot. But the concluding paragraph is revealing:

> There is great power in this drama, and even much fine poetry,—but on the whole, it shocks rather than agitates, and the passion is rather painful than tragical. There are, in truth,

> some scenes that altogether revolt and disgust,—and mean, abandoned, and unprincipled characters occupy too much of our attention throughout the action of the play. There is but little imagination breathed over the passions of the prime agents, who exhibit themselves in the deformity of evil,—and scene follows scene of shameless profligacy, unredeemed either by great intellectual energy, or occasional burstings of moral sensibilities. The character of Vittoria Corombona, on which the chief interest of the drama depends, is sketched with great spirit and freedom,—but though true enough to nature, and startling by her beauty and her wickedness, we feel that she is not fit to be the chief personage of tragedy, which ought ever to deal with great passions, and with great events. There is, however, a sort of fascination about this "White Devil of Venice", which accompanies her to the fatal end of her career,—and something like admiration towards her is awakened by the dauntless intrepidity of her death.
>
> I will not in my death shed one bare tear,
> Or if look pale, for want of blood, not fear.

"H. M." preceded Kingsley in a few things, but we read with a smile the appelation "this 'White Devil of Venice'", because by this time Lamb had thoroughly vindicated himself in the cause of Webster. It can be asserted with what may seem undue boldness that all writers on Webster have since written with the ghost of Elia at their back.

His influence can be felt even where we do not expect it. Thomas Campbell's anthology, *Specimens of the British Poets*, published posthumously in 1819, would appear at first glance to have nothing in common with Lamb's work except for the "Specimens" in the title. It is a vast, sevenvolume collection, including all important English poets from Chaucer to Christopher Anstey. A poet himself, Campbell lacked neither discernment nor sensibility in his appreciation of early poetry. Yet we find him working, when he came to make his selections from Webster, in the large shadow of Lamb. For, with the exception of Vittoria's lines on her dream, all Campbell's selections from Webster can be found in the other and earlier *Specimens*. Campbell does not seem to have loved Webster dearly. The prefatory matter he wrote before the Webster passages betrays a somewhat satirical tone:

> From the advertisement prefixed to his Duchess of Malfy, the piece seems not to have been successful in the representation. The author says, "that it wanted that which is the only grace and setting out of a tragedy, a full and understanding auditory". The auditory, it may be suspected, were not quite so much struck with the beauty of Webster's horrors, as Mr. Lambe seems to have been in writing the notes to his Specimens of our old Dramatic Poetry.[51]

But the satire loses much of its sting when we reflect that the satiriser has here moved, without authority, Webster's "To the Reader" from *The White Devil*, its rightful owner, to the sister play.

That was the sort of mistake not likely to be made by John Payne Collier. With Collier, a "black-letter" reader, we return for a moment from aesthetic criticism to historical scholarship. Many scholars had quoted

Gildon's statement that Webster was the parish clerk of St. Andrew's, Holborn. Dilke in 1815 searched into the records without finding anything.[52] Now, in *The Poetical Decameron*,[53] published in 1820, Collier sought to identify the dramatist with John Webster, "the late Chaplain in the Army", who wrote *The Saint's Guide*, 1653, and *Academiarum Examen*, 1654. From this he was led to the further conclusion that the dramatist had been for a time a stage actor, because Thomas Hall wrote a reply to *Academiarum Examen* entitled *Histriomastix*. *A Whip for Webster* (*as 'tis conceived*) *the Quondam Player*. These assertions were to engage the attention of Dyce ten years later, who made a thorough investigation of the whole question and substantially disagreed with Collier.[54] Collier, it may be mentioned in passing, took up the biographical problem of Webster again in 1846, when he claimed to have discovered in the registers of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, records of the marriage of a John Webster with Elizabeth Sutton on 25 July 1590, and of the baptisation of an Alice Webster, daughter of John Webster, on 9 May 1606.[55] Whatever the reliability of Collier[56] and the acceptability of his conclusions, his activities in this field indicated the new importance attached by scholarship to an understanding of the life and work of Webster.

3

But it was essentially an age of great Romantic writers. The year in which Collier speculated on the life of Webster also saw the publication of Hazlitt's *Lectures Chiefly on the Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth*. The lectures were delivered in the last two months of 1819 at the Surrey Institute. Before 1819 Hazlitt's knowledge of the lesser Elizabethans was probably indifferent, though he had discussed Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher. For he consulted Lamb and borrowed books from Procter before he went down to Winterslow Hut, in Wiltshire, to prepare the lectures.[57] After a stay of six weeks, during which he must have spent the evenings reading the plays before his cottage fire,[58] Hazlitt emerged in London, flushed but triumphant, with the lectures written and his head full of the old dramatists. Like Lamb in the *Specimens*, Hazlitt is at his most readable in the *Lectures*. The style is of the Winterslow period, which is, as he defines himself,

> apt to be redundant and excursive. At other times it may be cramped, dry, abrupt; but here it flows like a river, and overspreads its banks. I have not to seek for thoughts or hunt for images: they come of themselves, I inhale them with the breeze, and the silent groves are vocal with a thousand reflections—

> And visions as poetic eyes avow,
> Hang on each leaf, and cling to ev'ry bough.[59]

The criticism is characterised by sweep as well as penetration. He starts with a general view of Elizabethan literature, rushes through Lyly, Marlowe, Heywood, Middleton, and Rowley in the second lecture, to linger for a while on Marston, Chapman, Dekker, and Webster in the third, and thence to pass on, like a whirlwind, to Beaumont and Fletcher, Ben Jonson, Ford, and Massinger, who make up the subject of the fourth. The fifth lecture is devoted to such early plays as *The Four P's*, *Return from Parnassus*, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*. Then there is a sudden plunge downward to the time of Drayton and Daniel, of Sir Francis Beaumont and Phineas Fletcher, but in the confusion, the *Arcadia* and the sonnets of the much earlier Sir Philip Sidney are also seized for questioning. The seventh lecture has even less to do with the drama, being essentially a comparison of the style of Bacon with that of Sir Thomas Browne and Jeremy Taylor. In the eighth and last lecture, Hazlitt rounds off the subject in the grand manner by an essay on the spirit of ancient and modern literature, illustrated by contrasting the Elizabethans with the German drama.

Our concern is, however, with Hazlitt on Webster. Webster he contrasts with Dekker. At first, we are not sure if he does not think Dekker the more satisfying of the two:

> Webster would, I think, be a greater dramatic genius than Deckar, if he had the same originality: and perhaps is so, even without it.

Then we know where he really stands when, once again, Shakespeare is used as the yardstick:

> His White Devil and Duchess of Malfy, upon the whole perhaps, come the nearest to Shakespear of any thing we have upon record; the only drawback to them, the only shade of imputation that can be thrown upon them, "by which they lose some colour", is, that they are too like Shakespear, and often direct imitations of him, both in general conception and individual expression. So far, there is nobody else whom it would be either so difficult or so desirable to imitate; but it would have been still better, if all his characters had been entirely his own, had stood out as much from others, resting only on their own naked merits, as that of the honest Hidalgo, on whose praises I have dwelt so much above. Deckar has, I think, more truth of character, more instinctive depth of sentiment, more of the unconscious simplicity of nature; but he does not, out of his own stores, clothe his subject with the same richness of imagination, or the same glowing colours of language. Deckar excels in giving expression to certain habitual, deeply-rooted feelings, which remain pretty much the same in all circumstances, the simple, uncompounded elements of nature and passion:—Webster gives more scope to their various combinations and changeable aspects, brings them into dramatic play by contrast and comparison, flings them into a state of fusion by a kindled fancy, makes them describe a wider arc of oscillation from the impulse of unbridled passion, and carries both terror and pity to a more painful and sometimes unwarrantable excess. Deckar is contented with the historic picture of suffering; Webster goes on to suggest horrible imaginings. The pathos of the one

> tells home and for itself; the other adorns his sentiments with some image of tender or awful beauty. In a word, Deckar is more like Chaucer and Boccaccio; as Webster's mind appears to have been cast more in the mould of Shakespear's, as well naturally as from studious emulation. The Bellafront and Vittoria Corombona of these two excellent writers shew their different powers and turns of mind. The one is all softness; the other "all fire and air". The faithful wife of a Matheo sits at home drooping, "like the female dove, the whilst her golden couplets are disclosed"; while the insulted and persecuted Vittoria darts killing scorn and pernicious beauty at her enemies. This White Devil (as she is called) is made fair as the leprosy, dazzling as the lightning. She is dressed like a bride in her wrongs and her revenge.

By this time, we have forgotten the question of who is the greater of the two. Hazlitt does not have any definite idea as to who is, and the question is perhaps not so very important. The great thing is not to be side-tracked, when there is such wonderful criticism before us. Webster and Dekker represent two types, equally great, but vitally different. It is curious how people had not thought of comparing them before Hazlitt did,[60] as they set off each other's merits so perfectly when seen in company.

Hazlitt, of course, had the benefit of reading Lamb in 1819, as Lamb did not have of reading Hazlitt in 1808.[61] But there are times when Lamb serves Hazlitt merely as a foil. The Cornelia scene in *The White Devil*, of which Lamb has sung the praise of the dirge, does not remind Hazlitt of *The Tempest*, but of *Lear*:

> ...the inmost folds of the human heart, the sudden turns and windings of the fondest affection, are also laid open with so masterly and original a hand, that it seems to prove the occasional imitations as unnecessary as they are evident.

Nor can Hazlitt agree with Lamb about Webster's ability "to move a horror skilfully, to touch a soul to the quick". *The Duchess of Malfi*, whose greater reputation in the eighteenth century we have noted, strikes Hazlitt as not "quite so spirited or effectual a performance as the White Devil", because, though containing "occasional strokes of passion" that are "even profounder and more Shakespearian", the play as a whole is more laboured. But an even greater objection is that in it "the horror is accumulated to an overpowering and insupportable height". The mad men and the dead man's hand are too much for Hazlitt, as they exceed

> the just bounds of poetry and of tragedy. At least, the merit is of a kind, which, however great, we wish to be rare. A series of such exhibitions obtruded upon the senses or the imagination must tend to stupefy and harden, rather than to exalt the fancy or meliorate the heart. I speak this under correction; but I hope the objection is a venial commonplace.

Hazlitt put it apologetically, probably he was aware of how on this particular point Lamb had been harassed by friend and foe alike.

Hazlitt's business with Webster is by no means over when the lectures are delivered and published. Webster is mentioned many times afterwards,[62]

and has even a share of the innumerable quotations and misquotations with which Hazlitt embellishes his writings.[63] But Hazlitt is never content with mere quoting. His is the true critic's job, to compare and judge. He is more concerned, if one may risk a generalisation, with the relative value of literature, as the narrower and purer Lamb is more with the absolute. In any case, with Webster he is not "holding himself in",[64] for presently we find him comparing Webster with another "Satanic"writer, Byron himself. Reviewing Byron's *Marino Faliero*, Hazlitt writes:

> "One touch of Nature makes the whole world kin:"—one line of Webster, Decker, or Ford (to say nothing of Shakspeare), is worth all the didactic and descriptive paraphrases of what would neither be seen nor felt by men in a state of strong agitation as they occur in this play.[65]

But a more definite comparison is made when he returns to Lord Byron's dramatic "ventures" in the essay "On Reason and Imagination", collected in *The Plain Speaker*, 1826:

> Lord Byron has launched several of these ventures lately (if ventures they may be called) and may continue in the same strain as long as he pleases. We have not a number of *dramatis personae* affected by particular incidents and speaking according to their feelings, or as the occasion suggests, but each mounting the rostrum, and delivering his opinion on fate, fortune, and the entire consummation of things.The individual is not of sufficient importance to occupy his own thoughts or the thoughts of others. The poet fills the page with *grandes pensées*... As an instance of the opposite style of dramatic dialogue, in which the persons speak for themselves, and to one another, I will give, by way of illustration, a passage from an old tragedy, in which a brother has just caused his sister to be put to a violent death...

Hereupon what surprise could there be when we find Hazlitt quoting Ferdinand saying "Cover her face: mine eyes dazzle; she died young". Having quoted, he goes on, but this time the trouble will be where for us to stop him:

> How fine is the constancy with which he first fixes his eye on the dead body, with a forced courage, and then, as his resolution wavers, how natural is his turning his face away, and the reflection that strikes him on her youth and beauty and untimely death, and the thought that they were twins, and his measuring his life by hers up to the present period, as if all that was to come of it were nothing! Now, I would fain ask whether there is not in this contemplation of the interval that separates the beginning from the end of life, of a life too so varied from good to ill, and of the pitiable termination of which the person speaking has been the wilful and guilty cause, enough to "give the mind pause"? Is not that revelation as it were of the whole extent of our being which is made by the flashes of passion and stroke of calamity, a subject sufficiently staggering to have place in legitimate tragedy? Are not the struggles of the will with untoward events and the adverse passions of others as interesting and instructive in the representation as reflections on the mutability of fortune or inevitableness of destiny, or on the passions of men in general? The tragic Muse does not merely utter muffled sounds: but we see the paleness on the cheek, and the life-blood gushing from the heart!...

And gushing, Hazlitt reads Byron a lecture on the importance in tragic art of an understanding of humanity.

But Byron's mind about how to write a tragedy had long been made up.

He was determined not to follow "the old dramatists, who are full of gross faults, pardoned only for the beauty of their language".[66] For his *Marino Faliero*, the model would be the "regular tragedies" of the Greeks:

> ...and do not judge me by your mad old dramatists, which is like drinking Usquebaugh and then proving a fountain: yet after all, I suppose that you do not mean that spirits is a nobler element than a clear spring bubbling in the sun: and this I take to be the difference between the Greeks and those turbid mountebanks—always excepting B. Jonson, who was a Scholar and a Classic.[67]

We have no doubt that these mountebanks included Webster, whom Byron knew well—so well as to think of *The White Devil* even in the thick of the Guiccioli affair:

> The next is that I have been the cause of a great conjugal scrape here—which is now before the *Pope* (seriously I assure you) and what the decision of his Sanctity will be no one can predicate. It would be odd that having left England for one Woman (Vittoria Corombona the "White Devil"to wit) I should have to quit Italy for another.[68]

He could have read Webster in the old quartos, or else Dodsley, as his acquaintance with Lamb's *Specimens* came about slightly later. In 1821, in one of his conversations with Thomas Medwin, he said:

> I have just been reading Lamb's Specimens, and am surprised to find in the extracts from the old dramatists so many ideas that I thought exclusively my own. Here is a passage, for instance, from "The Duchess of Malfy", astonishingly like one in "Don Juan".[69]

Then he went on to expose the lack of foundation of the charges[70] laid against him that he had plagiarised the old dramatists, because "these Specimens of Lamb's I never saw till today". But he was not going to be squeamish about borrowing from others. "If it be a fault, I do not pretend to be immaculate", he told Medwin, adding, "I will lend you some volumes of Shipwrecks, from which my storm in 'Don Juan'came".[71]

The old dramatists, Webster eminently included, were therefore merely so many bundles of phrases and images for Byron to invade and take "like a monarch". They had nothing to teach him in the art of playwriting. They were not models, he told Shelley:

> I read *Cenci*—but, besides that I think the *subject* essentially*un*dramatic, I am not an admirer of our old dramatists as models. I deny that the English had hitherto had a drama at all. Your *Cenci*, however, was a work of power and poetry.[72]

But Shelley was apparently of a different mind about the old dramatists. He did not borrow verbally from them, only in spirit he wrote his tragedies like one of them. That is why it is difficult to substantiate the oft-made statement that *The Cenci* is Elizabethan, even Websterian, though of course one could point to the crime, the horror, the trial and conviction in the fifth act as tentative parallels to the incidents in *The White Devil*. Shelley himself,

who would stock his library with all the old dramatists,[73] loved *The Duchess of Malfi* especially well. We have again the conversations recorded by the indefatigable Medwin:

> Among English plays he was a great admirer of *The Duchess of Malfi*, and thought the dungeon scene, where she takes her executioners for allegorical personages, of Torture and Murder, or some such grim personifications, as equal to anything in Shakspeare, indeed he was continually reading the Old Dramatists—Middleton, and Webster, Ford and Massinger, and Beaumont and Fletcher, were the mines from which he drew the pure and vigorous style that so highly distinguishes *The Cenci*.[74]

This must have been particularly soothing to the ears of Lamb, who, as we have seen, was virtually alone in his appreciation of the "allegorical personages".

There was the same fascination with the horrors in the old drama in Thomas Lovell Beddoes, whose *Bride's Tragedy* and *Death's Jest-Book* actually remind one of Webster, but consciously he was against what he called the Elizabethan "ghosts":

> Say what you will—I am convinced the man who is to awaken the drama must be a bold trampling fellow—no creeper into worm-holes—no reviser even—however good. These reanimations are vampirecold. Such ghosts as Marloe, Webster, &c. are better dramatists, better poets, I dare say, than any contemporary of ours—but they are ghosts—the worm is in their pages—& we want to see something that our great-grandsires did not know. With the greatest reverence for all the antiquities of the drama, I still think that we had better beget than revive—attempt to give the literature of this age an idiosyncracy & spirit of its own, & only raise a ghost to gaze on, not to live with—just now the drama is a haunted ruin.[75]

Beddoes's case, however, was the interesting one of a divided mind. For he not only kept on reading the vampires and the worms, but actually printed lines[76] from Webster's *Appius and Virginia* as a sort of motto on the title-page of *The Improvisatore*, Oxford, 1821, a book of his poems. Further, he advised a friend of his to buy the new collections of the old plays now appearing in the market:

> You are very unnecessarily & unsolicitously suspicious of No. 1 Ancient B. Drama. Turn to your Massinger Vol. 1. Preface [and] look at the list of Plays saved from the backsides of Warburton's pies. It is out of the Landsdowne collection, undoubtedly authentic, and contains some very fine things. It is to be followed by other most desirable reprints—The Devil's Law-Case—Marston's Insatiate Countess—Comedies of Middleton, & other precious scarcities. Moreover it is an extremely pretty little book, with a wood-cut of the Bull Theatre and superabundantly worth the last half-crown in your purse. You, who have bought Kirk White, to hesi[tate!][77]

But the comparison held not only with the forgotten Kirk White. There were times when Beddoes himself despaired of ever being able to write as well as the Elizabethans:

> Read only an act of Shakspear, a bit of Milton, a scene or two of the admirably true Cenci, something of Webster, Marston, Marlowe, or in fact anything deeply, naturally, sociably felt,

and take to these Textbooks—you will feel at once how forced, artificial, insipid &c. &c. all such things are.[78]

What we are witnessing at present is the gradual unfolding of a new situation of the reputation of the hitherto obscurer Elizabethans and Jacobeans in general, and of Webster in particular. It might be said that, while in the past Webster's reputation rose and fell with the lesser Elizabethans, from now on their reputation was to rise and fall with his. Perhaps it would be over-ingenious to point out that in the several inventories of the old dramatists listed by Beddoes, Webster's name rushes into our eyes either first or close upon the first. He was of course not universally liked. But he was read, criticised, eliciting undying admiration in some, and utter disgust in others. Gone were the days when only a few scholars patronised him by adapting or printing his plays, and felt apologetic when they had to state their reasons for doing so. Now, on the contrary, even first-rate poets like Byron felt the unseen, unintended aggressiveness of Webster and his fellows. The very strong words Byron used against them indicated not merely a reaction, but a resistance, to the influence of these old writers which had now subtly spread into creative literature. The single most important agent to bring about this change was not the critics on the periodicals,[79] hardly the scholars, but Charles Lamb with his selections and notes in the *Specimens*.

And Lamb himself, now that his anthology was being read[80] and discussed by the right kind of people—for one has reason to believe that the general reading public of the *Specimens* remained small, the second edition being not printed until 1835—and his own serfdom to the dead wooden desk of East India House had come to an end, returned once again to "the princely apartments" of the British Museum to read the old plays in the Garrick Collection. His old habit of making extracts from them was still alive, and he sought to do greater justice to the works of Shakespeare's predecessors, men like Peele, Greene, and Lodge, by extracting more passages from them than he did in 1808. These extracts, with rather sparser notes, began to appear in the *Table Book*, a weekly edited by William Hone, in 1827. In the interval between the two explorations of the treasures in the Museum, Lamb had not forgotten Webster. He quoted him:[81]

...Would Wilberforce give us our Tuesdays? No, d—n him.
He would turn the six days into sevenths,
And those 3 smiling seasons of the year
Into a Russian winter

Old Play

He paraphrased him:[82]

> ...Never mind my dulness, I am used to long intervals of it. The heavens seem brass to me—then again comes the refreshing shower. "I have been merry once or twice ere now."

Now, "culling at will the flower of some thousand Dramas" again, he transcribed six passages from *The Devil's Law-case*. The note he appended to these passages is too short to be in his best manner, but is nevertheless suggestive:

> Webster was parish clerk at St. Andrew's Holborn. The anxious recurrence to church matters, sacrilege, tombstones, with the frequent introduction of *dirges*, in this, and his other tragedies, may be traced to his professional sympathies.

Perhaps he did not know that records did not bear out Gildon's statement, or disprove it. But searching into the records was the job of the scholars, and scholars necessarily complemented Lamb's work, which was to brush off the dust that had settled on old reputations and to set the tone for critical appreciation. He performed both admirably on Webster as on other dramatists. For a long time to come, Webster was to be Lamb's Webster, that is, Webster as Lamb's selections and notes made him out to be. But the completer and in the textual sense purer Webster was also taking shape. Not long after Lamb's lines were written, a scholar not only looked into parish registers and examined the documents in the Prerogative Office for Webster's life, but collated diligently the texts of his plays. His labour soon yielded result, and Lamb lived to see the publication in 1830 of the first complete edition of John Webster prepared by the Rev. Alexander Dyce.

1949

玖　查尔斯·兰姆和约翰·韦伯斯特

（一）

有了查尔斯·兰姆，约翰·韦伯斯特也有了出头之日。一直以来，约翰·韦伯斯特与学者、书商为伍，他的名字也不过与目录索引、字典编撰、最多是文集选编相连。是兰姆第一次郑重其事地把韦伯斯特的戏剧作为文学来评论。

考虑到希尔伯德[1]以来学术界对伊丽莎白时代的研究有了日新月异的变化，斯文本恩[2]对兰姆的大力褒奖也要加以修正了，但那个由来已久的观点却无需大改——当然那也是兰姆本人的观点——即兰姆单枪匹马地拯救了昔日的剧作家[3]。说什么在兰姆之前就有了多德斯雷的《昔日的戏剧》、托马斯·霍金的《英国戏剧的起源》和贝克[4]的《戏剧传记》，可谓是不着边际。兰姆时代的吉尔彻斯特这么认为，现在依然有人这么认为。兰姆承认读过这些评论，但他知道他们都没做过他要去做的事情，也即是从文学批评的角度来评价昔日的戏剧。之前的选集多把这些戏剧看作古文物。尽管那些选集的编者偶有只言片语透露自己对这些剧作的看法，今天我们一看便知他们看待戏剧的角度和兰姆不同。比如，多德斯雷喜欢昔日的戏剧，是因为其喜剧性诙谐。且听兰姆怎么说吧：

> 我所摘选的部分与其说以诙谐和幽默见长（虽然昔日的戏剧在这方面很出色），不如说是些深情的场景（有时极度深情）、有趣的场面、严肃的描写。这些部分与其说是诙谐，不如说更像诗，而且是悲剧诗，非喜剧诗。

兰姆和早期的戏剧迷毫无共同之处。虽说悲剧诗不见得就比喜剧性诙谐好，但是至少不一样。兰姆的独具慧眼在于他第一次强调了这些戏剧的某种特质，之前的评论家对此少有提及，或者即便提及，也多斥其为“狂野”和“无教养”。兰姆则极力推崇，视之为足以使这些剧作家与莎士比亚一样不朽的主要原因之一。如果说兰姆踏入的是一块奥迪塞斯们和吉福德们充分耕耘过的土地，那可谓是混淆了事情与价值的界限。这些勤劳的耕耘者们不光枯燥乏味，普通读者少有问津，而且其关注的也多是与那些剧作家相关的生平信息、文献考证和文本问题。所有这些兰姆都不感兴趣。兰姆没有在其选篇后附上任何剧作家的生平信息，只是推荐有此需要的读者去读多德斯雷和贝克。在文本方面，他慧眼识出《两个贵族亲戚》的前两场出自莎士比亚之手，但他毫不犹豫地随意删减，不光删减冗余的内容，而且删减“所有那些作者还不如不写的句子”。由于这些“罪行”，学者们不断地对他严加指责，但他们当中没有谁能像他这样以确凿的口吻带领读者畅游在作品自身的美好之中。

另一方面，也有迹象表明他受不久前刚出版的大众选集之编者的影响更大。亨利·海德利的《英语古诗精品》（1787）和乔治·艾黎士的《早期英语诗人范作》（1790）都在当时取得了一定程度的成功，兰姆不可能充耳不闻。艾黎士的集子在1801年扩编成了三卷本，当时兰姆的第二本笔记已经准备就绪（他的第一本笔记于1796年付之一炬）。“范作”一词在1804年再次被艾黎士用在该系列的姊妹版《早期英语诗体传奇范作》的书名中；也出现在乔治·伯内特编写的《早期英语散文范作》一书的书名中。骚塞【5】在1804年6月给柯尔律治写的一封信中谈到一个选集，还说兰姆可以编得很好。1807年骚塞自己选编了《晚期英语诗人范作》，作为艾黎士那部选集的续编。简而言之，“范作”一词在兰姆时代是个流行词，这一点即能否定沃森对兰姆的批判，因为沃森说兰姆把剧作家们作为博物馆陈列品对待。兰姆对同时代选集的关注可以从其对诺思《雅萃集》的评价中进一步得到证实，这套教科书选集把散文和诗歌分别成卷，在18世纪晚期出过多个版本。1796年的两卷本致力于选些“对年轻人有益的，实用且又欢愉的诗歌”，并包含一章戏剧诗。同年六月底兰姆在给柯尔律治的信中写道：

> 我希望你能做点什么，以便让昔日的剧作家被更多人知晓。看到评论书籍中堆积一段段寻常的引文，竟都没提到马辛杰【6】、鲍蒙特和弗莱彻，我火冒三丈，随后的剧作家（唯有奥特维除外【7】）根本无法与之相比。愚蠢的诺斯却连一个也没选。

兰姆并非真在催促柯尔律治。他只是在脑中盘算着编一本选集。他那本记录优秀戏剧段落的笔记本不断在增厚。但是他的《莎士比亚同时代英国戏剧诗人之范作》却姗姗来迟，从最初萌生这个念头到1808年出书，整整用了12载。

但是一经出版，这本书就载入了文学史册。虽然起初学者们对它嗤之以鼻，但整个19世纪，它都是唯一权威的伊丽莎白时代的戏剧选，尽管也不乏带有敌意的批评。现在普通读者在一本小巧的集子里就可把莎士比亚以外的所有昔日重要剧作家的作品一览无余了。编选模式介于只选少量名言警句的早期选集和多德斯雷的全剧收录之间。照搬多德斯雷的模式只会使兰姆成为第二个多德斯雷，甚至是逊色很多的艾萨克·里德【8】。或许，兰姆最反对多德斯雷和里德的地方就是他俩那令人生畏的大部头巨著（分别为八卷本和十二卷本）会把胆怯的读者吓跑，或让他们望而却步。而他兰姆要做的是把读者留下。所以他要一个场景一个场景来选，选“那些深情的场景（有时极度深情）、有趣的场面、严肃的描写。这些部分与其说诙谐，不如说更像诗，而且是悲剧诗，非喜剧诗。”他的读者始终颠簸在情感浪潮的巅峰，如果给他的《范作》起一个别名，最恰当的莫属“戏剧冲突集”了。但是我们也应注意“诗”这个词。兰姆并不是以剧院演员的视角看待昔日的戏剧，而是将其视为适合在书房潜心阅读的文学作品。但这并不是因为他无视其戏剧效果，实际

上，没人能像他那样对戏剧有那么敏锐和充满洞见的感知了；而是因为他认为有些戏剧效果是如此微妙，普通的舞台演出只会毁掉人在阅读剧本时才有的美好想象，即便是最好的演员也不行：

> 我绝不会背着良心，说忘了数年前第一次看到莎士比亚的一出悲剧在舞台上演出时带给我的满足感，当时是两位出色的演员［肯布尔和西登斯夫人］担任主角。就好像之前朦胧无状的念头有了具体的显现一般。但是我们余生都要为这种幼稚的愉悦、这种具体感付出高昂的代价。新鲜感过去之后，我们会发现，与其说一个念头有了具体的显现，倒不如说我们只是把微妙的幻影具体化，使之降为具体有形而已。为了追求一个不可企及的东西，我们放弃了梦想。

莎士比亚尚且如此，其他剧作家就更可想而知了：莎翁可是迄今为止是最杰出的剧作家。因此，兰姆强调戏剧应该去阅读而不是去观看，也是可以理解的。一生热爱文字的他自然分外迷恋书面文字的永恒之美。我们也不能诟病他只选难忘场景的做法，因为要编一本即方便携带又涵盖全面的集子，这也许是他能想到的最佳方式了。但是如果抛开选集这件事不谈，他的观点和做法却容易让人误以为戏剧和诗歌是泾渭分明的。亚彻把昔日戏剧的戏剧效果——或者缺乏戏剧效果——同其绝对的诗学价值严格区分开来，斯文本恩和格斯则干脆把它们称作“诗”。

但是在选编《范作》时，兰姆对诗歌的专注使之对剧中的人物和场景不时有灵感闪现，这些灵感都恰如其分地写在了注释里。约翰逊博士曾说过注释是魔鬼，不管有多不可或缺。但他显然没把自己对波洛涅斯[9]的注释以及兰姆编撰这部选集的注释包括进去，因为这种注释正是无助的读者期望文学评论家所能提供的。评论家应该画出路线图，让读者得以畅游在作者大脑中的未知之乡，但是不能越俎代庖，替读者去游、去想。这部《范作》的注释包括了兰姆的一些最自然、最辉煌的文字——正是它们成就了这部选集的不朽——但是这些注释并没取代读者自己的判断。恰如其分的夸张勾起了读者的胃口，让其迫不及待地去读原作，因为兰姆的激情颇具传染性。他兴致勃勃地侃侃而谈，最后与苦难的男女主角感同身受。此处，我们又一次看到了兰姆和学者的区别。学者们更关注历史，关注一个时代与另一个时代的不同，而兰姆这个纯粹、简单又满怀激情的评论家感兴趣的却是文学的普适性价值。他鲜有什么历史感，评论时往往带入主观之见。这种文学批评的不足之处已有评论家提及，但就《范作》而言，最大的不足是均衡感的缺失。兰姆惯把莎士比亚作为衡量的标准就是一例。或许要做到不把他们与莎士比亚相比也难，但是比来比去，兰姆似乎怎么也衡量不出谁更接近莎士比亚。海伍德[10]是“写散文的莎士比亚”，福特[11]是“英国一流的诗人”“仅次于莎士比亚”。“莎士比亚之后所有的诗人各方面的才情”都逊于鲍蒙特[12]和弗莱沏[13]。“在所有的英国剧作家中，在描写和讲道理方面，在相对不那么戏剧性的篇章里，最接近莎士比亚的或许要数查普曼[14]了。”当然，还有他把韦伯斯特《白魔》中的挽歌和莎士比亚

《暴风雨》中的短歌所作的出色对比。诚然，我们这样孤立地评价他的只言片语，而没有参考他随后的详细解释，显得有失公允，但读者的第一印象肯定是：在兰姆文学批评的天平上，可怜的莎士比亚被太过频繁地用作砝码了。一种解释也许就是兰姆一直就为那个时代最出色的剧作家所吸引。一旦喜欢上这个人，他就要对之和盘托出，决不能有所保留。若说这种方式有些夸张，这也解释了为何他能激起读者狂热的阅读兴趣，而那些老学究和选集编者却只能引来不温不火的好奇而已。一言以蔽之，他的注释是重新唤起大众去关注那些不太为人所知的名字的唯一重要因素，比如马斯顿【15】、海伍德、米德尔顿【16】、罗利【17】、德克【18】、特纳和韦伯斯特，这些人此前都没被学者以恰当的方式收入选集，也不为普通读者所知。

兰姆的选编方法对韦伯斯特这样的剧作家尤为有利。直到最近，评论界一向都还认为韦伯斯特写单个场景往往出彩，但整部剧的谋篇不够理想。兰姆选的恰恰就是那些出彩的场景。事实上，考虑到有限的篇幅，很难想象还有谁能比兰姆做得更好、还能选出更好的篇章。比如《魔鬼的案例》，兰姆选了其中康塔瑞诺和埃尔科莱准备决斗的场景，因为他认为那个场景“在描写有所把持、颇具绅士风度的争执方面堪称典范”。他从《阿庀斯和弗吉尼亚》中选取的是父亲亲手杀死自己挚爱的女儿的场景。但是更充分的展示可见于让韦伯斯特从此得以青史留名的那两部伟大剧作。关于《玛尔菲女公爵》，我们不仅可以读到女公爵和安东尼奥偷偷结婚的卧房场景，还可读到第四幕的大部分，从蜡像尸体到疯人舞，再到女公爵被勒死以及费迪南德的追悔莫及。从另一部同样丰富的宝藏《白魔》中，兰姆选取的是那个哀悼场景和审讯维多利亚的全过程。或许我们亦可以选出同样的段落，但我们肯定写不出兰姆那种突显出韦伯斯特天资的注释来：

> 引入女公爵死亡的所有那些可怕的场景：蜡像的以假乱真，疯人的面具，造墓者，敲钟人，生者的挽歌，逐渐加深的屈辱——这些场景与我们通常想到的复仇手段可谓相距甚远了，但加诸于女主人公身上的离奇苦难与之相比，不可思议程度更是远甚，后者远不是一般的诗人所能构想出来的。女公爵经历的仿佛不是现世的磨难，所以她的语言也似乎不属于这个世界。她一直活在恐惧里，直到恐惧“成为她的一部分”。她说着绝望的语言，有如生活在地狱深渊的灵魂。巧妙地驾驭恐惧，触到灵魂深处，恐惧最大限度地叠加，折磨一个生命，直至其生命之花枯萎凋零，然后再用凡人的伎俩来个最后一击：这些都只有韦伯斯特写得出。二流的天才亦可以“恐惧堆积恐惧”，但却做不到韦伯斯特这样。他们误以数量为质量；他们“用画出的魔鬼吓唬孩子”；但他们不知道如何直击读者的灵魂。他们的恐惧缺少尊严，他们的恐吓不够得体。
>
> 这位意大利白魔做了一件貌似有理的错事，又用天真的大胆为自己辩护，我们仿佛看到了那张让她如此自信的无与伦比的美丽脸庞，在她结束辩护时几乎都希望法官、控诉方、旁听的严肃大使们以及整个法庭能站起来为她辩护了，尽管她罪证确凿；正如《堂吉诃德》中的牧羊人“毫不理会她当面拒绝他们的决心”，愿意追随美丽的牧羊女马尔赛拉一样。

她的辩护是多么甜美和可爱，
就像芳香玫瑰花上的溃斑，
使她如花的美名蒙上污点！

我从没见过如此凄美的葬礼挽歌，哀悼马尔塞洛的挽歌，除了《暴风雨》中的那首让费迪南德想起溺水父亲的短歌。前一部是土，散着土息；后一部是水，泛着水汽。两个都是一样的情感强烈，仿佛化在了那个要素之中。

这些都让我们领略了最杰出的兰姆。很难想象，看完这样的注释谁还能够按兵不动，而不去把韦伯斯特疯狂地品尝呢。但是如同兰姆对福特的《破碎的心》所作的注释一样，这些注释也是兰姆最惹非议的文字。简而言之，浪漫派对这些注释大加赞赏，说个中包涵了对韦伯斯特最见洞察力的真知；现实主义戏剧的拥护者则以此为例，证明兰姆这个精致的文体学家搞起文学评论来是多么蹩脚。赞成也好，反对也罢，最激烈的争论基本都围绕几个问题进行：韦伯斯特真把恐惧描写得如此巧妙？他真像兰姆称颂的那样，没有误以数量为质量？一个评论家在《年度回顾》上这样评论《范作》：

《玛尔菲女公爵》是兰姆先生最着力热捧的戏剧之一，但是它事实上连兰姆所称颂的一半都不如……被称颂的部分既荒诞又恐怖。女公爵的哥哥因为其下嫁而惩罚她，用残忍的面具和玩笑折磨她；把她死去的丈夫和孩子的蜡像陈列出来；把疯子放出来，伴着疯狂的音乐在她面前跳舞；准备好了棺材、绳索、丧钟；掘墓人上场；最后她被施以绞刑。这就是把恐惧描写得巧妙了！！如果这样写剧本也算大师，那操着手术刀、给人带来不可名状之痛苦的外科医生也堪称情感大师了。

该评论写于1808年。1893年威廉·亚彻也有类似的评论：“我认为《玛尔菲女公爵》（《白魔》稍好一些）把恐惧描写得并不巧妙——死板，机械，暴力。”但是这篇评论整体还算友好，并以慷慨的大赞兰姆结束全篇：

但是从没谁像兰姆这样跟剧作家惺惺相惜：他的评论甚至比原作还有创见——那时的作家层出不穷，而且众口一声，但兰姆这样的评论家却绝无仅有。

事实上，在评论界如同串通好一般对《范作》一致保持沉默时——《爱丁堡评论》和《评论季刊》尤其沉默——这篇是正面评论兰姆的唯一声音。兰姆自己认为此文出自柯尔律治之手。1809年6月7日在给柯尔律治的一封信中，他说：“我也应该对你在《年度回顾》上的文章深表感谢，对吗？”柯尔律治似乎没有回应，要么就是回应了，但那封回信尚未曝光。如果真如兰姆所说，作者是柯尔律治的话，那这篇文章也包含了柯尔律治对韦伯斯特的全部观点，因为另外唯一一次郑重提及韦伯斯特的名字是在柯尔律治的一个讲座上，据当时一位记者的一篇不甚完美的报道所言：

换言之，博学之士会希望英国悲剧作家只单纯地模仿古希腊悲剧家，或者演讲术只模仿塞内加。

这据说是柯尔律治引用韦伯斯特的话，但显然充其量也就是韦伯斯特《白魔》“致读者”中某句话的改述。

然而同时代唯一另外一位评论家却不认同柯尔律治对兰姆如此之高的评价。在1809年的《每月评论》上，这位评论家这样表达自己的异议：

> 说真的，摆在我们面前的注释实在不足为奇，除了风格出奇以外，正式得突兀，精致得怪诞。有些注释极力突显原剧的滥情，我们反而觉得是在批评，他这么做实在徒劳。我们甚至都不会提及他把《白魔》中的挽歌和《暴风雨》中的短歌所作的对比，说什么："前一部是土，散着土息；后一部是水，泛着水汽。两个都是一样的情感强烈，仿佛化在了那个要素之中"；也不会去讨论什么轻浮的卡兰萨所经历的"精神崩溃，内心撕裂"，或魅惑兰姆先生对《玛尔菲女公爵》大加赞赏的"有尊严的恐惧，得体的恐吓"。之所以用这些词汇，或许是因为它们很像当时的戏剧语言吧，毫无疑问有相似之处——但是他模仿的语言是皮特埃尔和赫罗弗尼斯的语言，或者《哈姆雷特》中假国王用的模仿英雄体。正如兰姆的讽刺性幽默与莎士比亚笔下的茂丘西奥、本尼迪克和奥兰多的轻松诙谐不可同日而语一样，这里所模仿的语言与哈姆雷特本人自如流畅的绅士用语亦不可同日而语。

这位批评家真正抱怨的是兰姆的另一个习惯，即他动辄把伊丽莎白时代的次要剧作家与莎士比亚相比。正如假国王不是哈姆雷特一样，韦伯斯特也不是莎士比亚。也同样是这位评论家引得兰姆给柯尔律治写道：

> 《每月评论》讥笑我，还问"难道兰姆先生觉得《司酒宴之神的面具》【19】不够好吗？"，因为我说过除了《力士参孙》，查理一世以后就没好剧了。所以，就因为他们不知道或不记得《司酒宴之神的面具》是在很早以前写的，我就成了低估弥尔顿的人了！柯尔律治啊，杀了这些评论吧，否则它们会把我们杀了的，把我们喜欢的一切都杀了的！其他什么都可以善待，但要把那些评论当作仇敌。

性格温和的伊利亚【20】还很少这样大发雷霆。但他把韦伯斯特和莎士比亚相比较的做法还是经受住了反对派的唇枪舌剑。整个19世纪，很多评论家都习惯于认为韦伯斯特在悲剧艺术上仅次于莎士比亚。那首被兰姆拿来与《暴风雨》中的短歌相比的挽歌，在1833年还让一位作家想起了莎士比亚的另一个剧本："这个挽歌有着所有奥菲莉娅式的无助绝望，那种说不清、道不明、可怕的绝望。韦伯斯特笔下的可妮莉雅一字一句都那么美，那么富有深情，仿佛理性与痛苦都在试图控制她的神智。"如果说保守点的评论家为求妥帖着力控制言辞，常常将之与多位剧作家放在一起来谈的话，那大胆如斯文本恩、格斯、赛蒙斯【21】者则是直言不讳：

> 论格局、创新、学识以及更显而易见的喜剧形式，韦伯斯特都远在本·琼森之下；论多才多艺和语言的自然流畅，我们也必须承认他不及琼森。但是同莎士比亚一样，他也是形而上的，他的缪斯翅膀超越于尘寰之上，他透过一双幽灵的眼睛看事物。
>
> 他没有为了推动剧情而借助那种俗不可耐的复仇和鬼魂把戏。我们甚至可以说，在推动流血悲剧这个门类的发展方面，他比《哈姆雷特》还前进了一步。
>
> ……论悲剧诗的深度、高度、纯度，韦伯斯特与莎士比亚之间的距离比其他任何一位英国诗人与韦伯斯特之间的距离都要近，近到足以使他成为次优；至少可以说，雪莱是否可以位居第三，都尚存疑问。只有跟莎士比亚相比，才显出韦伯斯特作为悲剧诗人的不足：毋庸置疑，他比我国所有的诗人都好。马洛【22】因其奠基者和开拓者的身份，的确在我国诗人中的地位高些：然而他的作品没有——当然也不可能有——那么丰富和完美的戏剧效果，而韦伯斯特的悲剧在构思和细节的精妙处跟莎士比亚的悲剧是如此接近。

最后这段引文来自斯文本恩。同样在这篇评论中，他还说韦伯斯特是“莎士比亚的一个肢体”和“右臂”。在另一个地方他又说“如果莎士比亚是大海，韦伯斯特和德克就是港湾或入海口”，并为此遭到了威廉·沃森的反驳：

> 莎士比亚是大海，韦伯斯特和德克是港湾或入海口！如画的意象，但不甚属实，令人联想到一览无余的阳光和令人振奋的咸海水，但是韦伯斯特跟这些毫不沾边。他的才华不是任何海洋的入海口，而是清晨的气息和阳光永远也到达不了的地下密室。他似乎喜欢住在发霉的地窖里，与鬼怪的回忆和死亡的味道相伴。

然而这还不够。斯文本恩还得把韦伯斯特和古希腊的剧作家相比较。韦伯斯特比索福克勒斯【23】更伟大，因为索福克勒斯没有“本能的正直”，这种正直只在埃斯库罗斯【24】、莎士比亚和韦伯斯特身上能找到。那欧里庇得斯呢【25】？差得更远了，不仅在道德情操上逊于韦伯斯特，在写作技艺上也不如。可见兰姆把韦伯斯特的仰慕者们引到了怎样的死胡同。

但是如果要说兰姆有哪个词引发了最多的争议的话，那就是他在注解中评价维多利亚时用了“无辜的大胆”一词。这个词并无什么害处，今天的评论家可能根本不会留意。但是在兰姆写作的时代，评论家和读者都热衷于探求昔日戏剧中的人物内心。伦敦的文学圈尽刮人物性格分析之风。这股风由惠特利【26】和摩根【27】开启于18世纪，后由杰出的莎士比亚评论家柯尔律治和黑兹利特【28】推动，直到1904年《莎士比亚悲剧》一书的出版才有减弱之势。那时的评论家读其他评论家的著作时，带着读原著一样的机警好奇和认真求索。随便一个词、一句无心的话甚至一个笔误都会被狠狠抓住不放，只要是跟戏剧人物有关。因此，兰姆此言一出，博学之士和狂热读者纷纷都去关注《白魔》。戴斯【29】，韦伯斯特的第一位编者，喜欢维多利亚这个人物，但却质疑她的“无辜”：

> 要我说，我赞赏韦伯斯特对这两种人的区分：一种是清白者在面对无端指控时自然流露的无辜，一种是不知悔改的罪犯在面对审判时拒不认罪的佯装之态。维多利亚面对审判者，清醒地知道一切的可怕，依赖己身的机智，意识到美貌的影响力，而且也没忘记，一旦情况紧迫，博卡诺会随时介入保护自己。她的机智敏捷让人瞠目，但是作者从没赋予她一个清白者在这种场合该说的话。维多利亚勇敢无畏，但她的勇敢是强力为之的。她缺少那种知道一个简单的真相就能把对手打败的平静；她那是一种极力打造、高度夸张的大胆——面对事实、面对无可辩驳的证据强行狡辩，尽管罪证确凿却还表现得像个殉道者。

亨利·哈勒姆在其《十五、十六、十七世纪欧洲文学概论》（1837–39）中把韦伯斯特排在海伍德之后，但却也给足了韦伯斯特面子，单列一章专门讨论，表示认同戴斯对兰姆此语的评价。于他而言，剧中维多利亚那部分“实际上描写了一个绝望的罪人，因为佯装出来的大胆失去了本可以诱惑或安抚审判官的一切有利因素”。可以看出，讨论的焦点逐渐从维多利亚这个剧中人物转向了恶这个问题。说到恶，没有谁比19世纪中期的查尔斯·金斯利【30】谈得更激烈、更愤慨了。昔日的剧作家这个群

体和韦伯斯特这个个体自然也逃不过他的眼睛。在《戏剧和清教徒》一书中，金斯利详细剖析了韦伯斯特的两部悲剧，认为个中体现了17世纪那种黑暗的、不健康的心理特征。金斯利承认这是“莎士比亚以来写得最好的两部悲剧”，但“剧中人物的灵魂没有向善或向恶的发展，而这是莎士比亚的专长”。于是，教士兼小说家金斯利在连连叹息声中提到了伊利亚的那个评语：“可怜的伊利亚，从书本认识世界，多从自己善良的本性出发来认识人类，说什么维多利亚具有一种‘无辜的大胆’。”金斯利倒不是认为兰姆不真诚，而是疑惑兰姆是否意识到“韦伯斯特那个认罪场景的精彩之处恰恰在于其对罪恶人性的熟知”。沃德代表学院派作出了裁决，说兰姆的评语“完全错误，破坏了这个人物自始至终的一贯性”。就连一向对韦伯斯特并不冷漠的埃德蒙·格斯爵士也承认兰姆“太过夸大了维多利亚‘无辜的大胆’；毫无疑问，蒙特切尔索的恣意谩骂与她的不知羞耻有关，也与我们给与她的好感有关”。然而斯文本恩不会任由别人贬损他的兰姆和韦伯斯特的，在谈到戴斯和金斯利对兰姆这个用语的指责时，他说：

> 我不认同他们所说的韦伯斯特一次也没让其女主人公以那种遭受不公指控时所具有的无辜的口吻说话：玛丽的求饶并不缺少那种无辜，尽管她未能获赦——除了在少数几个不管她的请求成立与否早已认定她无罪的人心中；在有着根深蒂固的先入之见的审判官面前，维多利亚的辩词并不比这位苏格兰女王[31]的辩词更模棱两可和闪烁其词。很难不去想诗人当时是否想到了女王的真实悲剧，因为事情就发生在该剧发表的25年前：如果没有，那这也太巧合了。

在此我们关注的并不是韦伯斯特在19世纪晚期的诗人和学者中的名望，只是知道一些他们关于兰姆对韦伯斯特态度的看法，可以证明《范作》在当时多有影响力。即便是强烈反对，人们也对之怀有敬意。至于韦伯斯特，兰姆那些令人振奋的（即使说不上启发性的）注释引发了人们对这位剧作家如此之多的绝妙评论（即便有些时候不无恶意），以至于牢牢奠定了其在詹姆士一世时代的重要剧作家当中的地位。是否果如兰姆所说，韦伯斯特在塑造悲剧效果方面仅次于莎士比亚，他巧妙地描写恐惧，他的维多利亚用一种无辜的大胆为自己辩护，这些都不重要；重要的是韦伯斯特的名字已牢牢印在了文学的版图上，印在了那个万家灯火与黑暗阴森的拱廊并存的大城市的文学版图上。

（二）

同时也有诸多迹象表明，兰姆的《范作》出版之后，人们对韦伯斯特的兴趣也随即浓厚起来。1810年司各特匿名选编了《古代英国戏剧选》。在第三卷（也是最后一卷）中，《白魔》和《玛尔菲女公爵》全都入选。在前言里，司各特把韦伯斯特的名字与鲍蒙特和弗莱沏、琼森、福特、马辛杰并排而放，指出他们都适合放在“永恒的莎士比亚”旁边；而雪利、马斯顿和德克却只是“次要但也值得尊敬的作家”。司各特

一定对韦伯斯特印象颇深，因为我们发现他1814年在爱奥那岛[32]的废墟前，引用了下面两行脍炙人口的诗句：

只要踏上这片土地
就是踏上古老的历史

我们知道这两行出自18世纪选集编者最爱的那一幕，即《玛尔菲女公爵》第五幕中安东尼奥在“废墟”前的演讲。这一至深印象竟追随司各特一生，因为多年后（1831年），司各特在去世前不久写给戴斯的信中，还说韦伯斯特是“我们昔日最好的剧作家之一”。就连韦伯斯特的次要作品也开始成为关注的对象。1812年埃杰顿·布里奇斯爵士[33]把疯人之歌（《玛尔菲女公爵》第四幕，第二场，第65–76行）收进了《英国目录学家》第二卷。此前不大为人所知的《阿庀斯和弗吉尼亚》也于1815年被笛尔克收入《昔日的英国戏剧》，后又收入多德斯雷的《昔日的戏剧》的最后一卷（科利尔[34]版，1827年）。内森·德雷克1817年动笔写《莎士比亚和他的时代》之时，觉得有必要在“莎士比亚时代的戏剧文学和戏剧家简述”那一章插入一个韦伯斯特的介绍。德雷克是个评论家，以前研究过莪相诗歌[35]和苏格兰高原灵异文学。虽说他长久以来是个哥特文学和感伤文学迷，但他转向伊丽莎白戏剧的过程还是很慢的。1798年他还在批判选集编者海德利，因为后者认为现代剧作家已经永远失去了“大自然赐予莎士比亚的……灵感钥匙，莎士比亚同时代的少数剧作家同样也掌握那把‘开启神圣的同情泪泉’的钥匙”。而现在呢，在人们对昔日的戏剧重燃激情的大潮影响下，德雷克也意识到应该给伊丽莎白时代的次要剧作家一席之地，哪怕只是因为他们缔造了“一个时代”。他对韦伯斯特的看法明确清晰。他认为韦伯斯特“仅在福特之下，或许，在天赋上略逊福特”，但是跟福特一样“青睐恐惧与奇特，只是其剧中人物更加无法无天”。他也不禁要把韦伯斯特与莎士比亚相比：

> ……《白魔》第五幕表明，韦伯斯特偶尔也会迸发莎士比亚般的想象，特别是写非尘世的野性时。但他也难逃这种灵感闪现（或许可以称之无法企及的完美）之后的危险；因为，他的导师能够自由、空灵地游走，成为另一世界的阐释者，而他太多时候却仿佛在努力挣脱现世的枷锁。即使得以挣脱，他也经常是“奢侈无度、频频犯错的幽灵”。不过，尽管有这些缺点，他的悲剧也无疑是神圣的天才之作。

这里值得注意的是文学史家对韦伯斯特的态度的转变。兰姆之前，无数书写英国诗歌起源和发展史的学者都很少提及韦伯斯特，即使在谈论伊丽莎白时代的戏剧时也是如此；但在兰姆之后，文学史家不仅提到韦伯斯特，而且通常花不少篇幅。如果说德雷克算不上文学史家的话，那我们还有早先提到过的亨利·哈勒姆，其作品至少还具有欧洲视野。哈勒姆把马斯顿、查普曼[36]、罗利、特纳和米德尔顿等剧作家放在一起，但这几位总共加起来才占一段，韦伯斯特一人就占了整整三页。

当时的期刊也对韦伯斯特青睐有加。《布莱克伍德的爱丁堡杂志》为弥补之前对《范作》的冷漠，现在数措并举。它利用1818年《兰姆全

集》出版的机会，不光评价兰姆的总体成就，还特别谈到兰姆对昔日戏剧的看法。同年，该杂志还刊登了一系列“早期英国剧作家的评论文章”。前三篇讲马洛，接下来两篇则谈韦伯斯特，尤其用大篇幅谈他的两部悲剧。其中第一篇发表在三月刊上，讨论两部剧中更受欢迎的《玛尔菲女公爵》，先从莎士比亚与其同时代剧作家的区别谈起。署名为“H. M. ”的文章作者，说虽然他们都写出了伟大的诗歌，但是论对人性的理解，无人能及莎士比亚。其他人连刻画人物都不会，韦伯斯特尤甚。虽然他是个“真正的天才”，但也只是描绘“某些单个场景”的能手。韦伯斯特用奢侈的笔墨刻画恶和罪行，“深切至深，可怕至极”。但是他笔下的事件并没有“华兹华斯所说的‘趋向性洪流’，其人物也没一个能如画一般明晰、傲然地站在我们面前。”如此一来，文章作者不得从剧中摘录几个片段来阐释情节。但是在文章结束之前，“H. M. ”还特别提到兰姆对“引入女公爵死亡的所有那些可怕的场面”的评价。

登于八月刊的那第二篇文章评论性的文字甚至更少，同样也是从剧中摘录一些片段，加几句解释将其串联一处，大都关于情节。但最后一段透露了作者的立场：

> 这部剧很有感染力，甚至不乏优秀的诗句——但是总体上，它让人吃惊而非震撼。情感也是令人痛苦的，而非悲剧性的。事实上，有些场景让人作呕，整个剧中我们看到更多的是卑鄙、放纵、没有操守的戏剧人物。在描写主要人物的情感时鲜有什么想象力，他们表现出的只是扭曲的邪恶——一场接一场无耻的放荡，即使剧中有智慧的火花以及偶尔迸发的道德良知，都不能使这放荡减轻。描写主人公维多利亚时显得无比激情和随意——她虽然真实，又美丽、邪恶得惊人，我们仍然觉得她不适合做悲剧的主角，悲剧永远都应该写伟大的情感和伟大的事件。但是，人们对这个“威尼斯的白魔”总有那么点迷恋，这种迷恋伴随她走到人生的尽头——这仿佛归因于她在死神面前的无畏。
>
> 在死神面前，我不会流一滴泪，
> 就算面色苍白，也因无血色，不是恐惧。

“H. M. ”在某些方面领先于金斯利，但是当我们读到“这个‘威尼斯的白魔’”时，不禁会心一笑，因为这时兰姆已经完全为自己对韦伯斯特的维护正了名。也许可以狂妄地说，此后所有对韦伯斯特的评论都带着伊利亚的印记。

甚至在我们意料不到的地方也能感受到兰姆的影响。1819年，堪贝尔[37]死后出版的《英国诗人之范作》表面看上去与兰姆的《范作》没有任何共同之处，除了书名中的“范作”一词。这是一部七卷本的大部头，收录了从乔叟[38]到克里斯托·弗安斯蒂[39]的所有重要英国诗人。堪贝尔自己也是诗人，当然不缺对早期诗歌的见地和敏感。但是我们发现，他在选编韦伯斯特时还是难逃兰姆的影响。因为除却维多利亚关于梦境的诗行，他选的韦伯斯特全都在兰姆的《范作》中出现过。然而堪贝尔似乎并不是很喜欢韦伯斯特，他介绍韦伯斯特的前言就流露了几分讽刺：

> 从《玛尔菲女公爵》前面的宣传词来看，该剧本身似乎并不怎么成功。作者

说："它只缺悲剧之所以是悲剧的一样东西，那就是具有鉴赏力的观众。"但是我们怀疑，观众可能并没像兰姆在给《范作》写注时那样，被韦伯斯特的恐怖场景深深打动。

但是如果考虑到这位讽刺家擅自把韦伯斯特的"致读者"从原来的《白魔》挪到了另一部剧的前面，他的讽刺也就失却了诸多锋芒。

科利尔可就不太可能犯这种错误了。谈到科利尔，一个"不幸的"读者，我们暂时得从文艺批评转到历史研究上来。很多学者都引用过纪尔登[40]关于韦伯斯特是圣安德鲁霍尔本的教区执事的论断。笛尔克1815年查过史学材料，一无所获。在1820年出版的《诗学十日谈》中，科利尔试图把剧作家韦伯斯特等同于"已故的军队牧师"约翰·韦伯斯特，后者写了《圣徒指引》（1653）和《审视大学教育》（1654）。据此他还进一步推断说韦伯斯特这位剧作家一度登台演出过，因为托马斯·豪尔写的一篇回击《审视大学教育》的文章，名字就叫"被鞭笞的演员，鞭笞韦伯斯特，据说从前是名演员"。十年后，这些推断引起了戴斯的注意，他深入展开调查，极不赞同科利尔的观点。顺便提一下，科利尔于1846年重拾韦伯斯特的生平问题，说自己在肖迪奇的圣伦纳德教区记事录中发现了一个名叫约翰·韦伯斯特的男人与伊丽莎白·萨顿在1590年7月25日登记结婚，并有其女爱丽丝·韦伯斯特在1606年5月9日受洗的记录。且不论科利尔的这一发现可信与否，他的研究至少反映了学术界对韦伯斯特的生平和作品的重视。

（三）

不过从本质上讲，那个时代是伟大的浪漫主义作家的时代。就在科利尔推断韦伯斯特生平的那年，黑兹利特的《伊丽莎白时代戏剧的演讲稿》也出版了。演讲于1819年的最后两月在萨里艺术设计学院进行[41]。1819年以前，黑兹利特对伊丽莎白时代次要剧作家的了解也许微乎其微，尽管他谈过莎士比亚、本·琼森、鲍蒙特和弗莱沏。他去威尔特郡的温特斯洛客栈准备演讲前，咨询过兰姆，并向普罗科特[42]借过书。在那待了六周后（他夜间一定伴着乡村炉火读剧了），他现身伦敦，红光满面，信心十足，准备好了讲稿，对昔日剧作家的剧作了然于胸。如同兰姆在《范作》中最具可读性一样，黑兹利特在演讲稿中也最具可读性。风格是温特斯洛时期的风格，如他自己所述：

废话连篇，东拉西扯。在别的时期可能拘谨、干巴、突兀，但这里如同江河奔泻，破堤而出。我无需费心组织思绪或找寻意象：它们不请自来，我和着微风将其吮入胸中，寂静的树林也有了万千思绪——

诗人眼中的意象
挂在每片树叶，附着每根树枝。

他的评论全面而又深刻。第一讲概述伊丽莎白时代的文学；第二讲飞快地谈谈雷利[43]、马洛、海伍德、米德尔顿和罗利；第三讲谈了马斯顿、查普曼、德克和韦伯斯特；第四讲像旋风一样转向鲍蒙特和弗莱

沏、琼森、福特、马辛杰。第五讲谈了诸如《四个P》、《帕纳塞斯归来》和《古顿老婆婆的缝衣针》这样几部早期的剧作。然后突然转向德雷顿[44]和丹尼尔的时代、鲍蒙特和弗莱沏的时代，但是在忙乱中还把《阿卡迪亚》和更早时期的菲利普·锡德尼爵士[45]的十四行诗也拿来讲了。第七讲跟戏剧更没什么关系了，主要是把培根的文风拿来与托马斯·布朗爵士[46]和杰里米·泰勒的文风相比。在第八讲，也是最后一讲，黑兹利特通过对比伊丽莎白时代的戏剧和德国的戏剧阔谈古今文学的特点。

但是我们这里关注的是黑兹利特对韦伯斯特的看法。黑兹利特将之与德克相比。乍看之下，我们看不出两者之中他是否对德克更加青睐：

> 韦伯斯特，我认为，如果跟德克一样有创造力的话，或许比德克还要杰出；或者即便没有，也同样比他杰出。

接着，当他再度把莎士比亚作为标杆引入时，我们方才知道他真正的立场：

> 总体说来，可能《白魔》和《玛尔菲女公爵》是我们所有的作品中最为接近莎士比亚的了。唯一的缺点，唯一可以怪罪它们、说它们因而“暗淡失色”的地方就是它们太像莎士比亚了，往往是直接效仿，无论整体构思还是个性化表达。迄今为止，没有人比莎士比亚更难效仿、更值得效仿了。但是如果韦伯斯特的所有人物都是他自己独创，都以其独特的风貌展现在读者面前，像我上面花大量篇幅称颂的诚实的伊达尔戈那样，就会好很多。我觉得，迪克笔下有更真实的人物、更深厚的情感、更本真的人性。但是迪克没有动用自己的知识储备，没用同样丰富的想象和同样光彩夺目的语言来装扮自己的主题。迪克擅长刻画一些习惯性的、根深蒂固的情感，那种简单的、永恒的人性和情感；韦伯斯特则更倾向于刻画情感的多重组合和变化无常，将之正比，反比，使之产生戏剧冲突；他让情感肆意颤动和摇摆，让恐惧和怜悯升华成痛苦，哪怕做得太过。迪克满足于痛苦的历史性画面，韦伯斯特则更进一步，去设想痛苦的可怕。一个是直白地表达痛苦，另一个则用温情的美或可怕的美来装扮情感。总而言之，迪克更像乔叟和薄伽丘，韦伯斯特的头脑则更像用莎士比亚的模子刻出来的，既有天然的契合也有后天奋力的效仿。这两位杰出作家笔下的贝拉法郎特[47]和维多利亚各有不同的力量和性情。一个充满柔情，另一个“风风火火”。马修忠诚的妻子消沉地坐在家里，“当她的双韵诗被发现时，她温顺得像只雌鸽”；而受到侮辱和迫害的维多利亚则把恶毒的蔑视和致命的美，像梭镖一样投向敌人。这个“白魔”（她被人如此称呼）像麻风病人一样苍白，像闪电一般闪亮。她像个以屈辱和复仇为嫁衣的新娘。

至此，我们已经忘记这两者之中谁更杰出了。黑兹利特自己也没有明确的答案，这个问题也许并没多么重要了。重要的是面对这样精彩的评论，我们不要偏离主题。韦伯斯特和迪克代表了两种同样伟大但又迥然相异的风格。很奇怪之前竟没人想到把他俩相比，因为他们两人放在一处，各自的优势立现。

当然，黑兹利特在1819沾了读到兰姆的光，而兰姆在1808年却无缘读到黑兹利特。但也有时候兰姆对黑兹利特只是起到衬托作用罢了。比如《白魔》中可妮莉雅的那个场景，兰姆称颂过个中的挽歌，认为可与《暴风雨》媲美，黑兹利特却认为更像《李尔王》：

> ……内心深处的褶皱，深切情感的跌宕起伏，就那样独具匠心地展现在读者面前，仿佛偶尔的模仿并无必要（尽管模仿的痕迹很明显）。

黑兹利特同样也不认同兰姆所说的韦伯斯特能“把恐惧写得巧妙，使人痛入骨髓”。《玛尔菲女公爵》在18世纪享有更高的声誉，前面已经有所论述，但黑兹利特却认为“论热烈程度或效果它不如《白魔》”，因为这部剧尽管“偶有情感浓烈之处”，“甚至超过莎士比亚”，但总体上写得特别费力。而让黑兹利特更不能认同的是剧中的“恐惧堆积达到了不堪的地步”。疯人和死人的戏让黑兹利特难以忍受，因为这逾越了

> 诗和悲剧的正常界限。至少可以说，这种优点，无论有多了不起，也是我们不希望经常见到的。这种强加于观众的感官和想象力之上的描绘非但不会提升想象、美化心灵，反而会使人石化、僵硬。我这种说法有待批评指正，但是希望还不至于太冒犯吧。

黑兹利特言语之间满含歉意，可能是意识到，兰姆在这一点上定是受尽了敌友的骚扰吧。

演讲结束、演讲稿付梓后，黑兹利特与韦伯斯特的交集并没有结束。此后他又多次提到韦伯斯特，而且无数次引用和误引韦伯斯特，用以装点自己的写作。但是黑兹利特从来都不满足于只是引用。他是个真正的评论家，他要比较和评论。他更关注文学的相对价值，如果我们斗胆去概括的话；而涉及面更窄、更纯粹的兰姆则更关注文学的绝对价值。但是不管怎样，黑兹利特对待韦伯斯特绝不“收敛”，很快我们就发现他在把韦伯斯特同另一个“恶魔诗人”——拜伦——相比。在评论拜伦的《马利诺·华立罗》【48】时，黑兹利特写道：

> “自然情感的流露，使整个世界亲近起来。”——韦伯斯特的一句，迪克的一句，或福特的一句（更不用说莎士比亚的一句了），都胜过拜伦这部剧里所有说教性的、描述性的絮絮叨叨，躁动不安的灵魂根本不会像剧里描写的那样去观察，去感知。

当他1826年在《朴言集》的一篇文章“论理性和想象力”中再次谈到拜伦在戏剧领域的“探险”时，说得更具直白：

> 拜伦勋爵最近有好几次这样的探险（如果可以称之为探险的话），可能还会继续下去，只要他愿意。但是我们没见到他剧中有几个人物触景生情，情由境生或应时而动的；相反，个个都郑重其事地登上讲台，发表关于命运和事物终极状态的演讲。单个的个体并不足以引起他自己或别人的注意。诗人满纸都是伟大的思想……为了演示一种完全不同风格的戏剧对话，以说明戏剧人物应该如何发表个人意见或与别人交谈，下面我将从一部昔日的戏剧中挑出一段，讲的是一个哥哥刚刚导致妹妹惨死……

当我们随即看到黑兹利特引用费迪南德所说的“遮住她的脸：我的眼睛眩晕；她太早陨落了”，也就不觉得太过突兀了。引用完之后，他又评论开了，但这次我们的麻烦在于不知该在何处将他打断：

> 起先他是多么忠诚地盯着死去妹妹的尸体，强行鼓起勇气，接着当勇气消失，他又是多么自然地扭过脸去，想起了她的年轻、美貌、夭亡，想起他们孪生兄妹相伴长大的岁月，想起至此为止他一直在用她的人生衡量自己的人生，仿佛结果如何都无关紧要似的。现在，我倒要问，当他在思考生死的界限，思考世事的无常，想到说话者本人正是这起悲剧的始作俑者时，难道都不足以“让心灵为之一震吗”？对我们生命整个过程的体悟，认识到它不过是由无常的悲喜组成，这种主题还不够震撼、还不足以在正统的悲剧中占有一席之地吗？难道那种跟不幸作斗争、跟别人的恶意作斗争的意志不是跟对无常的命运、不可避免的宿命或者人类整体情感的思考同样有趣，同样有启发吗？在这里，司管悲剧的缪斯还不光呜呜咽咽：我们还看到了苍白的脸颊和从心中喷涌而出的生命之血！

黑兹利特同样也在喷涌，他在给拜伦上一堂关于理解人性对创作悲剧何其重要的课。

但是拜伦对于如何创作悲剧早就拿定了主意。他决意不去效仿“昔日的剧作家，他们满篇都是粗俗的错误，只因语言优美才可原谅。”在写《马利诺·华立罗》时，他效仿的对象是古希腊的“正统悲剧”：

> ……不要用你们那些疯狂的昔日剧作家来衡量我的作品，那无异于试图证明威士忌是泉水。当然，我想你们也不会认为威士忌比阳光下咕咕作响的泉水还高贵：我认为这就是古希腊戏剧家和那些浑水摸鱼的骗子之间的区别——本·琼森一向例外，他是个真正的学者和古典主义者。

毋庸置疑，这里所说的“浑水摸鱼的骗子”也包括韦伯斯特，拜伦对他非常了解——了解到如此地步，以至于即便深陷圭契奥尼[49]丑闻，他仍能想起《白魔》：

> 接下来就是我成了一个重大婚外情事件的罪魁祸首——现在事情已闹到教皇那里（是真的），无人能够预知神圣的教皇会作何裁决。当年我为了一个女人（也即《白魔》里的维多利亚）离开英国，现在竟然又得为了另一个女人离开意大利，多奇怪啊。

拜伦很可能读过古四开本[50]的韦伯斯特或多德斯雷的选集，因为他接触兰姆《范作》的时间要稍晚些。1821年他在跟托马斯·麦德文[51]的交谈中说道：

> 我刚刚在读兰姆的《范作》，惊奇地发现他从昔日剧作家的剧作中节选的片段有很多观点跟我不谋而合，我还以为只有我会那么想呢。比如，《玛尔菲女公爵》中的这一段，就和《唐璜》中的诗句出奇地相像。

接着他就说人们对他抄袭昔日剧作家的指控完全缺乏依据，因为“今天我才读到兰姆的《范作》”。不过他也不准备去纠缠抄袭不抄袭的问题。“如果是个错误，我也没打算把它粉饰成无暇，”他告诉麦德文，接着还补充道，“我可以借你几卷‘沉船’，《唐璜》中的暴风雨就来源于此。”

因此对拜伦来说，包括韦伯斯特在内的昔日剧作家，都只是语言和意象的堆砌，拜伦可以“像帝王一样”随意拿来为己所用。他们在戏剧写作艺术方面没什么值得他学习的。他们不是楷模，他对雪莱说：

> 我读了《倩契》[52]——但是，我认为主题不够戏剧化，我也不认为昔日的剧作家是我们的楷模。我不认为英国迄今有过一部戏剧。但你的《倩契》气势磅礴，堪称诗歌佳作。

但雪莱显然对昔日的剧作家有着不同的看法。他没有借用他们的语言，只是在精神上与他们其中的某位契合。那就是为什么虽然经常有人说《倩契》是伊丽莎白时代的风格或者甚至是韦伯斯特的风格，但却很难去证实的原因。当然，你也可以说《倩契》第五幕中的罪行、恐惧、审判、定罪都和韦伯斯特的《白魔》有些相似。雪莱的书房藏有昔日剧作家的所有剧作，他尤其喜欢《玛尔菲女公爵》。下面的对话还是来自那位不知疲倦的干将，麦德文：

> 在所有的英国戏剧中，他尤其喜欢《玛尔菲女公爵》。他认为那个她把行刑人员看成折磨狂、谋杀犯或者其他富有寓意的阴暗人物的地牢场景可与莎士比亚笔下的任何场

景相媲美。实际上，他不断地去读昔日的剧作家——米德尔顿和韦伯斯特、福特和马辛杰、鲍蒙特和弗莱沏，他们都是无穷的宝藏，他从中撷取一种既纯粹又有活力的风格，正因如此，《倩契》才这么出众。

兰姆听了这话定会很受用，如前所述，他几乎是唯一欣赏“那些富有寓意的戏剧人物”的人了。

托马斯·洛弗尔·贝多斯[53]同样喜欢昔日戏剧中描写的恐惧。实际上，他的剧作《新娘的悲剧》和《死亡的笑话》能让人想起韦伯斯特，但是他却有意地反对那些剧作家，称之为伊丽莎白时代的“鬼魂”：

随你怎么说——我可是确信唤醒戏剧之人一定得是个勇敢无畏的开拓者，不是书虫，甚至也不是修订者，不管修订得有多好。这些修订之作都是冰冷的吸血鬼。马洛、韦伯斯特那样的鬼魂，我敢说，与我们同代人中的任何一个相比，都是更好的剧作家和诗人，但他们是鬼魂，字里行间爬满了虫蛆，而我们想看的是先辈没见过的东西。无论你对昔日的戏剧怀有怎样的敬意，我依然认为，与其复兴，不如创新，要努力赋予我们这个时代的文学独特的个性和特征。把鬼魂供奉起来，仅供瞻仰，不要与之共处。现如今的戏剧圈是一个被鬼魂萦绕的废墟。

然而贝多斯是个有趣的例子，他自相矛盾，因为他不仅继续读那些吸血鬼和虫蛆，还把韦伯斯特的《阿庀斯和弗吉尼亚》中的诗行作为题铭印在自己诗集《即兴诗人》的扉页（牛津，1821）。另外，他还建议一个朋友去买刚上市的昔日戏剧新编：

你这样怀疑昔日一流的戏剧实在是既没必要又乏热心。翻开马辛杰第一卷序言，看看那些曾被沃伯顿忽视掉的剧作名单。这本书是兰斯顿系列，无疑可堪信赖，所选篇目精妙。接下来还会重印其他一些精彩剧作：韦伯斯特的《魔鬼的案例》、马斯顿的《贪得无厌的伯爵夫人》、米德尔顿的喜剧以及其他一些珍品。而且这本书极其精美小巧，还有红牛剧院[54]的木版画呢，非常值得你花掉口袋里的最后半克朗。柯克·怀特[55]你都买了，这回竟然犹豫！

但这不仅限于与被人遗忘的怀特作对比，贝多斯还多次绝望地说自己无论如何也不能像伊丽莎白时代的剧作家写得那么好：

只需读上一幕莎士比亚，一点弥尔顿，一两场《倩契》，一部分韦伯斯特、马斯顿、马洛，或者任何具有深度的、自然的、真实感知的文字，然后再来读这些“教科书”，你会立刻觉得现在这些作品多么牵强、做作、无味，等等等等。

我们现在看到的是迄今为止不太为人所知的伊丽莎白时代和詹姆士一世时代的剧作家这个群体以及韦伯斯特这个个体，其声誉如何逐渐有了改观。或许可以说，如果过去是韦伯斯特的声誉随着伊丽莎白时代的那些次要戏剧家的变迁起起落落的话，那从现在开始，是他们的声誉要随韦伯斯特的变迁起起落落了。如果说在贝多斯列出的几个昔日的剧作家名单中，韦伯斯特的名字是第一个或近乎第一个映入我们的眼帘，可能显得太过夸张了。他当然不是人见人爱。但是他被阅读，被批评，有时激起永不褪色的崇拜，有时激起无比的厌恶。过去只有几个学者屈尊俯就地改编或印刷他的剧作，并且还在不得不解释这样做的理由时满怀歉意，这样的日子一去不复返了。现在，即便是拜伦这样的一流诗人也感到来自韦伯斯特及同时代剧作家那并非出于本意的挑战。拜伦用激烈的言辞谴责他们，传达出的不光是反对，也有抵制昔日这些剧作家影响

成分在内，现在他们已潜移默化地影响了文学创作。造成这种变化的唯一重要因素不是期刊评论家，也不尽是学者，而是兰姆以及《范作》中的选篇和注释。

现在《范作》已经有了读者，也得到了恰当之人的品评——我们有理由相信《范作》的大众读者一直很少，因为直到1835年它才得以再版——加上他在东印度公司的任期【56】也已告终，兰姆于是回到大英博物馆的“豪华厅”，去读加里克藏室【57】的昔日戏剧。他还保持着摘录选段的老习惯，旨在给诸如皮埃尔【58】、格林【59】和洛奇【60】等莎士比亚之前的剧作家一个更为公正的评价，并且这次比1808年编选集时摘了更多的篇章。这些选篇，加上少得多的注释，开始发表在1827年霍恩【61】主编的周刊《茶几书品》上。在前后两次在大英博物馆探宝的间隔期，兰姆也没有忘记韦伯斯特。他引道：

> ……威尔伯福斯【62】能否把周二还给我们？不，他不会的。
> 他会把一周的六天变为七天。
> 把一年的春、夏、秋三季，
> 变成俄国的冬天。
>
> 《昔日的戏剧》

兰姆这样解读：

> ……请原谅我的迟钝。我已经习惯长久等待了。天空于我好似铜色——下场雨才不错。“我也有过几次欢乐。”

现在可以再次“从数千朵戏剧之花中随意采摘”了，他于是从《魔鬼的案例》中摘选了六段，附在这些选段之后的注释太短，不足以代表他的最佳风格，但也颇能管窥见豹：

> 韦伯斯特是圣安德鲁霍尔本的教区执事。在这部剧和其他悲剧中反复出现执事活动、亵渎神圣、墓碑、绍介《挽歌》等，大概都可归因于他的职业习惯吧。

也许他并不知道查证并没有证实或否认纪尔登的论断。然而查证是学者的工作，学者确实也对兰姆的工作进行了补充，那就是拭去古老作品上的灰尘，帮它们重见天日，为之重新奠定评论的基调。兰姆为其他剧作家所做的工作也像他为韦伯斯特做的一样出色。长久以来，韦伯斯特都是兰姆的韦伯斯特。换言之，兰姆怎样选编韦伯斯特、怎样为韦伯斯特注释就成就了怎样的韦伯斯特。但是一个更全面、从文本角度来看更纯粹的韦伯斯特也逐渐成形。兰姆的注释问世不久，有位学者就不仅查阅了教区记事录和遗嘱登记办，以调查韦伯斯特的生平，而且勤勤恳恳地校勘了他的戏剧文本。他的努力很快见成效了，兰姆在有生之年见到了亚历山大·戴斯神父编写的第一部约翰·韦伯斯特全集出版（1830年）。

X SEAN O'CASEY IN CHINA

That the Chinese should have been interested in Irish drama as far back as the 1920s sounds incredible, yet the fact remains that in 1926, a collection of six plays by J. M. Synge, including *Riders to the Sea* and *The Playboy of the Western World*, translated by the poet-historian Guo Moruo, was published in Shanghai. Articles on Irish literature in general had appeared in the literary reviews in Shanghai and elsewhere even earlier. One notices, for instance, that Mao Dun, who was to become the best novelist of the ensuing decades wrote an essay entitled "A Countercurrent in Contemporary Literature—New Writing in Ireland" in the *Eastern Miscellany* (Vol. XVII, No. 6, March 1920). Somewhat later, Lu Xun, the famous story writer and essayist, translated a Japanese article entitled "Irish Literature: A Survey" for the magazine *Rushing Stream* (Vol. II, No. 2, June 1929). A curious fact: all three founding fathers of China's New Literature took a hand in directing Chinese attention to Irish new writing.

They were aware of the especial importance of Irish drama, the part played in the Irish Renaissance by the plays of Synge, Yeats and Lady Gregory. Lady Gregory, in particular, was well known for her one-acter, *The Rising of the Moon*. Not only did generations of Chinese students read it and perform it in English, but it was adapted for the Chinese stage. Indeed, the adaptation, entitled *San Jiang Hao*, was, with its patriotic theme and its simple but effective dramaturgy, one of the most popular plays in the early years of the anti-Japanese war (1937–45).

In this context it comes as no surprise that Sean O'Casey's name was known in China soon after he had won acclaim in the Abbey Theatre, Dublin. More than that: his play *Juno and the Paycock* was adapted for the Chinese stage by Zhang Min, a director of repute. Under its Chinese title, *Zui Sheng Meng Si* ("Intoxicated and Daydreaming"), it played to packed houses in Shanghai in 1936.

A period of relative neglect of O'Casey, along with that of most other Western authors, set in after 1949, the year of Liberation. But in the 1950s, things began to look up. Several factors contributed to O'Casey's appeal: his proletarian origins, his years of hard work as a common labourer, his commitment to communism, all spoke in his favour. The letter he wrote to the *Wen Yi Bao* (*The Literary Gazette*, No. 3, 1958) praising a Chinese play depicting the Chinese Red Army's heroism during the Long March, which

O'Casey said he had followed with avid attention "so far as Western newspaper reporting could furnish him with any information", further endeared him to the Chinese. The cry then was for the progressive literature of the world, and O'Casey certainly rated as a progressive.

But his literary qualities also told. That O'Casey was a writer of unusual power became apparent when translations of his works began to come out. A Chinese version of his play *The Star Turns Red* was published in the Beijing magazine *World Literature* in 1959. The translators were myself (using the penname Zhu Yan) and Ying Ruocheng, an actor who had been a student of mine at Tsing Hua University.

A year earlier, in 1958, a Chinese translation of the first volume of O'Casey's Autobiographies, *I Knock at the Door*, had been published in Beijing. The translator was Zhong Songfan, about whom this writer has not been able to find out much. Another part of the Autobiographies, the chapter "Mrs. Casside Takes a Holiday" from the volume *Inishfallen, Fare Thee Well*, appeared in *World Literature* in 1962 in a Chinese translation by Zhao Luorui, a professor of Beijing University, who had achieved fame as far back as the 1930s with her brilliant translation of *The Waste Land*.

This is not a bad record, if one bears in mind that in those years only a handful of contemporary Western dramatists got published in China. Furthermore, O'Casey was read and discussed in the literature departments of the universities. But published criticism of O'Casey's work remained meagre. In fact, I think I am perhaps the only Chinese critic who has committed his views of O'Casey to writing.

I came to O'Casey after having done some work on Eliot, Yeats, Shaw and, earlier still, the Jacobean dramatists, notably Webster. While, like everybody else, I found O'Casey's early Dublin tragi-comedies fascinating, I was also attracted by his later work, particularly *The Star Turns Red* and *Red Roses for Me*. It was clear that from *Within the Gates* on, O'Casey, the restless spirit that he was, was looking for a new, fresh way of writing significant drama. He didn't want to repeat his early successes, nor could he reconcile himself to the sort of fashionable, "realistic" drama then being turned out by men like Noël Coward. Inevitably, he landed on poetic drama. Yet he differs from T. S. Eliot and Christopher Fry over what constitutes poetic drama. He wanted to see in it all the richness, all the glitter and colour, of life, including man's noble fight for a better society. Also, he would write this kind of poetic drama in a resonant, sinewy prose, though he would not

rule out—indeed he often resorted to—bursts of poetry at the critical moments. He did not always succeed in putting his idea to work, but when he did, as in *Red Roses for Me*, he did magnificently.

That, in substance, is what I said in a long essay, "The Achievement of Sean O'Casey", published in the journal *Researches in Literature* (No. 1, 1958). This was followed by another article of mine in *World Literature* (No. 2, 1959), making the same points in less specialist language.

In yet another article on O'Casey, I reviewed his six-volume Autobiographies for *World Literature* (No. 3, 1962). I was glad of the opportunity, for I had read the volumes with deep interest. O'Casey's own life was full of incident, and the people he had associated with—Shaw, Yeats, Lady Gregory, and the men of Easter, 1916—were in their different ways heroic. The work also struck me as a new type of writing, fiction-like in its narrative technique, but freer in movement, allowing easy transition from recollection to reflection and back again, in a prose that is remarkable for its mixture of parody, invective, lyricism and a kind of stream-of-consciousness reverie quite reminiscent of Joyce. *World Literature* carried my article alongside Zhao Luorui's translation, earlier mentioned, of "Mrs. Casside Takes a Holiday", certainly doing O'Casey proud by devoting so much space to him in a single issue.

After that, the Cultural Revolution intervened. For ten years all mention of O'Casey disappeared from Chinese publications.

In 1977 interest in Western drama revived. Soon the Beijing stage was busy with productions of Western plays such as Brecht's *Galileo*, Molière's *L'Avare*, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Measure for Measure*, *Macbeth* and *Romeo and Juliet*, the last performed by Tibetan graduates of the Shanghai Institute of Drama speaking their parts in Tibetan! However, no sign of any renewed interest in O'Casey. There has been no new translation of his works, nor any new critical study.

Will this state of affairs last? No one can say for certain, but personally I'd like to see some Chinese company make a bold try to perform one of his "poetic" plays, say, *Red Roses for Me*. Admittedly some things in O'Casey won't probably appeal to a contemporary Chinese audience—the events of the Dublin of the 1920s that make up the plot of many of his plays seem a bit remote—but his unique combination of realism and symbolism, of power and beauty, has not dated. Indeed, his ceaseless search for a new poetic drama should, if made known more widely in China, inspire feelings of admiration

and gratitude in his kindred spirits in Beijing and Shanghai who, realists to a man, yet want to lift drama out of the merely realistic. So perhaps the first thing to do is to coax the publishing houses to make more of O'Casey's works available in Chinese.

Sequel: Well, the coaxing seems to have taken immediate effect. Just issued is a new collection, *Selected Plays of O'Casey*, published by the People's Literature Press in March, 1982. It comprises four plays, *Juno and the Paycock*, *The Plough and the Stars*, *Red Roses for Me* and the *Bishop's Bonfire*. The translators are Huang Yushi and Lin Yijin.

1982

拾　肖恩·奥凯西在中国

中国人竟然早在20世纪20年代就对爱尔兰戏剧感兴趣了，真是不可思议，但事实上，1926年一本收录辛格[1]六部戏剧的集子在上海出版，由诗人兼历史学家郭沫若翻译，其中收录了《骑马下海人》和《西方世界的花花公子》。关于爱尔兰文学的评论文章甚至更早就在上海和其他地方的文学评论期刊上发表过。比如，在接下来几十年成为中国最著名的小说家的茅盾就写过一篇名为《近代文学的反流：爱尔兰的新文学》的文章，载于《东方杂志》（第17卷，第6期，1920年3月）。稍后，著名的短篇小说家兼散文家鲁迅翻译了日文文章《爱尔兰文学之回顾》，载于《奔流》（第2卷，第2期，1929年6月）。一个奇怪的现象就是：这三位中国新文学的奠基者都在引导中国读者去关注爱尔兰新文学。

他们都意识到了爱尔兰戏剧的特殊重要性，也即辛格、叶芝、葛利戈里夫人所创作的戏剧在爱尔兰文艺复兴中的重要性。葛利戈里夫人尤以独幕剧《月亮上升的时候》闻名。一代代中国学生不仅用英语诵读和演出它，还将之改编呈献给中国观众。实际上，改编后的剧本（名为《三江好》），因其爱国主题和简单有效的演出技艺，还成了抗日战争（1937–45）早期最著名的剧本之一。

这也就不难理解为何肖恩·奥凯西在都柏林的阿比剧院赢得赞誉之后很快就在中国流传开来了。另外，他的剧作《朱诺和孔雀》也被著名导演章泯[2]改编搬上中国舞台。改编后名为《醉生梦死》，1936年在上海演出，座无虚席。

但是1949年新中国成立后，奥凯西同大部分西方作家一样，在中国也受到了冷遇。不过，在20世纪50年代情况有所好转。有几个因素促成了奥凯西的声望：他的无产阶级出身，他多年的辛勤劳动者的身份，他对共产主义的热忱，都有利于他作品的传播。他写给《文艺报》（1958年第3期）的信中赞扬一部刻画中国红军在长征中英雄气概的中国剧作，他说他如饥似渴地追着看“西方报纸上关于该剧的任何报道”，这使得他愈发受中国人喜爱。当时的中国迫切需要世界的进步文学，奥凯西自然被视为进步作家。

但他的文学素养也堪称一流。待到其作品被译成中文，他的非凡才能也就不言而喻了。1959年，其剧作《星星变红了》中译本在北京的《世界文学》上发表。是我（用笔名竹衍）和英若诚翻译的，英若诚是一名演员，我之前在清华的学生。

一年前（1958年），奥凯西的自传《我敲门》第一卷中译本在北京

出版。译者为钟松藩，我没能找到多少关于这位译者的介绍。1962年，自传的另一部分，选自《英尼希法伦，再见！》那一卷的一个章节“卡西迪太太休假了”的中译本刊于《世界文学》，译者是赵萝蕤，北京大学的教授，早在20世纪30年代她就因出色地翻译艾略特的《荒原》声名远扬。

鉴于当时只有少数当代西方戏剧家的作品能在中国出版，这已经算是不错的成绩了。而且，奥凯西还在大学的文学系被讲授。但是关于奥凯西作品的评论文章依然很少，事实上，我觉得我可能是中国唯一一个写过奥凯西评论的人了。

我是在研究了艾略特、叶芝、萧伯纳以及更早的詹姆士一世时代剧作家（尤其是韦伯斯特）之后才去读奥凯西的。同其他人一样，我也觉得奥凯西早期描写都柏林生活的悲喜剧很是迷人，但我同时也被他晚期的作品所吸引，尤其是《星星变红了》和《给我红玫瑰》。很显然，从《众门之间》开始，不知疲倦的奥凯西就在探索新的戏剧创作方法。他不想重复以往的成功，也不想屈尊去写当时盛行的、诺埃尔·科沃德爵士[3]诸人所写的那种“现实主义”戏剧。他自然而然地选择了诗剧。但是他对诗剧的理解同艾略特和弗莱不同。他想在其中看到生命全部的丰富和光彩，包括人类为建设一个更美好的社会而作的崇高斗争。而且，语言要有乐感、有体魄，尽管他并不排斥——事实上他反而经常用诗歌写作——在关键时刻诗兴大发。他并不总能做到将理念付诸实施，但是当他做到时，比如《给我红玫瑰》，那就成果斐然。

这基本就是我那篇发表在《文学研究》（1958年第1期）的长文《肖恩·奥凯西的成就》所讲的内容。接着我又写了一篇文章，刊在《世界文学》（1959年第2期），用相对不那么专业的语言，把同样的内容又讲了一遍。

在另一篇有关奥凯西的文章（《世界文学》，1962年第3期）中，我为他六卷本的自传写了书评。很高兴有此机会，因为他的自传我是带着浓厚的兴趣读的。他的人生充满曲折，他接触的人——萧伯纳、叶芝、葛利戈里夫人、复活节起义军[4]——都以各自不同的方式诠释着英雄气概。这部自传让我惊奇的另一个原因是其全新的写作方式，虽是小说体叙事，但行走自由，从回忆到反思再到回忆，转换自如。语言上是滑稽模仿、猛烈抨击、温馨抒情、乔伊斯般的意识流冥想的杂合。《世界文学》把我的文章与前面提到的赵萝蕤的译文《卡西迪太太休假了》放在一起，在同一期用如此之多的篇幅介绍他，足以让奥凯西引以为豪了。

此后，“文化大革命”到来。十年间，奥凯西在中国的出版界销声匿迹了。

1977年，国人对西方戏剧的兴趣重燃。很快，北京的剧场就忙着上演西方的戏剧，如布莱希特的《伽利略传》，莫里哀的《悭吝人》，莎士比亚的《哈姆雷特》《威尼斯商人》《一报还一报》《麦克白》和《罗密欧与朱丽叶》。《罗密欧与朱丽叶》是上海戏剧学院的藏族学生用藏语演的！但是，当时奥凯西没有任何升温的迹象。没有他作品的新译本，也没有任何新的关于他的文学批评。

这种状况会持续下去吗？谁也说不好，但我本人希望看到中国能有公司大胆尝试把他的某部“诗”剧搬上舞台，比如《给我红玫瑰》。我承认奥凯西的有些内容未必能吸引现在的中国观众——他很多剧作的主要情节都是20世纪20年代在都柏林发生的事件，而这显然离中国观众很远——但是他的独特之处在于把现实主义与象征主义结合，把力与美结合，而这都不过时。事实上，他对新诗剧的不懈探索，如果能被更多的中国读者知晓，必将赢得北京和上海志士仁人的仰慕和感激，因为他们虽然无一例外都是现实主义者，但却又都想让戏剧高于现实。所以，也许首先要做的就是劝说出版社出版更多奥凯西的中译本。

后记：劝说似乎立刻有了效果。刚刚就新出了一本《奥凯西戏剧选》，1982年3月由人民文学出版社出版，收录了他的四部剧作：《朱诺和孔雀》《犁与星》《给我红玫瑰》《主教的篝火》。译者是黄雨石和林疑今。

1982

XI THOUGHTS ON HUGH MACDIARMID[1]

Hugh MacDiarmid is the pen name of Christopher Murray Grieve who came from the border between Scotland and England. Among his ancestors were tough men who sometimes committed robbery across the border; some were weavers of Scottish cloth. He proudly declared in one of his poems:

> Reivers to weavers and to me. Weird way!
> Yet in the last analysis I've sprung
> Frae battles, mair than ballads…[2]

To many readers and critics MacDiarmid's most moving poems are those of his early years. About 1925 he and several of his friends initiated the "Scottish Literary Renaissance" movement, and he himself began to write poetry. During these years he wrote mainly lyrical poetry in a peculiar Scottish dialect called Lallans. Even today many people still enjoy these early poems such as "The Watergaw" "The Bonnie Broukit Bairn" "The Eemis Stane" "Moonlight Among the Pines" and "Empty Vessel." These are fresh, beautiful short poems, but not insubstantial ones. MacDiarmid always added something to a simple scene, to enlarge and deepen its significance.

In "Empty Vessel", for instance, the poet describes a country woman's agony upon losing her baby. She is driven insane, singing to her dead baby. The four-line ballad form which the poet uses gives this ordinary scene a style of primitive simplicity and a sense of eternity. A transition appears in the second stanza; the country setting of the first stanza changes into a more general scene of nature. This poem is based on an eighteenth-century folksong, but MacDiarmid enlarges the woman's agony to encompass the whole universe.

"The Eemis Stane" is a meditation on time and life and death. If the world is unsteady like a stone in the wind, then life is simply capricious. Fame and history are only moss and lichen, covering everything. (This expression is novel—usually people say that fame will be buried by time, or that it will survive time and become immortal.) However, this is not a meditation in the abstract. The scene is concrete; it is surrounded in a desolate atmosphere with strongly infectious power, and the primary images of stone, earth, wind, sky and snow remind the reader of the universal circumstances of human existence.

"Moonlight Among the Pines" is a love poem of great momentum and tender feeling, in the fresh setting of the moon amidst the piney woods.

The poems mentioned above are only a few examples to show that MacDiarmid's lyrics are among the most outstanding works of Scottish literature. Here a key element is the use of the Scottish dialect. MacDiarmid strongly protests the "English ascendancy" in Scottish literature; at the same time he understands the predicament of Scottish poets:

> Curse on my dooble life and dooble tongue,
> —Guid Scots wi' English a' hamstrung—
> *Speakin' o' Scotland in English words*
> *As it were Beethoven chirpt by birds:*
>
> (I, 236)

He is dealing with Scottish subjects and they must be expressed in the Scottish idiom otherwise the content will be distorted. This conclusion is drawn from the work of many other poets as well as from his own experience. What kind of Scottish dialect should be chosen, then? Burns had provided an example for others, but the bitter experience following his death gives a warning. Writers trying to follow the Burns tradition added a too sentimental and vulgar atmosphere which made the language sound more like that of a tipsy woman. MacDiarmid, however, would go a new way. He chose mainly the dialect from the lowland district of southeast Scotland, added some Scottish words and phrases collected from J. Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Tongue*. Consolidating these, he called it a "Lallans language," which he used as the language of his early poems. Using the Scottish dialect, absorbing the quintessence from the long tradition of Scottish country people, with the poet's modern sensibility which developed under the influence of the works of Mallarmé, Rimbaud and Rilke to correct any tendencies toward archaism, these poems broke away from the English literary tradition and struck against the "English ascendancy" while displaying the brilliant genius of the Celts. This is the key element which makes MacDiarmid's lyrical poetry fresh and powerful.

MacDiarmid did not rest content with just repeating what he had done. The long poem *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle*, published in 1926, marked a further development of his poetic skill. The work consists of several independent poems, including lyrics such as the famous "O wha's been here afore me lass" (I, 103) which made Yeats feel, when he was shown it by a friend, "amazed that there should be such writing and he unaware of it."[3] There are also satirical poems, comic poems, philosophical poems,

extempore poems, epistles, translations, and imitations. He also wrote his first political poem, the "Ballad of the Crucified Rose" (I, 119), which praised the General Strike of May 1926. What links the whole long poem is its theme: the condition of Scotland. The thistle is the symbol of Scotland, used as the pattern of the Scottish national emblem. It appeared in many places in the poem and the man who was observing it was a drunken person. The moonlight was very gentle, and everything was seen as dreamlike. The thistle underwent many marvelous changes in the drunken man's sleepy eyes. (For a while the thistle became an embryo in a test tube.) Each change represents one aspect of Scottish life, therefore while the drunken man was observing the changes, the poet was reflecting and criticizing the reality of Scotland. MacDiarmid's love for Scotland is beyond question. However, he is also aware of many of the weaknesses of his country. That is why his poetry is full of biting sarcasm and mockery particularly aimed at the upper-class Scottish people, castigating them for their neglect of traditions, their selfishness, conceit, apathy and self-deception. Even the withering of the red rose of the mammoth demonstration was imputed to the body of the plant itself:

> The vices that defeat the dream
> Are in the plant itsel',
> And till they're purged its virtues maun
> In pain and misery dwell.

(I, 121)

MacDiarmid knew exactly what should be a Scottish poet's duty:

> A Scottish poet maun assume
> The burden o' his people's doom,
> And dee to brak their livin' tomb.

(I, 165)

What is the way of salvation for Scotland? The poet, looking far into history, which appeared to him like "a huge moving wheel", then observing the reality of Europe, found that an unprecedented struggle was taking place in Russia. He hailed Dostoevsky:

> I, in the thistle's land
> As you in Russia where
> Struggle in giant form
> Proceeds for evermair,
> In my sma' measure' bood
> Address a similar task,
> And for a share o' your
> Appallin' genius ask

(I, 137–8)

The conclusion was clear:

—At a' events, owre Europe flaught atween
My whim (and mair than whim) it pleases
To seek the haund o' Russia as a freen'
In workin' oot mankind's great synthesis.

(I, 135)

The word "synthesis" will appear again in MacDiarmid's poems; here it represents the new political and social experiment, referring to the Soviet system of workers, peasants and soldiers. Influenced by John Maclean, the leader of Scottish workers, MacDiarmid put more and more political meaning into his lyrics; actually he was experiencing an important development in political thought. In addition to the Scottish nationalism which he espoused before, he began to cherish the ideal of communism, and he attempted to achieve a new "synthesis" between these two.

As a result, during the thirties, MacDiarmid wrote his three hymns to Lenin. The first and second were written and published in 1931 and 1932 respectively. The third hymn was written at an unknown date, but it apparently belongs to a later period, to judge from its content and form, and was published in 1955.

In the Soviet Union, long hymns like Mayakovsky's "Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" had been published. By the thirties the Soviet system was well established, but the capitalist world had been shaken by an economic crisis. It was an offense to the bourgeoisie to praise the leader of the world proletariat; it needed not only political courage but also artistic courage to do so, because there would be difficulties in determining what to praise and how to praise.

MacDiarmid solved these difficult problems in his own particular way. He did it neither by shouting hollow words like "long live", nor by loading his writing with fulsome flattery. As he said in the "First Hymn to Lenin", his concern was to see "If first things first had had their richtfu'sway" (I, 298). The "first thing" is Lenin's position in human history. The poet compared Jesus with Lenin, and continued:

Christ's cited no' by chance or juist because
You mark the greatest turnin'-point since him
But that your main redress has lain where he's
Least use—fulfillin' his sayin' lang kept dim
That whasae followed him things o' like natur'
'Ud dae—and greater!

Certes nae ither, if no' you's dune this.
It maitters little. What you've dune's the thing,
No' hoo't compares, corrects, or complements
The work of Christ that's taen ower lang to bring
Sic a successor to keep the reference back
Natural to mak'.

(I, 297)

And the significance of Lenin is:

Great things, great men—but at faur greater's cost!
If first things first had had their richtfu' sway
Life and Thocht's misused poo'er might ha' been ane
For a' men's benefit—as still they may
Noo that through you this mair than elemental force
Has f'und a clearer course.

(I, 298)

To MacDiarmid, nothing mattered so much as the development of people, and he especially extolled Lenin because the revolution that he had led enabled for the first time human beings to give full play to their own talents, not like "the traitors...through a' history" (I, 298) causing human beings to be bogged down forever in a state of childish ignorance.

In the "Second Hymn", MacDiarmid discussed the relation between poetry and politics. The poem attracted a good deal of attention from Western critics; some said that MacDiarmid claimed to be the equal of Lenin, and that poetry must be independent of politics. The example they cited was:

Sae here, twixt poetry and politics,
There's nae doot in the en'.
Poetry includes that and s'ud be
The greater poo'er amang men.

(I, 326)

Some quoted the concluding lines: "Ah, Lenin, politics is bairns' play / To what this maun be!" (I, 328) to show MacDiarmid's disrespectful attitude towards politics.

What did he mean by those words? If you reread the whole poem you will find that he was full of respect for and felt very close to Lenin, therefore he felt that he could come out with what was on his mind, comrade to comrade. He showed this attitude from the beginning:

Ah, Lenin, you were richt. But I'm a poet
(And you c'ud mak allowances for that!)
Aimin' at mair than you aimed at
Tho' yours comes first, I know it.

(I, 323)

The respect that the poet felt for Lenin was fully expressed in the "First Hymn" and other poems written at the same time (e.g. "The Seamless Garment" "The Skeleton of the Future"). So when he wrote the "Second Hymn" one year later he felt no necessity to repeat himself. Instead he discussed poetry in depth. MacDiarmid held high hopes for poetry:

> tho' Joyce in turn
> Is richt, and the principal question
> Aboot a work o' art is frae hoo deep
> A life it springs—and syne hoo faur
> Up frae't it has the poo'er to leap

(I, 323)

Judging by such criteria he found that the present situation of poetry was not satisfactory. He spoke first of his own poetry:

> *Are my poems spoken in the factories and fields,*
> *In the streets o' the toon?*
> *Gin they're no', then I'm failin' to dae*
> *What I ocht to ha' dune.*
>
> *Gin I canna win through to the man in the street,*
> *The wife by the hearth,*
> *A' the cleverness on earth'll no' mak' up*
> *For the damnable dearth.*

(I, 323)

The situation was the same for other poets. They influenced "but a fringe o'mankind in ony way" (I, 324); their topics are too cramped to attract large spirits; genuine great poetry should be "free and expansive".

Poetry, however, has good prospects, especially as it gains enlightenment from Lenin:

> Poetry like politics maun cut
> The cackle and pursue real ends,
> Unerringly as Lenin, and to that
> Its nature better tends.
>
> Wi' Lenin's vision equal poet's gift
> And what unparalleled force was there!
> Nocht in a' literature wi' that
> Begins to compare.
>
> Nae simple rhymes for silly folk
> But the haill art, as Lenin gied
> Nae Marx-without-tears to workin' men

But the fu' course insteed.

Organic constructional work,
Practicality, and work by degrees;
First things first; and poetry in turn
'll be built by these.

(I, 324–5)

This shows solid and concrete admiration of Lenin. How, then, can one say that the poet was joking about Lenin? MacDiarmid's style was at once lively and serious. He considered that poetry must deal with really important subjects instead of getting bogged down in trifles. Such stupid matters should be cut off like a monkey's tail! The poet must be mature, no longer naive—one may recall that this was also stated in the "First Hymn". Now Lenin had given poetry an opportunity to develop fully. As a result of the victory in the struggle which he led, human beings could for the first time be "Freein' oor poo'rs for greater things, / And fegs there's plenty o' them" (I, 325). At such a new level, poetry could be allencompassing, and become:

The core o'a'activity,
Changin't in accordance wi'
Its inward necessity
And mede o' integrity.

(I, 328)

Thus MacDiarmid looks forward to a new role for poetry in the future, and if you visualize what this future poetry will be, "politics is bairns' play". MacDiarmid might be right or wrong, but he was not setting himself up as greater than Lenin. He was seeking a new "synthesis" between poetry and politics. It was precisely Lenin's October Revolution which carried human history to a new stage and so made that "synthesis" possible.

"First Hymn" and "Second Hymn" have different emphases, but they are completely consistent in spirit—in the love for the revolutionary leader, in the central argument, even in key phrases (e.g. "first things first"), and both were written in Scottish dialect. In "First Hymn" each stanza consists of six lines (the shorter last line introduces a pause); in "Second Hymn" each stanza consists of four lines. These forms were chosen to suit MacDiarmid's free-flowing, lively style. The poems were not superficial and empty; in them he expounded some general principles of poetry. He wrote concretely but did not get bogged down in details; epigrams appear here and there; images are striking but not fantastic; his skillful use of rhythm takes full advantage of the

subtleties of dialect. Thus these two hymns are outstanding in their artistry.

"Third Hymn to Lenin" was first published in *The Voice of Scotland* in 1955. The reason that it was mentioned as a work of a later period is that here MacDiarmid's style changes in comparison with the "First"and "Second Hymn". Scottish dialect and the short stanza disappear; this poem is characterized by free verse and standard English. Words and phrases gush out with a new tremendously eloquent momentum, revealing the poet's anxieties about the city Glasgow.

The poet introduces a seaman, then he asks rhetorically: Can a sailor know the flow of the waves as Lenin knew the flow of history? MacDiarmid then sings of Lenin:

> You turned a whole world right side up, and did so
> With no dramatic gesture, no memorable word.
> *Now measure Glasgow for a like laconic overthrow*!
> On days of revolutionary turning points you literally flourished,
> Became clairvoyant, foresaw the movement of classes,
> And the probable zig-zags of the revolution
> As if on your palm;
> Not only an analytical mind but also
> A great constructive, synthesizing mind
> Able to build up in thought the new reality
> As it must actually come
> By force of definite laws eventually,
>
> (II, 894)

After this the poet proposes:

> Be with me, Lenin, reincarnate in me here,
> Fathom and solve as you did Russia erst
> This lesser maze, you greatest proletarian seer!
>
> (II, 895)

What was the problem that Glasgow was facing? The poet painted this scene:

> A horror that might sicken your stomach even,
> The peak of the capitalist system and the trough of Hell,
> Fit testimonial to our ultra-pious race,
> A people greedy, lying, and unconscionable
> Beyond compare.—Seize on this link, spirit of Lenin, then
> And you must needs haul upwards to the light
> The whole base chain of the phenomena that hold
> Europe so far below levels worthy of its might!
>
> (II, 895)

Following this MacDiarmid described the stench of a Glasgow slum, and quoted a passage in prose from William Bolitho's *The Cancer of Empire*:

> Door after door as we knocked was opened by a shirted

> man, suddenly and softly as if impelled forward by
> the overpowering smell behind him....Once in a
> woman's shilling boarding-house it leapt out and
> took us by the throat like an evil beast. The smell
> of the slums, the unforgettable, the abominable smell!

(II, 896)

Despite such slums, however, many Scots were still content to leave things as they were:

> So long as we avoid all else and dwell,
> Heedless of the multiplicity of correspondences
> Behind them, on the simple data our normal senses give,
> Know what vast liberating powers these dark powers disengage,
> But leave the task to others and in craven safety live.

(II, 896)

As he did with the drunk men looking at the thistle, once again MacDiarmid mercilessly castigated those apathetic people: Labour M.P.'s, idle talkers, scholars and scientists. They allow the fascists to run wild and even help to spread their rumours. For example, MacDiarmid pointed to famous astronomers (e.g. Sir James Jeans) who, instead of carrying forward their research into scientific truth went back to the arms of the church. The poet shouted with rage at this situation: "This is the lie of lies— the High Treason to mankind" (II, 899).

Nor did MacDiarmid spare poets who aroused his disappointment and anger:

> Michael Roberts and All Angels! Auden, Spender, those bhoyos,
> All yellow twicers: not one of them
> With a tithe of Carlile's courage and integrity.
> Unlike the pseudos I am *of*—not *for*—the working class
> And like Carlile know nothing of the so-called higher classes
> Save only that they are cheats and murderers,
> Battening like vampires on the masses.

(II, 900)

A true poet, he pointed out, must be concerned with something completely different:

> Our concern is human wholeness—the child-like spirit
> Newborn every day—not, indeed, as careless of tradition
> Nor of the lessons of the past: these it must needs inherit.
> But as capable of such complete assimilation and surrender,
> So all-inclusive, unfenced-off, uncategoried, sensitive and tender,
> That growth is unconditioned and unwarped…

(II, 900–1)

In order to accomplish such a prospect, the poet again appealed to Lenin:

> ...Ah, Lenin,
> Life and that more abundantly, thou Fire of Freedom,
> Fire-like in your purity and heaven-seeking vehemence,
> Yet the adjective must not suggest merely meteoric,
> Spectacular—not the flying sparks, but the intense
> Glowing core of your character, your large and splendid stability,
> Made you the man you were—the live heart of all humanity!
> Spirit of Lenin, light on this city now!
> Light up this city now!

(II, 901)

This concludes the "Third Hymn." In short, in this poem MacDiarmid called for the awakening of the Scottish people and he considered that the way Lenin pointed out was the only way to eradicate poverty and disease in cities like Glasgow. He adopted a Whitmanesque free verse using language closer to spoken everyday expression, with rapid shifts in diction. The entire poem was written in English, completely abandoning the Scottish dialect. This became a characteristic of his later period.

The change in style first revealed itself in the mid-thirties. The collection entitled *Second Hymn to Lenin and Other Poems*, published in 1935, consisted of about fifty poems. All of them, however, were written in English except "Second Hymn"; among these were several outstanding pieces such as "On the Ocean Floor" "The Storm-Cock's Song" and "Reflections in an Ironworks."

In addition to these, several short English poems are also worth mention. "The Skeleton of the Future" (from *Stony Limits*, 1943) is usually included in selections of the poet's work. In it he used the terminology of geology to describe the solidity and glitter of Lenin's coffin chamber as well as the light which was reflected from the snow outside to represent the Russian land and people, to end with "the eternal lightning of Lenin's bones" (I, 336), a line both realistic (describing the light on Lenin's remains) and symbolic (representing Lenin's undying influence on mankind); the title itself reinforces this theme.

"Of John Davidson" (from *Scots Unbound*, 1932) is another impressive poem. Every line is permeated with deep emotion, although the author unemotionally describes how he observed Davidson's lonely figure walking up to the edge of the sea, but suddenly there is "—A bullet-hole through a great scene's beauty". The serene world was violently torn apart: a talented poet, like other beautiful things, ended in a single moment. Meanwhile

MacDiarmid detachedly points out the reason for the tragedy: a shortsighted view of the future, finding the wrong spiritual sustenance. Compared to this deeply felt elegy, many other modern poems that mourn the dead seem to be perfunctory, composed only for the occasion.

It was, however, the long poem that formed the main feature of MacDiarmid's work in the later period. *In Memoriam James Joyce*, published in 1955, was one of them. The poem consisted of 6,000 lines, but was only a part of a much longer poem, *A Vision of a World Language*, which was never completed. The content of *In Memoriam James Joyce* is complex; some parts of it are difficult to understand. At least two themes are clear: first, men must inherit and develop the whole human culture from ancient times to today (this has already been emphasized in "Second Hymn to Lenin"); secondly, a writer should bring his linguistic potential into full play as Joyce had done. MacDiarmid admired the Irish writer greatly. Many critics had frowned on the large number of new words which were created by Joyce in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, but MacDiarmid fully supported Joyce's effort because he (MacDiarmid) considered language as "the central mystery / Of the intellectual life" and thought that a writer should seek the language which best conveys his sensibility:

> A language that can serve our purposes,
> A marvellous lucidity, a quality of fiery aery light,
> Flowing like clear water, flying like a bird,
> Burning like a sunlit landscape.
> Conveying with a positively Godlike assurance,
> Swiftly, shiningly, exactly, what we want to convey,

(II, 822)

MacDiarmid considered that the attempt at originality which he and Joyce were making was significant:

> That is what adventuring in dictionaries means,
> All the abysses and altitudes of the mind of man,
> Every test and trial of the spirit,
> Among the débris of all past literature
> And raw material of all the literature to be.

(II, 823)

This would be a kind of language that is understood by every nation, thus various cultures develop intercourse with one another and the development of human beings would be universal. It is evident that the poet's two themes are actually one, and that the first one is the prerequisite of the second.

MacDiarmid vigorously practiced what he advocated. *In Memoriam James Joyce* is an embodiment of this theme. He frequently adopted foreign words and quoted foreign writers, scientists and thinkers. In one short section, for example, you can find Sanskrit, Greek, Finnish, and eastern European languages. You will also find Chinese there. He not only quotes Chinese, but also mentions Chinese calligraphers such as Huai Su, Zhao Zi'ang, Huang Shangu, Wang Xizhi, specifying "The ostentatious vulgarity of the Emperor Chien Lung, / And, in the plump and chirpy strokes of Su Tungpo, / The loose flesh and easy manner of a fat person" (II, 765). In using a broad range of quotations from ancient to modern times, from various countries, MacDiarmid is not doing exactly what T. S. Eliot did in *The Waste Land* and Ezra Pound did in *Pisan Cantos*. MacDiarmid was their friend, and he defended the *Pisan Cantos* in *The Company I've Kept* (1966, Chapt. 7). He enjoyed the poetry of the French Symbolists and such modern German poets as Rilke, and displayed a perfect "modern sensibility" so sedulously cultivated by modernist poets. On two important points, however, MacDiarmid differed from the modernists. Eliot and others depend on knowledge from classical literature, whereas MacDiarmid's poetry spreads its roots in the tradition of Scottish folkliterature, which is an old but vital tradition. Eliot and Pound went back to the past, whereas MacDiarmid looked to the future. In his view, bringing the capacity of language into full play is an indispensable prerequisite for the universal development of human beings, and that is why he was so enthusiastic about it. Following his remark about Su Tungpo, at the end of the section cited, he wrote:

> The real humanity of the humane is departing from the world.
> I am troubled by the tendency in science to-day
> For the law to be derived from limited groups of observations
> Rather than from the wide generalisations of understanding.
> And I am haunted by the masses
> In our great industrial centres,
> Greedy for productivity and neglecting fertility.
>
> (II, 765–6)

In MacDiarmid's opinion both "wide generalisations of understanding"and "fertility" are necessary qualities which people should have in a fully developed society. These concerns never troubled the bookish world of Eliot and Pound.

MacDiarmid's works of the later period arouse various responses. Many critics do not like his change of style. Readers enjoy the outstanding passages

in these poems, but are puzzled by them as wholes. The poet himself clearly knew what he was doing and explained it in his usual forthright manner. For instance, he wrote:

> The greatest poets undergo a kind of crisis in their art,
> A change proportionate to their previous achievement.
> Others approach it and fail to fulfil it—like Wordsworth.
>
> (I, 614)

* * *

> —I am forty-six; of tenacious, long-lived country folk.
> Fools regret my poetic change—from my "enchanting early lyrics"—
> But I have found in Marxism all that I need—
>
> (I, 615)

He further declared in *The Kind of Poetry I Want*:

> Utterly a creator—refusing to sanction
> The irresponsible lyricism in which sense impressions
> Are employed to substitute ecstasy for information,
> Knowing that feeling, warm heart-felt feeling,
> Is always banal and futile.
>
> (II, 1021)

Here we can see that he no longer used the Scottish dialect, which is consistent with his abandonment of lyric poetry.

He clearly explained his reason for writing long poems in the essay "Ezra Pound" (*The Company I've Kept* [London, 1966], p. 171):

> It is epic—and no lesser form—that equates with the classless society. Everything else—no matter how expressly it repudiates these in the mere logical meaning of what it *says* against what it *is*—belongs to the older order of bourgeois "values"…

MacDiarmid cited Heine as an example and pointed out how he had changed his style after the success of his early lyrics, and enlarged the range of his subjects, though his later poetry was not well received and had still not been correctly reassessed. The writing of epics is an inevitable trend, MacDiarmid thought. Epics were not created in ancient times only; today many progressive poets are writing them—Mayakovsky and Neruda, for instance, as well as "a Yugo-Slav shepherd [who wrote] *The Stormy Years of the 20th Century*"(*The Company I've Kept*, p. 179). They have all written magnificent epics. The appearance of the epic is inevitable, because "The grandeur of the time requires grand syntheses—not only in fine arts or music, but also in literature, not only in prose, but also in poetry" (*The Company I've Kept*, pp. 178–9).

However, what kind of epic is desirable? There does not seem to be any criterion, but certain tendencies may be seen in MacDiarmid's own later poetry, namely:

"Marxization" of poetry—using poetry to attack and satirize class enemies with a violence hitherto rarely seen in verse, and placing one's hope in universal development, including a "greater synthesis" of human culture, which is what Lenin advocated.

"Scientificization" of poetry—for this MacDiarmid wrote "the poetry of facts", using many images drawn from science, frequently using scientific words.

Internationalization of poetry—for this he drew upon the quintessence of various cultures, quoting philosophical and literary works from various languages, and using large numbers of foreign words.

Establishing a new aesthetics—there are many discussions of poetry and poetics; he not only explained his own poetry and commented on others' poetry, but also explored the fundamental principles of poetry and art. He paid particular attention, as did many other modern poets, to the language of poetry, and he always strove to be original in his own poetic language.

Do these tendencies, or the subjects and artistic techniques used to accomplish them, necessarily lead to the production of epics? This requires further consideration. MacDiarmid's merit is that his poetic performance is far more brilliant than his theory; his practice often remedies the defects of his theory. His long poems may not be epics in the traditional sense—they are not even complete works; however, they represent an important poet's extensive experiments in art. Where experiments succeed, they succeed magnificently: his political poems blend power with beauty; he uses Whitmanesque free verse with cunning; his long stanzas are full of thrust; they shift continuously to express his sinuous thoughts; he assimilates materials from many sources, making of them a rich and unified poetry. He inserts brilliant comments: the passages in which he talks about art, poetry, language and his own experience and feelings are among the most outstanding in modern European poetry. His exploration of the relation between science and poetry shows a good grasp of important issues in the modern world. He has taken a large step in broadening the range of poetry, and that step is the beginning of his search for a greater synthesis of human culture.

What is our final impression? Among modern British poets MacDiarmid

is a master from the North. He followed a road which was trodden by the masses and yet particular to himself—mass-based because of his revolutionary enthusiasm and Communist ideals; particular because of his art. Whatever he wrote carries his own hallmark; it would be almost impossible to imitate his poetry. Even when some of his lines seem to be dull and redundant, suddenly a surprising image or epigram will light up the scene, or an unusual rhythm will soothe the ear. In his later poetry MacDiarmid wanted to repudiate his lyrical quality, but actually this is just the quality that makes him imperishable. This was evident not only when he wrote those enchanting lyrics but also when he wrote his later long poems. A poet's—any poet's—opinions may have great or small historical significance, but it is hard for anyone to escape from the ravages of time. Some scientific theories that MacDiarmid quoted in his long poems are obviously outdated now, and some of his understanding of Marxism may not be universally accepted, but the art of his lyrics will endure. These lyrics are not of a sweet, sentimental kind, but are of a higher order which has resulted from the fusion of deep feeling with an active imagination—the rhythm of a folksong wedded to a twentieth-century poet's sensitivity to language. This higher lyricism is to be found in his powerful eloquence, in the hymns to Lenin, in the homage to Joyce, in the prospect of the "greater synthesis" of human culture in the future.

Because he wrote with such lyricism his poetry will endure better than many modern English and American productions. When this great Scottish poet died in 1978 he had already seen that, with the publication of his *Collected Poems* in 1962, his poetry had finally broken through a long period of neglect and prejudice. Since then it has won more and more readers who wonder at its power and beauty. We can be sure that he laid down his pen with a final sense of triumph.

1980

拾壹　论休·麦克迪尔米德[1]

休·麦克迪尔米德是克里斯托弗·默里·格里夫的笔名，出生在苏格兰和英格兰交界的地方。祖辈中不乏坚韧之辈，有时会跨界抢劫，也有些是苏格兰织工。他在诗中无比自豪地直言不讳：

从盗贼到织工，再到我。不可思议！
但总而言之，与其说我
源于民歌，不如说我源于战争……

对很多读者和评论家来说，麦克迪尔米德最动人的诗是他早年写的那些。1925年左右，他和几个朋友发起了“苏格兰文艺复兴”运动，他自己也开始写诗。那几年，他主要用一种名为“拉兰斯语”的纯粹苏格兰方言写抒情诗。即便是今天，依然还有很多人喜欢他早年写的这些抒情诗，譬如《彩虹》《被忽略的好孩子》《摇摆的石头》《松林之月》和《空壶》。这些小诗清新美妙，但也并非虚无缥缈，他总是擅长把简单的场景扩展，绵延，赋予其深意。

举例来说，在《空壶》中，诗人描写了一个农妇失去孩子的痛苦。她丧失了理智，对着死去的孩子唱歌。诗人采用的四行民歌体诗节赋予了普通场景一种原始的素朴和永恒感。第二诗节笔锋一转，把乡村场景换成了一种更具普遍性的自然场景。这首诗源自一首18世纪的民歌，但麦克迪尔米德把一个女人的痛苦扩大化，大到囊括整个宇宙。

《摇摆的石头》是对时间、生命和死亡的思考。如果这个世界犹如风中摇摆的石头，那生命纯粹就是反复无常。名望与历史仅仅是石上青苔，遮住一切。（这个比喻很新鲜——人们通常会说名望终会被时间湮灭或名望会超越时间，终成千古。）但这首诗并不是抽象的玄思。场景是具体的：周围一片萧索，极具感染力，石头、泥土、风、天空、雪花等原始意象都会让读者想起人类普遍的境遇。

《松林之月》是一首气势磅礴、情感细腻的情诗，场景是松林中的一轮明月，很是新颖。

以上只是其中几首，但也足以说明麦克迪尔米德的抒情诗是苏格兰文学中的翘楚了。一个重要的因素是他使用了苏格兰方言。他强烈反对苏格兰文学中的“英语至上”，同时他也明白苏格兰诗人的困境：

诅咒我的双重生活！双重语言！
——好端端的苏格兰语被英语束缚——
用英语的词汇来诉说苏格兰的事，
就像让乱叫的鸟来唱贝多芬的曲。

（I，236）

既然谈苏格兰的事情，就该用苏格兰的语言，否则内容就会扭曲。他自

身的经历以及其他诗人的经历，都能说明这一点。那该选哪种苏格兰方言呢？彭斯为大家提供了一个范例，但是他死后的悲惨状况对其他诗人又是个警醒。试图追随彭斯的诗人只会更感伤、更低俗，致使语言变得更像个烂醉如泥的女人。麦克迪尔米德要另择新路。他主要用苏格兰东南部的低地方言，然后再从贾米森编写的《苏格兰方言词源词典》里摘些苏格兰词汇。整合后，他称之为“拉兰斯语”，也即他早期诗歌中使用的语言。这些诗用苏格兰方言写成，吸收了苏格兰乡民悠久传统的精华，再加上因马拉美、兰波和里尔克的影响而发展起来的现代意识，诗人脱离了英国文学传统，反抗“英语至上”，同时又展现了塞尔特人的高超才华。这是麦克迪尔米德的抒情诗之所以新颖和有力的主要原因。

麦克迪尔米德没有自甘满足，停滞不前。他1926年发表的长诗《醉汉看蓟草》显示出他的诗艺又有了进一步升华。这部长诗由几首独立的诗组成，包括那首著名的抒情诗《呵，谁已先我而来，姑娘》（I，103）。一位朋友拿给叶芝看，叶芝诧异“有这么好的诗，而我居然一点也不知道”[2]。这部长诗中还包括讽刺诗、滑稽诗、哲理诗、即兴诗、书信体诗、译作和仿作。他还写了他的第一首政治诗《受难的玫瑰之歌》（I，119），赞扬1926年5月的大罢工。将这部长诗串在一处的是一个共同的主题：苏格兰的困境。蓟草是苏格兰的象征，用在苏格兰的国徽图案中，诗中多次出现，而盯着国徽的是个醉汉。月色温柔，周遭一片朦胧。蓟草在醉汉惺忪的睡眼中历经多次变化。（有那么一会，国徽变成了试管中的胚胎。）每一次变化都代表了苏格兰社会的一个方面，因此当醉汉在观察这些变化的时候，诗人也在审视和批判苏格兰的现实。麦克迪尔米德对苏格兰的挚爱由此可见一斑，但是他也意识到了祖国存在的问题。因此他的诗中到处都是尖锐的嘲讽，尤其是对上层社会，他谴责他们忽视传统、自私、自大、冷漠、自欺欺人。即使声势浩大的示威游行的吉祥物红玫瑰的凋谢也要归因于花朵本身：

> 毁灭梦想的罪恶
> 就在花朵本身，
> 在被清除之前
> 道德只能寄居于
> 痛苦和贫穷之中。

（I，121）

麦克迪尔米德清楚地知道苏格兰诗人的职责所在：

> 苏格兰诗人要担起拯救
> 国人厄运的重担，
> 并打碎活人墓。

（I，165）

苏格兰的救赎之路何在？诗人遥望历史，那与他就像“移动的大车

轮”；接着他把目光投向当时的欧洲，发现俄国正经历前所未有的挣扎。他致意陀思妥耶夫斯基：

我在苏格兰国徽的国度里
你在俄国
面对同样
无比艰难的挣扎。
我可否问你要
一小捧你那
无与伦比的天赋，
因为面对同样的天涯。

（I，137–8）

结论很清晰：

不管如何，我们的欧洲满载
我的向往（也许不只是向往）。
想抓住俄国的手，朋友的手
来创造人类的伟大结合。

（I，135）

“结合”一词在麦克迪尔米德以后的诗中还会出现；此处代表新的政治和社会实验，指的是苏联的工人、农民和军人体系。受苏格兰工人运动领袖约翰·麦克林的影响，麦克迪尔米德的抒情诗也越来越有政治色彩；事实上，此时的他正历经政治思想的重要转变。除了之前拥护的苏格兰民族主义，他还开始拥抱共产主义理想，并试图用新的方式把两者结合起来。

结果，麦克迪尔米德在30年代写了三首列宁颂。第一首和第二首分别写于1931年和1932年，并都于当年发表。第三首写作年份不详，但从形式和内容上看，显然更晚一些，发表于1955年。

在苏联，马雅可夫斯基的长篇《列宁颂》已经出版。到了30年代，苏联社会主义体系已建立完备，然而资本主义世界却遭受了经济危机的打击。当着资产阶级的面夸奖无产阶级的领袖，会引起反感，不仅需要政治上的勇气，也需要艺术上的勇气，因为夸什么，怎么夸，很难把握。

麦克迪尔米德用自己独特的方式解决了这些问题。他既没有空喊“永垂不朽”之类的空口号，也没有满纸谄媚奉承。正如他在《一颂列宁》中所说，他关心的是“首要事情是否放在了首要地位”（I，298）。“首要事情”即列宁在人类历史上的地位。他把列宁与耶稣基督相比：

我们提到耶稣不是偶然，也不是
因为你是耶稣以来历史的转折
是因为你教给我们根除罪恶的方法而耶稣却不好使。
耶稣说追随他的人将会像他一样或比他更好地行事，

这话因是梦想不被了解
而你却让它成为现实。

你还没完成的事，
无妨，你完成的事才要紧。
把你和耶稣比，说你更正或弥补耶稣，也不要紧。
要紧的是我们花了太久才找到耶稣的后继者，
你这个和耶稣并提，和耶稣映衬的人。

（I，297）

列宁的重要性在于：

伟大的事业需要伟大的人——以更大的牺牲为前提，
如果首要事情放在首要地位，
被滥用的思想和权力也可以
更早为大众服务——现在还来得及
由于你，最基本的力量有了真谛。

（I，298）

对麦克迪尔米德来说，没有什么比人的进步更重要了，他尤其拥护列宁，是因为列宁所领导的革命第一次让人得以充分发挥才能，而不是“做历史的叛徒”（I，298），致使人类永远陷入愚昧无知的境地。

在《二颂列宁》中，麦克迪尔米德讨论了诗与政治的关系。这首诗受到西方评论界的广泛关注，有人说麦克迪尔米德自诩可与列宁平起平坐，并认为诗歌应摆脱政治的影响。他们援引的例子如下：

诗歌与政治相比，
毫无疑问，最终
诗歌包含了它，并必须是
人类更伟大的权力。

（I，326）

有人引用该诗的结尾“啊，列宁，政治是小孩儿把戏，与这相比！”（I，328）来证明麦克迪尔米德对政治的不敬。

他的这些话是什么意思呢？如果你把这首诗从头再读一遍，就会发现他对列宁充满了敬意，并且很亲近，因此他觉得自己可以直言不讳，就像同志之间那样。从一开始他就表现出了这样的态度：

啊，列宁，你是对的。但我是诗人
（因此要请你多包涵，）
我的目标比你的更复杂，
虽然我知道，你的应当占先。

（I，323）

诗人对列宁的敬意在《一颂列宁》和同时期写的其他一些诗（如《无缝的衣服》《未来的骨骼》）中完全体现出来了。所以当一年后再写《二颂列宁》时，他觉得没必要自我重复。相反，他转而去深入地讨论诗

歌。他对诗歌寄予了厚望：

虽然乔伊斯也对，
他认为就艺术品来说
主要的问题是它的生活源泉
有多深，其次是它能
跳出生活多远

（I，323）

按照这样的标准，他发现如今的诗歌并不尽如人意。他先谈自己的诗：

有人在工厂和田地读我的诗么，
或在城市大街的中心？
如果没有，那我就不曾尽到
我该尽的本分。

如果我不能打动街上的老百姓
或者灶旁的家庭妇女，
那我纵有天下的一切聪明，
也救不了这该死的失误！

（I，323）

对其他诗人来说亦是如此。他们“只用一种方式打动了边缘上一小撮”（I，324）；他们的话题过于狭窄，不能吸引广大的人群；真正伟大的诗歌应该“自由而开阔”。

然而，诗歌仍有美好的前景，特别是因为有了列宁：

诗同政治都要斩断枝节，
抓紧真正的目的不放手，
要象列宁那样看得准，
而这也是诗的本质所求。

列宁的远见加上诗人的天才，
将要产生多大的力，
古今文学里所有的一切，
都不能同它匹敌。

不是唱小调去讨好庸人，
而是拿出全部诗艺，
就象列宁对工人不用速成法，
而讲了整套马克思主义。

有机配合的建设工作，
实干，一步一步前进，
首要事情放在首要地位，
诗也要靠这些产生。

（I，324—5）

这里体现了麦克迪尔米德对列宁深深的崇拜。怎么会有人说他对列宁不

敬呢？麦克迪尔米德的诗风既生动又严肃。他认为诗歌必须写真正重要的东西，而不是纠缠于细枝末节。这些细枝末节就像猴子尾巴，早该割掉！诗人应该成熟，不要再幼稚了——我们可能还记得诗人在《一颂列宁》中也这样说过。现在列宁给了诗歌一个全面发展的机会。由于他领导的革命取得了胜利，人类第一次能够“为更伟大的事情而斗争 / 争取自由”。在这种全新的背景下，诗歌要包含一切，并成为：

一切活动的中间。
随
内在的需要而变，
并由完整组建。

（I，328）

因此，麦克迪尔米德对诗歌在未来扮演的新角色寄予了厚望，如果你想象一下这种角色是什么，那就是“为政治服务”。不论麦克迪尔米德正确与否，他都没有自诩比列宁伟大。他是在寻找诗歌和政治之间的新“结合”。恰恰是列宁领导的十月革命把人类历史引向了一个新台阶，从而使得这种“结合”成为可能。

《一颂列宁》和《二颂列宁》强调的重点有所不同，但在主题上完全一致——在对革命领袖的热爱上，在中心思想上，甚至在关键词汇上（比如“首要事情放在首要地位”），并且两首诗都用苏格兰方言写成。《一颂列宁》每个诗节六行（最后一行短些，是个停顿）；《二颂列宁》每个诗节四行。这样的诗节与麦克迪尔米德自由流畅、生动活泼的文体正相适宜。这些诗歌不肤浅，不空洞；在其中他阐述了诗歌的某些基本原理。他写得很具体，但没被细节牵绊；警句随处可见；意象惊人，但不怪异；他巧妙地运用韵律，方言的微妙得以全部显现。因此这两首颂的艺术成就斐然。

《三颂列宁》最先于1955年发表在《苏格兰之音》上。之所以被当成诗人晚期的作品，是因为与前两首相比，这首颂的风格有了变化。诗中不再用苏格兰方言和短小诗节，而是代之以自由诗体和标准英语。字句喷涌而出，带着一种全新的磅礴气势，表现出诗人对格拉斯哥这座城市的忧虑。

诗人介绍了一位海员，然后反问道：海员能否像列宁知道历史的走向一样，知道潮水的走向？接着他便开始歌颂列宁：

你改造了一个世界，
没有激烈的运作，或华丽的言语。
把格拉斯哥也来个如此简洁的改造！
在革命的转折点你高屋建瓴，
洞悉，预测着阶层的变动，
以及革命可能的方向，
好像一切都轻如反掌；
你不仅分析，而且

是建设，构建
新的世界。
新的世界终将实现
因为有确凿的定理。

（II，894）

然后诗人请求道：

和我在一起，列宁，化为我身，
像你对俄国那样，对待
这里的浅层谜团，你这个最伟大的无产阶级巨人！

（II，895）

格拉斯哥正面临什么问题呢？诗人描绘了当时的场景：

作呕的恐惧，
资本主义的罪恶，地狱的底层，
证实了过于虔诚的人类
贪婪、谎言、冷漠的无可比拟——
抓住这个支点，列宁的真谛，
向上升，即使超过力气，
也要升到有光处，
整个欧洲脱离地狱。

（II，895）

接下来麦克迪尔米德描写了格拉斯哥贫民窟的恶臭，并从威廉·伯利梭的《帝国癌症》中引用了一段：

每敲一家，都是穿着上衣的男人开门。急促而又悄无声息，好像被身后的气味所驱使……这种气味有一次从一个女人寒酸的小屋传出，当时我们好像被恶兽掐住了喉咙。那种贫民窟的气味，让人难忘的恶心的气味！

（II，896）

尽管存在这样的贫民窟，很多苏格兰人仍乐于现状：

我们对一切视而不见，只是存活，
不顾身后的复杂与喧闹，
只管向那感官去要，
黑暗力量虽促发了多少对解放的渴望，
把任务留给他人，把安全与暂居留给怯懦的自我。

（II，896）

如同对待看国徽的醉汉一样，麦克迪尔米德又一次无情地谴责这些冷漠之人：工党议员、空谈家、学者和科学家。他们任由法西斯胡作非为，甚至还帮他们散布谣言。麦克迪尔米德指出一些著名宇航员（比如，詹姆士·琼斯爵士）不去从事科学研究，反而躲在教会的臂膀之下。诗人对此义愤填膺，大声疾呼道：“这是谎言中的谎言——对人类的最高叛逆”（II，899）。

麦克迪尔米德也没放过那些让他失望和愤怒的诗人：

迈克尔·罗伯特和其他的天使诗人！奥登，斯宾德，他们是

黄色的两面派：没有一人
能有卡里里十分之一的勇气和正直。
他们不为工人阶级，
眼中只有所谓的上层阶级
还是骗子和杀人犯，
靠民膏民脂养肥了自己。

（II，900）

他指出，真正的诗人应该关心另外一种完全不同的事情：

我们关心的是整个人类——像儿童
每天的新生——不是不顾传统，
也不是不管过去的经验：这些都必须继承。
而是完全同化和屈尊，
全面吸纳，不阻挡，不分级，充满敏感和温存，
那才是无条件的，笔直的成长。

（II，900–1）

为了实现这样的愿景，诗人再次请求列宁：

啊，列宁，
生命以及你自由的茂盛火种，
你的纯洁似火，你的热烈齐天，
不会只流星般消逝。
——不是火花四溅，而是你强烈的
光，持久的光与美，
使你成为了你——人类的心！
你的精神，点亮这座城市！
点亮这座城市！

（II，901）

这就是《三颂列宁》的结尾。简而言之，在这首诗中他呼吁苏格兰人民觉醒起来，并认为列宁指出的道路是根治格拉斯哥这类城市的贫穷和疾病的唯一办法。他采用惠特曼式的自由诗体，用一种更接近生活的口语，不断变换措辞。整首诗都用英语写成，完全摒弃了苏格兰方言。这些都是他晚期诗歌的特征。

这种风格的转换在30年代中期就初见端倪。1935年出版的诗集《二颂列宁及其他》收录了大约50首诗，但除了《二颂列宁》外，全都用英语写成，其中包括《海底》《雨中公鸡之歌》《铁厂有感》等名篇。

此外，还要提一下他的几首短诗。《将来的骨骼（列宁墓前）》（选自《无情的界限》，1943），通常都会被选入他的各类诗集中。他在这首诗中用地质学词汇描述列宁墓室——坚硬又闪耀，用映雪之光来代表俄国的人民和土地，用“列宁遗骨的永恒的雷电”结束全诗，这一句既真实（光、影、墓），又满载象征（列宁的光对人类的照耀将永存）。诗的标题也进一步提升了主题。

《悼约翰·台维孙》（选自诗集《解放了的苏格兰人》，1932）也

是一首感人至深的诗。[3]每一行都饱含深情，尽管作者似乎不带感情地描述他如何看着诗人台维孙孤独地走向大海，只是突然间，“一颗子弹洞穿了美丽的风景”。寂静的世界猛然被撕碎：一个才华横溢的诗人，如其他美好的事物一样，在刹那间归于消亡。同时，麦克迪尔米德还冷静客观地指出悲剧的原因：对未来缺乏远见，没有找到正确的精神支柱。和这首饱含深情的挽歌相比，很多哀悼死者的现代诗都显得草率，应景之作罢了。

但最能体现麦克迪尔米德晚期创作特色的还是其长诗。1955年出版的《悼念詹姆斯·乔伊斯》就是其一。那首诗6000行，但还只是一首更长的诗《世界语言的幻象》的一部分，而《世界语言的幻象》最终也没有写完。《悼念詹姆斯·乔伊斯》内容复杂，有些部分很难读懂。但至少有两个主题很明确：第一，人类应继承并发扬从古至今的一切文化遗产（这在《二颂列宁》中已经强调过）；第二，作家要把自己语言上的潜能全部发挥出来，就像乔伊斯那样。麦克迪尔米德对这位爱尔兰作家非常崇拜。很多评论家都对乔伊斯在《尤利西斯》和《芬尼根守灵夜》里创造的大量新词不以为然，麦克迪尔米德却极力赞赏，因他认为语言是“智慧的神秘内核”，一个作家应该去找寻最能传达其情愫的语言：

语言像透明的水，闪耀的塔，
展翅的鸟，照耀大地的光，
——传达我们要传达的东西——
快，准，并以上帝的灵光。

（II，822）

麦克迪尔米德认为自己和乔伊斯对独创性的追求意义深远：

在字典里翻找
就像找寻人类思想的迷宫和分布，
以及接受精神的考验与检验，
在历史上的文学废墟里，
也在未来文学的荒地上。

（II，823）

这应该是世界各民族都能理解的那种语言，正因如此各种文化之间才能彼此交流，人类才会共同进步。很显然诗人的两个主题实际是一个，第一个是第二个的先决条件。

麦克迪尔米德极力把他的主张付诸实践。《悼念詹姆斯·乔伊斯》就是一例。他在诗中不断地使用外来词，引用外国作家、科学家和思想家。比如，在短短的一节中，你能看到梵文、希腊语、芬兰语以及东欧各语，甚至还有中文。他不仅引用中国作家，还提到了书法家怀素、赵子昂、黄山谷、王羲之，并专门指出乾隆皇帝“炫耀自己的庸俗作风／苏东坡丰腴而活泼的笔法，象一个胖子肌肉松弛而态度潇洒”（II，

765）[4]。虽然麦克迪尔米德从古今中外的作品中大量引用，但他同艾略特写《荒原》与庞德写《比萨诗章》时不尽相同。麦克迪尔米德是他们的朋友，而且还在《我的同伴》（1966，第7章）中为《比萨诗章》辩护过。他也喜欢法国象征派诗人，喜欢里尔克那样的德国现代诗人，并完全具备现代诗人孜孜以求的“现代意识”。但他与现代诗人有两点重要的不同。艾略特和其他现代诗人从古典文学中汲取营养，麦克迪尔米德则扎根于苏格兰的民间文学传统，那是一个古老而又充满生机的传统。艾略特和庞德回顾过去，麦克迪尔米德则放眼未来。在他看来，把语言的力量全部发挥出来是人类共同发展不可或缺的先决条件，那也是他为何对之如此热衷的原因。在前面我们引用的那节末尾，他谈完苏东坡后，写道：

人性已远离世界。
今日科学让人忧，
结论产生于有限观察
而非通识和认知。
人们生存在
工业的中心，
渴求生产力，忽略生命力。

（II，765–6）

麦克迪尔米德认为，一个社会要全面发展，“通识和认知”以及“生命力”是人必备的素质。而这些都是书生意气的艾略特和庞德从未考虑过的。

人们对麦克迪尔米德后期的作品褒贬不一。很多评论家不喜欢他诗风的改变。读者喜欢这些诗中的精彩段落，但作为整体这些诗又让他们困惑。诗人则清楚地知道自己在做什么，并以其一贯的率直加以解释。比如，他写道：

最伟大的诗人在艺术道路上都会经历危机；
之前成就多大，现在变化就有多大。
其他人也曾尝试，却以失败告终——比如华兹华斯。

（I，614）

我46岁；顽强的乡巴佬。
庸人们惋惜我诗风的改变，说我抛弃了
“有魅力的早期抒情诗”——
可是我已在马克思主义里找到了我所需的一切……

（I，615）

他在《我要哪种诗》中接着说道：

我要新的诗——
我拒绝不负责的抒情诗，
因为狂喜的感觉，
只会使人忘却内质。

感情的，温暖的诗
毫无用处且毫无新意。

（II，1021）

这里，我们可以看出他不再使用苏格兰方言，而这和他放弃写抒情诗也是相辅相成的。

在文章《庞德》（出自《我的同伴》［伦敦，1966］，第171页）中，他清楚地解释自己为何写长诗：

> 只有史诗——不是任何小点规模的诗——才能等同于没有阶级差别的社会。别的诗——不管这些诗多么有力地批判那些逻辑混乱、词不达意的作品——都是为资产阶级旧秩序服务的……

麦克迪尔米德把海涅作为例子，并指出他在早期抒情诗成功后如何转变风格，扩充主题，尽管其晚期的诗歌并不受欢迎，而且至今还未得到应有的评价。麦克迪尔米德认为写长篇史诗是必然选择。不光古代人写史诗，今天很多进步诗人也在写史诗——比如马雅可夫斯基和聂鲁达，还有“［写］《二十世纪动荡岁月》的那个南斯拉夫牧羊人”（选自《我的同伴》，第179页）。他们都创作了伟大的史诗。史诗的出现也是必然，因为“伟大的时代需要伟大的结合——不仅是在美术和音乐中，而且在文学中，不仅在散文中，也在诗歌中”（选自《我的同伴》，第178–9页）。

但什么样的史诗为好呢？似乎没有什么标准，不过麦克迪尔米德的晚期诗歌中倒是有某些倾向：

诗歌的“马克思主义化”——用诗歌前所未有的力度，去攻击和讽刺阶级敌人，寄希望于人类的共同进步，包括列宁所倡导的人类文化的“伟大结合”。

诗歌的“科学化”——为此，麦克迪尔米德创作了一种“事实诗”，使用很多科学中的意象，经常使用科学术语。

诗歌的国际化——为此，他从各种文化中汲取营养，引用各种语言的哲学和文学经典，并大量使用外来词。

建立一种新美学——他对诗与诗学有诸多讨论；他不仅谈论自己的诗，评价别人的诗，还探讨诗歌和艺术的基本原则。同其他很多现代诗人一样，他对诗歌的语言尤为关注，总是力求语言的新颖。

那是否做到以上几点，或者选用这些主题与创作技巧，就一定能写出史诗了呢？尚需进一步斟酌。麦克迪尔米德的优点在于他的诗歌创作比理论好很多，他的创作常常可以弥补其理论的不足。他的长诗也许不是传统意义上的史诗——甚至都不是完整的作品，但它们标志着一个伟大诗人在艺术上的大力探索。探索若是成功，就非常成功：他的政治诗兼具力与美；他巧妙地运用惠特曼式的自由诗体；他的长诗节具有无限推动力，不断转变以表达诗人蜿蜒的思想；他整合多种资源，创作出丰

富而又浑然天成的诗。他在诗中穿插精彩评论：他那些谈论艺术、诗歌、语言以及自己的经历和情感的章节是欧洲现代诗歌中的翘楚。他对科学和诗歌关系的探讨，显示出他对现代社会重要问题的很好把握。他扩充了诗歌的内容，向前迈了一大步，而这一步也是他探索人类文化如何更好结合的开始。

那我们最终的印象如何呢？在英国现代诗人中，麦克迪尔米德是一位来自北方的大诗人。他走的是一条大众化但又有自我特色的道路——说大众化，是因为他的革命热情和共产主义理想；说有自我特色，是因为他的艺术造诣。他无论写什么都带有自己的印记，别人几乎无法模仿。即便某些诗行显得无味、累赘，突然间也会有一个意象或警句照亮全诗，或有一个出奇的韵律让人耳目一新。在其晚期的诗中，麦克迪尔米德想要摒弃抒情特征，但实际上正因这些特征他才光辉永存，不仅明显体现在他写这些令人陶醉的抒情诗的早期，也体现在后期的那些长诗中。一个诗人——任何诗人——的创作理念的历史意义或大或小，但谁也无法逃离时间的魔掌。麦克迪尔米德在长诗里引用的有些科学理论显然已经过时，他对马克思主义的一些理解也未必完全正确，但是他的抒情艺术将会长存。这些抒情诗不是甜美、感伤的那种，而是更上一层，是深切情感和丰富想象力的结合——苏格兰的民歌节奏与一个20世纪诗人对语言的敏感力相结合。这更上一层的抒情见之于他有力的雄辩，他的列宁颂，他对乔伊斯的敬佩，他对未来人类文化“更好结合”的愿景。

因为这样的抒情艺术，他的诗才能比很多英美现代派诗人的作品都更能经受住时间的考验。这位苏格兰大诗人在1978年去世前，已经看到了自己的诗走出长期被忽略、被非议的状态（他的《诗集》于1962年出版）。此后，越来越多的读者被他诗歌的力与美所打动。我们相信他最终是带着成功的喜悦放下诗笔的。

1980

NOTES 注释

壹 论文学间的契合

1 Qing Dynasty——编者注。

2 Hugh MacDiarmid, *Complete Poems*, eds. Michael Grieve and W. R. Aitken, London: Martin Brian & O'Keeffe, 1978, II, 884.

3 *Ibid*., I, 425.

贰 两位早期的译者

1 赫胥黎著、严复译：《天演论》上，导言一：察变（1971年北京科学出版社重印本，第1页）。

2 T. H. Huxley and Julian Huxley, *Evolution and Ethics*, 1893-1943, London, 1947, p. 33.

3 Ancient historians invariably use the third person in reference to themselves, particularly at the head of a passage—e.g. 太史公曰；陈光曰； etc.

4 下篇，论十二：天难（1971年重印本，第121页）。

5 As revealed in the Preface to his version of Dickens's *Old Curiosity Shop.*

6 《冷红生传》［郑振铎编:《晚清文选》（世界文库），上海生活，1937，第601页］。

7 For a discussion of this, see 钱锺书：《林纾的翻译》，in《旧文四篇》，上海古籍，1979.

8 The point is made by Professor Qian Zhongshu, *ibid*.

9 e.g. V. S. Pritchett, in *The Tale-Bearers: Essays on English, American and Other Writers*, N. Y. Random House, 1980.

10 The exact figure is 183. See 连燕堂：《林译小说有多少种》（《读书》，No. 6, 1982, p. 83）.

11 《吟边燕语》序。

12 “迭更司乃能化腐为奇”，Preface to his translation of *David Copperfield*。

肆 鲁迅与西方文学

1 A public lecture the author delivered at the Ohio State University and the University of Minnesota in early summer, 1980.

2 There were altogether four translations of "The Isles of Greece", of which the first, by Liang Qichao, was incomplete, while the fourth, by Hu Shih, did not appear until 1914. The versions by Su Manshu and Ma Junwu, however, were available to readers of Lu Xun's essay, and both had literary merits which made them popular, though each contained a number of inaccuracies.

3 Some American critics share this view. Cf. "(Van Wyck Brooks) blamed the failure of American

culture on the absence of a 'collective spiritual life' and on the materialistic social pressures that transformed talented artists into vulgarians or cranks."—Daniel Aaron, *Writers on the Left*, 1961, OUP Paperback, 1977, p. 10.

4 *Living China*, New York, 1936, pp. 13–14.

5 *Ibid*., p. 17.

6 *Straw Sandals* was published by the M.I.T. Press in 1974.

伍　中国的现代诗

1 《诗论零札》，《戴望舒诗集》，四川人民出版社，1981，第161页（Dai Wangshu, *Poems*, Chengdu, 1981, p. 161）。

2 艾青：《望舒的诗》，《戴望舒诗集》，第7页（Ai Qing: "On Dai Wangshu's Poetry", in Dai Wangshu, *Poems*, p. 7）。

3 卞之琳：《序》，同上书，第8页 (Bian Zhilin: Preface to Dai Wangshu, *Poems*, p. 8)。

4 卞之琳：《雕虫纪历》，增订版，香港三联书店，1982，第20页（Bian Zhilin, *Records of a Carving Insect*, Revised Ed., Hong Kong, 1982, p. 20).

5 同上，第19页。

6 In Japan the instrument is called *shakuhachi*.

7 《雕虫纪历》，增订版，第6页（*Records*, p. 6）。

8 鲁迅：《〈中国新文学大系〉小说二集序》，《鲁迅全集》，北京人民文学出版社，1981，第6卷，第243页（Lu Xun: *Complete Works*, VI, 243）。

9 The Chinese originals are, respectively：死的子宫，观念的丛林，我缢死了我错误的童年，我从我心的旷野里呼喊，你给我们丰富和丰富的痛苦，水流山石间沉淀下你我.

10 Quoted from the poem《三十岁诞辰有感》("Reflections on My Thirtieth Birthday").

11 *Ibid*.

12 闻一多：《时代的鼓手》，《闻一多全集》丁, 235页与238页（Wen Yiduo, *Works*, IV, pp. 235 and 238). Cf. D. H. Lawrence: "Before everything I like sincerity, and a quickening spontaneous emotion. I do not worship music or the half-said thing."(Letter of 17 July 1908, in *The Collected Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. Harry T. Moore, Vol. I, New York, 1962, p. 21）。

13 This Anthology is included in Wen's *Works*, IV.

柒　译诗与写诗

1 The author is indebted to several friends for helping to track down and elucidate the Spanish and Russian originals of some of the passages cited. Particular thanks are due to Professor Liu Zongci, Mr. Jiang Zhifang and Mr. Zhou Qiang.

2 《诗苑译林》，湖南人民出版社，1981（Verse Translations Series, Changsha, Hunan: Hunan People's Publishing House, 1981）。

3 《戴望舒译诗集》，湖南人民出版社，1983（*Poems Translated by Dai Wangshu*, Changsha: Hunan People's Publishing House, 1983）。

4 波德莱尔著，王了一译：《恶之花》，北京，外国文学出版社，1980，第173页（Charles Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal*, translated by Wang Liaoyi, Beijing: Foreign Literature Publishing House, 1980, p. 173）。

5 夏·波德莱尔著，陈敬容译：《太阳（外四首）》，《世界文学》，1984，第4期，第280页。（Charles Baudelaire, *Five Poems*, translated by Chen Jingrong, *World Literature* (Beijing), No. 4, 1984, p. 280）。

6 《戴望舒译诗集》，第153页（*Poems Translated by Dai Wangsh*u, p. 153）。

7 《恶之花》（译者序），第2页（Preface to his version of *Les Fleurs du Mal*, p. 2）。

8 Quoted in Enid Starkie's Introduction to Charles Baudelaire, *Selected Poems*, London: The Falcon Press, 1946, p. 12.

9 《戴望舒译诗集》，第315页（*Poems Translated by Dai Wangshu*, p. 315）。

捌　我译乔伊斯、彭斯和其他

1 In January and April, 1981, the author was interviewed by Radio Beijing, which subsequently broadcast the recordings in its English programme "Culture in China". The present article is based on them.

玖　查尔斯·兰姆和约翰·韦伯斯特

1 Swinburne, "To him and to him alone it is that we owe the revelation and the resurrection of our greatest dramatic poets after Shakespeare", in "Charles Lamb and George Wither", *Miscellanies*, 1886, p. 199.

2 See Lamb's letter to William Upcott dated 10 April 1827 (*Letters*, ed. E. V. Lucas, 3 vols., 1935, III, 82).

3 *A Letter to William Gifford*, Esq., 1811, shows the scholar's pique against the efforts of what he considered to be trespassers, men like Lamb and Weber. The first part is a review of the work done by Oldys, Dodsley, Thomas Hawkins, Isaac Reed and other scholars in rehabitating the old drama.

4 For instance, Robert D. Williams, in "Antiquarian Interest in Elizabethan Drama before Lamb", *PMLA*, LIII (1938), 434-444. Cf. however, F. S. Boas, "Charles Lamb and the Elizabethan Dramatists", *Essays and Studies*, XXIX (1943), 62–81. For a view, not shared by the present writer, of Lamb as a critic in the Specimens, there is R. C. Bald's"Charles Lamb and the Elizabethans" in *Studies in Honor of A. H. R. Fairchild*, ed. C. T. Prouty, Univ. of Missouri Series, 1946, pp. 169–174.

5 As pointed out by Dr. Boas, op. cit., p. 78.

6 Burnett was an acquaintance of Lamb's, and very possibly he was helped by Lamb in the compilation of his anthology. Mary Lamb, writing to Sarah Stoddart on February 21, 1806, had this to say, "...Your friend Burnett calls as usual, for Charles *to point out something for him*...." (*Letters*, ed. cit., I, 428).

7 *Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, ed. C. C. Southey, 6 vols., 1849–50, II, 293–4.

8 *Excursions in Criticism*, 1893, p. 83.

9 Of the poetry volumes, the British Museum has the following editions: 1791, 1796, 1801, 1805, 1807 (*Poetical Epitome*), and 1816. To these E. R. Wasserman's Bibliography, op. cit., adds those

of 1780 (Dublin), 1789, and 1792.

10 *Letters*, ed. cit., I, 32; quoted by Edmund Blunden in *Essays on the Eighteenth Century Presented to David Nichol Smith*, Oxford, 1945, pp. 229–230.

11 The history of the *Specimens* has been well told by Dykes Campbell, in *The Athenaeum* for August 1894, pp. 265–7. See also E. V. Lucas's continuation of it in his edition of *Works of Charles and Mary Lamb,* 7 vols., 1903–5, IV, 597–603, and F. S. Boas, op. cit.

12 *Works*, ed. cit., I, 98, in "On the Tragedies of Shakespeare".

13 For Archer on this head, see especially his article "Webster, Lamb, and Swinburne" in *The New Review* for January 1893, pp. 96–107. The use of "poems" for plays has been so often and so widespread that one needs only instance Swinburne in *The Age of Shakespeare*, 1908, p. 3, where Marlowe's *Faustus* is called "that magnificent poem", and p. 4, where there is the phrase, "of all great poems in dramatic form". See, also, Gosse in *The Jacobean Poets*, 1894, pp. 161, 166, 169, 171.

14 This distinction between literary history and criticism is made by F. W. Bateson in *English Poetry and the English Language*, Oxford, 1934, pp. 4–5.

15 Apart from the contemporary strictures of Gilchrist and Gifford, see Saintsbury's *A History of English Criticism*, 1911, pp. 349–351.

16 F. L. Lucas, op. cit., I, 17, "And so all their Elizabethan playwrights, Shakespeare included, worked predominantly in scenes". Lucas, however, was still explaining away a weakness, which is seen as a triumph by William Empson and M. C. Bradbrook. See also U. M. Ellis-Fermor, *The Jacobean Drama: An Interpretation*, 1936, pp. 170–190. Even more interesting is the article "Tragedy of Blood" by James Smith in *Scrutiny,* VIII(1939), 265–280.

17 *The Annual Review, and History of Literature*, Vol. VII, for 1808, published in 1809, p. 568.

18 Archer's article in *The New Review*, already cited, p. 104. Cf. also Edmund Gosse, generally a eulogist, in *The Jacobean Poets*, 1894, p. 169, where he calls the horror scenes"blots on what is notwithstanding a truly noble poem, and what, with more reserve in this respect, would have been one of the first tragedies of the world".

19 *Letters*, ed. cit., II, 73.

20 *Coleridge*'*s Shakespearean Criticism*, ed. T. M. Raysor, 2 vols., 1930, II, 87. No wonder the editor says that he fails to identify the quotation.

21 Later, in *Biographia Literaria* (ed. J. Shawcross, 2 vols., Oxford, 1907, II, 61), Coleridge praises the *Specimens* again: "a fine and almost faultless extract...and deriving a high additional value from the notes, which are full of just and original criticism, expressed with all the freshness of originality."

22 LVIII, 349–356.

23 Letter dated June 7, 1809 (*Letters*, ed. cit, II, 73).

24 *The Gentleman*'*s Magazine* for May, 1833, p. 417.

25 Such as Leigh Hunt in *Imagination and Fancy*, 1844, p. 220, "I take Webster and Decker to have been the two greatest of the Shakspeare men, for unstudied genius, next after Beaumont and Fletcher". What a tangle of comparisons!

26 Edmund Gosse, *Seventeenth Century Studies*, 1883, 1913, p. 50.

27 J. A. Symonds, *Webster and Tourneur*, 1888, p. xi.

28 *The Age of Shakespeare*, 1908, pp. 45 & 47. But the article was first published in *The Nineteenth Century* for June, 1886, pp. 861–881.

29 *Essays and Studies*, 1875, p. 277.

30 Cf. his article "John Webster" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* XXIV (1888).

31 *Excursions in Criticism*, 1893, pp. 18–19.

32 *The Age of Shakespeare*, already cited, pp. 35–36.

33 *The Works of John Webster*, 4 vols., 1830, I, viii–ix. I follow however the revised text of the 1857 ed., pp. xiii–xiv.

34 op. cit., III, 620.

35 *Plays and Puritans, and Other Historical Essays*, 1873, pp. 48 & 50. The article first appeared in *Miscellanies II*, 1859.

36 *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, 3 vols., 1875, new ed. 1899, III, 58.

37 *Seventeenth Century Studies*, 1883, p. 56.

38 *The Age of Shakespeare*, 1908, p. 40.

39 J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott*, 5 vols., 1900 (Macmillan ed.), II, 433.

40 *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson et al., 12 vols., 1932–7, XII, 1.

41 p. 172.

42 II, 564–565.

43 *Literary Hours*, 1798, pp. 444 ff. The quotation from Headley appears originally in the Preface to *Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry*, 2 vols., 1787, I, xxviii.

44 p. 564.

45 p. 565.

46 op. cit., III, 621–622.

47 *Ibid.*, III, 619–621.

48 Vol. III, No, 17, for August 1818. This is also the number which contains the fierce attack on Leigh Hunt and his "Cockney School of Poetry".

49 pp. 657–662.

50 pp. 557–562.

51 III, 215.

52 op. cit., V, 351. Dilke looked into the parish registers for the period 1624–1639.

53 I, 260–264.

54 op. cit., I, xiv–xlv.

55 *Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare*, 1846, p. xxxii.

56 See F. L. Lucas, op. cit., I, 49.

57 See *The Works of William Hazlitt*, ed. P. P. Howe, 21 vols., 1930–1934, VI, 385, the introductory note by the editor.

58 As he so gloriously describes at the end of Lecture III.

59 *Works*, ed. cit., XII, 121.

60 Leigh Hunt (*Imagination and Fancy*, 1844, p. 220) and Swinburne (*Essays and Studies*, 1875, p. 277) were to mention them together later.

61 Coleridge says that Hazlitt steals from him and Lamb. See his *Unpublished Letters*, ed. E. L. Griggs, 2 vols., 1932, II, 189–190. For Hazlitt's view of Lamb as a critic, see the article on "the occult school" (*Works*, ed. cit., VIII, 225–226) and also "Elia and Geoffrey Crayon" (*Works*, XI, 178–184).

62 *Works*, ed. cit., VIII, 192, 218n.; XII, 122, 320; XVI, 214; XVII, 130; XIX, 45.

63 *Ibid.*, XII, 53–54, for instance.

64 As he was when lecturing on Shakespeare in 1817. See H. W. Garrod, *The Place of Hazlitt in English Criticism* (Lecture delivered in 1925), p. 6.

65 The review first appeared in *The London Magazine* for May, 1821 (*Works*, ed. cit., XIX, 45).

66 Letters to John Murray dated 4 January 1821 (*Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals*, ed. R. E. Prothero, 6 vols., 1898–1901, V, 217).

67 *Ibid.*, (*Letters*, V, 218).

68 Letter to John Murray dated 6 July 1820 (*Letters*, V, 47).

69 *Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron*, 2 vols., Paris, 1824, I, 147–148.

70 As for instance made by Hazlitt in *The London Magazine*, already cited.

71 op. cit., I, 148.

72 Letter dated 26 April 1821 (*Letters*, V, 268).

73 Thomas Medwin, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. H. B. Forman, 1913, p. 256.

74 *Ibid.*, p. 256.

75 Letter to Thomas Forbes Kelsall, dated 11 January 1825 (*Works of Thomas Lovell Beddoes*, ed. H. W. Donner, 1935, p. 595).

76 The lines quoted are: I have sung / With an unskilful, but a willing voice (IV, i, 332–4).

77 Letter to Kelsall, dated 17 April 1824 (*Works*, p. 586).

78 Letter to Kelsall, dated 30 April 1829 (*Works*, p. 645).

79 There was an article, of negligible value, discussing Webster's plays in *The Retrospective Review* for 1823, pp. 87–120.

80 Wordsworth, who had asked others to quit their books, was struggling under failing eye-sight to read Lamb's extracts in 1830. See his letter to Lamb dated 10 January 1830(*Letters: the Later Years*, ed. Ernest de Selincourt, 3 vols., Oxford, 1939, I, 446). John Clare praised Lamb for his reviving "our old bygone Bards with their warm homely phrase". See *Poems*, ed. J. W. Tibbie

(1935), II, 112.

81 Letter to Bernard Barton, written in early spring, 1824 (*Letters*, ed. cit., II, 420). The quotation is from *The Duchess of Malfi*, IV, i, 117–8.

82 Letter to Bernard Barton, dated 23 January 1824 (*Letters*, II, 416). Cf. *DM*, IV, ii, 27, "Th'heauen ore my head, seemes made of moltn brasse."

拾壹　论休·麦克迪尔米德

1 Originally written in Chinese, the essay is translated into English by Ms Zha Jianying of the Univesity of South Carolina. This is a version corrected by the author.

2 Hugh MacDiarmid: *Complete Poems 1920–1976*, eds. Michael Grieve and W. R. Aitken(London, 1978), Vol. II, 1150. All further quotations from MacDiarmid will be from this edition.

3 Oliver St. John Gogarty's letter of 4 Sept. 1951. See Kenneth Buthlay's *Hugh MacDiarmid* (Edinburgh, 1964), Chapt VIII.

译者注

序言

【1】 詹姆士一世时代即英王詹姆士一世统治的时代（1603–1625），以文学和哲学的蓬勃发展而著名。

壹　论文学间的契合

【1】 赖特（James　Wright），1927–1980，美国著名诗人、“新超现实主义”诗歌流派主将之一。

【2】 洛尔迦（Federico García Lorca），1898–1936，西班牙诗人。

【3】 西里尔·特纳（Cyril Tourneur），1575–1626，英国剧作家和诗人。

【4】 查良铮译。

【5】 卢那察尔斯基（Lunacharsky），1875–1933，苏联文学家、教育家、美学家、哲学家和政治活动家。

【6】 凯绥·珂勒惠支（Käthe Kollwitz），1867–1945，德国版画家、雕塑家。

【7】 伊罗生（Harold Isaacs），1910–1986，美国新闻工作者、马克思主义历史学家。

【8】 保罗·艾吕雅（Paul éluard），1895–1952，法国著名诗人、社会活动家。

【9】 马拉美（Stéphane Mallarmé），1842–1898，法国诗人、文学评论家。

【10】 瓦雷里（Paul Valéry），1871–1945，法国诗人、文学评论家。

【11】 伏尼契（Ethel Lilian Voynich），1864–1960，爱尔兰小说家、左翼活动家。

【12】 布莱希特（Bertolt Brecht），1898–1956，德国剧作家、戏剧理论家、导演、诗人。

【13】 奥凯西（Sean O'Casey），1880–1964，爱尔兰剧作家。

贰　两位早期的译者

【1】 “化平实的叙述为生动的敷演”为原英文论文前王佐良先生的中文摘要中语。

【2】 斯宾塞有两部著作，英文原名分别为*The Study of Sociology*和*Principles of Psychology*。本书英文稿中此处为"Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*"，严复译的名字是《群学肄言》。由此可知，其对应的英文原名应该是*The Study of Sociology*，而非*Principles of Sociology*。

【3】 出自《一千零一夜》里阿拉丁神灯的故事。指事情已发生了决定性的变化，无法回头。

【4】 哈格德（Sir Henry Rider Haggard），1856–1925，英国小说家。

【5】 此处所列的译名，都以林纾所译的书名为准。

【6】 《爱国二童子传》，长篇小说，法国沛那著。

叁　鲁讯

【1】　这是鲁迅在《肥皂》中的原文。

【2】　指的是《故事新编》中的《补天》。

【3】　鲁迅在《故事新编》的序言中讲道："……止不住有一个古衣冠的小丈夫，在女娲的两腿之间出现了"。

【4】　"我好像是一只牛，吃的是草，挤出的是奶、血"（鲁迅语，被许广平记录并载于《欣慰的纪念》）。

【5】　《〈中国新文学大系〉小说二集序》。

肆　鲁迅与西方文学

【1】　疑原文有误，按照上下文判断，应该是十一位。

伍　中国的现代诗

【1】　王佐良先生曾用中文写过一篇"中国新诗中的现代主义——一个回顾"，与本章的英文内容有诸多相似。因此，凡是与中文版明确对应的地方，都采用王公的原话；凡是不对应的（无论是多内容，少内容，还是不一致），都另行翻译，并在必要时加注解释。

【2】　魏尔伦（Paul-Marie Verlaine），1844–1896，法国诗人。

【3】　梁宗岱译。

【4】　灵石译。

【5】　南唐皇帝李璟的《浣溪沙》："青鸟不传云外信，丁香空结雨中愁。"

【6】　宋朝陆游的《临安春雨初霁》："世味年来薄似纱，谁令骑马客京华？小楼一夜听春雨，深巷明朝卖杏花。"

【7】　维尔哈仑（Emile Verhaeren），1855–1916，比利时诗人。

【8】　阿波里内尔（G. Apollinaire），1880–1918，法国诗人。

【9】　艾青译。

【10】　克里斯托夫·伊修伍德（Christopher Isherwood），1904–1986，小说家，生于英国，后入美籍。

【11】　里尔克（Rainer Maria Rilke），1875–1926，奥地利诗人，早期偏重主观抒情，后期转向以直觉形象象征人生和表现自己思想感情的"咏物诗"，对资本主义的"异化"现象表示抗议，提出乌托邦式的憧憬。

【12】　田间（1916–1985），原名童天鉴，安徽省无为县开城镇羊山人，著名诗人。

【13】　实际上这本诗选由冯至、闻一多、英籍教授白英共同选编。

陆　一个中国诗人

【1】　本章英文版的写作时间为1946年，译者发现王佐良同年也用中文写了一篇名为《一个中国诗人》的文章。经查，该中文文章与本章英文版的内容非常相似，因此，凡是与中文版明确对应的地方，都采用王公的原话。凡是不对应的（无论是多内容，少内容，还是不一致），进行翻译，并在必要处加注解释。

【2】　王佐良在中文文章中称其为"艾里奥脱"。

【3】 阿萨姆邦丛林。

【4】 王佐良的中文文章中写的是二十四岁。

【5】 王佐良的中文文章中写的是二十八岁。

柒　译诗与写诗

【1】 本章英文标题为The Poet as Translator，王佐良先生曾写过一篇题为“译诗与写诗之间——读《戴望舒译诗集》”的中文文章，内容与本章的英文版有些相似，因此译者将标题译为“译诗与写诗”。

【2】 该诗句出自彭斯的《给我开门，哦！》，王佐良译。

【3】 《利西达斯》（*Lycidas*），是弥尔顿写的一首田园挽歌（1638）。

【4】 《阿多尼斯》（*Adonais*），是雪莱为悼念济慈而写的一首田园挽歌（1821）。

【5】 《悼念》（*In Memoriam*），是丁尼生为悼念好友亚瑟·亨利·哈兰姆而写的长篇挽歌（1850）。

【6】 《怀念叶芝》（"In Memory of W. B. Yeats"），是奥登为悼念叶芝而写的挽歌（1940）。

【7】 这部分与王佐良用中文写的那篇“译诗与写诗之间——读《戴望舒译诗集》”的最后几段措辞有诸多一致。因此，凡是与中文版明确对应的地方，都采用王公的原话；凡是不对应的（无论是多内容，少内容，还是不一致），都进行翻译。

捌　我译乔伊斯、彭斯和其他

【1】 布莱在澳大利亚参加阿德莱德艺术节的“作家周”活动时，向中国作家代表团朗诵了他的一首题为《想到〈隐居〉》的诗。

【2】 王佐良译。

玖　查尔斯·兰姆和约翰·韦伯斯特

【1】 希尔伯德（Lewis Theobald），1688–1744，18世纪英国莎士比亚戏剧评论家。

【2】 斯文本恩（Algernon Charles Swinburne），1837–1909，英国诗人。

【3】 本章多次出现old dramatists和old drama等提法，根据上下文，这里应该指的是伊丽莎白一世时代和詹姆士一世时代的剧作家及其剧作，本书统一译成“昔日的剧作家”和“昔日的戏剧”。

【4】 全名David Erskine Baker。

【5】 罗伯特·骚塞（Robert Southey），1774–1843，英国桂冠诗人。

【6】 马辛杰（Philip Massinger），1583–1640，英国剧作家。

【7】 应该是指（Thomas Otway）1652–1685，英国剧作家。

【8】 里德（Isaac Reed），1742–1807，英国莎士比亚戏剧选编者。

【9】 莎士比亚《哈姆雷特》中的人物。

【10】 应该是指托马斯·海伍德（Thomas Heywood），1570？–1641，英国剧作家。

【11】　约翰·福特（John Ford），1586–1640，英国剧作家。

【12】　鲍蒙特（Francis Beaumont），1584–1616，英国剧作家。

【13】　弗莱沏（John Fletcher），1579–1625，英国诗人、剧作家，他与鲍蒙特是英国文学史上一对著名的戏剧创作合作者。

【14】　查普曼（George Chapman），1559–1634，英国诗人、剧作家、翻译家。

【15】　马斯顿（John Westland Marston），1819–1890，英国剧作家和评论家。

【16】　米德尔顿（Thomas Middleton），1580–1627，英国剧作家。

【17】　罗利（William Rowley），1585–1626，英国剧作家。

【18】　德克（Thomas Dekker），1570–1632，英国剧作家。

【19】　约翰·弥尔顿的《司酒宴之神的面具》（1634）。

【20】　伊利亚是兰姆的别名。

【21】　赛蒙斯（John Addington Symonds），1840–1893，英国诗人和文学评论家。

【22】　马洛（Christopher Marlowe），1564–1593，英国文艺复兴时期的剧作家，代表作有《马耳他的犹太人》《浮士德博士的悲剧》等。

【23】　索福克勒斯（Sophocles），约公元前496–前406，古希腊三大悲剧家之一。

【24】　埃斯库罗斯（Aeschylus），约公元前525–前456，古希腊三大悲剧家之一。

【25】　欧里庇得斯（Euripides），约公元前480–前406，与埃斯库罗斯和索福克勒斯一道被称为古希腊三大悲剧家。

【26】　应该是指Richard Whately，1787–1863，英国修辞学家、逻辑学家、神学士。

【27】　应该是指Maurice Morgann，1725–1802，莎士比亚评论家。

【28】　威廉·黑兹利特（William Hazlitt），1778–1830，英国随笔作家。

【29】　戴斯（Alexander Dyce），1798–1869，苏格兰戏剧评论家、编辑和文学史家。

【30】　查尔斯·金斯利（Charles Kingsley），1819–1875，英国教士、学者、历史学家、小说家。

【31】　应该指苏格兰女王玛丽一世（1542–1587），她的一生充满了爱与背叛、密谋与谋杀。

【32】　苏格兰海岸西部的圣徒小岛。

【33】　埃杰顿·布里奇斯爵士（Sir Egerton Brydges），1762–1837，英国书志学家和系谱学家。

【34】　科利尔（John Payne Collier），1789–1883，英国莎士比亚评论家。

【35】　莪相（Ossian），传说中爱尔兰著名的吟游诗人。

【36】　乔治·查普曼（George Chapman），约1559–1634，英国作家、戏剧家和翻译家,曾译过荷马史诗《伊利亚特》和《奥德赛》。

【37】　堪贝尔（Thomas Campbell），1777–1844，苏格兰诗人。

【38】　杰弗里·乔叟（Geoffrey Chaucer），1342–1400，英国中世纪著名作家，代表作为《坎特伯雷故事集》。

【39】 克里斯托弗·安斯蒂（Christopher Anstey），1724–1805，英国诗人。

【40】 应该指评论家Charles Gildon，约1665–1724。

【41】 应该指萨里艺术设计学院（The Surrey Institute of Art and Design)，英国最大的专业艺术、设计、传播教育学院之一。

【42】 应该是普罗科特（Adelaide Anne Procter），1825–1864，英国诗人和慈善家。

【43】 雷利（John Lyly），1554?–1606，英国散文家、诗人、剧作家。

【44】 德雷顿（Michael Drayton），1563–1631，英国诗人。

【45】 菲利普·锡德尼爵士（Sir Philip Sidney），1554–1586，英国文学家和文学批评家。

【46】 托马斯·布朗爵士（Sir Thomas Browne），1605–1682，英国作家，精通医学、神学、科学。

【47】 贝拉法郎特是迪克《诚实的妓女》（*The Honest Whore*）中那个诚实的妓女。

【48】 该剧的全名是*Marino Faliero, Doge of Venice*。

【49】 Guiccioli（1800–1873）是拜伦的情妇，当时拜伦在意大利创作《唐璜》。

【50】 伊丽莎白时代至17世纪上半期，英国很多剧作家的剧作都是以四开本的形式出版。

【51】 托马斯·麦德文（Thomas Medwin），1788–1869，英国诗人和翻译家，为雪莱立传，也是拜伦的好友。

【52】 《倩契》（*The Cenci*），雪莱的五幕悲剧，作于1819年。

【53】 托马斯·洛弗尔·贝多斯（Thomas Lovell Beddoes），1803–1849，英国诗人、剧作家、医生。

【54】 原文中的“Bull Theater”应该指The Red Bull Theater，17世纪伦敦的剧院。

【55】 应该是Henry Kirke White，1785–1806，英国诗人。

【56】 兰姆从1792年起开始在东印度公司任职，直到1825年退休。

【57】 大卫·加里克（David Garrick），1717–1779，是当时著名的演员、剧作家、剧院经理人等，他收藏了大量英国早期的戏剧，并于1779年将之捐给大英博物馆。

【58】 皮埃尔（George Peele），1558–约1598，英国早期剧作家。

【59】 格林（Robert Greene），1558–1592，英国剧作家。

【60】 洛奇（Thomas Lodge），1558–1625，英国剧作家和杂文作家。

【61】 霍恩（William Hone），1780–1842，英国作家、讽刺文体家、书商。

【62】 应该指William Wilberforce，1759–1833，英国国会下议院议员、慈善家、废奴主义者。

拾 肖恩·奥凯西在中国

【1】 约翰·米林顿·辛格（John Millington Synge），1871–1909，爱尔兰文艺复兴时期的主要剧作家。

【2】 章泯（1906–1975），戏剧、电影教育家。四川省乐山市峨眉县人。1931年当选为左翼剧联执委和编导部主任，是中国左翼话剧舞台的奠基人之一。

【3】 诺埃尔·科沃德爵士（Sir Noel Coward），1899–1973，英国演员、剧作家、流行音乐作曲家。

【4】 1916年复活节爱尔兰公民军与志愿军发动的反英起义，史称复活节起义。

拾壹　论休·麦克迪尔米德

【1】 王佐良先生讲的中文原文，译者始终没有查到，因此本章全部为译者所译。其中有三首诗查到了王佐良先生的译文，本章加以采用。这三首诗是《二颂列宁》（全诗42节，王佐良译了前23节）、《悼约翰·台维孙》、《未来的骨骼（列宁墓前）》。

【2】 王佐良在《英诗的境界》（三联书店，2012年，第154页）中指出，叶芝诧异“有这么好的诗，而我居然一点也不知道”这句评语是针对《呵，哪个新娘》那首诗的。

【3】 这首诗具体如下：我记得童年曾见一个人死去，／在回忆里比丧父更凄惨。／死去的不是女王，是你，台维孙，／从此我的心停住了，一直在看／你那小小的黑色背影／走上海边的沙岸——／一颗子弹洞穿了美丽的风景，／只因倒拿望远镜，把上帝错看。（王佐良译）

【4】 《苏格兰诗选》，王佐良译，长沙：湖南人民出版社，1986，第154页。

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY 参考书目

Note: This is a very selective list, with emphasis on recent Chinese publications. English titles are confined to those consulted by the author. Chinese titles are arranged alphabetically according to *pinyin*. The list is in six parts:

1. Bibliographies
2. Periodicals
3. Encyclopedias, dictionaries
4. Anthologies
    - a. Comprehensive
    - d. Drama
    - b. Fiction
    - e. Essays
    - c. Poetry
    - f. Miscellaneous
5. General studies
6. Recent translations

1 Bibliographies

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我国报刊登载的外国文学作品和评论文章目录索引（1978–1980），北京，1980
(Foreign Literature Research Institute, Academy of Social Sciences, ed. *Bibliography of Foreign Literary Works and Critical Articles on them Published in Chinese Periodicals, 1978–1980*)

Deeney, John J., ed. Chinese English Comparative Literature Bibliography: A Pedagogical Arrangement of Sources in English, *Tamkang Review*, Vol, XII, No. 4 (Summer 1982)

2 Periodicals (A, annual; 2/yr, biannual; Q, quarterly; Bm, bimonthly; M, monthly; where names have changed, only present ones are given.)

春风译丛	(*Spring Breeze Translation Miscellany*)	2/yr Shenyang 1980—
当代苏联文学	(*Contemporary Soviet Literature*)	Bm Beijing 1980—
当代外国文学	(*Contemporary Foreign Literature*)	Q Nanjing 1980—.
俄苏文学	(*Russian-Soviet Literature*)	Bm Wuhan 1980—
翻译通讯	(*Translation Newsletter*)	M Beijing 1980—
翻译文学选刊	(*Selected Translated Literature*)	M Xi'an 1985—
国外文学	(*Literature Abroad*)	Q Beijing 1980—
美国文学丛刊	(*American Literature Miscellany*)	Q Jinan 1981—

日本文学	(*Japanese Literature*)	Q Changchun 1982—
莎士比亚研究	(*Shakespeare Studies*)	A Hangzhou 1983—
世界电影	(*World Cinema*)	Bm Beijing 1979—
世界文学	(*World Literature*)	Bm Beijing 1953—
世界文艺	(*World Literature and Art*)	Q Guangzhou 1981—
苏联文学	(*Soviet Literature*)	Bm Beijing 1980—
外国诗	(*Poetry Abroad*)	A Beijing 1983—
外国文学	(*Foreign Literatures*)	M Beijing 1980—
外国文学季刊	(*Foreign Literature Quarterly*)	Q Beijing 1981—
外国文学报道	(*Foreign Literature Report*)	Bm Shanghai 1980—
外国文学欣赏	(*Foreign Literature Appreciation*)	Q Changsha 1978—
外国文学研究	(*Foreign Literature Research*)	Q Wuhan 1978—
外国文学研究集刊	(*Studies in Foreign Literature*)	2/yr Beijing 1979—
外国文艺	(*Foreign Literature and Art*)	Bm Shanghai 1979—
外国戏剧	(*Foreign Drama*)	Q Beijing 1980—
外国小说报	(*Foreign Fiction Reporter*)	M Shenyang 1981—
外国小说选刊	(*Selected Foreign Fiction*)	Bm Harbin 1984—
文艺理论译丛	(*Translations of Literary Theory*)	2/yr Beijing 1983—
译海	(*Translation Sea*)	2/yr Guangzhou 1981—
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中国比较文学	(*Comparative Literature in China*)	Hangzhou 1984—

Chinese Literature	Q Beijing 1951—
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Comparative Criticism	A Cambridge 1979—
Comparative Literature	Q Eugene, Oregon 1949
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Poetics Today	Q Jerusalem 1980—
Renditions: a Chinese-English Translation Magazine	2/yr Hongkong 1973—
Revue de litterature comparée	Q Paris 1921—
Tamkang Review	Q Taipei 1970—
Wen Yuan, Studies in Language, Literature and Culture	A Beijing 1985—
World Literature Today	Q Norman, Oklahoma 1971—
Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature	A Bloomington, Indiana 1952—

3 Encyclopedias, dictionaries

中国大百科全书外国文学卷，上、下册　中国大百科出版社，1983
(*Encyclopedia Sinica: Foreign Literatures*, 2 vols.)

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外国名作家传，上、中、下册　中国社会科学出版社，1980
(Zhang Yinglun et al, ed. *Lives of Famous Foreign Authors*, 3 vols.)

郑克鲁、郭家申、黄宝生、文美惠编：
外国文学作品提要，1—4册　上海文艺出版社，1980
(Zheng Kelu et al, ed. *Synopses of Foreign Literary Works*, 4 vols.)

4 Anthologies

a. Comprehensive

袁可嘉、董衡巽、郑克鲁编选：
外国现代派作品选，四册，每册分上下部　上海文艺出版社，1980
(Yuan Kejia et al, ed. *Selected Foreign Modernist Works*, 4 vols, each in 2 parts)

b. Fiction

《世界文学》30年优秀作品选，1、2册　浙江文艺出版社，1983
(Selected Outstanding Works Published in *World Literature* Magazine in the Last Thirty Years, 2 vols.)
刘寿康编选：澳大利亚短篇小说选　人民文学出版社，1982
(Liu Shoukang, ed. *Selected Australian Short Stories*)
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(Zhang Yushu, ed. *Ausgewählte Novellen und Erzählungen der deutschsprachigen Länder*)
杨武能编选：德语国家短篇小说选　人民文学出版社，1981
(Yang Wuneng, ed. *Selected Short Stories of German-Speaking Countries*)
多人译：东欧短篇小说选　人民文学出版社，1979
(*Selected East European Short Stories*)
蒋路编选：俄国短篇小说选　人民文学出版社
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金志平编选：法国当代短篇小说选　人民文学出版社，1981
(Jin Zhiping, ed. *Selected Contemporary French Short Stories*)
《外国文艺》编辑部编：当代意大利短篇小说选　上海译文出版社，1983
(Editorial Board of *Foreign Literature and Art*, ed. *Contemporary Italian Short Stories*)
董燕生等译：拉丁美洲短篇小说选　人民文学出版社，1981
(*Latin American Short Stories*, tr. Dong Yansheng et al.)
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当代美国短篇小说集　上海译文出版社
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林煌天译：缅甸短篇小说选外国文学出版社，1981
(*Selected Burmese Short Stories*, tr. Lin Huangtian)
马源译：南斯拉夫短篇小说集　人民文学出版社，1978
(*Selected Yugoslav Short Stories*, tr. Ma Yuan)
文洁若编选：日本短篇小说选　人民文学出版社，1981
(Wen Jieruo, ed. *Selected Japanese Short Stories*)
文洁若编选：日本当代小说选，上、下册　外国文学出版社，1981
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朱虹编选：英国短篇小说选　人民文学出版社，1980
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朱虹编选：英国短篇小说选　中国青年出版社，1981
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(Mo Jiaxiang and Gao Ziju, ed. *Selected Western Love Poems*)
钱春绮译：德国诗选　上海译文出版社，1982
(*Selected German Poems*, tr. Qian Chunqi)
罗洛译：法国现代诗选　湖南人民出版社，1984
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范希衡译：法国近代名家诗选　人民文学出版社，1981
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6 Recent translations of individual works

Note: This list, confined to the years 1978-1984, is even less complete than the rest.
Mainly it is based on the catalogues of three publishers, which are:

人民文学出版社（abbrev. 人文）
People's Literature Publishing House, Beijing;
外国文学出版社（外文）
Foreign Literature Publishing House, Beijing;
译文出版社（译文）
Translations Publishing House, Shanghai.

While these are indubitably the major national publishers of translations of literary works, there are numerous provincial and municipal publishers which also put out translations from time to time. These latter are on the whole not represented. Further, some of the titles listed are new editions of old translations, with or without revisions. Looking over the entries again, however, the compiler is satisfied that most major translators and their recent productions are included. Enough has been given, perhaps, to show the range and diversity of the translations made in the period covered.

Akutakawa Ryunosuke: *Selected Fiction*, tr. Wen Jieruo et al
芥川龙之介著，文洁若等译：小说选　人文，1981
Hans Anderson: *Selected Fairy Tales*, tr. Ye Junjian
叶君健译：安徒生童话选　人文，1978
José María Arguedas: *Los rios profundes*, tr. Zhang Renjian
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译后记

本书是依据外语教学与研究出版社1985年12月第1版的英文版*Degrees of Affinity: Studies in Comparative Literature*译出的。

本书的翻译过程充分体现了文学翻译和学术翻译的特质。讲文学翻译是因为王佐良先生的中英文功底，本书字字珠玑。讲学术翻译是因为：第一，本书是文学评论，涉及大量的文学和文学评论知识，王公深邃的洞见处处体现在书中，译者若不随时锱铢必究地查证和检索，根本无法读懂原文，遑论翻译。第二，王公著作等身。译者在翻译中要阅读大量他的著作和论文，方敢下笔，唯恐贻笑大方。举一个简单例子。谈到严复时，原文有一个词说严复的翻译作品有“dramatization”的倾向。译者按常理起初译成“戏剧化”。但后来在阅读王公其他的作品时发现他用的词是“化平实的叙述为生动的敷演”，觉得很有必要保留在译文中。第三，本文涉及很多回译问题。比如，艾青评价诗人戴望舒的话，译者当然不能自行翻译，必须要找到艾青的原话才可。这种情况在本书不时出现。第四，有几篇文章既有手头这个英文版，也有王公在别处发表的与该主题相关的中文可以参考。这样一方面似乎减少了译者的惴惴不安，但同时也意味着文本考证工作必须步步紧随翻译的整个过程。具体例子如下：

本书收录十一篇文章，其中有几篇很特殊。第二篇《两位早期的译者》和第四篇《鲁迅与西方文学》，王佐良先生都没有写过相应的中文文章，但却分别写过一个两三百字对该文的介绍。译者充分进行了参考。第六篇《一个中国诗人》最有趣。笔者译完后才发现有一篇中文论文，据称是这章的中文版。而且，英文版注明写作时间为1946年，而这篇中文也写于1946年。刹那间，百感交集，无法言表！仔细校对后发现这个中文版和英文版还是有许多地方不对应。有的内容中文版里有，英文版里没有；有的则相反。最后，译者完全以手头的英文版为基准呈现翻译终稿。第七篇文章《译诗与写诗》，翻译时也参考了王公写过的一篇中文文章《译诗与写诗之间》。后面的第八到第十一篇论文，都没有王公的中文文章可以参考。

第九篇《查尔斯·兰姆和约翰·韦伯斯特》着实让译者体会了翻译之难。其他的章节，无论有没有中文可供参照，无论是谈中国还是谈外国，谈小说、诗歌还是戏剧，译者虽不敢称道翻译质量，但自觉还能大体应对。但是这一章，虽中文成文只有25,000字左右，但却包含了两百

多个专有名词——人名、地名、作品名、戏剧术语、文学术语等。而且，文章主要目的是考证，内容是关于文学史，远不像一般的文本批评那么好懂。翻译的每一步都是伴随着查证和阅读外部资料进行的。本章的初译和修订稿就用了五周，编辑反馈后，重译和修订又用了三周。反复修改后，最终自觉做到了基本准确和通顺，欢迎业界人士批评指正。

根据王公的《苏格兰诗选》、《文学间的契合——王佐良比较文学论集》和《心智风采——王佐良随笔》等，小诗标题都用书名号，而不是引号。因此，本书涉及的诗歌以及戏剧的名称，均用书名号。

译者于2002年至2008年在美国普渡大学攻读比较文学的博士。翻译这本书随处可见王公对比较文学的创见和真知。比如王公谈到“比较文学的一个普通的讽刺是：只有第二流的在另一个文字里产生了真正的影响”；“在中国式极为平衡的心与气候里，宗教诗从来没有发达过”等等。译者一边翻译，一边记录，堪称美事和乐事。

原文小注译者全部保留。在此基础上，为了帮助读者理解，译者添加了小注，基本在后几篇文章中。

本书乃英语学术写作里的上上品，让译者叹为观止，也让译者译得一路诚惶诚恐。王佐良先生是造诣很深的教育家、散文家和翻译家。译者在翻译全书的过程中，切身感受到先生严谨的风范、深厚的学养、横溢的才情。书中王公讲过：“我觉得译者应选择与自己的风格相契合的作品来译。没人能够把握各种风格。一般说来，译者只能胜任一种风格，那就应该坚持走在这条路上，而不是尝试转向其他。”翻译本书，译者深切体会了这一点。希望译者的契合之感，能对译文有些许的帮助。如果有幸能把原作的精髓与韵味传达一二，也算功德圆满。

最后感谢外研社人文社科分社社长吴子桐先生、责任编辑易璐女士、执行编辑林红女士的全力信任和辛勤劳动。由于他们的信任，译者才有幸承接这份高度荣誉感的翻译任务。由于他们的精益求精，译者才心安地给这个任务画上句号。感谢原美国普渡大学的博士生、现居美国的徐冬梅女士，历时一个多月，帮助译者准备了第一部分两篇文章的部分初译稿。感谢原北京外国语大学高级翻译学院学生、现居广东的邹磊先生，也是用了一个多月的时间检查和校对了译者第一部分全部七篇文章的译稿，并完成了繁重的修改工作。感谢美国普渡大学的Charles Ross教授把最后一章中麦克迪尔米德用苏格兰方言写的诗歌都转换成标准英语，否则译者根本无法翻译。感谢原北京外国语大学高级翻译学院学生、现居南京的张菁秋女士帮助查找了一些资料。感谢北京外国语大学高级翻译学院的学生王悦把《中国的现代诗》一章中里尔克的德语诗《杜伊诺挽歌》译成中文。感谢北京外国语大学高级翻译学院的学生吴炬把《译诗与写诗》一章中波德莱尔的法语译成中文。但借用王公前面

序言的话，我本人对书中的所有错误和不足负全责。感谢家人，尤其是儿子的支持。儿子学游泳、学画画、打乒乓球、去动物园、看恐龙展等等都没有妈妈耐心的陪伴。最后感谢自己，初译五个月以及最后修改的三个月来，虽艰辛，但愉悦享受，找到了和王公这本书的契合，且努力地传达了它。

梁颖
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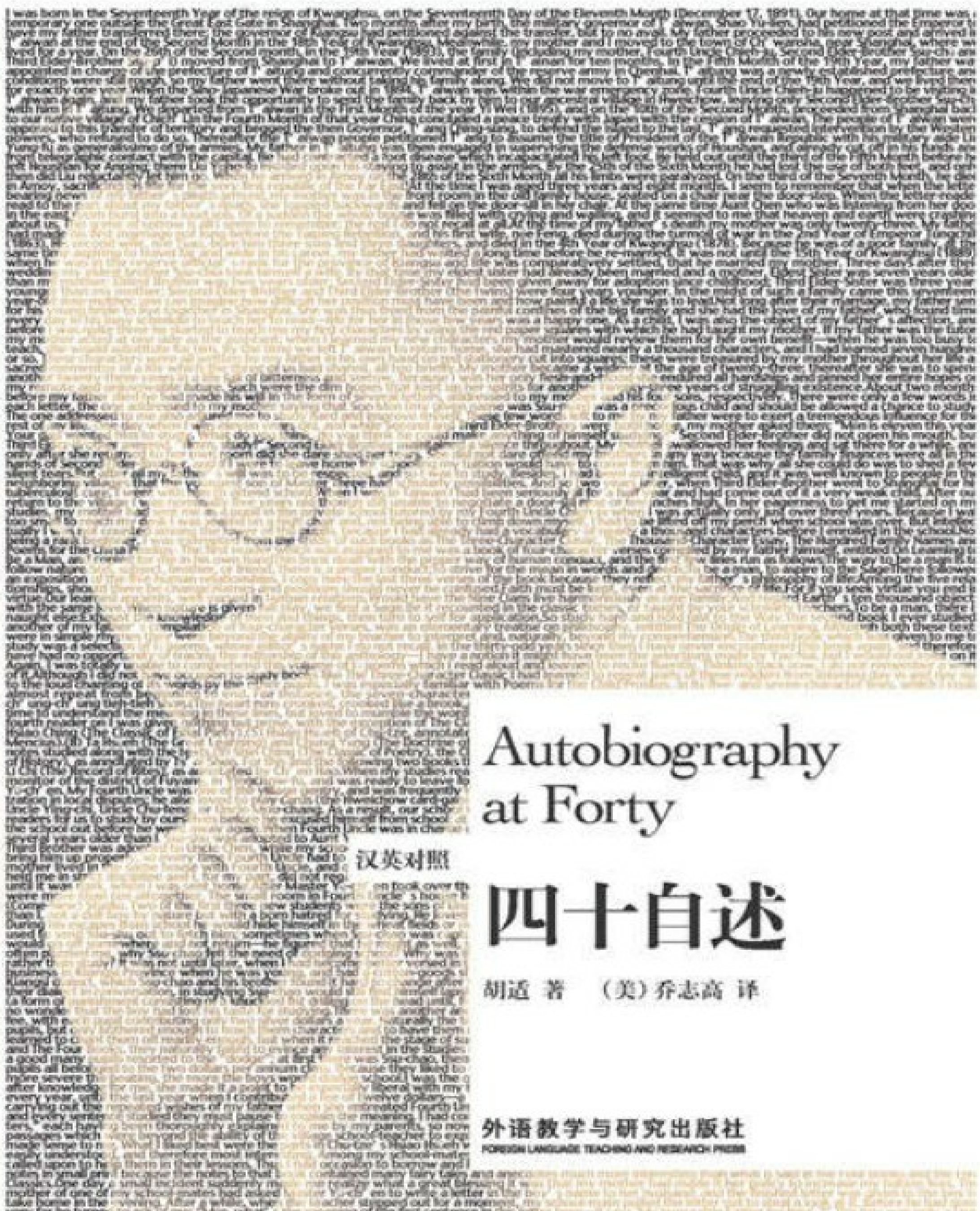
2014年8月



Autobiography at Forty

汉英对照

四十自述

胡适 著　（美）乔志高 译

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胡适（1891—1962），原名嗣穈，本名洪骍，字适之，安徽绩溪上庄村人，因提倡文学革命、思想革命而成为新文化运动的领袖之一。兴趣广泛，著述宏富，在文学、哲学、史学等诸多领域都有开创性的贡献；致力于向西方介绍中国历史文化，影响深远。历任北京大学文学院院长、中国驻美国大使、北京大学校长、“中央研究院”院长等职。

“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；

此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高

人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社
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感谢
乔志高先生哲嗣、胡适纪念馆
对本书出版的支持和帮助

自　序

我在这十几年中，因为深深的感觉中国最缺乏传记的文学，所以到处劝我的老辈朋友写他们的自传。不幸的很，这班老辈朋友虽然都答应了，终不肯下笔。最可悲的一个例子是林长民先生，他答应了写他的五十自述作他五十岁生日的纪念；到了生日那一天，他对我说："适之，今年实在太忙了，自述写不成了；明年生日我一定补写出来。"不幸他庆祝了五十岁的生日之后，不上半年，他就死在郭松龄的战役里，他那富于浪漫意味的一生就成了一部人间永不能读的逸书了！

梁启超先生也曾同样的允许我。他自信他的体力精力都很强，所以他不肯开始写他的自传。谁也不料那样一位生龙活虎一般的中年作家只活了五十五岁！虽然他的信札和诗文留下了绝多的传记材料，但谁能有他那样"笔锋常带情感"的健笔来写他那五十五年最关重要又最有趣味的生活呢！中国近世历史与中国现代文学就都因此受了一桩无法补救的绝大损失了。我有一次见着梁士诒先生，我很诚恳的劝他写一部自叙，因为我知道他在中国政治史与财政史上都曾扮演过很重要的脚色，所以我希望他替将来的史家留下一点史料。我也知道他写的自传也许是要替他自己洗刷他的罪过；但这是不妨事的，有训练的史家自有防弊的方法；最要紧的是要他自己写他心理上的动机，黑幕里的线索，和他站在特殊地位的观察。前两个月，我读了梁士诒先生的讣告，他的自叙或年谱大概也就成了我的梦想了。

此外，我还劝告过蔡元培先生、张元济先生、高梦旦先生、陈独秀先生、熊希龄先生、叶景葵先生。我盼望他们都不要叫我失望。

前几年，我的一位女朋友忽然发愤写了一部六七万字的自传，我读了很感动，认为中国妇女的自传文学的破天荒的写实创作。但不幸她在一种精神病态中把这部稿本全烧了。当初她每写成一篇寄给我看时，我因为尊重她的意思，不曾替她留一个副本，至今引为憾事。

我的四十自述，只是我的"传记热"的一个小小的表现。这四十年的生活可分作三个阶段，留学以前为一段，留学的七年（一九一〇—一九一七）为一段，归国以后（一九一七—一九三一）为一段。我本想一气写成，但因为种种打断，只写成了这第一段的六章。现在我又出国去了，归期还不能确定，所以我接受了亚东图书馆的朋友们的劝告，先印行这几章。这几章都先在《新月》月刊上发表过，现在我都从头校改过，事实上的小错误和文字上的疏忽，都改正了。我的朋友周作人先

生，葛祖兰先生，和族叔堇人先生，都曾矫正我的错误，都是我最感谢的。

关于这书的体例，我要声明一点。我本想从这四十年中挑出十来个比较有趣味的题目，用每个题目来写一篇小说式的文字，略如第一篇写我的父母的结婚。这个计划曾经得死友徐志摩的热烈的赞许，我自己也很高兴，因为这个方法是自传文学上的一条新路子，并且可以让我（遇必要时）用假的人名地名描写一些太亲切的情绪方面的生活。但我究竟是一个受史学训练深于文学训练的人，写完了第一篇，写到了自己的幼年生活，就不知不觉的抛弃了小说的体裁，回到了谨严的历史叙述的老路上去了。这一变颇使志摩失望，但他读了那写家庭和乡村教育的一章，也曾表示赞许；还有许多朋友写信来说这一章比前一章更动人。从此以后，我就爽性这样写下去了。因为第一章只是用小说体追写一个传说，其中写那“太子会”颇有用想象补充的部分，虽经堇人叔来信指出，我也不去更动了。但因为传闻究竟与我自己的亲见亲闻有别，所以我把这一章提出，称为“序幕”。

我的这部自述至今没写完。但这几年之中，国内出版了好几部很可读的壮年作家自传。自传的风气似乎已开了。我很盼望我们这几个三四十岁的人的自传的出世可以引起一班老年朋友的兴趣，可以使我们的文学里添出无数的可读而又可信的传记来。我们抛出几块砖瓦，只是希望能引出许多块美玉宝石来；我们赤裸裸的叙述我们少年时代的琐碎生活，为的是希望社会上做过一番事业的人也会赤裸裸的记载他们的生活，给史家做材料，给文学开生路。

胡适。

二二，六，二七，在太平洋上。*

PROLOGUE MY MOTHER's BETROTHAL

❶

In our village the Princes' Fair held every autumn was one of the most festive of our religious observations. But this year the Princes' Fair was a source of disappointment to many.

Now we saw a troop of umbrella-bearers passing by in the procession. These were only the old satin umbrellas provided by the various families of the village, nothing very novel. Everyone was saying that folks at the Hengyu silk store had had a special umbrella made, studded with real pearls, but they were afraid to produce it for the occasion for fear of Master Three's disapproval.

There were four troops of K'unshan Opera singers this year, which was not a bad showing. The singers and musicians were all dressed in what was called "half-length gowns," with white bamboo-cloth tops and lower halves made of lake-colored silk. From the small finger of each performer was suspended an exquisite little fan of speckled-bamboo frame, and these fans dangled to and fro beneath the bamboo flutes and mouth-organs as the players marched playing along.

For theatricals this year there were six productions, all of them "straight dramas" and not one comedy. This was also in deference to Master Three's wishes. The boys in the back village had wanted to stage a selection from the naughty "Emerald-Screen Hill," but rather than risk being talked to by Master Three, had changed it to a heroic episode from *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms.* As it was, under the hot sun of the Seventh Month, even the sedate ladies of this show soon appeared bedraggled, and there would not have been much chance for saucy P'an Ch'iao-yün of "Emerald-Screen Hill" to have displayed herself to advantage. Still, in the heart of the assembled onlookers there was this lingering regret: what a pity that that handsome lad Hsiao-Ti from back village was not to have been given a chance to impersonate P'an Ch'iao-yün!

But the greatest let-down of this year was that there were no "elevated floats" at all. The back village folks had long since rehearsed a couple of tableaux for the floats called "The Dragon-Tiger Battle" and "Sweeping the Tombs." No one had expected that when Master Three came home this year and saw the fair grounds he remarked that it would be quite dangerous for youngsters to be play-acting on those highly-raised platforms, lest they fall off under the effect of the heat. He had vigorously opposed it, and the elevated floats had to be dropped.

The noisy bands and the K'unshan Opera troupes passed by one after another, and so did the theatrical productions. Then came the sedan-chair bearing the shrine of the Princes. The onlookers by the wayside prodded their children and shouted to one another: "Bow down! Bow down!" And the multitude of men, women and children, in their homespun cloth of white-and-blue patterns, all clapped their hands together and made obeisance.

Right behind the shrine chair came the pilgrims. Some were dressed in long gowns of summer-cloth, holding the incense sticks cupped in their hands; some in short jackets, bearing incense-burners in which were burnt incense spirals. There were still others with deeper pledges to God which they were here today to redeem by the extreme sacrifice of "hanging incense." These people all wore white cotton jackets on top of red-and-green cotton skirts, so that from the distance you could hardly tell the men from the women. Their incense-burners were hung by brass hooks which were sunk into the flesh of their wrists, smeared with incense ashes to avoid bleeding. This year there were especially many pilgrims who came to "hang incense"—some with the burner hooked to the left wrist, some with one to each wrist, some with only a small incense-burner, while others even had two burners on one wrist in a greater effort to demonstrate their faith by enduring suffering. These were all devout pilgrims with pledges to redeem: they walked for miles behind the shrine chair, the incense-burners hanging from their wrists, and although there were attendants following to cool them off with the fan now and then, a pilgrim would drop by the wayside, prostrate by the heat.

* * * * *

Feng Shun-ti held her little brother by the hand and stood beside her aunt on a stone ledge to watch the procession. She was a girl of fourteen, whose home was ten *li* away in Middle Village. This aunt of hers was married here in Upper Homestead, whose turn it was this year to conduct the

fair, and she and her brother had been invited over by the relatives to see the fair.

A daughter of the farm, fourteen-year-old Shun-ti had learned much from the experience of poverty and had early acquired an adult's good sense. As she stood there by the wayside she listened to the various comments on the fair, and it seemed that every sentence had something to do with Master Three. "Master Three is home for the fair this year, and he sure spoilt the fair for us all." "Isn't that the truth? No floats, even!" "Before Master Three got home the opium dens over in Eight Town had all closed down; the gambling places also didn't dare stay open. No gambling, no opium-smoking at a Seventh Month fair—that's something that has not happened in years."

The villagers gathered for the fair carried on with one comment after another, and all of this talk was absorbed by the attentive Shun-ti. She thought in her heart: Master Three must be quite a man, if he can make the gambling and opium places afraid to open their doors.

Now the procession of the fair was over, and the crowd slowly dispersed. Suddenly she heard a voice murmur: "Here comes Master Three!" She looked up, and saw that people were falling back right and left to make way for the newcomer and heard many voices raised in greeting, "Master Three!"

Two men walked up. One was a big, middle-aged man, with bronzed complexion, some short whiskers, and a compelling light in his eyes that made people avoid his glance; he had on a loose-fitting jacket and trousers and a pair of hemp sandals, and in his hand he held a long pipe stick. Walking with him was an old man of lean frame and a graying beard, who wore the same type of short jacket and also held a long pipe.

Shun-ti's aunt whispered to her, saying, "The dark one is Master Three; the other is Master Yüeh-chi, whose school is right in front of our house. They say Master Three is a government official in the North, way beyond the Great Wall, where no human beings live and where it's so cold in the winter your nose gets frozen off and so hot in the summer mosquitoes are as big as flies. Master Three is a man who can stand all the hardships and fears no sun nor wind. He has lived these many years outside the Great Wall; his face got burnt as black as Lord Pao the Great Judge."

By this time, Master Three and Master Yüeh-chi had come up in front of the group and, having paused to exchange a final word, Master Three walked on down the slope by himself. Master Yüeh-chi turned to greet Shun-ti's aunt,

and walked home with the three of them.

Seeing Shun-ti, Master Yüeh-chi asked, "Sister Ts'an, is this your Brother Chin-tsao's little girl?"

"Yes. Shun-ti! Ch'eng-hou! Come and greet Master Yüeh-chi."

Catching sight of Shun-ti's long braided hair, Master Yüeh-chi exclaimed, "Sister Ts'an, look at this young lady's hair, reaching all the way to the ground. It speaks of good fortune! Good fortune! Promised to any family yet?"

At this query Shun-ti's face flushed a deep red and, taking her little brother by the hand, she ran on ahead, oblivious of her aunt.

The good woman quickened her steps, calling after them, "Watch out you don't fall!" and, turning to Master Yüeh-chi, "No, not promised to anyone yet. She's a fine girl, that child, and quite understanding. Our Brother Chin-tsao always wanted to find her a nice husband, so she is fourteen now and still not promised to any family."

"Why don't you look up her Eight Characters for me?" Master Yüeh-chi said to the aunt. "And let me take a reading for her and see. Don't forget about it."

When he reached his own home he turned around and reminded her: "Don't forget, now. Ask Brother Ts'an to have the girl's Eight Characters copied for me."

❷

Shun-ti stayed in Upper Homestead until the end of the fair, and then her uncle took the sister and brother back to Middle Village. In the hot and long day of the Seventh Month, they did not start on their journey until about sunset and by the time they had walked the ten *li* or so to reach home it was not yet completely dark.

Shun-ti's mother had just locked the cow in the barn, and she now hustled to entertain the uncle and put him up for the night.

"Papa not home yet?" asked Shun-ti.

" *Chieh-chieh*, let's go and meet him!" Without waiting for the mother's reply, brother and sister dashed out of the house.

When they came to the edge of the village they spied their father coming toward the village with a load of rocks. They ran up calling, "Papa," and

sister and brother each took a rock from the father's load and carried it after him. The father carried his load to an old building site on his land, where he emptied the rocks onto the slightly sunken ground. Then he jumped in and laid the rocks level before he shouldered his carrying-pole and empty baskets and made his way home.

"Was that the third load?" asked Shun-ti.

Her father nodded without comment, but only asked the children how they liked the fair and if the show was any good, as they walked home together.

* * * * *

Shun-ti's father was surnamed Feng, with the given name of Chin-tsao. His family, for generations peasants, had by dint of bitter struggle managed to acquire a modicum of property, consisting of a few *mou* of land and a house of their own. When Chin-tsao reached the age of thirteen or fourteen the "Long-Hair Bandits" of the T'aip'ing Rebellion descended on Hweichow, and Middle Village, being on the highway in the northern countryside of the town of Chich'i, was completely burned to the ground by the Long Hairs. All the members of Chin-tsao's family, old and young, were killed except himself, and he was kidnapped. In the army of the Long Hairs the men saw that he was a hardy, able little boy and so they had the words "T'aip'ing Heavenly Kingdom" tattooed on his face so that he would not run away. An army tailor took pity on the boy and took him in as an apprentice. Chin-tsao learned to have a fine hand at tailoring and he got by for years in the Long Hair camps, following the rebels from Chich'i to Ningkuo and to Kwangteh before he finally managed to make his escape. But because he had a tattooed face, which meant a reward for anyone who turned him in to the government, he did not dare show his face in broad daylight. Each day he would hide in broken-down houses until nightfall before he would dare take to the road. Thus he endured all hardships and finally made his way back to his native village, only to find that nothing was left but scorched earth and some charred ruins, and of able-bodied males in the village only twenty or thirty had survived.

Chin-tsao proved himself a hard-working young man. After his return home he searched out the neglected fields of the family farm and set about ploughing and planting with all his might. With his spare energy he worked the fields for other families and plied his tailoring trade. It was not ten years

before he had built himself a home from the half-burnt remains of a brick house and had taken himself a wife. Now husband and wife both worked hard and ate bitterness and in time managed to put away some money and raised a family of their own.

Their first-born was a daughter. Coming right after a great upheaval, daughters were not particularly welcome, so this one was named Shun-ti(Toward Brother) in the fond hope that she would bring a little brother at the next birth. Several years later it did come about that a son was born to the Feng family, and they were all very happy.

As a man, Chin-tsao was most good-hearted; he was much in demand in nearby villages for his workmanship as a tailor, and everybody knew him to be an honest, industrious man. People from other villages greeted him with respect and called him Brother Chin-tsao.

But all these years there was a great unfulfilled desire in Chin-tsao's heart. It had always been his wish to rebuild his family heritage, the old ancestral home that had been burned down by the Long Hairs. All his folks had been killed, leaving him alone to survive, and he felt that Heaven had spared him for just this purpose—to restore the ancestral property. He had made a secret pledge to himself: he would build on the site of the old house a new one that would be bigger and even more elaborate.

He had put in a great deal of his spare time, cleaning away the rubble from where the old house used to stand and digging up the ground, preparatory to raising a new foundation on which to erect a building that would be high and dry. He would rise every day before dawn; daybreak would find him by the village stream picking out rocks to carry home in big loads for the filling of his building site. He would go back and forth until he brought three loads each morning before he would go to work on the farm; in the evening after work-hours he would go back for three more loads before sitting down to his supper. When the busy season was over and he hired himself out to other villages to work as a tailor he would also fill his daily quota of three loads of rocks every morning before going about his trade and another three loads after the evening meal before he would rest for the day.

This was the daily schedule he had set himself, the fulfillment of a pledge well known to his wife and children. The women of the family could not help him carry rocks and they could not persuade him to have more rest, and it would be of no use even if they tried. Sometimes when he was really fatigued after having moved his rocks, he would slump back on his bamboo

chair and smoke his pipe stick, his eyes fixed on his teen-age daughter and small son, breathing a long quiet sigh.

Shun-ti was already a sensible girl, and she felt sick in her heart at the sight of her father bent over such toil and labor. She often hated herself for not being a man so that she could go to the stream to carry rocks for her father. All she could do was to be at the edge of the village each morning and evening to meet her father, and to take one or two rocks from his load and help carry them to the building site, in this way to share a bit of his chores.

Even as they watched it daily the ground level was raised higher and higher, but building materials like bricks and tiles and lumber were nowhere to be had. The new house that would be so magnificent remained in the family's dreams. Sometimes Shun-ti would actually dream that she was a man, and that she was returning home to visit her parents from her post as a high official. She was returning to the new house that had already been completed, and she alighted from her sedan-chair in front of its shiny black-lacquered doors. But once she stepped off the sedan-chair it seemed again that the high official was not she herself but her younger brother.

❸

That year Shun-ti reached the age of seventeen.

One afternoon Chin-tsao was engaged in his tailoring over at Chang Family Shop, three *li* away, when in walked a middle-aged woman who called out, "Uncle Chin-tsao!" He recognized her to be Sister Hsing-wu of Upper Homestead, whose maternal home was not far from Middle Village and whom he had known since childhood. She was Master Three's aunt on the paternal side; her husband Master Hsing-wu being one of Eight Town's well-known gentry, she was known everywhere as "Master Hsing-wu's Lady."

Chin-tsao invited her to sit down, and she forthwith announced: "What a coincidence! I was on my way to Middle Village to see you and when I had come as far as Chang Family Shop I was told that you are working here. Really a coincidence! Uncle Chin-tsao, what I wanted to see you about was to have your Shun-ti's Eight Characters written out for me."

Chin-tsao asked for whose family it was intended.

Master Hsing-wu's Lady said: "You know, we are thinking of our eldest

nephew, Brother Three."

"Master Three?"

"Yes. Brother Three is forty-seven this year, and his first married, Jade-ring, has been dead these ten years or more. Jade-ring had left him a heap of children—three sons and three daughters—all grown up now. But being an official away from home, he found it really inconvenient without a helpmate. So he had written home and asked that we fixed him up to be married again."

Chin-tsao replied: "What call a farmer's daughter has to aim to be an official lady? I beg you not even to mention this thing."

Master Hsing-wu's Lady said: "This Brother Three of ours is rather odd-tempered. He wrote home this year particularly insisting that he wished to take the daughter of a farming family for a wife."

"What reason is there in that?"

"He said that the daughter of a farming family would have good health and would not be a consumptive like Jade-ring. He also said that one who comes from a farming family would know what it means to struggle against hardships."

Chin-tsao said: "This thing would never work. First of all, we are no match for any official family. Secondly, my old lady would not think of giving her daughter to somebody for a second wife. Thirdly, Master Three's own children are all grown-up, the eldest son and daughter both several years older than Shun-ti. It would not be easy to act as step-mother in a family like that. So you might as well forget about the Eight Characters."

Master Hsing-wu's Lady said: "Now don't you be modest. Shun-ti is a sedate girl, and she is one blessed with good fortune too. Uncle Chin-tsao, please don't blame me for being frank. Shun-ti is seventeen this year; in the twinkling of an eye she will be all of twenty, and where would you expect to find her a black-haired youngster? And what's wrong with being a second wife? Brother Three says in his letter, once the bride comes over he will take her along to his new post. As for his children, the eldest daughter has been married off; the eldest son will marry this year and is staying at home; the second daughter has been given away for adoption since she was a baby; and the third daughter also is staying at home. When he goes to his post he will only have the fifteen-year-old twins with him, and they will be sent to school. There wouldn't be much trouble in taking care of that family."

Chin-tsao was a good man, and he could see that the woman had made some irrefutable points in her case. According to the custom of our native

village, a daughter usually got engaged by the time she was thirteen or fourteen. A girl reaching seventeen or eighteen years of age would more often than not be married off as a second wife. But in their love and indulgence for Shun-ti he and his wife had always hoped to marry her into some bookish family, and thus unavoidably had delayed her. This happened to have been a load on the mind of the two parents, and it gave him pause today.

Perceiving his hesitation, Master Hsing-wu's Lady added: "Uncle Chin-tsao, now don't you be of many minds. You go back and consult Auntie Chin-tsao and have the girl's Eight Characters made out. I am going to my mother's today, and tomorrow I'll come by and pick them up. Nobody can tell whether or not the Eight Characters would match, whether the birth dates and hours would be suited. Anyway, there's no harm in having the Eight Characters made out and seen."

Chin-tsao thought about it, and true enough there seemed to be no harm in having the Eight Characters made out, and so he promised.

* * * * *

When he came home from Chang Family Shop that day Shun-ti and her brother were still out grazing the cows. After setting down his packet of thread and needles and his iron, he seated himself on a bench by the door-step and puffed away at his pipe. His wife saw that there was something on his mind, and she lost no time questioning him about it. He related to her what Sister Hsing-wu had said.

Upon hearing it she became very angry, and she hastened to ask: "You didn't promise her to write out the Eight Characters, did you?"

He said: "I told her I would come home and talk it over. But there is no harm in having the Eight Characters made out for that family, it seems."

She said: "That won't do. I would not marry my daughter to an old man of nearly fifty. They have a heap of children in that family, and it's not going to be easy to be a step-mother there. Besides, these official families look down upon us farm folks, and in the future when people take advantage of our daughter who will be there to stick up for us? I won't give them the Eight Characters."

He mumbled his words slowly, "Shun-ti is seventeen this year, and it is not an easy thing to find the right family. Master Three is a fine man—"

His wife became angrier than ever. "All right, it's all my fault. I should

not have aimed high, thus delaying our daughter's lifelong happiness. Since nobody is interested in our daughter, you are thinking of giving her away as a second wife, as a step-mother. It is all right to be a second wife, but not in Master Three's family. They are official folk, and people will say for sure that it is because we are achieving for prestige, not hesitating to sell out a daughter in order to have some official for a son-in-law. I would not dare to endure this wicked name. Another family is all right, but I won't stand it if it is Master Three's family. So nobody wants our daughter, I am willing to support her for the rest of her life."

The husband and wife had a quarrel over this, and finally Chin-tsao said: "Let us not argue any more. This is Shun-ti's own affair. After supper let us ask her for her own opinion. How is that?" To which she consented.

When supper was over, Shun-ti saw that her brother went to bed and then seated herself beside the vegetable-oil lamp to stitch a shoe. Chin-tsao opened his mouth and started saying, "Shun-ti, there is something your mother wanted to ask you."

Shun-ti looked up to inquire of her mother what it might be, and her mother said, "It is your Pa wanted to ask you something; don't shove it on my shoulders."

Shun-ti saw that her mother was somewhat angry and, not knowing what it was all about, turned to her Pa. Her Pa said to her: "Master Three of Upper Homestead wanted to take a second wife, and somebody from his family was sent over for your Eight Characters. Your Ma did not like it because he is too old, forty-seven—thirty years older than you. They also have a heap of children in that family, and not easy to be a step-mother to. We fear it might be something that would ruin your whole life, so we would like to have your own opinion."

He went on and repeated what Sister Hsing-wu had told him that day.

Shun-ti had long since buried her head in her needlework, and did not utter a word for some time. Her Ma had also shut up without offering a word.

Her Pa did not add anything to what he had said.

Although Shun-ti did not open her mouth, in her heart she was busy thinking. It seemed that she had shut her eyes and saw her father carrying a heavy load of rocks at daybreak from outside the village; she saw the big piece of land that was to be a building site on which was piled load after load of rocks; she saw her father in the evenings seated in the dark shadows, thinking and sighing. Then her thoughts flitted to that scene of her triumphant

return as a high official, stepping down from her sedan-chair in front of the doors of the new house. Again, there appeared before her eyes the image of the bronzed face of Master Three, and the eyes with their compelling light. …

She thought to herself as follows: Here at last comes the opportunity for her to help out her parents. To be a second wife usually means a larger wedding gift to the bride's family. Since this is an official family, with many children from the former marriage, the gift from the groom of money and such should be even more handsome. Maybe she could even find ways of helping her parents later. This means the dream of her father's lifetime, the new house, will have a chance to come true. …And Master Three is a fine man; everybody respects him, and only those people who run the gambling places and opium dens fear him and hate him. …

Her mother's voice raised in speech broke off her train of thought. Her Ma was saying, "To your parents what is there that you cannot say? Now, you speak up!"

Shun-ti lifted up her eyes and saw that both her Pa and Ma were watching her. She lowered her head and, flushing a deep red, said: "As long as you two think he is all right, you will please decide." Then she added this comment: "For a man, forty-seven is not considered very old."

Her Pa heaved a long sigh. Her Ma leapt to her feet in anger, and she said indignantly: "That's fine! You like to be an official lady! All right! It is just as you please!"

When Shun-ti heard this remark she felt both shame and anger; her sewing dropped to the floor, and she could not help her tears coming streaming down. She picked up her sewing and, without another word, went to her own room to cry.

* * * * *

From this family counsel Shun-ti's Ma knew that her daughter was willing; what she did not know was the girl's painful dedication of herself to the aid of her parents, and so she did not aim to see this marriage proposition succeed.

She was afraid that once the Eight Characters were written out for the family, if the birth dates and hours happened to match, it would be hard to refuse; and if the Eight Characters should prove unsuited, they would be the laughing-stock of the neighborhood for having tried in vain to marry into high officialdom. She made up her mind to fake a set of Eight Characters for

the go-between. The next morning, she went to the school in the ancestral hall and ask the teacher to look up Shun-ti's Eight Characters, but in doing so purposely gave a wrong date and a wrong hour for the girl's birth. The teacher looked up the characters and the signs in his *Ten-Thousand-Year Almanac*, copied them down on a piece of paper, and gave it to her to take home to Chin-tsao.

In the afternoon, Master Hsing-wu's Lady repaired to Chang Family Shop, where she picked up the Eight Characters certificate and went home in great elation. Back in Upper Homestead, she sought out Master Yüeh-chi and requested that he pair up the respective Eight Characters of Shun-ti and Master Three and see if they matched.

Master Yüeh-chi looked at the certificate and inquired whose daughter it was.

"It's Brother Chin-tsao's Shun-ti over at Middle Village."

Master Yüeh-chi said, "Then these Eight Characters are wrong. To think a village school-teacher not knowing how to use an almanac even. He's got four of these characters wrong."

Master Hsing-wu's Lady asked: "How do you know that the Eight Characters are wrong?"

Master Yüeh-chi replied: "I happened to have looked up the girl's Eight Characters before, and I still remember them. Three years ago I saw this young lass at the Seventh Month Fair. Isn't she the niece of Sister Ts'an? Roundish face, a bit of freckles, long hair reaching all the way down, is that the one? Not a pretty girl, but very sedate, not like the daughter of a farming family. At the time I remember asking Sister Ts'an for her Eight Characters to reckon with. The Eight Characters that I have looked up I do not forget in three to five years."

He pulled out a drawer of his writing desk and found a strip of paper, exclaiming, "Didn't I say so? Here it is!" He picked up his writing-brush and made the necessary corrections on Shun-ti's birth certificate, and at one side he wrote down Master Three's Eight Characters. He figured at it for a while, and then addressed Master Hsing-wu's Lady: "The Eight Characters matched all right. You don't have to check any further. Sister Hsing-wu, you have a good eye. This would make a good match for Brother Three. Looks are not important; even Eight Characters are not important, but I know there is good upbringing in Brother Chin-tsao's family. Why don't you get the gift list drawn up tomorrow. I shall write to Brother Three myself."

*   *   *   *   *

Two days later, Master Hsing-wu's Lady went over to Middle Village to talk over the "gift list" with Brother Chin-tsao. She started grumbling, "Your village teacher is really no good, even got the Eight Characters half wrong—almost spoilt a good match, he did."

Sister Chin-tsao knew very well in her heart what had caused the mistake, but she asked who it was who had discovered it. Thereupon Master Hsing-wu's Lady rendered an account of what Master Yüeh-chi had said, from beginning to end. Chin-tsao husband and wife were amazed at this, saying to each other that this must have been a match Fate had ordained. Now Sister Chin-tsao no longer held to her opposition. They promised to work out a gift list and bid her to come back for it in a few days.

Feng Shun-ti was my mother, and Master Three was my father whose name was T'ieh-hua. In my father's diary there were the following entries:

> "[The 15th Year of Kuanghsu (1889), Second Month] 16th, arrived home after traveling fifty *li*. …
>
> 21st, dispatched go-between to the Fengs, fixed the date 12th of the Third Month for wedding. …
>
> 11th, Third Month, dispatched sedan-chair to Middle Village of Seven Town to fetch the bride, née Feng.
>
> 12th, Miss Feng arrived. Wedding ceremony held. Paid respects in ancestral hall.
>
> 13th, 14th, reception for guests. …
>
> 6th, Fourth Month, to Middle Village to pay respects to Father-in-law and Mother-in-law.
>
> 7th, returned from Middle Village. …
>
> 9th, Fifth Month, started on journey to Shanghai. Rain. Lodged at Newbridge in Ching, after traveling fifty-five *li*."

序幕　我的母亲的订婚

一

太子会[1]是我们家乡秋天最热闹的神会，但这一年的太子会却使许多人失望。

神伞一队过去了。都不过是本村各家的绫伞，没有什么新鲜花样。去年大家都说，恒有绸缎庄预备了一顶珍珠伞。因为怕三先生说话，故今年他家不敢拿出来。

昆腔今年有四队，总算不寂寞。昆腔子弟都穿着“半截长衫”，上身是白竹布，下半是湖色杭绸。每人小手指上挂着湘妃竹柄的小纨扇，吹唱时纨扇垂在笙笛下面摇摆着。

扮戏今年有六出，都是“正戏”，没有一出花旦戏。这也是三先生的主意。后村的子弟本来要扮一出翠屏山，也因为怕三先生说话，改了长坂坡。其实七月的日光底下，甘糜二夫人脸上的粉已被汗洗光了，就有潘巧云也不会怎样特别出色。不过看会的人的心里总觉得后村很漂亮的小棣没有扮潘巧云的机会，只扮作了糜夫人，未免太可惜了。

今年最扫兴的是没有扮戏的“抬阁”。后村的人早就练好了两架“抬阁”，一架是龙虎斗，一架是小上坟。不料三先生今年回家过会场，他说抬阁太高了，小孩子热天受不了暑气，万一跌下来，不是小事体。他极力阻止，抬阁就扮不成了。

粗乐和昆腔一队一队的过去了。扮戏一出一出的过去了。接着便是太子的神轿。路旁的观众带着小孩的，都喊道，“拜呵！拜呵！”许多穿着白地蓝花布褂的男女小孩都合掌拜揖。

神轿的后面便是拜香的人！有的穿着夏布长衫，捧着柱香；有的穿着短衣，拿着香炉挂，炉里烧着檀香。还有一些许愿更重的，今天来“吊香”还愿；他们上身穿着白布褂，扎着朱青布裙，远望去不容易分别男女。他们把香炉吊在铜钩上，把钩子钩在手腕肉里，涂上香灰，便可不流血。今年吊香的人很多，有的只吊在左手腕上，有的双手都吊；有的只吊一个小香炉，有的一只手腕上吊着两个香炉。他们都是虔诚还愿的人，悬着挂香炉的手腕，跟着神轿走多少里路，虽然有自家人跟着打扇，但也有半途中了暑热走不动的。

* * * * *

冯顺弟搀着她的兄弟，跟着她的姑妈，站在路边石磴上看会。她今年十四岁了，家在十里外的中屯，有个姑妈嫁在上庄，今年轮着上庄做会，故她的姑丈家接她姊弟来看会。

她是个农家女子，从贫苦的经验里得着不少的知识，故虽是十四岁的女孩儿，却很有成人的见识。她站在路旁听着旁人批评今年的神会，句句总带着三先生。“三先生今年在家过会，可把会弄糟了。”“可不是呢？抬阁也没有了。”“三先生还没有到家，八都的鸦片烟馆都关门了，赌场也都不敢开了。七月会场上没有赌场，又没有烟灯，这是多年没有的事。”

看会的人，你一句，他一句，顺弟都听在心里。她心想，三先生必是一个了不得的人，能叫赌场烟馆不敢开门。

会过完了，大家纷纷散了。忽然她听见有人低声说，“三先生来了！”她抬起头来，只见路上的人都纷纷让开一条路；只听见许多人都叫“三先生”。

前面走来了两个人。一个高大的中年人，面容紫黑，有点短须，两眼有威光，令人不敢正眼看他；他穿着苎布大袖短衫，苎布大脚管的裤子，脚下穿着麻布鞋子，手里拿着一杆旱烟管。和他同行的是一个老年人，瘦瘦身材，花白胡子，也穿着短衣，拿着旱烟管。

顺弟的姑妈低低说，“那个黑面的，是三先生；那边是月吉先生，他的学堂就在我们家的前面。听人说三先生在北边做官，走过了万里长城，还走了几十日，都是没有人烟的地方，冬天冻杀人，夏天热杀人；冬天冻塌鼻子，夏天蚊虫有苍蝇那么大。三先生肯吃苦，不怕日头不怕风，在万里长城外住了几年，把脸晒的像包龙图一样。”

这时候，三先生和月吉先生已走到她们面前，他们站住说了一句话，三先生独自下坡去了；月吉先生却走过来招呼顺弟的姑妈，和她们同行回去。

月吉先生见了顺弟，便问道，“灿嫂，这是你家金灶舅的小孩子吗？”

“是的。顺弟，诚厚，叫声月吉先生。”

月吉先生一眼看见了顺弟脑后的发辫，不觉喊道，“灿嫂，你看这姑娘的头发一直拖到地！这是贵相！是贵相！许了人家没有？”

这一问把顺弟羞的满脸绯红，她牵着她弟弟的手往前飞跑，也不顾她姑妈了。

她姑妈一面喊，“不要跌了！”回头对月吉先生说，“还不曾许人家。这孩子很稳重，很懂事。我家金灶哥总想许个好好人家，所以今年十四岁了，还不曾许人家。”

月吉先生说，“你开一个八字给我，我给她排排看。你不要忘了。”

他到了自家门口，还回过头来说：“不要忘记，叫灿哥抄个八字给我。”

二

顺弟在上庄过了会场，她姑丈送她姊弟回中屯去。七月里天气热，日子又长，他们到日头快落山时才起身，走了十里路，到家时天还没全黑。

顺弟的母亲刚牵了牛进栏，见了他们，忙着款待姑丈过夜。

“爸爸还没有回来吗？”顺弟问。

“姊姊，我们去接他。”姊姊和弟弟不等母亲回话，都出去了。

他们到了村口，远远望见他们的父亲挑着一担石头进村来。他们赶上去喊着爸爸，姊姊弟弟每人从担子里拿了一块石头，捧着跟他走。他挑到他家的旧屋基上，把石子倒下去，自己跳下去，把石子铺平，才上来挑起空担回家去。

顺弟问，“这是第三担了吗？”

她父亲点点头，只问他们看的会好不好，戏好不好，一同回家去。

* * * * *

顺弟的父亲姓冯，小名金灶。他家历代务农，辛辛苦苦挣起了一点点小产业，居然有几亩自家的田，一所自家的屋。金灶十三四岁的时候，长毛贼到了徽州，中屯是绩溪北乡的大路，整个村子被长毛烧成平地。金灶的一家老幼都被杀了，只剩他一人，被长毛掳去。长毛军中的小头目看这个小孩子有气力，能吃苦，就把他脸上刺了“太平天国[1]”四个蓝字，叫他不能逃走。军中有个裁缝，见这孩子可怜，收他做徒弟，叫他跟着学裁缝。金灶学了一手好裁缝，在长毛营里混了几年，从绩溪跟到宁国，广德，居然被他逃走出来。但因为面上刺了字，捉住他的人可以请赏，所以他不敢白日露面。他每日躲在破屋场里，挨到夜间，才敢赶路。他吃了种种困苦，好容易回到家乡，只寻得一片焦土，几座焦墙，一村的丁壮留剩的不过二三十人。

金灶是个肯努力的少年，他回家之后，寻出自家的荒田，努力耕种。有余力就帮人家种田，做裁缝。不上十年，他居然修葺了村里一间未烧完的砖屋，娶了一个妻子。夫妻都能苦做苦吃，渐渐有了点积蓄，渐渐挣起了一个小小的家庭。

他们头胎生下一个女儿。在那大乱之后，女儿是不受欢迎的，所以她的名字叫做顺弟，取个下胎生个弟弟的吉兆。隔了好几年，果然生了一个儿子，他们都很欢喜。

金灶为人最忠厚；他的裁缝手艺在附近村中常有雇主，人都说他诚实勤谨。外村的人都尊敬他，叫他金灶官。

但金灶有一桩最大的心愿。他总想重建他祖上传下来，被长毛烧了的老屋。他一家人都被杀完了，剩下他这一个人，他觉得天留他一个人是为中兴他的祖业的。他立下了一个誓愿：要在老屋基上建造起一所更大又更讲究的新屋。

他费了不少工夫，把老屋基扒开，把烧残砖瓦拆扫干净，准备重新垫起一片高地基，好在上面起造一所高爽干燥的新屋。他每日天未明就起来了；天刚亮，就到村口溪头去拣选石子，挑一大担回来，铺垫地基。来回挑了三担之后，他才下田去做工；到了晚上歇工时，他又去挑三担石子，才吃晚饭。农忙过后，他出村帮人家做裁缝，每天也要先担三担石子，才去上工；晚间吃了饭回来，又要挑三担石子，才肯休息。

这是他的日常功课，家中的妻子女儿都知道他的心愿，女流们不能帮他挑石头，又不能劝他休息，劝他也没有用处。有时候，他实在疲乏了，挑完石子回家，倒在竹椅上吸旱烟，眼望着十几岁的女儿和几岁的儿子，微微叹一口气。

顺弟是已懂事的了，她看见她父亲这样辛苦做工，她心里好不难过。她常常自恨不是个男子，不能代她父亲下溪头去挑石头。她只能每日早晚到村口去接着她父亲，从他的担子里捧出一两块石头来，拿到屋基上，也算是分担了他的一点辛苦。

看看屋基渐渐垫高了，但砖瓦木料却全没有着落，高敞的新屋还只存在她一家人的梦里。顺弟有时做梦，梦见她是个男子，做了官回家看父母，新屋早已造好了，她就在黑漆的大门外下轿。下轿来又好像做官的不是她，是她兄弟。

三

这一年，顺弟十七岁了。

一天的下午，金灶在三里外的张家店做裁缝，忽然走进了一个中年妇人，叫声“金灶舅”。他认得她是上庄的星五嫂，她娘家离中屯不远，所以他从小认得她。她是三先生的伯母，她的丈夫星五先生也是八都的有名绅士，所以人都叫她“星五先生娘”。

金灶招呼她坐下。她开口道：“巧极了，我本打算到中屯看你去，走到了张家店，才知道你在这里做活。巧极了。金灶舅，我来寻你，是想开你家顺弟的八字。”

金灶问是谁家。

星五先生娘说：“就是我家大侄儿三哥。”

“三先生？”
“是的。三哥今年四十七，前头讨的七都的玉环，死了十多年了。玉环生下了儿女一大堆，——三个儿子，三个女，——现在都长大了。不过他在外头做官，没有个家眷，实在不方便。所以他写信来家，要我们给他定一头亲事。”
金灶说，“我们种田人家的女儿那配做官太太？这件事不用提。”
星五先生娘说：“我家三哥有点怪脾气。他今年写信回来，说：一定要讨一个做庄稼人家的女儿。”
“什么道理呢？”
“他说，做庄稼人家的人身体好，不会像玉环那样痨病鬼。他又说，庄稼人家晓得艰苦。”
金灶说：“这件事不会成功的。一来呢，我们配不上做官人家。二来，我家女人一定不肯把女儿给人做填房。三来，三先生家的儿女都大了，他家大儿子大女儿都比顺弟大好几岁，这样人家的晚娘是不容易做的。这个八字不用开了。”
星五先生娘说：“你不要客气。顺弟很稳重，是个有福气的人。金灶舅，你莫怪我直言，顺弟今年十七岁了，眼睛一眏，二十岁到头上，你那里去寻一个青头郎？填房有什么不好？三哥信上说了，新人过了门，他就要带上任去。家里的儿女，大女儿出嫁了；大儿子今年做亲，留在家里；二女儿是从小给了人家了；三女儿也留在家里。将来在任上只有两个双胞胎的十五岁小孩子，他们又都在学堂里。这个家也没有什么难照应。”
金灶是个老实人，他也明白她的话有驳不倒的道理。家乡风俗，女儿十三四岁总得定亲了。十七八岁的姑娘总是做填房的居多。他们夫妇因为疼爱顺弟，总想许个念书人家，所以把她担误了。这是他们做父母的说不出的心事。所以他今天很有点踌躇。
星五先生娘见他踌躇，又说道：“金灶舅，你不用多心。你回去问问金灶舅母，开个八字。我今天回娘家去，明朝我来取。八字对不对，辰肖合不合，谁也不知道。开个八字总不妨事。”
金灶一想，开个八字诚然不妨事，他就答应了。

* * * * *

这一天，他从张家店回家，顺弟带了弟弟放牛去了，还没有回来。他放下针线包和熨斗，便在门里板凳上坐下来吸旱烟。他的妻子见他有心事的样子，忙过来问他。他把星五嫂的话对她说了。
她听了大生气，忙问，“你不曾答应她开八字？”

他说，“我说要回家商量商量。不过开个八字给他家，也不妨事。”

她说，“不行。我不肯把女儿许给快五十岁的老头子。他家儿女一大堆，　这个晚娘不好做。做官的人家看不起我们庄稼人家的女儿，将来让人家把女儿欺负煞，谁家来替我们伸冤？我不开八字。”

他慢吞吞的说，“顺弟今年十七岁了，许人家也不容易。三先生是个好人。——”

她更生气了，“是的，都是我的不是。我不该心高，担误了女儿的终身。女儿没有人家要了，你就想送给人家做填房，做晚娘。做填房也可以，三先生家可不行。他家是做官人家，将来人家一定说我们贪图人家有势力，把女儿卖了，想换个做官的女婿。我背不起这个恶名。别人家都行，三先生家我不肯。女儿没人家要，我养她一世。”

他们夫妻吵了一场，后来金灶说，“不要吵了。这是顺弟自家的事，吃了夜饭，我们问问她自己。好不好？”她也答应了。

晚饭后，顺弟看着兄弟睡下，回到菜油灯下做鞋。金灶开口说，“顺弟，你母亲有句话要问你。”

顺弟抬起头来，问妈有什么话。她妈说，“你爸爸有话问你，不要朝我身上推。”

顺弟看她妈有点气，不知道是怎么一回事，只好问她爸。她爸对她说，“上庄三先生要讨个填房，他家今天叫人来开你的八字。你妈嫌他年纪太大，四十七岁了，比你大三十岁，家中又有一大堆儿女。晚娘不容易做，我们怕将来害了你一世，所以要问问你自己。”

他把今天星五嫂的话说了一遍。

顺弟早已低下头去做针线，半晌不肯开口。她妈也不开口。

她爸也不说话了。

顺弟虽不开口，心里却在那儿思想。她好像闭了眼睛，看见她的父亲在天刚亮的时候挑着一大担石头进村来；看见那大块屋基上堆着他一担一担的挑来的石头；看见她父亲晚上坐在黑影地里沉思叹气。一会儿，她又仿佛看见她做了官回来，在新屋的大门口下轿。一会儿，她的眼前又仿佛现出了那紫黑面孔，两眼射出威光的三先生。……

她心里这样想：这是她帮她父母的机会到了。做填房可以多接聘金。前妻儿女多，又是做官人家，聘金财礼总应该更好看点。她将来总还可以帮她父母的忙。她父亲一生梦想的新屋总可以成功。……三先生是个好人，人人都敬重他，只有开赌场烟馆的人怕他恨他。……

她母亲说话的声音打断了她的思想。她妈说，“对了我们，有什么话不好说？你说罢！”

顺弟抬起眼睛来，见她爸妈都望着她自己。她低下头去，红着脸说道：“只要你们俩都说他是个好人，请你们俩作主。”她接着又加上一句

话，“男人家四十七岁也不能算是年纪大。”

她爸叹了一口气。她妈可气的跳起来了，忿忿的说，“好呵！你想做官太太了！好罢！听你情愿罢！”

顺弟听了这句话，又羞又气，手里的鞋面落在地上，眼泪直滚下来。她拾起鞋面，一声不响，走到她房里去哭了。

* * * * *

经过了这一番家庭会议之后，顺弟的妈明白她女儿是愿意的了，她可不明白她情愿卖身来帮助爸妈的苦心，所以她不指望这门亲事成功。

她怕开了八字去，万一辰肖相合，就难回绝了；万一八字不合，旁人也许要笑她家高攀不上做官人家。她打定主意，要开一张假八字给媒人拿去。第二天早晨，她到祠堂蒙馆去，请先生开一个庚帖，故意错报了一天生日，又错报了一个时辰。先生翻开《万年历》，把甲子查明写好，她拿回去交给金灶。

那天下午，星五先生娘到张家店拿到了庚帖，高兴的很。回到了上庄，她就去寻着月吉先生，请他把三先生和她的八字排排看。

月吉先生看了八字，问是谁家女儿。

“中屯金灶官家的顺弟。”

月吉先生说，“这个八字开错了。小村乡的蒙馆先生连官本（俗称历书为官本）也不会查，把八个字抄错了四个字。”

星五先生娘说，“你怎么知道八字开错了？”

月吉先生说，“我算过她的八字，所以记得。大前年村里七月会，我看见这女孩子，她不是灿嫂的侄女吗？圆圆面孔，有一点雀斑，头发很长，是吗？面貌并不美，倒稳重的很，不像个庄稼人家的孩子。我那时问灿嫂讨了她的八字来算算看。我算过的八字，三五年不会忘记的。”

他抽开书桌的抽屉，寻出一张字条来，说，“可不是呢？在这里了。”他提起笔来，把庚帖上的八字改正，又把三先生的八字写出。他排了一会，对星五先生娘说，“八字是对的，不用再去对了。星五嫂，你的眼力不差，这个人配得上三哥。相貌是小事，八字也是小事，金灶官家的矩规好。你明天就去开礼单。三哥那边，我自己写信去。”

* * * * *

过了两天，星五先生娘到了中屯，问金灶官开“礼单”。她埋怨道，“你们村上的先生不中用，把八字开错了，几几乎误了事。”

金灶嫂心里明白，问谁说八字开错了的。星五先生娘一五一十的把月吉先生的话说了。金灶夫妻都很诧异，他们都说，这是前世注定的姻

缘。金灶嫂现在也不反对了。他们答应开礼单，叫她隔几天来取。

冯顺弟就是我的母亲，三先生就是我的父亲铁花先生。在我父亲的日记上，有这样几段记载：

> “［光绪十五年（一八八九）二月］十六日，行五十里，抵家。……
> 二十一日，遣媒人订约于冯姓，择定三月十二日迎娶。……
> 三月十一日，遣舆诣七都中屯迎娶冯氏。
> 十二日，冯氏至。行合卺礼。谒庙。
> 十三日，十四日，宴客。……
> 四月初六日，往中屯，叩见岳丈岳母。
> 初七日，由中屯归。……
> 五月初九日，起程赴沪，天雨，行五十五里，宿旌之新桥。”

十九，六，廿六。

I FAMILY EDUCATION

❶

I was born in the Seventeenth Year of the reign of Kuanghsu, on the Seventeenth Day of the Eleventh Month (December 17, 1891). Our home at that time was a temporary one outside the Great East Gate in Shanghai. Two months after my birth, the Governor of T'aiwan, Shao Yu-lien, had petitioned the Emperor to have my father transferred there; the Governor of Kiangsu had petitioned against the transfer, but to no avail. My father proceeded to his new post and arrived in T'aiwan at the end of the Second Month in the 18th Year of Kuanghsu. Meanwhile, my mother and I moved to the town of Ch'wansha, near Shanghai, where we lived for a year. On the 26th of the Second Month, in the 19th Year (1893), the family (including my mother, Fourth Uncle Chieh-ju, Second Elder-Brother Ssu-chü and Third Elder-Brother Ssu-p'i) moved from Shanghai to T'aiwan. We lived at first in T'ainan for ten months. In the Fifth Month of the 19th Year, my father was appointed in charge of the prefecture of T'aitung and concurrently commander of the reserve army in Chenhai. T'aitung was a newly established prefecture and conditions were still rough, so my father went there without taking his family along. We did not move to T'aitung until the end of the 19th Year, and we lived there for exactly one year.

When the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1894, T'aitung was within the war emergency zone. Fourth Uncle Chieh-ju happened to be visiting in T'aitung again, and my father took the opportunity to send the family back by him to our ancestral village in Hweichow, leaving only Second Elder-Brother Ssu-chü with him in T'aitung. We departed from T'aitung in the First Month of the year Yi Wei (1895), and on the 10th of the Second Month, proceeded from Shanghai back to our native village of Chich'i.

In the Fourth Month of that year China concluded a peace treaty with Japan with the cession of T'aitung. The people of T'aitung were opposed to this transfer of territory and begged the then Governor, T'ang Ching-sung, to defend the island to the last. T'ang requested intervention by the Western powers, who refused to do so. Thereafter the T'aitung people petitioned T'ang

to assume the title of President of the T'aitung Republic with his military aide Liu Yung-fu as generalissimo of the armies. My father in T'aitung was then engaged in supervising the defense works of Houshan, and already cut off in his funds and from telegraphic contact with the capital. He had contracted a foot disease which incapacitated his left foot. He held out until the third of the Fifth Month before he left Houshan for Anping; there Liu Yung-fu insisted upon his staying to assist in the armies. By the 25th of the Sixth Month he had lost the use of both feet, and only then did Liu reluctantly let him go. When he arrived in Amoy on the 28th of the Sixth Month all his limbs were paralyzed. On the third of the Seventh Month, he died in Amoy, sacrificing his life for the very first republic of the East Asia!

At the time I was aged three years and eight months. I seem to remember that when the letter bearing news of my father's death arrived, my mother was in the front room in the old family house, seated on a chair near the door-step. When the letter-reader read to the part about my father's death, she toppled backwards and fell on the door-sill in her chair. At the same time Aunt Chen who was listening from her door in the east room burst into a loud sob. Of a sudden the whole house was filled with crying and wailing, and it seemed to me that heaven and earth were crashing about us. This scene of sorrow is all I seem to remember; the rest I do not recall at all.

❷

At the time of my father's death my mother was only twenty-three. My father had made his first marriage not long before the Taiping Rebellion, and his first wife, née Feng, died during the turmoil of war in the 2nd Year of Emperor Tungchih (1863). His second wife, née Tsao, bore him three sons and three daughters, and died in the 4th Year of Kuanghsu (1878). Because he was of a poor family, at the same time aspiring to travel far and wide in his career, my father had waited a long time before he re-married. It was not until the 15th Year of Kuanghsu(1889), when he was in the reserve official's rank for the province of Kiangsu and life was comparatively settled, that he married my mother. Three days after their wedding my Eldest Brother Ssu-chia took himself a wife. By that time my Eldest Sister had already been married and a mother. Eldest Sister was seven years older than my mother; Eldest Brother was two years older; Second Elder-Sister had been given away

for adoption since childhood; Third Elder-Sister was three years younger than my mother; Second Elder-Brother and Third Elder-Brother (the twins) were four years younger. In the midst of such a family came this seventeen-year-old step-mother; one can imagine how difficult her position must have been and how painful a life she was to lead.

Not long after their marriage, my father sent for his young bride to live together in Shanghai. She was thus freed from the painful confines of the big family and she had the love of my father, who found time every day in his busy schedule to teach her to read—life for her in those few years was a happy one. As a child, I was also the object of my father's affection, and before I was quite three he started to teach me my first characters by using the red paper squares with which he had taught my mother. If my father was the tutor, my mother acted at one side as the assistant; when I learned my new characters my mother would review them for her own benefit—when he was too busy to teach, she would substitute for him. By the time we left T'aitung to return home, she had mastered nearly a thousand characters, and I had learned seven hundred or so. These characters were all written by my father in his own hand on red stationery cut into squares; these were treasured by my mother throughout her life as sacred mementos of a life which the three of us had shared, all too briefly.

My mother became a widow at the age of twenty-three; thereafter she was to spend another twenty-three years in a life full of bitterness and sorrow. Because I was her only flesh-and-blood she endured all hardships and pinned her entire hopes on my remote and unknowable future. Such were the dim hopes that kept up her spirits for another twenty-three years of struggling existence.

About two months before my father died he had made his will in the form of several letters, addressed to my mother and his four sons, respectively. There were only a few words in each letter, the one addressed to my mother saying that Son Mên (my given name was Ssu-mên) was a precocious child and should be allowed a chance to study. The one addressed to me also adjured me to study hard and improve myself. These few words left to me by my father were to exert a tremendous influence for the rest of my life. One day when I was eleven years old, and while Second and Third Elder-Brothers were both home, my mother asked them: "Mên is eleven this year. Your dad wanted him to study. What do you think, do you think he could make anything of himself studying?" Second Elder-Brother did not

open his mouth, but Third Elder-Brother sneered, "Hmm, study!" Second Elder-Brother maintained a silence throughout. My mother swallowed her feelings and sat there for a while, and only after she returned to her own room did she dare shed her tears. She did not dare offend my brothers in any way because the family finances were all in the hands of Second Elder-Brother, and if I were to leave home for schooling my tuition would have to come from him. That was why all she could do was to shed a few silent tears.

But after all my father's will was to be respected, and so I was to study. Besides, I had been an intelligent child, and it was well known to people in the neighboring villages that the youngest son of Master Three had scholarly possibilities. And so two years later, when Third Elder-Brother went to Shanghai for his tuberculosis cure, I went with him to attend school.

❸

When I was in T'aitung I had been seriously ill for a half year and had come out of it a very weak child. After our return to the village I was nominally five years old though still unable to negotiate a door-sill nine or ten inches high. In her eagerness to get me started on my studies, my mother had sent me as a pupil in the private school tutored by my Fourth Uncle Chieh-ju when I was actually only just over three years. Because I was too small to reach my desk I was seated on a high chair and, not being able to climb down myself, I had to be lifted off my perch when school was over. But intellectually I was not counted among the lower of the pupils, because I had already had a vocabulary of nearly a thousand characters before I enrolled in the school.

Not being a rank beginner, I was exempted from the study of such books as *The Three-Character Classic*, *The Thousand-Character Essay*, *The Hundred Family Names* and *Poems for the China Prodigy*. The first reader which was assigned to me was a book of four-character verses compiled by my father himself, entitled *On Learning to Be a Man*, and copied for me in his own hand. This book dealt with the proper way of human conduct, and the first few lines run as follows:

> The way to be a man is to follow nature.
> Son, subject, brother, or friend, there is a proper conduct;
> To strive for the mean in words and deeds;
> To be a man, to aspire to be the Sage. …

There followed an exposition of the five human relationships. I copy here the last three verses of the book because they reflect my father's philosophy of life:

Among the five relationships, should there be change;
Names and positions should never be confused.
Faith must be kept, even at the sacrifice of life.
For if you seek virtue you end in virtue.

Our learned ancients, well versed in human relations,
Would have the Nine Clans live harmoniously as one family;
And regard Earth's ten thousand objects with the same love.
When nature is given full play, we find a Sage.

Be it recounted in the classic tomes, or taught by your scholarly teachers,
To be a man, there is naught else:
Exhaust the knowledge of men and things, then turn to self for application,
So study hard and hold fast to the Way.

The second book I ever studied, another of my father's compilation of four-character verses, was an elementary treatise on philosophy, entitled *On Learning*. Although both these texts were in simple rhymes they were beyond the ability of my teacher to interpret and, naturally, beyond my comprehension.

The third book which was given to me to study was a selection of *lü*poems, whose editor's name I do not recall. In the thirty-odd years since then I have never encountered this book again, and therefore have had no opportunity of tracing the editorship of this anthology—I have a notion it might have been the selections made by Yao Nai, but I would not insist on it. Again, I was totally unable to comprehend this volume of *lü* poems which I read aloud and learned to recite fluently. Thinking back now, I do not remember a word of it.

Although I did not have occasion to study books like *The ThreeCharacter Classic* I had learned to repeat parts of these readers from listening day in and day out to the loud chanting of its words by the other pupils. I was especially familiar with *Poems for the Child Prodigy*, in its five- and seven-character lines, which I could almost repeat from beginning to end. For instance, the seven-character lines toward the end of the book—

Jen hsin ch'ü-ch'ü wan-wan shui,
Shih shih ch'ung-ch'ung tieh-tieh shan.
(The heart runs crooked, crooked like a brook,
And man's affairs pile higher and higher than the mountains.)

Of course, I failed at the time to understand the meaning in these lines, but loved to mumble the words in my mouth, no doubt attracted by the verbal repetitions and alliterations.

* * * * *

From my fourth reader on I was given nothing but prose, with the exception of *The Classic of Poetry*. The list of books, in the order in which I studied them, is as follows:

(4) *Hsiao Ching* (*The Classic of Filial Piety*).

(5) *Hsiao Hsüeh* of Chu-tze, annotated by Kiang Yung.

(6) *Lun Yü* (*The Analects of Confucius*).

(7) *Meng-tze* (T*he Book of Mencius*).

(8) *Ta Hsüeh* (T*he Great Learning*) and *Chung Yung* (*The Doctrine of the Mean*). For the Four Books, the annotated edition of Chu-tze were used and the notes studied along with the texts.

(9) *Shih Ching* (*The Classic of Poetry*), the Chu-tze edition, part of the notes studied along with the text.

(10) *Shu Ching* (*The Classic of History*), as annotated by Ts'ai Shen. For this and the following two books the notes were not studied.

(11) *I Ching* (*The Classic of Changes*), the Chu-tze edition.

(12) *Li Chi* (*The Record of Rites*), as annotated by Ch'en Hao.

When my studies reached as far as the second half of *The Analects* Fourth Uncle Chieh-ju had been named monitor of the district of Fuyang, in Yingchow-fu, and was ready to leave for his post. He entrusted tutorship of the family school to a cousin of the clan, Master Yü-Ch'en. My Fourth Uncle was one of the village gentry, and was frequently invited by the clan or by a neighboring village to take part in meetings or serve an arbitration in local disputes; he also loved to play cards (the Hweichow card-game, 155 cards to the pack), and was often called on for a game by Grand Uncle Ming-ta, Uncle Ying-chi, Uncle Chu-feng, or Uncle Mou-chang. As a result, our school work had been very lax: Fourth Uncle used to give us an advance assignment in our readers for us to study by ourselves before he excused himself from school; at the end of the day he would make a trip back to mark our hand-

writing papers and let the school out before he went away again.

When Fourth Uncle was in charge of the school there were only two pupils, myself, and Fourth Uncle's own son Ssu-shu, several years older than I. Ssu-shu was adopted to Aunt Yü. (The two sons of my Grand Uncle Hsing-wu, Uncle Chen and Uncle Yü, were both without issue; my own Third Elder-Brother was adopted to Uncle Chen, while my schoolmate Brother Shu was adopted to Aunt Yü.) She doted upon her adoptive son and would do nothing to bring him up properly, so every time Fourth Uncle had to leave school Brother Shu would run away to play in the kitchen or in the back parlor. (He and his adoptive mother lived in the same house with Fourth Uncle, and our school was established in a small room in the east wing of the house.) My mother, on the other hand, held me in strict discipline and I, for my part, did not regard studying as a hardship. So many a time I was the only one to sit in that school, reading and reviewing until it was dark, when I was sent home.

After Master Yü-Ch'en took over the family school the number of pupils increased. There were five at first, and later we were more than ten altogether. The small room in Fourth Uncle's house became inadequate, and the school was moved into a larger room, named Lai Hsin (Come-New) Studio. Two of the first three new students were the sons of Uncle Shou-tsan, named Ssu-chao and Ssu-k'wei. Ssu-chao was two or three years older than I, not a dull boy by nature but with a born hatred for studying. He loved nothing better than to "dodge school," which was "playing hookey" in our colloquy. During his escapes from school he would hide himself in the wheat fields or rice fields, would rather go hungry lying low in the fields than study books. The teacher used to send Ssu-shu out to fetch him; sometimes when Ssu-chao was captured and returned a beating would await him at school; at other times even Ssu-shu would go off somewhere and not return—he figured that he might as well, since he was "on an official mission" and would not be regarded as dodging school!

It often puzzled me, why Ssu-chao felt the need of dodging school? Why was it that a man would willingly expose himself to hunger, beating, scolding and ridicule, rather than study? It was not until later, when I had become better versed in the way of the world, that I could find the answer to this puzzle. Uncle Tsan had been in business in Kiangsi Province when he was young, and had a cotton-goods shop in Kiukiang, where he married and raised his family. The whole family spoke the Kiangsi dialect, which Ssu-

chao and his brother found it hard to change after they returned to live in their ancestral home; even after they succeeded in correcting their dialect in conversation, in studying Ssu-chao would still find himself lapsing into the Kiangsi tone. For that he was often given the ruler or the "chestnut lumps" (a form of punishment consisting of a knuckled fist drilling on the head until, frequently, lumps were raised). So the source of trouble was an unsympathetic teacher; no wonder that the boy had lost his taste for studying.

There was another and more important reason. These elementary schools in our village charged a very low fee, with each pupil contributing only two silver dollars a year. Naturally the teacher did not have the patience to spend much time to "expound the book" for these pupils, but only bothered enough to teach them characters and to have them recite by rote. In the beginning the readers were in rhymed verses and the small pupils learned to chant them off readily enough, but when it reached the stage of such prose texts as *Yiu Hsüeh Ch'iung Lin*(*The Young Scholar's Anthology of Literature*) and the Four Books, they naturally failed to evince any interest in the studies because of a total incomprehension of what the books were all about. For this reason, a good many pupils resorted to the "dodge"; at first there was Ssu-chao, then there was a boy named Shih-hsiang; both were well known as "born dodgers." These pupils all belonged to the two dollars per annum class. Because they liked to dodge school the teacher would be angry and would administer severe beatings; the more severe the beating, the more the boys would dodge school.

I was the only pupil who did not belong to this "two dollars" class. Because my mother thirsted after knowledge for me, she made it a point to be especially liberal with my tuition: the very first year my contribution was six dollars, with the amount increased every year, until the last year when I contributed a fee of twelve dollars—a "record-breaking" sum in the way of tuition in our village. I imagine my mother was carrying out the repeated wishes of my father when she entreated Fourth Uncle and, later, Master Yü-Ch'en to "expound the book" for me: after every word read and every sentence studied they must pause to explain the meaning. I had come to school already prepared with a vocabulary of nearly a thousand "square characters," each having been thoroughly explained to me by my parents, so now I did not have much trouble. Although among the books studied there were many passages which were beyond the ability of the village school-teacher to explain, each day in my lesson I would encounter a sentence here

or phrase there which made sense to me. What I liked best were the parts in Chu-tze's *Hsiao Hsüeh* which recounted the lives of ancient figures, as these were the portions that were most easily understood, and therefore most interesting. Among my schoolmates some were studying *The Young Scholar's Anthology of Literature*, and I was often called upon to help them in their lessons. Thus I had occasion to borrow and look over their books, wherein they studied the large texts but I was attracted to the notes in small print because the notes to that book contained many fairy tales and anecdotes much more interesting than what is said in the Four Books and the Five Classics.

One day a small incident suddenly made me realize what a great blessing it was that my mother had made it her policy to increase my tuition fees. The mother of one of my schoolmates had asked Master Yü-Ch'en to write a letter in the boy's name to her husband; and the finished letter was given to the boy to take home in the evening. After a while, when the teacher stepped out for a moment, my schoolmate pulled the letter out to steal a look at it. Before he had gone very far he turned to ask of me: "Mên, what's the meaning of the first sentence in this letter here—it says 'My honorable Father *hsi-hsia*'?" This boy was only a year younger than me, and he had completed the Four Books, and yet he did not understand what was meant by the phrase, "My honorable Father *hsihsia*"! It was then that it dawned on me that I had been a specially favored student, on the strength of the fact that I had contributed ten dollars to the teacher the previous year whereas the others only gave their regular two dollars. To have had my studies explained to me as I learned, rather than to commit them to memory by sheer mechanical processes, was to prove of immense benefit to me for the rest of my life. My parents had explained each square character before it became a part of my vocabulary, and the two family tutors had followed the practice by explaining the classics as they were taught to me. To make a child study ancient literature without expounding its meaning for him was a total loss to the intellect, equivalent to the meaningless chanting of the Chinese Buddhist monks.

❹

When I was at the age of nine, I was one day playing in the small house

in the east wing of Fourth Uncle's home. The front part of this small house was used as our school-room, and there was a bedroom in the rear which was used as an occasional guest-room. There was no class that day, and I happened to walk into the bedroom and spied the corner of a book peeping out from some wastepaper inside a "Meifoo" (Standard Oil) crate underneath the table. I picked up this book and saw that it had been gnawed off at both ends by mice and its covers were torn. But in an instant this half-torn book was destined to open up a fresh new world for me, and was to bring me to new adventures of exploration in my childhood development!

What this book was was a block-print edition of the novel *Shui Hu Chuan* (All Men Are Brothers), known as *The Fifth Book of Genius*, printed in small. I still remember distinctly the first page of this stray volume which was the chapter headed "Li Kw'ei Beat to Death the Villain Yin." From my attendance at the village theatricals I knew who this character Li Kw'ei was, and there I stood next to the wooden Meifoo oil crate, and gobbled down that volume of *Shui Hu Chuan* in one breath. It would have been perfectly all right if I had let the book go without reading it, but once having read it it bothered me no end: What went on before this volume, what came after it? These two questions kept gnawing at me for an answer, an answer I was dying to have.

I went to my Fifth Uncle with this book because he was known for his knowledge of "jokes" (in our native parlance all "stories" were called "jokes," and novels were known as "joke books") and he would be the logical person to go to for this type of joke books. Unfortunately, Fifth Uncle did not have this book, but he sent me off to Brother Shou-huan. "I don't have *The Fifth Genius*," said Brother Shou-huan, "but I'll borrow a set for you; I have, however, a set of *The First Genius* here at home, would you like to read that first?" The First Book of Genius is *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, and this classic of Chinese fiction my cousin gravely handed to me and I as joyously lugged home to read.

Later I managed to obtain a complete set of *Shui Hu Chuan*, and in the meantime I had finished reading *The Three Kingdoms*. From then on, I started borrowing novels everywhere to read. In this research, both Fifth Uncle and Brother Shou-huan were of much assistance to me. My Third Brother-in-Law (Chou Shao-chin), who kept a store in Choupoo in the suburbs of Shanghai, was an opium addict who loved to read novels. Every time he returned to our native village he would bring with him the latest

fiction and, when he visited at my home, would make me presents of such books as *Emperor Chengteh's Tour South of the River* and *The Adventures of the Seven Swordsmen and the Thirteen Knights.* This started me on my career of assembling my own fiction library. My Eldest Brother, Ssu-chia, was something of a ne'er-do-well who also smoked opium, but the opium-lamp seemed to be a constant companion to popular literature—Fifth Uncle, Brother Shou-huan and Third Brother-in-Law all were opium-smokers—so he also had some novels in his possession. My Eldest Sister-in-Law could read a little, and in her dowry were found quite a few volumes of the story-teller's scripts, like *The Double-Pearl Phoenix* and others. All these books before long were appropriated into my library.

Among my brothers Third Elder-Brother stayed at home the most; he and Second Elder-Brother were both well grounded in the classics, having attended the Mei Ch'i Academy in Shanghai as well as the Nanyang Normal College. As an educated man, Third Elder-Brother was discriminating in his taste for fiction. On his bookshelves I found only three novels: *Hung Lou Meng* (*The Dream of the Red Chamber*), *Ju Lin Wai Shih* (*The Unofficial History of the Scholarly World*), and *Liao Chai Chih Yi* (*Strange Stories From a Chinese Studio*). On one of Second Elder-Brother's trips home, he brought back a newly published translation entitled *Ching Kuo Mei Tan* (*The Heroic Tale of a Nation's Founding*) which told a story of Greek patriots and was written originally by the Japanese. That was the first foreign novel which I ever read.

The most valiant efforts on behalf of my quest for fiction were made by Clan Uncle, Chin-jen, who was, incidentally, the Hu Chin-jen who in the Twelfth Year of the Republic (1923) engaged in a polemic on ancient history with Mr. Ku Chi-kang. A few years older than I, he had already started writing compositions in school and he passed the Imperial Examination for *hsiu-ts'ai*(the first degree) when barely in his teens. Though not in the same school, we saw each other often and had become the best of friends. He was endowed with great natural talents and, being industrious in his studies, had read many more books than I. He had a good library in his home, and after he finished reading a novel he would lend it to me. I would in turn pass on to him such novels that I managed to borrow elsewhere. Each of us kept a small folding account-book in which we recorded the titles of the novels we had read; at various intervals we would compare notes and see who had read the most books. These account-books have long since been lost, but I seem to

remember that by the time I left my village there were already thirty-odd titles listed in my log.

The term "fiction" as I use it here includes *t'an st'u* (story-teller's scripts), *ch'uan ch'i* (strange tales) as well as true stories recorded in personal accounts. It includes *The Double-Pearl Phoenix* as well as *P'i Pa Chi* (*The Chronicle of the Lute*); *Liao Chai, Yeh Yu Ch'iu Teng Lu* (*Tales on a Rainy Night in Autumn*), *Yeh T'an Hsui Lu* (*Informal Record of Nocturnal Talks*), *Lan Shao Kuan Wai Shih* (*Chronicles of the Orchid Studio), Chi Yüan Chi So Chi* (*Letters From a Sheltering Garden*), *YüCh'u Hsin Chih* (*The New Record of Yü Ch'u*) and many others. I read everything from the utterly nonsensical tales like *The Eastern Expedition of General Hsieh Jen-kwei, The Western Expedition of General Hsieh Ting-shan, Pacification of the West by the Five Tigers* and *The Boudoir Tower* to first class literary works such as *The Dream of the Red Chamber* and *The Unofficial History of the Scholarly World*, running a gamut from the sublime to the ridiculous. Up to the time I left home I still had not been able to appreciate the fine points of *The Red Chamber* and *Ju Lin Wai Shih*, nevertheless most of these novels are written in the plain vernacular and living among them I unconsciously assimilated much of the vernacular prose which was to stand me in good stead some ten or fifteen years later.

The greatest benefit I derived from reading novels was that it helped to teach me how to write. It was the era of transition when the orthodox, eight-legged style of classical composition had already been abolished and the Imperial Examination System itself was beginning to shake. Second Elder-Brother and Third Elder-Brother, having come under the influence of modern thinking in Shanghai, did not desire that I should try my hand at the eight-legged essay or at the various forms of classical exposition; they only saw to it that the teacher expounded the meaning of what was taught to me. But the books that formed a part of our study at school became more and more difficult to understand. *The Classic of Poetry* at first was easy to understand, but when we reached the chapter "Ta Ya" it was more obtuse, and when we reached "Chou Sung" it was simply impossible to understand. There were several chapters in *The Classic of History*, such as "The Song of the Five Men," which I learned to rattle off with verve, but the three chapters of "P'an Keng" were ever beyond my ability to master. In my nine years in the family school "P'an Keng" was the only lesson which caused me to be punished by the teacher. It was not until more than ten years later that I learned that the

book *Shang Shu* was supposed to be divided into two styles, the ancient and the contemporary. Scholars have always agreed that the chapters in the ancient style were forged, whereas the contemporary style represented the genuine work; "P'an Keng" being classified with the contemporary style was considered authentic. But my own research has shown that the pronouns used in the "P'an Keng" chapters are of the most heterogeneous and illogical kind, and accordingly I have always wondered if these three chapters were not something counterfeited by posterity. Sometimes I think that perhaps my skepticism toward "P'an Keng" was subconsciously moved by a sense of revenge for the "chestnut lumps" which I had received on its account!

Books like *Chou Sung, Shang Shu* and *Chou I* were not the kind which would be helpful to me in my own composition, but it remained for the novels to render me the greatest service in this regard. Although from *The Three Kingdoms* to the *Liao Chai* stories and *Yü Ch'u Hsin Chih* represented a great jump from the simple vernacular to the involved classical style, I was able to concentrate and read it all word for word because the stories these words conveyed were undeniably absorbingly interesting. Since the lithographic edition of *Liao Chai Chih Yi* was punctuated with circles and dots, it was even more easy for me to read, and I could even re-tell these strange stories to the female cousins in the clan by the time I was twelve or thirteen. Fourth Uncle's daughter Ch'iao-chü, Master Yü-Ch'en's younger sisters Kuang-chü and To-chü, Uncle Chu-feng's daughter Hsing-hsien, and the Clan Nieces Ts'ui-p'ing and Ting-chiao were then all aged fifteen or sixteen, and they often invited me over to tell stories to them. When we used to beg Fifth Uncle to tell us a story we would get busy filling and lighting his pipe, or giving him a massage in the back, and rendering him various personal services; now it was my turn to be served. However, I demanded no pipe-filling or massage; when I finished my story-telling the girls would treat me with some roasted rice fluffies or scrambled eggs with rice. While they bent over their embroidery or shoe-sewing, I would repeat aloud the stories of *Feng Hsien, Lien Hsiang, Chang Hung-chien,* and *Chiang Ch'eng* (*The River City*). In telling these stories to my audience I was forced to translate the classical style in which they were written into the colloquialism of our native village, thus giving me an even more thorough understanding of the grammar of ancient Chinese. As a result, when I went to school in Shanghai at the age of fourteen and began to write compositions in the classical style, I was able to write a highly acceptable essay.

❺

I was a weak-bodied child and not able to play in the company of the savage children of our neighborhood. My mother further forbade me to run wild and jump up and down with the other boys. From the time I was very small I had not had occasion to develop the habit of vivacious play, and no matter where I was I always presented an air of gentle bookishness. The older folk in our village used to comment that I "look and act just like a hsien-sheng (scholar)," and they dubbed me with the title "Mên *hsien-sheng*." This nickname soon got around and most people knew that Master Three's youngest son was called Mên *hsien-sheng*. Having been saddled with this scholarly title, I felt obliged all the more to live up to it, which made me refrain even more from running "wild" with the other urchins. One day I was engaged in a game of "rolling coins" before our front door and when one of the elders happened by and saw me he laughed and said: "Don't tell me that Mên *hsien-sheng* also stoops to rolling coins?" At this remark I was so embarrassed that I flushed a deep red in the face and felt that, to be sure, I had gone and compromised my role as a " *hsien-sheng*."

With encouragement from the grown-ups for me to act as a *hsien-sheng* and my own lack in both the habit and prowess for play, plus the fact that I really was fond of books, one of the things that I have missed in my life is the childish enjoyment of play. Each autumn when I went with my grandmother down to the farm to "inspect the reaping" (in the case of harvest from the best and most fertile fields the tenant farmer would invite the landlord to come and inspect the reaping, after which the grain would be equally divided between the parties), I would always sit reading a novel under one of the small trees. When I was eleven or twelve I became a bit more active and went so far as to organize with a bunch of schoolmates a theatrical troupe of our own. We made ourselves some wooden swords and spears, borrowed a few of those long beards used in make-up, and staged our productions in the village fields. The roles I took usually were those of civil characters like Chu-ke Liang and Liu Pei(of *The Three Kingdoms*); only once I remember playing the part of Shih Wen-kung in *Shui Hu Chuan*, struck by an arrow from the deadly bow of Hua Yung and instantly tumbling down a chair. That was the most active I ever achieved in my play.

In the space of those nine years (1895-1904) I learned to master only two things, reading and writing. Thus I managed to lay some foundation for

myself in literature and in thought (see the following chapter). But I did not have an opportunity to develop in any other direction. One year it was the turn of our village to manage the Princes' Fair (there were five villages altogether in the district of Eight Town and the villages took turns each year to play host to the Fair), and someone proposed that I should be dispatched to join the K'unshan Opera troupe organized by the front village as a mouth-organ or flute player. But the elders of the clan opposed the idea on the ground that I was too young to take part in a parade that was to tramp through all the five villages. So I lost the only opportunity in my life for learning music. In all these thirty years I have not touched a musical instrument, nor do I know anything of music; whether I ever had any aptitude for music it was not for me to know unto this day. As to painting, the possibility that I would have a chance to learn it was even more remote. I used to like to place a sheet of thin bamboo paper over the lithographic illustrations in my novels and traced the outlines of the great heroes and beauties pictured there. One day I was caught at this by the teacher and suffered a severe tongue-lashing for it; all the drawings hidden in my desk-drawers were ferreted out and torn to bits. Thus it was that I also lost my opportunity to become an artist.

But these nine years of my life, besides spent in studying and reading books, did succeed in giving me a bit of training in how to be a man. In this respect I am indebted to my loving mother as my foremost mentor.

Each morning at the crack of dawn my mother would rouse me from slumber and have me sit up in bed with my jacket thrown over my shoulders. I never knew how long it had been since she got up and sat there by my side. When she saw that I was fully awake, she would start recounting to me what I had done wrong on the previous day and what I had said wrong, and she would have me avow once again my determination to study hard. Sometimes she would relate to me all the fine things about my father. "You must try to follow in your old man's footsteps," she would add. "In all my life I have known only one perfect man like him, so you want to emulate his example and not lose face for him." She would sometimes say something that made her sad all of a sudden, and tears would come down her cheeks. When daylight fully dawned she would get me properly dressed and rush me off early to school. The key to the door of our school-room was kept at the teacher's home; I would take a quick look at the school-house first to make sure that nobody was there ahead of me and then ran over to knock on the teacher's door. Somebody inside would pass the key out through a crack in

the door, and then I would run back to school, open up the door, and sit down to my day's assignment. Eight or nine days out of ten I would be the first to open the school. By the time teacher arrived I had memorized my lesson, which I recited for him before going back home for breakfast.

My mother held me in strict discipline: she was to me loving mother and stern father combined. But she never once scolded me or hit me in front of others. When I did wrong all she would do would be to give me a stern and disapproving look, at which instant I would desist. If the offense was small she would wait until the next morning to give me a lecture upon my awakening. If it was a serious offense she would wait until night when everything was quiet and she had shut the door to our room, and she would first reprimand me and then administer the punishment, making me kneel down or pinching me until it hurt. No matter how severe the punishment was, I was forbidden to cry aloud, because she punished me for my own good and not to let off steam for the edification of the others in the household.

One early autumn day in the twilight, I had finished my supper and was playing in front of our house, clad only in a light sleeveless jersey. My mother's younger sister, Auntie Yü-ying, who was visiting with us then came out with a short jacket for me to put on for fear that I would catch cold. When I refused to wear it, she said: "You'd better, it's getting cold (*liang*)!" I casually shot back in a pun: "What did you say about *liang*(mother)? I don't even have an old man!" No sooner I made this crack than I raised my head and saw my mother coming out of the house. I quickly put the jacket on, but she had heard my flippant remark. At night when all was quiet, she made me kneel and administered a particularly severe punishment. She said: "So you don't have your old man, what a thing to boast about! You think you have a smart tongue, don't you?" She was so angry she sat there trembling, nor did she allow me to go to bed. I knelt there crying, and kept wiping the tears off with my hand, and I must have wiped into my eyes some kind of germs, for it later gave me a case of eye infection that lasted fully a year. We went to the doctors for different treatments, but the disease refused to be cured. This filled my mother's heart with remorse and anxiety. She then heard that the infection in the eyes could be cured by licking it with the tongue, and one night she woke me up and actually used her tongue to lick my infected eyes. This was my stern master, my loving mother.

* * * * *

My mother was a widow at twenty-three and was at the same time a step-mother charged with the running of a big household. The cruel heartaches of that life was ten thousand times beyond what my pen could convey. The family finances had never been sound, and everything depended on Second Elder-Brother's business management in Shanghai. Eldest Brother had been a ne'er-do-well since he was young, indulging in opium-smoking and gambling, and squandering what money he had as soon as he had it. Every time he was penniless he would come home to scheme for more, selling an incense-burner if he laid his hands on one or taking a pewter tea-kettle out to pawn. More than once my mother invited over the elders of the clan and in front of them fixed a monthly allowance for Eldest Brother, but he would always over-spend and leave behind him opium and gambling debts wherever he went. Each year on New Year's Eve there would always be a whole crowd of creditors gathered in our home, each with a lantern it his hand, waiting in our front parlor to be paid. Eldest Brother would long since have made himself scarce. All we could see in the two rows of chairs that lined the walls of the front parlor were lanterns and creditors. My mother would walk in and out of the room, busy about her tasks, such as fixing the New Year's Eve dinner, laying out sacrifices for the Kitchen God, and wrapping up money-gifts for the children, seemingly oblivious of the pack of intruders in the house. Only when it was approaching midnight, the traditional hour for "sealing the door," that my mother would slip out of the back door and implore a neighboring relative to come over and help dispatch the creditors by giving them each some token payment. In this manner, and not without much reassurance and placating of ruffled feelings, were the creditors one by one induced to depart with their lanterns. Presently, there came Eldest Brother, knocking at the front door. Never would my mother give him one word of scolding and, being New Year's, she would not even show any sign of displeasure on her face. This was the way we passed our New Year's, and I remember passing the holiday like that six or seven times.

My Eldest Sister-in-Law was a most incompetent and utterly insensible person, and my Second Sister-in-Law were an able but narrow-minded woman. Between the two of them there were often misunderstandings and it was only on account of the congenial example kept before them constantly by my mother that they managed to avoid any open outbreak of quarrels or fights. When they were angry with each other they would only refrain from talking and make no replies when spoken to, the while pulling such a long

face that it was uncomfortable to look at; when Second Sister-in-Law was angry her face would turn green, which was even more terrible. They did the same when they, for any reason, were angry with my mother. At first I did not understand at all what it was all about, but soon I began to appreciate the significance of the changing complexions in people's faces. More and more I grew to understand that there is nothing more hateful in the world than a long and angry face. There is nothing more despicable than to pull a silent long face on others; it is more difficult to bear than harsh words or the blows of a fist.

My mother was tolerant and good-natured and, being a step-mother and step-mother-in-law, she was extra careful in everything and extra forbearing in her dealings. Eldest Brother had a daughter, only one year younger than I, who enjoyed the same treatment in food and clothing as that which was given to me. Whenever we fought over some little thing, it was always I who suffered because mother always blamed me and had me make the concession. Later both Eldest Sister-in-Law and Second Sister-in-Law had sons of their own, and when they were in bad temper they would let off steam by beating and scolding the children. They would invariably accompany their spanking with harsh and sharp words for the benefit of other ears. My mother would always pretend she did not hear. Sometimes, when she could not stand it, she would slip quietly out of the house, to visit for a while with Big Aunt Li whose house was next to ours on the left or to go for a chat with Sister Tu, the neighbor across the way from our back door. She managed never to engage in a quarrel with my two sisters-in-law.

When either of the sisters-in-law got herself in a bad mood it would sometimes last ten days to a half-month. During all that time they would walk in and out with their cold and long faces, keep their mouths tightly shut or beat and curse the children to let off steam. My mother would always bear it in silence, but if there should finally come a day that she could not bear it any more, she would make a way of her own to cope with the situation. On such a day she would stay in bed from daybreak and give vent to her feelings in a good, long cry. She would not rail at any one, but only cry for her husband and cry for her own bitter fate, for not having been able to keep her husband to take care of her. She would start crying very quietly, but gradually as she continued crying her sobs would be heard. When I woke up I would try to comfort her as best I could, though she would not stop. By that time I would hear a door opening in the front parlor (Second Sister-in-Law had the east

room in the front parlor) or the rear parlor (Big Sister-in-Law had the west room in the rear), and one of the sisters-in-law would come out and go into the kitchen. In a little while, the sister-in-law would be knocking at our door. When I opened it, she would come in with a bowl of hot tea in her hands for mother, and she would try to persuade mother to stop crying and have some hot tea. My mother slowly controlled her sobs and took the proffered tea, while the sister-in-law continued a while with her kind words before withdrawing from the room. In such an exchange, not a word would be mentioned about personalities, nor would there be the slightest allusion to the angry faces that had been there for the past ten or fifteen days yet; each knew very well in her heart, the sister-in-law who came in with the tea would invariably be the very same who was the cause of the late disharmony. It was a strange thing, every time my mother cried like that peace and tranquility would be restored under our roof for at least a month or two.

Although my mother was the kindest and gentlest soul and never did she speak a word that would hurt the feelings of others, when occasions called for she would display a great strength of character and would not brook the slightest insult to her integrity. The Fifth Uncle of our family, who was a loafer without a proper profession, was overheard one day shooting off his mouth in the opium den, to the effect that my mother was in the habit of invoking the assistance of a certain person whenever she needed help and that it must be that this person had received his due reward, too. When the story was circulated to within the knowledge of my mother she was so enraged that she cried bitterly. Straightway she hailed Fifth Uncle before an assemblage of the clan elders and demanded to his face to know what reward it was that she was supposed to have given this certain person. She inveighed so vehemently that Fifth Uncle had to withdraw his aspersions and tender his apologies then and there before she desisted.

For nine years I lived under the tutelage of my mother, and benefited deeply and greatly from her. I left her when I was fourteen (actually only twelve years plus two or three months) and for these twenty-odd years since have made my way alone in this vast and infinite sea of humanity, without anyone to guide me. If I have the least bit of good in my nature, if I have learned to be at all kind in my dealings with others, if I am capable of tolerance and consideration to my fellows—I would have to thank my loving mother for it all.

壹　九年的家乡教育

一

我生在光绪十七年十一月十七日（一八九一年十二月十七），那时候我家寄住在上海大东门外。我生后两个月，我父亲被台湾巡抚邵友濂奏调往台湾；江苏巡抚奏请免调，没有效果。我父亲于十八年二月底到台湾，我母亲和我搬到川沙住了一年。十九年（一八九三）二月二十六日我们一家（我母，四叔介如，二哥嗣秬，三哥嗣秠）也从上海到台湾。我们在台南住了十个月。十九年五月，我父亲做台东直隶州知州，兼统镇海后军各营。台东是新设的州，一切草创，故我父不带家眷去。到十九年底，我们才到台东。我们在台东住了整一年。

甲午（一八九四）中日战事开始，台湾也在备战的区域，恰好介如四叔来台湾，我父亲便托他把家眷送回徽州故乡，只留二哥嗣秬跟着他在台东。我们于乙未年（一八九五）正月离开台湾，二月初十日从上海起程回绩溪故乡。

那年四月，中日和议成，把台湾割让给日本。台湾绅民反对割台，要求巡抚唐景崧坚守，唐景崧请西洋各国出来干涉，各国不允。台人公请唐为“台湾民主国”大总统，帮办军务刘永福为主军大总统。我父亲在台东办后山的防务，电报已不通，饷源已断绝。那时他已得脚气病，左脚已不能行动。他守到闰五月初三日，始离开后山。到安平时，刘永福苦苦留他帮忙，不肯放行。到六月廿五日，他双脚都不能动了，刘永福始放他行。六月廿八到厦门，手足俱不能动了。七月初三日他死在厦门，成为东亚第一个民主国的一个牺牲者！

这时候我只有三岁零八个月。我仿佛记得我父亲死信到家时，我母亲正在家中老屋的前堂，她坐在房门口的椅子上。她听见读信人读到父亲的死信，身子往后一倒，连椅子倒在房门槛上。东边房门口坐的珍伯母也放声大哭起来。一时满屋都是哭声，我只觉得天地都翻覆了！我只仿佛记得这一点凄惨的情状，其余都不记得了。

二

我父亲死时，我母亲只有二十三岁。我父初娶冯氏，结婚不久便遭

太平天国之乱，同治二年（一八六三）死在兵乱里。次娶曹氏，生了三个儿子，三个女儿，死于光绪四年（一八七八）。我父亲因家贫，又有志远游，故久不续娶。到光绪十五年（一八八九），他在江苏候补，生活稍稍安定，他才续娶我的母亲。我母亲结婚后三天，我的大哥嗣稼也娶亲了。那时我的大姊已出嫁生了儿子。大姊比我母亲大七岁。大哥比她大两岁。二姊是从小抱给人家的。三姊比我母亲小三岁，二哥三哥（孪生的）比她小四岁。这样一个家庭里忽然来了一个十七岁的后母，她的地位自然十分困难，她的生活自然免不了苦痛。

结婚后不久，我父亲把她接到了上海同住。她脱离了大家庭的痛苦，我父又很爱她，每日在百忙中教她认字读书，这几年的生活是很快乐的。我小时也很得我父亲钟爱，不满三岁时，他就把教我母亲的红纸方字教我认。父亲作教师，母亲便在旁作助教。我认的是生字，她便借此温她的熟字。他太忙时，她就是代理教师。我们离开台湾时，她认得了近千字，我也认了七百多字。这些方字都是我父亲亲手写的楷字，我母亲终身保存着，因为这些方块红笺上都是我们三个人的最神圣的团居生活的记念。

我母亲二十三岁就做了寡妇，从此以后，又过了二十三年。这二十三年的生活真是十分苦痛的生活，只因为还有我这一点骨血，她含辛茹苦，把全副希望寄托在我的渺茫不可知的将来，这一点希望居然使她挣扎着活了二十三年。

我父亲在临死之前两个多月，写了几张遗嘱，我母亲和四个儿子每人各有一张，每张只有几句话。给我母亲的遗嘱上说穈儿（我的名字叫嗣穈，穈字音门）天资颇聪明，应该令他读书。给我的遗嘱也教我努力读书上进。这寥寥几句话在我的一生很有重大的影响。我十一岁的时候，二哥和三哥都在家，有一天我母亲向他们道：“穈今年十一岁了。你老子叫他念书。你们看看他念书念得出吗？”二哥不曾开口，三哥冷笑道，“哼，念书！”二哥始终没有说什么。我母亲忍气坐了一会，回到了房里才敢掉眼泪。她不敢得罪他们，因为一家的财政权全在二哥的手里，我若出门求学是要靠他供给学费的。所以她只能掉眼泪，终不敢哭。

但父亲的遗嘱究竟是父亲的遗嘱，我是应该念书的。况且我小时很聪明，四乡的人都知道三先生的小儿子是能够念书的。所以隔了两年，三哥往上海医肺病，我就跟他出门求学了。

三

我在台湾时，大病了半年，故身体很弱。回家乡时，我号称五岁

了，还不能跨一个七八寸高的门槛。但我母亲望我念书的心很切，故到家的时候，我才满三岁零几个月，就在我四叔父介如先生（名玠）的学堂里读书了。我的身体太小，他们抱我坐在一只高凳子上面。我坐上了就爬不下来，还要别人抱下来。但我在学堂并不算最低级的学生，因为我进学堂之前已认得近一千字了。

因为我的程度不算“破蒙”的学生，故我不须念《三字经》，《千字文》，《百家姓》，《神童诗》一类的书。我念的第一部书是我父亲自己编的一部四言韵文，叫做《学为人诗》，他亲笔抄写了给我的。这部书说的是做人的道理。我把开头几行抄在这里：

为人之道，在率其性。
子臣弟友，循理之正；
谨乎庸言，勉乎庸行；
以学为人，以期作圣。……

以下分说五伦。最后三节，因为可以代表我父亲的思想，我也抄在这里：

五常之中，不幸有变，
名分攸关，不容稍紊。
义之所在，身可以殉。
求仁得仁，无所尤怨。

古之学者，察于人伦，
因亲及亲，九族克敦；
因爱推爱，万物同仁。
能尽其性，斯为圣人。

经籍所载，师儒所述，
为人之道，非有他术：
穷理致知，返躬践实，
黾勉于学，守道勿失。

我念的第二部书也是我父亲编的一部四言韵文，名叫《原学》，是一部略述哲理的书。这两部书虽是韵文，先生仍讲不了，我也懂不了。

我念的第三部书叫做《律诗六钞》，我不记是谁选的了。三十多年来，我不曾重见这部书，故没有机会考出此书的编者；依我的猜测，似是姚鼐的选本，但我不敢坚持此说。这一册诗全是律诗，我读了虽不懂得，却背的很熟。至今回忆，却完全不记得了。

我虽不曾读《三字经》等书，却因为听惯了别的小孩子高声诵读，我也能背这些书的一部分，尤其是那五七言的《神童诗》，我差不多能

从头背到底。这本书后面的七言句子，如

人心曲曲湾湾水，
世事重重叠叠山。

我当时虽不懂得其中的意义，却常常嘴上爱念着玩，大概也是因为喜欢那些重字双声的缘故。

* * * * *

我念的第四部书以下，除了《诗经》，就都是散文的了。我依诵读的次序，把这些书名写在下面：

（4）《孝经》。

（5）朱子的《小学》，江永集注本。

（6）《论语》。以下四书皆用朱子注本。

（7）《孟子》。

（8）《大学》与《中庸》。（四书皆连注文读。）

（9）《诗经》，朱子集传本。（注文读一部分。）

（10）《书经》，蔡沈注本。（以下三书不读注文。）

（11）《易经》，朱子《本义》本。

（12）《礼记》，陈澔注本。

读到了《论语》的下半部，我的四叔父介如先生选了颍州府阜阳县的训导，要上任去了，就把家塾移交给族兄禹臣先生（名观象）。四叔是个绅董，常常被本族或外村请出去议事或和案子；他又喜欢打纸牌（徽州纸牌，每副一百五十五张），常常被明达叔公，映基叔，祝封叔，茂张叔等人邀出去打牌。所以我们的功课很松，四叔往往在出门之前，给我们“上一进书”，叫我们自己念；他到天将黑时，回来一趟，把我们的习字纸加了圈，放了学，才又出门去。

四叔的学堂里只有两个学生，一个是我，一个是四叔的儿子嗣秫，比我大几岁。嗣秫承继给瑜婶。（星五伯公的二子，珍伯、瑜叔，皆无子，我家三哥承继珍伯，秫哥承继瑜婶。）她很溺爱他，不肯管束他，故四叔一走开，秫哥就溜到灶下或后堂去玩了。（他们和四叔住一屋，学堂在这屋的东边小屋内。）我的母亲管的严厉，我又不大觉得念书是苦事，故我一个人坐在学堂里温书念书，到天黑才回家。

禹臣先生接收家塾后，学生就增多了。先是五个，后来添到十多个，四叔家的小屋不够用了，就移到一所大屋——名叫来新书屋——里去。最初添的三个学生，有两个是守瓒叔的儿子，嗣昭，嗣逵。嗣昭比我大两三岁，天资不算笨，却不爱读书，最爱“逃学”，我们土话叫

做“赖学”。他逃出去，往往躲在麦田或稻田里，宁可睡在田里挨饿，却不愿念书。先生往往差嗣秫去捉；有时候，嗣昭被捉回来了，总得挨一顿打；有时候，连嗣秫也不回来了，——乐得不回来了，因为这是“奉命差遣”，不算是逃学！

我常觉得奇怪，为什么嗣昭要逃学？为什么一个人情愿挨饿挨打，挨大家笑骂，而不情愿念书？后来我稍懂得世事，才明白了。瓒叔自小在江西做生意，后来在九江开布店，才娶妻生子；一家人都说江西话，回家乡时，嗣昭弟兄都不容易改口音；说话改了，而嗣昭念书常带江西音，常常因此吃戒方或吃“作瘤栗”。（钩起五指，打在头上，常打起瘤子，故叫做“作瘤栗”。）这是先生不原谅，难怪他不愿念书。

还有一个原因。我们家乡的蒙馆学金太轻，每个学生每年只送两块银元。先生对于这一类学生，自然不肯耐心教书，每天只教他们念死书，背死书，从来不肯为他们“讲书”。小学生初念有韵的书，也还不十分叫苦。后来念《幼学琼林》，四书一类的散文，他们自然毫不觉得有趣味，因为全不懂得书中说的是什么。因为这个缘故，许多学生常常赖学；先有嗣昭，后来有个士祥，都是有名的“赖学胚”。他们都属于这每年两元钱的阶级。因为逃学，先生生了气，打的更利害。越打的利害，他们越要逃学。

我一个人不属于这“两元”的阶级。我母亲渴望我读书，故学金特别优厚，第一年就送六块钱，以后每年增加，最后一年加到十二元。这样的学金，在家乡要算“打破纪录”的了。我母亲大概是受了我父亲的叮嘱，她嘱托四叔和禹臣先生为我“讲书”：每读一字，须讲一字的意思；每读一句，须讲一句的意思。我先已认得了近千个“方字”，每个字都经过父母的讲解，故进学堂之后，不觉得很苦。念的几本书虽然有许多是乡里先生讲不明白的，但每天总遇着几句可懂的话。我最喜欢朱子《小学》里的记述古人行事的部分，因为那部分最容易懂得，所以比较最有趣味。同学之中有念《幼学琼林》的，我常常帮他们的忙，教他们不认得的生字，因此常常借这些书看；他们念大字，我却最爱看《幼学琼林》的小注，因为注文中有许多神话和故事，比四书五经有趣味多了。

有一天，一件小事使我忽然明白我母亲增加学金的大恩惠。一个同学的母亲来请禹臣先生代写家信给她的丈夫；信写成了，先生交她的儿子晚上带回家去。一会儿，先生出门去了，这位同学把家信抽出来偷看。他忽然过来问我道：“糜，这信上第一句‘父亲大人膝下’是什么意思？”他比我只小一岁，也念过四书，却不懂“父亲大人膝下”是什么！这时候，我才明白我是一个受特别待遇的人，因为别人每年出两块钱，我去年却送十块钱。我一生最得力的是讲书：父亲母亲为我讲方字，两位先生为我讲书。念古文而不讲解，等于念“揭谛揭谛，波罗揭谛”，全

无用处。

四

当我九岁时，有一天我在四叔家东边小屋里玩耍。这小屋前面是我们的学堂，后边有一间卧房，有客来便住在这里。这一天没有课，我偶然走进那卧房里去，偶然看见桌子下一只美孚煤油板箱里的废纸堆中露出一本破书。我偶然捡起了这本书，两头都被老鼠咬坏了，书面也扯破了。但这一本破书忽然为我开辟了一个新天地，忽然在我的儿童生活史上打开了一个新鲜的世界！

这本破书原来是一本小字木板的《第五才子》，我记得很清楚，开始便是“李逵打死殷天锡”一回。我在戏台上早已认得李逵是谁了，便站在那只美孚破板箱边，把这本《水浒传》残本一口气看完了。不看尚可，看了之后，我的心里很不好过：这一本的前面是些什么？后面是些什么？这两个问题，我都不能回答，却最急要一个回答。

我拿了这本书去寻我的五叔，因为他最会“说笑话”（“说笑话”就是“讲故事”，小说书叫做“笑话书”），应该有这种笑话书。不料五叔竟没有这书，他叫我去寻守焕哥。守焕哥说，“我没有《第五才子》，我替你去借一部；我家中有部《第一才子》，你先拿去看，好吧？”《第一才子》便是《三国演义》，他很郑重的捧出来，我很高兴的捧回去。

后来我居然得着《水浒传》全部。《三国演义》也看完了。从此以后，我到处去借小说看。五叔，守焕哥，都帮了我不少的忙。三姊夫（周绍瑾）在上海乡间周浦开店，他吸鸦片烟，最爱看小说书，带了不少回家乡；他每到我家来，总带些《正德皇帝下江南》，《七剑十三侠》一类的书来送给我。这是我自己收藏小说的起点。我的大哥（嗣稼）最不长进，也是吃鸦片烟的，但鸦片烟灯是和小说书常作伴的，——五叔，守焕哥，三姊夫都是吸鸦片烟的，——所以他也有一些小说书。大嫂认得一些字，嫁妆里带来了好几种弹词小说，如《双珠凤》之类。这些书不久都成了我的藏书的一部分。

三哥在家乡时多；他同二哥都进过梅溪书院，都做过南洋公学的师范生，旧学都有根底，故三哥看小说很有选择。我在他书架上只寻得三部小说：一部《红楼梦》，一部《儒林外史》，一部《聊斋志异》。二哥有一次回家，带了一部新译出的《经国美谈》，讲的是希腊的爱国志士的故事，是日本人做的。这是我读外国小说的第一步。

帮助我借小说最出力的是族叔近仁，就是民国十二年和顾颉刚先生讨论古史的胡堇人。他比我大几岁，已“开笔”做文章了，十几岁就考取了秀才。我同他不同学堂，但常常相见，成了最要好的朋友。他天才很

高，也肯用功，读书比我多，家中也颇有藏书。他看过的小说，常借给我看，我借到的小说，也常借给他看。我们两人各有一个小手折，把看过的小说都记在上面，时时交换比较，看谁看的书多。这两个折子后来都不见了，但我记得离开家乡时，我的折子上好像已有了三十多部小说了。

这里所谓"小说"，包括弹词，传奇，以及笔记小说在内。《双珠凤》在内，《琵琶记》也在内；《聊斋》，《夜雨秋灯录》，《夜谭随录》，《兰苕馆外史》，《寄园寄所寄》，《虞初新志》等等也在内。从《薛仁贵征东》，《薛丁山征西》，《五虎平西》，《粉妆楼》一类最无意义的小说，到《红楼梦》和《儒林外史》一类的第一流作品，这里面的程度已是天悬地隔了。我到离开家乡时，还不能了解《红楼梦》和《儒林外史》的好处。但这一大类都是白话小说，我在不知不觉之中得了不少的白话散文的训练，在十几年后于我很有用处。

看小说还有一桩绝大的好处，就是帮助我把文字弄通顺了。那时候正是废八股时文的时代，科举制度本身也动摇了。二哥三哥在上海受了时代思潮的影响，所以不要我"开笔"做八股文，也不要我学做策论经义。他们只要先生给我讲书，教我读书。但学堂里念的书，越到后来，越不好懂了，《诗经》起初还好懂，读到《大雅》，就难懂了；读到《周颂》，更不可懂了。《书经》有几篇，如《五子之歌》，我读的很起劲；但《盘庚》三篇，我总读不熟。我在学堂九年，只有《盘庚》害我挨了一次打。后来隔了十多年，我才知道《尚书》有今文和古文两大类，向来学者都说古文诸篇是假的，今文是真的；《盘庚》属于今文一类，应该是真的。但我研究《盘庚》用的代名词最杂乱不成条理，故我总疑心这三篇是后人假造的。有时候，我自己想，我的怀疑《盘庚》，也许暗中含有报那一个"作瘤栗"的仇恨的意味罢？

《周颂》，《尚书》，《周易》等书都是不能帮助我作通顺文字的。但小说书却给了我绝大的帮助。从《三国演义》读到《聊斋志异》和《虞初新志》，这一跳虽然跳的太远，但因为书中的故事实在有趣味，所以我能细细读下去。石印本的《聊斋志异》有圈点，所以更容易读。到我十二三岁时，已能对本家姊妹们讲说《聊斋》故事了。那时候，四叔的女儿巧菊，禹臣先生的妹子广菊、多菊，祝封叔的女儿杏仙，和本家侄女翠苹、定娇等，都在十五六岁之间；她们常常邀我去，请我讲故事。我们平常请五叔讲故事时，忙着替他点火，装旱烟，替他捶背，现在轮到我受人巴结了。我不用人装烟捶背，她们听我说完故事，总去泡炒米，或做蛋炒饭来请我吃。她们绣花做鞋，我讲《凤仙》，《莲香》，《张鸿渐》，《江城》。这样的讲书，逼我把古文的故事翻译成绩溪土话，使我更了解古文的文理。所以我到十四岁来上海

开始作古文时，就能做很像样的文字了。

五

我小时身体弱，不能跟着野蛮的孩子们一块儿玩。我母亲也不准我和他们乱跑乱跳。小时不曾养成活泼游戏的习惯，无论在什么地方，我总是文绉绉地。所以家乡老辈都说我“像个先生样子”，遂叫我做“糜先生”。这个绰号叫出去之后，人都知道三先生的小儿子叫做糜先生了。既有“先生”之名，我不能不装出点“先生”样子，更不能跟着顽童们“野”了。有一天，我在我家八字门口和一班孩子“掷铜钱”，一位老辈走过，见了我，笑道：“糜先生也掷铜钱吗？”我听了羞愧的面红耳热，觉得大失了“先生”的身分！

大人们鼓励我装先生样子，我也没有嬉戏的能力和习惯，又因为我确是喜欢看书，所以我一生可算是不曾享过儿童游戏的生活。每年秋天，我的庶祖母同我到田里去“监割”（顶好的田，水旱无忧，收成最好，佃户每约田主来监割，打下谷子，两家平分。），我总是坐在小树下看小说。十一二岁时，我稍活泼一点，居然和一群同学组织了一个戏剧班，做了一些木刀竹枪，借得了几副假胡须，就在村口田里做戏。我做的往往是诸葛亮，刘备一类的文角儿；只有一次我做史文恭，被花荣一箭从椅子上射倒下去，这算是我最活泼的玩艺儿了。

我在这九年（一八九五——一九〇四）之中，只学得了读书写字两件事。在文字和思想（看下章）的方面，不能不算是打了一点底子。但别的方面都没有发展的机会。有一次我们村里“当朋”（八都凡五村，称为“五朋”，每年一村轮着做太子会，名为“当朋”。），筹备太子会，有人提议要派我加入前村的昆腔队里学习吹笙或吹笛。族里长辈反对，说我年纪太小，不能跟着太子会走遍五朋。于是我失掉了这学习音乐的唯一机会。三十年来，我不曾拿过乐器，也全不懂音乐；究竟我有没有一点学音乐的天资，我至今还不知道。至于学图画，更是不可能的事。我常常用竹纸蒙在小说书的石印绘像上，摹画书上的英雄美人。有一天，被先生看见了，挨了一顿大骂，抽屉里的图画都被搜出撕毁了。于是我又失掉了学做画家的机会。

但这九年的生活，除了读书看书之外，究竟给了我一点做人的训练。在这一点上，我的恩师就是我的慈母。

每天天刚亮时，我母亲就把我喊醒，叫我披衣坐起。我从不知道她醒来坐了多久了。她看我清醒了，才对我说昨天我做错了什么事，说错了什么话，要我用功读书。有时候她对我说父亲的种种好处，她说：“你总要踏上你老子的脚步。我一生只晓得这一个完全的人，你要

学他，不要跌他的股。”（跌股便是丢脸，出丑。）她说到伤心处，往往掉下泪来。到天大明时，她才把我的衣服穿好，催我去上早学。学堂门上的锁匙放在先生家里；我先到学堂门口一望，便跑到先生家里去敲门。先生家里有人把锁匙从门缝里递出来，我拿了跑回去，开了门，坐下念生书。十天之中，总有八九天我是第一个去开学堂门的。等到先生来了，我背了生书，才回家吃早饭。

我母亲管束我最严，她是慈母兼任严父。但她从来不在别人面前骂我一句，打我一下。我做错了事，她只对我一望，我看见了她的严厉眼光，就吓住了。犯的事小，她等到第二天早晨我眼醒时才教训我。犯的事大，她等到晚上人静时，关了房门，先责备我，然后行罚，或罚跪，或拧我的肉。无论怎样重罚，总不许我哭出声音来。她教训儿子不是借此出气叫别人听的。

有一个初秋的傍晚，我吃了晚饭，在门口玩，身上只穿着一件单背心。这时候我母亲的妹子玉英姨母在我家住，她怕我冷了，拿了一件小衫出来叫我穿上。我不肯穿，她说：“穿上吧，凉了。”我随口回答：“娘（凉）什么！老子都不老子呀。”我刚说了这句话，一抬头，看见母亲从家里走出，我赶快把小衫穿上。但她已听见这句轻薄的话了。晚上人静后，她罚我跪下，重重的责罚了一顿。她说：“你没了老子，是多么得意的事！好用来说嘴！”她气的坐着发抖，也不许我上床去睡。我跪着哭，用手擦眼泪，不知擦进了什么微菌，后来足足害了一年多的眼翳病。医来医去，总医不好。我母亲心里又悔又急，听说眼翳可以用舌头舔去，有一夜她把我叫醒，她真用舌头舔我的病眼。这是我的严师，我的慈母。

* * * * *

我母亲二十三岁做了寡妇，又是当家的后母。这种生活的痛苦，我的笨笔写不出一万分之一二。家中财政本不宽裕，全靠二哥在上海经营调度。大哥从小就是败子，吸鸦片烟，赌博，钱到手就光，光了就回家打主意，见了香炉就拿出去卖，捞着锡茶壶就拿出去押。我母亲几次邀了本家长辈来，给他定下每月用费的数目。但他总不够用，到处都欠下烟债赌债。每年除夕我家中总有一大群讨债的，每人一盏灯笼，坐在大厅上不肯去。大哥早已避出去了。大厅的两排椅子上满满的都是灯笼和债主。我母亲走进走出，料理年夜饭，谢灶神，压岁钱等事，只当做不曾看见这一群人。到了近半夜，快要“封门”了，我母亲才走后门出去，央一位邻舍本家到我家来，每一家债户开发一点钱。做好做歹的，这一群讨债的才一个一个提着灯笼走出去。一会儿，大哥敲门回来了。我母亲从不骂他一句。并且因为是新年，她脸上从不露出一点怒色。这样的

过年，我过了六七次。

大嫂是个最无能而又最不懂事的人，二嫂是个很能干而气量很窄小的人。她们常常闹意见，只因为我母亲的和气榜样，她们还不曾有公然相骂相打的事。她们闹气时，只是不说话，不答话，把脸放下来，叫人难看；二嫂生气时，脸色变青，更是怕人。她们对我母亲闹气时，也是如此。我起初全不懂得这一套，后来也渐渐懂得看人的脸色了。我渐渐明白，世间最可厌恶的事莫如一张生气的脸；世间最下流的事莫如把生气的脸摆给旁人看。这比打骂还难受。

我母亲的气量大，性子好，又因为做了后母后婆，她更事事留心，事事格外容忍。大哥的女儿比我只小一岁，她的饮食衣料总是和我的一样。我和她有小争执，总是我吃亏，母亲总是责备我，要我事事让她。后来大嫂二嫂都生了儿子了，她们生气时便打骂孩子来出气，一面打，一面用尖刻有刺的话骂给别人听。我母亲只装做不听见。有时候，她实在忍不住了，便悄悄走出门去，或到左邻立大嫚（绩溪称伯母为“嫚”）家去坐一会，或走后门到后邻度嫂家去闲谈。她从不和两个嫂子吵一句嘴。

每个嫂子一生气，往往十天半个月不歇，天天走进走出，板着脸，咬着嘴，打骂小孩子出气。我母亲只忍耐着，忍到实在不可再忍的一天，她也有她的法子。这一天的天明时，她就不起床，轻轻的哭一场。她不骂一个人，只哭她的丈夫，哭她自己苦命，留不住她丈夫来照管她。她先哭时，声音很低，渐渐哭出声来。我醒了起来劝她，她不肯住。这时候，我总听见前堂（二嫂住前堂东房）或后堂（大嫂住后堂西房）有一扇房门开了，一个嫂子走出房向厨房走去。不多一会，那位嫂子来敲我们的房门了。我开了房门，她走进来，捧着一碗热茶，送到我母亲床前，劝她止哭，请她喝口热茶。我母亲慢慢停住哭声，伸手接了茶碗。那位嫂子站着劝一会，才退出去。没有一句话提到什么人，也没有一个字提到这十天半个月来的气脸，然而各人心里明白，泡茶进来的嫂子总是那十天半个月来闹气的人。奇怪的很，这一哭之后，至少有一两个月的太平清静日子。

我母亲待人最仁慈，最温和，从来没有一句伤人感情的话。但她有时候也很有刚气，不受一点人格上的侮辱。我家五叔是个无正业的浪人，有一天在烟馆里发牢骚，说我母亲家中有事总请某人帮忙，大概总有什么好处给他。这句话传到了我母亲耳朵里，她气的大哭，请了几位本家来，把五叔喊来，她当面质问他她给了某人什么好处。直到五叔当众认错赔罪，她才罢休。

我在我母亲的教训之下住了九年，受了她的极大极深的影响。我十四岁（其实只有十二岁零两三个月）就离开她了，在这广漠的人海里独

自混了二十多年，没有一个人管束过我。如果我学得了一丝一毫的好脾气，如果我学得了一点点待人接物的和气，如果我能宽恕人，体谅人，——我都得感谢我的慈母。

十九，十一，廿一夜。

II THE MAKING OF AN AGNOSTIC

❶

> We bow and scrape before the snakes and the lizards,
> And offer wines and flesh galore.
> Were it true that these gods aided us,
> Why did they not work when winter comes?

This poem was one of ten narrative poems written by my father at the time he was supervisor of the Yellow River works at Chengchow (the 14th Year of Kuanghsu, 1888). He annotated the poem himself in the following words:

> Now that frost and snow have visited us, the so-called "Great Kings" and "Generals" (the snakes and lizards) who are supposed to protect and supervise the river works have all disappeared without a trace.

"Great Kings" and "Generals" are names given to the river gods in the sacrificial ceremony; in the regions where river works were undertaken water snakes and lizards were usually regarded as assumed forms of these deities and, as such, the object of the most solemn sacrifices and worship. To think that in an undertaking as important as water conservancy high officials of the government in charge of the river works should find it necessary to kowtow to these lowly forms of water life for favor—it was really the most humiliating commentary of the national intelligence. In this poem my father not only bluntly tilted at this kind of superstition but also, by citing an elementary evidence, proved how silly and laughable were the popular beliefs. This is quite indicative of the way in which my father's mind tended to run.

My father had not been exposed to the baptism of the modern natural sciences, but he was greatly under the influence of the Ch'eng Yi and Chu Hsi school of thought which exalted reason. This Rational School of philosophers had inherited our ancient naturalistic view of the universe and used the two

basic conceptions of *ch'i* (matter) and *li*(reason) to exemplify the universe, to the extent that they dared make the assertion that "Heaven is reason" and that "Ghosts and Spirits are but the natural functioning of the two material forces (yin and yang)." Although such thinking fell short of being thorough-going, it had the effect of shattering much of our superstitions. Moreover, the Ch'eng-Chu school of philosophy strongly promoted the rule of *kê wu ch'iung li* (approach a thing and investigate its reason), which was the equivalent of the modern scientific attitude. In his book *On Learning*, my father stated at the outset:

> In the murky atmosphere betwixt Heaven and Earth, the myriad objects evolved.

which is a distillation of the naturalistic view of the universe taught by the philosophers of reason. In his *On Learning to Be a Man* he reached the following conclusion:

> To be a man, there is naught else:
> Investigate reason and extend knowledge, then turn to self for practical application;
> To strive and learn and hold fast to the Way.

This was in the best tradition of the scientific attitude toward learning of the Ch'eng-Chu school.

These words all constituted the grist in my mill when I was a mere schoolboy of four or five. How my tutor interpreted them I no longer can remember; it is safe to say that at the time I was totally ignorant of their significance. My father died too early—I was a mere three-year-old when we left him in T'aiwan—for me to come under the direct influence of his thinking. What he had left me could be described as twofold: one was a natural heritage, for "I am my father's son"; the other was a bit of influence from the rational attitude of Ch'eng and Chu. It was under this rational influence that I was given as a child to study Chu-tze's *Hsiao Hsueh* with Fourth Uncle; and this same rational attitude was advertised in the form of a notice posted on the front-door of my Fourth Uncle's home and our own home, proclaiming the words: "seng tao wu yüan"—"No solicitation from (Buddhist) monks or (Taoist) priests."

I could still see this strip of paper with the four characters "*seng tao wu yüan*" posted on the front-door of our new house which elements had transmuted from its original crimson to a pale pink, and then to a greyish

white, until finally it peeled off altogether. But womenfolk of our house were all devout believers. After the death of my father and with Fourth Uncle gone to take up his official post, the womenfolk went about freely in their worship of Buddha and the gods. The leader of this feminine movement for religion was Great Aunt Hsing-wu. In her declining years she became a habitual vegetarian and immersed herself in daily worship and prayers, and was not to be dissuaded from these pursuits by Fourth Uncle or my Third Elder-Brother (her adopted grandson). She was later joined in vegetarianism and daily worship by Second Elder-Brother's mother-in-law, who was a frequent house-guest in our home. These two venerable ladies became fast friends, and together they proselyted the rest of our womenfolk. Whenever there was sickness in the house they would be invited to offer prayers and make and redeem vows.

Second Elder-Brother's mother-in-law knew quite a few characters. She brought with her *Yü Li Ch'ao Chuan*, *Miao Chuang Wang Sutra* and other pious literature of this type, and often related to us such stories as Mu Lien's excursion into the Inferno to rescue his mother and how the Princess of the King of Miao Chuang (Kuanyin) became a nun. I read all the books that she had brought, and also had occasion to witness enacted upon the stage the complete serialized drama about *Lady Kuanyin Becoming a Nun*, and my little head was filled with the harrowing scenes of purgatory.

Later Third Elder-Brother contracted tuberculosis, and the several children he had begotten failed to live long. Great Aunt Hsing-wu took to the practice of offering prayers and repeating vows for Third Elder-Brother, sometimes going so far as to call in the Buddhist monks to conduct services at home for the departed spirits. Third Elder-Brother himself refused to take part in these rituals as to make his obeisance, and my Great Aunt would frequently summon me to substitute for Third Elder-Brother in kowtowing before the altar. Since I was a weak and sickly child myself, my mother would often ask Great Aunt to take me along in offering incense and praying before Buddha. Following the custom of our village, my mother also pledged me as a disciple to Kuanyin, the Goddess of Mercy, in the course of which I was given a Buddhist name consisting of two characters, one of which was "kuan" and the other I have already forgotten. In her compelling love for me, my mother never erased enjoining upon me the necessity of showing the greatest devotion in the worship of the Buddhist Gods. Every year when she walked me over the ten *li* distance on our way to my maternal grandmother's,

she would make me pause and make obeisance at each and every temple and shrine along the way. One year when I was bothered at the same time with a stomach ailment and eye troubles she made a pledge for me that I should go to the Kuanyin shrine at Kut'angshan and there personally offer incense in redemption of the pledge. Afterwards, when I recovered, she herself together with Great Aunt took me on this pilgrimage to Kut'angshan. The mountain roads were extremely rugged and her feet had perennially caused her pain, but for the sake of her son she made the pilgrimage up the mountain on foot. Ascending every few steps she would sit down and rest her feet, but never once did she complain. Naturally, at the time I also worshipped with her with great devotion.

My mother was eager that I should study hard and make a name for myself; accordingly she never neglected to remind me to worship Confucius. In Master Yü-Ch'en's school-house there was hanging on the wall a lithographic print in vermilion of Wu Tao-tze's portrait of Confucius to which the pupils would bow and make obeisance each evening before school was out. Once, visiting my Eldest Sister's to wish them a Happy New Year, I found a Confucian shrine erected by my nephew Cheng Yen-hsiang (who was, however, a few years older than myself). It was made out of a large cardboard box, with the name tablet cut out of red paper and a match-box sacrificial table, on which were pasted gold-foil cutouts of incense-burners, candlesticks and various sacrificial offerings; outside of the shrine were also pasted many strips of red and gold paper simulating the tablets and scrolls of the Holy Temple, with such wording as "Virtue matching heaven and earth; Truth unparalleled past and present." This little shrine filled me with envy, and returning home I proceeded to build myself a miniature Confucian temple. I found a container for "bird's nest" which I used as the main hall of the temple; a space was cut out in the middle of the box where I pasted a small herb-box to serve as the inner hall, with its sacrificial table, holy tablet, incense-burner, candlesticks, and such other paraphernalia. At the two wings of the temple I added my own innovations consisting of smaller shrines to the disciples of the Great Sage like Yen Yüan and Tze-lu, each with its own sacrificial table. Then I borrowed a *Classified Manual for Parallel Scrolls,* from which I copied many specimens of phraseology used to adorn Confucian temples; and these I had Uncle Chin-jen write out for me on strips of gold- and silver-foil and pasted where they were supposed to be. All in all, much time and thought was put into the construction of this replica of a

Confucian temple. My mother was greatly delighted with this display of reverence for Master K'ung. She gave me a small table to be used exclusively as an altar for this shrine, also a brass incense-burner to be placed before it, and every first and fifteenth of the month she would instruct me to offer incense and prayers.

This miniature Confucian temple, thanks to my mother's fastidious care, was still preserved intact when I was twenty-seven and already returned from abroad. Not so my religious faith, which had long since been shattered. For by the time I was eleven or twelve I had already become an agnostic.

❷

It happened one day when I was reviewing the Philosopher Chu Hsi's *Hsiao Hsüeh*, wherein I came upon a passage from Ssuma Kuang's family credo with the following comments on the existence of purgatory:

> When the body has decayed and disappeared, the spirit also scatters into thin air; wherefore, given all the fires and tortures of the nether world, there is nowhere that they could be applied. …

Re-reading these words, suddenly I leapt up for joy. Though the harrowing scenes of purgatory from such books as *Mu Lien's Salvation of His Mother* and *Yü Li Ch'ao Chuan* re-appeared before my eyes, I no longer felt any fear. I also ceased to be afraid of the various atrocities pictured in the exhibits of Yenlo, the King of Hell, and of the Eighteen Purgatories which the Buddhist monks displayed on their altars when they conducted prayer-meetings in sinister scenes showing the sinners being impaled on three-pronged forks by the bull-headed and horse-faced minions of purgatory, to be shoved upon the sword hill or down pots of boiling oil or over the side of the Nevermore Bridge to be fed to ravenous dogs and poisonous snakes. Over and over again I read aloud to myself these words of utter reason: "When the body has decayed and disappeared, the spirit also scatters into thin air; wherefore, given all the fires and tortures of the nether world, there is nowhere that they could be applied." I was so delighted in my heart at this discovery that I felt as though the Buddha of Hell had opened wide the gates of salvation with one wave of his magic wand.

I am no longer quite sure about the year in which this incident took

place; it was probably when I was eleven. At that time I was already able to read the ancient classics by myself. Among the books Master Yü-Ch'en had me study was *Kang Chien Yi Chih Lu*, which he substituted later with the *T'ung Chien Chi Lan with Imperial Commentaries*. The *Yi Chih Lu* was punctuated, so it was not difficult for me to read; with the *T'ung Chien Chi Lan*, however, I had to plod along at a slow pace, doing my own punctuation with a vermilion brush. On one of the occasions that Second Elder-Brother returned from Shanghai, he saw me poring over the latter text and expressed his disapproval of it; he suggested to Master Yü-Ch'en that it would be better if I were to study *Tzu Chih T'ung Chien*(The Mirror of History) by Ssuma Kuang in the 11th century. And so I punctuated and read my way through this classic of Chinese history. That was the first step which I took in my life in the study of Chinese history. It was not long before I was very fond of history books of this type. Having found it difficult to remember all the names given to the different imperial reigns in China's dynastic history, I conceived the idea of composing a "The Imperial Reign-names in Rhymes" to aid in memorization. Encouraged by Uncle Chin-jen in this task, I actually made a start at composing such a historical rhyme in seven-character lines. The manuscript has long since been lost and I no longer remember how many dynasties I did cover in this ambitious project. I record it here as marking my earliest effort at "historical research," something that was to take up a goodly portion of my later life. No one would have thought, however, that the study of Ssuma Kuang's *The Mirror of History* should result in a profound effect on my religious faith, to wit, in the making of me as an agnostic.

In Book CIIIVI of *The Mirror of History* I found a record of opposition to Buddhism by one Fan Chen (who lived during the era of Ch'i and Liang, and died circa A.D. 510). The passage reads as follows:

> Fan Chen wrote an essay entitled "On the Destructibility of the Spirit," holding that "the body is what gives substance to the spirit; and spirit is what makes the body function. Spirit (soul) is to the body what the sharpness of a knife is to the knife itself. One never hears of a knife having gone with its sharpness still remaining, and how could one admit of the body having perished with spirit persisting?" The idea thus advanced created a furore in and outside of the Imperial Court, and though it was hotly contested none succeeded in proving his thesis to be wrong.

Having already encountered Ssuma Kuang's own ideas on purgatory, I found the above-quoted passage extremely lucid and reasonable. Ssuma Kuang taught me to disbelieve life in purgatory, and now Fan Chen enabled

me to carry it a step further, onto the road of a regular unbeliever and atheist. Fan Chen's simple and homely example, likening the relationship between body and spirit to that which exists between the knife and its "sharpness," was just such a one as is capable of being grasped by a youthful mind in its first enlightenment. That is why the more I thought about it the more I was convinced by Fan Chen's reasoning. To think that a mere quotation in a history book on a theory of the nonexistence of the spirit was enough to banish out of my head the countless ghosts and goblins that had heretofore tenanted it! The fact is, from that day on I more or less developed into a man who does not believe in the supernatural.

Of course at the time I hardly knew that Fan Chen's essay "On the Destructibility of the Spirit" was collected in its entirety in *The Record of Liang* (Volume IVXIII), nor was I aware that many of the contemporary essays which attempted to refute his thesis were preserved in the *Hung Ming Chi*. But the mere passage of thirty-five characters which I read was enough to make a new man of me. Perhaps Ssuma Kuang was also influenced by Fan Chen, which was why he made the statement that "when the body has decayed and disappeared, the spirit also scatters into thin air"; perhaps, thankful to Fan Chen, he made it a point to insert the most brilliant passage from the essay "On the Destructibility of the Spirit" into his own immortal work of history. He would never have thought that, eight hundred years later, the thirty-five characters that he quoted would inspire and awaken a boy of eleven or twelve, to the extent of altering the thinking of his entire life.

In *The Mirror of History* was also recorded Fan Chen's discussion with Hsiao Tze-liang, the Prince of Ching Ling, about the Buddhist theory of "Karma." This passage was also to exert a great influence on my mode of thinking, and I cite the original text as follows:

> Tze-liang was a devoted admirer of Sakyamuni, and he frequently invited a galaxy of celebrated monks in conference on the Buddhist teachings. He was responsible for a vogue in that religion in a manner unparalleled anywhere south of the River, and sometimes he would personally attend to food and drinks for the ecclesiastics, which people regarded as unbecoming of his position as a Prince and Prime Minister.
>
> Fan Chen had been well-known for his anti-Buddhist views. And Tze-liang said to him: "If you do not believe in karma, how can you explain the existence of the rich and the exalted, on the one hand, and the poor and lowly, on the other?" Said Fan: "Human existence is like the blossoms bursting forth alike from a tree; they are scattered with the wind, some fluttering down the window-shades and coming to rest on the verdant carpet, others, falling outside the fence or wall, ending in the filthy sewer. Your Highness is such as have come to rest on the verdant carpet, while your humble servant represents such as have fallen in the filthy sewer. They have

indeed reached widely separated places, exalted or lowly, but I fail to see where karma—or, cause and effect—had to do with it?" Tze-liang was at a loss to refute this argument.

The substance of this discourse was also a mere figure of speech, but while I was reading it I could not help being struck by the clarity and force of reason of what Fan Chen said, which moved me to read it over and over again until I knew it by heart. Of course I was then not equipped to understand the underlying philosophical meaning of Fan Chen's teaching. What he advocated may be called a kind of "Accidentalism," with which he broke down the Buddhist teaching of the revolving wheel of *karma*. Ever since childhood I had had drummed into my head the Buddhist lesson of cause-and-effect and of reaping-what-you-sow, and had been mortally afraid that I would appear in the next incarnation as a pig or a dog. Now, in a flash, I was made to see the truth in Fan Chen's parable against the idea of *karma*; I was extremely delighted and immediately became free. Fan Chen and Ssuma Kuang's theory of the destructibility of the soul taught me not to fear purgatory, and his argument against *karma* taught me not to fear reincarnation. I liked their theory because it taught me not to be afraid. And I believed in it, because it taught me not to be afraid.

❸

Once my thinking had been thus emancipated, I found it no longer possible to worship the gods and the Buddha with the same devout faith. Before my mother, however, I dared not as yet advance any idea of my lack of faith. When she bade me attend the family temple for ancestral worship, or to offer incense and pledges before the gods, I would not dare refuse to go; though my heart was full of reluctance I was afraid to give her any inkling of it.

In the First Month in my thirteenth year I went to Eldest Sister's home for a New Year's visit and stayed for several days, until the morning of the Fifteenth when I brought my nephew Yen-hsiang home to observe the lantern festival. We were accompanied by one of their farmhands, following us with a load of New Year's cakes and other seasonal goodies.

On our way we stopped at my maternal grandmother's home in Middle Village to rest up and partake of some refreshments before resuming our journey. On the outskirts of the village there stood a shrine called Three-Gate

Pavilion in which were ensconced several idols. Stepping into the pavilion, I pointed a finger at the idols and said to Yen-hsiang: "No one could see us now, how about tearing down these mud idols and throwing them into the out-house?"

This unexpected advocacy of overt iconoclasm left my nephew dumbfounded. Although he had had occasion to hear me expound my new-found agnosticism, he never dreamed that I would suggest practicing it then and there by destroying the deities in that wayside shrine. His servant hastily tried to dissuade me by saying, "Oh, Uncle Mên, it won't do to offend the gods!" These words immediately aroused my displeasure, whereupon I perversely looked about for something with which to stone the idols. Some villagers happened on the scene at this moment, and Yen-hsiang and his man seized the opportunity and induced me to resume our journey.

Arriving home, my mother had boiled some noodles for us, but before I swallowed a few mouthfuls the noise of drums and gongs was heard out in the street and we laid down our noodles in our hurry to go and watch the lion dance. In the course of the day more guests arrived at our home to see the lantern parade and, with the grown-ups preoccupied with company, none paid any attention to the fact that I had gone practically without any lunch. As I stayed outdoors for the festivities the rest of the day in company of our visitors, I forgot my hunger. At dinner, where we entertained the guests, I also gulped down a cup or two of hot gin, and the liquor on my empty stomach felt a little funny. After dinner I again dashed outside and a gust of wind left me a little drunk. "Moon, moon, come down and watch the lanterns!" I shouted somewhat under the influence of liquor, and the neighboring children echoed me, shouting, "Moon, moon, come down and watch the lanterns!"

The children's outcries were heard inside, and my mother sent for me to go home. I ran away feeling vaguely guilty, and the more the messenger came after me the faster I went. Someone told my mother that they thought I was drunk because I had partaken of the hot gin at dinner-table. When my mother came out herself after me I was already being returned captive. I was now really a bit drunk from the chase, and I put up a stiff resistance, refusing to go indoors. My mother put her arms around me, but I kept up my noisy invitation for the moon to come down and watch the lantern parade. By this time a crowd had gathered around us, which acted as a stimulating effect on my incoherent outpourings. Mother dragged me into her room, followed by

the onlookers who crowded in after her.

At this point the Chang's handyman who had accompanied us home came up to my mother and whispered to her ears: "Granny (he addressed my mother in the way that my nephew would), guess it be not the wine what's wrong with Uncle Mên tonight? We were coming out of Middle Village today and passing by Three-Gate Pavilion, and Uncle Mên would tear down the gods and toss them into the out-house. Guess, the way he is carrying on tonight, it be the gods feel offended and send down to chastise him."

These words, mumbled to my mother, were caught by my ears as I was cuddled there in her arms. I was, truth to tell, getting scared by the minute that mother would punish me for getting drunk; and the man's words gave me a brilliant idea. "Mother is sure to give me a beating by raising cane," I reasoned, "but if it were the gods who were causing all this mischief mother would not blame the gods." With this stratagem in mind, I proceeded more than ever to make a racket, mouthing a lot of wild talk, as though ghosts and goblins had actually got me!

My mother became worried and questioned Yen-hsiang about it, who confirmed the fact that during the day I did offend the gods. Mother immediately turned me over to the custody of someone else, while she washed her hands and burned a few sticks of incense, praying to the imaginary presence of the gods of the Three-Gate Pavilion to the effect that, in his youthful ignorance, her son had inadvertently trespassed on the gods; that the gods, in their infinite generosity, would forgive the sins of a mere child and not hold them against him; and finally the pledge to make a special trip to Three-Gate Pavilion on another day to offer incense and prayers in atonement.

By this time the neighbors all came around to watch me as some kind of a spectacle and the room was crammed with people, some of the womenfolk carrying their earthen hand-stoves with them making the room warmer and stuffier by the minute. My face was beginning to flush a deep scarlet, looking for all the world like a man possessed.

Suddenly, word was passed from outside the front-gate, saying, "The Dragon lantern is coming! The Dragon lantern is coming!" Men and women, old and young, made a rush for the door, in their hurry to take up positions at the cross-roads to watch the lantern parade. In an instant the roomful of people had dispersed, leaving only mother and me. The warm stuffiness of the room soon disappeared while I, thoroughly fatigued, dozed off to sleep.

The pledge which mother made with the gods seemed to have worked wonders. The next day, she gave me a lecture, admonishing me against shooting off my mouth especially in the presence of the gods. Much to my rejoicing, she neglected to punish me; what I did not know was that my real punishment would not come until a month afterward.

In another month, mother took me to visit my maternal grandmother in Middle Village. She spent some money to provide a sacrificial offering at grandmother's house, complete with a pig's head, incense, candles, and tin-foil money; at the same time she asked my maternal uncle to take me to Three-Gate Pavilion where I should offer thanks to the gods and redeem her vow. My maternal uncle was a devout believer; with the utmost gravity and reverence he arranged our offerings on the altar, lit up the incense and candles, and bade me kneel down and kowtow with him in thankfulness to the gods. I did all I could do to keep from laughing, but managed gravely to go through the ritual—in my heart I knew that I had myself to blame for not having thought of this form of punishment which was even more humiliating than a beating!

It was not until I reached the age of twenty-seven (25), when I returned home as a student from America, that I summoned up enough courage to own to my mother that it had not been the gods of Three-Gate Pavilion but only I myself who had possessed me and created all that turmoil on the night of the Lantern Festival so many years ago. Mother laughed when she heard this belated truth about it.

贰　从拜神到无神

一

> 纷纷歌舞赛蛇虫，
> 酒醴牲牢告洁丰。
> 果有神灵来护佑，
> 天寒何故不临工？

这是我父亲在郑州办河工时（光绪十四年，一八八八）做的十首《郑工合龙纪事诗》的一首。他自己有注道：

> 霜雪既降，凡俗所谓“大王”、“将军”化身临工者，皆绝迹不复见矣。

“大王”“将军”都是祀典里的河神；河工区域内的水蛇虾蟆往往被认为大王或将军的化身，往往享受最隆重的祠祭礼拜。河工是何等大事，而国家的治河官吏不能不向水蛇虾蟆磕头乞怜，真是一个民族的最大耻辱。我父亲这首诗不但公然指斥这种迷信，并且用了一个很浅近的证据，证明这种迷信的荒诞可笑。这一点最可表现我父亲的思想的倾向。

我父亲不曾受过近世自然科学的洗礼，但他很受了程颐朱熹一系的理学的影响。理学家因袭了古代的自然主义的宇宙观，用“气”和“理”两个基本观念来解释宇宙，敢说“天即理也”，“鬼神者，二气（阴阳）之良能也”。这种思想，虽有不彻底的地方，很可以破除不少的迷信。况且程朱一系极力提倡“格物穷理”，教人“即物而穷其理”，这就是近世科学的态度。我父亲作的《原学》，开端便说：

> 天地氤氲，万物化生。

这是采纳了理学家的自然主义的宇宙观。他作的《学为人诗》的结论是：

> 为人之道，非有他术：
> 穷理致知，反躬践实，
> 黾勉于学，守道勿失。

这是接受了程朱一系格物穷理的治学态度。

这些话都是我四五岁时就念熟了的。先生怎样讲解，我记不得了；我当时大概完全不懂得这些话的意义。我父亲死的太早，我离开他时，还只是三岁小孩，所以我完全不曾受着他的思想的直接影响。他留给我的，大概有两方面：一方面是遗传，因为我是“我父亲的儿子”。一方面是他留下了一点程朱理学的遗风；我小时跟着四叔念朱子的《小学》，就是理学的遗风；四叔家和我家的大门上都贴着“僧道无缘”的条子，也就是理学家庭的一个招牌。

我记得我家新屋大门上的“僧道无缘”条子，从大红色褪到粉红，又渐渐变成了淡白色，后来竟完全剥落了。我家中的女眷都是深信神佛的。我父亲死后，四叔又上任做学官去了，家中的女眷就自由拜神佛了。女眷的宗教领袖是星五伯娘，她到了晚年，吃了长斋，拜佛念经，四叔和三哥（是她过继的孙子）都不能劝阻她，后来又添上了二哥的丈母，也是吃长斋念佛的，她常来我家中住。这两位老太婆做了好朋友，常劝诱家中的几房女眷信佛。家中人有病痛，往往请她们念经许愿还愿。

二哥的丈母颇认得字，带来了《玉历钞传》，《妙庄王经》一类的善书，常给我们讲说目连救母游地府、妙庄王的公主（观音）出家修行等等故事。我把她带来的书都看了，又在戏台上看了《观音娘娘出家》全本连台戏，所以脑子里装满了地狱的惨酷景象。

后来三哥得了肺痨病，生了几个孩子都不曾养大。星五伯娘常为三哥拜神佛，许愿，甚至于招集和尚在家中放焰口超度冤魂。三哥自己不肯参加行礼，伯娘常叫我去代替三哥跪拜行礼。我自己幼年身体也很虚弱，多病痛，所以我母亲也常请伯娘带我去烧香拜佛。依家乡的风俗，我母亲也曾把我许在观音菩萨座下做弟子，还给我取了一个佛名，上一字是个“观”字，下一字我忘了。我母亲爱我心切，时时教我拜佛拜神总须诚心敬礼。每年她同我上外婆家去，十里路上所过庙宇路亭，凡有神佛之处，她总教我拜揖。有一年我害肚痛，眼睛里又起翳，她代我许愿：病好之后亲自到古塘山观音菩萨座前烧香还愿。后来我病好了，她亲自跟伯娘带了我去朝拜古塘山。山路很难走，她的脚是终年疼的，但她为了儿子，步行朝山，上山时走几步便须坐下歇息，却总不说一声苦痛。我这时候自然也是很诚心的跟着她们礼拜。

我母亲盼望我读书成名，所以常常叮嘱我每天要拜孔夫子。禹臣先生学堂壁上挂着一幅朱印石刻的吴道子画的孔子像，我们每晚放学时总得对他拜一个揖。我到大姊家去拜年，看见了外甥章砚香（比我大几岁）供着一个孔夫子神龛，是用大纸匣子做的，用红纸剪的神位，用火柴盒子做的祭桌，桌子上贴着金纸剪的香炉烛台和供献，神龛外边贴着许多红纸金纸的圣庙匾额对联，写着“德配天地，道冠古今”一类的句

子。我看了这神龛，心里好生羡慕，回到家里，也造了一座小圣庙。我在家中寻到了一只燕窝匣子，做了圣庙大庭；又把匣子中间挖空一方块，用一只午时茶小匣子糊上去，做了圣庙的内堂，堂上也设了祭桌，神位，香炉，烛台等等。我在两厢又添设了颜渊子路一班圣门弟子的神位，也都有小祭桌。我借得了一部《联语类编》，抄出了许多圣庙联匾句子，都用金银锡箔做成匾对，请近仁叔写了贴上。这一座孔庙很费了我不少的心思。我母亲见我这样敬礼孔夫子，她十分高兴，给我一张小桌子专供这神龛，并且给我一个铜香炉；每逢初一和十五，她总教我焚香敬礼。

这座小圣庙，因为我母亲的加意保存，到我二十七岁从外国回家时，还不曾毁坏。但我的宗教虔诚却早已摧毁破坏了。我在十一二岁时便已变成了一个无神论者。

二

有一天，我正在温习朱子的《小学》，念到了一段司马温公的家训，其中有论地狱的话，说：

> 形既朽灭，神亦飘散，虽有剉烧舂磨，亦无所施。……

我重读了这几句话，忽然高兴的直跳起来。《目连救母》，《玉历钞传》等书里的地狱惨状，都呈现在我眼前，但我觉得都不怕了。放焰口的和尚陈设在祭坛上的十殿阎王的画像，和十八层地狱的种种牛头马面用钢叉把罪人叉上刀山，叉下油锅，抛下奈何桥去喂饿狗毒蛇，——这种种惨状也都呈现在我眼前，但我现在觉得都不怕了。我再三念这句话：“形既朽灭，神亦飘散，虽有剉烧舂磨，亦无所施。”我心里很高兴，真像地藏王菩萨把锡杖一指，打开地狱门了。

这件事我记不清在那一年了，大概在十一岁时。这时候，我已能够自己看古文书了。禹臣先生教我看《纲鉴易知录》，后来又教我改看《御批通鉴辑览》。《易知录》有句读，故我不觉吃力。《通鉴辑览》须我自己用朱笔点读，故读的很迟缓。有一次二哥从上海回来，见我看《御批通鉴辑览》，他不赞成；他对禹臣先生说，不如看《资治通鉴》。于是我就点读《资治通鉴》了。这是我研究中国史的第一步。我不久便很喜欢这一类历史书，并且感觉朝代帝王年号的难记，就想编一部“历代帝王年号歌诀”！近仁叔很鼓励我做此事，我真动手编这部七字句的历史歌诀了。此稿已遗失了，我已不记得这件野心工作编到了那一朝代。但这也可算是我的“整理国故”的破土工作。可是谁也想不到司马

光的《资治通鉴》竟会大大的影响我的宗教信仰，竟会使我变成一个无神论者。

有一天，我读到《资治通鉴》第一百三十六卷，中有一段记范缜（齐梁时代人，死时约在西历五一〇年）反对佛教的故事，说：

> 缜著《神灭论》，以为“形者神之质，神者形之用也。神之于形，犹利之于刀。未闻刀没而利存，岂容形亡而神在哉？”此论出，朝野喧哗，难之，终不能屈。

我先已读司马光论地狱的话了，所以我读了这一段议论，觉得非常明白，非常有理。司马光的话教我不信地狱，范缜的话使我更进一步，就走上了无鬼神的路。范缜用了一个譬喻，说形和神的关系就像刀子和刀口的锋利一样；没有刀子，便没有刀子的“快”了；那么，没有形体，还能有神魂吗？这个譬喻是很浅显的，恰恰合一个初开知识的小孩子的程度，所以我越想越觉得范缜说的有道理。司马光引了这三十五个字的“神灭论”，居然把我脑子里的无数鬼神都赶跑了。从此以后，我不知不觉的成了一个无鬼无神的人。

我那时并不知道范缜的《神灭论》全文载在《梁书》（卷四八）里，也不知道当时许多人驳他的文章保存在《弘明集》里。我只读了这三十五个字，就换了一个人。大概司马光也受了范缜的影响，所以有“形既朽灭，神亦飘散”的议论；大概他感谢范缜，故他编《通鉴》时，硬把《神灭论》摘了最精彩的一段，插入他的不朽的历史里。他决想不到，八百年后这三十五个字竟感悟了一个十一二岁的小孩子，竟影响了他一生的思想。

《通鉴》又记述范缜和竟陵王萧子良讨论“因果”的事，这一段在我的思想上也发生了很大的影响。原文如下：

> 子良笃好释氏，招致名僧，讲论佛法。道俗之盛，江左未有。或亲为众僧赋食行水，世颇以为失宰相体。
>
> 范缜盛称无佛。子良曰，“君不信因果，何得有富贵贫贱？”缜曰，“人生如树花同发，随风而散，或拂帘幌，坠茵席之上；或关篱墙，落粪溷之中。坠茵席者，殿下是也。落粪溷者，下官是也。贵贱虽复殊途，因果竟在何处？”子良无以难。

这一段议论也只是一个譬喻，但我当时读了只觉得他说的明白有理，就熟读了记在心里。我当时实在还不能了解范缜的议论的哲学意义。他主张一种“偶然论”，用来破坏佛教的果报轮回说。我小时听惯了佛家果报轮回的教训，最怕来世变猪变狗，忽然看见了范缜不信因果的譬喻，我心里非常高兴，胆子就大的多了。他和司马光的神灭论教我不怕地狱；他的无因果论教我不怕轮回。我喜欢他们的话，因为他们教我不怕。我信服他们的话，因为他们教我不怕。

三

我的思想经过了这回解放之后，就不能虔诚拜神拜佛了。但我在我母亲面前，还不敢公然说出不信鬼神的议论。她叫我上分祠里去拜祖宗，或去烧香还愿，我总不敢不去，满心里的不愿意，我终不敢让她知道。

我十三岁的正月里，我到大姊家去拜年，住了几天，到十五日早晨，才和外甥砚香同回我家去看灯。他家的一个长工挑着新年糕饼等物事，跟着我们走。

半路上到了中屯外婆家，我们进去歇脚，吃了点心，又继续前进。中屯村口有个三门亭，供着几个神像。我们走进亭子，我指着神像对砚香说，“这里没有人看见，我们来把这几个烂泥菩萨拆下来抛到毛厕里去，好吗？”

这样突然主张毁坏神像，把我的外甥吓住了。他虽然听我说过无鬼无神的话，却不曾想到我会在这路亭里提议实行捣毁神像。他的长工忙劝阻我道：“糜舅，菩萨是不好得罪的。”我听了这话，更不高兴，偏要拾石子去掷神像。恰好村子里有人下来了，砚香和那长工就把我劝走了。

我们到了我家中，我母亲煮面给我们吃，我刚吃了几筷子，听见门外锣鼓响，便放下面，跑出去看舞狮子了。这一天来看灯的客多，家中人都忙着照料客人，谁也不来管我吃了多少面。我陪着客人出去玩，也就忘了肚子饿了。晚上陪客人吃饭，我也喝了一两杯烧酒。酒到了饿肚子里，有点作怪。晚饭后，我跑出大门外，被风一吹，我有点醉了，便喊道：“月亮，月亮，下来看灯！”别人家的孩子也跟着喊，“月亮，月亮，下来看灯！”

门外的喊声被屋里人听见了，我母亲叫人来唤我回去。我怕她责怪，就跑出去了。来人追上去，我跑的更快。有人对我母亲说，我今晚上喝了烧酒，怕是醉了。我母亲自己出来唤我，这时候我已被人追回来了。但跑多了，我真有点醉了，就和他们抵抗，不肯回家。母亲抱住我，我仍喊着要月亮下来看灯。许多人围拢来看，我仗着人多，嘴里仍旧乱喊。母亲把我拖进房里，一群人拥进房来看。

这时候，那位跟我们来的章家长工走到我母亲身边，低低的说：“外婆（他跟着我的外甥称呼），糜舅今夜怕不是吃醉了罢？今天我们从中屯出来，路过三门亭，糜舅要把那几个菩萨拖下来丢到毛厕里去。他今夜嘴里乱说话，怕是得罪了神道，神道怪下来了。”

这几句话，他低低的说，我靠在母亲怀里，全听见了。我心里正怕喝醉了酒，母亲要责罚我；现在我听了长工的话，忽然想出了一条妙

计。我想："我胡闹，母亲要打我；菩萨胡闹，她不会责怪菩萨。"于是我就闹的更凶，说了许多疯话，好像真有鬼神附在我身上一样！

我母亲着急了，叫砚香来问，砚香也说我日里的确得罪了神道。母亲就叫别人来抱住我，她自己去洗手焚香，向空中祷告三门亭的神道，说我年小无知，触犯了神道，但求神道宽洪大量，不计较小孩子的罪过，宽恕了我。我们将来一定亲到三门亭去烧香还愿。

这时候，邻舍都来看我，挤满了一屋子的人，有些妇女还提着"火筒"（徽州人冬天用瓦炉装炭火，外面用篾丝作篮子，可以随身携带，名为火筒），房间里闷热的很。我热的脸都红了，真有点像醉人。

忽然门外有人来报信，说，"龙灯来了，龙灯来了！"男男女女都往外跑，都想赶到十字街口去等候看灯。一会儿，一屋子的人都散完了，只剩下我和母亲两个人。房里的闷热也消除了，我也疲倦了，就不知不觉的睡着了。

母亲许的愿好像是灵应了。第二天，她教训了我一场，说我不应该瞎说，更不应该在神道面前瞎说。但她不曾责罚我，我心里高兴，万想不到我的责罚却在一个月之后。

过了一个月，母亲同我上中屯外婆家去。她拿出钱来，在外婆家办了猪头供献，备了香烛纸钱，她请我母舅领我到三门亭里去谢神还愿。我母舅是个虔诚的人，他恭恭敬敬的摆好供献，点起香烛，陪着我跪拜谢神。我忍住笑，恭恭敬敬的行了礼，——心里只怪我自己当日扯谎时不曾想到这样比挨打还更难为情的责罚！

直到我二十七岁回家时，我才敢对母亲说那一年元宵节附在我身上胡闹的不是三门亭的神道，只是我自己。母亲也笑了。

十九，十二，廿五，在北京。

III SCHOOLDAYS IN SHANGHAI

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In the 甲辰 year of the reign of Emperor Kuanghsu (1904), Third Elder-Brother had reached a critical stage in his consumption. He decided to go to Shanghai for medical treatment, and at the same time my mother made up her mind to send me with him to Shanghai to attend school. I was nominally fourteen at that time, but actually only little more than twelve years old. In the fourteen years following this separation from my mother I was to return home only three times, spending with her a total of not more than six months' time. I was the only one she had at home, but because she loved me so deeply and had such high hopes for me she managed to harden her heart in order to send me far away from home in pursuit of knowledge. At the time we parted she made believe that she was in high spirits and did not shed one drop of tear. And so I left home, with my face turned toward that unfathomable sea of humanity where I was to seek my own education and my own life—a lone child, armed only with a mother's love a wee bit of studiousness, and a budding tendency toward skepticism.

I was to live in Shanghai for the next six years (1904–1910), and was to go through four different schools (the Meich'i School, the Ch'eng Chung School, the Public School of China, and the New Public School of China). And this was to be the second phase of my life's story.

* * * * *

During my father's lifetime one of his most admired friends was Mr. Chang Huan-lun of Shanghai. Mr. Chang had been a pioneer in the promotion of the new education, having founded his own school, called the Meich'i Academy, later changed to the Meich'i School. Both Second Elder-Brother and Third Elder-Brother had boarded at the Meich'i Academy, and so it followed that when I came to Shanghai I was enrolled at the Meich'i School. Only once did I get to see Mr. Chang Huan-lun, before his death shortly afterward. Nowadays, speaking of the history of modern education in China, few of us know of this pioneer in the field. Twenty-two years after his

death, I had the opportunity to meet in Paris one of his old and best pupils, Mr. Chao Yi-ch'ou. Mr. Chao told me that he had been at the Meich'i Academy for a long period of time, had been a great admirer of Mr. Chang's character, and owed a profound debt of gratitude to this old educator for his inspiration. Mr. Chang's lifelong aim as a teacher, he added, had been embodied in his saying: "Whatever happens do not give yourself up as lost." As I sat there on the green lawn in the countryside of Paris listening to Mr. Chao's reminiscences, and reflecting upon the arduous life my host and his wife were even then leading with such undaunted spirit, the thought came to me: What salutary influence one inspiring word from a respected teacher could accomplish in shaping the life of a student! No one could say that Mr. Chang had nothing to show for a lifetime devoted to educating the young.

The curriculum of the Meich'i School was by no means complete, consisting only of the three subjects, Chinese, Mathematics and English. Classes were divided on the basis of one's attainments in Chinese, so that whatever your level in English and Mathematics you did not graduate until you reached the top class in Chinese. On the other hand, students with only elementary knowledge of English and Mathematics were graduated who had completed the course in Chinese. This may not have been the best possible system, but along with the unbalanced emphasis missionary schools were then placing on English, it was but a special characteristic of a period of cultural transition.

When I first arrived in Shanghai I was totally ignorant of the Shanghai dialect. The first day I was taken to school to be received by Mr. Chang I was wearing a lined robe with blue facing, topped by a horse-jacket of maroon-colored worsted, the picture of a young yokel. At sight of me a large group of schoolchildren gathered around to gaze at the country bumpkin. Because I did not understand the dialect, nor had I yet been "broken in" in literary composition, I was temporarily enrolled in the fifth grade, almost the lowest in the school. The textbooks used in this class were three: namely, the *Elementary Reader* of the Wen Ming Book Company, the *Chinese-English First Steps* and the *Written Mathematics*.

To me, who had already studied a number of the ancient classics, this *Elementary Reader* was of course a pushover, so I had much time to concentrate on English and Mathematics. Six weeks went by this way, and on my forty-second day at school came the great opportunity. Perhaps Mr. Shen who instructed us in the *Elementary Reader* also found it too elementary to

tax his ability; anyway he had hardly expected to be corrected in his interpretation of the text by one of these young kids in his charge. It happened that day we came upon the following quotation in the lesson on which he was lecturing:

> As the *Chronicles* (chuan) says, when two men are of one heart their strength is more invincible than gold; and when two men speak with one voice its fragrance is as that of the orchid.

Our teacher commented offhandedly that these words were quoted from *Tso Chuan* (*Tso's Chronicles*). As I could already manage at that time a few broken words in the Shanghai dialect, I waited until the class was dismissed before approaching his desk with the reader and murmured to him that the Chronicles referred to was not *Tso's Chronicles*, but "Hsi Tz'u Chuan" in *The Classic of Changes* (I Ching). Master Shen, blushing, asked me in the Shanghai dialect, "Have you studied *The Classic of Changes*?" When I replied in the affirmative, he further questioned, "Have you studied any other of the classics?" I told him that I had studied *The Classic of Poetry* (Shih Ching), *The Classic of History* (Shu Ching), and *The Record of Rites*(Li Chi). He then asked if I had ever tried my hand at literary composition, to which I answered no. He said, "Let me give you a topic and see if you can write me a theme." The topic that he gave me consisted of the three characters, "On Filial Piety"; I returned to my seat and managed haltingly to write a composition of a hundred-odd characters around it; this I handed in to the teacher. Having looked it over, he turned and said: "Will you follow me?" I packed my books and followed him downstairs to the front hall, which opened east to the top class and west to the second grade. Master Shen led the way to the Second Grade classroom and spoke a few words to the teacher in charge, Master Ku. It was not until the latter instructed me to sit at a vacant desk in the last row that I realized that I had skipped four grades in one day and had now been promoted to be a Second Grade scholar.

But my rejoicing proved to be short-lived, for when I looked up again there was a worrisome problem staring me in the face. It was a Thursday, the scheduled day for Composition, and the two topics chalked on the blackboard were:

> Essay theme: How Japan Came to be a Powerful Nation.
>
> Classics theme: The ancients maintained their defenses in order to resist aggression whilst today defenses are maintained as an instrument of oppression.

The latter I dismissed as out of the question, for I had never been taught how to expound a "classics theme." As to the other, I had only the faintest notion in which corner of the earth Japan was located. Where would I begin, I asked myself, to discuss how Japan became a powerful nation? I neither dared ask the teacher any questions, nor did I knew anyone in that class to consult, and I began in my heart to blame Master Shen for his over-hastiness in giving me that quick and dizzy promotion.

At that moment an attendant at the school entered the classroom and handed a note to the teacher with a few words of explanation. After a look at the note, the teacher turned to me and said that I was urgently wanted at home on an emergency and that someone was here to fetch me. The composition exercise I could complete at home to be handed in on the following Thursday. This came in the nick of time to relieve my nervousness and, after copying down the topics for the theme, I made a hasty exit and bolted to the janitor's house. There I was told that my Third Elder-Brother was dying and that Second Elder-Brother was still away in Hankow. In desperation, the manager of our store (our family in those years owned the Kung Yi Oil Station in the South City of Shanghai) had sent for me to go home.

When I arrived at the store, Third Elder-Brother was still able to speak. But in another few hours he died; he died with his head resting against my wrist. On the third day following, Second Elder-Brother rushed back from Hankow. After the funeral was over I told Second Elder-Brother about my promotion at school, ending by asking what reference books he could recommend for writing a theme on the subject of Japan becoming a strong nation. Second Elder-Brother sorted out a big stack of books including *Thirty Years of the Meiji Restoration* and the bound volumes of the *Hsin Min Ts'ung Pao* (The New Race Miscellany) and the like, which he stuffed into a basket and bade me take back to school to scan for material. I spent a good many days on this job before I managed to piece together an essay to fulfil my assignment. Before long I had learned also how to write on a "classics theme." In another few months, lo and behold! I became a member of the top class; still, in English, I had not finished studying the *Chinese-English First Steps*, and in Mathematics had only gone as far as the "Computation of Interest."

It was in that year that the Meich'i Academy was changed into the

Meich'i School, and the first graduating class was scheduled to receive their diplomas at the end of the year. We had heard that the school planned to send four of the students—Chang Tsai-cheng, Wang Yen, Cheng Chang and myself—to take the official examination to be given by the County of Shanghai *yamen*. Along with Wang and Cheng, I did not feel like taking that examination, and long before the date scheduled for the examination we chose to leave school.

Why were we unwilling to submit ourselves to the official examination of the County of Shanghai? During that year we had all been undergoing a kind of radical transformation in thought, and had come to regard ourselves as "modern personages." In the basketful of "modern books" which Second Elder-Brother gave me I found many works by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and his group. That was an era in which Liang's writings exerted the greatest influence, and though he did not call for a national revolution in so many words he had sown not a few seeds of revolution in the minds of the young. One day my schoolmate Wang Yen showed us a book entitled *The Revolutionary Army* by Tsou Yung which he had borrowed; we passed it around among us and were all greatly inspired by its contents. Since the book had to be returned, we took turns making a copy of it by hand; we would wait until at night, after the dormitory proctor had made his rounds, and then get up stealthily to copy this work by candlelight. Can you imagine a group of young men whose imagination had been fired by a book like *The Revolutionary Army* submit themselves to examination by an official agency of the Manchu Court?

It was the first year of the Russo-Japanese War. The Shanghai newspapers were full of detailed reports of the war, and those of us young students who followed the papers experienced a feeling of the utmost exhilaration. Public opinion and popular psychology in China at the time were all sympathetic with Japan and held Russia in bitter hatred, which in turn was directed at the Manchu Government for its declaration of neutrality. Animosity for Russia furthered our anti-Manchu feeling to a considerable extent. In that year also there occurred in Shanghai several incidents which had the effect of arousing public sentiment. One was an attempt made by a revolutionary named Wan Fu-hua in the International Settlement to assassinate the former Governor of Kwangsi, Wang Chih-ch'un, who had been one of the pro-Russian clique. Another was the case of Chou Sheng-yu, a carpenter from Ningpo, who was killed by a Russian sailor on the Bund

without provocation. These two incidents were given much prominence in the Shanghai papers, especially the newly-published *Shih Pao*, which daily cried out for justice for Chou and denounced the Shanghai authorities in short and deeply-moving editorials. There was not one among us who was not stirred by these short commentaries when we first came upon them. The adjudication of the Chou Sheng-yu case left a large number of people disappointed; the three of us, Wang Yen, Cheng Chang and myself, in utter disgust with the Shanghai *taot'ai* Yüan Hai-kuan, jointly wrote him a long letter of bitter condemnation. Although we took care not to sign our names to the letter, we felt after all that this made it more impossible to go and take his examination. The upshot of this episode was that the three of us took our leave of the Meich'i School. (I have since lost track of Wang Yen, a native of I'hsien; Cheng Chang, who was a native of Ch'aoyang, later changed his name to Chung-Ch'eng, graduated from Fuhtan College, and died soon afterward.)

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My second school in Shanghai was the Ch'eng Chung School. This school was founded by the rich Ningpo merchant Yeh Ch'eng-chung, originally with the purpose of providing education for Ningpo youngsters of poor families; later, as it expanded, it became one of Shanghai's better-known private schools and the student enrollment was no longer confined to Ningpo people. The superintendent of the school at the time was Mr. Chang I-shan, and the dean Mr. Pai Cheng-min. Mr. Pai, a schoolmate of my Second Elder-Brother, happened to see my Meich'i compositions and advised me to enter the Ch'eng Chung School. And so in the 乙巳 year of Kuanghsu (1905) I enrolled myself in that institution.

There were altogether twelve classes at Ch'eng Chung, housed in two rows of classrooms, with the top class known as East Studio No. 1, the second grade West Studio No. 1, and so on down to West Studio No. 6. The school system had not yet been carefully drawn up, and there was no distinction between middle school and primary school. By our present-day terminology, the first six grades may be regarded as forming the middle school, and the six lower grades the primary school. The curriculum at Ch'eng Chung was however more complete, offering such subjects as

Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Drawing, in addition to Chinese, English and Mathematics. A student was classified roughly on the basis of his average level of attainment in all subjects, except that those who were too poor in English and Mathematics were debarred from the upper grades.

Because I had had only the most rudimentary training in these two subjects upon entrance at Ch'eng Chung, I was admitted into East Studio No. 3 (the fifth grade). In the second semester I was promoted to East Studio No. 2 (the third grade), and the following year (1906) to West Studio No. 1 (the second grade). Administration at the Ch'eng Chung School was very strict, with monthly tests and a regular examination at the end of each half-year. The results of these monthly tests and regular examinations were posted on the bulletin board, and prizes were awarded to the first three ranking students. Because I frequently came out first in the class, I got to be promoted four classes before one year was up. In my first year and a half, I made the most progress in English and Mathematics, and was greatly benefited by my teachers—Mr. Hsieh Ch'ang-hsi, Mr. Ch'en Shih-hao and Mr. Chang Ching-jen in English, and Mr. Yu Yao-ch'ing in Mathematics.

At this stage I developed a great interest in Mathematics; often after the dormitory lights were off I would get up from bed to do my math problems. As tables were not provided in our bedrooms, I devised a means whereby I placed a candle on the bedstead outside of the mosquito-net while I lay on my stomach inside the bedding and used the pillow to prop up my slate. As I was due to skip a class in the second semester, I had to make up on Algebra. I bought an Algebra textbook compiled by Mr. Ting Fu-pao and went through Elementary Algebra by myself in one summer, and in the second semester I made the upper grade without a hitch.

I had to study so hard that I never had enough sleep, and it soon told on my health. At one time both of my ears were near deaf from these adverse effects, but eventually I managed to recover physically and my hearing was restored. Although I was weak and sickly when a child, ever since I left home I had grown stronger physically. I believe this was mainly due to the fact that in the two and a half years when I was at Meich'i and Ch'eng Chung I did not once miss the Physical Culture class. I never participated in competitive sports, but during the Physical Training hour I always put in a lot of energy doing the various forms of calisthenics .

Of the faculty members at Ch'eng Chung, Mr. Yang Ch'ien-li had on me the greatest influence. When I was in East Studio No. 3 he was serving as

instructor in Chinese in West Studio No. 2, and the report was that he was a man of very modern thinking. When I went to see him he gave me a lot of encouragement and wrote on my composition book the four words: " *yen lun tzu yu*" (freedom of expression). When later I was advanced to East No. 2 and West No. 1, I had him at different times for my Chinese teacher. One day he asked the class to get Yen Fu's translation of Huxley's *On Natural Selection* (as edited and abridged by Wu Ju-lun) to use as a reader; that was the first time in my life that I read this work, and I was simply delighted. Master Yang was also very original in the themes he gave us for composition, and once the topic was: "Expound the idea underlying the law of natural selection and survival of the fittest." (The paper I wrote on this subject was dug up from the school's files of student themes a few years ago by the then principal Mr. Ts'ao Hsi-chüeh and the present principal Mr. Ke Tsu-lan, and it has been preserved at the school up to this day.) Of course we teenage boys could hardly do justice to this type of composition themes, but the fact that we were asked to study the theory of Evolution and to write compositions on "Natural Selection" is a good index to the trend of the times.

It was but a few years after the publication of Yen Fu's translation of *On Natural Selection*, but it enjoyed such nation-wide popularity that even middle-school students were using it as a text. Few of us who studied the book could understand the contribution Huxley had made to the development of science and thought. What we did understand was the significance of the formula, "survival of the fittest," as applied to international politics. Coming as it did after China's repeated defeat in the hands of the foreign powers and after the great national humiliation suffered as a result of the Boxer Rebellion and the War with Japan, this law of "natural selection and the survival of the fittest" indeed acted as a dose of the right medicine and a most potent stimulant to countless number of Chinese. Within a few years this idea had spread like wild fire, inflaming the hearts of the young men of the nation. Such phrases as "natural selection," "survival of the fittest," and "liquidation of the weak" in time became oft-quoted newspaper clichés and patriotic slogans. It was also the vogue with many people to use such expressions for naming themselves or their children. For instance, Ch'en Chiung-ming took for his name the two words *Ching-ts'un* (compete and survive). One of my schoolmates was named Sun Ching-ts'un (Compete-and-Survive Sun); another was called Yang T'ien-tse (Natural Selection Yang). My own name is also a relic of this vogue. The name which I used at school was Hu Hung-

hsing. One morning at home I asked Second Elder-Brother to think up something for my courtesy name. Second Elder-Brother was at his morning toilet and while washing his face, he remarked: "Why don't you use the word *shih* from the phrase 'wu ching t'ien tsê shih chê shêng ts'un' (natural selection and survival of the fittest)?" I was delighted with the idea, and proceeded to style myself, "Shih-chih" (the suffix *chih* being used in the courtesy names of both my brothers: Shao-chih for Second Elder-Brother and Cheng-chih for Third Elder-Brother). Subsequently, in writing for publication I occasionally adopted the two words "Hu Shih" as a nom de plume, and it was not until I took the examination for a government scholarship to study in America (1910) before I formally adopted "Hu Shih" as my personal name.

I was a year and a half at Ch'eng Chung and had read a number of extra-curricular books. 群己权界论 translated by Yen Fu seems to have been one of the things I read during this period. Mr. Yen's style was too archaic to be enjoyed by most young people, who did not come under as great an influence from him as from Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. With Mr. Liang's writings, however, a warm and deep enthusiasm shone through great lucidity and reason, making it impossible for the reader not to follow the way to which he pointed and go along with his thinking. Sometimes, it is truth, following him to a certain point, we were all in readiness to strike out further when all of a sudden he would halt his steps or change his direction. On such occasions, we could not help being a little disappointed, but this kind of disappointment was precisely the greatest blessing he could have bestowed. For he had done his best to usher us into a new realm, fully expecting that we would be dissatisfied and would wish to forge ahead on our own. We should of course be thankful for the opportunity of following in his footsteps; even more, should we be thankful that he had aroused our curiosity and had pointed out a whole unknown world for us to explore on our own.

I for one had benefited endlessly from Mr. Liang. Thinking back, I could see two respects in which his influence on me were the most marked. One was derived from his book *The Theory of a New Race* and the other his *The Historical Development of Chinese Thought*. Mr. Liang had styled himself "Citizen of a New Chinese Race," also "Son of a New Race," and the magazine he edited was called *Hsin Min Ts'ung Pao* (*The New Race Miscellany*)—all evidence that herein lies the main emphasis of his life work. The significance of his "New Race" was to transform the Chinese nation from an ancient, sickly race of people into a fresh and lively one. He wrote that:

> No man can hope to live if he is shorn of his limbs and if his internal organs are diseased, his muscles atrophied and his bloodstream has run dry; so it is that no nation can hope to survive if its people are universally ignorant, cowardly, weak, muddled and disorganized. …Should there be a new race of people what need be there to worry about not having a new system, a new government, or a new nation!(Introduction, *The Theory of a New Race*)

His fundamental thesis was expressed thusly:

> I have thought it over and over: in order to obtain the rule of the people in the China of today there is not one respect in which we do not need a thoroughgoing purge and catharsis, banishing the old and spreading the new. (*Toward a New Race*)

In an even more painfully moving vein, he said:

> In that case, what is the road to salvation and progress? The answer is, we must take our millennia-old body politic, with all its dark arrogance, and pulverize it, so that the tens of thousands of wolves and jackals and locusts and worms that are our bureaucrats would be dislodged from their parent body, before there is hope of getting onto the road of progress! We must take our millennia-old thought in all its weakness, softness and rancidity and thoroughly cleanse and expose it, so that the millions of parrots and jelly-fish and trained seals that are our scholars may not back up our public enemies with their manipulation of words, before we can bring forth new light by which to actually accomplish progress! And to reach this goal there are two methods of approach: namely, a bloodless destruction, or a bloody destruction. … I fervently pray that China may be capable of a bloodless destruction. And I would grieve as one bereaved should it turn out that there is no other way but for China to undergo a bloody destruction. ("On Progress," in *The Theory of a New Race*)

Reading this kind of writing in an age such as we had then, there was not one of us who was not thrilled and inspired. Liang's advocacy of reform in that period was the most radical, his attitude the most vivid, and his influence the most deeply inspiring and powerful. Without mincing any words, he advanced this revolutionary call to revolution:

> There will be destruction if we destroy; there will be destruction even if we don't destroy! (Ibid.)

Although later he did not persist in this attitude, yet many of his young men had already charged over the top and would never suffer themselves to be called back.

The greatest contribution made in *The Theory of a New Race* was its exposure of the fact that the Chinese race lacked in many of the virtues of the Western races. Without standing on ceremony, Liang pronounced:

> In a comparison of the five difference races, the white race is found to be the finest. Among the white races, the Teutonic race is the finest. And among the Teutonic peoples, the Anglo-Saxons are the finest.(Introduction, ibid.)

He pointed out that what as a people we were most lacking and most in need of acquiring was such qualities as public spirit, a national consciousness, spirit of adventure, a conception of rights, as well as freedom, self-rule, progress, dignity, cooperativeness, productivity, constancy, a sense of duty, also martial spirit, personal morality, and political acumen. In his ten or fifteen essays collected in this book, he showed himself as brimful of warm-blooded sincerity and infinite faith, marshaling countless number of historical evidences with a "pen that is dipped in feeling," weaving the kind of writing that is capable of moving you to shed a tear or to dance with joy. For instance, there was the essay "On Constancy" by which, upon a re-reading twenty-five years afterward, I still could not help being enthralled. How then could I escape falling under the spell of its charm when I first read it as such an impressionable age?

The essays contained in *The Theory of a New Race* opened up a new world for me, leaving me thoroughly convinced that there were highly developed peoples and cultures outside of the Chinese. *The Historical Development of Chinese Thought*, similarly, opened up a new world and enabled me to know that China has in her heritage other schools of thought than what was represented in the Confucian classics. In his book, Liang divided the history of Chinese thought into seven periods:

> (1) The Embryonic Age—prior to the Spring and Autumn period.
> (2) The Golden Age—the last stages of the Spring and Autumn period and the period of the Warring Kingdoms.
> (3) The Age of Preeminence of the Confucian School—the two Han dynasties
> (4) The Age of Taoism—the Wei and Chin dynasties.
> (5) The Age of Buddhism—the South and North dynasties and the T'ang dynasty.
> (6) The Age of Synthesis of Buddhism and Confucianism—the Sung, Yuan and Ming dynasties.
> (7) The Period of Decline—the last two hundred and fifty years.

Looking at this scheme of division today, we may not find ourselves thoroughly in agreement. (Liang was later to revise his own opinion, and in his subsequent work, *Outline of Ch'ing Dynasty Thought*, had already discarded the view that the 250 years of contemporary history represented a

period of decline.) But twenty-five years ago, his work represented the first attempt at research and organization of ancient Chinese philosophy from a historical viewpoint, the first systematic presentation of a "history of thought." That was what made me love to read this particular book. Unfortunately, after having published a few chapters Mr. Liang suddenly discontinued his work, leaving me gravely disappointed. Subsequently, I was overjoyed to see that the book was resumed in the pages of the *Hsin Min Ts'ung Pao*. But the latest installment still left me far from being satisfied. First of all, in discussing "The Golden Age," he had only written an Introduction of some tens of thousand words, leaving that part of it which was to be the "main thesis" (a presentation of the background of the various schools of philosophy together with an evaluation of the respective merits) entirely unwritten. On this section, subsequently he only supplied one chapter, that dealing with "The Philosophy of Mo-tze," but never did come around to treating of the others. The main body of the chapter on "The Age of Buddhism" also remained unwritten. Thirdly, not one word was mentioned about the sixth period in his outline, that which covered the three dynasties, Sung, Yuan and Ming. So, of his projected history of the development of Chinese thought, three vitally important parts were missing, a circumstance which caused me to wait patiently for a good many years. In my disappointment, I suddenly found myself with a wild ambition; I thought: "What a glorious task it would be if I could some day fill the gap for Mr. Liang in this history of Chinese thought?" The more I thought of it the more excited I became; although I did not dare announce it to others, to myself I had resolved to accomplish this task.

It was this seed of ambition which later resulted in my writing *The History of Chinese Philosophy*. For from that time on I had paid particular attention in my study of the various philosophers of the classic Chou and Ch'in periods. My Second Elder-Brother had induced me to read the *Chin Ssu Lu* (*Record of Recent Thoughts*) of Chu-tze, which was the first work I was to study of the Rational School. At about the same time Liang Ch'i-ch'ao also published his *Te Yü Chien* (*A Mirror of Ethical Culture*) and the abridged edition of *Ming Ju Hsüeh An* (*Teachings of the Neo-Confucianists of the Ming Dynasty*). These books led me to reading the works of the Rational School of Sung and Ming, though I read no more than *Ch'uan Hsi Lu* of Wang Shou-jen and the discourses of Ch'eng Yi and Chu Hsi collected in the *Cheng Yi T'ang Library*.In my second year at the Ch'eng Chung School, all

the Studios proposed organizing a Student Self-Government Society. One day I made a speech before the society on the subject of "Human Nature." In my talk I refuted the Mencian view that human nature is born good; at the same time I expressed my disagreement with the theory that human nature is originally bad as advanced by Hsün-tze. I affirmed my belief in the correctness of Wang Yang-ming's view that human nature is "neither good nor bad, and capable of being either good or bad." I was then in the midst of studying the English-language text known as *The Science Readers*, and had acquired a modicum of scientific knowledge, which I did not hesitate to apply in support of my arguments. Mencius has said:

> Human nature is good in the same manner as water naturally flows downward. There is no human being that is not good, just as there is no water but traces its course downward.

Mencius was ignorant of science, I claimed, and he did not know that there is such a thing as water maintaining its own level; neither was he acquainted with the law of gravity. That "there is no water but traces its course downward" does not signify the downward nature of water, but rather the force of gravity that pulls it downward. In the same way that gravity causes a downward flow, a water tower built on a high elevation can cause water to ascend by means of water-pipes. There is no downward or upward nature inherent in water, which maintains its own level, but it is capable of flowing either up or down even as human nature is neither good nor bad but capable of being either good or bad.

My discourse on human nature was enthusiastically applauded by my schoolmates, much to my own gratification, for I fancied that I was truly applying the method of scientific evidence to the theories on human nature as advanced in the Kao-tze chapter in *Mencius* and in Wang Yang-ming's writings.

* * * * *

Although I was a student at Ch'eng Chung for not more than a year and a half all of my foundation in English and Mathematics was laid there. What was praiseworthy about Ch'eng Chung as an intermediate school was its strictness in school management and in its periodic examinations. Another good point was the attention given by those who ran the school to the scholastic progress and conduct of each individual student. Although the

dean, Mr. Pai Cheng-ming, did not teach any classes himself he was personally acquainted with each and every student, who was often summoned before him for interview. Because the results of all examinations were recorded in detail, it was easy for the school authorities to know every student and his capabilities. Thus, it was possible for the especially gifted to skip two classes at a time, as it was for the average ones to advance at the regular pace each half-year semester, and for the inferior ones to be denied promotion and kept behind for another half-year. This system and management is worthy of being emulated by the intermediate schools of today.

When I attained the status of monitor to West One, time and again I had occasion to come into conflict with the school authorities. Once I protested in vain to Dean Pai over the issue of one of the classmates having been dismissed. When, later, I sent him a long letter in further protest, Mr. Pai marked a major demerit against me and posted my name as a reprimand. Though knowing full well that Mr. Pai had my best interest at heart, I could not help feeling aggrieved at the time and made up my mind not to continue at Ch'eng Chung. It happened that by summertime the newly-established Public School of China was holding an entrance examination for new students, and I took it at the behest of some friends. Upon passing the entrance examination, I moved into the dormitories of the Public School at the end of the summer vacation (1906).

叁　在上海（一）

一

光绪甲辰年（一九〇四）的春天，三哥的肺病已到了很危险的时期，他决定到上海去医治。我母亲也决定叫我跟他到上海去上学。那时我名为十四岁，其实只有十二岁有零。这一次我和母亲分别之后，十四年之中，我只回家三次，和她在一块的时候还不满六个月。她只有我一个人，只因为爱我太深，望我太切，所以她硬起心肠，送我向远地去求学。临别的时候，她装出很高兴的样子，不曾掉一滴眼泪。我就这样出门去了，向那不可知的人海里去寻求我自己的教育和生活，——孤另另的一个小孩子，所有的防身之具只是一个慈母的爱，一点点用功的习惯，和一点点怀疑的倾向。

我在上海住了六年（一九〇四——一九一〇），换了四个学校（梅溪学堂，澄衷学堂，中国公学，中国新公学）。这是我一生的第二个段落。

*　*　*　*　*

我父亲生平最佩服一个朋友——上海张焕纶先生（字经甫）。张先生是提倡新教育最早的人，他自己办了一个梅溪书院，后来改为梅溪学堂。二哥三哥都在梅溪书院住过，所以我到了上海也就进了梅溪学堂。我只见过张焕纶先生一次，不久他就死了。现在谈中国教育史的人，很少能知道这一位新教育的老先锋了。他死了二十二年之后，我在巴黎见着赵诒璹先生（字颂南，无锡人），他是张先生的得意学生，他说他在梅溪书院很久，最佩服张先生的人格，受他的感化最深。他说，张先生教人的宗旨只是一句话："千万不要仅仅做个自了汉。"我坐在巴黎乡间的草地上，听着赵先生谈话，想着赵先生夫妇的刻苦生活和奋斗精神，——这时候，我心里想：张先生的一句话影响了他的一个学生的一生，张先生的教育事业不算是失败。

梅溪学堂的课程是很不完备的，只有国文，算学，英文三项。分班的标准是国文程度。英文算学的程度虽好，国文不到头班，仍不能毕业。国文到了头班，英文算学还很幼稚，却可以毕业。这个办法虽然不算顶好，但这和当时教会学堂的偏重英文，都是过渡时代的特别情形。

我初到上海的时候，全不懂得上海话。进学堂拜见张先生时，我穿着蓝呢的夹袍，绛色呢大袖马褂，完全是个乡下人。许多小学生围拢来看我这乡下人。因为我不懂话，又不曾“开笔”做文章，所以暂时编在第五班，差不多是最低的一班。班上读的是文明书局的《蒙学读本》，英文班上用《华英初阶》，算学班上用《笔算数学》。

我是读了许多古书的，现在读《蒙学读本》，自然毫不费力，所以有工夫专读英文算学。这样过了六个星期。到了第四十二天，我的机会来了。教《蒙学读本》的沈先生大概也瞧不起这样浅近的书，更料不到这班小孩子里面有人起来驳正他的错误。这一天，他讲的一课书里有这样一段引语：

> 传曰，二人同心，其利断金。同心之言，其臭如兰。

沈先生随口说这是《左传》上的话。我那时已勉强能说几句上海话了，等他讲完之后，我拿着书，走到他的桌边，低声对他说：这个“传曰”是《易经》的《系辞传》，不是《左传》。先生脸红了，说，“侬读过《易经》？”我说读过。他又问，“阿曾读过别样经书？”我说读过《诗经》《书经》《礼记》。他问我做过文章没有，我说没有做过。他说，“我出个题目，拨侬做做试试看。”他出了“孝弟说”三个字，我回到座位上，勉强写了一百多字，交给先生看。他看了对我说，“侬跟我来。”我卷了书包，跟他下楼走到前厅。前厅上东面是头班，西面是二班。沈先生到二班课堂上，对教员顾先生说了一些话，顾先生就叫我坐在末一排的桌子上。我才知道我一天之中升了四班，居然做第二班的学生了。

可是我正在欢喜的时候，抬头一看，就得发愁了。这一天是星期四，是作文的日子。黑板上写着两个题目：

> 论题：原日本之所由强。
> 经义题：古之为关也将以御暴，今之为关也将以为暴。

我从来不知道“经义”是怎样做的，所以想都不敢去想他。可是日本在天南地北，我还不很清楚，这个“原日本之所由强”又从那里说起呢？既不敢去问先生，班上同学又没有一个熟人，我心里颇怪沈先生太卤莽，不应该把我升的这么高，这么快。

忽然学堂的茶房走到厅上来，对先生说了几句话，呈上一张字条。先生看了字条，对我说，我家中有要紧事，派了人来领我回家，卷子可以带回去做，下星期四交卷。我正在着急，听了先生的话，抄了题目，逃出课堂，赶到门房，才知道三哥病危，二哥在汉口没有回来，店里

（我家那时在上海南市开一个公义油栈）的管事慌了，所以赶人来领我回去。

我赶到店里，三哥还能说话。但不到几个钟头，他就死了，死时他的头还靠在我手腕上。第三天，二哥从汉口赶到。丧事办了之后，我把升班的事告诉二哥，并且问他“原日本之所由强”一个题目应该参考一些什么书。二哥检了《明治维新三十年史》，壬寅《新民丛报汇编》……一类的书，装了一大篮，叫我带回学堂去翻看。费了几天的工夫，才勉强凑了一篇论说交进去。不久我也会做“经义”了。几个月之后，我居然算是头班学生了，但英文还不曾读完《华英初阶》，算学还只做到“利息”。

这一年梅溪学堂改为梅溪小学，年底要办毕业第一班。我们听说学堂里要送张在贞，王言，郑璋和我四个人到上海道衙门去考试。我和王郑二人都不愿意去考试，都不等到考试日期，就离开学堂了。

为什么我们不愿受上海道的考试呢？这一年之中，我们都经过了思想上的一种激烈变动，都自命为“新人物”了。二哥给我的一大篮子的“新书”，其中很多是梁启超先生一派人的著述；这时代是梁先生的文章最有势力的时代，他虽不曾明白提倡种族革命，却在一班少年人的脑海里种下了不少革命种子。有一天，王言君借来了一本邹容的《革命军》，我们几个人传观，都很受感动。借来的书是要还人的，所以我们到了晚上，等舍监查夜过去之后，偷偷起来点着蜡烛，轮流抄了一本《革命军》。正在传抄《革命军》的少年，怎肯投到官厅去考试呢？

这一年是日俄战争的第一年。上海的报纸上每天登着很详细的战事新闻，爱看报的少年学生都感绝大的兴奋。这时候中国的舆论和民众心理都表同情于日本，都痛恨俄国，又都痛恨清政府的宣告中立，仇俄的心理增加了不少排满的心理。这一年，上海发生了几件刺激人心的案子。一件是革命党万福华在租界内枪击前广西巡抚王之春，因为王之春从前是个联俄派。一件是上海黄浦滩上一个宁波木匠周生有被一个俄国水兵无故砍杀。这两件事都引起上海报纸的注意；尤其是那年新出现的《时报》，天天用简短沉痛的时评替周生有喊冤，攻击上海的官厅。我们少年人初读这种短评，没有一个不受刺激的。周生有案的判决使许多人失望。我和王言、郑璋三个人都恨极了上海道袁海观，所以联合写了一封长信去痛骂他。这封信是匿名的，但我们总觉得不愿意去受他的考试。所以我们三个人都离开梅溪学堂了。（王言是黟县人，后来不知下落了；郑璋是潮阳人，后改名仲诚，毕业于复旦，不久病死。）

二

我进的第二个学堂是澄衷学堂。这学堂是宁波富商叶成忠先生创办的，原来的目的是教育宁波的贫寒子弟；后来规模稍大，渐渐成了上海一个有名的私立学校，来学的人便不限止于宁波人了。这时候的监督是章一山先生，总教是白振民先生。白先生和我二哥是同学，他看见了我在梅溪作的文字，劝我进澄衷学堂。光绪乙巳年（一九〇五），我就进了澄衷学堂。

澄衷共有十二班，课堂分东西两排，最高一班称为东一斋，第二班为西一斋，以下直到西六斋。这时候还没有严格规定的学制，也没有什么中学小学的分别。用现在的名称来分，可说前六班为中学，其余六班为小学。澄衷的学科比较完全多了，国文、英文、算学之外，还有物理、化学、博物、图画诸科。分班略依各科的平均程度，但英文、算学程度过低的都不能入高班。

我初进澄衷时，因英文、算学太低，被编在东三斋（第五班）。下半年便升入东二斋（第三班），第二年（丙午，一九〇六）又升入西一斋（第二班）。澄衷管理很严，每月有月考，每半年有大考，月考大考都出榜公布，考前三名的有奖品。我的考试成绩常常在第一，故一年升了四班。我在这一年半之中，最有进步的是英文、算学。教英文的谢昌熙先生，陈诗豪先生，张镜人先生，教算学的郁耀卿先生，都给了我很多的益处。

我这时候对于算学最感觉兴趣，常常在宿舍熄灯之后，起来演习算学问题。卧房里没有桌子，我想出一个法子来，把蜡烛放在帐子外床架上，我伏在被窝里，仰起头来，把石板放在枕头上做算题。因为下半年要跳过一班，所以我须要自己补习代数。我买了一部丁福保先生编的代数书，在一个夏天把初等代数习完了，下半年安然升班。

这样的用功，睡眠不够，就影响到身体的健康。有一个时期，我的两只耳朵几乎全聋了。但后来身体渐渐复原，耳朵也不聋了。我小时身体多病，出门之后，逐渐强健。重要的原因我想是因为我在梅溪和澄衷两年半之中从来不曾缺一点钟体操的功课。我从没有加入竞赛的运动，但我上体操的课，总很用气力做种种体操。

澄衷的教员之中，我受杨千里先生（天骥）的影响最大。我在东三斋时，他是西二斋的国文教员，人都说他思想很新。我去看他，他很鼓励我，在我的作文稿本上题了“言论自由”四个字。后来我在东二斋和西一斋，他都做过国文教员。有一次，他教我们班上买吴汝纶删节的严复译本《天演论》来做读本，这是我第一次读《天演论》，高兴的很。他出的作文题目也很特别，有一次的题目是“物竞天择，适者生存，试申其义”。（我的一篇，前几年澄衷校长曹锡爵先生和现在的校长葛祖兰先生曾在旧课卷内寻出，至今还保存在校内。）这种题目自然不是我们

十几岁小孩子能发挥，但读《天演论》，做“物竞天择”的文章，都可以代表那个时代的风气。

《天演论》出版之后，不上几年，便风行到全国，竟做了中学生的读物了。读这书的人，很少能了解赫胥黎在科学史和思想史上的贡献。他们能了解的只是那“优胜劣败”的公式在国际政治上的意义。在中国屡次战败之后，在庚子辛丑大耻辱之后，这个“优胜劣败，适者生存”的公式确是一种当头棒喝，给了无数人一种绝大的刺激。几年之中，这种思想像野火一样，延烧着许多少年人的心和血。“天演”“物竞”“淘汰”“天择”等等术语都渐渐成了报纸文章的熟语，渐渐成了一班爱国志士的“口头禅”。还有许多人爱用这种名词做自己或儿女的名字。陈炯明不是号竞存吗？我有两个同学，一个叫做孙竞存，一个叫做杨天择。我自己的名字也是这种风气底下的纪念品。我在学堂里的名字是胡洪骍。有一天的早晨，我请我二哥代我想一个表字，二哥一面洗脸，一面说：“就用‘物竞天择适者生存’的‘适’字，好不好？”我很高兴，就用“适之”二字。（二哥字绍之，三哥字振之。）后来我发表文字，偶然用“胡适”作笔名，直到考试留美官费时（一九一〇）我才正式用“胡适”的名字。

我在澄衷一年半，看了一些课外的书籍。严复译的《群己权界论》，像是在这时代读的。严先生的文字太古雅，所以少年人受他的影响没有梁启超的影响大。梁先生的文章，明白晓畅之中，带着浓挚的热情，使读的人不能不跟着他走，不能不跟着他想。有时候，我们跟他走到一点上，还想往前走，他倒打住了，或是换了方向走了。在这种时候，我们不免感觉失望。但这种失望也正是他的大恩惠，因为他尽了他的能力，把我们带到了一个境界，原指望我们感觉不满足，原指望我们更朝前走。跟着他走，我们固然得感谢他；他引起了我们的好奇心，指着一个未知的世界叫我们自己去探寻，我们更得感谢他。

我个人受了梁先生无穷的恩惠。现在追想起来，有两点最分明。第一是他的《新民说》，第二是他的《中国学术思想变迁之大势》。梁先生自号“中国之新民”，又号“新民子”，他的杂志也叫做《新民丛报》，可见他的全副心思贯注在这一点。“新民”的意义是要改造中国的民族，要把这老大的病夫民族改造成一个新鲜活泼的民族。他说：

> 未有四肢已断，五脏已瘵，筋脉已伤，血轮已涸，而身犹能存者；则亦未有其民愚陋怯弱涣散混浊而国犹能立者。……苟有新民，何患无新制度，无新政府，无新国家！（《新民说·叙论》）

他的根本主张是：

> 吾思之吾重思之，今日中国群治之现象殆无一不当从根柢处摧陷廓清，除旧而布新

者也。（《新民议》）

说的更沉痛一点：

然则救危亡求进步之道将奈何？曰，必取数千年横暴混浊之政体，破碎而齑粉之，使数千万如虎如狼如蝗如蝻如蜮如蛆之官吏失其社鼠城狐之凭借，然后能涤荡肠胃以上于进步之途也！必取数千年腐败柔媚之学说，廓清而辞辟之，使数百万如蠹鱼如鹦鹉如水母如畜犬之学子毋得摇笔弄舌舞文嚼字，为民贼之后援，然后能一新耳目以行进步之实也！而其所以达此目的之方法有二：一曰无血之破坏，二曰有血之破坏。……中国如能为无血之破坏乎？吾馨香而祝之。中国如不得不为有血之破坏乎？吾衰绖而哀之。（《新民说·论进步》）

我们在那个时代读这样的文字，没有一个人不受他的震荡感动的。他在那时代（我那时读的是他在壬寅癸卯做的文字）主张最激烈，态度最鲜明，感人的力量也最深刻。他很明白的提出一个革命的口号：

破坏亦破坏，不破坏亦破坏！（同上）

后来他虽然不坚持这个态度了，而许多少年人冲上前去，可不肯缩回来了。

《新民说》的最大贡献在于指出中国民族缺乏西洋民族的许多美德。梁先生很不客气的说：

五色人相比较，白人最优。以白人相比较，条顿人最优。以条顿人相比较，盎格鲁撒逊人最优。（《叙论》）

他指出我们所最缺乏而最须采补的是公德，是国家思想，是进取冒险，是权利思想，是自由，是自治，是进步，是自尊，是合群，是生利的能力，是毅力，是义务思想，是尚武，是私德，是政治能力。他在这十几篇文字里，抱着满腔的血诚，怀着无限的信心，用他那枝“笔锋常带情感”的健笔，指挥那无数的历史例证，组织成那些能使人鼓舞，使人掉泪，使人感激奋发的文章。其中如《论毅力》等篇，我在二十五年后重读，还感觉到他的魔力。何况在我十几岁最容易受感动的时期呢？

《新民说》诸篇给我开辟了一个新世界，使我彻底相信中国之外还有很高等的民族，很高等的文化；《中国学术思想变迁之大势》也给我开辟了一个新世界，使我知道四书五经之外中国还有学术思想。梁先生分中国学术思想史为七个时代：

（一）胚胎时代　春秋以前
（二）全盛时代　春秋末及战国
（三）儒学统一时代　两汉

（四）老学时代　魏晋
（五）佛学时代　南北朝，唐
（六）儒佛混合时代　宋元明
（七）衰落时代　近二百五十年

我们现在看这个分段，也许不能满意。（梁先生自己后来也不满意，他在《清代学术概论》里已不认近二百五十年为衰落时代了。）但在二十五年前，这是第一次用历史眼光来整理中国旧学术思想，第一次给我们一个“学术史”的见解。所以我最爱读这篇文章。不幸梁先生做了几章之后，忽然停止了，使我大失望。甲辰以后，我在《新民丛报》上见他续作此篇，我高兴极了。但我读了这篇长文，终感觉不少的失望。第一，他论“全盛时代”，说了几万字的绪论，却把“本论”（论诸家学说之根据及其长短得失）全搁下了，只注了一个“阙”字。他后来只补作了《子墨子学说》一篇，其余各家始终没有补。第二，《佛学时代》一章的本论一节也全没有做。第三，他把第六个时代（宋元明）整个搁起不提。这一部学术思想史中间阙了三个最要紧的部分，使我眼巴巴的望了几年。我在那失望的时期，自己忽发野心，心想：“我将来若能替梁任公先生补作这几章阙了的中国学术思想史，岂不是很光荣的事业？”我越想越高兴，虽然不敢告诉人，却真打定主意做这件事了。

这一点野心就是我后来做《中国哲学史》的种子。我从那时候起，就留心读周秦诸子的书。我二哥劝我读朱子的《近思录》，这是我读理学书的第一部。梁先生的《德育鉴》和《节本明儒学案》，也是这个时期出来的。这些书引我去读宋明理学书，但我读的并不多，只读了王守仁的《传习录》和《正谊堂丛书》内的程朱语录。

我在澄衷的第二年，发起各斋组织“自治会”。有一次，我在自治会演说，题目是“论性”。我驳孟子性善的主张，也不赞成荀子的性恶说。我承认王阳明的性“无善无恶，可善可恶”是对的。我那时正读英文的《格致读本》（*The Science Readers*），懂得了一点点最浅近的科学知识，就搬出来应用了！孟子曾说：

> 人性之善也，犹水之就下也。人无有不善，水无有不下。

我说：孟子不懂得科学，——我们在那时候还叫做“格致”，——不知道水有保持水平的道理，又不知道地心吸力的道理。“水无有不下”，并非水性向下，只是地心吸力引他向下。吸力可以引他向下，高地的蓄水塔也可以使自来水管里的水向上。水无上无下，只保持他的水平，却又可上可下，正像人性本无善无恶，却又可善可恶！

我这篇性论很受同学的欢迎，我也很得意，以为我真用科学证明告

子、王阳明的性论了！

* * * * *

我在澄衷只住了一年半，但英文和算学的基础都是在这里打下的。澄衷的好处在于管理的严肃，考试的认真。还有一桩好处，就是学校办事人真能注意到每个学生的功课和品行。白振民先生自己虽不教书，却认得个个学生，时时叫学生去问话。因为考试的成绩都有很详细的记录，故每个学生的能力都容易知道。天资高的学生，可以越级升两班；中等的可以半年升一班；下等的不升班，不升班就等于降半年了。这种编制和管理，是很可以供现在办中学的人参考的。

我在西一斋做了班长，不免有时和学校办事人冲突。有一次，为了班上一个同学被开除的事，我向白先生抗议无效，又写了一封长信去抗议。白先生悬牌责备我，记我大过一次。我虽知道白先生很爱护我，但我当时心里颇感觉不平，不愿继续在澄衷了。恰好夏间中国公学招考，有朋友劝我去考；考取之后，我就在暑假后（一九〇六）搬进中国公学去了。

廿，三，十八，北京。

IV MORE SCHOOLDAYS IN SHANGHAI

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The Public School of China was founded in Shanghai in the 乙巳 year of Emperor Kuanghsu (1905) by a group of Chinese students who returned from Japan. The Education Ministry of the Japanese Government had previous to that proclaimed a number of discriminatory regulations designed to curtail the entry of Chinese students. This was considered a grave insult to China by the Chinese students in Japan who, in a spirit of protest, returned to start their own school. When the protest campaign was at its height, a Chinese student from Hunan named Ch'en T'ien-hua committed suicide by throwing himself into the ocean in order to encourage his fellow countrymen at home to a greater national consciousness and patriotism. This event shocked the public into greater awareness, and caused many of our students in Japan to come home. The upshot was, everybody agreed that an institution of higher education for the general public should be established in China. In the Twelfth Month of the 乙巳 year, representatives from thirteen provinces met in conference and decided on the school, which was to be called *Chung Kuo Kung Hsüeh*(Public School of China). In the following spring (1906), the school opened its doors in a hired house at Huangpanch'iao on New Range Road in Shanghai. But by that time the anti-discrimination campaign had already shot its bolt, and many government scholarship students were returning to Japan to resume school. In those days, Shanghai was still a port city of very limited horizons, and the sight of so many young men in foreign-style clothes and without queues running their own school (at the Public School of China) was universally considered a strange phenomenon. The Qing officials suspected them of being Revolutionaries and society in general called them monsters, with the result that few contributed money or otherwise aided the undertaking, and the school was plunged into a desperate crisis scarcely a month and half following its inauguration. In a fit of indignation and despondency, Mr. Yao Hung-yeh, managing-director of the

School and a native of Yiyang, Hunan, committed suicide by drowning himself in the river on the 13th of the Third Month. In a letter of several thousand words he left behind he said: "I am dying so that the Public School of China may live." When this moving document was published it once again shocked public opinion into attention, and more and more people came forward with support. It was only then that the Public School began to find its precarious footing.

I was one of those youngsters who read and were greatly moved by the last testament of the patriot, Yao. That summer I applied at the school to take its entrance examination, and I remember the supervisor of the examination was Mr. Ma Chün-wu, the chief of instruction. The topic for the Chinese Composition test was "My Ambition." I do not recall what I wrote in my paper, but some time afterward I was happy to have Mr. Ma tell me that he had been so impressed with my paper that he had passed it around among the other members of the faculty and all had agreed that the new School was to enroll for itself a promising student.

After I moved into the Public School I found that most of my schoolmates wore no queues and affected Japanese-style kimonos and wooden slippers; others, I saw, were elderly gentlemen from the interior who wore old-fashioned thick eyeglasses and sported water-pipes. They were all many years my senior, and for me who had been used to being monitor it was my first realization that I was a mere kid. It did not take me long to find out that the standard of English and Mathematics at the Public School was extremely low, and I did not have to exert myself at all as a member of the top class. In those years Chinese educational circles were extremely deficient in science, and although the Public School of China was at most comparable to the present junior and senior middle schools in its curricula, Japanese instructors had to be engaged for many of the courses offered. Such subjects as Higher Algebra, Analytical Geometry, and Biology at first were all taught by Japanese, with a Japanese-speaking student serving as interpreter in the class. Of my fellows in the top class, men like Chu Ching-nung and Li Ch'in-ho had all served as interpreters, while several other schoolmates even served concurrently as faculty or staff members; for instance, Tan Mou-hsing was our Physical Culture instructor. Among my contemporaries only Chou Lieh-chung, Li Chün, Sun Ts'ui-ts'un, Sun Ching-ts'un and a few others were about my age. Our instructors and senior schoolmates regarded us all as their kid brothers, favoring us with special care and encouragement. Association with

these comparatively senior and more experienced teachers and schoolmates left its effect particularly on me. In my life heretofore there had been lacking a period of childhood anyway; now mingling daily with these older persons, I had the feeling all the more that I was no longer a child.

Among the faculty members and student body at the Public School of China there were not a few Revolutionary Party members. Therefore, I had ample opportunity here of following the *Min Pao* (*People's Journal*) published from Tokyo. During the summer and New Year's vacations many schoolmates had back issues of this paper sewed into their pillows in order to take them home and pass them around among acquaintances. There were other more radically-inclined students who would take to forcing their schoolmates to cut off their queues. But during my stay of more than three years at the Public School, nobody ever forced me to get rid of my queue or induced me to join the T'ungmenhui. It was not until twenty years later that Mr. Tan Mou-hsing revealed to me that at the time the T'ungmenhui members at the school did discuss me but the consensus was that I would be of greater usefulness in the future in scholarly pursuits and, out of their affectionate regard for me, they had decided not to induce me to participate in revolutionary activities. Nevertheless, many of their activities at that time were not concealed from me. One evening around ten, when I was about to go to bed, Mr. Tan came to seek me, imparting the news that a girl student returning from Japan had been held up by the Customs because she had been unable to produce a key to open for inspection a suitcase she had brought back for a friend. Because I could speak a few words of English, Mr. Tan wished that I would go to the Customs to negotiate with the officers there. Knowing that the suitcase contained contraband, I went with Tan to the Customs jetty. It was already past 11 o'clock, and not a soul could be found; so we turned back rather dejectedly. The next day, the girl student decided to leave herself, abandoning her suitcase at the Customs unclaimed.

Nowadays, with classes in all the Shanghai schools conducted in mandarin, one can hardly conceive that the Shanghai of twenty years ago was still a world of the Shanghai dialect, which was the universal medium of instruction in all the schools. Students from different parts of the nation all had to learn to speak the Shanghai dialect. The Public School of China, however, was the first to adopt the "national language" for purposes of instruction. Of our student body, the largest number were from the provinces of Szechuan, Hunan, Honan and Kwangtung, together with a sprinkling from

practically every other province of the nation. We all spoke in the "national tongue," and our teachers also taught in the "national tongue." Even instructors from Kiangsu and Chekiang whose native tongues are variations of the Shanghai dialect, such as Messrs. Sung Yao-ju, Wang Hsien-hua and Shen Hsiang-yün, had to affect a kind of mandarin in class. When I first entered I could only handle my native Hweichow and the Shanghai dialects; but before long I had acquired an acceptable "national tongue." There were mostly Szechuanese among my schoolmates, and I loved above all to learn the Szechuan dialect, which was a most clear-cut variety of the mandarin; that is why the mandarin that I came to speak was closest to Szechuanese. Two or three years later, when I used to call on my friends at some of the local Szechuan hostels(such as the Yüan and Hou houses), I was only asked, "Is your honorable hometown East Szechuan or West Szechuan?" being invariably taken to be a fellow provincial.

At the time the Public School of China was founded, all the students were also founders, and there were no distinctions between staff members and the student body because the staff was elected from among the students. The founders of this institution were all men of revolutionary ideas and they thought that they would put into practice in the school a democratic system. This idea was brought out in the letter left behind by Yao Hung-yeh, the martyr, in which he mentioned about "practicing democratic methods with utmost justice and unselfishness." The school was organized into two departments, the "Executive" and the "Legislative." Officers of the executive department (Dean of Studies, Business Manager, and Dormitory Proctor) were all elected for specific terms of office by the Legislative Department and responsible to it. The Legislation Department was composed of the various class monitors and dormitory prefects, and endowed with the power to supervise and impeach the officers. Whenever the Legislative Department met in session, there would always be heated debates, sometimes carried on right up to the time of roll-call and "lights out" before the meeting adjourned. Among the Legislators, the best known was a Szechuanese named Kung Ts'ung-lung, who made a fine Speaker of the House, extremely articulate and with a polished parliamentary manner. It was an extremely profitable training for us all. Because I was too young in age to serve as a Legislator in my first year, I would sometimes listen to their debates from outside the meeting hall; I could not help thinking what child's play the Student Self-government Society at the Ch'eng Chung School had been in comparison.

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During my first semester several of my roommates came from the districts of P'inghsiang in Kiangsi and Liling in Hunan. These are neighboring districts and they spoke a dialect that was not too intelligible to me. But before one month was up we had become well acquainted. They were all men of between twenty and thirty; one gentleman, named Chung Wen-hui was already sporting a beard, and was known to everybody as "Chung the Beard." He told me that they had just organized an academic society with the name of Ching Yeh Hui (The Vie-for-Works Society), so called because its object would be to "vie for reforms in society and improvements in oneself." He wanted to recommend me for membership in the society, to which I consented. Mr. Chung, which was chairman of the society, took me around to its headquarters and introduced me to some of the people there. The society met outside the school at an address in Hou Fu Lane on North Szechuan Road. Members who lived in the clubhouse were mostly Revolutionary Party members. There was one Yang Cho-lin and one Liao Teu-fan, who were both to be killed for their revolutionary activities. The most enthusiastic workers in the society, aside from Chung, were Hsieh Yin-chieh and Ting Hung-hai, who between them were responsible for carrying on the business of the society for the longest period.

The first of the activities of the Ching Yeh Hui was to publish a periodical which came out every ten days written in the vernacular. They had invited a man named Fu Chün-chien to be the editor. The aim of the Ching Yeh Journal, said Mr. Fu, were four: (1) To promote education;(2) to develop public morale; (3) to reform society; and (4) to advocate self-government. Actually, these were all window-dressing, with the real aim one of propaganda for the revolution. Their idea was to have the revolutionary spirit "spread among the youthful citizens of the primary schools;" that was why it had been decided to write the Journal in pai-hua, or the vernacular tongue. In the "Inaugural Message" written by Mr. Hu Tze-fang (who was to make a name for himself later as the poet Hu Shih-lu), there was the following passage:

> Nowadays those who call themselves intellectuals would insist on writing essays in an obtrusive style in which are presented high-flown ideas for the edification of the literati, rather than think of bringing light to the younger generation in the towns and villages whose numbers are hundreds of thousands times greater. In this way the educated would become ever more educated, whilst the ignorant would become ever more ignorant; the former dwindling in number

every day, whilst the latter daily multiplying. Can this be the way to a better rule?

Another member of the society who signed himself under the pseudonym of "Ta Wu," contributed an article on the subject, "On the Advantages of Learning the Mandarin," saying:

> Gentlemen, to save China we must first unite all Chinese. To unite the Chinese people, we must first achieve a unification of the Chinese language. … But the thing is, today one hardly knows how many different dialects there are in the Chinese language, and how are we to combine them and make them uniform? … There is no other method save by popularizing the mandarin. But there are even many varieties of mandarin, such as the Southern mandarin, the Northern mandarin, and the Peking mandarin. As long as some kind of mandarin or other is at present spoken throughout the nation, by making it conform to the Peking mandarin, we will naturally have a common national tongue.

These writers had all been in Japan and, being students at the Public School of China, most of them felt the need for a "common national tongue." "Kuo yü" (national language) as an ideal was repeatedly mentioned in the first issue of the *Ching Yeh Journal*; it must have been the earliest conscious promotion of a revolutionary change which was to come about a decade or so later.

The inaugural issue of the *Ching Yeh Journal* made its appearance on the 11th of the Ninth Month, 1906. My roommate Chung, having noticed that I was fond of reading novels and at the same time able to write in the classical style, began to talk me into contributing for the Journal in the vernacular style. The first issue contained an article by me popularizing the science of "Geography," signed with the nom de plume, "Ch'i Tzu Sheng Sheng" (Young-Man-Who-Would-Improve-Himself). I was just then in the midst of studying Lao-tze, and was enamored of one of his phrases, "Those who can improve themselves will prevail"; hence, I gave myself the name "Hsi Ch'iang" (Hoping-to-be-Strong), otherwise styling myself "Young-Man-Who-Would-Improve-Himself." This article was the first I ever wrote in the vernacular style, so here I quote a passage from it dealing with "the fact that the earth is round," to be preserved as a memento:

> Let us suppose a man standing by the sea and gazing at the ships passing to and fro in the distance. The incoming ships would be seen to reveal first of all their top masts, and then their sails, and finally their bodies. As to the outgoing ships, it is directly the opposite: first the body of the vessel would disappear, next its sails, and the last to be seen would be its masts. How do we account for this? Because the earth is round, therefore incoming ships are in fact slowly climbing upwards, naturally revealing to our eyes the top of the masts first. The same theory

> applies to the outgoing ships, only in reverse. … If my extreme readers still find it incredible, just catch a fly and place it on an apple so that it will climb up from the bottom. Is it not true that its head would first come into view and only afterwards its legs? …

This passage already demonstrates thoroughly the strengths and the weaknesses of my style of writing. My strength lies in the clarity and intelligibility of my writing; my weakness is its superficiality and simplicity. When I wrote this I was hardly fifteen years of age. In the twenty-five years that have intervened, I have clung to this one principle, that in writing it is of the utmost importance that people understand you. That is why I have never been afraid to have people consider my writing too easy and too simple.

After having written in the vernacular style for a month I was getting bolder, and suddenly one day I resolved to write a long novel. The title I gave to my novel was *Isle of Make-Believe*; its theme, "to enlighten the people and sweep away popular superstitions." I mapped out the headings for the forty chapters that were to constitute my novel and began writing. The first chapter appeared in the third issue of the *Journal*(1st Day of the Tenth Month, 1906) under the heading:

> Yü Shan-jen Becomes Ill, a Prey to His Own Imaginations.
> Sun Shao-wu Dispels Superstitions with the Light of Truth.

The opening passage of the novel read:

> Once upon a time in the district of Kweich'i, in the city of Kuanghsin, in Kiangsi Province, there was a populous and prosperous township known as Shench'üanchen (Town of the Gods) with a thoroughfare running through it named Fu-erhchieh (Blessed-Child Street). At one end of this street there stood a large and imposing house. One afternoon, two men were engaged in conversation on the second floor of this house. One of them was an old man in his middle fifties with graying hair, lying heavily covered in bed with his head near its edge, and looking emaciated as if seriously ill. The other was a young man of eighteen or nineteen who had regular features and a spirited manner, seated in a chair beside the bed and listening to the old man talk. …

I had early conceived a bitter hatred for the Taoist religion. So I set the opening chapter of this novel against superstition in the home town of Chang the Heavenly Master. I was, however, unfamiliar with the local geography and customs of the district of Kweich'i, so not long afterwards I moved my hero Sun Shaowu to my native Hweichow.

The *Ching Yeh Journal* suspended publication after ten issues, and my novel went as far as Chapter VI. The Journal was not revived until the 11th of

the Third Month, 1908, when its eleventh issue came off the press. But by then Fu Chün-chien had left, and there being no responsible editor. I myself was no longer interested in contributing. By the Seventh Month of that year, when the Journal reached its 24th issue, the editing job was entrusted to me. From No. 24 to No. 38 of the magazine I did a lot of writing, sometimes writing practically an entire issue, from the editorials to notes on current events. Beginning No. 24, the serialized *Isle of Make-Believe* had also been resumed and I carried the story down to Chapter XI, when the *Journal* finally suspended for good and my novel ended with it. During this period I changed my pen-name to "T'ieh-erh."

During its lifetime the issues of the *Ching Yeh Journal* provided me with an excellent opportunity for free expression, making it possible for me to sort out what little knowledge and opinion I had acquired at home and in schools and recount them in clear and concise language. Those who were responsible for the management of the *Journal* never interfered with my expression, thus I was enabled to develop my thoughts to the fullest, especially what I thought of religion and superstition. For instance, in Chapter VIII of the novel *Isle of Make-Believe*, Sun Shao-wu was made to discuss the question of "karma" in the following terms:

> It is pretty hard to talk about the two words "cause" and "effect." In ancient times someone had said: "Let us look at this tree outside the window: each and every one of its blossoms was exactly alike, with no difference of good or bad about them whatever. Presently, there came a violent gust of wind, blowing the tree-full of flowers hither and yon; some of the petals were blown off the window-blinds on to the velvety green, others were scattered outside the wall and fell into the sewer. These scattered blossoms met with varying ends, good and bad, but can we claim that there is any cause-and-effect relationship in it and that each is reaping what it has sown?" This is very correctly said, but my view of the matter goes beyond it. I guess there is such a thing as cause-and-effect, and that every cause must produce its own effect. For instance, you eat and feel satiated, you drink and feel intoxicated. Given eating and drinking as the respective causes, there is produced the natural effects of satiation and intoxication. But in eating it is the effect produced by what you eat that satisfies you; just as, in raising melons, it is the growth from melon seeds that produces the melons. In neither case is there any arbiter in the matter. If there should exist a higher arbiter in everything, what is called God or Buddha, then as long as they can punish the sinner after the fact, why not prevent him from committing the sin in the first place? … If "Heaven" really is as allpowerful as that, why not make everyone under heaven into a good man? … Having given birth to sinners and suffered them to do evils in this world, why should "Heaven" then turn around and make them reap the evil results of their evil deeds? Is this not a great inconsistency described as "Now you do and now you don't"? … In short, as long as "Heaven" is unable to prevent people from doing evil it follows that it is equally incapable of punishing the evil-doers. …

The parable of the scattered blossoms cited above was based on the

writings of Fan Chen (see Chapter II), and the rest represented my own thinking. It was frankly a statement of atheism. At about the same time I also published in the *Journal* a compilation of "Notes On the Non-Existence of Ghosts." The very first entry in this article was the passage from Ssuma Kuang already quoted— "When the body has decayed and disappeared, the spirit also scatters into thin air; wherefore, given all the fires and tortures of the nether world, there is nowhere that they could be applied"—and the one from Fan Chen to the effect that "spirit is to form what the sharpness of a knife is to the knife itself." (See Chapter II). For the second item, I quoted this poem of Su Tung-p'o:

> In spring planting you want the rains to come, at harvest time you want the rains to go,
> Happy the wind is with you or resenting bucking against it, as you travel to and fro.
> Should all and sundry get that for which they pray,
> The Creator would have to order a thousand changes in one day!

The third item contained, in the literary style, my bitter denunciation of *Hsi Yu Chi* (*Mission to the West*) and *Feng Shen Pang* (*The Honor Roll of the Gods*), for their use of supernatural themes. This article was published in the Eighth Month, 1908; who would have dreamed that fifteen years later (in 1923) the same young man who mouthed these opinions should be so enthusiastically engaged in a piece of historical research as long as twenty thousand words for the same novel, *Hsi Yu Chi*! And there is a good chance that he would do the same for *Feng Shen Pang* if only he could gather enough material for his research.

In the fourth entry in these atheistic "Notes," I wrote:

> People have criticized me for holding to the view that there are no ghosts, claiming that in demolishing all arguments for hell and punishment I was in fact encouraging evil-doing and going against the best intentions of our ancient religious institution. This charge I feel I cannot accept. For today the talk of hell and retribution is still very much prevalent, and yet the wicked has multiplied in numbers and public morals deteriorate every day, and what effects have our ancient religious institutions produced? In this day of fierce competition of ideas, unless we wipe away all these supernatural encumbrances in our minds, how would new ideas find a way to be born?

Coming from a mere child of seventeen, such boastful talk would probably bring a smile of condescension to the reader's lips. But looking back on it now, I cannot help thinking that the views I expressed then had after all been crystallized from several years of independent thinking; I feel I have no

reason to be ashamed of it when I compare myself with the youths of today who spend their time performing mental gymnastics in the realm of abstract terminology.

I had long since forgotten these things that I wrote for the *Ching Yeh Journal*. Two years ago I saw in the papers that the Propaganda Department of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee was advertising for a complete set of the back numbers of this magazine—probably they were unaware that a major portion of the contents therein had been written by one Hu Shih—but did not appear to have succeeded. I have, with the assistance of some of my old friends, been seeking everywhere for the past few years but still failed to complete my own set. Looking back on some of these writings now, I have the feeling indeed that a world of time has elapsed between then and now. But what made me wonder is that some of the ideas which were later to become important points of departure for me were already plainly revealed during this period when I was not more than seventeen or eighteen. One example could be found in an article on "The Slipshod Habit" which I wrote for No. 36 of the *Journal.* In it I delivered myself of a scathing denunciation of the lazy, slipshod habit of thought, comparing "Slipshoddism" to a great scourge in Chinese history, a scourge which had killed off a national spirit of thousands of years' glory. Again, in Chapter XI of my novel *Isle of Make-Believe* (the Journal, No. 37) I had the following to say on the popular superstition in connection with divination by means of the ouija board:

> Just think about it, Ch'eng Cheng-weng, even if there were ghosts and spirits, how could men of such great dignity as Kuan Ti and Lü Tsu be made to answer the summons of a mere amulet or two? The logic of this is so simple that it could be grasped by anybody upon the least bit of reflection. The pity is we Chinese people are never willing to think; we only know enough to follow the tide and echo the other fellow. The fact that the ignorance of our national citizenry has reached this new low, in my opinion, is entirely attributable to our unwillingness to think. As the great Confucian scholar of the Sung dynasty, Ch'eng Yi-ch'uan said, "All knowledge stems from thinking"—there has never been expressed a greater truth. When Mr. Cheng reached this point in his discourse, he turned and, addressing Yi-hua and Yi-huang, said: It will be worthwhile for you two to mark these words of Master Ch'eng as your motto.

This phrase, "All knowledge stems from thinking," had caught my attention when I was studying Chu-tze's *Chin Ssu Lu* (*Record of Recent Thoughts*) at the Ch'eng Chung School. That, later, my thinking was to follow the direction of Huxley and Dewey can also be explained by the fact that as early as my adolescence I had already paid so much attention to the

importance of a correct method of thinking.

Another instance may be found in an article entitled "On the Inhumanity of Adopting Children" (reprinted in the *Journal*, No. 29) which I wrote during the same period for the paper *Anhui Vernacular* published by Li Hsing-po. I was not only against the idea of adopting sons, but went further to raise the fundamental question: "Why must one have sons?" One of the concluding passages of this essay had this to say:

> And now I wish to recommend a son to my 400 million fellow countrymen, one who will prove to be most filial and permanently filial. The name of this son is "Society." …
>
> Just look at the glorious names of all the brave heroes and the great and good men of our history, handed down to us through the generations without their lustre being diminished in any degree; their memory is forever worshiped and revered by our entire society, whether or not they have left behind them any descendants; and it is only for what they had done for society that society forever cherishes their names. Good heavens! What multitudes of filial sons and grandsons have these heroes and great men of history! … When a man can perform something that benefits the masses and contribute to the general good, he will be able to regard the entire posterity as his descendants. Gentlemen, let us remember this: we cannot count upon any sons or grandsons, whether of your own flesh-and-blood or adopted. Only the kind of filial offspring that I recommend here can be a foolproof guarantee of you own continuity.

I had conceived these ideas originally out of my observation of the painful experience undergone by my Third Elder-Brother when he was adopted by Elder Uncle Chen; they were the conclusions drawn from an actual, concrete problem. Four or five years later, my reading of Bacon's essays touched off these thoughts, as a result of which I recorded in my diary an "Anti-Offspring Doctrine." Ten years later, the death of my mother again caused me to reflect on this problem and to write an essay entitled, "My Religion: Immortality," in which I developed my thesis of "social immortality."

For the duration of the *Ching Yeh Journal*, I found an opportunity not only to sort out and give expression to my thoughts on various subjects but also to have an excellent training in writing in the vernacular. Toward the end of the Ch'ing dynasty there were published a number of vernacular periodicals, such as *The China Vernacular*, *The Hangchow Vernacular*, *The Anhui Colloquial*, *The Ningpo Vernacular*, and *The Chaochow Vernacular*, none of which enjoyed a long life. In the years of Emperor Kuanghsu and Hsüant'ung, Fan Hung-hsien and his group published a paper called *Citizen's Vernacular Daily* and Li Hsing-po published his *Anhui Vernacular* both containing my contributions, but each lasted for only a few months. Only the

Ching Yeh Journal published as many as forty issues, one of the longest-lasting of the vernacular publications. With the exception of a brief interval, its columns, from the inaugural issue to the time of its final suspension, were never without my contributions. Of others who worked on the editorial end of the Journal—men like Fu Chün-chien, Chang Tan-fu, and Yeh Teh-cheng—none had maintained relations with the publication over as long a period as I did, nor received as lengthy a period of training. I do not know what influence my articles might have exerted at the time, but one thing I know, my year or so of journalistic apprenticeship had been of the utmost benefit to myself. Ever since then the vernacular language became my greatest instrument of expression. It was this instrument which was to enable me to be one of the first to open a road in the movement for China's Literary Revolution.

❸

I had been enrolled in the Public School of China not quite a half year when I came down with a case of athlete's foot and found it necessary to ask for sick leave. I took up my lodgings in the Jui Hsing T'ai Tea Shop in the South City of Shanghai where I tried to cure myself of the disease, when one day I happened to stumble upon a textbook reader of ancient classics selected by Wu Ju-lun, of which Volume IV consisted entirely of ancient songs. It was the first time in my life that I had read any ancient songs and I was tremendously enthusiastic. In my sickbed I committed to memory a few of these songs every day and before long finished the entire volume. In my younger days I had studied the form of poetry known as lü, which had left me flat; now that I discovered these ancient lyrics and songs of five- or seven-word lines I began to realize how free versification can be and how unnecessary it was to be chained to rigid metrical parallelisms to write poetry. The very first song I learned to recite was *The Ode to Mu-lan*, the second was *The Horse-Drinking Song of the Great Wall*, and the third, *Nineteen Ancient Songs*, and so on all the way down to the poems of T'ao Ch'ien and Tu Fu; everything was hugely enjoyed. When I got through with the Wu Ju-lun selection I found in Second Elder-Brother's library *The Collected Poems of T'ao Yüan-ming* and *The Selected Poems of Pai Hsiang-shan*; later I bought for myself a set of *The Annotated Edition of the Poems of*

Tu Fu. During this period I concentrated on the study of these ancient-style songs and odes, refusing to look again at the artificial *lü* form, although occasionally I included some five- or seven-word *chüeh chü* in my poetry reading.

One day, returning to school after I got well, I passed by the offices of the *Ching Yeh Journal* and dropped in to see Fu Chün-chien, who told me that he would soon be leaving to return to his native Hunan. Back in my dormitory, I composed a farewell poem which I personally took to Chün-chien and asked him whether it could pass for poetry. I no longer recall how the poem goes but remember it opens with the lines: "What happy fate has given me, To have a friend in Fu Chün-chien." My friend praised the poem highly without giving me enough confidence in this maiden effort. A day later, he sent around a poem that he wrote under the title, "For Shih-chih, some parting lines in echo to his farewell." It was copied neatly on fine Japanese roll-stationery, and my heart gave a leap of joy upon unfolding it. In his poem there were these lines which said, "Great minds have met in thee and me, Friend, mentor, a kindred literary spirit," which constituted unbelievable high praise in the eyes of a youngster hardly rounding his fifteenth birthday! "Could it be that he was just saying this to fool a kid?" I could not help asking myself. I quickly put away this sheet of paper and did not dare reveal it to any other eyes. Nevertheless, for a long time afterwards these words which he had written in a spirit of encouragement to his young friend remained the bane of my existence. I resolved then and there to live up to his highest expectations and become a poet. Sometimes, in the classroom, when the teacher was working out on the blackboard a problem in higher algebra I would be stealthily turning over the leaves of my *Thesaurus of Rhymes* under cover of Smith's *Higher Algebra*; in my exercise book were written not mathematical problems but unfinished lines of a travel poem. My enthusiasm for mathematics of only a couple of years ago, which had caused me to burn midnight oil working out algebraic problems in bed, was now completely replaced by this new-found enthusiasm for poetry writing! A few months' of athlete's foot had opened up for me this bright new world, at the same time determining the course of my life-work. It was thus that I have embarked on the road of literary and historical research from which, in spite of repeated efforts of self-correction in the direction of the natural sciences, I was not to be turned back—so great was my enthusiasm and so deeply ingrained my newly-acquired habit was to be.

In February of 1907 (丁未正月), I went on an excursion to Soochow, and in April I went with the entire student body of the Public School on a trip to Hangchow; both occasions were duly recorded by me in poetry. I was still completely ignorant of the matter of "rhymes," and only tried to rhyme my lines according to the way words sound in my native dialect. One of my *chüeh chü* composed on the West Lake had only two rhymed endings in it, both incorrect, which drew a big laugh from Mr. Yang Ch'ien-li. He pointed out the mistakes for me and re-wrote two of my lines to fit the rhymes, in doing so altering my meaning completely. It was then that I knew that the technique of rhyming in versification is a matter of sheer memorization and, furthermore, the poet's intent may if necessary be changed in order to make the rhymes fit.

In June of that year (丁未五月), I had a recurrent attack of athlete's foot, and took a long leave to go home for the cure. (It was the custom for natives of Hweichow contracting athlete's foot in Shanghai to hurry home; by the time one went as far as the upper reaches of the Ch'ient'ang valley one's swollen feet would gradually return to normal.) I spent two months at home, much to my mother's delight. After this visit I was to be absent from home for a period of ten years continuously (1907 –1917), something which neither my mother nor I had quite anticipated. On this visit home I spent much time with my Younger Uncle Chin-jen, who gave me fresh encouragement in my poetry-writing. I had poems recording my impressions both on the way home and during my stay at home. I was then reading extensively in the works of Pai Chü-yi, and my poetic offerings of this period, such as one about my late father, showed the great influence of this Yüan dynasty poet.

For some time after 1907 (丁未) I enjoyed at school the reputation of a young poet, and we often wrote poems back and forth among the schoolmates, echoing one another's rhymes. Once I wrote a lü poem of five-character lines, with a rhyme on the character " *ch'ih*," which was echoed by as many as ten or fifteen poems from among my schoolmates and teachers. Among my schoolmates such men as T'ang Pao-min, Chu Ching-nung, Jen Hung-chün, and shen I-sun were all adept at versification; and among the teachers there were Messrs. Hu Tze-fang and Shih I-shen. The former was to distinguish himself years later as the well-known poet Hu Shih-lu, but at that time he was serving as our English instructor, and it was characteristic of the Public School of China that one of its English instructors was sufficiently grounded in Chinese literature to be able to write poetry. We had another

English teacher by the name of Yao K'ang-hou, a pupil of Mr. Ku Hung-ming, who was also well-versed in Chinese literature. The famous *Song of the Madman on Horseback* translated by Mr. Ku had actually been polished up by Mr. Yao and some of his fellow-pupils. In his classes, Mr. Yao was fond of instructing us in the art of translation, whether from English to Chinese or Chinese to English. Sometimes we would select our favorite English poems from our readers and had different Chinese translations made by a group of fellow students who wrote poetry. We would submit the results for criticism and correction by Mr. Yao and Mr. Hu. Mr. Yao often advised us to study the English translation of the Confucian *Analects* by Ku Hung-ming, which he held up as a model of the translator's art. However, five or six years later, I happened to read Ku's translation of *The Doctrine of the Mean* and was greatly disappointed with it. Perhaps in those days emphases were placed on free translations, in which the translator frequently strove after an "elegance of style" often at the expense of the original in language or spirit. And so our exercise in translation served its own purpose of reminding us constantly of the differences and similarities between the Chinese and the Western languages, trying to decide how best to render a certain phrase in order to achieve elegance of style and at the same time communicate the original idea. I remember once we tried to translate an English poem in which occurred the word "scarecrow." Try as we might, for several days none of us could think of an apt equivalent for the word in Chinese that would be elegant as well as idiomatic. Recalling that experience now, I do not think our time was entirely wasted.

In my first attempts at versification, I shied away from the *lü* form because I thought it must be extraordinarily difficult, not having learned the art of matching parallelisms. After 1908, I occasionally tried my hand at a five-character *lü* poem to present to my friends, and discovered that it was not as difficult as all that; thereafter I frequently indulged in five-or seven-character *lü* compositions. Having become an initiate, I began to realize that the fine points of this game were actually much easier than they appeared to be; no content, emotion, or ideas were necessary; all it required was a kind of play on words, an ability to juggle allusions, a master of the meter, and a skill at matching parallel phrases, to string together the requisite lines of a *lü* poem. This particular form of poetry is most suitable to poems for all conventional social occasions, whether you are dedicating your lines to a royal patron or writing in farewell to a school friend; all you need to do is to

sway your head back and forth a few times, think up the two middle lines in parallel construction, add a top and a bottom, and you have a poem. If it is to be a poem of specified rhyme or in echo of somebody else's rhyme, it would be even easier: just try to fit your lines to the rhymes. It is just because it is nothing but a convenient word-game that the *lü* form of poetry has come down to us through the ages without being able to abolish its rigid structural and rhyming rules. I was then reading more of Tu Fu's five-character *lü* poems than anyone else's, and my own five-character *lü* compositions showed his influence more than anyone else's. As to seven-character *lü* poems, I found I could never write a single one to my own satisfaction, and so I abandoned the experiment after a few tries.

肆　在上海（二）

一

中国公学是因为光绪乙巳年（一九〇五）日本文部省颁布取缔中国留学生规则，我国的留日学生认为侮辱中国，其中一部分愤慨回国的人在上海创办的。当风潮最烈的时候，湖南陈天华投海自杀，勉励国人努力救国，一时人心大震动，所以回国的很多。回国之后，大家主张在国内办一个公立的大学。乙巳十二月中，十三省的代表全体会决议，定名为“中国公学”。次年（丙午，一九〇六）春天在上海新靶子路黄板桥北租屋开学。但这时候反对取缔规则的风潮已渐渐松懈了，许多官费生多回去复学了。上海那时还是一个眼界很小的商埠，看见中国公学里许多剪发洋装的少年人自己办学堂，都认为奇怪的事。政府官吏疑心他们是革命党，社会叫他们做怪物。所以赞助捐钱的人很少，学堂开门不到一个半月，就陷入了绝境。公学的干事姚弘业[1]先生（湖南益阳人）激于义愤，遂于三月十三日投江自杀，遗书几千字，说，“我之死，为中国公学死也。”遗书发表之后，舆论都对他表敬意，社会受了一大震动，赞助的人稍多，公学才稍稍站得住。

我也是当时读了姚烈士的遗书大受感动的一个小孩子。夏天我去投考，监试的是总教习马君武先生。国文题目是“言志”，我不记得说了一些什么，后来君武先生告诉我，他看了我的卷子，拿去给谭心休、彭施涤先生传观，都说是为公学得了一个好学生。

我搬进公学之后，见许多同学都是剪了辫子，穿着和服，拖着木屐的；又有一些是内地刚出来的老先生，带着老花眼镜，捧着水烟袋的。他们的年纪都比我大的多；我是做惯班长的人，到这里才感觉我是个小孩子。不久我已感得公学的英文数学都很浅，我在甲班里很不费气力。那时候，中国教育界的科学程度太浅，中国公学至多不过可比现在的两级中学程度，然而有好几门功课都不能不请日本教员来教。如高等代数，解析几何，博物学，最初都是日本人教授，由懂日语的同学翻译。甲班的同学有朱经农、李琴鹤等，都曾担任翻译。又有几位同学还兼任学校的职员或教员，如但懋辛便是我们的体操教员。当时的同学和我年纪不相上下的，只有周烈忠、李骏、孙粹存、孙竞存等几个人。教员和年长的同学都把我们看作小弟弟，特别爱护我们，鼓励我们。我和这一

班年事稍长，阅历较深的师友们往来，受他们的影响最大。我从小本来就没有过小孩子的生活，现在天天和这班年长的人在一块，更觉得自己不是个小孩子了。

中国公学的教员和同学之中，有不少的革命党人。所以在这里要看东京出版的《民报》，是最方便的。暑假年假中，许多同学把《民报》缝在枕头里带回内地去传观。还有一些激烈的同学往往强迫有辫子的同学剪去辫子。但我在公学三年多，始终没有人强迫我剪辫，也没有人劝我加入同盟会。直到二十年后，但懋辛先生才告诉我，当时校里的同盟会员曾商量过，大家都认我将来可以做学问，他们要爱护我，所以不劝我参加革命的事。但在当时，他们有些活动也并不瞒我。有一晚十点钟的时候，我快睡了，但君来找我，说，有个女学生从日本回国，替朋友带了一只手提小皮箱，江海关上要检查，她说没有钥匙，海关上不放行。但君因为我可以说几句英国话，要我到海关上去办交涉。我知道箱子里是危险的违禁品，就跟了他到海关码头，这时候已过十一点钟，谁都不在了。我们只好怏怏回去。第二天，那位女学生也走了，箱子她丢在关上不要了。

我们现在看见上海各学校都用国语讲授，决不能想象二十年前的上海还完全是上海话的世界，各学校全用上海话教书。学生全得学上海话。中国公学是第一个用“普通话”教授的学校。学校里的学生，四川、湖南、河南、广东的人最多，其余各省的人也差不多全有。大家都说“普通话”，教员也用“普通话”。江浙的教员，如宋耀如[2]、王仙华、沈翔云诸先生，在讲堂上也都得勉强说官话。我初入学时，只会说徽州话和上海话；但在学校不久也就会说“普通话”了。我的同学中四川人最多；四川话清楚干净，我最爱学它，所以我说的普通话最近于四川话。二三年后，我到四川客栈（元记、厚记等）去看朋友，四川人只问，“贵府是川东，是川南？”他们都把我看作四川人了。

中国公学创办的时候，同学都是创办人，职员都是同学中举出来，所以没有职员和学生的界限。当初创办的人都有革命思想，想在这学校里试行一种民主政治的制度。姚弘业烈士遗书中所谓“以大公无我之心，行共和之法”，即是此意。全校的组织分为“执行”与“评议”两部。执行部的职员（教务干事，庶务干事，斋务干事）都是评议部举出来的，有一定的任期，并且对于评议部要负责任。评议部是班长和室长组织成的，有监督和弹劾职员之权。评议部开会时，往往有激烈的辩论，有时直到点名熄灯时方才散会。评议员之中，最出名的是四川人龚从龙，口齿清楚，态度从容，是一个好议长。这种训练是很有益的。我年纪太小，第一年不够当评议员，有时在门外听听他们的辩论，不禁感觉我们在澄衷学堂的自治会真是儿戏。

二

我第一学期住的房间里有好几位同学都是江西萍乡和湖南醴陵人，他们都是邻县人，说的话我听不大懂。但不到一个月，我们很相熟了。他们都是二三十岁的人了；有一位钟文恢（号古愚）已有胡子，人叫他做钟胡子。他告诉我，他们现在组织了一个学会，叫做竞业学会，目的是“对于社会，竞与改良；对于个人，争自濯磨”，所以定了这个名字。他介绍我进这个会，我答应了。钟君是会长，他带我到会所里去，给我介绍了一些人。会所在校外北四川路厚福里。会中住的人大概多是革命党。有个杨卓林，还有个廖德璠，后来都是因谋革命被杀的。会中办事最热心的人，钟君之外，有谢寅杰和丁洪海两君，他两人维持会务最久。

竞业学会的第一件事业就是创办一个白话的旬报，就叫做《竞业旬报》。他们请了一位傅君剑先生（号钝根）来做编辑。《旬报》的宗旨，傅君说，共有四项：一振兴教育，二提倡民气，三改良社会，四主张自治。其实这都是门面话，骨子里是要鼓吹革命。他们的意思是要“传布于小学校之青年国民”，所以决定用白话文。胡梓方先生（后来的诗人胡诗庐）作《发刊辞》，其中有一段说：

> 今世号通人者，务为艰深之文，陈过高之义，以为士大夫劝，而独不为彼什伯千万倍里巷乡闾之子计，则是智益智，愚益愚，智日少，愚日多也。顾可为治乎哉？

又有一位会员署名“大武”作文《论学官话的好处》，说：

> 诸位呀，要救中国，先要联合中国的人心。要联合中国的人心，先要统一中国的言语。……但现今中国的语言也不知有多少种，如何叫他们合而为一呢？……除了通用官话，更别无法子了。但是官话的种类也很不少，有南方官话，有北方官话，有北京官话。现在中国全国通行官话，只须摹仿北京官话，自成一种普通国语哩。

这班人都到过日本，又多数是中国公学的学生，所以都感觉“普通国语”的需要。“国语”一个目标，屡见于《竞业旬报》的第一期，可算是提倡最早的了。

《竞业旬报》第一期是丙午年（一九〇六）九月十一日出版的。同住的钟君看见我常看小说，又能作古文，就劝我为《旬报》作白话文。第一期里有我的一篇通俗《地理学》，署名“期自胜生”。那时候我正读《老子》，爱上了“自胜者强”一句话，所以取了个别号叫“希强”，又自称“期自胜生”。这篇文字是我的第一篇白话文字，所以我抄其中说“地球是圆的”一段在这里做一个纪念：

> 譬如一个人立在海边，远远的望这来往的船只。那来的船呢，一定是先看见他的桅杆顶，以后方能够看见他的风帆，他的船身一定在最后方可看见。那去的船呢，却恰恰与来的相反，他的船身一定先看不见，然后看不见他的风帆，直到后来方才看不见他的桅杆顶。这是什么缘故呢？因为那地是圆的，所以来的船在那地的低处慢慢行上来，我们看去自然先看见那桅杆顶了。那去的船也是这个道理，不过同这相反罢了。……诸君们如再不相信，可捉一只苍蝇摆在一只苹果上，叫他从下面爬到上面来，可不是先看见他的头然后再看见他的脚么？……

这段文字已充分表现出我的文章的长处和短处了。我的长处是明白清楚，短处是浅显。这时候我还不满十五岁。二十五年来，我抱定一个宗旨，做文字必须要叫人懂得，所以我从来不怕人笑我的文字浅显。

我做了一个月的白话文，胆子大起来了，忽然决心做一部长篇的章回小说。小说的题目叫做《真如岛》，用意是“破除迷信，开通民智”。我拟了四十回的回目，便开始写下去了。第一回就在《旬报》第三期上发表（丙午十月初一日），回目是：

> 虞善仁疑心致疾　孙绍武正论祛迷

这小说的开场一段是：

> 话说江西广信府贵溪县城外有一个热闹的市镇叫做神权镇，镇上有一条街叫做福儿街。这街尽头的地方有一所高大的房子。有一天下午的时候，这屋的楼上有二人在那里说话。一个是一位老人，年纪大约五十以外的光景，鬓发已略有些花白了，躺在一张床上，把头靠近床沿，身上盖了一条厚被，面上甚是消瘦，好像是重病的模样。一个是一位十八九岁的后生，生得仪容端正，气概轩昂，坐在床前一只椅子上，听那个老人说话。……

我小时痛恨道教，所以这部小说的开场就放在张天师的家乡。但我实在不知道贵溪县的地理风俗，所以不久我就把书中的主人翁孙绍武搬到我们徽州去了。

《竞业旬报》出到第十期，便停办了。我的小说续到第六回，也停止了。（一九〇八）三月十一日，《旬报》复活，第十一期才出世。但傅君剑已不来了，编辑无人负责，我也不大高兴投稿了。到了戊申七月，《旬报》第二十四期以下就归我编辑。从第二十四期到第三十八期，我做了不少的文字，有时候全期的文字，从论说到时闻，差不多都是我做的。《真如岛》也从二十四期上续作下去，续到第十一回，《旬报》停刊了，我的小说也从此停止了。这时期我改用了“铁儿”的笔名。

这几十期的《竞业旬报》给了我一个绝好的自由发表思想的机会，使我可以把在家乡和学校得着的一点点知识和见解，整理一番，用明白清楚的文字叙述出来。《旬报》的办事人从来没有干涉我的言论，所以

我能充分发挥我的思想，尤其是我对于宗教迷信的思想。例如《真如岛》小说第八回里，孙绍武这样讨论“因果”的问题：

> 这“因果”二字，很难说的。从前有人说，“譬如窗外这一树花儿，枝枝朵朵都是一样，何曾有什么好歹善恶的分别？不多一会，起了一阵狂风，把一树花吹一个‘花落花飞飞满天’，那许多花朵，有的吹上帘栊，落在锦茵之上；有的吹出墙外，落在粪溷之中。这落花的好歹不同，难道好说是这几枝花的善恶报应不成？”这话很是，但是我的意思却还不止此。大约这因果二字是有的。有了一个因，必收一个果。譬如吃饭自然会饱，吃酒自然会醉。有了吃饭吃酒两件原因，自然会生出醉饱两个结果来。但是吃饭是饭的作用生出饱来，种瓜是瓜的作用生出新瓜来。其中并没有什么人为之主宰。如果有什么人为主宰，什么上帝哪，菩萨哪，既能罚恶人于既作孽之后，为什么不能禁之于未作孽之前呢？……“天”要是真有这么大的能力，何不把天下的人个个都成了善人呢？……“天”既生了恶人，让他在世间作恶，后来又叫他受许多报应，这可不是书上说的“出尔反尔”么？……总而言之，“天”既不能使人不作恶，便不能罚那恶人。……

落花一段引的是范缜的话（看本书第二章），后半是我自己的议论。这是很不迟疑的无神论。这时候我另在《旬报》上发表了一些“无鬼丛话”，第一条就引用司马温公“形既朽灭，神亦飘散，虽有剉烧舂磨，亦无所施”的话，和范缜“神之于形，犹利之于刀”的话（参看第二章）。第二条引苏东坡的诗“耕田欲雨刈欲晴，去得顺风来者怨。若使人人祷辄遂，造物应须日千变”。第三条痛骂《西游记》和《封神榜》，其中有这样的话：

> 夫士君子处颓敝之世，不能摩顶放踵敝口焦舌以挽滔滔之狂澜，曷若隐遁穷邃，与木石终其身！更安忍随波逐流，阿谀取容于当世，用自私利其身？（本条前面说《封神榜》的作者把书稿送给他的女儿作嫁资，其婿果然因此发财。所以此处有“自私利”的话。）天壤间果有鬼神者，则地狱之设正为此辈！此其人更安有著书资格耶！（“丛话”原是用文言作的）。[3]

这是戊申（一九〇八）年八月发表的。谁也梦想不到说这话的小孩子在十五年后（一九二三）居然很热心的替《西游记》作两万字的考证！如果他有好材料，也许他将来还替《封神榜》作考证哩！

在“无鬼丛话”的第三条里，我还接着说：

> 《王制》有之：“托于鬼神时日卜筮以乱众者，诛。”吾独怪夫数千年来之掌治权者，之以济世明道自期者，乃懵然不之注意，惑世诬民之学说得以大行，遂举我神州民族投诸极黑暗之世界！嗟夫，吾昔谓“数千年来仅得许多脓包皇帝，混帐圣贤”，吾岂好詈人哉？吾岂好詈人哉？

这里很有“卫道”的臭味，但也可以表现我在不满十七岁时的思想路子。[4]“丛话”第四条说：

吾尝持无鬼之说，论者或咎余，谓举一切地狱因果之说而摧陷之，使人人敢于为恶，殊悖先王神道设教之旨。此言余不能受也。今日地狱因果之说盛行，而恶人益多，民德日落，神道设教之成效果何如者！且处兹思想竞争时代，不去此种种魔障，思想又乌从而生耶？

这种夸大的口气，出在一个十七岁的孩子的笔下，未免叫人读了冷笑。但我现在回看我在那时代的见解，总算是自己独立想过几年的结果，比起现今一班在几个抽象名词里翻筋斗的少年人们，我还不感觉惭愧。

《竞业旬报》上的一些文字，我早已完全忘记了。前年中国国民党的中央宣传部曾登报征求全份的《竞业旬报》，——大概他们不知道这里面一大半的文字是胡适做的，——似乎也没有效果。我靠几个老朋友的帮忙，搜求了几年，至今还不曾凑成全份。今年回头看看这些文字，真有如同隔世之感。但我很诧异的是有一些思想后来成为我的重要出发点的，在那十七八岁的时候已有了很明白的倾向了。例如我在《旬报》第三十六期上发表一篇《苟且》，痛论随便省事不肯彻底思想的毛病，说“苟且”二字是中国历史上的一场大瘟疫，把几千年的民族精神都瘟死了。我在《真如岛》小说第十一回（《旬报》三十七期）论扶乩的迷信，也说：

程正翁，你想罢。别说没有鬼神，即使有鬼神，那关帝吕祖何等尊严，岂肯听那一二张符诀的号召？这种道理总算浅极了，稍微想一想，便可懂得。只可怜我们中国人总不肯想，只晓得随波逐流，随声附和。国民愚到这步田地，照我的眼光看来，这都是不肯思想之故。所以宋朝大儒程伊川说“学原于思”，这区区四个字简直是千古至言。——郑先生说到这里，回过头来，对翼华翼璜道：程子这句话，你们都可写作座右铭。“学原于思”一句话是我在澄衷学堂读朱子《近思录》时注意到的。我后来的思想走上了赫胥黎和杜威的路上去，也正是因为我从十几岁时就那样十分看重思想的方法了。

又如那时代我在李莘伯办的《安徽白话报》上发表的一篇《论承继之不近人情》（转载在《旬报》廿九期），我不但反对承继儿子，并且根本疑问“为什么一定要儿子？”此文的末尾有一段说：

我如今要荐一个极孝顺的儿子给我们中国四万万同胞。这个儿子是谁呢？便是“社会”。……

你看那些英雄豪杰仁人义士的名誉，万古流传，永不湮没；全社会都崇拜他们，纪念他们；无论他们有子孙没有子孙，我们纪念着他们，总不少减；也只为他们有功于社会，所以社会永远感谢他们，纪念他们。阿唫唫，这些英雄豪杰仁人义士的孝子贤孙多极了，多极了！……一个人能做许多有益于大众有功于大众的事业，便可以把全社会都成了他的孝子贤孙。列位要记得：儿子孙子，亲生的，承继的，都靠不住。只有我所荐的孝子顺孙是万无一失的。

这些意思，最初起于我小时看见我的三哥出继珍伯父家的痛苦情

形，是从一个真问题上慢慢想出来的一些结论。这一点种子，在四五年后，我因读培根（Bacon）的论文有点感触，在日记里写成我的《无后主义》。在十年之后，又因为我母亲之死引起了一些感想，我才写成《不朽：我的宗教》一文，发挥“社会不朽”的思想。

这几十期的《竞业旬报》，不但给了我一个发表思想和整理思想的机会，还给了我一年多作白话文的训练。清朝末年出了不少的白话报，如《中国白话报》，《杭州白话报》，《安徽俗话报》，《宁波白话报》，《潮州白话报》，都没长久的寿命。光绪宣统之间，范鸿仙等办《国民白话日报》，李莘伯办《安徽白话报》，都有我的文字，但这两个报都只有几个月的寿命。《竞业旬报》出到四十期，要算最长寿的白话报了。我从第一期投稿起，直到他停办时止，中间不过有短时期没有我的文字。和《竞业旬报》有编辑关系的人，如傅君剑，如张丹斧，如叶德争，都没有我的长久关系，也没有我的长期训练。我不知道我那几十篇文字在当时有什么影响，但我知道这一年多的训练给了我自己绝大的好处。白话文从此形成了我的一种工具。七八年之后，这件工具使我能够在中国文学革命的运动里做一个开路的工人。

三

我进中国公学不到半年，就得了脚气病，不能不告假医病。我住在上海南市瑞兴泰茶叶店里养病，偶然翻读吴汝纶选的一种古文读本，其中第四册全是古诗歌。这是我第一次读古体诗歌，我忽然感觉很大的兴趣。病中每天读熟几首。不久就把这一册古诗读完了。我小时曾读一本律诗，毫不觉得有兴味；这回看了这些乐府歌辞和五七言诗歌，才知道诗歌原来是这样自由的，才知道做诗原来不必先学对仗。我背熟的第一首诗是《木兰辞》，第二首是《饮马长城窟行》，第三是《古诗十九首》。一路下去，直到陶潜、杜甫，我都喜欢读。读完了吴汝纶的选本，我又在二哥的藏书里寻到了《陶渊明集》和《白香山诗选》，后来又买了一部《杜诗镜诠》。这时代我专读古体歌行，不肯再读律诗；偶然也读一些五七言绝句。

有一天，我回学堂去，路过《竞业旬报》社，我进去看傅君剑，他说不久就要回湖南去了。我回到了宿舍，写了一首送别诗，自己带给君剑，问他像不像诗。这诗我记不得了，只记得开端是“我以何因缘，得交傅君剑”。君剑很夸奖我的送别诗，但我终有点不自信。过了一天，他送了一首《留别适之即和赠别之作》来，用日本卷笺写好，我打开一看，真吓了一跳。他诗中有“天下英雄君与我，文章知己友兼师”两句，在我这刚满十五岁的小孩子的眼里，这真是受宠若惊了！“难道他是说

谎话哄小孩子吗？”我忍不住这样想。君剑这副诗笺，我赶快藏了，不敢给人看。然而他这两句鼓励小孩子的话可害苦我了！从此以后，我就发愤读诗，想要做个诗人了。有时候，我在课堂上，先生在黑板上解高等代数的算式，我却在斯密司的《大代数学》底下翻《诗韵合璧》，练习簿上写的不是算式，是一首未完的纪游诗。一两年前我半夜里偷点着蜡烛，伏在枕头上演习代数问题，那种算学兴趣现在都被做诗的新兴趣赶跑了！我在脚气病的几个月之中发见了一个新世界，同时也决定了我一生的命运。我从此走上了文学史学的路，后来几次想矫正回来，想走到自然科学的路上去，但兴趣已深，习惯已成，终无法挽回了。

丁未正月（一九〇七）我游苏州，三月与中国公学全体同学旅行到杭州，我都有诗纪游。我那时全不知道“诗韵”是什么，只依家乡的方音，念起来同韵便算同韵。在西湖上写了一首绝句，只押了两个韵脚，杨千里先生看了大笑，说，一个字在“尤”韵，一个字在“萧”韵。他替我改了两句，意思全不是我的了。我才知道做诗要硬记诗韵，并且不妨牺牲诗的意思来迁就诗的韵脚。

丁未五月，我因脚气病又发了，遂回家乡养病（我们徽州人在上海得了脚气病，必须赶紧回家乡，行到钱塘江的上游，脚肿便渐渐退了）。我在家中住了两个多月，母亲很高兴。从此以后，我十年不归家（一九〇七——一九一七），那是母亲和我都没有料到的。那一次在家，和近仁叔相聚甚久，他很鼓励我作诗。在家中和路上我都有诗。这时候我读了不少白居易的诗，所以我这时期的诗，如在家乡做的《弃父行》，很表现《长庆集》的影响。

丁未以后，我在学校里颇有少年诗人之名，常常和同学们唱和。有一次我做了一首五言律诗，押了一个“赪”字韵，同学和教员和作的诗有十几首之多。同学中如汤昭（保民），朱经（经农），任鸿隽（叔永），沈翼孙（燕谋）等，都能作诗；教员中如胡梓方先生，石一参先生等，也都爱提倡诗词。梓方先生即是后来出名的诗人胡诗庐，这时候他教我们的英文，英文教员能做中国诗词，这是当日中国公学的一种特色。还有一位英文教员姚康侯先生，是辜鸿铭先生的学生，也是很讲究中国文学的。辜先生译的《痴汉骑马歌》，其实是姚康侯先生和几位同门修改润色的。姚先生在课堂上常教我们翻译，从英文译汉文，或从汉文译英文。有时候，我们自己从读本里挑出爱读的英文诗，邀几个能诗的同学分头翻译成中国诗，拿去给姚先生和胡先生评改。姚先生常劝我们看辜鸿铭译的《论语》，他说这是翻译的模范。但五六年后，我得读辜先生译的《中庸》，感觉很大的失望。大概当时所谓翻译，都侧重自由的意译，务必要“典雅”，而不妨变动原文的意义与文字。这种训练也有他的用处，可以使学生时时想到中西文字异同之处，时时想某一句话

应该怎样翻译，才可算“达”与“雅”。我记得我们试译一首英文诗，中有scarecrow一个字，我们大家想了几天，想不出一个典雅的译法。但是这种工夫，现在回想起来，不算是浪费了的。

我初学做诗，不敢做律诗，因为我不曾学过对对子，觉得那是很难的事。戊申（一九〇八）以后，我偶然试做一两首五言律诗来送朋友，觉得并不很难，后来我也常常做五七言律诗了。做惯律诗之后，我才明白这种体裁是似难而实易的把戏；不必有内容，不必有情绪，不必有意思，只要会变戏法，会搬运典故，会调音节，会对对子，就可以诌成一首律诗。这种体裁最宜于做没有内容的应酬诗，无论是殿廷上应酬皇帝，或寄宿舍里送别朋友，把头摇几摇，想出了中间两联，凑上一头一尾，就是一首诗了；如果是限韵或和韵的诗，只消从韵脚上去着想，那就更容易了。大概律诗的体裁和步韵的方法所以不能废除，正因为这都是最方便的戏法。我那时读杜甫的五言律诗最多，所以我做的五律颇受他的影响。七言律诗，我觉得没有一首能满意的，所以我做了几首之后就不做了。

现在我把我在那时做的诗抄几首[5]在这里，也算一个时期的纪念：

秋日梦返故居（戊申八月）
秋高风怒号，客子中怀乱。
抚枕一太息，悠悠归里闬。
入门拜慈母，母方抚孙玩。
齐儿见叔来，牙牙似相唤。
拜母复入室，诸嫂同炊爨。
问答乃未已，举头日已旰。
方期长聚首，岂复疑梦幻？
年来历世故，遭际多忧患。
耿耿苦思家，听人讥斥鷃。
（玩字原作弄，是误用方音，前年改玩字。）

军人梦（戊申）
（译Thomas Campbell's *The Soldier's Dream*）
笳声销歇暮云沉，耿耿天河灿列星。
战士创痍横满地，倦者酣眠创者逝。
枕戈藉草亦蘧然，时见刍人影摇曳。
长夜沉沉夜未央，陶然入梦已三次。
梦中忽自顾，身已离行伍，
秋风拂襟袖，独行殊踽踽。
惟见日东出，迎我归乡土。
纵横阡陌间，尽是钓游迹。
时闻老农刈稻歌，又听牛羊嗥山脊。
归来戚友咸燕集，誓言不复相离别。
娇儿数数亲吾额，少妇情深自呜咽。
举室争言君已倦，幸得归休免征战。
惊回好梦日熹微，梦魂渺渺成虚愿。

（刍人原作刍灵，今年改。）

酒醒（己酉）
酒能销万虑，已分醉如泥。
烛泪流干后，更声断续时。
醒来还苦忆，起坐一沉思。
窗外东风峭，星光淡欲垂。

女优陆菊芬演《纺棉花》（己酉）
永夜亲机杼，悠悠念远人。
朱弦纤指弄，一曲翠眉颦。
满座天涯客，无端旅思新。
未应儿女语，争奈不胜春！

秋柳　有序（己酉）
秋日适野，见万木皆有衰意。而柳以弱质，际兹高秋，独能迎风而舞，意态自如。岂老氏所谓能以弱者存耶？感而赋之。
但见萧飕万木摧，尚余垂柳拂人来。
西风莫笑长条弱，也向西风舞一回。
（西风莫笑，原作“凭君漫说”，民国五年改。长条原作“柔条”，十八年改。）

V BEFORE GOING ABROAD

❶

In the month of October, 1908 (戊申九月), a great student trouble took place in the Public School of China, the upshot of which was the withdrawal from school of the majority of the students, who organized separately a New Public School of China. This student trouble was precipitated by a constitutional question.

In its early stages the Public School was entirely modeled on a Republic, with the Legislative Department its highest legislative organ and officials of the Executive Department selected through general election. Unfortunately, after being in force for nine months the system was revised. There were several reasons for this revision: First of all, the number of the Japanese-returned students who were founders of the school had gradually decreased, with a corresponding increase of newly-enrolled students, so that there could no longer be such a complete identification of administration personnel and student body. Secondly, the government and the public at large had always been intensely suspicious of this kind of democratic system. Thirdly, having neither buildings nor endowments of its own, the School felt the need for requesting official subsidies, and thus could not afford to invite public distrust as to its internal administration.

For these various reasons, those responsible for the Public School had in the winter of 1906 invited a number of prominent public figures such as Cheng Hsiao-hsü, Chang Ch'ien, and Hsiung Hsi-ling to serve as Directors for the School, having amended its constitution to make the Board of Directors instead of the student body the governing organ of the school. On basis of the new constitution, the Board of Directors had elected Cheng Hsiao-hsü as superintendent of the School; and following Cheng's resignation a year later, Hsia Chin-kuan was elected to serve in the same capacity. Both these gentlemen were celebrated poets; they seldom came to the school, and had not been particularly aware of any objections to the superintendent system.

However, under the Board of Directors and the Superintendent, the

executive officers of the School could no longer be elected by and from among the students. The new constitution did not provide for Legislative Department, and the elective officers were now full-time personnel appointed by the school to serve as Dean, Business Manager, Dormitory Proctor, etc. These officers, having been saddled with the dual responsibility of fund-raising and school administration, naturally desired to have a reasonable job security in order to discharge their duties. Furthermore, as I have mentioned, the amendment of the constitution had not been without its legitimate reasons. But that was not the way we young people looked at it. The Constitution of the Public School of China had explicitly stated that, "Amendments are not to be made unless by a two-thirds majority of the entire student body." That was the one and only way provided by our Constitution whereby it may be amended, and it was unlawful for three of the Executive Officers to have taken it upon themselves to change the Constitution, as it was unlawful to abolish the Legislative Department. There were of course questions of personalities involved also, since "familiarity breeds contempt," and the fact is, many of the students were contemporaries and old friends of the chosen officers. Those who had devoted themselves to studying naturally had shown great progress in scholarship, while on the other hand those elected to be officers could not have helped neglecting their studies in the discharge of their academic duties, thus causing them to suffer by comparison with their erstwhile schoolmates. When questions of law and personalities got mixed up like this, trouble was inevitable.

With the representative system of school-government abolished, the student body organized a new "Alumni Association," which was in fact equivalent to the present-day student self-governments. After months of controversy between the Alumni Association and the three Executive Officers, the latter consented to submit the Constitution for amendment by the student body. Another few months' time was consumed during which the Alumni Association produced a draft amendment embodying the various amendments proposed, which was finally adopted as the Constitution of the School after repeated conferences. This product of year-long debates and negotiations was rejected by the new superintendent Mr. Hsia as well as the Executive Officers.

On the 3rd of the Ninth Month, 1908, the Alumni Association held a mass meeting to report on the progress of the negotiations. Before the meeting dispersed the Superintendent posted a notice completely denying the

students any right to amend the Constitution, which in fact totally contradicted the previous notice issued by the Executive Officers recognizing the right of the student body to amend the Constitution. There followed two more notices from the school authorities. One of them stated: "It is a rule of the School strictly to forbid any assembly and speech-making. … The Alumni Association is hereby warned against any further meetings." The other claimed student representatives Chu Ching and Chu Fu-hua to be "ringleaders and agitators in inflaming student opinion by secretly distributing handbills, and insulting officers of the school by demanding publication of their self-amended Constitution. For willful conduct designed to destroy the school despite repeated warnings," they were to be "dismissed immediately according to school regulations and allowed one day to move out of the school."

On the 4th the entire student body pledged to go on a strike and held a mass meeting on the athletic field. In the afternoon another notice was posted in the name of the Executive Officers, ordering the dismissal of seven of the student leaders, adding that "in the event the threatened strike is carried out all students participating in it will be dismissed and the student body will be reorganized." On the 5th, some of the instructors came out to mediate, hoping to ask the Board of Directors to take a hand and salvage the situation. But the Board of Directors refused to meet, and at a students' mass meeting held on the 7th, a resolution was passed to prepare for the necessary measures in the event the school was disbanded.

On the 8th one of the Directors, Mr. Ch'en San-li assumed the role of mediator, but the sentiment of the entire school had been aroused to a point where it was difficult to pacify. On the 9th, the school authorities posted a notice to the following effect: "It has been decided that the dining hall will temporarily suspend all meals beginning Sunday. All students involved in the present trouble against their wishes will withdraw from school and seek temporary lodgings outside. As of 1 p.m. today expenses for room and board will be issued at the headquarters of the World Student Fellowship Association. When the present affair has been settled the administration of the school will make a public announcement for the resumption of classes."

This oppressive measure immediately aroused a public ire from among the preponderant majority of the students. They decided to quit school in a body, and forthwith formed a committee to prepare for the establishment of a school of their own. On the appointed day of mass withdrawal, it was raining

cats and dogs, though it did not dampen the spirits of all concerned, nor deter them from moving their belongings to a few makeshift school-rooms newly rented at an address in Ch'ing Hsiang Lane in Elgin Road. A cook was hired to set up the school-kitchen, but there were not even enough tables and benches or bowls and dishes for the dining hall. But everybody felt that this was his own school so, instead of complaining, was happy to dig down into his own pockets for money to get the new institution started. Some of the students pawned their silken clothing and gold watches for money to contribute to the incipient school.

Within ten days arrangements had been completed to open the new school, and even a faculty had been assembled and a curriculum fixed in readiness to hold classes. The name of the establishment was decided to be "The New Public School of China"; it started with an enrollment of one hundred sixty or seventy students. During the course of this student trouble, I refrained at first from participating in the controversies between my fellow students on the one hand and the Executive Officers on the other, because I was only a first year student and had in addition been away on a prolonged sick leave. But by the time the demonstrations had reached their height, I was elected to be the secretary of the mass meeting, and much of the writing for the minutes and the manifestoes was from my hand. Although not included in the list of the dismissed, I was among those who withdrew from school. In the new school, the three student leaders, Chu Ching, Li Ch'in-huo and Lo Chün-i were elected Executive Officers, and many of our former instructors signified their willingness to teach. The rebel school had started with the sympathy of a part of the public; still few people actually came out with contributions of money, and the question of financial maintenance was a serious one. Mr. Li Ch'in-huo, who served as Executive Officer in charge of studies, one day invited me for a chat in his room and told me he wished to have me undertake the English instruction for the lower grades, with thirty hours of class work a week and a monthly salary of eighty dollars. But he made it plain in advance that with us fellow students turning teachers we could not expect to draw the full salary because the finances of the school were such that part of our pay would always be in arrears.

At this time I had not yet reached my seventeenth birthday; I had switched schools three times and was still without a diploma to show for my years of study, and by resuming school now I would be able to count on graduating the following year. On the other hand, my circumstances were

such as would make it impossible for me to resume schooling. Ours had been a poor family to start with; my father had died leaving us only a few thousand taels in savings, invested in some business of our hometowners, on the modest dividends of which our whole family had depended for a living. Later, the businesses in which we had an interest failed and all the family managed to salvage was some portion of the assets. Fortunately, my Second Elder-Brother was a man of business acumen; he took to commuting between Hankow and Shanghai, and succeeded, within a few years with the help of some money invested with him by his schoolmates, in "parlaying" what little we had into a fairly sizable partnership called the Jui Shing T'ai Tea Shop. More recently, however, he had undergone a personal change, from a serious-minded and careful merchant into a dissolute seeker of pleasure; with his personal expenses increased and his energies diverted from his business, he had to entrust the management of the tea shop more and more in other and less reliable hands, with the result that the business had been losing ground every year. Eventually, our family was so heavily in debt that the Shanghai store had to go into receivership. By the latter half of 1908, all that was left to our name was an unprofitable distillery business in Hankow, known as the Liang I Chan. There followed months during which I could not afford the fees to live in the dormitories, and had to find lodgings in the offices of the *Ching Yeh Journal* (also located in Ch'ing Hsiang Lane). Beginning July, when I took over the editorship of the Journal, the publication gave me an honorarium of $10 for every issue published, in addition to room and board. But my mother, who remained at home, was soon to look for remittance from me for her support. With bankruptcy staring our family in the face, Mother thought it necessary for me to get my marital problem out of the way, and so sent me a letter to that effect. To this proposition I did not hesitate to give an unequivocal no, giving the ostensible reason that my studies should come first, but in reality I was well aware of the fact that we did not have the money for the family to take care of my wedding, nor did I have any money with which to support a family.

It was at this juncture that the proposal came from Mr. Li Ch'in-huo for me to serve on the teaching staff of the New Public School. After a moment thinking it over, I accepted. Thereafter, I taught English six hours a day and in addition had composition papers to correct. But for a youthful and energetic person of seventeen or eighteen, it did not seem too heavy a load, and so I carried it on until the winter of the second year(1909) when the New

Public School of China was disbanded.

So far as my own knowledge of English was concerned, I was far from qualified to teach. But I was a conscientious teacher, willing to put in a lot of time and go through much drudgery in preparing my lessons, and so managed not to meet with any embarrassment in the course of that year. From the ranks of my two classes of students, there were several who were later to become famous: Jao Yü-t'ai, Yang Hsing-fu, Yen Chuang, these had all learned English under my instruction. Later I even took a few students from outside the school, among whom was one Chang Hsi-jo. It was a pity that none of these went on to make English Literature his major field of study; otherwise, I would have really claimed the credit upon myself!

After the *Ching Yeh Journal* ceased publication, I moved into the living quarters of the New Public School. It was a hard life for me, this year of teaching, but it proved to be vastly beneficial. In my two years at the Public School of China I had been influenced greatly by two English instructors, Yao K'ang-hou and Wang Yün-wu, both of whom laid especial emphasis on the analysis of English grammar. That was why, though I spoke very little English at the time, I was fond of analyzing its grammatical construction, particularly as contrasted with Chinese grammar. Now that I became an English instructor myself, I felt the need even more for straightening out my grammar, word by word and phrase by phrase. That was why in that one year of teaching, although I did not read much in English literature, I had a splendid opportunity of practicing in the construction of the English language.

* * * * *

The New Public School of China struggled along for more than a year under conditions of the utmost difficulty—it was a chapter that had in it something of the epic of tragedy. In those days, no schools bothered much with such educational accoutrements as libraries and laboratories; all they hoped to attain to qualify as a good school was to have good instructors, stiff courses and a strict discipline. Because of the circumstances attending the birth of the school, all the students had vowed to "make good" and they managed to do well in both school work and administration. But there was no dodging the fact that funds were woefully lacking; the faculty regularly could only draw partial salaries, and the Officers frequently were forced to swallow bitter humiliation from the landlord and the municipal rate-collector for

inability to pay the bills: many was the time we schoolmates had to pool our resources for a loan to the school authorities to pay these bills. Eventually, one of the Officers, Mr. Chu Ching-nung (Chu Ching), driven to the end of his ropes in matters of school finances, almost plunged himself into tragedy. In a fit of nervous worry, he had wandered outside in the streets as far as Siccawei where he threw himself into a small river. Fortunately, he was rescued by passersby and failed to drown.

By this time the original Public School of China had begun construction on its new buildings in Woosung, but it could attract but a few students. Students from the interior, upon arriving in Shanghai and learning about the feud between the two Public Schools, were in the main sympathetic with the new school. As a consequence, the New Public School always had a larger enrollment than the old Public School. For instance a group of students from Shensi Province, headed by Chang Hsi-jo, had arrived in Shanghai to find that they were too late for the entrance examinations of the new school; they chose to hire rooms for themselves in the neighborhood of the New Public School to study on their own, rather than register at the old school. So the situation was such that as long as the New Public School remained in business, so long the original Public School of China would be insecure in its development. It was utterly out of the expectation of the administration of the old school that we could have held out for so long. They were also aware that we had dispatched our own fund-raisers to different provinces, including Chu Fu-hua, Chu Ching-nung, Hsüeh Ch'uan-pin and others, who, armed with strong letters of recommendation, might well succeed in obtaining large official subsidies to carry on the new school. Should our fund-raising campaign become a success it would have been even more difficult to resolve the deadlock.

Among the three Executive Officers of the old Public School, there was one, Mr. Chang Pang-chieh, who had been traveling on a fund-raising campaign in other provinces when the student trouble had been in progress. When he returned, he tried his utmost to advocate a peaceful settlement of the controversy and to reinstate those of us students who had voluntarily withdrawn from school. It was a matter of regret that, overworked and in ill-health as a result of his part in the school's building program, Mr. Chang had not lived long enough to see the merger of the two schools. Meanwhile, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees for the New Public School, Mr. Li P'ing-shu had also come out in favor of a peaceful settlement and merger in view of

the difficulty in maintaining the new school financially. The conditions for settlement, as were eventually worked out, were to the effect that: All students of the New Public School who desired to go back were allowed to do so, with full credit for work done while in the new school; and all indebtedness of the New Public School would be assumed by the old school. In the period of one year the New Public School had incurred obligations to the tune of ten thousand dollars or more, and the situation was too desperate for any long-range fund-raising program to save. Nor could those who had assumed the responsibility of running the school find it within their power to hold on indefinitely, being themselves young men who had taken up the task of education at the expense of their own studies. For all these reasons, in the Tenth Month of 1909 (乙酉十月), the conditions for settlement were accepted by the New Public School and a resolution was passed to disband. All those who wanted to do so were free to return to the old school. I wrote three poems for the occasion, two five-character lü and one seven-character lü, as inscription to some group photographs of the entire student body and faculty of the soon-to-be-dissolved school.

In these lines, which were hardly poetry, I expressed a sense of sadness at the imminent end of what was to be a noble experiment in academic freedom and sounded a reminder to our pledge never to capitulate. These feelings were shared by many of my schoolmates, who felt it impossible to return to the fold after the merger of the two schools. The experience of that one year, dedicated to an ideal, to a group spirit and cooperative life, had left an indelible mark on all of the one hundred and sixty-odd of us who had had a part in it.

* * * * *

When the idealism of youth suffers a setback the reaction is likely to be an extreme one. During the two years 1908-1909, our family affairs had deteriorated beyond salvaging. In the latter year my Eldest Brother and Second Elder-Brother went home and decided to divide the few paternal acres among us; I wrote home saying that, being able to make my own living, I would not want my share. Actually, there had been precious little left of the family property to divide, and each one of us was to come in for a share of only part of a house and a few *mou* of land. In that year my mother lost her dearly beloved younger sister and a younger brother, and she herself also came down with illness. Upon the disbandment of the New Public School

there came to me two or three hundred dollars in back salary and a prospect of uncharted future and rudderless sailing. I could not muster up enough courage to go home. Instead, I stayed on in Shanghai, hoping to find some job whereby to feed myself and support my family. In the midst of all that worry and ennui I found myself mixed up with a bunch of loose-living friends, and with them I had my taste of dissipation.

❷

There had been a German instructor at the New Public School named Ottomeir, whose father was German and mother Chinese. He spoke mandarin as well as the Cantonese and Shanghai dialects, and was adept at anything Chinese. When I left the new school I moved into a house next door to his; the two houses were linked with a passage, with our German friend occupying the east apartment and a few Szechuan friends and I occupying the west apartment. Among my roommates were Lin Chün-mo, Tan Nu-kang (Mou-hsing) and others, and not far from us resided T'ang Kuei-liang, who was a son of Mr. T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang. These people were all Japanese-returned students, connected with the Revolutionary Party; it was a period during which revolutionary attempts at various places were uniformly abortive, resulting in the death of many party members, and these men were in uniformly low spirits, seeking a release in anything and everything. Ottomeir used to ask them to join in a game of *mah jongg*, which I soon learned to play. We did not gamble with money but the winner would stake everybody to a dinner at Ya Hsü Yüan. All of us fellows boasted fine drinking capacities, and would each have a large jug of wine in front of him from which he would help himself from time to time. From gambling to drinking, from drinking to the summoning of sing-song girls, and from sing-song girls to visiting brothels—inside of a couple of months I became an old-hand at them all.

Fortunately, we were all short of money and were constrained to indulge in no more than a few of the poor man's pastimes: in gambling, we went as far as staking dinners; in visiting brothels, we stopped short at the more sedate pleasures of throwing a dinner party and playing a few rounds of *mah jongg* on the premises. Occasionally, we would go in a group to the theater. Soon Lin Chün-mo and T'ang Kuei-liang proposed that we study opera-

singing, and a professional with the stage name of Hsiao Hsi Lu (Little Joyful Blessing) was engaged to give us lessons. Among the schoolmates was one Ouyang Yü-ch'ien, who later was to become a famous exponent of the Chinese theater. But I proved to be the worst pupil of the lot; try as I might I could hardly master a single bar of melody, and in less than two days I gave up the attempt. In addition, I had a circle of younger friends, including my fellow-provincials Hsü I-sun, Ch'eng Lo-t'ing and Chang Hsi-lü, and my former schoolmates such as Cheng Chung-Ch'eng, Chang Shu-ch'uan and Cheng T'ieh-ju. I-sun tried every now and then to talk me out of my bitterness and willful apprentice in dissipation. But he was going to school at Fuhtan College in Woosung and did not get to see me as often as my daily cronies in play, so I continued for a period of months muddling through my days and making a mess of my life. Sometimes we had all-night sessions of *mah jongg*; at other times, we would have drinking bouts that lasted through days.

* * * * *

One night I got myself into trouble. In the evening we had been drinking rather heavily in a brothel, from where we went to another place for a "night-cap." It was raining heavily that night, and the rain had kept up for several hours without let. Chün-mo and Kuei-liang wanted me to stay for a game of *mah jongg*, but I declined because I had to teach in the morning (I was then employed by the Shanghai Municipal Council's Public School For Chinese, teaching Chinese to little boys). So I hired a rickshaw and left the party by myself. My companions, having heard me talk sensibly and having been treated to a display of my poetic talents on the back of a stack of "sing-song girl tickets," were satisfied that I wasn't drunk, so they suffered me to go home alone.

The fact is I was quite drunk; my sparkling conversation and verification had all been the work of the sub-conscious, which were to be totally lost to my memory. As soon as I stepped outdoors and onto the rickshaw I fell asleep.

I did not wake up until the following morning, but I had hardly opened my eyes before I realized I was not lying in bed by on the hardness of the floor! I suspected that I had been drunk the night before and had wound up on the floor of my apartment; I gave a yell: "Lao P'eng!"—for that was the name of a Hunanese servant I had at my service. After one or two tries without response I managed to sit up and work my eyes open.

Strange! I was lying in a small and dark room, and the only light seemed to be coming from in front of me and no doors seemed to be visible to my gaze. I took a better look, and seemed to perceive a row of iron grilling not far beyond the doorway. I kept still and listened, and heard the noise of leather-boots walking outside the grilling. Presently, rise and fall of the footsteps came near, and I found them to be those of a Chinese policeman.

Then it began to dawn on me, this was probably the police-station, though I was at a loss to explain my own presence there. I thought to rise and make an inquiry, when I discovered that one of my feet was unshod and that all my clothes had been wet through. I groped around in the dark for some time without finding my other shoe; finally I resigned to standing up in one stockinged foot, felt my way out along the wall and hailed the policeman across the grilling. I asked him where I was.

"This is the police-station," he said.

"How did I get in here?"

"You were brought in here after midnight," he said. " You had been drunk and you had assaulted and wounded a policeman."

"When can I go out?"

"It's just daybreak; there's plenty of time! Somebody will come at eight o'clock, and then you'll know."

In the light I observed that the old fur-lined robe which I had on was completely wet through and splattered with mud. I felt also a little pain in my face which was also muddy to the touch of my hand besides being scratchy with cuts and bruises. Could it be possible that I really had got into a fight with somebody?

It was a fine spring morning, and soon eight o'clock arrived. And sure enough, I was summoned to appear outside.

Behind a writing-desk, a police chief was seated listening to the report of a policeman who was standing to one side covered with mud from head to toe. The police chief asked:

"Is this the man?"

"It's him all right."

"Well, continue."

The mud-covered policeman continued, saying:

"About twelve o'clock last night I was on duty at Haining Road, and the rain was falling heavy. Suddenly he (and he pointed his finger at me) came along, banging on the wall with a leather shoe, making a big racket. I flashed

my police lamp on him and right away he opened his mouth and started cursing."

"What did he say?"

"He called me a 'damned foreign slave'! I saw that he was drunk and was afraid he would cause trouble, so I wanted to bring him in. He started hitting me with his leather shoe, and with the lamp in my hand I could not grab him, and was beaten by him several times. When I got a hold of him and wrested away his shoe he started giving me a tussle. Neither of us let go and we rolled into the street. The street was full of water from the heavy rain and the two of us rolled around in the muddy slush. My lamp was shattered to pieces, and I got hit by him on my face and body. The cuts on his face were from scratching against the stone. I blew my whistle and stopped an empty hansom cab. The two grooms helped me to catch him and shut him in the cab before we brought him in here. My clothes I have dried before the fire, but I did not dare scrape off the mud. I got all this from rolling in the street with him."

I looked at his face and saw that there were bruises all right, but they appeared also to be from scuffling in the street and not the wound inflicted by my shoe. He then opened up his upper garments, nor did we see any sign of injury there.

The police chief questioned me, and I told him my real name and occupation; when he heard that I was a teacher at the municipal school he naturally felt disinclined to offend me. Finally he said it would be necessary to have the case go through court, with a promise of a few dollars' fine for me.

He then returned to me the leather shoe and a belt which were lying on his desk. As I was putting on my shoe I remembered that I had been wearing a satin Chinese jacket the previous evening. I asked him about that garment, and he in turn asked the mud-covered policeman, and the latter replied: "He didn't have any Chinese jacket last night."

Then everything seemed clear to me.

My home was in Nanling Lane on Haining Road, a neighborhood that could be very lonely at midnight on a rainy night. I had of course fallen sound asleep as soon as I got into the rickshaw. When we reached the neighborhood of Nanling Lane the rickshaw man must have asked me my exact address and I probably was so sound asleep that I failed to make any reply. When the rickshaw man failed to wake me by calling, and perhaps pushing me, he was tempted to relieve me of the money I had on me as well

as my Chinese jacket. As to my hat, perhaps it had also gone as part of his loot, or perhaps I had lost it somewhere on the way. It was likely that he had wanted further to strip me of my fur-lined robe, but at this point I must have emerged from my sub-conscious and offered resistance. It was a part of town that seldom saw a policeman, and the rickshaw man probably got away with his carriage and, unable to overtake him, I probably decided to walk away myself. My shoes were the kind that had no shoe-laces, known as pumps, which slipped off easily; perhaps I had lost it as I leaped off the rickshaw, and then picked it up as I attempted to give chase to my assailant. When the rickshaw man got beyond my reach, I started to make my way home with the one shoe in my hand, still following my sub-conscious. As drunkards usually cared most for "face," it was likely that, having been robbed, I decided to put on a nonchalant front by starting to sing. But more likely this singing part was the policeman's invention, because I could not sing a note even in my conscious life.

All this of what must have transpired I supplied through my imagination, for there was no way of verifying it. But when I thought what could have happened to endanger my very life when I was sound asleep in my drunken stupor in the rickshaw I could not help giving a shudder of fear and congratulated myself on coming out of the escape with no more than soaking wet body and a few scratches on the face.

The police chief allowed me to send a short message home. At that time Cheng T'ieh-ju (later to be manager of the Bank of China Hongkong Branch) was staying with me, and in my message I asked him to bring some money to pay my fine.

The court hearing took place before noon and lasted a matter of few minutes; I was fined five dollars to pay for medical expenses for the policeman and the damage of his lamp.

When I reached home and took off my fur-lined robe, I found my padded undergarment also wet through and steaming with the body heat; to think that I had slept through the night wrapped in these wet clothes! I looked into the mirror and reassured myself that what I had suffered was no more than superficial cuts. So what was really to be feared was the chill I must have caught from sleeping in my wet clothes.

In our house lived a doctor from Szechuan named Hsü who was known to be quite skillful. I asked him to prescribe some strong medication for me to get rid of the chill, and he gave me a heavy dosage of laxative, which had its

effect for a number of days; still, in time, I broke out with cold sores all over my fingers and wrists.

* * * * *

When I peered into the mirror that day and saw myself bruised in the face and splattered all over with mud I could not help, with a sigh, thinking of the poet's line— "Heaven must have meant me for something useful!"—and I was filled with remorse. I felt that I had let my mother down, the loving mother who was even then thinking of me from our native village and entertaining great expectations for my future! I shed not a tear, but spiritually I had already rounded a turning.

That very day from my bed I composed a letter of resignation, which I dispatched to my employer, the Public School for Chinese; I felt that my conduct had sullied the reputation of the school. Moreover, I had made up my mind to quit teaching.

That year (1910) was the second year in which the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship examination was held for sending students to study in America. I had heard that even those who gained conditional acceptance in this examination would be matriculated to the Tsinghua College for preparatory study. I decided to shut myself up and prepare for this examination.

When my friend Hsü I-sun came to see me he was also strongly of the opinion that I should go to take the government examination for a scholarship to study in America. What worried me, however, was the following money considerations: First, for the support of my mother; secondly, to repay certain small loans; and thirdly, to raise my living expenses for these two months and my traveling expenses to the North. I-sun forthwith promised to make the necessary arrangements for me. Subsequently, outside of himself, others who aided me included Ch'eng Lo-t'ing's father Mr. Ch'eng Sung-t'ang and a grand-uncle of my clan, Mr. Hu Chieh-p'u.

I then shut myself up at home and studied for two months in preparation for the examination, at the end of which time I journeyed North with my Second Elder-Brother Shao-chih. Upon arrival in Peking I was so glad to have my Second Elder-Brother's good friend Mr. Yang Ching-su look after me. Through his recommendation I obtained lodgings in the newly-built dormitory of the Girls' Normal School (later Women's Normal College), where my expenses were kept to a minimum. In the one month I stayed in Peking I did not once attend the theater.

Mr. Yang gave me the benefit of his helpful advice on the study of ancient classics; he had me apply myself to fundamentals, beginning with the *Annotated Thirteen Classics*. This was the first time that I ever studied the Confucian classics of the Han dynasty.

The examination for scholarships to America was divided into two sessions. The subjects for the first session were Chinese and English, and only those who successfully passed these tests were permitted to take the test in the different scientific subjects which constituted the second part. The composition theme for the Chinese examination was the classical quotation, "One cannot make a square or a circle without the use of a ruler or a compass." I pondered over it a while and concluded that it would not be an easy topic to develop. For this reason, and the added fact that my reading had always been of a miscellaneous kind, when I set to work I put together a short essay in the manner of historical research. I opened my theme with this statement:

> The origin of the ruler was lost in earliest antiquity. It is plausible to assert, however, that the first pair of compass was made in the last stages of the Chou dynasty.

Following this statement I proceeded to cite the method of making a circle as described in *The Classic of Mathematics* of the Chou dynasty, to show that at the time of that book the use of the compass was still unknown. Another piece of evidence I adduced to prove the later invention of the compass was that in *The Analects* Confucius was quoted as saying, "… not going beyond the bounds of the kuei (ruler)" without making any mention of *kuei chü* (compass and ruler) together, and it was not until the works of Mo-tze and Mencius that the two words *kuei chü* were used side by side. All this was rather a novel and improvised piece of historical research, but it was my luck that the scholar who graded our papers also happened to have been addicted to the method of historical evidence and verification. He was wonderfully impressed with my short essay, and gave it a mark of 100 per cent. I got 60 in my English examination, and came out No. 10 with an average grade of 80. For every one of the subjects included in the second part of the examination, such as Western History, Biology, Physics, etc., I had no more knowledge than what I had managed to cram at the last moment; as a result, my performance here was nothing to be proud of. Fortunately again, on the strength of my excellent grades in the first part I came out No. 55 in the second part. Altogether seventy were accepted to go abroad, and so I was

pretty near the tail-end of the list of successful candidates.

The money for my return trip was also advanced by Mr. Yang Ching-su. Back in Shanghai, Grand-Uncle Chieh-p'u assured me that any time, when necessary, he would advance what money was needed for my mother's living expenses. My friend I-sun, once again, offered his help. Without the help of these good people, I would not have been able to make the trip North, nor could I go abroad with my mind at ease.

During my entire scholastic career I had been using the name Hu Hung-hsing; but when I went to Peking to take the examinations I changed it at the last moment to Hu Shih for fear of being laughed at should I fail to make the grade. Ever since then I have been known as Hu Shih.

伍　我怎样到外国去

一

戊申（一九〇八）九月间，中国公学闹出了一次大风潮，结果是大多数学生退出学来，另组织一个中国新公学。这一次的风潮为的是一个宪法的问题。

中国公学在最初的时代，纯然是一个共和国家，评议部为最高立法机关，执行部的干事即由公选产生出来。不幸这种共和制度实行了九个月（丙午二月至十一月），就修改了。修改的原因，约有几种：一是因为发起的留日学生逐渐减少，而新招来的学生逐渐加多，已不是当初发起时学生与办事人完全不分界限的情形了。二是因为社会和政府对于这种共和制度都很疑忌。三是因为公学既无校舍，又无基金，有请求官款补助的必要，所以不能不避免外界对于公学内部的疑忌。

为了这种种原因，公学的办事人就在丙午（一九〇六）年的冬天，请了郑孝胥、张謇、熊希龄等十人作中国公学的董事，修改章程，于是学生主体的制度就变成了董事会主体的制度。董事会根据新章程，公举郑孝胥为监督。一年后，郑孝胥辞职，董事会又举夏敬观为监督。这两位都是有名的诗人，他们都不常到学校，所以我们也不大觉得监督制的可畏。

可是在董事会与监督之下，公学的干事就不能由同学公选了。评议部是新章所没有的。选举的干事改为学校聘任的教务长、庶务长、斋务长了。这几位办事人，外面要四出募捐，里面要担负维持学校的责任，自然感觉他们的地位有稳定的必要。况且前面已说过，校章的修改也不是完全没有理由的。但我们少年人可不能那样想。中国公学的校章上明明载着“非经全体三分之二承认，不得修改”。这是我们的宪法上载着的唯一的修正方法。三位干事私自修改校章，是非法的。评议部的取消也是非法的。这里面也还有个人的问题。当家日子久了，总难免“猫狗皆嫌”。何况同学之中有许多本是干事诸君的旧日同辈的朋友呢？在校上课的同学自然在学业上日日有长进，而干事诸君办事久了，学问上没有进境，却当着教务长一类的学术任务，自然有时难免受旧同学的轻视。法的问题和这种人的问题混合在一块，风潮就不容易避免了。

代议制的评议部取消之后，全体同学就组织了一个“校友会”，其实

就等于今日各校的学生会。校友会和三干事争了几个月，干事答应了校章可由全体学生修改。又费了几个月的时间，校友会把许多修正案整理成一个草案，又开了几次会，才议定了一本校章。一年多的争执，经过了多少度的磋商，新监督夏先生与干事诸君均不肯承认这新改的校章。

到了戊申（一九〇八）九月初三日，校友会开大会报告校章交涉的经过，会尚未散，监督忽出布告，完全否认学生有订改校章之权，这竟是完全取消干事承认全体修改校章的布告了。接着又出了两道布告，一道说“集会演说，学堂悬为厉禁。……校友会以后不准再行开会”。一道说学生代表朱经、朱绂华“倡首煽众，私发传单，侮辱职员，要挟发布所自改印章程，屡诫不悛，纯用意气，实属有意破坏公学。照章应即斥退，限一日内搬移出校”。

初四日，全体学生签名停课，在操场上开大会。下午干事又出布告，开除学生罗君毅，周烈忠，文之孝等七人，并且说：“如仍附从停课，即当将停课学生全行解散，另行组织。”初五日，教员出来调停，想请董事会出来挽救。但董事会不肯开会。初七日学生大会遂决议筹备万一学校解散后的办法。

初八日董事陈三立先生出来调停，但全校人心已到了很激昂的程度，不容易挽回了。初九日，校中布告：“今定于星期日暂停膳食。所有被胁诸生可先行退出校外，暂住数日。准于今日午后一时起，在环球中国学生会发给旅膳费。俟本公学将此案办结后，再行布告来校上课。”

这样的压迫手段激起了校中绝大多数同学的公愤。他们决定退学，遂推举干事筹备另创新校的事。退学的那一天，秋雨淋漓，大家冒雨搬到爱而近路庆祥里新租的校舍里。厨房虽然寻来了一家，饭厅上桌凳都不够，碗碟也不够。大家都知道这是我们自己创立的学校，所以不但不叫苦，还要各自掏腰包，捐出钱来作学校的开办费。有些学生把绸衣，金表，都拿去当了钱来捐给学堂做开办费。

十天之内，新学校筹备完成了，居然聘教员，排功课，正式开课了。校名定为“中国新公学”；学生有一百六七十人。在这风潮之中，最初的一年因为我是新学生，又因为我告了长时期的病假，所以没有参与同学和干事的争执；到了风潮正激烈的时期，我被举为大会书记，许多记录和宣言都是我做的；虽然不在被开除之列，也在退学之中。朱经、李琴鹤、罗君毅被举做干事。有许多旧教员都肯来担任教课。学校虽然得着社会上一部分人的同情，捐款究竟很少，经常费很感觉困难。李琴鹤君担任教务干事，有一天他邀我到他房里谈话，他要我担任低级各班的英文，每星期教课三十点钟，月薪八十元；但他声明，自家同学作教员，薪俸是不能全领的，总得欠着一部分。

我这时候还不满十七岁，虽然换了三个学堂，始终没有得着一张毕业证书。我若继续上课，明年可以毕业了。但我那时确有不能继续求学的情形。我家本没有钱。父亲死后，只剩下几千两的存款，存在同乡店家生息，一家人全靠这一点出息过日子。后来存款的店家倒帐了，分摊起来，我家分得一点小店业。我的二哥是个有干才的人，他往来汉口上海两处，把这点小店业变来变去，又靠他的同学朋友把他们的积蓄寄存在他的店里，所以他能在几年之中合伙撑起一个规模较大的瑞兴泰茶叶店。但近几年之中，他的性情变了，一个拘谨的人变成了放浪的人；他的费用变大了，精力又不能贯注到店事，店中所托的人又不很可靠，所以店业一年不如一年。后来我家的亏空太大了，上海的店业不能不让给债权人。当戊申的下半年，我家只剩汉口一所无利可图的酒栈（两仪栈）了。这几个月以来，我没有钱住宿舍，就寄居在《竞业旬报》社里（也在庆祥里）。从七月起，我担任《旬报》的编辑，每出一期报，社中送我十块钱的编辑费。住宿和饭食都归社中担负。我家中还有母亲，眼前就得要我寄钱赡养了。母亲也知道家中破产就在眼前，所以寄信来要我今年回家去把婚事办了。我斩钉截铁的阻止了这件事，名义上是说求学要紧，其实是我知道家中没有钱给我办婚事，我也没有钱养家。

正在这个时候，李琴鹤君来劝我在新公学作教员。我想了一会，就答应了。从此以后，我每天教六点钟的英文，还要改作文卷子。十七八岁的少年人，精力正强，所以还能够勉强支持下去，直教到第二年（一九〇九）冬天中国新公学解散时为止。

以学问论，我那时怎配教英文？但我是个肯负责任的人，肯下苦功去预备功课，所以这一年之中还不曾有受窘的时候。我教的两班后来居然出了几个有名的人物：饶毓泰（树人），杨铨（杏佛），严庄（敬斋），都做过我的英文学生。后来我还在校外收了几个英文学生，其中有一个就是张奚若。可惜他们后来都不是专习英国文学；不然，我可真"抖"了！

《竞业旬报》停刊之后，我搬进新公学去住。这一年的教书生活虽然很苦，于我自己却有很大的益处。我在中国公学两年，受姚康侯和王云五两先生的影响很大，他们都最注重文法上的分析，所以我那时虽不大能说英国话，却喜欢分析文法的结构，尤其喜欢拿中国文法来做比较。现在做了英文教师，我更不能不把字字句句的文字弄的清楚。所以这一年之中我虽没有多读英国文学书，却在文法方面得着很好的练习。

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中国新公学在最困苦的情形之下支持了一年多，这段历史是很悲壮的。那时候的学堂多不讲究图书仪器的设备，只求做到教员好，功课

紧，管理严，就算好学堂了。新公学的同学因为要争一口气，所以成绩很好，管理也不算坏。但经费实在太穷，教员只能拿一部分的薪俸，干事处常常受收房捐和收巡捕捐的人的恶气；往往因为学校不能付房捐与巡捕捐，同学们大家凑出钱来，借给干事处。有一次干事朱经农君（即朱经）感觉学校经费困难已到了绝地，他忧愁过度，神经错乱，出门乱走，走到了徐家汇的一条小河边，跳下河去，幸遇人救起，不曾丧命。

这时候，中国公学的吴淞新校舍已开始建筑了，但学生很少。内地来的学生，到了上海，知道了两个中国公学的争持，大都表同情于新公学，所以新公学的学生总比老公学多。例如张奚若（原名耘）等一些陕西学生，到了上海，赶不上招考时期，他们宁可在新公学附近租屋补习，却不肯去老公学报名。所以"中国新公学"的招牌一天不去，"中国公学"是一天不得安稳发展的。老公学的职员万不料我们能支持这么久。他们也知道我们派出去各省募捐的代表，如朱绂华、朱经农、薛传斌等，都有有力的介绍，也许有大规模的官款补助的可能。新公学募款若成功，这个对峙的局面更不容易打消了。

老公学的三干事之中，张邦杰先生（俊生）当风潮起时在外省募款未归；他回校后极力主张调停，收回退学的学生。不幸张先生因建筑吴淞校舍，积劳成病，不及见两校的合并就死了。新公学董事长李平书先生因新校经济不易维持，也赞成调停合并。调停的条件大致是：凡新公学的学生愿意回去的，都可回去；新公学的功课成绩全部承认；新公学所有亏欠的债务，一律由老公学担负清偿。新公学一年之中亏欠已在一万元以上，捐款究竟只是一种不能救急的希望；职员都是少年人，牺牲了自己的学业来办学堂，究竟不能持久。所以到了己酉（一九〇九）十月，新公学接受了调停的条件，决议解散：愿回旧校者，自由回去。我有题新校合影的五律二首，七律一首，[1]可以纪念我们在那时候的感情，所以我抄在这里：

十月题新校合影时公学将解散

无奈秋风起，艰难又一年。
颠危俱有责，成败岂由天？
黯黯愁兹别，悠悠祝汝贤。
不堪回首处，沧海已桑田。

此地一为别，依依无限情。
凄凉看日落，萧瑟听风鸣。
应有天涯感，无忘城下盟！
相携入图画，万虑苦相萦。十月再题新校教员合影

也知胡越同舟谊，无奈惊涛动地来。
江上飞鸟犹绕树，尊前残烛已成灰。
昙花幻相空余恨，鸿爪遗痕亦可哀。
莫笑劳劳作刍狗，且论臭味到岑苔。

这都算不得诗，但“应有天涯感，无忘城下盟”两句确是当时的心理。合并之后，有许多同学都不肯回老公学去，也是为此。这一年的经验，为一个理想而奋斗，为一个团体而牺牲，为共同生命而合作，这些都在我们一百六十多人的精神上留下磨不去的影子。二十年来，无人写这一段历史，所以我写这几千字，给我的一班老同学留一点“鸿爪遗痕”。

* * * * *

少年人的理想主义受打击之后，反动往往是很激烈的。在戊申己酉（一九〇八——一九〇九）两年之中，我的家事败坏到不可收拾的地步。己酉年，大哥和二哥回家，主张分析家产；我写信回家，说我现在已能自立了，不要家中的产业。其实家中本没有什么产业可分，分开时，兄弟们每人不过得着几亩田，半所屋而已。那一年之中，我母亲最心爱的一个妹子和一个弟弟先后死了，她自己也病倒了。我在新公学解散之后，得了两三百元的欠薪，前途茫茫，毫无把握，那敢回家去？只好寄居在上海，想寻一件可以吃饭养家的事。在那个忧愁烦闷的时候，又遇着一班浪漫的朋友，我就跟着他们堕落了。

【注】[2]这一段是去年（一九三一）夏间写的，写成之后，我恐怕我的记载有不正确或不公平的地方，所以把原稿送给王敬芳先生（抟沙），请他批评修改。他是我们攻击的干事之一，是当日风潮的一个主要目标。但事隔二十多年，我们都可以用比较客观的眼光来回看当年的旧事了。他看了之后，写了一封几千字的长信给我，承认我的话“说的非常心平气和，且设身处地的委曲体谅，令我极端佩服”，又指出一些与当日事实不符的地方。他指出的错误，我都改正了。所以这一段小史，虽是二十多年后追记的，应该没有多大的错误。我感谢王先生的修正，并且盼望我的老同学朱经农、罗君毅诸先生也给我同样的修正。

王先生在他的长信里说了几句很感慨的话，我认为很值得附录在此。他说：“我是当初反对取缔规则最力的人，但是今日要问我取缔规则到底对于中国学生有多大害处，我实在答应不出来。你是当时反对公学最力的人，看你这篇文章，今昔观察也就不同的多了。我想青年人往往因感情的冲动，理智便被压抑了。中国学校的风潮，大多数是由于这种原因。学校中少一分风潮，便多一分成就。盼望你注意矫正这种流弊。”

我是赞成这话的，但是我要补充一句：学校的风潮不完全由于青年人的理智被感情压抑了，其中往往是因为中年人和青年人同样的失去了运用理智的能力。专责备青年人是不公允的。中国公学最近几次的风潮都是好例子。

廿一，九，廿七。

二

中国新公学有一个德国教员，名叫何德梅（Ottomeir），他的父亲是德国人，母亲是中国人，他能说广东话，上海话，官话。什么中国人

的玩意儿，他全会。我从新公学出来，就搬在他隔壁的一所房子里住，这两所房子是通的，他住东屋，我和几个四川朋友住西屋。和我同住的人，有林君墨（恕），但怒刚（懋辛）诸位先生；离我们不远，住着唐桂梁（蟒）先生，是唐才常的儿子。这些人都是日本留学生，都有革命党的关系；在那个时候各地的革命都失败了，党人死的不少，这些人都很不高兴，都很牢骚。何德梅常邀这班人打马将，我不久也学会了。我们打牌不赌钱，谁赢谁请吃雅叙园。我们这一班人都能喝酒，每人面前摆一大壶，自斟自饮。从打牌到喝酒，从喝酒又到叫局，从叫局到吃花酒，不到两个月，我都学会了。

幸而我们都没有钱，所以都只能玩一点穷开心的玩意儿：赌博到吃馆子为止，逛窑子到吃“镶边”的花酒或打一场合股份的牌为止。有时候，我们也同去看戏。林君墨和唐桂梁发起学唱戏，请了一位小喜禄来教我们唱戏，同学之中有欧阳予倩，后来成了中国戏剧界的名人。我最不行，一句也学不会，不上两天我就不学了。此外，我还有一班小朋友，同乡有许怡荪、程乐亭、章希吕诸人，旧同学有郑仲诚、张蜀川、郑铁如诸人。怡荪见我随着一班朋友发牢骚，学堕落，他常常规劝我。但他在吴淞复旦公学上课，是不常来的，而这一班玩的朋友是天天见面的，所以我那几个月之中真是在昏天黑地里胡混。有时候，整夜的打牌；有时候，连日的大醉。

*　*　*　*　*

有一个晚上，闹出乱子来了。那一晚我们在一家“堂子”里吃酒，喝的不少了，出来又到一家去“打茶围”。那晚上雨下的很大，下了几点钟还不止。君墨桂梁留我打牌，我因为明天要教书（那时我在华童公学教小学生的国文），所以独自雇人力车走了。他们看我能谈话，能在一叠“局票”上写诗词，都以为我没有喝醉，也就让我一个人走了。

其实我那时已大醉了，谈话写字都只是我的“下意识”的作用，我全不记忆。出门上车以后，我就睡着了。

直到第二天天明时，我才醒来，眼睛还没有睁开，就觉得自己不是睡在床上，是睡在硬的地板上！我疑心昨夜喝醉了睡在家中的楼板上，就喊了一声“老彭！”——老彭是我雇的一个湖南仆人。喊了两声，没有人答应，我已经坐起来了，眼也睁开了。

奇怪的很！我睡在一间黑暗的小房里，只有前面有亮光，望出去好像没有门。我仔细一看，口外不远还好像有一排铁栅栏。我定神一听，听见栏杆外有皮鞋走路的声响。一会儿，狄托狄托的走过来了，原来是一个中国巡捕走过去。

我有点明白了，这大概是巡捕房，只不知道我怎样到了这儿来的。

我想起来问一声，这时候才觉得我一只脚上没有鞋子，又觉得我身上的衣服都是湿透了的。我摸来摸去，摸不着那一只皮鞋子；只好光着一只袜子站起来，扶着墙壁走出去，隔着栅栏招呼那巡捕，问他这是什么地方。

他说："这是巡捕房。"

"我怎么会进来的？"

他说："你昨夜喝醉了酒，打伤了巡捕，半夜后进来的。"

"什么时候我可以出去？"

"天刚亮一会，早呢！八点钟有人来，你就知道了。"

我在亮光之下，才看见我的旧皮袍不但是全湿透了，衣服上还有许多许多污泥。我又觉得脸上有点疼，用手一摸，才知道脸上也有污泥，并且有破皮的疤痕。难道我真同人打了架吗？

这是一个春天的早晨，一会儿就是八点钟了。果然有人来叫我出去。

在一张写字桌边，一个巡捕头坐着，一个浑身泥污的巡捕立着回话。那巡捕头问：

"就是这个人？"

"就是他。"

"你说下去。"

那浑身泥污的巡捕说：

"昨夜快十二点钟时候，我在海宁路上班，雨下的正大。忽然（他指着我）他走来了，手里拿着一只皮鞋敲着墙头，狄托狄托的响。我拿巡捕灯一照，他开口就骂。"

"骂什么？"

"他骂'外国奴才'！我看他喝醉了，怕他闯祸，要带他到巡捕房里来。他就用皮鞋打我，我手里有灯，抓不住他，被他打了好几下。后来我抱住他，抢了他的鞋子，他就和我打起来了。两个人抱住不放，滚在地上。下了一夜的大雨，马路上都是水，两个人在泥水里打滚。我的灯也打碎了，身上脸上都被他打了。他脸上的伤是石头上擦破了皮。我吹叫子，唤住了一部空马车，两个马夫帮我捉住他，关在马车里，才能把他送进来。我的衣服是烘干了，但是衣服上的泥都不敢弄掉，这都是在马路当中滚的。"

我看他脸上果然有伤痕，但也像是擦破了皮，不像是皮鞋打的。他解开上身，也看不出什么伤痕。

巡捕头问我，我告诉了我的真姓名和职业，他听说我是在华童公学教书的，自然不愿得罪我。他说，还得上堂问一问，大概要罚几块钱。

他把桌子上放着的一只皮鞋和一条腰带还给我。我穿上了鞋子，才

想起我本来穿有一件缎子马褂。我问他要马褂，他问那泥污的巡捕，他回说："昨夜他就没有马褂。"

我心里明白了。

我住在海宁路的南林里，那一带在大雨的半夜里是很冷静的。我上了车就睡着了。车夫到了南林里附近，一定是问我到南林里第几弄。我大概睡的很熟，不能回答了。车夫叫我不醒，也许推我不醒，他就起了坏心思，把我身上的钱摸去了，又把我的马褂剥去了。帽子也许是他拿去了的，也许是丢了的。他大概还要剥我的皮袍，不想这时候我的"下意识"醒过来了，就和他抵抗。那一带是没有巡捕的，车夫大概是拉了车子跑了，我大概追他不上，自己也走了。皮鞋是跳舞鞋式的，没有鞋带，所以容易掉下来；也许是我跳下车来的时候就掉下来了，也许我拾起了一只鞋子来追赶那车夫。车夫走远了，我赤着一只脚在雨地里自然追不上。我慢慢的依着"下意识"走回去。醉人往往爱装面子，所以我丢了东西反唱起歌来了，——也许唱歌是那个巡捕的胡说，因为我的意识生活是不会唱歌的。

这是我自己用想象来补充的一段，是没有法子证实的了。但我想到在车上熟睡的一段，不禁有点不寒而栗，身上的水湿和脸上的微伤那能比那时刻的生命的危险呢？

巡捕头许我写一封短信叫人送到我的家中。那时候郑铁如（现在的香港中国银行行长）住在我家中，我信上托他带点钱来准备做罚款。

上午开堂问事的时候，几分钟就完了，我被罚了五元，做那个巡捕的养伤费和赔灯费。

我到了家中，解开皮袍，里面的棉袄也湿透了，一解开来，里面热气蒸腾：湿衣裹在身上睡了一夜，全蒸热了！我照镜子，见脸上的伤都只是皮肤上的微伤，不要紧的。可是一夜的湿气倒是可怕。

同住的有一位四川医生，姓徐，医道颇好。我请他用猛药给我解除湿气。他下了很重的泻药，泄了几天；可是后来我手指上和手腕上还发出了四处的肿毒。

* * * * *

那天我在镜子里看见我脸上的伤痕，和浑身的泥湿，我忍不住叹一口气，想起"天生我材必有用"的诗句，心里百分懊悔，觉得对不住我的慈母，——我那在家乡时时刻刻悬念着我，期望着我的慈母！我没有掉一滴眼泪，但是我已经过了一次精神上的大转机。

我当日在床上就写信去辞了华童公学的职务，因为我觉得我的行为玷辱了那个学校的名誉。况且我已决心不做那教书的事了。

那一年（庚戌，一九一〇）是考试留美赔款官费的第二年。听说，

考试取了备取的还有留在清华学校的希望。我决定关起门来预备去应考试。

许怡荪来看我，也力劝我摆脱一切去考留美官费。我所虑的有几点：一是要筹养母之费，二是要还一点小债务，三是要筹两个月的费用和北上的旅费。怡荪答应替我去设法。后来除他自己之外，帮助我的有程乐亭的父亲松堂先生，和我的族叔祖节甫先生。

我闭户读了两个月的书，就和二哥绍之一同北上。到了北京，蒙二哥的好朋友杨景苏先生（志洵）的厚待，介绍我住在新在建筑中的女子师范学校（后来的女师大）校舍里，所以费用极省。在北京一个月，我不曾看过一次戏。

杨先生指点我读旧书，要我从《十三经注疏》用功起。我读汉儒的经学，是从这个时候起的。

留美考试分两场，第一场考国文英文，及格者才许考第二场的各种科学。国文试题为“不以规矩不能成方圆说”，我想这个题目不容易发挥，又因我平日喜欢看杂书，就做了一篇乱谈考据的短文，开卷就说：

> 矩之作也，不可考矣。规之作也，其在周之末世乎？

下文我说《周髀算经》作圆之法足证其时尚不知道用规作圆；又孔子说“不逾矩”，而不并举规矩，至墨子孟子始以规矩并用，足证规之晚出。这完全是一时异想天开的考据，不料那时看卷子的先生也有考据癖，大赏识这篇短文，批了一百分。英文考了六十分，头场平均八十分，取了第十名。第二场考的各种科学，如西洋史，如动物学，如物理学，都是我临时抱佛脚预备起来的，所以考的很不得意。幸亏头场的分数占了大便宜，所以第二场我还考了个第五十五名。取送出洋的共七十名，我很挨近榜尾了。

南下的旅费是杨景苏先生借的。到了上海，节甫叔祖许我每年遇必要时可以垫钱寄给我的母亲供家用。怡荪也答应帮忙。没有这些好人的帮助，我是不能北去，也不能放心出国的。

我在学校里用胡洪骍的名字；这回北上应考，我怕考不取为朋友学生所笑，所以临时改用胡适的名字。从此以后，我就叫胡适了。

二十一，九，廿七夜。

NOTES　注释

*　本书创作于1930年前后，语言习惯与现今不尽一致，遵从原文未作改动。落款处均为民国纪年，特此说明。

序幕

1　太子会是皖南很普遍的神会，据说太子神是唐朝安史乱时保障江淮的张巡许远。何以称“太子”，现在还没有满意的解释。—作者原注

Ⅰ

1　国，通“国”，是当年“太平天国”的标准用字。

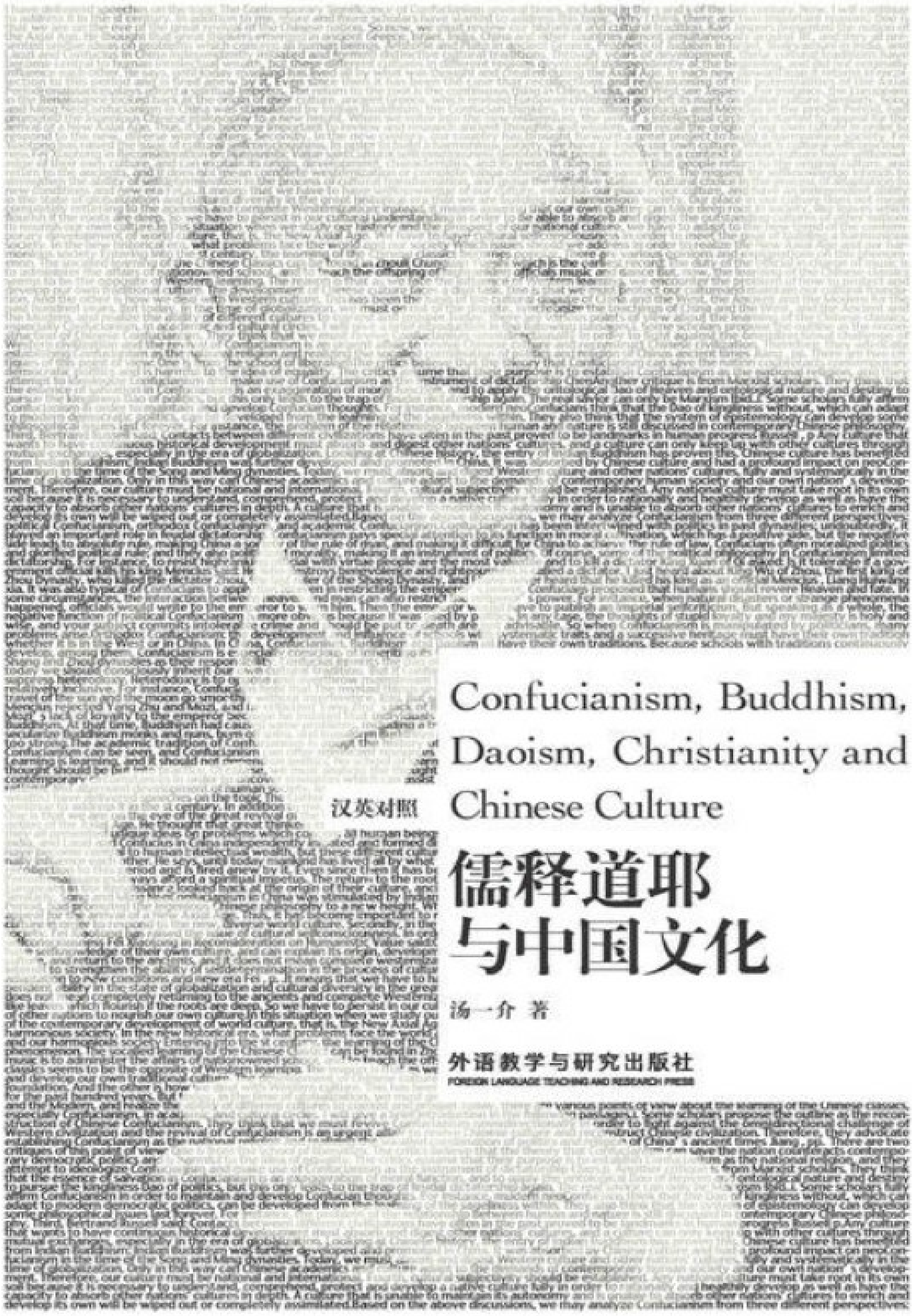
Ⅳ

1　应为姚宏业，后同。
2　应为宋跃如。
3　此段译文从略。
4　以上两段引文译文从略。
5　译文从略。

Ⅴ

1　译文从略。
2　此注为作者所写，译文从略。

汤一介先生关于儒、释、道、耶与中国文化主题的学术论文精选集，在与来自各国不同背景、文化的学者交流过程中，汤先生追溯了中国文化在历史上的流变，分析了中国文化与西方文化的异同和互补性



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汤一介（1927-2014），中国当代哲学家、哲学史家，原籍湖北黄梅。主要研究魏晋玄学、早期道教、儒家哲学、中西哲学比较等，著述宏富。曾任教育部哲学社会科学研究重大课题攻关项目“《儒藏》编纂与研究”首席专家、北京大学儒学研究院院长、中国文化书院创院院长、中华孔子学会会长等职。

“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future?—Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦

有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云："语言的边界，乃是世界的边界"，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对"经典"的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了"研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明"的范式。秉着"记载人类文明、沟通世界文化"的出版理念，我们推出"博雅双语名家名作"系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域"整理国故"，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为"再造文明"、为"向世界说明中国"略尽绵薄之力。

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I. AN INQUIRY INTO THE POSSIBILITY OF A THIRD-PHASE DEVELOPMENT OF CONFUCIANISM

Is there the possibility for Confucianism to have a third-phase development? In saying this we mean to regard the school of thought advocated by Confucius, Mencius, and Xunzi during the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States as the first-phase development of Confucianism. After the Han Dynasty Buddhism spread to China. Under the impact of Buddhist ideas, a Confucian school of idealist philosophy emerged during the Song and Ming dynasties. It greatly pushed forward the Confucian doctrines and constituted the second-phase development of Confucianism. Over the last century, Western civilization has found its way into China. Especially around the time of the May Fourth (1919) Movement, Marxism was also disseminated into our country. That gave an even bigger and more serious impact on China's traditional thought and culture. Under such circumstances, is it possible for Confucianism to have a third-phase development? Can it be brought back to life? Can it still have a role to play in China in particular and the world at large? In my opinion, it is perhaps too early to conduct an all-round discussion of this issue. However, to raise questions and opinions from certain angles in an attempt to push the inquiry forward may prove helpful.

In discussing whether it is possible for Confucianism to have a third-phase development, we must, first of all, acquire a clear understanding about the basic spirit of Confucianism. Regarding this basic spirit, there have been in the past, and may be in the future, a variety of different views. The existence of different views is not necessarily a bad thing; it may help deepen the study of this issue. In clarifying the basic spirit, I think attention should be paid to two parts: the part of thoughts that have been constantly effective in the entire course of development of Confucianism, and the part of thoughts

that still have vitality today. To combine the two for consideration, we may perhaps find out whether a third-phase development of Confucianism is possible from a certain aspect.

Running through the entire course of development of Confucianism, I believe, are two basic elements that still bear a major significance to us today: one is idealism, the other humanism; and the two are connected.

Confucianism is a kind of idealism. Starting from Confucius, this school of thought has cherished the ideal of having a society in which "right principles prevail" and has made every effort to materialize the ideal in the real world. Despite its acknowledgment of the unattainability of such a goal, it still insists that one should foster the ideal and dedicate oneself to realize it in the spirit of "doing the impossible." Therefore when Zigong asked Confucius: "What if one can generously give to the people and provide relief to them? Can that be called benevolence?" Confucius answered: "One who behaves with benevolence must be a saint! Even Yao and Shun fell short of that." Evidently Confucius did not regard the society of Yao and Shun's time as a society of man's highest ideal. Thus it involves the problem of what we should see as an ideal society. According to the Confucians, an ideal society is an ideal, which has the possibility, and not the necessity, of being realized. Despite the fact that an ideal society has never been realized before, it is a matter of fundamental importance, a problem of one's attitude toward life, whether or not one should seek to realize it. It is the Confucians' belief that one should ceaselessly seek after it. This is why, as I see it, people at that time criticized Confucians as "being ignorant of world affairs." Though it is not necessary that an ideal society be realized in the real world, it can be, as far as the Confucian philosophers are concerned, realized in their minds. Why is it that *West Inscription* by Zhang Zai was so highly respected by later Confucians? It was that, as I see it, *West Inscription* embodied the Confucian spirit of seeking to realize an ideal society, plus that Zhang Zai had already built in his mind the ideal society. True, whether the ideal society in which "the people are my brothers and I share my things with them," as Zhang Zai conceived, could be realized in the real world was important to him, but more important was whether one could have a world outlook of pursuing an ideal society. Therefore the last sentence of *West Inscription* says: "I carry on my pursuit when alive, and rest at ease when I die." While one lives, one has a duty to fulfill. The duty is to exert oneself for the realization of the ideal "world of commonweal." It can be said that this is an attitude of "concerning

oneself only about the cultivation instead of the gains." Whoever holds such an attitude toward life has a clear conscience. Don't we today need to have an attitude like this more than ever?

Confucianism is a kind of idealism that has humanism as its prerequisite. Why is it that man must have an ideal and seek to build an ideal society? According to the Confucians, man is the most important factor in the world, because he can "formulate ethics for the universe, provide sustenance for the people, carry forward consummate learnings into posterity, and win peace for thousands of generations to come." Confucius said: "Man can enhance the Way and not the reverse." The "Way" or the "Way of Nature" is an objective existence. But it needs to be enhanced and carried forward by man; it has to be effected by man through practice. How can man embody the "Way of Nature"? If, as the Confucians envisaged, man can understand how "Heaven is integrated with man," "knowledge is integrated with practice," and "feeling is integrated with scenery," man can then attain the loftiest realm of being a man. In other words, man can congeal in his heart the ideal of the true, the good, and the beautiful.

The integration of Heaven with man, knowledge with practice, and feeling with scenery are the three basic propositions the Chinese traditional philosophy made about the true, the good, and the beautiful; they are the ideal realms the Confucian school has been trying to attain. Why is it that Confucianism is in pursuit of the three integrations? In my opinion, Confucianism is nothing more than a teaching that teaches one how to behave oneself; namely, one should set a demand on oneself and hold oneself responsible to the world and the nation. This is a very common question, but involves a task extremely difficult to fulfill. Whoever has attained such an ideal realm of the true, the good, and the beautiful is a saint.

Although the proposition of integrating Heaven with man is designed to illustrate the relations between man and the entire universe, it begins with man as the center of the universe. *Zhongyong* (*The Golden Mean*) stated: "Being honest is the Way of Heaven. Striving to be honest is the Way of man. An honest man hits the right Way without difficulty and understands it without deliberation. One who conforms oneself to the Way of Heaven without qualm is a saint." Therefore a saint not only behaves himself in conformity with the requirements of the Way of Heaven but also assumes as his responsibility the fulfillment of such requirements. In living a life in this world, one should not behave oneself with a passive attitude; rather, one

should "make unremitting efforts to improve oneself" in order to embody the ceaseless flow and evolution of nature. In this way, man will set a demand on himself; he will find a reason for his existence and foster a lofty ideal. Since one has set a demand on oneself and found a reason for one's existence, the most important thing is for one to "integrate one's understanding with one's behavior" so that one can have a unified viewpoint on understanding and behavior in terms of morality and self-cultivation. The three programs and eight articles outlined in *Daxue* (*The Great Learning*) tell us exactly what this is about. It is said in *Daxue*:

> The Way of the great learning lies in shedding light on the bright principles, being close to the people, and stopping at nothing but the utmost good. Those in ancient times who wanted to shed light on the bright principles for the world had to first bring order to their own kingdoms. To bring order to their kingdoms they had to first bring their own houses to order. To bring their houses to order they had to first cultivate their own moral character. To cultivate their own moral character they had to first set their minds straight. To set their minds straight they had to first foster a sincere desire. To foster a sincere desire they had to first carry knowledge to the utmost degree. To carry knowledge to the utmost degree they had to first inquire into the properties of things. Having inquired into the properties of things, they were able to carry knowledge to the utmost degree. Having carried knowledge to the utmost degree, they were able to foster a sincere desire. Having fostered a sincere desire, they were able to set their minds straight. Having set their minds straight, they were able to cultivate their own moral character. Having cultivated their own moral character, they were able to bring their houses to order. Having brought their houses to order, they were able to bring order to their kingdoms. Having brought order to their kingdoms, the whole world would be at peace.

This is a process of cognizance, still more a process of moral practice. Man must have an ideal, and the highest ideal is to "achieve peace" so that human society can attain a realm of "Great Harmony." And the world of "Great Harmony" requires that everyone should set for himself a demand for being a man, a reason for being a man, and "not do to others what one does not wish done to oneself." Noted Confucius: "To implement my principle is nothing more than being honest and just." Whether the ideal society of "Great Harmony" can be attained or not remains a question, of course. But a Confucian must have such a goal and find pleasure in pursuing it. To lead an existence in the world and be a man, one must find pleasure in doing it and appreciate the creation of the universe. And to have a true appreciation of Nature one must be able to display creativity and man's spiritual realm in reproducing the "creation of the universe." One must be able to show why man should be a man, to create poetry and prose "masterpieces," paintings of "superb work," and music like "sounds of nature." This is why art requires

that "feeling be integrated with scenery." Wang Fuzhi observed: "In name feeling and scenery are two things, but in reality they are inseparable. Those gifted in writing poetry are capable of unlimited wit. A witty line naturally has feeling in the midst of scenery and scenery in the midst of feeling." "Once feeling is integrated with scenery, a witty remark is ready at hand." When one enters the realm of creation, it will be a realm in which the true, the good, and the beautiful are integrated with one another. This is precisely where the meaning of life and the highest ideal of mankind lie. Confucius described himself as "doing things at will without violating rules at the age of seventy." Probably it was the ideal realm as mentioned above. Indeed, it must be the realm of a saint when whatever one says and does is in harmony with the entire universe, society, and one's own frame of mind.

That Confucianism still has a value for its continued existence is perhaps due to the sole fact that it provides us a reason for being a man. It is most difficult for one to be a man, still more to maintain a harmony between oneself and nature, society and others, or between one's inside and outside in body and soul. Is such a requirement unnecessary in today's world? As Confucianism only tells us the reason for being a man, we should not set demands on it in other aspects. And it should come as no surprise that it suffers from some inadequacies.

壹　关于儒家思想第三期发展可能性的探讨*

儒家思想有没有第三期发展的可能性，这是把春秋战国时期孔孟荀等看成儒家发展的第一期；汉朝以后佛教传入中国，在经过佛教思想的冲击之后，到宋明产生了理学，儒家思想有了很大发展，成为儒家思想发展的第二个时期；近百年来，西方文明的传入，五四运动前后马克思主义又传入中国，这一冲击比佛教对中国传统思想文化的冲击更大、更严重，在这样的情况下，儒家思想有没有第三期发展的可能性？它会不会"死而复生"？它还能不能在中国、在世界上起作用？我想，全面地讨论这个问题或者为时过早，但试图从某些方面提出一些问题和看法，也许对于推动这一问题的探讨是有益的。

讨论儒家思想第三期发展的可能性，首先应弄清儒家思想的基本精神。对于儒家思想的基本精神过去有各种各样不同的看法，今后仍然会有各种各样不同的看法。有不同的看法并不一定是坏事，它会推动对儒家思想的基本精神的研究。弄清儒家思想的基本精神，我觉得可以注意两点：一点是要注意贯穿儒家思想整个发展过程中经常起作用的某些思想；另一点是它到目前为止仍然有活力的那一部分。把这两个方面统一起来考虑，也许可以从某一侧面看到儒家思想有没有第三期发展的可能性。

我认为贯穿整个儒家思想发展过程中有两个基本精神对我们今天仍有很大意义，一是理想主义，二是人本主义，而这两者又是结合在一起的。

在中国传统思想中有一种理想主义，从孔子起就向往着"天下有道"的社会，并且极力想把它实现于现实社会之中，甚至并不认为它完全能够实现，但却认为人们应有这种理想，应有"知不可而为之"的精神而致力于此。所以当子贡问孔子"如有博施于民而能济众，何如？可谓仁乎？"的时候，孔子回答说："何事于仁，必也圣乎！尧舜其犹病诸。"可见孔子并没有认为尧舜时期的社会就是人类最高的理想社会。因此，就有一个对于理想社会应如何看的问题。照儒家看，理想社会就是一种理想，它只有实现的可能性，但并不一定能把这种可能性变成现实性。尽管理想社会从来没有实现过，但要不要追求它却是一个根本性问题，是一个人生态度问题。孔孟认为，对于它应去不断地追求，所以

当时人批评儒家“迂阔”。我看问题就在于此。理想社会虽然不一定能在现实中实现，但对于古代的哲人来说，却可以在他们的心中实现。为什么张载的《西铭》那么受后来宋明理学的重视？我想就在于《西铭》体现了古代思想家追求理想社会的精神，而且在他的心中已经建立了这个理想社会。张载理想中的“民，吾同胞；物，吾与也”的社会是否能实现，这对他来说固然很重要；但更重要的是人能不能有一种追求理想社会的人生态度，所以《西铭》的最后一句是“存，吾顺事；没，吾宁也。”人生在世必须去尽自己的责任，这个责任就是如何为实现理想的“大同世界”而奋斗，为这个理想可以说是“只问耕耘，不问收获”，这样的人生态度是问心无愧的。今天难道我们不是更加需要这种人生态度吗？

儒家思想是一种理想主义，这种理想主义又是以它的人本主义为前提的。人为什么要有一个理想，要追求建立一理想社会？照儒家看，人在天地中是最重要的，他能“为天地立心，为生民立命，为往圣继绝学，为万世开太平”，所以孔子说：“人能弘道，非道弘人。”“道”（或“天道”）是客观存在的，但“道”要人来发扬光大它，要人在实践中体现它。人怎样体现“天道”？儒家认为，如果能了解“天人合一”“知行合一”“情景合一”，那么人就有了一种做人的最高境界，也就可以把其美好的理想凝聚于心中。

“天人合一”“知行合一”“情景合一”是中国传统哲学关于真、善、美的三个基本命题，也是儒家所要追求的理想境界。儒家思想为什么要追求这三个“合一”呢？我认为，儒家思想无非是教人如何做人，对自己应有一个要求，对天下国家应有一个责任感，这是一个很普通的问题，但也是一个极难做到的问题。达到了这个“天人合一”“知行合一”“情景合一”的真、善、美的理想境界的人是圣人。

“天人合一”的问题虽然是说明人和整个宇宙的关系，但它是把人作为宇宙中心来考虑的，《中庸》中说：“诚者，天之道也；诚之者，人之道也。诚者，不勉而中，不思而得，从容中道，圣人也。”因此，圣人的行为不仅应符合“天道”的要求，而且是以实现“天道”的要求为己任。人生活在天地之中，不应取消极态度，而应“自强不息”，体现宇宙大化的流行，这样人就会对自己有个要求，有个做人的道理，有个高尚的境界。既对自己有个要求，要有个做人的道理，最重要的是要做到“知行合一”，有个道德修养上的知行统一观。《大学》的三纲领八条目就是告诉我们这个道理，它说：“大学之道，在明明德，在亲民，在止于至善”；“古之欲明明德于天下者，先治其国。欲治其国者，先齐其家。欲齐其家者，先修其身，欲修其身者，先正其心。欲正其心者，先诚其意。欲诚其意者，先致其知。致知在格物。物格而后知至，知至而

后意诚，意诚而后心正，心正而后身修，身修而后家齐，家齐而后国治，国治而后天下平。”这是一个认识过程，更是一个道德实践的过程。人应该有理想，最高的理想是“致太平”，使人类社会达到一个“大同”的境地。而“大同”世界的基本要求就是每个人对自己有个做人的要求，要有个做人的道理，要能“己所不欲，勿施于人”，孔子说：“吾道一以贯之”，“忠恕而已矣。”理想的“大同”世界能否达到自然是个问题，但儒者应有这个要求，并从中得到做人的乐趣。盖人生活在天地之中，要做人，也要有做人的乐趣，要能领略天地造化之功；而真正能领略天地造化之功的，就必须能于再现“天地造化之功”中表现人的创造力，表现人的精神境界，表现人之所以为人者，使诗文成为“至文”，使绘画成为“神品”，使音乐成为“天籁”。所以艺术的要求是“情景合一”的，王夫之说：“情景名为二，而实不可离。神于诗者，妙合无垠。巧者则有情中景，景中情”；“情景一合，自得妙语。”当人进入这一创造的境界，这将是真、善、美合一的境界；人生的意义、人类的最高理想正在于此。孔子说他“七十而从心所欲不逾矩”，大概就是这样一种境界，自己的一切言行和整个宇宙、社会、自己的身心都和谐了，这种境界是真、善、美合一的境界，自然也就是圣人的境界了。

儒家思想之所以仍有存在的价值，也许就仅仅在于它告诉我们一个做人的道理。做人是最不容易的，做到和自然、社会、他人以及自己的身心内外的和谐更是不容易的，难道今天的世界不应有这样的要求吗？正因为儒家思想只是告诉我们一个做人的道理，就不应从其他方面要求它。它有不足的方面，也不应该奇怪。

II. CONFUCIANISM & CONSTRUCTIVE POSTMODERNISM

I. What Kind of Age Are We in Now?

From a world perspective, our current age can possibly be seen as the transition from modern capitalist society beginning with the first, 18th-century, Enlightenment toward a postmodern society of a "second enlightenment." From a China perspective, our age will be seen as a crucial moment for realizing great national revival in the context of globalization. All in all, for human society, this age represents a precious opportunity to enter a totally new era.

Since the 18th-century Age of Enlightenment, Western capitalism has a history of almost 300 years, during which period the Western world achieved dazzling "modernization." But now, "modernized society" is suffering from more and more intractable problems. Immanuel Kant(1724-1804) proposed that reason should be the watchword of the Enlightenment, but these days "reason" faces its own problems. Originally, "reason" contained two related aspects: "instrumental reason" and "value reason," both aspects with an extremely important role in advancing human progress, but the present-day reality is that "scientifically omnipotent" "instrumental reason" outshines humanistic "value reason," and the latter has become marginalized. As a result, everything becomes an "instrument": people become instruments for others and the natural world has become an instrument to be used by human beings as they see fit.

The normal and harmonious relation between man and nature has been severely harmed by man's unrestrained exploitation, destruction and waste of natural resources. In turn, man's own survival is threatened by deteriorating natural conditions such as depletion of the ozone layer, poisoned oceans, polluted environment and unbalanced ecoenvironment. Although the Kyoto Protocol for limiting air pollution was signed in Kyoto, Japan, in as early as

December 1997, certain developed countries in the capitalist world set various obstacles on its path. One example is Canada's recent announcement of its intention to withdraw from the Protocol. This illustrates that the "reason" advocated by the Enlightenment is being changed by some Western leaders into a "non-rational" and utilitarian "tool."

With the growth of industrialization, "free market economy" has promoted the huge increase of human wealth and people have won great material benefit from it. But there is no denying that it has also caused serious polarization between the rich and the poor (including country-to-country, ethnic group-to-ethnic group, class-to-class within a country). If "free market economy" continues to grow like a rapacious monster, without effective supervision, control or restraint, sooner or later it will cause economic crisis and social disturbance. The global financial crisis that first appeared in the USA in 2008 was still ongoing when the debt crisis began to sweep Europe in 2011. According to Professor Paul Kennedy of Yale University, liberalism freed people from the shackles of the pre-market-economy age, but it has also put people in danger of financial crisis and social disasters.[1]

Another Enlightenment watchword, "liberation of the individual," originally targeted religious superstition and vulgar ignorance, encouraging people to be fully aware of their own strength so as to fully deploy their "free" creativity. Today, however, this notion has become an instrument for the domination of others, a tool that imperialist countries in particular use to support their own hegemony and impose their own value systems on other countries and people, pushing a universalist doctrine.[2] The distorted development of today's capitalist society has resulted in people no longer in pursuit of "reason," but indulging themselves in the lust for power and worship of money. Consequently, all groups of people live in pain and mental conflict: ordinary people struggle to survive harsh conditions; intellectuals experience constant guilt because of their inability to settle social chaos; unable to win people's trust, politicians exist in a state of self-deception; entrepreneurs wrestle to figure their way around mutually contradictory rules and systems. Regardless of rank or identity it seems the happy life to which all aspire is out of reach and happiness eludes all. But this is not a problem caused by any individual: rather, it is an unavoidable pain for a society in the throes of a major transitional period. Therefore, it is incumbent on each and every one of us to work hard for the coming of a new age.

II. The Rise of Two Trends of Thought in China in the 1990s

In the 1990s, there emerged in China's ideological and cultural circles two ideological trends opposing the concept of "monism." One trend is "postmodernism," an idea originating in the West and aiming to deconstruct "modernity." In the early 1980s, "postmodernism" had already come to China, but it made little impact at the time; by the 1990s, however, Chinese scholars were suddenly showing it great interest. Another trend is the " *Guoxue* tide"—the ardent pursuit of revitalizing traditional Chinese culture. In truth, in the 1980s, China's thinkers had advocated greater emphasis on traditional Chinese culture, but it did not coalesce into a surge tide until in the 1990s when *Guoxue* rose quietly in Peking University. What does the rise of these two trends mean for us?

In the 1960s, to save human society and cancel out modernity's concomitant negative impact, the trend of "postmodernism" first emerged in the West. In its early period, postmodernism was "deconstructive postmodernism," posited as a way of dealing with problems produced in the course of modern society's development. The aim was to deconstruct modernity, to oppose monism and advocate pluralism, to shatter all authority and to cast the "authoritativeness" and "dominant nature" of modernity into the shade. But, postmodernism of the deconstructive kind produced neither positive standpoints, nor any designs for a new age.

At the turn of the 21st century, "constructive postmodernism," a concept based on process philosophy, proposed integrating the positive elements of the first Enlightenment with postmodernism and thus called for a "second enlightenment." For instance, according to Whitehead's process philosophy, "man" should not be taken as the center of everything. Rather, "Man and nature should be regarded as a closely related living community."[3] According to John B. Cobber, a major founder of process philosophy, "Constructive postmodernism takes a critical attitude towards deconstructive postmodernism. . . we have introduced ecologicalism into postmodernism. In a postmodern age, man and man will co-exist harmoniously, as will man and nature. It is an age which will retain something positive of modernity while transcending dualism, anthropocentrism and male chauvinism, an age that aims to build a postmodern society for the common good." According to process philosophy, if the rallying cry of the first Enlightenment was "to free

the self," then the second enlightenment's watchword should be "to care about others" and "to respect differences" (in a postmodern society). In their opinion, when people use their personal "freedom" in ways that diminish the community, they are bound to weaken their own "freedom." Therefore, it is necessary to reject an abstract concept of freedom in favor of a profound and responsible freedom by bringing in the notions of responsibility and duty and by revealing the inner relation between freedom and duty. In the West, constructive postmodernism is a tiny branch stream with very little influence, but in China it has attracted the attention of a group of scholars who are passionate for national revival.

Karl Theodor Jaspers wrote in *The Origin and Goal of History*: "Until today mankind has lived by what happened during the Axial Period, by what was thought and created during that period. In each new upward flight it returns in recollection to this period and is fired anew by it. Ever since then it has been the case that recollections and re-awakenings of the potentialities of the Axial Period—renaissances—afford a spiritual impetus. Return to this beginning is the ever-recurrent event in China, India and the West."[4] This is exemplified in the " *Guoxue* tide" in the late 1990s, when China was experiencing a process of national rejuvenation, and for this the support of a revitalized national culture was essential.

In my opinion, it is precisely because traditional Chinese culture (*Guoxue*) has had over a century of impact from Western culture that Chinese scholars have had the chance for reflecting on our own traditional culture. We have gradually come to realize what of our culture should be promoted, what abandoned and what absorbed. For over one hundred years, Chinese scholars have been trying to absorb and digest "Western learning," and this most certainly laid the foundation for the transformation of *Guoxue* in the traditional sense to its modern counterpart. The new or modern *Guoxue* must be a spiritually significant power for China's revival as well as for the "peace and development" of human society. It will help China to realize "modernization" in an all-round way, and also to avoid the predicament that Western society currently experiences.

In other words, the new *Guoxue* should stick to the principle of *Fanben Kaixin*. Only through *Fanben* (return to the source) are we able to *Kaixin* (open up new territory). *Fanben* requires of us a deep understanding of *Guoxue*'s essence and insists on the mainstay nature of our own culture, whereas *Kaixin* requires of us a systematic understanding of the new

problems facing China and human society, problems in need of urgent resolution. The two aspects are inseparable: Only by digging deeper into the true essence of *Guoxue* can we open up new territory at the appropriate time. Only by squarely addressing the problems of human society can we better promote and update the essence of *Guoxue*, so that in the 21st century, the flame of *Guoxue* will once more be ignited by the *Fanben Kaixin* principle and contribute to human society.

What are the prospects of these two trends of thought in China? Will they exert a positive impact on Chinese society and on human society as a whole? To answer these questions, we must fully investigate the possibility of integrating the two.

III. In the New Historical Period of Chinese Revival and in the Context of Globalization, Traditional Chinese Culture May Well Make an Epochal Contribution to Human Society.

China is in the process of national revival, and this must have the support of revitalized national culture. However, in this globalized age, the revitalization of our traditional culture requires us not only to address our own social problems, but world problems also. It follows that while developing our traditional culture we must keep in mind that it belongs to both China and the world at large. It requires us not only to pay close attention to the actual development of our own culture, but also to incipient tendencies in Western culture. Here the author would like to offer a possible trend for discussion, namely: Could a combination of *Guoxue* and constructive postmodernism—the former traditional Chinese learning and the latter of Western origin and still in the bud—have something to offer to the healthy and rational development of China and the rest of the world?

i. "Man and Nature as a Closely Related Living Community" and "Unity of Man and Heaven"

According to John B. Cobber, "Today we recognize that man is a part of nature and that we live an ecological community." This idea, although coming directly from Whitehead, is very similar to a traditional Chinese notion—the unity of Man and Heaven, Heaven implying the laws of nature.

As a core traditional Chinese value, it is a mode of thinking that differs from the "man-nature dichotomy" idea that long prevailed in the West.

In 1992, 1,575 scientists from around the world signed and published a document named "World Scientists' Warning to Humanity." Its first line reads: "Human beings and the natural world are on a collision course." Why has nature been so devastated? There is no getting away from the fact that the long prevalence of the "man-nature dichotomy" mindset has made nature a victim.[5] Fortunately, the "unity of Man and Heaven" way of thinking offers us a feasible way towards tackling the destruction of the natural world.

As early as 2,500 years ago, Confucius was exhorting people to both "know Heaven" and "fear Heaven." The first admonition requires us to learn more about nature and thus consciously use it to improve the welfare of human beings. The second requires us to hold nature in awe and fulfill our duty of protecting it. According to Zhu Xi, another great thinker of ancient China, "Heaven is inseparable from man and man from Heaven." What he is telling us is that, after Heaven gives birth to man, man and Heaven have formed an inseparable relation, one that requires man to embody the laws of Heaven and to be responsible for it.

As we have seen, in dealing with the relation between man and nature, traditional Chinese philosophy takes a road similar to that of constructive postmodernism. As Léon Vandermeersch put it, "Western humanism that brought the world such a perfect thought as the concept of human rights now faces many challenges from modern society that as yet it has been unable to answer. Why, then, not give some consideration as to whether Confucian thinking might indicate a way forward for the world, for example: respect for nature as proposed in the 'unity of Man and Heaven' concept; and the philanthropic spirit that 'all men are brothers'? We can and should bring to bear the essence of Confucian teaching on current world problems, to examine them afresh from a new perspective."[6]

Why does Vandermeersch put Western thought on human rights together with the three concepts from Chinese thinking as mentioned above? As we know, human rights are very important to us, because man should not be deprived of the right of freedom, and social progress can only be realized with "freedom of thought," "freedom of speech," "freedom of belief," "freedom of movement," etc. However, the question of how to protect human rights is often subject to interference by external forces, to removal even. This has been the case in China and overseas. Some Western thinkers and

politicians widen the concept of human rights to the extent that there are no limits and that man can destroy nature at will. Hence Vandermeersch asserted that there should be some constraints on man's rights over nature, and to do that we should use the significant philosophical asset of the concept of their unity.

According to Christian belief, God created the world in its complete form and man can do nothing further to it. However, in Vandermeersch's opinion, once God created a complete world, the rest was man's problem and for man to address. Just as André Gide, the French writer, said, "God proposes and man disposes." The Confucian view that "all men are brothers" is linked to another traditional Chinese idea, namely "world outlook." This considers that man's loftiest ideal is "the world being One"(or the world is in Great Harmony). As written in *The Great Learning*, it is important to cultivate one's moral character, to take good care of one's family, to run the State well and thence make the whole world peaceful and harmonious. For any country or nation, it is important to consider not just its own interests, but "peace in the world" (i.e. common interests of mankind), which, in my opinion, should be an intrinsic meaning of "human rights." In other words, Western thinking on human rights would do well to look into the traditional thought and culture of other nations(such as China) for valuable elements that could supplement and enrich its own approach, and thereby set human society on a more reasonable path.

ii. Constructive Postmodernism, a Second Enlightenment and Confucian "Renxue" (Learning of Goodness)

According to constructive postmodernism, if the watchword of the first Enlightenment was "liberty of the individual," then those of the second should be "care about others" and "respect for differences."[7] The former can be described as *ren* (goodness), a core value of the Confucian school. The starting point and basis of *ren* is "love of family," but according to Confucius we should not only extend *ren* to family members but beyond the family, too. Similarly, as taught by Mencius, an important successor of Confucius, "Apart from taking good care of the elderly and children of one's own kin, one should extend concern for the elderly and children of other families." He also asserted that love for family was a prerequisite for loving others, and loving others a prerequisite for loving all creatures.

Mencius' thought is also in line with the "care about others" line proposed by constructive postmodernism. According to constructive

postmodernism scholars, their philosophy is to try to "construct a postmodern world where all living communities get due attention and concern" on the basis of "retaining some positive factors of modernity"(mainly valuable concepts such as "freedom," "democracy," "human rights," etc., as proposed by Western thinkers on the basis of reason).[8] This can be regarded as a more comprehensive description of "care about others." In the development of human society, culture always undergoes a process of accumulation, inheritance and creation. A postmodern society must retain the positive factors of modernity such as "freedom," "democracy," "human rights," etc., before the significance of "constructing a postmodern world in which all living communities get due attention and concern" can be fully displayed. "Respect for differences" can be taken as a different way of expressing the Confucian proposition "the Ways move in parallel and do not interfere with each other."

Different ideological and cultural traditions often have different features. Fortunately, such differences can be meaningful to human society to an extent and are by no means necessarily at odds.[9] For example, to allow that the concept of "democracy" proposed by the West as having positive meaning in specific social conditions, is not to deny traditional Chinese thinking such as *Minben* (people as the root) as also having positive meaning in specific social conditions too; nor do we deny the "universal value" of our traditional thoughts such as "Do not do to others what you do not want done to yourself." Only by acknowledging that every ideological and cultural tradition has its positive effect on human society can different countries and nations co-exist and co-prosper. Absorbing and digesting the strong points of different cultural systems as a means of achieving real comprehension of them is an essential path for the development of culture. Just as Russell said, "Contacts between different civilizations have often in the past proved to be landmarks in human progress."[10] We should remember that as human beings, we face common problems. We may adopt different ways to tackle those problems but we often come to the same end via different routes. Therefore, "respect others" and "the Ways move in parallel and do not interfere with each other" have equivalent value to us.

iii. Defining "Human" and Examining "Human Rights" from the Standpoint of "Li"—a Traditional Chinese Concept

The human rights concept is a very important one for modern society. But each ideological and cultural tradition should discuss deeply how to have

the concept play a positive role in building a healthy and rational society. As written in *Thinking Through Confucius*, co-authored by Hall and Ames, two well-known American philosophers, "What we need to do is not only to study Chinese traditions but also to use them as a cultural resource to enrich and restructure our own. The Confucian school defined 'man' from a societal perspective. Can we use it to modify and strengthen the Western mode of liberalism? Can we find some useful resource from a society built on *li* [rites, courtesy, ceremony, etc.] to help us better understand our insufficiently rooted but indeed valuable outlook on human rights?"[11]

This paragraph discusses three issues: One, that the West should not stop at studying China's thinking and culture, but go on to apply those things so as to "enrich and restructure" its own; Two, the necessity of understanding the significance of "man" as defined from a societal perspective in traditional Chinese culture; Three, that China's *li* contains elements that could well be valuable if brought into the Western concept of human rights.

In my opinion, the three issues raised by Hall and Ames are for treating the condition of some of Western philosophical concepts being "insufficiently rooted." It is precisely because of the great importance attached to man's right of liberty in modern society (since the first Enlightenment) that human society has developed by leaps and bounds. The right of liberty is a great creative force. That said, the misuse of right of liberty by an individual, a country or a nation can, in certain circumstances, constitute a threat to, suppression or violation of the rights of other individuals, countries or nations. To define "human" from a societal perspective as traditional Chinese culture does means "not defining it from the isolated angle of 'the individual'" because "humans" have to live and grow up in various relations since the moment of birth. It is much like what Karl Marx said in *Theses on Feuerbach*, "The essence of man is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In reality, it is the ensemble of social relations."[12]

How then are we to handle the complex "social relations of man"? In ancient China, great emphasis was placed on *li* in dealing with these relations. Although *li* was a conceptual thing, it did have a restricting power on man's behavior. As written in *The Analects of Confucius*, "In practicing the rules of *li*, harmony is to be prized." The most important role of *li* is to promote social harmony as a normalizing power over society. As written in the *Book of Rites*, ". . . rulers use *li* to protect morality and laws to prevent people from committing crimes." Rulers created *li* for preventing moral

norms being ruined and made laws for keeping social order. As written in "Explaining Government" by Jia Yi of the Former Han Dynasty, " *Li* is put into practice before people do something wrong whereas law is executed after people do bad things. The role of law is visible whereas the role of *li* is invisible and hard to perceive." Another reason that *li* is greatly valued in our tradition is, as advocated by the Confucian school, the importance of reciprocal relationships among people. As written in the *Books of Rites*, "What is human righteousness? It involves ten (or five pairs of) person-to-person relations: A father is kind to children and children show filial obedience to parents; brothers are kind to each other; a husband is responsible to wife and wife obedient to husband; the older children are kind to younger siblings and the younger respect the older; a ruler is benevolent and his subjects are loyal." That is to say, according to the Confucian school, the moral relation between people should be a relation of rights and corresponding obligations rather than one-sided enjoyment of rights without fulfilling obligations. China's *li* was created precisely in order to balance the rights and obligations of those social relations. Therefore, in my opinion, is it possible to call premodern China a society under "rule of *li* and law"? This, of course, is an ideal of the Confucian school.

From this one could envisage, in establishing a "convention on human rights" also establishing a "convention on obligations" at the same time, so as to keep a balance between rights and obligations. This would accord with what Hall and Ames believed a possible role for *li*— "enriching and restructuring" the Western concept of human rights. One might envisage a "convention of obligations" to protect and strengthen a "convention on human rights."

According to John B. Cobber, "Traditional Chinese ideology is very attractive to constructive postmodernism, but we should not just return to it. Instead, our postmodernism should renew itself by serious scientific means and by adjusting itself to the changing society. The pre-modern tradition should absorb the positive factors of the Enlightenment such as concern for and respect of individual rights before it can contribute something to the postmodern society."[13] This paragraph has great significance for study of our ideology and culture. Traditional or pre-modern Chinese culture needed to absorb rather than exclude all valuable fruits achieved by modern society since the Enlightenment, such as freedom, democracy, human rights, etc., concepts that embody "concern and respect for individual rights." In addition,

we must work hard to put into practice those positive concepts before we can successfully align traditional or pre-modern Chinese culture with postmodernism and promote the transformation from modern to postmodern society.

It is good to note that some Chinese scholars have had extensive contact and satisfactory cooperation with Western scholars of constructive postmodernism. The representative figures of constructive postmodernism have also realized the value of traditional Chinese culture to their research and are absorbing nutrition from it. Similarly, some Chinese scholars have noticed the practical significance of constructive postmodernism in helping human society out of predicament and are paying close attention to the development of this thought. If an organic synthesis between the widely influential " *Guoxue* tide" and constructive postmodernism can be achieved, then pioneered deeply in Chinese society and developed further, China could perhaps proceed smoothly to complete the mission of its own "first enlightenment," realize modernization, and then rather rapidly enter a postmodern society marked by a "second enlightenment." If this does come to pass, the fruits achieved in China's current cultural revival will be of great significance to human history.

In this paper, the author explores the possibility of communication and integration of Western and Chinese cultures. Whether this possibility can become reality hinges mainly on how China's *Guoxue* can adapt to healthy social development and whether constructive postmodernism, currently a minor branch of thinking in the West, can become more mainstream and win widespread acceptance. The author stresses that this paper is simply a theoretical foray—a try-out—and would welcome any comments.

贰　儒学与建构性后现代主义[*]

一、当前我们处在一个什么样的时代？

从全世界来说，将可能是自18世纪以来第一次“启蒙运动”开始的资本主义现代社会向第二次“启蒙”的后现代社会转型。从我们中国说，将是处在全球化背景下实现伟大的民族复兴的关键时刻。这个时代对人类社会来说将是走向新时代的一次难得的机遇。

我们知道，西方资本主义自18世纪“启蒙运动”到现在已有近三百年的历史，这三百年的历史也是西方取得辉煌的“现代化”的历史。但到现在，“现代化社会”的矛盾日益显露，出现了许多深层的难以克服的问题。康德（1724—1804）提出“要敢于用理性”作为“启蒙运动”的口号，但是“理性”现在发生了问题。本来“理性”包含着两个相互联系的方面：“工具理性”和“价值理性”，它们对人类社会的发展有着极大的推动作用，然而现在的情况是“科学万能”的“工具理性”一枝独秀，而具有人文精神的“价值理性”被边缘化了。这样使一切都变成了“工具”，不仅“人”对“人”是一种“工具”，而且“人”把“自然界”也变成了可以任意利用的“工具”。

当前对“自然界”的无量开发和破坏，自然资源的浪费，臭氧层变薄，海洋毒化，环境污染，生态平衡失调，严重地损害了“人”和“自然界”的正常和谐关系，威胁着人类自身生存的条件。1997年12月在日本京都通过了一份限制大气污染的《京都议定书》，但一些发达的资本主义国家对此设置了种种障碍，近日加拿大又宣布退出《京都议定书》。这说明，“启蒙运动”提出的“理性”已被西方国家的某些主政者变成“非理性”的功利化“工具”。

“自由经济”（自由的市场经济）曾使工业化以来人类社会的财富极大增长，人们在物质生活上受益巨大。但不可讳言，“自由经济”发展到现在却使贫富两极（包括国家与国家、民族与民族以及同一国家内部的各阶层）分化日益严重。如果“自由经济”不受到一定程度的有效监督和控制，将会像贪婪的猛兽一样不受约束地发展，定会引起经济危机和社会混乱。2008年首先发生在美国的金融危机还没有走出，2011年接着在欧洲又发生了“欧债危机”，真是在劫难逃。美国耶鲁大学教授保罗·肯尼迪说：“自由主义使人们免于市场经济之前时代的束缚，也使人们承受着金融和社会灾难的危机。”[1]

“启蒙运动”的另一口号“个性解放”，这本来是针对宗教的迷信和世俗的蒙昧，使人认识到自我的力量，以便使“自由”的创造力得到充分发挥，但是“个性解放”发展到今天也异化成对他人宰制的工具，特别是帝国主义依仗他们的霸权，强行把他们的“价值观”加给其他国家和民族，推动“普遍主义”。[2]资本主义现代社会的畸形发展，导致人们追求的不再是“理性”，而是权力欲望的放纵和对金钱的崇拜。因而使各个人群都生活在矛盾与痛苦之中，老百姓在艰难的生活条件下为谋生而苦苦挣扎，知识分子面对社会种种乱象而无能为力，日夜受到良心的谴责，政治家（政客）为得不到人们的信任而自我欺骗，企业家因各种相互矛盾的制度与规则而千方百计地想对策。各阶层、各人群希望得到幸福生活的到来似乎遥遥无期，大家都不快活。这不是哪个人的问题，而是人类社会一次重大转型时期的不可避免的阵痛。为此，我们每个人都应义不容辞地担当起促进新社会早日到来的责任。

二、上个世纪**90**年代两种思潮在中国的兴起

上个世纪90年代在中国思想文化界出现了两股反对“一元化”的思潮。一股是来自西方消解“现代性”的“后现代主义”。“后现代主义”在上个世纪80年代初已经进入中国，但在那时没有什么影响，而到90年代突然被中国学术界关注了。另一股是追求复兴中国传统文化的“国学热”思潮。其实，在80年代中国学术思想界已经提出应重视中国的传统文化，但并未形成热潮，90年代“国学在燕园悄然兴起”而渐渐形成热潮。这两股思潮的兴起，说明什么问题？

为了挽救人类社会，消除“现代化”带来的负面影响，因而在上个世纪60年代在西方有以消解“现代性”的“后现代主义”思潮的出现。初期的“后现代主义”是“解构性的后现代主义”，它是针对现代社会发展过程中所产生的缺陷提出的，他们所做的是对“现代性”的解构，反对一元化，主张多元化，要求粉碎一切权威，使“现代性”的权威性和宰制性都黯然失色，但是解构性的“后现代主义”却并未提出新的建设性主张，也没有策划一个新时代。

在20世纪末，将进入21世纪之初，以“过程哲学”为基础的“建构性的后现代主义”提出将第一次“启蒙”（即18世纪的“启蒙运动”）的积极因素与“后现代主义”整合起来，召唤第二次“启蒙”。例如，怀德海的过程哲学认为，不应把“人”看成一切的中心，而应把“人和自然视为密切联系的生命共同体”。[3]过程哲学中心创始人小约翰·柯布说：“建构性后现代主义对解构性后现代主义的立场持批判态度，……我们明确地把生

态主义引入后现代主义中，后现代是人与人、人与自然和谐共处的时代。这个时代将保留现代性中某些积极性的东西，超越其二元论、人类中心主义、男权主义，以建构一个所有生命共同福祉都得到重视和关心的后现代社会。”他们还提出，如果说第一次“启蒙”的口号是“解放自我”，那么第二次“启蒙”的口号是“关心他者”、“尊重差异”（指进入后现代社会）。他们认为，当用自身的“自由”专权削弱共同体的时候，其结果一定会削弱其自身的“自由”。因此，必须拒绝抽象自由观，走向有责任的深度自由，要把责任和义务观念引入自由中，揭示出“自由”与义务的内在联系。目前建构性的后现代主义在西方仅仅是一股涓涓细流，影响很小，但却被中国的一批祈望民族复兴的学者所关注。

卡尔·雅斯贝尔斯在《历史的起源与目标》中说：“人类一直靠轴心期所产生、思考和创造的一切而生存。每一次新的飞跃都回顾这一时期，并被它重燃火焰。自那以后，情况就是这样。轴心期潜力的苏醒和对轴心期潜力的回忆，或曰复兴，总是提供了精神力量。对这一开端的复归是中国、印度和西方不断发生的事情。”[4]在上个世纪90年代，即将进入21世纪之际，由于中华民族正处在伟大的民族复兴的过程之中，民族的复兴必须由民族文化的复兴来支撑，因此，“国学热”的出现是必然的。

我认为正是中国的传统文化（国学）经过了一百多年西方文化的冲击，使我国学术界得到一个对自身传统文化自我反省的机会。我们逐渐知道，在我们的传统文化中应该发扬什么和应该抛弃什么以及应该吸收什么。因此，在长达一百多年中，我们中国学术界一直在努力吸收和消化“西学”，这为“国学”从传统走向现代奠定了基础。新的“国学”必须是能为中华民族在当代得以复兴、能为当今人类社会“和平与发展”的前景提供有意义的精神力量的“国学”。它将是使我国全面实现“现代化”，而又可以避免陷入当前西方社会的困境的“国学”。

也就是说，新的“国学”应该是“反本开新”的“国学”。“反本”才能“开新”，“反本”更重要的是为了“开新”。“反本”要求我们对“国学”的真精神有深刻的领悟，坚持自身文化的主体性。“开新”要求我们全面系统地了解当前中国社会和人类社会所面临的亟待解决的新问题。“反本”和“开新”是不可分割的，只有深入发掘“国学”的真精神，我们才可能适时地开拓“国学”发展的新局面；只有敢于面对当前人类社会存在的新问题，我们才能使“国学”的真精神得以发扬和更新，使“国学”在21世纪的“反本开新”中“重新燃起火焰”，以贡献于人类社会。

这两股新的思潮在中国的兴起，它们的发展前景如何，对中国社会和人类社会能否起决定性的积极作用？为此，我们必须全面考察这两股思潮能否有结合的可能性。

三、中国传统文化在中华民族伟大复兴的历史新时期，它面对全球化的态势下很可能对人类社会作出划时代的新贡献。

中华民族正处在伟大民族复兴的过程之中，民族的复兴必须由民族文化传统的复兴来支撑。但是在全球化的时代，中华民族的传统文化复兴不仅要面对自身社会的问题，而且要面对当前世界存在的问题，这样就要求我们在发展中华民族传统文化的同时，必须注意到它既是民族的，又是世界的。因此，我们不仅要关注中国社会文化自身发展的现实，同时我们必须关注在当前西方社会文化中发现的苗头。在这里我们提出一种可供讨论的可能的趋势，即中国传统的国学与西方刚刚萌芽的建构性的后现代主义思潮的结合，是否能对当今中国和世界的健康、合理发展有所贡献。

1．“人与自然是一生命共同体”与“天人合一”理论

建构性后现代主义的代表人物柯布说：“今天我们认识到人是自然界的一部分，我们生活在生态共同体中”，这个思想是从哪里来的呢？虽然直接来自怀德海，但它无疑是和中国的“天人合一”理念有着密切的关系。“天人合一”是中国传统思想的核心价值理念之一。它和在西方长期流行的“天人二分”理论是两种不同的思维模式。

1992年世界1575名科学家发表了一份《世界科学家对人类的警告》，在开头有这样一句话：“人类和自然正走上一条相互抵触的道路”。自然界为什么惨遭破坏，这不能不说它与在西方长期有着影响的“天人二分”的思维模式有着密切的关系。[5]与西方这种思维定式不同的“天人合一”思维方式可以说正是为解决自然界惨遭破坏提供了可行的思路。

我们可以看到，早在2500多年前的孔子提出既要“知天”，又要“畏天”的思想。“知天”是要求人们认识自然界，以便使人们可以自觉地利用自然界为人类社会谋福祉；“畏天”是要求人们对自然界有所敬畏，认识“天”的神圣性，要自觉地尽到保护自然的责任。朱熹对“天人合一”思想的解释说：“天即人，人即天。人之始生，得之于天；既生此人，则天又在人矣。”意思是说，在“天”把“人”产生之后，“天”和“人”就存在着一种相即不离的内在关系，因而“天”的道理就要由“人”来彰显，“人”对“天”就有了不可推卸的责任。

我们可以看到，在解决“人”与“天”（自然界）的关系上，中国传统哲学和建构性的后现代主义走着相同的道路。所以正如法国大儒汪德迈说：“曾经给世界完美的人权思想的西方人文主义面对近代社会以降的挑战，迄今无法给出一个正确答案。那么，为什么不思考一下儒家思想

可能指引世界的道路，例如‘天人合一’提出的尊重自然的思想、‘远神近人’所倡导的拒绝宗教的完整主义以及‘四海之内皆兄弟’的博爱精神呢？可能还应该使儒教精神在当今世界诸多问题的清晰追问中重新认识。”[6]

为什么汪德迈把西方的“人权”思想和中国的“天人合一”“远神近人”“四海之内皆兄弟”联系起来考虑？我们知道，“人权”对人类来说无疑非常重要，这是由于“人”的自由权力是不应被剥夺的，社会发展只能靠“思想自由”“言论自由”“信仰自由”“迁徙自由”等等来实现。但是如何保障“人权”，往往受到外在的力量干扰，甚至剥夺，无论中外都有这种情况。西方某些思想家或政客把“人”的权力无限扩大，以至于把“人”的权力扩大至可以去无序地破坏自然界。因此，汪德迈认为“人”对自然界的权力应该受到限制，这样就应该从中国的“天人合一”思想中取得有意义的思想资源。

在西方由于基督教认为上帝已经把世界完整地创造了，似乎“人”再无能为力了。汪德迈则认为虽然上帝把世界完整地创造好了，剩下的事就是“人”的问题，要“人”来做主了。正如法国文学家安德烈·纪德所说：“神出主意，人做主意”。在中国儒家所说的“四海之内皆兄弟”是和中国传统思想的“天下观”相联系的，它认为，人类最高的理想是“天下大同”（协和万邦），《大学》说“修身、齐家、治国、平天下”，因此任何民族和国家要考虑的不仅是自己的国家（治国），而且最终要考虑“天下太平”（即全人类的共同利益），这应是“人权”中的应有之义。这就是说，西方的“人权”思想应可以在其他民族思想文化传统（如中国的文化传统）中找到某些补充和丰富其原有价值的思想因素，以便人类社会走向更加合理之路。

2．建构性后现代主义的第二次**“**启蒙**”**与儒家的**“**仁学**”**理论

建构性的后现代主义提出，如果说第一次“启蒙”的口号是“解放个人”，那么第二次“启蒙”的口号则是“关心他者”“尊重差异”。[7]“关心他者”的思想如果用中国儒家思想来表述，那就是“仁者爱人”。“仁爱”是孔子儒家学说的核心价值。儒家提倡的“仁爱”虽是从“亲亲”（爱自己的亲人）出发，如孔子所说：“仁者，人也，亲亲为大”，仁爱之心是人本身所具有的，爱自己的亲人是“仁爱”精神的出发点和基础。但是孔子认为，“仁爱”不能只停留在爱自己的亲人上面，要推己及人，“老吾老以及人之老，幼吾幼以及人之幼。”孟子也说：“亲亲而仁民，仁民而爱物。”从爱自己的亲人出发必须推广到对老百姓的“仁爱”，由爱护他人才会对一切事物都有爱心。

这样的思想又可以和建构性的后现代主义“关心他者”接轨。建构性的后现代主义认为，他们的哲学是在“保留现代性某些积极的东西”（主要是西方思想家依据理性提出的极有价值的“自由”“民主”“人权”等理想

性思想）的基础上“以建构一个所有生命共同体福祉都得到重视和关心的后现代世界”，[8]这正是对“关心他者”的更为全面的表述。因为，人类社会的发展，其文化是要不断积累，总是在传承中创新。因此，后现代社会必须是在保留“现代性”社会的“自由”“民主”“人权”等等中的积极因素，这样“建构一个所有生命共同体福祉都得到重视和关心的后现代世界”的意义才得以充分显现。建构性的后现代主义提出的“尊重差异”，它正是儒家思想所主张的“道并行而不相悖”的另一种表述。

不同的思想文化传统往往是各有其特点而不相同，但这种不同可以说对人类社会都有一定的意义，并不是要相互排斥的。[9]例如肯定西方近代提出的“民主”思想在特定的社会条件下的积极意义，并不要否定中国思想文化传统中的“民本”思想在特定的社会条件下也具有某种积极意义，更不应否定中国传统文化中的“己所不欲，勿施于人”对人类社会的“普遍价值”。只有承认在不同思想文化传统中都有其对人类社会有积极贡献的部分，这样在不同国家和民族之间才可以“共存”“共荣”。吸收和消化不同文化传统中的优长，以达到“会通”是人类文化发展的必由之路，正如罗素所说：“不同文明之间的交流，过去已经多次证明是人类文明发展的里程碑。”[10]我们应该看到，同为人类就有着共同要解决的问题，如何解决人类所面对的共同问题，道路可能不同，方法可能有异，但往往目标是殊途同归的。所以“尊重他者”和“道并行而不相悖”有同等的价值。

3．如何定义“人”与中国传统文化中“礼”的“人权”观

“人权”观念对现代社会来说是非常重要的，但如何使“人权”观念真正对建设健康、合理的社会起积极作用是应该在不同的思想文化传统中进行深入讨论的。美国著名哲学家安乐哲、郝大维写了一本书叫作《通过孔子而思》，这本书中有以下一段话：“我们要做的不止是研究中国传统，更要设法使之成为丰富和改造我们自己的一种文化资源。儒家从社会角度来定义‘人’，这是否可用来修正和加强西方的自由主义模式？在一个以‘礼’建构的社会中，我们能否发现可以利用的资源，以帮助我们可以更好地理解我们的根基不足却富有价值的人权观念？”[11]

这段话大体上说，讨论了以下三个问题：第一，西方不应仅仅研究中国思想文化，而且应用中国思想文化来“丰富和改造”西方的思想文化；第二，要理解中国传统文化是“从社会角度来定义‘人’”的意义；第三，在中国的“礼”文化中包含着极富有价值的“人权”观念的可资利用的因素。

我认为，安乐哲提出的三个问题正是为了对治“西方哲学的根基不足”而发的。正是近现代社会特别重视人的自由权利（第一次启蒙后的历史），才使得人类社会有了长足的发展。这是因为“人”的“自由权

利”是一种巨大的创造力。但是，个人的“自由权利”和某一国家和民族“自由权利”的滥用，在一定情况下对其他人的“自由权利”或者其他国家和民族的“自由权利”将构成威胁和遏制，甚至侵犯。中国传统文化中的“从社会的角度定义‘人’”，意思是说“不是从孤立的‘个人’的角度来定义‘人’”，因为“人”一出生就是在各种关系中生活和成长，这颇有点像马克思在《关于费尔巴哈的提纲》中说的：“人的本质不是单个人所固有的抽象物，实际上，它是一切关系的总和。”[12]

那么，如何处理这种种复杂的“人的社会关系”呢？在中国古代社会特别注意用“礼”来处理“人”在社会中的种种关系。“礼”虽然是观念形态的东西，但它带有对“人”的行为有着约束性的意义。在《论语·学而》中说：“礼之用，和为贵。”“礼”的作用最重要之点就在于促使社会和谐，这就是说中国传统文化中的“礼”是一种带有对社会规范性的力量。在《礼记·坊记》中说：“君子礼以坊德，刑以坊淫”，君子制“礼”是为了防止败坏社会的道德规范，制刑（刑法）是为了防止祸乱社会秩序。汉贾谊《陈政事疏》中说：“夫礼者禁于将然之前，而法者禁于已然之后，是故法之所用易见，而礼之所为生难知也。”可见，在中国传统中，对“礼”是特别重视的。这是因为中国儒家认为，在人与人之间应有一种相互对应的关系，如《礼记·礼运》中说：“何谓人义？父慈子孝，兄良弟弟，夫义妇听，长惠幼顺，君仁臣忠，十者谓之人义。”这是说，什么是人与人之间的道义关系，儒家学说认为在人与人之间应有一个权利和义务（责任）相对应的关系，不应只有单方面的权利而不需对所应承担的相对应的义务负责任。中国的“礼”正是为协调社会关系的权利和义务所设。因此，我认为中国前现代社会是不是可以称为“礼法合治”的社会，这当然是一种儒家的理想。

从这里，我们可以设想，在确立“人权公约”的同时是否应有一“责任公约”，以便使得“权力”和“责任”之间得到平衡。这也就是安乐哲他们所说“礼”对西方颇有价值的“人权”观念可以起着“丰富和改造”的作用。从这里，甚至可以看到“责任公约”或许会对“人权公约”起着保护和提升的作用。

小约翰·柯布说：“中国传统思想对建构性的后现代主义非常有吸引力，但我们不能简单地回到它。它需要通过认真对待科学和已经发生的变革的社会来更新自己。前现代传统要对后现代有所裨益，就必须吸收启蒙运动的积极方面，比如对个体权利的关注和尊重。”[13]柯布的这段话对我们研究中国思想文化应说是颇有意义。作为前现代的中国传统文化是需要认真吸收启蒙运动以来现代社会的一切积极成果，如自由、民主、人权等“对个体权利的关注和尊重”的思想，我们决不能企图排斥“自由”“民主”“人权”等“极富有价值”的思想，而且必须认真实现“第一

次启蒙”有积极意义的理念，这样前现代的中国传统文化才能和建构性的后现代主义结成联盟推进现代社会向后现代社会的转型。

我们已经注意到，中国一些学者和西方建构性后现代主义的学者之间不仅有了广泛的接触，而且开始了良好的合作。建构性的后现代主义的代表人物已经注意到中国传统文化对建构性后现代主义颇有吸引力，并已从中吸取营养；同样中国的一些学者也已经注意到建构性后现代主义对当前人类社会走出困境的现实意义，并认真地关注着该学说的发展。在中国已经发生广泛影响的“国学热”和建构性的后现代主义这两股思潮的有机结合如果能在中国社会中深入开展，并得到新的发展，也许中国可以比较顺利地完成“第一次启蒙”的任务，实现现代化，而且会较快地进入以“第二次启蒙”为标帜的后现代社会。如果真能如此，当前中华民族文化的复兴所取得的成果，在人类社会发展史上将是意义重大的。

本文只是对当前中西文化交流与会通可能有的一种趋势的探讨，这一可能的趋势是否能真正出现，无疑要看中国的“国学”如何适应现代社会健康的发展以及建构性的后现代主义能否在西方从涓涓细流变成滚滚大江大河，而得到广大人群的赞同，这样理想才可以成为现实。在这里我必须说明，本文只是一种理论上的尝试，请大家批评指正。

III．THE CONTEMPORARY SIGNIFICANCE OF CONFUCIANIS

I

I have delivered speeches on the topic "The Contemporary Significance of Confucianism" several times, including in the 80s and 90s of the last century. Now, I will continue to address it in the 21st century. In addition to me, more and more scholars have started to address this topic. Why? I think there are two important reasons: One is that we are on the eve of the great revival of the Chinese nation. So now, we must review our historical and cultural tradition. Karl Jaspers presented the notion of "the Axial Age." He thought that great thinkers emerged in Ancient Greece, Israel, India, China and other countries almost simultaneously around 500 BC, and they all presented unique ideas on problems which concern all human beings. Aristotle and Plato in Ancient Greece, Prophets of Judaism in Israel, Shakyamuni in India, and Laozi and Confucius in China independently initiated and formed distinctive cultural traditions. Through 2,000 years of development, these cultural traditions have become central to human intellectual wealth, but these different cultures in different regions developed independently at the beginning, and did not originally influence each other. He says, until today mankind has lived all by what was thought and created during the Axial Age. In each new upward leap it returns in recollection to this period and is fired anew by it. Even since then it has been the case that recollections and reawakening of the potentialities of the Axial Period—renaissances—always afford a spiritual impetus. The return to the root is the continuous thing in China, India, and West (see Jaspers 1989, p. 14). For instance, the Europeans in the Renaissance looked back at the origin of their culture, Ancient Greece, which revived European civilization and left its mark on global culture. Similarly, Song and Ming Neo-Confucianism in China was stimulated by Indian Buddhism; the Confucian thinkers, by "recalling" Confucius and Mencius in the pre-Qin Period, had promoted the ingenious Chinese philosophy to a new height. When we enter into the new

millennium, the world's intellectual circle has started to appeal for the arrival of "a New Axial Age." Thus, it has become important to review and research ancient thoughts and wisdom, and recall the origin of our own culture in order to respond to the new, diverse world culture. Secondly, in the new century, our country has brought forward a great project to build a "harmonious society." Fei Xiaotong has raised the issue of "cultural self-consciousness." In order to build a "harmonious society," we have to know our own "culture." What is "cultural self-consciousness"? Fei Xiaotong in *Reconsideration on Humanistic Value* said:

> Cultural self-consciousness denotes that people who live in a context of some culture have "self-knowledge" of their own culture, and can explain its origin, development, characteristics, and its trend. It does not mean that people "return to the original culture," and "return to the ancients," and it does not mean "complete Westernization" or "complete tahua 他化 (otherization)" at the same time. The request for self-knowledge intends to strengthen the ability of self-determination in the process of cultural transformation, and grasp the initiative status of cultural choice in the process of adaptation to new conditions and new era (Fei 2005, p. 248).

It means that we have to have "self-knowledge" of our culture and establish our place in our culture in the great historical era when we are building our "harmonious society." Our place in our culture does not mean "completely returning to the ancients" and "complete Westernization"; instead, it means assuring that our own culture can take deep root in society, like leaves which flourish if the roots are deep. So we have to persist in our cultural understanding in order to be able to absorb and digest the outstanding cultures of other nations to nourish our own culture.

In this situation when we study our history and the prospect of our national culture, we have to adapt to the new trend of the contemporary development of world culture, that is, the "New Axial Age." We have to have cultural self-consciousness in order to meet the goal of building a "harmonious society." In the new historical era, what problems face the world and our society? Which issues should we address in order to realize "the New Axial Age" and our "harmonious society"?

II

Entering into the 21st century, the learning of the Chinese classics becomes popular. There are various opinions and explanations on this phenomenon. The so-called "learning of the Chinese Classics" can be found

in *Zhouli* · Chunguan · Yueshi 周礼·春官·乐师, which is the earliest record: "The duty of the official in charge of music is to administer the affairs of nation-owned school, and to teach the offspring of high-ranking officials music and dance." But, now, the "learning of the Chinese classics" seems to be the opposite of "Western learning." The reason is that as we face the influence of "Western learning," we encounter the problem of how to protect and develop our own traditional culture. The development of Chinese culture faces a dual task. One is that we must protect our culture, and maintain our cultural foundation. And the other is how we deal with Western culture. This has been the basis of the cultural dispute of "China and the West, the Ancient and the Modern" for the past hundred years. But today, in the time of globalization, we must go out of the dispute, synchronize the teachings of "China and the West, and the Ancient and the Modern," and realize the ability of different cultures to coexist and prosper.

Today, there are various points of view about the "learning of the Chinese classics," especially Confucianism, in academic and cultural circles. I will give a brief introduction in the following passages.

i. Some scholars propose the outline as "the reconstruction of Chinese Confucianism." They think that we "must revive Confucianism omni-directionally in order to fight against the omni-directional challenge of Western civilization" and "the revival of Confucianism is an urgent affair to revive Chinese culture and reconstruct Chinese civilization." Therefore, they advocate establishing Confucianism as the national religion and realizing the so-called "combination of politics and religion" of China's ancient times (Jiang 2005, pp. 3-7).

ii. There are two critiques of this point of view: One is from "the school of liberalism." The critics believe that "the theory that Confucianism can save the nation" counteracts contemporary democratic politics and is harmful to the idea of "equality." The critics assume that their purpose is to establish "Confucianism" as "the national religion," and they "attempt to ideologize Confucianism and make use of Confucianism as the instrument of dictatorship" (Chen 2006, p. 6). Another critique is from Marxist scholars. They think that "the essence of salvation in Confucianism is an exaggeration of moral function," and "to apply the ontological *Dao* of Heaven and ontological nature and destiny to pursue the kingliness *Dao* of politics, but this only leads to the trap of feudal dictatorship again." "The real savior can only be Marxism" (Ibid.).

iii．Some scholars fully affirm "Confucianism" in order to maintain and develop Confucian thoughts. For instance, modern neo-Confucians think that "the *Dao* of kingliness without," which can adapt to modern democratic politics, can be developed from the learning of the sageliness within. They also think that the system of epistemology can develop from the Confucian "learning of mind and nature." Others think that " *san gang wu chang* 三纲五常 (the Three Bonds and the Five Moral Rules) in human relationships" still have value. In the 1994 conference, Tu Weiming gave up his former belief that the Three Bonds still had value for the belief that "the Five Moral Rules in human relationships still had value." His opinion on "cultural China" is important for making Chinese culture known to the world. But he divided "cultural China" into several circles, with the core circle including Chinese mainland, Taiwan, etc. The second circle includes the overseas Chinese. And the third circle includes those countries which have been influenced by Chinese culture. The fourth circle covers foreigners who study and enjoy Chinese culture. But one of his beliefs is debatable. He said: "The category of cultural China is very broad. Some persons who have no consanguineous relationship with China, but have a great impact on China are also a part of cultural China"(Tu 2002, p. 430). This is questionable. From this logic, we can infer the categories of "cultural Europe" and "cultural America," and that Chinese thinkers like Confucius, Mencius, Laozi, and Zhuangzi had an impact on them, so they are also a part of "cultural Europe" and "cultural America," too.

iv．Of course, some scholars think that the May Fourth Movement refuted Confucianism and to once again raise Confucianism to a high status is a historical regression.

How should we look at Confucian thoughts? There are various answers. Today, the many perspectives to this issue indicate that our society is progressing, because academic and cultural questions can only be raised in an environment of free discussion and improved by rational dialogue.

Of course, I myself have my own opinion on "Confucianism," and debates will determine whether my opinion is right or not. It is just one voice. I have several opinions on academics and culture. First, there is no absolutely right way of thinking and culture in history, because each of them contains internal contradictions, including Confucianism. So, some aspects of Confucianism inevitably have historical limitations, and cannot adapt to the needs of modern society. The universal significance of Confucianism also

needs to be interpreted in a modern way. Second, although thinking and culture are moving forward, the issues raised by ancient philosophers and their thoughts are the same as today because some philosophical issues last forever. For instance, the problem of "the relationship between human and nature" is still discussed in contemporary Chinese philosophy. Third, Bertrand Russell said: "Contacts between different civilizations have often in the past proved to be landmarks in human progress" (Russell 1922, p. 195). Any culture that wants to have continuous historical development must absorb and digest other nations' cultures, and a culture can only keep up with other cultures through mutual exchanges, especially in the era of globalization. Looking at Chinese history, the entry of Indian Buddhism has proven this. Chinese culture has benefited from Indian Buddhism; Indian Buddhism was further developed and promoted in China. It was absorbed by Chinese culture and had a profound impact on neo-Confucianism in the time of the Song and Ming dynasties. Today, we must absorb and digest Western culture and other nations' cultures, fully and systematically in the time of globalization. Only in this way can Chinese academics and culture adapt to the demands of contemporary human society and our own nation's development. Therefore, our culture must be national and international. Fourth, cultural subjectivity should be established. Any national culture must take root in its own soil because it is necessary to understand, comprehend, protect and develop a native culture fully in order to rationally and healthily develop as well as have the capacity to absorb other nations' cultures in depth. A culture that is unable to maintain its autonomy and is unable to absorb other nations' cultures to enrich and develop its own will be wiped out or completely assimilated.

Based on the above discussions, we may analyze "Confucianism" from three different perspectives: political Confucianism, orthodox Confucianism, and academic Confucianism.

Confucianism has been intertwined with politics in past dynasties; undoubtedly, it played an important role in feudal dictatorship. Confucianism pays special attention to its function in moral cultivation, which has a positive side, but the negative side leads to absolute rule, making China a society of "the rule of man," and making it difficult for China to achieve "the rule of law." Confucians often moralized politics and glorified political rule; and they also politicized morality, making it an instrument of politics. Of course, some of the political philosophy in Confucianism limited dictatorship. For

instance, "to resist high-ranking official with virtue," "people are the most valuable" and "to kill a dictator"(King Xuan of Qi asked: "Is it tolerable if a government official kills his king?" Mencius said: "He who destroys benevolence and righteousness is called a dictator. I just heard about King Wu of Zhou, the first king of Zhou Dynasty, who killed the dictator Zhou 纣, the last ruler of the Shang Dynasty, and I have never heard that he killed his king as an official.")(Mencius 1980, Liang Huiwang Xia). It was also typical of Confucians to apply " *tian* 天 (Heaven)" in restricting the emperor's power. Confucians proposed that humans should revere "Heaven" and fate. In some circumstances, "the interaction between Heaven and man" can also restrict the "emperor's power." For instance, when natural disasters or strange phenomena happened, officials would write to the emperor to warn him. Then the emperor would have to publish an imperial self-criticism. But speaking as a whole, the negative function of political Confucianism is more obvious because it was used by politics. In any case, the thoughts of "stupid loyalty" and "my majesty is holy and wise, and your subject commits intolerable crime and should be put to death" are not advisable. So when Confucianism is manipulated by politicians, many problems arise.

Orthodox Confucianism: the development and influence of schools with systematic traits and a successive heritage must have their own tradition whether it is in the West or in China. In China, Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism all have their own traditions. Because schools with traditions continuously develop, among them, Confucianism is especially conscious of inheriting its tradition, and Confucians regard the inheritance of the cultural traditions of the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties as their responsibility. Confucius inherits "the *Dao* of Yao and Shun and imitates King Wen and King Wu of Zhou" (Zisi 1980, Chapter 30). Therefore, today we should consciously inherit our own cultural tradition. But if Confucianism overemphasizes its "orthodox tradition," it might exclude other schools and suppress heterodoxy. Heterodoxy is to oppose and overthrow mainstream thought, and blaze a new path for new ways of thinking. Confucianism as a whole is relatively inclusive. For instance, Confucians hold that "the myriad things grow equally without harming each other and the circulation of the four seasons, the travel of the sun and the moon go smoothly without interference" (Ibid.). But sometimes there is also a strong sense of exclusiveness in Confucianism. For instance, Mencius rejected Yang Zhu and Mozi, and he criticized Yang Zhu's lack of filial piety to his father because he

advocated universal and equal benevolence and Mozi's lack of loyalty to the emperor because he insisted that individuals came first. Here, Mencius goes too far. Another example is Han Yu's exclusion of Buddhism. At that time, Buddhism had caused some problems, including a tremendous waste of national wealth. But Han Yu suggested "the government should secularize Buddhism monks and nuns, burn off sutra, and transform Buddhism temples to civilian houses" (Han 1991, p. 174). His words go too far. It is not good if factionalism is too strong.

"The academic tradition of Confucianism" is about the history of Confucian learning and its academic ideals. In this aspect, the positive value of Confucianism can be seen, and Confucianism can offer significant resources for human society. Now and in the future, Confucianism should not be ideologized. Learning is learning, and it should not depend on politics. No school of learning should be viewed as the ruling one and the "contention of a hundred schools of thought" should be put into practice. Of course, we must analyze the thoughts offered by sages and outstanding men in history, and interpret them according to contemporary circumstances in order to uncover resources which can assist in the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and be universally significant for the rational and all-around development of human society. In order to achieve this goal, Confucianism should be renewed in order to make it a source of real spiritual wealth.

III

We may judge the value of learning from many perspectives, such as politics, economics, science and technology. Perhaps it is most important to make a philosophical judgment on the value of a school. Therefore, we must learn about the main problems faced by our society, nation, and mankind. These issues should be the starting point for considering philosophical questions.

What are the main issues in contemporary human society? In my opinion, there are three: one is the relationship between man and nature, a conflict which is quite serious. The second is the relationship between man and man, including relationships between man and self (man and society), nation and nation, and people and people. The third problem is the relationship between body and mind. The biggest problem facing mankind is the conflict between man and nature, man and man (man and society), and

the conflict within oneself. These issues are related to building a "harmonious society" and human society's "peaceful coexistence." In my opinion, the three philosophical propositions, "the unity of nature and man," "the unity of self and others" and "the unity of body and mind," can provide some valuable approaches and important philosophical resources to resolve the three conflicts. Of course, I do not mean that these problems can only be solved by Confucianism.

As we enter the 21st century, we will see that the past century was a century of rapid development, a progressive century, but it was also a tragic century full of conflict and fighting. In one hundred years, there were two world wars, and more than a hundred million people died unnaturally due to war. Many cultural artifacts made by mankind several centuries ago were destroyed. China has experienced much suffering, but has also made great progress in the past one hundred years. In this process, we nearly completely negated our cultural tradition, and we refused to absorb some progressive Western cultures for a long time, too. It led to social problems, such as "a crisis of belief," "moral vacuum," "environmental pollution" and "money worship." How should we tackle these problems? I, and not only me, but other scholars, too, think that we can find philosophical resources from the past 5,000 years to deal with these problems. Many scholars have looked for answers to these problems. Of course, we should not think that thoughts and culture can solve all problems. If we think that thoughts and culture can tackle all problems, it will lead to "cultural determinism." Then it will be like the belief that science and technology can tackle human and social problems, leading to the trap of "the omnipotence of science," of "scientism." Therefore, when we discuss "the significance of Confucianism," we simply want to find resources and approaches which can be applied to contemporary human and social problems, and a way to deal with these problems.

IV

On the problem of "conflict between man and nature," in 1992, 1,575 scientists, including half the Nobel laureates, signed the "World Scientists' Warning to Humanity," which stated that human beings and the natural world are on a collision course. In my opinion, the warning signaled that human kind will encounter a serious crisis if the world continues as it is now. Advanced science and technology can benefit people, but as a part of nature,

people not only control a lot of instruments to destroy nature, but also control weapons which can be used to destroy human beings in the process of conquering nature. The never-ending exploitation and destruction of nature results in consequences such as the waste of natural resources, the depletion of the ozone layer, the poisoning of the ocean, environmental pollution, the sudden and sharp growth in the human population, and ecological imbalance. The result is the destruction of "a harmonious nature" and "the harmonious relationship between man and nature," threatening conditions for human existence. These situations have a relationship with the subject-object dichotomy in Western philosophy. For instance, in *A History of Western Philosophy,* Russell said: "The philosophy of Descartes. . . it brought to completion, or very nearly to completion, the dualism of mind and matter which began with Plato and was developed, largely for religious reasons, by Christian philosophy. . . the Cartesian system presents two parallel but independent worlds, that of mind and that of matter, each of which can be studied without reference to the other" (Russell 1972, p. 567). It means that for a long time, spirit and matter have been regarded as independent and isolated in Western philosophy. Therefore, this kind of philosophy is established on an "external relationship" ("man" and "nature" are two unrelated factors), or it can be said that they regard "mind" and "matter" as two independent dual factors, and when Western philosophers study one, they do not involve the other (but Western philosophy has changed, for instance, Whitehead criticizes the dualism in the traditional way of thinking in his *Process Philosophy*). It means that Western thought involves the dualism of "subject-object" ("mind" and "matter," or "nature" and "man") from Plato in the Axial Age. But Chinese philosophy is different because it is based on "the unity of Heaven and man" (subject and object are connected and cannot be divided).

One of the origins of Chinese philosophy is *Zhou Yi* 周易 (*The Book of Changes*). There is an important passage on the Bamboo Slips unearthed in Jingmen, Hubei Province, in 1993. It states (Jingmen 1998, Yucong yi 语丛一):

The Rituals describes the manners of intercourse.
The Music is used to enjoy or educate.
The Book of History is □□□□ [sic].
The Book of Odes is a collection of poems of the past and the present.
The Book of Changes is to communicate the *Dao* of nature and the *Dao*

of man.

The Spring and Autumn Annals is a collection of affairs of the past and the present.

These bamboo slips were written around 300 BC. They say that change communicates the *Dao* of nature and the *Dao* of man. It means that *The Book of Changes* studies the *Dao* of Heaven (law of Heaven or nature) and the *Dao* of man (order in society) and why they are connected through a comprehensive study of the subjects. That is, people in ancient times had already realized that they had to include "man" when studying "nature," and when studying "man," they had to involve "Heaven," too. This is "the unity of nature and man." In fact, this had already been revealed in Confucius' *Analects*. Zi Gong said: "I cannot hear Master Confucius' saying about nature and the *Dao* of nature" (Confucius 1980, Gongye Chang). Although Zi Gong had never heard Confucius speak about "nature and the *Dao* of nature," he brought forward this issue, which indicates that there was great interest in the relationship between "human nature" (man) and "the *Dao* of Heaven (nature)." When looking at the development of human society, people originally came across the relationship between "man" and "nature (Heaven)" because humans cannot live without "nature." Therefore, the ancient Chinese always paid attention to "the relationship between man and nature."

Of course, there are various attitudes and methods to deal with "the relationship of man and nature." Some scholars held that man should comply with nature; some scholars thought that man should make use of "nature" to serve man, "know and apply nature to serve people"; and some scholars held that "both man and nature have their own laws and advantages." But the mainstream Confucian thinkers believed in "the unity of man and nature." The so-called "unity of man and nature" means that "nature" is inseparable from "man," and "man" is inseparable from "nature," too.

Why is there such a belief? Well, it has a long history. We know that *The Book of Changes* was originally a fortune-telling book used to predict good or bad luck, and misfortune or good fortune. Who was asked to answer people's fortunes? " *Tian*" 天 (Heaven). "Man" asks "*tian*" about good or bad luck, and misfortune or good fortune. *The Book of Changes* recorded these answers, and so it became a book on the relationship between "Heaven" (*tian*) and "man." Subsequently, various interpretations of this book formed a new one, that is, *Yizhuan* 易传 (*The Appendices to the* Book of Changes). Among them, *The Appended Remarks* in particular can be regarded as a

philosophical interpretation of *The Book of Changes*. *The Book of Changes* solves the problem of the relationship between "Heaven" and "man," then what is the relationship between "Heaven" and "man"? *The Appended Remarks* answers this. It argues that *The Book of Changes* includes everything, and the book not only includes "the *Dao* of Heaven," "the *Dao* of earth," but also includes "the *Dao* of man." Although "the *Dao* of Heaven" is manifested by *yin* and *yang*, "the *Dao* of earth" is presented as "hardness" and "softness," and "the *Dao* of man" is manifested as "benevolence" and "righteousness." The principle of the three is united, and the three are the manifestation of *qian* 乾 and *kun* 坤. The Confucian Zhang Zai in the Song Dynasty said: "Heaven, earth, and man all have the *Dao* of *qian* and *kun*. The Change penetrates in Heaven, earth, and man, and *yin* and *yang* are its substance (*qi*), hardness and softness are its form, and benevolence and righteousness are its nature" (Zhang 1978, p. 235). From the example in *The Book of Changes* that unites Heaven (earth) and man, we can see that Heaven and man are a connected entity. The reason that " *qian*" and " *kun*" are used to describe the unity of "Heaven," "earth" and "man," is that " *qian*" denotes vigorous movement and " *kun*" denotes generosity and virtue in the *Appendices to the* Book of Changes. Therefore, "man" has a special responsibility for "Heaven and Earth" (Heaven). "Man" should know what is demanded by Heaven and Earth in the spirit of "constantly striving for self-improvement" and "with profound generosity to contain things or complete things." Zhang Zai said, "the *Dao* of Heaven" and "the *Dao* of man" is similar in the sense of "reason or truth." If we want to know the principle of being a man, we have to know the *Dao* of "Heaven and Earth," and if we know the truth of "Heaven and Earth," we can know the principle or law of "man" (society).

Confucians in the Song Dynasty developed "the unity of nature and man." For instance, Cheng Yi said: "Is it allowable to know the *Dao* of man but do not know the *Dao* of nature? The *Dao* is one. Is it right if the *Dao* of man is one, and the *Dao* of nature is another one?" (Cheng 2004, *Er Cheng Yishu*, Vol. 18). According to the Confucian thinking, "nature" and "man" cannot be divided, and they cannot be regarded as an external and opposite relationship, and we cannot study only one of the two. Zhu Xi expressed this idea much clearer. He said: "Nature is man, and man is nature. At the beginning of human birth, they are produced from nature; and after the birth, nature is human, too" (Zhu 1990, Vol. 17). Zhu Xi held that "nature" cannot

be independent of "man," and "man" cannot be independent of "nature." At the time of birth, humans come from nature, but when there is a human being, the *Dao* of "nature" (Heaven) is embodied by "man." In other words, "humans" are responsible for "nature." If there were no "humans," how would the lively atmosphere of "nature" be embodied, how would "the constantly striving to become stronger" of "nature" be embodied and how would "containing things or completing things with profound generosity" of the "earth" be embodied? So man should know that "the work to establish mind or heart for Heaven and Earth" and "the work to establish life for people" is the same and cannot be separated. Therefore, the Yucong yi of *Guodian Zhujian* 郭店竹简·语丛一 (*Collection One of the Guodian Bamboo Slips for Writing*) said: "The *Dao* can be mastered after knowing what Heaven (nature) does and what man does. If we know the *Dao*, then we know what fate is" (Jingmen 1998). If we know "the *Dao* of nature (Heaven)" (the law of nature), and the *Dao* of man (the law of human society and life), then we can know the unified principle or reason for "nature or Heaven" and "man," and the development of "nature or Heaven" (the *Dao* of nature or Heaven) and "man" ("the *Dao* of man," society). Confucius said: "It is necessary to know destiny or fate mandated by Heaven" (Confucius 1980, Weizheng). He means that "man" should know about "nature or Heaven." Confucius also said: "Man should have reverence for fate or destiny as mandated by Heaven or nature" (Ibid., Jishi), and cannot randomly destroy the law of development of "nature or Heaven." A Chinese philosopher never regards "nature or Heaven" as a dead thing. Instead, it is organic, constantly developing, growing, and united with man as an entity. It is common sense that the existence of "man" cannot be separated from "nature or Heaven," but why does "man" regard "nature or Heaven" as an opposing object, and recklessly destroy and conquer "nature" ? It is because he regards the relationship between "nature" and "man" as external, and does not know that the relationship between "nature" and "man" is close and internal. "The internal relationship" is different from "the external relationship" because "the external relationship" denotes that "nature" and "man" are independent and unrelated. But "the internal relationship" denotes that "nature" and "man" have a close relationship. Therefore, "the unity of nature and man" is an ancient philosophical proposition in Chinese philosophy, and it is the cornerstone of Chinese Confucian thought as well as a proposition which needs to be continuously re-interpreted by human society. When we consider the problems of human

beings and our relationship with nature, we should bear in mind the idea of "the unity of nature and man," and we must deepen our discussion of the close relationship between "nature" and "man." Human society has neglected the close relationship between "nature" and "man" for a long time, and so are we now being punished by nature? Why have we chosen a confrontational relationship with nature?

The idea of "the unity of nature and man" (the thought, " *yi* 易(change) is to communicate the *Dao* of nature with the *Dao* of man"), which originated from *The Book of Changes*, supplies a way of thinking that resolves the current conflict between nature and man. It can inspire us in the following three aspects.

Firstly, "the unity of nature and man" as a way of thinking says that people ought not to regard "man" as the opposite of "nature" because "man" is a part of "nature" and "the birth of man is from nature." Acts to destroy "nature" are the same as destroying "man," and "man" will be punished by "nature." Therefore, "man" should "know nature" (know nature in order to reasonably make use of nature) and should "revere nature" (revere nature and regard work to protect nature as a holy obligation). Now, we emphasize only "knowing nature" and blindly use "knowledge" to exploit and conquer "nature" and even destroy "nature." But man does not know that we should revere "nature." It is definitely an extreme manifestation of "scientism" (the omnipotence of science and technology). "Scientism" denies the holiness of "nature or Heaven," and consequently denies the transcendence of "nature or Heaven." Thus, humanist spirit loses its foundation. The Chinese thought of "the unity of nature and man" holds that "knowing nature" is the same as "revering nature." If we "know nature" but do not "revere nature," we will regard "nature" as a dead thing, not knowing that it is organic, alive, and vigorous. "Revering nature" but not "knowing nature" leads man to regard "nature or Heaven" as a mystical power outside of "man," and does not help man gain the real favor of nature. "Knowing nature" is united with "revering nature," and it is an important manifestation of "the unity of nature and man," reflecting the inner obligation of "man" to "nature." The philosophical proposition, "the unity of nature and man," symbolizes the complicated relationship between "nature" and "man," which not only includes how "man" should understand "nature," but also that "man" should revere "nature" because of its holiness. This is the reason why Chinese Confucianism has not become a universal religion(like Buddhism and Christianity), but

Confucianism possesses a certain "religiosity." Confucian thought has a religious function in China, that is, Confucians think that the "inner" morality of "man," which is mandated by "nature," needs moral cultivation to realize its "transcendence" as "transcendence from an ordinary person to the level of a sage." Therefore, "the unity of nature and man" is not only a recognition of "nature," but also a realm of life that "man" should pursue. The reason is that " *tian*"(nature, Heaven) does not just mean nature; it also means "Heaven" in the sense of holiness. "Human nature" should be asked to reach a transcendent sphere which is "equal to *tian* (Heaven, nature). In this sense, "man" and "nature" are not in opposition. Instead, "man" is united with "Heaven and Earth." For instance, Mencius said, "The people of the place where the superior man has visited will be influenced and educated; the impact at the place where the superior man has stayed is miraculous, and the sage acts along with Heaven and Earth" (Mencius 1980, Jinxin Shang). In this way, the superior man realizes personal transcendence. This way of thinking not only helps us get rid of the problem of "the division between Heaven and man" (the antagonism of Heaven and man), but also opens a way for human beings to attain the ideal human realm.

Secondly, we cannot regard the relationship between "Heaven(nature)" and "man" as a kind of external relationship, because "Heaven is man, and man is Heaven" and so "Heaven" and "man" are inherently connected. "Man" cannot be separated from "Heaven," and "man" cannot survive without "Heaven"; "Heaven" cannot be separated from "man," without "man," the reason of "Heaven" cannot be embodied, and so who can realize "the *Dao* of Heaven"? Understanding the relationship between "Heaven" and "man" is a characteristic of Chinese philosophy. On this point, Wang Fuzhi made an important observation. He reviewed ancient scholars' theories and concluded that they had merely grasped the outer phenomena of the pre-Qin Confucianism, and thought that *The Book of Changes* was only about "the *Dao* of Heaven," but did not know that *The Book of Changes* had been the root or foundation of "the *Dao* of man" since the Han Dynasty (Wang 1975, Vol. 9, Qiancheng Shang). Zhou Dunyi's doctrine of " *taiji* picture" is about the root (origin) of "the unity of Heaven and man," which explains that the birth of man is the result of a change in "the *Dao* of Heaven." While changing into "the *Dao* of Heaven," Heaven gives its essential part to "man" and makes "man" possess "human nature," which is different from other things. Then, man can discover that all the principles of moral human relations of "the *Dao*

of man" (the rules of human society) are in the order of the *yin-yang* movement of "the *Dao* of Heaven" (the law of the universe). "The *Dao* of man" and "the *Dao* of Heaven" should be united. "The *Dao* of man" is based on "the *Dao* of Heaven" because "man" is a part of Heaven (nature), so a discussion of "the *Dao* of man" cannot be separated from "the *Dao* of Heaven," and discussion of "the *Dao* of Heaven" must also take "the *Dao* of man" into consideration because "the principle of daily life and things" of "the *Dao* of man" is in the order of the *yin-yang* movement of "the *Dao* of Heaven." Zhang Zai said that *the Book of Changes* "contains the principle of Heaven, and also includes the *Dao* of man" (Zhang 1978, p. 65).

Thirdly, why does Confucian philosophy hold that there is an "internal relationship" between "Heaven and man"? From the Western Zhou Dynasty, there is an intellectual tradition described as "the ear of Heaven is the ear of my people, and the eye of Heaven is the eye of my people" (Mencius 1980, Wanzhang Shang). The tradition can be traced from Confucius and Mencius to Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi, Lu Jiuyuan and Wang Yangming. On this point, Zhu Xi's saying reflects Confucius' consistency on "the learning of benevolence." He said: "The man of benevolence" "should have the heart to produce abundantly in the sense of nature, in sensing the heart of tender affection for man and beneficence for things; the benevolent man's heart includes four morals(benevolence, righteousness, rituals, and wisdom) and penetration into the four beginnings of the four morals" (Zhu 1936, Vol. 13). "The *Dao* of Heaven" continuously produces, and regards benevolence as the heart. "Heaven" (nature) can make myriad things grow well, so "man" should follow the example of "Heaven" (nature), and show kindness to man and benefit myriad things. The reason is that "Heaven and man is united as a whole" and "man" obtains the essence of "Heaven" to become a "man," so man should realize the function of "nature" (Heaven) and "the tender affection for other man, and bring benefits to things." "The heart of Heaven" and "the heart of man" is actually the same heart. "Man" must realize "the *Dao* of Heaven" and sense "the *Dao* of Heaven." The value of life is to realize "the destiny (fate) of Heaven," so the relationship between "Heaven" and "man" is actually internal. We discuss the proposition of "the unity of Heaven and man" and understand it philosophically on the above points to see its real spirit and value. It is a kind of world view, a way of thinking that is applied to an interpretation of "the unity of Heaven and man." Its significance is that it endows "man" with an inescapable responsibility.

"Man" can realize its own transcendence, and achieve the ideal "unity of Heaven and man" only in the process of "imitating Heaven(nature)" (enhancing to the sphere of "Heaven").

Of course, the Confucian idea of "unity of Heaven and man" probably cannot directly solve specific problems in human society's "conflicts between man and nature." However, as a philosophical proposition, the thought of "the unity of Heaven and man" holds that "Heaven" and "man" cannot be separated; instead, "Heaven" and "man" should be regarded as an inherent union. There is an internal communication between "Heaven" and "man," which undoubtedly provides a positive way of thinking for philosophically resolving the relationship between "Heaven" and "man."

V

"The conflict between man and man" that exists in contemporary society is more complicated than "the conflict between man and nature." Interpersonal conflict is not only related to the various conflicts between "self and others," "man and community," "nation and nation," "people and people" and "region and region." For instance, the pursuit of material needs and power, the struggle for natural resources, and the expansion of possession and ambition cause conflict and war between nations, peoples, and regions, and lead to "imperial hegemony" and "terrorism." Excessive preoccupation with the pursuit of money and the enjoyment of material goods, especially the ruling class' corruption and their oppression of ordinary people, causes tensions in the relationships between people, a negative social atmosphere, numerous factions, and factionalism. In society, children, youth, and the aged all have their own problems. Misunderstandings and hostility in daily life, the isolation of souls, then lead to the dissolution of social harmony. This trend will result in the collapse of human society. Does Confucianism provide a helpful intellectual resource for contemporary society's faults? In my opinion, the Confucian "learning of benevolence" may have much significance for the formation of harmony "between man and man," between nations, peoples, and regions, or "harmonious society."

The volume of " *xing zi ming chu* 性自命出 (nature coming out of fate)" in *Guodian Zhujian* says that " *Dao* originates from affection (feeling, emotion), and affection comes from nature. The beginning is close to affection, and the end is close to righteousness." It means that interpersonal

relationships are initially founded on affection (feeling), and affection comes from human nature. Therefore, at the start of interpersonal relationships, affection is more important (such as the affection between a mother and child), and later on, morality and justice (*Dao*, or the way, and justice or righteousness) become more important than affection. Here, "the *Dao*" denotes "the *Dao* of man," which means the law of interpersonal relationships or principles of social relations. It is connected with "the *Dao* of Heaven," but different from "the *Dao* of Heaven," which means the law of nature (or the external world beyond "man"). " *Dao* originates from affection," meaning that interpersonal relationships are initially founded on affection. It is the starting point of Confucius' "learning of benevolence." Confucius' disciple Fan Chi asked him what "benevolence" was, and Confucius answered, "to love people." Where does the moral command "to love people" come from? *Zhongyong* quotes Confucius: "Benevolence is the character of man, and it is foremost to love family" (Zisi 1980, Chapter 20). The moral character of benevolence is inborn, and it is essential to love one's own family. But Confucians think that the spirit of benevolence cannot just rest on the love of one's own family. The *Guodian Zhujian* says, "It is affection to love family sincerely, but benevolence is understood as a broad affection for ordinary people, not only affection for one's father" (Jingmen 1998). It is natural to have much love for one's own family; love (affection) that is extended to other people can be regarded as "benevolence." There is also the saying, "filial piety should be extended to affection for ordinary people under the sky" (Ibid., Tang yu zhi dao). However, affection for one's family is the foundation of affection for others. It means that the Confucian "learning of benevolence" requires an extension of the affection for one's family to the affection of ordinary people. The principle, "put oneself in the place of another," and the practice, "treat the aged with respect in my family, and extend that respect to the aged outside of my family; treat the young in my family with tenderness and then extend that tenderness to the young outside of my family" (Mencius 1980, Liang Huiwang Shang), reflect benevolence. It is not easy to abide by the principle "put oneself in the place of another." One must take "the *Dao* of *zhong* 忠 (the full development of one's original good mind) and *shu* 恕 (the extension of that mind to others)," described as "you do not do to others what you do not want them to do to you"(Confucius 1980, Yanyuan), "if you wish to establish your own character, also establish the character of others, and if you wish to be prominent, also help others to be

prominent" (Ibid., Yongye), to be the principle for carrying out "benevolence." (Zhu Xi's *Sishu Jizhu* explains: "To realize one's good to the best is *zhong*, and the extension of one's good is *shu*.") If "benevolence" is extended to society (all human society), it is like Confucius' saying, "To master oneself and return to ritual is benevolence. If a man (the ruler) can for one day master himself and return to the rites(ceremony), all under Heaven will return to benevolence. To practice benevolence depends on oneself. Does it depend on others?" (Ibid., Yanyuan). In the past, "overcome selfish desire" and "revive the ritual" had always been explained as two parallel acts, but such an understanding is not correct in my opinion. Overcoming selfish desire and reviving the ritual are benevolence means that it is "benevolence" if "reviving the ritual" is based on "overcoming selfish desire." Fei Xiaotong explains this well. He said: "Only overcoming selfish desire, the ritual can be revived. To revive the ritual is a necessary condition for entry into society and becoming a social person. To limit one's selfish desire or to raise one's selfish desire may be the key difference between Western and Eastern cultures" (Fei 2002, p. 4). This is a reasonable explanation. If one enters society, he must require something of himself. For instance, he should ask himself to abide by the principle, "you do not do to others what you do not want them to do to you," then he can follow social criterion (the ritual) and become a social person. A nation is the same; it must abide by the requirements of the world "pact" and the general rules. Then the world pact and general rules can be preserved. Fei Xiaotong thought that "the restriction of selfish desire" in Chinese culture was good for interpersonal relationships, while "the encouragement of selfish desire" in Western culture, which placed the self above other persons or other nations, surely and easily led to conflict and war. According to Zhu Xi, the saying can be understood as "conquering selfish desire and returning to the rituals, which represent the principle of Heaven" (Zhu 1983). He means that we should restrict our own selfish desire in order to conform to rituals and criterion in our behaviors and actions. "Benevolence" is man's innate characteristic ("affection is originated from nature"); in the sense of social life, "the ritual (ceremony)" is the external system which regulates people's behavior, and its function is to regulate interpersonal relationships in order to ensure harmony. It symbolizes that "the importance of the use of rites (ceremony) is harmony." Demanding that people obey the ritual (ceremony) must be based on their internal heart (mind) of "the affection for others," which conforms to "benevolence."

Confucius says: "To practice benevolence depends on oneself. Does it depend on others?"(Confucius 1980, Yanyuan). On the relationship between "benevolence"and "rites (ceremony)," Confucius clearly said: "If a man is not benevolent, what has he to do with rites (ceremonies, etc.)? If he is not benevolent, what has he to do with music?" (Ibid., Bayi). Without the heart (mind) of benevolence, the system of rites (ceremony) and music is deceptive, and is for cheating. Therefore, Confucius held that society can be harmonious and peaceful if people consciously pursue "benevolence," base "the heart(mind) of benevolence" on certain criterion, and put it into practice in daily society. This is the meaning of the saying "if a man (the ruler) can for one day control himself and return to the rites (ceremony), all under Heaven will return to benevolence" (Ibid., Yanyuan). The action of pursuing benevolence in daily practice is similar to "seeking to reach the greatest height and brilliancy and follow the *Dao* of the Mean" in *Zhongyong*. "Seeking to reach the greatest height and brilliancy" (Zisi 1980, Chapter 27) means that people should pursue the highest principle, the ideal of benevolence, in life; "To follow the *Dao* of the Mean" asks people to realize the spirit of "benevolence" in daily life ("the doctrine of the mean, denotes the use of the mean.") "Seeking to reach the greatest height and brilliancy" and "to follow the *Dao* of the Mean" cannot be separated into two parts, and "the *Dao* of sageliness within and kingliness without" is the highest Confucian ideal. Today, we are trying to build a harmonious society, so Confucius' sayings are very important. There are many explanations of "benevolence" in the Confucius *Analects*, but there are no words for "benevolent governance." However, "to lead the people with virtue and regulate them by the rules of ceremonies (rites, property)," "to love people widely," "to elect the virtuous and able talents," "to extensively bring benefit to the people and bring salvation to all" etc. are all about "benevolent governance." There are many discussions of "benevolent governance" in *Mencius*, and the meaning of "benevolent governance" is broad. Some of the explanations are not compatible with the needs of contemporary human society, but two of them are important in helping us to build a harmonious society and achieve world peace. One is that "the practice of benevolent government" should ensure people to have fixed property. Mencius said: "The people follow the right *Dao*, because they have fixed property and stable hearts, and without fixed property, there cannot be stable hearts" (Mencius 1980, Teng Wengong Shang). He means that ordinary people

should have some fixed property in order to ensure that they have certain moral and behavioral principles. Without fixed property, a person will not have moral ideas and behavioral guidelines. Mencius said: "Benevolent governance should start with the private ownership of land" (Ibid.). He means that a benevolent government should ensure that ordinary people have their own land first. I believe that we must ensure that ordinary people have some fixed property if we truly want to build a harmonious society. At the international level, every nation and people should possess the wealth that they deserve; powerful nations should not exploit other nations' wealth and resources or pursue power politics. The second point of Mencius' "benevolent governance" opposes unjust war. He said, "Those who carry out the kind and right *Dao* will gain more support; otherwise, others will find scant support who lose the kind and right *Dao*." Here, "the *Dao*" means "morality and justice." In Gongsun Chou Xia there is a passage saying that favorable weather is less important than advantageous terrain, and advantageous terrain is less important than the support of the people. It reads:

> It is not needed to confine civilians by a national boundary, not necessary to protect a nation with a dangerous mountain, and to threaten the world by the weapons of destruction. Those who carry out the kind and right *Dao* will gain more support. Others who give up the kind and right *Dao* will find scant support. He who has the least support, his family and relatives will all oppose him, and all the people under the sky will come and pledge allegiance to he who has the most support. The just superior man will win if he launches a war against those who are opposed by all supporting forces, even by his family and relatives, or he need not launch the war (Mencius 1980, Gongsun Chou Xia).

The passage tells us that it is not necessary to have national boundaries to restrict civilians, to depend on advantageous terrain to protect a nation, and to rely on weapons of mass destruction to threaten the world. Confucians usually divide war into two kinds: "the just war" and "the unjust war." Mencius says, "there is no just war in the Spring and Autumn Period" (Ibid., Jinxin Xia), and "those who lose public support will lose the regime" (Ibid., Lilou Shang). This idea also applies to the ruler of a nation. In the early Han Dynasty, Jia Yi wrote an article, *Guo Qin Lun* 过秦论 (An analysis of the fall of the Qin Dynasty). In his article, he concluded that the Qin Dynasty fell because "the Qin government did not carry out the policy of benevolence and righteousness after it had established a united nation, so it lost sovereignty even though it had taken over national power and had many advantages" (Jia 1989, Vol. 1). He quoted the proverb, "the past events are today's lesson."

Isn't that the wisdom we should absorb today? Such Confucian thoughts should have some meaning to the rulers of a nation and for the ruling group of the world's developed nations. "Manage state affairs and pacify the world" for "benevolent governance" and "the *Dao* of kingliness," instead of "arbitrariness" and oppression.

Since Samuel P. Huntington presented his thesis on the conflict of civilizations in 1993, it has been hotly debated by scholars from all countries. In human history, it is not uncommon to find conflicts and war caused by cultural differences (for instance, differences in philosophy, religion, values). Having entered the 21st century, there is no world war, but regional wars frequently break out between nations, peoples, and regions, with political and economical problems being important reasons, but culture is also an important reason. To resolve conflicts and even wars due to cultural differences, perhaps Confucius' notion of "harmony without sameness" might be a very important principle.

In Chinese history, there are two concepts, " *he* 和 (harmony)" and "*tong* 同 (sameness)," which are regarded as different, so there is the so-called "discrimination of harmony and sameness." According to the records on Zhaogong ershi nian of *Zuozhuan* 左传·昭公二十年 (the 20th year of the Duke Zhao, *Zuozhuan*), "Duke Zhao asked, 'Is only Liang Qiuju harmonious with me?' Yanzi (Yan Ying) answered, 'Ju is the same as you. Is it harmonious with you?' The Duke said, 'Is harmony different from sameness?' Yan answered, 'It is different. It is like cooking a thick soup, which needs water, fire, vinegar, catsup, salt, and plum to cook fish or meat, firewood to burn, and then the cook will get it seasoned to assure a fine taste. If the taste is too mild, the cook will add seasoning, and if the taste is too thick, he will add water to dilute the taste. When the superior man has the soup, he will find it delicious. The relationship between the emperor and his officials is alike. . . . Now Ju is different, because he always agrees with you no matter what decisions you make. It is like adding water to improve the flavor of water. Who would want this? If musical instruments always play the same tone, who would listen to it? This is why sameness should not be advocated'" (Zuo 1980, Zhaogong ershi nian). In Zhengyu of *Guoyu* 国语·郑语, "The harmonious relationship between things is helpful to produce new things, while sameness cannot. To add one with another is called harmony, so it can create something new; while if the same things are put together, all will lose their vital force. So the past kings used earth, metal, wood, water, and fire to

produce the myriad things" (Zuo 1997, Vol. 16). Therefore, "harmony" and "sameness" are not the same. If different and related things can harmoniously grow, then things will develop. If the same things are put together, the result is the suppression of vital force. The highest ideal in traditional Chinese culture is "ten thousand things grow together without harming each other; their *Dao* move in parallel without mutual interference" (Zisi 1980, Chapter 30).("Ten thousand things growing together" with "their *Dao* moving in parallel" expresses a "lack of sameness"; "they do not damage" or "interfere with each other"—this is "harmony.") This can be a rich source of ideas for the coexistence of many cultures.

Different nations and countries should have cultural exchanges and dialogue in order to achieve a common understanding, that is, a process of mutual recognition from difference to a sense of commonality. This kind of mutual recognition does not mean that one side exterminates the other or that one side is completely assimilated by another. It means the search for junctures where different cultures can come together and develop. This is harmony. Therefore, we must diligently strive for harmonious coexistence among different cultures through dialogue. Now, many scholars in China and the West have recognized the importance of pursuing mutual understanding among different cultures through dialogue. For instance, Habermas puts forward the notions of "justice" and "solidarity" (Habermas 1996). I think these should be used as principles in the relationship between different nations and cultures. Habermas' "principle of justice" can be understood as that every national culture should be independent and self-determining; the "principle of solidarity" can be understood as that one nation should regard other national cultures with a sympathetic attitude and respect other cultures. Only through continuous dialogue and communication and other means can good communication between different national cultures be established. The German philosopher Gadamer pointed out that "understanding" should be extended to a "broad dialogue" (Pan 2002, pp. 65-68). It is to increase "understanding" to the level of "broad dialogue," then the subject and object can become equal. In other words, dialogue can only be truly carried out under the condition of mutual equality. It can be said that Gadamer's consciousness of subject-object equality and his theory on cultural dialogue are important and necessary ideas for our age. The idea is in inspiration for us to correctly understand Sino-foreign cultural relationships and national relationships. Habermas' principles of justice and solidarity and Gadamer's

theory of broad dialogue both recognize, as their premise, the need for harmony without sameness. It is only if we recognize that nations and states with different cultural traditions can achieve harmonious coexistence will it be possible for them to have equal rights and duties; it is only under such conditions that "broad dialogue" can truly and smoothly accomplish its ends. Thus, Confucius' principle of "harmony without sameness," based on the notion that harmony is valuable, should become a basic principle for handling relations between different cultures.

VI

If we use the Confucian notion of "the unity of Heaven and man" as a philosophical resource to resolve "the contradictions between man and nature" and "the unity of self and others" to resolve "the contradictions among men," we may then use the "integration of the inner and the outer" to moderate the contradictions within ourselves. There are pressures in modern society. In particular, the unlimited pursuit of sensual pleasure results in psychological imbalance and a split in the human personality. Psychological imbalance induces spiritual disturbances, alcoholism, murder, suicide, etc. This distortion of the human body and mind has become a social disease that seriously affects social peace. The reason for this is the withering of morality; people no longer have a sense of harmony between body and mind. Many perceptive scholars have proposed theories and policies about how to cure the disease. In traditional Chinese culture, much attention has been given to this in the Confucian practice of cultivating the person and nurturing the mind. *Xing Zi Ming Chu* in *Guodian Zhujian* says: "if you intend to know the *Dao*, you should return to the innate goodness within yourself, it is called moral cultivation" (Jingmen 1998). *Daxue* 大学 (*The Great Learning*) stresses that people's moral practice is important to building a harmonious society. In the first chapter of the book, it says: "The *Dao* of learning to be great consists in manifesting the clear character, renovating the people, and abiding (staying, resting) in the highest good" (Zeng 1980, Chapter 1). Zhu Xi commented, "the word, renovate, means remove from old. And if I am clear about myself and clean, I should help others to abolish the former pollution in the similar way as mine. . . To manifest the clear character and renovate, people should stay at the highest good and not change" (Zhu 1983, Daxue). The purpose of showing a clear character and shaping the people is to reach the highest good

and achieve man's highest realm. Therefore, *The Great Learning* holds that "From the Son of Heaven to common civilians, all must regard moral cultivation as the root or foundation. There has never been a case when the root is in disorder and the branches are all in order" (Zeng 1980, Chapter 1). It means that according to Confucianism, if everyone (from the Son of Heaven to common people) cultivated their morality well, "family" could be regulated, "state" will be in order, and there will be peace throughout the "world." Or if moral cultivation, the root or foundation, is disordered, it is definitely impossible to manage "family," "state" and the "world" well. In the *Doctrine of the Mean*, "Social governance depends on man, the choice should be made according to their moral cultivation, the standard of moral cultivation is the *Dao* (the top *Dao*, harmony), and the heart(mind) of benevolence and love is necessary for realizing a harmonious society" (Zisi 1980, Chapter 20). Here, the connection of an individual's moral cultivation to "benevolence" proves the consistency of Confucian thought. Confucianism's attention to "moral cultivation" is not aimless; instead, it is to regulate family, govern the nation, and unite the world, that is, to build a "harmonious society." The ideal of the commonwealth of great unity in the *Records of Rites* is aimed at building a harmonious society politically, economically, and culturally. Confucianism's ideal of a harmonious society is based on personal moral cultivation, so Confucians lay particular emphasis on personal cultivation of the body and mind. Confucians think that life and death, riches and honor should not be the final life goal, and people should pursue moral perfection and knowledge. Confucius said: "I am uneasy that people do not cultivate their moral character, do not learn and teach knowledge, do not behave according to righteousness, and do not correct their mistakes although they know they are wrong" (Confucius 1980, Shuer). This tells us the reason for being a man. It is not easy to cultivate our moral character unless we have great dreams and the willingness to improve the welfare of humankind. It is also not easy to study knowledge because we not only need to improve our own wisdom, but also need to show culture and education to society. People always make mistakes, but we should have the courage to correct our mistakes, benefiting social harmony. "Be apt to goodness" means that we should strive in the direction of goodness everyday, improve ourselves day to day, and then we can reach the state of being in the highest good. All of the above are reasons to be an upright person, as advocated by Confucianism, and they are necessary for maintaining harmony

between the body and the mind, the inner and the outer. Mencius said: "To preserve one's mind and nourish one's nature is the way to serve Heaven. Not to allow any double-mindedness regardless of longevity or brevity of life, but to cultivate one's person and wait for *ming* 命 (destiny, fate, Heaven's decree or mandate) to take its own course is the way to fulfill one's destiny" (Mencius 1980, Jinxin Shang). If one can preserve his compassionate heart and cultivate his moral character to realize the *Dao* of Heaven, then the length of one's life does not matter. But he must be sure of being conform to the *Dao* of Heaven through individual moral cultivation. It is one's peace and calmness and the establishment of destiny.

Confucian self-cultivation has a goal. *The Book of Changes* says, "Make use of personal moral cultivation in order to honor virtue" (*Zhouyi*, Xici Xia). People's actions should benefit society, and this should be their main pursuit. An individual undergoes self-cultivation in order to elevate his spirit and "set his mind on Heaven and Earth, establish his life's destiny, and continue to study to achieve sage, so that all things in the world are at peace" (Zhang 1978, p. 320). This is to "establish the great root or foundation and so carry out the *Dao*." What the Confucians in the Song Dynasty pursued is that, as far as an individual is concerned, he will be at peace with himself both in his inner thoughts and emotions and in his external relations. In *A Letter to Zhang Jingfu*, when Zhu Xi discussed "the meaning of the mean and harmony" with Jingfu, he said: "From now on, I know I have a safe place, that is, the place for the peace and calmness of a person, the establishment of destiny, and for the domination of consciousness in the vast transformation of the universe. So the key for us to establish our big root (foundation) and carry out the great *Dao* is described as that substance and function have one source and there is no gap between the apparent and the hidden" (Zhu 1936, Vol. 10). Confucians hold that it is very important for a person to find peace and calmness, and to establish his destiny for the harmony of body and mind, inner thoughts and emotion, and external factors. Therefore, Zhu Xi said: "If a person can be harmoniously centered within himself, even though the world at large is in chaos, the inner world, its Heaven and Earth and the myriad things, remains peaceful and unharmed. If someone is unable to attain this, even though there is order in the world at large, within oneself one will be perturbed, even if no harm comes to him from without. It's the same for a country or a family" (Ibid.). If our internal and external beings are harmonious, the chaos of a disordered world cannot disturb our inner peace.

If we are not centered and harmonious in our internal and external beings, even if there is a very well-ordered world outside, we will still be troubled, worried, or perturbed. We must work hard at cultivating our own virtue whether the world at large is in chaos or in order. In this way, we can fulfill our life's duty and when it is time to leave the world, we can go with a sense of peace and fulfillment. Thus, the last two sentences in Zhang Zai's *Ximing* 西铭 (*Western Inscription*) says: "In life I fulfill my duty as a member of society and as a member of the universe, and when death comes, I rest" (Zhang 1978, p. 63).

Confucians consistently give much attention to an individual's peace and calmness and the establishment of destiny. This comes from selfcultivation. In this way, we can bring harmony to our own hearts and minds and to our internal world and its external manifestations. Our words and actions conform to the "principle of being human." And in this way, our persons will be at peace and our destiny established. We should remove all obstacles in the way of our personal harmony. Zeng Zi says: "Everyday I examine myself on three points: whether in counseling others I have not been loyal; whether in intercourse with my friends I have not been faithful; and whether I have not repeated again and again and practiced the instructions of my teacher" (Chan 1963, p. 20). As a man of honor, everyday one should be aware of himself and examine whether his behavior and actions are moral and just. If there is something immoral and unjust, he should sacrifice his life to realize humanity and defend justice. Confucius said, "A resolute scholar and a man of humanity will never seek to live at the expense of injuring humanity. He would rather sacrifice his life in order to realize humanity" (Confucius 1980, Weiling Gong). Mencius said: "If I do not act according to humanity and justice, I choose self-abandonment"(Mencius 1980, Lilou Shang). It is not easy to carry out the Confucians' "principle of being human," but this is something people should ardently strive for. And the purpose of achieving this personal peace is to bring about social harmony.

Sima Qian says: "For one to make a record of the *Dao* of the ancients today is to make a mirror for ourselves; it is not that the two ages are necessarily identical in all things" (Sima 1997, Vol. 18). We have been reviewing the thoughts of Confucius and his school in order to search for resources that human society today can use. This is undoubtedly important. But the thoughts and ideas of the sages and worthies of ancient times are not fully able to solve all the problems of the present time; nor do they all accord

with the demands of contemporary society. They can only show us a path for thinking, hints on how to make use of these resources, giving us a new foundation for addressing the concerns of the present time. It is in this way that they contribute to building a harmonious human society. "Though Zhou is an ancient state, its Mandate is ever-new" (*Shi Jing*, Daya). Our Chinese nation is an ancient nation with 5,000 years of history and culture. Our mission is to assure that our society constantly revitalizes itself and makes contributions to all mankind.

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叁　儒学的现代意义[*]

一

《儒学的现代意义》这个题目，我曾讲过多次，上世纪80年代讲过，90年代也讲过，现在到21世纪还讲。不仅我讲，而且越来越多的学者都在讲，为什么今天我们要讲？我想，有两个重要的原因：一是我们中华民族正处在伟大的民族复兴的前夜，在此时此刻，我们必须回顾我们的历史文化传统。雅斯贝尔斯（1883—1969）曾提出“轴心时代”的观念。他认为，在公元前500年前后，在古希腊、以色列、印度和中国等地几乎同时出现了伟大的思想家，他们都对人类关切的根本问题提出了独到的看法。古希腊有苏格拉底、柏拉图，以色列有犹太教的先知们，印度有释迦牟尼，中国有老子、孔子等等，形成了不同的文化传统。这些文化传统经过两千多年的发展，已经成为人类文明的主要精神财富，而这些地域的不同文化，原来都是独立发展出来的，最初并没有互相影响。“人类一直靠轴心期所产生、思考和创造的一切而生存。每一次新的飞跃都回顾这一时期，并被它重燃火焰。自那以后，情况就是这样。轴心期潜力的苏醒和对轴心期潜力的回忆，或曰复兴，总是提供了精神动力。对这一开端的复归是中国、印度和西方不断发生的事情。”[1]例如，欧洲的文艺复兴就是把目光投向其文化的源头古希腊，使欧洲文明重新发出新的光辉，而对世界产生重大影响。中国的宋明理学（新儒学）在印度佛教文化冲击之后，再次回到孔孟而把中国文化提高到一个新的阶段。在这踏入新千年之际，世界思想界已出现对于“新的轴心时代”的呼唤，这就要求我们更加重视对古代思想智慧的温习与发掘，回顾我们文化发展的源头，以响应世界文化发展的新局面。二是在新的世纪，我们的国家提出建设“和谐社会”的要求之际，费孝通先生提出“文化自觉”的问题。也就是说，我们要建设“和谐社会”也必有个对自身“文化”上的自觉。什么是“文化自觉”？费孝通先生在《人文价值再思考》中说：

> 文化自觉只是指生活在一定文化中人们对其文化有“自知之明”，明白它的来历、形成过程，所具有的特色和它发展的趋向，不带任何“文化回归”的意思，不是要“复古”，同时也不主张“全盘西化”或“全盘他化”。自知之明是为了加强对文化转型的自主能力，取得决定适应新环境、新时代文化选择的自主地位。

这就是说，在我们建设“和谐社会”的伟大历史时期，我们必须有“文化自觉”，要确立“文化”上的自主地位。我们的文化上的自主地位，既不是“复古”，也不是“全盘西化”，而是要使我们自身文化的根基牢固，根深才可以叶茂，必须坚持文化自主性，并且也要充分吸收其他各民族的文化滋养我们自身。

在这种情况下，来研究我们民族文化的历史和它发展的前景，就必须适应当代世界文化发展的新形势，即“新的轴心时代”到来的文化发展的新形势；就必须适应我们国家建设“和谐社会”的目标，而必须有一个文化自觉的要求。那么在这样一个新的历史时期，全人类社会和我们自己的社会，到底遇到了什么问题，我们需要努力解决什么问题，才能促使“新的轴心时代”和我们的“和谐社会”早日到来呢？

二

进入21世纪，可以说在我们国家出现了“国学热”的情况。对这种情况存在着各种各样不同的看法和解释。所谓“国学”最早见于《周礼·春官·乐师》：“掌管国学之政，以教国子小舞。”意思是说：乐师的职责是管理国学的事务，这个国学事务是教国子的音乐舞蹈的。但是现在我们说的“国学”是对“西学”而言。这是由于，我们面对“西学”的输入，如何保护和发展我们的传统文化，也就是说：中国文化的发展面对着双重任务，一是要保护自身文化，维护我们自身文化发展的根基；二是如何对待和吸收、消化“西方”文化，这就形成了百多年来文化上的“中西古今”之争。而在这个全球化的时代，我们必须走出“中西古今”之争，会通“中西古今”之学，以实现不同文化之间的共存共荣。

对“国学”，特别是“儒学”，现在学术文化界有种种的看法，我简单作点介绍：

1．有的学者提出“重建中国儒教的构想”：他们认为“必须全方位的复兴儒教，以应对西方文明的全方位的挑战”，“复兴儒教是复兴中华文化重建中华文明的当务之急”。因此，主张把儒教立为国教，在我们国家实现所谓的自古以来的“政教合一”[2]。

2．对这种观点来自两个方面的批评：一是来自“自由主义派”，他们认为，“儒教救国论”是对当代民主政治的反动，是对“平等”观念的践踏。把“儒教”立为“国教”会让中国成为一个儒教的伊朗，“企图将儒教意识形态化，为专制主义服务”[3]。另一是来自马克思主义学者的批判，他们认为：“儒教救世的想象实质是道德作用的自我夸大”，也是“以天道性命的形上学来追求王道政治，这样只能重踏封建专制的陷阱”，“真正的救世主只能是马克思主义”[4]。

3．还有一些学者从维护和发扬儒家思想出发，对“儒学”作充分的肯定，例如现代新儒家认为内圣之学可以开发出适合现代民主政治的“外王之道”，而且认为儒家的“心性之学”（所谓“良知的坎陷”）可以发展出认识论的系统。也还有认为，“三纲五常”仍有其价值。1994年杭州会议上，杜维明放弃了认为“三纲”有价值的看法，而“五常”还有价值，这是他的一个改变。还有关于“文化中国”的问题，杜维明提出这一想法，对中国文化走向世界有其意义，但他把“文化中国”分成若干圈，核心圈为“大陆”“台湾”等；第二圈为海外华人；第三圈为受中国文化影响的各国；第四圈是研究和欣赏中国文化的外国人等等。但他有个观点是可讨论的，他说：“文化中国的范畴很广，有一批与中国没有血缘关系，但对中国人影响很大的，也是文化中国的一部分，像释迦牟尼，马克思等。”这也许很成问题。如此类推，可以有“文化欧洲”“文化美国”，而中国的思想家，如孔、孟、老、庄等等，在他们那里有影响，也就是他们的一部分。

4．当然还有一些学者认为，孔子的儒家学说在五四时期已被否定，今天再把它推崇到至高的地位，无疑是历史的倒退等等。

到底对儒家思想应如何看，这是仁者见仁，智者见智的问题，今天对它有多种看法，说明我们的社会在进步，因为学术文化问题只能在自由讨论、在贯彻“百家争鸣”的方针中实现，在不断的理性的对话中前进。

当然，我自己对“儒学”也有自己的看法，是否对，要在讨论中得到检验，它也只是众多之家的一家之言。对于学术文化，我有几点根本的看法：第一，任何历史上的思想文化没有绝对正确的，其自身往往包含着内在矛盾，儒学也是一样；因此，“儒学”必然有某些方面有其历史的局限性，不可能都适合现代社会生活的要求。即使是其中具有普适意义的精粹部分也往往要给以现代的诠释。第二，虽然思想文化是在不断发展的，但是，古代哲学家提出的哲学问题和他们的哲学思考并非都不如我们今天，有些问题很可能是万古常新的，例如中国哲学中讨论的“天人关系”（人与自然关系）的问题，仍然是我们现代中国哲学讨论的主题之一。第三，罗素说：“不同文明之间的交流，过去已经多次证明，是人类文明的发展的里程碑。”任何文化要在历史长河中不断发展，必须不断地吸收其他民族的文化，在相互交流中才能适时地发展，特别是在今天全球化时代。从我国历史上看，印度佛教的传入已经证明这一点。中国文化曾受惠于印度佛教，印度佛教又在中国得到发扬光大，后为中国文化所吸收，而深刻地影响了宋明理学。今天，在全球化的形势下，我们必须充分地系统地吸收和消化西方文化和其他各民族的文化，当然是他们的优秀文化，中国学术文化才能适应人类社会要求和我们民

族自身的新发展。因此我们的文化必须是民族的又是世界的。第四，要有文化的主体性，任何一个民族文化必须扎根在自身文化的土壤中，只有对自身文化有充分理解和认识，保护和发扬，它才能适应自身社会合理、健康发展的要求，它才有深厚的吸收其他民族的文化的能力。一个没有能力坚持自身文化的自主性，也就没有能力吸收其他民族的文化以丰富和发展其自身的文化，它将或被消灭，或全盘同化。

基于以上看法，我认为，要对“儒学”进行分析，也许可以从不同角度来看待它。我们可否从三个角度来看“儒学”：一是政统的儒学，一是道统的儒学，一是学统的儒学。

儒学曾长期与中国历代政治结合在一起，无疑它对封建集权专制统治起过重要作用。在儒家思想中特别注重道德教化的作用，这虽有可取的一面，但却流于把道德的作用绝对化，而使中国一直是“人治社会”，而很难实现“法治社会”；而且很容易使政治道德化，而美化政治统治；又使道德政治化，使道德为政治服务。当然儒家思想中的某些政治哲学也对消解专制统治起限制作用，如“以德抗位”“民为贵”“诛一夫”（曰：“臣弑其君可乎？”曰：“贼仁者谓之贼，贼义者谓之残，残贼之人，谓之一夫。闻诛一夫纣矣，未闻弑君也。”[5]）往往也可以用“天”来压制君权。“畏天命”，要对“天”有所敬畏，甚至“天人感应”在一定条件下，也可以起抑制“皇权”的作用，利用天降灾异，有臣子就上书警告皇帝，于是皇帝不得不下罪己诏。但总的说来儒学在历史上被政治利用起的消极作用更明显。特别是“愚忠”“吾皇圣明，臣罪当诛”，无论如何是不可取的。所以对儒学在受政治利用的情况下，问题较多。

“道统”的儒学：任何一个成系统有历史传承的学术文化派别，其学术文化的发展和影响，必有其传统，西方如此，中国也是如此，从中国历史上看有儒释道三家，都有其传统。因为有传统的学术文化它才能不断发展，儒家是更为自觉的继承着其传统，它以继承夏、商、周三代的文化传统为自任。“祖述尧舜，宪章文武。”因此，我们今天当然也应自觉地继承我们的文化传统。但是对自身“道统”的过分强调就可能形成对其他学术文化的排斥，而形成对“异端”思想的压制，而在历史上某些异端思想的出现，恰恰是对主流思想的冲击，甚至于颠覆，这将为新的思想开辟道路。儒家从总体上说，是比较有包容性的，如他们主张“万物并育而不相害，道并行而不相悖”，但有时也存在强烈的排他性，例如孟子的“拒杨墨”，批评杨朱和墨子“无父、无君”这就过分了。如韩愈的排佛，佛教在当时确有问题，浪费国家财力过大，但韩愈提出“人其人，火其书，庐其居”（让僧尼都还俗，佛经都烧掉，佛寺都改为民居），也有点过分吧！因此，派性过强不大好。

“学统”的儒学是指其学术传统，是指它的学术理念，也许在这方

面，儒学的正面价值比较多，它可以为人类社会提供比较有意义的思想资源。在当前甚至以后，都不应把它意识形态化。学术最好归学术，不应依附于政治，不能定于一尊，要贯彻“百家争鸣”的方针。当然，我们对古来圣贤为我们提供的思想资源必须经过分析，并给以现代诠释，以揭示其既能对我们当前民族的伟大复兴、建设“和谐社会”提供有积极意义的思想资源，又能对全人类社会合理和全面的发展有普世意义，儒学必须“日日新，又日新”才能成为我们的真正精神财富。

三

对于一种学说作出价值判断，当然我们可以从多种角度来考虑，可以从政治的、经济的、科学技术的等等方面来考虑，但是也许最重要的应是对它的价值作哲学的判断。为此，我们必须了解我们的社会国家、当前全人类面临的重大问题，以此作为我们思考哲学问题的出发点。

当前人类社会存在的重大问题有什么？我想，归纳起来有三大问题：一是，人与自然的关系问题，目前人与自然的矛盾已发展到了十分严重的地步；二是，“人与人”之间关系的问题，这包括人我问题（人与社会）、国与国、民族与民族之间的问题；三是，人自身身心内外关系的问题。也就是说，当前人类遇到的最大问题就是人和自然的矛盾，人与人（人与社会）的矛盾，人自身的矛盾。而这三个问题应和我们建设“和谐社会”和当今人类社会的“和平共处”有着极为重要的关系。我认为，我国儒家的“天人合一”“人我合一”“身心合一”这三个哲学命题，也许可以说为我们解决上述三大矛盾提供了某些宝贵的思路和应该特别重视的思想资源。当然，我没有意思说，这些问题光靠儒家思想都可以解决。

在人类社会进入21世纪时，我们回头看看20世纪的历史，可以发现过去这个世纪是人类社会飞速发展的世纪，取得辉煌成就的世纪，但同时又是充满矛盾斗争的悲惨世纪。在这百年中，发生了两次世界大战，因战争非正常死亡的人何止几千万，大量破坏了人类多少世纪辛勤建造的文化遗产。而我们的国家，在百多年来经历了种种苦难，同时也取得了很大的进步。但在这个过程中由于种种原因，从文化上说在相当长的一个时期，我们对传统几乎全盘否定，而又拒绝吸收西方的某些先进文化，致使我们的社会出现了“信仰危机”“道德真空”“环境污染”“金钱拜物教盛行”等等，这些已经到了相当严重的地步，不能不引起世人高度重视。那么如何办？我想，不仅我这样想，而且许多学者都这样想，我们能不能从我们长达五千年的历史中发掘出解决这些问题的某些思想资源？许多学者在努力寻求。当然，必须注意，我们决不能认为思想文化

可以解决一切问题，如果认为思想文化可以解决一切问题，就可能导致“文化决定论”，这就像认为科学技术可以解决人类社会问题一样，而导致“科学主义”的“科学万能”歧途。因此，我们讨论“儒学的现代意义”只是说，它有些什么样的资源和思路，可以对当前人类社会存在的问题给以某种可以思考的路径，给以一种为解决问题的提示方向。

四

关于“人和自然矛盾”的问题，1992年世界1575名科学家发表了一个《世界科学家对人类的警告》，在其开头就说，人类和自然正走上一条相互抵触的道路。我认为，这话深刻地认识到人类社会如果如此发展下去，将会遇到严重的危机。科学技术高度发达，虽然可以给人们造福，但作为自然的一部分的人，在他们征服自然的过程中，不仅掌握了大量破坏自然的工具，而且也掌握了毁灭人自身的武器。对自然界的无量的开发和破坏，资源的浪费，臭氧层变薄，海洋毒化，环境污染，人口暴涨，生态平衡的破坏，不仅造成“自然和谐”的破坏，而且破坏了“人与自然的和谐”，这些已严重地威胁着人类自身生存的条件。这种情况的存在，应该说和西方哲学“主—客”（认识的主体与认识的客体）二分的思维方式有关，正如罗素在《西方哲学史》中说：“笛卡尔的哲学……他完成了或者说几近完成了由柏拉图开端而主要因为宗教上的理由经基督教哲学发展起来的精神、物质二元论，……笛卡尔体系提出来精神界和物质界两个平行而彼此独立的世界，研究其中之一能够不牵涉另外一个。”这就是说，西方哲学长期把精神和物质看成是各自独立的，互不相干的，因此其哲学以“外在关系”（“人”和“自然”是互不相关的二元）立论，或者说其思维模式以“心”“物”为独立的二元，研究一个可以不牵涉另外一个。这就是说欧洲（西方）的思维模式从轴心时代的柏拉图起就是以“主—客”（即“心—物”或“天—人”）二分立论。然而中国哲学在思维模式上与之有着根本的不同，也是在轴心时代就以“天人合一”（即“主客相即不离”）立论。

中国哲学的源头之一可以说是《周易》，在1993年于湖北荆门出土的“楚简”有一段非常重要的记载：

礼，交之行述也。

乐，或生或教者也。

书，□□□□者也。

诗，所以会古今之诗是也，

易，所以会天道、人道也。

春秋，所以会古今之事也。

这些竹简大概是在公元前300 年前写的东西。从这个记载看，“易，所以会天道、人道也，”是说《周易》是研究天道（天的规律）和人道（人类社会的秩序）会通道理的书。这就是说，在中国古代很早就注意到，研究“天”不能不牵涉到“人”，研究“人”也不能不牵涉到“天”，这就是“天人合一”思想。其实在《论语》中也已经透露出这一消息，子贡说：“夫子之言性与天道，不可得而闻也。”子贡虽然没有听到过孔子讲“性与天道”的言论，但他把这个问题提出来就说明当时人对“人性”（人）与“天道”（天）的关系问题十分关注。从人类社会的发展上看，人们最初遇到的问题就是“人”与“自然界”（天）的关系问题，因为人要生存就离不开“自然界”。所以在中国古代一直都在关注“天人关系”问题。

当然对如何处理和看待“天人关系”自古就有各种不同的看法：有的学者主张应顺应自然；有的学者认为应利用“天”来为人服务，“制天命而用之”；有的主张“天人交相胜”等等。但儒家思想的主流多主张“天人合一”。所谓“天人合一”是说“天”离不开“人”，“人”也离不开“天”。

为什么有这样的思想，可以说其起源很早。我们知道，《周易》本来是一部卜筮的书，它是人用来占卜、问吉凶祸福的。向谁问？是向“天”问，“人”向“天”问吉凶祸福，《易经》记述了这些，所以这就成为“天”“人”关系的书。后来，出现了对这部书的种种解释，这就是《易传》。特别是其中的《系辞》可以说是对《易经》的一种哲学解释。既然《易经》所要解决的是“天人”关系问题，那么“人”和“天”究竟是个什么关系？《系辞》就是要回答这个问题。它认为：《易经》这部书无所不包，既包含“天道”“地道”，也包含“人道”，虽然“天道”表现为阴和阳，“地道”表现为“刚”和“柔”，“人道”表现为“仁”和“义”，但是这三者的道理是统一的，都是乾坤的表现。宋儒张载说：“三才两之（三才指‘天’‘地’‘人’），莫不有乾坤之道也。易一物而合三才，天（地）人一也，阴阳其气，刚柔其形，仁义其性。”[6]《易》把天（地）和人统一起来看，所以天人是一个相互关联的统一体。为什么用“乾”“坤”来表述“天”“地”“人”的统一，这是由于《易传》有个看法，因为“乾”是指“天行健，君子以自强不息”的，“坤”是指“地势坤，君子以厚德载物”的。因此，“人”对“天地”（天）负有特殊的责任。“人”应以“自强不息”“厚德载物”的精神来担当天地所要求的大任。张载说，“天道”和“人道”从“道理”上说是统一的，如果要知道做人的道理不能不知道“天地”的道理，能知道“天地”的道理，也就可以知道“人”（社会）的道理。

所以宋儒对“天人合一”思想发挥得更加深刻了，例如程颐说：“安有知人道而不知天道者乎？道，一也。岂人道自是一道，天道自是一道？”照儒家看，不能把“天”“人”分成两截，更不能把“天”“人”看成是一

种外在的对立关系，不能研究其中一个而不牵涉另外一个。朱熹说得更明白："天即人，人即天。人之始生，得之于天也；既生此人，则天又在人矣。"[7]"天"离不开"人"，"人"也离不开"天"。人初产生时，虽然得之于天（由天产生的），但是一旦有了人，"天"的道理就要由"人"来彰显，即"人"对"天"就有了一个责任。如果没有"人"如何能体现"天"的活泼气象，如何体现"天"的"自强不息"，"地"的"厚德载物"呢？所以人应该知道"为天地立心"就是"为生民立命"，不能分割为二。所以《郭店竹简·语丛一》中说："知天所为，知人所为，然后知道。知道然后知命。"知道了"天道"（自然运行的规律）和"人道"（人类社会生活的规律），这样才叫作知道"天"和"人"有一个统一的道理，然后才可以知道"天"（天道）和"人"（"人道"，社会）发展的趋向。孔子说："知天命"。"知天命"就是说"人"应知道"天"的运行发展的趋势。孔子又说："畏天命"，要对"天"有所敬畏，不能随便破坏"天"的发展规律。因为中国哲学一向不把"天"看成一死物，而把它视为是有机的，连续性发展的，有生意的（生生不息的），与人为一体的。"人"的存在离不开"天"，这是大家都能懂得的道理，但是为什么"人"有时把自己置于与"天"对立的地位，肆意地破坏"天"，把"天"作为征服的对象呢？这是由于他们把"天"和"人"看成只存在着一种外在的关系，而不了解"天"和"人"之间的关系是一种息息相关的内在关系。"内在关系"与"外在关系"不同，"外在关系"是说在"天"与"人"二者之间是各自独立的，各不相干的；而"内在关系"是说在"天""人"二者之间存在着相即不离的关系。因此，"天人合一"虽是中国哲学中的一个很古老的哲学命题，它是中国儒家思想的基石，它同时也是一常新的人类社会需要不断给以新的诠释的命题。我们在考虑人类自身问题时，必须考虑与"天"（自然界）的关系问题，而且应是接着"天人合一"的观念来不断深入探讨"天"和"人"存在着的相即不离的内在关系。当前人类社会不正是由于长期严重地忽略了"天"与"人"的相即不离的内在关系正在受惩罚吗？不是"人类"和自然正走上一条相互抵触的道路吗？

由《周易》开出的"天人合一"思想（即"易，会天道，人道也"的思想）对解决当今"人与自然"的矛盾作为一种思维模式，或者可以给我们以下三点启发：

第一，"天人合一"作为一种思维模式，它要求人们不能把"人"看成是和"天"对立的，这是由于"人"是"天"的一部分，"人之始生，得之于天"。破坏"天"就是对"人"自身的破坏，"人"就要受到惩罚。因此，"人"不仅应"知天"（认识自然，以便合理地利用自然），而且应该"畏天"（对自然界应该敬畏，要把保护"天"作为一种神圣的责任）。现在人们只强调"知天"，只是一味用"知识"来利用"天"，征服"天"，以

至无序地破坏“天”，而不知对“天”应有所敬畏，这无疑是“科学主义”（科技万能）极端发展的表现。“科学主义”否定了“天”的神圣性，从而也就否定了“天”的超越性，这样就使人们的人文精神失去了依托。中国人的“天人合一”学说认为，“知天”和“畏天”是统一的，“知天”而不“畏天”，就会把“天”看成一死物，不了解“天”乃是有机的，生生不息的刚健的大流行。“畏天”而不“知天”，就会把“天”看成是外在于“人”的神秘力量，而使人不能真正得到天的恩惠。“知天”和“畏天”的统一，正是“天人合一”的重要表现，从而表现着“人”对“天”的一种内在责任。“天人合一”这个哲学命题，体现着“天”与“人”的复杂关系，它不仅包含着“人”应该如何认识“天”，同样也包含着“人”应该尊敬“天”，因为“天”有其神圣性。这也许正是由于中国儒家没有成为一般意义上的宗教（如佛教和基督教等），但是它却具有一定的“宗教性”。也许正因为如此，在中国，儒家思想可以起着某种宗教的功能，这就是它认为“人”依“天”所具有的“内在”品德经过自我德行修养而实现其“超凡入圣”的“超越性”。因此，“天人合一”不仅是“人”对“天”的认知，而且是“人”应追求的人生境界。因为“天”不仅仅是自然意义上的天，而且也是神圣意义上的“天”，“人性”就其内在要求上说，以求达到“同于天”的超越境界。就这个意义上说，“人”和“天”不仅不是对立的，而且“人”应与“天地”为一体，如孟子所说：“君子所过者化，所存者神，上下与天地同流，”以实现其自身的超越。这样一种思维路径，不仅对我们走出“天人二分”（天人对立）的困境有十分重要的意义，而且也为人类走向理想人生境界开辟了道路。

第二，我们不能把“天”和“人”的关系看成是一种外在关系，这是因为“天即人，人即天”，“天”和“人”是相即不离的。“人”离不开“天”，离开“天”，则“人”无法生存；“天”离不开“人”，离开“人”，则“天”的道理无法彰显，谁来担当实现“天道”的责任呢？这种对存在于“天”和“人”之间的内在关系的认知正是中国哲学的特点。王夫之对此有一重要的说明。他说：我们考察自古以来学者的学说，从汉朝以来，他们对先秦儒家的学说只抓住其外在的现象，而认为《易经》只是讲“天道”的，而不知《易经》也是“人道”的根本，自从周敦颐首先提出“太极图”的学说，这个学说是研究“天人合一”的根源的，它阐明了人之始生是“天道”变化产生的结果，在“天道”的变化之中把它的精华部分给了“人”，使人具有了不同于其他事物的“人性”，这样就可以发现“人道”（人类社会的规则）的一切日用伦常之理，就是“天道”（宇宙规律）阴阳变化的秩序。“人道”和“天道”是统一的，这点是不能违背的。“人道”本于“天道”（因“人”是“天”的一部分），讨论“人道”不能离开“天道”，同样讨论“天道”也必须考虑“人道”，这是因为“人道”的“日用事物当然之理”，

也是“天道”的阴阳变化的秩序。所以张载说：《周易》这部书“得天而未始遗人”。

第三，为什么说儒家哲学认为，在“天”和“人”之间存在着一种相即不离的“内在关系”？盖自古以来，至少由西周以来，在中国的思想中有“天听自我民听，天视自我民视”的思想传统，从孔孟到程朱陆王都是这样认识的。在这个问题上，朱熹有个说法也许反映出孔子“仁学”的一贯思想，他说：“仁者”，“在天则盎然生物之心，在人则温然爱人利物之心，包四德而贯四端者也。”[8]“天道”生生不息，以仁为心，“天”有使万物良好的生长发育的功能，故“人”要效法“天”，要对人慈爱，要使万物得益。这是因为“天人一体”，“人”得“天”之精髓而为“人”，故人生在世当以实现“天”的“盎然生物之心”，而有“温然爱人得物之心”，“天心”“人心”实为一心。“人”有其实现“天道”的责任，人生之意义就在于体证“天道”，人生之价值就在于成就“天命”，故“天”“人”关系实为一内在关系。就以上几点来讨论“天人合一”，我们对之作哲学的理解，这样才能洞见其真精神，真价值。它是作为一种世界观和思想方式，一种思考问题的路径来看“天人关系”的，它的意义在于赋予“人”一种不可推卸的责任。“人”必须在“同于天”的过程中（提高到“天”的境界），实现“人”的自身超越，达到理想的“天人合一”的境界。

当然，儒家的“天人合一”思想不大可能直接具体地解决当前人类社会存在的一个一个“人与自然矛盾”的问题。但是，“天人合一”作为一哲学命题，一种思维模式，认为不能把“天”“人”分成两截，而应把“天”“人”看成相即不离的一体，“天”和“人”存在着内在的相通关系，无疑会从哲学思想上为解决“天”“人”关系，提供一有积极意义的思路。

五

当今人类社会存在的“人与人之间的矛盾”较之于“人与自然的矛盾”更为复杂，它不仅涉及“自己与他人”“人与社会群体”“国家与国家”“民族与民族”“地域与地域”之间的种种矛盾，例如：对物欲和权力的追求，对自然资源的争夺、占有和野心的膨胀，造成国家与国家、民族与民族、地域与地域之间的对立和战争，而且有“帝国霸权”和“恐怖主义”等等。过分注重金钱的追求和物质的享受，特别是统治者的贪污腐化，欺压老百姓，造成人与人之间关系的紧张，社会的冷漠，帮派林立，黑社会的猖狂等等。在人类社会中，现在儿童有儿童的问题，青年有青年的问题，老年有老年的问题，人与人之间在日常生活中的互不理解和仇视，心灵上的隔膜，使社会的和谐全失，这样发展下去终将导致人类社会的瓦解。儒学是否能对现代社会存在的种种弊病提供某些有意

义的思想资源呢？我认为，也许孔子儒家的“仁学”能对造就“人与人”，扩而大之国家与国家、民族与民族、地域与地域之间的和谐，即造就“和谐社会”有重要意义。

《郭店竹简·性自命出》中说：“道始于情，情生于性。始者近情，终者近义。”意思是说，人与人的关系开始时是建立在感情基础上，而感情是生于人的本性。因此，人与人的关系开始时更加根据情（如母子之情），到后来则更加根据道义。这里的“道”是指“人道”，即处理人与人之间关系的规律，或者说是处理社会关系的原则，它虽然和“天道”有联系，但也和“天道”不一样，“天道”指自然界的（或指相对于“人”的外界）运行规律。“道始于情”是说人与人的关系的建立是由感情开始的，这正是孔子“仁学”的出发点。孔子的弟子樊迟问“仁”，孔子回答说：“爱人。”这种“爱人”的品德从何而来呢？《中庸》引孔子的话说：“仁者，人也，亲亲为大。”“仁爱”的品德是人本身所具有的，爱自己的亲人是最基本的。但儒家认为“仁”的精神不能仅仅停留在爱自己的亲人上面，《郭店竹简》中说：“亲而笃之，爱也；爱父，其继之爱人，仁也。”对自己亲人爱到极点，那也只能叫“爱”；爱自己的父亲，扩大到爱别人，这才叫作“仁”。又说：“孝之放，爱天下之民。”对父母的孝顺要放大到爱护天下的老百姓。不过爱自己的亲人无论如何是爱别人的基础，“爱亲则方其爱人”。这就是说，孔子儒家的“仁学”要由“亲亲”扩大到“仁民”。也就是说，要“推己及人”，要做到“老吾老以及人之老”“幼吾幼以及人之幼”，才叫作“仁”。做到“推己及人”并不容易，必须把“己所不欲，勿施于人”，“己欲立而立人，己欲达而达人”的“忠恕之道”作为实现“仁”的准则。（朱熹《四书集注》：“尽己之谓忠；推己之谓恕。”）如果把“仁”推广到社会（全人类社会），这就是孔子说的：“克己复礼为仁。一日克己复礼，天下归仁焉。为仁由己，而由人乎哉？”古来曾把“克己”（克服私欲）和“复礼”（复兴礼制）解释为平行的两个方面，我认为这不是对“克己复礼”的好的解释。所谓有“克己复礼为仁”是说只有在“克己”基础上的“复礼”才叫作“仁”。费孝通先生对此有一解释，他说：“克己才能复礼，复礼是进入社会，成为一个社会人的必要条件。扬己和克己也许正是东西方文化的差别的一个关键。”我认为这话很有道理。一个人要进入社会，必须对自己有个要求，例如说自己应该要求做到“己所不欲，勿施于人”，这样你才可以遵守社会的规范（礼），而成为社会的人；一个国家也一样，你必须对自己有个遵守世界的“公约”和“公理”的要求，这样世界公约、公理才得以维护。费先生认为，中国文化主张“克己”，对于人与人之间相处较好；而西方文化主张“扬己”，把自己抬高到别人、别国之上，这怎么能不发生冲突和战争呢？朱熹对“克己复礼为仁”的解释说：“克，胜也。己，

谓身之私欲也。复，反也。礼者，天理之节文也。”这就是说，要克服自己的私欲，以使之做人行事能符合礼仪制度规范。“仁”是人所具有的内在品德（“爱生于性”）；就社会生活说，“礼”是规范人的行为的外在的礼仪制度，它的作用是为了调节人与人之间的关系使之和谐相处，“礼之用，和为贵”。要人遵守礼仪制度必须是出于其内在的“爱人”之心，才符合“仁”的要求，所以孔子说：“为仁由己，而由人乎哉？”对“仁”和“礼”的关系，孔子也有非常明确的说法：“人而不仁如礼何？人而不仁如乐何？”没有仁爱之心的礼乐那是虚伪的，是为了骗人的。所以孔子认为，人们如果有了追求“仁”的自觉要求，并把这种“仁爱之心”按照一定的规范实现于日常社会之中，这样社会就会和谐安宁了，“一日克己复礼，天下归仁焉”。这种把追求“仁”的信念实践于日常实际生活之中，就是《中庸》所说的“极高明而道中庸”。“极高明”要求追求人生上的最高原则，即“仁”的理想；“道中庸”要求人们按照规则把“仁爱”精神实现于日常生活之中（“中庸”，用中的意思）。“极高明”和“道中庸”不能分为两截，这就是儒家的最高理想“内圣外王之道”。我们今天要求建设“和谐社会”，孔子的这些话无疑对我们有重要的价值。《论语》中讲了许多“仁”的道理，但没有出现“仁政”这两字，但是他说“导之以德，齐之以礼”“泛爱众”“举贤才”“博施于民，而能济众”等等都是讲的“仁政”。“仁政”在《孟子》一书中讲得很多，意义也很广泛，其中有些虽已不适合今日人类社会的要求，但其中也许有两点很重要，对我们今天建设和谐社会和实现世界和平仍然有重要意义。一是孟子认为“行仁政”就要使民有恒产，他说：“民之为道也，有恒产者有恒心，无恒产者无恒心。”[9]孟子的意思是说：对民的道理是，要使每个人都有一定的稳固产业，他才能有一定的道德观念和行为准则。没有一定稳固产业的人，便不会有一定的道德观念和行为准则。所以孟子说：“夫仁政，必自经界始。”意思是说：“仁政”首先要使老百姓有自己的土地。我想，我们要真正建立“和谐社会”就必须“使民有恒产”。就全人类社会说，就要使各国、各民族都能自主拥有其应有的财富才行，强国不能掠夺别国的财富和资源以及推行强权政治。二是孟子的“仁政”要求反对非正义战争，他认为“得道多助，失道寡助”，这里的“道”是“道义”的意思，在《公孙丑下》中有一段记载，他认为：天时不如地利，地利不如人和。他说：

> 域民不以封疆之界，固国不以山谷之险，威天下不以兵革之利，得道者多助，失道者寡助。寡助之至，亲戚畔之，多助之至，天下顺之。以天下之所顺，攻亲戚之所畔，故君子有不战，战必胜矣。[10]

这段话的意思是说：限制老百姓不必用国家的疆界，保护国家不一

定靠山川的险固，威行天下不必凭兵器的锐利，得道多助，失道寡助。少助到了极点，连亲戚都反对他；多助到了极点，全天下都归顺他。拿天下都归顺的力量来攻打连亲戚都反对的人，那么合乎道义的君子或者不必用战争，若用战争，最后必然是会胜利的。所以儒家往往把战争分为“正义战争”和“非正义战争”，孟子说：“春秋无义战”，“失民心者，失天下”。这个道理对一个国家内的统治者说也一样。汉初的贾谊写过一篇《过秦论》，他总结秦亡之因在于“仁义不施，攻守之势异”。并引用了一句谚语：“前事不忘，后事之师。”这不也是我们今天应该借鉴的吗？孔子儒家这些思想，对一个国家的“治国”者，对于世界上的那些发达国家的统治集团不能说没有意义。“治国、平天下”应该行“仁政”，行“王道”，不应该行“霸道”，不能压迫老百姓。

自1993年亨廷顿提出“文明的冲突论”之后，引起了各国学术界的广泛讨论。在人类历史上看，由于文化（哲学、宗教、价值观念）的不同引起的冲突和战争并不少见，就是进入21世纪虽未发生世界性的大战，但局部地区的战争则不断，其中无疑政治、经济是冲突和战争非常重要的一个原因，但文化确也在相当大的程度上是国家与国家、民族与民族、地域与地域之间冲突和战争的原因，如何化解这种因文化上的原因引起的冲突甚至战争，也许孔子提出的“和而不同”是一条非常有意义的原则。

在中国历史上，一向认为“和”与“同”是不同的两个概念，有所谓有“和同之辨”。《左传·昭公二十年》记载：“公曰：唯据与我和夫？晏子对曰：据亦同也，焉得为和？公曰：和与同异乎？对曰：异。和如羹焉，水火醯醢盐梅以烹鱼肉，燀之以薪。宰夫和之，齐之以味，济其不及，以泄其过。君子食之，以平其心。君臣亦然。……今据不然。君所谓可，据亦曰可。君所谓否，据亦曰否。若以水济水，谁能食之？若琴瑟之专一，谁能听之？同之不可也如是。”[11]《国语·郑语》：“夫和实生物，同则不继。以他平他谓之和，故能丰长而物归之；若以同裨同，尽乃弃矣。故先王以土与金、木、水、火杂，以成百物。”可见“和”与“同”是两个不同的概念。“以他平他”，是以相异和相关为前提，相异的事物相互协调并进，就能发展；“以同裨同”，则是以相同的事物叠加，其结果只能窒息生机。中国传统文化的最高理想是“万物并育而不相害，道并行而不相悖”。（“万物并育”和“道并行”是“不同”；“不相害”“不相悖”则是“和”。）这种思想为多元文化共处提供了取之不尽的思想源泉。

不同的民族和国家应该可以通过文化的交往与对话，在对话（商谈）和讨论中取得某种“共识”，这是一由“不同”到某种意义上的相互“认同”的过程。这种相互“认同”不是一方消灭一方，也不是一方“同

化”一方，而是在两种不同文化中寻找交汇点，并在此基础上推动双方文化的发展，这正是“和”的作用。因此，我们必须努力追求在不同文化之间通过对话，实现和谐相处。现在中西许多学者都认识到，通过对话沟通不同文化之间的相互理解的重要性。例如哈贝马斯提出“正义”和“团结”的观念。我认为，把它们作为处理不同民族文化之间关系的原则，应该是很有意义的。哈贝马斯的“正义原则”可理解为，要保障每一种民族文化的独立自主、按照其民族的意愿发展的权利；“团结原则”可理解为，要求对其他民族文化有同情理解和加以尊重的义务。只有不断通过对话和交往等途径，才可以在不同民族文化之间形成互动中的良性循环。2002年去世的德国哲学家伽达默尔提出，应把“理解”扩展到“广义对话”层面。正因为“理解”被提升到“广义对话”，主体与对象（主观与客观或主与宾）才得以从不平等地位过渡到平等地位；反过来说，只有对话双方处于平等地位，对话才可能真正进行并顺利完成。可以说，伽达默尔所持的主体—对象平等意识和文化对话论，正是我们这个时代所需要的重要理念。这种理念，对我们今天如何正确而深入地理解中外文化关系、民族关系等等，具有重要的启示！[12]。无论哈贝马斯的“正义”和“团结”原则，或者是伽达默尔的“广义对话论”，都要以承认“和而不同”原则为前提。只有承认不同文化传统的民族和国家可以和谐相处，不同的文化传统的民族与国家才能获得平等的权利和义务，“广义对话”才能“真正进行并顺利完成”。因此孔子以“和为贵”为基础的“和而不同”原则应成为处理不同文化之间的一条基本原则。

六

如果我们以儒家的“合天人”（天人合一）的观念来为解决“人和自然”之间的矛盾提供某些思想资源，以“同人我”（人我合一）的观念来解决“人与人”之间的矛盾，那么我们可以用“一内外”（身心合一）来调节自我身心内外的矛盾。现代社会，由于种种内外的压力，特别是人们无止境地追求感官之享受，致使身心失调，人格分裂。由于心理的不平衡引起精神失常、酗酒、杀人、自杀等等，造成了自我身心的扭曲，已经成为一种社会病，而严重影响了社会的安宁，其原因正在于道德沦丧，致使人失去了自我身心内外的和谐。对这样一种情况，许多有见识的学者都为此提出救治的理论和策略。从中国传统文化看，可以说儒家对人的身心道德修养和人格培育给以特别的重视。

在《郭店竹简·性自命出》中说：“闻道反己，修身者也。”意思是说，知道了“道”，就应该反求诸己，这就是“修身”。《大学》这部书更加特别强调人的道德实践对于建设理想的和谐社会的重要意义。它的第

一章中说："大学之道，在明明德，在新民，在止于至善。"朱熹注说："新者，革其旧之谓也。言既自明其明德，又当推己及人，使之亦有以去其旧染之污也。……言明明德、新民，皆当止于至善之地而不迁。"（明德：真实无妄的道理），明明德、新民的目的在止于至善，达到做人的最高境界。所以《大学》中认为，修身、齐家、治国、平天下，"自天子以至于庶人，壹是皆以修身为本，其本乱而末治者否矣"。这就是说，儒家认为每个人（自天子以至庶人）的道德修养好了，那么"家"可以齐，"国"可以治，"天下"可以太平，如果自己的道德修养这个根本混乱了，"家""国""天下"能够治好，那根本是不可能的。所以在《中庸》一书中也说："为政在人，取人以身，修身以道，修道以仁。"治理社会是要靠人来治理，让什么人来治理就要看他自身的道德修养，道德修养是以合不合"道"为标准，这里的"道"是指"天下之达道"，即"和谐"（和），而做到使社会和谐就要有"仁爱"之心。这里，把个人的道德修养（修身）与"仁"联系起来，正说明儒家思想的一贯性。儒家讲"修身"不是没有目标的，而是为了"齐家""治国""平天下"，即为了建设"和谐社会"。《礼记·礼运》中所记载的"大同"社会的理想，就是要求建立一在政治、经济、文化上诸多方面的和谐社会。儒家把和谐社会的理想建立在人的道德修养的提高的基础上，因此，儒家特别重视人的自我身心内外的修养。儒家认为，生死和富贵等等不是人应追求的最终目标，而道德学问才是人所应追求的。孔子说："德之不修，学之不讲，闻义而不能徙，不善不能改，是吾忧也。"孔子这段话告诉我们的是做人的道理："修德"（修养道德）并不容易，必须有崇高的理想，有关怀人类社会福祉的胸襟。"讲学"（讲究学问）也不容易，它不但要求自己提高智慧，而且要负起对社会进行人文教化的责任。"改过"，人总是会犯这样那样的错误，但要能勇于改正错误，这样才可以有助于社会的和谐。"向善"，是说人生在世，应日日向着善的方向努力，做到"日日新，又日新"，这样就可以达到"止于至善"的境地。"修德""讲学""改过""向善"是孔子儒家提倡的做人的道理，是使人自我身心内外和谐的有意义的路径。所以孟子说："存其心，养其性，所以事天也。夭寿不贰，修身以俟之，所以立命也。"如果一个人能保存他的恻隐之心，修养他的善性，以实现天道的要求，寿命的长短都无所谓了，但一定要通过对自身的修养保持和天道的一致，这就是安身立命了。

儒家的"修身"是有目的的，《周易·系辞下》中说："利用安身，以崇德为。"人们为人行事要益于社会而安身，以达到对道德的推崇。个人通过道德修养，以使其精神境界得以升华，来实现"为天地立心，为生民立命，为往圣继绝学，为万世开太平"的大事业，实践"立大本行达道"的大事业。这对个人自身说，其人生境界自有一内外和谐的"安身立

命”处，也就是宋儒所追求的“孔颜乐处”了。朱熹在其《答张敬夫书》中与敬夫讨论“中和义”时说：“而今而后，乃知浩浩大化之中，自家自有个安宅，正是自家安身立命、主宰知觉处，所以立大本行达道之枢要，所谓体用一源，显微无间，乃在于此。”[13]儒家认为，找一“安身立命”处，对自己的身心内外之和谐至关重要，所以朱熹说：“但能致中和于一身，则天下虽乱，而吾身之天地万物，不害而为安泰；其不能者，天下虽治，而吾身之天地万物，不害而为乖错。其间一国一家，莫不然。”如果自我的身心内外能够做到中正和谐，即使天下大乱，在自己和天地万物之间，对自己的身心安宁康泰就不会有什么影响；如果自我的身心内外做不到中正和谐，即使天下治理得很好，自己的身心也将是不安和错乱的。无论治世、乱世，自己都应修德敬业，这样就可以在活着的时候尽伦尽职，在离开人世的时候将是很安宁的，所以张载《西铭》的最后两句话说：“存，吾顺事；没，吾宁也。”

儒家一向都非常看重“安身立命”。所谓“安身立命”就是要对自己有个道德修养上的要求，这样才能使自己身心和谐，内外调适，使自己的言行符合“做人的道理”，这样身才能安，命才能立。至于那些有碍自我身心内外和谐的外在影响，应该排除。曾子说：“吾日三省吾身。为人谋，而不忠乎；与朋友交，而不信乎；传，不习乎。”做个君子人，每天都应时时警惕自己，看看自己为人行事，是否合乎道义。对于那些不合乎道义的事，甚至应该做到“杀身成仁，舍生取义”，所以孔子说：“志士仁人，无求生以害仁，有杀身以成仁。”孟子说：“吾身不能居仁由义，谓之自弃也。”要做到儒家提倡的“做人的道理”，很不容易，但应该是人们努力去追求的，这样自己才可以有个“安身立命”处，其身心内外自然和谐了。而追求自我身心内外的和谐其目的是为了实现社会的和谐。

司马迁说过：“居今之世，志古之道，所以自镜也，未必尽同”，我们今天温习阐发孔子儒家的思想，发掘其中对当今人类社会有意义的资源，无疑是重要的。但古来圣贤的思想、理念并不能全然解决当今社会存在的所有问题，也并不能全都适应现代社会的要求，它只能给我们一些思考的路子，启发我们去用这些思想资源，在给以适应现代社会生活要求的新的诠释的基础上，才有可能为建设和谐的人类社会做出贡献。“周虽旧邦，其命维新。”[14]我们中华民族是一个有着长达五千年的历史文化的古老民族，我们的使命是使我们的社会不断革新，从而对全人类作出贡献。

IV. IMMANENCE AND TRANSCENDENCE IN CHINESE CHAN BUDDHISM

From its transmission into China till Sui (581-618) and Tang (618-907) dynasties, Buddhism had developed into several schools: Tian-tai, Consciousness-only, Vinaya, Pure Land, Hua yan, Chan[1], etc. Since Tang Dynasty, Chan Buddhism has become increasingly influential and even has been particularly thriving to surpass all the other schools that declined early or late. No doubt there are many reasons for its thriving, perhaps one of the reasons is that Chan Buddhism can particularly reflect the characteristic of Chinese philosophy—"immanent transcendence," to which scholars probably should pay more attention.

As a religion, Buddhism has its doctrinal scriptures, its regular rituals, its precepts, its worshiped objects and so on, but Chan Buddhism after Hui Neng (638-713) renounced all things above. So in Chan Buddhism there is no need to chant scriptures, observe precepts, follow any rituals and worship any images, and even leaving home and becoming a monk or nun becomes dispensable, hence to become a Buddha and attain the state of nirvana can only rely on the awareness of one's own mind. It says: "One who can be aware within one thought is a Buddha, but confused within one thought a sentient being." That is to say, to become a Buddha and attain the transcendental state completely depends on the role of the immanent essential mind.

I. Chinese Chan Buddhism neither valued scriptures nor established words, but claimed everything should listen to the essential mind

There is a Chan story called "Buddha twirls a flower and Maha-Kashapa smiles," which is recorded in *Zhi Yue Lu* (*Record of Fingers Pointing to the*

Moon):

> When Buddha was in Grdhrakuta mountain he turned a flower in his fingers and held it before his listeners. Every one was silent. Only Maha-Kashapa smiled at this revelation, although he tried to control the lines of his face. Buddha said: "I have the eye of the true teaching, the heart of Nirvana, the true aspect of non-form, and the ineffable stride of Dharma. It is not expressed by words, but especially transmitted beyond teaching. This teaching I have given to Maha-Kashapa."

Chan Buddhism considered itself as "transmitted beyond teaching," and proclaimed itself as distinguished from the other schools by telling such stories. At the beginning of Buddhism in India, it was quite simple and originally a philosophy of life, in which Shakyamuni Buddha avoided discussing those theories unrelated with real life, say, concerned little about the following problems—"whether the universe is permanent or impermanent," "whether the universe is limited or unlimited," "whether life exists or not after death," "whether life and body are one or not," etc—which were often heatedly discussed at his time in India. Later Indian Buddhism became more and more complicated during its developing, further and further away from real life, and its system became larger and larger, its worshiped images more and more, its technical terms innumerable, which were completely incompatible with Chinese traditional thoughts. After Sui and Tang dynasties, many Chinese Buddhist schools were trying every possible way to get over this complication of Indian Buddhism, such as, "one billion worlds entered into one thought" in Tian Tai School and "principle and matter integrated into one real mind" in Hua Yan School both emphasized the role of the essential mind. This tendency was further intensified in Chan Buddhism after Hui Neng, hence its insistence on establishment in no words and renunciation of all scriptures.

Hui Neng himself did not renounce the scriptures and advocate establishment in no words yet. It is recorded in *Platform Sutra* that Hui Neng taught his disciples about *Diamond Sutra* and *Lotus Sutra*, but he maintained that "all scriptures and books exist and tell something in accordance with people" (*Platform Sutra*) and are only the tools to conduct people; hence one should not cling to the scriptures because one cannot become a Buddha by chanting the scriptures, and one can be liberated only by relying on one's essential mind. The reasons are: on the one hand, the principles and methods of becoming a Buddha originally exist in one's own essential mind, so "the twelve-part canons of the Buddhas of past, present, and future are originally

inherent in one's nature" (*Platform Sutra*). Thus there is no need seeking outside, no need to search the Buddha out of mind, because to be a Buddha and become enlightened totally depends upon oneself, and the extrinsic words just have nothing to do with it. On the other hand, words are outside things. If one attaches to these outside things, one "attaches to the forms." "One's own essential nature inherently has the insight of *Prajñā* (wisdom), and if one is continually observant, use one's own insight; therefore one does not depend on words" (*Platform Sutra*). In order to break the bondage of the scriptures, Chan masters after Hui Neng were simply against chanting the scriptures, and even against all kinds of words. It is recorded in *Wu Deng Hui Yuan* (*The Five Lamps Meet at the Origin*): Wei Shan (771-853) asked Yang Shan (814-890), " *Nirvana Sutra* has forty volumes. How many are said by Buddha? How many by *mara* (devil)?" (Vol. 9). Yang Shan answered: "All are said by *mara* (devil)." If one attaches the sutras as Dharma itself, one has already been bewitched and hoodwinked by devils. *Gu Zun Su Yu Lu* (*Recorded Sayings of the Ancient Worthies*) records: "As to those things which are considered as Buddhas, interpreted as Buddhas, if one sees something, finds something and attaches something, all of these are called dung of intellectual play, coarse words and dead language" (Vol. 2). *Jing De Chuan Deng Lu* (*Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*) records: Lin Ji (787?-867) "went to Huang Bo mountain (where his master lived) in a mid-summer, and saw his master Huang Bo (?-850) reading a sutra. He said, 'I thought there is a man but actually an old monk who puts black soy beans into his mouth'" (Vol. 12). All scriptures are nonsense. By attaching to these nonsense, how can one be liberated and become a Buddha? Since Buddhist scriptures are "dead language" and "said by *mara* (devil)," not the tools to awaken, naturally they are not to be fallen back on to attain the goal of becoming a Buddha. *Gu Zun Su Yu Lu* records Nan Quan (748-834) saying: "The Way does not belong to the category of knowing or not knowing, because knowing is false awareness and not knowing is no memory. If one really attains the Way of no-doubt which is like great emptiness, wide, vast and open, how can one tell right or wrong?" (Vol. 13). The Way does not belong to the category of knowledge, which have the difference between subject and object, but the enlightenment to the Way relies on the self-awareness of the mind. If so, the self can't be not self-aware; if the self isn't self-aware, it is "*avidya* (ignorance)." Therefore "not knowing is no memory."

Chan masters thought that words were unnecessary and language cannot be beneficial to the enlightenment and becoming a Buddha. Only through language one cannot comprehend the Buddhist Dharma. Someone asked Wen Yi (885-958): "What is the first meaning (of Buddhist Dharma)?" Wen Yi replied: "If I tell you, it is already the second meaning" (*Wen Yi Chan Shi Yu Lu* [*Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Wen Yi*]). The Dharma is ineffable, and what has been said is already not the Dharma itself. Therefore, is there any method that may lead people to the enlightenment? As far as Chan Buddhism sees, hardly is there any other method for becoming enlightened but through one's own awareness. However, Chan Buddhism also used very special methods, such as "stick and shout" to instruct disciples. It is recorded in *Wu Deng Hui Yuan*:

> A monk asked: "What is *bodhi* (awakening)?" Master (De Shan, 782-865) struck him and said: "Get out! Don't shit here!" One asked: "What is Buddha?" Master said: "Buddha is an old *bhiksu* (monk) in India." Xue Feng (822-908) asked: "By inheriting from patriarchs before, do you still have discriminations?" Master struck him with a stick and asked: "What does this mean?" Xue Feng answered: "I can't understand." On the next day, Xue Feng asked for more teaching. Master said: "There are neither languages nor sentences taught in our school, and I have no Dharma to give." Hence Xue Feng became aware. (Vol. 7)

It is also recorded in *Jing De Chuan Deng Lu*:

> (Lin Ji came to) see Jing Shan. When Jing Shan just raised his head to see who was coming, Master (Lin Ji) shouted. When he just intended to open his mouth to say, Master left with a flick of his sleeve. (Vol. 12)

This is so-called "De Shan's stick and Lin Ji's shout." These special methods are intended to break down people's attachment, and bring them back to the essential mind. As far as Chan Buddhism sees, one loses one's essential nature because one always attaches to something, therefore a sudden shout and an unexpected strike on the head would make one suddenly become enlightened and attain the Buddhahood by oneself. As Yuan Wu (1063-1135) said in *Yuan Wu Fo Guo Chan Shi Yu Lu* (*Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Yuan Wu Fo Guo*): "De Shan's stick and Lin Ji's shout are both thorough and complete, and directly cut off the root of the old attachment. They are great knacks and uses, reaching the same end by innumerable means, and could remove bondages from the disciples" (Vol. 14). Lin Ji's master, Huang Bo, said in his *Chuan Fa Xin Yao* (*Essential Teachings on the Transmission of Mind*):

This spiritually enlightening nature. . . cannot be looked for or sought, comprehended by wisdom or knowledge, explained in words, contacted materially or reached by meritorious achievement. All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, together with all wriggling things possessed of life, share in this great Nirvanic nature. This nature is Mind, Mind is the Buddha, and the Buddha is the Dharma.

Since this spiritually enlightening nature everyone has cannot be revealed by knowledge and language, the only way is to use stick and shout to break down the attachment (of course not necessarily to use stick and shout; any other method could make it if only they could break down the attachment), hence the mind has nothing to observe and one attains the transcendental state denying object and mind.

II. Chinese Chan Buddhism broke outmoded conventions and abolished sitting in meditation,[5] but only valued seeing the nature and accomplishing the Buddhahood

Sitting in meditation is a practicing method used in every Buddhist schools. Shakyamuni Buddha became enlightened under the *bodhi* (awakening) tree by sitting in meditation for forty-nine days; Bodhidharma came to China and faced the wall by sitting in meditation for three years. After Hui Neng, there has been a great change in Chinese Chan Buddhism. In *Platform Sutra*, Hui Neng said: "It is only a matter of seeing the nature, not a matter of meditation or liberation." It is clear that Hui Neng insisted on "seeing the nature and accomplishing the Buddhahood," and believed only through meditation one cannot be liberated. Hence he said:

Deluded people stick to the appearances of things: they cling to the idea of absorption in one practice as only meaning constantly sitting unmoving, not letting the mind be aroused at random. They identify this with absorption in one practice, but those who make this interpretation are equivalent to inanimate objects. This is a condition that obstructs the Way. The Way should be fluid, free-flowing. Why then do you stagnate? When the mind does not dwell on things, then the Way is fluid. If the mind dwells on things, that is called self-binding. If you say constant sitting is right, that is contradicted by the fact that Shariputra was scolded by Vimalakirti for sitting quietly in the forest (*Platform Sutra*).

Those who attach to sitting in meditation and believe deluded thought

cannot arise through their sitting actually regard a human being as a dead thing, and know nothing about "the Way should be fluid." The mind should move and not dwell on things, otherwise the mind is bound, and then how could one be liberated? *Gu Zun Su Yu Lu* records: Ma Zu(709-788) "lived in Nan Yue Chuan Fa Monastery (where his master Huai Rang [677-744] presided) and stayed in a hut alone by practicing sitting in meditation without paying attention to the visitors (even to his master Huai Rang). . . . One day, (in order to instruct Ma Zu) Huai Rang put a tile in front of the hut and began to grind it. Ma Zu didn't pay attention to it at the beginning, but after a long time, Ma Zu got very curious and then asked: 'For what by grinding?' Huai Rang said: 'Grinding into a mirror.' Ma Zu laughed: 'How can a tile become a mirror by grinding?' Huai Rang retorted: 'If a tile cannot become a mirror by grinding, how could one become a Buddha by sitting in meditation?'" (Vol. 1). Ma Zu sat in meditation and was bound by it, hence Huai Rang used "grinding a tile into a mirror," a metaphoric method, to inspire him to be enlightened. This is an example freeing from one's bondage by relying on others. Another example is Hui Leng (854-932) who had worn seven cattail hassocks by sitting in meditation for more than twenty years but still did not see the nature. Until one day when rolling up a curtain by a chance, he suddenly got enlightened, and composed a verse: "It was really a mistake, really a mistake, until I see the world when rolling up a curtain. If one asks me what kind of teaching I know, I shall pick up a whiskbroom and strike right toward his head" (*Wu Deng Hui Yuan*, Vol. 7). Hui Leng rolled up a curtain accidentally and saw that one billion worlds are just as they are, and then "witnessed the mind and saw the nature." He released the bondage of sitting in meditation, suddenly saw the whole thing in a clear light and became enlightened. It is said in *Platform Sutra*: "Those who cannot realize it themselves because of the wandering of the conditioned mind need a good knowing advisor to point it out and guide them to perception of essential nature; those who can realize it themselves don't have to turn outward for enlightenment." Ma Zu was inspired by Huai Rang, but Hui Leng became enlightened by himself. In any case, both Ma Zu and Hui Leng have to "realize the good knowing advisor within the essential mind." That is to say, one has to rely on one's immanent essential mind to attain the transcendental state. The saying "until I see the world when rolling up a curtain" in Hui Leng's verse is the crux of his enlightenment, because as far as Chan Buddhism sees, there is no need to deliberately make a certain thing to be

enlightened and become a Buddha. One should naturally see the Way in ordinary daily life, just like "clouds floating in the blue sky and water filling in the bottle," and everything goes naturally and ordinarily. There is a verse in *Wu Men Guan* (*Gateless Gate*) written by Wu Men (1183-1260):

> In spring, hundreds of flowers; in autumn, a harvest moon; in summer, a refreshing breeze; in winter, snow will accompany you. If useless things do not hang in your mind, any season is a good season for you.

This spiritual state of Chan Buddhism is a state going with the nature: one views the blooming of hundreds of flowers in spring, enjoys serenity under a harvest moon in autumn, feels the sudden coming of a refreshing breeze in summer, and watches thickly falling snowflakes swirling in winter. Let everything goes by itself at ease and without any obstruction, then "every daytime is a good day," and "every nighttime is an enjoyable night." If one attaches to sitting in meditation, one is bound by the method itself and cannot be liberated. Lin Ji said: "There is no place in Buddhism for deliberate effort. Just be ordinary and nothing special. Relieve your bowels, pass water, put on your clothes, and eat your food. When you are tired, go and lie down. Ignorant people may laugh at me, but the wise will understand" (*Gu Zun Su Yu Lu*, Vol. 11). If one wants to become a Buddha and attain the state of nirvana, one should not rely on the extrinsic practice, but be enlightened suddenly as Hui Leng experienced. A monk asked Ma Zu: "How to cultivate the Way?" Ma Zu said: "The Way cannot be cultivated. If one says it can be cultivated, even if it has been cultivated, it will disappear eventually" (*Gu Zun Su Yu Lu*, Vol. 1). How can the Way be cultivated? By relying on so-called "cultivation," one has to manage it with a contrived effort; certainly "it will disappear eventually." Therefore cultivating the Way cannot be searched deliberately out of ordinary life. A Vinaya Master You Yuan asked Hui Hai: "Do you make efforts in your practice of the Way?" Hui Hai answered: "Yes, I do." The Vinaya Master asked: "How?" Hui Hai answered: "When hungry, I eat; when tired, I sleep." The Vinaya Master asked: "And does not everybody do the same things, master?" Hui Hai answered: "Not in the same way." The Vinaya Master asked: "Why not?" Hui Hai answered: "When they are eating, they think of a hundred kinds of necessities, and when they are going to sleep they ponder over affairs of a thousand different kinds. That is how they differ from me." An ordinary person eats with preference of the fat or the lean in the food, sleeps with going off into wild flights of fancy, and has different

preferences and attachments and there is no chance for liberation. Those who truly know Chan should "sleep if need to sleep and sit if need to sit," "enjoy the cool if hot and warm at a fire if cold." A monk told Zhao Zhou (778-897): "I have just entered the monastery. Please teach me." Zhao Zhou asked: "Have you eaten your rice porridge?" The monk replied: "I have." Zhao Zhou said: "Then you had better wash your bowl." At that moment the monk was enlightened (*Zhi Yue Lu*, Vol. 11). After eating, naturally it is time to wash the bowl. This is so ordinary. Only through this can one meditate when sitting, meditate when sleeping, meditate when resting, and meditate when moving, therefore eating and shitting are both fine Way. If meditation is not necessary, there is no necessity to keep all kinds of precepts. Lu Xisheng asked Yang Shan: "Do you still observe precepts, master?" Yang Shan said: "I don't" (*Wu Deng Hui Yuan*, Vol. 9). Li Ao (772-841) asked Yao Shan (751-834): "What are *sila* (precepts), *dhyana* (meditation) and *Prajñā* (wisdom)?" Yao Shan said: "We don't have these idle fitments here!" (*Jing De Chuan Deng Lu*, Vol. 14) *Sila* (precepts), *dhyana*(meditation), and *Prajñā* (wisdom) are the "three practices" of Buddhism, an indispensable gateway for Buddhists, but Chan masters see them as something useless. It seems that this negation means that every practicing method is unnecessary; hence Chan Buddhism negates anything extrinsic and formal. The reason why Chan Buddhism sees like this is based on "the mind of everyday life is the mind of the Way." There is no "mind of the Way" apart from the mind of everyday life, and also no need to live any special life apart from everyday life. With this realization, the immanent mind of everyday life can be the transcendental mind of the Way. It is just as Yin Shun (1906-2005) put in his *The History of Chinese Chan Buddhism*: "The nature is both transcendental (away from all forms and its body pure and clear) and immanent (all Dharma cannot be different from the nature). Only when one gets enlightened from everything here and now, at the same time not different from everything, and completely realizes that everything is just no other than the magical application of the nature, can one go into the world or renounce the world at one's will, get the substance and its application, integrate the matter with its principles, and have one's feet firmly planted on the ground."[16]

III. Chinese Chan Buddhism did not worship images, rather abused the Buddhas and berated the

masters, and claimed "one who is enlightened in one thought is a Buddha"

Indian Buddhism cannot keep from the influence of Indian culture which is strongly marked the character of mysticism, especially after Shakyamuni Buddha. For example, there are so-called "twenty-eight heavens" and "eighteen hells," attached to which are adjacent heavens or hells, and there are also innumerous Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who have supernatural powers. Certainly all these are influenced by Indian traditional culture. Even the much simpler Indian Chan which is considered as "transmitted beyond teaching" is still of mystical character. It is said that all twenty-eight masters of Indian Chan have so-called "Six Supernatural Powers": (1) the power of divine audition; (2) the power of divine vision; (3) the power of awareness of the minds of others;(4) the power of the knowledge of previous lifetimes; (5) unimpeded bodily action; (6) the power of the extinction of contamination. Even four meditative states—"The Four Meditation Heavens"—Indian Chan practiced are also very mystical. Chinese Chan Buddhism after Hui Neng is very different. Hui Neng said: "My mind inherently has a Buddha in it; and the inner Buddha is the real Buddha" (*Platform Sutra*). Based on this, Chan Buddhism was against supernatural powers and worshiping images. *Wu Deng Hui Yuan* records: Dao Ying (?-902) "built a house near a place called San Feng, and did not go to hall for ten days. Dong Shan (807-869) asked him: 'Why didn't you go to have meals recently?' Dao Ying said: 'A heavenly god served the food everyday.' Dong Shan told him: 'I thought you are a man, but still have this kind of idea. Come to my place at night.' Dao Ying came to Dong Shan's place at night. Dong Shan called his name: 'Dao Ying!' Dao Ying replied. Dong Shan said: 'If you neither think of good nor think of bad, then what leaves?' Dao Ying came back and sat silently. Since then Dao Ying couldn't find the heavenly god any more. After three days, there was completely no such a thing in Dao Ying's idea" (Vol. 13). The point Dong Shan criticized Dao Ying lies in how could a man like Dao Ying believe these mystical supernatural powers. What is the meaning of "neither think of good nor think of bad"? This is the teaching from Hui Neng that one should never attach to those things created by one's imagination. It is recorded in *Chan Zong Zhuan* (*A Biography of Chan Buddhism*): "Hui Ming asked the Dharma from Hui Neng. Hui Neng said: 'You should shut out all desires and not conceive a single thought of good or

bad.' Hui Ming did what Hui Neng told him to do. Hui Neng told him: 'When you neither think of good nor think of bad, what is your original face?' At these words, Hui Ming was greatly enlightened and said to Hui Neng with his deep gratitude: 'I am like a man who takes a drink of water and knows for himself whether it is cold or warm.'" The so-called "a heavenly god served the food" was just an illusion of Dao Ying; once he became aware, the illusion disappeared and the heavenly god couldn't be found any longer. A man is essentially a man and has his original appearance; therefore everything has to count on the man himself, and does not need any help from the extrinsic transcendental powers at all. In *Platform Sutra* (Qi Song Edition), there is a verse called *Wu Xiang Song* (*Verse on Freedom from Forms*):

> When the mind is even, why bother to keep precepts?
> When action is straightforward, what's the need to practice meditation?
> If you are grateful, you take care of your parents respectfully;
> If you are dutiful, above and below are mentally sympathetic.
> If you are deferential, high and low harmonize amicably;
> If you are tolerant, myriad evils cause no disturbance.
> If you can drill wood and produce fire, you will produce red lotuses from the mud.
> Harsh words are clearly good medicine;
> If it offends the ear, it's surely faithful speech.
> Reform your errors, and you will develop wisdom;
> Defend your faults, and you betray an unsound mind.
> Always practicing altruism in your daily life;
> Attaining the Way does not come from donating money.
> Enlightenment is only to be sought in the mind;
> Why bother seeking mysteries outside?
> Hearing my explanation, practice on this basis,
> And the Heaven is right before your eyes.

This verse not only denies the existence of the extrinsic mystical powers, but also denies the existence of so-called Heaven and Hell, believing that one should live in the real life ordinarily and responsibly, and by means of one's own Buddha nature (immanent essential nature) in the life here and now can one become a Buddha. It is just as Da Hui(1089-1163) said: "Dharma of secular world is Buddha Dharma and vice versa" (*Da Hui Pu Jue Chan Shi Yu Lu*, Vol. 27).

It is recorded in *Wu Deng Hui Yuan*: Tian Ran (739-824) "met a bitter cold weather when visiting Hui Lin Temple, so he burned a wood Buddha statue for warmth. The head of the temple bawled him out: 'Why did you burn my wood Buddha?' Tian Ran prodded the ashes with his staff and said

humorously: 'I am looking for *sharira* (relics) by burning it.' The head retorted: 'How can a wood Buddha statue have *sharira* (relics)?' Tian Ran laughed: 'Now that it doesn't have *sharira* (relics), take two more statues and burn them'" (Vol. 5). A wood Buddha statue is an image, how could it have Buddha *sharira* (relics)? Burning a wood Buddha is only burning a wood-made statue. The denial of the image in his mind is the realization that "my mind inherently has a Buddha in it; and the inner Buddha is the real Buddha." Lin Ji climbed up into the loft of Xiong-er Tower, and the guard of the tower asked him: "Do you prostrate yourself first before the Buddhas or first before the masters?" Lin Ji said: "Neither of them" (*Jing De Chuan Deng Lu*, Vol. 12). Chan masters paid no respect to the Buddhas and masters at all and even abused the Buddhas and berated the masters. De Shan said: "There are neither Buddhas nor masters down here. Bodhidharma is an old foul foreigner, Shakyamuni Buddha is a pile of dried dung, and Bodhisattva Manjusri and Samantabhadra are men who carry the dung" (*Wu Deng Hui Yuan*, Vol. 7). As Chan Buddhism sees, everyone is originally a Buddha himself, and elsewhere can a Buddha be found? What are abused and berated are nothing but the images in one's mind, the worship of which would certainly obstruct the development of one's essential nature. It is recorded in *Jing De Chuan Deng Lu*: "Someone asked Huai Hai (720-814): 'What is Buddha?' Huai Hai retorted: 'Who are *you*?'" (Vol. 7). In the same book, it is also recorded: "Ling Xun just came to study with Gui Zong, and asked Gui Zong: 'What is Buddha?' . . . Gui Zong said: 'Just *you* are'" (Vol. 11). Everyone by himself is a Buddha. How can one ask "what is Buddha"? By asking "what is Buddha," one is searching Buddha outside of one's mind. Nevertheless, one should not attach to this idea of becoming a Buddha. Huang Bo said: "If you will conceive of a Buddha, you will be obstructed by that Buddha!" (*Wan Ling Lu* [*Recorded Sayings in Wan Ling*]). If one bears the idea of becoming a Buddha in one's mind constantly, one cannot live naturally and obstructs himself from becoming a Buddha by this searching. A monk asked Dong Shan when he was weighing some flax: "What is Buddha?" Dong Shan said: "This flax weighs three pounds" (*Wu Deng Hui Yuan*, Vol. 15). A monk asked Ma Zu: "What is the intention of Bodhidharma to come to China?" Ma Zu struck him and said: "If I don't strike you, those who know would laugh at me" (*Jing De Chuan Deng Lu*, Vol. 6). Dong Shan gave a reply far from the mark in order to break down the attachment of becoming a Buddha, and Ma Zu even tried to prevent the searching of extrinsic Buddhist Dharma, because

as Ma Zu saw, "you all should believe that your essential mind is the Buddha, and right this mind is the mind of Buddha" (Ibid.). This is the essential spirit of Chan Buddhism, as it is said in *Platform Sutra*: "Buddhahood is actualized within your own nature; do not seek it outside the body. If your own nature is confused, a Buddha is an ordinary person; if your own nature is awakened, every ordinary person is a Buddha."

As discussed above, we can see that the central thoughts or fundamental subject of Chinese Chan Buddhism is "witnessing the mind and seeing the nature" and "seeing the nature and becoming a Buddha." The fundamental concepts used in *Platform Sutra* are "mind" and "nature." "Mind" is also called "one's own mind" (*zi-xin*), "the essential mind" (*ben-xin*), "one's own essential mind" (*zi-ben-xin*), etc.; "nature" is also called "one's own nature" (*zi-xing*), "the essential nature" (*ben-xing*), "the Dharma nature" (*fa-xing*), "one's own Dharma nature" (*zi-fa-xing*), etc. "Mind" and "nature" have quite similar meaning and both refer to the subjective in everyone's immanent life. They are originally pure and empty, but transcend the phenomenal world. At the same time their activities can appear as all kinds of different things. As *Platform Sutra* says: "The extent of mind is vast as space. . . the emptiness of physical space contains the colors and forms of myriad things, the sun, the moon, and stars, the mountains, oceans, rivers, and lands, the springs and valley streams, the grasses, trees, and forests, bad people and good people, bad things and good things, Heaven and Hell—all are within space. The emptiness of the essential nature of people in the world is also like this." It also says: "The essential nature of human beings is originally pure. All things come from the essential nature; when you think about all evil things, it produces bad behaviors; when you think about all good things, it produces good behaviors. Thus all things are in your own nature, and your own nature is always clear." Good and bad, Heaven and Hell, the mountains, rivers, and lands, the grasses, trees, insects and fishes, and so on—all are realized from your own nature by means of "thinking" (*si-liang*) function of "the mind." The appearance of everything cannot deviate from "one's own nature," just as everything is within space. If one's "mind" is confused, one cannot see "one's own nature," hence only an ordinary person; if one's mind is always clear, one "sees the nature" and becomes Buddha or Bodhisattva. It is said in *Platform Sutra*: "My mind inherently has a Buddha in it; and the inner Buddha is the real Buddha. If there were no Buddha-mind, where would we look for the real Buddha?"

As Chan Buddhism sees, one's own nature (or one's own mind) is originally a vast space without anything, and it is not a deathly stillness but rather it can "think" and everything comes from this "thinking." If this activity of "thinking" goes without any trace, it lays no influence on one's "own nature" and one's own nature can always stay in the clear state. "One's own nature always clear" is just like the sun and the moon always shining, only that sometimes it's covered by clouds and appears dim when seen from the ground, since one cannot see the original face of the sun and the moon. If a sudden wind of wisdom (the instruction and inspiration of a good knowing adviser) blows off the clouds or mists, the always shining sun and moon would appear naturally. It is said in *Platform Sutra*: "The nature of worldly people is always drifting, like the clouds in the sky. Wisdom is like the sun, insight is like the moon: knowledge and insight are always light, but when you fixate on objects outside, you get your own essential nature covered by the drifting clouds of errant thoughts, so you cannot have light and clarity. If you meet a spiritual benefactor and hear truly authentic teaching, you'll get rid of confusion so that inside and outside are thoroughly clear, and myriad things appear within your own essential nature." A good knowing adviser can only provide some inspirations. Whether one can be enlightened or not counts on oneself. "What is meant by liberating yourself through your own essential nature? That means the beings in false views, afflictions and ignorance are liberated by accurate insight. Once you have accurate insight, you get the *Prajñā* (wisdom) to break through the beings in folly and delusion, so each one is self-liberated" (*Platform Sutra*).

The phrase "Buddha nature" appeared only a few times in Dun Huang edition of *Platform Sutra*, but many times in Zong Bao edition. "Buddha nature" mentioned in two places of *Platform Sutra* is quite important: one is the verse Hui Neng composed when he studied with his master, "Buddha nature is always clear"; another is when Hui Neng answered the question of Governor Wei, he said "building temples, charity, sustaining, etc. . . haven't any virtue actually," and "virtue lies in *dharmakaya* (truth body), not in field of merit; one's own Dharma nature is the inside virtue and honesty is the outside virtue. While one sees the Buddha nature inside, one will naturally hold in reverence outside." The first place shows that the essence of "Buddha nature" that has the same quality as "one's own nature" is "always clear," hence "Buddha nature" is "one's own nature," which is the essential nature of human being and the subjective in everyone's immanent life. The second

place shows that "Buddha nature" is "one's own Dharma nature" which is also the immanent essence in everyone. Based on the ideas above, Chan Buddhism established its theory of "witnessing the mind and seeing the nature" and "seeing the nature and becoming a Buddha." "Witnessing the mind and seeing the nature" tells that if one can realize one's own essential mind, "one's own nature is always clear"; attaining "one's own nature always clear" means the revelation of the immanent essential nature as the transcendental Buddha nature. Hence it is true that "witnessing the mind and seeing the nature, attaining the Way of Buddhahood by oneself" lie in "the wisdom is accomplished when enlightening."

In that case how can one "witness the mind and see the nature"? Chan Buddhism pointed out a direct and simple practicing method that they established, that is, "freedom from thought as the source, freedom from form as the substance, and freedom from fixation as the basis." It is said in *Platform Sutra*:

> Since time immemorial this school of ours has first established freedom from thought as the source, freedom from form as the substance, and freedom from fixation as the basis. Freedom from form means detachment from forms in the midst of forms. Freedom from thought means having no thought in the midst of thoughts. As for freedom from fixation, while the basic nature of humanity is in the midst of the world, with good and bad, beauty and ugliness, enmity and familiarity, words and speech, offense and attack, deception and contention, one considers it all empty and does not think of retaliation, not thinking about the objects in the surroundings. If thought after thought, previous, present, and subsequent thoughts, go on uninterrupted, this is called bondage. When thought after thought does not dwell on things, then there is no bondage. Thus freedom from fixation is basic.

"Freedom from form" means no attachment to any phenomenon(detachment from form), because ordinary people always attach the phenomena as the substance. For example, one may think that by sitting in meditation one can become a Buddha, which is certainly attached to sitting in meditation; one may think that by worshiping Buddhas one can become a Buddha which is certainly attached to the worshiping of Buddhas; all these are "taking form and attaching to it." "Taking form and attaching to it" can obstruct one's own nature just as the clouds and mists can cover the bright empty sky. When one "detaches from appearances while in the midst of appearances," one can suddenly see the original clearness of the body of nature, just as the clouds and mists are blew off and the bright clean empty space is revealed. Therefore, freedom from form not only means no attachment to any phenomenon, but also means detachment to appearances

and revelation of "one's own nature always clear." It is said in *Platform Sutra*: "If you can be detached from forms and appearances, then the substance of nature is pure. Thus freedom from form is the substance." "Freedom from fixation" means one's own nature originally has no fixation thought by thought, that is, the previous, present, and subsequent thoughts are consecutive, and if once dwelling on one object, it is not going on uninterrupted but fixing on every single thought, hence "the mind" is "bound." "When the mind does not dwell on things, the mind is fluid. If the mind dwells on things, the mind is bound" (*Platform Sutra*). If the mind is not dwelling on anything, once a thing has gone, it has gone and left no trace. It is like a wild goose flying across the vast sky leaving no trace at all; and also like a white screen on which a movie is projected for viewing, once the movie ends, nothing is left on the screen. Only by this can one not be bound, hence one should regard "freedom from fixation as the basis." "Freedom from thought" does not mean "not thinking of anything at all, and get rid of all thoughts entirely"(Ibid.), but when getting in touch with objects the mind is not affected by the external objects, that is, "the mind does not arouse over objects"(Ibid.). "Thought" is the function of the mind, and what the mind faces is the external objects. Ordinary people's thoughts arouse over the external objects. If the objects are nice, thoughts arouse over them and cling to them; on the contrary, thoughts again arouse and get angry. Therefore, the "thoughts" of ordinary people just arouse along with the objects and move in accordance with the objects, and the "thoughts" of this kind are "erroneous thoughts," always driven by the objects without freedom. "When the mind is not influenced by objects" (Ibid.), one could not be disturbed by the external world. Although one lives in the secular world, one is still not defiled and contaminated but comes and goes at ease, always has one's own clear nature and attains the Buddhahood by oneself. "Freedom from form," "freedom from fixation" and "freedom from thought" discussed above are the functions of "the only mind," and the difference between the ignorant and the awakened just lies in one thought, hence attaining the Buddhahood should rely on the sudden enlightenment.

According to the discussions above, we may conclude as follows:

First, the reason why Chinese Chan Buddhism belongs to Chinese traditional thoughts, distinguishable from Indian Buddhism lies in its "immanent transcendence," which is also the characteristic of Chinese Confucian and Taoist philosophy. The reason why it could deeply influence

Neo-Confucianism of Song (960-1279) and Ming (1368-1644) dynasties (especially Universal Mind School of Lu-Wang) also lies in the "immanent transcendence" of its thought. If it can be said that the quest of Confucian thought with the characteristic of "immanent transcendence" is a morally ideal personality which transcends "the self" and becomes "a saint," and the quest of Taoist philosophy with the characteristic of "immanent transcendence" is the spiritually absolute freedom which transcends "the self" and becomes "an immortal," then the quest of Chinese Chan Buddhism with the characteristic of "immanent transcendence" is a mystical state in momentary eternity which transcends "the self" and becomes "a Buddha." On this point, Chan Buddhism still has some smack of religion.

Second, although Chan Buddhism still has some smack of religion, by virtue of its releasing all extrinsic bondage such as chanting scriptures, sitting in meditation, worshiping Buddha, it is bound to contain the implication of denying itself as a religion. That is to say, the secularization of Chan Buddhism makes it an unreligious religion that has exerted profound influence on China, and it leads people to realize the purpose of transcending the reality in the real life by denying the supernatural concepts of Heaven and Hell, suggesting the secular spirit of "Dharma of secular world is Buddha Dharma and vice versa."

Third, as a religion, Chan Buddhism not only breaks all rules of traditional Buddhism, but also believes that it relies not on extrinsic power but rather the immanent self-awareness of Chan masters themselves to attain the Buddhahood. Therefore, it transforms a religion with the characteristic of "extrinsic transcendence" into an unreligious religion with the characteristic of "immanent transcendence," turns the direction from renouncing the world to going into the world, and hence avoids the inclination of duality. Whether or not this transformation means Chan Buddhism has some inclination to get out of traditional religious mode? If this can be deduced, certainly it would be significant to study the history of Chan Buddhism for investigating the religions in real social life.

Fourth, it is said there was a tradition strongly imprisoning the mind of people in China, and then can we say that there were still some resources to be appealed to for breaking everything imprisoning the mind of people? If there were such resources, Chan Buddhism must be an important one of them. Chan Buddhism denies all extrinsic bondages, breaks all attachments, removes the traditional and realistic authority, and lets everything listen to the

essential mind; it is in this sense that one can be the master of oneself. This open-mindedness is very valuable in the feudal despotic society in China and deserves our attention. Of course, Chan Buddhism thereby built the authority centered by the immanent subjective of the "self" and made up the infinite transcendental power of the "self," whereby one could again be bound by the immanent subjective of the "self." This probably is an inextricable paradox to Chan Buddhism.

Fifth, the ideological system of Chan Buddhism with the characteristic of "immanent transcendence" is of obvious subjectivism, and inevitably leads to the denial of any objective criterion and validity, which is a disadvantage to the investigation of the extrinsic world and establishment of objective valid social system and legal order, and has defects in the investigation of ultimate care of the universe and human life. Therefore, we may suggest: is it possible to build a better philosophical system which contains the thought with the characteristic of "immanent transcendence" and the thought with the characteristic of "extrinsic transcendence"? I think this issue deserves due attention in the development of Chinese philosophy.

Sixth, if it is possible to build a Chinese philosophical system which contains the thoughts of both "immanent transcendence" and "extrinsic transcendence," then is it possible to find the resources within Chinese traditional philosophy itself? I think Chinese traditional philosophy has this kind of resources. There are two aspects in the thought of Confucius: on the one hand, he advocated the idea "human-heartedness is something that must have its source in oneself" (*Analects*, 12.1) and "it is man that can make the Way great, and not the Way that can make man great" (*Analects*, 15.29) which can be considered as the aspect of "immanent transcendence"; on the other hand, he insisted that one should "fear the will of Heaven, fear great men, and fear the word of the sages" (*Analects*, 16.8), which can be considered as the aspect of "extrinsic transcendence" or at least a suggestion of it. Later Confucianism has developed the former aspect while leaving the later one undeveloped at all. Is it possible to build a Chinese philosophical system which contains the thoughts of both "immanent transcendence" and "extrinsic transcendence" from the direction of Confucius by developing and combining both aspects of Confucius'thoughts? In my opinion, it is an issue that deserves our study. Born shortly later than Confucius, there was another philosopher Mo Zi, whose philosophy features "extrinsic transcendence." Mo Zi's philosophy includes two interrelated parts: "all-embracing love" being

humanistic and "the will of Heaven" being religious. It seems that there is a little bit of contradiction between the two parts, but actually "all-embracing love" is the fundamental principle of "the will of Heaven," therefore "the will of Heaven" is the kernel of Mo Zi's thoughts. Mo Zi's "the will of Heaven" means "Heaven" has wills which are the supreme and ultimate standard to judge everything, can reward the good and punish the bad, and are the transcendental power outside of human or, we may say, are of obvious "extrinsic transcendence." Therefore, the later Mohist School suggested a scientific view and had the thought of logic and epistemology, but it is a pity that these thoughts were left undeveloped after the Warring States (403-221 BC) in China. Is it possible to use Mohist thought as resources to build a Chinese philosophical system which contains the thoughts of both "immanent transcendence" and "extrinsic transcendence"? I think it is also an issue we can study.

肆　论禅宗思想中的内在性与超越性*

佛教传入中国至隋唐分为若干宗派：天台、唯识、律、净土、华严、禅等等。至唐以后，其他宗派均先后衰落，而禅宗的影响越来越大，终至独秀，究其原因或有许多方面，但就禅宗更能体现中国哲学以“内在超越”为特征这点说，似应为研究者所注意。

佛教作为一种宗教自有其宣扬教义的经典、一套固定的仪式、必须遵守的戒律和礼拜的对象等等，但自慧能以后的中国禅宗把上述一切都抛弃了，既不要念经，也不要持戒，没有什么仪式需要遵守，更不要去礼拜什么偶像，甚至连出家也成为没有必要的了，成佛达到涅槃境界只能靠自己一心的觉悟，即所谓“一念觉，即佛；一念迷，即众生。”这就是说，人成佛达到超越的境界完全在其内在本心的作用。

一、中国禅宗不重经典、不立文字，一切自任本心

中国禅宗有一个公案——“释迦拈花，迦叶微笑”的故事，据《指月录》载：

> “世尊在灵山会上，拈花示众。是时众皆默然，唯迦叶尊者，破颜微笑。世尊曰：吾有正法眼藏，涅槃妙心，实相无相，微妙法门，不立文字，教外别传，付嘱摩呵迦叶。”

禅宗自称其宗门为“教外别传”，即依此类故事以说明他们和佛教其他宗派的不同。印度佛教开始在释迦牟尼时也是比较简单，本是一种人生哲学，对一些与人生实际无关的理论往往避而不论，如当时印度讨论的“宇宙是常还是无常”“宇宙有边还是无边”“生命死后是有还是无”“生命与身体是一还是异”等等，均少论及。但印度佛教在发展过程中越来越繁琐，越来越远离实际人生，体系越来越庞大，礼拜的对象越来越多，名词概念多如牛毛，这与中国传统思想全然不相合。到隋唐以后，中国的一些佛教宗派都已在想方设法克服印度佛教的这种繁琐，例如天台宗纳三千于一念，华严宗融理事于真心，都强调人的本心的作用，这一趋势到禅宗慧能以后更是变本加厉了，而有不立文字，废除经典之说。

慧能本人还没有简单地否定经典和倡导不立文字，据《坛经》记载，慧能尝为门人说《金刚经》《法华经》，但他认为“一切经书，因

人有说”，只是引导人们的工具，不能执着经典，不能靠诵读经典成佛，解脱只能靠自己的本心。这是因为：一方面，成佛得解脱的道理和路径本来就在你自己的本心之中，“三世诸佛，十二部经，亦在人性中本自具有”（《坛经》），不必外求，不必到心外觅佛，成佛的觉悟全在自己，外在的文字是没有用处的。另一方面，文字是一种外在的东西，如果执着了外在的东西就是“着相”，“本性自有般若之智，自用智慧观照，不假文字。”[2]慧能以后的禅宗大师破除经典的束缚，干脆反对念经，反对一切语言文字。沩山灵佑问仰山慧寂：“《涅槃经》四十卷，多少是佛说？多少是魔说？”仰山回答说：“总是魔说。”[3]如果把佛经持着为佛法本身，这本身就是着了魔，为魔所蒙蔽，所以《古尊宿语录》中说：“只如今作佛见，作佛解，但有所见所求所著，尽是戏论之类，亦名粗言，亦名死语”（卷二）。《景德传灯录》（卷十二）中记义玄“因半夏上黄檗山，见和尚看经。曰：我将谓是个人，元来是唵黑豆老和尚。”一切经典全是废话，执着这些废话，人如何得以解脱，如何得以成佛？既然佛教经典为“死语”“魔说”，非悟道的工具，那么自然不能靠它来达到成佛的目的。《古尊宿语录》中说：“（南）泉（普愿）云：道不属知不知，知是妄觉，不知是无记，若真达不疑之道，犹如太虚，廓然荡豁，岂可强是非也”（卷十三）。道不属知识，知识有主体和对象即有分别心，悟道在心之自觉；悟道既在自觉，自不能是不自觉的，如为不自觉，即是“无明”，故“不知是无记”。

禅宗的大师们不仅认为文字不必要，就是语言对得道成佛也是无益的。语言并不能使人了解佛法，有问文益禅师：“如何是第一义？”文益回答说：“我向汝道，是第二义。”[4]佛法是不可说的，说出的已非佛法本身。那么用什么方法引导人们觉悟呢？照禅宗看，几乎没有什么方法使人悟道，只能靠自己的觉悟。不过禅宗也常用一些特殊的方法，如棒喝之类。《五灯会元》卷七《德山宣鉴禅师》中载：

> “僧问：如何是菩提？师打曰：出去，莫向这里屙。问：如何是佛？师曰：佛是西天老比丘。雪峰问：从上宗来，学人还有分别也无？师打一棒曰：道什么？曰：不会。至明日请益，师曰：我宗无语句，实无一法与人。峰因此有省。”

《景德传灯录》卷十二载：“（临济义玄）见径山，径山方举头，师便喝；径山拟开口，师拂袖便行。”

这就是所谓“德山棒，临济喝”。这种方法是破除执着的特殊方法，目的是要打断人们的执着，一任自心。照禅宗看，人们常因有所执着而迷失本性，必须对之大喝一声，当头一棒，使之幡然觉悟，自证佛道，故佛果禅师说：“德山棒，临济喝，并是透顶透顶，直捷剪断葛藤，大权大用，千差万别，会归一源，可以与人解粘去缚。”[6]义玄的老师在其

《传法心要》中说：

> “此灵觉性……不可以智识解，不可以语言取，不可以景物会，不可以功用到，诸佛菩萨与一切蠢动众生同大涅槃，性即是心，心即是佛，佛即是法。”[7]

人所具有的这一灵觉性，既然不是能用知识、语言等使之得到发挥，那只能用一棒一喝（当然不一定必须用棒喝，其他任何方法都可以，只要能打断执着即可）打破执着，使心默然无对，而达到心境两忘的超越境界。

二、中国禅宗破去陈规，废去坐禅，唯论见性成佛

坐禅本是原来佛教一切派别所必需的一种修持法门，释迦牟尼在菩提树下证道，一坐四十九天；达摩东来，仍有三年面壁，都是坐禅。但到慧能以后，中国禅宗起了很大变化，《坛经》记载慧能说：“惟论见性，不论禅定解脱。”盖慧能主张“见性成佛”，认为靠禅定并不能得到解脱，所以他说：

> “迷人著法相，执一行三昧，直言坐不动，除妄心不起，即是一行三昧。若如是，此法同无情，却是障道因缘，道须通流，何以却滞？心不住法即通流，住即被缚，若坐不动是，维摩诘不合呵舍利弗宴坐林中。”[8]

执着坐禅，以为可以妄心不起，这实是把人看成如同死物，而不知“道须通流”，心不能住而不动，住而不动就是心被束缚住了，那怎么能得到解脱呢？《古尊宿语录》卷一记马祖道一“居南岳传法院，独处一庵，惟习坐禅，凡有来访者都不顾，……（怀让）一日将砖于庵前磨，马祖亦不顾，时既久，乃问曰：作什么？师云：磨作镜。马祖云：磨砖岂能成镜？师云：磨砖既不能成镜，坐禅岂能成佛？”马祖坐禅，被坐禅所束缚，怀让用“磨砖作镜”这种比喻的方法启发他使之觉悟，这叫作依他人为之“解缚”。又有长庆慧稜禅师，二十余年来坐破了七个蒲团，仍然未能见性，直到有一天，偶然卷帘时，才忽然大悟，便作颂说：“也大差，也大差，卷起帘来见天下，有人问我解何宗，拈起拂子劈头打。”[9]慧稜偶然卷帘见得三千大千世界原来如此，而得“识心见性”，解去坐禅的束缚，靠自己豁然贯通，而觉悟了。《坛经》中说：“不能自悟，须得善知识示道见性；若自悟者，不假外善知识。”道一是靠怀让的启发，而慧稜是靠自悟，但无论前者还是后者都必须是“识自心内善知识”，也就是说必须靠自己的内在本心才可以达到超越

境界。慧稜颂中“卷起帘来见天下”是他悟道的关键，因照禅宗看，悟道成佛不要去故意作着，要在平常生活中自然见道，就像“云在青天水在瓶”那样，自自然然，平平常常。无门和尚有颂说：

> “春有百花秋有月，夏有凉风冬有雪，
> 若无闲事挂心头，便是人间好时节。”

禅宗的这种精神境界正是一种顺乎自然的境界：春天看百花开放，秋天赏月色美景，夏天享凉风暂至，冬天观大雪纷飞，一切听其自然，自在无碍，便“日日是好日”“夜夜是良宵”。如果执着坐禅，那就是为自己所运用的方法所障，而不得解脱。临济义玄说：“佛法无用功处，只是平常无事，屙屎送尿，着衣吃饭，困来即卧，愚人笑我，智乃知焉。”[10]要成佛达到涅槃境界，不是靠那些外在的修行，而是得如慧稜那样忽然顿悟。有僧问马祖：“如何修道？”马祖说：“道不属修，言修得，修成还坏。”[11]道如何能修得，靠所谓“修”就是要勉强自己，这种不自然的做法，当然会“修成还坏”。所以修道不能在平常生活之外去刻意追求。有源律师问大珠慧海禅师：“和尚修道还用功否？”慧海说：“用功。”源律师问：“如何用功？”慧海回答说：“饥来吃饭，困来即眠。”源律师又问：“一切人总如是，同师用功否？”慧海说：“不同。”源律师问：“如何不同？”慧海说：“他吃饭时，不肯吃饭，百般须索；睡时不肯睡，千般计较，所以不同也。”[12]平常人吃饭，挑肥拣瘦；睡觉胡思乱想，自是有所取舍、执着，不得解脱。真正懂得禅的人“要眠即眠，要坐即坐”“热即取凉，寒即向火”。有僧问赵州从谂：“学人乍入丛林，乞师指示。”从谂说：“吃饭也未？”僧曰：“吃粥了也。”从谂说：“洗钵去。”其僧因此大悟。[13]吃过饭自然应洗碗，这是平平常常的，唯有如此，才能坐亦禅，卧亦禅，静亦禅，动亦禅，吃饭拉屎，莫非妙道。禅定既非必要，一切戒律更不必修持了，陆希声问仰山：“和尚还持戒否？”仰山说：“不持戒。”[14]李翱问药山：“如何是戒定慧？”药山说：“这里无此闲家俱。”[15]戒定慧本是佛教“三学”，学佛者必须之门径，但照禅宗大师看这些都是无用的东西。禅宗的这一否定，似乎所有的修持方法全无必要，从而把一切外在的形式的东西都否定了。禅宗如是看是基于“平常心是道心”，在平常心外再无什么“道心”，在平常生活外再不须有什么特殊的生活。如有此觉悟，内在的平常心即可成为超越的道心，正如印顺法师的《中国禅宗史》中所说：“性是超越的（离一切相，性体清净），又是内在的（一切法不异于此），从当前一切而悟入超越的，还要不异一切，圆悟一切无非性之妙用。这才能入能出，有体有用，事理如一，脚跟落地。”[17]

三、中国禅宗不拜偶像，呵佛骂祖，一念悟即成佛

印度文化中颇多神秘主义色彩，印度佛教也不能不受印度传统文化这种神秘主义影响，特别是释迦牟尼以后更是如此。例如在佛教中有所谓二十八重天，十八层地狱，每个层次又有无数天堂和地狱，以及众多的具有超自然伟力的佛和菩萨，这些当然都是受印度传统文化的影响而有。即使是比较平实的"教外别传"的印度禅也有不少神秘色彩，传说印度禅的二十八祖都有所谓六神通：天耳通、天眼通、他心通、宿命通、神足通、漏尽通等。就是印度禅修行的四种境界"四禅天"也颇具神秘性。而中国禅自慧能以后却不如此。慧能说："我心自有佛，自佛是真佛。"基于此，禅宗反对神通和偶像崇拜。《五灯会元》卷十三载，有云居道膺禅师"结庐于三峰，经旬不赴堂。洞山（良价）问：子近日何不赴斋？师曰：每日自有天神送食。山曰：我将谓汝是个人，犹作这个见解在。汝晚间来。师晚至。山召：膺庵主。师应诺。山曰：不思善，不思恶，是什么？师回庵，寂然宴坐，天神自此觅寻不见，如是三日乃绝"。良价批评道膺的基本点，就在于道膺是个人怎么会相信那些神秘的神通呢？"不思善，不思恶"是什么意思？这正是慧能叫人不持着那些自己想象出来的莫须有的东西。《禅宗传》载："明上坐向六祖求法。六祖云：汝暂时敛欲念，善恶都莫思量。明上坐乃禀言。六祖云：不思善，不思恶，正当与时么，还我明上坐父母未生时面目。时上坐于言下，忽然默契，便拜云：如人饮水，冷暖自知。"所谓"天神送食"只是道膺的幻想，当他一旦觉悟，幻想尽除，再无天神可寻觅了。人本来应是人，有人之本来面目，一切全靠自己觉悟，根本不需要外在的超越力量的帮助。契嵩本《坛经》有《无相颂》：

> 心平何劳持戒，行直何用修禅，
> 恩则孝养父母，义则上下相怜。
> 让则尊卑和睦，忍则众恶无喧，
> 若能钻木出火，淤泥定生红莲。
> 苦口的是良药，逆耳必是忠言，
> 改过必生智慧，护短心内非贤。
> 日用常行饶益，成道非由施钱，
> 菩提只向心觅，何劳向外求玄。
> 听说依此修行，天堂只在目前。

这首颂不仅否定了外在的神秘力量的存在，而且否定了所谓的天堂和地狱的存在，认为人们只是要在现实生活中平平常常地尽职尽责地生活，在眼前生活中靠自己所具有的佛性（即内在的本性）即可以成禅。宗杲大慧禅师说："世间法则佛法，佛法则世间法。"

《五灯会元》卷五载：天然禅师"于慧林寺遇天大寒，取木佛烧火

向，院主呵曰：何得烧我木佛。师以杖子拨灰曰：吾烧取舍利。主曰：木佛何有舍利？师曰：既无舍利，更取两尊烧。”木佛本是偶像，哪会有佛舍利，烧木佛无非烧木制之像而已，否定了自己心中的偶像，正是对“我心自有佛，自佛是真佛”的体证。临济义玄到熊耳塔头，塔主问：“先礼佛，先礼祖？”义玄曰：“佛祖俱不礼。”[18]禅宗对佛祖不仅全无敬意，还可以呵佛骂祖。德山宣鉴说：“这里无佛无祖，达摩是老臊胡，释迦老子是干屎橛，文殊普贤是担屎汉。”[19]照禅宗看，自己本来就是佛，哪里另外还有佛？他们所呵所骂的无非是人们心中的偶像，对偶像的崇拜只能障碍其自性的发挥。《景德传灯录》卷七载：“问：如何是佛？师云：他是阿谁？”卷十一载：“灵训禅师初参归宗，问：如何是佛？……宗曰：即汝便是。”每个人自己就是佛，哪能问“如何是佛”，问“如何是佛”就是向心外求佛了。而且对自身成佛也不能执着不放，黄檗说：“才思作佛，便被佛障。”一个人念念不忘要成佛，那就不能自自然然地生活，而有所求，这样反而成为成佛的障碍。有僧问洞山良价：“如何是佛？”答曰：“麻三斤。”[20]或问马祖：“如何是西来意？师便打，曰：我若不打汝，诸方笑我。”[21]良价所答非所问，目的是要打破对佛的执着；马祖更是要打断对外在佛法的追求，因为照马祖看：“汝等诸人，各信自心是佛，此心即是佛心。”[22]这正是禅宗的基本精神，正如《坛经》中说：“佛是自性作，莫向身外求。自性迷，佛即众生；自性悟，众生即佛。”

据以上所述，可知中国禅宗的中心思想或基本命题是“识心见性”“见性成佛”。在《坛经》中应用的基本概念是“心”和“性”。“心”或叫“自心”“本心”“自本心”等；“性”或叫“自性”“本性”“法性”“自法性”等。“心”和“性”大体是一个意思，都是指每个人的内在生命的主体，它本来清净、空寂，又是超越于现象界的，但它的活动可变现为种种不同的事物，如《坛经》说：“心量广大，犹如虚空，……虚空能含日月星辰，大地山河，一切草木，恶人善人，恶法善法，天堂地狱，尽在空中，世人性空，亦复如是。”又说：“世人性本自净，万法在自性，思量一切恶事，即行于恶；思量一切善事，便修于善行。知如是一切法尽在自性，自性常清净。”善与恶，天堂与地狱，山河大地，草木虫鱼等等都是因“心”之“思量”作用而从自性中变现出来的。一切事物的出现，都不能离开“自性”，就像万物在虚空中一样。如果人的“心”迷误了，就不能见自性，只能是凡夫俗子；如果人的自心常清净，就是“见性”，则是佛菩萨。《坛经》说：“我心自有佛，自佛是真佛；自若无佛心，向何处求佛。”

照禅宗看，人的自性（或本心）本来是广大虚空一无所有，但它并不是死寂的，而是能“思量”的，一切事物皆由“思量”出。如果这些“思

量”活动一过不留，那么对自己的“自性”就无任何影响，则自性常处于清净状态。“自性常清净”，就好像日月常明一样，只是有时为云覆盖，在上面的日月虽明，但在下面看到的则是一片昏暗，致使看不到日月的本来面目。如果能遇到惠风（按：指大善知识的指点和启发）把云雾吹散卷尽，那么常明之日月等等自然显现。《坛经》中说：“世人性净，犹如青天，惠如日，智如月，智慧常明。于外著境，妄念浮云盖覆，自性不明，故遇善知识开真法，吹却迷妄，内外明彻，于自性中，万法皆见。”善知识只能对人们有启发作用，觉悟不觉悟还在自己。“自有本觉性，将正见度，般若之智，除却愚痴迷妄，各各自度。”[23]

敦煌本《坛经》“佛性”一词很少见，但元宗宝本“佛性”则多见。《坛经》有两处说到“佛性”较重要：一是慧能在黄梅五祖处所作的偈：“佛性常清净”；另一处是答韦使君问，说“造寺、布施、供养”等“实无功德”时说：“功德在法身，非在福田；自法性有功德，平直是德。内见佛性，外行恭敬。”前一条说明“佛性”的本质是“常清净”，这与“自性”一样，所以所谓“佛性”即“自性”，亦即为人之本性，它是每个人的内在生命的主体。后一条说明“佛性”即“自法性”，而为人之内在本质。基于此，禅宗即可立其“识心见性”、“见性成佛”的理论。“识心见性”是说，如对自己的本心有所认识就可见到“自性常清净”；得其“自性常清净”就是使其内在的本性显现为超越的佛性，“识心见性，自成佛道”[24]，这一切皆在“悟即成智”也。

那么人如何能“识心见性”？禅宗指出了一条直接简单的修行法门，这就是他们所立的“无念为宗，无相为体，无住为本”的法门。《坛经》中说：

> “我此法门，从上以来，顿渐皆立无念为宗，无相为体，无住为本。何名无相？无相者，于相而离相。无念者，于念而不念。无住者，为人本性，念念不住，前念、今念、后念，念念相续，无有断绝；若一念断绝，法身即离色身，念念时中，于一切法上无住，一念若住，念念即住，名系缚；于一切法上，念念不住，即无缚也。此是以无住为本。”

“无相”是说，对于一切现象不要去执着（离相），因为一般人往往执着现象以为实体，如以坐禅可以成佛，那就是对于坐禅有所执着；如以拜佛可以成佛，那就是对拜佛有所执着，这都是“取相着相”。“取相着相”障碍自性，如云雾覆盖明净的虚空一样。如能“于相离相”则可顿见性体的本来清净，就像云雾扫除干净而现明净虚空。所以无相不仅仅是不要执着一切现象，而且因离相而显“自性常清净”，《坛经》说：“但能离相，性体清净，是以无相为体。”所谓“无住”是说，人的自性本来是念念不住的，前念、今念、后念是相续不断的，如果一旦停留

在某一物上，那么就不能是念念不住而是念念即住了，这样“心”就被“系缚”住了，“心不住法即通流，住即被缚”。如能对一切事物念念不住，过而不留，如雁过长空，不留痕迹，放过电影，一无所有，这样就不会被系缚，“是以无住为本”。“无念”不是“百物不思，念尽除却”，不是对任何事物都不想，而是在接触事物时，心不受外境的任何影响，“不于境上生心”。“念”是心的作用，心所对的是境（外境，即种种事物），一般人在境上起念，如境美好，那么就在境上起念，而有贪；如境不好，那么就在境上起念，而有嗔。因此一般人的“念”是依境而起，随境变迁，这样的“念”是“妄念”，经常为境所役使，而不得自在。如果能“于诸境上心不染”，这样就可以不受外境干扰，虽处尘世，却可无染无杂，来去自由，自性常清净，自成佛道。以上所论“无相”“无住”“无念”实均一心的作用，且迷与悟均在一念之间，故成佛道当靠顿悟。

据以上所说，我们或可得出以下结论：

1．中国禅宗之所以是中国的思想传统而区别于印度佛教，正因其和中国的儒家和道家哲学一样也是以“内在超越”为特征。它之所以深深影响宋明理学（特别是陆王心学），正在于其思想的“内在超越性”。如果说以“内在超越”为特征的儒家学说所追求的是道德上的理想人格超越“自我”而成“圣”，以“内在超越”为特征的道家哲学所追求的则是精神上的绝对自由，超越“自我”而成“仙”，那么，以“内在超越”为特征的中国禅宗则是追求一种瞬间永恒的神秘境界，超越“自我”而成“佛”，就这点说，禅宗仍具有某种宗教的形式。

2．禅宗虽然仍具有某种宗教的形式，但由于它要求破除念经、坐禅、拜佛等一切外在的束缚，这样势必又包含着否定其作为宗教本身的意义。这就是说，禅宗的世俗化使之成为一种非宗教的宗教在中国发生影响，它把人们引向在现实生活中实现超越现实的目的，否定了在现实世界之外与之对立的天堂与地狱，表现出“世间法则佛法，佛法则世间法”的世俗精神。

3．禅宗作为一种宗教，它不仅破除一切传统佛教的规矩，而且认为在日常生活中不靠外力，只靠禅师的内在自觉，就可以成佛，这样就可以把以“外在超越”为特征的宗教变成以“内在超越”为特征的非宗教的宗教，由出世转向入世，从而克服了二元的倾向。这样转变，是否可以说禅宗具有某种摆脱传统的宗教模式的倾向。如果可以这样说，那么研究禅宗的历史，将对研究现实社会生活中的宗教有着重要的意义。

4．如果说在中国有着强大的禁锢人们思想的传统，那么是否也有要求打破一切禁锢人们思想的资源呢？如果确有这样的资源，禅宗应是其中重要的一部分。禅宗否定一切外在的束缚，打破一切执着，破除传

统的权威和现实的权威，一任本心，从这个意义上说人自己可以成为自己的主宰，这样的思想解放作用在我国长期封建专制社会中应是难能可贵的，似乎应为我们注意。当然禅宗由此而建立了以“自我”的内在主体性为中心的权威，虚构了“自我”的无限的超越力量，而又可以为以“自我”为中心的内在主体性所束缚，这可能是禅宗无法解决的矛盾。

5．禅宗这种以“内在超越”为特征的思想体系，有着鲜明的主观主义特色，它必然导致否定任何客观标准和客观有效性。这既不利于对外在世界的探讨和建立客观有效的社会制度和法律秩序，同时在对探讨宇宙人生终极关切问题上也不无缺陷。因此，我们是否可以提出一个问题，既能否建立一个包容以“内在超越”为特征的思想，同时也包容以“外在超越”为特征的思想的更完满的哲学体系呢？我认为，这个问题或者是中国哲学发展应受到重视的问题。

6．如果说有可能建立一包容“内在超越”和“外在超越”的中国哲学体系，那么能否在中国传统哲学中找到内在资源？我认为，中国传统哲学中是有这方面内在资源的。本来在孔子思想中就有两个方面：一方面有“为仁由己”“人能弘道，非道弘人”的说法；另一方面也有“畏天命，畏大人，畏圣人之言”的说法。前者是孔子思想中的“内在超越”方面；后者是孔子思想中“外在超越”方面，或者说从后者可以看出孔子思想也有“外在超越”的因素。但后来儒家发展了前一方面，而后一方面没有得到发展。如果能使上述孔子思想中的两个方面同时发展，又有所结合，是否可以沿着孔子思想发展出一包容“内在超越”和“外在超越”的哲学体系呢？我想，这是一个值得我们探讨的问题。比孔子稍后的哲学家墨子，他的哲学可以说是以“外在超越”为特征的哲学体系。墨子哲学可以说由两个相互联系的部分组成：一是具有人文精神的“兼爱”思想；另一是具有宗教性的“天志”思想。这两方面看起来似乎有矛盾，但在墨子思想体系中却认为“兼爱”是“天”的意志最根本的体现，所以“天志”应是墨子思想的核心。墨子的“天志”思想认为“天”是有意志的，它的意志是衡量一切事物最高和最后的标准，它可以赏善罚恶，它是一外在于人的超越力量，或者说它具有明显的“外在超越性”。因此，墨家哲学发展到后期墨家就更具有科学因素和逻辑学和认识论思想。可惜在战国以后墨家思想没有得到发展。墨家思想是否可以成为我们建立一包容“内在超越”和“外在超越”的中国哲学体系的内在资源呢？我想也应是我们可以研究的一个课题。

V. THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTERISTICS OF DAOISM

Religion is a social phenomenon and studying it with a view to understanding its historical development has special significance today. We can see similar trends in other countries where the rapid developments of science and technology do not in any significant way lessen the people's sense of, or interests in, religion. Even the people of China, for some reason or other, show similar interests in the development of religion. This phenomenon is enough to raise several theoretical questions concerning the need for a better understanding of religion: what is the nature of religion? Does the human psyche require a religious faith? Is religion synonymous with religious belief? Is religious belief beneficial to social life? Is science complementary to, or inconsistent with, religious belief? Can religion be a modernizing agent? and so forth. This paper does not pretend to deal specifically with these questions, but, why do we study the history of religions? Should an ideal history of religions be time-conscious? Can such an history help people think seriously about the problems of religion that exist in the world today? All historians of religions need to address themselves to these kinds of problems.

The religions which had been popular in Chinese history include Buddhism, Daoism (Taoism), Islam, Christianity and Zoroastrianism. However, of all these religious traditions, only Daoism (Taoism) is indigenous to China. To be sure, Daoism (Taoism) is a Chinese religion; it has characteristics peculiar to the Chinese. Besides, it has exercised considerable influence on the development of Chinese culture and psychology, customs and habits, science and technology, philosophy and thought, medicine and hygiene, and even political life. Can our investigation into one of the more influential religions—the origin of Daoism (Taoism), its development and characteristics—help us deepen our understanding of Chinese culture, personality and way of thinking? Can it indirectly help us understand, more intimately, the theoretical and practical problems of religion in the world today? I think it can and toward this end the present

discussion is an attempt to analyze and discuss the following issues.

I. General Background

The development of Daoism (Taoism) was an attempt to orientate the Han Chinese to their social, political, economic, moral and psychological lives at the end of the Eastern Han.

Why did Daoism (Taoism) develop only at the end of the Eastern Han period? Historically, such Daoist ideas as "immortality" and "sanctification of the bodies" had already existed during the time of the Warring States (Zhanguo). They became even more popular during the Qin and Han dynasties—why? We know that not just any kind of superstition can be called religion, although religion often embodies a good deal of superstitious elements. Neither can we say that any theistic discourse can become a religion, even if it is capable of extending its influence over a sizeable cross-section of the population. Its growth and development were directly related to the social life of the people, their history, and other objective facts. The development of Daoism (Taoism) during the Eastern Han may be attributed to the following factors.

First, the reality of social life at the end of the Eastern Han had laid fertile grounds for the growth of Daoism (Taoism). The social and political conditions, since Shundi of the Eastern Han, had begun to deteriorate. There was outside interference in the day-to-day administration and the administrative machinery was in the hands of a bureaucracy. Debauchery, unruly behavior and social strife, both from within and without, were the order of the day. Finally there were crop failures due to severe drought, and large numbers of people died in ditches (Zhong Changtong, *Changyan*). Undue economic exploitations and political pressure at that time had made it impossible for the populace to lead a decent life; bankruptcy and emigration were common. The conflict between the ruling class and the ruled was intense and acute. According to historical records, from Shundi's time, peasant uprisings were rampant. At that time, apart from the common class-interest that united them in social movements, their leaders resorted to magic and superstitions as organizing agents. That is why, in history books, the rebels after Shundi's time were often called *yaozei*, or "the goblin thieves."

Two conclusions may be drawn from the above discussion. First, a

period of economic and political unrest, as well as spiritual and moral decay, provided an objective vantage for the development of religion. Second, as the leaders of the peasantry had used magic and superstitions to rally support in their movements, they knew that these could be used as tools for mobilizing the people, thus paving the way for the widespread development of religion. As is always the case, social turbulence often caused great hardship and suffering to the lower class. Thus, when people became desperate they tended to hinge their hopes upon some kind of spiritual power, or *shenling.* This was one of the most common avenues through which people, in antiquity, reconciled themselves with their social reality. This also explains why a majority of the early Daoist believers were members of the lower social strata.

Second, the social conditions at the end of the Eastern Han had provided useful material for the founding of Daoism (Taoism). Since the time of Han Wudi, when Dong Zhongshu pointed out that "of the hundred schools, only Confucianism is the most revered," Confucian thought had adapted itself to the needs of building a unified feudal society and serving as an ideology for the ruling class. From then on the development of Confucianism depended primarily on the teaching of a reciprocal relationship between Heaven and man, followed by an increased interest in the development of theology and metaphysics. Though ideally a religion is theistic, not any form of theism is adequate or sufficiently meaningful to become a religion. This is because such a religion (namely, the religion of the masses) must include not only the worship of spiritual beings, but also possess a body of canon together with an endurable form of church organization, doctrines and dogmas, and an historical medium for the dissemination of religious knowledge. Generally, religion must see the world in two forms: the real and the supernatural. Based on this premise, human beings feel that they can only disengage themselves from the problems of social life in a supernatural world—believing that an ideal life can manifest itself only in the yonder shore of the supernatural world.

Despite the fact that Confucianism acknowledged the existence of *Shen* or God, especially during the Han Dynasty, it had never thought it necessary that its ideals be fulfilled outside the world, but required rather that the ideals of "governing the state and pacifying the world" (*zhi-guo ping tianxia*) be actualized in the real world, even though this were merely an illusion. Although religion had played a very important role in feudal China, it had

never become a force to reckon with. Instead it had, many a time, occupied a secondary position, which state of affairs clearly bespoke as well the dominance of Confucian ideology.

From the developmental point of view, after the Eastern Han Confucianism could very well have become a religion, because its metaphysics together with the conception of the sacred could be easily converted into religion. However, Confucianism did not become a religion during the Han Dynasty for the simple reason that it attempted to materialize the ideals of "governing the state and pacifying the world" in the real world. Thus, following the decay of the Han Dynasty, Confucian ideology not only fell short of becoming a religion but its position as an ideology of the ruling class continued to decline. Because of this decline, Confucian thought had given way to the growth of Daoism (Taoism). History shows that, whenever the dominant ideology of the ruling class lost its power, it often signalled the growth and dominance of a countervailing religion.

Even though Confucianism had declined at the end of the Eastern Han, certain facets of its ideology could still be absorbed and put to good use by an ongoing religion. The fact that Confucian ideas are found in Daoism (Taoism) is clear proof that such assimilation did take place. For example, the idea of "the ultimate peace in the unity of the three (Heaven, earth and man) in one" (*tian-di-ren san heyi zhi taiping*) shows that the Confucianists were concerned about political reality and the notion of *sancai* (three endowments) mentioned in *Yi Zhuan*. The idea that the sky and the universe were formed by breath (*qi*) could have derived from the knowledge of world creation as well as the *yin-yang* principles and the five elements mentioned in the apocryphal texts. AlI these ideas were closely connected to Han Confucian thought. That most of the scholars who studied the development of Daoism (Taoism) focused their attention on its relationship with Daoist sources and overlooked the nexus between Daoist and Confucianist ideas is a bias.

Daoism (Taoism) could have another source in its gradual mingling with the tradition of the saints. Although there was a connection between the Daoists and the saints of the early Qin, both seem to belong to quite different schools of thought. Until the beginning of the Western Han, the popular Huang-Lao learning was essentially Daoist. It frequently emphasized the exemplary qualities of the sage and was thus deemed capable of exercising its power over the state and the cosmos. That is why Sima Qian, in his preface, commented that the importance of the Huang-Lao learning lies in the doctrine

of "self-actualization through non-action, and self-correction through expiation" (*wuwei zihua, qingjing zizheng*).

The Huang-Lao Daoist learning underwent a change during the Eastern Han: part of its adherents sought the help of the gods installed in shrines, thus becoming unified with the saints. Huandi, for example, made sacrifices to Laozi (Lao Tzu) at the latter's shrine with the aim to "preserve *shen* for the uplift of character and the ultimate ascent to Heaven," thus signalling the initial transformation or Huang-Lao's Daoist teaching. Also, as early as the end of the Western Han, there was already in existence what was known as "Huang Lao's *Dao*" (the Way of Huang-Lao) and later on, the "Fangxian's *Dao*" (the Way of the Saints), both of which actually belonged to the immortalist sects. Further, the saints' underlying objective was to attain "eternal life" (*changsheng busi*) and to cause the bodies to be sanctified (*routi chengxian*). Thus, once it merged with the Daoist ideas of "attaining peace through inaction, and remaining in peace through abstinence" (*qingjing wuwei, tiandan guayu*), it increasingly began to attract the masses and became a powerful social force. Lastly, the basic tenets of Daoism (Taoism), such as "immortality" and "the sanctification of the bodies," although derived from the Way of the Saints, became part of the Daoist system. Hence, its transformation also represents an important factor contributing to the growth of Daoism(Taoism).

From the above viewpoints, Daoism (Taoism) as a religion may be said to have deviated from the Confucianists' and Daoists' schools of thought. However, its source of ideas was inseparable from both. Hence, from the beginning, it had distinguished itself as a religious system in which Confucian and Daoist ideas supplemented each other. This system represents some of the characteristics typical of Chinese culture, psychology and way of thinking.

Third, the introduction of Buddhism into China had greatly stimulated the development of Chinese religion. From the time Buddhism spread to China during the Western Han till after the middle of the Eastern Han, it maintained a steady level of propagation. Buddhism, acting like a catalyst, escalated the development of Daoism (Taoism). Actually, the school of the saints was already popular during the Western Han, and disciples frequently had given tributes to Huang-Lao. This was evidenced in the existing learnings of "Huang-Lao's *Dao*" and "Fangxian's *Dao*." The former sanctified Huangdi and worshipped him in shrines dedicated to him; the latter talked

about "non-death and everlasting life" (*changsheng busi*). *Shiji* records that the teacher of the river elder, Le Jugong, learned about Huangdi. *The Book of Fengshan* records that Huangdi became an immortal because of *fengshan*. Yuji (more appropriately, Ganji), who compiled the Daoist scripture *Taiping Jing*, suggested that the book was originally by Laozi (Lao Tzu). During Han Mingdi, Ying, King of Chu, had already worshipped Huang-Lao and Futu. Ying recited Huang-Lao's words and honored Futu's shrine. Huandi erected Huang-Lao's and Futu's shrines in his palace. The fact that Huang-Lao and Futu were worshiped manifestly shows that Huangdi was at that time regarded as a deity or a Buddha. Sainthood was in fact a form of sagehood. Living the life of an immortal is but a human discipline. There was no formal, nor endurable form of organization to be used as a base for the interaction of the religious community. But after the spread of Buddhism to China, it became an organized form of religion, possessing not only a set of teaching which differed from that of traditional China, but also an organized church, with a religious canon and a spiritual community, all of which served as a blueprint for the founding of Daoism(Taoism).

It is true that Buddhism had served as a model for the establishment of Daoism (Taoism). Of even greater importance is that Buddhism was alien to Chinese culture, and its propagation in China was greeted with protests by the bearers of Huaxia's cultural tradition. This defensive attitude acted as a stimulus spurring the Chinese to strive even harder towards establishing an indigenous religion. When an ethnic culture encountered an alien culture it often gave rise to mutual absorption or rejection. This situation was particularly marked in the case of the Chinese response to Indian Buddhism. We can provide evidence to show how it was actually reflected in the earliest Daoist scripture, *Taiping Jing.* In this scripture, we see how some Buddhist ideas, like *benqi* (the primal beginning) and *sanjie* (the three worlds), had their origins in the Buddhist canon. On the other hand, there were criticisms about Buddhism, for example, the talks that "the conduct of the four destructions collectively denigrates the spiritual way of Heaven" (*Sihui zhi xing, gong wuru huangtian zhi shendao*). Moreover, upon the establishment of Daoism(Taoism), its adherents circulated the story about Laozi (Lao Tzu)'s role in bringing about a renaissance among the northern Chinese (Laozi [Lao Tzu] huahu). This was designed not only as a blow to Buddhism but also as an attempt to boost the image of Daoism (Taoism). All this suggests a kind of antagonistic reaction against the entry of the alien culture.

Therefore, it is not at all surprising that the end of the Eastern Han period saw the need for the development of an indigenous religion. The founding of this religion could be traced to the existing tradition of the saints. The fact that it adopted Confucian and Daoist ideas as a basis for the development of Daoism (Taoism) is even less surprising. Once it emerged, it immediately became charged with an intense ethnic fervor and came into direct conflict with the alien Buddhist religion. The outcome is, precisely, a manifestation of an indigenously endowed Chinese culture.

II. The Development of Daoism

The Process through which Daoism (Taoism) developed into an organized religion also a clear manifestation of how a religious community came into being.

What is the nature of religion? It can be defined in a great number of ways. Even in Marxists' writings, religion is conceived differently under different circumstances. Marx said, "religion is the opiate of the people," which is interpreted in terms of the use of religion as a way of hypnotising the masses. This statement came not from Marx but from Feuerbach. It means that the purveyors of religion who claimed that it could bring comfort to humankind were not being honest. Lenin conceived of "religion as the workers' groaning sound," which is interpreted as relating to the agony of the proletariat. Plekhanov said, "Religion has a countless number of definitions. . . . It may be interpreted as a form of relationship that helps to realize the existence of the mystical superhuman power, for humans believe that they can depend on this power." Plekhanov's definition seems to be more relevant and practical, but is there such a mystical power? How do we adjust to the existence of such a power? Why do people find it necessary to believe in such a power? Is belief in a mystical superhuman power superstitious? This raises some philosophical problems, viz., the problems of religion vis-à-vis superstition and belief.

Is religion a superstition? This question can be debated for a long time and no one knows when it will end, but devout believers most certainly will reject the pronouncement that "religion is superstition." Why? It is because believers frequently rely upon certain ideal principles to interpret what often is called the "mystical superhuman power" in the form of ultimate "truth,

goodness, and beauty" (*zhen, shan, mei*), or else they often look upon the ideals of "truth, goodness, and beauty" as a form of "mystical superhuman power." They sincerely believe it to be true and try very hard to apply these ideals in their social life. Probably the belief in, and dependence upon, this ultimate "truth, goodness and beauty" in the guise of a "mystical superhuman power" is a matter of the human psyche's response to specific social conditions. But believers of the "mystical superhuman power" assume superstition and religion to be two different things. To them, "superstition" can only be a trick played upon those who lack scientific knowledge, i.e. a manifestation of spiritual poverty due to a lack of ideals. Devotees who believe that the "mystical superhuman power" is a manifestation of "truth, goodness, and beauty" may perhaps accept the idea that "religion is synonymous with belief" but certainly will not accept that "religion is superstition." According to them, people should have faith: even the agnostics believe in agnosticism.

Religion and belief are undoubtedly related. Religion is based on belief, but whether belief is based on religion, in the classical sense, is a different matter. As a matter of illustration we can say that "we believe in the scientific explanation of atheism" or even accept that "we believe in Confucian philosophy." Nonetheless, there is no doubt that atheism is not a religion, but a scientific doctrine. Even Confucianism may be said to have embodied certain religious elements, although it is not a religion. Therefore, we should distinguish not only between "religion" and "belief," but also between "religion" and "religious thought." Otherwise, almost any kind of philosophical discourse could be regarded as a religion, and if that be the case, it would be as good as abnegating the existence of religion.

Based on our understanding of the human psyche, we may postulate that human beings really need a certain kind of belief. The question is whether there is the need for a religious belief. If we could divide belief into two categories—one a scientific belief and another a non-scientific belief—religion may be said, generally, to belong to the latter category. What follows immediately will be questions like whether human spiritual life requires a certain kind of self-satisfaction obtained from a non-scientific discipline, or whether social life looks upon religious belief itself as a psychological need. This is too gigantic a problem to be discussed here. We can only postulate that for a non-scientific belief to become an organized religion, it must offer some kind of theoretical bases or support. Also, these arguments must be able

to reflect the spirit of the time. If there were no religious teachings to be used as a theoretical system, non-scientific beliefs could not become an established religion. Besides, as an established religion, especially one that had colored the history of the social masses, there must be a perduring church organization, a religious canon, a community of devotees, and a history of religion.

In history, there were thousands of the so-called "religious sects," but not all of them could be regarded strictly as "religious organizations." In fact, a number of them could only be looked upon as "superstitious cults." If that be the case, what then may be thought to be an organized religion? We shall analyze the growth of Daoism (Taoism) first before illuminating the really meaningful form of religious organization.

An organized religion must have a canon with a philosophical base of its own. The religious teachings should not be nonsensical, but must contain a well-organized system of ideas for the advancement of humankind. The reason why Indian Buddhism has become an influential world religion is that it provides an impressive system of thought which is capable of enlightening the human mind. If Daoism (Taoism) merely confined itself to a haphazard way of thinking, as is represented in the *Taiping Jing*, it would have been difficult to become an established religion in China. Thus, from the end of the Han Dynasty, through the Three Kingdoms, till after the Western and Eastern Jin, there emerged Daoists like Ge Hong, Lu Xiujing, Kou Qianzhi, Tao Hongjing and others who, in an attempt to fulfill the requirement of the time, not only integrated some of the Daoist and Confucian ideas but also absorbed some of the Buddhist elements to enrich Daoism (Taoism).

A really meaningful and influential religious community must have a formal or more serious form of church organization. Even though the ideas of "immortality" and "the sanctification of the bodies" were subsequently incorporated into the Daoist religion, the saints relied heavily on personal devotion without developing a distinctive church, and so they failed to develop a religion. It was not until the end of the Han Dynasty that Daoism (Taoism) became an established religion with a permanent membership of disciples, together with a body of clergy and church leaders. However, the regimes of the Three Kingdoms and the Western Jin banned this organization, subjecting it to dissolution until the Eastern Jin when Du Zigong and others revived it and once again set it on course.

An organized religion must also have a more permanent set of religious

teaching and canon. Although Daoism (Taoism) had its own precepts and canon when it was first instituted at the end of the Eastern Han, they were rather simple and impermanent in nature. From the Eastern Jin onward, Daoism (Taoism) gradually became more firmly established under the impact of Buddhism and with the tireless efforts of Lu Xiujing, Kou Qianzhi and others.

An organized religion must have its own canon and scriptures for the guidance of its believers. Although there were a number of Daoist books, like the *Laozi* (*Lao Tzu*) and the *Zhuangzi*, before the Wei and the Jin dynasties, these books came to be accepted as scriptures only after being popularized by the devotees. All these books were written by Daoist philosophers of the early Qin, and they had hardly any connection with Daoist religion. It was due to the believers' attempt to look for historical evidences that they decided to upgrade them as scriptures. *Taiping Jing*, for example, was written before the inception of the Daoist religion. Hence, it served only as a groundwork for the development of Daoism(Taoism). However, by the time of the Eastern Jin and the Northern and Southern dynasties, when Daoism (Taoism) was firmly rooted and a church was organized, a large quantity of scriptures expounding the Daoist canon began to appear (Ge Hong's *Pao Pozi*). This period saw the appearance of three distinctive categories of scriptures: *Sanhuang Jing* (*The Three Emperors Scripture*), *Shangqing Jing* (*The High Pure Scripture*), and *Lingbao Jing* (*The Spirit Protected Scripture*). All these scriptures subsequently combined to form the "three caves" (*sandong*) of the Daozang, namely: the cave of the real (*dongzhen*), the cave of the gods (*dongshen*), and the cave of the occult (*dongxuan*).

An established religion must have a spirit being, or *shenling*, as specific object of worship and a history of its own. When Daoism (Taoism) was first instituted it had inherited part of the saints' tradition. The Daoist disciples claimed that it was imparted to them by the immortals, mostly with Laozi (Lao Tzu)'s assistance. Until the Northern and the Southern dynasties, Daoist disciples created the "rank of the real being" based on the conception of the social hierarchy prevailing at the time. Tao Hongjing' *s Zhenling Yeweitu* (*Real Spirit's Occupational Status Chart*) divided the immortals into seven classes, the highest of which was occupied by the first three: the Primal Lord of Heaven (*Yuanshi Tianzun*), the Daoist Lord on High (*Gaoshang Daojun*), and the First Divine Daoist Lord (*Yuanhuang Daojun*). From then on, these three deities became the most honored in the objects of worship in the Daoist

temples (*daoguan*). Since a religion always finds it necessary to undermine the existence of other competing religions, it has to create a history of its own in order to raise its own status. Thus, being an indigenous Chinese religion, Daoism (Taoism) had to tackle the entry of alien Buddhism. Besides emphasizing the differences between "Chinese" and "non-Chinese" (*huayi zhi bian*) to undermine Buddhism, Daoists also spread the story of "Laozi (Lao Tzu) huahu" and elevated Laozi (Lao Tzu)'s position to that of Buddha Shakyamuni's teacher. Consequently, both Buddhism and Daoism(Taoism) remained in conflict for a long time.

However, it was not until the Eastern Jin and the Northern and Southern dynasties that Daoism (Taoism) finally became an established religion. The various stages of its development may be summarized as follows: First, from the Eastern Jin onward, the Daoists began to revive their religion by reorganizing the Daoist community which had become scattered and unstable. At the same time, in order to overcome the inadequacy of Daoist teaching and theoretical formulations, Ge Hong and others had provided a body of Daoist canon and precepts. Thereafter, as an attempt to consolidate the founding of the Daoist church, a set of religious teaching was formulated; and in order to propagate Daoist teaching the required scriptures were made available. Lastly, so as to set the religion on a proper footing, a compendium of fairy tales and legendary stories was kept alive. The various phases involved in the development of Daoism (Taoism) may thus be said to be characteristic of the circumstances under which a religious body came into existence. One of our aims of studying the history of religion is to use it as a source for illuminating the various phases of its development so as to enable us to assess, more accurately, the role it played in society.

III. Characteristics of Daoism

As a form of religious philosophy Daoism (Taoism) has special characteristic, which can be illuminated only through comparison with other religions.

An established religion has characteristics which are distinctively different from those of other religions. Besides such external forms as church organization, religious doctrines and canon, as well as its conception of the sacred, its characteristics should be reflected in the theoretical system which

forms the core of the religion. This theoretical system usually contains a body of basic ideals and conceptual schema. For instance, the ultimate reality of the Buddhist belief, as embodied in the concepts of self-denial, transcendentalism and nirvana, is the insignia which distinguishes it from other religions. The three doctrines of the medieval Christianity—namely, "the existence of God," "the resurrection of the soul" and "free will"—form its religious philosophy and conceptual schema. If that be the case, does Daoist philosophy contain any doctrines and tenets which differ from those of other religions? I think it does, especially in the earlier form of Daoism (Taoism). Whilst almost all religions ask the question "what happens after the demise of a person?", Daoism (Taoism) wanted to know "why humans don't die?". This basic question serves as the key to the theoretical system of Daoism (Taoism). All this shows that it has characteristics different from those of other religions. The early form of Daoism (Taoism) held that its body of belief was made up of the tenet of "the ascent of the three in one," that is, "the unity of Heaven, earth, and man for the attainment of the Great Peace" (*tian-di-ren, sanzhe heyi yi zhi taiping*); "the blending of the essence, breath, and shen to become a saint" (*jing-qi-shen, sanzhe hunyi er cheng shenxian*). From this it evolves into "non-death and eternal life" (*changsheng busi*), "resurrection of the bodies" (*routi feisheng*), and "transformation of the breath into the three pure ones" (*qihua sanqing*), thus forming the basis of Daoism (*Taoism*).

To understand the tenets of the Buddhist philosophy, one must know the meaning of nirvana. Hence, a Russian Buddhist scholar wrote a book analyzing the meaning of nirvana. In Mou Zongsan's book, he analyzed the concept of nirvana from the Chinese Buddhist viewpoint. In studying Christianity, one should analyze the concept of "God." Thus, Aurelius Augustinus (354-430) in his *The City of God* formulated his thesis regarding the "godliness" of the "Almighty." In his *Shenxue Daquan*, Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) put forward five parameters to prove that "God exists." In Daoist philosophy, the basic concept is breath (*qi*), the existence of which may be proved by the following:

First, "the unity of the three in one" refers to the unity of Heaven, earth and man (*tian-di-ren*), and the reason why "Heaven, earth and man" can be unified is due to the fact that the breaths of them are the same. The essence, breath and god (*Jing-qi-shen*) blend to become one, and the reason why they can be fused in one is due to the fact that the breaths of them are the same.

Second, the so-called "one breath giving birth to the three pure ones" means the three most respected worthies of Daoism (Taoism) were the manifestations of the breath, or the three layers of the most sacred Heaven were manifested by breath, or *qi*. This also shows how the basic concept of Daoism (Taoism) came to be formed.

Third, although *dao* (the way) is the highest form of Daoist doctrine, its early period identified three circumstances under which the relationship between *dao* and *qi* was highlighted. The first circumstance was that *dao* is more basic than *qi*, but *dao* cannot be isolated from *qi*. Another circumstance showed that *qi* is more basic than *dao*, because Daoism (Taoism) used *qi* as its prime mover—for example, Liu Xie in his "*Miehuo Lun*" ("On the Extinction of Illusion"), while citing "Sanpo Lun" ("The Three Breakthroughs"), said " *qi* is the prime mover of *dao*." The third circumstance was the synthesis that *dao* is *qi*—for example, Tao Hongjing in his *Yangsheng Yanming Lu* cited *Fuqi Jing* (*Breathtaking Scripture*) that " *dao* is *qi*." In studying the philosophical basis of the Daoist canon, if one could analyze the meaning of *qi* and the conceptual base upon which it is built, one would be able to gain further insight into the various salient features of Daoism (Taoism).

Hegel in his *Lectures on the History of Philosophy* said, "the

difference in cultures is due to the difference in the systems of ideas, even more so is that in philosophy." If we compare Daoism (Taoism) with other religious systems, the doctrines formulated by Daoist ideas, and the school of thought which formed the basis of these doctrines, we would be able to understand more clearly the characteristics of Daoism (Taoism). Although Daoism (Taoism) is indigenous to the Chinese, it actually owes its development to the inspiration of Buddhism when the latter spread to China. Thus, we are able to identify the rival relationship between Buddhism and Daoism (Taoism) as one of its special characteristics.

The earliest Daoist scripture, *Taiping Jing*, on the one hand, shows that it was influenced by Buddhism. For example, it relates to the question of conformity, a concept which was already in use in traditional Chinese thought. But in *Taiping Jing* this was discussed in such a detailed and outstanding manner that it became obvious that it was influenced by the Hinayanist Zen Buddhist concept of "mind control" or "control of desire." On the other hand, the scripture also shows that it was antagonistic to Buddhism. For example, *Taiping Jing*'s satirical expression, "the way of the four

destructions" (*sihui zhi xing*), was clearly aimed at Buddhism. It also put forward the argument that "one's burden is one's responsibility" (*chengfu*) as a direct confrontation to the Buddhist concept of "reincarnation" (*laishi baoying*). After the Eastern Jin, Daoism (Taoism) gradually developed into a full-fledged religion. It had a theoretical system of its own, and consequently its differentiation from Buddhism became more and more pronounced. At that time, the differences between Buddhism and Daoism (Taoism) might be related to the following problems: (i) life and death and the form of god; (ii) the cause and effect of one's deeds and misdeeds (*yinguo baoying*); and (iii) this-worldly and other-worldly orientations. By analyzing of all these issues, we would be able to appreciate the special characteristics of Daoism (Taoism) as a religion.

In comparing Buddhism and Daoism (Taoism), we may encounter yet another question: why does not Daoism (Taoism) become a world religion as did Buddhism rather than remaining merely a Chinese religion? From the historical point of view, it is possible that Daoism(Taoism) could have spread to Korea at the end of the Northern and the Southern dynasties. *Sanguo Shiji* (*The History of the Three Kingdoms*) recorded how Daoism (Taoism) spread to Korea at the beginning of the Tang Dynasty but, shortly afterwards, Buddhism became popular in Korea and very soon it outran Daoism (Taoism), which thenceforward ceased to retain its foothold there. During the same period, Daoism(Taoism) passed through Korea to Japan, where it might have exercised some influence on Japan's Shinto, though this does not mean that the development of Shinto was due to the Daoist influence. Unlike Buddhism, however, Daoism (Taoism) also failed to spread its wing over Japan. In history Daoism (Taoism) had even less influence on other countries(notwithstanding its continuing impact on Chinese devotees who made their homes outside China).

In my opinion, the main reason why Daoism (Taoism) could not become a world religion is that it not only contains defects in its system of beliefs and practices, but also carries a heavy load of sentiments which are peculiarly Chinese. The goal Daoism (Taoism) seeks to achieve is "non-death and eternal life" and "the sanctification of bodies." All this differs from the monotheistic doctrine that "the soul does not die." On the one hand, its theoretical arguments, such as "the sanctification of bodies" and "non-death and eternal life" are too crude and difficult to be absorbed. Consequently, Daoism (Taoism) had no alternative but to take in some Buddhist ideas, such

as "when the form ceases, its spirit remains" (*xingjin shen bu mie*) and "the three kalpas' wheel of karma" (*sanshi lunhui*). Thus, the spread of Daoism (Taoism) has been seriously restricted, whereas wherever it goes Buddhism has been able to take the place of Daoism (Taoism) wherever the latter goes. On the other hand, Daoism (Taoism) is too closely related to science. For the sake of preserving life, ensuring "non-death and eternal life" and sanctifying the dead it emphasizes a great deal of physical conditioning for lifting the breath (*qi*) of material reality to the highest level. Consequently, China's science and technology, especially medicine, came to be developed alongside Daoism (Taoism). Daoism (Taoism)'s use of science was bound to curtail its dynamism as a religion. Thus, the "non-science" and "anti-science" components, in conjunction with the basic qualities of science, began to contradict each other. Religion usually emphasizes "otherworldly orientations," but Daoism (Taoism) seems to insist on "this-worldly orientations" instead. Its adherents believe that they could blend "the three (*jing*, *qi*, *shen*) to become saints" (*sanzhe hunyi er chengxian*). But as a religious system Daoism (Taoism) also advocates the unity of the three (*tian*, *di*, *ren*) in one to ensure the Great Peace (*sanzhe heyi er zhi taiping*) and for this reason can be a potent disruptive force in the political process. In thus fabricating the supernatural world of the saints, Daoism (Taoism) hopes to translate the real world into an ideal one—this undeniably is a conflict of ideas.

The study of the characteristics of Daoism (Taoism) is of great importance for it enables us to understand the difference between Daoism (Taoism) and other religions. By analyzing its characteristics we are able to illuminate the salient features of Chinese culture, psychology and philosophy, as well as the direction of developments in science and technology, medicine and hygiene, and the ensuing shortcomings hidden therein. For a people to succeed in development, they must know not only the present and the future, but also the past. They must come to grips not only with the reality of political life and economic exigencies, but also with their traditional culture, religious belief and pattern of thought. Herein lies the reason why serious research must be conducted on Daoism (Taoism) so as to enable us to understand its role as a Chinese religion.

伍　论道教的产生和它的特点*

宗教是一种社会意识形态。把宗教作为意识形态来研究它的发展历史，在今天不仅有其一般性的意义，而且有着某种特殊的意义。我们可以从国外大量的事实看到，科学技术在飞速发展，并没有使宗教意识衰退，反而加强了人们对宗教的追求；就国内情况看，也因种种原因信仰宗教的人有着一种发展的趋势。这样一种现象就向我们提出若干应该认真研究的有关宗教的理论问题，如“宗教的本质是什么”“人类的心理特性是否需要有一种宗教性的信仰”“宗教和宗教性的信仰是否是一回事”“宗教信仰是否有益于社会生活”“宗教与科学是矛盾的还是互补的”“宗教能否现代化”等等。上述这些问题当然不是本文应该研究的范围，本文不可能也不应该直接讨论这些问题。但是，为什么要研究宗教史，一部好的宗教史是不是应有强烈的时代感，它能不能使人们在读了之后而认真考虑当今世界存在的宗教问题，我想写宗教史的人是应该想到这些问题。

在我国历史上曾经流行过的有佛教、道教、回教、天主教、基督教以及祆教等等，但其中只有道教是中国本民族的宗教。说得确切些，道教是中国本民族宗教的一种，因此它具有中国本民族的特色，它对中国的民族文化、民族心理、风俗习惯、科学技术、哲学思想、医药卫生甚至政治经济生活都有相当大的影响。我们研究作为中华民族本民族的一种有较大影响的宗教——道教——的产生和发展的历史以及它的特点，能否加深我们对自己民族文化、民族心理以及思维方式的特征的了解？能否从一个侧面使我们更加认真地考虑当今世界的宗教理论和实际问题呢？我认为应是可能的。为此，本文将对下述三个问题作一些分析和探讨。

一、道教的产生是适应了东汉末期中国本民族（主要是汉族）的社会、政治、经济、道德以及人们的心理的需要。

道教为什么到东汉末年才产生，而道教所崇信的某些思想如“长生不死”“肉体成仙”等等在战国时期已经有了，到秦汉后更为流行，这是

为什么呢？我们知道，并非任何迷信思想都可以称为宗教，当然宗教中总是包含着大量的迷信成分；也并不能说任何“有神论”都能成为宗教，虽然一般地说宗教也是“有神论”。宗教，特别是一种有影响的宗教，它的产生和发展必定有其社会生活、历史条件的原因，它的发展总也有着某种客观规律。道教在东汉末年产生是由以下几个条件促成的：

第一，东汉末年的现实社会生活为道教提供了有利于产生的土壤。

东汉自顺帝以后，社会政治日益腐败，外戚专政，宦官当权，“凡贪淫放纵，僭凌横恣，挠乱内外，螫噬民化”，无恶不作，致使“农桑失所，兆民呼嗟于昊天，贫穷转死于沟壑”（仲长统《昌言》）。由于当时政治统治者的残酷经济剥削和政治压迫，使广大人民群众无法生存，破产、逃亡已成为当时普遍现象，所以当时广大人民群众与统治者的矛盾是十分尖锐的。据史书记载，自顺帝以后农民起义此起彼伏，一直不断。当时的起义农民除了阶级利益一致而使他们自发地联合在一起之外，已见农民起义的领导者们利用方术、迷信思想作为组织群众的纽带，故在史书中多称顺帝以后的起义农民为“妖贼”。

从这里我们也许可以得出两点结论：一是在汉末这个经济、政治、精神和道德普遍瓦解的时代里，它为一种宗教的产生提供了客观条件；二是起义农民普遍利用某些方术迷信，这就说明他们已经意识到方术迷信思想可以作为他们组织群众的思想武器，因而为一种宗教的产生创造了广大的群众基础。

社会的危机给下层人民带来的苦难最为深重，在对现实的绝望中走向乞求超现实的神灵，自是古代人民最现实的可能。道教徒最初也是来源于广大下层人民。

第二，东汉末年为道教的产生准备了可以利用的思想材料。自汉武帝以后，董仲舒提出“罢黜百家，独尊儒术”之后，儒家思想适应着封建大一统的需要而成为我国封建社会的统治思想，此后儒家思想的发展沿着天人感应目的论而有神学意味越来越浓厚的谶纬迷信之类。宗教一般说总是有神论，但是是否任何有神论都能成为一种完备意义的宗教呢？那却不一定。因为一种完备意义上的宗教（这里指的是阶级社会里的宗教），它不仅有对神灵的崇拜，而且应有一套教义的理论体系和较为固定的教会组织、教规教仪以及传授历史等等。一般地说，宗教总是要把世界二重化为现实世界和超现实世界，在其教义中认为人们只有在超现实世界里才能永远摆脱现实社会生活中存在的种种苦难，人们的美好的、幸福的生活最后只能在那超现实的彼岸世界中实现。

我国的儒家思想特别是两汉的儒家思想尽管也承认“有神”，但它并不认为必须在现实世界之外实现其理想，而是要求在现实世界之中实现其“治国平天下”的理想，虽然这只能是幻想。在我国长期的封建社会

中，宗教虽然有过很大影响，但始终没有能成为独占的统治思想，并且常常居于次要地位，这一情况不能不说和作为正统思想的儒家思想的这一特点有关。

儒家思想到东汉以后从发展上看也很可能成为一种宗教，因为从有神论、谶纬迷信发展成为一种宗教并不是很困难的。但儒家在汉朝始终也没有成为宗教，这和它要求在现实社会中实现其“治国平天下”的理想有着直接联系。因此，随着汉王朝的衰落，儒家思想本身既然不能成为一种宗教，而其统治地位又走了下坡路，由于儒家统治地位的削弱从而为一种宗教的产生提供了条件。历史的进程向我们表明，每当对统治阶级的统治思想发生信仰危机的时候，也往往是宗教意识易于滋生和广泛发生影响的时候。

儒家思想到东汉末虽然衰落了，但它的思想中的某些部分却可以为宗教吸收和利用。这点我们可以从道教思想中找到它吸收某些儒家思想的事实得到证实。例如关于“天地人三合一致太平”的思想，它表现了儒家强烈的关心现实政治的倾向和《易传》中关于“三才”的思想，可以说直接来源于纬书的关于世界创化的模式以及阴阳五行思想等等，这些都和两汉流行的儒家思想有密切关系。我们应该看到，一般研究道教史的学者往往只注意它和道家的渊源关系，而忽视了道教和儒家在思想上的联系，这是一种偏见。

道教的另一思想来源可以说是逐渐与神仙家思想相结合的道家思想。先秦道家与神仙家虽然有着某种联系，但它们毕竟是两种不同的思想体系。到西汉初年，当时流行的黄老之学仍属道家，它所注重的往往是君人南面之术，成为一种治国经世的工具，所以司马迁在他的《自序》中谓，汉初黄老之学的要点在于“无为自化，清净自正”。

降至东汉，黄老道家之学为之一变，其一支走向祠祀求神而与神仙家结合。桓帝祠祀老子，欲“存神养性，意在凌云”，故已见黄老道家之变化。而早在西汉末已有所谓“黄老道”，后又有“方仙道”等，实已是神仙家的流派，而神仙家的思想在于追求“长生不死”“肉体成仙”，它一经与道家思想“清净无为，恬淡寡欲”的思想结合，更加为世人所重视，而在社会上发生影响。后来道教的基本信条“长生不死”“肉体成仙”虽来自神仙家，却和道家某些思想结成不解之缘了，所以道家思想的蜕变也是道教产生的一个重要原因。

从以上两方面看，道教作为一种宗教不同于作为一种学术流派的儒家和道家，但就其思想渊源说它却离不开儒道两家，因此它一开始就是以儒道互补为特征的宗教派别。这一以儒道互补为特征的宗教派别不能不在极大程度上表现着我们这个民族文化、心理和思维方式上的某些特色。

第三，佛教的传入大大地刺激了我国本民族宗教的建立。佛教自西汉末传入中国，到东汉中叶以后它有了一定程度的流传。佛教如同催化剂，加快了道教建立的过程。本来，神仙家在西汉就很流行，而神仙家又往往托言黄老，例如原来就有所谓“黄老道”和“方仙道”等。前者把黄帝老子神化而礼拜祠祀；后者则言“长生不死”。《史记》载，河上丈人的老师乐巨公学黄帝老子，甚至在《封禅书》中记载着有所谓黄帝因封禅而长生不死。道教经典《太平经》的编纂者于吉（或说应作“干吉”）托言此书得之于老君。汉明帝时，楚王英已对黄老和浮屠同样礼拜，“楚王英诵黄老之微言，尚浮屠之仁祠”，桓帝于宫中“立黄老浮屠之祠”。这种把黄老和浮屠同样礼拜，就说明当时把黄帝老子看成和佛一样的“神”。神仙家本来是一种方术，养生求成仙也只是个人修炼的事，并没有什么组织，特别是没有什么固定的组织形式，成为一种宗教团体。但佛教传入以后，佛教作为一种完整形态的宗教，它不仅有一套不同于中国传统思想的教义，而且是一个有教会组织的团体，还有一套教规教仪和礼拜祠祀的对象等等，这就给道教的创立提供了一个可以参考的样板。

佛教的传入对于道教的建立固然有着样板的作用，但更为重要的是，佛教作为一种外来文化进入中国传播和发生影响，必然引起华夏文化系统的反抗，这更是当时要求建立一种民族宗教的动力。一种民族文化在和传入外来文化相遇时，往往同时产生吸收和排斥两种势力，这样一种情况对中华民族来说尤为明显。关于这点，我们可以从最早的道教经典《太平经》的内容所反映的情形得到证实。在《太平经》中，我们可以发现它一方面吸收了某些佛教思想，如“本起”“三界”等即是采自佛教的名辞；另一方面又批评了佛教，有所谓“四毁之行，共污辱皇天之神道”的说法。特别是道教一建立就提出“老子化胡”的故事，用以打击佛教，抬高道教，而表现了一种抗拒外来文化的民族心理。

从以上三方面看，在东汉末年出现一种为中华民族本民族所需要的宗教绝非偶然。而且出现的这种宗教又是来源于中国固有的神仙家，并以儒道互补为其思想基础的道教则更非偶然了。这种宗教一经出现就表现了它的强烈的民族特色，而和外来的宗教——佛教——相抗衡，这也正是中华民族的民族文化特性的一种表现。

二、道教发展成一种完整意义的有重大影响的宗教的过程表明了一种完整意义上的宗教团体发展的一般规律。

宗教的本质是什么？大家都知道它有各种各样的定义，就是在马克思主义的经典著作中，在不同情况下对宗教也有不同的说法。马克思说："宗教是人民的鸦片"，这是就利用宗教对人民进行欺骗方面说的，而且这样的意思最早不是出自马克思，而是出自费尔巴哈，它的意思是说一些维护宗教的人说宗教可以安慰人是一种欺骗。列宁说："宗教是劳动者的呻吟"，则是就劳动者对自己命运的哀叹方面说的。普列汉诺夫说："什么是宗教？宗教有无数定义。……把宗教理解为用以实现其对超人的神秘力量——人认为自己依赖于这种力量——的关系的形式。"普列汉诺夫这个定义也许比较切合实际，但是我们的问题是，有没有一种超人的神秘力量以及对此超人的神秘力量应如何理解？人们为什么要相信一种超人的神秘力量？信仰一种超人的神秘力量是否即是迷信？在这里涉及一些有意义的哲学问题，即宗教与迷信同信仰的关系问题。

宗教是否就是迷信，这个问题可以长期争论下去，到什么时候可以说这个问题已经解决了，我想是不得而知的。但是我们可以相当肯定地说，虔诚的宗教徒都不可能接受"宗教即迷信"的论断。为什么呢？我想，某些虔诚的宗教徒往往是用一种理想主义的观点把所谓"超人的神秘力量"看成是超越性的"真、善、美"的化身，或者说他们往往把他们关于"真、善、美"的理想看成是一种"超人的神秘力量"。他们真诚地相信是如此，并努力致力于把他们这种关于"真、善、美"的理想实现于社会生活中。信仰和依赖这种体现超越性的"真、善、美"的"超人的神秘力量"，大概是人们在一定历史条件下的一种心理特性。然而信仰"超人的神秘力量"的虔诚的宗教徒认为，迷信和宗教不同，"迷信"只能是对缺乏科学知识者的愚弄，没有"理想"的人精神贫乏的表现，虔诚地相信"超人的神秘力量"是"真、善、美"的化身的宗教徒也许可以接受"宗教是一种真诚的信仰"这个观点，而决不愿意接受"宗教即迷信"的论断。照他们看，人们总应该有个信仰，即使是最彻底的怀疑主义者，他们也信仰自己的"怀疑"。

宗教和信仰当然可以说有着必然的联系。宗教总是一种信仰，但是否信仰都是宗教，特别是否是古典意义上的宗教？那却并非如此。例如，我们可以说："我们信仰科学的无神论"，或者说："我们信仰儒家哲学"，这大概都是可以的。当然科学的无神论不是宗教，而是一种科学；就是儒家学说也最多只能说是带有某种宗教性的哲学思想体系，但它本身并非宗教。因此，我们不仅应把"信仰"和"宗教"区别开来，而且必须把带有某种宗教性的"学说"和"宗教"区别开来，否则几乎任何哲学学说都可以被说成是宗教，这样也就等于取消了宗教。

我们是否能假设，就人类的心理特性看人们确实要求有某种信仰。

但问题在是否要求有一种宗教信仰。如果说可以把信仰分成两大类：一类是理性主义的信仰（或者说是理性的信仰）；一类是非理性主义的信仰（或者说是非理性的信仰）。宗教从总体上说则是属于后一类。紧接着就会有这样的问题：人类的精神生活到底也是否必须从“非理性主义”方面得到某种自我满足，或者说在社会生活中对宗教的信仰也是人们的某种心理需要。这当然是个大问题，在这里我们不可能去讨论它。我们只想说明，非理性主义的信仰要想成为一种完备意义上的宗教信仰，必须用某种理论体系为它作论证，而其理论体系又必须是能反映当时时代精神的。如果没有一套对其宗教教义作论证的理论体系，这种非理性的信仰就不可能是一种完整意义上的宗教。不仅如此，作为一种完整意义上的、特别是对人类社会历史有着长期影响的宗教还必须有固定的教会组织、教规教仪、礼拜的对象和传授的历史等等。

在历史上创立的所谓“宗教教派”何止千百万个，但并不是都可以称得上严格意义上的“宗教团体”，而许多这种组织只能称之为“迷信组织”。那么一种完整意义上的宗教团体应该是怎样的呢？我们这里将通过分析道教的发展来揭示一种完整意义上的宗教团体发展的一般规律。

完整意义的宗教必须有其宗教教义的理论体系，这个体系要有它的哲学基础，因而它的宗教教义的思想体系决不能是纯粹的胡说八道，而总是有某种对人生理解的深刻思想内容，有成系统的哲学理论。印度佛教之所以成为影响很大的世界性宗教，正因为它有一套相当深刻的对人生理解的理论体系。道教的教义如果只是停留在如《太平经》那样一些杂乱无章的内容上，就很难成为在中国较有影响的宗教团体。因此，从汉末经三国西晋到东晋以后，才有一些道教徒如葛洪、陆修静、寇谦之、陶弘景等根据时代的需要把道家老子的思想和儒家的某些学说又吸收了佛教的一些内容，结合在一起创造了道教的理论思想体系。

一种完整意义上的、有影响的宗教团体必然有其较为严密的教会组织。秦汉时的神仙家讲“长生不死”“肉体成仙”的思想尽管为后来的道教所继承，但是神仙家均以个人修炼为目的，而没有建立固定的教会组织，因此也没有成为一种宗教。东汉末年，道教已形成为有教会组织的宗教团体，它有了固定的教徒和神职人员以及教会的领袖，三国和西晋政权对道教采取了取缔的政策，致使道教组织瓦解，到东晋才为杜子恭等所逐渐恢复和发展起来。

一种完整意义的宗教还必须有一套较为固定的教规教仪。在东汉末年，道教初创时虽也有一些教规教仪，但不仅简单，而且也不固定。自东晋以后，在佛教的影响下，经过陆修静、寇谦之等人的炮制，使道教的教规教仪日趋完善。

一种完整意义的宗教必定有阐发其宗教教仪的经典，以便使信奉者

的信仰有所依托。在魏晋以前，虽然已经有若干道教经典，但严格地说这些书实是为以后的道教徒所推崇才成为道教的经典的，如《老子》《庄子》等，这些书本来是先秦道家的著作，与道教无关，而道教徒为了从历史上和理论上找他们的根据，而把这类书推尊为经典。又如《太平经》，它本成书于道教正式成立之前，因此也只能说它为道教的建立作了若干思想上的准备。但到东晋南北朝时，由于道教理论体系的建立（葛洪著《抱朴子》）和道教教会组织的发展而出现了大量阐发道教教义的经典。这个时期出现了道教三个系统的经典，即《三皇经》系、《上清经》系、《灵宝经》系。这三个系列的道教经典以后就组成了“道藏”的“洞真”“洞神”“洞玄”的所谓“三洞”三大部。

一种完整意义的宗教必定有其固定的崇奉的神灵和其教派的传授史。道教初创时已继承神仙家的故技，说自己是神仙所传授，且多托言老君。至南北朝时，道教徒更根据当时门阀等级观念而创造了“真灵之阶位”。有陶弘景著《真灵业位图》把“神仙”分为七级，最高一级的三位神仙是，居中的“元始天尊”，其左右为“高上道君”和“元皇道君”，自此以后在道观里大都以这三位尊神为最高崇拜对象。一种宗教必然要对其他宗教进行排斥，因而往往要创造自己的宗教历史，来抬高其地位。道教作为中华民族本民族创造的宗教，面对外来的佛教，除了利用“华夷之辨”等来打击佛教外，还提出了所谓“老子化胡”的故事，把自己的教主老子抬高为佛教教主释迦牟尼的老师的地位，从而引起了佛道二教长期的争论。

道教成为一完整意义上的宗教团体是在东晋南北朝时才最后完成的，它的发展完成过程大体如下：东晋以来，先是在其对已经涣散和不固定的道教组织进行重建和整顿，建立起了较为固定的教会组织；在此同时，为弥补其缺乏系统的宗教教义及其理论体系之不足，葛洪等创造了道教教义的理论体系；接着为巩固道教的教会组织而制定了一套教规教仪，为阐发其宗教教义而构造了相应的经典；最后为把道教建立成一完备的宗教团体而编造了固定的神仙谱系和虚构的传授历史。道教这样一个发展过程或者可以说是一种完备意义上的宗教团体发展的一般情形。我们研究宗教史的目的之一就是要把它作为一种社会意识形态来揭示其发生发展的规律，以便我们更深刻地认识它在社会生活中的作用。

三、道教哲学作为一种宗教哲学有着它明显的特点，其特点只能在和其他宗教对比中加以揭示。

一种完备意义的宗教必定有其不同于其他宗教的特点。它的特点除

了表现在某些外在的形式上，如教会的组织形式、教规教仪以及尊崇的神灵等等之外，更深刻地则应表现于其理论体系的层面，这是属于宗教内容的方面。而其理论体系往往是由若干基本命题和一系列的概念范畴所表现的。如佛教的理论体系最终要论证的是“诸法无我”“诸行无常”“涅槃寂静”等“三法印”，说这是佛教和其他教派的根本区别的标志。中世纪的基督教有所谓“上帝存在”“灵魂不死”和“意志自由”等三大命题，围绕着这三大命题而有宗教哲学和它的范畴体系。那么道教哲学有没有某些不同于其他宗教派别的基本命题以及构成其哲学体系的基本范畴呢？我们认为是有的，特别在早期道教中表现得更为明显。几乎所有宗教提出的都是“关于人死后如何”的问题，然而道教所要讨论的是“人如何不死”的问题。道教的理论体系就是围绕着这个问题，从两个方面表现了它与其他宗教派别不同的特点。早期道教说它自己的思想体系是以“三一为宗”，即“天、地、人三者合一以致太平”；“精、气、神三者混一而成神仙”，并从这里演变出“长生不死”“肉体飞升”“气化三清”等观念，而构成了道教的思想体系。

要了解佛教哲学的究极问题，从根本上说必须了解“涅槃”这个概念的涵义，所以俄国的佛教学专家彻尔巴斯基写了一本书专门分析“涅”这个概念的涵义；而牟宗三则写了《般若和涅槃》一书，结合中国佛教的特点解剖了“涅槃”这一概念。研究基督教一般说应从分析“上帝”这一概念着手，奥古斯丁（Aurelius Augustinus，354—430）作《上帝之城》论证所谓“上帝”的“神性”；经院哲学的代表托马斯·阿奎那（Thomas Aquinas，约1225—1274）著《神学大全》对“上帝存在”这个命题作了五大论证，也就是所谓本体论的论证。道教哲学的基本概念可以说是“气”，对此能从下列几个方面得到明证：

第一，所谓“三一为宗”，指的是天、地、人三者合一；而“天”“地”“人”之所以能“合一”，就在于它们同为不同性质的“气”；“精、气、神三者混一”，而“精”“气”“神”之所以能“混一”，也在于它们同为不同性质的“气”。

第二，所谓“一气化三清”，即认为道教的三位最高真神是由“气”变化而成，或者认为三重最高最神圣的“天”是由“气”变化而成，这也是以“气”作为道教的基本概念。

第三，在道教中虽也有以“道”为最高范畴，但在早期道教讲到“道”与“气”的关系大体有三种情况：一种情况是认为“道”比“气”更根本，但“道”不能离“气”；另一种情况是“气”比“道”更根本，因为道教以“气”作为宗主，如刘勰《灭惑论》引《三破论》谓：“道以气为宗”；第三种情况是认为“道”即是“气”，如陶弘景《养生延命录》引《服气经》说：“道者，气也。”研究道教教义的哲学基础，如果能把它关

于“气”的概念涵义以及由“气”这一概念演变出来的概念范畴体系作出认真的分析，将会对道教的特殊本质有深入的了解。

黑格尔在《哲学史演讲录》中说：“文化上的区别一般基于思想范畴的区别，哲学上的区别更是基于思想范畴的区别。”如果我们把道教和其他宗教相比较，从道教所使用的概念范畴方面、由概念范畴形成的命题方面以及由一系列命题形成的思想体系方面进行比较，我们就可以比较清楚地看到道教的特点。道教是中华民族本民族的宗教，但它的产生却受到佛教传入的刺激，因此我们可以通过对早期道教的历史发展中佛道之争来看道教作为一种宗教的特点何在。

道教最早的经典《太平经》一方面表现了它所受佛教某些方面的影响，如其中讲到“守一”的问题，“守一”一词虽在中国传统思想里已经有了，但在《太平经》中讲得那么多，那么突出，显然是受到汉时传入的小乘佛教禅法“安般守意”的影响。另一方面也表现了它对佛教的批判和排斥，例如《太平经》中所谓“四毁之行”，显然是针对佛教而发的；又提出“承负”的学说和佛教的“来世报应”相对立。到东晋以后，道教逐渐发展成为完全意义上的宗教，有了它的理论体系，因而和佛教的分歧就越来越明显了。那时佛教和道教的不同大体表现在三个问题上：即生死、神形问题；因果报应问题；出世、入世问题等。对这些问题加以分析，我们就可以认识到道教作为一种宗教的特点。

在我们把道教和佛教作比较中，还会遇到一个问题，即为什么道教没有像佛教那样成为世界性的宗教，而只是中华民族本民族的一种宗教呢？从道教的历史看，道教在南北朝末期或者已经传到朝鲜地区，在《三国史记》中已经记载有唐初道教传入朝鲜的情形。但不久之后，佛教在朝鲜更为流行，战胜了道教，从此道教在朝鲜几乎灭迹。这一时期，道教也经过朝鲜传入日本，它对日本原有的“神道”或者有些影响，但日本的“神道”绝不是因道教传入才有的。道教在日本也没有像象教那样流传开来。道教在历史上对其他国家就更没有什么影响了。

照我看，道教之所以没有能成为世界性的宗教，主要是由于它作为一种宗教其理论和实践都有很大缺陷，且带有过于强烈的民族性。道教作为一种宗教所追求的目标是“长生不死”和“肉体成仙”，这和其他宗教派别讲“灵魂不死”根本不同，而其宗教理论对“肉体成仙”“长生不死”的论证，一方面说太粗糙，很难令人相信，因此后来道教也不得不吸收佛教关于“形尽神不灭”和“三世轮回”等思想，这样道教的流传就大大受到限制，而佛教则可以在道教流传所到之处取而代之；另一方面，它又太接近科学，道教为了养生，要求“长生不死”“肉体成仙”，不得不注重身体的炼养，因而就把实质上是物质性的“气”抬到最高的地位，所以中国的科学技术，特别是医药学的发展和道教结上了不解之缘。道教利用科

学就必然限制它作为宗教可能发生的作用，因而在道教中的“非科学”“反科学”的成分和它中间的科学因素，就形成了一个极大的矛盾。宗教本应要求“出世”，而道教作为中华民族的一种民族的宗教却深深打上了“入世”的烙印，从每个道教徒个人说，他们要求“精、气、神”三者混一而成仙；但道教作为一宗教团体学说又提倡“天、地、人”三者合一而“致太平”，所以它有着强烈地干预政治的愿望。道教在虚构了超现实的神仙世界的同时，又希望把现实世界变成为理想世界，这也不能不是一极大的矛盾。

研究道教的特点十分重要，它不仅可以使我们了解它和其他宗教派别的不同所在，而且可以通过对其特点的分析，来了解中华民族的民族文化、民族心理和思维方式的特色，了解我们这个民族科学技术、医药卫生发展的道路及其缺陷所在。一个民族要得到发展，不仅要了解它的今天和明天，而且要了解它的昨天；不仅要了解它现实的政治、经济等方面的状况，还应了解这个民族的传统文化、传统的宗教信仰和思维方式，对中国本民族的宗教道教应该进行认真的研究，其原因也就在于此了。

VI. THE ATTEMPT OF MATTEO RICCI TO LINK CHINESE AND WESTERN CULTURES

When introduced into another country or nation a foreign culture is confronted by the problem of how to treat that cultural tradition. If it wishes to spread easily and exert influence in the country in which it is introduced it must identify with that country's native culture. Hence, as the attitude of Matteo Ricci towards traditional Chinese culture is related to his missionary goals in contacting Chinese and especially Confucianist culture, he developed an intensive knowledge of that culture and recognized its very positive value. Therefore, his missionary work is related to an important issue in the history of culture: how effectively to blend not only into one but to communicate between two cultural traditions with different backgrounds. This is the heart of the problem of cultural transplantation. Most probably, he appreciated well the significance of solving the problem and on the whole took a positive attitude towards Confucianist culture. We may observe this problem in two aspects: one is his own description of the problem; the other is how the literati of the period or a little later looked upon Matteo Ricci.

Matteo Ricci not only had a good command of Chinese, but also knew a great deal about Chinese customs and etiquette. He not only dressed in Confucianist style and called himself a "Western Confucianist" (*xiru*) with a square piece of cloth on his head, but also followed the etiquette of a Chinese scholar when meeting visitors. He made a careful study of ancient Chinese classics and records and regarded Confucius as a great man of wide knowledge. Of The Four Books (*sishu*) which he translated he wrote that it "was written by the four great philosophers and is full of reasonable ethical thought."[1] To his mind, "it is no use at all just to know our learning without the knowledge of theirs."[2]

But how did he treat Chinese culture? In a letter of February 15, 1609, to another missionary he wrote:

> As I have gradually illustrated, they (the Chinese) also appreciate very much the principle of filial piety, although one might hold different views. To date from its very beginning, they faithfully followed natural law in ancient times, just like the case in our country. In 1500 years, this nation did not simply worship any idols. Even though they did worship some, these idols were not so detestable as those worshipped by our Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. Some of the gods were even very moral and well-known for their good conduct. As a matter of fact, in the most ancient and authoritative works of the literati, they only worshipped Heaven and Nature and their common master. When making a careful study of all these works, we may find few things contrary to reason, but instead, most of them are corresponding to reason. And their natural philosophers are no worse than anyone else.[3]

The above quotations make clear the following: (1) Ricci knew very well traditional—especially Confucian—Chinese culture. As in ancient society, China was dominated by the patriarchal clan system and moral importance was attached to filial piety based on the principle of blood relation and "natural law." In China worship of Heaven and Nature is also moral and hence naturally "reasonable." Being quite knowledgeable regarding Chinese culture, Ricci regarded Confucianism not as a kind of religion, but rather as based on "natural law." (2) Ricci highly appreciated China's Confucianist culture. He saw that the idolatry in ancient Chinese culture was not like that of the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans and hence that ancient Chinese philosophy, in speaking of human nature and heavenly principles, transcended Western philosophy. This appears in his answer to Xu Guangqi's question, "China now, when virtue and rite and cultural relics are all prevailing, really flourishes culturally as though it has dispelled clouds and seen the sun again."[4] This may be due to the fact that as a Catholic he attached great importance to opposing idolatry and advocating morality. Matteo Ricci was strongly against the idolatry of Buddhism and Daoism (Taoism), but he did not regard Confucian worship as a kind of idolatry. Thus we can say, that, on the whole, Matteo Ricci agreed with and appreciated the orthodox Confucianist thought of Chinese culture.

As Xu Guangqi believed in Catholicism through his contact with Ricci, he respected Ricci both for his learning and for his morality. He noted that in Ricci's speech, "you cannot find even a single word which runs counter to the principle of loyalty and piety, nor can you find one harmful to the will of the people and the world."[5] That Xu Guangqi should attach special importance to "loyalty and piety" was influenced strongly by traditional Chinese ideas and it is on this basis that Matteo Ricci preached the Catholic doctrines and received Chinese culture. One passage in *Ten Discourses by a Paradoxical Man* describes the statement of Gong Dacan made on Matteo Ricci:

> On hearing his wise talk, I feel that the Confucian classics of China and those of his country corroborate each other. Thus those who believe in the real sages, either from the East or from the West, from the North or from the South, are actually all the same.[6]

All the Chinese scholars mentioned above think that what Ricci preached corresponded to traditional Chinese thought, especially to that of Confucianism, the most fundamental linking point of which lies in "the principle of loyalty and piety." As far as we know, although the Chinese intellectuals at the time set store in Ricci's knowledge of astronomy, almanac, science and technology, they valued even more highly his attempt to combine Western with Chinese culture. This probably is one of the earliest manifestations of "regarding Chinese learning as the body and Western learning for use." I shall discuss this problem later on.

I. Modes of Relating Oriental and Occidental Cultures

Judging from the above two aspects we see that, while doing missionary work in China, Matteo Ricci actually was trying to link Oriental and Occidental cultures. On this premise, we would conclude that his attempt adopted the methods of "linking Catholicism with Confucianism" (*heru*), "using the Catholic doctrines as a complement to Confucianism" (*buru*), "making in some respects the Catholic doctrines transcend the Confucian ones" (*chaoru*) "and making some revisions of the Catholic doctrines so that they would concord with the Confucianist ones" (*furu*). In short, on the above bases Ricci attempted to discover the point at which Oriental and Occidental cultures could be linked.

i. Linking Catholicism with Confucianism (heru)

Matteo Ricci wrote three important books on Catholic doctrines: *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, *Ten Discoursed by a Paradoxical Man and Twenty-five Sayings from Epictetus*. The original title of the first one is "The True Meaning of the Learning of Heaven." Obviously, he first thought of avoiding the name "the Lord of Heaven" because there is no such thing in China, to facilitate its reception by the Chinese. Feng Yingjing explains in the Preface as follows:

> This book is about the questions and answers between Matteo Ricci and his fellow friends and us Chinese. What is the Lord of Heaven? It is God. It does exist.

The edition of *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* in the Ming Dynasty often used the titles "God" and "Heaven" for "the Lord of Heaven" or "the Lord of Supremacy," while the present edition often uses instead "the Lord of Heaven" and "the Lord of Supremacy" simply because Ricci used those titles in order to be easily received by the Chinese. Thus in ancient times the Chinese people worshipped Heaven, their state and their forefathers, but not "the Lord of Heaven." He tries to conform to this by quoting the classics to show that in ancient China "the Lord of Heaven" is God himself. The Chinese classics which he quotes include *The Book of Songs* (*Shi*), *The Book of History* (*Shu*), *The Book of Rites* (*Li*), *The Book of Changes* (*Yi*) and *The Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong*). These quotes appear more frequently in *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*. For instance, in Discourse VI of Vol. II, where he answers the question about "rewarding the good and punishing the evil," he more than once quotes Chinese classics to confirm that the doctrines of Catholicism should be combined with those of Confucianism.(1) Matteo Ricci is quite aware of the existence of a supreme personal "God" in ancient China, regarding which he argues that the "Lord of Heaven" in Western Catholicism and "God" in China are one thing with different names. (2) Criticizing Zhu Xi's explanation, he argues that there is only one "supreme lord," not two (Heaven and earth). In his Introduction to *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* he notes that the ancient sage advised that the subject should be faithful, but that they cannot be faithful to two lords. Of the three Cardinal Guides, ruler guiding subject stands first for since a state has its head, how can Heaven and earth not have their lord? As a state should be unified, how can Heaven and earth have two lords? All these ideas obviously show his interpretations of the Catholic doctrines in relation to Confucianism.(3) Quoting the ancient classics he also states that God wills to impose fortune and misfortune on humanity. (4) So God has his own "sphere" (*ting*) which is different from the "Heaven" (*tian*) in nature. From all these we can see that what Matteo Ricci attempts to prove is that Catholicism coincides with Confucianism and the ancient Chinese classics.

ii. Complementing Confucianism (buru)

Lettere dalla China is a note written by Matteo Ricci in Italian in China. Later a British missionary translated it from Italian into Latin and added something concerning the history of missionary work as well as of Matteo

Ricci, the missionary. It also has an appendix relating the missionary's posthumous glory and pathos. One passage in the book reads as follows:

> In answering what the main content of Christianity is, Dr. Xu Guangqi sums it up very exactly in four Chinese characters: "expelling Buddhism and complementing Confucianism" (*qufo buru*). That is to say, it wants to expel the idol of Buddhism and add something to the doctrines of Confucianism.[7]

As generally any religion is characterized by excluding others, Ricci criticized Buddhism and Daoism (Taoism), especially the former, since he wanted to bring Catholicism to China; this shows signs in nearly all his works. St. Augustine once pointed out that the main content of a heathen religion should resolutely be given up, but that the ideas put forward by some heathen philosophers should be taken into account, accepted or approved if they were really reasonable. Matteo Ricci took this approach to the doctrines of Confucianism. He declared that Confucianism had nothing to do with religion, but was rather a kind of philosophy. He particularly esteemed Confucius, noting that as Confucius lived five centuries before the birth of Jesus Christ he could not know what was to happen 500 years later. "Ricci just quotes the classics of Confucianism in their own terms, saying nothing of how they should be evaluated after the death of Confucius."[8] In *Ten Discourses by a Paradoxical Man* there is a passage about Gong Dacan's discussion with Ricci on the issue "whether good or evil will be rewarded posthumously." Gong first notes that the Chinese classics, because Emperor Qin Shihuang burned books and persecuted scholars after the death of Confucius, lost the records of the paradise, hell and retribution, which are still in a good state of preservation in the West: "Thus the stories about the paradise and hell are well preserved." In China, the story of retribution in later ages "is both vague and strange to scholars, who half believe and half doubt its existence." Gong also tries to prove the probable existence of the paradise by quoting ancient classics, but he still doubts the idea that "bestowing charity is bound to be rewarded a place and stand long." Ricci explains this according to the doctrines of Catholicism in which retribution to those who bestow favor does not consist in "place" or "life span." A man living in the world should work hard for the Lord of Heaven instead of intending to be rewarded in his lifetime; he should be confident that he will finally go to the paradise. Therefore, answering Xu Guangqi he says: "Those who suffer simply for benefit and emolument or fame and official rank or

lasciviousness rather than the sacred cause are actually tragic. But those who suffer for the Lord of Heaven are obviously happy and seem to live in the paradise."[9] It is apparent that he wants to complement the thought of Confucianism with Catholic doctrines, but the approach he adopts is not to negate the Confucian classics but to extend and develop them so as to show that the Confucian ideas do not run counter to those of Western religions but may be complemented by them.

In *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* many passages deal with the "retribution of good and evil." In Discourse VI "On Man's Being Rewarded with Heaven or Punished with Hell after Death," he more or less complements and revises the Confucianist concept that "the family always doing good is bound to be fortunate, whereas the family always doing evil is doomed to misfortune." To him, there is not only retribution in one's lifetime or to one's descendants (he seems not to be in favor of that to one's descendants). What is more important is posthumous retribution: those who do good will go to Heaven instead of going to Hell after death. But as their purpose is not just this, Ricci adds:

> All those who do good usually have three intentions: (1) to go to Heaven instead of going to Hell; (2) to reward the kindness bestowed by the Lord of Heaven; and (3) just to follow the imperial edict given by the Lord of Heaven.[10]

The first intention serves as a bridge in order for one to reach the third; that is, doing good is after all following the imperial edict. However, the Confucianists did not know this, and even criticized the concepts of Heaven and Hell simply because they could not understand their deep significance: "The Confucianists criticize the concepts of the Heaven and Hell because they do not know truth."[11] We can see roughly the difference between Catholicism and China's Confucianist tradition. Since the Confucianists talk about "the retribution of good or evil" just from personal moral cultivation, so everyone should "have self-cultivation" or "stick to morality" only for the purpose of reaching one's inner moral accomplishment. In this sense, it is pursuing a kind of "inner transcendence." But the Catholic doing good is after all for "the Lord of Heaven," which is a kind of power of "outer transcendence." So it pursues or follows a kind of "outer transcendence." I shall discuss this problem later on.

iii. Transcending Confucianism (*chaoru*)

The aim of China's Confucianist theory is to pursue "inner

transcendence," whereas that of Catholicism is to pursue "outer transcendence." In *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* Matteo Ricci points out this shortcoming of Confucianism and criticizes it.[12]

As far as we know, traditional Chinese philosophy, Confucianist philosophy in particular, is strikingly different from Western philosophy and religion. The Greek philosophy of Plato and Aristotle had already divided the world into two parts: a transcendental noumenon and a real world. Thereafter Christianity was concerned especially with an outer transcendent God, whereas traditional Chinese philosophy was characterized by "inner transcendence." What Confucius means by "nature and the doctrine of Heaven" is a matter of inner transcendence, and what Mencius meant by "thinking hard, knowing nature and Heaven" is also a matter of "inner transcendence." There is a sentence in *Xici* saying: "A feminine (*yin*) and a masculine (*yang*) equal a world, and it is followed by virtue (*shan*) and will have a nature," which is a matter of "inner transcendence." According to this, one may reach a realm leading to a transcendental "way of Heaven" through one's own inner moral cultivation, without the help of an outer transcendent power. But for Ricci, one can hardly reach the culminating realm just through one's inner moral cultivation; one must be pushed by an outer transcendent power or God; thus it is necessary to believe in God. That is to say, Ricci considers the doctrines of Catholicism to be more perfect than those of Confucianism.

iv. Concordance with Confucianism (furu)

This concept means that it is necessary to make some revisions of the Catholic doctrines or to yield to some of the Confucianist ideas in order to concord or chime in with China's traditional Confucianist thought. The editor's Preface to the French 1978 edition of *Lettere dalla China* says:

> Immediately before Ricci's death, the methods adopted by the Chinese missionary group led by him had already become an issue argued both at home and abroad. It was disputed with two objections. In practice, he was accused of paying too much attention to developing his relation to the Confucianist elite instead of pushing forward the missionary cause. In theory, he was also opposed for his positive evaluation of Confucianism. Some people even pointed out that, if so, it would run a risk of sullying the purity of Christianity. Only by means of a heightened religious emphasis can the missionary preach the Gospel to the broad masses of people and make evident the characteristics of Christianity.[13]

I have already pointed out that Matteo Ricci had some opinions of China's Confucianist tradition and attempted to link Western and Eastern

cultures. Naturally, he knew clearly that there were many differences and conflicts between Confucianism and Catholicism and probably would have dealt with these by the methods of "complementing Confucianism" and "transcending Confucianism." If his missionary work were completely according to Catholic doctrines, however, he would have been confronted with more difficulties. Therefore, he had to make some revisions of the Catholic doctrines so as to cater to the Chinese tradition and it is not strange that he was criticized. As to how he adapted Catholicism to Confucianism, the following should be noted.

(1) In order to fit Catholicism to Chinese society, he explained its differences from Chinese society. In the Italian edition of his *Lettere dalla China*, there is a passage describing how the Confucianist offers sacrifices to gods.

> However, according to an old law, there is a grand Confucian temple in every big city where the literati gather, with a figure of Confucius enshrined and his name; every year, the literati offer sacrifices to him four times, with a candle burning and a beast is killed. However, as they do not think of him as godly or want anything of him, such a rite cannot be called a real offering.[14]

In Matteo Ricci's books, there are many signs of the Catholic stance against idolatry; the criticism of Buddhist idolatry is particularly strong. However, he never criticizes Confucian offerings to the Sage, nor does he criticize the Chinese offerings to their ancestors. The issue concerning offerings is an important reason why China later forbad the preaching of Catholicism. In 1704, the Vatican gave orders that Chinese Catholics should not follow traditional Chinese rites that did not conform to Catholicism. Obviously, offering sacrifices to Confucius as well as to ancestors is especially counter to Catholicism; this led the Chinese government to limit and even forbid the preaching of Catholicism. Since Matteo Ricci well understood Chinese conditions, he adopted the method of compromising with the Chinese tradition for the sake of adapting to Chinese society as well as his missionary work, although the attempts did not conform to the doctrines of Catholicism.

(2) He makes some Catholic ideas conform to traditional Chinese Confucianist thought so as to enable the Chinese to accept Catholicism. As mentioned previously, the "Lord of Heaven" in Catholicism is, of course, the supreme personified God, but Ricci's *The True Meaning of the Lord of*

Heaven does not mean this according to its original title. In that book he often uses such words as "God" and "Heaven" of Chinese origin, instead of the "Lord of Heaven." According to Fang Hao's *Collected Essays on the History of Chinese Catholicism*, in contrast to the edition of the Ming Dynasty, it is found that the later edition has changed the words "God" or "Heaven" in the Ming to "Lord of Heaven" or "Supreme Lord" in 79 places.[15] In the Chinese language there are already such words as "God" (*shangdi*) and "Heaven" (*tian*), but in traditional Chinese thought *tian* has several meanings. Among these Ricci takes the meanings "God," "Heaven" and the supreme personified God, but for the Chinese people there may be some other meanings. In 1715, after Ricci's death, the Pope gave an edict that the name "Lord of Heaven" was a legal one and such names as "God" and "Heaven" should no longer be used because they could be interpreted in different ways.

Also, according to Professor Luo Guang, "Ricci's *Twenty-five Sayings from Epictetus* is actually composed of 25 chapters. Every chapter is short and concise. It advises people to live simply and to restrain desire and feeling. Happiness lies in one's secure state of mind without being stirred either by good fortune or misfortune. The purpose of human life lies in one's obedience to the Lord of Heaven. . ." It is apparent then that the book is intended to conform to Chinese conditions.

(3) Ricci made some revisions in the "idea of sin" in order that it should approach more closely the "idea of virtue" in China's Confucianist tradition. As the "idea of sin" in Catholicism implies, human nature cannot be considered "virtuous," which is entirely different from the "idea of human nature being virtuous" in China's traditional Confucianist thought. In accordance with St. Augustine's interpretation, man is born to be "sinful" because of his rational choice. In the final analysis, what causes man to choose evil with reason is his vanity, or an ego-centric desire that puts himself over God. Such a desire usually drives him into following his own intention and holding in contempt God's decree, which is particularly apparent in human desire. Augustine then adds that, since man intentionally chooses evil and commits sins violating God, he can never recover his original state with his own effort. For such a "sin" causes him to degenerate inevitably, being characteristically ego-centric in willing and desiring and able only to choose "committing sin" or tending to "evil."

In this regard in the 7th discourse of *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, Ricci thinks that the "human nature" refers to what differentiates

man from metal and stone, grass and wood, bird, beast and even spirit, and this is why man "can reason things out." So he says: "What can reason things out is alone called human nature, which is different from other creatures." "Virtue and morality come after reason, which itself is something dependent, and not human nature itself." Thus, "reasoning things out" refers simply to this virtuous "ability," and "human nature is born to be virtuous." This obviously caters to Confucianist ideas. But since Matteo Ricci could not completely violate the doctrines of the Lord of Heaven, he thinks that man is "able to reason things out." How can he get such an ability? Just as farmers plough, weed, remove the stones and irrigate before they sow seeds in order to get good harvests, so "learners should first of all get rid of evil before they could be virtuous. Only by standing aloof from worldly success can they be successful." As this idea is associated with that of "sin" in Catholicism, it could not but conflict with the so-called idea of "good ability." Thus it is quite difficult to reconcile one cultural tradition with another.

From the above four points we can see that Matteo Ricci preached the doctrines of Catholicism for the purpose of linking Oriental and Occidental culture together. Whether his attempt was successful or not will not be evaluated here, but that he was the very first Westerner to make such an attempt is certainly of historical importance.

II. "Body and Use" and the Correlation of Chinese and Western Harmony

In trying to link Western and Chinese culture, often we encounter the problem of the "body and use" (*tiyong*), of Chinese learning and Western learning. In preaching Catholicism in China, Matteo Ricci could not but consider his relation to traditional Chinese thought and culture. Similarly, in receiving Catholicism, the Chinese had to consider such a relation. Above I have discussed how he dealt with this problem. Now let us consider how the Chinese intellectuals at the time received Catholicism. In my opinion, such receivers of Catholicism at the time as Xu Guangqi, Li Zhizao and others in receiving or studying Western learning took the attitude: "Chinese learning as body and Western learning for use." We know that although the Protestants were active at that time even at the court in Beijing, yet "the Chinese court made use of them only by employing their techniques." "For example, Ricci

once repaired clocks and other machines in the court, and Tang Ruowang (Johann Adam Schall von Bell), Nan Huairen (Ferdinand Verbiest) and others joined in revising the calendar." "What China's enlightened literati were particularly interested in was to learn from them their science and knowledge." "They did not have great success in shaping China's intellectuals,"[16] for few Chinese intellectuals received the doctrines of Catholicism. As these were received chiefly due to his association with traditional Chinese thought, especially the Confucianist morality, his attempt can be regarded as another earlier form of "regarding Chinese learning as body and Western learning for use" formulated in the 1860s.

During subsequent centuries there have been various attempts to correlate "Chinese learning" and "Western learning" with that between "body" (*ti*) and "use" (*yong*), such as "Chinese learning as body and Western learning for use," or "Western learning as body and Chinese learning for use" and even "both the learnings as body and for use interchangeably." Those who regard "Western learning as body and Chinese learning for use" are called "all-Westernizers" (*quanpan xihua pai*); those who regard "Chinese learning as body and Western learning for use" are called "Chinese culture supremacists" (*guocui pai*). Such confusions are caused by the attempt to describe the relationship between "Chinese learning" and "Western learning" with that between "body and use." As a matter of fact, none of the above ideas are tenable.

As a pair of important categories in the history of Chinese philosophy, "body" and "use" are not substantial categories, but rather fundamental relations. "Body" (*ti*) generally refers to the "inner transcendental spirit" or "transcendental noumenon." It corresponds to what Mencius means by "conscience" (*liangzhi* or *liangneng*) and Wang Yangming by "mind" (*xin*), etc.; the latter corresponds to "God's will" (*tianming*), " *taiji*," "God's word" (*tianli*) and "logos" (*dao*), etc. "Use" (*yong*) refers to the various functions demonstrated by such an "inner transcendental spirit" or "transcendental noumenon." According to traditional Chinese philosophy, *ti* and *yong* are unified, with the former presenting the latter for, as Wang Bi in the Wei-Jin dynasties pointed out, there would be no corresponding *yong* without *ti*. The so-called concept of "Chinese learning as body and Western learning for use" is nothing but an effort to preserve the inner transcendental noumenon in Chinese tradition, so as to reject the Western spirit. For how could we make "Western learning for use" if we should do like that? Similarly, it is

impossible to regard "Western learning as body and Chinese learning for use." The former will inevitably result in "Chinese learning both as body and for use" and, the latter, "Western learning both as body and for use."

As for "both the learnings as body and for use interchangeably," it can be interpreted as: if something in Chinese learning is good we should regard "Chinese learning as body and Western learning for use"; also, if something in Western learning is good we should in turn regard "Western learning as body and Chinese learning for use." Such an idea is obviously untenable. It will do nothing but include both attitudes in the so-called concept of regarding "both learnings as body and for use interchangeably," which is just eclectic. Professor Fang Keli involves himself in a confused eclectic situation although he criticizes the above two attitudes in his "'Chinese Learning as Body and Western Learning for Use' and 'Western Learning as Body and Chinese Learning for Use.'"[17]

It would give rise to "stealthily substituting one culture for another" if we use the relation of *tiyong* to explain the relationship between Chinese culture and Western culture. If we do not improve the cultural soil and other conditions, but just stealthily substitute one culture for another, the cultural foundation will not be solid. Thus to my mind, our modern society should have its modern spirit and various systems embodying such a spirit. If we use the relation of *tiyong* to explain this problem, we might probably regard "the modern spirit as body and the systems and their functions embodying such a spirit for use." If so, one might ask: what is the "modern spirit"? And what are the "systems and their functions embodying the spirit"? Here I would refer to the point of view put forward by Mr. Yan Fu, who once criticized the idea of regarding "Chinese learning as body and Western learning for use." He also points out that body and use should be unified rather than dual. Particularly, he lays emphasis on the significance of science and puts forward a very meaningful proposition: "liberty as body and democracy for use." I do think that such an idea of his is probably of certain modern significance. So in my opinion, "liberty" is the concentrative embodiment of the modern spirit, or an inner spirit in the modern era and a universal ideal that the people in modern society are pursuing; whereas "democracy" consists of various systems of modern society ensuring everyone "liberty," rather than certain people only. We now live in Chinese society. It is most important to give everyone "liberty" and have a set of democratic systems ensuring its realization if we want to enable our society to become modernized. Only in

this way, can people give full play to their enthusiasm and creativity, and our country set foot on the road not only of the "four modernization" but also of all-around modernization.

陆　论利玛窦汇合东西文化的尝试[*]

从历史上看，一种外来文化在它开始传入另一国家或民族时，必然会遇到如何对待原有文化传统的问题。如果想使外来文化在所传入的国家或民族能比较容易流传和发生影响，就必须与原有文化有所认同。利玛窦对中国传统文化持什么态度，其目的虽与他的传教有关，但是在他与中国文化（主要是儒家思想）接触的过程中，对中国文化有了相当的了解，并对儒家文化的价值有了肯定的正面认识。因此，利玛窦的传教活动就涉及文化史上的一重要问题：即如何调和两种不同背景的文化传统，它们不仅是接触而且是融会贯通成为一体。这就是文化的移植问题。利玛窦很可能了解解决这个问题的重要意义。因此，在总体上利玛窦对儒家文化采取了肯定的态度。这个问题我们可以从两个方面来看：一是看看利玛窦本人对此问题的说法；二是看看当时或稍后的知识分子（士大夫）对利玛窦是如何看的。

利玛窦不仅精通汉语，而且懂得中国的礼仪和风俗，他不仅全身着儒装，头戴方巾，自称“西儒”，而且见客时用秀才礼节。他对中国典籍进行了深入钻研，认为孔子是一位博学的伟大人物；他翻译了《四书》，认为《四书》“是四位很好的哲学家写的，书里有很多合理的伦理思想”，[1]因此他认为“仅知道我们的学术，不通晓他们的学术，毫无用处”。[2]

那么利玛窦如何看待中国文化呢？在1609年2月15日他给另一位传教士的信中说：

> “正如我逐步说明的那样，他们（按：指中国人）同样地倾慕着孝道，尽管其他人可以持相反的看法。如果从头说起，他们在古代就像在我们的国家里那样忠诚地遵循自然法则。在1500年中间，这一民族简直没有崇拜过偶像，而他们崇拜的那些偶像也不像我们的埃及人、希腊人和罗马人的偶像那样可憎。某些神灵甚至很有德性，并以他们的善行而享有盛名。事实上，在文人们最古老的、成为权威的著作中也仅仅崇拜天地和这两者的共同主宰。当我们仔细研究一下所有这些著作时，我们就会发现其中很少有什么东西是和理性之光相反的，而大量的倒是与之相一致的，他们的自然哲学家并不比任何人差。”[3]

从上面引的这段话中，我们可以看出：（1）利玛窦对中国传统文化，主要是儒家思想有比较深入的了解。中国古代社会是以宗法制为纽带的，所以重孝道，以“亲亲”为原则，所以“自然法则”（按：罗光《利玛窦传》译为“天理”）也是带有某种道德性的，而中国对天地和祖先的

崇拜也只是某种道德性的，所以是合乎“理性”的。可见利玛窦对中国文化有相当认识，所以他不把儒家看成是一种宗教，而以为它是建立在“自然法则”基础上的哲学。（2）利玛窦对中国的儒家文化的评价是很高的。他认为，中国古代文化在对偶像崇拜上不像埃及人、希腊人和罗马人那样，所以中国古代哲学在讲人性天理的问题上超西方古代。他在回答徐光启时有一段话可以说明他对中国文化的看法，他说：“比至中华，获瞻仁义礼乐声明文物之盛，如复拨云雾见青天焉。”[4]我想，这一点是与天主教也把反对偶像崇拜和伦理道德问题看得很重有关。所以利玛窦极力反对佛教和道教的偶像崇拜，而不把对孔圣人的崇拜和祖先崇拜看成为偶像崇拜。因此，我们可以说，利玛窦对中国文化的正统儒家思想从总体上是肯定的和赞赏的。

徐光启由于结识利玛窦而信奉了天主教，他很敬重利玛窦的学问和道德，说利玛窦的言谈“百千万言中，求一语不合忠孝大旨，求一语无益于人心世道者，竟不可得。”[5]徐光启看重“忠孝”实是深受中国传统思想的影响，谓利玛窦所传天主教义之基本点亦在“忠孝”，利玛窦接受中华文化当是事实。在《畸人十篇》中有一段记录龚大参对利玛窦言论评论的话说：

> “窃听精论，即心思吾中国经书与贵邦经典，相应相证，信真圣人者，自东自西，自南自北，其致一耳。”[6]

以上中国学者大都认为利玛窦所宣讲的学说和中国传统思想，特别是儒家思想相合，而最基本的相合点就在“忠孝大旨”。我们知道，当时的中国知识分子对利玛窦的天文、历算、科技等知识虽甚看重，但他们更为重视的实是利玛窦所言与中国文化相合者。这也许正是“中学为体，西学为用”的一种最早表现形式，这个问题我们后面再讨论。

一、天主教与儒家文化汇合的尝试

从以上两个方面看，利玛窦在中国传教时，实际上在作着使东西文化汇合的尝试。有了这个前提，我们就可以进而讨论利玛窦汇合东西文化的尝试了。我以为，利玛窦采用了“合儒”，即以天主教义与儒家学说相合；“补儒”，天主教义可以补充儒家学说；“超儒”，天主教义某些方面超过儒家学说；“附儒”，对天主教义作某些修改，以附会儒家思想。利玛窦大体从这些方面搜东西文化的结合部。

1．合儒

利玛窦有三部讲天主教教义的重要著作：《天主实义》《畸人篇》

《二十五言》。《天主实义》这部书原名《天学实义》，看来利玛窦最初考虑避免用中国原来没有的“天主”这一名称，而“天学”本身又无多大宗教性，中国较易接受。冯应京序中对这部书有如下的说明：

> “《天主实义》，大西国利子及其乡会友，与吾中国人问答之词也。天主何，上帝也；实云者，不空也。……是书也，历引吾六经之语，以证其实，而深诋谭空之误。”

明版《天主实义》多用“上帝”与“天”之名命名“天主”或“上主”，而今本多改“上帝”与“天”为“天主”或“上主”，可见利玛窦为使中国人便于接受，采用了“上帝”或“天”这样中国原有的名称。对中国人来说，古代有祭天、祭社稷、祭祖先，但没有对“天主”的崇拜，对这个问题利玛窦引经据典论证“天主”就是中国古代的“上帝”。他引用的中国古书包括《诗》《书》《礼》《易》和《中庸》等。这样的情况在《天主实义》中还有多处，如下卷第六篇回答“赏善罚恶”问题，亦多引中国经典以证天主教义与儒家思想相合，不详述。上面引的一段话说明：（l）利玛窦确实觉察到我国古代有一至高无上的人格神“上帝”，他以此论证西方天主教的“天主”和中国的“上帝”不过是名称不同，实际上是一回事。（2）为此他又论证“至高无上者”只能是一个，而不能是两个（天地），并批评了朱熹的解释。在他作的《天主实义引》中说：“平治庸理，惟竟于一，古贤圣劝臣以忠。忠也者无二之谓也；五伦甲乎君，君臣为三纲之首。……邦国有主，天地独无主乎？国统于一，天地有二主乎？”此均为用中国儒家思想来解释天主教义者也。（3）又引经典说明上帝是有意志的，可以降祸福人间；（4）所以上帝有“庭”，和自然界的“天”不是一回事。从这些看，利玛窦无非是要证明天主教和儒家学说、中国古代经典是相合的。

2．补儒

《利玛窦中国札记》是利玛窦用意大利语在中国写的札记，后来一位传教士金民阁把它从意大利文译成拉丁文，并增添了一些有关传教史和利玛窦本人的内容，附有利玛窦死后荣哀的记述。在这部书中有一段话：

> 在问到基督教法的主要内容是什么的时候，徐光启博士就非常确切地用四个字来概括：‘驱佛补儒’。这就是说：它驱除佛教的偶像，并补足儒生的教法。[7]

任何宗教都有排斥其他宗教的特性，因此利玛窦要想使天主教进入中国，他就必然要批评佛教和道教，特别是佛教，这点在他的各种著作中都表现出来。圣·奥古斯丁曾经提出，对异教徒的信仰主体而言，应该坚决摒弃；而对异教徒他们代表某些异教哲学家的教诲说，则应予以

考虑，或接受或赞同，假如它们是合乎理性的。利玛窦实际上是采用了这种方法对待儒家学说。他宣称儒家与宗教无关，而是一种哲学。他特别推崇孔子，并且说孔子是生活在耶稣五百年以前，他不可能知道五百年以后的事情和道理，因此“利玛窦就把儒家经典引为己用，只讲孔夫子以后所应增补的东西。”[8]在《畸人十篇》中有一段龚大参与利玛窦讨论“善恶之报在身后”的问题。龚大参首先提出：由于中国经典在孔子之后经过秦始皇焚书，因而记载天堂地狱报应的文献散失了，而西方经典常存，“故天堂地狱之说，至为详备”。在中国后世报应之说“且不明不谙焉。因而使儒者，疑信半混之，有无之间也”。龚大参虽也引古代经典说明可有天堂，但仍对“大德必得其位，必得其寿”有所疑问。于是利玛窦据天主教义为之解。他认为对有德者的报应并不在于“位”与“寿”，一个人生活在世界上应为天主而劳苦，并不要求得到今生的善报，他应相信终归可以进入天堂。所以在他回答徐光启时说：“为义被窘难者……若为利禄，为功名，为邪淫，又种种非义者，徒苊苦也。若为天主为义，而受窘难，此乃真福也，故谓已得天国矣。”[9]这显然是企图用天主教义补充儒家思想，但利玛窦采用的方法不是否定儒家经典，而是顺着它加以引申发挥，说明中土学说与西方教义并不相悖，只是还可以补充而已。

在《天主实义》中讨论“善恶报应”的地方很多，第六篇“论死后必有天堂地狱之赏罚以报”，其中对儒家的“积善之家，必有余庆；积不善之家，必有余殃”的观念也有所补正。照利玛窦看，不仅可以有现世之报或由子孙受报（利玛窦似不赞成“子孙受报”），但重要的是死后受报。行善事死后可登天堂免地狱，否则要入地狱，但行善事并非仅仅是为了“登天堂免地狱”，故利玛窦说：

> “凡行善者有正意三状：下曰，因登天堂免地狱之意；中曰，因报答所重蒙天主恩德之意；上曰，因翕顺天主圣旨之意也。”[10]

“下意”是引导人们达到“上意”的桥梁，人们行善最终应是顺应上帝的意旨。但是儒家不了解这一点而对天堂地狱的说法加以批评，那是因为它对其中的深刻道理还不了解，“儒者攻天堂地狱之说，是未察此理耳。”[11]从这里我们已大体可以看出天主教与中国儒家传统不同。盖儒家讲“善恶报应”是从个人的道德修养上讲的，因此，每个人应该“修身”，或者说应该“明明德”，这仅仅是求得个人内在的道德上的完善，就这一意义说它是追求一种“内在的超越”。但天主教行善终目的应是为了“天主”，而“天主”是一种“外在的超越”力量，所以它所追求的，所崇奉的是一种“外在的超越”。这个问题下面再进一步讨论。

3．超儒

中国儒家学说以追求“内在超越”为目标，天主教则以追求“外在超越”为目标，利玛窦《天文实义》在批评儒家缺点时指出了这一点。[12]

我们知道中国传统哲学（特别是儒家哲学）和西方哲学与宗教很不相同。古希腊哲学，在柏拉图、亚里士多德那里大体上把世界二分为超越性的本体和现实世界，其后基督教更是要有一个外在的超越性的上帝，而中国传统哲学则是以“内在的超越性”为其特征。孔子的“性与天道”问题是一内在超越的问题，孟子的“尽心知性，知天”更是一由内在而超越的“内在超越性”问题；《系辞》中说：“一阴一阳之谓道，继之者善，成之者性”则是一由超越而内在的“内在超越性”问题。这一“内在超越性”问题认为，人们可以通过其内在道德修养（因为人性善）而达到与超越的“天道”汇通的境界，不需要有一外在的超越力量来促使他们如此。但上面所引的利玛窦那段话，显然他认为仅仅靠人自身的内在道德修养是很难达到完满的境界，必须有一外在的超越力量上帝来推动，因此信仰上帝是完全必要的。这就是说，利玛窦以为天主教教义比儒家的学说更圆满。

4．附儒

所谓“附儒”就是说，为了附会中国儒家传统思想，而对天主教义作某些修改或牵就某些儒家思想。1978年利玛窦的《利玛窦中国札记》法文版序言中说：

> 早在利玛窦的生命临终时，他领导的中国传教团的方式就已经成为中外聚讼纷纭的对象，人们提出两个反对意见。在实践方面，人们指责利玛窦过分关注发展与儒家杰出人物的关系，而不是布教事业的进展；在理论方面，他对儒家的积极评价也受到非议。有人提出，这样做则会冒有损于基督教义纯洁性的危险，而更明确的宗教方法才可以使传教士们直接向人民大众传播福音并突出基督教的特点。[13]

上面我们已经讲过利玛窦对中国儒家传统的某些看法，以及他对汇合东西文化所作的若干尝试。当然，利玛窦也知道儒家学说与天主教也有相当多的冲突处，他或者可以用“补儒”和“超儒”的办法来补救，但是如果他的传教要完全按照天主教义的一套，那肯定会遇到更多的困难。在此，他为了迎合中国传统也不得不对天主教某些方面有所修改，所以上面引用的那段话中对他的批评也不是无的放矢的。利玛窦如何使天主教附会儒家学说，我认为有以下几点可以注意：

（1）为中国传统与天主教不合处开脱，以便使天主教适合中国社会。在《利玛窦中国札记》意大利原文本中有一段说，它对儒家的祭祀作了简明的叙述，他说：

> 然而，根据一条古老的法则，在文人荟萃的各大城市中，都建有一座庄严的孔庙以供他的塑像，写着他的姓名和尊号；在每次朔望以及一年四次，文人们都要向他奉献一次祭祀，点燃香烛并供一只已宰杀的牲畜，尽管他们不承认他有任何神性，也丝毫无求于他。所以，这种礼节不能称之为真正的祭祀。[14]

天主教反对偶像崇拜，在利玛窦书中比比皆是，例如对佛教和道教偶像崇拜的批评十分严厉。但利玛窦从不批评儒家对孔子的祭祀，甚至也不批评中国人对祖先的祭祀。关于祭祀问题是后来中国禁止天主教传教的一个重要原因。1704年，罗马教廷曾有命令要求中国天主教的信徒不得遵照与天主教不合的中国传统的礼仪，其中的主要问题就是祭孔和祭祀祖先的问题，这样就引起了当时中国政府对天主教传教的限制和禁止。看来，利玛窦比较了解中国的国情，为适应中国社会和便于他们传教，他采用了向中国传统妥协的办法，虽然这种做法与天主教义不甚相合，利玛窦也这样做了。

（2）使天主教某些思想附会中国传统的儒家思想，以便中国人能接受。前面我们已经说过，天主教的“天主”当然是至高至尊的人格神，但利玛窦的《天主实义》原名《天学实义》，而书中“天主”常采用“上帝”和“天”这样中国原有的名称，据方豪的《中国天主教史论丛》中说：他取明版与后来的版本相对照，发现后来的版本改明版“上帝”或“天”为“天主”或“上主”共七十九处。[15]原中国有“上帝”和“天”之名词，但“天”在中国传统思想中实有多种涵义，利玛窦虽取“上帝”、“天”即至高至尊人格神的涵义，但在中国人看来仍可有其他的涵义。这个问题到利玛窦死后的1715年教皇格来孟第十一世下令规定“天主”二字为法定名称，不准再采用“上帝”与“天”这样的名称，就是因为“上帝”和“天”可以引起不同的解释。

又如利玛窦的《二十五言》，据罗光教授分析，认为：“《二十五言》为二十五章，每篇简短，书中劝人终日乾乾，克制欲情，人生的幸福，在人平生心常安定，不为祸福所动。人生的目的，为事奉天主……”可见《二十五言》是有意适应当时中国人的需要而作如是说。

（3）对天主教的“原罪说”作了某些修改，以便它接近中国儒家传统的“性善说”。照天主教的“原罪”学说，人性不可谓“善”，这和中国传统的儒家思想的“性善说”相径庭。据圣·奥古斯丁说，人类之所以有“原罪”，是人类用理性选择的结果，究其根本，导致人运用理性去选择罪恶的是人的骄傲心，一种把自己置于上帝之上的自我中心的欲望。这种欲望驱使他顺从自己的意向蔑视上帝的旨意。它特别表现在人性的欲望中。奥古斯丁接着论证，自从人有意识地选择了恶，犯下了违抗上帝的罪行，人类便再也没有可能通过自己的努力来恢复他堕落的状态，因为这种“原罪”使他无可挽回地向下堕落，总想以自己为中心，顺从自己的

意志和欲望，只能选择“犯罪”或倾向于“罪恶”。

关于这个问题，在《天主实义》第七篇“论人性本善而述天主门士正学”中，利玛窦认为，所谓“人性”是指人区别于金石、草本、鸟兽以至于鬼神的，这就是人“能推理论者”。他说：“能推理论者，立人为本类，而别其体于他物，乃所谓人性也。”而像“仁义礼智，则在推理之后。理也，乃依附之品，不得为人性。”因此，所谓“能推理论者”是说有这样的为善的“良能”，就此意义说“人性本善”。这自然是为了迎合儒家的观点而有的。但利玛窦又不能全然违背天主教义，他又认为人虽有此“能推理论者”（得到理的能力，理即仁义礼智等），但如何才能得到，照他看应如农夫先耕地、除草、除瓦石、灌水，然后再播种，才会有好收获。因此，“学者先去恶，而后能致善，所谓有所不为，方能有为焉。”这一观点又和天主教“原罪说”联系起来，从而不能不与关于所谓“良能”的说法形成矛盾。看来，要把两种不同文化传统全然调和起来是有相当困难的。

由以上四点可以看出，利玛窦的传播天主教义，实想通过汇合东西文化而达到其目的。他的汇合东西文化的尝试是否成功，姑且不论，不过他毕竟是西方人士的一个最早尝试者，总是有其历史意义的。

二、“中学”“西学”与“体”“用”之辨

在探讨中西文化的汇合或沟通时，我们常常会碰到中学和西学的“体用”问题。利玛窦在中国传播天主教不得不考虑它和中国传统思想文化的关系；同样中国人接受天主教也不得不考虑它和中国传统思想文化的关系。上面我们已经讨论过利玛窦如何处理这个问题，下面我们再来看看当时中国知识分子是如何接受天主教的。我以为，那时接受天主教义的如徐光启、李之藻等以及其他知识分子大都实际上也是用“中学为体，西学为用”的态度接受或者了解西学的。我们知道，那时耶稣会士在华活动，尽管也进入北京宫廷，但“中国朝廷利用他们严格限于利用他们的技术”，“如利玛窦之入宫修理钟表机械，汤若望、南怀仁等人之参与历局修订历法等等，正有如中国开明士大夫真正感兴趣的，主要也仅限于向他们学习科学知识”，“他们在归化中国知识分子方面并没有获得多少成功”。[16]至于对天主教义，中国极少数知识分子接受它，主要认为它和中国传统思想，特别是儒家伦理相合才被接受下来。因此可以说，它是较之19世纪60年代以后更早的“中学为体，西学为用”的一种形式。

长期以来，有所谓用“体用”关系来论证“中学”与“西学”的关系的种

种说法，有“中学为体，西学为用”，有“西学为体，中学为用”，还有“中学西学互为体用”等。所谓“西学为体，中学为用”，一切都应照搬西方，这也许就是“全盘西化”派的主张；“中学为体，西学为用”，一切西方好的东西，中国古已有之，这大概是“国粹”派的观点。为什么在“中学”和“西学”关系上造成种种不同说法和各种混乱，我以为主要就是企图用“体用”关系来说“中学”与“西学”的关系造成的，因此我认为无论上述哪种说法都难以成立。

“体”和“用”在中国哲学史上是一种重要的范畴，但它不是一对实体性的范畴，而是一对带有根本性质的关系性范畴。“体”一般是指“内在性的超越精神”或“超越性的本体”，前者如孟子的“良知”“良能”，王阳明的“心”等等；后者如“天命”“太极”“天理”“道”等等。“用”是指此“内在超越精神”或“超越性本体”所表现的种种功能。照中国传统哲学的看法，“体”和“用”是统一的，“用”是表现“体”的。这一点早在魏晋时王弼已经提出：“虽贵以无为用，不能舍无以为体”，也就是说离开了“体”就无相应的“用”。所谓“中体西用”，无非是想保存中国固有的内在精神或超越本体，以便排斥西方精神，这样如何能以“西学为用”呢？同样，“西学为体，中学为用”也不可能。前者实质上必然导致“中体中用”，后者必然也只能是“西体西用”。

至于“中西互为体用”，据说它的意思是：中国的好东西就以“中学为体，西学为用”；西方的好东西就以“西学为体，中学为用”。这样的说法显然是很难成立的。它无非是要把“中学为体，西学为用”和“西学为体，中学为用”都包容在所谓“互为体用”之中。这不过是一折中主义东西。方克立在他的《“中体西用”和“西体中用”》一文中批评了“中体西用和西体中用”，但他自己却陷入了一种十分混乱的“互为体用说”的折中主义之中。[17]

因此，我认为用“体用”关系来解释中西文化的关系只能造成文化上的“移花接木”。如果不改良文化生长的土壤和其他种种条件，用“移花接木”的方法，其根基是不行的，总难以长成参天大树。所以我想，对我们现代社会来说，这个社会应有其现代化的精神和体现这种现代精神的种种制度。如果要用“体用”关系来说明这个问题，那也许可以说以“现代精神为体，保证体现现代精神的制度及其功用为用”。也许有人会问：什么是“现代精神”？什么是体现“现代精神的制度及其功用”？这里我想借用严复的说法，他曾批评“中体西用”，并指出体用不能二元，应是统一的，特别强调了科学的意义，同时他又提出一非常有意义的命题：“自由为体，民主为用”。我认为，严复这个提法或许有现代意义。照我看，“自由”是现代精神的集中体现，或者说它是一种现代内在精神，是现代社会人们所追求的一种普遍理想；而“民主”是现代社会的各

种各样的保证人们“自由”的制度，它应是保证每一个人应有的“自由”，而不光保证某一个人或者几个人的“自由”的制度。我们生活在中国今天的社会中，要使我们的社会成为现代的社会，最重要的就是要给每个人应有的“自由”，并以一套民主的制度来保证他的实现。只有这样，人们的积极性和创造性才能得到充分发挥，我们的国家才能不仅走上“四个现代化”的道路，而且是全面现代化的道路。

VII. QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE CATEGORICAL SYSTEM OF TRADITIONAL CHINESE PHILOSOPHY

Aristotle's *Categories* outlined the philosophical categories of Ancient Greece, putting forward and thoroughly analyzing ten categories. Hegel's *Logik* outlined contemporary Western philosophical categories in a comparatively complete categorical system. Did China's traditional philosophy (China's ancient philosophy) have a categorical system? Why and how should we study the question of traditional Chinese philosophy's concepts and categories? This essay attempts to contribute to the discussion of these questions.

I. The Significance of Studying the Categorical System of Traditional Chinese Philosophy

The study of the categorical system of traditional Chinese philosophy has its general and particular significance. Its general significance can be expounded in at least the following three aspects:

First, while the study of the history of philosophy necessarily requires the study of the historical function of philosophers and philosophical schools, the ultimate value of such a study is to reveal the necessary logic that determined the specific development of certain philosophical thinking in history. For instance, what is the necessary logic of the development of the pre-Qin philosophical thinking from Confucius to Mencius to Xunzi? A scientific history of philosophy with Marxism as its guiding thought should reveal not only the developmental causes of philosophical thought but also the inner logic of the growth of such thought. Since philosophy is a science of the most general laws of nature, society and human thought presented in the

form of abstractions, the development of the content of philosophical thought is therefore a history of the continuous advancement of concepts and categories and of their continuous clarification, enrichment and growth. We should study how concepts and categories were advanced in the history of philosophy, how their contents became clearer, richer and more systematic, and how the categorical system became more complicated, more comprehensive and more systematic. We should conduct a concrete analysis of the development of concepts and categories. This will enable us to discover the laws governing the development of philosophical thought and reveal its inner logic.

Second, when we say that the history of philosophy is one of the struggle between materialism and idealism we do not mean to imply that this struggle and the development of man's cognition are two separate processes. It was the one and same process through which man's knowl edge of the world has been developing in the struggle between materialism and idealism which manifests the law of the development of man's knowledge. As the process of knowledge calls for the use of concepts and categories, every stage of development in the history of philosophy is marked by differing explanations of certain basic concepts and catego ries out of which emerged materialism and idealism. In the history of Chinese philosophy, for example, the struggle between materialism and idealism before the Qin Dynasty generally centered around the differing explanations of the Heavenly way and the human way, name and content, knowledge and conduct, and the variable and the constant. During the Wei and Jin dynasties it centered around such pairs of concepts as being and non-being, essence and function, word and idea, ethical code and spontaneity. During the Song and Ming dynasties it focused on principle and force, mind and matter, mind and nature, subject and object. A study of the development of concepts and categories is a key to the exposure of the law governing the struggle between materialism and idealism.

What is more, this study will enable us to understand the necessity of the emergence of certain concepts and categories in the history of cognition and to overcome the shortcomings of maintaining an oversimplified negative attitude toward idealism which can be found in the past studies of the history of philosophy. Wang Bi was an idealist philosopher, but it was he who advanced some categories such as essence and function, the one and the many, word and idea "which help us recognize and master the focal point in

the web of natural phenomena." Despite his incorrect presentation of these categories, his advancement of them marked a step forward in man's knowledge, which deserves recognition for its position in the history of philosophy. Only after Wang Bi first posed the concepts of "taking nonbeing as essence" and "forget the words having grasped the concept" did there appear Ouyang Jian's later theory of "The Word Expresses the Concept" (*Yan jin yi lun*) and Pei Wei's "On the Exaltation of Being" (*Chong you lun*). Therefore the study of the concepts and categories in the history of philosophy and their development constitutes an indispensable link in correctly appraising materialism and idealism in the history of philosophy.

Third, Engels believed that the study of philosophies of the past was the only way to temper one's theoretical thinking. A scientific history of philosophy can certainly play such a role, and a scientific history of man's knowledge essentially would be the history of the development of concepts and categories. Since concepts and categories in the history of philosophy reflect man's deepening knowledge, when we study its development we are rethinking in our own thought the process of man's coming to know the world. Of course we discard the accidental and secondary factors and grasp the essential, normative content. This process of rethinking inevitably deepens our own thought. In our study of the development of concepts and categories, we not only relive the process of mankind using concepts and categories to understand the world, but invariably use certain methods to revisualize them. That method can only be one of making a theoretical analysis of the contents of the concepts and categories and the relationships between them and the logical relationships in their development. Such a process of analysis itself is a kind of theoretical thinking. In this sense, this study can help us improve our ability for theoretical thinking.

The above-mentioned three points give only the general significance of studying philosophical concepts and categories, for that significance exists in the study of the history of any philosophy (e.g., the Western or Indian). However, the study of the categories of traditional Chinese philosophy and its history of development also has its particular significance; namely, it will enable us to understand the characteristics and level of development of traditional Chinese philosophy. Western philosophy has its own categorical system; its characteristics and the different levels of development of its philosophical thinking at different historical stages are reflected in the development from Aristotle's *Categories* to Hegel's *Logik*. The categories

used in the primitive Indian Buddhism and the categories of the Kunya and Bhava sects of Mahayana, more or less in succession and each with its striking features, represent the fairly high level Indian Buddhism attained in logical thought and categorical analysis. Traditional Chinese philosophy has its own concepts and categories which gradually formed a fairly comprehensive system. Because of this it will not do just to take them in terms of the concepts and categories of Western philosophy, nor will it do to take them in terms of the Marxist philosophical concepts and categories.

Except for a few concepts taken from Indian Buddhism, the concepts and categories which have taken form in the long history of Chinese philosophy basically developed independently, hence their striking features. For example, the Heavenly way (*tian dao*) and the human way (*ren dao*) as a pair of categories were very important in the history of Chinese philosophy. Therefore traditional Chinese philosophy not only paid considerable attention to the study of the relationship between the Heaven and man, but paid special attention to the study of the relationships between man and man (society). Another example is the pair of categories *ti* and *yong* which contain the meanings of not only noumenon and phenomenon, but also base and function, whole and part, and abstract and concrete. Such series of pairs of concepts and categories reflect not only the characteristics of traditional Chinese philosophy, but also the level of theoretical thinking at a certain stage of historical development. To make a not completely apt comparison: traditional Chinese medicine certainly has its own particular tradition with its own particular theoretical system, particular medical terms and concepts. Despite the fact that we have not found clear scientific explanations for some of the theories and achievements, since it does achieve good results in medical treatment it must reflect certain aspects of objective reality and contain fairly profound truths. Since concepts and categories are necessary conditions for the formation of knowledge and play a pivotal role in linking the subjective to the objective, definite concepts and categories reflect definite achievements made by man in recognizing certain aspects of objective reality through his theoretical practice; hence, different concepts and categories mark different depths of man's cognition. Therefore, when we study the concepts and categories at different stages of the development of traditional Chinese philosophy, we can see the level of theoretical thinking at the different stages of development of Chinese history.

In the history of Chinese philosophy, there are three periods during

which schools made major contributions to the formation of the categorical system of traditional Chinese philosophy, namely, the various pre-Qin schools, the metaphysical school (*Xuanxue*) of the Wei and Jin, and the Neo-Confucianism (*Lixue*) of the Song and Ming dynasties. When we compare the categorical system of traditional Chinese philosophy in the three stages with those of the Western philosophy, we are impressed by its distinct features and fairly high level. This comparison between the categorical system of traditional Chinese philosophy and those of other countries, nations and regions constitutes an important subject in comparative philosophy.

II. How to Study the Concepts and Categories of Traditional Chinese Philosophy

Fundamentally speaking, the study of the concepts and categories of traditional Chinese philosophy requires the scientific analytical method of Marxism. Merely to pose the concepts and categories used in the history of Chinese philosophy is contrary to the goal of our study. For that will not uncover the laws governing the development of philosophical thought, nor will it help us better to understand the laws of the struggle between materialism and idealism, or to improve our theoretical thinking; in particular, we will be unable to recognize the characteristics and level of traditional Chinese philosophy. To achieve our goal, it is necessary to use the scientific analytical method of Marxism to: 1) analyze the meaning of the concepts and categories, 2) investigate the development of those meanings, 3) analyze the systems of concepts and categories of philosophers or philosophical schools, and 4) study the similarities and differences between the concepts and categories of Chinese and foreign philosophies. It is only on the basis of such an analysis that it is possible to advance the study of the history of Chinese philosophy along a scientific path.

i. Analysis of the Meaning of Concepts and Categories

The advancement of one or of a pair of concepts (categories) marks the level of man's understanding of the world, yet it is up to us to make an analysis of the meaning of such a concept or pair of concepts. When ancient philosophers advanced a new concept they did not have as clear and scientific an understanding of its meaning as we do today; this is particularly true of the concepts they used to explain the origin of the world. For instance, Laozi

(Lao Tzu) was the first man to advance the "way" (*dao*) as the paramount category in his philosophical system. This concept of the "way" he advanced as an antithesis to the contemporary concept of "respecting Heaven." By taking the "way" as the origin of the world, Laozi (Lao Tzu) certainly raised the level of ancient Chinese philosophical thinking. But what was the meaning of the "way"? Laozi(Lao Tzu) himself found it difficult to give a clear definition. He said: "I do not know its name; I call it *Dao*. If forced to give it a name, I shall call it Great." Therefore he used quite a number of adjectives to describe the "way," such as "soundless and formless," "eluding and vague" and "deep and obscure." Obviously, with the limitations of the objective conditions and their level of knowledge, the ancient philosophers found it difficult to give lucid definitions of the concept of the origin of the world. Thus it is necessary for us to investigate the meaning of the concept of the "way" in the light of the book *Laozi* (*Lao Tzu*).[1] The term "spontaneity" (*ziran*) was widely used by ancient Chinese philosophers but each had his own definition. It was Laozi (Lao Tzu), too, who was the first to use "spontaneity" as a philosophical concept, by which he generally meant non-activity. Wang Chong of the Han Dynasty continued this usage when he wrote: "The Heavenly way is spontaneous non-activity." By the time of the Wei and Jin dynasties, the proponents of non-activity such as Wang Bi and Xiahou Xuan practically took "spontaneity" for the "way"—that is, the primal stuff of the universe. Xiahou Xuan wrote: "Heaven and earth operate with spontaneity and the sage functions following spontaneity. Spontaneity is the way, which originally had no name and Laozi (Lao Tzu) was forced to give it a name."

Even the same philosopher had different definitions for "spontaneity." We can use Guo Xiang's definitions of "spontaneity" as an example for analysis. He identified at least five connotations for "spontaneity." First, the actions of Heaven and man are "spontaneous." In his *Annotations of Zhuangzi* (the chapter, The Great Teacher) he wrote: "He who knows the deeds of both Heaven and man is a sage,"—knowing the deeds of Heaven and man is spontaneity." Thus, Guo Xiang looked not only at the natural phenomena but also at man's deeds as in a sense spontaneous; in what sense could this be so? Second, "working for oneself" (*ziwei*) is "spontaneity." Guo Xiang said: "To say that matter is spontaneous means non-activity." He also wrote: "We value this non-activity and matter's working for itself." Then why is "working for itself" a kind of "non-activity"? Third, "being self-willed" is "spontaneity."

Guo Xiang held that "working for oneself" is "spontaneity," but "working for oneself" does not mean acting wilfully, but "acting by one's nature," namely, "acting in accordance with one's nature, that is spontaneity, thus called nature (*xing*)." "According to spontaneity" means "according to one's nature," that is, neither making others succumb to oneself nor allowing oneself to succumb to another. Fourth, "inevitability" is "spontaneity." Guo Xiang wrote: "Knowing the reality of destiny one will not seek what lies beyond it, but just to fulfill one's nature." One who "knows his destiny" will not ask for what cannot be done—this is called "spontaneity." Destiny here means "inevitability." Fifth, "chance is spontaneity." Guo Xiang wrote: "Things are all spontaneous, acting without knowing why or how it should be so." By not knowing the reason of action, "spontaneity" implies "chance." Therefore, when the philosophers were trying to explain "self-generation" they often employed such terms as "suddenly" or "abruptly"—all meaning that things exist without reason, the causality being beyond explanation.

According to Guo Xiang, "spontaneity" has the above-mentioned five inter-connected meanings, of which the last two are most important, that is, "spontaneity" has the meaning of both "inevitability" and "chance."Actually, they are a pair of antagonistic concepts and, from the dialectical point of view, are mutually connected and transform themselves into each other, with inevitability manifesting itself through chance. Guo Xiang used the term "spontaneity" to explain both "inevitability" and "change," precisely because he saw the relationship of mutual dependence between them: that a matter so exists is "inevitable" in one respect because "things emerge by themselves abruptly." In Guo Xiang's philosophical system, things must have these two aspects. From this analysis of Guo Xiang's definition of the concept of "spontaneity" we can see the general characteristics and level of the philosophy of Guo Xiang.

ii. Analysis of the Development of the Meanings of Concepts and Categories

Not only do the meanings of concepts and categories differ from one philosopher to another, at different times they also differ in meaning. Nevertheless, if philosophical thoughts follow one another, it is always possible to discover the relationship of succession between these concepts and categories. The study of their development is extremely important for understanding the laws of the development of man's knowledge. In the following, we will analyze the growth of the concept of *qi* (often translated as

material force, ether, or fluid— *tr*.) in traditional Chinese philosophy.

Some thinkers as early as the Spring and Autumn Period already discussed the impact of *qi* on man. For example, the *Zuo Zhuan* mentioned "the six *qi*" in the medical theory recorded in the first year of the reign of Duke Zhao of Lu (541 BC). By the Warring States Period, *qi* became a general concept. People not only believed that the body of man was made of *qi*, but some believed that the spirit of man also was made of *qi*. In "White Heart," "Inner Function," and "Mechanism of the Heart" of the book *Guanzi*, it was said: "As for essence (*jing*), it is the essence of *qi*;" "the *qi* of all things changes and thus becomes life;" "when *qi* goes to the ground, grains grow; when it goes into the heavens, there emerge the constellations; when it floats in the air, it becomes ghosts and spirits; when it goes into a man's chest, the man becomes a sage" and "therefore when there is *qi*, there is life; when there is no *qi*, there is death," etc. According to these thinkers, among the " *qi*" there is an "essential *qi*," the life-giver. When such an "essential *qi*" enters the body of a man, he becomes wise and turns into a sage.

During the Warring States Period this unscientific theory of "essential *qi*" was used to explain man's spirit. If we considered it materialist, it would be a materialist viewpoint with grave defects which, under certain circumstances, was used by idealists and turned into a component part of their system. It could also be utilized by the supernaturalists who transformed it into a basis for advocating "life without end." We know that Mencius also talked about *qi*, and posed a sort of *qi* called the " *qi* of vastness" (*haoran zhi qi*). The "White Heart" chapter of the book *Guanzi* mentions the "essential *qi*" that can give man wisdom and "this *qi* should not be checked by strength but should be accommodated by moral power (*de*)," which is to say, *qi* itself possesses an intelligence which should be consolidated by moral power. And in the theory of Mencius, his " *qi* of vastness" is "obtained through accentuating righteousness." Obviously, *qi* in Mencius' theory has already become spiritual. By the Han Dynasty, Dong Zhongshu went a step further and moralized and mystified *qi* which became the manifestation of the will and power of God. Dong Zhongshu held that *qi* had the power of meting out punishment and award, that there were good and vicious *qi* and that *qi* had emotions such as happiness, anger, grief and joy. So *qi*, though still retaining material appearance, already lost its material substance. Later, during the Han period, there were all sorts of superstitious explanations of *qi* which were indeed the outgrowth of the viewpoint of Dong Zhongshu.

From the historical data of the pre-Qin period and the Han Dynasty, we can see that the concept of *qi* is closely linked with questions of spirit and form, and thus has much to do with the question of the preservation of health, which often was deemed a means to becoming a deity. In *Zhuangzi* the "true man" (*zhenren*), the "spiritual man" (*shenren*) and others were often described as "with the spirit guarding the form to achieve longevity," "drinking dew and breathing the wind instead of eating grain," "unifying their nature and preserving their *qi*." They made their spirit integrate with their form so that they could accomplish the goal of "keeping their form perfect and replenishing their spirit to be merged into one with Heaven and earth." The *Lü Shi Chun Qiu* includes numerous discussions of the "preservation of good health" and considers that to "achieve longevity," *qi* should be made to flow constantly within the body, and "with essential *qi* renewed daily, the vicious *qi* will go and a full life span will be reached; this is called truth." In *Huai Nan Zi* the preservation of *qi*, of form and of nature are the same thing; moreover all are linked together with *qi*. The writers of both of these two books were influenced by the "theory of essential *qi*" in "White Heart" and other philosophical works. They all thought that "spirit" (*jingshen*) is also a kind of *qi*, or "essential *qi* which can reside or leave the body and that when spirit and body are at one, there will be long life."

Meanwhile, some philosophers of the pre-Qin and Han periods held a materialist view of *qi* and considered it to be the matter that constitutes the world. Xunzi held that everything in the universe, including man, was made of *qi*. He wrote: "Water and fire have *qi* but no life, plants have life but no senses, birds and beasts have senses but know not righteousness and man has *qi*, life, senses and also righteousness." The chapter "On Spirit" of the book *Huai Nan Zi* says that the universe was originally a murky body of original *qi* without any shape and that later the interaction of the positive and negative forces gave birth to everything, so "the dirty *qi* became worms and the pure essential *qi* became human beings." Wang Chong put it with even greater clarity. He wrote: "The merging of the *qi* of Heaven and earth gave birth to everything," and that was the result of the movement of *qi*. He said: "When Heaven moves, it gives *qi*. . . *qi* comes out and it gives birth to things." In order to oppose Dong Zhongshu's idealist view of *qi*, Wang Chong particularly pointed out that *qi* has no will, no aim. He said: " *Qi* is void of ambition, purpose or scheme"; " *qi* is like smoke and cloud, how can it listen to man's request?" Nevertheless, like the book *Huai Nan Zi*, Wang Chong

took the spirit of man (or the phenomenon of life) as "essential *qi*." He said: "Man lives because he has essential *qi*; when man dies, the essential *qi* vanishes." An analysis of the contents of the concept *qi* in the history of ancient Chinese philosophy reveals clearly the development of this concept. The three doctrines, or rather definitions, mentioned above, however, were all merged into the thought of Daoism (Taoism) toward the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty, which we will not discuss here.

iii. Analysis of the Systems of Concepts and Categories of Philosophers (or Philosophical Schools)

Historically major philosophers, in establishing their philosophical systems, have invariably used a series of concepts and categories. Thus the study of the relationships between these concepts and categories is necessary for us to make a thorough analysis of their theoretical systems. The level a philosopher's thought reaches often can be judged by how richly and systematically his concepts and categories reflect the essential relationships between the objects they are meant to reflect. Divergent views in the study of a past philosopher (or philosophical school) sometimes arise from the lack of a comprehensive, systematic study of the system of concepts and categories of that philosopher or school. For example, if we merely take into account Guo Xiang's concepts of "being" and "nonbeing" and their relationship, we might conclude that he was a materialist. But the reason why Guo Xiang's philosophy was the zenith of the Wei and Jin metaphysical school was not that he put forth a view different from that of Wang Bi's on the relationship between "being" and "nonbeing," but that he had a fairly complete philosophical system, an analysis of which reveals that it comprises the following four groups of basic concepts. (Though there are other important concepts in Guo's philosophical system, we will not deal with them here.)

"Being" and "nonbeing": The central topic of discussion among the Wei and Jin metaphysicians was the question of "origin and outcome, being and nonbeing." The philosophy of Guo Xiang might be considered to originate from the discussion on this topic. Guo believed that "being"(the "being of everything") is the only thing that exists; it is constantly present; "although being undergoes infinite changes and transformations, it cannot in any instance become nonbeing," and "we say the Heaven and earth constantly exist because there is no time they have not existed." As for "nonbeing," he held that the creator above "being," or "the nonbeing" serving as noumenon, is non-existence, that is, "nothing." Thus he said: "Nonbeing is simply

nonbeing, it cannot produce being," and "I venture to ask whether there is a creator or not? If not, how can he create things?" Therefore, from the very beginning, Guo Xiang denied the existence of a "creator" above the being of "everything," or a "nonbeing" which is the antithesis of "being" which as the primal body serves as the basis for the existence of being. However, Guo Xiang's philosophy did not stop here, but went further.

"Nature" and "destiny": Since the existence of things is not based on "nonbeing" as the primal body, then is there an inherent cause for the existence of things? According to Guo Xiang, one cannot say that the being of "everything" is groundless. Since things exist, their very existence is the basis for their existence. Specifically, the basis of their existence is their own "nature": "Everything has its own nature and every nature has its limit." "The nature" Guo Xiang meant is "the reason that things are what they are" which has the sense of "necessity." Thus he said: "Each gets what he deserves by nature; there is no avoiding it nor adding more." He also said: "Things have their own nature, so the wise stays wise till his last day while the dull goes on being dull till his death, neither able to change halfway." As for "destiny" Guo Xiang defined it as "inevitability"; as he put it "destiny means things all act spontaneously without anything acting on them," and "being aware of the impossible." Obviously, his "nature" and "destiny" are two concepts he employed to prove the point that "being" alone exists and that "nonbeing" as creator or primal body is absolutely non-existent.

"Self-generated" and "self-sufficient": The "nature" of things is the basis for their existence, but how does this "nature" originate? Is its emergence with some purpose, or condition? Guo Xiang said: "Things exist by themselves without a source; this is the way of Heaven" and "the emergence of things is just out of their own accord." If the "nature" of a thing is not "self-generated," then it must be given by others or intentionally produced by a creator. Yet this thing becoming this thing and that thing becoming that thing is not something else making this or that thing emerge and exist, nor even making itself emerge and exist; therefore "self-generation" can only be produced "unexpectedly," "abruptly" and "spontaneously" by itself. Were there any reason or purpose for the emergence and existence of a thing, it would inevitably lead to the admission of the existence of an initiator. Then what is the relation between one "self-generated" thing and another "self-generated" thing? Guo Xiang held that everything is "self-generated" and its existence is "entirely in keeping with its own nature" and therefore is "self-

sufficient" (*wudai*). On the one hand, "self-sufficiency" is possible because "things produce themselves"; "things produce themselves without relying on anything else." On the other hand, anything can be "self-sufficient" as long as it "conforms with its own nature," and "is content with its own nature," "for when satisfied with its own nature, a giant roc does not despise the sparrow and the sparrow does not covet the heavenly lake and both are quite satisfied. Thus, big or small, all live in complacence." So, to insist on the premise that the "nature" of things is the only basis for their existence, one must recognize that it is "self-generated" and "self-sufficient."

"Self-transformation" and "mutual indispensability": To support the concepts of "self-generated" and "self-sufficient" requires the solution of another question. Suppose everything exists by itself, this being this and that being that with one differing from another, then are not all the things related? Suppose all the things are relative, then are not they limited? Suppose they are limited, then are not they "insufficient" (*you dai*)? To answer this question, Guo Xiang advanced the concept of "self-transformation" (*duhua*). By "self-transformation," he meant that everything emerges and generates independently, hence "self-sufficiency" is absolute. If we try to seek the cause and basis of the emergence and generation of things, ostensibly we can pursue this question infinitely, but ultimately we can come only to the conclusion of "self-sufficiency." Thus he said: "If we try to find out what a thing relies on and what is the cause of its creation, there will be no end and finally we will come to selfsufficiency and the working of self-transformation will be obvious." In his "Annotations on (Zhuangzi's) *Qi Wu Lun*" Guo Xiang cited an absolute example. He said that the bodily form, the shadow and the penumbra are all beings of absolute independence, for "thus throughout the realm of things, there is nothing, not even the penumbra, which is not 'selftransformed.'"

If one thing does not exist independently, then everything else is not independent, which will inevitably lead to the existence of a primal body(or creator) above "everything," serving as the basis of their existence and inevitably recognized as "a cause of creation and generation." Although things exist independently and self-sufficiently, as long as everything fully realizes its "nature," brings it into full play and "the wise stays wise till his last day and the dull goes on being dull till his death," then the ideal realm will be achieved where "Heaven and earth are not so long-lived but live along with me, and things in the world are not divergent, but the same as me."

Relating this way to every other thing has the greatest function; that is, "the greatest function of mutual indispensability is the perfection of self-transformation." Seen from another angle, everything is indispensable as long as it exists. Guo Xiang said: "A man, though only seven feet tall, possesses the five constant virtues; thus this mere body is provided with everything in the universe. Therefore none of the things in the world can be dispensed for one day. With one thing lacking, the living will not have means to live; with one law lacking, the living cannot fulfill their natural life-span." Thus, everything existent is rational, inevitable and not mutually exclusive. This view appears to contradict the doctrine of "self-transformation," but it does not. According to Guo Xiang, everything that exists is rational, inevitable and not mutually exclusive precisely because, as the condition for the existence of everything else, everything fully and absolutely brings its "nature" into full play, creates itself and generates self-sufficiently.

From this analysis of Guo Xiang's system of philosophical categories, we can see that his philosophy finally arrives at the doctrine of "self-transformation," and the concept of "exalted being" (*chongyou*) is merely a bridge to "self-transformation." What is more, in Guo Xiang's system, only after the establishment of the doctrine on "self-transformation" can one support "sublime being" and a relatively thorough refutation of a "nonbeing" above everything as the basis of the latter's existence.

If we want to know whether a philosopher is a materialist or idealist, or the characteristic of his philosophy, its ideological relations with its predecessors and successors and its place in history, we must first make an analysis of his categorical system.

iv. Analysis of the Similarities and Differences Between the Concepts and Categories of Chinese and Foreign Philosophies

A comparison between the categorical systems of Chinese and foreign philosophies will undoubtedly enable us to have a better understanding of the characteristics and level of traditional Chinese philosophy. Because of the breadth of this topic and the limited study conducted by this author, we can make only a rather superficial comparison here between Wei and Jin metaphysics and the Buddhist doctrine of *Prajñā* introduced into China in that period.

The central theme of Wei and Jin metaphysics is the question of "being and nonbeing, origin and outcome." Therefore "being" and "nonbeing" are two basic categories in the Wei and Jin metaphysics. The Buddhist *Prajñā*

doctrine also discussed the question of "being" and "nonbeing" (or the "void," *kong*), hence Dao-an said: "Of the twelve books, *Vaipuliya* is most copious and its doctrine on the void of being and non-being is similar to the teachings of Laozi (Lao Tzu) and Zhuangzi, thus the doctrine of Mahayana has been easy to spread in China." The concept of the "void" (or "nonbeing") of the Buddhist *Prajñā* school is actually different from the "nonbeing" advocated by Wang Bi and other Chinese metaphysicians, despite their apparent similarity. The Buddhist concept of original nonbeing, or *Tathata* in Sanskrit, has the meaning that "all the different *dharmas* are in their original nature void and empty" and that all things have no original actual forms. Wang Bi and other metaphysicians also talked about "original nonbeing" by which, however, they meant that everything "is based on nonbeing as its origin." Although the two concepts of "original nonbeing" cannot be considered to be entirely different, they do have vast differences in meaning. In Wei and Jin metaphysics, Wang Bi's thought succeeded the doctrines of Laozi(Lao Tzu). In his philosophical system, the category "nonbeing" is one and the same thing as "the way" or "principle"; as he said: "The extreme of greatness is nothing but the way! . . . though it is important that it has nonbeing as its phenomenon, yet it cannot do without nonbeing as its noumenon"; "nothing exists without principle; everything operates according to its own law." Obviously, the "nonbeing" used by Wang Bi is not the "void" or "non-existence," but the "substance" of a thing. The "original nonbeing" of the Buddhist *Prajñā* doctrine on the void only means that "all the different *dharmas* are in their original nature void and empty. "They held that everything is void of nature, but created through the association of *hetupratyaya*. From this one can see that the Buddhist *Prajñā* School in its discourse on the void refers not to "substance," but to "non-existence." As for the content of "being," the Wei and Jin metaphysicians usually referred to "universal being," namely, all sorts of actually existing things, whereas, on the other hand, in the translation of Buddhist scripts, terms denoting different meanings of "being" (existence) were all translated into the term "being."

After its introduction into China, Buddhism first attached itself to Daoist necromancy during the Eastern Han Dynasty and then to Wei and Jin metaphysics. The various schools of the *Prajñā* doctrine formed by Chinese monks during the Eastern Jin period generally still used metaphysical thought to explain the teachings of *Prajñā* until the arrival in China of Kumarajiva whose translations of *Madhyamika-sastra*, *Sata-sastra* and *Dvadasa-mikaya-*

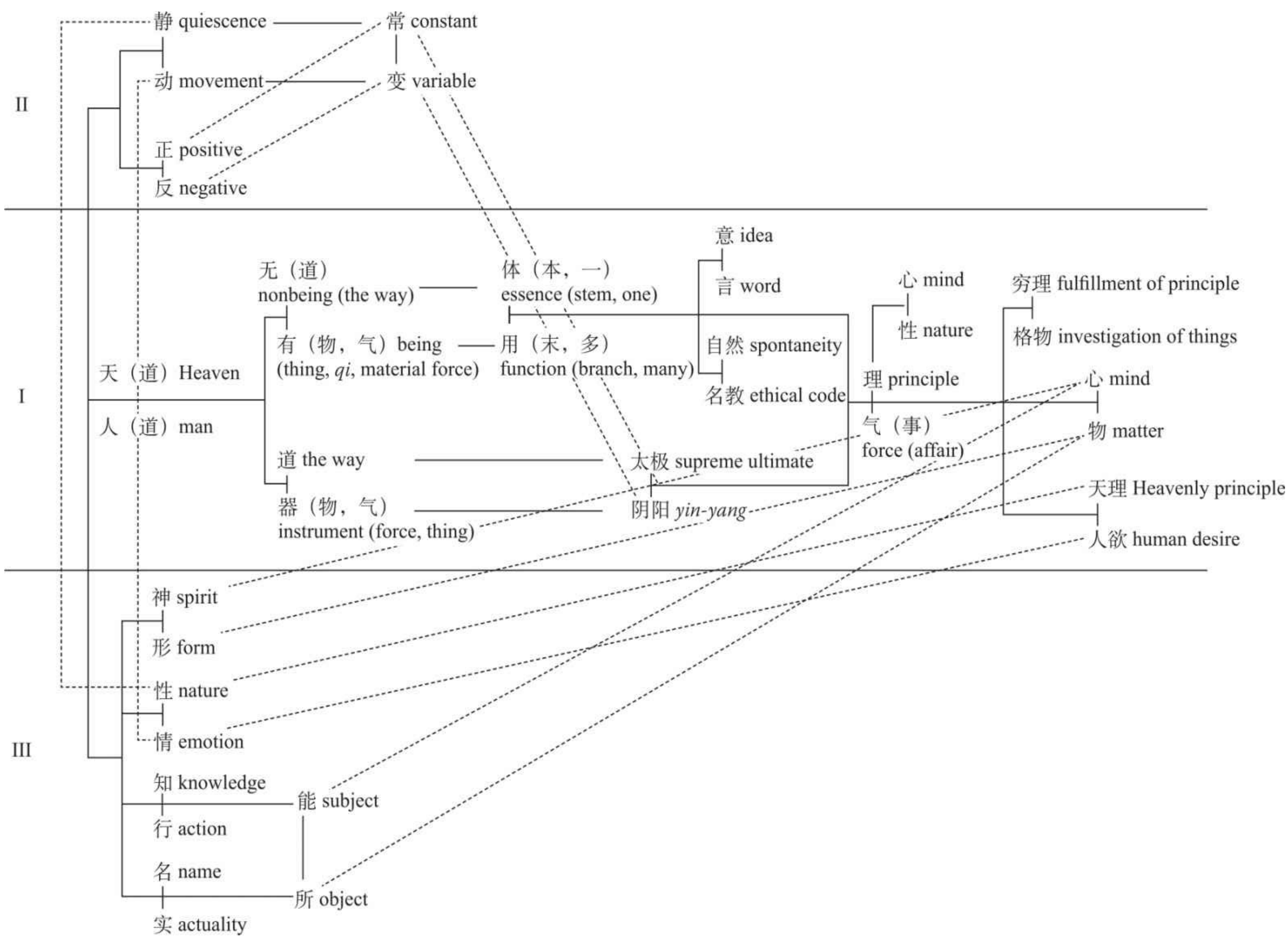
sastra of the *Maha-prajñāparamita-sastra* provided Chinese Buddhist with the material for understanding the true meaning of *Buddhist Praj* Seng Zhao's *On No Real Non-Existence*is more or less close to the original meaning of "neither being nor nonbeing" of the Buddhist *Prajñā* doctrine.

A comparison and analysis of the Chinese and foreign philosophical concepts and categories can thus show their characteristics and level of development as well as the impact of foreign culture on indigenous traditional culture and the process of a foreign culture being assimilated and becoming a component of the culture of the country (nation, or region) into which the foreign culture was introduced.

III. A Tentative Theory of the Categorical System of Traditional Chinese Philosophy

The term category has myriad definitions in the history of philosophy in the West. Aristotle in his *Categories* treated it as the basic mode of being and put forward ten categories such as substance, quantity, quality, relation, place, time, state, action and passion. And Kant described his twelve categories as principles related to cognition or as the precondition for constituting experience. Lenin said: "Categories are stages of distinguishing, i.e., of cognizing the world, focal points in the web, which assist in cognizing and mastering it."[4] *A Dictionary of Philosophy* published in the Soviet Union defines category as "the basic concept that reflects the most general and most essential character, aspect and relationship of the various phenomena and knowledge of reality." "Category" then is generally explained from the two aspects of the existence and knowledge of reality: from the aspect of existence it is defined as "the basic mode of existence" or "the most general and most essential character, aspect and relationship of the phenomena of reality"; from the aspect of knowledge it is defined as the "precondition for constituting experience" or "focal points in the web, which assist in cognizing and mastering it." The necessary precondition for knowledge is certainly the reflection and manifestation of the "basic mode of existence"while the "basic mode of existence" is meaningful only in the process of man's knowledge. From what we listed above, we can see the relationship between "category" and "concept": a category is a basic concept whereas a concept is not necessarily a category. Thus, what we are discussing here is what are the

categories or basic concepts of traditional Chinese philosophy. If, using the basic concepts of classic Chinese philosophers, we can form a system which shows how traditional Chinese philosophy identified and explained "the basic mode of existence" and which reveals the line of development of the traditional Chinese philosophical thinking, then we have proven that traditional Chinese philosophy does have a categorical system. This is presented first in the following diagram and further explained below.


II
静 quiescence
常 constant
动 movement
变 variable
正 positive
反 negative
I
无（道）
nonbeing (the way)
体（本，一）
essence (stem, one)
意 idea
言 word
有（物，气）being
(thing, qi, material force)
用（末，多）
function (branch, many)
自然 spontaneity
名教 ethical code
心 mind
性 nature
理 principle
气（事）
force (affair)
穷理 fulfillment of principle
格物 investigation of things
心 mind
物 matter
天（道）Heaven
人（道）man
道 the way
太极 supreme ultimate
器（物，气）
instrument (force, thing)
阴阳 yin-yang
天理 Heavenly principle
人欲 human desire
III
神 spirit
形 form
性 nature
情 emotion
知 knowledge
行 action
能 subject
名 name
实 actuality
所 object

In this diagram, twenty pairs of basic concepts make up the categorical system of traditional Chinese philosophy. This is certainly a very preliminary proposition. However, despite its many possible defects, it is intended to initiate discussion and study on this question. Here the author would like to explain some points:

i. This diagram is divided into three major parts. Part I is intended to indicate what basic concepts are used in traditional Chinese philosophy on the question of the existence of the world; Part II is meant to show what basic concepts are used to present the form of being; and Part III is meant to show what basic concepts are used to denote the existence and knowledge of man. The relationship between "Heaven" (or the Heavenly way) and "man" (or the way of man) has always been a central theme for discussion in traditional Chinese philosophy and it is around this question that the struggle between materialism and idealism has been waged in the history of Chinese philosophy. Zi Chan was the first Chinese philosopher to make a proposition on the relationship between the two when he wrote: "The way of Heaven is remote, whereas the way of man is near." Confucius attached importance to the "mandate of the Heaven" but he gave even greater attention to the "affairs of man." Although he mentioned that he "began to know the mandate of Heaven at the age of fifty," he seldom discussed this question. "The master was seldom heard discussing the question of nature and the Heavenly way," reports the *Analects* which, however, extensively records Confucius' sayings on the question of the "way of man." Mencius talked about "obeying nature, and knowing fate and Heaven," and the *Doctrine of the Mean* says: "Sincerity is the way of Heaven; knowing sincerity is the way of man." Xunzi said: "Grasp the way of Heaven and man." Laozi (Lao Tzu), the founder of Daoism (Taoism) said: "The Heavenly way is spontaneous non-activity," and he played down the importance of "humanness and righteousness"(the way of man). And Zhuangzi "was misguided by Heaven and ignorant of man." Dong Zhongshu, the Confucian master of the Han Dynasty, described his research as a study of "the relationship between Heaven and man." Sima Qian who was much influenced by Daoist thinking said that his *Historical Records* was a work of "investigations into the relationship between Heaven and man and the changes past and present." The Wei and Jin metaphysicians concentrated on the question of "spontaneity" (the way of Heaven) and "ethics" (the way of man). Hence, He Yan said: "Only with people like Wang Bi, can you discuss the question of the relationship between Heaven and man." The Song Neo-

Confucians of both the School of Principle (*Lixue*) and School of Mind (*Xinxue*) strongly believed: "The supreme ultimate (the principle of Heaven) is simply an utterly excellent and supremely good normative principle"; the supreme ultimate is an appellation for "all that is good in heaven and on earth, and among men and things." The "principles of Heaven" and the "desires of man" are still a question of the relationship between Heaven and man. Even Wang Fuzhi still made this a focal point in his philosophical discourse. He held that "Rites, no matter how pure they are, are merely expressions of the principles of Heaven inevitably to be found in the desires of man," and that "the desire of man, when reaching superb altruism is the perfection of the principle of Heaven." Thus, traditional Chinese philosophy proceeded from the discussion of the pair of categories: (the way of) Heaven and (the way of) man, an indication of the main attention and particular content of traditional Chinese philosophy.

ii. This diagram shows the development of the categories of traditional Chinese philosophy and their relationships. Proceeding from the study of the relationship between Heaven and man, traditional Chinese philosophy branches out into two parts: Daoism (Taoism) and Confucianism. Laozi (Lao Tzu) advanced the relationship between the "way" and "all things." He said: "The way creates one, one creates two, two create three and three create all things." He also said: "All things in the world are produced by being and being is produced by nonbeing," therefore the relationship between the "way" and the "thing" is also represented by the pair of categories "being" and "nonbeing." The Confucian School however proposed the categories the "way" and the "instrument" in the *Commentary on the Book of Changes*, which says: "That which shapes and is above is called the way and that which shapes and is below is called the instrument," and adds: "Change contains the supreme ultimate which produces two extremes," and "the alternation of *yin* and *yang* is called the way"; thus the relationship between the way and the instrument is reflected in the categories of the supreme ultimate and *yin* and *yang*. The Han Dynasty witnessed some development in philosophical thought, but it seems that practically no new and influential philosophical categories were advanced. The Wei and Jin metaphysics upheld three philosophical classes, *Laozi (Lao Tzu)*, *Zhuangzi* and *Zhou Yi*, which brought a gradual merging of Daoism(Taoism) with the Confucianism of the *Zhou Yi* system. This established the theory of a primal body as the origin of the universe, a theory with Laozi (Lao Tzu)'s and Zhuangzi's thought as the

framework. The Wei and Jin metaphysicians used categories such as "essence" and "function," "stem and branch," the "one" and the "many" to illustrate "nonbeing" (the primal) and "being" (everything or the various manifestations of this substance). They used "spontaneity" (essence) and "ethics" (function) to present the relationship between the "originality of the universe"(primal body) and "human social relations" (the various social positions and codes), and used the pair of categories "idea" and "word" to explain questions on understanding the substance of the universe. From the Wei and Jin dynasties and the Northern and Southern dynasties onward, traditional Chinese philosophical thought, under the impact of Buddhism introduced from India, evolved into the Neo-Confucianism of the Song Dynasty. If the Wei and Jin metaphysical doctrine on substance has the thought of Laozi (Lao Tzu) and Zhuangzi as the framework, then Neo-Confucianism of the Song-Ming period alternately were based on an objective idealism (represented by Zhu Xi), a subjective idealism(represented by Wang Yangming) and a fairly high level materialism(represented by Wang Fuzhi). The philosophical categories of this period succeeded Wei and Jin metaphysics and also absorbed Tang Buddhist thought in the Sui and Tang periods. Thus, there was a confluence of the thinking of Confucianism, Daoism (Taoism) and Buddhism within a Confucian framework. The most basic philosophical categories of the time became "principle" and *qi*, "mind" and "matter"; the question of "mind" and "nature" grew into the question of whether "mind is principle" or "nature is principle." Categories such as "subject" and "object," "investigation of things" and "fulfillment of principle" were used in the discussion of the question of knowledge and the categories "Heavenly principle" and "human desire" were used to discuss social issues. Lenin in his *On the Question of Dialectics* wrote:

> "Circles" in philosophy: (is a chronology of persons essential? No!) Ancient: from Democritus to Plato and the dialectics of Heraclitus. . . . Modern: Holbach—Hegel (via Berkeley, Hume, Kant). Hegel—Feuerbach—Marx.[5]

In his "Conspectus of Hegel's Book *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*," he wrote:

> Comparison of the history of philosophy with a circle. . . a circle on the great circle (a spiral) of the development of human thought in general.[6]

Hegel's comparison of the history of philosophy with a circle, as pointed out by Lenin, is a penetrating reflection of the law of development of the philosophical thought. This is of tremendous importance in our study of the development of traditional Chinese philosophic thought.

From the above diagram, we can see that the development of traditional Chinese philosophy is roughly made up of three spiraling circles. The first covers the period prior to the Qin Dynasty: the Confucian School, including Confucius, Mencius and Xunzi (or the *Commentary on the* Book of Changes); Daoism (Taoism) including Laozi(Lao Tzu), the School of Jixia (i.e., the "White Heart" and other works) and Zhuangzi, with the two Han dynasties forming a transitional period. The second circle was the period of the Wei and Jin dynasties represented by Wang Bi, Xiang Xiu, and Guo Xiang (or Wang Bi, Guo Xiang, and Seng Zhao). Buddhism was in vogue from the Northern and Southern dynasties through the Sui and Tang dynasties and after a period of development, Buddhism in China grew into several sects such as the Huayan (*Avatamsaka*) Sect and the Chan (Zen) Sect. The third circle covers the Song and Ming dynasties represented by Zhang Zai, Zhu Xi, and Wang Fuzhi.

iii. In the second column of the diagram only three pairs of categories are listed, of which the most fundamental is the pair "quiescence" and "movement," whose manifestation is the pair "constant" and "variable," though in fact "positive" and "negative" are also peculiar manifestations of "quiescence" and "movement." Although many philosophers of traditional Chinese philosophy discussed the question of "quiescence" and "movement," little discussion on the question of "time" and "space" was conducted among Chinese philosophers (except for the pre-Qin philosophers of the School of Names and philosophers of the later Mohist School). Philosophical propositions in traditional Chinese philosophy seem not to have been restricted by time or space and they paid little attention to the question whether movement took place in time and space. That is why we have not included the categories "time" and "space" in our diagram.

iv. The question of man (the way of man) was much discussed in traditional Chinese philosophy which was especially characterized by the study of the question of "morals" (ethics). Therefore careful consideration should be given to what should be included in the categorical system of traditional Chinese philosophy. In this diagram (column III) five pairs of categories (in fact not all of them are related to the way of man) seem to be

sufficient as basic concepts. "Spirit" and "form," or the relationship between spirit and body, are used for the study of the phenomena of the human life. This was discussed from pre-Qin days onward, with materialists and idealists holding different views. The question of "nature" and "emotion" might be looked at as the key ethical issue. There have been divergent views on the question of "nature" ever since the pre-Qin days, such as "man is born good by nature"; "man is born evil by nature"; "man is born with a mixed nature both good and evil"; "man is born neither good nor evil by nature" and "man is born good or evil by nature, all depending on the specific man," etc. On the question of nature and emotion, there were views that "nature is good whereas emotion is bad," "nature is quiescent and emotion is active," etc. The Wei and Jin metaphysicians paid considerable attention to this question, but concentrated on a discussion of the difference and similarity between the sage and the ordinary man. The Song and Ming Neo-Confucians divided nature into "the universal nature" and "the humoral nature," with the former stemming from the "principle of Heaven" and the latter from man's inherent emotion and desire or from the *qi* that makes up the body. Hence, this is still a question of nature and emotion and the importance of ethical education is to "maintain the principle of Heaven and suppress human desire." The question of "knowledge" and "action" also occupies a very important position in traditional Chinese philosophy. Most of the past Chinese philosophers upheld both "acknowledge" and "action" and thought the latter was even more important. The categories "name" and "actuality" were always contained in traditional Chinese philosophy and the categories "subject" and "object" were borrowed from Buddhism, but all four are related to the question of knowledge. Therefore column III of the diagram contains categories involving existence and knowledge.

IV. Discussion

As the categorical system of traditional Chinese philosophy is a rather broad and complicated issue, it calls for an earnest and extensive discussion. The following are only preliminary views on some of the questions:

i. Should the categories in the categorical system be in pairs?

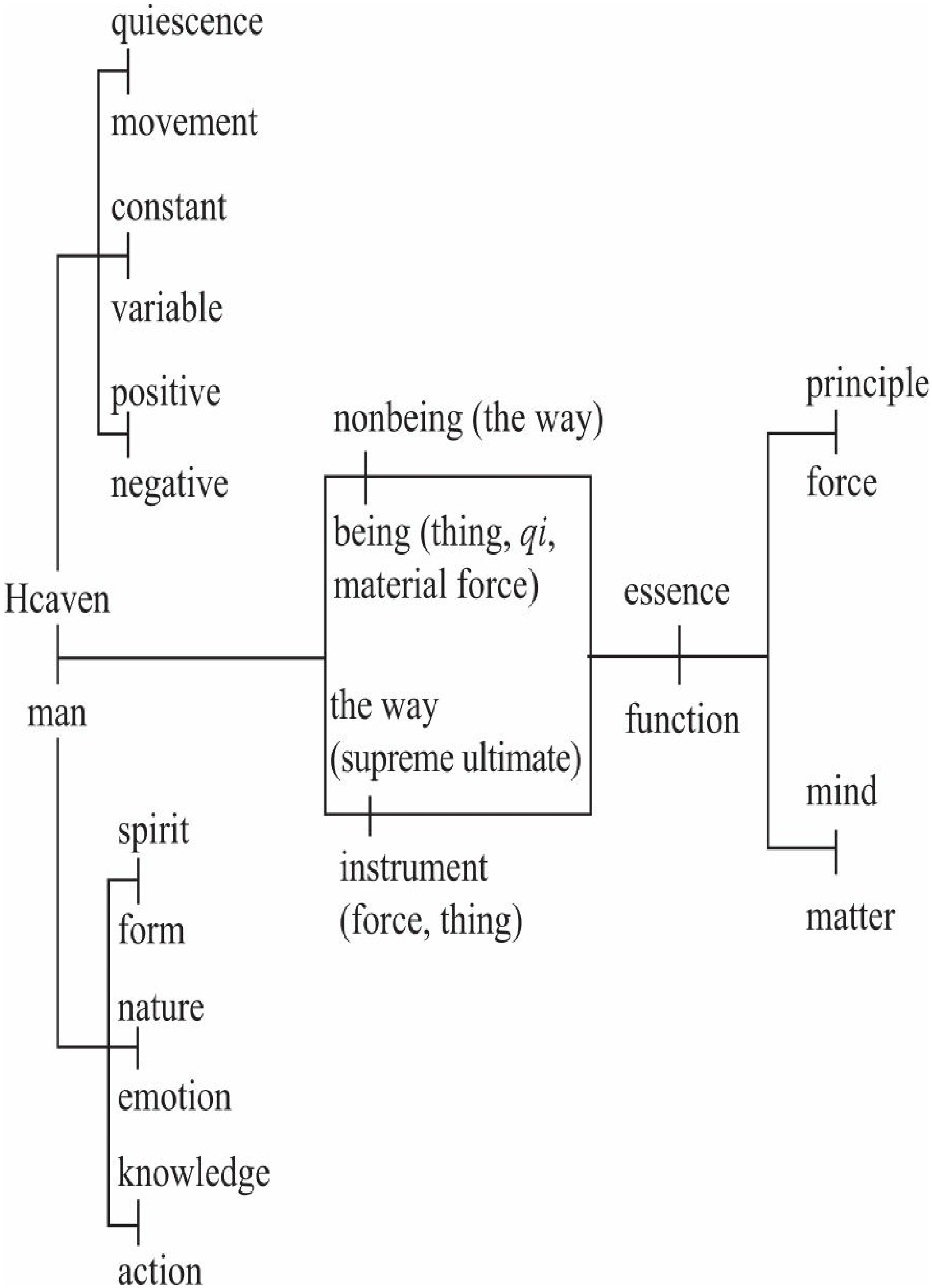
This question should be discussed in two aspects. On the one hand, in the history of philosophy, the philosophical categories used by a philosopher

may not be in pairs. For example, the concept "spontaneity" used by Laozi (Lao Tzu) seems not to have its opposite in the book *Laozi* (*Lao Tzu*). The concept *qi* used as the most general concept in the "White Heart" chapter of *Guanzi* did not seem to have its opposite either. However, taking the development of traditional Chinese philosophy as a whole, the categories are in pairs. For example, the concept "spontaneity" is paired with "ethics," and "principle" with *qi*. On the other hand, everything is contradictory, with two contradictory aspects, of which one does not exist without the other. Therefore, the categories which reflect the essential relationships of things must be in pairs of opposites. Some of the philosophical concepts and categories of traditional Chinese philosophy indeed seem to have no pairs of opposites, such as the "mean." We certainly cannot say there is a "counter-mean." Yet an analysis of the meaning of the mean may possibly lead to the solution to this question. Confucius advanced his "doctrine of the mean" to oppose "excess"; he said: "Excess amounts to insufficiency." Thus, the "mean" has the sense of "middle" or "correct." Therefore it would be sufficient to have the concepts of the "positive" and the "negative" in traditional Chinese philosophy since "mean" is included in the meaning of "positive."

Not all the categorical systems used by Western philosophers necessarily reflect the unity of opposites. Among the ten categories used by Aristotle, some can be paired up as opposites such as "quality" and "quantity," but "substance" has no specific opposite, though the other nine categories might be considered to be the opposites of "substance." The twelve categories used by Kant and the categories of the categorical system of Hegel's *Logik* are mostly pairs of opposites. Though divergent in their views on the categorical system, all Marxist philosophers agree that categories are in pairs, for instance, essence and phenomenon, content and form, necessity and chance, possibility and actuality, etc. Marxist philosophy holds that categories must be pairs of opposites; this is certainly a correct view and reflects the reality of things. Thus when we today study the categorical system of traditional Chinese philosophy and try to make it more systematically and scientifically reflect the characteristics and level of traditional Chinese philosophy, we should try to find out the law of unity of opposites in its categorical system.

ii. How many categories should the categorical system of traditional Chinese philosophy contain in order to be sufficient to indicate "the basic

pattern of being" or "the basic concepts that reflect the most fundamental characteristics, aspects and relationships of the phenomena and knowledge of the reality"? The twenty pairs of opposite basic concepts of the categorical system of traditional Chinese philosophy are merely a tentative proposition. They indicate mostly what the "world" and "man" are; for example, the existence of the "world" comprises "principle" and *qi* and the existence of "man" comprises "spirit" and "form." The categories used by Western philosophers, however, generally show the mode of existence and the "principles of knowledge." The contemporary categories of Marxist philosophy as a whole also show the characteristics and aspects of being and do not include the most basic concepts such as "mind" and "thing" in the categorical system. By this criterion, some of the categories listed above should not be included in the categorical system of traditional Chinese philosophy and some other concepts should be added. However, the way we have indicated the system of traditional Chinese philosophy might be just one approach, for the various categories listed in the diagram do indicate the "basic mode of existence" so far as their contents are concerned, and are also "focal points in the web" of man's knowledge. Would not, then, our way seem to be better suited to reflect the characteristics and level of traditional Chinese philosophy? Of course it would be even better if we could use less basic concepts to indicate traditional Chinese philosophy, such as the following diagram.


quiescence
movement
constant
variable
positive
negative
Hcaven
man
spirit
form
nature
emotion
knowledge
action
nonbeing (the way)
being (thing, *qi*, material force)
the way (supreme ultimate)
instrument (force, thing)
essence
function
principle
force
mind
matter

iii. Can "the categorical system of traditional Chinese philosophy" reflect its characteristics and level? This is a major question because serious research and thorough discussion are needed to ascertain the characteristics of traditional Chinese philosophy and its level. Could we venture to say that our diagram of the categorical system more or less reflects the characteristics and level of traditional Chinese philosophy? Apparently, traditional Chinese philosophy paid special attention to the study of the basic mode of existence and the existence of man and the relationships between things; that is, the identity of things, hence the multitude of concepts such as the "Heaven and man combine as one," the "knowledge and action combine as one," "essence and function are like one," "nonbeing originates in being," the "spirit and form combine as one," and "mind and matter are not two." Although traditional Chinese philosophy did not devote much discussion to such concepts as time and space, cause and effect which are not included in our diagram, yet as a categorical system, traditional Chinese philosophy already attained a fairly high level as compared with ancient Western and Indian philosophy in that it covered a vast scope, with basic concepts all in pairs and the development of the meaning of its concepts reflecting the world with increasing depth.

The categorical system of traditional Chinese philosophy has not been widely discussed and is a fairly new topic. Here, the author has ventured to propose some preliminary propositions with the aim of arousing interest in the discussion of this topic in the hope that the study of the history of Chinese philosophy, under the guidance of Marxism, will advance even more scientifically.

柒　论中国传统哲学范畴体系的诸问题*

亚里士多德的《范畴篇》对古希腊哲学的范畴作了总结，提出十个范畴并进行了深入分析。黑格尔的《逻辑学》对西方近代哲学的范畴作了总结，提出了一个较完整的范畴体系。中国传统哲学（即中国古代哲学）有没有一个范畴体系？为什么要研究和如何研究中国传统哲学的概念、范畴问题？本文打算对这些问题作一初步的讨论。

一、研究中国传统哲学范畴体系的意义

研究中国传统哲学的范畴体系有它的一般意义和特殊意义两个方面。就其一般意义说至少有以下三点：

1．研究哲学史当然要研究某一哲学家或哲学派别在历史上的作用，但哲学史的研究最终要解决的问题应该是揭示历史上哲学思想如此发展的逻辑必然性。比如说先秦哲学由孔子而孟子而荀子的哲学思想这样发展有什么逻辑必然性。一部以马克思主义为指导的科学的哲学史应当是既能揭示哲学思想发展的动因，又能揭示出哲学思想这样一种理论思维发展的内在逻辑。哲学是关于自然、社会、人类思维最一般规律的科学，它是以抽象思维形式表现出来的，因此可以说哲学思想的发展就其内容说是概念、范畴的提出，概念、范畴涵义的明确、丰富和不断发展的历史。我们研究哲学史上的概念、范畴是如何提出的，它的涵义如何由不明确、不很丰富到比较明确、比较丰富，概念、范畴的体系如何由简单到复杂、由不完整、不系统到比较完整、比较系统，对概念、范畴的发展过程进行具体的分析，就可以掌握哲学思想发展的规律，揭示出其发展的内在逻辑。

2．我们说，哲学史是唯物主义与唯心主义斗争的历史，并不是说唯物主义与唯心主义的斗争和人类认识发展的规律是两个过程，而是同一个过程。人类认识世界的历史是在唯物主义和唯心主义斗争中发展的，也就是说唯物主义和唯心主义的斗争就表现了人类认识发展的规律。而认识必然要使用概念和范畴，所以哲学史上的每一发展阶段都是围绕着对某些基本的概念或范畴的解释而展开，从而形成唯物主义和唯

心主义的斗争的。例如，从中国哲学史上看，在先秦唯物主义和唯心主义的斗争，大体上是围绕着天（道）人（道）、名实、知行、变常等等的不同解释而展开的；魏晋时期则是围绕着有无、体用、言意、名教和自然等几对概念而展开的；宋明是围绕着理气、心物、心性、能所等等的不同看法而展开的。研究概念、范畴发展的历史，正是揭示唯物主义和唯心主义斗争规律的关键。

不仅如此，而且可以认识某些概念、范畴在认识史上出现的必然性，有助于克服在以往哲学史的研究中所出现的对唯心主义持简单否定态度的缺陷。王弼是个唯心主义哲学家，但他首先提出了若干“帮助我们认识和掌握自然现象之网的网上纽结”的范畴，如体用、一多、言意等，尽管他的解释是不正确的，而他能提出这些范畴毕竟表现了人类认识的深化，这在哲学史上就应该肯定，给以应有的地位。有王弼“以无为本”“得意忘言”这样的思想的提出，才会有欧阳建的《言尽意论》和裴頠的《崇有论》的出现。所以研究哲学史上的概念、范畴和它的发展历史，也是正确评价哲学史上唯心主义和唯物主义不可缺少的一环。

3．恩格斯说：“迄今为止，学习哲学史是锻炼人们理论思维的唯一方法。”恩格斯这里说的哲学史并没有限定必须是科学的哲学史，倘若学习科学的哲学史当然更能起这样的作用。科学的哲学史必然是能揭示人类认识在唯物主义和唯心主义斗争中发展的规律的，而人类认识发展的历史最基本的内容则是概念、范畴发展的历史。由于概念、范畴在哲学史中的发展反映着人们认识的深入，我们研究它的发展历史就是把人类认识世界的过程在自己的思想中再想一次，当然是排除了种种偶然的、次要的因素，而抓住本质的、带规律性的内容的。这个重新思想的过程，必然使我们自己的思想也深化了。在我们研究概念、范畴发展的历史时，不仅要使人类使用概念、范畴认识世界的过程再现，而且必然要用某种方法使之再现，它只能是对概念、范畴的涵义、诸概念范畴之间的关系以及前后发展的逻辑联系进行理论上分析的方法，这种对概念、范畴的理论分析本身就是一种理论思维活动，就这一方面说，它也会有助于提高我们的理论思维能力。

以上三点都说的是研究概念、范畴的一般意义，因为研究任何哲学发展的历史（如西方的、印度的）都有这样的意义。而研究中国传统哲学的概念范畴和它发展的历史还有其特殊的意义，这就是可以使我们了解中国传统哲学的特点和发展的水平。西方哲学有它自己一套范畴体系，从亚里士多德的《范畴篇》到黑格尔的《逻辑学》表现了西方哲学的特点和不同历史时期哲学思想发展的水平。印度哲学也有它自己的一套范畴体系，就印度佛教说，从原始佛教到大乘空有二宗所使用的范畴大体上是前后相继，有其鲜明的特点，并表现了印度佛教在运用逻辑思

维、分析概念涵义上的较高水平。中国传统哲学确有它自己的一套概念、范畴，并且逐渐形成了一个较系统的体系。正因为中国传统哲学有自己一套概念、范畴，对这些概念、范畴就不能简单地用西方哲学的概念、范畴去套，甚至也不能简单地和马克思主义哲学的概念、范畴等同。

在我国哲学史上，长期形成的一套概念、范畴，除少量吸收了印度佛教的概念之外，基本上是独立发展的，所以它的特点也是很鲜明的，例如，在中国哲学史上，“天（道）”和“人（道）”这对范畴就非常重要，因此在中国传统哲学中不仅对天人关系的问题比较重视，而且特别重视人和人（社会）之间关系问题的研究。又如“体”和“用”这对范畴，它不仅包含有“本体”和“现象”的意思，而且有“根据”和“功用”、“全体”和“部分”、“抽象”和“具体”等等的意思，这样一些成对的概念、范畴及其体系自然充分地表现了中国传统哲学的特点，并反映了一定历史发展阶段上的理论思维水平。用一个不十分恰当的比方说，中国医学有其独特的传统，有着特殊的理论体系，使用着特殊的医学名词概念，尽管有些理论和成就我们还不能作出明确的科学解释，但既然在医疗实践上能取得良好的效果，它肯定反映了事物本质的某些侧面，包含着相当深刻的道理。就概念、范畴是知识成立的必要条件，是主观对客观联系的枢纽来说，一定概念、范畴的提出总是人们在思维实践上对客观事物某些侧面的认识获得的一定成果的反映，有什么样的概念、范畴就标志着人们的认识深化到什么程度。因此，我们研究中国传统哲学各个历史发展时期的概念、范畴，就可以看到我国历史上各个时期的理论思维水平。

在中国哲学史上，有三个时期的哲学对中国传统哲学范畴体系的形成有着较大的意义：一是先秦的诸子学；二是魏晋的玄学；三是宋明的理学。如果把这三个时期我国传统哲学的范畴体系和西方同期相比较，应当可以看到它有明显的特点和较高的水平。这样把我国传统哲学和其他国家、民族、地域哲学的范畴体系相比较，是比较哲学应当研究的重要课题。

二、怎样研究中国传统哲学的概念、范畴

研究中国传统哲学的概念、范畴，从根本上说必须用马克思主义的科学分析方法，我们如果仅仅提出在中国哲学史上曾经使用过哪些概念、范畴，这远不是我们研究中国传统哲学的概念、范畴所要达到的目的。因为那样并不能揭示出哲学思想发展的规律、了解唯物主义与唯心

主义斗争的规律和使我们的理论思维得到提高，特别是不能认识中国传统哲学的特点和水平。要达到上述目的就必须用马克思主义的科学方法：（l）分析概念、范畴的涵义；（2）分析概念、范畴涵义的发展；（3）分析哲学家（或哲学派别）的概念、范畴体系；（4）分析中外哲学概念、范畴的异同。只有在作了这样一些具体的分析研究的基础上，才有可能使中国哲学史的研究在科学化的道路上前进。

1．分析概念、范畴的涵义

一个或一对哲学概念（范畴）的提出，反映着人们对世界认识的水平，但是这个或这对概念的涵义是什么则要我们去分析。古代哲学家提出一新的概念，其涵义往往不如我们今天科学、明确，特别是在说明世界的本原时所用的概念更是不确定，而且有时含糊不清。例如，老子是第一个把“道”作为他的哲学体系的最高概念提出来的。他提出“道”这个概念，在春秋战国时期具有和“尊天”思想相对立的意义。他把“道”作为世界的本原，这当然是提高了中国古代哲学的思想水平，但“道”的涵义如何？老子自己也感到难以说清，他说：“吾不知其名，字之曰道，强为之名曰大”，所以他用了许多形容词来说明“道”：“寂兮寥兮”“恍兮惚兮”“窈兮冥兮”等等。看来，古代哲学家限于当时的客观条件和认识水平，要给表明世界本原的概念作出明确说明是多么不容易呀！因此，这就要求我们根据《老子》一书对“道”这一概念的涵义进行分析。[2]“自然”这一概念在中国哲学史上被广泛地使用，但各个哲学家对它的解释却不相同。最早把“自然”作为一哲学概念使用的也是老子，他的“自然”大体上是“无为”的意思，汉朝王充继承了这个意思，说“天道自然无为”。到魏晋，王弼、夏侯玄等“贵无派”，把“自然”看成就是“道”—宇宙本体。夏侯玄说：“天地以自然运，圣人以自然用。自然者道也，道本无名，故老氏强为之名。”

而且同一哲学家对“自然”的解释也并不一致，往往从几个方面去解释。这里我们以郭象的“自然”概念为例作些分析。郭象的“自然”至少有五点相互联系的涵义：第一，天人之所为皆“自然”。郭象注《庄子·大宗师》“知天之所为，知人之所为者，至矣”，说：“知天人之所为皆自然”。这就是说，郭象不仅把“天然”看成是“自然”，而且“人为”从某种意义上说也是“自然”。那么在什么意义上说“人为”也是“自然”呢？第二，“自为”是“自然”。郭象说：“言物自然者，无为之者也”，又说：“贵其无为而物之自为也”，可见他的“自然”有“任物之自为”的意思。那么为什么“自为”是一种“无为”呢？第三，“任性”即“自然”。郭象认为“自为”是“自然”，但“自为”并非任意而为，而是“率性而动”，即“任性而为”，“自然耳，故曰性”。“任自然”就是“任性”，既不使人从己，亦不舍己从人。第四，“必然”即“自然”。郭象说：“达命之情者，不务命之所

无奈何也，全其自然而已”，“知命”的不做“无奈何”的事这就叫“自然”，这里所谓“命”即“必然性”的意思。第五，“偶然”即“自然”。郭象说：“物各自然，不知其所以然而然”，就“不知其然”说，“自然”又有偶然性的意思。所以，在说明事物的“自生”时往往用“突然”“掘然”等等，都是说事物的存在是没有道理、说不出原因的。

按郭象“自然”概念的涵义有以上相互联系的五点，而其中最重要的是后面两点，即“自然”既有“必然”又有“偶然”的意思。必然和偶然本是一对相对立的概念，但从辩证的观点看必然和偶然是相互联系的，是能互相转化的，必然性又是通过偶然性表现出来。郭象用“自然”一词既说明“必然”又说明“偶然”，正是因为他认识到“必然”和“偶然”的相互联系：此一事物作为此一事物如此地存在，从一方面说是“必然”的，“物各有性”；从另一方面说又是“偶然”的，“忽尔自生”。在郭象的体系中，事物的存在必须兼有这两方面，缺一方面就无郭象哲学。从对郭象的“自然”概念涵义的分析，我们大体可以看到郭象哲学的特点和水平。

2．分析概念、范畴涵义的发展

不仅每个哲学家的概念、范畴的涵义不同，而且各个时代的概念、范畴的涵义往往也不相同。尽管如此，如果这种哲学思想是前后相承的，那么总可以发现概念、范畴涵义之间的继承关系。研究概念、范畴发展的历史，对于了解人们认识发展的规律是非常重要的。下面就中国传统哲学中“气”概念的涵义的发展作些分析，以便说明分析概念、范畴涵义发展的重要性。

早在春秋时期，就有思想家提出“气”对人的影响问题，如《左传·昭公元年》所记载的医知论“六气”。到战国，“气”成一普遍概念，不仅多以为人的形体由“气”构成，而且有以为人的精神也是由“气”构成。在《管子》书中有《白心》《内业》《心术》等篇，中说：“精也者，气之精者也”“凡物之精，化则为生”“下生五谷，上为列星，流于天地之间谓之鬼神，藏于胸中谓之圣人”“故有气则生，无气则死”等等。这就是说，“气”之中一种叫“精气”，凡是能得到它的似乎就有生命，这种“精气”如果到人的身体中，就会有聪明智慧，可以使人成为圣人。

战国时期，这种对“精神”作不科学解释的“精气说”，如果说仍是一种唯物主义，那么这种唯物主义观点已包含了很大的缺陷，致使在一定条件下可以被唯心主义所利用而成为其体系的组成部分；也可以为神仙家所吸收而改造，使之成为其鼓吹“长生不死”的根据。我们知道，孟轲也讲“气”，提出有一种“气”叫“浩然之气”。在《白心》等篇中说，“精气”能给人以聪明智慧，且“此气也，不可止之以力，而安之以德”，“气”本身就有聪明智慧，要由道德力量巩固它。到孟轲那里，他所说的“浩然之气”，就是“集义所生”的了。显然，孟轲所讲的这

种“气”就成为精神性的。到汉朝，董仲舒进一步把“气”道德化、神秘化，致使“气”成为上帝的意志和力量的表现。他认为“气”有刑、赏的能力，有善、恶的分别，有喜、怒、哀、乐的感情，这就使它虽保存了物质的外观，而失去了物质的特性。后来两汉谶纬迷信中关于“气”的种种说法，大体都是沿着董仲舒的观点发展的。

从先秦到两汉的一些史料中我们还可以看到，“气”和神形问题相联系多与“养生”有关，而“养生”则往往又是“成神”的一种手段。在《庄子》书中，所描写的“真人”“神人”等多是“神将守形，守形乃长生”者，他们“吸风饮露，不食五谷”，“一其性，养其气”，神与形合，即可达到“形全精复，与天地为一”的境界。《吕氏春秋》亦多载“养生”之谈，认为要做到“长生久视”则“气”必能在身体中不断流通，而“精气日新，邪气尽去，及其天年，此之谓真。”在《淮南子》中把“养气”“养形”“养性”往往看成是一回事，而且都和“气”的作用联系在一起，无论《吕氏春秋》还是《淮南子》都受到《白心》等篇“精气说”的影响，认为“精神”也是一种“气”（精气），它可以自由出入于身体，神形不离则可长生久视。

与此同时，从先秦到两汉也有继承此前把“气”看成是物质性的、构成天地万物的东西的哲学家。荀子认为天地万物包括人都是由“气”构成，“水火有气而无生，草木有生而无知，禽兽有知而无义，人有气有生有知亦且有义”。《淮南子·精神训》说宇宙最初是没有具体形象的混沌未分的元气，后由阴阳二气的互相作用而产生天地万物，“浊气为虫，精气为人”。王充更明确地说“天地合气，万物生焉”，而且万物的产生正是“气”运动的结果，“天之动行也，施气也；体动气乃出，物乃生矣”。为了反对董仲舒对“气”的唯心主义观点，王充特别提出“气”是无意志、无目的的，“气也，恬澹无欲，无为无事者也”“气若云烟，安能听人辞”。但是，王充和《淮南子》书中的观点一样，仍然把人的精神（或生命现象）看成是“精气”，他说：“人之所以生者，精气也，死而精气灭”。可见在我国古代哲学史上关于“气”的学说，从对这个概念涵义的分析上，就可以明显地发现其间的前后继承关系了。上述三个方面关于“气”的学说，或者说关于“气”的几种涵义，到东汉末都汇合在道教的思想之中，兹不详述。

3．分析哲学家（或哲学派别）的概念、范畴体系

在哲学史上，比较重要的哲学家在建立其哲学体系时，必然要使用一系列的概念、范畴，因此研究其概念、范畴相互之间的关系，是我们深入解剖其思想体系的基本要求。一个哲学家思想体系水平的高低往往和他使用概念、范畴是否丰富、是否成体系，以及其概念、范畴的涵义是否反映事物之间的本质联系有关系。从对哲学史上的哲学家（或哲学

派别）的研究方面说，有时看法不同或者也是由于没有对其概念、范畴体系作全面而系统的分析引起的。例如，郭象的哲学如仅从他分析“有”和“无”这对范畴的关系看，或者可以说他的思想是唯物主义的，但是郭象的哲学之所以成为魏晋玄学发展的高峰，并不是由于他对“有”和“无”的关系提出了和王弼不同的看法，而在于他有一比较完整的思想体系。郭象的哲学思想体系分析起来，大体上可以说是由下述四组基本概念构成的（当然在郭象哲学中还有其他一些重要概念，这里就不说了）。

“有”和“无”：魏晋玄学所讨论的中心是“本末有无”问题，郭象的哲学也可以说是从讨论这个问题开始的。郭象认为，“有”（或“万有”）是唯一的存在，是“常存”的，“夫有之为物，虽千变万化，而不得一为无”，“言天地常存，乃无未有之时”。至于“无”，他则认为在“有”之上的造物主或作为本体的“无”是不存在（non-existence），就是“无物”（nothing），所以他说：“无则无矣，则不能生有”；“请问造物者，有邪无邪？无也则胡能生物？”“无”既然是“无”，怎么能生物？所以郭象哲学一开始就否定在“万有”之上有一个“造物主”，或者说有一个与“有”相对立的本体之“无”作为它存在的根据。但是，郭象哲学并未就此止步，而是继续讨论下去了。

“性”和“命”：事物的存在既然不是以本体的“无”为根据，那么事物的存在有没有什么根据呢？照郭象看，不能说“万有”的存在是没有任何根据，万物既然存在了，其存在本身就是其存在的根据，具体地说，其存在的根据就在于其“自性”，“物各有性，性各有极”。郭象的所谓“性”就是指“此物之所以为此物者”，有“规定性”的意思，所以他说：“天性所受，各有本分，不可逃，亦不可加。”“物各有分（性分），故知者守知以待终，而愚者抱愚以至死，岂有能中易其性？”所谓“命”，郭象则把它解释为“必然性”，如他说：“命也者，言物皆自然而无为之者”，“知不可奈何者命也”。很明显，他的“性”和“命”两概念的涵义都是为了论证“有”是唯一的存在，而作为造物主或本体的“无”是根本不存在的。

“自生”和“无待”：事物的“自性”是其存在的根据，而此“自性”又是如何产生的？它的产生是不是有目的、有条件的？郭象说：“物各自生，无所出焉，此天道也，”“物之生也，莫不颓然而自生。”如果事物的“自性”不是“自生”的，那么就是其他事物所给予的，是造物主有目的创造的。然而此事物之所以成为此事物，彼事物之所以成为彼事物，是没有什么使它这样或那样地产生和存在，甚至也不能认为是它自己使它这样或那样地产生和存在，所以“自生”只能是“欻然自生”“突然自生”“自然而生”。事物的产生和存在如有什么原因和目的，则必然导致承认有

主使者。那么“自生”的事物和其他“自生”的事物是个什么关系呢？郭象认为，任何事物都是“自生”的，其存在都是“自足其性”的，所以是“无待”的。一方面“无待”之所以可能是因为“物各自造”，“物各自造，而无所待焉”；另一方面只要“适性”“安性”，则“无待”对于任何事物来说都是可以达到的，“苟足于其性，则虽大鹏无以自贵于小鸟，小鸟无羡于天池，而荣愿有余矣。故小大虽殊，逍遥一也。”所以要坚持事物存在的根据除其自身的“自性”外，再没有其他任何根据和条件，就必须承认它是“自生”的“无待”的。

“独化”和“相因”：要把“自生”和“无待”的观点坚持下去，还有一个重要问题要解决。如果说，每个事物都是一个个的存在，此事物就是此事物，彼事物就是彼事物，互相分别，那么所有的事物岂不都是相对的？如果都是相对的，那么岂不还要受到限制？如果要受到限制，那么岂不仍是“有待”的？为了解决这个问题，郭象提出了“独化”的概念。所谓“独化”是说任何事物的生生化化都是独立自足的，因此“无待”是绝对的。如果要追求事物生生化化的原因和根据，表面上看来可以无穷无尽地追求下去，但追求到最后只能得出“无待”的结论来，所以他说：“若责其所待，而寻其所由，则寻责无极，卒至乎无待，而独化之理明矣”。郭象在《齐物论注》中举了一个极端的例子，他说形、影和罔两（影外之阴）都是独立自足的、绝对的存在，“是以涉有物之域，虽复罔两，未有不独化于玄冥者也”。

如果有一物不是独立自足的存在，那么其他任何事物也都不能独立自足的存在，这样就必然引出在“万有”之上仍有一作为其存在根据的本体（或造物主），而势必承认有“生化之本”了。事物尽管是独立自足的存在，只要每个事物都完满地实现其“自性”，充分地发挥其“自性”，“知者守知以待终，而愚者抱愚以至死”，那么就可以达到“天地未足为寿，而与我并生；万物未足为异，而与我同得”的境界。这样对其他任何事物就有最大的功用，“相因之功，莫若独化之至”。从另一个角度看，任何存在着的事物，只要是存在着的它就是不可少的，就不能不存在，郭象说：“人之生也，形虽七尺，而五常必具，故区区之身，乃举天地以奉之。故天地万物，凡所有者，不可一日相无也。一物不具，则生者无由得生；一理不至，则天年无缘得终。”因此，凡是存在的都是合理的、必然的，而且是不互相排斥的。这个观点似乎与“独化”说有矛盾，其实不然。因为照郭象看，存在着的事物都是合理的、必然的，而不是互相排斥的，正是以每一事物都能充分地、绝对地发挥其“自性”、独立自足地生生化化为条件。

从对郭象哲学范畴体系的分析看，他的哲学最后要建立的是“独化”说，而“崇有”不过是达到“独化”说的阶梯。而且在郭象的体系中唯

有建立其“独化”学说，才可以坚持“崇有”，而较为彻底地否定在“万有”之上还有一作为其存在根据的“无”。

我们要了解一个哲学家是唯物主义还是唯心主义、他的哲学的特点以及他的哲学思想的前后继承关系和历史地位，都必须通过对其范畴体系的分析才可以得到。

4．分析中外哲学概念、范畴的异同

在对中外哲学概念范畴的分析比较中，可以更好地认识中国传统哲学的特点和水平，这点是毫无疑义的。由于这个问题比较大，作者又没有作过仔细、深入的研究，这里只就魏晋玄学和当时传入的印度佛教般若学这一个问题作一点粗浅的比较分析。

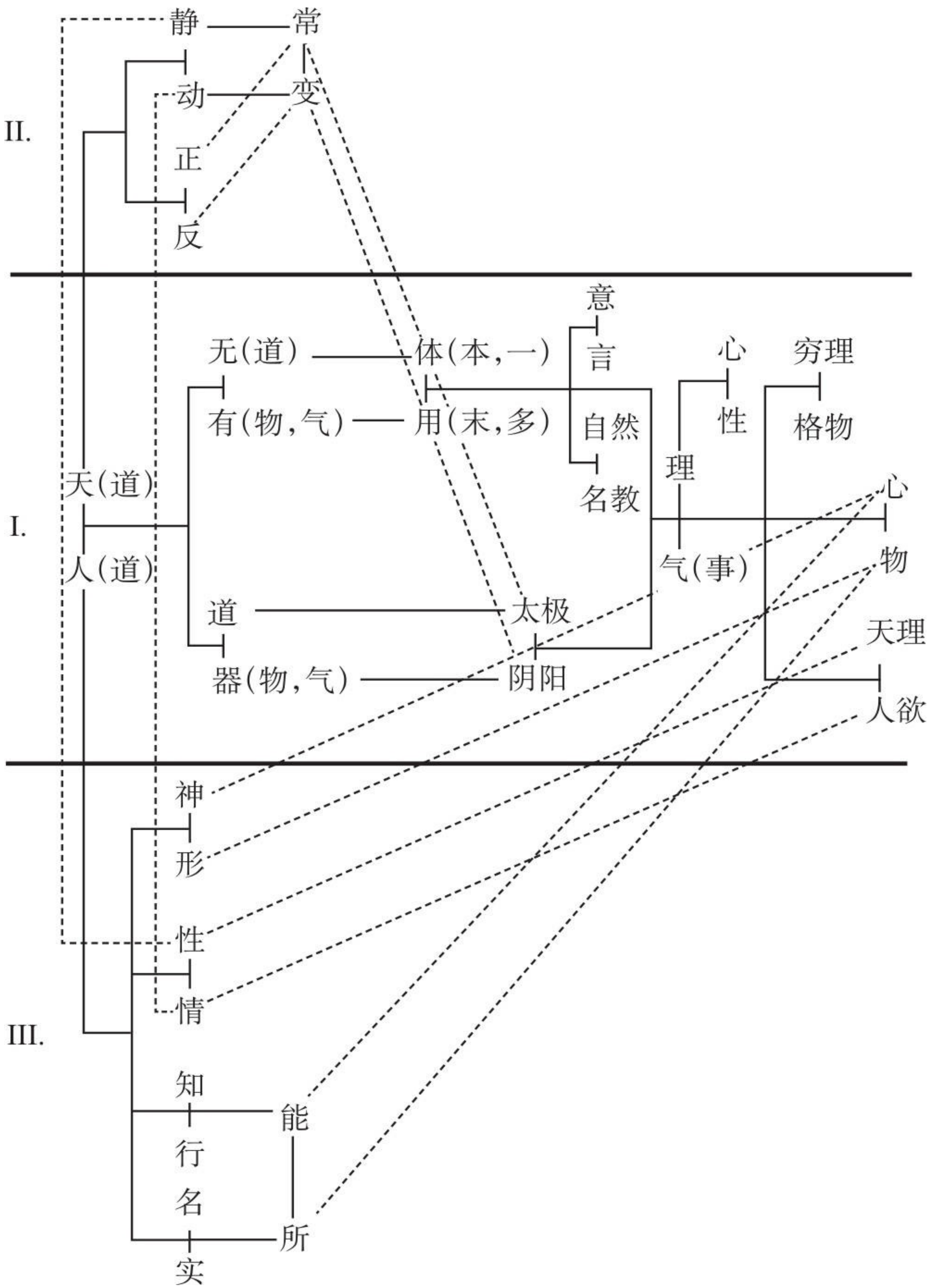
魏晋玄学所讨论的主要问题是“本末有无”问题，所以“无”和“有”两个概念是玄学的最重要的基本概念。佛教般若学所讨论的问题也是“有”和“无”（或“空”）的问题，所以道安说：“于十二部，毗目罗部最多，以斯邦人老庄教行，与方等经兼忘相似，故因风易行耳。”但佛教般若空宗讲的“空”（或“无”）虽与玄学家王弼等讲的“无”有相似处，实并不相同。汉末灵帝光和二年（179年）支娄迦谶译出《道行般若波罗蜜经》中有“本无品”，“本无”是梵文Tathatā的意译，后来译为“真如”，而在《道行经·本无品》中所说的“本无”是“诸法本无自性”的意思，所有的事物都没有实在的自体。玄学家王弼等也讲“本无”，意思是说万物“以无为本”，所有的事物都以“无”为本体。这两种“本无”思想虽不能说全然不同，但其涵义却有很大差别。从魏晋玄学说，王弼的“本无”思想是继承了老子的学说，在他的哲学体系中“无”这一概念和“道”或“理”是同一的，“夫大之极也，其唯道乎！……虽贵以无为用，不能舍无以为体”；“物无妄然，必由其理”，所以王弼的“无”不是说“虚空”或“不存在”（non-existence），而是指事物的“本体”（substance）。佛教般若空宗的“本无”只是讲的“诸法本无自性”，他们认为任何事物都是因缘和合而成，并无实在的自性。从这里看，般若空宗说的“空”不是指的“本体”（substance）而是说的“虚空”（non-existence）。至于“有”的涵义，魏晋玄学所讲的“有”一般都是说“万有”，即形形色色的具体存在物，但在我们所翻译的佛经中，把佛教中不同涵义的“有”（存在）往往都译为同一个“有”。[3]

佛教传入中国，在东汉先是依附于中国的道术，到魏晋玄学流行以后又依附于玄学，东晋时所出现的我国僧人的般若学各派大体上也还是用玄学思想了解般若学，一直到鸠摩罗什来华，译出《般若经》的释论《大智度论》和《中论》《百论》《十二门论》等，在中国才对印度佛学的般若学的原意了解了。僧肇的《不真空论》是比较近印度佛教般若学讲“非有非无”的原意的。

我们在对中外哲学概念、范畴的比较分析中，可以看到它们各自的特点和水平，也可以看到一种外来文化思想的传入对原有的传统文化思想发生影响的过程，以及外来文化思想如何被吸收而成为所传入的国家（民族、地域）文化思想的一个组成部分。

三、关于中国传统哲学范畴体系的构想

“范畴”从西方哲学史上看有种种解释，亚里士多德的《范畴篇》把它看作是存在的基本样式（mode），他提出十个范畴：本质（substance）、量（quantity）、质（quality）、关系（relation）、位置（place）、时（time）、占有（state）、作用（action）、遭受（passion）等。康德的12范畴说是与认识有关的原则或说是构成经验的条件。列宁说：“范畴是在区分过程中的一些小阶段，是帮助我们认识和掌握自然现象之网的网上纽结。”苏联《哲学辞典》说：“反映现实世界各种现象和认识的最一般的和最本质的特性、方面和关系的基本概念。”看来，对“范畴”大体上是从现实界的存在和认识两个方面来说明的：说它是“存在的基本样式”或“现实界各种现象的最一般的和最本质的特性、方面和关系”，是就存在方面说的；说它是“构成经验的条件”或“认识和掌握自然现象之网的网上纽结”，是就认识方面说的。而认识的必要条件必然是反映和表现“存在的基本样式”；而“存在的基本样式”又只是在人们的认识过程中才有意义。从上述一些说法中，我们还可以看出“范畴”和“概念”的关系，范畴是基本概念，概念并不都是范畴。因此，在这里我们要讨论的是，中国传统哲学的基本概念即范畴应有哪些。如果我们能根据中国古代哲学家所使用的基本概念构成一个能表现中国传统哲学是如何用以认识和说明“存在的基本样式”的体系，并能从中揭示中国传统哲学思想发展的线索，那就证明中国传统哲学确有其范畴体系。下面先用一图表（见下图）来表明，然后再作一些必要的说明：



II.
静
常
动
变
正
反
I.
意
言
无(道)
体(本,一)
有(物,气)
用(末,多)
自然
名教
心
性
理
气(事)
穷理
格物
心
物
天(道)
人(道)
道
太极
器(物,气)
阴阳
天理
人欲
III.
神
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在这个图表中共用了20对中国传统哲学的基本概念构成中国传统哲学的范畴体系，这当然是一个很初步的构想，问题一定很多，目的是想引起大家进一步地研究和讨论。对这个中国传统哲学范畴体系的构想图表，我想说明以下几点：

1．这个构想图表分为三大栏，第一栏（Ⅰ）是想说明中国传统哲学中用了哪些基本概念表述世界的存在；第二栏（Ⅱ）是想说明用了哪些基本概念表述存在的形式；第三栏（Ⅲ）是想说明用了哪些基本概念表述人的存在和认识。“天（道）”和“人（道）”的关系问题一直是中国传统哲学讨论的中心，中国哲学史上的唯物主义和唯心主义的斗争大都也是围绕这个问题进行的。子产第一个明确地提出这两者之间关系的命题：“天道远，人道迩”。孔子一方面很重视“天命”，而另一方面更重视“人事”。他“五十而知天命”，却比较少讲这个问题，“夫子之言性与天道，不可得而闻也”，可是《论语》大量记载他讲“人道”的问题。孟子讲“尽心，知性，知天”，《中庸》说“诚者天之道，诚之者人之道”，荀子讲“制天命而用之”，都是讲的“天人关系”问题。道家的老子讲“天道自然无为”，而压低“仁义”（人道）；庄子“蔽于天而不知人”。汉朝的儒家大师董仲舒说他自己讲的是“天人相与之际”的学问；受道家影响比较深的司马迁也说《史记》是“究天人之际，通古今之变”的著作。魏晋玄学讨论的“本末有无”问题，就其内容说仍是“自然”（天道）与“名教”（人道）的关系问题，所以何晏说：“若王弼者，始可与言天人之际。”宋儒无论理学还是心学，都把“人心惟危，道心惟微，惟精惟一，允执厥中”称为“十六字心传”。朱熹认为“太极（天理）只是个极好至善底道理”，“是天地人物万善之好底表德”，“天理”和“人欲”问题仍是天人关系问题。直到王夫之仍然把这个问题作为他讨论的重点，他认为“礼虽纯为天理之节文，而必寓于人欲以见”，“人欲之大公即天理之至正矣”。所以，中国传统哲学是从讨论“天（道）”和“人（道）”这对范畴的关系开始而展开的，它反映了中国传统哲学所注重的问题和特殊内容。

2．这个构想图中表述了中国传统哲学范畴的发展及诸范畴之间的关系。中国传统哲学从研究“天（道）”和“人（道）”的关系开始，而分为两支：一支为道家，老子提出“道”和“万物”的关系，他说：“道生一，一生二，二生三，三生万物”，又说：“天下万物生于有，有生于无”，因此“道”和“物”的关系又以“无”和“有”这对概念表现；另一支是儒家，在《易传》中提出“道”和“器”这对范畴，说：“形而上者谓之道，形而下者谓之器”，又说：“易有太极，是生两仪”，“一阴一阳谓之道”，所以“道”和“器”的关系又以“太极”和“阴阳”这对概念表现。两汉时哲学思想虽有发展，但似乎没有提出新的有影响的范畴。魏晋玄学主三

玄（《老子》《庄子》《周易》），而使道家系统的思想和儒家《周易》系统的思想渐结合，而实是以老庄思想为骨架而建立了关于宇宙本原问题的本体论。魏晋玄学用"体""用"、"本""末"、"一""多"等概念说明"无"（本体）和"有"（万物，本体的种种表现），用"自然"（体）和"名教"（用）这对概念表述"宇宙本然"（即本体）和"人类社会关系"（即名分教化之类）的关系，用"意"和"言"这对概念说明对宇宙本体的认识问题。自魏晋南北朝以后，中国传统哲学经过印度佛教的冲击，到宋形成理学。理学实是吸收了佛教的思想而形成的新儒学体系。如果说魏晋玄学讲的本体论是以老庄思想为骨架，那么宋明理学确为儒家学说建立了客观唯心主义体系（朱熹）、主观唯心主义体系（王守仁）和较高水平的唯物主义体系（王夫之）。这个时期的哲学概念继承了魏晋玄学的，又吸收了隋唐佛学的，而使儒、道、佛三家在儒家思想基础上汇合了。"理"和"气"、"心"和"物"成为当时哲学的最基本的概念；"心"与"性"展开为"心即理"和"性即理"的问题；"能"和"所"、"格物"和"穷理"等是认识论的问题；"天理"和"人欲"是社会问题。列宁在《谈谈辩证法问题》中说：

> "哲学史上的圆圈：古代：从德谟克利特到柏拉图以及赫拉克里特的辩证法。……近代：霍尔巴赫——黑格尔（经过贝克莱、休谟、康德）。黑格尔——费尔巴哈——马克思。"

在《黑格尔<哲学史讲演录>一书摘要》中说：

> "把哲学史比做圆圈……"
> "每一种哲学思想=整个人类思想发展的大圆圈（螺旋）上的一个圆圈。"

列宁所指出的黑格尔关于"把哲学史比做圆圈"的思想，深刻地反映了哲学思想发展的规律，这对我们研究中国传统哲学思想发展有非常重要的意义。

从这个范畴体系的构想图中，我们可以看到中国传统哲学基本上是由三个螺旋上升的圆圈构成的：第一个是先秦，从儒家说是孔子—孟子—荀子（或《易传》）；从道家说是老子—稷下学派（即《白心》等篇）—庄子，两汉是个过渡阶段。第二个是魏晋，王弼—向秀—郭象（或王弼—郭象—僧肇）。南北朝到隋唐佛教盛行，经过一段时间的发展形成了中国的宗派如华严宗、禅宗等。第三个是宋明，张载—朱熹—王夫之。

3．在构想图中的第二栏（Ⅱ）只列了3对范畴，而最根本的一对范畴是"静"和"动"，"常"和"变"是"静"和"动"的表现，其实"正"和"反"也

是"静"和"动"的一种特殊表现形式。中国传统哲学中虽然讨论"静"和"动"的哲学家很多，但"时""空"问题除先秦名家和后期墨家有较多的讨论外，以后讨论的则不太多，也不普遍。从中国传统哲学看，它的哲学命题似乎不受时、空的限制；运动是否在时空中也不注意。所以，在这里我们没有把"时""空"这类概念列在这个范畴体系构想图中。

4．在中国传统哲学中，关于"人（道）"方面的问题研究得比较多，特别是"道德"（伦理）问题的讨论更是中国传统哲学的特点，因此到底在范畴体系中应列入哪些，要很好地研究。在这个构想图中（见III栏）只列了5对（有些也不全是"人（道）"问题），作为哲学的基本概念是不是大体也够了。"神"和"形"是说"精神"和"身体"的关系问题，是讨论人的生命现象，这个问题从先秦一直讨论下来，有唯物主义的和唯心主义的不同看法。"性""情"问题可以说是伦理道德的核心问题，对"性"自先秦以来就有种种不同看法，有"性善说""性恶说""善恶混说""无善无不善说""善恶以人异说"等等；而"性"和"情"的关系又有"性善情恶""性静情动"等不同说法。到魏晋玄学对这个问题仍很注意，它成为讨论"圣人"与"一般人"的异同的一个重要问题。宋明理学分"性"为"天命之性"和"气质之性"，而所谓"天命之性"是从"天理"来的；"气质之性"是生来固有的感情、欲望等，是从构成身体的"气"得来的，这还是一个"性""情"问题，而道德教化的重要就在"存天理，灭人欲"。"知""行"问题在中国传统哲学中占有很重要的地位，就中国传统哲学看，多数哲学家都主张既要"知"又要"行"，而且以为"行"更重要。"名""实"问题是中国传统哲学原来就有的，而"能""所"这对概念则是从佛教中吸取的，都是关于人的认识问题。因此，构想图的第三栏（III）所列是表明人的存在和认识的概念。

四、问题讨论

关于中国传统哲学的范畴体系是个很复杂、又涉及很多方面的问题，因而需要大家来切实地研究讨论，这里提出几个问题作一点初步的讨论：

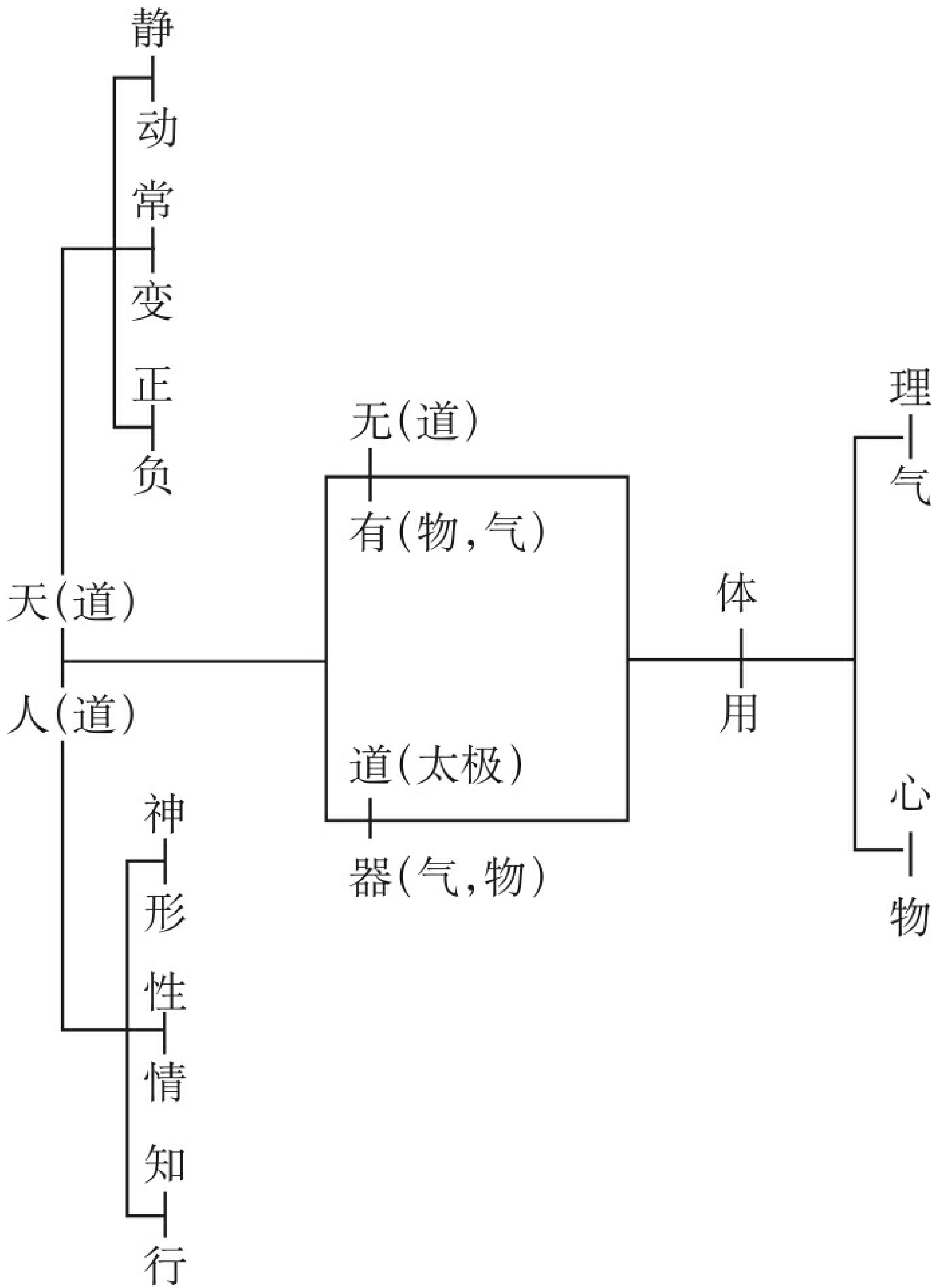
1．范畴体系中的范畴是否应成对？

关于这个问题要分成两个问题来讨论，一个问题是从哲学史上说一个哲学家使用的概念、范畴并不一定都成对，例如老子提出"自然"这个概念，在《老子》书中或者还没有另一与之相对的概念；在《管子》书《白心》等篇中"气"作为最一般的概念似乎也没有一相对的概念。但是，从整个中国传统哲学的发展看，范畴都是成对的。如"自然"和"名

教”就构成一对范畴；“气”和“理”就构成一对范畴。另一问题是，就任何事物来说都是矛盾的，都有矛盾的双方，决没有只有一方而无另一方，因此反映事物本质联系的范畴也应是成对的。在中国传统哲学中有一些概念、范畴似乎并不成对，例如“中庸”，我们当然不好说“反中庸”和它构成了一对相对的概念。但是，我们从“中庸”的涵义方面来分析，这个问题或者可以解决。孔子提出“中庸之道”是为了反对“过”的，他说：“过犹不及。”所以就“中庸”的涵义说是“中”或“正”的意思，因此中国传统哲学的范畴体系中有“正”和“反”这对范畴就可以了，“正”可以包含“中庸”。

从西方哲学史上看，一些哲学家的范畴体系似乎也并不都是根据对立统一而表现的，在亚里士多德的10个范畴中有的是成对的，例如“质”和“量”，但“本质”（substance）则没有一具体相对的范畴，当然也可以说其他9个范畴都和“本质”构成一对范畴。康德的12范畴和黑格尔的《逻辑学》的范畴体系分析起来，所列范畴大都是成对的，马克思主义哲学家关于范畴体系的看法虽不一致，但都认为范畴应是成对的，例如“本质和现象”“内容和形式”“必然性和偶然性”“可能性和现实性”等等，马克思主义哲学认为范畴必然是成对的，这无疑是正确的，它反映了事物的本来面貌。因此，我们今天研究中国传统哲学的范畴体系，使中国传统哲学的范畴系统化，比较科学地反映中国传统哲学的特点和水平，也应该在它的范畴体系中体现对立统一的规律。

2．中国传统哲学范畴体系中应包含多少对范畴就足够表明“存在的基本样式”或“反映现实界各种现象和认识的最一般的和最本质的特性、方面和关系的基本概念”？这里提出20对基本概念构成中国传统哲学的范畴体系，只是一个尝试，可能不能成立。这20对范畴大都说“世界”和“人”是什么，如说“世界”的存在有“理”有“气”，“人”的存在有“形”有“神”等等。西方哲学家所说的范畴往往是说的“存在的样式”或“认识的原则”。就目前马克思主义哲学的范畴说，一般也是说的存在的特性方面和关系，而并不把“心”和“物”这样的最基本的概念放在范畴体系中。如果用这个标准看，上面所列中国传统哲学范畴体系中有些范畴就不能列入，而应补充另外一些概念。但是，我们这样来表述中国传统哲学的范畴体系是不是也是一种方式，因为图表中所列诸范畴从它们的涵义说是表明“存在的基本样式”的，也是人们认识事物之网的网上纽结。这样表述是不是更适合反映中国传统哲学的特点和水平？当然，如果用更少一些基本概念来表述中国传统哲学的范畴体系应该说是更理想的，比如说也可以如下图只列12对：



静
动
常
变
正
负
天(道)
人(道)
神
形
性
情
知
行
无(道)
有(物,气)
道(太极)
器(气,物)
体
用
理
气
心
物

3．“中国传统哲学的范畴体系”是否能反映出中国传统哲学的特点和水平？这个问题比较大，因为中国传统哲学的特点有哪些，和怎样看一种哲学水平的高低，都是要进行认真研究和充分讨论的。但我们这个构想图，是不是也可以说多少反映了中国传统哲学的特点和水平呢？看来，中国传统哲学比较重视研究存在的基本样式和人的存在问题，而且注重事物之间的联系，即其同一性的方面，所以在中国传统哲学中讲“天人合一”“知行合一”“体用如一”“无因于有”“神形合一”“理气一元”“心物不二”等等比较多。在这个构想图中虽然没有列“时”“空”、“因”“果”等概念（在中国传统哲学中讨论这方面问题确实比较少），但作为一个范畴体系相对于西方古代或印度古代哲学来说它并不逊色，它包含的范畴很广，基本概念都是成对的，而且从它的发展上看概念的涵义是越来越深刻地反映世界，都表明了中国传统哲学已有较高的水平。

关于中国传统哲学范畴体系问题过去研究讨论得不多，还是一个较新的课题，这里只是提出一些不成熟的看法，希望能引起讨论，使中国哲学史的研究在马克思主义指导下进一步科学化。

VIII. A RECONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION OF "THE TRUE, THE GOOD, AND THE BEAUTIFUL" IN TRADITIONAL CHINESE PHILOSOPHY

What is the highest ideal in spiritual life human beings quest for? I believe it is "the true, the good and the beautiful" and the unity of the three in one system. Of course, ideas of philosophers are different regarding what constitutes each of these three ideals. As far as how these are unified in one system, opinions differ from each other. There cannot be any final conclusion to this discussion, and actually there is no need for such one. As long as people quest for truth, goodness and beauty, thinkers will undoubtedly want to construct systems unifying the concepts. In my opinion, the quest for spiritual realm of life in Chinese traditional philosophy can be referred to as ancient philosophers' quest for "the true, the good, and the beautiful" in another way. I wrote an article entitled "The Question of the True, the Good and the Beautiful in Traditional Chinese Philosophy"[1] which was largely a historical discussion of the Confucian view about the question. This article is, however, not confined to a discussion of the Confucians and is not historical in its approach because such an approach would entail too unfocussed and lengthy an article. We will therefore analyze and discuss selected representative thinkers.

Influence on the development of Chinese philosophy has always been exerted by China's pre-Qin philosophers, among whom Confucius, Laozi and Zhuangzi have been the most influential. If we regard these three as typical and through them discuss the question of the different spiritual realm of life (*rensheng jingjie*) advanced by different traditional Chinese philosophies, we may perhaps be able to derive a unified understanding of spiritual realm of life held by traditional Chinese philosophy.

Forty years ago, Shen Youding, who was engaged in research at Oxford University, wrote to friends in China, saying:

> The value theories of Kant and of Hegel have one important difference which we can represent as follows:
>
> Kant: the good ← the beautiful ← the true
>
> Hegel: the true ← the beautiful ← the good
>
> From this we can see that Kant was perhaps closer to the Chinese, while Hegel was closer to the Indian or Greek.[2]

This conclusion of Mr. Shen is particularly insightful and innovative. From Confucian thought, which formed the mainstream in the development of traditional Chinese philosophy, we can see that this scheme holds, but if we examine the different schools of thought and philosophies which make up traditional Chinese philosophy we find that it does not. As I see it, in traditional Chinese philosophy there were in fact three different systems integrating the true, the good and the beautiful. The systems of Confucius, Laozi and Zhuangzi are set out below:

Confucius:	the good	← the beautiful	← the true
Laozi:	the true	← the good	← the beautiful
Zhuangzi:	the beautiful	← the good	← the true

Drawing analogies from this diagram we can say in overall terms that in terms of value regarding the question of the true, the good and the beautiful, Confucius approximates Kant, Laozi approximates Hegel, while in a limited way Zhuangzi approximates Schelling or Aristotle. Of course such analogies are limited and we cannot extrapolate them to all other aspects of the ideas of these thinkers, but they do serve to direct the lines along which we can think.

I. Confucius' Demands of the Realm of Life

In the section of *The Analects* entitled "Wei Zheng" (Practicing Government) the following statement is attributed to Confucius:

> At fifteen I set my heart upon learning, at thirty I had established myself, at forty I was not subject to doubt, at fifty I came to know the commands of Heaven, at sixty I could immediately discriminate the truth or falsity of what others said, and at seventy I followed my heart's dictates, but did not transgress the rules.

We know that Confucius and later Confucians believed that life and death or wealth and honor were not attained by mere individual efforts, but that the level of a person's morality or learning could differ because of the amount of individual effort. These words of Confucius are at one and the same time a description of the course of his life, an outline of the process of self-cultivation he pursued, and a summation of his quest for and understanding of the true, the good and the beautiful. The years from fifteen to forty can be seen as the preparatory stage for his assumption of sagehood, and the statements that he was "not subject to doubt" and that he could "follow" his "heart's dictates, and not transgress the rules" reveal that deepening of the process whereby he acquired sagehood. The statement that he had come "to know the commands of Heaven" explains how he acquired knowledge and understanding of "Heaven" (the ultimate questions of life and the universe), which may perhaps be considered to fall within the scope of the quest for the true. Here Confucius sees Heaven as a cognitive object and he has not attained the stage where he is "one with Heaven," having not yet entered that realm of unity. In his "Preface to *Zhuangzi*," Guo Xiang wrote:

> Zhuangzi can be said to have known the origin. . . . although he said he did not have that understanding, he alone responded to it. To respond without understanding is, however, to have no need to apply effort.

To be able to respond to the noumenon of Heaven, Earth and the myriad things can be called knowing "the root," but this entails the cognitive subject being apart from the noumenon of Heaven, Earth and the myriad things and to see this noumenon as the object of cognition necessarily means that one has not yet attained oneness with that noumenon. While this noumenon exists on a higher realm, Zhuangzi was not yet able to "follow" his "heart's dictates, but did not transgress the rules."

Confucius' statement that at sixty he "could immediately discriminate the truth or falsity of what others said" (*liushi er ershun*) has, in fact, been subject to varying interpretations over the ages. Yang Bojun, whose interpretation presented in *Lunyu Yizhu* (*Analects, Vernacular Translation and Annotation*, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1958) is used here, writes that the expression *ershun* "is extremely difficult to explain. Many have sought to do so, but I feel all their explanations to be forced. . . ." I believe that Yang's interpretation is close to what Confucius intended by the statement. Yang's

interpretation is probably based on the explanation of Li Chong of the Jin Dynasty who wrote that *ershun* means "the heart and the ear follow each other" (*xinyu' er xiangcong*). Sun Chuo, also of the Jin Dynasty, provided a more metaphysical explanation when he wrote:

> *Ershun* means to discard the logic which governs listening, to intuit the mystery of the meaning, and not to pursue but nevertheless obtain—what can be termed following the principle of the supreme one unconsciously and unknowingly.

This is the intuitive understanding which transcends experience of the entirety of the principles governing the universe, and is in the realm of "inner transcendence." According to the views of modern hermeneutics all explanations of our predecessors' ideas contain within them the ideas of the explicator; by definition, there must be connections between the person doing the explanation and what he is explaining. Most of the explanations of Confucius' thought by thinkers throughout the ages reveal this to be the case. I would like to turn to Zhu Xi's explanation of these words of Confucius. He wrote:

> As the sounds enter, the heart communes with them, finding nothing in them to evade or oppose, thereby understanding their ultimate sense, acquired without any thought.

Zhu Xi's "sounds" (*sheng*) relate to voice (*shengyin*) and they encompass both the "articulated sounds" (*yousheng zhi yin*) and the "unarticulated sounds" (*wusheng zhi yin*). "Understanding their ultimate sense" should transcend the realm in which Confucius knew the commands of Heaven, and so this realm "acquired without any thought" transcends knowledge. I believe that this can be explained as an intuited aesthetic realm, and what is thereby acquired is an intuited image transcending experience. This can also be explained as an artistic realm, the realm of "beauty." This explanation of Confucius' statement may also be "forced," but as Yang Bojun asserts that most explanations of this line have, throughout history, been forced, I see no harm in building on this legacy. But I also believe that such an explanation does have a basis, particularly from the viewpoint of philosophy, in which it may have a new sense. We know that Confucius regarded music as a form of cultivation and that "when in the kingdom of Qi he heard the music of Shao" he was "unable to savor the taste of meat for three months," a detail revealing that he had entered a sublime aesthetic realm "acquired without any thought."

Confucius had his own explanation of this realm he had attained: "I had not anticipated that music could transport me to such a state." He thus unintentionally attained a realm in which he enjoyed a form of transcendental beauty.

Zhu Xi commented as follows on Confucius' statement that at seventy he "followed" his "heart's dictates, but did not transgress the rules":

> *Ju*, the carpenter's square, is an instrument for measuring patterns, but here it refers generally to pattern or custom. While following his heart's dictates, Confucius did not transgress his pattern, and so he was at ease in his deeds and attained the mean without effort.

The passage from *The Analects* being commented on here therefore refers to a realm at one with Heaven, Earth and the myriad things, where one "knows truth" (*zhi zhen*), "acquires beauty" (*de mei*), and later arrives in a perfect realm of "ultimate goodness" (*zhi shan*). Confucius believed that "perfect beauty" could not compare with "perfect beauty combined with perfect goodness." *The Analects* contains the following passage in "The Eight Yi":

> Discussing the music of Shao, Confucius commented: "It possesses perfect beauty, as well as perfect goodness." Of the music of King Wu, he commented: "It has perfect beauty, but does not possess perfect goodness."

To say that something possesses perfect goodness is, to a certain extent (at least for the Confucians), connected with a judgment concerning ethical value. Mencius said: "Complete truthfulness is called beauty." "Beauty" here contains the idea of ethical evaluation. Zhu Xi annotated this line as follows:

> When one has strenuously implemented goodness until it is filled to completion and has accumulated truth, then the beauty will reside within it and will not depend on externals.

"Goodness" here is a form of internalized "beauty," the highest beauty of character. It can be seen that Zhu Xi believed that "goodness" in one respect can encompass "beauty." "Perfect goodness" was held to be superior to "perfect beauty" because "perfect goodness" was in fact both "perfect goodness and perfect beauty." We would now seem to be able to assert that Confucius' realm of life (or his realm of the sage) proceeds from "knowing truth" and "acquiring beauty" to a realm of perfect goodness in which "one can be at ease in one's deeds and attain the mean without effort." In other words, from "truth" we proceed to "beauty" and then we finally attain

"goodness."

"The good←the beautiful←the true" was the special characteristic of Kant's philosophy. As Kant saw it, practical reasoning was superior to speculative reasoning. In his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (*Critique of Pure Reason*) the object of research was the phenomenal world and it was subject to the control of the laws of necessity of nature. In his *Critique of Practical Reasoning* the object of research was the noumenon of rational functioning, which was not subject to laws of necessity, and so was free. The former was nature, the latter morality. The former belonged to the realm of theoretical knowledge, the latter to the realm of ethical belief, and there was no direct channel connecting the two. The question, therefore, was how to build a bridge between theoretical knowledge(epistemology) and ethical belief (ethics); and to resolve the question of how to connect the two, Kant wrote his *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (*Critique of Judgment*), at the beginning of which he said:

> Hence an immense gulf is fixed between the domain of the concept of nature, the sensible, and the domain of the concept of freedom, the supersensible, so that no transition from the sensible to the supersensible (and hence by means of the theoretical use of reason) is possible, just as if they were two different worlds, the first of which cannot have any influence on the second; and yet the second is to have an influence on the first, i.e., the concept of freedom is to actualize in the world of sense the purpose enjoined by its laws. Hence it must be possible to think of nature as being such that the lawfulness in its form will harmonize with at least the possibility of [achieving] the purposes that we are to achieve in nature according to laws of freedom. So there must after all be a basis uniting the supersensible that underlies nature and the supersensible that the concept of freedom contains practically, even though the concept of this basis does not reach cognition of it either theoretically or practically and hence does not have a domain of its own, though it does make possible the transition from our way of thinking in terms of principles of nature to our way of thinking in terms of principles of freedom.[3]

Kant believes that it was the power of judgment which united reason(pure reason) and rationality (practical reasoning), yet while judgment had something of the nature of each of these forms of reasoning, it was not the same thing as them. Kant divided man's soul into intelligence, feeling and idea. The cognitive ability of intelligence was pure reason, the cognitive ability of idea was rationality or practical reasoning which transcended experience, and the cognitive ability of feeling was what Kant called "judgment." Because feeling was the intermediary between intelligence and idea, it, like intelligence, was moved by external stimuli, and like idea it played its role regarding external things, and thus judgment functioned as an

intermediary between reason and rationality.

In one respect, judgment, like reason, confronted incomplete phenomena. In another respect, like rationality, it aimed to reconcile incomplete aspects with a totality. Thus, the understanding of confronted incomplete phenomena and the rationality which addresses itself to a totality meet in judgment. Judgment seeks to include the parts within the whole and then subjects them to reflection, so judgment is able to act as a bridge between reason and rationality.[4] Thus Kant constructed his philosophical trilogy of "the good ← the beautiful ← the true."

Of course, while there are similarities in value between the philosophies of Confucius and Kant, their aims in constructing their philosophies were dissimilar. Confucius established a philosophy of life, whereas Kant constructed a complete rational philosophical system. This is perhaps one of the differences between Chinese and Western philosophy. If we compare Confucius' process which led him from knowing the commands of Heaven to being able to immediately discriminate the truth or falsity of what others said and then on to "following his heart's dictates without transgression," with the basic theme of the true, the good and the beautiful in traditional Chinese philosophy, then we can say that Confucius' statement that "at fifty I came to know the commands of Heaven" represents the stage of seeking "the unity of Heaven and Man" (*tian ren heyi*). His statement that "at sixty I could immediately discriminate the truth or falsity of what others said" represents attaining the stage of "the unity of feeling and scene" (*qing jing heyi*), and his statement that "at seventy I followed my heart's dictates, but did not transgress the rules" represents the stage at which he was able to realize "the unity of knowledge and action" (*zhi xing heyi*).

The unity of Heaven and Man belongs to the domain of "intelligence" (knowledge). The unity of feeling and scene belongs to the domain of "appreciation" (feeling), and the unity of knowledge and action belongs to "praxis" (idea or intention). According to the Confucians, these three were inseparable. Being human entailed an understanding of the flow of the cosmos and creation, as well as an ability to appreciate the achievements of the cosmos and creation. Moreover, in one's life practice one should re-manifest the perfect beauty and the perfect goodness of the cosmos. The process that Confucius outlined represented the demands made by the human in the realm of life. This was the summation of Confucius' personal quest for the true, the beautiful and the good.

II. Laozi's Quest in the Realm of Life

Laozi seems to have upheld an attitude of denial regarding the demands of most people (including the Confucians) for the true, the good and the beautiful. His call to "deny the sages and discard knowledge" (*juesheng qizhi*) would seem to be a denial of the quest for ordinary knowledge. His statement that "the five colors blind one's vision" (*wuse ling ren mu mang*) is an opposition to the general quest for beauty; and his assertion that "when the Great Way declines, compassion and righteousness come into existence" (*dadao fei, you ren yi*) is an opposition to the general moral concept of goodness. Does Laozi therefore not argue for any quest for the true, the good and the beautiful in the human realm? I disagree with this proposition. He called for a quest after such ideals which would transcend the banal, a quest that for him was within a realm "equal with the Way" (*tongyu dao*). We can see that Laozi regarded "the Way" as the unity of the true, the good and the beautiful.

The 25th chapter of *Dao De Jing* (*The Classic of the Way and Power*) contains the following passage: "The model for man is the earth, the model for earth is Heaven, the model for Heaven is the Way, and the model for the Way is Nature." This is a description of Laozi's views of the quest of the realm of life. He believed that man's highest ideal was imitation of the Way, while the Way itself was natural and spontaneous. What was the Way he discussed? *Dao De Jing* contains a number of definitions, but the most basic is of a transcendental highest criterion.[5] Chapter 14 of that classic reads:

> Viewing it, it cannot be seen and so it is described as "beyond color;" listening to it, it cannot be heard and so it is described as "beyond sound;" grasping for it, it cannot be grasped and so it is described as "formless." These three are beyond imagination, all being aspects of the one chaotic whole. Upwardly, it emits no light; downwardly, no darkness. It is endless, so that words cannot describe it, and it returns to nothingness. This is formless form, shape without matter, and is called seemingness. Meeting it, it has no front; pursuing it, it has no rear. Cleave to the eternal Way, to govern what exists in the present; if one can understand its ancient origin, one finds the laws governing the Way.

Examining this we find it contains three levels of meaning:

i. "The Way" transcends sensory experience and this transcendence is described as "beyond color," "beyond sound" and "formless." Monk Deqing in the Ming Dynasty wrote in his *Dao De Jing Jie* (*Explanation of* The Classic of the Way and the Power): "The one chaotic whole" which cannot be

imagined is the Way.

ii. While the Way is transcendental, it is nevertheless based on the existence of real things, i.e. "formless form, shape without matter." Wang Bi comments on this line:

> One may want to say that it is nothingness, but from it things can be formed; one wants to say that it exists, but one cannot see its form. . . .
>
> That which is without form and without name is the basic principle of the myriad things.

The seemingness" which is formless form and shape without matter can constitute the basic principle underlying the existence of all forms and shapes. Wang Bi comments that "seemingness" means "one cannot grasp and define it."

In other words, the Way has no specificity. All things which possess specificity fall within the realm of experience and that which lacks specificity transcends experience. In Chapter 21 of *Dao De Jing* we read:

> This Way is seemingness, but within this seemingness forms can be discerned and real things do exist. In this darkness there is essence. This essence is exceptionally real and can be authenticated.

Therefore while the Way lacks specificity, from it all "things" possessing specificity can be formed, and so it constitutes the most real existence, being the noumenon of things.

iii. The Way is the basis of the existence of all things and is the highest criterion of transcendence. "The laws governing the Way" are said to be "principles."[6] "The laws governing the Way" are then the Way as the highest criterion of the myriad things from ancient times to the present.

The above three points show that Laozi's philosophy was a quest for the origin of Heaven, Earth and the myriad things and for the basis of their existence, from which he created a philosophical system in which the Way was the highest criterion of transcendence. Laozi's discussion of the noumenon of the cosmos in fact falls within the scope of the quest for truth.

Laozi made the Way the highest category in his philosophical system. If man grasped the Way then he grasped the truth, and this was in fact the aim of life. Thus for Laozi "being one with the Way" was the highest aim in life. He said: "Serving the Way is being one with the Way." Wang Bi commented:

> The Way relies on non-form and non-action to form the myriad things and so if, in serving

> the Way, one relies on non-action, then one will be a superior man and teach without words. In the continuity of seeming existence things will follow their reality, and the Way will be one with the body. This is called being one with the Way.

"Being one with the Way" is thus equivalent to being of one body with the Way. It can be seen that Laozi believed that the relationship between man and the Way did not entail man regarding the Way as an ordinary object of cognition (because the Way lacked name and form). Rather it involved man becoming one with the Way. Therefore being one with the Way was merely the highest realm man's life could assume, a realm in which man could transcend the mundane and "acquire the Way" (*de Dao*). This was the supreme realm after which Laozi sought.

How then did Laozi regard the good and the beautiful? We know that Laozi regarded the basic character of the Way as "nature and nonaction" (*ziran wuwei*), and this then was his criterion for goodness and beauty. He said: "When the Great Way declines, compassion and righteousness arise." Because moral concepts such as compassion and righteousness are man-made, not only are they incompatible with the principles of "nature and non-action," but also destroy the Way. Only when these man-made things are discarded can man acquire true "goodness." Therefore he said: "Only when compassion is terminated and righteousness discarded can people return to genuine filial piety and kindness." Only when all man-made moral concepts are discarded can people return to their natural relationships. Chapter 8 of *Dao De Jing* contains the following passage:

> Those who possess supreme goodness are like water. Water serves to nourish the myriad things and does not harm them; if one remains in the lowest place that people most loathe, one is closest to the Way.

Ethical persons have the nature of water. Water may benefit the myriad things, but it does not strive for high places. It is content to remain in the lowest place and therefore it approaches the Way. In Chapter 66 we read:

> The rivers and oceans are the kings of the waterways, because they choose the lowest places. Because everything flows into them, the oceans and mighty rivers are called the rulers of the valleys.

This is Laozi's explanation of how persons possessing morality are close to the realm of the Way, while not yet being one with the Way. To use Feng

Youlan's exposition of "the four realms" in his *Xin Yuanren* (*A New Exposition of Man*), those who possess the highest goodness belong only to "the realm of morality," while those who are one with the Way belong to "the realm of Heaven and Earth." Thus, in terms of value, the good is on a lower level than the true.

In Chapter 12 of *Dao De Jing* we read:

> The five colors dazzle and blind the eyes; the five sounds deafen the ears; the five flavors numb the palate; indulgence in hunting them leads to dissipation and craziness.

Wang Bi comments:

> The eyes, mouths and hearts all follow their own nature; one acts not to follow their nature, then one harms nature, and blindness, deafness, numbness and madness result.

In other words, the five colors, the five sounds and the five flavors are all "man-made" and have lost the original character of Nature. Laozi regarded plain simplicity as beauty (*jian su bao pu*).[7] One should heed what is natural. Artifice results in a loss of the beauty of original nature and a lack of artifice preserves natural beauty. Thus in Chapter 41 of *Dao De Jing* the following passage occurs:

> The supreme note has no sound, the supreme image has no form, the Way loses itself in anonymity, yet it alone excels in starting and completing.

Wang Bi commented:

> One listens to the supreme note, but cannot hear it, because it has no sound. A note that has sound will fall, necessarily, into either the second note on the pentatonic scale or the first. When it is thus discriminated, it cannot assemble a crowd. Therefore a note that has sound is not the supreme note.
>
> If an image has form then there will be discrimination, and if there is discrimination then it will either be warm or burning. If not burning, it will be cold. And so an image that has form is not the supreme image.
>
> All these good things are completed by the Way. In terms of image, it is the supreme image among all images, and is image without form. In terms of note, it is the supreme note among notes, and is the note of silence.

The music which is one with the Way is supreme music and the image which is one with the Way is supreme image. The supreme music encompasses all music, while the supreme image encompasses all forms.

Music is dependent on sound and painting is dependent on form, but for Laozi the supreme music is without sound and the supreme painting lacks all forms. Because lack of sound or form harmonizes with the principles of "nature and non-action," they constitute true beauty. From this we can see that for Laozi the good and the beautiful derive from the true (the Way) and are specific manifestations of the Way. In the final chapter of *Dao De Jing*, Chapter 81, the following passage occurs:

> Fealty words are not beautiful,
> Beautiful words are not about fealty.
> Good persons don't argue,
> Those who argue are not good.
> Men of knowledge are without depth,
> Those who have depth do not (seek) knowledge.

I believe that this passage expresses Laozi's hierarchy of the good, the true and the beautiful. "The beautiful" is spoken of in terms of speech(which can stand for literature), "the good" is spoken of in the context of deeds or actions, and "the true" is spoken of in terms of intelligence. "True knowing" is superior to "true goodness," which in turn is superior to "true beauty," thereby creating a hierarchical series of criteria. This is the model of Laozi's quest in the realm of life.

When we say that Laozi's view of "the good, the true and the beautiful" has certain points in common with Hegel's philosophy, we are only saying that there are certain similarities in the arrangement of these three criteria of value orientation. In Hegel's philosophical system, "morality," "art," and "philosophy" all belong to the realm of spiritual philosophy. Spiritual philosophy is the third part of Hegel's philosophical system; it constitutes the third great stage of self-development in the direction of pure spirit—the description of the spiritual stage. The spiritual stage is the unity of the logical and natural stages, and it is self-existing and self-acting. During the transition from self-existing to self-acting, spirit experienced a complicated developing process which consists of three stages: (1) Subjective spirit, (2) Objective spirit, and (3) Absolute spirit. "Morality" belongs to objective spirit. Objective spirit means the spirit that manifested itself in the external objective world, which refers not to the natural world, and only to the spiritual world, say, different spheres of human social life and human history. It consists of (1) Abstract law(property law), (2) Morality, and (3) three ethic (family, citizen society, country) developing stages. Objective spirit is

inferior to absolute spirit in the stage of spirit development, thus also inferior to "art" and "philosophy" which belong to absolute spirit. To Hegel, both subjective spirit and objective spirit are partial: Subjective spirit such as soul, sense, consciousness, mind, will, etc. is inner conscious state of individuals, not yet actualized as the reality of existence. Objective spirit such as property, law, morality, politics, family, society, country, etc. is objective though, with no self-consciousness. The essence of spirit is unlimited, absolute, and free, therefore it has to keep on developing to avoid the partiality of subjective spirit and objective spirit and to prevent the incident of their opposition between each other, as a result of which spirit could ascend to the supreme stage. Absolute spirit is the complete and full realization of spirit unto itself. It is both subjective and objective. And apart from taking itself as the object and manifesting its essence self-consciously, it has no other purpose, hence truly unlimited, absolute, and free. "Art," "religion," and "philosophy" as three developing stages of the absolute spirit are identical as far as their contents are concerned, for their differences are only forms. Hegel said: "The element of the universal spirit's existence (Dasein) is characterized by intuition and image in art, feeling and representational thought in religion, and pure and free thought in philosophy."[8] By listing those three stages of absolute spirit as such, Hegel tries to show that the self-realization of absolute spirit also accords to the process from sensuous intuition, through the representational thought (he also names it as "pictorial thinking"), and to abstract thinking. Therefore, philosophy is the highest, freest, wisest state of absolute spirit. He said, "The most perfect method of knowledge proceeds in the pure form of thought, and here the attitude of man is one of entire freedom."[9] By saying "pure form of thought," he means pure conception and logical category. The sensuous form of art can not fully embody infiniteness, absoluteness and freeness of absolute spirit (idea), because it was confined by the sensuous form somehow. "This at the same time makes it plain that the manifestation of truth in a sensuous form is not truly adequate to the spirit."[10] Only philosophy is the prefect way to realize "truth." According to Hegel's philosophy of mind, "philosophy" is the most accomplished form of truth, the supreme one; and the quest of "beauty" ("art") being the sensuous manifestation of the idea, only in the developing stage, apparently inferior to "philosophy."Being the inner belief of good or bad, "morality" is even inferior to the developing stage of "art." [11] That is to say, as far as the value theory is concerned, Hegel's idea about the sequence of "the true, the good,

and the beautiful" can be referred to as "the true ← the beautiful ← the good." In this sense, his point is not the same as Laozi's philosophy, but they share the same view that "the true" is superior to both "the beautiful" and "the good." As we have said before, Chinese traditional philosophy tends to actually reach a kind of spiritual realm of "the true, the good, and the beautiful," while Western philosophy tries to establish a kind of thought system to rationalize the value of "the true, the good, and the beautiful." Arguably, the former is pursuing a kind of enlightenment, and the latter is only discussing about its quest for "knowledge."

III. Zhuangzi's Quest in the Realm of Life

Like Laozi, Zhuangzi made the Way the highest category in his philosophy, but Zhuangzi's philosophy did not concentrate on proving the limitlessness, absoluteness and eternity of the Way (even though he devoted quite a bit of space in his writings to these questions), but rather on proving the spiritual limitlessness, absoluteness and eternity of those persons, such as perfected men, spirits and sages, who had acquired the Way.

The first chapter of his *Zhuangzi* is entitled "Roaming Free" (*Xiaoyao You*) and the theme of this chapter is a discussion of the question of how man can attain absolute spiritual freedom. According to Zhuangzi, while the roc (*peng* creature) had a wing span of three thousand *li* and could rise to a height of ninety thousand *li* and Liezi could ride on the wind over eight hundred *li* in a day, actions which would seem sufficiently free, they did not in fact constitute true freedom. For the roc to fly ninety thousand *li* a vast expanse of space was required; to travel those eight hundred *li*, Liezi had to rely on the force of the wind. These actions were "conditional" (*youdai*), and only the "unconditional" (*wudai*) can be described as the attainment of true freedom. Thus he said: "If one is able to follow the laws of nature and grasp the transformations of the six breaths and roam freely in a limitless domain, what does one need to rely on?" Relying on nothing, this "roaming free" was "unconditional." It constituted absolute freedom. But how could one attain this realm? Zhuangzi believed that ordinary mortals could not attain this realm. Only perfected men, deities and sages could do so, because "perfected men have no self, deities exert no effort and sages know no name." To have no self (*wu ji*) is to "extinguish the self" (*sang wo*) and in "Discussion of the

Equality of Things" (*Qiwu Lun*) Zhuangzi wrote: "Now I have extinguished myself." In the chapter entitled "Great Master" (*Da Zongshi*) there is a passage which describes "sitting in forgetfulness" (*zuowang*), which can be called a description of "having no self" in this realm of absolute freedom:

> "I have made progress," Yan Hui said.
> "How have you progressed?" Confucius asked.
> "I have forgotten benevolence and righteousness," Yan Hui replied.
> "Fine, but that's not enough," Confucius said.
> Several days later Yan Hui again saw Confucius, and said, "I have made progress."
> "How have you progressed?" Confucius asked.
> "I have forgotten the rites and music," Yan Hui replied.
> "Fine, but that's not enough," Confucius said.
> Several more days passed, and Yan Hui again saw Confucius and announced, "I have made progress."
> "How have you progressed?" Confucius asked.
> "I sat in forgetfulness," Yan Hui replied.
> "What do you mean by saying you sat in forgetfulness?" Confucius asked in alarm.
> Yan Hui replied, "My limbs fell away, I cast aside my intelligence, I left behind my body, and I forgot all that I know. I merged with the Great Way. That is what I meant by saying that I sat in forgetfulness."
> "To be of one body with the myriad things and to have no preferences, and to participate in the transformations of the myriad things and to depend on no things—this means you have become a sage! I wish to follow in your footsteps."

The realm to which Zhuangzi's "sitting in forgetfulness" belongs is the realm in which he describes one as "transcending self" or "having extinguished the self." In the text quoted above, Yan Hui sets out from a denial of mundane morality, then enters a state in which the various fetters imposed on the spirit by the body and knowledge which befuddles the spirit are all eliminated. He then finally attains a mental realm in which "his body is like desiccated timber and his mind is like cold ashes," a realm which transcends material gain, morality, life and death, and in which there are no restrictions from internal and external truths, untruths, likes, hatreds, beauty, and ugliness. That realm was, moreover, typified by "the oneness of Heaven and Earth" and "unity with the Way." The most significant feature of that realm was "the rejection of knowledge," which was the elimination of all discriminatory and conceptual cognitive activities, what Zhuangzi elsewhere called "mental fasting," or "following the inner channels of the ear and eye, yet being beyond the knowledge of the mind."

"The perfected men, deities and sages" Zhuangzi describes had all transcended the mundane world in this way and had achieved an absolute

spiritual freedom conferred by "sitting in forgetfulness" and "mental fasting." In the chapter entitled "Tian Zifang" we read:

> The perfected man looks down from the blue sky above, conceals himself in the Yellow Springs below, and soars in every direction, his expression remaining unchanged.

The "deities" are described in the chapter entitled "Heaven and Earth":

> The supreme deities ride on the light and their form vanishes. This is called abandoning space. To exhaust life and scatter the emotions, to share in the delight of Heaven and Earth and to be unencumbered by the myriad things so that the myriad things return to their true feelings—this is called merging with the dark mystery.

In the chapter "Curbing the Mind" we read:

> The sage in life moves with Heaven and in death blends with external matter. . . . he rejects all knowledge and deceit and follows the constant laws of nature. . . . he is empty and indifferent to gain, and is one with the power of Heaven.

The ability of perfected men, deities and sages to transcend time and space and roam freely beyond the coordinates of space was the result of their ability to "leave their bodies and discard knowledge," to rely in everything on nature and non-action, and to make no demands of the real world. Thus they were able to roam freely in "a land of nothingness." Such roaming could, of course, only take place in the spirit. This spiritual realm of absolute freedom could only be an aesthetic realm of art. In the section entitled "Zhi's Journey to the North" (*Zhi Bei You*) we read:

> Heaven and Earth possess great beauty, but speak no language. The seasons move in accordance with clear laws which they do not discuss. The myriad creatures have reasons for their lives but do not speak. The sages can go to the source of the great beauty of Heaven and Earth and commune with the reasons of the myriad creatures, and thus do the perfected men possess non-action. The great sages do not act, and so are said to partake of the reasons of Heaven and Earth.

And in *Tian Zifang*:

> To attain that realm is to gain supreme beauty and supreme joy. The gaining of supreme beauty and roaming in supreme joy define the sage.

The attaining of "truth" in the above passage admits the sage into the realm where "one can wander in the heart to the beginnings of things." This is

the realm of nature's inarticulate non-action. The highest form of beauty is "the supreme beauty of Heaven and Earth." "Sages, the perfected and the divines" are waiting to "go to the source of the beauty of Heaven and Earth" (or "prepared for the beauty of Heaven and Earth"). Because of the very existence of Nature and non-action, "the abandonment of form and the rejection of knowledge," one can gain "ultimate beauty and roam in the midst of ultimate pleasure," this realm of "ultimate beauty and ultimate pleasure" also constituting the highest aesthetic realm of art.

In the philosophy of Zhuangzi the relationship between "truth" and "beauty" is also discussed. There is a passage in "Autumn Floodwaters" (*qiushui*):

> Horses and oxen have four hooves, which are from Heaven. Bridle the horse's head, and pierce the bull's nostrils, this is the work of a human being. So we say: do not use human powers to destroy Heaven, do not use reason to destroy a good name, and do not use gain to harm the people. If one diligently keeps this rule and does not lose it, this is to return to the *Dao*.

Zhuangzi's emphasis on "imitating Heaven and respecting truth" (*fatian guizhen*) was opposition to all "human actions" (*renwei*) which ran counter to original nature. The authenticity of the horse is its "chewing the pasture and drinking water, raising its hooves and shaking them,"but if the horse's head is bridled and the bull's nostrils are pierced, then horses and bulls lose their original nature (authenticity), and lose their freedom, thereby losing beauty and their truth. Truth and beauty are one and the same in Zhuangzi's philosophy, but truth must be "follow the way (*Dao*) of nature." "Truth" is defined in the chapter entitled "The Venerable Fisherman" as "the acme of the spirit, and that which is not spirit is not sincere, and so cannot influence man's feelings." The ability to "influence man's feelings" exists when there are true feelings which cause man to gain an appreciation of beauty. "Accomplished beauty is not uniform in its traces," but the most accomplished beauty is not contrived and is able to freely manifest its authenticity. Therefore Zhuangzi's "quest for truth" was also in order to "seek beauty." If there is no beauty, then there is also no truth to speak of. "The quest for truth" is a quest for a spiritual realm of untrammeled freedom.

Zhuangzi rarely affirmed morality and his thought was characterized by an anti-ethical trend. He believed that all ethical restraints were "man-made" and that they destroyed man's authenticity. Therefore he opposed "using humaneness and righteousness to transform man's nature." Zhuangzi believed

that the realization of the freedom of the individual personality was not only "great beauty" (*damei*) but the highest form of "morality" (*de*) and supreme goodness (*shan*). In the chapter entitled "Curbing the Mind" (*Ke Yi*) we read:

> If we do not hone the intellect but are noble, if we do not practice humaneness and righteousness but are self-cultivated, if we have no great achievements but rule, if we have no rivers and oceans to roam among but roam as if we did, if we practice no breath techniques but possess longevity, we forget everything and possess nothing, then we have no limits and all beauty follows us. This is the Way of Heaven and Earth and the complete virtue of the sage.

Cheng Xuanying explains:

> When the heart is not impeded by a single obstacle, and the traces of darkness complement the Five Elements, then we have unlimited peace, are empty and expansive and arrive at the Way that cannot be exhausted. The beauty of true virtue follows and resides in the self.

By this he means that when the mind is not trapped, follows nature and practices non-action, then one sits in forgetfulness, and in total freedom. Thus one attains the ultimate whereby every beauty gathers about and follows the self. This is the movement of natural spontaneity of Heaven and Earth, as well as being the path by which the sage perfects his goodness. According to this interpretation, the "good" for Zhuangzi encompasses the highest beauty ("great beauty") within it.

From the above discussion we can see that in Zhuangzi's philosophy, "the true, the good and the beautiful" are a unity and they are unified in an aesthetic realm of spiritual freedom. Zhuangzi, like Laozi, sought "oneness with the Way," but Laozi's unity with the Way entailed understanding and realizing the Way, which were both epistemological concerns, as well as being a form of philosophical enlightenment. For Zhuangzi, however, "unity with the Way" was an appreciation of, and reflection on the Way, which involved direct aesthetic perception. From this we can see that the question of "the true, the good and the beautiful" in the philosophy of Zhuangzi differed from that in the philosophy of Laozi, and for Zhuangzi "the beautiful" was paramount.

The quest for the good, the true and the beautiful in the philosophical axiology of Western philosophy can be seen to have some points in common with the views of Zhuangzi. The philosophy of Aristotle, and more especially that of Schelling, would seem to be similar to that of Zhuangzi regarding this

question.

Regarding the quest for the unity of truth, goodness and beauty, Aristotle stated: "Beauty is goodness, and the keen perception it imparts is in fact because it is goodness." But the manifestation of good conduct and beautiful art requires the cognition of things as its basis. From the perspective of values (axiology), Aristotle did not impart the same significance to goodness, truth and beauty. In demarcating human activities, he believed that of the three activities of cognition, practice and creation, cognition was the highest form of activity, because it was only on the basis of this particular activity that man could confront highest truths. But from the perspective of the products resulting from these three activities, Aristotle believed that the fruits of "the quest for truth" were theoretical sciences (such as mathematics, physics and metaphysics), knowledge for the sake of knowledge; the quests for goodness and beauty yielded the practical sciences (including politics and ethics) and the creative sciences (including poetics and rhetoric), all of which have higher external goals. The former directs action, the latter directs creation. Aristotle believed that the basic nature of art was creation. He said: "The arts are a form of creative ability, which encompasses the true process of inference." Here, creative activities become those activities most able to realize man's basic nature, which is logical reasoning (Aristotle once defined the parameters of man's nature as rationality). Accordingly, it would seem that we could say that in Aristotle's philosophy artistic creation which can manifest beauty itself attains the highest value, followed by actions with an external aim (such as moral practice, which belongs to the realm of the "good"), and then followed by knowledge for knowledge's sake which constitutes an activity involving "the quest for truth."[12]

Schelling proposed the philosophical problem of "absolute unity." According to his view, "absolute unity" was neither subject nor object, but "the absolute undifferentiated unity of both subject and object." This "unity" can only be realized within an "intellectual direct perception." "Intellectual direct perception" is the activity producing the directly perceived object. The unity of the two (subject and object) is, in fact, an activity of direct perception. By means of direct perception, the ego unites the self with the cosmic spirit which has unconsciously produced the natural world. Schelling believed that even the activity of "intellectual direct perception," which is possible only with a philosophical genius, but not with just any one, cannot be regarded as achieving an absolute unity of subject and object because a

discrepancy still exists between the direct perceiver and the directly perceived object (although this directly perceived object is produced by the free action of the direct perceiver). Thus, Schelling also believed that only within "the direct perception of art" could a truly undifferentiated absolute unity between subject and object be realized.

This "truly undifferentiated absolute unity" is analogous in some aspects to Zhuangzi's concept of the realm entered through "mental fasting" and "sitting in forgetfulness." Schelling believed that "the direct perception of art" is derived from inspiration and from an intense yearning of great internal power within the inner spirit. This can only be described as a mysterious spiritual realm of direct perception. Thus, for Schelling, art constitutes a supreme undifferentiated ideal world. On the basis of the view that "the direct perception of art" is a higher "intellectual direct perception," Schelling regarded "beauty" as the highest value. As he saw it, "truth" was a question of necessity, "goodness" was a question of freedom, and "beauty" was the synthesis of the two. "Beauty" synthesized in art the scientific knowledge of "truth" and the ethical behavior of "goodness." Schelling said: "I believe that the highest ideal activity encompasses all idealized aesthetic activities. Truth and goodness can only be brought into proximity within beauty. Philosophers, like poets, must have aesthetic powers." Thus, from the perspective of the theory of value, "the beautiful" for Schelling constitutes a higher value than "the true" or "the good." [13] This schema reveals some similarities with Zhuangzi's view of these values.

IV．Brief Conclusion

i．In the world of man Confucius, Laozi and Zhuangzi pursued three different quests, and their philosophies manifest three different value orientations. I believe that in philosophical systems embodying any value we find a quest for the unity of truth, goodness and beauty, but philosophers have different views on how to effect and attain this unity. From the perspective of the development of mankind's culture, we cannot demand that philosophies are similar. In China's pre-Qin period, philosophy richly flowered because of this very diversity of value orientation. Philosophers at that time were able to approach the ultimate questions of life from an unusually broad perspective and realm, and this enabled Chinese philosophy to take its place beside that

of other great contemporary cultures, such as Indian and Greek. It is right because it is pluralistic, not monistic. It can quest the issue of ultimate concern about universe and life from different approaches. If the development of pre-Qin philosophy could have some value nowadays, I believe one of the important elements is its plurality. Plurality of philosophy could make itself fully developed, and "centralization" would only suffocate the vitality of philosophy eventually. Currently, world culture and philosophy are showing the tendency of pluralistic development under the global consciousness; we can follow with this developing tide to establish the Chinese modernized philosophy.

ii. If the historical philosophies could betray its modern implication, and be practiced in reality in society, we have to give them a modern interpretation. The interpretation of the philosophical thought of Confucius, Laozi, and Zhuangzi above is an attempt doing this. The interpretation of their thought can only be "both their philosophy and yet not their philosophy." Because what we said in this article is the interpretation derived from the philosophy of Confucius, Laozi, and Zhuangzi, and its foundation is the philosophy of Confucius, Laozi, and Zhuangzi, thus we can say it IS "the philosophy of Confucius, Laozi, and Zhuangzi." Also it is "the interpretation derived from the philosophy of Confucius, Laozi, and Zhuangzi," since it is an inferred interpretation, hence it is NOT (or not totally) the philosophy of Confucius, Laozi, and Zhuangzi. Only by this can we extend the implication of the philosophy of Confucius, Laozi, and Zhuangzi. Right because it is derived from the philosophy of Confucius, Laozi, and Zhuangzi nowadays, the modern implication has actualized, and philosophy has developed. Making a comparative study of the philosophy of Confucius, Laozi, and Zhuangzi from the point of axiology, and revealing their different orientation in the axiology of their philosophy, can not only show us what "plurality" means to the cultural and philosophical development, but also make an example of distinctive type of philosophical system and respective orientation of life value. Meanwhile it can also show our attention and comprehension to "the true, the good, and the beautiful" today. Undoubtedly, this would be very meaningful for the philosophical studies today.

iii. It is significant to understand (interpret, study) the characteristics of Chinese philosophy with Western philosophy as a frame of reference. In the history of traditional Chinese philosophy, although there had never been a particular philosopher who explicitly elaborated on "the true, the good and

the beautiful," it on no accounts means these concepts are nowhere to be found in traditional Chinese philosophy. This article is an endeavor to demonstrate the rich content concerning "the true, the good, and the beautiful" in traditional Chinese philosophy, with Western philosophy as a frame of reference. By so doing, the connotations of traditional Chinese philosophy get extended against the background of Western philosophy; the same can be said of Western philosophy as well. In comparison and juxtaposition with each other, the characteristics of traditional Chinese philosophy and of Western philosophy can be brought into high relief, despite their own peculiarities. Thus the two can be complementary to each other. If we can say the discussion about "the true, the good, and the beautiful" on the part of Western philosophers belongs to the sphere of knowledge (or belief, say, Christianity), the Chinese philosophers' quest in that regard, generally falls within the spiritual realm. All in all, traditional Chinese philosophy and Western philosophy, though each having its own peculiar characteristics, can also enrich and enlighten each other.

捌　再论中国传统哲学的真善美问题*

人类的精神生活的最高追求是什么？我想应该是追求“真”“善”“美”，并使三者在一系统中统一起来。当然，什么是“真”，什么是“善”，什么是“美”，不同的思想家的看法肯定是不相同的，而“真”“善”“美”如何统一在一个系统中，更可能是仁者见仁，智者见智了。这样的问题没有办法有什么共同的定论，也不需要有什么定论。但是，人们要去追求真、善、美，思想家们要建构真、善、美统一的系统，则是无可怀疑的。中国传统哲学对人生境界的追求也可以说是中国古代哲学家对真、善、美的追求。过去我写过一篇《论中国传统哲学中的真善美问题》，[1]主要是讨论儒家对真、善、美问题的看法，而且是一种历史性的论述。现在这篇文章将不仅限于儒家，也不想用历史论述的写法，因为那样不易集中，而且文章将会很长。因此，本文将选有代表性的典型哲学家的思想来进行分析。

我国先秦哲学家们的思想一直影响着中国哲学的发展，其中孔子、老子、庄子的思想影响可以说是最大。如果我们把这三位大哲学家作为典型，并通过他们来讨论中国传统哲学中不同类型哲学家的人生境界问题，也许会对中国传统哲学关于人生境界的问题有一总体的了解。

四十年前，沈有鼎先生在英国牛津大学作研究时，曾给国内朋友写过一封信，他在信中说：

> 康德的价值论和黑格尔的价值论有一个重要不同点，如下所示：
> 康德：善←美←真
> 黑格尔：真←美←善
> 从这里可以看出康德是中国人，黑格尔是印度人（或希腊人）。[2]

沈先生的这个论断非常有见地，并富有启发性。从中国传统哲学的主流儒家思想来看确实如此，但如果从中国传统哲学价值论的角度看不同学派或不同哲学家就不全然如此了。照我看，中国传统哲学在真、善、美问题上大体可以分为三大系统，这就是孔子、老子和庄子的思想在真、善、美问题上有如下的不同：

> 孔子：善←美←真
> 老子：真←善←美
> 庄子：美←善←真

照这个图式，如果我们作点比附，大体可以说在真、善、美问题的价值论上，孔子接近于康德，老子接近于黑格尔，庄子从一个有限的方面看则接近于谢林或者亚里士多德。当然比附总是有局限性的，不可能照顾到各个方面，但它或者能给人们提供一个思考的方向。

一、孔子对人生境界的追求

在《论语·为政》篇中记载着孔子的一段话，他说："吾十有五而志于学，三十而立，四十而不惑，五十而知天命，六十而耳顺，七十而从心所欲不逾矩。"我们知道，孔子和以后的儒家都认为，人们的生死和富贵不是能靠其自身的努力而追求到的，但人们的道德和学问的高低却因其自身努力的不同而有不同。上面引的孔子的那段话可以说是孔子对他一生的生活道路的描述，或者说是他一生修养的过程，也就是孔子本人对真、善、美的追求和了解的过程。从"十有五而志于学"到"四十而不惑"，可以说是他成圣成贤的准备阶段，从"知天命"到"从心所欲不逾矩"可以说是他成圣人的深化过程。"知天命"可以解释为对"天"（宇宙人生的终极关切问题）有了一种认识和了解，这也许可以算是"求真"的范围，因为这一阶段孔子仍然把"天"看成认识的对象，还没有达到"同于天"的阶段，也就是说还没有达到与"天"合一的境界。郭象在《庄子序》中说："夫庄子者，可谓知本矣……言虽无会而独应者也。夫应而非会，则虽当无用。"盖能与天地万物之本体相应者可谓"知"本。既为"知"本，则仍与天地万物之本体为二，仍把天地万物之本体视为认识的对象，尚未与天地万物之本体会合为一。此境界虽高，但还不能"从心所欲不逾矩"。

"六十而耳顺"，这句话向来有不同解释，杨伯峻先生在《论语译注》中说："'耳顺'这两个字很难讲，企图把它讲通的人也有很多，但都觉牵强……"我认为，杨先生的注解大概是符合孔子原意的。晋李充曾说"耳顺"是"心与耳相从"，这也许是杨先生的解释所本。晋孙绰用玄学思想解释这句话说："耳顺者，废听之理也，朗然自玄悟，不复役而后得，所谓不识不知顺帝之则。"这应是一种超乎经验的直观而得宇宙大全之理的境界，是一种"内在超越"的境界。照现代解释学的看法，凡是对前人思想的解释，都有解释者的意见在内；不过，解释和被解释之间总有某些联系，否则也就无所谓"解释"了。历来的思想家对孔子思想的解释大都如此。这里，我再引用朱熹对这句话的解释，他说："声入心通，无所违逆，知之之至，不思而得也。""声入心通"当和"声音"有关

（“有声之音”和“无声之音”都可以包括在内）；“知之之至”应是超于“知天命”的境界，这种境界是“不思而得”的，所以是超于认识的。我想，它可以解释为一种直觉的审美境界，它所得到的是一种超乎经验的直觉意象，也可以说是一种艺术的境界、“美”的境界。这种对“六十而耳顺”的解释或许“牵强”，但照杨伯峻的看法，自古以来的“解释”大都牵强，我的这一解释无非是在诸种“牵强”的解释中再增加一种而已。但我自信这种解释不能说全无道理，特别是由哲学的观点看，它或许是有新意的。我们知道，孔子对音乐很有修养，他“在齐闻韶”“三月不知肉味”；“三月不知肉味”自然是“不思而得”的一种极高的审美境界。孔子还对他所达到的这种境界有所说明，他说：“不图为乐之至于斯也。”即想不到听音乐竟能达到如此境界。这种境界是一种超越的美的享受。

“七十而从心所欲不逾矩”，朱熹注说：“矩，法度之器，所以为方者也。随其心之所欲，而自不过于法度，安而行之，不勉而中。”这是一种与天地万物为一体的境界，它是在“知真”“得美”而后达到的一种圆满的“至善”的境界。孔子认为“尽美”比不过“尽善尽美”，《论语·八佾》篇中记载：“子谓韶，‘尽美矣，又尽善也’；谓武，‘尽美矣，未尽善也’。”这里的“尽善”是说“极好”，但说事物“极好”总在一定程度上（至少在儒家那里）是和道德的价值判断联系在一起的。孟子说：“充实之谓美。”此处的“美”实也含有某种道德价值判断的意义。朱熹注说：“力行其善，至于充满而积实，则美在其中，而无待于外矣。”“善”是一种内在的“美”，极高的人格美。看来，朱熹认为“善”从某方面说可以包含“美”。“尽善”之所以高于“尽美”，实因为“尽善”即“尽善尽美”。这里我们似乎可以说，孔子的人生境界（或圣人的境界）是由“知真”“得美”而进于“安而行之，不勉而中”的圆满至善的境界，即由“真”而达于“美”再达于“善”。

“善←美←真”正是康德哲学的特点。照康德看，实践理性优于思辨理性。他的《纯粹理性批判》所研究的是以理智行使职能的现象界为对象，它受自然的必然律支配；《实践理性批判》所研究的是以理性行使职能的本体为对象，它不受必然律支配，它是自由的。前者是自然，后者是道德。前者属于理论认知的范围，后者属于道德信仰的范围，两者之间无法直接沟通。因此就有一个问题，即如何在理论认知（认识论）与道德信仰（伦理学）之间架起一座桥梁，使之得以沟通，这就是康德哲学所必须解决的一个问题，于是他又写了《判断力批判》。在该书的开头处他写道：“在自然概念的领域，作为感觉界，和自由概念的领域，作为超感觉界之间，虽然固定存在着一不可逾越的鸿沟，以致从前者到后者（即以理性的理论运用为媒介）不可能有过渡，好像是那样分开的两个世界，前者对后者绝不能施加影响；但后者却应该对前者具有

影响，这就是说，自由概念应该把它的规律所赋予的目的在感性世界里实现出来；因此，自然界必须能够这样地被思考着：它的形式的合规律性至少对于那些按照自由规律在自然界中实现目的的可能性是互相协应的——因此，我们就必须有一个作为自然界的基础的超感觉界和在实践方面包含于自由概念中的那些东西的统一体的根基。虽然我们对于根基的概念既非理论地、也非实践地得到认识的，它自己没有独特的领域，但它仍使按照这一方面原理的思想形式和按照那一方面原理的思想形式过渡成为可能。”[3]康德认为，正是判断力把理智（纯粹理性）与理性（实践理性）联合起来，而判断力既略带有理智的性质，也略带有理性的性质，又不同于二者。康德把人的心灵分为知、情、意三个部分。有关“知”的部分的认识能力是理智，这是纯粹理性；有关“意”的部分的认识能力是理性，这是超于经验之上的实践理性；有关“情”的部分的认识能力则正是康德所说的“判断力”。由于“情”介于“知”和“意”之间，它像“知”一样地对外物的刺激有所感受，它又像“意”一样地对外物发生一定的作用，所以判断力介于理智与理性之间。

一方面，判断力像理智，它所面对的是个别的局部的现象；另一方面，它又像理性一样，要求个别事物符合于一般的整体的目的。这样，面对局部现象的理解力和面对理念整体的理性，就在判断力上碰头了。判断力要求把个别纳入整体中来思考，所以判断力能够作为桥梁来沟通理智和理性。[4]从而康德建构了他的“善←美←真”哲学的三部曲。

当然，孔子的哲学和康德的哲学从价值论上看虽然确有其相似之处，但是他们建构哲学的目标则是不相同的。孔子建构的是人生哲学的形态，而康德则要建构一个完满的哲学理论体系。这也许可以视为中西哲学的一点不同吧。如果我们把孔子这一由“知天命”到“耳顺”再到“从心所欲不逾矩”的过程和我们所概括的中国传统哲学关于真、善、美的基本命题相对照，也许可以说“五十而知天命”是追求“天人合一”的层次，“六十而耳顺”是达到“情景合一”的层次，“七十而从心所欲不逾矩”则是实践“知行合一”的层次。

“天人合一”属于“智慧”（知）的方面，“情景合一”属于“欣赏”（情）的方面，“知行合一”则属于“实践”（意）的方面。照儒家看，这三者是不可分的。做人既要了解宇宙大化之流行，又要能欣赏天地造化之功，更应在生活实践中再现宇宙的完美和完善。就以上的分析看，孔子的“知天命”、“耳顺”和“从心所欲不逾矩”都是就人生境界的追求说的，这是孔子对自己追求真、美、善的总结。

二、老子对人生境界的追求

对一般人（包括儒家）所追求的真、善、美，老子似乎都持否定态度。如他说“绝圣弃知”，反对追求一般的知识；“五色令人目盲”，反对一般的对美的追求；“大道废，有仁义”，反对一般的道德观念的“善”。是否老子就不主张追求真、善、美的人生境界呢？我想不是的。他追求的是一种超越世俗的真、善、美，这就是所谓“同于道”的境界。看来，老子把“道”视为真、善、美的统一。

《道德经》第二十五章中说：“人法地，地法天，天法道，道法自然。”这可以说是老子对人生境界追求的叙述。他认为，人最高的理想是效法“道”，而“道”是自然而然的。他所说的“道”是什么？在《道德经》中有多种涵义，但最基本的涵义应是指超越性的最高的准则。[5]《道德经》第十四章中说：“视之不见，名曰夷；听之不闻，名曰希；搏之不得，名曰微。此三者不可致诘，故混而为一。其上不皦，其下不昧，绳绳不可名，复归于无物。是谓无状之状，无物之象，是谓惚恍。迎之不见其首，随之不见其后，执古之道，以御今之有。能知古始，是谓道纪。”这段话分析起来有以下三层意思：

1．“道”是超于感官经验的，“无色”（夷）、“无声”（希）、“无形”（微）都是用以说明“道”的超越性。明释德清《道德经解》：“致诘，犹言思议。”“不可致诘”，即不可思议。此“不可致诘”的“混而为一”者就是“道”。

2．“道”虽是超越性的，但它却是最真实的事物存在的根据，“无状之状，无物之象”。王弼注说：“欲言无耶，而物由以成；欲言有耶，而不见其形”，“无形无名者，万物之宗也”。“宗”者主宰义、根据义。“无状之状，无物之象”的“惚恍”可以作为一切“状”“象”存在之根据。“惚恍”，王弼注谓：“不可得而定也。”这就是说，“道”无规定性。凡有规定性者，均在经验之中；而无规定性者，则超越于经验之外。所以《道德经》第二十一章说：“道之为物，惟恍惟惚。惚兮恍兮，其中有象；恍兮惚兮，其中有物。窈兮冥兮，其中有精；其精甚真，其中有信。”“道”虽无规定性，但可做成一切有规定性之“物”，故为最真实的存在，亦即事物之本体。

3．“道”作为一切事物存在的根据，是就其为超越性的最高准则说的。“纪者，理也。”[6]“道纪”，即“道”作为从古至今天地万物的最高准则。

从以上三点可以说明，老子的哲学是要探求天地万物之本源、存在之根据，从而创造了以“道”为超越性的最高准则的哲学体系。老子的这种对宇宙本体的讨论，实属对终极“真理”探求的范围。

老子把“道”作为他的哲学体系的最高范畴，人掌握了“道”也就是掌握了“真理”，而人生的目的正在于此。因此，老子把“同于道”作为人生

的最高追求，他说：“从事于道者同于道。”王弼注说：“道以无形无为成济万物，故从事于道者以无为为君，不言为教，绵绵若存，而物得其真，与道同体，故曰同于道。”“同于道”即是“与道同体”。看来，老子认为人和道的关系不是把“道”作为一般认识的对象（因“道”无名无形），而是应“体道”，即与“道”合一，所以“同于道”只是一种极高的人生境界，一种超越世俗的“得道”的境界。这正是老子所追求的最高境界。

那么老子对“善”和“美”又如何看呢？我们知道，老子的“道”的基本特性是“自然无为”，所以他也把“自然无为”作为“善”和“美”的标准。他说：“大道废，有仁义。”因为“仁义”等等都是“人为”的，不仅不合“自然无为”的原则，而且破坏了“道”，只有把这些“人为”的东西去掉，人们才可以有真正的“善”，所以他说：“绝仁弃义，民复孝慈。”只有抛弃掉“仁义”等一切“人为”的道德观念，人们才可以恢复自然而然的人际关系。《道德经》第八章中说：“上善若水，水善利万物而不争，处众人之所恶，故几于道。”有道德的人其性如水，水对万物都有利，可是并不争说于万物有利，它能处于在下的地位（第六十六章说：“江海所以能为百谷王者，以其善下之，故能为百谷王”），因此近于“道”。这说明有道德的人只是接近于“道”的境界，而不是“同于道”的境界。如果用冯友兰先生《新原人》中的“四种境界”的说法，“上善”的人只是“道德境界”，而“同于道”者才是“天地境界”。所以，从价值论上看，“善”较“真”为低一层次的。

《道德经》第十二章中说：“五色令人目盲，五音令人耳聋，五味令人口爽，驰骋畋猎令人心发狂。”王弼注说：“耳目口心皆顺其性也，不以顺性命，反以伤自然，故曰盲、聋、爽、狂也。”这就是说，“五色”“五音”“五味”等都是“人为”的，是失去“自然”本性的。老子把朴素看成是“美”，“见素抱朴”，[7]一切都应听其自然，按其本然，有做作则失去其本然之“美”，无做作才可存其自然之“美”。因此《道德经》第四十一章中说：“大音希声，大象无形，道隐无名，夫唯道，善贷且成。”王弼注说：“听之不闻曰希，不可得闻之音也，有声则有分，有分则不宫而商矣，分则不能统众，故有声者非大音也。”“有形则有分，有分者不温则炎，不炎则寒，故象而形者非大象。”“凡此诸善，皆是道之所成也。在象则为大象，而大象无形；在音则为大音，而大音希声。”合乎“道”的音是“大音”，合乎“道”的象是“大象”，“大音”可以统括一切“音”，“大象”可以成就一切“形”。就音乐看必有声音，就绘画看必有图形，但老子认为最高超的音乐应是无声的，最绝妙的绘画应是无形的。因为“无声”“无形”合乎“自然无为”的原则，所以是真正的“美”。从这里看，老子的“善”和“美”都是由“真”（“道”）派生的，都是“道”的特

性的表现。《道德经》的最后一章即第八十一章中说：

信言不美，美言不信；
善者不辩，辩者不善；
知者不博，博者不知。

我认为，这一由“美”（言词“美”的标准在于平实）而“善”（行为“善”的标准在于诚实）而“真”（智慧“知”的标准在于真实）也许是老子对“真”“善”“美”的一种次第的安排。“美”是就言词（可作文学的代表）说的，“善”是就行为（可作道德的代表）说的，“知”是就智慧（可作知识的代表）说的。“真知”高于“真善”，又高于“真美”，这样就构成了一个层次的序列。这是老子对人生境界追求的一个模式。

我们说老子哲学关于真、善、美的看法和黑格尔哲学有某些相似之处，这仅仅是就他们对真、善、美在价值取向的安排上有某些相似之处而言。在黑格尔哲学体系中，“道德”“艺术”“哲学”都是属于精神哲学的范围。精神哲学是黑格尔哲学体系的第三部分，它是对于绝对精神在其自身发展的第三大阶段——精神阶段的描述。精神阶段是逻辑阶段和自然阶段的统一，它是自在而又自为的。精神从自在到自为也有一个复杂的发展过程，这个过程包括三个阶段：（1）主观精神；（2）客观精神；（3）绝对精神。“道德”属于客观的精神。所谓“客观精神”是指精神把自己体现在外在的客观世界中，但这客观世界不是指自然界，而是指具有精神性的世界，即人类社会生活和人类历史的不同领域，它包括：（1）抽象法（财产法）；（2）道德；（3）伦理（家庭、市民社会、国家）三个发展阶段。客观精神在精神发展的阶段上低于绝对精神，因而低于属于绝对精神的“艺术”和“哲学”。照黑格尔看，主观精神和客观精神都各有其片面性：前者如灵魂、感觉、意识、理智、意志等等都是个人的内在的意识状态，没有实现为现实的存在；后者如财产、法律、道德、政治、家庭、社会、国家等等，虽然是客观的，但没有意识到自己。但是，精神的本性是无限的、绝对的、自由的，因而它就必须继续向前发展，以克服主观精神和客观精神的片面性和两者的对立，从而上升到精神的最高阶段。绝对精神是精神对它自己的完全和充分的认识，它既是主体又是客体，它除去以自身为对象和自觉地表现其本质以外，再没有别的目的，从而它是真正无限的、绝对的、自由的。而“艺术”“宗教”“哲学”是绝对精神发展的三个阶段，这三者在内容上是一致的，它们的不同只是在形式方面。黑格尔说：“在艺术中是直观和形象，在宗教中是感情和表象，在哲学中是纯自由思想。”[8]黑格尔如此排列绝对精神发展的三个阶段，是要表明绝对精神对它自身的认识也要遵循从感性直观经过表象（他又称之为“图像式的思维”）上升到抽象思

维的过程。所以“哲学”是绝对精神的最高的、最自由的和最智慧的形态。他说：“认识真理最完善的方式，就是思维的纯粹形式（引者按：指纯粹概念、逻辑范畴而言）。人采取纯思维方式时，就最为自由。”[9]艺术的感性形式不能完全体现绝对精神（理念）的无限、绝对和自由，因为它毕竟要受到感性形式的限制，“用感性形式表现真理，还是不能真正适合心灵的表现方式。”[10]只有哲学才是认识“真理”的最完善的形式。从黑格尔的精神哲学看，他把“哲学”作为真理最完善的方式，看成是最高的；而把“美”的追求（“艺术”）作为“理念的感性显现”，视为低于“哲学”的发展阶段；“道德”作为行为主体对善与恶的内在信念，则又低于“艺术”的发展阶段了。[11]这就是说，如果从价值论上看，黑格尔对“真”“善”“美”的看法就是“真←美←善”。这在层次上虽与老子哲学不完全相同，但把“真”看得高于“美”和“善”，则是与老子相同的。不过，正如我们在前面讨论孔子思想时所说，中国传统哲学所注重的是追求一种达到“真”“善”“美”的境界，而西方哲学所注重的是建立一种论证“真”“善”“美”的价值的思想体系。前者可以说主要是追求一种觉悟，而后者则主要是对“知识”的探讨。

三、庄子对人生境界的追求

和老子一样，庄子也把“道”作为他的哲学的最高范畴，但庄子哲学主要不在于论证“道”的无限性、绝对性和永恒性（虽然他对此也颇花费了不少笔墨），而主要论证的是得道之人（如至人、神人、圣人等）在精神上的无限性、绝对性和永恒性。

《庄子》书的第一篇叫《逍遥游》，这篇的主旨是讨论人如何达到精神上的绝对自由的问题。照庄子看，大鹏击水三千、扶摇九万，列子御风日行八百，看起来是够自由的，但实际上并不是完全自由。大鹏飞行九万里，需要有广大的空间；列子日行八百，也得靠风力。这些都是“有待”的，而只有“无待”才可以说达到真正的自由。所谓“无待”是说不需要任何条件，所以他说：“若夫乘天地之正，而御六气之辩，以游无穷者，彼且恶乎待哉！”这种“逍遥游”是无所待的，从而是绝对和自由的。但是如何才能达到这一无待的绝对自由的境界呢？庄子认为，这不是一般人可以达到的，只有“至人”“神人”“圣人”等才可以达到，因为“至人无己，神人无功，圣人无名”。“无己”就是“丧我”，《齐物论》中说：“今者吾丧我”。在《大宗师》中有一段话讲到“坐忘”，可以说是对“无己”这种精神绝对自由境界的描述：

> 颜回曰：“回益矣。”仲尼曰：“何谓也？”曰：“回忘仁义矣。”曰：“可矣，犹未

> 也。”他日，复见，曰：“回益矣。”曰：“何谓也？”曰：“回忘礼乐矣。”曰：“可矣，犹未也。”他日，复见，曰：“回益矣。”曰：“何谓也？”曰：“回坐忘矣。”仲尼蹴然曰：“何谓坐忘？”颜回曰：“堕肢体，黜聪明，离形去知，同于大通，此谓坐忘。”仲尼曰：“同则无好也，化则无常也，而果其贤乎！丘也请从而后也。”

庄子“坐忘”的境界就是他所说的“无己”或“丧我”的境界。上引文说明，颜回从否定世俗的道德开始，“忘仁义”“忘礼乐”，进而消除身体对精神的种种束缚，消除知识对精神的困扰，达到“形如槁木，心如死灰”的超脱耳目心意，超功利，超道德，超生死，不受任何内在外在的是非、好恶、美丑等等的限制，和天地融合为一、“同于道”的境界。这一境界以“去知”最为重要，“去知”即去掉分解性和概念性的认识活动，也即庄子“心斋”所谓的“徇耳目内通，而外于心知”。这种纯粹的直觉活动，我们说它是一种审美的活动。

《庄子》书中所描述的“至人”“神人”“圣人”等就是这样一些超越世俗，达到“坐忘”或“心斋”的精神上绝对自由的人。如《田子方》篇中说：

> 夫至人者，上窥青天，下潜黄泉，挥斥八极，神气不变。

而所谓“神人”，如《天地》篇所说：

> 上神乘光，与形灭亡，此谓照旷。致命尽情，天地乐而万事销亡，万物复情，此之谓混溟。

《刻意》篇中说：

> 圣人之生也天行，其死也物化……去知与故，循天之理……虚无恬淡，乃合天德。

“至人”“神人”“圣人”之所以能超越时空的限制，逍遥游放于六合之外，正因为他们能“离形去知”，一切任其自然而无为，对现实世界无任何要求，从而能逍遥游于“无何有之乡”。这当然只能是精神上的逍遥游放了。这种精神上的绝对自由的境界只能是一种艺术上的审美的境界。《知北游》篇中说：

> 天地有大美而不言，四时有明法而不议，万物有成理而不说。圣人者，原天地之美而达万物之理。是故圣人无为，大圣不作，观于天地之谓也。

《田子方》篇中说：

> 夫得是，至美至乐也。得至美而游乎至乐，谓之至人。

“夫得是”按上文是说“游心于物之初”的境界。此境界为不能言说的自然无为的境界。最高的美为“天地之大美”。“圣人”“至人”“神人”等“原天地之美”（或“备于天地之美”），正是由于自然无为，“离形去知”，所以可得“至美而游乎至乐”，这一“至美至乐”的境界也就是极高的艺术的审美境界。

在庄子哲学中对“真”和“美”的关系也有所讨论，《秋水》篇中说：“牛马四足，是谓天；落马首，穿牛鼻，是谓人。故曰：无以人灭天，无以故灭命，无以得殉名，谨守而勿失，是谓反其真。”所谓“反其真”就是返回到自然而然的本来状态。庄子主张“法天贵真”，反对一切违反自然本性的“人为”。“龁草饮水，翘足而陆”是马之真性，而“落马首，穿牛鼻”使牛马失去其自然本性（真性），这样牛马就没有自由，从而也失去其“美”，失去其“真”。在庄子哲学中“真”与“美”是一致的，而“真”必须是“顺性命之情”的。《渔父》篇中说：“真者，精诚之至也。不精不诚，不能动人。”“能动人”在于有真情，使人得到美的享受。“成功之美，无一其迹也”，最成功的美不是做作的，而是能自由自在地表现其真性情，所以庄子的“求真”也是为了“求美”，无“美”也就无所谓“真”。“求真”是追求一种自由自在的精神境界。

庄子很少肯定道德，他有反道德的倾向。他认为一切道德规范都是“人为”的，它们破坏人的真性情，所以他反对“以仁义易其性”。庄子认为，个体人格的自由的实现不仅是“大美”，而且是最高的“德”，最高的“善”。《刻意》篇中说：“若夫不刻意而高，无仁义而修，无功名而治，无江海而闲，不道引而寿，无不忘也，无不有也，澹然无极而众美从之。此天地之道，圣人之德也。”

“澹然无极而众美从之”，成玄英疏说：“心不滞于一方，迹冥符于五行，是以澹然虚旷而其道无穷，万德之美皆从于己也。”此谓心无所执着，自然无为，坐忘无己，自由自在，以达到至极则众美就会聚于己身。这既是天地自然而然的运行，也是圣人成就其善的路径。据此，庄子的“善”是包含在其最高的“美”（大美）之中的。

就上所言，在庄子哲学中“真”“善”“美”是统一的，它们都是统一于精神自由的审美境界上。庄子和老子一样都追求“同于道”，但老子的“同于道”是了解“道”、体会“道”，它仍属于认知的范围，是一种哲理的觉悟；而庄子的“同于道”则是对“道”的欣赏、观照，这就是审美的直觉了。从这里我们可以看出，庄子哲学在“真”“善”“美”问题上和老子不同，他是以“美”为最高。

西方哲学有两个哲学家从价值论上看在“真”“善”“美”问题上和庄子有某些相似之处，一是亚里士多德，一是谢林，也许谢林与庄子更为相

近。亚里士多德哲学追求真、善、美的统一，他说："美即是善，其所以引起快感正因为它是善"，而善的行为与美的艺术表现则需要以对事物的认识为基础。从价值论的角度看，亚里士多德并没有赋予真、善、美同样的意义。在对人类活动进行划分时，他认为在认识、实践和创造这三种活动中，认识是最高的，因为只有借助这种活动，人才能面对最高真理。但就三种活动的产物而言，在亚里士多德看来，"求真"的活动所得是理论性科学（如数学、物理学、形而上学），只是为知识而知识；"求善"与"求美"的活动所得则是实践性科学（包括政治学、伦理学）和创造性科学（包括诗学和修辞学），它们都有更高的外在目的，前者指导行动，后者指导创造。亚里士多德认为，艺术的本质就是创造。他说："艺术就是创造能力的一种状况，其中包括真正的推理过程。"这里，创造活动成了最能体现人的本质即理性的活动（亚氏曾将人的本质界定为理性）。据此，我们似乎可以说，在亚里士多德哲学中，表现美的艺术创造从而美本身获得了最高价值，其次是有外在目的的行动（即道德实践，这属于"善"），再次才是为知识而知识的"求真"的活动。[12]

谢林的哲学提出"绝对同一"的问题。照他看，"绝对同一"既不是主体，又不是客体，而是"主体和客体的绝对无差别的同一"。要达到这种"同一"只能在一种"理智的直观"中实现。所谓"理智的直观"就是产生直观对象的活动，二者是同一的，这实际上是一种直觉活动。通过这种直觉活动，自我就把自己和无意识地产生自然界的宇宙精神合二而一。谢林认为，这种"理智的直观"不是任何人的意识都可以有的，只有哲学上的天才才能具有。谢林甚至认为，即使"理智的直观"活动也还不算完全地达到了主体和客体的绝对同一，因为在那里还有直观者和被直观者的差别（尽管这个被直观才是直观者的自由活动产生的）。因此，谢林又提出只有在"艺术的直观"中才能真正实现主体与客体的绝对无差别的完全同一。

这种"绝对无差别的完全同一"很接近于庄子的"心斋"和"坐忘"的境界。谢林认为，"艺术的直观"来自灵感，来自内心精神的一种内在力量的强烈追求。这只能说是一种直觉的神秘的精神境界了。这样，在谢林那里艺术就成了没有差别的至高无上的理想世界。基于这种"艺术的直观"高于"理智的直观"的看法，谢林把"美"视为有最高价值。照他看，"真"是必然性的问题，"善"是自由的问题，而"美"是二者的综合，"美"把"真"的科学知识和"善"的道德行为综合实现于艺术之中。他说："我相信，最高的理性活动是包括一切理念的审美活动。真和善只有在美中才能接近。哲学家必须像诗人一样，具有审美的能力。"因此，从价值论的方面看，在谢林那里，"美"高于"真"和"善"。[13]这与庄

子对“真”“善”“美”问题的看法从价值论上看有相似处。

四、简单结论

1．上述孔子、老子、庄子三种不同的人生境界的追求是三种不同的价值哲学，而这三种哲学表现了三种不同的价值取向。我认为，任何有价值的哲学体系总在追求着“真”“善”“美”的三者的统一，但如何统一以及达到统一的过程并不相同。从人类发展看，我们也不必求其相同。在我们的先秦时代，哲学之所以丰富多彩，正是因为它有着多元化的价值取向。当时的哲人能从非常广阔的领域来讨论宇宙人生终极关切的问题，这样就使得我国的哲学放在当时世界范围内，和世界其他地区（希腊、印度等）相比实不逊色，这正是因为它是“多元”的，而不是“一元”的，它是能从不同的路径来探讨宇宙人生的终极关切问题。如果我们说，我国先秦哲学的发展对我们今天有什么意义，我认为其中重要的一条就是它的“多元化”。哲学的多元化才能使哲学得到充分发展，“一元化”最终将窒息哲学的生命力。当今世界文化与哲学正呈现为全球意识下多元化发展的趋势，我们应顺应这一发展趋势来创造中国的现代化哲学。

2．对历史上的哲学，如果要使它具有现代意义，能在现实社会中发生作用，就必须给以现代的解释。上面对孔子、老子、庄子哲学思想的解释，就是一种对他们思想的一种现代解释的尝试。对孔子、老子、庄子思想的解释只能是“既是孔子、老子、庄子的哲学，又不是孔子、老子、庄子的哲学”。因为这篇文章中所讲的是根据孔子、老子、庄子哲学引发出来的解释：它的根据是“孔子、老子、庄子的哲学”，因此它是“孔子、老子、庄子的哲学”；它是根据“孔子、老子、庄子哲学引发出来的解释”，既是一种引发出来的解释，因此它又不是（或不全是）孔子、老子、庄子的哲学。只有这样，我们才扩大了孔子、老子、庄子哲学的意义。也正因为它是我们现时代“根据孔子、老子、庄子哲学引发出来的”，所以它才有现代意义，哲学才有发展。我们从价值论方面来比较孔子、老子、庄子的哲学，说明他们的哲学在价值论上的取向不同，除了说明“多元化”对文化和哲学的发展意义之外，还可以为我们提供不同类型的哲学体系的式样和不同取向的人生价值的追求；又可以表示我们今天的一种对“真”“善”“美”的意义的关注和了解。这无疑对我们今日的哲学研究是有意义的。

3．用西方哲学作为参照，来了解（解释、研究）中国哲学的特点应是有重要意义的。在中国传统哲学史上虽然没有哪个哲学家

对“真”“善”“美”问题作过专门的讨论，但在中国传统哲学中却不能说不包含“真”“善”“美”的内容。我们用西方哲学作为参照来揭示中国历史上的哲学家的哲学中同样包含着“真”“善”“美”的丰富内容：这一方面，使中国传统哲学从西方哲学的观点来看，它的意义扩大了；另一方面，使西方哲学从中国哲学的观点来看，它的意义也扩大了。虽然中西哲学都有其自身的意义，但是在它们的差异和比较中使它们各自的特性更加鲜明地呈现出来，因而或者可以互相补充。如果说西方哲学家对“真”“善”“美”的问题的讨论，基本上是属于知识（或信仰，如基督教）的问题；那么中国哲学家对“真”“善”“美”的追求，则基本上是属于境界问题。因此，中西哲学各有各的意义，在互相参照中又可以互相发明。

IX. ON THE CLASH AND COEXISTENCE OF HUMAN CIVILIZATIONS

I. "The Clash of Civilizations" and the "New Empire" Theory

In 1993, an essay entitled "Clash of Civilizations?" was published on the summer issue of *Foreign Affairs* by Samuel Huntington. In 1994, I criticized the American Hegemonism represented by Huntington in an essay titled as "On Huntington's 'Clash of Civilizations?'", published in *Philosophical Studies*[1]. Between the publications of the two essays, Huntington's theory was widely discussed and criticized in all aspects by many scholars at home and abroad. To respond to these challenges as well as to amplify and revise his own theory, Huntington published his chef d'oeuvre, *The Clash of Civilizations and Remaking of World Order*, in 1996, which had marked some changes in his arguments. For example, in the Foreword to the Chinese translation, he writes: "The global politics, for the first time in human history, has become multipolar and multicultural."[2] In the section of "The Commonalities of Civilization," he points out:

> Some Americans have promoted multiculturalism at home; some have promoted universalism abroad; and some have done both. Multiculturalism at home threatens the United States and the West; universalism abroad threatens the West and the world. Both deny the uniqueness of Western culture. The global monoculturalists want to make the world like America. The domestic multiculturalists want to make America like the world. A multicultural America is impossible because a non-Western America is not American. A multicultural world is unavoidable because global empire is impossible. The preservation of the United States and the West requires the renewal of Western identity. The security of the world requires acceptance of global multiculturality.[3]

Though there are still some arguable points in the above-quoted paragraph, the opinion that "the security of the world requires acceptance of global multiculturality" is undoubtedly prudent enough. Why did this change

occur in Huntington's point of view? It was because he had felt the global challenges and threats endangering the Western (or American *de facto*) hegemony, and the domestic problems of racism and the like, that he proposed the "remaking of world order." In the section of "Renewal of the West?" Huntington claims:

> The West obviously differs from all other civilizations that have ever existed in that it has had an overwhelming impact on all other civilizations that have existed since 1500. It also inaugurated the process of modernization and industrialization that have become worldwide, and as a result societies in all other civilizations have been attempting to catch up with the West in wealth and modernity. Do these characters of the West, however, mean that its evolution and dynamics as a civilization are fundamentally different from the patterns that have prevailed in all other civilizations? The evidence of history and the judgments of the scholars of the comparative history of civilizations suggest otherwise. The development of the West to date has not deviated significantly from the evolutionary patterns common to civilizations throughout history. The Islamic Resurgence and the economic dynamism of Asia demonstrate that other civilizations are alive and well and at least potentially threatening to the West. A major war involving the West and the core states of other civilizations is not inevitable, but it could happen. Alternatively the gradual and irregular decline of the West which started in the early 20th century could continue for decades and perhaps centuries to come. Or the West could go through a period of revival, reverse its declining influence in world affairs, and reconfirm its position as the leader whom other civilizations follow and imitate.[5]

We conclude from the above quotation that, on the one hand, Huntington has felt "the gradual and irregular decline" of the Western leadership in the world and the potential threat to the West coming from those countries undergoing or having undergone the process of modernization and industrialization by imitating the West. Surely this is a reality unacceptable for him and some other Western scholars, especially for certain political leaders (Mr. George W. Bush, the current American president, for instance), involved with an unsolvable complex of theirs: why do those resurgent Islamic movements or rising Asian countries which have accepted the western way of modernization and industrialization become a threat to the West instead? According to their reasoning, these countries should and could only play the role of Western adherents or loyal subjects in all spheres, especially in politics and culture. Nevertheless, the reality contradicts their expectations, resulting consequently in an anxiety in the Western mind. On the other hand, the deep-seated dream Huntington really cherishes is the "renewal of the West," to "reconfirm its position as the leader whom other civilizations follow and imitate." The performance of the Bush administration after "9.11" incident can be regarded from this standpoint as an attempt to

reconfirm American hegemonic leadership on other civilizations.

After Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, another book, *Empire*, coauthored by Antonio Negri(Italy) and Michael Hardt (USA), was published in 2000. The basic judgment of this work on current global situation is as follows: "Empire is materializing before our very eyes; it presents its rule as a regime with no territorial or temporal boundaries; this new global form of sovereignty is what we call Empire"; "the political subject that effectively regulates these global exchanges, the sovereign power that governs the world."[7] Embracing this doctrine, many scholars in the United States propagate the "New Empire" theories. For example, John J. Mearsheimer, professor of politics in the University of Chicago, puts forward in his *Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York, 2002) the following theory: as every state seeks the maximization of its share of world power, no balancing structure could exist, and the best defense is to offend (which provides a theoretical basis for President Bush's "Preemptive Strike" theory). Another "post-modern state" theorist is Robert Cooper, Foreign Office adviser of British Prime Minister Tony Blair, who divides all states into three types: first, post-modern states, e.g. North American and European countries and Japan; second, modern states, i.e. nation-states like China, India, Brazil and Pakistan; third, pre-modern states, e.g. African and Middle East countries and Afghanistan. A concept put forward and reiterated by Cooper is "New Imperialism," which means post-modern states should use their national power (including military power) to control modern states, meanwhile to contain the barbaric acts in pre-modern states such as mass slaughter.[8] More aggressive still, the American neoconservatists in the 21st century have advocated three core creeds: 1. the extreme adoration of military force; 2. the claim of an American "benign hegemony"; 3. the emphasis on the exportation of American democracy and values. In accordance with this tone, President George W. Bush delivered his speech at the commencement of West Point on June 1, 2002, which could be summarized as three basic principles: first, America should maintain its power of "preemptive strike"; second, American values are universal; third, the United States should maintain an unchallengeable military force.[11] This "New Empire" doctrine would inevitably arouse "clashes" among the states and nations of other civilizations, and its central rhetoric has already been echoed by Huntington's theory of the "clash of civilizations." Two basic proposals are made in the latter's "Clash of Civilizations?": 1. to "limit the expansion of the military

strength in Islamic and Confucian states"; to "maintain the military superiority of the West in East and Southwest Asia"; to "exploit the differences and conflicts among Islamic and Confucian states"; 2. to "strengthen international institutions that reflect and legitimate Western interests and values and to promote the involvement of non-Western states in those institutions."[12] From these proposals we conclude that because of the "clashes of civilizations" kindled by the West, headed by the United States, on cultural differences (values, for example), the world has become a pandemonium with the upgrading of regional wars.

Should civilizations survive only in "clashes," in order to materialize the universal "New Empire" doctrine? Why couldn't they "coexist" in peace?

II. "Coexistence of Civilizations" and New Axial Age

Human history has recorded enough cases of clashes caused by cultural (or religious) differences among states, nations or regions. Nevertheless, in view of the general tendency of history, we find that the development of civilizations among different states, nations and regions should be dominated by mutual absorption and convergence. In my opinion, most conflicts among these states, nations and regions were not provoked by cultural differences. As my knowledge about Western culture (both civilization and culture concern with a comprehensive life style of a nation, thus civilization is a magnified culture) is limited, I am not authoritative enough to speak on this issue. Here I would like to quote Bertrand Russell to justify a proposition that the present Western civilization is formed by absorbing and syncretizing several cultural elements. In 1922, after Russell's visit to China, he wrote in an essay titled as "Chinese and Western Civilization Contrasted" the following words:

> Contacts between different civilizations have often in the past proved to be landmarks in human progress. Greece learnt from Egypt, Rome from Greece, the Arabs from the Roman Empire, medieval Europe from the Arabs, and Renaissance Europe from the Byzantines.[14]

Though it might be arguable whether Russell was accurate enough on every point of his views, two of which, however, are undoubtedly correct: 1. contacts between different cultures are important dynamics for the progress of human civilizations; 2. the European culture today has absorbed many

elements from other national cultures, including some from the Arabian. Another observation based on the progress of Chinese culture would be even more forceful to prove that clashes of civilizations are always temporal, whereas mutual absorption and convergence are far more important.

In Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, different local cultures existed in China, including Central Area (Henan) culture, Qi-Lu (Shandong) culture, Qinlong (Shaanxi) culture, Jingchu (Southern) culture, Wu-Yue (South-east) culture and Ba-Shu (South-west) culture. All of them were amalgamated later into a generally unified Chinese(Huaxia) culture. The possibility of the coexistence of two cultures would be especially illuminated by the importation of Indian Buddhism in the first century AD. Buddhism culture spread in China peacefully; its cultural differences with indigenous Confucianism or Taoism had never brought their disciples into war. Only on three occasions had the Chinese imperial courts suppressed Buddhism, which were caused without exception by political or economic factors. Generally speaking, Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist cultures coexist well in China. A famous French sinologist (Kristofer Schipper) once asked me: "Why is China multicultural?" I pondered for a while and then answered: Perhaps there are two reasons. First, from the ideological point of view, the Chinese always advocate "harmony in diversity," i.e. the harmonious coexistence of diverse cultures. Secondly, in terms of political systems, the Chinese emperor was the highest authority dominating the fates of religious, philosophical and ethical cultures in China. For the sake of social stability, the emperor did not want to see conflicts or wars provoked by cultural differences. Thus he usually sponsored the "debate of three schools," summoning the representatives of Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist scholars to debate in imperial court, arbitrating their respective statuses according to the degree of success in debate, instead of allowing any conflicts or even wars.

From the above arguments and historical experiences, I conclude that Huntington's "clash of civilizations" theory is, at any rate, *ex parte*, serving merely for American international politics. He says as follows:

> It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in the new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.[15]

Huntington's observation is insightful in certain cases, such as Palestinian-Israel conflict in the Middle East, Kosovo conflict, or even the Iraqi War, where some cultural (religious and ethical) elements catalyzed the outbursts of wars. Yet in closer analysis, the basic causes of wars or conflicts are not cultural, but political and economic: Palestinian-Israel conflict was a contest for regional hegemony, Iraqi War was mainly for oil, and Kosovo conflict for the strategies of power politics. But on the other hand, cultural differences have not provoked conflicts between many nations, such as in Sino-Indian, Sino-Russian, or even Sino-European relations. In fact, there have been no serious conflicts or wars(for whatever reason) between them, especially in the last decade. Thus the "clash of civilizations" theory hardly fits the present global situation, nor will it be the future perspective of mankind. Instead, the "coexistence of civilizations" should be the only outlet for human society, and a future goal we should strive for.

Perhaps a clearer picture of our age may help to illuminate this problem. In my opinion, we find ourselves in a New Axial Age.

The idea of Axial Age was proposed by German philosopher Karl Jaspers (1883-1969). According to his theory, around 500 BC, great thinkers appeared almost simultaneously in Ancient Greece, Israel, India and China, and they contributed their original ideas to the solution to the problems which are of great concern to humankind. Distinctive cultural traditions were then formed respectively by Socrates and Plato in Ancient Greece, Laozi and Confucius in China, Shakyamuni in India, and Jewish prophets in Israel, which, after more than two thousand years of progress, have become the principal part of human intellectual wealth. These regional cultural traditions were independent in their births and developments, without mutual influence. "Until today mankind has lived by what happened during the Axial Period, by what was thought and created during that period. In each new upward flight it returns in recollection to this period and is fired anew by it. Even since then it has been the case that recollections and reawakenings of the potentialities of the Axial Period—renaissances—afford a spiritual impetus."[16] For example, the Europeans in Renaissance had traced the origin of their culture back to Ancient Greece, which had rekindled the European civilization and left its mark in world history. Similarly, the Song and Ming Neo-Confucian thinkers in China, stimulated by the impacts of Indian Buddhism, rediscovered Confucius and Mencius of the pre-Qin Period, and elevated the indigenous

Chinese philosophy to a new height. In a certain sense, the current development of world multiculturalism might become a new leap forward on the basis of the Axial Age 2,000 years ago. Has the contemporary human cultures created, or will create, a New Axial Age? Judging from certain evidences, we may well draw such a conclusion.

First of all, since World War II, with the gradual collapse of colonialism, the once colonized and oppressed nations have taken upon themselves an urgent task to re-affirm their independent identities by all means. Their unique cultures (such as languages, religions and social values) were the most important means for this justification. We know that Malaysia after World War II insisted on using Malay as their national tongue to emphasize the nation's unification; and after the establishment of Israel, the Israeli decided to revive Hebrew as a vernacular, though for a long period of time in the past, Hebrew had only been used in religious ceremonies. "The central elements of any culture or civilization are language and religion."[17] Some political leaders and scholars in Eastern countries also put forward the "Asian values" centered on community to distinguish themselves from the Western "universal values" centered on individual. So on and so forth. Even Huntington began to understand that "non-Western civilizations generally are re-affirming the value of their own cultures."[18]

Secondly, the Axial Age around 500 BC was a time when axial civilizations entered the Iron Age, and a time of great leaps forward in productivity, which in consequence produced great thinkers. Now we have entered the Information Age, when another great leap forward in human society is just happening. Because of the economic globalization, the integration of science and technology, and the progress of information network, different regions all over the world are tightly connected, and local cultural progress could no longer be independent as they once were in the "Axial Age" two thousand years ago. Instead, they will be developed in the midst of discords, conflicts, and through mutual influences or mutual absorptions. The self-understanding of each culture is undoubtedly limited, as is described in a famous poem of Su Shi (1037-1101):

> They know not Lushan Mountain's real face;
> So long as they continue to stay in her embrace.[22]

This couplet tells us, a different perspective from another cultural

system, i.e. from a cultural "other," might provide us with a more comprehensive view of our own culture. In an essay entitled "Why Is China Necessary for Us Westerners in Studying Philosophy?", FranÇois Jullien, a French scholar, writes: "We have chosen departure, which means a choice for leaving here, in order to create a space for thinking from a distant perspective. This detour in steady steps distinguishes itself from exoticism. We have made our trip traversing China in this manner in order to better understand Greece, which, though curtained off from our knowledge by a lapse of time, is something inborn and inherited by us through birthright. For the purpose of enhancing this perspective, we have to cut off this umbilical cord and constitute an exterior viewpoint."[23] This kind of intercultural study in the spirit of intersubjectivity and inter-reference, together with its methodology of judging one's own culture from the standpoint of a culture "other," is gradually accepted by scholars at home and abroad. Why, then, should we understand our culture from another's perspective? Just because we desire to inherit and develop the cultural tradition of our own. In this case, it undoubtedly becomes a serious problem in how to preserve the proper traits of a culture and pass on its lifeline. As we know, economy can be globalized, science and technology can be integrated, but cultures can never be monoculturalized. In the history of the progress of human society to date, it is neither possible nor wise enough for any culture to reject all external influences; but only when the essence of the target culture is sufficiently digested could it better absorb foreign cultures to nourish its domestic culture. "When we keep in contacts and exchanges with Western world," Mr. Fei Xiaotong said, "we should make our own treasures part of the world cultural heritage. Indigenization first, globalization second."[24] That is to say, our own cultural root should be protected when learning from other cultures. Thus, the cultural progress in the 21st century concerning all human societies should be both national and universal.

Thirdly, judging from the status quo of human societies and cultures, a new pattern of cultural diversity with a global consciousness has already been formed or is still being formed. Perhaps the 21st century would be dominated by four principal cultural systems: the Euro-American, the East Asian, the South Asian, and the Islamic (Middle Eastern and North African). Each of the four cultures has a long tradition and a population of over a billion. Of course there are other cultures influencing the future of human society in the 21st century as well, for example, the Latin American and the African;

nevertheless, at least in the present, the influence of these cultures are far less than that of the four principal cultures mentioned above. If human society hopes to terminate the present chaos, it should especially criticize the cultural Hegemonism and cultural Tribalism, it should not only face this new cultural Axial Age but also make unremitting efforts to promote the dialogues among states or nations belonging to different cultural traditions, in order to coordinate all the cultures into a project of solving the common problems challenging human society. Undoubtedly, the four principal cultures are burdened with a major responsibility for the current human society. At present, human society is standing on a historic turning point, and every nation or country should seriously reexamine its own culture in the historical perspective. This is especially true for those nations in Euro-American, East Asian, South Asian or Islamic cultural regions, because of the crucial functions they perform in contemporary human civilization. This kind of reexamination is surely quite necessary for the future of human society. The culture tradition is a reality *de facto* for every nation or state, especially for those nations and states with a long history and having crucial influence on contemporary human society, for it is deeply rooted in the hearts of its people, forming the spiritual prop of this particular nation or state.

Let us return to our own cultural tradition, make it a starting point, and seek in it the source of our power and our spiritual prop, in order to promote the development of our contemporary culture, and to solve the pressing problems existing in human society. In this sense, the Euro-American, East Asian, South Asian and Islamic cultures, with their long historical traditions, might help to promote the human society in the 21st century to the level of a "New Axial Age," comparable to the Axial Age 2,500 years ago. Different cultural traditions would subsist in this New Axial Age, each with a population too large to be eliminated—even with wars, there would be only little or temporary effects. Thus, in the long run, the coexistence of civilizations is predictable.

Ш. Can Chinese Culture Make Contributions to the Coexistence of Civilizations?

If Chinese people want to make contributions to the "coexistence of civilizations" in contemporary human society, they must first know their own

culture well, which means they must have a cultural self-consciousness. The so-called "cultural self-consciousness" refers to the fact that people in a certain cultural tradition can give serious consideration or make earnest reexamination of their own culture's origin, history, characteristics (including both merits and weakness) and its tendency of progress. It is fair to say that the Chinese nation is on the eve of a national renewal. To achieve this goal, we must have some self-knowledge about Chinese culture, make a proper estimation of its place in human civilizations, and try to ascertain the genuine spirit of this ancient culture, in order to present its true essence to contemporary human society. On the other hand, we must analyze the weak points of our own culture as well, to better absorb other cultures' essences, and to give a modern reinterpretation of Chinese culture, so that it can adapt to the general tendency in the development of modern society. Only in this way may our country become a vanguard in the development of a global culture, and create a brave new world together with other cultures.

Confucianism and Taoism were two principal schools of thinking in traditional Chinese culture, and generally considered to be complementary to each other. Of course, since Indian Buddhism was introduced into China, Buddhism has also played an important role in Chinese society and culture. Now I would like to discuss whether the Confucian and Taoist thinking can provide meaningful resources to the doctrine of "coexistence of civilizations."

i. The Confucian Doctrine of *Ren* (仁，benevolence, virtue) Is a Resource of Thinking with a Positive Meaning for the "Coexistence of Civilizations."

"The Way originates in Emotion" (道始于情), as prescribed in "Destiny is the resource of Human nature" (性自命出), a manuscript text in *Guodian Bamboo Slips* (《郭店竹简》). "The Way" here means "the Way of Humanity" (人道), i.e. the principles in dealing with human(or in other words, social) relationships, which is different from "the Way of Heaven" (天道), i.e. the laws of nature or of universe. Human relationships are established on the basis of emotion, which is the starting point of the Confucian doctrine of *Ren*. Once a disciple named Fan Chi asked Confucius: "What is *Ren*?" The answer was: "To love people." Where is the origin of this idea—"to love people"? In *The Doctrine of the Mean* a saying of Confucius was quoted as: " *Ren* is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great exercise of it is in loving relatives."[27] The spirit of Benevolence and Love (仁爱) is rooted in human nature, and to love one's relative is the most basic

exercise of it. But the spirit of *Ren* goes far beyond this level. To quote *Guodian Bamboo Slips*: "To love and love deep, that is love; but to enlarge the love for one's father to the love for human being, that is *Ren*."[28] "The enlargement of filial piety is to love all the people below Heaven."[29] From these sayings we observe that the Confucian Doctrine of *Ren* demands to enlarge "the love for relatives" to "the benevolence on people," i.e. to "enlarge one's self-concern to the concern for others" (推己及人), to "treat with the reverence the elders in your own family, so that the elders in the families of others shall be similarly treated; to treat with the kindness due to youth the young in your own family, so that the young in the families of others shall be similarly treated"[30]—that is *Ren*. It is not easy to practice the doctrine of "enlarging one's self-concern to the concern for others," which requires a "practice of *Ren*" rooted in "the Way of Loyalty and Forgiveness" (忠恕之道), i.e. "never do to others as you do not wish done on yourself,"[31] "wishing to be established himself, he seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others."[32] ("Loyalty is the complete devotion of oneself; forgiveness is the deduction of one's self-concern"朱熹：《四书集注》).

If *Ren* is to be extended to the whole society, it would be as what Confucius once said: "To subdue one's self and return to propriety, is perfect virtue. If a *junzi* (君子: gentleman, nobleman) can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety, all under Heaven will return to *Ren* (after his example). Is the practice of *Ren* from a man himself, or is it from others?"[33] "To subdue one's self" and "to return to propriety" are usually interpreted as two parallel teachings, but I do not consider this the best explanation of this doctrine. "To subdue one's self and return to propriety is perfect virtue" actually means the behavior of "returning to propriety" based on the "subduing of one's self" can be regarded as *Ren*. Mr. Fei Xiaotong had his own interpretation about this doctrine: "Only after one has subdued one's self could one return to propriety. The return to propriety is the prerequisite for one to enter the society and become a social man. Perhaps it is just on this point Western and Eastern civilizations have parted, that is, whether to expand or to subdue one's self."[34] I think Mr. Fei's remark makes a lot of sense. Zhu Xi also had an exegesis on this doctrine. "To subdue means to conquer," he said, "and the self means one's personal desires. To return means to restore, and the propriety means the laws and patterns of the Principle of Heaven." According to this exegesis, one should subdue one's

personal desires to abide by proprieties and social criteria. *Ren* is one's natural virtues ("Love is born in nature."[35]); and propriety is exterior conventions to rule one's behavior, the function of which is to adjust social relationships so that people could live in harmony, as is summed up in one of Confucius' old saying: "The most valuable function of propriety is harmony."[36] Only if one abides by proprieties and social criteria willingly, i.e. by an innate will to love people, can one fulfill the demands of *Ren*. Thus Confucius asked: "Is the practice of *Ren* from a man himself, or is it from others?" He made a distinction between *Ren* and propriety: "If a man be without *Ren*, what has he to do with the rites of propriety? If a man be without *Ren*, what has he to do with music?"[37] He who performs the rites or music without a heart of Benevolence and Love is a hypocrite, and is serving a purpose of cheating. It is in this sense that Confucius thought, if people would pursue *Ren* self-consciously and practice what a heart of Benevolence and Love demands according to the proprieties in everyday life, then harmony and peace would be achieved in a society,— "If a *junzi* can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety, all under Heaven will return to *Ren*." In my opinion, this teaching of Confucius is not totally meaningless for the political leaders of a state or the ruling class in developed countries (United States in particular). "The politics of *Ren*" (仁政), or "the Way of a virtuous emperor" (王道) instead of "the Way of hegemony" (霸道), is indispensable to "rule the state" (治国) and to "harmonize all under Heaven" (平天下). If "the politics of *Ren*" or "the Way of a virtuous emperor" is practiced, different cultures would be able to coexist and develop in peace; while "the Way of hegemony" will bring forth the "clash of civilizations," resulting in monoculturalism and cultural Hegemonism. If Confucian doctrine of *Ren* is applied to the regulating of intercultural relationships, clash or war of civilizations will be avoided, and the coexistence of civilizations, achieved.

Of course, even the Confucian doctrine of *Ren* is no miracle drug to solve all the problems about the existence of civilizations in contemporary society. Nevertheless, as a set of moral self-regulations based on Benevolence and Love, it would undoubtedly be of some practical significance to harmonize the coexistence of civilizations if practiced as a principle to regulate intercultural and cultural relationships.

It is not easy to make different cultures get along in harmony and thus to make states and nations in different cultural traditions coexist in peace.

Probably the Confucian doctrine of "Harmony in Diversity" (和而不同)[39] could provide us with an illuminating resource of thinking. According to Confucius, "The virtuous (*junzi*) get on in harmony without agreeing to each other; the base (*xiaoren*) agree with others without harmony."[40] *Junzi*, as intellectuals with moral discipline practicing the Way of Loyalty and Forgiveness, should try to get on with others in harmony in spite of their different opinions; but those with no morality or discipline always force others to accept their opinions, thus could not maintain a harmonious relationship with others. If this doctrine of "Harmony in Diversity" could be applied as a principle in dealing with intercultural and cultural relationships, it can play a very positive role in resolving the conflicts among states or nations. It would be especially true in dealing with those discords and conflicts provoked by cultural differences (e.g. the differences in religious beliefs or social values) among states or nations, if we practice the teaching of "Harmony in Diversity" as principle to resolve these conflicts.

"Harmony" and "Sameness" are generally regarded as two different concepts in traditional Chinese thinking. There was even "a debate on the differences between Harmony and Sameness" in China's history. As a passage in *Zuo Zhuan* relates, once the Duke of Qi asked Yan-zi: "Is there only Ju who can get along with me in harmony?" The reply of Yanzi was: "Ju merely expresses the same opinion with Your Highness,—how can it be called harmony?" "Is there any difference between Harmony and Sameness?" asked the Duke. "They are quite different," replied Yan-zi. "Harmony is like well-cooked dish, you must concoct fish and meat with water, fire, vinegar, sauce, salt and plum, and then cook the dish with firewood. The cook harmonizes these flavors to make it moderate. If it is too light, then salt should be added; if too salty, then water. When *junzi* dines with such a dish, his heart would be pacified. This is analogous to the relationship between the King and his magistrates. . . . But Ju is different from it. When Your Highness say that something is right, he agrees; when Your Highness say the opposite, he agrees as well. It is as if to moderate water with water,—who could tolerate to eat such a dish? Or as if a zither always plays the same tune, —who could tolerate to enjoy such music? This is why Sameness differs from Harmony" (《左传·昭公二十年》). Another saying of Shibo (史伯) was recorded as follows: "In fact, only Harmony can activate the growth of lives, and Sameness would stop it on the contrary. Harmony is to moderate something with heterogeneous things—only in this way, the lives would

flourish and find their belongings. If something is supplemented by homogeneous things, it can only be abandoned after its exhaustion. Thus the ancient virtuous emperors had concocted Earth with Metal, Wood, Water and Fire[41], to transform it into miscellaneous lives."[42] (《国语·郑语》) From the above quotations, we understand that Harmony and Sameness are totally different concepts. Only under the presupposition of difference and correlation could things "be moderated with heterogeneity," and the diverse things progress together in harmony with one another. "To supplement something with homogeneity" is to aggregate the sameness, which would only suffocate the lives. The supreme ideal of traditional Chinese culture is that "miscellaneous lives are nourished together without harming each other; miscellaneous ways are practiced together without counteracting each other."[43] The "miscellaneous lives" and "miscellaneous ways" refer to Diversity; and the "without harming each other" and "without counteracting each other" refer to Harmony. This doctrine would provide us with inexhaustible resources of thinking for the coexistence of diverse cultures.

Now in Western countries, people of insight have already admitted the possibility of coexistence of civilizations, that the clash or war provoked by mere cultural differences should be avoided. They believe that different nations and states should be able to achieve common understanding through cultural exchanges, dialogues, and discussions. This would be a process moving from "Diversity" to mutual understanding. This mutual understanding is neither to extinct nor to assimilate the individual cultures, but to find a cross point in two different cultures and to use it as the basis to promote the progress of both cultures,—such is the function of "Harmony." It is just because of the differences of diverse cultures that human civilizations have become so colorful, and that the complementary and interactive setup is formed gradually in the ever-flowing river of human history. Cultural differences might lead to clashes or even wars, but not all differences are destined to cause clashes or wars. Especially in an era when science and technology are rapidly developing, a massive war, if it really happens, would easily destroy humankind itself. Thus we must endeavor to maintain a harmonious coexistence through intercultural dialogues. Many scholars at home and abroad have recognized the importance of mutual understanding achieved through dialogues between different cultures. Habermas, for instance, begins to emphasize the concepts of justice and solidarity. In my opinion, they are significant principles in dealing with international cultural

relationships. Habermas' "Principle of Justice" can be understood as follows: every national culture has a right to protect its independence and autonomy and to develop freely according to the will of its people. His "Principle of Solidarity," on the other hand, can be interpreted as an obligation to sympathize, understand and respect other national cultures. By uninterrupted dialogues and communication between different national cultures, there will be a time, sooner or later, when a positive cycle of interactions can be formed.[44] Another advocator of this principle is Gadamer, the German philosopher who passed away only recently. He proposed that "understanding" should be extended to the level of "universal dialogue." Because of this extension, the relationship between subject and object (as cognitive or grammatical concepts) is possible to be transformed from inequality to equality; in other words, only when the dialogues are conducted on equal basis, can there be any meaningful dialogue and fruitful result. Gadarmer's consciousness of equality between subject and object and his theory of "cultural dialogue" are important ideas urgently needed in our time,[45] illuminating enough for us to understand properly and thoroughly the cultural or national relationships between China and other nations. Nevertheless, whether it is Habermas' principles of justice and solidarity or Gadamer's theory of universal dialogue, their common presupposition should be the principle of "Diversity in Harmony," since only when nations and states in different cultural traditions coexist in harmony through dialogues, can they acquire equal rights and obligations and only then the "universal dialogue" between them may become meaningful and fruitful. Thus, the Confucian principle of "Harmony in Diversity" based on the belief that "harmony is the most valuable"[46] should be practiced as one of the basic principles in dealing with intercultural relationships. This principle, if adopted by all states and nations, would become a positive factor not only in eliminating the discords, conflicts and even wars, but also as a dynamics in promoting the development of all states and nations through exchange and communication. It is just in this sense that Bertrand Russell said: "Contacts between different civilizations have often in the past proved to be landmarks in human progress."[49] The contemporary human society needs different cultures to develop their traditional characters through mutual absorption and convergence, in order to bring about the coexistence of civilizations on a new basis.

ii. The Taoist Doctrine of the Way (tao) Can Provide Significant

Resources of Thinking to Prevent "the Clash of Civilizations."

If Confucius is a "man of virtue" (仁者), then Lao-zi is a "man of wisdom" (智者). The Way is the fundamental concept in Lao-zi's *Tao Te Ching*, while "the spontaneity and doing-nothing" (自然无为: to obey natural laws without offences) are the basic features of the Way. "The spontaneity and doing-nothing are the Way of Heaven," said Wang Chong in his *Lun Heng*.[50] All kinds of conflicts in contemporary human society are undoubtedly caused by the greedy desires for power and wealth. Those great powers, in their pursuit of selfish gains and expansion of power, exploit the resources of underdeveloped countries and practice power politics, which is the fundamental cause of global chaos. Lao-zi's doctrine of "spontaneity and doing-nothing" could be interpreted as to do nothing against people's will, which will render the society and the world peacefulness. Lao-zi once quoted the saying of an ancient sage: "As I do nothing, the people will reform by themselves; since I like quiet, they will keep order by themselves; when I seek no trouble, the people will prosper by themselves; when I have no desire, they will live in austerity by themselves."[51] It means: the ruler with political powers should neither interfere with his people (doing-nothing), nor disturb their everyday life (liking quiet), nor act against their will (seeking no trouble), nor exploit them insatiably (having no desire); thus, the people will reform by themselves, keep order by themselves, prosper by themselves, and live in austerity by themselves. If we give a modern interpretation of this teaching and apply it to the administration of contemporary society, it will not only bring peace to a country but also function significantly in eliminating the clash of civilizations. We can interpret the above-quoted teaching as follows: in international politics, the more a country interferes with the affairs of other countries, the more chaotic the world will become; the more those great powers threaten others with military force, the more turbulent and disorderly the world will become; the more those great powers exploit the underdeveloped countries under the pretext of international aids, the poorer those underdeveloped countries will become; the more those developed countries desire and fight for the world dominance of wealth and power, the more immoral and terrorized the world will become. Therefore, in my opinion, the doctrine of "doing-nothing" may be an effective prescription for the leaders of the so-called "new empire." If they would accept this prescription, the world will enjoy peace. Nevertheless, the "new empire" always bully other states and nations by means of "willful acts" (有为), such

as interference, exploitation or military threat, which are undoubtedly determined by its greedy nature as an empire. According to Lao-zi, "No calamity is worse than to be discontented. Nor is there a sin more dreadful than coveting. He who knows how to be content, truly he will always be so."[52] Isn't the "new empire" discontented and coveting? Lao-zi said again: "Isn't the Way of Heaven much like a bow bent? The upper part has been disturbed, pressed down; the lower part is raised up from its place; the slack is taken up; the slender width is broader drawn. For thus the Way of Heaven cuts people down when they have had too much, and fills the bowls of those who are in want. But the way of man will not work like this: the people who have not enough are spoiled, for tribute to the rich and the surfeited."[53] Why is the human society in this world today in a state of turbulence and disorder? Isn't it totally caused by human beings themselves, especially those leaders of the "new empire" acting against the "Way of Heaven" and losing the "hearts of men," practicing a policy of spoiling those who have not enough, in order to pay tribute to the rich and the surfeited? Isn't it the root of discords, conflicts and wars in contemporary world? Thus we find that the "clash of civilizations" theory is closely related to the theory of "new empire" hidden behind its back.

Lao-zi strongly opposed wars for the sake of preserving peace in the world. In Chapter 31, *Tao Te Ching*, he said: "Weapons at best are tools of bad omen, loathed by all. Thus those of the Way avoid them."[54] In wars there are always people killed, production interrupted and social orders broken, thus Lao-zi thinks that war is evil, because people hate it, and virtuous statesmen would not push the country into war to solve their problems. Again Lao-zi said: "To those who would help the ruler of men by means of the Way: let him not with his militant might try to conquer the world; this tactic will be revenged by Heaven. For where armies have marched, there do briers spring up; where great hosts are impressed, years of hunger and evil ensue."[55] This is generally true in the history of all nations. In China, after every major war, the population would be reduced dramatically, farmland disserted, production interrupted, and robbers and thieves infesting. The two world wars both ended in this way, and the current war in the Middle East is no exception. Whenever the leaders of the "new empire" provoke a war anywhere, they will surely be bogged down there, since the people in the conquered countries will not surrender, they will fight without the fear of death, as Lao-zi said: "The people do not fear at all to die; what's gained

therefore by threatening them with death?"[56] And: "As for those who delight to do murder, it is certain they can never get from the world what they sought."[57] We see from history that those who had initiated wars, though momentary successes they might get, would finally fail and be dishonored. Hitler was such an example, and Japanese Militarism, another. As a "man of wisdom," Lao-zi could observe the latent converse side with his wisdom, as he said: "On bad fortune the good fortune always leans; in good fortune the bad fortune always hides."[58] Now people in some countries are suffering, but it would be a necessary precondition prepared for their nation's renewal in future. Take the past hundred years of China's history, for example, it is just after being beaten repeatedly that the Chinese people had finally waken up. Today we may say that the Chinese nation is on the eve of a great renewal. In my opinion, leaders of every country, especially those of the "new empire," should learn some wise teachings from *Tao Te Ching*, and realize that, in the long run, the politics of great powers and Hegemonism will have no future. Therefore, I consider the thinking of Lao-zi valuable in refuting the theories of "clash of civilizations" and of the "new empire." We advocate the theory of "coexistence of civilizations" and are in agreement with Lao-zi's idea of "doing-nothing," in the expectation of a world of Great Harmony, with peace and security, general progress and common wealth for humankind. Of course, as Lao-zi was born two thousand years ago, his philosophy cannot be used to solve all the problems that contemporary human society is confronted with (including the discords and conflicts among nations), but his wisdom should be of important value to illuminate our way. Our task is to rediscover and develop the essence of his thinking, to give it a modern interpretation, so that the general public can benefit from the edifications in the treasury of ancient Chinese philosophy.

Differences in religious beliefs, values and ways of thinking may lead to conflicts among nations and states; and conflicts can breed wars. However, we may ask: Are these conflicts inevitable? Would it be possible that these conflicts be resolved peacefully, without a war for cultural differences? We have to find a common resource of thinking in all national cultures advocating the coexistence of civilizations, in order to prevent any possible conflict or war. As argued above, the Confucianism and Taoism in Chinese culture could provide significant resources of thinking to bring about the peaceful coexistence of civilizations. I believe that the same kind of resources can be found in cultures of other nations and states as well. At the turn of the

21st century, we must make a careful choice whether to practice the theory of "clash of civilizations" in dealing with the problems among nations and states, or the theory advocating the "coexistence of civilizations" to bring peace to human society. It would be a blessing to humankind if we choose not the clash but the coexistence of civilizations. *The Book of History* teaches us: "All the states under Heaven should be harmonized."[59] Like many other nations, the Chinese nation is a great one with a long and brilliant tradition of history and culture. Chinese culture is undoubtedly one of the most valuable treasures for mankind. With this cultural heritage, we should be able to make contributions to the peaceful coexistence of human civilizations, promote cultural exchanges, so that harmony might befall on this world of diverse cultures.

玖　“文明的冲突”与“文明的共存”[*]

一、“文明的冲突”论与“新帝国”理论

1993年夏季号美国《外交事务》发表了塞缪尔·亨廷顿的《文明的冲突？》一文，我于1994年撰写了《评亨廷顿〈文明的冲突？〉》（刊于《哲学研究》，1994年第3期），批评了以亨廷顿为代表的美国“霸权主义”，在此期间中外许多学者都对亨廷顿的理论从各个角度进行了讨论或提出了批评。1996年，亨廷顿为了回答对他的批评，并补充和修正他的某些观点出版了《文明的冲突与世界秩序的重建》。可以看出他的某些观点有所改变，例如在他为中文版写的《序言》中说：“在人类历史上，全球政治首次成了多极的和多文化的。”在《文明的共性》一节中，他说：

> 一些美国人在国内推行多元文化主义，一些美国人在国外推行普世主义，另一些美国人则两者都推行。美国国内的多元文化主义对美国和西方构成了威胁，在国外推行普世主义则对西方和世界构成了威胁。它们都否认西方文化的独特性。全球单一文化论者想把世界变成像美国一样。美国国内的多元文化论者则想把美国变成像世界一样。一个多元文化的美国是不可能的，因为非西方的美国便不成其为美国。多元化的世界则是不可避免的，因为建立全球帝国是不可能的。维护美国和西方需要重建西方认同，维护世界安全则需要接受全球的多元文化性。[4]

虽然这段话也还有一些可商榷处，但他提出“维护世界安全则需要接受全球的多元文化性”，应该说是比较明智的考虑。亨廷顿的观点有这样的变化，正是由于他感到在世界范围内西方（实际上是美国）的“霸权”地位受到挑战和威胁，在国内又受到“种族”等问题的困扰，因此提出了“世界秩序的重建”问题。在该书“西方的复兴”一节中亨廷顿说：

> 西方与所有已经存在过的文明显然是不同的，因为它已经对公元1500年以来存在着的所有文明都产生了势不可挡的影响。它开创了在世界范围内展开的现代化和工业化的进程，其结果是，所有其他文明都一直试图在财富和现代化方面赶上西方。然而，西方的这些特点是否意味着，它作为一种文明的演进和变动根本不同于所有其他文明中普遍存在的模式？历史的证据和比较文明史学者的判断却表明并非如此。迄今为止，西方的发展与历史上诸文明共同的演进模式和动力并无重大不同。伊斯兰复兴运动和亚洲经济发展的势头表明，其他文明是生机勃勃的，而且至少潜在地对西方构成了威胁。一场涉及西方和其他文明核心国家的大战并不是不可避免的，但有可能发生。而西方始于20世纪初的逐渐而且无规律的衰落，可能持续几十年，甚至几百年。或者，西方可能经历一

个复兴阶段，扭转它对世界事务影响力下降的局面，再次确立它作为其他文明追随和仿效的领袖的地位。[6]

这段话一方面反映了亨廷顿感到西方领导世界的地位正在“逐渐而且无规律”地“衰落”，而那些向西方学习走上或正在走上“现代化”和“工业化”的国家已经“潜在地对西方构成了威胁”，这当然是他和西方某些学者、特别是政治领袖（如现任美国总统小布什）不愿接受的。这里包含着亨廷顿和某些西方学者、政治家的一个不可解的情结：为什么那些伊斯兰复兴运动和亚洲兴起的国家走上了他们创造的“现代化”和“工业化”的道路，反而对他们构成了威胁？照他们看，这些兴起的国家在一切方面（政治的、文化的）本应跟着他们走，听命于他们才是“合理”的。但是现实的情况并非如此，因而表现出西方世界的忧心忡忡。另一方面，在亨廷顿内心真正希望的是西方文明的“复兴”，“再次确立它作为其他文明追随和仿效的领袖地位”。“9·11”以后美国布什政府的所作所为，可以说正在试图确立其作为其他文明的霸主的领导地位。

继亨廷顿的《文明的冲突与世界秩序的重建》之后，2000年出版了意大利安东尼奥·奈格里与美国迈克尔·哈特合著的《帝国—全球化的政治秩序》一书，该书对当前世界形势的基本看法是：“就在我们眼前，帝国主义正在成长、形成。无边无垠，永无止境，这就是全球政治新秩序——一种新的主权形式：帝国。”“新的主权形式正在出现。帝国是一个政治对象，它有效控制着这些全球交流，它是统治世界的最高权力。”[9]基于这一理论，在美国有众多学者在大力宣扬这种“新帝国”论。例如2002年美国芝加哥大学的米尔斯海默教授在《大国政治的悲剧》中指出：任何一个国家都要寻求权力的最大化，因此不可能有权利均衡的机制，最好的防御就是进攻（这就是布什的“先发制人”的理论基础）。另外还有一位“后现代国家理论”者英国首相布莱尔的顾问罗伯特·库珀，他把世界上的国家分为三类：第一类是后现代国家，即北美、欧洲国家和日本；第二类是现代国家，即他们还是民族国家，如中国、印度、巴西、巴基斯坦等；还有一类是前现代国家，如非洲国家、阿富汗、中东国家。库珀提出并一再讲的一个概念就是“新帝国主义”，其意思是，后现代国家首先要动用它们的国家力量（包括军事力量）来控制现代国家，同时也制止前现代国家那些诸如屠杀之类的行为。[10]更有甚者21世纪的美国新保守主义提出三项核心内容：（1）极度崇尚军力；（2）主张建立美国“仁慈霸权”；（3）强调输出美国式的民主与价值观。据此，布什总统2002年6月1日在西点军校毕业典礼上提出三大原则：第一，美国要保持“先发制人”的权力；第二，美国价值观是普适全球的；第三，保持不可挑战的军事力量。[13]依据这种“新帝国”论，在不

同文化传统的国家和民族中不可能不引起“冲突”。而亨廷顿的“文明冲突”论实际上早就为这种“新帝国”论提供了最基本的策略。在他的《文明的冲突？》中，有两条基本的主张：（1）“抑制伊斯兰与儒家国家的军事扩张”，“保持西方在东亚、西南亚国家的军事优势”，“制造儒家与伊斯兰国家之间的差异与冲突”；（2）“巩固能够反映西方利益与价值并使之合法化的国际组织，并且推动非西方国家参与这些组织。”依据这些理论，我们可以看到，由于西方，主要是美国，利用着文化上的差异（例如在价值观上的差异），挑起文明之间的冲突，已使当前的世界陷入一片混乱之中，局部战争越演越烈。

那么“文明”难道只能在“冲突”中，以实现一统天下的“新帝国”的理论吗？在不同“文明”之间难道不可以“共存”吗？

二、“文明的共存”与新轴心时代

在人类以往的历史上并不缺乏由于文明（例如宗教）的原因引起国家与国家、民族与民族、地域与地域之间的冲突。但是，我们从历史发展的总体上看，在不同国家、民族和地域之间的文明发展更应该是以相互吸收与融合为主导。照我看，国家与国家、民族与民族、地域与地域之间的冲突主要并不是由文明的原因引起的。我对西方文化（文明与文化都涉及一个民族全面的生活方式，文明是放大了的文化）了解很有限，没有多少发言权，这里只引用罗素的一段话来说明今日西方文明是在吸收与融合多种文化成分而形成的。1922年，在罗素访问中国之后，写过一篇题为《中西文明之比较》的文章，其中有这样一段：

> 不同文明之间的交流过去已经多次证明是人类文明发展的里程碑。希腊学习埃及，罗马借鉴希腊，阿拉伯参照罗马帝国，中世纪的欧洲又模仿阿拉伯，而文艺复兴时期的欧洲则仿效拜占庭帝国。

罗素的这段话是否十分准确，可能有不同看法，但他说：（1）不同文明之间的交流是促进人类文明发展的重要因素；（2）今日欧洲文化是吸收了许多其他民族文化的因素，而且包含了阿拉伯文化的某些成分，这两点无疑是正确的。如果看中国文化的发展，就更可以看到在不同文化之间由于文化原因引起冲突总是暂时的，而不同文化之间的相互吸收与融合则是主要的。

中国在春秋战国时代本来存在着多种不同的地域文化，有中原文化、齐鲁文化、秦陇文化、荆楚文化、吴越文化、巴蜀文化等等，但后来才合成一个大体统一的华夏文化。特别是到公元1世纪初印度佛教文

化的传入，更加说明两种不同文化可以共存。印度佛教文化是以和平的方式传入中国的，外来的印度佛教与本土的儒、道两家从来没有因文化的原因发生过战争，只有三次因政治经济的原因有着冲突，当时的朝廷曾对佛教加以打击，但在大多数的时间里，在中国儒、道、释三种文化是同时并存的。一位法国的著名汉学家（施舟人）曾问我："为什么中国文化是多元性的"。我考虑了一下，我说，我认为也许有两个原因：一是思想观念上的原因，这就是中国一向主张"合而不同"，文化虽可以不同，但能和谐相处，这个问题下面我会较多地说明；二是制度上的原因，中国以皇帝为最高权威，一切文化（宗教、哲学、伦理），都以皇帝的意志为中心，而皇帝往往为了社会的稳定，不希望因不同文化而引起冲突，甚至战争。因此，皇帝常采用"三教论衡"的办法，把儒、道、释召到朝庭上来辩论，哪一派辩论赢了就排在前面，然后是第二、第三。不允许他们之间互相残杀，发动战争。

从以上情况看，根据历史经验，我认为亨廷顿的"文明的冲突"理论无论如何是片面的，而且是为美国战略服务的。他说："我认为新世界的冲突根源，将不再侧重意识形态或经济，而文化将是截然分隔人类和引起冲突的主要根源。在世界事务中，民族国家仍然举足轻重，但全球政治的主要冲突将发生在不同文化的族群之间，文明的冲突将左右全球政治，文明之间的断层线将成为未来的战斗线。"

虽然亨廷顿的"文明的冲突"论可以说，他敏锐地观察到某一些由于"文明"引起冲突的现象，例如中东地区的巴以冲突、科索沃地区的冲突，甚至伊拉克战争等等，都包含着某些文化（宗教的和价值观的）的原因，但是分析起来，最基本的发生冲突和发生战争的原因不是由文化引起的，而是由"政治和经济"引起的，巴以冲突是为了争夺地区的控制权，伊拉克战争主要是为了石油，科索沃地区冲突主要是为了大国的战略地位。但是，我们应看到另一方，在不少不同文化之间现在并没有因为文明（文化）的不同而引起冲突，例如中印之间、中俄之间，甚至中欧之间，都在相当长的一个阶段，特别是近十余年里，并没有什么严重冲突，更没有发生过战争。所以"文明的冲突"论并不能正确说明当前世界现存的形势，更不是人类社会发展的前景，而"文明的共存"才应是人类社会的出路，是人类社会必须争取的目标。

为了弄清这个问题，我想也许，我们先了解一下当前是一个什么样的时代。照我看，也许我们正处在一个新的轴心时代。

德国哲学家雅斯贝尔斯曾经提出"轴心时代"的观念。他认为，在公元前500年前后，在古希腊、以色列、印度和中国几乎同时出现了伟大的思想家，他们都对人类关切的问题提出了独到的看法。古希腊有苏格拉底、柏拉图，中国有老子、孔子，印度有释迦牟尼，以色列有犹太教

的先知们，形成了不同的文化传统。这些文化传统经过两千多年的发展已经成为人类文化的主要精神财富，而且这些地域的不同文化，原来都是独立发展出来的，并没有互相影响。“人类一直靠轴心时代所产生、思考和创造的一切而生存，每一次新的飞跃都回顾这一时期，并被它重新燃起火焰。自那以后，情况就是这样。轴心期潜力的苏醒和对轴心期潜力的回忆或曰复兴，总是提供了精神动力。”[19]例如，欧洲的文艺复兴就是把目光投向其文化的源头古希腊，使欧洲文明重新燃起火焰，而对世界产生重大影响。中国的宋明理学（新儒学）在受到印度佛教文化冲击后，再次回到先秦的孔孟，而把中国本土哲学提高到一个新水平。在某种意义上说，当今世界多种文化的发展很可能是对两千多年前的轴心时代的又一次新的飞跃。那么，我们是否能说当今人类社会的文化正在或即将进入一个新的“轴心时代”呢？我认为，从种种迹象看也许可以这样说。

首先，自二次世界大战以后，由于殖民体系的逐渐瓦解，原来的殖民地国家和受压迫民族有一个很迫切的任务，就是要从各方面确认自己的独立身份，而民族的独特文化（语言、宗教、价值观等等），正是确认其独立身份的重要支柱。我们知道，二战后马来西亚为了强调民族的统一性，坚持以马来语为国语。以色列建国后决定将长期以来仅仅用于宗教仪式的希伯来语重新恢复为常用语。“任何文化和文明的主要因素都是语言和宗教”。[20]一些东方国家的领导人和学者为了强调自身文化的特性提出以群体为中心的“亚洲价值”以区别西方的以个体（个人）为中心的所谓“世界价值”。等等，等等。甚至亨廷顿也认识到“非西方文明一般正在重新肯定自己的文化价值”。[21]

其次，公元前500年前后那个轴心时代，正是上述各轴心国进入铁器时代的时候，生产有了大发展，从而产生了一批重要的思想家。而当今进入了信息时代，人类社会又将会有一个大飞跃。我们可以看到，由于经济全球化、科技一体化、信息网络的发展，把世界联成一片，各国、各民族文化的发展将不可能像公元前五六百年那个“轴心时代”是各自独立发展的，而是在矛盾、冲突和互相影响、互相吸收中发展。每种文化对自身文化的了解都会有局限性，“不识庐山真面目，只缘身在此山中”，如果从另外一个文化系统看，也就是说从“他者”看，也许会更全面地认识此种文化的特点。法国学者法朗索瓦·于连《为什么我们西方人研究哲学不能绕过中国》一文中说：“我们选择出发，也就是选择离开，以创造远景思维的空间。在一切异国情调远处，这样的迂回有条不紊。人们这样穿越中国也是为了更好地阅读希腊；尽管有认识上的断层，但由于遗传，我们与希腊有某种与生俱来的熟悉，所以了解它，也是为了发展它，我们不得不割断这种熟悉，构成一种外在观点。”[25]这种

以“互为主观”“互相参照”为核心，重视从“他者”反观自身文化的跨文化研究逐渐为广大中外学者所接受。从另外一种文化来了解自身文化，正是为了继承自己的传统文化，发展自己的传统文化。在这样的情况下，如何保存其文化的特性，传承其文化的命脉，无疑是必须认真考虑的问题。我们知道，经济可以全球化，科技可以一体化，但文化是不可能单一化的。从人类社会发展到今天看，任何文化不受外来文化的影响是不可能的，也是不可取的；但是只有充分发挥其原有文化的内在精神，才可以更好地吸收外来文化以滋养本土文化。正如费孝通先生所说：“在和西方世界保持接触、积极交流的过程中，把我们的好东西变成世界性的好东西。

首先是本土化，然后是全球化。”[26]这就是说，在吸收外来文化的时候，必须维护我们自身文化的根基。因此，21世纪影响人类社会文化的发展必将既是民族的，又是世界的。

第三，就当前人类社会文化存在的现实情况看，已经形成了或正在形成全球意识观照下的文化多元化发展的新格局。我们可以看到，也许21世纪将由四种大的文化系统来主导，即欧美文化、东亚文化、南亚文化、中东北非文化（伊斯兰文化），这四种文化不仅都有着很长的历史文化传统，而且每种文化所影响的人口都在十亿以上。当然还有其他文化也会影响21世纪人类社会发展的前途，例如拉丁美洲文化，非洲文化等。但就目前看，这些文化的影响远不及上述四种文化大。人类社会如果希望走出当前混乱纷争的局面，特别要批判文化霸权主义和文化部落主义，在文化上不仅要面对这个新的轴心时代，而且必须不断推动在不同文化传统的国家与民族之间的对话，使每种文化都能自觉地参与解决当前人类社会所面临的共同问题。无疑上述四种文化对当今人类社会负有特别重大的责任。当前人类社会正处在一个重大的历史转折关头，每个民族、每个国家对自身文化，特别是对当前人类文明有重大影响的欧美文化、东亚文化、南亚文化和伊斯兰文化，都应作一历史的严肃、认真的反思，对今后人类社会发展的前途无疑是十分必要的。对任何一个民族和国家来说，特别是对有较长历史而对当今人类社会有着重大影响的民族和国家来说，它的文化传统是已成的事实，是无法割断的，因为其文化传统已深入到这个民族和国家的千百万的人民心中，是这个民族或国家的精神支柱。

我们回到“传统”，以“传统”为起点，并从“传统”中找寻力量、找寻支点，以推进我们文化的发展，来解决当前人类社会存在的问题，就这个意义上说，21世纪也许将由有着很长历史文化传统的欧美文化、东亚文化、南亚文化、伊斯兰文化等推动人类社会进入再次回顾公元两千五百年前那个轴心时代的一个“新的轴心时代”。在这新的轴心时代，存在

着不同的文化传统，而且这些文化传统仍然有着雄厚的人口资源基础，是绝不可能被消灭，即使用战争的办法，也只能暂时起一点作用，从长远看，文化仍然必须共存。

三、中国文化能否为“文明的共存”作出贡献？

中国文化要希望对当今人类社会的“文明的共存”作出贡献，必须对自身文化有所了解，这就是要对自身文化有一个“自觉”。所谓“文化自觉”是指在一定文化传统的人群对其自身的文化来历、形成过程的历史以及其特点（包括优点和缺点）和发展的趋势等等能作出认真的思考和反省。应该说，中华民族正处在民族复兴的前夜，因此我们必须对中国文化有个自觉的认识，必须给中国传统文化一个恰当的定位，认真发掘我们古老文化的真精神所在，以便把我们优秀的文化贡献给当今人类社会；认真反省我们自身文化所存在的缺陷，以便我们更好地吸取其他国家和民族的文化精华，并在适应现代化社会发展的总趋势下给中国文化以现代的诠释，这样我们的国家才能真正地走在世界文化发展的前列，与其他各种文化共同创造美好的新世界。

中国传统文化中主要是儒、道两家，而且我们常说中国文化是儒、道互补的，当然印度佛教传入中国后，它对中国社会和中国文化也发生着重要影响。现在我想讨论一下儒、道两家的思想理论是否能对“文明的共存”提供有意义的资源。

1．儒家的“仁学”为“文明的共存”提供了有积极意义的资源

《郭店竹简·性自命出》中说：“道始于情”。这里的“道”说的是“人道”，即人与人的关系的原则，或者说社会关系的原则，它和“天道”不同，“天道”是指自然界的运行规律或宇宙的运行法则。人与人的关系是从感情开始建立的，这正是孔子“仁学”的基本出发点。孔子的弟子樊迟问“仁”，孔子回答说：“爱人”。这种“爱人”的思想从何而有呢？《中庸》引孔子的话说：“仁者，人也，亲亲为大。”“仁爱”的精神是人自身所具有的，而爱自己的亲人最根本。但是“仁”的精神不能只停止于此，《郭店竹简》中说：“亲而笃之，爱也；爱父，其继之爱人，仁也。”非常爱自己的亲人，这只是爱，爱自己的父亲，再扩大到爱别人，这才叫作“仁”。“孝之放，爱天下之民”。对父母的孝顺要放大到爱天下的老百姓。这就是说，孔子的“仁学”是要由“亲亲”扩大到“仁民”，也就是说要“推己及人”，要做到“老吾老以及人之老，幼吾幼以及人之幼”，才叫作“仁”。做到“推己及人”并不容易，必须把“己所不欲，勿施于人”“己欲立而立人，己欲达而达人”的“忠恕之道”作为“为仁”的准则。（朱熹

《四书集注》："尽己之谓忠，推己之谓恕。"）

如果要把"仁"推广到整个社会，这就是孔子说的："克己复礼为仁，一日克己复礼，天下归仁焉。为仁由己，而由人乎哉？"自古以来把"克己"和"复礼"解释为两个平行的方面，我认为这不是对"克己复礼"的好的解释。所谓"克己复礼为仁"是说，只有在"克己"的基础上的"复礼"才叫作"仁"。费孝通先生对此也有一解释，他说："克己才能复礼，复礼是取得进入社会、成为一个社会人的必要条件。扬己和克己也许正是东西方文化的差别的一个关键。"[38]我认为这话是很有道理的。朱熹对"克己复礼为仁"的解释说："克，胜也。己，谓身之私欲也。复，反也。礼者，天理之节文也"云云。这就是说，要克服自己的私欲，以便使之合乎礼仪制度规范。"仁"是人自身内在的品德（"爱生于性"）；"礼"是规范人的行为的外在的礼仪制度，它的作用是为了调节人与人之间的关系使之和谐相处，"礼之用，和为贵"。要人们遵守礼仪制度必须是自觉的，出乎内在的"爱人"之心，才符合"仁"的要求，所以孔子说："为仁由己，而由人乎哉？"对"仁"和"礼"的关系，孔子有非常明确的说法："人而不仁如礼何？人而不仁如乐何？"没有仁爱之心的礼乐那是虚伪的，是为了骗人的。所以孔子认为，有了追求"仁"的自觉要求，并把这种"仁爱之心"按照一定的规范实现于日常社会之中，这样社会就会和谐安宁了，"一日克己复礼，天下归仁焉。"我认为，孔子和儒家的这套思想，对于一个国家的"治国"者，对于现在世界上的那些发达国家（特别是美国）的统治集团不能说是没有意义的。"治国、平天下"应该行"仁政"，行"王道"，不应该行"霸道"。行"仁政""王道"可以使不同文化得以共同存在和发展；行"霸道"将引起文明的冲突，而使文化走向单一化，形成文化霸权主义。如果把孔子的"仁学"理论用于处理不同文明之间的关系，那么在不同文明之间就不会引起冲突，以至于战争，而实现"文明的共存"。

当然，孔子的这套"仁学"理论虽然不能解决当今人类社会存在的"文化的共存"的全部问题，但它作为一种建立在以"仁"为本之上的"律己"的道德要求，作为调节不同文化之间关系的一条准则，使不同文化得以和谐相处无疑仍有一定的现实意义。

要使"不同文化之间"和谐相处，从而使不同文化传统的国家、民族能和平共存，并不是一件容易的事，也许孔子提倡的"和而不同"可以为我们提供极有意义的资源，他说："君子和而不同，小人同而不和"。他认为：以"和为贵"而行"忠恕之道"的有道德有学问的君子应该做到能在不同中求得和谐相处；而不讲道德没有学问的人往往强迫别人接受他的主张而不能与他人和谐相处。如果我们把"和而不同"用作处理不同文化之间关系的原则，它对于解决当今不同国家与民族之间的纷争，特别是

在不同国家与民族之间，因文化上的不同（例如宗教信仰不同，价值观念上的不同）而引起的矛盾、冲突，应有非常积极的意义。

在中国历史上一向认为“和”与“同”是不同的两个概念，有所谓“和同之辨”。《左传·昭公二十年》记载：“公曰：唯据与我和夫！晏子对曰：据亦同也，焉得为和？公曰：和与同异乎？对曰：异。和如羹焉，水火醯醢盐梅以烹鱼肉，燀之以薪。宰夫和之，齐之以味，济其不及，以泄其过。君子食之，以平其心。君臣亦然。……今据不然。君所谓可，据亦曰可。君所谓否，据亦曰否。若以水济水，谁能食之？若琴瑟之专一，谁能听之？同之不可也如是。”（齐侯说：只有据跟我很和谐啊！晏子回答说：据也只不过和你相同而已，哪里说得上和谐呢！齐侯说：和（谐）和（相）同不一样吗？晏子回答说：不一样。和谐好像做羹汤一样，用水、火、醋、酱、盐、梅，来烹调鱼和肉，再用柴烧煮，厨子加工以调和，使味道适中，味道太浓就加水冲淡。君子食用这样的羹汤，内心平静。君臣之间也是这样。……现在据不是这样。国君认为对的，他也认为对；国君认为不对的，他也认为不对。这就像用水去调剂水，谁能吃它呢？如同琴瑟老弹一个声音，谁能听它呢？不应该同的道理就像这样。）《国语·郑语》：“（史伯曰：）夫和实生物，同则不继。以他平他谓之和，故能丰长而物归之；若以同裨同，尽乃弃矣。故先王以土与金、木、水、火杂，以成百物。”（实际上和谐才能生长万物，同一就不能发展。把不同的东西加以协调平衡叫作和谐，才能使万物丰盛发展而有所归属；如果把相同的东西相加，用尽之后就只能被抛弃。所以先王把土和金、木、水、火配合起来，做成千百种东西。）可见“和”与“同”是两个不同的概念。“以他平他”，是以相异和相关为前提，相异的事物相互协调并进，就能发展；“以同裨同”，则是以相同的事物叠加，其结果只能窒息生机。中国传统文化的最高理想是“万物并育而不相害，道并行而不相悖。”“万物并育”和“道并行”是“不同”；“不相害”“不相悖”则是“和”。这种思想为多元文化共处提供了取之不尽的思想源泉。

现在西方国家的有识之士都认识到不同文明之间应能共存，而不应因文化上的不同而引起冲突，以至于战争。他们认为，不同的民族和国家应该可以通过文化的交往与对话，在对话（商谈）和讨论中取得某种“共识”，这是一个由“不同”到某种意义上的相互“认同”的过程。这种相互“认同”不是一方消灭一方，也不是一方“同化”一方，而是在两种不同文化中寻找交汇点，并在此基础上推动双方文化的发展，这正是“和”的作用。不同民族和不同国家之间由于地理的、历史的和某些偶然的原因，而形成了不同的文化传统，正因为有文化上的不同，人类文化才是丰富多彩的，而且才在人类历史的长河中形成了互补和互动的格

局。文化上的不同可能引起冲突，甚至战争，但并不能认为“不同”就一定会引起冲突和战争。特别是在今天科学技术高度发展的情况下，如果发生大规模的战争，也许人类将毁灭人类自身。因此，我们必须努力追求在不同文化之间通过对话，实现和谐相处。现在中西许多学者都认识到，通过对话沟通不同文化之间的相互理解的重要性。例如哈贝马斯提出“正义”和“团结”的观念。我认为，把它们作为处理不同民族文化之间关系的原则，是有意义的。哈贝马斯的“正义”原则可理解为，要保障每一种民族文化的独立自主，按照其民族的意愿发展的权利；“团结”原则可理解为，要求对其他民族文化有同情理解和加以尊重的义务。只要不断通过对话和交往等途径，总可以在不同民族文化之间形成互动中的良性循环。[47]不久前去世的德国哲学家伽达默尔提出，应把“理解”扩展到“广义对话”层面。正因为“理解”被提升为“广义对话”，主体与对象（主观与客观或主与宾）才得以从不平等地位过渡到平等地位；反过来说，只有对话双方处于平等地位，对话才可能真正进行并顺利完成。可以说，伽达默尔所持的主体—对象平等意识和文化对话论，正是我们这个时代所需要的重要理念。[48]这种理念，对我们今天如何正确而深入地理解中外文化关系、民族关系等等，具有重要的启示。但是，无论哈贝马斯的“正义”和“团结”原则，或者是伽达默尔的“广义对话论”都要以承认“和而不同”原则为前提，只有承认不同文化传统的民族和国家通过对话可以和谐相处，不同的文化传统的民族与国家才能获得平等的权利和义务，“广义对话”才能“真正进行并顺利完成”。因此儒家以“和为贵”为基础的“和而不同”原则应成为处理不同文化之间的一条基本原则。

用“和而不同”原则处理不同文化传统国家与民族之间的关系，不仅对消除矛盾、冲突甚至战争有着正面的积极意义，而且也是推动各国家、各民族文化在交流中促使其发展的动力，所以罗素说：“不同文明之间的交流过去已经多次证明是人类文明发展的里程碑。”当今人类社会需要的是不同文化能在相互吸收和融合中发展不同的文化传统的特色，以期达到在新的基础上的“文化的共存”。

2．道家的**“**道论**”**能为防止**“**文明的冲突**”**提供有意义的资源

如果说孔子是一位“仁者”，那么老子则是一位“智者”。老子《道德经》一书中，“道”是其基本概念，而“自然无为”（顺应自然的规律，不做违背自然规律的事）是“道”的基本特性，王充《论衡·初禀》：“自然无为，天之道也。”今日人类社会之所以存在着种种纷争，无疑是由于贪婪地追求权力和金钱引起的。那些强国为了私利，扩张自己的势力，掠夺弱国的资源，实行强权政治，正是世界混乱无序的根源。也就是说帝国霸权正是“文明冲突”的根源。老子提倡“自然无为”。我们可以理解为：不要做（无为）违背人们愿望的事，这样社会才会安宁，天下才会

太平。老子说，古代圣人曾经说过：“我无为而民自化，我好静而民自正，我无事而民自富，我无欲而民自朴。”这段话的意思是说：掌握权力的统治者不应该对老百姓作过多的干涉（无为），不要扰乱老百姓的正常生活（好静），不要做违背老百姓意愿的事（无事），不要贪得无厌地盘剥老百姓（无欲），这样老百姓就会自己教化自己（自化），自己走上正轨（自正），自己富足起来（自富），自己生活朴素。如果我们对这一段话给以现代诠释，那就不仅可以使一个国家内部安宁，而且对消除不同文明之间的冲突无疑有着重要意义。对这段话我们可以作如下诠释：在国与国之间对别国干涉越多，世界必然越加混乱。大国强国动不动用武力或武力相威胁，世界越是动荡不安和无序。大国强国以帮助弱国小国为名而行掠夺之实，弱国小国越加贫穷。发达国家以越来越大的欲望争夺世界财富和统治权，世界就会成为一个无道德的恐怖世界。据此，我认为“无为”也许对新帝国的领导者是一副治病良方，如果他们能接受，将会使世界得以和平和安宁。然而“新帝国”往往以干涉、掠夺、武力等等“有为”（为所欲为）手段来对待其他国家与民族，这无疑都是由其帝国贪欲本性造成的。老子认为：“祸莫大于不知足，咎莫大于欲得，故知足之足，常足矣。”（祸害没有比过于不知道满足的了，罪过没有比过于贪得无厌的了，知道满足的人，永远是满足的。）“新帝国”不正是“不知道满足的”“贪得无厌的”吗？老子还说：“天之道，其犹张弓欤？高者抑之，下者举之；有余者损之，不足者补之。天之道，损有余而补不足，人道则不然，损不足以奉有余。”（“天道”不就像张弓射箭吗？高了就把它压低一点，低了就把它升高一点，有余的加以减少，不足的加以补充。“天道”的规律是减少有余的，用来补充不足的。“人道”则不一样啊，往往要剥夺不足的，而用来供奉有余的）。为什么今日世界人类社会处在一种十分混乱不安定的状态？这完全是由人自身造成的，特别是那些“新帝国”的领导者造成的，他们违背了“天道”，他们失去了“人心”，他们奉行的是“损不足以奉有余”，这不正是今日世界不断发生矛盾、冲突、战争的根源吗？从这里我们可以看到，“文明冲突”论与其背后所隐蔽的“新帝国”论是有着密切联系的。

为了社会的和平和安宁，老子强烈地反对战争。《道德经》第三十一章中说：“夫兵者，不祥之器，物或恶之，故有道者不处。”（打仗用兵是不吉祥的东西，大家都厌恶它，所以有道德的人不使用它。）战争总要死人，总要破坏生产，总要使社会秩序被破坏，所以老子认为它不是什么好东西，老百姓都讨厌它，有道德的国家领导人是不使用战争的办法解决问题的。老子又说：“以道佐人主者，不以兵强天下，其事好还。师之所处，荆棘生焉。大军之后，必有凶年。”（我们应该用道德来告诫领导者，不要用兵力逞强于天下。用兵这件事一定会得到报应。

军队所到的地方，就会破坏一切，使荆棘丛生。大战之后，一定会是荒年。）我们反观各国历史，无不如此，在我国每次大战之后往往出现：人口大量减少，土地荒芜，生产破坏，盗贼多有。两次世界大战的结果是如此，当前的中东地区的战争也是如此。哪个新帝国的领导者到处发动战争，其结果处处陷入被动，这是因为被征服的国家的老百姓不服，他们会用不怕死来抗争，所以老子说："民不畏死，奈何以死惧之。"（老百姓不怕死，用死来威胁他们又有什么用呢？）所以老子说："夫乐杀人者，则不可得志于天下矣。"（喜欢杀人的人，就不能在天下成功）。我们从历史上看到，发动战争的人，虽然一时可以得逞，但最终总要失败，而落得身败名裂，希特勒是一个例子，日本军国主义也是一个例子。老子是一个"智者"，他用他的智慧能看到事物的相反方面，他说："祸兮，福之所倚；福兮，祸之所伏。"（灾难，好运常常紧靠在它旁边；好事，灾祸往往会潜伏在它里面。）现在有些国家的人民正在受着苦难，这也就正是为他们将来的民族复兴准备了条件。从我们国家的百年历史来看，正是我们在处处挨打之后，我国的人民才有了觉醒，今天我们才可以说，中华民族正处在民族复兴的前夜。我想，世界各国、特别新帝国的领导者应从《道德经》中吸取智慧，认识强权政治、霸权主义从长期的世界历史发展看是没有前途的。因此，我认为老子思想对消解"文明的冲突"论、新"帝国论"是十分有价值的理论。我们拥护"文明的共存"论、赞成老子的"无为"思想，以期待今日人类社会能处在一和平、安宁、共同发展、共同富裕的大同世界之中。当然，两千多年前的老子思想不可能全然解决当今人类社会的问题（包括各民族之间的矛盾、冲突等等问题），但是他的智慧之光对我们应有重要启示。我们应该做的事，是如何把他的思想中的精华加以发掘和发挥，并给以现代的诠释，使之有利于人们从古代的思想文化的宝库中得到某些宝贵启示。

在不同民族和国家之间，由于宗教信仰的不同、价值观念的不同、思维方式的不同可以引起冲突，甚至可以由冲突导致战争。但是，是否必然要引起冲突，能不能化解冲突、使之不因文化的不同而导致战争，这就需要我们从各个不同民族的文化中找出可以使文明共存的资源，用以消解不同文明之间可以引起冲突的文化因素。如上所述，中国文化中的儒道两家可以为化解"文明的冲突"，并能为"文明的共存"提供有意义的资源。我相信，各民族、各国家的文化同样可以为化解"文明的冲突"，并能为"文明的共存"提供有价值的资源。在人类文明进入到21世纪之时，是用"文明冲突"的理论来处理各民族、各国家之间的问题，还是用"文明共存"的理论来引导人类社会走向和平共处，这是我们当前必须认真考虑和慎重选择的问题。反对"文明冲突"论，倡导"文明共

存”论，这无疑是人类社会的福祉。《尚书·尧典》中说：“协和万邦。”中华民族和其他许多民族一样是一伟大的民族，有着悠久的灿烂光辉的历史文化传统，它的文化对人类社会无疑是极为宝贵的财富。我们对这笔财富应善于利用，使之对当前人类社会争取“和平共处”，实现不同文化之间的协调共存，推进世界各种文化之间的交流，作出应有的贡献。

X. THE COEXISTENCE OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY: SOURCES OF THE VALUE OF HARMONY IN DIVERSITY

I. Introduction

Though one cannot say that present world conflicts are mainly the result of cultural clashes, they certainly are related to clashes between cultures. A debate taking place in the world over cultural clashes and cultural coexistence might lead to greater mutual understanding, tolerance, and peace or, as a result of cultural isolation and hegemony, to political clashes. In either case, this debate will affect the destiny of humankind in the 21st century. Owing to the collapse of colonialism after the end of World War II, Western cultural imperialism gradually faded, and greater cultural diversity emerged in the world. In the past half century, developments in world trade and communication have led to ever more frequent cultural interactions between different peoples, nations, and regions, and have made the world an increasingly indivisible whole. In the present stage of world culture, two different tendencies have arisen: some Western theoreticians, seeking to protect their traditional interests and customs, continue to maintain a Western-centric perspective; others, adopting an indigenous romantic feeling toward an independent or revitalized people, create a nationalism that seeks to return to roots and preserve native culture, and a conservativism that seeks to return to past traditions. Some East Asian scholars, looking at the suffering wrought by Western culture throughout the world and the oppression that they personally suffered, even suggest a cultural perspective focused on East Asia. A great problem that we presently face is how we can prevent these two conflicting tendencies from developing into a large-scale confrontation and how we can dispel confrontations that do arise. At the same time, we must be careful about conflicts that may arise between the West and East Asia owing

to differences in cultures and traditions.

II. Harmony in Diversity

How do we enable peoples, nations, and regions of different cultural traditions to develop together while remaining different, and in this way create a globally conscious environment for the development of cultural diversity? I think that the Chinese principle of harmony in diversity (*he er butong*) provides us with a source of positive value for doing precisely this.

The *Zuo Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* for the 20th year of Duke Zhao of Lu (522 BC), records the following conversation between Jing, marquis of Qi, and Yan Ying: The marquis of Qi said to Yan Ying, "Does only Liangqiu Ju (an official close to the marquis) act in harmony with me?" Yan Ying replied, "Ju conforms. How do you get harmony (*he*) from conformity (*tong*)?" The marquis said, "Is harmony different from conformity?" Yan Ying replied, "Yes. Harmony is like the blending of ingredients of a good soup. The chef uses various condiments to cook a thick meat soup over a blazing fire, blending them together, adjusting the flavor, adding to make up for deficiencies, and draining off excesses. The gentleman eats the soup to calm his mind. The relation between ruler and minister is similar. . . . Now Ju does not operate like this. Whatever you approve, Ju also approves, and whatever you reject, Ju also rejects. This is like adding water to water. Who can eat such 'soup'? Again, this is like a zither that can produce only one note. Who can listen to such 'music'? In all such cases, sameness/conformity (*tong*) is unacceptable." Also, *Discourses of the States* (*Guoyu*), in the chapter "Discourses of Zheng," has Shi Bo's reply to Duke Huan of Zheng (771 BC): "Now blending (*he*) various substances can in fact produce many things, whereas things of the same (*tong*) substance do not maintain well. Balancing one substance with another is called blending. Things so produced are rich and long-lasting, and substances naturally come together in this fashion. Supplementing one substance with the same substance produces nothing but rubbish. Thus the kings of the past had clay mixed with metal, wood, water, and fire to produce ceramics of all kinds." These two passages make clear that *he* and *tong* are completely different in meaning. Confucius said this even more clearly: "The man of virtue harmonizes without conforming (*he er butong*). The narrow-minded

man conforms without harmonizing (*tong er buhe*)" (*Analects*, "Zilu"). From the passages above, one can see that the significance of "harmony in diversity" (*he er butong*) is that when two different cultural traditions achieve a common understanding through cultural intercourse and dialog, they are in some sense attaining a commonality from their diverse perspectives. This commonality consists not of one side vanquishing the other side, nor of one side converting the other side, but of finding points in common in the two different traditions and on this foundation advancing both traditions. Precisely herein lies the power of harmony. We can see this effect in the development of Chinese culture. Confucians sought to establish propriety and create music to actively maintain (*you wei*) the harmony of society. Daoists, in contrast, sought to follow nature to passively maintain (*wu wei*) peace in society. These two originally very different cultural traditions, over the course of nearly two thousand years of development, achieved a certain common understanding through continuous dialog. In the Western Jin period (265-316), Guo Xiang, in an effort to harmonize the Confucian and Daoist traditions, proposed that active administration of government (*you wei*) is a form of passive administration of government (*wu wei*). In a comment on "Autumn Floods" in the *Zhuangzi*, he wrote, "Can men, in eking out a living, forego plowing with oxen or riding horses? In plowing with an ox and riding a horse, can one avoid ringing the ox in the nose or bridling the horse? The ox does not resist being ringed in the nose, and the horse does not resist being bridled, because Heaven wills it. If this is mandated by Heaven, then though these beasts of burden are placed in the service of man, this circumstance is rooted in the will of Heaven." The point of this passage is that though the ox is ringed in the nose, and the horse is bridled, through the active efforts (*you wei*) of man, these relations conform to what is natural (*wu wei*). Both Confucians and Daoists could accept this perspective of Guo Xiang even though this view does not fit squarely within either the original Confucian or original Daoist tradition. Active engagement (*you wei*) and passive following (*wu wei*) are quite different concepts. If both perspectives are to be accepted to some extent, both sides must find, through a process of negotiation, points of commonality (points of harmony). These points of commonality can serve as universal principles that both sides can accept. These universal principles are principles that both sides can accept without their negating the distinguishing features of either side. This state of affairs would indeed be a case of harmony in diversity.

We can also illustrate the significance of harmony in diversity with developments resulting from the encounter of traditional Chinese culture and a foreign cultural tradition. Originally, Indian Buddhist culture and traditional Chinese culture (Confucianism, Daoism, etc.) were quite distinct, but from the Han (202 BC-220 AD) to Tang (618-907) dynasties, Chinese culture continuously strove to accept and adapt the quite alien culture of Buddhism, and Indian Buddhism, for its part, continuously strove to change aspects of itself ill-suited to the demands of Chinese society. As a result, during the nearly one thousand years in which Indian Buddhism was transmitted to China, Chinese culture highly benefited from Indian Buddhism. Indian Buddhism profoundly influenced Chinese philosophy, literature, art, architecture, and popular customs. At the same time, Indian Buddhism was able to promote and perfect itself throughout the immense Chinese empire. During the Sui(581-618) and Tang dynasties, for example, there formed several more Sinitic sects of Buddhism (the Tiantai sect, Huayan sect, and Chan sect). Yet Chinese culture remained Chinese culture and did not lose its distinctive features because it adopted Indian Buddhism. Such cultural exchange and mutual influence serve as an excellent illustration of the principle of harmony in diversity. As a matter of fact, the development of European culture also exemplifies this principle. Bertrand Russell, in *The Problem of China* (1922), wrote, "Contacts between different civilizations have often in the past proved to be landmarks in human progress. Greece learnt from Egypt, Rome from Greece, the Arabs from the Roman Empire, medieval Europe from the Arabs, and Renaissance Europe from the Byzantines." The reason that one culture could adopt another culture was often because the notion of harmony in diversity was embedded in the interactions and negotiations of the two cultures.

III. Commonalities across Cultural Traditions

There are various circumstances under which the principle of harmony in diversity appears in the interactions of two different cultural traditions. One is that in the negotiations between cultures, the two cultures discover that they have similar concepts. For example, Christianity has the concept of love for humanity, Buddhism has the concept of compassion, and Confucianism has the concept of concern for the masses. In an abstract sense,

all of these concepts signify love. Love can thus serve as a universal principle that all these different cultural traditions can accept. At the same time, love for humanity, compassion, and concern for the masses are concepts that preserve the distinct features of their respective traditions. Another circumstance is that one culture, in its intercourse with another culture, discovers that it lacks important ideas present in the latter culture, and that these ideas can be accepted into the former culture. By accepting the new ideas through cultural interaction, transforming them, and fitting them into its culture, the receiving culture can enrich itself. For example, China originally lacked a clear notion of sudden enlightenment, but by the Song (960-1279) and Ming (1368-1644) dynasties, Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, and Zhu Xi had adopted the notion of sudden enlightenment into their Rational School of Neo-Confucianism, as did Lu Jiuyuan and Wang Shouren (Yangming) in their School-of-Mind Neo-Confucianism. A third circumstance is that one culture, in its intercourse with another culture, discovers that it lacks significant ideas present in the latter culture, and that though these new ideas are incompatible with some ideas of the receiving culture, interactions with the other culture force it to forsake the old ideas and accept the new foreign ideas in order to develop. For example, after the idea of democracy penetrated China, it had to give up such traditional notions as the "three guides" (*san'gang*: the ruler guides the minister, the father guides the son, and the husband guides the wife). A fourth circumstance is that in the interaction of two or more cultures, these cultures discover, through repeated discussions, significant new ideas previously missing in their cultures—ideas such as peaceful coexistence and the coexistence of cultural diversity—that, when incorporated into a system of diverse cultures, are undoubtedly significant for the individual cultures. There may, of course, be other circumstances leading one culture to adopt ideas from another, but here I will say no more. When, as described above, different cultures create commonalities by harmonizing their differences, when they find common principles in their differences, when they find common understanding in their different circumstances, such indeed is realizing harmony in diversity through cultural interaction and negotiation.

IV. Regional Diversity and the Bidirectional Nature of Cultural Selection

In this discussion of harmony in diversity as a principle of intercourse between different cultures, there are two other points worth noting. One is the issue of regional differences in cultural development. The other is the bidirectional nature of culture selection. Having persisted for a long period or having encountered some special cause, a culture may decline or even die out in one particular region or among a particular people and continue to develop in another region or among another people. For example, Buddhism, having been transmitted in India down to the fifth and sixth centuries, stagnated, but in China, having absorbed aspects of Chinese culture and having been developed at the hands of eminent monks during the Sui and Tang dynasties, it became more Sinified. Then from China it was transmitted to the Korean peninsula and Japan, where it blended in with the local cultures. In Japan especially, there developed some distinctly local sects of Buddhism. This is why I say that Chinese culture benefited from Indian Buddhism, and that Indian Buddhism was promoted and perfected in China. Such regional differences in development occurred not only in China but also in Europe. As Russell said in the passage quoted above, present-day European culture arose in Egypt, was transmitted to Greece, passed through Rome and Arabia, and reentered Europe. Such regional development of culture thus laid down the "landmarks in human progress." The reason for such development is that when culture *a* is transplanted within culture *b*, it may acquire aspects of culture *b*. These acquired aspects may be originally lacking in culture *a* or may have not received much development. After being added to culture *a*, these aspects then lead culture *a* to be developed within culture *b*. Such cultural development is perfectly consistent with the principle of harmony in diversity and is a good example of the idea that "blending various substances can in fact produce many things, whereas things of the same substance do not maintain well" ("Discourses of Zheng").

As for the bidirectional nature of culture selection, as we know, it is not the case that any alien culture transmitted to a region or a people at any time and under any circumstances will always be accepted and developed. For example, during the Sui and Tang dynasties, not only did Buddhism have a tremendous influence on Chinese society; "Buddhist sutras were over ten times more common among the populace than Confucian classics" (*Sui Shu* [*Book of Sui*], "Jingji Zhi" [Treatise on Classics and Books]). At this time Nestorianism (a type of Christianity) was transmitted to China and had a degree of influence, yet it could not establish itself. This failure was due to

the bidirectional nature of culture selection. Even different sects of Indian Buddhism fared differently in China. For instance, Esoteric (Tantric) Buddhism flourished for a while in the area of Han society after the mid-Tang—a fact verified by the relics excavated from the underground palace at Famen Temple. But later, Esoteric Buddhism fell into decline and had little lasting influence on Han society. Yet in Tibet, Indian Esoteric Buddhism blended in with the local religion to produce Tibetan Buddhism, which has persisted down to the present as the religion of Tibetans. What brought about this difference? The first type of Buddhism to enter the area of Han society consisted of the Theravada meditation techniques associated with An Shigao (birth date unknown). Later, Lokaksema (b. c. 147 AD) brought Prajñā Buddhism to China. From the Jin Dynasty (265-420) on, the form of Buddhism that spread in China was Prajñā Buddhism, not the Theravada meditation techniques. The reason was that PrajñāBuddhism was similar to Neo-Daoism (whose core teachings were those of Laozi and Zhuangzi); that Chan Buddhism (which developed during the Tang Dynasty after Prajñā Buddhism was adopted during the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317-420) and the Southern Dynasties (420-589) was different from Indian meditation techniques, its philosophical foundation arising from Prajñā Buddhism; and that Chan Buddhism adopted not only some elements of Daoism but also some elements of Confucianism in order to adapt to the needs of Chinese society. Here we see mutual selection between cultures. Moreover, such mutual selection between cultures is another typical manifestation of the principle of harmony in diversity.

V. Conclusion

In the early Tang period, Xuanzang (602-664) propagated the Consciousness-Only School of Thought, but this school of thought lasted only some thirty years. The reason that it was not respected by the Chinese is that this mode of thought was thoroughly Indian in style, and thus quite different from the Chinese manner of thinking. In contrast, Chan Buddhism spread quickly from the mid-Tang on because Chan thought was similar to Chinese thought and jelled into a Sinified sect of Buddhism. It then went on to influence the Rational School of Neo-Confucianism during the Song and Ming dynasties. This shows that in the intercourse between two different

cultures, there is often mutual selection, and this mutual selection is to some extent a manifestation of the principle of harmony in diversity. For only if there is diversity between cultures can there be selection among diverse elements. If the thought of two cultures is entirely the same, there is nothing to select, and thought that is completely alike cannot add to preexisting thought any new ideas, and so cannot stimulate or promote the development of the preexisting culture. We can thus see that the principle of harmony in diversity has great significance for the mutual selectivity of interacting cultures.

We have seen that the principle of harmony in diversity can spur healthy cultural exchange and promote rational development of culture, in accord with the present world trend toward cultural diversity. If we want Chinese culture to develop for the better, if we want it to make a contribution to future world civilization, then we must approach the culture of other peoples, nations, and regions with an attitude of harmony in diversity, sufficiently absorb the achievements of other cultures, and renew our own traditional culture so that we can create a new culture suited to modern social life.

拾　文化的多元共处——“和而不同”的价值资源*

今日世界的纷争虽然不能说主要是由文化之冲突引起的，但也决非与文化冲突无关。因此，关于文化冲突与文化共处的讨论正在世界范围内展开，是增强不同文化间相互理解和宽容而引向和平，还是因文化隔离和霸权而导致政治冲突，将影响着21世纪人类的命运。自从第二次世界大战结束之后，由于殖民体系的瓦解，文化上的“西方中心论”也逐渐随之消退，世界文化呈现出多元发展的趋势。近半个世纪以来，世界经济贸易、信息传递的发展，使民族与民族、国家与国家、地域与地域之间文化上的交往越来越频繁，世界日益成为一个不可分割的整体。目前，在世界文化发展中，出现了两股不同方向的文化潮流：某些西方国家的理论家从维护自身传统利益或传统习惯出发，仍然坚持“西方中心论”。与此同时，某些取得独立或复兴的民族，抱着珍视自身文化的情怀，形成一种返本寻根、固守本土文化的民族主义和回归传统的保守主义。甚至某些东方学者鉴于两个世纪以来西方文化对世界造成的灾难和自身所曾受到的欺压，而提出文化上的“东方中心论”。如何使这两股相悖的潮流不致发展成大规模的对抗，并得以消解，实是当前一大问题。同时，我们还须注意，在西方国家与民族、东方国家与民族之间由于文化传统的不同也会引起纷争和冲突。

如何使不同文化传统的民族、国家和地域能够在差别中得到共同发展，以便造成在全球意识下文化多元化发展的新形势呢？我认为中国的“和而不同”原则可能为我们提供有正面价值的资源。

《左传·昭公二十年》记载有齐侯与晏婴的一段对话，齐侯对晏婴说：“唯据与我和夫！”（按：“据”指梁丘据，齐侯侍臣）晏子对曰：“据亦同也，焉得为和？”公曰：“和与同异乎？”对曰：“异。和如羹焉，水火醯醢盐梅以烹鱼肉，燀之以薪。宰夫和之，齐之以味，济其不及，以泄其过。君子食之，以平其心。君臣亦然。……今据不然。君所谓可，据亦曰可。君所谓否，据亦曰否。若以水济水，谁能食之？若琴瑟之专一，谁能听之？同之不可也如是。”又据《国语·郑语》，有史伯回答桓公的一段话说：“夫和实生物，同则不继。以他平他谓之和，故能丰长而物归之；若以同裨同，尽乃弃矣。故先王以土与金、木、水、火杂，以成百物。”这都说明，“和”与“同”的意义全不相同。孔子

说得更为明确，他说：“君子和而不同，小人同而不和。”（《论语·子路》）从以上的几段话看，“和而不同”的意思是说，要承认“不同”，在“不同”基础上形成的“和”（“和谐”或“融合”）才能使事物得到发展。这种“同”不是一方消灭一方，也不是一方“同化”另一方，而是在两种不同文化中寻找交汇点，并在此基础上推动双方文化的发展，这正是“和”的作用。我们可以用中国文化自身发展为例：儒家要求“制礼作乐”，即要求“有为”以维护社会的和谐；道家追求“顺应自然”，即要求“无为”以保持社会安宁。它们本是两种很不相同的思潮，但经过近千年的发展，在不断对话中，取得了某种共识。到西晋，有郭象为调和孔老，提出了“有为”也是一种“无为”。在《庄子注·秋水》中有一段郭象的注说：“人之生也，可不服牛乘马乎？服牛乘马，可不穿落之乎？牛马不辞穿落者，天命之固当也。苟当乎天命，则虽寄之人事，而本在乎天也。”这里的意思是说，虽然“穿牛鼻”“落马首”是通过“人为”（人事）来实现，但它本来就是合乎“顺自然”的。郭象的这一观点，既是儒家可以接受，也是道家可以接受，但它又不全然是原来儒家和原来道家的思想了。“有为”（人为）和“无为”（天然）本不相同，但要使两者的意义都在某种程度上被容纳，就必须在商讨中找到交汇点（和），所找到的交汇点就可以成为双方能接受的普遍性原则，它并不要抹煞任何一方特点，而使双方能接受，这无疑是体现了“和而不同”的思想的。

我们还可以用中国历史上中国传统文化与外来文化相遇后发生的情况为例，说明“和而不同”的意义。本来印度佛教文化与中国传统文化（如儒家、道家等）是两种很不相同的文化，但从汉到唐的几百年中，从中国文化自身方面说，一直在努力吸收和融化佛教这种异质文化；从印度佛教方面说，则一直在致力于改变着不适应中国社会要求的方面。因此，在印度佛教传入中国的近千年的历史中，中国文化在许多方面受惠于印度佛教。印度佛教深刻地影响着中国哲学、文学、艺术、建筑以及民间风俗习惯诸多方面。同时，印度佛教又在中国这块大地上得到了发扬光大，在隋唐形成了若干中国化的佛教宗派（如天台、华严、禅宗等）。然而中国文化仍然是中国文化，并未因吸收了印度佛教文化而失去其特色。这种文化上的交流和互相影响，可以说是很好地体现了“和而不同”的原则。其实欧洲文化的发展也可以说明这一点。在罗素1922年写的《中西文明之比较》中有这样一段话：“不同文明之间的交流过去已经多次证明是人类文明发展的里程碑。希腊学习埃及，罗马借鉴希腊，阿拉伯参照罗马帝国，中世纪的欧洲又模仿阿拉伯，而文艺复兴时期的欧洲则仿效拜占庭帝国。”一种文化之所以能吸收他种文化，往往是在两种文化交往和商谈中体现“和而不同”思想的结果。

在不同文化传统的交往中体现“和而不同”的原则可能会有多种情

况：一种情况是，在商谈中发现不同文化原来有相近或相似的观念，如在基督教中有“博爱”，在佛教中有“慈悲”，在儒家中有“泛爱众”，从抽象的意义上讲都是“爱”，“爱”就可以成为不同文化传统都可以接受的普遍原则。同时“博爱”“慈悲”“泛爱众”仍然保留其各自不同的特点。另一种情况是，在文化交往中发现此种文化不具有另一种文化某些重要观念，但另外那种文化中的这些观念和此种文化并非不能相容，这样就可以在交往中接受这些新的观念，并经过改造而逐渐使之融化在此种文化之中，从而丰富此种文化的内容。例如，在中国原来并没有明确的“顿悟”的观念，但到宋明时代，程朱理学和陆王心学都在某种程度上接受了“顿悟”的观念，使之融化在他们的体系之中。第三种情况是，在文化的交往中会发现，此种文化不具有彼种文化中的某些有意义的观念，而且这些有意义的观念和此种文化的某些观念不相容，从而在交往中不得不放弃此种文化中的某些旧观念，而接受外来的新观念，致使此种文化得到发展。例如在西方“民主”思想输入中国之后，中国人不得不放弃过去传统中的“三纲”等旧观念。第四种情况是，在两种或多种文化的交往中，经过反复的交谈会发现，双方或多方都未曾有过的，然而十分有意义的新观念，例如“和平共处”“文化多元共处”等观念，把这些观念引入不同文化体系中，无疑对各种文化都是有意义的。当然还会有其他种种不同情况，兹不赘述。上述不同传统文化之间因其“不同”通过“和”（调和；协调）的作用而达到某种“同”，在“不同”中找到可以共同接受的原则。

在讨论“和而不同”作为不同文化之间交往的原则时，似乎还有两点可以注意：一是文化的异地发展问题；另一是文化的双向选择问题。一种文化在一地（或一民族）发展日久或者遇到某种特殊的原因，会出现某种衰退甚至断绝的现象，而往往会在其传到另一地区（或民族）得到发展，例如佛教在印度传到五、六世纪，以后似乎没有什么重大发展，但佛教在中国隋唐时期（七、八、九世纪），由于吸收了中国文化的某些方面而为中国的高僧大德发展了，形成了中国化的佛教宗派，并通过中国传到朝鲜半岛和日本，于是又和当地文化相结合，特别是在日本又创造了日本独特的佛教派别。所以我常说：“中国文化曾受惠于印度佛教，印度佛教又在中国得到发扬光大。”这种文化的异地发展的现象不仅发生在亚洲，而且也发生在欧洲。如前引罗素所说，今日欧洲的文化是由埃及而到希腊，中经罗马、阿拉伯再回到欧洲，正是这种文化的异地发展，形成了“人类文明发展的里程碑”。究其原因，甲种文化移植到乙种文化中往往会给甲种文化增加某些新因素，这些新因素或者是甲种文化原来没有的，或者是在甲种文化中没有得到充分发展的，它们加入甲种文化，从而使甲种文化在乙种文化中得到发展。这种情况正符合文

化发展的“和而不同”原则，这正是“和实生物，同则不济”的体现。

关于“文化的双向选择”问题，我们知道，并不是任何异质文化传到某一地区（或民族）在任何时候和任何情况下都会被接受和得到发展。例如在隋唐时期不仅佛教对中国社会有着重大影响，《隋书·经籍志》中说：“佛经在民间数十百倍于儒经”。这一时期景教（基督教的一种）也曾传入中国，并产生过一定影响，但最终并未在中国站住脚，这就有个文化的双向选择问题。不仅如此，就是印度佛教的宗派在中国的命运也不相同。例如密教（密宗）在唐中期以后在中国汉地曾盛极一时，这点我们可以从扶风法门寺地宫出土文物得到证实，但以后密宗衰落了，在汉地几乎没有什么影响，可是印度密教在中国西藏地区与当地苯教结合而形成藏地佛教，它一直到现在仍是藏族人民信仰的宗教。这是为什么呢？就汉地佛教说，最初传入的是小乘禅法安世高系，其后支娄迦谶把般若学随之传入中国。自晋以后在中国流行的是般若学，而非小乘禅法。究其原因，盖因般若学与以老庄学说为骨架的玄学相近，而在东晋南朝选择了般若学，在唐朝发展起来的禅宗也并非印度禅法，而其思想基础仍可说是般若一支，且禅宗无疑不仅吸收了某些老庄思想，而且为适应中国社会的需要也吸收了某些儒家思想。这就看出，在文化间确存在着一种“双向选择”问题，而这种“双向选择”也是“和而不同”原则的另一种体现。

我们还可以看到，在唐初虽有玄奘大师宣扬佛教唯识学，但此学在中国唐朝仅流行了三十余年，就不为中国人所重视，这是因为唯识学的思维模式完全是印度式的，与中国的思维模式大不相同。然而禅宗在唐中叶以后却很快流行了，这正因为禅宗的思维模式较接近于中国，成为中国化的佛教宗派，并影响着宋明理学。这说明，在不同文化交流中，文化之间常常存在着“双向选择”的问题，而这种“双向选择”也是在一定程度上表现着“和而不同”的原则。盖因文化之间总有“不同”，才有“选择”问题，如果是完全相同的思想，那就无所谓“选择”了，而且完全相同的思想的传入，对原有思想文化不会增加什么新的因素，因而也就不能刺激和推动原有文化的发展，可见“和而不同”原则对文化的“双向选择”有着非常重要的意义。

我们把“和而不同”看作是推动文化健康的交流，促进文化合理的发展的一条原则，这正符合当前世界文化多元化发展的趋势。如果我们希望中国文化得到更好的发展，如果我们希望中国文化今后能对人类文明有所贡献，就必须以“和而不同”的态度对待其他民族、国家、地域的文化，充分吸收它们的文化成果，更新自己的传统文化，以创造适应现代社会生活的新文化。

NOTEs　注释

壹　关于儒家思想第三期发展可能性的探讨

*　英文稿原发表于*Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, Christianity and Chinese Culture*, 1991: 51-54。中文稿1983年8月写于美国哈佛大学，并于是年8月25日在加拿大蒙特利尔大学举办的第17届世界哲学大会上以此稿为基础作了发言。后载于《瞩望新轴心时代——在新世纪的哲学思考》，中央编译出版社，2014年1月，第198—203页。——编者注

贰　儒学与建构性后现代主义

*　中文稿写于2011年12月23日；后载于《瞩望新轴心时代——在新世纪的哲学思考》，中央编译出版社，2014年1月，第150—152页。英文稿苑爱玲译。——编者注

1　Paul Kennedy, "The Form of Capitalism Will Change to Some Extent," *Cankaoxiaoxi*, March 16, 2009.

1　保罗·肯尼迪：《资本主义形成会有所改变》，见《参考消息》，2009年3月16日。

2　Universalism: Some Western scholars and politicians believe that only the values preached by Western empires have "universal value" and that the ideas and cultures of all other nations have no "universal value" to present-day human society except as museum exhibits. Therefore, we must distinguish the issue of "universalism" from that of "universal value." On this, please refer to the "General Preface" written by Tang Yijie for *History of Chinese Confucianism*, Peking University Press, October 2011.

2　“普遍主义”（universalism）：某些西方学者和政客认为，只有西方帝国鼓吹的价值观才具有“普遍价值”的意义，其他民族的思想文化中对当今人类社会没有“普遍价值”的意义，只有作为博物馆陈列品的价值。因此，我们必须将“普遍主义”与“普遍价值”问题区分开来。关于这个问题可以参见汤一介《中国儒学史·总序》，北京

大学出版社，2011年10月。

3 According to the paper "Whitehead's Process Philosophy," "Process philosophy takes environment, resources and human beings as a closely related living community" (*Social Sciences Weekly*, Shanghai, August 15, 2002). Even the Stoics of Ancient Greece believed "man is part of nature." (Translator's back translation due to lack of the original English version of the relevant quotation—Translator's note)

3 《怀德海的〈过程哲学〉》中说："（怀德海）的过程哲学把环境、资源、人类视为密切相连的生命共同体。"见上海《社会科学报》，2002年8月15日。甚至早期斯多葛学派也有"人是自然的一部分"的论述。

4 Karl Theodor Jaspers, *The Origin and Goal of History*, trans. Wei Chuxiong et al., Huaxia Publishing House, June 1989, p. 14.

4 卡尔·雅斯贝尔斯：《历史的起源与目标》，魏楚雄等译，华夏出版社，1989年6月，第14页。

5 Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy*, trans. Ma Yuande, The Commercial Press, August 1988. On page 91 of the final volume of this translation, it is written: "Descartes' philosophy. . . completed or nearly completed the dualism of spirit and material that began from Plato and was developed by Christian philosophy for religion-related reason. . . According to Descartes' system, the spiritual world and the material world are two parallel and independent worlds and the study of one may not involve the other."

5 罗素：《西方哲学史》，马元德译，商务印书馆，1988年8月，下册第91页中说："笛卡尔的哲学……它完成了，或者说极近乎完成了自柏拉图开端而主要因为宗教上的理由经由基督教哲学发展起来的精神、物质二元论。……笛卡尔体系提出来精神界和物质界两个平行而彼此独立的世界，研究其中之一能够不牵涉另外一个。"

6 Léon Vandermeersch, "The Significance of *Ruzang* (Confucian Collection) in the World," *Guangming Daily*, August 31, 2009.

6 汪德迈：《〈儒藏〉的世界意义》，《光明日报》，2009年8月31日。

7 Wang Zhihe, "Postmodernism Calls for a Second Enlightenment," *World Culture Forum*, February 2007.

7 参见王治河：《后现代化呼唤第二次启蒙》，《世界文化论坛》，2007年2月号。

8 "For the Common Welfare: an Interview with John B. Cobber"

(interviewed by Wang Xiaohua), *Social Sciences Weekly*, Shanghai, June 13, 2002.

8 《为了共同的福祉——小约翰·柯布访谈》（王晓华访问记），上海《社会科学报》，2002年6月13日。

9 According to the section "Supreme Harmony" of *Correcting Ignorance* by Zhang Zai, "Everything has its opposite and the opposite must move against the thing. When the opposite moves against the thing, there must be a fight between them. As long as there is a fight, the end must be harmony."

9 张载《正蒙·太和》中说："有象斯有对，对必反其为；有反斯有仇，仇必和而解。"

10 "Chinese and Western Civilizations Contrasted," in Russell's *A Free Man's Worship*, Time Literature and Art Press, April 1988. The Chinese translation is slightly changed.

10 见《中西文明之比较》，此文收入罗素：《一个自由人的崇拜》，时代文艺出版社，1988年4月版，译文稍有改动。

11 T*hinking Through Confucius*, Peking University Press, August 2005.

11 《通过孔子而思》，北京大学出版社，2005年8月。

12 *Complete Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Vol. 3, p. 5.

12 《马克思恩格斯全集》第3卷，第5页。

13 "For the Common Welfare: an Interview with John B. Cobber" (interviewed by Wang Xiaohua), *Social Sciences Weekly*, Shanghai, June 13, 2002.

13 《为了共同的福祉——小约翰·柯布访谈》（王晓华访问记），上海《社会科学报》，2002年6月13日。

叁　儒学的现代意义

* 英文稿原载*Frontiers of Philosophy in China*, 2008, 3(4): 477-501。Translated by Yan Xin from *Jianghan Luntan* 江汉论坛 (Jianghan Tribune), 2007 (1): 5-14。中文稿原载《江汉论坛》2007年第1期。——编者注

1 卡尔·雅斯贝尔斯：《历史的起源与目标》，魏楚雄、俞新天译，华夏出版社，1989年，第14页。

2 蒋庆：《关于重建中国儒教的构想》，《中国儒教研究通讯》，2005年第1期。

3　参见《儒学“第四次浪潮”：激辩儒教》，载上海《社会科学报》，2006年2月23日。
4　同上。
5　孟子：《梁惠王》下。
6　张载：《横渠易说》。
7　朱熹：《朱子语类》第17卷。
8　朱熹：《朱子语类》第67卷。
9　孟子：《滕文公》上。
10　孟子：《公孙丑》下。
11　《左传·昭公二十年》。
12　参见潘德荣：《伽达默尔的哲学遗产》，香港《二十一世纪》，2002年4月号；于奇智：《哲人的人文化成》，香港《二十一世纪》，2002年8月号。
13　《朱子文集》第10卷。
14　《诗经·大雅·文王》。

肆　论禅宗思想中的内在性与超越性

*　英文稿原载*Journal of Sino-Western Communications*, 2010, 2(2): 51-68，杨浩译。中文稿原载《北京社会科学》，1990年第4期。——编者注
1　Chan is more famous for its Japanese name—Zen, and itself derived from the Sanskrit *dhyana*. In English, Chan is usually rendered as "meditation." —editor
2　《坛经》。
3　《五灯会元》第9卷《沩山灵佑禅师》。
4　《文益禅师语录》。
5　Sitting in meditation (*zuo-chan*) literally means sitting Chan, and is more famous for its Japanese name zazen. —editor
6　《佛果禅师语录》第14卷。
7　《佛果禅师语录》第9卷。
8　《坛经》。
9　《五灯会元》第7卷。
10　《古尊宿语录》第11卷。
11　《古尊宿语录》第1卷。
12　《景德传灯录》第6卷。

13 《指月录》第11卷。
14 《五灯会元》第9卷。
15 《景德传灯录》第14卷。
16 Yin-shun, *The History of Chinese Chan Buddhism* (in Chinese), Taipei: Zheng-wen Press, 1987, p. 375.
17 台湾正闻出版社1987年版，第375页。
18 《文益禅师语录》。
19 《五灯会元》第15卷。
20 《景德传灯录》第6卷。
21 《佛果禅师语录》第9卷。
22 同上。
23 《坛经》。
24 同上。

伍　论道教的产生和它的特点

* 英文稿原载*Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, Christianity and Chinese Culture*, 1991: 67-79。中文原载《中国文化与中国哲学》1986年第1期。——编者注

陆　论利玛窦汇合东西文化的尝试

* 英文稿原载*Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, Christianity and Chinese Culture*, 1991: 147-157。中文原刊于台湾《中国论坛》1989年3月25日。——编者注

1 Quoted from Luo Guang, *Matteo Ricci* (in Chinese).
1 罗光：《利玛窦传》，第71页。
2 Ibid., pp. 208-209.
2 同上，第208—209页。
3 Matteo Ricci, *Lettere dalla China*, trans. He Gaoji et al., Beijing: China Press, 1983, p. 687.
3 转引自《利玛窦中国札记》，何高济、王遵仲、李申译，中华书局，1983年3月第1版，第687页。
4 See the "Epilogue" to *Twenty-five Sayings from Epictetus*, in Xu Zongmian, ed. *Extracts of the Translated Works by the Protestants in Ming and Qing Dynasties*, Beijing: China Press, 1949, p. 329.

4 《跋二十五言》，载《明清间耶稣会士译著提要》，徐宗勉编著，中华书局，1949年2月初版，第32页和28页。

5 Ibid., p. 328.

5 同上。

6 See *Ten Discourses by a Paradoxical Man*, Yanzhoufu: Catholic Press, 1930, Vol. II, p. 76.

6 《畸人十篇》卷下，兖州府天主堂印书局，1930年，第4版，第76页。

7 *Lettere dalla China*, p. 663.

7 《利玛窦中国札记》，第663页。

8 Ibid., p. 664; also cf. p. 693.

8 同上，第664页，并参见第693页。

9 All the quotations are from Vol. II of *Ten Discourses by a Para doxical Man*, pp. 57-79.

9 以上引文均见《畸人十篇》卷下，“善恶之报应在身后”，第57—79页。

10 See *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (T'ien-chu Shih-i), p. 52.

10 《天主实义》，第52页。

11 Ibid., p. 55.

11 同上，第55页。

12 Ibid., p. 71.

12 同上，第71页。

13 See L*ettere dalla China*, p. 660.

13 同上，第660页。

14 Ibid., p. 659.

14 同上，第659页。

15 See *Collected Essays on the History of Chinese Catholicism*, pp. 4-8.

15 《中国天主教史论丛），商务印书馆，1947年3月上海初版，第4—8页。

16 See the Preface to the Chinese version of *Lettere dalla China*, p. 23.

16 参见《利玛窦中国札记》，中译者序言，第23页。

17 See *Studies of Philosophy*, 9 (1987), pp. 29-35.

17 《哲学研究》，1987年第9期，第29—35页。

柒　论中国传统哲学范畴体系的诸问题英文稿原载 ***Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, Christianity and***

***Chinese Culture*, 1991: 17-37**。中文原载《中国社会科学》**1981**年第**5**期。**——**编者注

* The tables on pp. 206-207 are taken from *Social Sciences in China*, a quarterly journal(Beijing: The Social Sciences Publishing House, no. 4, 1982), III, pp. 204 and 210 respectively.

1 See "Early Daoist Theories of Life and Death, and Spirit and Form," *Zhexue Yanjiu*, No. 1, 1981.

2 参见《略论早期道教关于生死、形神问题的理论》，《哲学研究》，1981年第1期。

3 参见金克木：《试论梵语中的“有—存在”》，《哲学研究》，1980年第7期。

4 V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961, XXXVIII, p. 92.

5 Ibid., p. 362.

6 Ibid., p. 247.

捌 再论中国传统哲学的真善美问题

* 中文原载台湾《哲学与文化》月刊1989年185期，同时又载《中国社会科学》1990年第3期。现我对内容作了少量补充，特此说明。——作者注

英文稿Translated by Bruce Doar from *Zhongguo Shehui Kexu*e (*Social Sciences in China*), 1990, No. 3, with some added passages translated by Yang Hao。——编者注

增译的内容是按照汤先生的要求在Bruce Doar翻译稿的基础上增译了第二节末段以及第四节后面一部分，另外还调整了前面一小部分的翻译以及部分术语，修订了原译稿中的部分拼写错误。——杨浩附注

1 In *Zhongguo Shehui Kexue*, 1984, No. 4.

1 载于《中国社会科学》，1984年第4期。

2 *Zhexue Pinglun*, Vol. 10, No. 6.

2 见《哲学评论》，第10卷第6期。

3 Kant, *Panduanli Pipan* (*Critique of Pure Reason*, Chinese edition), Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1964, p. 13. [Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, trans. Werner S. Pluhar, Hackett Publishing Company,

1987, pp. 15-16. —editor]

3 《判断力批判》，商务印书馆，1964年版，第13页。

4 Li Zehou, P*ipan Zhexue de Pipan* (*A Critique of Critical Philosophy*), Renmin Chubanshe, 1984, pp. 368-370; Jiang Kongyang, *Deguo Gudian Meixue* (*Classical German Aesthetics*), Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1981, pp. 67-68.参见李泽厚《批判哲学的批判》，人民出版社，1984年版，第368—370页；蒋孔阳

4 《德国古典美学》，商务印书馆，1981年版，第67—68页。

5 Tang Yijie, *Weijin Nanbeichao Shiqi de Daojiao* (*Taoism in the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties Period*), Shaanxi Shifan Daxue Chubanshe, 1988, pp. 56-57.

5 参见拙著《魏晋南北朝时期的道教》，陕西师范大学出版社，1988年版，第56—57页。

6 "Sangang Wuji," in Baihu Tongyi.

6 《白虎通义·三纲五纪》。

7 "Tiandao," in *Zhuangzi*, contains the following passage: "With pure simplicity, the world cannot compete in beauty." This passage serves to explain the expression *jiansu baopu*.

7 《庄子·天道》："素朴而天下莫能与之争美。"此可以为"见素抱朴"之注脚。

8 Hegel, *Fa Zhexue Yuanli*, Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1961, p. 351. [G. W. F. Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, trans. H. B. Nisbet, ed. Allen W. Wood, Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 341, p. 372. —editor]

8 黑格尔：《法哲学原理》，商务印书馆，1961年版，第351页。

9 Hegel, *Xiao Luoji*, Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1980, p. 87. [G. W. F. Hegel, *Hegel's Logic*, Part One of the *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, trans. W. Wallace, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 24, remark. —editor]

9 黑格尔：《小逻辑》，商务印书馆，1980年版，第87页。

10 Hegel, *Mei Xue*, Vol. I, Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1979, p. 133. [G. W. F. Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, Vol. I, trans. T. M. Knox. Oxford University Press, 1975, pp. 104-105.—editor]

10 黑格尔：《美学》第1卷，商务印书馆，1979年版，第133页。

11 The discussion about the philosophy of Hegel refers to Chen Xiuzhai & Yang Zutao, *Ouzhou Zhexue Shigao* (*History of European Philosophy*), Hubei Renmin Chubanshe, 1983, pp. 553-558; Jiang Kongyang, op. cit.,

pp. 219-220; Xue Hua, *Heigeer Yu Yishu Nanti* (*Hegel and Artistic Problem*), Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 1986, pp. 25-27.

11 以上关于黑格尔哲学的论述参见陈修斋、杨祖陶：《欧洲哲学史稿》，湖北人民出版社，1983年版，第553—558页；蒋孔阳：《德国古典美学》，商务印书馆，1981年版，第219—220页；薛华：《黑格尔与艺术难题》，中国社会科学出版社，1986年版，第25—27页。

12 Zhu Guangqian, *Xifang Meixue Shi* (*History of Western Aesthetics*), Beijing: Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe, 1963, pp. 55-56.

12 参见朱光潜：《西方美学史》上卷，人民文学出版社，1963年版，第55—56页。

13 See Chen Xiuzhai & Yang Zutao, op. cit., pp. 481, 488; Jiang Kongyang, *op. cit*., pp. 140-142.

13 参见陈修斋、杨祖陶：《欧洲哲学史稿》，第481、488页；蒋孔阳：《德国古典美学》，第140—142页。

玖　“文明的冲突”与“文明的共存”

* 英文稿原载*Procedia—Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 2010, No. 3: 7381-7391, trans. Yang Zhiyi, rev. Shen Hong。中文原载《中国文化》，2004年6月；澳门《中西文化研究》，2004年6月。——编者注

1 《评亨廷顿〈文明的冲突？〉》，载《哲学研究》，1994年第3期。—Translator's note

2 亨廷顿：《文明的冲突与世界秩序的重建》，周琪、刘绯、张立平、王圆译，中文版序言，新华出版社，1999年。—Translator's note

3 Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York, 1996, p. 318. —Translator's note

4 亨廷顿：《文明的冲突与世界秩序的重建》，周琪、刘绯、张立平、王圆译，新华出版社，1999年，第368页。

5 Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York, 1996, p. 302. —Translator's note

6 亨廷顿：《文明的冲突与世界秩序的重建》，周琪、刘绯、张立平、王圆译，新华出版社，1999年，第348页。

7 Michael Hardt & Antonio Negri, *Empire*, "Preface," Harvard

University Press, 2000.—Translator's note

8 Cf. 佩里·安德森（Perry Anderson）等：《三种新的全球化国际关系理论》(“Three Recent Theories on International Relationships in Globalization Era”), 《读书》，2002年第10期。—Translator's note

9 麦克尔·哈特、安东尼奥·奈格里：《帝国——全球化的政治秩序》，杨建国、范一亭译，封面及序言，江苏人民出版社，2000年。

10 参见佩里·安德森等：《三种新的全球化国际关系理论》，《读书》，2002年第10期。

11 Cf. 陈光兴:《〈帝国〉与去帝国化问题》(“Empire and the Problem of De-empirization”),《读书》，2002年第7期；崔之元：《布什原则、西方人文传统、新保守主义》(“Principles of Bush, Western Humanity Tradition and Neoconservatism”),《读书》，2003年第8期。《布莱尔的自由帝国主义理论奏效吗？》(“Would Blair's Liberal Imperialism Work?”), originally Tony Blair's speech: "The Best Defense of Our Security Lies in the Spread of Our Values" (*Sunday Telegraph*, May 30, 2004). —Translator's note

12 Samuel P. Huntington, "Clash of Civilizations?" p. 49, in *Foreign Affairs*, summer, 1993.—Translator's note

13 参见陈光兴：《〈帝国〉与去帝国化问题》，载《读书》，2002年第7期；崔之元：《布什原则、西方人文传统、新保守主义》，载《读书》，2003年第8期。布莱尔曾说：“防御安全的最佳办法就是传播我们的价值观。”（《布莱尔的自由帝国主义理论奏效吗？》，载英国《星期日电讯报》，2004年5月30日，转引自《英报认为布莱尔主义走向穷途末路》，载《参考消息》，2004年6月2日，第3版）

14 Bertrand Russell, "Chinese and Western Civilization Contrasted," in *The Problem of China*, London, 1922. —Translator's note

15 "Clash of civilizations?" p. 22, op. cit. —Translator's note

16 Karl Jaspers, *The Origin and Goal of History*, trans. Michael Bullock, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953, p. 7. —Translator's note

17 *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Orde*r, p. 59, op. cit. —Translator's note

18 Ibid., p. 20, op. cit. —Translator's note

19 雅斯贝尔斯：《历史的起源与目标》，第14页。

20 亨廷顿：《文明的冲突与世界秩序的重建》，周琪、刘绯、张立平、王圆译，第49页。

21 同上书，第5页。
22 苏轼：《题西林壁》："不识庐山真面目，只缘身在此山中。"—Translator's note
23 As the translator fails to find the French version of this essay, this translation is based on the Chinese translation 《为什么我们西方人研究哲学不能绕开中国？》, published on《跨文化对话》, Issue 5, p. 146, 上海文化出版社, Jan. 2001. —Translator's note.
24 Fei Xiaotong, *Collected Works of Fei Xiaotong*, Vol. 14, Beijing: Qunyan Chubanshe, 1999.—Translator's note
25 《跨文化对话》，第5辑，第146页，上海文化出版社，2001年。
26 费孝通：《中国文化与新世纪的社会学人类学——费孝通、李亦园对话录》，见《费孝通文集》，第14卷，第395页，群言出版社，1999年。
27 《中庸》："仁者，人也，亲亲为大。"Cf. T*he Doctrine of the Mean*, Chapter 20.—T ranslator's note
28 《郭店竹简·五行》："亲而笃之，爱也。爱父，其攸爱人，仁也。"—Translator's note
29 《郭店竹简·唐虞之道》："孝之放，爱天下之民。"—Translator's note
30 《孟子·梁惠王上》："老吾老以及人之老，幼吾幼以及人之幼。"C.f. Mencius, Chapter 2. —Translator's note
31 《论语·颜渊》："己所不欲，勿施于人。"Cf. *The Analects*, Chapter 12. —Translator's note
32 《论语·雍也》："己欲立而立人，己欲达而达人。"Cf. The Analects, Chapter 6.—Translator's note
33 《论语·颜渊》："克己复礼为仁。……"Cf. *The Analects*, Chapter 12. —Translator's note
34 Fei Xiaotong, "A Reconsideration of the Relationship Between Man and Nature in Culturalism," Working Paper of the Center for Sociological Research and Development Studies of China (CSRDSC), Department of Sociology, Institute of Sociology and Anthropology, PKU, Feb. 2002. —Translator's note
35 《郭店竹简·语丛二》："爱生于性。"—Translator's note
36 《论语·学而》："礼之用，和为贵。"Cf. *The Analects*, Chapter 1. —Translator's note
37 《论语·八佾》："人而不仁如礼何？人而不仁如乐何？"Cf. *The Analects*, Chapter 3.—Translator's note

38 费孝通：《文化论中人与自然关系的再认识》，见北京大学中国社会与发展中心、北京大学社会学系、北京大学社会学人类学研究所ISA工作论文，2002年2月。

39 In this context, I translate this saying as "Harmony in Diversity," instead of "Unity in Diversity" —the latter is another popular translation of this term. Tong (同) means Agreement when applied on human relationships, or Sameness/Homogeneity on material objects. Thus the translator would use different translations according to the contexts, and translate "不同" as diversity, disagreement, or heterogeneity, etc. —Translator's note

40 《论语·子路》："君子和而不同，小人同而不和。" Cf. *The Analects*, Chapter 12.—Translator's note

41 In ancient Chinese philosophy, Metal, Wood, Water, Fire and Earth are Five Processes(五行), i.e. five basic elements, to make up the world. —Translator's note

42 《国语·郑语》："（史伯曰：）夫和实生物，同则不继。以他平他谓之和，故能丰长而物归之；若以同裨同，尽乃弃之。故先王以土与金、木、水、火杂，以成百物。"—Translator's note

43 《中庸》："万物并育而不相害，道并行而不相悖。"Cf. *The Doctrine of the Mean*, Chapter 30. —Translator's note

44 Yue Daiyun, "Cultural Relativism and Comparative Literature," *A Bridge Across Cultures*, Peking University Press, 2002. —Translator's note

45 Pan Derong, "The Philosophical Heritage of Gadamer," *Twenty-First Century*, HK, Apr. Issue, 2002; Yu Qizhi, "Humanisitic Cultivation of the Philosophers," *Twenty-First Century*, HK, Aug. Issue, 2002. —Translator's note

46 《论语·学而》："和为贵。"Cf. The Analects, Chapter 1. (Also: note 31) —Translator's note.

47 参见乐黛云：《文化相对主义与比较文学》，见《跨文化之桥》，北京：北京大学出版社，2002。

48 参见潘德荣：《伽达默尔的哲学遗产》，载香港《二十一世纪》，2002年4月；于奇智：《哲人的人文化成》，载香港《二十一世纪》，2002年8月。

49 Bertrand Russell, "Chinese and Western Civilization Contrasted," in *The Problem of China*, London, 1922. —Translator's note

50 王充：《论衡·初禀》。—Translator's note

51 《道德经》第57章："我无为而民自化，我好静而民自正，我无事而民自富，我无欲而民自朴。"Cf. T*ao Te Ching*, Chapter 57. —Translator's note

52 《道德经》第46章："祸莫大于不知足，咎莫大于欲得，故知足之足，常足矣。" Cf. *Tao Te Ching*, Chapter 46. —Translator's note

53 《道德经》第77章："天之道，其犹张弓欤？高者抑之，下者举之；有余者损之，不足者补之。天之道，损有余而补不足，人道则不然，损不足以奉有余。"Cf. *Tao Te Ching*, Chapter 77. —Translator's note

54 《道德经》第31章："夫兵者，不祥之器，物或恶之，故有道者不处。"Cf. *Tao Te Ching*, Chapter 31. —Translator's note

55 《道德经》第30章："以道佐人主者，不以兵强天下，其事好还。师之所处，荆棘生焉，大军之后，必有凶年。"Cf. *Tao Te Ching*, Chapter 30. —Translator's note

56 《道德经》第74章："民不畏死，奈何以死惧之。"Cf. *Tao Te Ching*, Chapter 74.—Translator's note

57 《道德经》第31章："夫乐杀人者，则不可得志于天下矣。"Cf. *Tao Te Ching*, Chapter 31.—Translator's note

58 《道德经》第58章："祸兮，福之所倚；福兮，祸之所伏。"Cf. *Tao Te Ching*, Chapter 58.—Translator's note

59 《尚书·尧典》："协和万邦"。—Translator's note

拾　文化的多元共处——"和而不同"的价值资源

* 英文稿原载*Cultural Interaction Studies in East Asia: New Methods and Perspectives*, March 31, 2012: 229-234。中文原载《跨文化对话》集刊第一辑，1998年。——编者注

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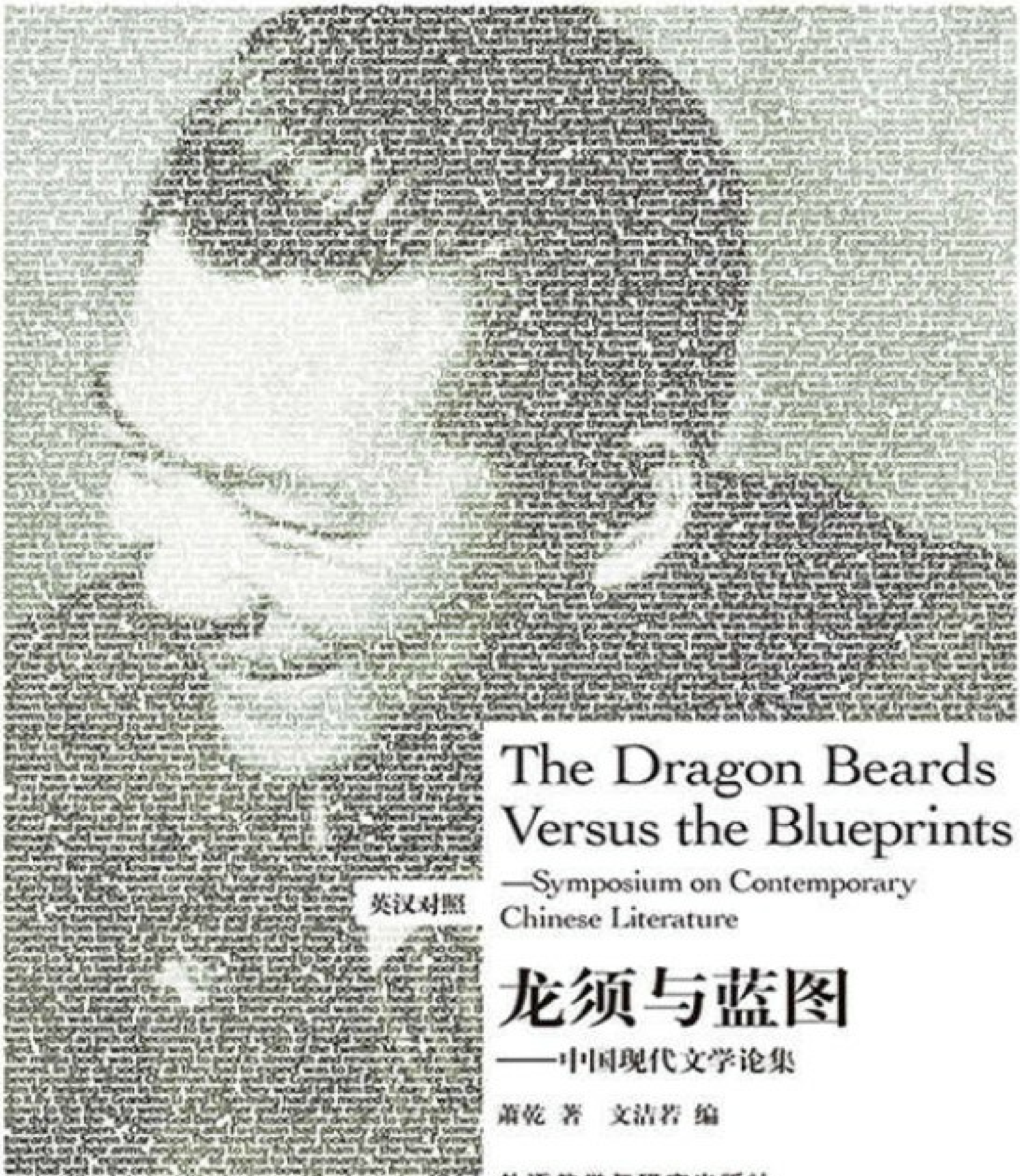

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“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高

人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

外语教学与研究出版社
人文社科出版分社

序

萧乾曾说："我的副业是沟通土洋。"他把翻译看作副业，写作才是他的正业。实际上，他毕生在翻译方面做出的成绩绝不亚于创作。萧乾从事文学翻译工作达67年（1931—1998）之久。不论中译英还是英译中都能胜任，对我国翻译事业的发展与中西文化交流起了推动作用。

一、三十年代

早在1930年秋，刚迈入辅仁大学西语系门坎的萧乾，就拉着美国青年威廉·阿兰，在文化古都北平策划起《中国简报》。那是我国最早向西方世界介绍中国现代文学的英文刊物之一。阿兰比萧乾略大几岁，是揣着母亲送给他的一笔钱，去闯荡世界的。然而在北京向萧乾学北京话，并听他讲解中国新文艺运动的情况（这些，萧乾是头一年在燕京大学读国文专修班时，从他的恩师杨振声教授那里学来的）后，阿兰认为将手头的钱悉数用来办刊物，远比周游各国有意义，遂逗留下来。那时上海有个英文的《密勒氏评论周报》，办得很成功。阿兰雄心勃勃地想办一份与之相媲美的刊物。为此，他还常向清华大学哲学系贺麟教授请教。

经过将近一年的准备，刊物问世了。目前珍藏于中国现代文学馆的《中国简报》（*China in Brief*）是一份英文周刊，创刊号发行于1931年6月1日，第8期则于7月29日与读者见面。它的宗旨是向关心中国社会、文化进展的英语世界"介绍现代中国文艺界的情势以及社会大众之趋向与其背景"。《中国简报》报头下面印着一行醒目的大字："关于文学、社会、艺术动向的文摘周刊"。报纸发行人是美国人威廉·阿兰，文艺版主编是萧乾。

现存的《中国简报》1至8期，译载了鲁迅的《聪明人、傻子和奴才》、《野草》，郭沫若的《落叶》，茅盾的《野蔷薇》、《从牯岭到东京》，郁达夫的《日记九种》、《创作之回顾》，沈从文的《阿丽丝中国游记》，徐志摩的《自剖》、《灰色的人生》（诗），闻一多的《洗衣歌》（诗），章衣萍的《从你走后》，还对这些名作一一作了粗浅的评介。除上述大家外，还译了一些《二月二来龙抬头》一类民间文艺作品，均出自萧乾之笔。

在第8期上，文艺版主编萧乾公布了专栏的蓝图：一、每期介绍一位中国当代作家，“述其身世、性格、作风，选择其代表作（指短篇）”。准备陆续介绍蒋光慈、叶绍钧（圣陶）、张资平、周作人、谢冰心、丁玲、胡适、谢冰莹、苏曼殊、胡也频。二、力求翻译介绍能够代表作者的文艺思想、作风特点及反映作者的生活背景的作品。三、计划出以下专号：“文学革命号”、“革命文学号”、“中国新诗坛号”、“南国戏剧运动号”、“北平小剧院运动号”、“国故派与白话文学派之战”、“语丝与新月社、创造社之论战”、“汉译西洋文学书目”。

计划后面写道：“通过以上简略介绍使欧美读者对中国文坛有初步认识后，就开始刊登新文学的短篇作品。因为对象是对东方文坛茫然无知的读者，所以评论不求深刻、透辟。计划虽然大得惊人，但只要文坛同道襄助，我们并不视为畏途。”

这个计划大体上包括了新文学运动第一个十年间的成就。由此可见，萧乾这个《中国简报》文艺主编的眼界是广阔的。他十六岁那年的夏季在北新书局当过一名练习生，曾大量阅读我国现代文学作品。十九岁考上燕大国文专修班，受教于杨振声教授，对“五四”以来的中国新文学有了基本知识。他从九岁起就跟着四堂嫂安娜（美国人）苦读英文，大学一年级时已开始帮助系主任雷德曼改同窗的卷子了，其实就是担任助教的工作。

可惜由于经费不足，《中国简报》夭折了，威廉·阿兰带着一批刊物回美国去了。他对萧乾说，再也没想到中国之旅能取得这么大的成果，真是不虚此行。

这份英文文艺周刊在当时旅居北平的西方读者当中产生了一定的影响。在辅仁大学西语系主任、爱尔兰裔美国神父雷德曼的鼓励下，萧乾将《王昭君》（郭沫若）、《艺术家》（熊佛西）和《湖上的悲剧》（田汉）等剧本译成英文，又用英文写了《棘心》（苏雪林）的书评，均发表在《辅仁学报》（*Fujen Magazine*，1932）上。

1933年萧乾转学到燕京大学，改读新闻系。教他的美国记者埃德加·斯诺当时正在编译一部现代中国短篇小说选，也就是《活的中国》。斯诺也看过《中国简报》，知道萧乾热衷于向西方读者介绍中国现代文学，就邀萧乾参加《活的中国》的编选、翻译工作。结识萧乾之前，他已经在上海完成了这部集子的第一部分，其中收录了鲁迅的六篇小说（《药》、《一件小事》、《孔乙己》、《祝福》、《风筝》、《离婚》）和一篇杂文（《论“他妈的！”》），都是由姚莘农翻译的。斯诺请萧乾来翻译第二部分。其中共收短篇小说17篇，作者14人，即郭沫若（《十字架》），茅盾（《自杀》、《泥泞》），巴金（《狗》），郁达夫（《紫藤与茑萝》），丁玲（《冰》、《消息》），柔石（《为奴

隶的母亲》），沈从文（《柏子》），林语堂（《狗肉将军》），田军（《第三枝枪》、《在“大连号”轮船上》），张天翼（《移行》），沙汀（《法律外的航线》），孙席珍（《阿娥》），萧乾（《皈依》），杨刚（《日记拾遗》）。

杨刚后来也参加了一部分工作。在斯诺的执意要求下，萧乾和杨刚各自提供了一篇作品。杨刚那篇《日记拾遗》（署名“佚名”）就是她根据自己所写的短篇小说《肉刑》译出的。

萧乾译完初稿后，通过斯诺的修改学会了“文字经济学”，也就是语言的简练明快，真切自然。萧乾可以说是借着帮助斯诺来编译《活的中国》，从而完成了自己在《中国简报》第8期中提出的计划。

埃德加·斯诺所编《活的中国——现代中国短篇小说选》，英文版于1936年由伦敦乔治·G. 哈拉普有限公司出版。中文版于1983年由湖南人民出版社出版，由萧乾写了《斯诺与中国新文艺运动》作为代序。

二、四十年代

1939年10月，萧乾抵伦敦，任伦敦大学东方学院讲师，兼《大公报》驻英特派记者，报道战时英伦。除了教书，他还积极参加伦敦笔会和国际笔会伦敦分会组织的活动，就中国现代文学频频发表演说。1941年5月9日，英国笔会在伦敦康伟厅为印度诗人泰戈尔举行追悼会。出席那次聚会并演讲的，有英国小说家爱·摩·福斯特。萧乾也应邀代表中国讲了话。他们二人就是这么结识的。同年，萧乾还应乔治·奥威尔的邀请在英国广播公司对印度广播中介绍中国文学的发展情况。

旅英七年间，萧乾在伦敦出版了以下五本深受英国读者喜爱的英文著作。

（一）《苦难时代的蚀刻》（*Etching of a Tormented Age*），国际笔会丛刊，乔治·艾伦与恩德公司1942年3月初版；有瑞士苏黎世德译本，出版者：布尔–弗拉格社，1947年版。英国《泰晤士报》文学副刊（1942年3月21日）上刊载了无署名书评《评〈苦难时代的蚀刻〉》，有左丹译文（见《萧乾研究资料》，北京十月文艺出版社1988年版）。

（二）《中国并非华夏》（*China But Not Cathay*），引导出版社1942年10月初版，1944年1月第2次印刷。本书介绍中国历史、地理与抗日战争情况。强调国共合作坚持抗战的局面。全书共15章。在出版者的要求下，由当时的驻英大使顾维钧写了序。他还选译了3篇自己的特写：《鲁西流民图》、《刘粹刚之死》和《一个爆破大队长的独白》。最后一章谈战后中国的前景时，萧乾写道：“1842年以来签订的一系列不平等条约是中西方相互了解的最大障碍。这一障碍拆除后，中国与她

的西方民主阵营的友人之间合作的前途将是灿烂的。中国在抵御外敌上得到了国际上的帮助。任何头脑清醒的中国人都不会设想战后中国将关起门来与世隔绝。那样的蠢举既不符合我们的政治哲学，又完全违背中国的民族性格。战后的中国将以其物质及文化潜力，协同各国一道为创造一个更幸福、更清醒的世界而努力。”[1]

跨入二十一世纪的今天来回顾当时刚过而立之年的萧乾的话，不得不承认其中有一定的预见性。

（三）《龙须与蓝图》（*The Dragon Beards Versus the Blueprints*），引导出版社1944年5月初版。本书的副标题是“战后文化的思考”。书中收有萧乾的两篇演讲。《关于机器的反思》是谈英国小说以及中国知识分子对机械文明的反应的。《龙须与蓝图》作于伦敦华莱士图书馆，是由1942年作者在伦敦笔会中心所作的那次纪念弥尔顿《论言论自由》的简短发言扩充而成。另有两篇对印度的广播稿：《易卜生在中国》和《文学与大众》。

（四）《千弦琴》（*A Harp with a Thousand Strings*），引导出版社1944年6月初版。这是一本从多棱角介绍中国和中国文化的文选，长达五百余页。书前有亚瑟·魏理写的一篇短序。他写道：“中国早期的《昭明文选》和《玉台新咏》确实曾把许多佚作或不经见之作，保存了下来。”他认为萧乾这本《千弦琴》的选编是做了件好事，并举书中的《孙中山伦敦遇难记》为例。序言最后说：“在中国，为人作序首先是友情的表示。此序虽不敢与中国古代那些优美的序言相比，但这也是发自友情的由衷之举。”全书共分6卷。第1卷是《英国文学中的中国》，分作诗歌、散文、随笔、传记及书简等项。诗歌从湖畔诗人柯勒律治做了一场梦后所写的《忽必烈汗》，选到三十年代在北京大学任教的威廉·燕卜荪抗日战争爆发后随校赴内地时写的《南岳的秋天》。第2卷是《欧洲旅行家笔下的中国》，从十三世纪的马可·波罗一直选到英国诗人奥斯伯特·斯特威尔民国初年访华时所写的《北京的声与色》。第3卷是《人物画廊》，从以东汉的焦仲卿为男主角的古诗《孔雀东南飞》、沈复的《浮生六记》，一直选到四十年代项美丽所写的《宋氏三姐妹》。第4卷是中西文化交流。第5卷是有关中国文化及艺术的。哲学方面选了冯友兰的《中国哲学》。第6卷是民间文学，内分民歌、格言、儿歌等。

英国《观察家》报（1945年11月11日）上刊载了英国作家乔治·奥威尔的书评《评萧乾编的〈千弦琴〉》，有左丹译文（见《萧乾研究资料》）。

（五）《吐丝者》（*Spinners of Silk*）是萧乾自选自译的散文小说集，艾伦与恩德出版社1944年初版，1945年第2次印刷；有瑞士苏黎世

德译本，出版者：布尔–弗拉格社，1947年版。收有《雨夕》、《蚕》、《篱下》、《雁荡行》、《栗子》、《矮檐》、《俘虏》、《破车上》、《印子车的命运》、《上海》、《邮票》及《花子与老黄》等十二篇。

英国杂志《今日之生活与文学》（1944年10月）上刊载了印度旅英学者穆尔克·拉贾拉南的书评《评〈吐丝者〉》，有左丹译文（见《萧乾研究资料》）。

三、五十年代至九十年代

新中国成立以后，萧乾任英文刊物《人民中国》副主编。1951年初，萧乾参加了湖南省岳阳县筻口乡一场轰轰烈烈的土地改革。全过程是四十二天，其间他跟农民同吃同住十来天，根据对外宣传的需要，用英文写下了《土地回老家》，曾连载于第3卷第8期至第4卷第3期的英文版《人民中国》。当年北京外文出版社出版了此书的英文单行本。萧乾本人把此作译成中文，由平明出版社于1951年11月出版，后收入《萧乾文集》第3卷（浙江文艺出版社1999年12月版）。此书有宫崎世民日译本（鸠书房，1993年7月版）以及俄、德、法、印尼、缅甸等十一种译本。

1952年，萧乾还曾把巴金的《生活在英雄们中间》译成英文，在英文版《人民中国》上连载后出版单行本。

1953年，他被调到中国作家协会，任《译文》编委兼编辑部副主任。这之后，到1979年改革开放为止，主要从事翻译的工作（《莎士比亚戏剧故事集》、《大伟人江奈生·魏尔德传》、《好兵帅克》、《里柯克小品选》、《培尔·金特》等；与人合译的有《屠场》、《战争风云》、《弃儿汤姆·琼斯的历史》等）。

进入思想开放的时代后，萧乾重新拿起笔来。他在《未带地图的旅人》中写道："可惜我的日记统统毁于'文革'中，否则我本可以专就在英国演讲的经历写一本书，那不会是一本枯燥无味的书。"[2]"如今，太平日子来了，想写点回忆录，搞点研究，可旧时的书籍、笔记、日记、卡片，早就统统化为灰烬。"[3]

二十二年不正常的年月损害了他的健康。在这种情况下，我们接下了南京译林出版社社长李景端上门约的《尤利西斯》一书的翻译工作。合译《尤利西斯》的那四年（1990年至1994年），我们度过了一生中最富成果的一段岁月。1998年11月20日，他在北京医院病房里写了一篇《写到不能拿笔的那一天》。他是这么说的，也是这么做的。在病房里，在连字典都拿不动的情况下，他还坚持将《夜幕降临》初稿译完。

我在这个基础上定稿，作为合译，由上海少年儿童出版社于1998年12月出版。这是莱斯·马丁所著美国新科技探案小说中的一种。关于住了将近两年医院的萧乾，我屡次听主任和大夫们说："真是个奇迹。"我知道他们指的是他神采奕奕，完全不像是个病人。耳聪眼明，不断地读书看报写文章。其实我知道，是对文字工作的执著和热爱化为精神力量在支撑他。他走后，我马不停蹄地整理他的遗著，《龙须与蓝图——中国现代文学论集》仅仅是其中的一部分。

最后，向为本书的编辑出版呕心沥血的吴浩、易璐、段会香同志表示由衷的感谢。

文洁若
2014年8月28日

Etching of a Tormented Age

苦难时代的蚀刻

A Glimpse of Contemporary Chinese Literature

现代中国文化鸟瞰

傅光明　中译

To

E. M. FORSTER
and
ARTHUR WALEY

Two Eastbound Kingsmen

献给
爱·摩·福斯特和亚瑟·魏理

1. FAREWELL, OLD CURIOSITY SHOP!

Since 1911, the life of the Republican Chinese has undergone a transformation, perhaps unique in history. The civilization of ancient China was like a great river running quietly through a valley of virgin mountains. There had been vicissitudes, but nothing had affected any change in its course. It had been left alone until the end of the last century when this river, against its will, encountered the ocean of world culture. Terrific turmoil resulted, which became swollen into tumultuous rapids known as the Literary Revolution. The collapse of the Manchu Empire was almost immediately followed by the abandonment of the age-hallowed classical style. The vernacular was adopted in its stead. Before that, the only official and academic language in use was couched in the classical style. No one could hope to pass the imperial examinations, the only stepping-stone to any decent career, without being steeped in this style. But the classical was immeasurably different from the spoken language. It usually took a good quarter of a lifetime to master its rudiments. Hence, it was almost inaccessible to the man-in-the-street. This fact alone was insufferable to the Republican Chinese. It meant that the great masses of China had scant prospect of education in any near future, while the Republic urgently needed the support of intelligent citizens. It meant that China would have to sail on in picturesque junks while others kept fortifying ever new types of powerful guns on board their battleships. No science had a chance of development if the people were to be perpetually tethered to the white elephant. Threatened by a neighbour that was being rapidly modernized, the young Chinese reacted sensibly rather than sentimentally.

But the new style was not only more sensible. Being colloquial, it was more expressive and spontaneous. Republican sentiment was truly overflowing. Quite apart from aesthetic and linguistic considerations, the fact that this innovation answered the demands of the young Chinese sufficiently justified its existence. The revolt actually began in 1917 and reached its climax in the Students' Movement of May 4, 1919. In the same year, about four hundred newspapers and magazines appeared in this new style. In the following year, the Ministry of Education decreed that the vernacular was to be adopted in all text-books for elementary schools. This overwhelmingly successful reform has been proudly called the Chinese Renaissance. In so far

as it was an attempt to democratize the written language as a result of individual awakening, it was a Renaissance—and the first in five thousand years!

Many people think that the introduction of scientific inventions from the West changed the outlook of China. But the translation of Western literature in a broad sense, from Rousseau, Mill, Darwin, Spencer to Bertrand Russell, actually had more positive influence on the reforms. They taught Chinese intellectuals Science and Democracy: they revealed the basic rights of human beings. The overthrow of the imperial regime was a crowning success of political emancipation. The literary revolt was a refusal to copy the models of the ancients. In the words of Dr. Hu Shih, every age should have its own literature. The three principles expounded by the forerunners as aims of the movement were:

1. To destroy the painted, powdered and obsequious literature of the aristocratic few and to create the plain, simple and expressive literature of the people.

2. To destroy the stereotyped and monotonous literature of classicism and to create the fresh and sincere literature of realism.

3. To destroy the pedantic, unintelligible and obscurantist literature of the hermit and the recluse and to create the plain speaking and popular literature of a living society.

Why was China, a country with a glorious cultural background, living in proud seclusion from the rest of the world until the last century, so ready to succumb to such drastic changes? As a people, we are by no means free from bigotry. Only half a century ago, we still chose to sign sheaves of unequal treaties rather than face the stark realities of the world situation. But the nineteenth century had become a nightmare to us. It was a period filled with humiliation from abroad and corruption at home, accompanied by poverty, illiteracy, contagious diseases, all the poisons of a decayed empire. The foreign powers were all sharpening their carving knives. It was like treading on thin ice, not only the great empire but all its inhabitants were ready to sink into oblivion. The young Chinese were appalled by the fates of India and Korea. History was marching with unfaltering steps. Aware of the impending danger, they naturally grew impatient with traditions that bound the feet of their women and bent the backs of their men. Social conventions established and tolerated since the days of the Yellow Emperor were suddenly challenged. An unprecedented upheaval, political, social and cultural, took

place. The new literature led, reflected and recorded this upheaval.

Yet it should be borne in mind that this "new" style was in fact not new. It was just the age-old mother tongue of the people, from mandarin to country maid. Except for a corner of the southeastern coast, it has always been spoken by the bulk of the population. Actually from the tenth century on, a great body of magnificent literature had been written in this style, such as some of the Yü-lu of the Sung Dynasty, and certainly all our best novels. What Dr. Hu Shih, the leader of the movement, and his followers fought for was orthodoxy. And this was by no means easily achieved.

The triumph of the vernacular was not unchallenged. The diehard Lin Ch'in-nan wrote violent diatribes, from a satire, in which he maliciously caricatured Dr. Hu and other reformers, to a number of indignant letters. He wrote to the late Ts'ai Yuan-pei, then President of Peking University and guardian angel to the new movement, warning him that "it is against the natural course of human affairs to let expediency override the fundamental. There are advantages in Western civilization, but let us not inflict ourselves with its vices." Wang Ching-hsüan, another old scholar, compared the young Chinese to fickle women who cast away their husbands as soon as they meet new lovers. He accused the reformers of servility because of their adoption of Western punctuation. But the actual pressure came from conservatives who once or twice got control of the Peking government. Under various pretexts they banned several new books, such as the *Collected Essays of Hu Shih* in 1924. Again, by exploiting "entrance examinations" either for civil service or for college, they tried to impose the classical style on the younger generation.

Hundreds of novels and thousands of poems and essays have been written in this democratic style in the last twenty-five years. They have eloquently shown its capacity to express all shades of human sentiment and to depict everything on earth, from a waterfall to the tremulous legs of an insect. The Chinese still love to see ancient scrolls of the Yangtse Gorges or pines spreading from dizzy crags on sacred T'aishan. But to-day there are motorboats steaming up the Yangtse and aeroplanes over T'aishan. While appreciating ancient scrolls, they realize the necessity of this more adequate medium to depict modern China. Hence, this living language has become the natural channel of contemporary Chinese writers. Twenty-five years is of course too brief a period for hasty critical verdicts. Contemporary Chinese literature is a sapling still in growth. Here, I shall attempt to give an account of this sapling.

壹　永别了，老古玩店

1911年以来，中国人的生活经历了一场也许是历史上独一无二的变革。中国的古老文明就像一条大河，静静流淌在处女山的深谷，虽经盛衰荣辱，却没有什么能改变它的方向。直到上世纪末叶，这条河才不遂己愿地与世界文化的海洋邂逅。激烈的动荡很快产生了众所周知的文学革命。清帝国崩溃，紧接着古老神圣的文言形式被遗弃，白话取而代之。在此之前，官方和学术语言所用的都是传统的文言形式。如果不在这上边花大气力，便无法通过科举，而科举是获得相称生涯的惟一阶石。文言决然不同于口语，掌握基础通常就要花去人生的四分之一时间，普通大众几乎难以企及。这一事实是民国以来的中国人所难以忍受的：它意味着当民国急需知识阶层的支持时，中国的大众短期内却缺乏教育的前景。它意味着当别国都在战列舰的甲板上不断装备新式枪炮时，中国却不得不划着别致如画的舢板。倘若一个民族永被无用而又累赘的东西捆缚，科学便没有发展的机会。年轻的中国人在一个正迅速现代化的邻居的威胁下，作出了理性的反应，而没有感情用事。

新的文体不仅更理性、明智，作为口语，它还更富于表现力，自然而发。民国人确实洋溢着感情，先不管美学及语言学上的考虑，光这一改革符合年轻中国人的要求事实本身，就足以证明它存在的合理性。反叛真正开始于1917年，到1919年的“五四”学生运动达到高潮。同年，大约四百份报纸刊物以这种新的文体出现。第二年，教育部宣布所有小学课本采用白话文。这一势如破竹的成功改革被骄傲地称为“中国的文艺复兴”。这一因个体觉醒而引起的推广书面语之努力，堪称五千年来的第一次文艺复兴！

许多人认为，从西方介绍科学发明改变了中国的视野，但广泛地翻译西方文学，从卢梭、穆勒[1]、达尔文、斯宾塞到伯特兰·罗素，实际上给改革带来了更为积极的影响。他们教给中国知识分子科学与民主，展示作为人的基本权利。推翻清王朝是政治解放的最大成功，文学革命是对延袭旧模式的排拒。用胡适博士的话说，就是每一个时代都该有它自己的文学。文学革命的先驱们阐述了三条原则作为运动的目的：

1．推倒雕琢的阿谀的贵族文学，建设平易的抒情的国民文学。

2．推倒陈腐的单调的古典文学，建设新鲜的立诚的写实文学。

3．推倒迂晦的艰涩的山林文学，建设明了的通俗的社会文学。

何以拥有悠久文化传统、直到上世纪还一直闭关自守的中国人，要进行这样剧烈的改革呢？作为一个民族，我们也曾固执过。直到上一世纪中叶，我们还宁可签订一系列不平等条约，也不愿面对世界局势所呈

现出的严峻现实。对我们中国人来说，十九世纪是一场噩梦，它充满了来自国外的耻辱和国内的腐败，以及与一个衰落帝国相随相生的一切毒素：贫穷、愚昧、传染病。外国列强全都磨光了利刃。真是如履薄冰，这个伟大帝国及其所有臣民都即将被泯没。中国年轻一辈对印度和朝鲜的命运不寒而栗。历史前进的步伐不会迟疑，看到即将面临的危机，他们自然会对妇女缠足和男人打躬作揖的传统失去耐心。自黄帝时代创立且一直被容忍的社会习俗突然面临挑战，一场前所未有的政治、社会和文化动荡发生了，而新文学引导、反映并记录了这一变革。

事实上，我们头脑应该清醒，这“新”的形式并不新。它是一个民族从官僚到村妇的古老母语，除去东南沿海的一角，人口的绝大部分都在使用。其实从十世纪开始，大量非凡的文学作品就已在用这种形式创作了，如宋朝的“语录”以及毫无疑问地，我们最好的小说。文学运动领导人胡适及其追随者是为正统而战斗，这绝非易事。

白话的成功并非没有遇到挑战。顽固的林琴南写了一篇讽刺文章和大量愤愤不平的信，猛烈抨击并恶意讥讽胡博士及其他改革者。他给已故的时任北京大学校长、新文化运动的守护天使蔡元培写信，警告他以权宜之计践踏基本法则有违常情，西方文明有优势可言，但不能连带邪恶推给我们。还有一位守旧学者“王敬轩”把年轻一辈比成见异思迁的妇人，一旦觅到新欢，就把丈夫抛到一边。他责骂改革者奴性十足，因为他们采用了西式标点。但真正的压力来自曾一度掌管了北京政府的保守派，他们找出不同借口禁了许多新书，如1924年出版的《胡适文存》。另外，利用政府文职机构或学校的“录用考试”，企图强迫年轻一代接受旧式文言。

二十五年来用白话写就的成百篇小说、成千首诗歌及散文雄辩地证明，这一民主性文体可以表达人的一切感情，描绘地球上的一切事物，从一处瀑布到一只昆虫微微发颤的脚足。中国人仍然喜欢观赏描绘三峡或泰山悬崖峭壁上的古松的画卷，然而今天扬子江上已在跑着蒸汽船，泰山顶上也有飞机在翱翔。我们在欣赏古画的同时，认识到了这种最适合描绘现代中国的媒介的必要性。因此，这一活的语言就成了中国当代作家的自然方向。二十五年当然是一个短暂的时期，不宜作草率的评估。中国现代文学是正在成长的一株幼树，这里，我将试图来描述这株幼树。

2. NOVELISTS AS REFORMERS

Thrillers and purely humorous fiction play an extremely insignificant part in modern Chinese fiction. Novelists regard it as a disgrace to write merely for the sake of popular entertainment. While this may be a serious disadvantage to technique, it shows how conscientious our writers are. In fact, most of our novelists are social reformers at heart. In tracing their motives of writing, the desire to ameliorate a corrupt society is evident. The Japanese may know the value of ancient Chinese porcelain and bronze, but they fatally underestimated the new spirit of self-assertion in all articulate young Chinese and how politically conscious they had become. Merciless self-analysis of national weakness and indomitable assertion of individual rights were the guiding forces of contemporary Chinese writers. Take the widely known Lu Hsün, author of *The True Story of Ah Q*. Actually he began his career as a medical student. This was because he had suffered much in his childhood from country quacks. He wanted to master the science of curing the ailments of his fellow-beings. One day in Tokio, at the end of a tedious anatomical lecture, the professor showed some non-medical lantern slides to amuse his students. One of these showed a group of Chinese who had acted as spies for the Russians in the Russo-Japanese War. They had been arrested and beheaded before a cheering crowd. Lu Hsün was cut to the quick. For it dawned on him that the disease of his compatriots was mental rather than physical. He gave up his medical career to become a writer. There was nothing rosy about the China he depicted. All his stories are caricatures of apathetic Chinese types, often bitingly effective.

There is no doubt that our finest literary harvest in modern times is that of fiction. And it is here that new writing contrasts most strikingly with the old. The change in the position of fiction in China is as surprising as that from a pauper to a prince. Thirty years ago, *Hsiao Shuo* (the Chinese for "fiction", meaning "small talk") was regarded as a low and vulgar form of writing. The handful of novels written between the tenth and the nineteenth centuries were mainly by scholars who had been banished from imperial favour, or else had failed in the imperial examinations. Hence, their authorship is often a matter for conjecture. The abolition of imperial examinations in 1904 and the introduction of Western literature completely changed the situation. Fiction has since become a popular form of writing.

While novels in the pre-Republican days were mere accidents, they are written with conscious and deliberate craftsmanship to-day.

The writers of new China take great pride in the hardships and vicissitudes of life. They are aware of the value of personal experience to a resourceful novelist. A life springing from the gutter may provide a wealthy store of material. Some of them were born in such humble conditions; some went out of their way to seek them. Whence, realism has become quite natural to modern Chinese writers. They are not only the reformers of a corrupt society: many of them were the victims of it. Miss Ts'ao Ming begins her *Confessions* thus: "In the first half of my ninth year, my pillow was seldom dry. I was the twenty-third child of a polygamous father, and my mother was his concubine. When I was ten years old, I was so peaky and thin that I looked like a girl of six. Often my mother clasped me tightly, playing with my queue and fondling my bony chin, saying, 'It is hard to be a woman, and when one is so thin...'" Miss Pai Wei in an autobiographical sketch pictured herself kneeling before her Confucian father, sobbing timidly, imploring him, "Father, give me a chance to study. Don't marry me off so soon!" She was to be married to a boy whom she had never seen and who was already lying on his deathbed. Indeed her sufferings were cruel. She was stripped, beaten, and literally tortured by her mother-in-law. Later she ran away, and managed to enter a school, without her parents' knowledge. But soon she was discovered.

In Ai Wu's case, a vagabond life was chosen rather than imposed by circumstances. He trekked all the way from Ssŭchuan to Yünnan, and thence to Burma[2]. *En route*, he worked as a groom in a wayside inn in the wild mountains on the border. He was even a cook to a monk in Rangoon. Often he was driven out of his lodgings for arrears of rent. But all the time he carried with him a copy of Gogol's *Overcoat*, a pen, and a bottle of ink swinging from a piece of rope. As he walked on mountainous journeys or swept up the dung of horses and mules, he carefully scrutinized the life around him. At night, by the faint light of an oil lamp, he jotted down the incidents of the day. There is in fact a quaint touch in his works beyond the reach of the more well-to-do.

The study of modern Chinese fiction can be approached from several angles. The regional novel has never been fully developed in China, partly because the tumultuous life never allowed any writer to settle down peacefully in one spot. But many Chinese writers naturally remain attached to

the part of the country most intimate to them. In the works of Chou Wen, Sha Ting, and Lo Shu, you see all aspects of Ssŭchuan—villainous country squires, helpless wives of peasants, salt merchants and opium smugglers. Lu Fen has graphically depicted the villages of his native Honan, the people's militia, drunkards, or missionary hospitals. Hsiao Chün, the author of *Village in August*, and his former wife Hsiao Hung, chose the whole of Manchuria[3] for a background, from Harbin to Dairen[4]. Writing about the guerrilla fighters in that part of the country, Hsiao Chün himself had been one. The setting of Tuan-mu Hung-liang's novels are naturally laid in the eastern part of Inner Mongolia, where he came from. In Wu Tsu-hsiang's stories, one sees the haggard faces of downtrodden tenants and the greed of the country gentry in Anhui. Nearly all the characters in Lu Hsün's works were taken from Wei Chuang, that town wherein the immortal Ah Q was born, lived and suffered. There are writers who sometimes use foreign countries as a background, either because of the exotic colour, as in the case of HsüTi-shan's India, Pa Chin's France, Ai Wu's Burma and the white Russian colony in Harbin as appearing in Chin Yi's works, or because of their lengthy sojourn, as in the case of Kuo Mo-jo's in Japan.

The danger of classifying writers geographically is obvious. To start with, provincialism has been deprecated by modern Chinese writers. Though Lu Hsün and Chou Tso-jen were brothers, their approach to life was totally different. In Chou, one sees the ripples of gentle streams and the waving shadows of bamboo groves. In Lu Hsün, one sees China struggling against the clutches of a decadent tradition. Nevertheless, it remains the garden of nostalgic memories. As an ingredient in the formation of a writer's character, this is also significant. Shen Tsung-wên, for instance, admitted the influence of the River Ch'en in West Hunan on his whole literary career. He wrote:

> "The foundation of my work was not built on a bundle of useful books; it was built on water. The tiny raindrops from the eaves, a little brook, or the immense deep—these are all great teachers to me. My ability to use my little brain was wholly due to the influence of water. I owe to it the habit of seeing beneath the surface.
>
> "In childhood, the river was my refuge. From the age of fifteen, for the next five years, my life was spent on the bank of the River Ch'en. Now, each time I recall my past, the happiest of my reminiscences are watery. At least one tenth of my time was squandered on the main currents and the tributary streams of the river. I learnt much about the human world from flowing water. My imagination was given wings by the river.
>
> "After five years, I left that river. I could then wield the brush, and began to write. I often used the riverside as my setting. I wrote about it with love. My characters are also those familiar faces on the river. If there is sadness in my writings, perhaps it was due to the gloomy weather in

that corner of China fifteen years ago. If there is anything in my work worth noticing, it was also because people moving on that river spoke a rich and vivid language·

"After five years' sojourn in Peking, I went to live by the sea, the dazzling and boundless sea. I had a greater opportunity to see life from a remote angle. How lonely was the sea! It nourished my feeling of solitude, enlarged my soul and magnified my personality..."

(From *Literature and I*, 1934, Shanghai.)

In whatever shape, water has always charmed our writers. Miss Ping Hsin, one of the first of our women writers in the vernacular, was profoundly influenced by the sea. Not being a navigating country, we have produced no Joseph Conrad. To a Chinese writer, the sea is oftener a lyrical symbol. To Miss Ping Hsin, it symbolizes mother love. She spent her girlhood in a delightful fishing town on the Chiao Chou Peninsula where she often sailed on the sea. In her *Letters to My Young Readers* from America, she constantly sings in praise of the sea. "To look at a range of mountains on a hot summer afternoon", she wrote, "is like looking at an enormous ailing ox, with layers of darkness piling in front of our eyes. But the sea is always lively and glimmering with thousands of silvery flowers. She is my mother and the lake is my friend."

In the transitional period of reforming the family system, the relationship between the sexes was bound to arouse acute interest and controversy. Every youth became aware of his innate right to choose his own life companion. But the tradition of marriage by betrothal was still unbroken. Few authors were without matrimonial troubles, and literary confessions of these became a vogue. The more erotic type, like Yü Ta-fu, went so far as to vent his "sexual hunger". Obviously there was an instinctive craving in the hearts of young Chinese, long denied or repressed by social and ethical codes. That craving was most frankly expressed by Yü who had many of the traits of Rousseau and Dostoyevsky. In his "Recollections as a Writer", he said all literary works were autobiographical. It was undoubtedly true in his own case. He packed his notorious *Nine Diaries* with all the sins he committed. At the end of each sin, he took a turkish bath to wash it off. His outstanding novel was *Sinking* ("Ch'en Lun"), an analysis of a morbid youth. In one passage he characteristically wrote:

"...O my decayed life at twenty! My dead ashes twenty years! I'd sooner be transformed into a mineral. I shall never blossom in this incarnation. Knowledge I desire not, nor fame. I only yearn for a 'heart' that is tender and understanding—a fervid heart bursting with sympathy, and with love from that very sympathy. What I really crave is love! Were there a beautiful woman who understood my agony, and if she desired my immediate death, I am ready. If there were

only a woman, beautiful or ugly, as long as she loved me with a true heart, I would sacrifice my life for her. What I crave is love of the other sex..."

How naive, yet how expressive of the mood of repressed souls!

Yü's influence on the younger generation cannot be called good. But his emotions were genuine. Faithfully and without restraint, he expressed the particular sorrow of the youths of that time. But another novelist who chose nearly the same theme cannot be judged in the same light. Chang Tz-ping must have deeply regretted his opportunism. Perhaps he has been cursing the ingratitude of his readers. Only fifteen years ago, his novels of triangular and quadrangular love a airs were manufactured by the dozens. They were devoured by boys and girls all over the country. Writing must have brought him considerable profit. His plots were as alike as two peas. His characters seemed to have one common virtue, namely, sensuality. The endings were invariably tragic, either suicide as a result of being in love with a married person or a sudden discovery of pregnancy by parents. These stereotyped situations were soon denounced by all critics and disillusioned even his most enthusiastic readers.

But the question of "family oppression" has not been completely solved, and it has never failed to interest Chinese readers. The success of Pa Chin's novels is sound evidence of this. He is an anarchist whose uncompromising spirit has spoken much for the discontent of his generation. He has written scores of novels about miners and revolutionaries. His recent trilogy, *Spring*, *Autumn*, *Masses*, deals with the degeneration of a patriarchal family in Ssŭchuan and the rebellion of the young. Pa Chin is a writer of conviction. While in France, he became a fervent student of the French Revolution. The spirit of *J'accuse* runs through his works. He writes to protest rather than to entertain. But he never makes any pretence to be an artist. In the Preface to his *Electric Chair*, he wrote:

"I have no liberty, no joy, because a whip constantly lashes me. I cannot rest. It is the misery of mankind, and my own. When passion burns in me, my heart becomes restless, I must write something. When I write, I exist no longer. Gruesome pictures haunt me. They make my heart and my hand tremble at the same time. What is art after all, if it cannot bring more light to humanity; if it cannot strike a single blow against the demon? The whole city of Pompeii was once buried under ashes. One day, the ivory tower of art will also be consumed. No, I want to make a direct appeal to my readers, make them abhor darkness and love light. My writings need no connoisseur..."

This attack on the art-for-art's-sake group was more emphatically

expressed in his *Recollections of My Life*:

> "I am not lying when I say that part of my works are a mixture of tears and blood. I am no artist. My writing is just part of my existence. My life has been a painful struggle, my writing too. I write only about human aspirations. While I suffer, I envisage a rosy dawn for all mankind. Yes, life is short and art is long. But there is yet something longer than art and it is that which guides me."

Since 1927, the Northern Campaign of the Revolutionary Army, Chinese writers became more politically conscious. Personal introspection became less popular and novelists turned their eyes to a bigger canvas. Mao Tun was the first to attempt a monumental novel, portraying the revolution for which much blood had been shed. His *Disillusion*, *Mutation*, and *Pursuit* were a trilogy about that fateful year. Like André Malraux, the author of *La Condition Humaine* (translated into English as *Storm Over Shanghai*), Mao Tun was an active party member in Wuhan, then the seat of the Left-wing government. Being an enthusiastic disciple of naturalism, he drew his material from reality. This was followed by his *Twilight, A Romance of China in 1930*, in which he ambitiously presented a panorama of China, both rural and urban. An amazing feature of this novel is the graphic description of the Shanghai Stock Exchange. Some of his works tend to be documentary, but he has taught younger writers to explore actual life.

The portrayal of the seamy side of Republican life is a universal theme. Yeh Shao-chün vividly writes about schoolteachers and middle-aged people, Chang T'ien-yi about civil servants and children. His *Knight of Yang Ching Pang* is one of our best picaresque novels. Miss Ting Ling's works are widely known. Her *In Darkness* and *The Mother* won many plaudits. Miss Ling Shu-hua has written a number of delightful stories. Being a painter herself, and the wife of Professor Ch'ên Hsi-ying, a learned but not pedantic critic, her creative talent is further enhanced by scholarship. I do not wish to pay all-round compliments to our women writers, but I really cannot omit Miss Lin Hui-yin, the author of *Ninety-nine Degree* and other charming stories. Being a versatile artist herself and a lover of experimental writers such as Virginia Woolf, she has made fiction a record of rapid flashes of life instead of static "facts". She has fished beneath the sea of consciousness and thus deepened the effect of her writing.

From 1916 to the formation of the League of Left-wing Writers in 1930, anything written in the vernacular style seemed acceptable. The criterion

tended to be more linguistic than artistic. During the period of revolutionary literature, Left-wing critics were mostly concerned with ideology. Wang Shu-ming, one of the leading critics of the time, wrote how he became a literary critic: "I bade farewell to all the aesthetic theories of a capitalist society and made careful studies of socialism." Art was then contemptuously dismissed as "technique". Consequently many stories appeared bare skeletons of revolutionary tales or dramatizations of certain political ideas.

Shen Tsung-wên has often been described as a stylist. It is true that his choice of words is so deliberate that they sparkle. In his stories, the prevalent mood is that of a poet. He admits that all he attempts is to capture momentary sensations and images. They are often impressionistically fresh. For instance, in describing a timid youth, he would say he was as shy as a little apricot tree. But Shen's essential virtue is that he writes of a world entirely of his own—soldiers, civil servants in the interior, peasants of West Hunan and the colourful tribesmen on the border. With his vivid pen he enlivens them all, their rich dialogue, their picturesque lives and their tragedies. He was born and bred among them. As a soldier, then as a tax-collector, he trod every inch of the soil. In his Preface to *Green Jade and Green Jade* (an English translation by Miss Emily Hahn and Shao Hsün-mei appeared in the *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, Hong Kong) he explains his creative attitude:

> "For peasants and soldiers, I cherish an inexpressible love. This emotion is in all my writings. I never conceal it. I was born in the little town I write about. My grandfather, father, and brothers were all in the army. All died on active service. The living will end their lives in the same manner. This is the side of life I am most familiar with. I write about their loves and hates, their joys and sorrows. Clumsy as my pen is, it cannot distort too much, for these people are honest, straight forward, commonplace but big-hearted. In temperament, sometimes very beautiful, sometimes very petty. In the senseless civil wars lasting nearly twenty years, these peasants were the foremost sufferers. Their souls have been heavily oppressed, which has done much to destroy their original simplicity, industry, frugality, peacefulness and honesty. They have been transformed into quite a different kind of being, lazy and poverty-stricken. I am trying to record this dreadful transformation."

The war has been a blessing in disguise for Chinese literature in general, and for fiction especially. Previously, two lamentable symptoms existed among nearly all story-writers. They either lacked solid experience of national life or their diction was too remote from that of the people. The war has shown many writers the right direction. For the first time they inhaled the aroma of rice fields and saw the gorgeous orange groves, and the manifold marvels of the countryside. But above all, they came in direct contact with

the people, the people untouched by European influence, who lived far away from the coastal ports. Beyond all this, they saw the war, its tragedy as well as its heroism. Consequently, we may hope for much from post-war Chinese novelists.

贰　作为改革者的小说家

惊险小说和纯幽默小说在现今的中国小说界完全没有地位。小说家们把纯粹为大众娱乐而写作当成一件丢脸的事。尽管这非常不利于技巧的运用，但可见我们的小说家是多么尽责啊！事实上，我们大部分小说家骨子里都是社会改革者。探求其创作动机，很明显是要努力改进一个腐败的社会。日本人或许知晓中国古老瓷器和青铜器的价值，但他们严重低估了能够清楚表达思想感情的中国年轻一辈的自信精神及其政治意识。对国家弱点无情剖析、对个人权利勇敢维护正是中国现代作家的指导力量。以《阿Q正传》的作者鲁迅为例，他原是个医科学生，因少年时代深受乡下庸医之苦，才想掌握为同胞治愈疾病的技术。在东京的一天，教授讲完冗长乏味的解剖课后，拿出一些与医学无关的幻灯片放给学生看，有一组展示的是日俄战争期间给俄国人充当间谍的中国人被捕，在一群喝彩的围观者前被斩首。鲁迅的心被刺痛了，他开始明白，他的同胞的病症是精神上的而非肉体上的。于是他放弃了医学生涯，成为一名作家。他所描绘的中国一片灰暗，小说都是对各类漠然的中国人进行无情的、常常是入木三分的讽刺。

我们现今最大的文学收获无疑是小说，新旧写作的对照也是在小说中最为引人注目。小说的地位在中国的变化就像一个人由贫民到王子那样令人吃惊。三十年前，小说还被认为是一种低级粗俗的写作形式。十到十九世纪间的少数几部小说主要出自那些遭官场贬逐或科举落第的文人之手。因此，对原作者常常只能推测。1904年科举的废除和对西方文学的评介完全改变了这种局面，小说从此成为一种大众喜爱的写作形式。民国以前，写小说只是出于偶然，而今天，艺术家是在有意识和深思熟虑地写小说了。

民国的作家为生活的贫困、沧桑而感到自豪，他们清楚个人经历对一个笔下有料的小说家的价值。源自社会底层的生活经历可以提供丰富的写作素材。他们中有的就出生在这样卑微的条件下，有的则特意去寻求这样的条件。如此一来，中国现代作家从事现实主义写作就是很自然的事了。他们不仅是腐败社会的改革者，许多人还曾是这个社会的受害者。草明在一段自述文字中写道：“在我九岁的头一半时间里，枕头很少是干的。我是一夫多妻的父亲的第二十三个孩子。我母亲是他的妾。十岁的我长得瘦弱苍白，看上去就像一个六岁的女孩。母亲常抱紧我，抚弄着我的辫子，摸着我皮包骨头的下巴，说‘做女人真难，她是那么的微弱’”白薇在她的一篇自传体小说里，描绘她自己跪在信奉儒教的父亲面前，胆怯地呜咽着，哀求他：“爸，给我个学习的机会吧，别让我

这么快就嫁人！”她被强迫同一个从未见过面、已经快死了的男人结婚。她遭受的痛苦实在残忍，她要忍受婆婆的酷刑，被剥光衣服毒打。后来她出逃了，背着父母去上学，但很快就被发现了。

艾芜是自愿选择流浪生活，而非环境所迫。他徒步从四川到云南，再到缅甸。一路之上，他在边境荒山里的路边客栈刷洗过马匹，甚至在仰光给和尚做过饭。他常因欠房钱而被房东逐了出来。但他始终带着一本果戈理的《外套》、一支钢笔和一瓶用麻绳拴着的墨水。无论走在荒山野岭，还是在清扫马粪、骡子粪，他都细心观察周围的生活。入夜，他便就着昏暗的油灯，把白天发生的事情记录下来。事实上，他的作品显示出超乎寻常更宽裕之人的独特风格。

研究中国现代小说可从几个角度切入。中国的区域小说从来没有发达过，部分原因是乱哄哄的生活使得中国的作家无法在一处地方宁静地居住下来。但许多中国作家仍很自然地依恋着他们最熟悉的乡村某个地方。在周文、沙汀和罗淑的作品中，你能看到四川的全部生活形态：邪恶的乡绅，无助的农妇，盐商和鸦片贩子。芦焚生动地描绘出家乡河南的村庄面貌：民兵，酒鬼和教会医院。《八月的乡村》的作者萧军及其前妻萧红选择从哈尔滨到大连的广阔地域作为写作的背景。萧军还写那里的游击战士，他自己也曾是其中一员。端木蕻良的小说自然描绘的是他老家内蒙古东部的情景。吴组缃的小说展现出安徽被蹂躏的佃户憔悴的面容和地主乡绅的贪婪。鲁迅小说里的所有人物几乎都出自不朽的阿Q诞生于斯、生活于斯、受苦于斯的未庄小镇。也有一些作家有时以外国为背景，一方面因为可以增强作品的异国情调，像许地山笔下的印度、巴金笔下的法国、艾芜笔下的缅甸，以及靳以所描绘的哈尔滨的白俄聚居区；另一方面也因为他们曾长期旅居国外，像郭沫若在日本就住过很长时间。

把作家按地域分类很明显是危险的，中国现代作家从一开始就不赞同地方主义。尽管鲁迅和周作人是兄弟，但他俩的生活观截然不同。在周作人的笔底，小溪泛起涟漪，竹林暗影浮动。而在鲁迅的作品中，你看到的是中国在颓废的道德传统桎梏中挣扎，但也有田园的怀旧情调在里边。作为形成作家风格的一个要素，这也是极为重要的。例如，沈从文承认湘西的辰河影响着他的整个文学生涯。他写道：

> 在我一个自传里，我曾经提到过水给我的种种印象。檐溜，小小的河流，汪洋万顷的大海，莫不对于我有过极大的帮助。我学会用小小脑子去思索一切，全亏得是水；我对于宇宙认识得深一点，也亏得是水。
>
> ……
>
> 到十五岁以后，我的生活同一条辰河无从离开，我在那条河流边住下的日子约五年。这一大堆日子中我差不多无日不与河水发生关系。走长路皆得住宿到桥边与渡头，值得回忆的哀乐人事常是湿的。至少我还有十分之一的时间，是在那条河水正流与支流各样船只上消磨的。

从汤汤流水上，我明白了多少人事，学会了多少知识，见过了多少世界！我的想象是在这条河水上扩大的。……

再过五年，我手中的一支笔，居然已能够尽我自由运用了。我虽离开了那条河流，我所写的故事，却多数是水边的故事。故事中我所最满意的文章，常用船上水上作为背影，我故事中人物的性格，全为我在水边船上所见到的人物性格。我文字中一点忧郁气氛，便因为被过去十五年前南方的阴雨天气影响而来，我文字风格，假若还有些值得注意处，那只是因为我记得水上人的言语太多了。

再过五年后，我的住处已由干燥的北京移到一个明朗华丽的海边。海既那么宽泛无涯无际，我对人生远景凝眸的机会便较多了些。海边既那么寂寞，它培养了我的孤独心情。海放大了我的感情与希望，且放大了我的人格。

（摘自《我与文学》，1934年，上海）

无论何种形态，水总能使我们的作家陶醉。最早用白话写作的女作家之一冰心，深受大海的影响。我们不是航海的国家，无法产生约瑟夫·康拉德[5]。但大海常是中国作家抒情的象征。冰心用大海象征母爱。她的童年是在胶州半岛一个风光如画的渔镇上度过的，常去海上航行。她在美国写回的《寄小读者》里，不断地歌唱赞美大海。她写道："夏日炎热的午后看山，就好像一群害病的牛黑压压地堆在眼前。但海总是可爱的，像有成千朵银亮的鲜花闪烁着微光。海是我的母亲，湖是我的朋友。"

在改革家庭体制的过渡期，两性之间的关系引起人们的强烈兴趣和争议。青年人逐渐意识到自主选择生活伴侣的天赋权利，但凭父母之命的传统婚姻尚未被打破。没有几个作家没在婚姻问题上碰到过麻烦，因此写文学自白成为一种时尚。郁达夫更是以情爱写作来发泄他的"性饥渴"。很明显，年轻一代心灵中有一种本能渴望，长期受到社会和伦理的否定或压抑。具有卢梭和陀思妥耶夫斯基某些特性的郁达夫，对这种渴望表达得最为率直。他在《五六年来创作生活的回顾》一文中说，文学作品都是作家的自叙传。这无疑适于他自身。他那本声名狼藉的《日记九种》里边记满了他所犯的罪恶。在每次罪恶之后，他都要用蒸汽浴来冲刷。他最有名的小说是分析一个病态青年的《沉沦》。在其中一章里他这样写道：

槁木的二十一岁！死灰的二十一岁！我真还不如变了矿物质的好，我大约没有开花的日子了。知识我也不要，名誉我也不要，我只要一个能安慰我体谅我的"心"。一副白热的心肠！从这一副心肠里生出来的同情！从同情而来的爱情！我所要求的就是爱情！若有一个美人，能理解我的苦楚，她要我死，我也肯的。若有一个妇人，无论她是美是丑，能真心真意的爱我，我也愿意为她死的。我所要求的就是异性的爱情！

这是对一个受压抑的灵魂多么率真、多么明确的描写！

郁达夫对青年一代的影响称不上好，但他的情感是真诚的，忠实而毫无节制地表达出了那个时代青年人特有的悲哀。可另一位选择几乎同

样主题的小说家却不能用同样的眼光来评判。张资平想必为他的机会主义深感后悔，也许他正在诅咒读者的忘恩负义。仅在十五年前，他制造的大量表现三角四边恋爱的小说，曾使全国的少男少女着迷。写作一定给他带来了可观的收入。他小说里的情节都一模一样，人物也似乎有着共通的长处，即性感。结尾恒定不变是悲剧性的，不是因爱上了已婚者而导致自杀，就是被父母突然发现怀了孕。这些老套子很快便遭到批评家的指责，甚至连最热心的读者都感到大失所望。

但是“家庭压迫”的问题没有完全解决，中国的读者从未对此失去兴趣。巴金小说的成功是最好的证明。他是位无政府主义者，以不妥协的精神道出了同代人的诸多不满。他在许多小说里写到矿工和革命者，最近的《家》、《春》、《秋》三部曲讲述的是四川一个家长制家庭的堕落以及年轻一代的反抗。巴金是位有信仰的作家，在法国留学时，成为法国大革命的热情支持者，并把谴责的精神贯穿于自己的作品。他写作不是因为兴趣，而是要抗议。但他从来不把自己假扮成一个艺术家。他在《电椅集》代序中写道：

> 我没有自由，我没有快乐。一根鞭子永远在后面鞭打我，我不能够躺下来休息。这根鞭子就是大多数人的受苦和我的受苦。当热情在我的身体内燃烧的时候，我那颗心，我那颗快要炸裂的心是无处安放的，我非得拿起笔写点东西不可。那时候我自己已经不存在了，许多惨痛的图画包围着我，它们使我的手颤动，它们使我的心颤动。艺术算得什么？假若它不能够给多数人带来光明，假若它不能够打击黑暗。整个庞贝城都会被埋在地下，难道将来不会有一把火烧毁艺术的宝藏。……我的文章是直接诉于读者的，我愿意它们广泛地被人阅读，引起人们对光明爱惜，对黑暗憎恨。我不愿意我的文章被少数人珍藏鉴赏。

这一对“为艺术而艺术”创作的非难，在《写作生活的回顾》这段话中表达得更直白：

> 我时常说我的作品里面混合了我的血和泪，这并不是一句诳话。我不是一个艺术家，我只是把写作当作我的生活的一部分。……我的生活是一个苦痛的挣扎，我的作品也是的。我的每篇小说都是我的追求光明的呼号。光明，这就是我许多年来在暗夜里所呼叫的目标。它带来一幅美丽的图画在前面引诱我。同时惨痛的受苦的图画，象一根鞭子那样在后面鞭打我。……固然人说生命是短促的，艺术是长久的。然而我却始终相信还有一个比艺术更长久的东西。那个东西迷住了我，为了它我甘愿舍弃艺术……

1927年革命军北伐以后，中国的作家变得更关注政治了。个人自省式写作已不时兴，小说家开始把视野转向更大的生活画面。茅盾是第一个尝试写纪念碑式小说的作家，他的《幻灭》、《动摇》、《追求》三部曲描绘了灾难岁月里那场流血的革命。像《上海风暴》的作者安德烈·马尔罗[6]一样，茅盾在武汉时是一名积极的党员，武汉是当时左翼政府的所在地。作为自然主义的热心信徒，他从现实中汲取素材。他的《子

夜》全景展现了中国城市和乡村的风貌，可说难度相当大，最独特的地方是生动描述了上海的证券交易。茅盾的有些小说趋向纪实，但他教会了青年一辈作家从现实生活中挖掘素材。

描绘民国生活的阴暗面也是作家普遍关注的一个主题。叶绍钧形象地描写学校老师和中年人，张天翼笔下多是公务员和孩子们。他的《洋泾浜奇侠》是我们最好的以流浪汉冒险为题材的小说之一。丁玲的创作广为人知，她的《在黑暗中》和《母亲》赢得了许多赞扬。凌叔华写了一些轻快的小说。她是陈西滢教授的太太，陈是一位知识渊博却非学究气的批评家。凌本人是位画家，她的学识进一步提高了她的创造性才能。我并不是想把所有的赞美都给予我们的女作家，但这里我还是不能不提一下林徽因，她的《九十九度中》等小说同样迷人。她是位多才多艺的艺术家，并像弗吉尼亚·吴尔夫一样钟爱实验小说的写作，记录生活的闪光一瞬，而非静止的“事实”。她能够调动潜在的知觉，从而深化了创作效果。

从1916年到1930年“左联”创建，任何形式的白话写作似乎都被接受了。而评判标准也似乎更重视语言而非艺术。革命文学期间，左翼批评家们更关心的是意识形态。杰出的左翼批评家王淑明这样写道他如何成为一名文学批评家：“我跟资本主义社会的美学理论说再见，开始认真研究社会主义。”当时，艺术被作为“技巧”轻易地摒弃。结果许多小说沦为干瘪的革命故事或某种政治信念的戏剧化演绎。

沈从文常被描述成一个文体家。确实，他的用字是如此深思熟虑，魅力无限。读他的小说，你的心境好像是在读诗。他承认他所要做的就是捕捉瞬间的感觉和形象，这些常常都是那么的新鲜，充满印象色彩。例如，描绘一个胆怯的年轻人，他会说他害羞得如一株小杏树。沈从文最本质的特色是，他的写作世界完全是他自己的：士兵、内陆公务员、湘西农民和边界地区的部落成员。他用生花妙笔把这些人物丰富的对话、独特的生活及其悲剧故事活脱脱地展现出来。他就是在他们中间出生和成长的，他当过士兵，还当过税收员，踏遍了那里的每一寸土地。他在《边城》（英文由项美丽和邵洵美合译，在香港发表于《天下月刊》）序文里坦露出自己的创作心态：

> 对于农人与兵士，怀了不可言说的温爱，这点感情在我一切作品中，随处都可以看出。我从不隐讳这点感情。我生长于作品中所写到的那类小乡城，我的祖父，父亲以及兄弟，全列身军籍：死去的莫不在职务上死去，不死的也必然的将在职务上终其一生。就我所接触的世界一面，来叙述他们的爱憎与哀乐，即或这枝笔如何笨拙，或尚不至于离题太远。因为他们是正直的，诚实的，生活有些方面极其伟大，有些方面又极其平凡，性情有些方面极其美丽，有些方面又极其琐碎……来提到二十年来的内战，使一些首当其冲的农民，性格灵魂被大力所压，失去了原来的质朴，勤俭，和平，正直的型范以后，成了一个什么样子的新东西。他们受横征暴敛以及鸦片烟的毒害，变成了如何穷困与懒惰！我将把这个民族为历史所带走向一个不可知

的命运中前进时，一些小人物在变动中的忧患，与由于营养不足所产生的“活下去”以及“怎样活下去”的观念和欲望，来作朴素的叙述。

总的来说，战争对中国文学尤其小说称得上祸中得福。抗战前，中国作家身上大多存在着两种令人惋惜的症状：他们或者缺乏对现实生活的坚实基础，或者所用辞藻离人民太远。战事把作家赶到生活中去了。他们第一次闻到稻田里的香味，看到迷人的橘林，感受到农村形形色色有意思的生活。最重要的是他们跟人民——居住在远离沿海、完全不曾欧化过的人民，有了直接接触。此外，他们还经历着战争，目睹战争的残酷以及人们在战时所表现出的英勇。因此，我们可以寄厚望于战后的中国小说家。

3. POETRY: AT THE CROSSROADS

The modern Chinese poet has appeared to be very fidgety. The question of "form" has been an eternal paradox. When the poet feels like a nightingale, he longs to get rid of any restraining patterns. But when he realizes that poetry, like painting, needs to be framed, his desire for acquiring such a frame is equally strong. So many poetical forms have been invented and tested, either by individuals or by groups of writers. So far, no conclusion of any kind has been reached.

Dr. Hu Shih may be called the first vernacular poet. His pioneer collection of verses was entitled "Experiments", which appeared early in 1920. The early poems were nearly all experimental. Often they were composed with the flimsiest feelings and appear uncouth in form. There was every attempt to democratize poetry but scarcely any to ennoble it. However, their merit lies not so much in versification as in their revolutionary audacity. Except for men of great genius, Chinese prosody had for centuries been a very rigid yoke. Its metrical rules had become mechanical and its images hackneyed. The Experimentalists emancipated Chinese poetry from the traditional bondage. But in doing so, they also eliminated the frontier between poetry and prose.

Another achievement of the Experimentalists was to broaden the range of poetical themes. In the past, Chinese poetry seemed to exist only to celebrate "the wind, the flowers, the snow and the moon". While this concentration on nature explains why many of our classical poets are still enjoyed to-day, even outside of China, it certainly did not suit the Republican Chinese, who wished literature to play its part in the social movement. There was also the strong desire to explore new pastures. With their prose-like poetry, they broke the traditional limitations of subject-matter, thus freeing future poets to write as the spirit moved them. A few poets addicted to notoriety filled their lines with political or erotic verbiage. But on the whole, nature's reflection on the human mind is still the favourite theme of Chinese poets.

This complete emancipation from form was soon found to be uncomfortable. Like a prima donna, poetry needed to be dressed, elegantly or magnificently. It began to feel ashamed of its nudity. A cloak was obviously in demand. Hsü Chih-mo, the leading poet of the Crescent Moon Society, and

himself well read both in English and Chinese poetry, started the movement to restore musical qualities to verse. He made various bold attempts to introduce English metres into Chinese poetry, from Elizabethan sonnets to Byronic stanzas. Mr. Harold Acton, in his unique volume of *Modern Chinese Poetry* (Duckworth, London, 1936), wrote:

> "When Hsü was consciously introducing the western rhapsody, he rushed to the antipodes of classical Chinese poetry, wallowing in overstatement and repetition and cumbering his lines with exuberant images which here and there ring false, here and there are exquisite. By exquisite we mean that they have that perfection of purely Chinese refinement which can only be communicated to foreigners by visual means, such as the finest examples of cut jade. Rhythmic vitality Hsü possessed; discipline, alas, he lacked."

The poets of the Crescent Moon Society, besides translating William Blake, Paul Valéry and other foreign masters, produced a number of original poets, such as Wen Yi-to, the author of *Dead Water*, Ch'en Mêng-chia and Pien Chih-lin. But the newly adapted frame became mechanical before it was well shaped. The symmetrical stanzas were sarcastically nicknamed "soya-bean-cake". The rigid sonnet seemed especially unpalatable to Chinese poets. So another mutiny began. This time, the impetus came from Walt Whitman and the French symbolists. Kuo Mo-jo, the leader of the Creation Society, revolted against it because his self-expression was strangled by such rigid forms. Instead of writing formal lines, weighing auditory and visual images of each word, he let his emotions pour forth in a passionate flood. For instance, he curses the modern metropolis thus:

> "O pulse of the great city!
> Throbs of life!
> Beating, blowing and shouting,
> Gushing, flying and jumping.
> The horizon is veiled in mist!
> My heart leaps out of my mouth!"

(*Modern Chinese Poetry*, p.87.)

The Creation Society first heralded romanticism, then socialism. In all activities, the versatile Kuo played the dominant part. During the romantic period", he assiduously translated the *Rubá'iyát*, *Faust*, and Shelley into verse. He wrote stories, plays, poems and literary criticism. The profuse passion in his poems did not please critics of the Anglo-American school,

such as Professor Liang Shih-ch'iu who preferred restraint and decorum to inspiration. But that did not prevent Kuo from becoming popular. He was, in fact, regarded as a hero. What he revolted against was not only the rigidity of form imposed on free spirits. Like Lu Hsün, he revolted against the extravagant delicacy and dandyism of the Ivory Tower clique. But when the ivory was replaced by cheaper material, while remaining a tower, popular support was gradually withdrawn. However, I cannot help thinking that the "Poems for Recitation" which have become so popular a product of the Sino-Japanese war are a revival of Kuo's poems in the twenties.

Another group of rebels against "form" was of an aristocratic type. They seemed to hate form as much as lucidity. Li Chin-fa, a sculptor who had studied in Paris, was a fervent disciple of the French symbolists. With his magical fingers, he tried to chisel some verses. The result was that he created a new type of poem, filled with exotic images, remote metaphors, and frequent allusions to European mythology. Since the success of the vernacular, he was the first writer who did all he could to mingle the vernacular with the classical. In the long run, Li's influence was beneficial. He extended the vocabulary of the "plain language". But what struck his readers most was his images. Often they were sensual, as in his "Tenderness":

> "With my presumptuous finger,
> I feel the warmth of your skin.
> The young deer went astray in the wood,
> While only the scent of the dead leaves remains."

Sometimes his lines showed a great tendency to contemplation, tinged with morbidity. He was very fond of antiquity, unlike most of the early rebels. However, the antiquity that he buried himself in was more European than Chinese. In "Never to Return", he begins:

> "Go o, my lad,
> To the cities of yore
> —They sleep in the night of centuries.
> The streams sing monotonous songs,
> Like the sighs of an Oriental poet.
> Their hearts were like rocks, Thickly covered with moss..."

Though Li himself went back to sculpture, this type of poem continued to develop. Combined with the later influence of Paul Valéry and T. S. Eliot, it flourished through the works of Tai Wang-shu, Pien Chih-lin and Ho Chi-

fang. They maintained free verse as a form and the imagery of impressionism. The poetic content, however, became even more elusive. They are sometimes so suggestive that only readers capable of very far-reaching associative powers could read between the cryptic lines. Liu Hsi-wei, the impressionistic critic, made many successful adventures among the souls of contemporary authors. He tried, in his gaudy style, to interpret Pien's "Round Treasure Casket". Seizing the stanza:

> "Never enter any watchmaker's shop,
> To hear your youth nibbled away.
> Never go to any antique shop,
> To buy the trinkets of your grandpa..."

The adventurer imagined that the "treasure casket" symbolized the present, a bridge over the past and the future. When he reached the stanza:

> "The moon has adorned your window,
> And you somebody's dream,"

he concluded that the poet interpreted life as an embellishment. Poets usually are too aloof to speak to critics. But Pien could not contain himself. In an open letter to the sweating critic, he told him that he was "completely mistaken". The poet was thinking of relativity.

That Chinese readers complained of the growing ambiguity of the new poetry was only natural. Sometimes they blamed Mr. Paul Valéry, sometimes Mr. T. S. Eliot. The Japanese warplanes destroyed our people and buildings. They have also destroyed that ivory tower which the more privileged intellectuals in China had been building. In many ways, the aesthetes had helped to deepen the vernacular literature which was founded by people more socially than artistically conscious. The attempt to deepen it was natural and had been beneficial up to a point. But in view of the vast illiterate population, it was undoubtedly an oasis. The War has killed much literature for the introvert, but it has widened the horizon, and breathed vitality fresh from the good earth.

叁　诗歌：在十字路口

中国现代诗人显得非常烦躁不安，诗的“形式”是个永恒的难题。当诗人感到自己像是只夜莺时，他就希望摆脱任何拘束他的形式。然而当他意识到诗也像绘画一样，需要有个框框时，他同样强烈地希望回到这样一个框框。许多个人或流派发明并实验着如此多样的诗的形式，但到目前为止，并没得出什么结论。

胡适博士称得上是第一位白话诗人，早在1920年就出版了先锋诗集，起名叫《尝试集》。早期的白话诗几乎都带有实验性，这些诗常常感情肤浅，形式笨拙。人们用尽全力使诗歌大众化，但少有人努力抬高诗的地位。与其说白话诗的自身价值在诗律上的尝试，倒不如说就在其大胆革命性。除了伟大的天才，中国诗歌的韵律多少世纪以来一直被视为一种极其死板的束缚。它的格律规则是那么的机械，诗的意象也很陈腐。新诗实验者们把中国诗从传统的束缚中解放出来，但他们这样做，也消除了诗歌和散文之间的界限。

实验主义者的又一成就是拓宽了诗歌主题的范围。过去，中国诗似乎只为吟咏“风花雪月”而存在。我们许多旧体诗人因着这“风花雪月”，时至今日在国内外都为人所传诵，但它确实已不能适应希望文学在社会运动中起作用的民国人的需要。他们带着探索新领域的强烈愿望，以散文化的诗歌创作，打破了主题思想上的传统限制，为后来的诗人解开束缚，笔随心走。当然，有些嗜恶成瘾的诗人诗行中充斥着政治或色情的冗长诗句。但总的来说，人类头脑对自然界的反映还是中国诗人最喜欢表达的主题。

人们很快发现这种诗歌形式上的彻底解放并不自在。就像歌剧的首席女演员，诗歌同样需要优雅或华丽的装扮。它开始对裸体感到羞臊，显然需要一件外套。新月社代表诗人徐志摩，熟谙英国和中国诗歌，提出诗歌创作还是要回到音乐性上来。他作了许多大胆尝试，把英国的韵律诗，从伊丽莎白时代的十四行到拜伦时代的诗歌，介绍给中国诗歌界。哈洛德·艾克敦先生在他那卷独特的《中国现代诗》　（伦敦达克沃思1936年出版）里写道：

> 在徐志摩有意识地评介西方的狂想曲时，他已经走到了精致绝妙的中国古典诗歌的反面。他沉迷于夸张和重复，字里行间过度堆砌意象，有的虚假，有的则精巧。说它们精巧，是指具有纯粹中国式的风雅，只能以视觉化的手段表达给外国人，比如最精美的玉雕。徐志摩掌握了韵律的生命力，可是，天哪，他缺乏约束。

新月社诗人在翻译威廉·布莱克[7]、保罗·瓦莱里[8]和其他外国著名诗

人的诗作之外，还产生了几位原创诗人，如《死水》的作者闻一多、陈梦家和卞之琳。但新的诗歌框框在成形前显得那么机械，对称的诗节被讥讽为“豆饼”。严格的十四行似乎特别不适合中国诗人的口味。于是，又一轮反叛开始了。这一次，动力来自沃尔特·惠特曼[9]和法国象征派诗人。创造社的领导人郭沫若反抗十四行，是因为他的自我表现被这种严格的形式窒息了。他不拘泥诗行的形式，不估量每一个词听觉和视觉上的意象，而是任情感山洪暴发般喷涌。例如，他这样诅咒现代大都会：

大都会的脉搏呀！
生的鼓动呀！
打着在，吹着在，叫着在，
喷着在，飞着在，跳着在，
四面的天郊烟幕朦胧了！
我的心脏呀，快要跳出口来了！[10]

创造社最先预示了浪漫主义的到来，然后是社会主义。多才多艺的郭沫若在所有活动中都起着主导作用。在“浪漫派”时期，他刻苦翻译出《鲁拜集》、《浮士德》和雪莱的诗。他写小说、戏剧、诗，也写文学批评。像梁实秋教授那样的英美派批评家，并不喜欢他诗里的充沛激情，他们更喜欢灵感的节制和得体运用。但这不能妨碍郭沫若成为受欢迎的诗人。事实上，他被视为英雄。他所要反叛的不仅仅是影响自由精神表达的僵硬的形式。像鲁迅一样，他反叛的是象牙塔派的矫揉造作的时髦。当象牙被廉价的材料取代时，塔虽仍是塔，却已逐步失去大众的支持。然而，我禁不住想，抗日战争使“朗诵诗”如此受欢迎，真是二十年代郭沫若诗的复活。

另一派“形式”反叛者具有贵族气派，形式与简洁都是他们所嫌恶的。在巴黎学过雕塑的李金发，是法国象征派的热心信徒。他要用他的魔指雕塑出诗行。他创造出一种新形式的诗，充满了异国情调的意象和久远的隐喻，并时常借用欧洲神话典故。自从白话写作以来，他是第一位尽其所能把白话和文言混在一起的作家。从长远来看，李金发的影响是有益的。他扩展了这种“无雕饰的语言”的词汇量。最触动读者的，是他的意象，这意象常是肉欲的，如《温柔》：

我以冒昧的指尖，
感到你肌肤的暖气，
小鹿在林里失路，
仅有死叶之声息。

有时，他的诗又显露出冥想的趋向，染上病态的气味。与大多数早期叛逆者不一样，他非常喜欢古代。但他专注的这个古代是欧化超过中

国化，在《永不回来》诗中，他这样开头：

与我远去，孩子，
在老旧之中古的城里，
——他们睡眠于世纪之夜，——
流泉唱着单调之歌，
如东方诗人之叹息。
他们岩石似的心房，既生满苔痕。

虽然李金发回到他的雕塑中了，但这种形式的诗歌继续发展。在后来戴望舒、卞之琳、何其芳的诗作中，更兼具了保罗·瓦莱里和T.　S.艾略特的影响。他们保持了自由韵的形式以及印象主义的意象。但诗的内容变得更难以把握，有时暗示性太强，以致只有具备相当联想能力的读者才能读出隐藏在诗行间的寓意。印象主义批评家刘西渭多次成功解读现代作家的心灵之歌。他试图以其绚丽的文风破译卞之琳的《圆宝盆》：

别上什么钟表店
听你的青春被蚕食，
别上什么古董铺
买你家祖父的旧摆设。

冒险家想象那“圆宝盒”象征现在，一座横跨过去与未来的桥。当他读到下面一节：

明月装饰了你的窗子，
你装饰了别人的梦。

他断定诗人是把生活喻为一种装饰。诗人通常都是远离批评家，不会说什么。卞之琳可不克制自己，他在致这位吃力不讨好的批评家的一封公开信中，告诉他，他想的“完全错了”。诗人想的是事物的相对性。

中国的读者抱怨新诗的多重解释是很自然的。他们有时责怪瓦莱里，有时责怪艾略特。日本轰炸机摧毁了我们的人民和建筑，还摧毁了享有特权的中国知识分子一直建造着的象牙塔。社会意识高于艺术意识的学者创造了白话文学，唯美主义者则以多种方式使白话文学得到深化。他们这种深化的努力是自然的，在一定程度上也是有益的。但由于中国未受教育的人口太多，它无疑只能是沙漠中的一块绿洲。战争毁掉了大量的内省文学，但也拓宽了文学的范围，带来富有泥土气息的鲜活生命力。

4. DRAMA: A LOUDSPEAKER

It is no exaggeration to say that the modern drama is a complete departure from the traditional drama. Plays with realistic scenery and dialogue in the daily spoken language are the orthodox form to-day, but were entirely foreign some thirty years ago. The conventional stage art was the equivalent of opera and ballet combined. Unlike other forms of vernacular literature, the modern Chinese drama originated in adaptations of European plays. The first experiment was *La Dame aux Camélias* in 1907, followed by *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The choice was not difficult to explain. Young Chinese were then suffering acutely from parental oppression, especially where marriage was concerned, while they were bound to sympathize with the downtrodden Negroes. When a foreign play, with all its exotic appeal, reflected our own thoughts so much better than our native plays, it naturally provoked enthusiasm. The same was true of the popularity of Lady Gregory's *Rising of the Moon* after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. But it was Ibsen's plays which led the young Chinese dramatists to the highway—the road of social reform.

The influence of Ibsen was not confined to our dramatists. As a social critic, an uncompromising rebel against conventions, he won the heart of every Chinese writer. For a time, "problem plays" shared the vogue of "problem novels". From this Norwegian dramatist, Chinese writers learned that the highest mission of the drama was to expose the defects and reveal the absurdities of existing society. One playwright apologetically wrote in an epilogue: "Although this play is worthless in technique, I am glad to say that it has dealt with marriage and rural bankruptcy, the two cardinal problems of the day." In those days, it sounded convincing enough. The People's Theatre, in its opening announcement in 1921, declared: "The age to look down upon drama as a form of recreation has definitely passed. The modern theatre is a wheel to push forward social progress and a microscope to detect the diseases of our environment. It is a pitiless mirror in which all the seamy sides of our community life should be reflected."

In the course of transformation, dualism was unavoidable. Many early vernacular poems were really paraphrases of classical verse. The essayists did not even bother to make a thorough change in diction. Stock phrases used in the classics appeared from time to time, betraying the tenacity of human

inertia. In the first period of modern Chinese drama, roughly between 1907 and 1915, the new plays were known as "reformed plays"(*wên ming hsi*). It was just the very beginning of the breakaway from an age-long tradition. The vital force of this period was the Spring Willow Society formed in 1907 by Chinese students in Tokio. Later, they toured the Yangtse valley and innumerable dramatic societies sprang up all over the country.

Most of these societies were anxious to make the new drama a success; at the same time they wanted it to serve as a loudspeaker for the emancipation movement. The blend of these twin motives was somewhat clumsily managed. Unfortunately, having broken off with the operatic tradition, the sole virtue of the new drama they grasped was the employment of plain dialogue. Except for some theatrical improvements, such as the ban on the shouting of "bravo, bravo!" in the middle of a play, which was the custom of old-fashioned audiences, the contribution of *wên ming hsi* to dramatic art was negligible. In fact, they sometimes even disposed of any written text. Actors and actresses were barely told the plot and what respective roles they were to impersonate. This resulted in the divorce of *wên ming hsi* from literature, and the more conscientious members left the group and became serious students of drama, such as Ou-yang Yu-chi'en, who later became actor, director and playwright. The rest went into vaudeville which still survives in modern Shanghai, producing endless "serial plays", such as *Fire over the Red Lily Abbey*, with demi-gods flying about the stage.

During this period Chinese dramatists seemed to be hesitating at the crossroads. The "National Drama" school argued that our traditional operatic singing and symbolic scenery were really unique in the world. They were impressionistic and rhythmic, while Western realistic plays were merely mimic shows. At the other extreme, there were those who advocated abolishing the old form. Their contention was that singing could not possibly express the complicated feelings of modern man and that there was too much feudalism in the conventional drama. One thorough-minded critic curtly remarked that before establishing a republic, we had to overthrow the empire. Hence, to establish the new drama, all opera houses in the country should be closed at once. But there was yet a third group who, while admitting that traditional operas conflicted with the spirit of realism which was the backbone of vernacular literature, thought the traditional drama should be preserved as a form of entertainment for particular audiences and as a historic art for the students. This view was first expressed by the late Professor Liu Fu

who must have seen the glories of Western opera in Paris. The Academia Sinica and other cultural institutions have done much to preserve and develop this traditional art. The visits of Mei Lan-fang to America and Moscow and of Ch'êng Yen-ch'iu to Europe were great events. But the orthodoxy of modern literary drama has definitely been established.

The decline of *wên ming hsi* taught the country a valuable lesson. To build a solid foundation for the new drama, we needed playwrights. Another reaction to their failure was the attempt to make drama entirely nonprofessional, so as to dissociate themselves from the vaudeville stage. "We refuse to be directed from the booking-office!" they solemnly declared. Many plays have been written by Hsiung Foo-hsi, Ch'ên Ta-pei and Hung Shên. *The Three Rebellious Women* of Kuo Mo-jo was a great success in combining modern ideas with historical themes. The late Hsü Chih-mo collaborated with his wife in a beautiful symbolic play, *The Pien K'un Hill*. Ting Hsi-lin's pleasantly satiric plays show the influence of A. A. Milne. Indeed, most dramatists, with the "problem play" in mind, worked quite independently of their audience. The settings were often laid in some corner of the social inferno, a polygamous family or a village with a villainous squire. A play frequently meant a torrent of yelling and complaint against social evils. Then, the exposure and the cold but undramatic analysis of the social evil concerned, often in the form of a sermon. The more naive ones often ended with an idealist, holding a burning torch as he gazed with shining eyes towards the distant but rosy future.

In this immature stage, dramatic education was already progressing. The "New China Dramatic Society" in Peking had a membership of two thousand with forty-eight affiliated organizations. The Peking College of Fine Arts founded its drama department in 1925 and the Jên Yi Drama School, though enjoying a brief life of ten months only, was perhaps thefirst school to devote itself to drama proper. These worthy attempts sowed seeds for the future Little Theatre Movement. A number of successful film actors were trained at that time. Another interesting development was the popularity of women appearing with men on the stage. It probably began with Hung Shên's adaptation of *Lady Windermere's Fan* in 1924. Before that, the part of Nora in Ibsen's *Doll's House* was always played by a man and it was regarded as an honour to be chosen for the role. In 1926, the adaptation of James Barrie's *Dear Brutus* scored a success. The Education Board of Kiangsu Province were so pleased that they addressed an encomium to the producer

acknowledging that "it is a very valuable play, with subtle philosophical implications, teaching men to preserve their original personality".

The amateur dramatists succeeded in ridding the theatre of its mercenary character, but they also deprived it of the power to entertain. Admittedly, the monotony of a certain type of play bored even the most enthusiastic of its patrons. In 1921, Wang Chung-hsien experienced a blow. He produced *Mrs. Warren's Profession* in Shanghai to a non-student audience. The performance was conspicuously advertised in the newspapers, but the booking was barely half that of an ordinary variety show. And when Mrs. Warren began to relate her life story to Vivi in the second act, several fashionable ladies in the front stalls left the theatre—and not without grumbling. The good-humoured producer afterwards analysed his audience thus:

> "Some wholly failed to understand what was happening on the stage. Some understood but found the plot lacking surprise. There were those who had moral objections to Mrs. Warren herself, and others who disliked the excessive repetition of such new terms as the equality of the sexes. To those who had seen the play acted abroad, our acting left much to be desired."

As a conclusion, Wang suggested a compromise. He wanted to have plays "with simple but progressive ideas, dramatized in rather complex plots. Thus we can assure the intelligentsia that we are on the right track while sparing the non-intellectual audience from yawning."

When the Northern Campaign of the Revolutionary Army reached the Yangtse in 1926, Kuo Mo-jo and many other dramatists joined the steadily growing force. Drama again served as a loudspeaker. This was followed by the immense popularity of the *Nan Kuo* Movement. T'ien Han, the leader, wrote tens of plays during their itinerary performances up and down the Yangtse. They were mostly very sentimental plays. *The Tragedy on the Lake*, for instance, dealt with a frustrating love a air. It was often rumoured that a number of suicides had been caused by it. The production of Oscar Wilde's *Salome*, with the courageous and talented Miss Yü Shan, was an outstanding success. Its violent erotic colour had a special appeal for the anti-Confucian younger generation of that time. But there was yet another foreign play which gained widespread popularity, namely, *Roar China!*, a Soviet Russian play about the massacre of Wan Hsien.

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 did much to stimulate dramatic activities in China. Under a strict Government ban on anything anti-Japanese at the time, playwrights had to express their patriotism in a veiled

form. The Amateur Theatre in Shanghai made great strides in all aspects of the stage. Chen Baichen's *T'ai P'ing Rebellion* was quite exceptional. They also produced a number of classical plays of the West, such as Gogol's *Inspector* and A. Ostrovsky's *Storm*. Their production of *Romeo and Juliet* was also remarkable. In the past years, there had been a number of Chinese who went abroad to study stage design and other branches of theatrical technique. The Amateur Theatre rallied their combined efforts. The most amazing thing about their success was that the plays were mainly left as in the original, except the dialogue, which was rendered into Chinese. Compared with the audience of *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, Chinese theatre-goers seemed also to have become infinitely more receptive to foreign forms.

But the most fundamental progress still lies in playwriting. In this respect, there is no doubt that Ts'ao Yü achieved the peak. Being a celebrated amateur actor in North China and a professor of literature, he happily blended stagecraft with scholarship. Beside this, he is one of the most original and brilliant writers of the day. At Tsinghua University, Peking, he acquired a remarkable knowledge of European dramatic tradition, from Greek tragedies to the lyrical realism of Eugene O'Neill. His *Thunderstorm*, published and produced in 1936, was a memorable event. Technically it was the first full-length play, with a prologue and an epilogue superadded. But it was the dramatic force of this unusual tragedy that achieved an unprecedented popularity. Hundreds of performances of this play were given by the Travelling Dramatic Society and it was very soon adapted for the films. This was followed by *Sunrise* and two others. Ts'ao Yü was a profoundly conscientious playwright. He demonstrated how one can benefit from Europe without being Europeanized. Yet he has not fully succeeded in reconciling his artistic with his social consciousness. After being accused of fatalism in *Thunderstorm*, he effectively stressed his optimism in the last act of *Sunrise*, when he made the workers sing as the sun rises. But even in the portrayal of character, he has shown unsurpassed dexterity.

When the war against Japanese aggression broke out in 1937, drama was soon bundled into the publicity-van and was again employed as a loudspeaker. Patriotic repertory companies and the dramatic section of the political department of China's M. O. I. toured through the villages and towns of the interior. The attempt at experimenting with stage art dwindled and the writing of pure drama has not been greatly encouraged. Drama has also served as an effective weapon in time of national crisis in China since the

Revolution of 1911. For the duration of the war, the function of drama was to awaken and arouse the people. As most performances were held in the open air, plays with the minimum of costume and practically no scenery were preferred for practical reasons. This led to the creation of street-plays, the best known of which is *Lay Down Your Whip!*. To serve their country at this crucial moment, dramatists not only sacrificed their technical equipment, often they had to risk their lives on tour behind the Japanese lines. But they realize that the country depends on them to maintain contact with Chinese people living in the guerrilla areas. One of these plays, written by Miss Ting Ling for the Chinese peasants, was translated into English and produced early last February at Santaniketan, the University of Peace, founded in Bengal by Tagore. Its title is *Reunion*. Professor Aaronson, producer of the play, wrote an article after its performance, saying: "We have not chosen this play just because of its political content. It has strong human interest. It is an episode of contemporary China. It may happen every day in the areas occupied by the Japanese troops. We do not wish to foment hatred towards the Japanese, but we hope to make it manifest how aggression can destroy the well-being of humanity.

肆　戏剧：扩音喇叭

毋庸夸张地说，现代中国话剧与传统中国戏剧截然不同。如今，背景逼真、使用日常语言对话的话剧是公认的标准形式，但这在三十年前却是非常陌生的。传统的舞台艺术相当于歌剧和芭蕾的混合体。与其他白话文学形式不同，现代中国话剧源于对欧洲戏的改编。最早的实验是1907年《茶花女》和《黑奴吁天录》的上演。这一选择不难理解。当时中国的年轻人深受父母的压制，尤其在婚姻问题上；与此同时，他们同情被蹂躏的黑奴。当外国戏以其异乎寻常的魅力，比我们自家的戏更能反映我们的思想时，自然就引起共鸣。同样，日本侵略东北之后，格雷戈里夫人的《月亮上升》也火了起来。然而把年轻的中国戏剧家引上社会改革大道的，是易卜生的戏剧。

易卜生不仅影响了我们的戏剧家，作为一个不屈反抗传统的社会批评家，他赢得了每一位中国作家的心。曾有一度，“问题剧”同“问题小说”一样流行。中国作家从这位挪威戏剧家身上学到了戏剧的最高使命在于揭露现行社会的弊端和荒谬。有位戏剧家在一篇跋文里写道：“尽管这出戏技巧上不足取，但我要说，它涉及了婚姻和农村破产这两个当今最基本的问题。”在当时，这已足够叫人信服了。人民剧院在1921年揭幕时宣告：“把戏剧贬成是一种消遣娱乐形式的时代已经成为过去。现代剧院是推动社会进步的车轮和发现社会病症的显微镜。它是一面无情的镜子，我们社会生活中所有丑恶的一面都将被反射出来。”

在转型期，双重性是难以避免的。许多早期的白话诗真的就是古诗的转译。随笔作者更是无心彻底改变措辞，古文中常用的固定词句不时出现，这也暴露了人类惰性的顽固。1907年到1915年是现代中国话剧的发端期，以“文明戏”著称的新戏开始脱离传统戏。由中国留日学生1907年在东京成立的春柳社，是这一时期最具活力的一股力量。后来，他们在长江流域巡回演出；紧接着，全国各地成立了无数的戏剧社团。

这些社团大多一方面希望新戏成功，一方面又想让新戏充当思想解放运动的扩音喇叭。但这两个目的的结合多少有些拙劣。不幸的是，脱离了歌剧式的传统以后，他们所把握的新戏的唯一特征就只剩下平实的对话了。除了一些剧场的改进之外，如禁止在演出中间像老派观众似的喊“好，好！”，“文明戏”对戏剧艺术的贡献实在微不足道。事实上，他们有时连脚本也没有，男女演员很少知道剧情和各自所要扮演的角色。这导致“文明戏”从文学中脱离出来，结果尽责的成员离开社团，开始认真学习戏剧，像欧阳予倩，后来成为一名演员、导演和剧作家。其他人则跑去做歌舞杂耍表演，像《火烧红莲寺》那种永无休止的“连续剧”，

半人半神地在舞台上满天飞，现代上海还能见到这种表演。

这一时期的中国戏剧家似乎处在十字路口，迟疑不决。“国剧”派提出，我们传统的歌剧式演唱和象征性的布景在世界上确实独一无二，那么富有音乐的韵律，富有印象主义的氛围，而西方的现实主义戏剧只是些模仿的表演。但反对派提出取消旧的形式又走向了另一个极端。他们认为，现代人复杂的情感不可能通过演唱表达出来，而且，传统戏里有太多封建主义的东西。一位极端的批评家直言，建立共和，得推翻帝制，因此，要建立新戏，全国的老式剧场应立即关门。还有第三股力量，在承认传统戏与白话文学的支柱——现实主义精神相矛盾的同时，认为该把传统戏作为娱乐特殊观众的形式，作为一种教学的历史艺术保存下来。这一观点最早由已故的刘复教授提出，想必他在巴黎目睹过西洋歌剧的辉煌。“中央研究院”和其他一些文化机构已经为保护和发展传统艺术做了许多，梅兰芳访问美国和莫斯科、程砚秋去欧洲都是大事件。然而，现代文学戏剧的正统观念无疑已经建立了起来。

“文明戏”的衰落给我们上了深刻的一课，要为新戏建立牢固的基础，我们需要剧作家。对“文明戏”失败的另一反应，是试图让新戏完全非职业化，以便把它从杂耍舞台上分离出来。他们庄严宣告：“我们拒绝受票房支配！”熊佛西、陈大悲和洪深写了许多戏。郭沫若的《三个叛逆的女性》把现代思想和历史主题糅合在一起，获得很大成功。已故的徐志摩和他的妻子合写出一部优美的象征剧《卞昆冈》。从丁西林愉快的讽刺剧可以看出A. A.米尔恩[11]的影响。确实，大多数剧作家是头脑中装着“问题剧”，完全独立于观众而创作。背景常被安置在一些社会地狱似的角落：一个一夫多妻制的家庭、一个有着腐败乡绅的村庄。一场戏常常意味着连珠炮似的揭露和对社会邪恶的控诉，接着是对该社会邪恶的暴露以及冷酷而非戏剧化的分析，通常是宣教式的。更天真的剧结尾处常是一个理想主义者手擎火炬，眼睛放光，凝视着远方光明的未来。

在这样未成熟的舞台上，我们的戏剧教育已经取得了进步。北京的“新中华戏剧协社”已经有四十八个附属机构和二千多个个人会员。1925年，国立北京艺术专门学校成立了戏剧系，而只存在了十个月的“人艺戏剧专门学校”或许是中国最早的纯戏剧院校。这些有价值的努力为后来的“小剧场运动”撒播下种子。后来许多成功的电影演员正是在那时培养的。男女同台合演是又一有趣的进步，好像始自1924年洪深根据《温德米尔夫人的扇子》[12]改编的《少奶奶的扇子》。在此之前，易卜生《傀儡家庭》中的娜拉一角总是由男演员反串，能够担当此角是一种荣誉。1926年，根据詹姆斯·巴里[13]《亲爱的布鲁特斯》改编的《第二梦》获得成功。江苏省教育厅非常满意，给予高度赞扬：“这是一出有

价值的戏，富有微妙的哲学内涵，教给人们保持自己原初的个性。”

业余剧作家们成功剔除了剧院的营利性质，但同时也剥夺了其娱乐能力。坦白地说，只上演某种类型单调的戏，即便最热心的支持者也会厌烦。1921年，汪仲贤遭受了一次沉重打击。他在上海为非学生观众上演《华奶奶之职业》[14]，报纸上登出显著的演出广告，但订票连一场普通杂耍表演的一半还不到。当第二幕华伦夫人开始向维维讲述自己的生活故事时，几位坐在前排的时髦太太吵吵嚷嚷地退场了。好幽默的汪仲贤后来这样分析那些观众：

> 有些人是完全不知所云，有些人看明白了，可觉得情节不够离奇。有些人在道德上是不赞成华伦夫人的，而另一些人并不喜欢过分强调像性别平等这样的新词。对那些在国外看过此剧演出的，我们的演出又差得太远。[15]

汪得出一个妥协的结论，他要“拿极浅近的新思想，混合入极有趣味的情节里面，编成功叫大家要看的剧本。以后的方针——我们演剧不能绝对的去迎合社会心理，也不能绝对的去求知识阶级看了适意”。

1926年，北伐革命军到了长江边，郭沫若同许多剧作家一起毅然加入日益壮大的队伍。戏剧再次充当了扩音喇叭。这之后，“南国艺术运动”开始受到普遍欢迎。“南国社”领导人田汉为在长江沿岸的巡回演出写了十几个剧本，这些大多是感情戏。例如，《湖上的悲剧》涉及的是一宗失败了的爱情事件，常有谣传说，一些人因看了这出戏而自杀。由于余珊小姐热情泼辣富有天赋的表演，使奥斯卡·王尔德《莎乐美》的演出获得极大的成功。它以其强烈的性爱色彩，对当时反对孔儒的青年一代具有极强的吸引力。还有一出外国戏赢得了广泛的关注，这就是一位苏联剧作家根据万县惨案写成的《怒吼吧，中国！》。

1931年日本入侵东北，极大地刺激了中国的戏剧活动。那时，政府严令禁止任何反日的行为，剧作家们只好以隐含的形式来表现爱国主义。上海业余实验剧团在舞台装置各方面迈进了一大步，在上演陈白尘的《太平天国》时收到独特效果。他们还演出过一系列西方的古典戏，像果戈理的《钦差大臣》、A.　奥斯特洛夫斯基的《大雷雨》，《罗密欧与朱丽叶》也非常出色。过去几年，一些国人曾去国外学习过舞台设计和戏剧技巧其他学科，业余实验剧团将这些人聚集起来，他们最令人惊异的成功，是最大限度地保持了外国戏的原貌，除了将对话译成中文。与观看《华奶奶之职业》的观众相比，现在的戏迷已变得更易接受外国戏剧的形式。

但最根本的进步还是在剧本的创作上，就此而论，曹禺无疑达到了顶峰。作为一名华北地区知名的业余演员和文学教授，他兼具舞台技巧与渊博学识。同时，他还是当时最具原创性和最富才华的作家之一。他

就读清华大学时，学到了欧洲戏剧传统方面的丰富知识，从希腊悲剧到尤金·奥尼尔的抒情现实主义。1936年发表并上演曹禺的《雷雨》，是中国戏剧史上的重大事件。严格地说，它是第一部多幕剧，有序幕和附加的尾声。但使它受到空前欢迎的，是这出不同寻常的悲剧所产生的戏剧力量。《雷雨》被巡回剧团演出了上百场，并很快被改编为电影。紧接着，曹禺又创作出《日出》和其他两部戏。他是位极有责任感的戏剧家，他从欧洲戏剧汲取养分，而没有被欧化。但他没有使他的艺术和社会意识达到完全融合。“《雷雨》被指责有宿命论的表现之后，他在《日出》的最后一幕显然强调了一下乐观主义，”让工人们在日出的时候唱起了歌。在巧妙娴熟刻画人物性格这一点上，中国戏剧界没人能够超越他。

1937年抗战爆发，戏剧很快成为宣传先锋，再次充当起扩音喇叭。爱国的轮演团体和中宣部政治处戏剧组深入内地乡村和城镇进行巡回演出。人们逐渐减少舞台艺术方面的尝试，纯戏剧创作不太受鼓励。从1911年辛亥革命以来，每逢国家危难关头，戏剧便被当作一件有效的武器。战争旷日持久，戏剧的功能是唤醒和激发民众。绝大多数演出都在露天进行，考虑实际需要，戏装和舞台布景越少越受欢迎。街头剧的创作应运而生，最著名的是《放下你的鞭子！》。在民族危机时刻，戏剧家们要为国效力，不仅要牺牲掉艺术技巧，而且在敌后巡回演出，常要冒生命危险。但他们明白，国家得靠他们维持与生活在游击区的人民的联系。丁玲为中国农民写的一出街头独幕剧《重逢》，还被译成英文，于去年2月在泰戈尔创建的孟加拉和平大学上演。这出戏的制作人阿伦森教授在演出之后撰文指出：“选择这出戏，并非只因为它的政治内容，它具有强烈的人文情调，是现代中国的一个小片段。这样的事在日军占领区每天都在发生着，我们并不想煽动对日本人的仇恨，只想让大家明白，战争是如何毁掉人类的和平与安宁。”

5. ESSAY: CHISEL OR SWORD

Of all forms of modern writing, the nearest to the Chinese literary tradition is the essay. This remark is by no means a compliment. The Chinese for "essay" is either *san wen*, meaning loose, non-metrical writing, or *hsiao p'in wen*, meaning little appreciation; both of which imply the absence of strict form. There are no epics in Chinese poetry and our national music has often been described as melody without harmony. Many of our novels tend to be documentary; they record life rather than reproduce it. There is a distinct lack of architectural beauty in Chinese literature; perhaps the flatness of our continent is to blame, perhaps stoical Confucianism. The essay, however, is admittedly suited to the kind of individualism fostered partly by Taoism throughout the ages. One of our leading essayists defines the modern essay as "the quintessence of personal literature, with all elements submerged in the soul of the creator". So the Chinese writer feels completely at home in the essay.

This loose form of writing is sometimes considered as a "primer" for the literary novice. While editing the Literary Supplement of *Takungpao*, in Tientsin, Shanghai, and Hong Kong, I received a large number of manuscripts daily. Of these, usually more than half were essays, sketches or "reportage" as they were later fashionably called. These were mostly descriptions of daily happenings, often reminiscent in character. They were excellent stepping-stones for an ambitious novelist, as miniature painting is to full-length canvas. But when they became a vogue, they tended to breed idleness. Now, in war time, few writers can sit down and concentrate on a novel, which requires vision and imagination to materialize. Hence, reportage appears to be the most popular form of writing at present. It is not only a convenient form for the writer, but easy reading for the common people. When an essay had to be shortened, the term "wall writing" came into being.

The most common form of essay in classical literature is the "scrapbook" type, and it still remains a favourite to-day. In *Miscellaneous Notes of a Mountain Trip*, a writer may freely jot down notes about his rambles, the caves he explored, some casual remarks about a book he read or some fleeting fancy while taking a meditative walk. "Letters" used to be another kind of miscellaneous writing until Miss Ping Hsin wrote her *Letters to My Young Readers*. They were contemplative and lyrical, and written with

a deliberate plan. In 1924, Yü Ta-fu unconventionally wrote *An Open Letter to a Literary Youth* which was really a subtle satire. He understandingly analysed the situation of a college graduate who was unable to find a job—a very common predicament in those days. In one passage he eloquently exhorted him to rob, for "what is booty to the present society will be your fair share in the future one".

Even in this native art, influence from the West is not to be discounted altogether. The late Liang Yü-ch'ün, translator of *Selected English Essays*, borrowed Jerome K. Jerome's *Idle Thoughts of an Idle Fellow* for the title of a collection of his own essays which were clearly influenced by *Elia*. Li Kwang-t'ien is an admirer of W. H. Hudson and a lover of "a simple and intimate world". The vogue of "poems in prose" was definitely set by Turgeney. Even Lu Hsün, who generally appeared too intellectual to write lyrical compositions, could not help adopting this form for his *Wild Grass*. The influence of Baudelaire led young Chinese essayists into more elaborate labyrinths.

There are two types of essayists in China, the hermit and the knight-errant. The hermit essayist employs his pen as a sculptor does his chisel. He is often self-centred and sentimental. At heart, he is probably a Narcissist. He emotionalizes a bamboo hut he inhabited several years ago, or mourns over the death of a bird which gave him pleasure. The subject matter is often trivial personal recollections, lyrically woven, the very fruit and mainspring of human nostalgia. In the first number of *Jên Chien Shih*, a magazine containing mostly essays, Dr. Lin Yü-tang, the editor, announced that his magazine would cover all subjects, "vast as the universe and trifling as a fly". One critic remarked that they caught the fly but completely missed the universe. To the knight-errant, an essay is a simple medium. It is a sword when the enemy is near and a spear when he is afar. While the chisel is good at chipping and carving, the primary virtue of a sword is sharpness. Critical essays, whether on social or literary subjects, never failed to be sardonic. Essays of appreciation do exist, but when an essay is used as a weapon, it must hit something. The interesting fact is that these two types of essays are best represented by writers who happened to be brothers—namely, Chou Tso-jên and Lu Hsün.

Being an admirer of Havelock Ellis, a painstaking translator and a fine scholar, Chou Tso-jên began as a modern rebel in a mandarin robe, calm, leisurely, but at first wholeheartedly supporting everything progressive. He

did a great deal to introduce the literature of lesser-known countries in China, from the Baltic to the Balkans. But soon his individualism drove him towards the path of a perfect hermit. From his famous "Bitter Rain Studio" he wrote as an antiquarian and a connoisseur of wine, tea and fine letter-papers. At the time when the entire nation was enraged by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, he built himself a little oasis, surrounded by the aroma of the past. To him, the importance of life had become a mere collection of souvenirs. He is one of the rebels who was unfortunately tamed by harsh reality. It might be a comfortable retreat for a middle-aged man, but its effect on Chinese youth was extremely unhealthy.

In the complete works of Lu Hsün published posthumously, there are four volumes of fiction but fourteen volumes of critical essays. Some critics think the genius of Lu Hsün was wasted in the writing of those essays. And since the subject matter of most of them has an ephemeral interest, it is doubtful how long they will live. But Lu Hsün never sought immortality in such compositions. Being the chief moving spirit of his age, he could not refrain from attacking things and people he thought rotten. His very first volume of critical essays, *The Hot Wind*, contained a number of curt, poignant essays satirizing superstition, mental platitude, concubinage and all the sloppy side of our national life in the beginning of the Republic. He disapproved of writers who painted rosy pictures in the midst of darkness, who "have no courage to face the reality of existing society, but coyly welcome the magpie (Chinese symbol for good luck) and shun the owl (ominous), choosing only agreeable things to distract themselves". Lu Hsün demanded of Chinese writers the courage "to laugh, to weep, to curse and to strike. In this damned society, all these are matter for essays." His works represent the robust, analytical and satirical types. Decorativeness and lyricism were what he most despised. "At this hour when the windstorm roars outside and tigers and wolves are clamouring for our lives, who is in a mood to appreciate a coral ear-ring or an emerald ringlet! Even if our people desire some visual delight, they wish to see the great solid mansions standing firm on its foundations against the windstorm." There is no doubt that such critical essays written in an intellectual mood have since become a very popular form of writing. Most literary magazines have several such "editorial paragraphs" on the front page, and after the death of Lu Hsün, a bimonthly called *Lu Hsün Wind* appeared in Shanghai. "Wind" is also metaphorical Chinese for "style".

The classification of essays may be closely paralleled with that of

painting, viz. landscape, human figures, flowers, birds and insects, with the sole exception of "ideas". Of these, the favourite subject is landscape. There are many sacred mountains in the four corners of China and almost all over lake districts. Many delightful essays were devoted to them, either in Chinese ink, such as those by Yeh Shao-chün and Chu Tze-ch'ing, or in Western water-colour, such as Hsü Chih-mo, Lu Li, and Li Ni. There has been a tendency towards "surrealism" in essays before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, such as Ho Chi-fang's *The Painted Dream* which won the literary prize of *Takungpao* in 1936. But on the whole most of them are very like miniature paintings, that is, simple sketches of what one sees, remembers or thinks.

Decorative beauty had always been one of the cardinal virtues of traditional "pien" essays. In Ho Chi-fang's *The Painted Dream* one sees the assimilation of the native art and the "poem in prose" introduced from abroad. Being a student of philosophy, Ho's essays naturally have strong contemplative colour. In an autobiographical essay, entitled "The Essay and I", published in the Literary Supplement of the *Takungpao*, he revealed that he was seeking a new kind of lyrical prose, wrought of pure harmony and beauty. His Preface to *The Painted Dream* began thus:

> "'Are not our visual and auditory senses most miserably limited?' 'Yes. One summer, I was walking with a colour-blind man on the farm. Casually I plucked a red flower for him and he said it was blue.' 'And did you grieve for him?' 'No, I was really sorry for myself.' 'Then you must believe in mysteries!' I am indeed fond of imagining things remote—some nonexistent people or names of nations not to be found on the map. For many days and nights I have lost myself completely in a fresco and walked into it. The wall was white but the portals were of gold. I did not know whether it was the door to Heaven or to Hell, but it opened once for me.'
>
> 'Then your outlook on life...?'
>
> In life, I am only moved by its expressions. I am like a wisp of floating cloud. I like this to serve as a footnote for all my essays...'"

Ou-yang Ching, a critic, remarked that Ho's attempt to make his works dance like poetry instead of walking like prose was a mistake. It only made them sound awkward. "Ho's use of artificial elements in his essays has been too lavish. We may sometimes be intoxicated by his array of pigments, designs and allusions. But the fascination of words alone cannot make a work live. It is he himself who has fallen into the labyrinth of words; hence, he lacks what we expect of him most, namely, vitality. While reading his works, I think of a certain biographer's remark on the Pre-Raphaelite poets: poor splendid wings!"

But it did not take long for Ho to acquire that vitality. One year after the publication of *The Painted Dream*, the war broke out. Ho was compelled to leave Tientsin where he was teaching. He returned to his home in Ssŭchuan. The style of his *Return of the Native: A Diary* appeared far more lucid. Instead of the "expressions of life", meaning probably the abstract side only, he saw the incompetent rural quacks, the unjustly exploited peasants, and found that "this community formed by human beings is actually a dim, dirty and depressing little hell. I must write a book to prove that all other animals can make a better life than we human creatures do. Ideals, love, beauty and joy are what we find in books. They make us feel tender when sad and tearful when happy. But they are rare in the actual human world. I used to be accustomed to misery and squalor as a child, but by reading books, a golden door of illusion opened to me. After that I did all I could to avoid and forget the realities of this world. I loitered in a non-existent world. There must be an awakening after every dream, but mine comes rather too abruptly."

Shortly after, this author of *The Painted Dream* accompanied a group of political workers to the front. They walked several thousands of miles on foot across the plain of north China, seeing more misery, more stupidity and the indescribable fortitude of the Chinese peasants, whose heroism and endurance could not fail to move any sensitive writer. He came back with a volume entitled *The New Shansi*. The change in style and outlook was even more striking than in his *Diary*. His complete transformation is profoundly symptomatic of the effect of Japanese invasion on modern Chinese literature. The war has toughened the spirit of our writers and cemented their relationship with the soil and the people.

伍　散文：雕刀还是利剑

在所有写作形式中，最接近中国文学传统的是散文。这么说，绝不是恭维话。中文的“散文”是指散而无韵的文体，或叫小品文，没有严格的形式限制。中国诗里没有史诗性的作品，我们的国乐常被描述成是没有和声的旋律。我们的小说趋于记录，记录生活而非再现生活。中国文学明显缺乏建筑美，也许应归罪于我们生活的大陆过于平坦，也许要怪禁欲主义的儒家学说。然而，散文完全是一种在一定程度上受道家滋润的个人主义的写作。有位著名散文家把现代散文界定为私人文学的典范，蕴含着创作者灵魂深处的所有元素。因此，中国作家写起散文来，感觉完全舒松、畅快、闲适。

文学青年有时会把这种松散的写作形式当成“创作入门”。我在天津、上海、香港编《大公报》文艺副刊时，每天收到大量来稿，通常有超过一半的稿件是散文、短篇小说或（照后来时的叫法）特写。它们多带有回忆性质，主要描述日常所发生的事。对一位有雄心的小说家，这不失为很好的锻炼写作的方法，就像小画稿是为大幅油画作准备。但它一旦成了时尚，就会滋生出懒惰和闲散。现在，正值战时，没有几位作家能坐下来潜心小说创作，小说需要想象力和创造力。因此，特写成为目前最流行的写作形式，作家写起来方便，普通大众也易读。当散文的篇幅不得不缩短，就出现了“墙报”一词。

古典文学里最通常的散文形式是“随笔”，这在今天仍然流行。一个作家会在一本《山行杂记》中随意地匆匆记下自己的行踪，探过的洞穴，对读过的一本书的偶感，或漫步遐思时的瞬间灵感闪现。到冰心写出《寄小读者》，“书信体”被当成一种作家喜欢的杂记形式，这种沉思而抒情的文体，也是作家经过深思熟虑写成的。1924年，郁达夫打破常规，写过一篇《给一位文学青年的公开状》，这实际上是篇睿智微妙的讽刺文。他富有同情心地分析了一位没能找到工作的大学生的情势，当时这样的窘境很普遍。他雄辩地劝告那位学生去抢劫，因为“在现在的社会里称为赃物，在将来进步了的社会里，就会成为你的应有之物”。

即便在这纯国粹的艺术里，也不能低估西方的影响。《英国随笔选》的译者，已故的梁遇春曾借用J.　K.　杰罗姆[16]的《懒惰汉的懒惰想头》作为他一篇散文的题目。他的散文明显受了《伊利亚随笔集》的影响。李广田非常欣赏W.　H.　赫德森[17]并钟爱他那个“简单而个人的世界”。“散文诗”体的写作，则是屠格涅夫的影响。就连鲁迅，通常好像过于理性写不了抒情文章，也禁不住用散文诗的文体写了《野草》。波德莱尔的影响更把中国年轻一辈散文家引向精巧的迷宫。

中国有两类散文家，隐士和斗士。隐士散文家把手中的笔用作雕刻家手中的雕刀，常常是以自我为中心和多愁善感的，在感情深处大概就是一个纳克索斯[18]。他会为几年前住过的一间竹舍而动情，会为给他带来过快乐的小鸟的死而哀怜。内容上常是琐碎的个人回忆及人类怀乡病的抒情编织。主要登载散文的刊物《人间世》的编者林语堂博士，在开卷首期宣布，杂志内容上包罗万象，大到宇宙，小到飞虫。有批评家说他们是逮到了飞虫，却失掉了宇宙。而对斗士散文家来说，一篇散文只是一个简单的媒介，是刺向近敌的利剑和掷向远敌的投枪。雕刀擅长精雕细刻，利剑的品格却是锋利尖锐。他们的散文，无论批评社会还是文学抒写，必定是嘲弄和讽刺。他们也写小品文，可一旦把散文当武器来用时，就一定要有目标。有趣的是，鲁迅和周作人兄弟俩正好是这两种类型写作的最好代表。

作为哈夫洛克·蔼理斯[19]的崇拜者、辛勤的翻译家和出色的学者，周作人开始是以身穿长袍的现代反叛者面貌出现的，从容、悠闲，全身心支持一切进步的事物。他译介了从波罗的海到巴尔干半岛中国读者鲜知的国家的大量文学作品。但很快，他的个人主义把他带上隐士之路。从他在著名的“苦雨斋”所写的文章看，他像是一位古玩商，品鉴酒、茶和上好信笺的行家。当全民族对日本人侵略东北表现出极大愤慨的时候，他却在营造自己的一小块绿洲，陶醉在往事的芳香里。生活的意义对他来说就是收集纪念品。他是那些被严酷的现实不幸驯服了的反叛者之一。对一个中年人，这或许是一种舒适的隐退，但它对中国青年的影响却是极其消极的。

在鲁迅死后出版的全集里，有四卷小说，散文、杂文则有十四卷。有批评家认为鲁迅把才华浪费在那些杂文写作上了，因为就其所涉及的内容来看多只能引起读者短暂的注意，便怀疑它们能否长久。但鲁迅从未在他的杂文中寻求永生。作为他那个时代的主要精神支柱，他从不克制自己去攻击凡他认为腐朽的人和事。《热风》是他较早的一本杂文集，文章大多简短而辛辣，对封建迷信、腐朽思想、一夫多妻和民国初年所有污秽肮脏的社会生活的诸多层面，进行无情地讥讽。鲁迅反对身处黑暗却只顾粉饰太平的作家，批评他们“不敢正视社会现象，变成婆婆妈妈，欢迎喜鹊，憎恶枭鸣，只拣一点吉祥之兆来陶醉自己”。鲁迅要求中国作家要有胆量把对这个病态社会的嘲笑、悲叹、诅咒和攻击写进散文。他的散文正是这种尖锐有力、深刻解剖和无情讽刺的代表。他最鄙视那种雕饰性、抒情性的散文写作。他说：“在风沙扑面，虎狼成群之时，谁还有闲工夫，玩琥珀扇坠，翡翠戒指。即要悦目，当有大建筑，坚固而伟大，用不着雅。”鲁迅这种理性心智下的杂文创作，无疑已成为一种非常受欢迎的写作形式。大多数文艺刊物都在卷首加了几段

这类“编者按语”。鲁迅去世后，上海还新创刊一份双月刊《鲁迅风》，“风”在中文里亦指“风格”。

散文的分类或许与中国的绘画相似。除了独特的“写意画”，有风景、人物、花、鸟、虫等。这里最受喜爱的是风景写作。中国遍布名山大川，描绘自然景致的散文很多，有如水墨画的，如叶绍钧、朱自清；也有如西洋水彩画的，如徐志摩、陆蠡和丽尼。抗战爆发前，还有一种“超现实主义”的散文写作，如1936年获得《大公报》文艺奖的何其芳的《画梦录》。但总体而言，它们大多数都像袖珍画，只是简单地描绘出个人的所见、所忆与所想。

中国传统的“骈”文，最具有散文的装饰美。在何其芳的《画梦录》里，我们能看到这种本土艺术与译介的西方“散文诗”的融合。何其芳学的是哲学，他的散文自然带有强烈的哲理色彩。他在发表于《大公报》文艺副刊的自传性散文《我与散文》中透露，他正在寻求一种具有精致和谐之美的新型抒情散文。他在《画梦录》代序中这样开头：

“你说我们的听觉视觉都有很可怜的限制吗？”

“是的。一夏天，我和一患色盲的人散步在农场上，顺手摇一朵红色的花给他，他说是蓝的。”

“那么你替他悲哀？”

“我倒是替我自己。”

“那么你相信着一些神秘的东西了。”

“我倒是喜欢想象着一些辽远的东西，一些不存在的人物，和许多在人类的地图上找不出名字的国土。我说不清楚有多少日夜，像故事里所说的一样，对着壁上的画出神遂走入画里去了。但我的墙壁是白色的。不过那金色的门，那不知是乐园还是地狱的门，确曾是为我开启过而已。”

“那么你对于人生？”

“对于人生我动心的不过是它的表现。于我如浮云。我喜欢它是我一句文章的好注脚……”

批评家欧阳竞认为，何其芳尝试让他的文字变成“跳舞的诗”，而不是“走路的散文”，是个错误，只会让它们听起来就别扭。“他人工的成分太多，我们会一时沉醉于他‘文字的彩色，图案，典故的组织’，可是单纯文字的吸引无法让作品鲜活。他‘坠入了文字的魔障’，忽略了我们所最重视的——生命力。读他的作品，使我想起一位传记家描写先拉斐尔派诗人的话：可怜的翅膀，美丽、辉煌，却飞不起来。”[20]

但没过多长时间，何其芳就获得了这种生命力。《画梦录》出版一年之后，抗战爆发。何其芳不得不离开任教的天津，回到四川老家。《还乡日记》在文风上更趋于明朗、清澈。不同于那种抽象的“生活的表现”，他在四川见到许多误人的乡下庸医，看到农民遭受着不公平的剥削，发现“这由人类组成的社会实在是一个阴暗的、污秽的、悲惨的地狱。我几乎要写一本书来证明其他动物都比人类有一种合理的生活。

理想、爱、品德、美、幸福，以及那些可以使我们悲哀时十分温柔、快乐时流出眼泪的东西，都是在书籍中容易找到，而在真实的人间却比任何珍贵的物品还要希罕。当我是一个孩子的时候，我已完全习惯了那些阴暗、冷酷、卑微。然而后来书籍给我开启了一扇金色的幻想的门，从此我极力忘掉并且忽视这地上的真实。我沉醉、留连于一个不存在的世界。然而既是梦便有一个醒觉时，而我又醒觉得太快”。[21]

不久，这位《画梦录》的作者又陪同一组政工人员到了前线，徒步行走上千公里，横跨中国北部平原，更多地看到中国农民的悲惨、愚钝及其难以描述的坚韧不拔的精神。他们的英雄气概和忍耐品质足以感染任何一位敏感的作家。何其芳根据此行写成的《新的山西》，在文风和观点上比《还乡日记》有了更惊人的变化。何其芳的完全转变是日本侵华对中国现代文学影响的深刻表征。这场战争使我们的作家精神变得坚强，同时还强化了他们与土地和人民的关系。

6. TRANSLATION: AN ETERNAL VOGUE

Early in 1919, Professor Lo Chia-lun wrote that the literary revolution was the direct result of China's contact with Western culture. In historical perspective, this is undeniably true. The writing of nineteenth-century European thinkers inspired individual awakening in China. The unequal treaties imposed on us by the Western powers set flame to Chinese nationalism. These in fact are the principal changes, internal and external, which took place in China in the last fifty years or more. In stirring up the revolt against the traditional style, Wordsworth's Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* was a vital source of inspiration. It upheld the vulgar tongue. Above all, many contemporary writers in China are admirers of Western masters. Many of them do not know any foreign language. Hence, the translation of Western literature has been a work of paramount importance from the beginning of the new movement.

Besides the influence of English literature itself, the unchallenged popularity of the English language in China has had beneficial results. Many European masterpieces otherwise unavailable even to Chinese translators, such as Ibsen and Hans Andersen, were retranslated from English versions. It has often been said that Russian novels enjoy a preeminent popularity in China. They have certainly exerted great influence over our writers. This is not difficult to understand. Nineteenth-century Tsarist Russia, with all its social backwardness in contrast to a conscientious, progressive intellectual class, was similar to the situation in China during the civil war. Russian novels, especially those of Tolstoy, ponderous in size, moralistic in view, often dealing with family tragedies, naturally had a special appeal for Chinese readers. But throughout the last thirty years there have been only two or three people in China who translated Russian literature from the original. Most of them were retranslations from English versions such as those of Mrs. Constance Garnett.

In this little essay I have given a rough sketch of Western influence over the various fields of writing in modern China. Our individual writers have been perfectly teachable. In a collection of autobiographical essays, *Literature and I,* published in 1935, nearly half the contributors appeared to

be self-appointed pupils of certain Western masters. Hsiao Mo, the pseudonym of a well-known translator, began by describing his first contact with Western literature:

> "It was like a visit to a strange exotic world, or tasting a glass of curaçao. The particular flavour lured me. My first contact was the *Sketch Book of Washington Irving*. I loved its quaint imagination, and the subtle diction..."

The first contact of Hsi Ju, a story-writer, was with Turgenev's *Father and Son*. "Almost at once, it excited my interest. I read it over and over again, seeing through it the ominous sign of the collapse of the 'father' generation of Tsarist Russia and the courageous scepticism of the 'son' generation. The story was so poignant and so full of life that for once I realized the greatness of art."

Curiously enough, our earliest translator of Western literature was unfamiliar with any Western language. Lin Ch'in-nan was one of the old diehards who stubbornly opposed the literary revolution. Being a classical scholar himself, his translations, though often inaccurate, read extremely well in Chinese. He had a collaborator who translated to him verbally. Between 1890 to his death in 1924, he had translated some one hundred and thirty Western works, including *La Dame aux Camélias,* Scott's *Ivanhoe, Robinson Crusoe*, and the *Pickwick Papers*. Sketchy and faulty as they were, they were the first arrivals of European literature in China. Lin's translation of Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* aroused so much curiosity among the young Chinese that many rushed to learn English in order to read the original plays. The fact that Chinese readers without the faintest knowledge of England shed tears in those days over the misfortunes of David Copperfield and laughed at jolly Sam Weller proved that great literature has no barrier. Since then, we ceased to regard Europe as a great armament factory.

Up to 1932, we can safely say that most translations were enthusiastically but casually done. Our knowledge of the literary history of the world was also scanty. It was then solely a matter of personal interest and often the work overlapped. As a result, some books had several translations while many classics were left untranslated. To translate the complete works of certain established authors has always been the ambition, such as Kuo Mo-jo's Goethe and J. M. Synge, Chao Ching-shen's Chekov, and Li Ch'ing-ya's Maupassant. Nevertheless there are limitations to personal effort and few achieved their aim. Subsequently there was a tendency to turn to the authors of the moment, such as Upton Sinclair for a time, and later, Mrs. Pearl Buck.

It was realized that this state of a airs was far from satisfactory. Early in

1918, Dr. Hu Shih suggested that Western classic should be translated systematically. He proposed to allot five years for each period, during which a series of well-chosen works, say 100 novels, 500 short stories, 300 plays and works of 500 essayists were to be translated. However. various circumstances hindered this excellent plan until a few years before the outbreak of the war. Early in the last decade, two plans were launched. One was the China Foundation Series of English Literature under the editorship of Dr. Hu Shih. It contained the retranslation of Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, his *Return of the Native* by Professor Chang Ko-jo, Liang Yü-ch'un and Yuan Chia-hua's novels of Joseph Conrad, Pien Chih-lin's *Queen Victoria* of Lytton Strachey, and the complete works of Shakespeare by Professor Liang Shih-ch'iu which war has interrupted. The other attempt was Professor Cheng Chen-to's *World Classics*, a selection which covered European literature in general. The first series, for instance, included Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*, Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Gogol's *Dead Souls*, Dostoevsky's *Brothers Karamazov*, and Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*. Unlike previous translations, they were made by well-chosen scholars who undertook their task not by virtue of zeal alone but by their competence in both languages. Nearly every work was preceded by a lengthy Introduction and followed by a carefully compiled glossary. For instance, in translating Hardy's *Return of the Native,* Professor Chang devoted nearly one-quarter of the two huge volumes to detailed annotations of such things as the English wild flowers appearing in the novel. He also made an ingenious attempt to translate Wessex dialect into the dialect of his home in western Shantung.

After finishing the Victorian and Georgian classics, our translators will certainly seize the first opportunity to transplant the finest flowers of contemporary English literature. We know there are no more Robin Hoods on the highways of the British Isles and the children are far better taken care of than in Dickens's days. But we wish to know all this more profoundly and in greater detail. We must read the living authors of contemporary England. Conversely, great changes have taken place in China, even in the last five years. There is one side of national life which is static, and another which is fluid—the mood, the attitude, and the inner voice of a people. This fluid side is generally expressed in the contemporary writing of that people.

The war which the Japanese expected to be so profitable has brought them little benefit. But it has dealt a heavy blow to the general cultural activities in China. The Rising Sun Bombers destroyed the last copy of

Shakespeare in a college library. The shortage of paper made publication almost unattainable. And constant air raids on the undefended towns are hardly conducive to the translation of quiet scenes in a novel. War has made a mockery of everything. But it has also made us realize that we need better understanding among nations, to appreciate mutually the agonies, the problems and the aspirations of each nation. The Chinese can no more understand England through *Robinson Crusoe* or *King Lear* than the English can hope to know of dynamic China if they persist in poring over our T'ang poets, who died long before Alfred the Great burned his cakes. Here, I close this short account with a faint protest, and a fervid hope.

陆　翻译：永恒的时尚

早在1919年，罗家伦教授就写道，文学革命是中国接触西方文学的直接结果。历史地看，无可否认，这是正确的。十九世纪欧洲思想家的著作启发了中国的个性觉醒。西方列强强加给我们的不平等条约，点燃了中国民族主义的火焰。事实上，这些内部外部的重要变化，在过去五十年或更长的时间里就已经发生了。华兹华斯的《抒情歌谣集》序言在激励反叛传统形式的过程中，成了灵感的重要源泉，因为它提高了平民语言的地位。总之，许多现代中国作家都是西方文学名家的赞美者、敬慕者，他们大多不懂外文，因此，从新文学运动一开始，翻译西方文学就是一项至关重要的工作。

除了英国文学自身的影响，英语在中国无可比拟的受欢迎程度也使其大受裨益。许多欧洲其他语种的文学名著，中国的翻译家不易得到，像易卜生和安徒生，就都是从英文本转译过来的。俄罗斯的小说在中国特别受欢迎，并对中国作家产生了深远影响，这其实不难理解。十九世纪社会落后的沙皇俄国同富有良知和进步思想的知识阶级形成了鲜明对照，这种情形和军阀混战时期中国的情形十分类似。俄国小说，尤其托尔斯泰那些从道德视角涉及家庭悲剧的长篇巨著，自然对中国读者产生了强烈的吸引力。但在过去三十年的时间里，只有两三个译者是从俄文直译，其他则大都是从像康斯坦斯·加尼特夫人[22]的英文译本转译的。

我只想在这篇小文里，就西方文学对现代中国文学创作不同领域所带来的影响，做个勾勒式的描述。我们那些富有个性的作家，绝对是可教的。在1935年出版的一本自传性散文集《我与文学》里，有近一半的撰稿者都自封是某位西方著名作家的学生。以萧牧为笔名的一位著名翻译家，这样描述他最早接触西方文学时的情景："就像进入一个奇特的具有异国风情的世界，或者品尝一杯库拉索酒，一股特殊的风味引诱了我。我最先接触的是华盛顿·欧文的短篇小说，他那奇特的想象和绝妙的用词叫我着迷。"

小说家西居接触的第一部西方文学作品是屠格涅夫的《父与子》，"它马上就引起我的兴趣。我一遍又一遍地读，读透了沙俄时期'父'那一代的衰败和'子'那一代勇敢的怀疑主义态度。小说是如此的深刻，富有生命力，我由此一下子意识到艺术的伟大。"

奇怪的是，中国最早翻译西方文学的人竟不懂西方语言。林琴南是顽固反对文学革命的保守的死硬派之一。尽管他的翻译常常出错，但作为一位传统学者，他的中译文相当出色。他是靠一位向他口译的合作者来翻译的。从1890年到他去世的1924年，他一共翻译了一百三十余部西

方名著，包括《茶花女》、司各特的《艾凡赫》、《鲁宾逊漂流记》和《匹克威克外传》。这些译著虽然简略，错误很多，它们可是最早到达中国的欧洲文学。林琴南翻译的《吟边燕语》（后通译为《莎士比亚戏剧故事》）在中国青年中引起很大好奇，许多人为能读莎剧原作，争相学起了英文。事实上，对英国社会毫无了解的中国读者，照样会为狄更斯笔下大卫·科波菲尔的不幸遭遇而流泪，为《匹克威克外传》中快活的撒姆·惠勒而捧腹大笑。这说明伟大的文学是没有国界障碍的。从此，我们也不再把欧洲当成一座军工厂。

一直到1932年，我们可以确切地说，大多数翻译都倾注了译者极大的热情，但目的性不强。我们对世界文学史的了解也很缺乏，翻译主要是凭个人兴趣，因此，常常出现重复翻译。结果，许多古典名著还没有翻译，而有的书已有了好几个译本。要翻译某位自己选定的作家全集总是需要雄心和毅力，像郭沫若之于歌德、J.　M.辛格，赵景深之于契诃夫，李青崖之于莫泊桑。然而，个人的努力毕竟有限，也很少有人能达到目的。不过现在又有转向翻译当前作家的趋势，如厄普顿·辛克莱，尔后是赛珍珠。

翻译在总体上远没有达到令人满意的程度。早在1918年，胡适博士就提出，翻译西方古典文学要有组织有系统地进行。他建议以五年为一个周期，选择一百部长中篇小说、五百篇短篇小说、三百部戏剧和五百位散文家的作品来翻译。但直到抗战爆发前几年，多变的环境使这项卓越的翻译计划搁浅。上一个十年倒是着手实施过两个计划，一是胡适博士主编的《世界文学丛书》，包括由张谷若教授重译托马斯·哈代的《德伯家的苔丝》和《还乡》，梁遇春、袁家骅重译约瑟夫·康拉德的小说，卞之琳重译利顿·斯特雷奇[23]的《维多利亚女王》，还有梁实秋教授后因战争曾中断翻译的《莎士比亚全集》。二是郑振铎教授主持的欧洲文学选本《世界文库》，第一辑包括托尔斯泰的《安娜·卡列尼娜》、尼采的《查拉图斯特拉如是说》、果戈理的《死魂灵》、陀思妥耶夫斯基的《卡拉马佐夫兄弟》，以及夏洛特·勃朗特的《简·爱》。与以前的翻译不同，这次是选择那些不光有热情，还要精通中英两种语言的出色学者来翻译。几乎每本译著前都有长篇序言，书后附有详细的集注。例如，张谷若教授翻译的那两大卷哈代的《还乡》，有近四分之一的篇幅是注，像小说中写到的英国的野花，他都加了注。他还富有独创性地把韦塞克斯[24]方言译成了他老家山东的土话。

翻译完维多利亚时代和乔治时代的古典名著，我们的翻译家自然会不失时机地移植当代英国文学最美的鲜花。我们知道，英国的公路上不会再有罗宾汉，英国儿童也远比狄更斯生活的时代受到更好的照料。但要想深入细致地了解英国，就得读还在世的当代英国作家的著作。另一

方面，中国在过去五年里就已经发生了巨大变化[25]，民族生活有静止的一面，也有流动的另一面，这个民族的情绪、态度和内部声音都在变。这种流变的一面通常是会在那个民族的当代作品中得到表现的。

　　这场日本人原以为可大捞一笔的战争，并没给他们带来多少好处，然而对中国的文化活动则给予了沉重打击。涂着太阳徽的轰炸机毁灭了我们图书馆的一切藏书，其中包括莎士比亚的戏剧。纸张的奇缺使得出版困难万分。在无防御的城市里经常听到防空警报，当然无助于翻译一部小说中的幽静景象。战事嘲弄了一切。但也正是战争，使我们感到国与国之间深入了解的必要。我们需要知道每个国家当前的苦恼、问题和向往。中国不能通过《鲁宾逊漂流记》或《李尔王》来了解英国，正如英国也不能通过唐诗来了解富有活力的当代中国，毕竟唐代诗人生活的年代远远早于烤糊蛋糕的阿尔弗雷德大帝统治的时代。这里，我以微微的抗议和热切的希望来结束本书。

The Dragon Beards Versus the Blueprints

龙须与蓝图

Meditations on Post-war Culture

战后文化的思考

傅光明　中译

1. SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE MACHINE
—Its Treatment in the English Novel and Its Effect on Modern Chinese Intellectuals

The writer and the machine are natural antagonists. The machine by its nature is a persistent threat to every form of craft, and literature, whatever "progress" we achieve, must remain hand-made. So we should not be surprised when we find writers denouncing the machine: what we must discover is whether it is a disinterested hatred, and therefore noble, or whether it is simply egotistical. The former springs from reason, while the latter can only be sentimental.

Not long ago I had an argument with someone who has even less experience of housekeeping than I have. We were arguing whether or not the invention of the vacuum cleaner was a good thing. As she was an enemy of all machines, naturally she condemned the vacuum cleaner without reserve. But for two springs and three autumns I have watched my Cambridge bedmaker, a kind sweet soul, kneeling on the floor for hours on end, brushing the carpet, with the ash and the dust choking her nostrils. So I supported the vacuum cleaner as I would support anything that relieves the repetitive or sordid drudgery of my fellow-beings. But I should of course give the arguments of the other side. My friend said that if she had a house of her own, she would have an intimate feeling for it—a passionate love for every bit of paint and woodwork. She said that the introduction of a machine would harm everything that is valuable. I asked her what she would do if she had a house like Orlando's, with 365 rooms, which the master and mistress could not hope to clean themselves, however passionately they loved it? She said, rather obstinately, that she would expect a maid to love the house as much as she did. All this is not very convincing, but what it does demonstrate is that efficiency and intimacy are both relative. In this connection, I must quote from a broadcast given by Dr. Margaret Mead, an American anthropologist, who came to Britain to lecture on the differences between the British and the Americans. She said:

"When I was being shown over some premises in a south-western British city, by an American and an Englishwoman, a counter was pointed out to me. 'We serve ten thousand meals a month over that inconvenient little counter,' said the American. 'Isn't it wonderful?' said the Englishwoman, thinking of the people serving. 'Isn't it ridiculous?'said the American, thinking of the counter. Because to an American the moral thing to do is not to alter your character and cope, but to go to work and alter the circumstances, fix, not cope. We believe that the good life is easier of attainment if there are no practical difficulties in the way, and all our labour-saving devices which seem to you either luxuries or else likely to soften the character, we regard as ways of setting people free to do other things.

"This means that there is a fundamental difference in the attitude towards things, towards possessions, towards money, in Britain and in the United States. For us, things are just means to an end, a way of freeing a mother to spend more time with her children, or a teacher to spend more time with pupils, a way of whisking father home in a hurry so that he has more time to play baseball with the kids. We are interested in getting things done quicker, more efficiently, so that people may be more human afterwards. But you are interested in making the job itself human; women in Britain are so occupied in a loving cherishing care for someone else that they don't stop to think whether they are saving themselves or not. As an American said to me recently, 'I'll always think of Britain as a country in which someone is lovingly bringing you a cup of tea up three flights of stairs.' When we talk about eliminating the stairs, by lifts or electric tea kettles or even making the family come downstairs all at the same time for breakfast, you think perhaps that we mean to eliminate the love which carried those devoted feet up those century-old stairs."

Well, in China that cup of tea would probably be brought to you from the next street.

Ever since the Industrial Revolution, writers in England have been concerned with the effect of the machine on human life. Samuel Butler, Wells, Kipling, Bennett, Forster, Huxley, D. H. Lawrence, Virginia Woolf—all these have dealt with its impact.

Suspicion of the machine probably began soon after the Industrial Revolution. With my insufficient knowledge of English literature, I dare not dwell too much upon history. Certainly one senses a horror of industrial squalor in Dickens, though he was too robust a writer to philosophize about the machine. Even in the genteel Cranford, the power of the machine can be detected. How badly Miss Matty was let down by the enterprising brokers! But one of the first outspoken denunciations of the machine from an English novelist came in 1872, when Samuel Butler published his *Erewhon*. In that book, written forty years after a Chinese Utopian novel, *Ching Hwa Yuan*, a battle is waged between the machine-minded and the anti-machinists, which costs the lives of half the population. It is not hard to guess that the anti-machine faction wins the day. The Erewhonians are much more good-humoured in their dislike of the machine and in many ways contemplative than the rather hysterical citizens of Aldous Huxley's streamlined world. All the same, the Erewhonians are deeply worried about the domination of the

machine, and by the possibility of being one day classified according to horse-power. Butler's objections were not so much objections to the machine itself as to human beings' disastrous reliance upon it. He feared that "To withdraw steam power suddenly will not have the effect of reducing US to the state in which we were before its introduction; it will be a general breakup and time of anarchy such as has never been known; it will be as though our population were suddenly doubled, with no additional means of feeding the increased number".

Mr. H. G. Wells's scientific romances are the blueprints of a whole-hearted believer in the machine. We realize when reading them that the sloverliness of the world infuriated him—he wanted to tidy it up, even at the expense of the individual. He called old-fashioned liberalism "mental habits acquired in an evil time". And in his promised land, his "Modern Utopia", he wants the individual "Not only in good health, but in training. One rarely meets fat people, bald people, or bent or grey." Every person in his ideal world must be "promptly and certainly organized... anyone missing can be traced and found". He wants a file with entries for every one of the 1,500,000,000 members of the world state, like a biologist's card index. This regimentation applies not only to human beings but to buildings. "Any house, unless it be a public monument, that does not come up to its rising standard of health and convenience will be pulled down by the State at the expense of the owners. Any citizen indecently dressed or ragged or dirty or publicly unhealthy, or sleeping abroad homeless, will be arrested." At this point we begin to recognize a nightmare glimpse of contemporary Europe. Indeed, we should admire Mr. Wells's prophetic powers, for in 1903 he had already foreseen the inevitability of sacrificing the individual to the group. He prophesied that "the individual will dwindle as the State grows or organizes" and he accepted this frankly as a necessary evil. He even forecast the prospects for the artist in this new society, with "students in an art school working in competition to design an electric train".

But few of his contemporaries felt the same, and his juniors have taken the opposite point of view; Mr. Wells is a very eminent exception. From my reading of modern English literature I have gained the impression that every serious writer here is a twentieth century Rousseau, advocating an immediate, if not a complete return to nature. This I find most interesting, especially in view of the fact that Britain was the cradle of the Industrial Revolution.

The cornerstone of Mr. E. M. Forster's creed is personal relations. This

is the starting point of his internationalism, the inspiration of his struggle for civil liberty. Above all, personal relations are the main theme of his novels. And the arch-enemy of personal relations is the machine, which is impersonal, automatic, incapable of feeling. He hates this world of sham and untenderness, but even his Mr. Wilcox, in *Howards End*, can be saved by the angelic Margaret. But the machine in his story *The Machine Stops* is beyond either pity or salvation: it stands between Kuno and his mother, one of the most sacred of human relationships. In this mechanical world, a lecture only lasts for ten minutes; there are no books except the Book of the Machine. Human ears are deprived of their sensitivity; the duties of parents cease at the moment of birth. Everything is standardized, and travel becomes a futile a air because Peking is just like Shrewsbury. Men avoid nature and fear the light of dawn, they lose the powers of observation and understanding. They worship the machine, obey the machine, and adapt themselves to the machine's demands. In many ways the nightmare is more ghastly than Mr. Huxley's, and the final revolt against the machine is as moving as it is gallant.

There is no question of Virginia Woolf's dislike of the machine, although her dislike is only implied. Throughout her work one can find a fundamental dislike of the modern age, whose hallmark is to her the aeroplane writing advertisements in the sky, its drone interrupting quiet country voices. Mrs. Woolf was not a preacher, like Mr. Huxley, nor a self-appointed prophet, like Mr. Lawrence. She does not condemn. All the same, in *Orlando* she makes a clear distinction between her impression of the sordid, hectic modern age and the glory of the Elizabethans, the grandeur of the eighteenth century. We see Orlando amazed by the modern world. "'Heaven help us,' said Orlando, standing at the window and watching the pigeons at their pranks, 'what a world to live in! What a world to be sure!'" This was the nineteenth century, but already "Everything seemed to have shrunk" and "At a touch, a whole room was lit; hundreds of rooms were lit; and one was precisely the same as the other. One could see everything in the little square-shaped boxes; there was no privacy; none of those lingering shadows and odd corners that there used to be; none of those women in aprons carrying wobbly lamps which they put down carefully on this table and on that." I need not go into the story of Orlando shopping in Knightsbridge, miserable on an escalator, for her degradation will move us to tears. One is inclined to see the end of *Between the Acts*, Mrs. Woolf's last, posthumously-published novel, as her message to her contemporaries, her

summing-up of life. Unlike D. H. Lawrence, who became more and more bitter, she was mild in her criticisms, even self-apologetic. She mourns for To-day, rather than denouncing it. In her Pageant, just as the moderns are to take the stage, "the shower fell, sudden, profuse. No one had seen the cloud coming. There it was, black, swollen, on top of them. Down it poured like all the people in the world weeping. Tears. Tears. Tears." And in keeping with the new tempo "The tune changed; snapped; broke; jagged. Fox-trot was it? Jazz? Anyhow, the rhythm kicked, reared, snapped short…Oh the irreverence of the generation which is only momentarily—thanks be—'the young'. The young, who can't make, but only break; shiver into splinters the old vision; smash to atoms what was whole". And then comes the famous mirror in which each member of the audience sees his own reflection, and the impersonal Voice (which we may take for Mrs. Woolf's) pronouncing "Let's break the rhythm and forget the rhyme. And calmly consider ourselves. Ourselves. Some bony. Some fat. (The glasses confirmed this.) Liars most of us. Thieves too. (The glasses made no comment on that.) The poor are as bad as the rich. Perhaps worse.... Consider the gun slayers, bomb droppers here or there. They do openly what we do slyly.…" While Mr. Huxley is exasperated to satire by the modern age, with its conditioned reflexes, its synthetic music and its doses of soma, while Lawrence denounces the stunting of virility, Mrs. Woolf feels for the modern age a harassed pity.

In attacking this mechanized world of ours, no one has been more violent than the hairy prophet of the 'thirties, D. H. Lawrence. T he fact that he came from the home of a miner near Nottingham makes this attack all the more interesting; to others the machine was a symbol, to Lawrence it was an everyday reality. In a sense, he belonged to it, and there is a special taken-for-granted atmosphere about his descriptions of the Midlands. For example, in *The Rainbow*, when Ursula went to the pit owned by her Uncle Tom for the first time, she had a real shock.

> "But is this place as awful as it looks?" the young girl asked, a strain in her eyes.
> "It is just what it looks," he said. "It hides nothing."
> "Why are the men so sad?"
> "Are they sad?" he replied.
> "They seem unutterably, unutterably sad," said Ursula, out of a passionate throat.
> "I don't think they are that. They just take it for granted."
> "What do they take for granted?"
> "This—the pits and the place altogether."
> "Why don't they alter it?" she passionately protested.
> "They believe they must alter themselves to fit the pits and the place, rather than alter the

pits and the place to fit themselves. It is easier," he said.

…

"Every man his own little side-show, his home, but the pit owns every man.… The woman gets the bit the shop can't digest. What is he at home, a man? He is a meaningless lump—a standing machine, a machine out of work."

The effect is more horrifying and more convincing than any scientific romance, because of its tragic resignation.

In *Sons and Lovers*, Paul explains to Clare:

"You see, I am so used to it I should miss it. No; and I like the pits here and there. I like the rows of trucks, and the headstocks, and the steam in the daytime, and the lights at night. When I was a boy, I always thought a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night was a pit, with its steam, and its lights, and the burning bank—and I thought the Lord was always at the pit-top."

This of course is one of the many lyrics which flower throughout his novels. It does not imply a love of industrialism; on the contrary, Lawrence loathed it, but he attacked it without hysteria. Mellor, the gamekeeper in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, gives a clue to Lawrence's attitude when he meditates on his relations with the lady. "It was not the woman's fault, not even love's fault, nor the fault of sex. The fault lay there, out there, in those evil electric lights and diabolical rattlings of engines." Finally, having put all the blame on the machine, Lawrence dismissed it altogether and sang his Mexican hymns.

D. H. Lawrence's dismissal of the machine, or rather of science in general, is admirably heroic; it is not reasonable. But then Lawrence never reasoned; he hammered his way through arguments. His method is summed up in three short sentences of his own: "You tell me I am wrong. Who are you, who is anybody, to tell me that I am wrong? I am not wrong." (From "Pomegranate".) He does not argue with Darwin or Huxley; he simply throws them overboard. In his *Fantasia of the Unconscious* he declares:

"I do not believe in evolution, but in the strangeness and rainbow change of ever-renewed creative civilizations."

Towards the end of the book he again declares:

"It is time for the idealist and scientist (they are one and the same really) to stop his monkey jargon about the atom and origin of life and the mechanical clue to the universe. There isn't any such thing… I do not believe one-fifth of what science can tell me about the sun. I do not believe for one second that the moon is a dead world belched off from our globe... I know the sun is hot. But I won't be told that the sun is a ball of blazing gas which spins round and fizzes. No, thank you."

I am very glad that I haven't got to argue with Mr. Lawrence, but if I

happened to hear him arguing with someone else in this strain, deep in my heart I would admire him, even if I agreed with his opponent. In Lawrence, we have the resentment of the modern man against the machine at its most articulate. He came from the pits, like Paul in *Sons and Lovers*. He does not see the poetry of *Othello* as a contrast to the soullessness of the machine, because unlike Mr. Huxley or Mrs. Woolf, he is not particularly in love with the past. (Nostalgia for the past is an easy form of escape.) Lawrence stands out as an individual, romantic, defying standardization and in his later years he even defied the laws of life by upholding the individual. He believes wholly in intuition, and scorns analysis.

In one of his poems (I have no idea of its date), called "The Triumph of the Machine", Lawrence predicts the downfall of the machine. Because "in the hearts of some men there still is sanctuary where the larks nest safely".

> "And at last
> all the creatures that cannot die while one heart harbours them
> they will hear a silence fall
> as the machines fail and finish;
> they will hear the faint rending of the asphalt roads
> as the hornbeam pushes up his sprouts;
> they will hear far, far away the last factory hooter
> send up the last wild cry of despair
> as the machine breaks finally down."

In 1932 Mr. Aldous Huxley warned the world against industrialization in his anti-Utopian romance *Brave New World*. In this novel he imagines the horrors of a completely mechanized world. Children are born and reared in the Central London Hatchery and Conditioning Centre. They are fed with tablets and synthetic music from the machine, and Westminster Abbey becomes a kind of cabaret with an organ spilling out scent and colour. Everyone is expected to worship a god named Ford. Then comes John the Savage—who, I suppose, is really John the Baptist, a prophet straight from the wilderness. Here is his argument with the Controller who speaks for the machine while Savage represents the child of nature. When the Controller said:

> "We prefer to do things comfortably."
>
> "But I don't want comfort" (said Savage), "I want God, I want poetry, I want real danger, I want freedom, I want goodness, I want sin."
>
> "In fact," said Mustapha Mond, "you're claiming the right to be unhappy."
>
> "All right then," said Savage defiantly, "I'm claiming the right to be unhappy."

> "Not to mention the right to grow old and ugly and impotent; the right to have syphilis and cancer; the right to have too little to eat; the right to be lousy; the right to live in constant apprehension of what may happen to-morrow; the right to catch typhoid; the right to be tortured by unspeakable pains of every kind."
>
> There was a long silence.
>
> "I claim them all," said Savage at last.
>
> Mustapha Mond shrugged his shoulders. "You're welcome," he said.

From this conversation one gathers that the Savage is not quite logical. Is it because Mr. Huxley's objection to the machine is sentimental, rather than rational? If the Savage (or Mr. Huxley for that matter) had been a miner, digging in the dark, hundreds of feet below ground, or a sailor, battling against waves and gales, he would almost certainly be willing to exchange danger for the safety offered by the machine. He would be glad of any device, a compass or a mechanical digger, which would safeguard his life. No doubt Mr. Huxley means his Savage to stand as a colourful contrast in the nightmare Utopia he has created. The Savage drinks only mustard and hot water, and escapes from the ordered modern world to a lighthouse in Guildford, Surrey. The Savage declares he does not mind where he goes—"Anywhere, so long as I can be alone."

If escape from the machine were as easy as taking a Southern Railway train to Guildford, I can assure you that I should be one of the first passengers—and with a single ticket. Unfortunately, this idea is as futile as China's attempt in the nineteenth century to keep her door shut upon the world.

In China we have felt the benefits of science in a different way from you. In the first place, the machine was derived from your own Renaissance, but we Orientals have never nurtured it. Science is alien to us, and we accepted it in its applied form only because of its obvious advantages of comfort and security. The London buses of to-day are a development of your Victorian horse-omnibus, and who knows, perhaps the next development will be air transport over London, with aerial conductresses shouting "Hold tight, we're taking off." But the motor buses in Hong Kong or Shanghai have no tradition behind them. Your wireless sets are, in a way, the successor of your pianolas and your musical boxes, at least to a foreigner like myself, but the wireless sets in China seem just like miracles dropped from heaven. (I am speaking for my own generation and the one before). But our next generation will be machine-minded; they will take it all for granted. It is the business of the Chinese intellectuals to see that they do not take it for granted. They must study the benefits of science, and its potential dangers. The machine was

introduced into Japan with a jerk; hence her present tragedy. China only escaped by not introducing the machine at all—thanks to her traditional bigotry. Now, having bled beneath the rage of the tanks, the devastating power of the Zero planes, she has begun to accept the machine in real earnest—though I would not say wholeheartedly. If the machine is accepted by China without some form of "control-switch" there is no reason why it should not produce the same result as in Japan. The installation of a control-switch is just as important as the introduction of the machine.

What force constitutes this switch? It is not a simple question. First of all, we can see it in its national aspects. In Britain, your traditional respect for the individual seems to me to be the switch. Britain remains a place fit for human beings in spite of the Industrial Revolution because there are certain things that people simply will not allow. Your liberalism has so far formed a kind of safeguard against the domination of the machine. To me, the English always seem to be saying, through Mr. Forster or somebody else, "Use the machine gently...gently...."

The Soviets have managed to control the machine by quite a different system. They do not mind its going full speed ahead provided the machine is not under the control of individuals. In other words, they feel that the machine is a safe tool in the hands of the State, when there is no question of one individual exploiting another what the sociologists call capitalism.

China has indeed learned a lesson through the comi-tragedy of modern Japan: she is anxious to keep the machine under control. But which way will she choose?

It seems the Liberal way is to control the switch-board while the Socialist way is to control the hand. In a sense, the control of the hand is more thorough and dependable, but who is to control the hand? That remains to be settled. Here lies one of the major paradoxes of our time.

Many of our problems would be solved if all factory owners were fair-minded and kindly by nature, but that is an illusion in which we cannot indulge. Therefore it seems to me anything but safe to leave the matter in the hands of the temperamental individual.

One of Mr. Huxley's chief grudges is the present tendency of things to become automatic. As a Chinese, coming from a country where the social services are underdeveloped, I would not hesitate to advocate "automatic" social service. The matter is after all relative, and there is no doubt that the more "civilized" we are in the superficial and worldly sense, the more things

must be systematized. While a Tibetan minstrel can earn an honourable living by singing and playing his lute from tent to tent, he would be a nuisance if he tried to do so in the city of London, where everyone is busy with their files and portfolios. Medical insurance schemes were not necessary in Elizabethan days, because there were still people with leisure enough to be philanthropic. Nowadays we are all too busy. The institutions which have become accepted in England, such as the receipt of the old age pension, are still in China dependent upon humane impulses—that is, upon charity. There, few can gain entry to a hospital simply because they are ill. They must qualify financially, or they are at the mercy of the medical authorities. If automatism brings an increase in the rights to which we are entitled, then for heaven's sake let automatism prevent me from being a beggar.

In China there are three different attitudes towards the machine; in a sense one might say that they are three phases of the same reaction. There was the stage of violent opposition, the stage of condescension, and finally blind admiration. But I must warn you that until quite recently these reactions were chiefly influenced, if not entirely governed, by internal and external events.

In the seventeenth century Chinese resentment against science was purely a matter of national arrogance. We refused to adopt anything that came from the West, because we thought quite simply that if we were good enough as a people, then all our institutions must be good enough. So when a German astrologer, Schall, tried to introduce the Solar calendar into China, he was first rebuked by native scholars, and finally died in prison of a broken heart. That was in the sixteen-forties, and a scholar of the time, Yang Kwang-hsien, wrote, "We would rather live without an accurate calendar than adopt an alien one. Without an accurate calendar, we may miscalculate the cycle of the moon, or miss an eclipse, but the Empire will prosper just the same. Once we have foreigners muddling our a airs, I am afraid it will be like bringing fire to a heap of logs." Other scholars tried to discredit mechanical inventions by sheer sophistry. Wang Jen Chiu (1832-1916) wrote:

> "What is a steamship but the clumsiest of ships, and field guns but the clumsiest of cannons. The virtue of a ship lies in its speed, and the best cannons should be easily manoeuvrable. Now, these barbarous ships cannot sail an inch without being fed with coal, and their guns cannot be raised or moved without involving several hands. If one meets a brave soldier in the battlefield who rushes at one with bloody sword, we cannot but be killed."

But events proved that the steamship was not clumsy; on the contrary, the steamship brought devastating changes, both from the economic and the military point of view. For some long time China was stunned; still disliking Western science, she was frightened by its achievements. When arrogance is mingled with fear, a curious mood results. There is a story of Hu Lin-yi (1812-1861), a famous Chinese general at the time of the Taiping rebellion. During the siege of the city of Anching, he rode one day to the summit of Dragon Mountain to study the lie of the land. He came to the bank of the Yangtse, and there he caught sight of two foreign steamships, sailing westward as fast as a galloping horse and as light as the wind. Hu changed colour, and for a long time was unable to utter a word. Then he gathered up his reins and made for his barracks. On the ride back, he spat up blood and nearly fell from his horse. He had been ill for some time, but after this incident his disease became worse, and in a few months he died.

By 1900 the whole nation had realized that unless a compromise could be found between Chinese tradition and Western technique, the nation might cease to exist. So a high official, Chang Chih-tung, found the courage to write-

> "To know the West without knowing China is to break one's heart. To know China without knowing the West is to be deaf and dumb."

He wanted it clearly understood that the West must be accepted only as a "technique". He wrote, "As long as one preserves the Confucian mind, observes the Confucian code, and as long as one obeys the Emperor and protects the people, then what harm can it do to ride in a railway carriage or to sail in a steamship?" This remark was not without point; shortly before, Tseng Chi-tse, another high official, had aroused the resentment of half the nation by making the journey to his native land, Hu-nan, by steamship. The watchword of the Manchu Dynasty[6] (after its various defeats) was "Adopt the Western body, but preserve our Chinese soul". If you had gone to China before 1937, you would have found many embodiments of this idea. For example, an Oriental-Occidental architecture has been very popular in recent years. One sees buildings with the dignified exterior lines of ancient Chinese structures, with highly glazed roofs and carved or painted beams, and inside Western systems of electric lighting, plumbing and central heating. The Peking Union Medical College, Yenching University, the National Library of Peking, the Ministry of Railways in Nanking, and the new Southwest Union

University in Kunming, built in the last three years, are all on this plan.

A very accomplished artist of yours, Mr. Leon Underwood, in his book *Art for Heaven's Sake* (1934, Faber and Faber, London) says very sensibly, "By all means let the machine clean our boots and fill our larders, but not our dreams. If necessary, stick a mine shaft in your front garden—but keep a corner of your back garden into which you can retire from its noise to listen to the song of the thrush. The five chairs of your necessity shall be made by a machine, but not the sixth—make it yourself for your own pleasure. Type your circulars and keep a pen for your love-letters." This kind of adaptation within a homogeneous culture is comparably easier to achieve, but the assimilation of a heterogeneous culture creates quite a different problem.

But when this blending is introduced into music or painting, we feel a certain incongruity, if not actual incompatibility. Can one paint traditional Chinese subjects on rice paper after the Dutch school, or in the Venetian manner? The Albert Hall may be able to hold an international audience all shouting "V" for "Victory" but art is a much less robust business. It is fragile and hypersensitive, it demands a high degree of integrity, and cannot achieve perfection by makeshift methods.

While Chinese diplomats were debating the world's problems at Versailles, the Chinese at home were plunged in a furious philosophical battle with the anti-science idealists such as Mr. Liang Shou-yen on one side, and the materialists, headed by Dr. Hu Shih, Mr. Chen Tu-hsiu, and Mr. Li Ta-chao on the other. Mr. Li Ta-chao later became a Communist and lost his life as a martyr to his belief. The subject of this nation-wide controversy was the relation of science to life. The European war was constantly referred to, but the materialist contended that this war had been entirely due to the Anglo-German clash over markets, and had had nothing to do with the evil effects of science. The controversy reached its height in 1922, when both sides enquired, pertinently enough, whether Chinese civilization could co-exist with that of the West, and if it could not, how and where adjustments could be made. Both sides were anxious that Chinese civilization should survive, but the materialists were even more anxious to see it become a part of world civilization.

The thinking Chinese have never been cured of their deep-seated mistrust of the machine. Each time a calamity befalls the West, their voices are raised. At the end of the last war, a Chinese scholar wrote:

"It is against the natural course of human a airs to let expediency override the fundamental. There are advantages in Western civilization, but let us not inflict ourselves with its vices. If Confucius had the control of aeroplanes and submarines, I am sure he would not employ them to harm the innocent."

Ku Hung-ming, a brilliant Chinese student in England who had translated a number of Chinese classics into English, became a fanatic against the machine, also at the time of the last war. He wrote:

"When the Westerner teaches you to be good, he makes you either fear God or fear the law. Without fear of either, even brothers and near neighbours cannot trust each other."

As the guns roared on the continent of Europe, an outcry for "Spiritual civilization" arose in China, and many prophets claimed that Western civilization was already collapsing. In 1919, Liang Chi-chao wrote his *Impressions of Europe* in which he described the Great War as "a nemesis of the purely materialistic, purely mechanistic view of life which the West was evolving".

Those suspicious voices can still be heard, even after thirty years. Since 1939, the whole globe has been aflame once more with the flash of guns and the glare of bombs, and Prof. Chien Mu, our well-known historian, wrote recently:

"The whole world is now passing through a new experience. The Europeans have reached saturation point in their attempt to turn knowledge into power and to seize the wealth of the earth. The machine has already shown its ghastly fangs more than once, ready to engulf the whole of mankind. The inequality of their society has also reached an acute degree. There is no more New World to be discovered, no more potential colonies to be shared out among the powerful. Hundreds of millions of lives are sacrificed in each war. Unless this war has extinguished the lamp of Western civilization altogether, they are bound to turn down a new path before long. They may either revert to the Greek way of living or formulate a Neo-Christianity, or even turn to the East for salvation. China has learnt her lessons at such colossal costs that it is inconceivable that she will repeat the disastrous process."

Although no one has yet tried to make out that the machine has a soul, it is nevertheless not quite the bogy that our grandparents in the nineteenth century thought it. I was once told a charming story about two Arabian gentlemen who came to this country on a visit, at the invitation of the British Government. They were of course shown all the sights, the Mersey Tunnel, a wireless station, television, and so on. It was a great treat for the two gentlemen from the desert. When they were leaving, your official asked them

what they would like to take back with them, as a sort of souvenir; he probably expected a request for a television set, or a dictaphone to record the original of Omar Khayyám's *Rubáiyát*. But not at all. The two Arabian gentlemen looked around them for some time, but, to the disappointment of the official, could think of nothing of particular interest. Presently one of the visitors, thinking to himself that in the desert water is more precious than anything else, broke the awkward silence by asking for a couple of water-taps, one for cold water and one for hot, thinking how wonderful it would be to get water simply by turning a tap.

It is a ridiculous story, and for all I know it may not even be true, but it serves my purpose as an illustration of our conception of science in the last century. First we sneered at your useful taps. Then we admitted condescendingly that it might be a good idea to pick up one or two of them. The Japanese not only got hold of the taps, but sent out a number of their people to be trained as plumbers. But their plumbers never learned how to turn off the water at the main. From 1898, the year of the Great Reform, men of a airs in China began to get hold of the taps, without knowing what to do with them, while the intellectuals held the pipes—long winding things—without connecting with the taps. But I must make my metaphors clear. By the taps, I mean the products of applied science. Long before we understood the principles of the locomotive, the aeroplane and the telephone, we had begun to enjoy the speed of the railway, the convenience of the telephone and the magic of the aeroplane. But until very recently we have not been able to manufacture any of them. By the pipes, I mean the scientific attitude—observation rather than contemplation, reason rather than intuition, analysis rather than synthesis. That change of attitude has been affecting our intellectuals for a long time. But I see as the latest and most mature manifestation of China's attitude towards the machine the realization that the tap must be connected with the pipes. In the early 'twenties, scholars were still arguing, while the warlords went on with their meaningless civil wars, each side equipped with the latest weapons, often purchased from the same source. It did not take long for us to realize that the tap must be connected with the pipes. We realized too that the machine was not the only asset of Western civilization, and that the machine itself had a wide background and a long tradition. Not long ago Prof. Yang Jen-pien pointed out in an article that up till now China's attitude towards science had been too utilitarian, too eager for practical benefits. "Western civilization," he wrote, "is based on a whole

range of theoretic science. Although Newton was a great scientist, he invented no machine during his lifetime. The theory of gravity to-day forms an important pillar of modern science, but in his time it was of no practical value. And to go still further backward, had it not been for the emancipation of humanism during the Renaissance which enabled human beings to open their eyes to the phenomena of nature, not even the genius of a Newton could have made the discovery. Darwin once regretted his inability to appreciate Shakespeare. We cannot enjoy science without acquiring the vast storehouse which is its background."

This sober attitude is a fairly new one, and in my opinion it represents a further evaluation of the West.

I have often thought about the invention of traffic lights. They are conspicuously placed, so that one cannot help looking at them, and for me they have a double symbolism. First, they represent the good and bad of democracy. Think of the boredom and waste of time when the red light holds you back, although there is no traffic to go through the other way. And if that happens at midnight when there are not many policemen about, anyone would be tempted to slip across. But when the traffic is heavy, think how safe you feel, cycling boldly across with enormous army lorries rattling and raging at your shoulder. In 1940, I think many people had lost their faith in democracy. They read about long-winded debates in Parliament and thought of the highly mechanized forces waiting on the shores of Calais. Many of us were impatient with the red light then. And some even tried to slip across, with or without success. But in the long run the way of democracy won the battle, because the German way, though efficient, is one-way only. And when a one-way street gets congested, heaven help everyone!

The second significance of the traffic light is its function of controlling the machine. It is a counter-invention, designed to tame speed and headlong power. Suppose the inventor of electric power had forgotten to invent the switch! Few of us would be here to-day. When trams were first introduced in Peking in the early 'twenties, I was still a child, and the trams were a real danger. I always used to think how terrible it would be if one of them changed its course and charged along one of the narrow *hutungs,* smashing up the little houses with their red wood furniture. When I was first taken for a ride I was reluctant to go, for I had heard a rumour that if the tram by some accident became electrified all the passengers would lose their eyesight. I was an odd child, and I decided that I could not risk so much, just for a ride. It

took me a long time to discover that the tramdriver had a number of levers with which he could control his vehicle. It was the same with the motor-cars —we used to call them street-tigers. Even to-day, when I come in contact with something highly mechanized, I am anxious first of all to see how the thing is controlled. All nightmares about machines are based on the fear of loss of control. Do you remember the eating machine in Charlie Chaplin's "Modern Times" when the man almost lost his teeth and half his head? Mr. Forster's machine got out of control; so did Mr. Huxley's. We say in China that one should not give up eating because of a choking-fit. What we need is a powerful and efficient switch for each powerful and efficient machine, ruthless traffic lights for ruthless speeding lorries.

Once things have been invented, it is futile to try to get rid of them again. It simply can't be done. How many radio sets could we smash up, you and I, even if we raided all the houses we pass each day? Therefore I am sure that the only safeguard is to encourage the counter-inventions, so as to keep the inventions under control. By so doing I feel that we can avoid the destruction of the individual and at the same time see that this irresistible progress is bearable. So, while the inventors are busy with new forms of speed, let the cautious produce more traffic lights. We may have political traffic lights, in the form of an enlightened constitution, or economic traffic lights, by controlling private capital. There is one basic safeguard we must make sure of—a liberal education and an adequate system of social service. The first will make sure that the individual is more than a cog in this gigantic modern world-machine, and the latter will see to it that no individual is at the mercy of another. Whither China? Whither Britain? Whither humanity? The answer can only be given by the silent history that ticks like a gas-meter behind us all. I am not a Government agent, and have never been one. I do not speak for anyone but myself. But the China I want is neither an antique shop nor a workshop. I do not wish to see her shrink from progress. If necessary, I say to this infant of a New China, if necessary, take all the risks, brave all the impossibilities, but make your way, with a warm heart, a cool head and two skilful hands, against the cruelty of nature and the bonds of outworn institutions.

So far we have been examining the reaction of our Chinese writers towards the machine. Now we come to the question of the future of Chinese culture. I must confess that I am a dull person, and have neither the imagination nor the courage to indulge in glorious daydreams. I know that I

should be a better propagandist, and you would be a more stimulated audience, if I could give you a rosy picture of post-war Chinese culture. But first of all we must ask ourselves "On what does a culture depend?"

In considering the prospects for Chinese culture, we must not forget the economic future and the question of political stability. We all know that a system of liberal education is the foundation of a flourishing culture, and political upheavals and social insecurity are both enemies of education. Poverty in China has been an immense obstacle in the progress of mass education. Again, if you study the subjects in which Chinese students abroad have specialized, you will discover that from 1931, the year of the invasion of Manchuria, technical subjects became more and more popular, until there were hardly any students taking general cultural subjects. For example, instead of taking biology, they would take a more narrowly specialized subject, animal husbandry; instead of general engineering, shipbuilding or steel construction. It is not that these young Chinese have no feeling for culture. I know at least one medical student who loves his gramophone records of classical music far better than his anatomy specimens. The explanation is that these young people have become more and more aware of the nation's pressing need, and have in many cases sacrificed their own inclinations.

Another indirect outcome of the Manchurian invasion (one which even Lord Lytton did not discover) was the introduction of military training into Chinese schools and colleges. Up till then we had resisted the idea of regimenting our young people. We had introduced the pleasant make-believe of the Scouts and Guides, but we never dreamed that the throwing of hand-grenades could be included in a school's curriculum. During my last two years as an undergraduate, I was caught up in this new movement. How I fidgeted in that grey uniform, lying in ambush in the wheatfields, taking part in sham battles! Will military training still be a necessity for schools after this war? I think you will agree that the answer lies with the statesmen rather than with the schoolmasters.

Measures announced by government spokesmen in time of war are mostly a matter of expediency. But when the storm subsides, and calm returns, the weary, harassed young Chinese, like the young Britishers, will return to their war-scarred homes. As the ugly memories of pain and misery fade, their thoughts will begin to clarify.

If we believe that our long, rich heritage of civilization has any meaning,

then we can trust their vision of the future.

[*Lecture delivered at the China Institute, London.*]

壹　关于机器的反思

——兼论英国小说对现代中国知识分子的影响

作家和机器自然是对立的。就其本质而言，机器对任何一种形式的手工艺都是一种持久不变的威胁，而无论我们在文学上取得何种“进步”，文学都必须是手工的。因此，当作家们极力谴责机器的时候，我们不必惊讶。但我们必须弄清楚，这种谴责是出于一种客观公正的仇恨，因而也算得上正直，抑或仅仅是一种自高自大。前者是事出有因，后者是感情用事。

不久前，我同一位比我还没有家务经验的女士争论真空吸尘器的发明是不是一件好事。她是所有机器的敌人，自然毫不留情地谴责真空吸尘器。因为我在近三年的时间里，总是见到剑桥为我打扫房间的和蔼可亲的工人，一连几个小时跪在地板上，在呛人的尘埃里刷地毯，我当然支持真空吸尘器的发明。凡能减轻我们单调、乏味、重复、肮脏工作的任何东西我都支持。但我当然也应给出一些对方的理由。我那位朋友说，如果她有一幢自己的房子，她就会生出一种亲昵的感情，会爱上每一片油漆和每一件木制品。她说，使用机器将危害一切有价值的事物。我问她，倘若她有一幢像奥兰多那样的房子，有三百六十五个房间，虽然男女主人都很爱惜房子，但他们不可能亲自打扫所有房间，那怎么办？她十分固执地说，她希望找位像她一样珍爱房子的女仆。这并不能令人信服，但它确实证明效率与温情是相对的。关于这一点，我想引用美国人类学家玛格丽特·米德博士在来英国的一次演讲中论及英国人和美国人的不同时所说的话：

> 一个美国人和一个英国妇女领我在英国西南的一座城市里转。美国人指着一个柜台对我说：“我们一个月就要在这么不方便的柜台提供一万份饭菜。”想着为人服务的英国妇女说，“这不是很好吗？”还在想着柜台的美国人说，“这不可笑吗？”因为对一个美国人来说，他的道德不是改变本性去将就，而是去改变环境，去解决问题，不是应付问题。我们相信，如果没有实际困难挡道，美好生活更易于达到。那些让你们觉得奢侈或很可能使人性情变温和的节省劳力的设备，在我们看来，只是一些将人们解放出来干其他事情的方式。
>
> 这意味着，英美两国人在对待事物、私人财物和金钱的态度上有着根本的不同。对我们而言，所有事情都只是达到目的的方式，一种使母亲从家务中解放出来更多陪陪孩子的方式，一种让老师更有空指导学生的方式，一种让父亲飞奔回家以便有更多时间陪孩子玩棒球的方式。我们的兴趣在于做事快捷、有效，以使人们随后活得更像“人”。但你们的兴趣则在于把事情本身当作“人”；英国妇女如此热心忙于把别人照料得体贴入微，以至不能停下来想一想，她们有没有解救自己。最近，有位美国人对我说：“我感觉在英国这样的国家，有人会爬三层楼为你亲切地端上一杯茶。”但当我们谈到用电梯或电茶壶淘汰楼梯，甚至一家人在同一时间下楼来吃早餐，你们也许以为，我们是要消除你们辛劳的双脚爬上有百年历史的楼梯所承载的爱。

当然，在中国，这杯茶可能得从另一条街上给你端过来。

工业革命以来，英国的作家一直关注着机器对人类生活所产生的影响。塞缪尔·巴特勒、韦尔斯、吉卜林、贝内特、福斯特、赫胥黎、D. H. 劳伦斯、弗吉尼亚·吴尔夫等，都论及这种影响。

在工业革命发生之后不久，就出现了对机器的怀疑。以我对英国文学的有限知识，我不敢对这段历史深究。但人们能从狄更斯的小说中感受到一种对工业肮脏的恐惧。狄更斯太尖锐了，以致不能从哲理的角度来描写机器。在上流社会的克兰福德，机器的影响力也显现出来，马蒂小姐对那些富有事业精神的经纪人有多失望啊！但英国最早坦言指责机器的小说之一，是塞缪尔·巴特勒1872年出版的《埃瑞洪》[1]。这部小说比中国的乌托邦小说《镜花缘》晚了四十年，讲述支持机器的人与机器反对者之间的战争，这场战争使一半的人口丧生。不用猜，机器反对派占了上风。比起奥尔德斯·赫胥黎笔下高效世界里歇斯底里的人们来，埃瑞洪人对机器的反感更为友善，而且他们会从多方面进行思考。但他们同样为机器的支配而深深苦恼，并担心将来有一天可能会被按马力分类。与其说巴特勒反对机器本身，不如说他更反对人类对机器灾难性的依赖。他担心“突然取消蒸汽力将不会让我们回到机器出现以前的状态；世界要全面崩溃，沦为前所未有过的混乱状态，仿佛人口突然翻倍，却没有养活所增人口的相应办法”。

赫·乔·韦尔斯的科学幻想小说成了机器的忠实信徒手中的蓝图。读他小说的时候，我们能感觉到他对这个不整洁世界的愤怒，即便牺牲个人，他也要使这个世界整洁起来。他称过时的自由主义为“邪恶时代养成的心理习惯”。在他描画的“现代乌托邦”里，每个人“不仅身体好，而且都得到锻炼，几乎遇不到胖子和秃头、佝偻腰和脸色暗淡的人”。生活在他理想世界里的人，“得到及时的组织，走失的任何人都能被寻踪找到”。他为这个大同世界十五亿人建立起个人登记档案，类似于一位生物学家的卡片索引。这种编制不光对人，也应用在建筑上。“除了公共纪念馆，任何没有达到健康和便利标准的住房都将由房主自费拆除。不修边幅、衣衫褴褛、精神失常、露宿街头的人，都要逮捕。”从这一点，我们能够看出当今欧洲梦魇的一瞥。我们确实应当称赞韦尔斯先生的预见力，因为他在1903年就已经预见到为集体牺牲个人利益的不可避免性。他预言，“随着国家的有序发展，个人利益将减少”，而且，他把这作为必要的邪恶坦然接受下来。他甚至预见到艺术家们在这新社会的情景，“艺术院校的学生们为设计一列电力火车而展开竞赛”。

然而，韦尔斯先生的同代人中没有几个抱有同感，他的晚辈都反对他的观点，这使他成了非常特殊的人物。通过阅读现代英国文学作品，我得到这样一个印象，每一位作家都是一个二十世纪的卢梭，提倡直接

回返（即便不是完全回返）自然。考虑到英国是工业革命的摇篮这一事实，我发现这实在太有趣了。

爱·摩·福斯特信条的基础是人际关系，这是他国际主义的起点，激励着他为公民自由而斗争。最重要的是，人际关系是他小说的主题，而人际关系的首要敌人就是机械、非人性和没有感官的机器。他憎恨这个虚伪、毫无温情的世界，不过即使是他笔下《霍华德别业》里的威尔科克斯先生也能被具有天使性格的玛格丽特拯救。但在他的小说《机器休止》里，机器超越了同情与拯救，它挡在孔诺母子之间，母子关系可是人类关系中最神圣的。在这个机器的世界里，演讲不能超过十分钟，除了机器规章没有旁的读物。人的听觉失去灵敏，父母的责任在生育那一刻即告终止。一切都标准化，旅游成为一种徒劳无益的事，因为北平和什鲁斯伯里[2]也没什么不一样。人们回避自然，害怕黎明的曙光，完全失去了观察力和理解力。他们崇拜机器，服从机器，适应机器的需要。这梦魇在很多方面比赫胥黎先生小说中描述的更可怕，而且，最后对机器的勇敢反叛是那么地动人。

弗吉尼亚·吴尔夫对机器的反感自不必说。虽然她的反感很含蓄，但读过她的作品便会发现她非常讨厌当今这个时代：飞机把广告写上蓝天，单调的嗡嗡声打破了田园的宁静。吴尔夫夫人不是赫胥黎先生那样的说教者，也不是像劳伦斯先生自封为先知。她不谴责。然而，在《奥兰多》里，她将现代的肮脏与喧嚣同十八世纪伊丽莎白时代的辉煌与壮丽鲜明对等。奥兰多为现代世界感到惊奇，"'上帝啊，'他站在窗边看着嬉戏的鸽群说，'我们生活在一个什么世界！这是一个怎样的世界！'"这是在十九世纪，"一切似乎都已经缩小"，而且"轻轻一碰，一整间房子亮了，数百间房子亮了，一间房和另一间房是惊人地相似。人们在这些小方匣子里便能看到一切，没有了隐私；没有了逡巡的暗影和奇特的角落；没有了系围裙的女人把晃动的油灯小心地放到这个桌上，再放到那个桌上"。我无需多说那个去耐斯布瑞奇购物、在电梯上苦恼的奥兰多的故事，因为她的堕落已然感动得我们落泪。我们很容易从吴尔夫夫人死后出版的《幕与幕之间》的结尾，看出她是在为自己的生命作总结，给她的同时代人传达信息。这是她的最后一部小说。她不像劳伦斯那样批评越来越严厉，她的批评始终很柔和，甚至带有自我辩护的意味。与其说她在谴责今天，不如说她在为今天而悲伤。在她的露天剧场，现代人要登台时，"突然下起了阵雨。没有人看到大块的乌云移到了头顶。雨水倾泻下来，似乎全世界的人都在悲伤，流泪，流泪，流泪"。为与这新的节奏协调，"曲调变换，噼啪声，破裂声，一阵一阵的。是狐步舞曲？还是爵士乐？总之，乐曲到剧烈激昂处戛然而止哦，幸好年轻一代的傲慢无礼只是暂时的。这些不能制造只会破坏的年轻人，把古老的

梦幻击得粉碎，把整个的东西打成碎片”。接着，那面有名的镜子出现了，每位观众都能从镜子里看到自己的影像。一个冷淡的声音（大概是吴尔夫夫人的）宣告：“让我们打破节奏，忘了韵律，静静地考量自身。我们自己。我们中的瘦子，胖子，能从镜子里得到映证。而我们中大多数人都是说谎者，也是小偷，但这无法从镜子里看出来。穷人像富人一样坏，或者更坏。想想到处都有持枪的凶手和丢炸弹的人，他们公开做着我们秘密做的事”赫胥黎先生对现代，连同现代的条件反射、虚假音乐和致人迷醉的苏麻液，进行激烈的讽刺，劳伦斯抨击对男性生殖力的阻碍，而吴尔夫夫人则对现代既怜且恼。

对我们这个机械化世界的抨击，没有谁比毛发浓密的先知劳伦斯更猛烈。他生在邻近诺丁汉的一个矿工家庭，这使他对工业社会的抨击越发有趣。机器对别人是个象征，而对劳伦斯却是每天的现实。在某种意义上他属于机器，因此，他对米德兰人的描述具有一种特别的理所当然的风格。例如，他在小说《虹》中写厄休拉第一次去她汤姆叔的煤矿时受到震动：

“这地方是不是像看上去的那么可怕？”年轻的厄休拉问道，眼神里有一丝紧张。

“这里就这样，没有隐藏什么呀。”他说。

“为什么这里的人都那么哀伤？”

“他们哀伤吗？”他答道。

“他们好像都有难言的忧伤，”厄休拉激动地说。

“我看他们不是这样。他们把这看成很自然的事。”

“把什么看成自然的事？”

“这个——煤矿和整个地方。”

“那他们为什么不把它改变一下？”她激动地提出异议。

“他们相信必须改变自己以适应煤矿和整个地方，而不是改变煤矿和整个地方来适应他们，这样做更容易。”他说。

……

“每个男人都有自己的那点小节目，都有自己的家，但煤矿拥有每个男人。女人只是得到一点商店消化不了的零头。一个男人在家中是什么？是一堆毫无意义的肿块，一架站着的机器，一架赋闲的机器。”

因为劳伦斯揭示出人对于机器悲剧性的顺从，所以他的小说比别的科幻小说更叫人感到震惊，也更令人信服。

在《儿子与情人》中，保罗跟克莱尔解释说：“你看，我已经完全习惯了，我会怀念这一切的。不，我喜欢各处的矿井，喜欢成排的卡车、车头箱，喜欢白天的蒸汽和夜晚的灯火。小时候，我就总想，白天里的一缕云烟，夜晚的一片火光，是矿井升腾起来的蒸汽、灯光和燃烧的河岸。我想，上帝一直在矿井的顶端。”

这当然只是劳伦斯小说中许多抒情的精华段落之一，它并不暗指对工业主义的爱。相反，劳伦斯憎恨工业主义，只不过他的抨击不带有歇

斯底里的狂热情绪。《查泰莱夫人的情人》中，猎场看守人梅勒在反思他和查泰莱夫人的关系时，为劳伦斯对工业主义的态度提供了线索：“这不是女人的错，更不是爱的错，也不是性的错。错全在这里那里那些邪恶的电灯和机器恶魔一般咔塔咔塔的响声。”最后，劳伦斯把罪责全部推给机器，唱出了他的墨西哥赞歌。

劳伦斯对机器的摒弃，更确切些说是对科学的摒弃，其勇敢精神值得钦佩，但这是非理性的。劳伦斯从不推理，他只是反复灌输他的论点，其方法可以用他自己的三句话来概括：“你跟我说我错了。你或者任何人凭什么说我错了？我没错。”（《石榴树》）他不同达尔文和赫胥黎争论，而是干脆把他们的书丢到水里。他在《潜意识幻想曲》中宣称：“我不相信进化论，倒是相信事物的奇异性，相信彩虹替换、花样翻新的创造性文明。”他在这本书的结尾再次表示：“理想主义者和科学家们（他们是一码事），谈论原子、生命的起源和机器对宇宙的提示，该是让他们停止胡言乱语的时候了。没有这回事有关太阳的科学，我连五分之一都不信。说月亮是从地球喷发出来的一个死亡的世界，一秒钟我都不信。我知道太阳是热的，但要我相信太阳是一个转着圈旋转，嘶嘶作响，炽热燃烧的气球——不，谢谢。”

我很高兴没有和劳伦斯争论，但假如我有机会听到他在用这种调子同人争论，虽然我会站到他的对立面，可我还是从心底佩服他。劳伦斯的作品明显表达出现代人对机器的厌恶。像《儿子与情人》中的保罗，他出身于矿工家庭。他不认为诗剧《奥赛罗》与没有灵魂的机器形成对比，因为他不像赫胥黎先生和吴尔夫夫人，他对过去没有特别的爱恋（追忆往昔是一种容易的逃避形式）。劳伦斯是位浪漫的富于个性的人，蔑视一切标准化的事物。他在晚年甚至因坚持个人而反对生活规律。他完全相信直觉，而不屑于分析。

劳伦斯在一首题为《机器的胜利》（我忘了它的写作日期）的诗中，预言了机器的没落，因为“人的心灵仍是避难所，云雀在里边安然筑巢”。

最后
因被一颗心灵收藏而不死的造物
听到一声沉寂的降落
是机器的失败和终结；
听到柏油路轻微的撕裂
鹅耳枥树生出嫩芽；
听到远方工厂最后的汽笛
传递着最后绝望的狂喊
机器终于崩溃。

1932年，奥尔德斯·赫胥黎在他的反乌托邦科幻小说《美妙新世界》中，警告世界提防工业化。他在这部小说里想象描画出一个完全工业化世界的恐怖。幼儿在中央伦敦孵化与条件设置中心出生并得到抚育，他们的饮食是药片和从机器发出的人造音乐，西敏寺变成了歌舞表演的餐馆，一架管风琴迸泻出芳香和色彩。每个人都崇拜一个叫福特的上帝。还有野蛮人约翰，一位直接来自旷野的先知，我想他肯定是《圣经》中施洗的约翰。下面是一段代表儿童天性的野蛮人和机器代言人中心主管的争论。

（主管说：）“我们喜欢愉快舒适地做事。”

“可我不要舒适，”（野蛮人说，）“我要上帝，我要诗歌，我要真正的危险，我要自由，我要善良，我要罪恶。”

“事实上，你是在要求不幸福的权利。”穆斯塔法·蒙德说。

“你说对了，”野蛮人挑衅地说，“我就是在要求不幸福的权利。”

“你还没说衰老、丑陋和病弱的权利；染上梅毒和癌症的权利；食不果腹的权利；浑身生满虱子的权利；生活中永远为明天担忧的权利；感染伤寒的权利；以及被各种难以言说的痛苦所困扰的权利呢。”

长时间的沉默。

“我也要这一切权利。”野蛮人最后说。

穆斯塔法·蒙德耸耸肩，说：“那就请便吧。”

由这段对话可以推断，野蛮人的逻辑十分混乱。是因为赫胥黎先生对机器的反对太过感性而非理性了吗？假使野蛮人（或赫胥黎先生）是个矿工，在地下几百尺的黑暗里挖煤，或者是名海员，要同狂风巨浪搏斗，他当然是愿意用机器提供的安全来替换危险。他会乐于接受能够保护他生命的任何设备，不论是一个指南针或是一架机器挖掘机。赫胥黎先生无疑是要让野蛮人站在他所创造的噩梦般乌托邦的鲜明对立面。野蛮人只喝芥末加热水，而且从有序的现代世界逃到了萨里郡吉尔福德的灯塔上。野蛮人声明，他并不在乎去哪里。“只要能一个人独处，哪儿都行。”

如果逃避机器像乘坐南线火车到吉尔福德那么容易，我向你们保证，我会买张单程车票去做第一批旅客。不幸的是，这个主意跟十九世纪的中国还试图闭关锁国一样无效。

在中国，我们已经以不同于你们的方式感受到科学的好处。第一，机器起源于你们的文艺复兴，我们东方人从来也没有养育过它。对我们来说，科学是异域的东西，我们接受它只因了它应用起来有舒适和安全等不同方面的好处。今天，伦敦的公共汽车是从维多利亚时代的公共马车发展而来的，下一步，谁知道呢，也许要发展覆盖伦敦的空中交通，那时，空中女售票员就得喊：“抓紧喽，我们起飞啦。”可香港和上海的公共交通背后没有这种传统。你们的无线电收音机，至少对像我这样的

外国人来说，是替代了自动钢琴和八音盒，但中国的无线电收音机却像是天上掉下的奇迹。（我说的是我这一代和我上一代），我们的下一代将具备机器头脑，并把这当成十分自然的事。中国知识分子的职责就是关注他们不要将其视为理所当然。他们必须学习科学的好处，并研究它的潜在危险。日本是猝然间引进的机器，所以导致她今天的惨剧发生。而中国因完全没有引进机器而逃避了惨剧的发生，这要感谢她固执的传统。如今，遭受过坦克蹂躏和零式战斗机摧残的中国，已经开始真心实意地，我还不能说是全身心地接受机器。倘若中国接受了机器，而没有某种“控制开关”，就没有理由不产生同日本一样的结果。安装一个控制开关，与引进机器同等重要。

这个开关是由什么力量构成的呢？这并非是个简单的问题。首先，我们来看看它所在国家的情形。在英国，我觉得你们尊重个人的传统就是开关。尽管英国发生过工业革命，但英国还是一个适合人类的地方，因为某些事是人们所不能容许的。到目前为止，你们的自由主义已经能够防护机器的支配。我似乎总觉得听到福斯特或别的英国人说，“使用机器悠着点儿悠着点儿”

苏联人以另一种迥然不同的体制来控制机器。只要机器没在个人的控制下，他们并不在乎机器的全速发展。换言之，在没有社会学家所称的资本主义的人剥削人的情况下，他们把机器看成掌握在国家手里一件安全的工具。

中国确实从现代日本的悲喜剧里得到一个教训，日本急欲要控制机器，可她选择的是怎样一条路呢？

社会主义的方法是控制手，而自由主义的方法似乎是要控制开关键盘。在某种意义上，对手的控制更为彻底，也更可靠，但谁去控制手？这是个留待解决的问题，也是我们这个时代主要自相矛盾的话题之一。

如果所有的工厂主天性公正、善良，那我们的许多问题都能解决。对这种错觉我们不能迁就。因此，我想，让一个喜怒无常的个人来掌握局面是绝不安全的。

赫胥黎先生怨恨的主要是目前事物的自动化趋向。我来自社会服务尚没有发展起来的中国，我作为一个中国人毫不犹豫地提倡“自动化”的社会服务。事物总是相对的，从表面和世俗的角度看，我们越是“文明”，越应更加系统化。一位西藏歌手可以通过一个帐篷一个帐篷地唱歌、弹奏六弦琴，挣得可观的收入，但他要是到伦敦城来表演，就会叫人讨厌，因为伦敦的每个人都忙于各类文件、档案。由于人们有足够的空闲从事慈善工作，所以在伊丽莎白时代还用不着医疗保险。而我们现在都非常繁忙。英国已经建立起许多制度，诸如领取养老金，而这在中国仍要靠富有同情心的冲动之举，也就是仁慈的菩萨心肠。中国人因为

没有钱，生病很少上医院，否则他们只得任由医务当局摆布。如果自动化带来公民权益的增长，那就让这种自动化看在老天的分上，让我避免沦为乞丐吧。

中国人对待机器有三种不同的态度，某种意义上也可说是同一种反应的三个阶段：激烈反对，屈尊俯就，最后盲目赞美。但我要提醒你们的是，直到最近，这三种反应即使不是完全受内部和外部事件的左右，也主要是受它们的影响。

中国人在十七世纪敌视科学纯然出于民族的傲慢自大。我们拒绝接受来自西方的任何东西，因为我们极其简单地认为，—作为一个民族，我们是足够好的，那我们所拥有的一切制度必定也是好的。所以，当德国的占星家汤若望想把太阳历介绍到中国来的时候，起初遭到中国学者的非难，最后心力交瘁，死在狱中。[3]那发生在十六世纪四十年代，当时有位叫杨光先[4]的学者写道："宁可使中夏无好历法，不可使中夏有西洋人。无好历法，如汉家不知合朔之法，日食多在晦日，而犹享四百年之国祚。有西洋人，吾惧其挥金以收拾我天下之人心，如火于积薪之下，而祸发之无日也。"别的学者也都力图以十足的诡辩让机器的发明蒙羞。王壬秋（1832—1916）写道："蒸汽船何其笨拙，野战炮何其粗笨。船要跑得快，大炮要易于移动才行。现在，要是不填煤，这些野蛮的船连一寸也无法航行，要是没几个人动手，大炮根本无法升高或移动。而如果战场上你遇到勇敢的士兵挥舞着淌血的战刀向你冲来，手起刀落就完事了。"[5]

然而，事实证明蒸汽船一点也不笨。相反，蒸汽船带来经济和军事两方面的重大变革。尽管中国仍然反感西方的科学，但她已被西方的成就吓昏了头，惊得目瞪口呆。傲慢混杂着恐惧，势必产生一种奇怪的心绪。这里有一则关于胡林翼（1812—1861）的小故事，胡是太平天国起义时期清廷的一位著名将领。那是安庆被围时，有一天，胡骑马登上龙山山顶查看地形。回到长江边上，忽然看见两条外国蒸汽船向西疾驰而过，快如奔马，轻若疾风。胡面色大变，老半天说不出一个字来。然后他拢紧马缰转回营盘。他在马背上吐血，险些掉下来。他本来就抱病多日，这件事以后，他的病情日益加重，几个月以后，就病死了。

到了1900年，整个民族已经认识到，若不在中国传统与西方技术之间寻求调和，将关系到民族的存亡。朝廷命官张之洞颇有勇气地写道："知外不知中，谓之失心；知中不知外，谓之聋瞽。"

张之洞希望人们可以清楚地明白，西技只是为了"经世致用"。他写道："如其心圣人之心，行圣人之行，以孝弟忠信为德，以尊主庇民为政，虽朝运汽机，夕驰铁路，无害为圣人之徒也。"这正说到点子上。就在此之前不久，另一朝廷高官曾纪泽乘蒸汽船回湖南老家，还曾激起

极大的民愤。清帝国的口号是“中学为体，西学为用”。倘若你们在1937年以前到过中国，就能发现这一思想的许多具体体现。例如，近年来，西洋式东方建筑已非常流行。建筑外形还体现着中国传统建筑的威严，高高的琉璃瓦屋顶，雕梁画栋，内部构造已完全西洋化，电灯、水管装置和中央供暖。北平协和医院、燕京大学、国立北平图书馆、南京的铁道部，还有最近三年建立的昆明西南联大，都是采用这种建筑形式。

你们有位杰出的艺术家利昂·安德伍德，在他的《为上帝的艺术》一书中很明智地说：“总之让机器擦亮我们的高筒靴，填满我们的食品库，但不能干涉我们的梦。如果需要，你可以在前花园安置一座矿井，但别忘了在后花园保留一个角落，那里听不到矿井的噪音，却可以听画眉歌唱。必需的五把椅子可以用机器制造，但第六把椅子得留着自己打造以消闲通知可以打印，但要留一支笔用来写情书。”像这种同种文化里的适应较易获得，但异种文化的同化作用却会产生截然不同的问题。

当这种融和被带进音乐和绘画，即使不是真的不相融和，我们也能感到某种不协调。有谁能模仿荷兰画派或威尼斯画派在宣纸上表现中国的传统主题吗？阿尔伯特纪念堂[7]可以容纳喊“V”表示“胜利”的国际观众，但艺术却不是这样蓬勃的商业。它脆弱，过于敏感，要求高度的诚实，投机取巧无法达到完美。

当中国的外交官在凡尔赛就国际问题辩论的时候，中国国内也陷入一场激烈的哲学论战，一方是反科学的理想主义者，如梁漱溟[8]，另一方是以胡适博士、陈独秀和李大钊为首的唯物主义者。李大钊后来成为一名共产主义者，为信仰牺牲了生命。这场全国范围内论争的主题，是科学与生活的关系。第一次欧洲战争也始终是关注的焦点，唯物主义者把这场战争全然归于英德两国争夺市场的冲突，而与科学的邪恶影响毫不相关。这场论战到1922年达到高峰，双方均从相关立场出发提出质疑，中国文明能否与西方文明共存，如果不能，该如何和在什么地方进行调节。论战双方都渴望中国文明存在下去，只是唯物主义者更热切盼望中国文明成为世界文明的一部分。

理性的中国人对机器的不信任根深蒂固，从来就没有得到治愈。每一次灾难降临到西方的头上，这种声音就会抬头。上次大战末期，一位中国学者写道：“以权宜之计践踏基本法有违常情。西方文明有不少长处，但我们必须保证不使我们自身蒙受西方文明的罪恶。如果孔子能开动飞机和潜艇，我敢肯定，他不会使用它们来伤害无辜。”[9]

卓越的留英学生辜鸿铭曾把一些中国古典名著译成英文，而在上次大战期间，他却成为了一位狂热的机器反对者。他写道：“西方人教你善良，是要使你要么恐惧上帝，要么恐惧法律。若没了这样的恐惧，就连兄弟和近邻都不能彼此信任。”[10]

在欧洲大陆枪炮轰鸣的时候，中国响起了“精神文明”的呼声，有许多预言家宣告，西方文明正在没落。1919年，梁启超在他的《欧游心影录》里，把第一次世界大战描述成是纯然唯物主义、西方人纯然机械论生活观的天惩报应。

三十年过去了，那些怀疑的声音仍能听到。1939年以来，整个地球再一次燃起枪弹炮火的闪光。中国著名历史学家钱穆教授近来写道：“整个世界正在获得一种新经验，欧洲人试图把知识变为权力，掠夺地球上财富的势力已经达到饱和点。机器好多次暴露出可怕的獠牙，急欲要吞没整个人类。已经再也没有新大陆可发现，再也没有潜在的殖民地可供列强分享。每一次战争，都要有成百上千万人丧生。除非这场战争把西方文明之灯完全熄灭，否则他们是不会接受一条新途径的，要么复归古希腊的生活方式，要么有系统地阐释一种新基督教，要么干脆转向东方寻求拯救。中国学习西方文明已经付出巨大的代价，重蹈覆辙是难以想象的。”[11]

尽管没人能证明机器有灵魂，可它实在也不是十九世纪时我们的祖辈所想象的大妖怪。我曾听过一个有趣的故事，讲述两个阿拉伯绅士受英国政府之邀来访，自然大开眼界，参观了默西隧道、无线电台、电视等等。这对两位来自沙漠的客人来讲是难得的乐事，离开时，英国官员请他们选一件用得着的纪念品带回去，而且估计他们会想要一台电视机或能录《鲁拜集》原文的录音机。但根本不是这样。两位阿拉伯绅士环顾四周好一会儿。让官员失望的是，两人对这些并没有特别的兴趣。不久，其中一个阿拉伯人打破了尴尬的沉默，觉得在沙漠里没有比水更珍贵的东西，于是他要了一对水龙头，一个冷水，一个热水。他想，只要一拧龙头，就有水喝，是多么美好啊！

这个故事很可笑，自然也不可信，但它可以作为我的例证来说明上个世纪中国人的科学观。最先，我们嘲笑你们那有用的龙头，尔后，我们屈尊地承认，能得到一两个龙头也许是个好主意。日本人不仅获得了龙头，还派出许多人接受培训成为管子工。但他们的管子工从未学会如何关掉总开关。从1898年戊戌变法以后，中国的实业家们开始接触龙头，却不知用它来干什么，而知识分子手里握着又长又卷的管子，又无法与龙头连接。我得明确这个隐喻了，龙头我是指实用的科学产品。我们了解机车、飞机和电话的原理之前，早就开始享受着铁路的速度、电话的方便和飞机的奇妙。但直到最近，我们才能够制造它们。管子我是用来指科学的态度：观察而非沉思，理性而非直觉，分析而非综合。这种态度的改变影响了中国知识分子很长时间。我觉得，中国知识分子认识到龙头必须与管子连接，是中国对机器的态度最新、最成熟的表现。二十年代初期，学者们辩论的时候，正值军阀们进行着毫无意义的内

战，每一方都用从同一来源购得的最新式武器装备起来。我们没用多长时间就懂得了龙头要和管子连接。我们也认识到，机器不是西方文明的唯一财产，而且，机器自身有其广阔的背景和悠久的传统。不久前，杨人教授在一篇文章里指出，直到现在，中国对科学的态度还是十分功利性的，只求实际的好处。他写道："西方文明是以全方位的理论科学为基础的。牛顿是位伟大的科学家，可他这一生并未发明机器，但在他那个时代没有实用价值的地心吸力理论，却构成今天现代科学的重要基石。再向上追溯，幸而有文艺复兴时期人文主义的解放，使人类在自然现象面前打开了视野，要不即便天才的牛顿也不会发现什么。达尔文曾经后悔无法欣赏莎士比亚。我们也不能在没有掌握丰富科学知识的情况下享受科学。"[12]

这种态度是种新的清醒客观的认识，我以为它体现出对西方更深意义上的评价。

我常想到交通灯的发明，置于路口显著位置，人们禁不住要看。对我，交通灯具有双重的象征意义。首先，它体现着民主的好与坏。如果红灯停时，另一条路上没有车辆通过，你会觉得交通灯讨厌，耽误时间。若是在半夜，附近没有警察，遇到这种情况，就有人想溜过去。但当交叉路口交通拥挤，庞大的军车队伍在你身旁吭哧吭哧等红灯，而你骑着单车大胆穿行时，想想你会感到多么安全。1940年，我想许多人已经丢掉了民主的信仰。他们读着议会上冗长的讨论报告，想起集结在加来的德国机械化部队，许多人对红灯失去了耐心，有的甚至试图溜过去，有成有败。从长远考虑，民主之路会赢得战争。因为，虽然德国之路是高效的，却只是单行道。单行道拥塞不堪了，人人只能自求多福！

交通灯的第二个意义在于它控制机器的功能。这是一项反发明，是要控制速度和冲力。假如电力发明者忘了发明开关，那我们今天就剩不下几个人了。二十年代初，有轨电车刚出现在北京街头时，我还是孩子，真觉得那东西危险。我总想，要是哪辆车脱了轨，冲进一条窄胡同，撞毁许多房子和里面的红木家具，得有多可怕。我头一次坐有轨电车是非常不情愿的，因为我听传言说如果电车跑了电，乘客都会失明。我是个怪异的孩子，决定还是不为坐一次而去冒险。过了好长时间，我发现电车司机手里操纵着几个控制杆，像汽车一样——我们管汽车叫"街老虎"。即便现在，每当我接触高度机械化的东西，首先关心它能否受控制。我做的关于机器的噩梦，就是恐惧它失去控制。你们记得查理·卓别林《摩登时代》里那架差点叫他掉了牙、丢了半拉脑袋的机器喂食机吗？福斯特作品中的机器失去了控制，赫胥黎的也是。中国人常说不能因噎废食。我们需要的是为每一部强力高效的机器配置一个强力高效的开关，为那些无情的高速卡车，安装无情的交通灯。

东西一旦发明出来，想再摆脱它，总是徒劳无益，简直不可能办到。咱们，你们和我，纵然每天查抄所经过的每一幢房子，又能打碎多少收音机？因此，我确信，为使发明的东西得到控制，唯一的保护是鼓励反发明。我觉得，这么做能够避免个人的毁灭，同时也能使人承受得起这不可抗拒的进步。在发明家忙于发明新式变速器的时候，就让小心谨慎者制造出更多的交通灯。我们有开明的宪法这一政治交通灯，也要有控制私人资本的经济交通灯，还应有一个基本的保护，即一种自由的教育和适当的社会服务机制。前者确保个人不仅仅是这个庞大的现代机器世界里的一个齿轮，后者确保个人不会任由他人摆布。中国向何处去？英国向何处去？人类向何处去？答案只能由在我们身后像煤气表一样嘀答前进的沉默的历史做出。我不是个政府代理人，从来也不是，我只代表自己讲话。我心目中的中国既不是一个老古玩店，也不是一个生产车间。我不想看到她止步不前。如果必要，我要把这称为一个“新中国”的婴儿，面对自然的残酷和陈腐制度的束缚，以热情的心、冷静的头脑和灵巧的双手，冒尽风险，向一切不可能的事物挑战，走出自己的路。

到此，我们一直在探讨中国作家对机器的反应。现在，我们来谈论中国文化的未来。我得承认，我是个愚笨的人，没有想象力，也没有勇气沉醉在迷幻的梦想里。我想，如果我能向你们描画出战后中国文化的光明前景，我该是个不错的宣传员，而你们这些听众也能兴奋起来。但首先，我们必须自问“文化依赖的是什么？”

要研究中国文化的境况，决不能忘记经济前景和政治稳定的问题。我们都清楚，一个自由的教育体制是文化兴盛繁荣的基础，而政治动乱和不安全的社会因素都是教育的大敌。中国的贫穷对大众教育的进步是一大障碍。另外，如果你们留心中国留学生所学的科目，就会发现，自从1931年日本侵略东北，学习技术科目越来越流行，几乎没有人选修一般的文化科目。例如，他们选择更为狭窄的专业科目，像畜牧业，而不选生物学；选择造船业或钢铁建筑业，而不选一般的工程技术。这并不是说这些年轻的中国学生对文化没感情，至少，我认识这么一位医科学生，比起他的解剖标本，他更喜欢他那部能播放古典音乐的留声机。这只能解释为，这些年轻人越来越清楚民族的迫切需要，在许多情形下牺牲了自己的爱好。

日本侵略的另一间接结果，是中国的学校和大学引进了军事训练。（连利顿勋爵都没有注意到这一点。）曾几何时，我们还在反对把年轻人组织起来训练。我们曾愉快地假扮侦察员和向导，可从没有梦想学校的课程把投手榴弹包括进来。我在大学的最后两年，正好赶上这场新运动。穿着那灰制服，埋伏在麦子地里，参加模拟战，令我感到坐立不

安。学校在战后还会需要军训吗？我想，你们会同意，答案得问政治家，而不是学校的校长。

政府发言人在战时公布的措施，多是出于权宜之计。当暴风雨平息下来，一切归于平静，疲乏、焦虑的中国青年会像英国青年一样，回到他们饱受战争之苦的家园。随着痛苦悲惨、不堪回首的战争记忆渐渐黯淡，中国青年的思想将越发明晰。

如果我们相信中国悠久丰富的文明遗产有价值，那我们也就能够相信他们眼中的光明前景。

［此篇为作者在伦敦中国学会所作的演讲］

2. IBSEN IN CHINA
—And the Chinese Annoyance at Bernard Shaw

In China, Ibsen is looked upon as a social surgeon rather than as a playwright. For a decade he was almost idolized by the Chinese intelligentsia. Not that we chose him, rather he expressed the mood of the young Chinese when the literary revolution was launched. In those days, China was so hopelessly ill, that she needed a daring doctor capable of prescribing the most desperate remedies. Ibsen appeared the most violent iconoclast to us then. It is difficult for a Westerner to imagine the effect on us when we found a dramatist inciting wives to flee from their egoistic but lawful husbands and making a hero of a crazy doctor who defies the unanimous decisions of a whole town. Social conventions dating from the time of the Yellow Emperor began to be challenged. Individuals began to assert their right to think and act. China, the giant sleeper in the valley of eternity, suddenly woke up from an agonizing nightmare. For the nineteenth century had come to be associated with poverty, corruption and the threats of "ocean devils". The great Chinese Empire was about to sink at any moment. Fate was merely waiting for the partitioning powers to agree. Young Chinese had read the ominous stories of India and Korea. Aware of the impending danger, they were naturally appalled, impatient and deeply angry with native traditions that bound the feet of their women and bent the backs of their men. They revolted, and the Imperial executioner cut off many an intelligent head in the Covent Garden of Peking. But the revolt continued. The Chinese press itself was aflame. In 1909, a newspaper editor was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for printing the headline: To Save China We Need Violent Upheaval. And from 1909 on there was indeed an upheaval! Feuds among waning warlords, demonstrations by students, anarchists and communists. Placid, stoical Confucian China suddenly became a cauldron seething with an unprecedented concoction of good and evil.

In the midst of the revolt, young Chinese, especially those who had studied abroad, found sympathizers in Europe. Foremost of these was the Norwegian dramatist Ibsen. His works seemed to express their own

resentment against existing society and their passion for revolt. Too excited to bother about the details of his theatrical art, they called to him from their desperate loneliness, "Beloved teacher, at last we have found you!" He was hailed by young China as a comrade rebel, a champion of individual rights. Thus an Oriental shrine was built for the Sage from Scandinavia. Like all shrines, of course, it was not a permanent one. However, Ibsen was revered by the intellectuals of rebellious China for well over a decade, a very juvenile but memorable decade during which both problem plays and problem fiction enjoyed a nation-wide vogue.

With the rising popularity of the vernacular, nothing could have departed more from tradition than the modern Chinese drama. It was first experimented with by a group of Chinese students in Tokio, and the earliest European plays adapted were *La Dame aux Camélias* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Both appealed strongly to the Chinese who were suffering from racial oppression, and the bonds of a narrow matrimonial convention. But no European playwright had been introduced into China seriously and systematically before Ibsen. About 1917, translations of his plays began to appear in *New Youth*, the leading organ of the movement. *A Doll's House* was followed by *The Enemy of the People* and others, including *The Lady from the Sea*. The sexes were still segregated on the Chinese stage, and at that time men were proud to play the role of the mutinous Nora. In 1918, Dr. Hu Shih, the guiding spirit of the movement(former Chinese Ambassador to Washington) published his essay on Ibsenism. He presented Ibsen as the most sound social doctor for China, "the quintessence of the healthy individualism of the last century. To improve society, we must first build up a sound self, a free and independent personality, critical of our existing environment. We must have the courage to speak the truth, to attack society when it becomes corrupt, like that indomitable soul, Dr. Stockmann."

Ibsen's popularity in China between 1917 to 1921 cannot be exaggerated. For a time the theme of a play was crudely interpreted as "the social problem it dealt with". Obviously it was also held by critics as a convenient criterion. Some have accused our moralizing critics of counting the number of fashionable terms like "hunger" and "exploitation" employed by the author before they passed their final verdict as to whether a work was "solid". But playwrights themselves also formed a habit of describing their works in terms of "problems" dealt with. One author wrote apologetically, "Although the play is aesthetically immature, I am glad to say that I have

touched on matrimony and rural bankruptcy, the two up-to-date social problems confronting us." The People's Theatre in its opening announcement in 1921 declared, "Mr. Bernard Shaw once said that the theatre is the place for propaganda. Although we do not fully endorse this, we can at least say that the age to look down on drama as a form of recreation has definitely passed. The modern theatre is a wheel to drive social progress forward; it is also a microscope to detect the diseases in our environment. It is a merciless mirror in which all the squalid aspects of our community life will be reflected."

Exposure of social injustice and evil has always been a favourite theme of Chinese fiction. Innumerable novels and stories had been written throughout the ages caricaturing wicked mandarins and rapacious country squires. These were in fact the sole outlet for public sentiment under the Imperial regime. This cardinal function of our literature has continued till to-day without a break, from *The True Story of Ah Q* by Lu Hsün to Chang Tien-yi's *Mr. Hua Wei*. Thanks to Ibsen, this attempt became even more conscious and deliberate. In the Chinese plays of the 'twenties, the settings were often laid in an atmosphere of corruption, the plot evolving in a family full of concubines, with an ostensibly Confucian but inwardly rotten public figure as chief protagonist. In this inferno, one hears the affected titters of prostitutes, the yawns of millionaires and the mutters of the oppressed. It is not unusual at the climax to have a sober youth flourishing a torch who condemns all the "lice and worms of an accursed society", and welcomes with open arms a vague and undefined new world. One fact that particularly interests me is that Ibsen was an anarchist in youth. The early period of modern Chinese literature was strongly anarchist in character. It expressed a vehement indignation with this clumsily created world and a passion for a rosy paradise where the individual is free.

It is quite safe to say that there is a vein of Ibsenism in nearly every Chinese author. Kuo Mo-jo, one of our most prolific and versatile writers, in his three historical plays written in 1922 entitled *Three Rebellious Women*, preached a mixture of socialism and feminism. *Cho Wen-chun*, for instance, is the story of a widow of about 100 B. C. who eloped with the scholar Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju who had wooed her by playing his lute. For centuries this incident had been regarded as a shocking scandal. Kuo chose this theme to champion the right of a widow to remarry. The performance of this play by the girls of a Normal School in Chekiang province in 1923 caused the

dismissal of its president. Later it was gravely condemned as obscene by the local Educational Board.

After a while the development of problem plays satisfied neither the pure dramatist nor the ideologist. Not Ibsen but the restless spirit of young China was really to blame. Looking back on the waves that washed the banks of modern Chinese literature one finds, to the great displeasure of the Marxists, that the tide immediately following Ibsen's individualism was romantic even to the verge of decadence. When the mania for the serious Ibsen subsided, Oscar Wilde and Baudelaire in various exotic hues caught the imagination of young Chinese writers. In poetry, "the flower of fire" (in block type) was an image used to excess. In drama, the popularity of problem plays was supplanted by that of the sentimental plays of Tien Han, founder of the famous Nan Kuo Movement. For a time, the stage nearly drained the tear-ducts of Chinese theatre-goers. When they heard that Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* had caused many suicides in Germany, several ultra-sensitive souls promptly sacrificed their lives after seeing Tien Han's *Tragedy on the Lake*, or after reading Kuo Mo-jo's *Fallen Leaves*. However, this morbid condition did not last long. In 1925, when the incident occurred in which the Shanghai police protecting the interests of Japanese mill-owners, shot a number of Chinese students and workers, the whole country was flooded with natural indignation. Creation Society, the influential literary group which had been mainly responsible for the decadent trend, suddenly became the passionate exponents of proletarian literature. Thence began the literary civil wars which lasted until the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937 when Chinese writers formed a united front.

Technically, the problem playwrights made a serious blunder. They had grasped the social gospel of Ibsen and preached it in earnest. But they had overlooked the function of popular entertainment. Consequently problem plays became synonymous with medieval didactic plays. Of all the alleged "disciples" of Ibsen, Bernard Shaw is the best known in China. His visit to us a decade ago was as eventful as that of Tagore, though he came merely as a tourist. But how intimately he is associated with the problem play is difficult to say. The average reader is probably most impressed by his devastating humour and fantastic and fruitful situations. That he is the most successful preacher among modern playwrights is beyond doubt. There have been many attempts to build him a shrine in China. However, a somewhat unfortunate occurrence once served as a warning to all problem playwrights. In the spring

of 1921, a Chinese audience rudely cold-shouldered *Mrs. Warren's Profession*. Till then, adaptations of European plays had been mainly supported by the student class. An ambitious producer, Mr. Wang Chung-hsien, wanted to extend his audience to the ordinary theatre-goers of Shanghai. It took him a long time to persuade several popular actors and actresses to take part in the Chinese version of Mr. Shaw's play. Generally, the theatre in which it was to be produced advertised its programme in two newspapers only. This time, Mr. Wang decided to advertise in five. But the most prosperous day of this "problem play" was only 60 per cent of the leanest day of an ordinary variety. Even more regrettable, in the second act, when Mrs. Warren began to tell Vivie the story of her life, several fashionable ladies in the front stalls rose to leave and not without grumbling. After this heavy blow, the producer good-humouredly commented on his ungrateful and unintelligent audience: "Some of them quite failed to understand the play, some understood but found the plot lacking in surprise. Some had moral objections to Mrs. Warren herself and others disliked the repetition of such frequently abused terms as 'freedom of woman' and 'economic equality'. Of course to those who had seen the play abroad, our performance was far below European standards." Some impulsive critics immediately suggested that we should separate "play" from "ism" altogether. Mr. Wang, however, preferred a compromise. He wanted plays with simple progressive ideas and an intriguing plot. We could thus assure the intelligentsia of the country that we were still on the right track while sparing the yawns of an unintellectual audience.

This "patching-up" scheme did not meet with the approval of the more serious-minded. Admittedly, Chinese dramatic critics began to question the advantage of linking problem to play. Prof. Wen Yi-to, author of *Dead Water*, thought the whole question was but a comedy of errors. "Modern drama came to China by accident. The first playwright happened to be Ibsen, and Ibsen happened to use drama as a medium for preaching his social ideas, so we have imagined ever since that the idea is the foremost element of drama. When Wilde, Shaw, Hoffmann and Galsworthy were introduced to us their ideas always came before their art." The protest of Prof. Chao T'ai-mo was even more frank. He warned playwrights that they had no right to employ actors as mouthpieces for their views on social and political problems. "I think we have misplaced art and life altogether. It is the domain of art to seek into the depths of human nature and to express the fundamental

power of life."

To be fair, the primary motive of the entire literary movement was social reform. At first, the campaign was really "psychological reconstruction". Literature was the medium. Art seems to have come in as an afterthought. Since then, Chinese critics have become increasingly sophisticated. But in the beginning of the Republican era, the young Chinese generation, of whom the writers were the most articulate, was like an adolescent. The sudden realization of the vastness of the outside world dazzled him, but the senseless civil wars and wretched conditions at home made him despair. He was tormented by both past and present. The future held nothing but uncertainty. He longed to be healthy and free like others, but he did not know how. He was not yet armed with the means of revolution, nor had he mastered weapons of sarcasm. But he realized that mere pessimism was no solution. This helpless, undefined anger culminated in a state of aloof solitude. He was like a dissatisfied boy, tramping a filthy back lane on a sunny afternoon, with his hands in his pockets. He spat at everything. Even to the little dog rushing up to play with him, he would cry "Go away, and leave me alone!" Ibsen seemed to have understandingly patted the back of this sullen downhearted child. When Dr. Stockmann gallantly concluded in *The Enemy of the People,*"The strongest man on earth is he who stands most alone", he seemed to have expressed young China in that memorable period far more than Confucius in any of his utterings.

贰　易卜生在中国

——中国人对萧伯纳的困扰

与其说易卜生在中国被视为一个戏剧家，还不如说他被当成一位外科医生，专治各种社会问题。十年间，他几乎被中国知识分子顶礼膜拜。并不是我们选择了他，而是因为当文学革命发起时，他表达了中国年轻一辈的心声。当时中国病入膏肓，需要一位勇敢的医生，能给她开出最大胆的药方。而对我们来说，易卜生是最猛烈攻击传统观念的人。西方人难以想象易卜生对我们的影响：这位戏剧家煽动太太们从合法但自私的丈夫身边逃走或将一位敢于蔑视全镇一致通过的决定的疯狂大夫塑造为一位英雄。在中国，始自黄帝时期的社会习俗受到挑战。个人要求维护自己思想和行为的权利。中国这个在永生山谷里沉睡的巨人，突然被从一场痛苦的噩梦中惊醒。十九世纪的中国同贫穷、腐败和“洋鬼子”的威胁联系在一起。大清帝国随时都会沉没，命运只能是等待列强的分割。中国的年轻一辈读了印度和朝鲜有警示意义的小说，清楚认识到迫在眉睫的危险，他们自然对妇女缠足、男人打躬作揖的传统习俗感到恐惧、不耐烦并极其愤怒。他们反叛了，有许多富于思想的头颅，被清廷刽子手在菜市口砍下。反叛在继续，中国新闻界也燃烧起来。1909年，有位报社编辑因印刷标题“只有剧变才能救中国”被判处一年徒刑。但从1909年开始，中国确实开始了剧变！日渐衰落的军阀之间出现仇恨，学生、无政府主义者和共产主义者开始示威游行，平静、禁欲的孔教中国，突然变成一口前所未有的煮沸的大锅，锅里调配着善良与邪恶。

在反叛期间，中国的年轻一辈，尤其那些留洋学生，找到了欧洲的支持者。第一位便是挪威戏剧家易卜生。他的剧作似乎表达出他们自身对现行社会秩序的憎恨和对反叛的热望。他们太兴奋了，以致并不去考虑易卜生戏剧艺术的细节，他们因为自身绝望的孤独而呼唤他：“亲爱的老师，我们终于找到你了！”他被年轻的中国当成一位叛逆的同志和个人权利的捍卫者。就这样，这位来自斯堪的纳维亚的圣人的东方神殿建立起来了。当然，像所有的神殿一样，它也不是永恒的。但易卜生受反叛的中国知识分子的崇拜达十年之久，在这幼稚却令人难忘的十年里，问题剧和问题小说在中国国内广泛流行。

随着白话文的日益普及，没有比现代中国戏剧更背离传统的了。一群在东京求学的留日学生作了最早的尝试，最先改编的是两出欧洲戏《茶花女》和《黑奴吁天录》。它们对遭受种族压迫和婚姻习俗束缚的中国人具有强烈的吸引力。但在易卜生之前，并没有哪位欧洲戏剧家被

认真而有系统地介绍到中国过。大约1917年，易卜生戏剧的译作开始出现在新文化运动的喉舌《新青年》上，先后有《傀儡家庭》、《国民公敌》、《海上夫人》等剧作。当时中国的舞台上还禁止男女同台，男演员为能饰演叛逆的娜拉而感自豪。1918年，新文化运动领导人胡适博士（前中国驻华盛顿大使）发表《易卜生主义》一文，称易卜生为救治中国最高明的社会医生，上个世纪健康的个人主义的典范，他认为要改进社会，必须首先确立健全的自我、自由独立的人格，并对现行社会状况提出批判。要像《国民公敌》里那个不可征服的斯托克曼一样，敢于说实话，敢于攻击社会腐败情形。

1917年到1921年间，易卜生在中国非常受欢迎。那时，一出戏的主题总被粗略地理解为它所“涉及的社会问题”。显然，这对批评家来讲也是实用的标准。有人指责惯于说教的批评家只会统计像“饥饿”、“剥削”等时髦的新词在剧中出现的次数，从而对一部剧作是否“扎实”作出最后的评判。不过，戏剧家自己也形成了用剧作所涉及的“问题”来描述其作品的习惯。一位作家愧疚地写道：“尽管这出戏在艺术上尚不成熟，但我很高兴地说，它涉及了婚姻和农村破产这两个当今我们所面临的社会问题。”1921年人民剧院揭幕时宣告：“萧伯纳先生说过，剧院是宣传的场所。虽然我们不完全赞成这种说法，但至少可以说，把戏剧贬为一种娱乐形式的时代已经一去不复返。现代剧院是推动社会进步的车轮和发现社会病症的显微镜。它是一面无情的镜子，我们社会生活中所有丑恶的一面都会被映照出来。”[13]

揭露社会的邪恶与不公正始终是中国小说最喜欢表现的主题。多年来，无数的长篇、短篇小说都在用漫画式手法讽刺邪恶的官吏和贪婪的乡绅。事实上，这也是处在清帝国统治下的人们发泄情感的唯一方法。从鲁迅的《阿Q正传》到张天翼的《华威先生》，中国文学的这一主要功能一直持续到今天，从未间断。感谢易卜生，使这种努力变得更自觉和从容。二十年代的中国戏剧，常常把背景置于腐化堕落的环境下，剧情从一个妻妾成群的家庭展开，主角是一位表面上仁义道德内心却腐烂不堪的公众人物。在这阴森恐怖的地狱里，可以听到妓女装腔作势的窃笑声、大富翁困倦的呵欠声和被压迫者的抱怨声。这样的戏剧高潮并不罕见：一个头脑清醒的青年挥动火炬，诅咒着“社会的虫豸蛀蛆”，张开双臂迎接一个模糊的新世界。特别叫我感兴趣的一个事实是，易卜生年轻时是一位无政府主义者。早期的中国现代文学具有强烈的无政府主义气质，表达出对这个丑陋世界的强烈愤慨和对个性自由的乐园的热切向往。

不妨说几乎每一位中国作家身上都具有易卜生主义倾向。我们最富创造力、多才多艺的作家之一郭沫若，在1922年写成的《三个叛逆的女

性》三部历史剧中，提倡社会主义与男女平等。又如，《卓文君》讲的是大约公元前100年，卓文君这位寡妇与以弹琴求爱的学者司马相如私奔的故事。几个世纪以来这件事一直被视为大逆不道的丑闻。郭沫若选择这一题材是要维护寡妇再婚的权利。1923年这出戏在浙江的女子师范学校演出，导致校长被开除。之后，当地教育会严厉指责该剧伤风败俗。

没过多久，不光剧作家，连理论家也对问题剧的发展感到不满意。青年中国的急躁情绪，而不是易卜生应该受到指责。回顾冲刷中国现代文学的波浪，人们可以发现，紧随易卜生个人主义的潮汐甚至浪漫到了颓废的边缘，这引起马克思主义者的极大不满。随着对严肃的易卜生的狂热减退，奥斯卡·王尔德和波德莱尔以其各不相同的异国色调激发起中国年轻作家的想象力。在诗歌中，“火花”成了被过度使用的一个意象。在戏剧界，流行的问题剧被著名的南国运动的发起者田汉的情感剧所取代。舞台一时几乎排干了中国剧迷的泪腺，一些过于敏感的人听说歌德的《少年维特的烦恼》在德国导致许多人自杀，也在观看了田汉的《湖上的悲剧》或读了郭沫若的《落叶》之后，猝然间结束了自己的生命。然而，这种病态的情形没有持续多久。1925年，上海发生了警察为保护日本厂主的利益，开枪射杀中国学生和工人的五卅惨案，这在全国激起了极大的愤慨。创造社是个有影响的文学社团，对文学的颓废倾向负有主要责任，却突然间变成了普罗文学的热情拥护者。由此开始了文学内战，一直持续到1937年抗日战争爆发，中国作家才形成统一战线。

从技术上讲，问题剧作家们犯了个大错。他们只是抓住易卜生的社会福音并竭力宣传它，但他们忽略了大众娱乐的功能。结果，问题剧成了中世纪说教剧的同义语。在所有声称是易卜生的“门徒”的人当中，萧伯纳是在中国最为熟知的一位。十年前，他虽然只是以旅游者的身份来中国，但他的到来同泰戈尔访华一样重大。不过他同问题剧的联系有多密切，这很难说。一般读者对他的最深刻印象，大概来自其富有魅力的幽默和丰富而奇特的剧情。毫无疑问，他是现代剧作家中最成功的说教者。问题剧作家们也曾多次想为他在中国建立圣殿，但一件不幸的事使他们得到了警告。1921年春，中国观众对上演的《华伦夫人之职业》冷淡得近乎无礼。直到那时，支持改编欧洲戏的主要是学生。而雄心勃勃的制作人汪仲贤想把观众扩展到上海的普通戏迷。他花费很多时间说服了几位知名的男女演员，参加演出中文版的《华伦夫人之职业》。通常情况下，那家剧院只在两家报纸为其演出目录打打广告，这次，汪先生决定在五家报纸上做广告。但演出这一“问题剧”时，观众人数最多的一天都未及一场普通杂耍表演观众最少时的六成。更令人遗憾的是，第二幕当华伦夫人向维维讲述自己的生活故事时，坐在前排的几个时髦太太

抱怨着离座而去。在这一沉重打击过后，好幽默的汪仲贤评论这些无知又不领情的观众时说：“有些人是根本不知所云，有的人倒是看明白了，可觉得剧情还不够离奇。有些人道德上并不赞成华伦夫人，还有些人不喜欢‘妇女自由’和‘经济平等’这种词的频繁出现。当然，对那些在国外看过该剧演出的观众，又会觉得我们的表演离欧洲水准相差太远。”[14]一些冲动的批评家立即提出，我们应当把“剧”和“主义”完全分开。然而汪先生更喜欢折衷的办法，他要把简单的进步思想融入复杂的戏剧情节里。这样，我们就能向中国知识分子保证，我们既坚持了正确的道路，又不会使无知的观众呵欠连天。

严肃的人们是不会赞同这种“拼凑”路子的。诚然，中国的戏剧批评家们已经开始质疑将社会问题与戏剧联系起来的优势。《死水》的作者闻一多教授认为，整个问题只是一场错误的喜剧。“近代戏剧是碰巧走到中国来的。他们介绍了一位社会改革家——易卜生。碰巧易卜生曾经用写剧本的方法宣传过思想。第一次认识戏剧既是从思想方面认识的，所以从此我们仿佛说‘思想’是戏剧的第一个条件。不信，你看后来介绍萧伯纳，介绍王尔德，介绍哈夫曼，介绍高尔斯华绥。哪一次不是注重思想，哪一次介绍的真是戏剧的艺术？”[15]赵太侔教授的批评更为尖锐，他告诫说剧作家没有权利利用演员来作他们社会观和政治观的传声筒。“我感到，我们完全把艺术与生活摆错了位置。探求人性的深奥，表现原始的生命力，才是艺术的范畴。”[16]

公正地说，整个文学运动的主要动机是社会改革。起初，这场运动实在是一场“心理重建”，文学是媒介，艺术似乎不过是事后的想法。在这之后，中国的批评家逐渐变得老练。可在民国初年，中国年轻一代还像个正值青春期的少年，而作家是其中最善于表达的一群人。外部世界的广阔让他眼花缭乱，而国内毫无意义的内战和恶劣的境况又让他绝望。他被以往和现在折磨着。未来是那么难以把握。他盼望像其他人一样健康、自由，却不知如何去做。他还没有被革命的手段武装起来，也没有掌握讥讽的武器。但他明白，只有悲观主义无助于事。这种无助而又模糊的愤怒最终累积成一种清冷的孤独。他就像个失意的孩子，在一个阳光灿烂的午后，手插在兜里，走在一条肮脏丑陋的巷子里，对着一切啐唾沫。有条小狗跑过来跟他玩，他喊道：“走开，让我一个人呆在这儿！”易卜生在这个愁眉不展、心灰意冷的孩子的背上，善解人意地拍了拍。当斯托克曼博士在《国民公敌》的剧终勇敢地说出“世上最强有力的人就是那个最孤独的人”时，在这个令人难忘的时期，这句话比孔子的任何言论都更能表达年轻中国的想法。

3. THE DRAGON BEARDS VERSUS THE BLUEPRINTS
—An Apology for Modern China

The twentieth century has not been a pleasant period, and we have all had our bitter experiences. Here in England people have painful memories of the last European war, Munich, and the dark summer of 1940. They have seen the beautiful coastline of their islands fenced with hideous barbed wire, their enchanting lawns and meadows ploughed up for potatoes or sugar beet, and for long enough people slept under pianos or dining-tables, or in the "tube". Not long ago I visited Bath, a city whose name drifted through my dreams like a gentle breeze. To me it is the most charming of the English provincial towns. When l went to the Abbey there was a queue of some length, mostly women, staring in the direction of the tower. I thought they were visitors waiting to see the Abbey, and I looked for a Fanny Burney or a Jane Austen, enjoying a leisurely morning gossip. But they all looked too anxious for gossip; and soon my wartime commonsense told me that they were queueing for chocolates and sweets. So many changes have come to England, this pleasant land, because of the war. China has been fighting a desperate battle ever since the middle of the nineteenth century, not only against military invasion, not only against economic exploitation, but also against an alien way of life, a mode of thinking that was to be imposed on her. Until 1900, China resisted at an enormous cost the cultural infiltration of the West. Like all agricultural countries, she was conservative to the point of bigotry. She wanted to keep her own charming if perhaps sluggish way of living. She turned her back on the machine, and burned the first railway built on her soil. She wanted to keep her ancient calligraphy in the face of a world of typewriters, she wanted to drift in junks with vermilion sails through a world of aircraft carriers and torpedoes. Above all, she wanted to keep away from the world of inventions, which was busily harnessing nature's powers instead of simply appreciating them. Would she be allowed to do so? Defeat upon defeat, from 1840 onwards, provided the outside world's eloquent and effective answer. From 1900, China struggled in earnest for readjustment, not without a sense of inferiority which was sometimes expressed in servility to

Western ways and sometimes in sheer arrogance.

The mood of the intellectuals of modern China is a very odd one, and I am not sure that Westerners have ever understood it, for if they had, they would not try to encourage a nostalgia for the past. If I may liken the whole world to a schoolroom, then China entered, or rather was propelled into this schoolroom some time in the early part of the nineteenth century as a new student, shy yet arrogant, clumsy and outlandish, wearing an old-fashioned pigtail and with finger-nails some four inches long. Until then this student had roamed at large, protected by high mountain ranges and wide oceans, not to mention the Great Wall; but once he entered the classroom he found himself obliged to get his certificate, by which I mean "national existence", or perish. Although this clumsy big boy was much older than the others and had quite a sound classical education, he came to the school very much later than anyone else. He looked so haughty and so awkward that no decent student could help teasing him. One pulled his ear, another tweaked his nose, and another twisted his pigtail. He didn't like that a bit, but the person who really infuriated him was the chap who tried to choke him altogether. That student's name, as you will probably have guessed, was Japan. He had never thought the little fellow capable of so much mischief, and it was a real shock to him. When he faced the schoolmaster, he was simply desperate.

"Do you know any algebra?" asked the teacher.

"No sir. But I can distinguish eighty varieties of orchid."

"Are you a mechanical draughtsman? Could you design a drainage system?"

This time the big boy decided to have a try. He ground his ink and waved his time-honoured brush and dashed a few exquisite strokes on to the paper, like wispy dragon-beards seen through cloud.

The teacher snatched away the brush angrily.

"Drainage is a practical thing. You study the dynamics of water and apply them to the needs of an irrigation system. What the devil are you trying to do? Are you dreaming?"

The whole class burst out laughing and the big boy bit his lips. He felt like crying, but he swallowed his tears and muttered under his breath, "Damn you all!" But the teacher got impatient.

"What about sport? Do you play football? Or tennis? Or squash? Or cricket?"

"I play the bamboo flute and the seven-stringed harp" was all the big

boy could say. You see, however superior his accomplishments they did not qualify him for the certificate, and the certificate he had to have. From then onwards, it became the fashion in the school to kick the big boy and tease him in every possible way. In such circumstances, what do you think he did? Do you think he went on drawing dragon-beards? Not if he had had the least ambition to get the certificate. You may be sure that he learnt his algebra by heart, even while he cursed its crudeness; that he kicked his hot-water bottle out of bed, imagining it to be a football; that he tried his hand at designing a drainage system, which after all is not as dimcult as drawing dragon-beards. Oddly enough, the rest of the school began to take an interest in the dragon-beards after a while—though they thought them a spare-time hobby, of course—and they were surprised to find the big boy making blue-prints for dear life, and well on the way to becoming a footballer, too. The ones who were tired of tweaking his nose began to patronize him.

"What marvellous dragon-beards you used to draw! Why do you go on with these crude plans which you used to think so meaningless?"they said, or "I think it's a pity that an elegant person like yourself should have anything to do with a rough game like football. You should have gone on wearing your long gown—and where are your beautiful finger-nails? What, no pigtail, either!" And all the time the big boy, being a well-mannered big boy, grinned at them and murmured to himself, "Don't worry about the dragon-beards. They are in my blood and they are my inheritance. But I'm not going to miss that school certificate. Let me get the certificate and then perhaps I may make you all draw dragon-beards. And that wouldn't be a bad thing for you, either!" To-day, the big awkward boy is very nearly a professional footballer, covered with scars and bandages, and quickly becoming a proficient draughtsman, too. Do you think it is reasonable to expect the literature produced in such a mood to be genteel and unworldly, like the peaceful productions of the Tang dynasty?

No period in Chinese history has been more unsettled than the past forty years. Take *The Story of the Hair*. Before the 10th October, 1911, anyone who had his pigtail cut off was regarded as a rebel, and was therefore liable to be beheaded. The next morning the Revolutionary Army marched in and proclaimed the abolition of the pigtail, and at once anyone with a pigtail was regarded as a counter-revolutionary and therefore liable to be beheaded. Thirty years ago a bride had no idea of her husband's identity until the wedding night, unless she had managed to bribe her maid. To-day, if a

mother dared to ask her daughter how she was getting on with her boy-friend, she might be told, "It's nothing to do with you; we're getting on fine!" In the summer the modern Chinese girl often goes about bare-legged, and her ambition is either to get into the P. P. C. (our provisional Parliament) or to become a national swimming star. (I am writing, of course, only of the city girls.)

Quite imperceptibly China has been going through an immense transformation. In the past, filial piety was the cardinal virtue and the family the unit of society. To-day, the individual has replaced the family, just as industry is taking the place of craftsmanship and agriculture. Literature, in the face of such changes, cannot remain the same. It is less balanced, less sophisticated; it bears the scars of our age. But it is an honest record of life in contemporary China.

There has been no fundamental departure from the strong yet flexible tradition of European literature comparable with the new movement in China. It is true that they have modern writers who experiment with words, like the author of *Finnigan's Wake*, but the main body of their literature to-day does not differ greatly in form and diction from works produced during the last 300 years. I can find few instances in world history, apart from the growth of modern Turkey, to illustrate the changes which have taken place in present-day China.

When we talk of literature, we speak in terms of at least four things: its language, its form, its content, and why it came to be written. If one examined the work of any Chinese writer, say from Chü Yuan, the author of *Li Sao*, to the end of the nineteenth century, one would find it the same in all these aspects. They all wrote in the traditional "*wenli*" style, known as the classical Chinese style. If they wrote prose, the models were the famous essayists of the eighth and ninth centuries A. D. If they wrote verse, they followed the prosody which has been passed down from the second century B. C. If one asked the poet why he composed his verses, he would probably say, "I want to speak to the clouds, I want to converse with the flowers, and pay my tribute to the delightful season." They wrote a verse when a friend was taking up a new post, they wrote a verse when a friend had a new baby, above all, they wrote when they were just on the borderline between drunkenness and sobriety. If you had asked them why they wrote, you might as well have asked why tulips bloom in spring or why it always snows at Christmas.

They wrote from inspiration according to a traditional pattern.

If one asks a present-day Chinese writer what language he writes in, he will begin by dividing language into two categories, the living and the dead. The dead language means the classical language understood only by the privileged few, while the living language, the vernacular, is the language of the man in the street.

If one asks him what form he uses, he will say: Lu Hsün writes novels, I only write short stories, but Hsü writes poetry and Tsao plays. Literature has been classified, and is at a pedestrial stage. But when one asks why he writes, the answer is even more prosaic, for most of them would answer with a burning look, "l write in order to criticize contemporary life." One curses poverty, another disease, a third the insensitiveness of the urban population, and most of them even expect to see some result from their complaints!

Having parted, so rashly but so inevitably, from their own ancestors, modern Chinese writers were for a period very much astray. Perhaps, after all, some kind of idol-worship is a necessity. Together with this violent outburst of iconoclasm, there developed a centrifugal force seeking inspiration from abroad. The anti-Confucian sentiment at the beginning of the Republic was similar to the English reaction from Puritanism. It is something an outsider finds difficult to understand, because the reaction was not so much against the thing itself but against its social repercussions after more than 2,000 years. When we stay in a room too long, we all feel inclined to draw up the blind, open the window and stretch, to get some fresh air. Well, every writer in China for the past three decades has been trying to force open that old shutter of solid wood, trying to look out beyond the walls of ages. It is in a way similar to the longing for Greek culture and the pagan world which comes out in the English writers. "Ah, Athens", "Ah, Venice", "Ah, Bagdad"; but our route is westbound.

Many people in China during the past centuries had peeped out from behind that solid shutter and had seen in the distance the glories of Western astronomy and mathematics, but it was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that a Chinese naval student in Liverpool brought back something different. He brought back John Stuart Mill's political economy, Darwin's theories of evolution and of the survival of the fittest. Others introduced the pathos of Dickens, the romance of Scott and above all, the plays of that great social rebel, Ibsen. From the suffering of the negroes in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* we learned that the Westerners were not all callous, and

that we were not the only ones to be oppressed. It was then that we began to realize that Europe meant more than battleships and limited companies, and since then, our conception of the West has been completely dualistic. Rightly or wrongly, we resented military power and commercial enterprise of the West, but Western literature aroused our wholehearted admiration.

At the beginning of the vernacular movement, there was a deliberate attempt to enlarge the range of poetic themes, and many poets tried to avoid such hackneyed subjects as a weeping willow in moonlight or the loneliness of a rainy evening, introducing instead eugenics, politics, or a quarrel between a landlord and a tenant. The sexual emancipation of men and women opened up a vast new field for the poets. The passion of newly-emancipated lovers found profuse expression, some of it valuable, most fit only for the fair lady's eyes. The majority of these poems were clumsy, naive, and without restraint. One poet went so far as to write:

> "When I sleep, I see you on the canopy of my mosquito net,
> When I drink tea, I see your image at the bottom of my cup."
> (American "jazz" influence... you're the cream in my coffee.)

You see, a more spiritual way of expressing the emotions had not yet emerged, and the old forms had been thrown overboard. As far as the theme of love is concerned, the growing sophistication of poetry in China means to a large extent the exclusion of the physical.

The vernacular movement in its initial stages was a literary back-to-nature movement, a revolt against the ornate and the sophisticated. Our mistake lay in confusing freedom with formlessness, and much of the poetry of the early 'twenties was hardly distinguishable from prose, except that it took up more printing space. Poetry was deliberately stripped bare. This was the natural reaction of the modern Chinese against the elaborate diction and hackneyed imagery handed down through centuries; the moon ceased at last to be a "jade wheel" or a "silver toad". One of the eight principles laid down by Dr. Hu Shih, then the leading rebel against traditional poetry, was the abolition of all "allusions", which led later on to the disappearance of all imagery. Think of poetry stripped of imagery! Partly as a result of the influence of Tagore's contemplative verse from the West, and partly from the Japanese couplets from the East, a kind of little" poem came into being, which reminds one of casual jottings in a traveller's notebook.

By the latter part of the 'twenties, the tide had turned, and poets had

begun to elaborate their work. Poetry can be sophisticated on the one hand by the use of alien and obscure images, and on the other, by experiment in new and rigid forms, such as the sonnet. At this point I must say a word about the unreliability of translated poems, except Mr. Arthur Waley's, for I think he has done more than translate. The most obvious attractions of poetry are rhythm and imagery. Generally speaking, rhythm must be ruled out in a translation, for it is too difficult to reproduce. As for images, they delight us with their freshness and strange charm. Here is a pitfall, for what has become hackneyed in one language may well strike us with unusual freshness in another. If you have ever asked a Persian friend what he thinks of Omar Khayyám, you will remember how he shrugged his shoulders and said: "Oh well, of course to the English he seems exotic." Two kinds of imagery have been used by recent Chinese poets, the first a rehabilitation of the ancient as in the works of Lin Keng, the other drawn from entirely new sources.

All this confusion was due to a misapprehension as to the place of literature in a democracy. We became republicans thirty-two years ago, and it has taken us a long time to learn where democratic principles should end. We seem to have wanted even poetry to be "democratic". Democracy in politics means equality for all, rich and poor, sensitive and insensitive. How is poetry to cater for the insensitive? Yet the early Chinese vernacular poets actually tried to do so. They regarded poetry as a part of mass education. As a result, a counter-acting dose of strict formalism had to be taken later. It is largely to England that we owe the revival of poetic form, through the late Hsü Chih-mo, who returned from Cambridge to China in the late 'twenties, and started a Poetry Magazine, in which he was at once the poet, the critic, and the translator.

During the period of gradual sophistication the vernacular style was handled by many sensitive writers who had only their creative instinct as guide. One may have guessed the result. An ivory tower was built within the camp of the vernacular writers, and the living language which was supposed to be the language of the people become more obscure than the classical. Far from using the language for the education of the masses they used it to express the obscurities of their own tortuous souls. This artistic separatism outraged the social conscience of other writers, and a literary civil war followed. From the purely artistic point of view, this growing social consciousness is perhaps a loss, but it is a symptom which we should condone and not deplore. Can you imagine a story written to attack the

practice of footbinding, a novel on the necessity of matrimonial freedom, a play showing the life of an exploited miner, a poem to encourage the peasants to co-operate with the army and sabotage the enemy's communications? Much of our present-day literature is concerned with such themes. Some of it is so well written that it may live after its immediate purpose has been served, but the greater part has little hope of survival. Perhaps, if the day ever comes when the earth has been turned into a paradise, a socialist's heaven or an anarchist's dream, every writer will retire into his own Ivory Tower. For there would be no poverty for us to fight, no social unjustice to expose, nothing but comfort and security, freedom and equality. Until this Utopia is achieved, I can see very little hope of our writers shutting their eyes to modern evils and writing like Pope or Pater, or the aesthetes of the Tang dynasty.

We are torn, as writers everywhere are torn, between the natural privilege of a writer to address himself to the clouds, and the citizen's obligation to help his fellow-beings. Aeroplanes overhead and flames on your own roof, the murmur of suffering everywhere, cannot be ignored. Whoever manages to reconcile these two conflicting instincts will write a masterpiece; whoever fails will be forgotten. At least we have begun to realize that the writer who allows his social conscience to override his artistic one has the lesser chance of survival. We have, in fact, begun to distinguish literature from social gospel.

The relationship between experience and technique is another of the universal contradictions of our times. So much gold is revealed by the realist hidden among the rubble of misery and squalor. To see human beings deeply, we need to see them suffer; prisoners in Siberia, or victims in the concentration camps of to-day. There is wit and charm in your Restoration plays, but depth is more often found when character is under strain, in tragic figures such as King Lear. It is an unfortunate paradox that, if the writer has sufficient education and leisure to write, he may know little of suffering to write about, while if he has access to the raw material of life he is probably too much concerned with earning a living or too sensitive to remain detached from his conditions. Neither extreme produces good writing. To survive poverty and suffering and yet acquire an expressive vocabulary is not easy, and I can think of few examples in China. An exception is Mr. Shên Ts'ung-wên, whose early dreams of becoming a general nearly ended in his joining the Peking police force. In the meantime, he became in turn a private in the army, a tax-collector, a clerk and a proofreader, and for the last fifteen years

he has been one of the most brilliant of our novelists.

The sad truth is that writing is not a profitable profession, except perhaps in America. Individual patronage has gone, and State patronage is practised only in Soviet Russia. Literature is neither a celestial blossom nor a social parasite; it is simply a commodity, when considered from the point of view of economics. We cannot expect to read something beautiful without paying the price, any more than we can have a watch repaired by an expert and walk out, simply saying "Thank you"; But a watchmaker, after taking your money, will turn to other watches and restore them to their normal working, while a writer is always trying to produce something more than normal—in fact, his aim is always a miracle. Wouldn't a fixed wage tempt him to think only of pleasing his customers? There are not many millionaire writers in China, but I know of one who built himself a smart house in Shanghai by turning out four "eternal triangle" novels a year. Now he is almost forgotten, but what a temptation for a writer to compromise and make sure of a house which may well last longer than his masterpieces! The risk of starvation and the risk of popular success are equally menaces to good literature.

The material for *Midnight*, an ambitious novel showing the urban and rural life of China in 1930, was gathered by the author during the year 1929, when he was suffering from eye-strain. Not being able to continue his writing, Mao Tun frequented the stock exchanges of Shanghai, where he acquired an intimate knowledge of a specialized side of life. His trilogy, *Disillusion*, *Turmoil*, *Seeking*, was based on his experience as a Left-wing political worker during the Wuhan government in 1927. The playwright Ts'ao Yü, in writing the third act of *Sunrise*, visited the brothels of T'ientsin to record the racy dialogue of these social outcasts. (That act remains the most lively portion of the play.) This search for experience is not confined to male writers. Ting Ling used to work as a factory girl in Shanghai, a background used for several of her stories. Some of you may have read Dr. Lin Yutang's translation of *A Chinese Amazon*. The authoress Hsieh Ping-ying, joined the revolutionary army before girl soldiers became almost a commonplace. However poor the writing, the book stands as a record of feminine courage. The war in China, however, has forcibly solved this problem for all writers. It has been fought from the beginning on our own soil (something the British people have been spared), which means an equal share of suffering and misery, and an equal share of experience in the greatest event in history.

From the beginning, Chinese writers were recruited by the Chinese M. O. I. to act as political workers among the troops. For six years Chinese writers have watched the horizon of life broaden before them. They have seen misery, cruelty, heroism, villages deserted, and soldiers dying, over the plain of North China and the desert of Mongolia. They have seen the rebirth of China. If they are writers at all, they must have recorded in their memories, felt in their hearts, reflected in their minds. Might they not produce something readable after this war?

In the 1930s there was a curious similarity in the literary climate the whole world over. The Great War saw the beginning of a general disillusion in the West as well as in China. The depression came, with much the same consequences for the man in a panama on Wall Street, the man in a bowler hat in Lombard Street, the rubber planter in his topee, and the broker in the red-buttoned cap in Shanghai. After that came a long train of political disenchantment. In the West, you saw Abyssinia overrun, the defeat of the Spanish Republican Government, and Czechoslovakia swallowed by that avaricious mouth. No one can say that individuals in Britain did not do their bit. One of your promising young writers, Julian Bell, with whom I spent many memorable days in Peking and Hankow, and to whom we owe much knowledge of contemporary English literature, was killed in the Spanish war, as an ambulance driver. It is not surprising that a feeling of frustration, of helplessness in face of a callous world, should have come over the young people of all nations.

Now consider what happened to us in China. In addition to watching and protesting against the suffering of others, which was painful enough, we also saw a part of China, larger than France and Germany put together, and richer too, snatched away from us overnight. Agitation spread. Demonstrations in the streets, hunger strikes, shopkeepers' strikes, hundreds of students lay on the railway tracks of Peking, refusing to get up until the Government promised to resist Japan. I was one of those lying under the stars on the cold steel rails, sharing a rug with two strangers. There was indeed a worldwide brotherhood among young people. It was the time when Mr. Auden was writing his poem *Spain*, and with Isherwood, *The Ascent of F6*, and the *New Writin*g was gathering together its international cast. Had China not decided eventually to resist, not only would the military situation be different to-day, but the youthful vitality and courage of the Chinese intellectuals would have been broken for ever. In the East, as in the West, the 'thirties was a

suffocating period of human history.

Emerging from the tragedy, one sees a few reassuring gleams. First, it has shown us that a sense of justice is inherent in the writer, and when that is violated, he becomes restless. It is in fact the most encouraging sign of human sanity.

Second, frontiers may have their strict barriers, literature has none. Nationalism has never been a strong feature in a literature of any importance, and the possibility of a world brotherhood has been demonstrated over and over again by the intellectuals. We do not wish to see writers forming an international cartel, but we do want to see in every modern writer an element of internationalism. To a Chinese, it seems that we must arrive sooner or later at this goal, so that imagination can fly across artificial boundaries and intellectual honesty can be valued above petty loyalty.

And so, to go back to my metaphor, our friends in the West need not worry about those dragon-beards. They are our inheritance and they run in our veins. But Westerners will only make us angry if they ask us to throw the football into the Yellow River; in a world of force, fear and frustration, everyone must play football or perish. But when real peace and security are assured, may we all return to our respective dragon-beards.

[*Lecture delivered at the Wallace Collection, London.*]

叁　龙须与蓝图

——为现代中国辩护

二十世纪绝非一个令人愉快的时期，我们都经历了苦难。在英国，人们仍记得上次欧洲大战、慕尼黑及1940年黑色夏季的痛苦经历。他们目睹美丽的海岸被铁丝网环绕；迷人的草坪被犁开，种上了土豆、甜菜；很长一段时间，人们睡在钢琴、餐桌下，或地铁里。不久前，我参观了巴斯（Bath）。在我的睡梦中，它的名字像一阵轻风拂过。对我来说，它是英国最美丽的城镇。在大教堂，我看到一些人，大多是妇女，她们都排着长队朝塔尖观望。我以为她们是游客，等着领略大教堂的风采。于是我想寻找一位正在晨光中快乐地闲谈的芬尼·伯尼[17]或简·奥斯汀式的人物。但他们都面露焦虑，无暇闲聊。很快，战时常识提醒我，她们排队是在等着买巧克力和糖点。战争给英国这个迷人的国度带来许多变化。中国自十九世纪中叶以来，一直进行着一场歇斯底里的战争：不仅仅是反抗外国的军事侵略和经济剥削，而且也在反抗着一种强加给她的陌生的生活方式和思维模式。直到1900年，中国一直在以巨大的代价抵制着西方的文化渗透。同所有农业国一样，它保守得近乎顽固。她极力想维持自身迷人但略显懒散的生活方式。她对机械不屑一顾，并烧毁了在她土地上修建的第一条铁路。在世界各处都是打字机的时代，她仍要保留古老的书法艺术；她想划着一艘带有红帆的舢板漂流在一个拥有航空母舰和鱼雷的世界里。总之，她是要与充满发明的世界隔绝，与一个忙于征服和利用自然力量而不是单纯欣赏自然力量的世界隔绝。她会被允许这样做吗？中国在1840年以后所遭受的接连失败便是外部世界作出的雄辩有效的回答。1900年以后，中国也曾力争改良，但这种改良不无一点自卑感，有时表现为对西方模式的奴性崇拜，有时表现为一种妄自尊大。

中国现代知识分子的心态是奇特的。我不能肯定西方人是否能理解，因为如果他们理解，就不会再鼓励人们去怀旧了。若把整个世界比喻成一间教室，那么，在十九世纪上半叶，中国才进入，更确切地说，被推入这间教室。这位新生自负、笨拙、古怪，头上留着过时的辫子，手上的指甲足有四英寸长。在此之前，他受着高山阔海和长城的保护，生活得悠闲自在。现在，一进入这间教室，他就发现必须要取得毕业证书——“民族的生存权”，否则就会灭亡。这个略显笨拙的孩子比别人的年龄都大，而且受过良好的古典教育，可他入学比别人晚得多。他显得那么傲慢、笨拙，别的学生禁不住要戏弄他。一个拉耳朵、一个捏鼻子，另一个揪辫子。他自然不喜欢别人这样待他，但真正使他愤怒的是

那个想一下子使他窒息而死的家伙。那个学生的名字，我们或许已猜到，就是日本。他没想到这小家伙心肠如此歹毒，着实吃了一惊。当他站在老师面前时，感到非常绝望。

“你学过代数吗？”老师问。

“没有，先生。但我能区分八十种不同的兰花。”

“你是机械制图员吗？能否画一张排水系统图？”

大男孩决定试一下。他磨墨，挥动那杆年头久远的毛笔，在纸上画出几缕精致的线条，宛如云雾中的龙须。

教师生气地一把将笔夺过去。

“排水系统是实用的东西。你要研究水的流量，并运用到灌溉系统中去。你这是在干什么？做梦吗？”

全班哄堂大笑。大男孩子咬着嘴唇，他想哭，但又咽下眼泪，小声抱怨：“见你们的鬼！”但老师变得很不耐烦。

“体育怎么样？踢足球吗？或打网球？壁球？板球？”

“我会吹笛子，弹七弦琴。”大男孩只能说这些。你们看，无论他有多么深的造诣都无法获得毕业证，而这又是必需的。打那以后，学校里的学生都想方设法地愚弄他，踢打他。在这种情况下，你认为他会怎么做？你认为他还会继续画龙须吗？只要他还有一点要获取毕业证的决心，便不会再这么做。可以肯定，他会用功学代数，虽然边学边诅咒它；会把热水袋从床上踢下去，像踢足球一样；会试着设计排水系统，这还没有画龙须难。奇怪的是，别的同学开始渐渐对龙须发生了兴趣，虽然只把它当成业余爱好。他们还惊奇地发现，这个大男孩正设计着甜蜜生活的蓝图，而且正成为一名足球运动员。那些对拧鼻子已感到厌倦的人开始支持他。

“你过去画的龙须多棒啊！你干吗要做那些你过去认为是毫无意义的事？”他们这样说道，“我认为像你这样有教养的人去踢粗野的足球，真是太令人遗憾了。你应该继续穿长袍。你那漂亮的长指甲哪儿去了？什么？你的辫子也没了！”每当这时，这个颇有教养的大男孩子总是对他们笑笑，暗自说道：“不必为龙须担心，它在我的血液里，在我的天性之中。但我不能放过这张毕业证。我要先拿到证书，然后或许我能让你们都画龙须，这对你们也不是件坏事！”今天，这个笨拙的小伙子差不多已经是个职业球员了，身上留着伤疤，缠着绷带，同时，正尽快成为一名制图员，你们认为在这种情绪中产生的文学，会像唐朝太平盛世的文学作品一样文雅脱俗吗？

过去四十年是中国历史上最动荡不安的时期。以《头发的故事》为例。1911年10月10日以前，剪掉辫子的人被当成叛匪砍头。第二天一大早，革命军开进来，宣布剪辫子，于是立刻，所有留辫子的人便被当成

反革命斩首。三十年前，新娘在新婚之夜前对新郎一无所知，除非她贿赂丫环。今天，如果母亲问女儿与男友处得怎样，女儿也许会说："没你的事，我们相处得很好。"夏天，现代的中国姑娘常露着大腿，她们有雄心要进入我们的临时议会或成为泳星（我指的当然是城里姑娘）。

中国在不知不觉中经历了巨大变革。过去，孝道是基本美德，家庭是社会单位。现在，个人替代了家庭，正如工业替代了手工业和农业。面对这些，文学不可能不发生变化。它变得不那么和谐，少了深奥，并烙上了时代的伤痕。但它是现代中国社会生活的忠实记录。

与中国现代文学运动相比，欧洲的文学发展并未从根本上脱离其强大而富有韧性的传统。诚然，他们有许多现代作家对文字进行试验，如《芬内根的觉醒》的作者，但当今文学的主体在措辞和形式上与三百年来的文学作品没有什么根本的差异。我感到，在世界历史中，除了现代土耳其的发展，几乎找不到什么可与中国现在发生的变化相提并论的。

我们谈论文学，至少涉及四个方面：语言、形式、内容及写作的动机。如果你有幸研究一下从《离骚》作者屈原到十九世纪末中国作家的作品，就会发现它们在上述四个方面都是一致的。他们都用中国古典的"文理"形式来写作。写散文，常以八九世纪散文名家的作品为范例。写诗，则遵循公元前二世纪流传下来的韵律体裁。倘若有人问诗人为什么要写诗，他会说："我要向云述说，向鲜花倾吐，我要歌颂这怡人的季节。"友人升迁，写诗；亲朋得子，写诗；半醉半醒时，也写诗。如果你问他们为什么写诗，等于在问为什么郁金香在春天开放，为什么圣诞节时总是下雪。他们根据传统模式由灵感而作诗。

若有人问一位中国现代作家用什么语言创作，他会先将语言分成两类：活着的与死去的。死去的语言是只能被少数特权阶级理解的文言古语，而活着的语言则是街头大众的白话。

若问他用什么形式，他会说：鲁迅写长篇小说，我只写短篇，徐志摩写诗，曹禺写剧本。文学被分类，并处在一个缺乏想象力的阶段。当有人问他为什么而写时，回答更是毫无悬念。他们大多会激奋地说：我写是为了批判现实生活。一个诅咒贫困，一个诅咒疾病，第三个批判都市人的冷漠，他们中的大多数甚至希望看到他们的批评能有所结果。

中国现代作家与他们的祖先如此轻率而不可避免地分手之后，曾一度感到茫然。也许人们总需要偶像崇拜。随着反传统运动的爆发，一种希冀从国外寻求灵感的离心力产生了。民国初年的反孔浪潮与英国的反对清教思想有些类似。对局外人来说，这种反孔思想难以理解，因为它不是反对某一事物本身，而是反对该事物两千多年来对社会的影响。我们在室内呆得久了，就会拉开窗帘，打开窗户，伸展一下四肢，呼吸点新鲜空气。所有中国作家在过去三十年中，一直试图打开那扇坚固的木

制百叶窗，看看年岁已久的墙壁外面的世界。这与英国作家渴求希腊文化和非基督教世界相似。“啊，雅典”，“啊，威尼斯”，“啊，巴格达”；但我们寻求的是通向西方之路。

在过去几个世纪里，中国有许多人从坚固的百叶窗缝隙中窥见了西方天文学和数学的光辉。但直到十九世纪后半叶，一位在利物浦海军学院学习的中国学生才带回一些与众不同的东西，他带回了约翰·斯图尔特·穆勒的政治经济学、达尔文的进化论及物竞天择的理论。还有一些人带回了一些狄更斯的小说，司各特的浪漫小说，最重要的是带回了易卜生这位伟大的社会叛逆者的戏剧。我们从《黑人吁天录》里黑人的遭遇了解到，不是所有西方人都那么冷酷无情，我们也不是唯一的被压迫者。从那时起，我们开始理解，欧洲并不仅仅意味着炮舰和公司。从那时起，我们对西方的看法有了双重性。不管正确与否，我们反对西方的军事力量及商业公司，但对西方文学怀着由衷的钦慕。

白话文运动初期，诗人们有意拓宽题材范围；许多诗人极力回避月光下的垂柳或雨夜的孤寂这类陈俗意象，而是介绍优生学、政治，或描绘地主与佃农间的争吵。男人与妇女的婚姻解放为诗人开拓出一片新的广阔天地。恋人们能找到许多话来表达自己的感情，这些语言有些很有价值，但大多只适合女人们看。这些诗大体上都很粗糙、幼稚、随便。有个诗人甚至这样写道：

睡觉时，我在蚊帐顶上看到你；
饮茶时，在杯底还能看到你的影像。
（受美国“爵士”乐的影响你是我咖啡中的牛奶。）

你们看，一种更为精神化的情感表达方式尚未出现，而旧的形式已被抛去。就爱情题材而论，中国诗歌的逐步完善似乎在很大程度上是对肉体的摒弃。

白话文运动在初期是一场回归自然的文学运动，是对华丽和深奥的文学的反叛。但我们的错误在于把自由与杂乱无章混淆了起来。因此，二十年代初期的诗歌与散文几无多大区别，只是前者占用更多的版面。人们对诗歌的刻意简化，是现代中国人对过分修饰和几百年流传下来的陈俗意象的自然反叛；月亮终于不再是“玉轮”或“银蟾”了。反传统诗歌的领袖胡适博士的八项主张之一就是摒弃所有典故，最终导致意象完全消失。没有意象的诗是难以想象的。也许是受西方泰戈尔沉思类诗歌和“东方日本俳句”的影响，出现了一种“小诗”，使人想起旅行随笔。

二十年代后半期，潮流发生了变化，诗人们开始对作品进行推敲。使诗歌变得精致深奥有两种途径：一方面，运用外来的和朦胧的意象；另一方面，试用新型、严谨的格式，如十四行诗。在此，我必须指出诗

歌翻译的不可靠性，除了亚瑟·魏理，因为我认为他不仅仅是在翻译。诗歌最显著的吸引力是其韵律和意象。一般说来，韵律在翻译时可不予理会，因为它太难以用另一种语言复制。至于意象，则以其新颖和奇特的魅力令我们愉悦。这里有个陷阱：某种语言中的陈俗意象也许能在另一种语言中产生非凡的新鲜感。假如你问一位波斯朋友如何看待欧玛尔·海亚姆[18]，他会耸耸肩说："哦，对英国人来说，他当然是新奇的。"中国现代诗人运用两种意象，一种是像林庚诗作那样，重建古代作品中的意象；一种是从别的地方得来的全新的意象。

所有这些混乱应当归咎于我们对民主制下文学的位置的错误理解。三十二年前，我们成了民国人，我们用了相当长的时间来学习民主制到底是什么。我们似乎要让诗歌也变得"民主"。政治学上的民主是指不论贫或富，聪敏或愚钝，人人平等。可诗歌怎能迎合那些愚钝的人呢？然而，早期的白话诗人努力在这么做。他们把诗歌视为大众教育的一部分。结果，他们不得不采用一种与之相反的、严格的形式主义创作方法。我们诗歌形式的复活主要归功于英国，以已故的徐志摩为首。他在二十年代末由剑桥回到中国，创办了《诗镌》，并成为此刊的诗人、批评家兼翻译家。

在诗歌逐渐成熟的阶段，许多聪敏的诗人都只在其创造性本能的指引下用白话创作。其结果可以想见。象牙塔建在白话作者的营地，本来要成为大众语言的现用语言变得比古文更为难懂。他们不是用这种语言来教育大众，而是用它来表达自己扭曲了的内心的迷茫。这种艺术分裂主义激怒了其他作家的社会良知。于是，一场文学内战爆发了。单纯从艺术角度看，日益增强的社会意识也许是一种丧失，但它是值得宽恕的，而不应谴责。你们想象得出一个批判缠足陋习的故事，一本阐述婚姻自由必要性的小说，一部展现矿工受剥削的生活的戏剧以及一首号召农民与军队合作、破坏敌人通信设施的诗吗？我们现在大部分文学作品都与这些主题有关。有些写得如此之好，它们在完成当前的使命后会永远流传下去，但绝大多数作品生存的希望则非常渺茫。也许有一天，地球变成了天堂——一个社会主义者的仙境或无政府主义者的梦境——那时每个作家都会回到自己的象牙塔里休息。因为，没有贫困需要抗争，没有社会不公需要揭露，只有舒适和安全，自由和平等。除非这个乌托邦实现，否则我很难想象作家们会对现代的邪恶视而不见，会像蒲柏[19]或佩特[20]，或唐代的美学家那样进行写作。

我们同任何地方的作家一样，都处在进退维谷的境地，一方面作家有向云朵倾诉的天然特性，另一方面他们又有一种帮助同仁的公民职责。头上盘旋的飞机，自家房顶上的火焰，到处可闻的苦难的呻吟，这些都不容忽视。谁将这两个矛盾的特性完美地结合起来，就会写出名

著；若不能调和这对矛盾，他就会很快被人遗忘。至少，我们已经开始明白，如果作家听任其社会意识超越艺术意识，那他生存的可能性就会更小。我们实际上已开始将文学同社会福音区别开来。

经历与技巧的关系是我们时代所面临的另一普遍矛盾。现实主义者在苦难和肮脏的瓦砾中挖掘出很多金子。要更深地了解人类，我们有必要认识他们的苦难；西伯利亚的囚徒，或今天集中营里的受害者。你们王政复辟时期的戏剧充满了智慧和魅力，但只有当主人公如李尔王那样的悲剧人物饱受磨难时，我们才有更深一层的感受。不幸的是，倘若作者受过良好的教育，又有创作的闲暇，他可能对苦难知之甚少；倘若他有生活的亲身体验，他可能又太关心生计，或有意回避其生活环境。这两者都不能产生好作品。生活在贫困苦难中，并能很好地掌握富于表现力的词汇，不是件容易的事，在中国我只能想出很少几个人。沈从文先生便是一个极好的例证，他早年想当将军的梦想在他在北京当警察时几乎终止了。他当过列兵，后来成了税务员、职员、校对员。在过去的十五年里，他成为我们最杰出的小说家之一。

不幸的现实是，写作不是一个赚钱的职业，或许美国是个例外。私人赞助不再存在，国家赞助只在苏俄才有。文学不是天堂里的仙花，也不是社会的附属品。从经济角度看，它只是一种商品。我们不能不花钱就读到漂亮的文章，就像我们不能让一个修表行家修好表后，说一声“谢谢”一走了之。修表匠拿了你的钱后，会继续去修别的表，使它们恢复正常运转；而作家则必须时刻创新——实际上，他的目标是要创造奇迹。一份固定的工资能诱使他只想着如何取悦顾客吗？中国作家中没有几个百万富翁，但我知道有一个人在上海靠一年内出了四部“三角恋爱”小说，建造了一座漂亮的小洋楼。现在，他已被遗忘，但一座房子肯定比一部著作长寿，这种诱惑对一个作家是多么大啊。挨饿的危险与深受大众喜爱的危险对好的文学作品来说，是同等的威胁。

《子夜》这部反映1930年中国城乡生活的名著的素材，是作者1929年患眼疾时搜集的。由于不能继续写作，茅盾就常去上海的股票交易所，在那里，他对这种特殊的生活有了深刻了解和感受。他的三部曲《幻灭》、《动摇》、《追求》，是根据他1927年在武汉政府当左翼职员时的经历创作的。剧作家曹禺在写《日出》第三场时，访问了天津的妓院，记录下这些社会弃儿富于挑逗性的对话。（那一场一直是全剧最有活力的部分。）对经历的追求不仅限于男性作家。丁玲曾在上海一家工厂当过女工，这为她的几部小说提供了背景材料。你们有些人也许读过林语堂先生翻译的《从军日记》。女作家谢冰莹参加革命军的时候，女兵还不多。不管作品如何，它表现出了女性的勇气。中国的战争为所有作家解决了素材问题。这场战争从一开始就在我们的土地上进行（而

英国人得以幸免），这意味着我们分担了苦难，共同经历了历史上最重大的事件。战争伊始，中国作家就被招募为军队的政工人员。六年来，中国作家们开拓了生活的视野。他们目睹了华北平原和蒙古沙漠上的苦难、残酷、英雄主义、废弃的村落和死亡的战士。他们看到了中国的再生。如果他们是真正的作家，他们就会在记忆、心灵和头脑中，记录、感受和浮现这些苦难的经历。战后，他们能不创作出一些可读性高的作品吗？

二十世纪三十年代，全世界的文学氛围有着奇特的相似性。大战使西方以及中国普遍产生了失望情绪。大萧条的来临，对所有人的影响都一样，从华尔街上头戴巴拿马草帽的金融家，到朗伯德街上头戴圆顶硬礼帽的绅士，从橡胶林里戴遮阳帽的种植园主，到上海滩戴红色纽扣帽的股票经纪人。接踵而来的是一连串对政治的失望。在西方，你们看到阿比西尼亚被蹂躏，西班牙共和国政府失败，捷克斯洛伐克被贪婪的大嘴吞没。没有人会说英国人没尽自己的一份力。你们一位年轻有为的作家朱里安·贝尔[21]在西班牙战争中驾驶救护车时被打死了。我在北平和汉口同他度过许多值得回忆的日子，他向我们介绍了许多英国当代文学的情况。在这样一个冷酷的世界里，所有国家的青年都会感到痛苦、无助，这不足为怪。

现在，让我们看看中国发生了什么。除了痛苦地目睹和反抗别人的苦难外，我们还看到中国的大片土地一夜之间就被掠走了，它比法国和德国相加还大，而且更为富饶。愤怒在蔓延。街头游行，绝食抗议，店老板罢市，数百学生卧在北平的铁轨上，政府不答应抗日不起来。我也是在星光下卧在冰凉铁轨上的学生中的一员，与两位陌生的学生合盖着一条毛毯。青年人四海一家，亲如兄弟。这也正是奥登先生写作诗歌《西班牙》、与伊塞伍德合著《F6的上升》以及《新写作》形成国际规模的时候。如果中国没有最终决定抗日，不仅今天的军事情况会大不一样，而且中国知识分子的青春活力和勇气也将从此一蹶不振。同西方一样，三十年代在东方也是人类历史上一段令人窒息的时期。

人们从悲剧中看到一丝希望。首先，它告诉我们，作家有着天生的正义感，一旦这种正义感被侵犯，他会变得坐立不安。这实际上是最振奋人心的人类心智健全的讯号。

第二，疆土有严格的界限，而文学没有。民族主义在任何一部文学作品中，都从未成为一个主要特点。知识分子一次又一次地显示出世界各国人民拥有手足之情的可能性。我们不是希望看到作家们达成什么国际盟约，但我们确实希望看到每个现代作家都有一种国际主义精神。对一个中国人来说，我们必须迟早达到这一目标，使想象力飞越人为的界限，使理智的诚实高于可怜的忠孝。

因此，回到我刚才的比喻，我们的西方朋友不用为那些龙须担心。它们是我们的传统，在我们的血液里。但如果西方人让我们把足球扔到黄河里，只能令我们愤怒。在一个充满强权、恐惧与挫折的世界里，每个人都必须踢足球，否则就会灭亡。但当真正的和平和安全有了保证时，希望我们都能回归各自的龙须。

[此篇为作者在伦敦华莱士藏画馆所做的演讲]

4. LITERATURE AND THE MASSES

For years, an ideological battle has raged between the Right-wing and the Left-wing writers over the question of whether a writer should be a free agent or a servant of the community. This question sounds perhaps quite childish, but it does in fact create actual problems in the technique of writing. One of the many difficulties young Chinese writers face today is the question of diction. For some years before the outbreak of the present war with Japan, many even of the staunch supporters of the vernacular movement had begun to complain, and often quite rightly, that the "artistic prose" and the "symbolic verses" of the vernacular writer had become even more remote from the masses than those of the classical writers. Sentence structures were distorted without regard to their intelligibility, images and allusions were employed which sometimes were really based on Greek or other European origins. Characters in novels often talked as though they were foreigners. Even in landscape description, many scenes were more typical of the Siberian steppes than of the plains of North China. In point of fact, a great deal of our proletarian literature was as difficult for the ordinary reader as, say, the works of our decadent symbolists. So many critics and writers in the early 'thirties clamoured for a "language of the masses".

Now how do we account for this departure from the masses? First of all, the translation of European literature was largely responsible; secondly, perhaps the original syntax of Chinese was not accommodating enough to express the more complicated feelings of the modern man, especially when he begins to explore the world of the subconscious. Thirdly, as the position of the vernacular became more established, writers of the next generation became more sophisticated too. Ho Chi-fang, for instance, a young essayist, wrote once about his attempts in writing thus:

> "I have made it my task to seek a new direction in lyrical prose. I have tried, using words sparingly, to create a new mood. Sometimes it is an imaginary tale, sometimes an emotional wave accompanied by deep thought. As in the writing of poetry, my aim is pure harmony and pure beauty. Often an essay two or three thousand characters long takes me several days to design. Nearly every word has been fondled by my spiritual fingers...."

It would be too cruel to force such a sensitive writer to use plain unmistakable language. Shên Ts'ung-wên, among the novelists the best

stylist, I think, wrote in the preface to his *Selected Works*:

> "All I try to do is to get hold of my momentary sensations and images. Otherwise I think a writer should be as isolated as possible from the external world. All writing must have individuality, it must be soaked in the personality and sentiments of its author. To achieve this, we need to assert ourselves thoroughly. There are people who attempt to build towers and pavilions on rocks or near water. I only wish to build a little Greek temple on a well-chosen piece of 'mountain land'. My ideal architecture is delicate, solid, symmetrical, tiny but not slender. In this temple, I shall enshrine 'human nature'. With pride or modesty, I am a countryman. I have my deep-seated temper as a countryman: conservative, stubborn, loving the soil. I have wit but not much cunning. As a child l wandered from river to lake, rambling, suffering hunger and cold. Undernourishment retarded the development of my body, but thereby my imagination gained wings. To confess the truth, I feel very lonely. I still express through my writing my eternal devotion to wisdom and the beauty of humanity, my worship of what is healthy and honest, and my disgust with stupidity and selfishness. This is the hope of a countryman; I hope that I can stimulate you with these sentiments, inspire you to look upward toward life, and to doubt the present. I believe this is not a vain hope."

To such a conscientious, and, in fact, ambitious writer, we cannot very well deny poetic licence to experiment with words, so as to bring out his exquisite feelings which would otherwise be impossible to express. However, not all stylists have such justification, for sophistication in its early stage involves a great deal of external ornament. Hence the often unjustified obscurities. But there is another factor which is perhaps a fundamental one: the new literature is entirely a product of the urban people of China. They were progressive, but that did not save them from being ignorant of the intimate life of the Greater China which has as its soul the peasants. This is exactly the challenge Mrs. Pearl Buck made to the Chinese writers in 1933, when she accused China of being entirely wanting in creative spirit. Today the war has solved the problem completely, for the dispersal of population in general, and the carrying on of political work by the writers in particular, has for the first time erased the hard line between the metropolitan and the provincial, the learned and the illiterate, the one who lives life and the one who is supposed to describe life. This I should say is the greatest and most invigorating effect the war has had on our literature, and it is the fundamental solution for the dilemma of diction.

Another controversy, a more recent one, was over the "new sentimentalism". Some critics in China condemned a vogue among writers in Free China for harping on their nostalgia for their lost homes, the little brooks and the tremulous bamboo bridges. Robust critics thought this futile and morbid. They exhorted writers to forget that "small ego" and remember the

fate of that "noiseless China", meeting the masses. Writers, however, defended themselves by saying that spontaneity and sincerity were the cardinal virtues of writing and that if they felt nostalgic, why should they not write nostalgically? This dispute, although it arose out of war-time conditions, was actually part of the same struggle between the writers' desire to be unfettered and the critics' to see that writers were not wasted in the community. One critic, for instance, wrote: "Let us sing of industrialization! Reality demands industrialization. It is up to the writer to create a nation-wide enthusiasm for machines, motors, levers, hydraulics, and even windmills. To do so, one must not rely upon dead formulae. The writer must steep himself in industrial life in order to absorb the 'food of writing.'"

One poet, for instance, Yuan Shui-pai, sneered at the "aesthetic poems" in his poem called "Balloon":

> "Poetry, are you still lingering with the aesthetes,
> Still keeping away from ministers, diplomacy, stock exchange and international murder?
> Why do you deal so delicately with social complaints?
> Indeed, you are 'the horn of the age', you see far away,
> But you tell us it is daybreak when it is yet dark,
> You are so chubby, so soft, and so remote,
> Let yourselves float comfortably under the green leaves,
> With a five-coloured string tied at the end.
> The lady leaning on the garden chair says to the playboy,'
> Careful do not let this balloon go!'"

When I say writers refuse to give up their nostalgia, I don't mean that there is nothing else. Actually, in Free China, most writers concentrate on the China that is rising from the ruins. Take an essay with the title "A Tribute to the Highways". If you had assigned this subject to a Chinese writer in pre-war days, he would have been sure to dwell on the fineness of the road or the beauty of the landscape. But let me quote you the opening paragraph of this essay by Tso Liang: you will find that there is more youthful enthusiasm for a brand-new nation in growth than praise for the mountains and rivers:

> To the man who does not know the soul of his country, the best way to teach him is to pack him into a coach, between any city of Free China and Chungking. Since he travels on bleak rocky mountains, he may find his fellow-passengers' eyes unusually bright; below their ruddy faces may be gowns of coarse homespun. The landscape on the road is too harsh for him to expect refinement. But he will have plenty of compensations. From sunrise till twilight, the singing and humming of the wind, the coolness and straightforwardness of the rain, what a day it is when you are on a new motor road. Who can refrain from stretching his hand to catch the white clouds underneath the wheels when the coach rises above the mists on the peak? The

> coach rushes on, but the peaks of the surrounding mountains remain motionless and aloof. Sunshine scintillates on the raindrops, and you feel the world is majestic and fresh, your heart gives a bound; revelation comes to you. Just for that immortal moment, you feel you have got rid of all the bondage of a decaying life. You feel you are a new-born child, scanning with your naked eyes this vast, magnificent world. This moment of course is only transitory. You return to your own world. You remember the inn where you stayed the night before, and the mountains you are to cross to-morrow. Then, purple twilight descends on you. You hear the motor throbbing across the silence of a ten-thousand-year-old valley. One peak is passed. Someone cries out, 'Look, here is a town!' Hundreds and thousands of families crowding in that valley, touched by the fringe of a little stream. Culture?—wisdom?—the outside world? Perhaps they exist, for the little stream pleasantly runs on, right beyond the horizon."

I have not said anything about the novel or about drama, because I feel that unless I can give you some idea of their work, mere names mean very little. You have probably heard the name of a Chinese woman writer, Miss Ting Ling, for we in China learned with great interest that her *Reunion*, a play about the Japanese in occupied China, scored a success in India. It was produced by Professor A. Aronson at Shantinaketan in 1941. Professor Aronson afterwards wrote: "We chose this play not only because of its political reality, but also because of its intense human interest." It was perhaps the first time that a modern Chinese play had been produced abroad, and it was a fitting introduction. That play is one of many samples of our war-time drama. Some day I hope Ts'ao Yu's plays will be introduced into India. His *Rainstorm* and *Sunrise* have already been translated into English, but they were published in China. He is one of the most talented of our young dramatists, having both warmth and vision. In addition, he understands the stage. *Sunrise* as a play is like Mao Tun's novel *Midnight*, a merciless mirror of a degenerate, bankrupt city life.

In fiction, besides those short stories published in *New Writing*, and a volume of Lu Hsün's short stories published late last year which, by the way, was the first individual collection of a modern Chinese author in English, you have no doubt seen Edgar Snow's *Living China*, an anthology of modern short stories. That was done nearly eight years ago, during which time much has been written.

Like everything else, this vernacular literature of ours went through a three-fold process. It began as a furious revulsion against everything that existed. Outbursts of iconoclasm are not always rational, but they are usually the short cut to reform. During this period, one notices that Chinese writers hated form most, whether in prose or verse. We also have writers who, like some notorious writers in the West, dislike punctuation. After this orgy of

wiping out the old, there came a period of systematic innovation from the West: Ibsen, O'Neill, Synge, in the drama; Tolstoy, Romain Rolland, Flaubert, Dickens, Galsworthy, Wells, in the novel; Tagore, William Blake, Paul Valéry, and many others in poetry. These Western masterpieces were translated with the conscious intention of introducing models for Chinese writers. Writing on Japanese fiction, Chou Tso-jen, then a very respected critic, thought Chinese novelists needed more effort in "imitating foreign works". Only in recent years has real creativity begun to take shape. This destruction-imitation-creation process is most characteristic of modern Chinese poetry, on which the earliest influence from abroad was Tagore. In the first stage, modern Chinese poetry aimed at the destruction of metres and the adoption of the natural rhythm of speech. This shook the age-long conventions of the Chinese verse-forms, on which not much new was built; it also succeeded in enlarging the range of themes, adding to nature and love an interest in social problems. With the second stage came experiment with new forms. The guiding spirit was Hsü Chih-mo, who after his return from England began the movement for restoring musical qualities which originally existed in Chinese poetry. Mr. Hsü himself was well read in classical Chinese poetry and at the same time a lover of English verse. He made many bold experiments, from a sonnet to a long poem.

The third stage was a reaction against the rigid alien metrical restrictions imposed on the free souls of Cathay, especially the form of sonnet which seemed unreasonably mechanical. The reaction came mainly from two groups. Kuo Mo-jo, the leading writer of the Creation Society, wanted poetry to be a medium of force. His poems were mainly directed against social injustice. He achieved magnificence in theme and great fluency in the vein of Walt Whitman. His passion was so wild that it knew no bounds. In his confession he wrote:

> "I am a man somewhat subjective, gifted with more imagination than observation. I am also impulsive. Even when l write a poem, I let myself be carried away by impulse. Every time l have the impulse, I become like a galloping horse; when the impulse is calmed down, I become like a spent porpoise."

This will tell you how very different modern Chinese can be from the Stoical Confucian teachings. In one of his poems, Kuo condemned the modern city. It began thus:

"It is not the cement of the avenue,
It is the blood and sweat of the lives of the labourers!
The bleeding lives, oh the bleeding lives,
Under the tyres of opulent motors roll and roll."

Another reaction came from Li Chin-fa, who formed quite a school, and his influence has never died out, although Li himself has gone back to sculpture. Li, like Tai Wang-shu, studied in France, and thereby was influenced by French symbolism. You have probably read the volume of modern Chinese verse translated by Harold Acton and Ch'ên Shih-hsiang, in which you would notice that obscurity plays an important role in some of our new poetry. Since the war, there has been a distinct change. Many poets compose their works with the express purpose of reciting them in the open to the people. They are often lyrical but seldom very sophisticated, which, of course, is to the good.

[*A broadcast to India.*]

肆　文学与大众

左翼作家和右翼作家就应当自由写作还是服务大众的思想论争已经持续好些年了。这一问题听起来很幼稚，可它确实带来了写作技巧上的现实问题。现在的年轻中国作家面临许多困难，其一便是措辞。在中国抗日战争爆发前几年，就连许多白话文运动的坚定支持者都开始抱怨，而且常常是很正确的，说我们现在白话作家的“艺术性散文”和“象征性诗歌”，甚至比文言作家的作品更远离大众。他们根本不考虑可理解性，肆意扭曲句子结构，意象和引喻有时直接来自古希腊或其他欧洲文学经典。小说中人物的对话，让读者觉得好像他们是外国人。即便描写自然景致，许多风景倒像是典型的西伯利亚大草原，而不是中国北部平原。事实上，大量的普罗文学对一般读者来说，同颓废的象征派作家的作品一样难读。于是，许多批评家和作家在三十年代初喊出了“大众语”的口号。

那我们该如何解释这种文学与大众的偏离呢？首先，对欧洲文学的翻译负有主要责任；第二，也许中文的固有句法不足以表现现代人更为复杂的情感，特别是当他开始探索人的潜意识世界的时候；第三，随着白话文地位的确立，第二代作家也变得更老练。例如，青年散文家何其芳在谈到他的创作时写道：

> 我的工作是在为抒情的散文找出一个新的方向。我企图以很少的文字制造出一种新的情调：有时叙述着一个可以引起许多想像的小故事，有时是一阵伴有深思的情感的波动。正如以前我写诗时一样入迷，我追求着纯粹的柔和，纯粹的美丽。一篇两三千字的文章的完成往往耗费两三天的苦心经营，几乎其中每个字都经过我的精神的手指的抚摸。[22]

要强迫这样一位敏感的作家使用平淡直白的语言，实在是过于残酷了。我认为沈从文是中国现代小说家中最好的文体家，他在《从文小说习作选》的代序中写道：

> 我除了用文字捕捉感觉和事象以外，俨然与外界绝缘，不相粘附。一切作品都需要个性，都必浸透作者人格和感情，想达到这个目的，写作时要独断，要彻底地独断！这世界上或有想在沙基或水面上建造崇楼杰阁的人，那可不是我。我只想造希腊小庙。选山地作基础，用坚硬的石头堆砌它。精致、结实、匀称，形体虽小而不纤巧，是我理想的建筑。这神庙供奉的是‘人性’。我实在是个乡下人。说乡下人我毫无骄傲，也不在自贬，乡下人照例有根深蒂固永远是乡巴佬的性情，爱憎和哀乐自有它独特的式样，与城市中人截然不同！他保守，顽固，爱土地，也不缺少机警却不甚懂诡诈这乡下人又因从小飘江湖，各处奔跑，挨饿、受寒，身体发育受了障碍，另外却发育了想像，而且储蓄了一点点人生经验。我感觉异常孤独。乡下人实在太少了。从一个乡下人的作品中，发现一种燃烧的感情，对于人类智慧与美丽永远的倾心，康健诚实的赞颂，以及对于愚蠢自私极端憎恶的感情。这种感情且居然能刺激你们，引起你们对

人生向上的憧憬，对当前一切腐烂现实的怀疑。先生，这打算在目前近于一个乡下人的打算，是不是？

对像这样一位富于真诚和抱负的作家，为了让他抒发用别的方法无从表达的精微细致的感情，我们不能剥夺他在文字上尝试诗的破格的权利。但并非所有的文体家都有如此正当的理由，因为老练早期包含大量雕饰成分，容易造成不合理的晦涩。然而还有另外一个因素，或许也是一个根本因素，即新文学完全是中国城里人的产物。他们是进步的，却完全不了解作为伟大中国灵魂的农民的内心生活。1933年，赛珍珠就此向中国作家挑战，她指责中国完全缺乏创造精神。而今，战争已经解决了一切问题，因为中国人口的分散和作家们从事政治工作的举动，第一次消除了城里人和乡下人之间的界限，学者和文盲之间的界限，生活在现实中的人和想要描绘人们生活的人之间的界限。我要说的是，这恰是战争带给我们的文学最伟大也最令人鼓舞的影响，它还从根本上解决了作家们在措辞用字上进退维谷的难题。

最近有一场关于“新感伤主义”的辩论。中国有批评家指责非沦陷区作家中正流行这样一种文风：留恋怀乡，说起沦陷家乡的小溪和颤悠悠的竹桥便唠叨个没完。尖锐的批评家认为这是种无益而病态的文风，他们劝诫作家们要忘掉“小我”，牢记“无声的中国”的命运，面对大众。然而，作家们为其自身辩解说，自发性和诚实是文学写作的基本特征，如果他们感到怀乡的苦楚，为什么不能留恋怀旧呢？作家们渴望不受约束，自由地去写作，而批评家希望作家在社区作出应有贡献。关于“新感伤主义”的争论虽然正值战时，实际上也是这一论争的一部分。例如，有位批评家写道：“让我们颂扬工业化！现实要求工业化。作家要承担起这样一个职责，在全国范围内创造出爱好机器、马达、操纵杆、水力学甚至风车的热情。这自然没有死套路可循。作家要汲取‘创作食粮’，必得把自己置身于工业生活中。”

例如，诗人袁水拍在一首题为《气球》的诗中，这样嘲笑“艺术诗”：

> 诗歌，你还在缠绵艺术
> 远离部长、外交、股票交易和国际谋杀？
> 为何你把社会抱怨处理得如此精致？
> 的确，你是“时代的号角”，卓有远见，
> 但你说那只不过是黎明前的黑暗，
> 你如此丰满，如此柔软，如此遥远，
> 让自己舒适地在绿叶下漂浮，
> 在末端还系了一条五色彩带。
> 小姐靠在花园的椅子上告诉顽童，“小心，别放走这只气球！”[23]

我说作者们犯了怀乡病，并不是说他们就没有做别的。事实上，非沦陷区的绝大多数作家都在全神贯注于从毁灭中复活的那个中国。以题为《公路礼赞》的这篇散文为例，若在战前，作家准会着笔于公路的精致和风景的优美。我把曹亮这篇散文的开头一段引下来，你们会发现对一个崭新的成长中的民族所倾注的青春激情，远远超过对山河的赞美：

> 对于对国家魂灵一无所知的人来说，教育他的最好办法是把他塞进一辆行驶在非沦陷区哪个城市和重庆之间的长途客车上。在荒凉的崇山峻岭间旅行，他会发现同车乘客的眼睛异常明亮，脸膛红润，穿着粗布外衣。公路两旁荒漠的景致远不能激起他的雅兴。但他将得到充分的补偿。当你从日出到黄昏，行驶在一条新建的公路上，听着风在低声哼唱，看见凉爽的雨丝飘落下来，会感到这是多么美好的一天。当汽车攀上云雾缭绕的山顶，谁都会禁不住伸出手抓一把车轮下面的白云。汽车在急速行驶，连绵起伏的山峦却孤零零地静止在那里。雨滴被阳光照得闪着金光，你会觉得世界是那么的壮丽，那么的新鲜，连心都要蹦出来，你得到了某种启示。在这不朽的一刻，你感觉自己已经摆脱了所有腐烂生活的束缚。你会觉得自己是个新生的婴儿，在用肉眼审视这个广阔而壮丽的世界。当然，这样的一切只是昙花一现。回到自己的现实世界，你就会记起昨夜住过的客栈和明天要穿越的高山。这时，绛紫色的黄昏落下了帷幕。你听到发动机的震颤打破了万年山谷的沉寂。汽车又驶过一座山峰，有人喊道："看，这儿有个镇子！"在那条山谷里，沿着一条小溪的边缘，聚居着千百个家庭。这里有外部世界的文化和智慧存在吗？也许吧，因为小溪在欢快地流淌着，流向了地平线的那一边。[24]

关于小说和戏剧，我还没有说什么，因为我觉得，除非我能介绍一下他们的作品，否则只列些名字意义不大。你们或许听说过中国女作家丁玲，中国人都知道她反映日占领区人民生活的话剧《重逢》在印度演出获得成功。那是1941年，由阿伦森教授执导的《重逢》在孟加拉和平大学上演。阿伦森教授说："选择这出戏，并非只因为它的政治内容，还因为它具有强烈的人文情调。"中国话剧在国外上演，这可能还是第一次，也是一个恰当的开端。这部话剧只是我们战时众多话剧中的一部。我希望有一天曹禺的话剧能介绍到印度。他的《雷雨》、《日出》都已被译成了英文，但只是在中国出版了。他是中国最有才华的青年剧作家之一，既有热情，又有想象力。另外，他懂得戏剧舞台。他的《日出》像茅盾的小说《子夜》一样，是反映腐烂、破产的城市生活的一面冷酷无情的镜子。

说到小说，除了那些发表在《新写作》[25]上的短篇小说和去年年底出版的一本鲁迅短篇小说集——中国现代作家的第一本英文个人选集外，你们肯定看过埃德加·斯诺编的《活的中国》，那是一本中国现代短篇小说选集。这已是八年前的事了，这八年间，中国作家又写出了很多小说。

同所有事物一样，中国的白话文学经历了三个进程。它以猛烈的剧变开始，反抗现存的一切。对传统观念的攻击并不总是理性的，但却通常是改革的捷径。在这一时期，中国作家最为痛恨的是诗歌和散文形式

上的束缚。我们也还有些作家，很像西方一些声名狼藉的作家，不喜欢标点法。在这大规模的扫除传统之后，源自西方的中国文学有系统的创新期到来了：戏剧上有易卜生、奥尼尔和辛格；小说上有托尔斯泰、罗曼·罗兰、福楼拜、狄更斯、高尔斯华绥和韦尔斯；诗歌上则有泰戈尔、威廉·布莱克、保罗·瓦莱里等众多西方诗人。这些西方作家的名作被有意识地翻译成中文，作为中国作家的文本典范。对日本小说颇有研究的周作人，在当时也是受人尊敬的批评家，他认为中国小说家需要更努力地“模仿外国作品”。就在最近几年真正的创新才开始成形。这一毁灭——模仿——创造三部曲最能反映中国现代诗的特点，中国现代诗最早的外来影响来自泰戈尔。第一阶段，中国现代诗的目的是要消灭格律，采用说话的自然韵律。虽然新的韵律形式还没有建立，但它足以震撼中国传统的诗歌韵律形式。同时，它还成功拓展了诗歌主题的范围，在自然和爱情的基础上增加了对社会问题的兴趣。第二阶段便是对新的诗歌形式的尝试，核心人物是徐志摩，他从英国回国以后，就开始着手恢复中国传统诗原有的诗歌音乐性的运动。徐志摩本人有很好的中国古典诗词的修养，同时又非常喜欢英国的韵诗。从十四行诗到长诗，他在诗歌创作上作了许多大胆尝试。

第三阶段是反击强加在中国人自由灵魂上的那种异域僵硬的韵律限制，特别是看上去显得荒唐机械的十四行诗。反击主要来自两方面，一方面以创造社领导人郭沫若为代表，他把诗歌当成力量的媒介。他的诗主要是反抗社会不公正。他在诗歌主题上获得了极大成功，诗也非常流畅，颇有惠特曼的气质。他的激情是如此狂放，常常是一发而不可收。他在一篇自白里写道：

> “我是一个主观的人，天生想像力超过观察力。我还很冲动，每当写诗，便让冲动带着走。每次有了冲动，我就变得像一匹脱缰的野马；等冲动平静下来，我又变得像一条筋疲力尽的海豚。”[26]

从这里可以看出，现代中国人与禁欲主义的孔子信条差得多么远。郭沫若在一首谴责现代都市的诗中这样开头：

> 这不是水泥的大街，
> 这是劳动者生命的血与汗！
> 流血的生命，啊，流血的生命，
> 在华丽的汽车轮胎下滚动，滚动。[27]

反击的另一方是完全自成一派的李金发。尽管他已回过头搞他的雕塑了，但他的影响一直存在。像戴望舒一样，李金发也曾留学法国，并受到法国象征主义的影响。你们或许读过由哈洛德·艾克敦和陈世骧英

译的《现代中国诗选》，该注意到朦胧在中国新诗里所起的重要作用。战争以后，诗歌也发生了根本变化。许多诗人写作的目的是向公众朗诵，因此其作品多是抒情诗，没什么深奥难懂的，这当然有好处。

［此篇为作者在美国所作，对印度广播］

How the Tillers Win Back Their Land

土地回老家

萧乾　中译

1. CHANGES ON THE HORIZON

"Speed up the payment of the autumn tax and get ready for land reform." The call was sent forth by the Huilung *hsiang* Peasants' Association as early as the beginning of August. And yet the peasants of Hsinlu Village, like many other Hunan peasants, were hesitant. They met the call to land reform with hope but also with some misgiving. Few of them were aware of the deep and startling significance the event would have for them and their children and grandchildren.

This is not to be wondered at. For thousands of years, feudal exploitation had drained away the life blood of the area. There had been little change in the peasants' life. Only in 1927, freedom had shone then for a brief but glorious moment in the weeks of the People's Power. Then bitter darkness had descended again. Peasants under thirty had but dim memories of that time and the Chiang Kai-shek tyranny had not encouraged prattling, on the part of the old timers, about those dazzling days. They could still recall to mind the short-lived days of the peasants' triumph, but side by side was another mental picture—landlords reinstated and the fertile earth around Huilung *hsiang* soaked with the blood of courageous peasants.

The seasons revolve like a wheel and the peasants in Hsinlu Village followed, mechanically and unceasingly, toiling, toiling. Like wheels bearing a great load, they had groaned under the joint oppression of the Kuomintang (KMT) magistrate, the "gentlemen" of the *hsiang* Office, the *pao*[1] heads and landlords who collected rent and practised usury with equal proficiency. The wheel turned. It was spring. The peasants must spread fertiliser, sow seeds and plant young shoots. Under the scorching summer sun they operated water wheels, weeded the fields and cut rice. Now the wheel had turned to autumn. With the fifth watch[2], men got up to plough the fields and cultivate vegetables. At sunrise they were carting away the crop and sunning it. Bare-footed women, with suckling babes tied to their backs, went to the fields to gather hay as soon as they had finished preparing the meals.

Everybody in Hsinlu Village agreed that the livelihood of the peasants had improved since liberation. Bandits had been exterminated and taxes lightened. What is more, local granaries were erected so that instead of having to carry your tax-grain over 70 *li*[3] to town, now all one had to do was to deliver it to the Seventh Store-house near the Nunnery— a matter of only

20 *li*. The most important thing, however, was the way the "landlord-masters" drew in their horns. During the first half of the year, when, with the help of the government, rents were reduced and deposits refunded[4], the peasants had succeeded in making the big landlords part with some of their loot. Many of the peasants got back grain, and others ready cash. It was a breathing spell for all except the poorest farmhands who owned not one square inch of soil. Peasants who had been beggared used the money they got back to set up as stall keepers in town or to buy fresh land. So it was not unnatural that a new illusion should grow up among some of the peasants. Feeling the load which had accumulated on their backs for centuries somewhat lightened, they began to get complacent. "The landlord is already down. No need to kick him in the shins any more." Or: "the times have become better so long as they keep steadily improving, there is no need to get worked up and act rashly." Unpleasant memories of 1927 troubled them, nagging at their subconscious mind like phantoms. They feared a sudden reversal.

As for the landlords, taking even such a small setback lying down was, of course, extremely distasteful to men. But they tried to act chastened and subdued. At Ch'ing Ming Festival[5] this year, for instance, none of the landlords thought it prudent to keep up the age-old tradition of giving the villagers a talk at the ancestral temple. In the old days, besides the talk, it was by no means uncommon for landlords to have recalcitrant farmhands put into sacks and beaten up as an example of the dangers of disobedience. Another established custom was for tenants to make gifts to their landlords, besides their annual rent, of vegetables, tea, beans or chickens. This year, however, the masters became unusually generous. "Save them for yourselves, please," they would say, with an ingratiating smile. Some of the cunning ones even went so far as to hand out presents to their tenants and farmhands in order to seal up the mouths of their "kitchen-gods." Then again, since time immemorial, the tenant had had to ask the landlord to dinner. He took around a sedan-chair to fetch the landlord and considered himself lucky if the latter condescended to come. This year, the tables were turned, and a good many landlords tried to extend their hospitality to their tenants.

The landlords too had not forgotten 1927. History to them also seemed to go in cycles. They looked forward to the day when they would have a chance to hit back—hard. They were not sitting back and waiting for that day either. They were plotting for it, patiently, cunningly, relentlessly....

The first people to talk "land reform" directly to the villagers were some

workers from the Telephone Company in town.

A little before the *Chung Yang* Festivals[6], over the light brown field-paths of Hsinlu Village, one began to see a new skyline. Along the northern boundary of the village, that is to say, on the opposite bank of the Pigeon River, which formed the line of demarcation between Huilung *hsiang* and Shihma *hsiang*, a series of telephone poles appeared against a background of yellow hill-slopes and floating clouds.

Then one morning early in November, a boat loaded with some 30 poles and four uniformed workers came drifting towards the south bank. Peng Fu-chuan, who was cutting firewood on the bank, stared at the boatman standing on the prow straining hard to steer the boat. Seeing the boat finally touch the bank, he could not contain himself any longer but ran down the slope and asked, "Shuang-chuan, Shuang-chuan, what are these people here for?"

One of the uniformed workers, with the characters "Telephone Company" sewed on his satchel, yelled before the ferryman had a chance to answer:

"What for? For land reform, that's what. Land reform is to make the peasants masters of the land."

This said, the worker called his companions to carry the poles onto the bank.

A vague notion presented itself to Peng Fu-chuan's brain—those telephone poles were intimately related with him and his welfare. Laying down his scythe and basket without thinking, he bent down and put one pole on his shoulder. As he was thus employed, the worker kept talking: how they would have to hurry; how the land reform Work Team would get there the moment they were through with the cadres-meeting in town. Apparently, eight days were given them to finish the job of putting up the wires.

"You four, that's all?" asked Peng Fu-chuan, concerned.

"No, four in one group," the worker told him. "Huilung *hsiang* has nine villages in all, right? Four times nine makes thirty-six."

Peng Fu-chuan was impressed. One could see this fellow had come from the town, so methodical and efficient. Yet he still could not help asking a final question, "Where does this telephone lead to?"

No idle question, that. True, he had been in town several times, turning in his crop-payment, but he had never stayed over ten days and had never touched or even seen a telephone.

"Why, to the District Government, to the local Land Reform Committee,

to the Provincial Land Reform Committee. Right up to Chairman Mao himself."

The worker winked sympathetically at his peasant comrade and continued:

"All through the twenty years of the KMT, the telephone system was restricted to the town. Now we are here, in the country, and we want to help you to do away with the landlord class."

Peng Fu-chuan's head was in a whirl. When all the poles had been transferred to the bank and the workers were getting ready to start setting them up, he also picked up his scythe, slung his basket over his shoulder and ambled off. His way took him along the dyke and down another slope, and he was deep in thought.

When he had reached the foot of the slope named Seven Star, he lifted his head and gazed at the Peng-Chu Homestead, which rose above the bare tree-tops. The roof of Master Peng the Second's mansion was broad and spread out like those thick shoulders of its owner. All around on the outskirts were groups of dilapidated mud huts. Ever since he was six years old, Peng Fu-chuan had lived with his father in one of those huts. At times, he, too, hated Peng Erh-hu, Peng the Second Tiger, especially when he smelled the meals being prepared in the big house. Fish, meat and what not. And he, Peng Fu-chuan could only have strips of dried potato all the year round. Still, to Peng Fu-chuan, it was all a matter of "fate". "To have or have not depends solely on fate; no human effort can come to anything." Take the way his luck had turned two months ago. Out of the clear blue sky came an invitation from Master Peng the Second, who insisted on presenting him free a piece of land valued at five *tou*[7] and seven *sheng*, and good, fertile land at that. Also he was asked to move into one of the tile-roofed rooms in the master's outer yard. Hum, his luck had certainly turned!

It came to Peng Fu-chuan like a shock that perhaps he should not have helped carry those poles after all, that he had somehow betrayed his master. However he had acted in the past, thought Peng Fu-chuan, Master Peng the Second had certainly grown more enlightened since liberation. Without him, where else on earth could he, Peng Fu-chuan, get his food and clothing?

Most of the villages in Hunan are formed of several homesteads, each of which in turn is composed of one or more clans. In the small homesteads, as far as blood relationship goes, the members were usually three to five times removed from each other at the most. So, in a sense, each of these

homesteads was a little feudal stronghold. In Hsinlu Village there were three prominent homesteads: the Peng-Chu Homestead, Big House Lo, and the Li Garden. Not far from the dyke, near the Seven Star Slope, was a one-street town.

When Peng Fu-chuan came back to the Peng-Chu House, he naturally told others about the affair of the telephone poles. The news passed around quickly and before noon all three homesteads had heard about it. Some of the old folk remained indifferent. But even they stepped up to the footstone in front of the Arch of Chastity and Filial Piety and leaning on their crutches, took a weary look. They had seen many new things: the Japanese; the KMT Army... The bitter experiences of many years told them: what is new is not necessarily well-meant.

The younger generation, however, could not repress their excitement. One by one, they bypassed the woods and the graveyard, and ran up the narrow field-path towards the river bank. Crazy Grandma, with bound feet, was also among the crowd. She was fifty-three. And there she was, with her crutch, caught in a sea of people, staring wide-mouthed at the poles standing upright this side of the bank.

The moment the peasants arrived on the spot, they began showering questions at the workers. Crazy Grandma, lightly passing her bony fingers over one worker's arm, whispered "Ah, you look exactly like my Teh-ming. Look, he was as tall as you are. I brought him up myself, from so high." There was a catch in her voice and soon she was sobbing.

"There, there, no tears! This is not a time for crying but for laughing," said the worker to Grandma. Then after scribbling something in a pad with his pencil, he announced, "No more questions, please. The telephone is put up for land reform. After land reform, up come you peasant comrades, and out go the landlords. Understand? Come, those who are strong, help us carry these!"

At this, all the peasants got to work. Some dug holes, others helped carry the already numbered poles. Especially in the matter of hole- digging, the peasants exhibited a thorough expertness which commanded great admiration from the workers. With the help of so many "extras," the job was finished ahead of time while the sun was still lingering over the western horizon. Slender shadows were cast by the poles right across the new-mown fields, forming a pattern, like a seal-impress, claiming ownership and authority.

Crazy Grandma also lived in Peng-Chu Homestead, and when she got back she pounded on all the doors and shouted at whoever opened, "Hey, land reform, land reform! My son Teh-ming must be coming back!"

Peng Hsin-wu's pregnant wife was just stepping out to call the pigs home when Crazy Grandma ran right into her and, quite befuddled, fell down. Alarmed for fear she might have got hurt, Mrs. Peng told her soldier husband to go and fetch Chun-hsing, Crazy Grandma's daughter. She helped the old lady up, led her into the room and sat her down on a stool. She poured out some water for her and holding her hand, she said, as if explaining something to a child, "Grandma Li. Your son is not coming back. Didn't Hsin-wu tell you? He was telling the truth. Don't go on hoping like that. You won't be able to stand it."

"Not coming back!" Crazy Grandma repeated mechanically. Then with a piercing shriek she fell off the stool in swoon.

Neighbours came pouring in, all talking at the same time. Uncle Kuang-lin, fingering his thin beard, said musingly, "Better not mention to her any more this business of her son having died in the battle. Her daughter is getting married pretty soon, isn't she? What will happen to the poor old soul after that?"

At this point, Crazy Grandma's only daughter, Chun-hsing, still a child with pigtails, broke upon the scene. Seeing the old lady's dusty, waxen pale face, she was distraught and wailed, "Mama, O Mama!" It was Peng Hsin-wu who lifted Crazy Grandma up in his arms and laid her down on the bed.

After a few moments Grandma's eyelids began to flutter. The first person she saw was her daughter. She took Chun-hsing's hand and, stroking it gently, said as if quite resigned, "Don't worry. Don't worry!" Then again in agony: "So your brother is gone," and lapsed into silence, hopeless with sorrow.

Although only seventeen, Chun-hsing had already been a child-bride for five years. Her "intended" was twenty-two, a son of the Lo family, thin as a rake and frequently visited by violent attacks of haemorrhage. Not long ago his family had proposed holding the wedding. At first, Crazy Grandma felt helpless about it. Hadn't she given out her daughter as child-bride because she could not support her? And hadn't the others a perfect right to ask for a wedding after giving her board and lodging forfive years?

But ever since Peng Hsin-wu came back from the army a year ago, he had taken an active interest in all the goings-on in the village. This ceaseless

activity on his part more or less explained why he had been elected the head of the local Small Group.

He had been forcedly drafted into the KMT army together with Teh-ming, Crazy Grandma's son, and he knew Teh-ming was killed. Hence, upon hearing that Teh-ming's young sister was going to be married to a consumptive weakling, he took it upon himself to go over to Big House Lo in order to discuss calling the marriage off. The Lo family's airy answer was: "Sure, you can call it o, but not until you've paid us back the amount we've spent feeding her these last five years." There the matter had rested.

Anger surged in Peng Hsin-wu. He knew Teh-ming had been killed. "Grandma Li, Chun-hsing, just think of it," shouted Hsin-wu, his eyes ablaze, "Who was it that killed Teh-ming? Wasn't it that landlord son-of-a-turtle Peng Erh-hu? Didn't he send me off too as cannon fodder? Where would I be today if it were not for the Communists? They captured me, but they did not treat me as a prisoner. They saved me as though I were their own brother. Now I'm determined to have a showdown with Peng Erh-hu or I won't call myself a man!"

Peng Erh-hu. The name struck horror and hatred into the hearts of all the peasants. Peng the Second Tiger! When the Japanese were here, his brother Yin-ting, as the bogus village-elder, undertook to pressgang men and women for them. After the defeat of Japan, Peng the Second Tiger stepped into his place. For four full years, he was the tyrant in Huilung *hsiang*, acting for Chiang Kai-shek, harassing the peasants with continuous demands for able-bodied men and various contributions.

Liberation threw Peng Erh-hu out on his ears. For a while, supported by his contacts and henchmen, he tried to keep up his old prestige. Acting the part of a kind, easy-going superior, he would deliver threats like the following to the peasants in public: "Don't you get too active. We are settled, homely people. One should leave a margin in doing things so that there won't be any hard feelings in the future." For the last few months, however he had started giving out presents to all the tenants and farmhands in his employ, past or present. Like a conjuror's cloak, his house disgorged numberless green American blankets and other "surplus material."

While Hsin-wu was loudly cursing Peng Erh-hu, the other peasants in the room only looked at each other and said nothing. Some thought: he had coughed up quite a lot at the "rent reduction and deposit refund," more or less withdrawn from local a airs and had in general acted in a pretty humble and

penitent manner. Why bring up all the old scores? Some knew that Peng Erh-hu still had hidden small arms and a lot of henchmen. A word too much and something might happen to you. There was silence in the room.

Chu Yao-hsien, known locally as "The Scholar" was the first to put these thoughts into words. Before speaking, he cleared his throat in the manner of a fortune-teller; then he scratched at a scar on the back of his head. All this was in order to show that his statement was made with great care and deliberation.

"Huilung *hsiang* will soon have land reform," said he with an air of authority. This spring he had attended a meeting of peasant representatives in town and had come back with an exaggerated sense of self-importance. Ever since then, he had shown up on every important social occasion with a peasant representative's red silk insignia pinned on his breast, swaggering like an ox. "In land reform everybody gets what's coming to him. Chairman Mao is fair and impartial. There will be no mistake about it." A loud cough here, then, "Master Peng the First, Master Peng the Second, what does it matter? They are right here among us. They can't fly away. As for their land, it can't walk off either. So why get so excited? After all we're all men of the same homestead!"

The peasants, most of them already nervous and thinking of backing out, were easily persuaded by the scholar's words. Many of them now voiced the opinion that they should postpone settling accounts with Peng Erh-hu until the Work Team arrived.

Hsin-wu found himself standing alone. He realised that his anger had carried him away, so he did not press his point. He called to mind a passage from a speech he had heard several days before on "Work Preparatory to Land Reform" made by the Secretary of the District Communist Party Branch. "You can't pull the landlords down until the masses are fully organised to act together. If you don't think you can pull them down, don't make any rash move and frighten them unnecessarily."

A mark of interrogation was planted in the heart of every peasant and every landlord in Hsinlu Village with the planting of the telephone poles. The mark became bigger, nearer and clearer as one after another the poles were set up.

Since the Huilung *hsiang* government had its office in the ancestral temple of the Peng-Chu Homestead, and the village-chairman of Hsinlu Village, Peng Yu-tang was himself a member of the Peng-Chu Homestead,

the telephone system naturally centred there. The long line of erect telephone poles led towards that hamlet and everybody within, high or low, was in great excitement.

On the morning following the coming of the workers Peng Yu-tang called a meeting of the small-group leaders in the temple courtyard. Passing on instructions from the District People's Government, he said the land reform Work Team would probably arrive around the 25th of November. In the meantime, a matter of more than ten days, they must devote themselves to dispelling rumours and combating any sabotage on the part of the landlords. They must redouble their vigilance and watch carefully every move the landlords made. At the same time no peasant should be blamed or attacked if he should hesitate to fight the landlords or should be deceived by them, because one cannot expect the peasants to wake up very fast after they had been oppressed and hoodwinked for thousands of years. Instead, one should employ all kinds of methods to rouse the masses' class consciousness. When that is done and the masses have really "stood up", then fighting the big racketeers, hunting down rumours and stopping the illegal activities of the landlords will all proceed smoothly.

The landlords, too, now saw that the coming land reform would destroy their power. It would not be as easy as the "rent reduction and deposit refund" campaign. They knew from the newspapers and booklets that the people wanted to destroy only the landlord class, not the landlords themselves; that not all their lands would be taken away from them so that they had no means of livelihood, but that they would get a similar share like everyone else. But, to the landlords, who had ridden roughshod over the peasants for centuries, a "similar share' was treated with contempt. Used to reign supreme in the villages, they were determined not to take the coming blow lying down.

When he was told Peng Hsin-wu wanted to settle accounts with him, Peng the Second Tiger's face fell. His eyes bulging, he rapped the edge of the hardwood table with his pipe and addressing himself to his concubine said, "Turtles and tortoises are kings today. And here am I, bitten by a mad dog."

Peng Erh-hu's study was very ornately furnished. Scrolls and paintings hung on the walls above boxes and boxes of old editions. Only one thing was missing. Below the wall-clock there used to hang a picture showing a group of people welcoming the arrival of the KMT army. If it had been there still, one would have discovered Peng Erh-hu sitting proudly beside the Divisional Commander of the KMT's 107th Division. Those days were past, but Peng

Erh-hu still gloated over them with pleasure.

His hands clasped behind his back, he strode out of the study. In the big hall he paced to and fro, pondering. In the centre of the hall were his ancestral tablets, tracing his lineage back twenty generations. Then there were scrolls and tablets signed by "all the gentry of the district". On the main beam hung a horizontal piece with oversized characters: "A Precious Star Illumines This House".

Thoughtfully, Peng the Second Tiger gazed at the ancestral tablets as if asking his ancestors' advice to meet this new crisis. Stuck in the incense burner were a few incense sticks not yet burnt out. He rearranged them.

"Pang...Pang..." From the other side of the courtyard came the sound of someone monotonously knocking the "wooden fish[8]". It was Peng Erh-hu's wife, reciting the Buddhist sutras.

"The meal is ready, sir!" an anaemic-looking girl of about fifteen announced, standing outside the threshold.

Peng the Second Tiger gave an impatient grunt. Suddenly he raised his head and said, "Yueh-lien!" The girl turned around. "How would you say I've been treating you?"

Yueh-lien, already at the foot of the terrace, was slightly taken aback. She too had sensed a change in the atmosphere around the house. The other day while out shopping for Mrs. Peng at the Seven Star Slope, she had seen a lot of people, in groups of two or three, engaged in animated discussion around the well and on the field-paths. The walls were covered with slogans and picture-posters, with one showing a fat landlord sitting astride the back of a thin, under-nourished peasant. As for her, she had served Mrs. Peng for eight years. She had never stolen a needle or a piece of string. Yet she had to take beatings—both from Mrs. Peng and the younger concubine. Once in December, the concubine's baby had fallen off the bed and she was stripped naked and beaten. Compared with these two women, Master Peng the Second could well be said to be kind. A kick or two was the worst you got from him. Therefore she answered, "You have treated me all right, sir." But the words were accompanied by a brief glance at Peng the Second Tiger through eyes blood-shot from constant exposure to kitchen smoke. The verdict was too good for him and she gave it but reluctantly.

The Pengs did not all eat together. Peng the Second Tiger, his concubine and the baby had their meals in the study. After lunch, he broke his usual habit of taking a nap. He locked himself and the concubine in and the two of

them started packing quietly.

This lasted until evening when Peng the Second Tiger stepped out of the study and made his way to his brother's house. On the way he passed his farmhand Peng Fu-chuan.

For the whole afternoon Fu-chuan had been pounding rice, and while he worked he turned over in his mind the perplexing problem: Is the master his enemy or benefactor after all? Hsin-wu had told him a lot of bad things about his master, but here he was, retained and treated with consideration when all the other four farmhands had been dismissed. Destroy Master Peng and where would he get another job as a farmhand? Who would feed him? Master Peng had made the point clear several times. "Land reform? Land reform means Communism. This year the landlords. Next the rich peasants. The year after the middle peasants. Infive years' time everybody will be penniless. That's what it is." To tell the truth, the prospect did not strike Fu-chuan as so ominous. All he had was one cotton quilt, practically in rags—but wait. Yes, hadn't Master Peng "presented" him with a piece of land only last month? Well did he remember that evening—the way Master Peng dramatically pointed at the ancestral tablets in the hall and said, "We all belong to the Peng family. Let those who can help others. But no outsider is going to come and share our land!"

Seeing Fu-chuan pounding rice, Peng Erh-hu was displeased.

"Ah, stop it," he ordered. "Who knows to whom the rice will go?" This had been his constant attitude ever since the day the telephone poles were put up. He once even told Fu-chuan to let the cattle eat just grass and not beans.

His hands behind his back, Peng the Second Tiger went on his way through a side-door in the west wall towards his brother Peng Yin-ting's house.

The Village Chairman and the small-group leaders did their best to persuade the peasants not to listen to idle rumours and to get the autumn work done so as to clear the way for a successful land reform. Yet, in spite of their efforts the malicious rumours gained ground and the whole of Hsinlu Village was in a state of great agitation.

Take Chou Hsiang-jui, for instance. He was the proprietor of Chien Hsiang Department Store on the street near the Seven Star Slope. Without a *sheng* of land to his name in the village, yet he confided to regular customers over the counter. "We're not going to buy in any more goods from Hsiangtan. Who knows who will be the victims in this land reform business?" Owners of

groceries and herb stores also showed signs of uneasiness. Observant people reported that even the smoke rising from the chimneys of the brickkilns was daily getting thinner.

No one knew for certain whether the rumours originated in the village and then passed on to the street or the other way round. Peasants going up to town with basketfuls of vegetables and eggs would be questioned in great detail by the merchants and after having got rid of their goods, come back in the evening with basketfuls of rumours. The Village Chairman was pestered with questions: Is it true that a married person won't get any land? Or must a person get married before he can be given any land? It got so that even peasants with tiny bits of land worth only one or two *tou* began to get thoroughly nervous.

A woman named Tu Yu-chen had worked as a wet-nurse for the family of Chu Yao-hsien for three months while her husband was away. Then her mother-in-law suddenly showed up and insisted on her coming home. It seemed the mother-in-law was anxious since she had been told that after the land reform able-bodied women would be sent up to Manchuria.

It was at this anxious time that Peng Hsin-wu received a small package, probably thrown over the wall by someone. On opening it he found a note wrapped up in a ball of cotton: "One Peng doesn't want to hack off the head of another Peng. Let this be a warning to you not to throw your weight around too much."

Rumours buzzed and flew like mosquitoes and like mosquitoes were hard to squelch. The village activists tried to hunt the rumours down. The trail went from house to house. Sometimes would lead right into another village. Some peasants were especially cautious. They refused to disclose the source of their information. "Don't know," they would say, shaking their heads or claimed they could no longer remember where they heard it from.

The *hsiang* Chairman called a meeting every other day to combat rumours. They wanted to get actual witnesses and evidence before they jailed any rumour makers. Several clues were gained at these meetings. The house of landlord Lo Pei-jung, in the Big House Lo Homestead and that of the Peng brothers seemed to be the two main sources of rumours. Lo Pei-jung had called progressive members in his homestead "new-style racketeers". He had also whispered that the small-pox serum that the government brought from Hengyang contained poison. Peng the Second Tiger had boldly torn off the poster put up by the Peasants' Association with the characters: "He who Tills

Shall Also Reap!" An old used bank note, with the characters "getting poorer with each land reform" crawled across it was found in the street. It was traced back to Hsieh Chang Store and there it was discovered to be a trick of Peng the Second Tiger's.

On the morning of November 23, the Village Chairman and the leaders of the small-groups were discussing whether to hold the three rascals for questioning when Peng the Second Tiger's wife burst into the office. Her face was tear-stained. She stamped her feet and beat her breast in lamentation.

"Oh the scoundrel, the thief!" she cursed. "Ever since he took that wench, we've not spoken to each other. Last night the lights were on in his room for the whole night. We only found out what he had done when Yueh-lien went in to clear the room this morning. He has run off with that dirty little trollop and taken the suitcase which had my dowry in it too!"

Everybody immediately jumped to his feet. Hsin-wu especially was in such a rage that he wanted to start the chase at once.

The Village Chairman hurriedly phoned this news to the *hsiang* Chairman. Then he dispatched some cadres with Mrs. Peng to make an investigation of the house.

At noon the District Government phoned back ordering that both Lo Pei-jung and Peng Yin-ting be immediately arrested as rumour spreaders. The two criminal landlords with three small-group leaders as guards made their way along the field-path north of the Pigeon River towards the District Government. Hsin-wu, one of the three guards, carried a rifle.

They passed along the line of sentinel telephone poles. The early winter wind playing on the vibrating wires produced a sort of mellow and portentous music. It seemed to express the age-long sufferings of the peasants. Yet mingled in the complaint was a note of hope, a resonant twang singing of Huilung *hsiang*'s fertile land and its hard-working inhabitants.

Two days more and the land reform Work Team would arrive in the village.

壹　新的风景线

虽然8月初，回龙乡的农民协会便号召了“搞完秋征好土改”，但是新炉村的农民，正如大部分湖南的农民，对于土改本身还是懵懵懂懂的：只晓得土改就是分点子田，不晓得土改对于他们自己和他们的子子孙孙，将是怎样翻天覆地的一个巨变。

这也难怪他们，几千年来除了昙花一现的1927年，在广大土地上实行着的封建剥削制度从来没有改变过，整个人吃人的社会一直没有改变过。提起1927年来，三十岁以下的农民印象是很模糊的——在蒋介石二十多年的统治下，上年纪的农民们只是在心里记着那段辉煌的日子；他们缅怀当时农民短时间的翻身，然而也会记起地主复辟以后，回龙乡的肥沃土地上怎样淌满了善良农民的鲜血。

一年四季像车轮那么旋转，新炉村的农民也随了那车轮机械地不停息地旋转，车轮子上边载着千钧重量，直到1949年8月湖南解放时，新炉村农民的脊背上还压着国民党的县太爷，乡公所的绅士老爷，保长，和一手收租一手放高利贷的“东家”们。车轮转到春天时，农民们就沤粪，下籽，插秧；夏天了，就顶着炽热的太阳车水，踩草，割稻子；如今季节的车轮转到深秋了。男人们起五更去犁田，种菜；太阳冒了芽就车谷晒谷。女人们烧过饭就光了脚板去地里收稻草，背上还裹着吃奶的小娃子。

解放后，新炉村农民的日子的确好过了不少。出没无常的土匪肃清了。公粮负担轻了，而且区里修起仓库后，只要挑个廿里到庵门口县立第七分仓就够了，再也不需要挑到七十多里外的县城去。但是更重要的是“东家”们一个个都龟缩起来了，上半年双减时候，在政府的支持下，农民硬是逼着大户们把吞噬下去的利息又吐了出来。农民有退到谷子的，有退到光洋的，除了田无丘地无角的雇农，一般农民们都喘了口气，本来讨饭的，有了点小本，上镇上摆摊去了；本来几辈子没有一升田的，用退回的谷洋置起家产了。给千斤闸压了几千年的农民，脊背刚刚直过来，很自然的会起一种错觉，有的认为地主阶级已经是死老虎了，不必再去打它；有的认为既然日子一天比一天好了，只要一直好下去，何必扯破了脸去搞——1927年血腥的记忆，仍然像魑魅般萦绕在他们的潜意识中，他们害怕变天。

被拔了几根毛的地主当然是不甘心的，表面上他们是龟缩起来了，今年清明各屋场都没有敢召集村人去祠堂里训话——往年，地主训完话还得挑几个不顺眼的贫雇农装到麻袋里去吃棍子呢！收租子时候每年佃户们照例得送给“东家”一些农业副产品：蔬菜、茶叶、豆子和新鸡。今

年，识时务的“东家”赶忙笑眯眯地拦住说：你们留着吃哒！特别狡猾的地主，为了封“灶王爷”们的嘴，还送礼给佃户或长工呢！开天辟地，只有佃户请东家的酒，而且得抬了轿子去接，接到就算人家赏了脸；今年，有的地主倒过来请佃户的客了。地主的想法是：这些搓泥巴的，一辈子没尝过油水，给他点甜头尝，还愁他不说我好话，听我使唤！

地主们的心坎上也挂着一个血淋淋的1927——地主复辟后屠杀农民大众。在他们的心中，想着历史是循环的，反正他们仍有还手的那一天。而且地主阶级并不是坐在那里等着“那一天”。面临着农民的翻身，他们作起最后的挣扎。

第一个具体和新炉村农民提起土改的，是县里来的电话公司工人。

重阳节前，新炉村淡赭色的田埂上出现了崭新的风景线：从村子北界，也就是回龙乡与石马乡交界的斑鸠河那岸，一根根的电线杆子，衬着黄古岭上的朵朵云彩，由地面拔起来了。

起先，河南岸新炉村的农民还以为是为了石桥村新开的合作分社装的；但是11月初的一天早晨，三四十根杆子，由四个穿制服的工人，押载到南岸来了。正在堤岸上砍柴的彭福全呆呆地望着撑篙的人在船缘上使力气，等渡船靠了岸，他忍不住跑下坡去问：“喂，他们来干吗哩啊？”没等摇义渡的回答，船头上一个穿蓝斜纹布制服，腰间口袋上绣着“电话公司”四个大字的工人就大声嚷：“干吗哩，搞土改咯，搞好土改大家农民好翻身哒！”随说着，那工人就招呼伙伴们来扛杆子了。

彭福全一听，他就直觉地放下了镰刀和筐子，赶快俯下身去，拣了两根杆子挑在肩上。随搬动，随听那个工人说：工作队在县里开完扩干会就下来了，公司限他们在八天内完成任务。

“你们一共四个吗？”彭福全关切地问。

“不，四个人算一组，”工人告诉他，“你们回龙乡不是九个村吗？四九三十六个人。”

彭福全听了很佩服，到底是县里来的工人，真有头绪，有办法。他又追问了一句：

“咯，电话通到哪点？”在彭福全，这话问得是很高明的。他虽然去过县城，送过公粮，每次都不上十天。他没摸过甚至没看见过电话机。

“通么？通区政府，通县土委会，通省土委会，一直通到毛主席那点。”说完，工人又眨眨眼，很同情这个农民弟兄说：“国民党二十年，电话没出过县城。现在我们也下乡来了，帮你们来消灭地主阶级。”

这段谈话使彭福全的脑子转了起来。等杆子都搬上了坡，看看工人们要动手了，他就拾起镰刀，背上筐，踱开了。一面沿着堤坡走，他一面寻思着。

下了七星岗，福全抬头朝彭朱家那边望望，一片疏林里翘出了彭二

爹家的屋脊，宽大得正像彭二爹那副肥硕的肩膀。拱立在四周的是一簇半截土的破屋。彭福全从六岁便跟着爸爸住在那片土屋的一间里，有时候他也恨那个彭二爹，特别闻到灶房里炒菜的味，又是鱼又是肉，他彭福全一年到头吃的是茴丝。但是在彭福全看来，一切都出不了个“命”字，“命里有来一定有，命里无来不强求”。

像两个多月前，运转了，彭二爹无缘无故把他找去，硬“送”了他五斗七升田，而且是垅上好田，同时又要他搬到东家外院的瓦房里了。这叫做“时来运转”。

想到这里，彭福全心里觉得好像刚才做了一件对不起彭二爹的事，不该去搬那堆杆子了。彭福全想，无论彭二爹过去怎么样，解放以后，他蛮开通啰。而且，彭二爹说的对：凭他彭福全，没有了二爹，还吃谁的穿谁的呢？

湖南一般的自然村，都是若干屋场形成的。每个屋场里又都是一个或两个宗族形成的。小的屋场血统关系近到不出三五代，都是一座座小小的封建堡垒。新炉村便有：彭朱家，大屋罗和黎家园三个屋场，离堤不远，七星岗那边还有一条街镇。

彭福全回到彭朱家，少不得同人讲了上港装电线杆子的事。于是，一个屋场传一个屋场，太阳还没到中天，三个屋场都传遍这件事了。有些彭朱家上了年纪的农民，对于装电话并不感到兴奋，只是扶了根拐杖，站在屋场前节孝牌坊的石墩上望望就算了。这些年新鲜的事他们见过多了：联总美国鬼子来放过赈，蒋介石过过兵，从来新鲜的事并不一定就是好事！

但年轻力壮的小伙子和走得开的媳妇们可耐不住了。他们一个个，绕着丛林、坟地，沿着田埂上的小道，都奔向上港来。人群里，还撵着一个裹了脚的“疯媛毑”。五十三岁了，她也拄着根棍子，撅着干瘪瘪的嘴，挤在人群里，眼睛直直地望着堤这边已经竖起了的几根杆子。

农民们一赶到，先是问长问短的。“疯媛毑”还用她那枯柴似的手，沿着一个工人的胳臂轻轻的抚摸了一下，伤感地说：“啊，你真像我那个德明。瞧，他也有你这么高的个子，我一点点养大了他！”说着，她呜咽起来了。

“哭哭啼啼的哒！留着那眼泪跟地主算账去！”工人一面掏了铅笔在本子上记些什么，一面对“疯媛毑”说。接着他又掉过脸来告诉大家，“一句话，安了电话好搞土改，搞了土改，农民朋友们好做主人。明白了吧？来，有力气的帮我们抬抬！”

经这么一提醒，农民动起手来了，这个刨坑，那个去扛漆了号码的杆子。在刨坑上农民内行得使电话工人们很佩服。

太阳向西边天际线落下去时，工作在这么多“零工”的帮忙下，是完

成了。一根根电线杆子竖起来，细长苗条的影子便斜投在新割的稻田上了，直好像在田上面，打下了主人的印记。

那天看工人们栽完了电线杆子，“疯媛馳”便一路上扭着秧歌回到屋场。到了屋场，挨家叩门，门打开她就伸了脖子嚷：“嗨，土改了，土改了，我伢崽德明快回来了。”

嚷到彭新五的家里，他那怀了大肚子的老婆走出来叫猪，疯婆正撞了她个满怀，几乎撞倒在地上。她就一面招呼她男人披上军衣快去把“疯媛馳”的女儿春杏喊来，别出什么差池，一面把“疯媛馳”搀到她屋里矮凳上，趁着棉油灯的橙黄光亮，从三口火砖架起的灶上，拿下一只细长水壶，给她倒了杯开水，拉了她的手劝慰着说：

“疯媛馳，你崽不会回来了。新五不是说了吗？那不假。这么天天盼，你身子受不住。”

“不会回来了！”“疯媛馳”重复了一句，突然，尖声叫了一声，她由矮凳上晕倒下来了。

屋场里的农民黑压压地拥了进来，你一嘴我一嘴的。光林大叔摺着腮巴上疏疏朗朗几根胡子说：“还是莫提她伢崽阵亡了的话好，她的女儿春杏眼看也就嫁人家了，她这婆子活着还有么哩着落！”

正说着，肩头上垂了两条小辫的春杏从大屋罗赶来了。她一扑就扑到“疯媛馳”身上，“妈呀！妈呀！”地哭个好惨，新五一面喊他媳妇倒点开水，一面就把“疯媛馳”搀上床。

到了床上，“疯媛馳”的眼皮动了，裂出一道缝。她摸索着春杏的手说：“杏子，杏子，莫给他冲喜呀！新五管得有理，看谁敢糟蹋你！”春杏今年才十七，她在大屋罗一共当了五年小媳妇。男人二十二了，从小就瘦得像小鸡子，时常大口大口地吐血，男家近来要圆房。疯婆起初也没办法。她是养不活女儿才把她送出做小媳妇的。送去五年，人家要娶，有么哩话说！

从去年复员回来，彭新五专好管村里的事，他因此被选做小组长。他是和“疯媛馳”的儿子德明同一回被抓的丁，他知道德明打死了，听说德明的妹子要嫁一个痨病鬼，就硬去大屋罗阻止。男家对新五说：婚姻打消也可以，只要退我们五年的伙食！

“疯媛馳，春杏，你们想想，”新五瞪了眼睛嚷，“谁害的德明，还不是那个狗日的彭二虎！我还不也是他给送上炮眼的！没有共产党，我能有今天！共产党把我俘虏以后，没把我当俘虏，把我当作弟兄救了。我这回不跟彭二虎算账，我算白活了！”

春杏一只手擦着颊上的眼泪，一只手给“疯媛馳”捶着腿。她呆呆地望着两个人，脸上没有一点表情。

提起彭二虎来，全乡农民没有不怕，没有不恨的！平时他们只好叫

他做彭二爹。日本人在的时候，他哥哥荫庭当伪乡长，替日本拉夫，找“花姑娘”，还收买几十口袋的铜板运到日本去。胜利后，荫庭为了汉奸“嫌疑”下了台，就把彭二虎换上了。当时据说是因为1928年，他当过清乡委员，但是解放以来，他一再否认，说都是他那个跑到台湾的旅长侄子背着他活动出来的，事后推也推辞不了。无论如何，彭二虎足足当了四年回龙乡的土皇帝，替蒋介石逼丁逼税。

解放以后，彭二虎滚下台了。起初，仗着他耳朵多，爪牙多，还神气过一阵，假装忠厚长者的口吻，公开对农民恫吓说：我们是家门，做事留线，日后好见面！近几个月来，彭天保见了从前的和现在的佃户长工就送礼。他的家好像什么魔术师的礼帽：抽出不晓得多少条绿色的美国毯子，都是“剩余物资”！八月节，他还请佃户们吃了回酒！

当新五大声骂着彭二虎的时候，屋子里的农民们你看看我，我看看你，都不吱声。有的觉得双减时候，他东西拿出来，在地方上又不大露面了，见人低三下四的，何必再去算旧账？也有的知道彭二虎手里还有硬家伙，他耳目又多，怕吱声惹出事来。于是，只听见春杏给“疯媛驰”捶腿的咚咚声音。

屋场里有了“秀才”称号的朱耀先发言了。像他给人看八字一样，话没出来前先得咳嗽一声，然后轻轻搔搔脑袋上的疤，表示很慎重，很用心思。

“回龙乡马上就要土改了。”语气间很带点权威，这是因为今年春天，他曾去县里开过一次农民代表会议，回来以后，非常神气。遇到谁家有婚丧大事，他还常把农代会的红绸条，挂在胸前，走路摇摆得活像一头水牯。“土改的时候，谁该怎么办，就得怎么办。毛主席公公道道，毫厘不爽的。”接着，嗓子里又重重咳了一声。“彭大爹也罢，彭二爹也罢，他们的人就在我们屋场里，还怕他插翅飞走！他们的田地没有腿，更跑不了啦，动么哩火气！”

农民们本来勇气就不够，顾虑多，听“秀才”这么一说，更觉得多一事不如少一事了，于是，大家交谈起来，大致说，电线杆子没几天就安起了，率性等几天再算账吧。

新五记起了前些日子乡主席古玉章传达区委书记关于“土改准备工作”中的一段重要指示：在群众没有充分发动起来以前，地主是斗不倒的。估计斗不倒，就不要打草惊蛇。他决定耐心地等群众觉悟了。

自从新炉村栽下了电线杆子，新炉村的农民和地主心坎上也都栽下了新的问号。那问号，随着一根根竖起的电线杆子变得更大，更逼近，更逼真。

因为回龙乡的乡政府是在彭家祠堂里，新炉村的村主任彭玉堂也是彭朱家屋场的人，电话的路线显然是以彭朱家为中心，一根一根的电线

杆子笔直向彭朱家奔来。屋场里，各阶层都骚动起来了。

彭玉堂在安电线杆子的第二天早晨，便在祠堂的侧院召集了一个农会小组长会，报告区政府有指示来，估计土改工作队同志们大约11月25号左右可以到达，要各小组长在这十几天里注意追谣，反分散，反破坏，也即是提高警觉，好好监视地主们的行动。同时，如果贫雇农向恶霸地主作斗争时有顾虑，甚至受恶霸地主们的骗，绝不可以责备农民，打击农民，因为农民受了几千年的压迫蒙蔽，不是一下子可以觉醒过来的，而应该利用一切机会去启发群众的阶级觉悟。只有群众觉悟了，站起来了，反霸，追谣，镇压地主的不法行为才能做得成功。

地主方面也意识到眼前到来的土地改革这一关，没有双减退押那么好过了。尽管从报纸和书册上，地主们知道人民要消灭的仅仅是地主这个阶级，并不是要消灭他们的肉体；并不是把田没收后，不给他们一条活路，而是也要分给他们与农民同样的一份，但是作威作福几千年的地主阶级是不甘心接受那“同样的一份”的，对于在农村里一向称孤道寡的土皇帝——恶霸地主，那尤其是不可想象的事。

听说彭新五要向他算账，彭天保就把一脸的横肉搭拉下来了，三楞眼一瞪，水烟袋往硬木八仙桌的桌边一顿，对他的小老婆骂道：“现在乌龟甲鱼都出哒呢，活了四十六岁，我给癫狗咬了一口！”

彭二虎的书房充满了雅气，一墙的字画，一箱箱的古版书。本来挂在挂钟下面那幅“欢迎国军莅临”的团体照片已摘下去了，不然，还可以看见彭二虎如何威风地坐在国民党一○七师师长旁边的神气。那样的事情总归是过去了，但是在彭二虎还是万分依恋的。

他背着双手踱出了书房，在大厅里一面踱着，一面寻思着。大厅中间供着彭天保的“历代始太高曾祖”的牌位，上溯直达廿代；一边题着：“序昭穆如闻如见”，一边是“荐枣栗必敬必恭”；两边柱子上挂着“阖邑绅士拜题”的对联，两块细长、黑漆金字的长匾上刻着：“先代有贻谋肇基端由勤俭，后人宜继续务本只在读耕”。正梁上还悬着一块横匾，刻着斗大的“宝婺光闾”四个字。

彭天保若有所思地望着祖先牌位。他伸手把香炉里未燃尽的香摆正了一下，直好像在“先代”面前请教对付眼前土改的高明计谋。

天井那面有人唧唧地叩着木鱼，声音单调而且疾速。彭二虎的大老婆又在念经了。

“二爹，吃饭了！”正想着，门槛外站着一个脸色苍白的女孩子，年纪约摸十五六岁。

彭天保不耐烦地哼了一声。忽然，他抬起头来喊：

“月莲！”等女孩子回过头来后，问：“我待你怎么样？”

已经退下台阶的月莲给他问了个楞。她也觉出近来整个屋场的空气

是不同往常了。前天替彭天保的大老婆去七星岗上一趟街，看见井边、田埂上、每家屋角都有两三个人在议论着。墙上还新贴了许多标语和漫画——一幅画的是个瘦弱的种田人，背上骑着个肥大的“东家”。她已经侍候彭二爹的大太太有八年了，她没偷过一针一线，但是彭二爹的大老婆和小老婆全打过她——有一回腊月天，为了小老婆的娃娃自己跌下了床，还把她衣服脱光了打过呢！比起她们来，彭二爹的确算好人了，顶多踢她一腿半脚的。想到这里，她就回答说：“二爹待我蛮好！”说完，她那对被灶房的柴烟熏得爬满了红丝的眼睛朝彭天保望了一下，好像这么说过奖了他，也委屈了自己似的。

彭家的饭是分两处开。彭天保和小老婆带着一个小娃子是在书房里吃的。饭后，彭天保没有午睡。他跟他那小老婆两个倒扣上了门，咕咚咕咚地收拾起箱笼来。

到傍晚，彭天保才打开门踱出来。

整个下午，福全都在外院舂米。沿着院墙，两头黄牛在啮草，一条小牛犊拼命用嘴巴追着一条母牛，咂着奶头。

福全一面舂米，一面心里为一个难题困惑着：彭二爹究竟是他的仇人还是恩人？彭新五对他讲了许多彭二爹的坏话，解放以前的彭二爹当然是刀子一样地狠了。但是如今彭二爹把其余四个长工全散了，单单留了他一个，对他又这么“厚道”，如果真把彭二爹消灭掉，他这份长工不是也消灭光了吗，他还吃什么？彭二爹几次对他说：“土改是什么？土改就是共产。今年共地主，明年共富农，后年共中农，五年之内，大家都共光了算数！”其实，那话他听了倒没觉得有什么可怕的。他一共只有一条破棉絮——对了，别忘了上个月里彭二爹“送”了他五斗七升田呢！彭二爹那晚上在大厅里指着祖宗牌位对他说，都是彭家人，谁能照顾谁，就照顾谁，分田也不能分到外族去。

看见福全在舂米，彭二虎很不高兴。

“别舂了！”彭天保吩咐，“舂好了不一定给谁吃呢！”从新炉村装了电线杆子那天起，彭二虎一直唱着这个论调，他甚而告诉福全：牛只许喂草，不许喂豆子。

吩咐完了，彭天保背着双手，推开西墙一道便门，到他哥哥彭荫庭屋里去了。

接连几天，尽管村主任和各小组长们挨户宣传大家应该努力生产，热烈迎接土改，新炉村各阶层却还是被谣言骚动得人心惶惶的。

七星岗的街上，千祥百货店的老板周祥瑞在农村没有半斗田，他竟也倚着柜台对熟主顾说：“湘潭的货一时先不进了，谁知道这回土改都改些什么人！”街上的布铺、西药房的老板神气之间都表现出些不安定。有人甚至说，砖窑的烟筒里最近两三天烟愈冒愈稀了。

谣言究竟是由农村传到街上去的，还是由街上传下来的，谁也不敢说。农民挑了一箩箩的蔬菜鸡蛋到镇上去，商人们见了农民就问长问短；傍晚农民又挑着一箩箩的谣言回来。有的回来就去问村主任：是不是结了婚的就不分田了？又有的问：是不是结了婚的才有资格分田？闹得甚至有一斗两斗田的农民心里也起着疙瘩。

在朱耀先家里当了三个月奶妈的涂玉贞，忽然她婆婆来要替她辞工不干了。她婆婆一定要把她送回娘家去，因为听说土改工作队一来，便吸收妇女到东北去，她丈夫又在湖上摇船，涂玉贞的婆婆说："我可担不起那责任！"

东北！造谣的家伙们好像特别看上了这个地方。多少谣言都是针对东北的。东北掉了原子弹。东北进了美国兵。地主们似乎希望用东北的灾难来做他们的救星！

这期间，彭新五还收到了一个小包包，大约是隔着墙丢过来的。打开一看，一团棉花里包着一张字条，写着："姓彭的不愿砍姓彭的头！少积极些！"

谣言像蚊子般到处嗡嗡地飞，也像蚊子般不好扑灭。各小组组长听见了谣言就追根。新五一家家地追，从这个屋场追到那个屋场，有时候甚至追到邻村去。有的农民，特别是上年纪怕事的妇女，摇摇头说"不知道"，也有的说："记不清谁说的了。"

为了追谣，乡主席隔天就召集一次反谣言反攻势的汇报。一定要抓到人证物证才好把坏人押起来。从这些汇报中间，终于抓到了些线索。大屋罗的罗培荣和彭朱家的彭天保的家里是两个主要的谣言工厂。罗培荣骂屋场里的积极分子作"新恶霸"，又说政府新从衡阳运来的牛痘种里有毒。彭天保把农会贴在他家大门外雕花墙上的标语"谁种谁收"硬给撕下来了。街上发现一张上面歪歪斜斜涂了"愈改愈穷"四个字的钞票，查到协昌洋货店那里，追出来也是彭天保干的。

11月23日的上午，村主任正在和小组长开会商议去搜查彭天保和罗培荣的家，并审讯这三个恶霸的时候，彭天保的大老婆满脸的眼泪，跺脚捶胸地到乡政府来了。

"这个贼男人！"她边哭边骂着。"自从他娶了那个小的，我就没和他讲过话。昨晚上他的灯总是亮着。今天早上月莲去打扫，才发觉他干的鬼事！他带了一只皮箱——里面还有我的陪嫁，又带了那个骚女人和那个小野种跑了！"

开着会的人们听了都站起脚来。新五气得马上要去追。

村主席一面派人同彭二虎的大老婆去彭家搜查，一面自己赶紧向乡主席报告去了。

那天中午，村主任奉了乡主席转来的区政府命令，将罗培荣和彭荫

庭同时逮捕了。两个不法地主由三个小组长押着，新五还揣了支手枪，沿着田埂便道向斑鸠河北岸的区政府出发了。

　　电线杆子已经全部完成。初冬的风在微颤的电线上吹起委婉细柔的声音，像是在吐诉着几千年来农民的遭际，又像是在歌颂着回龙乡土地的肥沃，农民的辛勤。

　　这时，距工作队到达的日期还有两天了。

2. ON THE THRESHOLD TO ACTION

Though the Peng household's ancestral temple had only been built 90 years ago in the second year of *Tung Chih*, some of the yew trees which grew in a half circle in front of it were said to have a history of over 500 years. Yet it is certain that neither trees nor temple had ever witnessed a more significant event than that which took place on November 26, 1950.

It was an event that shattered the traditions enshrined in this fortress of feudal superstition. The people gathered in their hundreds on the open space in front of the stone temple steps for the first mass meeting of Huilung *hsiang*'s land reform.

On the order of the *hsiang* government on the day before the Work Team's arrival, a platform had been built on the terrace of the temple and two national flags were draped over the imposing entrance. They hid completely the wide-eyed door gods, Chun Chung and Ching Teh, whose images decorated the two leaves of the gate, but incongruously, as if reminding the peasants of the past. There could be seen behind the platform the cruelly spiked railing, that had been used by the landlords to prevent imprisoned peasants from escaping.

Framed by the flags was a picture of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. His thoughtful, kindly face smiled down at the peasants gathered on the ground below.

Two carved walls flanked the temple. One bore the inscription: "The Gate of Propitious Ceremony", the other "The Road to Righteousness". Now they bore signs indicating the seats of the Peasants' Association officers and the representatives of the Handicraft Workers' Union and the Chamber of Commerce.

On the jutting eaves of the temple roof, rows of gargoyles that appeared unconcerned, gazing with lifted heads at the wandering autumn clouds. The two stone lions guarding the temple entrance were less stoic. Their gaping mouths and bared teeth betrayed emotion, but it was hard to say whether a frown or a smile was intended.

The meeting was scheduled to start at ten. From early in the morning the representatives, one from every household of all the nine Huilung *hsiang* villages, had started for the *hsiang* government in Hsinlu Village along the field-paths spread almost as bewilderingly and intricately, as the nervous

system of a human body. Some carried small paper flags bearing the characters "Welcome, Comrades of the Land Reform Work Team!". Representatives of the street near the Seven Star Slope arrived. Some of them had their heads stuffed full of doubts and problems. They engaged in whispered tête-a-tête or stood wordlessly by, their hands tucked in their sleeves.

A cheerful note was struck by the handicraft workers and pedlars from the street, who entered the meeting place in great jubilation beating side-drums. But, in general, there was an atmosphere of tension. It was, of course, natural that a person like Li Chao-chu from the Li Garden, a notorious landlord, should keep his hands in his sleeves and stand trembling in a corner by himself, like a prisoner awaiting the final verdict. But there was a section of the peasants who had been confused by the landlord's rumours and who, although they owned only a *sheng* or a half *tou* of land, were apprehensive at the thought of "redistribution on the spot" which, they had been whispered, might be the decision of the day's meeting. Hu Pin-tsan, who owned a department store on the street, ostentatiously put on a jacket that was almost in rags. Ever since the arrival of the Work Team, he had refused to show up behind the counter of his own store.

The "Scholar" Chu Yao-hsien was assailed by the most painful and complex emotions. This was a big event, and, to live up to it, he once more pinned on his gown the ever faithful red silk insignia which had been given him when he once attended a meeting of peasant delegates. Now he jostled his way back and forth through the crowd with an air of solemn importance, as if he were presiding over the whole a air. Still, he could not get away from the fact that only a year ago he was known to have hired two farmhands and lent out money at usurious interest. He was dimly aware of the fact that this was not going to be anything like the "rent reduction and deposit refund" campaign. His uneasiness was not lessened when he learnt that the night before the Work Team had gathered together a number of peasants for a consultation which lasted till far into the night and he had not been invited. Outwardly he assumed an appropriately joyful expression. But deep down within him he was afraid and an unaccountable feeling of jealousy kept gnawing at his heart.

At quarter past ten, *hsiang* Chairman Ku Yu-chang, clad in a new blue-cloth jacket, took his place on the platform. Already there were the Secretary of the Communist Party District Branch, Hsiung Peng, the chairmen of the

Handicraft Workers' Union, the Peasants' Association and the Chambers of Commerce, Headmaster Hsu Tzu-chiang of the primary school at the Seven Star Slope and some of the comrades of the Work Team. Ku Yu-chang called the meeting to order and the hum of discussion and gossip died down. He announced the three-fold purpose of the meeting: To welcome the Work Team comrades who had just arrived after half a month of anxious waiting on the part of all the peasants of Huilung *hsiang*; to hear the report on current a airs by Hsiung Peng, the District Party Secretary, so that a final end could be put to rumours and scandals; and to ask Comrade Chao Chieh-min of the Work Team to explain the People's Government's policy on agrarian reform.

Hsiung Peng rose to his feet. A native of Hsiangyin and short in stature, he was ordinarily soft-spoken, but a booming voice seemed to come to him naturally when he spoke at a mass meeting.

"Peasant Comrades: We're going to carry out the land reform! All reforms bring something new and I know that it is only natural that we should have some distrust for new things with which we are at first not very familiar. In this case, however, distrust is neither necessary nor justified. But none should blame a peasant for such an attitude. For thousands of years a cruel and greedy feudal landownership system has robbed you of your livelihood and of a chance to get an education. Now taking advantage of your inability to read the newspapers and get to know the People's Government policy better, the landlords are trying to deceive you, to disturb your peace of mind by spreading the most outrageous rumours, in order to prevent you from carrying out the land reform properly.

"I know that they are spreading the story that Chiang Kai-shek is coming back. But what a foolish thing to imagine! Comrades! The KMT that sucked our blood and stole our children for over 20 years was kicked into the sea by our People's Army over a year ago. We have wiped out that bandit army of eight million men. Now there is not one single KMT soldier left anywhere on our mainland from the Northeast to Hainan, from Shanghai to Sinkiang. Chiang Kai-shek with some of his henchmen are still on Taiwan, but who can doubt that their days are numbered? Would they dare come back on the mainland again? Then we will have the pleasure of finishing them off even more quickly!" The peasants laughed. They remembered the sorry sight of the KMT army in retreat.

Hsiung Peng dealt in forthright terms with all the rumours that had spread around the countryside like a rash. He mentioned the one about the

Americans rushing help to Chiang. But hadn't the Americans helped Chiang before? And the Americans themselves? Our people's volunteers and the Korean People's Army who had given the American imperialists a thorough beating in Korea could say exactly how much American aid to Chiang was worth!

"The landlords say that Chiang Kai-shek has returned to Hankow," continued Hsiung Peng, "but if he couldn't hold Nanking with eight million men how could he get to Hankow with his remnants now while his American friends are taking a beating in Korea?"

The peasants laughed again, for the logic was unassailable.

"Therefore, when we carry through this land reform, let us do it with a perfectly clear mind. The landlords, too, had better give up their idle dreams. Your Chiang Kai-shek has been kicked out never to return. Lay down your weapons and surrender to the people. It will be better for you. And you peasant comrades! Now that you are masters of the situation, what do you have to fear?' The peasants thundered out their applause as Hsiung Peng sat down. Hsin-wu thrust his arm up and springing to his feet shouted vigorously: "Down with the feudal landlord class!" and the peasants in unison echoed his shout.

The few landlords in the crowds already felt isolated. These thoughts were hard to take. But they tried to clap their hands too. Only somehow their palms just would not meet together.

Next came Comrade Chao of the Work Team. He sprang up with the litheness of a panther, a mature down-to-earth peasant cadre. He travelled much and travelled light. A fountain pen and a toothbrush showed above the breast pocket of his worn gray cadre's uniform. His face was deeply tanned and he had a scar on his forehead—a souvenir of the days of Japanese aggression. He had been wounded in a battle while serving as vice-magistrate in Wutai, the Shansi guerrilla area, when he was only 23 years old.

"Comrades! I am a native of Shansi. So, perhaps you will not understand everything I say. I'll try to say each word slowly and clearly. If you still cannot understand, well then, don't hesitate to ask questions later. My comrades of the Work Team and I are going to be around here to work for your full liberation with you every day until the land reform in Huilung *hsiang* is completed. We'll try to make plain all the things that perhaps you cannot understand now.

"Peasant comrades! You have cultivated the land all your lives. It is

clearer to you than to anyone else how necessary it is to give the land to the tiller. The feudal land system is cruel and outrageous beyond description. Those who tilled the land got nothing in return. Everything went to the landlord sitting idly and in luxury at home. Is it any wonder then that production was low? And prices high?

"Take cotton for instance, a thing very much needed in industry. Since we did not produce sufficient cotton, industry was not able to develop. And so cloth was expensive and we have always had to go in rags. The business of merchants and makers of cloth was not good because it had to depend only on a very small number of rich customers. After land reform with the peasants producing much more cotton, industry will prosper; so will traders because they will have the prosperous peasant masses as their customers."

Many a head in the crowd nodded assent.

"When one is struggling day and night to get just enough to eat, there is little time left to think about getting educated. Eighty per cent of our people are peasants and most of them are illiterate. They can never become truly and fully masters of the country if they still live under feudal exploitation. If we do not rid ourselves of the feudal land system, how could we think of building a really free, strong and prosperous country?

"This feudal land ownership lies at the root of our nation's troubles. It made us poor, backward and weak, an easy prey for the imperialists. Now that must all be ended forever.

"Ever since 1927 land reform has gone on in the liberated areas north and south of the Yangtse River. All the experience we gained during those 23 years as to what is the right way and what the wrong way is written down in *The Agrarian Reform Law* which our Central People's Government adopted this year. This is why we must follow *The Agrarian Reform Law* in our work of liberation. Land reform can justly be called an earth-shaking event. Those who formerly ruled in the countryside, the landlord class who have sat on the people's back for thousands of years, now must submit to the people's democratic dictatorship—the people's will. Those who were formerly ruled, the farmhands and the poor peasants, the most exploited groups, will now move up to the places of power. Land reform is aimed at bettering their life and raising their authority. That is what we mean by liberation.

"Everyone who supports land reform must, therefore, first learn to respect the peasants' opinions and consider their interests. The unity among farmhands, the poor and middle peasants, during and after the period of the

land reform, is the best protection to the people's democratic dictatorship in the countryside. The farmhands and the poor peasants especially must be the backbone of the whole revolution in the countryside. They must stand up!

"Advance boldly! Mighty forces are backing you up—the workers, the Communist Party, the People's Army, the People's Government. All are ready to fight for you, ready to aid you! And Chairman Mao Tse-tung is leading you."

This much made clear, Chao Chieh-min went on to describe various aspects of the land reform work on the basis of opinions that he and the village chairman and Peasants' Association officers had exchanged on the night before. He pointed out with special emphasis that People's Army men, dependents of revolutionary martyrs, workers, employees, professional people, pedlars and others who do not work in the fields but have other occupations, or those who lack labour power, shall not be classified as landlords if they rent out only small portions of land. He also explained from the point of view of the poor peasants why it is still necessary to preserve the rich peasant economy. This, he showed, would give a better start to the work of increasing production, protect better the interests of the middle peasants, isolate the landlord class, the main enemy, and thereby the land reform would proceed more smoothly.

He explained simply the nature of the new democratic revolution. Touching on how the free flow of goods between the city and the countryside would be advantageous to the peasants, he explained why industry and trade must be protected.

To those industrialists and merchants who were concurrently landlords he had this to say: Concentrate on developing your business in the city, and do not go on exploiting the peasants by monopolising land, houses or farm implements. He reminded them again: "In the past, landlords and rich peasants were your only customers. The landlord class occupies less than 10 per cent of the entire population. When the peasants really start buying you'll see which proves the bigger customer.'

To the landlords he spoke up again in a cold, determined voice. First he made it clear that landlords would be deprived of their feudal land holdings and abolished as a social class, but they would not be physically molested. However, he gave the following warning:

"Two ways are open to you. One leads to a bright future and that is: repent and reform. Guard well your land, draught animals, farm implements,

surplus foodstuffs and houses and hand over everything according to regulations when the moment for confiscation comes. Then the peasants will certainly treat you leniently. You'll be given a similar share of land and housing so that you too will have a chance to reform through actually taking part in labour.

The other way is one which can only end badly for you. That is the way of Peng Yin-ting and Lo Pei-jung. They plotted and created disturbances. Now they are awaiting trial. Landlords of this type can never escape from the people's long arm of justice...."

Before he stood up to speak, Chao Chieh-min had been somewhat uneasy about his Shansi accent. But he had been in Hunan ever since the summer of 1949 when he arrived together with the Liberation Army. His northern brogue had mellowed. Judging from the smiles on the faces of the peasants and the relief on the faces of the businessmen from the Seven Star Slope, undoubtedly the audience had grasped the essence of his speech.

The next to speak was Pan Chih-chao, Chairman of the Huilung *hsiang* Handicraft Workers' Union. The gist of his speech was that workers and peasants are comrades working for the same cause. The workers would lend whole-hearted support to the peasants in their struggle for freedom. Only when the peasants have been fully emancipated can a new China based on the union between workers and peasants be firmly established.

By profession, Pan Chih-chao was a blacksmith. He offered, by way of concrete help, to speed up the making of weapons for the militia during the land reform, and make more improved farm tools for the emancipated peasants.

Next came the turn of Yen Shu-cheng, Chairman of the Huilung *hsiang* Peasants' Association, who spoke on behalf of all the peasants. He called to them all to rise up in good order and in accordance with the policy and regulations laid down by the Central People's Government, take back from the feudal landlords the land they had tilled for so many centuries. Then he too stressed that the industrial and commercial enterprises run by the landlords and the land and other properties used directly by landlords for the operation of industries and trades should not be touched.

Old Tu Yu-chun stood up. He was Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and chief proprietor of the Kaikuo Herbalist Shop. To show proper regard for the occasion, he respectfully took off his horn-rimmed spectacles. Then he started to speak with a faint trace of embarrassment.

"During the last few days we people on the street have been unduly alarmed. That land reform means to help develop the rural economy is now perfectly clear, but some of us merchants insisted on getting the wind up. Some had even refused to buy in any more goods." At this, Chou Jui-hsiang of Chien Hsiang Department Store felt himself blushing so violently that his ears also turned red.

"What the other comrades have just said came to us as a great relief," he continued. "It was as though we merchants and industrialists were made to take some anti-toxin which neutralised the poison rankling inside us.

"I, too, felt some poison in me. I have a piece of irrigated land near the Big Graveyard, valued at seven *tou* and two *sheng*. Let me be honest. I got all my money by exploiting the labour of the peasants. My two sons are both doing revolutionary work in Changsha. In some way, this is a repayment to the people. Did I not use the tainted money I got from the peasants to pay for their education? Since now the peasants are good enough not to touch my herbalist business, the greater part of my property, so that I can go on supporting a family of seven and contribute what little I can to the prosperity of Huilung *hsiang*, I in my turn will of course follow the law of the government too. Tomorrow morning I am going to turn over to the *hsiang* government the deeds of that piece of land together with a complete inventory of other property there and farm implements."

Tu Yu-chun's candid remark won him a prolonged burst of applause.

At noon the meeting came to an end. All along the field path people went talking and debating, quite unlike the silent manner in which they had come.

Because he had not been allowed to get up and speak, the "Scholar" Chu Yao-hsien was feeling very much piqued. Mixing with the home-going crowd, he tried to crack jokes.

"One can see Comrade Chao is resourceful," he said. "Look at the way he extolled the people's long arm of justice by mentioning only Peng Yin-ting and Lo Pei-jung. But did he say anything about the one that had already wriggled out of legal punishment, namely, Peng the Second Tiger?'

This was overheard by Hsin-wu, who threw a scornful glance at him and said, "Don't you worry. We'll catch him sometime and then you'll see."

Comrade Chao Chieh-min, the leader of the Work Team, insisted on the Team finishing up all the meetings devoted to investigating the *hsiang* as a whole, within two days, so that the cadres could go out quickly to the

individual villages and begin the actual work of land reform. These meetings would also serve to give the various circles in Huilung *hsiang* a clearer conception of the government's policy.

First came the meeting of cadres. Ten Work Team members sat in a row on a long bench underneath an ancient memorial tablet which said "The Roots Go Deep" and scribbled hurriedly in their notebooks while listening to *hsiang* Chairman Ku Yu-chang explaining the local set-up. They wrote:

"Human geography: Huilung *hsiang* has altogether 2,127 households, a population of 6,989. Nine villages. Created through the merging of the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh *pao* under the KMT regime. 1,527 *tan* of irrigated rice fields. 470 *tan* of dry land, largely planted with cotton. Land ownership quite concentrated, e.g., Lo Pei-jung of Big House Lo alone owns 90 *tan* of land.

"Hemmed in on three sides by rivers. Pigeon River to the north. Lienchiang to the west. Shaho to the south. All three empty into Lake Tungting. Frequent floods between spring and summer. Land near the rivers suffers most.

"History: This *hsiang* was under Japanese occupation during the War of Resistance and suffered a lot of damage. The whole street near the Seven Star Slope was burnt down. Many peasants killed.

"Political analysis: This *hsiang* was on the outskirts of the old Soviet zone during the Great Revolution. Hence the older peasants had considerable experience in organising. For this reason, during the 22 years of the KMT regime, the landlords were particularly cruel. The *hsiang* has seven or eight despotic landlords. Worst of the lot are the two Pengs in Hsinlu Village.

"'The Circle'—a reactionary, superstitious society, has a good deal of influence locally. Membership in this *hsiang* reached around 560 at the time the Liberation Army crossed the Yangtse. About 80 per cent are deluded farmhands and poor peasants. But most of them had left the organisation when the 'rent reduction and deposit refund' campaign went into force. 'Master' of the Circle, Tan Ching-wu, of Shuangfeng Village, plotted insurrection at beginning of year and was shot. The organisation itself still going on underground. Needs close watching.

"The current *hsiang* government was elected during the 'rent reduction and deposit refund' period and has four *hsiang* cadres. Among them, three are poor peasants or farmhands. One is a middle peasant. Among the nine village cadres, six are poor peasants or farmhands. Three are middle peasants. "The whole *hsiang* has 46 Communist Party and New Democratic Youth League

members. Party headquarters kept underground successfully after 1927. Since liberation, Party and League members have been very influential in all kinds of work—aiding the front, campaigning for the rent reduction etc., etc. ...e.g. Peng Hsin-wu of Hsinlu Village has been consistently ahead of the others in struggling against reactionary elements ever since he was first won over."

When the Chairman finished reporting, the members of the Work Team raised several questions. Among them was Comrade Lu Yang, who was assigned to go to Hsinlu Village. A native of Liuyang county and originally a schoolmaster, Comrade Lu came from a tenant-middle-peasant family and had four months of training after the liberation of Hunan in the Construction Academy, a school in Hsiangtan for cadres. He had taken part in the rent reduction campaign and was considered competent. However, the prospect of having to tackle such a complex set-up as Hsinlu Village disturbed him. Seven Star Slope with its shops and workshops was a complicating factor. and then "the most reactionary landlords" were Hsinlu Village inhabitants. Hence he kept asking about this and that until finally Chao Chieh-min sensibly suggested: "Suppose we three, you and old Peng, the Village Chairman, and myself go into the problems connected with Hsinlu Village some time later."

After supper the meeting went on under a brilliant gas lamp hung from the main beam of the temple. Chairman Yen of the Peasants' Association was reporting.

"The Huilung *hsiang* Peasants' Association," he said, "was first organised during the 'rent reduction and deposit refund' campaign. Therefore there is a relatively high percentage of middle peasants in it. However, no definite figures can be given until a final differentiation of class status has been made. The Association has three divisions, each comprising three villages, Hsinlu, Shih-chiao and Yunhu, for instance, form the First Division. Total membership—957. But this is not a completely reliable guide to the degree of class consciousness of the peasants since many of the members only enrolled when Association officers went to their homes to canvass. Five hundred and thirty four of the members are men; 423 are women. At present the Association has 15 officers working. Eight of them are farmhands or poor peasants. Seven are middle peasants. You cadres must know our Association well because it is the mass organisation which enables the peasants to protect their own interests both during and after the land reform. We on our part will work in close contact with the Peasants' Representative Conference, the

people's local government authority. It is through our Association that the peasants heighten their own class consciousness, develop the tradition of collective work and pooling of knowledge, so as to cope with the various kinds of constructive work. It is through the Conference that the peasants organise mutual help activities and cooperation to develop agriculture and improve their living standards. This is especially important work.

"Since the present Huilung *hsiang* Peasants' Association is the product of the 'rent reduction and deposit refund' campaign, a campaign carried out on a narrower mass basis, it cannot yet shoulder the responsibility of starting such a gigantic task as land reform. Therefore we must learn how to strengthen and expand it in the process of struggling, rid it of landlords and rich peasants or their agents who might have infiltrated into it, educate the politically backward elements and promote new active members from among the peasants."

Next morning even before the cadres had had time to wash their faces, people began to arrive. The meeting was a joint one held by the Work Team and local intellectuals. Chao Chieh-min explained the proper attitude which the intellectuals should have towards land reform and the government's policy towards the intellectuals as laid down in *The Agrarian Reform Law*. Then they began discussing how the Huilung *hsiang* intellectuals could best cooperate with the Work Team in helping the peasants to liberate themselves.

All the schoolmasters spoke. Some admitted that they had a landlord background but that in the course of political studies they had come to realise the justness and absolute necessity of land reform. Hence they were prepared to side resolutely with the peasants in abolishing the class to which they themselves had belonged. Some promised to take on the job of writing "blackboard newspapers" and making posters. Some said they would do propaganda work on current a airs. Others agreed to help publicise what the Work Team was doing and its policies. Personnel from the Seven Star Slope Primary School offered to get up a dramatic group and use plays to educate the peasants. All promised to study *The Agrarian Reform Law* and the Documents on Rural Class Status Differentiation promulgated by the Central People's Government. Preparations were also made to open night schools in which the peasants would be taught how to distinguish between the different classes and the various groups of peasants, how to assess the various degrees of exploitation.

Lu Yang listened to the opinions which these schoolmasters expressed

and then started putting in order the notes he had taken the night before. The report made by the Village Chairman seemed to him especially significant. In his notebook he listed the names of the peasants as nearly as could be judged according to their status, then the landlords. He starred the names of all those who were concurrently industrialists or merchants, and queried those who might be rich peasants or small land lessors. On another page he wrote out a whole list of names of people who were without doubt farmhands or poor peasants. Constantly in his mind was the instruction given by the Secretary of the County Committee of the Communist Party at a cadre meeting: "In searching activists, pick the ones who have always been the poorest, the most exploited and worked the hardest, and watch the landlords vigilantly."

Now the job before Lu Yang was perfectly plain. He must arouse and organise the poorest, the most exploited and at the same time the most hardworking peasants and watch closely the most stubborn, most reactionary and black-hearted landlords.

And he knew the two tasks were closely inter-linked. You cannot watch the landlords effectively unless the peasants have been awakened.

贰　回龙乡：一幅立体地图

拱围着彭氏家祠作新月形的枞树，有的据说已经五百多年了，但是这座封建堡垒本身却是在同治二年和祠堂前面那块坟场同时修起的。在它九十来年的寿命中，最辉煌，最具历史意义的，无疑的是1950年11月26日那天——尽管这日子的举动和这建筑本来的宗旨有多么不调和。

农商联合大会——回龙乡土地改革的第一个群众大会，是在祠堂石阶前面的广场上举行的。

工作队下来的头一天，乡政府便用木板在石阶上搭起一座台。台的背面是钉满了的铁蒺藜栅栏（那原是为了防备囚在里面的农民逃跑的）。祠堂高峻的大门上，交叉起五星国旗——粗壮的旗杆刚好从作为门环的两只青铜龙头的鼻梁上面斜过去，原来贴在大门上的瞪大了眼睛的秦琼和敬德，整个被掩在旗子下面了。毛主席庄严祥和的画像，由两旗之间，向着广场和广场后面的整个回龙乡的农民们关切和祥地微笑着。祠堂左边的“礼门”和右边的“义路”的雕墙上各贴了“农民协会委员席”和“手工业工会及商会代表席”的条子。

大会在10点开。清早，全乡九个村子以户为单位派出的代表便沿了错综如神经系统的田埂，向新炉村的乡政府集合。有的手里还打着纸糊的小旗：“欢迎土改工作队同志！”七星岗街上，商会代表也来了。到会的人们，有的似乎脑袋里装着个问号，那些人，不是在交头接耳地打听，便是揣了手站在那里，一声也不响。只有街上的手工业工人和小贩是打着锣鼓，兴高采烈地走进会场。

会场的空气是紧张的。有充分资格被划为地主的，像黎家园的黎朝初，自然把手揣在衣袖筒里，撅着他那酒糟鼻子，哆哆嗦嗦地站在广场的一角，好像等着宣判的囚犯一样。但上了地主谣言的当的，即使仅有一升半斗田，竟也担心今天在会上“当场摊派”。街上开百货店的胡斌灿特意穿了一件很破的短衫。工作队一到，他就一直没敢在柜台露面。

表情很复杂的，倒是朱耀先。这样大的日子，他自然又把去县里开农代会时的红绸条子挂在衫襟上了。在人群里像煞有介事地跑来跑去，直像在主持着会场。但是他究竟是在一年前还雇过两个长工，又放过光洋的，他心里觉得这回跟秋征不是一回事——尤其工作队昨晚上召集一些农民谈话，听说一直谈到深更半夜，然而并没有找他。外表上，朱耀先像是很喜欢，然而那喜欢很不实在；骨子里他是很怕，同时，又酸溜溜的。

10点过1刻，台上穿了一件新青布褂的乡长古玉章走到台口上了。台上还坐着区委，手工业工会、农民协会和商会的主席，七星岗中心小

学校长许自强，和几个工作队的同志。

嘈杂的人声随着古玉章宣布“开会”逐渐安静下来。他说今天开这个会，一方面是为了欢迎刚刚到的土改工作队同志；半个月来，全乡农民天天盼着他们，终于盼到了。第二，自从美国帝国主义者在仁川登陆，地主造了许多谣言，一下说蒋介石到汉口了，一下说东北掉了原子弹，弄得大家不能安心生产。今天区委特别来给大家讲解一下时事，使大家不致再上当。第三呢，请工作队的赵洁民同志给我们讲解人民政府的土改政策。几天之后，工作队下了乡，在正式土改工作中，随时还要讲解，今天，他先给一个总的轮廓。

话讲完，区委站起来了。区委是湘阴人，个子很矮，平时说话声音很低，但是到了群众面前，声音立刻就洪亮起来。

“农友们，我们现在要实行土改了。凡是改革都是新的，凡是新的，我们对它起初都必是很不熟悉，于是，就会存在些不必要的，不应该有的顾虑。这不能怨农友们，几千年的封建土地制度夺去了你们学文化的机会。尽管解放了一年多，你们还不能看报看书，不能好好了解政策。那些夺去你们学文化机会的家伙们，又利用你们这个不该有的缺点，来造谣，使你们不能安心过日子。而且，谣言造得荒唐到了家。”

“农友们！祸害我们廿多年，刮我们民脂民膏，抓我们壮丁的国民党，一年以前便被我们人民武装踢下海里去了。八百万匪军都被我们歼灭干净了。不是仅仅捉到了几个头目，而是在大陆上没有了国民党的一连一排兵。火车从满洲里直通到广州，从上海通到柳州。现在只剩下台湾那一小撮残匪——他们想靠了美国的保镖，苟延残喘下去。”

美国这支镖可靠不可靠呢？每个朝鲜人民军或中国志愿军都可以作见证说：“美国这支镖很不可靠。”

“麦克阿瑟的胡子都烧焦了（又是笑声），他还顾得了蒋介石。蒋介石有八百万军队和成千成百的飞机大炮坦克的时候，不是中国人民的对手，他缩在台湾，守着几十万残兵败将会到汉口？他也可以来，不过到不了汉口，我担保就一定给我们捉到牢里去了（笑声）。”

“地主们不要再存幻想，你们的朋友蒋介石完蛋了。他永远不会回来了。你们还是向人民投降吧！诸位农友们呢，你们不要上谣言的当。你们怕什么？这是你们的天下。”

区委说完，台下不停的鼓掌。新五举着拳头喊：“消灭封建地主阶级！”农民随着也喊起来。几个显著的地主站在人群中间窘促地感到孤立，也想假装鼓掌，但是两个手掌拍不到一起。

工作队的赵同志像一匹小豹似的蹿到台前来了。灰制服的胸袋上挂着一支钢笔，旁边还插着一把牙刷。农民出身的老干部，黑黝黝的脸，额上有一块疤——那是二十三岁在山西五台当副县长时挂的彩，是日本

侵略者给他留的一个纪念。

“各位同志：我是山西老西儿，我讲的话你们未必全能听懂，我一定一个字一个字地讲。如果你们还不懂也不要紧，反正在回龙乡土改完成以前，我和同来的几位同志要在这里扎根，同你们天天在一起搞翻身，有什么不明白的，随时可以讨论。”

“种了一辈子田的农友们，你们比谁都更明白为什么要土改。因为封建的土地制度太不合理，太残忍了。种田的人收不到谷子，不种田的人坐享其成。结果呢？大家自然生产得不起劲。工业需要棉花，咱们拿不出好多棉花来，工业也兴不起来。咱们棉花出的少，手里自然也没有钱，买不起布，买不起牙膏，工业也兴旺不起来。”

“农友们肚子吃不饱的时候，当然就不会热心学文化。占全国人口百分之八十的农民如果还在封建统治之下，不能成为国家的主人，我们就不能建立强大的国防，就不能彻底实现民主化。这就是我们民族被侵略，被压迫，穷困和落后的根源，是我们国家民主化、工业化、独立统一及富强的基本障碍。土改不是为了别的，就是为了把这个障碍物消灭。”

“从1927年到现在，在长江南北，土改已经搞了一二十年，这一二十年的经验真理都已经包含在政府今年公布的土改法里面了。我们要根据那本土改法来搞翻身。”

“土改是一件翻天覆地的事情。那就是说，从前农村里的天——地主，几千年来骑着农民脖子的阶级，如今是人民民主专政的对象了。地呢——雇贫农，尤其雇贫农，农村最受压迫的阶级，他们必须由地变做天，成为农村的领导阶级。土改就是叫土地回老家，归还给农民，把他们的日子改好，把他们的身价抬高。这就叫做翻身。凡是拥护土改的，就必须尊重雇贫中农的意见，照顾他们的利益。雇贫中农在土改时期和土改以后的团结，是人民民主专政的切实保障。这中间，雇贫农尤其要起骨干作用。”

交代完了这番道理，赵洁民就针对着昨天晚上和几个村主任及农协委员交换的意见，分别强调了土改的几方面。他着重地说，革命军人、烈士家属、工人、职员、自由职业者、小贩等，因为有了别的职业，或者缺乏劳动力而出租小量土地的，都不会划作地主的。他从雇贫农的角度解释了为什么要保存富农经济——为了更好地保护中农，对生产有利，使地主更孤立，土改更容易进行。他从新民主主义革命的性质，又从城乡交流对农民的好处，讲了为什么坚决保护工商业，同时又告诉兼地主的工商业家应该集中力量在城市去经营他们的工商业，不应占有着农村土地、房屋和农具来继续剥削农民。

“过去，你们仅仅做了地主的买卖呀！地主富农占乡村人口不到百

分之十。等咱们农民买起东西来，你们比比地主这个主顾大还是农民这个主顾大。”赵同志弯下腰来，似乎特别找台下的商人。

台下的笑声被他突然转为严厉坚定的声音压下来了。他对地主们训起话来。先说明土改就是为了废除地主这个阶级，废除他们封建的所有制——消灭的是个社会阶级，不是消灭地主的肉体。然后，他警告说：

“在土改中间，地主有两条路可走：一条是有前途的活路，那就是悔过自新，在没收以前好好保护土地、耕牛、农具、粮食、房屋，不破坏，不隐藏，不分散。在没收的时候，依着办法如数交出。农民对你们一定会宽大，一定会分给你们一份土地房屋，使你们能在劳动中改造。另外一条是没有前途的死路，那就是像彭荫庭、罗培荣那样阴谋捣乱。这样的地主是逃不出人民的法网的。”

赵洁民讲话以前，很担心自己的山西口音，他是1949年夏天随军南下到湖南的。从贫苦农民脸上的笑容，从街上的工商业家一张张笑嘻嘻的脸可以看出，群众都听懂了要点。因此，会场上，一般的情绪都由波动而安定下来。

接着回龙乡手工业工会主席潘志昭站起来讲话，说工人农民是盟友。工人们一定用全力支持农民的翻身，只有农民翻了身，以工农联盟为基础的中国才能巩固。潘志昭是铁匠。他说，譬如土改中间民兵需要梭镖，土改以后，农民要造新农具，手工业工人们一定加紧赶制。

底下，回龙乡农民协会主席晏树铮代表全乡农民起来讲话，号召全乡农民拥护保存富农经济的政策，并且根据政府土改政策积极起来搞翻身。他特别保证了在土改运动中，不动地主兼营的工商业。

这时，回龙乡商会主席，开国药行的涂遇春站起来了。为了表示郑重，他把鼻梁上那副玳瑁边的镜子恭敬地摘下来，微带着惭愧地说：

“这几天，我们街上有些无病呻吟。土改明明是为了繁荣农村经济，但是我们商人却惊三怕四的，有的连货都不敢进了。”台下千祥百货店的周祥瑞听了，连耳朵都红起来。“今天听了各位同志的话，我们工商界就像吃了一剂羚翘解毒丸，把我们心窝里的毒给消光了。”

“我呢，肚子里也有我的毒，”下面都笑起来了。“我在大坟坪有一丘水田，一共是七斗二升。那也是我用从农民身上剥削来的钱置的——我所有的财产都是那么来的。我两个儿子现在都参加了革命工作。他们当年的教育费，还不也是从农民身上赚来的！如今，农民既然不动我的药铺，使我一家七口有饭吃，又使我在回龙乡的繁荣上有所贡献，我还有不遵守政府法令的道理！明天早晨我就把大坟坪的红契和房屋农具的清单送到乡政府来！”

下面是一片掌声。

中午散会的时候，田埂上，人们边走边讨论着，不像来的时候那样

沉默了。

没有能上台讲两句的朱耀先，今天心里别扭极了。他夹在人群里耍俏皮说："赵同志真是个聪明人。他说地主逃不了法网。他举了彭荫庭和罗培荣两个，他可不提已经逃出法网的彭天保呢！"这话给新五听见了，就狠狠瞪了他一眼说："你不必操心，等我们把彭二虎捉给你看吧！"

赵洁民同志坚持在两天内工作队得把全乡性的会开完，一面使村干部下去以前对回龙乡有个全面认识，一面使回龙乡各界对于土改政策，事先也能有比较透彻的了解，两个合在一起，才是回龙乡的立体地图。于是，彭氏家祠里，就一个会接着一个会开起来。

首先开的是干部会。十个工作队同志坐在悬了"根深蒂固"匾额下面的长凳上，每个人手里拿着笔记本子，一面听着古玉章乡长报告的本乡情况，一面在小本上记着：

"人文地理：回龙乡共有2127户，6989口人。共有九个自然村，是国民党伪第五、第六、第七三个保合并而成的。它有稻田1527石（每石七亩），旱地470石，种的多是棉花。全乡土地相当集中，像大屋罗的罗培荣，一户便有90石田。全乡三面都是以河为界，北有斑鸠河，西有练江，南面是沙河，都是向洞庭湖注流。每年春夏之交，河水泛滥，近河的田，十年九涝。"

"回龙乡在抗日战争时期，曾经沦陷在日本人手里，所以，全乡遭受了残酷的蹂躏。七星岗街上完全烧光了。很多农民遭到屠杀，接着是国民党的血腥统治。"

"政治情况：大革命时期，本乡是老苏区的边缘，农民组织略有基础，因此，在国民党二十二年的统治时期，当权的地主也特别残酷。全乡恶霸地主有七八个，其中属新炉村的两彭最跋扈。农民诉苦时候，应注意他们的血债。"

"圈子会——一种反动的迷信组织，在本乡也很猖獗。约在解放军渡江的时候，全乡发展了560多个会员，其中百分之八十是雇贫农，都是受骗的。在双减期间，农民大半退了会。圈子会'大爷'——双枫村的谈经武在年初阴谋暴动，也已经枪决了。但是这个反动组织仍旧潜伏着，还未根除。应当继续注意它的活动，并且在农民面前揭发它的反动性。"

"目前的乡政府是减租退押时期选出来的，有四个乡干部，其中三个是雇贫农，一个是中农。九个村干部之间，六个是雇贫农，三个是中农。"

"全乡有46个党团员，从1927年，地下党的支部一直坚持下来。解放以来，在支前双减秋征的工作上，党团员都起了作用。像新炉村的彭

新五，吸收进来以后在和反动派斗争上，一直是起着带头作用。”

主席报告完了，工作队同志便抢着提问题。派在新炉村的卢扬，浏阳人，小学教员出身，家里是佃中农成分。解放后在湘潭建设学院受了四个月的训，搞过双减、秋征，能力是强的。他本来就担心新炉村太复杂，有着一条属于工商业范围的街，如今听说最反动的地主也在他这个村子里，就更着急起来。他问东问西，问个不停。后来还是赵洁民这样提议：

“新炉村的问题，等下由卢扬、村主任老彭和我单独来讨论吧！”

晚饭后，祠堂的大梁上挂起一盏汽灯，在水月的灯光下，农协晏主席继续报告农民协会的情况。

回龙乡的农民协会是在双减期间组织起来的，因此，中农的成分占了很大的比重。目前，在阶级未划分以前，还不能确切说出确实数字来。乡农会共分做三个分会（新炉村、石桥村、云湖村三个村子属第一分会），全乡会员总数是957人，这个数目不足以说明农民的觉悟程度，因为大半是农会负责人登门造册的。其中男会员是534人，女会员423人。农会有15个委员，8个是雇贫农，7个是中农。

农会在土改期间和土改以后，是农民保护自身利益的一个群众组织，通过它，和政权组织的农民代表会议，农民实行对地主阶级的专政；通过它来提高阶级觉悟，加强组织习惯和文化知识，好来进行人民民主政权与各种建设工作；“尤其是组织互助合作，发展农业，改善农民的经济生活”。

目前回龙乡的农会是在减租退押那样群众基础较小的运动中产生的，还不能担任这艰巨的土改工作。它的斗争性还不够强，它的领导和群众联系的不够密切，它的会员中间还有不纯的分子。因此，我们必须在斗争中来加强它，提高它。随时洗刷潜入的地主富农，随时教育落后分子，随时吸收农民中间的优秀分子。这个工作，在土改过程中间一定要完成，农民的胜利才能够巩固下来。

“在广大农民还没有觉悟起来，先进的雇贫农小组在土改中，必须随时起着骨干作用。”

最后，赵洁民同志作了总结，决定在土改每个重要阶段开始前，由他召集九村干部开会讨论。每隔三天，各农民协会分会（三个村子）本身举行一次汇报，互报情况，交流经验，调整进度，并且做工作上必要的联系。

会开完以后，村主任彭玉堂又把新炉村三个屋场和一条街的情况向赵洁民和卢扬谈了一下。谈到将近一点钟。

第二天早晨，干部们还没洗完脸，七星岗中心小学的教员便来了。接着，全乡九个完小、十五个初小的教员也陆续到了。这是土改工作队

和当地知识分子合开的一个座谈会。在这个会上，赵洁民讲了一下知识分子对土改应有的态度，和土改里面对知识分子的政策。然后，就展开来讨论回龙乡知识分子怎样和工作队一起帮农民翻身的问题。

各学校的教员都分别发了言。有的说自己是地主阶级出身，但是在学习中间已经明白了土改的正义性与土改的绝对必要性，因此，一定坚决站在农民方面，消灭自己出身的阶级。有的答应了负责出黑板报，大字报。有的负责宣传时事，有的愿意替工作队传达情况和政策。七星岗的中心小学愿意组织一个剧团，用话剧来向农民宣传。所有的教员都答应加紧学习《土地改革读本》和中央人民政府颁布的《关于划分阶级成分的决定》，准备开办夜校，教农民怎样划阶级，算剥削量。

卢扬一面听着他的“老同行们”发表着意见，一面整理着昨晚上的笔记，特别是村主任的汇报。他在笔记本的一页上写下了根据财产占有及使用情况来看，本村哪些人是地主。他又在兼工商业的地主姓名上各划了一个星号，在可能是富农的地主姓名上打了个问号。在另一页上，他记下了一串肯定是雇贫农成分的农民的姓名，又在雇农的姓名下划了一道杠子。他记住了县里扩干会上县委的一句指示：找发动对象的时候，先找那最贫的，最苦的，最劳动的。

眼前，卢扬的工作是摆得清清楚楚的：发动那最贫、最苦、最肯劳动的农民，监视那最跋扈、最反动、最坏的地主。

只有当农民真正发动起来的时候，才能够认真去监视地主。

3. OUT OF THEIR SORROWS, STRENGTH

With the escape of Peng Erh-hu and the arrest of his brother Peng Yin-ting, the Peng household, once the scene of never-ending bustle, immediately took on the mournful look of a deserted temple. Most of its twenty-odd rooms had been sealed up by the *hsiang* government. The one in which they had found a cache of weapons even had its door nailed shut. Throughout the enclosed courtyard resounded the monotonous syncopated music of the "wooden fish", with Peng Erh-hu's wife, her eyes closed, playing the musician in a grey Buddhist garment. No wonder Yueh-lien, the servant girl, as she went about her household work had the feeling of living inside a coffin. Fu-chuan too felt lost.

Gongs and drums had been beating in the village for two or three days, and here were Fu-chuan and Yuen-lien, still squirming inside their "coffin". The change she had witnessed during the last few days seemed in Yueh-lien's mind merely to centre around this moral problem: Peng, the Second Master, was a heartless brute to have thus abandoned his wife. Peng Fu-chuan kept worrying about his five *tou* and seven *sheng* of land which his master had given him as a "gift". Would that be divided up, too, in land reform?

On the evening of November 28, Fu-chuan had just come back from where he had been filling his water buckets when he found Comrade Lu of the Work Team waiting for him right there in the kitchen.

The thought immediately occurred to Fu-chuan—someone in uniform, making another arrest perhaps?

"How many buckets of water have you fetched, Fu-chuan?" asked Comrade Lu with a smile. He talked as though they were old friends, and his voice showed both intimacy and concern. Fu-chuan was still tense, but deep inside he had become a little less apprehensive.

"With only the three of us around these days, four or six buckets would do," said Fu-chuan, untying the rope around the buckets.

"Where do you have to go to get the water?" Here Comrade Lu helped Fu-chuan move the buckets and stood the pole up against the kitchen's blackened wall.

"Three *li* away at the reservoir. It's flowing water. Goes into the

Lienchiang." With these words Fu-chuan became somewhat bolder. He lifted up his head and looked straight at the stranger. The light was quite dim and he blinked, eyeing Lu Yang up and down.

"Three *li*?" Lu Yang looked surprised. "How many buckets a day did you have to fetch before liberation?'

Before liberation? There were then four farmhands, one manager and cook, and a constant flow of guests. Divisional commanders, colonels and what not. Usually over ten people. He distinctly remembered the number of dishes he had to help wash in the kitchen.

"Those were hard times. Fourteen or sometimes 16 buckets, two at a time, I had to fetch," sighed Fu-chuan. Then he thought he should make some boiling water, so he ladled some water into a cauldron and went and got an armful of firewood from a pile in the corner.

"That means seven or eight trips. Three *li* per trip," calculated Lu Yang. "So you had to cover over 20 *li* a day merely fetching water. Did you have other jobs as well?"

"Oh, lots!" That he should have so light a load now appeared to Fu-chuan almost a miracle. "I had to feed the pigs, feed the cattle, and feed a foreign-breed dog. I had to spread fertiliser and cultivate some land too.'

"How much land did you have to work on?"

The crackling wood-fire in the oven cast a reddening glow on Fu-chuan's face. He stared dully at the leaping flame. By adding up individual pieces of land, he finally arrived at the total. "One *tan* and eight *tou* of land."

To Lu Yang, who had helped with various jobs in the fields but had never independently cultivated any land, one *tan* and eight *tou* of land sounded enormous for one man to look after. You have to plough it, fertilise it, and weed it before you can reap anything. Admiration mingled with sympathy as he gazed at Fu-chuan's thin, bony frame.

"Let's see," said Lu Yang, counting rapidly on his fingers. "That would produce around 70 piculs of grain, wouldn't it?'

"Only in a good year." Steam was rising from the cauldron now. Fu-chuan got a basin for himself and settled down to washing his feet. "But the river is not so obliging. In times of flood, you would consider yourself lucky if you could bring in 50 piculs.'

"How much out of that did Peng Erh-hu give you?'

"Depending on the year," answered Fu-chuan, noisily washing. "Sometimes ten piculs. Sometimes seven or eight. I didn't begin to earn full

wages until I was 20."

"Only ten piculs, did you say?" Indignant, Lu Yang climbed off the oven. "Tell me, in collecting rent, did he go according to the year too?" he asked sarcastically.

This question left Fu-chuan at a loss for words. Somehow the thought had never occurred to him.

"How long have you been working for him?" went on Lu Yang.

"I started out at six as a cow-herd." Bitter memories were surging up in his breast. "Then I began taking on other odds and ends. When I was 14, father died and I became a regular farmhand. I am now 24."

"You're 24," repeated Lu Yang. "You should get a wife.'

"I have no special skill. How could I support her?" sighed Fu-chuan.

"No special skill?" said Lu Yang with disagreement. He propped one foot up on the edge of the oven and placed both hands on his hips. "You fetched 14 or 16 buckets of water a day. Covered 20 *li* and fed cattle and pigs. You cultivated one *tan* and eight *tou* of land with a yearly output of 60 or 70 piculs of grain. And you talk about not having any skill?'

"Well, no skill and no luck." He really had not been getting his due, thought Fu-chuan vaguely. "Take the Second Master. He could write and do arithmetic. So there he was eating and drinking his fill every year without even having to cross the threshold."

"Brother, you really are silly,' exclaimed Lu Yang with a mixed feeling of bitterness and sympathy. He looked at Fu-chuan's legs, legs that had known so much hard labour, bespattered with mud, and here and there he could see blue veins throbbing. "It wasn't because of his skill or his 'luck', as you put it. Land and feudal influence were what turned the trick. He had been exploiting you."

"Exploit?" The meaning of such a term was entirely lost on Fu-chuan.

"Yes, exploit. A mixture of open robbery and pocket picking," explained Lu Yang, accompanying his words with suitable gestures. "Now you, for example, turned out 70 piculs. He gave you only ten. That means he had exploited 60 piculs from you. You have worked for him 18 years. Say he gave you ten piculs every year (actually you often got less) and we still have the staggering sum of 1,080 piculs of grain—the amount he exploited from you.'

"But," said Fu-chuan in a feeble voice, "the land was his."

"Indeed? Now tell me. How did he get his land in the first place?" Lu

Yang and Fu-chuan stood up simultaneously at this point.

"The land was left behind by his grandfather. First Master and Second Master each got a portion." Fu-chuan was trying to defend the Pengs, but he could not help feeling that perhaps he had not been treated right after all.

"And how did his grandfather get the land? Come, tell me." Lu Yang's voice now sounded almost as though it were edged with steel. The cross-examination was proving too much for Fu-chuan. "Well, his grandfather was a magistrate in the Manchu days," was all that Fu-chuan could answer.

"Right you are." The answer seemed to have furnished additional proof of Lu Yang's argument. "And all that a magistrate loved was to hear money clink. The money was squeezed from your grandfather by Peng Erh-hu's grandfather, and then used to buy land so that you in turn could be exploited!"

Fu-chuan was struck speechless. A cold wet towel seemed to have enveloped his brain. Leaning against the oven, he pondered over the problem and remained like this for a long, long time.

That evening Lu Yang returned with his quilt. Fu-chuan had willingly agreed to his staying there and the two of them spent the better part of the night in a heart-to-heart talk, lying side by side in a narrow bamboo bed.

Lu Yang was like Fu-chuan's elder brother now and to him he poured out everything. When Fu-chuan was six, his mother, already seven months with child, was ordered by Peng Erh-hu's wife to climb up a ladder to get some firewood from the attic. She slipped and fell and had a miscarriage. Death resulted after two days of acute suffering. His father, too, had come across some Japs while out carrying grain for Peng Erh-hu and they had killed him in cold blood on the dyke near the Seven Star Slope and taken the grain off him.

Into their conversation Fu-chuan adroitly introduced the question that had been bothering him. Will the land given by the landlord to a farmhand be divided?

"Dear younger brother," said Lu Yang, "don't tell me Peng Erh-hu had given you some land?"

"Yes, five *tou* and seven *sheng*," admitted Fu-chuan with complete honesty.

"Now suppose," continued Lu Yang, pushing up his quilt, "this quilt of mine originally belonged to you and I took it away from you by force. Would you be grateful if, knowing you are going to want it back, I just grabbed a

handful of cotton padding from inside the quilt and said to you,'Here, you have this.'?"

"Certainly not." Something which Peng Erh-hu had made him sign a few days ago fluttered through Fu-chuan's brain.

"Then," said Lu Yang, turning to Fu-chuan while propping himself up on an elbow. "Peng Erh-hu's land has long ago ceased to be his. It belongs to whoever tills it. What do you think land reform means? Doesn't it mean that peasants must have their land back for cultivation? You, Fu-chuan, among all the peasants, are most entitled to getting a piece of land, for you belong among the poorest, most exploited and hard-working. In dividing up land, it is people like you who do not own a strip of land that have priority. Five *tou* and seven *sheng*! It was yours to begin with, you silly melon!"

Fu-chuan sat up at this.

"Oh, Peng Erh-hu, that son of a bitch," he cursed, almost in tears. "He's got me fooled. I must go and ask for it back." Forgetting that Peng Erh-hu was at large, he felt like putting on his clothes right away to find the swindler.

"Ask for what back?" asked Lu Yang with some curiosity.

"That piece of paper." For the first time, Fu-chuan felt the urge to confide in someone about it. "Peng Erh-hu gave me a deed of transaction—I didn't have to pay him, he said—but he also made me put my thumbprints to a statement saying that the land is to revert to him when Chiang Kai-shek comes back."

"Huh. That son-of-a-turtle!" Even Lu Yang was somewhat taken aback, but he pushed Fu-chuan down again and said reassuringly, "Don't you worry. Chiang Kai-shek will never come back. Still, it just goes to show what kind of stu a landlord's heart is made of."

The next morning when Yueh-lien came to the kitchen to get some water, Fu-chuan told her the conversation of the night before and the two of them made an appointment to go to Hsin-wu's home together after supper.

That evening Hsin-wu's two dilapidated-looking rooms practically burst their joints on all sides. Crazy Grandma Li, Fu-chuan, Uncle Kuang-lin, over ten people crowded in. Yueh-lien was the last to join the throng. "Scholar" Chu Yao-hsien, anxious as usual to be in the limelight, tried also to edge his way in when he heard Comrade Lu was calling a meeting. But he was stopped halfway by Hsin-wu, who said sharply and with sarcasm, "Today we want to discuss how to catch Peng Erh-hu alive. Come around again when

we've caught him.'

When everybody had come, the meeting began and Hsin-wu led the way.

"I was as good as stu ed in the cannon's mouth already by Peng Erh-hu." said Hsin-wu. "If it hadn't been for the Communists, I, too, would have been part of the ashes blown over the common burial ground. We started out having five *tou* of land. There were two sons in the house, my brother and I. Only two of us, but we got drafted three times. In 1938 my brother was one of the draftees. Peng Yin-ting was then Village Elder and he insisted on my brother's going. The *pao* head would come over every day to bring pressure upon us. At night he would turn up again, with a different story: a little money might do too. So the long and short of the matter was we sold three *tou* of land for a little over 200 silver dollars and paid for someone to go in my brother's stead. While they were trying so to rope in my brother, Peng Erh-hu got me to work for him without pay. Otherwise, he said, he would tell his brother to come and pressgang me too. So I had to work for him for two months.

"Before long, however, it was again my brother's turn to go. The lot-drawing at the Village Office seemed to be under a magic charm. Only the poor got drawn. Big families nearby, like Lo Pei-jung, who had four big husky sons, were untouched. The three sons of Li Chao-chu never got drafted either, but Teh-ming, Crazy Grandma's only son, was among the first of the lots drawn. When 1945 came around, Peng Erh-hu became Village Elder. By then my family didn't have one *sheng* of land left; so that when I was drafted, there was nothing I could do. I was taken away tied with a piece of rope!

"Before I knew how to fire a gun, they put me into the KMT 75th Division and the first thing I knew I was sent to the front lines. Of course, I did not realise then the Communists were fighting for us peasants, but, still, it was difficult to get together enough strength to fight against people you had no grudge against! First time was at Tsinan. We retreated together with the army ahead of us without even firing a shot. Second time was at Mukden. That son-of-a-rabbit, the KMT commander Chen Cheng, threw us soldiers into the flames. A bullet got me in my side, here.(He pointed at his ribs.) It was summer, then. For three days I huddled under a tree, as good as dead, and my wound was festering horribly. Luckily the KMT army quickly collapsed. Two Liberation Army orderlies found me and had me moved to a front hospital. There the bullet was dug out and my wound was cared for.

While I was at the hospital, they taught me to read and write and I began to understand why the revolution was good and the reactionaries were bad.

"When my wound was healed, I asked to be sent to the front lines again—this time to fight the KMT reactionaries! Lots of my old comrades had done so. They got a doctor to look me over and he said I was still unfit for front-line duty, because I had lost too much blood. So I did garrison duties in the rear. Later I asked to join the army that was going to liberate Hainan Island. But they looked me over again and finally decided to give me an honourable discharge to return to civilian life. (Here he produced his veteran's certificate.)

"There were other veterans like me on the train that left Peking. At all the stops along the way there were people meeting us. Before we left, each of us was given a pair of shoes and socks, a suit and money, equal to 500 catties of grain—according to the number of years you served in the army..."

Before Hsin-wu could finish what he had to say, Crazy Grandma burst out crying. If only Teh-ming could have come back too, with new shoes and socks and a new suit!

"I'm an old woman," she said amidst sobs, and lifted herself up with the aid of her crutch, "but I want to tell my sorrow too. I don't know yet where my son Teh-ming's bones are buried, but I know Peng Erh-hu is the one that's responsible. I had four daughters and two sons. Now only Chun-hsing is left. It wasn't because I didn't know how to bring up children that they died. Four of them died of hunger and cold. Once I didn't have a piece of cloth to wrap a baby up in. Neighbours lent me straw to cover the newly born.

"I hadn't been idle. I worked all the year round for the landlord and that was what I got—only misery! How could I remain strong when I never had enough to eat? Is it any wonder that my breast became loose and flabby, and that, one after another, the babies died off? The third one I throttled myself. Flesh of my flesh, how could I bear to speed it to an early death?" Here she began weeping loudly. "But that was better than to see it die by slow starvation. Finally all I saw near me was a son and a daughter, and the cursed Peng Erh-hu had to come and drag my Teh-ming away, my 19-year-old Teh-ming, whom I brought up with what little rice I could get begging from others! He went, leaving us two behind, mother and daughter, and he never came back..."

Crazy Grandma was sobbing convulsively. Hsin-wu's pregnant wife attempted to help her sit down and regain her breath. But no, she simply must

go on.

"Never in all my life of 53 years did I have one day of happiness. Mother died when I was only two, and at eight I was given away as a child-bride. First I had to take a lot of beating from my mother-in-law. Then later on when I went to work for the landlord's family, the landlord's wife also beat me. For three months every year I lived on wild vegetables; for the second half of the year dried potato was the only food I knew. As for meat or fat, it had never been my good luck to even get a smell of them, year in and year out.

"After 20 years of hard labour, my husband and I saved up enough money to buy four *tou* of marshy land. My man, Li San, was straightforward and dependable but not very strong in health. One day during the hot season he was turning the landlord's waterwheel when he dropped down in a dead faint. The landlord acted as though such a thing was below his notice and I had to sell one *tou* of land to give him medical treatment.

"Then the Japs came. That opium fiend Peng Yin-ting was helping them to pressgang able-bodied men and he got the idea of having Li San carry bullets and dig trenches for them. One day for no known reason whatsoever he got badly beaten up, my Li San, he just managed to crawl home. His clothes were soaked through with blood. Later his wounds began to pus and he bled and bled. I sold another *tou* of land, but this time nothing could save him. Chun-hsing was only seven when he died. Giving Li San a decent burial cost me another *tou* of land.

"We two, mother and daughter, had a very hard time living on one *tou* of land. The next year, the harvest was late and we had to borrow from Lo Pei-jung—five *sheng* of rice and one *tou* of beans—just to tide us over. Two months later he told me that what I owed him together with interest was 20 times more than we borrowed. And so my last *tou* of land was seized from me.

"Chun-hsing followed me around begging for three whole years, we never knew where our next meal was to come from. Finally I could stand it no longer and gave her away as a child-bride. I too have been a child-bride. Surely I realised what it meant. Hsin-wu, I'm not a heartless person. I'm not crazy. It's just that I've suffered so much and there was no one I could tell it to before."

Lu Yang hurried over. "Grandma Li—don't anyone call her 'Crazy' Grandma any more—Grandma Li, certainly you're not crazy. See," Lu Yang

began counting on his fingers for the benefit of the others. "As a child-bride, you were ill-treated. That means you suffered from living in a feudal family. Your husband was exploited by the landlord on the one hand and kicked around by foreign imperialism on the other. Two-fold suffering common to all of us peasants, also two of our chief enemies. Peng Yin-ting, Lo Pei-jung, they are now both under lock and key. We want to do the same thing to Peng Erh-hu and to all the other rascals. This is our job, and we must all help out. The government will surely back us up in this."

"Landlords are such fiends." said Tu Yu-chen, wiping away her tears. "They would come and snatch away your cauldron the moment they see your chimney smoking. My husband used to have a few *tou* of land to his name too. After my father-in-law died, Peng Erh-hu asserted brazenly that we owed him 80 silver dollars. If we didn't believe him, he said, we could go to the County Court and have a lawsuit. A lawsuit! With him who strutted in and out of the County Court as though it were his own kitchen! Naturally we didn't dare. Thus the few *tou* of land passed away from our hands.

"The year before liberation came, my husband was asked by Lo Pei-jung to help with the crop-threshing. The verbal understanding was each person must thresh three *tan* and five *tou* of grain a day and get paid daily one *tou*, two *sheng* of rice. The crop then had become quite dry and some of the grain stuck and didn't come off—not full-sized grain at that. Lo Pei-jung saw this and said nothing. When my husband asked to have his wages, he answered, 'You threshed 70 bundles. On each bundle was left unthreshed over two *ho* of grain. Two times 70 makes roughly one *tou* and five *sheng*, and you still want your wages? Haven't I been generous enough in not asking you to pay me the balance of three s*heng*?' Thus all my husband's strenuous work during those days came to nothing.

"My husband was so mad that he decided to quit being a peasant. Therefore off he went to Lake Tungting and found himself a job rowing boats. As for me, it fell to my lot to breastfeed someone else's baby while my own was yammering for more milk. My mother-in-law turned up a few days ago and insisted on sending me back to my own family, but I held firm. I don't know what the new government is like, but surely it couldn't be worse than the way the KMT bullied us.'

When Tu Yu-chen finished talking, Lu Yang remarked that it was a good thing she did not go home, for she could stay and see with her own eyes what the People's Government was like. Far from bullying people, the new

government considered stamping out those "despots" who did bully others one of its main jobs.

"Am I not telling the truth?" Lu Yang asked, more or less rhetorically.

"Every word of it," all the people in the room, men, women, old folks and children exclaimed in one voice. Yueh-lien and Tu Yu-chen, the girl who worked as a wet-nurse in Chu Yao-hsien's house, both started crying. Tu Yu-chen had stayed for the meeting and hadn't gone home despite her mother-in-law's urging.

"But," continued Lu Yang, sensing that they were now with him, "it is up to you to rise up and see that justice is done. You know all the wicked landlords and you have in hand all the evidence of their past crimes. The government will not convict anybody wrongly. So all of you who have evidence that might come in useful should produce it."

Chu Kuang-lin, fingering his beard delicately, was the next one to speak up.

"I am old, so I have plenty of old scores to settle with Lo Pei-jung. I used to have a three-room hut of my own near Huangkuling, also three *tan* of marshy land which I rented from Hu Pin-tsan. That was in the year 1939. Then Hu suddenly took into his head to work up his business in town and sold part of his country property including my three *tan* of land to Lo Pei-jung. When the land changed hands, Hu Pin-tsan guaranteed that my tenancy wouldn't be touched for the next five years.

"Think of my surprise when, the moment the deal was completed, Lo Pei-jung called me over to his place and named three conditions, otherwise, he said he would 'have my hoe sawed in half' (take my land away). They were: one, a 30 per cent increase in rent; two, for three years I would not be allowed to go to cut firewood in his hills; and three, I must not keep fish in his pond. What spawn I'd planted I must immediately take out again. The blow practically stunned me, but I pulled myself together and begged him to loosen a bit. I went on for a long time, but all he did was to pick his teeth leisurely and murmur this phrase taken from the classics. 'Those who find the terms unsuitable are at liberty to go!'

"I was so mad that I almost decided to have it out with him then and there. But, as my family and some neighbours pointed out, what can you expect to gain from such an unequal struggle? Is it sensible for a piece of bean-curd[9] to declare war on a knife?

"In the year 1942, Hunan had an especially bad case of locusts. So I

prepared a banquet, roused up a few local people, with the intention of'getting on the good side' of Lo Pei-jung, so that he might come down a bit in his rent. I had a very difficult time getting him to come in a sedan chair. And all that he said when he stepped off the chair was, 'Just as insects are bad for the tenants, so is drought for the landlord!' This said, he climbed up on the chair again and was carried away.

"When the KMT came back, their slogan sounded quite promising,'25 per cent rent reduction'. I was stupid enough to believe them. My, you should have seen the way he threatened to saw my hoe in half again. Of course, I had to pay the 25 per cent balance after all, and quick too.

"It would be impossible to tell you all the wrongs I suffered at his hands. I only rented some land from him, that's all. Yet the arrangement was such that I could hardly call my very life my own."

By this time Yueh-lien's eyes had become red and swollen from weeping. Lu Yang tried to get her to move over from where she was standing by the threshold and pour out her grievances too.

"Go ahead, tell them how the Second Mistress used to beat you," said Fu-chuan, nudging her.

Her mouth clamped shut, Yueh-lien stared dully at Fu-chuan and the others. Tears kept trickling down her cheeks, and behind all the tears one could detect the beginning of flaming anger.

Similar accusation meetings went on for five evenings. Most of the people who turned up at the first ones were inhabitants of the Peng-Chu Homestead, but gradually the thing widened and took in people from other homesteads as well as from the street. Lu Yang made it a rule to say a few words by way of explanation and encouragement after each such gathering. The bitter, cold facts were eloquent proof to the peasants as to who had sweated in honest labour and who had been parasites.

One factor that came up again and again in the peasants' accusations was: "I can only blame my horoscope, which brought me bad luck." To show how false this was, Lu Yang cited the example of Comrade Chao Chieh-min of the Work Team.

"Old Chao was formerly a Shansi peasant. He, too, used to float around like an odd-jobber without a bit of land to his name and, of course, not knowing how to read or write. Ten years ago, after the Japanese devils had invaded North China, the Eighth Route Army, as the People's Liberation

Army was then called, happened to pick him up while in Shansi. You all know the way the Eighth Route Army helped the poor wherever they went. So they taught him how to read, helped him realise how he'd been exploited and built him up to be a stubborn fighter against the landlord class. He was later elected as a Peasants' Association officer. He did his work well, rose to be Village Elder and then became Vice-Mayor of Wutai County.

"Look at him today. He can now read, write, make speeches and do administrative work. His family has been allotted some land and he's out here to work for the people. Don't tell me all this is because of 'fate'! If he had resigned himself to being what he was, then he would truly have been a victim of the fortune-teller's nonsense!"

Thus the Hsinlu Village Small Group of Farmhands and Poor Peasants was set up, and Hsin-wu was elected head of the group.

The following afternoon all the men brought along their mothers and wives, and the women, their mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. That was an idea of Lu Yang's. It certainly did not appeal to some of the mothers-in-law, who looked reluctant and apprehensive.

The meeting opened with the accusations made by Grandma Li, Tu Yu-chen and Mrs. Peng Hsin-wu. Even Yueh-lien found her voice. She explained how she had been taken away from her parents by force, since her family owed Peng Erh-hu two piculs of grain. Her tearful account of the way the two Peng women maltreated her caused many of her listeners to weep in sympathy.

The wife of handicraftsman Hsu Tsung-lien stood up and told how her mother-in-law had made life miserable for her. Lu Yang waited till she finished, then made the following comment:

"The bickerings among ourselves, who all belong to the peasant class, are not to be confused with the oppression by the landlords. For thousands of years, the landlords have been persistently squeezing us. There hasn't been a single exception. Therefore, the landlords, as a class, must be overthrown. As for members in a family, there are bound to be some who are good-tempered and some who are bad-tempered. Most of us, however, become irritable because we have to contend with such a difficult life, owing to the landlords' exploitation. Bickerings and squabblings naturally arise when people don't know where their next meal is to come from.

"Wait till the land is properly divided, till nobody has to suffer from hunger any more and all men and women have learned how to read, and then

see. I'm convinced the relationship between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law will become infinitely better, and so will the relationship between husbands and wives. We must all realise that the old land system is at the root of all disrupted homes. When land reform is put into practice, not only will the peasants be richer, but their family life will also be more harmonious."

All the women—mothers-in-law in particular—were deeply impressed by these words. Lu continued:

"The point, therefore, is that women as well as men must take part in the struggle to overthrow the landlord class. Not only because women as well as men are entitled to their share of land in land distribution, but because women constitute half of this world. Without women, the landlord class couldn't be pulled down, and until they have been pulled down, no peasant, man or woman, can breathe freely.'

After holding similar sessions two or three times, the Hsinlu Village women also organised a small group of their own, with Lo Shu-min, an activist in the Big House Lo, as the leader.

One day, at the end of a meeting, when all the women were going home, Yueh-lien elbowed her way through the crowd and came up to Lu Yang. Pulling at his sleeve to attract his attention she said, "Look at this, Comrade Lu,' and produced a neatly folded letter which had been tucked away inside her clothing. She handed it over with the mumbled explanation that "it had just been delivered, the Mistress hadn't seen it yet" and that "it was all Fu-chuan's idea.'

Lu Yang was completely at a loss as to what it was all about. He looked at the envelope, which said, "Kindly deliver this to my wife", and also noted that, instead of putting his name on the envelope as was the usual practice, the writer had merely put, "Read what's inside". He broke open the envelope and drew out a piece of paper, on which were scrawled these words:

"I'm now staying with Uncle Yun in town. Everything is fine. Don't worry."

The signature read: "By someone you know."

Lu Yang had a sudden brainwave. Peng Erh-hu, of course! Who else could it be?

Without delay, Lu Yang sent a message to Fu-chuan to come to the temple.

"Do you know if Peng Erh-hu has an Uncle Yun in town?" Lu asked. Thinking over the question, Fu-chuan suddenly remembered that once when

he had to go to town to turn in Peng Erh-hu's crop payment, he had been told to take a couple of chickens and a bundle of bamboo shoots to an uncle of Peng Erh-hu's in town. The place was somewhere near the railway station, he remembered, not far from Wanshou Bridge.

"Good, get ready," said Lu Yang to Fu-chuan. "You may be sent to town, this time without your pole and baskets, but when you return, don't forget to bring back Peng Erh-hu alive."

叁　吐出了苦水

彭二虎逃跑，彭荫庭被捕以后，当年车水马龙的彭府就变成了一个鬼魃魃的大庙了。20多间房屋大部分贴了乡政府的封条——查出武器的屋子，还钉上木板。彭二虎的大老婆披了件灰色道袍，整天阖上眼睛不停地敲着木鱼，声音单调而细碎，在这广大的院子回响着，难怪月莲时常感到像住在棺材里一样。

这两天，村里又是锣又是鼓，福全和月莲却都闷在“棺材”里。所有几天来的变动在月莲脑子里只留下一个“道德”问题：彭二爹不该这么丢下大奶奶，他没有良心！福全在担心着土改时候彭二爹送给他的那五斗七升田会不会也被分掉。

11月28号的黄昏，福全刚托打里挑水回来的时候，灶房里，卢同志已经在等着他了。

福全第一个反应是：穿制服的又捉谁来了？

“福全，挑好多担了？”卢同志笑嘻嘻地说，话又亲切又带着关心，好像老朋友见了面似的。福全还是绷着脸，但是心里的惧怕已经去掉一半了。

“人就剩三个，挑不到两三担就够了。”福全一面解下桶口的绳子，一面说。

“你是从哪点挑来的？”卢同志赶过去把扁担接过来，顺着灶房乌黑的墙竖起来。

“从古托那点——通练江的活水。”这时福全敢抬头来正视这个不速之客了。他趁着苍茫的光线，打量着卢扬。

“隔这里有好远？”当福全提起水桶往缸里倒的时候，卢扬问了，而且语调迫切得直好像他也想去挑几担来。

“嗯！三里路足有。”福全在脑子里量着。

“三里路？”卢扬等福全把空桶放下时，过去摸了摸这个长工的肩膀。“解放以前你一天挑几担？”

解放以前，喝！彭家四个长工，一个司账的，川流不息的客人，这个师长那个司令官的，十来口子，灶房里家伙一洗就是一大堆。

“那时候苦了，七担八担也是它！”福全叹息了一声。

福全大约是想烧点水。他往大锅里舀了点水，又从屋角抱来一捆柴。

“七八担，一担三里路，”卢扬自己在计算着。“那么你一天光挑水就得跑二十多里路，你还做别的吗？”

“有的做呢！”福全自己也不相信今天会这么清闲，“喂猪，喂牛，

喂洋狗。还得沤粪，种田。”

“你种好多田呀？”灶洞里，柴火嘎吧吧地干响着，把福全那张受磨难的脸映得忽红忽紫的。他的眼睛对了火焰呆呆凝视着。他心里是第一次盘算着自己过去干的活。他把一丘丘的田加在一道，才得出个总数来：

“一石八斗田。”

卢扬在田里帮过工，但是从没单独种过田。一石八斗是很大很大一片田，又得刨，又得施肥，又得拔草，又得收割。望着福全枯瘦的身子，他心里又是同情又是佩服。

“一石八斗田能出七十石谷子哒。”卢扬掐指估算着。

“那得好年成！”锅里冒起热气了。福全站起来，拿过一只脚盆来。“可就是怕涨水。涨水一淹，出得五十石谷子。”

“那么彭二虎把你好多谷子呢？”卢扬这时坐在灶边上了，从袋子里掏出一根烟卷，让了让福全，福全摆手。他便自己燃起来了。

“那得看年成了。”福全哗啦啦洗着脚，回答着。“有时候十石，有时候七八石。我到二十岁才拿到长工钱。”

“才把你十石八石！”卢扬从灶上跳下来，很不平地说。“他收佃户的租也按年成吗？”

这句话使福全发了一下愣。他还没想到过这一点。“你帮他干了好多年了？”卢扬又往下问。

“从六岁就帮他放牛。”这么说着，许多痛苦的记忆都涌出来了。“慢慢也打些杂活。到十四岁，我爷死了，我才当长工。今年我二十四了。”

“你爷怎么死的？”

“他呀，”热水浸着福全的脚心，他心窝里酸辛辛地，想到他父亲死得惨。“日本鬼子弄死的。”

“你二十四了，还不该讨个堂客？”卢扬也看出福全不愿提起他爷来，就转了语锋。

“没得本事，拿么哩养呀？”福全叹了口气。

“没得本事？”卢扬一只脚蹬在灶边，扠了腰，不服气地说。“你一天挑七八担水，走二十多里路，又喂猪、喂牛，一年种一石八斗田，要出六七十石谷子，你没有本事？”

“又没本事，又没运气！”福全这时心里有些替自己抱屈了。“二老板能写会算，他大门不出，二门不迈，一年到头吃喝不愁！”

口哀“傻老弟！”卢扬又是气又是笑地这样叫出来。他望着福全那双劳动的脚，青筋凸起的地方还挂着泥巴。“他不是有本事，有运气，

他是靠土地和封建势力来剥削你！”

“剥削？”福全不懂这个名词的含义。

“剥削——就是明抢暗夺。”卢扬用手指比划着。“譬如你种了七十石，他只把你十石，那他就是剥削了你六十石。你帮他做了十八年工，就算他每年把你十石吧，他还是剥削了你一千零八十石谷子！”

“但是田是他的呵！”福全是用很微弱的声音反驳着。

“他的田是何处来的，你说说看！”卢扬和福全同时站起来了。

“他老爹传下来的，大爹二爹，每人一份。”福全在替彭家辩护着。他心里其实是在替自己抱着不平。

“他老爹何处来的田，你说！”卢扬像审案那么斩钉截铁地问。

“他老爹在前清时候当县太爷哩。”福全说。

“对了！”这个答案似乎刚好做卢扬的例证。“县太爷有不刮钱的吗？县太爷有好东西吗？告诉你吧，彭二虎的老爹是从你爹身上刮下来的钱，用那钱买的田又来剥削你！”

福全没话可说了。他的脑袋好像突然放上了一块湿漉冰凉的手帕。他倚在灶边上发起愣来。

那天晚上，卢扬带了条被子来找福全来了。两个挤在一张又窄又破的床上，攀谈了多半夜。

福全这时候已经把卢扬当做大哥哥看待了，就告诉卢扬说，他六岁的时候，妈妈带着七个月的身子替彭二虎的大老婆到楼板上去取柴，梯子一滑，她人跌下小产了，唉哟了两天就咽气了。他爷给彭二虎挑谷子，碰上了日本鬼子，结果，被日本鬼子在七星岗的堤上打死了。

在谈话中间福全就提了这么个问题：地主送给雇贫农的田，将来分不分呢？

“老弟，”卢扬问，“是不是彭二虎把了田给你呢？”

“把了我五斗七升，”福全老老实实地说了。

“比方说，”卢扬把身上的被子撑起来，“我这条被子本来是你的，是我硬抢来的；如今，你就要收回了，我由被子里掏出一撮棉花来说，哪，送把你哒！你知情吗？”

“不呀！”福全一面说一面在想着彭二虎那些日子搞的字据。

“那么，”卢扬欠起身来对福全说，“彭二虎的土地早已不是他的了，土地已经回了老家，是种田人的了。土改是什么？还不是农民们把田收回来自己耕？你福全是农民里最有资格分田的，因为你最贫，最苦，最劳动。那五斗七升田，本来是你的哒，傻瓜！”

这时，福全也坐起来了。

“彭二虎，狗养的！”福全气得快哭出来了。“我上了他的当了，我得跟他要回来。”他恨不得马上就要穿衣服。

“要回来什么呀？”卢扬好奇地问。

“要回那字据！”福全头一次把自己一件心腹事说出来。“彭二虎一手把了我一张卖田契约——他说也不跟我要钱；一手要我在一个字据上打指模，答应他蒋介石回来以后，田还是他的。”

“呃，这个王八蛋！”卢扬也愣了。他把福全按到枕头上宽慰他说：“你放心吧，那个字条没有用处的，因为蒋介石永远不会回来了。不过，你从这个可以看出地主的心有多黑！”

第二天早晨月莲到灶房里来舀水的时候，福全把头天晚上的话告诉了她，并且约她吃过晚饭到新五的家里去。

那晚上，新五的两间破房快被挤塌了，疯媛驰，福全，光林叔叔，一共十来个人。后来，月莲也蹭进来了。酸溜溜的朱耀先听说卢扬同志召集开会，也想挤进去。新五把他拦住说：“我们今天大家想商量活捉彭二虎，待我们捉到了你再来罢！”

都坐下后，新五领头来诉苦。

“我是已经被彭二虎送进炮眼的人。”彭新五说。“没有共产党，我今天早埋在乱死岗子上了。”我家本来有五斗田，两弟兄倒中了三次丁；1938年我大哥中了丁。那时候彭荫庭正做乡长，他白天派保长来催丁，夜里派保长来催款。结果，家里卖掉三斗田，用一百多光洋买了一个丁。抓我哥哥的时候，彭二虎喊我去白给他做工，不然就叫他哥哥一道来抓。我白白替他帮了两个月的工。可是没多久，我哥哥又中了丁。那时乡公所的签筒子就好像变戏法的匣子，只见穷人中；左近大户，像罗培荣，四个儿子一崭齐，就一回丁没中过。黎朝初的三个男的也没中过。疯媛驰的德明，还是一个独崽哪，一抽就中！等到1945年彭二虎当了乡长，来抓我的时候，我家里已经一升田也没有了。白绳一绑，我就得跟着走！

“连枪还不会放，他妈的就给编到七十五师，一送就是前线。那时候哪里知道共产党是帮咱农民打天下呀，反掉过头来打共产党！但是怎么说，和共产党无仇无怨，打得不起劲！头一回在济南上前线，跟着前面的部队退下来了，根本没开火；第二回在沈阳，那兔崽子陈诚硬拿人往火坑里推，一颗子弹穿进我这里（指指肋下），又是夏天，在一棵树根上足足躺了三天，伤口都爬了蛆也没有管。还亏了国民党军队垮得快，两个解放军的卫生员把我抬到后方医院，把子弹挖出来，把伤口洗好，缝上，上了药。在医院教我学文化——那是我从娘胎里出来头一回认得字。我明白了为什么革命好，反动派不好。”

“好了以后，我要求到前线去打国民党反动派——我们很多弟兄们都去了。上级请大夫验了验我的身体，说我流血过多，不适宜于战斗，就留我先在后方卫戍。先在张家口封锁，北京解放以后，又去卢沟桥修

堤。今年我要求参加解放海南，上级又验了验，决定要我复员了。（掏出复员军人证来。）”

“几列车的复员军人从北京出发，沿途有人来接，走的时候，每人一双鞋袜，一套军装，一些钱——相当于五百斤大米，照着参军的年限算的”

新五没说完，疯嫒驰已经哭出声来了。她是想着，如果德明也领着一双新的鞋袜、一套新军服回来有多么好！“我这老婆子今天也得吐吐苦水！”她扶着拐杖，站起来说。“我伢崽德明，不定埋在哪块乱死岗子上哪！（她哽咽着。）这笔账我非跟彭二虎算不可！我生过四个女的，两个男的。我命苦，就剩下春杏一个了。四个小子可都不是因为我婆子不会带才死的。一个个生下来没的吃，没的盖，伢子落地连块包布都没得。向邻人借了把谷草，但是有的盖了又没的烧，于是就抽身上盖着的谷草，越抽越薄，愈薄伢子愈冷。一年到头帮地主做工，就混到这个地步：大年初一都还得上河滩去挖藕！吃不饱，我的奶头永远瘪瘪的。一个一个，一连死了四个伢子，那第三个的确是我捏死的。那是我身上的肉呵，我捏的时候能不心痛（哭起来）！但是早捏死比看着饿死还强些。死来死去，我就剩下一儿一女了。彭二虎这个该死的，还把我东一把西一把讨来的米养到十九岁的德明抓了去，抓了去，就丢下我这婆子不回来了”

疯嫒驰呜呜哭起来。新五的老婆弯了个大肚子把她扶下来，劝她先歇口气。不成，她哪里停得住！

“我这五十三年，就没过过一天好日子！两岁没了娘，八岁就给人当小媳妇，先挨婆婆的打，后来去地主家里做工，又挨地主婆子的打。一年吃三个月的黄花菜，下半年就靠茴丝过日子，一年到头闻不到一点子的猪油味。”

“和老倌子（丈夫）干了二十多年，才置下四斗水田。黎三是个老实人，就是身子单薄。大热天他帮地主在田里像畜牲一般地车水，一回晕倒了，地主睬也不睬，还是我卖一斗田给他治的。日本鬼子来了，那个大烟鬼彭荫庭又帮着日本人拉，把黎三拉去背子弹，挖壕沟。一天不晓得为么哩不顺眼，狠狠给了他一顿棍子。黎三差不多爬着回的家，衣服都给血浸透了。后来，身上的伤冒了黄水。嘴里吐着一块块的血，这回我又卖了一斗田，可没把他治活。他咽气的时候，春杏才七岁！我又卖了一斗田把他埋葬的。”

“我们母女两个就剩一斗田了。第二年青黄不接的时候，和大屋罗的罗培荣借了五升米，一斗豆子，过了两个月，他要我本息十二石谷子。就这么，他把我那一斗田也滚去了。”

“春杏跟着我讨了三年饭，有上顿没下顿的，我实在忍心不下了，

才把她送出去做小媳妇的。这年月，地主我攀不上，穷人自己还不够吃，谁接得起小媳妇呵？我当过小媳妇，我难道不晓得小媳妇的日子吗？新五，我不是没心肝的人，我不疯，我有苦没地方告诉呵！”

卢扬赶紧走过去说：“疯嫒毑——大家以后不要叫她疯嫒毑了。疯嫒毑，你不疯，你吃的苦头太多了！”卢扬屈指数给大家听：“你做小媳妇受气，那是封建家庭的苦；你的丈夫一面受地主剥削，一面又被帝国主义压迫，那是我们农民双重的苦——也是我们农民的两大敌人。彭荫庭、罗培荣都已经捉起来了，现在我们一定把彭二虎也捉起来，把坏蛋全抓起来。这是大家的事，得大家来办。政府一定给我们撑腰的。”

月莲和在朱耀先家里做奶妈的涂玉贞都哭了。

“地主咯种家伙真可恶！”涂玉贞擦着眼泪说。“看见你家屋上冒烟，他就来端你的锅。”我丈夫本来也有几斗田。公公死了以后，彭二虎硬说我们欠了他八十光洋，说，不相信可以到县里去打官司。他到县里衙门走动像跑自己的灶房，我们哪敢和他打！几斗田就这么滚掉了。

“解放前一年，我丈夫帮罗培荣打场，说好了每人每天打三石五斗谷子，工钱一斗二升五合一天。那时候因为禾干了，有些草上巴些半米谷，没打脱，罗培荣看见了，背着手不做声。等领工钱时候，他才说：你打了七十扎草，每扎草上还剩下二合多谷没打下来，二七不是一斗四升吗？哪里还有工钱，不要你补我一升五合就算客气了！这么一来，几天的工都白干！”

“我丈夫气的不种田了，他到洞庭湖上找了个摇船的营生。我呢，自己的伢子喂不饱，帮人家当奶妈。前几天婆婆一定要把我送回娘家，我死不肯走。我不晓得新政府怎么样，反正没有比国民党再欺负人的了。”

涂玉贞说完了，卢扬说，她没回娘家很好，她可以在这里亲眼看看人民政府怎么样。它不但不欺负人民，而且还替人民捉拿那些欺负人民的恶霸。

“我这话假不假？”卢扬问了一声。

“一点也不假！”屋子里的男女老幼都这么说。

“但是，”卢扬趁势说，“你们自己得起来主持自己的公道！你们晓得哪个是地主，哪个是坏蛋——他们所有的证据都在你们手里。政府不能错办一个人。所以，你们有证据的，得拿出证据来。昨天——”他望了望福全，“昨天福全就提出一件关于彭二虎的证据，有了证据，政府就好办事了。”

朱光林搯搯胡子说：

“我老头子也要向罗培荣那坏蛋算账哪！1939年，我在黄古岭还种着胡斌灿的三石水田，我自己还起了三间茅屋。忽然东家想在街上发展

了，就把一部分田卖给了罗培荣，黄古岭我那三石也在内。转手的时候，胡斌灿还卖了个‘顺水人情’，保我五年不退佃。哪晓得罗培荣刚接过手去就把我喊了去，提了三个条件，不答应就锯我的锄头把（夺佃）。他一要加三成租；二呢，三年之内不许我上山砍柴；塘里不许我放鱼，已经放的鱼种要我拿出来。我听了气得差点晕过去了，然而我还是硬了头皮向他苦苦哀求。他一面剔着牙龈一面还对我甩着文说：‘合则留，不合则去！’”

“当时我很想和他拼一场，但是一家子好几口人，邻人又都劝我说，豆腐跟刀子拼，还能拼得出什么名堂来！”

“我呵，我在他手上遭的殃，数也数不尽。租了他的田，就等于把命根子给他抓到手了。我连踩在他脚底下的泥巴都不如！”

听着大家诉苦，靠门坎的月莲把眼睛都哭肿了。卢扬要她也来诉诉苦。

“你说说吧，二婆子怎么打你！”福全催她。

月莲只是咬紧了下嘴唇，呆呆地望望福全，望望大家。眼泪珠子不停地沿着双颊往下滚。眼泪后面，射出来强烈的愤怒。

这样的诉苦会一连继续了四五个晚上。头一晚上，大半都是彭朱家屋场的人，以后，别的屋场同街上都有人来了。卢扬在每次诉苦以后，必然做一些宣传启发工作：用今日的形势同1927年来比，说明变天的不可能；用以后的美丽远景来说明土改的必要；又用地主和农民生活享受的比较来暴露地主剥削的残酷，说明谁养活谁的道理。

“同是姓彭，”卢扬指着彭福全说，“然而福全吃的是茴丝，睡的是牛棚；彭二虎吃的是鸡鸭鱼肉，睡的是高大的瓦房，里面又是琴棋书画，又是虎皮席子。你们想想，是宗族管事呢，还是阶级管事？”

诉苦中间农民时常提到命苦，八字不好。卢扬就拿工作队的赵洁民同志打了个比方：

“老赵是个山西农民。当年他也是帮人做长工，自己一丘田也没有，一个大字也不识。十年前，日本鬼子侵略华北的时候，八路军——就是现在的人民解放军，到了山西，八路军走到那里专找穷人帮忙，于是，就找到了老赵。教他识字，把他思想打通，跟地主斗争得坚决。后来农民选他当农会委员。他做事认真负责，后来又选他作乡长，一直当了五台县的副县长。今天你看他，能念、能写、能演讲、能办事。家里分到了田，他出来给人民办事，能说这是命吗？如果他当长工认了命，不再反抗，那才上了八字先生的当哪！”

这样，新炉村的雇贫农小组就成立了，大家并且公推彭新五做组长。

第二天下午，雇贫农们又照着卢扬的提议，男的把自己的妈妈、媳

妇，女的把自己的婆婆、小姑子约了来。有些婆婆从表情上看，来得还有些勉强。

在这个会上，黎媛驰，涂玉贞，新五的老婆都带头诉了苦。连月莲也把她家里怎样欠了彭二虎两石谷子，彭二虎怎样派人硬把她拖了去的话说了，并且随哭随述说彭家两个婆子怎样打她，说得许多人都流了泪。

街上一个手工业工人许宗良的媳妇起来诉了一番受婆婆的苦，卢扬等她诉完，起来插嘴说：

“咱们农民自己的吵嘴纠纷和受地主阶级的压迫是两回事。几千年来，地主没有一个不欺负咱们的，这个阶级咱们必须把它打倒，至于家庭里，有的脾气好，有的脾气坏；有的今天好，明天坏；而我们所以脾气会坏，主要还是因为地主剥削得太厉害了，日子太难过了，上顿不保下顿，于是彼此吵起嘴来。等田分了，大家肚皮不再饿了，男男女女都认了字，你看，那时候媳妇对婆婆会更孝顺，婆婆也会更疼媳妇，夫妻也会更和睦亲爱起来。所以，旧的土地制度是拆散家庭的祸根，土改是为了把农民的家庭变得不但富裕，而且亲热起来。”

这段话，深深打入了妇女——特别是婆婆们的心坎。

“因此，”卢扬接着说，“妇女们应该和男人们一道起来打倒地主阶级。这还不只是因为分田的时候，男女都有份，而是因为妇女占半边天下；没有妇女，地主阶级就打不倒；打不倒地主阶级，男的女的农民就都翻不了身！”

这样的会开了二三次，新炉村的妇女小组也成立了，组长是大屋罗的一个积极分子罗淑敏。

第二次妇女会开完以后，妇女们都走了，月莲却由人丛中挤到前边来，扯了卢扬的袖子说：

“卢同志，你看！”她从里衣里掏出一封折了许多叠的信来，并且低声咕哝着，“刚送来的，大奶奶还不知道哪。是福全的主意。”

卢扬起先还有些莫名其妙，信封上写的是“面交内子”，下面署的是“内详”。但是打开信封，看见八行书上潦潦草草地写着：

“吾现寓县内云叔处，一切甚平安，勿虑。知名不具。”

卢扬忽然灵机一动，这是彭二虎呵！这狗养的，还有人替他送家书！

卢扬马上把福全找到祠堂来，问他可知道彭二虎县里有个“云叔”。福全想了想，有一回给彭二虎往县里挑公粮，曾经捎过几只鸡、一捆笋给他一个叔叔。他还隐约记得是靠火车站那点，离万寿桥不远。

“你准备一下吧！”卢扬对福全说，“这回你得空着肩头上去，挑一个活的彭二虎回来！”

4. EXTRACTING THE POISONOUS SHAFT

When he saw that the organisation of farmhands and poor peasants had thus got underway, Chu Yao-hsien, whom a preliminary investigation revealed to be a rich peasant, grew bitter. He would say with a wry smile, "Wasn't I the one who had to go up to town to see to the autumn taxation business? Those illiterate bumpkins, what do they know besides pounding mud-cakes?" The insinuation was perfectly clear—land reform could not succeed without him. When this reached the ears of the farmhands and poor peasants, they were naturally indignant.

Tu Yu-chen, who was working as a wet-nurse in the Chu family, said, "He saw to the autumn taxation, did he? He was a representative, but he cheated by not reporting the five *tou* of land he had on the river bank and paid three or four piculs less grain tax than he should. He certainly has got nerve, still swaggering about the way he does!"

With the memory still fresh in their minds of how Chu Yao-hsien used to harp on "supporting the People's Government", the whole group got furious. Some said he should be arrested at once.

"Don't let us forget that Peng Erh-hu, and not he, is the man we want," Lu Yang pointed out. "Chu Yao-hsien is sore simply because he wants to find an outlet for his own petty jealousies. If he should actually do anything to undermine our land reform, like spreading rumours or dispersing properties, then we would certainly arrest him."

Two problems were taken up in the Small Group that evening: the organisation of a people's militia and closer unity with the middle peasants to enlarge the ranks for struggling against the landlords.

Around 30 people had registered to join the people's militia during the last few days. Those who were under 18 or over 30 had to be turned down. According to regulations, people between 30 and 60 are only allowed to join the militia after the completion of land reform. This is because during land reform a militia man has quite a strenuous job, requiring physical strength and endurance.

Following the establishment of the Small Group of Farmhands and Poor Peasants, a number of middle peasants, who had shown courage in

unmasking the landlords' schemes, had also been drawn into the struggle. At first this had given rise to some misunderstanding on the part of a few poor peasants who feared the drawing in of new members would mean cutting down their future share of land.

Lu Yang, however, made it clear to them that land distribution is not the sole aim of land reform, and that political emancipation, with the complete overthrow of the landlord class, is equally important for the peasants. To achieve this, farmhands and poor peasants must join hands with the middle peasants and work at it together, with the former as the backbone.

But in this united front, a rich peasant like Chu Yao-hsien still could not be allowed a foothold in the Peasants' Association. The sight of more and more middle peasants joining the Association while he himself was excluded further tormented him. He began to act queerly.

For instance, in ordering his wife to prepare something good for him to eat, he said:

"In times like these, it would be downright foolish not to eat all that one can get hold of. After all, who knows when the Third World War might be here and the atom bombs dropped!"

Little did he know that someone quite nearby had already made giant strides in her political awakening. Tu Yu-chen was breastfeeding the baby when her ears caught that remark and she spoke up with some vehemence, "It's wrong to say things like that!"

"How do you mean, wrong?" Chu Yao-hsien really didn't know what the world was coming to. Imagine Tu Yu-chen using that tone to him.

"Because you're making up rumours!" Yu-chen pointed out sternly.

The way Chu Yao-hsien reasoned out the matter was like this: You, Tu Yu-chen, are paid and fed by me and you dare to accuse me of rumour-manufacturing. All right, out you go!

Buttoning up her jacket, Yu-chen left without a word. She knew whom she wanted to find: Hsin-wu and Lu Yang.

The next morning, Fu-chuan and the Secretary of the *hsiang* Peasants' Association went up to town together. They had an official letter with them made out by the Huilung *hsiang* government and addressed to the Bureau of Public Security in town, introducing them and explaining what their mission in town was. There was another letter, a letter of accusation, signed by the *hsiang* Peasants' Association, in which landlord Peng Erh-hu's crimes were enumerated. It closed with this sentence, "We peasants want to appeal to the

Bureau of Public Security to see that justice is carried out."

Soon after Fu-chuan and his companion left, Hsin-wu, together with two militia members, set out to arrest Chu Yao-hsien and escort him to the District Government. Returning in the afternoon around two o'clock, Hsin-wu made the following report to the *hsiang* chairman. "I told the District officer of Chu Yao-hsien's suspicious conduct, how he spread rumours about land reform and disturbed us peasants. 'Please keep an eye on him for us.' I said, 'and don't let anyone bail him out without our consent.'"

Chu Yao-hsien's wife got really frantic. Finally she got eight "high-class gentlefolk' of the village to write out a petition for her. The letter was duly written, but someone would have to deliver it in person to the District Government. This unpleasant duty all the guarantors declined to perform. In the end it was the fiftyish Lo Chao-jen who volunteered his service.

Well, he went and came back, and Chu Yao-hsien was still not with him. Sadly shaking his head, he said to Chu Yao-hsien's wife, "*Ta Sao* (big sister-in-law), a guarantor has to have certain qualifications. You'd better strike my name off from the list. I don't have those qualifications. I used to lend out bits of money from time to time and the interest rate was apparently a little too high. I don't know yet what the peasants will do to me!"

At this, the other seven naturally withdrew their support too.

It was not till then that Chu Yao-hsien's wife thought of the head of the Small Group of Farmhands and Poor Peasants, Peng Hsin-wu, who actually escorted her husband to the District Government after his arrest. She went to his home and upon entering, immediately went down on her knees in front of the man who used to work for her as an odd-jobber before liberation. Hsin-wu helped her to her feet and said, "You'll have to speak to Tu Yu-chen about this."

That evening the problem of Chu Yao-hsien was thoroughly gone into in the Small Group of Farmhands and Poor Peasants. They discussed how and under what conditions they would bail him out. The final consensus of opinion was: one, upon his return Chu Yao-hsien must publicly admit his mistakes in a mass meeting; two, he must undertake to guarantee never to spread rumours again or undermine in any manner the carrying out of land reform; and three, he must turn in the crop payment he cheated the government during the period of autumn taxation. Yu-chen was the one who put forward these three ideas, and the others all agreed.

Three days later Chu Yao-hsien was let out of jail. Three days had

already brought him down quite a bit. At a public meeting held that evening, the now subdued Chu who had little resemblance to the "scholar" of old made his apologies before the peasants. He promised never to spread rumours again or to do anything detrimental to land reform. As for cheating the government during the autumn taxation, he said that this was true and that he would go to the *hsiang* government immediately after the meeting to make a clean breast of things and to hand over the amount he owed.

Peng Kuo-chang, a teacher at the primary school in Big House Lo, was holding a class when he heard someone yell inside the homestead, "Peng Erh-hu is caught!" Throwing down the textbook, he rushed out of the room and hurried after the peasant who had been shouting the news.

"Is it really true?" he asked.

"Every single word of it," said the peasant with pride. "I saw it with my own eyes in Shihma *hsiang*. He was all tied up with ropes, and Fu-chuan, who was following behind, had on a grin which practically stretched from ear to ear."

When Peng Erh-hu was brought back to the District Government, the Second Divisional Tribunal of the People's Tribunal immediately decided to have an open hearing in the Huilung *hsiang* government office. District Government Chairman Shao Tsu-chang was to act as judge, and eight peasants were invited to make up part of the jury. Among them were Yueh-lien, Fu-chuan and one Li Chen-nan, who had worked as a farmhand for Peng Yin-ting.

By then the Huilung *hsiang* militia could already boast of possessing weapons of a rudimentary kind—namely, spears. True, they were primitive weapons, but in the hands of grimly determined peasants, their gleaming points could still send a shiver down the spines of landlords. Behind the militia were crowds of peasants from the village.

Confronted with this awesome display of the power of the people, the three landlords resorted to all kinds of crafty evasions. It was too bad that right there sitting among the jury were farmhands who had toiled for them and maidservants who had heated their opium and emptied their chamber pots. They simply had to plead guilty to some of the charges.

For instance, Peng Yin-ting admitted that he had collected together 80 sacks of copper coins for the Japs, for how could he deny it with Li Chen-nan as a witness to everything? Didn't Li Chen-nan have to transport some of the coins in a hand-cart himself and get tenants to help him ship off the rest?

Another more heinous crime was also laid at his door—that of abetting the Japs in capturing two young guerrilla fighters. He was present when soldiers of the "Japanese Imperial Army" hacked off their heads on the open ground in front of the ancestral temple. Later, at the order of his Japanese masters, he had their heads tied to bamboo poles and planted on the dyke near the Seven Star Slope for exhibition until they rotted. Finally, Peng Yin-ting had to confess to yet another charge. He admitted that a remnant organisation of the "Circle" had its headquarters in his house. But "the members had disbanded long ago". At first he denied that he had any small arms, but two ex-Circle members, a carpenter and a builder, who had helped him construct a secret double wall, testified and gave the whole thing away. Two six-shooters, one revolver, 500 cartridges and one huge trunk of jewellery and valuables were found in the hiding place.

Now for Lo Pei-jung. He admitted that prior to liberation he had treated peasants in the village somewhat roughly since he thought, with his son-in-law serving in the KMT army as a battalion commander, he had nothing to fear. Shortly before the arrival of the Land Reform Work Team, he had twice visited the Peng brothers. According to him, Peng Erh-hu had made repeated attempts to contact that KMT battalion commander through him. He did ask someone to pass the word but nothing ever came of it as later on his son-in-law was reported to have been arrested in Canton. As for rumours, he confessed he might have spread around a few, but not intentionally.

Peng Erh-hu at first would not plead guilty to any of the charges. Crossing his arms over his breast, he said defiantly, "I've been told the People's Government is reasonable and would never browbeat people. Now let us see!" The fake deed of transaction which Fu-chuan produced momentarily threw him off-balance. To make it worse, a search of his person revealed that he had on him a written statement with Fu-chuan's thumbprints on it saying that the land was to revert back to its original owner in case Chiang Kai-shek should come back.

Peng Erh-hu was tongue-tied. Before he had a chance to recover his composure, accusations from different quarters began to pile up.

One accused him of embezzling public money for dyke repairing when he was Village Elder, causing yearly floods. Grandma Li's shrill voice was also heard. "My Teh-ming! Give me back my son!" The school teacher Peng Kuo-chang said, with a catch in his voice, "Peng Erh-hu, how did my father die at your hands? My aunt didn't tell me until after liberation that you were

responsible for his death, but I still don't know the details. Tell me!"

Of the three criminal landlords held in temporary custody in the temple, two had blood on their hands. Peng Yin-ting was guilty of collaborating with foreign imperialism and causing the deaths of patriotic youths, and hiding weapons during land reform, with the intent of carrying out subversive activities. Peng Erh-hu had killed revolutionary cadres during the First Revolutionary Civil War of 1927. After the victory over Japan, he had committed many corrupt and fraudulent acts besides helping the KMT by levying taxes and pressganging able-bodied men. He, too, hid weapons during land reform and spread rumours to undermine the land reform.

Lo Pei-jung was not much better, though no death could be traced to him. A tyrant landlord, he had consistently adopted a high-handed attitude towards peasants and by spreading rumours had also tried to sabotage land reform.

The confessions of the three prisoners and recommendations of the Divisional Tribunal were passed on to the County People's Tribunal over the telephone. In the evening came the telephoned reply: "Regarding Lo Pei-jung's tyrannical deeds before liberation, the peasants should certainly take them up when they settle accounts with him. But since he also went in for rumour-mongering during land reform, he should be duly punished. The five-year sentence which the District Government recommended is too light for such a misdeed. To give other landlords an appropriate warning, it should be changed to a longer term, the actual length depending on the masses' accusations. With regard to the Peng brothers, this Tribunal thinks the death sentences suggested by the Divisional Tribunal are just. However, a meeting for public judgement should be held before their execution, to make sure that all peasants have an opportunity to express their opinion and to pour out their grievances. Then execute them on the spot in the presence of the masses, so that the peasants can shake off the last trace of dread they have for the landlords and other landlords may thereby receive a timely warning."

December 17th. The sky was overcast. On the Huilung *hsiang* field-paths one could see here and there red flags fluttering against a grey backdrop. Peasants, men and women, beating gongs and drums, once more poured into the open meeting place in front of the ancestral temple. Again a platform was made on the terrace, in front of which were placed two square tables. A horizontal tablet was hung on the spiked railing outside the temple

with the characters: "Second Divisional Tribunal of the County People's Tribunal: Meeting for Public Trial" written across it.

At around ten, the Judge together with 16 members of the jury walked to the platform amidst prolonged, enthusiastic applause from the masses. Following them came two cadres to keep a record of the trial. The meeting opened with the singing of the national anthem, with the students of the primary school at the Seven Star Slope in the lead. Then everybody took off their hats and bowed to the national flag and to the portrait of Chairman Mao.

"Today," announced the Judge, who rose to his feet, "we are going to pass judgement on three criminal landlords from Huilung *hsiang*.

At this the three prisoners, handcuffed, clambered up onto the two square tables in front of the platform, under the close surveillance of a squad of militia and six guards from the District Government. The guards were armed with rifles or six-shooters with floating silk tassels. Peng Yin-ting was trembling all over, his head bent low. Lo Pei-jung made a deep bow to the audience when he got up. His face was as pale as the mackerel sky. Peng Erh-hu's mouth was clamped shut, and with cruel bulging eyes he scanned the jostling masses below, expressionless.

"We've caught these rogues," continued the Judge. "They couldn't escape if they had wings on them, so you don't need to be afraid of them any more. Now is the time for everyone to pour out the grievance he has kept in his heart for years—murder, swindle, rape, ill-treatment, everything. The final verdict of this tribunal on the prisoners will be based on your evidence and your opinions."

The first to reach the platform was a woman in her early fifties.

"My name is Peng Shu-min," she said, fingering the red insignia pinned on her breast. One of the first Huilung *hsiang* women to join the Peasants' Association.

"I am Peng Kuo-chang's aunt, and I am accusing Peng Erh-hu on behalf of my third brother, Peng Chiang, Peng Kuo-chang's father. In the 16th year of the Republic,[10] my third brother was Vice-Chairman of the local Peasants' Association. At the return of the reactionaries, he took me and his wife, and their 3-year-old son Kuo-chang to the hills, where he became a member of the Red Army. My old father was thus left alone at home.

"Peng Erh-hu had a group of soldiers from the 'Countryside Liquidation Corps' quartered in our house. They ate up everything they could find and burnt and destroyed. What's more, they dragged my father, who was then in

his eighties, to the temple where they strung him up, beat him, and trampled on his back, in order to get him to hand over a list of the members of the Peasants' Association. My father's spine was broken but he died without giving them the list.

"In the 12th moon of that year, my brother thought he'd come back in disguise and look my father up for the lunar New Year. Before he had a chance to set foot inside the homestead, Peng Erh-hu caught him. He was stabbed several times and left to die. After he died, we still didn't dare collect his body; so finally, we had to ask some country people to stuff it inside a sack and take it to the foot of the hill to be buried. I had a glimpse of him before they lowered him into the grave. His ten fingers were covered with bruises from the bamboo pricks they forced between the flesh and finger nails and all his upper and lower teeth had been knocked out...."

Her face was white with fury. She pointed an accusing finger at Peng Erh-hu. Tears of sympathy trickled down the cheeks of the militia members standing nearby.

With raised fists, the audience below shouted in one voice, "Down with reactionary landlords!" "We demand that Peng Erh-hu be shot!"

Standing there as though rooted to the ground, Peng Shu-min tried to go on, but couldn't, because there seemed to be a lump in her throat. Finally she managed to get these words out:

"Killing one of the chickens we have around the house would practically scare me to death ordinarily. But now I feel I could kill this Peng Erh-hu with my bare hands!"

A young peasant was the next to appear on the platform. Bowing to the audience, he began:

"My name is Tien Yi-che, and I came from Tienchialung in Shihchiao Village. In 1939 when the KMT said they would co-operate with the Communists, the New Fourth Army marched up north to fight the Japanese, leaving behind a People's Livelihood Team, with my father, Tien Chih-cheng as its captain. The Team was to mobilise the peasants into guerrilla units to fight the Japs.

"Seeing the people organised and armed, Peng Yin-ting began to feel nervous about the security of his own position as Village Elder, so he sent for a whole regiment of Yang Sen's (a KMT general's) men and made a raid on the Team's headquarters on the night of March 23, taking seven comrades away. Later on they got on the track of my father, the captain, and to this day

I've never heard from him.

"The arrival of the Japs made no difference to Peng Yin-ting's position. He still continued as Village Elder, and not for one instant had he taken his eyes off our family. Without even bothering to give a pretext, he took our ox away from us. It finally got so that we had to take other names and live away from home. We didn't dare come back until after liberation. Nothing short of death is good enough for this traitor, Peng Yin-ting!"

Paper flags crackled and the square was a forest of upraised fists. The crowd yelled, "Down with this traitor-landlord!" "Wipe out reactionary power!" "A life for a life!"

Mass sentiment continued to run high when Fu-chuan and Grandma Li unburdened themselves of their grievances.

They were followed by a young peasant, Lo Yung-nien. With a deep bow he introduced himself and began: "I'm landlord Lo Pei-jung's nephew. Sometime before the Land Reform Work Team came here, Lo Pei-jung once gave me some of his title deeds to be taken to a photographer's shop at the Seven Star Slope to be photographed. 'So that I'll have some evidence on hand once the real deeds are burnt,' he said. Also he hid two of his trunks in the attic of my house. The way I looked at it in the past—well, he's my uncle, isn't he? I hadn't the guts to refuse him. Now I realise that he's a landlord, and I'm a poor peasant. He has fish and meat by the mouthful, and rotten potato is all my family ever tasted. I was a fool. I can't face Chairman Mao if I don't deliver at once to the *hsiang* government the two trunks he asked me to keep for him!"

The masses again shouted in unison. "Down with criminal landlords who hide and disperse their properties!" "Long live the unity of the peasants!"

It had started raining. But the tense atmosphere did not in any way lessen. A woman tearfully told of how Peng Erh-hu had raped her 14-year-old daughter. The accusations were practically drowned in the shouts from the masses. Hoarse voices were heard, shaking the half-moist fields:

"Shoot Peng Erh-hu!"

"Shoot Peng Yin-ting!"

"Punish the criminal landlord, Lo Pei-jung!"

"We won't go home until the Peng brothers are shot!"

By four o'clock over 20 peasants had poured out their grievances from the platform. Mass sentiment had surged to boiling point. Over and above

there was a curious hush of expectancy. Not one person left or took shelter in spite of the terrific downpour.

After retiring to the inside of the temple to deliberate over the cases, the Judge and the jury came back and took their seats amidst thunderous applause.

The pale features of the three prisoners standing on the tables suddenly became hard and drawn. Leaning a little to one side, they pricked up their ears to listen to the Judge pronounce the final verdict.

"Peasant Comrades!" The Judge's voice was grave. "We have just heard some of the accusations made by local peasants. From these accusations, it ought to be clear to everyone how the landlord class has always worked hand in glove with the enemy of the peasants—whether it was Japanese imperialism or the KMT—to oppress the peasants themselves. The same motive has prompted them to act as fawning lackeys to American imperialism, since American imperialism is directly opposite to the people's interests, too.

"Our verdicts on the three criminal landlords are as follows: Lo Pei-jung, age 40, native of Hsinlu Village, is charged with rumour-mongering and dispersing of properties. Now these are crimes that the people won't tolerate. Not only has Lo Pei-jung dispersed his belongings, but he had made photostat copies of his title deeds, which shows that he is still pinning his hope on the KMT reactionaries. After careful consideration, the jury decided on a unanimous sentence of seven years. Do you all agree?'

There was a great burst of joyous applause and Lo Pei-jung was led away by militia members to be placed in temporary custody inside the temple.

"Peng Yin-ting, age 49, native of Hsinlu Village, has caused the deaths of patriotic youths during the Resistance War. After liberation, he organised superstitious societies and spread rumours to delude the public. Also he has hidden firearms with the intent to plan for an uprising. The sentence for him is—death. Do you all agree?"

The sound of applause that came from below the platform was deafening.

"Peng Tien-pao, alias Peng Erh-hu, age 47, native of Hsinlu Village, was a captain of an anti-Communist guerrilla team and of the Countryside Liquidation Corps during the First Revolutionary Civil War of 1927, in which capacities he had several times broken up peasant organisations and

caused peasant leaders to be arrested or killed. After the defeat of Japan, he succeeded his brother as the bogus Village Elder and spared no efforts in pressganging men and extorting 'contributions' for the KMT reactionaries, with a view to furthering the war against the people. In addition to these, he has been charged with misappropriating dyke funds, with disastrous results to the welfare of the peasants. For him also the death penalty. Do you all agree?"

The applause that greeted this pronouncement was even more enthusiastic. The militia held their spears way up to express wholehearted support, and voices had almost become strained with the shouting of slogans:

"Abolish the wicked landlord class!"

"Long live the People's Government that sides with the peasants in their struggle!"

Peng Yin-ting and Peng Erh-hu were then led off the platform by the militia and the guards. The latter were to see to the actual execution. The masses opened up to let them pass through.

With one arm sheltering his tear-stained face, Peng Yin-ting was hurried along. Intermittent sobs kept issuing from his gaping mouth. Peng Erh-hu's face had taken on an ashen pallor, and his bulging eyes were fixed and full.

When Grandma Li, with her bony fist clenched, edged her way through the crowds and tried to hit him on the shoulder, the guards immediately stopped her. A cordon was quickly formed by them around the prisoners as more blows were about to shower from all directions.

It was now raining harder. Once outside the temple ground, there were not even many trees to take shelter under. But men and women in an uninterrupted stream followed closely behind, almost as though they wanted to make sure that not one prisoner would escape.

The prisoners were escorted to the graveyard south of the temple. From the back of the graveyard came the sound of several shots.

The sound shrilly pierced through the thick, moist atmosphere enveloping Huilung *hsiang*. Sighs of relief were heaved as justice was meted out to the convicted.

"Down with the reactionary landlords!"

"Long live the emancipation of the peasants!"

"Long live the Communist Party!"

"Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung!"

The masses, for the first time, freed from their dread and restraints, let

out these slogans with a voice stronger than ever. The poisonous shaft that was thrusted in their bosom was at last extracted. With the disappearance of fear came the atmosphere of freedom the peasants had never breathed before.

肆　心尖上的刺拔下来了

从雇贫农开会起，朱耀先（初步了解他的剥削程度，是个富农）一直是酸溜溜的，他撇了嘴岔说：“当初秋征就是我上县里搞的，乡里的事不是一个大字不识、只会搓泥巴的种田人搞得来的！”意思说土改没有他，改不成。这话雇贫农们听了都很生气。在朱耀先家里当奶妈的涂玉贞说：

“他搞秋征呀！当代表，他把自己出溪垅的五斗田瞒了，少缴了三四石公粮，他还得意呢！”

小组上记起当初他怎样满嘴里“拥护人民政府”，都气得冒火。有人主张把他扣起来。

“别忘了我们要的不是他，是彭二虎。”卢扬说，“他这样吃醋，只是个人不正当情绪的发泄。如果他真有了破坏土改的行为，无论是造谣，还是分散，那就不管他是什么成分也得扣了。”

雇贫农小组那晚上讨论了两个问题，一个是组织民兵，另一个是进一步团结中农，扩大斗争队伍。

几天来，全村已经有三十人上下报名当民兵了，其中有不到十八岁或超过三十岁的，都没有收。照规定，土改以后，民兵队才收三十到六十岁的人。这道理就是因为在土改期间，民兵的工作太吃力了。

这时，勇于揭发地主阴谋的中农已经逐渐地被吸收到队伍里，队伍大了，有些雇贫农想不开，怕这么一吸收，将来田不够分的了。卢扬针对这种想法，强调了土改不仅是为分田，而是为了农民在政治上翻身，也就是打倒了地主阶级，永远不让它复辟，要做到这一点，只有雇贫中农拉起手来，共同搞翻身。

但是在这统一战线里，富农朱耀先仍是没有份的。他眼看许多中农参加到农民队伍去了，自己没有份，他就更眼红起来。

他喊他堂客去弄点好菜吃，本来没有人干涉他，但是他是这么吩咐的：

“这年头，不定什么时候美国兵就会来，要不原子弹就会下来，还是得吃且吃吧！”

朱耀先还不知道涂玉贞近来政治上飞跃的进步。正在奶着小娃子的玉贞听到这话，就气冲冲地搭了腔：

“你这话说的有问题！”

“怎么有问题？”朱耀先觉得真是有些天翻地覆了，玉贞居然敢这么顶撞他！

“因为你在造谣！”玉贞挑明了说。

朱耀先当时的逻辑是：你涂玉贞吃我的饭，你敢说我造谣，你滚蛋！

玉贞扣上了钮子就出去了。她找到新五，找到卢扬。

第二天早晨，福全和乡农协秘书一同去县里了。他们拿着回龙乡乡政府致县里公安局的一封公函，介绍他们二人的身份和去县里的目的，另外，乡农民协会有一封控诉书，上面陈述着彭二虎的罪状，最后写着："请公安局替我农民主持公道。"

福全他们走了没多久，新五和两个民兵也押了朱耀先到区政府去了。下午一两点钟新五回来向乡主席报告说："我见了区委就说朱耀先这个人不老实，他造土改的谣，捣我们农民的乱。请把他看起来，我们不说放，谁保也不成。"

彭二虎的老婆还在敲着木鱼，不知道丈夫已在押解途中了。朱耀先的老婆可急坏了。她一辈子生了三个孩子，可是从没自己带过一个。她拖了啼哭着的小娃子，满七星岗找人写保。她找到八个村里的"体面人"，写了个呈文。但写好以后，还得送到区政府去。保人们推来推去，谁也不愿意去。还是年近五十的罗超仁自告奋勇。

罗超仁从区政府回来了，朱耀先可并没有跟他一道回来。他对朱耀先的老婆摇摇头说："大嫂，当保人还得有个资格。你把我的名字勾掉吧，我没这个资格。我放的那点款子，利息高了点，农民还要同我算账呢！"

这么一来，另外七个也溜肩膀了。

到这个时候，朱耀先的堂客才想起小组长彭新五来——人又是他送去的。走到新五屋里，她就对着这个解放前曾经给她打过零工的农民下了跪，彭新五把她拉起说："这件事你得找涂玉贞去说。"

那天晚上，在雇贫农小组会上研究在哪些条件下才能由雇贫农把朱耀先保出来——因为对于一个没有犯严重错误的富农，关他三天蛮够了。他们决定：（一）朱耀先回来在群众大会上当众认错；（二）他得保证以后永不造谣，或做任何破坏土改的事；（三）向政府补缴秋征时候所隐瞒的公粮。这三个条件是农民大家想出来的。

这时，彭二虎被抓的消息已经传遍回龙乡了。本来怕彭二虎反过手来报复而不敢讲话的，敢讲了。特别是罗家屋里罗氏小学的教员彭国璋。他正在上课的时候，听到屋场里有人嚷：彭二虎捉到了！他把课本放下，跑出去，抓住那个农民问："真的吗？"

"一点也不假，"那个农民很骄傲地说，"我亲眼在石马乡看见的。身上绑了绳子，跟在后面的福全还朝我咧了咧嘴呢！"

彭二虎押到区政府以后，就决定由人民法庭第二分庭在回龙乡乡政府里开庭。区长邵祖光下来作审判长，聘请了八位农民做半数的陪审

员，其中自然有月莲、福全和曾经给彭荫庭当过长工的黎振南。

回龙乡的民兵队这时已经有了初步的武器——梭标。虽然这武器很原始，但是那些尖刺闪烁的标头拿在斗争坚决的农民手里，还足够使站在中间的地主战慄的。民兵后面挤满了村里的农民。

面对着人民的威权，地主们把所有的狡猾都使出来了，怎奈陪审员里就有给他们种过田的长工，烧过大烟、倒过尿盆的丫环，他们无法不招认一部分罪行。譬如彭荫庭便招认了替日本鬼子搜购过八十麻袋的铜板，因为那铜板不是黎振南自己用小车子推去的，便是他经手找佃户运去的。他也承认了曾经带日本鬼子捉过两个抗日青年，他亲眼在祠堂前面广场上看见他们的脑袋被“皇军”砍下来，事后他还遵照日本鬼子的命令，把脑袋用竹竿挑起，挂在七星岗的堤上呢——一直挂得都臭烂了。到最后，彭荫庭才招认圈子会的残余组织是设在他家里，但是“人都散了！”。最初他还不承认有武器。帮他做夹墙的两个圈子会会员——一个木匠和一个泥水匠，把他的底兜出来了。搜出两枝六轮，一把快慢机，五百发子弹，和一大皮箱。

罗培荣承认解放以前，倚仗着他的女婿在国民党军队里当旅长，在农村里欺负过人。土改工作队下乡以前，他到过彭家两趟。彭二虎一再想拉上他那个旅长女婿的关系，要点接挤，他也托人送过信，但是后来听说他在广州被捕了，所以关系没接上。谣言他是造过的，但他不承认是有意的。

彭二虎上来什么也不肯招认。他把双臂盘在胸前说：“你们说人民政府讲理不讲理，我今天瞧瞧看！”但是福全把那张假造的卖田契约拿出来了，同时，那张蒋介石回来以后田归原主的收条也从他家里翻了出来。

乘着彭二虎张口结舌的时候，群众诉起苦来。有告他修堤贪污，年年成灾的，有向他索讨骗款的。黎媛驰嚷着：“我的德明，你把儿子还给我！”教员彭国璋哽咽着说：“彭二虎，你到底怎么弄死我父亲的！我姑姑到解放后，才告诉我他是你弄死的，但不肯告诉我死时候的情形。你说说吧！”

“暂押在祠堂里的三个不法地主，两个是有血债的——彭荫庭勾结了帝国主义残杀爱国青年，土改期间仍藏匿武器，图谋不轨。彭天保在大革命时候残杀过革命干部，胜利后又贪污舞弊，”帮国民党抽税抽丁；在土改期间又藏匿武器，散布谣言，企图破坏土改。罗培荣也不是好东西，但罪行中还没有血债，是个一向欺凌农民，并且企图破坏土改的恶霸地主。

审判长便将三犯的全部口供和分庭意见在电话上报告了县里的人民法庭，当晚接到回电说：

“罗培荣解放以前的恶霸行为，农民在斗争中自然要和他清算的。他既然在土改中造了谣，就应当判他徒刑。分庭提的五年太轻了，不足以给其他地主适当的警告，应根据群众的控诉，酌量加重。彭荫庭，彭天保二人，同意分庭判的死刑。应当举行公审大会，务必让农民把委屈诉尽，然后当众执行，因为这样既可以消灭农民对地主残存的恐惧，又可以及时给其他地主一个警告。”

12月17日，天阴阴的，回龙乡田埂上红旗衬着灰色的天空招展着，男男女女的农民随着领先的锣鼓向祠堂前面的广坪涌来了。祠堂石阶上又搭起台来，台前放着两张八仙桌。祠堂铁栅栏上挂着一块横楣，写着“人民法庭第二分庭公审大会”。

10点钟的光景，审判长和十六位陪审员在群众热烈的鼓掌声中走上台来了。两个书记也随着走上去。先由七星岗中心小学的学生领着唱国歌，然后向国旗和毛主席像鞠躬。

“今天，”审判长起来宣布，“我们是来公审回龙乡的三个不法地主。”

这时，胳臂被绑了起来的三个犯人，在一簇民兵的押解下，爬上了台前的八仙桌。民兵之外，还有五个区中队队员，有的背了步枪，有的挎着扎绸的六轮。彭荫庭的脑袋低垂着，两只手揣在袖管里，一身都在哆嗦。罗培荣上了桌先给大家深深鞠了个躬。彭二虎撇着嘴巴，努着充满了凶暴的眼睛，毫无表情地望着八仙桌三面的群众。“坏人已经被咱捉到手了。”审判长接着说，“他们就是插翅也飞不掉了。你们不必再害怕他们了。有苦的，有冤的，今天大家诉个痛快罢！我们一定根据大家提出的证据和意见来判他们的罪名。”

第一个抢上台去的是一个五十多岁的妇女。

“我叫彭淑敏，”她捏了捏挂在胸前的红绸条。她是回龙乡妇女中间参加农会最早的一个。“我是彭国璋的姑姑。我代表彭国璋的父亲——我的三哥彭强，来控诉凶手彭二虎。1927年，我的三哥是本乡农民协会的副主席。后来反动派回来了，我的三哥要我同嫂子和刚三岁的侄儿国章逃到山里去，他参加了红军。家里就剩下我的老父亲。”

“彭二虎先派他的清乡团住在我们家里吃、烧、毁，还把我那个八十多岁的父亲拉到这祠堂里头吊了打，踩杠子，逼他交出苏维埃的名册。我父亲的脊梁骨都给他踩断了（说着就狠狠给了彭二虎一个嘴巴），他到死也没交出名册来。”

“这年腊月，我三哥化了装，想在年关回来看望父亲。喝！没进屋场，就给彭二虎抓到了。受尽了苦刑，然后挨了他几刀，痛了三天才死的。死了以后我们都不敢去殓尸，还是托老乡把尸体装到布袋里，挑到山脚埋的。我看见他尸首的十个指头都扎烂了，上下牙齿全被敲下来”

她说着，又激动起来，弯下身去打彭二虎。站在旁边的民兵一把拦住她。他们也咬牙切齿地瞪着面前的犯人。

台下，群众举高了拳头嚷：“打倒反动地主！”“枪毙彭二虎！”

彭淑敏呆呆站在那里，还想往下讲，但是嗓子给什么噎住了。她只说：

“屋里喂的鸡，我都怕杀得。我如今硬下得手来杀这个彭二虎。他害得我们太凶了！”

这时，台上又上来一个青年农民。他向台下打了个躬说：

“我叫田以哲，是石桥村田家垅的。1939年国共合作的时候，新四军北上抗日了，留守处就成立了民生队，发动大家起来抗日，我的爷田志成是民生队的队长。彭荫庭怕我们人民武装起来他的乡长就做不成，他勾结了杨森的一营人在3月23日的晚上先搜查留守处绑去七个同志，又下去抓民生队队长。我的父亲从那以后就没有了音讯。”

“日本鬼子来了以后，彭荫庭还是当他的乡长。他的眼睛一直盯住我们一家子，硬把我们的水牛夺了去。我们一直更名改姓在外边住，解放以后才敢回来。这个汉奸彭荫庭非杀不可！”

台下群众举着拳头，哗哗挥动着纸旗嚷：“打倒汉奸地主！”“消灭反动势力！”“杀人要偿命！”

在福全和黎媛驰诉完苦以后，控诉会上出现了朱耀先。三四天的拘禁生活使他丢掉不少锐气。爬上台去，已不是当初的“秀才”了。

“诸位父老，诸位雇贫农！”朱耀先深深鞠了个大躬，这个躬似乎特别是鞠给他平时最看不起的搓泥巴的雇贫农的，所以脱口就这么叫出来。

“不对，”台上新五抗议了，“天下农民是一家。对中农也得赔礼！”

“诸位父老，诸位雇贫中农！”朱耀先赶紧修改过来，而且又鞠了个大躬。“我朱耀先，新炉村人。曾经因为个人风头主义没得到满足，造过谣，对土改不利。今天趁这个大会，向大家道歉，我保证以后不再造谣，不再做不利土改的事。同时，秋征的时候，我瞒了一丘黑田，等会开完我就到乡政府来坦白，并且把应缴的公粮，马上补出来。”

说完，他拱着手，对会场转了个半圆形，重复的说着：“大家原谅！”

朱耀先刚下去，又一个青年农民上来了。

“我也得检讨自己一下！”他也深打了一躬，“我叫罗永年，我是罗培荣的侄儿，在土改工作队还没有下来的时候，罗培荣叫我把他的地契在七星岗似真照相馆拍照，说是将来真契烧掉好有个底。他还有两口箱子藏在我屋里顶楼里。以前，我只知道他是伯父，我是侄儿，他说一，我不敢道二。如今，我懂得了他是地主，我是农民。他家里吃鱼吃肉，

我家里吃红苕。我糊涂，他藏在我家里的箱子，等下我就送到乡政府来。”

台下群众嚷：“打倒分散财产的不法地主！”“农民团结万岁！”

天落起雨来。但会场里的空气愈诉愈紧张。有控诉彭二虎抽壮丁的，有控诉他吞修堤费的，还有一个妇人控诉彭二虎强奸了她十四岁的女儿。随诉群众随呐喊着，嘶哑的声音在湿漉漉的田野上震荡着！

“枪毙彭二虎！”

“枪毙彭荫庭！”

“惩办不法地主罗培荣！”

“不杀彭二虎我们不散会！”

4点光景，有二十来个农民都诉过苦了。会场里的情绪是沸腾的，同时又是有所期待的。雨落得那么大，没有一个人走开，或躲进祠堂里去。

审判长和陪审员回到祠堂里研究了一个时候，然后在群众鼓掌声中回到台上来了。

八仙桌上，三个囚犯，惨白的脸也紧张起来，侧过脸来倾听审判长的宣判。

“诸位农友！”审判长语气很庄严。“刚才本庭听取了本乡农民的控诉，从大家的控诉里，更可以看出地主阶级怎样一向与农民的敌人勾结——不论是日本帝国主义，还是国民党，来欺负农民。他们一样想做美国帝国主义天然的狗腿子，因为美国帝国主义也是和人民作对的。”

“这三个不法地主，我们是这样判的：罗培荣，年四十岁，新炉村人，犯的是造谣和分散罪。这种非法行为是人民所不容许的。罗培荣不但分散了财产，并且还把地契拿去拍照，这都说明他仍然把幻想寄托在国民党反动派身上。刚才陪审员大家商量的结果，判他七年徒刑。大家同意不同意？”

台下面一片喧天的掌声。罗培荣便被民兵由八仙桌上拖下来，带到祠堂里暂押起来了。

“彭荫庭，年四十九岁，新炉村人。在抗日战争中，屠杀爱国青年。解放后，又搞反动会门，谣言惑众，并且私藏枪支，图谋不轨，判他死刑，大家同意不？”

群众又震天地鼓起掌来。

“彭天保，年四十七，新炉村人，大革命时代，曾充铲共游击队队长，清乡委员，屡次肆意残害我农民组织，捕杀我农民领袖。抗战胜利后，任本乡伪乡长，替国民党反动派抽丁抽税，支持反人民的内战，此外，并贪吞堤费，造成农民巨大损失。判他死刑，大家同意不？”

台下轰起震天的掌声。农民欢喜得跳了起来。民兵把梭标举到半

天，表示拥护。会场的四周，都起伏着口号：
“消灭万恶的地主阶级！”
“拥护替农民撑腰的人民政府！”
“共产党万岁！”
“毛主席万岁！”
民兵们扛了梭标和执法的区中队队员把彭荫庭和彭二虎拖下了台，有的群众自动给让路，有的还挤过去想揍彭二虎两巴掌。
彭荫庭一只胳臂横在满了泪痕的脸上，一路被推了走，随走随咧了嘴呜呜地哭。彭二虎的脸上灰里发青，两只凸出的眼珠子这时候是直呆呆、冰冷冷的，当黎媛馳由人丛中伸出一只枯瘦的拳头，在他肩头揍了他一下时，他还像那垂死的老虎，向她龇了一下牙。周围的拳头太多了，他没敢还手。
雨下得更大了些。但是男男女女紧紧跟在后面，生怕跑了一个囚犯。
犯人被押到祠堂南边的坟场，绕到坟场后面，砰！砰！砰！连续响了八九枪。枪声锐利地穿过回龙乡阴湿的氛围，那回响，在农民心中，变成为轻快的音符。
“消灭恶霸地主！”
“农民翻身万岁！”
没有了顾虑的群众，壮大胆地嚷出口号来了。声音洪亮得宛如他们心尖上的刺被拔了下来。

5. RED, YELLOW AND WHITE

The rain gradually came to a stop as dusk approached.

It was a new Huilung *hsiang* that greeted the sunrise the following morning. On the dykes on either side of the quietly flowing Pigeon River, one could see tall, withered grass weighed down by raindrops, glistening in the early morning sun. A soft breeze sang through the telephone wires.

Curling smoke was seen once more above the Peng-Chu Homestead. In a stream beside the temple, a duck was drifting gracefully, eagerly looking for food. Behind it followed a train of ducklings. Even the long-shut-in buffaloes had been let out to take the sun, and, as they made their way leisurely up to the field-path, they seemed the picture of contentment.

There were women laundering by the pond and men with baskets on their backs cutting grass. From time to time one of them would straighten up and stare at the graveyard south of the temple. "So tyrants are made of flesh and blood too, and a few bullets can easily dispose of them! You, Peng Yin-ting, why don't you get up again to bully us? And you, Peng Erh-hu, where are your old airs now?"

For thousands of years it had been the invariable rule for people like Fu-chuan and Grandma Li to be kicked around, swallow insults and cringe without hitting back. But the sight of the two tyrants gone down before the law had instilled confidence into them and the last vestige of fear for the landlords was dispelled.

The day was December 18 and, for a change, instead of Lu Yang going out to call on the peasants, they had come to look for him. One of them reported how a certain "big family' had sunk their pewterware into a pond to avoid confiscation. Another came lugging a number of trunks and bundles which some landlord had deposited with him before the arrival of the Work Team. "I now understand," he said, "that these are really ours, and I'll be damned if I act as 'an air-raid shelter!'[11] any more."

What kept Lu Yang busiest, however, was the registration of militia members.

"Comrade Lu," Li Ta-ming, a farmhand from Li Garden, thus addressed him. "Please put down my sister's name too. We would like to do night patrol together."

"Comrade Lu!" This came from Tu Yu-chen, who bounced into the

room. "My mother-in-law says it's all right for me to join." At first Tu Yu-chen had wanted to enlist in the militia in spite of her mother-in-law's strong opposition. Lu Yang had dissuaded her from it, saying that such over-straining of relations would only create greater handicaps. He'd advised her then, "Come when she's changed her mind." Now Tu Yu-chen had her wish. She also confided in Lu Yang that she had sent word to her ferryman husband to quit his present job and come back for a share of land.

Hsin-wu's wife, already eight months with child, also wanted to join. Lu Yang shook his head.

"The militia will go on. It's not for only one or two days. After the land reform, it will be kept up as a regular peasants' military orgnisation to protect the peasants' own interests. There's plenty of time."

Chun-hsing also joined, and that was a big event. Ever since she became a member of the Women's Small Group, she had stubbornly refused to return to Big House Lo. To the Lo family she had this to say: "For me to go on being a child-bride is out of the question. You want me to pay for what I've eaten during the five years, don't you? All right and good. First you must pay me my five years' wages. During the past five years, I've fed pigs and cattle, spun three ounces of yarn a day and woven I don't know how many hundreds of yards of cloth for you. Pay me my wages and I'll pay you my board."

She owed this brilliant stratagem to the instruction of Mrs. Peng Hsin-wu. As had been more or less expected, the Lo family at first yammered about a lawsuit but thought better of it.

All the militia members being activists of the village, scarcely a night went by without their patrolling around, armed with spears, to watch over the landlords. When off duty, they attended night schools where they studied how to differentiate between the various classes. The school, sponsored by the *hsiang* Peasants' Association, was located in the Lo Family's Primary School in Big House Lo. There the peasant-pupils all sat on long benches and they easily filled the classroom. Grandma Li, Fu-chuan, Chun-hsing, Tu Yu-chen—they all attended classes regularly and threw themselves heart and soul into the study of this fundamental work so essential to land reform.

In the night school Lu Yang first explained the purpose behind this class differentiation—to draw a clear line of demarcation between peasants and landlords, between friends and enemies. He pointed out how necessary it was in the work of preparing the further transformation of rural society. As to how the actual differentiation was to be made, Lu Yang's approach was to get

at the essential points first and avoid the technical details. For instance, he pointed out that a rich peasant differed from a landlord by taking part in labour and that whether a person was to be classified as a rich peasant or middle peasant depended on whether or not his income from exploitation exceeded 25 per cent of his total annual income. Middle peasants depended chiefly upon their own labour for their living and did not usually hire themselves out. Those who only slightly exploited others without over-shooting the 25 per cent mark were to be considered well-to-do middle peasants. Poor peasants were those who had to cultivate land and sell their labour power as well. Farmhands generally had neither land nor farm tools, and depended mainly on the sale of their labour power for their living.

Then with the Village Chairman and Chairman of the Peasants' Association as guides, the peasants picked out a few landlords and rich peasants from the three homesteads in Hsinlu Village and discussed each individual case.

While class differentiation was being taught in the night school, members of the Small Group of Farmhands and Poor Peasants began making tentative classifications on the basis of what they had learnt. Small-Group Leader Peng Hsin-wu had gone through a three-month land reform training course in town shortly after his discharge from the army. Therefore he led the others in making classifications, starting with the big families. In the course of classifying, they also had a chance to investigate all the related problems touching each landlord or rich peasant such as his labour conditions, the extent of his exploitation, the number of labourers he hired from 1946 to 1949 and whether or not he practised usury.

There was the case of a woman in Big House Lo who had a six-year-old boy. Her husband, formerly a battalion commander in the KMT Army, had not been heard from since 1945. Her land was all rented out and she had lent out money. Both Fu-chuan and Li Ta-ming voted for making her a landlord.

Hsin-wu wanted to know why, and Fu-chuan answered, "She never laboured. And that's not all. Didn't her husband help the reactionaries fight us? What else could she be if not a landlord?" Chun-hsing, whose experience as a child-bride in Big House Lo made her qualified to judge, thought so too and justified her opinion by remarking that the woman was "mean and nasty".

Good-naturedly Hsin-wu went into a detailed explanation. "The degree of exploitation," he pointed out, "should be our chief consideration in class differentiation. We must not confuse class status and political background.

As for personal likes or dislikes, there is still less reason for their entering into the matter. It's not as though she were actually anti-revolutionary, in which case she'd certainly be arrested. She has no labour power in her family and the amount of land she rents out is quite small. Terefore a small land lessor is the correct classification for her."

This went on for over 10 days. A great many peasant activists in Hsinlu Village succeeded in grasping the correct standard for class differentiation. The Small Group of Farmhands and Poor Peasants made out a tentative list of local landlords and rich peasants and submitted it to the Peasants' Association for inspection. A two-day check-up followed, mainly to see if any rich peasant had been classified as landlord by mistake. Then came the first Class Differentiation Meeting, this time inside the temple, in the big hall.

The day before, all those who had been classified as landlords were notified by the Peasants' Association to register punctually at eight o'clock in the morning. The meeting place was simply furnished with a square table and a few benches placed beneath the portrait of Chairman Mao. Before the landlords showed up, the hall was already filled with peasants. Tu Yu-chen's ex-ferryman husband cheerfully threaded his way through the crowd with a fat baby in his arms and a broad grin on his face. "Catch me wandering outside," said he, "when I can get a share of land at home!"

When the landlords arrived on the scene, the peasants saw that they were followed by a group of the people's militia, including such people as Fu-chuan, Li Ta-ming and Chun-hsing, all carrying spears, alert and vigilant. Most of the landlords, by contrast, looked abject and cowed. A few of them brought along tiny bamboo baskets, in which some charcoal was burning in sand to warm their hands.

Around half past eight, the Chairmen of the village and the Peasants' Association and the Secretary of the Village Government, with files, account-books and abaci under their arms, took their seats around the square table, and Lu Yang stood up and called the meeting to order.

"Our Hsinlu Village," said he, "will begin our class differentiation today. We've had half a month of preparation and discussion. Now, the people standing there we regard as landlords. Our decision naturally is backed by strong factual evidence. We'll start by asking them to state their own financial standing. Mind you, we want absolute honesty. If anybody catches them in a lie or a trick, don't hesitate, point it out to their face. Of course, they also have

the right to defend themselves if they think our decision is unjust."

Li Chao-chu was the first landlord to stand up. Considered an educated man because he had gone through a normal school course in Changsha, he had carefully studied every article of *The Agrarian Reform Law* in preparation for this very meeting. He had on a light blue gown, and his small sharp features were half-shaded by a felt hat. His cheeks and chin were protected from the cold by a white towel which he had tied under his hat. After delivering a sketchy account of his financial condition, he cast a scornful glance at the peasants and said in an icy, cutting tone: "Make me a landlord if you like! Remember, however, that I'm not one of those idlers who reap what other people have sown. I labour also. Therefore, if we go by the Law, I ought to be classified as a rich peasant."

"In what way have you laboured?" asked Li Ta-ming with suppressed anger. He'd worked as a farmhand for Li Chao-chu for five years.

"When work was busy down in the fields, didn't I also climb out of bed before it was light?" replied Li Chao-chu.

"Sure!" The excited Li Ta-ming rose and pointed his finger at Li Chao-chu. "You climbed out of bed to hustle us farmhands to work. Then you returned to your sleep. Lots of times after I'd fetched six bucketfuls of water, I could still hear you snoring!"

"But," said Li Chao-chu in a faint voice, his cockiness fast disappearing. "I used to go down to the field even when it was raining. If that is not labour, what is?"

"You have the nerve to mention that?" Li Ta-ming noisily spat on the floor to show his contempt. "When we were threshing corn, you stood leisurely by on the field-path and 'directed' us. That's all you did. You wanted the corn well threshed. Not one single grain was allowed to go to waste. Our work had to be both fast and thorough. Now, look at me. I started ploughing the field early in spring when the soil was still frozen hard. My feet were covered with cuts and bruises, and the pain I felt when I washed them in the evening was something awful. Then turning the water-wheel in June under a scorching sun until I felt groggy—you wouldn't understand that either, In August, bringing the hay in would often keep me busy until well into the night. When I finally collapsed on the hay pile, I'd sleep like a log and wake up to find myself covered with dew. These, and lots more, are things that you don't know. I've worked for five landlords. You're all as bad! You all eat a lot but don't stir yourselves. And you talk about labour!"

Uncle Kuang-lin, one of Li Chao-chu's old tenants, also could not contain himself any longer. In a voice shaking with emotion, he said: "I've stood about as much as I can from Li Chao-chu. A few *tou* of land was all I rented from him and what treatment I had to put up with! For every *tou* of land, he must have a chicken as 'extra'. One year his wife bore him a daughter. He was disappointed and took it out on me, saying it was because I had been sending him hens. From that time on, he wouldn't accept anything but roosters. But roosters can't lay eggs, so we had to present him with eggs too, by the hundreds.

"When it was time for him to collect rent, he said there were three kinds of grain he would absolutely refuse to touch: wet grain, flat grain and reddish grain. His invariable rule to test the quality of the grain was first to scoop up a handful and scatter it over the table. Then he'd blow at it hard with all his breath. If the grains of rice remained where they were, he was satisfied. Otherwise he'd say they were bad and refuse to take them."

A young peasant rose and, pointing at Li Chao-chu, said, "My name's Li Jih-chang. I happen to be his nephew but he's treated our branch of the family as though we were dirt. A year before liberation, mother got jaundice, and we needed money to give her treatment. We borrowed 15 silver dollars from him and paid him two months' interest. Grain was cheap then, so he calculated the loan in terms of grain, and said it was 20 *tan*. For four months, he didn't ask for any interest. Quite the big-hearted Master, wouldn't you say? Then came a time when the price of grain went up, since the harvest was a little behind time. He therefore converted the loan into money again. After the autumn crop came in, he turned it back into grain. The result was, after a period of eight months, we found we owed him 58 *tan* of grain. That's why I've no padded clothes to wear in winter. As for him," he flipped open Li Chao-chu's gown to give the people a full view of its fur lining, "just you see—a fox-fur-lined gown! I don't care if you are my uncle or not. All I know is you're one of those cruel landlords!"

Seeing that his own nephew had thus turned against him, Li Chao-chu's defences began to break down. Time and again, he tried to put in a word edgewise, "All right! All right! Call me a landlord!" But the peasants' accusations went on and on. Obviously, to many of them, still getting the pent-up grievances off their chests was at least as important as class differentiation, possibly even more so. Hence although a queue of would-be landlords had lined up waiting for their turns to speak, Lu Yang gave no sign

of trying to cut short or stop the peasants' accusations. On the contrary, as they made the accusations, he noted them down. When he got to some of the crimes, he would throw glances of intense hatred at the landlord, sometimes even muttering, "the son-of-a-bitch", or words to that effect. At the end of each accusation he would turn around to look at the masses expectantly as though saying, "Sure no one has anything more to say? Let's not keep anything back!"

An unfamiliar looking peasant had detached himself from the crowd. With one hand on his hip and the other pointing at Li Chao-chu, he said, "I come from Ssupu of Hsuehhu Village. Our place is high up and the water-supply has always been a problem. Every year we have to pass through his fields to operate the water wheels, and in return pay him seven *tou* of grain a day. If no grain is handy, we must pay him in the second half of the year plus one *tan* interest. Besides that we have to get him enough water to irrigate about three *tou* of land—free. If we'd been paid for it, the wages would have amounted to about one *tan* of grain. In the year 1936, he made over 100 *tan* of grain merely through that scheme, and in a few years' time he had bought another 20 *tan* or so of land. Once before liberation, our village thought of sounding him out on the subject of the 'transit land'—just to see if he was willing to sell. But he just rolled his eyes and answered that the land had been handed down by his ancestors and was therefore sacred! Another hundred or thousand years, and it would still remain in the Li family, he said."

After five days and five nights of unceasing accusation and struggling, a first list of Hsinlu Village landlords was drawn up. The ones that had given most trouble were the landlords on the street near the Seven Star Slope, because a great many of them were concurrently industrialists and merchants. With every meeting, more new facts and new methods of exploitation would turn up, thus increasing the peasants' hatred towards their oppressors. Then followed three more days of classifying the rich peasants.

When the lists of landlords and rich peasants were ready, they were passed on to the Peasants' Association and the Small Group of Farmhands and Poor Peasants for review. Only one error was found—that of a well-to-do middle peasant who had been included among the rich peasants, and it was quickly corrected. Thus the first "class list" of Hsinlu Village's populace was posted up on the carved wall outside the Pengs' ancestral temple, one white, bearing the names of the landlords, and one yellow, the rich peasants.

When the classification process came around to the farmhands, poor

peasants and middle peasants, the atmosphere changed completely. True, occasionally after someone had reported on the size of his family, his land, farm implements, draught animals and debts, others who were present might still point out omissions or mistakes. But it was, at the worst, not unlike a family quarrel. A lot of shouting but scarcely any rancour.

Outwardly, too, they were not in conflict. They all sat in rows on the long benches facing one direction and not opposite each other. Some of the women were busy nursing children. Militia members were polishing their spears on their sleeves. A small boy with a copper ring around his neck, a charm, was dashing to and fro in the crowd with the slipperiness of an eel. All present were at ease. They knew they were among themselves, and that they all belonged to the exploited class crushed under the millstone of a feudal society.

The reports were accompanied by the noisy computations of an abacus and the Village Secretary busily entered everything in his book. As soon as one peasant had finished, the Chairman of the Peasants' Association would ask, "How do you people think we should classify him?"

The rule was to work from the top down. Therefore the peasants started with those whose life was comparatively less bitter—in other words, the middle peasants. Naturally some who fell into this category attempted to get themselves lowered. Uncle Kuang-lin was made a "tenant-middle-peasant". Although his land was rented from Li Chao-chu and he laboured himself, yet he owned quite a complete set of implements and never had to sell his labour power. On the whole, his life had not been as difficult as some. Still, he felt disgruntled and, smoothing his beard, murmured, "How come I can't be classified as a poor peasant? Do I own one *mou* of land? Don't I have to pay my annual rent to the landlord same as everybody else?"

Lu Yang hastily explained, "In the past, the land wasn't yours. After the land reform, you'll have your own land." Then he added, with a view to reassuring the middle peasants, "The main purpose in class differentiation is to draw a line separating us from the landlords. All of us peasants are in one group. We're all the masters of the countryside. The farmhands and poor peasants of to-day will soon become middle peasants too, since their wealth will increase after they've got their own land."

The classification of farmhands and poor peasants also proceeded on the basic principle of each reporting on his own financial conditions. Time and again, tragic happenings were recalled. Grandma Li burst out crying when

she blurted out the words, "no labour power", which reminded her again of her long lost son.

When she told how she used to take Chun-hsing with her on a begging tour, she suddenly fell into a fit of convulsion. With gaping mouth and eyes that stared fixedly, she stood for a long time speechless. Chun-hsing furnished the explanation: "One day, a landlord let out a great Mongolian dog which bit my mother on the thigh. She still has a huge scar there."

The tinfoil, incense and candle manufacturers on the street near the Seven Star Slope sent in a request to be made poor peasants. It seemed that business had declined sharply since liberation. After the land reform they said, the peasants' cultural level would be raised and no one would want to buy superstitious articles any more. Therefore their trade was doomed to go. It seemed to them that the land reform had offered them a merciful 'out', and they would like to leave their trade and become peasants. Lu Yang replied that they were still handicraftsmen in class status; however, in the distribution of land, their cases would certainly be considered.

When the whole thing was over, a file containing all the necessary information—name, age, amount of land and implements owned, extent of exploiting of others or exploitation sustained—was submitted to the *hsiang* government and the *hsiang* Peasants' Association for review and ratification.

As a result, the status of some of the peasants was altered. For instance, Lo Tung-sheng of Big House Lo had joined the Red Army during the Great Revolution. When the Red Army marched north, however, he got left behind and made a living out of pushing handcarts, cutting firewood and doing odd jobs. He did not start renting and tilling his four *tou* and five *sheng* of land until after liberation when the landlord had to refund interest on a debt Lo Tung-sheng had been paying interest on for years. Hence his status should be that of a farmhand, but in the file he had been mistakenly listed as a poor peasant.

The second class-list of Hsinlu Village was on red paper. It was posted up beside the first list. The names of all the farmhands, poor peasants and middle peasants were on it. All the peasants in the village, together with the children and the old people, rushed over to "take a look at the list". Those who could read stood on tiptoe and called out the names. Even the order of listing appeared significant to them, and as they pronounced each name, some would query, "number how many?'

Among the crowd were Fu-chuan and Chun-hsing, their spears tied with

red tassels. Both of them had been attending night school; so they could recognise their own names, although most of the others still remained unintelligible to them.

"Aren't you happy, Fu-chuan," asked Chun-hsing, "that they've made you a farmhand?"

"Me?" Fu-chuan glanced at the list again, "Oh, that's not the only thing I feel happy about."

Hsin-wu, who had been helping other peasants with the names, turned round at this remark.

"What else do you feel happy about, Fu-chuan?"

Pointing to the list posted up on the wall, Fu-chuan replied, "I feel happy because there are so many of us on the red list."

Hsin-wu nodded. "True. Everyone should bear in mind the fact that there are ever so many of us—and with one heart. On top of this, we have the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party. Never, never again will the landlords be able to regain their old position.'

On the following day, Lu Yang and a responsible leader of the Peasants' Association summoned all the landlords to the temple for a talk. There they were informed that, if they thought they were unjustly classified as landlords, they could appeal to the County People's Tribunal within the next 15 days. Further, they were told that after the third list, which was to be final, landlords were to turn over the whole of their land, farm implements, surplus houses and foodstuffs. The money deposited by peasants who rented land was to be refunded. All debts which the peasants owed the landlords prior to liberation were to be cancelled. In case a landlord had sold some land or draught animals to others after liberation, he must either try to get them back or pay their equivalent value in cash. Until the Peasants' Association officer took things over, they were ordered to protect very carefully what was to be confiscated. If anything were damaged or missing, they would be held responsible. In conclusion, Lu Yang told the landlords that they were not allowed to have guests staying in their houses and that whenever they wanted to leave the village, they must first obtain permission from the Small-Group leader.

Next, the rich peasants were called together. They, too, were allowed to appeal to the People's Tribunal. Then Lu Yang reiterated the government's policy of preserving the rich peasant economy, adding, however, that according to *The Agrarian Reform Law*, the portion of land they rented out

would be requisitioned after the ratification of the District Government, since it was a well-known fact that Huilung *hsiang* had a shortage of land. The land they tilled themselves and their other properties would not be touched. Finally Lu Yang urged them to work hard at production and not listen to rumours. "You can rely on the People's Government," said he, "never to go back on its word."

The complete file of Hsinlu Village's class differentiation documents was put together by Village Chairman Peng Yu-chang and sent to the District Government. A meeting was subsequently called by the Chairman of the District Government of all the land reform cadres of the nine villages, at which he announced that on the whole all nine villages had carried out the task of class differentiation correctly and justly.

In summing up the cadres' reports, he pointed out a few cases which deserved close study. One was a rich peasant in Shihchiao Village, Second Division, who insisted on giving up part of the land he tilled himself. Naturally, the cadres declined to accept it. The incident was a significant one in so far as it reflected some uneasiness which still existed in the minds of some of the rich peasants. "We haven't yet fully convinced them of our policy of preserving the rich peasant economy; hence they dare not as yet devote themselves wholeheartedly to production. More energetic propaganda work is necessary, as only in this way can we rid them of their unwarranted scruples and fears."

Then there was the a air of Liao Cho-nan. Himself Village Chairman of Shuangfeng Village, Third Division, yet he helped landlord Liao Peng-fei "slip through" part of his land with the result that the latter was made a rich peasant instead of a landlord. The fraud was quickly discovered. Liao who was exposed as an old henchman of the landlord had cunningly slipped into the job of village chairman. He was yanked from his post, and his name was struck off from the membership list of the local Peasants' Association. His accomplices also had their membership suspended. This went to show that vigilance must not be relaxed and, as the peasants' organisation expanded through struggles with the landlords, the importance of "cleaning house" must not be overlooked. He finally summed up the experiences of the nine villages, in drawing class differentiations. The proper method, he said, was to work from the top down: first, enemies; then, friends; and last, our own people. Outstanding cases should be dealt with before routine ones, and complex cases should be saved till the last. In dealing with farmhands, poor

peasants and middle peasants, a little leniency wouldn't do any harm.

The final lists were duly ratified by the District Government and sent back to the village to be posted up. That was a big day—the biggest, in fact, since the land reform work got underway in Hsinlu Village. Once more, a platform was set up in front of the temple, and the wall was splashed with slogans like: "Follow the Communist Party forever!" "Long live the unity of peasants!" and "Wipe out the feudal landlord class!" Everyone in Hsinlu Village came out to attend the meeting and to read the final decision of his class status which in turn would decide his status economically as well as politically.

It was a cloudy day. Occasionally, white flakes of snow would drift past. Li Chao-chu stood shivering as he read his name on the white list, the list of landlords. He had on only a torn, thinly padded jacket and a battered hat that was pulled down practically to his eyebrows. He dared not risk having other people point at his fox-lined gown again. Behind him stood a few other landlords. Not very many to begin with, and everyone of them looked downcast and apprehensive, with knit eyebrows and lowered heads.

The rich peasants by contrast were quite different. Their number was also small. Chu Yao-hsien was there, with a hat which came down right over his head, leaving only his eyes and nose exposed. He wore, in addition, a woolen muffler around his neck, and he was more than usually quiet. Others, however, were placidly smoking their long "water pipes'. Manipulating the spill with one hand, they pu ed and inhaled noisily.

The long, lively and jubilant team of farmhands, poor peasants and middle peasants entered the meeting place together, in formations. Li Ta-ming marched ahead of the rest, carrying a huge red banner, on which were embroidered the characters: "Huilung *hsiang* Peasants' Association First Division". Behind him were gongs and drums and several rows of militia armed with shining spears. Women, young men and children followed, all waving flags with anti-feudal slogans. In no time at all, the entire space was taken up while the tail of the procession was as yet invisible. The handful of landlords and rich peasants were asked to step to one side and give them the room. Even so, some of the peasants still had to remain outside the meeting place.

After singing the national anthem, Comrade Chao Chieh-min spoke up: "What is land reform for anyway? To do away with all the privileges which this handful of people," pointing at the landlords, "have assumed in order to

exploit you all," and he made a wide gesture taking in the greater part of the audience. "So long as the strong team of peasants remains organised and closely united in production, education and self-defense, there isn't any doubt but that we will pull clean out the last roots of feudalism...."

伍　红·黄·白

雨落到天黑时分，就慢慢住了。

第二天，太阳又照耀在回龙乡赭色的田野上了。斑鸠河安详地流着，堤坝上的枯草，叶身还挂着雨珠，迎着新出来的太阳，晶莹地焕发着光彩。初冬的微风，在电线上吹出细婉的声音。

彭朱家的屋场上又袅袅飘起炊烟了。祠堂旁边的小渠里，一只母鸭正闲适地率领着一串小鸭崽在寻食。闷在牛棚里的水牯，也蹒跚在田埂上，依恋地晒着和祥的太阳。

弯着腰在塘里浣衣的妇女，背着筐砍草的男人们，跑出门来第一眼都先望望祠堂南边那座坟场，心里想着：恶霸原来也不过是那么回事！恶霸也吃不住砰砰几枪。看你彭荫庭再爬起来！你彭二虎的威风哪里去了？

几千年来，福全们，黎媛驰们，只有受欺负，从没还过手。昨天可痛痛快快出了一口气。打比方说，以前睡的那泥巴和烂草堆起来的茅屋，经昨天这么一番举动，直仿佛里面支起钢骨水泥来了。两个恶霸的伏法消灭了农民对地主怀的惧怕，同时，朱耀先的腰昨天在台上弯下来了，农民的腰今天更挺了起来。因为他们更清楚地知道人民政府是替谁办事的了。

这一天，12月18日，卢扬不是出去找农民，而是农民来找他了。有的农民来报告某某大户把锡器丢在塘里了，还有的把地主或富农在工作队下来以前寄存的箱笼包袱提了来，说：如今我才懂得这东西是咱大家伙的，我不能给他们当“防空洞”。

更忙的，是民兵登记。“卢同志，把我妹妹的名字也写上吧。”黎家园的一个贫农黎大明说。

“卢同志，”涂玉贞跳着跑出来，“我婆婆同意我当民兵了。”当初涂玉贞想不顾她婆婆的反对，硬来参加。卢扬怕这种家庭内部的勉强会造成更大的阻力，所以劝她等婆婆想通了以后再参加。如今她婆婆懂了土地改革是怎么一回事。涂玉贞并且托人带信给她在湖上摇船的丈夫，要他辞了船工，回来分田。

新五的堂客捧着个八个月的大肚皮也要参加。卢扬摇摇头说：

“民兵不是一天半天的事。土改以后它是个经常的农民武装组织，将来靠它来保护农民的利益。你有的是日子呢！”

因此，她只参加了妇女小组。

春杏的参加是件大事。自从参加妇女小组以后，她就一直没回过大屋罗，她告诉男家说：“小媳妇是定规不做了。你们要五年的饭钱，可

以；但是你们先把我五年的工钱，——五年来，我从早到晚帮你们喂猪，喂牛，一天纺三两纱，织了不晓得几百丈布！你们把了我工钱，我就把你们饭钱。”

这话是新五老婆教她的。男家最初还不依不饶，嚷着要打官司。等朱耀先抓进区政府以后，才不声不响了。

这些民兵都是村里的积极分子，所以每天晚上不是扛了梭标去查夜，监视地主，就是上划阶级的夜校。这夜校是由农会主办的，每村一个。新炉村的夜校便设在大屋罗的罗氏小学。课室的长板凳上，黑压压地坐满了农民，黎媛驰、福全、春杏、涂玉贞，都是一课也不肯缺地学习着这土地改革的基本工作。

在夜校里，卢扬首先讲解了划阶级，是为了使农民和地主、自己人和敌人截然分开来。说明只有这样才好进行农村革命。讲到“怎样划法”，卢扬的讲法是先抓要点，避免细节。譬如：富农和地主的分别就在有没有主要劳动，富农和中农的分别就在剥削量超不超过全年收入的百分之二十五。中农是自给自足，不出卖劳动力的。对别人有轻微剥削，但是不及百分之二十五的，是富裕中农。贫农自耕兼出卖劳动力，雇农多半没田没农具，主要靠出卖劳动力吃饭。

把大道理讲完，卢扬又解释了细节。主要劳动指的是一年之中，有四个月的劳动；一家得有三分之一以上有劳动力的人口参加劳动，这家才能算有主要劳动。他又指出地主的剥削方式多半靠把田租出去，富农靠请长工。从长工人数来计算剥削量，请一百二十天短工算一个长工。请一个长工以下的，剥削量不会超过百分之二十五，也就不会是富农。请两个以上的，就得算算了。所有的计算都从解放那天起，倒推三年。

接着，工作队和村农会主任领导农民就新炉村三个屋场里的地主和富农，抓了几户来分析，作为具体的典型。

小学教师们这时又给大家演了一次戏。一出是《谁养活谁》，主要是暴露地主不劳而获的寄生性质，另外一出是《懒婆娘》，描写一个不爱劳动的农村妇女的改造。往常，乡里也演戏，但只是热闹一番。这回演完了，农民一路在田埂上，灶火旁谈论着戏里的道理。

夜校讲解着划阶级的时候，雇贫农小组上，农民们便根据学习来的标准开始试划了，雇贫农小组组长新五在复员以后，曾经在县里一个土改训练班上学习过三个月。他领导大家先从大户划起。随划随调查地主富农们的劳动情况，剥削程度，他们在1946年到1949年请的长工的数目，和他们放债的情况。

大屋罗家一个女人，带着个六岁的伢崽。她男人在国民党军队里当营长，从1945年就没了音讯。她的田是全部出租的，并且放点债，福全和黎大明都认为应该划她做地主。新五问他们为什么，福全说：“她不

劳动还不说，她男人还给反动派帮忙打我们，不划她做地主划成什么！”在大屋罗当过小媳妇的春杏也赞成，她的理由是“那个女人讨厌！”新五很好性子地向他们解释说：“我们划阶级，主要是看剥削关系。除非她自己是反动分子，那我们一定把她抓起来；我们不能把阶级和政治面貌混起来，更不应该掺上个人的好恶。她家里根本没有劳动力，出租的田地数量又不大，她应该是一个小土地出租者。”

这样继续了十来天，新炉村的农民骨干分子把握了划阶级的标准；同时，雇贫农小组也把本地的地主富农大致划出来了。划的结果送到农会，给大家提意见审查，又经过两天复查，看看有没有把富农划成地主的。于是，第一个划阶级会便开始了，地点在祠堂的正厅。

头一天，农会通知了被划为地主的人，要他们早晨8点正报到。会场的布置很朴素。毛主席的像下面放着一张八仙桌，几条板凳。地主还没来，农民已经密匝匝站在一起等了。黎媛驰坐在长板凳的一头，嘴箍得紧紧的，一脸都是紧张。她知道今天“谁是好人，谁是坏人，马上就分明了”。涂玉贞的丈夫从洞庭湖船上辞工回来了，手里抱着自己的一个胖崽，见了人就笑眯眯地说：“有田分自然不想在外头晃荡了。”

福全、黎大明、春杏他们，都执了梭标站在地主行列的后面，一个个瞪大了眼睛看守着。地主们一个个瑟缩缩地揣着手，有的腕上挂了只竹篮，篮里放着烤手的炭盆。

8点半光景，村主任，村农会主席，村政府书记便夹了账本，提了算盘，各占据八仙桌的一面坐下了。卢扬站在八仙桌前宣布说：我们新炉村，经过半个多月的酝酿，今天开始划阶级了。现在站在这边的，我们认为是地主。我们这种认为，当然有事实的根据。等下先由他们自报经济情况，他们应该老老实实地报。如果他们有隐瞒，农友们可以马上把他们的马脚指出来。如果我们说的他们不服，也准许他们申辩。

地主黎朝初曾经在省里读过师范。从《土地法》颁布后，他一直在研究着条文。他细眉细眼的，穿了件浅蓝褂子，毡帽下面围了块白布手巾，报完了财产情况以后，他很鄙夷地望着农民说：

“划我做地主没关系，”口气冷冰冰地，很尖酸。“但我不是‘不劳而获’的。我有劳动，因此，照政策看，我应该是富农。”

“你有什么劳动？”黎大明气冲冲地问。他给黎朝初当了五年长工了。

“田里忙的时候，天不亮我不也爬起来吗？”黎朝初不服气地反问。

“对，”黎大明索性站出来指了黎朝初的鼻尖讲：“你爬起来是为了把我们长工一个个赶起来，你又钻回被窝里去睡觉啊！我挑了三担水，你还在打鼾呢！”

“下着雨我都下田，那不算劳动？”黎朝初的声音低下来，没刚才那

么“理直气壮”了。

“哼，你不要脸！”黎大明狠狠往地上啐了口痰。“打场的时候，你自己撑把伞，站在田埂上打秧，指挥我们。一下又嫌我们打得不干净了，你要我们搞得又快，又好。我从起春就犁田，田里的泥块还冻得硬邦邦的呢，把我的脚板都切破出了血。你可知道晚上我洗脚的时候有多么疼！6月里车水，太阳像火盆似的烤着，你可知道我头有多昏！8月里收草，一收收到深更半夜，我困倒在草堆上人事不省了，醒来满身都是露水，那滋味你尝过吗？我一辈子给五个地主干过活，你们都是一模一样的好吃懒做，你懂得什么叫劳动！”

这时，光林大叔——黎朝初的老佃户——也捺不住了。他激动地说：

“黎朝初的苦头我算吃够了。种了他这几斗田，年年受他的气！他每斗田要搭一只鸡。有一年他老婆养孩子，养下一个女崽，怪我送了母鸡，那以后，年年得送雄鸡。送雄鸡他又嫌不生蛋，还得论百地送蛋。每年收租谷时候，他有‘三不要’：不要湿谷，不要瘪谷，不要红谷。他看谷子先抓一把谷子放在桌上，然后伏在桌边用嘴吹，一粒也吹不动才要。要不他就捡瘪谷多的地方扫起来量一石，放在风车里用力车，壮谷都被车出来，然后量一下。所有没车的谷子全照这个打折扣。”

这时，另外一个年轻农民指了黎朝初的鼻尖说：“我叫黎日昌。说起来，我还是他的侄子。他把我们这一房搞得没有点点日子过了。解放头一年，为了给我母亲治痨病，向他借了十五块光洋，付了两个月的息。在谷子贱的时候，他把钱合成谷子，作为二十石。他还送了个‘人情’，四个月没要利息。等到青黄不接，谷子贵的时候，他又把它变成了钱，秋收后，他又把它合成了谷子，结果，前后八个月，他要我们五十八石谷子。所以弄得我冬天连棉衣都没得穿。他呢？（青年农民撩起黎朝初的皮袄，）大家看吧，狐狸皮袄！我管你什么叔叔不叔叔，你是个杀人不见血的地主！”

这时，黎朝初看见自己的亲侄子也出来了，气便虚了下来。他几次想打断话头，说“好，好，划我做地主算了。”但是农民的控诉并没有因此而停下来。显然，农民把诉说内心的怨恨和划分阶级看得一般重要——也许更重要些。因此，尽管新炉村的几个地主“候选人”一排等在那里，卢扬一点也没有意思缩短或打住农民的诉苦。反之，他们一边诉，他一边记；诉到可恨处，他时常仇恨地瞪地主两眼，忍不住骂一声“狗婆养的”。诉完以后他又转过头来向群众看看，好像是说：有苦大家诉个痛快吧！

人群里，这时站出一个面孔陌生的农民。他一手叉了腰，一手指了黎朝初说：“我是云湖村曾家垅的。我们那边的地高引水难。年年车水

要通过他的田。车一天水，每天要出‘车水埠头’谷一石。没有现谷，到下半年加息谷一石。还要白白替他车够灌三斗田的水——值工钱谷一石。1936年，他凭‘租埠头’就赚了一百多石谷子。在几年里头，他又置了二十多石田。解放前，我们云湖村探探他的口气，大家想把他这‘过水田’买过来，这家伙眼睛一翻说：这几丘‘过水田’是我祖传的，风水特别好，几百几千年后，这田还出不了黎家的门坎！多少年来，我们姓曾姓黎的农民们还为这个一直吵闹着，如今我才明白毛病不在什么姓曾姓黎的，毛病是地主想尽了方法来剥削咱们农民！”

一连五个昼夜，结合着农民的诉苦和斗争，新炉村的地主们初步划出来了。这中间，比较复杂的还是七星岗街上兼工商业的地主。接着，又划了三天富农，每划一个地主或富农，就有更多的剥削事实和方法在农民面前暴露出来，因而也就更加深了农民对地主的阶级仇恨。

地主和富农划好以后，就由农民协会和雇贫农小组去审查。其中，只有一个富裕中农被划成了富农。纠正过来后，新炉村第一道阶级榜贴在彭氏家祠的花墙上了，白纸上写的是地主，黄纸上写的是富农。

划雇贫中农的时候，空气大大不同了。尽管被划的人把自己的人口、田亩、农具、耕牛和债务报告完了后，在座的农民还会指出遗漏或错误，但整个空气是像家庭内部的吵嘴，嗓门尽管高，却没有些许仇恨。从现象来说，划中贫农时候大家都坐在长凳上，并不对立着。女人们还忙着奶孩子，民兵们用袖口擦着梭标，一个脖项上戴了白铜圈子的孩子在人丛中像条泥鳅般钻来钻去。座中的农民穿着打扮都一样，都是挣扎在封建社会碾石下面的被剥削者。

农民随报着，算盘子随着啪啪响着，登记表册的村书记紧张地记着。一个农民自报完了，村农会主席就问：大家看应该怎么划？

根据自上往下划的原则，农民也先找日子好过的划——即是中农。被划的自然也有拼命想降低成分的。彭云章被划成中农时候，撅了嘴说：“欠了一屁股债，还落个中农成分！”福全就插嘴说：“你欠的是什么债？是赌债！”

光林大叔被划成为“佃中农”。他虽然种的是黎朝初的田，完全靠自己的劳动，但是生产工具很全，生活得很好，从来不出卖劳动力。他也摺了胡须，抱怨着说：“我一亩田也没有，年年把谷子挑给地主去缴租，怎么还算不得个贫农？”

卢扬赶紧解释说：过去，田不是你的，土改以后，你就分到田了。然后又针对着中农们的顾虑开导说：划阶级主要是为了和地主分家，咱们农民是一条阵线。当中农一样光荣，一样是农村的主人。

划雇贫农的时候，也是由农民自报经济情况。时常在报的时候，大家联想起过去悲痛的事。黎媛驰说到“没有劳动力”的时候，又想起她那

一去不回头的儿子德明来了，呜呜哭了起来。说到她带着春杏去地主家讨饭的时候，她忽然通身痉挛起来，嘴张着，眼睛直直的说不出话来了。春杏在旁边对大家解释说：

“那一天，地主放出一条大狼狗，在我妈的大腿上咬了一口——现在还有一块大疤。”

七星岗街上锡箔香烛业工人要求划作贫农。解放以来，他们的生意一天比一天淡了。土改以后，文化提高，迷信破除，他们这一行是注定了要消灭的，所以他们想索性趁土改转业当农民了。卢扬的答覆是：成分还是手工业工人，分田的时候可以照顾。

划完以后，把写明了姓名、年岁、人口、田亩、耕牛、农具、剥削与被剥削量的表册，送到乡政府和乡农会去慎重审查了。审查的结果，有几个农民的成分改动了。像大屋罗的罗冬生在土地革命的时候，参加过红军。后来红军北上，他掉了队。靠着推手车、砍柴和卖零工过日子。一直到解放以后，才租种了四斗五升田，他应被划做雇农，但是却划成了贫农。

新炉村的阶级榜第二榜贴出来了。这回，白（地主）黄（富农）两榜以外，还贴出来浩浩荡荡的红榜，上面写着雇贫中农的名字。新炉村的农民，都携老带少地赶来“看榜”。认识字的，踮起脚来帮助不识字的农民看，随看随数自己是第几名，直好像那次序也含有意义似的。然后，看的人朗声报出来。

福全和春杏提了梭标，也在人群中挤。他两个都上了文化夜校，别人的名字还念不出来，却能辨识自己的了。

“福全，你高兴么？”春杏问，“高兴划成了雇农？”

“我呵，”他望了望那榜，“我不单高兴那个。”

这时，正在帮着农友们看榜的新五回过头来问：

“福全，你还高兴什么？”

福全指了指墙上的榜说：

“我高兴咱红榜上的人真多。”

新五听了不住地点头，并且说，一定把福全这句“高明话”在雇贫农小组和农会上传达一下，要大家都记住咱人真多——而且心齐。有了这个，再加上毛主席和共产党的领导，管保地主万世也复不了辟。

出榜的第二天，卢扬便和农会负责人把地主召集到祠堂来，谈了一次话。一面宣布凡是被划做地主的人，若是不服气，可以在批准以后十五天内向县人民法庭去申诉。同时，通知他们等三榜定案后，就要没收他们的全部土地、农具、多余的房屋和粮食。农民租田时交的押金一律得退出来。解放前，农民欠地主的债作废，解放后，地主变卖的土地耕牛一律无效，得交回或者赔偿。所有应没收的东西，在农会没来接收以

前，必须好好保存。若有损坏短少，要负完全责任。最后，卢扬宣布地主不许在家留客，出门得向小组长请假。

然后，又召集富农谈了一次，仍是声明准他们申诉，强调政府保存富农经济的政策。接着，卢扬告诉他们回龙乡人多田少。按土改法的规定，并且经过区政府批准，要征收他们出租部分的土地，但是自耕的土地和别的财产绝不动丝毫。最后，卢扬要他们好好生产，不要听信谣言。人民政府说一是一，说二是二的。

新炉村的全部阶级表册都由村主任彭玉堂送到区政府去了。接着，区委召集了九村的土改干部会议，在这会议上，肯定了九个村子划的阶级大致都很公平正确。区委总结干部汇报时指出：（一）二分会的石桥村有一个富农要献出一部分自耕的田来，干部自然没有接受，但是从这事实，可以反映一部分富农心里还有顾虑，还不够相信我们的保存富农经济政策，因而还不敢放手生产。应该对政策随时大力宣传，只有这样才能消除不安定的情绪。（二）三分会的双枫村在划阶级的时候，那个村主任廖卓南替地主廖鹏飞瞒了田，把他划成为富农。发觉以后，那个村主任立刻被撤职并且开除了他的农会会籍。同时，和那个村主任搭伙的也洗刷了。这说明我们农民的队伍还不纯。我们目前还得好好警惕，一面在斗争中扩大队伍，一面还得洗刷坏分子。最后，（三）总结这次九个村子划阶级的经验，应该自上而下，先划敌人，后划朋友，最后划自己；先划典型的，后划一般的。先划容易的，后划难的。划中贫雇农的时候，尺寸不妨放得宽些，划地主富农的时候，要十分严格。

表册由区政府批回来，阶级三榜贴出来的那一天，是新炉村土改开始以来的一个大日子。这一天，祠堂前面又搭起台来了。祠堂的墙上贴着“永远跟着共产党走！”“农民团结万岁！”“消灭封建地主！”一类的标语。广坪上，农民、富农和地主都出来开会，并且看榜了——看决定他们今后在农村的地位的最后一榜。

天气很冷，偶尔还有好像雪花般的白屑飘动。黎朝初怕人擦他的狐皮袍子，穿了件破棉袄，戴了顶破毡帽，瑟瑟缩缩地站在广坪一角，帽沿拉得快盖住了眉毛。他后面，地主们本来就稀稀朗朗没有几个，一个个又都是那么锁紧了眉头，或低了脑袋，一个孱弱无力、萎缩待毙的阶级了。

相形之下，富农们是很不同了。他们的人数也是单薄的，但表情上是愉快的。朱耀先戴了一顶仅仅露出眼睛和鼻子的“夜壶帽”，下面围了条毛线的围巾，一声不响地站在那里。但大多数富农还端着水烟袋，拈着纸捻，呼噜噜抽着水烟。

壮大，活跃，欢欢喜喜的雇贫中农是排了队，一齐进场的。首先，黎大明扛了红绸锦旗走在前面，旗上绣着“回龙乡乡农会第二分会”。他

后面便是锣鼓，然后是扛了闪亮梭标的民兵，后面是妇女组、青年组、少儿队，一个个手里都晃动着写了反封建标语的旗帜。广坪上的空地站满了以后，田埂上还看不见殿后的队伍。于是，人数稀少的地主和富农被挤到贴墙边去了，农民队伍占去广坪的绝大部分，然而就这样还有些农民挤不进来，只好就站在或坐在田埂上。

唱完了国歌，赵洁民同志走到台边，望望台底下的队伍说：

“土地改革是什么呢，就是取消这小撮人（指了指地主）欺负这么大一伙子人（用手向广坪划了半个圈子）的特权。只要农民的壮大队伍组织起来，团结起来，在生产，在学文化，在自卫上永远一条心的团结着，我们一定可以把这个封建的恶根子拔干净了”

6. SUNSHINE AFTER THE STORM

A few days after the final classification of classes, the Huilung *hsiang* peasants saw the year 1950 draw to a close. Ordinarily, the solar new year had been a matter of utter indifference to them, but this year, spring scrolls were pasted up on the doors and a huge party was held jointly by the farmhands and poor peasants. Yes, the year 1950 had been an unprecedented one—a year that the peasants would recall for generations.

It was at the party that the problem of reorganising the Peasants' Association was taken up.

The plan was first to get the masses to investigate the Association from the top down: To what extent had the peasants become their own masters since liberation? Was the influence of the landlord class thoroughly eliminated? Was the Association itself sufficiently strong? Were there still people outside the Association who should have been won over? On the other hand, had any irresponsible loafers or bad elements who were secretly in sympathy with the landlords infiltrated into the organisation? Then, the leadership of the Peasants' Association needed going into also. Were the cadres active in their work? Were they firm in struggling? Had there been cases of rank selfishness or protection of landlords? Such a thorough-going investigation laid an excellent foundation for the election of officers.

The Huilung *hsiang* Peasants' Association was divided into nine "big groups", each centring in one village. Three big groups formed one "division". Each big group was again subdivided into small groups, according to geography, customs and nature of work. Hsinlu Village, for instance, had four small groups. Each small group could name three Peasants' Association officers, one of whom must be a woman. In the final count, the Peasants' Association officers of the whole village must have no less than a two-thirds majority of farmhands and poor peasants. That is to say, the number of middle peasants must not exceed one-third of the total.

Before the election got underway, Lu Yang stressed the following qualities as requisites for all the candidates: a clean record, honesty, diligence, activeness in work and firmness in struggling, and impartiality in making decisions. Each candidate must make a public self-criticism before the election started and then the peasants could offer their opinions. One candidate, for example, had it pointed out to him that he had once ill-treated

his wife. However, a great many praiseworthy and exemplary acts of the peasants during the past month also came out. For example, Fu-chuan was known to have covered over 60 *li* on an empty stomach the day he went in search of Peng Erh-hu. When his sandals got torn, he went ahead on bare feet. Not until he had escorted Peng Erh-hu safely to the District Government did he discover that his feet were bruised and bleeding.

When the good points and shortcomings of each of the candidates had been brought out and discussed, the election began. People held up their hands to show support of a certain candidate. Altogether 12 officers were elected, and the chairmanship of the Association devolved on Peng Hsin-wu, who was publicly acknowledged to be militant and advanced in his political awareness and struggling, impartial and friendly in his dealings, with the additional advantage of having had some education, so that he could write and do arithmetic and was especially adept at making out lists and charts. He had under him four sections: militia, organisation, culture and publicity, and the women's group. A temporary "Committee on Requisition, Confiscation, Custody and Distribution" was also set up in order to facilitate the completion of land reform.

After this sifting process, the Hsinlu Village Peasants' Association emerged as a new body with all the activists picked out and marked down for certain duties. Lo Shu-min of the Big House Lo who was concurrently head of the Women's Small Group, and Peng Kuo-chang, a teacher at the Lo Primary School, both found themselves in the Requisition Section. Fu-chuan and Chun-hsing were in the Confiscation Section and to Li Ta-ming and Yueh-lien were entrusted the work of taking over and transportation. As a rule, each section had four people. The Distribution Section, however, could boast of 16, including seven farmhands, five poor peasants and four middle peasants, all elected from the small groups, since distribution is the most complicated and difficult process in land reform. It involves the discovery of "black land"[12], correct evaluation of yearly yields, computation and redistribution of land. It could therefore be said to be the most important supervisory organ of land reform work.

With the full backing of the newly strengthened team of peasants, a firm foundation was thus laid down, and the land reform work in Huilung *hsiang* went soaring ahead.

Faced with the peasants' final offensive, the landlords, though shorn of their old glory and prestige, were yet unwilling to give in docilely. They

retaliated with such tactics as the dispersion and hiding of properties and instigation of factional conflict among the peasants.

Lo Meng-hsiung, nephew of the landlord Lo Pei-jung who was serving a seven-year sentence, had several pine-trees on his land felled while the Peasants' Association was busily engaged in classification work. He got a carpenter from the Seven Star Slope, Liao San, to make two coffins for him; and sold the rest of the timber. However, he was smart enough always to appear in a shabby gown, and his wife would pretend they were poor and rush around borrowing rice from others. Actually, scarcely a day went by without their killing a chicken or a duck or what not and eating their fill. The ruse was soon discovered by the Confiscation Section. Lo was forced to cough up the cash and the coffins and all the left-over timber were promptly confiscated in accordance with *The Agrarian Reform Law*.

Practically all landlords tried to perform a few sleight-of-hand tricks in addition to perpetrating a certain amount of wilful destruction. They would extract the inner mechanism out of a merrily ticking desk clock. It was almost as though they all believed that a thing destroyed was a thing gained. Another landlord was caught by militia members while emptying sackfuls of grain into a pond at night.

Besides making clearly known its regulations governing confiscation, members of the Confiscation and Requisition Sections also attempted to guard against any deviations in the process of confiscation through signing a common pledge.

The two sections met together before setting out to work and a programme of five "wants" and five "don't wants" was passed by the eight members after a careful study of *The Agrarian Reform Law*. The five "wants" were: Confiscation of land, farm implements, draught animals, surplus houses and surplus foodstuffs. The five "don't wants" were: properties directly employed in industry or commerce, capital, movable property, physical violence and the infringement of the middle peasants' interests. Also, the members all swore not to cover up misdoings, not to practice fraud or accept bribes from the landlords. At Fu-chuan's suggestion, everyone affixed his thumb-print to the text of the pledge.

Before going to Lo Meng-hsiung's house, Fu-chuan first made a trip to the Seven Star Slope and got hold of Liao San, the carpenter. From the latter he got a piece of valuable information. It seemed in addition to making two coffins, Liao San had also been asked to construct a double wall for Lo.

Armed with this information they entered the Lo house. According to a careful plan, the confiscation officers immediately divided up. Some stood by on guard. Some searched the rooms and some inventoried the various articles. Chun-hsing was entrusted with the job of forcing Lo Meng-hsiung's wife to hand over the title deed to her husband's property.

Well, the deed was produced and the implements and animals were correctly inventoried. Then, placing his hands on his hips, Fu-chuan asked Lo Meng-hsiung, "Anything more?"

"You've taken away almost everything my ancestors left me. Are you still dissatisfied?" mumbled the landlord; pointing at the baby nestling in the arms of his wife, he added, "I swear by him, my only precious offspring, that all my properties are here before you."

"All right," said Fu-chuan, nodding imperceptibly to the militia members. They made their way straight toward a chicken-roost at the corner of the house. Lo Meng-hsiung's face turned pale as he watched them dragging it aside. Then the pickaxe Fu-chuan had brought along with him began to resound through the yard. The landlord's family trembled, and the militia, leaning on their spears, stared at the wall fascinated. A few bricks were worked loose, and a plank was visible behind. With that hacked open, a shining padlock fastened on to a huge camphor-wood trunk finally came into view.

The landlords' scheming was by no means limited to the dispersal and hiding of properties. In their dying struggle, they would never let slip any opportunity to fan up bad feelings among the peasants, to break up their unity.

It was during this critical period that the Hsinlu Village peasants went over to Shihchiao Village to witness a public trial. There were certain complications involved, as some of the backward peasants of that village had been at feud with each other owing to a slight misunderstanding arising out of class differentiation. One group, the Yu Homestead, had charged the peasants of another group, the Tseng Homestead, with over-leniency in struggling against their landlord, Tseng Kuang-wen. There was also some talk to the effect that in making up for their surplus foodstuffs in terms of gold, Tseng Kuang-wen and the Yu Homestead landlord, Yu Tzu-wen, received unequal treatment, Tseng being favoured with a higher exchange ratio. Actually it was all a pack of lies fabricated by someone behind the scenes with the intent of creating mischief. But a lot of peasants fell for it. Hence when the three

villages that belonged to the Third Division held a joint meeting to struggle against the landlord Yu Tzu-wen, one loafer of the Yu Homestead by the name of Yu Feng-ching suddenly stood up and shouted, "The Tsengs are unfair. Why didn't they struggle against their own landlord equally hard?" The atmosphere in the meeting place immediately became tense, and for a short while it was touch and go whether the peasants would forget about their real enemy—namely, landlord Yu Tzu-wen, who stood complacently in front of the platform waiting to be accused—and return to the age-old custom of family feuding. Fortunately, the chairman of the Third Division had enough presence of mind. Then things came to a head. He ordered the meeting to be adjourned since "we are not sufficiently prepared". Careful investigation after the meeting revealed Yu Tze-wen to be the real wirepuller. It was he who had bribed the loafer to come out and create a disturbance—preferably an armed clash.

Yu Tzu-wen was condemned to be shot and was executed on the spot. That was an important lesson for the Hsinlu Village peasants who thereby learnt to heighten their vigilance. Therefore, when Li Chao-chu tried to get on the good side of Li Ta-ming by saying ingratiatingly, "Ta-ming, I'm sorry I treated you in such a rotten manner in the past. I hope when the land is distributed you'll let that piece of mine near Hsiping, fertile, high up and close to a pond," Ta-ming's face immediately fell and he turned on him, "Land distribution is the job of us peasants. You don't need to come butting in. Let the end of Yu Tzu-wen be an example to you if you are also thinking of alienating us!"

The complete inventory list for Hsinlu Village was made out and checked by the Confiscation Section, and passed on to the take-over people. Then it was for Li Ta-ming and Yueh-lien and others to see to the transportation. Farm implements and foodstuffs were concentrated in the various homesteads, where a few rooms confiscated from the landlords were specially set aside to storing them. Draught animals were temporarily kept by individual peasants to ensure their safety. Then the complete inventory, with detailed explanations as to where each item was kept, went around to the Distribution Section for general computation.

There were cases of landlords who requested to pay the amount of their foodstuffs in terms of other "movable properties". The Association granted them permission to do so, and in no time at all the Pengs' Ancestral Temple was turned into an odd kind of department store. All kinds of ornaments,

tonics, drugs and cosmetics, things hitherto unknown to the peasants were gathered together there. Glancing over them, Hsin-wu made the ironic comment: there's enough stuff for an exhibition showing "the way the landlords lived".

The first job that the Distribution Section busied themselves with was discovery of "black land". If some of the land listed were not complete, then fair and judicial distribution would be impossible. As far as the landlords were concerned, all their properties had been brought out into the open during the period of class differentiation. There was practically no problem there. But some middle peasants, especially tenant-middle-peasants, still proved intractable. It was because of this that Lu Yang decided to call an informal conference for tenant-middle-peasants.

"Talk of land reform! It left me even worse off than before!" grumbled Uncle Kuang-lin. "They are dividing up my land and struggling against me!"

Uncle Kuang-lin was by no means the only person who held those sentiments. Some of the tenants who had shown themselves unusually courageous and active in fighting the landlords began to sulk also when they saw the land they had cultivated for years marked down for redistribution.

Lu Yang listened patiently to the tenants "blowing off steam"; then he pointed out to them the indisputable truth that unless the landlords were brought down and the gigantic millstone of land rent and usury shaken off, no good living was possible for any of the peasants. So far everybody was in agreement. Then he expounded the necessity of "taking the long view". Unity among the peasants must be taken as the basis for everything. It was wrong to haggle over some immediate personal matter at the expense of the future welfare of all. That, too, was unanimously accepted. Then Lu Yang got down to brass tacks and did some actual figuring for the tenants. After land distribution, they would each have their own land and no one would need to pay exorbitant rent (from 50 to 90 per cent of the produce) any more. Apart from crop payment to the government, all that was left could be enjoyed by themselves. At the same time, while giving up a portion of their land to be distributed, they also saved on human and animal labour and fertiliser. They could cultivate what land they had with greater care and they would have time left to develop other forms of production on the side.

Lastly, Lu Yang stressed the point stipulated in *The Agrarian Reform Law*—distribution on the basis of actual cultivation. In other words, reservation comes before distribution. The original tenants had priority in

reserving a certain amount of good land or land within easy reach. What's more, after the distribution was over, the two per cent of public land in the village could also be rented to the original tillers who had first claim. Another source of tillable land for the tenants could be found in such families as had no labour power or depended on renting out small pieces of land for their living.

Thus, the essential points were all cleared up, and the Work Team and the Peasants' Association went on with propaganda work on a more general scale in order to dispel the last vestiges of selfishness still harboured by some of the peasants.

Hsin-wu got a bundle of chopsticks, from which he extracted one and showed it to the peasants. He then broke it in two, with apparently no e ort at all. Then he tried breaking the whole bundle and of course did not meet with any success. Thus he illustrated the principle that "unity is strength" and that "for one peasant alone to prosper is impossible. We must all progress toward a better life together."

Next he emphasised the principle of "the plenty making up for the few and the fat for the thin" in land distribution, taking care however to point out the mistake of "equilitarianism". Those who were especially poor and helpless, like Grandma Li, and those who were especially strong in labour power, like Fu-chuan, ought to get up to two hundred per cent more.

Somebody thought that was a good time for teasing Fu-chuan. "Sure, with two hundred per cent more land he could get a wife and have children." At this, everyone smiled and looked at Chun-hsing. The girl blushed scarlet and skipped out without saying a word.

Tu Yu-chen was nursing her baby, when an idea occurred to her. Addressing Hsin-wu, she said, "You'll soon have a baby too. I suggest we reserve a portion of land for him." Many peasants applauded the idea. Hsin-wu, however, was firm in his refusal. The others were equally firm in pressing the land upon him. Finally Lu Yang stood up.

"Theoretically speaking, land distribution goes per head. Suppose a person is very sick and dying. He still gets his portion if he is breathing on the day the land is distributed. The same rule applies to a baby. If he hasn't yet come into the world at land distribution, we shouldn't count him in. Therefore, land or no land, it all depends on how fast the baby can run and catch up with us."

Everybody roared with laughter.

The discussion then turned to the problem of handicraftsmen who dealt in superstitious articles like tinfoil, incense and candies. They had asked to be given some land so that they could become peasants. The request was promptly granted.

Then the problem of production after land reform came up. First, the Village Chairman announced that they had received a notice from the County Government through the District Government, which said that this county had been entrusted the job of spreading the use of selected seeds to the extent of 100,000 *mou* this year in accordance with a five-year plan sponsored by the Central People's Government. Five comrades had come down from Changsha specially to help out, and the different levels of the Peasants' Association would assume the responsibility of publicising the campaign. The good seeds to be promoted were known as Golden-Queen Grain. Scientific tests had revealed them to be superior to the current short-stalked kind of rice on every count. Land planted with the new seeds would yield 107 catties more grain per *mou*. They developed sturdy stalks with neat ears and grew boldly upright. They could stand heavy fertiliser and were not much affected by dry spells. What's more, they showed a surprising immunity from plant disease and insects. Those who would like to get loans of this kind of seed from the government could register and send in their requests in a month's time and return the same amount at the autumn harvest. Registration forms could be obtained from the Production Committee of the Peasants' Association. There were two varieties of seeds: one kind for common promotion, and another kind for special model propagation. They could get the seeds in the beginning of February. There was only one condition to be observed: the government-loaned seeds must not be eaten up like ordinary grain.

Owing to the difference in soil and location, two pieces of land of approximately the same size could vary a great deal in value. Moreover, the rice fields in Hunan were mostly of irregular shapes and didn't lend themselves to exact measurement. Since measuring the land itself involved so many complications, the only reliable standard was the average productivity. Thus each peasant was asked to "appraise" his own land.

The correct procedure was for each peasant to write down the productivity of each plot of his land on a flag. Land that he owned himself had a red flag while a white one signified land rented from some landlord or rich peasant. Distribution officers would come around and make the final

assessment.

On the eve of the planting of flags, the peasants all held family meetings. Each racked his memory and tried to think back how much his land used to yield in the past. Then the amount which was believed to be accurate would be written down on the paper flag. Landless peasants had a lot of work to do also. They hacked bamboo sticks and pasted paper flags for the others.

The next morning countless small flags fluttering in the wind appeared on the Hsinlu Village field-paths. Often a peasant would bring his whole family along to witness the grand ceremony of flag-planting. One was heard to mutter while sticking up his flag, "I couldn't dare look Chairman Mao in the face again if I made the amount too small." Another pointed at the Peasants' Association Membership Certificate pinned on his breast and swore that he had put down the absolutely correct amount. "I'm willing to forfeit this red silk insignia if I'm found to have cheated."

Around nine o'clock, the four small groups of Hsinlu Village and a few Appraisal Officers specially invited for that purpose appeared on the scene to conduct an actual investigation piece by piece. There was a secretary in every group with a ledger and a copper ink box. When the final amount for a piece of land was decided after due deliberation, he would write it down on the flag and also enter it in his ledger.

Most of the Appraisal Officers were peasants in their fifties or sixties. Standing there on the field-paths, they would run their eyes expertly over the land lying at their feet, just like old cowherds judging the age of a cow by looking at its teeth.

Almost all the peasants proved to be quite fair and unbiased in appraising their own land. It was obvious the propaganda work done by Lu Yang and his comrades was producing good results. Now and then the Appraisal Officers might decide to raise the original amount fixed by a peasant by four or five *tou*, but even then there would be no hard feelings, because the peasant would admit cheerfully, "You people certainly ought to know better than I do." Some thought of the marvellous new seeds they would have soon and insisted that they had fixed the amount too low, because the new seeds would "grow better".

An exhibition was held at the same time by the Association of all the "fruits of struggle" they had confiscated from the landlords. Peng Yin-ting's old mansion, now also confiscated, was turned over temporarily for that purpose. A piece of red cloth, on which were written the characters

"Exhibition Showing the Way the Landlords Lived", was hung over the entrance to the huge, sumptuously decorated sitting room where Peng Yin-ting used to entertain passing Japanese military officers, including Brigadier-General Shirakawa. Inside the room, on the long sideboards under the shuttered windows were displayed gold and silver ingots of the Manchu regime, buddhas and bracelets of gold, carved ivory fans, silver chopsticks, jade rice bowls, a huge closet with ingenious carvings and gold lettering and a four-poster bed with a row of small drawers on the side where delicacies and candies could be kept.

The peasants were ignorant with regard both to the names and the uses of these fancy articles. However, by contrasting them with what they themselves possessed, they could not help feeling angry and bitter. Hatred surged up in their breasts as they made the rounds, viewing each article, cursing as they went. Among them was also Yueh-lien. To her these were familiar sights, but she also paused and thought back on the way the owner of these beautiful things used to treat her.

Meanwhile, Comrade Chao Chieh-min called all the Work Team Cadres of the nine villages to a Land Distribution Meeting in the temple. First, they went over together the conditions of land distributed among the three divisions. As a result, it was found that the Third Division has comparatively less land than the other two. Thereupon he decided that the First Division should transfer 23 *tan* and five *tou* of land to the Second Division, which, in turn, should transfer 17 *tan* and four *tou* of land to the Third. Thus the three divisions would all have an average of 2.4 to 2.5 *tou* for each person entitled to receive land.

Adjustment was thus made on the *hsiang* basis. Next they had to investigate the problem of land owned by each village. The average of Hsinlu Village for instance, was 0.04 *tou* higher than that of Shihchiao Village, and 0.07 *tou* higher than that of Yunhu Village. The three villages, therefore, got together and discussed the best method of readjustment. It was not merely a job for the mathematicians. In adjusting land, you have to think about the peasants' domestic problems and the problem of housing. Nothing is easier than to shift people around on paper, but the moment you want it done, human problems begin to pile up. Finally they decided to follow the way of the Old Liberated Area. Yunhu Village, which adjoined Shihchiao Village, would have a tract of land pared down equal in size to what Hsinlu Village should allocate. Then Hsinlu Village, in its turn, would also rule out the

corresponding amount of land where it touched Yunhu Village.

It was almost 50 days now since land reform started. The peasants of Huilung *hsiang* had risen early and gone to bed late, and one by one they had pulled the landlords down. They had made out class differentiation lists for the whole *hsiang* down to the minutest detail, assumed control of the properties handed over by the landlords and hunted down what the latter had dispersed or hidden. They had achieved so much simply because they had refused to compromise, ignored temptation and threats and kept on struggling to the very end. Undoubtedly, the last month or so had been a stormy period.

On the eve of land distribution, the whole of Huilung *hsiang* seemed to brighten up. The storm was over, the sun had come out and joy was in every heart. From now on, a peasant would be able to enjoy fully the fruits of his own labour. He could brace back his shoulders and, waving a hand at the land he cultivated, say with honest pride, "This is *my* land. A new, rational state of things had risen like a fresh, golden dawn breaking over the horizon.

And for three days and three nights, the main hall in the Pengs' Ancestral Temple swarmed with people—people on whose faces were written happy expectations.

Peng Yu-chang, Lu Yang, Hsin-wu and other Distribution Officers of the Association clustered around a square table beneath Chairman Mao's portrait. The time was already nearing the end of January, 1951, and the overthrow of the feudal land system was all but completed. Inside the feudal temple, an icy wind whistled down people's necks. A few peasants had brought along bundles of hay from their homes and built a huge fire in the middle of the hall. Fu-chuan and Li Ta-ming sat one on each end of the haystack and fed the fire when it got low. The dry rice stalks crackled and the flame leaped up and down. Shadows played on the peasants' smiling faces, and warmth and harmony and deep-felt joy pervaded the whole gathering.

Each peasant would step up beside the fire and report on the number of people he had in his family. (Actually, in most cases, they were also there with him.) Then how much land and farm implements he owned. The Distribution Section would then open their ledger of "land to be divided" and select a share of land according to the amount the peasant was entitled to. Opinions from the masses could be offered on the spot. The peasant himself was also allowed to make suggestions. Aged people would get land that was located conveniently near. Those who owned water-wheels were given land higher up. Those who lacked certain implements could report and get new

ones. Draught animals were shared, one among several families. In order not to overwork the animal, a three *tan* maximum of ploughing was set for each ox.

When Fu-chuan's turn came, he handed over his bundle of hay to Chun-hsing. Family? "One—myself." Land? "No land." Implements? "No implements." The crowd insisted that he should have two portions. Hence he was given a plough, a hoe, a big piece of land near the Big Graveyard valued at five *tou* and 2 *sheng* and a share together with three other families of a three-year-old calf that used to belong to Peng Erh-hu. For living quarters, he was given Peng Erh-hu's study.

While people applauded and edged up to shake hands with a slightly dazed Fu-chuan, Yueh-lien rushed into the room, brushing off snowflakes from her shoulders and sleeves. "Brother Hsin-wu. Brother Hsin-wu!" Hsin-wu, who was bending over the table busily registering, raised up his head.

"Go home quickly!" she cried, gesticulating wildly, her mouth open. "Hurry and get the midwife. Your wife is in great pain!"

Hsin-wu instantly pushed his papers over to another Distribution Officer and threaded his way out through the crowd.

Tu Yu-chen also stood up. Momentarily forgetting her turn in land distribution, she thrust her own baby into the grins of her mother-in-law and followed Hsin-wu to help.

At around two o'clock in the night, the land distribution work was still in full swing when Chun-hsing entered carrying a steaming cauldron of glutinous rice. Placing it on the square table, she said, "You must all be tired out. Have something to eat!"

The officers did not think they should, since they knew Grandma Li was not so well off that she had a lot to spare, but the old woman herself was insistent. Leaning on her crutch, she urged them. "Go and eat! Otherwise we won't feel happy. This is the rice we originally saved for the lunar New Year. But now for the first time since the world began the poor folks have their own land. Isn't that better than a hundred, a thousand New Years?"

The men gave in. Someone went and got a whole stack of bowls from the back of the temple, and Chun-hsing started ladling out the rice.

In the midst of this tumult, Tu Yu-chen again appeared, slightly out of breath. Planting herself squarely before the table, she shouted:

"Attention everybody. Hsin-wu *Sao* (sister-in-law) has just had twins. A boy and a girl!"

The applause that greeted this announcement was nothing short of deafening. Tu Yu-chen was immediately surrounded by a crowd of curious people who wanted to know more of the details.

Then a radiant Hsin-wu showed up, bowing right and left in response to people's congratulations. A moment later, he was back in his seat, once more buried in the intricate registration work.

The next morning, all the peasants got up early and trudged through the snow to have a look at their newly acquired land. Standing on the field-path, they surveyed the snow-covered fields, in their minds figuring out the amount of fertiliser and seeds needed and also imagining the ocean of lush green that would come with the autumn. Some of the fields already had markers on them saying proudly "Victory" or "Liberation" with careful notations on the side of the new owner's name and date.

The Emancipation Meeting—the climax of land reform and an unparalleled joyous event for the peasants—was held at two o'clock on that very afternoon. Once more the scene was laid in the open ground in front of the Pengs' Ancestral Temple. The meeting was under the auspices of the three villages that came under the First Division; for several days all the village activists had been busily preparing for it. The stage was lit up by a pair of bright red scrolls, one saying "Earth and heaven overturned and feudalism destroyed!" and the other, "Resist America and aid Korea; defend our home and country!" On a horizontal tablet were written the words, "All peasants everywhere are brothers."

The celebration started in the morning around ten o'clock. Troops of peasants carrying spears or beating gongs and drums could be seen making their way along labyrinthine field-paths toward the Peng-Chu Homestead. The primary school students led the procession. Some of them were got up in multicoloured clothes, with towels tied around their heads, lightly skipping along doing a harvest dance. Some were members of the Young Pioneers with flowing red ties. A few had their faces heavily rouged and bounced among the procession, waving wooden swords.

The handicraftsmen on the Seven Star Slope had constructed two sedan chairs tied together with bamboo sticks and wrapped in red silk. Each chair bore four pictures framed against a background of heavy colourful brocade. On the first chair were portraits of Chairman Mao, Commander-in-Chief Chu, Vice-Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai. On the other were portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Some of the workers acted as chair-carriers. Some were beating gongs and drums and some were blowing bamboo flutes.

To Fu-chuan on that day was entrusted the job of looking after all the draught animals. In order to get them away from the crowd near the meeting place, all the animals were collected in the graveyard in front of the temple. Some of the oxen, when led there, were found to have colourful rings and balls tied around their horns.

Before the meeting started, Peasants' Association cadres of the three villages had already collected all the title deeds the landlords had handed over and piled them up in the centre of the meeting place in neatly tied bundles. Some of the deeds had turned yellow around the edges, having first been drawn up in the Manchu period. Some were wrapped up with layer after layer of silk. A great variety of seals were affixed to those deeds, representing the Manchu emperors, the warlords, the Wang Ching-wei puppet government and the KMT government. And some of the conditions stipulated in the deeds were cruel beyond belief. For example, a "big-headed contract" meant you must write down the five *tou* of land you rented as seven *tou* and pay your rent accordingly. "Fixed rent" meant the amount of rent you had to pay remained the same even in exceptionally bad or disastrous years. "Flexible rent" meant the tenants could get the landlords to come over to a banquet in a bad year; if upon looking at the crop, he should decide to cut down the rent, all right and good. But it all depended on his whim, and very often the amount discounted was not even sufficient to cover the banquet expenses. There they were, all written down in black and white on those deeds. As the peasants looked at them, their eyes flamed with pain and hatred.

A string of firecrackers about five feet long, especially made for the occasion by the Seven Star Slope workers, was hung up right beside the pile of deeds.

The noise made by the gongs and drums grew louder as more and more people flowed in. Those who had a part in theatrical performances were already made up. The item offered by the peasants of Shihchiao Village was a dragon dance. The fabulous animal was over 50 feet in length, with its head painted gold. Its jaws moved up and down and its copper wire whiskers twitched most realistically. Yunhu Village put on a drum dance—"the Third Scholar Keeping Company with His Lass." The one who played the Third Scholar did not put his beard on right; so it kept falling o, to the great amusement of the audience. The dance performed by Hsinlu Village peasants

was copied from the dance of fishermen around Lake Tungting. Chun-hsing in a pink shirt and a baby-blue skirt was "the oyster". She had two huge pieces of stiffened cloth tied to her arms, red on the outside and white inside, which represented the two halves of her shell. She was fleeing from a young fisherman, played by Yueh-lien, who followed behind her with a fishing net, acting out gestures of casting and drawing in the net.

The national anthem was sung, with the fresh voiced primary school students in the lead. Next everybody bowed to the national flag and the picture of Chairman Mao. Then the presidium, formed by the three Association Chairmen, Chairman of the Women's Association, Captain of the Militia, leader of the Small Group of Farmhands and Poor Peasants and the three Village Chairmen, mounted the stage and the meeting began.

Great promises and solemn declarations were made during the meeting by peasants who never before in their lives had spoken in public. Li Chen-nan pledged that he would work hard at production and dyke repairing. Lo Shu-min demanded that women be allowed to take equal part in dyke repairing since in land distribution women received equal treatment with men.

Finally Fu-chuan also pulled himself together and ran up the stage. Nervously twisting his hat in one hand, he made a stiff bow to the audience and began:

"I only know how to meddle with mud and I can't talk. But, when we drink, we don't forget the well-digger; in emancipation, let us not forget the Communist Party! Without Chairman Mao, without the Communist Party, where would I be today? Wouldn't I still be trampled underfoot by Peng Erh-hu?'

With arms raised, the peasants sent out shouts like roaring tides.

"Long live the Communist Party!"

"Long live Chairman Mao, the peasants' Saviour!"

When the slogans gradually quieted down, Fu-chuan went on:

"I understand very well now that landlords and imperialism cannot be separated. Look at the Peng family, Peng Yin-ting and Peng Erh-hu! Didn't my father die at their hands? But we were then all 'sealed up in a drum', since the Communists hadn't yet come to help us open our eyes. Now it's different. If America should want to do what Japan did and try to push us around, we'll get up and smash them all—American imperialists as well as all the Taiwan traitors!"

Shouts and applause shook the quiet fields of Hsinlu Village, echoing the rise of China's new peasantry.

Then a crackling sound was heard. The firecrackers were lit and bundle after bundle of deeds began to catch fire and burn. They were the weapons of the landlord class, by which they sucked the blood of the peasants. Now they were all in shreds and ashes and the wind carried them away.

陆　空前的大喜事

阶级划完不上几天，回龙乡的农民便和1950年辞别了。往常，农民们对于阳历年是漠不关心的，但是今年家家都在门上贴了春联，还开了一个雇贫中农的联欢大会，大家对于空前的1950年，都怪依依不舍的。

在联欢大会上，农民们酝酿起整顿农民协会的问题来。

首先是由群众从上到下检查农会：检查农民从解放到今天，翻了多少身；地主阶级是不是斗垮了；农会的力量大不大，有多少应当吸收而没有吸收的，有哪些二流子或者和地主有勾结的坏分子混在里面。最后，检查农会的领导：干部工作得积极不积极，斗争得坚决不坚决，有没有自私自利或者包庇地主的情形。这样检查就为选举打下了基础。

回龙乡全乡的农会分为九大组，即是每个村子为一大组，每三大组为一分会。各大组下的小组是根据地形、习惯、工作基础来分的。新炉村便分为四个小组。每小组选举三名农协委员，其中一名是妇女；全村农协委员中，雇贫农不能少于三分之二，中农不能多于三分之一。

在新炉村选举以前，卢扬说明了候选人应有的品质：历史清白，为人正派，工作积极，斗争坚决，办事公正，作风老实，劳动勤快。在举行选举以前，候选人先自我检讨，然后农民提意见。一个候选人被指责打过堂客，但是农民在过去一个月中间所做的许多可敬的事迹，也在这会上表扬出来了。譬如福全去抓彭二虎那天，空着肚子一口气跑了六十几里路，草鞋踏破了就打赤脚板，等把彭二虎送到区政府他才察觉脚底下皮肉都磨出了血。

每个候选人的优缺点都反复讨论完了以后，就举手表决。新炉村的村农协一共选出十二名委员来，被群众认为觉悟高，斗争坚决，处理事情大公无私，群众关系好，又能写会算，善于造表册的彭新五被选为村农协主任。在他领导下，农协分为四组：武装、妇女、组织和宣传。生产委员会以外，又成立了一个临时性质的“没收征收接管分配委员会”，负责完成土改工作。

经过整顿，职责明确化了的新炉村的农协中，村中的积极分子都受到群众的拥护，担任了一定的任务。大屋罗的罗淑敏（妇女组的组长）和罗氏小学的教员彭国璋在征收组，福全和春杏同是在没收组，黎大明和月莲负责接管和搬运。每小组四个人，但是分配组有十六个人，其中包括七个雇农，五个贫农，四个中农，都是由四个小组里推选出来的。因为分配是最复杂、最艰巨的一项。它包括挤黑田，评产量，统计和分配——这是土地改革工作的顶点。

这样布置了以后，回龙乡的土地改革就有了更纯洁更壮大的农民队

伍，在更坚实的基础上进行了！

工作队不但明确地宣布了没收政策，并且曾用公约方式保证在没收过程中，不发生任何偏差。

在出发以前，没收征收两组先开了一个会。八个组员根据土改法通过了“五要”和“五不要”。“五要”是：土地、农具、耕畜、农村中的房屋和多余的粮食。“五不要”是：直接用于工商业的财产、底财、浮财、不乱打乱杀、不侵犯中农利益。同时，组员们宣誓保证在征收没收过程中，不包庇、不贪污、不受地主的收买利诱。经福全提议，大家还在公约上打下了手印。

卢扬在公约订好以后，又根据上级指示，作了几点补充：一、解放以前农民欠地主的债一律作废。但是解放前后，地主欠农民的债一律要归还；二、所有地主分散隐藏的财产，不论是浮财底财，一旦发觉就没收，作为斗争果实；三、地主富农瞒的黑田，查出来后，都要按税率补征公粮，半数交县，半数由乡农协保管，用来补助本乡的生产资料。

当农民布置着最后的攻势时，威风已经快削光了的地主们自然也不会“坐以待毙”的。他们的战略是分散和隐藏财产，破坏农民的团结。

几乎所有的地主都隐藏了些东西，他们大半都进行了或大或小的破坏。桌上的座钟走得好好的，地主却把它的囊子掏出来，直好像毁坏一件，自己便捡到一件似的。又一个地主被民兵发觉半夜把满麻袋的谷子倒到门前塘里去，宁可这样，也不给农民吃！

被判七年徒刑的地主罗培荣的侄子罗梦熊趁农会忙着划阶级的时候，偷偷把他的山田上的松树砍掉了一半，找了七星岗上木匠廖三来做了两口棺材，剩下的换了光洋。同时，他穿上一件破袍子，他堂客四处去讨米。其实，他们家里天天不杀鸡便宰鸭，正在大吃大喝。没收组发现以后，他才把光洋吐出来，棺材和剩余的木料也照土地改革法充公了。

去罗梦熊家里以前，福全先到七星岗找到了廖三，打听出来罗除了要廖三给他做两副棺材，还造了一道夹墙。进了罗梦熊的门，没收组照预先布置好的，有的负责监视，有的进行搜查，有的忙着登记表册。春杏的工作是向罗梦熊的堂客追红契。那女人一边抹着眼泪，一边开箱子。交出时候那种舍不得的神情，直好像那张纸还有多大效力。

契追出来，农具耕牛点验完了以后，福全插了腰问罗梦熊：

“还有东西没有了？”

“我祖宗三代的点子产业全拿出来了。”地主嘟囔着说。然后指了他堂客怀里抱着的娃子说：“我指着我这条命根子起誓，什么都摆在这块了。”

“好！”福全朝扛了梭标的民兵努了努嘴。他们一直就走近屋角的一

只鸡埘。当民兵把鸡埘往外拖的时候，罗梦熊的脸惨白了。随着是福全用带来的斧头砍动的声音。屋里地主一家颤抖着，民兵拄了梭标，专注地望着屋角。墙砖砍裂了，砖后面是一块木板。木板再敲裂，樟木箱子上亮晃晃的锁便露出来了。

地主的阴谋还不止于分散和隐藏财产。在殊死的挣扎中，他们更随时想破坏农民间的团结。

这时期，新炉村的农民到石桥村去参加了一个公审大会。事情是这样：石桥村的曾家屋场和喻家屋场的落后农民在划定阶级后，闹了点意见。几天来便听说喻家有些人暗地里抱怨曾家农民斗他们的地主曾广文时，斗得不狠。又说曾广文和喻家屋场的地主喻子文同是用金子赔偿余粮，但是折合的比率，曾家定的比喻家的高。这两点其实都不是事实，显然有人在幕后操纵，制造空气。当第三分会三个村子开会斗争地主喻子文的时候，喻家屋场的一个痞子喻凤清突然在会场上嚷“曾家人自私自利，专会斗别姓的地主！”当时会场空气紧张，农民一刹那几乎把真正的敌人——站在台前等待被控告的喻子文——忘记了，思想好像又回到几千年的宗派家族去。幸亏第三分会的会长掌握得好，他马上宣布“今天开会酝酿不充足，改天再开，现在散会！”会后仔细深入调查，才知道是喻子文用钱收买了痞子，想制造一场农民的械斗。

看过喻子文当场枪决后，新炉村的农民对地主更提高了警惕。所以当黎朝初对长工黎大明讨好说“大明，我过去对你实在不好，我希望将来分田时，你能分到细坪墩我那块土肥、地高、离水塘近的田”的时候，黎大明瞪起眼睛对他正颜厉色地吆斥说：“分田是我们农民的事，用不着你多嘴。你也想挑拨吗？你记住喻子文的下场吧！”

没收组点查登记后，随着便把清单交给接管组。黎大明、月莲他们便拿着清单，按户接管搬运了。农具余粮集中在各个屋场，由农协拨几间没收的多余房屋来放置，房门上由接管组贴上封条。耕牛为安全起见，由农民们分头寄养。按项注明了保管情形的清单，转到分配组去统计了。

有的地主交不出余粮来，要求用别的浮财代替。农协同意了。即刻，五花八门的奇怪东西都堆集到彭氏祠堂来，各种首饰、补品、化妆品，都是农民闻所未闻、见所未见的东西。新五提议：把这些古怪东西凑齐了开个“地主生活展览会”吧！

分配组首先忙的是挤黑田。如果表册上的田亩不完全，有隐瞒，分田的时候就一定不可能公平。地主的田，在划阶级时候已经差不多挤干净了，只是个别中农，尤其佃中农还想不通。因此，配合着挤黑田的工作，卢扬又特别召集了一个佃中农座谈会。

“改了还不如不改哪！”光林大叔撂了胡须发着牢骚。“如今，分了

我的田，革起我的命来了！”

发牢骚的还不止光林大叔一个。几个在斗争地主的时候很勇敢很积极的佃农，临到自己佃种了多少年的田地被登记下来重新分配的时候，思想上起了波动。

卢扬让佃农们把牢骚发完，然后他提醒佃农们，如果地主打不倒，大家还生活在田租和高利贷的巨石下面，谁也没好日子过。这一点大家很快地都承认了。然后，他指出农民的长远利益完全建筑在农民的团结上面，所以，不能为了眼前的局部利益，牺牲长远的全体利益。这一点，大家也懂了。这时，卢扬才从实际得失来帮佃农们打打算盘：分田以后，田属了自己，农民再也不要缴那五成到九成的田租了，除了缴公粮，扮多少禾都是自己的。同时，把一部分田拿出来分，可以省出劳力、畜力和肥料。这样，田可以耕得更细，并且还得力量发展副业。

最后，卢扬强调了《土地改革法》上规定的“在原耕基础上分田”，采取先留后分的办法。这是说，佃农们可以尽先留些好田、近田，并且分田后，本村留下的百分之二的公田也可以尽先佃给原耕的农民。这以外，没有劳动力的鳏寡孤独的田和小土地出租者的田也可以佃给他们。

重点地打通了佃农思想以后，工作队和农协又广泛地对农民宣传，有力并且及时地打破了有些农民存在的自私自利思想。

新五拿了一把筷子。他先抽出一根来，两下一撅便断了。但是一把筷子谁也撅不断。他用这生动的比喻说明团结的力量，也就说明了“一个人发家致富”的不可能，必须要人人过得好。接着，他强调了分田时候“抽多补少，抽肥补瘦”的原则，指出平均主义思想的不正确。对于特别贫苦的，和鳏寡孤独像黎嫒驰，对于劳动力特别强的，像福全，可以多分一份半到两份。

说到这里，有人就逗笑说，“多分一份半份的就可以娶堂客抱娃子了！”这话说完，许多只眼睛就向福全和春杏的脸上瞟，春杏连耳根子都烧红了，赶忙溜出去了。

这时，涂玉贞一边奶着崽一边对新五说：“你家里眼看就要生了，我提议给那细伢崽留一份。”这话说完，许多农民都拍掌表示赞成。新五坚决表示不留，大家又一定坚持他留。卢扬这时站起来说：

“照原则，我们分田有一口算一口，重病在分田那天未死的，仍分一份，马上分娩，但是分田那天没落地的，不能算数。因此，分不分给那细伢崽的田，就看他两条小腿赶得上赶不上吧！”

大家哄地笑了。

然后又讨论七星岗从事迷信（锡箔，香烛）手工业工人分田可以使他们转业的问题。大家一致同意照分。

最后，讨论转入到土改以后的生产问题上去了。首先，村主任报告

区政府转来的一个县政府通知：为执行中央五年良种普及计划，分配本县今年推广十万亩的任务，长沙并且派来五位同志到县里协助，由各级农协负责推广繁殖。推广的良种名叫“万利籼”，经过典型试验，证明它比目前种的“矮脚粘”每亩多产107斤谷子，而且，抽穗整齐，茎秆粗硬，不易倒伏，受得住肥料，经得起旱，对稻热病和钻心虫都具有强大抵抗力。凡想向政府借这种子的，在一个月内可以登记请求，秋收归还。登记表可以向农协生产委员会领取，分普通推广和特约示范繁殖两种。种子2月初可以贷下来，只有一个条件：不许把贷下的种子作口粮吃。

由于土质、地势的不同，同样大小的两块田地，价值却可以很悬殊。同时，多边形的湖南稻田，单凭面积来衡量田地也是不适宜的。从地势来说，最好是当中（平原）的田，其次是边上的农田，最坏的是港边的低田，因为随时可能被水冲了。从土质来说，最好是色灰体松的油沙土，其次是容易干的火烧土。自然，水源的远近也有关系。既然土地本身是这样复杂，分田就得以每丘田的历年平均产量为标准。这便需要大家评议产量了。

评产的手续是先由农民把自己每丘田的产量写在纸旗上——红旗是农民自己的田，白旗是由地主富农那里佃来的。然后由分配委员来评定。

插旗的头天晚上，农民家家都开起家庭会，凭记忆核算历年的产量，然后把自认为公允的产量写在纸旗子上。没有田的农民就帮着砍竹子，糊纸旗。第二天清早，新炉村的阡陌田野上，迎风刷刷地吹动起一面面的小旗子。插旗的时候，农民一家老幼都参加，有的农民还一面插，一面说：“如果评少了，我对不起毛主席！”也有的指着胸前的农协会员证发誓说：“如果瞒了产量，我愿意把这红绸子交出来。”

9点光景，新炉村四个小组和特约的评议委员到田里按丘踏查了。每组都有一个书记，一手提着簿子，一手拿着墨盒。当一丘田经过反复商议评定了时，书记就把评定的产量，注在旗子上，并且登记到簿子里。

大部分评议委员是五六十岁的农民，他们站在田埂上打量着躺在面前的田丘，就像一个老牧人望着牲口的牙齿来判断年岁那样熟悉。

农民经过思想动员，大致自报的都很公道。被评议委员在原报的加上三五斗的农民，也表示“大家评的总比一个人评的公道。”有的想起不久便贷下来的“万利籼”，还说：照改良的种子计算，评的一定还是太低了。

这时，农协把由地主没收来的斗争果实开了一个展览会，会场设在没收了的彭荫庭的住宅里。中间，特别富丽堂皇的那间大客厅，沦陷期

间彭荫庭曾在那里招待过多少过路的日本军官，像白川少将。这时，檐下挂了一块红布上面写着“地主生活展览会”。屋里，沿着百叶窗的梨木长案上，放着清代铸的金银元宝、金菩萨、金手镯、金钏、象牙雕的团扇、银筷子、玉做的饭碗。雕花的衣柜外面金字写着“堆金积玉”，四柱床靠里边还有一排为放零吃用的小抽屉。

“农民对这些器皿，珍品的名字和用处都不熟悉，只是对照着自己的生活，他们充满了愤恨。每看一件，就骂一声。比较熟悉的月莲，”望到那些精致摆设，心里更充满了仇恨。八年来，那些精致家具的主人曾怎样恶毒地虐待她啊！

这时，赵洁民同志在祠堂里召集了九个村的工作队干部，开分田会议。先汇报三个分会的分配情况。在这会议上，他发觉第三分会的田比较少，决定一分会应调出给二分会二十三石五斗田，二分会调出十七石四斗，这样，三个分会照分田人口计算，平均数便都在2.4或2.5斗了。

在全乡的基础上调整了之后，三个分会又分头聚在一起，来调整村与村的田地。新炉村的平均数比石桥村的多了0.04斗，比云湖村多了0.07斗，于是，三个村子商量怎样调整了。这不只是个数学问题。调整田地，要照顾到住房问题，也要照顾到农民的心理，移民在纸上看来最简单，但是实际困难最多。最后还是决定在与石桥村毗连的云湖村，分田时候留下相当于新炉村应调出的田地，然后新炉村再在与云湖村交界的地方，把应调出的给两村的田调给云湖村。

将近两个月来，回龙乡的农民起早睡晚，凭了自己团结的力量把地主一个个斗垮，把全乡人口的阶级成份毫厘不爽地划出来，接管了地主应交出的财产，也追出他们所分散隐藏的。所有这些成就，都由于农民不妥协，不怕威胁利诱，坚持到底的斗争。无疑地，过去一个多月是一场暴风骤雨。

在分田的前夕，回龙乡的原野就恰如雨过天晴那样的明朗灿烂，屋场里是一片喜气洋洋。耕田的农民，将享受到田地的收获，他可以挺了胸脯，指着他耕种的田地说：“这是我的了。”一个新的合理的秩序，像金黄色的曙光一样，在地平线上冒芽了。

3日夜间，彭氏家祠的正堂挤满了人——欢欢喜喜的人。

毛主席的挂像下面还是那张八仙桌，桌边坐着彭玉堂、卢扬、新五和农协的分配委员们。时间到了1951年1月的下旬了，祠堂里冷风向人们脖颈里飕飕地刮。农民自动从家里抱来一捆捆的稻草，在堂当中烧起一堆熊熊的火。福全和黎大明各坐在草堆的一端，一撮一撮地续着草。枯干的稻草茎格格响着，火光忽明忽晦地在农民一张张微笑着的脸上晃着，烘托出一片温暖，一片和谐，一片由心坎上溢出的喜悦。

一个个农民站在火焰旁边，报着人口（一家大大小小多半都已经站

在眼前了），报田地，报农具，然后分配组打开待分配的田地账簿，照那农民应分的数量来选择，大家当场提意见，本人也当场表示意见。年纪大的，就分近些的田。有水车的，就分给地势高些的田。农具报缺被缺，耕牛几户分一头，但是为了怕把牲口累坏了，规定一头牛顶多耕三石田。

分到福全的时候，春杏把草捆接过去了。福全报人口是“一个”，田“没有”，农具“没有”。大家坚持分他两份，分他一把犁，一把锄，他分到大坟坪的一大丘田，还和三户伙分了彭二虎的牛犊子。房子，他分到了彭二虎的书房。

大家正在拍掌向福全道贺的时候，月莲从外面挤进来了。她肩胛上，身上都是雪花，一路嚷着“新五哥，新五哥！”她挤进人圈，便扑到正在伏案登记着表册的新五面前。

“快回去吧！”她直着眼睛，张大了嘴，好像出了什么事。“快到七星岗找接生娘去，新五嫂肚子痛得在床上打滚呢！”

新五只好把表册交给另一个分配委员，从人丛中挤出去了。涂玉贞也不顾自己的分田，把孩子交给婆婆，也跟出去帮忙了。幸亏县政府在七星岗街上新设的诊疗所里有一个会接生的。新五嫂已经去那里检查过了。

夜里2点光景，分田正在进行着的时候，春杏端着一锅热腾腾的糯米饭放在八仙桌上说：“委员们辛苦了，垫垫肚子吧！”

大家都知道黎嫒驰也没什么多余，都不忍吃她的。她拄了杖，站在火旁说：“你们用了，我们母女才心安。这原是我们预备用来过年的。但是开天辟地穷人头一回分田，这比过一百个年还更喜欢！”

于是，有人从祠堂后面抱出一叠碗来，春杏就赶过去一勺勺地盛。正盛着，涂玉贞喘着气跑进来了。她站在八仙桌前，大声宣布：

“大家听着：新五嫂双喜临门，而且是一男一女！”

农民们听了震耳地鼓起掌来，把涂玉贞包围起来，问长问短。

跟着进来的新五，笑眯眯地接受了大家的道贺，然后，就又回到八仙桌上去登记表册了。

一清早，农民们爬起床来便冒着雪去踏看他们新分到的田地去了。站在田埂上，他们呆呆地对着覆盖在雪下面的田地出神，估量着肥料、种籽，也冥想着秋天一片油绿绿的收成。有的田还插上牌，上面写着“胜利田”或“翻身田”，旁边写着某某人置于某年某月。

翻身大会——土改的顶点，农民空前的大喜事，就在这天下午2点举行，地点还是彭氏家祠的广坪。这是第一分会三个村子合办的。几天来，三村的积极分子一直在筹备着。台上贴了嫣红的对联，一边写的是“翻天覆地消灭封建”，一边是“抗美援朝保家卫国”。横批是“天下农

民是一家”。

田埂上，从10点多钟便开始了庆祝的活动。东一队西一队的农民，扛着梭标，敲着锣鼓，向彭朱家屋场进发。最前面还有各村小学生，有的穿了花花绿绿的服装，头上扎了羊肚手巾，步子轻盈如雏燕般扭着秧歌；有的是打了红领巾；还有的扮上花脸，手里提着木剑木刀，在队伍里耍动。

七星岗的手工业工人们用竹子扎成两辆彩轿，轿身都用红绸子包起，中间用五色缤纷的绫缎嵌成四面框子，一辆悬了毛主席，朱总司令，刘少奇副主席和周恩来总理的画像，另一辆悬的是马恩列斯。

工人们有的担彩轿，有的走在旁边敲着锣鼓，有的悠悠地吹着唢呐。

福全在这一天的任务是照顾集中起来的耕牛。为了避免广坪上的拥挤，所有的牛都集中在祠堂前面的坟场里。有的牛牵来的时候，犄角上还扎了花花绿绿的彩球，有的身上挂着牌子，写着：“感谢毛主席，土地还了家，牛也还了家！”

开会之前，三村的农会干部把从地主家里追回的地契一捆捆地堆在会场中央。有的契纸陈旧得已经发了黄，还是清朝时代订下来的，有的是用绸布厚厚包起的。契上盖了清朝皇帝，民初军阀，日本帝国主义的伪组织，以及国民党民政衙门的印。契文里，写着种种残酷血腥的条件：“大头文约”是明明租了五斗田，契约上却写作七斗，而且世世代代都得照七斗缴租，“额租”是不论天灾人祸，一律照额缴租。“行租”是遇到灾年，佃户用轿子把地主抬来吃酒席，当场验禾纳租，但是减不减全看地主的兴致，时常，减掉的还抵不上一顿酒席钱。农民们望着那堆契纸，眼睛里充满了仇恨。

地契旁边，架起了五尺多长的一挂爆竹，是七星岗的工人们特别制作的。

人愈拥愈多，锣鼓的声音也愈来愈响了。准备演出戏剧节目的农民们也化好了装。石桥村的农民耍了一条五丈长的龙。描金的龙头，嘴一张一闭的，铜丝弹簧做的龙须，不停地颤动着。云湖村的节目是花鼓戏《三郎伴姐》，三郎的假胡子松了些，一来便掉下来了，逗得农民们笑个不住。新炉村演的是洞庭湖渔民的一种舞蹈：春杏穿了淡粉色的衫子，天蓝色的裙子，双臂撑了两面可开可阖的“蚌壳”，壳的外面是大红色的，里面是雪白的。月莲扮成一个打鱼的青年，一手提了只渔网，舞在春杏后面，作追赶捞捕的姿态。

开会之前，三村的小学生用脆嫩的嗓音领着大家唱了国歌。然后向国旗和毛主席像行鞠躬礼。随着，以三村农会主席，妇女会主席，民兵队长，雇贫农小组长和三村村主任组成的主席团便上了台。会于是正式

开始了。

在翻身大会上，农民们不停地热烈地发着宏愿。许多农民一辈子做梦也没上过高的地方向大家讲话的，都讲了。黎大明向大家保证一定好好生产，好好修堤坝。罗淑敏说，在分田上，男女平等了，要求在修堤坝时候，妇女也同样来分担。

福全鼓足了勇气跑上台去，他一手抓住毡帽，愣愣地向台下打了个躬说：

“我这黑脚板子不会讲话。但是吃水忘不了开井人，翻身忘不了共产党。没有毛主席，没有共产党，今天我就还踩在彭二虎的脚底下哪！”

台底下，农民举起胳臂浪涛般喊着：

“中国共产党万岁！”

“农民的恩人毛主席万岁！”

口号静下来，福全又接下去说：

“我明白地主和帝国主义是分不开的。彭荫庭、彭二虎一家人就是例子。我爷就糟蹋在他们手里了。但是那时候没有共产党帮我们扒开眼睛。我们都蒙在鼓里头！这回，要是美国学日本来欺负咱，不论他老美自己来，还是用台湾的那些‘汪精卫’打冲锋，我们一定起来，揍死他们这群乌龟！”

欢呼呵，鼓掌呵，声音震彻了新炉村的原野。

这时，一阵噼啪爆竹声响，一叠叠的地契，封建地主阶级的武器，人吃人的“合法凭据”，在火焰中燃烧起来了。随着黑烟，纸灰袅袅地向上飘，终于落在地上，被踩在泥里去了。

可咒诅的封建土地制度随着灰烬永远消失了，一个新的天地在农民和农民的子子孙孙面前灿烂地展开了。

7. THE FIRST TASTE OF HAPPINESS

In the newly emancipated Peng-Chu Homestead a tender undulating sound could be heard, regular, rhythmic, like the beat of the heart. It was Hsin-wu's twins crying.

The two babies lay in a pair of wicker baskets, yelling at the top of their lungs, sometimes alternately, sometimes in unison. They kicked up their heels and threw their arms about wildly, as though doing their best to announce to the world the good news: there won't be any more feudal exploitation in the new China—the new China is ours!

Hsin-wu's wife, her hair dishevelled, had to breastfeed the babies(tinned milk and Tu Yu-chen's milk also helped), as well as look after the other household duties. At the foot of the bed stood a gold lacquered stool confiscated from a certain landlord and on it were displayed a piece of cake sent along by solicitous peasant friend and a tin of condensed milk, already opened. Diapers of various size were hung up all around the room and the smell of the babies' excretion brought out by the woodfire laid in the oven pervaded the room.

Peasants kept going in and out of the room. Some brought food and delicacies. Some just wanted to "lend a hand". And some came out of a curiosity to see what those clever babies were like. Clever they certainly were, because they had chosen a most opportune moment to be born.

Instead of enjoying a bit more leisure now that the land had been distributed, Hsin-wu was, if anything, busier than before. He would leave his home early in the morning, buttoning up his coat as he went. After dashing from one small group to another the whole day, he would come back very late at night.

Enriched with the fruits of struggle, both Chun-hsing and Yuen-lien started thinking about their "trousseaux". The romance between Chun-hsing and Fu-chuan had long been a matter of common knowledge, and people had gradually stopped teasing them. But the first inkling people had that there was "something" between Yuen-lien and Li Ta-ming only came on the day of the Emancipation Meeting when the two partnered in long harvest dance, totally oblivious of the others. The two young couples all belong to the militia. It was this that drew forth from Hsin-wu the jocose remark that the joint wedding ought to be officiated through the Militia Headquarters.

Grandma Li's first reaction to her daughter's coming marriage was one of undiluted joy. She was proud of Fu-chuan who had none of the bad habits like gambling or swearing. He worked hard and was dependable. As she went on, however, tears began to trickle down her cheeks. Yes, she'd be very lonely once Chun-hsing left.

Chun-hsing understood perfectly what was troubling her mother and reassured her by telling her that Fu-chuan had promised that she would not be deserted. Since it was owing to Chairman Mao that we'd all been emancipated, a person like Grandma Li was certainly entitled to some better days. Fu-chuan would personally see to readjusting the rooms, so that mother and daughter needn't be separated.

On the evening of the day of the Emancipation Meeting, an "Exchange of Opinions" was held in the temple, attended by the Work Team cadres and various Peasants' Association officers. The purpose was to get the peasants to point out to the land reform cadres mistakes and deviations in their working methods and attitude during the period of the land reform. The next morning, all the Work Team comrades, scattered throughout the Huilung *hsiang* villages, met together first in the District Government Office and from there were led by Chao Chieh-min to the county seat to attend an enlarged cadres' meeting. There they were to sum up the experiences they had obtained and exchange opinions. Then they would go on to some other *hsiang* to take part in further land reform work.

Thus, the important job of consolidating the success of peasant emancipation devolved on the shoulders of people like Peng Hsin-wu—activists who rose from among the ranks of peasants.

On the morning of January 26, when Lu Yang was scheduled to start o, all of the Hsinlu Village peasants gathered together, amidst the music of gongs and drums, to give him a warm send-o . There were the militia men and women, harvest dancers, Pioneers wearing red ties and bearing flowers and, way up in front, Fu-chuan carrying a red banner on which were embroidered the characters, "Victory in Land Reform". This strong well-organised and disciplined procession of peasants picked its way along the telephone poles and went towards the Seven Star Slope.

With Shuang-chuan punting, the boat slowly glided towards Shihma *hsiang* on the other side of Pigeon River. Standing near the helm, Lu Yang first pointed at the dyke and then formed a trumpet with his hands, through

which he shouted to the peasants who had come to see him off : "Work on those dykes and have a good year. Remember, this year you're bringing in your own harvest."

At this, many of the peasants standing on the dyke shouted back that they would do what he said, and Peng Shu-min certainly expressed the sentiment of the majority when she shouted in a voice slightly off-key: "Come back at the Autumn Festival, Comrade Lu, and taste our new rice!"

The boat had almost touched the other bank. Seeing that the peasants were still reluctant to go back, Lu Yang shouted again, his voice echoing back to him faintly over the icy river: "Don't forget to strengthen your organisation!"

The same evening, a meeting of Hsinlu Village Peasants' Association Officers and activists was called by Hsin-wu and Village Chairman Peng Yu-tang. One topic came up to which Uncle Kuang-lin, Tu Yu-chen and Lo Yung-nien all contributed factual details—the evils brought by water. Uncle Kuang-lin recalled eloquently how his whole family had suffered from the "tyranny of water" all through the years. The crops would have just begun to display tassels, when along would come a huge flood. The dyke would collapse and everything sink under water. Lo Yung-nien's land was situated on a high ridge to which the water supply was controlled by the landlord, Lo Pei-jung, his uncle. During drought years, he had to buy water from the latter, using the "green sprouts" as his security. What frequently happened was that the interest piled up, with the result that when autumn came along, his entire harvest, over which he had sweated for a year, would go into Lo Pei-jung's barn.

The Village Chairman then reported on Winter Production Plans for the whole county. The central work was to be the repairing of dams and dykes, and getting it done before spring cultivation began. He also explained how, in the other districts which had gone through land reform already, every family made out its own production plan. Then discussion began as to how they should make their own production plan.

Everyone agreed that two sub-committees should be set up under the Production Committee of the Peasants' Association, on the basis of the four small groups of the village, one on dyke-repairing and one on the repairing of the reservoirs. Seventy per cent of the expenses involved were to be met by the peasants themselves, the amount being determined by the degree of benefits enjoyed by individual plots of land. Farmhands and poor peasants

could pay with actual physical labour. For the 30 per cent deficit, they could apply for a government loan.

The work has already been planned by the County Committee on Dyke Repairing. The section that Hsinlu Village was supposed to be responsible for extended from the Seven Star Slope to the Shaho, altogether 12 *li* in length. The width was to be increased from the original 4.5 feet to 20 feet, and the height from the original 10 feet to 33.8 feet. The local sub-committee would take care of the division of labour among the four small groups as well as the driving in of stakes.

There were 33 reservoirs of various size in the village and most of them badly needed to be repaired. It was decided that for this year repair work would be done on a selective basis, repairing only the most dilapidated and those with the greatest capacity in water-reservation and irrigation. If there were time and labour to spare, new reservoirs would be opened. For instance, the reservoir that watered the largest area in this village was the "Horseneck Reservoir" near the Big Graveyard, but it had long been leaking like a sieve. The cornerstones were out of position and on the verge of breaking and the main pillar had already toppled down in the flood last year. The plank to keep the water back had also fallen down. That was where they needed to put in some good hard work without delay.

Schoolmaster Peng Kuo-chang was the next one to stand up and report. Ever since the conclusion of class differentiation, he had been conducting a "character recognition" class for peasants in Big House Lo three evenings each week. The number of students, he said, has grown so that there wasn't even standing room left, let alone benches for sitting. Old people like Grandma Li had also registered. What would the Association advise?

Hsin-wu said that the best thing would be for them first to take the problem up in class. If the public demand was really pressing, a solution would surely be found somehow.

Early the next morning, when the fields were still wrapped in a haze, the Hsinlu Village peasants, old and young, under the leadership of small-group officers, began to journey towards the dyke near the Slope. Some carried hoes or shovels, some baskets for carrying the earth and some pushed handcarts. The winter sun was smiling warmly on a Huilung *hsiang* decked in silver. Along the way, they could see nail-shaped prints made by the magpies in the snow. Treading lightly on the snow-covered path, the peasants

chattered, laughed and sang as they went on their way.

"Grandma Li! Surely at your age you could stay behind and let Chun-hsing go alone!"

The remark was made in obvious admiration of her "activeness" and not intended to dissuade her from going.

Grandma Li, with a meal-basket dangling loosely from one arm, turned around: "Chun-hsing's got her land and I've got mine, haven't I? How can she go in my place then? I've lived for over 50 years and this is the first time I repair the dyke 'for my own good'. How could I have the heart to stay at home?"

On the dyke the Construction Team from town had already marked out with chalk and willow branches the projected height and width of the dyke, according to an All-County Plan. The moment the peasants arrived, Hsin-wu summoned together the small-group leaders and divided up the work into "zones". Some of the peasants started digging earth at the foot of the dyke. Some busied themselves with carrying basketfuls of earth up the terrace-shaped slope. Above and below, you could see the energetic peasants at work, perspiring freely in spite of the bitter cold weather. As the "squares" of various size got deeper, shovels of solid, hard, wintry earth were added on to the dyke. Thus slowly against a cold blue sky, the dyke began to grow.

That went on until the sun had gone down behind the hills. The small-group leaders had to beat their gongs three times before the peasants reluctantly left off.

"Now that the local tyrants are down, it seems to be pretty easy to tackle the water tyrant."

This came from Uncle Kuang-lin, as he jauntily swung his hoe on to his shoulder. Each then went back to the group he belonged to and the peasants started on their homeward journey. In the deepening twilight, more than one head turned from time to time to look at the visibly heightened dyke with pride and elation.

On the way, the groups also discussed launching an emulation drive to increase efficiency.

That evening the classroom in the Lo Primary School was even more crowded than ever. Children of seven or eight rubbed elbows with their elders. His mind busy with the practical problems involved, Peng Kuo-chang was fully aware that it was going to be a red-letter day in the cultural

emancipation of the Hsinlu Village peasants.

When Li Ta-ming complained that no more copies of the "Elementary Reader for Workers and Peasants" were available at the Local *Hsinhua* Bookstore, he nodded sympathetically, but there was a suggestion in his manner that "everything would come out all right".

"Peasant comrades!" At these words of Peng Kuo-chang's the noise quieted down. "You have worked hard the whole day at the dyke and you must be very tired. Can anyone tell me why you're still so enthusiastic about studying?"

They could think of a lot of reasons. One said in the past he had been cheated out of his pay while working for the landlord and he didn't want it to happen again. Another said he would like to be able to read the "Blackboard News". Here someone nudged Grandma Li. "And why do *you* want to study, you who already have one foot in the grave?"

Puffing up her hollow cheeks, Grandma Li replied: "When I was going around begging with Chun-hsing, many were the times I'd stopped outside a private school and peeked in at the landlords' children studying inside and learning all kinds of things. Those were the days for the landlords. Now the world belongs to us peasants, and we must study and learn too. Am I not right?"

Her speech was greeted with a wave of applause.

Other peasants also told about what they had suffered through "having no education". Some got swindled when the landlords made out contracts which they could not read. Some could not even read the lots they drew and were pressganged into the KMT military service. Fu-chuan also spoke up: "If we can't read, we can't look at the newspapers and can't tell the truth from the rumours! We must know what are the things the reactionaries said and what are the things Chairman Mao said!"

Seeing that the mass feeling was so high, Peng Kuo-chang said: "Peasant comrades! Your demand for literacy is natural and legitimate. The difficulty, however, is in the shortage of classrooms and teachers. Ours is a fairly big village, seven or eight hundred people, and we have only two primary schools. Of course free education will be provided for all by the government before long. But the problem is: What are we to do now?"

There was temporary lull and everybody began to think.

"I'm willing to contribute five *tou* of grain out of what I've received in land distribution so that we may also have a school in the Peng-Chu

Homestead!"

The one that spoke was Tu Yu-chen, nursing her baby as usual. She turned her head slightly and glanced meaningfully at her ex-ferryman husband, who promptly raised his hand in support of the motion, as he, too, had suffered from being illiterate. The ball started rolling. One *tou* from Uncle Kuang-lin, some from Grandma Li and some from Fu-chuan. Twenty-odd *tan* was got together in no time at all by the peasants of the Peng-Chu Homestead. Those of the Li Garden followed.

At Lo Yung-nien's suggestion, the peasants of the Big House Lo and the Seven Star Slope, who already had schools of their own, also chipped in and helped with small amounts of grain.

At this point, Head of the Women's Small Group Lo Shu-min had a brainstorm. There used to be a good deal of "school land" in the villages, but the landlords usurped it all. They collected rent but didn't build any school. In land distribution all "public lands" had gone into the pool but the Association reserved two per cent of the "public land", and further confiscated a whole lot of lumber and coffins from the landlords. They had carpenters and builders right in the village. Why couldn't the Association contribute the land and the building material and the peasants contribute labour power? They could then build a school house easily.

Everybody applauded the brilliant idea.

Going home in the starlight, the peasants from the two homesteads carried on heated discussions about the architecture and setup of their future school. It seemed as though the building had already risen up before their eyes and was no longer only in their dreams.

When the future marriage of Fu-chuan and Chun-hsing, of Li Ta-ming and Yueh-lien was taken up during a militia meeting, everyone agreed that these two couples symbolised the true emancipation of the peasants of Hsinlu Village. The two bridegrooms both used to be farmhands, kicked around by the landlords; of the two brides, one had worked as a maid-servant for Peng Erh-hu and the other was within an inch of becoming a direct victim of feudal society—it was learnt that the consumptive boy to whom Chun-hsing was originally promised had recently died. The double wedding was set for the 29th of the Twelfth Moon, according to the lunar calendar, and it was to take place in the office of the *hsiang* government. The militia body was prepared to pool its strength and resources and make it a really big event.

The two couples were moved beyond words when the meeting dispersed. In the old society all they had to expect was to be spat and trampled upon, and now a new life was open before them. They knew that this would not have been possible without Chairman Mao and the Communist Party. Hence they planned to write a letter to the benefactor—Chairman Mao, in which, besides thanking him for helping them in their struggle, they would tell him the future plans the four of them had made. It was naturally a bold thing to do, but they felt they ought to do it.

By this time Grandma Li and Chun-hsing had also moved into the wing of Peng Erh-hu's house as arranged. All three of them would get up before dawn and go down to the fields to weed, sift fertiliser and repair the edge of the paddy fields which became straight and shiny like rails. That much done, they would go work on the dyke.

On the "Kitchen-God Day", the Association decided to give the two couples a day off so that they could go shopping for the things they would need in the "bridal chambers". Chun-hsing and Fu-chuan had already converted some of the "fruits" they got from land distribution into cash, and they went forth happily toward the Seven Star Slope.

The street certainly looked different. Formerly, the peasants were only there to sell, and now scores of them could be seen, with baskets on their arms, negotiating to buy fish and ham for the New Year. The restaurant "Home of Spring" which only catered to the landlords in the past now advertised its "economic meals" to appeal to the peasants. Newly-made implements piled up in the blacksmith shops, with name tags pasted on them of the people who had sent in the orders. Six new cotton-bowing machines from Hsiangtan were being operated in the four cotton stores. An atmosphere of ease and prosperity enveloped the whole street. When Fu-chuan and Chun-hsing entered Chou Jui-hsiang's department store to buy some towels and a wash basin, they saw quite a number of people from other villages who seemed also to be on the look out for various things. Thought Chun-hsing, "Strange, is everybody getting married?"

At the west end of the street a new store had just opened—in many ways entirely different from the other stores. A placard told the passers-by that it was the "Mobile Section of the Hunan Trade Company". The attendants of this state-owned enterprise had on light-blue uniforms. The way it did business was a pleasant surprise to the peasants. In the past the peasants had to sell their by-products at an impossibly low price to the merchants, from

whom again they had to buy in industrial products at a high price. The Mobile Section bought in pig bristles, eggs, tea and tobacco leaves. Being free from middlemen's exploitation it was in a position to offer better prices, frequently 30 or 40 per cent higher than what peasants could get from the shops. At the same time it sold all kinds of equipment for production to the peasants, including things like new-model implements, refined cotton and chemical fertilisers, at a low price.

What pleased Fu-chuan and Chun-hsing most was a copy of the eagerly-awaited "Elementary Reader", which they picked up at a Rural Branch Office of the *Hsinhua* Bookstore. Among other things they also bought in exercise-book and a pencil for each of them, and then the crowning touch—a coloured portrait of Chairman Mao.

Li Ta-ming and Yueh-lien, who had gone to the Shihchiao Village Co-operative Store instead, also came back with armfuls of packages. In addition, they brought back some of the co-op's publicity pamphlets. From them, the peasants learnt that already over 2,000 farmhands, poor and middle peasants had joined the co-op, and that with the conclusion of land reform they would develop further and take in all the nine villages of the *hsiang*. Landlords and rich peasants were, however, excluded. Each share cost only one *tou* of grain, and arrangements could be made for payment in installments. Yueh-lien then mentioned how much things like soap, candles, oil, homespun cloth and salt cost there, and the prices were really cheap. "The co-op is the place to go if you want to get good things and cheap," commented some of the peasants.

At the general call sent out by the *hsiang* Association to make redoubled e orts at hoeing, fertilising and threshing, the Hsinlu Village Production Committee also got busy organising Mutual-aid Small Groups. Benefiting from the experience of the Peasants of North China, they spontaneously co-operated in their production work, thus solving the problem of the shortage of implements, draught animals and labour power. The way they did it was by passing out bamboo chips, one hundred to a family. Each unit of full-term labour was worth ten chips, half-term labour, five chips. The payment for full-term labour was six catties of grain. Each unit of animal labour was reckoned as four and a half units of human labour. Accounts were settled once every five days and at the end of each month, they would make a general clearance.

To meet the growing demand for fertiliser during the period for spring cultivation, the Production Committee was making plans for collecting 150 *tan* of grain and setting up a lime factory so that fertiliser could be mass-produced.

The "Blackboard News" announced the "production plans" made by the various families in Hsinlu Village. Young people who were strong would repair the dyke and cultivate their own land. If there was still time left, they would go far into the hills to work at reclaiming wasteland. Older men would weed, sweep leaves and sift and store up fertiliser, and older women could spin yarn, make shoes and sandals and look after chickens and pigs.

One thing had caused a good deal of comment among the villagers: so far there had been no trace of production plans for Fu-chuan and Li Ta-ming, two of the most generally admired activists.

An idea had occurred to lots of peasants while pondering over their production plans. Why couldn't we also write to Chairman Mao and tell him about our emancipation just as the two couples were doing? Our improved livelihood, our plan for tomorrow—surely these were things we should let Chairman Mao know.

Schoolmaster Peng Kuo-chang was the one to whom most people turned. Every day over a dozen "letters" would be handed to him many of which were actually scraps of paper with a barely intelligible sentence or two, the stationery as well as the handwriting showed a tremendous variety. Some of them contained very detailed homely information like what they would plant on their newly-acquired land and how family discord (especially among in-laws) was smoothed out after land distribution.

It was Uncle Kuang-lin who remarked wisely that they should ask Peng Kuo-chang to incorporate everybody's ideas into one composite whole. Eyeing the sheaves and sheaves of letters on the table, he said, "We have hundreds of thousands of villages like ours in China, don't we? If you write a letter and I write a letter and everyone writes a letter, won't Chairman Mao get tired out?"

His idea met with general approval. Thus, in the literacy class of the night school, collaboration in letter-writing became an item of universal interest.

Each peasant stood up and told what he wanted to have put in and Peng Kuo-chang took everything down swiftly.

"Say that in the past those who could read in our village could be

counted off on one hand and now many of us know over 100 characters!"

"Say this year on 'Kitchen-God Day' we had glutinous rice. We also bought two new coverlets. In the past dried potato was all we had, even on New Year's Day, and our clothes were in tatters and there was only one quilt for the whole family!"

Fu-chuan said, "Be sure to let Chairman Mao know that I wouldn't have got a wife if it hadn't been for land reform!"

"And Chun-hsing?" yelled the peasants in great glee. "You must say something too, Chun-hsing!"

When they finally got the remark out of her, Chun-hsing was already in tears. "I—I'd be a widow now if it hadn't been for Chairman Mao!"

On the morning of February 4 (the 28th of the Twelfth Moon, according to the old calendar), the two couples, accompanied by the Village Chairman Peng Yu-tang, went to the District Government to apply for their marriage licences.

A charcoal fire was burning in the District Chairman Shao Tsu-chang's office. Portraits of Chairman Mao, Commander-in-chief Chu, Vice-Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou decorated the walls. Since the District Chairman was having a meeting inside, Peng Yu-tang used the opportunity to introduce these national leaders to the four young people, who stood for a long time under each picture gaping with undisguised interest and admiration.

At last the District Chairman came out and listened to Peng Yu-tang describing the miserable past of the young couples and the courage they showed in struggling. Peng Yu-tang also took care to point out that it was during land reform that their love for each other grew.

Shao Tsu-chang then asked a few questions about their personal background and made sure that they were getting married of their own free will. Then he produced application forms from a drawer, and the young people filled in their names, age and home town. Under the heading "profession", Peng Yu-tang came to their rescue. For the men, one character sufficed, "cultivation"; for the girls, similarly one character, "weaving". The forms were subsequently passed on to the Clerical Section where the licences were issued.

At this point, Hsiung Peng, the Secretary of the Communist Party's District Branch, also arrived on the scene. He congratulated the two couples and the conversation turned to their plans after marriage.

"Chun-hsing and I have already decided," Fu-chuan was the first to

speak up. "We're both young. I have no family and she has only her mother. The two of them could easily support themselves by labouring. Therefore I request to be allowed to join the People's Liberation Army."

"We too have decided," said Li Ta-ming, rising from his seat. "If the People's Liberation Army wants me, as a soldier, as a cook or as anything, I'm ready to go!"

"Aren't all four of you already members of the militia?" asked Hsiung Peng.

"Yes," replied Fu-chuan. "We joined the militia to watch the landlords. Now that land reform is completed, the Peasants' Association can take care of them. We know Chiang Kai-shek is the master of the landlords, and American imperialism is the master of Chiang Kai-shek. Until their masters are overthrown, the landlords will never really behave!"

When the District Chairman and Hsiung Peng heard this, they both shook hands with each of the four young people. Hsiung remarked, "I'm sure what the People's Liberation Army needs are just such emancipated peasants like yourselves, courageous, loyal, and with a high level of political consciousness."

When the young couples returned, they were met at the ferry place by the entire militia body. The dyke-repairers also quit early, and, carrying implements on their shoulders, they trailed behind the two couples to the Peng-Chu Homestead. On the way everybody sang songs.

In front of the temple, once more a platform was put up. Red scrolls on either side read: "Freedom in marriage!" and "Companions in revolution!" Even the old trees on the open ground had red silk streamers tied around them. The slanting sun threw a pale golden veil over the portrait of Chairman Mao.

Amidst the music of gongs and drums and the rising and falling of harvest songs, the two couples mounted the stage. Chun-hsing and Yueh-lien had on newly-made gowns with bright patterns. Grandma Li wore a blue silk gown with fur lining which was confiscated from some landlord. And Fu-chuan and Li Ta-ming, too, were in new blue uniforms.

Under the supervision of Peng Yu-tang, the young people put their seals on the marriage certificates. Scattered shouts came from the peasants below. "Come on, bridegrooms! Speech!"

Fu-chuan and Li Ta-ming stood up and announced, one after the other, that they were going to join the army after they got married and that their

wives had consented.

In the midst of the loud applause that greeted this announcement Li Chen-nan's voice was heard: "Chairman, I want to join too!" A forest of arms were raised to express the same intention.

Here, Hsin-wu felt an explanation was needed, hence he went up to the stage, and the people quieted down. "Peasant comrades! It's good that so many of you should want to join the Liberation Army after you have been emancipated through land reform. This shows that not only has land reform broken the economic chains of us peasants but it has also stimulated our patriotism. It has made us see that the motherland belongs to us all and it is up to us to defend it.

"Yet, joining the Liberation Army impulsively without careful deliberation beforehand isn't right either. I would like to ask those who demand to enlist in the Liberation Army to study the examples of these two newly-married couples. They have been discussing this since the day of the Emancipation Meeting and have got everything finally settled. They know how to carry on production alongside with their enlistment, since production work is just as important as national defence.

"After you have thoroughly considered this matter, if you still think you should join, then the Association and the Village Government will certainly recommend you, provided you're in good health and have the consent of your family."

There was another wave of applause.

The next one to go up was Peng Kuo-chang. After he had carefully unrolled a sheet of paper, he addressed the audience: "During the last ten days or so, lots of people in our village, the old as well as the young, have offered to write to Chairman Mao. Now I have collected all of your ideas and have put them together in one letter. I have tried to keep your original remarks but avoided repetitions. Let me take this good opportunity to read it aloud to you. If there are things you don't approve, say so and we'll change them. If everything is all right, we'll stamp and address the envelope and in five or six days, Chairman Mao will have it in Peking!"

Immediately everybody became quiet and attentive. This was their letter, therefore of the utmost importance. In a clear and resonant voice, Peng Kuo-chang started to read, articulating each word clearly:

> "Our Beloved Chairman Mao, Saviour of the Chinese People:
>
> "We are peasants of Hsinlu Village, Huilung *hsiang*. We are writing to you to express our

thanks for the emancipation you helped us obtain and also to report to you on our future plans.

"There are still in our village people who can remember the year 1927 when you led us in a bitter struggle against the reactionary warlords and landlords. Later on, you were forced to leave because the dirty swine, Chiang Kai-shek, betrayed the revolution, and a period of utter darkness began to come upon us. On the one hand, the landlords took staggering rents from us; on the other, we had to pay taxes and provide manpower to meet all kinds of impossible demands from a reactionary government. For over 20 years, we rice-growers had not been able to taste one grain of rice. We subsisted entirely on dried potato strips. Our clothes were shot through with holes and a pair of sandals were a great luxury to us. In the night, we slept together with draught animals in damp and filthy barns. Our life was not even on a par with that of some kinds of animals, and all the time open to the threat of Chiang Kai-shek.

"In August 1949 you came back. That is to say, the Army and cadres you led and trained came back. To us peasants, that was like coming upon an oasis in a desert or seeing a withered tree bursting forth in bloom. Needless to say, the landlords still had fond dreams of another 'comeback', and among ourselves there were not lacking backward elements who shied away from struggling against the landlords and blamed everything instead on 'fate'. Finally, however, all of us woke up, and once we are awakened, we know how to struggle relentlessly.

"For the last 30 years, you and those under your leadership have led the Chinese people in their determined struggle to free China from its semi-colonial fetters and now we have our first taste of happiness. We owe all this entirely to you. With your shining example and the example of the Communist Party before us, we have come to see that all the talk about 'fate' and 'horoscope' has no truth at all."

"Your instruction has helped us to change our fate. Our village has now carried through land reform, wiped out the feudal system of exploitation and cut apart the chains of slavery. We can now stand up erect and be the masters of our village.

"We want especially to tell you about two marriages: between Fu-chuan and Chun-hsing, Li Ta-ming and Yueh-lien. All four are members of the militia. The bridegrooms both used to be farmhands without a *sheng* of land or a roof above them that they could call their own. Now each has got some land, a house and a wife. Chun-hsing used to be a child-bride, and Yueh-lien a maid-servant. Both were direct victims of feudal society. And now both have got land and houses of their own and have chosen their own life companions of their free will.

"There are altogether 192 families in our village, of which 115 were families of landless or almost landless farmhands or poor peasants before land reform. After we carried out land reform, we got from the landlords 82 *tan* and seven *tou* of marshy land, 12 *tan* and five *tou* of dry land, 45 farm implements, six oxen, 52 rooms both big and small, and over 4,000 catties of surplus foodstuffs. In the past, both the land beneath our feet and the roof over our heads belonged to others, we dared not complain or shed tears. Now we have our own houses and our own land, and a prosperous future is well in sight.

"Now that a breathing spell is given us economically, we have also thought of studying culture. Since the beginning of class differentiation, everyone in our village has begun to learn to read. Now we can tell you with pride that, except for children under five, everybody in our village can at least write his own name. Some have mastered as many as 300 characters. It's a momentous achievement and the starting point of the development of our peasant culture. We shall go steadily on and on, the sky is the limit.

"We understand that these changes have only become possible with the liberation of the whole nation. Only with a government of our own could we have obtained the present conditions. We realise that the future success of the nation rests largely on our efforts at production and in protecting the people's democratic dictatorship in the rural areas. We also realise that the consolidation of national security is indispensable to the effective protection of our hard-won victory.

"Therefore we have decided to devote all our power to repairing dykes and water-gates and cultivating and fertilising the land, so that in the coming autumn we can bring in a bumper harvest to repay your goodness and help strengthen our nation economically.

"In national defence, we shall also play our part, whether as local militia, volunteers or as fighters of the Liberation Army. We fully realise that national defence is the first condition for safe-guarding the fruits of our anti-feudal struggle and for consolidating our victory.

"There is a lot else we might tell you. We are planning to build a school of our own. We will soon have our own co-op. A medical clinic will soon be established near the Seven Star Slope. We have also heard that the 'vet' in town will soon come around with a whole team of medical workers to help immunise our animals against diseases.

"After the autumn harvest the women in the village plan to open a weaving factory with the financial backing of the co-op. We are convinced our days will become steadily better and better. Today is but the beginning of a yet more glorious tomorrow.

"We know if we really cherish our happiness, we should persist in the Resist-America-and-Aid-Korea Campaign until we have completely overthrown the enemies to our happiness—American imperialism and its lackey, Chiang Kai-shek.

"Hence, we peasants of Hsinlu Village have solemnly undertaken to do the following things:

"One, repair all dykes and water-gates, step up spring cultivation and increase the production of foodstuffs.

"Two, enlarge and strengthen the organisation of the Peasants' Association and the militia. Heighten our vigilance against counter-revolutionary elements and strengthen public security.

"Three, support whole-heartedly the campaign to resist America and aid Korea with material and manpower and carry on the revolution to a victorious end.

"We wish you:

"Unbreakable health like the rock's and

"Eternal brightness like the sun's.

(Signed by)
The whole body of Hsinlu Village peasants
January 28, 1951."

柒　为了更伟大的明天

翻了身的彭朱家屋场，日夜都有娇嫩的声音。一起一伏地，像脉息的悸动，使人强烈地感到重生：那就是新五家里一对细伢崽的哭声。

两个细伢崽各躺在一只藤篮里，有时一答一应地，有时合起喉咙来哭。随哭四肢随像猴子般踢踹，像是尽他们所有的气力在向世界宣布着：新的中国再没有封建剥削了——新的中国是属于他们的了！

新五嫂披着凌乱的头发一边轮班奶着崽，一边操持着家务。床头是一张由地主家没收来的漆金茶几，上面放着农友们送的鸡蛋糕。屋子四角挂的都是形状大小不一的尿布，屋里弥漫着尿布被灶上一块燃着的树根烘出的婴儿的尿味。

屋里陆续不断地出入着农友们，有的是来送吃送喝的，有的经常来帮忙，也有的是来结识一下很会选择出世时间的这对细伢崽。

田分完了，但是新五比分田以前还忙了些。他清早扣上钮子出去，便往四个农协小组跑，很晚很晚他才回得来。

春杏和月莲分到斗争果实以后，两个都筹备起嫁衣来了。春杏和福全两个要好的事，村里大家都晓得了。他们已渐渐不是大家戏谑的对象了。但是月莲和黎大明之间的恋爱，到翻身大会那天，当他们忘情地手挽着手跳秧歌的时候，才透露出来。这两对青年伴侣都是民兵，所以新五半逗笑着说，他们的婚事应该由民兵大会来主持。

当黎媛驰听到女儿这门亲事的时候，最初她心里自然是替女儿高兴，夸福全不赌钱，不骂街，干活勤快，是个正派小伙子；但说的时候，她却簌簌掉下泪来——她想到春杏走了以后，自己的孤零。

春杏猜出母亲的心事，马上告诉她，福全说了，毛主席帮咱都翻了身，他彭福全一定给受了一辈子苦的黎媛驰一点好日子过，他一定想法子把房子跟人调换一下，使母女不分离。

翻身大会开完，当晚工作队和农协联合在祠堂里召集了一个检讨会，请农民们指出在土改过程中，干部们在工作方法和作风上的缺点和错误。第二天早晨，散在回龙乡各村的工作队同志们便集中区政府，然后由赵洁民同志率领去县里开扩大干部会议，总结这一段过程的经验，然后再分到别的乡里去进行土改。

于是，巩固农民翻身胜利的重大工作，便落到像新五这样由农民队伍中间出现的骨干分子的肩头上了。

1月26日，卢扬起身那天的清早，各屋场一阵锣声，新炉村的全体农民都热烈地出来欢送了。男女民兵们和敲锣打鼓的秧歌队形成仪仗队，脖颈上系了红领巾的少年儿童队队员捧着鲜花，福全扛了那面新绣

的“土改胜利”红旗走在前面。新炉村农民壮大、整齐、有组织的队伍，沿了电线杆子向七星岗进发了。

当摆渡朝着斑鸠河的对岸石马乡滑动时，卢扬迎风站在船头，着重地指着河岸，用手卷成传音筒，对送行的农民嚷：“修好堤坝，争取丰收呵——今年你们打自己的谷子了！”

堤岸上许多农民浸在惜别的情绪里，听到这话，大家扬起胳臂来向他保证。彭淑敏还嘎了嗓子说：“八月节卢同志来吃我们的新米哒！”

摆渡快靠岸了，卢扬看大家还不肯回去，就又嚷——声音砰击在冰冷的河面上，回响异常清脆：“认了字，好好学习政治，更别忘了巩固你们的组织！”

当天晚上，新五和村主任彭玉堂便召集新炉村的农协委员们和各小组的积极分子开会。在这个会上，光林叔、涂玉贞、罗永年都诉了历年“水”给他们的苦。光林叔痛苦地追忆斑鸠河这个“水霸”害得他一家大小多么惨！眼看上了穗的禾，一场大水，堤一垮，就都淹了。罗永年的田在高垅上，地主罗培荣（他的叔叔）把持了“水分”（塘坝）。遇到旱年，他得用青苗抵押向罗培荣买水，秋后利上滚利，辛辛苦苦打的谷子又滚到罗培荣的仓里去了。

接着，村主任报告全县的冬季生产计划。重点是赶春耕以前，完成修堤坝工作，并且介绍了土改完成的地区，家家户户怎样订生产计划。然后，便展开本村生产计划的讨论。

在农协生产委员会下面，大家同意设两个委员会，都以本村四个农协小组为基础：一个负责修堤，另一个负责修塘坝。两项工程的经费，决定基本上都由农民按受益的程度来摊筹，准许雇贫农以工代款，不足的数目再请政府贷。

修堤的工程已由全县的修堤委员会统一设计好了，本村担任由七星岗到沙河的一段，共长十二里，宽度由原来的4.5尺加到20尺，高度由原来的10尺加到33.8尺。本村的修堤委员会负责内部四个小组的分工及插桩工作。

本村大小有三十三座塘坝，大半都年久失修了。大家决定今年首先在现有的基础上，重点地修补，增加它们蓄水灌溉的力量，如果有余力，再去开新塘。像大坟坪的马颈坝，是本村灌溉面积最大的塘，但是漏得已像米筛子一般了。坝墩子东倒西歪的，眼看就要崩裂，将军柱去年被水冲倒，拦水板也塌了，必须先把它抢修起来。

从划阶级以来，每星期三个晚上一直在大屋罗给农民们开识字班的彭国璋，这时站起来报告说：自从分了田，他那里的学生愈来愈多，连黎媛驰那样年纪的人，也来报名了，以前是凳子不够坐，最近，连站也站不下了。他问农协要办法。新五说，这个问题拿到识字班上去酝酿，

群众的要求真正高涨了，办法也一定出来了。

第二天，天还没有大亮，蜿蜒的田埂上，新炉村有组织的农民老老少少便在各组组长率领下，向着七星岗的堤上进发了，有的扛着锄锹，提着簸箕，有的推着手车。冬天早晨的阳光，灿烂温煦地照着，回龙乡直像是镀了银。覆在田上的雪，印着“个”字形的喜鹊爪痕。农民们的脚咯吱吱地踩在雪上，他们一路上有说有笑，歌声悠扬地震荡着。

“黎媛驰，这样年纪，有春杏来，你可以歇歇啰！”这么说的人，语气间不是劝她回去，实在是夸奖她积极。

胳臂上挂着一只饭篮的黎媛驰回过头来说：

“春杏分了田，我婆子也分了田，她代我不得！我活了五十多年，这回是头一回给自己修堤，我有心肝蹲在家里！”

堤上，县里派来的工程队已经照全县的设计，用石灰和柳枝把应加的高度和宽度划了出来。到了堤上，新五便召集四组组长，把各组担任的地区划清。

于是，有的农民在堤脚划定的地方挖土方，有的沿着砍成梯级形的堤坡一担担地挑土。堤上堤下，黑压压一片人，尽管是隆冬，还擦着汗干活。各种形状的土方愈挖愈深，一锹锹挖出的硬邦邦的冬土，贴到堤身上去了。堤随着向晴蓝的冬空长高起来。

太阳落到黄古岭后面的时分，各组组长连打了三遍锣，农民们才不甘心地歇了手。

“恶霸打倒了，水坝看来就好对付了！”光林叔扛起锄来，很满意地说。随后，他便站到彭朱家屋场这一组的队伍里，沿了田埂往回走，随走，农民们随回过头，在暮色苍茫中兴奋地望着加高了的堤身。

一路上，各组间已在酝酿着竞赛。

那天晚上，大屋罗的罗氏小学的教室里外挤满了人。有七八岁的小娃子，也有比黎媛驰年纪还大的老人家。彭国璋充分预感到今晚上对于新炉村农民文化翻身的重要，所以当黎大明抱怨七星岗街上新华书店农村服务社的《工农文化读本》卖光了时，彭国璋只同他点点头，像是说：问题都会迎刃而解的。

“农友们，”彭国璋用手招呼大家安静下来。“大家修了一天的堤，辛苦了！我问问大家，究竟为什么这么累，还这么热心学习？”

农民们抢着讲。有的说，过去给地主做工，不会算账吃了亏；有的是为了好看黑板报。这时，有人指了黎媛驰说：“你黄土壅了半节哒，还学习做么哩？”黎媛驰鼓起没了牙的腮帮说：

“过去我带着春杏讨饭的时候，常常站在私塾门口，眼巴巴望着地主的孩子念书，学本事。那时候是地主的天下。今天，是咱农民的天下了，咱也得学本事才行！”

大家听了鼓起掌来。

跟着，别的农民也诉起“文化苦”。有的在写租约时候上过地主的当，有的抽丁时候认不得签，出了冤枉丁。福全说：

“不认字就看不得报，就辨不出哪是谣言哪是真话；哪是反动派的话，哪是毛主席的话！”

彭国璋看见群众情绪这么热烈，就说：

“农友们，大家对于文化要求的高涨是很自然的。但是目前我们的困难是教室不够，教员不够。我们这么大个村子，七八百口子人，只有两座小学。政府是要办义务教育的。但是眼前我们怎么办？”

这么一问，声音由嘈杂而安静下来了。

“我愿意由我分到的果实里，拿出五斗谷子来，在彭朱家屋场也办个学校！”正在奶着崽的涂玉贞从人群里嚷出来。报完了，她才侧过头来望她那个曾经在洞庭湖上摇船的丈夫。

他也是吃过不识字亏的人，所以也举起手来响应他的堂客。跟着，光林叔出一石，黎媛驰、福全，都报出了数目。彭朱家屋场的农民一下便凑了二十多石谷子。接着黎家园的农民也报起来。

由罗永年领头，已经有了学校的大屋罗和七星岗的农民也出了谷子，来帮助两个没有学校的屋场。

这时，妇女小组组长罗淑敏提议说：过去村里有不少“学田”，但是都被地主霸占了，只收租，不办学。分配土地时候，农会留了百分之二的公田。农协又没收了一批地主盗卖的木材和棺材。村里现成有些木匠和泥水匠。她提议由农协拨地基和木材，大家出人力，学校就可以盖成了。

农民们听了鼓起掌来。

那晚上，彭朱家屋场和黎家园的农民们在归途中兴奋地议论着学校的建筑和组织。星光下，萦绕在他们脑际的学校好像已经在地面上出现了。

当民兵大会讨论到福全和春杏、黎大明和月莲的婚姻时，大家一致认为这是新炉村农民翻身的象征。两个新郎都是一向被地主当牛马使唤的长工，两个新娘，一个给彭二虎当过丫环，一个几乎当了封建家庭的牺牲品——春杏做童养媳那家的那个患痨病的男人，一个富农的儿子，新近死去了。两对民兵未婚夫妇当场同意在农历腊月二十九日一道结婚，地点是乡政府。民兵大会决定用集体的力量把这件喜事热闹起来。

两对新人，一向受尽旧社会的唾弃蹂躏，在会散以后感动得不知道说什么好了。他们想到能有今天这份幸福日子，都是搭帮了毛主席，搭帮了共产党。他们准备联名给恩人毛主席写一封信，好好谢谢他领导他们翻身，并且报告他们四个人的计划——他们正在商量着做一件大胆而

且应该做的事。

这时，黎媛驰和春杏已经调到彭二虎的厢房来了。两个人天不亮就同去田里铲草皮，沤绿肥，把田塍刨得像铁轨一样，又直又光。然后，一家就上堤了。

过小年那天，农协一定要放他们四个人一天假，要他们去买些新房用的东西。春杏和福全就带了他们分到的一部分果实（已折成款子），去七星岗街上了。

街上可和以前不同了。以前，只见农民挑卖，如今，农民也熙熙攘攘提了菜篮在摊上挑选着鲤鱼，买着腊肉。一向做地主生意的"一家春饭馆"改卖"经济小食"了。铁匠铺里堆积着新打成的农具，上面都贴着订货者的名字。街上四家棉花店由湘潭运来六架弹棉机。整个七星岗街上浮动着一片繁荣的景象。当福全和春杏在周瑞祥的百货店里买洋瓷脸盆和手巾时候，店里还有一簇别村里的农民也在物色着什么。春杏想：莫非他们都要结婚了吗？

在街的西端，新开了一个店铺——一个格式很不同的店铺。店外写着"湖南贸易公司机动小组"，店员们都穿着浅蓝色的制服。农民们的副产品向来是低价卖给商人的，然后又从商人手里高价买进工业品。机动小组专收猪鬃、茶叶、鸡蛋和烟叶，因为是国营机构，没有中间人的剥削，出的价钱都比私商高了三四成。"机动小组"同时低价卖给农民生产资料，如同改良农具，弹棉机和肥田粉。

福全和春杏最得意的，是在新华书店农村服务社买到了久已缺货的《工农文化课本》，每人买了一本练习簿，一管铅笔——并且买到一张彩色的毛主席画像。

黎大明和月莲也大包小包的买了些东西——他们去石桥村的供销合作社了。他们回来的时候，带来了一些合作社的宣传品，上面写着：合作社在本乡已经有了二千多个会员，土改既然结束了，马上就要发展到全乡九个村子去。所有会员都是雇贫中农，地主富农不收。每股股金一斗谷，可以分批交付。月莲还一五一十地背出那里肥皂、蜡烛、洋油、土布、芦盐的价钱，农民们都说：合作社的东西确实便宜公道！

在乡农协"多锄一遍地，多上一车粪，多打一成粮"的号召下，新炉村的生产委员会积极酝酿起互助小组来了。同时，全村各家各户在订着生产计划。学习了华北农民的经验，新炉村的农民为了解决土改后农具、耕牛和劳动力的缺乏，三五户人家自动联合起来共同搞生产。开始的时候，每家发给一百分的竹签，每一个整工算十分，半工算五分。一个整工的工资是六斤粗粮，一个牛工等于四个半人工。这样互助组员给谁帮工，便向谁要竹签。每五天一结账，一月一算账。

为了解决春耕时期的肥料问题，生产委员会正在酝酿集一百五十石

谷子办一座石灰窑，大量生产肥料。

新炉村一家家的生产计划都在黑板报上公布出来了。年轻力壮的，除了修堤坝，耕现有的田地以外，还计划去山里开荒。年老的男人铲草皮，扒叶子，沤粪积肥，年老的妇人们加紧纺纱，做鞋，或者打草鞋和养猪养鸡。

但是村里人纳闷：福全和黎大明两个积极分子的生产计划怎么始终没有公布出来？

在搞生产计划的时候，有许多农民说：两对新人正在给毛主席写信，报告翻身；我们现在都翻了身，不应该把我们今天的好日子，连我们未来的计划，一起告诉我们的毛主席吗？

这么一来，可忙坏了改信的彭国璋老师。用各种形状的纸，斜斜歪歪的字体写成的信，每天都有十多封递到他那里。有的报告打算在分的田地上种些什么，有的报告婆媳一向吵嘴，分了田以后和睦起来。

光林大叔望到那一叠叠的信说：中国不晓得有几十万个新炉村，要都像我们这么你一封我一封地，还不把毛主席累坏了！他提议还是全村合为一封，大家会写的动笔，会说的动嘴，最后请彭国璋把大家的意思都写进去。这意见得到了大家的赞同。

热烈的集体创作便成为夜校识字班上一个重要节目了。

你一嘴我一嘴地嚷着，彭国璋伏在桌上，笔疾速地滑动着。

“过去村里没几个人识字，现在大半都认得三百多个字了！”

“过去年下还吃茴丝，衣裳满身都是补丁，一家子盖一条被子；今年过小年就有糯米吃了，家里添了两条被子。”

福全说：“一定得告诉毛主席，不是土改，我这辈子休想娶老婆。”农民们戏谑着嚷：“春杏呢？请春杏表示表示！”

过了好半天，春杏才含了眼泪说：“不是毛主席，我现在早守了寡了！”

2月4日（腊月二十八）的上午，彭玉堂村主任陪着两对新人上区政府登记去了。

区长办公室烧着一盆炭火，墙上，除了毛主席，还挂着朱总司令，刘少奇副主席和周总理的像。区长正在开会，彭玉堂便指了墙上的领袖照片，向两对新人介绍着。

区长出来了。彭玉堂介绍了两对新人的贫苦的过去，在斗争中他们英勇的表现，最后说明他们是在土改中间自由恋爱的。

这时，区长又问了些他们的个人背景，和他们是不是甘心情愿的。然后，就由抽屉里给他们每对拿出一张结婚申请书。先填了名字、年龄和籍贯。职业一项，是村主任帮他们填的，男的填的是“耕”字，女的填了“织”字。区长便把申请书交给文书科，填发结婚证书。

这时，区委也来了，向他们道完了喜，就和新人们谈起婚后的计划。

“我和春杏商量好了，”福全第一个开口。“我们俩都年轻。我孤身一人，她也只有个妈妈。她们两人有一个半劳动力，够吃饭了。我要求出去参军。”

“我也商量好了，”黎大明站起来说：“如果人民解放军要我的话，打仗，做伙夫，我什么都愿意干！”

“你们四个不都已经是民兵了吗？”区长问。

“是的，”福全说，“我们当民兵是为了看地主。土改完成后，地主有农会看管了。我们知道蒋介石是地主的后台，美国帝国主义又是蒋介石的后台。不打倒后台，地主还会不老实的！”

区委和区长听了，赶紧过去和他们四个人一一握了手。区委说：“我相信人民解放军要的正是你们这样英勇、忠实、觉悟高的翻身农民！”

两对新人回来的时候，民兵队已经在七星岗摆渡地方迎接他们了。修堤的农民提早收了工，扛了农具拥着新人们集合到彭朱家屋场来，一路上唱着《团结就是力量》的歌。

祠堂前，那座台又搭起来了，台的两柱上，贴着“自由结婚，革命伴侣”的红对联。广坪上，连古树身上都飘起了红绸的彩穗。毛主席的像朝着被夕阳镀成金黄色的田野慈祥地微笑着。

在锣鼓、秧歌和起伏不已的歌声中，两对新人走上了台。这时，春杏和月莲都已换上新缝的花布衣服，黎媛驰穿着分到的那件蓝缎面的皮袍子，福全和黎大明也都换上新蓝布的短褂。

在彭玉堂的主持下，双方都在婚书上盖了印。这时，台下的农民嚷着“新郎新娘讲话！”

福全和黎大明先后站起来，宣布已经完全得到妻子的同意，婚后他们两个便去参军，并且说：

“区委说了，人民解放军要的正是咱们这样英勇，忠实，觉悟高的农民！”

台底下鼓起掌来。黎振南首先嚷着：“村主任，我也要报名！”许多只胳臂随着也都举起来。

这时，新五就走到台口向群众说：

“农友们，大家爱国情绪高涨，在土改翻身以后，自觉自愿地要求参军，这完全是应该的。说明新炉村的土改，不但解除了我们农民的经济上的枷锁，并且也使我们在政治上明了祖国是我们大家的，我们必须自己去保卫。”

“但是，我们不要单凭一时的情感去参军。请要求参军的农友们，

学习今天结婚的两对夫妇：他们从翻身大会那天便开家庭会，讨论好，安排好才决定参军的。他们首先把生产和参军配合好了，因为生产阵线上，国家同样需要我们。”

“各方面考虑成熟以后，凡是要求参军的，只要体格强健，家庭同意，农会和村政府一定负责介绍。”

农民们听了一齐鼓掌。

跟着，彭国璋走上台来。他很谨慎地展开一个纸卷，然后才说：

“十几天来，村里老老少少参加给毛主席写信这件大事情。现在，我已经把大家的意思合拢了起来，合拢成这么一封信。我现在趁着这个大喜的日子，念给大家听听。大家不同意，咱们再改；大家同意，咱们贴上邮票，一发可就寄到北京，寄到毛主席那里去了！”

台上台下，农民都静寂下来，细心倾听这封他们自己写成的信。彭国璋的嗓音今天特别爽亮，他咬着字读：

我们敬爱的毛主席，中国人民的大救星：

我们——回龙乡新炉村的男女老幼农民，写信感谢你领导我们翻身，并且向你报告，翻身以后我们巩固胜利的计划。

在我们村里，还有人记得1927年你领导我们同军阀和地主作斗争。后来，狼心狗肺的蒋介石出卖了革命。你走了以后，我们就变成了见不得天的“黑人”。一边，地主像抽肋骨般向我们逼租，一边，反动政府编出五花八门的名堂向我们要税要丁。二十多年来，我们种白米的人吃不到白米——只能吃茴丝；衣服露了肉，连双草鞋都买不起。夜里，我们和牲畜同在阴湿肮脏的牛棚里打滚，过着牛马不如的生活，时刻受着蒋介石的威胁。

1949年8月，你回来了——你带领的部队和干部回来了。我们农民就像沙漠上见到了井水，枯树开了花。地主们那时候还幻想着复辟，我们中间也有落后分子，因为一肚子的八字风水，竟也不敢起来反抗地主。但是我们终于觉醒了。一觉醒我们就斗起来了。

你和你的同志们，三十年来，领导着人民，艰苦奋斗，改变了中国半殖民地的命运，使我们有了今天的好日子。你的历史本身，中国共产党历史的本身，就是否定八字、风水最有力的例证。

在你的英明领导下，我们农民也改变了自己的命运——完成了我村的土地改革，彻底消灭了封建剥削制度，斩断了奴隶的锁链，直起腰板来，成为我村的主人了。

特别是举出新近两对民兵——福全和春杏、黎大明和月莲——的结婚。两个新郎都是无田无屋，一向给地主干活的雇农。如今，他们有了田，有了房子，又结了婚。春杏本来是童养媳，月莲本来给地主当丫环。这两个受尽封建社会欺侮压迫的女人，也有了田地和房屋，并且自己选择了一生的伴侣。

我们村里一百九十二户人家，土改以前有一百一十五户是无田或少田的雇贫农。这回土改，我们从地主那里没收来八十二石七斗水田，十二石五斗旱地，四十五件农具，六头牛，大小五十二间房，和四千多斤余粮。从前，我们脚踏别人地，头顶别人屋，有苦无处诉，有泪无处流。如今，我们有了房子有了田地，扎下了致富的根子。

从划阶级以来，我们村里老老少少都认起字来。现在，我们骄傲地说，村里除了五岁以下的细伢崽，没有一个不会写自己名字的，有的还认了二三百字。这是破天荒的一件大事。这是我们农民文化无限前途的一个起点。

我们深深明白所有这些改变，根本上都是因为全国解放了，我们有了自己的政府，我们农民在政治上和以前有了天地的分别。

因此，我们决心使出所有的力气来修堤坝、锄地、施肥，准备今年秋天用一场大丰收来报答你，并且来巩固我们的国家。

为了保卫国家，我们村里已经在酝酿起参军运动。我们——新炉村的农民也得替祖国出一份力。

可报告你的好消息太多了：我们正在凭自己的力量开办学校，我们不久就要发展合作社，七星岗街上已经有了新式产婆了，——我们村里新五嫂头一个用现代方法接的生，一胎生了一男一女，都是白胖胖的。

村里的妇女们还打算在秋收以后，向合作社贷点款子，合力开一个织布厂呢！我们坚决相信我们的日子会一天比一天更幸福起来。今天还只是更伟大的明天的萌芽。

要更幸福起来，我们知道就必须坚持抗美援朝运动，就必须打倒威胁我们幸福的敌人——美帝国主义和它的走狗蒋介石。

为了这个，我们全村农民，向你认真保证：

一、修好堤坝，加紧春耕，多打粮食。

二、继续扩大并且巩固农协和民兵大会，对一切不法分子提高警惕，加强地方治安工作。

三、用人力和物力，热烈支援抗美援朝运动，将革命进行到底！

愿你：

永远像岩石那样健壮，

永远像太阳那样灿烂地照耀着我们！

新炉村全体农民上

1951年1月28日

In Memory of Some Friends
回忆几位友人
Some Friends

1. THE FRIENDS I MADE IN GREAT BRITAIN

I am fully aware that name-dropping is rather vulgar in the West as well as anywhere. But now I am going to do the very thing—to drop some illustrious names before you, of people more dead than alive. I shall do it with restraint. But somehow, the general atmosphere of Chung Chi College reminds me of my days in England over 40 years ago and evoked in me a sense of nostalgia.

My pilgrimage to the West started in 1939 and from Hong Kong when I accepted the post as a lecturer at London University where I taught for three years. That was followed by two years at King's College, Cambridge as a student and two years in Fleet Street as a correspondent. It was truly great to be in war-time London. For then, I saw the British at their best spiritually though materially they were at the worst. London then was the citadel of the anti-Nazi war. A number of refugee-governments of Europe and the headquarter of Free France were there. I believe it was also a golden period for the international PEN, the organization of world writers which located in London. Then there was also the London chapter which I remember its president H. G. Wells and then EMF. I was then a member to both. Hardly one week passed without some luncheon, tea or lecture given by such organisation. The secretary of the London PEN was then the British poet, Hermon Ould who edited and published my first book in 1940, *Etching of a Tormented Age*. I met many veteran writers at the PEN such as Thorton Wilder, the author of that beautiful but sad novel, *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*. There were Stephen Spender and John Lehman and other young writers.

For a period, I did a number of broadcast for the BBC, mostly to China and India. It was George Orwell, the author of *Animal Farm* who got me to do them. He was then the head of the Far-eastern section of the BBC, probably because of his early link with the east having been a policeman in Burma. While I was in England a month ago, a friend told me that he saw a paragraph about me in Orwell's diary and he assured me that Orwell remembered me kindly.

In SOAS where I taught, the secretary happened to be Ronald Botterel, quite an important British poet in those days.

I think I have dropped enough names on you. Now I am going to talk about some of the people that I really did know well. I would like to start with Harold Acton—now Sir Harold Acton, because he was my oldest friend in England (He is now in Florence). I knew him well before I went to England.

He was a professor at Peking University in the early 30's. Some Western intellectuals in China adored the old China and would spend time and money on collecting curios and historic relics. They showed no interest in contemporary China. Others were interested only in modern development, collecting facts and figures so that they could become competent China-watchers. Harold Acton fell in love with China, especially with Peking, the moment he got there. He called himself a true mandarin. He rented a big house with a large courtyard. Several years after he left China he was still paying rents for that house, hoping he would go back there one day, until the Japanese came in when he could no longer remit his rent through the bank. No doubt he loved the old China, having translated four naughty tales of the Ming Dynasty, published under the title of *Glue and Lacquer*. But he was also the co-author of the first anthology of modern Chinese poetry in English. So he was equally interested in our modern period as well.

In the 40's, we renewed our friendship in London and Paris. During the war, because of his profound knowledge in French and Italian, he served as PRO with the RAF. So he was always in grey uniform. I never asked him what his job was—one never asked such questions with a military personnel, no matter how well you knew him in civilian life. Furthermore, although in military uniform, he was still fond of talking of old time in Peking, the temple fairs or boating in Beihai, and of course about literature and the arts. Walking together on the Strand or Charing Cross, he would tell me the various types of European architecture, sometimes with appreciation, sometimes with disgust. "Oh, that hideous Victorian arch", or "Isn't that gorgeous? It's William and Mary." I owed to him for my scanty knowledge about European painting, sculpture and music. Now I still have a set of Boswell's *Life of Johnson* given by him, a *de luxe* edition.

Since 1949, I lost touch with all my friends abroad, including Harold. I retrieved some of them during my first trip abroad for 30 years, it was to Iowa City when I was sent as the first batch of Chinese writers to America for thirty years. But I did not resume correspondence with Harold until 1983 when I appeared in a TV serial: *The Heart of the Dragon* in which I

denounced the Cultural Revolution as a sheer disaster. When it was shown in Britain and Italy, a number of friends got in touch with the BBC and through them traced my whereabouts.

I have been reading his *Memoirs of an Aesthete* and his *More Memoirs of an Aesthete*, in which he wrote a bit about me. It was he who recommended me to be a visiting scholar in N. Y. University two months before I came here.

I had quite a number of dear friends in England during the war days. Most of them are all dead now except a few, such as my old tutor Dadie Rylands who figured prominently in the letters and diaries of Virginia Woolf. Many of my friends belonged to the Bloomsbury group, which I suppose represented the Ivory Tower in Britain from the 20's to the 40's.

I knew Arthur Waley, the sinologist, quite well. You may have read his translation of our Tang poetry for which he had been awarded by the Queen, or his Lady Murasaki[2], that Japanese 11th century novel about romances inside the Japanese Palace. It was one of the best sellers in England then. Waley had translated many of our major classics. He summarised the teachings of Laotse and Chuangtse in his book *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China*. Now you have a full translation of *The Journey to the West* by a Chinese professor in Chicago. Waley had done an abridged edition of it in his book *The Monkey*.

During the war, he served as a Censor and all my correspondence for my paper in Chongking had to pass through his hands. He sometimes made a slip of his tongue by saying, "Oh, sorry. I chipped off your first paragraph yesterday." He even wrote a poem, dedicated to me, entitled "Censorship", satirizing the life of being a censor which was published in the *Horizon* and which has been translated into Chinese by Prof. Yu Kwong Chung. I found it in Yu's *Collected Poems*.

I very often went to see him in the 40's, in Gordon Square where he lived with the British lady Beryl de Zoete who was an expert on Bali dance. But a month before his death, Waley married another lady whom I have never met. I would cite Arthur Waley as a glorious example to show that Chinese is a language you can master without being able to speak it. He told me he had only lessons for 15 days from a Chinese genealogist who passed through London on his way to Berlin in the 20's. Since then, Waley persevered on his own. He learnt Japanese the same way. (He had never been to the East and he told me that he did not want to go because he wanted to

preserve the image of the China of Tang Dynasty and he hated to let it be spoiled by chimneys and railroads.) Waley is also the translator of another Japanese classic: *The Pillow Book*. The literary success of Waley also reveals to me that in translation, comprehension of the original text is important, but still more important is the style and taste of the translator.

Since my college days in mid 30's, I have always admired the works of Virginia Woolf. So when I arrived in England, my one wish was to go and see her. But for no reason, I was given the status of Enemy Alien and as such I was not allowed to go anywhere within five miles from the coast. (Of course I became a Great Ally overnight immediately after Pearl Harbour.) Mrs. Woolf was then living in Sussex (Monk House) and quite near the coast. I got there only after her death. Her most devoted husband, Leonard, was very kind to me. He took me to the spot where she drowned herself and allowed me to read and copy some of her diaries during the weekend I spent with him. Unfortunately all my notes were lost during the Cultural Revolution.

You may have heard of a Quaker lady, Margery Fry, who was a sister of Roger Fry, the famous art critic. She herself was a great prison reformer. One day she took me to Roger's cottage in Aylesbury. There, she produced before me a pile of papers. They were the old issues of Hansard—record of the Parliament. But they were the Hansards of the 1840's! There I read the speeches of her great great grandfather, long and virulent speeches, condemning the Opium War. I realised there were two Englands: one the supporters of the imperialist gunboat policy and the other, the England of Francis Bacon and John Stuart Mill who stood for justice.

I was also a close friend of Kingsley Martin, then editor of *The New Statemen and Nations*. Through him, I knew a number of British intellectuals including Harold Laski. And it was Kingsley who introduced me to E. M. Forster.

It happened in May, 1941, at a Memorial Meeting for the Indian poet Tagore in Conway Hall. On the platform were the Soviet Ambassador Maisky who spoke for Russia, Forster spoke for Britain and I was there to speak for China. I had just read his *Passage to India* and admired his humane attitude toward India. The novel was anti-colonial in a mild way.

Forster was most keen on making friends. Because of his early links with Egypt and India and the influence of his friend Lowes Dickenson, he was particularly fond of befriending orientals. Soon after, he wrote a letter

inviting me to his club. I believe it was the Reform. I have also been to his house, the Hackhurst in Arbinger, Surrey, hence *Abinger Harvest*, and met his mother who hated anything mechanic. There was no electric light in the house. They used kerosine oil lamp. Forster was a most filial son. He was so gentle and obedient with her that really put an oriental to shame. For centuries before, we had been taught by Confucius to be filial, but few could be as filial as Forster. There was a cat in the house called Tom. I also had a cat in Hampstead called Rhea. So after the visit, Forster one day came to my basement in Hampstead. He unwrapped a handkerchief in which were some synthetic food. He said gently, "This is for Rhea, from my Tom." I quickly brought my cat over. Rhea sniffled and coldly walked away. She seemed not to care for it at all. It was rather embarrassing indeed. I accepted the gift on behalf of Rhea and thanked Forster for it all the same.

During my two years as graduate student at Cambridge, doing research in the English novel, Forster was one of the authors that I concentrated. I have not only read all his novels and two volumes of short stories already in print, but also the posthumously published novel *Maurice*, the one about homosexual love which he took out from the bank vault and lent me for a month. I have great admiration for him both as a storyteller and a stylist. I also have great respect for his liberal attitude and his philosophy: Only connect. He believed in human friendship above everything else. In one of his essays in *Abinger Harvest*, he said: "If I were to choose between betraying my country or my friend, I hope I shall have the courage to betray the former."

I quote this because our friendship ended rather tragically. I must have over 80 letters from him, which were all lost during the Cultural Revolution. In 1984, when I revisited Britain, the archive keeper of King's College, Dr. Michael Halls, managed to find a typescript of the initial 40 letters.

Now I want to end this with the story about the tragic end of our friendship. When I left Hong Kong for Peking in 1949, knowing from what happened in Russia in the mid 30's and in post-war East Europe, I wrote to all my friends to suspend our correspondence and asked them not even to send me a X'mas card, Forster included of course. But in 1954, there was a British cultural delegation to Peking on which was a close friend of Forster, Prof. Jack Sprout of Nottingham whom I had met in England before through Forster. On arrival in Peking, he made an express request to the Ministry of Culture to see me. So, I was included in the welcoming party in those days I

might not be invited otherwise. At the party, Sprout told me that he had brought a book with a letter from Forster for me and he wanted to pass them to me in person. So he wanted a separate session with me. He did not know that in those days such a meeting simply could not be arranged and it was not. As a result, he took the book and letter back to England. I have no doubt that Forster was deeply hurt and in his annoyance, might well have torn all my letters to him, as the archive keeper of King's told me there are now only two left, probably by accident.

I feel very mortified by what happened and I realised that when it came to choose between which to desert, the country or the friend, it was not so easy as Forster thought. Perhaps I was a coward. But whatever one may believe, there were also the wife and children to consider. Being a bachelor all his life, Forster never had the problem that I had to face.

So ended a beautiful friendship tragically. It remains one of the regrets in life to my dying day.

My apologies for this unhappy story and I hope it won't spoil your appetite for the meal. Thank you!

[*Speech delivered on January 7th, 1987 at the College life luncheon, Chung Chi College of Chinese University, Hong Kong*]

壹　我在英国结交的文友

我十分清楚，不论在西方还是任何地方，罗列一些重要人物的姓名是相当庸俗之举。然而眼下我就是要这么做——在你们面前历数几位杰出人士的大名，他们大多已经作古了。我会有所节制地去做。诚然，不知怎地，崇基学院的普遍气氛使我想起四十余年前在英国的日子，勾起怀旧之情。

我的西方之旅始于1939年。那时我从香港应聘赴伦敦大学，任教三年。随后在剑桥王家学院攻读两年，接着又在舰队街度过两年记者生涯。呆在战时的伦敦的确棒极了。尽管物质匮乏到极点，我看到英国人的精神境界却无比崇高。当时伦敦是反纳粹战争的要都。一批欧洲流亡政府和自由法国的司令部云集此地。我相信，那也是国际笔会中心的黄金时代，世界各国作家的这个组织就设立在伦敦。还有英国笔会中心，我记得主席是赫·乔·威尔斯，后来由爱·摩·福斯特接任。我既是伦敦国际笔会又是英国笔会的成员，这两个组织几乎每周都举行午餐会、茶会或讲座。那时，英国笔会中心的秘书是英国诗人赫尔曼·奥尔德。1940年，他编辑出版了我的第一本书《苦难时代的蚀刻》。在笔会上我遇到许多老作家，如索尔顿·怀尔德，那部优美然而催人泪下的小说《圣路易·莱之桥》的作者。再就是斯蒂芬·斯彭德、约翰·莱曼以及其他年轻作家。

我为英国广播公司工作过一段时期，主要是针对中国和印度进行广播，是《兽园》的作者乔治·奥威尔推荐我去做的。当时他主管英国广播公司远东部。这可能缘于他早年与远东的联系——在缅甸做警察。一个月前，我曾赴英，有位朋友告诉我，他读到过奥威尔的日记中写我的一个段落，他肯定地说，奥威尔关于我的回忆很亲切。

我所任教的东方学院，秘书刚好是罗纳德·勃特勒，当时的一个相当重要的英国诗人。

我想我已经为各位罗列了相当多的名字，现在我准备谈谈那些我真正熟悉的人。我想从哈洛德·艾克敦——如今是哈洛德·艾克敦爵士了——谈起，因为他是我结识最久的英国朋友，眼下在佛罗伦萨。我赴英之前就跟他结为莫逆。

他是三十年代初期的北京大学教授。有些旅居中国的西方知识分子爱慕古老的中国，花时间、花钱去搜集古玩和历史文物。他们对当代中国不感兴趣。另外一些人只关注现代化的发展，搜集事例和数字以便能成为出色的中国观察家。哈洛德·艾克敦刚一抵达就深深地爱上了中国，尤其是北京。他自称为真正的中国达官贵人。他租了一座很大的四

合院。他离开中国后，还继续付了好几年房租，希望有朝一日能返回。直到由于日军入侵，再也不能通过银行汇寄房租才作罢。毫无疑问，他热爱古老的中国，翻译了明朝的四篇言情小说，并以《如胶似漆》为名出版。然而他又跟人一道编译过第一部英文的《中国新诗选》。因此他对现代中国同样有兴趣。

四十年代，我们在伦敦和巴黎又重叙友谊。战争期间，由于他在法语和意大利语方面的渊博知识，遂以公关人员的身份在英国皇家空军服务。因此，他总是身着灰色制服。我从来没有问起过他从事什么工作——不论你在市井生活中跟一个人多么熟悉，他一旦服役于部队，你就绝不可以问这类问题。不过，他虽然身着军装，却依旧津津乐道往昔在北平度过的岁月：逛庙会，在北海泛舟，当然还有文学和艺术。我们在河滨马路或查林十字路并肩步行之际，他就向我讲述各种类型的欧洲建筑，时而用赞扬的口吻，时而又用厌恶的口吻。“哦，丑得吓人的那座维多利亚拱顶”，或是“这不是蛮漂亮吗？这可是威廉和玛利！[1]”我对欧洲绘画、雕刻和音乐的那点不充足的知识，还都是从他那儿获得的。我至今保存着他赠送给我的一套豪华版鲍斯韦尔的《约翰逊传》。

自1949年起，我与海外所有的朋友失去了联系，包括哈洛德。30年后，我在第一次国外旅行期间重新联系上了一些朋友。当时我是作为第一批中国作家，在30年的隔绝后，应邀到衣阿华市出访的。然而直到1983年我在电视系列片《龙的心》中露面（那一次我曾痛斥“文化大革命”纯粹是一场浩劫），这才与哈洛德联系上。这部电视片在英国和意大利播出后，一些朋友通过英国广播公司联系上了我。

我一直在拜读他的自传《一个唯美主义者的回忆录》正、续集。在书中，他提到我。来这里之前两个月，他推荐我到纽约大学去做访问学者。

战争年代，我在英国结交了相当数量的好友。除了少数几个人——如我的老导师戴狄·瑞兰兹，他在弗吉尼亚·吴尔夫的信件和日记中扮演过重要角色——他们大多已作古。我的许多朋友属于“布卢姆斯伯利团体”，我认为这个团体代表着二十年代至四十年代英国的象牙之塔。

我跟汉学家亚瑟·魏理很有交情。你们也许读过他翻译的我国唐诗（为此他获得了女王的嘉奖），或者他译的《源氏物语》，讲述日本十一世纪宫廷内部风流韵事的长篇小说，当年它在英国成为畅销书之一。魏理翻译过我国的许多经典著作。他在《古代中国的三种思潮》这一著作中概述了老子和庄子的学说。如今你能读到由芝加哥的一位华裔教授翻译的《西游记》了。而那时，魏理完成了一部节译本，叫作《猴子》。

战争期间，他的身份是检查官，我给重庆报刊的全部函件都要经过

他的手。他有时脱口而出：“哦，对不起，昨天你的第一段可给我剪掉啦。”他甚至还作了一首诗献给我，题目就叫《检查制度》。诗中对检查官的生活进行了一番嘲讽。这首诗登在《地平线》上，后由余光中教授翻译成汉语。我曾在余的诗集里看到过。

四十年代，我经常到戈登广场去拜访他，他跟一位英国女士贝里尔·德·佐特一道住在那里。她是巴厘舞专家。然而魏理却在去世前一个月，跟一位我从未谋过面的女士结为伉俪。我把亚瑟·魏理作为一个光辉的范例来说明，汉语这个语言，即使你不会讲，也能精通。魏理告诉我，二十年代，他仅仅向一位经由伦敦赴柏林的中国宗谱学家学习了15天。打那以后，他坚持不懈地自学下去。他用同样的方式掌握了日语。（他从未到过东方。他曾告诉我，他不愿意来，因为想在心目中保持唐代中国的形象，生怕让铁路和烟囱把这形象破坏掉。）魏理也是另一部日本经典作品《枕草子》的译者。在文学上卓有成就的魏理也向我揭示了，就翻译而言，理解原文是重要的，但更重要的还是译者的风格与品味。

自从三十年代中叶我上大学的时候起，我就一直欣赏弗吉尼亚·吴尔夫的作品。因而当我抵达英国后，我的一个愿望是想去见见她。但是我无缘无故地被当作敌性外侨，禁止到距海岸五英里以内的任何地区。（当然，珍珠港事件后，一夜之间我就成了“伟大盟邦”之一员。）吴尔夫夫人当时住在苏塞克斯（僧屋），离海岸很近。她逝世后我才到那儿去。对她一往情深的丈夫伦纳德十分殷勤地接待了我。我到他那里去度周末的时候，他领我去她投河自尽的所在地，还让我阅读并抄录她的一部分日记。不幸的是，我所有的笔记在“文革”期间都遗失了。

你们也许听说过贵格会信徒玛杰利·弗赖伊的名字，她是著名的美术评论家罗杰·弗赖伊的妹妹。她自己是一个伟大的监狱改革者。一天，她带我到她哥哥坐落在艾利斯勃里的小别墅去。在那儿，她捧出一摞文件，放到我跟前。那是汉萨德——英国议会议事录——的古老册子。但它们是十九世纪四十年代的英国议会议事录！我从中读到了她那位高祖父的诸多长篇讲演，义愤填膺地谴责鸦片战争。我意识到有两个英国：一个是帝国主义炮舰外交支持者的英国，另一个是伸张正义的弗朗西斯·培根和约翰·斯图尔特·穆勒的英国。

我也是金斯莱·马丁的挚友。当时他是《新政治家与民族》的编辑。通过他，我结识了包括哈罗德·拉斯基[3]在内的一批英国知识分子。也是他把爱·摩·福斯特介绍给我的。

那是1941年5月，在康伟礼堂为印度诗人泰戈尔举行的追悼会上。坐在台上的有代表俄罗斯讲话的苏联大使迈斯基、代表英国讲话的福斯特，以及代表中国讲话的我。我刚读完他的《印度之旅》，很赞赏他对

印度的人道态度。小说是以温和的态度反对殖民主义的。

福斯特非常热心于交朋友。由于他早年与埃及和印度结下的因缘，又受了他的朋友洛斯·迪肯森的影响，他格外乐于结交东方人。不久，他写信邀我去他的俱乐部。我想那就是改良俱乐部。我还去过他的家，坐落在萨里郡哈宾芝尔镇的哈克赫斯特，故有《哈宾芝尔收获集》[4]。我见到了他那位讨厌一切机械的母亲。房子里没有电灯，他们用煤油灯。福斯特是个非常孝敬的儿子。他对母亲那么温柔恭顺，确实让东方人感到汗颜。多少世纪以来，孔夫子教育我们尽孝，然而很少有人能做到像福斯特那样孝顺。福斯特家里有一只叫作托姆的猫。我在汉普斯特德也有一只猫叫作瑞雅。因而，我拜访之后不久，有一天福斯特到汉普斯特德我所住的那间地下室来了。他打开一块手绢，里面包着一些人造猫食。他柔声说："这是我的托姆送给瑞雅的。"我赶快把我的猫抱过来。瑞雅嗅了嗅就冷漠地掉头而去。她好像对它压根儿不屑一顾，着实让人十分尴尬。我还是替瑞雅收下了这份礼物，并向福斯特致了谢。

我在剑桥攻读硕士学位期间，钻研英国小说。福斯特是我集中研究的小说家之一。我不但读了他已经出版的所有长篇小说和两卷短篇故事，而且也读过他那部去世后才出版的写同性恋的《莫瑞斯》。当时他从银行保险库里取出来，借给我读了一个月。不论是作为小说家还是文体家，我对他都钦佩不已。我对他那开明的心态与他所奉行的"惟有融合"这一人生哲学，也怀着极大敬意。他把人间的友谊看得高于一切。他在《哈宾芝尔收获集》里的一篇文章中说："倘若我不得不在背叛我的国家和我的朋友之间作出抉择的话，我但愿自己有勇气背叛前者。"

我援引这句话，因为我们的友谊是相当悲剧性地结束的。他应该是给我写了八十几封信，但因为"文化大革命"全无踪迹了。1984年，当我重访英国时，王家学院的档案管理员迈克尔·豪尔博士总算找到了最早的40封信的打字稿。

现在我想谈谈我们友谊的悲剧性结局，以结束这个讲话。1949年，当我从香港动身赴北平时，由于晓得三十年代中期在俄罗斯以及战后在东欧所发生的事，就发函给所有的朋友，嘱他们别再跟我通信，就连贺年片也别寄，福斯特当然也包括在内。然而在1954年来北京访问的英国文化代表团中有一位福斯特的密友——诺丁汉大学的杰克·斯普劳特教授。早先在英国，我曾通过福斯特见过他。他一到北京，就特意向文化部提出要见我。于是，我应邀参加了欢迎酒会。否则，在那年月我是不会受到邀请的。在酒会上，斯普劳特告诉我，他带来了福斯特送给我的一本书，还附有一封亲笔信，他要私下交给我。所以他要求单独会见我。他不晓得，在那年月，根本就不可能给安排那样会面的机会，确实也没给安排。结果，他把书和信带回英国去了。我相信福斯特必定深感

痛心，气得将我写给他的信统统撕个粉碎。王家学院的档案管理员告诉我，如今只剩下两封，多半是出于偶然。

发生了这件事，使我感到十分羞愧。我意识到，非要在国家和朋友之间作出抛弃一方的抉择，可不像福斯特所想的那么容易。也许我是个懦夫。然而，不论一个人相信什么，总还得替老婆孩子考虑啊。福斯特打了一辈子光棍，他从来也没有我必须面对的问题。

于是，一段美好的友谊就以悲剧告终了。这是使我遗恨终身的事情。

请原谅我讲了这么个不愉快的故事。我希望它不至于损害你们用餐的食欲。谢谢大家！

［此篇为作者1987年1月7日在香港中文大学崇基学院生活午餐会上的致辞］

（文洁若、杨美俊译）

2. IN MEMORY OF SIR HAROLD ACTON—The Passing of an Aesthete

> Sir Harold Acton, historian, poet, aesthete and China lover, died at the end of February at his home in Florence.
>
> I should have written an article in his memory a long time ago, but I was so busy translating James Joyce's *Ulysses* that I failed to do so.
>
> But now that the Chinese version of the great Irish classic is going off press, I shall settle the long overdue "debt" I owe to Sir Harold.

Beijing, with its charm as the ancient capital of the country, used to attract lots of famous people from overseas. The whiskered and bearded Tagore, for example, came to Beijing when I was a school boy. Bertrand Russell was attracted to the city when I was a middle-school student. In the 1930s when I was a college undergraduate, many other English literary geniuses came to town. Literary critic I. A. Richards and poet William Empson both taught at Qinghua and Beijing universities.

And there was another gifted man who loved Beijing more than the others—the self-professed "aesthete" Sir Harold Acton.

Sir Harold continued to send his rent to the landlord of the compound house where he lived before the city fell to the hands of the Japanese, hoping he would one day come back to Beijing.

Sir Harold worked as a professor at Beijing University (Peking University) in 1932, teaching English poetry. He stayed there until Britain declared war against Nazi Germany in 1939 and went back to England to do his bit for his country.

In the 1930s, I used to visit the homes of professors of Qinghua and Beijing universities regularly. I often met Sir Harold in the salons and tea-parties at the homes of professors like Zhu Guangqian, a renowned aesthete, and writer Lin Huiyin.

Sir Harold was tall and amiable. He was soft-spoken and his eyes were full of understanding and appreciation. He often appeared in theatres and ballad-singing places around Qianmen, itching to plunge himself into Chinese culture.

Together with the late Professor Chen Shixiang, he compiled the English

version of *Selected Modern Chinese Poems*. In addition, he chose four stories from the famous Ming (1368-1644) romances and translated them into English. They were published under the title *Glue and Lacquer*, which was illustrated by English artist Iric Gill.

He also wrote a novel *Peonies and Ponies*, which vividly described the dissipation of Western diplomats and business people in China.

What impressed me most was his ability to read English poems aloud. His voice was so resonant and mellow. I did not hear such a beautiful recitation again until I saw Sir John Gilgud perform a Shakespearian drama in London in the 1940s.

People say that of all the European languages, Italian sounds the most beautiful. No wonder Sir Harold recited English poems so beautifully. He was half Italian.

Sir Harold was drawn towards Italian culture all his life. His major work,*The Last Medici*, tells the story of an ancient clan in Florence.

In the 1920s, he was one of the famous Oxford poets. His contemporaries were Evelyn Waugh, Peter Quennel and Cyril Connally.

But Sir Harold was a dutiful son. His mother, who lived in Florence, was under house arrest when Italy entered World War II. She later managed toflee to Switzerland and did not return to Florence until after the war.

After he was demobilized from the Royal Air Force, Sir Harold lived in La Pietra outside Florence, where he took care of his mother.

The old lady demanded that her dutiful son, who was in his 50s by this time, still get home before 7:30 p.m. every evening. No key was given to him in case he managed to steal into the mansion after the deadline.

I didn't become familiar, or even intimate, with Harold until after I arrived in England in the late 1930s.

I still remember in the spring of 1940, the London-based International Association of Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists and Novelists (PEN) co-sponsored a fund-raising dinner. The chairman of the occasion was H. G. Wells, author of *Outline of History*. He was flanked by novelist E. M. Forster, Chinese-culture expert Arthur Waley and so on. Acton also participated. I gave a lecture on war literature in China on that occasion.

Even before that, we had already been closely associated. I left Cambridge for London on the Christmas of 1939. He was living in the lush Ritz Hotel in London. He was in silver grey RAF uniform, wearing major's insignias. He told me that he was not allowed to combat troops because of his

knowledge of French, Italian and Portuguese. Instead he found that he was desk bound doing clerical work every day.

We simply could not talk enough about Beijing, the Dong'an Market, Dazhalan and all.

Our last meeting was in Paris, which had just been liberated by the Allies. He was still in his silver grey uniform and I was in mine. The words on my insignias said "China: Reporter". My pass told the enemy that I should be treated as a major if I was taken prisoner.

I was as curious as I was timid. I was deaf and mute in the French-speaking Paris and did not dare to go around the city, although I very much wanted to.

If I had not run into Sir Harold that day, Paris would have remained just another geographical term for me. He took me to the mysterious Montparnasse, where I had a glimpse of the unique Parisian way of life.

After our meeting in Paris, we never met again. But 40 years later, we picked up the broken pieces that we left in the French capital.

In the early 1980s, I was told one day that the BBC wanted to shoot some episodes of my life as part of the film *Heart of the Dragon*. The programme was about China's reform and opening up to the outside world.

The film was shown in Britain, the United States and other countries. Afterwards many of my old friends, with whom I had lost contact with for many years, saw my appearance.

It was during this period of time that Sir Harold and I began to contact each other again. He sent me a picture album of his inherited mansion in La Pietra and invited me to visit his home. I wanted to go there very much but I was very busy at the time and couldn't go.

In 1990, he posted me his reminiscences: *Memoirs of an Aesthete* and *More Memoirs of an Aesthete*. He labelled himself as an "aesthete" and I think the label fits him well.

Now that he has passed away, I hope that Western scholars and teachers, who come to China to teach in colleges and universities, love Chinese culture as much as Sir Harold did.

[*July 21, 1994*, China Daily]

贰　悼哈洛德·艾克敦

——一个唯美主义者的陨落

也许是由于故都的吸引力，北京一向总有一些域外的名家来访。我读小学时，从印度来过一位大胡子诗人：泰戈尔。读中学时，又来过英国哲学家罗素，而且都是由诗人徐志摩陪同在全国访问。三十年代我上大学的时候，也来过几位，而且碰巧都是英国人，文艺理论家I. A.理查兹和八十年代故去的诗人威廉·安普森，前者在清华，后者从北大（北平沦陷后）一直疏散到昆明西南联大。还有一位更加钟情于北平的（故都沦陷几年后，为了渴望有一天能回去，他还托人在交着四合院的房租），那就是以唯美主义者自诩的哈洛德·艾克敦。他于1932年应聘在北大任教，一直呆到1939年秋张伯伦对希特勒宣战的前夕，才为了报效祖国而赶回英国去服兵役的。

我不是北大的，但当时北平大学（尤其燕京和清华是紧邻）之间并无畛域，串门之风甚炽。家宅宽敞的朱光潜和林徽音二位又喜欢举行一些沙龙式的茶会，所以我常同艾克敦碰头。他个子很高，为了谦逊，跟人谈话总低下身子，声音柔和，眼神里充满着理解和赞赏。他经常在前门戏园子里或说书唱大鼓的场所出现，恨不得一头扎进中国文化里。他同已故陈世骧编译了第一部英文的《中国新诗选》，又从三言二拍里选了四篇小说，译成《如胶似漆》（由英国著名版画家厄里克·吉尔插图），还写了一本挖苦旅京洋寓公的小说《赛马与牡丹》，淋漓尽致地描绘了当年住在北京的西方外交官和商人骄奢淫逸的生活。不同于有些在华的西方文人，他对明代的冯梦龙和民国初年的朱湘同样爱慕。给我印象最深的是他的英诗朗诵：声音那么深厚、宏远，我只有在伦敦看吉尔戈德演莎剧时才又听到过。有人说欧洲语言中，意大利语音色最美妙。也许正由于艾克敦几乎是半个意大利人，他的朗诵才那么出色。

艾克敦一生都与意大利文化有着密切联系。他生平主要著作《最后的米迪齐》是写意大利佛罗伦萨一个古老家族的。二十年代他是英国牛津的著名诗人之一，还主编过大学诗刊，虽然在三十年代文学界他的名气并不如他的同辈易沃林·沃、彼得·奎耐尔或希尔·康诺里那么响。他是个大孝子——也许正因此才终身未娶。二次世界大战初，意大利参战后，他的老母适在佛罗伦萨，当时被软禁，后逃到瑞士，战后才回意大利。艾克敦退役后，就一直住在那座中古幽宫里侍奉老母。老太太限她这位年逾半百的孝子每晚7点半前必须回家，而且不给钥匙，以防他过时溜进来。

我同艾克敦真正熟起来是在我抵英以后。记得1940年春间，伦敦国

际笔会与英国笔会联合举行了一次以支援中国抗战为主旨的聚餐——餐费很高，是变相募捐。那天主席是《世界史纲》的作者赫·乔·威尔斯。他旁边坐着小说家福斯特、汉学家阿瑟·魏理等。艾克敦也参加了。那天由我主讲战时中国文艺。在那之前，1939年圣诞节我从剑桥去伦敦度假时，我们就联系上了。他住在繁华的西区皮克迪理一家十分豪华的旅馆（瑞兹）里。他已穿上了军服——是空军银灰色的，肩章属校级。他告诉我由于他的语言能力（法、意、葡），没让他参加战斗部队（正如魏理由于会中、日文，就管检查信件），每天只坐办公室。我们就像后来我在巴黎见到斯诺一样，从东安市场扯到大栅栏，聊起北平简直没个完。

我同艾克敦最后一次相聚是在刚从纳粹手里解放出来的巴黎。他仍旧穿着银灰色的空军服，我也穿上了军装，是棕色的。

肩章上是“中国：战地记者”。照我身上的记者证说，“此人如被俘，应享受少校待遇”。

我这人既好奇，又胆小，尤其法语不灵，在巴黎不敢乱撞。倘若不是那天与艾克敦邂逅，巴黎对我很可能只是个地理名词。是他把我带到神秘的（文化兼色情）孟巴那斯去的。

那次同艾克敦分手，就未再见着了。我那两年马不停蹄地在大西洋两岸追踪着新闻。40年后，我们才又联系上了。

八十年代初，单位人事科通知我说BBC（英国广播公司）要来我家拍电视。原来英国一家电影公司正与中国文化部合拍一部记述中国改革开放的电影，片名《龙的心》。后来此片在英美及世界许多国家放映了。我在国外许多老友都是看了此片（其中第12集描绘知识分子复苏的那段，有我几分钟镜头），写信给放映此片的BBC，再经文化部与我重新联系上的。当时艾克敦正在意大利。他也是这样写信同我联系上的。他还给我寄来有关他所世袭（当时他的老母已故去）的那所宫殿的画册，表示欢迎我们去小住。我早年就从徐志摩文中读到过“翡冷翠”，也很想去看看他。只是八十年代我几乎像40年前那样奔忙起来，挤不出时间。另外，我对去一个语言不通的地方，一向发怵。所以洁若去日本做访问学者的那一年，日方愿为我提供旅费和用度，我也没为之所动。

1990年，他先后寄给我两本他的自传正、续集《一个唯美主义者的回忆录》。这顶帽子是他自己扣的，我看很合适。我记得1942年我做了一件蠢事：我请艾克敦去伦敦上海饭馆吃饭，同席的还有印度作家安纳德和他的英裔夫人。请客不一定先了解被请者的政治观点。原来安纳德的夫人是位激烈的共产党员。席间，她就同艾克敦这位保守的古典主义者争辩得面红耳赤。

最近几年，除了每年交换圣诞贺卡之外，我们两人只间接打过交

道。一次是1985年纽约大学校长布赖德玛斯来京约我偕洁若去该校小住。后来才知道原来艾克敦刚立下遗嘱，把他世袭的那座宫殿捐赠给纽大了——他母亲是美国人。捐赠时，他曾表示希望该校邀请我们去校园小住。当时洁若还在日本，不久我们就去了。另外，两年前一位意大利记者突然来访。他是从艾克敦那里听说我们在译乔伊斯的，我们交谈的主要内容是西方小说在中国。

得悉艾克敦去世的消息，我在悲痛之余就想到：八十年代以来，有更多的西方学人在中国高等院校里任教，他们中间可有像艾克敦那样热爱中国和中国文化的人，会在中西之间起些穿针引线的作用。

［原载《解放日报》，1994年8月4日］

3. HELEN SNOW: A PERSONAL REMINISCENCE

It has been almost one year since Helen Snow, a sincere friend of the Chinese people, left us. In the 1930s she and Edgar Snow played a remarkable role in promoting friendship between the Chinese and American peoples and in introducing China's new literature to the English-speaking world. Though they divorced in 1949, nine years after they left China, their life-long friendship with the Chinese people never ceased. After 1949, Edgar Snow revisited China three times, in 1960, 1964 and 1970, and Helen Snow in 1972-73 and 1978.

I got to know the Snows in 1933. At that time Edgar Snow was teaching a journalism course at Yenching University and I was enrolled at Yenching after leaving Furen University. Snow taught at Yenching for two years. Since I was a journalism major, it was natural for me to register in Snow's classes, including a feature-writing class. Helen and I were classmates at Yenching, as both of us were attending a course on an aesthetics class taught by Prof. Huang Zitong. During World War II, I encountered Edgar in Paris and we spent almost a whole day together; we were both war correspondents assigned to cover the war in Western Europe. In 1979, when I revisited the United States, I made a special trip to see Helen at her home in a small town in Connecticut.

In the 1930s, a time when most foreigners in China still held the Chinese people in contempt, the Snows were fully confident that the Chinese people would one day stand up. They not only fully supported, but also participated with great zeal in the December 9th Movement in 1935. In the postscript to *Chestnuts*, my collection of stories published in 1936, I recalled how I accompanied an American couple to visit some students who were wounded and hospitalized the day after the December 9th student demonstration. That American journalist friend of mine and his wife spent a sleepless night, because they were so shocked by what had happened during the day. The wife suddenly gripped my arm, her hair disheveled, and shouted at me: "How could the Chinese soldiers (i.e., Song Zheyuan's 26th Army which suppressed the student demonstration in cold blood) be so cruel to their own people!" That American couple were the Snows.

At that time they were living in a courtyard house in the Haidian district of northwestern Beijing, where Yang Gang (then called Yang Bin) and I spent most of our free time. After they read my article about new Chinese literature published in 1931 in *China in Brief*, they invited me(and later Yang Gang) to join their e orts in translating and editing the book, later entitled *Living China: Modern Chinese Short Stories*.

It took a very long time to translate and edit the book, and to finally get it published. In the beginning, Snow had planned just to publish an English version of *Selected Short Stories* by Lu Xun. At Snow's request, Lu Xun wrote a "Preface to the English Translation of My Selected Short Stories" (later included in *Fragmentary Recollections*, Vol. 7 of *The Complete Works of Lu Xun*). Helen actively participated in Edgar's *Living China* project, as Lu Xun's diary entry for June 19, 1934 suggests: "Yao Ke came with a letter from Mr. Snow and his wife, I wrote them a letter of permission entitling them to translate and publish my works in the U. S." On August 22 that same year, in his reply to Harold Isaacs, editor of *Straw Sandals*, Lu Xun wrote: "Early in the spring I gave permission to Mr. Snow to translate my short stories into English. That's why I cannot give them again to another person." In the section on Lu Xun in his *Journey to the Beginning* (a selected translation of the book was published in China entitled *My Thirteen Years in China*) Snow recalled a meeting with Lu Xun in the company of Yao Ke in Shanghai: "At that time we were trying to publish an anthology of contemporary Chinese vernacular short stories, for which we received warm support from Lu Xun."

Unfortunately, the English version of Lu Xun's *Selected Short Stories* was not published as originally planned for a variety of reasons. Instead, it was included in Part One of *Living China: Modern Chinese Short Stories*. The book included seven short stories by Lu Xun, two each by Mao Dun, Ding Ling, and Tian Jun, as well as one each by Rou Shi, Ba Jin, Shen Congwen, Sun Xizhen, Lin Yutang, Yu Dafu, Zhang Tianyi, Guo Moruo, and Sha Ting. At the suggestion and insistence of Snow, the story "Fragment from a Lost Diary" (the Chinese version was published in *China Weekly Review* in 1935 under the title "Corporal Punishment") by Yang Gang, who used the pseudonym Yi Ming, and my story "The Conversion", which denounced imperialist cultural aggression by describing the Salvation Army's missionary activities among the lower class of Beijing society, were also included in the book.

The publication of *Living China* by George G. Harrap & Co. in London in 1936 evoked remarkable responses from its readers and reviewers. In my preface to the Chinese version entitled "Edgar Snow and China's New Literary Movement" (published by the Hunan People's Publishing House in April 1983), I wrote: "In the early 1930s Snow did a job of great significance. He and his wife Helen Foster made painstaking efforts to introduce China's new literary movement and works by Chinese writers to the English-speaking world, thus building a spiritual bridge between China and the rest of the world."

Included in *Living China* as an appendix was an essay written by Helen under the pen name Nym Wales, entitled "The Modern Chinese Literary Movement". In his Editor's Note to the book, Snow praised Nym as "an authoritative source on modern Chinese literature and art. This essay was written based on extensive and in-depth investigations of works by Chinese writers, and the opinions of many outstanding Chinese literary critics were solicited before the writing began. I believe this was the first time such an approach was ever taken to completely analyze the subject in English." Here I would like to reaffirm that Helen loved the Chinese people as much as Edgar did. She worked very hard, and was a great help to her husband in those days. She was deeply concerned with and had a good understanding of China's new literary movement. More significantly, they both recognized the value of China's new literature. Her essay was based on a wide range of sources, and whatever she heard about the subject was included in this essay. This inclusiveness did not reduce the significance of her essay, and her work remains a lasting contribution she rendered to the Chinese people. Helen showed great courage in exposing in detail and denouncing the Kuomintang's cruel purge and bloody oppression of the Left-wing writers. Under the Kuomintang's terrorism and tight information control at that time, her exposure of the fascist atrocities committed by the Kuomintang displayed dauntless heroism. Her motive was clear: to help the progressive peoples of the world understand and pay attention to China's new literature.

Through their study of China's new literary movement and the voluminous works created by Chinese writers in the 1930s, Helen and Edgar tried to understand the enthusiasm, passion, misery, and hope of the Chinese people then living in dire circumstances. It was Edgar Snow's insight into the reality of Chinese society that spurred him to take a courageous trip to Yan'an, the sacred center of the Chinese revolution, in 1936. Like John Reed,

the American journalist who wrote *Ten Days That Shook the World*, Snow had discerned that the final victory of the Chinese people's revolution was an inexorable law of history.

It is not an overstatement to say that Edgar and Helen were the two most active and most objective-minded Western journalists among their colleagues in China and the Far East during the 1930s. Though a good wife and an indispensable assistant to her husband's work, Helen was more than a housewife. When Edgar finished his *Red Star over China* after his Yan'an trip in 1936, Helen made her own journey to Yan'an in April 1937 to "catch up with her husband", at even greater risk. Shortly after this visit she published her own book, *Inside Red China*, which was acclaimed the companion piece to Edgar's *Red Star over China* and drew attention both in China and worldwide.

When I met Helen at her old house in Connecticut in 1979 we talked about her separation and divorce from Edgar. Early in the 1930s when I first met them I felt their personalities were in sharp contrast. Edgar was always calm, refined and taciturn, while Helen was enthusiastic, impulsive and overwhelming. These differences eventually led to their divorce. Many years later in his *Journey to the Beginning*, Edgar wrote that Helen was "an extraordinary woman, sometimes a torture, but more often an inspiration to me. She is full of energy and creativity. She was my loyal partner, my companion as well as my critic." With deep affection Edgar continued: "She is a Greek goddess, admired wherever she goes. She is exquisite and healthy, with a pair of ever-twinkling blue eyes, really a rare crystallization of beauty and wisdom." After her divorce Helen lived for almost half a century in the old house in Madison, Connecticut which Edgar had bought with his *Red Star over China* royalties. In October 1979 when I went to see her at her home in the company of Prof. Hans H. Frankel (Sinologist and husband of famous Kunqu opera actress Zhang Chonghe), Helen showed me 17 books in manuscript placed in cardboard boxes. After I returned to Beijing, I wrote some articles—one was entitled "What Helen Snow Had Said"—to appeal on Helen's behalf, urging Chinese publishers to translate and publish some of her works. Unfortunately, it seems to me that only two of Helen's books have been published in China so far, one is *My China Years*, and the other is *China Revisited* (a collection of writings about her trip to China in 1978).

Both Helen and Edgar had devoted a great part of their life to promoting mutual understanding between China and America. The more I think of their

profound friendship with the Chinese people, beginning in the 1930s, the more I cherish it.

[*September 19, 1997*]

叁　悼念海伦·斯诺

中国人民的挚友海伦·斯诺去世已将近一年了。三十年代，在沟通中美人民之间的友谊，并向世界介绍中国新文艺方面，她和埃德加·斯诺曾起过卓越的作用。这对夫妻离开中国后，婚姻关系早于1949年就破裂了，然而埃德加曾于1960年、1964年、1970年，海伦也于1972年至1973年以及1978年分别重访过我国。他们对中国人民的深厚情谊持续终身。

我和这对美国夫妇是1933年结识的。说来也真巧，斯诺在燕京大学新闻系统共只教过两年书，我刚好从辅仁转入燕大，读的还是新闻系。当然选了斯诺的课，其中一门是特写。我和海伦另外还有一层同学关系，因为我们二人都上了黄子通教授的“美学”（她是旁听生）。二次大战期间，在奔赴西欧战场的途中，我曾同也是一身从军记者戎装的埃德加于巴黎偶然相逢，而且一道盘桓了大半天。1979年我重访美国，曾去海伦蛰居的那个东岸小镇探望过她。

三十年代，当许多洋人对中国心存蔑视时，海伦和埃德加坚信中国人民有一天必将会站起来。他们不但支持、而且还以极大的热情参加了一二·九运动。他们走在游行队伍的前列，挥动着标语旗帜，并同抡着大刀的军警搏斗。1936年，我曾在小说集《栗子》的跋中谈到我陪一对美国夫妇在一二·九的次日去医院探视受伤同学的情景。“一个作新闻记者的美国朋友和他的太太也由于神经受到过重的刺激，一夜未能阖眼。那位太太披散着乱发，抓住我的胳膊嚷：‘中国人（指宋哲元的二十六军）怎么对自己的人民那么凶狠！’”那位美国记者就是斯诺，他的太太就是海伦。

当时他们夫妇住在海淀军机处八号一所四合院里。我和杨刚（当时名杨缤）几乎天天都泡在那儿。当他们看到1931年我在《中国简报》（*China in Brief*）上所写的有关中国新文艺的介绍时，马上就把我（后来加上杨刚）拉进《活的中国》的编译工作中去了。

《活的中国》的编译、出版过程相当曲折。斯诺首先计划出版的是鲁迅的《短篇小说选》英译本。为此，鲁迅还写了一篇《英译本〈短篇小说选集〉自序》（后来收入《鲁迅全集》第七卷《集外集拾遗》）。海伦对埃德加的工作一直是积极参与的，这从鲁迅1934年6月19日的日记中可以得到证实：“姚克来并交施乐（即斯诺）君及夫人信，即写付作品翻译及在美印行权证一纸。”同年8月22日，鲁迅又在致《草鞋脚》编者伊罗生的复信中说：“我的小说，今年春天已允许施乐君随便翻译，不能答应第二个人了。”斯诺在《我在中国十三年》一书的“鲁迅印

象记”一节中提到，他在上海曾偕同姚克与鲁迅晤面：“那时候，我们计划把一些现代的白话短篇小说翻译成为英文结集出版，为此，鲁迅热情地给予支持。”

后来由于种种原因，鲁迅的《短篇小说选》不曾单独出版，却改成了《活的中国——现代中国短篇小说选》的第二部分，其中收入了鲁迅的七篇小说。第二部分还选译了茅盾、丁玲、田军的小说各二篇，柔石、巴金、沈从文、孙席珍、林语堂、郁达夫、张天翼、郭沫若、沙汀的小说各一篇。在斯诺的建议和坚持下，还收进了杨刚那篇〔署名“佚名”的〕《日记拾遗》（中文版易名《肉刑》，发表在1935年的《国闻周报》上）和我那篇通过救世军在北平下层社会的宗教活动写帝国主义文化侵略的《皈依》。

《活的中国》于1936年由伦敦乔治·G.哈拉普公司出版后，曾引起巨大反响。正如我在该书中文版（湖南人民出版社，1983年4月）的代序《斯诺与中国新文艺运动》中所说的：“三十年代上半期，斯诺在中国曾做过一件极有意义的工作：他和他当时的妻子海伦·福斯特花了不少心血把我国新文艺的概况及一些作品介绍给广大世界读者，在国际上为我们修通一道精神桥梁。”

《活的中国》后面有一篇附录，那是海伦用“妮姆·威尔斯”这一笔名所撰写的《现代中国文学运动》。斯诺在该书的“编者序言”中说，妮姆是“研究现代中国文学艺术的权威。此文是在对原著做了广泛而深入的调查研究的基础上写的，执笔之前又曾同中国几位最出色的文学评论家磋商过。我相信这是第一次用英文写成的全面分析的探讨。”这里，首先应该肯定海伦对中国人民的友谊是跟埃德加同样深厚真挚的。她总是勤勤恳恳地工作，是丈夫当时的好帮手。她对中国新文艺运动是关心的，也有一定的了解。更重要的是他们二人都认识到中国新文学的重大价值。她的材料来源庞杂，几乎是“有闻必录”。然而她这篇文章仍然是重要的——甚至说得上是她对中国做出的一项不可磨灭的功绩。最可贵的是她在文中详尽具体地揭露并义正词严地声讨了国民党对左联作家的残酷迫害与血腥镇压。在国民党一面实行白色恐怖，一面对内对外严密封锁消息的当时，仅仅把这些法西斯暴行公诸于世就是大无畏的正义之举。她的出发点是明确的：使世界进步人士了解、注意并重视方兴未艾的中国新文艺运动。

海伦和她丈夫埃德加一道把精力倾注在中国新文艺运动的探讨上，通过沸腾的三十年代像雨后春笋般涌现的文艺作品，探索了处在水深火热中的中国人民的憎与爱、咒诅与憧憬。正因为埃德加窥见了现实更本质的方面，他才于1936年突破黑暗的重围，奔赴陕北革命圣地，才像另一位美国记者——著有《震撼世界的十天》的约翰·里德那样，洞察到

人民革命的胜利是历史的必然规律。

应该说，海伦和埃德加是三十年代在中国、在远东最活跃也是最正直的一对西方新闻记者。尽管海伦对丈夫照拂得无微不至，倘若她仅仅是一位“贤内助”，我们也不需要对她本人进行什么了解了。然而她不但是埃德加的得力助手，而且往往还独立地平行地活动着。例如埃德加于1936年去陕北后写了《西行漫记》，海伦也不甘落后，转年4月她冒着更大的风险只身去了陕北，并写成《续西行漫记》。这是《西行漫记》的姊妹篇，在国际国内产生了广泛影响。

那一次我在海伦那古色古香的小木屋里与她叙旧的当儿，话题曾转到她和埃德加分手的事。三十年代我就感到这对夫妇性格迥乎不同。埃德加总是那么温和典雅沉静，而海伦则激烈冲动，热心肠。尽管性格的差异最后导致这对夫妇分道扬镳，然而多年后，埃德加还在《复始之旅》（*Journey to the Beginning*）一书中说海伦是位“极不寻常的女人。她时常折磨我，又经常给我以启发。她充满活力，创造力，是一位忠诚的合作者。她既是我的伴侣，又是我的批评家。”他还满怀深情地这样形容她的容貌：“她是一位希腊女神。走到哪里，都为人们所爱慕。她漂亮、健康，一双蓝眼睛闪闪发亮，是美貌和智慧两者罕见的结晶。”

与丈夫离异后，海伦在埃德加当年用《西行漫记》的版税买下的那座小木屋里度过了将近半个世纪。它坐落在康涅狄克州的门格尔镇。18年前的10月下旬我在汉学家傅汉斯教授（昆曲大师张充和的丈夫）的陪同下去拜访海伦时，她把装在硬纸盒里尚未能出版的17部稿件指给我看。回京后，我曾在《海伦·斯诺如是说》等文章里替她呼吁过，然而令人遗憾的是，其中迄今得以在我国翻译出版的好像只有《我在中国的岁月》和《重返中国》。

海伦和埃德加都为促进中美友谊献出了自己的大半生。三十年代以来他们对中国人民的那份隆情厚谊，至今回忆起来仍是弥足珍贵的。

［1997年9月19日］

注释与参考书目

序

1　见《萧乾文学回忆录》第l64页，华艺出版社1992年4月版。此书收入《萧乾文集》第7卷，见第316页。

2　见《未带地图的旅人》第136页，中国文联出版公司1998年版。此书收入《萧乾文集》第7卷，见第119页。

3　见《未带地图的旅人》第176页，中国文联出版公司1998年版。此书收入《萧乾文集》第7卷，见第155页。

苦难时代的蚀刻——现代中国文学鸟瞰

1　英文音译名应为米尔，今通译为约翰·斯图尔特·穆勒（1806—1873），英国哲学家、经济学家和逻辑学家。

2　Burma：缅甸（Myanmar）的旧称。

3　Manchuria：满洲，旧指中国东北一带。

4　Dairen：大连的旧译。

5　约瑟夫·康拉德（1857—1924），英国航海家、小说家。

6　安德烈·马尔罗（1901—1976），二十世纪法国著名小说家。

7　威廉·布莱克（1757—l827），英国漫画家、诗人。

8　保罗·瓦莱里（1871—1945），法国诗人、评论家。

9　沃尔特·惠特曼（1819—1892），美国诗人。

10　见《笔立山头展望》，收入《女神》。

11　A. A.米尔恩（1882—1956），英国幽默作家。

12　该剧为英国唯美主义剧作家王尔德的名作。

13　詹姆斯·巴里（1860—1937），英国剧作家、小说家。

14　该剧即萧伯纳的名作《华伦夫人之职业》。

15　此处引文根据英文转译。

16　J. K.杰罗姆，英国小品文作家。

17　W. H.赫德森（1841—1922），英国作家、博物学家和鸟类学家。

18　纳克索斯，希腊神话中因爱上自己映在水中的美丽影子以致淹死而变为水仙的美少年。

19　哈夫洛克·蔼理斯（1859—1939），英国随笔作家、编辑、医师。

20　参见欧阳竞《谈何其芳的散文》，原载《宇宙风》（乙刊）1941年第37期。

21　参见何其芳著《还乡日记·街》，上海良友图书公司l939年8月初版。

22　康斯坦斯·加尼特夫人（1862—1946），英国女翻译家，是最早把陀思妥耶夫斯基和契诃夫的作品译成英文的人。

23　利顿·斯特雷奇（1880—1932），英语传记作家、批评家。

24　韦塞克斯，盎格鲁撒克逊英格兰诸王国之一，其君主后来成为全英格兰的国王。

25　指抗战爆发。

龙须与蓝图——战后文化的思考

1 意为乌托邦，即nowhere的倒拼，预示对永恒进步所抱幻想的破灭。
2 英国城镇，英格兰萨洛普郡首府。城市存有许多著名建筑，其中包括旧市政厅、部分城墙、城楼、多种风格的圣玛丽教堂等。
3 据查证资料，汤若望曾被软禁在家，于1666年7月病故于宣武门内天主教堂南堂。
4 杨光先（1595—1669），康熙初年曾上书反对西洋人制《时宪历》。著有《不得已》一书，反对西方科学技术。
5 王壬秋，即王闿运，晚清著名辞章家，辛亥革命后任清史馆馆长。此处根据英文转译。
6 清朝（Qing Dynasty）。
7 伦敦阿尔伯特纪念堂，常用作音乐会和其他集会的会场。
8 英文疑为作者笔误，实为Liang Shuming。
9 此处引文根据英文转译。
10 此处引文根据英文转译。
11 此处引文根据英文转译。
12 此处引文根据英文转译。
13 此处引文根据英文转译。
14 此处引文根据英文转译。
15 参见闻一多《戏剧的歧途》。
16 此处引文根据英文转译。
17 芬尼·伯尼（1752—1840），英国女小说家兼书简作家。
18 欧玛尔·海亚姆（1048—1122），阿拉伯诗人、数学家、天文学家，著有《鲁拜集》。
19 亚历山大·蒲柏（1688—1744），英国十八世纪前期最重要的讽刺诗人。
20 沃尔特·佩特（1839—1894），英国批评家，王尔德、穆尔和其他一些唯美主义作家都是他的信徒。
21 朱里安·贝尔：英国著名女作家弗吉尼亚·吴尔夫的侄子，抗战期间曾在武汉，与中国女作家凌叔华交往密切，并介绍凌与吴尔夫通信。
22 参见《我与散文》，收入《还乡日记》，上海良友图书公司1935年8月初版。
23 此处根据英文转译。
24 此处引文根据英文转译。
25 英语文学刊物。
26 此处引文根据英文转译。
27 此处引文根据英文转译。

土地回老家

（英文原注）

1 The tithing system of the Manchu regime in which every 10 families make a *chia* and every 10 *chia* a *pao*. The KMT also adopted this system. It made families within a *pao* responsible for each other's action and all responsible to the local Japanese or KMT officials.
2 About three o'clock in the morning.
3 A *li* is slightly more than one third of a mile, about 633 yards.
4 Before the liberation, peasants renting land had to pay the landlords a deposit in advance which customarily amounted to a year's harvest yield.
5 The traditional day for visiting the graves of the ancestors. It falls in early April.
6 The 9th day of the 9th moon which is about mid-October in the solar calendar.
7 *Tou* is one tenth of a *tan* (picul) which is 50 kilogrammes. Ten *sheng* make a *tou*. In Hunan, land is sometimes measured by the average yield, as around Changsha. In the locality where the events related here are set, it is measured according to the amount of seeds the land requires. One *tan* equals

roughly 7 *mou*. A hectare is approximately 16 *mou*.

8 A hollow drum shaped like a fish used by Buddhists during their chants.

9 Jellied soya beans resembling junket in substance.

10 The Qing Dynasty was overthrown and the Republic began in 1911. Therefore, the l6th year is 1927.

11 Term used by peasants indicating a hiding place for landlords and their properties.

12 Land the ownership to which has been hidden to avoid pooling for redistribution.

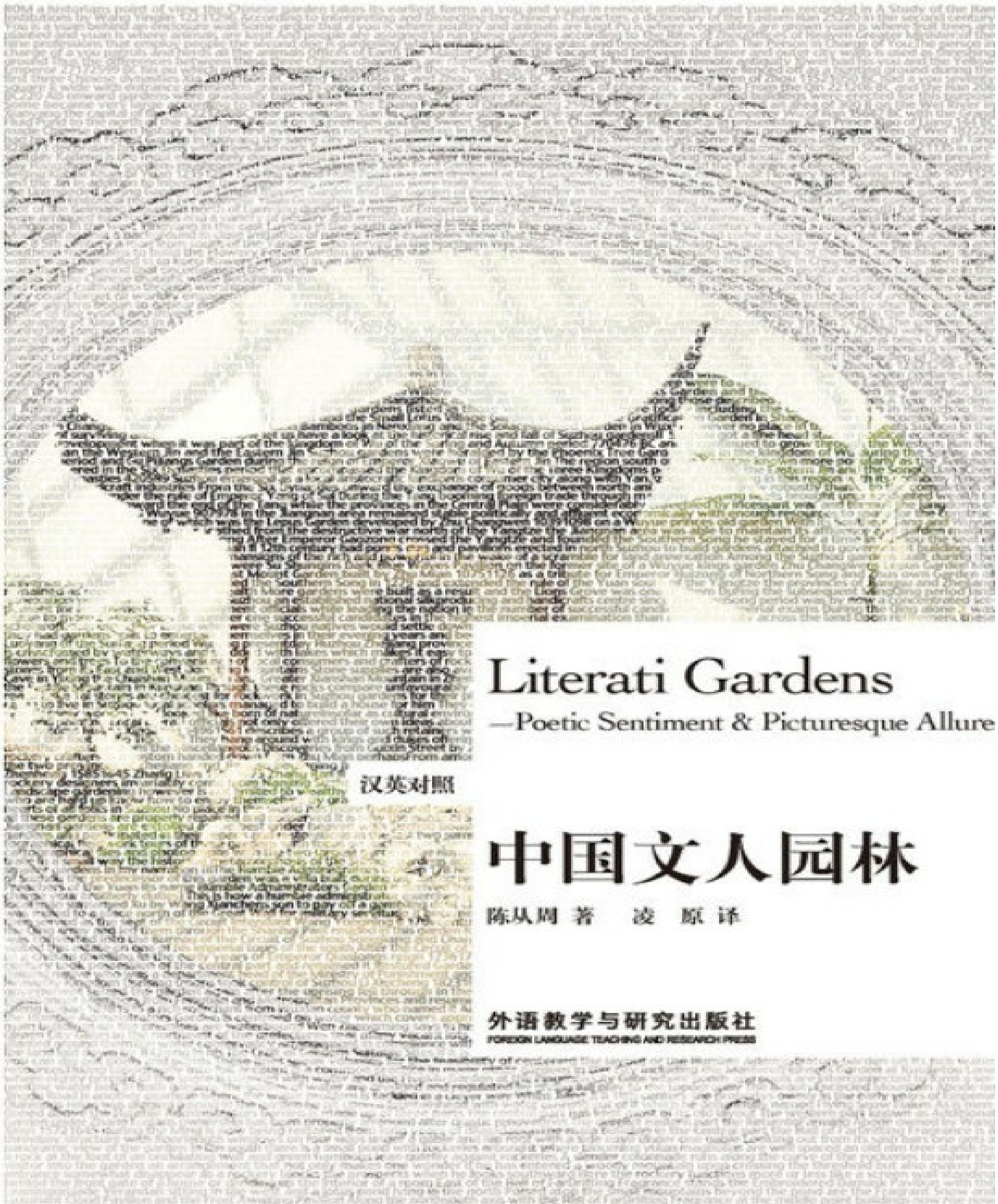
回忆几位友人

1 指英国国王威廉三世（1650—1702）及其妻子玛利二世统治英国的时代（1689—1702）。这里指某座建筑是那个时代的。

2 *The Tale of Genji* by Lady Murasaki.

3 哈罗德·拉斯基（1893—1950），英国政治家、教育家，杰出的工党成员。1945年被选为工党主席，同年大选中工党获胜。

4 《哈宾芝尔收获集》（1936）为福斯特的一部散文集。



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中国文人园林

陈从周 著　凌　原 译

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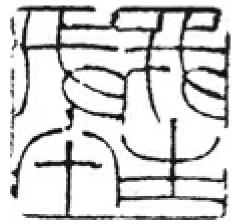

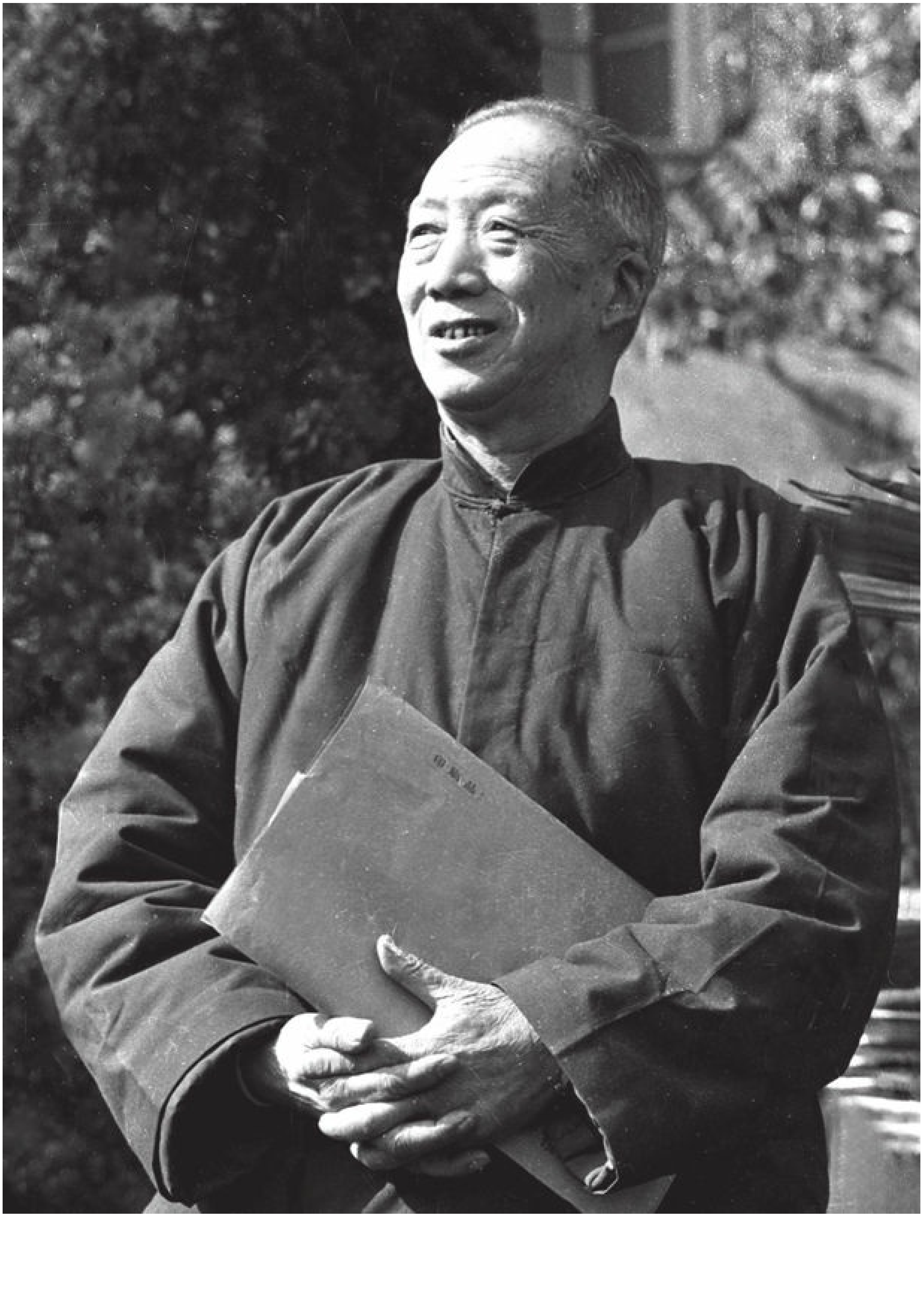

“博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼看世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的*My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以*Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley*为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》（*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*）、狄百瑞（W. T. de Bary）英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》（*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*），等等。

有鉴于此，外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅，乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育（Liberal Education）早在古希腊时代就得以提倡，旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人，提高人文素质，培养健康人格，中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦

有此功用。

双语，乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式，既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求，又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云：“语言的边界，乃是世界的边界”，诚哉斯言。

名家，乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域，皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作，乃是该系列的入选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典，正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义：经典并非你正在读的书，而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》（1919年12月1日，《新青年》第7卷第1号）一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念，我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列，既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”，亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

PREFACE

> [Gardens in dynastic China] were expensive pieces of real estate, but they were also consciously constructed and aesthetically perceived artifacts. They overlap intriguingly the boundaries of several Chinese categories, and have a power to illuminate the border regions they traverse.[1]

The human relationship with land is fundamental. It predates society—we were pillaging the land for food and shelter long before we understood much of nature's power and abundance—and the phenomenon of the garden, which the settling of people in one location and the societies that evolved as a result, enabled. With the fact of the first consciously constructed dwelling established, as time flowed on, social structures gained ever deeper footholds within human communities and engendered inevitable societal differences; certain groups of people discovered new and various relationships to the land that afforded what we now describe as privilege. But these conditions further required a degree of economic stability before the land could be put to uses other than that of accommodating purely pragmatic needs of survival. As this economic foundation assumed tangible form, however, so too did the garden as enclosed stretches of nature, owned and altered at will by those to whom they were granted. In time, too, these gardens became less private, less exclusive, soon to occupy a place in almost every culture and geography worldwide, with some of the earliest examples dating back over four thousand years, to Egyptian times. Today we might venture to describe the garden as that most democratic and welcoming of all cultural forms. As one reads in the pages of this book,

> Even the rank and file, including those who are hard up, know how to enjoy themselves by gracing their homes with miniature rockeries and potted islets.

That love is only slightly diminished today, as a result of the speed and voluminous elements of contemporary life which increasingly encroach on the time and the level of general knowledge once commonly held amongst that "rank and file."

In every sense, then, gardens embody man's relationship with nature culturally and, to recent generations carrying the insights of the father of psychoanalysis, the German Sigmund Freud, psychologically. From whatever perspective it is viewed, that relationship constitutes, arguably, a dominion over nature as much as an admiration of its forms and a tangible, if idealized,

desire to enhance the natural world and experience it as nature surely intended—Man was, from the first, subject to the folly of immodesty. Ultimately, as demonstrations of our ability to bend and fashion nature to our vision and will, gardens are, both practically and metaphysically, a keystone of human civilization. From Mesopotamia to Greece, Rome to Europe and the modern world, examples abound, and for civilizations as diverse as Arab, Seljuk, Persian, Islamic, European, and Asian. Amongst all these, the most enduring association is perhaps that between China's classical cultural traditions and the exquisite aesthetics that affectionate energy brought forth in the process of creating some of the world's most famous gardens.

Gardens in China have their origins in imperial parklands and hunting grounds but proliferated in aesthetic form from the 12th century as private estates, the purview of wealthy individuals, became a phenomenon. As a concept, a garden provided "scholargentlemen a means, at least in part, of achieving these antithetical ideals of pursuing self-cultivation while fleeing from the 'dust' of the world and living in reclusion in nature."[2]

The story of a garden almost always begins with an individual, be that the adroit lord of the manor or person of social standing who commissioned and funded it or in whose name it was enshrined. Equally, it might be the individual designer to whose vision the garden first owed its formal beauty and emotive appeal. From the 12th century onwards, the task of providing China's scholar-gentlemen with a sanctuary for self-cultivation provided a livelihood for numerous individuals who took on the responsibility of formulating garden designs, a task at which they worked assiduously as this book can attest. Foremost amongst these was the eminent 17th-century scholar Ji Cheng (1582-*c*. 1642), a native of Wujiang in Jiangsu province, who created a number of exquisite gardens, examples of which remain today as some of this art form's finest archetypes.

Significantly, Ji Cheng's concepts are preserved for posterity in the celebrated volume *The Craft of Gardens*, which its author completed in 1631, and with which his handiwork was readily compared through the succeeding several centuries. For recent generations, the singular significance of Ji Cheng's skill is how well his creations have stood the test of time. *The Craft of Gardens* continues to be of immeasurable influence to anyone interested in the richly entwined cultural concerns brought to bear on his life's work of cultivating gardens as an art form. This influence was firmly embraced by 20th-century garden expert, Chen Congzhou, whose diligent scholarly

writings are collected together in this exhaustive volume.

Modestly titled *Literati Gardens: Poetic Sentiment & Picturesque Allure*, this compendium brings together transcripts from lectures Chen Congzhou presented at Shanghai's Tongji University between 1979 and 1982 and presented at various seminars with a range of articles penned for the university's journal. It further includes a range of articles published across China in museum newsletters and academic journals in the late 1950s, early 1960s, and on through to the early 1990s. *Literati Gardens* thus represents a serious, indepth work of research into the history of gardens across China concerning their form and content, the discrete biography of their creators and the individual characteristics that make up the rich history of garden design in China through time. Within the nation's distinct socio-cultural history, the concept of the garden as consciously formulated sanctuary-retreat was, from the first, viewed as "an artistic synthesis of architecture, rockery, water, and horticulture." Enclosed within physical parameters of a piece of land, a garden was cultivated for the pleasure of communing with nature but in an elegant, restrained manner. As so many classical brush paintings illustrate, where figures are depicted in states of meditative reflection standing on a rock, beneath a tree, or seated in a pavilion, at times with friends, but usually alone, these enclaves were viewed as a composite realm of navigable form, where the mind was calmed and wildness dispensed with.

It took designers and horticulturalists more than two thousand years—beginning in the Zhou dynasty (1046-256 BC)—to evolve a holistic conceptual aesthetic of the ideal garden which drew upon the multitude of sensibilities that were brought to other art forms through the same period. This process surely involved a great deal more trial and error than is ever discussed, although allusions can be read between the lines Chen Congzhou writes where plants are transplanted from their native regions and not to best effect, or where later hands are seen to intervene in the classical lines of an ancient garden. We might say the invisible force of time at work in nature here is complemented by the invisible hand of the original designer which sought to lead the meditative wanderer to the vistas that lie within. For it is once inside that the observant visitor recognizes a multitude of such scenic settings that allow one to "make sense of the divine philosophy implied in landscape gardening."

By Ji Cheng's time in the 17th century, the aesthetic was at a peak of perfection, aided by this particular master's contributions, which Chen

Congzhou duly notes. "Love for nature, indeed, is borne deeply in the hearts of folks in Suzhou," he says, where many of Ji Cheng's designs flourished. "No place in the world has more traditional gardens—and has them in a complete array," Chen Congzhou confirms. From the first, the essential components remained elemental, but the garden was, under Ji Cheng's deft hand, a physical mapping of a harmony achieved through a sequence of imperceptible transitions, often completed using physical structures like the architectural form of the pavilion. These also provided places to pause, to contemplate, to enjoy and appreciate seasonal shifts reflected in changing contours and colors. "Ideal gardens," Chen Congzhou wrote in 1994, "are like superb lines of verse." In common with poems and paintings, the perfect garden, he adds, should be filled with "implicit undertones." These he recognizes in the work of many others besides Ji Cheng, for few it seems, at least in recent history, can have looked at so many gardens and looked so closely as Chen Congzhou. Intricately observed, detailed and described, Chen Congzhou's writings combine to a comprehensive survey of ancient buildings, gardens and dwellings. Even a casual glance reveals an extraordinary eye for details that are both lovingly observed and explained.

One example is the following anecdote concerning the structure of bridges found in simpler gardens:

> The bridges in traditional Chinese gardens are often balustraded on one side and left open on the other, to the bewilderment of many observers. This arrangement is actually adapted to everyday rural life. When a peasant crosses a bridge with a load on both ends of his shoulder pole, or with a buffalo in tow, his movement is likely to be hampered if the bridge is narrow, and, worse, balustraded on both sides. This is why many rural bridges have no balustrades at all or have a balustrade on just one side. In what is a typical case of someone being well-read but having a poor memory of his ancestors' way of doing things, garden crafters of later generations often forget this simple reason and turn a small bridge into a narrow lane by sandwiching it between tall railings.

Chen Congzhou's investigation of gardens was ever underscored by his interest in examining and re-establishing the personalities with which each garden was "imbued with the botanical character of the place in which it finds itself," and was, in many cases, conceived to express. He found in the writings of Ji Cheng inspiring examples of creativity in the diverse elements and materials that this master himself employed to achieve texture and depth in the designs and which were both a response to place and to craft, techniques in which Chen Congzhou delighted. Within the wide-ranging aspects of the gardens Chen Congzhou discussed, historic context is not without influence in the evolution of the garden as form and aesthetic, but his

interpretations draw with particular intensity upon his deep knowledge of the arts and the evolving relationship these enjoyed with the concepts applied to garden designs. "…poetry and prose, calligraphy and painting, and theater and balladry are, after all, different forms of expression for the same thought or feeling." Chen Congzhou explains:

> The gardens made by literati-officials, most of whom were proficient in poetry and prose and could paint and sing, were inevitably rooted in their shared ideals or feelings, with elegance as the chief mode of expression. Full of allusions to poetry and prose, their gardens achieve oneness with literature by means of inscribed boards and vertical couplets, as well as records and colophons on classical paintings. That is why whenever a visitor steps into such a garden, he feels as if he were visiting the realms of poetry and painting. If he is highly attained in literature, he may improvise a poem on the spot; if he is a painter, he may depict the garden's scenery with freewheeling brush strokes in the late Ming tradition. All this I believe has happened to every educated visitor to such a garden.

More pertinent still to the achievement to which Chen Congzhou's writings attest, he writes that "…to make convincing comments on a garden, one must delve into its history and, more than anything else, become well acquainted with the lifestyle of its day. Every garden provides an integral sightseeing route that cannot be put upside down. This is like a piece of writing that must have a beginning, development, transition and a conclusion…"

It is a process Chen Congzhou clearly adopted and followed. The density of detail involved in the lengthy descriptions, as well as the effects of repeated visits through time, may at times imbue the writing with a prosaic air, but, the gentle interweaving of references in the text to ink painting or Kunqu Opera, juxtaposed with a profusion of poems, serves to evoke the various moods one might encounter whilst perusing in a garden's myriad vistas should a visit be possible—and, should the garden be unaltered by the machinations of time and the demands of urban development and growth. The phenomenon of urban sprawl is not uncontainable, it is desired as a means of coping with the density of large cities and their burgeoning populations.

For the love Chen Congzhou exhibits in these writings, perhaps because of it, we understand that he was also aware of how gardens always were, as Craig Clunas describes at the beginning of this text, in essence "pieces of real estate." This sense is prescient today as those ancient gardens that continue to exist are preserved by contemporary hands and, increasingly, monetized in the name of modern tourism. Chen Congzhou laments the practice of renaming gardens and altering aspects of their content which disturbs the

original aura of place with which they were imbued. He goes to great lengths to describe how the reorganisation of the form—such as the opening up of new gates, or the altering of pathways—impacts the flow of "beginning, development, transition and conclusion" upon which the design was conceived, and turning, in his view, that flow "upside down." That only lends greater import to the body of research and writings compiled here in the *Literati Gardens: Poetic Sentiment & Picturesque Allure*; the life-time work of a man from possibly the last generation in China to experience a traditional education schooled in the four classics, to have been afforded a university education and to have seen the gardens he describes in an almost original state. The preserving of these writings together in one volume achieves a fitting tribute to the life work of a man delightfully evoked in the words of Song Fansheng, professor of Zhejiang University, as the "only man in modern China who could make gardens and restore old ones with his own hands while writing books to appreciate and comment on Chinese gardens."

That the poetic language of the original writings is also preserved in the masterful translation presented here is to the credit of the team led by Professor Ling Yuan, an FLTRP senior translator whose painstaking work on rendering Chen Congzhou's texts available in elegant English echo the diligent efforts that the great garden designers expended to cultivate a traditional garden. The translation is nothing less than meticulous, and every effort has been made to retain the authentic aura of the original text with particular diligence brought to achieving the appropriate meter of the poetic verse contained within and the descriptive names which apply. Like the gardens Chen Congzhou describes, the manifold writings in the *Literati Gardens* can be seen to overlap the boundaries of multiple intriguing "Chinese categories" and beautifully "illuminate the various borders they traverse."

Karen Smith
Chinese art historian, Great Britain
June 26, 2018

前言

[历朝历代的中国园林]都是身价不菲的地产；与此同时，也是精心建造且富有美感的人类遗产。园林横亘于几类中国学科的交叉地带，烛照它们所跨越的边缘区域，并拥有为之一亮的艺术魅力。

人与土地之间的关系是最根本的。这种关系的产生早于社会的产生——早在对大自然的力量与丰饶有所了解之前，人类就为食物和蔽身之处而搜刮着土地——也早于园林这一现象的产生。人们在某地定居，因此社会得以演化，园林成为可能。随着时间的流逝，人类第一次有意识地建造住所，社会结构在人类聚群中更加牢固，社会差异随之而来，不可避免。某些群体发现了人与土地之间新的关系，由此产生我们现在所谓的“特权”。这就要求在土地满足人类纯粹的生存需求之余、用于其他目的之前，社会经济必须达到相当稳定的程度。因此当这一经济基础形成之时，由绵延不尽的大自然围合而来的园林之形也随之诞生，园林作为封地被拥有、随意让渡或改建。随着时间的推移，这些园林的私有、专属性越来越低，很快在几乎所有文化和地区都占据了一席之地。最早的园林可追溯到四千多年前的埃及。今天，我们甚至可以大胆地将园林描述为所有文化形态中最为民主、最受欢迎的一种形式。正如读者在本书中所读到的，

虽闾阎下户，亦饰小山盆岛为玩。

时至今日，对于园林的热衷略有减褪，究其原因，是由于当代生活节奏加快、内容繁多，不断侵蚀这些“闾阎下户”曾经拥有的闲暇时光以及赏识水准。

园林从文化层面上彻里彻外地体现了人与自然的关系；而对于拥有德国精神分析学之父西格蒙德·弗洛伊德之洞察力的近代人而言，这种关系还体现在精神层面上。不论哪个层面，可以说这一关系既体现了人类对大自然的控制欲望、对其千姿百态的崇敬心情，也寄托着人类加强大自然、本然体验大世界的真切理想。人类从来都是傲慢不逊的动物。作为人类有能力按自身意志塑造大自然的最终实证，神形兼备的园林称得上是人类文明的基石。从美索不达米亚到希腊、从罗马到欧洲与现代世界，有大量例证可循；阿拉伯、塞尔柱、古波斯、伊斯兰及欧亚大陆等文明也概莫能外。这当中一条源远流长的纽带，也许要数中国的古典文化传统及其精湛的美学之间的联系了。这种美学，在创造世界名园的过程中产生了深情和动力。

中国园林起源于皇家苑囿和狩猎围场，但是从12世纪起，当园林作

为私人庭园即富豪的专属领地问世时，其审美形式也更上一层楼。作为一种理念，园林“给士大夫提供了一种方式，至少在某种程度上，让他们得以自我陶冶，同时又能避尘嚣、隐自然”。

园林的故事总是以个人开场，几乎无一例外。这个“他”也许是精明的地主或社会名流，他们雇人出资兴建园林，或以其大名为园林命名。同样，也可能是一个设计师，园子因其设计而初具样式之美和情感魅力。12世纪以来，给中国文人士大夫提供修身之所，成为众多营造匠师的生计着落；他们不遗余力构园的业绩，本书足以见证。其中最突出的，当数17世纪的知名学者计成（1582—约1642），江苏吴江人氏。他营造了许多精致的园林，其中一些至今仍是这门艺术形式的最佳典范。

值得注意的是，计成的理念在其著作《园冶》（1631年完成）中得以留传后人，他的实际营造物在接下来的几百年中可随时随地供人评说。近代人认为，计成技艺的奇特之处在于，他的作品都完美地经受了时间的考验。他毕生从事的造园活动是一种艺术形式，有着丰富的文化联系，对有志于此的人而言，《园冶》有着不可估量的影响。20世纪的园艺巨擘陈从周身上就体现了这一影响，他勤勉而成的学术论著就囊入本书。

编者自谦，集子取名为《中国文人园林》，汇集了陈从周先生1979年至1982年在上海同济大学以及各种研讨会上的演讲笔录，还有他为校刊撰写的一系列文章。此外还包括他20世纪50年代末、60年代初直到90年代早期在博物馆通讯和学术期刊上发表的一系列文章。《中国文人园林》因此体现了严肃深入的园林史研究，遍及中国大地，提及园林的样式与内涵、造园者传记以及中国由来已久的精深造园史的特性。在这个国家独特的社会文化范围内，园林作为有意规制的避隐之所，从一开始就被赋予了“由建筑、山水、花木等组合而成的一个综合艺术品”的观念。园林圈围在一片实在的土地之内，为了与自然相应的乐趣而营造，优雅而有节奏。正如许多中国画所描绘的那样，画中人或参悟冥想，或肃立巨石之上，或栖身大树之下，或休憩凉亭之中，间或友朋为伴，但常形单影只。置身其中的这些园林是一综合领域，游憩其间则心田澄静而粗野顿消。

自周朝（前1046—前256）始，设计师和园艺师花了两千多年时间才演化出理想园林审美观的整体概念，汲取了同时期其他艺术形式的审美情怀。审美观的形成肯定涉及各种试错实践，数量之多远超议论范围。陈从周的字里行间也提到植物从原生地移栽未果，抑或后人干预古旧园林的原有形制。可以说，自然里存在着无形的时间力量，造园师有着引导沉思冥想的访客进入景点的无形之手，二者互为补充。细心敏锐的访客一旦进入，便能从众多的场景中领会“构园神理”。

到了17世纪计成的年代，缘于这位大师的贡献，造园美学达到巅峰。对此，陈从周敏锐地指出:“这足以说明当地人民对自然的爱好。”他确认，计成的许多园林创意在苏州兴旺不衰，“苏州园林在今日保存者为数最多，且亦最完整。”那些基本的组成元素是最起码的要求；但在计成灵巧的手下，园林的物理布局处处体现着和谐之美。这是通过一系列巧妙的过渡实现的，如使用亭子这类建筑形式进行贯穿连接等。这些过渡为人们提供了一个空间，能够停留、沉思、玩味轮廓及色彩变换中的季节更替。陈从周在1994年写道，“造园如缀文。”完美的园林与诗文和绘画如出一辙，他认为每一个这样的园林应该“蕴藉有余味”。这余味在计成之外许多造园家的作品中都得到了体现。很少有人能像陈从周那样有缘欣赏并仔细观察如此之多的园林，至少在近代史上如此。陈从周那些观察细致、描述详细的文章，结合起来就是对古建筑、园林和住宅的综合调查。即便是随意一瞥，人们也能看出陈从周的慧眼，他能注意到那些细节并详作解释。

如下例谈到在一些小园子里见到的桥：

> 对于古代园林中的桥常用一面阑干，很多人不解。此实仿自农村者。农村桥农民要挑担经过，如果两面用阑干，妨碍担行，如牵牛过桥，更感难行，因此农村之桥，无阑干则可，有栏亦多一面。后之造园者未明此理，即小桥亦两面高阑干，宛若夹弄，这未免“数典忘祖”了。

陈从周对园林的调查凸显其在观察、重建园林个性方面的浓厚兴趣。在他看来，每座园林“应该有那个地方的植物特色”，而且大多是为了表达某种蕴藉之意而设计。他在计成的著作里发现了各种具有启发性、创造性的例子。令陈从周为之欢欣的是，为保障设计的质感与深度，计成针对园林内部布局和工艺不惜运用多种元素与材料。在他讨论的园林的各方面当中，历史语境在园林形式与审美的演变中不无影响。他的阐释非常仰仗于自身深厚的艺术造诣，以及各艺术门类与构园理念之间的演进关系。“……诗文、书画、戏曲，同是一种思想感情，用不同形式表现而已。”陈从周解释道：

> 士大夫可说皆为文人，敏诗善文，擅画能歌，其所造园无不出之同一意识，以雅为其主要表现手法了。园寓诗文，复再藻饰，有额有联，配以园记题咏，园与诗文合二为一。所以每当人进入中国园林，便有诗情画意之感，如果游者文化修养高，必然能吟出几句好诗来，画家也能画上几笔晚明清逸之笔的园景来。这些我想是每一个受过教育的游者所必然产生的情景，而其产生之由就是这个道理。

谈到与他所见证的园林成就更密切相关的一点，他写道：“……评园必究园史，更须熟悉当时之生活，方言之成理。园有一定之观赏路线，正如文章之有起承转合……”

这也是陈从周采纳遵循的一个过程。冗长描述中的细节之密，加之经年累月一访再访的结果，有时可能给文章增添了学究般平淡的气息，但是文中穿插提到的书画、昆曲、诗词等，都激发了读者的心绪：那是

倘若一旦成行之时——且园林并未因时间的流逝、城市的发展而有所变化——在园林的无数景观中徜徉沉思，可能际遇的种种心绪。城市扩张只是一种手段，用以对治密集的都会及其日渐膨胀的人口，并非无法控制。

陈从周在这些文章中所展现出的热爱之情，也许正由于此，我们知道他也意识到了园林始终在本质上——正如柯律格在本文开篇处描述的那样——是“地产”。这一见识在今天是先见之明，因为现存的古园林正是经由当代之手得以保存下来，并正以现代旅游的名义搞得越来越商业化。园林改名换姓，部分内涵不复原貌，陈从周哀叹不已，这都破坏了园林本身的氛围。他不厌其烦地描述形式的改变——开启新大门或改变步道——在他眼中是如何影响、“颠倒”了构园中“起承转合”的自然流畅。这就使得编入此书中的研究与文章越发重要了。这是他毕生的结晶，而他可能是中国最后一代于私塾治四书、接受大学教育，并得以一睹“原”林风采的学者。浙江大学的宋凡圣教授称陈从周先生为“现当代既能亲自动手造园、复园，又能亲自著书立说、品评论述中国园林的第一人”。这部汇编作品便是对他一生工作的礼赞。

中文原著诗般的语言，在本书高超的翻译中也得以延续，这归功于外研社资深翻译凌原教授带领的团队。他努力将陈从周的作品以优雅的英文呈现在读者面前，这种努力与伟大的造园师营造传统园林时煞费苦心是和声共振的。翻译细致有加，尽力保留原作风韵，尤其为了再现其中诗行音步以及园林名称的文学历史渊源而不懈努力。正如陈从周描绘的那些园林，这本《中国文人园林》中的篇章也可看作是巧妙融合了若干的“中国元素”，洵美且异地“烛照它们所跨越的边缘区域”。

凯伦·史密斯
英籍中国艺术史家
2018年6月26日
任小玫　译

NOTES FROM THE TRANSLATOR

The traditional Chinese gardens are known as "literati gardens." Originated in the cultural heritages of the Ming and Qing dynasties (1368-1911), they were owned, designed and built by scholar-officials, men of letters, painters or garden-makers who excelled in prose, poetry, painting, calligraphy, opera and shared the desire to shun the turmoil of the mundane world by returning to nature. According to Chen Congzhou, the literati gardens are conceived in literature, and their names are spread through literature as well. In this mutually supplementary relationship, the gardens are tangible embodiments of literature, and literature finds tangible expression in gardens.

This bilingual *Literati Gardens: Poetic Sentiments and Picturesque Allure* features by far the largest translation of the late Tongji University professor's writings on gardens. As Chen Congzhou worked for much of his lifetime as a teacher, prose writer, painter and garden-maker in the literati tradition of the Ming and Qing dynasties, it is safe to say the Chinese text of this book is written by a modern-time literatus on literati gardens. In the sixteen articles featured in Section I, "Gardens Wrought in Spitten Images of Nature," Chen Congzhou turns himself into a scholarly tour guide to share his "everyday joy of rambling gardens" by showing his readers around some of the nation's best literati gardens. He ushers them into one fascinating scenery after another in deep recesses or along a serpentine stream or roofed walkway, and reels off one anecdote after another about people, history or events off his finger-tips, but all the while he does not forget to introduce garden-making precepts and technicalities such as siting, layout, view borrowing, in-situ and in-motion viewing. Section II, "Garden-Making Precepts and Aesthetic," begins with "On Gardens," a five-installment discourse that establishes him as the patriarch of gardens of 20th-century China and the legitimate heir to the mantles of Ji Cheng (1582-*c*. 1642), the 17th-century Chinese garden-maker whose *The Craft of Gardens* is the world's first ever garden-making manual. However, insofar as accomplishments are concerned, Chen considerably overshadows his predecessor. This is proved not only in "On Gardens," whose coverage is

already broader and profounder than *The Craft of Gardens*, but also in his seven other essays presented in Section II, in which he goes beyond garden-making *per se* to delineate the intricate ties of the literati gardens with classical Chinese poetry and prose, traditional Chinese painting and calligraphy, Kunqu Opera, and dwellers' everyday life.

Between the pages of this Chinese-English edition, he introduces hundreds of gardens and scenic views in detail or in passing, quotes more than one hundred works of literature, and cites even more literati-officials, writers, painters, garden crafters and owners. With such wealth of information and the author's compelling and exquisite narrative, it is hoped that the *Literati Gardens* will provide garden experts and students with a valuable textbook on all aspects of the legendary craft of Chinese gardens. As to our general Chinese or English readers, even if you are cocooned alone in your tiny room, with this book in hand you can still have the fun to traverse some of the nation's best gardens with exuberant flowers and bushes, limpid waters and ethereal mountains, and to ponder the poetic implications and picturesque charms of rosy clouds framing emerald pavilions, threads of rain and petals borne on a breeze, and gilded pleasure boats in waves of mist.

Chen Congzhou's success as an ingenious polymath in Chinese culture originated in his well-disciplined upbringing. He kowtowed to a portrait of Confucius in a traditional illiteracy-breaking ceremony to begin learning to read and write when he turned five, and, at seven, was sent to a small private school where he memorized classic texts in the morning and exercised calligraphy in the afternoon, with a class set aside every four days to make sentences. The studies went without letup all year long, and he must fluently recite all the texts he had been taught over the past twelve months before he could enjoy Spring Festival celebrations. When he turned eight, his newly widowed mother increased his workload by having him practice calligraphy from a copybook in the morning and keep family accounts using traditional Chinese numerical symbols[1] at night. He recalls in a short memoir, "A Man's Soliloquy Beside Bookshelves"[2]:

> Life was boring and lonesome all those years, and my private teacher's sense of responsibility was stringent to the utmost, but it was exactly in those years that I acquired the basic skills in calligraphy and learning by heart, among other things.

After he was enrolled in a church-run primary school as a third-year grader at age ten, his mother put him under the tutelage of an uncle on her side for after-school education in such classics as *The Finest of Ancient Prose*, *Children's Treasury of Knowledge* and *Three Hundreds of Tang Poems*, all of

which he smoothly committed to memory. He says,

> What was required of the school children of my age was to learn by rote all the books you could lay your hand on, practice calligraphy with a writing brush, and nothing else. It may sound primitive nowadays to ask someone to memorize all the classic texts, but looking back, it beats all the sophisticated things like computers and audiovisual devices, because all the knowledge I acquired through such training can never be disowned, and because I, with time, could fathom out what was said in the books and put them at my fingertips, which means I could retrieve them from my mind and put them to use without the aid of reference books or such gadgets as photocopiers. Learning by rote is one of the many things in this world that appear to be stupid but are actually rather smart.

Rigorous school and family training and self-study helped cultivate a photographic memory in him. Apart from the classroom book knowledge he had memorized, he also remembered every morsel of culture or folkways that came casually to his attention, including couplets, inscribed steles and name boards, and street scenes, as well as tidbits and anecdotes overheard from elders'chitchats over a cup of wine or tea. According to him,

> I know how to use my brain like a data bank, in which all my knowledge is systematically categorized, so that all the new things I have learned can be put where they belong in my mind for easy retrieval.

His well-developed memory made his studies so much easier and enjoyable, and it also kindled an unquenchable thirst to learn more. As a young boy he learned to paint, mount and repair paintings, grow grass and flowers, and build mini-landscapes. He availed himself with every opportunity to learn how houses were built from the treatment of timber to the installation of beams and rafters, and how rocks were selected and piled up to become rockery or mountain. All the knowledge and expertise accumulated year in, year out replenished the easily retrievable stock of encyclopedic knowhow in his mind.

In his youth he loved to visit his mentors in their homes, so that he could see their manuscripts and book collections, and learn things that could not be learned in the classroom. In the course of it, he fostered a modest attitude toward teachers. Some of them might be hot-tempered and given to scolding people, but he never minded:

> The sterner the teacher's countenance turns, the more obedient the student should be, because they love teaching and are so pleasant and affable when they talk, offering extremely valuable things derived from their lives' experience. When they hit the nail on the head, you see the light right away.

Without an obedient attitude, he adds, "How can you find favor with your teacher?" Such modesty won him the mentoring of the right man at the right time throughout his formative years. The foremost scholar in classical Chinese architecture Liang Sicheng (1901-1972), for example, voluntarily

became his mentor and close friend despite their age gap because of his modesty and the fact that he could recite the seemingly onerous text of the professor's *Annotated Treatise on Architectural Methods* from cover to cover.

His strict training in literature and art culminated in excellence in multiple fields. When he was a junior high student he was already contributing to local newspapers and journals with writings on local history, folkways, anecdotes, handicrafts, fauna and flora, etc., to the great emolument of his teachers. He published an article about his favorite poetess Li Qingzhao (1084-1155), "A Chronology of Li Qingzhao and Husband" at age twenty-two, and *A Chronology of the Life of Xu Zhimo* (1889-1931) nine years later, which remains a crucial reference source for studies of the prominent modern Chinese poet. After graduating from Hangchow University with a bachelor's degree, a multi-talented Chen taught Chinese, history, geography, drawing, and biography as a high school teacher, and art history, education, aesthetics, and poetry as a junior college teacher. When he turned thirty, he held his first personal retrospective of figure, landscape and floral paintings in Shanghai as a fledgling ink and wash painter. By the time he became a Tongji University professor in classical Chinese architecture and gardens, he was already an accomplished essayist, prose-writer, poet, and painter, a calligrapher whose inscriptions graced many gardens and buildings around the country, a self-styled "carpenter" and ink-slab carver, and the first man to connect garden aesthetic with Kunqu Opera librettos, among other things.

It was literature that ushered Chen Congzhou into studies of literati gardens and classical architecture and turned him into the all-important practitioner and theoretician in both fields. He says in a June 1984 sketch, "Miscellaneous Recollections by a Table Lamp":

> As I recollect today, I was fond of reading the lyrical poems of Li Qingzhao, who drew my attention to her father Li Gefei (*c.* 1045-*c.* 1105) and his book, *A Record of the Celebrated Gardens in Luoyang*. The venerated Li thus became my first teacher in the studies of gardens. In that book he taught me how to appreciate gardens and talk about them, but more importantly, it was his literary talent and grace that deepened my passion for gardens. Because his *Record* mentioned the *Classic of Architectural Carpentry*[3], I came to know the *Treatise on Architectural Methods*, which became my major textbook on architecture. When I had trouble understanding the *Treatise*, I looked around and got hold of *A Compendium of Architectural Methods* and interpretative articles written by scholars of the older generation, which turned me into a self-educated student in this field. Later, I joined these scholars and adopted architecture as my career for the rest of my teaching career. No one could have imagined that my humble achievements in traditional architecture and gardens should be owed to Li Qingzhao. This sounds so incredible, but that's what really happened to me.

Obviously from this crucial switch in his career, 20th-century China gained her foremost scholar capable of interpreting literati garden-making precepts and aesthetics in terms of literature and art, and making gardens with his own hands. This is amply reflected in the *Literati Gardens: Poetic Sentiments & Picturesque Allure*, a book with a simple theme but complex topics. Its narrative is paced by the author's lucid and elegant prose belonging in a semi-vernacular, semi-classical school that puts him on a par with such eminent essayists and prose masters as Li Gefei, Zhang Dai (1597-1689), Yuan Mei (1716-1797) and Li Dou (1749-1817). Relying solely on the comprehensive data he had memorized, he apparently finished writing every essay at one sweep, without so much as a halt to look up references. As a result, his Chinese writings are sparsely annotated, with the few available footnotes looking more like his afterthoughts than interpretations, and in these writings, so many prose passages and poems are quoted without mentioning their titles and authors, and virtually all the ancients and his contemporary friends are addressed by their sobriquets or style names. In all, Chen Congzhou's classical garden literature makes pleasant and intellectual reading for well-read Chinese readers who either can take the "missing parts" for granted or simply do not want their enjoyment of his limpid prose impeded by what they may see as so many frivolous things.

As much as I enjoyed reading Congzhou's prose as a translator, I could not afford to ignore these things when I was entrusted to produce a bilingual book of sinology for international readers by matching his Chinese texts with English renditions I was supposed to deliver. If all those "frivolous things" were not properly addressed in English along with so many historical and literary allusions, professional parlance and technical terms, our English readers unfamiliar with the Chinese culture might be hard put to make sense of the book.

For this reason, we took pains in researching the Chinese texts while translating them into English. A wealth of "invisible" information "surfaced" in the process, including 140 titles of literary works and 197 personal names. The simplest sort of information thus found, such as a quoted poem's title or an author's name, is blended into the flow of the English narrative as far as possible. While all the style names and sobriquets are retained in the Chinese text, they are replaced with formal names in the English text as per a sinology stylebook, but we make a point of attaching the style name or sobriquet where a formal name is annotated in a footnote. The names of people,

gardens, scenic attractions, terminologies, and so on are also categorized in the Glossary's four columns. The lion's share of our research findings, however, are represented in 260 English footnotes we have written. Chen Congzhou's twenty original footnotes, including four stripped from relevant original texts for succinctness's sake and eight unusually long ones that are highly informative and of stellar literary value, are also rendered into English and attributed to his name.

In the days and months in which we were immersed in this task of research-based translation, we were increasingly fascinated by the garden and scenery names that kept popping into our eyes. We pondered their literary and poetic meanings and undertones and cultural roots, and replaced some long-standing *pinyin* names that mean little to foreign readers with our English translations, such as "Shanjuan's Hermitage Cave" for Shanjuan Cave, "Solace-Imbued Garden" for Jichang Garden, "Gratification Garden" for Yuyuan Garden, Mountain-Level Hall for Pingshan Hall, each having a footnote attached to explain the reason. We have also found some long established English names of gardens and scenery inappropriate, including the very popular "Cloud-Dispelling Hall" for 排云殿 in the Summer Palace, which should be "Hall of Immortals Lining Up in Clouds." We have no intention to shake up all the available English translations of Chinese literati garden names, some of which are well-established and have even made the UNESCO world heritage list, even though we are doubtful about their correctness. We offer our English versions with a desire to return the Chinese names of gardens and famous scenery to their cultural origins, and to help English-speaking readers appreciate their rich, profound, and oftentimes poetic and picturesque implications.

While preparing Chen Congzhou's original Chinese texts to match our English translations for this bilingual book, my colleague and co-translator Zhong Zhilan amended quite a few typos, missing words and other mistakes that were unavoidable given the fact that these originals had been repeatedly typeset for different books by different publishers, and that the author habitually committed information from his memory to paper without looking up references. For example, he attributed two quotations in "On Gardens 4" to the same article "Record of the Estate of Suburban Delights" by Wang Shimin (1592-1680), but the second one is actually originated in Wang Baoren's *Chronicle of the Respected Flagbearer*. In another example, Chen's quotation from Wang Yuanqi in "On Gardens 5" puts it as "study its concept,

strengths and drawbacks…," but the correct version reads, "study its concept and its composition, its discrepancies, strengths and drawbacks…." These and other oversights we have addressed in the current Chinese text and rendered into English accordingly. In between the copy-editing work, she also contributed her excellent English translation of the second longest, book-sized "Suzhou Gardens: An Overview"[4] and her classical-style Chinese translation of the "Notes from the Translator" while researching and proofreading every piece of my English texts, and working as copy editor, liaison, and Yangzhou gardens investigator; she also translated the articles of "Qiao's Garden, Taizhou" and "A Note on Rebuilding Water-Inked Garden." Three other young colleagues also contributed to the book. Ren Xiaomei offered her meticulously annotated English translation "Shen's Garden, Vernal Waves Bridge, Shaoxing" and her exquisite prose translation of the English Preface written by Karen Smith; Duan Huixiang translated "Summer Palace, Beijing," and Qian Jingyu did the "South-and-North Lakes."

The success or failure of the *Literati Gardens: Poetic Sentiment & Picturesque Allure* hinges on if the host of quoted classical poetic lines and prose passages in Chen Congzhou's narrative have been translated into proper English. We translated the lion's share of them on our own and enjoyed doing it very much, as we regarded them as the most meaningful and challenging part of the entire translation project. But at the same time we have also quoted from the peerless works by some of the world's elite translators, including James Legge's *Book of Poetry*, *The Four Books*, and *The Yi King*; Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang's *A Dream of Red Mansions* and David Hawkes' *The Story of the Stone: a Chinese Novel*; Cyril Birch's *The Peony Pavilion*; Leonard Pratt and Chiang Su-Hui's *Six Records of a Floating Life*; Alison Hardie's *The Craft of Gardens*; and Yang Xiaoshan's *A Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang*. (For a full list of the translated works we have quoted, adapted or consulted in this book, see "Bibliography.")

Before this book comes off the press, we would like to take the opportunity to thank the late professor's elder daughter Chen Shengwu for permitting us to publish this book, providing copies of her father's precious pictures and paintings, and taking time from her busy schedule to check up and replenish the "Chen Congzhou Timeline" we have compiled for this book; Yue Feng, last student of the late professor and author of the book *Chen Congzhou's Life*, for supplying the photo of the Astor Court on the cover of this book; Su Meijuan for correcting some of the mistakes in the

original text; Wang Weiqiang for supplying a photo of the Gratification Garden; as well as Wang Shuaishuai and Yao Wu for supplying photos of the Summer Palace from their respective repositories. Our thanks also go to professor Han Feng with Tongji University, without whose advice we could not have presented the essays in such a logical and sensible order.

I am deeply indebted to Cheng Zhaojun of the Yangzhou Municipal Development and Reform Committee, and Zhao Yulong of the Municipal Garden and Forestry Administrative Bureau, for hosting my visit to Yangzhou and sponsoring a forum on Chen Congzhou's "Yangzhou Gardens and Dwellings" during Beijing's November 2014 APEC holiday; to Xu Shaofei for contributing vital corrections to this essay's original text at the forum and his appendix "Yangzhou Gardens Today."

It is my hope that this bilingual *Literati Gardens: Poetic Sentiment & Picturesque Allure* that we have managed to put on the table in the wake of twenty months of toil will do justice to the late professor's state-of-the-art garden prose and verse and live up to our Chinese and foreign readers' expectations.

Ling Yuan
Foreign Language Teaching and Publishing
Beijing, September 2018

译者絮语

中国古典园林实为“文人园”。士大夫、文人、画家或造园家秉承明清文化传统，设计、建造、拥有文人园。他们敏诗善文，能写会画，兼工戏曲，皆欲避喧嚣以归自然。正如陈从周先生所言，园之筑出于文思，园之存，赖文以传；相辅相成，互为促进，园实文，文实园，两者无二致也。

《中国文人园林》是一部汉英对照作品，也是迄今为止，这位同济大学教授园林著作中最大体量的译作。陈先生是教师、作家、画家，毕生投身于明清传统的造园事业。可以说本书的汉语就是当代文人写的文人园。书中第一部分“虽由人作，宛自天开”由十六篇文章组成，先生变身儒雅的导游，带读者游园赏景，分享他的日涉之趣。他引领读者或探寻幽深之处，或信步曲折水岸游廊，领略不同风景，一路走来逸闻趣事信手拈来，同时还不忘介绍选址、布局、借景、静观、动观等造园原则和技术细节。第二部分“造园准则与美学”以《说园》五篇连载开篇，奠定了他20世纪中国园林大家的地位。他继承了明朝计成的衣钵，计氏的《园冶》是世界上首部造园著作，他则青出于蓝而胜于蓝。《说园》五篇的内容比《园冶》更加广泛深入；第二部分收录的其他七篇文章更是超越了造园本身，讲述了文人园与中国诗文、绘画、书法、戏曲和居住者日常生活的微妙联系。

据统计，此书详述和提及的园林、景点有几百个，引用古典文学、诗词散文作品百余处，涉及的士大夫、作家、画家、造园家或园林主人更是数不胜数。如此丰富的信息，加之作者引人入胜的文笔，希望本书能使专家和普通读者得以管窥中国园林造园的方方面面。读者即便身处斗室，一卷在手，亦可神游名园，嗅花香临清池品假山，体会云霞翠轩、雨丝风片、烟波画船的诗情画意。

陈从周先生的博学多才源于良好的教育背景。他五岁向孔夫子叩头破蒙，七岁进私塾，从早到晚就是读书背书，午后习字，隔三天要学造句。寒暑不辍，到年终要背年书，就是将一年所读的书全部背出来才可放年学。八岁丧父，母亲要他清晨临帖习字，每晚灯下记账。他在《书边人语》里回忆：

> 当时的生活是枯寂的，然而塾师对学生的责任感是强的，真是一丝不苟，我背书与写字的功夫，基础是这时打下的。

十岁那年上教会小学，插入三年级。母亲将他托付给老姑丈，放学

后读古文，《古文观止》《幼学琼林》《唐诗三百首》等，统统要背。他写道：

> 当时孩子的读书任务，说得简单点，就是背书、写字。看来似乎是原始，但今天看来，比电脑、录音机、录像机等都先进，因为通过这样的训练，知识都为我所有了，什么办法也拿不走。所以我后来能逐渐领会书中内容，又能不需检书而信手拈来，也不用仪器来画字，用复印机来代替抄书，我自己掌握了主动权。天下有许多事看来似乎是愚蠢，但反转来又觉得是先进。

通过学校、家里的训练以及自修，他练就了惊人的记忆力。除去背书，门联、字屏、匾额、街景以及父老茶余酒后的清谈，一方的乡土历史知识也背得一字不差。他说：

> 我懂得利用脑瓜子这个仓库，分门别类，迅速归档。

博闻强记，学起来轻松愉快，也激发了他更大的学习兴趣。他从小就学画画、裱画、艺花，把玩小盆景；喜欢看建屋造园，从断木到架梁，从选石到叠山。如此经年累月，获得的知识技能极大扩充了他的信息储备。

学生时代他常去老师家中，看老师的藏书手稿，学习课堂中得不到的东西。在此过程中形成了事师必谨的态度。有些老师还有点脾气，但他毫不介意。

> 色愈厉而礼愈恭，人家还是乐于教导的，娓娓清谈，其中真有极宝贵的东西，都是他一生总结下的经验。一语道破，豁然开朗。

他说，没有谦恭的态度，“又如何能得到前辈的垂青呢？”这一美德每每给他在恰当的时候赢得恰当的老师。因他心诚，并能逐页背诵中国古建翘楚梁思成的《营造法式注释》，梁就主动收他为徒，二人谊兼师友。

他在文学艺术领域获得了极高的成就。早在初中时就开始投稿，写些传闻掌故、花鸟工艺之类的文章，赢得老师好评。喜读李清照词，二十二岁就完成了《李易安夫妇事迹系年》；九年后发表的《徐志摩年谱》，至今仍是研究徐志摩的宝贵资料。之江大学毕业后，他在中学里教语文、史地、图画、生物，在大专院校教美术史、教育史、美学、诗选。三十岁举办首场个人画展，以人物、山水、花鸟画蜚声沪上。同济大学聘其为教授，教授古建筑和园林。他还写文章，作诗绘画，习字，给园林、建筑题词，做木工，制砚，并首先将园林美与戏曲美联系起来。

文学为陈从周打开了文人园和古建筑的大门，成就了这位理论家和践行者。他在1984年的《灯边杂忆》写道：

> 今天回忆起来，我因喜读李清照的词，进而读了她父亲李格非的《洛阳名园记》。这位李老太爷还是我研究园林的启蒙老师，他不但教导了我怎样品园，怎样述园，而最重要的，他的文采使我加深了钟情于园。因为文章中提到《木经》，因《木经》知道了《营造法式》，找到了《营造法式》，我的大建筑课本有了，但是看不懂。我再寻着了《中国营造学社汇刊》，我们古建筑的老一辈的文章，有了说解，使我开始成为一个私淑弟子。后来又进入了他们的行列，终于成为我终生事业。谁也料不到我今天在古建筑

与园林上的一点微小成就，这笔功劳账还要算到李清照身上，似乎太令人费解了，然而事实就是这样。

显然，他这次事业转型，使20世纪的中国得以产生了一位园林大家，善用古典的文学语言阐述文人园的准则、美学并亲手造园，这一切在这本汉英对照的《中国文人园林》中得到充分体现。本书主题简明，话题丰富，行文半文半白，可与李格非、张岱、袁枚、李斗的文字相媲美。他凭着过人的记忆力，笔不停歇，一气呵成；很少作注释，仅有的几条也不像当时批注，更似事后所为。他旁征博引，无暇提及引文题目、作者信息等，对古人和同代好友皆以字号呼之。总体来讲，古文基础较好的读者能踏上愉快的阅读之旅，增广见闻。对于“未点明的部分”，他们或认为理所应当，或不愿顺畅的阅读为此类琐碎而打断。

作为译者，我也很喜欢读他的文章；但接受了翻译任务，要给中外读者奉上尽量与原作相应的英文，就不能忽视上述省却的文字。若这些“琐碎”、历史文学掌故，术语在英文中没有体现，对中国文化生疏的英语读者难免感到艰深。

为此，我们一边翻译一边调研原文，不敢懈怠。大量“无形的”信息由此浮出水面，包括140部文学作品的题目和197个人名。其中简练的信息，如所引诗文题目或作者大名，尽量糅入英语行文。文中人物都以字号称呼，在英文里则一律替换为正名，并于注释内附上相关字号。附录中罗列了人名、园林名、景点名称、术语等信息，数百个英文脚注更是译者多方调研的成果。陈从周先生原作有二十条脚注，带有“从周案”字样，均以汉英对照形式出现，其中四条是为行文简便从文中挑出者；另有八条尤长，内容充实，兼具文采。

沉浸在翻译的日日夜夜，我们对书中琳琅满目的园林、景点名称所蕴含的文情诗意、文化渊源日渐着迷。这样，我们就有机会把充斥坊间的那些外国读者不知所云的拼音名字替换为得体的英文名称，并做注说明如此翻译的原因，如：Shanjuan Cave（善卷洞）为Shanjuan's Hermitage Cave；Jichang Garden（寄畅园）为Solace-Imbued Garden；Yuyuan Garden（豫园）为Gratification Garden；Pingshan Hall（平山堂）为MountainLevel Hall。同时我们还发现有些流传已久的译名并不确切，例如颐和园的排云殿应是Palace of Immortals Lining Up in Clouds，而不是Cloud-Dispelling Palace。现有的译名——有些甚至已经登上联合国教科文组织的世界遗产名录——尽管对其准确性持有异议，我们并无意颠覆它们，只希望在我们亲手生成的译文中，让这些名称回归各自的历史和文化原点，帮助英语读者欣赏它们背后无限的诗情画意。

在中文编辑工作中，我的同事仲志兰对原稿中的打印差错、错字漏字和其他纰漏进行了修订、弥补。这些文章经由不同出版社重复排印，加之作者下笔立就不查资料，纰漏在所难免。如《说园（四）》中的两

条引语，陈从周称都引自王时敏的《乐郊园记》，实际上第二条源自王宝仁编撰的《奉常公年谱》。再如《说园（五）》引用王原祁的文章作"视其定意若何，偏正若何……"，应为"视其定意若何，结构若何，出入若何，偏正若何……"她发现的此类疏忽都在汉语中加以更正，并译成相应英文。在忙碌的编务工作之外，她承担了《苏州园林概述》的英译任务，这是本书第二长篇幅的文章，曾单独成书出版；翻译了《泰州乔园》和《重修水绘园记》；还将我的《译者絮语》英文稿译成汉语，对全部英译文进行调研、编校，并联络调查扬州园林的工作。感谢其他三位年轻同事，任小玫详细注释翻译了《绍兴的沈园与春波桥》，并将凯伦·史密斯的英文前言译成典雅的汉语；段会香翻译了《颐和园》一文；钱静雨翻译了《南北湖》一文。

本书的成败在于是否能将原作征引的大量诗文译成准确的英语。这是此次翻译任务中最有意义、最具挑战的一部分。我们自己翻译了大部分并乐享其中，同时也引用了世界顶级译者的译作以增添风采，包括理雅各的《诗经》《四书》《易经》；杨宪益、戴乃迭的《红楼梦》，霍克斯的《石头记》，白芝的《牡丹亭》，白伦和江素惠的《浮生六记》，艾丽森·哈迪的《园冶》，杨晓山的《洛阳名园记》等。（参考、改写或引用的资料，请详见附录《参考书目》。）

付梓之际，衷心感谢陈教授长女陈胜吾女士同意出版此书，提供数幅珍贵照片画作，并拨冗核实我们编译的《陈从周生平》的有关信息。感谢先生关门弟子、《陈从周传》的作者乐峰老师提供封面明轩照片。感谢苏美娟女士对中文原文错讹之处加以订正。感谢王伟强提供豫园照片。感谢王帅帅、姚武提供颐和园相关照片。感谢同济大学韩锋教授对我们的目录提出修改建议，将所选文章以这样一个有逻辑的顺序呈现给大家。

在此也向扬州发改委主任程兆君和扬州园林局长赵御龙致以诚挚的谢意。2014年北京APEC假期之时，我去扬州考察，他们二位亲自接待并组织了陈从周《扬州园林与住宅》研讨会。感谢许少飞先生在会上对该篇原文的错讹之处加以修正。

此书耗时近两载，希望能还原陈先生精美的原文韵味，不辜负中外读者的厚望。

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PART ONE　Gardens Wrought in Spitten Images of Heaven
第一部分　虽由人作，宛自天开

SUZHOU GARDENS: AN OVERVIEW

Architectural History Panel, Tongji University, October 1956
Translated by Zhong Zhilan

·(I)

From a historian's point of view, the Chinese garden takes its earliest forms as *you* and *yuan* in remote antiquity, and *yuan* as recorded in *A Study of the Han Institutions* by Wang Yinglin (1223-1296)[1]. According to *Interpreting and Dissecting the Chinese Characters*, a dictionary of the Eastern Han (25-220) in the second century,

> *You* is a *yuan* behind an enclosure wall. Some argue that a *you* is where poultry and animals are kept. *Pu* is where vegetables are grown, *yuan* is where fruit trees are planted, and *yuan* is where animals are kept.

And people are assigned to run these gardens, according to *The Rites of Zhou*,

> "Offices of Heaven" (Greater Minister): … of the nine professions that employ people, the second one is gardening, which entails cultivating grass and trees.
> "Offices of Earth" (The Person in Charge of "*You*"): … The person in charge of a you patrols and herds all the animals.
> "Offices of Earth" (The Master of Loads): … the vacant land between the inner and outer city walls is used as threshing ground.

Thus the differences between these three Chinese characters are clarified.

From *Zhuangzi* we learn that in remote antiquity Xiwei[2] had his *you* and the Yellow Emperor (2717-2599 BC)[3] his *pu*, which may be deemed predecessors of these two kinds of gardens. The *yuan* and *you* were fenced off as a hunting ground during the first three Chinese dynasties—Xia (2070-1600 BC), Shang (1600-1046 BC) and Zhou (1046-256 BC). According to *Mencius*, King Wen of Zhou (1152-1050 BC)[4] had a *you* 70 square *li* wide, with entrance permission granted to grass collectors, faggot cutters, and catchers of pheasants and hares.

From the Qin (221-206 BC) and the Han (206 BC-220 AD) onward, gardens were gradually turned into feudal monarchs' pleasure grounds, where elaborately appointed buildings were erected for this purpose. Some became very large, according to historic records. The Epang Palace of Qinshihuang (259-210 BC)[5], for example, covered an area of 300 *li* on the Wei River in

Xianyang, the capital of the Qin near present-day Xi'an. In comparable sizes were the sprawling Shanglin Park of Emperor Wu of Han (156-87 BC)[6] with the Grand Fluid Pond to the north of the Jianzhang Palace on its premises, and the Sweet Springs Park in Chang'an, the Han capital in present-day Xi'an. Prince Xiao of Liang (?-144 BC)[7] made Chinese garden history with the first ever-known rockeries piled up in his Hare Garden in present-day Shangqiu, Henan province. Emperor Wen of Wei (187-226)[8] had his Fragrant Forest Garden in Luoyang, the same city where Emperor Yang of Sui (569-618)[9] built his Western Park some four centuries later. Emperor Yizong of Tang (828-873)[10] decorated his gardens with trees and rock formations. The Northeast Mount Garden, in the possession of Emperor Huizong of Northern Song (1082-1135)[11] in present-day Kaifeng, is the most elaborately documented in history books.

After the imperial court of the Northern Song moved south and settled down in Lin'an (present-day Hangzhou),[12] new gardens mushroomed there, including the Jade Ford Garden, the Prospects Assembly Garden, and the Fragrance Collection Garden. In presentday Beijing, Kublai Khan of Yuan (1215-1294)[13] had the Grand Fluid Pond dug and dredged at the Longevity Hill, which was called "Jade Flowery Islet" during the Liao (907-1125) and the Jin. In addition to inheriting the former ones, more gardens were built from the Ming (1368—1644) down to the Qing (1616—1911), such as the Western Park, the Southern Park, as well as the Unimpeded Spring Garden, the Limpid Ripples Garden, and the Garden of Perfect Splendor in the western suburbs of Beijing.

Descriptions of private gardens also abound in historical records. For example, Yuan Guanghan, a well-heeled man from Maoling in present-day Xingping county, Shaanxi, had a garden constructed at the foot of the Beimang Mountain north of Luoyang during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han. In his garden, which ran east-west for four *li* and north-south for five *li*, stones were arranged into rockeries and a variety of poultry and animals raised. Liang Ji (?-159)[14] defined gardens within a circumference of several thousand *li* that bordered on Hongnong in the west, Yingyang in the east, Luyang in the south, and Heqi in the north. The garden of Zhang Lun (*fl*. 5th century)[15] featured a rockery known as "Scenic Sun Mountain" against a background in close imitation of nature. These examples show that the Chinese craft of gardens had come a long way by that time. In addition, Ru Hao (*fl*. 5th century), a man from south of the Yangtze who served in the

Northern Wei (386-534) court earlier than Zhang Lun, quarried fine rocks from the Beimang and Southern mountains to build the Flowery Forest Garden[16], in which stately lofts and pavilions were erected in keeping with the line of the land, and bubbling spring water was channelled in to keep flowers irrigated in an attempt to match the craft of gardens with natural landscape.

No episode in Chinese history has seen more wars than the period that encompassed the Wei, the Jin and the Southern and Northern Dynasties. However, it was also one in which pivotal changes took place in the annals of the Chinese thought while Buddhism throve more than ever. Everyday apparels and food, easygoing "pure conversations" on lofty and non-mundane matters, and mental cultivation through worshipping the Buddha were all the rage among scholar-officials of the time. Living in cities, they pined for wooded mountains where they could forget all worldly engagements. As a result, literary works in eulogy of nature emerged along with landscape painting; in the field of architecture, landscape gardens began to appear right beside their residences. Shi Chong (249-300)[17] built his Garden of Golden Valley in Luoyang with the intention to "shun the hustle and bustle of the world" and "invest passion in enjoyment of nature," as he professed in his "Preface to 'Longing to Return.'" His intention is echoed in the *Book of Liang* ("Biography of Xiao Tong"), in "A Letter of Admonitions to My Son Xu Song" by Xu Mian (466-535)[18], and in the "Small Garden Rhapsody" by Yu Xin (513-581)[19]. The gardens built during the Tang, such as the Lantian Villa of Song Zhiwen (*c*. 656-712)[20], the Wangchuan Villa of Wang Wei (706-761)[21], and the Pingquan Villa of Li Deyu (787-850)[22] were invariably graced with picturesque bamboo islets, sunken parterres, and pellucid brooks. In these villas, man-made scenes are easily mistaken for natural ones. Of all these gardens of the Tang, the Thatched Hut of Bai Juyi (772-846)[23], Li Deyu's contemporary, stands out by taking advantage of natural landscape through ingenious view-borrowing techniques. The accounts in *A Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang* by Li Gefei (*c*. 1045-*c*. 1105)[24] of the Northern Song about the Garden of Duke Fu of Zheng[25] and other private gardens from the Sui and the Tang down to his day, and the presentations in "Records of Gardens in Wuxing" by Zhou Mi (1232-1298)[26] of the Southern Song (1127-1279) of Minister Shen's Garden and other gardens in his time, are so factual that they tally with what we can see in gardens seven centuries later today.

Far more gardens were built during the Ming-Qing years than the total made in previous dynasties. There were, to name just a few, the Ladle-of-Water Garden[27] and the Water-Brimmed Garden[28] in Beijing; the Mountain-Water-Willow Shadows' Garden, the Nine Peaks Garden and the Geyuan's Garden in Yangzhou; the Billow-Tranquilizing Garden in Haining; the Small Sky Garden in Hangzhou; as well as the Eastern Garden among those described in Wang Shizhen's[29] "A Tour of Gardens in Jinling" of the Ming period.

Fortunately, quite a few gardens listed in those writings are still there today, including the Gao Yu Garden[30] in Hangzhou, the Obedience-to-Parents Garden, the Congenial Garden and the Small Lotus Village Garden in Nanxun, the Gratification Garden in Shanghai, the Homecoming Swallow Garden in Changshu, the Ancient Garden of Lush Bamboos in Nanxiang and the Solace-Imbued Garden in Wuxi. However, no place in the world beats Suzhou in the number of surviving ancient gardens.

Now let us have a look at the historical rise and fall of Suzhou gardens.

·(II)

Suzhou got a fine head start in political, economic, and cultural development when it was part of the kingdom of Wu of the Spring and Autumn period (770-476 BC), and it continued to grow through the Western Han, the Eastern Han, the Western Jin and the Eastern Jin. Suzhou gardens were heralded by the Phoenix Tree Garden built in the kingdom of Wu during the Spring and Autumn period and Gu Pijiang's Garden[31] during the reign of Emperor Xiaowu of Eastern Jin[32]. The region south of the Yangtze, known more popularly as the "Jiangnan area," prospered in the Six Dynasties period that encompassed the Kingdom of Wu of the Three Kingdoms period (220-280), the Eastern Jin, and the Song-Qi-Liang-Chen Southern Dynasties (420-589). Suzhou emerged as a local aristocratic landlords' consumer city along with Yangzhou and Nanjing in this region, with its economy hinged on silk and handcraft industries.

From the Six Dynasties onward, the exchange of goods between north and south China grew robustly thanks to the completion of the Grand Canal under the rule of Emperor Yang of Sui. During the Tang, booming foreign trade through maritime shipping fleets brought unprecedented wealth to the Jiangnan area. Toward the end of the Tang, while the provinces in the Central

Plain were considerably enfeebled by incessant war and turmoil, the kingdoms of the Southern Tang and Wuyue (907-978) in the Jiangnan area remained stable politically and affluent economically, with enough resources to spare for the construction of more gardens, one of which was the Lepu's Garden developed by Zhu Changwen (1039-1098)[33] on a Wuyue prince's old garden. With its Southern Tang and Wuyue economic legacies emerging unscathed from the destructive war north of the Yangtze, the Jiangnan area was able to maintain its affluence, and garden-making went on as usual in the Northern Song. After Emperor Gaozong crossed the Yangtze and founded the Southern Song, he stayed for a time in Suzhou, the seat of Pingjiang prefecture. Prefect Wang Huan (*fl*. 12th century)[34] had ponds dug and pavilions erected in north Suzhou to build gardens attached to government buildings, not to mention the emergence of more mansions of the rich and powerful in the wake of a scramble for land annexation. Among the Suzhou gardens built during the Northern and Southern Song period were Su Shunqin's[35] Dark Blue Waves Pavilion on the former site of a Wuyue king's garden, Zhu Changwen's Lepu's Garden, Mei Xuanyi's[36] Five-"Mu" Garden, the Northeast Mount Garden built by Zhu Mian (1075-1126)[37] as a tribute for Emperor Huizong of Northern Song, and Zhu's own Garden of Universal Joy.

After the Mongols toppled the Southern Song in 1279 and extended the rule of the Yuan south of the Yangtze, the provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang remained as repositories of great wealth. More gardens were built as a result, and the Lion's Grove was one of them. During the subsequent Ming-Qing period, land annexation went from bad to worse. Suzhou, an established national silk-producing and handicrafts centre since the Tang-Song period, was by now a concentrated settlement for landowners and government officials while leading the nation in the number of successful candidates for imperial exams. During the Qing alone, it was home to more *zhuangyuan*, or number one successful candidates in the highest imperial examination, than any other city across the land. Upon retirement, these scholar-officials, especially those who were Suzhou natives, would settle down in the city to purchase land and open stores. With the earnings from land and business, they had gardens built to entertain themselves in their evening years, and became big consumers of local handicraft products, something that had also happened in Luoyang of the Sui-Tang period, Wuxing (present-day Huzhou, Zhejiang province) of the Southern Song, and Nanjing of the Ming.

In terms of natural environment, Suzhou is crisscrossed by waterways

and studded with lakes, which makes it easy to draw mountain springs and divert water to gardens, and its fertile soil is salubrious to flowers and trees. To the convenience of local consumers and crafters of rockeries, the city runs its own quarries in the local Yaofeng Mountain and obtains Lake Tai stones from its East and West Dongting Mountains. Stone supplies are also available within manageable distances, such as the Yellow Hill in Jiangyin, the Lord Zhang's Cave in Yixing, the Chuishan Mountain and Greater Xianshan Mountain in Zhenjiang, the Mountain of Dragon's Pool in Jurong, the Blue Dragon Mountain in Nanjing and the Saddle Mountain in Kunshan. Though these rocks compare unfavorably in quality with Suzhou's own supplies; they are situated in the vicinity and within easy reach. Lake Tai stones are choicest for rockwork in Suzhou gardens for their picture-evocative shapes. As *Book of Song* ("Biography of Dai Yong") puts it,

> When [Dai] Yong came to live in Suzhou, local scholars managed to build a house for him. They collected stones, brought in water, planted trees and dug creeks. Before long, the estate was densely wooded and looked like born of nature.

Insofar as cultural environment is concerned, the land of Suzhou teems with gifted men in poetry, prose, calligraphy and painting. Local literati officials not only offered their own ideas about garden designing, but also drew inspirations from assorted hangers-on. In his *Record of Wu Customs*, Huang Xingzeng (1496-1561)[38] describes a group of such retainers who happened to be Zhu Mian's sons and grandsons,

> The sons and grandsons of Zhu Mian live at the foot of the Tiger Hill. They hang around with kings and dukes, offering service in horticulture and rockery making. "Layabout garden spongers" they are called.

Another passage from the *Miscellaneous Discoveries from Guixin Street* by Zhou Mi has this to say,

> The workmen, those hailing from Wuxing in particular, are called rockery crafters in a custom handed down from Zhu Mian perhaps.

From among these designers and skilled workmen, a legion of garden crafters came to the fore in the two provinces of Zhejiang and Jiangsu, beginning from the Song. These included Yu Cheng (*fl*. 13th century), Lu the Rockery Builder, Ji Cheng (1582-*c*. 1642), Wen Zhenheng (1585-1645), Zhang Lian (1587-1673), Zhang Ran (*fl*. 17th century), Ye Tao (*fl*. 17th century), Li Yu (1611-1680), Qiu Haoshi (1723-1795) and Ge Yuliang (1764-1830).[39] Good rockery designers invariably come from Nanjing, Suzhou and Jinhua, with Suzhou having the very best to offer—a fact that is not without its historical reasons. Landscape gardening, however, is not limited to wealthy literati officials, as the author of the *Record of Wu Customs* observes,

> Even the rank and file, including those who are hard up, know how to enjoy themselves by gracing their homes with miniature rockeries and potted islets.

Love for nature, indeed, is borne deeply in the hearts of all folks in Suzhou.

No place in the world has more traditional gardens—and has them in a complete array—than Suzhou, which may be called a "Garden City" if all these gardens are properly repaired and conserved. It is why the name of Suzhou would leap into mind at the mere mention of Chinese gardens. Small wonder the Jiangnan gardens are extolled as the best under heaven, with Suzhou boasting the best Jiangnan gardens.

I have spent five years on on-the-spot surveys of these gardens and participated in their repairs and restorations. In the last two summers I have led students from the Architecture Department of Tongji University on cartographical fieldwork tours of these gardens, with focus on ancient architecture and garden-making. Availing myself of the long hours I had spent there, I compiled cartographical files and photographs, with the two largest gardens—the Humble Administrator's Garden and the Lingering Garden—as cases in point so that I can illustrate in a small way the historical metamorphosis of the Suzhou gardens and of the design techniques employed on them. Where necessary, I also referred to some smaller gardens in my narration.

·(III)

The Humble Administrator's Garden, 178 Northeast Street. Situated between Loumen and Qimen City Gates in the northeast corner of Suzhou, the predecessor of this garden was a villa built during the Jiajing reign (1522-1566) of the Ming by Wang Xianchen (1469-?)[40] on the debris of the Temple of Grand Preachers of the Yuan. Its name, "Humble Administrator's Garden," is derived from a line in the famous poet Pan Yue's[41] "Idle Life Rhapsody,"

> [You ought to be filial, and discharge your brotherly duties.] This is how a humble administrator exercises his government duties.

The garden changed hands a couple of times. It was first sold to a local man surnamed Xu by Wang Xianchen's son to pay off a gambling debt. Chen Zhilin (1605-1666)[42] bought it for a song from Xu's offspring in the early Qing. After Chen was exiled to a place north of the Great Wall for military servitude, it became the official residence of a Manchu garrison commander of provincial bannermen, and then served as the seat of the Circuit Intendant. Wang Yongning (*fl*. 17th century), a son-in-law of Wu Sangui (1612-1678),

the notorious Ming general who surrendered to the Qing army and led them through the Shanhai Pass, resided in this garden for a time before it was confiscated as a result of Wu's revolt against the Qing. The garden was converted into the Bureau of the Circuit of Suzhou, Songjiang, and Changzhou established soon after Emperor Kangxi succeeded the throne, who personally visited this estate on one of his imperial tours of the south. After the Circuit of Suzhou, Songjiang, and Changzhou was abolished, the whole property was downgraded to a civilian dwelling. In the early years of Emperor Qianlong's reign (1736-1796), it was divided into western, central and eastern parts, and Prefect Jiang Qi (*fl*. 18th century) took possession of the central part and renamed it "Restored Garden." During the reign of Emperor Jiaqing, it was acquired by Zha Shitan (*fl*. 19th century), a Haining native who was a department head of the Ministry of Punishment, and then it came under the ownership of Wu Jing (1747-1822)[43] from Pinghu. When the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Uprising troops took control of Suzhou, Li Xiucheng (1823-1864), the King of Loyalty, took the western and eastern parts as his mansion, but the Qing government seized the garden again after the uprising fell through. In the tenth year of Emperor Tongzhi's reign (1862-1875), it was converted into the Guild of Eight-Banner Members from Fengtian and Metropolitan Provinces, and resumed its original name, Humble Administrator's Garden. In 1877, its western part was sold to Zhang Lüqian (1838-1915), a rich merchant from Wuxian county, who named it "Additional Garden." The three parts were not put together again until the 1960s.

The plan of the Humble Administrator's Garden is centered on water, which covers approximately three fifths of the total garden. Accordingly, eighty to ninety percent of the main buildings on the premises are water-bound. Wen Zhengming says in his "Record of the Humble Administrator's Garden,"

> In the area between the Loumen and Qimen City Gates in the northeast of the prefecture's seat, many vacant lots were waterlogged. They have been slightly dredged and conserved, with trees transplanted around them….

The water conservancy arrangement in compliance with the local terrain tallies with the principle of flexible adaptation of gardens to the lie of the land laid down by Ji Cheng in his *The Craft of Gardens* ("Suitable Sites"),

> … If it is high and square you should make use of pavilions and terraces. If it is low and concave you can dig out pools and ponds.

These lines speak volumes for the feasibility of centering the layout of the Humble Administrator's Garden on its rich water resources.

Taking topography into full account is a common practice in many other gardens in this city, including the Master-of-Fishnets Garden at Kuojietou Lane, where eighty percent of the space is covered with water, and the Five-"Mu" Garden at the Pingmen City Gate, where ponds and pools are interconnected to form a serpentine water belt. In both gardens the bodies of water are dredged and regulated by giving full play to the topography. The Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode on Jingde Road is another example, where the water problem is tackled in a clever way. When Jiang Ji (*fl*. 18th century), the property's owner in the early years of Emperor Qianlong's reign, was digging a pond in the garden, he hit upon a fountainhead with water gushing out of it, which he delightfully named "Flying Snow Flakes."

As is mentioned above, the Humble Administrator's Garden is made up of three parts. The central part has kept most of its old layout. The western part, known as "Additional Garden" under Zhang Lüqian's ownership, has been properly arranged after drastic renovations. The derelict eastern part, the Return-to-Farming Abode owned by Wang Xinyi (1572-1645) during the Ming, is now being restored from long years of dilapidation.

The main building in the central part, the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance, is a three-bay structure with floor-length windows on four sides, under a gable and hip roof with a side eave under one gable. Looking out from its sash bars, one gets a panoramic view of the garden. In the south, there is a small pond with rockeries around it, where blooming *yulan* magnolias are well spaced, an old elm tree stands by a rock at the foot of an undulating wall, and green bamboos lean quietly against rockeries. A slender colonnade runs along the curve of the rockeries to usher the visitor into the garden—an arrangement that not only makes one wonder if he has entered a woody mountain upon crossing the threshold, but also makes the entrance somewhat "disappear" as a rockery blocks the prospects when he looks southward. Here, the rockery functions more or less like a screen wall standing behind the front gate of a house or dividing up the interior of a room. East of the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance stands the Embroidered Damask Pavilion, with the Leaning-on-Jade Verandah sitting in the west and a lotus pond lying in the north. Poised atop the small mountains beyond the pond are the Fragrant Snow and Luxuriant Cloud Pavilion and the Frost Awaiting Pavilion. Along the north-south axis with the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance at the middle point, buildings now rise, now plummet to bring the scene's central theme into bold relief. The islets of the pond, in particular, are surrounded by

flowing water, shaded by clustered bamboos, and adorned with shapely Lake Tai stones along the embankment. The whole view seems to extend infinitely, giving the impression that one is roving the realm of a natural lake.

A stroll along the shore eastward from the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance brings one to the Rainbow-Leaning Bridge. The bridge and its railings, which both originated in the Ming, lie low and short. A few steps away from the other end of the bridge stands the Rainbow-Leaning Pavilion, an otherwise hexagonal structure that clings upon a colonnade and only shows its three sides—as if its other half were slashed crosswise, hence its name, "East Half-Pavilion."

A passageway from the Rainbow-Leaning Pavilion conducts northward to the Secluded Parasol-and-Bamboo Pavilion, sporting a pyramid-shaped roof and an arched door on each of its four sides, situated at the eastern end of the garden's central part. Observed through the pavilion's two opposite arched doors, the scenery in the pond seems to be framed inside a ring. Looming faintly in the deepest recess on the other side of the wide pond is the West Half-Pavilion, or the Pavilion of Celestial Vistas, opens onto the garden's western part while its arched gate is silhouetted in the pond. Behind this pavilion there is the towering Northern Temple Pagoda, which looks like close at hand but is actually one kilometer away from the garden. This is, indeed, another fabulous case of view borrowing.

Standing here, one sees the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance, the Leaning-on-Jade Verandah, and the Fragrant Isle on the left, and two islets on the right. The former is a set of magnificent buildings, and the latter a veritable scroll painting of natural scenery. "This is where the concept of contrast is used in the craft of gardens in full glory," my mentor Liu Dunzhen (1897-1968)[44] told me.

As a matter of fact, the distance between the pond's eastern and western shores is not that long, but the visual effect of the design yields an illusionary sense of depth thanks to the presence of a stone beam bridge on the water surface—one must look beyond the bridge to see what is going on on the other side of the pond. The narrow strip of water cuts the scenery in two, with gorgeous buildings on one side and nature-wrought lush green hills on the other, thereby enhancing the depth of distance and the width of field. On the other side of the pond, aged elms snuggle upon the embankment, weeping willows stroke the rippling water with soft twigs, and lofts and terraces are framed invitingly in an elegant arch gate.

A walk from the Secluded Parasol-and-Bamboo Pavilion and over a triple-bend Bridge brings one to a forked road at the foot of a triangular islet, where a winding trail leads up to the Frost Awaiting Pavilion at the top, a hexagonal structure whose roof juts out over the bamboos like a wing. To the east is the Green Ripples Pavilion, and to the west the rectangular Fragrant Snow and Luxuriant Cloud Pavilion perches on an elliptical islet. The two islets are separated by a creek with a small bridge across it, where bamboo groves in sequestered repose and old trees recline over the gurgling creek to greet the orioles flying between them—a setting that is thoroughly insulated from the mess and noise of the outside world.

Stroll from the Fragrant Snow and Luxuriant Cloud Pavilion, and one arrives at the Pavilion of Lotus-Scented Breeze from Four Sides, another hexagonal building at the intersection of three passageways, with one zigzagging bridge linking its front to the Leaning-on-Jade Verandah and another at its back providing access to the Mountain-in-View Loft and the Pavilion of Celestial Vistas through the Willow-Shaded Winding Walkway. A two-storied structure crowned with a double-eave gable and hip roof, the loft is found in the northwest corner of the central part and keeps itself at a considerable distance from what is contained in its surroundings; from its upper storey, reachable via steps in a rockery, the views in the city's northern corners meet the eye instantly when one looks afar. The scenic vintage point of this kind is commonplace in the Chinese garden. For example, the pentagonal pavilion of the Half Garden at Zhongyouji Lane, and the fan-shaped pavilion in the Lion's Grove are sitting respectively on a high hilltop in a corner. Due to the large size of the Humble Administrator's Garden and its expansive water surface, however, such a two-storied loft does not look so overwhelming. What is more, the reflections in the calm water add beauty to the entire vista. Nonetheless, when designing a multi-storied building in a garden, due attention ought to be paid to skintled brickwork in elevation. Horizontal lines parallel to the water surface are preferred in order to achieve coherence.

The Fragrant Isle is known by tradition as a "land boat" because it looks like a boat that cannot sail. A large mirror is hung inside of its cabin, so that when looking west from the Leaning-on-Jade Verandah, one cannot tell whether the view he sees is real or merely mirrored reflection. The upper storey of the Fragrance Isle is named "Loft of Cloudless Vistas," which commands a panorama that extends far into the horizon. To the south of the

Fragrant Isle is the Truth Attaining Pavilion[45] with another mirror fixed inside of it to bring about a similar effect. This is where the water surface narrows down to a strip and is cut in two by a stone bridge known as "Lesser Flying Rainbow." To the south, the Lesser Dark Blue Waves Gazebo, a three-bay waterside structure, sits squarely on the water to divide its surface in two again. However, with open space beneath the bridge and the gazebo, one never feels constrained. Instead, the water looks vast enough to engender an unusual feeling of dynamic airiness, spaciousness, and gradation in depth.

At the Lesser Dark Blue Gazebo, when one looks over the Lesser Flying Rainbow and through the Pavilion in a Yard of Pines Howling in Wind and under Autumn Moon, the silhouettes of the Pavilion of Lotus-Scented Breeze from Four Sides, the profile of the Fragrant Isle and the corners of the Mountain-in-View Loft simmering in the immense water surface come into sight one after another—a grand montage observed through a tiny portal that never fails to cheer up the observer in no time.

Separated from the garden proper by an undulating wall is the self-contained Loquat Courtyard to the southeast of the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance. A moon gate provides the access to the courtyard, in which the Pavilion of Fabulous Fruits sits on one side and the Hall of Dainty Rocks and Delicate Bamboos on the other. Looking back upon the moon gate, one finds the Fragrant Snow and Luxuriant Cloud Pavilion framed squarely in it—where the "opposite views" technique is employed to great advantage. Sitting in the courtyard, one espies an excellent scene of view borrowing, as the tall scholar trees and pavilions beyond the wall seem to have drawn themselves closer in no time. The ground of the courtyard is paved with cobblestones in patterns exceptionally elegant and neat. The pity is that the rockery along the wall has been distorted in the aftermath of shabby reconstruction, and the wall itself, in want of a traditional top, looks somewhat rigid and awkward the way it twists and turns.

A colonnade winds its way by the side of the Hall of Dainty Rocks and Delicate Bamboos, and encircles a two-framed verandah upon entering the Vernal Crabapple Yard, where two crab apple trees crane over a few rockeries at the foot of its stairway, and where pavilions, water and rocks are faintly visible beyond the latticework windows. The courtyard seems isolated, but actually it is connected to the outside world in all directions, and every façade of it is wrought exquisitely. Inside of it, sparseness is made up for with density, and greatness is found in small details, which speaks

volumes for its designer's ingenuity.

The Humble Administrator's Garden used to be an integral whole before a wall was built to divide it into western and central parts during the early years of Emperor Qianlong's reign. It was not until latticed windows were built into the wall that the two parts were united again. Some modifications were made in the western part to make it self-contained, including the addition of a waterside colonnade along its wall. Acclaimed as the best of its kind among all Suzhou gardens, the colonnade rises and falls and turns this way and that over the water, giving the impression as if it were treading rippling water.

The centerpiece of the western part is the Twin Hall, which consists of the Hall of Thirty-Six Pairs of Mandarin Ducks in the north and the Hall of Eighteen Camellias in the south. The halls, sitting under a big gable and hip roof, are actually a joint three-framed structure with four interior round ridge roofs. In each hall's four corners there is a small heating room, which is one of a kind in shape and structure in this country.

After the western part was partitioned off to stand on its own, the Twin Hall became its main architectural hallmark. To fit its bulky body to a constrained space, its frontal portion was downsized and its posterior extended over the pond. The problem is thus solved, but the resultant drastic reduction in the pond's water surface and distance to the rockeries on the opposite bank, coupled with its more constrained ground, makes the building look out of place in the whole garden. It is, indeed, a blemish in an otherwise perfect layout.

The Twin Hall is where the owner feasts his guests and appreciates Kunqu Opera performances, with the acoustic effects enhanced by interior round ridge roofs. The heating rooms in the corners serve multiple functions: as buffer zones for people entering and leaving the hall, waiting rooms for servants during banquets, and makeshift back stages for opera performers. How considerate the designers were! Among Suzhou gardens this Twin Hall is a rare interior-decoration gem along with the Stay-and-Listen Belvedere. As the Hall of Eighteen Camellias is where such flowers are marvelled at in early spring, and the Hall of Thirty-Six Pairs of Mandarin Ducks is where these love birds frolic among lotuses in summer, there are good reasons to have one hall face north and the other face south.

Facing the Twin Hall across the pond is the Floating Emerald Belvedere, a two-storied octagonal building whose top floor offers a bird's-eye view of

the garden. The pity is that it is so high as to be disproportionate to its surroundings. The belvedere overlooks two tiny pavilions atop a hillock that is separated from it by a creek. They are the Bamboo Hat Pavilion and the Fan-Shaped Pavilion, looking diminutive because the hillock itself is low and tiny. The Fan-Shaped Pavilion is also known as "With Whom Shall I Sit" Verandah for its location at the slender creek's bend that offers a vantage point for leisurely sightseeing. Below the pavilion a wisp of water flows by. A walk along the colonnade over the water brings the visitor to the Loft of Inverted Reflections, a two-storied structure under a gable and hip roof. Some distance away is the Good for Both Families Pavilion, a hexagonal affair with a roof drawn up to a single point. The loft and the pavilion with their opposite views are both reflected in the water. Occupying the ends of a long and narrow creek west of the Twin Hall are the Stay-and- Listen Belvedere and the Pagoda Silhouette Pavilion, another pair of opposites that look alike and are arranged on a lower level in a similar layout and design.

The entrance from south of the Pagoda Silhouette Pavilion to the Additional Garden (that is, the Zhang's Mansion) in the west is now closed.

The eastern part of the Humble Administrator's Garden has long been deserted. Its rebuilding is being planned, but the details are beyond this book.

The Lingering Garden, 338 Liuyuan (Lingering Garden) Road. Located outside the Changmen City Gate, the Lingering Garden was originally the East Garden in the possession of Xu Taishi (1540-1598)[46] during the mid-Ming. Under Emperor Jiaqing's reign of the Qing, the garden was rebuilt by Circuit Intendant Liu Shu (1759-1816), which was also known as "Wintry Emerald Mountain Abode" for the lacebark pines planted in it or "Liu's Garden." The twelve peak rockeries Liu had procured were built of choicest Lake Tai stones. The garden assumed its present name, the "Lingering Garden," when it came under the possession of Provincial Administrative Commissioner Sheng Kang (1814-1902) in the second year of Emperor Gaungxu's reign (1875-1909). Occupying an area of fifty *mu*, it is the largest garden in Suzhou.

The garden can be divided into central, eastern, western, and northern parts for convenience's sake. The central part features a lake surrounded by artificial mountains, lofts and pavilions linked with colonnades and bridges. The layout of the eastern part teems with changes, where large halls are kept apart with verandahs and rockeries. The western part highlights an artificial mountain covered all over with maple trees and graced with a few pavilions,

with its southern side rimmed by a zigzagging stream to imitate the Peach Blossom Springs in Wuling dating back to the Eastern Jin. The western part, separated from the central part by an undulating wall, offers the best view to be borrowed by the central part when its maple trees would drape boughs of leaves over its white-washed wall like rosy clouds in congregation in autumn. The old structures in the northern part were no more, but their recent replacements are too mediocre and insipid to be elaborated.

Entering the garden's front gate and passing through two tiny courtyards, one arrives at the Green Shade Verandah in the garden's central part. Looking north through the latticed windows, one gets an eyeful of the hills and buildings in the garden. A passageway leads west to the Green-Soaked Mountain Villa. As the main building of the central part, the villa is a three-framed structure under a flush gable roof, with a courtyard containing a peony parterre in the front and a lotus pond at the back. Abutting on the villa to the left is the Bright and Clear Loft, a delicate two-storied building sporting a hipped roof, whose top floor is reached via a scaling ladder.

Turning west at the Green-Soaked Mountain Villa and embarking on a roofed walkway that climbs up a mountain, one reaches the Osmanthus Fragrance Verandah, which affords a panoramic view of the central and eastern parts, where the Sinuous Gully Loft, the Refreshing Breeze Pond-Verandah, the Studio to Get "Rope" and Draw "Water" from "Ancient Well," and the Distant Emerald Belvedere are arranged one behind another in picturesque disorder and echo each other up and down amidst ancient trees and exotic rockeries. Adjoining each other south of the Osmanthus Fragrance Verandah are chambers, lattice walls and waterside pavilions. The Bright and Clear Loft extends a little bit over the water surface, while the balcony of the Villa stretches a little farther in what looks like two arms poised to embrace the lake and the loft silhouetted in it.

Starting northward from the Osmanthus Fragrance Verandah and turning east, one goes by a colonnade to stop at the Distant Emerald Belvedere in the northeast corner of the central part of the Lingering Garden. The belvedere serves the same purpose as the Mountain-in-View Loft in the Humble Administrator's Garden, though the former is seated on land and the latter surrounded by water on three sides. Separated from the eastern part only by a lattice-windowed wall, the Distant Emerald Belvedere offers the best view to be borrowed in the eastern part.

The foot of the Lesser Islet for Immortals in the center of the lake and

that of the Hao & Pu Pavilion by its side look like at the same level of the water surface, an arrangement that makes the nearby hills and lofts look higher. Visitors ambling along the Sinuous Gully Loft would invariably find that the picture-perfect scenery keeps changing with the shift of their footsteps as they look through an array of brick frames and latticed windows opened into the building's western wall on the first floor. When autumn sets in, the maples beyond the undulating wall will be crimsoned through and become a fiery ocean that seems to ebb and flow hand in hand with the wall —no visitor could bear to tear his eyes from this most fabulous scene. North of the Sinuous Gully Loft stands the Pavilion for Scenic Enjoyment, a hexagonal structure perched atop an artificial mountain, with a long colonnade at its back.

The eastern part of the Lingering Garden features two major buildings, the Five-Peak Celestial Hall fashioned out of *Phoebe nanmu*, and the Hall of Woods and Springs for the Senior and Renowned. The five-framed Five-Peak Celestial Hall with a flush gable roof is regarded as one of the best old-style halls in the Jiangnan area for its fine interior décor and furnishing. Its four sides are each attached to a yard of varying sizes. The rockeries in both its front and back yards often make those sitting in the hall feel they were confronted with high rimrocks, a design that fails to impress Ji Cheng, who notes in *The Craft of Gardens*,

> People always construct mountains in front of halls, with a row of three lofty peaks sticking up inside an enclosing wall. This looks exceptionally ridiculous.

Five rockeries are laid out in the front yard, making the court look crammed and robbing it of appeal. Ji Cheng suggests,

> In my opinion, if you have some fine trees in your courtyard, just arrange a few delicately shaped rocks around them; otherwise, you may embed stones into the wall or plant some flowering shrubs or hanging creepers on it. Only thus can some depth be achieved in the scenery.

This method of Ji Cheng's, as I see it, is a lot more workable. In the backyard, there is a pool of clean spring water in front of the rockery, which evokes a sense of utmost quietude. The pity, though, is that the spring has lost its source, so that the pool now dries up, now brims with water. On the artificial mountain's backside a colonnade runs parallel to the wall, but as it leads to all directions, the visitor might get lost if his attention is by chance detracted. The Distant Emerald Belvedere on the other side of the wall is highly visible when one looks left from this backyard. The expansive spatiality of the garden is driven home to the visitor this way.

The Studio to Get "Rope" and Draw "Water" from "Ancient Well," a

one-frame room adjacent to the Five-Peak Celestial Hall, borrows views from the central part through bright windows in its four walls. In what is an ingenious treatment of small space in garden design, a Chinese parasol stands straight under its canopy-like foliage in the tiny yard between the Studio and the Hall.

Two small courts to the left of the Five-Peak Celestial Hall—the Return-to-Read Study[47] and the Kowtow-to-Peak Verandah—provide transition between this Hall and the Hall of Woods and Springs for the Senior and Renowned. Surrounded by winding colonnades and kept apart with brick windows in its walls, the courts are interspersed with fine trees, slender bamboos, day lilies and small rockeries, all of which come in matching sizes in a layout at once neat and tidy. One can derive pleasure in the peace and quiet of the place and would hate to go away anytime soon.

To the east of the Kowtow-to-Peak Verandah stands the Hall of Woods and Springs for the Senior and Renowned, more popularly known as the "Twin Hall." Decorated and appointed most elaborately, the hall is five-framed with a single-eave gable and hip roof. Its two interior halls, one facing south, the other facing north, are each topped with a round ridge roof. The main beam in the northern hall assumes a rectangular shape with carved patterns, and the one in the southern hall is round without patterns.

North of the Hall there are the Cloud-Crowned Pool, the CloudCrowned Pavilion, the Cloud-Crowned Loft, and three rockeries which have been there since the Ming as the largest Lake Tai rocks ever found in Suzhou: the Cloud-Crowned Peak, the Riddled-Through Peak Enveloped in Clouds and the Cloudlet-Enshrouded Peak.

The hexagonal Cloud-Crowned Pavilion behind the Cloud-Crowned Peak is tucked away under *yulan* magnolia trees. A scaling ladder north of the pavilion leads up to the Cloud-Crowned Loft, where open views beyond the garden, including trails, cultivated fields and the Tiger Hill Pagoda, come into sight before the windows. Flanking the Cloud-Crowned Pool are the Cloud-Anticipating Hut to the east and the Cloud-Crowned Terrace to the west. A walk from the terrace through a moon gate brings one to the Pavilion of Fine Weather, Beloved Rain and Timely Snow that houses six intricately carved *Phoebe nanmu* latticed doors, which, the pavilion being facing west, bear marks of damage inflicted by the elements. The eastern part, newly built with its commonplace rockeries, stands no comparison with the old dramatic scenery.

The western part seems to be a legacy of Xu Taishi's East Garden from the Ming. The hill inside it is built of soil and arranged with yellow stones as per an old method described by Li Yu,

> Small hills are built with rocks, while large hills are piled up with soil.

Thus the maple trees all over the hill in the western part are nourished by the soil in which they are rooted. Upon this hill there are two pavilions: the Pavilion for Untrammeled Whistlers with a conical roof, and the hexagonal Pavilion of Uttermost Delights which, regarded as one of a kind in south Jiangsu, is a slightly modified replica of the Imperial Stele Pavilion at the Fan's Memorial Shrine on the Tianping Mountain. The former of the two small pavilions is concealed amongst maple trees, and the latter is snuggled halfway up the hill in the northwest and visited by those who come to gaze up and down and look far into the distance. The southern slope of the hill borders on a clear creek flowing in the shade of peach and willow trees; created in an assumed fashion, this man-made scenery fails to become the utopia retreat it was intended to be. Indeed, in landscape gardening it is no easy job to outdo nature with human artifice. The creek flows on until it reaches the Belvedere for the Vivacious and Enterprising, giving those who happen to be inside the impression that they were standing right on the creek, without realizing that the creek has met its end right under their feet. The only weakness of the western part is that the rockeries in it have lost their original forms as a result of repeated additions and repairs.

The northern part of the Lingering Garden, however, has lost its appeals in the form of classical pavilions, terraces and horticulture, all of which have been destroyed and replaced with new constructions.

·(IV)

Small in floorspace as they are, all the classical landscape gardens in the Jiangnan area look picture-perfect with so many rockeries and ten times as many ravines that are also crisscrossed by tranquil streams, and strewn with green pools. The secret to this impression is decoded by Qian Yong (1759-1844)[48] in *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden,*

> Garden-making is the same as composing poetry and prose,
> In which every twist and turn must be made methodically.

Accordingly, only if everything—artificial hills, waters, pavilions, terraces, halls, lofts, winding or square ponds, lattice walls, colonnades, and whatnot—are arranged and allocated by eschewing hackneyed prototypes can a

garden be refreshing and enchanting all the time and rank among the top-notch ones. For this reason, in overall planning and space treatment, it is imperative to make a garden look expansive and its scenery ever-changing.

The layout in Suzhou gardens is centered on the following themes:

First, water. A body of water is usually the centerpiece of such a garden, with a bridge spanning its surface, a colonnade encircling it, and the premises interspaced with pavilions, terraces and lofts. And an islet is always set in a large pond, as is the case with the Master-of-Fishnets Garden and the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence. Small as the Comfort-Giving Garden on Temple-Shrine Lane is, it still leaves room for a pond in its center, and surrounds itself with chambers in such a way that it looks like a miniature landscape. Though the Lingering Garden also has a lake in its center, my teacher Liu Dunzhen believes that the garden as a whole is predicated on a cluster of buildings in its eastern part. His opinion is definitely not unfounded.

Second, artificial hills and exotic rocks. A garden with no readily available headwater or low-lying land cannot but give the limelight to such hills and rocks, just like what is done in the Cheng's Garden on Western Hundred Flower Lane. In the case of the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode, a large pond is out of the question for its small area. So its sole solution lies in building hills and erecting rocks, and spring water was then channeled in to bring the dead stones to life, cover the ground or stones with fresh and moist moss, and allow grass and trees to multiple and thrive, so that the garden, though man-made in its entirety, looks like reborn of nature.

Third, pervasive water surface. This works for a place endowed with a rich accumulation of runoffs and large enough to have much leeway for landscaping without being constrained by old ruts. The Humble Administrator's Garden and the Five-"Mu" Garden definitely belong in this category—their large sizes allow them to make manifold changes while maintaining a high degree of spatiality. The small artificial hills in the central part of the Humble Administrator's Garden, in particular, are, to quote Zhang Lian, "complete with traverse ridges and tiny slopes, zigzagging lake embankments and curved sandy shores." Ji Cheng suggests in *The Craft of Gardens*,

> The garden is created by man, but should look as if wrought by heaven.

My mentor Liu Dunzhen puts it this way,

> The bodies of water in a garden ought to be concentrated in the main, with scattered ones supplementing. It is better to keep water concentrated than scattered in a small garden. In a large garden, it can be partly concentrated, partly dispersed, but a decision must be made before action

is taken: which approach should be prioritized, concentration or scattering?

Both the Humble Administrator's Garden and the Master-of-Fishnets Garden are fine examples for the utilization of large bodies of water, which is why they are celebrated as the best of all Suzhou gardens in my opinion.

Fourth, water in the foreground and rockwork in the background. This calls for building a hall in front of a pond or stream so that it looks like a waterside verandah sitting astride the waves, and someone staying in the hall can feast his eyes upon the hills and rocks across the water. This layout finds expression in the Garden of Cultivation at 5 Literary Yamen Lane. The Fragrant Grass Garden to the east of the Northern Temple Pagoda seems to bear a close resemblance to it.

Fifth, juxtaposing hill and water in the center and surrounding them with an uninterrupted circuitous belt of lofts and chambers whose heights are congruous to these hills and waters. Examples of this plan are few and far between in Suzhou. A smattering of it can be espied in the eastern part of the Loving Couple's Garden at Small New Bridge Lane, and the Han's Small Garden on Northeast Street shares something in common even though its hill and water are graced with two rows of buildings. As to the Half Garden on Zhongyouji Lane and the Song's Garden on Immortal Cultivation Lane, their clusters of buildings stand on one side of their respective central hills and waters.

The Suzhou gardens dating back to the Ming era bear a close affinity to nature, especially those created with techniques summarized by later garden crafters like Ji Cheng and Zhang Lian to factor in original terrains with minor modifications. The rocks used are primarily yellow stones, as exemplified by the two small hills in the central part and the one at the foot of the Embroidered Damask Pavilion in the Humble Administrator's Garden. Though lacking the exquisiteness of riddled-through Lake Tai stones, the yellow stones, when piled up judiciously, produce natural-looking rockwork without the least suggestion of affectation and the risk of collapse that piled-up rocks are prone to. If these and other techniques are studied to the minute detail, a lot of fine traditions can be carried forward to update landscape gardening today.

From the Qing era onward, all the rockeries in gardens in Suzhou were built of Lake Tai stones. The number of such stones and the merits and demerits of a single peak in a garden became the benchmarks for the quality of gardens, benchmarks which prompted greedy and curious rockwork

crafters and garden owners alike to compete with each other in garden-making. Typical examples of such competition can be found in the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, where choice Lake Tai stone rockeries were collected from three ruined gardens around the Dongting Mountain. Apparently, the principle that "small hills should be built with rocks" does not exclude the use of soil at all; otherwise, trees planted in them would have nothing to survive on. The Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode, on the other hand, is a good example. Renovated extensively during the Qianlong reign, it boasted, within its small space, a Lake Tai stone rockery built by drawing upon the Song-dynasty "axe-chopping" landscape painting brush technique and by inlaying stones in its surfaces to generate an unaffectedly vigorous style. Furthermore, nourished and moistened by water meandering in its deep ravines, the rockery exudes verdure and liveliness and ranks among the finest of its kind in all the gardens in the Jiangnan area. Such artistic masterpieces would not have been created at all if their designers had no sense of natural mountains and ravines in their vision and failed to apply their imagination and expertise with facility. All this speaks volumes for the importance of assiduous study and cultural cultivation for garden crafters.

Artificial mountain construction in the craft of gardens should be adapted to existing terrain and topography, whose unpredictable changes provide no set rules, but fortunately, the formation and development of a certain terrain still follow some principles. There is a grain of truth in the saying, "It is better to learn from nature than from the ancients." We can understand this philosophy by analyzing a given natural scenery and testify to it with the works of our ancients. One can come up with the best possible garden design by drawing upon these works and by clarifying its merits and demerits. However, nine out of ten Suzhou gardens built in recent times were, to our dismay, schematized at best. In the absence of an overall plan, such a garden is just a hotchpotch of pavilions, lofts and verandahs. As to the stones selected for artificial hills and rockeries, they were treated like antiques and curios to the neglect of their relationship with horticulture and architecture. The construction of the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, for example, was intended to benefit from the strengths of a host of counterparts, but its general plan is so lax and undisciplined that it seems to have fallen short of expectations—a lesson, indeed, poignant enough to sober up all the garden-makers today.

To keep or build a body of water in a garden, the first thing to do is to

seek out its source. A pond or stream without a source is dead water. The Humble Administrator's Garden, for example, saves the day by making use of its original pools and marshes. The Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode obtains water by digging into its ground; the water obtained this way comes only in a trickling stream, but it is clean and cool all the same.

There are two tricks to make a pond of water in a tiny garden look expansive and boundless. Firstly, to make full use of the pond's irregular plane, sprinkle it with islets and build small bridges across it, so that its entirety cannot be seen through at one glance. Secondly, to add enough bends and twists to the shores and outlets of a pond or stream to make it look like having more than one source or coming out of nowhere or disappearing into an unfathomable hole or ravine. Reeds and cattails may also be planted along the shorelines and at the outlets to heighten the mystery of the scene. This second trick, however, is viable only to large gardens.

The Belvedere for the Vivacious and Enterprising in the Lingering Garden is situated where a creek meets its end, but some of its water keeps flowing underneath, so that, from a bird's-eye view, the belvedere looks like sitting right on water and the creek seems to be flowing on. The water-bound rockery in the Garden of Salubrious Shades on Southern Xianzi Lane is built cleverly of layered rocks to resemble a cavernous cave with a hut atop it. Water is channelled into the cave and stepping stones are fixed inside, making visitors feel like venturing into the depth of a ravine. Celebrated as a unique structure in the central Wu area, this rockery's design is probably based on one in the Southern-Song Garden of Zhao Yiwang (*fl*. 12th century) in Hangzhou.

The Dark Blue Waves Pavilion's scenery is dominated by rock formations. The waterside colonnade in the western part rises drastically in elevation to offer a bird's-eye view of the seemingly unfathomable pool below. Bridges in the Garden of Cultivation are almost level with the water surface that sets off the height and steepness of the rocks on both banks, whereas the bridges in the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, though kept below the surrounding rockeries, are a little higher than water surface. What about setting up a bridge over a small creek? It is not hard to imagine, and this is why our predecessors used steppingstones instead, and the result is more natural and tasteful. There is a waterfall cascading to the rockery from the eave of a nearby loft when it rains in the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode, which is but a rarity among Suzhou gardens.

In addition to waters, rocks and ponds, architectural structures like halls, chambers, terraces, pavilions, gazebos, verandahs, vaultings, and walkways are also part and parcel of the traditional Chinese garden. Most Jiangnan gardens are known for the air of sequestered repose and low-key elegance about them, which ought to be matched with delicate and graceful buildings, and their siting, plane and appearance, too, must be brought into full account. Ji Cheng says in *The Craft of Gardens*,

> What is fundamental to a garden to be constructed is to decide the positions for halls and chambers. Priority should also be given to the choice of sceneries, but the key to success lies in making the buildings face south. Where there are trees, keep just a few of them in the central courtyard.

This tenet on garden architecture is carried out to the letter in southern Jiangsu gardens, such as the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance in the Humble Administrator's Garden and the Green-Soaked Mountain Villa in the Lingering Garden.

As to the positioning of a loft, a terrace or a pavilion, there are no prescribed rules to go by, though principles can be found in *The Craft of Gardens*, the *Treatise on Superfluous Things*, the *Notes on Sections of Construction Projects* and other books: "Form should accord with the shape of the foundations"; "Patterns should be agreeable to the circumstances"; "Prospects should be adapted to the surroundings so that each owns its right niche"; "Every rafter or corner must look out of the ordinary"; "Let every gazebo be tucked away amidst flowers, and let every pavilion be found by the side of a pond or brook." All these principles call for flexible application by bearing the whole picture in mind.

Take the Humble Administrator's Garden for example. Looking down at the garden, we find that the orientation of buildings varies with the lie of land. Their exterior invariably looks lively, be their plane a square, a rectangle, a polygon, or a circle. As far as roofs are concerned, they assume a variety of forms, including *yingshan*, a pitched roof with two slopes on the front and the rear respectively; *xuanshan*, which adds to *yingshan* two walls up through to the roof on the left and right; *xieshan*, a gable and hip roof with eaves under one gable or both gables; and pavilion roofs. The main ridge of such a roof is always curved rather than straight. None of the roofs takes the *wudian* form, that is, a pitched roof with a slope on each of its four sides, which is exclusive for royal use. Their ridge ends usually turn up in the shape of a half-moon, which is called *faqiang*. In the manner of *shuiqiang faqiang*, overhang is achieved by turning up the four ridge ends instead of the minor

hip rafters. The structures appear light and lively in a style similar to that of the hanging fascia beneath the eaves and the "Backrest for the King of Wu," that is, a slightly curved balustrade.

The buildings in the central part of the Lingering Garden are good examples in elevation treatment. When one looks east from the Osmanthus Fragrance Verandah, the Sinuous Gully Loft comes in sight as the verandah's major opposite view. With a gable and hip roof, the loft has its ground floor designed like a platform, with its molding in parallel with the water surface and separated from the upper floor, so that its two-storied structure does not look overwhelming in height. Moreover, the roofs of the three adjacent buildings positioned one after another—the Sinuous Gully Loft, the Western Loft, and the Refreshing Breeze Pond-Verandah—have elevations and roofs that look alike but, at a close look, are actually different and go well with the rockeries and water around them. The weathered ancient tree crabbing over the rippling surface of the stream, the brick-framed and lattice windows in contrast with the wall in which they are fixed, and the sparse and thin shadows of flowers are all unique features to the Suzhou gardens that, when mirrored in the water, beggars description.

The Green-Soaked Mountain Villa abuts upon the Bright and Clear Loft. Both have round ridge roofs, but the latter is hipped, and the former is flush-gabled on one side and has a vertical ridge on the other side—a change that, instead of looking awkward, perks up an otherwise dull design. A similar example is found in the treatment of the structure by a pond in the middle of the Comfort-Giving Garden's long and narrow plan: in the absence of a waterside verandah, a pavilion is installed that sports a roof with a side eave under one gable.

There are counterexamples, however. A corner pavilion in the Eastern Garden is crowned with a hexagonal conical roof. Its cornice is flat and its ridges upturn a little at the hip, but to keep the structure light and graceful, the columns are too thin and too tall to bear the weight of the heavy upper section. Consequently, the pavilion looks a little shaky. The Pavilion for Untrammeled Whistlers and the Pavilion of Uttermost Delights in the eastern part of the Lingering Garden are both flawed in proportion. The former is small but not exquisite, and the roof of the latter seems too heavy despite the variations made to it. Indeed, the pavilions built more recently in the gardens in south Jiangsu by craftsmen from Xiangshan, Suzhou, are all marred by putting thin and tall columns under high roofs. The Ming structures in the

Garden of Cultivation, by contrast, appear much steadier under slightly lower roofs.

In a word, single buildings must be designed by keeping in mind the whole picture of the garden in which they are located. As to plane variations, even if in the innermost rooms or chambers, adequate open space must be left in solid areas, and outlets should be built where the bends lead. Small verandahs—one-framed, two-framed or two-and-half-framed—should be set up where they are needed in the milieu. The Vernal Crabapple Yard in the Humble Administrator's Garden, for instance, is two-framed, with one frame obviously larger than the other. The Kowtow-to-Peak Verandah in the Lingering Garden, for another example, consists of two and a half frames, but the half-frame section is the most intriguing, a fact which bears out the theory of *The Craft of Gardens* on the aesthetics of offbeat designs.

High and low in accord, left and right in balance, intangibles and tangibles in mutual contrast, none of these aspects in a building are to be ignored. The Wan's Garden on Editorial Service Librarian Wang's Lane is a small affair, but its study stands on its own to form a quiet zone whose furnishing and interior decoration rank among the best in Suzhou together with the eastern and western parlors in the Ren's House on Iron Vase Lane, the parlors of Gu Wenbin's[49] Estate, the Master-of-Fishnets Garden, the Cheng's Garden on Western Hundred Flower Lane, and the Wu's House on Big Stone Lane. (For details, please refer to my book *Collected Records of Decorative Devices*.) The pity is, however, there is still much left to be desired in this regard in many other gardens in Suzhou. The interior decoration in the Lingering Garden is too trivial and vulgar, and exquisite designs are few and far between. The Humble Administrator's Garden is finely appointed, but there are still cases in which the interior decorations are pedestrian and invariant, as if they were scraped together haphazardly during restorations and repairs done in later periods. The Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, on its part, has virtually lost all its original furnishing but its land boat survives fortunately to be seen as a paragon of exquisite interior décor for the whole area of the former kingdom of Wu.

As the arteries of a garden, roofed walkways are noteworthy for their importance in garden architecture. Common to today's Suzhou gardens is the double-lane walkway, with a white-washed wall running along its middle line to provide a lane or passageway on either side of the wall, which is usually adorned with latticed windows. (See my book *Latticed Windows* for details.)

This kind of walkway is usually built in an open garden, such as the one that runs along the river in the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion. A double-lane walkway may also serve as a partitioning wall to expand space or provide transition between the entrance and the interiors of a garden. The double-lane walkway in the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, for example, is a replica of the one in the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion, which serves the same purpose but is also designed to ward the Thatched Hut of Wintry Friends[50] and the Verandah in Obedience to Rocks off direct afternoon sunrays and the north wind, while the shadows the sun tosses through the latticed windows conjure up fascinating patterns.

Roofed walkways are built on land or along a stream. Some are winding, the others straight. Flat and stiff ones are taboo. Those in present-day Suzhou gardens, however, look somewhat unnatural and stilted for their excess emphasis on twists and turns, and the walkway at the foot of the northern wall of the central part of the Lingering Garden is such an example. Its lower section is a balustrade built of bricks, which seems stifling and out of place for the hanging fascia. Worse, its columns, being sandwiched between brickwork, make the entire walkway look exceptionally rigid and bulky. A better effect can be achieved with latticed brickwork, as is exemplified by the walkway in the Ren's House on Iron Vase Lane and by the gazebo on a waterside walkway in the western part of the Humble Administrator's Garden. The sinuous Willow-Shaded Winding Walkway in the Humble Administrator's Garden, for another, employs a wooden balustrade on the waterfront and the King of Wu's Backrest on the other side, an arrangement that stands to reason.

The waterside walkway in the western part of the Humble Administrator's Garden is extolled as a picturesque structure for its judicious winding course and gradients that measure up to the standard prescribed in *The Craft of Gardens* for a "floating walkway that also serve ferrying purposes." This walkway is particularly commendable for gracing some of its bends with a tiny water gazebo amidst plantains and Lake Tai rockeries to make a difference in an otherwise conventional scenery.

Employed sparingly in the Lion's Grove, the Lingering Garden, and the Humble Administrator's Garden, most of the mountain-climbing walkways run along bordering walls. Due attention must be paid to keeping such a walkway's sloping gradients in tune with the mountain's height; otherwise, it would be top-heavy and out of balance. If the terrain is uneven in width, it is

advisable to alternate single- and double balustrades on the slopes, and a case in point is found in the walkway in the western part of the Lingering Garden. The bends of twisted walkways are oftentimes left open and interspersed at random with a few bamboos, rocks or plantains to yield dainty, tiny attractions. Commenting on walkways, Li Dou (1749-1817)[51] says in the *Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*,

> A walkway paved with bricks is called an echoing walkway. One that twists and turns in line with the terrain is a wandering walkway….One that runs into a bamboo grove is a bamboo walkway, and one that is close to water is a waterside walkway. A walkway's ridge ends may occasionally protrude out of a cluster of flowers; and its corners may project over the northern bank of a pond once in a while. Sometimes it clings to a cliff, hence its imposing balustrade. Sometimes it arches over a red plank board with boats sailing underneath, or straddling pavilions, terraces and lofts to facilitate gentle and convenient passage. The walkways are valued for their balustrades—a nice balustrade is often likened to a beauty wearing a short-sleeved or sleeveless dress to accentuate her slender waist. The wooden boards fixed on the walkway are known as "flying benches" or "beauty's backrests." The bulging part of a walkway is regarded as a verandah.

One may learn a great deal from this piece of elaborate advice. Nowadays we have roofed walkways flanked by plantains, which are therefore called plantain walkways; and those running through willows are willow walkways. Both designs are well-intended, offering cooling shades to keep off heat waves in summer, and making people feel toasty in warm sunshine in winter. Some walkways have paintings hanging under their roofs, which have been known as painting walkways since ancient times; some of those built in recent years have their walls inlaid with stone tablets inscribed with poems in calligraphic handwriting. Both practices put the walkways to best use.

A bridge is to a water surface what a roofed walkway is to an open space in the Chinese garden. Stone beam bridges are commonplace in Suzhou gardens, be they straight ones, zigzagging ones with three, five or nine bends, or curved ones. Some are level with the shores of a stream or lake. Others are kept lower than the banks or look like floating on water, which are legacies handed down from days of yore and can be found in the Garden of Cultivation of Suzhou, the Solace-Imbued Garden of Wuxi, and some other gardens in the nearby county of Changshu. The bridge in the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, and the one in ruins in the Yan's Garden in the ancient town of Mudu, Suzhou, share something in common, but they are kept a little higher than the water surface. In my view, these bridges were designed to achieve the following effects. First, walking through a bridge at water level gives one the feeling of treading rippling water while the water surface looks vast and the bridge precipitous; second, the surrounding buildings and hills

look more impressive against a low-lying, water-hugging bridge, which also set off congenially the hills, lofts and terraces ashore. The bridge in the Solace-Imbued Garden in Wuxi is such an example, which spanning a secluded valley below the flat ridge of an artificial hill, with the nearby Huishan Mountain offering the best views to be borrowed in the backdrop, employs a typical Mingdynasty landscape gardening design to best advantage.

Today's beam bridges, however, are often deployed carelessly, as if the topography and their own sizes were nonexistent. Not to mention the height and style of such bridges' balustrades, which are often adopted without looking into the bridge and its surroundings as a whole. Sometimes even iron balustrades are used, which is what happened exactly in the western part of the Humble Administrator's Garden. However, the small bridges in the Garden of Cultivation and the Rainbow-Leaning Bridge in the Humble Administrator's Garden are among the most desirable. The two three-bend and five-bend bridges in the central part of the Humble Administrator's Garden have railings proportionate enough to their respective bridges and environment, but the pity is that both are a little too tall. The stone bridge that connects the two hillocks on which the Fragrant Snow and Luxuriant Cloud Pavilion and the Frost Awaiting Pavilion are perched respectively is fashioned out of a single stone slab with no railings on it—natural and plain, it is born of a stroke of genius.

Another common type of bridges is the small arch bridge. There is one such bridge in the Lion's Grove and another in the Master-ofFishnets Garden. The former compares unfavorably with the latter in that an arched bridge is not supposed to sit on a rivulet's middle section, where it would appear clumsy and overwhelming and block the view, with no spaciousness and airiness to speak of. The latter is found at one end of a river; viewed from the west, it is exquisitely reflected in the expansive water surface, and viewed from the east, the pavilions and terraces are mirrored in the river—the scenes may be different, but the concepts are the same. In what looks like a stopgap, the arch in the stone bridge in the Half Garden on Zhongyouji Lane is modified to fit into a constrained space. As to the treatment of tiny, shallow creeks, *The Craft of Gardens* suggests,

> You may set stepping stones in the water.

I think that for tiny and shallow brooks, stepping stones are more natural and much better than a bridge. It is a shame this clever approach is all but lost

today.

The *Leisure Sketches by a Little Window* says of the roads in gardens,

> A trail inside of the gate should be made to twist and turn….A footpath by the side of a house must be made to fork.

The roads we see today in Suzhou gardens more or less follow these principles. The paths in the central part of the Humble Administrator's Garden are good examples. The designers took into consideration the lay of land and added appropriate changes to the Ming-dynasty rules they were following, thereby achieving clear distinction between primary and secondary paths with graceful twists and turns. The paths at the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode are made to bend and swerve a little bit to hug the villa's cramped space, but such bends are tweaked to a nicety to make sure people can see every sight of interest as they traipse along the road. The trails in the Lion's Grove and the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, however, twist and turn in ways that fly in the face of common sense and nature's law, to the bewilderment of those who happen to hit such trails. Indeed, affectation and arbitrariness are not just inartistic, and they defeat the purposes as well.

Paving the ground is another important garden-making aspect that merits serious attention, whether it be a front courtyard, a trail, or a main road. In today's Suzhou gardens, bricks are paved obliquely on a main road, which makes the job easy and simple and allows the freedom to work out the patterns. Gravels are used on main roads, footpaths and in front of halls, and this type of pavements can also be adorned with patterns wrought with pottery shards. Sometimes pottery shards are paved obliquely and mingled with porcelain shards. Pebbles, sometimes interspersed with porcelain shards, can produce more elaborate and elegant patterns than bricks or gravels, as is shown by some roads in the Lingering Garden, but pebble pavements call for regular maintenance—the soil in the gaps between the pebbles is often washed down by the rain or swept away by garden cleaners, and weeds tend to be another headache.

"Cracked-ice pattern" is not uncommon in paving front courtyards, and it comes in two structures in south Jiangsu gardens. First, laying stone slabs of different shapes flatly on the ground in such a pattern, as is done in front of the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance in the Humble Administrator's Garden, which looks simple and natural, but the ground may become warped here and there. Second, putting such stone slabs together in a mortise-and-tenon fashion to form rippling patterns—a laborious job indeed, but it produces a durable pavement that is also neat and tidy. Examples of it are found in front

of the Green-Soaked Mountain Villa in the Lingering Garden and the Gen'an's Parlor in Gu Wenbin's Estate at Iron Vase Lane. The stairway in front of a hall sometimes assumes the natural forms of stones, such as those in front of the Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance in the Humble Administrator's Garden and the Five-Peak Celestial Hall in the Lingering Garden.

The walls of Suzhou gardens are built of riprap or finely ground bricks. They are latticed, whitewashed, or both, but most of them are simply whitewashed. The surrounding walls, in most cases, have latticed tile windows opened into their upper half; and the inner walls are inlaid with tile-latticed or brick-framed windows. The whitewashed wall with flower shadows thrown on it is readily talked about by everybody who see it. Finely ground brick walls are used sparingly on buildings inside a garden. Most gateway walls are bedecked with patterns fashioned out of finely ground bricks, as is exemplified by the gateway of the Humble Administrator's Garden. Riprap is actually reserved for a wall's lower section, from the ground up to one third of the wall's height. I remember seeing, in an old house in Shanghai, a state-of-the-art wall that is lined with stones in cracked-ice patterns and dotted with plum flower patterns, which I surmise is a legacy of the Ming. A wall with latticed windows that divides up a water surface in the middle inside the Western Garden is a school in its own right.

Antithetical couplets and inscribed tablets are as indispensible to Chinese gardens as beard and eyebrows are to a man. In Suzhou, scholars and artists, through the ages are deeply involved in garden-making by vesting man-made garden scenery and structures with poetic passion and picturesque images drawn from nature, places of historical interest, and texts of verse and prose, while eulogizing every mountain, wood, rock, ravine, pavilion or verandah in the gardens with the finest and most proper diction. Thus an affective visitor feasting his eyes on a garden scenery would be mesmerized by the calligraphic couplet or tablet attached to it, because the inscriptions always give the most fitting interpretation of the scenery in question and never fail to strike a deep chord in his heart. The Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance and the Stay-and-Listen Belvedere in the Humble Administrator's Garden are both dedicated to lotus flowers, but their names are derived from different lines—the former, "The farther the aroma drifts, the purer it becomes"; the latter, "May the withered lotus leaves stay to listen to the pattering rain." The Osmanthus Fragrance Verandah of the Lingering Garden and the Vernal Crabapple Yard of the Humble Administrator's Garden are

named respectively after the trees planted in them, and those who chance upon such trees and settings have come up with so many fine literary and art works, something which can happen only in a Chinese garden. It is my hope that all such couplets and tablets on garden scenery be preserved for posterity. Every garden in Suzhou is in possession of well-written inscriptions. The Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, in particular, once had a complete array of couplets drawn from Song lyric poems that describe scenic sights in meticulous and tactful ways, but, alas, few of them have survived! Eight or nine out of ten inscribed boards or tablets are made of gingko wood, which is more resistant to the high wind in the gardens than other woods. The Chinese characters engraved in such boards are in intaglio and covered with malachite green pigments or sometimes lacquered in cold color tones. Brick boards are also used for this purpose, which look clean and lovely. The inscriptions usually come in seal script, official script, or the running hand for their simplistic and natural forms. Regular script is rarely used. Chinese calligraphy and painting share the same origin, so the boards and tablets bearing calligraphic inscriptions are objets d'art themselves to help enhance the allure of the gardens in which they are placed.

The importance of trees to gardens is self-evident. Because most gardens in the Jiangnan area are small and closed behind tall walls, due attention ought to be paid to a number of factors before trees are planted in them: the sunny or shady side of the site and its elevation; the selected trees' growing speed, cold-resistance and drought-enduring properties, and whether they can grow into ancient-looking, gnarled or exuberant shapes. Based on these observations, further importance ought to be given to the trees' positions and their relationship with rockeries. As microcosms of natural landscape, rockeries and ponds should never be overshadowed by trees. The trees' sizes and shapes, therefore, must be controlled. What merits attention is that a tree stretching its gnarling branches into water and twist its knotted roots around a rock always make the scene look hoary and unsightly. Just as Li Gefei puts it,

> The touch of venerable age pales where human skill steals the limelight.

A good variety of trees are found in Suzhou gardens, such as elms and wingnuts in the Humble Administrator's Garden, and gingko trees in the central part and maples all over the western part of the Lingering Garden. Being relatively small, the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence features osmanthus trees, pines, and lacebark pines. Lacebark pines are particularly cute despite their simple shapes, but they are such a rarity in small gardens.

There are also gardens having an assortment of pines, plums, palms, and boxwoods that are known for their slow growth. A small garden tucked away behind a high wall tends to have more shady areas than sunny ones, so cold-resistant plants are cultivated along the shady side of a wall, such as privets, palms and bamboos. Alpine trees such as pines and firs belong in mountain valleys. For stone crevices in front of steps, shade-tolerant evergreen grass is the best choice. A garden with more evergreens than deciduous plants will remain green all year round and has little chance to go "bald" in late autumn and winter. The elms, scholar trees, wingnuts, hackberries, water elms and maple trees and the like must be pruned annually to keep them in rugged shape, and another plus for such trees is that they sport nice-looking roots. The elms and wingnuts look their best when fully grown, with verdant twigs thriving on their hollow trunks.

In Suzhou gardens trees are generally planted on artificial hills in two ways. Firstly, the top and foot of such a hill are reserved exclusively for large trees so that visitors can take in the beauty of their exposed roots amidst rockwork; examples of this are found in both the Lingering Garden and the Humble Administrator's Garden. Secondly, the trees planted atop a hill or at its foot are made to overlook the bamboos or the shrubs or creepers that cling to rocks to generate a feeling of depth and utmost luxuriance. The Dark Blue Waves Pavilion and the Humble Administrator's Garden are excellent examples in this regard. Analyses indicate that such tree-treating methods originate in different styles of legendary painters. The former embodies the placid and facile style of Ni Zan (1301-1374)[52] of the Yuan; the latter assimilates the somewhat gloomy and dark-toned style of Shen Zhou (1427-1509)[53] of the Ming. It is advisable to choose willows, bamboos, or reeds for water-bound, low-lying places. The shady side of a wall ought to be covered with ivies, slender bamboos, nandinas and begonias with green leaves, cold-colored flowers and bright-colored fruits, but again, they need annual pruning to keep their growth in check.

Growing flowers follows the one and same principle for trees in a garden. Osmanthuses and camellias should be planted in shady areas with a little sunshine. Both are evergreens that bloom when other flowers do not—osmanthuses in autumn and camellias in early spring; both look their serene and plump best when nodding and flickering among quaint rockeries with graceful postures. Pergolas of wisterias present green shades and a profusion of jewellery- or dewdrop-like flowers in time for late spring. Peonies are

often shown on terraces skirted by a balustrade of stones with nice veins because they need an abundance of sunshine and a high location to show off their resplendent flowers. Magnolias, crabapple trees, peonies, and osmanthuses are by tradition cultivated in courtyards for their names suggest "riches and honours descending upon a jade hall." This implication may sound hackneyed, but the way our predecessors coordinate different flowers by taking their florescence and color into account is not without their reasons. If planted in groves, peaches and plums are suitable for viewing from afar, but they are feasible for large gardens such as the Lingering Garden and the Humble Administrator's Garden in Suzhou.

There are two rules of thumb for the treatment of trees in Suzhou gardens. One is to plant the same type of trees in a grove, such as the pines at the Wave-Listening Place in the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence, the maples in the western part and the osmanthuses in front of the Osmanthus Fragrance Verandah in the Lingering Garden. At the same time, designers should consider the height and density of the trees in relation to their surroundings. The other is to allocate a variety of trees in the same grove, but like the composition of a painting, meticulous attention must be paid to a number of issues, such as if the orientation of the chosen trees and the elevation of the site are suitable for a grove of multiple tree species, the contrast and balance of leave colors, the ratio between evergreen and deciduous trees, their flowering seasons, and the shape of leaves and postures of the trees. The relationship between trees and rocks, too, should not be lost on the designers —the two factors must be combined into an organic whole so that every single stone in a rockery can fascinate the visitors and every inch of rock can rivet the observer's attention. What is more, consistency between plants and buildings must be adjusted to the point where their styles and colors can complement each other.

The number of lotuses growing in a pond must be limited. Otherwise, both the water surface and the silhouettes of buildings in it would be marred badly. Just let one or two slim lotuses sway invitingly in the middle of the pond, and it will become the apple of the spectator's eye without fail. In the Gu's Garden in the city of Kunshan in Jiangsu, lotus roots are reportedly planted under stone slabs that line the bottom of a pond. There are a few holes in every such slab, and the propagation of the lotuses planted is well controlled. My mentor Liu Dunzhen told me, "In the Xu's East Garden of the Ming in Nanjing, a vat is placed at the bottom of a pond, with lotuses buried

in it." The slabs in the Gu's Garden of Kunshan differ from the aforementioned vat in Nanjing, but their purposes are the same.

The delicate elegance and serenity of the gardens of south Jiangsu come in striking contrast to the green-and-gold glamour of the royal gardens of north China. The success of south Jiangsu in this regard is owed to four factors.

First, cold color tones are applied to residential buildings, such as maroon or non-glossy black for the capitals of rafters and beams, and dark green for the hanging fascia. Such cold color tones come into bold relief against the whitewashed walls that are properly toned down by the well-spaced shadows thrown by flowers upon them, thereby providing the needed transition to bring about a quaint scenery.

Second, almost all the Suzhou gardens are attached to dwellings where the places for reading and self-cultivation are provided. The peace and quiet needed for such rooms in southern gardens is predicated on cold color tones, which is a far cry from the pomp and pageantry of the royal gardens up north. Nevertheless, Suzhou scholar-officials did show off their affluence through fine furnishing, meticulous rockwork as well as their collections of antiques and curios, but their quest for serenity and elegance remained the order of the day.

Third, the southern school of Chinese landscape painting characterized by delicate ink and reddish color tones was having a deep impact on the scholar-officials, men of letters and painters in the Jiangnan area. The gardens born under such impact are imbued with a graceful and elegant style, to the exclusion of elaborate color and gilding.

Fourth, vermilion and other warm colors are out of place in the Jiangnan area's hot weather, not to mention the fact that commoners, not allowed the privileges reserved for royalty with regard to buildings, apparels and whatnot, were limited to the use of simple and quiet color tones, which, however, can often achieve what exuberant colors cannot. Unpretentious play of color is in congruity with the garden architecture, greyish skies, thriving vegetation, exquisite rockeries and flowing water in the Jiangnan area, and contribute to an aura of peace and tranquillity, the very soul of Jiangnan gardens.

Another salient feature of Suzhou gardens in particular and Chinese gardens in general is that they induce maximum comfort and aesthetic well-being and draw throngs of visitors with their perennial charms no matter what the natural conditions. Contributing to such charms are not only these

gardens' rockeries and bodies of water, but also their lofts and halls that are lined up in rows and columns, corridors and galleries winding or twisting, their railings and balustrades that encircle and connect the spaces, as well as their trees and flowers that contrast or supplement each other.

Circumstances evoke different feelings in poets and painters. Plantain colonnades in summer, plum shadows and moonlit snow in winter, bright sunny days and luxuriant flowers in spring, red knotweeds and reed-rimmed lakes in autumn—the sceneries may change with the season, but all of them are lovable. As to the wind rustling through pines, the rain spattering on wild rice and cattails, the moonlight shifting on swaying flowers, or the fog enveloping a loft or terrace, it is a typical case of "beauty lies in the eye of the beholder"—the fascinations of these ideal scenes are achieved by fusing the designer's refined literary and artistic attainment with the quintessence of an actual setting, and played up through dramatic means. The piling up of rocks, the erection of a building, the dredging of a stream, the search for spring water, or the planting of flowers or bamboos, every such effort is meant for the same result.

An artist or a writer's appreciation of nature's beauty is not limited to sunny weather on a spring day. Rather, his eye is set on every season as he endeavours to convert it into a realm of beauty. He would like to see flowers' shadows on whitewashed walls, listen to the wind whistling through pines and the rain spattering on lotus leaves, and enjoy the moonlight on the tips of willows and the radiance of the setting sun on plums and bamboos. All the while he hopes to see all the things he dreams of come true. He imbues every rock or tree with overflowing feelings, so that there is sentiment everywhere and liveliness in every direction, and evocations implied in every twist or turn in the scenery. Herein lies another rich aspect of the traditional Chinese garden.

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So much for the few observations garnered from my daily involvement in the craft of gardens, which I present here for everybody's reference. The Suzhou gardens have written a brilliant page in Chinese garden-making history. Today, they are still accommodating people who flock in to see sights or take a break. For the sake of inheriting and carrying forward the fine cultural Chinese traditions embodied in these gardens, I deem it necessary to

put this article on my readers' desks.

苏州园林概述

·一

我国园林，如从历史上溯源的话，当推古代的囿与园，以及《汉制考》上所称的苑。《周礼天官大宰》："九职二曰园圃，毓草林。"《地官囿人》："掌囿游之兽禁，牧百兽。"《地官充人》："以场圃任园地。"《说文》："囿，苑有垣也。一曰禽兽有囿。圃，种菜曰圃。园，所以种果也。苑，所以养禽兽也。"据此则囿、园、苑的含意已明。我们知道稀韦的囿，黄帝的圃，已开囿圃之端。到了三代，苑囿专为狩猎的地方，例如周姬昌（文王）的囿，刍荛雉兔，与民同之。秦汉以后，园林渐渐变为统治者游乐的地方，兴建楼馆，藻饰华丽了。秦嬴政（始皇）筑秦宫，跨渭水南北，覆压三百里。汉刘彻（武帝）营上林苑、甘泉苑，以及建章宫北的太液池，在历史的记载上都是范围很大的。其后刘武（梁孝王）的兔园，开始了叠山的先河。魏曹丕（文帝）更有芳林园。隋杨广（炀帝）造西苑。唐李漼（懿宗）于苑中造山植木，建为园林。北宋赵佶（徽宗）之营艮岳，为中国园林之最著于史籍者。宋室南渡，于临安（杭州）建造玉津、聚景、集芳等园。元忽必烈（世祖）因辽金琼华岛为万岁山太液池。明清以降除踵前遗规外，并营建西苑、南苑，以及西郊畅春、清漪、圆明等诸园，其数目视前代更多了。

私家园林的发展，汉代袁广汉于洛阳北邙山下筑园，东西四里，南北五里，构石为山，复蓄禽兽其间，可见其规模之大了。梁冀多规苑囿，西至弘农，东至荥阳，南入鲁阳，北到河淇，周围千里。又司农张伦造景阳山，其园林布置有若自然。可见当时园林在建筑艺术上已有很高的造诣了。尚有茹皓，吴人，采北邙及南山佳石，复筑楼馆列于上下，并引泉莳花，这些都以人工代天巧。魏晋六朝这个时期，是中国思想史上大转变的时代，亦是中国历史上战争最频繁的时代，士大夫习于服食，崇尚清谈，再兼以佛学昌盛，于是礼佛养性，遂萌出世之念，虽居城市，辄作山林之想。在文学方面有咏大自然的诗文，绘画方面有山水画的出现，在建筑方面就在宅第之旁筑园了。石崇在洛阳建金谷园，从其《思归引序》来看，其设计主导思想是"避嚣烦""寄情赏"。再从《梁书·萧统传》、徐勉《戒子嵩书》、庾信《小园赋》等来看，他们的言论亦不外此意。唐代如宋之问的蓝田别墅、李德裕的平泉别墅、王维的辋川别业，皆有竹洲花坞之胜，清流翠筱之趣，人工景物，仿佛天成。而白居易的草堂，尤能利用自然，参合借景的方法。宋代李格非

《洛阳名园记》、周密《吴兴园林记》，前者记北宋时所存隋唐以来洛阳名园如富郑公园等，后者记南宋吴兴园林如沈尚书园等。记中所述，几与今日所见园林无甚二致。明清以后，园林数目远迈前代，如北京勺园、漫园，扬州影园、九峰园、个园，海宁安澜园，杭州小有天园，以及明王世贞《游金陵诸园记》所记东园等，其数不胜枚举。今存者如杭州皋园，南浔适园、宜园、小莲庄，上海豫园，常熟燕园，南翔古猗园，无锡寄畅园等，为数尚多，而苏州又为各地之冠。如今我们来看看苏州园林在历史上的发展。

·二

苏州在政治经济文化上，远在春秋时的吴，已经有了基础，其后在两汉、两晋又逐渐发展。春秋时吴之梧桐园，以及晋之顾辟疆园，已开苏州园林的先声。六朝时江南已为全国富庶之区，扬州、南京、苏州等处的经济基础，到后来形成有以商业为主，有以丝织品及手工业为主，有为官僚地主的消费城市。苏州就是手工业重要产地兼官僚地主的消费城市。

我们知道，六朝以还，继以隋代杨广（炀帝）开运河，促使南北物资交流；唐以来因海外贸易，江南富庶视前更形繁荣。唐末中原诸省战争频繁，受到很大的破坏，可是南唐吴越范围，在政治上、经济上尚是小康局面，因此有余力兴建园林，宋时苏州朱长文因吴越钱氏旧园而筑乐圃，即是一例。北宋江南上承南唐、吴越之旧，地方未受干戈，经济上没有受重大影响，园林兴建不辍。及赵构（高宗）南渡，苏州又为平江府治所在，赵构曾一度“驻跸”于此。王唤营平江府治，其北部凿池构亭，即使官衙亦附以园林。其时土地兼并已甚，豪门巨富之宅，其园林建筑不言可知了。故两宋之时，苏州园林著名者，如苏舜钦就吴越钱氏故园为沧浪亭，梅宣义构五亩园，朱长文筑乐圃，而朱勔为赵佶营艮岳外，复自营同乐园，皆较为著的。元时江浙仍为财富集中之地，故园林亦有所兴建，如狮子林即其一例。迨入明清，土地兼并之风更甚，而苏州自唐宋以来已是丝织品与各种美术工业品的产地，又为地主官僚的集中地，并且由科举登第者最多，以清一代而论，状元之多为全国冠。这些人年老归家，购田宅，设巨肆，除直接从土地上剥削外，再从商业上经营盘剥，以其所得大建园林以娱晚境。而手工业所生产，亦供若辈使用。其经济情况大略如此。它与隋唐洛阳、南宋吴兴、明代南京，是同样情况的。

除了上述情况之外，在自然环境上，苏州水道纵横，湖泊罗布，随处可得泉引水，兼以土地肥沃，花卉树木易于繁滋。当地产石，除尧峰

山外，洞庭东西二山所产湖石，取材便利。距苏州稍远的如江阴黄山、宜兴张公洞、镇江圌山、大岘山、句容龙潭、南京青龙山、昆山马鞍山等所产，虽不及苏州为佳，然运材亦便。而苏州诸园之选峰择石，首推湖石，因其姿态入画，具备造园条件。《宋书·戴颙传》“颙出居吴下。吴下士人共为筑室，聚石引水植林开涧，少时繁密，有若自然。”即其一例。其次，苏州为人文荟萃之所，诗文书画人才辈出。士大夫除自出新意外，复利用了很多门客，如《吴风录》载：“朱勔子孙居虎丘之麓，尚以种艺垒山为业，游于王侯之门，俗呼为花园子。”又周密《癸辛杂识》云：“工人特出于吴兴，谓之山匠，或亦朱勔之遗风。”既有人为之策划，又兼有巧匠，故自宋以来造园家如俞澂、陆叠山、计成、文震亨、张涟、张然、叶洮、李渔、仇好石、戈裕良等，皆江浙人。今日叠石匠师出南京、苏州、金华三地，而以苏州匠师为首，是有历史根源的。但士大夫固然有财力兴建园林，然《吴风录》所载，“虽闾阎下户亦饰小山盆岛为玩”，这可说明当地人民对自然的爱好了。

苏州园林在今日保存者为数最多，且亦最完整，如能全部加以整理，不啻是个花园城市。故言中国园林，当推苏州了。我曾经称誉云：“江南园林甲天下，苏州园林甲江南。”这些园林我经过五年的调查踏勘，复曾参与了修复工作。前夏与今夏又率领同济大学建筑系的同学作教学实习，主要对象是古建筑与园林，逗留时间较久，遂以测绘与摄影所得，利用拙政园、留园两个最大的园作例，略略加以说明一些苏州园林在历史上的发展，与设计方面的手法，供大家研究。其他的一些小园林，有必要述及的，亦一并包括在内。

·三

拙政园：拙政园在娄齐二门间的东北街。明嘉靖时（1522—1566年）王献臣因大宏寺废地营别墅，是此园的开始。“拙政”二字的由来，是用潘岳“拙者之为政”的意思。后其子以赌博负失，归里中徐氏。清初属海宁陈之遴，陈因罪充军塞外，此园一度为驻防将军府，其后又为兵备道馆。吴三桂婿王永宁亦曾就居于此园。后没入公家，康熙初改苏松常道新署，其后玄烨（康熙）南巡，也来游到此。苏松常道缺裁，散为民居。乾隆初归蒋棨，易名复园。嘉庆中再归海宁查世倓，复归平湖吴璥。迨太平天国克复苏州，又为忠王府的一部分。太平天国失败，为清政府所据。同治十年（1871年）改为八旗奉直会馆，仍名拙政园。西部归张履谦所有，易名补园。解放后已合而为一。

拙政园的布局主题是以水为中心。池水面积约占总面积五分之三，主要建筑物十之八九皆临水而筑。文徵明《拙政园记》：“在郡城东

北，界娄齐门之间。居多隙地，有积水亘其中，稍加浚治，环以林木。……”据此可以知道是利用原来地形而设计的，与明末计成《园冶》中《相地》一节所说“高方欲就亭台，低凹可开池沼……”的因地制宜方法相符合。故该园以水为主，实有其道理在。在苏州不但此园如此，阔阶头巷的网师园，水占全园面积达五分之四。平门的五亩园亦池沼逶迤，望之弥然，莫不利用原来的地形而加以浚治的。景德路环秀山庄，乾隆间蒋楫凿池得泉，名“飞雪”，亦是解决水源的好办法。

园可分中、西、东三部，中部系该园主要部分，旧时规模所存尚多，西部即张氏“补园”，已大加改建，然布置尚是平妥。东部为明王心一归田园居，久废，正在重建中。

中部远香堂为该园的主要建筑物，单檐歇山面阔三间的四面厅，从厅内通过窗棂四望，南为小池假山，广玉兰数竿，扶疏接叶，云墙下古榆依石，幽竹傍岩，山旁修廊曲折，导游者自园外入内。似此的布置不但在进门处可以如入山林，而坐厅南望亦有山如屏，不觉有显明的入口，它与住宅入口处置内照壁，或置屏风等来作间隔的方法，采用同一的手法。东望绣绮亭，西接倚玉轩，北临荷池，而隔岸雪香云蔚亭与待霜亭突出水面小山之上。游者坐此厅中，则一园之景可先窥其轮廓了。以此厅为中心的南北轴线上，高低起伏，主题突出。而尤以池中岛屿环以流水，掩以丛竹，临水湖石参差，使人望去殊多不尽之意，仿佛置身于天然池沼中。从远香堂缘水东行，跨倚虹桥，桥与阑皆甚低，系明代旧构。越桥达倚虹亭，亭倚墙而作，仅三面临空，故又名东半亭。向北达梧竹幽居，亭四角攒尖，每面辟一圆拱门。此处系中部东尽头，从二道圆拱门望池中景物，如入环中，而隔岸极远处的西半亭隐然在望。是亭内又为一圆拱门，倒映水中，所谓别有洞天以通西部的。亭背则北寺塔耸立云霄中，为极妙的借景。左顾远香堂、倚玉轩及香洲等，右盼两岛，前者为华丽的建筑群，后者为天然图画。刘师敦桢云：“此为园林设计上运用最好的对比方法。”根据实际情况，东西二岸水面距离并不太大，然而看去反觉深远特甚。设计时在水面隔以梁式石桥，逶迤曲折，人们视线从水面上通过石桥才达彼岸。两旁一面是人工华丽的建筑，一面是天然苍翠的小山，二者之间水是修长的，自然使人们感觉更加深远与扩大。对岸老榆傍岸，垂杨临水，其间一洞窈然，楼台画出，又别有天地了。从梧竹幽居经三曲桥，小径分歧，屈曲循道登山，达巅为待霜亭，亭六角，翼然出丛竹间。向东襟带绿漪亭，西则复与长方形的雪香云蔚亭相呼应。此岛平面为三角形，与雪香云蔚亭一岛椭圆形者有别，二者之间一溪相隔，溪上覆以小桥，其旁幽篁丛出，老树斜依，而清流涓涓，宛若与树上流莺相酬答，至此顿忘尘嚣。自雪香云蔚亭而下，便到荷风四面亭。亭亦六角，居三路之交点，前后皆以曲桥相贯，

前通倚玉轩而后达见山楼及别有洞天。经曲廊名柳荫路曲者达见山楼，楼为重檐歇山顶，以假山构成云梯，可导至楼层。是楼位居中部西北之角，因此登楼远望，其至四周距离较大，所见景物亦远，如转眼北眺，则城隈景物，又瞬入眼帘了。此种手法，在中国园林中最为常用，如中由吉巷半园用五边形亭，狮子林用扇面亭，皆置于角间略高的山巅。至于此园面积较大，而积水弥漫，建一重楼，但望去不觉高耸凌云，而水间倒影清澈，尤增园林景色。然在设计时，应注意其立面线脚，宜多用横线，与水面取得平行，以求统一。香洲俗呼“旱船”，形似船而不能行水者。入舱置一大镜，故从倚玉轩西望，镜中景物，真幻莫辨。楼上名澂观楼，亦宜眺远。向南为得真亭，内置一镜，命意与前同。是区水面狭长，上跨石桥名小飞虹，将水面划分为二。其南水榭三间，名小沧浪，亦跨水上，又将水面再度划分。二者之下皆空，不但不觉其局促，反觉面积扩大，空灵异常，层次渐多了。人们视线从小沧浪穿小飞虹及一庭秋月啸松风亭，水面极为辽阔，而荷风四面亭倒影、香洲侧影、远山楼角皆先后入眼中，真有从小窥大，顿觉开朗的样子。枇杷园在远香堂东南，以云墙相隔。通月门，则嘉实亭与玲珑馆分列于前，复自月门回望雪香云蔚亭，如在环中，此为最好的对景。我们坐园中，垣外高槐亭台，移置身前，为极好的借景。园内用鹅子石铺地，雅洁异常，惜沿墙假山修时已变更原形，而云墙上部无收头，转折又略嫌生硬。从玲珑馆旁曲廊至海棠春坞，屋仅面阔二间，阶前古树一木，海棠一树，佳石一二，近屋回以短廊，漏窗外亭阁水石隐约在望，其环境表面上看来是封闭的，而实际是处处通畅，面面玲珑，置身其间，便感到密处有疏，小处现大，可见设计手法运用的巧妙了。

西部与中部原来是不分开的，后来一园划分为二，始用墙间隔，如今又合而为一，因此墙上开了漏窗。当其划分时，西部欲求有整体性，于是不得不在小范围内加工，沿水的墙边就构了水廊。廊复有曲折高低的变化，人行其上，宛若凌波，是苏州诸园中之游廊极则。卅六鸳鸯馆与十八曼陀罗花馆系鸳鸯厅，为西部主要建筑物，外观为歇山顶，面阔三间，内用卷棚四卷，四隅各加暖阁，其形制为国内唯一孤例。此厅体积似乎较大，其因实由于西部划分后，欲成为独立的单位，此厅遂为主要建筑部分，在需要上不能不建造。但碍于地形，于是将前部空间缩小，后部挑出水中，这虽然解决了地位安顿问题，但卒使水面变狭与对岸之山距离太近，陆地缩小，而本身又觉与全园不称，当然是美中不足处。此厅为主人宴会与顾曲之处，因此在房屋结构上，除运用卷棚顶以增加演奏效果外，其四隅之暖阁，既解决进出时风击问题，复可利用为宴会时仆从听候之处，演奏时暂作后台之用，设想上是相当周到。内部的装修精致，与留听阁同为苏州少见的。至于初春十八曼陀罗花馆看宝

朱山茶花，夏日卅六鸳鸯馆看鸳鸯于荷蕖间，宜乎南北各置一厅。对岸为浮翠阁，八角二层，登阁可鸟瞰全园，惜太高峻，与环境不称。其下隔溪小山上置二亭，即笠亭与扇面亭。亭皆不大，盖山较低小，不得不使然。扇亭位于临流转角，因地而设，宜于闲眺，故颜其额为“与谁同坐轩”。亭下为修长流水，水廊缘边以达倒影楼。楼为歇山顶，高二层，与六角攒尖的宜两亭遥遥相对，皆倒影水中，互为对景。鸳鸯厅西部之溪流中，置塔影亭，它与其北的留听阁，同样在狭长的水面二尽头，而外观形式亦相仿佛，不过地位视前二者为低，布局与命意还是相同的。塔影亭南，原为补园入口以通张宅的，今已封闭。

东部久废，刻在重建中，从略。

留园：在阊门外留园路，明中叶为徐泰时“东园”，清嘉庆间（1800年左右）刘恕重建，以园中多白皮松，故名“寒碧山庄”，又称“刘园”。园中旧有十二峰，为太湖石之上选。光绪二年（1876年）间归盛康，易名留园。园占地五十市亩，面积为苏州诸园之冠。

是园可划分为东西中北四部。中部以水为主，环绕山石楼阁，贯以长廊小桥。东部以建筑为主，列大型厅堂，参置轩斋，间列立峰斧劈，在平面上曲折多变。西部以大假山为主，漫山枫林，亭榭一二，南面环以曲水，仿晋人武陵桃源。是区与中部以云墙相隔，红叶出粉墙之上，望之若云霞，为中部最好的借景。北部旧构已毁，今又重辟，平淡无足观，从略。

中部：入园门经二小院至绿荫，自漏窗北望，隐约见山池楼阁片断。向西达涵碧山房三间，硬山造，为中部的主要建筑。前为小院，中置牡丹台，后临荷池。其左明瑟楼倚涵碧山房而筑，高二层，屋顶用单面歇山，外观玲珑，由云梯可导至二层。复从涵碧山房西折上爬山游廊，登“闻木樨香轩”，坐此可周视中部，尤其东部之曲谿楼、清风池馆、汲古得绠处及远翠阁等参差前后、高下相呼的诸楼阁，掩映于古木奇石之间。南面则廊屋花墙，水阁联续，而明瑟楼微突水面，涵碧山房之凉台再突水面，层层布局，略作环抱之势。楼前清水一池，倒影历历在目。自闻木樨香轩向北东折，经游廊，达远翠阁。是阁位置于中部东北角，其用意与拙政园见山楼相同，不过一在水一在陆，又紧依东部，隔花墙为东部最好的借景。小蓬莱宛在水中央，濠濮亭列其旁，皆几与水平。如此对比，容易显山之峻与楼之高。曲谿楼底层西墙皆列砖框、漏窗，游者至此，感觉处处邻虚，移步换影，眼底如画。而尤其举首西望，秋时枫林如醉，衬托于云墙之后，其下高低起伏若波然，最令人依恋不已。北面为假山，可亭六角出假山之上，其后则为长廊了。

东部主要建筑物有二：其一五峰仙馆（楠木厅），面阔五间，系硬山造。内部装修陈设，精致雅洁，为江南旧式厅堂布置之上选。其前后

左右，皆有大小不等的院子。前后二院皆列假山，人坐厅中，仿佛面对岩壑。然此法为明计成所不取，《园冶》云："人皆厅前掇山，环堵中耸起高高三峰，排列于前，殊为可笑。"此厅列五峰于前，似觉太挤，了无生趣。而计成认为，在这种情况下，应该是"以予见：或有嘉树，稍点玲珑石块；不然，墙中嵌埋壁岩，或顶植卉木垂萝，似有深境也"。我觉得这办法是比较妥善多了。后部小山前，有清泉一泓，境界至静，惜源头久没，泉呈时涸时有之态。山后沿墙绕以回廊，可通左右前后。游者至此，偶一不慎，方向莫辨。在此小院中左眺远翠阁，则隔院楼台又炯然在目，使人益觉该园之宽大。其旁汲古得绠处，小屋一间，紧依五峰仙馆，入内则四壁皆虚，中部景物又复现眼前。其与五峰仙馆相联接处的小院，中植梧桐一树，望之亭亭如盖，此小空间的处理是极好的手法。还我读书处与揖峰轩都是两个小院，在五峰仙馆的左邻，是介于与林泉耆硕之馆中间，为二大建筑物中之过渡。小院绕以回廊，间以砖框。院中安排佳木修竹，萱草片石，都是方寸得宜，楚楚有致，使人有静中生趣之感，充分发挥了小院落的设计手法，而游者至此往往相失。由揖峰轩向东为林泉耆硕之馆，俗呼鸳鸯厅，装修陈设极尽富丽。屋面阔五间，单檐歇山造，前后二厅，内部各施卷棚，主要一面向北，大木梁架用"扁作"，有雕刻，南面用"圆作"，无雕刻。厅北对冠云沼，冠云，岫云，朵云三峰以及冠云亭、冠云楼。三峰为明代旧物，苏州最大的湖石。冠云峰后侧为冠云亭、亭六角、倚玉兰花下。向北登云梯上冠云楼，虎丘塔影，阡陌平畴，移置窗前了。伫云庵与冠云台位于沼之东西。从冠云台入月门，乃佳晴喜雨快雪之亭。亭内楠木槅扇六扇，雕刻甚精。惜是亭面西，难免受阳光风露之损伤。东园一角为新辟，山石平淡无奇，不足与旧构相颉颃了。

西部园林以时代而论，似为明"东园"旧规，山用积土，间列黄石，犹是李渔所云："小山用石，大山用土"的老办法，因此漫山枫树得以滋根。林中配二亭：一为舒啸亭，系圆攒尖；一为至乐亭，六边形，系仿天平山范祠御碑亭而略变形的，在苏南还是创见。前者隐于枫林间，后者据西北山腰，可以上下眺望。南环清溪，植桃柳成荫，原期使人至此有世外之感，但有意为之，顿成做作。以人工胜天然，在园林中实是不易的事。溪流终点，则为活泼泼地，一阁临水，水自阁下流入，人在阁中，仿佛跨溪之上，不觉有尽头了。唯该区假山，经数度增修，殊失原态。

北部旧构已毁，今新建，无亭台花木之胜。

·四

江南园林占地不广，然千岩万壑，清流碧潭，皆宛然如画，正如钱泳所说："造园如作诗文，必使曲折有法。"因此对于山水、亭台、厅堂、楼阁、曲池、方沼、花墙、游廊等之安排划分，必使风花雪月，光景常新，不落窠臼，始为上品。对于总体布局及空间处理，务使有扩大之感，观之不尽，而风景多变，极尽规划的能事。总体布局可分以下几种：

中部以水为主题，贯以小桥，绕以游廊，间列亭台楼阁，大者中列岛屿。此类如网师园以及怡园等之中部。庙堂巷畅园，地颇狭小，一水居中，绕以廊屋，宛如盆景。留园虽以水为主，然刘师敦桢认为该园以整体而论，当以东部建筑群为主，这话亦有其理。

以山石为全园之主题。因是区无水源可得，且无洼地可利用，故不能不以山石为主题使其突出，固设计中一法。西百花巷程氏园无水可托，不得不如此。环秀山庄范围小，不能凿大池，亦以山石为主，略引水泉，俾山有生机，岩现活态，苔痕鲜润，草木华滋，宛然若真山水了。

基地积水弥漫，而占地尤广，布置遂较自由，不能为定法所囿。如拙政园、五亩园等较大的，更能发挥开朗变化的能事。尤其拙政园中部的一些小山，大有张涟所云"平岗小坡，曲岸回沙"，都是运用人工方法来符合自然的境界。计成《园冶》云："虽由人作，宛自天开。"刘师敦桢主张："池水以聚为主，以分为辅，小园聚胜于分，大园虽可分，但须宾主分明。"我说网师园与拙政园是两个佳例，皆苏州园林上品。

前水后山，复构堂于水前，坐堂中穿水遥对山石，而堂则若水榭，横卧波面，文衙弄艺圃布局即如是。北寺塔东芳草园亦仿佛似之。

中列山水，四周环以楼及廊屋，高低错落，迤逦相续，与中部山石相呼应，如小新桥巷耦园东部，在苏州尚不多见。东北街韩氏小园，亦略取是法，不过楼屋仅有两面。中由吉巷半园、修仙巷宋氏园皆有一面用楼。

明代园林，接近自然，犹是计成、张涟辈后来所总结的方法，利用原有地形，略加整理。其所用石，在苏州大体以黄石为主，如拙政园中部二小山及绣绮亭下者。黄石虽无湖石玲珑剔透，然掇石有法，反觉浑成，既无矫揉做作之态，且无累石不固的危险。我们能从这种方法中细细探讨，在今日造园中还有不少优良传统可以吸收学习的。到清代造园，率皆以湖石叠砌，贪多好奇，每以湖石之多少与一峰之优劣，与他园计较短长。试以怡园而论，购洞庭山三处废园之石累积而成，一峰一石，自有上选，即其一例。至于"小山用石"，非全无寸土，不然树木将无所依托了。环秀山庄虽改建于乾隆间，数弓之地，深谿幽壑，势若天成，其竖石运用宋人山水的所谓"斧劈法"，再以镶嵌出之，简洁遒劲，

其水则迂回曲折，山石处处滋润，苍岩欣欣欲活了，诚为江南园林的杰构。于此方知设计者若非胸有丘壑、挥洒自如者，焉能至斯？学养之功可见重要了。

掇山既须以原有地形为据，自然之态又变化多端，无一定成法，可是自然的形成与发展，亦有一定的规律可循，“师古人不如师造化”，实有其理在。我们今日能通乎此理，从自然景物加以分析，证以古人作品，评其妍媸，撷其菁华，构成最美丽的典型。奈何苏州所见晚期园林，什九已成“程式化”，从不在整体考虑，每以亭台池馆，妄加拼凑。尤以掇山选石，皆举一峰片石，视之为古董，对花树的衬托，建筑物的调和等，则有所忽略。这是今日园林设计者要引以为鉴的。如怡园欲集诸园之长，但全局涣散，似未见成功。

园林之水，首在寻源，无源之水必成死水。如拙政园利用原来池沼，环秀山庄掘地得泉，水虽涓涓，亦必清冽可爱。但园林面积既小，欲使有汪洋之概，则在于设计的得法。其法有二：一、池面利用不规则的平面，间列岛屿，上贯以小桥，在空间上使人望去，不觉一览无余。二、留心曲岸水口的设计，故意做成许多湾头，望之仿佛有许多源流，如是则水来去无尽头，有深壑藏函之感。至于曲岸水口之利用芦苇，杂以菰蒲，则更显得隐约迷离，这是在较大的园林应用才妙。留园活泼泼地，水榭临流，溪至榭下已尽，但必流入一部分，则俯视之下，榭若跨溪上，水不觉终止。南显子巷惠荫园水假山，系层叠巧石如洞曲，引水灌之，点以步石，人行其间，如入涧壑，洞上则构屋。此种形式为吴中别具一格者，殆系南宋杭州“赵翼王园”中之遗制。沧浪亭以山为主，但西部的步碕廊突然逐渐加高，高瞰水潭，自然临渊莫测。艺圃的桥与水几平，反之两岸山石愈显高峻了。怡园之桥虽低于山，似嫌与水尚有一些距离。至于小溪作桥，在对比之下，其情况何如，不难想象。古人改用“点其步石”的方法，则更为自然有致。瀑布除环秀山庄檐瀑外，他则罕有。

中国园林除水石池沼外，建筑物如厅、堂、斋、台、亭、榭、轩、卷、廊等，都是构成园林的主要部分。然江南园林以幽静雅淡为主，故建筑物务求轻巧，方始相称，所以在建筑物的地点、平面，以及外观上不能不注意。《园冶》云：“凡园圃立基，定厅堂为主。先乎取景，妙在朝南，倘有乔木数株，仅就中庭一二。”苏南园林尚守是法，如拙政园远香堂、留园涵碧山房等皆是。至于楼台亭阁的地位，虽无成法，但“按基形式”，“格式随宜”，“随方制象，各有所宜”，“一榱一角，必令出自己裁”，“花间隐榭，水际安亭”，还是要设计人从整体出发，加以灵活应用。古代如《园冶》《长物志》《工段营造录》等，虽有述及，最后亦指出其不能守为成法的。试以拙政园而论，我们自高处俯视，建

筑物虽然是随宜安排的，但是它们方向还是直横有序。其外观给人的感觉是轻快为主，平面正方形、长方形、多边形、圆形等皆有，屋顶形式则有歇山、硬山、悬山、攒尖等，而无庑殿式，即歇山、硬山、悬山，亦多数采用卷棚式。其翼角起翘类，多用“水戗发戗”的办法，因此翼角起翘低而外观轻快。檐下玲珑的挂落，柱间微弯的吴王靠，得能取得一致。建筑物在立面的处理，以留园中部而论，我们自闻木樨香轩东望，对景主要建筑物是曲谿楼，用歇山顶，其外观在第一层做成仿佛台基的形状，与水相平行的线脚与上层分界，虽系二层，看去不觉其高耸。尤其曲谿楼、西楼、清风池馆三者的位置各有前后，屋顶立面皆同中寓不同，与下部的立峰水石都很相称。古木一树斜横波上，益增苍古，而墙上的砖框漏窗，上层的窗棂与墙面虚实的对比，疏淡的花影，都是苏州园林特有的手法；倒影水中，其景更美。明瑟楼与涵碧山房相邻，前者为卷棚歇山，后者为卷棚硬山，然两者相联，不能不用变通的办法。明瑟楼歇山山面仅作一面，另一面用垂脊，不但不觉得其难看，反觉生动有变化。他如畅园因基地较狭长，中又系水池，水榭无法安排，卒用单面歇山，实系同出一法。反之东园一角亭，为求轻巧起见，六角攒尖顶，翼角用“水戗发戗”，其上部又太重，柱身瘦而高，在整个比例上顿觉不稳。东部舒啸亭至乐亭，前者小而不见玲珑，后者屋顶虽多变化，亦觉过重，都是比例上的缺陷。苏南筑亭，晚近香山匠师每将屋顶提得过高，但柱身又细，整个外观未必真美。反视明代遗构艺圃，屋顶略低，较平稳得多。总之单体建筑，必然要考虑到与全园的整个关系才是。至于平面变化，虽洞房曲户，亦必做到曲处有通，实处有疏。小型轩馆，一间，二间，或二间半均可，皆视基地，位置得当。如拙政园海棠春坞，面阔二间，一大一小，宾主分明。留园揖峰轩，面阔二间半，而尤妙于半间，方信《园冶》所云有其独见之处。建筑物的高下得势，左右呼应，虚实对比，在在都须留意。王洗马巷万氏园（原为任氏），园虽小，书房部分自成一区，极为幽静。其装修与铁瓶巷任宅东西花厅、顾宅花厅、网师园、西百花巷程氏园、大石巷吴宅花厅等（详见拙著《装修集录》），都是苏州园林中之上选。至于他园尚多商量处，如留园太繁琐伧俗，佳者甚少；拙政园精者固有，但多数又觉简单无变化，力求一律，皆修理中东拼西凑或因陋就简所造成。怡园旧装修几不存，而旱船为吴中之尤者，所遗装修极精。

园林游廊为园林的脉络，在园林建筑中处极重要地位，故特地说明一下。今日苏州园林廊之常见者为复廊，廊系两面游廊中隔以粉墙，间以漏窗（详见拙编《漏窗》），使墙内外皆可行走。此种廊大都用于不封闭性的园林，如沧浪亭的沿河。或一园中须加以间隔，欲使空间扩大，并使入门有所过渡，如怡园的复廊，便是一例，此廊显然是仿前

者。它除此作用外，因岁寒草庐与拜石轩之间不为西向阳光与朔风所直射，用以阻之，而阳光通过漏窗，其图案更觉玲珑剔透。游廊有陆上、水上之分，又有曲廊、直廊之别，但忌平直生硬。今日苏州诸园所见，过分求曲，则反觉生硬勉强，如留园中部北墙下的。至其下施以砖砌阑干，一无空虚之感，与上部挂落不称，柱夹砖中，僵直滞重。铁瓶巷任宅及拙政园西部水廊小榭，易以镂空之砖，似此较胜。拙政园旧时柳荫路曲，临水一面阑干用木制，另一面上安吴王靠，是有道理的。水廊佳者，如拙政园西部的，不但有极佳的曲折，并有适当的坡度，诚如《园冶》所云的"浮廊可渡"，允称佳构。尤其可取的，就是曲处湖石芭蕉，配以小榭，更觉有变化。爬山游廊，在苏州园林中的狮子林、留园、拙政园，仅点缀一二，大都是用于园林边墙部分。设计此种廊时，应注意到坡度与山的高度问题，运用不当，顿成头重脚轻，上下不协调。在地形狭宽不同的情况下，可运用一面坡，或一面坡与二面坡并用，如留园西部的。曲廊的曲处是留虚的好办法，随便点缀一些竹石、芭蕉，都是极妙的小景。李斗云："板上甃砖谓之响廊，随势曲折谓之游廊……入竹为竹廊，近水为水廊。花间偶出数尖，池北时来一角，或依悬崖，故作危槛，或跨红板，下可通舟，递迢于楼台亭榭之间，而轻好过之。廊贵有阑。廊之有阑，如美人服半臂，腰为之细。其上置板为飞来椅，亦名美人靠，其中广者为轩。"言之尤详，可资参考。今日复有廊外植芭蕉，呼为蕉廊，植柳呼为柳廊，夏日人行其间，更觉翠色侵衣，溽暑全消。冬日则阳光射入，温和可喜，用意至善。而古时以廊悬画称画廊，今日壁间嵌诗条石，都是极好的应用。

园林中水面之有桥，正陆路之有廊，重要可知。苏州园林习见之桥，一种为梁式石桥，可分直桥、九曲桥、五曲桥、三曲桥、弧形桥等，其位置有高于水面与岸相平的，有低于两岸浮于水面的。以时代而论，后者似较旧，今日在艺圃及无锡寄畅园、常熟诸园所见的，都是如此。怡园及已毁木渎严家花园，亦仿佛似之，不过略高于水面一点。旧时为什么如此设计呢？它所表现的效果有二：第一，桥与水平，则游者凌波而过，水益显汪洋，桥更觉其危了。第二，桥低则山石建筑愈形高峻，与丘壑楼台自然成强烈对比。无锡寄畅园假山用平冈，其后以惠山为借景，冈下幽谷间施以是式桥，诚能发挥明代园林设计之高度技术。今日梁式桥往往不照顾地形，不考虑本身大小，随便安置，实属非当。尤其阑干之高度、形式，都从不与全桥及环境作一番研究，甚至于连半封建半殖民地的阑干都加了上去，如拙政园西部是。上选者，如艺圃小桥、拙政园倚虹桥都是。拙政园中部的三曲五曲之桥，阑干比例还好，可惜桥本身略高一些。待霜亭与雪香云蔚亭二小山之间石桥，仅搁一石板，不施阑干，极尽自然质朴之意，亦佳构。另一种为小型环洞桥，狮

子林、网师园都有。以此二桥而论，前者不及后者为佳，因环洞桥不适宜建于水中部，水面既小，用此中阻，遂显庞大质实，略无空灵之感。后者建于东部水尽头，桥本身又小，从西东望，辽阔的水面中倒影玲珑，反之自桥西望，亭台映水，用意相同。中由吉巷半园，因地狭小，将环洞变形，亦系出权宜之计。至于小溪，《园冶》所云“点其步石”的办法，尤能与自然相契合，实远胜架桥其上。可是此法，今日差不多已成绝响了。

园林的路，《小窗幽记》云：“门内有径，径欲曲。”“室旁有路，路欲分。”今日我们在苏州园林所见，还能如此。拙政园中部道路，犹守明时旧规，从原来地形出发，加以变化，主次分明，曲折有度。环秀山庄面积小，不能不略作纡盘，但亦能恰到好处，行者有引人入胜之慨。然狮子林、怡园的，故作曲折，使人莫之所从，既悖自然之理，又多不近人情。因此矫揉做作，与自然相距太远的安排，实在是不艺术的事。

铺地，在园林亦是一件重要的工作，不论庭前、曲径、主路，皆须极慎重考虑。今日苏州园林所见，有仄砖铺于主路，施工简单，并凑图案自由。碎石地，用碎石仄铺，可用于主路小径庭前，上面间有用缸爿点缀一些图案。或缸爿仄铺，间以瓷爿，用法同前。鹅子地或鹅子间加瓷爿并凑成各种图案，称“花街”，视上述的要细致雅洁多，留园自有佳构。但其缺点是石隙间的泥土，每为雨水及人力所冲扫而逐渐减少，又复较易长小草，保养费事，是需要改进的。冰裂地则用于庭前，苏南的结构有二：其一即冰纹石块平置地面，如拙政园远香堂前的，颇饶自然之趣，然亦有不平稳的流弊。其一则冰纹石交接处皆对卯拼成，施工难而坚固，如留园涵碧山房前、铁瓶巷顾宅花厅的，都是极工整。至于庭前踏跺用天然石叠，如拙政园远香堂及留园五峰仙馆前的，皆饶野趣。

园林的墙，有乱石墙、磨砖墙、漏砖墙、白粉墙等数种。苏州今日所见，以白粉墙为最多，外墙有上开瓦花窗（漏窗开在墙顶部）的，内墙间开漏窗及砖框的，所谓粉墙花影，为人乐道。磨砖墙，园内仅建筑物上酌用之，园门十之八九贴以水磨砖砌成图案，如拙政园大门。乱石墙只见于裙肩处。在上海南市薛家浜路旧宅中，我曾见到冰裂纹上缀以梅花的，极精，似系明代旧物。西园以水花墙区分水面，亦别具一格。

联对、匾额，在中国园林中，正如人之有须眉，为不能少的一件重要点缀品。苏州又为人文荟萃之区，当时园林建造复有文人画家的参与，用人工构成诗情画意，将平时所见真山水、古人名迹、诗文歌诗所表达的美妙意境，撷其精华而总合之，加以突出。因此山林岩壑，一亭一榭，莫不用文学上极典雅美丽而适当的辞句来形容它，使游者入其地，览景而生情文，这些文字亦就是这个环境中最恰当的文字代表。例

如拙政园的远香堂与留听阁，同样是一个赏荷花的地方，前者出“香远益清”句，后者出“留得残荷听雨声”句。留园的闻木樨香轩、拙政园的海棠春坞，又都是根据这里所种的树木来命名的。游者至此，不期而然的能够出现许多文学艺术的好作品，这不能不说是中国园林的一个特色了。我希望今后在许多旧园林中，如果无封建意识的文字，仅就描写风景的，应该好好保存下来。苏州诸园皆有好的题辞，而怡园诸联集宋词，更能曲尽其意，可惜皆不存了。至于用材料，因园林风大，故十之八九用银杏木阴刻，填以石绿；或用木阴刻后髹漆敷色者亦有，不过色彩都是冷色。亦有用砖刻的，雅洁可爱。字体以篆隶行书为多，罕用正楷，取其古朴与自然。中国书画同源，本身是个艺术品，当然是会增加美观的。

树木之在园林，其重要不待细述，已所洞悉。江南园林面积小，且都属封闭型，四周绕以高垣，故对于培花植木，必须深究地位之阴阳，土地之高卑，树木发育之迟速，耐寒抗旱之性能，姿态之古拙与华滋，更重要的为布置的地位与树石的安排了。园林之假山与池沼，皆真山水的缩影，因此树木的配置，不能任其自由发展。所栽植者，必须体积不能过大，而姿态务求入画，虬枝旁水，盘根依阿，景物遂形苍老。在选树之时，尤须留意此端，宜乎李格非所云“人力胜者少苍古”了。今日苏州树木常见的，如拙政园，大树用榆、枫杨等。留园中部多银杏，西部则漫山枫树。怡园面积小，故易以桂、松及白皮松，尤以白皮松树虽小而姿态古拙，在小园中最是珍贵。他则杂以松、梅、棕树、黄杨，在发育上均较迟缓。其次园小垣高，阴地多而阳地少，于是墙阴必植耐寒植物，如女贞、棕树、竹之类。岩壑必植高山植物，如松、柏之类。阶下石隙之中，植长绿阴性草类。全园中长绿者多于落叶者，则四季咸青，不致秋冬髡秃无物了。至于乔木若榆、槐、枫杨、朴、榉、枫等，每年修枝，使其姿态古拙入画。此种树的根部甚美，尤以榆树及枫杨，年龄大后，身空皮留，老干抽条，葱翠如画境。今日苏州园林中之山巅栽树，大别有两种情况：第一类，山巅山麓只植大树，而虚其根部，俾可欣赏其根部与山石之美，如留园的与拙政园的一部分。第二类，山巅山麓树木皆出丛竹或灌木之上，山石并攀以藤萝，使望去有深郁之感，如沧浪亭及拙政园的一部分。然两者设计者的依据有所不同。以我们分析，这些全在设计者所用树木的各异，如前者师元代画家倪瓒（云林）的清逸作风，后者则效明代画家沈周（石田）的沉郁了。至于滨河低卑之地，种柳、栽竹、植芦，而墙阴栽爬山虎、修竹、天竹、秋海棠等，叶翠，花冷，实鲜，高洁耐赏。但此等亦必须每年修剪，不能任其发育。

园林栽花与树木同一原则，背阴且能略受阳光之地，栽植桂花、山

茶之类。此二者除终年常青外，开花一在秋，一在春初，都是群花未放之时，而姿态亦佳，掩映于奇石之间，冷隽异常。紫藤则入春后，一架绿荫，满树繁花，望之若珠光宝露。牡丹之作台，衬以文石阑干，实牡丹宜高地向阳，兼以其花华丽，故不得不使然。他若玉兰、海棠、牡丹、桂花等同栽庭前，谐音为“玉堂富贵”，当然命意已不适于今日，但在开花的季节与色彩的安排上，前人未始无理由的。桃李则宜植林，适于远眺，此在苏州，仅范围大的如留园、拙政园可以酌用之。

树木的布置，在苏州园林有两个原则：第一，用同一种树植之成林，如怡园听涛处植松，留园西部植枫，闻木樨香轩前植桂。但又必须考虑到高低疏密间及与环境的关系。第二，用多种树同植，其配置如作画构图一样，更要注意树的方向及地的高卑是否适宜于多种树性，树叶色彩的调和对比，长绿树与落叶树的多少，开花季节的先后，树叶形态，树的姿势，树与石的关系，必须要做到片山多致，寸石生情，二者间是一个有机的联系才是。更须注意它与建筑物的式样、颜色的衬托，是否已做到“好花须映好楼台”的效果。水中植荷，似不宜多。荷多必减少水的面积，楼台缺少倒影，宜略点缀一二，亭亭玉立，摇曳生姿，隔秋水宛在水中央。据云昆山顾氏园藕植于池中石板底，石板仅凿数洞，俾不使其自由繁殖。刘师敦桢云：“南京明徐氏东园池底置缸，植荷其内。”用意相同。

苏南园林以整体而论，其色彩以雅淡幽静为主，它与北方皇家园林的金碧辉煌，造成对比。以我个人见解：第一，苏南居住建筑所施色彩，在梁枋柱头皆用栗色，挂落用墨绿，有时柱头用黑色退光，都是一些冷色调，与白色墙面起了强烈的对比，而花影扶疏，又适当地冲淡了墙面强白，形成良好的过渡，自多佳境了。且苏州园林皆与住宅相连，为养性读书之所，更应以清静为主，宜乎有此色调。它与北方皇家花园的那样宣扬自己威风与炫耀富贵的，在作风上有所不同。苏州园林，士大夫未始不欲炫耀富贵，然在装修、选石、陈列上用功夫，在色彩上仍然保持以雅淡为主的原则。再以南宗山水而论，水墨浅绛，略施淡彩，秀逸天成，早已印在士大夫及文人画家的脑海中。在这种思想影响下设计出来的园林，当然不会用重彩贴金了。加以江南炎热，朱红等热颜料亦在所非宜，封建社会的民居，尤不能与皇家同一享受，因此色彩只好以雅静为归，用清幽胜浓丽，设计上用以少胜多的办法了。此种色彩，其佳处是与整个园林的轻巧外观，灰白的江南天色，秀茂的花木，玲珑的山石，柔媚的流水，都能相配合调和，予人的感觉是淡雅幽静。这又是江南园林的特征了。

中国园林还有一个特色，就是设计者考虑到不论风雨明晦，景色咸宜，在各种自然条件下，都能予人们以最大最舒适的美感。除山水外，

楼横堂列，廊庑回缭，阑楯周接，木映花承，是起了最大作用的，使人们在各种自然条件下来欣赏园林。诗人画家在各种不同的境界中，产生了各种不同的体会，如夏日的蕉廊，冬日的梅影、雪月，春日的繁花、丽日，秋日的红蓼、芦塘，虽四时之景不同，而景物无不适人。至于松风听涛，菰蒲闻雨，月移花影，雾失楼台，斯景又宜其览者自得之。这种效果的产生，主要在于设计者对文学艺术的高度修养，以及与实际的建筑相结合，使理想中的境界付之于实现，并撷其最佳者而予以渲染扩大。如叠石构屋，凿水穿泉，栽花种竹，都是向这个目标前进的。文学艺术家对自然美的欣赏，不仅在一个春日的艳阳天气，而是要在任何一个季节，都要使它变成美的境地。因此，对花影要考虑到粉墙，听风要考虑到松，听雨要考虑到荷叶，月色要考虑到柳梢，斜阳要考虑到梅竹等，都希望使理想中的幻景能付诸实现，安排一石一木，都寄托了丰富的情感，宜乎处处有情，面面生意，含蓄有曲折，余味不尽。此又为中国园林的特征。

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以上所述，系就个人所见，掇拾一二，提供大家参考。我相信，苏州园林不但在中国造园史上有其重要与光辉的一页，而且至今尚为广大人民游憩之所。为了继承与发挥优良的文化传统，此份资料似有提出的必要。

1956年

英译：仲志兰

MASTER-OF-FISHNETS GARDEN, SUZHOU

Literary and Museum Newsletter, Museum of Nanjing, Issue No. 23, January 1976

I celebrate the Master-of-Fishnets Garden as the ultimate small garden of Suzhou, as one of the best gardens nationwide, and as a garden-making paragon in "prevailing over the many with the few."

The Master-of-Fishnets Garden at 11 Kuojietou Lane sprawls on the former site of the Hall of Ten Thousand Volumes built by Shi Zhengzhi (1119-1179) after he was dismissed as vice-minister of personnel of the Southern Song (1127-1279). During the Qianlong reign (1736-1796) of the Qing, Song Luru (1710-1779) purchased the property on which he built his own garden and named it after *wangshi*, meaning "master of fishing nets," which is analogical to fish and pronounced roughly the same as the lane's former name Wangsi Cove. After the garden fell into disrepair, it came under the possession of Qu Yuancun (1808-1876), who renamed it "Qu's Garden" after piling up rockeries, planting trees, and replacing old pavilions and houses with new ones according to his own plan. In 1795, the sixtieth year of the Qianlong reign, Qian Daxin (1728-1804) wrote an essay on the garden,[1] whose size has remained to this day. When Li Hongyi (1831-1885) took possession of the garden during the Tongzhi reign (1862-1874), he renamed it "Eastern Neighbor of Su Shunqin,"[2] which was to be inherited by his son, Shaomei.[3] Da Gui (1860-?) had lived in it for some time. In the Republican years (1912-1949), the warlord Zhang Zuolin (1875-1928) bought the garden and made his mentor Zhang Xiluan (1843-1922) a gift of it.[4] Ye Gongchuo (1881-1968)[5], and the two brothers Zhang Ze (1882-1940) and Zhang Yuan (1899-1983) had lived in this dwelling-garden as tenants.[6] Then He Yanong (1880-1946)[7] bought it and refurbished it in a small way. After the garden was taken over by the Municipal Bureau of Parks and Woods of Suzhou in autumn 1958, it was done over completely so that, "The legendary beauty Xishi puts on a new dress," in the words of Ye Gongchuo in his lyrical poem to the tune of "Effusing Aroma Court."

The dwelling part of this garden faces south, with a screen wall in front

of it and an outer gate on its eastern and western sides respectively. A corridor behind the frontal gateway conducts to a sedan-chair hall, and an alleyway east of the hall conducts to another hall in the second row. Behind the sedan-chair hall stands the stately main hall, a five-bay structure consisting of a three-bay central room and two one-bay wing rooms, with an exquisitely engraved and thorough-carved brick arch atop its gateway. To the west is a studio whose portal enshrines a stone tablet inscribed with a record of the garden's history. Behind the sedan-chair hall stands the hall in the second row, a storied building of five bays whose wings are each fronted with a small yard of flowers and osmanthus trees which are at their sweet-scented best in autumn. A horizontal board hanging inside of the hall is inscribed with the name "Beauty-Garnering Loft" in the calligraphic handwriting of Yu Yue (1821-1907)[8]. Climbing upstairs and looking out westward, one sees the Tianping Mountain and Lingyan Mountain shimmering darkly before the windows. The back of the building is connected with the Five-Peak Study and the Gathering-in-Emptiness Chamber[9]. Going downstairs, one reaches the Verandah of a Twig Beyond Bamboos and gets a panoramic view of the garden.

Entering the garden by way of the sedan-chair hall's western end, the visitor finds himself under a lintel bearing the name, "Master-of-Fishnets' Tiny Court." A roofed walkway winds its way to a hall with glass and lattice windows on four sides, which, as the inscription on its horizontal board indicates, is none other than the Verandah of Osmanthus-Clustered Hillock, whose frontal boundary takes the form of a latticed wall, where the air is heady with the lingering aroma of osmanthus flowers growing in the peace and quiet of a small hill. A footpath to the east of the verandah brings the southern and northern parts of the garden together like a side alleyway. To the west of the verandah is the Lute-Playing Chamber and the Studio for Fostering Modesty and Amiability, where a roofed walkway turns this way and that dreamily along a wall. As the saying goes, "Tighten the reins before you let go of yourself, and hold your breath before you sing resonantly." This is why the scenery north of the Verandah of Osmanthus-Clustered Hillock is surrounded with a yellow stone wall known as "Cloudy Ridge." If one runs over the slope through the roofed walkway, he comes to the Pavilion of Moon Arriving and Breeze Coming, where a rock prepared for anglers projects into the air and a zigzagging painted bridge are silhouetted in a mirror-like pond, where tangible and intangible scenery mesh with the

drifting clouds high up and the rippling waves down low to turn such a tiny space into a seemingly boundless landscape.

> As spring water trickles through stone stairs, let me dig a pool to bring in the moon, so that lacquered columns can sway busily and pink lotus flowers open themselves upside down inside of the pool.

The beauty of this airy-fairy sight is captured exactly by this pavilion's name.

West of the Cloudy Ridge stands the Hat-Ribbon Washing Belvedere, which overlooks a belt of water at its foot while beckoning on the Verandah for Seeing Pines and Reading Paintings across the water. In front of the main hall south of the verandah, a bunch of ancient trees make an ideal prototype for traditional Chinese painting, with coiled branches clinging to rugged trunks and vine-like root tresses curling over moss-clad stones. By the side of the verandah, a corridor makes a specific turn to connect with the Verandah of a Twig Beyond Bamboos. The "Ringtossing-at-Ducks Corridor" to the east turns out to be a half-pavilion, which echoes the Pavilion of Moon Arriving and Breeze Coming west of the pond, and whose balustrade offers an ideal site for the fun of in-situ viewing. There, as one looks down at the pond, its water seems to be rippling infinitely and its waves huddle together at one moment and drift away at another to no one knows where—a make-belief illusion that is improbable without the ingenious disposition of the pond's inlets together with its bends and boulders jutting out of the water. A zigzagging bridge lies low enough to hug the water, and stepping stones are strewn about the pond in the tradition of Ming-dynasty bridge builders, a tradition that shows no intention to divide up the water surface while the pond looks like branching out into the distance. The stairs built into the embankment and the boulders projecting out of water give the impression as though those who step on them were floating on water, whereas all the pavilions, terraces, corridors and gazebos are made to face the pond so that each seems to have water at its own disposal. A garden need not be big, a pool of spring water need not be broad, but they cannot do without each other. As Du Fu (712-770) puts it,

> A famed garden invariably snuggles up to green water.

The meaning of this line, however, is not limited to a famous garden. From it we can also infer the law governing the treatment of water in landscape gardening, and get the key to the rock-piling success of the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode. The rocks around the pond in the Master-of-Fishnet's Garden are not as ingeniously arranged as those in the said mountain abode, but they are rich and varied enough in postures and affable and fascinating

enough to appeal to visitors thanks to the fact that they are patterned after the White Lotus Pond at the Tiger Hill in the same city.

The Late-Spring Peony Lodge in the western part of the garden used to be a nursery where herbaceous peony was its last crop in spring, hence its name. In this small court of three bays with a small room attached to its western side, bamboos, rocks, plums and plantains are faintly rouged by the sunshine that penetrates the windows, behind which they conceal themselves to evoke a delicate painting. Of all the gardens in Suzhou, the courtyard that contains this lodge is the best conceived. Small as it is, it expands itself almost instantly by opening up to vistas all but in existence—nowhere else is the idea of "thoroughness" in penetration better applied. An artificial mountain in front of the lodge faces a winding roofed walkway to the west. In the southwest corner there is the Emerald Containing Spring, whose placid and refreshing water comes from the large pond in the center of the garden, which echoes the philosophy, "Invaluable is water that has an origin." A pavilion sits on the spring with its nameboard "Cool Spring" hanging in it, and a peak-shaped rock standing south of it offers the opposite view to the lodge. The clearance is paved with pebbles and broken bricks and tiles in smooth and tidy patterns. Within the courtyard, the same principle of arranging a large pond in the center of the garden is applied, which calls for setting water and land in mutual contrast. The difference is that in the center of the garden stones are set in contrast with a vast body of water, while in this court, a small body of water is set in contrast with the rocks. This arrangement, in variance with the garden's general idea of setting constructions against artificial mountains, is reminiscent of a singer's clever use of a new tune to avoid parroting a hackneyed one.

The natural grace and refined elegance of the Master-of-Fishnets Garden is comparable with what is described in literary parlance. As Yan Jidao (1038-1110)[10] of the Song says in his *Xiaoshan's Collection of Lyric Poems*,

> Tasteful is every delicate word,
> And refined is every plain word.

The garden has just a few buildings and a limited number of rockeries, yet it can put wind and moon at its beck and call to impact the visitor's mood. Its sublimity would have been impossible without its creator's original craftsmanship.[11] It shows why garden-making should be called "garden-structuring," for it is not just about civil engineering or horticulture. The term "imagined realm," coined by Wang Guowei (1877-1927)[12] in his *Poetic Remarks on the Human World*, is the primary goal for landscape gardening. It

can be said that the Master-of-Fishnets Garden has by and large attained all that this term entails.

苏州网师园

苏州网师园，我誉为是苏州园林之小园极则，在全国的园林中，亦居上选，是“以少胜多”的典范。

网师园在苏州市阔街头巷，本宋时史氏万卷堂故址。清乾隆间宋鲁儒（宗元，又字悫庭）购其地治别业，以“网师”自号，并颜其园，盖托鱼隐之义，亦取名与原巷名“王思”相谐音。旋园颓圮，复归瞿远村，叠石种木，布置得宜，增建亭宇，易旧为新，更名“瞿园”。乾隆六十年（公元1795年）钱大昕为之作记，【从周案一】今之规模，即为其旧。同治间属李鸿裔（眉生），更名“苏东邻”，其子少眉继有其园。【从周案二】达桂（馨山）亦一度寄寓之。入民国，张作霖举以赠其师张锡銮（金坡）【从周案三】。曾租赁与叶恭绰（遐庵）、张泽（善子）、爰（大千）兄弟，分居宅园。后何亚农购得之，小有修理。1958年秋由苏州园林管理处接管，住宅园林修葺一新。叶遐庵谱《满庭芳》词，所谓“西子换新装”也。

住宅南向，前有照壁及东西辕也。入门屋穿廊为轿厅，厅东有避弄可导之内厅。轿厅之后，大厅崇立，其前砖门楼，雕镂极精，厅面阔五间，三明两暗。西则为书塾，廊间刻园记。内厅（女厅）为楼，殿其后，亦五间，且带厢。厢前障以花样，植桂，小院宜秋。厅悬俞樾（曲园）书“撷秀楼”匾。登楼西望，天平、灵岩诸山黛痕一抹，隐现窗前。其后与五峰书屋、集虚斋相接。下楼至竹外一枝轩，则全园之景了然。

自轿厅西首入园，额曰“网师小筑”，有曲廊接四面厅，额“小山丛桂轩”，轩前界以花墙，山幽桂馥，香藏不散。轩东有便道直贯南北，其与避弄作用相同。蹈和馆琴室位轩西，小院回廊，迂徐曲折。欲扬先抑，未歌先敛，故小山丛桂轩之北以黄石山围之，称“云冈”。随廊越坡，有亭可留，名“月到风来”，明波若镜，渔矶高下，画桥迤逦，俱呈现于一池之中，而高下虚实，云水变幻，骋怀游目，咫尺千里。“涓涓流水细侵阶，凿个池儿，唤个月儿来，画栋频摇动，红蕖尽倒开。”亭名正写此妙境。云冈以西，小阁临流，名“濯缨”，与看松读画轩隔水招呼。轩南之主厅，其前古木若虬，老根盘结于苔石间，洵画本也。轩旁修廊一曲与竹外一枝轩接连，东廊名射鸭，系一半亭，与池西之月到风来亭相映。凭阑得静观之趣，俯视池水，弥漫无尽，聚而支分，去来无踪，盖得力于溪口、湾头、石矶之巧于安排，以假象逗人。桥与步石环池而筑，犹沿明代布桥之惯例，其命意在不分割水面，增支流之深远。至于驳岸有级，出水留矶，增人“浮水”之感，而亭、台、廊、榭，无不面水，使全园处处有水“可依”。园不在大，泉不在广，杜诗所谓“名园

依绿水”，不啻为是园咏也。以此可悟理水之法，并窥环秀山庄叠山之奥秘，思致相通。池周山石，虽未若环秀山庄之曲尽巧思，然平易近人，蕴藉多姿，其蓝本出自虎丘白莲池。

园之西部殿春簃，原为药阑。一春花事，以芍药为殿，故以“殿春”名之。小轩三间，拖一复室，竹、石、梅、蕉，隐于窗后，微阳淡抹，浅画成图。苏州诸园，此园构思最佳，盖园小“邻虚”，顿扩空间，“透”字之妙用，于此得之。轩前面东为假山，与其西曲廊相对。西南隅有水一泓，名“涵碧”，清澈醒人，与中部大池有脉可通，存“水贵有源”之意。泉上构亭，名“冷泉”。南略置峰石为殿春簃对景。余地以“花街”铺地，极平洁，与中部之利用水池，同一原则。以整片出之，成水陆对比，前者以石点水，后者以水点石。其与总体之利用建筑与山石之对比，相互变换者，如歌家之巧运新腔，不袭旧调。

网师园清新有韵味，以文学作品拟之，正北宋晏几道《小山词》之“淡语皆有味，浅语皆有致”，建筑无多，山石有限，其奴役风月，左右游人，若非造园家“匠心”独到，不克臻此【从周案四】。足证园林非“土木”、“绿化”之事，故称“构园”。王国维《人间词话》指出“境界”二字，园以有“境界”为上，网师园差堪似之。

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DARK BLUE WAVES PAVILION, SUZHOU

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The mere mention of Suzhou gardens invariably brings to mind estates locked behind tall walls with few outlets available to the outside world—a garden-making phenomenon apparently born of geo-historical conditions. Nevertheless, the garden craftsmen of ancient times still managed to create one distinctive garden after another in such small spaces by segmenting cityscape from mountains and woods with walls. Were these walls torn down, these gardens would be changed beyond recognition in no time and robbed of their value thoroughly. However, there is such a garden—and a familiar one at that—that does not belong among the secluded gardens in Suzhou. This is none other than the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion. The Fengxi Stream makes quite a few twists and turns around the South Garden before flowing past the Thatched Nunnery—where Suzhou's tallest lacebark pine tree is found—to become an eddying blue belt that forms the garden's northern boundary. The stretch from the Anglers' Platform to the Lotus Root Flower Gazebo, graced with ancient terraces, beautiful gazebos and a winding roofed walkway amid tall trees, is already beckoning on passers-by and giving free rein to imagination before they set foot in the garden.

The Dark Blue Waves Pavilion is a water-fronted garden, but its interior is dominated by artificial mountains separated categorically from water. As the saying goes:

> Water keeps people at a distance
> Rocks impart serenity to people.

Upon entering the garden through the level bridge over the Fengxi Stream, one sees forbidding mountains and awe-inspiring woods whose hushed quietude changes one's mood at the blink of an eye. The garden is encircled entirely with a roofed walkway divided in two lanes with a wall in the middle; what delights the visitors most are this wall's latticed windows, through which they can take in the views outside of the garden. Because of this wall, the garden's internal and external worlds seem to be at once separable and inseparable, and the knolls and ravines within and the river

without look both attached and detached. This is exactly what the conception of the garden of the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion is focused upon. Without the belt of water in front of the garden, all its rockeries and ravines would be mediocre and not worth seeing. It is this finishing touch added to the scene through the creator's ingenious hand that the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion stands a winning chance against other gardens in the same city. Indeed, the contrast between vistas within and without is exactly captured in the following line,

> Without putting down a single word,
> All charms under heaven are attained.

A garden cannot look venerated without bristling trees and rugged rocks, and the garden of the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion is a most pertinent case in point. Its halls and verandahs are free from gaudy ornamentation. Its stone-paved footpaths and diagonal walkway thread through bamboo groves and plantain foliage in a stately and immaculate fashion, without the least trace of vulgarity gilded or rouged. Its central structure, the Hall to Understand the Way, opens itself in four directions. To the north, an artificial mountain spreads out like a mammoth screen; rising above an arbour grove is the garden's namesake, the renowned Dark Blue Waves Pavilion *per se*, which offers a panoramic view of the whole garden. As a roofed walkway meanders up and down the slope of the artificial mountain, it provides balustrades that people can lean upon to look afar or take a rest. A verandah to the hall's west forms a courtyard of its own with a number of windows, whose gateways come in versatile shapes, and the best latticed windows of all Suzhou gardens are found right here.

The Mountain-Watcher's Loft in the southwest corner sits upon a tortuous cave and overlooks the South Garden and country homes on a level field that has given way to new buildings today and brings the shimmering views of the Lankavatara Mountain and the Seven-Peak Mountain in the distance right before its balustrades. The stream running in the front and the scenery borrowed from the mountains in the distance become part and parcel of the garden's own landscape.

The garden abounds in tall trees. There are lots of bamboos as well, whose swaying slim trunks keep throwing droplets of verdure into the air to refresh people's hearts and boost their spirits. With orchid aroma infiltrating visitors' sleeves, and bamboos tossing their shadows onto whitewashed walls, this little garden offers captivating pictures worth all the scrutiny and rambling, and provides natural themes for painting or poetry. Celebrated

writers and painters through the ages, ranging from Su Shunqin (1008-1048), Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072)[1] and Mei Yaochen (1002-1060)[2], to Wu Changshuo (1844-1927)[3], not to mention so many celebrities of modern and contemporary times, have come up with voluminous works in eulogy of this very garden. None of them, however, describe its serenity and elegance better than its earliest owner Su Shunqin in this seven-character truncated quatrain, "Touring the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion Right after Rain":

> Night to dawn it rains upon a vernal river,
> Sly clouds makes it now overcast, now fine;
> Faint behind curtains are sun, bamboo, flower,
> Squab doves sing to each other now and then.

The Dark Blue Waves Pavilion is the oldest extant garden in Suzhou. It began as the mansion of Qian Yuanliao (886-942), Prince of Guangling of the Wu-Yue Kingdom of the Five Dynasties (907-960). Another theory, however, attributes it to Sun Chengyou (*fl*. 10th century), a military commissioner and close relative of the royal family. Under the Qingli reign (1041-1048) of the Northern Song, the poet Su Shunqin bought the property, built a pavilion on it, and named it "Dark Blue Waves Pavilion." During the Xining reign (1068-1077) of the Northern Song, it was acquired by Grand Councillor Zhang Dun (1035-1105)[4]. After it was destroyed during the Jianyan reign (1127-1130) of the Southern Song, Han Shizhong (1089-1151) came into possession of it. During the Yuan-Ming period it had assumed different identities—the Wonderful Temple to Hide In, a Buddhist dormitory, and the Memorial Shrine of King of Qi[5] during the Jiajing reign of the Ming. Shi Wenying (*fl*. 16th century) restored the property from its ruins. During the Kangxi reign (1661-1722) of the Qing, the Memorial Shrine of Su Shunqin was built in 1684, and Song Luo (1634-1713), a governor of Jiangsu, had the pavilion rebuilt. When it was rebuilt once again in 1827, the seventh year of the Daoguang reign (1821-1851), the Shrine of Five Hundred Sages[6] was added west of today's Hall to Understand the Way. After being rebuilt again in 1873, or the twelfth year of the Tongzhi reign, the garden has remained to this day. A picture of a full view of the garden under Qing Emperor Guangxu's reign (1875-1908) engraved on a stone tablet in front of the garden provide valuable reference to its history. The Dark Blue Waves Pavilion differs from its counterparts in that it has long been treated as a public facility, where local officials and gentries throw banquets, and men of letters gather for literary functions—all of which is attributed to the garden's one-of-a-kind design and layout.

苏州沧浪亭

人们一提起苏州园林，总感到它被封闭在高墙之内，窈然深锁，开畅不足。当然这是受历史条件所限，产生了一定的局限性。但古代的匠师们，能在这个小天地中创造别具风格的宅园，间隔了城市与山林的空间；如将园墙拆去，则面貌顿异，一无足取了。苏州尚有一座沧浪亭，也是大家所熟悉的名园。这座园子的外貌，非属封闭式。因葑溪之水，自南园潆洄曲折，过“结草庵”（该庵今存白皮松，巨大为苏州之冠），涟漪一碧，与园周匝，从钓鱼台至藕花水榭一带，古台芳榭，高树长廊，未入园而隔水迎人，游者已为之神驰遐想了。

沧浪亭是个面水园林，可是园内则以山为主，山水截然分隔。“水令人远，石令人幽”，游者渡平桥入门，则山严林肃，瞿然岑寂，转眼之间，感觉为之一变。园周以复廊，廊间以花墙，两面可行。园外景色，自漏窗中投入，最逗游人。园内园外，似隔非隔，山崖水际，欲断还连。此沧浪亭构思之着眼处。若无一水萦带，则园中一丘一壑，平淡原无足观，不能与他园争胜。园外一笔，妙手得之.对比之运用，“不着一字，尽得风流”。

园林苍古，在于树老石拙，唯此园最为突出；而堂轩无藻饰，石径斜廊皆出于丛竹、蕉荫之间，高洁无一点金粉气。明道堂闿敞四合，是为主厅。其北峰峦若屏，耸然出乔木中者，即所谓沧浪亭。游者可凭陵全园，山旁曲廊随坡，可凭可憩。其西轩窗三五，自成院落，地穴门洞，造型多样；而漏窗一端，品类为苏州诸园冠。

看山楼居园之西南隅，筑于洞曲之上，近俯南园，平畴村舍（今已皆易建筑），远眺楞伽七子诸峰，隐现槛前。园前环水，园外借山，此园皆得之。

园多乔木修竹，万竿摇空，滴翠匀碧，沁人心脾。小院兰香，时盈客袖，粉墙竹影，天然画本，宜静观，宜雅游，宜作画，宜题诗。从宋代苏子美、欧阳修、梅圣俞，直到近代名画家吴昌硕，名篇成帙，美不胜收，尤以沧浪亭最早主人苏子美的绝句：“夜雨连明春水生，娇云浓暖弄阴晴；帘虚日薄花竹静，时有乳鸠相对鸣。”最能写出此中静趣。

沧浪亭是现存苏州最古的园林，五代钱氏时为广陵王元璙池馆，或云其近戚吴军节度使孙承佑所作。宋庆历间苏舜钦（子美）买地作亭，名曰“沧浪”，后为章申公家所有。建炎间毁，复归韩世忠。自元迄明为僧居。明嘉靖间筑妙隐庵、韩蕲王祠。释文瑛复子美之业于荒残不治之余。清康熙间增建苏公祠，道光间建五百名贤祠（今明道堂西），又构亭。道光七年（公元1827年）重修，同治十二年（公元1873年）再重

建，遂成今状。门首刻有图，为最有价值的图文史料。园在性质上与他园有别，即长时期以来，略似公共性园林，“官绅”谦宴，文人“雅集”，胥皆于此，宜乎其设计处理，别具一格。

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RETREAT AND REFLECTION GARDEN, TONGLI

January 1991

When the vast land of Jiangnan was draped in the feeble sunshine of an early-winter day, I paid a second visit to the Retreat and Reflection Garden in Tongli, a small town in the water-bound county of Wujiang. Past events faded and vanished like mist, but when this garden's scenery met my eyes, memories of the people associated with it kept flashing into mind. It is a long story, but I have got to make it short in this brief note.

Since I labelled the Retreat and Reflection Garden a "water-hugging" one, local authorities have taken the cue and gone out of their way agreeably to repair and renovate it. As I paused at its pond, I remembered coming across this garden's name some forty years ago. At the time I was teaching in St. John's University in Shanghai, and my colleague Ren Chuanxin (1887-1962)[1] happened to be the garden's owner. The venerable Ren was thirty years my senior, but we became bosom friends despite the age gap. A scholar and a celebrity, German educated, and, like his friend Wu Mei (1884-1939)[2], a polymath in Chinese theater, Ren could compose music and sing Kunqu Opera. He was also a pioneering educator in modern China and the founder of the Lize Girls' School east of the garden.

The Retreat and Reflection Garden is connected with dwellings. In front of it is a yard in which a thousand chrysanthemums are as luxuriant as the Chinese rose planted in the Ethereal Outline Garden by Zeng Pu (1872-1935)[3] in the nearby county of Changshu. I gather someday these chrysanthemums will become a seasonal attraction at the Retreat and Reflection Garden.

Tongli is the hometown of Ji Cheng (1582-*c*. 1642), an immortal name in Chinese garden-making history. His three-volume *The Craft of Gardens* is a classic that has impacted China and spread to Japan and the West. As the next year will be the 410th anniversary of his birth, I would like to propose that under the auspices of the government of Wujiang county, a memorial meeting be held at Tongli and a pavilion dedicated to him so that garden-makers and tourists from around the world can come to honour his memory.

Wujiang county is a cultural center. The tea houses and wine shops in town have hosted so many famous scholars and theatrical experts who come to appreciate paintings, recite poems, take in a story-telling performance or two, or gather to learn how to sing Kunqu operas correctly. Among those who are my acquaintances are Jin Songcen (1873-1947)[4], Ling Jingyan (1904-1959)[5], Jin Lichu (1911-1994), Cai Zhengren (1941-), Ji Zhenhua (1943-), and Xu

Xiaomu (1916-1998)[6], whose lives approximately encompassed a hundred years. Inspired by the cultural tradition of this water-bound town famous for its garden and Kunqu Opera repertoire, I call Wujiang "Glorious Cultural Edifice of Jiangnan and Waterbound County with a Celebrated Garden." Now that Wujiang's another name is "Songling," I also add "Opera Singers' Songling" to the appellation.

Ren Chuanxin was the last owner of the Retreat and Reflection Garden. As he lived in Shanghai in his evening years, the garden gradually fell into decay, and became dilapidated in early post-1949 years. Out of concern for this esteemed colleague of mine, I put in a word for the garden with the local government, and as a result it has been resurrected at last. Isn't it karma, to cite a Buddhist term, that is at work?

The town of Tongli is named after her abundance of water. Without water there would be no Tongli today. In the past there was a clear stream flowing by the Retreat and Reflection Garden, but it has long been filled in. How I wish it were restored! In terms of seniority, this garden is a latecomer among others, but probably because of this it has a much better layout. It features a main road, a screen wall, a portal gateway, servants' rooms, a sedan-chair hall and a main lobby. The master's suite is located in the east, which is a horse-accommodative loft[7] connected left and right by a storied walkway, with a spacious patio in the center. Guestrooms and a studio are situated further east. Tranquillity is enhanced with rockery and trees in between the buildings. The easternmost part of the property is found in the garden, while the aforementioned girls' school sprawls in the distance. The whole estate extends west and east in a series of self-contained sections. There are other gates opened onto the garden. The well-preserved buildings and the picturesque garden supplement each other in delightful and comfortable ways. The only pity is that the external view borrowed by the garden is marred by a water tank, an embarrassing eyesore that makes me wonder when it shall be removed.

Everybody is talking about economic growth nowadays. At the town of Tongli, it is water that has revived its famous garden. It is water, too, that brings wealth to town. With its water-bound land and garden over and above its Kunqu Opera's water-mill tune, Tongli is China's veritable answer to Italy's Venice. If the stream that used to run across town is restored, Tongli will rise to become the Jiangnan area's another tourist center that entices visitors with its abundant water.

With the tune over, I have passed Songling Road,
Looking back, fourteen bridges in mist I descried.

Through these two beautiful lines, the poetic sentiment and picturesque charm imbued in the views of Tongli are brought to vivid life.

同里退思园

初冬的微阳，浅照在江南的原野，我又重游了水乡吴江同里的退思园。往事如烟，触景怀人，说来也话长了。

退思园自从我誉为贴水园后，地方上能欣然会意，花了很大的力量，修理得体。我小立池边，想起我初知退思园之名，还是四十多年前的事了。我当时在圣约翰大学教书，同事任味知（传薪）先生就是该园的主人。任老长我三十岁，与我为忘年交，学者兼名士，他能度曲，是曲学泰斗吴瞿安（梅）的好友。留学过德国，又在园东创办了一所女子中学，开风气之先。园与宅相连，前有菊圃，植菊千本，与常熟曾孟朴先生的虚廓园中栽月季一样豪华，我相信将来退思园的艺菊也可能添一时景吧。

历史上，同里有位计成，在中国造园史上享有不朽的盛名。计成生于明万历十年（公元1582年），他著有《园冶》一书，是造园学的经典著作，不但影响我国，而且传播到日本及现在的西方。明年是他诞生四百十岁周年，我建议我们造园界在吴江县政府的倡导下，在同里开个纪念会，并在那里造一个“计亭”，让世界的园林界与旅游者前来凭吊。

吴江这地方，真是个文化之地，过去茶坊酒肆中品画闲吟，听书拍曲，仅以我认识的学者名流曲家来谈，除任老外，还有金松岑、凌敬言、金立初、蔡正仁、计镇华、徐孝穆诸先生，人物前后跨越约一百年。这个以园名曲名的江南水乡，触发了我的情思，因此叫出了“江南华厦，水乡名园”两句话，还加了一句“度曲松陵”（吴江又称松陵）。

任味知先生是退思园的最后主人了，晚年住上海，园渐衰落，一直到解放后已是残毁不堪了。因为任老的关系，我关心了一下，终于救了出来，这也是佛家所谓“缘”吧？

同里以水名，无水无同里，过去退思园边就有清流，现在填掉了。我多么希望能恢复原状。退思园论时代是较晚近一些，布局进步了，正路照壁门屋下房轿厅大厅，东边上房是主人居住之处，一个大走马楼，左右楼廊联之，天井大，很是开朗；再东为客房、书房，在楼屋中，点缀山石乔木，极清静；再东为花园，园外远处为女校，其平面发展自西向东，各自成区，园又有别门可出入。华厦完整，园林如画，相配得很是可人、宜人，可惜园外有一座水塔，借景变成增丑，不知何日可以迁走呢？

目前大家在谈经济开发，同里以园带水，以水带财，水乡、水园、水磨腔（昆曲名水磨腔）——中国的威尼斯。如能恢复已填的市河，可形成以水游为主的水乡风味特色的江南景点。“曲终过尽松陵路，回首

烟波十四桥。”太富有诗情画意了。

1991年1月

YANGZHOU GARDENS AND DWELLINGS

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An old city with a hallowed tradition, Yangzhou of Jiangsu province was the richest place in its early years thanks to a succession of economic booms taking place on its land. The abundant economic and material resources thus accrued furnished favorable conditions for development in culture and art, and as a result, the city's gardens and dwellings acquired an inimitable style through a unique course of development.

The history of Yangzhou can be traced back to 486 BC, the thirty-fourth year of the reign of the King of Jing of Eastern Zhou (770-221 BC), when Fu Chai (?-473 BC), the last king of the state of Wu of the Spring and Autumn period (770-467 BC), built the city of Hancheng in what is present-day Yangzhou, and dug a rice-shipping canal that ran northeast to Lake Sheyang and northwest to the Huai River at Mokou. Hence the name of the canal, "Han Ditch." As Yangzhou occupied an area of strategic importance between the Yangtze and the Huai, it became a major political and military centre in southeast China toward the end of the Spring and Autumn period. Economically speaking, local fishery, salt-making, handicrafts and agriculture went a long way as Yangzhou gradually grew into a national distribution hub for grain, salt and iron. After the Sui-Tang period, it evolved into a trade and cultural centre for exchanges with the outside world. All this set the stage for the prosperity of Yangzhou.

By the Sui-Tang period Yangzhou had become a rich city of utmost importance to the nation. The reunification of south and north China after Yang Jian (541-604), or Emperor Wen (in reign 581-604) founded the Sui (581-618), offered good opportunities to tap the wealth of the Yangtze-Huai basin, and Yangzhou, centrally located in this area, was quick to hit the riches. When the second monarch of the Sui, Yang Guang (569-618) or Emperor Yang (in reign 569-618), came to town, he went on a binge of dissipation and debauchery while building imperial palaces and resorts in a big way. Yangzhou's prosperity peaked as a result, even though her wealth

failed to grow substantially for one reason or another. The Grand Canal dug under Emperor Yang's reign turned the city into a pivotal link on this waterway that spanned south and north China and provided favorable conditions for economic development.

Advances achieved in architectural technology through exchanges between builders dispatched from north China by the imperial court and those from the Jiangnan area boosted the building industry in a big way in Yangzhou. Just as the Tang-dynasty poet Du Mu (803-852)[1] writes in his poem "To the Chan Wisdom Temple of Yangzhou,"

> Who knows when all's quiet on West Bamboo Road,
> Yangzhou comes alive with notes of flute and ballad.

This line gives a glimpse at the glamour and prosperity of Yangzhou.

As early as the Southern and Northern dynasties, Xu Zhanzhi (410-453)[2] of the Song (420-479) built the Wind-Bathing Pavilion, Moon-Watching Platform, Flute-Playing Terrace, and Lute-Playing Chamber at the foot of the Mountain-Level Hall. By the Zhenguan reign (627-649) of the Tang, Pei Chen's Cherry Garden was completed, offering fabulous sights with "multiple layers of lofts and pavilions with a refreshing and graceful flower culture," but it was outshined by the Hao's Garden before long. These gardens, alas, failed to survive war and turmoil during the last years of the Tang. New gardens emerged during the Song, including those attached to the prefect's *yamen*, the Aromatic Beauty Garden, Spring-in-Kettle Garden and Garden of Ten Thousand Flowers, whose views were based on waters and trees. When the Jurchen troops invaded south China,[3] Yangzhou sustained considerable destruction. As Jiang Kui (1154-1221)[4] says in his "Lyrical Poem to Yangzhou in Slow Tempo,"

> After barbarian cavalrymen coveting the land in the south abandoned Yangzhou and crossed the Yangtze, the city wall and moat were reduced to shambles along with all the tall trees, and the local people abhorred the war more than anything else. When dusk fell, the dreary sound of bugles rose, reverberating around the deserted city.

The Grand Canal was silted up and no longer navigable during the Southern Song-Jin period (1127-1234), and waterway transportation gave way to offshore marine shipping by the early Yuan. The economy of Yangzhou went downhill as a result, which is why in Yuan history books only two or three gardens are recorded, including the Flat Wilderness Verandah and Cui Boheng's Garden. It was not until the early Ming that the Grand Canal was dredged and restored to become the major waterway between north and south China, and Yangzhou re-established itself as the salt distribution center for areas on both sides of the Huai. During the mid-Ming, Yangzhou came back

into its own thanks to the emergence of capitalist economy in embryo, with the salt industry growing apace along with commerce and handicraft. The boom of Yangzhou reached its pinnacle during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While the feudal ruling class indulged in extravagance and dissipation, the industrious and intelligent labouring people of Yangzhou created a unique school in garden-making and left a rich cultural heritage to posterity.

From the mid-Ming onward, merchants from Anhui flocked to Yangzhou alongside those from Jiangxi, Hunan, Hubei, and Guangdong provinces. They joined local people in running businesses, but the whopping profit they had made was not invested in reproduction. Instead, the lion's share of it was used partly to pay for a luxury lifestyle and partly for large-scale construction of gardens and mansions. Architects and constructors from Huizhou arrived on the heels of Anhui merchants, and blended their technical know-how into the Yangzhou style of architecture and garden-making. Local construction of buildings and gardens was augmented by artisans from nearby Xiangshan of Suzhou with construction materials brought in from various parts of the country through the area's convenient waterway shipping network. This gave rise to a host of landmark gardens, including the Plum Flower Ridge built by Prefect Wu Xiu during the Wanli reign (1573-1619) of the Ming, in which pavilions and terraces were built around rockeries.

The gardens owned by the four brothers surnamed Zheng[5] during the Ming-Qing transition—Yuansi's Five-"Mu" Garden, Yuanxun's Mountain-Water-Willow Shadows' Garden, Yuanhua's Propitious Trees Garden, and Xiaru's Leisure Garden—were extolled for their big sizes and distinct craftsmanship. The Mountain-Water-Willow Shadows' Garden, for one, was created by the renowned garden crafter Ji Cheng from Wujiang with the support of its owner, Zheng Yuanxun, who knew a smattering of the craft of gardens under the influence of local garden-makers. The literati-officials in those years vested their sentiments in mountains and rivers, and the artisans they employed stacked up rocks and dug ponds to conjure up limitless spectacles in limited spaces on the level ground of Yangzhou. Every fabulous garden thus made looked as if they were wrought through the divine hand of Mother Nature. Although these gardens were badly destroyed after Yangzhou was sacked by Manchu conquerors in 1645 and after, and only a fragmental impression of their architectural achievements can be gained from the few *Phoebe nanmu* halls that had survived the conquest, their legacies still

furnished technical groundwork for large-scale construction of landscape gardens during the Qianlong reign (1736-1796) of the Qing.

In the early years of the Qing, local aristocrats came up with what was known as "Eight Famous Yangzhou Gardens": the Garden of Librarian Wang (in the Editorial Service of the Heir Apparent), the Bian's Garden, the Yuan's Garden, the He's Garden, the Spring Outing Garden, the Couth Garden, the Garden of Censor Zheng, and the Slim Bamboo Garden. During the Qianlong reign, the rulers went on a construction binge in which large numbers of pavilions, terraces, lofts and gardens were built in Yangzhou to satisfy the emperor's indulgence in comfort and pleasure on his repeated inspection tours of the south.[6] To curry favor with the imperial family, local gentries and merchants joined in the garden-making rush and built a lot of gardens. As a result, the area from the Slender West Lake to the Mountain-Level Hall[7] was clustered with the world-famous "Twenty-Four Sights" where

> On both dykes flowers and willow cling to water surface;
> Stretching all the way to hills are many a hall and terrace.

This scenery prompts Li Dou (1749-1817) to quote Liu Daguan (1753-1834)[8] as saying in his *Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* (Volume Six),

> Hangzhou puts its name on the map with its lakes and mountains, and Suzhou does so with its markets and shops, whereas Yangzhou excels with its gardens. The three cities face each other like the legs of a tripod—there is no telling which city is the best.

This statement, indeed, hits the nail on the head. Availing themselves of the Qing emperors' repeated inspection tours of the south, the rich and powerful in Yangzhou lined their pockets with the wealth the populace had created with blood and sweat under the pretence of collecting "tributes" to the emperors. Local merchants stepped up ripping off their customers by hiking salt prices and drawing commissions from the so-called "wear and tear" cost. The emperors profited from manipulating the interest rate on loans granted to these merchants and from deducting commissions from salt sales in the name of the state treasury. As salt prices skyrocketed, local people found it increasingly hard to afford table salt as a daily necessity. Feudal bureaucratic merchants wilfully squandered the money they had embezzled and scrambled to build large gardens and sumptuous mansions for themselves. The ulterior motives and high-handed actions, with which the feudal rulers and local tyrants, evil gentry and rich merchants dealt with the gardens created by the labouring people, were natural reasons why these gardens could not be made to last. Xie Rongsheng (?-1790)[9] says of the upsurge in garden construction

during this period in his preface to *The Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*,

To build ranges, more rockeries are added,
So each family is in an emerald city dwelled;
To build canals, stagnant water is dredged,
All lofts and belvederes are in fog enveloped.

Garden-making became the order of the day wherever construction went apace. Apart from the gardens on the Slender West Lake, the other parts of Yangzhou were also studded with famous gardens. These included the Imperial Garden in the emperor's temporary palace near the Heavenly Peace Temple, the eastern and western gardens of the Dharma Purity Temple, the Literati's Embosoming Studio of the Salt Distribution Commission, the Kerria Garden of the Hunan Fellow Provincials' Guild, as well as the Nine Peaks Garden, the Qiao's East Garden, the Qin's Imagined Garden and the Lesser Exquisite Mountain Abode, not to mention so many ancestral shrines, academies, assembly halls, restaurants, brothels, and bathhouses. In these gardens, rockeries were built, water was channelled in, and flowers and bamboos were planted. Spotty ornamentation of this kind in courtyards seemed to have become an indispensible part of garden construction. As the Qing empire began to go downhill after the Qianlong reign, feudalism was falling apart after ruling the nation for two thousand years, and the succeeding emperors dared not go on inspection tours down south any more. Large-scale confrontations were fermenting as class and ethnic conflicts sharpened, Western powers increased their pressure on the empire, and the feudal society was shaken to the core. By Emperor Jiaqing's reign (1796-1821), monopoly salt sales in Yangzhou had been dwindling with each passing day. The signing of the Sino-British Treaty of Nanjing in 1842 in the aftermath of the Opium War (1840-1842) and the Treaty of the Bogue on July 3, 1843 that forced China to open Shanghai, Ningbo, Xiamen, Fuzhou and Guangzhou as new trade ports, plus the completion of the Tianjin-Pukou Railway in 1908 and the booming marine shipping—all these factors added up to strip Yangzhou of its importance to national economy and transportation.

In his "Postscript to *The Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*" in 1834, or the fourteenth year of the Daoguang reign, and in his "Second Postscript" to the same book five years later, the writer and thinker Ruan Yuan (1764-1849)[10] concludes after recounting every sign he sees of an empire on its last legs,

No guest can bear a loft or terrace deserted;
No wilting or fallen tree can stand faggoting.

These words, written nineteen years before Yangzhou was sacked in the Heavenly Kingdom Uprising in 1853, give the lie to the many records that unanimously blame the uprising army as the culprit for the destruction of the gardens around the Slender West Lake. After the emperors Xianfeng (in reign 1851-1862) and Tongzhi (in reign 1862-1874), Yangzhou enjoyed a short spurt of prosperity "staged" by local aristocrats and rich merchants who rose to power by quelling the Heavenly Kingdom Uprising in an attempt to prop up the delaying Qing empire, and then the city collapsed and local gardens were caught in the throes of massive devastation. By the Republican years (1912-1949), the national economy had been on the ropes after going through the rules of warlords and the Kuomintang reactionaries, and Japanese occupation and their puppet regime, and even more gardens and mansions in Yangzhou were reduced to shambles. Local salt merchants, having lost their profiteering opportunities with the abolition of monopoly salt coupons and eaten up their resources, were forced to tear down their homes and artificial mountains and sell the building materials and rocks thus acquired. Gardens and big mansions in the city fell into desolation.[11]

Sandwiched between south and north China, Yangzhou has fostered an original style in architecture, so much so that no study of traditional Chinese architecture would be complete without it. The architecture of Yangzhou is something of a compromise between the royal buildings in the north and what is native to the Jiangnan area, a compromise that had a lot to do with the south China inspection tours of the Qing emperors, the intermingling of merchants from across the country, and the convenient local road and waterway transportation, but the key lies in technical exchanges between artisans from various quarters. Qian Yong says in *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* (Volume Twelve),

> It is certain that Yangzhou leads the country in the craft of house construction. There, like compositions written in different styles, no two buildings look alike. Even a building with a few rooms must have high and wide doors and windows, and the interiors must be sensibly convoluted.… Every hall or main room should be tidy and exude an aura that rivals a ranking official's mansion. The study and the backroom should be kept apart the way the pavilions in a garden are spaced, but neither one can do without the other. Only thus can a building be deemed a masterpiece.

Interior decoration in Yangzhou's buildings is no less ornate. According to the same book quoted above,

> The Zhou's Principles [for interior decoration] are peculiarly Yangzhou's own. They were laid down by a man surnamed Zhou toward the end of the Ming. Hence the term.

The Zhou's Principles were also followed in the interior décor of major buildings in the Garden of Perfect Splendor in Beijing.[12] Among the famous specialists in palace interior decoration were Gu Licheng and Cheng Lie, while Yao Weichi, Shi Songqiao, Wen Qi, Xu Lü'an, Huang Sheng, and Huang Lüxian's brothers Lühao and Lü'ang were also well accomplished in architecture and furnishing. According to *The Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* (Volume Two),

> Yangzhou makes a name for herself with famed gardens; her gardens put their names on the map with stacked rockwork.

There was no lack of well-known artificial mountain builders active in Yangzhou as well. During the Ming-Qing period there were Ji Cheng (1582-*c*. 1642), who built the artificial mountain for the Mountain-Water-Willow Shadows' Garden; Shitao (1642-*c*. 1707)[13], who crafted the Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks and the Small-Rock Mountain Abode; Zhang Lian (1587-1673), who constructed the mountain for the White Sand, Emerald Bamboos and Riverside Village; Qiu Haoshi (1723-1795), who built the Xuan Stone Mountain at the Hall of Mental Serenity; Taoist Priest Dong (1736-1795)[14] who piled up the Nine-Lion Mountain; Ge Yuliang (1764-1830), who built the Qin's Lesser Winding Gully; as well as Wang Tianyu[15] and Zhang Guotai. Among the latecomers was Yu Jizhi (1903-1961)[16], who built artificial mountains for the Emerald Garden, the Mind Cheering Hut, the Gourd Hut, Li Weiru's Garden[17] and the Spring Outing Garden. Some of them were natives, and some came from other parts of the country. These rockery virtuosos often huddled together to compare notes for the ways and means to improve the craft of artificial mountains. With wisdom and diligence they have bequeathed a wealth of artistic mountains on posterity.

Apart from general histories and prefecture or county gazetteers, records on Yangzhou gardens and buildings are also found in such books as *Grand Occasions of Southern Inspection Tours*, *Scenic Sites of the Jiangnan Area*, *Illustrated Interpretations of Temporary Royal Palaces*, and *An Illustrated Manual on Scenic Gardens and Pavilions*, Cheng Mengxing's *Records of the Celebrated Gardens of Yangzhou* and *A Compact Record of the Mountain-Level Hall*, Wang Yinggeng's *Records of the Mountain-Level Hall*, Zhao Zhibi's *An Illustrated Record of the Mountain-Level Hall*, and Li Dou's *Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*, all of which were written during the Qianlong reign of the Qing. This list is followed by such later works as Ruan Heng's *An Illustrated Record of Scenic Spots in Guangling*, and Qian Yong's *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden*, and Luo

Zaitian's *A Painting of Scenic Spots in Yangzhou* during the Daoguang reign. More recent works include Wang Zhenshi's *Records of Scenic Fascinations of Yangzhou* and Dong Yushu's *Nostalgic Memories of a City Deserted*. Of all these works, *The Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* offers the most elaborate and truthful records, whose seventeenth volume, "Construction Specifications," draws on the *Construction Regulations of the Ministry of Works of the Great Qing* and the *Engineering Specifications of the Garden of Perfect Splendor*, and many of its accounts on construction work are backed up with extensive collations and allusions, something books produced prior to it failed to do.

Yangzhou sits opposite Zhenjiang from the northern bank of the Yangtze, with the Shugang Hillock to the north, the Dirt-Sweeping Mountain (known originally as Dogs-in-Heat Mountain) to the west, and the Grand Canal to the east. Its terrain is rather flat, with its northwest slightly higher than its southeast. Its soil falls in two categories: calcium-rich clay in the hilly area in the northwest, and sandy soil in the alluvial plain in the southeast, with a considerable part of its land lying under a layer of rubble. As to the climate, the city is in a north temperate belt in gradual transition to a subtropical zone, with temperatures averaging 30 degrees Celsius in summer and 1-2 degrees Celsius in winter. The wind from the sea in close proximity keeps the city cool in summer and a little cold in winter. Soil frozen depth stands at 10-15 centimeters, and annual precipitation above 1000 millimeters. As Yangzhou is situated in a seasonal monsoon region, its wind is mostly easterly in summer and northeasterly in winter, but the northeasterly is the dominant wind, and it is affected to a certain degree by typhoons.

With flat terrain, mild climate, ample rainfalls and fine soil quality, Yangzhou's natural environment is friendly to labour, production and everyday life. Its central location in a transportation network, well-developed commerce, and long years of prosperity combine to boost the local building industry. However, given its natural conditions, Yangzhou lacks such building materials as timber and stone and relies heavily on imports. Imported precious building materials are found in the former residences and gardens of aristocrats and rich merchants, including *Phoebe nanmu*, red sandalwood, mahogany, rosewood, gingko, marble, and exotic stones shipped in from Gaozi and Lake Tai in Jiangsu province, and from Lingbi and Xuancheng counties in Anhui province.

Yangzhou's gardens and former mansions were concentrated in city

proper, whereas its largest buildings were mostly in the New City. In the past, the residents of the Old City were literati-officials and ordinary citizens, whereas those living in the New City were mostly salt merchants. Prior to the mid-Qing, most salt merchants lived in gardens in the area around Eastern Pass Street, including the Lesser Exquisite Mountain Abode, the Garden of Longevity Fungus or the predecessor of the Geyuan's Garden, the Belvedere of Hundred-Feet Phoenix Tree, the Garden Scraped Together and the Garden of Matchless Talent built at a later time. Adjacent to them were later buildings such as the Wang's Small Garden on Taoist Earth Official's Domain Lane and the Cangzhou Estate on Easterly Violet Rays Lane. And the cluster spread on, until it reached Garden Lane and Down the South River Street, such as the Sound-of-Autumn Mansion, the Loft for Reading with the Moon, the Small-Rock Mountain Abode, the Kerria Garden, the Small Meandering Valley, and the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode[18]. These gardens and mansions were surrounded with tall walls, and looked similar to those in the other cities of the Jiangnan area. The buildings in the Old City, whose simplicity is typical of the architecture style of northern Jiangsu, were mostly small and low, but its lanes and alleys were aligned in good order, a fact that is inseparable from the economic conditions of the local dwellers. Better residential quarters in the city are always found where road and waterway conditions are convenient or close to the Salt Shipping Administration and the shopping center.

In urban Yangzhou, thirty classical gardens of varying sizes remain relatively intact today, as exemplified by the Small-Rock Mountain Abode, the Geyuan's Garden, the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode, the Small Meandering Valley, the Garden of Matchless Talent, the My Half-"Mu" Garden, the Mind Cheering Hut and Li Weiru's Garden. These gardens are outnumbered by well-preserved mansions in different architectural styles, including those once in the possession of Lu Shaoxu (1843-1905)[19], Wang Boping (*fl*. 19th century), Zhao Haishan (*fl*. 19th century) and Wei Cigeng (*fl*. 19th century)[20].

In most cases, Yangzhou mansions are so judiciously put together with gardens that they look at once detached and attached, yet neither one can stand on its own without the other.

·Gardens

The Small-Rock Mountain Abode is found in the former mansion of He Weijian (1835-1908)[21]. Known also as "Twin Pagoda Trees Garden," it was Wu Jialong's villa before Wu Huimo[22] took over. The artificial mountain that remains of it was said to be wrought by Shitao, and, therefore, is celebrated as the only extant rockwork he bequeathed on humanity. The mountain faces south, and, judging from its plane, it is a wall-leaning rock formation with its width exceeding its height. Judging from its dynamic appearance, its main peak should have stood at its western end, its steep and verdant form rising up in the wind, nodding its fantastic head at the visitor while looking down upon a pond at its foot. As the visitor mounts the stone stairway by way of a bridge fashioned out of a single stone slab, he sees a wintersweet with well-spaced boughs and lush leaves while a narrow path threads its way up the cliff and terminates at the top.

Below the mountain there are two square rooms built of bricks, which is why the entire rockwork is called "Small-Rock Mountain Abode." As the mountain winds its way eastward, it leads to a deep and quiet cave, with all the component rocks integrated into a whole as if by heaven's divine hand. Unfortunately, the part of the mountain west of the cave has crumbled; gone, too, are the buildings atop it, making it impossible to see the original rock formation in its entirety. Judging from its layout, it follows by and large the Ming-dynasty tradition of artificial mountains. Its main peak and stone cave are accentuated so that what is primary is visibly told apart from what is secondary. Small though the space is, the layout appears natural, with density and spacing sensitively handled, and the rugged shapes of the component rocks give apt expression to the name of the work, "Small-Rock Mountain Abode."

The Yangzhou style of rockwork is marked for its clever use of small rocks. As Shitao had built an artificial mountain in the Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks, I surmise he must have done it by piecing and imbedding that many small stones with masterful expertise. Before he set about building the mountain in the Small-Rock Mountain Abode, he must have carefully picked the stones he wanted, with due attention to size as well as their horizontal and vertical veins and wrinkles. Only then did he put his raw materials together to come up with a lifelike mountain by applying the theory he had summarized in his book, *Monk Balsam Pear on Painting*,

> Only when texturing brushwork tallies with a peak being portrayed in a painting can the veins and wrinkles look like born of the peak.

Only in this way can one create a work in which, according to Shitao's

colophon on "A Small Landscape Painting by Monk Balsam Pear,"

> A single peak overlooks a sweeping stretch of ridges replete with ruptured chasms, with the vista shifting at every wink of the eye and appearing at once connected and disconnected.

For this reason, this rock formation with lofty peak and deep cave shows no trace of axing and chiselling. Instead, it is characterized by consistent texturing, compact layout and design, and methodical contrast between intangibles and tangibles. As *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* (Volume Twenty) puts it,

> At Garden Lane in the New City of Yangzhou there is the Small-Rock Mountain Abode. At the back of its two halls water converges in a square pool on which a mountain built of Lake Tai stones stand fifty to sixty feet tall and looks very imposing and steep. Legend has it that it was Monk Shitao's work. The property is the former residence of a man surnamed Wu, which later came into the possession of a female matchmaker, who converted it into a noodle eatery that doubled as an opera house. For this purpose she remodelled the large sitting room and converted it into a theater at the Qianmen neighborhood of the capital city, but it looks unbearably vulgar.

The address mentioned in this quotation tallies with what is recorded in local gazetteers, but today, only a three-framed *Phoebe nanmu* hall remains of the aforementioned double halls. It should have been built during the Qianlong reign of the Qing. A "through house" with corridors on its four sides, large and tall enough for horses to trot through, still stands by the artificial mountain. The pool has long been levelled, but by tracing its Lake Tai stone-lined embankment, we can figure out what the water surface looked like in old days.

The Lake Tai stones selected to pile up the artificial mountain accord with what is described in historical accounts, and so does the height of the mountain peak that rises over the surrounding wall, even though its peak has collapsed. As to the cleverness with which the mountain was built, with a singular peak leaning against the clouds while casting its reflections down low in the transparent pond at its foot, it really deserves its reputation of being "fantastically steep," but most distinctive of all are its stone wall, stone stairway, and stone cave. Shitao's rockery construction expertise has a tremendous influence on posterity, and Ge Yuliang, a rockery master active during the reigns of Jiaqing and Daoguang after Qianlong, was counted among the finest successors to Shitao's craft. *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* (Volume Twelve) has this to say:

> ….If rocks large and small are hooked and connected in the same way as a chain bridge is built, [the rockery] can last for a thousand years. Only when the rockery is as sturdy and looks as natural as a real mountain or cave can the craftsman be deemed capable.

The artificial mountains in the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode of Suzhou, the Homecoming Swallow Garden of Changshu, and the Lesser Winding

Gully in the Qin's Imagined Garden of Yangzhou were among the masterpieces of Ge Yuliang. The stone-hooked rock formations remain intact in the first two gardens.

Built by Huang Yingtai (1770-1838)[23], chief administrator of salt commerce of Huainan and Huaibei during the Jiaqing and Daoguang reigns, the Geyuan's Garden with ten thousand bamboos planted in it at Eastern Pass Street derives its name from the owner's style name. According to Liu Fenggao's (1760-1830) "Notes on the Geyuan's Garden," the garden is built on the former site of the Garden of Longevity Fungus, whose original rockwork is said to have been built by Shitao, but there is no evidence to back it up. It is attributed to Shitao probably because the artificial mountain built of yellow stones in the garden resembles Mount Huangshan in Anhui, whose scenery Shitao was fond of portraying in his paintings. The original Geyuan's Garden was a bit larger than it is now. After the estate was renovated, only the central and eastern columns of residences on the premises are in existence, and both the front gate and the portico were destroyed. Only the brick carvings on the screen wall have kept its original exquisite looks. Each column of the residence consists of three rows of houses in interconnected courtyards. The two piedroits in the outer room of the hall on the central column were torn down so that the hall can double as an opera chamber. The hall in every row features a wing room and a tiny yard that contains parterres in different shapes to enhance the serenity of bamboos' shades and the aroma of flowers. The garden sits behind the residence, and entrance to it is by a fire lane beside the dwellings. The thick foliage of an old wisteria in it tosses rich shadows onto the ground, which the visitor finds mind-soothing and eye-pleasing upon stepping into the garden.

Take a left turn down the road, and one reaches a roofed two-storied walkway, with a parterre on either side planted with slender bamboos interspaced by stalagmites of different heights known in Chinese as "stone bamboo shoots," so that real bamboo couple with sham bamboo shoots to symbolize mountain wood in vernal sunshine. A moon gate opens into the wall behind the bamboos with the name "Geyuan's Garden" inscribed above it. Behind the gate stands the Osmanthus Hall, with osmanthus trees straggling in front of it and a pond behind it. In the north a seven-room loft, rising along a wall which connects artificial mountains with the walkway, is reposed in the peace and quiet of trees and flowers. The loft's top floor commands a panoramic view of the garden. To the west of the pond there

used to be two painted land boats nicknamed "A Couple of Loving Birds," and standing opposite them is a hexagonal pavilion whose form is reflected in clear water to evoke a picture-perfect scene.

An artificial mountain built of Lake Tai stones sits to the west of the loft. Known as "Autumn Cloud," it is nestled in the shades of shapely trees, including a pine tree whose thick leaves take the form of an overhead canopy. At the mountain's foot, a stream empties itself into a cave down low. On the other end of a zigzagging bridge stands an unfathomably spacious and intricately dynamic cave built of Lake Tai stones of unpredictable shapes and featuring an outstretching ceiling; the greyish green color of the stones, coupled with the water flowing into its depth, makes the cave feel a lot cooler in summer. It is said that in the former days there were twelve caves on the spot.

The artificial mountain faces the sun squarely, and its component Lake Tai stones are studded with varied surfaces. The unpredictable shadows cast by sun, wind and rain onto these surfaces make the mountain look exceptionally bewitching in summer. Hence the name, "Summer Mountain." The space south of it is empty and wild today, but in its former days, it was a sea of bamboos whose rippling green waves were echoed by a susurrating stream that surrounds it. A stairway in the Lake Tai mountain leads to its top, where the visitor turns east to reach a giant yellow stone mountain before he goes past the seven-room loft and the sutra library through the roofed walkway.

The artificial mountain faces west. When its yellow stones are swathed in rosy sunset glow, its perpendicular cliffs shine forth in striking hues. The mountain rises up to a height of several dozen feet. High and steep in an image evocative of an autumn mountain painting, it makes an ideal place for mountain climbers in that season. Its designer makes this autumn mountain stand out distinctively the way he does the vernal and summer mountains by giving full scope to the component rocks' varying positions, directions and forms. The stoic contours of some ancient cypresses growing out of stone chasms serve to modulate the mountain's momentum, and their green leaves and gnarled boughs are set in contrast with the ochre rocks. Such deployment of cypresses as foils to enhance the depth of an autumn scenery, just like using bamboos to accentuate the spring view and pines to spruce up the summer sight, must have been intently hammered out.

The other arrangements, including building a stone stairway inside the

cave, letting yellow stones hang down from its roof in the manner of an overhanging stalactite, and allowing skylight to penetrate holes in the rocks, are designed to catch the observer by surprise with the heightened effects of piled-up yellow stones and a three-dimensional trail system. The ingenuity of the designer is also manifest in inventions unseen in other gardens, such as building tiny yards, stone bridges and stone chambers into the artificial mountain. The pavilion standing atop the mountain not only puts all the other mountains at the foot of the spectator, but also incorporates into this garden a section of the city wall lined with green willows, the Slender West Lake, the Mountain-Level Hall, and the Avalokitesvara Mountain in the north—the clever garden-making craft known as view borrowing is obviously at work.

A loft on the southern slope provides access for those who want to climb up and down the mountain. Next to the loft is a hall that features a traditional roof with sloping eaves on both sides and gables sitting astride two opposite walls; a horizontal board hanging inside of the hall is inscribed with its name, "Wind Infiltratable and Moonlight Permeable" in the calligraphic handwriting of Yao Zhengyong (1811-?)[24]. In front of the hall stands an artificial mountain of white quartz sandstones from Xuancheng, Anhui province; this is where dwellers sat around a fire in winter to enjoy fallen snow. The mountain is found at the foot of the southern wall to resemble snow yet to thaw—an arrangement which would have been impossible if the mountain were built to face south, for in this way the sandstone would glisten against the sun. This problem ought to be avoided when piling up white stones into artificial mountains. The vernal scenery on the other side of the wall can be borrowed into the courtyard through holes in the eastern wall to allude to the return of springtime to the world. A two-storied walkway atop the mountain that conducted and into the garden is nowhere to be seen today.

The Geyuan's Garden is famous for its exquisite craft of artificial mountains. The builder outwitted all his Yangzhou counterparts by applying different kinds of stones to make his mountains look different from each other. His brainchild, known as Four-Season Mountains, thus became one of a kind among all Chinese gardens. The same conception was applied to the Garden of Eight Stanzas at Greater Prestige Lane, but the artificial mountains thus built did not have obvious peaks. The Four-Season Mountains of the Geyuan's Garden seem to have summarized a renowned painter's conception that, in Guo Xi's (*c*. 1000-*c*. 1080)[25] words in *The Lofty and Sublime Messages of Forests and Streams*,

> The spring mountain should be faintly rouged and smile demurely; the summer mountain should be so drenched in emerald as to drip with it; the autumn mountain should be bright and clean like a lady dressed up; the winter mountain should stay so pale and lethargic as to seem asleep.

The Four-Season Mountains stand out among all the gardens in Yangzhou because it also follows the principle that, as Dai Xi (1801-1860)[26] puts it in his *Colophons on Paintings of the Studio of Hard Practice*,

> Spring mountains can be toured, summer mountains enjoyed, autumn mountains climbed, and winter mountains dwelled.

The Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode at Garden Lane is known as the "Ho Family Garden." Built in 1883 by He Weijian, a circuit intendant under the Guangxu reign, and believed to be Yangzhou's last sizeable garden dating back to the Qing, it can be entered from the family's residence. Another door is opened for guests in the back of the garden at Diaos' Lane. The dwellings sport a Western style save for a hall built of *Phoebe nanmu*. Surrounded with a canopied two-floor walkway, the multi-storied buildings are laid out in horizontal rows while the halls are lined up in vertical columns—the plane is, as a whole, traditional Chinese despite the buildings' Western style. The brick-framed latticed windows in the wall of the last row of the residence offer a glimpse at a corner of the garden. To the north of the large pond in the center of the garden sits a sevenspan hall whose three central spans stick out slightly and two wings extend sideways with upturned eaves. As the entire building looks like a butterfly on the wing, locals call it "Butterfly Hall." Both ends of the hall are attached to the double-floor walkway that meanders its way around the garden, making those walking in it feel like being spirited away for a flight to the blue sky.

The same walkway also serves to keep the garden's central and eastern parts apart, so that the garden looks more spacious and airy and people can look through its latticed windows to see vistas on both sides. Here the Chinese landscaping technique of space segmentation designed to extend the view is at work in a spontaneous, yet very effective manner. A square pavilion surrounded by water stands in the east of the pond. As this is where people sit to cool themselves and compare notes on the vocal music of Kunqu Opera, the echoes from the water come handy to enhance acoustic effects. The encircling walkway is used to accommodate the audience. In the past, females could only sit behind a translucent curtain in the section of the double-floored walkway closer to the residence to watch what was performed in the pavilion through assorted hollowed windows in the wall. This technique of building a waterside deck to improve acoustics is still feasible

today, but the practice of watching performances through a curtain behind windows should absolutely be abandoned. However, latticed windows remain an effective means to let in or out the views and increase the depth and variety of vista inside a garden, so that, as the saying goes,

> Scenes and sights can hardly be locked up in the presence of a small open window.

The southwest corner of the pond is occupied by an artificial mountain, behind which is hidden the West Verandah, with a peony terrace to the south. The whole terrain undulates naturally in tune with the contours of the artificial mountain. Such an arrangement ought to be promoted in new gardens, for it is easily done, endearing to people, and free from pretentious artifice. A Lake Tai stone stairway conducts to a mystic-looking cave and a perpendicular mountain; though built of different kinds of stones, the stairway and the mountain can still twist and turn in delightful ways and be mixed and interwoven into an integral whole. There is something profound about the water-curtained cave at the eastern foot of the mountain, but the way the cave's other end connects with a pillar leaves something to be desired, and I would choose to regard it as an oversight on the part of its designer. The three-span loft south of the artificial mountain fronted with a craggy peak can be mounted by a trail that joins the double-floored walkway in the east to the residential part of the estate.

The double-floored walkway is a multiple construction whose roofs go up and down in line with the building's changing height, and some sections of it are segmented into double lanes. The estate is divided into central and eastern parts as a result. The large latticed windows in the walls are constructed by fitting finely ground bricks snugly together to form patterns at once succinct and tasteful. East of the walkway and opposite the three-span verandah, a hall with windows on four sides sits in a court where a green parasol tree leans against a rockery and blocks the sun with its thick leaves. The ground at the foot of the hall's stairway is paved with a mixture of cobbles and broken bricks and tiles in patterns that are becoming to the brick railings and benches in front of the hall, an unmatched combination that, like the aforementioned hollowed-out windows, is an unrivalled objet d'art exuding rustic native charms.

Behind the hall an artificial mountain leans upon a whitewashed wall without the least trace of bluntness in both its surface and its stone stairway. Small though it is, this rock formation is self-contained in good taste, with a tiny pavilion sitting at its crest and snuggling up to the wall under trees' green

boughs. When the setting sun bathes the scene in its twilight, the entire stone stairway is covered with broken shadows, conjuring up a picture that teeters between real and surreal, an effect that belongs only to a scenery set against a white-washed wall in a traditional Chinese garden. The space is small, but the view seems ever changing—an arrangement that is indeed workable. The stone stairway northwest of the artificial mountain leads to a half-deck on the double-floored walkway. This half-deck, like the old one at this walkway's western end, is where the rise and fall of the moon are marvelled at. As to the disposition of vegetation, sweet-scented osmanthus trees are planted in the mountain in front of the hall, arboreous and herbaceous peonies in parterres, lacebark pines at the mountain's foot, parasol trees in front of the stairway, plantains at the corners, and all of them are arranged in groves that flourish in utmost beauty and color in spring, cast thick cooling shades in summer, hit the nostrils with heady fragrance in autumn, and remain green in winter. All these arrangements have rules to go by, and can be adapted to the nature of the plants and local conditions.

The garden in question is known for its extensive openness and masculine robustness. Waters and rocks are employed to complement buildings and set rockeries' color and water's light in fabulous contrast with majestic lofts, high belvederes, and the double-floored walkway. Buildings, however, are always kept in the limelight, which are now linked, now segmented by the canopied double-floored walkway and the artificial mountains—the arteries and veins are always there to bring about a threedimensional communication network and a garden enjoyable at multiple layers. The scenery is spread out around a pond of water. Walls with latticed windows present a constant stream of views, with lofts, terraces, flowers and trees shimmering within their frameworks. As this garden was built relatively more recently, its interior decoration abounds in new materials and patterns, with an additional gate erected to greet guests. Its layout is more spacious and smooth than those built in the past, which enables visitors to shift gradually from in-situ viewing to in-motion viewing. Its paths are labyrinthine at one place and straightforward at another, its sceneries now widely open, now sequestered in mystic solitude, and all these arrangements are imbued with the salient features of the Chinese garden as well as innovations in the craft of landscape gardening.

The Small Meandering Valley at Big Tree Lane. Zhou Fu (1837-1921)[27], who was appointed viceroy of present-day Jiangsu, Anhui and Jiangxi

provinces in 1904, the thirtieth year of the Guangxu reign (1875-1908) of the Qing, and became viceroy of Guangdong and Guangxi in 1906, rebuilt the garden on an estate he bought from Xu Naiguang (1859-1922)[28] in 1897. Refurbished in the early Republican years (1912-1949), the garden, situated in the eastern part of the estate, has its name "Small Meandering Valley" engraved above a moon gate by the side of its main hall. Judging from its brushwork style, the inscription seems to be in the handwriting of Chen Hongshou (1768-1822)[29], one of the eight founding fathers of the Xiling Seal Engravers Society at the West Lake, Hangzhou. Its three-bay parlor facing an artificial mountain sports a façade in the shape of a carpenter's square. When the visitor finds his way to the back of this parlor, a pond brimming with clear water flashes into his eyes, and his vista brightens and opens up all of a sudden. A belvedere sitting astride the stream beside the parlor is attached to a meandering walkway, a combination that is in striking contrast with the rockeries and the ambiguous form of a partitioning tracery-topped wall on the other side of the pond. Such contrast between buildings and scenery is common to the Chinese gardens. In front of the walkway sits a zigzagging bridge that conducts to a mystic cave on the opposite bank of the pond. The cave is so spacious that a chess table is put in it, with natural light penetrating the apertures in the cave's ceiling.

A door is created in front of the water, where one can take a flight of stone stairs to reach the pond. Stepping stones planted in the pond to the left of the cave in lieu of a bridge combine with a mountain trail to provide access to the parlor in the rear. A stone stairway is available in front of this parlor for those who want to climb up the artificial mountain. This is where a nice entrance is provided to the valley, as an inscription in the rock says, "The water flows therefrom to where the clouds are." The mountain cave is wide open, yet it has no lack of twists and turns—a fine example of cave construction indeed. Leaving the cave through an exit to the right, one enters a tiny yard where a meandering corridor runs directly to the Wind-Bathing Pavilion atop the mountain, which provides a vintage point to gaze at the views of the eastern and western parts of the garden. The eastern part is in ruins, but is now under restoration. Entrance to it is by a peach-shaped door whose lintel is inscribed with two Chinese characters that stand for "Clustered Verdure." The hall in the shape of a carpenter's square to the north of the pond has been rebuilt with an amended plan. The lofty but rugged shape of the artificial mountain there earns itself the name "Mountain of

Nine-Lion Picture." Over nine meters in height, it was damaged slightly during a refurbishment in the early Republican years, but can still be countered among the best in Yangzhou. Rockwork, the pond and buildings are handled in a lump, and striking contrasts are achieved on an otherwise cramped piece of land between buildings and rockeries, between rocks and white-washed walls, between rockwork and the pond, between frontal courtyards and posterior garden, between mystic depth and extrovert openness, and between high-rising and low-lying sceneries, turning the whole garden into a veritable fairyland.

Thanks to flexible segmentation by way of tracery walls, the foothill, the wall-leaning mountain, stepping stones and the ravine's inlet are aptly positioned, so that the steep cliff appears like a body of three-dimensional verdure, its rugged peak overlooks the stream, with water and rock in perpetual harmony, and all of them are combined to become an integral whole—a garden-making feat accomplished through the artistic approach of "using the few to triumph over the many." Though there are no tall buildings and double-floored walkway on the premises, the rooms are not elaborately appointed and all the timber appears in natural colors, this does not prevent the property from becoming a serene and circuitous garden of many splendors. With its artificial-mountain construction technique comparative with that of the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode of Suzhou—the Small Meandering Valley is, without a doubt, a certain master drafter's masterpiece. *The Sequel to the Gazetteer of Jiangdu County* (Volume Twelve) compiled under the Guangxu reign of the Qing, says of the SmallRock Mountain Abode,

> This garden excels in its Lake Tai rockery in the images of nine lions, images that are matchless examples of exquisite craftsmanship and dynamic portrayal.[30]

Judging from an analysis of the composition of the artificial mountain in the Small Meandering Valley, it seems to have been copied from the Small-Rock Mountain Abode while assimilating other fine works. *The Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* (Volume Two) says,

> The Nine-Lion Mountain piled up by Taoist Priest Dong from Huai'an is the talk of town.

The same book adds in its sixth volume,

> Behind the Sutra-Chanting at City Wall sits the Rolling Stone Cavern…. From an old water-bound artificial mountain of Lake Tai stones, [the Taoist master] sought out those stones riddled with cavities, drilled new holes into them, and arranged them in the images of nine lions. Then he shifted the whole thing into the pond, crowned them with a pavilion-capped bridge, and gave the product of his labour its present name, "Rolling Stone Cavern."

A colophon by Zang Gu (1834-1910)[31] on the hanging scroll "Nine-Lion

Mountain" in the Yangzhou Museum collection points out that the painting is a likeness of the Nine-Lion Mountain at the Rolling Stone Cavern, but he does not specify that the mountain was wrought by Taoist Priest Dong.

According to the former owner Zhou Xian (1891-1984)[32] and his nephew Zhou Xuliang (1905-1984)[33], the artificial mountain of the Small Meandering Valley had been known as "Mountain of the Nine-Lion Picture" for a long time, and they surmise there must be some evidence behind it. Therefore I believe there might be more than one nine-lion mountain in Yangzhou, but the one at the Rolling Stone Cavern is the best known. Taoist Priest Dong was renowned for his construction of this type of artificial mountains, which gradually emerged as a school in its own right. Evidence shows that this mountain's peak, cave, mountain trail, mountain-leaning wall, stepping stones and ravine inlet all belong to his time, that is, under the Qianlong reign. The horizontal board inscribed by Chen Hongshou was not too distant from that age. Therefore I assume that even if this mountain were not originated in the Taoist priest, it must be an imitation of his work.

The Lesser Winding Gully in the Qin's Imagined Garden, situated at Bathhouse Lane near the Old City's south gate, was a miniature yellow-stone mountain built after Qianlong's reign by the renowned garden crafter Ge Yuliang from Changzhou, but it is in nonexistence today. *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* (Volume Twelve) writes,

> A Changzhou native by the name of Ge Yuliang has come to the fore lately, whose rock-piling skill exceeds many others.

This indicates that Ge came to the fore later than Priest Dong. Judging from its ruins, the Qin's Lesser Winding Gully exuded feminine elegance under a plain and simple surface, whereas the Small Meandering Valley in question stands tall and steep in majesty and masculine vigour. Both crafters were in Yangzhou at the same time, and it was precisely with their respective masterpieces that they stood neck and neck between them as garden-makers.

To the west of the Geyuan's Garden at Eastern Pass Street there is an estate built by Li Songling (1871-1937)[34]. Upon entering its front gate, one comes upon an octagonal gate[35], with the name, Garden of Matchless Talent, engraved in the lintel. Turning left, one sees the property's residential section. The octagonal gate opens into a slender and straight corridor. An artificial mountain twists and turns circumspectly against the eastern wall, forbidden-looking and in striking contrast with the tile latticed windows on the top part of the wall. Beside the mountain there is a bed of peony flowers which, when in full bloom, seem to be embroidered on a piece of brocade. At the northern

end of the mountain, a half pentagonal pavilion clings to a wall with a mirror-like crystal clear pool at its foot. There, facing south, stands a three-span parlor exquisitely decorated and elaborately appointed, and the ceiling of its corridor is carved all over with patterns in bas relief.

Behind the parlor there is a three-span verandah with an eastern wing and a western corridor, and flowers, trees and exotic rocks are placed in the front. Its back is attached to a small yard which, at the first glance, is often mistaken for a mere wooden wall because its door is always shut. A stone stairway provides access to a double-floored loggia that takes a turn at the back of a loft before disappearing into a neighboring garden. The garden is linked to the dwellings behind it by the roofed walkway and rockeries. In the northwest corner, facing west against a rockery, there is a three-bay loft with its spiral staircase winding from top floor down to ground floor. By the side of the loft a trellis of wisteria with entangled weather-beaten branches adds to the fascination of the scene by showering greenness all over the stairway. This garden is akin to the Twisted Garden of Suzhou in that it is laid out by filling every space of a small lot in the shape of the carpenter's square with tiny scenery, but it does so more cleverly with its vistas "woven" up and down in intricate ways. Using a method to "deliver a vista unexpectedly from an impasse," the garden's designer knows how to transit the sight in a tiny yard into the neighboring garden to ensure continuity of the entire scenic view. Such a practice is by no means a rarity; on the contrary, it is a defining feature of Yangzhou gardens.

The Mind Cheering Hut at Ji Family Cove, as a component part of the parlor in the mansion of a money-shop owner by the name of Huang Yizhi, is the work of Yu Jizhi, a rockwork specialist who is also well-versed in floral art and particularly good at gracing small gardens with fantastic rockeries. The parlor in the Mind Cheering Hut consists of two rows of buildings. The front and back of the first row are linked respectively with a tiny yard. The eastern and southern side of the courtyard are lined with a corridor, and a white stone rockery tucked away in an osmanthus grove at the western side. The back of the first row has two wings, and the parterres in its tiny yard are planted with stalagmites and bamboos whose swaying twigs and quivering leaves seem to be dripping wet with greenness. To the west of the parlor stands a latticed wall, whose moon gate opens on to the internal court of a suite of chambers, an arrangement that makes people wonder, "How deep would this deep courtyard really be?" Thanks to views borrowed from an

external court, the otherwise small internal court looks bigger. At work here is also a space-expanding method in Chinese architecture, that is, to make a residential courtyard look bigger through segmentation or spatial grouping. The back row of the parlor with all its three bays facing rockeries features another suite of chambers in its own yard. The Mind Cheering Hut is small, and judging from its plane, there is nothing surprising about it. Nevertheless, its buildings and yards are proportionate to each other and its interior décor is accentuated as a rule with horizontal lines so as to yield just enough room to have rockeries erected and flowers planted. Large and small yards are so impeccably grouped and mixed that the scenes and sights are always well spaced even in places seemingly crowded, and that in the peace and quiet of the entire estate there are plenty of delightful surprises. All this speaks volumes for the importance of greenery and spatial grouping to small architectural projects.

On Guangling Road there is My Half-"Mu" Garden, originally known as "Back Garden of Longxi." It was built by a salt merchant surnamed Liu on an old garden on this spot during the Guangxu reign (1875-1908) of the Qing, hence its other name, "Liu's Manor." Because this was the venue of the Yida Money Shop, the local people generally call it "Yida Garden." Located behind its residential area, the garden is divided in two yards. The frontal yard contains a south-facing hall with some houses attached to its western side, as well as a parterre built of Lake Tai stones and two lacebark pine trees at the foot of a wall. In the backyard, slender bamboos are planted at its western end, and a yellow-stone artificial mountain by the side of the wall features a flight of stone stairs leading to the upper floor of a building. In the eastern yard, a loft facing north overlooks a pond with a rock formation on it, whose Lake Tai stone mountain against the wall is the pick of the entire garden.

The Li Weiru's Garden, 6 Billows Lane Cove, whose entrance is by a door at its southeast corner. In the center of the garden stands an artificial mountain among rattans and cypress trees that, though age-old, still exude emerald, leafy luxuriance. This mountain looks tiny against the wall, but it still offers a cave to be explored and a peak to be marvelled at, and it looks awe-inspiring when observed from inside the hall in the north. There are canopied walkways at the eastern and western sides, and a water gazebo sits in the southwestern corner with a dainty and refreshing fish pond at its foot. Sparse though the scenery is, this small garden is still decorated in good taste.

By the side of the Li Weiru's Garden is the Yang's Tiny Nook, a small garden that takes up just a corner originally belonging to a studio that opened onto a two-bay parlor. The small yard in its front is strewn with a smattering of rocks, bamboos and trees, and segmented by a latticed wall. A diagonal corridor reaches up to a small belvedere. A pool lying between rocks in front of the belvedere is just large enough for a fish bowl to be placed in it to collect water, yet the whole assemblage looks rather becoming. The garden's owner was deft at cultivating orchids, and this is why potted orchids are the stars of this tiny nook. Beautiful flowers and trees are avoided, lest the dominance of orchids and their heady aroma be undermined. Though the Yang's Tiny Nook is too small to be called a garden, yet it has all the makings of a legitimate one. Thanks to a well-conceived segmentation scheme, no visitor would feel cramped upon arriving at this tiny place; instead, they would look left and right and be immensely delighted with its sceneries so resourcefully created.

The garden-owners in Yangzhou were mostly rich merchants. Apart from the material wealth they had obtained through business dealings, they often donated in return for a nominal official title as a status symbol. Insofar as designs are concerned, their gardens are somewhat different from those in the possession of bureaucratic landlords, and the most striking difference lies in their unquenchable quest for luxury and extravagance to advertise their richness and pretentious "elegance" and "refinement." During the Kangxi (1662-1723) and Qianlong (1736-1796) reigns of the Qing, some of them went so far as to copy certain aspects of royal gardens with the hope to hit the windfall, that is, the emperor's award of position and wealth. For this purpose, they would run after what was the best and most sumptuous, be it a garden's configuration, building size, or the variety of building materials. Halls and lofts should have as many as seven bays; buildings should have multiple floors and double-floored walkways; an artificial mountain should be big and built of famous rocks, and the Geyuan's Garden and the Garden of Eight Stanzas have peaks fashioned out of different kinds of stones to represent the four seasons. Soil and rocks were piled up to build gamecock arenas, one of which is found in the Kettle Garden. As the majority of rich merchants in Yangzhou were natives of Anhui, gardens were often built to represent the landscape of south Anhui.

As to building materials, *Phoebe nanmu* was the choicest, square bricks were reserved for flooring purposes, and marble was mixed with pebbles and

porcelain shards to pave floral-patterned grounds in the courtyard. With regard to the sumptuous interior decoration and furnishing in Yangzhou gardens, other than meeting the same designing purposes as in Suzhou gardens, that is, to serve garden owners' need to enjoy the poetic and picturesque connotations of landscaping sights and to show off their corrupt lifestyle, they were also adopted to satisfy these owners' obsession to turn their gardens into socializing venues that could accommodate as many guests as possible. Such an obsession is manifest in such big Yangzhou gardens as the Geyuan's Garden and the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode. The Yangzhou school of verse and prose, and the Eight Eccentrics' styles of painting are more untrammelled and profound than those of Suzhou; this has influenced and enhanced the Yangzhou craft of gardens. No study of the Yangzhou gardens can be complete without clarifying the material resources and spiritual needs of their former masters, because such resources and needs had predetermined the requirements and principles for garden designers and impacted the conceptions and styles of these gardens.

Natural environment and building materials can affect garden styles to varying degrees. With a level terrain, mild soil humidity, climate and precipitations, and with the best south and north China conditions converging in the city, Yangzhou's natural environment is salubrious for flowers and trees, with arboreous and herbaceous peonies growing particularly well—a fact that furnishes indispensable condition for the construction of posh gardens. Yangzhou's huge fleets of salt-shipping boats enabled local gentries and merchants to ship in more varieties of stones for artificial mountains than Suzhou from as near as Zhenjiang, Gaozi, Jurong, Suzhou, Yixing, Wuxing and Wukang and as far as Xuancheng, Lingbi and Hekou of Anhui and Jiangxi, over and above rocks of exotic shapes and images or unusual qualities from southwestern China.

The Chinese garden is always built in light of local conditions, which is particularly the case in water-bound and hilly areas. Different from what is available in Suzhou and Hangzhou, the topographical and scenic conditions characterized by the Yangtze-Huai basin's low water level and wide open land are, simply put, uniquely Yangzhou's own. That is why most large gardens in Yangzhou feature a pond in the center while halls are architectural centerpieces—the relationship between ponds and halls must be well coordinated. The scenery in large gardens, as exemplified by the Geyuan's Garden and the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode, is segmented with

walls, rockwork and trees to conjure up multilayered and variegated views, while exotic rocks are erected by the pond, pavilions and belvederes are scattered but ultimately connected by a circuitous walkway. Medium-sized and small gardens in Yangzhou, such as the Small-Rock Mountain Abode and the Small Meandering Valley, are compactly structured, in which an artificial mountain clings to a wall with a pond rippling at its foot, while a winding corridor or water-front gazebo puts the finishing touch to the entire scene.

In Yangzhou's courtyards, a few peak-shaped rockeries are deployed and a small fish pond sits by a gazebo, but they can also sport an arboreous peony terrace or a herbaceous peony garden. The possession of a minimal number of scenic elements often makes a courtyard look bright, clean and cozy, and the Li Weiru's Garden and the Yang's Tiny Nook are good examples in this regard, but the Garden of Matchless Talent is another outstanding case in that its narrow space in the shape of a carpenter's square is properly fitted to a layout to pull off a rich variety of pleasant surprises.

Generally speaking, Yangzhou's gardens feature level and tidy layouts, and offer views for both in-situ and in-motion viewing. Their success, however, is attributed to their three-dimensional road structures and multi-layered sightseeing routes. That is to say, their roofed double-floor walkways, lofts, belvederes as well as artificial mountains replete with cavities, caves, abodes or stone chambers are interconnected up and down and brought within reach, resulting in plenty of scenic changes. However, these gardens have still left something to be desired. For instance, the roles of water surfaces, rockwork and buildings are yet to be better coordinated; most water surfaces' shorelines look too straight for lack of bends and twists and turns; and rocks projecting over a pond or foamy rapids tumbling over stones are almost nowhere to be seen. But all these are, if anything, blemishes in an otherwise perfect scene.

The Small-Rock Mountain Abode, the Small Meandering Valley, and the foothills of the Garden of Matchless Talent and the Autumn Cloud Mountain in the Geyuan's Garden are studded with laudable delights. There are also instances in which a water-less garden is made to look like water-bound. In the Yuan's Loft of Two-Thirds Bright Moonlight, built during the Daoguang reign of the Qing on Guangling Road, the ground lies low while the hall with windows on four sides sits upon a raised yellow-stone foundation to look as if it were perched on an isle—thus water presents itself

in imagination in a garden with little water. The same conception seems to be at work in the back of the Rosy Autumn Clouds Garden in Jiading, Shanghai, but the effect is not as striking. The approach to "giving wings to imagination where brush strokes cannot reach" belongs in the Chinese art, and it is admirable for our clever artisans to apply it with such success under relatively unfavorable natural conditions. The bridges built over water surfaces in Yangzhou gardens come in two types. First, beam bridges, most of which are zigzagging ones, and the flying stone beam bridge of the Small-Rock Mountain Abode is among the best of its kind for its unaffected simplistic and classic looks and its affinity to the mountain abode's wooded mountain views; second, stepping stones, those adopted in the Small Meandering Valley are the most congruously arranged. If the bends in a zigzagging bridge over a low-level water surface look too stiff, it would rob people of the feeling as if they were treading waves, a problem that should be avoided at the designing and construction stage. The designer of the bridge at the Small-Rock Mountain Abode seemed to have blazed a new trail in addressing this problem with the adoption of a flying stone beam.

The Yangzhou school of gardens has all along been extolled for its rockery building techniques. Most of the city's extant artificial mountains are built entirely of rocks except for the one in the Qin's Lesser Winding Gully, which is a combination of earth and stones but it is in ruins. As Yangzhou is located in a place where no stone is produced, the rocks needed for rockeries are shipped in from elsewhere and, for transportation purposes, they come in small sizes. Artificial mountain peaks are mostly built by putting together small rocks in light of shapes, colors, veins, textures and quality on frames propped up with stone slabs, and reinforced with iron fastenings and braces—bricks are also used, as is shown in the Ming-dynasty artificial mountain in the Qiao's Garden in Taizhou—a method which also applies to rock embankment around ponds. All this costs a great deal of manpower, and with the passing of time the component rocks tend to break loose and fall, and the peaks crumble as a result. This is why even the finest rock formations cannot last forever. Such problems, however, cannot tarnish Yangzhou's achievements in the craft of artificial mountains, and the ones in the Geyuan's Garden are deemed grand and majestic to the utmost: its yellow stone mountain stands about nine meters tall, and its lake stone mountain about six meters. As huge constructions, they are not without their oversights on the part of their designers, but on the whole they can still be reckoned as fine

works of art of a high order. The artificial mountain of the Small-Rock Mountain Abode stands out for its rugged rocks and steep cliff, the one in the Small Meandering Valley twists and turns in unadorned grace, and the one in the Garden of Matchless Talent brims with feminine beauty, and all of them are excellent structures. The stalactite hanging down from the roofs of the Kerria Garden's winding cave is unseen elsewhere in Yangzhou, and the stone stairway for the artificial mountain in the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode are good examples as well. However, what the artificial mountains in Yangzhou gardens excel the most are those leaning against walls; with thrift use of materials and judicious employment of space made possible through first-rate wrapping and inlaying techniques, they look natural and lifelike, and better than their counterparts in Suzhou. Such walls are found in many Yangzhou gardens, including the Small-Rock Mountain Abode, the Small Meandering Valley, the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode, the Garden of Matchless Talent, and the My Half-"Mu" Garden, a fact which makes me wonder if the wrapping and inlaying techniques were invented and first used in Yangzhou as early as the late-Ming.

During the Qianlong reign, Taoist Priest Dong and Ge Yuliang made even bigger strides in the craft of artificial mountains by carrying forward the legacies of Ji Cheng and Shitao. All the artificial mountains cited in the foregoing embody the notion that different shapes of mountains should be built with different kinds of stones and give expression to Shitao's rule of painting that "when the interior texturing brushwork tallies with the peak, the texture shall look like born of the peak." With their lofty and awe-inspiring images, the Yangzhou artificial mountains stand parallel with their Suzhou counterparts marked for lucid grace and far-reaching vistas. As to the use of different kinds of stones on different peaks or of mixtures of stones on a single peak, these are measures of expediency to make up for the short supply of a particular variety of stones. The rock-piling techniques employed in Yangzhou and south Jiangsu are more or less the same. The best artificial mountains are always produced with flexible application of the same principle, that is, "Let water encircle a mountain, so that the mountain comes to life on account of the water." The glue used to hold the stones together in a rockwork during the Ming was made by lacing lime with fine sand and glutinous rice juice; as this glue turns pinkish when coagulated, it is often applied to artificial mountains built of yellow stones. During the Qing, the glue was whitened by adding grass ashes to it, so that it could also be used for

Lake Tai stone mountains like the one in the Small-Rock Mountain Abode. The crevices between the stones are filled in a way to make the concomitant wrinkles visible while the mortar filled in between the stones is concealed. This method, when applied to yellow stones, produces lines that look like natural cracks and accentuate the ruggedness of surfaces; when applied to Lake Tai stones, brings out the integral wholeness of an artificial mountain. However, it is easier said than done. Perfect examples are few and far between nationwide.

Concerning the treatment of walls, as the traditional gardens of Yangzhou are mostly part of a residence in urban areas, they are enclosed behind high walls built of finely ground bricks and graced with gate towers built of engraved bricks, so that they appear rather tidy and straight. The external walls of Yangzhou gardens are as a rule exquisitely crafted and decorated with tile-latticed windows, and, different from the simplistic and rustic surrounding walls of the Suzhou gardens which like all the gardens in the Jiangnan area were in the possession of landed bureaucrat owners, were instrumental in showing off their owners' wealth. Both the external and internal walls of Yangzhou gardens are white-washed in sections where the effectiveness of reflections or of flowers' shadows under moonlight need be enhanced. The tall surrounding walls make it impossible to see the outside views. With the exception of the Geyuan's Garden, whose yellow-stone mountain rises higher enough than its walls to borrow vistas from the northern part of the city, all the gardens in Yangzhou have to employ opposite views to make their sceneries appear more changeable behind such walls. The sceneries framed by the latticed windows of the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode are indeed picturesque and sublime in facilitating mutual view borrowing between the garden and its dwelling area. The views seen through the moon gate in front of the Osmanthus Hall of the Geyuan's Garden are mesmerizing as well. Moreover, the views framed in the windows seem to be changing all the time when one shifts his footsteps. In terms of view contrasting techniques, they are basically identical to those employed in south Jiangsu gardens, as most of the gardens in Yangzhou set their buildings in contrast with wall-surfaces and rockeries in a variety of ways, such as contrasts between extravert and introvert views, between visibility and invisibility, high and low, proximity and distance, deep and shallow, large and small, and between spatiality and density—the Small Meandering Valley is exemplary in this regard. The Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode, on its

part, succeeds in giving the visitor a complete and distinct sightseeing experience by keeping the general goal in view as far as the arrangement of walls is concerned.

In the field of architecture, the Yangzhou gardens distinguish themselves by making the most of multistoried structures. This is a matter of course for large gardens, but small ones also employ it to advantage. The Loft of Two-Thirds Bright Moonlight, for example, goes so far as to erect a seven-bay building in its precinct. As the parlor is rather big in most cases, and the double-floored walkway extends without a letup, so the small gazebos and waterside verandahs along the walkway are set off agreeably with the tall building. Such an arrangement, as compared with the subdued gracefulness of Suzhou gardens, is evocative of the heroic verve generated by chanting Su Shi's[36] "The Great Yangtze Flows East' to the musical accompaniment of copper *pipa* and iron clappers. Visitors can make a circuit of the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode following its two-storied walkway, and the same is true with the Geyuan's Garden when in its prime. In such a garden, the visitor may lose his way while reaching a pavilion by way of a mountain stairway or arriving at a cave through an archway in the artificial mountain. These three-dimensional sightseeing gimmicks, though different from Suzhou gardens' one-dimensional trail that conducts surreptitiously through maze-like dense willows to bright flowers, lead to the same result. Thus Yangzhou and Suzhou gardens are neck and neck once again in this field.

With regard to structures and details, the buildings in Yangzhou gardens are hybrids of south and north China styles. An independent building's base above ground is built of blue stones in early periods and white stones in later periods, with the staircase made randomly of natural rocks. Plinths may take the form of an "ancient mirror" in the northern tradition or a "stone drum" in the southern tradition; pillars are thick and tall, with the proportion between diameter and height being a compromise between southern and northern traditions. In most cases windows are detachable ones, and balustrades are thick and sturdy. Ridge ends always assume a half-moon shape with an up-turning minor hip-rafter at the front, but in angles lower than those in south Jiangsu.

Roof ridges are graced with latticed brickwork all along, and thicker and heavier than in south Jiangsu. Latticed windows and gates in walls are elaborately crafted, and come in a variety of patterns and integral structures, which are different from the soft and delicate style of south Jiangsu. Lintels

are generally made of marble or stones quarried from Gaozi in Zhenjiang across the Yangtze, and engraved bricks are seldom used, which is apparently different from the Suzhou tradition. Architectural details are terse and tidy, with a few twists and turns at skintles and corners, all of which looks straightforward, with gentleness contained in tasteful sturdiness. All the timber retains original colors, and exterior walls are not white-washed, which has something to do with the arid weather, but is also intended to display craftsmanship on raw materials. Timber constructions are all formed with methodically prepared round and straight beams, though rectangular beams are occasionally used. The round ridges over the façade of a building are as sumptuous as possible because of their conspicuous positions. The interiors are floored with square bricks and partitioned with latticed screens and latticed doors fashioned out of red sandalwood, mahogany, *Phoebe nanmu*, gingko, and little-leaf box, or lacquer carvings either inlaid with precious stones and mother of pearl or panelled with gauze. Furniture and screens and couplets are also elaborately built; those made of mahogany, different from their Suzhou and Guangzhou counterparts, are in an elegant and vivacious style peculiarly Yangzhou's own. (For further details, see the following section on dwellings.)

The buildings in Yangzhou gardens come in a limited variety, including halls, multi-storied buildings, belvederes, pavilions, gazebos, painted land boats, double-floored walkways and corridors, and are more regularly grouped than those in south Jiangsu. The multistoried building is often positioned conspicuously at the end of a garden. The hall is often the centerpiece, but has to be built at the end of a garden if it takes the form of a loft. Land boats and gazebos are water-bound, with verandahs and belvederes nestled against mountains; pavilions may be placed beside a pool or atop a mountain. A half loft, half belvedere or half pavilion can be built on sites too cramped for space; examples like these are few, but they are adapted to the circumstances as a rule, or adopted to break monotony or uniformity in a layout. These methods also apply to roofed walkways, which may be made to wind or run up and down a terrain, or contain double floors or lanes, but most of them follow a circulating route, and some of them are built to serve viewsegmentation purposes.

Halls fall into miscellaneous types, and are handled in original ways, as is shown in *The Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*. Among the common types today are those with floor-length windows on all four

sides, those sporting a hip and gable roof, and those consisting of multiple floors. Their purlin trusses are mostly of the turtle-shell type, whose ridges are not round. A lot of halls are built of *Phoebe nanmu*, the most precious of all species of timber, and those built of cypress are rarely seen today. The ground in gardens are mostly paved in patterns with pebbles and porcelain shards, and stones are occasionally used when one of the cracked-ice pavement patterns is chosen. What merits attention in architectural treatment is that the interiors of a Yangzhou garden are always made to twist and turn unpredictably, whereby suites, lofts, covered walkways, small courts, artificial mountains and stone chambers are grouped in a variety of ways to create a bewildering maze—a salient feature of the Yangzhou style of garden architecture that can still be seen in the Garden of Matchless Talent.

Horticulture is yet another major aspect of garden-making. Indigenous traits of flowers and trees bring about varied styles to gardens in which they are planted. Owing to climatic and geographical differences, the same species of flower or tree growing in Yangzhou would look different in color and shape than if it were planted in north or south China, but the trees and flowers indigenous to Yangzhou generally look sturdy and elegant. Trees that are commonplace in Yangzhou gardens include pine, cypress, juniper, elm, maple, pagoda, gingko, broad-leaf privet, parasol, and little-leaf box. Weeping willows are all but extinct in south Jiangsu gardens built in later periods, but they are often found thriving in Yangzhou gardens with distinct local characteristics: tall and sturdy on trunks whose lower part is never oversized, their twigs so slender and well-scattered as to exude picturesque flavor—all of them are totally domesticated in Yangzhou.

Yangzhou's parasol trees are marked for their speedy growth rate. Whether they are planted in a garden or a courtyard, they never fail to shield people from the high-noon sun with their green trunks and coolness-gathering foliage, and they join weeping willows to steal the limelight of the city's scenic beauty in summer and spring. Yangzhou's flowering trees include osmanthus, crabapple, *yulan* magnolia, camellia, pomegranate, wisteria, plum, wintersweet, flowering peach, banksia rose, rose bush, China rose, and azalea. Osmanthus, crabapple, *yulan* magnolia and crape myrtle are often planted in front of a hall or verandah. Maples and elms are laid out where they are needed, mostly by the side of a pavilion or gazebo. Arbours and flowering trees are most becoming to buildings; in Yangzhou, the former provide cooling shades and the latter become the feast of the eyes, but

arbours become the choicest primarily for their impressive contours and flowering trees for their color and aroma. An artificial mountain's rugged and weathered looks are best accentuated amidst a cluster of pines and cypresses, while a few weeping willows can work wonders on the scenery when planted on a pond or brook's shore.

Plantain, bamboo and nandina add a picture-perfect touch to the scene wherever they are—inside a small court or a clearance in a big garden, in the corner of a wall or walkway, under the eaves, or in combinations with wintersweet or chrysanthemum. The "book-binder grass," or the dwarf lilyturf, if planted beside a rockery, tree, stairway, or road, keeps the ground green in all four seasons, and looks like white balls when cocooned in snow in winter; like the begonia thriving in stone crevices, it also offers a needed sprinkle of decoration wherever it strikes root, and it can also improve an artificial mountain's appearance by covering up its drawbacks the way dots of moss do to a landscape painting. The peony, whether herbaceous or arboureous, are household favorites. According to Kong Wuzhong's[37] *Compendium of Herbaceous Peony* cited in the *Random Notes of "That Can Also Be Changed" Studio*,

> The herbaceous peony of Yangzhou is renowned under heaven. I praise it not simply for its abundance. Yes, it is plump and big, but at the same time, it is daintily beautiful and cleverly clustered—with all these traits it outshines those in other cities.

In "Seeing Meng Haoran off to Guangling at Yellow Crane Tower," Li Bai writes of the herbaceous peony,

> West to Yellow Crane Tower I bid my pal goodbye;
> Oars to Yangzhou in flowery March mist he will ply.

From these lines you can imagine the pomp and pageantry of the peony's flowering scene. For this reason peony beds and nurseries are ubiquitous in Chinese gardens. Such a parterre or herbal nursery either assumes the natural appearance of a piled-up rockery, or is built of bricks and white stones; no matter what the pattern or shape, they are products of ingenious garden designers. When springtime sets in, these beds and nurseries would be carpeted with peony flowers, whose brocade-like exuberance stands comparison with the peony gardens in Luoyang, native home to arboreous peonies in the country.

As complements to garden scenery, trees are planted individually or in clumps. The trees growing in the same grove may come of singular or mixed species, which is determined by the garden size and landscaping design. Small gardens are suitable for trees individually planted, but their postures

and contours should be carefully chosen. Large gardens may have a lot of tree clumps, which should be deployed by bringing into consideration the images of rock formations and the elevation and size of the terrain, so that the groves can be separated or linked, scattered or congregated. If an artificial mountain is not tall enough, trees cannot be planted on its top. To set off the mountain's primitive and steep looks, trees must be planted on low-lying spots at the mountain's shady side, so as to keep the mountaintop higher than all the treetops—only thus can the garden resemble a wooded mountain. This principle for tree planting pertains to the building of pavilions as well. In the relationship between pavilion, tree and artificial mountain, it is essential to decide which one should stand taller than the others and what distances should be kept between them. There are cases in which a pine tree is set to lie prone over a water surface at the foot of an artificial mountain, which is after all a nice approach to bring about a congenial vista. Wisteria may be arranged to hang down a rockery, and a water surface may be dotted with lotus flowers, but the quantity of such vines and flowers should be limited to the point where the pictured vision is brought about and the desired scenery created. Because every garden has its own sunny and shady sides, the environmental adaptability of the trees to be adopted should also be brought into account. For example, camellia, osmanthus, pines and cypresses are suitable for shady places, whereas bamboo can bring a scene to life wherever it finds itself.

Yangzhou's artistic potted plants and miniature landscapes differ from those of Suzhou and Hangzhou in that they are exceptionally sturdy, dynamic and resistant to wind and frost. Using deft cutting and binding skills, local horticulturists can train dwarf trees into "knots," "cloud sheets," or "bends" to bring about distinctly varied shapes, but it takes time to train a tree or plant into a potted scenic masterpiece. Pine, cypress, little-leaf box, chrysanthemum, camellia, azalea, plum, bitter orange flower, jasmine, kumquat, orchid, and *hui* orchid[38] are ideal themes for miniature landscapes, which are potted in earth or water, a treatment, indeed, uniquely Yangzhou's own. Yangzhou's sweet flags, which are verdant all year round growing purely in water contained in bowls fashioned out of palm sheaths, are unseen elsewhere, and the potted asters developed by local floriculturists are a fabulous local specialty as well. These potted dwarf trees and miniature landscapes provide ideal finishing touches to a garden's scenery. As artificial mountains in a garden are often set under the foliage of arbours, flowers can

hardly survive in them; this is exactly where potted plants and landscapes come handy to spruce up the scenery. Such an arrangement, in use as early as the Song, can also be applied to a pond; in fact, most lotuses growing in Yangzhou's ponds are potted. Garden horticulture in this country as a whole cannot do without potted plants and miniature landscapes.

The themes for the Yangzhou school of traditional Chinese painting are dominated by flowers, and those commonly seen in Yangzhou's gardens naturally become the prototypes. As local painters wielder their brushes with facility and abandon, flowers leap into many a painting to become celebrated masterpieces, from which one gains some idea about the impact of flowers on Yangzhou gardens. On the other hand, the way local painters graft red upon white, prune and reshape the plants in the pictures composed by them has inspired local horticulturists to improve their skills to some extent. Goldfish in which Yangzhou also abounds, birds that make Yangzhou home, and caged birds bred by locals—these have also contributed immensely to the fascinations of Yangzhou gardens.

To sum up, there are set rules but no hard-and-fast formulae for garden-making. Only through a myriad changes can new conceptions come about one after another. Gardens win with scenery; scenery differs from one garden to another. The secret to their success boils down to high adaptability to circumstances and mutual borrowing of views. Only by judicious view accommodating and borrowing can a garden stand out in distinction. The reason why Yangzhou gardens can become a school in their own right, and why they can entail dainty gracefulness in magnificent bodies—or, in literary jargon, write subtle heartthrobs with a robust brush—is because local crafters through the ages know how to avail themselves of the strengths of southern and northern gardens. Peerless are the gardens of Yangzhou, what with their upright and spacious buildings, solid classical artificial mountains, thoroughly perforated and intricate latticed walls, as well as fairy flowers and grass endowed by nature and bred by local gardeners. Not to mention the artificial mountains, piled up with a broad variety of stones, pieced together and imbedded with numerous smaller stones, with peaks distinguished with different kinds of stones, and the water-less gardens made to look water-rich. These Yangzhou inventions, achieved by putting materials to best use and humouring the circumstances, are still of immense value for garden crafters of today. Their only drawback lies in the lack of changes among their ponds, so much so that they have failed to bring the role of water in permeating the

environment and in interplaying with rockeries and buildings to bring a garden's attractions to sublimity.

Greeneries play a due role in keeping Yangzhou beautiful. Flowers and bamboos are not uncommon even in the city's ordinary courtyards, where tall trees provide much needed shades, and flowering trees, wisteria trellises, potted dwarf trees, miniature landscapes, and a few rocks are brought together to pull off dainty views. All these have long been part of the aboriginal Yangzhou tradition, which helps not only augment local residents' cultural life but also extend the city's greenery acreage.

·Dwellings

The Lu's Mansion, 22 Kangshan Street. Built during the Guangxu reign of the Qing for a whopping sum of seventy thousand taels of silver by Lu Shaoxu, a rich salt merchant from Jiangxi province, the Lu's Mansion is the largest extant classic mansion in Yangzhou. Its gateway is built of finely ground bricks with carvings and graced with a giant screen wall. Facing north behind the front gate is a converse room that sits opposite the main suite in the south. The second gate leading to the main court provides access to two rows of buildings each having a seven-bay hall divided by latticed wooden screens and floor-length lattice windows into three rooms—a three-bay central room and a pair of double-bay wing rooms that serve reception and reading purposes. Large latticed windows are built into walls to screen the central part of the courtyard from two side yards in which a flower bed built of Lake Tai stones is supplemented with trees to create quiet spaces in contrast with the airy and spacious central hall. Further north are two rows of seven-bay lofts which serve as the owner's residence. Behind the halls there are two more rows of five-bay rooms, where guests are lodged. The kitchen in the east is no more. Behind the residence there is the Imagination Garden. By the side of a pond in the northeast of the garden, two rows of buildings, including a study and a library, form an independent zone. A land boat sitting on the eastern shore of the pond is now in ruins. A pavilion with a helmet-shaped rooftop is seen leaning against the garden's southern wall, where a corridor winds its way up to the northern part of the garden. Arbours, most of which are sweet-scented osmanthus trees, occupy the clearances on the premises. Wooden structures in this mansion are all fashioned out of unadorned choice fir shipped in from the Hu-Guang region[39], and all the

interior decoration and furnishing are made of delicately carved *Phoebe nanmu*. Tall and spacious, and magnificent in scale, the Lu's Mansion is representative of the luxury mansions built by rich salt merchants in the final stage of Chinese feudalism.

Wang's Small Garden, 14 Taoist Earth Official's Domain Lane, a mansion of the salt merchant Wang Taijie (1889-1935)[40]. Expanded during the Republican years (1912-1949), it is the most complete of all large mansions in the city. Its buildings are laid out in three columns each containing three rows. The eastern and western parlors are furnished differently. Entrance to the eastern parlor is by a gate made of unadorned and simplistic woven bamboo strips. The parlor is built of cypress, whose interior is furnished with and divided into frontal and posterior parts by latticed screens and a floor-length screen embedded with six pieces of delicate marbles. All the screens are fastidiously carved. South of the parlor is a three-bay building that faces north, with rainwater streaking from an eave to fall on a Lake Tai stone artificial mountain in its court, where wintersweets and macrocephalums are planted. An eastern gate opens the yard onto a tiny clearance which serves the mere purpose to expand the space. A moon gate separates the western parlor from the yard in which there is an artificial mountain and a winding roofed walkway at the end of a boat-shaped verandah overlooking a tiny pool to the east, where a potted miniature landscape placed on a brick platform is reflected in the water. Looking out of the moon gate into the yard from inside the parlor, one sees a picture-perfect scene of well-spaced flowers and trees and rugged rockeries. A latticed wall with a moon gate in it divided the backyard north of the mansion into eastern and western sections; and a latticed screen cuts a six-bay northern parlor in the western section in two parts, with the western part being a three-bay study graced with stained glass windows. Between the study and the corridor in front of it, two crape myrtles arise to form an overhead canopy as if to shield the entire place from sunlight and to make the vistas on both sides look unfathomable. A peony parterre south of the parlor is built of rocks, but the flower deck in the west looks somewhat dull. When people look through the latticed windows and the moon gate built into the partition wall to see the other section, they will be impressed by the mystic, yet spirited quietness of the scene conjured up by way of view borrowing. Residential buildings dominate the mansion's precinct, with the garden itself playing a supplementary role at best. On account of its small size, it is extolled as "A

Small Garden Where Spring Is Deep."

Zhao's Mansion at the Palace of Assisting Transforming Powers[41], 33 Absolute Devotion Lane. The residence of cloth merchant Zhao Haishan consists of three rows of halls and chambers facing south, with the portal and kitchen kept outside of the enclosing wall. Its garden is separated from the dwellings by a tall wall, but can be entered directly from the portal to avoid mutual interference between garden and dwelling. The plane of this building is clearly segmented. There is a three-bay study in the garden's eastward front, which is separated from the back of the mansion with a winding walkway. The spacious size of the two-row parlor in the back of the garden is commensurate with the scale of the residence.

Wei's Mansion on Invincible Street. The former residence of the salt merchant Wei Cigeng is a medium-sized structure with its front gate facing west. Built on an irregular plane, it is cut sharply in two, with dwellings in the rectangular eastern part, and a garden taking up the irregular western part. The dwellings, including the southern rooms facing north, fall into four five-bay rows. The three-bay hall in the center is flanked on either side by a small yard with a suite of rooms inside of it. Such dwelling suites are connected with the living rooms but appear to be independent and free from disturbance. The small yards, in particular, play an efficient role in facilitating daylight and ventilation and in expanding indoor and outdoor spaces. The garden is narrow in its front and wide in its back. Close by the gate in the front part is a room for sundries. Its back is divided into two zones. In the front zone, sitting amidst rockeries, *yulan* magnolias, green parasol trees and a tiny belvedere facing the southeast corner, is the Flute-Playing Terrace, which is actually a hall with windows on all four sides, with its lintel inscribed with the line in Zheng Xie's (1693-1765)[42] handwriting, "Ancient Yangzhou Sung to the Accompaniment of Songs and Flutes." The back zone, serving as foil for the frontal zone, consists of two parts as well, in whose east part a land boat sits by a small belvedere, and a yellow-stone artificial mountain protrudes from a cluster of nandinas and little-leaf boxes at the foot of a latticed wall through which exterior views are subtly visible. Small as this garden is, it seems to have enough room to spare even with two big structures inside of it thanks to its latticed wall, which brings depth to the space while cutting the garden into sections that borrow each other's views—a method that is often used to handle empty space beside a house.

Liu's Residence, a small affair at 23 Abundant Benevolence Lane. Inside

its front gate facing east, a row of rooms facing west sits in line with its portal, with a tall wall in front of it, and a narrow courtyard atrium helps ward the house off the scorching sun in summer and the frigid high wind in winter. With its wide open doors and windows, the residence receives plenty of cool breeze in summer despite its narrow space and tall wall. Behind the wall there is a south-facing hall three rows deep, with a secret room contained in the suite of rooms in the last row. Through a moon gate in the latticed wall beside the hall, one sees a parlor inside a small yard where rockeries and flowers and trees are arranged. This residence's architecture design is a good example in making flexible use of a piece of land oriented eastward.

Jia's Residence at Greater Armed City Lane, which was in the possession of Jia Yuan[43], a salt merchant during the Guangxu reign of the Qing. Its gate opens to the east, while its two columns of halls face south. The halls in its eastern part are ingeniously designed, each having a courtyard garden in which the parterres are planted with flowers and bamboos, and a pond and rocks are put together to form a tiny scenery encircled by a covered walkway whose walls sport sparsely latticed windows. Tidy and refreshing is the whole scene. There was a garden to the west of the residence, but it is in ruins today.

Toiler's Garden at Abundant Benevolence Lane was the mansion of Zhou Yifu. Entering the estate from its east gateway, one sees a row of rooms that face west, a common arrangement in handling a lot that faces east in Yangzhou. These rooms are part of a quadrangle that features a south-facing hall, eastern and western corridors, and a north-facing converse room. West of the hall is a parlor with a half-pavilion at its entrance and a study opposite it. The space south of the hall is divided up with a latticed wall, with a clearance about a foot wide left empty to form an imaginative scenery. An old flowering osmanthus drapes its boughs over the latticed wall, so that when autumn sets in, the courtyard is drenched in its fragrance, making one feel as if he were roving a realm heady with airy-fairy aroma. (The flowering osmanthus must be encircled with walls to retain its fragrance.) The back of the hall is opened in the west to a moon gate whose lintel is inscribed with the name of the property, "Toiler's Garden" centered upon a fish pond with a zigzagging bridge over it and a tiny pavilion by the side. With interior décor fashioned out of unadorned gingko wood, the parlor looks clean and elegant, and the ground in the front is paved smooth and level with mosaic white stones. Dwellings take up only a small portion of this property, and, as a

result of repeated expansions, more space is devoted to greenery that brings manifold changes to the environment.

Hanhou's Hut, 7 Ornamental Stone Archway, used to be the residence of Wu Tingyang (1799-1870)[44] during the Daoguang reign of the Qing. Its northern front gate opens into a courtyard, and its southern quadrangle is reached by way of a fire lane in the western end of the courtyard. In what is a typical Yangzhou way of handling north-facing houses, the main house is made to face side houses in the oblong courtyard paved all over with stone slabs.

Gourd Hut, 211 Sweet Spring Road, built by the capitalist Lu Dianhu (1876-1936)[45] in early Republican years. By way of a west gate one enters its south-facing main hall whose southern end serves as the parlor. A yellow-stone parterre lies north of the main hall, and a Lake Tai stone rockery stands amidst luxuriant verdure south of it. A verandah to the right of the mountain is reflected clearly in the serene water of a pond whilst plantains' swaying shadows caress the windows. Beyond the western gate at the northern end stands a yellow-stone rockery, where a road threads through a door and conducts to the back of the main hall. In the eastern part of the residence, a winding walkway and a latticed wall run across a ground the shape of a carpenter's square. The southeast corner of the small pond is occupied by a square pavilion. A three-bay verandah on the other side of the pond is reachable by the walkway; though small, it looks compact in a subdued way. This residence is a good example of a south-facing main hall with a west-facing gate and an irregular-shaped lot for the design of a residence.

A compound at Ding Family Cove in which two residences—one in the east and the other in the west—share the same gateway. The eastern residence is a three-sided courtyard where a latticed wall divides its atrium in two, and all the rooms on the premises cover two bays. The western residence contains two three-sided courtyards each having two rows of differently aligned three-bay rooms. This type of residence makes it easy to adapt the plane to the lie of the land and provides plenty of leeway for space segmentation purposes.

Facing south at 2 Buffalo-Ridge Well is one of the smallest old residences in Yangzhou. Behind its front gate is a three-bay hall that forms a quadrangle together with two wing rooms and a north-oriented converse room on the southern side. The kitchen is found outside of the residence in what is a fundamental layout for residences in the Yangzhou tradition.

Present-day urban Yangzhou is encircled by the Grand Canal, while the Lesser Qinhuai River flows through the North City Gate to cut the municipality in two parallel sections: New City and Old City, whereas the Wenhe River runs parallel to the Lesser Qinhuai through Old City from south to north. Because these waterways run along straight courses, urban Yangzhou's roads and buildings are distributed in a fairly regular pattern. The Cross Avenue, which consists of an east-west road and a south-north road, provides thoroughfares to all four directions that are joined vertically by lanes and alleyways, a road pattern which is even more pronounced in Old City. Similar to the *hutongs* in Beijing, lanes in Yangzhou are numerically serialized. The layout of New City is somewhat in disorder due partly to the presence of a host of rich merchants and powerful bureaucrats' mansions and partly to a boom of modern commercial buildings, a disorder in which the impact of the cities in the Jiangnan area is keenly felt. Bay Street in New City, for example, becomes a shortcut because it functions like one of the slanting streets of Beijing. Quite a few streets are entangled with narrow alleyways, resulting in some "dead ends." However, despite its seemingly complicated structure, urban Yangzhou's road system is by and large orderly as it follows its own arteries and veins. In bygone years entrance to the city's large lanes was by archways that are a salient feature of urban neighborhoods in both north and south China.

Yangzhou's classical dwellings are adapted with a fair degree of flexibility to the direction of the street or lane in which they are located, and their interiors are labyrinthine and replete with changes. They usually face south, or at least have their north gates face south, because most of them are located in lanes and alleyways that run east and west. There are also houses that run south and north whose owners' favor for the southern orientation has given rise to houses whose main rooms face south and whose gates face east or west. The general gateway is a good invention with which a cluster of medium-sized or small houses with different floor plans can be enclosed to form an integral whole that allows for changes in its interiors. Such a gated community, concealing small units in large ones and bringing odds and ends of space into order, not only gives families a sense of security but also helps maintain a clanbased lifestyle, not to mention its contribution to keeping the city clean and tidy.

Many large and medium-sized mansions are still there in urban Yangzhou today. They are supplemented with gardens and courtyards of

different sizes, which provide ample greenery to neighborhoods and brings about a cosy living environment.

The layout of such a dwelling generally takes the shape of a courtyard, and its centerpiece is a three-bay hall, but five-bay ones are not uncommon. As *Notes on Sections of Construction Projects* puts it,

> If a hall has five bays, a floor-length window or an overhanging latticed screen ought to be set up to demarcate its wing rooms, so that despite having five bays, it looks like a three-bay structure. Hence the term, a "house that looks like three-bayed but actually contains five bays."

There are also halls having four or two bays, depending on the floor space of their foundations. There are also seven-bay halls, but they are actually a combination of a three-bay parlor and two two-bay wing rooms, like the one in the Lu's Mansion on Kangshan Street. A side lane, known as "fire lane," is built by the side of a large or medium-sized residence for female family members and servants entering or exiting the estate, but if a large residence has more than two "fire lanes," they become its main roads. The "fire lane" in a Yangzhou dwelling is more airy and straight than a Suzhou home's "avoidance lane." Known commonly as "auxiliary lane," according to Wen Zhenheng's *On Superfluous Things* (Volume One) such a lane serves to make the dwellers believe they are taking a tidy and clean road. Of all such lanes, the one in the Gong's Cangzhou Estate at Easterly Violet Rays Lane is the widest, so wide that it allows people to enter or leave the property in sedan chairs.

The halls fall into five types: firstly, those which are singlerow deep and have no wing rooms, nicknamed "Oldie's Head"; secondly, those attached on either side to a wing room to assume a carpenter's-square plan; thirdly, three-bay halls with wing rooms on both ends to form a three-sided courtyard; fourthly, those having wing rooms on both sides and a converse room to form a quadrangle; and fifthly, those without wing rooms but having an opposite hall. However, those three-bay halls with wing rooms attached on both sides, and those quadrangles, with corridors in four directions, high and spacious enough for horses to trot through, are called "Lofts Strung Together." Generally speaking, such a structure consists of a big hall in the front and an internal hall in the rear that contains the master's three-bay suite (two bedrooms with a sitting room), according to *Notes on Sections of Construction Projects*. A wing suite or secret room is often attached to the master's suite, such as the one in the Liu's Residence at Abundant Benevolence Lane.

The hall usually has a side door with a triangular top, an octagonal gate,

or a moon gate that allows access to the parlor or study. Auxiliary buildings like the kitchen, the sundries room and the servants' dormitories are kept outside the wall to free the master's dwelling area from disturbance—an arrangement that reflects the class gap in feudal society. The numbers of suites and secret rooms are determined by the layout's degree of complexity. More twists and turns mean more such suites and rooms. *Notes on Sections of Construction Projects* has this to say,

> Most halls consist of three bays, and those with five bays invariably contain eastern and western wing rooms. Known as "flatlet," such a wing room belongs in such categories as secret room, double room, attached room, or boudoir.…

A tiny yard with a parterre in it is often found in the front of such a suite to provide comfort in everyday life by allowing in refreshing cool air in summer and warding off frigid wind in winter. In old days such arrangements were agreeable to the secluded dwellings of Yangzhou. The study can be as small as one or two bays, or has three bays so that it is large enough to double as a parlor, and in front of it there invariably are rockery, pond, flowers and trees and bamboos, or at least a parterre or herbaceous peony nursery to bring about a quiet and clean ambience. A dwelling with south-facing main rooms and an eastern or western gate has secondary rooms for book-keepers, private school or sundries by the side of its portal. The narrow courtyard atrium in front of such rooms is used only to block sunlight and facilitate ventilation. Entrance to a residence with a north-facing front gate is by a "fire lane" that connects with the south-facing main house in the front.

A screen wall stands opposite the front gate of a medium-sized or large residence in Yangzhou in compliance with its owner's official or royal rank. A high-ranking screen wall features a splayed plane in the shape of the Chinese character "八"; a lower-rank one takes the plane of the Chinese character "一"; and a screen wall of the lowest rank is "built" by drawing the likeness of a square screen wall on the back wall of the opposite house belonging to another family. A luxurious screen wall, like the one in front of the Geyuan's Garden, is surfaced with finely ground bricks and engraved with bas-relief patterns, and the Chinese character "福" is embedded in the center. The exterior wall of such a residence is built of shale bricks, but finely ground bricks are put together seam to seam on elaborate ones. The gate towers are also built of bricks and ornamented with bas-relief brick carvings, while sumptuous portals assume the shape of the Chinese character "八," and feature corbel brackets and a caisson ceiling, like the front gate of the Kettle Garden at Eastern Loop Gate. Even ordinary gate towers can look compact

and sprightly when surfaced with finely ground bricks. By the way, brick engraving is one of the eight engraving crafts for which Yangzhou are famous along with engravings on ivory, wood, stone, bamboo, lacquerware, jade, and porcelain.

Front gates, lacquered black and flanked by a red inscribed couplet, hinge on richly engraved stone gate piers whose sizes are determined by the rank of the dwellers. Rooftops consist of two slopes topped with a striking ridge built of tiles in latticed patterns, which, therefore, set off the gable walls with traceries running up and down their tops. Sometimes a row of latticed windows are opened in the upper part of the enclosing wall so that treetops and rattans and vines can be espied behind it and views in the neighborhood brought to life, which adds vivacity to the lane's vista.

The front gate opens onto a screen wall, brick-engraved with the likeness of a village god's shrine that looks so lifelike and in such accord with the gateway that it naturally becomes the most eye-catching part of the inner screen wall. The ground inside the courtyard is paved with bricks or stones. The second gate is similar to the front gate in both shape and specification. The main hall, tall and roomy, is propped up on a framework built of unadorned fir of the choicest type, but *Phoebe nanmu*, cypress, or spinulose tree fern described in the *Notes on Sections of Construction Projects,* are used on the halls of large mansions. The timber for such purposes is sometimes polished to look smoother and more well-rounded. Such giant wooden frames, deliberately kept simple to shun ostentation, are in accord with the style of the walls built of shale bricks.

The portal of a hall is decorated with flying eaves. Floor-length latticed windows are used on the central room, and detachable windows on side or wing rooms. But the windows in such rooms built in a later period are replaced with lattice ones on a short wall between two columns. The central part of an inner hall or parlor has only a pair of floor-length windows flanked by detachable windows. If the wall under the lattice windows of a storied hall is replaced with a balustrade, wooden plates are furnished to be removed in summer to improve ventilation. An internal yard is often divided with a latticed wall, and a gate is opened in the wall to facilitate traffic.

The ratio between a courtyard's length and the height of buildings in it is 1:1 to insure enough sunlight indoors in Yangzhou dwellings. In summer days, an overhead mat-awning is erected in the courtyard to provide cooling shade while the front and back gates and windows are kept open to let in the

refreshing wind, but the breeze drifting through the gate in the wall feels a lot cooler. In winter, the gate is shut up so that when the stairway is bathed in sunshine, the dwellers will be warded off the subfreezing winter. Latticed walls and multiple layers of doors also add to the spaciousness and depth of the courtyard, so that small residences do not appear cramped for space and large ones do not appear deserted and empty. Thus aesthetic effects are achieved under the premise that all the needed functions are amply provided. The courtyard containing the central hall is invariably sidelong and sometimes features two wings or corridors designed to accentuate the position of the central hall. The internal halls in the second row have wing rooms and are situated in a square court. Their depths are usually shallower than those in south Jiangsu; some of them have no windows on their northern walls to keep the interior cool and cosy in summer and to prolong the warmth of the sunlight let in from southern windows in winter.

Indoor spaces should be kept at once apart and combined, twisted and turned moderately, and deployed flexibly to make those staying indoors feel that there is always a lot of room to spare. Thus the parlor must be segmented with overhanging latticed screens or floor-length windows to yield spaces that are at once attached and detached, that can be scaled up and down, and that are packed with changes while the main ones are clearly told apart from the minor ones. Examples like these are found in the Toiler's Garden at Abundant Benevolence Lane and the Wang's Small Garden at Taoist Earth Official's Domain Lane. The central hall in a large and deep residence may feature two flying frontal eaves, like the one in the Lu's Mansion on Kangshan Street. An inner room is both joined and disjoined with side rooms, and is separated from wing rooms with overhanging latticed screens or floor-length windows. The overhanging screen in most cases forms a round hollow in the middle and is exquisitely crafted, and sometimes covered with patterned gauze.

The interior of a study can also be segmented flexibly. All the halls go without ceilings or rough-frame superstructures (double roofs), but ceilings may be fixed in residential rooms. Round ridge may also be built inside a parlor. All the ground indoors are covered with square bricks whose four corners are propped up on as many overturned bowls so that the floors are elevated by one inch or so[see *On Superfluous Things* (Volume One)], and the hollow between floor and ground is filled in with yellow sand. Finely ground bricks are erected edgewise to keep the floor flat and off subterranean

dampness. If such a brick floor is built in a bedroom, it is covered with a mobile wooden floor on legs in winter to keep warm and reduce the net height of the interior. In a posh loft, a raised brick floor is paved on rooms upstairs, with a removable wooden floor added to it to soften the noise of footsteps—a method that tallies with the saying in *On Superfluous Things* (Volume One) that walking in such a loft is "no different than [walking] in a single-story house." Such floors, of course, appear only in high-grade classical residences; those built in later periods are all covered with ordinary floors.

The interior and exterior walls are all built solidly of bricks. Baked shale bricks are ideal for posh residences, while tightly budgeted houses can also put on a tidy appearance by putting together bricks of miscellaneous sizes with mortar. The corners of exterior walls are cut off up to man's average height for traffic convenience. A corridor's walls are partly white-washed, while wooden wainscots are used to cover its internal walls, with bricks' original color preserved on other parts. A courtyard atrium is usually floored with square or rectangular bricks made to lie flatly or stand edgewise, but it can also be paved with stone plates in cracked-ice patterns, large square marble slabs or stone plates from Gaozi in Zhenjiang. Column plinths come as thin as an ancient mirror, but block stones are also used in buildings dating back to the Ming and early Qing periods. In large residences, "stone drums" are used, some of which are fixed on a stone base in the shape of an overturned basin; such "drums" and "bases" are made of Gaozi stone or marble as well.

All the columns in Yangzhou's mansions are straight ones. The capitals of extant pillars in Ming mansions are rounded off in entasis to look thick and sturdy, with a 1:9 ratio between diameter and height, like the one in the central hall of the Mao's Residence at Greater East Gate, but it ranges between 1:10 and 1:16 for most of those available today. The alignment of columns is identical to the saying in *Notes on Sections of Construction Projects* that the central column does not exist in halls but can be seen in dwellings. A full-length horizontal tablet or architrave is used in the central room of a hall, with two central bay columns removed in order that the view of the audience watching a performance onstage is not blocked.

The timber for building beam frames comes in three styles: firstly, oblong timber popular in south Jiangsu; secondly, straight and round timber popular in Yangzhou; thirdly, something between the crescent beam and the

straight beam, made by rounding off the lower part of both ends of a straight beam in entasis, a structure that seems to come about under the influence of the Anhui tradition of architecture. Of these three styles, the second is representative of the Yangzhou style. The only example of it is found in the Wu's House at Down North River Street, which is wrought by an artisan from Ningbo, Zhejiang province, by using a sturdy log as the beam, with the mortise and tenon at the joints axed and chiselled with perfect precision. The beam frame in an ordinary hall consists of a five-purlin beam between the front and back columns, with short columns placed on it, and then a three-purlin beam and a small pillar are installed. However, square beams and underboarding are not used under the purlins, which should be a northern Jiangsu invention because it does not tally with the instruction in *Notes on Sections of Construction Projects*, and therefore is somewhat flawed in structure. Some parlors have six sets of round ridges with stairway-shaped gable walls round in the upper part. Some luxury halls are fixed with square pillars and beams, which belong to the "square hall" type illustrated in the *Notes on Sections of Construction Projects*. Round ridges over the façade of the building generally have rafters curving into the shape of crabapple flowers, water caltrops, or a crane's neck, but most of such rafters are in the shape of a boat awning. Rough-frame superstructure is only used occasionally.

The balustrades of the Yangzhou tradition are relatively tall, and their lattices are of the shaped reel pattern surrounded with convex moldings. The concise hanging fascias under the eaves are set in tune with the elevation of the entire building. Rooftop tiles are paved on top of sheathing tiles, and the tile ends for ornamental and drainage purposes become thick and sturdy. Ends of arched tiles are longer in the lower part and those of plate tiles are raised in the upper part.

Insofar as water supply is concerned, there is at least one well in every urban dwelling in Yangzhou except for those homes that draw water from the Lesser Qinghuai River and the Wenhe River. Such wells are found in courtyards, in front of kitchens, inside gardens, or in "fire lanes," There are also "hidden" wells indoors, which refers to wells without brandriths. Public wells are available in almost every neighborhood. Brick arches are built into the lower part of the walls beside wells (those in Hangzhou and Shaoxing are lined with vertical stone plates) to prevent the wall from sinking or caving in, which is something seldom seen elsewhere. In addition to washing and

drinking, well water is also reserved for fire prevention purposes, and rainwater is also preserved in vats placed under the eaves to meet the same needs. Underground shafts are built in courtyards to connect with sewages outside the front doors. Fish bowls are placed in ponds for wintering golden fish.

Neat, tidy and thriving dwelling buildings have impacted the cityscape of Yangzhou to a certain degree. Few old cities in China can match Yangzhou's sheer number of methodically laid out residential quarters. Such dwellings are bright, clean and quiet, with large ones containing small ones that are integrated or separated with facility. In handling spaces, due attention is paid to segmenting courtyards and grouping wide and narrow spaces, and sunlight and ventilation problems are addressed efficiently. Buildings large and small come in proper proportions and allocated proportionately, and floor spaces are economically deployed for the comfort of dwellers and to the delight of visitors. The plan of every dwelling is adapted to the environment and arranged cleverly. Every building is made to face south no matter in what direction a particular terrain is facing; every dwelling has its spaces well grouped to meet various functional needs no matter how large or small its lot is. Their architectural precepts are a hybrid of southern and northern styles, with emphasis on polish and order. So much for the characteristics of traditional dwellings in the Yangzhou tradition.

The gardens and residences of Yangzhou are of uttermost values to the history of Chinese architecture. I believe that garden crafters of today could learn a lot from the achievements of the local labouring people in garden construction in ancient times.[46]

扬州园林与住宅

扬州是一个历史悠久的古城，很早以来就多次出现繁华景象，成为我国经济最为富裕的地方；物质基础的丰厚，为扬州文化艺术的发展创造了有利的条件。表现在园林与住宅方面，也有其独特的成就和风格。

试从历史的发展来看，公元前486年周敬王三十四年，吴王夫差在扬州筑邗城，并开凿河道，东北通射阳湖，西北至末口入淮，用以运粮。这是扬州建城的开始和“邗沟”得名的由来。扬州由于地处江淮要冲，自春秋末便成为我国东南地区的政治军事重地之一。从经济条件来说，鱼、盐、工农业等各种生产事业都很发达，同时又是全国粮食、盐、铁等的主要集散地之一；隋唐以后更是我国对外文化联络和对外贸易的主要港埠。这些都奠定了扬州趋向繁荣的物质基础。

隋唐时代的扬州，是极其重要而富庶的地方。从隋文帝（杨坚）统一南北以后，江淮的富源得到了繁荣的机会，扬州位于江淮的中心，自然也就很快地兴盛起来。其后隋炀帝（杨广）恣意寻欢作乐来到扬州，又大兴土木，建造离宫别馆。虽然这时的扬州开始呈现了空前的繁荣，却不能使扬州的富庶得到真正的发展。但是隋炀帝时所开凿的运河，则又使扬州成为掌握南北水路交通的枢纽，为以后的经济繁荣提供了有利的条件。在建筑技术上，由于统治阶级派遣来的北方匠师，与江南原有的匠师在技术上得到了交流与融合，更大大地推进了日后扬州建筑的发展。唐朝的诗人杜牧曾用“谁知竹西路，歌吹是扬州”的诗句来歌咏扬州的繁荣。

早在南北朝时期（公元420—589年），宋人徐湛之在平山堂下建有风亭、月观、吹台、琴室等。到唐朝贞观年间（公元627—649年），有裴谌的樱桃园，已具有“楼台重复、花木鲜秀”的境界，而郝氏园还要超过它。但唐末都受到了破坏。宋时有郡圃、丽芳园、壶春园、万花园等，多水木之胜。金军南下，扬州受到较大的破坏。正如南宋姜夔于淳熙三年（公元1176年）《扬州慢》词上所诵：“自胡马窥江去后，废池乔木，犹厌言兵。渐黄昏，清角吹寒，都在空城。”同时宋金时期，运河已经阻塞，至元初漕运不得不改换海道，扬州的经济就不如过去繁荣了。元代仅有平野轩、崔伯亨园等二三例记载。明代初叶运河经过整修，又成为南北交通的动脉，扬州也重新成了两淮区域盐的集散地。明中叶后由于资本主义经济的萌芽，城市更趋繁荣，除盐业以外，其他的商业与手工业也都获得了发展。到十七八世纪的清代，扬州的经济，在表面上可说是到了最繁荣的时期。这种繁荣实际上是封建统治阶级穷奢极侈、腐化堕落、消极颓唐、享乐寻欢的具体表现，而扬州的劳动人

民，却以他们的勤劳与智慧，创造了独特的园林建筑艺术，为我国古代文化遗产作出了一定的贡献。

明代中叶以后，扬州的商人，以徽商居多，其后赣（江西）商、湖广（湖南、湖北）商、粤（广东）商等亦接踵而来。他们与本地商人共同经营了商业，所获得的大量资金，并没有积累起来从事再生产。除了花费在奢侈的生活之外，又大规模地建筑园林和住宅。由于水路交通的便利，随着徽商的到来，又来了徽州的建筑匠师，使徽州的建筑手法融合在扬州建筑艺术之中。各地的建筑材料，及附近香山（苏州香山）匠师，更由于舟运畅通源源到达扬州，使扬州建筑艺术更为增色。在园林方面，如明万历年间（公元1573—1619年）太守吴秀所筑的梅花岭，叠石为山，周以亭台。明末清初郑氏兄弟（元嗣、元勋、元化、侠如）的四处大园林——影园（元勋）、休园（侠如）、嘉树园（元化）、五亩之园（元嗣），不论在园的面积上及造园艺术上都很突出。影园是著名造园家吴江计成的作品，园主郑元勋因受匠师的熏陶，亦粗解造园之术。这时的士大夫就是那样“寄情”于山水，而匠师们却在平原的扬州叠石凿池，以有限的空间构成无限的景色，建造了那“宛自天开”的园林。这些给后来清乾隆时期（公元1736—1795年）的大规模兴建园林，在技术上奠定了基础。清兵南下，这些建筑受到了极大的破坏，只有从现存的几处楠木大厅，尚能看到当时建筑手法的片断。

清初，统治阶级在扬州建有王洗马园、卞园、员园、贺园、冶春园、南园、郑御史园、篠园等，号称八大名园。乾隆时因高宗（弘历）屡次“南巡”，为了满足尽情享乐的欲望，便大事建筑亭、台、阁、园【从周案五】。扬州的绅商们想争宠于皇室，达到升官发财的目的，也大事修建园林。自瘦西湖至平山堂一带，更是“两堤花柳全依水，一路楼台直到山”。有二十四景之称，并著名于世。所以李斗《扬州画舫录》卷六中引刘大观言：“杭州以湖山胜，苏州以市肆胜，扬州以园林胜，三者鼎峙，不可轩轾”，洵至论也。清朝的统治阶级正利用这种“南巡”的机会进行搜刮，美其名为“报效”。商人也在盐中“加价”，继而又“加耗”。皇帝还从中取利，在盐中提成，名“提引”。皇帝又发官款借给商人，生息取利，称为“帑利”。日久以后，“官盐”价格日高，商人对盐民的剥削日益加重，而广大人民的吃盐也更加困难。封建的官商，凭着搜刮剥削得来的资金，不惜任意挥霍，争建大型园林与住宅，做了控制它命运的主人。封建社会的统治阶级与豪绅富贾，以这种动机和企图来对待劳动人民所造成的园林作品，自然使这些园林蕴藏着难以久长的因素。这时期的园林兴造之风，正如《扬州画舫录》谢溶生序文中说：“增假山而作陇，家家住青翠城闉；开止水以为渠，处处是烟波楼阁。”流风所及，形成了一种普遍造园的风气。因此除瘦西湖上的园林外，如天宁寺

的行宫御花园、法净寺的东西园、盐运署的题襟馆、湖南会馆的棣园，以及九峰园、乔氏东园、秦氏意园、小玲珑山馆等，都很著名。其他如祠堂、书院、会馆，下至餐馆、妓院、浴室等，也都模拟叠石引水，栽花种竹了。这种庭院内略加点缀的风气，似乎已成为建筑中不可缺少的部分。

从整个社会来看，乾隆以后，清朝的统治开始动摇，同时中国两千年的长期封建社会，也走向下坡，清帝就不再敢“南巡”了。国内的阶级矛盾与民族矛盾，正酝酿着大规模的斗争，西方资本主义的浪潮日益紧逼，从而动摇了封建社会的基础。到嘉庆时，扬州盐商日渐衰落。鸦片战争后，继以《江宁条约》五口通商，津浦铁路筑成，同时海上交通又日趋发达，扬州在经济、交通上便失去了其原有的地位。早在道光十四年（公元1834年），阮元作《扬州画舫录跋》，道光十九年（公元1839年）又作《后跋》，历述他所看见的衰败现象，已到了“楼台荒废难留客，林木飘零不禁樵”的地步，比太平天国军于1853年攻克扬州还早十九年。由此可见，过去的许多记载，把瘦西湖一带园林毁坏的责任，硬加于农民革命军身上，显然是错误的。咸丰、同治以后，扬州已呈时兴时衰的“回光返照”状态，所谓“繁荣”只是靠镇压太平天国革命起家的官僚富商，在苟延残喘的清朝统治政权的末期，粉饰太平而已。民国以后，由于“盐票”的取消，盐商无利可图，坐吃山空，因而都以拆屋售料、拆山售石为生。园林与大型住宅渐趋破坏【从周案六】。

扬州位于我国南北之间，在建筑上有其独特的成就与风格，是研究我国传统建筑的一个重要地区。很明显，扬州的建筑是北方“官式”建筑与江南民间建筑两者之间的一种介体。这与清帝“南巡”、四商杂处、交通畅达等有关，但主要的还是匠师技术的交流。清道光间钱泳的《履园丛话》卷十二载：“造屋之工，当以扬州为第一。如作文之有变换，无雷同，虽数间小筑，必使门窗轩豁，曲折得宜……盖厅堂要整齐如台阁气象，书斋密室要参差如园亭布置，兼而有之，方称妙手。”在装修方面，也同样考究，据同书卷十二载：“周制之法，唯扬州有之。明末有周姓者始创此法，故名周制。”北京圆明园的重要装修，就是采用“周制”之法，由扬州“贡”去的【从周案七】。其他名匠谷丽成、成烈等，都精于宫室装修。姚蔚池、史松乔、文起、徐履安、黄晟、黄履暹兄弟（履昊、履昂）等，对于建筑及布置方面都有不同造诣。又据《扬州画舫录》卷二记载：“扬州以名园胜，名园以垒石胜。”在叠石方面，名手辈出，明清两代有叠影园山的计成，叠万石园、片石山房的石涛，叠白沙翠竹江村石壁的张涟，叠怡性堂宣石山的仇好石，叠九狮山的董道士，叠秦氏小盘谷的戈裕良，以及王天于【从周案八】、张国泰等。晚近有叠萃园、怡庐、匏庐、蔚圃和冶春等的余继之。他们有的是当地人，有的是

客居扬州的。在叠山技术方面，他们互相交流，互相推敲，都各具有独特的造诣，在扬州留下了不少的艺术作品，使我国叠山艺术得到了进一步的提高。

关于扬州园林及建筑的记述，除通志、府志、县志记载外，尚有清乾隆间的《南巡盛典》《江南胜迹》《行宫图说》《名胜园亭图说》，程梦星《扬州名园记》《平山堂小志》，汪应庚《平山揽胜志》，赵之璧《平山堂图志》，李斗《扬州画舫录》，以及稍后的阮亨《广陵名胜图记》，钱泳《履园丛话》，道光间骆在田《扬州名胜图》，和晚近王振世《扬州览胜录》，董玉书《芜城怀旧录》等，而尤以《扬州画舫录》记载最为详实，其中《工段营造录》一卷，取材于《大清工部工程做法则例》与《圆明园则例》，旁征博引，有历来谈营造所不及之处。

扬州位于长江下游北岸，与镇江隔江对峙，南濒大江，北负蜀冈，西有扫垢山，东沿运河，就地势而论，较为平坦，西北略高而东南稍低。土壤大体可分两类：西北山丘地区属含钙的黏土；东南为冲积平原，地属砂积土；地面上则多瓦砾层。扬州气候属北温带，为亚热带的渐变地区。夏季最高平均温度在30℃左右，冬季最低平均温度在1—2℃。因为离海很近，夏季有海洋风，所以较为凉爽，冬季则略寒冷。土壤冻结深度一般为10—15厘米，年降雨量一般都在1000毫米以上。属季候风区域，夏季多东风，冬季多东北风。常年的主导风向为东北风。在台风季节，还受到一定的台风影响。

扬州的自然环境，既具有平坦的地势、温和的气候、充沛的雨量以及较好的土质，有利于劳动生产与生活；又地处交通的中心，商业发达，因此历来便成为繁荣的所在，促进了建筑的发展。不过在这样的自然条件下，以建筑材料而论，扬州仍然是缺乏木材与石料的，因此大都仰给于外地。在官僚富商的住宅与园林中，更出现了珍贵的建筑材料，如楠木、紫檀、红木、花梨、银杏、大理石、高资石、太湖石、灵璧石、宣石等。

当时扬州园林与住宅的分布，比较集中在城区，而最大的建筑又多在新城部分。按其发展情况，过去旧城居住者为士大夫与一般市民，而新城则多盐商。清中叶前，盐商多萃集在东关街一带，如小玲珑山馆、寿芝园（个园前身）、百尺梧桐阁、约园与后来的逸圃等。较晚的有地官第的汪氏小苑、紫气东来巷的沧州别墅等，亦与此相邻。同时又渐渐扩展到花园巷南河下一带，如秋声馆、随月读书楼、片石山房、棣园、小盘谷、寄啸山庄等。这些园林与住宅的四周都筑有高墙，外观多半与江南的城市面貌相似。旧城部分建筑，一般较低小，但坊巷排列却很整齐，还保留了苏北地区朴素的地方风格。这是与居住者的经济基础分不开的。较好的居住区，总是水陆交通便利，接近盐运署和商业地区。

目前扬州城区还保存得比较完整的园林，大小尚有三十处。具有典型性的，要推片石山房、个园、寄啸山庄、小盘谷、逸圃、余园、怡庐和蔚圃等。住宅为数尚多，如卢宅、汪宅、赵宅、魏宅等，皆为不同类型的代表。

·园林

片石山房一名“双槐园”，在新城花园巷何芷舠宅内，初系吴家龙的别业，后属吴辉谟【从周案九】。今尚存假山一丘，相传为石涛手笔，誉为石涛叠山的“人间孤本”。假山南向，从平面看来是一座横长形的倚墙山。西首以今存气势来看，应为主峰，迎风耸翠，奇峭迎人，俯临着水池。人们从飞梁（用一块石造成的桥）经过石磴，有腊梅一株，枝叶扶苏，曲折地沿着石壁可登临峰顶。峰下筑正方形的石室（用砖砌）两间，所谓片石山房就是指此石室说的。向东山石蜿蜒，下面筑有石洞，很是幽深，运石浑成，仿佛天然形成。可惜洞西的假山已倾倒，山上的建筑物也不存在，无法看到它的原来全貌了。这种布局的手法，大体上还继承了明代叠山的惯例，不过重点突出，使主峰与山洞都更为显著罢了。全局的主次分明，虽然地形不大，布置却很自然，疏密适当，片石峥嵘，很符合片石山房的这个名字的含义。扬州叠山以运用小料见长。石涛曾经叠过万石园，想来便是运用高度的技巧，将小石拼镶而成。在堆叠片石山房之前，石涛对石材同样进行了周密的选择，以石块的大小，石纹的横直，分别组合摹拟成真山形状；还运采了他画论上的“峰与皴合，皴自峰生”（见石涛《苦瓜和尚画语录》）的道理，叠成“一峰突起，连冈断堑，变幻顷刻，似续不续”（见石涛《苦瓜小景》题辞）的章法。因此虽高峰深洞，却一点没有人工斧凿痕迹，显出皴法的统一，全局紧凑，虚实对比有方。按《履园丛话》卷二十：“扬州新城花园巷，又有片石山房者。二厅之后，湫以方池，池上有太湖石山子一座，高五六丈，甚奇峭，相传为石涛和尚手笔。其地系吴氏旧宅，后为一媒婆所得，以开面馆，兼为卖戏之所，改造大厅房，仿佛京师前门外戏园式样，俗不可耐。”据以上的记载与志书所记，地址是相符合的，两厅今尚存一座，面阔三间的楠木厅，它的建筑年代当在乾隆年间。山旁还存有走马楼（川楼），池虽被填没，可是根据湖石驳岸的范围考寻，尚能想象到旧时水面的情况。假山所用湖石，与记载亦能一致。山峰高出园墙，它的高度和书上记载的相若，顶部今已有颓倾。至于叠山之妙，独峰依云，秀映清池，确当得起“奇峭”二字。石壁、磴道、山洞，三者最是奇绝。石涛叠山的方法，给后世影响很大，而以嘉道年间的戈裕良最为杰出。戈氏的叠山法，据《履园丛话》卷十二：“……只

将大小石钩带联络，如造环桥法，可以千年不坏。要如真山洞壑一般，然后方称能事。”苏州的环秀山庄、常熟的燕园，与已毁的扬州秦氏意园小盘谷是他叠的，前两处今都保存了这种钩带联络的做法。

个园在东关街，是清嘉庆、道光间盐商两淮商总黄应泰（至筠）所筑。应泰别号个园，园内又植竹万竿，所以题名个园。据刘凤诰所撰《个园记》，园系就寿芝园旧址重筑。寿芝园原来叠石，相传为石涛所叠，但没有可靠的根据，或许因园中的黄石假山，气势有似安徽的黄山；石涛喜画黄山景，就附会是他的作品了。个园原来范围较现存要大些。现今住宅部分经维修后，仅存留中路与东路，大门及门屋已毁，照壁上的砖刻很精工。住宅各三进。正路大厅明间（当中的一间），减去两根“平柱”，这样它的开间就敞大了，应该说是当时为了兼作观戏之用才这样处理的。每进厅旁，都有套房小院，各院中置不同形式的花坛，竹影花香，十分幽静。园林在住宅的背面，从“火巷”（屋边小弄）中进入；有一株老干紫藤，浓荫深郁，人们到此便能得到一种清心悦目的感觉。往前左转达复道廊（两层的游廊），迎面左右有两个花坛，满植修竹，竹间放置了参差的石笋，用一真一假的处理手法，象征着春日山林。竹后花墙正中开一月洞门，上面题额是“个园”。门内为桂花厅，前面栽植丛桂，后面凿池，北面沿墙建楼七间，山连廊接，木映花承，登楼可鸟瞰全园。池的西面原有二舫，名“鸳鸯”。与此隔水相对耸立着六角亭。亭倒映池中，清澈如画。楼西叠湖石假山，名“秋云”（黄石秋山对景，故云），秀木繁阴，有松如盖。山下池水流入洞谷，渡过曲桥，有洞如屋，曲折幽邃，苍健夭矫，能发挥湖石形态多变的特征。因为洞屋较宽畅，洞口上部山石外挑，而水复流入洞中，兼以石色青灰，在夏日更觉凉爽。此处原有“十二洞”之称。假山正面向阳，湖石石面变化又多，尤其在夏日的阳光与风雨中所起的阴影变化，更是好看，予人有夏山多态的感觉。因此称它为“夏山”。山南今很空旷，过去当为植竹的地方，想来万竿摇碧，流水湾环，又另生一番境界。从湖石山的磴道引登山巅，转至七间楼，经楼、廊与复道，可到东首的黄石大假山。山的主面向西，每当夕阳西下，一抹红霞，映照在黄石山上，不但山势显露，并且色彩倍觉醒目。而山的本身又拔地数丈，峻峭凌云，宛如一幅秋山图，是秋日登高的理想所在。它的设计手法，与春景夏山同样利用不同的地位、朝向、材料与山的形态，达到各具特色的目的。山间有古柏出石隙中，使坚挺的形态与山势取得调和，苍绿的枝叶又与褐黄的山石造成对比。它与春景用竹、夏山用松一样，在植物配置上，能从善于陪衬加深景色出发，是经过一番选择与推敲的。磴道置于洞中，洞顶钟乳垂垂（以黄石倒悬代替钟乳石），天光隐隐从石窦中透入，人们在洞中上下盘旋，造奇致胜，构成了立体交通，发挥了黄石叠山的效果。山中还

有小院、石桥、石室等与前者的综合运用，这又是别具一格的设计方法，在他处园林中尚是未见。山顶有亭，人在亭中见群峰皆置脚下，北眺绿杨城郭、瘦西湖、平山堂及观音山诸景，一一招入园内，是造园家极巧妙的手法，称为“借景”。山南有一楼，上下皆可通山。楼旁有一厅，厅的结构是用硬山式（建筑物只前后两坡用屋顶，两侧用山墙），悬姚正镛题“透风漏月”匾额。厅前堆白色雪石（宣石）假山，为冬日赏雪围炉的地方。因为要象征有雪意，将假山置于南面向北的墙下，看去有如积雪未消的样子。反之如将雪石置于面阳的地方，则石中所含石英闪闪作光，就与雪意相违，这是叠雪石山时不能不注意的事。墙东列洞，引隔墙春景入院，借用“大地回春”的意思。上山可通入园的复道廊，但此复道廊已不存。

个园以假山堆叠的精巧而出名。在建造时就有超出扬州其他园林之上的意图，故以石斗奇，采取分峰用石的手法，号称四季假山，为国内唯一孤例。虽然大流芳巷八咏园也有同样的处理，不过没有起峰。这种假山似乎概括了画家所谓“春山淡冶而如笑，夏山苍翠而如滴，秋山明净而如妆，冬山惨淡而如睡”（见郭熙《林泉高致》），与“春山宜游，夏山宜看，秋山宜登，冬山宜居”（见戴熙《习苦斋题画》）的画理，实为扬州园林中最具地方特色的一景。

寄啸山庄在花园巷，今名何园。清光绪间官僚做道台的何芷舠所筑，为清代扬州大型园林的最后作品。由住宅可达园内。园后刁家巷另设一门，当时是为招待外客的出入口。住宅建筑除楠木厅外，都是洋房，楼横堂列，廊庑回缭，在平面布局上，尚具中国传统。从宅中最后进墙上的什锦空窗（砖框）中隐约地能见到园的一角。园中为大池，池北楼宽七楹，因主楼三间稍突，两侧楼平舒展伸，屋角又都起翘，有些像蝴蝶的形态，当地人叫作“蝴蝶厅”。楼旁连复道廊可绕全园，高低曲折，人行其间有随势凌空的感觉。而中部与东部又用此复道廊作为分隔。人们的视线通过上下壁间的漏窗，可互见两面景色，显得空灵深远。这是中国园林利用分隔扩大空间面积的手法之一。此园运用这一手法，较为自如而特出。池东筑水亭，四角卧波，为纳凉拍曲的地方。此戏亭利用水面的回音，增加音响效果，又利用回廊作为观剧的看台。不过在封建社会，女宾只能坐在宅内贴园的复道廊中，通过疏帘，从墙上的什锦空窗中观看。这种临水筑台增强音响效果的手法，今天还可以酌予采取，而复道廊隔帘观剧的看台是要扬弃的。如用空窗作为引景泄景，以加深园林层次与变化，当然还是一种有效的手法。所谓“景物锁难小牖通”，便是形容这种境界。池西南角为假山，山后隐西轩，轩南的牡丹台，随着山势层叠起伏，看去十分自然。这种做法并不费事，而又平易近人，无矫揉造作之态，新建园林中似可推广。越山穿洞，洞幽

山危，黄石山壁与湖石磴道，尚宛转多姿，虽用不同的石类，却能浑成一体。山东麓有一水洞，略具深意，唯一头与柱相交接，稍嫌考虑不周。山南崇楼三间，楼前峰峦嶙峋，经山道可以登楼，向东则转入住宅复道了。复道廊为叠落形（屋顶顺次作阶段高低），有游廊与复廊（一条廊中用墙分隔为二）两种形式，墙上开漏窗，巧妙地分隔成中东两部。漏窗以水磨砖对缝构成，面积很大，图案简洁，手法挺秀工整。廊东有四面厅，与三间轩相对置，院中碧梧倚峰，阴翳蔽日，阶下花街铺地（用鹅石子与碎砖瓦等拼花铺成的地面），与厅前砖砌阑凳极为相称，形成一种成功的作品。它和漏窗一样，亦为别处所不及，是具有地方风格的一种艺术品。厅后的假山贴墙而筑，壁岩与磴道无率直之弊，假山体形不大，尚能含蓄寻味。尤其是小亭踞峰，旁倚粉墙之下，加之古木掩映，每当夕阳晚照，碎影满阶，发挥了中国园林就白粉墙为底所产生的虚实景色。虽然面积不大，但景物的变化万千，在小空间的院落中，还是一种可取的手法。山西北有磴道，拾级可达楼层复道廊中的半月台，它与西部复道廊尽端楼层的旧有半月台，都是分别用来观看升月与落月的。在植物配置方面，厅前山间栽桂，花坛种牡丹芍药，山麓植白皮松，阶前植梧桐，转角补芭蕉，均以群植为主，因此葱翠宜人，春时绚烂，夏日浓荫，秋季馥郁，冬令苍青。这都有规律可循，就不同植物特性因地制宜地安排的。此园以开畅雄健见长，水石用来衬托建筑物，使山色水光与崇楼杰阁、复道修廊相映成趣，虚实互见。又以厅堂为主，以复道廊与假山贯串分隔，上下脉络自存，形成立体交通、多层欣赏的园林。它的风景面则环水展开，而花墙构成了深深不尽的景色，楼台花木，隐现其间。此园建造时期较晚，装修已多新材料与新纹样，又另辟园门可招待外客等。其格局更是较之过去的为宏畅，使游者由静观的欣赏，渐趋动观的游览，而逶迤衡直，闿爽深密，曲具中国园林的特征，在造园手法上有一定程度的出新。

小盘谷在大树巷。清光绪二十年后，官僚两江两广总督周馥购自徐姓重修而成。至民国初年复经一度修整。园在宅的东部，自大厅旁入月门。额名“小盘谷”，从笔意看来，似出陈鸿寿（字曼生，杭州人，西泠八家印人之一，生于清乾隆三十三年［公元1768年］，殁于道光二年［公元1822年］）之手。花厅三间面山作曲尺形，游者绕到厅后，忽见一池汪洋，豁然开朗。厅侧有水阁枕流，以游廊相接，它与隔岸山石、隐约花墙，形成一种中国园林中惯用的以建筑物与自然景物相对比的手法。廊前有曲桥达对岸，桥尽入幽洞。洞很广，内置棋桌，利用穴窦采光。复临水辟门，人自此可循阶至池。洞左通步石（用石块置水中代桥）、崖道，导至后部花厅，厅前山尽头有磴道可上山。这里是一个很好的谷口，题为“水流云在”。山洞的处理，既开敞又曲折多变化，应该

说是构筑山洞中的好实例。右出洞转入小院，向上折入游廊，可登山巅。山上有亭名风亭，坐亭中可以顾盼东西两部的景色。今东部布置已毁，正在修复中。其入口门作桃形额为“丛翠”。池北曲尺形厅，今改建。山拔地峥嵘，名九狮图山。峰高约九米余，惜民国初年修缮时，略损原状。此园假山为扬州诸园中的上选作品。山石水池与建筑物皆集中处理，对比明显，用地紧凑。以建筑物与山石、山石与粉墙、山石与水池、前院与后园、幽深与开朗、高峻与低平等对比手法，形成一时难分的幻景。花墙间隔得非常灵活，山峦、石壁、步石、谷口等的叠置，正是危峰耸翠，苍岩临流，水石交融，浑然一片了。妙处在于运用“以少胜多”的艺术手法。虽然园内没有崇楼与复道廊，但是幽曲多姿，浅画成图。廊屋皆不髹饰，以木材的本色出之。叠山的技术尤佳，足与苏州环秀山庄抗衡，显然出于名匠师之手。案清光绪《江都县续志》卷十二记片石山房云：“园以湖石胜，石为狮九，有玲珑夭矫之慨。”【从周案十】今从小盘谷假山章法分析，似以片石山房为蓝本，并参考其他佳作综合提高而成。又据《扬州画舫录》卷二云：“淮安董道士垒九狮山，亦籍籍人口。”卷六又云：“卷石洞天在城闉清梵之后……以旧制临水太湖石山，搜岩剔穴为九狮形，置之水中，上点桥亭，题之曰‘卷石洞天’。”扬州博物馆藏李斗书九狮山条幅，臧谷跋语指为卷石洞天九狮山，但未言系董道士所叠。据旧园主周叔弢丈及其侄煦良先生说，小盘谷的假山一向以九狮图山相沿称，由来已很久，想系定有所据。因此我认为当时九狮山在扬州必不止一处，而以卷石洞天为最出名。董道士以叠此类假山而著名，其后渐渐形成了一种风气。董道士是乾隆间人，今证以峰峦、洞曲、崖道、壁岩、步石、谷口等，皆这一时期的手法，而陈鸿寿所书一额，时间又距离不太远。姑且提出这个假设，即使不是董道士的原作，亦必摹拟其手法而成。旧城南门堂子巷的秦氏意园小盘谷，系黄石堆叠的假山小品，乾隆以后所筑，出名匠师常州戈裕良之手，今不存。《履园丛话》卷十二载：“近时有戈裕良者，常州人，其堆法尤胜于诸家。”据此，则戈氏时期略迟于董道士。从秦氏小盘谷遗迹来看，山石平淡蕴藉，以“阴柔”出之，而此小盘谷则高险磅礴，似以“阳刚”制胜。这两位叠山名手同时作客扬州，那么这两件艺术作品，正是他们颉颃之作，用以平分秋色了。

东关街个园的西首，有园名逸圃，为李姓的宅园。从大门入，迎面有八角门，额书“逸圃”二字。左转为住宅。八角门内有廊修直，在东墙叠山，委婉屈曲，壁岩森严，与墙顶之瓦花墙形成虚实对比。山旁筑牡丹台，花时若锦。山间北头的尽端，倚墙筑五边形半亭，亭下有碧潭，清澈可以照人。花厅三间南向，装修极精。外廊天花，皆施浅雕。厅后小轩三间，带东厢配以西廊，前置花木山石。轩背置小院，设门而常

关，初看去与木壁无异。沿磴道可达复道廊，即由楼后转入隔园。园在住宅之后，以复道与山石相连，折向西北，有西向楼三间，面峰而筑。楼有盘梯可下，旁有紫藤一架，老干若虬，满阶散绿，增色不少。此园与苏州曲园相仿佛，都是利用曲尺形隙地加以布置的，但比曲园巧妙，形成上下错综，境界多变。匠师们在设计此园时，利用“绝处逢生”的手法，造成了由小院转入隔园的办法，来一个似尽而未尽的布局。这种情况在过去扬州园林中并不少见，亦扬州园林特色之一。

怡庐是嵇家湾黄宅（银钱商黄益之宅）花厅的一部分，系余继之的作品。余工叠山，善艺花卉，小园点石尤为能手。怡庐花厅计二进。前进的前后皆列小院。院中东南两面筑廊，西面则点雪石一丘，荫以丛桂。厅后翼两厢，小院的花坛上配石笋修竹，枝叶纷披，人临其间有滴翠分绿的感觉。厅西隔花墙，自月门中入，有套房内院，它给外院造成了“庭院深深深几许”的景色，又因外院的借景，而内院中便显得小中见大了。这是中国建筑中用分隔增大空间的手法，是在居住的院落中较好的例子。后厅亦三间，面对山石，其西亦置套房小院。从平面论，此小园无甚出人意料处，但建筑物与院落比例匀当，装修亦以横线条出之，使空间宽绰有余，而点石栽花，亦能恰到好处。至于大小院落的处理，又能发挥其密处见疏、静中生趣的优点。从这里可见绿化及空间组合对小型建筑的重要性了。

余园在广陵路，初名“陇西后圃”。清光绪间归盐商刘姓后，就旧园修筑而成，又名刘庄。因曾设怡大钱庄于此，一般称怡大花园。园位于住宅之后，以院落分隔，前院南向为厅，其西缀以廊屋，墙下筑湖石花坛，有白皮松二株。厅后一院，西端多修竹。墙下叠黄石山，由磴道可登楼。东院有楼北向筑，其下凿池叠山，而湖石壁岩，尤为这园精华的所在。

蔚圃在风箱巷。东南角入门，院中置假山，配以古藤老柏，很觉苍翠葱郁。假山仅墙下少许，然有洞可寻，有峰可赏，自北部厅中望去，景物森然。东西两面配游廊，西南角则建水榭，下映鱼池，多清新之感。这小院布置虽寥寥数事，却甚得体。

蔚圃旁有杨氏小筑，真可谓一角的小园，原属花厅书斋部分。入门为花厅两间，前列小院，点缀少量山石竹木，以花墙分隔。旁有斜廊，上达小阁。阁前山石间有水一泓：因地位过小，以鱼缸聚水，配合很觉相称。园主善艺兰，此小园平时以盆兰为主花，故不以绚丽花木而夺其芬芳。此处虽不足以园称，然园的格局具备，前后分隔得宜，咫尺的面积，能无局促之感，反觉多左右顾盼生景的妙处。

扬州园林的主人，以富商为多。他们除拥有盘剥得来的物质财富外，还捐得一个空头的官衔，以显耀其身份，因此这些园林在设计的主

导思想上与官僚地主的园林有了些不同。最特出的地方，便是一味追求豪华，借以炫富有，榜风雅。在清康熙、乾隆时代，正如上述所说的还期望能得到皇帝的“御赏”，以达到升官发财的目的，若干处还摹拟一些皇家园林的手法。因此在园林的总面貌上，建筑物的尺度、材料的品类，都从高敞华丽方面追求。即以楼厅面阔而论，有多至七间的；其他楼层复道，巨峰名石，以及分峰用石的四季假山（个园、八咏园）和积土累石的“斗鸡台”（壶园有此）。更因多数富商为安徽徽州府属人，间有模拟皖南山水者。建筑用的木材，佳者选用楠木，楼层铺方砖。地面除鹅石的“花街”外，院中有用大理石的。至于装修陈设的华丽等，都是反映了园主除享受所谓“诗情画意”的山水景色意图与暴露其腐朽的生活方式外，还有为招待较多的宾客作为交际场所之意，因此它与苏州园林在同一的设计主导思想下，还多着这一层的原因。这种设计思想在大型的园林如个园、寄啸山庄等最容易见到。并且扬州的诗文与八怪的画派，在风格上亦比吴门派来得豪放沉厚，这些多少给造园带来了一定感染与提高。无疑地要研究扬州园林，必须先弄清这些园主当时的物质力量与精神需要，根据主客观愿望，决定了其设计的要求与主导思想，因而影响了园林的意境与风格。

自然环境与材料的不同，对园林的风格是有一定影响的。扬州地势平坦，土壤干湿得宜，气候及雨量亦适中，兼有南北两地的长处。所以花木易于滋长，而芍药、牡丹尤为茂盛。这对豪华的园林来说，是最有利的条件。叠山所用的石材，又多利用盐船回载，近则取自江浙的镇江、高资、句容、苏州、宜兴、吴兴、武康等地，远则运自皖赣的徽州府属——宣城、灵璧、河口等处，更有少量奇峰异石罗致自西南诸省的，因此石材的品种要比苏州所用为多。

中国园林的建造，总是利用“因地制宜”的原则，尤其在水网与山陵地带。可是扬州属江淮平原，水位不太高，土地亦坦旷，因此在规划园林时，与苏杭一带利用天然地形与景色就有所不同了。大型园林多数中部为池，厅堂又为一园的主体，两者必相配合。池旁筑山，点缀亭阁，周联复道，以花墙山石、树木为园林的间隔，造成有层次、富变化的景色。这可以个园、寄啸山庄为代表。中小型园林则倚墙叠山石，下辟水池，适当地辅以游廊水榭，结构比较紧凑。片石山房、小盘谷都按这个原则配置。庭院还是根据住宅余地面积的多寡，或院落的大小，安排少许假山立峰，旁凿小鱼池，筑水榭，或布置牡丹台、芍药圃，内容并不求多，便能给人以一种明净宜人的感觉。蔚圃与杨氏小筑即为其例。而逸圃却又利用狭长曲尺形隙地，构成了平面布局变化较多的一个突出的例子。总的说来，扬州园林在平面布局上较为平整，以动观与静观相结合。然其妙处在于立体交通，与多层观赏线，如复道廊、楼、阁以及假

山的窦穴、洞曲、山房、石室，皆能上下沟通，自然变化多端了。但就水面与山石、建筑相互发挥作用来说，未能做到十分交融；驳岸多数似较平直，少曲折弯环；石矶、石濑等几乎不见，则是美中不足的地方。但从片石山房、小盘谷及逸圃、个园“秋云”山麓来看，则尚多佳处。又有“旱园水做”的办法，如广陵路清道光间建的员姓二分明月楼（钱泳书额），将园的地面压低，其中四面厅则筑于较高的黄石基上，望之宛如置于岛上，园虽无水，而水自在意中。嘉定县秋霞圃后部似亦有此意图，但未及扬州园林明显。我们聪明的匠师能在这种自然条件较为苛刻的情况下，达到中国艺术上的“意到笔不到”的表现方法是可贵的。扬州园林中的水面置桥，有梁式桥与步石两种，在处理方法上，梁式多数为曲桥，其佳例要推片石山房的利用石梁而作飞梁形的，古朴浑成，富有山林的气氛；步石则以小盘谷所采用的最为妥帖。这些曲桥总因水位过低，有时转折太僵硬，而缺少自然凌波的感觉。这对园林桥来说，在建造时是应设法避免的。片石山房的用飞梁形式，即弥补了这些缺陷，而另辟蹊径了。

扬州园林素以“垒石胜”，在技术上，过去有很高的评价。因此今日所存的假山，多数以石为主，仅已损毁的秦氏小盘谷似由土石间用的。因为扬州不产石，石料运自他地，来料较小，峰峦多用小石包镶，根据石形、石色、石纹、石理、石性等凑合成整体，中以条石（亦有用砖为骨架，早例推泰州乔园明构假山）铁器支挑，加固嵌填后浑然成章；即使水池驳岸亦运用这办法。这样做人工花费很大，且日久石脱堕地，破坏原形，即有极佳的作品，亦难长久保存。虽然如此，扬州叠山确有其独特的成就，特出的作品以雄伟论，当推个园。个园的黄石山高约九米，湖石山高约六米，因规模宏大，难免有不够周到的地方，但仍不失为上乘之作。以苍石奇峭论，要算片石山房了；而小盘谷的曲折委婉，逸圃的婀娜多姿，都是佳构。棣园的洞曲、中垂钟乳，为扬州园林罕见。其他如寄啸山庄的石壁磴道，亦是较好的例子。在扬州园林的假山中，最为突出的是壁岩，其手法的自然逼真，用材的节省，空间的利用，似在苏州之上，实得力于包镶之法。片石山房、小盘谷、寄啸山庄、逸圃、余园等皆有妙作。颇疑此法明末自扬州开始，乾隆间董道士、戈裕良等人继承了计成、石涛诸人的遗规，并在此基础上得到更大的发展。总之，这些假山，在不同程度上，达到异形之山运不同之石，体现了石涛所谓“峰与皴合，皴自峰生”的画理。以高峻雄厚，与苏州的明秀平远互相颉颃，南北各抒所长。至于分峰用石及多石并用，亦兼补一种石材难以罗致之弊，而以权宜之计另出新腔了。堆叠之法一般皆与苏南相同。其佳者总循“水随山转，山因水活”一原则灵活应用。胶合材料，明代用石灰加细砂和糯米汁，凝结后有时略带红色，常用之于黄石

山；清代的颜色发白，也有其中加草灰的，适宜用于湖石山。片石山房用的便是后者。好的嵌缝是运用阴嵌的办法，即见缝不见灰，用于黄石山能显出其壁石凹凸多态，仿佛自然裂纹；湖石山采用此法，顿觉浑然一体了。不过像这样的水平，其作品在全国范围内也较罕见。

在墙壁的处理上，现存的园林因为多数集中于城区，且是住宅的一部分，所以四周是磨砖砌的高墙，配合了砖刻门楼，外观很是修整平直。不过园林外墙上都加瓦花窗，墙面做工格外精细。它与苏南园林给人以简陋的园外感觉不同（苏南园林皆地主官僚所有），是炫富斗财的方法之一。内墙与外墙相同，凡在需增加反射效果或需花影月色的地方，酌情粉白。园既围以高墙，当然无法眺望园外景色，除个园登黄石山可“借景”城北景物外，余则利用园内的对景，来增加园景的变化。寄啸山庄的什锦空窗所构成的景色，真是宛如图画，其住宅与园林部分均利用空窗达到互相“借景”的效果。个园桂花厅前的月门亦收到引人入胜的作用。再从窗棂中所构成的景色，又有移步换景的感觉。在对比手法方面，基本与苏南园林相同，多数以建筑物与墙面山石作对比，运用了开朗、收敛、虚实、高下、远近、深浅、大小、疏密等手法，以小盘谷在这方面运用得最好。寄啸山庄设计能从大处着眼，予人以完整醒目的感觉。

扬州园林在建筑方面最显著的特色，便是利用楼层。大型园林固然如此，小型如二分明月楼，也还用了七间的长楼。花厅的体形往往较大，复道的延伸又连续不断，因此虽安排了一些小轩水榭，适与此高大的建筑起了对比作用。它与苏州园林的“婉约轻盈”相较，颇有用铜琶铁板唱“大江东去”的气概。寄啸山庄循复道廊可绕园一周，个园盛兴时，情况亦差不多。至于借山登阁，穿洞入穴，上下纵横，游者往往至此迷途，此与苏州园林在平面上的“柳暗花明”境界，有异曲同工之妙，不能单以平面略为平整而判其高下。

扬州园林建筑物的外观，介于南北之间，而结构与细部的做法，亦兼抒二者之长。就单体建筑而论，台基早期用青石，后期用白石，踏跺用天然山石随意点缀，很觉自然。柱础有北方的“古镜”形式，同时也有南方的“石鼓”形式；柱则较为粗挺，其比例又介于南北二者之间。窗则多数用和合窗，栏杆亦较肥健。屋角起翘，虽大都用“嫩戗发戗”（由屋角的角梁前端竖立的一根小角梁来起翘），但比苏南来得低平。屋脊则用通花脊，比苏南的厚重。漏窗、地穴（门洞）工细挺拔，图案形式变化多端，轮廓完整，与苏南柔和细腻的不同。门额多用大理石或高资石，而少用砖刻，此又是与苏州显然不同的。建筑的细部手法简洁工整，在线脚与转角的地方，略具曲折，虽然总的看来比较直率，但刚中有柔，颇耐寻味。色彩方面，木料皆用本色，外墙不粉白，此固然由于

当地气候比较干燥的缘故，但也多少存有以原材精工取胜的意图。其内部梁架皆圆料直材，制作得十分工致完整，间亦有用扁作的。翻轩（建筑物前部的卷棚）尤力求豪华，因为它处于显著的地位，所以格外突出一些。内部以方砖铺地，其间隔有罩与槅扇，材料有紫檀、红木、楠木、银杏、黄杨等，亦有雕漆嵌螺钿与嵌宝的，或施纱隔的。室内家具陈设及屏联的制作，亦同样讲究。海梅（红木）所制的家具，与苏、广两地不同，手法和其他艺术一样，富有扬州“雅健”的风格（参看住宅部分）。

建筑物在园林中的布置，在今日扬州所有的类型并不多，仅厅堂、楼、阁、亭、榭、舫、复道廊、游廊等，其组合似较苏南园林来得规则。楼常位于园的尽端最突出处，厅往往为一园之主体，有些厅加楼后，形成楼厅就必建在尽端了。其他的舫榭临水，轩阁依山，亭有映水与踞山的不同处理。如因地形的限制，则建筑物可做一半，如半楼、半阁、半亭等。虽仅数例，亦发挥了随宜安排的原则，以及同中求异，异中见其规律的灵活善变的应用。廊亦同样不出这些原则方法，不过以环形路线为主，间有用作分隔的；形式有游廊、叠落廊、复廊、复道廊等。厅堂据《扬州画舫录》所载，名目颇多，处理别出心裁。今日常见的有四面厅、硬山厅、楼厅等。梁架多“回顶鳖壳”式（卷棚式的建筑，在屋顶部仍做成脊）。在材料方面，楠木与柏木厅最为名贵，前者为数尚多，后者今日已少见。园林铺地，大部分用鹅子石花街，间有用冰裂纹石的。在建筑处理上值得注意的，便是内部的曲折多变，其间利用套房、楼、廊、小院、假山、石室等的组合，造成“迷境”的感觉。现存的逸圃尚能见到，此亦扬州园林重要特征之一。

花木的栽植是园林中重要的组织部分。各地花木有其地方特色，因此反映在园林中亦有不同的风格。扬州花木因风土地理的关系，同一品种，其姿态容颜，也与南北两地有异。一般说来，枝干花朵比较硕秀。在树木的配置上，以松、柏、栝、榆、枫、槐、银杏、女贞、梧桐、黄杨等为习见。苏南后期园林中，杨柳几乎绝迹，然在扬州园林中却常能见到，且更具有强烈的地方色彩。因为此地的杨柳，在外形上高劲，枝条疏修，颇多画意，下部的体形也不大，植于园中没有不调和的感觉。梧桐在扬州生长甚速，碧干笼阴，不论在园林或庭院中，都给人以清雅凉爽之感，与柳色分占夏春二季的风光。花树有桂、海棠、玉兰、山茶、石榴、紫藤、梅、腊梅、碧桃、木香、蔷薇、月季、杜鹃等。在厅轩堂前，多用桂、海棠、玉兰、紫薇诸品。其他如亭畔、榭旁的枫榆等，则因地位的需要而栽植。乔木与花树同建筑的关系，在扬州园林中，前者作遮阴之用，后者用作供观赏之需，姿态与色香还是占着选择的最重要标准。在假山间，为了衬托山容苍古，酌植松柏，水边配置少

许垂杨。至于芭蕉、竹、天竹等，不论用来点缀小院，补白大园，或在曲廊转处、墙阴檐角，或与腊梅丛菊等组合，都能入画。书带草不论在山石边，树木根旁，以及阶前路旁，均给人以四季常青的好感。冬季初雪匀披，粉白若球。它与石隙中的秋海棠，都是园林绿化中不可缺少的小点缀。至于以书带草增假山生趣，或掩饰假山堆叠的疵病处，真有山水画中点苔的妙处。芍药、牡丹更是家栽户植。《芍药谱》（《能改斋漫录》十五，“芍药”条引孔武仲《芍药谱》）载：“扬州芍药，名于天下，非特以多为夸也。其敷腴盛大而纤丽巧密，皆他州所不及。”李白诗（《送孟浩然之广陵》）：“烟花三月下扬州”，可以想见其盛况。因此花坛、药阑便在园林中占有显著的地位。其形式有以假山石叠的自然式，有用砖与白石砌的图案式，形状很多，皆匠心独运。春时繁花似锦，风光宛如洛城。树木的配合，仍运用了孤植与群植的两种基本方法。群植中有用同一品种的，亦有用混合的树群布置，主要的还是从园林的大小与造景的意图出发。如小园宜孤植，但树的姿态须加选择；大园多群植，亦须注意假山的形态，地形的高低大小，做到有分有合，有密有疏。若假山不高，主要山顶便不可植树；为了衬托出山势的苍郁与高峻，非植于山阴略低之处不可，使峰出树梢之间，自然饶有山林之意了。此理不独植树如此，建亭亦然，而亭与树、山的关系，必高下远近得宜才是。山麓水边有用横线条的卧松临水，亦不失为求得画面统一的好办法。山间垂藤萝，水面点荷花，亦皆以少出之，使意到景生即可。至于园内因日照关系有阴阳面的不同，在考虑种树时应注意其适应性，如山茶、桂、松、柏等皆宜植阴处，补竹则处处均能增加生意。

扬州盆景刚劲坚挺，能耐风霜，与苏杭不同。园艺家的剪扎功夫甚深，称之为“疙瘩”“云片”及“弯”等，都是说明剪扎所成的各种姿态特征的。这些都非短期内可以培养成。松、柏、黄杨、菊花、山茶、杜鹃、梅、玳玳、茉莉、金橘、兰、蕙等都是盆景的好主题。又有山水盆景，分旱盆、水盆两种，咫尺山林，亦多别出心裁。棕碗菖蒲，根不着土，以水滋养，终年青葱，为他处所不常见。他如艺菊，扬州花匠师对此有独到之技。以这些来点缀园林，当然锦上添花了。园林山石间因乔木森严，不宜栽花，就要运用盆景来点缀。这种办法从宋代起即运用了，不但地面如此，即池中的荷花，亦莫不用盆荷入池。因此谈中国园林的绿化，不能不考虑盆景。

按扬州画派的作品，以花卉为多。摹写对象当然为习见的园林花木，经画家们的挥洒点染，都成了佳作，则扬州园林中的花木其影响可见。反之，画家对园林花木批红判白，以及剪裁、配置、构图等，对花木匠师亦起了一定的启发与促进。扬州产金鱼；天然禽鸟兼有南北品种，且善培养笼鸟，这些对园林都有所增色。

总之，造园有法而无式，变化万千，新意层出，园因景胜，景因园异，其妙处在于“因地制宜”与相互“借景”，所谓“妙在因借”，做到得体（“精在体宜”），始能别具一格。扬州园林综合了南北的特色，自成一格，雄伟中寓明秀，得雅健之致，借用文学上的一句话来说，真所谓“健笔写柔情”了。而堂庑廊亭的高敞挺拔，假山的沉厚苍古，花墙的玲珑透漏，更是别处所不及。至于树木的硕秀，花草的华滋，则又受自然条件的影响与经匠师们的加工而形成。假山的堆叠，广泛地应用了多种石类。以小石拼镶的技术，以及分峰用石、旱园水做等因材致用、因地制宜的手法，对今日造园都有一定的借鉴作用。唯若干水池似少变化，未能发挥水在园林中的弥漫之意，似少构成与山石建筑物等相互成趣的高度境界。一般庭院中，亦能栽花种竹，荫以乔木，配合花树，或架紫藤，罗置盆景片石，安排一些小景。这些都丰富了当时城市居民的文化生活，同时集腋成裘，又扩大了城市绿化的面积，是当地至今还相沿的一种传统。

·住宅

卢宅在康山街。清光绪间盐商江西卢绍绪所建，造价为纹银七万两，是今存扬州最大的住宅建筑。大门用水磨砖刻门楼，配以大照壁。入门北向为倒座（与南向正屋相对的房屋），经二门有厅二进，皆面阔七间，以当中三间为主厅，其旁两间为会客读书之处，内部用罩（用木制镂空花纹做成的分隔）及槅扇（落地长窗）间隔。院中以大漏窗与两旁的小院区分。小院中置湖石花台，配以树木，形成幽静的空间，与中部畅达的大厅不同。再入为楼厅二进，面阔亦七间，系主人居住之处。厅后二进面阔易为五间，系亲友临时留居的地方。东为厨房，今毁。宅后有园名“意园”。池在园东北，濒池建书斋及藏书楼二进，自成一区。池东原有旱船，今亦废。园南依墙建盝顶亭，有游廊导向北部。余地栽植乔木，以桂为主。这宅用材精选湖广杉木，皆不髹饰。装修皆用楠木，雕刻工细。虽建筑年代较迟，然屋宇高敞，规模宏大，是后期盐商所建豪华住宅的代表。

汪氏小苑（盐商汪伯屏宅）在地官第，民国间扩建，为今存扬州大住宅中最完整的一处。它分三路，各三进。东西花厅布置各别，东花厅入口用竹丝门，甚古朴。厅用柏木建造，内部置罩及槅扇。槅扇上嵌大理石，皆雕刻精工，作前后分隔之用。其南有倒座三间。院中置湖石山，有檐瀑，栽腊梅琼花。东有门，入内仅一小小余地，所谓明有实无，以达扩大空间的目的。西花厅以月门与小院相隔。院内中有假山一丘，面东置船轩，缀以游廊，下凿小池，轩下砌砖台，可置盆景，映水

成趣。自厅中穿月门以望院中，花木扶疏，山石参差，宛如画图。宅北后园列东西两部，间以花墙月门。西部北建花厅六间，用罩分隔为二。厅西有书斋三间，缀五色玻璃，其前有廊横陈，两者之间植紫薇两株，亭亭如盖，依稀掩映，内外相望有不尽之意。厅南叠假山为牡丹台，西部亦筑花台，似甚平淡。两部运用花墙间隔，人们的视线穿过漏窗月门望隔园景色，深幽清灵，发挥了很大的“借景”作用。这处当以住宅建筑占主要部分，而园则相辅而已，因面积不大，所以题为“小苑春深”。

赞化宫赵宅（布商赵海山宅），厅堂三进南向，门屋及厨房等附属建筑，皆建于墙外，花园亦与住宅以高墙隔离；但亦可由门屋直接入园，避免与住宅相互干扰。在建筑平面的分隔上来说，很是明晰。花园前部东向有书斋三间，以曲廊与后部分隔，后有宽敞的花厅两进，与住宅的规模很相称。

魏宅（盐商魏次庚宅）在永胜街，属中型住宅，大门西向，总体为不规则的平面。因此将东首划出长方形的地带作为住宅，西首不规则的余地辟为园林，主次很是鲜明。住宅连倒座计四进，皆面阔五间。它的布置特点：厅为三间带两厢，旁皆配套房小院，在当时作为居住之用。这类套房，处理得很是恰当，它与起居部分，实联而似分，互不干扰。尤其小院，不论在采光通风与扩大室内外空间上，皆得到较好效果。园前狭后宽，前部邻大门处有杂屋，后部划分作前后两区，前区筑四面厅名“吹台”，郑板桥书额为“歌吹古扬州”，配以山石、玉兰、青桐，面对东南角建有小阁。后区为前区的陪衬，又东西划为两部分，东部置旱船，旁辅小阁，花墙下叠黄石山，栽天竹、黄杨，穿花墙外望，景色隐约。这园虽小，而置两大建筑物，尚能宽绰有余，是利用花墙划分得宜、互相得以因借之法，使空间层次增加，也是宅旁余地设计的一种方法。

仁丰里刘宅，宅不大，门东向。入内沿门屋筑西向屋一排，前有高墙，天井作狭长形，可避夏季炎阳与冬季烈风；而夏季因墙高地狭，门牖爽通，反觉受风较多。墙内南向厅三进，而末进除置套房外，更增密室（套房内的套房）。厅旁有花墙，过月门，内有花厅，置山石花木。整个建筑设计是灵活运用东向基地的一个例子。

大武城巷贾宅，清光绪间盐商贾颂平所有。大门东向，厅计二路，皆南向而建。而东部诸厅设计尤妙，每一厅皆有庭院，有栽花植竹为花坛，有凿池叠石为小景，再环以游廊，映以疏棂，多清新之意。宅西偏原有园林，今废。

仁丰里辛园，为周挹扶宅，大门东向。入内筑西向房屋一排，为扬州东向基地的惯用手法。南向的厅与东西两廊及倒座构成四合院。厅西花厅入口处建一半亭，对面为书斋，厅南以花墙间隔。其外尺余空地留

作虚景，老桂树超出花墙之上，秋时满院飘香，人临其境，便体会到一种天香院落的境界（桂树必周以墙，香不散）。厅后西通月门，有额名“辛园”。园内中凿鱼池，有曲桥，旁建小亭。花厅装修以银杏木本色制成，未髹漆更是雅洁。厅前以白石拼合铺地，很是平整。此宅居住部分小，绿化范围大，平面上的变化比较多，是由于过去宅主在扩建中逐步形成的现象。

石牌楼黄氏汉庐，清道光间为金石书画家吴熙载的故居。大门北向，入门有院，其西首的“火巷”可达南向的四合院。院以正屋与侧座相对而建，院子作横长形，石板墁地。此为北向住宅的一例。

甘泉路匏庐，民国初年资本家卢殿虎建。门西向，入内南向筑大厅，其南端为花厅。厅北以黄石叠花坛。厅南以湖石叠山，殊葱郁，山右构水轩，蕉影拂窗，明静映波。极西门外，北端又有黄石一丘。越门可绕至厅后。宅的东部，有一片曲尺形地，以游廊花墙通贯。小池东南隅筑方亭，隔池尽端筑小轩三间，皆随廊可达，面积虽小，尚觉委婉紧凑。此宅是利用西门南向及不规则余地设计的一例。

丁家湾某宅，是扬州用总门的住宅。总门内东西各有两宅，东宅有三合院，天井中以花墙分隔，形成前后两部分，而房屋面阔皆作两间，处理很灵活。西宅正屋二进皆三合院，面阔作三间，二进的三合院排列又非一致。此类住宅有因地制宜，分隔自由的好处。

牛背井二号某宅，为最小住宅的一例。南向，入门仅厅三间，由厢房倒座构成一个四合院。外附厨房。这种平面布局是扬州住宅的基本单元了。

扬州城由平行的新旧两城组合成今日的城区。运河绕城，小秦淮自北门流入，为新旧两城的分界。旧城南北又以汶河贯串，所以河道都是南北平行的，由于河道平直，道路及建筑物可以得到较规则的布局。其间主要干道为通东西南北的十字大街，与大街垂直的便是坊巷。这一点在旧城更为突出。巷名称头巷、二巷……九巷，和北京的头条胡同、二条胡同相似。新城因后期富商官僚的大住宅与若干商业建筑的发展，布局比旧城零乱，颇受江南城市风格的影响。新城的湾子街就不是垂直线，好像北京的斜街，是一条交通捷径。在这许多街道中，掺杂了不少小巷，有的还是“死胡同”，因此看来似乎复杂，其实仍旧井然有序，脉络自存。过去大的巷口还建有拱门，当地称为“圈门”。它是南北街坊布置的介体，兼有南北城市街坊布置特征。

住宅是按街巷的朝向布置，在处理上大体符合“因地制宜”的要求，较为灵活，而内部尤曲折多变。住宅主要位于通东西坊巷中，因此都能取得正南的朝向，或北门南向。通南北的坊巷中，亦有些住宅，因为要利用正南或偏南的朝向，于是产生了东门南向，或西门南向的住宅。又

运用总门的办法，将若干中小型不同平面的住宅，利用一个总门，非常灵活地组合成一个整体。这样在坊巷中，它的外貌仍旧十分整齐，而内部却有许多变化，这是大中藏小、化零为整的巧办法。在封建社会，不但能满足了聚族而居的生活方式和封建家族的治安防卫，并且在市容整齐等方面，也相应地带来了一定的好处。

扬州城区，今日尚存的多为大中型住宅，这些住宅的特点是，都配合着大小不等的园林和庭院，使居住区中包括了充裕的绿化地带，形成了安适的居住环境。

住宅平面一般是采用院落式，以面阔三间的厅堂为主体，更有面阔到五间的，即《工段营造录》所谓："如五间则两梢间设槅子或飞罩，今谓明三暗五。"也有四间、两间的，皆按地基面积而定。虽然也有面阔七间的，其实仍以三间为主，左右各加两间客厅，如康山街卢宅的厅堂。大中型住宅旁设弄，名"火巷"，是女眷、仆从出入之处。如大型住宅有两路以上的"火巷"，又为宅内主要交通道。扬州的"火巷"，比苏州"避弄"（俗称备弄，今据明代文震亨著《长物志》卷一）开朗修直，给居住者以明洁坦直的感觉，尤其以紫气东来巷龚姓沧州别墅的"火巷"最为广阔，当时可乘轿出入。厅堂除一进不连庑的"老人头"外，尚有两面连庑的"曲尺房"（由两面建筑物相连，平面形成曲尺形），三面连庑的"三间两厢"（厅堂左右加厢的三合院），以及"四合头"（四合院）、"对合头"（两厅相对又称对照厅）等。但是"三间两厢"及"四合头"作走马楼的称"串楼"。厅堂的排列程序，前为大厅，后为内厅（女厅），即所谓"上房"（主人所住的地方），多作三间，《工段营造录》称"两房一堂"（两间房一间起居室）。旁边大都置套房，还有再加密室的，如仁丰里刘宅还能见到。厅旁建圭形门、长八方形门，或月门通花厅或书房。墙外附厨房杂屋及"下房"（仆从居住），使与主人的生活部分隔离，充分反映了封建社会的阶级差别。套房与密室数目的多少，要看建屋需要的曲折程度而定，越曲折则套房、密室越多。《工段营造录》："……三间居多，五间则藏东西梢间于房中，谓之套房，即古密室、复室、连房、闺房之属。"在这类套房前面，皆设小院，置花坛，夏日清风徐来，凉爽宜人，入冬则朔风不到，温暖适居。在封闭性的扬州住宅中，采用这种办法还是切合当时实际的。书房小者一间、两间，大者兼作花厅，一般都是三间。其前必叠石凿池，点缀花木修竹；或置花坛、药阑等，形成一种极清静的环境。在东门南向或西门南向的住宅，门屋旁的房屋，则属账房、书塾及杂屋等次要房屋。这些屋前的天井狭长，仅避日照兼起通风的作用。大门北向的住宅，则以"火巷"为通道，导至前部进入南向的主屋。

扬州住宅的外观，在中型以上的住宅，都按居住者的地位设照壁。

大者用八字照壁，次者一字照壁，最次者在对户他宅的墙上，用壁面隐出方形照壁的形状。华丽的照壁，贴水磨面砖，雕刻花纹，正中嵌“福”字，像个园的大门上者，制作精美。外墙以清水砖砌成，讲究的用磨砖对缝做法。门楼用砖砌，加砖刻。最华丽的作八字形，复加斗拱藻井，如东圈门壶园大门即是。一般亦有用平整的磨砖贴面，简洁明快。按扬州以八刻著世（砖刻、牙刻、木刻、石刻、竹刻、漆刻、玉刻、磁刻），砖刻即为其中之一。大门髹黑漆，刊红门对，下有门枕石。石刻丰富多彩，大小按居住者的地位而定。屋顶皆作两坡顶，屋脊较高，用镂空脊（屋脊以瓦叠成空花形），这些与高低叠落的山墙相衬托。有时在外墙顶开一排瓦花窗，可隐约透出院中树梢与藤萝，这些自然形成一种整齐而又清新的外貌，给巷景增加了生趣。

入大门，迎面为砖刻土地堂，倚壁而建，外形与真实建筑相似。它的雕刻和大门门楼的形式相协调，是内照壁中最令人注目的。虽同时想起一定的装饰作用，但总是封建迷信的产物，理应扬弃。门屋院内以砖或石墁地。二门与大门的形制相类似。厅堂高敞轩豁，一般用质量很高的本色杉木，而大住宅的厅堂又有用楠木、柏木，《工段营造录》载有用桫椤的。木材加工有外施水磨的，更是柔和圆润了。这种存素去华的大木构架，与清水砖墙的格调一致。厅堂外檐施翻轩，明间用槅扇，次间和厢房用和合窗。后期的建筑，则有改用槛窗的。在内厅与花厅，明间的槅扇只居中用两扇，两旁仍旧用和合窗。楼厅的槛窗，其槛墙改用栏杆，则内装活动的木榻板，在炎热季节可以卸除，以便通风。在分隔上，内院往往以花墙来区分，用地穴（门洞）贯通。地穴有门可开启。

院落的大小与建筑物高度的比例一般为1:1，在扬州地区能有充分的日照。夏日上加凉棚，前后门牖洞开，清风自引。从地穴中来的兜风，更是凉爽。到冬季，将地穴门关闭，阳光满阶，不觉有严寒的袭人了。这些花墙与重重的门户，却增加了庭院空间感与深度，有小宅不见其狭，大宅不觉其旷的好处。在解决功能的前提下，同时又扩大了艺术效果。大厅的院子用横长形，有的配上两厢或两廊，使主体突出。内厅都带两厢，院子形成方形，房屋进深一般比苏南浅，北面甚至有不设窗牖的。因夏季较凉爽，冬季在室内需要较多日照的缘故。

室内的空间处理，主要希望达到有分有合，曲折有度，使用灵活，人处其间觉含蓄不尽的设计意图。因此在花厅中，必用罩或槅扇，划成似分非分、可大可小的空间，既有主次，又有变化。如仁丰里辛园、地官第小苑皆可见到。厅室前面的翻轩，在进深较大的建筑中有用两卷（两个翻轩）的，如康山街卢宅。内室与套房有主副之别，似合又分。内室往往连厢房，而以罩或槅扇分间。罩以圆光罩（罩作圆形的）为多，有的还施纱槅（罩的花纹中夹纱），雕刻多数精美。书房中亦可自

由划分，应用上均较灵活。厅堂皆露明造（不用天花），亦不施草架（用两层屋顶）。居住房屋有酌用天花的。花厅内部亦有作轩顶（卷棚）。房屋内都墁方砖，砖下四角置复钵的“空铺法”（见《长物志》卷一），垫黄沙，磨砖对缝，既平且无潮湿之患。卧室内冬天上置木地屏（方形木制装脚的活动地板）以保暖，同时亦减低了室内空间的净高。有些质量高的楼厅，二层亦墁砖，更有再加上地屏的，能使履步无声，与明代《长物志》卷一上所说办法“与平屋无异”相符合。这些当然只会在高级的住宅中出现，一般近期的住宅，则皆用地板了。

内外墙都用砖实砌，在质量高的住宅中用清水砖，经济的住宅则用灰泥拼砌大小不等的杂砖，外表也很整齐。在外墙的转角，当一人高的地位，为了便利交通用抹角砌。廊壁部分刷白，内壁用木护壁，其余仍保存砖的本色。天井铺地通常用砖石铺。砖铺有方砖、条砖平铺，及条砖仄铺的。石铺则用石板与冰裂纹铺，更有用大方块大理石、高资石拼铺的。柱础用“古镜”式。在明代及清代早期的建筑中，还沿用了礩形石础。大住宅皆用“石鼓”，或再置垫“复盆”础石，取材用高资石，兼有用大理石的。

柱都为直径。明代住宅的柱顶，尚存“卷杀”（曲线）的手法，比例肥硕。柱径与柱高的比例约为1:9，如大东门毛宅大厅的。现在一般见到的比例在1:10—1:16之间。柱的排列，与《工段营造录》所说“厅堂无中柱，住屋有中柱”一致。大厅明间有用通长额枋，而减去平柱两根的，此为便利观剧，不阻碍视线。梁架做法可分为三种：一是苏南的扁作做法；二是圆料直材，在扬州最为普遍；三是介于直梁与月梁（略作弯形的梁）间的介体，将直梁的两端略作“卷杀”，下刻弧线，此种做法看来似受徽式建筑的影响。这三种做法中，以第二种足以代表扬州的风格。尚有北河下吴宅，建筑系出宁波匠师之手，应当是孤例了。圆料的梁架，用材挺健，而接头处的卯榫，砍杀尤精，很是准确。一般厅堂，主要梁架在前后柱间施五架梁，上置蜀柱，再安三架梁与脊瓜柱。不过檩下不施枋及垫板，与《工段营造录》所示不符，当为苏北地方做法。从结构上来说，似有不够周到的地方。花厅有用六架卷棚的，其山墙作圆形叠落式。豪华的厅堂有改为方柱方梁的，系《工段营造录》所谓方厅之制。翻轩一般为海棠轩（椽子弯作海棠形），或菱角轩（椽子弯作菱角状），但多变例。此外鹤颈轩（椽子弯如鹤颈）也有见到，总的以船篷轩为多，草架只偶有用在翻轩之上。

栏杆的比例一般较高，花纹常用拐子纹，四周起凸形线脚。檐下挂落也很简洁，都与整个建筑物立面保持协调。屋顶在望砖上酝瓦。其瓦饰有勾头滴水等，勾头的下部较长，滴水的上部加高，形式渐趋厚重。

扬州城区住宅的给水问题，除小秦淮与汶河一带有河水可应用外，

住宅内皆有水井，少者一口，多者几口。其地位有在院子中，厨房前，园中，或“火巷”内，更有掘在屋内的暗井（无井栏）。坊巷中的公共用井随处可见。凡在井的边墙，必砌发券（杭绍一带用竖立石板），以免墙身下陷，也是他处所罕见的。井水除洗涤及供作饮料外，必要时还可作消防用水。此外，住宅内还置有积储檐漏供食用的天落水缸，与供消防用的储水缸并备。每宅院子中有窨井，在大门外有总的下水道。至于池中置鱼缸，则供金鱼栖息度冬用。

扬州住宅建筑在外观上是修整挺健的，对城市面貌起到一定的影响。这许多井然有序的居住区，在我国旧城市中还是较少有的。它的优点是明洁宁静，大中寓小，分合自如。在空间处理上注意到院落分隔与宽狭的组合，以及日照与通风的合理解决办法。建筑物不论大小，都配置恰当，比例匀整，用地面积亦称经济，达到居之者适，观之者畅的目的。在平面处理上能“因地制宜”巧于安排，不论何种朝向的地形，皆能得到南向；不论何种大小的地形，皆能有较好的空间组合并解决了功能上的需要。而建筑手法，介于南北二地之间，以工整见长。这些都是扬州住宅的特征。

扬州的园林与住宅，在我国建筑史上有其重要的价值，尤其是古代劳动人民在园林建筑方面的成就，可供社会主义园林建筑借鉴【从周案十一】。

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SMALL-ROCK MOUNTAIN ABODE, YANGZHOU—SHITAO'S CRAFT OF ARTIFICIAL MOUNTAINS

1962

Monk Shitao (1642-*c.* 1707) was a preeminent painter of the early Qing, but his other artistic attainments also culminated in sublimity and played an innovative role in his time in verse, prose, calligraphy, and theories on painting. However, according to the *Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*, the *Gazetteer of Yangzhou Prefecture under Jiaqing Reign* and *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden*, he was also a consummate rockwork crafter, having built a number of artificial mountains after he settled down in Yangzhou for the rest of his life.

Two of the artificial mountains built by Shitao in Yangzhou are recorded in history books. One of them is in the Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks. According to the *Record of Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou* (Volume Two),

> Shi Daoji, whose style name was Shitao….was also dexterous at piling up rocks as a sideline occupation. Yangzhou puts its name on the map with its famed gardens, and famed gardens make a name for themselves with piled-up rocks. The Yu's Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks crafted by Daoji remains a scenic attraction to this day.

The *Gazetteer of Yangzhou Prefecture under Jiaqing Reign* (Volume Thirty) has this to say:

> The Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks, the former residence of a man surnamed Wang, was laid out according to one of Monk Shitao's paintings. The Lake Tai rocks collected in the garden were counted by tens of thousands, hence the garden's name. Its major attractions include the Loft in Aromatic Tree Shade, the Balustrade over Ripple Water, the Towering Pine Pavilion, and the Painted Boat Docked in a Plum Sea. The garden fell into decay after its rockeries were dismantled to build the Thatched Cottage in the Kangshan Mountain during the Qianlong reign.

The other artificial mountain crafted by Shitao is the Small-Rock Mountain Abode. As *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* (Volume Twenty) puts it,

> The Small-Rock Mountain Abode is found at Garden Lane in New City, Yangzhou. Behind its two halls there is a square pond. An artificial mountain built of Lake Tai rocks sits on the pond, and looks exceptionally steep at a height of fifty or sixty feet. Legend has it that it was personally wrought by Monk Shitao.

We are no strangers to the Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks thanks to the

many extant records about it, but no trace of it can be found in reality because it was ruined during the Qianlong reign of the Qing. The Thatched Cottage in the Kangshan Mountain, built with the rocks torn from the garden, is no more, too. The Small-Rock Mountain Abode, which I have discovered during my current visit to Yangzhou, therefore, is the only artificial mountain Shitao has bequeathed on the human world.

During my visit, which is part of a survey I have conducted over the last few years of ancient buildings, gardens and dwellings in Yangzhou, I espied an artificial mountain clinging against a wall in the Ho Family Garden (that is, the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode) at the eastern end of Garden Lane in the city's southeast corner. It was small in floor space, and the pond at its foot has long been levelled. Judging from its exquisite craftsmanship and its naturalistic, yet classical design, it is a rare objet d'art, and, dating back to the early Qing, the earliest of all artificial mountains known to exist in Yangzhou. Based on my analysis of its rock-piling technique, and by referring to descriptions of it in Qian Yong's *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden*, I can ascertain that it is by far the only extant artificial mountain that Shitao has bestowed on humanity.

Seen from its plan, the Small-Rock Mountain Abode, facing south in front of the posterior wall of the Ho Family Garden, is a rectangular wall-hugging rockwork. The main peak rises from its western end to impose its steep and verdant presence upon the pond at its foot. A bridge propped up in the air is connected with a stone stairway which winds its way along the stone wall to the top of the peak. Below the peak stands the so-called "Small-Rock Mountain Abode," a two-bay square stone chamber (actually built of bricks). A mystic and seemingly unfathomable cave is ensconced beneath a range of small rocks that twist and turn eastward as a whole. As the western part of the cave has collapsed together with the building atop it, there is no way of knowing what the artificial mountain looked like in its entirety. Its layout by and large follows the tradition of Ming-dynasty artificial mountains, but through Shitao's ingenious craft, both its main peak and cave are brought into focus and properly set off by subsidiary structures. Manoeuvring in an untrammelled way despite the lack of space, the peerless monk painter kept density and space on an even keel in his masterpiece, and its lofty and steep image is apt to the name "Small-Rock Mountain Abode."

Yangzhou is located in a plain between the Yangtze and the Huaihe River. With no quarriable mountains available in the vicinity, Yangzhou

outdid Suzhou by procuring more varieties of materials for rockwork construction—including Lake Tai stones, yellow stones, snow stones and Lingbi stones—from Suzhou, Zhenjiang, Xuancheng and Lingbi counties in Anhui. As waterways are the only means of bulk transportation for Yangzhou, the stones shipped in are mostly of small sizes, a fact which is challenging to artificial mountain crafters and calls for higher stone-piling expertise. I surmise that Shitao must have made do with such small stones when he was building his mountain for the Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks. It is also apparent that he had taken great pains in selecting his rocks for the Small-Rock Mountain Abode, and put them together according to their sizes, textures and veins and following the principle that "construction of mountain peaks should accord with a painter's texturing brush strokes derived from natural peaks" (quoted from the *Monk Balsam Pear on Painting*) to bring about mountain tops reigning over ravines and cliffs whose shapes change all the time and appear to be at once linked and delinked. (For Shitao's theory on painting, see the colophon of *A Small Landscape Painting by Monk Balsam Pear*.) In this way no traces of axing and chiselling can be found on his tall peaks and deep caves, while the unity of his texturing work, the contrast between tangibles and intangibles, and the compact makeup of his designs are unimaginable for those who know little about the principles of painting or those who are not good enough to put such principles into practice. Shitao's techniques were frequently imitated, but because of lack of dexterity and understanding, his imitators could only pile up stone slabs horizontally and coat and imbed them with small stones. The artificial mountains thus built always look unnatural.

Because stones are somewhat hard to come by in Yangzhou, stone embankments are seldom built around ponds in local gardens, but stone walls are repeatedly built, which not only enhances scenic depth, but also saves land and stones, with the resulted products appearing more exquisite than those in Suzhou. Peaks, caves, stone stairways, stone bridges, and stepping stones are also properly crafted in Yangzhou gardens.

Qian Yong says in *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* (Volume Twelve),

> Among the pioneering artificial mountain builders, Zhang Lian (1587-1673) was the best in the beginning years of the dynasty. During the Kangxi reign there was Monk Shitao, who was followed by such masters as Qiu Haoshi (1723-1795), Taoist Priest Dong (1736-1795), Wang Tianyu (1736-1795)[1], and Zhang Guotai. More recently there was Ge Yuliang (1764-1830), a Changzhou native whose rock-stacking craft was better than those of others.

Ge Yuliang, who came to the fore in the wake of Shitao during the Qianlong-Jiaqing reigns, was a famous mountain builder who assimilated Shitao's techniques in many of his works. The artificial mountains he built in the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode of Suzhou and the Homecoming Swallow Garden of Changshu (as well as the Lesser Winding Gully built of yellow stones in the Qin's Imagined Garden in Yangzhou, which unfortunately, are in ruins today), show that he had improved his craft while inheriting Shitao's legacies. Because Ge had mastered Shitao's principle that "mountain peaks ought to accord with a painter's texturing brush strokes derived from natural peaks," the mountain he had built of Lake Tai stones in the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode look deep, tranquil and replete with surprises, while the one he built of yellow stones for the Homecoming Swallow Garden look natural and life-like despite their seemingly plain appearances. The former is complicated but well-organized, with the builder's workmanship shining forth through the kind of depth and tranquillity that evokes Wang Meng's horizontal painting scrolls; the latter looks simple but is never shallow thanks to the builder's rich expertise derived from Ni Zan's sketches. As each of the two rockeries used a different kind of stones, the builder adjusted his techniques accordingly, and came up with two masterpieces whose knolls and ravines and artistic allure stood out in distinct differences. It is thus no exaggeration to say that Shitao was as outstanding in building artificial mountains as he was in the realm of painting.

Rereading Qian Yong's *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* and checking his records of the Small-Rock Mountain Abode, I found the address he gives of this rockery is factual. Of the two halls cited in this book, one is still there today, a threebay structure built of *Phoebe nanmu* during the Qianlong reign; the pond has long been filled in, but traces of Lake Tai stone embankments are still there. The mountain turns out to be fashioned out of Lake Tai stones as well, a fact that tallies with Qian Yong's record. The peak of the artificial mountain overlooks the surrounding wall at a proper height. And the mountain's imposing structure, its lone peak enveloped in greenery in particular, deserves the superlatives, "exceptionally perpendicular." According to Fu Baoshi's[2] *A Chronicle of Shitao the Venerable Buddhist,* Shitao was a regular visitor to Yangzhou in the period 1678-1697, and he never left Yangzhou during the years from his settlement in the city in 1697, the thirty-sixth year of the Kangxi reign, to his death in 1707, the forty-sixth year of the Kangxi reign. The Great Mind-Cleansing Thatched Hut, the

Thatched Belvedere Amidst Green Lotuses, the Heart-Ploughing Thatched Hut, and the Thatched Hut for Revering Mount Tai were names of his residences that he often signed—though not as often as the Mountain-Level Hall and the Quiet Prajna Temple—on his inscriptions and paintings during his years in Yangzhou[3]. In a colophon on his painting *Cloud Waves over Mount Huangshan* done in 1687 at age forty-five,[4] he says, "It was a winter day in a *ding-mao* year that I overnighted at the Lane Under Giant Trees in Guangling after a failed northbound trip…." On a one-foot scroll done on a piece of Heart-Purifing Hall paper: "Signed on a winter day in a year of *wu-yin* at the Thatched Hut of East City in Guangling." In his "Postscript to the Album of Mount Huangshan Paintings" in 1699 at age fifty-seven: "Upon returning to Guangling after a tour of Mount Huangshan, Mr. Jin'an gathered us at Down the River Street to recount the sceneries of the mountain… in the seventh month of a year of *ji-mao*." The Small-Rock Mountain Abode is found in the southeast of the city, with Down the South River Street in front of it and Down the North River Street to the east, and Lane Under Giant Trees behind it. I am not sure if the "East City" mentioned in Shitao's colophon refers to the eastern part of Yangzhou today, but his "Down the River Street" is the present-day Down the South River Street or Down the North River Street, whereas Lane Under Giant Trees should be today's Big Tree Lane. Thus Shitao's lodging at the time was probably close by Garden Lane. He was born in 1642, and died in 1707, with his body entombed at the foot of the Shugang Hill[5]. Qian Yong was born in 1759, the twenty-fourth year of the Qianlong reign, and died in 1844, the twenty-fourth year of the Daoguang reign, just fifty-two years after Shitao's demise. This short span of time, plus the fact that Qian Yong, an artist with all-round attainments, had unique perspectives on gardens and architecture and had personally visited and recorded the famous gardens of his day, indicates that his *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* and his comments on Shitao in it are of immense reference value to researchers of Chinese garden history. Qian Yong himself had also settled in Yangzhou for some years, and had inscribed in his own handwriting many boards for the city's scenic resorts and gardens, including the nameboard of the Loft of Two-Thirds Bright Moonlight. This further convinces me that his records are well founded and, therefore, can never be put on a par with the notes of ordinary folks or hearsay. Moreover, judging from the time of Shitao's settlement in Yangzhou, the artificial mountain in the Small-Rock Mountain Abode should be attributed to his evening years,

which fell on the early Qing.

Based on the sights I have presented in the foregoing, as well as the documentations I have cited, it is safe to attribute, at least initially, the Small-Rock Mountain Abode to Shitao as by far the only extant rockwork he had personally wrought. According to our survey findings of Yangzhou, this artificial mountain is also the earliest of its kind extant in Yangzhou today. It is not only a major testimony to the development of Chinese rockwork techniques, but also an authentic model of Shitao's landscaping painting. Insofar the craft of gardens is concerned, its value speaks for itself[6].

扬州片石山房——石涛叠山作品

石涛是我国清初杰出的一个大画家。他在艺术上的造诣是多方面的，不论书画、诗文以及画论，都达到高度境界，在当时起了革新的作用。在园林建筑的叠山方面，他也很精通。《扬州画舫录》《扬州府志》及《履园丛话》等书，都说到他兼工叠石，并且在流寓扬州的时候，留下了若干假山作品。

扬州石涛所叠的假山，据文献记载有两处：其一，万石园。《扬州画舫录》卷二："释道济字石涛……兼工垒石，扬州以名园胜，名园以垒石胜，余氏万石园出道济手，至今称胜迹。"《嘉庆扬州府志》卷三十："万石园汪氏旧宅，以石涛和尚画稿布置为园，太湖石以万计，故名万石。中有樾香楼、临漪槛、援松阁、梅舫诸胜，乾隆间石归康山，遂废。"其二，片山石房。《履园丛话》卷二十："扬州新城花园巷又有片石山房者，二厅之后，湫以方池。池上有太湖石山子一座，高五六丈，甚奇峭，相传为石涛和尚手笔。"

万石园因多见于著录，大家比较熟悉，可是早毁于乾隆间，而利用该园园石新建的康山今又废，因此现已无痕迹可寻。唯一幸存的遗迹，便是这次我发现的片石山房了。

近年来，我在扬州对古建筑与园林住宅作较全面的调查研究。在市区东南隅花园巷东尽头旧何宅内，有倚墙假山一座，虽然面积不大，池水亦被填没，然而从堆叠手法的精妙，以及形制的古朴来看，在已知的现存扬州园林中，应推其年代最早，其时间当在清初，确是一件不可多得的精品。现在从其堆叠的手法分析，再证以钱泳《履园丛话》的记载，传出石涛之手是可征信的，确是石涛叠山的"人间孤品"。

假山位于何宅的后墙前，南向，从平面看来是一座横长的倚墙假山。西首为主峰，迎风耸翠，奇峭迫人，俯临水池。度飞梁经石磴，曲折沿石壁而达峰巅。峰下筑方正的石屋（实为砖砌）二间，别具一格，即所谓"片石山房"。向东山石蜿蜒，下构洞曲，幽邃深杳，运石浑成。可惜洞西已倾圮，山上建筑亦不存，无从窥其全豹。此种布局手法，大体上仍沿袭明代叠山的惯例，不过石涛加以重点突出，主峰与山洞都更为显著，全局主次格外分明，虽地形不大，而挥洒自如，疏密有度，片石峥嵘，更合山房命意。

扬州属江淮平原，附近无山。园林叠山的石料，必仰给于他地，如苏州、镇江、宣城、灵璧等处。有湖石、黄石、雪石、灵璧石等，品类较苏州所用者为最多。因为扬州主要依靠水路运输，石料不能过大，所以在堆叠时要运用高度的技巧。石涛所叠的万石园，想来便是以小石拼

凑而成山的。片石山房的假山，在选石上用过很大的功夫，然后将石之大小按纹理组合成山，运用了他自己画论上"峰与皴合，皴自峰生"（《苦瓜和尚画语录》）的道理，叠成"一峰突起，连冈断堑，变幻顷刻，似续不续"（石涛论画见《苦瓜小景》）的章法。因此虽高峰深洞，了无斧凿之痕，而皴法的统一，虚实的对比，全局的紧凑，非深通画理又能与实践相结合者不能臻此。此种做法，到后期因不能掌握得法，使用条石横排，以小石包镶，矫揉做作，顿失自然之态。因为石料取之不易，一般水池少用石驳岸，在叠山上复运用了岩壁的做法，不但增加了园林景物的深度，且可节约土地与用石，至其做法，则比苏州诸园来得玲珑精巧。其他主峰、洞曲、磴道、飞梁与步石等的安排，亦妥帖有致。钱泳《履园丛话》卷十二："堆假山者，国初以张南垣为最。康熙中则有石涛和尚，其后则仇好石、董道士、王天于【从周案十二】、张国泰，皆为妙手。近时有戈裕良者，常州人，其堆法又胜于诸家。"戈裕良比石涛稍后，为乾嘉时著名叠山家。他的作品有很多就运用了这些手法。从他的作品——苏州环秀山庄、常熟燕园（扬州秦氏意园小盘谷，亦戈氏黄石叠山小品，惜仅存残迹），可看出戈氏能在继承中再提高。由于他掌握了石涛的"峰与皴合，皴自峰生"的道理，因而环秀山庄深幽多变，以湖石叠成；而燕园则平淡天真，以黄石掇成。前者繁而有序，深幽处见功力，如王蒙横幅；后者简而不薄，平淡处见蕴藉，似倪瓒小品。盖两者基于用石之不同，因材而运技，形成了不同的丘壑与意境。如果说石涛的叠山如其画一样，亦为一代之宗师，启后世之先声，恐亦非过誉。

如今再研究钱泳《履园丛话》所记片石山房地址，也是相合的。二厅今存其一，系面阔三间的楠木厅，其建筑年代当在乾隆间。池虽填没，然其湖石驳岸范围尚在，山石品类用湖石，更复一致。山峰出围墙之上，其高度又能仿佛，而叠山之妙，独峰耸翠，确当得起"奇峭"二字。综上则与文献所示均能吻合。案石涛晚年流寓扬州，傅抱石著《石涛上人年谱》所载，从清康熙三十六年（1697年）石涛六十八岁起，到康熙四十六年（1707年）七十八岁殁，一直没有离开扬州。就是在1678年至1697年前后八九年的时间中，也常来扬州。书画上所署的大滌草堂、青莲草阁、耕心草堂、岱瞻草堂等，都是在扬州时，除平山堂、静慧寺二处外所常用的斋名。复据五十八岁（1687年）所作黄海云涛题语："时丁卯冬日，北游不果，客广陵大树下……"六十九岁（1698年）所作澄心堂尺幅轴款云："戊寅冬日，广陵东城草堂并识。"七十岁（1699年）所作《黄山图卷跋》云："劲庵先生游黄山还广陵，招集河下，说黄山之胜……己卯又七月。"案片石山房在城东南，其前为南河下，东为北河下，后有巷名大树巷。今虽不能确指东城即今市区东部

（亦即扬州新城东部），但河下即南河下或北河下，大树下即大树巷。要之，石涛当时居停处，可能一度在花园巷附近。他生于明崇祯三年（1630年），殁于清康熙四十六年（1707年），葬于蜀冈之麓【从周案十三】。而钱泳则生于乾隆二十四年（1759年），殁于道光二十四年（1844年）。从1795年上推至1707年，为时仅五十二年，论时间并不太久。再者钱泳是一个多面发展的艺术家，在园林与建筑方面有很独到的见解，尤其可贵的是对当时各地的一些名园，都亲自访观过，还作了记录，不失为我们今日研究园林史的重要资料。他亦流寓过扬州，名胜与园林的匾额有很多为他所写，今扬州的二分明月楼额，即出钱泳笔。因此他的记载比一般人的笔记转录传闻的要可靠得多，一定是有所根据的。再以石涛流寓扬州的时期而论，这片石山房的假山，应该属于他晚年的作品，时间当在清初了。

从以上所述实物与文献的参证，可以初步认为片石山房的假山出石涛之手，为今日唯一的石涛叠山手迹，也是我们此次扬州调查所知的现存最早假山。它不但是叠山技术发展过程中的重要证物，而且又属石涛山水画创作的真实模型。作为研究园林艺术来说，它的价值是可以不言而喻的【从周案十四】。

1962年

QIAO'S GARDEN, TAIZHOU

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Translated by Zhong Zhilan

The second largest city behind Yangzhou in north Jiangsu province, Taizhou develops its economy on the basis of commerce and handicrafts production. As the scourge of war rarely occurred on its land over the years, Taizhou is the largest repository of ancient buildings, gardens, and other cultural and historical heritages among all the cities in northern Jiangsu. Heading the list is the Southern Mountain Temple, whose stone tablet pedestal dates back to the Five Dynasties (907-960), and whose Ming-dynasty Heavenly Kings Hall[1], completed in 1463, the seventh year of the Tianshun reign (1457-1464), is a study of pre-Yuan (1271-1368) architecture on account of its main hall's timber structure, whose inner and outer columns are of equal height, with inverted V-shaped braces resting underneath ridgepoles. Also noteworthy are two other Ming halls that remain relatively intact today: one is fashioned out of *Phoebe nanmu* in Jiang Ke's[2] Mansion built during the Longqing reign (1567-1572), and the other hall, built toward the end of the Ming inside of the Gong's Mansion. There is also the Mount Dai Temple, known for its Tongguang[3] Bronze Bell and two bronze statues cast respectively in 1107, the first year of the Daguan reign (1107-1110), and 1126, the first year of the Jingkang reign (1126-1127) of the Song (960-1279).

Insofar as Taizhou's gardens are concerned, no talk about them is complete without the Qiao's Garden on the east-west Straight Road of Character Eight Bridge[4].

The Qiao's Garden was built by Chen Yingfang (1534-1601)[5], a landed official who served as Chamberlain for the Imperial Stud during the Wanli reign (1573-1620) of the Ming. Drawing inspirations from a line in Tao Qian's "Come Away Home," "The garden enriches my soul through my daily rambling of it," Chen named it "Daily Rambler's Garden" and wrote his *Jottings from the Daily Rambler's Garden*. The garden changed hands repeatedly after the Chens' fortune went downhill. Tian Jingxi[6] became its owner in the early years of the Kangxi reign (1662-1722) of the Qing. A man

surnamed Gao renamed it "Three Peaks Garden" after coming into possession of it during the Yongzheng reign (1723-1735). When Wu Wenxi (1800-1870)[7] acquired the garden in 1858, the eighth year of the Xianfeng reign (1851-1861), he called it "Hibernation Garden." Soon afterwards, Qiao Songnian (1815-1875)[8], Salt Distribution Commissioner of Huaidong and Huaixi, gave it a new leash of life and a new name, "Qiao's Garden."

When Gao Fengzhu[9] lived in the garden, he asked a man by the name of Li Yu to paint a picture of it for him. Barely a century later in 1825, the fifth year of Daoguang reign (1821-1850), Zhou Xiang[10] came up with four other paintings with views on each side of the Thatched Hall in the Cuckooing Birds' Mountains[11]. Wu Wenxi wrote the "Notes on the Hibernation Garden" after he had the garden renovated in 1859, the ninth year of the Xianfeng reign (1851-1861). From these literary sources we get a glimpse of what had happened over the years to this oldest garden in northern Jiangsu.

Sprawling over a large area in its heyday, the Qiao's Garden used to be graced with exterior dwellings that gradually grew into a mammoth mansion after the mid-Ming through repeated expansions and annexations by landed bureaucrats. We have no way of knowing the mansion's former glory from the buildings we can see around the garden today, but we can still gain some idea about it from its four remaining Ming-dynasty halls, one of which looks rather intact.

Facing south, the Qiao's Garden is nestled in the center of the mansion. During the years when it was known as "Three Peaks Garden," it offered fourteen sights: the Evergreen Mountain Abode; the Hall with a Rope to Draw Water from a Well[12]; the Fish Enumerator's Pavilion; the Cloud Enshrouded Cave; the Howling Pine Belvedere[13]; the Thatched Hall in the Cuckooing Birds' Mountain; the Bamboo Cottage that Splits a Forest in Two[14]; the Nest Pavilion[15]; the Zither Playing Verandah[16], the Imminent Greenness Belvedere; the Laizi Blessing Hall[17]; the Rain-Splattered Plantain Verandah; the Literary Osmanthus Landboat[18]; and the Rock Forest Trail. Though we cannot see the garden's former glory in its entirety, it is not too difficult to restore it based on its present size.

The centerpiece of the garden is the Thatched Hall in the Cuckooing Birds' Mountains. Hemmed in by a massive artificial mountain with a brook flowing in front of it, the hall's front gate opens onto three stalagmites that soar into the sky from atop the mountain, hence the hall's byname, "Three Peaks Thatched Hall." A Lake-Tai rock embedded in a wall at the western

end of the mountain foot is easily mistaken for a lattice window. As per a description in the "Notes of the Hibernation Garden," this very rock is "thoroughly creased, hollowed through and looking slim." A small arch bridge sits astride one end of the brook and a stone beam spans its other end. The bridge conducts to the Cloud Enshrouded Cave that meanders its way through the mountain. There used to be a Flower Goddess Belvedere south of the Three Peaks Mountain, but it is nowhere to be seen today.

An ancient Chinese juniper rises from among the three peaks in front of the former site of the vanished belvedere. As the "Notes of the Hibernation Garden" puts it: "With galls and gnarls piling up upon its curling and coiling branches, this tree belongs unmistakably to a remote generation." Whilst adding an impressive touch to the garden, it is also the most celebrated ancient tree in Taizhou. A half pavilion that clings against the western wing of the mountain foot seems to have been added to the fold in recent times, because its absence is conspicuous among the garden's old pictures. Stepping eastward across the stone beam and the valley, one arrives at the Fish Enumerator's Pavilion, which has collapsed, with its site remaining there for all to see; the ancient pine standing by the pavilion is rare and rustic to the uttermost, but to visitors' dismay, it is rotting away. To the north of the Thatched Hall in the Cuckooing Birds' Mountain, a trail threads through a moon gate in a wall adorned with lattice windows. Inside of the courtyard, a yellow-stone terrace rises along a zigzagging stone stairway before one reaches the Hall with a Rope to Draw Water from a Well. The hall, equipped with floor-length windows on its four sides, is found between two reconstructed structures, the Howling Pine Belvedere to the left and the Nest Pavilion to the right. Jutting out like a wing, the hall is encircled by a parterre that features a cornucopia of trees, slim bamboos, rugged vines and imposing rocks, all of which mingle to accentuate the exceptional seclusion and fascination of the entire scene. With sparse embellishments and a layout akin to a traditional Chinese painting, this courtyard evokes elegance and quietude in ways both unconventional and ingenious.

Comparisons made between historical archives and literature and what remains of the Qiao's Garden indicate that the garden we see today is worlds apart from its former self. Nevertheless, it still offers something noteworthy as far as the craft of gardens is concerned.

Judging from its general layout, the garden is centered upon the Thatched Hall in the Cuckooing Birds' Mountain, and supplemented with a

belt of water and a mountain in the front to conjure up its focal scenery. The small courtyard laid out in the rear to add a deliberate digression, serves, in literary parlance, to revive the visitor's spirits with another fabulous scene. Significantly different in size, visibility and importance, the focus and foil give full play to space grouping in a clever way. The integration of simple elements—a hall situated up north, a pond in the middle, a mountain opposite the hall, a cave with rocks hidden inside of it, and a stone beam lying across a brook—brings fresh and original prospects to the premises without falling into the beaten track, an integration that is exactly what the Ming tradition of garden-making is all about. With scenic sights arrayed in all directions, the garden also makes the most of the view-borrowing technique by keeping its belvederes on either side of its enclosing wall. The main travel route takes a circuitous track, with the trail atop the mountain and the cave below it offering two more optional sightseeing routes. More changes are also added to the main travel route in the form of small bridges, steppingstones, and a footpath that forks out at the foot of the artificial mountain.

In terms of rockwork arrangement, all the Lake-Tai rocks and yellow stones were carefully chosen and cleverly arranged in compliance with a unified plan before they were shipped to the Qiao's Garden. There being absolutely no stones to be quarried locally in Taizhou, these rocks and stones were procured from other places, and came in sundry categories and sizes, yet they were assembled and stacked up so intelligently that no trace of cobbling is found in all the artificial mountains constructed on the site. In the pond, for instance, yellow stones are kept under water while Lake-Tai rocks protrude from the water surface to show their distinctive shapes and postures to best advantage. At the Cloud Enshrouded Cave, yellow stones are paved to form the base, with Lake-Tai rocks piled up upon them to beautify the garden's scenic skyline. Moreover, bricks are used to build the archway inside of the cave to make up for the shortage of stones, with a small yard built in the valley to facilitate smooth transition from rock structures to brickwork, thereby forestalling feels of bluntness or blemishes. To further economize on rocks, construction of all-stone walls is minimized and interspersed with brick-and-earth walls surfaced with Lake-Tai rocks. All caves inside of the garden, built in the techniques of brick trail building and dynamic balance of blocks in stone caves (see *The Craft of Gardens*), are apparent Ming-dynasty legacies. Compactly structured with agreeable variants, and produced with superb craftsmanship with the least traces of artistry, they are among the best

of small caves comparative with those found in the Ming-dynasty Five Peaks Garden in Suzhou. Moreover, the brick archway tunneled through the mountain is a rarity unseen elsewhere. The three stalagmites that stand atop the summit and mingle with the curling branches of an ancient juniper are definitely the highlight of the entire garden's scenery, an arrangement that obviously breaks the convention that such stone pillars can only be situated among lush bamboos. At the foot of the mountain, the pond meanders its way into the distance as an admirable supplement; foot roads, bridges and steppingstones are scattered to a nicety. All these excellent ways of doing things are rarely seen in other gardens in north Jiangsu. In similar rockwork techniques, the artificial mountain builder of the Qiao's Garden obviously outdid such consummate rockery builders as Shitao and Ge Yuliang.

In horticultural arrangement, priority is given to arbors, with ancient-looking cypresses highlighted, and pines and plum groves supplementing. Nandinas are planted at most mountain cols and brook bays, and winter sweets and osmanthus clumps are arranged in front of courtyards. Bamboos and plantains offer delightful shade to the surroundings of halls, and arboraceous and herbaceous peonies are cultivated in parterres. These trees and flowers not only give inspirations to building names such as "Evergreen Mountain Abode," "Howling Pine Belvedere" and "Rain-Splattered Plantain Verandah," but also conjure up kaleidoscopic seasonal changes in the garden's scenery. More importantly, the adoption of the aforementioned botanical combinations is in accord with traditional Chinese painting theories. In terms of spiritual setting, demure elegance and unadorned delicacy are the starting point before such trees and flowers are put together. For instance, plantains are used for their coolness and green hues; sparse bamboo twigs can cast picturesque shadows on windows; and nandina, winter sweet, pine and cypress branches intertwine to set off each other agreeably. As prototypes in traditional Chinese painting, all these botanical groupings have captivated so many literati officials through the generations. Bookbinding grass (*Ophiopogon japonicus*) is also planted to fill in baldness on crags and turn an entire mountain into an unblemished green carpet. In this way, bluntness and flaws in artificial mountains are cleverly covered or concealed so that the entire garden looks like a harmonious whole. The way the bookbinding grass is applied in the Qiao's Garden has long been commonplace among northern Jiangsu gardens, but in my opinion, it ought to be popularized in southern Jiangsu gardens as well, where such grass is still

used sparsely for patchwork purposes. It ought to be assimilated by all the garden-makers in China, for that matter. Just as Guo Xi puts it in *The Lofty and Sublime Messages of Forests and Streams*:

> A mountain takes streams as its arteries, grass and trees as its hair, and the misty clouds above it as its spiritual verve.

To sum up, as the one and only completely extant traditional Chinese garden in Taizhou, as well as the most venerable one in northern Jiangsu, the Qiao's Garden deserves a prominent position in regional studies of Chinese gardens.

泰州乔园

泰州是仅次于扬州的一个苏北大城市，以商业与轻工业为主，在历史上复少兵灾，因此古建筑园林与文物保存下来视他市较多。如南山寺五代碑座，明代的天王殿及正殿，正殿建于明天顺七年癸未（公元1463年），在大木结构上，内外柱皆等高，脊檩下用叉手，犹袭元以前的建筑手法。明隆庆间的蒋科住宅的楠木大厅，明末的宫宅大厅，现状尚完整。其他岱山庙的唐末铜钟、宋铜像等，前者款识为“同光”，后者为宋崇宁五年（即宋大观元年，公元1107年）及宋靖康元年丙午（公元1126年）年所造。园林则推乔园。

乔园在泰州城内八字桥直街，明代万历间官僚地主太仆陈应芳所建，名日涉园，取晋陶潜《归去来辞》中“园日涉以成趣”之意名额。应芳名兰台，著有《日涉园笔记》。园于清康熙初归田氏。雍正间为高氏所有，更名三峰园。咸丰间属吴文锡（莲芬），名蜇园。旋入两淮盐运使乔松年（鹤侪）手，遂以乔园名。在高凤翥（麓庵）一度居住时期，曾由李育（某生）作园图。周庠（西笭）绘园四面景图，时在道光五年（公元1825年）。咸丰九年己未（公元1859年）吴文锡修复是园后，又作《蛰园记》。从记载分别可以看到当时的园况，为今存苏北地区最古的园林。

乔园在其盛时范围甚大，除园林外尚拥有大住宅，这座大住宅是屡经扩建及逐步兼并形成的。从这里可以看出，明代中叶后官僚地主向农民剥削加深的具体反映。今日园之四周住宅部分，虽难观当日全貌，然明代厅事尚存四座，其中一座还完整。

园南向，位于住宅中部，三峰园时期有十四景之称：皆绿山房；绠汲堂；数鱼亭；囊云洞；松吹阁；山响草堂；二分竹屋；因巢亭；午韵轩；来青阁；莱庆堂；蕉雨轩；文桂舫；石林别径。今虽已不能窥见其全豹，但根据今日的规模，是不难复原的。

园以山响草堂为中心，其前水池如带，山石环抱，正峙三石笋，故又名三峰草堂。山麓西首壁间嵌一湖石，宛如漏窗，殆即《蛰园记》所谓具“绉、透、瘦”者。池上横小环洞桥及石梁。过桥入洞曲，名囊云，曲折蜿蜒山间。主山则系三峰所在，其南原有花神阁，今废。阁前峰间古柏桧一株，正《蛰园记》所谓“瘿疣累累，虬枝盘拿，洵前代物也”。实为园中最生色之处，同时亦为泰州古木之尤者。山麓西则为半亭，案旧图记无此建筑，似属后造。东度小飞梁跨幽谷达数鱼亭，今圮，遗址尚存。亭旁原有古松一株，极奇拙，已朽。山响草堂之北，通花墙月门，垒黄石为台，循迂回的石蹬达正中之绠汲堂。堂四面通敞，左顾松

吹阁，右盼因巢亭。今阁与亭名存而实非。绠汲堂翼然邻虚，周以花坛丛木，修竹古藤，山石森然，丘壑独存。虽点缀无多，颇曲尽画理，是一园中另辟蹊径的幽境。

乔园今存部分，与文献图录所示对照，已非全貌。然就现状来看，在造园艺术上尚有足述的地方。

在总体布局上，以山响堂为中心，其前凿池叠山以构成主景。后部辟一小园，别具曲笔，使人于兴尽之余，又入佳境。这两者不论在大小隐显与地位高卑上，皆有显著不同的感觉，充分发挥了空间组合上的巧妙手法。至于厅事居北，水池横中，假山对峙，洞曲藏岩，石梁卧波等，用极简单的数事组合成之，不落常套，光景自新，明代园林特征就充分地体现在这种地方。此园林以东南西北四个风景面构成，墙外楼阁是互为“借景”。游览线以环形为主，山巅与洞曲又形成上下不同的两条游径，并佐以山麓崖道及小桥步石等歧出之，使规则的主线中更具变化。

叠山方面，此园在运用湖石与黄石两种不同的石种上，有统一的选择与安排。泰州为不产石之地，因此所得者品类不一，而此园在堆叠上使人无拼凑之感。在池中水面以下用黄石，水面以上用体形较多变化的湖石。在洞中下脚用黄石，其上砌湖石。在石料不足时，则以砖拱隧道代之，它与石构者是利用山涧的小院作过渡，一无生硬相接之处。若干处用砖墙挡土，外包湖石，以节省石料。以年份而论，山洞部分皆明代旧物，盖砖拱砌法以及石洞的大块“等分平衡法”（见《园冶》），其构造既有变化又复浑融一片，无斧凿之痕可寻，洵是上乘的作品，可与苏州明代旧园之一的五峰园山洞相颉颃，为今日小型山洞中不可多得的佳例。至于山中置砖拱隧道，则尤为罕见。主峰上立三石笋，与古柏虬枝构成此园之主要风景面，一反前人以石笋配竹林的陈例。山下以水池为辅，曲折具不尽之意。以崖道、桥梁与步石等酌量点缀其间，亦能恰到好处。这些在苏北诸园中未见有此佳例。此种叠山艺术的消息，清代仅在石涛与戈裕良的作品中尚能见之，并有所提高。

花木的配置以乔木为主，古柏重点突出，辅以高松、梅林。山坳水曲则多植天竺。庭前栽腊梅、丛桂，厅周荫以修竹、芭蕉，花坛间布置牡丹、芍药，故建筑物的命名遂有皆绿山房、松吹阁、蕉雨轩等。至于其所形成四季景色的变化，亦因此而异。最重要的是此类植物的配合，是符合中国古代画理的，当然在意境上，还是从优雅清淡上着眼，如芭蕉分绿，疏�横窗，天竹腊梅，苍松古柏，交枝成图，相映生趣，皆古画中的粉本，为当时士大夫所乐于欣赏的。山间以书带草补白，使山石在整体上有统一的色调。这样使若干堆叠较生硬处与堆叠不周处能得到藏拙，全园的气息亦较混成，视苏南园林略以少数书带草作补白者，风

格各殊。此种手法为苏北园林所习用，对今日造园可作借鉴。宋人郭熙说，“山以水为血脉，以草木为毛发，以烟云为神采”（《林泉高致》），便是这个道理。

总之，乔园为今日泰州仅存的完整古典园林，亦是苏北已知的最古老的实例，在中国园林研究中，以地区而论，它有一定的代表性。

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英译：仲志兰

A NOTE ON REBUILDING WATER-INKED GARDEN

May, 1992
Translated by Zhong Zhilan

The Water-Inked Garden in Rugao, Jiangsu province, was a garden of national renown built by Mao Xiang (1611-1693)[1] in the waning years of the Ming dynasty. The much-told tale of Mao and the courtesan Dong Bai (1624-1651)[2] has come down as a legend in Chinese literary history along with the garden.

I still remember having the honour in my youth to make the acquaintance of Mao Xiaolu (1909-1988)[3] during a visit to his father Mao Guangsheng (1873-1959)[4] in their Shanghai residence.[5] Descendants of the owner of the Water-Inked Garden, the revered father and son were more than familiar with the history of the garden. I wanted to visit it, but procrastinated and never made it, which pretty much choked me through the years.

Of late the local government asked me to make cartographic records of this famed heritage site and draw a conservation plan for it. I ruminated, and was slow and hesitant to take action. Judged from its name, this garden was apparently predicated on water. Enveloped in water and nestled against a vast bamboo grove, it also clung to a city parapet topped with imposing crenellations, which made it a true rarity among private gardens across the country. When the restoration task eventually came under way, we worked to preserve the water surfaces in the first place while repairing and expanding the city wall and rejuvenating the bamboo groves on the premises. An artificial mountain was built, with water splashing out of a fountainhead into a pool at the mountain foot. In this way, the entire scenery looked at once integral and judiciously divided, the lofts and terraces tossed their silhouettes into the water to conjure up a vista in which tangibles and intangibles mingled to the enchantment of visitors, and vivid expression was somewhat given to water as the overriding theme of the Water-Inked Garden.

I hereby jot down this brief note upon completion of the restoration project to commend the Rugao government's devotion to conserving local cultural and historical legacies. Only with such devotion can our nation's

spirit be boosted and our local cultures be rejuvenated. It will be my uttermost delight if, on a fine spring or autumn day, I, walking stick in hand, can join some local friends for a visit to this famous garden. Only thus can a fifty-year-long wish of my life come true.

重修水绘园记

如皋水绘园，天下名园也，明冒辟疆所筑，董小宛故事，遍传人间，名园名姬，流为艳谈。忆少时谒冒丈鹤亭于沪寓，获交孝鲁先生，贤乔梓为水绘后人，熟知园之史实，尝拟往访，因循未果，耿耿于怀。近如皋市以保此名迹，嘱为摹画修复，迟迟未敢举笔。此园以水绘名，重在水字。园故依城，水竹迷漫，城围半园，雉堞严然，于我国私园中别具一格。今复斯园，仍以水为主，城墙水竹，修复而扩大之。筑山一丘，山中出涧，泻泉入池，合中有分；楼台映水，虚虚实实，游者幻觉迷目，水绘意境，于是稍出。园成，为记此文，知如皋重历史之文物，振民族之正气，地方文化得兴。他时春秋佳日，携筇与如皋人同游名迹，以偿五十年前访园之夙愿，实平生一大快事也。

1992年5月

英译：仲志兰

GRATIFICATION GARDEN, INNER GARDEN, SHANGHAI

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The complex comprising the Gratification Garden and the Inner Garden, with the City God's Temple in between, is one of the old gardens that remain relatively intact to this day in Shanghai. As it is located in the most densely populated area of the metropolis, the municipal culture bureau and cultural heritage administration has stepped up its management and refurbishment in an effort to provide ideal greenery to this area and a cosy place where people can relax and see the scenery. As a participant in such an effort over the years, I would like to share my experience and discoveries with my readers.

The garden was built by Pan Yunduan (1526-1601)[1], a Shanghai native who served as administrative commissioner of Sichuan province during the Wanli reign of Emperor Shenzong (1573-1620) of the Ming. He called it "Gratification Garden" because he built it to gratify his father Pan En (1496-1582), a retired minister of justice during the Jiajing reign of Emperor Shizong (1521-1566) of the same dynasty. Its construction began in 1559, the thirty-eighth year of the Jiajing reign, and was completed eighteen years later in 1577, the fifth year of the Wanli reign. Sprawling on a lot of over seventy *mu*, it became one of the few famous gardens in the Jiangnan area at the time. The Pans' Mansion, situated to the east of the garden on Benevolence-Cherishing Street at Phoenix Tree Road, with one of its Five Old Peaks now in the former Yans' Mansion on Yan'an Road Central, was at the time the largest of its kind in Shanghai. In the mid-17th century, the garden fell into dilapidation with the decline of the Pan family. In 1760, the twenty-fifth year of the Qianlong reign of the Qing, some local gentries pooled money and bought part of the garden complex, restored it and named it "West Garden," with the Inner Garden built in 1709, the forty-eighth year of the Kangxi reign, renamed "East Garden."

During the Daoguang reign (1821-1851) of the Qing, local authorities consigned the long decaying Gratification Garden to twenty-one trade associations, whose leaders overhauled their respective portions and converted them into conference halls. The garden sustained a major

destruction during the five-day occupation of the City God's Temple by the British troops during the First Opium War in 1842, the twenty-second year of the Daoguang reign, and was destroyed even more seriously in 1860, the tenth year of the Xianfeng reign (1851-1862), at the hands of the BritishFrench troops who took the City God's Temple and suppressed the Heavenly Kingdoms uprising in league with the Qing government. Towards the end of the Qing, the area west of the garden became marketplace, and the size of the garden diminished as a result. The roads close by the garden today, such as Sunshine Condensing Road, Painted Boat Road, and Nine Lions Road, are named respectively after the Sunshine Condensing Belvedere, Hall of Painted Boat and Nine Lions Pavilion in the garden's precincts in old days.

Though the Gratification Garden remains torn apart to this day, its former glory is still discernable for the most part of it. According to a new urban development plan of Shanghai, the lost parts shall be reverted to the garden. The Gratification Garden we see today was actually part of its original northeast corner, which features a massive artificial mountain, with a pond dug and pavilions built at its foot, and its space divided vertically in two by a bridge sitting astride a stream. Across the stream stands a belvedere, with a roofed walkway with latticed windows running through them, whereas the stream takes a series of twists before turning to the garden's east part, where it is flanked by more rockeries and verandahs. Thanks to adoption of Ming-dynasty garden-making techniques, rockeries and water surfaces in the garden are now clustered, now strewn to humour the terrain, with major scenic spots set off properly by secondary ones.

The central building in the area of the great artificial mountain is the "Profuse Beauty Hall," which faces the mountain at its eastern foot. The mountain, built by Zhang Nanyang (*c*. 1517-1596)[2] on a pile of earth, is the largest extant yellow stone work in the Jiangnan area. The path winding its way up and down the mountain, and the stream taking a zigzagging course at its foot seem ever ready to conduct the visitor to fascinating nooks and crannies. Having walked along the aforementioned roofed walkway by the side of the Profuse Beauty Hall, one steps upon the mountain's footpath and sees a stone tablet inscribed with the words, "Stream and mountain to be marvelled at in serenity," in the handwriting of the celebrated calligrapher Zhu Yunming (1460-1526)[3].

The observation deck atop this mountain provides a panoramic view of

the garden. In old days, the masts of junks drifting down the Huangpu River in the distance could be seen from the balustrade of a tiny pavilion standing by the deck. Hence its name, "RiverWatcher's Pavilion." Another small pavilion at the foot of the mountain is silhouetted in the pond. Also tossing its reflection into the water from the other side of the pond is the Mountain-Admiring Hall, a two-story building with a richly variegated façade. This is where the water in the pond forks, with one branch running northwest into the mountain and cascading down to a ravine in a noisy chaos of spray. The other branch is a narrow strip of clear water that takes a detour beyond the gazebo and runs eastward past the Loft of Ten Thousand Flowers, where it flows on through a moon gate in the wall to no one knows where—all the while it is flanked by graceful-looking rockeries and ancient trees whose rich foliage blocks the sun and enhances the peace and quiet of the scene.

In the courtyard before the Loft of Ten Thousand Flowers, a large gingko tree extends its boughs in all directions to interplay with well-spaced *yulan* magnolia's leaves. Judging from its trunk, with a girth larger than a man's arm span, the gingko is likely to have been there as early as the Ming. The grand artificial mountain excels in magnificence and majesty, and the pond wins with its widely extravert character, but the stream, for all its tininess, can still square them off with its deep and serene presence. What is laudable about the garden's design is that its placid stream and double-lane loggia are well coordinated, whereas through the waterside gazebo's pivotal transitional role, coupled with the brick-framed hollowed windows' segmentation and play of perspective, the space is expanded instantly and layered richly, making it possible to pack a profusion of spellbinding sights into a small lot.

Running eastward, the tiny stream begins to widen gradually upon reaching the front of the Spring Adorning Hall. (There used to be a Western-style building in front of this hall in the southwest, but it was demolished in 1958 to make way for a rearrangement of vistas.)

Opposite the Spring Adorning Hall, and surrounded on three sides by water is the Belvedere of Female Phoenix Waltzing and Male Phoenix Wobbling. In front of the belvedere stands the Hall of Balmy Sunshine, with a wall to the east providing the background for an artificial mountain in the breathtaking shape of an overhanging cliff. This mountain is encircled by a pond filled with water cascading down the rockery. Gazing westward from the Belvedere of Delight on the mountain's summit at the eastern end, one

finds that the garden's giant artificial mountain looks as if it were shifted right before the balustrade. Its steep cliff is enclosed behind a tracery-topped wall together with the Verandah of Reposed Comfort. The views beyond this verandah are faintly visible through latticed windows, but if observed from without, the sights within the wall look like belonging to the pavilions and terraces inside the seemingly unfathomable courtyard next door.

The winding roofed walkway of the Spring Adorning Hall provides access to the Room for Private Dialogue by the side of a pavilion with a well under its roof and the studio upon the artificial mountain reachable through a cave in it. The Spring Adorning Hall is a former site of the people's revolution—in 1853, the third year of the Xianfeng reign of the Qing, it was the headquarters of an uprising launched by Liu Lichuan (1820-1855) and members of his Small Dagger Society, who liberated the seat of Shanghai county from the government for seventeen months.

The Inner Garden was as "East Garden" when it was built in 1709, the forty-eighth year of the Kangxi reign of the Qing. As one of the small traditional gardens in Jiangnan, it is well conserved, with its pavilions, terraces, flowers and trees, as well as the pond and rockeries laid out tidily on a two-*mu* lot. Its architectural centerpiece, the Sunny Snow Hall, faces an artificial mountain whose back and wings are encircled by storied buildings. Its other major buildings include the Loft of Prolonged Serenity and the Wave-Watchers' Loft. The Pavilion of Manifold Verdure sits on a knoll surrounded by a dragon-topped wall and exotic rocks scattered among emerald bamboos. A small gate opens onto the Nine-Lion Pond, with the said pavilion and terrace reflected in its crystal clear water. Anyone sitting in the roofed corridor by the side of the pond and watching the slender bamboos and swimming fish will be impressed with the exceptional serenity of the surroundings. The pond could not be smaller, yet no crampedness is felt as water keeps flowing out of it from the mouth of a cave underneath the dragon-topped wall. The roofed walkway takes a turn at the pond before returning to the Sunny Snow Hall. The name of the Wave-Watchers' Loft, where the waves in the Huangpu River could be observed in old days, is only nominal today because the view is totally blocked by a cluster of shopping malls.

Given their small sizes, the gardens built during the Qing are greedily packed with buildings and sceneries. As pavilions, terraces, lofts and verandahs are squeezed into their small lots, there is no way for these gardens

to look natural and commodious. The impact of such greediness is especially apparent in the Inner Garden, which, therefore, compares unfavorably with the Gratification Garden whose builders refused to be encumbered by frivolities in their bold and rather concise plan for it. However, fine designs can still be found in the Inner Garden, including the methodically circuitous layout close by the Nine-Lion Pond, and the vast space in front of the Sunny Snow Hall.

Notwithstanding the "preordained" differences in layout between the Gratification Garden and its Inner Garden, much of the scraggly disorder in rockwork and architecture and the uncouth additions and repairs are aftermaths of wilful repairs done by the aforementioned trade associations in the late years of the Qing. Future repair and maintenance planners ought to pay due attention to restoring both gardens' original plans, so that all the elements that have an ill effect upon the eye can be removed and all the old delights restored.

In this short article I have said little of the other attractions that belonged to the Gratification Garden in its former days because all of them have been inundated in the din and traffic of metropolitan Shanghai. These include the Greater Lotus Pond, the Nine-Bend Bridge, the Moon-Bestowed Loft, the Exquisite Jade Boulder from Lake Tai, and the Nine Lions Pavilion[4].

上海的豫园与内园

豫园与内园皆在上海旧城区城隍庙的前后，为上海目前保存较为完整的旧园林。上海市文化局与文物管理委员会十分重视这个名园，除加以管理外，并逐步进行了修整，给人口密度最多的地区以很好的绿化环境，作为广大人民游憩的地方，充分发挥了该园的作用。年来我参与是项工作，遂将所见，介绍于后：

豫园是明代四川布政使上海人潘允端为侍奉他的父亲——明嘉靖间尚书潘恩所筑，取“豫悦老亲”的意思，名为豫园。从明朱厚熜（世宗）嘉靖三十八年（公元1559年）开始兴建，到明朱翊钧（神宗）万历五年（公元1577年）完成，前后花了十八年工夫，占地七十余亩，为当时江南有数的名园（潘宅在园东安仁街梧桐路一带，规模甲上海，其宅内五老峰之一，今在延安中路旧严宅内）。17世纪中叶，潘氏后裔衰落，园林渐形荒废。清弘历（高宗）乾隆二十五年（公元1760年），该地人士集资购得是园一部分，重行整理。当时该园前面已在清玄烨（圣祖）四十八年（公元1709年）筑有“内园”，二园在位置上所在不同，就以东西园相呼，豫园在西，遂名西园了。清道光间，豫园因年久失修，当时地方官曾通令由各同业公所分管，作为议事之所，计二十一个行业各处一区，自行修葺。旻宁（宣宗）道光二十二年（公元1842年）鸦片战争时，英兵侵入上海，盘踞城隍庙五日，园林遭受破坏。其后奕詝（文宗）咸丰十年（公元1860年），清政府勾结帝国主义镇压太平天国革命，英法军队又侵入城隍庙，造成更大的破坏。清末园西一带又辟为市肆，园之本身益形缩小，如今附近几条马路如凝晖路、船舫路、九狮路等，皆因旧时凝晖阁、船舫厅、九狮亭而得名的。

豫园今虽已被分隔，然所存整体，尚能追溯其大部分。上海市的新规划，将来是要将它合并起来的。今日所见豫园是当年东北隅的一部分，其布局以大假山为主，其下凿池构亭，桥分高下。隔水建阁，贯以花廊，而支流弯转，折入东部，复绕以山石水阁，因此山水皆有聚有散，主次分明，循地形而安排，犹是明代造园的一些好方法。

萃秀堂是大假山区的主要建筑物，位于山的东麓，系面山而筑。山积土累黄石而成，出叠山家张南阳之手，为江南现存最大黄石山。山路泉流迂曲，有引人入胜之感。自萃秀堂绕花廊，入山路，有明祝枝山所书“溪山清赏”的石刻，可见其地境界之美。达巅有平台，坐此四望，全园景物坐拥而得。其旁有小亭，旧时浦江片帆呈现槛前，故名望江亭。山麓临池又建一亭，倒影可鉴。隔池为仰山堂，系二层楼阁，外观形制颇多变化，横卧波面，倒影清晰。水自此分流，西北入山间，谷有瀑注

池中。向东过水榭绕万花楼下，虽狭长清流，然其上隔以花墙，水复自月门中穿过，望去觉深远不知其终。两旁古树秀石，阴翳蔽日，意境幽极。银杏及广玉兰扶疏接叶，银杏大可合抱，似为明代旧物。大假山以雄伟见长，水池以开朗取胜，而此小流又以深静颉颃前二者了。在设计时尤为可取的，是利用清流与复廊二者的联系，而以水榭作为过渡，砖框漏窗的分隔与透视，顿使空间扩大，层次加多，不因地小而无可安排。

小溪东向至点春堂前又渐广（原在点春堂前西南角建有洋楼，1958年拆除，重行布置）。“凤舞鸾鸣”为三面临水之阁，与堂相对。其前则为和煦堂，东面依墙，奇峰突兀，池水潆洄，有泉瀑如注。山巅为快阁，据此东部尽头西眺，大假山又移置槛前了。山下绕以花墙，墙内筑静宜轩。坐轩中，漏窗之外的景物隐约可见，而自外内望又似隔院楼台，莫穷其尽。点春堂弯沿曲廊，可导至情话室，其旁为井亭与学圃。学圃亦踞山而筑，山下有洞可通。点春堂，在清奕詝（文宗）咸丰三年（公元1853年）上海人民起义时，小刀会领袖刘丽川等解放上海县城达十七个月，即于此设立指挥所，因此也是人民革命的重要遗迹。

内园原称东园，建于清玄烨（圣祖）康熙四十八年（公元1709年）。占地仅二亩，而亭台花木，池沼水石，颇为修整，在江南小型园林中，还是保存较好的。晴雪堂为该园主要建筑物，面对假山，山后及左右环以层楼，为此园之主要特色，有延清楼、观涛楼等。耸翠亭出小山之上，其下绕以龙墙与疏�奇石。出小门为九狮池，一泓澄碧，倒影亭台，坐池边游廊，望修竹游鱼，环境幽绝。此池面积至小，但水自龙墙下洞曲流出，仍无局促之感。从池旁曲廊折回晴雪堂。观涛楼原可眺黄浦江烟波，因此而定名，今则为市肆诸屋所蔽，故仅存其名了。

清代造园，难免在小范围中贪多，亭台楼阁，妄加拼凑，致缺少自然之感，布局似欠开朗。内园显然受此影响，与豫园之大刀阔斧的手笔，自有轩轾。然此园如九狮池附近一部分，尚曲折有致，晴雪堂前空间较广，不失为好的设计。

总之，二园在布局上有所差异，但局部地方如假山的堆砌，建筑物的凌乱无计划，以及庸俗的增修，都是清末叶各行业擅自修理所造成的后果。今后在修复工作中，还是要留心旧日规模，去芜存菁，复原旧观才是。

其他如大荷池、九曲桥、得月楼、环龙桥、玉玲珑湖石、九狮亭遗址等，均属豫园所有，今皆在市肆之中，故不述及【从周案十五】。

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SHEN'S GARDEN, VERNAL WAVES BRIDGE, SHAOXING

Wen Wei Po, Hong Kong, October 2, 1963
Translated by Ren Xiaomei

Several years ago I went to Shaoxing in Zhejiang province for the restoration of the Temple of King Yu's Footprints[1] and the Orchid Pavilion. Upon my arrival I was lodged in the Memorial Museum of Lu Xun (1881-1936) within spitting distance of the Vernal Waves Bridge[2] and the Shen's Garden. Recently refurbished, with a surrounding wall newly added, the garden was where Lu You (1125-1210)[3] wrote a legendary lyrical poem to lament the collapse of his first marriage under feudal pressure, and a hall on the premises is dedicated to the memory of this celebrated patriotic poet of the Southern Song (1127-1279). For this reason, the Shen's Garden is thronged all year round with visitors who come to pay homage to him. The crowd is larger than usual when spring sets in.

Only a small yard remains of the old Shen's Garden today, where a few ancient trees, a tiny mound decorated with some yellow stone rockeries, and a limpid pond at its foot combine to engender an ambience tranquil and serene to the utmost. Lu You's memorial hall is housed in a row of rooms by the side of the mound, with a funeral portrait of the poet and a collection of his works on display. According to historical records, the Shen's Garden was quite well-known during the Southern Song and several times larger than it is today.

During his brief first marriage, Lu You was in deep love with his wife, Tang Wan (*fl*. 12th century), a childhood sweetheart who happened to be his mother's niece. However, the old lady did not get along with her daughter-in-law and demanded a divorce.[4]

Not wanting to abandon his wife, Lu You hid her away, but his effort was short lived. The marriage buckled under soon after, and Tang Wan ended up marrying a royal clansman by the name of Zhao Shicheng. In the first lunar month of 1155, the twenty-fifth year of the Shaoxing reign (1131-1163) of Emperor Gaozong,

the two star-crossed lovers chanced upon each other at the Shen's

Garden next to the Temple of King Yu's Footprints. When they sat down for some wine and food, an emotional Lu You, at age thirty-one, improvised a lyrical poem to the tune of "Phoenix Hairpin," and scribbled it down on a wall to unbosom himself to his ex-wife:

Fine pink hands[5], golden wine,
Spring paints willows green walls can't confine.
East wind unfair, affections wearing thin.
In my heart sad thoughts throng;
Our hearts were severed for years long.

Wrong, wrong, wrong!
Spring is as green, in vain she's become lean,
Her silk scarf tear-soaked, red with stains unclean.
Our oath does remain.
No word to her can go.
No, no, no!

Revisiting the Shen's Garden a year later, Tang Wan wrote a poem to the same tune to echo her ex's melancholy feelings:

Worldly sentiments flimsy, Man's feeling hateful,
Easy victim to dusk rain, floral petals tumble.
The wind stills at dawn, yet tear stains remain.
Failing to speak my mind,
I'm left alone to murmur at the balustrade.
Hard! Hard! Hard!

Broken the wedlock, today not as of old,
Sickness haunts me like a swinging hood.
When dusk falls, blaring horns bring in cold.
Fearing to attract an enquirer,
I swallow down tears under joyful cover.
Faker! Faker! Faker!

Tang Wan died shortly afterward, a death which dealt a heavy blow to Lu You and tormented him for the rest of his life. At age sixty-eight in 1192, the third year of the Shaoxi reign (1190-1195) of the Southern Song, he lapsed into a poetic mood again, and wrote the following lines:

To the south of the Temple of King Yu's Footprints, there is a little garden belonging to a man surnamed Shen, where I scribbled down a short lyrical poem on a wall forty years ago. I happen to be here once more, only to find that the garden has changed hands thrice. Sadness wells up my heart when I reread my poem.

When maples begin to redden, oaks are yellowed,
New frost to his temples Heyang judge does dread[6].
Woods and pavilion plunge me into nostalgic mood,
To whom can I open broken heart on death's road?
My drunk scribbling on ruined wall in dust covered,

Past events drift like cloud or dream long dissipated.
Gone, too, in my aging years are fantasies wild,
As I burn a joss stick in Buddha's niche in solitude.

Lu spent his twilight years in a mountain abode by the Mirror Lake in the outskirts of Shaoxing. Whenever he went to town he would stop at the Temple of King Yu's Footprints and go upstairs to gaze at the Shen's Garden. These visits culminated in "Shen's Garden: Two Stanzas":

For four decades she is unheard from, in dream even,
Willows too old to set catkins flying in Shen's Garden.
Though to be buried under loess upon Mount Ji anon,
Honoring her memory my tears rain on.

As sun sinks below town wall, a painted horn bewails;
The garden's old self is no more, be it pool or terrace.
My heart aches as vernal wave 'neath a bridge greens;
The startled swan's[7] silhouette I espied once.

The last two lines of the second stanza are so heart-wrenching that they never fail to haunt those familiar with them whenever they walk up the Vernal Waves Bridge and see the clear water flow underneath. Lu You was already seventy-five when he wrote these lines. Turning eighty in 1205, the year Emperor Ningzong began his Kaixi reign (1205-1208), he wrote "Touring Shen's Garden in a Year-End Dream," in which he lamented once more:

My feet wobble as south town draws nearer;
The Shen's Garden finds me even sadder.
Aroma fills guests' sleeves, plum blooms lingering.
The temple bridge greens as water rises in spring.

As spring sets in anew on south town path's course,
I get an eyeful of plum blooms, yet not her presence;
Long after her bones under Yellow Spring turned ashes,
Locked beneath dust on the wall is my ink's trace.

Indeed, even in the twilight years of his life, Lu You still found his tragic first marriage hard to forget.

The poems quoted in this short article drive home what really happened in a love story gone wrong and shed some light on the history of the Shen's Garden and the Vernal Waves Bridge. Though couched in a plain and unassuming language, the passion and implications behind the lines are forever heartrending and poignant. Today, the Shen's Garden has been restored to its former glory, with the said memorial hall added to honour the poet's memory. Gone forever is the old society with its moribund feudal system. If our Old Man Set Free knew all this, he would wake up smiling broadly in the nether world.

绍兴的沈园与春波桥

前几年我因绍兴的禹庙与兰亭的修复工程，到绍兴去了，住在鲁迅纪念馆。相近有一座春波桥【从周案十六】，桥旁就是沈园，里面并设了南宋爱国诗人陆放翁（游）的纪念馆。沈园亦经过整理，新筑了围墙，常常有从各地方去凭吊的人，尤其是在春日。这里是放翁最有名的一首作品——《钗头凤》词的诞生地。这词使人联想到放翁在旧社会封建势力压迫下的一幕悲剧。

沈园在春波桥旁，现存小园一角，古木数株，在积土的小坡上，点缀一些黄石。山旁清池澄澈，环境至为幽静。旁有屋数椽，今为放翁纪念堂，内部陈列了放翁遗像以及放翁作品。根据记载，沈园在南宋是个名园，范围比今日要大几倍。

放翁原娶唐琬，是他母亲的侄女，两人感情很好。后来因为他母亲不喜欢这位媳妇，放翁又不忍出其妻，将她居住到另一个地方，但终因迫于母命而分开了。唐琬不得已改嫁给当时的宗室赵士程。有一年正月，两人相遇在城南禹迹寺（今尚存，建筑物已重建）沈氏园，酒间放翁赋《钗头凤》一词，题于壁间。词云："红酥手，黄縢酒，满城春色宫墙柳。东风恶，欢情薄，一怀愁绪，几年离索。错，错，错！春如旧，人空瘦，泪痕红浥鲛绡透。桃花落，闲池阁。山盟虽在，锦书难托。莫，莫，莫！"唐琬的和词云："世情薄，人情恶，雨送黄昏花易落。晓风干，泪痕残，欲笺心事，独语斜阑。难，难，难！人成各，今非昨，病魂常似秋千索。角声寒，夜阑珊，怕人寻问，咽泪装欢。瞒，瞒，瞒！"这是绍兴二十五年（公元1155年），放翁三十一岁。不久唐琬死，这对放翁当然是一个刺激，这刺激与隐痛可说一直延续到他将死。绍熙三年（公元1192年）放翁六十八岁，又作了一首诗，序云："禹迹寺南有沈氏小园，四十年前尝题小词壁间，偶复一到，园已三易主，读之怅然。"诗云："枫叶初丹槲叶黄，河阳愁鬓怯新霜；林亭感旧空回首，泉路凭谁说断肠。坏壁醉题尘漠漠，断云幽梦事茫茫；年来妄念消除尽，回向禅龛一炷香。"放翁晚年是住在城外鉴湖畔的山上，每次入城，必登寺眺望沈园一番，因此又赋了二首诗说："梦断香消四十年，沈园柳老不吹绵；此身行作稽山土，犹吊遗踪一泫然。""城上斜阳画角哀，沈园非复旧池台；伤心桥下春波绿，曾见惊鸿照影来。"第二首诗的末后两句写得那么真挚，今日熟悉这诗的游客过春波桥，望了桥下清澈的流水，总要想起这两句来。此时的放翁已七十五岁了。到开禧元年（公元1205年），放翁八十岁那年，又作了《岁暮梦游沈氏园》的两首诗："路近城南已怕行，沈家园里更伤情；香穿客袖梅

花在，绿蘸寺桥春水生。”“城南小陌又逢春，只见梅花不见人；玉骨久成泉下土，墨痕犹锁壁间尘。”已是垂老的情怀，尚是难忘这段旧事。

我们谈了这一些诗词，使人很清楚地明白了这一个故事与沈园及春波桥的由来，但见文字是那么平易能懂，情感与意思是那么的深刻动人。如今人民政府已将沈园修复，又添设了纪念馆。旧社会一去不复返，旧的封建制度再也不会再来。我想放翁地下有知，亦当含笑于九泉了。

香港《文汇报》1963年10月2日

英译：任小玫

WEST LAKE GARDENS, HANGZHOU

Wenhui Daily, March 14, 1962

Garden architecture at the West Lake has long been a requisite theme for local landscape gardeners. On this lake, it is both complex and diverse, and strewn with monumental landmarks and fabulous scenic "sketches." Essayists and poets through the ages, too, have written profusely about it and come up with quite a few immortal works that, one way or another, give wings to imagination and longings.

The West Lake is one of the premier scenic zones in our country, but it is becoming even more beautiful through the diligent labour of so many people. However, she is by no means a new picture drawn on a piece of white paper. She has a history of over a thousand years that, to say the least, dates back to the Tang-Song period, and is still being rebuilt and revised on the basis of what was done by our predecessors. Chinese literature and history archives abound in Tang poems and Song narratives on it. As society develops, the West Lake changes on as well. More discussions about it are necessary because we cherish the hope that she will become still better.

Wang Weilin (1763-1822)[1] writes in a poem on overhauling his Literary Garden:

> I had flower hedge replaced, stone railing mended,
> Alas, it's harder to improve a garden than a rondel;
> If I can settle down with every word to be recited,
> Even a small pavilion or terrace can stand perusal.

These lines, indeed, pinpoint the bittersweetness in the heart of this garden-maker, a feeling that is comparable to a fish knowing whether the water it drinks is cold or warm. Whether it be a flower hedge or a stone railing, uppermost on our minds is how the West Lake can be ameliorated in the ongoing reconstruction drive, an issue that invariably brings into focus the landscaping style of the gardens on and around the West Lake and calls for contention among a hundred schools of thought. Let me kick off the "contention" by relating a little bit about the lake's scenery.

The West Lake sprawls over the western part of Hangzhou. The present-day Lakeshore Road used to be the city wall in days of yore, so that people on their way to the West Lake must go through the wall's three city gates—the Clean Waves Gate, the Gold-Revealing Gate[2] and the Qiantang Gate. The

Gold-Revealing Gate is where Xu Xian and White Maiden meet for the first time, according to the folktale "Legend of the White Snake." As the lake is encircled on three sides by mountains, with the city wall on its backside, a visitor standing on this wall can look out in three directions at the southern mountain, the northern mountain, and the western mountain that faces downtown Hangzhou in the distance. The sights observed northward and westward are on the sunny side and therefore more eye-pleasing than those seen southward; this explains why most of the buildings in private gardens face north, such as the Mountain-in-View Lofts and the Lotus-Flower Halls. A building made to face a view of the West Lake ought to be situated on the shady side—a dilemma about directions that has to be manoeuvred with utmost ingenuity if satisfaction is to be met in both respects. Only then can all the "beauty's four elements"[3] be procured.

Because the western and northern mountains, the Gushan Mountain included, offer the best views of the West Lake, we should consider if it is feasible to erect buildings of excess heights and allow them to obscure too much of the mountain greenery and scenery in both directions. If the Gushan Mountain, for its small size, were covered all over with buildings, would its own vistas be put upside down? Such is the question I once put before the Tongji University architectural designers working on a library to be set up on the Gushan Mountain. Firstly, if the library were an absolute necessity, it should be handled like a small garden contained in a large one, with its buildings cleverly strewn and concealed behind amidst trees and exotic rockeries—only in this way could architecture and scenery echo each other brilliantly. Secondly, some scenic attractions look their best only if seen in the distance, and a building would come handy for this particular sightseeing purpose. However, this justifies neither a construction spree at the vintage point in question nor the building of a structure to monopolize such a scenic spot. Rather, a building erected for this purpose must be kept at a proper distance from the scenery to be savored, and this is where conceptions for view borrowing or opposite views are needed. If houses were built all over the best part of a scenic belt, not only the belt itself would be ruined, but people staying in them would have no views to feast their eyes on as well. Just as Su Shi (1037-1101) says,

> Why can't I see Mount Lushan's true face?
> Because I am caught right in its embrace.

Classical verse and prose make frequent mentions of the scenic sights of southern Hangzhou, but in my opinion, the views of the Precious Stone

Mountain, the Gushan Mountain and the Memorial Causeway of Bai Juyi up north deserve even more attention.

The landscape of the West Lake is all-encapsulating. There are clear, open water surfaces sparkling like mirrors; sinuous mountain trails now plunging deep into a ravine, now threading their way through an ocean of bamboos; water-side verandahs and storied buildings by the lake; and dwellings tucked away in ravines or nestling against mountain coves. Even vistas of the same kind can look different because of their different whereabouts. It is the rich and varied mountains and waters that make the matchless West Lake Scenic Resort possible and provide landscape gardeners with ample grounds to fall back on when adapting their designs to actual conditions.

Compositions vary with contents and genres that include long essays and short vignettes, but no matter what the content or genre, every composition must be pertinent to its subject matter and methodically written. Qian Yong (1759-1844) says a mouthful as he puts it,

> Making a garden is like writing prose or verse;
> Every twist and turn must be made judicious.

This line also justifies the requirement for a garden to have a tortuous plan with plenty of changes. The vastly changeable scenery available at the West Lake can be likened to such literary genres as poetry and rhymed prose that offer the needed options for writing a composition—what a landscape gardener needs to do is to come up with well-conceived blueprints and know where to put his finishing touch to make what is better still better.

I feel that arrangements ought to be made painstakingly before we can do something about the West Lake's myriad scenic gems. But most importantly, we have got to seek out all the historical records and literary allusions, so that all-round fieldwork can come under way for us to look here and there and search high and low for a number of vintage sightseeing points. Only after such vintage points are selected can we decide where new buildings can be erected, where viewing facilities can be built without being encumbered by excess buildings, which places are quiet enough for the construction of sanatoriums, and where a cultural recreational center is needed. Everything, however, is contingent on "siting." As a couplet that graces the Belvedere with Windows on All Four Sides on the premises of the Xiling Seal Engravers Society puts it,

> Affective is facet after facet,
> With water hugging hills that hug water;

Affinitive is heart to heart,
As man inherits the land that inherits him.

This couplet's first line captures exactly the two requirements pivotal to the craft of gardens: "siting" and "view borrowing." I surmise anyone who has been to the Belvedere with Windows on All Four Sides must have been deeply impressed. The Lei's Peak[4] Pagoda in the southern mountain area is an important structure designed for view highlighting.

A colossal scenic zone invariably contains views that are either "dormant" or "prominent." The West Lake with its pictureperfect natural environment is no exception, where the lake surface and the surrounding mountains are not only affective in every façade but also captivating wherever they burst upon the eye. Its Cloud-Piercing Twin Peaks seem to be close at hand when observed from afar but disappear into nowhere when seen close at hand; its Taoguang[5] Temple and Dragon Well Village offer the best venue to discover narrow footways meandering their way to mystic recesses. These and other clever techniques employed by our forbearers in handling different scenic spots need be inherited and carried forward. To weed through the old and bring forth the new, and to avoid falling into old rut, we still need to take stock of our heritages through thoroughgoing investigations and all-round analyses. Only thus can we be down-to-earth enough when arranging garden views.

In a mammoth scenic zone like the West Lake, architecture and scenery are mutually dependent, with the former playing a major role in the latter. As the saying goes, "Good flowers need a good pavilion or terrace to shine forth." Such a relationship is pronounced in every Chinese garden. Unlike private gardens, the West Lake does not need a legion of pavilions, terraces, lofts and chambers to stand on its own, but it cannot do without such buildings altogether. Different from the traditional gardens of Suzhou and Yangzhou, the West Lake does not flaunt gigantic buildings with flying eaves in the southern Chinese tradition, nor are red chambers under blue-glazed tile roofs congruous to it. What is becoming to it may well be white-washed walls and unadorned tiled roofs that are commonplace in central Zhejiang province, whose simplistic, yet graceful style sets people's minds at peace without fail. Large buildings may need flying eaves, whereas what small ones need are well-arranged *yingshan* (pitched roofs with two slopes on the front and the rear respectively), *xuanshan* (*yingshan* plus two walls up through to the roof on the left and right) or *shuiqiangfaqiang* (overhang of roof ridges achieved by turning up the four ridge ends instead of the minor hip rafters)

roof forms, winding roofed walkways, and halfpavilions. Take, for example, the complex centered on the Buddhist Incense Belvedere in the Summer Palace, Beijing. Its main building features a gigantic roof with glazed tiles, but its secondary halls, chambers and pavilions are all covered with double-eave roofs with gray tiles, which shows that even in feudal society royal buildings were not always treated with the same level of extravagance and pomp. In the vast West Lake scenic zone, buildings should be applied flexibly—they ought to be given prominence in one place, kept in low profile in another, and scattered somewhere else. Before actions are taken, the following question must be answered: which should play the leading role, architecture or scenery? But under all circumstances, architecture and scenery should be made to set off each other in delightful ways. The fact that the buildings at the West Lake have taken on new functions today makes it impossible to emphasize which should come first, content or form, but it prompts us to be mindful of the unity between the two. Fortunately, these questions are not at issue for the West Lake, which has already got everything needed for a mammoth scenic zone—waters and mountains, ravines and peaks, frontal mountains and back hills, among other things. Unity in style throughout the zone, and the salient features of every scenic attraction on its premises can be maintained if the entire zone is clearly and strictly demarcated.

The West Lake has long established itself with its "Ten Sights," but more fabulous sights are needed in the days to come. The "Ten Sights" refer to the best of all views that the West Lake has to offer. Some are seasonal, like "Spring Sets In on Memorial Causeway of Su Shi" and "Autumn Moon over a Calm Lake"; some occur at a particular moment of the day, like "Sunset Beyond the Lei's Peak Pagoda"; some are related to weather, like "Wind-Blown Lotus Flowers at a Winery"[6] and "Remnant Snows on a Broken Bridge"; some accentuate mountain views, like "Cloud-Piercing Twin Peaks"; and some are pleasing to one's ears, like "Orioles Singing in Weeping Willows." It is no accidental for these sights, available at different sites and times and in different spaces, to be entrancing and enduring and for their reputation to spread far and wide. Once the secret to such a sight is given away, it becomes the toast of the town in no time, not to mention the fact that no visitor leaves the West Lake without being indelibly impressed. For this reason, I would like to call attention to the need to make every scenic sight look unique or focused on a central theme. A scenic place cannot live up to

its reputation if it is not unique enough or overshadowed by secondary things. If, for example, the lotus flowers at the "Wind-Blown Lotus Flowers at a Winery" merely serve ornamental purposes, how can the sight's name make sense? I would like to propose that this complex issue be handled with utmost caution. In other words, our gardens should exude poetic sentiment and picturesque allure, their scenic spots should look at once attached and detached, their mountains should be enshrouded in mist and their waters ethereally misty. The West Lake may be characterized in various ways—as a painting, a poem, an enormous garden, or whatever—it all depends on what point of view one takes.

Trees have a certain role to play in defining a garden's character. I remember reading verse lines that bring into bold relief the landscape of the West Lake,

> The lake that sparkles like an emerald,
> With green mountains all around,
> Willows, six bridges in misty water mingled.

The term "misty water" instantly brings to mind the weeping willows on the West Lake; through it one sees in one's mind's eye their soft twigs swaying to stroke the water surface ever so affectionately. Just like the trees mentioned in such sayings, "The city greened with willows is none other than Yangzhou" and "Weeping willows at the White Gate are dense enough to shield crows," the willows are what the West Lake and the two cities of Yangzhou and Nanjing depend heavily on to be carpeted in emerald. Other trees, like pines for Mount Huangshan and redleaf trees for the Rosy Clouds' Dwelling Mountain, all adequately serve forestation purposes in their respective areas. At the West Lake, however, some other tree species are needed to properly supplement or mix with the willows, but such trees ought to be sensibly selected. Otherwise, the aftermath would be unimaginable.

Just as a painting must have cohesive tone and style, just as an artificial mountain must be built with a cogent texturing pattern, I believe the West Lake scenic zone should be covered mainly with willow trees because they love water and are easy to take care of and most effective in keeping the land green. What is more, the choice of trees must tally with the "personality" of a particular scenic spot. A tree species chosen properly can easily become the landmark of a certain place. Examples of it abounds in Hangzhou, such as the *Phoebe nanmu* grove at the Taoguang Temple, the bamboos that flank the footpaths at Cloud Dwelling Valley and Dragon Well Village, the sweet-scented osmanthus in the Perfect Enlightenment Gully, and the plum trees at

the Gushan Mountain. The combination of principal and subsidiary trees helps improve a place's scenic prospects. The West Lake scenic zone also abounds in camphor trees and bamboos. It takes only a few years for camphor trees to develop canopy-like foliage, whereas bamboos become tall enough to provide cooling shades a year after they are planted, not to mention the fact that both are of considerable economic value. All this is why they are often adopted as the major greeneries for gardens in central Zhejiang. I would like to suggest both camphor trees and bamboos be popularized so that they can become "hallmarks" for gardens all over the province. As to exotic tree species, they can be used with discretion, but we had better keep them in botanical gardens, which is more effective than having them scattered everywhere. The potted dwarf trees I have seen in Zhejiang are richer and more varied than those in Suzhou and Yangzhou. Of all the potted stumps of plum trees, fingered-citrons, and fragrant citron trees in Zhejiang, those crafted by artisans from Jinhua and Lanxi counties are peerless, particularly those having moss-covered branches and jade-like plum flowers, and those with golden fruits hanging down green twigs. These potted dwarf trees are bound to make the West Lake even more enchanting if their local characteristics become even more pronounced.

西湖园林风格漫谈

西湖的园林建筑是我们园林修建工作者的一个重大课题，它既复杂又多样，其中有巨作、有小品，是好题材。古来的作家诗人，从各种不同角度，写成了若干的不朽作品，到今日尚能引起我们或多或少的幻想和憧憬。

西湖是我国最美丽的风景区之一。今天在党的领导下，经过多少人的辛勤劳动，使她越变越美丽。可是西湖并不是从白纸上绘制的一幅新图画，她至少已有一千多年的历史（说得少点从唐宋开始），并在前人的基础上一直在重建修改。唐人诗词上歌咏的与宋人笔记上记载的西湖，我们今天仍能在文献资料中看到。社会在不断发展，西湖也不断地在变，今天我们希望她变得更好，因此有必要来讨论一下。清人汪春田有重葺文园诗："换却花篱补石阑，改园更比改诗难；果能字字吟来稳，小有亭台亦耐看。"这首诗对我们园林修建工作者来说，真是一言道破了其中甘苦的，他的体会确是"如鱼饮水，冷暖自知"。花篱也罢，石阑也罢，我们今天要推敲的是到底今后西湖在建设中应如何变得更理想，这就牵涉到西湖园林风格问题，这问题我相信大家一定可以"争鸣"一下。如今我来先谈一谈西湖的风景。

西湖在杭州城西，过去沿湖滨路一带是城墙，从前游西湖要出钱塘门、涌金门与清波门，因此《白蛇传》的许仙与白娘娘就是在这儿会面的。她既位于西首，三面环山，一面临城，因此在凭眺上就有三个面：即向南山、北山及面城的西山。以风景而论，从南向北，从东向西，比从北望南来得好，因为向北向西，山色都在阳面，景物宜人，如私家园林的"见山楼""荷花厅"多半是北向的。可是建筑物面向风景后，又不免要处于阴面，想达到"二难并，四美具"，就要求建筑师在单体设计时，在朝向上巧妙地考虑问题了。西山与北山既为最好的风景面，因此应考虑这两山（包括孤山）是否适宜造过于高大的建筑物，以致占去过多的绿化面与山水；如孤山，本来不大，如果重重地满布建筑物的话，是否会产生头重脚轻失调现象。同济大学设计院在孤山图书馆设计方案时，我就开宗明义地提出了这个问题。即使不得已在实际需要上必须建造，亦宜大园包小园，以散为主，这样使建筑物隐于高树奇石之中，两者会显得相得益彰。再其次，有些风景遥望极佳，而观赏者要立足于相当距离外的观赏点，因此建筑物要发挥观赏佳景作用，并不等于要据此佳丽之地大兴土木，甚至于踞山盘居，而应若接若离地去欣赏此景，这就是造园中所谓"借景""对景"的命意所在。我想如果最好的风景面上都造上了房子，不但破坏了风景面，即居此建筑物中亦了无足观，正所谓"不

见庐山真面目”了。过去诗文中常常提到杭州城南风光，依我看还是北望宝石山、孤山与白堤一带景物更为美妙吧！

西湖风景有开朗明净似镜的湖光，有深涧曲折、万竹夹道的山径，有临水的水阁湖楼，有倚山的山居岩舍，景物各因所处之地不同而异。这些正是由西湖有山有水的优越条件而形成。既有此优越的条件，那么“因地制宜”便是我们设计时最好的依据了。文章有论著、有小品，各因体裁内容而异，但总是要切题，要有法度。清代钱泳说得好：“造园如作诗文，必使曲折有法。”这就提出了园林要曲折、要有变化的要求，因此西湖既有如此多变的风景面，我们做起文章来正需诗词歌赋件件齐备，画龙点睛，锦上添花，只要我们构思下笔就是。我觉得今后对西湖这许多不同的风景面，应事先好好地安排考虑一下，最重要的是先广搜历史文献然后实地勘察，左顾右盼，上眺下瞰，选出若干观赏点。选就以后，就能规定何处可以建筑，何处只供观赏不能建造多量建筑物，何处适宜作安静的疗养处，何处是文化休憩处。这都要先“相地”，正如西泠印社四照阁上一联所说的：“面面有情，环水抱山山抱水；心心相印，因人传地地传人。”上联所指，是针对“相地”“借景”两件园林中最主要的要求而言，我想如果到四照阁去过的人，一定体会很深。而南山区的雷峰塔，则更是重要的一个“点景”建筑。

大规模的风景区必然有隐与显不同的风景点，像西湖这样好的自然环境，当然不能例外，有面面有情、处处生姿的西湖湖面及环山；有“遥看近却无”的“双峰插云”；更有“曲径通幽”的韬光龙井。古人在处理这许多各具特色的风景点，用的是不同的巧妙手法，因此今后安排景物时，如何能做到不落常套，推陈出新，我想对前人的一些优秀手法，以及保存下来的出色实例，都应作进一步的继承与发扬。当然我们事先应作很好的调查，将原来的家底摸摸清楚，再作出全面的分析，这样可能比较实事求是一些。

西湖是个大风景区，建筑物对景物起着很大的作用，两者互相依存，所谓“好花须映好楼台”。尤其是中国园林，这种特点更显得突出。西湖不像私家园林那样要用大量的亭台楼阁，可是建筑物却是不可缺少的主体之一。我想西湖不同于今日苏扬一带的古典园林，建筑物的形式不必局限于翼角起翘的南方大型建筑形式；当然红楼碧瓦亦非所取，如果说能做到雅淡的粉墙素瓦的浙中风格，予人以清静恬适的感觉便是。大型的可以翼角起翘，小型的可以水戗、发戗或悬山、硬山，游廊、半亭，做到曲折得宜，便是好布置。我们试看北京颐和园主要的佛香阁一组用琉璃瓦大屋顶，次要的殿宇馆阁，就是灰瓦复顶。即使封建社会皇家的穷奢极欲，也还不是千篇一律的处理。再者西湖范围既如此之大，地区有隐有显，有些地方建筑物要突出，有些地方相反地要不显著，有

些地方要适当地点缀，因此在不同的情况下，要灵活地应用，确定风景和建筑何者为主，或风景与建筑必须相映成趣，这些都要事先充分地考虑。尤其是今天，西湖的建筑物有着不同的功能，这就使我们不能强调内容为先还是形式为先，要注意到两者关系的统一。好在西湖范围较大，有水有山，有谷有岭，有前山有后山，如果能如上文所说能事先有明确的分区，严格地执行，这问题想来也不太大。如此就能保持整个西湖风格的统一，与其景物的特色。

西湖过去有“十景”，今后当有更多的好景。所谓“十景”是指十个不同的风景欣赏点，有带季节性的如“苏堤春晓”“平湖秋月”；有带时间性的“雷峰夕照”；有表示气候特色的“曲院风荷”“断桥残雪”；有突出山景的“双峰插云”；有着重听觉的“柳浪闻莺”；等等。总之根据不同的地点、时间、空间，产生了不同的景物，这些景物流传得那么久，那么深入人心，是并非偶然的。好景一经道破，便成绝响，自然每一个到过西湖的人都会留下不灭的印象。因此今日对于景物的突出、主题的明确，是要加以慎重考虑的。如果景物宾重于主，或虽有主而不突出，如“曲院风荷”没有荷花，即使有亦不过点缀一下，那么如何叫人一望便知是名副其实呢？所以我这里提出，今后对于这类复杂课题，都要提高到主宾明确，运用诗情画意、若即若离、空濛山色、迷离烟水的境界去进行思考处理。因此说西湖是画，是诗，是园林，关键在我们如何地从各种不同角度来理解她。

树木对于园林的风格是起一定作用的。记得古人有这样的句子：“明湖一碧，青山四围，六桥锁烟水。”将西湖风景一下子勾勒了出来。从“六桥烟水”四字，必然使读者联想到西湖的杨柳。这是烟水杨柳，是那么的拂水依人。再说“绿杨城郭是扬州”“白门杨柳好藏鸦”，都是说像扬州、南京这种城市，正如西湖一样以杨柳为其主要绿化物。其他如黄山松、栖霞山红叶，也都各有其绿化特征。西湖在整个的绿化上不能不有其主要的树类，然后其他次要的树木才能环绕主要树木，适当地进行配合与安排。如果不加选择、兼收并蓄的话，很难想象会造成什么结果。正如画一样必定要有统一的气韵格调，假山有统一的皴法，我觉得西湖似应以杨柳为主。此树喜水，培养亦易，是绿化中最易见效的植物。其次必定要注意到风景点的特点，如韬光的楠木林，云栖、龙井的竹径，满觉陇的桂花，孤山的梅花，都要重点栽植，这样既有一般，又有重点，更好地构成了风景地区的逗人风光。至于宜于西湖生长的一些花木，如樟树、竹林，前者数年即亭亭如盖，后者隔岁便翠竿成荫，在浙中园林常以此二者为主要绿化植物，而且经济价值亦大，我认为亦不妨一试，以标识浙中园林植物的特点。至于外来的植物，在不破坏原来风格的情况下，亦可酌量栽植，不过最好是专门辟为植物园，其所收

效果或较散植为佳。盆景在浙江所见的，比苏州、扬州更丰富多彩。我记得过去看见的那些梅桩与佛手桩、香橼桩，培养得好，苔枝缀玉，碧树垂金，都是他处不及的，皆出金华、兰溪匠师之手。像这些地方特色较重的盆景，如果能继续发扬的话，一定会增加西湖不少景色。

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SLENDER WEST LAKE, YANGZHOU

Wenhui Daily, June 14, 1962

The Slender West Lake of Yangzhou is a narrow strip of water dotted with some isles at the confluence of several rivers. On its banks numerous twigs of weeping willows flutter in the wind ever so gently. As landmarks go, the Five-Pavilion Bridge and the White Pagoda situated in the water's widest section are to the Slender West Lake what the Jade Flowery Islet is to the Beihai Park of Beijing and what the Pagoda in Protection of Qian Chu is to the West Lake of Hangzhou. The White Pagoda looks like the very spit of its namesake in the Beihai Park except that the latter looks more proportionate; tall, slim and graceful as it gazes down at the lake through sun-lit clouds, it is worlds apart from the solid and poised presence of its prototype. Looking into the distance from the Anglers' Platform, one finds the White Pagoda and the FivePavilion Bridge framed separately in its two gates, forming a picture of high spatiality and spirituality. Every visitor who catches this vista intentionally or unintentionally will be captivated by its highly resonant but utterly unspeakable delicateness. This is a textbook example of view borrowing, a technique unique to the traditional Chinese craft of gardens. The largest isle in the lake is fashioned in imitation of the Golden Hill of Zhenjiang, and is therefore named "Lesser Golden Hill." The adjectives in the names of the Lesser Golden Hill, the Slender West Lake and the Lesser Qinhuai River are apt for the graceful images of these three landmarks of Yangzhou. For the same reason, I would like to liken the Slender West Lake to a potted miniature landscape—despite its smallness one can easily decipher an abundance of beauty from it.

There are no tall mountains around the Slender West Lake. The Mountain-Level Hall and the Avalokitesvara Mountain to its northwest are neither sky-reaching nor precipitous—they just bear a rough resemblance to a mountain. Gardens were therefore built along the lakeshores to adorn the landscape of Yangzhou. From the *Grand Occasions of Southern Inspection Tours*, a Qing-dynasty compendium of one hundred and twenty volumes, as well as Zhao Zhibi's *An Illustrated Record of the Mountain-Level Hall*, Li Dou's *Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*, and Luo Zaitian's *Paintings of Scenic Spots in Yangzhou*, we may get some idea about the

scenery of the Slender West Lake in its heyday under the reigns of emperors Qianlong and Jiaqing of the Qing. There, every loft, terrace, pavilion, or verandah, every chamber or cave, and every flower or rockery dating back to those years was not without its innovative conception. The private gardens built around the Slender West Lake were now congregated, now dispersed, but all the while they accommodated to each other and borrowed one another's vistas to form a fabulous scenic belt that extended from the North City Gate to the Mountain-Level Hall, with boats on the lake ferrying visitors from one garden to another. The buildings around the lake were single- or two-storied structures laid out on an irregular, ever-changing plan that enhanced the three-dimensional space and echoed the low-lying water surface, thereby giving prominence to the White Pagoda and the Five-Pavilion Bridge and incorporating far-off scenes and sights at the Mountain-Level Hall and Avalokitesvara Mountain through view-borrowing.

Extra attention was paid to meshing the buildings along the lakeshore with the water surface, and to guiding the water to flow along winding embankments, so that the water surface could be utilized to increase the limited land acreage. The techniques adopted by our predecessors in the scenic arrangement of the Slender West Lake are still viable today. As to artificial mountains, I believe they should be built into flat ridges or gentle slopes to form undulating terrains that help break the flat and straight lake surface and the flat field around it, so that the landscape can be beautified and more changes can be facilitated to the topography and spatial segmentation of small gardens contained in larger ones.

The Yangzhou school of traditional gardens is a synthesis of the grand and majestic style of north China and the subtle and elegant style of south China, a synthesis in which the relationship between Suzhou gardens' emphasis on gracefulness and subtlety and northern gardens' stress on weightiness and solidity is tweaked to a nicety. In terms of color tones, it would not hurt to add a bit of bright color to the low-key ornamental style of Yangzhou gardens, which is how the Slender West Lake's mist-and-drizzle water surface is brought to life in vivid and refreshing ways. The Rainbow Bridge of today, for instance, was known as "Red Bridge" in bygone days for its vermilion-lacquered balustrades.

The Mountain-Level Hall commands a vintage point over the scenic zone of the Slender West Lake. Those standing in front of it can stretch their eyes over many a mile of terra incognita over the land of the Yangtze River

Delta, and what they can see is thoroughly condensed in the couplet inside of the Mountain-Level Hall,

> Rising at dawn to lean over a rail,
> All the six dynasties' green hills I behold;
> Raising a cup of wine at nightfall,
> Two thirds of shiny moon I see overhead.

The celebrated poet Du Mu (803-852) improvised while climbing a mountain on an autumn day,

> Faint are the green hills and distant the waters,
> At autumn's end Jiangnan's grass never withers.

The hall stands as tall as the mountains on the other side of the Yangtze, hence its name, the "Mountain-Level Hall," which captures exactly the secret of the view in question. As the Mountain-Level Hall commands a far and wide vista, discretion should be applied to the heights of buildings in front of it. If a thick cluster of storied buildings were built at its foot so that the visitor can look afar to see the hilly scenery of the Jiangnan area and look down at the Slender West Lake close at hand, they would unavoidably rival with the Mountain-Level Hall for visitors' favor, but neither side would be happy with the result. My suggestion is that nearby buildings be kept low enough to hug the winding tail of the lake's scenic belt. In this way the height of the hall is brought into focus and people's field of vision will not be blocked, so that when they look afar against a railing beyond the Slender West Lake's mirror-like surface, he would keep aahing and oohing over the celestial picture of hills and abodes gleaming amidst the thick foliage of weeping willows.

As an ancient city dating back to the Sui-Tang period (581-907), the former site of Yangzhou behind the Mountain-Level Hall is strewn with spots of cultural and historical interest accumulated over the last millennium and more. Such a fact is deeply ingrained in people's minds through so many famous men of letters' poems and inscriptions. These include the maze-like former palaces of Emperor Yang of the Sui, the Bridge of Twenty-Fours eulogized by Du Mu and Jiang Kui (1154-1221) in verse, the Mountain-Level Hall built by Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072), and the Rainbow-Leaning Garden at the Rainbow Bridge, where famous poets gathered to improvise verse to the tinkling of earthen bowls. Like the Slender West Lake's Twenty Sceneries, including the Mist and Rain over Four Bridges, the White Pagoda in Clouds on a Fine Day, the Spring Terrace under the Bright Moon, and the Shugang Hillock in Evening Glow, they have enticed numerous visitors to the Slender West Lake and added a wealth of perennial tales to local folklore. These ancient sites and scenic resorts should be assiduously selected for repairs and

refurbishment, for every one of them is a condensed embodiment of the Chinese craft of gardens as well as a crystallization of landscape in combination with literature and art.

As Yangzhou used to be known as a "Green Willow City," and as the Green Willow Village is found on the Slender West Lake, it follows all too naturally that the Slender West Lake should be kept green primarily with weeping willows. The willow tree's high profile in this city probably began with the excursions of Yangzhou by Emperor Yang of the Sui, and has since been maintained to this day. Having gone through a metamorphosis of more than one thousand years, the fascinations of Yangzhou seem to have everything to do with the emerald richness of the willows. By singlehandedly dressing up Yangzhou into the famed seat of the Eastern Huainan Circuit, these willows cannot but be regarded as a success story. Achieved by giving due consideration to a single tree species' graceful appearances and high adaptability to local conditions, such a success need be made to last.

Talk about the springtime beauty of the Slender West Lake, and I think my favorite view is that of the Long Dyke Draped with Spring Willows. Talk about the lake when the sun emerges right after a summer rain, and I love nothing more than the Mist and Rain over Four Bridges. After all, weeping willows can always be suited to their environment to a T wherever they find themselves, be it a mountain slope or riverside, along a canopied walkway or at the foot of a pavilion. They look exceptionally pliant and endearing when swaying in the wind.

Apart from the willows, Yangzhou is also known for its arboreous and herbaceous peonies. In fact, a woody peony terrace, and a herbaceous peony hedge in particular, can be the centerpiece of a certain garden. The popularity of the herbaceous peony on the Slender West Lake during the Song is well attested in the "The Yangzhou Adagio" by Jiang Kui:

> The Bridge of Twenty-Fours does still exist,
> While ripples glitter and undulate,
> Frigid is the moon ever so silent.
> I wonder the peonies that by the bridges sit,
> For whom do they bloom year in, year out?

The bamboos, too, enjoy a long history in Yangzhou, where, as the saying goes, "Beauty lies west of the bamboo-flanked road." Ancient painters like Shitao (1642-*c*. 1707), Zheng Xie (1693-1765) and Jin Nong (1687-1763), among others, have bestowed a rich legacy of bamboo paintings on posterity. The Yangzhou species of bamboo differs from its Jiangnan counterparts in

that there is always a touch of masculine vigour in its serene gracefulness. There being no mountains in the surroundings of the Slender West Lake, it seems the bamboo should be planted widely so that its lush green foliage can sway and roll in the air while goose-yellow willows' twigs keep stroking the lake surface—it does not sound unreasonable to enhance the lake's appeals by bringing the elegant and divine charms of both the bamboo and the willow into full play, does it?

The other plants that thrive in the climate of the Slender West Lake include *yulan* magnolia and plantain, nandina and wintersweet, crabapple and flowering peach and apricot. All of them should be cultivated because, firstly, they are harmonious with bamboos and willows in both color and imagery, and, secondly, they can take seasonal turns to bedeck the lakeside scenery with beautiful leaves and flowers. The evergreen "book-binding grass" spotted at the foot of a mountain or a tree is another local specialty. The lake being rather small, the acreage of its water space sown to lotus ought to be strictly minimized. Pines, supplemented with ginkgos, should be planted as barriers around the Mountain-Level Hall, for both trees can grow tall enough to form a wall, not to mention the fact that Yangzhou actually leads all the ancient cities in this country in the number of mammoth ginkgo trees. All the big trees in the city should be preserved the best we can in future urban development efforts. Just as *The Craft of Gardens* puts it,

> If a site is covered with many old trees that would get in the way of the eaves or walls of a building, one must erect a house at a certain distance, or just lop off a few branches to keep off the roof. As the saying goes, it is easy to carve pillars and build flying beams, but it takes a long time to get a Chinese scholar tree to grow tall and develop a shady foliage.

Yangzhou's miniature landscapes follow a hallowed tradition that has long been neck and neck with those of Suzhou in the Jiangnan area. Rugged, wrinkled, durable, and highly resistant to the elements and adaptable to the environment, such miniature landscapes are marked for their robust and richly varied contours and postures without the least bit of pretentious bashfulness. Thanks to local craftsmen's painstaking efforts in pruning and binding, every dwarf pine, cypress or little-leaf box features curvy branches on an ancient-looking trunk, with boughs dexterously trained into "cloud sheets"—artistic results attained by dovetailing human craftsmanship to nature's endowment. The other Yangzhou miniature landscapes include potted chrysanthemums, stumps of peach, plum and pomelo trees, and medicinal citrons, but every one of them is alluring in a special way. The Yangzhou style of miniature landscapes is a hybrid of southern and northern

styles, particularly those of Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces. It is the local artists' enduring innovative craftsmanship that makes them stand out as a school in their own right.

To enjoy and digest the charms of all the man-made scenic wonders along the small, narrow and gyrating water surface of the Slender West Lake calls for an appropriate means of touring and sightseeing. Observed through the window of a fast-moving automobile, the entire scenic resort comes and goes without so much as an eyewink, which robs the visitor of the chance to feast his eyes on every scenery in rain and breeze or the gentle waves beyond misty islets. If the automobile is replaced with a painted boat that starts from the Lesser Qinhuai River in city proper and spies slowly into the lake, the lengthened route and timetable allow the visitor to scrutinize and ruminate, through the boat's window frames, numerous enchanting pictures that flash by in a magic montage. Such an experience, which also allows for measured drinking and toasting, is worlds apart from wining and dining on board a pleasure yacht that prowls the West Lake in Hangzhou. As Wang Shizhen (1634-1711)[1] writes in a poem:

A painted boat passed 'neath the bridge at high noon,
Gone are her figure and scented sleeves all too soon.

My advice to those opting to visit the Slender West Lake: Take your time and appreciate everything you can see over there. It makes no sense to go all the way there only to take a cursory look and leave in a hurry.

The inscriptions on couplets and boards in traditional Chinese gardens and scenic resorts are most helpful to visitors, offering them the most succinct and beautiful interpretations to relevant scenes and sights. The Slender West Lake is no exception, where every phrase or sentence for such inscriptions was painstakingly hammered out, and their calligraphic styles discreetly chosen. Just to cite two such couplets quoted from Tang poems on the Loft of Mist and Rain over Four Bridges in the *Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*:

Silent the flowers, gentle the swinging tree shadows;
Thin clouds in sunny sky, spreading out the willows.

Spring mist arises from ancient stones;
Sparse willows reflected in new pools.

Both couplets, coming readily from the poets' fingertips, brim with wits and verve. In them, scenery and architecture boil down to one word, "leanness," which is apt for the Slender West Lake, and contravening words are prudently shunned. Thus unity is maintained not only on the color tones of

various scenery but also on the poems selected, which convinces me that the craft of Chinese gardens is a combination of multiple principles of art.

To sum up, as a scenic resort of Yangzhou, the Slender West Lake is a veritable depository of small gardens designed and built by bringing a narrow strip of water and natural terrain into full play. Such gardens are at once detached and attached, some playing a leading role, some are supplementary, but all the time they borrow and accommodate to each other's views. Such mutual view borrowing, though limited in scope, brings about an infinite panoply of scenes and sights. Many such gardens are patterned after prototypes in ways that are never mechanical but highly creative, which is why the Slender West Lake can figure prominently among all traditional Chinese gardens with a "personality" peculiarly its own. It is thus clear the craft of gardens does have its principles but offers no set patterns. Once such principles as "accommodating to different conditions" and "view borrowing" are deftly mastered, every plateau or low slope, and every mountain pavilion or waterside verandah can be deployed with a high degree of adaptability and discipline, and all the scenic sights thus created can prolong their "youth" no matter what happens to their environment.

The rise of the picturesque Slender West Lake is not without its historical background. To refurbish and preserve such a historical scenic resort, we have got to bear its inherent characteristics in mind, but more importantly, we must consider how to adapt it to everyday life today, so as to make the past serve the present without ruining its originality. This issue merits deliberation and discussion. If we do a good job in this regard, more new scenes and views are bound to emerge beyond the existing twenty views of the Slender West Lake. As to such issues as how to adapt scenic attractions to the circumstances and achieve good view-borrowing results while economizing on human and material resources, I believe the Slender West Lake has a lot to learn from, especially in how to arrange gardens and scenic belts in medium-sized and small cities. However, the wisdom and initiatives of localities must be keenly mobilized, for only thus can gardens look different from one another and every scenery thus created can stay novel on its own. This account of mine about the Slender West Lake is, if anything, just a glimpse of it.

> A new fairyland as if painted on a scroll ten-mile wide;
> Having two-thirds shiny moon, Yangzhou is in itself old.

It is my belief that through reconstruction efforts in the days to come, the Slender West Lake shall become more enchanting.

瘦西湖漫谈

扬州瘦西湖由几条河流组织成一个狭长的水面，其中点缀一些岛屿，夹岸柳色，柔条千缕。在最阔的湖面上，五亭桥及白塔突出水面，如北海的琼华岛与西湖的保俶塔一样，成为瘦西湖的特征。白塔在形式上与北海相仿佛，然比例秀匀，玉立亭亭，晴云临水，有别于北海白塔的厚重工稳。从钓鱼台两圆拱门远眺，白塔与五亭桥正分别逗入两圆门中，构成了极空灵的一幅画图。每一个到过瘦西湖的人，在有意无意之中见到这种情景，感到有但可意会不可言传的妙境。这种手法，在园林建筑上称为“借景”，是我国造园艺术上最优秀巧妙手法之一。湖中最大一岛名小金山，它是仿镇江金山而堆，却冠以一“小”字，此亦正如西湖之上加一“瘦”字、城内的秦淮河加一“小”字一样，都是以极玲珑婉约的字面来点出景物。因此我说瘦西湖如盆景一样，虽小却予人以“小中见大”的感觉。

瘦西湖四周无高山，仅其西北有平山堂与观音山，亦非峻拔凌云，唯略具山势而已，因此过去皆沿湖筑园。我们从清代《乾隆南巡盛典》、赵之壁《平山堂图志》、李斗《扬州画舫录》及骆在田《扬州名胜图》等来看，可以见到清代乾隆、嘉庆二代瘦西湖最盛时期的景象。楼台亭榭，洞房曲户，一花一石，无不各出新意。这时的布置是以很多的私家园林环绕了瘦西湖，从北门直达平山堂，形成一个有合有分、互相“因借”的风景区。瘦西湖是水游诸园的通道。建筑物类皆一二层，在平面的处理上是曲折多变，如此不但增加了空间感，而且又与低平水面互相呼应，更突出了白塔、五亭桥，遥远地又以平山堂、观音山作“借景”。沿湖建筑特别注意到如何陆水交融，曲岸引流，使陆上有限的面积用水来加以扩大。现在对我们处理瘦西湖的布置上，这些手法想来还有借鉴的必要。至于假山，我觉得应该用平冈小坡形成起伏，用以点缀冲破平直的湖面与四野，使大园中的小园，在地形及空间分隔上，都起较多的变化。

扬州建筑兼有南北二地之长，既有北方之雄伟，复有南方之秀丽，因此在建筑形式方面，应该发挥其地方风格，不能夸苏式之轻巧，学北方之沉重，正须不轻不重，恰到好处。色泽方面，在雅淡的髹饰上，不妨略点缀少许鲜艳，使烟雨的水面上顿觉清新。旧时虹桥名红桥，是围以赤栏的。

平山堂是瘦西湖一带最高的据点，堂前可眺望江南山色。有一联将景物概括殆尽：“晓起凭阑，六代青山都到眼；晚来把酒，二分明月正当头。”而唐代杜牧的“青山隐隐水迢迢，秋尽江南草未凋”，又是在秋

日登山，不期而然诵出来的诗句。此堂远眺，正与隔江山平，故称平山堂。平山二字，一言将此处景物道破。此山既以望为主，当然要注意其前的建筑物，如果为了远眺江南山色，近俯瘦西湖景物，而在山下大起楼阁，势必与平山堂争宠，最后卒至两难成美。我觉得平山堂下宜以点缀低平建筑，与瘦西湖蜿蜒曲折的湖尾相配合。这样不但烘托了平山堂的高度，同时又不阻碍平山堂的视野。从瘦西湖湖面远远望去，柳色掩映，仿佛一幅仙山楼阁，凭阑处处成图了。

扬州是隋唐古城（旧址在平山堂后），千余年来留下了许多胜迹，经过无数名人的题咏，渐渐地深入了大家的心中。如隋炀帝的迷楼故址，杜牧、姜夔所咏的二十四桥，欧阳修的平山堂，虹桥修禊的倚虹园等，它与瘦西湖的“四桥烟雨”“白塔晴云”“春台明月”“蜀冈晚照”等二十景一样，给瘦西湖招来了无数的游客，平添了无数的佳话。这些古迹与风景点，今后应宜重点突出地来修建整理。它是文学艺术与风景相合形成的结晶，是中国园林高度艺术的表现手法。

扬州旧称绿杨城郭，瘦西湖上又有绿杨村，不用说瘦西湖的绿化是应以杨柳为主了。也许从隋炀帝到扬州来后，人们一直抬高了这杨柳的地位，经千年多的沿袭，使扬州环绕了万缕千丝的依依柳色，装点成了一个晴雨皆宜、具有江南风格的淮左名都，这不能不说是成功的。它注意到植物的适应性与形态的优美，在城市绿化上能见功效，对此我们现在还有继承的必要。在瘦西湖的春日，我最爱“长堤春柳”一带，在夏雨笼晴的时分，我又喜看“四桥烟雨”。总之不论在山际水旁，廊沿亭畔，它都能安排得妥帖宜人，尤其迎风拂面，予人以十分依恋之感。杨柳之外，牡丹、芍药为扬州名花，园林中的牡丹台与芍药阑是最大的特色，而后者更为显著。姜夔词：“二十四桥仍在，波心荡、冷月无声。念桥边红药，年年知为谁生。”可以想见宋代湖上芍药种植的普遍。至于修竹，在扬州又有悠久的历史，所谓“竹西佳处”。古代画家石涛、郑燮、金农等都曾为竹写照，留下许多佳作。扬州的竹，清秀中带雄健，有其独特风格，与江南的稍异。瘦西湖四周无山，平畴空旷，似应以此遍植，则碧玉摇空与鹅黄拂水，发挥竹与柳的风姿神态，想来不致太无理吧。其他如玉兰芭蕉、天竹腊梅、海棠桃杏等，在瘦西湖皆能生长得很好。它们与前竹、柳在色泽构图上，皆能调和，在季节上，各抒所长，亦有培养之必要。山旁树际的书带草，终年常青，亦为此地特色。湖不广，荷花似应以少为宜，不致占过多水面。平山堂一区应以松林为障，银杏为辅，使高挺入云。今日古城中保存有巨大银杏的，当推扬州为最。今后对原有的大树，在建筑时应尽量地保存。《园冶》说得好：“多年树木，碍筑檐垣让一步可以立根，斫数桠不妨封顶。斯谓雕栋飞楹构易，荫槐挺玉成难。”

盆景在扬州一带有其悠久的历史，与江南苏州颉颃久矣。其特色是古拙经久，气魄雄伟，雅健多姿，而无忸怩作态之状；对自然的抵抗力很强，适应性亦大。在剪扎上下了功夫，大盆的松、柏、黄杨，虬枝老干，缀以“云片”繁枝，参差有序，具人工天然之美于一处。其他盆菊、桃桩、梅桩、香橼、文旦桩等，亦各臻其妙。它可说是南北、江浙盆景手法的总和，而又能自出心裁，别成一格，故云之为“扬州风”。

瘦西湖湖面不大，水面狭长曲折。要在这样小的范围中游览欣赏，体会其人工风景区的妙处，在游的方式上，亦经推敲过一番。如疾车走马，片刻即尽，则雨丝风片，烟渚柔波，都无从领略。如易以画舫，从城内小秦淮慢慢地摇荡入湖，这样不但延长了游程，并且自画舫中不同的窗框中窥湖上景物，构成了无数生动的构图，给游者以细细的咀嚼，它和西湖的游艇是有浅斟低酌与饱饮大嚼的不同。王士祯诗说：“日午画船桥下过，衣香人影太匆匆。”我想既到瘦西湖去，不妨细细领略一番，何必太匆匆地走马看花呢。

我国古典园林及风景名胜地的联额，是对这风景点最概括而最美丽的说明，使游者在欣赏时起很大的理解作用，瘦西湖当然不能例外。其选词择句，书法形式，都经细致琢磨，瘦西湖的大名，是与这些联额分不开的。在《扬州画舫录》中，我们随便检出几联，如“四桥烟雨”的集唐诗二联：“树影悠悠花悄悄，晴烟漠漠柳毵毵”“春烟生古石，疏柳映新塘”等，都是信手拈来，遂成妙语。其风景点及建筑物的命名，都环绕了瘦西湖的特征“瘦”来安排，辞采上没有与瘦西湖的总名有所抵触。瘦西湖不但在具体的景物色调上能保持统一，而且对那些无形的声诗，亦是作同样的处理，益信我国园林设计是多方面的一个综合艺术作品。

总之，瘦西湖是扬州的风景区，它利用自然的地形，加以人工的整理，由很多小园形成一个整体，其中有分有合，有主有宾，互相“因借”，虽范围不大，而景物无穷。尤其在摹仿他处能不落因袭，处处显示自己面貌，在我国古典园林中别具一格。由此可见，造园虽有法而无式，但能掌握“因地制宜”与“借景”等原则，那么高冈低坡、山亭水榭，都可随宜安排，有法度可循，使风花雪月长驻容颜。

瘦西湖的形成，自有其历史的背景。对于在一定历史条件下形成的风景区，在今日修建时，我们固要考虑其原来特色，而更重要的，还应考虑怎样与今日的生活相配合，做到古为今用，又不破坏其原有风格，这是值得大家讨论的。我想如果做得好的话，瘦西湖二十景外，必然有更多新的景物产生。至于怎样“因地制宜”与“借景”等，在节约人力、物力的原则下，对中小型城市布置绿化园林地带，我觉得瘦西湖还有许多可以参考的地方，但仍要充分发挥该地方的特点，做到园异景新。今日我介绍瘦西湖，亦不过标其一格而已。“十里画图新阆苑，二分明月旧

扬州。”我相信在今后的建设中，瘦西湖将变得更为美丽。

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SOUTH-AND-NORTH LAKES, HAIYAN

Written towards the end of 1991
Translated by Qian Jingyu

Having paid quite a few visits to the South-and-North Lakes[1], I come to the conclusion that this scenic zone in Haiyan county, Zhejiang province, is the place to be

With mountains, waters and the sun to admire,
And teas, oranges and bamboo shoots to savor.

Occupying 1,600 *mu* on the East China Sea coast between Shanghai and Hangzhou, the South-and-North Lakes look more exquisite than the West Lake of Hangzhou and more ethereal than the Slender West Lake of Yangzhou. A dyke[2] divides what used to be the Yongan Lake or Ganshui Lake in two, hence its present name. There is a bridge and a pavilion on either end of the dyke. On the east end stands the Star Pavilion, built in commemoration of Hu Die (1908-1989), a Shanghai Mingxing Film Company superstar who shot the movie *Salt Tide* here on location in 1932; on the west end is the Memorial Pavilion of Dong Bai (1624-1651), where this talented courtesan from Nanjing buried flower petals after she settled down in Haiyan with her husband Mao Xiang (1611-1693) to shun war and turmoil during the Ming-Qing transition period.

Blue waves ripple and sparkle under the sun while flocks of white egrets dance in the sky. The lakeside itself is strewn with orange and pear orchards, with pink peach flowers blooming amidst green willows in spring and branches weighed down with fruits in autumn—a fabulous landscape that mingles with local dwellings' whitewashed walls and black-tiled roofs to conjure up one idyllic scenery after another. Added to the allure of the South-andNorth Lake Scenic Zone are a host of tourist attractions, including "Wild Goose Diving at Sinking Rainbow,"[3] "Dawn at Jing Mound," and "Thatched Hut on Western Brook,"[4] each having its own mesmerizing sight to offer.

A footpath beginning at the dyke's western end conducts to a mountain that changes the scenery as it stands to the left, with the lake lying to the right. This is none other than the "Ridge in Remembrance of Gu Kuang[5]," a Tang-dynasty Haiyan native and poet who often came here to get lost for a while in the landscape. As the footpath extends further west, it is hemmed in

between two steep cliffs, where little birds twitter incessantly to echo a susurrating roadside rivulet. While the terrain twists and turns to usher in a succession of fascinating views, the footpath climbs up the slope for 250 or so meters before stopping at the foot of the well-known Stone Fort of Celestial Tan's Mountain[6].

Small though the Stone Fort is, it reigns over a jumble of high mountains. Built entirely of monoliths, it looks breathtaking and precipitous, so much so that the locals call it "Badaling Fort[7] South of the Yangtze." Take a look around atop the fort's turret, and everything comes into vivid sight, with the South-and-North Lakes of Haiyan to the east and the field of Huangwan township of Haining to the west. As the Celestial Tan's Mountain sits at the juncture of the Haining-Haiyan boundaries, it was a bone of contention between warring strategists in bygone years. During the Ming dynasty it was garrisoned by the legendary General Qi Jiguang (1528-1588) and his warriors in resistance against Japanese pirates. By the time of the 1840-1842 and 1856-1860 Opium Wars, the Qing government rebuilt the fort to keep Western invaders at bay; and a stone statue of Xu Xingjian (?-1556)[8], a Ming-dynasty anti-Japanese hero and commander of the Haining Garrison, is erected here for worshippers in recent times.

Sauntering across a woodland with a tea plantation on it, one espies a tip of vermillion walls of the venerated Nunnery at Cloud-Enshrouded Peak[9] on the other side of a bamboo forest. As a domain of the Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara, the temple is also known for its "Eight Cloud-Enshrouded Sights"—the Snow-Hole Spring, the Ming-dynasty gingko tree, the Scripture Library, the Homecoming Birds' Kiosk, the ancient stage, the great castiron tripod, the Celestial Crane Pool, and the Small Attainment Pagoda. The mineral water spewing from the Snow-Hole Spring is the choicest for brewing tea. For these scenic gems, the CloudEnshrouded Peak is extolled as a "celebrated mountain on the sea," and its nunnery was known in old days as the Evening Potalaka.[10]

Further south along the footpath stands the Eagle-Nest Pinnacle, the site of an astronomical miracle in which the sun and the moon rise simultaneously on the morning of the first day of the tenth lunar month every year. At the foot of the pinnacle lies the Yellow Sand Nook, home to a village with an eight-century-long tradition in orange farming. Surrounded on three sides by mountains, with its southern side facing the sea, the nook is warm in autumn and cool in summer—a favorable microclimate that enables orange

trees to bear golden and sweet fruit that account for eighty percent of the total annual output of oranges in the Hangzhou-Jiaxing-Huzhou area. A trail runs northward along the ridge of the Eagle-Nest Pinnacle and leads to the osmanthus-covered Northern Woody Mountain, where flowers bloom and tree saplings flourish all year round. Adding to the glamour of this place are also such scenic attractions as the Golden Buffalo Cave and cliff carvings on the Tea Mill Mountain.

To sum up, the South-and-North Lakes are characterized by mountains that rise range upon range, waters that twist and turn endlessly, and a seascape that brims with exotic sights. The entire scenic zone exudes dynamic vigour and demure grace that provide inspirations for men of letters and prototypes for ink-and-wash landscape painters in the Northern Song tradition. In terms of scenic appeals, the South-and-North Lake is none the inferior to the West Lake of Hangzhou. While the West Lake excels in glamorous feminine beauty, the South-and-North Lakes are at her delicate best—in other words, they make a perfect pair of siblings. For this reason, you can never crack the secret code to West Lake's heavy make-up without taking a look at the South-and-North Lakes. It is high time that you went to the South-and-North Lakes for a look around!

南北湖

“观山观水观日，品茗品橘品笋。”这是多次游览海盐南北湖风景区后得出的评价。

南北湖湖临东海之滨，地处沪杭之中，面积1600亩，比杭州西湖玲珑，比扬州瘦西湖逸秀。湖上有堤，堤上有桥，桥旁有亭。东曰明星，是纪念1932年上海明星影片公司名演员胡蝶等来此拍摄电影《盐潮》而建。西曰小宛，是明代末年秦淮名妓董小宛随冒辟疆来此避难葬花的遗址。湖上碧波粼粼，白鹭飞舞，湖周是成片的橘林和桃园，春日桃红柳绿，秋季果实累累，加上白墙黑瓦的民居点缀其中，组成了一幅幅朴素、典雅的农村风光图画。此外，湖周还有“垂虹落雁”“荆陵初晓”“西涧草堂”等风景点，各有特色，都足使游人流连忘返。

过堤西行，名思顾岭，是唐代海盐诗人顾况经常驻足的地方，这里，左侧是山，右侧是湖，景色为之一变。继续西行，则两侧山峰夹峙，路旁一小溪，流水淙淙，小鸟时鸣，峰回路转，引人入胜。顺小径逐渐登高，约半里，一座古城堡在面前耸立，此谈仙岭石城也。

石城占地不多，但因位于崇山峻岭之中，又用大石砌筑，显得特别雄伟险峻，故有“江南八达岭”之称。上得城来，有箭楼一座，举目四望，东属海盐县，南北湖历历在目。西属海宁市，黄弯乡一片平畴。谈仙岭正处在宁、盐两邑交界，故历来为兵家必争之地。明代，抗倭劲旅戚家军曾在此驻防。鸦片战争期间，清政府在此再筑石城，故至今在城内立有抗倭英雄、海宁卫指挥徐行健石雕像。

穿过一片林和茶园，在竹海尽头，千年古刹云岫庵，露出红墙一角。庵内供奉观世音菩萨，有雪窦泉、银杏树、藏经阁、鸟还亭、古戏台、大铁鼎、仙鹤池、小成就塔等“云岫八景”。其中雪窦泉为优质矿泉水，烹茗最佳，故云岫庵素有“海上名山”和“夜普陀”之称。再往南是鹰窠顶，每年农历十月初一清晨，在此能看到“日月并升”天文奇景。然后下山，即是黄沙坞桔村，这里三面环山，南面向海，故冬暖夏凉，小气候特佳，栽培柑桔已有八百多年历史，所产本山桔，皮色金黄，甜中带鲜，产量占杭嘉湖地区百分之八十。

沿山脊线往北是北木山，满山桂花，花卉四时不断，苗木郁郁葱葱，附近还有金牛洞和茶磨山摩崖石刻等名胜古迹。纵观南北湖风景区的特色为，山有层次、水有曲折、海有奇景，是集雄健与雅秀于一处，故历来为南宋水墨山水的范本、文人画家描绘歌咏之宝地，比杭州西湖，毫不逊色。西湖是浓妆，南北湖是淡妆，是西湖的姐妹行。因此，不看南北湖，就不得西湖浓妆之妙。劝君一游南北湖！

1991年岁末
英译：钱静雨

NOTES ON PRINCE GONG'S MANSION

May 1979, Department of Architecture, Tongji University

It happened a long time ago, yet it seems pretty new. Whenever the Prince Gong's Mansion is mentioned, a mixture of melancholy and excitement would well up in my heart. In winter 1961, I joined He Qifang (1912-1977)[1], Wang Kunlun (1902-1985)[2] and Zhu Jiajin (1914-2003)[3] in a survey of this mansion, reportedly the former site of the legendary Grand View Garden that appears in the celebrated 18th-century novel *A Dream of Red Mansions*. Today, however, Qifang has been gone for two years, which makes our joint survey more than a decade ago look like a dream. How could I not feel down and blue?

When I returned from overseas last winter to spend some time in Beijing, Feng Qiyong (1924-), whom I regard as my younger brother, asked me to see the mansion again and probe the possibility for a memorial hall to be set up there in honour of Cao Xueqin (*c*. 1715-*c*. 1763), author of the aforementioned novel. Now that springtime had returned to this land and energized my fatigued body, I was naturally thrilled by his invitation, even though I could not but be nostalgic about my first visit with my friends.

I remember seeing photos of Prince Gong's Mansion in the book *Gardens of China* written by Osvald Sirén (1879-1966)[4] and published in Britain in 1949. Its majestic lofts, belvederes, rock formations and ponds, bright and clear vistas of trees and waters looked rather enchanting to me. Later, when I rambled the mansion's garden for the first time in my life during a trip to Beijing, the scenes and sights described in *A Dream of Red Mansions* kept flashing into my mind despite the fact that though somewhat faded through the years, its former glory was still there. How many changes had happened to the mansion in so many years! "The late poet should recognize me if he was sentient enough", as the Tang-dynasty poet Wen Tingyun (*c*. 812-866) says. If Cao Xueqin could feel it in his grave, my second survey of the mansion would not come in vain.

Sitting south of the Silver Ingot Bridge at the Lake of Ten Temples[5], Prince Gong's Mansion has, over and above its large garden, the most delicately structured and best laid out architectural complex among all the extant princely mansions in Beijing. A royal-mandated rule has it that the

front gate of a princely mansion should face east rather than south, with all the gates inside of it aligned from south to north. Prince Gong's Mansion is no exception, but the pity is that its original plan has been altered. In spite of this, the pomp and pageantry of its bygone years are still there, albeit somewhat vaguely. Its surrounding wall covers an immense circumference, but only its eastern section has retained its simplistic classical shape, characterized by a stocky body tapering off at the top, a shape that is identical to, and a bit more imposing than that of the Shrine of Monarchs of Various Dynasties on Goat Market Street at the Xisi subdistrict. The royal temple was first built on the site of the Peace-Sustaining Temple in 1530, the ninth year of the Jiajing reign of the Ming, and rebuilt in 1729, the seventh year of the Yongzheng reign of the Qing. This very fact testifies to the venerable history of Prince Gong's Mansion.

The buildings in the mansion fall into three columns, but only two gates remain of the central column because its central hall has been destroyed. The horizontal board inscribed with the name "Hall of Auspicious Joy" in the posterior hall is said to have come from the Mansion of Heshen (1750-1799)[6] during the Qianlong reign, which somewhat indicates when this hall was built. The eastern column is three rows deep, with its first row featuring a smaller five-pillared frame often seen in buildings dating back to the Ming, according to Ji Cheng's *The Craft of Gardens*, but has virtually disappeared in those built after the Qianlong reign of the Qing. The buildings in the other two rows are built of the same materials as those in the first row, whose forms are as tall and graceful as, but in striking contrast to, the thick and sturdy ones dating back to the Qianlong reign. The bricks used on these structures indicate that they were all built during the Kangxi reign. The western column is three rows deep as well, and the horizontal board "Celestial Fragrance Court" hanging on the floral pendant gate of the rear row and another board "Chamber of a Prized Jin Calligraphy Model"[7] in the central suite are both original to Prince Gong's Mansion. The plinths are carved and the interiors partitioned, and the boudoirs and suites, arranged along the four sides of a quadrangle yard, are so wonderfully appointed that they rival the Belvedere in Keeping with an Original Wish in Emperor Qianlong's garden in the Imperial Palace. It was the flowering season when I arrived here, with pear flowers clustered like clouds and falling crabapple flowers drifting like rain, whilst snowy cloves interacted with well-spaced lush bamboos so dramatically that I could not but chant the poem "Gazing

Afar after the Spring Rain" by Yang Ning (?-802)[8]:

The southbound road ends where sky joins ocean,
The outlet for the lovesick exists only in the moon.

The 160-meter-long storied posterior building lying crosswise in this row features slender, straight balustrades and exquisite windows through which the enticing reflections of human figures and the aroma from ladies' apparels make one reluctant to depart. Its stairway used to be where the country's only wooden artificial mountain was located. This storied structure was built in a later period. Construction of the mansion itself began in the east and gradually extended westward.

Spreading behind this posterior building is the mansion's garden, whose eastern section contains a small court where, gleaming amidst emerald bamboo leaves, the corridor is roomy, the chambers are quiet, curtains are transparent and tea tables spick and span, and the décor is elegant in a subtle way. This small court was a latecomer, but its layout accords with the mansion's old pattern; in front of its floral pendant gate there stand four pagoda trees so weather-beaten that their hollowed trunks stand testimony to this garden's olden age. The small court turns out to be home to the Bamboo Lodge[9], where a roofed walkway links all the buildings, and pavilions and belvederes spread out amidst green pines, emerald cypresses, ancient pagoda trees and weeping willows.

The presence of water and rock formations brings to life an otherwise arid and lonesome northern Chinese garden like Prince Gong's Mansion. Spreading out at the foot of its northern wall and screened by an artificial mountain is a bat-shaped hall, a three-bay structure whose front portico is designed to let in sunlight from morning till dusk. The only one of its kind in Beijing, the Bat Hall (or Bliss Hall, for in Chinese, "bat" pronounces the same as "bliss") is said to be on the former site of the Happy Red Court[10]. Judging from its architectural style, characterized by a roofed walkway in its left wing that conducts to the western part of the garden, it is original to the Prince Gong's Mansion. The artificial mountain in front of the hall in the western part consists of two sections, but the rear section, built of slates, was added at a later time; its frontal section, built of Lake Tai rocks and therefore original to the mansion, has a belvedere atop it and a cave built into it with a stone lintel, a technique that was in use prior to the Qianlong reign. The trees planted in the mountain are apparently of old age. The rear section of the artificial mountain are all built of slates, where the trees look as new as those in the nearby Mirror Garden—they should have been built during the lifetime

of Prince Gong. The crenulated wall whose name "Elm Pass" is inscribed in a stone tablet and the Green Cloud Mountain with its name engraved in a stone in the front of the western section of the garden were also built at a later time. There used to be a pavilion in the center of the lake in the garden's backyard, but with the lake filled a long time ago, the rippling water surface is no more. The glamorous and commodious theater in the back of the eastern end of the garden is the only one of its kind that has remained intact to this day in the city.

According to Yu Tongkui (1876-1962), father of modern China's chemistry education who also contributed immensely to the restoration of classical Chinese architecture,

> The garden sits at the rear of Prince Gong's Mansion; the mansion itself was Emperor Qianlong's wedding gift for his youngest daughter, Gulun Princess Hexiao (1775-1823), when she was married to Fengshenyinde (1775-1810), the eldest son of the emperor's right-hand man Heshen…. In 1799, the fourth year of the Jiaqing reign, when Heshen's property was confiscated, the garden became Prince Qingxi's mansion.[11] In about 1851, during the Xianfeng reign, it was given to Prince Gong, who had a garden built behind it.

Thus it is apparent that the mansion gained its status as a prince's mansion as early as the Qianlong reign (1736-1796), and was expanded as a result.

This mansion is elaborately documented in "A Brief Review of the History of Prince Gong's Mansion" written by Shan Shiyuan (1907-1998)[12], which was carried in the *Journal of Fu Jen Catholic University* forty years ago. This short account of mine is the result of an initial survey of the mansion's buildings and artificial mountains. I cannot come up with a detailed report about its buildings because their frameworks are concealed behind ceilings, which makes it impossible for me to take a close look.

In foreign countries, famous people's former residences are well protected and open for all to see. Prince Gong's Mansion was not really the Grand View Garden described in *A Dream of Red Mansions*, but its author Cao Xueqin must have frequented the mansion of Nalanmingzhu (1635-1708)[13], which was later procured by Heshen. Furthermore, Cao had lived in south China for some time as a visitor. He must have also visited the famous gardens in the Jiangnan area. This being the case, I share Yu Mingheng's[14] view that the Grand View Garden is but a synthesis of the art of Chinese gardens, and Cao's story about it is just another folk tale being told and retold in the same way as the Golden Hill Temple in Zhenjiang, which was flooded by the White Maiden[15], and the Sweet Dew Temple, where Liu Bei (161-223)[16] won the heart of the younger sister of Sun Quan (182-252)[17]. I

therefore see nothing improper to designate Prince Gong's Mansion as the venue of a memorial hall for Cao Xueqin. In this way, it will become the only princely mansion in Beijing to be opened to the public as a showcase of our motherland's cultural heritage and a repository of Cao's historical records. When this happens, I surmise no one will accuse me of talking nonsense in this article.

恭王府小记

是往事了！提起神伤。却又是新事，令人兴奋。回思1961年冬，我与何其芳、王昆仑、朱家溍等同志相偕调查恭王府（相传的大观园遗迹），匆匆已十余年。何其芳同志下世数载，旧游如梦！怎不令人黯然低徊。去冬海外归来，居停京华，其庸兄要我再行踏勘，说又有可能筹建为曹雪芹纪念馆。春色无边，重来天地，振我疲躯，自然而然产生出两种不同的心境，神伤与兴奋，交并盘旋在我的脑海中。

记得过去看到英国出版的一本Osvald Sirén所著的《中国园林》，刊有恭王府的照片，楼阁山池，水木明瑟，确令人神往。后来我到北京，曾涉足其间，虽小颓风范而丘壑独存，红楼旧梦一时涌现心头。这偌大的一个王府，在悠长的岁月中，它经过了多少变幻。“词客有灵应识我”，如果真的曹雪芹有知的话，那我亦不虚此行了。

恭王府在什刹海银锭桥南，是北京现存诸王府中，结构最精，布置得宜，且拥有大花园的一组建筑群。王府之制，一般其头门不正开，东向，入门则诸门自南往北，当然恭王府亦不例外，可惜其前布局变动了，尽管如此，可是排场与气魄依稀当年。围墙范围极大，唯东侧者，形制极古朴，“收分”（下大上小）显著，做法与西四羊市大街之历代帝王庙者相同，而雄伟则过之。此庙为明嘉靖九年（公元1530年）就保安寺址创建，清雍正七年（公元1729年）重修。于此可证恭王府旧址由来久矣。府建筑共三路，正路今存两门，正堂（厅）已毁，后堂（厅）悬“嘉乐堂”额，传为乾隆时和珅府之物。则此建筑年代自明。东路共三进，前进梁架用小五架梁式。此种做法，见明计成《园冶》一书，明代及清初建筑屡见此制，到乾隆后几成绝响。其后两进，建筑用材与前者同属挺秀，不似乾隆时之肥硕，所砌之砖与乾隆后之规格有别，皆可初步认为康熙时所建。西路亦三进，后进垂花门悬“天香庭院”额，正房有匾名“锡晋斋”，皆为恭王府旧物。柱础施雕，其内部用装修分隔，洞房曲户，回环四合，精妙绝伦，堪与故宫乾隆花园符望阁相颉颃。我来之时，适值花期，院内梨云、棠雨、丁香雪，与扶疏竹影交响成曲，南归相思，又是天涯。后部横楼长一百六十米，阑干修直，窗影玲珑，人影衣香，令人忘返。其置楼梯处，原堆有木假山，为海内仅见孤例。就年代论此楼较迟。以整个王府来说似是从东向西发展而成。

楼后为花园，其东部小院，翠竹丛生，廊空室静，帘隐几净，多雅淡之趣，虽属后建，而布局似沿旧格，垂花门前四老槐，腹空皮留，可为此院年代之证物。此即所谓潇湘馆。而廊庑周接，亭阁参差，与苍松翠柏，古槐垂杨，掩映成趣。间有水石之胜，北国之园得无枯寂之感。

最后亘于北垣下，以山作屏者为“蝠厅”，抱厦三间突出，自早至暮，皆有日照，北京唯此一处而已，传为怡红院所在。以建筑而论，亦属恭王府时代的，左翼以廊，可导之西园。厅前假山分前后二部，后部以云片石叠为后补，主体以土太湖石叠者为旧物，上建阁，下构洞曲，施石过梁，视乾隆时代之做法为旧，山间树木亦苍古。时期固甚分明。其余假山皆云片石所叠，树亦新，与其附近鉴园假山相似，当为恭王时期所添筑。西部前有“榆关”“翠云岭”，亦后筑。湖心亭一区背出之，今水已填没，无涟漪之景矣。园后东首的戏厅，华丽轩敞，为京中现存之完整者。

俞星枢（同奎）先生谓：“花园在恭王府后身，府系乾隆时和珅之子丰绅殷德娶和孝固伦公主赐第。”可证乾隆前已有府第矣。又云：“公元1799年（清嘉庆四年）和珅籍没，另给庆禧亲王为府第。约公元1851年（清咸丰间）改给恭亲王，并在府后添建花园。”此恭王府由来也。足以说明乾隆间早已形成王府格局，后来必有所增建。

四十年前单士元同志曾写过《恭王府考》载《辅仁大学学报》，有过详细的文献考证。我如今仅就建筑与假山作了初步的调查，因为建筑物的梁架全为天花所掩，无从作周密的检查，仅提供一些看法而已。

在国外，名人故居都保存得很好，任人参观凭吊。恭王府虽非确实的大观园，曹氏当年于明珠府第必有所往还。雪芹曾客南中，江左名园亦皆涉足，故我与俞平伯先生同一看法，认为大观园是园林艺术的综合。其与镇江金山寺的白娘娘水斗，甘露寺的刘备招亲，同为民间流传了的故事。如今以恭王府作为《红楼梦》作者曹雪芹的纪念馆，则又有何不可呢？并且北京王府能公开游览者亦唯此一处。用以显扬祖国文化，保存曹氏史迹，想来大家一定不谓此文之妄言了。

1979年5月写成于同济大学建筑系建筑史教研室

SUMMER PALACE, BEIJING

Translated by Duan Huixiang

> I love mounting a tall loft at moonlit night,
> To toast long and gentle the hills in the west.

These lines, written by Mi Wanzhong (1570-1628)[1] of the Ming in his garden in the western suburbs of Beijing, are apparently inspired by the following lines by Tao Yuanming (*c*. 365-427)[2], a poet of the late Eastern Jin and the early Song of the Southern Dynasties:

> While picking asters 'neath Eastern Fence,
> My gaze upon the Southern Mountain falls.

Both Mi's "toast" and Tao's "gaze" are in tribute to mountains in the distance. This is what is meant by view borrowing, a Chinese landscape gardening technique. Such borrowing, designed to incorporate a scene faraway and diversify the vista in a garden being built, has been in practice since antiquity. However, the term "view borrowing" was actually coined by Ji Cheng (1582-*c*. 1642) in the late Ming as he enunciates in no uncertain terms in *The Craft of Gardens,*

> To borrow from a view means that although the interior of a garden is distinct from what lies outside it, as long as there is a good view you need not be concerned whether it is close by or far away.

No place is better for garden-making than the western outskirts of Beijing, where the Western Hills rise like a zigzagging screen and clear spring water converges in many a lake or marsh. This explains why the gardens in this city were concentrated in its western outskirts in ancient times, when they eventually reached their apex during the Ming and the Qing. One of them is the world-famous Garden of Perfect Splendor, nicknamed "Garden of Ten Thousand Gardens." The key to the success of this garden lies in "accommodating scenery to waters, and borrowing views from the Western Hills"—in short, view accommodating and view borrowing, two major concepts in the classical craft of Chinese gardens. For a garden as large as this, the vistas would not have been so sagaciously arranged without acting on such concepts. It shows that landscape gardening is heralded by conception. Both view accommodating and view borrowing ought to be applied more emphatically in gardens in the outskirts of a city surrounded with plenty of idyllic views. Of all the Beijing gardens, the well-preserved

Summer Palace is another illustrious case in point.

Pillaged and torched by the allied Anglo-French invaders in 1860 and the allied troops of eight Western powers in 1900, the Garden of Perfect Splendor was reduced utterly to ruins and has remained so to this day. This leaves the Summer Palace as the only large garden in Beijing I can refer to in my delineation of the technique of view borrowing.

The Summer Palace, ten kilometers to the northwest of downtown Beijing, abounds in intriguing sights, where waves in the Kunming Lake lap at the foot of the lush-green Longevity Hill in the north and the picture-perfect Jade Spring Mountain serpentines to the west.

Known as "Jug Hill and Gold Sea"[3] during the Yuan, the Summer Palace was augmented during the Ming and renamed "Garden of Fine Mountains." In 1702, the forty-first year of the Kangxi reign of the Qing, it became the emperor's "Jug Hill Temporary Palace." After undergoing massive reconstructions in 1750, the fifteenth year of the Qianlong reign, it was called "Limpid Ripples Garden." It was destroyed by the allied Anglo-French invaders in 1860, and restored and renamed "Garden for Nourishing Harmony of Heaven and Earth" (but more popularly known as the Summer Palace) in 1886, only to be torched and damaged once again at the hands of the Eight-Power Alliance invaders in 1900. The Summer Palace as it is today was born of restoration work done in 1903.

The Summer Palace was created by extending an existing body of water in elaborate imitation of the West Lake of Hangzhou, Zhejiang province. The West Causeway, the islands, the misty weeping willows, and the painted bridges look like adaptations of the Jiangnan area's "light make-ups" to the northland's "rouged and powdered beauty" of Beijing. Such mock-ups may look like their prototypes, but are apparently different in aesthetic appeals.

The Summer Palace sprawls in an area of less than four square kilometers. With three quarters of its space covered by water, it is a veritable Jiangnan garden in north China. Upon entering the garden from the East Palace Gate, one sees the Benevolence and Longevity Hall, an imposing structure with eaves flying like a giant bird's wings over a massive artificial mountain and rockeries in front of it. As one strolls around the hall and turns south, the vista opens widely upon the sparkling Kunming Lake.

Overlooking the Kunming Lake is the Longevity Hill crowned with the Buddhist Incense Belvedere, a four-storied octagonal edifice that commands the vintage point of the entire garden. Mount the belvedere, and one takes in

the Western Hills, evoking a beauty's eyelashes, and the lake, looking like a gigantic mirror. Looking down from the belvedere, one sees a cluster of pavilions and halls hugging the terrain and the Long Corridor meandering its way along the lakeshore like a ribbon, all of which are found on a single garden's premises. The garden's illimitable array of scenic delights, however, is achieved primarily by view borrowing. It is with such borrowings that the nearby Jade Spring Mountain and its pagoda are seemingly shifted right before the balustrades of the lakeside True-Meaning Lake and Mountain Pavilion, whereas the Western Hills in the distance makes their presence felt as part and parcel of the cityscape of the nation's capital. Indeed, the landscape of the Summer Palace is peerless for its mixture of intricate grace and awesome magnificence.

It seems there is nothing the roofed walkway cannot do to wreak a riot of picturesque changes in the Chinese garden. The Long Corridor in the Summer Palace is an outstanding example in this regard, as it keeps the visitor engrossed while ushering him into what looks like a hand scroll of landscape painting. As the scenery changes with the shift of the visitor's footsteps, he is led by the corridor for a rambling of the royal garden and summering palace of yore without realizing it. The gardens and buildings inside a scenic resort like the Summer Palace, indeed, made an ideal dwelling place for the Qing monarchs away from the Forbidden City.

The Garden of Harmonious Charms is nestled alone at the eastern foot of the Longevity Hill. In it, runoffs converge in a pond encircled by pavilions and verandahs, a tiny bridge is kept so close to the pond's surface that it is perceptibly mistaken for a pontoon, and a roofed walkway winds its way to vistas designed for in-situ viewing in every corner. As a small garden standing on its own inside of a large one, the Garden of Harmonious Charms is a replica of the Solace-Imbued Garden in Wuxi, another mountain-foot garden that, too, has a pool to collect rainwater and exterior views to borrow from.

Water twists and turns in line with embankments and is segmented by dykes. In the Summer Palace, water is divided up by long courseways to bring forth varied scenery, whereas bridges are designed so beautifully that every one of them is picturesque enough to be patterned after in painting. Sparkling, dustless and gentle is the Jade Belt Bridge, and the Seventeen-Arch Bridge appears like a rainbow descending upon water. When the hills shimmer in ethereally springtime mist, and when lake-side fresh willow trigs

start stroking the water, the views presented to those boating on the Kunming Lake are categorically different from what they see ashore, whereas the fact that the Western Hills are always in the picture indicates how thoroughly the view-borrowing technique is executed in the Summer Palace.

颐和园

“更喜高楼明月夜，悠然把酒对西山”，明米万钟在他北京西郊的园林里，写了这两句诗句。一望而知是从晋人陶渊明“采菊东篱下，悠然见南山”脱胎而来的。不管“对”也好，“见”也好，所指的都是远处的山。这就是中国园林设计中的借景。把远景纳为园中一景，增加了该园的景色变化。这在中国古代造园中早已应用，明计成在他所著《园冶》一书中总结出来，有了定名。他说：“借者，园虽别内外，得景则无拘远近。”已阐述得很明白了。

北京的西郊，西山蜿蜒若屏，清泉汇为湖沼，最宜建园，历史上曾为北京园林集中之地。明清两代，蔚为大观，其中圆明园更被称为“万园之园”。这座在历史上驰名中外的名园——圆明园，其于造园之术，可用“因水成景，借景西山”八字来概括。圆明园的成功，在于“因”、“借”二字，是中国古代园林的主要手法的具体表现。偌大的一个园林，如果立意不明，终难成佳构。所以造园要立意在先。尤其是郊园，郊园多野趣，重借景。这两点不论从哪一个园，即今日尚存的颐和园，都能体现出来。

圆明园在1860年英法联军与1900年八国联军入侵北京时已全被焚毁，今仅存断垣残基。如今，只能用另一个大园林——颐和园来谈借景。

颐和园在北京西北郊10公里，万寿山耸翠园北，昆明湖弥漫山前，玉泉山蜿蜒其西，风景洵美。

颐和园在元代名瓮山金海，至明代有所增饰，名好山园。清康熙四十一年（公元1702年）曾就此作瓮山行宫。清乾隆十五年（公元1750年）开始大规模兴建，更名清漪园。1860年为英法联军所毁，1886年修复，易名颐和园。1900年又为八国联军所破坏，1903年又重修，遂成今状。

颐和园是以杭州西湖为蓝本，精心模拟，故西堤、水岛、烟柳画桥，移江南的淡妆，现北地之胭脂，景虽有相同，趣则各异。

园面积达三四平方公里，水面占四分之三，北国江南因水而成。入东宫门，见仁寿殿，峻宇翚飞，峰石罗前。绕其南豁然开朗，明湖在望。

万寿山面临昆明湖，佛香阁踞其巅，八角四层，俨然为全园之中心。登阁则西山如黛，湖光似镜，跃然眼帘；俯视则亭馆扑地，长廊萦带，景色全囿于一园之内，其所以得无尽之趣，在于借景。小坐湖畔的湖山真意亭，玉泉山山色塔影，移入槛前，而西山不语，直走京畿，明

秀中又富雄伟，为他园所不及。

廊在中国园林中极尽变化之能事，颐和园长廊可算显例，其于游者之兴味最浓，印象特深。廊引人随，中国画山水手卷，于此舒展，移步换景，上苑别馆，有别宫禁，宜其清代帝王常作园居。

谐趣园独自成区，倚万寿山之东麓，积水以成池，周以亭榭，小桥浮水，游廊随径，适宜静观。此大园中之小园，自有天地。园仿江南无锡寄畅园，以同属山麓园，故有积水，皆有景可借。

水曲由岸，水隔因堤，故颐和园以长堤分隔，斯景始出，而桥式之多，构图之美，处处画本。若玉带桥之莹洁柔和，十七孔桥之仿佛垂虹，每当山横春霭，新柳拂水，游人泛舟，所得之景与陆上得之景，分明异趣。而处处皆能映西山入园，足证“借景”之妙。

英译：段会香

MOUNTAIN SUMMER RESORT, CHENGDE

The outskirts of Chengde in the northern province of Hebei used to be a hunting ground for monarchs of the Qing. Thoroughbred steeds galloping in the autumn wind is typical of north China's country scene, but the contrary is true with the Chengde Mountain Summer Resort, whose scenery evokes the apricot flowers and vernal rains of the Jiangnan area. It is north China's answer for the Yangtze River Delta's scenic beauty. Visitors to this royal summer palace of yore would invariably wonder, "Who says the northland stands no comparison with the Jiangnan area?"

Siting is pivotal to the making of a garden. The site chosen for this purpose must be endowed with natural beauty in the first place, with man's creative effort playing a secondary role. The selection of scenery is a priority, but the tricky part of the job is how to pinpoint the focus of such scenery. A garden's views become perfect only if a good job is done in both aspects, and this is precisely where the success of the Mountain Summer Resort lies. This resort is hemmed in by mountains. The Wulie River flows northeast before taking a southward track at the resort's palace wall, and its water remains warm in winter thanks to the hot-spring water pouring into it. Hence the river's other name, Rehe, or Warm River, which is also a byname for the city of Chengde.

Emperor Kangxi (in reign 1661-1722) of the Qing started building a summer palace in Chengde in 1703, but it took him six years to have it initially completed. As the new estate was characterized by an unadorned elegance, with all its thirty-six sights brimming with natural delight, he named it "Chengde Mountain Summer Resort." Not wanting to let his grandfather down, Emperor Qianlong (in reign 1736-1796) began expanding the resort in 1751. Another thirty-six sights were added as a result, along with a cluster of Buddhist monasteries in the mountains. As a result, the precinct of this mountain resort swelled considerably.

With a circumference of twenty kilometers, the Chengde Mountain Summer Resort is, as its name suggests, mostly mountainous. Its flat land, accounting for one fifth of the total acreage, is strewn with lakes and ponds, with mountains and lakes setting off one another bewitchingly. The front gate

of the imperial residential and court quarters that occupy the eastern part of the resort, opens onto a *Phoebe nanmu* hall whose natural elegance is conspicuous in the absence of lavish ornamentation. Sitting on a vintage point, this hall is an epitome in view borrowing—the sparkling lakes in close proximity and the mountain ranges in the distance can all be seen indoors when window curtains are lifted.

The landscape of the summer resort falls into two sections. In the southeast section, all the spring water converges in lakes and ponds; in the northwest section, mountain ranges run up and down like so many floating ribbons, where plenty of birds nest in dense woods, and grazing David's deer bell and rove unhurriedly. The waters are made to twist and turn with embankments, and their surfaces, dotted with isles, are partitioned with dykes in imitation of famous gardens of the Jiangnan area, looking so genuine they are northland's spit images of the Mist and Rain Loft of Jiaxing in Zhejiang province, and the Lion's Grove of Suzhou in Jiangsu province.

Buildings in the mountains are designed for visitors to look afar or take a rest, which is why those in the Chengde Mountain Summer Resort are small and exquisite in design and brimming with changes. They are also interspersed with temples, so that the ear is delighted in the morning by bell tolls and at dusk by drum beats punctuating chants of Buddhist sutras. The Belvedere of Literary Way is right there, a library in which the *Complete Library of Four Branches of Books*[1] is kept. The Eight Outer Temples, laid out north and east of the mountain resort, offer fabulous scenes and sights for view borrowing, so that the scenic attractions within and without the mountain resort are mingled into an integral whole.

Covering an area of 5.64 million square meters, the Chengde Mountain Summer Resort is the largest extant garden in this country. Its natural topography encompasses mountains, plains and lakes, and its garden-making scheme is adapted to the topography in many a becoming manner. Immensely variegated, too, is local horticulture. Pines are planted among other trees in the mountains, willows on the water's edges, and lotuses in the lakes. The Wind-Swept Pines in Myriad Gullies and the Aromatic Lotuses in a Bending Stream inside of it are two scenic attractions that are named after their respective horticultural themes. The Garden of Ten Thousand Trees turns out to be a forest of elm trees, whose canopy-like foliage obscures the sun while sending forth refreshing breeze to conjure up an otherworldly ambience.

Waters are concentrated in most Chinese gardens, but the lakes and

pools in the Chengde Mountain Summer Resort are now clustered, now separated, with water flowing down a host of valleys and exiting through a water gate at the Literate Garden in the southeast corner before joining the Wulie River. The S-Shaped Sceptre Sandbar, the River Murmuring in Moonlight, the Zigzagging Trails on a Cloudy Causeway, the Midstream Gazebos, and other isles and sandbars join bridges and weirs to divide the resort's body of waters into the East Lake, the Lake of S-Shaped Sceptre Sandbar, the Upper Lake Zone and the Lower Lake Zone. These lakes, sparkling amidst pavilions and lofts and encircled by willow-lined low embankments, set the stage for a landscape at once deep and labyrinthine. Gurgling mountain brooks interact with placid lakes and ponds to yield such scenic attractions as the Warm Stream and Hot Waves, the Clouds' Looks and Water's Postures, the Splashing Spring Far and Near, the Manifold Verdure Reflected in Crystal Waves, the Mirror-like Water and Cloudy Hills, and the Fragrant Islet on a Gurgling Brook. In this resort, indeed, waters may assume a hundred postures, and views may change in a thousand and one ways.

Ubiquitous are pavilions, terraces, lofts and chambers, bridges, and waterside gazebos that are adapted to the natural topography of the Chengde Mountain Summer Resort. Accommodating to its tranquil ravines and exotic peaks are also Buddhist and Taoist temples and nunneries, including the Golden Mountain Temple and the Dharma Forest Temple in the East Lake Zone, but more of them are found in the mountainous zone, including such Taoist sanctuaries as the Palace in Honour of a Resourceful Female Immortal and the Belvedere in Honour of the Mother of Big Dipper, and Buddhist domains like the Source of Pearl Waterfall Temple, the Green Peak Temple, the Temple of Sandalwood Forest, the Temple of Herons in Clouds, and the Nunnery of Moon in Water among the Eight Inner Temples. The halls and lofts of these religious establishments are scattered in eye-pleasing disorder, with Buddhist stupas glinting among them. The peace and quiet of the mountain woods are shattered when sutra chants and bell tolls rise at dawn and dusk to turn the place into a divine dreamland. Natural scenery and religious architecture are thus subtly combined to bestow a personality unseen elsewhere on this mountain resort.

Encircled by mountains, the views of the resort are fascinating enough to feast the eye. Looking afar across the Wulie River, one sees the Pestle-Shaped Peak at Sunset. On a stretch that begins north of the Pestle-Shaped Peak and turns west at the Lion's Gully, religious sanctuaries and royal villas

are arrayed in the following order: the Temple of Omnipresent Benevolence, the Temple of Omnipresent Goodwill, the Temple of Universal Happiness, the Temple of Frontier Pacification, the Temple of Universal Blessing, the Temple of Universal Peace, the Temple of Sumeru, Happiness and Longevity, the Temple of Potaraka Doctrine, the Temple of Manjushri's Statue, the Temple of Universal Pacification, the Arhats Hall, and the Lions' Garden. Patterned after the architectural styles of the Uygurs, Tibetans and other ethnic minorities and those of hinterland China, these temples are majestic and splendid enough to rival or match all the royal palaces on the premises. Anyone climbing up the boundary wall of the northern part of the summer resort can take in all these temples, aligned from east to north to form an integral spatial entity with the whole estate while each remaining as the centerpiece of an independent scenic zone.

It suffices to sum up the all-encapsulating beauty of the Chengde Mountain Summer Resort in a single line,

> To move heaven and condense earth—it all depends on how highminded the garden builder is.

In other words, the Chengde Mountain Summer Resort is a congregation of landscape gardens in southern and northern Chinese styles and buildings of many ethnic architectural backgrounds, a congregation of elements that, instead of being lumped together higgledy-piggledy, set off and complement one another in every becoming way to strike a sentimental chord in the beholder's heart and generate sceneries everywhere in good taste. The Principal Palace and the River Murmuring in Moonlight are actually complexes of quadrangle dwellings not uncommon in north China, whereas the Wind-Swept Pines in Myriad Gullies and the Mist and Rain Loft are flexibly laid out in a Jiangnan landscape gardening style. Thus the grace of the south and the vigour of the north are presented before the eye, enabling one to savor the masterstrokes of this peerless mountain resort's creators.

避暑山庄

河北省承德市附近原为清帝狩猎的地方，骏马秋风，正是典型的北地风情。然而承德避暑山庄这个著名的北方行宫苑囿，却有杏花春雨般的江南景色，令人向往。游人到此总会流露出“谁云北国逊江南”这种感觉。

苑囿之建，首在选址，须得山川之胜，辅以人工。重在选景，妙在点景，二美具而全景出，避暑山庄正得此妙谛。山庄群山环抱，武烈河自东北沿宫墙南下。有泉冬暖，故称热河。

清康熙于1703年始建山庄，经六年时间初步完成，作为离宫之用。朴素无华，饶自然之趣，故以山庄名之，有三十六景。其后，乾隆又于1751年进行扩建，踵事增华，亭榭别馆骤增，遂又增三十六景。同时建寺观，分布山区，规模较前益广。

行宫周约20公里，多山岭，仅五分之一左右为平地，而平地又多水面，山岚水色，相映成趣。居住朝会部分位于山庄之东，正门内为楠木殿，素雅不施彩绘，因所在地势较高，故近处湖光，远处岚影，可卷帘入户，借景绝佳。园区可分为两部，东南之泉汇为湖泊，西北山陵起伏如带，林木茂而禽鸟聚，麋鹿散于丛中，鸣游自得。水曲因岸，水隔因堤，岛列其间，仿江南之烟雨楼、狮子林等，名园分绿，遂移北国。

山区建筑宜眺、宜憩，故以小巧出之而多变化。寺庙间列，晨钟暮鼓，梵音到耳。且建藏书楼文津阁，储《四库全书》【从周案十七】于此。园外东北两面有外八庙，为极好的借景，融园内外景为一。

山庄占地564万平方米，为现存苑囿中最大。山庄自然地势，有山岳平原与湖沼等，因地制宜，变化多端。而林木栽植，各具特征，山多松，间植，水边宜柳，湖中栽荷，园中“万壑松风”“曲水荷香”，皆因景而得名。而万树园中，榆树成林，浓荫蔽日，清风自来，有隔世之感。

中国苑囿之水，聚者为多，而避暑山庄湖沼，得聚分之妙，其水自各山峪流下，东南经文园水门出，与武烈河相接。湖沼之中，安排如意洲、月色江声、芝径云堤、水心榭等洲、岛、桥、堰，分隔成东湖、如意洲湖及上下湖区域。亭阁掩映，柳岸低迷，景深委婉。而山泉、平湖之水自有动静之分，故山麓有“暖流喧波”“云容水态”“远近泉声”。入湖沼则“澄波叠翠”“镜水云岑”“芳渚临流”。水有百态，景存千变。

山庄按自然形势，广建亭台、楼阁、桥梁、水榭等。并且更就幽峪奇峰，建造寺观庵庙，计东湖沼区域有金山寺、法林寺等。山岳区内，其数尤多，属道教者有广元宫、斗姥阁；属佛教的有珠源寺、碧峰寺、旃檀林、鹭云寺、水月庵等，有内八庙之称。殿阁参差，浮图隐现，朝

霞夕月，梵音钟声，破寂静山林，绕神妙幻境。苑囿园林，于自然景物外，复与宗教建筑相结合。

山庄峰峦环抱，秀色可餐，隔武烈河遥望，有“锤峰落照”一景。自锤峰沿山而北，转狮子沟而西，依次建溥仁寺、溥善寺、普乐寺、安远庙、普佑寺、普宁寺、须弥福寿之庙、普陀宗乘之庙、殊像寺、广安寺、罗汉堂、狮子园等寺庙与别园，且分别模仿新疆、西藏等少数民族建筑造型，以及山海关以内各地建筑风格，崇巍瑰丽，与山庄建筑呼应争辉。试登离宫北部界墙之上，自东及北，诸庙尽入眼底，其与离宫几形成一空间整体，蔚为一大风景区。

用“移天缩地在君怀”这句话来概括山庄，可以说体现已尽。其能融南北园林于一处，组各民族建筑在一区，不觉其不协调不顺眼，反觉面面有情，处处生景，实耐人寻味。故若正宫、月色江声等处，实为北方民居四合院之组合方式，而万壑松风、烟雨楼等，运用江南园林手法灵活布局。秀北雄南，目在咫尺，游人当可领略其造园之佳妙。

PART TWO　Garden-Making Precepts and Aesthetic
第二部分　造园准则与美学

ON GARDENS 1[1]

Architecture Edition, Tongji University Journal, Issue No. 2, 1978

With a venerable history and a distinctive character, the craft of Chinese gardens is a school of its own worldwide. Over the years scholars around the world have been studying it in every perspective, and contributed a wealth of eloquent and judicial discourses. Today I would like to spell out my take on the basis of what I have witnessed and learned in my daily involvement in gardens. Hence the title of this essay, "On Gardens."

The first thing to consider before making a landscape garden is that there are vistas for in-situ viewing and those for in-motion viewing, the former pointing to sceneries that people can take in while sitting down, and the latter calling for a tour route of considerable length so that the vista changes with the shift of the visitor's feet. Small gardens should be predicated on sights for insitu viewing and supplemented with those for in-motion viewing, courtyard gardens should be catered entirely to in-situ viewing, but it should be the other way round for large gardens. The Master-of-Fishnets Garden of Suzhou is a typical example for small gardens, and the Humble Administrator's Garden of Suzhou is a case in point for large gardens.

Visitors to the Master-of-Fishnets Garden are invariably delighted to see a pond surrounded by buildings where they can sit down or hang around. They can lean over a balustrade to count the fish swimming in the water, or stay in a pavilion to await the moon in the breeze. Beyond the balustrade, shadows of flowers sway on the walls, and hills in the distance are framed in the windows to evoke a classical painting that exude serenity and appeal. In the Humble Administrator's Garden, a footpath encircles a pond and a roofed walkway meanders its way through an agglomeration of scenic attractions to bring along the visitor—which is similar to the Slender West Lake of Yangzhou, where, in the words of Wang Shizhen (1634-1711),

> A painted boat passed 'neath the bridge at noon,
> Gone were her scented dress and figure so soon.

The secret to this ever-changing view lies in the shift of the visitor's footsteps, which is exactly what in-motion viewing is all about. Conception always comes before a garden is made, just as writing is always heralded by

conception as well. Only with an exquisite conception can a scenic setting be wondrous enough. Whether scenery should be adapted to in-situ or in-motion viewing depends on a garden's nature and size. The Garden of Miniature Landscapes under construction in Shanghai, for example, makes sense largely because its sights are devoted to in-situ viewing.

The traditional Chinese garden is an artistic synthesis of architecture, rockery, water, and horticulture that emanates idyllic sentiments and picturesque fascinations. Though rockery and water are set out by man, they must look like wrought by nature. What is the relationship between rockery and water? In a nutshell, rather than squeeze an entire landscape into the limited space of a garden, only a part of it should be used, which accords with the principles of painting. (A fabulous example is the way the pond in the Master-of-Fishnets Garden is patterned after the White Lotus Pond at the Tiger Hill in Suzhou.) The value of rockery is borne in its veins, and that of a stream or pond lies in its headwater; only when the veins and the headwater are meshed can the entire garden come to dynamic life. I once illustrated the relationship between rockery and water in a garden with inspirations from real mountains and real streams: firstly, water should follow the contours of rockery, so that the latter comes alive because of the former; secondly, water should accommodate to the shape of the rockery to carve out a winding course, whereas a mountain trail should follow the lie of the land and stay low and level. Zhang Lian (1587-1673), a prominent rockery architect during the Ming-Qing transition, advocates the use of level ridges, small slopes, and high mounds to bring man's landscaping and gardening efforts close to nature. If we know a smattering of the reason behind it, we will not stray too far from nature and can create, to varying degrees, intriguing scenes in which water and rockery are well meshed.

Trees are planted in the traditional Chinese garden not just for keeping the land green, but more importantly, they are supposed to add picturesque fascination to the landscape. A flowering tree ought to be partially framed in a window to look like a foot-long scroll of Chinese painting with a single bough in it. The combination of a few old trees craning over a clump of bamboos by the side of a boulder invariably draws its inspiration from a landscape painting of withered trees overlooking bamboos and rocks. He who favors the beauty of shape over species can train a potted plant any way he would to evoke a classical painting. The Chinese wingnut trees in the Humble Administrator's Garden, and the age-old cypresses in the Master-of-Fishnets

Garden are both scenic attractions pivotal to the general plan of their respective gardens. Were these picture-perfect old trees taken away, the scenic charms of the entire garden would be irretrievably lost right away. Most of the tree species introduced to the Chinese garden are distinctive in their own ways. Chosen fastidiously, they can bestow a unique personality on a garden, which is exactly what the lacebark pines mean to the Lingering Garden, what the pines and plum trees mean to the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence[2], and what the broad-leafed indocalamus bamboos mean to the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion.

Nevertheless, this issue seems to have eluded attention in recent years. Confusion has reigned over the choice of tree species, and some gardens' personalities are tarnished as a result. It seems a lesson ought to be drawn from it. The Northern Song (960-1127) painter Guo Xi (*c*. 1000-*c*. 1080) says a mouthful,

> A mountain takes streams as its arteries, grass and trees as its hair, and the misty clouds above it as its spiritual verve.

Even grass can be so indispensable to landscape, to say nothing about trees. I always believe a garden should be imbued with the botanical character of the place in which it finds itself, not to mention the fact that trees growing in their native places have a high survival rate and grow fast—it may take only a few years for their saplings to grow into a wood. The Chinese garden differs from the arboretum in that its trees, instead of having their diversity in species flaunted, are there to be viewed and appreciated. However, it is by no means easy for a garden to excel with its own scenery and for sceneries to look different from one garden to another. This, without question, is also pertinent to flowers. You have got to seek difference from similarity and vice versa, for only in this way can every garden in this nation stand on their own. Garden-crafters in ancient times did their best to create scenes and sights for every season with the same pavilions, terraces, lofts, rockeries, streams and ponds while keeping them perennially new. This practice conforms to the fact that our nation has developed a discerning eye in appreciation of arts. For example, we are highly demanding of the shapes and postures of flowers and trees to be cultivated, of the melodies of music to be appreciated, and of the intended conceptions for calligraphy and painting to be practiced. Thus to produce a work of art that stands the most stringent scrutiny and has lasting artistic value, the artist has got to take pains and be attentive to the minute detail. This idea seems to be inspiring for us in exploring the "Chinese form" of landscaping gardening.

The views inside of a garden are to be observed from angles of elevation or depression and, therefore, each view should be handled on its own merits. Accordingly, lofts and pavilions must set off each other, hills and rockeries must be solemn and towering, streams must twist and turn, and bays must be made to encircle the premises.

By a tiny pavilion, beyond a red bridge,
Many a cicada warbles in tall willow trees.

In green willows' shadows,
By a pavilion amid crabapple flowers,
Atop red apricot branches.

Through these poetic lines, the depth of field, space and sound in a garden are recreated, while the tall willows and the tips of apricot branches direct the eye to look up. We learn, as we should, from poets, who definitely belong in the most sensible sort.

A winding trail hides itself in a mount,
So at measured pace I climb along it.

This reminds us the concealed trail can be discovered only by looking down at the foot of the mount. Therefore, the arrangement of details like rooftops, the foot of a rockery, water inlets, and treetops tolerates no negligence and rashness. Erecting a pavilion up a hill serves to guide the eye upward whereas leaving a crag by a stream or pond directs the eye downward.

Why is it that our country's places of interest and gardens can draw a constant stream of visitors from home and abroad? Why is it that people are never tired of looking at them? Fabulous landscape is no doubt a major reason behind it, but another important factor is that these tourist attractions are rich repositories of Chinese culture and history. I have pointed out that the presence of cultural artefacts and sites of historical interest enriches the cultural undertones of a scenic resort or garden, adds to their appeals, and gives more food for thought, so that people do not visit them for visit's sake or they just come to eat and drink. A cultural artefact and a tourist resort or garden are not a pair of opposites but a pair of mutually complementing factors. In this pair, the cultural artefact finds an ideal sanctuary whereas the resort or the garden becomes more culturally endowed. Only in this way can the garden in China epitomize traditional and modern Chinese culture.

The beauty of the Chinese garden lies in its implicit undertones. Every hill or rock inside of it is worth contemplating. An artificial peak is an impressionist work of sculpture; the name of the Beauty Peak makes sense only by putting it under close scrutiny, and the same is true with the Nine-

Lion Mountain. The front and rear beams in a twin hall come in different forms to imply a couple of loving birds, but nobody can notice it without being prompted. The fear that visitors may not know what they are seeing has compelled many a well-intentioned garden keeper to erect, say, a big artificial fish in a pond, or a clay panda in front of a giant pandas' arena. They want to advertise their "wares," without realizing that their action contravenes the value of implicitness, robs the Chinese garden of its quintessence, and spoils the scenery. But what can we do about it? Fish faintly discernible in the water are the most bewitching to see. A bamboo grove in a giant pandas' world tends to guide the visitor to where the fun is and keep his eyes peeled. From some gardens' old names one can easily figure out what can be seen in them, such as lacebark pines in the Wintry Emerald Mountain Abode (*i.e.*, the Lingering Garden of today),[3] plum trees in the Plum Garden, and water in the Master-of-Fishnets Garden. Better examples in this regard can be found in the ten views of the West Lake in Hangzhou.

The inscription on a board hanging in the front or at the top of a pavilion or hall is illustrative for the curious sightseer. At the Pavilion of Lotus-Scented Breeze from Four Sides, for instance, the visitor would be caught up in a reverie in the wind even if no scented breeze is drifting from the lotus pond. The wondrous implication and brilliant calligraphy of an antithetical couplet are enough to make the visitor reluctant to go away. The Hut on Another Peak of Jiao's Mountain in Zhenjiang used to be Zheng Xie's studio. The front gate of this small three-room affair in a courtyard of flowers and trees is flanked by a couplet that reads,

> Should a room be large to look elegant?
> Flowers needn't be many to be fragrant.

Upon reading these lines, one would forget all worries and immerse himself in the pleasant scenery in no time. The studio would become the talk of the day among visitors, and its good reputation would spread far and wide through their lips. Inscribed name boards may be made of brick or stone; antithetical couplets may be engraved on wooden or bamboo boards, or screens made of stone or marble. Rectangular stone slabs with calligraphic inscriptions are sometimes used as well. These calligraphic works are more implicit and thought-provoking than pictures, whose use is somewhat deliberately avoided on these name boards and couplets. Mounted scrolls are seldom employed, as most garden buildings are left open all the time and, therefore, destructive to anything made of paper under their roofs. The materials used for the name boards and couplets are chosen in light of

locales: brick and stone for those left in the open, and bamboo and wood for those to be kept indoors. Mounted calligraphic work or paintings hanging in a dwelling house helps improve light and acoustic effects indoors, and enhances the sense of peace and quiet on the part of the dwellers. In old days the Xuan paper made for this purpose and the mounted work came in specifications and sizes well adapted to the sizes of building in which it is to be kept.

Curving and straight lines are relevant to each other in the Chinese garden. They should be applied flexibly, with straight lines contained in curves and with every line running its natural course. When drawing a tree, the painter is absolutely right to make sure that none of the lines he draws is straight. The zigzagging bridge, trail and corridor are set from one point to another to serve transport and communication purposes, but in a garden they are invariably flanked by scenic attractions, and made to twist and turn along a line so that its sceneries can meet the visitor's eye as he looks this way and that, while the lengthened route serves to heighten his pleasure as he ambles along. Curving lines are born of straight ones, but most importantly, the use of curves should be measured. A zigzagging bridge should be kept below the shoreline of a brook or pond and set as close to the water surface as possible to induce the feeling as if one was treading waves, and the number of its bends should be decided according to circumstances. However, some bridges are forced to twist and turn for nine times or set high above the water surface—so mechanically are they designed as to make people feel like torture walking on them, most probably because the rule of thumb has been sidetracked. The Nine-Bend Bridge in the Gratification Garden of Shanghai is a bad case in point.

Once a site has been chosen for a garden to be made, its central theme should be decided in the light of the environment, and the anticipated ambiance fostered to give the garden a distinct character. I see the Garden of Perfect Splendor in Beijing as a classic case of "accommodating scenery to bodies of water and borrowing views from the western hills." In other words, it is celebrated as the "Garden of Gardens" because all the views in it are pivoted to water while sights from the said hills are ushered in. The Solace-Imbued Garden[4] sits at the foot of the Huishan Mountain, with its scenes and sights structured to face the mountain, whose scenery thus becomes part and parcel of the garden. The Master-of-Fishnets Garden is predicated on water, but there is no water at all at its Late-Spring Peony Lodge[5], which would

have been in danger of being "expelled" from the garden. The builders meet the challenge by drilling a fountainhead at its southwest corner and let water run through all the streams in the garden. Thus the Lodge's desperate problem is addressed, and the Master-of-Fishnets Garden's reputation as a water-bound garden saved. However, the garden's newly added eastern part is a failure, for it is devoid of water—a dilemma resulting from a thoughtless design adopted in total disregard of the garden's general layout and in violation of its general principle.

An excellent garden calls to mind a well-written quatrain or a short lyric poem whose success hinges on pithy witticism. Though having only a few lines, such a creation is rich in connotations that never cease to resonate like lilting melodies. (Large gardens are not without their failures or oversights, just as a full-length song in a drawn-out tune can hardly be vocalized in a single breath.) This is exactly what I mean by "letting there be gardens beyond a garden and views beyond a view." The secret of a garden that has gardens beyond it lies in "borrowing"; and the key to a view having views beyond it lies in its "timeline" that governs the never-ending shift of the four seasons. The shadows of flowers, trees, clouds or reflections in water, the rustling of wind, the gurgling of water, the chirping of birds, and the aroma of flowers…all these intangible views mix with tangible ones to stage a symphony in which poetic beauty overflows and picturesque appeal flourishes.

A garden of ten thousand *qing* (one *qing* equals 6.6667 hectares) can hardly be compact, nor can a garden of a few *mu* (one *mu* equals one fifteenth of one hectare) be extensive enough. What really matters is to make sure that the visitor does not mind the largeness of a garden because he is not fatigued by its compact dispositions, and that he does not mind the smallness of a garden because its spaciousness contains something of everything for his appreciation. This is why gardens should provide for both in-situ and in-motion viewing, which helps make a large place look small and a small place large. To put it in traditional Chinese painting parlance, it is essential to be "bold enough to set the brush to paper and cautious enough to bring it to a finish." In the words of a calligrapher, a garden should be roomy enough somewhere for a horse to gallop through, and close-knit enough in other places so that not a single needle can be inserted in it. Thus in the Summer Palace of Beijing we have both the ethereally vast Kunming Lake and the exquisite Garden of Harmonious Charms—a hill-rimmed small courtyard

patterned after the Solace-Imbued Garden in Wuxi, Jiangsu province. There are principles but no hard and fast rules for the making of scenic gardens—it all depends on whether or not the principles can be applied with felicity. What Ji Cheng (1582-*c*. 1642) means by "melting into the existing lie of the land" and "borrowing from available scenery" are two of the garden-making principles, but he sets no stereotypes in his *The Craft of Gardens*. All that matters is to distinguish large gardens from small ones, in-situ viewing from in-motion viewing, and rural gardens from urban ones—only then can you make the most of each of them and do something proper and fitting.

Simple as the orchid and bamboo are in traditional Chinese painting, every painter can depict them in a distinct way. The reason why the theatergoer never tires of watching the performance of a classical opera episode is because every performer can act it out with originality. The same is true with garden-making. If hard-and-fast rules are needed for scholars, like the *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Model Paintings* for painters and the "eight-legged essay" for essayists, small-garden builders ought to draw something to go by from the Master-of-Fishnets Garden in Suzhou, recognized as a consummate example of "being small in quantity but exquisite in quality" and "beating the many with the few"—simple rules that call for mutual relevance and substitution between artificial mountains and buildings in a small garden where there is no land boat, large bridge or artificial mountain, and where buildings are small and few but methodically spaced. Virtually all the gardens in Suzhou have followed these rules, but the Master-of-Fishnets Garden's newly added eastern section is a complete flop because such rules are violated. Another negative example in this regard is the Lion's Grove, where a newly added boat is too bulky for its water surface and, therefore, is nondescript and off-key. Wang Weilin (1763-1822) of the Qing says in his note "Refurbishing the Literary Garden":

> I replaced flowery hedge and stone railing repaired,
> It is more difficult to modify a garden than poetry.
> If only I could use every word to the point, and build
> A pavilion or deck that, though tiny, stands scrutiny.

These thorough and succinct lines still sound sincere and resonant to garden-makers today.

The size of what is contained in a garden is relative rather than absolute. There is no smallness without largeness, and vice versa. The more the space is partitioned, the larger and the more changeable the garden is felt, so that limitless space can be created on a limited lot, and a large garden can contain

several small ones. (The Three Pools Mirroring the Moon in the West Lake is a fitting example of how a large lake can embrace a number of small pools.) Actually more examples can be cited, for this principle has become a critical garden-making rule. The Loquat Courtyard and the Vernal Crabapple Yard in the Humble Administrator's Garden and the Garden of Harmonious Charms in the Summer Palace are marked for their sublime artistic attainments. If a visitor is daunted by a garden's hollow and insipid interior and sheer size the moment he sets foot in it, or if he calls it quits before he reaches all its recesses, this garden is a complete mistake because it cannot stoke the visitor's appetite for a thoroughgoing visit. If the scenery in a garden looks special, richly variegated, and euphemistically laid out, people tend to visit them time and again. Is there anything wrong to make sure that the attractions inside of a scenic resort or garden cannot be exhausted through a single visit, with ample room reserved to accommodate repeated visits? It is a pity that quite a few scenic resorts are given to expansions in hopes that they are large enough for one-day or half-day tours and that one can finish seeing it all on a single visit and need not come back again. For this purpose they tear down walls in their precincts, but contrary to their intentions, they harvest emptiness instead. This is exactly what has happened to the Autumn Moon over a Calm Lake and the Xiling Seal Engravers Society at the West Lake, where the newly built seven-storied Xiling Hotel[6] also dwarfs the nearby scenic Geling Mountain by half.

By contrast, the Slender West Lake of Yangzhou owes its beauty partially to its slenderness and partially to local planners' far-sighted decision to ban tall buildings on its shorelines. The Slender West Lake Scenic Resort is actually a cluster of private gardens that reach out to the outside world through waterways (another cluster of private gardens at Garden Lane in Yangzhou's city proper is predicated on roads), where every garden is water-bound and stays on its own inside of a courtyard. The houses, decks, and red apricot boughs stretching over neighboring walls all throw their reflections into the lake, presenting one divine picture after another. Slender though the lake is, it never looks shabby for its manifold demure elegance. There, everything is fine save for a single defect: the total layout seems to be less than compact. What is more, more landmark buildings are needed, and the space should have been segmented more elaborately. No matter what, however, the character of the Slender West Lake should be preserved in future refurbishing efforts. The Humble Administrator's Garden in Suzhou

has gained size by annexing what becomes its eastern part, but the new addition makes the garden's original layout look rather cramped, whereas its vast eastern part is virtually reduced to a passageway for the garden proper because of its lack of scenic attractions. Indeed, annexation did no good to either scenic spot—it would have been nice to keep them separated.

Chinese wooden structures have both individuality and liabilities in form and size. Every one of them, be it a hall or a pavilion, must conform to prescribed specifications that cannot be bypassed—rules must be followed even if such structures are merely enlarged or scaled down. Otherwise, "You want to draw a tiger but end up with what looks like a dog," as the saying goes. The lack of floor space can be amended by putting several buildings together. The Islamic mosque, for example, gains enough room by way of continuous-span construction or by surrounding itself with colonnades. The enlargement of a pavilion in the eastern part of the Humble Administrator's Garden has raised quite a few eyebrows because it has ended up being neither a pavilion nor a belvedere. The Five-Pavilion Bridge and the White Pagoda at the Slender West Lake are replicas of the Beihai Bridge, the Five Pavilions Arranged to Assimilate a Dragon, and the White Pagoda of Beijing, but to make up for the lack of space, the Five-Pavilion Bridge was constructed by putting these pavilions on a single bridge and downscaling the White Pagoda, resulting in an assembly that fits the water surface to a T and brings the character of the Slender West Lake into bold relief. The entire layout is so well conceived that, sans a close look, nobody could tell that the scenery as a whole is just a microcosm of the pavilions and pagoda of the Beihai Lake in Beijing.

"Let there be no foot in a distant mountain, no root in a distant tree, and no hull in a distant boat save for its sail." This rule of thumb for traditional Chinese painting also applies to landscape gardening. Every scenic spot in a garden should look like a singular painting with rich depth and multi-layered graduation in light and color.

> [Of Kou Zhun (961-1023) at the Autumn Wind Pavilion,
> which was built when he was magistrate of Badong county,]
> He often leans upon a railing to gaze at water in greed,
> With no wall built around it lest the views be clogged.

If this line by Lu You (1125-1210) can be well understood, then we know what is to be hidden, screened, left wide open, or separated in a garden being made. The idea is that rather than present a vista in its entirety, only a fragment of it ought to be kept in sight, so that there seems to be pictures

beyond pictures and that the scenery close at hand looks like extending for miles on end—in this way the charms of the vista are made to linger infinitely. To put it more specifically, a pavilion should be kept slightly below a mountaintop; a tree should not be planted atop a mountain; a mountain should reveal its foot if its top is hidden and hide it if its top is revealed; a big tree should show off its crest if its root is concealed, and vice versa; and so on. To apply these rules, however, takes a lot of hammering out, with attention to the minute detail. Seemingly niggling details like pruning a tree or moving a small rock, if mishandled, can mar the whole thing. Indeed, a misplaced tree twig can spoil the beauty of an entire garden. In the Humble Administrator's Garden, a dead old tree was replaced with a new one in the back of the Yulan Magnolia Hall, but the scene lost its classical allure in no time; the same mishap also happened in front of the Sinuous Gully Loft in the Lingering Garden. These lessons indicate that it is hard to lay out a garden, but even harder to manage it. To be a good garden manager, one has got to be well-versed in a garden's history, and more importantly, he has got to have all the artistic characteristics of the garden at his fingertips, just like a well-trained nurse must know her patients well enough to take good care of them. This is particularly the case with governmentprotected heritage sites and cultural artefacts, where rashness and impetuosity must be guarded against. Such sites and artefacts must not be changed without the consent of the authorities. Otherwise, not only the "personality" of such a garden or relic will be blemished, but it also runs the risk of violating relevant government law.

Suburban gardens should be steeped in rural charms, and gardens attached to residences are valued for being refreshingly neat and cosy. Country charms are born of affinity to nature, while the quest for neatness and cosiness ought not fall into old rut. The Memorial Garden of Fan Li[7] in Wuxi is a typical failure for its vulgarity and awkwardness in taste and lack of idyllic beauty, whereas the Master-of-Fishnets Garden is typically tidy and comfortable. The former is big but seldom draws raves; the latter is small but is flooded with praises. This comparison justifies the idea that the beauty of a garden lies not in size but in exquisiteness, for only with exquisiteness can a garden become a classic objet d'art. The difference lies not only in style but also in interior decoration and furnishing. In a garden's interior decoration, everything must be done by bearing its circumstances in mind. Open structures hinge on dainty lines and delicate contours, but hanging fascias

should not be used for they are susceptible to damage; furnishings such as stools and tables fashioned out of stone or brick should be chosen mainly from among simple and unadorned ones. Halls, verandahs, rooms and all those structures with doors and windows should be appointed elaborately. Furniture should be made of mahogany, red sandalwood, *Phoebe nanmu*, or rosewood. To cope with seasonal changes, chairs should be covered with rattan-plaited cushions in summer and upholstered in winter. The furniture for pompous buildings should be made of mahogany or red sandalwood and thoroughly carved; those for simple buildings should be made of *Phoebe nanmu* and rosewood and come in good taste. The importance of furniture is self-evident, as it is commonly referred to as a house's "innards." A sparsely furnished room evokes someone who does not know how to read and write; an adequately furnished room can be graded by the quality and style of its furniture. In old days the Masterof-Fishnets Garden was furnished painstakingly and appointed gorgeously so that the visitor could learn a great deal about this aspect of the craft of gardens in our country.

In days of yore, hanging out lanterns for display was frequently portrayed in poetry and prose as a big evening event for every garden. Garden keepers would put valuable lanterns away immediately after the show was over. Being part and parcel of a garden, the lanterns, like the aforementioned name boards and couplets, are also fashioned in compliance with prescribed specifications and come in varied styles and sizes. Nowadays, however, some gardens have electric lamps fixed on their premises to draw visitors at night, which invariably spoils a garden's looks. A case in point is the Shan Juan's Hermitage Cave[8] of Yixing, whose grottoes should have been returned to nature, but the reality is that when night falls, a myriad of electric bulbs were switched on, turning the place into a bizarre world of kaleidoscopic colors that is easily mistaken for a busy restaurant. At the Lion's Grove, too, lamps have been conspicuously installed upon the ends of every pavilion's roof ridges. I would like to suggest caution when handling ancient structures, traditional gardens, and places of historical interest, and we should also guard against imposing incongruous fixtures on them. In my opinion, lamps for illuminating purposes should be kept out of sight, and only ornamental lamps can be displayed in ways congruous to the building and environment. Open or closed structures ought to be fixed with different kinds of lamps. Lamps should not be left to dangle under the roofs of a walkway, for they tend to break easily when they sway and tinkle in the wind. Electric

wires and poles must be handled with uttermost caution, for they molest the scenery and block the view, and are eyesores for photographers.

This discourse of mine, replete with clichés and platitude, is about trivialities that are of not much account, but I have delivered it here anyway in hopes that it will help bring our work to perfection and promote cultural prosperity. This foolish man will be elated if you can derive some useful reference from my words.

说园【从周案十八】

我国造园具有悠久的历史，在世界园林中树立着独特风格，自来学者从各方面进行分析研究，各抒高见。如今就我在接触园林中所见闻掇拾到的，提出来谈谈，姑名《说园》。

园有静观、动观之分，这一点我们在造园之先，首要考虑。何谓静观？就是园中予游者多驻足的观赏点。动观就是要有较长的游览线。二者说来，小园应以静观为主，动观为辅。庭院专主静观。大园则以动观为主，静观为辅。前者如苏州“网师园”，后者则苏州“拙政园”差可似之。人们进入网师园宜坐宜留之建筑多，绕池一周，有槛前细数游鱼，有亭中待月迎风，而轩外花影移墙，峰峦当窗，宛然如画，静中生趣。至于拙政园径缘池转，廊引人随，与“日午画船桥下过，衣香人影太匆匆”的瘦西湖相仿佛，妙在移步换影，这是动观。立意在先，文循意出。动静之分，有关园林性质与园林面积大小。像上海正在建造的盆景园，则宜以静观为主，即为一例。

中国园林是由建筑、山水、花木等组合而成的一个综合艺术品，富有诗情画意。叠山理水要造成“虽由人作，宛自天开”的境界。山与水的关系究竟如何呢？简言之，范山模水，用局部之景而非缩小（网师园水池仿虎丘白莲池，极妙），处理原则悉符画本。山贵有脉，水贵有源，脉源贯通，全园生动。我曾经用“水随山转，山因水活”与“溪水因山成曲折，山蹊（路）随地作低平”来说明山水之间的关系，也就是从真山真水中所得到的启示。明末清初叠山家张南垣主张用平冈小陂、陵阜陂阪，也就是要使园林山水接近自然。如果我们能初步理解这个道理：就不至于离自然太远，多少能呈现水石交融的美妙境界。

中国园林的树木栽植，不仅为了绿化，且要具有画意。窗外花树一角，即折枝尺幅；山间古树三五，幽篁一丛，乃模拟枯木竹石图。重姿态，不讲品种，和盆栽一样，能“入画”。拙政园的枫杨、网师园的古柏，都是一园之胜，左右大局，如果这些饶有画意的古木去了，一园景色顿减。树木品种又多有特色，如苏州留园原多白皮松，怡园多松、梅，沧浪亭满种箬竹，各具风貌。可是近年来没有注意这个问题，品种搞乱了，各园个性渐少，似要引以为戒。宋人郭熙说得好：“山以水为血脉，以草木为毛发，以烟云为神采。”草尚如此，何况树木呢！我总觉得一个地方的园林应该有那个地方的植物特色，并且土生土长的树木存活率大成长得快，几年可茂然成林。它与植物园有别，是以观赏为主，而非以种多斗奇。要能做到“园以景胜，景因园异”，那真是不容易。这当然也包括花卉在内。同中求不同，不同中求同，我国园林是各

具风格的。古代园林在这方面下过功夫，虽亭台楼阁，山石水池，而能做到风花雪月，光景常新。我们民族在欣赏艺术上存乎一种特性，花木重姿态，音乐重旋律，书画重笔意等，都表现了要用水磨功夫，才能达到耐看耐听，经得起细细的推敲，蕴藉有余味。在民族形式的探讨上，这些似乎对我们有所启发。

园林景物有仰观、俯观之别，在处理上亦应区别对待。楼阁掩映，山石森严，曲水湾环，都存乎此理。“小红桥外小红亭，小红亭畔，高柳万蝉声。”“绿杨影里，海棠亭畔，红杏梢头。”这些词句不但写出园景层次，有空间感和声感，同时高柳、杏梢，又都把人们视线引向仰观。文学家最敏感，我们造园者应向他们学习。至于“一丘藏曲折，缓步有跻攀”，则又皆留心俯视所致。因此园林建筑物的顶、假山的脚、水口、树梢，都不能草率从事，要着意安排。山际安亭，水边留矶，是能引人仰观、俯观的方法。

我国名胜也好，园林也好，为什么能这样勾引无数中外游人百看不厌呢？风景洵美，固然是重要原因，但还有个重要因素，即其中有文化、有历史。我曾提过风景区或园林有文物古迹，可丰富其文化内容，使游人产生更多的兴会、联想，不仅仅是到此一游，吃饭喝水而已。文物与风景区园林相结合，文物赖以保存，园林借以丰富多彩，两者相辅相成，不矛盾而统一。这样才能体现出一个有古今文化的社会主义中国园林。

中国园林妙在含蓄，一山一石耐人寻味。立峰是一种抽象雕刻品，美人峰细看才像美人，九狮山亦然。鸳鸯厅的前后梁架，形式不同，不说不明白，一说才恍然大悟，竟寓鸳鸯之意。奈何今天有许多好心肠的人，唯恐游者不了解，水池中装了人工大鱼，熊猫馆前站着泥塑熊猫，如做着大广告，与含蓄两字背道而驰，失去了中国园林的精神所在，真太煞风景。鱼要隐现方妙，熊猫馆以竹林引胜，渐入佳境，游者反多增趣味。过去有些园名如寒碧山庄（留园）【从周案十九】、梅园、网师园，都可顾名思义，园内的特色是白皮松、梅、水。尽人皆知的西湖十景，更是佳例。

亭榭之额真是赏景的说明书，拙政园的荷风四面亭，人临其境，即无荷风，亦觉风在其中，发人遐思。而联对文辞之隽永，书法之美妙，更令人一唱三叹，徘徊不已。镇江焦山顶的“别峰庵”，为郑板桥读书处，小斋三间，一庭花树，门联写着“室雅何须大，花香不在多”，游者见到，顿觉心怀舒畅，亲切地感到景物宜人，博得人人称好，游罢个个传诵。至于匾额，有砖刻、石刻，联屏有板对、竹对、板屏、大理石屏，外加石刻书条石，皆少用画，比具体的形象来得曲折耐味。其所以不用装裱的屏联，因园林建筑多敞口，有损纸质，额对露天者用砖石，

室内者用竹木，皆因地制宜而安排。住宅之厅堂斋室，悬挂装裱字画，可增加内部光线及音响效果，使居者有明朗清静之感，有与无，情况大不相同。当时宣纸规格、装裱大小皆有一定，乃根据建筑尺度而定。

园林中曲与直是相对的，要曲中寓直，灵活应用，曲直自如。画家讲画树，要无一笔不曲，斯理至当。曲桥、曲径、曲廊，本来在交通意义上，是由一点到另一点而设置的。园林中两侧都有风景，随直曲折一下，使行者左右顾盼有景，信步其间使距程延长，趣味加深。由此可见，曲本直生，重在曲折有度。有些曲桥，定要九曲，既（疑衍。——编者注）不临水面（园林桥一般要低于两岸，有凌波之意），生硬屈曲，行桥宛若受刑，其因在于不明此理（上海豫园前九曲桥即坏例）。

造园在选地后，就要因地制宜，突出重点，作为此园之特征，表达出预想的境界。北京圆明园，我说它是“因水成景，借景西山”，园内景物皆因水而筑，招西山入园，终成“万园之园”。无锡寄畅园为山麓园，景物皆面山而构，纳园外山景于园内。网师园以水为中心，殿春簃一院虽无水，西南角凿冷泉，贯通全园水脉，有此一眼，绝处逢生，终不脱题。新建东部，设计上既背固有设计原则，且复无水，遂成僵局，是事先对全园未作周密的分析，不假思索而造成的。

园之佳者如诗之绝句，词之小令，皆以少胜多，有不尽之意，寥寥几句，弦外之音犹绕梁间（大园总有不周之处，正如长歌慢调，难以一气呵成）。我说园外有园，景外有景，即包括在此意之内。园外有景妙在“借”，景外有景在于“时”，花影、树影、云影、水影、风声、水声、鸟语、花香，无形之景，有形之景，交响成曲。所谓诗情画意盎然而生，与此有密切关系。

万顷之园难以紧凑，数亩之园难以宽绰。紧凑不觉其大，游无倦意，宽绰不觉局促，览之有物，故以静、动观园，有缩地扩基之妙。而大胆落墨，小心收拾（画家语），更为要谛，使宽处可容走马，密处难以藏针（书家语）。故颐和园有烟波浩渺之昆明湖，复有深居山间的谐趣园，于此可悟消息。造园有法而无式，在于人们的巧妙运用其规律。计成所说的“因借”（因地制宜，借景），就是法。《园冶》一书终未列式。能做到园有大小之分，有静观动观之别，有郊园市园之异等等，各臻其妙，方称“得体”（体宜）。中国画的兰竹看来极简单，画家能各具一格；古典折子戏，亦复喜看，每个演员演来不同，就是各有独到之处。造园之理与此理相通。如果定一式，使学者死守之，奉为经典，则如画谱之有《芥子园》，文章之有“八股”一样。苏州网师园是公认为小园极则，所谓“少而精，以少胜多”。其设计原则很简单，运用了假山与建筑相对而互相更换的一个原则（苏州园林基本上用此法。网师园东部新建反其道，终于未能成功），无旱船、大桥、大山，建筑物尺度略

小，数量适可而止，亭亭当当，像个小园格局。反之，狮子林增添了大船，与水面不称，不伦不类，就是不“得体”。清代汪春田重葺文园有诗：“换却花篱补石阑，改园更比改诗难；果能字字吟来稳，小有亭台亦耐看。”说得透彻极了，到今天读起此诗，对造园工作者来说，还是十分亲切的。

园林中的大小是相对的，不是绝对的，无大便无小，无小也无大。园林空间越分隔，感到越大，越有变化，以有限面积，造无限的空间，因此大园包小园，即基此理（大湖包小湖，如西湖三潭印月）。此例极多，几成为造园的重要处理方法。佳者如拙政园之枇杷园、海棠坞，颐和园的谐趣园等，都能达到很高的艺术效果。如果入门便觉是个大园，内部空旷平淡，令人望而生畏，即入园亦未能游遍全园，故园林不起游兴是失败的。如果景物有特点，委婉多姿，游之不足，下次再来。风景区也好，园林也好，不要使人一次游尽，留待多次有何不好呢？我很惋惜很多名胜地点，为了扩大空间，更希望能一览无余，甚至于希望能一日游或半日游，一次观完，下次莫来，将许多古名胜园林的围墙拆去，大是大了，得到的是空，西湖平湖秋月、西泠印社都有这样的后果。西泠饭店造了高层，葛岭矮小了一半。扬州瘦西湖妙在瘦字，今后不准备在其旁建造高层建筑，是有远见的。本来瘦西湖风景区是一个私家园林群（扬州城内的花园巷，同为私家园林群，一用水路交通，一用陆上交通），其妙在各园依水而筑，独立成园，既分又合，隔院楼台，红杏出墙，历历倒影，宛若图画。虽瘦而不觉寒酸，反窈窕多姿。今天感到美中不足的，似觉不够紧凑，主要建筑物少一些，分隔不够。在以后的修建中，这个原来瘦西湖的特征，还应该保留下来。拙政园将东园与之合并，大则大矣，原来部分益现局促，而东园辽阔，游人无兴，几成为过道。分之两利，合之两伤。

本来中国木构建筑，在体形上有其个性与局限性，殿是殿，厅是厅，亭是亭，各具体例，皆有一定的尺度，不能超越，画虎不成反类犬，放大缩小各有范畴。平面使用不够，可几个建筑相连，如清真寺礼拜殿用勾连搭的方法相连，或几座建筑缀以廊庑，成为一组。拙政园东部将亭子放大了，既非阁，又不像亭，人们看不惯，有很多意见。相反，瘦西湖五亭桥与白塔是模仿北京北海大桥、五龙亭及白塔，因为地位不够大，将桥与亭合为一体，形成五亭桥，白塔体形亦相应缩小，这样与湖面相称了，形成了瘦西湖的特征，不能不称佳构。如果不加分析，难以辨出它是一个北海景物的缩影，做得十分“得体”。

远山无脚，远树无根，远舟无身（只见帆），这是画理，亦造园之理。园林的每个观赏点，看来皆一幅幅不同的画，要深远而有层次。“常倚曲阑贪看水，不安四壁怕遮山。”如能懂得这些道理，宜掩者

掩之，宜屏者屏之，宜敞者敞之，宜隔者隔之，宜分者分之，等等，见其片断，不逞全形，图外有画，咫尺千里，余味无穷。再具体点说：建亭须略低山巅，植树不宜峰尖，山露脚而不露顶，露顶而不露脚，大树见梢不见根，见根不见梢之类。但是运用上却细致而费推敲，小至一树的修剪，片石的移动，都要影响风景的构图。真是一枝之差，全园败景。拙政园玉兰堂后的古树枯死，今虽补植，终失旧貌。留园曲谿楼前有同样的遭遇。至此深深体会到，造园困难，管园亦不易，一个好的园林管理者，他不但要考察园的历史，更应知道园的艺术特征，等于一个优秀的护士对病人作周密细致的了解。尤其重点文物保护单位，更不能鲁莽从事，非经文物主管单位同意，须照原样修复，不得擅自更改，否则不但破坏园林风格，且有损文物，关系到党的文物政策问题。

郊园多野趣，宅园贵清新。野趣接近自然，清新不落常套。无锡蠡园为庸俗无野趣之例，网师园属清新典范。前者虽大，好评无多；后者虽小，赞辞不已。至此可证园不在大而在精，方称艺术上品。此点不仅在风格上有轩轾，就是细至装修陈设皆有异同。园林装修同样强调因地制宜，敞口建筑重线条轮廓，玲珑出之，不用精细的挂落装修，因易损伤；家具以石凳、石桌、砖面桌之类，以古朴为主。厅堂轩斋有门窗者，则配精细的装修。其家具亦为红木、紫檀、楠木、花梨所制，配套陈设，夏用藤棚椅面，冬加椅披椅垫，以应不同季节的需要。但亦须根据建筑物的华丽与雅素，分别作不同的处理，华丽者用红木、紫檀，雅素者用楠木、花梨；其雕刻之繁简亦同样对待。家具俗称“屋肚肠”，其重要可知，园缺家具，即胸无点墨，水平高下自在其中。过去网师园的家具陈设下过大功夫，确实做到相当高的水平，使游者更全面地领会我国园林艺术。

古代园林张灯夜游是一件大事，屡见诗文，但张灯是盛会，许多名贵之灯是临时悬挂的，张后即移藏，非永久固定于一地。灯也是园林一部分，其品类与悬挂亦如屏联一样，皆有定格，大小形式各具特征。现在有些园林为了适应夜游，都装上电灯，往往破坏园林风格，正如宜兴善卷洞一样，五色缤纷，宛若餐厅，几不知其为洞穴。要还我自然。苏州狮子林在亭的戗角头装灯，甚是触目。对古代建筑也好，园林也好，名胜也好，应该审慎一些，不协调的东西少强加于它。我以为照明灯应隐，装饰灯宜显，形式要与建筑协调。至于装挂地位，敞口建筑与封闭建筑有别，有些灯玲珑精巧不适用于空廊者，挂上去随风摇曳，有如塔铃，灯且易损，不可妄挂。而电线电杆更应注意，既有害园景，且阻视线，对拍照人来说，真是有苦说不出。凡兹琐琐，虽多陈音俗套，难免絮聒之讥，似无关大局，然精益求精，繁荣文化，愚者之得，聊资参考！

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ON GARDENS 2

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The term "garden-making" may also be put as "garden-structuring," with stress on "structuring," a word that points to incisiveness of thought and delicacy of aesthetics. Incisiveness of thought calls for artistic conception, and delicacy of aesthetics depends on temperament and interest that give resonance to life, for "garden-structuring" is not merely about construction and horticulture. In "Visiting General He's Wooded Mountains as Escort to Academician Zheng[1]: Ten Stanzas" and "He's Garden Revisited: Five Stanzas," the great poet Du Fu (712-770) portrays what he sees and thinks of as he goes along on his itineraries. What he sees includes views in the garden, people belonging in a scenic setting, people and scenery combined in one, as well as vistas that change with people. All the while his verse is intimately associated with garden-structuring. Some of his lines depict views in the garden:

The famed garden snuggles up to water green,
While wild bamboos soar into blue empyrean.

Broken by wind, a green bamboo shoot bows;
Nourished by rain, the plum tree scarlet turns.

Some portray people belonging in fabulous scenes:

Distracted by scenery, the yard we quit wiping;
Sitting on green moss, liquor we keep imbibing.

Leaning on stone railing, I dip my brush in ink;
Sitting down, on a parasol leaf I improvise lyric.

Only when one finds himself in such scenic settings can one make sense of the divine philosophy implied in landscape gardening.

Wind, flowers, snow and moon are in objective existence, but when the garden designer dishes up his trump card, he puts them at his beck and call, and the desired vista materializes on its own accord. In the Master-of-Fishnets Garden of Suzhou there is the Pavilion of Moon Arriving and Breeze Coming, which faces west by the side of a pond, with a white-washed wall providing a nice backdrop to it. This scenery is captured exactly by the pavilion's name, in which the moon and the wind seem to be on call in case the pavilion beckons. At the West Lake, the presence of the Three Pools

Mirroring the Moon would be out of the question without these pools, which is a typical example of view highlighting, with the pools adding the finishing touch to a perfect man-made scene. "View highlighting" is analogous to a Chinese idiom, that is, to "bring a painted dragon to life by putting the pupils into its eyes." At times, one falls in love with a scenic sight but does not know why; this is where a fitting inscription board comes handy. In *A Dream of Red Mansions* (Chapter Seventeen), "Literary Talent Is Tested by Composing Inscriptions," Jia Zheng says of the poetic lines to be inscribed on the boards in the Grand View Garden,

> All those prospects and pavilions—even the rocks and trees and flowers will seem somehow incomplete without that touch of poetry which only the written word can lend a scene.

Such an inscription implies another approach to view highlighting. Before an inscription is composed for a scenic view, one has got to spend time on it and carefully fathom out what is special about it. This is what is termed "view finding." The poet Jiang Shi (1818-1866)[2] has this to say,

> I am a fool if I go and seek poetry out, but
> When poetry finds me it's hard to reject.
> Now poetry has once more sought me out,
> As I, alone, get an eyeful of hill and rivulet.

Only when "view finding" reaches such a realm can one hit upon a fitting inscription in a stroke of genius.

In ancient times the creation of a Chinese garden began in most cases with architecture. In a private garden, a parlor should be completed before trees and rockeries were arranged. Such a garden was often done over repeatedly until every requirement was met. Shen Yuanlu (*fl*. 18th century) says in his "Notes on the Ancient Garden of Lush Bamboos":

> Nothing sets a garden's momentum better than a hall;
> Nothing defines a garden's scenery better than a hill.

This is why in days of yore a garden was predicated on architectural construction, with trees and rockeries serving as ornamental supplements. This, however, has been changed nowadays, with ponds dug and roads paved before principal buildings come under construction. Thus a whopping sum of money has been spent when a garden being made is barely half way through, with little space available for visitors to set foot in. Such mix-up of priorities tends to give rise to "ghost gardens."

Some gardens, scenic resorts and places of historical interest are treated like tree nurseries, where old trees are hacked and new saplings transplanted under the nonsensical excuse to "make a garden earn its own upkeep."

"View finding" and "view ushering" are essential to the making of the

Chinese garden. What is entailed in "view ushering"? It is to give prominence to a certain view in order to engage the visitor. The entire landscape of the South Hill of the West Lake lost its appeal with the collapse of the Lei's Peak Pagoda. A scenic vista becomes inviting only after it is invested with sentiment, and sentiment originates in humanity. Just as a poem has it,

> Sentient is grass exuding aroma,
> But speechless is the sun setting;
> Wild geese fly across the South River
> While a lady leans upon a west baluster.

Indeed, where there is no chamber there will be no lady to be seen; where no lady is present there will be no sentiment; where there is no sentiment there will be no scenery. In the scenery depicted in this poem, it is the west baluster that holds the key. The importance of buildings to a garden or scenic resort is there for all to see.

Our forebears made a point of arranging scenery in a garden according to a prescribed plan, so that masterstrokes could spring up at the onset to avoid scenes and sights being detached from their environment. In the Perfect Enlightenment Gully at the West Lake of Hangzhou, a trail meandering its way into the deepest recesses used to be lined with clusters of sweet-scented osmanthus, whose flowers stayed longer than usual as they were nourished by babbling creeks and refreshing mountain air, and whose aroma was detained longer than usual because the gully is hemmed in by high mountains. When autumn set in, visitors would flock in to savor the flowers and their fragrance and be immersed for a while in the sights of the picturesque gully. Nevertheless, with automobiles kicking up clouds of choking dust along a newly built highway that pushes its way into the gully, this infatuating scene is no more.

Insofar as trees and plants in small gardens are concerned, those with fragrant flowers ought to be walled in. Plantains, whose giant leaves provide delightful verdure but break easily in the wind, should be planted at the foot of a wall or the corner of a house. The peony, whose beautiful aromatic flowers thrive in sunshine, ought to be planted south of a garden's main hall. These examples indicate that some trees and plants must be well concealed, while the others can be displayed in the open.

The merit of a potted plant is that it provides a "microlens" through which to see a big picture. This ingenuous conception of potted trees or miniature landscapes is well depicted in the line,

> A pot leaps to life with a dwarf tree grown in it;
> A pedestal greens with hills into its turf packed.

Potted plants and miniature landscapes are meant to be itsybitsy, but unfortunately, they are ballooning in size nowadays, a malpractice no different from squeezing an elephant into a canary's cage. Potted trees or miniature landscapes depend on three factors: plant, pot and trellis, none of which can be dispensed with. A miniature landscape is made for in-situ viewing, and should be viewed in solitude.

Most classical gardens in China are shut behind closed doors, as they are designed to create limitless immensity in a limited space. Thus it is essential to make such a garden physically spacious and spiritually resonating. A chosen flowering plant or tree should strike a good pose, and a rock to be erected is prized for its "knolls" and "valleys." Their numbers should be kept sparse and their designs highly compact. As an antithetical couplet on a theater stage claims,

> In three or five steps one traverses the world;
> With six or seven men a mighty foe is breasted.

This performing art principle, too, pertains to landscape gardening.

The lacebark pines dominate the Chinese garden with their graceful shapes and knotted, ancient-looking trunks. Even a mere sapling of it can appear as wrinkled as an old tree. As is much extolled in classic verse, willows are another choice species for garden decoration, so much so that some gardens have made a name for themselves on account of their vast possessions of such trees. However, willows are ill fit for tiny gardens in the Jiangnan area because they are supposed to stand by a pond or a stream in rows of threes and fives that take a lot of space, and because their foliage is so thick they can rarely be seen through. In the north, nevertheless, most gardens are large enough for willows to reach out to the cloudy skies while their long, pliant trigs bow low to flirt with waters, thereby adding substantially to the appeals of these gardens. However, a concrete issue like this calls for concrete analysis—arbitrary unanimity goes nowhere. If it stands reason to say willows should be barred from southern gardens for they wither in early autumn and are therefore ill omens, then why is it that the Humble Administrator's Garden can still pride itself with its "Willow-Shaded Winding Walkway"?

The trees planted in a scenic resort are marked for their local distinction. Take pine trees for instance. There are Mount Tianmu Pine, Mount Huangshan Pine, Mount Tai Pine, and so on, all of which are so well attuned to local circumstances as to become natural landmarks for their respective mountain sanctuaries. Today, however, there are quite a few "fashion-savvy"

garden-makers who take great pains to beautify our homeland by "making things foreign serve China." In their eyes, snow cedars from alien lands are to Chinese gardens what penicillin is to the treatment of a hundred diseases. As a result, such cedars are ubiquitous in virtually every garden across the land.

> Dense enough are weeping willows to hide crows
> At the White Gate of Nanjing.
>
> The city that has all its walls greened with willows
> Is none other than Yangzhou.

Both lines describe views gone for ever today. Snow cedars have usurped virtually all the gardens where willow trees have so aged that they can no longer set catkins flying everywhere. Having had showcased itself to the world with its Mount Tai Pine for so long, Mount Tai has not but to let snow cedars be planted at the Mount Tai Temple. Even a venerated Chinese structure like this can be decked with such a "foreign coat"! I have no alternative but to call it "nondescript."

In the Chinese garden, pavilions, terraces, lofts and chambers are arranged along with rockeries, brooks and ponds in distinctly local styles that are also rich and varied. Old gardens in the Lingnan area (comprising Guangdong, Guangxi and Hainan provinces) are surrounded with storied buildings. When the wind rises from waterside buildings and the cool air generated in the thick foliage of trees towering over deep ponds begins to drift, the heat waves of a smothering summer day will vanish in no time, while the orchids' seasonal aroma accumulated in bamboos' shades penetrates visitors'sleeves. It is with such unique fascinations that the Lingnan gardens stand proudly among all counterparts in the Divine Land.

A garden cannot look colorful merely with tangible colors. Gardens in north China obtain multiple hues by setting off green pines and vermillion corridors against white clouds and blue skies. As to gardens in the south, they can pull off myriad changes in color and image by mingling tiny riverside belvederes with whitewashed parapets and low branches. Colorless is white, but color is engendered therein; colorless, too, is a pool of water, yet its color is at its richest. This being the case, we have got to seek color in colorlessness, rather than look for color in colors. The same is true with gardens: scenery ought to be found where there is no scenery, sound where there is no sound, and motion where there is no motion. To capture sceneries where there is no scenery, nothing beats a giant mirror or a big pond, so that scenery can be found where there is no scenery at all.

It is proper to plant plenty of deciduous trees in small gardens, but such trees should be sparsely scattered to leave the space open and ventilated; in large gardens more evergreen trees should be added where the space is wide so as to avoid crowdedness in small space through sparse planting, whereas empty space ought to be filled with a commensurate number of trees. Deciduous trees enable people to visually experience substitution of the four seasons; evergreen trees keep a place verdant even after winter sets in. Winter arrives early in the north, so more pines and cypresses are planted there.

Rocks come in unpredictable shapes, but construction of artificial mountains calls for predictable rules. Such rules are the same as those governing painting in that they are both about veins and momentum. However, poetry dies when stereotypes are imposed on it; lyrics deteriorate when music scores are set for them. Of all genres of verse, be it classical-style poems of the Han (206 BC-220 AD) and Wei (220-265), or short lyrics of the Northern Song (960-1127), the finest pieces are never born of stereotyped tonal patterns and rhyme schemes. When it comes to gerund-grinders chanting verse, or a bookworm filling in a poem to a stylized tune, his composition is bound to lack ingenuity and resonance, let alone sublimity of mood. The same is true with the craft of gardens.

When building an artificial mountain with rocks, heights are brought about on level ground, and twists and turns are derived from straight lines. One must keep the overall picture in mind while proceeding from the minute detail. It is easy to lay down the base for an artificial mountain of yellow stones and hard to bring its top to completion, but the opposite is true with artificial mountains built of Lake Tai stones. Artificial mountains of yellow stones are supposed to look solid and simple, with enough holes and cavities in them, while those of Lake Tai stones are intricately hollowed out but still look solid and strong. In short, the former type tends to lack diversity, and the latter tends to look petty and trivial. Stones differ from one another in shape, quality, veins, and texture, and therefore cannot be measured by the same standard. This is where the cardinal law of dialectics comes handy. It is rare, and therefore commendable, for artificial mountains built of yellow stones to look vivacious with plenty of twists and turns in them, and for those built of Lake Tai stones to appear naturally graceful and intriguing in multiple natural ways.

It is hard to pile up stones and build a hefty and rugged mountain and still harder to produce a peak with a solid and primitive look, but it is the

hardest to bring into shape a mountain against a wall. In the sketches by the Yuan-dynasty (1206-1368) painter and poet Ni Zan (1301-1374), what looks like a nonchalant and effortless brush stroke often rivets the closest attention. However, such "nonchalance" can be attained only with great pains, elaborate deliberation and a complete mastery of the entire picture. Only thus can the master painter set his dexterous brushstroke to work; only thus can the mere addition of, say, three hairs to the cheek can bring a human figure to vivid life.[3] In the same token, the minutest detail in a garden often merits the utmost attention, be it a single boulder protruding from a water surface, a stone slope, a stone stair, or a stepping stone. The artificial mountains built during the Ming (1368-1644) stand the most intense scrutiny exactly for their casual, but massive and weighty looks.

Artificial-mountain builders during the Tongzhi (1862-1874) and Guangxu (1875-1908) reigns of the Qing pinned their hopes for success on exquisiteness, but they ended up with works that look too thin or too weak. The truth is that none of the best artificial mountains comes from those looking heavy and crude. The beauty of yellow stones lies, as per a rule of nature, in their hefty mass and simplistic appearance. Indeed, where there are no solidity and weightiness there will be no fabulously structured artificial mountains.

The artificial mountains dating back to the Ming could not be simpler in layout. They are composed of stairs, terrace, main peak, cave and nothing else, yet they can conjure up innumerous changes. Their secret rests with well-coordinated openness and closeness. Why? To be open, a mountain must have some outlets in the form of a valley or dale, and the grand artificial mountain of Shanghai's Gratification Garden is a fine example. To be close, it must have a protruding main peak and its slopes must appear in conspicuous graduation. Its foothills and rocks must be scattered to enhance its openness. The same purpose for openness can also be served with the foothills and rocks of an artificial mountain on land, or by rocks on land and in water about a water-bound artificial mountain. The impact of the concise landscape painting style of the Ming and the over-elaborate style of the Qing are keenly felt on the artificial mountains born of their respective ages.

The Ming essayist Zhang Dai (1597-1689)[4] says of the three peak-shaped rocks in Wang's Garden of Yizheng, Jiangsu, in his *Dreamy Memories of Tao'an*,

> While there I espied an upended white stone ten feet long and twenty feet wide, which looked eccentric in an inviting way. I also came across a black stone eight feet in width and fifteen feet

> in length, looking lean but rather enchanting.

By characterizing stones as "eccentric in an inviting way" and "lean but rather enchanting," Zhang Dai invested his sentiment in his discoveries. Gong Zizhen (1792-1841)[5] of the Qing often describes people as being "ugly in a lovable way," a term which is also apt for evaluation of stones. The fine-grained chrismatite (known as "yellow wax stone" in Chinese) recently added to gardens in Guangzhou looks rather mischievous, a description I believe can make up for what is lacking in the two terms coined by Zhang Dai.

An artificial mountain can be made to look like water-bound in a landlocked garden, such as the one in the back of the Rosy Autumn Clouds Garden in Jiading, Shanghai, and the rockery in front of the Loft of Two-Thirds Bright Moonlight[6] in Yangzhou. An undulating mountain and a piece of low-lying land can be set in mutual contrast to bring about a make-belief pond in a garden that has no water at all. But it is absurd to assert that a water-bound artificial mountain can be wrought in the same way as a landlocked one or vice versa, because the foot of a landlocked mountain and the outlet of a water-bound mountain need be treated differently. The stone trail, boulder and dock belonging to a water-bound mountain cannot be used upon a landlocked one; the stones strewn at the foot of a landlocked mountain would be utterly misplaced if applied on a water-bound one. It is even more obvious that yellow stones cannot be heaped up the way Lake Tai stones are, and the same is true the other way round. To sum up, success is guaranteed if we keep observing the natural landscape, consulting the principles of traditional Chinese painting, learning from Mother Nature the creator, cultivating our thought and temperament, and learning by analogy.

A large garden can contain small gardens. A large lake can contain small lakes, and the Three Pools Mirroring the Moon at the West Lake of Hangzhou is a good example in this regard. Zhong Xing (1574-1624)[7] says in his "Notes on the Plum Flower Villa":

> Herein lies a water-bound garden. Observed above and below the water, and left and right of it, its height is embodied by a terrace, its depth by a hall, its intangibles by a pavilion, and its circumambience by a roofed walkway; what lies horizontally is a ferry crossing, and what stands vertically is a rockery; its fauna and flora are represented by birds and flowers, and its passers-by are visitors. All these are what belong to the garden. Why should every man own his own garden? Oftentimes a man stays in a garden without realizing it. It is only natural if it takes a long time before a man realizes that the garden he knows so well is actually a combination of some small gardens.

In garden-making there is no lack of philosophies and principles to be referred to.

If the scenic sights within and without a garden can contrast and complement each other in pleasant ways, it shows the builder's dexterous mastery of siting as a garden-making technique. In his "Notes on the Plum Flower Villa," Zhong Xing goes on,

> The river running through the precincts of the three former Wu counties[8] begins to flow smoothly only after it reaches Fuli[9]. It is nowhere to be seen a few steps from the Plum Flower Villa, yet it is right there inside the villa. It turns out that an underground canal is diverting water from the river to the villa's garden. As I open the door, a straight path conducts me past the Wolfberry and Aster Chamber….When I mount a belvedere, I do not see water at the first sight, but water is always there—at the foot of a pavilion, ahead of a roofed walkway, underneath a bridge, by the side of a rockery standing or reclining, and under the thick foliage of drooping willows and slender bamboos…. As I take another look around from atop the building, I find that the roofed walkway is encircled by water, with a wall running parallel to the walkway, and there seems to be a pavilion standing upright beyond the wall. Trees and duckweed turn the whole body of water into a carpet of verdure that dyes people's clothes green. Hereabouts water is all-encapsulating and close at hand, yet it seems beyond reach.... I then walk through a tiny stone grotto and take a break in the comfort of the Beckoning for Cosiness Pavilion, where rocks draped in mosses and lichens seem to be gnawing at the waves in what is known as "Gurgling Brocade Shoal." The long roofed walkway runs by the side of a stream lined with cloves of bamboos and trees that share the breeze but scramble for sunshine amid babbling water, while sunshine streaks right before my eyes. As it is impossible to locate a place in such haste, I could not but settle with this roofed walkway.

The aforementioned garden is based on water. There, water appears at one moment and disappears at another, and exists inside and outside of the garden; when it flows it now rises and falls, now twists and turns. To make water serve people's needs, it is flanked with pavilions, belvederes and corridors, because only buildings like these can generate spatial changes between water and land. Hence the saying, "A garden must be segmented; a body of water must be made to bend." Of all the waterside roofed walkways extant today, the one in the western part of the Humble Administrator's Garden is the most celebrated, and the one in the Plum Flower Villa seems to be a replica of it. It is not unfounded to say that all the gardens in the former kingdom of Wu, that is, the Jiangnan area, can be traced back to the same root.

The venerable Tong Jun (1900-1983)[10] says of the Humble Administrator's Garden,

> The roads are concealed beneath mosses and lichens, whereas the mountains and ponds look like born of nature. Even the faded color and peeled lacquer of the buildings fill the garden with a cornucopia of delights.

Indeed, a traditional garden's slightly worn-out appearance can in no way spoil the integrity of its hill and dale—its natural rustic looks, indeed, beat tons of tawdry ornamentation. By contrast, like a seven-treasure terraced

pavilion having been torn apart, the scenery of Suzhou's fabulous Lingering Garden has become fragmentary, which means damages, however minor, still spell doom for scenic wonders. In some well-known gardens today, everything is fine when no refurbishment is going on, but once refurbishment comes under way, it is often overdone. In the Humble Administrator's Garden, pond embankments used to be lined by interlocking earth and rock in a jigsaw fashion, but today not an iota of earth can be found there, so that the pond looks like a man flashing gold teeth in his mouth. When the Eight-Tone Gully in the Solace-Imbued Garden of Wuxi lost its tones, the garden is robbed of its former glory right away. We should be careful about all this, shouldn't we?

Scenery is brought into bold relief when its outline is drawn. Not long ago I was invited to Changzhou, Jiangsu province, for discussions about the design of a so-called "Red Plum Belvedere-Garden." Now that the garden was named after the Red Plum Belvedere on the premises, I suggested that red plums be its theme. But to my dismay, plum trees had been planted all over that garden—instead of "Red Plum Belvedere," it should be renamed "Plum Tree Nursery." In that way, nobody could turn such a place into a garden overnight. I remember that during the discussion session I suggested to run a corridor across the garden, with plum trees judiciously spread out on both sides. In this way, the trees could toss their slanting shadows to the scene, while the delicate aroma of plum flowers could waft along with the visitor's swinging sleeves. The presence of the red plum could be easily felt even if the garden were not named after it. The corridor could also serve to outline the garden's shape, with the scenery evolving into a montage of pictures wherever the visitor finds himself. Thus "the few can prevail over the many," and "from the minute detail one can see the big picture."

It is harder to make a garden look commodious by keeping its scenery well scattered than to crowd it with scenes and sights. In the same token, it is easy to be ornate and flashy but difficult to stay simple and in good taste—scenic vistas ought to be well scattered to prevent a garden from losing its spaciousness, and gardens should be kept simple and tasteful to avoid looking humble and shabby. The reason why the middle section of the Humble Administrator's Garden has been celebrated all over the Jiangnan area from the Ming to this day is exactly because it has maintained its simplicity and good taste through well-diffused attractions. Unfortunately, such reasoning seems to be lost on the gardener-makers of today.

Our forbears made a point of naming the gardens they had just built, but such names were invariably well-conceived rather than jumbled together. Yang Zhaolu (*fl*. 17th century)[11] writes of the Approximate Garden in Changzhou,

> Upon returning to my hometown on sick leave, I bought six to seven *mu* of wasteland behind the Sutra Annotation Hall. After five years of painstaking labour, I produced something that approximates to a garden. So I call it "Approximate Garden."

From this terse account of the origin of a garden's name, we come to know it was a product of a man's modesty and self-restraint. I remember seeing a poorly designed pavilion in the Rainy Lake Park in Ma'anshan, Anhui, a few years ago. At my host's request, I named it "Temporary Pavilion," a name that speaks for itself, that everyone understands, and that stands contrary to such big names as "Grand View Garden" and "Hall with Ten Thousand Willows."

The gardens of Suzhou have considerably influenced the stage design and decoration of the traditional Chinese theater. Of course, natural scenery cannot be mentioned in the same breath as stage property, but it is not uncommon to see garden buildings imitating stage settings, some looking like the intricately crafted paper models on sale in the City God's Temple of Shanghai, and some looking like facsimiles of old paintings, in the same way as a woman stroking her coiffure in coquettish provocation.

Latticed windows play an apparent part in "view diverting" and "view ushering." A large garden can have its views diverted, but for small gardens, scenery can only be ushered in. The Vernal Crabapple Yard in the Humble Administrator's Garden is actually a courtyard whose latticed windows help usher in views from the large garden beyond its walls. The Garden of Brotherly Indulgence of Suzhou is small, but the large lattice windows that flank its front gate are instant failures in that, aside from their ill-fitting size, they expose all the garden's views to the outside world, so that it has no implicit beauty whatsoever to speak of. The newly built front gateway of the Humble Administrator's Garden is another awkward structure, for its monastic design could likely lead visitors to mistake the garden for a temple. Another tendency that flies in the face of garden-making precepts is the erection of a grand building that overshadows or dwarfs the scenic resort or place of historic interest next to it. Examples like this are too many to be counted. As modesty is a celebrated virtue in this nation, only when a new structure is built to supplement a traditional garden can it draw rave reviews.

> Having found ponds and chambers altered wilfully, and cultural heritages gone down the drain, my eyes brim with tears as I mount the tower.

This line is quoted from my poem dedicated to the late Liang Sicheng (1901-1972)[12] and Liu Dunzhen. I wrote it a few years ago after I saw the damages done to some gardens that I had happened upon on a return visit to Yangzhou. Today, however, I am in a different mood as I finish writing this essay, "On Gardens 2."

续说园

造园一名构园，重在构字，含意至深。深在思致，妙在情趣，非仅土木绿化之事。杜甫《陪郑广文游何将军山林十首》《重过何氏五首》，一路写来，园中有景，景中有人，人与景合，景因人异。吟得与构园息息相通，“名园依绿水，野竹上青霄”，“绿垂风折笋，红绽雨肥梅”，园中景也。“兴移无洒扫，随意坐莓苔”，“石阑斜点笔，桐叶坐题诗”，景中人也。有此境界，方可悟构园神理。

风花雪月，客观存在，构园者能招之即来，听我驱使，则境界自出。苏州网师园，有亭名“月到风来”，临池西向，有粉墙若屏，正撷此景精华，风月为我所有矣。西湖三潭印月，如无潭则景不存，谓之点景。画龙点睛，破壁而出，其理自同。有时一景“相看好处无一言”，必藉之以题辞，辞出而景生。《红楼梦》“大观园试才题对额”一回（第十七回），描写大观园工程告竣，各处亭台楼阁要题对额，说：“若大景致，若干亭榭，无字标题，任是花柳山水，也断不能生色。”由此可见题辞是起“点景”之作用。题辞必须流连光景，细心揣摩，谓之“寻景”。清人江弢叔有诗云：“我要寻诗定是痴，诗来寻我却难辞；今朝又被诗寻着，满眼溪山独去时。”“寻景”达到这一境界，题辞才显神来之笔。

我国古代造园，大都以建筑物为开路。私家园林，必先造花厅，然后布置树石，往往边筑边拆，边拆边改，翻工多次，而后妥帖。沈元禄记古猗园谓：“奠一园之体势者，莫如堂；据一园之形胜者，莫如山。”盖园以建筑为主，树石为辅，树石为建筑之连缀物也。今则不然，往往先凿池铺路，主体建筑反落其后，一园未成，辄动万金，而游人尚无栖身之处，主次倒置，遂成空园。至于绿化，有些园林、风景区、名胜古迹，砍老木，栽新树，俨若苗圃，美其名为“以园养园”，亦悖常理。

园既有“寻景”，又有“引景”。何谓“引景”？即点景引人。西湖雷峰塔圮后，南山之景全虚。景有情则显，情之源来于人。“芳草有情，夕阳无语，雁横南浦，人倚西楼。”无楼便无人，无人即无情，无情亦无景，此景关键在楼。证此可见建筑物之于园林及风景区的重要性了。

前人安排景色，皆有设想，其与具体环境不能分隔，始有独到之笔。西湖满觉陇一径通幽，数峰环抱，故配以桂丛，香溢不散，而泉流淙淙，山气霏霏，花滋而馥郁，宜其秋日赏桂，游人信步盘桓，流连忘返。闻今已开公路，宽道扬尘，此景顿败。至于小园植树，其具芬芳者，皆宜围墙。而芭蕉分翠，忌风碎叶，故栽于墙根屋角；牡丹香花，向阳斯盛，须植于主厅之南。此说明植物种植，有藏有露之别。

盆栽之妙在小中见大。“栽来小树连盆活，缩得群峰入座青”，乃见巧虑。今则越放越大，无异置大象于金丝鸟笼。盆栽三要：一本，二盆，三架，缺一不可。宜静观，须孤赏。

我国古代园林多封闭，以有限面积，造无限空间，故“空灵”二字，为造园之要谛。花木重姿态，山石贵丘壑，以少胜多，须概括、提炼。曾记一戏台联：“三五步，行遍天下；六七人，雄会万师。”演剧如此，造园亦然。

白皮松独步中国园林，因其体形松秀，株干古拙，虽少年已是成人之概。杨柳亦宜装点园林，古人诗词中屡见不鲜，且有以万柳名园者。但江南园林则罕见之，因柳宜濒水，植之宜三五成行，叶重枝密，如帷如幄，少透漏之致，一般小园，不能相称。而北国园林，面积较大，高柳侵云，长条拂水，柔情万千，别饶风姿，为园林生色不少。故具体事物必具体分析，不能强求一律。有谓南方园林不植杨柳，因蒲柳早衰，为不吉之兆。果若是，则拙政园何来“柳荫路曲”一景呢？

风景区树木，皆有其地方特色。即以松而论，有天目山松、黄山松、泰山松等，因地制宜，以标识各座名山的天然秀色。如今有不少“摩登”园林家，以“洋为中用”来美化祖国河山，用心极苦。即以雪松而论，几如药中之有青霉素，可治百病，全国园林几将遍植。“白门（南京）杨柳可藏鸦”，“绿杨城郭是扬州”，今皆柳老不飞絮，户户有雪松了。泰山原以泰山松独步天下，今在岱庙中也种上雪松，古建筑居然西装革履，无以名之，名之曰“不伦不类”。

园林中亭台楼阁，山石水池，其布局亦各有地方风格，差异特甚。旧时岭南园林，每周以楼，高树深池，阴翳生凉，水殿风来，溽暑顿消，而竹影兰香，时盈客袖，此唯岭南园林得之，故能与他处园林分庭抗衡。

园林中求色，不能以实求之。北国园林，以翠松朱廊衬以蓝天白云，以有色胜。江南园林，小阁临流，粉墙低桠，得万千形象之变。白本非色，而色自生；池水无色，而色最丰。色中求色，不如无色中求色。故园林当于无景处求景，无声处求声，动中求动，不如静中求动。景中有景，园林之大镜、大池也，皆于无景中得之。

小园树宜多落叶，以疏植之，取其空透；大园树宜适当补常绿，则旷处有物。此为以疏救塞，以密补旷之法。落叶树能见四季，常绿树能守岁寒，北国早寒，故多植松柏。

石无定形，山有定法。所谓法者，脉络气势之谓，与画理一也。诗有律而诗亡，词有谱而词衰，汉魏古风、北宋小令，其卓绝处不能以格律绳之者。至于学究咏诗，经生填词，了无性灵，遑论境界。造园之道，消息相通。

假山平处见高低，直中求曲折，大处着眼，小处入手。黄石山起脚易，收顶难；湖石山起脚难，收顶易。黄石山要浑厚中见空灵，湖石山要空灵中寓浑厚。简言之，黄石山失之少变化，湖石山失之太琐碎。石形、石质、石纹、石理，皆有不同，不能一律视之，中存辩证之理。叠黄石山能做到面面有情，多转折；叠湖石山能达到宛转多姿，少做作，此难能者。

叠石重拙难，树古朴之峰尤难，森严石壁更非易致。而石矶、石坡、石磴、石步，正如云林小品，其不经意处，亦即全神最贯注处，非用极大心思，反复推敲，对全景作彻底之分析解剖，然后以轻灵之笔，随意着墨，正如颊上三毛，全神飞动。不经意之处，要格外经意。明代假山，其厚重处，耐人寻味者正在此。清代同光时期假山，欲以巧取胜，反趋纤弱，实则巧夺天工之假山，未有不从重拙中来。黄石之美在于重拙，自然之理也。没其质性，必无佳构。

明代假山，其布局至简，磴道、平台、主峰、洞壑，数事而已，千变万化，其妙在于开合。何以言之？开者山必有分，以涧谷出之，上海豫园大假山佳例也。合者必主峰突兀，层次分明，而山之余脉，石之散点，皆开之法也。故旱假山之山根、散石，水假山之石矶、石濑，其用意一也。明人山水画多简洁，清人山水画多繁琐，其影响两代叠山，不无关系。

明张岱《陶庵梦忆》中评仪征汪园三峰石云：“余观其弃地下一白石，高一丈、阔二丈而痴，痴妙。一黑石阔八尺、高丈五而瘦，瘦妙。”痴妙，瘦妙，张岱以“痴”字、“瘦”字品石，盖寓情在石。清龚自珍品人用“清丑”一辞，移以品石极善。广州园林新点黄蜡石，甚顽。指出，“顽”字，可补张岱二妙之不足。

假山有旱园水做之法，如上海嘉定秋霞圃之后部，扬州二分明月楼前部之叠石，皆此例也。园中无水，而利用假山之起伏，平地之低降，两者对比，无水而有池意，故云水做。至于水假山以旱假山法出之，旱假山以水假山法出之，则谬矣。因旱假山之脚与水假山之水口两事也。他若水假山用崖道、石矶、湾头，旱假山不能用；反之旱假山之石根，散点又与水假山者异趣。至于黄石不能以湖石法叠，湖石不能运黄石法，其理更明。总之，观天然之山水，参画理之所示，外师造化，中发心源，举一反三，无往而不胜。

园林有大园包小园，风景有大湖包小湖，西湖三潭印月为后者佳例。明人钟伯敬既撰《梅花墅记》：“园于水。水之上下左右，高者为台，深者为室；虚者为亭，曲者为廊；横者为渡，竖者为石；动植者为花鸟，往来者为游人，无非园者。然则人何必各有其园也。身处园中，不知其为园。园之中各有园，而后知其为园，此人情也。”造园之学，

有通哲理，可参证。

园外之景与园内之景，对比成趣，互相呼应，相地之妙，技见于斯。钟伯敬《梅花墅记》又云："大要三吴之水，至甫里（用直）始畅。墅外数武反不见水，水反在户以内。盖别为暗窦，引水入园。开扉坦步，过杞菊斋……登阁所见，不尽为水。然亭之所跨，廊之所往，桥之所踞，石所卧立，垂杨修竹之所冒荫，则皆水也。……从阁上缀目新眺，见廊周于水，墙周于廊，又若有阁亭亭处墙外者。林木荇藻，竟川含绿，染人衣裾，如可承揽，然不可得即至也。……又穿小酉洞，憩招爽亭，苔石啮波，曰锦淙滩。诣修廊，中隔水外者，竹树表里之，流响交光，分风争日，往往可即，而仓卒莫定其处，姑以廊标之。"文中所述之园，以水为主，而用水有隐有显，有内有外，有抑扬、曲折。而使水归我所用，则以亭阁廊等左右之，其造成水旱二层之空间变化者，唯建筑能之。故"园必隔，水必曲"。今日所存水廊，盛称拙政园西部者，而此梅花墅之水犹仿佛似之。知吴中园林渊源相承，固有所自也。

童寯老人曾谓，拙政园"薜苔蔽路，而山池天然，丹青淡剥，反觉逸趣横生"。真小颓风范，丘壑独存，此言园林苍古之境，有胜藻饰。而苏州留园华瞻，如七宝楼台拆下不成片段，故稍损易见败状。近时名胜园林，不修则已，一修便过了头。苏州拙政园水池驳岸，本土石相错，如今无寸土可见，宛若满口金牙。无锡寄畅园八音涧失调，顿逊前观，可不慎乎？可不慎乎？

景之显在于"勾勒"。最近应常州之约，共商红梅阁园之布局。我认为园既名红梅阁，当以红梅出之，奈数顷之地遍植红梅，名为梅圃可矣，称园林则不当，且非朝夕所能得之者。我建议园贯以廊，廊外参差植梅，疏影横斜，人行其间，暗香随衣，不以红梅名园，而游者自得梅矣。其景物之妙，在于以廊"勾勒"，处处成图，所谓少可以胜多，小可以见大。

园林密易疏难，绮丽易雅淡难，疏而不失旷，雅淡不流寒酸。拙政园中部两者兼而得之，宜乎自明迄今，誉满江南，但今日修园林未明此理。

古人构园成必题名，皆有托意，非泛泛为之者。清初杨兆鲁营常州近园，其记云："自抱疴归来，于注经堂后买废地六七亩，经营相度，历五年于兹，近似乎园，故题曰近园。"知园名之所自，谦仰称之。忆前年于马鞍山市雨湖公园，见一亭甚劣，尚无名。属我命之，我题为"暂亭"，意在不言中，而人自得之。其与"大观园""万柳堂"之类者，适反笔出之。

苏州园林，古典剧之舞台装饰，颇受其影响，但实物与布景不能相提并论。今则见园林建筑又仿舞台装饰者，玲珑剔透，轻巧可举，活像

上海城隍庙之“巧玲珑”（纸扎物）。又如画之临摹本，搔首弄姿，无异东施效颦。

漏窗在园林中起“泄景”“引景”作用，大园景可泄，小园景，则宜引不宜泄。拙政园“海棠春坞”，庭院也，其漏窗能引大园之景。反之，苏州怡园不大，园门旁开两大漏窗，顿成败笔，形既不称，景终外暴，无含蓄之美矣。拙政园新建大门，庙堂气太甚，颇近祠宇，其于园林不得体者有若此。同为违反园林设计之原则，如于风景区及名胜古迹之旁，新建建筑往往喧宾夺主，其例甚多。谦虚为美德，尚望甘当配角，博得大家的好评。

“池馆已随人意改，遗篇犹逐水东流，漫盈清泪上高楼。”这是我前几年重到扬州，看到园林被破坏的情景，并怀念已故的梁思成、刘敦桢二前辈而写的几句词句，当时是有感触的。今续为说园，亦有所感而发，但心境各异。

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ON GARDENS 3

Written in May 1980 in a guesthouse in Zhenjiang

Having finished the first two instalments of this discourse on the Chinese garden, I found I was so sentimentally attached to this field of endeavour that I could not call it quits any time soon. Sitting by the window of my studio on a sunny day, I set pen to paper once again to go on with this long and jumbled presentation in hopes to seek counsel and correction. Hence the title of this instalment, "On Gardens 3."

Tao Yuanming (*c*. 365-427), active during the interregnum between the Eastern Jin (317-420) and the Song (420-479) of the Southern Dynasties (420-589), writes in his essay "The Peach Blossom Spring":

> There are no other species of trees [but peaches];
> Fresh and lovely are aromatic grass and flowers.

These lines on the planting of flowers and trees in a scenic resort have become one of two unrivalled poetic gems along with his following lines,

> Picking chrysanthemums by East Fence,
> I gaze pensively on the south mountains.

The former line indicates that peach trees ought to be planted in groves and watched at a distance, so that their thick clusters of flowers, set daintily against greensward, arrest the eye spontaneously with the vista thus created. The latter line says nothing of the craft of gardens, but its implication on "view borrowing" is self-evident.

Watching mountains is like flipping over the pages of an album of paintings, which brings one view after another into focus; touring a mountain is like unfolding a long hand scroll of painting, which shows the continuity of a scenic scene. Sights for in-situ or in-motion viewing conjure up different aesthetic appeals. The point is that the observer "I" is always seen in the picture like in the following lines,

> Alluring is the green mountain that I see;
> I hope it'll stay this way when it sees me.

Where do such appeals stem from? From the poetic colophon on a painting or an inscription dedicated to a scenic sight. A painting without a colophon is uncouth; a view lacking a stone inscription (an inscribed board, or a couplet for that matter) looks perplexing. Literature and art are, indeed, inseparable. In his verse "Homeward Bound I Go!" Tao Yuanming portrays motion and

sound beyond a view:

> Purposeless, clouds idle away from mountain recess;
> Tired of travels, it's time to go home the bird knows.

Upon arriving at the Slender West Lake in Yangzhou for a short visit one day, I got off the boat and went ashore to stop at the Moon Platform on the Lesser Golden Hill. While there, I went in-motion viewing by sauntering about to marvel at the moon, and did some in-situ viewing when I paused to get a personal touch with the sight. All the while the aroma of orchids kept wafting in and the shadows of bamboos quivered, the birds chirped to echo the creaking oars, and the setting sun tossed slanting rays on the windows. In this interplay of aroma, shadow, light and sound, one discovers motion through stillness, and finds stillness ensconced in motion. The law of dialectics is obviously at work in this typical example of garden-making.

When a garden is being made, scenery is created intentionally or happened upon unintentionally. This is particularly the case with private gardens, where the designer often feels helpless with the lack of space. However, such helplessness is oftentimes rescued with a desperate stroke that saves the entire garden. At the corner of the "Tiny Lodge at Floral Wharf" in the Lingering Garden, a long, narrow trail is segmented by a brick gate in a wall so that the visitor is enticed to explore how deep this otherwise teeny-weeny courtyard can be.

Things present cannot prove things past, nor can things foreign bear out things Chinese. The present and the past have their respective systems, and so have China and other nations. Therefore, no one is allowed to resurrect a ghost in someone else's corpse. It is equally absurd to impose one's opinion upon an ancient architect without knowing his philosophy and the functions of the buildings he designed. Take, for example, the shortcut passageway along the eastern wall of the Master-of-Fishnets Garden in Suzhou. Serving the same purpose as the "avoidance alleyway" in a mansion to keep women folk and servants off the male guests and masters of an estate, this passageway is set in striking contrast to a corridor straying up a mountain opposite it. Indeed,

> No road is more convenient than a shortcut, but only a circuitous trail can ensure a wonderfest for the visitor.

What I am driving at here is that, to make convincing comments on a garden, one must delve into its history and, more than anything else, become well acquainted with the lifestyle of its day. Every garden provides an integral sightseeing route that cannot be put upside down. This is like a piece of

writing that must have a beginning, development, transition and a conclusion, or you may also compare it to a hand scroll of painting that must have a frontispiece at the right side, the painting itself in the middle, and a margin at the left side for colophons. Today, however, the Humble Administrator's Garden has shifted its entrance to a side gate in its eastern section, and the Master-of-Fishnets Garden is entered from the back door of its northern part —both arrangements fly in the face of common sense and bring to mind the fun-spoiling things listed in *Yishan's Records of Miscellaneous Things* by Li Shangyin (813-858)[1]:

> Shooing passers-by away in a pine forest; shedding tears while watching flowers; laying out a mat on mosses and lichens; sunning one's underwear on a flowering tree's branch; carrying heavy luggage on a springtime pleasure trip; tethering a horse to a stalagmite; holding a torch under the moon; building a storied house behind a mountain; growing vegetables in an orchard; and breeding poultry under a flower trellis.

To this list I would add one more item, that is, "Opening a back door to let in visitors." I wonder what our garden managers will think of it. There is a saying in Suzhou that the city's four renowned gardens—the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion, the Lion's Grove, the Humble Administrator's Garden, and the Lingering Garden—belong respectively to the Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties. The fact is, however, the Lingering Garden and the Humble Administrator's Garden were both built in the Ming and rebuilt in the Qing, which makes people wonder why each of them should be dated back to a different dynasty. In my opinion, they would not have become Suzhou's "Big Four" without different personalities: the Masterof-Fishnets Garden is made for in-situ viewing and the Humble Administrator's Garden for in-motion viewing, while the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion is known for its ancient looks and the Lingering Garden for its sumptuous decoration. In this way, visitors can easily know what the "Big Four" really stand for.

Garden-making is comparable to creative writing that allows for a wealth of changes. Can anyone come up with a good composition who, instead of seeking forcefulness of articulation and soundness of conception, depends solely on play of words? The key to literature lies in style and momentum, which can be masculinely virile or femininely gentle. Can landscape gardening stay different? Jumbled logic and incoherence never yield a fluent and coherent piece of writing. A garden-maker bent on making a name for himself with a single pavilion or verandah goes nowhere, because structures like these, though much extolled today as dainty garden-making "sketches," can hardly reflect the essence of Chinese culture, let alone foster a

riveting aura in a garden to be laid out.

Buildings in the south are represented by the hut that is mostly open, and those in the north are typified by the cabin that is mostly closed, with the former originating from bird nests and the latter from animal dens. That is why in the south open structures are supplemented with luxuriant trees and slender bamboos, a combination that was exactly the embryo of south China's gardens. Roominess and airiness are as essential to gardens as they are to buildings. This is where northern gardens compare unfavorably with their southern and central China counterparts, because northern buildings are commended mostly for their profusion of doors and windows, as seclusion gets in the way of ventilation and blocks the view. As to dwelling houses, they must evince an endearing human touch, which is best illustrated in this remark of Tao Yuanming:

> Birds are lucky having nests to lay back on.
> In my case, I do have a home I can dote on.

Small gardens, like a tiny room with one or two famous paintings hanging in it, are suitable for in-situ viewing. Large gardens, evocative of a big art gallery, are appropriate for in-motion viewing. The former should be implicit and thought-provoking; the latter would look insipid and bland if they lack highlight scenery. A garden's function changes with the times, so does the creation of scenic attractions.

The way gardens are named is changing as well. It worked in pre-1949 years to call every garden "park," so that they could be told apart from private gardens, but this practice seems questionable nowadays. I once questioned the wisdom of turning every garden into a "park." Today, the city of Nantong in Jiangsu province has renamed its Wolf Hill Park "Northern Foothill Garden," Suzhou has renamed its East City Park "East Garden," and Kaifeng's Bianjing Park has become "Bianyuan Garden"—it seems the three cities have become national trendsetters in this regard. Different categories of gardens, such as city gardens, suburban gardens, flatland gardens and piedmont gardens, differ from one another in environment and topography, and therefore should not be designed identically.

The trouble with refurbishing gardens handed down by our forebears is that, in most cases, we are not clear about their original conceptions. I suggest such gardens be handled in two ways, that is, either to restore them or to change them. Before a famous garden is restored, relevant literature and pictures must be canvassed; otherwise, we run the risk of changing it arbitrarily. This is like mounting an old painting, in which a missing brush

stroke must be restored to its original style and coloration, for only thus can the integrity of the painting stay intact. If we employ the artificial-mountain construction expertise of Ge Yuliang (1764-1830) to refurbish a rockery of the Ming (1368-1644), it is like grafting the orthodox brushwork techniques of the Four Wangs of the early Qing[2] onto Shitao's landscape painting of an untrammeled style—the work will be robbed of its originality. By damaging such a cultural artefact, we are doing our ancestors a monstrous disservice. If a garden has fallen into total decay but what remains of its artificial mountains and waters can still be used, I see nothing wrong to rebuild it with a modern design. This is what I mean by "changing a garden."

The advent of potted plants and miniature landscapes in our country was closely related to architecture. In ancient times, dwellings lacked space and sunshine for they were mostly a combination of courtyards and atriums encircled by a wall or a storied walkway for rain-collecting and ventilating purposes. Residents in the Jiangnan area, which belonged to the fiefdom of Wu during the late Spring and Autumn period (770-476 BC), are in the habit of arranging small rocks and plants into miniature landscapes to decorate their dwellings. For the potted plants or miniature landscapes to be enjoyable, the species chosen should be able to live on the sunshine and warmth that were allowed only briefly in such dwellings. The philosophy behind the potted plants is best portrayed in the poem of Su Shi (1037-1101),

> Beyond a tiny window the drizzle off and on goes,
> Yet even more enticing are the dimmed vistas.
> Though the empty yard sunshine lacks,
> Its grasses and trees still look lustrous.

All delightful things are probably born of life's everyday needs, for when one comes to a dead end, he thinks of changing his course, and only through such a change can he find his way out. This is what is meant by "survival of the fittest." Today, however, big and spacious gardens often display potted plants by the hundred, or transplant trees three meters tall in huge pots—they are going big for unwarranted reasons. Subject to excess evaporation resulting from high wind and the scorching sun, these miniature landscapes, made in violation of the principles for potted plants, have little chance of survival.

A sumptuous garden can hardly look simple and delicate, and a garden with subdued elegance can hardly achieve depth. Simplicity saves a garden from vulgarity, and depth makes up for the lack of taste. A few simple brush strokes can be pregnant with meaning, and a mere sketch can ooze heroic verve. As Yan Shu (991-1055)[3] puts it,

> The moonlight floods a yard full of pear flowers;
> A breeze wafts over a pond amid willow catkins.

A brilliant piece of art tends to look colorful without vulgarity and become tasteful in simplicity. A garden belonging to royalty is likely to look too elaborate whereas a private garden, for the owner's limited resources, tends to be humble and shabby. The best way to avoid going too far or falling too short is to go fifty-fifty between the two extremes. To part with what one loves one must endure the pain, and to make up for what is lacking one must not be stingy. In painting, every brush stroke counts, so that one must think it over before committing brush to paper. Only thus can a young lady's painting be free from pretentious femininity; only thus can a Buddhist or Taoist painting shed chilliness and desolation. Nevertheless, fine examples are few and far between nowadays. Forcefulness ought to be modulated with grace while gracefulness ought to look forceful. An actor must not appear humble and pedantic when playing an inexperienced young scholar's role, and he must look upright and magnanimous when acting in the role of a general or a marshal, but in either case excellence is hard to come by. The craft of gardens is intimately associated with other branches of art. That is why I say that the gardens of the Ming, their differences in form notwithstanding, were born of the same ideas and sentiments as the literature, art and theater of their day.

Only those who appreciate gardens can craft gardens; only those who aim high can muster their abilities to measure up to it. A man who cannot tell tastes apart can never come up with a cookbook. In the same token, those in charge of making gardens ought to be a cut above field workers in education and cultural endowment. Ji Cheng (1582-*c*. 1642) says,

> Thirty percent of the success of a garden created is attributed to the builder, and seventy percent of it is owed to its designer.

This old saying is in no way meant to belittle field workers, for it is meant merely to emphasize the importance of garden designers. The reason why the saying has become an excuse to put Ji Cheng under fire today is because those who read his *The Craft of Gardens*, the world's first ever monograph dedicated to landscaping and garden architecture, don't really understand an iota of it. To impose a political hat on academic discussion—this trend should never be made to last!

Truth becomes falsehood when falsehood usurps truth; real becomes surreal where surreal becomes real. In the Grand View Garden portrayed in *A Dream of Red Mansions*, there is truth in falsehood and falsehood in truth, and there are things that the author sees with his own eyes as well as things

that he fabricates. This is why readers find the novel intriguing. In the same token, an artificial mountain is fantastic if it looks real, but a real mountain becomes weird if it looks unreal. A real person may look like a wax figure, and a wax figure may look real, herein lies the trick. The key to successful garden-making lies in grasping its quintessence, but it is really disappointing that quite a few people have dedicated their careers to this craft but never learned how to grasp it! It is, indeed, challenging to craft a garden. To erect an artificial mountain peak in a garden is an undertaking that conceals illusion in reality—meaning that the designer should approach the rockery with his heart and go further to bring his creation to life by imparting a personality to it.

Conception, which Wang Guowei (1877-1927) puts as "envisioned setting" in his *Poetic Remarks on the Human World,* is as pivotal to literature and art as it is to landscape gardening. This term can be interpreted and expressed differently on different subjects, so that there is poetic conception in poetry, lyrical conception in lyrics, and musical conception in music. Poetic conception can be perceived in Chang Jian's[4] "An Inscription Dedicated to the Posterior Meditation Chamber of the Cleaved Mountain Temple":

A path leads to a quiet realm of bough and flower,
In whose recess is hidden a meditation chamber.

Lyrical conception can be perceived in Yan Jidao's "Riverside Narcissus":

Inebriated, I dreamed of a shut-up terraced tower,
Sobering up, I saw curtains hanging a lot lower.

And musical conception can be perceived in "Autumn Reverie" by the master playwright Ma Zhiyuan (*c*. 1250-*c*. 1324)[5]:

Dry vines, crows nesting in old tree at sunset;
A small bridge on a rivulet rippling by a hut.

Conception changes with the setting, and the same happens to garden-making as well. A garden's poetic sentiment and pictorial imagination find expression in actual scenes and sights known collectively as "envisioned setting."

Imagined aura fades in a vista too revealing;
It enhances if such vista is concealed subtly.

Water ought to be brought in along the lie of land;
Never should pine trees be transplanted in rows.

Where there's kiosk or terrace there is water;
Thou' houses are many, hills can't be blocked.

The number of lofts and decks may be limited,
Their fascinations can be limitless;
There may be just a single brook,
It can still tangle and entangle by itself.

These quotations were written by our forebears while sight-seeing or appreciating a particular painting, but all the conceptions implied in them are compatible to garden-making. If a garden can look like what one of these quotes describes, then it speaks volumes for the aura its creator has conceived for it.

In garden-making the relationship between mountain and water cannot be severed, nor can they be handled separately or in stereotyped ways, because they supplement each other and can be put together in many a combination. A waterless mountain can look like having a creek or pool at its foot, and a rock-less body of water can have rocks implied in it—in both scenarios mountain and water are mutually containing in a natural high-and-low relationship that, however, can be achieved only with a well-conceived plan. This is exactly the case with the vistas in front of the Gen'an's Parlor in Gu Wenbin's estate at Suzhou's Iron Bottle Lane.

Artificial mountains in Jiangnan gardens are often accentuated with a white-washed wall that serves as a "sketch pad" on which a compact assembly of steep rockeries is "sketched." Without such a wall, an artificial mountain would look like a pell-mell of rocks. This is why well-structured artificial mountains are such a rarity in big gardens built nowadays. The mountain and water brought into a garden are like the bone and flesh of a living creature or the brush and ink in a Chinese painting. Only with both "bone" and "flesh" and both brush and ink can a painting or artificial mountain come to life, which is why the paintings of the Qing-dynasty master Shitao can stay peerless through the ages. Zheng Xie was a professional calligrapher, but his paintings, like a garden constructed by an engineer rather than a garden crafter, fall short of lasting appeal because, owing to his stress on brushwork and neglect of nuance in ink application, his paintings have plenty of bones but little flesh.

In a scenic resort or garden, buildings should be positioned in light of the terrain or topography, but the main building should always face one direction squarely and extend at right angles. The reasons are obvious, but they are lost on quite a few unobservant scholars. The temples up the Golden Hill, the Jiao's Mountain, and the Unassailable Mountain South of the Yangtze in Zhenjiang differ in layout and style. The Golden Hill is encircled

by temple buildings connected up and down the slopes by a three-dimensional road system; the Jiao's Mountain encircles all the temple buildings arranged in several courtyards in its embrace; and the Unassailable Mountain South of the Yangtze is crowned with a temple that overlooks its surroundings. All the three mountains rise over the same river, the Yangtze, but they look bewitching in different ways. The scenic beauty of the Golden Hill is best enjoyed at a distance; that of the Jiao's Mountain, by keeping the eyesight parallel to the ground; and that of the Unassailable Mountain South of the Yangtze, by looking down from its top. The designers of this trio kept their respective observational vintage points in mind when they took great pains on the layout of buildings until perfection was achieved; sublime, indeed, are both their knowledge and expertise.

A mountain need not be tall to look lofty; it is its topographical gradation that matters. A body of water need not be deep; it is its twists and turns that count. The beauty of a towering mountain lies in the scenes and sights deeply seated in it. The reason why the Yushan Mountain of Changshu, the Huishan Mountain of Wuxi, the Shangfang Mountain of Suzhou, and the mountains on the southern outskirts of Zhenjiang can become the apples in tourists' eyes in the Jiangnan area is because they are richly imbued with these features. Mount Tai leads the Five Holy Mountains because it has both mountains and waters. Despite its beautiful peaks, Mount Huangshan is handicapped by its lack of dashing cascades; it would not have become so renowned without its ocean of misty clouds that flow and ebb constantly in magical ways.

In a scenic resort, roads should be zigzagging rather than straight, and narrow trails ought to outnumber main roads, so that the scenery can be concealed bewitchingly in nooks and crannies. In this way visitors are well scattered and have plenty of views to explore and marvel at, gurgling springs to listen to and rockeries to hang about, and there would be enough settings to rhapsodize or contemplate on. Just as the saying goes, "Mountaineers dread mountains lacking depth; forest lovers dread woods falling short of density." In ancient times, stone stairs were built for mountain climbers to stop for respites and look around every now and then, an arrangement that accords with the physique of us Homo erectus. Today, however, quite a few mountain stairways have been changed into sloping roads that imperil the wayfarers and violate the law governing mountaineering. Worse, some mountain trails have been converted into highways that ruin the natural gullies and peaks and

enshroud mountains in choking traffic dust, while the tourists, instead of having a good time sightseeing, are compelled to scramble with automobiles for the right of the road. In old days, the Twilight Mist Cave at the West Lake could only be reached by a few mountain tracks, but people today can virtually "descend" on it directly by automobiles; thus an otherwise fun-filled outing into the mountains is reduced to what looks like a flatland journey to the Peak Flown In from Afar at the Soul's Retreat Temple. You may applaud the convenience the highway brings to the journey, but where on earth are the spectacular morning mist and sunset glow that are part and parcel of the fun?

I learned that bus routes are being pencilled out for all the mountain resorts around the West Lake to cater to those who want to see it all on a single-day tour. I personally doubt the wisdom of such a plan, for once it comes under way, the size of the whole scenic zone will start shrinking with each passing day, while the principle that sight-seeing routes ought to be lengthened is violated. Being a tourist differs in purpose from being a hasty wayfarer. Sightseeing takes time, whereas traveling stresses speediness, but today these two things seem to have been put upside down. A highway spiralling up a solitary mountain makes it difficult to see fabulous sights in its deep recesses; like a snake coiling around someone's neck, such a road also dismembers the mountain and robs it of its lush verdure and breathtaking loftiness. The merits or demerits of it are evidenced by the roads already built on the Jade Emperor Mountain at the West Lake and the Drum Mountain of Fuzhou, but in the latter case, the ugliness of the road is fortunately covered up by multiple layers of mountain slopes. Absolute discretion ought to be applied before roads are paved in famous mountains because their legendary scenery can disappear forever once the demolition commences, even though the good or ill wrought by our garden creators can only be judged by future generations. It is imperative that old paths leading into mountains be properly preserved, at least for the sake of those willing to make unhurried journeys up there. Fountainheads are a mountain's eyes, but the bad news is that in a number of celebrated scenic resorts, such "eyes" have been damaged beyond repair. The Spouting Spring in Jinan, Shandong province, has lost its musical gurgles, and the Nine Creeks Gully in the mountains west of the West Lake are drying out—such happenings can on no account be overlooked. Destroying natural veins when reclaiming mountains, and digging wells to draw water from fountainheads—engineering projects undertaken in contradiction to landscaping plans can only jeopardize local interests and

dismay landscape gardeners. Storied buildings, those in gardens in particular, should be roomy and airy, so that, as the poem goes,

> Morn, painted beams "fly" over south bank into stratus;
> Dusk, a pearled veil unfurls raindrops from west peaks.

Pine trees ought to be well spaced; their graceful shapes can shine forth only if they have fewer boughs and leaves. Only with both sturdiness and grace can a tree look impressive. Such unity of opposites always brings good effects. Burgeoning willows must have ancient-looking trunks, and bamboo groves must show off their tips with tender leaves. However, on the Memorial Causeway of Bai Juyi on the West Lake, all the old willows have been replaced with new saplings, and the place is robbed of its classical spectacle as a result. How can government reshuffling methods be applied to garden management?

Scenic resorts today are invariably equipped with many tea houses and toilets. Toilets should be concealed for obvious reasons but in our gardens, virtually all of them are ornamented with see-through lattice windows that are intended to evoke "dainty scenic sketches." But in reality they are not. I think perhaps it is my fault to publicize such windows in my 1953 book *Lattice Windows*, in which I wrote this doggerel:

> I cry unfair for lattice windows misplaced,
> To grace toilets all of them are being forced.

Lattice windows are designed to "divulge" views. Are there any views that a toilet is supposed to "divulge"? I remember seeing a newly built toilet whose walls were bristled with lattice windows, with a stone erected to its left inscribed with the words, "Fragrant Spring," while the inscription on another stone to its right says, "Flying Dragons and Dancing Phoenixes." People cannot but laugh out loud upon seeing them.

Tea houses, in my opinion, are suitable for sizeable scenic resorts, so that visitors can come to quench their thirst, but they are unnecessary in small scenic spots like the Xiling Seal Engravers Society at the West Lake and the Master-of-Fishnets Garden in Suzhou, which do not have enough space to spare for such facilities in the first place. The bad news is that most tea houses built in large scenic resorts look like a hotel or restaurant—seldom have I seen an appropriate one among them. The rub here is that what is primary and what is secondary are confounded, and that the incidental is taken for the fundamental. It seems commercialism is taking over our scenic resorts and gardens, with sightseeing tours being converted into shopping tours. Thus a venerated Buddhist temple becomes the venue of a temple fair,

and wherever there is a famous garden there is a market. Indeed,

> Now that the East Fence has become a fair,
> Isn't it a shame for many a yellow aster?

Following this line of logic, one may ask, should the Chamber of Gardens be renamed Chamber of Commerce? It is, indeed, a typical case of dereliction of duty on the part of our garden administrators.

Among artificial-mountain builders in central Zhejiang province, technicality overweighs artistry, and cave construction becomes their forte, with the result that the mountains they have built often stand in isolation. The best artificial mountains in Hangzhou are found in the Hu's Estate at Shoe-shaped Ingot Street, the Wu's Estate at School Official Lane, and the Literary Waves Belvedere at the Gushan Mountain for the single reason that all of them are supplemented with bodies of water. A new type of artificial mountains emerged in more recent years, which were built on level ground, with a grotto inside of them and a terrace at the top. Being the crudest of all artificial mountains, they were invented by artisans of Dongyang, Zhejiang province, who were by no means experts in this field but bricklayers or, in the words of folks in Hangzhou, "sewer builders" out to hoodwink laymen by palming off fakery for the real thing. By the Republican years (1912-1949) the grottos had been replaced with tiny hills topped with a flower deck under the pretext that "caves are, in most cases, ill omens."

In ancient times, artificial mountain crafters belonged geographically to the Suzhou, Nanjing, Yangzhou, Jinhua and Shanghai schools, with the Shanghai school being a hybrid of the Nanjing and Suzhou schools. After the Southern Song, the best known artificial mountain experts, hailed from Wuxing, where they were referred to as "mountain smiths," and from Suzhou, locally known as "garden men." They were called "mountain craftsmen" in central Zhejiang province, "stone masons" in Yangzhou, and "mountain artisans" in Shanghai, the former Songjiang prefecture. The "Stone Masons Zhang and Son"—Zhang Lian (1587-1673) and his son Zhang Ran (*fl*. 17th century) from Songjiang—were so popular among the rich and powerful for their unrivalled expertise that they were eventually summoned to Peking, where their business was handed down to family members collectively known as "Mountain-making Zhangs."

To sum up, the artificial mountains built in the Lake Tai basin are a school of their own. Those in Nanjing and Yangzhou became the "North Jiangsu School," and their counterparts in east Zhejiang belonged in another school. As was the case with any profession or trade, there were always

skilled and less skilled artificial mountain builders. The less skilled knew no more than rocks and compiling skills *per se*, and it was beyond them to examine and select suitable rocks, let alone stone textures and veins. What they were interested in was to "finish a grotto in five days and an artificial mountain in ten days." They went about their business like a children's game, that is, copying and downsizing real mountains without realizing that building a good artificial mountain is nothing short of an art.

To tell whether an artificial mountain is original or a rehashed one, the foot of the mountain and the bottom of its grotto should be examined carefully, because both are the least susceptible to damage and therefore easy to tell if they were rebuilt or rehashed. Close examination of mortar joints, seams and stone veins and texture always yields tell-tale evidence because the seams between rocks can be old or new, the glues or mortar used to put the rocks together come of different formulas, and the patina on stones and the marks of axing and chiselling can be easily discerned. When refurbishing the Lingering Garden in Suzhou during the Jiaqing reign (1796-1820) of the Qing, the then owner, Liu Shu (1759-1816), had a Lake Tai stone fixed on a yellow stone rockery, and the difference is still there for all to see. Old artificial mountains were mostly built by putting many mountain rocks together in compact combinations, and wedges and mortar were applied profusely on the joints to keep the whole thing in balance. Once some of the rocks are moved or torn down, it would be difficult to leave such an artificial mountain's old appearance intact. A well-built artificial mountain must look natural through clever rockwork; its lines should be arranged like tactful brush strokes in a painting, and the space should be "contracted" skilfully by taking individual parts and the whole scene into full account—only by repeatedly weighing over all these factors can a satisfactory work be hammered out.

People are extolling the Gratification Garden in Shanghai lately, but they are often reticent about a structure that the garden used to be a part of—the Pan's Mansion across a lane to the east on Phoenix Tree Road at Anren Street, known as Anren Cove in old times. As Ye Mengzhu (1623-?)[6] says in *A Compendium on Living in the World*,

> This is the largest estate in Shanghai. With its front gate opening onto an engraved screen wall, it looks tall and majestic. With row upon row of buildings connected by a double-floor roofed walkway, it is nearly comparable to a prince's vermillion mansion. Its posterior building is built entirely of *Phoebe nanmu*, and all the floors upstairs are paved with bricks so that they feel like level ground. Its structures are gilded or painted red and white, and carved in a most elaborate fashion.

This phenomenal complex stood testimony to the impressive scale of the Gratification Garden in its heyday. The pity is that nothing has been left of it today.

In *A Compendium of Fragrant Cup Studio* (Book Twelve), the early-Qing painter Yun Ge (1633-1690)[7] puts it this way,

> In the eighth month of a *ren-xu* year [1682], I was lodged as a guest in the Humble Administrator's Garden at Wumen [in Suzhou]. Long lines of trees were sodden with refreshing autumn rain when I sat, alone, in the Southern Verandah, and saw an artificial mountain rising high and steep above a pool of clear water from a transverse plateau on the other side of a rippling brook. Following a footpath that winds its way up the mountain, I spotted a grove of scholar trees, tamarisks, willows, junipers and cypresses whose tangled branches reached out into the skies, whereas the lotuses around the pond's embankment sported crimson flowers and emerald leaves. Looking down at the pool, I could count the fish swimming in the limpid water, which enabled me to indulge a little bit in Zhuangzi's fun of strolling along the Hao and Pu rivers.[8] Departing from the Southern Verandah, I sauntered past the Bright Snow Pavilion, crossed the Red Bridge, and took a rockeryflanked road that conducted me northward across the transverse plateau to the artificial mountain, where a dyke led me to a small knoll hidden under the rich foliage of trees. There, the Pure Luster Loft sat on the pond opposite the roofed walkway on the other side of the brook, which offered the best vista on the premises.

The highlight of the Humble Administrator's Garden is the aforementioned Southern Verandah, known as the Leaning-on-Jade Verandah today. The Bright Snow Pavilion seems to be the Pavilion of Lotus-Scented Breeze from Four Sides, and the Red Bridge should be the Zigzagging Bridge. Judging from its location, the Pure Luster Loft should be the Mountain-in-View Loft. Yun Ge's description of the roofed walkway beyond the creek basically tallies with the view of the Willow-Shaded Winding Walkway of today. Yun Ge was actually writing about what he personally saw in this renowned garden from a painter's point of view. If those engaged in garden restoration can gain from his descriptions some insight into the garden's conception, they must belong in the erudite category. "How many people can really catch this song?" in the words of the famed monk-painter Guanxiu (823-912)[9], but what can we do about it! It is hard to preserve a garden, and even harder to repair it. If you are repairing a garden, you have got to pull off a surprise. I would like to conclude this essay by reiterating the importance of garden history research. Many years ago, the late Ye Gongchuo (1881-1968) wrote me a couplet that says,

> Famous Gardens of Luoyang, Painted Pleasure
> Boats of Yangzhou;
> Old Tales of Wulin [Hangzhou], Archives of
> the Imperial Capital.

In it he lists, by way of exhorting me, the titles of four books on gardens and places of historical interest. Reviewing this couplet again today, I have the

feeling that what I have written down in this essay was probably not a waste of time.

说园（三）

余既为《说园》《续说园》，然情之所钟，终难自已，晴窗展纸，再抒鄙见，芜驳之辞，存商求正，以《说园》（三）名之。

晋陶渊明（潜）《桃花源记》："中无杂树，芳草鲜美。"此亦风景区花树栽植之卓见，匠心独具。与"采菊东篱下，悠然见南山"句，同为千古绝唱。前者说明桃花宜群植远观，绿茵衬繁花，其景自出；而后者暗示"借景"。虽不言造园，而理自存。

看山如玩册页，游山如展手卷；一在景之突出，一在景之连续。所谓静动不同，情趣因异，要之必有我存在，所谓"我见青山多妩媚，料青山见我应如是"。何以得之？有赖于题咏。故画不加题则显俗，景无摩崖（或匾对）则难明，文与艺未能分割也。"云无心以出岫，鸟倦飞而知还"，景之外兼及动态声响。余小游扬州瘦西湖，舍舟登岸，止于小金山"月观"，信动观以赏月，赖静观以小体，兰香竹影，鸟语桨声，而一抹夕阳，斜照窗棂，香、影、光、声相交织，静中见动，动中寓静，极辩证之理于造园览景之中。

园林造景，有有意得之者，亦有无意得之者，尤以私家小园，地甚局促，往往于无可奈何之处，而以无可奈何之笔化险为夷，终挽全局。苏州留园之"华步小筑"一角，用砖砌地穴门洞，分隔成狭长小径，得"庭院深深深几许"之趣。

今不能证古，洋不能证中，古今中外自成体系，绝不容借尸还魂，不明当时建筑之功能，与设计者之主导思想，以今人之见强与古人相合，谬矣。试观苏州网师园之东墙下，备仆从出入留此便道，如住宅之设"避弄"。与其对面之径山游廊，具极明显之对比，所谓"径莫便于捷，而又莫妙于迂"，可证。因此，评园必究园史，更须熟悉当时之生活，方言之成理。园有一定之观赏路线，正如文章之有起承转合，手卷之有引首、卷本、拖尾，有其不可颠倒之整体性。今苏州拙政园入口处为东部边门，网师园入口处为北部后门，大悖常理。记得《义山杂纂》列人间煞风景事有："松下喝道。看花泪下。苔上铺席。花下晒裈。游春载重。石笋系马。月下把火。背山起楼。果园种菜。花架下养鸡鸭。"等等，今余为之增补一条曰："开后门以延游客"。质诸园林管理者以为如何？至于苏州以沧浪亭、狮子林、拙政园、留园号称宋、元、明、清四大名园。留园与拙政园同建于明而同重修于清者，何分列于两代，此又令人不解者。余谓以静观为主之网师园，动观为主之拙政园，苍古之沧浪亭，华瞻之留园，合称苏州四大名园，则予游者以易领会园林特征也。

造园如缀文，千变万化，不究全文气势立意，而仅务词汇叠砌者，能有佳构乎？文贵乎气，气有阳刚阴柔之分，行文如是，造园又何独不然。割裂分散，不成文理，藉一亭一榭以斗胜，正今日所乐道之园林小品也。盖不通乎我国文化之特征，难以言造园之气息也。

南方建筑为棚，多敞口；北方建筑为窝，多封闭。前者原出巢居，后者来自穴处。故以敞口之建筑，配茂林修竹之景。园林之始，于此萌芽。园林以空灵为主，建筑亦起同样作用，故北国园林终逊南中。盖建筑以多门窗为胜，以封闭出之，少透漏之妙。而居人之室，更须有亲切之感，“众鸟欣有托，吾亦爱吾庐”，正咏此也。

小园若斗室之悬一二名画，宜静观。大园则如美术展览会之集大成，宜动观。故前者必含蓄耐人寻味，而后者设无吸引人之重点，必平淡无奇。园之功能因时代而变，造景亦有所异，名称亦随之不同，故以小公园、大公园（公园之“公”，系指私园而言）名之，解放前则可，今似多商榷，我曾建议是否皆须冠“公”字。今南通易狼山公园为北麓园，苏州易城东公园为东园，开封易汴京公园为汴园，似得风气之先。至于市园、郊园、平地园、山麓园，各具环境地势之特征，亦不能以等同之法设计之。

整修前人园林，每多不明立意。余谓对旧园有“复园”与“改园”二议。设若名园，必细征文献图集，使之复原，否则以己意为之，等于改园。正如装裱古画，其缺笔处，必以原画之笔法与设色续之，以成全璧。如用戈裕良之叠山法续明人之假山，与以四王之笔法接石涛之山水，顿异旧观，真愧对古人，有损文物矣。若一般园林，颓败已极，残山剩水，犹可资用，以今人之意修改，亦无不可，姑名之曰“改园”。

我国盆栽之产生，与建筑具有密切之关系，古代住宅以院落天井组合而成，周以楼廊或墙垣，空间狭小，阳光较少，故吴下人家每以寸石尺树布置小景，点缀其间，往往见天不见日，或初阳煦照，一瞬即过，要皆能适植物之性，保持一定之温度与阳光，物赖以生，景供人观，东坡诗所谓：“微雨止还作，小窗幽更妍。空庭不受日，草木自苍然。”最能得此神理。盖生活所需之必然产物，亦穷则思变，变则能通。所谓“适者生存”。今以开畅大园，置数以百计之盆栽，或置盈丈之乔木于巨盆中，此之谓大而无当。而风大日烈，蒸发过大，难保存活，亦未深究盆景之道而盲为也。

华丽之园难简，雅淡之园难深。简以救俗，深以补淡，笔简意浓，画少气壮。如晏殊诗：“梨花院落溶溶月，柳絮池塘淡淡风。”艳而不俗，淡而有味，是为上品。皇家园林，过于繁缛，私家园林，往往寒俭，物质条件所限也。无过无不及，得乎其中。须割爱者能忍痛，须添补者无吝色。即下笔千钧反复推敲，闺秀之画能脱脂粉气，释道之画能

脱蔬笋气，少见者。刚以柔出，柔以刚现。扮书生而无穷酸相，演将帅而具台阁气，皆难能也。造园之理，与一切艺术，无不息息相通。故余曾谓明代之园林，与当时之文学、艺术、戏曲，同一思想感情，而以不同形式出现之。

能品园，方能造园，眼高手随之而高，未有不辨乎味能著食谱者。故造园一端，主其事者，学养之功，必超乎实际工作者。计成云："三分匠，七分主人。"言主其事者之重要，非诬蔑工人之谓。今以此而批判计氏，实尚未读通计氏《园冶》也。讨论学术，扣以政治帽子，此风当不致再长矣。

假假真真，真真假假。《红楼梦》大观园假中有真，真中有假，是虚构，亦有作者曾见之实物，又参有作者之虚构。其所以迷惑读者正在此。故假山如真方妙，真山似假便奇；真人如造像，造像似真人，其捉弄人者又在此。造园之道，要在能"悟"，有终身事其业，而不解斯理者正多，甚矣！造园之难哉。园中立峰，亦存假中寓真之理，在品题欣赏上以感情悟物，且进而达人格化。

文学艺术作品言意境，造园亦言意境。王国维《人间词话》所谓境界也。对象不同，表达之方法亦异，故诗有诗境，词有词境，曲有曲境。"曲径通幽处，禅房花木深"，诗境也。"梦后楼台高锁，酒醒帘幕低垂"，词境也。"枯藤老树昏鸦，小桥流水人家"，曲境也。意境因情景不同而异，其与园林所现意境亦然。园林之诗情画意即诗与画之境界在实际景物中出现之，统名之曰意境。"景露则境界小，景隐则境界大。""引水须随势，栽松不趁行。""亭台到处皆临水，屋宇虽多不碍山。""几个楼台游不尽，一条流水乱相缠。"此虽古人咏景说画之辞，造园之法适同，能为此，则意境自出。

园林叠山理水，不能分割言之，亦不可以定式论之，山与水相辅相成，变化万方。山无泉而若有，水无石而意存，自然高下，山水仿佛其中。昔苏州铁瓶巷顾宅艮庵前一区，得此消息。江南园林叠山，每以粉墙衬托，益觉山石紧凑峥嵘，此粉墙画本也。若墙不存，则如一丘乱石，故今日以大园叠山，未见佳构者正在此。画中之笔墨，即造园之水石，有骨有肉，方称上品。石涛（道济）画之所以冠世，在于有骨有肉。笔墨俱备。板桥（郑燮）学石涛，有骨而无肉，重笔而少墨。盖板桥以书家作画，正如工程家构园，终少韵味。

建筑物在风景区或园林之布置，皆因地制宜，但主体建筑始终维持其南北东西平直方向。斯理甚简，而学者未明者正多。镇江金山、焦山、北固山三处之寺，布局各殊，风格终异。金山以寺包山，立体交通。焦山以山包寺，院落区分。北固山以寺镇山，雄踞其巅。故同临长江，取景亦各览其胜。金山宜远眺，焦山在平览，而北固山在俯瞰。皆

能对观上着眼，于建筑物布置上用力，各臻其美，学见乎斯。

山不在高，贵有层次。水不在深，妙于曲折。峰岭之胜，在于深秀。江南常熟虞山，无锡惠山，苏州上方山，镇江南郊诸山，皆多此特征。泰山之能为五岳之首者，就山水言之，以其有山有水。黄山非不美，终鲜巨瀑，设无烟云之出没，此山亦未能有今日之盛名。

风景区之路，宜曲不宜直，小径多于主道，则景幽而客散，使有景可寻、可游。有泉可听，有石可留，吟想其间，所谓“入山唯恐不深，入林唯恐不密”。山须登，可小立顾盼，故古时皆用磴道，亦符人类两足直立之本意，今易以斜坡，行路自危，与登之理相背。更以筑公路之法而修游山道，致使丘壑破坏，漫山扬尘，而游者集于道与飚轮争途，拥挤可知，难言山屐之雅兴。西湖烟霞洞本由小径登山，今汽车达巅，其情无异平地之灵隐飞来峰前，真是“豁然开朗”，拍手叫好，从何处话烟霞矣。闻西湖诸山拟一日之汽车游程可毕，如是，西湖将越来越小。此与风景区延长游览线之主旨相背，似欠明智。游与赶程，含义不同，游览宜缓，赶程宜速，今则适正倒置。孤立之山筑登山盘旋道，难见佳境，极易似毒蛇之绕颈，将整个之山数段分割，无耸翠之姿，峻高之态。证以西湖玉皇山与福州鼓山二道，可见轩轾。后者因山势重叠，故能掩拙。名山筑路，千万慎重，如经破坏，景物一去不复返矣。千古功罪，待人评定。至于入山旧道，切宜保存，缓步登临，自有游客。泉者，山眼也。今若干著名风景地，泉眼已破，终难再活。趵突无声，九溪渐涸，此事非可等闲视之。开山断脉，打井汲泉，工程建设未与风景规划相配合，元气大伤，徒唤奈何。楼者，透也。园林造楼必空透。“画栋朝飞南浦云，珠帘暮卷西山雨。”境界可见。松者，鬆也。枝不能多，叶不能密，才见姿态。而刚柔互用，方见效果，杨柳必存老干，竹林必露嫩梢，皆反笔出之。今西湖白堤之柳，尽易新苗，老树无一存者，顿失前观。“全部肃清，彻底换班”，岂可用于治园耶？

风景区多茶室，必多厕所，后者实难处理，宜隐蔽之。今厕所皆饰以漏窗，宛若“园林小品”。余曾戏为打油诗“我为漏窗频叫屈，而今花样上茅房”（我1953年刊《漏窗》一书，其罪在我）之句。漏窗功能泄景，厕所有何景可泄？曾见某处新建厕所，漏窗盈壁，其左刻石为“香泉”，其右刻石为“龙飞凤舞”，见者失笑。鄙意游览大风景区宜设茶室，以解游人之渴。至于范围小之游览区，若西湖西泠印社、苏州网师园，似可不必设置茶室，占用楼堂空间。而大型园林茶室，有如宾馆餐厅，亦未见有佳构者，主次未分，本末倒置。如今风景区以园林倾向商店化，似乎游人游览就是采购物品。宜乎古刹成庙会，名园皆市肆，则“东篱为市井，有辱黄花矣”。园林局将成为商业局，此名之曰“不务正业”。

浙中叠山重技而少艺，以洞见长，山类皆孤立，其佳者有杭州元宝街胡宅，学官巷吴宅，孤山文澜阁等处，皆尚能以水佐之。降及晚近，以平地叠山，中置一洞，上覆一平台，极简陋。此浙之东阳匠师所为。彼等非专攻叠山，原为水作之工，杭人称为阴沟匠者，鱼目混珠，以诈不识者。后因“洞多不吉”，遂易为小山花台。此入民国后之状也。从前叠山，有苏帮、宁（南京）帮、扬帮、金华帮、上海帮（后出，为宁苏之混合体）。而南宋以后著名叠山师，则来自吴兴、苏州。吴兴称山匠，苏州称花园子。浙中又称假山师或叠山师，扬州称石匠，上海（旧松江府）称山师，名称不一。云间（松江）名手张涟、张然父子，人称张石匠，名动公卿间，张涟父子流寓京师，其后人承其业，即山子张也。要之，太湖流域所叠山，自成体系，而宁扬又自一格，所谓苏北系统，其与浙东匠师皆各立门户，但总有高下之分。其下者就石论石，必存叠字，遑论相石选石，更不谈石之纹理，专攻“五日一洞，十日一山”。摹拟真状，以大缩小，一实假戏真做，有类儿戏矣。故云叠山者，艺术也。

鉴定假山，何者为原构，何者为重修，应注意留山之脚、洞之底，因低处不易毁坏，如一经重叠，新旧判然。再细审灰缝，详审石理，必渐能分晓，盖石缝有新旧，胶合品成分亦各异，石之包浆，斧凿痕迹，在在可佐证也。苏州留园，清嘉庆间刘氏重补者，以湖石接黄石，更判然明矣。而旧假山类多山石紧凑相挤，重在垫塞，功在平衡，一经拆动，涣然难收陈局。佳作必拼合自然，曲具画理，缩地有法，观其局部，复察全局，反复推敲，结论遂出。

近人但言上海豫园之盛，却未言明代潘氏宅之情况，宅与园仅隔一巷耳。潘宅在今园东安仁街梧桐路一带，旧时称安仁里。据叶梦珠《阅世编》所记：“建第规模甲于海上，面照雕墙，宏开俊宇，重轩复道，几于朱邸，后楼悉以楠木为之，楼上皆施砖砌，登楼与平地无异。涂金染丹垩，雕刻极工之巧。”以此建筑结构，证豫园当日之规模，甚相称也。惜今已荡然无存。

清初画家恽寿平（南田）《瓯香馆集》卷十二：“壬戌八月，客吴门拙政园，秋雨长林，致有爽气，独坐南轩，望隔岸横冈，叠石崚嶒，下临清池，涧路盘纡，上多高槐、柽、柳、桧、柏，虬枝挺然，迥出林表，绕堤皆芙蓉，红翠相间，俯视澄明，游鳞可数，使人悠然有濠濮间趣。自南轩过艳雪亭，渡红桥而北，傍横冈循石间道，山麓尽处有堤通小阜，林木翳如，池上为湛华楼，与隔水回廊相望，此一园最胜地也。”南轩为倚玉轩，艳雪亭似为荷风四面亭，红桥即曲桥。湛华楼以地位观之，即见山楼所在，隔水回廊，与柳荫路曲一带，出入亦不大。以画人之笔，记名园之景，修复者能悟此境界，固属高手。但“此歌能

有几人知”，徒唤奈何！保园不易，修园更难。不修则已，一修惊人。余再重申研究园史之重要，以为此篇殿焉。曩岁叶恭绰先生赠余一联：“洛阳名园（记），扬州画舫（录）；武林遗事，日下旧闻（考）。”以四部园林古迹之书目相勉，则余今日之所作，又岂徒然哉！

1980年5月完稿于镇江宾舍

ON GARDENS 4

Department of Architecture, Tongji University, October 10, 1981

A year of rambling has brought me in intimate touch with quite a few scenic sights across the land. As my feelings keep changing with what I have seen, I have the urge to share my humble opinions even though they might be interpreted in different ways to meet different needs. Like an armchair strategist's prattle about the art of war, my views can probably do little to remedy what has gone wrong today. After all, I am just offering some food for thought and discussion. I title this article "On Gardens 4," as a sequel to the three previous instalments of this ongoing discourse.

As a discipline of learning, the craft of gardens is predicated on the crafter's own intentions. On this basis, he sets a conception and comes up with an intricate layout. He will be extolled if his garden is a success, and derogated if it flops. Be it a success or a flop, a garden without a personality is devoid of life.

Waters are the eyes of land. A garden having lots of land should keep water behind its walls; a garden having a lot of water should have it scattered. If water is pivotal to a garden's views, it should also be made to ameliorate environment and climate. Rivers, lakes and ponds in the countryside, lotus ponds and water-caltrop marshes, crab-catching weirs and fishing villages—these bodies of water, no less productive than fertile land once they are devoted to aquiculture, not only augment local earnings but also beautify local landscape. Just as Wang Shizhen (1634-1711) puts it,

> On the river many a fishermen's abode
> Is clustered around a caltrop pond
> Or scattered by a path willow-lined.
> When the sun slants and the wind settles,
> Perches are hawked under red maples
> Halfway down the river shoals.

Nothing endears itself to man more than the divine verve of this everyday natural scene.

In days of yore there was a city where the paths were fringed with weeping willows, the riverside patches of pollia ran for miles on end, the jagged city-wall ramparts were faintly visible in the distance, and architecture and nature were meshed to present a picture-perfect cityscape. But what city

is it anyway? Wang Shizhen lets the cat out of the bag in the following line,

> The city with its walls lost in the green foliage of willows is none other than Yangzhou.

Alas! This picturesque view has gone for ever since Yangzhou lost its city wall to demolition. A topography complete with scenic mountains and rivers can be a city's salient feature, but it is the flowers and trees that often hog the limelight. This shows why visitors are impressed indelibly by what they see in Chengdu, the "City of Hibiscus Flowers," and in Fuzhou, the "City of Banyan Trees."

Yun Ge (1633-1690) says of coloration in painting,

> Blue and green are heavy colors. They gain richness easily, but are difficult to achieve lightness, and even more difficult to attain richness upon hard-to-come-by lightness.

This observation is particularly pertinent with the craft of gardens. To search for intangibles from tangibles and vice versa, and for colors to be light without being flimsy, and rich without being stiff—this rule of the thumb, if followed to the letter, can yield natural fascinations. Today, however, there is no lack of garden-makers out to abandon nature and embrace forgery. They destroy real mountains and rush to pile up artificial ones, and block up placid brooks to make room for artificial fountains. Natural springs and rocks of top-notch quality are often changed whimsically as a result. In their eyes, a garden without a spurting fountain cannot be counted as a famous one. In his notes on the Cork Tree Mountain Abode on the Dragon-Sleeping Mountain in Tongcheng county, Anhui province, Qian Chengzhi (1612-1693)[1] writes,

> People from the former state of Wu love making artificial mountains. They flatter each other on their creations while jeering at the gardens and pavilions in our rural areas for being shabby. To this phenomenon I retort, "Given all the real mountains and waters in the country, why should we need artificial ones? Because we believe in things real and do little about it, our gardens and pavilions look a bit too simple. Indeed, we are no better than the Wu people when it comes to fakery."

About the Cork Tree Mountain Abode, Qian says,

> The views are not patterned after each other, so that every one of them is a study of perfection and exudes the essence of real mountain and water.

The merit of this comment boils down to a single word, "essence."

A wooded mountain looks good on account of its affinity to nature. To keep it natural is to preserve what is real in it. Buildings play a role in "view highlighting," a role that somehow sets them apart from gardens. This is like "adding a flower to a piece of brocade," but the flower can never steal the show from the brocade. A hotel is designed for guests to stop over and take a break. It should guarantee the needed peace and quiet, and provide a scenic setting in which the guest can loiter for a look around. There should also be ample space within and without, with the interiors and exteriors echoing and

connected to each other, so that the guest can bask in the morning sun while having breakfast, and lay his head on the pillow while luxuriating in evening glow and get a feel of nature's immensity from inside a tiny room. If a mountain is weighed down by a tall building, and drowned in road traffic and the din of honking automobiles, even the bravest of all birds could be startled away. Observed from the top floor of the building, people on the ground are reduced to tiny beans and houses shrink to a few cubic inches—to discover smallness in a large world like this, what meets the eye is too small to be of any account. To erect buildings that otherwise belong to cities on a wooded mountain can do nothing but rob it of its idyllic appeal, mar the beauty of the landscape, and discourage the travelers. Ravines and hillocks that are levelled to look as flat as a whetstone, and tall buildings that jam the space between sky and earth are commonplace in scenic resorts today. It is reported that some planners are going so far as to remove every indigenous dwelling from the mountains, heedless to the fact that these dwellings are essential to a scenic spot—dwellings that are picturesquely scattered can always make a mountainous area look charming, which is why they are often spotted in landscape paintings handed down from antiquity. During my sojourn in Geneva, I saw every visitor fall in love with the bright and clean homes that adorn local mountains. I believe the buildings in a scenic resort should be low-key rather than high-profiled, scattered rather than clustered, low rather than tall, on foothills rather than on mountaintops, and in rich and varied designs, with adorable delights camouflaged in unaffected ruggedness. They should also be laid out in conformity to topography and "borrow" vistas cleverly, but at the same time their identity as indigenous dwellings should not be compromised, so that the eye can be delighted by the sight of their tiny courtyards gleaming bewitchingly amidst whitewashed walls and flowers' shadows. Visitors can be pampered in the convenience afforded by such a "wooded urban mountain"—where they can either come to lose themselves for a while in solitude or entertain guests. In *Dreamy Memories of Tao'an*, Zhang Dai (1597-1689) describes Fan Yunlin's[2] Garden at the Tianping Mountain, Suzhou,

> Winding on the lake beyond the garden is a dyke bordered with peach and willow trees, which conducts to the garden at the other end of a zigzagging bridge. The garden's front gate, set deliberately low and narrow at the bridgehead, opens onto a long roofed causeway by the side of a double wall that meanders its way to the foot of the mountain, where painted lofts and curtained pavilions, secret chambers and obscure rooms are all hidden lest they be seen by outsiders.

In *Gleanings from Female Scribes' Records of Daily Lives Inside Imperial*

Chambers, Mao Qiling (1623-1716)[3] talks of a Yangzhou native who was the Ming emperor Chongzhen's favorite concubine,

> [She] was so tired of the lofty living quarters reserved for the empress and imperial concubines locked behind heavy door bars and large windows that she made do in a side chamber fixed with a low threshold and curving balustrades, screened with wide latticed windows, and furnished with a motley of utensils, beds and mats procured from Yangzhou.

The royal concubine's preference for simple buildings echoes my penchant for hotels in wooded urban mountains.

For obvious reasons, the space in gardens and buildings can look deep with partitions and shallow if left unimpeded. Artificial mountains, roofed walkways, bridges, latticed walls, screens, curtains, latticed windows, and shelves for books or curios can all serve partitioning purposes, and so can mosquito nets and green-gauze floor-length latticed windows in bedrooms that were common in old days. The Japanese sleep on the floor in tiny rooms segmented with small paper screens. At the West Lake today, newly built hotels and restaurants are often as grand as palaces, so much so that the freshly built Louwailou (Loft-Beyond-Loft) Restaurant[4] at the Gushan Mountain ought to be renamed "Tower of Supreme Harmony" because it is already larger than the Palace of Immortals Lining Up in Clouds[5] in the Summer Palace of Beijing. Even the interior of the Palace of Supreme Harmony in Beijing's Former Imperial City is segmented with screens and pillars, but our large restaurants nowadays are easily mistaken for gymnasiums. In a scenic resort, stones were quarried and a mountain was levelled as if to make room for new barracks, but all the fuss was actually about making room for a grand banquet hall to be erected on the spot. Huge amounts of money and manpower went down the drain like this, not to mention the threat such construction spree poses on nature's scenic beauty. There may be eastern and western parlors in old gardens, but grand parlors are unheard of. However, grand hotels, grand restaurants, grand murals, grand miniature landscapes, grand vases, and so on are everywhere nowadays, and the tendency to go big and grand seems to have become the fad. If this is allowed to run unbridled, all I can say is, "Well done! Well done!"

I have not been to Suzhou for well over a year now, but I am so haunted by its celebrated gardens and scenic attractions that I often dream of them. However, my friend Wang Xiye (1914-1997)[6] has this to say in a recent letter to me,

> A "miniature landscape garden" of an unrivalled size is being laid out on the ruins of the East Hill Shrine at the eastern corner of the Tiger Hill. Dedicated to the memory of Wang Xun (350-

401)[7], the shrine was also called "Memorial Temple for the Short Magistrate" on account of the man's short stature and official title, "assistant magistrate." Wang Wan (1624-1691)[8], "[His] home was in the Long Isle Garden beside an emerald river, but his person was in the Short Magistrate's Temple beside a green hill." Chen Pengnian (1663-1723)[9], "A spring breeze wafted across Daosheng's Stone Terrace again, yet the setting sun still clung to the Short Magistrate's Temple." Both lines are still very much on the lips today for their nostalgia for a man long gone and their vivid depictions of the scenery in that part of the Tiger Hill. Today, however, the celebrated natural wonder is thoroughly erased with the completion of a giant mountain built of yellow stones. A tiny mound though it is, the Tiger Hill could still rival all the famed mountains under heaven, and for good reasons: firstly, it is hidden in the Tiger Hill Temple where visitors can see grand views from this tiny mount; secondly, the inscription-bearing cliffs of the Sword Pool[10] are constructed in such a way that one can perceive depth in their shallowness; thirdly, numerous poetic inscriptions contributed by celebrities through the ages have added to the luster of the scene. Today, however, a sham mountain is being piled up in front of the real one—indeed, a typical case of "making a mountain out of a molehill" or "going for wool but coming home shorn." When you have a chance to see it, I am sure you will wring your wrists in despair and cry out loud over this futile undertaking.

I cannot agree more with my friend's comments. I am afraid that because of their ignorance of literature and history, those responsible for the project in question have overlooked the historical factors in that famous scenic spot, while their minds are possessed with the desire to "go big."

The constructor of a scenic resort must learn to woo visitors not only with fabulous scenery and but also with comfortable climate. In many cases nowadays, however, scenery is favored over the need to preserve the microclimate, so much so that by the time such a resort is completed the local climate has already turned nasty. In July this year, when I was visiting the West Lake of Hangzhou, the municipal garden administration invited me for a tour of the Golden Sand Harbour. It was late afternoon of an early summer day, and the heat wave was not gone yet when I arrived. As I strolled leisurely into the woods, however, the humid heat instantly gave way to a gentle breeze generated by the lake's vast body of water, making me wonder if I were rambling a celestial world. Everywhere I went, water kept gurgling and green bamboos presented an ocean of lush green, while on the opposite side of the lake the southern hills took on a dark green hue as they shimmered in misty clouds so pale and light that they evoke an ink and wash painting wrought ever so gently with the brush. This scenery is recaptured in the lines,

I jeer at fuming south wind for being too clamant,
Forcing Xi Shi[11] to dance "Rainbow-Feather Raiment."

I came from a family living on a lake, but never had a chance to enjoy the leisure and bliss of such a lifestyle. If its unusually cosy environment can be made to last, the Golden Sand Harbour will live up to the conception of its

original creators. Were this environment allowed to fall apart, the harbour would become nothing but an empty shell even with the ostensible presence of a storied building within every five steps and a pavilion within every ten steps—the original conception would be brutally blasphemed. In a water-bound environment like this, buildings and bridges ought to snuggle up to the water surface and be silhouetted in it, so that the breeze from the nearby woods and bamboo groves can keep the place cool and refreshing. In the midst of swaying verdure, the air will be filled with lotus-flower aroma, and the entire place will be brimmed with idyllic appeal.

> With tanglehead-thatched pavilion, tiny room, deck,
> Pains should be taken to mesh mountain and brook.

The lotus flowers would look exceptionally graceful if mat sheds and bamboo pavilions can be added to the fold like the subtle makeup the legendary stunning beauty Xi Shi is wearing. If this summer resort on the West Lake can be made to last, then when I come to rove it with a walking stick in hand some day, I can really take my time for a blissful rest.

The town of Tongli in Wujiang county is an outstanding example of the idyllic beauty of water-bound country in the Jiangnan area. It is surrounded in all directions by five lakes, with houses facing each other across water surfaces. Everything in town, be it a street, a market or a garden, comes into being on account of the waters. Ren Lansheng (1837-1888)[12] and his family blazed a new garden-making trail, and the Retreat and Reflection Garden they built beat all its counterparts in the area to become a unique water-bound garden. With artificial mountains, chambers, corridors, verandahs and waterside pavilions hovering just a few inches above water surface, the garden looks as if it had sprung up from water's depth. The Retreat and Reflection Garden of Wujiang and the Master-of-Fishnets Garden of Suzhou are both water-bound, but one has water in its embrace and the other snuggles up against it. Both have artificial mountains and buildings set around water, but at a close look, they can be told apart by their different vertical and horizontal distances from water's surface. Both are laid out in snug proximity to water, but each follows a different conception and plan and offers good lessons to be emulated. In my opinion, large gardens had better be nestled against water, and small ones should in the main be made to hug water. In both cases, the water level holds the key. What is used most often in the Chinese garden is still water. This is why Xu Zongyan (1768-1818)[13] called the library he had built in Hangzhou "Studio of Tranquil Mirror-like Water," a name that stems from Chinese philosophy and gives expression to the

dialectical viewpoint of "staying still to comprehend motion."

Water is made to twist and turn by embankments. It is segmented by dykes. Flowers are moved to attract butterflies. Fantastic rocks are bought and fixed for cloud and mist to hang around them. If used to their best advantage, ornamentations like flowers and rockery can yield bewitching views. The appearances of mountains and the hues of water can be put to best use if handled with facility. It would be wonderful if a medium-sized or small city can turn every mountain in its precincts into a garden and every body of water into a scenic attraction. It would be wonderful, too, if cities can look different from each other in cityscape and scenery.

The Pearl Spring of Jinan, Shandong province, is known under heaven for its sparkling, crystal clear water. I had, during a visit to the place, basked in morning sunlight as I drank dew drops and marvelled at the gurgling spring, feeling most relaxed and energized in its bright and tranquil atmosphere. But during a second visit I was utterly dismayed to see the place changed beyond recognition—a mammoth artificial mountain built of yellow stones looks ferocious and terrifying, and the spring itself is overwhelmed by tall buildings around it. Unexpectedly, the lines in Du Fu's poem "Gazing Mount Tai" flashed into my mind,

> I am certain to mount the tallest cliff,
> For a glimpse of the hills it will dwarf.

In this part of the world today, mountains are small and low while buildings are massive and lofty, and streams are small and shallow while bridges are big and tall, all the while automobiles running by the mountains kick up clouds of choking dust—such a vista is neither ancient nor modern, neither Chinese nor Western. Nondescript, that is what they really are. Can caution be tossed into thin air when creating gardens?

By contrast, the Garden of Ten S-Shaped Tablets in Weifang, Shandong province, is a small affair. This is probably why it is named after the scepters held in the hands of ministers when attending the emperor's court in the country's dynastic past. However, the only pond existing in this garden is encircled with a roofed corridor, with verandahs and gazebos seemingly floating on its rippling water. I was so touched by this lithe and delicate scenery that I improvised these lines then and there,

> My love for landscape dies hard tho' I am ageing fast,
> I can't help showering praises on the garden at its sight.
> Though tiny, its pavilion and deck have charms limitless,
> As they linger touchingly between waters and rocks.

Of all the small gardens in north China, the Garden of Ten S-Shaped Tablets

is the most successful in combining water and rockery into an integral whole.

At Mount Tai a road conducts all the way to the Southern Heavenly Gateway at the mountaintop, where mountain after mountain lies under the visitor's feet while the vast land of QiLu[14] extends magnificently for miles on end. Known as the Eighteen-Bend Road, with every bend offering a dainty scenery that changes with the shift of one's footstep, the road was built for emperors to be carried up the mountain for the holiest of all imperial sacrificial services. If the road were replaced with cable-cars that come and go at hastened intervals, the sightseers would be treated like commodities whisked up and down the mountain, not to mention the result that the mountain vista would be utterly spoiled. It is really beyond them why our ancestors should mount the Jade Emperor's Summit by way of the Eighteen-Bend Road simply to "dwarf the world." As to the relationship between travel and sightseeing, they are categorically opposed to each other—the former should be speedy and therefore defeats the purpose of a visit to the holy mountain, and the latter should definitely be kept at a slow pace. I do not mean cable cars are useless—they are suitable for travelers, but not for sightseers.

On no account should the foothills of a holy mountain be encircled with buildings or factories, which can do nothing but sever the mountain's natural veins. Such flagrant constructions, however, are not uncommon nowadays. During a recent visit to the scenic zone of the Swallow-Shaped Boulder[15] and the Evening Glow's Dwelling Temple in Nanjing, it turned out that people could not see the zone before they reached the Boulder or the Temple—the original "prelude" to the entire scene is gone forever, leaving the "protagonist" to put on a solo show amidst a cacophony of automobile din and traffic. Worse, sightseers to the scene find it impossible to take their time for a look around. At the Swallow-Shaped Boulder, only its waterside could be seen; the other sides were smothered in black smoke that threatened to swallow the entire Yangtze River. When I sat down on the boulder I came up with this doggerel,

Swallow, swallow, why don't you fly away?
You are courting death if too long you stay.

People hate to miss a scenic attraction like this, but once you've seen it you may never return for another visit. Now that it is a no-no to build tall buildings and factories at foothills, low buildings, however, cannot be dispensed with. When such low buildings are well scattered in a scenic resort, the vista appears to be deep and remote in multiple ways; far-off mountains

that have no foothills can also be handled this way.

Recent years have witnessed scenic resorts locked in sharpening clashes with the mining industry. Incidents of "killing the hen to obtain the egg" are a dime a dozen. In Nanjing, iron ore is being mined at the Grand Secretariat Mountain, and silver ore exacted at the Rosy Clouds' Dwelling Mountain. Thus smoke-belching factories are erected at the expense of "smokeless factories," and exhaustible resources are being tapped while exhaustless resources are scrambled for in a tug-of-war in which both parties are losers. It is imperative to take a long-term view, and weigh up one thing against another—I would suggest that authorities should absolutely not take this lightly. The ancient looks of places of historical interests should be conserved. Ill-fitting buildings should never be built into them. The Northern Peak behind the Soul's Retreat Temple of Hangzhou and the television tower at the Drum Tower of Nanjing are dreadful eyesores. In this regard, it is necessary to stress that scenic resorts should live on dainty views, places of historical interest should live on cultural relics, and irrelevant things should never be imposed on them. Otherwise, the cultural heritages of our motherland shall be completely ruined.

When Bai Juyi (772-846) was prefect of Hangzhou, he dredged the West Lake and piled up mud to build the Memorial Causeway of Bai Juyi. In the course of it, he never built dykes to reclaim land from the lake. His legacies were inherited by Su Shi (1037-1101), who built another dyke in the same fashion during his stint as prefect of Hangzhou. Ruan Yuan (1764-1849)[16] followed suit and built the islet known as "Ruan's Mound" on the same lake. Later generations built shrines south of the Gushan Mountain to commemorate Bai and Su's good deeds. The three names have been revered through the ages, which prompted the celebrated modern Chinese poet Yu Dafu (1896-1945)[17] to chant,

> The willows lining the causeway are still surnamed Su today.

Matters concerning life and death for a city should be handled with uttermost discretion. The West Lake is the life blood to Hangzhou. Once the lake disappears, the city shall go downhill. It is on its account that Hangzhou is designated a tourist and scenic city. Scenic views in a city cannot be treated individually. Mountain and water should be coordinated to contrast and augment each other. The mountains along the Qiantang River need be done up, for the most illustrious part of Hangzhou lies in mountains that are belted by the Yangtze and girdled by the lake. When planting trees on an ancient

site, the word "ancient" must be borne in mind. The lintel of the front doorway of the Cool and Refreshing Mountain is inscribed with the words, "Former Site of the Six Dynasties,"[18] but the road leading into it are flanked by cedars—was this species already there as early as those dynasties? The use of an alien tree species like this on a venerated Chinese site can do nothing but to satiate someone's curiosity.

The restoration of an ancient site should not be limited to buildings only—due attention should be paid to what is recorded in history books, such as its environment, ambience, and furnishing. Without these, there would be no "ancient site" to speak of; rather, we had better call such a place "scenic site."

> None is more unfeeling than willows by palace walls;
> Enshrouded in green mist the ten-*li* causeway stays.

Whoever can fathom out the connotations of these two lines, written by Wei Zhuang (836-910)[19] on scenery around the imperial palaces in Nanjing? There is no lack of people today who are given to imposing their own will on our forefathers. The former residence of Pu Songling (1640-1715)[20] was decked off like a landed gentry's manor. Were this celebrated author of *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio* still around, he would have a hard time recognizing his own humble cottage. The good news is that his residence is gradually being restored to its former looks.

Traditional gardens should be conserved rather than renovated; old trees should be pruned and maintained rather than have new ones added. Mountains must stay ancient, and waters must be scattered, so that grass and trees can be well nourished and birds' lovable warbling can be heard all the time. In this way the sceneries can look lovely in all four seasons. It is inappropriate to set up a market in a garden, where what is principal and what is secondary should be clearly distinguished. Garden buildings' functions should be commensurate with their characters. When our ancients built gardens, every pavilion or verandah, even the number of bends in a roofed walkway, was adapted to actual needs, and unnecessary structures were avoided. This is like composing poetry or verse, which tolerates neither wordiness nor laborious sentences. The ways of learning, be it creative writing or landscape gardening, are closely relevant to each other. An ill-conceived garden design is like a composition that lacks hammering out. A garden should be made to encourage sightseeing, and a composition is supposed to get its argument across. For the same reason, it is as painstaking to compose a five- or seven-character quatrain as to conceive a small garden.

In the "Record of the Estate of Suburban Delights," Wang Shimin

(1592-1680) records,

> It happened that Zhang Lian the supernatural garden crafter from Yunjian [present-day Songjiang county, Shanghai] arrived to promote construction of artificial mountains… Thus a pond was dug here, trees were planted there, rockeries erected and artificial mountains built. The plan was revised four times beginning from a year of *geng-shen* [1680, or the nineteenth year of the Kangxi reign (1661-1722) of the Qing] until the garden was completed years later.

He describes the same garden in another note recorded in *Chronicle of the Respected Flagbearer*[21]:

> It looked like nature itself, with a winding stone trail and a placid, mirror-like big pond tucked away amidst thick foliage of bamboos and trees, whereas summering rooms and deep-set belvederes were laid out on account of the terrain, with flowers and trees framed in windows that set off each other delightfully—the entire vista partakes of the allure of woods and ravines graced with terraces and verandahs.

The fact that, even with Zhang Lian's unparalleled craftsmanship, the plan of the said garden went through four rounds of revisions bears out the importance of construction work to garden-making and the necessity to leave enough leeway for reconstructions and revisions. When we observe a famous garden, we have got to study its divine charms before looking into the period in which the garden was made, in the same way as we would a cultural artefact. However, none of the surviving traditional gardens could do without repairs in the intervening years. For this reason the overall vista of such a garden must first be examined before its individual segments are perused. To plunge headlong into details to the neglect of a garden's overall picture is to be penny wise and pound foolish—a convincing conclusion is hard to come by this way.

Divine charm is what matters for mammoth mountains, giant rivers, ancient sites, and celebrated gardens. The Five Holy Mountains[22] establish themselves worldwide precisely with their respective divine charms. Any landscaping plan mapped out for a mountain with no consideration to its divine charms invariably ends up in vulgarity and lowliness; if put into practice, it will be a blasphemy against the Mountain God. In the grottoes of Jiangsu and Zhejiang, however, natural and impressionist mountain rocks are often distorted to assume images so disgusting and ugly as to prompt me to cry out loud, "Give nature back to me!" Problems like this can still be addressed with relative ease, but utmost caution must be applied when it comes to construction of huge buildings, wide highways, mid-air cableways, and high-voltage electricity towers, because every one of them, if mishandled or misplaced, can become an "arch foe" to the divine charms of our landscape. A casual oversight may compromise the "perpetrator" to angry condemnations by posterity.

Gardens differ in character because of their differences in locality and microclimate. Every garden's character stems from the peculiarities of its location, which gives rise to diverse garden styles. There can be urban gardens, suburban gardens, level-land gardens and hillside gardens in the same place, and, therefore, uniformity is out of the question for gardens. Local culture and art, folkways, tree species, and landscapes can all be employed to make gardens look different from one another in myriad ways. Whether these elements can be used to best advantage depends on the designer's ingenuity and conception. For those engaged in the art of landscape gardening, knowledge cannot but be comprehensive, and conception cannot but be profound.

Yun Ge (1633-1690) says again of painting,

> Charm lies in natural grace and elegance,
> Delight stems from wonderful variations.

This saying not only applies to painting, but can also be referred to in garden-making and scenery arrangement. If someone is insatiable for view highlighting in a garden, the garden thus created will invariably be devoid of charms; if he is insatiable for bigness, his garden tends to be lackluster. Charms may be derived from books, but luster can only be perceived through a garden's distinctive personality. So much for my comments and appraisals on the gardens and scenic attractions that I have encountered during my year-long rambling of the land.

说园（四）

一年漫游，触景殊多，情随事迁，遂有所感，试以管见论之，见仁见智，各取所需。书生谈兵，容无补于事实，存商而已。因续前三篇，故以《说园》（四）名之。

造园之学，主其事者须自出己见，以坚定之立意，出宛转之构思。成者誉之，败者贬之。无我之园，即无生命之园。

水为陆之眼，陆多之地要保水；水多之区要疏水。因水成景，复利用水以改善环境与气候。江村湖泽，荷塘菱沼，蟹簖渔庄，水上产物不减良田，既增收入，又可点景。王渔洋诗云："江干多是钓人居，柳陌菱塘一带疏。好是日斜风定后，半江红树卖鲈鱼。"神韵天然，最自依人。

旧时城墙，垂杨夹道，杜若连汀，雉堞参差，隐约在望，建筑之美与天然之美交响成曲。王士祯诗又云"绿杨城郭是扬州"，今已拆，此景不可再得矣。故城市特征，首在山川地貌，而花木特色，实占一地风光。成都之为蓉城，福州之为榕城，皆予游者以深刻之印象。

恽寿平论画："青绿重色，为浓厚易，为浅淡难，为浅淡矣，而愈见浓厚为尤难。"造园之道正亦如斯，所谓实处求虚，虚中得实，淡而不薄，厚而不滞，存天趣也。今经营风景区园事者，破坏真山，乱堆假山，堵却清流，另置喷泉，抛却天然而好作伪。大好泉石，随意改观。如无喷泉，未是名园者。明末钱澄之记黄檗山居（在桐城之龙眠山），论及"吴中人好堆假山以相夸诩，而笑吾乡园亭之陋。予应之曰：吾乡有真山水，何以假为？唯任真，故失诸陋。洵不若吴人之工于作伪耳"。又论此园："彼此位置，各不相师，而各臻其妙，则有真山水为之质耳。"此论妙在拈出一个"质"字。

山林之美，贵于自然，自然者存真而已。建筑物起"点景"作用，其与园林似有所别，所谓锦上添花，花终不能压锦也。宾馆之作，在于栖息小休，宜着眼于周围有幽静之境，能信步盘桓，游目骋怀，故室内外空间并互相呼应，以资流通，晨餐朝晖，夕枕落霞，坐卧其间，小中可以见大。反之高楼镇山，汽车环居，喇叭彻耳，好鸟惊飞。俯视下界，豆人寸屋，大中见小，渺不足观，以城市之建筑夺山林之野趣，徒令景色受损，游者扫兴而已。丘壑平如砥，高楼塞天地，此几成为目前旅游风景区所习见者，闻更有欲消灭山间民居之举，诚不知民居为风景区之组成部分，点缀其间，楚楚可人，古代山水画中每多见之。余客瑞士，日内瓦山间民居，窗明几净，予游客以难忘之情。我认为风景区之建筑，宜隐不宜显，宜散不宜聚，宜低不宜高，宜麓（山麓）不宜顶（山

顶），须变化多，朴素中有情趣，要随宜安排，巧于因借，存民居之风格，则小院曲户，粉墙花影，自多情趣。游者生活其间，可以独处，可以留客，“城市山林”，两得其宜。明末张岱在《陶庵梦忆》中记范长白园（即苏州天平山之高义园）云：“园外有长堤，桃柳曲桥，蟠屈湖面，桥尽抵园，园门故作低小，进门则长廊复壁，直达山麓。其绘楼幔阁、秘室曲房，故故匿之，不使人见也。”又毛大可《彤史拾遗记》记崇祯所宠之贵妃，扬州人，“尝厌宫闱过高迥，崇杠大牖，所居不适意，乃就廊房为低槛曲楯，蔽以敞槅，杂采扬州诸什器、床罩供设其中。”以证余创山居宾舍之议不谬。

园林与建筑之空间，隔则深，畅则浅，斯理甚明，故假山、廊、桥、花墙、屏、幕、槅扇、书架、博古架等，皆起隔之作用。旧时卧室用帐，碧纱橱，亦起同样效果。日本居住之室小，席地而卧，以纸槅小屏分之，皆属此理。今西湖宾馆、餐厅，往往高大如宫殿，近建孤山楼外楼，体量且超颐和园之排云殿，不如易名太和楼则更名副其实矣。太和殿尚有屏隔之，有柱分之，而今日之大餐厅几等体育馆。风景区往往因建造一大宴会厅，开石劈山，有如兴建营房，真劳民伤财，遑论风景之存不存矣。旧时园林，有东西花厅之设，未闻有大花厅之举。大宾馆，大餐厅，大壁画，大盆景，大花瓶，大……以大为尚，真是如是如是，善哉善哉！

不到苏州，一年有奇，名园胜迹，时萦梦寐。近得友人王西野先生来信。谓：“虎丘东麓就东山庙遗址，正在营建‘盆景园’，规模之大，无与伦比。按东山庙为王珣祠堂，亦称短簿祠，因珣身材短小，曾为主簿，后人戏称‘短簿’。清汪琬诗：‘家临绿水长洲苑，人在青山短簿祠。’陈鹏年诗：‘春风再扫生公石，落照仍衔短簿祠。’怀古情深，写景入画，传诵于世，今堆叠黄石大假山一座，天然景色，破坏无余。盖虎丘一小阜耳，能与天下名山争胜，以其寺里藏山，小中见大，剑池石壁，浅中见深，历代名流题咏殆遍，为之增色。今在真山面前堆假山，小题大做，弄巧成拙，足下见之，亦当扼腕太息，徒呼负工也。”此说与鄙见合，恐主其事者，不征文献，不谙古迹名胜之史实，并有一“大”字在脑中作怪也。

风景区之经营，不仅安排景色宜人，而气候亦须宜人。今则往往重景观，而忽视局部小气候之保持，景成而气候变矣。七月间到西湖，园林局邀游金沙港，初夏傍晚，余热未消，信步入林，溽暑全无，水佩风来，几入仙境，而流水淙淙，绿竹猗猗，隔湖南山如黛，烟波出没，浅淡如水墨轻描，正有“独笑熏风更多事，强教西子舞霓裳”之概。我本湖上人家，却从未享此清福，若能保持此与外界气候不同之清凉世界，即该景区规划设计之立意所在。一旦破坏，虽五步一楼，十步一阁，亦属

虚设，盖悖造园之理也。金沙港应属水泽园，故建筑、桥梁等均宜贴水、依水、映带左右，而茂林修竹，清风自引，气候凉爽，绿云摇曳，荷香轻溢，野趣横生。“黄茅亭子小楼台，料理溪山煞费才。”能配以凉馆竹阁，益显西子淡妆之美，保此湖上消夏一地，他日待我杖履其境，从容可作小休。

吴江同里镇，江南水乡之著者，镇环五湖，户户相望，家家隔河，因水成街，因水成市，因水成园。任氏退思园于江南园林中独辟蹊径，具贴水园之特例。山、亭、馆、廊、轩、榭等皆紧贴水面，园如出水上。其与苏州网师园诸景依水而筑者，予人以不同景观。前者贴水，后者依水。所谓依水者，因假山与建筑物等皆环水而筑，唯与水之关系尚有高下远近之别，遂成贴水园与依水园两种格局。皆以因水制宜，其巧妙构思则又有所别，设计运思，于此可得消息。余谓大园宜依水，小园重贴水，而最关键者则在水位之高低。我国园林用水，以静止为主，清许周生筑园杭州，名“鉴止水斋”，命意在此，原出我国哲学思想，体现静以悟动之辩证观点。

水曲因岸，水隔因堤，移花得蝶，买石绕云，因势利导，自成佳趣。山容水色，善在经营。中、小城市有山水能凭藉者，能做到有山皆是园，无水不成景，城因景异，方是妙构。

济南珍珠泉，天下名泉也。水清浮珠，澄澈晶莹。余曾于朝曦中饮露观泉，爽气沁人，境界明静。奈何重临其地，已异前观，黄石大山，狰狞骇人，高楼环压，其势逼人，杜甫咏《望岳》“会当凌绝顶，一览众山小”之句，不意于此得之。山小楼大，山低楼高，溪小桥大，溪浅桥高。汽车行于山侧，飞轮扬尘，如此大观，真可说是不古不今，不中不西，不伦不类。造园之道，可不慎乎？

反之，潍坊十笏园，园甚小，故以十笏名之（笏为上朝时所持手板），清水一池，山廊围之，轩榭浮波，极轻灵有致。触景成咏：“老去江湖兴未阑，园林佳处说般般；亭台虽小情无限，别有缠绵水石间。”北国小园，能饶水石之胜者，以此为最。

泰山有十八盘，盘盘有景，景随人移，气象万千，至南天门，群山俯于脚下，齐鲁青青，千里未了，壮观也。自古帝王，登山封禅，翠辇临幸，高山仰止。如易缆车，匆匆而来，匆匆而去，景游与货运无异。而破坏山景，固不待言。实不解登十八盘参玉皇顶而小天下宏旨。余尝谓旅与游之关系。旅须速，游宜缓，相背行事，有负名山。缆车非不可用，宜于旅，不宜于游也。

名山之麓，不可以环楼、建厂，盖断山之余脉矣。此种恶例，在在可见。新游南京燕子矶、栖霞寺，人不到景点，不知前有景区，序幕之曲，遂成绝响，主角独唱，鸦噪聒耳。所览之景，未允环顾，燕子矶仅

临水一面尚可观外，余则黑云滚滚，势袭长江。坐石矶戏为打油诗：“燕子燕子，何不高飞，久栖于斯，坐以待毙。”旧时胜地，不可不来，亦不可再来。山麓既不允建高楼、工厂，而低平建筑却不能缺少，点缀其间，景深自幽，层次增多，亦远山无脚之处理手法。

近年风景名胜之区，与工业矿藏矛盾日益尖锐。取蛋杀鸡之事，屡见不鲜，如南京正在开幕府山矿石，取栖霞山银矿。以有烟工厂而破坏无烟工厂，以取之可尽之资源，而竭取之不尽之资源，最后两败俱伤，同归于尽。应从长远观点来看，权衡轻重，深望主其事者却莫等闲视之。古迹之处应以古为主，不协调之建筑万不能移入。杭州北高峰，南京鼓楼之电视塔，真是触目惊心。在此等问题上，应明确风景区应以风景为主。名胜古迹，应以名胜古迹为主，其他一切不能强加其上。否则，大好河山，祖国文化，将损毁殆尽矣。

唐代白居易守杭州，浚西湖筑白沙堤，未闻其围垦造田。宋代苏轼因之，清代阮元继武前贤。千百年来，人颂其德，建苏白二公祠于孤山之阳。郁达夫有“堤柳而今尚姓苏”之句美之。城市兴衰，善择其要而谋之，西湖为杭州之命脉，西湖失即杭州衰。今日定杭州为旅游风景城市，即基于此。至于城市面貌亦不能孤立处理，务使山水生妍，相映增生。沿钱塘江诸山，应以修整，襟江带湖，实为杭州最胜处。古迹之区，树木栽植，亦必心存“古”字，南京清凉山，门额颜曰“六朝遗迹”，入其内雪松夹道，岂六朝时即植此树耶？古迹新妆，洋为中用，解我朵颐。古迹之修复，非仅建筑一端而已，其环境气氛，陈设之得体，在在有史可据。否则何言古迹，言名胜足矣。“无情最是台城柳，依旧烟笼十里堤。”此意谁知？近人常以个人之爱喜，强加于古人之上。蒲松龄故居，藻饰有如地主庄园，此老如在，将不认其书生陋室。今已逐渐改观，初复原状，诚佳事也。

园林不在乎饰新，而在于保养；树木不在于添种，而在于修整。山必古，水必疏，草木华滋，好鸟时鸣，四时之景，无不可爱。园林设市肆，非其所宜，主次务必分明。园林建筑必功能与形式相结合，古时造园，一亭一榭，几曲回廊，皆据实际需要出发，不多筑，不虚构，如作诗行文，无废词赘句。学问之道，息息相通。今之园思考欠周，亦如文之推敲不够。园所以兴游，文所以达意。故余谓绝句难吟，小园难筑，其理一也。

王时敏《乐郊园分业记》：“……适云间张南垣至，其巧艺直夺天工，怂恿为山甚力……因而穿池种树，标峰置岭，庚申（清康熙十九年，1680年）经始，中间改作者再四，凡数年而后成。”《奉常公年谱》崇祯八年条记云：“磴道盘纡，广池澹滟，周遭竹树蓊郁，浑若天成。而凉室邃阁，位置随宜，卉木窗轩，参差掩映，颇极林壑台榭之

美。”以张南垣（涟）之高技，其营园改作者再四，益证造园施工之重要，间以必要之翻工修改。必须留有余地。凡观名园，先论神气，再辨时代，此与鉴定古物，其法一也。然园林未有不经修者，故先观全局，次审局部，不论神气，单求枝节，谓之舍本求末，难得定论。

巨山大川，古迹名园，首在神气。五岳之所以为天下名山，亦在于“神气”之旺，今规划风景，不解“神气”，必至庸俗低级，有污山灵。尝见江浙诸洞，每以自然抽象之山石，改成恶俗之形象，故余屡申“还我自然”。此仅一端，人或尚能解之者，他若大起华厦，畅开公路，空悬索道，高树电塔，凡兹种种，山水神气之劲敌也，务必审慎，偶一不当，千古之罪人矣。

园林因地方不同，气候不同，而特征亦不同。园林有其个性，更有其地方性，故产生园林风格，也因之而异，即使同一地区，亦有市园、郊园、平地园、山麓园等之别。园与园之间亦不能强求一致，而各地文化艺术、风土人情、树木品异、山水特征等等，皆能使园变化万千，如何运用，各臻其妙者，在于设计者之运思。故言造园之学，其识不可不广，其思不可不深。

恽寿平论画又云：“潇洒风流谓之韵，尽变奇穷谓之趣。”不独画然，造园置景，亦可互参。今之造园，点景贪多，便少韵致；布局贪大，便少佳趣。韵乃自书卷中得来，趣必从个性中表现。一年游踪所及，评量得失，如此而已。

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ON GARDENS 5

Architecture Department, Tongji University, January 20, 1982

Feeling that I have not said enough about in-motion and in-situ viewing in garden-making in "On Gardens 1," I would like to get all my thoughts on it off my chest in this final instalment of my discourse on gardens.

Motion and stillness are relevant to each other insofar as sightseeing is concerned. Where there is motion there is bound to be stillness, and vice versa. In sightseeing, however, stillness is contained in motion, whereas motion stems from stillness; together, they conjure up innumerable visual changes and scenic wonders. As the *Commentary of the Book of Changes* goes,

> The numbers are combined in various ways, which exhaust all aspects of changes, and, in consequence, the hexagrams form the pattern of Heaven and Earth.

Motion and stillness can also be interpreted, in garden-making parlance, as moving scenes and still scenes respectively. To someone sitting in a pavilion, drifting clouds and flowing water, flying birds and falling flowers are moving views, whereas rockeries and trees observed from a moving boat are still views. A body of tranquil water is a still view, and the fish swimming in it are moving views. Thus motion and stillness interact in an engaging way. Therefore, scenery unveils itself to a perceiving eye which sees motion in stillness and stillness in motion.

> Seen in-situ, multitudes come forth of their own accord,
> Seasonal sights change in the same way as man's mood.

This line summarizes the ins and outs of mutations in all things. In a typical case of intangibles relying on tangibles for existence, a garden loses all its natural appeals if it is stripped of its fair share of water, cloud, shadow, sound, morning sunshine and setting sun.

Even in still things there is motion. Sitting in front of an erected rockery riddled through with cavities, one finds that its sprightly wrinkles and robust lines, though still, seem to be flying. A water surface seems to be still, yet it keeps swaying and rippling on its own. A painting seems to be still, yet movement presents itself before the eye. A still thing entails no motion if it appears inanimate. Thus the visual results of a garden being created hinge upon its scenes and sights for in-situ and in-motion viewing. He who can make sense of this rule has by and large grasped the rule governing the craft

of gardens.

The feel of texture in certain material is real, whereas the feel of color is illusory. The feel of texture is the foremost factor in a garden's genuine appeal. This principle applies to architecture as well, which brims with divine charms if it offers the real feel of texture, but loses such charms if the illusory feel of color holds sway. If a garden loses its feel of texture, it would look like stage property. If a painting or a work of calligraphy is devoid of the feel of texture, it would look like a print. Therefore, lacquered pillars and carved

girders can only bedazzle those who are enticed by their gaudy appearances, whereas a thatched hut with bamboo hedges can be highly thought-provoking. In *A Dream of Red Mansions* (Chapter Seventeen), "Literary Talent Is Tested by Composing Inscriptions in Grand View Garden," the author comments on plagiarism perpetrated in building the Paddy-Sweet Cottage through Baoyu's mouth,

> There you are! A farm here is obviously artificial and out of place with no villages in the distance, no fields near by, no mountain ranges behind, no source for the stream at hand, above, no pagoda from any half hidden temples, below, no bridge leading to a market. Perched here in isolation, it is nothing like as fine a sight as those other places [the Bamboo Lodge] which follow the law of nature and capture the appeals of nature. The bamboos and streams there didn't look so artificial. What the ancients called "a natural picture" means precisely that when you insist on an unsuitable site and hills where no hills should be, however skilfully you go about it the result is bound to jar…

Here, plagiarism stands for what is described as "artificial" and "out of place" in a garden, whereas those which "follow the law of nature and capture the appeals of nature" stand for realness. The above quote from the 17th-century Chinese novel is worth a complete essay on garden-making.

The famed Northern Song painter Guo Xi (*c*. 1000-*c*. 1080) says,

> Water adopts the mountain it winds its way through as its face…and thus acquires feminine allure from the mountain.

In the annals of Chinese landscape painting, nobody has ever said that water and rockery can be treated separately. The above quotation of Guo Xi gives tacit expression to his insight on the rules for landscape gardening, rules that can stand those who act on them in good stead one way or another. At the first sight, water and stone appear to be a pair of opposites, but in essence, water can change itself only by relying on rockery. Without rocks, water will be devoid of form or shape, which is why rock must be made to protrude from shallow water and assume the form of an isle chain in deep water. At the Seven Star Crags of Zhaoqing, Guangdong province, rocks are spectacular and brooks bewitching, with stones shimmering in rippling water, water-curtained caves sequestered in mystic repose, and streams taking

winding courses—all this is attributed to water's interminable changes, without which rocks will elude attention, and shores will be shapeless. For this reason, water and rockery cannot be separated, or else the law of nature is violated, and realness lost.

A garden's personality is hinged on interdependence between mountain and water. Therefore, it is imperative to dig a pond to bring in water. In the gardens of south Jiangsu province, ponds are graced with winding embankments to impart a gentle touch to the setting. Many gardens in the Ningbo-Shaoxing Plain in Zhejiang province feature square ponds, resulting in views that are flat and straight. Water is shapeless to begin with; it is the embankments that bring it into shape. Water inlets and embankments, be they straight or twisting, are instrumental in shaping water's surface. Because of embankments water becomes gentle or vivacious, motionless or flowing. An embankment built of delicate rocks endows water with the spell of feminine grace, while an embankment made of rustic rocks adds masculine verve to water. A rock looks plain and simple on account of its bucolic shape, and a projecting rock owes its appearance to the manifold differences in its façade, whereas a rock with its beauty disguised in ugliness is deemed a rare treasure among all rocks because of its peculiar character. Rocks may be masculine or feminine, pretty or ugly. Water can look aggressive or gentle only with rocks as the difference-maker.

A deserted garden does not mean it is not worth visiting, just as a remnant poem or essay is not necessarily unappreciable. We have got to know that a tattered piece of brocade or a broken shard of jade can still be prized as objet d'art: the beholder hates to part with it merely on account of its genuine character. Gong Zizhen (1792-1841) has this to say,

> "Weiji," the last hexagram, renders one at a loss,
> Things'd be imperfect but for their drawbacks;
> Someone my age chants beyond hills at sunset,
> Hard to avoid is the lingering worldly aftertaste.

Garden-makers ought to grasp the spirit of this poem.

> One sees a mountain's face in spring, finds its vitality in summer, feels its mood in autumn, and discovers its bones in winter.

> Mountains appear low at night, close at hand on sunny days, and high at dawn.

By investing their sentiments in the scenery they were seeing, our forebears wanted to drive home the fact that because of changes in the four seasons, it is as hard to create scenery as to make sense of the scenery that meets one's eyes. What is implied in the line, "With tears brimming my eyes I

ask the flowers, but get no answer," is silliness; what is implied in the line, "The spring breeze is let go of its untold frustration," is resentment. People go sightseeing with feelings. Such feelings give rise to interest in the sight and culminate in passion for the landscape, so much so that one is disposed to regard a spring or a rock as a bosom friend. People's aesthetic attainment or depth of feeling, or the lack of it, has very much to do with their cultural cultivation. For this reason I would like to reiterate that if you do not appreciate a garden you should not go see it; if you cannot go see a garden, you should not make one.

The craft of gardens is a multidisciplinary science, whose rich stock of philosophy enables the crafter to observe manifold changes in the course of it. Simply put, it takes intangible poetic mood and picturesque perception to construct tangible waters, rockeries, pavilions and terraces. Dark or gloomy, wind and rain can cause infinite changes to scenery, while differences between southland and northland in geography and folkways are extra factors that ought to be taken into full account. As each visitor takes what he likes from the various functions of a garden he is visiting, on no account should the garden crafter supplant reality with illusion. A garden thus crafted is unlikely to offer well-conceived constructions. Arbitrary studies of a traditional garden to the neglect of the society and lifestyle of its time can be as far-fetched as Han-dynasty Confucians' interpretations of canonical classics. For this reason, garden crafters of today should avoid falling into the old rut of their predecessors, and make their wealth of life experience and erudite knowledge instrumental in advancing their careers.

Painters can portray the beauty of the same scenery with different brushstrokes, whereas writers can describe it from diverse points of view. Performers can vocalize the same aria and achieve sublimity in different ways as per their respective schools of performance. In the same token, a garden can be designed in different ways, but the peerless design invariably comes from the designer with the keenest eye and finest distillation from all factors.

In the beginning I had a hard time comprehending why people of the Song were so enamoured of landscape paintings done by lavishing greenish blue on vermilion color bases. It was not until I saw Mount Songshan on a midsummer day that I finally came to terms with this style of painting. There, the Central Plain's dark red soil was covered by deep green vegetation that gleamed amidst well-scattered green-and-golden pavilions and belvederes,

and it instantly reminded me of the landscape paintings of General Li Sixun (651-716)[1] and his son. Both men's paintings, done with saturated color tones on an agreeable chromatic scheme, capture exactly the celestial charms of the landscape of central China. By contrast, the landscape of the Jiangnan area is always portrayed in paintings with subtle azurite and malachite green on an ochre and green color base, with buildings outlined against a light dark backdrop. Eyecatching in a refreshing way, these paintings serve exactly as the drafts for Jiangnan gardens. In either case, it is conceptions that lead the way, and are executed through well-coordinated coloration and brushwork.

I have said that the buildings and gardens of Suzhou are of a gentle and suave style, or, to put it in the local dialect of the former kingdom of Wu, "glutinously mellow." By contrast, most gardens in Yangzhou are as elegant and dynamic as the lyrical poems of Jiang Kui (1154-1221), who portrays sentimental heartthrobs with a robust writing brush. Though different in style, these two schools of landscape architecture and gardening stem from the same quest for realness, that is, to present engrossing garden scenery. A garden's style has to be fixed before its components are dealt with individually. As to whether a pavilion or a waterside verandah ought to be built, which school of artificial mountains ought to be chosen, and in what fashion should water be brought in, all the answers could be found from a well-conceived plan in which measures are adjusted to the actual situation and views borrowed methodically. At the same time, the garden's general style must be strictly followed, flexibly employed, and prescribed rules observed when rocks and flowers were chosen and sights for in-situ or inmotion viewing decided. For this reason, the garden crafter must stay composed, have everything at his finger-tips, and take it easy as he goes about his job. Only thus can he lay out his garden in a sensible way. If a garden is to excel in natural momentum, it must show integrity in its conception and layout.

When I was sightseeing in the mountains of Fujian province, I found that their peaks were bald, trees were scarce, outcroppings were everywhere, old trees had twisted roots and gnarled trunks, and the mountainous terrain was there for all to see. I was able to identify the landscape with certain schools of painting and texturing techniques right away. We can always figure out a painting technique from a real scene, or associate such a scene with a particular painting technique. The turbulent streams and monoliths shimmering in swift rapids in Fujian make ideal prototypes for construction

of artificial mountains. The precipices of Huizhou in south Anhui and Fangyan in east Zhejiang also find expression in the texturing techniques of traditional painting. The landscapes in these places, each featuring a distinct variety of topographic wrinkles and textures, never fail to captivate the sightseer with a bonanza of scenes for in-motion or in-situ viewing. Our ancients loved to appreciate rocks and meditate in front of a cliff wall because it enabled them to ruminate the philosophy and values entailed in them.

The hardest part in composing a lyrical poem to a stylized tune is that the transition between its upper and lower stanzas calls for wording and meaning that sound at once attached and detached. The same is true with garden-making, where dexterous and impeccable application of transitions between vistas is essential to achieving uninterrupted momentum and perennial aesthetic appeals in a garden of a thousand hectares, where all the streams flow along zigzagging courses, all the artificial mountains jostle in picturesque disorder, all the lofts and towers set off each other felicitously, and all the trees reach high into the sky while the ground is carpeted with flowering plants—none of these components are left in isolation on the premises. Thanks to smooth transition between views, the garden remains open and spacious while its terrain undulates and meanders, and provides ready access to various nooks and crannies. Transitions of this type, however, ought to be effected through appropriate media, perchance, such as a roofed walkway between buildings, or a bridge between a flowing stream's different sections. Without transitional coloration, a color scheme cannot level off smoothly from dazzling brilliance to simple and subtle hues. Touch-up brush strokes employed in painting also come in handy for transitioning in a landscape garden so that its momentum can be maintained and its spatial and spiritual verve conveyed to the beholder. The relationship between intangibles and tangibles calls for smooth transition as well, so that scenes can be infinite and their appeals unfailing. To attain intangibles from tangibles, and to seek a lingering effect from a song or a piece of instrumental music, the secondary may outweigh the principal, and a role player can sometimes outdo the leading actor. The reason why "a river can flow beyond heaven and earth, and a mountain's hue can teeter between nonexistence and existence" is because intangibles can sometimes accomplish what tangibles cannot.

A city cannot do without making gardens, for it really matters for the

well-being of its dwellers. The key to the success of such a craft, however, lies in "view borrowing" and "view screening" techniques. No gardens in a city can do without view borrowing. The three lakes in Beijing are good examples in this regard, where views from the imposing walls and halls of the former Forbidden City are appropriately borrowed. According to Li Gefei (*c*. 1045-*c*. 1105) in *A Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang*,

> There, if one gazes out to the north, he will see halls and towers in the palace compounds of Sui-Tang times, with thousands of doors and ten times as many windows, lofty and elevated, resplendent and gorgeous, extending over ten miles. What took Zuo Si[2] ten years of utmost efforts to describe in his rhapsodies can be exhausted here at one glance.

However, I seldom hear of gardens with smokestacks in close proximity or factory buildings lurking in the background. The only exceptions are the Humble Administrator's Garden and the Loving Couple's Garden[3] in Suzhou, for whose awkwardness I can only sigh in helplessness. But there is no lack of exemplary gardens that borrow views from a mountain in a city's outskirts or from a pagoda in a Buddhist temple in the distance. Apart from "view borrowing," there is "view screening," meaning that a city garden must be screened off vulgar and ugly vistas. Integration and separation are a pair of opposites that can also be made to supplement each other. Without screening the vulgar part of a vista off a garden, there is no way to bring the elegant part of it into the fold. Without covering up ugliness, how can a garden's beauty be brought into focus? Because a scenery to be created may be one- or double-sided, we have got to make a choice. At one end of the Gratification Garden in Shanghai there is the Profuse Beauty Hall, whose backside faces a busy street and whose front is reposed in the seclusion of the Giant Artificial Mountain's northern foot, but visitors wandering about the hall are oblivious of the urban traffic and din simply because a wall has screened the celestial world in the garden off the secular world outside of it. Screening, indeed, can work wonders. In 1980, when I was building the Astor Court, a Ming-style Chinese garden in imitation of the Master-of-Fishnets Garden's Late-Spring Peony Lodge, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City that occupies two floors and has no views to be borrowed, I had double gates and tall walls erected to create a secluded world in which fine scenic results are guaranteed. A garden must have a "prelude" to guide the visitor gradually into the heart of its scenery, which is something that should not be trifled with, and the transition methods described in the foregoing must be put to good use. None of the traditional gardens in the cities of the Jiangnan area can dispense with such a "prelude." However, the gardens built these days are

often made to come straight to the point, lest the visitor fail to know they are visiting a garden, and the new front gate of the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence in Suzhou is a case in point. The Dark Blue Waves Pavilion is a semi-closed garden, and the sceneries across the river are within reach and serve as a "prelude" that ushers the visitor into the garden without knowing it for a leisured stroll.

Before a dying garden is repaired or resurrected, its history must be studied first, its status quo thoroughly grasped, all its rock formations and architectural elements accurately dated, and their salient features pinpointed. Only then can a repair or restoration plan be considered. This is like mounting an ancient painting, whose touch-up strokes must be perused and fathomed out—a task that can be more difficult than painting a new one. In the course of the repairs, every brushstroke must be mulled over beforehand. Engineering work ought to begin with buildings, in which carpentry comes first and plastering comes next. Only after major carpentry work is done can ponds be refurbished, artificial mountains repaired and new rockwork erected. The planting of trees and flowers can sometimes be weaved into the engineering work. Roads should be paved, walls repaired and nameboards painted and hung up on the last leg of engineering work. Then the repair or restoration project is over, with furnishing forthcoming.

In landscape gardening, ancient rules can be followed and foreign practices assimilated, but these two aspects are in no way mutually exclusive. To mesh old heritages with modern things, and to make the past serve the present, is an inevitable trend, but blatant plagiarism and patchwork at the expense of judicious quest for style and spiritual charms are not recommended. For this reason, garden history and the craft of gardens past and present, Chinese and foreign must be thoroughly explored alongside their aesthetics and historical and cultural backgrounds. Only with well-documented literature and pertinent allusions from canonical classics can we assimilate the theories and expertise past and present, Chinese and foreign. Wang Yuanqi (1642-1715) says,

> To copy a painting is not as desirable as to observe it. Upon coming across the authentic work of an ancient painter, we had better trace it to its root, and study its concept and its composition, its discrepancies, strengths and drawbacks, as well as its layout, brushstrokes and inkwork. There must be something that the ancient painter did better than we can, and with time, we can eventually gain a true understanding of the painting and the painter.

The way of learning introduced in this passage is worth emulating. The Japanese learned from us Chinese before the Meiji Reform (1868-1912) and

from Europe afterward. They are imitating the Americans lately, but what merits attention is that the Yamato tradition always runs through Japanese buildings and gardens. History studies naturally have all along figured prominently in Japan, and the collections of Chinese books in Japan's libraries are so extensive as to be astonishing! Ji Cheng's book *The Craft of Gardens* we see today was actually copied from its original kept in Japan. The Japanese collections of European and American materials are immense as well. Japanese scholars of the older generation, like ItōChūta (1867-1954), Tokiwa Daijō (1870-1945) and Sekino Tadashi (1868-1935),[4] were among the prominent figures in the study of Chinese architecture. As crystallizations of hard work and down-to-earth attitude and approaches, their books on this field of learning are still playing a major role in the academic world today. They took great pains in collecting first- and second-hand data, and, by distilling essence from a wealth of information, eventually came to the fore as erudite scholars. Indeed, "Stones borrowed from other hills are ideal for working one's own jade." As "view borrowing" is often stressed in landscape gardening, is there any difference between garden-making and learning in this regard?

Garden-making involves tangibles and intangibles. The same is true with learning. As I conclude this five-instalment discourse of some ten thousand words, I think I have used up all my stock of learning. Short of substance though this discourse may be, I would not have written it if I had not devoted half of my lifetime to traversing the country, visiting all the famous gardens and practicing the craft of gardens. I am here presenting my humble opinions with a desire to consult and learn from all the experts in this field of endeavour. If my ageing heart still allows me to make new discoveries and gain new insights, I will definitely burn my candle and write them out deep into the night.

说园（五）

《说园》首篇余既阐造园动观静观之说，意有未尽，续畅论之。动、静二字，本相对而言，有动必有静，有静必有动，然而在园林景观中，静寓动中，动由静出，其变化之多，造景之妙，层出不穷，所谓通其变，遂成天地之文。若静坐亭中，行云流水，鸟飞花落，皆动也。舟游人行，而山石树木，则又静止者。止水静，游鱼动，静动交织，自成佳趣。故以静观动，以动观静则景出。“万物静观皆自得，四时佳兴与人同。”事物之变概乎其中。若园林无水，无云，无影，无声，无朝晖，无夕阳，则无以言天趣，虚者实所倚也。

静之物，动亦存焉。坐对石峰，透漏俱备，而皴法之明快，线条之飞俊，虽静犹动。水面似静，涟漪自动。画面似静，动态自现。静之物若无生意，即无动态。故动观静观，实造园产生效果之最关键处，明乎此则景观之理初解矣。

质感存真，色感呈伪，园林得真趣，质感居首，建筑之佳者，亦同斯理。真则存神，假则失之，园林失真，有如布景，书画失真，则同印刷，故画栋雕梁，徒眩眼目，竹篱茅舍，引人遐思。《红楼梦》“大观园试才题对额”一回，曹雪芹借宝玉之口，评稻香村之作伪云：“此处置一田庄，分明是人力造作成的。远无邻村，近不负郭，背山无脉，临水无源，高无隐寺之塔，下无通市之桥，峭然孤出，似非大观，那及前数处（指潇湘馆）有自然之理、自然之趣呢？虽种竹引泉，亦不伤穿凿。古人云：‘天然图画’四字，正恐非其地而强为其地，非其山而强为其山，即百般精巧，终非相宜。”所谓“人力造作”，所谓“穿凿”者，伪也。所谓“有自然之理，得自然之趣”者，真也。借小说以说园，可抵一篇造园论也。

郭熙谓：“水以山为面”，“水得山而媚”，自来模水范山，未有孤立言之者。其得山水之理，会心乎此，则左右逢源，要之此二语，表面观之似水石相对，实则水必赖石以变，无石则水无形、无态，故浅水露矶，深水列岛。广东肇庆七星岩，岩奇而水美，矶濑隐现波面，而水洞幽深，水湾曲折，水之变化无穷，若无水，则岩不显，岸无形，故两者绝不能分割而论，分则悖自然之理，亦失真矣。

一园之特征，山水相依，凿池引水，尤为重要。苏南之园，其池多曲，其境柔和。宁绍之园，其池多方，其景平直。故水本无形，因岸成之，平直也好，曲折也好，水口堤岸皆构成水面形态之重要手法。至于水柔水刚，水止水流，亦皆受堤岸以左右之。石清得阴柔之妙，石顽得阳刚之健。浑朴之石，其状在拙；奇突之峰，其态在变，而丑石在诸品

中尤为难得，以其更富有个性，丑中寓美也。石固有刚柔美丑之别，而水亦有奔放宛转之致，是皆因石而起变。

荒园非不可游，残篇非不可看，要知佳者虽零锦碎玉亦是珍品，犹能予人留恋，存其真耳。龚自珍诗云："未济终焉心飘渺，万事都从缺陷好；吟到夕阳山外山，世间难免余情绕。"造园亦必通此消息。

"春见山容，夏见山气，秋见山情，冬见山骨。""夜山低，晴山近，晓山高。"前人之论，实寓情观景，以见四时之变，造景自难，观景不易。"泪眼问花花不语"，痴也；"解释春风无限恨"，怨也。故游必有情，然后有兴，钟情山水，知己泉石，其审美与感受之深浅，实与文化修养有关。故我重申：不能品园，不能游园；不能游园，不能造园。

造园综合性科学也，且包含哲理，观万变于其中。浅言之，以无形之诗情画意，构有形之水石亭台。晦暝风雨，又皆能促使其景物变化无穷，而南北地理之殊，风土人情之异，更加因素增多。且人游其间，功能各取所需，绝不能以幻想代替真实，故造园脱离功能，固无佳构，研究古园而不明当时社会及生活，妄加分析，正如汉儒释经，转多穿凿，因此古今之园，必不能陈陈相因，而丰富之生活，渊博之知识，要皆有助于斯。

一景之美，画家可以不同笔法表现之，文学家可以各种不同角度描写之。演员运腔，各抒其妙，哪宗哪派，自存面貌。故同一园林，可以不同手法设计之。皆由观察之深，提炼之精，特征方出。余初不解宋人大青绿山水，以朱砂作底色赤，上敷青绿，迨游中原嵩山，时值盛夏，土色呰红，所被草木尽深绿色，而楼阁参差，金碧辉映，正大小李将军之山水也。其色调皆重厚，色度亦相当，绚烂夺目，中原山川之神乃出。而江南淡青绿山水，每以赭石及草青打底，轻抹石青石绿，建筑勾勒间架，衬以淡赪，清新悦目，正江南园林之粉本。故立意在先，协调从之，自来艺术手法一也。

余尝谓苏州建筑及园林，风格在于柔和，吴语所谓"糯"，扬州建筑与园林，风格则多雅健，如宋代姜夔词，以"健笔写柔情"，皆欲现怡人之园景，风格各异，存真则一。风格定始能言局部单体，宜亭斯亭，宜榭斯榭。山叠何派，水引何式，必须成竹在胸也，才能因地制宜，借景有方，亦必循风格之特征，巧妙运用之。选石、择花、动静观赏，均有所据，故造园必以极镇静而从容之笔，信手拈来，自多佳构。所谓以气胜之，必总体完整矣。

余闽游观山，秃峰少木，石形外露，古根盘曲，而山势山貌毕露，分明能辨何家山水，何派皴法，能于实物中悟画法，可以画法来证实物。而闽溪水险，矶濑激湍，凡此琐琐，皆叠山极好之祖本。他如皖南徽州、浙东方岩之石壁，画家皴法，方圆无能。此种山水皆以皴法之不

同，予人以动静感觉之有别，古人爱石、面壁，皆参悟哲理其中。

填词有“过片（变）”（亦名“换头”），即上半阕与下半阕之间，词与意必须若接若离，其难在此。造园亦必注意“过片”，运用自如，虽千顷之园，亦气势完整，韵味隽永。曲水轻流，峰峦重叠，楼阁掩映，木仰花承，皆非孤立。其间高低起伏，间畅逶迤，在在有“过片”之笔，此过渡之笔在乎各种手法之适当运用。即如楼阁以廊为过渡，溪流以桥为过渡。色泽由绚烂而归平淡，无中间之色不见调和，画中所用补笔接气，皆为过渡之法，无过渡，则气不贯，园不空灵。虚实之道，在乎过渡得法，如是则景不尽而韵无穷，实处求虚，正曲求余音，琴听尾声，要于能察及次要，而又重于主要，配角有时能超于主角之上者。“江流天地外，山色有无中”，贵在无胜于有也。

城市必须造园，此有关人民生活，欲臻其美，妙在“借”“隔”，城市非不可以借景，若北京三海，借景故宫，嵯峨城阙，杰阁崇殿，与李格非《洛阳名园记》所述：“以北望则隋唐宫阙楼殿，千门万户，苕峣璀璨，延亘十余里，凡左太冲十余年极力而赋者，可瞥目而尽也。”但未闻有烟囱近园，厂房为背景者，有之，唯今日之苏州拙政园、耦园，已成此怪状，为之一叹。至若能招城外山色，远寺浮屠，亦多佳例。此一端在“借”。而另一端在“隔”，市园必隔，俗者屏之。合分本相对而言，亦相辅而成，不隔其俗，难引其雅，不掩其丑，何逞其美？造景中往往有能观一面者，有能观两面者，在乎选择得宜。上海豫园萃秀堂，乃尽端建筑，厅后为市街，然面临大假山，深隐北麓，人留其间，不知身处市嚣中，仅一墙之隔，判若仙凡，隔之妙可见。曩岁余为美国建中国庭园纽约“明轩”，于二层内部构园，休言“借景”，必重门高垣，以隔造景，效果始出。而园之有前奏，得能渐入佳境，万不可率尔从事，前述过渡之法，于此须充分利用。江南市园，无不皆存前奏。今则往往开门见山，唯恐人不知其为园林。苏州怡园新建大门，即犯此病。沧浪亭虽属半封闭之园，而园中景色，隔水可呼，缓步入园，前奏有序，信是成功。

旧园修复，首究园史，详勘现状，情况彻底清楚，对山石建筑等作出年代鉴定，特征所在，然后考虑修缮方案。正如裱古画接笔反复揣摩，其难有大于创作，必再三推敲，审慎下笔。其施工程序，当以建筑居首，木作领先，水作为辅，大木完工，方可整池、修山、立峰，而补树栽花，有时须穿插行之，最后铺路修墙。油漆悬额，一园乃成，唯待家具之布置矣。

造园可以遵古为法，亦可以以洋为师，两者皆不排斥。古今结合，古为今用，亦势所必然，若境界不究，风格未求，妄加抄袭拼凑，则非所取。故古今中外，造园之史，构园之术，来龙去脉，以及所形成之美

学思想，历史文化条件，在在需进行探讨，然后文有据，典有征，古今中外运我笔底，则为尚矣。古人云：“临画不如看画，遇古人真本，向上研求，视其定意若何，结构若何，出入若何，偏正若何，安放若何，用笔若何，积墨若何，必于我有一出头地处，久之自与吻合矣。”用功之法，足可参考。日本明治维新之前学习中土，明治维新后效法欧洲，近又模仿美国，其建筑与园林，总表现大和民族之风格，所谓有“日本味”。此种现状，值得注意。至此历史之研究自然居首重地位，试观其图书馆所收之中文书籍，令人瞠目，即以《园冶》而论，我国亦转录自东土。继以欧美资料亦汗牛充栋，而前辈学者，如伊东忠太、常盘大定、关野贞等诸先生，长期调查中国建筑，所为著作至今犹存极高之学术地位，真表现其艰苦结实之治学态度与方法。以抵于成，在得力于收集之大量直接与间接资料，由博返约。他山之石，可以攻玉，造园重“借景”，造园与为学又何独不然。

园林言虚实，为学亦若是，余写《说园》连续五章，虽洋洋万言，至此江郎才尽矣。半生湖海，踏遍名园，成此空论，亦自实中得之。敢贡己见，有求教于今之专家。老去情怀，容续有所得，当秉烛赓之。

1982年1月20日于同济大学建筑系

GARDENS SOUTH AND NORTH DIFFER IN SCENERY

Department of Architecture, Tongji University, October 10, 1981

Vernal rain south of the Yangtze River;
Autumn wind north of the Yellow River.

This terse line tells decisively of the climatic differences between south and north China that affect the scenic vistas in both regions. Likewise, any talk about the differences between gardens of south and north China cannot do without taking such natural differences into account. I once said that mankind's first dwellings were dens in the north and nests in the south, with the former evolving into sheds that have a window in one wall and the latter being widely open in most cases. The same is true of garden buildings. Those in the north are not as open and airy as most of their southern counterparts. Indeed, in terms of natural environment, the universal law of causality is obviously at work when it comes to differences between sumptuous northern gardens and graceful Jiangnan gardens. Like other branches of culture, a garden inevitably bears its local characteristics, a phenomenon which has multiple causes behind it.

The poetic lines, "Low bridge, stream running, cottages" and "Wooded flatland, setting sun, homecoming crows," describe different scenic views and their effects on people. The loftiness and majesty of the northland, and the demure grace of the southland bestow diverse personalities on local gardens. According to Li Gefei's *A Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang*, the northern gardens of the Tang and the Song offer imposing scenery with earthen dens and giant trees but lack such scenery as piled-up rocks and diminutive brooks. From the Ming-Qing period (1368-1911) onward, the gardens in and around Beijing changed tremendously under the influence of southern gardens. Some of such changes were made through innovations to overcome natural barriers, which was manifest first of all in the use of water, so that in the water-poor north, only with water could a garden make a difference and put itself on the map. The gardens built in Beijing's western outskirts are naturally endowed with water, whereas those in city proper had to fill the ponds dug on their premises with water channelled from the

suburbs.

Water being the case, most artificial mountains in southern gardens are built of Lake Tai rocks—chunks of moist limestone with rich postures and refined charms. When piled up to form a mountain, such rocks always "allow water to flow around the mountain and enable the mountain to come alive with water." In northern gardens, artificial mountains are built with indigenous lake rocks, which turn out to be a kind of slate that is too thick and heavy and devoid of the kind of subtle gracefulness that characterizes authentic Lake Tai rocks from the Jiangnan area.

Given the long annual defoliation periods of deciduous flowers and trees, large numbers of evergreen trees like pines and cypresses are planted in northern gardens. Under white clouds and azure skies, these trees' dark green colors contrast strikingly with yellow-glazed rooftops, vermillion pillars, and peony and crabapple flowers to bring about prospects in dazzling splendor. In comparison, gardens in the moist Jiangnan area feature white-washed walls and dark roof tiles, bamboo shades, orchids' aroma, and stream-girdled belvederes. Such gardens are segmented into quite a few yards by winding loggias, so that despite their usually small spaces, they provide enough room for people to loiter and give them the impression that there are infinite scenes and sights to be discovered in their recesses, while the ubiquitous deciduous trees keep the visitors in intimate touch with the four changing seasons. Luxurious grass and trees are special gifts bestowed by nature on this part of the country. Nevertheless, the northland is not without its small gardens and sights just as the south is not without its large ones.

Most Chinese landscape paintings in the northern tradition are splendid in green and golden colors whereas those in the southern tradition are based on gray and light carmine backgrounds, so are the gardens respectively in these two traditions because they share the same poetic sentiments, picturesque conceptions and images as poetry and painting. The imperial gardens (and the gardens built in a similar style by bureaucrats and landlords) in the north, which I call "palace gardens," look noble and majestic but are not without their vulgarities. Subtly serene and elegant, rich in scholastic quality as the gardens in the south are, there is no lack of humble and shabby ones among them. Thus successful northern gardens are invested with scholastic quality, with the finest of them always being those "northern gardens bestowed with a southern tone." Moreover, a successful northern garden invariably has some pools deployed meticulously in its precincts, just

like a lady's pair of eyes that are always the most fascinating part of her looks.

I am fond of comparing the southern gardens to Kunqu Opera and the northern gardens—those built after the Tongzhi (1862-1874) and Guangxu (1875-1908) reigns of the Qing in particular—to Peking Opera. So heavily influenced is Peking Opera by Kunqu Opera that we can say the former was more or less evolved from the latter. The two are different from each other, and people, too, feel differently about them, but none of the celebrated Peking Opera stars has not worked hard on Kunqu Opera. Similarly, the creation of famous northern gardens must have involved the wisdom and labour of southern artisans. Constant cultural exchange gives rise to new things. In the Chinese garden's course of development there is a medium between southern and northern traditions, that is, the Yangzhou school of gardens which differs from both its Jiangnan and North China counterparts in that it is a hybrid of the two, and its salient features bear out the complexity of Yangzhou's geographic conditions and of the city's cultural exchanges with southern and northern regions.

Tourism is being advocated nowadays, but it is by no means about "having a good time" merely—I would say it is an exalted form of cultural recreation. When we marvel at scenic attractions and gardens, we have got to be good at making analyses and comparisons, for the real meaning of sightseeing lies in the knowledge and wisdom we are to gain therefrom.

园林分南北　景物各千秋

“春雨江南，秋风蓟北。”这短短两句分明道出了江南与北国景色的不同。当然喽，谈园林南北的不同，不可能离开自然的差异。我曾经说过，从人类开始有居室，北方是属于窝的系统，原始于穴居，发展到后来的民居，是单面开窗为主，而园林建筑物亦少空透。南方是巢居，其原始建筑为棚，故多敞口，园林建筑物亦然。产生这些有别的情况，还是先就自然环境言之，华丽的北方园林，雅秀的江南园林，有其果，必有其因。园林与其他文化一样，都有地方特性，这种特性形成还是多方面的。

“小桥流水人家”，“平林落日归鸦”，分明两种不同境界。当然北方的高亢，与南中的婉约，使园林在总的性格上不同了。北方园林我们从《洛阳名园记》中所见的唐宋园林，用土穴、大树，景物雄健，而少叠石小泉之景。明清以后，以北京为中心的园林，受南方园林影响，有了很大变化。但是自然条件却有所制约，当然也有所创新。首先对水的利用，北方艰于有水，有水方成名园，故北京西郊造园得天独厚。而市园，除引城外水外，则聚水为池，赖人力为之了。水如此，石南方用太湖石，是石灰岩，多湿润，故“水随山转，山因水活”，多姿态，有秀韵。北方用土太湖、云片石，厚重有余，委宛不足，自然之态，终逊南中。且每年花木落叶，时间较长，因此多用长绿树为主，大量松柏遂为园林主要植物。其浓绿色衬在蓝天白云之下，与黄瓦红柱、牡丹海棠起极鲜明的对比，绚烂夺目，华丽炫人。而在江南的气候条件下，粉墙黛瓦，竹影兰香，小阁临流，曲廊分院，咫尺之地，容我周旋，所谓“小中见大”，淡雅宜人，多不尽之意。落叶树的栽植，又使人们有四季的感觉。草木华滋，是它得天独厚处。北方非无小园、小景，南方亦存大园、大景。亦正如北宗山水多金碧重彩，南宗多水墨浅绛的情形相同，因为园林所表现的诗情画意，正与诗画相同，诗画言境界，园林同样言境界。北方皇家园林（官僚地主园林，风格亦近似），我名之为宫廷园林，其富贵气固存，而庸俗之处亦在所不免。南方的清雅平淡，多书卷气，自然亦有寒酸简陋的地方。因此北方的好园林，能有书卷气。所谓北园南调，自然是高品。因此成功的北方园林，都能注意水的应用，正如一个美女一样，那一双秋波是最迷人的地方。

我喜欢用昆曲来比南方园林，用京剧来比北方园林（是指同治、光绪后所造园），京剧受昆曲影响很大，多少也可以说从昆曲中演变出来，但是有些差异，使人的感觉也有些不同。然而最著名的京剧演员，没有一个不在昆曲上下过功夫。而北方的著名园林，亦应有南匠参加。

文化不断交流，又产生了新的事物。在造园中又有南北园林的介体——扬州园林，它既不同于江南园林，又有别于北方园林，而园的风格则两者兼有之。从造园的特点上，可以证明其所处地理条件与文化交流诸方面的复杂性了。

现在，我们提倡旅游，旅游不是“白相”（上海方言：玩），是高尚的文化生活，我们赏景观园，要善于分析、思索、比较，在游的中间可以得到很多学问，增长我们的智慧，那才是有意义的。

POETRY, PROSE AND CRAFT OF GARDENS

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The classical Chinese garden is known as "literatus garden" for its rich stock of scholastic garden-making heritage. The Fragrant Hill Hotel, built two year ago in the garden of the same name in suburban Beijing's Western Hills, is a brainchild of the celebrated American Chinese architect Ieoh Ming Pei (1917-). It is acclaimed as an "elegant building of scholastic quality" because in it, architecture meshes perfectly with the garden's scenery. In my opinion, it is "elegant, clean, spic and span, tidy, and refreshing to a turn." Both descriptions are of the same meaning, pointing to the fact that no talk about the Chinese garden is complete without classic Chinese poetry and prose. But how about painting? The Chinese painting we see today stems from the Southern Song (1127-1279) literatus painting, a synthesis in which "there is painting in poetry, and poetry in painting." Poetry and prose, therefore, are at the root of Chinese painting as well. Herein lies the cardinal principle governing the Chinese craft of gardens.

After the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420-589), scholar-officials grew more and more infatuated with landscape as they sought to shun the clamour of the troubling world by abandoning themselves to mountains and waters and investing their sentiments in picturesque scenes and sights. They took action, and coupled it with poetry and prose. Gardens emerged in time to meet the demand, which evolved into a tradition during the Sui-Tang period (581-907) that was to be handed down through the Song and the Yuan to the Ming and the Qing. Bai Juyi (772-846) built a thatched hut for himself on Mount Lushan, and his "Notes on the Thatched Hut on Mount Lushan" is still read and reread to this day. Li Gefei's *A Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang* is as elegantly worded as the gardens under his writing brush are ornately adorned. Indeed, gardens are conceived in literature, and their names are spread through literature as well. In this mutually supplementary relationship, gardens are tangible embodiments of literature, and literature gives tangible expression to gardens—in a sense, the Chinese garden and literature share the one and same identity.

The merit or demerit of a garden depends on its owner's cultural attainment. Many celebrated gardens across the land were owned by literati-painters, and naturally the conceptions of such gardens are originated in verse and prose. Apart from a garden's owner, his hangers-on, including men of letters, painters, musicians and rockery crafters, offered their fair share of counsel and designs. When a garden was completed, a coterie of celebrities and friends would gather in drinking parties to compose poetry and comment on the new garden's strengths and weaknesses, after which the garden would go through revisions and reconstructions accordingly. It took four rounds of revisions for Zhang Lian (1587-1673) to complete the Garden of Suburban Delights he was making for the renowned painter Wang Shimin (1592-1680), an example which shows a celebrated garden is not completed at one stretch. Such a practice was even more pronounced in the late Ming (1368-1644). I once argued that poetry and prose, calligraphy and painting, and traditional opera are different forms of the same thoughts or feelings. But what is the mainstream of such thoughts or feelings? It is the thoughts or feelings shared by literati-officials. The gardens made by literati-officials, most of whom were proficient in poetry and prose and could paint and sing, were inevitably rooted in their shared ideals or feelings, with elegance as the chief mode of expression. Full of allusions to poetry and prose, their gardens achieve oneness with literature by means of inscribed boards and vertical couplets, as well as records and colophons on classical paintings. That is why whenever a visitor steps into such a garden, he feels as if he were visiting the realms of poetry and painting. If he is highly attained in literature, he may improvise a poem on the spot; if he is a painter, he may depict the garden's scenery with freewheeling brush strokes in the late Ming tradition. All this I believe has happened to every educated visitor to such a garden.

The Peony Pavilion composed by the great romantic playwright Tang Xianzu (1550-1616)[1] is not just opera—it is literature on gardens, too, as well as a manual on how to appreciate the spiritual essence of the Chinese garden. In the scene "The Interrupted Dream," for example:

> Streaking the dawn, close-curled at dusk, rosy clouds frame emerald pavilion; fine threads of rain, petals borne on breeze, gilded pleasure boats in waves of mist…. The green hillside bleeds with the cuckoo's tears of red azalea; shreds of mist lazy as wine fumes thread the sweetbriar.

The effect of empathy is at its best in these breath-taking lines, which stirs up the desire for sightseeing in a subtle and skilful way. A garden invariably gives expression to the emotion man has invested in it. Literature is born of feelings, so is the classical Chinese garden.

Qian Yong (1759-1844) says in his *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden*,

> Laying out a garden is like composing a piece of poetry or prose. Twists and turns should be made sagaciously, beginnings should be echoed in endings, and superfluous padding and complexity are most dreaded. Only thus can the final results be deemed good.

This passage, indeed, hits the nail on the head. It means that making a garden is no different from writing a composition. From poetry or prose one derives inspirations for garden design, whereas a garden can set a visitor in the mood to compose verse or prose. Both creative writing and garden-making call for conceptions. Therefore, to lay out a garden is to conceive it in the first place.

Expression must be given to any envisioned setting, which is foremost in Chinese aesthetics. The same envisioned setting can be expressed in different artistic ways. Poetry, lyrics, Yuan dramas, paintings and music have their respective settings, whereas an adroit garden-maker recreates such a setting through rich and varied combinations of rocks, water, flowers, trees, ponds, halls, pavilions and terraces, until his garden culminates in poetic passion and picturesque enchantment. When one finds himself in such a setting, he would feel like traversing the realms of poetry and painting. The reason why the Chinese garden, "though man-made, looks like a god-send," can become a school in its own right is precisely because it is born of inspirations from poetry and prose.

Spatiality and spirituality are stressed in poetry and prose, whereas in landscape gardening, padding is most dreaded. Thus,

> Rain drops dry up overnight in the first sun rays; round lotus leaves rise one after another over a limpid water surface in the wind.

This suggestive description of a garden scene, being sublimely spatial and spiritual, pertains to literature as well. The Chinese garden scenery can stir up unbounded passion that, in its turn, conjures up equally unbounded scenery, so much so that the scholar who comes to drink and versify in it is so bewitched that the garden's scenery and the passion inspired by it are totally compounded in his heart. In this way of landscape gardening, the principle of enmeshing scenery with human passion is followed. As the *Carving a Dragon at the Core of Literature* calls for "making compositions out of passion," I would like to suggest, "Let scenery be wrought out of passion." Passion yields literature, so can it yield scenery, for literature and scenery stem from the same root.

No gardens born of poetry- or prose-induced passion can dispense with a study or studio on their premises, for they are actually venues where people

go to read books, recite poems, or practice painting and calligraphy. This is why there is the Verandah for Seeing Pines and Reading Paintings in the Master-of-Fishnets Garden, the Studio to Get "Rope" and Draw "Water" from "Ancient Well"[2] in the Lingering Garden, and the Green Vine Studio in Shaoxing. The purposes of these studios are implied in their names, but there are also unnamed ones that serve the same purposes. Therefore, literary and drinking gatherings of men of letters became special forms of garden visits. Such gatherings that happened in Beijing's Garden to Amuse Myself[3] and Nanjing's Accommodation Garden[4] during the Qing are still the talk of the town today for their famous poems and essays, not to mention the countless literary works improvised by garden visitors. In the Accommodation Garden there is a poetry corridor where poems contributed by visitors are engraved on walls.

Reading late-Ming vignettes makes one feel like roaming a garden. Many of them are no less than accounts on the craft of gardens, as their authors were often owners of famous gardens or participants in landscape gardening. This explains why the literati gardens were most developed and artistically attained and why famous garden-makers could emerge one after another from the mid-Ming to the early Qing. Ji Cheng's *The Craft of Gardens* summarizes the theory and practice of landscape gardening during this period, but, with a text elegantly written and teeming with literary parallelisms and antitheses, it does not sound merely like an artisan's work manual. I suspect it had been polished by some scholars. *One Man's Account* ("Furniture and Curios") also makes elegant and graceful reading because its author, Li Yu (1611-1680), was himself a celebrated writer and dramatist, not to mention Wen Zhenheng (1585-1645) and his *Treatise on Superfluous Things*. The Wens made a name for themselves through calligraphy, painting, poetry, prose, and the Herbal Garden in their possession, later known as the Garden of Cultivation[5], is still there for all to see in Suzhou. Ancient notes on gardens were often written by men of letters out to describe garden prospects, vent their feelings, and celebrate the rockeries and streams. It is known to all that the inscribed horizontal boards were made precisely to deepen visitors' impressions of the scenes and sights in such a garden.

The Chinese garden cannot do without a music chamber that is often housed in a waterside building, and the Hall of Thirty-Six Pairs of Mandarin Ducks in the Humble Administrator's Garden and the Hat-Ribbon Washing Belvedere in the Master-of-Fishnets Garden are among the legendary ones.

When the Peking and Kunqu Opera superstar Yu Zhenfei (1902-1993)[6] and his father Yu Zonghai (1847-1930)[7] were residing in Zhang Lüqian's[8] Additional Garden (the western part of the Humble Administrator's Garden of today) during the Guangxu reign (1875-1908) of the Qing, he often gathered with local Kunqu Opera fans to sing arias or perform selected opera scenes. As drama and opera are pertinent with the garden, I once said that Yu Zhenfei's operatic accomplishments must have a great deal to do with his involvement in literature and traditional gardens. It was probably because of my appreciation of the venerable Zhenfei's accomplishments that he invited me to write a colophon on one of his father's calligraphic works.

A garden must be "tailored" to a particular conception, just like a piece of creative writing must be tailored to a certain literary genre. Because of this affinity between creative writing and garden-making, a garden's literary connection can always be inferred from its scenic settings. This is why I liken the gardens of Suzhou to different styles of Song-dynasty lyrical poems: the Master-of-Fishnets Garden to the refreshing and innovative lyrical verse of Yan Jidao (1030-1106); the Lingering Garden, which wouldn't be the same were its fabulous buildings dismantled, to Wu Wenying's[9] lyrical poems; the central part of the Humble Administrator's Garden, whose spatial and spiritual resonance is reminiscent of traceless drifting clouds and wild cranes, to the lyrical poems of Jiang Kui (1154-1221) and the like; the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion to the stylized poetry of the Song; and the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence to the lyrical poems of the Qing. If a landscape garden-maker is not well-founded in poetry and prose, where on earth can he draw inspiration for his job?

On no account should literary genres be muddled up. Be it poems, lyrics, songs or rhapsodies, they should be selected in accord with a writer's passion and mood. Genres are independent of each other. Which feeling or content is proper for which genre is predetermined. Short lyrics should never be lengthened into slow-tempered, drawn-out ballad. By the same token, suburban gardens, city gardens, flat-land gardens, and small foothill gardens each follow their own patterns, so that all the pavilions, terraces, lofts and belvederes should be laid out commensurably. If all this is done accordingly, a garden will not be scorned for being indecent or nondescript, to say the least.

In short, the Chinese garden and literature are so intricately entangled they can hardly be separated. In my opinion, studies of Chinese gardens

should begin by tracing them to their roots in Chinese poetry and prose. Only thus can many problems be readily addressed. Profundity is out of the question if one studies gardens just for the gardens' sake. Superficial though my viewpoints are, I present them here anyway and beg for advice and correction from experts at home and abroad.

中国诗文与中国园林艺术

中国园林，名之为“文人园”，它是饶有书卷气的园林艺术。前年建成的北京香山饭店，是贝聿铭先生的匠心，因为建筑与园林结合得好，人们称之为有“书卷气的高雅建筑”，我则首先誉之为“雅洁明净，得清新之致”，两者意思是相同的。足证历代谈中国园林总离不了中国诗文。而画呢？也是以南宗的文人画为蓝本，所谓“诗中有画，画中有诗”，归根到底脱不开诗文一事。这就是中国造园的主导思想。

南北朝以后，士大夫寄情山水，啸傲烟霞，避嚣烦，寄情赏，既见之于行动，又出之以诗文，园林之筑，应时而生，继以隋唐、两宋、元，直至明清，皆一脉相承。白居易之筑堂庐山，名文传诵，李格非之记洛阳名园，华藻吐纳，故园之筑出于文思，园之存，赖文以传相辅相成，互为促进，园实文，文实园，两者无二致也。

造园看主人，即园林水平高低，反映了园主之文化水平，自来文人画家颇多名园，因立意构思出于诗文。除了园主本身之外，造园必有清客，所谓清客，其类不一，有文人、画家、笛师、曲师、山师等等，他们相互讨论，相机献谋，为主人共商造园。不但如此，在建成以后，文酒之会，畅聚名流，赋诗品园，还有所拆改。明末张南垣，为王时敏造“乐郊园”，改作者再四，于此可得名园之成，非成于一次也。尤其在晚明更为突出，我曾经说过那时的诗文、书画、戏曲，同是一种思想感情，用不同形式表现而已，思想感情指的主导是什么？一般是指士大夫思想，而士大夫可说皆为文人，敏诗善文，擅画能歌，其所造园无不出之同一意识，以雅为其主要表现手法了。园寓诗文，复再藻饰，有额有联，配以园记题咏，园与诗文合二为一。所以每当人进入中国园林，便有诗情画意之感，如果游者文化修养高，必然能吟出几句好诗来，画家也能画上几笔晚明清逸之笔的园景来。这些我想是每一个游者所必然产生的情景，而其产生之由就是这个道理。

汤显祖所为《牡丹亭》，而“游园”“拾画”诸折，不仅是戏曲，而且是园林文学，又是教人怎样领会中国园林的精神实质，“朝飞暮卷，云霞翠轩，雨丝风片，烟波画船”，“遍青山啼红了杜鹃，那荼靡外烟丝醉软”。其兴游移情之处真曲尽其妙。是情钟于园，而园必写情也，文以情生，园固相同也。

清代钱泳在《履园丛话》中说：“造园如作诗文，必使曲折有法，前后呼应，最忌堆砌，最忌错杂，方称佳构。”一言道破，造园与作诗文无异，从诗文中可悟造园法，而园林又能兴游以成诗文。诗文与造园同样要通过构思，所以我说造园一名构园。这其中还是要能表达意境。

中国美学，首重意境，同一意境可以不同形式之艺术手法出之。诗有诗境，词有词境，曲有曲境，画有画境，音乐有音乐境，而造园之高明者，运文学绘画音乐诸境，能以山水花木，池馆亭台组合出之，人临其境，有诗有画，各臻其妙。故“虽由人作，宛自天开”，中国园林，能在世界上独树一帜者，实以诗文造园也。

诗文言空灵，造园忌堆砌，故“叶上初阳干宿雨，水面清圆，一一风荷举”。言园景虚胜实，论文学亦极尽空灵。中国园林能于有形之景兴无限之情，反过来又产生不尽之景，觥筹交错，迷离难分，情景交融的中国造园手法。《文心雕龙》所谓“为情而造文”，我说为情而造景。情能生文，亦能生景，其源一也。

诗文兴情以造园，园成则必有书斋，吟馆，名为园林，实作读书吟赏挥毫之所，故苏州网师园有看松读画轩，留园有汲古得绠处，绍兴有青藤书屋等，此有名可徵者，还有额虽未名，但实际功能与有额者相同，所以园林雅集文酒之会，成为中国游园的一种特殊方式。历史上的清代北京怡园与南京随园的雅集盛况后人传为佳话，留下了不少名篇。至于游者漫兴之作，那真太多了。随园以投赠之诗，张贴而成诗廊。

读晚明文学小品，宛如游园，而且有许多文字真不啻造园法也。这些文人往往家有名园，或参与园事，所以从明中叶后直到清初，在这段时间中，文人园可说是最发达，水平也高，名家辈出。计成《园冶》，总结反映了这时期的造园思想与造园法，而文则以典雅骈骊出之，我怀疑其书必经文人润色过，所以非仅仅匠家之书。继起者李渔《一家言居室器玩部》，亦典雅行文，李本文学戏曲家也。文震亨《长物志》更不用说了，文家是以书画诗文传世的，且家有名园，苏州艺圃至今犹存。至于园林记必出文人之手，抒景绘情，增色泉石。而园中匾额起点景作用，几尽人皆知的了。

中国园林必置顾曲之处，临水池馆则为其地，苏州拙政园卅六鸳鸯馆、网师园濯缨水阁尽人皆知者，当时俞振飞先生与其尊人粟庐老人客张氏补园（补园为今拙政园西部），与吴中曲友，顾曲于此，小演于此，曲与园境合而情契，故俞先生之戏具书卷气，其功力实得之文学与园林深也。其尊人墨迹属题于我，知我解意也。

造园言“得体”，此二字得假借于文学，文贵有体，园亦如是。“得体”二字，行文与构园消息相通，因此我曾以宋词喻苏州诸园：网师园如晏小山词，清新不落套；留园如吴梦窗词，七宝楼台，拆下不成片段；而拙政园中部，空灵处如闲云野鹤去来无踪，则姜白石之流了；沧浪亭有若宋诗；怡园仿佛清词，皆能从其境界中揣摩得之。设造园者无诗文基础，则人之灵感又自何来。文体不能混杂，诗词歌赋各据不同情感而成之，决不能以小令引慢为长歌，何种感情，何种内容，成何种文

体，皆有其独立性。故郊园、市园、平地园、小麓园，各有其体，亭台楼阁，安排布局，皆须恰如其分，能做到这一点，起码如做文章一样，不讥为“不成体统”了。

总之，中国园林与中国文学，盘根错节，难分难离，我认为研究中国园林，似应先从中国诗文入手，则必求其本，先究其源，然后有许多问题可迎刃而解，如果就园论园，则所解不深。姑提这样肤浅的看法，希望海内外专家将有所指正与教我也。

GARDENS AND LANDSCAPE PAINTING

January 1982

> To construct a diminutive scenic setting, people of the Yuan used nothing but trees, rocks and low-lying ponds, and casually laid them out along with pavilions, terraces, hedges and winding trails that set off each other to conjure up a divine ambience of inexhaustible comfort and leisure from which visitors would be reluctant to tear themselves away.

This remark by the early-Qing painter Yun Ge (1633-1690) offers valuable reference to the study of Yuan-dynasty gardens, and shows how difficult it is to dwell upon Chinese gardens if you know little of the principles and theories of Chinese painting. Chinese gardens and painters have become almost inseparable since the Yuan. The garden known as "Pure Rarity Belvedere," where the studio of Ni Zan (1301-1374) is located, exudes the natural beauty of mountains and rocks. The Small-Rock Mountain Abode built by Shitao (1642-*c*. 1707) is still there for all to see in Yangzhou. Virtually every famous landscape garden-maker is an accomplished painter, but their fame in painting is often eclipsed by their prestige in garden-making.

From the Yuan on, realistic painting gradually gave way to freehand brushwork that stresses imagery and sentiment in abstract and succinct ways—which are also indispensible elements with which to move the sky and contract the land in Chinese garden-making. The emphasis on imagery and the quest for spiritual resonance are combined in one in this style of painting to embody lofty sentiments and convey meanings beyond sound and rhythm, which, too, is essential to the craft of Chinese gardens. In short, painting implies poetry, and gardens allude to images portrayed in painting. Therefore, poetic sentiment and picturesque allusion provide the guideline for the making of Chinese gardens.

A painter is particular about the position of a subject in his work, whereas a garden-maker is scrupulous with the layout of a garden he wants to make. When an artificial mountain is built, fabulous veins and textures in the component rocks are much sought after, whereas texturing brushwork is paramount when rocks are being portrayed in a painting. Landscape painting gives prominence to the sequence of subjects and momentum, which are also

emphasized more than anything else in garden-making, as the sequence of subjects invites the visitor to watch while sitting down, and the momentum entices him into the scenery thus built. A garden is a three-dimensional picture that changes rain or shine, day or night more than a painting can. As to planning the mountains and shaping the waters in a garden by patterning after natural landscape, each has its own paradigms to go by.

Drawing upon the best texturing brushwork of all the famous painters dating back to the Song and the Yuan, the builder of the artificial mountain in Suzhou's Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode was easily as preeminent to Chinese rockwork as Li Bai (701-762) and Du Fu (712-770) are to Chinese poetry. The metamorphosis of artificial mountains through the ages is also intimately associated with changes in the styles of painting. The elegant but massive artificial mountains built during the Qianlong reign (1736-1795) of the Qing are comparable to the paintings of their day, while those built under the Tongzhi (1862-1875) and Guangxu (1875-1908) reigns are as petty and fragile as the style of paintings of their time. Indeed, artificial mountains born of a particular period cannot be judged without looking into the style of painting of their time.

Rocks come in a good variety, and their veins and textures vary as well. Similarly, every possible school of texturing brushwork in painting can always shine forth on its own. Just as Shitao says,

> Peaks tally with texturing brushstrokes;
> Texturing brushwork stems from peaks.

It is almost impossible to paint rocks without texturing brushstrokes. The differences in such techniques give rise to different schools of painting. Given the vast differences between rock veins and texturing brushwork, an able artist would not apply techniques designed for Lake Tai rocks on the dainty bamboo-and-rock paintings of Ni Zan, nor would he use yellow stones to build the artificial mountains portrayed in the paintings of Wang Meng (1308-1385)[1], the "Woodcutter from the Yellow Crane Mountain." Those who are ignorant of the diverse schools of painting and their respective portrayal techniques can never come up with an impressive artificial mountain. Knowledge and cultural attainment enable an artificial mountain builder to apply rocks the way a painter manoeuvres his brush, so that the peaks and dales in his creations bear a close resemblance to those depicted in a master painter's work. Painters, inspired by real mountains and rivers, set styles and invent techniques for their works, whereas artificial mountain builders employ these painters' styles and techniques to recreate landscape

with rocks. It goes without saying that quite a few artificial mountains are patterned after real mountains, but if a builder, instead of consulting painting theories and assimilating painters' texturing techniques to improve on what he sees from a model mountain, mechanically copies a prototype's beauty and ugliness, his creation is bound to lack picturesque values.

In terms of shape, color and height, the flowers and trees in a Chinese garden are compatible with those depicted in a painting. The atmosphere portrayed in the line, "Weathered vines, old trees and sleepy crow; tiny bridge, flowing stream and family," is appreciated by men of letters, landscape gardeners and painters alike because it accords with the goal of their shared pursuit for beauty, and because the various elements are grouped exactly as they are depicted in a painting. Paintings are done on paper, whereas the Chinese garden uses a white-washed wall as its backdrop, which, with flowers and trees tossing their shadows onto it, looks exactly like a painting in itself.

> [Zhang Lian] designed artificial mountains with original conceptions and built them by adopting the painting techniques of Li Cheng (919-967) and Dong Yuan (?-*c*. 962) of the Southern Tang (937-962), as well as the "Great Eccentric Taoist" (1269-1354) and the "Woodcutter from Yellow Crane Mountain" of the Yuan.[2] Artificial mountains created in this way feature fantastic peaks and ravines and cascading rapids in a space that twists and turns until it tapers away into the distance. With painstaking efforts, his craftsmanship of such an artificial mountain excels nature.

The reason why the great master Zhang Lian (1587-1673) could also accomplish so much in building artificial mountains for the Chinese gardens is amply explicated in this passage.

园林与山水画

清初画家恽南田（寿平）曾经说过：“元人园亭小景，只用树石坡池，随意点置，以亭台篱径，映带曲折，天趣萧闲，使人游赏无尽。”这几句话可供研究元代园林的重要参证。所以，不知中国画理画论，难以言中国园林。我国园林自元代以后，它与画家的关系，几乎不可分割，倪云林（瓒）的清秘阁便是饶有山石之胜，石涛所为的扬州片石山房，至今犹在人间。著名的造园家，几乎皆工绘事，而画名却被园林之名所掩为多。

我国的绘画从元代以后，以写意多于写实，以抽象概括出之，重意境与情趣，移天缩地，正我国造园所必备者。言意境，讲韵味，表高洁之情操，求弦外之音韵，两者二而一也。此即我国造园特征所在。简言之，画中寓诗情，园林参画意，诗情画意遂为中国园林之主导思想。

画究经营位置，造园言布局，叠山求文理，画石讲皴法。山水画重脉络气势，园林尤重此端，前者坐观，后者入游。所谓立体画本，而晦明风雨，四时朝夕，其变化之多，更多于画本。至范山模水，各有所自。苏州环秀山庄假山，其笔意兼宋元诸家之长，变化之多，丘壑之妙，足称叠山典范，我曾誉为如诗中之李杜。而诸时代叠山之嬗变，亦如画之风格紧密相关。清乾隆时假山之硕秀，一如当时之画，而同光间之碎弱，又复一如画风，故不究一时代之画，难言同时期之假山也。

石有品种不同，文理随之而异，画之皴法亦各臻其妙，石涛所谓“峰与皴合，皴自峰生”。无皴难以画石。盖皴法有别，画派遂之而异。故能者决不能以湖石写倪云林之竹石小品，用黄石叠黄鹤山樵之峰峦。因石与画家所运用之皴法有殊。如不明画派与画家所用表现手法，从未见有佳构。学养之功，促使其运石如用笔，腕底丘壑出现纸上。画家从真山而创造出各画派画法，而叠山家又用画家之法而再现山水。当然亦有许多假山直接摹拟于真山，然不参画理概括提高，皴法巧运，达文理之统一，必如写实模型，美丑互现，无画意可言矣。

中国园林花木，重姿态，色彩高低配置悉符画本。“枯藤老树昏鸦，小桥流水人家”。文学家、园林家、画家皆欣赏它，因有共同所追求之美的目标，而其组合方法，亦同画本所示者。画以纸为底。中国园林以素壁为背景，粉墙花影，宛若图画。故叠山家张涟能“以意创为假山，以营丘、北苑、大痴、黄鹤画法为之，峰壑湍濑，曲折平远，经营惨淡，巧夺画工”。已足够说明问题了。

GARDENS AND KUNQU OPERA: BEAUTY'S TOUR DE FORCE

Written on a mid-summer day, 1981

It was one of the dog days in the Jiangnan area. Cicadas inside of the courtyard kept chirping from morning till night, and joining in the clamour was a neighbor's blaring cassette recorder. Even though the potted orchid in my small home was at its aromatic and luxuriant best, it was a typical case of "trees wanting to be quiet, but the wind refusing to quit howling." In helplessness, I could not but "pit poison against poison." Driven by my weakness for Kunqu Opera as a "diehard literatus," I flipped on my turntable, and the air was instantly filled with the notes of such lines in *The Peony Pavilion* ("The Interrupted Dream"),

> The spring a rippling thread of gossamer gleaming sinuous in the sun borne idly across the court…. Streaking the dawn, close-curled at dusk, rosy clouds frame emerald pavilion; fine threads of rain, petals borne on breeze, gilded pleasure boat in waves of mist.

The melodious music and bewitching lyrics spirited my heart from the enchantment of Kunqu Opera to the beauty of a garden in no time. In this half-day piece of leisure snatched from my floating life, I somehow found joy by revelling for a while in the comfort of my small world.

The Chinese garden reached maturity during the Ming and the Qing. Especially after Kunqu Opera became all the rage in the Jiangnan area by the mid-Ming, an inseparable relationship arose between the garden and the opera. Not only the titles of some operas were associated with gardens, but their settings and those gardens' conceptions became interdependent as well, so much so that at times the setting of a certain opera became the conception of a garden, and vice versa, albeit in a different mode of expression. The preeminent dramatist Li Yu (1611-1680), for example, was a landscape gardener himself. The first thing a scholar official does when making a garden is to build a parlor in it, which is water-bound in most cases, but oftentimes a waterside belvedere is added as well.

Every parlor or waterside belvedere, such as the Lotus Root Fragrance Gazebo in the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence and the Hat-Ribbon Washing Belvedere in the Master-of-Fishnets Garden in Suzhou, is also a venue for appreciating operas. With a gentle breeze wafting into such a building on the

water, the audience would tilt their heads while luxuriating in the melody of singing to the accompaniment of pipe-wind music drifting in from the outside world. Even in the heat waves of a high-summer day it would be divine to sing a Kunqu aria or two without accompaniment with lush green lotus leaves nodding in front of the building. Such a captivating scene never fails to bring old memories back to mind.

The opera-singing evening parties thrown by Yu Mingheng (1900-1990) and other venerable professors at the waterside I-shaped Parlor of Tsinghua University are still the talk of the town today. At the time, the renowned Professor Zhu Ziqing (1898-1948)[1] was also teaching at Tsinghua. Quite a few literary works of these two professors are somewhat related to these parties.

The western section of the Humble Administrator's Garden, known as Additional Garden from 1892 onwards, is the site of the famous Hall of Thirty-Six Pairs of Mandarin Ducks. The hall's parlor features a paraboloid roof with its truss so well concealed that the entire structure becomes both visually pleasing and acoustically effective. It turns out that this parlor was a contribution of the garden's owner Zhang Lüqian (1838-1915), who furnished the garden together with Gu Yun (1835-1896), a renowned painter who was also a Kunqu Opera enthusiast. This was also where Yu Zhenfei (1902-1993) spent his childhood with his father Yu Zonghai (1847-1930) as a private tutor with the Zhangs. Whenever I related these anecdotes to Yu, he would wax affectionate and tell me vivid tales about the years he had spent in that garden.

In days of yore, the Chinese garden was an integral part of people's sentiments and everyday life, and Kunqu Opera was instrumental in enriching the garden's charms. The scenery of the garden is resonant with the enchanting singing of the opera in both character and appeal. When the movie *Suzhou Gardens* was in the making a few years ago, and when the Americans arrived to shoot the movie *Suzhou* two years ago, both crews accepted my suggestion that some Kunqu tunes be used as background music, and the result was a success. Because the well hammered-out water-mill tune of Kunqu Opera is most appropriate for singing and performing at small functions for its elaborate dancing techniques, accurate pronunciations, elegant lyrics, and lilting syllables, the water-bound chamber or hall inside a garden become its best venues. Unlike those tunes that have to be sung at the top of one's voice on rugged rural opera stages, the water-mill tune is as

captivatingly subtle and graceful as the sparse but state-of-the-art structures of a garden. One of the lyrics in *The Peony Pavilion* ("The Interrupted Dream") puts it this way,

> Unwearying joy—how should we break its spell even by visits each in turn to the Twelve Towers of Fairyland?

What this line captures is exactly the spirit of the Chinese garden. The inauguration on June 18, 1980, of the Astor Court, a replica of Suzhou's Late-Spring Peony Lodge, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, touched off a wave of Chinese garden-insanity worldwide. By the same token, I surmise Kunqu-insanity will come about before long.

The beauty of Kunqu Opera is not limited to performing art. With its literary librettos, tones, pronunciations, tonality, music and its rhythms and percussions having been thrashed out and refined repeatedly for centuries, it is a veritable repository of Chinese culture. I remember lecturing on the Chinese garden to a Kunqu Opera class at the Shanghai Theater Academy on a pre-1966 day. It sounds like a joke, but the man who invited me was the academy's president, the far-sighted Yu Zhenfei, himself a Kunqu Opera superstar known for his roles in such operas as "The Interrupted Dream." If an opera performer has the vistas of a Chinese garden in his mind's eye, his action will no longer be "water without a source" or "a tree without roots," and his performance will be passionate, lively and lifelike. The reason why Mei Lanfang (1894-1961)[2], Yu Zhenfei and others could be idolized as opera gurus of their time is because of their sublime cultivation in many cultural fields aside from theater. Some garden visitors today are abandoned to beer and skittles and totally ignorant of the aesthetics of the garden's artistic conception—isn't it a great pity?

The beauty of the Chinese garden boils down to a single word, elegance, that is, elegance in demeanour, interest, mood, lifestyle, energy, and what not. A high-calibre Kunqu Opera libretto must be scholastic, and being scholastic is essentially the same as being elegant, for culture must be embodied in such a work, be it an opera or a garden. In the Chinese garden the scenery runs up and down as it turns this way and that, disappears at one moment and reappears at another, now stops the visitor on his track for in-situ viewing, now pushes him along for some in-motion viewing, but all the time it keeps him engrossed. The leisure thus generated on the tour evokes a poem or a painting that cannot be digested by those who come in a hurry, but is reserved only for those willing to take their time and ruminate what meets their eyes as they sit down or walk along. Kunqu Opera is presented for the

same purpose, with each of its songs refrained three times and ended with a lingering effect on the theatergoer; far from the disco's pulsating beats, it is gentle and graceful in tonality and rhythm. The reason why young people nowadays dislike Kunqu Opera is manifold. For one thing, their understanding of it is impeded by their lack of cultural edification; for another, in a typical case of "highbrow music having few followings," this opera's melodic music contravenes, say, the rush of disco music. This has nothing to do with the aesthetics of Kunqu Opera; rather, it is like some children who do not like eating olives because they do not know how to savor their taste. Instead of downgrading a sublime form of art to cater to a large audience, we are duty-bound to promote education in aesthetics and help the younger generation improve their cultural attainment.

As I bring this short essay to an end, the melody of the lyrics of the Kunqu Opera *The Story of the Jade Hairpin* ("Heart-Stirring Lute") seems to have drifted into my ears once more:

> Heavy are shadows of flowers multilayered upon a
> white-washed wall;
> Curtains lift on remnant lotuses swaying in wind
> from a waterside hall.

The weather is still smothering, but my vision is graced with the picture-perfect views of the Chinese garden.

园林美与昆曲美

正是江南大伏天气，院子里的鸣蝉从早叫到晚，邻居的录音机又是各逞其威。虽然小斋中的这盆建兰开得那么馥郁，然而“树欲静而风不止”。在无可奈何的情况下，我也只好“以毒攻毒”，开起了我们这些所谓“顽固分子”充满了“士大夫情趣”者所乐爱的昆曲来。“袅晴丝，吹来闲庭院，摇漾春如线”。“朝飞暮卷，云霞翠轩”“雨丝风片，烟波画船”。（《牡丹亭·游园》）悠扬的音节，美丽的辞藻，慢慢地从昆曲美引入了园林美，难得浮生半日闲，我也能自寻其乐，陶醉在我闲适的境界里。

我国园林，从明、清后发展到了成熟的阶段，尤其自明中叶后，昆曲盛行于江南，园与曲起了不可分割的关系。不但曲名与园林有关，而曲境与园林更互相依存，有时几乎曲境就是园境，而园境又同曲境。文学艺术的意境与园林是一致的，所谓不同形式表现而已。清代的戏曲家李渔又是个园林家。过去士大夫造园必须先建造花厅，而花厅又多以临水为多，或者再添水阁。花厅、水阁都是兼作顾曲之所，如苏州怡园藕香榭、网师园濯缨水阁等，水殿风来，余音绕梁，隔院笙歌，侧耳倾听，此情此景，确令人向往，勾起我的回忆。虽在溽暑，人们于绿云摇曳的荷花厅前，兴来一曲清歌，真有人间天上之感。当年俞平伯老先生们在清华大学工字门水边的曲会，至今还传为美谈，那时，朱自清先生亦在清华任教，他俩不少的文学作品，多少与此有关。

苏州拙政园的西部，过去名补园，有一座名“三十六鸳鸯馆”的花厅，它的结构，其顶是用“卷棚顶”，这种巧妙的形式，不但美观，可以看不到上面的屋架，而且对音响效果很好。原来主人张履谦先生，他既与画家顾若波等同布置“补园”，复酷嗜昆曲。俞振飞同志与其父亲粟庐先生皆客其家。俞先生的童年是成长在这园中。我每与俞先生谈及此事，他还娓娓地为我话说当年。

中国过去的园林，与当时人们的生活感情分不开，昆曲便是充实了园林内容的组成部分。在形的美之外，还有声的美，载歌载舞，因此在整个情趣上必须是一致的。从前拍摄“苏州园林”，及前年美国来拍摄“苏州”电影，我都建议配以昆曲音乐而成功的。昆曲的所谓“水磨调”，是那么的经过推敲，身段是那么细腻，咬字是那么准确，文辞是那么美丽，音节是那么抑扬，宜于小型的会唱与演出，因此园林中的厅榭、水阁，都是最好的表演场所，它不必如草台戏的那样用高腔，重以婉约含蓄移人，亦正如园林结构一样，“少而精”，“以少胜多”，耐人寻味。《牡丹亭·游园》唱词的“观之不足由他遣”。“观之不足”，就是中国

园林精神所在，要含蓄不尽。如今国外自从“明轩”建成后，掀起了中国园林热，我想很可能昆曲热，不久也便会到来的。

昆曲之美，不仅仅在表演艺术，其文学、音韵、音乐，乃至一板一眼，皆经过了几百年的琢磨，确是我国文化的宝库。我记得在“文化革命”前，上海戏曲学校昆曲班，邀我去讲中国园林，有些人看来似乎是“笑话”，实则当时俞振飞校长真是有见地，演“游园”“惊梦”的演员，如果他脑子中有了中国园林的境界，那他的一举一动，便不是无本之木，无源之水了，演来有感情，有生命，有声有色。梅兰芳、俞振飞诸老一辈的表演家，其能成一代宗师者，皆得之于戏剧之外的大量修养。我们有些人今天游园林，往往仅知吃喝玩乐，不解意境之美，似乎太可惜一点吧！

中国园林，以“雅”为主，“典雅”“雅趣”“雅致”“雅淡”“雅健”等等，莫不突出“雅”。而昆曲之高者，所谓必具书卷气，其本质一也，就是说，都要有文化，将文化具体表现在作品上。中国园林，有高低起伏，有藏有隐，有动观、静观，有节奏，宜细赏，人游其间的那种悠闲情绪，是一首诗，一幅画，而不是匆匆而来，匆匆而去，走马观花，到此一游；而是宜坐，宜行，宜看，宜想。而昆曲呢？亦正为此，一唱三叹，曲终而味未尽，它不是那种“嘣嚓嚓”，而是十分婉转的节奏。今日有许多青年不爱看昆曲，原因是多方面的，我看是一方面文化水平差了，领会不够；另一方面，那悠然多韵味的音节适应不了“嘣嚓嚓”的急躁情绪，当然曲高和寡了。这不是昆曲本身不美，而正仿佛有些小朋友不爱吃橄榄一样，不知其味。我们有责任来提高他们，而不是降格迁就，要多作美学教育才是。

写到此，那“粉墙花影自重重，帘卷残荷水殿风”，　　《玉簪记·琴挑》的清新辞句，又依稀在我耳边，天虽仍是那么热，但在我的感觉上又出现了如画的园林。

JOY OF DAILY RAMBLING OF GARDENS

Written on a mid-summer day, 1981

A crystallization of architecture, calligraphy and painting, literature and horticulture, the picture-perfect and poetic Chinese garden is a school in its own right worldwide.

Every traditional garden in this country has a personality peculiarly its own. What the Summer Palace of Beijing impresses us most is its Kunming Lake at the foot of the Longevity Hill. The centerpiece of the Beihai Park is a lake with the Jade Flowery Islet on it. Also impressive is the mist-enveloped serpentine water surface of the Humble Administrator's Garden in Suzhou, and the mammoth artificial mountain built of yellow stones in the Geyuan's Garden[1] of Yangzhou.

If the lie of the land is taken into consideration while a resourceful design is pencilled out accordingly before a garden comes under construction, not only manpower and resources can be economized, but the scenic sights can also be arranged judiciously. In garden-making parlance, this is put as "accommodating measures to the circumstances."

The traditional Chinese garden is centered on mountain or water. If a garden is predicated on mountain, water plays a supplementing role, or the other way round. Bodies of water are scattered or congregated, and the mountain takes the form of a transverse ridge or steep peak. Gardens make a name for themselves with scenic attractions; such attractions differ from one another to give every garden a distinct personality. Scenery may be enjoyed when the onlooker stays put or moves along, hence the terms, "in-situ viewing" and "in-motion viewing." A garden's artistic attainment is judged by whether it has eschewed the old rut and worked its "trademark" scenery to the best vantage.

The overwhelming majority of traditional Chinese gardens are walled in, with scenic sights concealed in their precincts. However, external views are oftentimes incorporated into such a garden to extend its space as far as possible and to yield a haunting impression, which is what is meant by "view borrowing." Observed from a balustrade in the True-Meaning Lake and

Mountain Pavilion in the Summer Palace of Beijing at sunset, the Jade Spring Mountain close at hand and the Western Hills in the distance look like they had been spirited into the garden by a celestial hand.

A large Chinese garden often contains a number of small ones. Examples are the Garden of Harmonious Charms in the Summer Palace, the Tranquil Mind Chamber in the Beihai Park, the Loquat Courtyard in the Humble Administrator's Garden, and the Kowtow-to-Peak Verandah in the Lingering Garden. Such groupings of

large and small gardens create settings that are either extravert or introvert, and set the stage for buildings in different sizes along with mountains, rocks and trees in many a becoming manner. The Three Pools Mirroring the Moon at the West Lake is a typical case of small pools ensconced in a large lake. In most cases, such a small pool or garden becomes the pick inside of a large one because it is worth pondering over for a lingering time with its architecture, rockwork and miniature landscapes designed with attention to the minute detail. In contrast with views that keep changing with the shift of the visitor's footsteps along a roofed walkway, a small scenic attraction is best observed when the visitor pauses for some time on his track.

The scenic sights inside of a Chinese garden are in the main imitations of nature. They are natural-looking vistas constructed with human resources so that, "Though man-made, they look like born of nature." Such a vista does not necessarily stress which mountain or body of water is its prototype, but the connection is generalized succinctly. A good example in this regard is the Summer Palace of Beijing, which is patterned after the West Lake of Hangzhou but does not look the same in every aspect. Lands-capepainting images are also incorporated with the emotional setting of a certain poem to conjure up scenic wonders at once poetic and picturesque. Contrasting and complementing techniques are employed to add variations to a twisting and turning scene. In the Summer Palace, for example, the frontal hills are strewn with sumptuous buildings, whereas on its back hills nature presents herself in saturated verdure—the two scenic sections are designed to bring out the best in each other and engender different feelings in the spectator. The Chinese garden is replete with contrasts between architecture and rockwork large and small, high and low, scarcity and density, and so on. The leading scenery is often brought into bold relief by secondary scenery, such as the White Pagoda of the Beihai Park, the Five Pavilions atop the Prospect Hill, and the

Buddhist Incense Belvedere of the Summer Palace.

Apart from rockwork and trees, the artistic layout of buildings such as a gazebo tucked away amidst flowers or a pavilion overlooking a stream is crucial to the Chinese garden. Ornamental supplements like roofed walkways, undulating walls, zigzagging bridges and latticed windows are employed as well to variegate the vistas, expand the space, and lend depth to the scenery. Visitors to Chinese gardens invariably feel that, despite their small sizes, a delightfully intricate plan resides in their scenic allure. Such a feeling is engendered through varied combinations of sights that are open or hidden, mystically distant or brightly and spaciously close at hand. Sightseeing in such a garden is like browsing a long scroll of landscape painting—once your eyes are fixed on it, scenes and sights would flash into your eyes in a constant stream.

"Good flowers ought to be set off by good lofts and terraces," as Chen Weisong (1625-1682)[2] puts it. Few visitors leave the Round City in the Beihai Park of Beijing without being captivated by the clumps of pines and cypresses sagaciously arranged in front of the Light-Sustaining Palace. Why? For one thing, the contours and shapes of these trees are tailored to the heights of the buildings. For another, planted in tree beds, they are artfully scattered or clustered to mix and interweave their green foliage and curling branches against the vermillion walls and blue-glazed roof tiles in the surroundings, thereby invoking a vista so inviting that visitors would hate to go away any time soon. In a similar fashion, the crabapple trees in front of the Hall of Joyful Longevity are integrated with the encircling buildings to bring about a picture no less exquisite and brilliant than a horticultural masterpiece. The gardens in the Jiangnan area are a school in their own right in this regard, as they present eye-pleasing pictures by setting luxuriant flowers and trees and graceful-looking bamboos and rocks against white-washed walls. Most of the flowers and trees serving this purpose have been pruned and trained repeatedly for long years until desired configurations are achieved.

Apart from artificial mountains, the Chinese garden also features shapely rocks, every one of them standing out like an impressionist sculpture waiting to be singled out for enjoyment. Spectators are apt to invest sentiments into them, and affectionately call them "peaks with a human face," or "*gui*[3]-shaped peaks." To find their way into a garden, these rocks must be slim, wrinkled, riddled through, and well hollowed out, for only the exquisite

and well-perforated ones are the choicest. No garden can come to fame without coming into possession of such exotic rocks. The Exquisite Jade Boulder in Shanghai's Gratification Garden and the Cloud-Crowned Peak in Suzhou's Lingering Garden are among the nature-wrought Lake Tai stones[4] par excellence, which help augment the charms of their respective gardens greatly.

A pavilion or a belvedere in the Chinese garden often has a poetic name, which is sometimes graced by a well-written poetic couplet that flanks its front door. Those who have read the picaresque novel *The Travels of Lao Can* by Liu E (1857-1909)[5] may well remember this episode: Lao Can cannot help murmuring to himself, "It's nice, really nice," upon reading this couplet during a visit to the Daming Lake[6] in Jinan,

> Lotus flowers in four directions, willows on three sides;
> A whole city of mountains, with half of it given to lakes.

This couplet speaks volumes for the finishing touch literature renders the traditional Chinese garden.

A garden's scenery changes with the seasons. Guo Xi (*c*. 1023-*c*. 1085), a famed landscape painter of the Northern Song, says in his book on the theories of painting, *The Lofty and Sublime Messages of Forests and Streams*,

> The mountain is charming in a subtle way as if it is smiling in spring, so saturated in greenness as to seemingly drip in summer, bright and clean as though wearing subtle makeup in autumn, and palely demure as if asleep in winter.

Landscape gardeners through the ages have more or less assimilated these traditional painting guidelines in the gardens they have created. In the Geyuan's Garden of Yangzhou, artificial mountains are installed to represent the four seasons through a play of colors: the spring mountain is built of bluish green stalagmites; the summer mountain, grey Lake Tai stones; the autumn mountain, yellow stones the color of ochre; and the winter mountain, Xuan stones[7] as white as snow. Accordingly, the yellow stones are breathtakingly steep and sky-reaching to attract climbers in autumn. Snow stones are piled up in front of a hall for people to marvel at while staying indoors in winter.

When spring sets in at dawn as per human will, people ought to visit gardens before it is too late.

园日涉以成趣

中国园林如画如诗，是集建筑、书画、文学、园艺等艺术的精华，在世界造园艺术中独树一帜。

每一个园都有自己的风格，游颐和园，印象最深的应是昆明湖与万寿山；游北海，则是湖面与琼华岛；苏州拙政园曲折弥漫的水面，扬州个园峻拔的黄石大假山等，也都令人印象深刻。

在造园时，如能利用天然的地形再加人工的设计配合，这样不但节约了人工物力，并且利于景物的安排，造园学上称为“因地制宜”。

中国园林有以山为主体的，有以水为主体的，也有以山为主水为辅，或以水为主山为辅的，而水亦有散聚之分，山有平冈峻岭之别。园以景胜，景因园异，各具风格。在观赏时，又有动观与静观之趣。因此，评价某一园林艺术时，要看它是否发挥了这一园景的特色，不落常套。

中国古典园林绝大部分四周皆有墙垣，景物藏之于内。可是园外有些景物还要组合到园内来，使空间推展极远，予人以不尽之意，此即所谓“借景”。颐和园借近处的玉泉山和较远的西山景，每当夕阳西下时，在湖山真意亭处凭栏，二山仿佛移置园中，确是妙法。

中国园林，往往在大园中包小园，如颐和园的谐趣园、北海的静心斋、苏州拙政园的枇杷园、留园的揖峰轩等，他们不但给园林以开朗与收敛的不同境界，同时又巧妙地把大小不同、结构各异的建筑物与山石树木，安排得十分恰当。至于大湖中包小湖的办法，要推西湖的三潭印月最妙了。这些小园、小湖多数是园中精华所在，无论在建筑处理、山石堆叠、盆景配置等，都是细笔工描，耐人寻味。游园的时候，对于这些小境界，宜静观盘桓。它与廊引人随的动观看景，适成相反。

中国园林的景物主要摹仿自然，用人工的力量来建筑天然的景色，即所谓“虽由人作，宛自天开”。这些景物虽不一定强调仿自某山某水，但多少有些根据，用精炼概括的手法重现。颐和园的仿西湖便是一例，可是它又不尽同于西湖。亦有利用山水画的画稿，参以诗词的情调，构成许多诗情画意的景色。在曲折多变的景物中，还运用了对比和衬托等手法。颐和园前山为华丽的建筑群，后山却是苍翠的自然景物，两者予人不同的感觉，却相得益彰。在中国园林中，往往以建筑物与山石作对比，大与小作对比，高与低作对比，疏与密作对比等等。而一园的主要景物又由若干次要的景物衬托而出，使宾主分明，像北京北海的白塔、景山的五亭、颐和园的佛香阁便是。

中国园林，除山石树木外，建筑物的巧妙安排，十分重要，如花间

隐榭、水边安亭。还可利用长廊云墙、曲桥漏窗等，构成各种画面，使空间更加扩大，层次分明。因此，游过中国园林的人会感到庭园虽小，却曲折有致。这就是景物组合成不同的空间感觉，有开朗，有收敛，有幽深，有明畅。游园观景，如看中国画的长卷一样，次第接于眼帘，观之不尽。

“好花须映好楼台”，到过北海团城的人，没有一个不说团城承光殿前的松柏布置得妥帖宜人。这是什么道理？其实是松柏的姿态与附近的建筑物高低相称，又利用了“树池”将它参差散植，加以适当的组合，使疏密有致，掩映成趣。苍翠虬枝与红墙碧瓦构成一幅极好的画面，怎不令人流连忘返呢？颐和园乐寿堂前的海棠，同样与四周的廊屋形成了玲珑绚烂的构图，这些都是绿化中的佳作。江南的园林利用白墙作背景，配以华滋的花木、清拔的竹石，明洁悦目，又别具一格。园林中的花木，大都是经过长期的修整，使姿态曲尽画意。

园林中除假山外，尚有立峰，这些单独欣赏的佳石，如抽象的雕刻品，欣赏时，往往以情悟物，进而将它人格化，称其人峰、圭峰之类。它必具有“瘦、皱、透、漏”的特点，方称佳品，即要玲珑剔透。中国古代园林中，要有佳峰珍石，方称得名园。上海豫园的玉玲珑、苏州留园的冠云峰，在太湖石【从周案二十】中都是上选，使园林生色不少。

若干园林亭阁，不但有很好的命名，有时还加上很好的对联，读过刘鹗的《老残游记》，总还记得老残在济南游大明湖，看了“四面荷花三面柳，一城山色半城湖”的对联后，暗暗称道：“真个不错。”可见文学在园林中所起的作用。

不同的季节，园林呈现不同的风光。北宋名山水画家郭熙在其画论《林泉高致》中说过：“春山淡冶而如笑，夏山苍翠而如滴，秋山明净而如妆，冬山惨淡而如睡。”造园者多少参用了这些画理，扬州的个园便是用了春夏秋冬不同的假山。在色泽上，春山用略带青绿的石笋，夏山用灰色的湖石，秋山用褐色的黄石，冬山用白色的雪石。黄石山奇峭凌云，俾便秋日登高。雪石罗堆厅前，冬日可作居观，便是体现这个道理。

晓色春开，春随人意，游园当及时。

VIEW BORROWING IN GARDEN ARCHITECTURE

Tongji University Journal, Architecture Edition, Issue No. 1, 1958

View borrowing figures large in a garden's plan. It merits attention in garden designing, and cannot be dispensed with in urban planning or the designing of dwellings and public buildings. Upon arriving at a well-designed garden, the visitor would feel indescribably relaxed and amused the moment he starts looking around. At a close look, he finds that the secret lies in the clever borrowing of views, a technique already in spontaneous use among garden crafters in antiquity, but it was not summarized until the Chongzhen reign (1628-1644) of the late Ming. In *The Craft of Gardens*, Ji Cheng (1582-*c*. 1642) writes,

> Skill in landscape design is shown in the ability to "follow" and "borrow from" the existing scenery and terrain…. Following the existing lie of the land may require any of these skills: designing in accordance with the rise and fall of the natural contours, to accentuate their intrinsic form; or lopping tree branches that block the view and using rocks to direct the flow of a stream, so that each borrows value from the other. Where a pavilion is appropriate, build a pavilion, and where a gazebo is needed, build a gazebo. It does not matter if the paths are hidden away; in fact they should be laid out to twist and turn with the land; this is what is meant by artistry through suitability. To borrow from the scenery means that although the interior of a garden is distinct from what lies outside it, as long as there is a good view you need not be concerned whether this is close by or far away, whether clear mountains enhance their beauty in the distance or a dark purple-walled temple rises into the sky nearby. Wherever the view within your sight is vulgar, block it off, but where it is beautiful, take advantage of it; never mind if it is just empty fields around farm houses, make use of it all as a misty background. This is what is known as skill in fitting in with the form of the land…. If you can have a Buddhist monastery as your neighbor, the chanting of Sanskrit will come to your ears. The remote mountain peaks, gleaming with wondrous hues, form a bewitching background…. There are no fixed rules for designing gardens but there are certain principles for using natural scenery…. Making use of the natural scenery is the most vital part of garden design. There are various aspects such as using scenery in the distance, near at hand, above you, below you, and at certain times of the year.

Li Yu (1611-1680) also says in *The One Man's Account*,

> Only through borrowing can a view be accommodated.

These words of Ji and Li have laid down the cardinal rules for garden-makers of later generations. Today, I would like to present my humble opinions on this issue, and beg for corrections if I have said anything wrong.

The view to be borrowed within comes apparently from without. In the same manner of converting something in someone else's

possession into one's own, an outside view can be incorporated into a garden to enrich or augment its attractions. The views borrowed in early years mostly came from natural landscape, which is best described by Tao Yuanming (*c*. 365-427):

> Picking aster 'neath the eastern fence,
> Upon southern mountains my gaze lies.

The gist of this line boils down to the word "gaze," a natural and unaffected means for intentional or unintentional "view borrowing." Wang Wei (701-761) announced the villa he had built in Wangchuan in what is present-day Lantian, Shaanxi province, by saying, "I have an estate at Wangchuan." Bai Juyi (772-846), who lived in roughly the same age as Wang Wei, had his famous Thatched Hut built on Mount Lushan, Jiangxi province.

In *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden*, Qian Yong (1759-1844) says of the Garden of Perennial Spring in Wuhu, Anhui province:

> The Reddish Brown Mountain presents itself before the window, with everything else—water swirling and rippling, a pagoda silhouetted in the pool, and bells tolling—coming into sight or within earshot all at once.

What views are borrowed is apparent in these lines. Just as Li Gefei (*c*. 1045-*c*. 1105) said of the Loop Stream Gully in *A Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang*:

> From there, if one gazes out to the south, the layered peaks and green crests of Mount Songgao, Mount Shaoshi, Mount Longmen, and Mount Dagu present their wonder to the eye…. From there, if one gazes out to the north, he will see the halls and towers in the palace compounds of Sui-Tang times, with thousands of doors and ten times as many windows, lofty and elevated, splendid and gorgeous, stretching for a dozen miles on end. What took Zuo Si (250-305) over ten years of utmost efforts to describe in his rhapsodies can be exhausted here at one single glance.

About the Hu's Two Gardens North of the River, he says,

> Its terrace offers a view that extends for over one hundred square miles in all directions: the Yi and the Luo Rivers zigzag through it; the trees and plants enveloped in mist and set off by clouds appear to be luxuriant; tall lofts and circuitous gazebos emerge at one moment and vanish at another. A painter, even after painstaking deliberations, would find it hard to paint all these out. Yet it is named "Terrace for Frolicking with the Moon."

Xu Hongzu (1586-1641)[1] says in *Diaries on Travels in Yunnan*,

> In the Ma's Garden a pavilion was built on another pond's southern bank, so that it faces the brooklet northward. Across the pond, the halls and pavilions of the Dragon Spring Temple are strewn here and there. A stupa up a ridge tosses its silhouette into the center of rippling water from the top of a plateau overlooking the Nine-Dragon Pond. But even more exotic is the view, with the slope and the pond contrasting each other whilst water bubbles and ripples endlessly at the fountainhead.

These gardens were all sited by "keeping the whole picture in mind," but no garden or estate does better than Buddhist temples in this regard. At least eighty per cent of these temples are nestled at the foot of a mountain, with a tranquil stream winding in the front and mountains rising in every direction.

Such a site not only offers sequestered peace and quiet, but the wind there is the mildest as well. With mountains clad in cloud, and mist and verdure "shifted" before the windows without much ado, no place is better than such a wellconcealed temple for those who come to study Buddhism. Indeed,

Green mountains are alluring in my senses,
As I expect myself into these mountains' eyes.

Take, for example, the Thriving Bliss Temple at the Yushan Mountain of Changshu, Jiangsu province. Low and small as this mountain is, the temple seems to be rimmed in by lofty mountains and precipitous peaks. Most enviable, however, is the scenery in the temple's precinct,

Into the remotest recess a winding path stretches;
A meditation room sits deep amid flowers and trees.

This description pertains to the National Purification Temple of the Tiantai Mountain, the Soul's Retreat Temple of Hangzhou, and the Heavenly Boy Temple of Ningbo. Similar examples and records are legion. The pity is that among the best scenic resorts I seldom see evidence of conscientious efforts made in view borrowing—the siting is seldom decided on account of local topography, with buildings often perched on mountains or clustered all over a slope. Now that landscape is rendered in such disarray, there is no view borrowing to speak of. Examples of haphazard siting are so prevalent that they merit serious attention.

In garden-making architecture, the first thing to consider is to mesh buildings with surroundings, or, as Ji Cheng admonishes, "The trick lies in accommodating and borrowing [views]." The scenery for view borrowing in this regard should be arranged with a high degree of flexibility and adaptability. A masterstroke can work wonders on things that are otherwise insipid; but in eyes that stare but do not see, a perfect view can be neglected even if it beckons frantically. Take, for example, the gardens in the Jiangnan area. Most gardens in Changshu are built upon level ridges and tiny knolls, with views borrowed from the Yushan Mountain in the background. This method is assimilated in the Solace-Imbued Garden at the foot of the Huishan Mountain in Wuxi, and patterned after in the Garden of Harmonious Charms in Beijing's Summer Palace by focusing its views on water, level ridges and winding shores, but, more importantly, by borrowing the views of the Longevity Hill. Indeed, even when our forebears were imitating something, they still kept their eyes on the general picture, and never took action before they had mastered the overall spirit of the project at hand. As to the gardens in Hangzhou, Yangzhou and Nanjing, their layouts and "view borrowing" are

strictly handled in accord with what the local mountains and waters can offer. Quite a few gardens in Songjiang, Suzhou, Changshu and Jiaxing in the Jiangnan area borrow views from the Buddhist pagodas beyond their walls. Just as Qian Yong puts it,

> Making a garden is like composing verse or prose;
> Every twist or turn must be done with prudence.

Only in this way can a garden stand out in distinction.

In his *Diaries on Travels in Yunnan*, Xu Hongzu writes,

> The Chinese pear-leaved crabapples are ripening in a northern neighbor's garden; draping their boughs over the southern wall, they appear bright red in a lovable way.

A famous Song-dynasty poem has it,

> Not to be shut up by a garden full of glory vernal,
> A twig of red apricot flowers ventures out of wall.

How beautiful the vistas are, offered by the red fruits in a northern neighbor's garden and the single twig of red apricot flowers protruding over a wall! *The Craft of Gardens* says again,

> However sparse a glimpse at a neighbor's flowers there is to be given, their vernal charms may well be gleaned for inexhaustible enjoyment if only they can be beckoned upon.

Thus we know the views to be borrowed can be large or small. Doesn't Ji Cheng talk about "using scenery in the distance" or "near at hand"? Shen Fu (1763-1825)[2] says in his *Six Records of a Floating Life*,

> From here we can look up to see mountain peaks, and look down to take in gardens and pavilions. Vast and quiet is the vista….

Indeed, if borrowed cleverly, exquisite views are available everywhere whether you look up or look down at them. Poets and painters of bygone years were so hard up they could only afford to build rooms with three rafters, but one thing they would never give up was "view borrowing," so that they could "lean" upon a mountainside as if it were a wall, and "bring" along water as if it came from a ditch.

In my opinion, neighboring homes in today's residential quarters may as well erect low walls or hedges between them, open lattice windows into their walls and cover them with green rattans and vines, so that they can communicate over such walls or hedges and borrow each other's views. Good-neighborly delights of this sort are at least better than neighbors staring at each other straight through opposite doors. In his comment on the Garden Half Way up the Mountain in *Miscellaneous Notes on the Eastern City*, Li E (1692-1752)[3] relates on a vista that belongs to a realm categorically different:

> The Garden Half Way up the Mountain is only half the size of the Yu's Garden, and they are separated merely by an alleyway. Climb up the northern loft of the Yu's Garden for a lookout, and one sees sun-lit woods and moss-greened rocks that seem to be crowding into one's bosom along with singing birds and fragrant flowers, an engrossing vista indeed. What the Hwa Dzan

> (Amitabha Buddhist) Temple east of the garden offers is a totally different view. After dusk falls when everything quiets down, and before the rise of a rooster's crow breaks the silence at the fifth watch of the night, water gurgles and pines sough to echo the drum beats and bell tolls from time to time.

Most gardens in Suzhou are walled in, making it impossible to borrow views from the outside world. This is where 'mutual borrowing of opposite views" inside of a garden comes in handy. As a matter of fact, "opposite-view borrowing" and "view borrowing" are the same thing, for you may just take "view borrowing" as an alternative to "opposite-view borrowing" that takes place outside of a garden. A stellar example of "opposite views" is found in the Humble Administrator's Garden, where the moon gate of the Loquat Courtyard opens exactly onto the Fragrant Snow and Luxuriant Cloud Pavilion, with the latter offering the former wonderful scenery to be borrowed. Close by the Loquat Courtyard is the Embroidered Damask Pavilion perched atop a knoll, where one can look down at the entire walled-in small yard and gaze far into the distance to see the Mountain-in-View Loft. This scenery is brought about by the mutual borrowing of views high and low and from the four directions. The tiny yards in front of the Yulan Magnolia Hall and the Vernal Crabapple Yard borrow views from the large garden they find themselves in, so that visitors to these tiny yards can still marvel at the spatial and spiritual resonance of a vast vista. Another good example of view borrowing can be found in the Good for Both Families Pavilion[4].

As a fine traditional landscape-making technique, view borrowing should certainly be inherited and put to wider use today. But some garden designers tend to thrash things out merely from a blueprint, without caring to make on-the-spot feasibility studies, and the requisite view borrowing method is likely to be brushed aside as a result. Take, for example, Shanghai with its jungle of tall buildings. If an artificial mountain is ill-located amidst jumbled high-rises, it will have little chance to evoke real mountains and woods, and people would find such a setting jarring. If a designer intends to borrow views from a tall building, he has got to think it over carefully. Because there are no views worth borrowing from its surroundings, the Multi-storied Building Garden perched upon an earthen hill at Doctor Ma's Lane, Suzhou, surrounds itself with houses with two methods offered in *The Craft of Gardens*,

> Where the view in sight is vulgar, block it off,
> But where it is beautiful, take advantage of it.

The Sun Yat-sen Park in west Shanghai seems to be a cut above its counterparts in that it detaches itself from the city's din and traffic in a variety

of ways. When we climb up an earthen knoll in the southeast corner of that garden and look into the distance, we can see none of the outside buildings—the designer has taken pains to block the views that cannot be borrowed, and then he has ponds dug and rocks stacked up to make the visitor feel like roving a wooded mountain.

In my opinion, it is inappropriate to erect tall mountains on the immense track of land of the Western Suburb Park in Shanghai because there are so many tall buildings in close proximity and in the distance. If the ponds nearby can be incorporated and interspersed with reeds in future expansion plans, those who go boating in the park will feel like they were oaring on a misty expanse of water akin to the Western Brook Wetland of Hangzhou. Once the water surface of a park is expanded, it not only adds to the allure of the vistas on the premises but also help mitigate dust and environmental pollution. For the same reason, both the Garden of Perfect Splendor and the "Three Seas"[5] of Beijing have kept broad water surfaces on their premises, so that incorporeal silhouettes in the water intermingle with corporeal trees and groves and buildings ashore to conjure up one fascinating scene after another through judicial mutual borrowing of a series of "opposite views." In *Diaries of Yuan Zhongdao (1570-1626)*[6], the author writes,

> I went to my friend Mi Wanzhong's garden in Haidian district together with Wu Shimei from Wanling[7]. A difficult part of garden-making in the capital city is the shortage of water. This garden, however, abounds in water, so much so that all its lofts and pavilions are water-bound and look like so many painted pleasure boats. As lotuses happened to be in the peak of their flowering season when we were there, their color and aroma were exceptionally infatuating. On the top floor of the garden's loft we also saw the scenic views of the Western Hills in the distance.

Mi Wanzhong writes of the Lush Foliage Loft in his own garden,

> Nothing delights more than mounting a loft
> To toast West Hills at ease at moonlit night.

Yuan Zhongdao's account illustrates the role of water in a garden while Mi's poem shows how his garden borrows views from the same hills as the Summer Palace does.

As every garden has its way with view borrowing to achieve individuality, it is unwise to impose uniformity at the expense of individuality. The Mountain Summer Resort of Chengde borrows views from the surrounding mountains and the structures of the Eight Major Temples. The Black Tortoise-Snake Lake[8] of Nanjing bedecked itself by incorporating the skyline of Nanjing close by and the Bell Mountain far away, but neither the skyline nor the mountain could beat the beauty of the reflections of the

city wall quivering in the lake, so much so that these reflections became the lake's undisputable "name card." However, these lovely reflections are gone forever after dykes were erected along the city wall and the parapet walls demolished. In Hangzhou there is one mountain peak in the south and another in the north across the West Lake, and the center of the lake itself is graced with the Memorial Causeways of Su Shi and Bai Juyi, but it is the Pagoda in Protection of Qian Chu[9] and the Lei's Peak Pagoda mirrored in the lake that are more likely to make visitors reluctant to tear themselves away. In Beijing, the Jade Flowery Islet is to the Beihai Park what the Longevity Hill and the Western Hills are to the Summer Palace. Another outstanding example is the Slender West Lake of Yangzhou. If we sit on the Anglers' Platform to look at the Lotus Bridge (that is, the Five-Pavilion Bridge) through the archway, or at the White Pagoda through the square brick frame[10], we find that both are state-of-the-art examples of "opposite view" borrowing, which combine to become the most striking hallmark of the Slender West Lake.

Nevertheless, ignoring the differences between gardens and bypassing the principle of adapting landscape gardening to the lie of the land, some wilful designers of large gardens today want to impose the plan of the West Lake of Hangzhou as the one and only prototype on all the large gardens to be created. Who knows what would become of our gardens if all of them were intractably patterned after the West Lake? The Summer Palace of Beijing is exactly a product of this waywardness. Even though some modifications have been made to break such imposed similarity, visitors who have been to the West Lake still come under the impression that some of the Summer Palace's sights are mechanically copied from its prototype.

Our forbears' use of the view-borrowing technique was not limited to the craft of gardens. In their choice of urban settlements and other sites, aside from political, economic and military factors, the landscape beyond a city wall to be depended upon and borrowed from was weighed with utmost discretion, because a friendly living environment is every prospective dweller's dream. Let me quote the *Diaries of Yuan Zhongdao* once more,

> The scenery around the village is delicately charming, where dwellings cling to hills, lofts sit astride brooks, belvederes reach up to clouds, and footpaths are flanked by pines and bamboos.

How could one not be charmed by such an environment?

Yao Nai (1731-1815)[11] says of the city of Tai'an in "Notes on Breasting Mount Tai,"

> Observed from atop the city wall in sunset glow, the Wenshui River and Mount Culai are picture-perfect, whilst misty clouds float half way up the mountain like a silk ribbon.

Spectacular this mountainous city is indeed! Along with the city of Tai'an in Shandong province, there are Guilin in Guangxi province and Huayin in Shaanxi province… and the list of picturesque mountainous cities in this country is too long to be exhausted. As the old saying goes,

Take a peep at a single spot on its skin through a tube, and one can visualize the whole leopard."

The selection of tomb sites has a great deal to do with geomancy, but did our ancients not take pains on view borrowing by bringing all factors into account? A comparison between two tombs in Nanjing, the Filial Piety Tomb of the First Ming Emperor and His Empress[12] and Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum, is rather revealing. The former features a stairway meandering its way along the natural terrain of the Bell Mountain to the tomb, the Square City. Standing on the Square City, we find ourselves embraced by the surrounding mountains, with a range of cliffs forming a mammoth screen across the Yangtze; as we look down, the ancient imperial city presents itself before our eyes, all the while the wintry wind keeps howling but standing here, we cannot feel it at all. Indeed, there was good reason why Zhu Yuanzhang (1328-1398) moved his tomb from the Magic Valley Temple on the southeast slope of the Bell Mountain to its present site. By comparison, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum, when observed in the distance, is exposed starkly and shows no intention to hide itself, and its memorial hall thrusts up beyond the clouds like an imposing tower; when looked around on the spot, the surroundings are utterly bald and empty, and, with no view to be borrowed in the distance, there are no deep and serene sights to be savoured—all that is left with the complex is its lofty and solemn momentum. In the heat waves of midsummer or the bitter cold of high winter, it is laborious for those climbing up to the great man's grave. Striking, therefore, are the differences between these two tombs to everyone who has visited them.

Now, a look at the Thirteen Ming Tombs in Changping, Beijing. Mountain-rimmed, with the Heavenly Longevity Mountain in the backdrop, the topography of this resting place for Ming-dynasty monarchs in their afterlife was chosen with unique wisdom. Talk of imperial palaces, and three complexes come to mind right away: the Epang Palace of the Qin (221-206 BC), stretching for three hundred *li* on end; the Great Light Palace of the Tang (618-907) in present-day Xi'an, facing the Zhongnan Mountain; and the Imperial Palaces of the Southern Song (1127-1279), spanning the Qiantang River and the West Lake in Hangzhou. The well-conceived view borrowing schemes of this trio are of textbook values for garden-makers today.

In a nutshell, view borrowing is a garden-making design principle that ought to be applied in light of location, seasonal change and other factors. From an aesthetical point of view, it should be flexibly used and carefully deliberated when it comes to independent buildings and the relationship between buildings and between buildings and the environment. Only thus can the overall conception of a garden design make sense and the dwellers' aesthetic demands be better satisfied.

建筑中的“借景”问题

“借景”在园林设计中，占着极重要的位置，不但设计园林要留心这一点，就是城市规划、居住建筑、公共建筑等设计，亦与它分不开。有些设计成功的园林，人入其中，翘首四顾，顿觉心旷神怡，妙处难言，一经分析，主要还是在于能巧妙地运用了“借景”的方法。这个方法，在我国古代造园中早已自发地应用了，直到明末崇祯年间，计成在他所著的《园冶》一书上总结了出来。他说：“园林巧于因借。”“因者：随基势之高下，体形之端正，碍木删桠，泉流石注，互相借资，宜亭斯亭，宜榭斯榭，不妨偏径，顿置婉转，斯谓‘精而合宜’者也。借者：园虽别内外，得景则无拘远近，晴峦耸秀，绀宇凌空，极目所至，俗则屏之，嘉则收之，不分町畽，尽为烟景，斯所谓‘巧而得体’者也。”“萧寺可以卜邻，梵音到耳；远峰偏宜借景，秀色堪餐。”“构园无格，借景有因。”“夫借景者也，如远借、邻借、仰借、俯借、应时而借”等。清初李渔《一家言》也说“取景在借”。这些话给我们后代造园者，提出了一个很重要的原则。如今就管见所及来谈谈这个问题，不妥之处，尚请读者指正。

“景”既云“借”，当然其物不在我而在他，即化他人之物为我物，巧妙地吸收到自己的园中，增加了园林的景色。初期“借景”，大都利用天然山水。如晋代陶诗中的“采菊东篱下，悠然见南山”，其妙处在一“见”字，盖从有意无意中借得之，极自然与潇洒的情致。唐代王维有辋川别业，他说：“余别业在辋川山谷。”同时的白居易草堂，亦在匡庐山中。清代钱泳《履园丛话》“芜湖长春园”条说，该园“赭山当牖，潭水潆洄，塔影钟声，不暇应接”。皆能看出他们在园林中所欲借的景色是什么了。“借景”比较具体的，正如北宋李格非《洛阳名园记》“环溪”条所描写的：“以南望，则嵩高少室龙门大谷，层峰翠巘，毕效奇于前。”“以北望，则隋唐宫阙楼殿，千门万户，苕峣璀璨，延亘十余里。凡左太冲十余年极力而赋者，可瞥目而尽也。”“水北胡氏园”条：“如其台四望，尽百余里，而萦伊缭洛乎其间。林木荟蔚，烟云掩映，高楼曲榭，时隐时见。使画工极思不可图，而名之曰‘玩月台’。”明人徐宏祖（霞客）《滇游日记》“游罗园”条：“建一亭于外池南岸，北向临池，隔池则龙泉寺之殿阁参差。冈上浮屠倒影波心，其地较九龙池愈高，而陂池掩映，泉源沸漾，为更奇也。”这些都是在选择造园地点时，事先作过精密的选择，即我们所谓“大处着眼”。像这种“借景”的方法，要算佛寺地点的处理最为到家。寺址十之八九处于山麓，前绕清溪，环顾四望，群山若拱，位置不但幽静，风力亦是最小，且藏而不露。至于山岚

翠色，移置窗前，特其余事了，诚习佛最好的地方。正是“我见青山多妩媚，料青山见我应如是”。例如常熟兴福寺，虞山低小，然该寺所处的地点，不啻在崇山峻岭环抱之中。至于其内部，“曲径通幽处，禅房花木深”，复令人向往不已了。天台山国清寺、杭州灵隐寺、宁波天童寺等，都是如出一辙，其实例与记载不胜枚举。今日每见极好的风景区，对于建筑物的安排，很少在“借景”上用功夫，即本身建筑之所处亦不顾因地制宜，或踞山巅，或满山布屋，破坏了本区风景，更遑论他处“借景”，实在是值得考虑的事。

园林建筑首在因地制宜，计成所云“妙在因借”。当然“借景”亦因地不同，在运用上有所异，可是妙手能化平淡为神奇，反之即有极佳可借之景，亦等秋波枉送，视若无睹。试以江南园林而论，常熟诸园什九采用平冈小丘，以虞山为借景，纳园外景物于园内。无锡惠山寄畅园其法相同。北京颐和园内谐趣园即仿后者而筑，设计时在同一原则下以水及平冈曲岸为主，最重要的是利用万寿山为“借景”。于此方信古人即使摹拟，亦从大处着眼，掌握其基本精神入手。至于杭州、扬州、南京诸园，又各因山因水而异其布局与“借景”，松江、苏州、常熟、嘉兴诸园，更有“借景”园外塔影的。正如钱泳所说：“造园如作诗文，必使曲折有法”，是各尽其妙的了。

明人徐宏祖（霞客）《滇游日记》云：“北邻花红正熟，枝压墙南，红艳可爱……”以及宋人“春色满园关不住，一枝红杏出墙来”等句，是多么富于诗意的小园“借景”。这北邻的花红与一枝出墙的红杏，它给隔院人家起了多少美的境界。《园冶》又说：“若对邻氏之花，机分消息，可以招呼，收春无尽。”于此可知“借景”可以大，也可以小。计成不是说“远借”“邻借”吗？清人沈三白《浮生六记》上说：“此处仰观峰岭，俯视园亭，既旷且幽。”又是俯仰之间都有佳景。过去诗人画家虽结屋三椽，对“借景”一道，却不随意轻抛的，如“倚山为墙，临水为渠”。我觉得现在的居住区域，人家与人家之间，不妨结合实用以短垣或篱落相间，间列漏窗，垂以藤萝，“隔篱呼取”，“借景”邻宅，别饶清趣，较之一览无余，门户相对，似乎应该好一点罢。至于清代厉鹗《东城杂记》“杭州半山园”条：“半山当庾园之半，两园相距才隔一巷耳。若登庾园北楼望之，林光岩翠，袭人襟带间，而鸟语花香，固已引人入胜。其东为华藏寺，每当黄昏人静之后，五更鸡唱之先，水韵松声，亦时与断鼓零钟相答响。”则又是一番境界了。

苏州园林大部分为封闭性，园外无可“借景”，因此园内尽量采用“对景”的办法。其实“对景”与“借景”却是一回事，“借景”即园外的“对景”。比如拙政园内的枇杷园，月门正对雪香云蔚亭，我们称之为该处极好的对景。实则雪香云蔚亭一带，如单独对枇杷园而论，是该小院佳

妙的“借景”。绣绮亭在小山之上，紧倚枇杷园，登亭可以俯视短垣内整个小院，远眺可极目见山楼。这是一种小范围内做到左右前后高低互借的办法。玉兰堂及海棠春坞前的小院“借景”大园，又是能于小处见大，处境空灵的一种了；而“宜两亭”则更明言互相“借景”了。

我们今日设计园林，对于优良传统手法之一的“借景”，当然要继承并且扩大应用的，可是有些设计者往往专从园林本身平面布局的图纸上推敲，缺少到现场作实地详细的踏勘，对于借景一点，就难免会忽略过去。譬如上海高楼大厦较多，假山布置偶一不当，便不能有山林之感，两者对比之下，给人们的感觉就极不协调；假如真的要以高楼为“借景”的话，那么在设计时又须另作一番研究了。苏州马医科巷楼园，园位于土阜上，登阜四望无景可借，于是多面筑屋以蔽之。正如《园冶》所说“俗者屏之，佳者收之”的办法。沪西中山公园在这一点上，似乎较他园略高一筹，设计时在如何与市嚣隔绝上，用了一些办法。我们登其东南角土阜，极目远望，不见园外房屋，尽量避免不能借的景物，然后园内凿池垒石，方才可使游人如入山林。上海西郊公园占地较广，我以为不宜堆叠高山，因四周或远或近尚多高楼建筑。将来扩建时，如能以附近原有水塘加以组织联系，杂以蒹葭，则游人荡舟其中，仿佛迷离烟水，如入杭州西溪。园林水面一旦广阔，其效果除发挥水在园林中应有的美景外，减少尘灰实是又一重要因素。故北京圆明园、三海等莫不有辽阔的水面，并利用水的倒影、林木及建筑物，得能虚实互见，这是更为动人的“对景”了。明代《袁小修日记》云：“与宛陵吴师每同赴米友石海淀园，京师为园，所艰者水耳。此处独饶水，楼阁皆凌水，一如画舫，莲花最盛，芳艳销魂，有楼，可望西山秀色。”米万钟诗云：“更喜高楼（案指翠葆榭）明月夜，悠然把酒对西山。”此处不但形容与说明了水在该园林中的作用，更描写了该园与颐和园一样的“借景”西山。

园林“借景”各有特色，不能强不同以为同。热河避暑山庄以环山及八大庙建筑为“借景”。南京玄武湖则以南京城与钟山为“借景”，而最突出的就是沿湖城垣的倒影，使人一望而知这是玄武湖。如今沿城筑堤，又复去了女墙，原来美妙的倒影，已不复可见了。西湖有南北二峰，湖中间以苏白二堤为其特色，而保俶、雷峰两塔的倒影，是最足使游人流连而不忘的一个突出景象。北京北海的琼华岛、颐和园的万寿山及远处的西山，又为这三处的特色。他若扬州的瘦西湖，我们若坐钓鱼台，从圆拱门中望莲花桥（五亭桥），从方砖框中望白塔，不但使人觉得这处应用了极佳的“对景”，而且最充分地表明了这是瘦西湖。如今对大规模的园林，往往在设计时忽略了各处特色，强以西湖为标准，不顾因地制宜的原则，这又有什么意义可谈？颐和园亦强拟西湖，虽然相同中亦寓有不同，然游过西湖者到此，总不免有仿造风景之感。

我们祖先对“借景”的应用，不仅在造园方面，而且在城市地区的选择上，除政治、经济、军事等其他因素外，对于城郭外山水的因借，亦是经过十分慎重的考虑的，因为广大人民所居住的区域，谁都想有一个好的环境。《袁小修日记》：“沿村山水清丽，人家第宅枕山中，危楼跨水，高阁依云，松篁夹路。”像这样的环境，怎不令人为之神往？清代姚鼐《登泰山记》所描写的泰安城：“望晚日照城郭，汶水徂徕如画，而半山居雾若带然。”这种山麓城市的境界，又何等光景呢？是种实例甚多，如广西桂林城、陕西华阴城等，举此略见一斑。至于陵墓地点的选择，虽名为风水所关，然揆之事实，又何独不在“借景”上用过一番思考。试以南京明孝陵与中山陵作比较，前者根据钟山天然地势，逶迤曲折的墓道通到方城（墓地）。我们立方城之上，环顾山势如抱，隔江远山若屏，俯视宫城如在眼底，朔风虽烈，此处独无。故当年朱元璋迁灵谷寺而定孝陵于此，是有其道理的。反之中山陵远望则显，露而不藏，祭殿高耸势若危楼，就其地四望，又觉空而不敛，借景无从，只有崇宏庄严之气势，而无幽深邈远之景象，盛夏严冬，徒苦登临者。二者相比，身临其境者都能感觉得到的。再看北京昌平的明十三陵，乃以天寿山为背景，群山环抱，其地势之选择亦有其独到的地方。至于宫殿，若秦阿房宫之覆压三百余里，唐大明宫之面对终南山，南宋宫殿之襟带江（钱塘江）湖（西湖），在借景上都是经过一番研究的，直到今天还值得我们参考。

总之，“借景”是一个设计上的原则，而在应用上还是需要根据不同的具体情况，因地因时而有所异。设计的人须从审美的角度加以灵活应用，不但单独的建筑物须加以考虑，即建筑物与建筑物之间，建筑物与环境之间，都须经过一番思考与研究。如此，则在整体观念上必然会进一步得到提高，而对居住者美感上的要求，更会进一步得到满足了。

《同济学报》建筑版1958年第1期

COUNTRY DWELLINGS AND GARDENS

History of Chinese Ancient Architecture, First manuscript, 1958

Rural areas are home to the overwhelming majority of the labouring people who never slacken their effort to augment their lives by blanketing their homeland in greenery. This tradition furnishes a wealth of themes and prototypes for landscape and architectural garden-making. It sounds easy and simple to keep the countryside green, but if done in light of local conditions, with materials obtained locally and put to best use, it can augment the environment, blend dwellings into nature, and bring about forest belts where man-made and natural scenery become one. This tradition is particularly pronounced in the Jiangnan area, where the landscape is typified by a tiny bridge sitting on a flowing brook and green bamboos casting shadows that sway upon white-washed walls. To summarize and study these practices and seek improvement on the basis of scientific analyses will do a great deal of good for endeavours to ameliorate our living environment, boost production, and promote the craft of gardens in urban areas.

Because the southern and northern parts of our vast homeland differ in geography and climate, especially between mountainous areas and plains, they must be dealt with differently in our forestation effort. Most mountain folks grow trees on the right, left and back sides of homes situated mostly in a mountain or at the foot of a cliff. Mao Zedong's former residence in Shaoshanchong village, Xiangtan county, is such a good example. Most villages on the plains are found by the side of a river or road; most of them are surrounded with trees, but more trees are found on the northwest side to ward off the scorching sun and high wind. The same is true with houses. A clearance is reserved in front of every house for sunning or thrashing harvested farm crops, and a line of trees are planted in the front for demarcation purposes. Tall trees are planted north of the houses, but in the Jiangnan area they are replaced with bamboos which can also provide shade and bring in cool breezes in summer. Chickens love to nest in bamboo groves and feed on the insects that abound in bamboo roots, and their hyperactive claws can loosen the soil to facilitate bamboos' growth—the mingling of

bamboos and chickens at a homestead is, indeed, a winning situation. Roads tucked away under the canopy-like foliage of trees, and weeping willows rippling every water surface with soft twigs offer idyllic views. Every tree or bamboo planted in the countryside has its own functional and aesthetic values. In the Jiangnan area evergreen and deciduous trees are often aligned in alternate rows, but there are also places where only a single species of arbor is planted for both its fruit and timber, such as chestnut, tallow and

chinaberry trees. Hardwood trees such as wingceltis and photinia, and trees that produce quality timber, such as gingko and Chinese little-leaf box, are not uncommon as well. These trees are pruned and intermediately felled on an annual basis, with the timber thus harvested to make farm tools and furniture. Native species such as camphor in south Zhejiang, banyans in south Fujian, and poplars and pagoda trees in north China have long been afforestation "trademarks" for their respective areas because their thick foliage provides cozy shelter against the high-noon sun and their exuberant verdure graces many a garden. Oftentimes hedgerows built of evergreen scrubs are erected where a wall is needed around a dwelling.

Bamboo groves and fruit trees growing by the side of a residence also help boost farm produce. Trees can be planted on river or pond shores for productive purposes, as exemplified by the Lichee Bay of Guangzhou in Guangdong province. Reed, water caltrop and lotus are also raised in ponds and lagoons such as the South Lake of Jiaxing and the lotus ponds of Nantang to augment villager earnings. These undertakings have a direct or indirect impact on garden-making as well. Flowers and trees serving gardening purposes are somewhat alien to nature for their poses and contours but enjoy an intimate affinity with rural dwellings. This is especially true with hardwood trees; pruned at regular intervals, they add an idyllic touch to the country scene. Landscape paintings, such as "Willow-Shaded Winding Walkway," "Secluded Parasol-and-Bamboo Pavilion," "Lotus-Scented Breeze from Four Sides," may well have been inspired by or derived from rural forestation and greening efforts—they are tiny, but practical sceneries brought about through such attempts.

The bridges in traditional Chinese gardens are often balustraded on one side and left open on the other, to the bewilderment of many observers. This arrangement is actually adapted to everyday rural life. When a peasant crosses a bridge with a load on both ends of his shoulder pole, or with a buffalo in tow, his movement is likely to be hampered if the bridge is narrow,

and, worse, balustraded on both sides. This is why many rural bridges have no balustrades at all or have a balustrade on just one side. In what is a typical case of someone being well-read but having a poor memory of his ancestors' way of doing things, garden crafters of later generations often forget this simple reason and turn a small bridge into a narrow lane by sandwiching it between tall railings.

Bridges, be they fashioned out of a single board astride a rivulet, stepping stones embedded in a crystal clear stream, or zigzagging ones that span a relatively wide river, come in a myriad of shapes and designs that are captivating to those who happened to be there when nearby mountains are bathed in sunset glow, the skies disappear into the aromatic verdure on the horizon, and fishing boats come home with fishermen chanting. A waterside pavilion ought to be decorated with a tiny path, with tall trees planted to the northwest to keep off the sun, so that the sceneries high and low can set off each other and their silhouettes can wreak up a picture-perfect havoc in the water—sayings like "A pavilion settled beside water" and "A small trail poised to twist and turn" are most probably originated therein. A winding sand embankment, or a tiny slope dipping into a wild pool never fails to become a prototype in the eyes of a landscape gardener, for they come handy to call forth natural delights. The Humble Administrator's Garden abounded in such casual delights in its old days, but many of them have been lost to the stone embankments built lately. A garden crafter unfamiliar with country sceneries tends to plunge headlong into vulgarities like someone who has just hit a windfall. Worse, some ponds have had their bottoms paved with mosaic tiles, and therefore look like swimming pools.

Rural architecture delights and enchants people by dint of terrains running up and down, sceneries now widely scattered, now thickly clustered, buildings laid out in layered depth, trees kept close by or at a distance, colors light or rich, black or white contrasting each other (such as white-washed walls against black roof tiles in the Jiangnan area), and country dwellings that come in a hundred and one styles—these and other vistas bring about a montage that I find most endearing, delighting and consoling on my journeys by boat or by car. These sceneries, however, cannot do without buildings. Wherever there are buildings there is life, and wherever there is life there are people. When people are associated with sceneries, their feelings interflow with what meets their eyes. Most traditional gardens in China draw on country scenes and sights, but they are not mere imitations of nature, for

buildings always come foremost on their premises. As most garden builders hail from the countryside and love to instill their experience in rural life into what they are working on, this has resulted in distinctly unique gardens in which people can sit down to forget worldly worries for some time or see what they can as they saunter through such a garden. Congeniality is fostered between people and garden this way.

The countryside teems with quiet bamboos and fabulous woods, in which wild birds and poultry warble or chuckle in contentment. When spring sets in and water becomes warm, the rivers are seething with geese and ducks swimming imperturbably to and fro in flocks—a view that also materializes at many a "Pavilion for Birds Flying In" in gardens. The pity is that most of the zoos today are built according to out-dated blueprints, and thus in most of them birds are shut up in large cages like prisoners craning their necks behind bars. Lack of experience in life and compassion is to blame for such cruel treatment of man's winged friends.

村居与园林

我国广大劳动人民居住的绝大部分地区——农村，在居住的所在，历来都进行了绿化，以丰富自己的生活。这种绿化又为我国园林建筑所取材与模仿。农村绿化看上去虽然比较简单，然在“因地制宜”“就地取材”“因材致用”这三个基本原则指导之下，能使环境丰富多彩，居住部分与自然组合在一起，成为一个人工与天然相配合的绿化地带。这在小桥流水、竹影粉墙的江南更显得突出。这些实是我们今日应该总结与学习的地方。在原有基础上加以科学分析和改进提高，将对今后改良居住环境与增加生产，以及供城市造园借鉴，都有莫大好处。

我国幅员辽阔，地理气候南北都有所不同，因而在绿化上，也有山区与平原之分。山区的居民，其建筑地点大都依山傍岩，其住宅左右背后，皆环以树木，毛泽东主席的湘潭韶山冲故居，即是一个好例。至于平原地带村落，大都建筑在沿河流或路旁，其绿化原则，亦大都有树木环绕，尤其注意西北方向，用以挡烈日防风。住宅之旁亦有同样措施。宅前必留出一块广场，以作晒农作物之用。广场之前又植树一行，自划成区。宅北植高树，江南则栽竹，既蔽荫又迎风。鸡喜居竹林，因为竹根部多小虫可食，且竹林之根要松，经鸡的活动，有助竹的生长，两全其美。宅外的通道，皆芳树垂荫，春柳拂水，都是极妙的画图。这些绿化都以功能结合美观。在江南每以常绿树与落叶树互相间隔，亦有以一种乔木单植的，如栗树、乌桕、楝树，这些树除果实可利用外，其材亦可利用。硬木如檀树、石楠，佳材如银杏、黄杨，都是经常见到的。以上品种每年修枝与抽伐，所得可用以制造农具与家具。至于浙江以南农村的樟树，福建以南农村的榕树，华北的杨树、槐树，更显午荫嘉树清园，翠盖若棚，皆为一地绿化特征。利用常绿矮树作为绿篱，绕屋代墙。宅旁之竹林与果树，在生产上也起作用。在河旁溪边栽树，也结合生产，如广州荔枝湾就是在这原则下形成的。池塘港湾植以芦苇，或布菱荷，如嘉兴的南湖，南塘的莲塘，皆为此种栽植之突出者。这些都直接或间接影响到造园。虽然园林花木以姿态为主，与大自然有别，却与农村村居为近，且经修剪，硬木树尤为入画。因此如“柳荫路曲”“梧竹幽居”“荷风四面”等命题的风景画，未始不从农村绿化中得到启发的，不过再经过概括提炼，以少胜多，具体而微而已。

对于古代园林中的桥常用一面阑干，很多人不解。此实仿自农村者。农村桥农民要挑担经过，如果两面用阑干，妨碍担行，如牵牛过桥，更感难行，因此农村之桥，无阑干则可，有栏亦多一面。后之造园者未明此理，即小桥亦两面高阑干，宛若夹弄，这未免“数典忘祖”了。

至于小流架板桥，清溪点步石，稍阔之河，曲桥几折，皆委婉多姿，尤其是在山映斜阳、天连芳草、渔舟唱晚之际，人行桥上，极为动人。水边之亭，缀以小径，其西北必植高树，作蔽阳之用，而高低掩映，倒影参错，所谓“水边安亭”“径欲曲”者，于此得之。至于曲岸回沙，野塘小坡，别具野趣，更为造园家蓝本所自。苏州拙政园原多逸趣，今则尽砌石岸，顿异前观。造园家不熟悉农村景物，必导致伧俗如暴发户。今更有以“马赛克”贴池间者，无异游泳池了。

农村建筑妙在地形有高低，景物有疏密，建筑有层次，树木有远近，色彩有深浅，黑白有对比（江南粉墙黑瓦）等，千万村居无一处相雷同，舟行也好，车行也好，十分亲切，观之不尽，我在旅途中，它予我以最大的愉快与安慰。这些景物中有建筑，有了建筑必有生活，有生活必有人，人与景联系起来，所谓情景交融。我国古代园林，大部分的摹拟自农村景物，而又不是纯仿大自然，所以建筑物占主要地位。造园工人又大部分来自农村，有体会，便形成可坐可留，可游可看，可听可想，别具一格的中国园林。它紧紧地与人结合了起来。

农村多幽竹嘉林，鸣禽自得，春江水暖，鹅鸭成群，来往自若，不避人们。因此在园林中建造“来禽馆”，亦寓此意。可惜今日在设计动物园时，多数给禽鸟饱受铁窗风味，入园如探牢，这也是较原始的设计方法。没有生活，没有感情，不免有些粗暴吧！

1958年《中国古代建筑史初稿》

陈从周生平　CHEN CONGZHOU TIMELINE

此生平系根据乐峰所著《陈从周传》编纂而成。
This timeline is written based on Yue Feng's *Chen Congzhou's Life*.

陈从周，浙江杭州人。别名梓室、梓翁，同济大学教授，中国闻名的建筑学家、园林艺术家。他是我国继明朝计成、文震亨，清朝李渔之后，现当代既能亲自动手造园、复园，又能著书立说、品评、记述中国园林的第一人。
Chen Congzhou (1918-2000), sobriquets Man from Carpenter's Studio and Elderly Carpenter, a native of Hangzhou, Zhejiang province, a Tongji University professor of architecture, a leading Chinese garden historian of his generation, as well as a practicing landscape architect. Following in the steps of Ji Cheng (1582-*c*. 1642) and Wen Zhenheng (1585-1645) of the Ming and Li Yu (1611-1680) of the Qing, he was the only man in modern China who could make gardens and restore old ones with his own hands while writing books to appreciate and comment on Chinese gardens.

1918

11月27日出生于浙江省杭州市。童年时期即喜欢养花种草、叠石理水，喜爱绘画，喜背古诗。
November 27, birth of Chen Congzhou, Hangzhou, Zhejiang province, the beginning of a boyhood in which he learns poetry, painting, and landscape gardening.

1938

入之江大学文学系中国语文学科。诗词师承夏承焘教授。
Enrolls in Hangchow University School of Literature to study Chinese and classical poetry under Professor Xia Chengtao (1900-1986), a founding father of modern studies of classical lyrical poetry.

1942

毕业后，受聘于杭州市立师范学校。
Graduates from Hangchow University School of Literature with a B.A. and starts teaching in the Hangzhou Normal College.

1943
与海宁蒋定结婚，为徐志摩姻兄妹。徐志摩堂姐亦为陈从周二嫂。得悉志摩轶事，开始了对徐志摩的钻研。
Marries Jiang Ding (?-1986) from a distinguished family in Haining, Zhejiang province. Begins researches of Xu Zhimo (1897-1931), a prominent modern Chinese poet who is his wife's cousin and whose elder uncle's daughter is Chen's second elder brother's wife.

1944
长女陈胜吾出生。省立杭州中学任教，杭州市立中学任教。
Birth of his elder daughter, Chen Shengwu. Teaches at the Provincial Hangzhou Senior Middle School and the Hangzhou Municipal Middle School.

1946
儿子陈丰出生。圣约翰大学附中任教。张大千收其为入室弟子。
Birth of his son, Chen Feng. Teaches at the High School Affiliated to Saint John's University in Shanghai. Apprenticed to Chang Dai-chien (1899-1983) the celebrated traditional Chinese and modern impressionist and expressionist painter.

1948
于上海举办个人画展，以《一丝柳一寸柔情》蜚声海上画坛。
Debuts in Shanghai as a fledgling figure, landscape and floral painter at a personal retrospective which features the painting *A Wisp of Willow, an Inch of Tenderness*, among others.

1949
发表处女作《徐志摩年谱》，成为当今研究徐志摩和中国现代文学史的宝贵资料。《陈从周画集》刊印。
Publishes the first book of his life, *A Chronology of the Life of Xu Zhimo*, which remains to this day an indispensable source for studies of the poet and modern Chinese literary history. His album *The Paintings*

of Chen Congzhou is published.

1950

任苏州美术专科学校副教授，教授中国美术史，结识古建筑专家刘敦桢教授，开始古建筑生涯。同年秋，执教于圣约翰大学建筑系，正式教授中国建筑史。

Appointed as associate professor in Chinese art history by the Suzhou Fine Arts Academy, where he comes under the tutorage of Liu Dunzhen (1897-1968), a preeminent professor of classical Chinese architecture. When the new academic year begins in September, he is already a full-time professor of Chinese architecture history at Saint John's University Department of Architecture in Shanghai.

1951

受聘于之江大学建筑系，兼课于苏南工业专科学校，课余开始了苏州古建筑、古园林以及诸多名人故居的考察。

Becomes an associate professor of architecture with the Hangchow University Department of Architecture in Shanghai and an associate professor with the South Jiangsu Industrial School of Suzhou, where in his spare time he begins fieldwork on ancient buildings, garden architecture and mansions.

1952

小女陈馨出生。院系调整，执教于同济大学建筑系，受黄作燊副主任之托筹建建筑历史教研室。

Birth of his younger daughter Chen Xin. Begins his lifelong tenure as a professor with the newly established Tongji University Department of Architecture, where he prepares for the establishment of an architecture history teaching and research office at the request of Associate Dean Huang Zuoshen (1915-1975).

1953

师从我国古建筑研究鼻祖朱启钤先生。与刘敦桢先生结伴至曲阜，对孔庙作详细的勘察与考证。《漏窗》出版。

Apprenticed to Zhu Qiqian (1872-1964), a prominent expert in ancient Chinese architecture and creator of the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture. Goes on a surveying tour of the Confucian Temple, Qufu,

with Liu Dunzhen. His book *Latticed Windows* is published.

1954

《文物参考资料》杂志上发表了第一篇有关古建筑考察专文——吴县洞庭东山杨湾庙。勘察虎丘塔，揭开了虎丘塔的结构之谜，成为太平天国之后第一登塔人。参与上海龙华塔复原修缮。

The journal *Cultural Artifacts Reference*, issue No. 3, carries "The Main Hall of the Yangwan Temple in the East Dongting Mountain in Wuxian County," his first ever essay on traditional Chinese architecture. Becomes the first man since the fall of the Heavenly Kingdom Uprising (1851-1864) to climb atop the Pagoda of the Tiger Hill to draw the structure of its dilapidated top while leading a team of architecture students for cartographic survey practice in Suzhou. Participates in refurbishing the Dragon Luster Pagoda in Shanghai.

1956

代表作《苏州园林》问世，提出了"江南园林甲天下，苏州园林甲江南"的论断，抓住了苏州园林的本质特征——文人园林的诗情画意，总结归纳了中国园林造园手法，诸如借景、屏障、对景等。

The release of his landmark book Suzhou Gardens, written by incorporating his students' cartographic survey and research results in 1954-1956, in which he summarizes such Chinese garden-making techniques as view borrowing, view screening and opposite views, and asserts that the Jiangnan region boasts the best gardens in the world, but it is Suzhou that offers the best Jiangnan gardens that exude poetic allusions and picturesque appeals.

1957

参与指导上海豫园修复工程，发现豫园原配门额。《上海的豫园与内园》发表。

Participates in restoring a part of the Gratification Garden in Shanghai, and discovers the original lintel of the garden's front gate. Publishes "Gratification Garden, Inner Garden, Shanghai."

1958

《苏州旧住宅参考图录》出版。批判营造学社，梁思成说："我反对拆北京城墙，他反对拆苏州城墙，应该同受到批判。"返沪后同

济大学建筑系将其撤职。继续勘察无锡、扬州等地。《建筑中的“借景”问题》《村居与园林》《西湖园林风格漫谈》发表。

Publishes Pictorial References to Traditional Dwellings in Suzhou at a Beijing Academy of Architecture symposium. Liang Sicheng (1901-1972), who is being criticized at a Beijing meeting as the representative of the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture, says, "I was opposed to dismantling Beijing's city walls, and Chen Congzhou, who is with us here, was opposed to tearing down Suzhou's city walls. Thus both of us ought to be criticized together." Removed, upon returning from Beijing to Shanghai, from his position as director of the teaching and research office of the Tongji University Department of Architecture. Undeterred, he goes on with his studies as usual, and extends his researches from Suzhou to Wuxi and Yangzhou. Publishes "View Borrowing in Garden Architecture," "Country Dwellings and Gardens" and "West Lake Gardens, Hangzhou."

1959

于北京旧香山饭店编写《中国建筑史》。

Compiles Chinese Architecture History in the former Fragrant Hill Hotel, Beijing.

1960

参与指导嘉定孔庙、松江佘山秀道者塔的修复、设计工作。赴浙江勘察古建筑，发现安澜园遗址。

Participates in restoring the Confucian Temple of Jiading, and the Taoist Xiu's Pagoda on the Sheshan Mountain of Songjiang. Discovers the former site of the Billow-Tranquilizing Garden on an inspection tour in Zhejiang province.

1962

勘查扬州园林，发现并考证了石涛唯一存世的叠石作品片石山房。《瘦西湖漫谈》《扬州片石山房》发表。

Identifies, during a survey of traditional Chinese gardens in Yangzhou, the Small-Rock Mountain Abode as the singular surviving rockwork left behind by the celebrated monk painter Shitao (1642-*c*. 1707). Publishes "Slender West Lake" and "Small-Rock Mountain Abode."

1963

获硕士导师资格。与梁思成同赴扬州，参与鉴真纪念堂的设计。《绍兴的沈园与春波桥》发表。

Appointed as a mentor for master's degree candidates. Assists Liang Sicheng in designing the Memorial Hall of Ganjin (688-763) for the Daming Temple, Yangzhou. Publishes "Shen's Garden, Vernal Waves Bridge, Shaoxing."

1965

受陆小曼临终嘱托，后将《志摩全集》排印样本送回徐家，陆的山水长卷转交浙江省博物馆。

Acting on Lu Xiaoman's (1903-1965) deathbed entrustment, transfers the proofs of the Collected Works of Xu Zhimo to the Xus' and one of her long scroll landscape paintings to the safety of the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.

1971

皖南干校劳动改造。其间依然对歙县民居、古建筑进行勘察、研究。

Sent to the university's May 7th Cadres' School in Shexian county, south Anhui, for "reeducation" through manual labor, which gives him opportunities to explore local traditional dwellings and architecture.

1972

梁思成去世，抱病徒步翻山越岭到县城发唁电。因胃出血结束干校生活，恢复同济大学教授职位。参与连云港海清寺塔修理工程。

Death of Liang Sicheng. Hikes, in spite of bad health, along a mountain footpath from the May 7th Cadre's School to a post office at the county seat and telegraphs a letter of condolence to the bereaved Liang family. Stricken with gastrorrhagia and released from the cadre's school because of it. Restored to professorship at Tongji University. Joins in restoring the pagoda of the Haiqing Temple in Lianyungang, Jiangsu province.

1973

勘察山东、江苏古建筑。为保存聊城明初光岳楼大木结构作出重要贡献。

Goes on fieldwork tours of Shandong and Jiangsu provinces, where he

inspects quite a few ancient buildings. Plays a major part in saving the timber frame of the Tower That Illuminates Mount Tai of the early Ming in Liaocheng during a study tour of Shandong province.

1974

勘查安徽古建筑。

Inspects ancient architectural structures during a tour of Anhui province.

1975

赴湘西、长沙勘察古建筑。艰难困苦下著述《梓室余墨》四十余万字，详细记述了一生中的交往、研究、各地山川风光、民俗、民情、遗闻轶事。

Goes on ancient architecture surveys in Changsha and other parts of Hu'nan province. Finishes writing the Remnant Ink from Carpenter's Studio, a 400,000-word book of close to 500 sketches, travelogues, and random notes that elaborate in a humorous and anecdotal way on friendship, research work, and gardens, sceneries and folkways of the places he has visited through the years.

1976

《苏州网师园》发表。

Publishes "Master-of-Fishnets Garden, Suzhou."

1977

与贝聿铭先生在上海见面。

Meets the venerable Ieoh Ming Pei for the first time in Shanghai.

1978

《说园》发表，与其后四篇奠定了他20世纪园林之父的地位，前后出版英语、日语、德语、法语、意大利语译本。将网师园殿春簃模制，输出至美国纽约大都会博物馆，即明轩。贝聿铭雅嘱他写就长卷水墨丹青《名园青霄图卷》，复请国内文化耆宿、书法名家题咏，现存纽约贝氏园，成为一件极为珍贵的书画名品。

The first installment of his "On Gardens" is carried in the architecture edition of the *Tongji University Journal*, issue No. 2. This, together with the four other installments to be released and translated into English, Japanese, German, French and Italian in the next few years, is to

establish him as father of traditional Chinese gardens in the 20th century. The Astor Court, a replica of the Late-Spring Peony Lodge of Suzhou's Master-of-Fishnets Garden, comes under construction in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. Completes the long scroll painting, *A Famous Garden Under Blue Sky*, at the request of Ieoh Ming Pei, who has had colophons inscribed on its margins and collects it in the Pei's Garden in New York.

1979

《苏州沧浪亭》《恭王府小记》发表。

Publishes "Dark Blue Waves Pavilion, Suzhou" and "Notes on Prince Gong's Mansion."

1980

倡导重建杭州雷峰塔。写信给山西平遥县政府，要求保护好平遥古城。到处演讲报告，所到之处极受领导、群众的欢迎和接待。

Submits a proposal for the reconstruction of the Lei's Peak Pagoda in Hangzhou. Writes to the government of Pingyao county, Shanxi province, with a demand for the conservation of the ancient city of Pingyao. Goes on lecturing tours across the country, to the delight of local officials and commoners alike.

1981

《园林美与昆曲美》发表。

Publishes "Gardens and Kunqu Opera: Beauty's Tour de Force."

1982

主持绍兴应天塔修复工作。《苏州园林》日语版出版。《园林与山水画》发表。

Presides over the design for the restoration of the Pagoda in Communion With Heaven in Shaoxing, Zhejiang. The release of the Japanese edition of his *Suzhou Gardens* in Tokyo, Japan. Publishes "Gardens and Landscape Painting."

1983

勘查苏州周庄古建筑。针对全国旅游热、修复名胜古迹热，提出口号：还我自然！绿化为文化服务。绿化在先，造园第二。创建绿文

化等。针对一切向钱看的现象，宣称，“梓翁画图不要钱。”主持占鳌塔修复工作。指导修复豫园东部，营建天一阁东园。《扬州园林》出版。

Inspects the ancient village of Zhouzhuang to the southeast of Suzhou. Raises a series of slogans to address the nation's booming tourism and rush to restore famous scenic spots and historical sites: Bring nature back! Cater tourism to cultural edification! Afforestation first, garden-making second! Foster a green culture! Demurring at the widespread "money-first" mentality, he declares, "I won't ask for a penny from anyone who wants my paintings." Chairs a restoration plan for the Turtle Subduing Pagoda on an observational deck by the Qiantang River in Haining. Helps restore the eastern part of the Gratification Garden of Shanghai and construct the East Garden to the east of the Tianyige Library in Ningbo, Zhejiang province. The release of his book, *Yangzhou Gardens*, a crystallization of twenty years of hard work, by the Shanghai Scientific and Technical Publishers.

1985

受聘为美国贝聿铭建筑设计事务所顾问。

Appointed by Ieoh Ming Pei as a consultant for M. Pei & Partners, USA.

1986

《绍兴石桥》出版。5月27日蒋定去世，安葬于海盐南北湖。参加日本建筑学会百年纪念。

Publishes the book Stone Bridges of Shaoxing. Jiang Ding, his wife of more than forty years, passes away on May 27; her ashes are buried at the South-and-North Lakes in Haiyan, Zhejiang province. In autumn, attends a meeting in Tokyo to mark the centennial of the founding of the Japanese Architectural Institute.

1987

豫园东部竣工，成为上海招待国宾最佳处所之一。11月29日，独子陈丰在洛杉矶遇刺身亡。

Completion of the eastern part of the Gratification Garden, thereby turning it into the best place to be for foreign guests. On November 29, his son, Chen Feng, is murdered in a restaurant in Los Angeles.

1988

修复豫园东部古戏台，增建看廊。忍受着丧妻失子之痛，通过媒体和政府部门奔走呼号，阻止当地人滥采山石、大肆捕鸟，成功拯救南北湖风光。《上海近代建筑史稿》出版。

Has an old Kunqu Opera stage restored in the eastern part of the Gratification Garden, and attaches an audience hall to it. To save the picture-perfect scenic South-and-North Lakes from the perils of wonton quarrying and bird killing, he overcomes personal agony over the deaths in his family and single-handedly stems the abuse through local media and by lobbying with local government departments. Publishes *A Manuscript of Modern Architecture History of Shanghai.*

1989

天一阁东园落成。获日本园林学会海外名誉会员称号。筹划重建水绘园。常年辛劳兼亲人逝世，严重损害健康。驱车八小时赴苏北考察，中风，送上海医院救治。

Completion of the East Garden to the east of the Tianyige Library. Becomes an honorary member of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture. Plans the reconstruction of the Water-Rimmed Garden in Rugao, Jiangsu province. Long years of hard work, coupled with the deaths of dear ones, takes a heavy toll upon the professor's health. In the wake of an eight-hour drive to north Jiangsu for an inspection visit, he suffers a stroke, is rushed in time to hospital in Shanghai, and cured.

1990

商务印书馆（香港）有限公司出版《中国名园》，全书用诗词一般的语言描述了各地园林之精华。

The Commercial Press (Hong Kong) publishes his book (Chinese version), *Famous Chinese Gardens*, in which he is at his narrative and poetic best as he describes some of the best gardens in the country.

1991

看到《中国环境报》2月26日有关南北湖遭受新一轮炸山捕鸟的报道，上书江泽民主席，“敬恳泽公开恩，救救南北湖！”再次成功拯救景区。设计营造的昆明楠园竣工，自评道，“纽约的明轩，是有所新意的模仿；豫园东部是有所寓新的续笔，而安宁的楠园，则是

平地起家，独自设计的，是我国园林理论的具体体现。”《书边人语》由商务印书馆（香港）有限公司出版。《同里退思园》发表。

Upon reading in the newspaper *China Environment News* on February 26 that the South-and-North Lakes are suffering another bout of detonations of mountains and killing of birds, he stops it once again, this time by writing directly to President Jiang Zemin, "Show mercy, Your Most Beneficent Excellency, and do something to save the South-and-North Lakes!" In autumn, the Phoebe Nanmu Garden he has built in Anning, Yunnan province, is completed. An emotional Chen comments, "The Astor Court I built in New York is a replica with a new conception, the eastern section of the Gratification Garden I restored is a sequel to the original with another creative idea of mine, whereas the Phoebe Nanmu Garden I built from scratch is an epitome of my garden-making theory." In winter, his *A Man's Utterings by the Side of Books* is released by the Commercial Press, Hong Kong. Publishes "Retreat and Reflection Garden, Tongli."

1992

为保护徐光启九间楼过于激动，引发脑出血兼胃出血。七日七夜不吃不喝，瑞金医院（发了两次病危通知）努力保住了生命。余生卧病不起。

Comes down with cerebral haemorrage complicated by gastrorrhagia in Shanghai, while arguing vehemently during a meeting to protect the Nine-Bay Storied Building, the former residence of Xu Guangqi (1562-1633), a celebrated official and scientist of the Ming. Spends seven days and seven nights in bed without eating, with two critical condition notices issued, before Ruijin Hospital doctors manage to save his life. Stays bed-ridden for the rest of his years.

1994

收官之作如皋水绘园重建竣工。

Reconstruction of the Water-Rimmed Garden, Rugao, Zhejiang province, completed.

1995

复发得救，思维依然敏捷。

Cured of a recurrence, and remains nimble minded.

1998

南北湖提议在当地建立陈从周纪念馆。

Local authorities of the South-and-North Lakes submit a proposal to build a memorial hall dedicated to Chen Congzhou.

1999

9月7日，贝聿铭专程从美国来沪到梓室探望。执手相看，久久不忍离去。

September 7, the 83-year-old Ieoh Ming Pei arrives in Shanghai from the United States, knocks at the door of Chen Congzhou's home at dusk, and, upon entering the room, sits hand in hand with his bed-ridden friend for what seems an eternity, before letting go of his wrist and rising to bid him good-bye.

2000

3月15日3时23分53秒，于住处逝世，享年82岁。

3:23 am, March 15, at home, breathes his last at age 82.

2001

陈从周艺术馆落成，亦名“梓园”，隐于南北湖畔的院落里，风景如画。5月7日，骨灰从上海运抵此处。

The Memorial Art Gallery of Chen Congzhou is completed. Also known as "An Elderly Carpenter's Garden," the building is nestled in a lush bamboo grove inside of a courtyard by the paradise-like South-and-North Lakes. On May 7, the urn containing the late professor's ashes is flown from Shanghai and entombed at the foot of his statue at the western flank of the garden.

注释　NOTES

Preface　前言

1

Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996: 19.
柯律格．《丰饶之地：中国明代的园林文化》．达勒姆：杜克大学出版社，1996：第19页．

2

Nature Within Walls: The Chinese Garden Court at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003: 19.
伊丽莎白·哈默.《墙内自然：大都会艺术博物馆内的中国园林庭院》.纽约：大都会艺术博物馆，2003：第19页.

Notes from the Translator　译者絮语

1

As commercial numbers among Chinese folks, the symbols 〡, 〢, 〣, 〤, 〥, 〦,〧, 〨, 〩 and 十 stand for the Arabian numbers respectively from 1 to 10. It is put as 〢〤 for two *dou* and four *sheng* in weight and 〣〤 for three chi and four cun in length. It is particularly convenient to use this system of symbols in vertical account books and for algebraic expression.
中国民间商业计数，以〡，〢，〣，〤，〥，〦，〧，〨，〩，十代表阿拉伯数字1到10。两斗四升记作〢〤，三尺四寸记作〣〤。以此符号用于竖写账簿和代数式都很简便。

2

Chen Congzhou. "Shubian Renyu." In Huang Changyong (ed.), *Yuanlin Qingyi*, pp. 286-287, 289, 294. Nanjing: Jiangsu wenyi chubanshe, 2005.
陈从周．书边人语//黄昌勇编．《园林清议》．南京：江苏文艺出

版社，2005：286-287页，289页，294页.

3

The classic was written by Yu Hao, an architect active during the period that spanned the late Five Dynasties period (907-960) and the Northern Song (960-1127).
《木经》喻皓所撰。喻皓为五代末北宋初人。

Suzhou Gardens: An Overview　苏州园林概述

1

王应麟，字伯厚，号深宁居士，南宋三朝元老。著述颇丰，计有二十余种，六百多卷。所撰《玉海》二百卷，囊括当时科举考试所需的各类知识。最为人知的却是蒙学著作《三字经》。
Wang Yinglin (1223-1296), style name Bohou, sobriquet Recluse of Shenning, a high official whose service covered three emperors of the Southern Song and a scholar and polymath whose writings amount to six hundred volumes on twenty or so fields. His *The Sea of Jade*, a major encyclopaedia on topics ranging from classics and history to astronomy and geography, amounts to two hundred volumes, but he is best known as the author of "Three Character Classic," a popular children's primer.

2

豨韦，黄帝前的古帝，建都于今河南滑县。《庄子·知北游》：豨韦之囿……
Xiwei, a ruler who lived earlier than the Yellow Emperor, with what is presentday Huaxian county in Henan province as the capital of his territory. *Zhuangzi* ("Knowledge Wandered North"): "But Xiwei had his own park…"

3

黄帝，即轩辕，中华民族的祖先，贵为五帝之首。据《史记》，其他四帝为颛顼、帝喾、尧、舜。《庄子·知北游》：……黄帝之圃……
Yellow Emperor (2717-2599 BC), also Xuanyuan, the ancestor of the Chinese people and the first of the Five August Emperors along with Zhuanxu (4946-4849 BC), Ku (3331-3266 BC), Yao (2377-2259 BC) and Shun (2172-2089 BC) prior to the Xia, according to *Record of the*

Great Historian. Zhuangzi ("Knowledge Wandered North"): "…the Yellow Emperor's garden…"

4

周文王，周武王之父，商时封西伯。追谥为西周第一任君王。
King Wen of Zhou (1152-1050 BC) was Western Earl of the Shang and father of King Wu (c. 1087-1043 BC), the first monarch of the Western Zhou posthumously(1046-771 BC).

5

秦始皇嬴政，秦朝第一位皇帝，秦朝是中国历史上第一个中央集权的封建帝国。
Qinshihuang (in reign 246-210 BC), or Ying Zheng (259-210 BC), is the founding emperor of the Qin, the first centralized feudal empire in Chinese history.

6

汉武帝刘彻，西汉第七位皇帝，将汉王朝打造成当时最强大的帝国。
Emperor Wu of Han (in reign 141-87 BC), or Liu Che (156-87 BC), is the seventh emperor, who built the Han into the most powerful country in the world at the time.

7

梁孝王刘武，汉武帝的叔叔。其兔园是当时文人雅士常相光顾的乐土。
Prince Xiao of Liang (?-144 BC), or Liu Wu, was an uncle of Emperor Wu of Han, whose Hare Garden was a pleasure ground frequented by the most famous writers of the day.

8

魏文帝曹丕，三国魏的开国皇帝，亦是杰出多产的文学家。
Emperor Wen of Wei (in reign 220-226), or Cao Pi (187-226), was a prolific, outstanding literary figure and the founder of the Kingdom of Wei of the Three Kingdoms period.

9

隋炀帝杨广，隋朝第二位皇帝，创始了科举制度。
Emperor Yang of Sui (in reign 605-618), or Yang Guang (569-618), is

the second emperor of the Sui, who endorsed the imperial examination system.

10

唐懿宗李漼，唐朝倒数第四位皇帝，游宴无度。
Emperor Yizong of Tang (in reign 859-873), or Li Cui (828-873), the fourth last emperor of the dynasty notorious for his incessant outings and lavish banquets.

11

宋徽宗赵佶，北宋倒数第二位皇帝，昏君，书画成就颇高。
Emperor Huizong of Northern Song (in reign 1100-1126), or Zhao Ji (1082-1135), the last but one emperor of the Northern Song, was a total failure as a ruler in spite of his striking achievements in calligraphy and painting.

12

靖康二年，金兵攻陷汴京（今开封），北宋灭亡。十年后，赵构渡江，偏安临安，为南宋第一位皇帝。
In 1127, the Northern Song came to an end after the invading Jurchen troops sacked its capital Bianjing in present-day Kaifeng. A decade later, Zhao Gou (1107-1187) crossed the Yangtze River and settled down in Lin'an, where he continued his Jianyan reign (1127-1130) as the first emperor of the Southern Song.

13

元世祖忽必烈，建立元朝，将中国疆域拓展至东起太平洋西到黑海，北起西伯利亚南到阿富汗的范围，占世界版图的五分之一。
Kublai Khan (1215-1294), or Emperor Shizu of Yuan (in reign 1260-1294), is the founder of the Yuan who expanded the Chinese territory from the Pacific to the Black Sea and from Siberia to what is present Afghanistan, covering one fifth of the world's inhabited land area.

14

梁冀，字伯卓，大将军梁商之子，东汉两位皇后的哥哥，冲、质、桓三帝时擅朝政。朝廷权臣，大肆敛财，广开园林，占地广阔，中有假山、山涧、野兽等。二十多年恶贯满盈，天怨人怒，终于在桓帝时自杀。

Liang Ji (?-159), style name Bozhuo, son of a general-in-chief, brother-in-law to two emperors of the Eastern Han, and regent for emperors Chong (144-145), Zhi (145-146) and Huan (146-167). Taking advantage of his high position, he amassed a staggering amount of wealth, with which he built splendid parks that covered large tracts of wooded land and contained numerous artificial mountains, precipitous mountain creeks, and wildlife. He eventually died at the hands of the third emperor after his twenty-odd years of utterly corrupted and high-handed rule ran out of control and incurred the wrath of both the court and commonality.

15

张伦，北魏司农。园子华丽，可媲美皇家园林。其中重岩复岭、深溪洞壑、高林巨树。悬葛垂萝、崎岖石路，有若自然。
Zhang Lun (*fl*. 5th century), a treasury minister of the Northern Wei whose beautiful garden rivaled the royal ones of his time, in which mountain ranges, caves, streams, forests, vines and tendrils, winding paths, and plank roads carved out of steep rocks combined to conjure up a vista very close to nature.

16

作者未提及茹浩为皇帝监造的这座园子。
The author did not mention the garden, of whose construction Ru Hao supervised for his emperor.

17

石崇，西晋诗人、权臣，巨富，曾与国舅斗富。其金谷园中假山流水、楼榭亭阁、奇花异兽、珍珠玛瑙不一而足。人与园史书皆有记载，文学作品亦多有提及。
Shi Chong (249-300), a poet and an influential official of the Western Jin who was so rich that he once beat an uncle of the emperor in a wealth competition. His Garden of Golden Valley contained hills and lakes, bridges and pavilions, beautiful plants and exotic animals, not to mention a good variety of precious stones. Both his name and garden were recorded in history books, and portrayed in literary works.

18

徐勉，南梁政治家、文学家，节俭正直，为官清廉，家无蓄积。

《诫子崧书》：……非在播艺以要利人，正欲穿池种树，少寄情赏……
Xu Mian (466-535), a statesman of the Southern Liang who was frugal, upright and incorruptible, having little property to himself throughout his life. In a letter to his son, Xu Song, he said that he farmed and gardened on a small lot not for profit, but to seek personal ease of mind.

19

庾信，南北朝诗人，《哀江南赋》为其代表作。当时诗人羁留北朝，赋中表达了强烈的南归愿望，南方是他生活、出仕之地。然而北周旋即灭亡，北朝结束，归乡终成泡影。
Yu Xin (513-581), a writer of the Southern and Northern Dynasties whose literary production is represented by "Lament for the South," in which he expressed his strong wish to return to the South, where he had lived and worked, a wish which was quickly dashed with the fall of the Northern Zhou (557-581), the last one of the Northern Dynasties (386-581) , where he was retained as a high official.

20

宋之问，早唐诗人，其蓝田别业后为王维所有。
Song Zhiwen (c. 656-712), an early-Tang poet whose abode at Lantian, Shaanxi province, finally came under the possession of Wang Wei.

21

王维，字摩诘，盛唐文学家、艺术家、政治家。诗书、音乐、绘画特臻其妙，后人称其为南宗山水画之祖。
Wang Wei (701-761), style name Mojie, one of the most famous men of arts and letters and statesman during the high Tang, one of the golden ages in Chinese cultural history. Popularly known as a model of humanistic education as expressed in poetry, calligraphy, music and painting, he is also established as the founder of the revered Southern school of painter-poets concerning landscape themes.

22

李德裕，晚唐诗人、宰相，其洛阳的平泉别墅建筑与山水相得益彰。
Li Deyu (787-850), a poet and prime minister of the late Tang whose Pingquan Villa in Luoyang was known for its harmony between elegant

architecture and beautiful landscape.

23

白居易，字乐天，号香山居士，现实主义诗人，语言平易通俗。与李白、杜甫并称唐代三大诗人。
Bai Juyi (772-846), style name Letian, sobriquet Retired Scholar of Fragrant Hill, a great realistic poet known for his simple and easy-to-understand style, was one of the three greatest poets of the Tang together with Li Bai and Du Fu.

24

李格非，北宋文人，同里人，女词人李清照之父。
Li Gefei (*c*. 1045-*c*. 1105), a native of Tongli town and a literary figure of the Northern Song who was father of the renowned woman ci master Li Qingzhao(1084-1155).

25

富弼，北宋时封郑国公，数次出使辽国，与文彦博同时拜相。
Fu Bi (1004-1083), who became Duke of Zheng of the Northern Song in 1061, had served among other important positions as envoy to Khitan for several times, and co-prime minister with Wen Yanbo (1006-1097) in 1055.

26

周密，南宋末年画家、雅词词派领袖。其画作、诗作多描绘家乡浙江湖州的山水园林。
Zhou Mi (1232-1298), a painter who was also the leader of a refined school of lyrical poetry during the twilight years of the Southern Song. The splendid gardens and landscape of his hometown Huzhou, Zhejiang province, were central themes in his paintings and poems.

27

万历年间，米万钟于海淀北部水泽上营此园，借景西山，利用了原有水源。米氏大多时间居于此园，另有漫园及湛园。
This garden was built by Mi Wanzhong on a marshland in north Haidian around the period 1611-1613 by borrowing the views of the Western Hills in the distance and accommodating to available water on the site. The Mis spent most of their time in this garden, but they also owned the

Water-Brimmed Garden and the Crystal Garden.

28

此园在西海德胜门，即积水潭东，中有三层楼阁，四时景色各异。
Located to the east of Jishuitan neighborhood or the Western Lake at the Desheng Gate, the garden features a three-storied belvedere where the scenery changes with the seasons.

29

王世贞，明朝诗人、史学家，主张恢复秦汉散文及唐诗传统，后略有改变。张南阳为其营弇山园假山，慧眼独具，遂成精品。张南阳另一杰作是上海豫园的大假山。
Wang Shizhen (1526-1590), a poet and historian of the Ming who advocated the restoration of the Qin and Han traditions in prose writing and of Tang standards in poetry, though he changed his mind a little bit in his later years. The artificial mountain in his Yanshan Garden was built by Zhang Nanyang (c. 1517-1596), who, with a painter's discerning eye, turned the garden into a landscaping masterpiece. Zhang's another renowned work is the big artificial mountain in the Gratification Garden in Shanghai.

30

南宋士人严沆于杭州购园，名为皋园，以诫皋鱼之失。皋鱼为孔子同时代人，有三失：少而学，游诸侯以后吾亲，失之一也；高尚吾志，闲吾事君，失之二也；与友厚而中绝之，失之三也。
The Southern Song scholar-official Yan Hang (1617-1678) purchased a garden in Hangzhou and named it "Gao Yu Garden" to guard against the failures of Gao Yu, a contemporary of Confucius who was remorseful for ranking his parents behind his pursuit of studies in other countries, not serving his prince because of his own moral integrity and losing friendship midway.

31

顾辟疆，苏州望族名士。辟疆园乃史籍所载苏州第一名园。王献之……先不识主人，径往其家。值顾方集宾友酣燕，而王游历既毕，指麾好恶，旁若无人。顾勃然不堪……便驱其左右出门……然后令送著门外。
Gu Pijiang (*fl.* 4th century) hailed from a well-established clan in

Suzhou and was a scholar-turned high official. His garden put its name on the map as the first ever built in Suzhou thanks to an uninvited visit by the celebrated EasternJin calligrapher Wang Xianzhi (344-386), who, upon finishing his self-guided tour of this garden, started making derogative comments on what he had just seen. A chagrined Gu Pijiang, who happened to be busy feting a horde of friends, first threw the arrogant man into a panic by driving his entourage out, and then showed him the door.

32

孝武帝司马曜，东晋倒数第三位皇帝，击败前秦，国运中兴。
Emperor Xiaowu (in reign 373-396), or Sima Yao (362-396), the third last emperor of the Eastern Jin who somehow gave his dynasty a new lease of life by vanquishing a strong foe in the north, the troops of the Former Qin (350-394).

33

朱长文，号乐圃，北宋书学理论家，博学多才，筑乐圃为藏书楼，时人以不到乐圃为耻。
Zhu Changwen (1039-1098), sobriquet Lepu (Loving Gardener), a Northern-Song theorist on ancient books and history records, and an erudite scholar who turned his garden into a great library. It was said that the celebrities of his time would consider it a shame if they had never visited his garden.

34

王唤，南宋绍兴十四年（1144年）任平江知府，清理兵燹废墟，重建家园。绍兴十五年重刊北宋李诫编著的建筑规范书《营造法式》，此书传世，王唤功不可没。
Wang Huan (*fl*. 12th century) became prefect of Pingjiang (present-day Suzhou) in 1144 when he began rebuilding the city from the ruins wrought by the all-powerful invading Jurchen troops. He also contributed remarkably to the preservation of *Treatise on Architectural Methods* by republishing it in 1145, an important architectural classic compiled by Li Jie (1065-1110) of the Northern Song.

35

苏舜钦，字子美，北宋诗人。沧浪亭始建于五代末期，原为皇家园

林，现列入《世界遗产名录》。园名源自屈原的《渔父》：沧浪之水清兮，可以濯吾缨。沧浪之水浊兮,可以濯吾足。
Su Shunqin (1008-1048), style name Zimei, a poet of the Northern Song. The name of his Dark Blue Waves Pavilion, now a UNESCO world heritage site, built upon the former site of an imperial garden dating back to the end of the Five Dynasties period, is derived from two lines in the poem "Fisherman" by Qu Yuan(*c*. 340-278 BC) of the Warring States period, "If the Dark Blue Waves River is clean I wash my hat ribbon in it; If the Dark Blue Waves River is dirty I wash my muddy feet in it."

36

梅宣义，苏轼同僚、诗友。其在桃花坞的五亩园，遍种桃花，流水环绕，占地五亩，亦称“梅园”。
Mei Xuanyi (*fl*. 11th century), one of Su Shi's colleagues and poet friends. His Five-“Mu" Garden at the Peach Blossom Lowland, a scenic area of peach groves and gentle waters, is also called Plum Garden, which covers a lot of five *mu* exactly.

37

朱勔，因谄得官，不可一世，声名狼藉，为皇帝从苏州运送奇花异石至京城汴京。自营同乐园，园林之大，奇石之多堪称江南第一。后钦宗将其流放、斩首，园子遂夷为平地。
Zhu Mian (1075-1126), a notorious, powerful sycophant whose job was to ship exotic flowers and stones for Emperor Huizong from Suzhou up north to the capital. His own property, the Garden of Universal Joy, was said to be number one in the south for its unmatched size and immense collection of rare stones, but it was leveled to the ground soon after he was dismissed and beheaded on a later Emperor's order.

38

黄省曾，明朝诗人、学者，著述颇丰，内容涉及经学、史学、地理、农学等多方面。
Huang Xingzeng (1496-1561), a productive and versatile Ming poet and scholar who authored many works on Chinese classics, history, geography, agriculture, and animal husbandry.

39

计成，江苏省吴江县同里人，明代造园家，江南若干园林为其所造。其《园冶》是世界上第一部系统的造园专著，涉及风景、植物、建筑等方面。后人皆遵循他制定的规矩、原则，其他国家的造园也深受其影响。
Ji Cheng (1582-*c*. 1642), a native of Tongli town, Wujiang county in Jiangsu province, was a Ming-dynasty garden designer and builder who had quite a few gardens in the Jiangnan area to his credit. His *The Craft of Gardens* is the world's first manual ever dedicated to landscape, horticultural and architectural gardening, and the principles and rules of the thumb laid down by him are religiously followed by gardeners in China and having a considerable impact on garden-making in other countries.
文震亨，明末画家、藏书家，亦解造园。其曾祖文徵明与沈周、唐寅、仇英并称明四家。
Wen Zhenheng (1585-1645), a painter and book collector well-versed in landscape gardening who lived in the late Ming. His great-grandfather, Wen Zhengming(1470-1559), was one of the four famous painters during the Ming, the other three being Shen Zhou (1427-1509), Tang Yin (1470-1523) and Qiu Ying (1498-1552).
张涟，字南垣，明清之际造园家，亦通画理。关于他最详尽的记载见于吴伟业（梅村）的《张南垣传》。无锡寄畅园假山为其叠石代表作。
Zhang Lian (1587-1673), style name Nanyuan, a landscape gardener in the Ming-Qing period who was also well-versed in landscape painting theories. The most detailed record of him is found in "Biography of Zhang Lian" written by Wu Weiye (1609-1672), style name Meicun. The artificial mountain in the Solace-Imbued Garden of Wuxi is one of his rockwork masterpieces.
张然，苏州著名叠山家。清顺治年间，其父张涟派其进京为皇家营西苑。
Zhang Ran (*fl*. 17th century), a renowned rockwork builder active in Suzhou who was dispatched by his father Zhang Lian to Peking during the Shunzhi reign(1638-1661) of the Qing for a royal mission to rebuild artificial mountains in the Western Park.
李渔，号笠翁，明末清初戏曲家、戏曲理论家、出版家、美学家。成立芥子园书铺销售自己作品，倡编《芥子园画谱》，并作序。其时最多才多艺的文人，敢想敢干，集演员、制片人、导演、编剧于

一身，常携家班巡演。
Li Yu (1611-1680), sobriquet Liweng, a playwright, drama theoretician, publisher and aesthetician of the late Ming and early Qing period who set up the Mustard Seed Garden Bookstore to sell his own books, and who initiated the compilation of the painting manual *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Model Paintings*, which was published with his own preface. Considered to be the most versatile and enterprising literatus of his time, he was actor, producer, director and playwright combined in one, and used to travel with his own troupe.
戈裕良，江苏常州人，早年即受雇治园叠山。其所叠环秀山庄假山，现代建筑家刘敦桢评为苏州第一座湖石山。其他作品还有扬州小盘谷、常熟燕园及如皋文园假山等。
Ge Yuliang (1764-1830), a native of Changzhou, Jiangsu province, who was hired to build gardens and pile rockeries at an early age. One of his rockwork masterpieces in the Beauty-Encircled Mountain Abode is lauded by the modern architecture historian Liu Dunzhen as the first of the Lake Tai stone rockeries in Suzhou. His other rockeries are found in the Lesser Winding Gully in Yangzhou, the Homecoming Swallow Garden in Changshu, the Literary Garden in Rugao and some other gardens.

40

王献臣，明朝人，为官正直，为宦党诬陷、流放，遂对仕途心灰意冷，归隐故乡苏州。与书画家文征明过从甚密，文积极参与了拙政园的设计，并绘园景图。
After Wang Xianchen (1469-?), an upright scholar-official of the Ming was exonerated from eunuchs' frame-up charges that had sent him into exile, and he was so disenchanted and tired of officialdom that he retired to his hometown Suzhou, where he built the Humble Administrator's Garden. He associated with the brilliant painter, calligrapher and writer Wen Zhengming (1470-1559), who was greatly involved in the making of the garden and did paintings of its scenery.

41

潘岳，西晋诗人、赋作家。妙有姿容，竟至掩盖文名，誉为天下第一美男。其《闲居赋》称“智之不足”“筑室种树、灌园鬻蔬”，此亦拙者之为政也。
Pan Yue (247-300), a poet and prose-writer and official of the Western

Jin whose fabulous literary talent is often overshadowed by his looks—he is regarded as the most handsome man of China through the ages. In his poem, "Idle Life Rhapsody," he portrays himself as a slow-witted and humble administrator who contents himself with building houses, planting trees, watering gardens and growing vegetables.

42

陈之遴，海宁人，翰林编修，与徐氏为姻亲。顺治十年（1653年），2000两银子廉价购下拙政园。
Chen Zhilin (1605-1666) was grand secretary of the Hanlin Academy from Haining, and a relative by marriage to the Xus. The exact amount of money he paid for this garden in 1653 was 2,000 taels of silver.

43

吴璥，字式如，吏部尚书协办大学士。嘉庆末年购得园中部，因此亦名“吴园”。
Wu Jing (1747-1822), style name Shiru, who served as minister of civil personnel and assistant grand secretary. He bought the central part of the garden during the late years of Emperor Jiaqing's reign. For this reason the garden is also called "Wu's Garden."

44

刘敦桢，建筑家、建筑教育家、中国营造学社成员。创办我国第一所由中国人经营的建筑师事务所，从事建筑史尤其是古代中国建筑史的教育与研究工作，亦研究中国传统民居和园林。
Liu Dunzhen (1897-1968), an architect and educator in architecture, also a member of the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture. The builder of the first architects' office operated by the Chinese, Liu is most known for his architecture education and studies in architecture history, traditional Chinese architecture history in particular. He was also involved in researches of traditional Chinese dwellings and gardens.

45

亭名源自《荀子·天论》：桃李倩粲于一时，时至而后杀。至于松柏，经隆冬而不凋，蒙霜雪而不变，可谓得其真矣。
The name of this pavilion is attributed to Xunzi ("Discourse on Heavens"): "The peach and plum trees may look pretty and brilliant for a time, but they die when their season comes to an end. As to the pine and

cypress trees, they refuse to wither in the throes of subfreezing midwinter. They may be smothered by frost and snow but they never change themselves. Indeed, they have attained the truth."

46

徐泰时，万历八年，四十一岁中进士。授工部营缮主事，进秩太仆寺少卿，创建维修皇家建筑。万历十七年，罢官还乡，营建祖父徐朴的园子，即为留园，苏州园林的瑰宝。

Xu Taishi (1540-1598) was a successful candidate in the highest imperial examinations when he turned forty-one in 1581. In his pursuit of officialdom, he began as a director of construction in the Ministry of Works and ended up as Chamberlain for the Imperial Stud, and his responsibilities were construction and maintenance of imperial buildings. In 1589, he was removed from his official position, and went home to build his own garden on an estate left by his grandfather Xu Pu (*fl*. 15th century). The product of his labor eventually emerged as the best of all the gardens in Suzhou, and remains this way to this day.

47

名字源自陶渊明《读山海经》：既耕亦已种，时还读我书。

The name is derived from "Reading the Book of Mountains and Rivers" by Tao Yuanming (c. 365-427), "Now that tilling and sowing are over, / It's high time I returned to reading."

48

钱泳，清代文人，工诗书画。其《履园丛话》内容详实，史料精确，晓畅易懂。

Qian Yong (1759-1844), a man of letters of the Qing well versed in poetry, calligraphy and painting, but he is most remembered for his *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* with its substantial contents, accurate data and lucid writing style.

49

顾文彬，字艮庵，书法家、收藏金石书画，治别业怡园。

Gu Wenbin (1811-1889), style name Gen'an, a calligrapher and collector of ancient books, paintings, bronzes and stone tablets who was also owner of the Garden of Brotherly Indulgence.

50

岁寒诸友此处指松、柏、冬青、竹、梅等植物，天寒愈显苍翠。
The Wintry Friends here refer to pines, cypresses, wintergreens, bamboos and plum trees, which look their best in cold weather.

51

李斗，清戏曲作家，亦工诗、音律、算术。历时三十年写成《扬州画舫录》，书中记载了丰富的人文历史资料，包括扬州城市区划、运河沿革、文物、园林、文学、曲艺、风俗等。
Li Dou (1749-1817), a major playwright of the Qing who was also well-versed in poetry, music and mathematics. It took him over 30 years from 1764 to 1795 to finish writing the *Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*, in which he documented an abundance of cultural and historical facts, including the cityscape of Yangzhou, the history of the Grand Canal, artworks, gardens, literature, performing arts, and folklore.

52

倪瓒，号云林子，无锡人，元末明初山水画家、诗人，与黄公望、吴镇、王蒙合称元四家。时人认为其沉默寡言，过分挑剔，这在其画作中也有所反映。
Ni Zan (1301-1374), sobriquet Son of Clouds and Woods, a native of Wuxi who was a landscape painter and poet during the Yuan and the early Ming, and one of the Four Masters of the Yuan in landscape painting along with Huang Gongwang (1269-1354), Wu Zhen (1280-1354) and Wang Meng (1308-1385). He was characterized by his contemporaries as particularly reticent and fastidious, qualities that are found in his paintings.

53

沈周，号石田，明书画家，吴门画派掌门人。其画作《庐山高图》《杖藜远眺图》《沧州趣图》等表现了对自然的关切，并伴有往日美学的发现。
Shen Zhou (1427-1509), sobriquet Shitian, a famed Ming-dynasty calligrapher and painter who was also leader of the Wu (Suzhou) School of Literati Painters. Most of his paintings, such as *Lofty Mountain Lushan*, *Poet on a Mountaintop*, and *Cangzhou Landscape*, are characterized by his deep concern with preservation of mother nature and the aesthetic discoveries of bygone ages.

Master-of-Fishnets Garden, Suzhou 苏州网师园

1

【从周案一】钱大昕清乾隆六十年（公元1795年）《网师园记》："带城桥之南，宋时为史氏万卷堂故址，与南园沧浪亭相望。有巷曰网师者，本名王思。曩卅年前，宋光禄悫庭购其地，治别业为归老之计，因以网师自号，并颜其园，盖托于鱼隐之义，亦取巷名相似也。光禄既殁，其园日就颓圮，乔木古石，大半损失，唯池水一泓，尚清澈无恙。瞿君远邨偶过其地，悲其鞠为茂草也，为之太息。问旁舍者，知主人方求售，遂买而有之。因其规模，别为结构，叠石种木，布置得宜，增建亭宇，易旧为新。既落成，招予辈四五人，谈宴为竟日之集。石径屈曲，似往而复，沧波渺然，一望无际。有堂曰梅花铁石山房，曰小山丛桂轩；有阁曰濯缨水阁；有燕居之室曰蹈和馆；有亭于水者曰月到风来；有亭于崖者曰云冈；有斜轩曰竹外一枝；有斋曰集虚……地只数亩，而有纡回不尽之致。……柳子厚所谓奥如旷如者，殆兼得之矣。"

[Chen Congzhou: Note 1] In his "Notes on the Master-of-Fishnets Garden," Qian Daxin writes, "[The garden] on the former site of Shi's Hall of Ten Thousand Volumes of the Southern Song sits south of the Belt City Bridge and faces the Dark Blue Waves Pavilion in the south. The lane the garden is located on is named after it, but its former name was wangsi. Thirty years earlier, Song Luru, style name Queting, the surveillance commissioner, bought the lot there and built a garden where he could become an 'angling hermit' and fulfill his filial duty for his mother. He named the garden after his sobriquet, 'Master of Fishnets,' which is analogical to fish and pronounced in the same way as the lane's former name. After Song died, his garden gradually fell into decay. Most of its tall trees and ancient rockeries were gone; only the pond with its limpid water remained. When a gentleman by the name of Qu Yuancun passed by, he was sad at the sight of the overgrown weed that covered the place. Sighing, he asked a neighbor about it, and was told that its master was putting it up for sale. He bought it and set about restructuring his newly acquired property in line with its size, piling up rockeries, planting trees, and building new pavilions and dwellings to replace its old looks. When the project was completed, he feasted us friends and told them about what he had done in those busy days (we chatted all day long). In his new estate, a stone-paved path took a

twisting course, now leading forward, now turning back in a setting so labyrinthine that it seemed sometimes to have disappeared below the horizon. There were the Plum Flower and Iron Ore Mountain Abode, the Verandah of a Hillock Clustered with Osmanthuses, Hat-Ribbon Washing Belvedere, an idler's dwelling called Studio for Fostering Modesty and Amiability, the waterside Pavilion of Moon Arriving and Breeze Coming, the Cloudy Ridge Pavilion on top of an artificial mountain cliff, the Verandah of a Twig Beyond Bamboos, and the Gathering-in-Emptiness Chamber…. This land, though covering only a few *mu*, seems to be pregnant with pleasant surprises…. 'Being unfathomable is to be expansive,' in the words of Liu Zongyuan (773-819), style name Zihou, but this estate is at once unfathomable and expansive."

褚廷璋清嘉庆元年(公元1796年) 《网师园记》：“远邨于斯园增置亭台竹木之胜，已半易网师旧规……乾隆丁未（公元1787年）秋，奉讳旋里，观察（宋鲁儒名宗元）久为古人，园方旷如，拟暂僦居而未果。”

Chu Tingzhang (?-1797) says in his "Notes on the Master-of-Fishnets Garden" written in 1796, "The pavilions, terraces, bamboos and trees and other scenic elements added by Yuancun to this garden have changed half of the former arrangements…. When I went home for a family funeral in a year of *ding-wei* under the Qianlong reign (1787), the surveillance commissioner had long been deceased, and his garden was deserted. I wanted to rent it for a temporary stay, but failed."

冯浩清嘉庆四年(公元1799年) 《网师园序》：“吴郡瞿君远邨，得宋悫庭网师园，大半倾圮，因树石池水之胜，重构堂亭轩馆，审势协宜，大小咸备，仍余清旷之境，足畅怀舒眺。”园后归吴嘉道，为时不久。

Feng Hao (1719-1801) says in his "Preface to the Master-of-Fishnets Garden," which he wrote in the fourth year of the Jiaqing reign (1799), "When the gentleman Qu Yuancun from Wujun prefecture bought the garden of Song Luru, more than half of it had crumbled. Qu had big halls and dwellings and small pavilions, verandahs and chambers rebuilt to mingle with the garden's beautiful trees, rockwork and water according to a well-conceived plan, with due attention paid to preserving the original delicate and spacious sceneries, so that the entire garden has enough to offer those who come to relax and look afar." Later, the

garden came briefly under the ownership of Wu Jiadao.

2

网师园在苏舜钦的沧浪亭之东，李鸿裔遂自号“苏邻”。李氏同治元年（1862年）购得网师园，六年后辞官居园中。

The Master-of-Fishnets Garden is situated to the east of Su Shunqin's Dark Blue Waves Pavilion, hence the sobriquet of "Neighbor of Su Shunqin" chosen by Li Hongyi himself, who bought the estate in 1862, and settled down in it after giving up his post six years later.

3

【从周案二】见俞樾《撷秀楼匾额跋》及达桂、程德全之网师园题记。又名蘧园。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 2] See "Postscript to the Inscription on Beauty-Garnering Loft's Nameboard" by Yu Yue, as well as the colophons on the painting "Master-of-Fishnets Garden" by Da Gui and Cheng Dequan (1860-1930). The Master-of-Fishnets Garden's byname is "Lotus Garden."

4

【从周案三】据张学铭先生见告，园旧有黎元洪赠张锡銮书匾额。后改称逸园。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 3] I learned from Zhang Xueming (1908-1983), the second son of Zhang Zuolin, that the garden used to have a board inscribed in the handwriting of Li Yuanhong (1864-1928), vice president of the Republic of China. The garden was later renamed "Garden of Leisure." Though Zhang Xiluan owned the Garden, he never lived there in his lifetime.

5

叶恭绰，号遐庵，晚清廪贡生，曾任北洋政府交通总长、广州国民政府财政部长等。新中国成立后，任中国画院院长。后半生致力于学术研究，其书亦佳。

Ye Gongchuo (1881-1968), sobriquet Xia'an, a successful candidate in the imperial examinations at provincial level during the late Qing, minister of communication and subsequently minister of finance in the early Republican years, and foundation president of the Chinese Academy of Painting in New China. He dedicated the second half of his

life to academic studies, and he also established himself as a renowned calligrapher.

6

张泽，字善子，现代画家，尤擅画虎。其弟张爰，号大千，是20世纪享誉国际的中国艺术家，善画风景、荷花。兄弟二人建大风堂画斋，遂有大风堂画派。他们与张锡銮子师黄交好，因此赁居网师园殿春簃。抗日战争爆发前兄弟二人离开此园。

Zhang Ze (1882-1940), style name Shanzi, a modern painter famous for his tiger paintings. His younger brother, Zhang Yuan (1899-1983), sobriquet Daqian, a painter whose forte of landscape and lotus painting established his position as one of the most internationally renowned Chinese artists of the 20th century. The two brothers established the Painting Studio of Dafeng Hall, hence the School of Dafeng Hall. They had been friends with Zhang Shihuang, son of Zhang Xiluan, who lent the Late-Spring Peony Lodge to them as a living place. The two brothers left the garden before the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression broke out.

7

何亚农，本名何澄，字亚农，文物鉴赏家、收藏家。早期加入中国同盟会，为国民党元老，1908年毕业于日本陆军士官学校。后退出政界经营实业，投身教育。何氏对此园进行全面整修，充实字画，复用“网师园”旧名。1946年病故，其妻继承此园。四年后妻亦卒，子女将园献交国家。

He Yanong (1880-1946), born He Cheng with the style name Yanong, a connoisseur and collector of cultural relics. Before graduation from the Imperial Japanese Army Academy in 1908, he joined the Chinese United League, becoming one of the founding fathers of the Kuomintang. Later he retired from politics to become a businessman and educator. He renovated the garden, replenished it with artistic works, and named it back to the Master-of-Fishnets Garden. The garden was inherited by his wife upon his death in 1946, and his children donated it to the government when their mother died four years later.

8

俞樾，号曲园居士，清末学者、书法家，红学家俞平伯曾祖。嘉庆六年阮元于杭州创诂经精舍，俞樾于此课徒三十载。吴昌硕、章炳

麟等皆出其门下。
Yu Yue (1821-1907), sobriquet Recluse of the Twisted Garden, a scholar and calligrapher in the late Qing, and great-grandfather of Yu Pingbo (1900-1990), a prominent scholar in the study of A Dream of Red Mansions. He taught for thirty years in the Confucian Classics Elucidation Academy established by Ruan Yuan(1764-1849) in 1801 in Hangzhou, where Wu Changshuo (1844-1927) and Zhang Binglin (1869-1936) were his students in 1869 and 1891 respectively.

9

《庄子·人间世》：唯道集虚，虚者，心斋也。
Zhuangzi ("In the World of Man"): "The Way gathers in emptiness alone; emptiness is the fasting of the mind."

10

晏几道，号小山，北宋词人，晏殊第七子。诗作清丽，情感真挚。
Yan Jidao (1030-1110), sobriquet Xiaoshan, a lyrical poet of the Northern Song and the seventh son of Yan Shu. His poems strike one as refreshing, sincere and sentimental.

11

【从周案四】苏叟《养疴闲记》卷三：“宋副使悫庭宗元网师小筑在沈尚书第东，仅数武。中有梅花铁石山房，半巢居。北山草堂附对句‘丘壑趣如此；鸾鹤心悠然’。濯缨水阁‘水面文章风写出；山头意味月传来’。（钱维城）花影亭‘鸟语花香帘外景；天光云影座中春’。（庄培因）小山丛桂轩‘鸟因对客钩语；树为循墙宛转生’（曹秀先）。溪西小隐斗屠苏附对句‘短歌能驻日；闲坐但闻香’（陈兆仑）。度香艇无喧庐琅开圃附对句‘不俗即仙骨；多情乃佛心’（张照）。”
[Chen Congzhou: Note 4] Lu Jin 陆锦 (*fl*. 18th century, style name Susi 素丝, a homonym of Susou), *Idle Notes Written in Recuperation*, Volume Three, "In Vice-Minister Song Luru's Net Master's Tiny Court just a few footsteps east of Minister Shen's residence, within its small space, there is the Plum Flower and Iron Ore Mountain Abode and Semi-Subterranean Den. A couplet in the Thatched Hut of Northern Mountain reads, 'With interesting knoll and dale like this, even the immortals will put their hearts at ease.' A couplet for the Hat-Ribbon Washing Belvedere: 'The beauty of the water surface is written out by

the wind; the meaning of the hilltop is spelled out by the moon.' A couplet for the Flower Shadow Pavilion: 'Singing birds and fragrant flowers form the vista beyond the window; skylight and cloud shadows are reflected in the winecups.' A couplet for the Verandah of a Hillock Clustered with Osmanthuses: 'Birds learn to parrot humans just for their guests' sake; trees look as if reborn to follow the wall's contours.' A couplet for the 'Huge' Thatched Hut: 'Singing a ditty, one stops the sun on its orbit, and setting in leisure, one inhales the fragrance." A couplet for the Yard of Bamboos, 'He who frees from vulgarity has a celestial spine; he who is compassionate has the Buddha's heart.'"

12

王国维，晚清学者、古典文学评论家，以西学方法治史。融合中西哲学与美学，形成独特的美学思想体系，《人间词话》中表露无遗。于史学、文学评论、戏剧、考古、美学均有深诣。
Wang Guowei (1877-1927), a late-Qing man of letters and critic of classic Chinese literature known for his Western approach to Chinese history. He combined Western and traditional Chinese philosophies and aesthetics to come up with an aesthetic system of his own, which is crystallized in his *Poetic Remarks on the Human World*. He was well accomplished in many academic fields such as history, education, literary critique, drama, archeology and aesthetics.

Dark Blue Waves Pavilion, Suzhou 苏州沧浪亭

1

欧阳修，北宋诗人、政治家，苏舜钦挚友。唐宋八大家之一，在宋朝发起古文运动，参与编纂《新唐书》《五代史》。
Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072), a poet and statesman of the Northern Song, and a close friend of Su Shunqin. One of the Eight Tang-Song Prose Masters, he was the initiator of the "ancient prose" campaign in the Song literary circle. In addition to his literary achievements, he was also involved in the compilation of the *New Book of Tang and the History of the Five Dynasties*.

2

梅尧臣，字圣俞，北宋现实主义诗人，诗歌革新运动的推动者。经欧阳修举荐，参与编纂《新唐书》。

Mei Yaochen (1002-1060), style name Shengyu, a realistic poet and a leading figure of a new poetic style that revived ancient literature in the Northern Song. With Ouyang Xiu's recommendation, he took part in the compilation of the *New Book of Tang*.

3

吴昌硕，清末篆刻家、书画家。同治八年（1869年），入杭州诂经精舍，师从俞樾。光绪六年（1880年），为吴云孙辈当塾师。听枫园主吴云时为苏州知府，亦是书画家、金石收藏家，昌硕目睹俞樾为吴云题联贺七十大寿。
Wu Changshuo (1844-1927), a seal carver, painter, and calligrapher of the early 20th century. When he was twenty-six in 1869, he became a disciple of Yu Yue in the Confucian Classics Elucidation Academy in Hangzhou. In 1880, as the tutor of the grandchildren of Wu Yun (1811-1883), a painter, calligrapher, and antique collector, prefect of Suzhou at the time and owner of the Listening to Maples Garden, he was able to witness Yu composing a couplet for Wu at his 70th birthday party.

4

章惇，字子厚，北宋政治家、改革家。受封申国公，故名申公。
Zhang Dun (1035-1105), style name Zihou, a statesman and reformist of the Northern Song. He was appointed as the Duke of Shen kingdom, hence his name Shengong, or the Duke of Shen.

5

蕲王即韩世忠，与岳飞、张俊、刘光世并为抗金四名将，亲见宋朝由盛而衰。
The King of Qi was none other than Han Shizhong, one of the four major antiJurchen generals along with Yue Fei (1103-1142), Zhang Jun (1086-1154) and Liu Guangshi (1086-1142) during the period that saw the all-powerful Song go downhill.

6

祠中三面墙上嵌594幅与苏州历史有关的人物平雕石像，包括商末自陕西岐山搬至江苏无锡、常州的泰伯、仲雍，春秋时期吴王阖闾，以及现代建筑家贝聿铭、作家苏童等。
Three of the shine's four walls are inlaid with 594 stone portraits of historical figures related to Suzhou, ranging from Taibo (*fl*. 11th century

BC) and his brother Zhongyong (*fl*. 11th century BC) who moved their dukedom from what was present-day Qishan in Shaanxi to present-day Wuxi and Changshu in Jiangsu toward the end of the Shang (1600-1046 BC), and Helü (?-496 BC), the duke of Wu of the early Spring and Autumn period (1046-770 BC), to such modern-day dignitaries as the architect Ieoh Ming Pei (1917-), and the author Su Tong (1963-).

Retreat and Reflection Garden, Tongli 同里退思园

1

任传薪，字味知，退思园第二代也是最后一代主人。深感女子教育的迫切，于1902年以退思园为校舍办丽则女校。
Ren Chuanxin (1887-1962), style name Weizhi, the second and last owner of the Retreat and Reflection Garden. Cherishing the importance of education for the weaker sex, he established the Lize Girls' School on the premises of the garden in 1902.

2

吴梅，字瞿安，戏曲理论家、教育家、曲谱收藏家，北京大学专授昆曲戏曲第一人。朱自清、田汉、梅兰芳、俞振飞皆其弟子。
Wu Mei (1884-1939), style name Qu'an, a traditional opera theoretician, educator, and collector of opera music scores, and the first professor to teach Kunqu Opera and drama in Peking University. His students included the essayist and poet Zhu Ziqing, the playwright Tian Han, the Peking Opera guru Mei Lanfang, and the Peking and Kunqu Opera superstar Yu Zhenfei.

3

曾朴，字孟朴，现代学者、出版家。其父于明朝小辋川上筑虚廓园（亦名曾家花园）。1904年，参与创建小说林书社，发行小说。金松岑与其共撰《孽海花》，由此社出版，被誉为晚清四大谴责小说之一。虚廓园中一池湖水，假山树木倒映其中。
Zeng Pu (1872-1935), style name Mengpu, a scholar and publisher of modern China. His father built the Ethereal Outline Garden (also known as Zeng's Garden) in the precinct of the Lesser Wangchuan Gully of the Ming. In 1904, he joined in the establishment of the Forest of Novels Publishing House as modern China's first publisher with an emphasis on novels. It is this press that published *A Flower in the Sea of Sin*, one of

the four great condemnation novels co-authored by Jin Songcen and Zeng in the late Qing. The Ethereal Outline Garden features a large lake mirroring the artificial mountains and trees around it.

4

金松岑，《孽海花》作者之一，清末提倡新文化，1932年创中国国学会。诗人柳亚子，社会学家、优生学家潘光旦，社会学家、人类学家费孝通皆出其门下。
Jin Songcen (1873-1947), co-author of *A Flower in the Sea of Sin* and a master of classical Chinese culture, who advocated new culture toward the end of the Qing and founded the Society of Classical Chinese Studies in 1932. Among his students were such prominent figures as Liu Yazi (1887-1958), a poet who became Sun Yatsen's secretary; Pan Guangdan (1899-1967), a sociologist and eugenicist; and Fei Xiaotong (1910-2005), a sociologist and anthropologist.

5

凌景埏，吴江人，亦名敬言，先后任教于东吴大学、燕京大学、江苏师范学院。工诗词，昆曲造诣极高。曾听吴梅先生讲座，于燕大昆曲社公演，亦与好友金立初薄酒唱曲。
Ling Jingyan (1904-1959), a native of Wujiang whose byname was Jingyan, a professor who taught subsequently at Soochow University, Yenching University, St. John's University and Jiangsu Normal College. Good at traditional-style poetry, he was also a Kunqu expert of high attainments. He attended lectures of the renowned Kunqu opera artist Wu Mei, performed in a Kunqu opera club in Yenching University and was often seen singing the opera with his good friend Jin Lichu in between toasts of liquor.

6

徐孝穆，吴江人，柳亚子外甥，书法、篆刻、竹刻方面卓有成就。
Xu Xiaomu (1916-1998), a native of Wujiang and Liu Yazi's nephew, well-accomplished in seal cutting, bamboo sculpture and calligraphy.

7

走马楼，南方民居特有的建筑形式，四周皆有走廊通行的楼屋，甚或骑马亦畅行无阻。
Distinct of southern-style dwellings, the horse-accommodative loft is a

kind of storied building joined by a walkway on its four sides, which is wide enough for a horse to trot through.

Yangzhou Gardens and Dwellings 扬州园林与住宅

1

杜牧，晚年居西安樊川别墅，故号樊川居士。晚唐诗坛领袖，作品内容广泛，绝句尤佳。诗文中自我形象风流倜傥，饮酒作乐，喜好女色山水。仕途尚可，曾于扬州任两年监察御史。
Du Mu (803-852), sobriquet Recluse in Fanchuan for he spent his evening years in a villa of the same name in present-day Xi'an. A leading poet of the late Tang, his forte is the quatrain among his wide-ranging literary work in which he created an image of himself as a sensualist who enjoys the pleasures of wine, women, and misty landscapes. He had a moderately successful official career, including a twoyear stint as a clerical official in Yangzhou.

2

徐湛之，南朝宋武帝刘裕的外孙。永嘉廿四年（447年），任南兖州刺史，为集文士，于广陵大建园亭。或为扬州历史上最早有记载的园林构建。
Xu Zhanzhi (410-453), a maternal grandson of Liu Yu (363-422), the first emperor of the Song of the Southern and Northern Dynasties. In 447, as Regional Inspector of South Yanzhou Prefecture, he had gardens and mansions built in Guangling (present-day Yangzhou) to attract literary figures to the city, which was perhaps the earliest record of planned garden construction in Yangzhou.

3

绍兴三十一年（1161年），金兵攻占扬州，1176年姜夔弱冠过扬州。
This refers to the year 1161 when the Jurchen troops stormed Yangzhou, fifteen years before Jiang Kui's visit to the city in his early twenties.

4

姜夔，号白石道人，南宋文学家、音乐家。诗文、书法、音乐无不精擅，是继苏轼之后又一艺术全才。
Jiang Kui (1154-1221), sobriquet White Stone Taoist, a man of letters

and musician of the Southern Song. Like Su Shi, he was another clever Jack of all trades in the realm of arts and literature including poetry, prose, calligraphy and music.

5

郑氏兄弟，祖籍徽州，祖上三代治盐，囤积大量财富。明清之际，兄弟四人竞相造园，然皆毁于战火。
Hailing from a family in Huizhou that had amassed a huge fortune from salt sales under government monopoly for three generations, the Zheng brothers had established their own fabulous estates during the Ming-Qing transition, which, however, all came to ruins in war and turmoil.

6

【从周案五】《水窗春呓》卷下“维扬胜地”条：“扬州园林之胜，甲于天下。由于乾隆朝六次南巡，各盐商穷极物力以供宸赏，计自北门抵平山，两岸数十里楼台相接，无一处重复。其尤妙者在虹桥迤西一转，小金山矗其南，五顶桥锁其中，而白塔一区雄伟古朴，往往夕阳返照，箫鼓灯船，如入汉宫图画。盖皆以重资广延名士为之创稿，一一布置使然也。城内之园数十，最旷逸者，断推康山草堂。而尉氏之园，湖石亦最胜，闻移植时费二十余万金。其华丽缜密者，为张氏观察所居，俗所谓张大麻子是也。张以一寒士，五十岁外始补通州运判，十年而拥资百万，其缺固优，凡盐商巨案，皆令其承审，居闲说合，取之如携。后已捐升道员，分发甘肃。蒋相为两江，委其署理运司，为言官所纠罢去，蒋亦由此降调。张之为人，盖亦世俗所谓非常能员耳。余于戊戌（道光十八年，即公元1838年）赘婚于扬，曾往其园一游，未数日即毁于火，犹幸眼福之未差也。园广数十亩，中有三层楼，可瞰大江，凡赏梅、赏荷、赏桂、赏菊，皆各有专地。演剧宴客，上下数级如大内式。另有套房三十余间，回环曲折，迷不知所向。金玉锦绣，四壁皆满，禽鱼尤多。……”
[Chen Congzhou: Note 5] Ouyang Zhaoxiong 欧阳兆熊 (*fl.* 19th century) and Jin Anqing 金安清 (1817-1880?), "Scenic Spots of Weiyang," *A Daydreamer's Vernal Murmurings by a Waterside Window* (Volume Two): Yangzhou leads the country with enchanting gardens. Built by local salt merchants who exhausted their wealth to entertain Emperor Qianlong on his six inspection tours of south China, these gardens form a scenic belt that extends for a dozen miles on end on both sides of the river from Northern City Gate to the Mountain-Level Hall,

with lofts and terraces clustered cheek by jowl with absolutely no repetitions. The best section of it begins where the river turns west at the Rainbow Bridge, with the Lesser Golden Hill standing out in the south, and the Five-Pavilion Bridge lying in the middle. The area around the White Pagoda is the most imposing for its classical magnificence. When the setting sun tosses its last twilight rays and lantern boats sail into the scene to the notes of vertical flutes and the beats of drums, one feels like roaming a picture of Han-dynasty palaces. All this is made possible by paying renowned figures heavily to make the designs and arrange every view on the spot. Gardens in the city are counted by the dozen, but the most spacious and extraordinary one is none other than the Thatched Cottage in the Kangshan Mountain. The Wei's Garden, however, makes a name for itself with its artificial mountains of Lake Tai stones, whose transportation and transplantation costs alone amounted to two hundred thousand and more taels of silver. The garden, luxurious to the minute detail, is the residence of a General Administration Circuit supervisor nicknamed "Pockmarked Zhang." Zhang was a humble scholar to begin with, but he became a millionaire ten years after he filled in the office of the Second Assistant Salt Controller of Tongzhou in his fifties. That official position put him in such an advantage that he was appointed to try all the major cases involving salt merchants. When he was not judging cases, he could still put in a word or two and get paid for it as easily as fetching money from his own pocket. Later, he bought a position that turned him into a circuit intendant and was dispatched to Gansu province. He was entrusted by Jiang Xiang, viceroy of Jiangsu and Jiangxi provinces, with the affairs of the Transport Monitoring Office, but after getting incriminated by an imperial remonstrating censor, he was removed from the job, and Jiang himself was demoted as a result. Zhang was one of those commonly regarded as capable officials. When I married into my wife's family in Yangzhou in a year of *wu-xu* (1838, or the eighteenth year of the Daoguang reign), I paid a visit to his garden. I should say I was lucky to have seen it with my own eyes, since it was destroyed in a fire a few days later. The garden sprawled on a land of several dozen *mu*, with a three-storied building overlooking the Yangtze River, and plum, lotus, osmanthus, and chrysanthemum were planted in separate places for people to enjoy. Theatrical performances and banquets were held in about the same

pomp and pageantry as royal palaces. There were thirty or so suites of rooms laid out in such loops and turns that one got lost easily. The four walls were all imbedded with gold and jade and covered with brocade, and the whole garden abounded in fish and birds.

7

庆历八年（1048年），扬州知府欧阳修于大明寺内建平山堂，“江南诸山，历历在目，似与堂平。”
In 1048, the legendary prose writer Ouyang Xiu had built, in the Daming Temple in Yangzhou, a hall where he could enjoy the sceneries offered by the Jiangnan mountains seemingly level with the hall. Hence its name.

8

刘大观，乾嘉时期文人，为官有政声，工作游历颇广，至广西、辽宁、山西、河南等地。
Liu Daguan (1753-1834), a man of letters active in the prime of the Qing whose decent official career enabled him to travel and work in many provinces, including Guangxi, Liaoning, Shanxi, and Henan.

9

谢溶生，东晋宰相谢安后人，李斗同乡。为李斗《扬州画舫录》作序跋者有四——谢溶生、袁枚、阮元及李斗本人。
Xie Rongsheng (?-1790), a descendent of the famous Eastern Jin prime minister Xie An (320-385), and a fellow townsman of Li Dou. Xie was one of the four who wrote the prefaces and postscripts to Li Dou's *Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*, the other three being the poet and essayist Yuan Mei, the politician and classicist Ruan Yuan, and the author himself.

10

阮元，清学者、文学家、思想家，李斗同乡。道光十八年致仕，返乡扬州。
Ruan Yuan (1764-1849), a scholar, man of letters and thinker of the Qing, and a fellow townsman of Li Dou. After his retirement in 1838, Ruan returned to settle down in his hometown, Yangzhou.

11

【从周案六】《水窗春呓》卷下“广陵名胜”条：“扬州则全以园林亭榭擅场，虽皆由人工，而匠心灵构，城北七八里夹岸楼舫无一同者，非乾隆六十年物力人才所萃，未易办也。嘉庆一朝二十五年，已渐颓废。余于己卯（嘉庆二十四年，即公元1819年）庚辰（嘉庆二十五年，即公元1820年）间侍母南归，犹及见大小虹园，华丽曲折，疑游蓬岛，计全局尚存十之五六。比戊戌（道光十八年，即公元1838年）赘姻于邗，已逾二十年，荒田茂草已多，然天宁门城外之梅花岭、东园、城闉清梵、小秦淮、虹桥、桃花庵、小金山、云山阁、尺五楼、平山堂皆尚完好。五六七诸月，游人消夏，画船箫鼓，送夕阳，醉新月，歌声遏云，花气如雾，风景尚可肩随苏杭也。……”

[Chen Congzhou: Note 6] Ouyang Zhaoxiong and Jin Anqing, "Scenic Spots of Guangling," *A Daydreamer's Vernal Murmurings by a Waterside Window* (Volume Two): Yangzhou outshines other cities with its pavilions and gazeboes. Though man-made, all of them are products of divine craftsmanship and ingenious conception. Among the chambers and painted land boats that flank the river for seven or eight *li* in the north of the city, there are no identical ones—a feat that would have been improbable without the accumulation of sixty years of material and human input during the reign of Qianlong. But it took only a 25-year reign under Emperor Jiaqing for all these to go gradually to dilapidation. During a homecoming visit down south that spanned the years of *ji-mao* (1819, or the twenty-fourth year of the Jiaqing reign) and *geng-chen* (1820, or the twentyfifth year of the Jiaqing reign), I could still see the Greater and Lesser Rainbow Gardens, whose pomp and maze-like layout made me wonder if I was visiting a fabled island abode of immortals, and I reckoned that fifty to sixty of the gardens were still extant in the city in those years. Twenty years later, when I married into my wife's family in Hanjiang county in a year of *wu-xu* (1838, the eighteenth year of the Daoguang reign), I saw more land wasted and overgrown with weeds, but the Eastern Garden, the Plum Flower Ridge beyond the Heavenly Peace City Gate, the Sutra-Chanting at City Wall, the Lesser Qinhuai River, the Rainbow Bridge, the Peach Flower Nunnery, the Lesser Golden Hill, the Cloudy Mountain Belvedere, the Tower "Fifteen Inches Short of the Skies" (a name derived from a story of the Weis in the Western Han, who, along with the Dus, were so high in social rank that they "could almost reach the skies"), and the

Mountain-Level Hall were still in good conditions. In May, June and July, these places were still thronged with summering people, where they could sit in painted boats to hear the notes of vertical flutes and the booming of drums, see the setting sun, and get drunken under the crescent moon, where the melodies of singing lingered in clouds, the aroma of flowers hovered in mists, and the vistas stood comparison with those of Suzhou and Hangzhou.

《龚自珍全集第三辑：己亥（道光十九年，即公元1839年）六月重过扬州记》："居礼曹，客有过者曰：卿知今日之扬州乎？读鲍照芜城赋则遇之矣。余悲其言。……扬州三十里，首尾屈折高下见。晓雨沐屋，瓦鳞鳞然，无零甃断甓，心已疑礼曹过客言不实矣。……客有请吊蜀岗者，舟甚捷……舟人时时指两岸曰，某园故址也，某家酒肆故址也，约八九处。其实独倚虹园圮无存。曩所信宿之西园，门在，题榜在，尚可识，其可登临者尚八九处，阜有桂，水有芙蕖菱芡，是居扬州城外西北隅，最高秀。"从周案：龚氏匆匆过扬州，所见甚略，文虽如是，难掩荒败之景。

Collected Works of Gong Zizhen (Volume Three): "Revisiting Yangzhou in the sixth month of a year of *ji-hai* (1839, the nineteenth year of the Daoguang reign": "When I was with the Ministry of Rites, a guest who had been there said to me, 'Don't you know what has become of Yangzhou today? If you have read Bao Zhao's "Rhapsody of a Desolate City," you would have been there.' His words filled my heart with melancholy…. When I ascended one of the parapet walls, I saw the landscape twisting and turning and going up and down for thirty *li* on end. After the rain stopped in the morning, the roof tiles of houses were as neat and tidy as fish scales and there were no traces of broken walls nor bricks, and I began to suspect that the guest of the Ministry of Rites did not tell me the truth…. On my way with a guest to visit and ponder the past at the Shugang Hillock, the boat sailed down the river rather quickly…. From time to time the boat people would point at a scene on either bank and told me this was the former site of a certain garden and that was where a wine shop was located. Of the eight or nine such former sites he had mentioned, only the Rainbow-Leaning Garden was no more. The Western Garden, where I spent two nights, could still be recognized from its remaining gate and horizontal nameboard. There were eight or nine sites that could still be visited, where there were still osmanthus on knolls and lotuses, caltrops and Gordon euryales in waters

to the northwest of the city of Yangzhou, where the vista was most beautiful." Given the hastiness of his journey, Gong could only see a little of Yangzhou, so this remark of his cannot cover up the desolation and decay of the scenes at the time.
钱泳《履园丛话》卷二十“平山堂”条：“扬州之平山堂，余于乾隆五十二年（公元1787年）秋始到，其时九峰园、倚虹园、筱园、西园曲水、小金山、尺五楼诸处，自天宁门外起直到淮南第一观，楼台掩映，朱碧鲜新，宛入赵千里仙山楼阁中。今隔三十余年，几成瓦砾场，非复旧时光景矣……”
Qian Yong (1759-1844), "Mountain-Level Hall," *A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden* (Volume Twenty): My first visit to the Mountain-Level Hall of Yangzhou took place in the autumn of the fifty-second year of the Qianlong reign (1787). At the time, the sceneries of the Nine Peaks Garden, the Rainbow-Leaning Garden, the Slim Bamboo Garden, the Winding Stream of the Western Garden, the Lesser Golden Hill, and the Tower "Fifteen Inches Short of the Skies" extended from the Heavenly Peace City Gate to the Greatest Temple South of the Huai (i.e., the Daming Temple 大明寺), with lofts and terraces setting off each other in bright and fresh vermillion and green colors, making people wonder if they had stepped into Zhao Boju's golden-and-blue paintings of lofts and pavilions on a celestial mountain. Thirty or so years later today, this place has all but become a world of debris—its vista has long been history.

12

【从周案七】据友人王世襄说：“所谓‘周制’，当指周翥所制的漆器，见谢堃《金玉琐碎》。……故钱泳说‘明末有周姓者始创此法’不可信。”
[Chen Congzhou: Note 7] My friend Wang Shixiang (1914-2009) told me, "The so-called Zhou's Principles were first applied by Zhou Zhu to the lacquerware he was crafting. See Xie Kun's book, *Masters of Gold and Jade in Odds and Bits*. …For this reason, Qian Yong's remark about the origin of the Zhou's Principles is groundless."
王世襄，著名文物专家、学者、文物鉴赏家和收藏家。曾学中国古典建筑，在中国营造学社任助理研究员。他清理追还了许多日本劫夺之文物。
A cultural relics expert, scholar, connoisseur and collector, Wang

Shixiang learned traditional Chinese architecture and served as an assistant researcher in the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture. He checked up and retrieved many cultural relics from Japan.

13

石涛，本名朱若极，清初一位特立独行的书画家、理论家。贵为明朝宗室，明灭后出家，法名原济，号苦瓜和尚。其绘画理论书《苦瓜和尚画语录》至今颇有影响。世人认为他于晚年叠成片石山房。
Shitao (1642-*c*. 1707), born Zhu Ruoji, a painter, calligrapher and theoretician who was one of the most famous individualist painters of the early Qing. An offspring of the Ming royalty, he became a Buddhist monk after the dynasty's downfall and assumed the religious name Yuanji and sobriquet Monk Balsam Pear. The impact of his book on landscape painting theory, *Monk Balsam Pear on Painting*, is still felt today. It is believed that he was the builder of the rockwork in the Small-Rock Mountain Abode after he settled down in Yangzhou in his late years.

14

据《艺能编》记载，董道士，佚其名，乾隆时人。工于堆假山石，为时名手。
According to the *Compendium of Artistic Craftsmen*, Taoist Priest Dong (1736-1795), name unknown, lived as a Taoist priest during the Qianlong reign, and made a name for himself for his state-of-the-art craft of designing artificial mountains.

15

【从周案八】朱江同志据扬州博物馆藏王氏遗嘱，认为应作王庭余。王殁于道光十年（公元1830年），寿八十。
[Chen Congzhou: Note 8] According to Zhu Jiang, a researcher with the Yangzhou Museum, the will of Wang's indicated that it should be Wang Tingyu instead of Wang Tianyu, who died in 1830 at age eighty.

16

余继之，扬州园艺大师，善治盆景、叠石。民国初年所造园林，尤以蔚圃、匏庐、怡庐和杨氏小筑闻名。
Yu Jizhi (1903-1961), a native of Yangzhou and a landscape gardener well versed in potted plants, miniature landscapes, and rockery piling.

Among the many traditional gardens he had designed in the early 20th century are the Li Weiru's Garden, Gourd Hut, Mind Cheering Hut, and Yang's Tiny Nook.

17

蔚圃原属程氏，后属李蔚如。

Li Weiru may not be the first owner of this garden, which is said to have belonged previously to a man surnamed Cheng.

18

园名源自《归去来辞》：倚南窗以寄傲……登东皋以舒啸。又《诗经·白华》：啸歌伤怀，念彼硕人。

The name is derived from "Return Home!" by Tao Yuanming 陶渊明 (c. 365-427), "I lean by the southern window in a mood of pride…mount the eastern hill and let out long whistles." *Book of Songs* ("Bai Hua"): "I whistle and sing with wounded heart, / Thinking of that great man."

19

卢绍绪，晚清官员，后从商。卢宅为当时规模最大的盐商住宅建筑，亦是扬州大户人家传统民居的典型代表作。

Lu Shaoxu (1843-1905), an official turned businessman in the late Qing. The Lu's Mansion is the largest of all the properties of Yangzhou salt merchants of his time, and a typical example of traditional residence of the rich and powerful in the city.

20

魏次庚，晚清盐商，湖南人氏。现代作家冰心1957年4月到扬州参观视察，即住魏氏园中。

Wei Cigeng (1883/1884-1950/1951), a salt merchant of the late Qing who came from Hunan province. Contemporary writer Bing Xin participated in a small forum held in this mansion during her 1957 April Yangzhou inspection tour.

21

何维键，号芷舠，光绪年间任湖北汉黄道台等。举十三年构建寄啸山庄（俗称何园），其中含片石山房，被誉为“晚清第一园”。园内有百叶窗帘、法国壁炉等西洋设施，这在19世纪末的中国十分罕见。

He Weijian (1835-1908), sobriquet Zhidao, Intendent of Circuit of Hanhuang in Hubei during Emperor Guangxu's reign of the Qing. It took him thirteen years to build the Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode (more popularly known as the Ho Family Garden) containing the Small-Rock Mountain Abode. So great and rare of its kind, the garden was lauded as "the number one Garden of the late Qing." The garden features some exotic utilities, including Venetian blinds and French fireplaces, which were rare in late-19th-century China.

22

【从周案九】清嘉庆《江都县续志》卷五：“片石山房在花园巷，吴家龙辟，中有池，屈曲流水，前为水榭，湖石三面环列，其最高者特立耸秀，一罗汉松踞其巅，几盈抱矣，今废。”
[Chen Congzhou: Note 9] According to *A Sequel to the Gazetteer of Jiangdu County* (Volume Five) compiled during the Jiaqing reign of the Qing: In the Small-Rock Mountain Abode built by Wu Jialong at Garden Lane, there used to be a pond and a gazebo sitting by a winding stream. The abode was surrounded on three sides by rockeries of lake stones. Atop the tallest rockery, which was exceptionally beautiful, stood a densely foliated yew podocarpus, whose trunk was one armspan in girth. But all this is in decay now.
清光绪《江都县续志》卷十二：“片石山房在花园巷，一名双槐园，县人吴家龙别业，今粤人吴辉谟修葺之。园以湖石胜，石为狮九，有玲珑夭矫之概。”
A Sequel to the Gazetteer of Jiangdu County (Volume Twelve), compiled during the Guangxu reign of the Qing: The Small-Rock Mountain Abode at Garden Lane, known otherwise as Twin Pagoda Trees Garden, was the estate of a native by the name of Wu Jialong. The salient feature of the garden is its lake-stone rockwork in the image of nine lions, every one of which is exquisite in craftsmanship and vigorous and nimble in image.
《续纂光绪扬州府志》卷五：“片石山房在徐凝门街花园巷，一名双槐茶园，旧为邑人吴家龙别业。池侧嵌太湖石，作九狮图，玲珑夭矫，具有胜概，今属吴辉谟居焉。”
A Sequel to the Gazetteer of Yangzhou Prefecture (Volume Five), compiled during the Guangxu reign: The Small-Rock Mountain Abode at Garden Lane on Xuning Gate Street, whose byname was Twin

Pagoda Trees Garden, was in the possession of a native by the name of Wu Jialong in old days. Lake Tai rocks were embedded in the embankment of its pond to conjure up a picture of nine lions, whose nimble and exquisite images are absorbing. Today, the abode belongs to Wu Huimo.

23

黄应泰，亦名黄至筠，字个园，嘉庆年间大盐商、画家、淮东淮西商总。嘉庆廿三年，在小玲珑山馆基础上构建个园，广植修竹。个园叠石亦蜚声宇内。
Huang Yingtai (1770-1838), also known as Huang Zhiyun, style name Geyuan, a successful salt merchant, painter and General Commercial Commissioner of Eastern and Western Huai Circuits during the Jiaqing reign of the Qing. He bought the Lesser Exquisite Mountain Abode in 1818 to build his own garden with plenty of bamboos in it. Apart from bamboos, the garden is also renowned for its rockeries.

24

姚正镛，清书画家、金石家。与黄应泰五子锡禧交厚。
Yao Zhengyong (1811-?), a painter, calligrapher and expert in the study of inscriptions on ancient bronze and stone tablets in the Qing. Yao was a close friend of Huang Xixi, the fifth son of Huang Yingtai.

25

郭熙，字淳夫，山水画家、绘画理论家。北宋画院艺学，遍览历朝名画。子郭思将其绘画理论归纳于《林泉高致集》。
Guo Xi (*c*. 1000-*c*. 1080), style name Chunfu, a landscape painter and painting theorist. A member of the Royal Art Academy of the Northern Song, he was able to appreciate the paintings of all periods to his heart's content, which culminated in his series of theories on painting which his son Guo Si (*c*. 1055-*c*. 1130) collected in *The Lofty and Sublime Messages of Forests and Streams*.

26

戴熙，清诗人、画家、士大夫。善画人物、花鸟。道光时宫廷画多出其手。著有《习苦斋题画》，于画理多有论述。
Dai Xi (1801-1860), a poet, painter and scholar-official of the Qing, good at paintings of figures, flowers and birds. An excellent painter, Dai

contributed many works for the royal family during the Daoguang reign. The *Colophons on Paintings of the Studio of Hard Practice* is a collection of colophons and notes in which Dai developed his painting theory.

27

周馥，晚清重臣李鸿章下属。农历二月买下此园，半年后入住。园内假山林立，石径盘旋，因得名“小盘谷”。
Zhou Fu (1837-1921), a senior official under Li Hongzhang (1823-1901) in the late Qing. He bought the garden in lunar February and moved in six months later. The garden, the Small Meandering Valley, took its name for its footpaths winding through a cluster of artificial mountains.

28

徐乃光，中国驻纽约第一任领事。其父徐文达与周馥同乡，亦为莫逆之交。文达始构此园。
Xu Naiguang (1859-1922), the first Chinese consul to New York, whose father Xu Wenda (1825-1890), a bosom friend and fellow townsman of Zhou Fu, built the garden.

29

陈鸿寿，号曼生，杭州人，清篆刻家，工诗书画，亦善治紫砂壶。
Chen Hongshou (1768-1822), sobriquet Mansheng, a native of Hangzhou and a seal engraver in the Qing who was also good at poetry, calligraphy, painting, and the making of boccaro teapots.

30

【从周案十】据友人耿鉴庭云：“九狮石在池上亦有，积雪时九狮之状毕现。”今毁。
[Chen Congzhou: Note 10] According to my friend Geng Jianting (1915-1999), "The nine-lion rockery is also available on the pond. When cocooned in snow, the images of these lions are displayed to the minute detail." But today this rockery has long been destroyed.

31

臧谷，晚清扬州诗人、书法家，爱菊艺菊。友人购得李斗书《九狮山》轴，请其为之题诗，遂题诗四首。其中有“卷石洞天今不见，

水环小阜迹仍留”句。
Zang Gu (1834-1910), a poet and calligrapher of the late Qing in Yangzhou. He was also known for his love and cultivation of chrysanthemums. Upon the request of a friend who had just bought the scroll "Nine-Lion Mountain" by Li Dou to compose some verse on it, Zang came up with four poems, one of which contains the line, "The Rolling Stone Cavern domain is no more, but the hill surrounded by water remains."

32

周暹，字叔弢，扬州人，周馥孙。新中国成立后，历任天津市长、第一至第五届全国人大常委会委员等。同治五年，与父亲住进小盘谷，辛亥革命爆发后与祖父离开家乡。1963年，视察扬州古典园林时重访故园。
Zhou Xian (1891-1984), style name Shutao, a grandson of Zhou Fu. After the People's Republic was founded, he was, among other important posts he had assumed, mayor of Tianjin and a five-time member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. A native of Yangzhou, he moved with his father in 1866 to live in the Small Meandering Valley and left his hometown with Zhou Fu after the Revolution of 1911 broke out. In 1963, he paid a return visit to the estate on an inspection tour of traditional gardens in Yangzhou.

33

周煦良，周馥曾孙，叔弢之侄。著名英国文学翻译家、诗人、作家。叔侄二人童年皆在小盘谷度过。
Zhou Xuliang (1905-1984), a great grandson of Zhou Fu and a nephew of Zhou Xian, an accomplished translator of English literature, poet and writer. Both Xian and Xuliang had spent their childhood at the Small Meandering Valley.

34

李松龄，字鹤生，经营钱庄，1910年购得旧宅，三年后拓成逸圃。
Li Songling (1871-1937), style name Hesheng, owner of several private banks, bought an old estate in 1910, renovated it and completed the Garden of Matchless Talent three years later.

35

原文作“月门”，门实为八角。
The original text put it as a moon gate, which is actually octagonal.

36

苏轼，号东坡居士，宋朝大文豪，诗文书画集大成者。
Su Shi (1037-1101), sobriquet Retired Scholar of Eastern Slope, a great man of letters whose literary accomplishments represented the epic of poetry, prose, calligraphy and painting of the Song.

37

孔武仲，北宋诗人、多产作家，与文学名宿欧阳修、苏轼、苏辙、黄庭坚等过从甚密。撰《芍药谱》，北宋王观、刘攽亦著芍药谱。而时，扬州芍药声名鹊起。
Kong Wuzhong (1042-1097), a poet and prolific writer of the Northern Song closely associated with such literary luminaries as Ouyang Xiu, Su Shi, Su Zhe(1039-1112), and Huang Tingjian (1045-1105). His *Compendium of Herbaceous Peony* was one of the three compendia on herbaceous peony in the Northern Song, during which time Yangzhou rose to fame with the plant. The other two compendia were written separately by the poet Wang Guan (1035-1100) and the historian Liu Ban (1023-1089).

38

一枝一花为兰，香气馥郁；一枝数花为蕙，香气清淡。二者并称，喻高洁之士。
The orchid has one blossom on a stem with rich aroma, while the *hui* orchid has several blossoms on a stem with faint aroma. Both flowers are often mentioned in the same breath in ancient Chinese literary works in celebration of men of virtue.

39

此区域包括湖北南部、湖南、重庆东南部、广东北部及广西部分地区，谚有“湖广熟，天下足”。杉木在此地区生长迅速，木材广泛用于建造屋舍、桥梁、船只等。
This region encompasses south Hubei and Hunan provinces, southeastern Chongqing, north Guangdong and a small part of Guangxi, where, as the saying goes, "When farm harvests are good in Hu-Guang, the whole country will stay free from hunger." China fir grows fast in

this region, and its timber is widely used in the building of houses, bridges and ships.

40

汪泰阶，字伯屏，于民国初年构建了建筑的东路部分；其父汪竹铭早在晚清末年构建了中西两路。
Wang Taijie (1889-1935), style name Boping, actually had the eastern column of the estate built at the beginning of the Republican years, while his father Wang Zhuming had had the central and western columns built at the end of the Qing.

41

名字出自《中庸》：赞天地之化育。
The name of the palace derives from a line in *The Way of the Mean*, "able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth."

42

郑燮，号板桥，诗人、书画家，与汪士慎、黄慎、李鱓、金农、罗聘、高翔及李方膺并称扬州八怪。各博物馆争相珍藏其所画兰、松、菊、石，其竹尤为出色。
Zheng Xie (1693-1765), sobriquet Banqiao, a poet, calligrapher and painter, and one of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou of the mid-Qing together with Wang Shishen (1686-1759), Huang Shen (1687-1768), Li Shan (1686?-1756), Jin Nong (1687-1764), Luo Pin (1733-1799), Gao Xiang (1688-1753) and Li Fangying (1696-1755). Zheng's paintings of orchids, pines, chrysanthemums and stones are much soughtafter museum pieces, and his bamboo paintings are the most outstanding.

43

贾沅，字颂平，光绪年间购得二分明月楼作为后花园。
Jia Yuan (1880-1944), style name Songping, bought the Loft of Two-Thirds Bright Moonlight as his back garden during the Guangxu reign of the Qing.

44

吴廷扬，字熙载，扬州人，篆刻家、书画家，实际是此园的第二任主人。前任主人为许公澍。吴氏之后住其园中的有书画家陈含光、

牙雕大师黄汉侯等。20世纪60年代，陈从周考察扬州园林时曾拜访黄汉侯，并名其园为侯庐。
Wu Tingyang (1799-1870), style name Xizai, a seal cutter, calligrapher and painter and Yangzhou native, was actually the second owner of the garden. His predecessor was a salt merchant by the name of Xu Gongshu. Those who lived in it after Wu included the renowned painter and calligrapher Chen Hanguang (1879-1957), and the ivory carving expert Huang Hanhou (1902-1976), who was visited by Chen Congzhou during his Yangzhou garden inspection tour in 1960s and after whom the estate was named by Chen.

45

卢殿虎，弃官从商，请造园名家俞继之为其构筑宅园。卢为镇扬汽车公司董事长，倡议并修筑了江北第一条公路，是真正意义上的“开路先锋”。
Lu Dianhu (1876-1936), an official-turned businessman, had his estate built by the famous landscape gardener Yu Jizhi. General manager of the Car Company of Zhenjiang-Yangzhou, Lu was a pathbreaker in the real sense thanks to his initiative and effort in building the first highway north to the Yangtze.

46

【从周案十一】《魏源集》中有记扬州园林盛衰之诗。《扬州画舫曲十三首》之一云：“旧日鱼龙识翠华，池边下鹄树藏鸦，离宫卅六荒凉尽，不是僧房不见花。”（凡名园皆为园丁拆卖，唯属僧管之桃花庵、小金山、平山堂三处，至今尚存。）《江南吟》注云：“平山堂行宫属园丁者，皆拆卖无存，惟僧管三处如故。故有“岂独平山僧庵胜园隶”句。魏氏于清道光十五年（公元1835年）构园于扬州新城仓巷，甃石栽花，养鱼饲鹤，名曰絜园。其时尚在太平天国革命战争之前。
[Chen Congzhou: Note 11] Poems on the rise and fall of the gardens in Yangzhou are found in the *Collected Works of Wei Yuan*. One of his "Thirteen Lyrical Pomes of Yangzhou's Painted Pleasure Boats" has it, "In old days fish and dragons befriended emerald verdure, swans dived into the pools and crows nested in the trees; with the land of summer palaces lost in total desolation, no flowers can be seen where there are no monk's abodes." (All the famous gardens were dismantled and sold by garden owners. Only the Peach Flower Nunnery, Lesser Golden Hill,

and Mountain-Level Hall survived because they were under the care of local monks.) The footnote to his "Song of Jiangnan" says, "At the Mountain-Level Hall all the summer palaces owned by gardeners were torn down and sold, and only the three properties managed by monks remained intact." This gives rise to the line, "Isn't it that the monks and nuns of the Mountain-Level Hall are better than garden slaves?”

Wei Yuan (1794-1857), an enlightenment thinker of the late Qing who was a friend of Lin Zexu (1785-1850), built a garden at Granary Lane in the New City of Yangzhou, which he named "Pristine Garden." In it he had rocks piled up, flowers planted, fish bred and cranes raised. This happened before the Heavenly Kingdom Uprising.

Small-Rock Mountain Abode, Yangzhou—Shitao's Craft of Artificial Mountains扬州片石山房——石涛叠山作品

1

【从周案十二】应作王庭余。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 12] It should be Wang Tingyu.

2

傅抱石，现代山水画家，笔力虬劲飘逸，善画祖国的名山大川，尤擅雨景。崇拜石涛，对其一生、画作、理论多有研究。

Fu Baoshi (1904-1965), a modern-time landscape painter known for his robust and untrammeled brushwork and splendid portrayals of his motherland's mountain cliffs, waterfalls, and rainy scenes. An admirer of Shitao, he did a great deal of research into the painter's life, works, and theory.

3

署名原有“一枝阁”，一枝阁在南京而非扬州。——许少飞

The original list also includes the Lone-Twig Belvedere, which is actually a building in Nanjing.—Xu Shaofei

4

据傅抱石研究，石涛生于崇祯三年，即1630年，但近来研究认为其生于1642年。——许少飞

According to Fu Baoshi, Shitao was born in 1630, the third year of Emperor Chongzhen's reign (1628-1644), but recent researches put it as 1642.—Xu Shaofei

5

【从周案十三】据友人扬州牙刻家黄汉侯说，石涛墓在平山堂后，其师陈锡蕃画家在世时，尚能指出其地址，后渐湮没。
[Chen Congzhou: Note 13] According to my friend, Huang Hanhou (1902-1976), an ivory-carving specialist in Yangzhou, Shitao's tomb is found behind the Mountain-Level Hall. When Huang's teacher, the painter Chen Kanghou (1866-1937) , style name Xifan, was around, he could point out its location, but the tomb had since fallen into oblivion.

6

【从周案十四】1820年刊酿花使者纂著《花间笑语》谓：“片石山楼为廉使吴之黼字竹屏别业，山石乃牧山僧所位置，有听雨轩、瓶櫑斋、蝴蝶厅、海楼、水榭诸景，今废，只存听雨轩、水榭，为双槐茶园。”此说较迟，乃酿花使者小游扬州时所记，似为传闻之误。
[Chen Congzhou: Note 14] In *Banters Amidst Flowers*, a book published in 1820, the author Flower-Fermenting Envoy says, "The Mountain Loft of Small Rocks was the estate of the surveillance commissioner Wu Zhifu, style name Zhuping. The artificial mountain in it was arranged by Monk Mushan. The other sceneries in it, such as the Rain-Listening Verandah, the Chamber of Bottles and Winecups, the Butterfly Hall, the Oceanic Loft, and the Waterside Gazebo, have fallen into oblivion today. Only the Rain-Listening Verandah and the Waterside Gazebo are still there in the Twin Pagoda Trees Tea House." Since the author noted down this piece of information during a hasty visit to Yangzhou, it might be mere hearsay.

Qiao's Garden, Taizhou 泰州乔园

1

此处天王指佛教的护世四天王：东方持国天王持琵琶，南方增长天王持宝剑，西方广目天王右手捉龙、左手持塔，北方多闻天王左手持银鼠、右手持伞。寺庙里，天王殿在正殿即大雄宝殿之前。
The heavenly kings here refer to the four guardian gods who protect the

four quarters of the universe: Dhrtarashtra holding a stringed instrument (east); Virudhaka holding a sword (south); Virupaksha holding a serpent and a stupa(west), and Vaishravana holding an umbrella and a mongoose (north). The Heavenly Kings' Hall is always situated in front of the main hall, or the Hall of Sakyamuni, in a temple.

2

蒋科，字士登，号瀛洲，泰州人士，隆庆二年（1568年）进士。
Jiang Ke (1533-1584), style name Shideng, sobriquet Yingzhou, a native of Taizhou and a successful candidate of the imperial examination in 1568.

3

同光是后唐年号。
Tongguang, a reign title (923-926) of the Later Tang (923-936).

4

嘉定桥与乐真桥相对而斜，状如八字，故名八字桥。
The Jiading Bridge and the Lezhen Bridge are characterized by the flare-wing abutments that resemble the Chinese character 八 on their bank piers, hence the name.

5

陈应芳，字元振，号兰台，宅园原属其祖陈鸢。万历年间，应芳将园并入宅中。
Chen Yingfang (1534-1601), style name Yuanzhen, sobriquet Lantai. The mansion used to belong to Chen Yuan, his grandfather. During the Wanli reign, Yingfang added the garden to the mansion.

6

陈应芳曾孙陈志纪上书触怒龙颜，刑部任职的田敬锡奉旨来抄陈家，并成为日涉园主人。
Chen Zhiji, a great-grandson of Chen Yingfang, greatly offended the emperor with his improper memorial. Tian Jingxi, then with the Ministry of Punishments, confiscated the Chens' property under orders and became the garden's owner afterwards.

7

吴文锡，号莲芬，其仪征故宅破败，故买下此园。经三月修整，园

子焕然一新。
Wu Wenxi (1800-1870), sobriquet Lianfen, bought the garden after he found his house in Yizheng dilapidated. The garden took on a new look after three months' renovation.

8

乔松年，字健候，号鹤侪，儒商。乔居于高位，且距今最近，因此乔园之名留存至今。
Qiao Songnian (1815-1875), style name Jianhou, sobriquet Hechai, a scholar official and merchant in one. Due to his high rank and closeness to our time, the garden has been known as the Qiao's Garden ever since.

9

据《道光泰州志》记载，高凤翥，字象六，号果亭，泰州人士。高垂庆，字麓庵，凤翥曾孙。高家阔绰，苦心经营此园，终成十四景。
According to the *Annals of Taizhou in the Daoguang Reign*, Gao Fengzhu (1707-1771), style name Xiangliu, sobriquet Guoting, a native of Taizhou. Lu'an is the style name of Gao Chuiqing, Fengzhu's great grandson. The well-off Gaos took great pains in planning and improving the garden, which culminated in the fourteen sights.

10

周庠，字西苓，书画家，嘉庆十五年（1810年）举人。东台人士，距泰州较近。
Zhou Xiang, style name Xiling, a provincial graduate in 1810 and a painter and calligrapher of his time in nearby Dongtai.

11

堂名源于王维诗：万壑树参天，千山响杜鹃。
The name derives from a line of Wang Wei's poem, "Trees reach out to the sky in ten thousand valleys, / Cuckoos cry in a thousand mountains."

12

堂下原有一井，故名。
There used to be a well below the hall, hence the name.

13

阁下原有一松，故名。

There used to be a towering pine below the belvedere.

14

此屋在竹林中部，将竹林一分为二。
Located in the center of the bamboo forest, this cottage divides the forest in two.

15

亭旁树上原有一鸟巢。梅兰芳大师祖籍泰州，1956年返乡祭祖、演出，下榻因巢亭。
There used to be a nest on the tree beside the pavilion. Mei Lanfang, a native of Taizhou, stayed here in the spring of 1956 when he came back for an ancestral sacrifice and a special performance.

16

此处“午”通“抚”，是主人抚琴处。
The character 午 here is interchangeable with 抚. This was where the master played his zither.

17

堂名源自老莱子，楚国隐士，行年七十，常著五色斑斓之衣，为婴儿戏于亲侧。陈应芳希望陈家人都能高寿。实际上，陈家是个长寿家族，曾祖陈佐为百岁翁，祖父陈鸢年九十八岁，兄应旂年九十六岁。
The name derives from Lao Laizi, a hermit of the Kingdom of Chu in his seventies who himself in patterned clothes entertained his parents with children's games. Chen Yingfang cherishes the hope that his family could enjoy the blessing of longevity. Actually, the Chens have produced quite a few centenarians or the like over the years. For example, Chen Zuo, Yingfang's great grandfather, lived over one hundred years; Chen Yuan, his grandfather, died at 98 and Chen Yingqi, Yingfang's brother, at 96.

18

舫上一联曰文思如潮堪折桂。桂花在古代象征着科举高中。
A line of the couplet flanking the boat reads: He is endowed with so many literary inspirations in writing that he can reap the osmanthuses. The osmanthus is a symbol of the championship in imperial

examinations in ancient China.

A Note on Rebuilding Water-Inked Garden 重修水绘园记

1

冒襄，字辟疆，号巢民，如皋人，明清之际文学家。少有文名，然科场失意，后参加复社这个青年士子兴复古学、反对清朝的文学、政治团体。毛主席说他“具有民族气节……隐居山林，不仕清朝”。

Mao Xiang (1611-1693), style name Pijiang, sobriquet Chaomin (Den Dweller), a native of Rugao and a man of letters in the Ming-Qing transition. A total failure at the imperial examinations despite his high literary reputation since his teens, he joined the Rejuvenation Society, a literary and political organization of young intellectuals aimed at the revival of traditional learning and resistance against the newly-established Qing government. As Chairman Mao remarked, Mao Xiang was a man of real integrity because he, as a diehard of the Ming, refused to assume offices in the Qing and chose to live in seclusion.

水绘园实为冒一贯在万历年间筑成；辟疆是一贯的四世孙，邀请名家张涟对园子进行扩建，并臻于完善。一时名流云集，在园内吟诗唱和。其挚友杜爽有诗曰：大地绘草木，天汉绘文章，雄赋绘扬马，丽翰绘钟王，此庵胡奇绝，乃绘明月光。

As a matter of fact, this garden was built by Mao Yiguan during the Wanli reign of the Ming, but it was his fourth-generation grandson, Mao Xiang, who had it expanded and brought to excellence by Zhang Lian, the famous garden crafter. Since then the garden was thronged with men of letters who came to compose and recite poems. Du Shuang, one of Mao Xiang's best friends, remarked, "The earth is painted by grass and woods, the Milky Way by patterns and figures. Yang Xiong and Sima Xiangru compose rhapsodies; Zhong Yao and Wang Xizhi wield brushes. Why this place is so bewitchingly exotic? Because it is an ideal site to paint under bright moonlight."

2

董白，字小宛，秦淮名妓。嫁入冒家，与上下相处融洽，帮忙料理家务，陪辟疆游于诗画。清兵南下，合家逃难，备受艰辛。辟疆身染重疾，小宛昼夜随侍，半年时日下来，身体不堪一击。

Dong Bai (1624-1651), style name Xiaowan, a renowned courtesan on the Qinhuai River before she was finally married to Mao Xiang. Well received by the whole family, she helped attend to household affairs besides keeping company with her husband in literary pursuits. The family endured great hardships when taking refuge in other places when the Qing troops stormed down to the south. Her health completely broke down after her painstaking care of the seriously sick Mao Xiang in half a year.

3

冒孝鲁，字景璠，冒广生三子。精通俄语、英语、法语等外语，曾任驻苏大使颜惠庆的一等秘书，后在复旦大学、安徽大学教授外语。徐悲鸿、梅兰芳分别于1934年、1935年去苏联进行文化交流，冒效鲁全程陪同翻译。
Mao Xiaolu (1909-1988), style name Jingfan, the third son of Mao Guangsheng. Well-versed in Russian, English, French and other foreign languages, he was First Secretary to Yan Huiqing, the then Ambassador to the Soviet Union, and then professor in Fudan and Anhui Universities. He served as interpreter and translator to Xu Beihong and Mei Lanfang when they went on their cultural exchange tours in the Soviet Union in 1934 and 1935 respectively.

4

冒广生，字鹤亭，著名学者。冒家书香门第，其为官一方，便搜集当地文献刻印集子，保存了地方文献。共和国元首对其礼敬有加，建国初期重大事情上多次征集他的意见。
Mao Guangsheng (1873-1959), style name Heting, an erudite scholar among his other achievements. Brought up in the literary Mao family, he reserved local archives in his capacities of scholar-officials in different places. The leadership of the People's Republic held him in respect and solicited his advice on matters of importance in the beginning years of the country.

5

陈从周二十二岁那年与老师夏承焘拜谒了冒广生。
Chen Congzhou joined his teacher Xia Chengtao to visit Mao Guangsheng in Shanghai when he was twenty-two.

Gratification Garden, Inner Garden, Shanghai 上海的豫园与内园

1

潘允端，上海人，嘉靖年间任四川布政使。嘉靖三十八年（1559年）开始修建豫园，万历五年（1577年）解职回乡，扩大园林规模以奉养老亲。豫园当时占地70亩，曾为江南园林之冠。
Pan Yunduan (1526-1601), a native of Shanghai and provincial administrative commissioner of Sichuan during the Jiajing reign of the Ming. He began building the garden in 1559; when he was discharged from his officialdom in 1577, he returned to Shanghai and expanded the garden to what was known as the Gratification Garden to take care of his aging father. The 70-*mu* garden was one of the best traditional gardens in the Jiangnan area.

2

张南阳，号卧石生，明朝画家、造园家。南阳晚年三大杰作：潘允端豫园、陈所蕴日涉园及王世贞弇山园。
Zhang Nanyang (1517-1596), sobriquet Hermit Reclining on a Stone, a Mingdynasty painter turned garden-maker whose masterpieces were found in Pan Yunduan's Gratification Garden, Chen Suoyun's Garden for Daily Saunters and Wang Shizhen's Yanshan Garden.

3

祝允明，因骈枝号枝山。擅诗，工草书，与文征明、唐寅、徐祯卿并称江南四大才子。
Zhu Yunming (1460-1526), sobriquet Zhishan for the extra finger growing on his hand. Well-versed in poetry and deft in cursive-script calligraphy, he was one of the Four Talented Scholars of Central Suzhou together with Wen Zhengming(1470-1559), Tang Yin (1470-1523) and Xu Zhenqing (1479-1511).

4

【从周案十五】在1958年的兴修中，玉玲珑湖石及九狮亭、得月楼等皆复原，并在中部开凿了大池。
[Chen Congzhou: Note 15] The Exquisite Jade Boulder, the Nine Lions Pavilion and the Moon-Bestowed Loft were restored, with a big pond dug in the center of the garden in a 1958 refurbishment project.

Shen's Garden, Vernal Waves Bridge, Shaoxing 绍兴的沈园与春波桥

1

禹迹寺，在绍兴城东南四里。大禹（夏朝第一位君主）治水有功，遂建寺祭之。东晋郭姓将军建寺，至今约1600年。

The temple, located two kilometers southeast of Shaoxing, is devoted to King Yu (or the Great Yu, the King of Xia, the first Chinese dynasty from the 22nd to 16th centuries BC) for his extraordinary flood control feats. Built by a general surnamed Guo in 416 in the Eastern Jin, the temple has been around for about 1,600 years.

2

【从周案十六】绍兴同样尚有一座春波桥在城外。宝庆《会稽志》云："在会稽县东南五里，千秋鸿禧观前，贺知章诗云：'离别家乡岁月多，近来人事半消磨，唯有门前鉴湖水，春风不改旧时波。'故取此桥名。"现在沈园前的春波桥，正对禹迹寺，嘉泰《会稽志》及乾隆《绍兴府志》均名禹迹寺桥，清光绪时重修，改名为春波桥。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 16] There is another Vernal Waves Bridge in the suburbs of Shaoxing. *The Gazetteer of Kuaiji County* of the Baoqing reign (1225-1227) says that it is situated "five *li* to the southeast of the county seat of Kuaiji, and in the front of the Taoist Temple of Immortal Well-being." As He Zhizhang (659-744), a poet of the Tang and a native of Shaoxing, says in his poem, "Upon Returning Home," "Being absent from my hometown for so long, / I learn recently old folk's been half out-worn. / Yet before my door the Mirror Lake retains its way, / Whose waves changed not, even under spring wind's sway." From these lines comes the bridge's current name. The Vernal Waves Bridge in front of the Shen's Garden sits opposite the Temple of King Yu's Footprints. Hence the bridge's original name, "Bridge of the Temple of King Yu's Footprints," which appears in the Gazetteer of Kuaiji County of the Jiatai reign (1201-1204) of the Song and the *Gazetteer of Shaoxing Prefecture* of the Qianlong reign of the Qing. It was not until the bridge was rebuilt during the Guangxu reign of the Qing that it was given its present name.

3

陆游，号放翁，南宋史学家、散文家、诗人，作诗万首，著文许多。诗尤为多产，简易晓畅，关切实际。

Lu You (1125-1210), sobriquet Fangweng (Old Man Set Free), a great historian, prose writer and poet of the Southern Song (1127-1279) noted for his production of ten thousand poems as well as numerous prose pieces. Primarily a prolific poet, Lu gained renown for his simple, direct expression and for his attention to realistic details.

4

唐婉未能给陆氏传宗接代，兼与陆游夫妻恩爱恐会阻碍仕途，故陆母大怒。

The mother's wrath stemmed, among other things, from Tang Wan's failure to bear a son for the family and the fear that her intimacy with Lu You was getting in the way of his pursuit of officialdom. The causes of the divorce remain in dispute.

5

红酥手，或曰为红色手形面点，或曰为红焖猪蹄。无论如何，这句都表达了陆游对前妻无法克制的爱和对劳燕分飞的悔恨。

The term *hongsushou* may be interpreted as a tasty food in red color, either handshaped pastry or braised pork trotters. In either way, the line expresses Lu's insuppressible love for his ex-wife and his remorse for the divorce.

6

此处指潘岳，曾任西晋河阳县令，作《悼亡诗三首》哀悼亡妻。

This refers to Pan Yue (247-300), who once served as the Heyang Magistrate in the Western Jin. Pan composed the "Three Poems in Dirge" in memory of his belated wife.

7

中国古典文学中，常以此喻指美人走路神态貌似惊鸿，文人骚客认为美女体态轻盈，会令大雁自惭形秽飞走。典出曹植《洛神赋》。

In traditional Chinese literature, this metaphor is repeatedly used to stand for a lady who walks with the grace of "a startled swan," since scholars believe that such a light-footed beauty would shame wild geese into fleeing. The term originally appeared in "A Rhapsody for the

Goddess of Luohe River" by Cao Zhi (192-232), a poet of the Three Kingdoms period.

West Lake Gardens, Hangzhou 西湖园林风格漫谈

1

汪为霖，号春田，清中期书画家、造园家。其《小山泉阁诗存》，集诗近千首，共八卷。晚年，雇戈裕良为其在江苏如皋建文园。
Wang Weilin (1763-1822), sobriquet Chuntian, a calligrapher, painter and landscape gardener of the mid-Qing, renowned for his *A Repository of Verse of the Small Mountain Fountainhead Belveder*e, an eight-volume collection of close to a thousand poems written by him. In his late years he employed the most famous artificial mountain builder Ge Yuliang (1764-1830) and paid him generously to refurbish the Literary Garden in his hometown Rugao in Jiangsu province.

2

传说，湖底有头金牛，故西湖亦名金牛湖。湖水干涸，则金牛吐水，把湖填满。金牛所现之处即为涌金门。
Legend has it that a gold bull habitats at the bottom of the lake, so the West Lake is also known as the Gold Bull Lake. Whenever the lake runs dry, the bull will fill it up by pouring water out from its mouth. The Gold-Revealing Gate is where the bull is revealed.

3

王勃，《滕王阁序》：四美具，二难并。四美指"良辰、美景、赏心、乐事"，二难指"贤主、嘉宾"。
The "four elements" refer to beautiful day, beautiful scenery, joyfulness, and happy event, which are hard to come by all at once along with the "two difficult components" (an esteemed host and a horde of graceful guests), but which were all available at a banquet held at the Prince Teng's Pavilion. Wang Bo (*c*. 650-*c*. 676), "A Tribute to Prince Teng's Pavilion": "Both the 'four beautiful elements' and the 'two most wanted components' are available today."

4

据《淳祐临安志》载，旧有郡人雷就筑庵所居，故名雷峰。
According to the *Annals of Lin'an in the Chunyou Reign*, a native of

Lin'an known as Lei Jiu once inhabited in a hut on the peak, hence the name, Lei's Peak.

5

韬光，诗僧，唐长庆间自蜀至钱塘，行前其师嘱曰，“遇天可前，逢巢则止。”游至巢枸坞时，正值白居易（字乐天）任杭州刺史，遂止，于灵隐山西北筑寺，与白交游。寺中有观海亭，是山中观海佳处。

Taoguang (*fl*. 9th century), a monk poet who traveled from Sichuan to Hangzhou during the Changqing reign (821-824) of the Tang. It was said when Taoguang arrived in Hangzhou, he found himself at a col with a bird-nest amid twisted trees, where he chanced upon a man whose sobriquet was "Happy Man from Heavens," who turned out to be the great poet Bai Juyi. The place and the man reminded him of his mentor's advice before his departure, "Go ahead when you reach the heavens, and stop right away when you come across a bird's nest." Thus he built a temple northwest of the Soul's Retreat Mountain, settled down in it, and made friends with Bai. The temple has long been famous for its Sea-Watching Pavilion, where is the best place to watch the sea in the mountain.

6

传说，南宋年间，西湖西有官家酿酒作坊，取金沙涧溪水造曲酒。夏日荷花盛开，荷香酒香沁人心脾，遂有此景。

It is said that in the Southern Song, an official winery west of the West Lake was making wine with water from the nearby Golden Sand Creek, so that when lotuses in the lake bloomed in summer, the air would become heady with a mixture of the aromas of flowers and wine. Hence the name of the scenery.

Slender West Lake, Yangzhou　瘦西湖漫谈

1

王士祯，号渔洋山人，曾任扬州府推官、左都御史、刑部尚书，颇有政声。清初著名诗人，一生著述500余种，诗作4000余首。《渔阳古诗选》三十二卷，几乎囊括自汉至五代以来约150位诗人所有著名的五言及七言诗。康熙三年上巳节主持虹桥修禊，流芳中国文学史。此处所引是其《冶春绝句》的最后一句。

Wang Shizhen (1634-1711), sobriquet Hermit from Yuyang, was a successful official who held a series of important positions, including chief justice of Yangzhou, president of the Censorate, and minister of punishments of the early Qing. But he is better known as a preeminent early-Qing poet who authored over 500 literary works and 4,000 and more poems. The Selected Ancient Poems of Yuyang of 32 volumes contains virtually all the renowned five- and seven-character poems by 150 or so poets from the Han (206 BC-220 AD) to the Five Dynasties (907-960). The spring outing at Rainbow Bridge he hosted on the third day of the third lunar month of 1664 has come down in Chinese literary history as a legendary event. What is quoted here are the concluding lines of his classic "Spring Outing Quatrain."

South-and-North Lakes, Haiyan 南北湖

1

20世纪80年代，南北湖生态环境遭受严重破坏。这里大肆炸山砍树，滥采石材木料，连山鸟野禽也多遭捕杀。陈从周听闻后，在《人民日报》《解放日报》《新民晚报》上，呼吁拯救南北湖，还奔波于杭嘉湖一些领导机关，陈述保护南北湖之必要。后来，陈从周直接上书江泽民，言“浙江海盐南北湖为有名风景区，自从周呼吁后略有好转，但地方破坏风景太甚，民情愤怒，附上《中国环境报》印件一张，公可抽空一阅，给浙江省与海盐一批示，望还我自然，珍惜风景，以公之威望，必能救大好河山也……敬恳泽公开恩，救救南北湖！”1991年3月，主席批转省长阅。随后，文件从省里传达到地方，立即停止炸山捕鸟，南北湖终于得救。可以说没有陈从周，就没有今天风光秀美的南北湖。陈从周虽不是海盐人，却在前前后后近三十年的时间里，为南北湖奔走呼号。为纪念陈从周教授，海盐人在南北湖建造了陈从周艺术馆。

In the 1980s, the South-and–North Lakes suffered serious environmental woes in the aftermath of rampant detonation of mountains, quarrying, denudation of woods, and bird hunting. Upon hearing the bad news, Chen Congzhou appealed for rescue efforts through newspapers such as the *People's Daily*, *the Jiefang Daily* and the *Xinmin Evening News*, and lobbied local governments for preservation of this scenic resort. When the situation came to a head in January 1991, he wrote directly to President Jiang Zemin, in which he said, "The South-and-North Lakes in

Haiyan, Zhejiang is a celebrated scenic zone, but it is being gravely damaged in spite of slight improvements since my appeal for its protection, which has roused mounting public indignation. Please find attached a print copy of the *China Environment News* for Your Excellency to get around to having a look. I sincerely hope that you issue an instruction to the local governments of Zhejiang and Haiyan to ask them to cherish the scenery and bring the Mother Nature back. I believe, with the high prestige of Your Excellency, this fascinating place will surely have its day… Show some mercy, Your Beneficent Excellency, and do something to save the South-and-North Lakes!" In March, 1991, an urgent instruction from the president was delivered to the Provincial Governor of Zhejiang and relayed to the local government of Haiyan county, calling for an immediate end to mountain detonation and bird killing. The South-and-North Lakes were finally rescued. It is fair to say that the fascinating South-and-North Lakes would have been no more without Chen Congzhou's three-decade efforts for its protection and reservation. For this reason an art museum in commemoration of him was built on the spot in 1998.

2

南北湖，因湖中有堤将湖分为南北两半而得名。堤阔10米，长500米，乃清康熙、乾隆年间海盐知县张素仁、鲍鸣凤两次竣湖时修筑而成。

Ten meters wide and five hundred meters long, the dyke runs across the lake and divides it in two. Hence its name. The dyke was built for water dredging purposes, first by Magistrate Zhang Suren in 1672, the 11th year of the Kangxi reign of the Qing, and then by Magistrate Bao Mingfeng in 1770, the 35th year of the Qianlong reign.

3

落雁指落雁轩，垂虹指垂虹桥。

The wild goose here refers to the Wild Goose Verandah, and the sinking rainbow stands for a bridge with the same name.

4

藏书家蒋光堉为避战乱，将海宁老家藏书转至海盐西涧草堂。陈从周先生夫人蒋定，亦是海宁蒋家后人。

The hut used to be a library of the book collector Jiang Guangyu (1825-

1895), who moved his collections from his native Haining to this hut in Haiyan to avoid the chaos of war. Jiang Ding (1918-1986), Mr. Chen Congzhou's wife, was a descendant of the Jiangs in Haining, with her tomb built by the side of the South-and-North Lakes.

5

顾况，唐代海盐诗人，生前常来此赏景。
Gu Kuang (c. 730-806), a famous Tang-dynasty poet born in Haiyan, who often came here to admire the scenery during his lifetime.

6

据《澉水志》记载：上有谭仙庙，相传为南唐道家谭峭炼丹得道之处。
According to the *Gazetteer of Ganshui County*, there used to be a temple in memory of Tan Qiao (860/873-968/976), a famed Taoist alchemist of the Tang dynasty, who made pills of immortality and attained the Way.

7

北京八达岭是明长城中保存最好的一段。
The Badaling Fort in Beijing is situated on the best preserved section of the Ming-dynasty Great Wall.

8

明嘉靖三十二年（1553年），海宁卫指挥徐行健率军出谈仙岭，追歼倭寇，大张国威。三年后一役，寡不敌众，死于阵前。
Xu Xingjian (?-1556), a subordinate of Qi Jiguang and a Haining county garrison commander, headed his legions out of the Celestial Tan's Mountain, and pursued and wiped out Japanese pirates, greatly enhancing national prestige in 1553. He died a heroic death in a hopelessly out-numbered fight against the Japanese invaders three years later.

9

云岫庵建于北宋建隆年间，坐落于鹰窠顶山腰，内供观音菩萨。庵名源自陶渊明《归去来辞》中的“云无心以出岫，鸟倦飞而知返”。
Built in the early Jianlong reign (960-963) of the Northern Song, and situated 150 meters above sea level on the slope of the Eagle Nest Peak, this nunnery enshrines Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara. Its name is derived

from Tao Yuanming's "Homecoming Rhapsody": Free from care, clouds surge from behind the peaks; / Tired of flying, birds know it's time to go home.

10

传说，普陀山香火旺盛，观音菩萨劳累异常。她依计晚上跨海来此休息。可后来走漏了风声，善男信女遂夜里到庵里来烧香拜佛。故名。
Legend has it that Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara, much fatigued from receiving hordes of worshippers to her mythical domain at Mount Potalaka, she decided to retire across the sea to the Cloud-Enshrouded Nunnery for a good rest every night. But the secret was divulged in due time, so devout believers made their nightly pilgrimages to the nunnery. Hence the name.

Notes on Prince Gong's Mansion 恭王府小记

1

何其芳，现代诗人、散文家、文学评论家、红学家。初为新月社诗人，后来成为马克思主义文学理论家，是新中国文学研究的领军人物，为祖国的文学艺术事业做出巨大贡献。据说，恭王府就是《红楼梦》里的大观园，此说存疑。
He Qifang (1912-1977), a modern poet, prose writer, literary critic and Redologist. A Crescent Moon Society poet-turned-Marxist literary theoretician, he was a leading figure in New China's literary study, contributing tremendously to the country's literature and art. It is said that descriptions of the Grand View Garden, a major garden in *A Dream of Red Mansion*s, was based on Prince Gong's Mansion, but such an opinion is still being questioned.

2

王昆仑，政治家、红学家。其《红楼梦人物论》是最早从历史唯物主义角度来研究《红楼梦》的一部专著，其昆剧《晴雯》（晴雯是小说《红楼梦》中的一个丫鬟）亦深得观众喜爱。1962年，王昆仑陪同周总理再次参观了恭王府。
Wang Kunlun (1902-1985), a political figure and a Redologist whose *On the Figures in "A Dream of Red Mansions"* was the first work on the novel from a historical materialist perspective and whose Kunqu Opera

Qingwen (a maid in the novel) met with considerable acclaim. In 1962, Wang paid another visit to the Prince Gong's Mansion, accompanying Premier Zhou Enlai.

3

朱家溍，南宋理学家朱熹的25世孙。朱家书香门第，凭其对古籍碑帖的熟稔，故宫博物院成立初期即被聘为专门委员。朱老不仅是文物专家，还是清史专家、戏剧研究家。
Zhu Jiajin (1914-2003), the 25th generation grandson of Zhu Xi (1130-1200), a Neo-Confucianist of the Southern Song. Hailing from a scholastic family, he served as a professional committee member in the Palace Museum in its beginning years with his profound knowledge about ancient books and tablets and calligraphy models. A cultural relics expert, he was also a Qing history expert and opera researcher.

4

奥斯伍尔德·喜仁龙，瑞典艺术史家、汉学家，芬兰出生，主要研究18世纪的瑞典、文艺复兴时期的意大利及中国艺术史。中国专著不计其数，包括《中国园林》《中国和十八世纪的欧洲园林》《中国绘画：大师与准则》《北京的城墙与城门》等。《中国园林》一书由纽约的罗纳德出版公司于1949年出版，印刷精美，内有许多喜仁龙拍摄的珍贵图片。陈从周先生或许记错了出版地点。
Osvald Sirén (1879-1966), a Finnish-born, Sweden art historian whose forte was the art of 18th-century Sweden, Renaissance Italy, and China. A Sinologist known by his Chinese name, Xi Renlong, he wrote prolifically about China, and his major books in this field include *Gardens of China*, *China and Gardens of Europe of the 18th Century*, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, and the *Walls and Gates of Peking*. The *Gardens of China* published by the Ronald Press, New York, in 1949, was beautifully printed, with many precious photos taken by Sirén. Mr. Chen Congzhou could have mistaken the place of publishing.

5

海子四周原有佛寺十座，故原名为“十刹海”，与“什刹海”读音相同。
The name used to be 十刹海, pronounced the same as 什刹海, for there used to be ten Buddhist temples around the lake.

6

和珅，号嘉乐堂，大学士、外交官、乾隆逸臣。乾隆帝年老昏聩，对其宠信有加，和珅借机垄断朝野、收受贿赂。嘉庆登基，没收和珅财产，故有“和珅跌倒，嘉庆吃饱”。和珅应为有记录的恭王府最早的主人。后来，园归乾隆之子庆禧王永璘。第三任主人恭王奕訢对园子加以整修扩建，恭王府之名延续至今。
Heshen (1750-1799), sobriquet Haller of Auspicious Joy, a Grand Secretary, diplomat and an infamous courtier whose influence with the aged Qianlong emperor allowed him to monopolize major governmental posts and accept bribes. When Emperor Jiaqing ascended the throne, his property was confiscated, hence the saying, "When Heshen stumbles, Jiaqing had eaten his fill." He was perhaps the earliest recorded owner of the estate. Later the garden came under Yonglin(1766-1820), Prince Qingxi, a son of Qianlong. The current name of the mansion derived from its third owner, Prince Gong, or Yixin (1833-1898), who refurbished and expanded it as it now stands.

7

锡晋斋的“晋”指晋朝陆机的《平复帖》。此帖为草隶体，共9行84字。陆机是三国西晋之交的著名文学家、文学评论家、书法家。
The "prized Jin calligraphy model" refers to the "Recover" Copy Model, featuring a cursive script of eighty-four Chinese characters in nine lines in the handwriting of Lu Ji (261-303), a renowned writer, literary critic, and calligrapher of the period that spanned the Three Kingdoms and the Western Jin.

8

原诗为“南归路极天连海，唯有相思明月同”。

The original poem goes as 南归路极天连海，唯有相思明月同**.**

9

传说此为《红楼梦》女主人公居处。
Legend has it that the lodge was where the heroine of the novel *A Dream of Red Mansions* lived.

10

传说此为《红楼梦》男主人公居处。
As the legend goes, the court was where the protagonist of the novel *A Dream of Red Mansions* lived.

11

实际上，嘉庆帝只赐给庆禧王半个和珅的宅子，因为和孝公主与其夫丰绅殷德居于另一半宅子中。公主殁于道光三年（1823年），宅子才完全归到庆禧王名下，可惜庆禧王已于三年前逝去。
As a matter of fact, only half of Heshen's mansion was given by Emperor Jiaqing to Prince Qingxi, because Princess Hexiao and her husband Fengshenyinde were living in the other half of it. It was not until the princess' death in 1823 that the whole estate came under the name of Prince Qingxi, who died three years earlier though.

12

单士元，文物专家，致力于文物研究和保护，为明清建筑、档案研究做出了突出贡献。其《恭王府沿革考略》（陈从周先生或许将名字简记为《恭王府考》）一文发表于1938年，当时，此园为辅仁大学校舍。
Shan Shiyuan (1907-1998), a cultural relics expert. Devoted to the research and protection of cultural relics, he did great contribution to the study of architecture and archives of the Ming and the Qing. Shan's article, "A Brief Review of the History of Prince Gong's Mansion" (Mr. Chen Congzhou, could have remembered the name of the article as "A Study of Prince Gong's Mansion" for short), was published in 1938 when the estate served as the schoolhouse of Fu Jen University.

13

纳兰明珠，康熙帝时的重臣。传说，其宅子的西花园即为《红楼梦》大观园的原型。其子纳兰性德，字容若，是个才华横溢的诗人。据说性德是《红楼梦》主角贾宝玉的原型。
Nalanmingzhu (1635-1708), one of the influential officials under the reign of Emperor Kangxi. It is said that the western garden in his mansion was the prototype of the Grand View Garden in Cao Xueqin's *A Dream of Red Mansions*. Mingzhu's son, Nalanxingde (1655-1685), style name, a talented poet, was said to be the prototype of Jia Baoyu, the protagonist of the novel.

14

俞铭衡，字平伯，现代诗人、文人、红学家，晚清著名学者俞樾曾孙。好昆曲，其妻许宝驯乃业余昆曲家。随昆曲大家吴梅、陈延甫拍曲。1934年仲夏夜，与陈在清华工字厅举行曲集，次年初春第二次雅集。

Yu Mingheng (1900-1990), style name Pingbo, a modern poet, man of letters and Redologist. A great-grandson of Yu Yue (1821-1907), a renowned scholar of the late Qing, he was also a Kunqu Opera enthusiast together with his wife, Xu Baoxun (1895-1982), a better opera amateur. He learned singing the opera from two masters, Wu Mei (1884-1939) and Chen Yanfu (*fl*. early 20th century). On a mid-summer night in 1934, Yu and Chen hosted a gathering of Kunqu Opera fans in the I-Shaped Parlor of Tsinghua University, which was followed by a second gathering in early spring the following year.

15

金山寺住持法海将其丈夫诱到寺内，白娘子为救夫君才水淹金山寺。

In order to save her husband, who was lured into the Golden Hill Temple by its abbot Dharma Sea, the White Maiden practiced witchcraft to flood the temple.

16

东汉末期三国鼎立，刘备为蜀国的开国之君。在孙权安排下，刘备娶了孙权妹妹。传说，刘备于甘露寺初见孙母，孙母满意异常，答应了女儿的婚事。这个传说虽不尽真实，却因《三国演义》和同名京剧而在民间广为流传。

Liu Bei (161-223), founder of the Shu Kingdom (221-263), one of the Three Kingdoms into which China was divided toward the end of the Eastern Han. Under Sun Quan's arrangement, Liu married Sun's sister. It is said that Liu first met Sun's mother in the Sweet Dew Temple. The old lady, feeling satisfied with Liu, agreed to her daughter's marriage. The story about the Temple, though not necessarily real, was widely known in the past, thanks partly to the influence of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and of a Peking opera (actually an act of the whole play) named after this Temple.

17

孙权，三国吴的开国君主。吴国位于华东南京附近，建于222年，亡于280年。吴国都城建业即今天的南京。孙吴蜀汉势不两立，孙权安排妹妹婚事应出于政治军事目的。

Sun Quan (182-252), the founding emperor of the Wu, one of the Three Kingdoms. His kingdom occupied the area in eastern China around Nanjing and lasted from 222 to 280. Its capital, Jianye, was in present-day Nanjing. Sun arranged his sister's marriage probably for political-military purposes because Sun and Liu were rivaling rulers.

Summer Palace, Beijing 颐和园

1

米万钟，号友石，明末画家、书法家、造园家。书画家米芾后裔，亦是北京海淀勺园主人，北京大学校园里的夕园亦为其所规划。

Mi Wanzhong (1570-1628), sobriquet Youshi (A Pal of Rocks), a painter and calligrapher, garden designer in the late Ming. A descendant of the reputed calligrapher and painter Mi Fu (1051-1107), he was the owner of the Ladle-ofWater Garden in Haidian district, Beijing. The Sunset Garden on the Peking University campus is also a famous example of the gardens he designed.

2

陶渊明，即陶潜，东晋末至南朝宋伟大的山水诗人。中国第一位田园诗人，被称为“古今隐逸诗人之宗”。

Tao Yuanming (c. 365-427), aka Tao Qian, a great landscape poet of the interregnum between the Eastern Jin and the Song of the Southern Dynasties. The first landscape poet China ever produced, he is considered the great master of recluse poetry past and present.

3

瓮山是燕山余脉，金海指山前的湖。乾隆帝为母做寿，将山改名“万寿山”，将湖改名“昆明湖”。

The "Jug Hill" is an extension of the Yanshan Mountain, and the "Gold Sea" refers to the lake in front of it. Emperor Qianlong renamed the hill "Longevity Hill" and the lake "Kunming Lake" to mark his mother's birthday.

Mountain Summer Resort, Chengde　避暑山庄

1

【从周案十七】《四库全书》是清代乾隆年间（公元1772—1782年）编的一部大型丛书，内容广泛，保存并整理了大量中国古籍文献。全书共收古籍3503种，79337卷。分经史子集四部，故名《四库全书》。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 17] The largest collection of books in Chinese history, the *Complete Library of Four Branches of Books* features 79,000 chapters in 36,000 volumes and was produced in seven manuscript copies between 1773 and 1782 by more than 3,800 scribes. The four branches are: warehouse, storehouse, treasury and repository, which are in correspondence to the imperial library divisions of "Classics" (Chinese classic texts), "Histories" (histories and geographies in Chinese history), "Masters" (philosophers, artists, and scientists in Chinese philosophy, and "Collections" (anthologies of Chinese literature). The collection stored in the Belvedere of Literary Way (built in 1774-1775) was completed in 1784 as the fourth copy, the best preserved of all the copies. It was transported back to Beijing and kept in the Capital Library in 1914; today, it is housed in the China National Library, Beijing.

On Gardens 1　说园

1

【从周案十八】此文系作者1978年春应上海植物园所请的讲话稿，经整理而成。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 18] This article is adapted from a speech delivered at the invitation of Shanghai Botanical Garden in 1978.

2

《论语·子路第十三》：朋友切切偲偲，兄弟怡怡。

The Analects (Book Thirteen): "Critical and exacting with regard to the conduct of his friends; indulgent towards his brothers."

3

【从周案十九】见刘蓉峰（恕）《寒碧山庄记》：“予因而葺之，拮据五年，粗有就绪。以其中多植白皮松，故名寒碧庄。罗致太湖

石颇多，皆无甚奇，乃于虎阜之阴砂碛中获见一石笋，广不满二尺，长几二丈。询之土人，俗呼为斧擘石，盖川产也。不知何人辇至卧于此间，亦不知历几何年。予以百觚艘载归，峙于寒碧庄听雨楼之西。自下而窥，有干霄之势，因以为名。”此隶书石刻残碑，我于1975年12月发现，今存留园。

[Chen Congzhou: Note 19] Liu Shu (1759-1816), style name Rongfeng, "Notes on the Wintry Emerald Mountain Abode": "To restore [the Mountain Abode], I toiled for five years until everything fell roughly into place. As I had planted many lacebark pines on the premises, I named it 'Abode of Wintry Emerald.' I had also erected quite a few Lake Tai rocks there, but none of them looked interesting until I came across a stalagmite no more than two feet in girth and some seven yards in length in a pile of sand and gravel at the north of the Tiger Hill. A local man told me that it probably came from Sichuan and they called it 'Axe-wrought Stone,' but nobody knew when it was carted to the place and by whom. I had the stalagmite shipped with a boat one hundred gu [One gu equals three liters] in loading capacity and erected to the west of the Listening-to-Rain Loft at the Wintry Emerald Mountain Abode. When observed at its foot, it seems to be soaring into the skies. Hence its name." I found a fragment of this stalagmite inscribed in the official script, during a December 1975 visit, which can still be seen in the Lingering Garden today.

4

秦耀，明万历年间右副都御史、湖广巡抚，因诬陷获罪。获释回原籍无锡，继承曾叔祖秦金别业，秦金乃北宋秦观后人。他重整园林成二十景，并寄情其间。感于王羲之《答许椽》中“取欢仁智乐，寄畅山水阴”的旨趣，给园子起名寄畅园。

When Qin Yao (1544-1604) was released from prison after losing his positions as censor-in-chief and governor of the Hu-Guang region on false charges during the Wanli reign (1573-1620) of the Ming, he returned to Wuxi, his hometown, and settled down in a garden left behind by his paternal great granduncle Qin Jin (1467-1544), a descendent of the Northern Song poet Qin Guan (1049-1100). He rebuilt the garden and sought solace from the twenty new sights he had built into it. Inspired by the line, "I delight myself from the joy of benevolence and knowledge, and find solace in the coolness of mountain

and water" in the sage calligrapher Wang Xizhi's poem, "In Reply to Xu Chuan," he gave the garden its present name, "Solace-Imbued Garden."

5

苏轼，《咏芍药》：多谢化工怜寂寞，尚留芍药殿春风。
Su Shi (1037-1101), "Ode to Herbaceous Peony": "Thanks to the Creator who, lest the goddess of spring feel lonely, leaves peony to bring up the rear of spring wind."

6

西泠饭店建于1962年，七层，西式风格。1985年并入香格里拉饭店，成为其东翼。
The Xiling Hotel is a seven-storied structure in Western style built in 1962, but its name has gradually fallen into oblivion after it was incorporated into the ShangriLa Hotel and renamed "Eastern Wing" in 1985.

7

园名来自蠡湖，蠡湖形状颇似一只蚌壳挖出的浅勺。明末，人们附会蠡园与范蠡有关。范蠡为春秋末期军事家，辅佐越王勾践灭吴后，与西施泛舟湖上。
The garden is named after the Ladle Lake, which takes the shape of a shallow ladle fashioned out of a freshwater clamshell. Toward the end of the Ming, the name was reinterpreted as "Memorial Garden of Fan Li" (536-448 BC), a celebrated strategist of the late Spring and Autumn period, who went boating on the lake with his sweetheart Xi Shi (*fl*. 5th century) after assisting Gou Jian (520-465 BC) in vanquishing the dukedom of Wu (c. 12th century-473 BC).

8

舜以天下让善卷，善卷曰：“余立于宇宙之中……日出而作，日入而息，逍遥于天地之间而心意自得。吾何以天下为哉！悲夫，子之不知余也！”遂不受。于是去而入深山，莫知其处。
Some 4,000 years ago, a poet by the name of Shan Juan turned down King Shun's offer of throne to become a hermit in this cave. Hence the name. *Zhuangzi* ("Giving Away a Throne"): "Shun tried to cede the empire to Shan Ch'uan but Shan Ch'uan said, "I stand in the midst of space and time…. When the sun comes up, I work; when the sun goes

down, I rest. I wander free and easy between heaven and earth, and my mind has found all that it could wish for. What use would I have for the empire? What a pity that you don't understand me!" (Trans. by Lin Yutang) In the end he would not accept, but went away, entering deep into the mountains, and no one ever knew where he had gone.

On Gardens 2　续说园

1

郑广文即为郑虔，盛唐作家、画家。天宝九年，唐玄宗设立广文馆，郑任博士。

Academician Zheng is Zheng Qian (691-759), a prominent high-Tang writer and painter. In 750, Emperor Xuanzong established the Academy for the Extension of Literary Arts with Zheng as "Chief Academician."

2

江湜，字弢叔，苏州人，清末诗人、官员，其诗语言简洁，多理学思想，亦精书画素描。诗论与当时正统不符，诗作风格多样，自成一家。

Jiang Shi (1818-1866), style name Taoshu, a native of Suzhou and a poet-official of the late Qing known primarily for his use of simple language in the general context of Neo-Confucianism. He was also expert in calligraphy, line drawing and brush painting. His theoretical views on poetry did not conform to the orthodox of his time, and his varied poetic styles established him as a master of poetry in his own right.

3

东晋画家顾恺之尝为西晋裴楷画像，颊上添三毛。问之，答曰益觉有神。

When the legendary figure painter Gu Kaizhi (c. 344-406) of the Eastern Jin (317-420) did a portrait of Pei Kai (237-291), a prominent official of the Western Jin(266-316), he added three hairs to Pei's cheek. When asked why, Gu replied that the addition embodied exactly the man's ability and insight, and it was a lot better than without the three hairs.

4

张岱，号陶庵，明清之际散文家、史学家，亦通茶道。江苏绍兴人

士，以《陶庵梦忆》《西湖梦寻》最为人知，文字清新活泼，形象生动。
Zhang Dai (1597-1689), sobriquet Taoan, a prose writer and historian who is also well-versed in tea ceremony in the Ming-Qing period. A native from Shaoxing, Zhejiang province, he is best known for the refreshingly lucid, lively and vivid writing style of his two essay collections, *Dreamy Memories of Tao'an and Searching for the West Lake in Dreams*.

5

龚自珍，浙江杭州人，清朝思想家、诗人、改良主义先驱。以《己亥杂诗》名世，述其仕途不顺之意。
Gong Zizhen (1792-1841), a native of Hangzhou, Zhejiang province, was a thinker, poet, and reformist of the Qing. He is most remembered for his *Miscellaneous Poems Written in a Year of* "Ji-hai," in which he vented his frustrations with officialdom.

6

徐凝，《忆扬州》：天下三分明月夜，二分无赖是扬州。
Xu Ning (*fl*. 9th century), "Remembering Yangzhou": "If the shiny moon's light is to be divided into three shares under heaven, Yangzhou won't be happy even if offered two thirds of it."

7

钟惺，字伯敬，明末散文家。万历四十七年，游友人许自昌的梅花墅，三年后撰成《梅花墅记》。
Zhong Xing (1574-1624), style name Bojing, a prose writer of the late Ming. He visited the Plum Flower Villa as a friend of its first owner Xu Zichang (1578-1623) in 1619 and wrote these notes three years later.

8

三吴指吴郡、吴兴、会稽三地，是一个地理统称，自晋以来沿用。今指代江南地区。
The "three former Wu counties," referring to the three former counties of Wujun, Wuxing and Kuaiji, is a collective geographic term handed down from the Jin(265-420). Nowadays it is a byname for the Jiangnan area.

9

甫里即今日苏州吴中区角直镇。
Fuli is Luzhi in present-day Wuzhong district, Suzhou.

10

童寯，建筑学家、建筑教育家。对东西现代建筑颇有研究，吸收西方建筑理论和技巧，发展了中国建筑。20世纪30年代研究古典园林，写成《造园史纲》和《江南园林志》。
Tong Jun (1900-1983), an architect and educator in architecture. An accomplished researcher on contemporary architecture in the East and the West, he contributed a lot to developing Chinese architecture by drawing on Western architecture theories and techniques. His studies of traditional gardens in the 1930s culminated in two writings, *An Outline of the History of Garden-Making* and *A Record of Jiangnan Gardens*.

11

杨兆鲁，近园主人。园建成后，邀请画家恽格、王翚、笪重光等雅集园内。杨作《近园记》，王作《近园图》，恽书石，笪为之题跋。
Yang Zhaolu (*fl*. 17th century), the owner of the Approximate Garden. Upon completion of the garden, he invited calligraphers and painters for a gathering of forty or so days, which produced a record written by himself and inscribed in stone in the handwriting of Yun Ge (1633-1690), and a painting by Wang Hui(1632-1717), with a colophon by Da Chongguang (1623-1692).

12

梁思成，梁启超之子，建筑家、建筑教育家，中国营造学社创始人。营造学社对研究古代中国建筑作出重大贡献。与妻子林徽因参与设计了国徽和人民英雄纪念碑。伉俪二人保护古建筑，研究古代建筑，为人所敬仰。
Liang Sicheng (1901-1972), an architect and educator in architecture, one of the initiators of the Society for the Study of Chinese Architecture which did a considerable share in the studies of ancient Chinese architecture. A son of Liang Qichao (1873-1929), Sicheng was deeply involved in the designing of the emblem of China and the Monument to the People's Heroes together with his first wife Lin Huiyin (1904-1955). The couple are always remembered for their effort in the protection of

ancient structures and their work in ancient Chinese architecture.

On Gardens 3 说园（三）

1

李商隐，字义山，晚唐诗人，擅长讽刺诗、幽默诗、情感诗，但部分诗歌以过于隐晦迷离，难于理解。

Li Shangyin (813-858), style name Yishan, a late-Tang poet who is remembered for his satirical, humorous or sentimental poems, which, however, are often too allusive and obscure to be understood.

2

四王指王时敏（四人中年最长、成就最高）、王鉴（清朝推翻明朝后，由官员转为书画家）、王原祁（王时敏之孙）、王翚（王鉴、王时敏之徒，吸收古画的画法、布局、色彩等终成清初画圣）。与四王迥异的是同时代的四僧：石涛、朱耷、髡残、弘仁。四僧重视对生活、自然的真实感受，强调独抒性灵。

This refers to the four painters surnamed Wang, namely Wang Shimin (1592-1680), the oldest and most accomplished of the four; Wang Jian (1598-1677), a lateMing official who became a calligrapher and painter after the Ming was toppled by the Qing; Wang Yuanqi (1642-1715), who was Wang Shimin's grandson; and Wang Hui (1632-1717), a disciple of Wang Jian and Wang Shimin who drew on the approaches, layouts and coloration of ancient paintings and eventually established himself as the "Sage Painter of the early Qing." Categorically different from the Four Wangs are their contemporary Four Monk Painters, Shitao, Zhu Da (c. 1626-1705), Kuncan (1612-1692) and Hongren (1610-1664), who advocated the painters' own feelings about life and nature with an unrestrained style.

3

晏殊，婉约派词人，北宋宰相。

Yan Shu (991-1055), a lyrical poet of the euphemistic and graceful school, and a high official who once served as a prime minister for a Northern Song emperor.

4

常建，盛唐诗人，诗作以田园风光主题为多。

Chang Jian (*fl*. 8th century), a poet of the high Tang whose main themes are rural sceneries and landscape.

5

马致远，元代著名戏曲家。因《天净沙·秋思》被称为秋思之祖。
Ma Zhiyuan (*c*. 1250-*c*. 1324), a renowned playwright of the Yuan whose poem "Autumn Nostalgia: To the tune of Heaven-Cleansed Sand" has established him as the "Father of Autumn Nostalgia."

6

叶梦珠，明代松江人，年十二往上海私塾就读，据其康熙二十七年《续编绥寇纪略》自序推知，康熙中叶尚在世。
Ye Mengzhu (1623-?), a native of Songjiang county who was educated during the Ming at age twelve in a private school in Shanghai and became an active writer who, judging from his 1688 preface to *A Sequel to Brief Records of Pacification of Bandits*, was still around during the mid-Kangxi reign.

7

恽格，字寿平，号南田，清初书画家，常州画派开山鼻祖。此段引自其《拙政园图》跋。
Yun Ge (1633-1690), style name Shouping, sobriquet Nantian, a calligrapher and painter of the early Qing and founder of the Changzhou school of painting. This passage is quoted from the colophon to his "Picture of the Humble Administrator's Garden."

8

《庄子·秋水》：庄子与惠子游于濠梁之上。庄子曰："鯈鱼出游从容，是鱼之乐也。"惠子曰："子非鱼，安知鱼之乐？"庄子曰："……我知之濠上也。"
Zhuangzi ("Autumn Floods"): Zhuangzi and Huizi were strolling along the dam of the Hao River when Zhuangzi said, "See how the minnows come out and dart around where they please! That's what fish really enjoy!" Huizi said, "You're not a fish—how do you know what fish enjoy?" Zhuangzi said, "… I know it by standing here beside the Hao."

9

贯休，俗名姜德隐，浙江兰溪人，唐末五代初期画僧。

Guanxiu (823-912) was the monastic name of Jiang Deyin, a native of present-day Lanxi, Zhejiang province, and a famous monk painter active during the late Tang and the early Five Dynasties.

On Gardens 4　说园（四）

1

钱澄之，号田间老人，明末爱国志士、文学家，诗文尤负重名。
Qian Chengzhi (1612-1693), sobriquet Farmfield Oldie, a patriotic fighter of the late Ming and an outstanding man of letters who had a major impact on Chinese poetry.

2

范允临，号长白，明代书画家，范仲淹17世孙，徐泰时（留园第一任园主）女婿。
Fan Yunlin (1558-1641), sobriquet Changbai, a calligrapher and painter of the Ming, the 17th-generation grandson of Fan Zhongyan (989-1052), and son-in-law of Xu Taishi (1540-1598), the first owner of the Lingering Garden.

3

毛奇龄，字大可，号西河先生（郡望西河），康熙十八年举博学鸿儒科，授翰林院检讨、国史馆纂修等职。所著《西河合集》分经集、史集、文集、杂著，共四百余卷。
Mao Qiling (1623-1716), style name Dake, style name Master of Xihe (for the Maos were a prominent family in Xihe), an economist who was appointed Erudite Literatus and Examining Editor of the Imperial Academy for the compilation of the *Ming History* in 1679, the 18th year of the Kangxi reign. *The Collected Works of Xihe* of over 400 volumes contains his writings on Confucian classics, history, prose, poetry, and many other fields.

4

店名来自南宋林升《题临安邸》诗句：山外青山楼外楼，西湖歌舞几时休。
The name of this restaurant is derived from the poem "Inscription on a Mansion in Lin'an" by Lin Sheng (*fl.* 12th century) of the Southern Song, "Mountain beyond mountain, loft beyond loft; / When could

singing and dancing stop at West Lake?"

5

排云殿名字源自郭璞诗句：神仙排云山，但见金银台。
The name of this building, Palace of Immortals Lining Up in Clouds, is derived from the lines in a poem by Guo Pu (276-324), "As immortals line up in clouds that enshroud a mountain, all they could see are terraces of gold and silver."

6

王西野，系作者同济大学建筑系同事，对中国古典文学、美术史、古建筑及园林艺术均深具造诣，兼擅书画。
Wang Xiye (1914-1997), a colleague of the author in Architecture Department, Tongji University, was well versed in classical Chinese literature, fine arts history, classical architecture, calligraphy, painting and landscape gardening.

7

王珣，字元琳，东晋大臣、书法家，出身琅琊王氏，与王羲之同宗。工草书，其《伯远帖》为三希帖之一，历来为书家所重。其祠堂在苏州。
Wang Xun (350-401), style name Yuanlin, an Eastern-Jin official and calligrapher who hailed from a family of renowned calligraphers including Wang Xizhi (303-361). An expert in the cursive script, he was author of *Letter to Boyuan Copy Model*, one of the Three Rare Calligraphic Copy Models revered by calligraphers through the generations. The temple in honor of him is located in Suzhou.

8

汪琬，苏州人，清初学者、散文家。此诗提及两处苏州名胜：长洲苑、短簿祠。
Wang Wan (1624-1691), a native of Suzhou, a scholar and prose writer of the early Qing. He mentioned in this poem two places of historic interests, the Long Isle Garden and Short Magistrate's Temple.

9

陈鹏年，湖南湘潭人，进士出身，历任要职，卒于河道总督任上。
Chen Pengnian (1663-1723), a native of Xiangtan in Hunan, a scholar-

official who was a metropolitan graduate of top-level imperial examinations, had served a series of government posts before he died in his tenure as Waterway Superintendent.

10

据传，吴王阖闾在此以三千宝剑殉葬。后世秦始皇、孙权等凿石求剑，遂成深池。
It is said that 3,000 swords were buried at the site as funerary objects for Helü(514-496 BC), a king of Wu. The pool was resulted from diggings by later rulers like Qinshihuang (259-210 BC) and Sun Quan (182-252 BC) in search of treasures here.

11

西施，本名施夷光，亦称西子，春秋末期绝代佳人。此处借指荷花。
Xi Shi (*fl*. 5th century BC), original name Shi Yiguang, also known as Xizi, was a stunning beauty who lived during the late Spring and Autumn period, but here her name is used as a figure of speech for lotus flowers.

12

光绪十年，凤六泗兵备道任兰生落职，归乡同里退思补过，建退思园。退思园为世界文化遗产。
After Ren Lansheng (1837-1888) was impeached and dismissed from his position as superintendent of the Military Defense Circuit of Fengyang, Liu'an and Sizhou Prefectures in 1879, the tenth year of the Guangxu reign, he returned to his hometown Tongli to reflect upon his errors, and named the garden he had built there Retreat and Reflection Garden, now a UNESCO Cultural Heritage Site.

13

许宗彦，号周生，好藏书，精天文历算。
Xu Zongyan (1768-1818), sobriquet Zhousheng, a book collector well versed in astronomy, calendric system and arithmetic.

14

齐鲁指今山东，地域大抵为先秦齐鲁两国所辖。公元前256年楚国灭鲁，公元前221年秦国灭齐。

Qi-Lu is a byname of present-day Shandong province, whose land largely belonged to the states of Qi and Lu in the pre-Qin period. The state of Lu was wiped out by the state of Chu in 256 BC, and the state of Qi met its demise at the hands of the state of Qin in 221 BC.

15

岩山东北一支，伸入江中，成一巨石，高36米。山石直立江上，三面临空，形似燕子展翅欲飞，故名燕子矶。

The northeastern end of the Limestone Hill stretches into the Yangtze, resulting in a boulder 36 meters tall that overlooks the river like a swallow to be on the wing. Hence the name, Swallow-Shaped Boulder.

16

阮元，清学者、文学家、思想家。疏浚西湖，淤泥筑成阮公墩。

Ruan Yuan (1764-1849), a scholar, man of letters and thinker of the Qing, bestowed upon posterity the "Ruan's Mound" made of the West Lake-bottom silt.

17

郁达夫，中国20世纪20年代著名短篇小说作家，创造社发起人之一，提倡现代文学。其首部短篇小说集，是中国现代文学史上第一部白话短篇小说集。

Yu Dafu (1896-1945), a popular short-story writer of the 1920s in China, a founding member of the Creation Society devoted to the promotion of modern literature, and author of modern China's first collection of vernacular short stories.

18

建康，今南京，孙吴、东晋、刘宋、萧齐、萧梁、陈朝六代京师之地。

Jiankang, present-day Nanjing, was the capital city of the Kingdom of Wu (222-280) of the Three Kingdoms period (220-280), the Eastern Jin (317-420), as well as the Song (420-479), Qi (479-502), Liang (502-557), and Chen (557-589) of the Southern Dynasties period (420-589).

19

韦庄，晚唐诗人，韦应物（盛唐田园诗人）四世孙。

Wei Zhuang (836-910), a poet of the late Tang and a fourth-generation

grandson of Wei Yingwu (737-792), a pastoral and scenic poet of the high Tang.

20

蒲松龄，清代小说家，著有短篇小说集《聊斋志异》。
Pu Songling (1640-1715), a novelist of the Qing who authored the famous collection of short stories *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*.

21

王时敏曾任太常寺卿，此职原名奉常，故称其为奉常公。
Wang Shimin once served as a Chief Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, originally known as Flagbearer, hence the address Respected Flagbearer.

22

五岳指东岳泰山（山东）、西岳华山（陕西）、南岳衡山（湖南）、北岳恒山（山西）、中岳嵩山（河南）。
The Five Holy Mountains are Mount Tai in Shandong province to the east; Mount Huashan in Shaanxi province to the west; Mount Hengshan in Hunan province to the south; Mount Hengshan in Shanxi province to the north; and Mount Songshan in Henan province in the center.

On Gardens 5　说园（五）

1

李思训，中唐山水画家，明代画家董其昌推其为山水画北宗之祖。其子昭道亦善丹青。父子并称大小李将军。
Li Sixun (651-716), a mid-Tang landscape painter whom the Ming painter Dong Qichang (1555-1636) lauded as the father of the Northern School of Chinese painting. His son Li Zhaodao (*fl*. 7th century) was another famous landscape painter. Father and son are popularly known together as Senior and Junior Generals Li.

2

左思，字太冲，西晋文学家。其《三都赋》，大家竞相传抄，一时洛阳纸贵。
Zuo Si (250-305), style name Taichong, a major prose-poet of the Western Jin (265-316), whose long work, "Three Capitals Rhapsody,"

was copied by so many people that paper fell into short supply in the capital city of Luoyang.

3

沈秉成，苏松太兵备道，光绪二年于一废园上建成此园，与第三任妻子严永华居此八载。沈曾给豫园点春堂题堂匾。
Shen Bingcheng (1823-1895), superintendent of the Suzhou-Songjiang Military Defense Circuit, built this garden on a deserted one in 1876, where he lived a hermit's life with his third wife Yan Yonghua for eight years. It is Shen who wrote the horizontal board of the Spring Adorning Hall in the Gratification Garden.

4

伊东忠太，日本建筑师、建筑史学家，日本20世纪初顶级建筑史和建筑理论家。常盘大定，研究中国佛教，1920年至逝世前，五次赴中国调查，著成《支那佛教史迹》《支那佛教史迹踏查记》。关野贞，建筑史学家，为中国建筑、文化遗产的分类和历史研究作出了贡献。
Itō Chūta (1867-1954), a Japanese architect, architectural historian, and critic who is recognized as the leading architect and architectural theorist of early 20thcentury imperial Japan; Tokiwa Daijō (1870-1945) devoted much of his life to the study of Chinese Buddhism, visited China five times between 1920 and his death, and authored *Shina Bukkyō Shiseki* (6 vols., 1925-1929) and *Shina Bukkyō Shiseki Tōsaki* (1938), among others; Sekino Tadashi (1868–1935) was an architectural historian, and one of the influential minds behind the classification and historical studies of Chinese architectural and cultural legacies.

Poetry, Prose, Craft of Gardens　中国诗文与中国园林艺术

1

汤显祖，明代戏曲家，以《紫钗记》《南柯记》《邯郸记》《牡丹亭》四剧闻名。
Tang Xianzu (1550-1616), a great playwright of the Ming who made a name for himself with a collection of four major dramas, *The Story of the Purple Hairpin*, *A Dream under a Southern Bough*, *A Dream in*

Handan, and the all-time famous *The Peony Pavilion*.

2

此名源自韩愈《秋怀诗十一首》的第五首：归愚识夷涂，汲古得修绠。
This name is derived from the fifth poem of "Autumn Remembrances: Eleven Poems" by Han Yu (768-824): "Even a foolish man knows how to find the road home; one can always enrich his learning with literature the way he draws water from a deep well with a long rope."

3

作者原文作“怡园”，疑为纳兰明珠的“自怡园”。明珠是康熙帝的堂姑父，曾任大学士。
Chen Congzhou's original text put the name as 怡园, but it is supposed to be 自怡园 in Beijing, owned by Nalanmingzhu, an uncle of Kangxi and once a Grand Secretary of the emperor.

4

园子最初由曹雪芹祖父曹寅所建，曾是江南最大园林。康熙年间，第二任园主为织造，隋氏，改名隋园。后袁枚买下，易名随，取“适应”之意。
Originally built around 1706 by Cao Yin (1658-1712), Cao Xueqin's grandfather, the garden was for a time the largest in the Jiangnan area. By the Kangxi reign, its second owner, an imperial silk manufacturing superintendent surnamed Sui, renamed it "Sui's Garden." Yuan Mei, its third owner, changed its name with a homophone, sui, meaning "accommodation."

5

文震孟，文徵明曾孙，震亨之兄，万历四十八年在醉颖堂基础上构药圃。康熙十二年，园主姜实节更名艺圃。
On the premises of the Hall of Drunken Talent, Wen Zhenmeng (1574-1636), a great-grandson of Wen Zhengming and elder brother of Wen Zhenheng, built the Herbal Garden in 1620. It was not until 1673 that its owner Jiang Shijie (1647-1709) gave it the present name of the Garden of Cultivation.

6

俞振飞，20世纪上半叶最杰出的昆曲大师。古典文学修养极高，将京剧、昆曲精华熔于一炉，舞台表演儒雅、深邃、有活力。在业内以“儒雅表演”著称。
Yu Zhenfei (1902-1993), the best-known maestro of Kunqu Opera in the first half of the 20th century. Well accomplished in classic literature, he blended perfectly the quintessence of Peking Opera and Kunqu Opera and imbued his stage performances with cultural refinement, elegance, profundity and vigor. He was especially celebrated for his "scholarly theatric rendition" in the opera circle.

7

俞宗海，字粟庐，晚清金石学家、书法家、昆曲名家，俞振飞之父。光绪年间任张履谦家塾师达四十年之久。
Yu Zonghai (1847-1930), style name Sulu, an epigrapher, calligrapher and Kunqu Opera master of the late Qing and father of Yu Zhenfei. He was the private tutor for Zhang Lüqian's family for almost forty years during the Guangxu reign.

8

光绪三年，苏州盐商张履谦置产，日后成为拙政园西部。两年后，他邀请顾沄、陆廉夫、俞宗海等书画家、昆曲家谋划，根据文徵明所绘此园三十一幅图画及其《王氏拙政园记》对园子大加修葺，十年后得成补园。
In 1877, Zhang Lüqian (1838-1915), a salt merchant in Suzhou, bought the estate that was to become the western part of the Humble Administrator's Garden. Accepting suggestions of painters, calligraphers and Kunqu masters such as Gu Yun (1835-1896), Lu Lianfu (1851-1920) and Yu Zonghai, availing himself of the thirty-one pictures of the Humble Administrator's Garden done by Wen Zhengming and Wen's "Record of the Wang's Humble Administrator's Garden,”he refurbished the property on a large scale in 1879, and completed the Additional Garden a decade later.

9

吴文英，号梦窗，南宋末年词人。其《梦窗词》收词340首，数量仅次于辛弃疾的《稼轩长短句》（573首）。
Wu Wenying (c. 1200-1260), sobriquet Mengchuang, a lyical poet toward the end of the Southern Song. His *Mengchuang's Lyrical Poems*

features more than 340 elegant lyrical poems, second only to *Jiaxuan's Lyrical Poems*, a collection of Xin Qiji's 573 lyrical poems.

Gardens and Landscape Painting 园林与山水画

1

王蒙，号黄鹤山樵，书画家赵孟頫外孙。元四家中属第二代，集诸家之长自创风格。倪瓒笔法疏简，王蒙则用墨稠密。
Wang Meng (1308-1385), sobriquet Woodcutter from Yellow Crane Mountain, a grandson of the great painter and calligrapher Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322). Though belonging in the second generation of the Big Four, he developed a personal style without so much as emulating ancient masters. Unlike Ni Zan's typically thin and spare strokes, his thick and dense brushwork is achieved through profuse use of ink.

2

李成，北宋初期画家，开创齐鲁画派，其独创的营丘（李成出生地，今山东青州）山水画法成为后世画家楷模。董源，南唐李璟时任北苑（今福建建瓯）副使，南派山水画开山鼻祖，与范宽、李成并称北宋三大家。黄公望，号大痴道人，元四家之一，作《富春山居图》。此画清初焚烧成两段，现一段藏台北，一段藏浙江。
Li Cheng (919-967), a painter living in the early years of the Northern Song, who founded the Qi-Lu school of Chinese painting. The techniques he invented for his paintings of the extensive and misty woodland of Yingqiu (his birthplace in present-day Qingzhou, Shandong) are still being emulated by landscape painters today. Dong Yuan (?-*c.* 962) once served as vice-commissioner of Beiyuan (presentday Jian'ou, Fujian province) under the reign of Li Jing (916-961) of the Southern Tang; as the father of the Southern school of Chinese landscape painting, he was celebrated as one of the Three Master Painters of the early Northern Song along with Fan Kuan (?-1031) and Li Cheng. The "Great Eccentric Taoist" is the sobriquet of Huang Gongwang (1269-1354), a famed painter and calligrapher among the Four Master Painters of the Yuan (1279-1368), and painter of *Abode in the Fuchun Mountain*, a precious painting that was burned in two in early Qing, with one section kept in Taibei and the other section in

Zhejiang now.

Gardens and Kunqu Opera: Beauty's Tour de Force 园林美与昆曲美

1

朱自清，散文家、诗人、学者，新中国成立前民主主义战士。1927年于清华执教，作《荷塘月色》，遂成名篇。
Zhu Ziqing (1898-1948), an essayist, poet, scholar and staunch fighter for democracy in pre-1949 years who composed "Moonlight over the Lotus Pond,"one of his most famous essays, as a professor of Tsinghua in 1927.

2

梅兰芳，舞台表演艺术家、京剧大师、唱念做打绝佳。祖、父皆为京剧名家，主攻旦角，与荀慧生、尚小云、程砚秋合称四大名旦。表演风格独特，称为梅派。
Mei Lanfang (1894-1961), a theatrical performer, one of the most reputed Peking Opera artists and one of the greatest singer-actor-dancers in Chinese history. The son and grandson of noted opera singers, Mei played mostly female roles, becoming one of the Four Superstars in the Dan Role along with Xun Huisheng(1900-1968), Shang Xiaoyun (1900-1976) and Cheng Yanqiu (1904-1958). His distinctive style of performance won such acclaim over the years that it came to be known as the "Mei School."

Joy of Daily Rambling of Gardens 园日涉以成趣

1

黄至筠，亦名黄应泰，字个园，个园主人，淮东淮西商总。
Geyuan is the style name of the garden's owner, Huang Zhiyun (1770-1838), General Commercial Commissioner of East and West Huai Circuits during the Jiaqing reign of the Qing. He is also known by another name Huang Yingtai.

2

陈维崧，江苏宜兴人，举博学鸿词科，授官翰林院检讨。曾至扬州与王士祯等修禊红桥。

Chen Weisong (1625-1682), a native of Yixing, Jiangsu province, and a lyrical poet and parallel prose writer who became Erudite Literatus and Examining Editor of the Imperial Academy. He joined Wang Shizhen in one of the spring outings at Rainbow Bridge in Yangzhou.

3

古代帝王、诸侯举行典礼时手执之长方形玉牌，头三角形或圆形。
A jade tablet held by ancient emperors and ministers in ceremonial services, which is rectangular with a triangular or round top.

4

【从周案二十】太湖石产于中国江苏省太湖区域，是一种多孔而玲珑剔透的石头，多用以点缀庭院之用，是建造中国园林不可少的材料。
[Chen Congzhou: Note 20] Named after the Taihu Lake, Jiangsu province, where they are discovered, the Lake Tai stones are riddled with pores and holes and come in exquisite shapes and images through long years of washing and pounding by swift water currents. An indispensable decorative material in Chinese gardens, they are mostly used to grace courtyards and build dainty sceneries.

5

刘鹗，字铁云，清末实业家、教育家、小说家。联合国教科文组织认定其《老残游记》为世界文学名著。
Liu E (1857-1909), style name Tieyun, a businessman involved in education and novelist in the late Qing. His *The Travels of Lao Can* is designated by the UNESCO as a world classic of literature.

6

大明是宋孝武帝的年号，宋是南朝第一个朝代。
Daming is the title of the reign of Emperor Xiaowu (457-464) of the Song (420-479), the first of the four Southern Dynasties (420-589).

7

宣石产自安徽宣城、宁国山区，颜色以白为主，最适宜作表现雪景的假山或盆景石。
Produced in the mountains of Xuancheng and Ningguo counties in Anhui province, the Xuan stone is white in most cases, and makes

choice material for the making of snow-crested artificial mountains or potted miniature landscapes.

View Borrowing in Garden Architecture 建筑中的“借景”问题

1

徐弘祖，号霞客，明代地理学家、旅行家。游历广泛，著有《徐霞客游记》，记载各地人情、地理、动植物等。
Xu Hongzu (1587-1641), sobriquet Xiake, a geographer and traveler of the Ming. He traveled extensively in the country and came up with *Travel Notes of Xu Hongzu*, documenting local cultures, topography, plants and animals, etc.

2

沈复，字三白，清代文人。林语堂称其妻陈芸为“中国文学史上最可爱的女人”。
Shen Fu (1763-1825), style name Sanbai, a man of letters in the Qing. Chen Yun, his wife, was considered the most lovely woman in Chinese literary history by the translator Lin Yutang (1895-1976).

3

厉鹗，号樊榭，清代诗人，浙江杭州人。著有《宋诗纪事》《辽史拾遗》，其《樊榭山房集》十诗九山水。
Li E (1692-1752), sobriquet Fanxie, a poet in the Qing and a native of Hangzhou, Zhejiang province. His most famous works are *Accounts of Song Poems* and *Supplements to the Liao History*, and scenic poems account for nine tenths of his *Fanxie's Mountain Abode Collection*.

4

元宗简（元八），唐朝诗人，与白居易结交二十年。传说，白居易与其邻居之前，作诗《欲与元八卜邻，先有是赠》，书写对结邻之后的美丽憧憬：明月好同三径夜，绿杨宜作两家春。
Legend has it that when Bai Juyi was to live next door to Yuan Zongjian (Yuan Eight), a pal of twenty years who was also a famed poet, he dreamed of their good days ahead in the poem "To Yuan Eight in Hope of Becoming His Neighbor," "The moon shall be as shiny as at my hermitage; the green willows shall bring vernal comfort to both

families."

5

三海：指位于紫禁城和景山西边的北海、中海、南海，明清时称西苑。三海是国内现存历史悠久、规模宏大、布置精美的宫苑之一，总体布局继承了中国古代造园艺术的传统：水中布置岛屿，以桥堤同岸边相连，在岛上和沿岸布置建筑物和景点。

Three Seas, the Northern Sea, the Middle Sea and the Southern Sea located west of the Forbidden City and the Coal Hill, collectively known as the Western Garden in the Ming and the Qing. One of the oldest, largest and most splendid gardens extant in the country, the general layout of the garden conforms to the norm of traditional landscape gardening, that is, to lay islets in the water and scatter buildings and sceneries on the islets and banks which are connected by bridges and dykes.

6

袁中道，字小修，湖北公安人，明代文学家。与兄弟袁宗道、袁宏道并称公安三袁。其游记直接晓畅，日记体散文对后世文人有重大影响。

Yuan Zhongdao (1570-1626), style name Xiaoxiu, a literary figure of the Ming from Gong'an county, Hubei province. One of the Three Yuans of the Gong'an School of Literature with his two brothers, Yuan Zongdao (1560-1600) and Yuan Hongdao (1568-1610), he wrote direct and lucid travel notes and his diary-style essays have a major impact on poets and writers of later generations.

7

安徽宣城，古称宛陵，三国时亦名丹阳。东临苏浙，地近沪杭，为安徽之东南门户。

Wanling is the ancient name of Xuancheng, Anhui province, also known as Danyang during the Three Kingdoms period. Bordering Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces to the east, and in close proximity to Shanghai and Hangzhou, it is the gateway to southeast Anhui province.

8

六朝时（东吴、西晋、宋、齐、梁、陈）为帝王的游乐之地。出于帝都“四神布局”——东方青龙，西方白虎，南方朱雀，北方玄武

——的需要，又由于宋元嘉年间湖中两次出现所谓的“黑龙”，湖名改为“玄武”。
A pleasure ground for feudal lords when Nanjing was the capital for the six dynasties—the Eastern Wu, the Western Jin, and the Song, Qi, Liang and Chen of the Southern Dynasties. The need to deploy the four gods of the four directions—Azure Dragon in the east, White Tiger in the west, Vermilion Bird in the south, and Black Tortoise-Snake in the north—in the capital city, coupled with the two appearances of the "Black Dragon" in the lake during the Yuanjia reign (307-453) of the Song, prompted the rulers to rename the lake after "Xuanwu," the Black Tortoise-Snake.

9

据说，吴越王钱俶为北宋皇帝诏入京中，为保其平安返回而建此塔。
It is said that the pagoda was built in hopes of the peaceful return of Qian Chu(929-988), the last king of the Wu-Yue Kingdom, from the capital when he was summoned there by the Northern Song emperor.

10

砖框实际上为椭圆形。
Actually this brick frame is oval.

11

姚鼐，安徽桐城人，散文家，与方苞、刘大櫆并称桐城三祖。
Yao Nai (1731-1815), a prose writer and a native of Tongcheng, Anhui province, who is one of the Three Patriarchs of the Tongcheng School of prose writing, the other two being Fang Bao (1668-1749) and Liu Dakui (1698-1780).

12

明代开国皇帝朱元璋与马皇后墓，名字源于皇后谥号“孝慈皇后”。
The name of the tomb of the founding emperor of the Ming, Zhu Yuanzhang, and Empress Ma (1331-1382), is derived from her posthumous name, "Empress of Filial Piety and Motherly Love."

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GLOSSARY　专有名词总汇

人物　Authors, Artists and Garden Owners

白居易　Bai Juyi
贝聿铭　Ieoh Ming Pei
蔡正仁　Cai Zhengren
曹雪芹　Cao Xueqin
常建　Chang Jian
常盘大定　Tokiwa Daijō
陈鸿寿　Chen Hongshou
陈康侯　Chen Kanghou
陈鹏年　Chen Pengnian
陈维崧　Chen Weisong
陈应芳　Chen Yingfang
陈之遴　Chen Zhilin
程德全　Cheng Dequan
程梦星　Cheng Mengxing
仇好石　Qiu Haoshi
崔伯亨　Cui Boheng
达桂　Da Gui
戴熙　Dai Xi
单士元　Shan Shiyuan
董道士　Taoist Priest Dong
董玉书　Dong Yushu
董源　Dong Yuan
杜甫　Du Fu
杜牧　Du Mu
范允临　Fan Yunlin
傅抱石　Fu Baoshi
高凤翥　Gao Fengzhu
戈裕良　Ge Yuliang
耿鉴庭　Geng Jianting

龚自珍　Gong Zizhen
顾辟疆　Gu Pijiang
顾文彬　Gu Wenbin
顾沄　Gu Yun
关野贞　Sekino Tadashi
贯休　Guanxiu
郭思　Guo Si
郭熙　Guo Xi
何其芳　He Qifang
何维键　He Weijian
何亚农　He Yanong
和珅　Heshen
黄公望　Huang Gongwang
黄汉侯　Huang Hanhou
黄省曾　Huang Xingzeng
黄至筠　Huang Zhijun
计成　Ji Cheng
计镇华　Ji Zhenhua
蒋科　Jiang Ke
姜夔　Jiang Kui
江湜　Jiang Shi
金安清　Jin Anqing
金立初　Jin Lichu
金农　Jin Nong
金松岑　Jin Songcen
孔武仲　Kong Wuzhong
李白　Li Bai
李成　Li Cheng
李德裕　Li Deyu
李斗　Li Dou
李格非　Li Gefei
李商隐　Li Shangyin
李思训　Li Sixun
李蔚如　Li Weiru
李渔　Li Yu
李育　Li Yu
厉鹗 Li E

梁冀　Liang Ji
梁思成　Liang Sicheng
梁孝王　Prince Xiao of Liang
凌景埏　Ling Jingyan
刘大观　Liu Daguan
刘敦桢　Liu Dunzhen
刘鹗 Liu E
刘恕　Liu Shu
卢绍绪　Lu Shaoxu
陆叠山　Lu the Rockery Piler
陆锦　Lu Jin
陆游　Lu You
骆在田　Luo Zaitian
马致远　Ma Zhiyuan
毛奇龄 Mao Qiling
梅兰芳　Mei Lanfang
梅宣义　Mei Xuanyi
梅尧臣　Mei Yaochen
米万钟　Mi Wanzhong
纳兰明珠　Nalanmingzhu
倪瓒　Ni Zan
欧阳修　Ouyang Xiu
欧阳兆熊　Ouyang Zhaoxiong
潘岳　Pan Yue
潘允端　Pan Yunduan
裴谌　Pei Chen
蒲松龄 Pu Songling
戚继光　Qi Jiguang
钱澄之　Qian Chengzhi
钱大昕　Qian Daxin
钱泳　Qian Yong
乔松年　Qiao Songnian
任传薪　Ren Chuanxin
任兰生　Ren Lansheng
阮元　Ruan Yuan
阮中　Ruan Zhong
沈秉成　Shen Bingcheng

沈复　Shen Fu
沈元禄　Shen Yuanlu
沈周　Shen Zhou
盛康　Sheng Kang
石崇　Shi Chong
石涛　Shitao
宋鲁儒　Song Luru
宋之问　Song Zhiwen
苏轼　Su Shi
苏舜钦　Su Shunqin
孙承佑　Sun Chengyou
汤显祖　Tang Xianzu
陶渊明　Tao Yuanming
田敬锡　Tian Jingxi
童寯　Tong Jun
汪伯屏　Wang Boping
汪琬　Wang Wan
汪为霖　Wang Weilin
汪应庚　Wang Yinggeng
王国维　Wang Guowei
王昆仑　Wang Kunlun
王蒙　Wang Meng
王时敏　Wang Shimin
王士祯　Wang Shizhen
王世襄　Wang Shixiang
王世贞　Wang Shizhen
王庭余　Wang Tingyu
王维　Wang Wei
王西野　Wang Xiye
王献臣　Wang Xianchen
王珣　Wang Xun
王应麟 Wang Yinglin
王原祁　Wang Yuanqi
王振世　Wang Zhenshi
韦庄　Wei Zhuang
魏次庚　Wei Cigeng
文震亨　Wen Zhenheng

吴昌硕　Wu Changshuo
吴璥　Wu Jing
吴梅　Wu Mei
吴廷扬　Wu Tingyang
吴伟业　Wu Weiye
吴文锡　Wu Wenxi
吴文英　Wu Wenying
喜仁龙 Osvald Sirén
谢溶生　Xie Rongsheng
徐弘祖　Xu Hongzu
徐勉　Xu Mian
徐泰时　Xu Taishi
徐孝穆　Xu Xiaomu
徐行健　Xu Xingjian
徐湛之　Xu Zhanzhi
许宗彦　Xu Zongyan
晏几道　Yan Jidao
晏殊　Yan Shu
杨兆鲁 Yang Zhaolu
姚鼐　Yao Nai
姚正镛　Yao Zhengyong
叶恭绰　Ye Gongchuo
叶梦珠　Ye Mengzhu
叶洮　Ye Tao
伊东忠太　Itō Chūta
余继之　Yu Jizhi
俞澂　Yu Cheng
俞铭衡　Yu Mingheng
俞同奎　Yu Tongkui
俞樾　Yu Yue
俞振飞 Yu Zhenfei
俞宗海　Yu Zonghai
庾信　Yu Xin
郁达夫　Yu Dafu
袁中道　Yuan Zhongdao
恽格　Yun Ge
臧谷　Zang Gu

曾朴　Zeng Pu
张岱　Zhang Dai
张国泰　Zhang Guotai
张涟　Zhang Lian
张履谦　Zhang Lüqian
张伦　Zhang Lun
张南阳　Zhang Nanyang
张然　Zhang Ran
张爰　Zhang Yuan
张泽　Zhang Ze
赵海山　Zhao Haishan
赵翼王　Zhao Yiwang
赵之璧　Zhao Zhibi
郑侠如　Zheng Xiaru
郑燮　Zheng Xie
郑元化　Zheng Yuanhua
郑元嗣　Zheng Yuansi
郑元勋　Zheng Yuanxun
钟惺　Zhong Xing
周馥 Zhou Fu
周密　Zhou Mi
周暹　Zhou Xian
周庠　Zhou Xiang
周煦良　Zhou Xuliang
朱长文　Zhu Changwen
朱家溍　Zhu Jiajin
朱勔　Zhu Mian
朱自清　Zhu Ziqing
祝允明　Zhu Yunming
左思　Zuo Si

著作　**Works of Literature and Art**

哀江南赋　Lament for the South
白蛇传　Legend of the White Snake
伯远帖　*Letter to Boyuan Copy Model*
钗头凤　Phoenix Hairpin

长物志　Treatise on Superfluous Things
重过何氏五首　He's Garden Revisited: Five Stanzas
重葺文园诗　Refurbishing the Literary Garden
春霁晚望　Gazing Afar after the Spring Rain
大可合集　*Collected Works of Dake*
大清工部工程做法则例　*Construction Regulations of the Ministry of Works of the Great Qing*
悼亡诗三首　Three Poems in Dirge
登泰山记　Notes on Breasting Mount Tai
滇游日记　*Diaries on Travels in Yunnan*
东城杂记　*Miscellaneous Notes on the Eastern City*
樊榭山房集　*Fanxie's Mountain Abode Collection*
浮生六记　*Six Records of a Floating Life*
辅仁学志　*Journal of Fu Jen Catholic University*
富春山居图　*Abode in the Fuchun Mountain*
个园记　Notes on the Geyuan's Garden
工段营造录　*Notes on Sections of Construction Projects*
恭王府沿革考略　A Brief Review of the History of Prince Gong's Mansion
龚自珍集　*Collected Works of Gong Zizhen*
古猗园记　Notes on the Ancient Garden of Lush Bamboos
癸辛杂识　*Miscellaneous Discoveries from Guixin Street*
邯郸记　*Record of Handan*
寒碧山庄记　Notes on the Wintry Emerald Mountain Abode
汉制考　*A Study of the Han Institutions*
红楼梦　*A Dream of Red Mansions*
红楼梦人物论　*On the Figures in "A Dream of Red Mansions"*
虎门条约　Treaty of the Bogue
花间笑语　*Banters Amidst Flowers*
黄海云涛　Cloud Waves over Mount Huangshan
黄山图卷跋　Postscript to the Album of Mount Huangshan Paintings
会稽志　*Gazetteer of Kuaiji County*
己亥杂诗　*Miscellaneous Poems Written in a Year of "Ji-hai"*
稼轩长短句　*Jiaxuan's Lyrical Poems*
江都县续志　*The Sequel to the Gazetteer of Jiangdu County*
江南胜迹　*Scenic Sites of the Jiangnan Area*
江南吟　Song of Jiangnan
江南园林志　*A Record of Jiangnan Gardens*

江宁条约　Sino-British Treaty of Nanjing
戒子嵩书　A Warning Letter to Song
芥子园画谱　*Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Model Paintings*
金玉琐碎　*Masters of Gold and Jade in Odds and Bits*
苦瓜和尚画语录　*Monk Balsam Pear on Painting*
苦瓜小景　A Small Landscape Painting by Palsam Pear
老残游记　*Travels of Lao Can*
乐郊园分业记　Record of the Estate of Suburban Delights
梁书　*Book of Liang*
辽史拾遗　*Supplements to the Liao History*
聊斋志异　*Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*
林泉高致集　*The Lofty and Sublime Messages of Forests and Streams*
漏窗　*Latticed Windows*
庐山草堂记　Notes on the Thatched Hut on Mount Lushan
履园丛话　*A Collection of Anecdotes in the Lü Garden*
洛阳名园记　*A Record of the Celebrated Gardens in Luoyang*
梅花墅记　Notes on the Plum Flower Villa
孟子　*Mencius*
梦窗词　*Mengchuang's Lyrical Poems*
名胜园亭图说　*An Illustrated Manual on Scenic Gardens and Pavilions*
牡丹亭　*The Peony Pavilion*
南柯记　*The Record of Southern Bough*
南巡盛典　*Grand Occasions of Southern Inspection Tours*
能改斋漫录　*Random Notes of "That Can Also Be Changed" Studio*
孽海花　*A Flower in the Sea of Sin*
瓯香馆集　*A Compendium of Fragrant Cup Studio*
陪郑广文游何将军山林十首　Visiting General He's Wooded Mountains as Companion to Academician Zheng: Ten Stanzas
平复帖　*"Recover" Copy Model*
平山览胜志　*Records of the Mountain-Level Hall*
平山堂图志　*An Illustrated Record of the Mountain-Level Hall*
平山堂小志　*A Compact Record of the Mountain-Level Hall*
人间词话　*Poetic Remarks on the Human World*
日涉园笔记　*Jottings from the Daily Rambler's Garden*
三国演义　*Romance of the Three Kingdoms*
三字经　"Three Character Classic"
芍药谱　*Compendium of Herbaceous Peony*

绍兴府志　*Gazetteer of Shaoxing Prefecture*
石涛上人年谱　*A Chronicle of Shitao the Venerable Buddhist*
水窗春呓　*A Daydreamer's Vernal Murmurings by a Waterside Window*
说文解字　*Interpreting and Dissecting the Chinese Characters*
说园　*On Gardens*
思归引序　Preface to Longing to Return
四库全书　*Complete Library of Four Branches of Books*
宋诗纪事　*Accounts of Song Poems*
宋书　*Book of Song*
送孟浩然之广陵　Seeing Meng Haoran off to Guangling at Yellow Crane Tower
岁暮梦游沈氏园　Touring Shen's Garden in a Year-End Dream
桃花源记　The Peach Blossom Spring
陶庵梦忆　*Dreamy Memories from the Studio of Contentment*
题破山寺后禅院　An Inscription to Posterior Meditation Chamber in Cleaved Mountain Temple
题扬州禅智寺　To the Chan Wisdom Temple of Yangzhou
彤史拾遗记　*Gleanings from Female Scribes' Records of Daily Lives Inside Imperial Chambers*
王氏拙政园记　Record of the Wang's Humble Administrator's Garden
网师园记　Notes on the Master-of-Fishnets Garden
网师园序　Preface to the Master-of-Fishnets Garden
望岳　View of Mount Tai
魏源集　*Collected Works of Wei Yuan*
文心雕龙 *Carving a Dragon at the Core of Literature*
吴风录　*Record of Wu Customs*
吴兴园林记　Records of Gardens in Wuxing
芜城怀旧录　*Nostalgic Memories of a City Deserted*
五代史　*History of the Five Dynasties*
西湖梦寻　*Searching for the West Lake in Dreams*
习苦斋题画　*Colophons on Paintings of the Studio of Hard Practice*
闲居赋　Idle Life Rhapsody
小窗幽记　*Leisure Sketches by a Little Window*
小山词　*Xiaoshan's Collection of Lyric Poems*
小山泉阁诗存　*A Repository of Verse of the Small Mountain Fountainhead Belvedere*
小园赋　Small Garden Rhapsody

撷秀楼匾额跋　Postscript to the Inscription on Beauty-Garnering Loft's Nameboard
新唐书　*New Book of Tang*
行宫图说　*Illustrated Interpretations of Temporary Royal Palaces*
徐霞客游记　*Travel Notes of Xu Xiake*
续编绥寇纪略　*A Sequel to Brief Records of Pacification of Bandits*
荀子　Xunzi
扬州府志　*Gazetteer of Yangzhou Prefecture under Jiaqing Reign*
扬州画舫录　*Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*
扬州画舫录跋　*Postscript to The Record of the Painted Pleasure Boats of Yangzhou*
扬州画舫曲　Thirteen Lyrical Pomes of Yangzhou's Painted Pleasure Boats
扬州览胜录　*Records of Scenic Fascinations of Yangzhou*
扬州慢　The Yangzhou Adagio
扬州名胜图　*Paintings of Scenic Spots in Yangzhou*
扬州名胜图记　*An Illustrated Record of Scenic Spots in Yangzhou*
扬州名园记　*Records of the Celebrated Gardens of Yangzhou*
扬州园林史话　*A Historical Account of Gardens in Yangzhou*
养痾闲记　*Idle Notes Written in Recuperation*
冶春绝句　*Spring Outing Quatrain*
一家言　*One Man's Account*
义山杂纂　*Yishan's Records of Miscellaneous Things*
艺能编　*Compendium of Artistic Craftsmen*
营造法式　*Treatise on Architectural Methods*
游金陵诸园记　A Tour of Gardens in Jinling
渔阳古诗选　*Selected Ancient Verse of Yuyang*
玉海　*The Sea of Jade*
玉簪记　*The Story of the Jade Hairpin*
园冶　*The Craft of Gardens*
圆明园则例　*Engineering Specifications of the Garden of Perfect Splendor*
袁小修日记　*Diaries of Yuan Zhongdao*
阅世编　*A Compendium on Living the World*
造园史纲　*An Outline of the History of Garden Building*
张南垣传　Biography of Zhang Nanyuan
蛰园记　Notes on the Hibernation Garden
中国园林　*Gardens of China*
周礼　*The Rites of Zhou*

庄子　*Zhuangzi*
拙政园记　Record of the Humble Administrator's Garden
拙政园图　Picture of the Humble Administrator's Garden
紫钗记　The Story of the Purple Hairpin

园林与景点　**Gardens and Scenic Views**

阿房宫　Epang Palace
安澜园　Billow-Tranquilizing Garden
安远庙　Temple of Frontier Pacification
八卦塘　Eight Diagrams Pond
八旗奉直会馆　Guild of Eight-Banner Members from Fengtian and Metropolitan Provinces
八音涧　Eight-Tone Gully
八咏园　Garden of Eight Stanzas
白堤　Memorial Causeway of Bai Juyi
白沙翠竹江村　White Sand, Emerald Bamboos and Riverside Village
白塔晴云　White Pagoda in Clouds on a Fine Day
百尺梧桐阁　Belvedere of Hundred-Feet Phoenix Tree
拜石轩　Verandah in Obedience to Rocks
半青阁　Half Green Belvedere
半山园　Garden Half Way up the Mountain
半园　Half-Garden
傍花村　Flower-Leaning Village
宝石山　Precious Stone Mountain
保安寺　Bao'an Temple
保俶塔　Pagoda in Protection of Qian Chu
趵突泉　Spouting Spring
北高峰　Northern Peak
北麓园　Northern Foothill Garden
北寺塔　Northern Temple Pagoda
碧峰寺　Green Peak Temple
避暑山庄　Mountain Summer Resort
卞园　Bian's Garden
汴京公园　Bianjing Park
汴园　Bianyuan Garden
别峰庵　Hut on Another Peak of Jiao's Mountain

别有洞天　Pavilion of Celestial Vistas
补园　Additional Garden
沧浪亭　Dark Blue Waves Pavilion
沧州别墅　Cangzhou Estate
苍筤馆　Dark Green Bamboo Chamber
藏经阁　Scripture Library
长春园　Garden of Perennial Spring
长堤春柳　Long Dyke Flanked by Spring Willows
长廊　Long Corridor
长洲苑　Long Isle Garden
畅春园　Unimpeded Spring Garden
畅园　Comfort-Giving Garden
承光殿　Light -Sustaining Palace
城东公园　East City Park
城隍庙　City God's Temple
城闉清梵　Sutra-Chanting at City Wall
程氏园　Cheng's Garden
澄波叠翠　Manifold Verdure Reflected in Crystal Waves
澄观楼　Loft of Cloudless Vistas
澄心堂　Heart-Cleansing Chamber
尺五楼　Tower "Fifteen Inches Short of the Skies"
船舫厅　Hall of Painted Boat
吹台　Flute-Playing Terrace
垂虹落雁　Wild Goose Diving at Sinking Rainbow
锤峰落照　Pestle-Shaped Peak at Sunset
春波桥　Vernal Waves Bridge
春台明月（熙春台）　Spring Terrace Under Bright Moon (Propitious Spring Terrace)
崔伯亨园　Cui Boheng's Garden
崔致远纪念馆　Memorial Hall of Cui Zhiyuan
萃秀堂　Profuse Beauty Hall
萃园　Emerald Garden
翠云岭　Green Cloud Mountain
大滌草堂　Great Mind-Cleansing Thatched Hut
大观园　Garden of Grand View
大荷池　Greater Lotus Pond
大宏寺　Temple of Grand Preachers

大明宫　Great Light Palace
大明湖　Daming Lake
岱庙　Dai Temple
岱瞻草堂　Thatched Hut for Revering Mount Tai
待霜亭　Frost Awaiting Pavilion
倒影楼　Loft of Inverted Reflections
蹈和馆　Studio for Fostering Modesty and Amiability
稻香村　Paddy-Sweet Cottage
得月楼　Moon-Bestowed Loft
得真亭　Truth Attaining Pavilion
点春堂　Spring Adorning Hall
殿春簃　Late-Spring Peony Lodge
钓鱼台　Anglers' Platform
蝶湖公园　Butterfly Lake Park
东半亭　East Half-Pavilion
东城草堂　Thatched Hut of East City
东山庙　East Hill Shrine
东园　Eastern Garden
冬荣园　Wintry Luxuriance Garden
斗姥阁　Belvedere in Honor of the Mother of Big Dipper
断桥残雪　Remnant Snows on a Broken Bridge
朵云峰　Cloudlet-Enshrouded Peak
二分明月楼　Loft of Two-Thirds Bright Moonlight
二分竹屋　Bamboo Cottage that Splits a Forest in Two
二十四桥　Bridge of Twenty-Fours
法净寺　Dharma Purity Temple
法林寺　Dharma Forest Temple
范长白园　Fan Yunlin's Garden
芳草园　Fragrant Grass Garden
芳林园　Fragrant Forest Garden
芳渚临流　Fragrant Islet on a Gurgling Brook
飞来峰　Peak Flown In from Afar
风亭　Wind-Bathing Pavilion
凤凰岛风景区　Scenic Zone on the Phoenix Isle
凤舞鸾鸣阁　Belvedere of Female Phoenix Waltzing and Male Phoenix Wobbling
佛香阁　Buddhist Incense Belvedere

凫庄　Mallard Manor
浮翠阁　Floating Emerald Belvedere
符望阁　Belvedere in Keeping with Original Wish
福州鼓山　Drum Mountain of Fuzhou
蝠厅　Bat Hall
复园　Fuyuan Garden
富郑公园　Garden of Duke Fu of Zheng
馥园　Fragrance Garden
甘露寺　Sweet Dew Temple
甘泉山庄（陈园）　Sweet Spring Mountain Abode (Chen's Garden)
甘泉苑　Sweet Springs Park
皋园　Gao Yu Garden
高义园　Lofty Righteousness Garden
个园　Geyuan's Garden
艮岳　Northeast Mount Garden
绠汲堂　Hall with a Rope to Draw Water from a Well
耕心草堂　Heart Ploughing Thatched Hut
恭王府　Prince Gong's Mansion
孤山　Gushan Mountain
古猗园　Ancient Garden of Lush Bamboos
鼓楼　Drum Tower
顾辟疆园　Gu Pijiang's Garden
顾氏园　Gu's Garden
顾宅艮庵　Gen'an's Parlor in Gu Wenbin's Estate
瓜洲古渡公园　Ancient Ferry Park at Guazhou
观海亭　Sea-Watching Pavilion
观涛楼　Wave-Watchers' Loft
观音山　Avalokitesvara Mountain
冠云峰　Cloud-Crowned Peak
冠云楼　Cloud-Crowned Loft
冠云台　Cloud-Crowned Terrace
冠云亭　Cloud-Crowned Pavilion
冠云沼　Cloud-Crowned Pool
广安寺　Temple of Universal Pacification
广元宫　Palace in Honor of the Resourceful Female Immortal
归园田居　Return-to-Farming Abode
归云别馆　Homecoming Cloud Chamber

桂花厅　Osmanthus Hall
国清寺　National Purification Temple
海楼　Oceanic Loft
海棠春坞　Vernal Crabapple Yard
涵碧山房　Green-Soaked Mountain Villa
涵碧园　Greenness Containing Garden
寒碧山庄　Wintry Emerald Mountain Abode
韩蕲王祠　Memorial Shrine of King of Qi
韩氏小园　Han's Small Garden
汉陵苑　Garden of Prince of Guangling's Mausoleum
汉庐　Hanhou's Hut
濠濮亭　Hao & Pu Pavilion
好山园　Garden of Good Mountains
郝氏园　Hao's Garden
何园　Ho Family Garden
和煦堂　Hall of Balmy Sunshine
荷风四面亭　Pavilion of Lotus-Scented Breeze from Four Sides
荷花厅　Lotus-Flower Hall
贺园　He's Garden
红梅阁园　Red Plum Belvedere-Garden
虹桥　Rainbow Bridge
虹桥坊　Rainbow Bridge Lane
虹桥修禊　Venue for Spring Outings at the Rainbow Bridge
壶春园　Spring-in-Kettle Garden
壶园　Kettle Garden
湖山真意亭　True-Meaning Lake and Mountain Pavilion
蝴蝶厅　Butterfly Hall
虎丘白莲池　White Lotus Pond at the Tiger Hill
虎丘塔　Tiger Hill Pagoda
花神阁　Flower Goddess Belvedere
花文化展示馆　Floral Culture Showroom
华步小筑　Tiny Lodge at Floral Wharf
华藏寺　Hwa Dzan (Amitabha Buddhist) Temple
华林园　Flowery Forest Garden
华氏园　Hua's Garden
还我读书处　Return-to-Read Study
环谿　Loop Stream Gully

环秀山庄　Beauty-Encircled Mountain Adobe
黄檗山居　Cork Tree Mountain Abode
惠荫园　Garden of Salubrious Shades
活泼泼地　Belvedere for the Vivacious and Enterprising
汲古得绠处　Studio to Get "Rope" and Draw"Water" from "Ancient Well"
集芳　Fragrance Collection Garden
集虚斋　Gathering-in-Emptiness Chamber
寄畅园　Solace-Imbued Garden
寄啸山庄　Whistling Scholar's Mountain Abode
佳晴喜雨快雪亭　Pavilion of Fine Weather, Beloved Rain and Timely Snow
嘉乐堂　Hall of Auspicious Joy
嘉实亭　Pavilion of Fabulous Fruits
嘉树园　Propitious Trees Garden
贾宅　Jia's Residence
见山楼　Mountain-in-View Loft
建章宫　Jianzhang Palace
剑池　Sword Pool
鉴湖　Mirror Lake
鉴园　Mirror Garden
鉴真纪念堂　Ganjin Memorial Hall
鉴止水斋　Studio of Tranquil Mirror-like Water
蕉雨轩　Rain-Splattered Plantain Verandah
结草庵　Thatched Nunnery
皆绿山房　Evergreen Mountain Abode
金谷园　Garden of Golden Valley
金海　Gold Sea
金牛洞　Golden Buffalo Cave
金沙港　Golden Sand Harbor
金沙溪　Golden Sand Creek
金山寺　Golden Hill Temple
锦淙滩　Gurgling Brocade Shoal
锦泉花屿　Flower Isle on Two Brocade Springs
近园　Approximate Garden
荆陵初晓　Dawn at Jing Mound
景阳山　Scenic Sun Mountain
静慧寺　Quiet Prajna Temple

静香书屋　Quiet and Aromatic Study
静心斋　Tranquil Mind Chamber
静宜轩　Verandah of Reposed Comfort
镜水云岑　Mirror-like Water and Cloudy Hills
九峰园　Nine Peaks Garden
九龙池　Nine-Dragon Pond
九曲流芳　Fragrance Flowing Along a NineBend Brook
九曲桥　Nine-Bend Bridge
九狮池　Nine-Lion Pond
九狮山　Nine-Lion Mountain
九狮亭　Nine Lions Pavilion
九狮图山　Mountain of Nine-Lion Picture
九溪涧　Nine Creeks Gully
掬花楼　Flower-Holding Loft
聚景　Prospects Assembly Garden
卷石洞天　Rolling Stone Cavern
看山楼　Mountain-Watcher's Loft
看松读画轩　Verandah for Seeing Pines and Reading Paintings
康山草堂　Thatched Cottage in the Kangshan Mountain
康山文化园　Kangshan Cultural Garden
可亭　Pavilion for Scenic Enjoyment
快阁　Belvedere of Delight
昆明湖　Kunming Lake
来禽馆　Pavilion for Birds Flying In
来青阁　Imminent Greenness Belvedere
莱庆堂　Laizi Blessing Hall
蓝田别墅　Lantian Villa
狼山公园　Wolf Hill Park
乐郊园　Garden of Suburban Delights
乐圃　Lepu's Garden
乐寿堂　Hall of Joyful Longevity
雷峰塔　Lei's Peak Pagoda
雷峰夕照　Sunset Beyond the Lei's Peak Pagoda
楞伽峰　Lankavatara Mountain
冷泉　Cool Spring (Pavilion)
蠡园　Memorial Garden of Fan Li
历代帝王庙　Shrine of Monarchs of Various Dynasties

丽芳园　Aromatic Beauty Garden
隶园　Kerria Garden
荔枝湾　Lichee Bay
笠亭　Bamboo Hat Pavilion
莲花桥（五亭桥）　Lotus Bridge (FivePavilion Bridge)
莲性寺　Lotus Character Temple
林泉耆硕之馆　Hall of Woods and Springs for the Senior and Renowned
林香草堂　Forest Aroma Thatched Hut
临漪槛　Balustrade over Ripple Water
灵谷寺　Linggu Temple
灵隐山　Soul's Retreat Mountain
灵隐寺　Soul's Retreat Temple
玲珑馆　Hall of Dainty Rocks and Delicate Bamboos
玲珑花界　World of Delicate Peonies
刘宅　Liu's Residence
留听阁　Retain-and-Listen Belvedere
留园　Lingering Garden
柳浪闻莺　Orioles Singing in Weeping Willows
柳荫路曲　Willow-Shaded Winding Walkway
龙眠山　Dragon-Sleeping Mountain
龙泉寺　Dragon Spring Temple
陇西后圃　Back Garden of Longxi
楼外楼　Louwailou (Loft-Beyond-Loft) Restaurant
楼园　Multistoried Building Garden
卢氏意园　Lu's Imagination Garden
卢宅　Lu's Mansion
鲁迅纪念馆　Memorial Museum of Lu Xun
鹭云寺　Temple of Herons in Clouds
绿漪亭　Green Ripples Pavilion
绿荫　Green Shade (Verandah)
罗汉堂　Arhats Hall
洛春堂　Luoyang Peony's Spring Hall
满觉陇　Perfect Enlightenment Gully
漫园　Water-Brimmed Garden
毛宅　Mao's Residence
梅舫　Painted Boat Docked in a Plum Sea
梅花岭　Plum Flower Ridge

梅花书院　Plum Flowers Academy
梅花铁石山房　Plum Flower and Iron Ore Mountain Abode
梅岭春深　Plum Ridge in Deep Spring(Lesser Golden Hill)
梅园　Plum Garden
妙隐庵　Miaoyin Nunnery
明道堂　Hall to Understand the Way
明瑟楼　Bright and Clear Loft
明孝陵　Filial Piety Tomb of the First Ming Emperor and His Empress
明星亭　Star Pavilion
明轩　Astor Court
明月湖公园　Bright Moon Lake Park
明月桥　Bright Moon Bridge
幕府山　Grand Secretariat Mountain
南北湖　South-and-North Lakes
南山寺　Southern Mountain Temple
南轩　Southern Verandah
南园　South Garden
南苑　Southern Park
囊云洞　Cloud Enshrouded Cave
鸟还亭　Homecoming Birds' Kiosk
凝晖阁　Sunshine Condensing Belvedere
暖流暄波　Warm Stream and Hot Waves
耦园　Loving Couple's Garden
藕花水榭　Lotus Root Flower Gazebo
藕香榭　Lotus Root Fragrance Gazebo
排云殿　Hall of Immortals Lining Up in Clouds
匏庐　Gourd Hut
盆景园　Garden of Miniature Landscapes
枇杷园　Loquat Courtyard
片石山房　Small-Rock Mountain Adobe
片石山楼　Mountain Loft of Small Rocks
平湖秋月　Autumn Moon over a Calm Lake
平泉别墅　Pingquan Villa
平山堂　Mountain-Level Hall
平野轩　Flat Wilderness Verandah
瓶櫑斋　Chamber of Bottles and Winecups
普乐寺　Temple of Universal Happiness

普宁寺　Temple of Universal Peace
普陀宗乘之庙　Temple of Potaraka Doctrine
普佑寺　Temple of Universal Blessing
溥仁寺　Temple of Omnipresent Benevolence
溥善寺　Temple of Omnipresent Goodwill
七星岩　Seven Star Crags
七子峰　Seven-Peak Mountain
栖灵塔　Soul's Retreat Pagoda
栖霞山　Rosy Clouds' Dwelling Mountain
栖霞寺　Evening Glow's Dwelling Temple
杞菊斋　Wolfberry and Aster Chamber
憩园　Garden to Rest In
千秋鸿禧　Taoist Temple of Immortal Wellbeing
钱塘门　Qiantang Gate
乔氏东园　Qiao's East Garden
乔园　Qiao's Garden
秦氏意园　Qin's Imagined Garden
琴室　Lute-Playing Chamber
青莲草阁　Thatched Belvedere Amidst Green Lotuses
青藤书屋　Green Vine Studio
青溪旧屋　Old House on a Green Brook
清波门　Clean Waves Gate
清风池馆　Refreshing Breeze Pond-Verandah
清凉山　Cool and Refreshing Mountain
清秘阁　Pure Rarity Belvedere
清漪园　Limpid Ripples Garden
情话室　Room for Private Dialogue
晴雪堂　Sunny Snow Hall
琼花坞　Jade Flower Col
琼华岛　Jade Flowery Islet
秋声馆　Sound-of-Autumn Mansion
秋霞圃　Rosy Autumn Clouds Garden
曲江公园　Loop River Park
曲水荷香　Aromatic Lotuses in a Bending Stream
曲谿楼　Sinuous Gully Loft
曲园　Twisted Garden
曲院风荷　Wind-Blown Lotus Flowers at a Winery

仁寿殿　Benevolence and Longevity Hall
任宅　Ren's House
日涉园　Garden for Daily Saunters
如意洲　S-Shaped Scepter Sandbar
润扬森林公园　Runyang Forest Park
卅六鸳鸯馆　Hall of Thirty-Six Pairs of Mandarin Ducks
三峰草堂　Three Peaks Thatched Hall
三峰园　Three Peaks Garden
三潭印月　Three Pools Mirroring the Moon
三湾湿地公园　Sanwan Village Wetland Park
扇面亭　Fan-Shaped Pavilion
善卷洞　Shan Juan's Hermitage Cave
山响草堂　Thatched Hall in the Cuckooing Birds' Mountains
上林苑　Shanglin Park
勺园　Ladle-of-Water Garden
射鸭廊　Ringtossing-at-Ducks Corridor
沈尚书园　Minister Shen's Garden
沈园　Shen's Garden
狮子沟　Lion's Gully
狮子林　Lion's Grove
狮子园　Lions' Garden
十八曼陀罗花馆　Hall of Eighteen Camellias
十笏园　Garden of Ten S-Shaped Tablets
十七孔桥　Seventeen-Arch Bridge
十三陵　Thirteen Ming Tombs
什刹海　Lake of Ten Temples
石林别径　Rock Forest Trail
史公祠　Shrine of Shi Kefa
适园　Obedience-to-Parents Garden
寿芝园　Garden of Longevity Fungus
瘦西湖　Slender West Lake
殊像寺　Temple of Manjushri's Statue
舒啸亭　Pavilion for Untrammeled Whistlers
蜀冈晚照　Shugang Hillock in Evening Glow
蜀冈西峰生态园　West Peak Ecology Garden of the Shugang Hillock
数帆亭　Sails Counting Pavilion
数鱼亭　Fish Enumerator's Pavilion

双峰插云　Cloud-Piercing Twin Peaks
双峰云栈　Cloud-Enveloped Plank Trail Between Twin Peaks
双槐茶园　Twin Pagoda Trees Tea House
双槐园　Twin Pagoda Trees Garden
水北胡氏园　Hu's Two Gardens North of the River
水文化博物馆　Hydrology Museum
水榭　Waterside Gazebo
水心榭　Midstream Gazebo
水月庵　Nunnery of Moon in Water
水云胜概　Scenic Water and Cloud
四桥烟雨　Mist and Rain over Four Bridges
四照阁　Belvedere with Windows on All Four Sides
思顾岭　Ridge in Remembrance of Gu Kuang
松吹阁　Howling Pine Belvedere
耸翠亭　Pavilion of Manifold Verdure
宋夹城遗址公园　Garden on Song-Dynasty Ruins of a Wall-Sandwiched Passageway
宋氏园　Song's Garden
苏堤春晓　Spring Sets In on Memorial Causeway of Su Shi
苏公祠　Memorial Shrine of Su Shunqin
随园　Accommodation Garden
随月读书楼　Loft for Reading with the Moon
岁寒草堂　Thatched Hut of Wintery Friends
塔影亭　Pagoda Silhouette Pavilion
太和殿　Hall of Supreme Harmony
太和楼　Tower of Supreme Harmony
太液池　Grand Fluid Pond
谈仙岭石城　Stone Fort of Celestial Tan's Mountain
唐城遗址　Tang-Dynasty Site of Yangzhou
唐代玉钩亭　Tang-Dynasty Jade Hook Pavilion
桃花庵　Peach Flower Nunnery
桃花坞　Peach Blossom Lowland
题襟馆　Literati's Embosoming Studio
天宁寺　Heavenly Peace Temple
天寿山　Heavenly Longevity Mountain
天童寺　Heavenly Boy Temple
天王殿　Heavenly Kings Hall

天香庭院　Celestial Fragrance Court
听涛处　Wave-Listening Place
听雨轩　Rain-Listening Verandah
同乐园　Garden of Universal Joy
菟园　Hare Garden
团城　Round City
退思园　Retreat and Reflection Garden
万壑松风 Wind-Swept Pines in Myriad Gullies
万花楼　Loft of Ten Thousand Flowers
万花园　Garden of Ten Thousand Flowers
万卷堂　Hall of Ten Thousand Volumes
万柳堂　Hall with Ten Thousand Willows
万柳园　Ten Thousand Willows Garden
万石园　Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks
万氏园　Wan's Garden
万寿山　Longevity Hill
万树园　Garden of Ten Thousand Trees
汪氏小苑　Wang's Small Garden
汪园　Wang's Garden
王洗马园　Garden of Librarian Wang
网师小筑　Net Master's Tiny Court
网师园　Master-of-Fishnets Garden
辋川别业　Wangchuan Villa
望春楼　Spring Gazing Loft
望江亭　River-Watcher's Pavilion
尉氏之园　Wei's Garden
蔚圃　Li Weiru's Garden
魏宅　Wei's Mansion
文桂舫　Literary Osmanthus Landboat
文津阁　Belvedere of Literary Way
文澜阁　Literary Waves Belvedere
文园（避暑山庄）　Literatus Garden
文园（汪为霖）　Literary Garden
闻木樨香轩　Osmanthus Fragrance Verandah
问秋馆　Autumn Inquiry Chamber
瓮山　Jug Hill
吴道台宅第　Circuit Intendant Wu Yinsun's Mansion

吴宅　Wu's House
梧桐园　Phoenix Tree Garden
梧竹幽居　Secluded Parasol-and-Bamboo Pavilion
五百名贤祠　Shrine of Five Hundred Sages
五峰书屋　Five-Peak Study
五峰仙馆　Five-Peak Celestial Hall
五峰园　Five Peaks Garden
五龙亭　Five Pavilions Arranged to Assimilate a Dragon
五亩园　Five-"Mu" Garden
午韵轩　Zither Playing Verandah
武静园　Garden of Wu and Jing
武烈河　Wulie River
夕园　Sunset Garden
西半亭　West Half-Pavilion
西方寺（八怪纪念馆）　Temple of Sukhavati(Memorial Hall of Eight Eccentrics)
西湖烟霞洞　Twilight Mist Cave at the West Lake
西湖玉皇山　Jade Emperor Mountain at the West Lake
西涧草堂　Thatched Hut on Western Brook
西郊公园　Western Suburb Park
西泠印社　Xiling Seal Engravers Society
西溪　Western Brook Wetland
西园　Western Garden
西园曲水　Winding Stream of the Western Garden
西苑　Western Park
锡晋斋　Chamber of a Prized Jin Calligraphy Model
仙鹤池　Celestial Crane Pool
仙鹤寺　Celestial Crane's Temple
香山饭店　Fragrant Hill Hotel
香洲　Fragrant Isle
潇湘馆　Bamboo Lodge
小沧浪　Lesser Canglang (Gazebo)
小成就塔　Small Attainment Pagoda
小刀会　Small Dagger Society
小飞虹　Lesser Flying Rainbow (Bridge)
小金山月观　Moon Platform on the Lesser Golden Hill
小李将军画本　Junior General Li's Landscape Painting

小莲庄　Small Lotus Village Garden
小玲珑山馆（街南书屋）　Lesser Exquisite Mountain Abode (South Street Reading Room)
小盘谷（秦氏意园）　Lesser Winding Gully
小盘谷（周馥）　Small Meandering Valley
小蓬莱　Lesser Islet for Immortals
小秦淮　Lesser Qinhuai River
小山丛桂轩　Verandah of a Hillock Clustered with Osmanthuses
小宛亭　Memorial Pavilion of Dong Bai
小有天园　Small Sky Garden
筱园　Slim Bamboo Garden
谐趣园　Garden of Harmonious Charms
絜园　Pristine Garden
撷秀楼　Beauty-Garnering Loft
辛园　Toiler's Garden
新建蜀冈草堂　Thatched Hut on Shugang Hillock
兴福寺　Thriving Bliss Temple
休园　Leisure Garden
岫云峰　Riddled-Through Peak Enveloped in Clouds
绣绮亭　Embroidered Damask Pavilion
须弥福寿之庙　Temple of Sumeru, Happiness and Longevity
虚廓园　Ethereal Outline Garden
徐园　Xu's Garden
玄武湖　Xuanwu Lake
雪窦泉　Snow-Hole Spring
雪香云蔚亭　Fragrant Snow and Luxuriant Cloud Pavilion
烟雨楼　Mist and Rain Tower
延和阁　Prolonged Harmony Belvedere
延清楼　Loft of Prolonged Serenity
严家花园　Yan's Garden
盐宗庙　Salt God Shrine
弇山园　Yanshan Garden
艳雪亭　Bright Snow Pavilion
燕园　Homecoming Swallow Garden
燕子矶　Swallow-Shaped Boulder
扬派盆景艺术博物馆　Yangzhou-Style Miniature Landscape Art Museum
杨氏小筑　Yang's Tiny Nook

仰山堂　Mountain-Admiring Hall
药圃　Herbal Garden
冶春园　Spring Outing Garden
一庭秋月啸松风亭　Pavilion in a Yard of Pines Howling in Wind under Autumn Moon
一枝阁　Lone-Twig Belvedere
揖峰轩　Kowtow-to-Peak Verandah
宜两亭　Good for Both Families Pavilion
宜园　Congenial Garden
怡红院　Happy Red Court
怡庐　Mind Cheering Hut
怡性堂　Hall of Mental Serenity
怡园　Garden of Brotherly Indulgence
颐和园　Summer Palace, or Garden for Nourishing Harmony of Heaven and Earth
倚虹桥　Rainbow-Leaning Bridge
倚虹亭　Rainbow-Leaning Pavilion
倚虹园　Rainbow-Leaning Garden
倚玉轩　Leaning-on-Jade Verandah
艺圃　Garden of Cultivation
逸圃　Garden of Matchless Talent
因巢亭　Nest Pavilion
银锭桥　Silver Ingot Bridge
鹰窠顶　Eagle-Nest Pinnacle
樱桃园　Cherry Garden
影园　Mountain-Water-Willow Shadows' Garden
涌金门　Gold-Revealing Gate
余园　My Half-"Mu" Garden
榆关　Elm Pass
与谁同坐轩　"With Whom Shall I Sit"Verandah
雨湖公园　Rainy Lake Park
禹迹寺　Temple of King Yu's Footprints
禹迹寺桥　Bridge of the Temple of King Yu's Footprints
玉带桥　Jade Belt Bridge
玉津　Jade Ford Garden
玉兰堂　Yulan Magnolia Hall
玉玲珑　Exquisite Jade Boulder

玉龙花苑　Yulong's Flower Garden
玉泉山　Jade Spring Mountain
御碑亭　Imperial Stele Pavilion at the Fan's Memorial Shrine
御码头　Royal Wharf
豫园　Gratification Garden
员园　Yuan's Garden
圆明园　Garden of Perfect Splendor
援松阁　Towering Pine Pavilion
远翠阁　Distant Emerald Belvedere
远近泉声　Splashing Spring Far and Near
远香堂　Hall of Far-Drifting Fragrance
约园　Garden Scraped Together
月到风来亭　Pavilion of Moon Arriving and Breeze Coming
月观　Moon-Watching Platform
月色江声　River Murmuring in Moonlight
樾香楼　Loft in Aromatic Tree Shade
云冈　Cloudy Ridge
云栖　Cloud Dwelling (Valley)
云容水态　Clouds' Looks and Water's Postures
云山阁　Cloudy Mountain Belvedere
云岫庵　Nunnery at Cloud-Enshrouded Peak
簪花亭　Hairpin Flower Pavilion
旃檀林　Temple of Sandalwood Forest
湛华楼　Pure Luster Loft
湛园　Crystal Garden
招爽亭　Beckoning for Cosiness Pavilion
赵翼王园　Garden of Zhao Yiwang
赵宅　Zhao's Mansion
珍珠泉　Pearl Spring
郑御史园　Garden of Censor Zheng
芝径云堤　Zigzagging Trails on a Cloudy Causeway
至乐亭　Pavilion of Uttermost Delights
中山公园　Sun Yat-sen Park
中山陵　Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum
种纸山房　Paper Planter's Mountain Abode
朱草诗林　Hut of Vermilion Grass and Poetic Forest
茱萸湾公园　Cornel Bay Park

珠源寺　Source of Pearl Waterfall Temple
竹外一枝轩　Verandah of a Twig Beyond Bamboos
竹西公园　West Bamboo Grove Park
伫云庵　Cloud-Anticipating Hut
注经堂　Sutra Annotation Hall
拙政园　Humble Administrator's Garden
濯缨水阁　Hat-Ribbon Washing Belvedere
自怡园　Garden to Amuse Myself
醉颖堂　Hall of Drunken Talent

建筑名称　**Architectural Terminology**

包浆　patina
避弄　avoidance alleyway
扁作　rectangular beam
匾对　inscribed board/couplet
匾额　inscribed name board
冰纹　cracked-ice pattern
草架　rough-frame superstructure
垂花门　floral pendant gate
垂脊　vertical ridge
大木梁架　main beam
倒座　converse room
磴道　stone stairway
地穴　gate in a wall
点景　view highlighting
垫板　underboarding
动观　in-motion viewing
洞曲　cave
斗棋　corbel bracket
舫　land boat
复廊　double-lane loggia/walkway
阁　belvedere
槅扇　floor-length window
勾连搭　continuous-span construction
挂落　hanging fascia
拐子纹　shaped reel pattern

馆　studio
和合窗　detachable window
花墙　latticed wall
花厅　parlor
环洞桥　arch bridge
黄石　yellow stone
回廊　corridor
槛　balustrade
角梁　hip rafter
借景　view borrowing
静观　in-situ viewing
卷棚　round ridge roof
卷杀　entasis
廊　loggia; roofed corridor/walkway
廊庑　colonnade
联屏　antithetical couplets
梁架　purlin truss
梁式石桥　stone beam bridge
龙墙　dragon-topped wall
楼　storied building; loft
楼廊　storied walkway
楼厅　storied hall
漏窗　latticed window
乱石墙　riprap
门屋　portal
摩崖　cliff inscription; stone inscription
暖阁　small heating room
戗角头　end of pavilion ridge
三架梁　three-purlin beam
山墙　gable
书条石　rectangular stone slab with calligraphic inscriptions
水口　water outlet
水磨转　finely ground brick
四合头　quadrangle
踏跺　staircase
台　terrace
堂　hall

天井　atrium
亭　pavilion
通长额枋　full-length horizontal tablet/ architrave
凸形线脚　convex molding
土太湖　local Lake Tai rock
瓦花窗　tile-latticed window
湾头　bend
望砖　sheathing tile
屋架　truss
五架梁　five-purlin beam
线脚　skintled brickwork
泄景　view diverting
榭　gazebo
轩　verandah
寻景　view finding
引景　view ushering
鸳鸯厅　twin hall
月梁　crescent beam
藻井　caisson ceiling
斋　chamber
罩　latticed screen
柱础　plinth
柱顶　capital
砖门楼　brick archway

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